JPRS 80367

22 March 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 282

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 80367

22 March 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 282

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Report on Zhao-Bouabid Talks
(Beijing Domestic Service, 23 Feb 82) 1

Briefs
U.S., FRG Military Pact 3
FRG-U.S. Alliance 3
Special U.S. Group 3
Reagan on El Salvador, Nicaragua 4
SFRY Elections 4

PARTY AND STATE

Report on Work of Shaanxi People's Procuratorate
(He Xia; SHAANXI RIBAO, 9 Jan 82) 5

Role of Lawyers Discussed
(Wang Yang; XINHUA RIBAO, 8 Jan 82) 11

Goals for Shanghai in 1982 Outlined
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 1 Jan 82) 14

Philosophy Journal on Liu Shaoqi's Thinking
(Song Shitang, Li Demao; ZHEXUE YANJIU, 25 Jan 82) 18

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURAL

Agricultural Responsibility System, Population Control Seen Related
(Wu Jinyi, Duan Deyuan; GANSU RIBAO, 16 Jan 82) 27

Authors Urged to Accurately Depict Social Contradictions
(RENMIN RIBAO, 30 Dec 81) 32

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Fu Shenqi, China's Democracy Movement Reviewed
(Chou Lu-i; CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI, Feb 82) 40

Linkage Between China's Military Outlay, Quality Examined
(Wan Bu; CHENG MING, 1 Jan 82) 46

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REPORT ON ZHAO-BOUABID TALKS

OW231443 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 23 Feb 82

[Text] Zhao Ziyang, premier of the State Council, held talks with Maati Bouabid, prime minister of the Kingdom of Morocco, at the Great Hall of the People this morning.

The two exchanged views on bilateral relations and major international issues in a sincere and friendly atmosphere.

Zhao Ziyang said: Good relations exist between China and Morocco. As early as 1963, Premier Zhou Enlai and Vice Premier Chen Yi visited Morocco and had very beneficial talks with King Mouley Hassan II. They laid a solid foundation for Sino-Moroccan friendship.

On behalf of Chairman Ye Jianying of the NPC Standing Committee and the Chinese Government, Zhao Ziyang invited King Hassan II to visit China at a time convenient to him.

Referring to the international situation, Zhao Ziyang said: China and Morocco basically share identical or similar views on major international issues. He praised Morocco for its contributions to the struggle to maintain unity among the Arab countries and to oppose hegemonism.

Zhao Ziyang reaffirmed the Chinese Government's consistent principled stand in support of the Arab people in their just struggle against Israeli aggression and expansion.

In the talks, Bouabid briefed Zhao Ziyang on Morocco's domestic and foreign policies. He said: In the turbulent world situation, our foreign policy is to respect the UN Charter, oppose interference of one nation with another's internal affairs, stand for a new international economic order and support consultation and cooperation among developing countries.

Touching on the Middle East issue, Bouabid condemned Israel for its annexation of the Golan Heights. He pointed out: Without the interference of the big powers, the Middle East issue would be relatively easy to solve.

Referring to Moroccan-Chinese relations, Bouabid said: The relations between the two countries are established on the basis of mutual confidence. He hoped their cooperation would continuously expand.

Participating in the talks were Huang Zhen, minister in charge of the Commission for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries; He Ying, vice minister of foreign affairs; principal members of Prime Minister Bouabid's party; and Harkett, Moroccan ambassador to China.

CSO: 4005/643

BRIEFS

U.S., FRG MILITARY PACT--Bonn, 23 Feb (XINHUA)--A spokesman for the West German Defense Ministry announced on 23 February that the West German Government will soon sign a military agreement with the United States to more than double U.S. military forces in West Germany during emergency periods. The spokesman said: On the basis of this agreement the United States will, under emergency conditions, increase its troops stationed in West Germany from 4 to 10 divisions within a period of 10 days. In addition, the United States will supply over 1,000 military planes for defensive purposes. The agreement stipulates that West Germany will appropriate $275 million that will be used to mobilize 93,000 soldiers in reserve in support of the four U.S. army divisions already in West Germany. West Germany will also add 12 more fighter plane battalions [zhan dou ji ying 2069 2435 2623 3602] that will be used to protect U.S. air force bases during emergency periods. The spokesman said: This agreement is to be signed in mid-March. It will go into effect in 1983 for a period of 4 years. [Text] [OW251351 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1211 GMT 24 Feb 82]

FRG-U.S. ALLIANCE--Strauss, chairman of the Christian Social Union and minister-president of Bavaria, West Germany, said at a meeting on 25 February that the FRG should remain in the NATO because the United States makes us feel safe in facing the USSR. He said: Security policy plays an important part in West Germany's future and its economic and social welfare. The alliance of the two countries on the two sides of the Atlantic is the life-blood of West Germany's freedom and peace. He said: The USSR is trustworthy in one respect: it realizes danger and thus fears it; but we cannot conclude that the USSR will continue to realize and fear danger. Strauss said: Germany should be unified, but unification should be achieved through peaceful means and not by means of tanks and bayonets. [Text] [OW280815 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1500 GMT 26 Feb 82]

SPECIAL U.S. GROUP--Beijing, 17 Dec (XINHUA)--News from Washington: White House spokesman David Gergen yesterday said that because of the internal crisis in Poland, President Reagan signed a directive setting up a high level "special situation group" to closely watch the situation and draft plans of action. Vice President Bush will be in charge of the team. Members of the team include the secretary of state, the secretary of defense, the

director of the Central Intelligence Agency, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the president's National Security Affairs advisor and President Reagan's three senior White House assistants. This team replaces the "crisis management team" formed earlier this year by President Reagan. The "special situation group" held its second formal meeting 16 December mainly to discuss the Polish problem. [Text] [OW200416 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1455 GMT 17 Dec 81]

REAGAN ON EL SALVADOR, NICARAGUA--U.S. President Reagan said on 18 February that he had no plans to send U.S. combat troops to El Salvador. On the issue of Nicaragua, Reagan pointed out that his government has conclusive evidence that Nicaragua is building a huge arsenal to store weapons supplied by the Soviet clique through Cuba. He said: The amount of weapons supplied by the Soviets to Cuba is the largest since the Cuban missile crisis in 1962. He also said: These weapons far exceed what Nicaragua might need for defensive purposes. [Text] [OW231225 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 20 Feb 82]

SFRY ELECTIONS--According to a XINHUA report from Belgrade, this year is an election year in Yugoslavia. Before the middle of May, some 2 million delegation members and representatives will be elected in that country, and then assemblies at various levels will be formed through election. About half the leading officials in the government will be replaced. The constitution states that delegates of assemblies have a term of 4 years, and that no one can assume the same position for two successive terms. For this reason, about half the cadres presently holding leading positions will be replaced. The provision to limit the term of office is a basic measure taken by Yugoslavia to do away with the so-called "life tenure" and to ensure the continuous replacement and renewal of its cadre ranks. In the meantime, with the implementation of the retirement system, about 100,000 personnel retire from office each year in Yugoslavia. All this provides a guarantee for the normal renewal of incumbent personnel. At present, the average age of members of the Yugoslav Federal Presidium is 65, while that of Presidium members in the Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communists is 59. [Text] [OW170319 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 14 Feb 82]

CSO: 4005/643

PARTY AND STATE

REPORT ON WORK OF SHAANXI PEOPLE'S PROCURATORATE

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jan 82 p 2

[Speech by the Acting Chief Procurator of the Shaanxi People's Procuratorate, Ho Xia [0149 0204] at the Fourth Session of the Fifth People's Congress of Shaanxi Province on 1 Jan 82: "Work Report of Shaanxi People's Procuratorate"]

[Text] Representatives:

I am in complete agreement with the government work report submitted to this congress by Governor Yu Mingtao [0060 2494 3447] who represents the people's government of Shaanxi and with the report of Deputy Director Chang Lifu [1603 7812 1133] concerning the work of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress. Now, I offer the following report to this congress on the procuratorial work during the past year with some ideas about the future, and I invite your discussion.

In 1981, under the leadership of the provincial party committee and the Supreme People's Procuratorate, we firmly and thoroughly carried out the principles of economically furthering readjustment and politically realizing greater stability in the procuratorial work of our province, and taking the reestablishment of social order to be the central focus, we forcefully developed each item of procuratorial work, attacked our enemies, protected the people, developed the functions of our procuratorial agencies and made definite achievements. Under poor conditions and while faced with many difficulties, the broad procuratorial officers roused their spirits and worked diligently to contribute actively toward bringing about a turn for the better in the social order in both urban and rural areas of our province.

Achieving a basic turn for the better in social order is an important aspect of building a socialist spiritual civilization, and is an important guarantee of realizing economic readjustment and being successful in our "four modernizations" construction. The procuratorial agencies which are one of the instruments of the people's democratic dictatorship bear a heavy responsibility in the work of reestablishing social order. After the All China-Five large Cities of Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Wuhan Forum on Social Order, the procuratorial agencies at every level and the broad procuratorial officers better understood the severity of the

problem of social order, and they united ideologically, raised their awareness, made timely plans and went to work actively. Especially since the Sixth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, they have taken the "Resolution" to be their guiding ideology and have faced the realities of large reversals and instabilities in the social order, summarized the lessons of experience, firmly and thoroughly carried out swift and severe punishment in accordance with the law of those criminal elements involved in serious criminal activities, and corrected the situation of dealing weakly with criminals. Working with the guiding ideology and with strong organization, every area has truly stressed the main points, strengthened the work of allowing arrests, indictments and active prosecution in court, and has promptly, accurately and legally attacked counterrevolution and other criminal activities. From January to November of last year, throughout the entire province the arrests of 7,135 criminals of various sorts were approved, a 25 percent increase over the same period in 1980; there were 4,571 cases involving 6,938 persons brought to trial, an increase of 24 percent over the same period in 1980. Last year, after the All China-Five Large Cities Forum on Social Order, from July to October the arrests of 3,333 persons were approved, and 3,090 persons were brought to trial--increases in number over the previous six month period of 374 and 170 persons respectively. At the same time, along with this, through the supervision of investigations and trials, we corrected certain cases of avoidance of arrest, avoidance of prosecution and the small number of instances where the sentences did not fit the crimes, being either too light or too harsh. The procuratorial agencies of every area, in accordance with the unified plan of the provincial party committee of making "several concentrated attacks" on criminal activities, have worked closely with the public security agencies and the courts, convened a conference on sentencing, and dealt on a grand scale with certain criminals, doing battle with the small number guilty of extremely heinous crimes and forcefully attacking arrogant criminal elements. What deserves special mention is that in places like Hanzhong and Baoji that have suffered severe flooding, the public security, procuratorial and judicial agencies have cooperated closely both to handle emergencies and, at the same time, to preserve social order. Under extremely difficult conditions, they carried out highly effective struggle and promptly attacked those scoundrels who would take advantage of a disaster to commit evil acts, guaranteeing the stability of the security and order of the disaster areas.

We oppose the feudal doctrine of harsh punishment and methods based on the belief that only large scale arrests and executions can ensure long term social order. But, we absolutely cannot be lenient with those savage criminal elements that murder, commit arson, loot, rape, set off bombs and commit other serious crimes that endanger our society. Showing mercy to these criminals would be a crime against the people. Of course, our principle is to attack the minority and to seize, categorize and reform the majority, carrying out a policy of "leniency for those who confess and severity for those who do not." The procuratorial agencies at every level, in the practice of handling cases and investigating arrests and indictments will, in the case of those whose crimes are minor and who adopt a good attitude in admitting their crimes, especially juveniles who made a momentary

slip, as far as possible release them into society to receive education and be redeemed, and in this way will change negative elements into positive elements. From January to November of 1981, there were 531 persons who were not indicted or were exempted from indictment. Under the unified leadership of the party committees, every area worked closely with the relevant departments and actively took part in the "comprehensive administration," integrally combining attack, prevention, education and reform and making obvious accomplishments. By supporting public prosecution in court, issuing the statements of the prosecution, exposing crime and publicizing the legal system, we have expanded the effects of the cases handled. We have widely established a system of inspection for those who are exempted from indictment, realistically established measures for assisting in their education, and hastened their change for the better. We often analyze the trends in social order, research the regular patterns and characteristics of crime, summarize our experiences and promptly and effectively attack criminal activities.

While focusing on reestablishing social order we have vigorously launched procuratorial work in detention, discipline, economics and charges and appeals. In conjunction with the public security agencies we have emphasized carrying out a reorganization of prisons, pre-trial lockups and reform and education through labor units, implementing the reform principles of "reform first, production second" and "education, reform, and redemption." We have forcefully implemented the provisions of the third legal document of the 19th session of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress which deals with the question of how to handle escapes by those undergoing reform or education through labor and have attacked renewed criminal activities as well as the "prison bosses" and "prison overlords" which exist in fact, and this has led to a clear turn for the better in incarceration conditions. Every area has cooperated with public security departments in engaging in penetrating examinations in order to understand the more than 400 criminals that have been sentenced to supervision or probation, or have been paroled or released on bail for medical treatment, and has forcefully hastened their reform. The procuratorial agencies at every level have impartially enforced the law, eliminated interference, handled a large number of disciplinary and economic cases and attacked criminal activity in violation of the law. From January to November to 1981, we handled a total of 598 disciplinary cases of which 119 involving 161 persons were filed for investigation, and we saw to it that certain serious criminal violations of the law received due punishment, guaranteeing the legal rights of the public. We made new advances in our economic procuratorial work. Through November of last year the entire province had handled 1,242 economic cases of one type or another and, following penetrating surveys, 572 were filed for investigation. Among these, investigated cases of corruption increased 19 percent over those through all of 1980, and investigated cases of the "swastika" type increased three-fold. Investigated cases of theft from and denudation of forests increased 26 percent over 1980. Forcefully attacking criminal activity in the economic area has contributed to the safeguarding of our economic readjustment. The procuratorial work of dealing with charges and appeals has been strengthened and we have accepted and handled a number of appeal cases, upheld justice, attacked crime and strengthened the relationship between the procuratorial agencies and the people.

Representatives, having gone through a year of reestablishment, the condition of social order has turned for the better. The arrogance of criminal elements has disappeared, the number of crimes committed has fallen and the rate at which cases are concluded has risen. From January to November of last year there were 6.6 percent fewer cases than for the same period in 1980 and the rate at which cases were concluded increased 11.1 percent. The bad have begun to fear the law and to fear the masses, and criminal elements are gradually disintegrating. Cases of confession and voluntary surrender are increasing; instances of hooliganism, thievery and robbery, and quarreling and beatings about which the masses are most upset have declined dramatically, and the social order and security of public places have undergone a turn for the better; the initiative of the masses in struggling against criminal elements has risen and the people's feelings of security have increased. But, social order has not made a basic turn for the better yet, and a number of problems remain. Especially worthy of note is the continuing increase of some grave and heinous cases. From January to November of 1981 grave and particularly largescale criminal cases increased 23.8 percent over the same period in 1980. This is unquestionably a serious threat to social order. There are still holes in the work of managing jails and reforming and educating through labor. There are repeated instances of detained criminals and those undergoing reform or education through labor escaping, and some who are released after their sentence is up or who are relieved from reform through labor go on to commit new crimes. Some of the large and important cases are perpetrated by these people. Criminal activity in the economic area is relatively striking and it greatly interferes with and endangers our economic readjustment. We also note that cases of counterrevolutionary activity are on the rise. The sabotage by the remnant forces of the Lin Biao, Jiang Qing clique is also worthy of our serious attention. After implementing the policy of opening up to the outside world and implementing the systems of production responsibility in agriculture, there was some work that we could not for a time catch up on, and there appeared some new conditions and new problems. These all require further investigation and research and must be dealt with seriously.

There are still many problems in our work. There are still individual areas where criminal elements are not attacked forcefully and promptly. Some are unclear of their situations and are not sufficiently aware of the need for severe and swift punishment in accordance with the law for serious criminal elements; some onesidedly emphasize the notion of severe and swift and are not strict about handling matters in accordance with the law, and they are simplistic and crude in their work. Some places are not forceful enough in handling cases. Their ideological understanding is lacking, and this has a definite effect on their work. For many and varied reasons there are still instances of matters not being handled within proper time limits. These problems are waiting to be overcome and corrected by us in our work in the future.

Representatives, the Central Committee of the Party places great emphasis on strengthening the establishment of our nation's legal system and our work in politics and law. They have many times indicated that we must

strengthen the development of political and legal troops and reestablish good leading groups, proper discipline and good work styles, and see to it that there is a decisive development in our political and legal work in 1982. In regard to the directives of the leading comrades on the Central Committee, we have, in combination with the actual conditions of our province, carried out serious research and planning in this provincewide meeting of Chief Procurators which has just concluded.

We must continue to implement the spirit of the All China-Five Large Cities Forum on Social Order and, under the leadership of the provincial committee of the party, while taking the reestablishment of social order to be the central focus, firmly attack serious criminal elements, firmly attack the sabotage of the remnant forces of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," continually carry out struggle against counterrevolutionaries and other criminal elements and see to it that the social order in urban and rural areas turns steadily for the better. In terms of the actual conditions of our province, one of the major hidden dangers for social order is the extremely small number of ringleaders who carry out grave and heinous crimes. Because of this, if we want to stress and attack the major points, we must mete out severe and swift punishment in accordance with the law to these murderers, arsonists, lootists, rapists, bombers, and other serious criminal elements that endanger society, and absolutely cannot show leniency. Procuratorial agencies must work closely with public security agencies and the courts, act with initiative and fiercely attack, promptly arrest and indict criminals engaged in harmful activities. We must actively participate in comprehensive administration, begin with actual conditions, explore new paths of comprehensive administration, research positive preventative measures to reduce the commission of crimes and especially reduce the occurance of grave crimes. We must rely on the masses, realistically implement a system of responsibility for order and security, carry out a unification of specialized agencies and the mass line and see to it that comprehensive administration achieves a new effectiveness. The procuratorial work in the areas of detention, discipline, economics and charges and appeals must take the reestablishment of social order to be the central focus, and so intimately combine with the reestablishment of social order. We must actively cooperate with public security departments, implement the principles and policies of reform and education through labor, firmly attack renewed criminal activity, reform incarceration work, and hasten the reform of criminals. During our readjustment of the national economy, certain lawless elements will take the opportunity to engage in criminal activities, damaging the socialist economic order, endangering stability and unity and endangering the social order. In regard to those criminal elements that collude with external forces, are corrupt and offer bribes, engage in speculation and engage in other serious crimes, we must firmly punish them in accordance with the law. In regard to personnel who work in state agencies participating in criminal activities, we must deal with them severely. We must further strengthen the struggle against economic criminals, and the struggle against those who violate the law and breech discipline, and fully develop each item of the procuratorial task. By carrying out each procuratorial function we hasten a turn for the better in the social order of our nation.

In punishing crime and reestablishing social order, procuratorial agencies must adhere strictly to the law, correctly carry out the policies of the party and be meticulous about struggle tactics. With the exception of severely and swiftly punishing the small number of serious criminal elements in accordance with the law, we must do everything possible to educate and redeem the majority of minor lawbreakers and especially the younger offenders. We should mobilize families and the strength of society in order to do well in working with them. While overcoming the situation of attacking weakly, we must pay attention to distinguishing circumstances, guard against simplicity and crudity, firmly uphold the notion of not arresting a person when that option exists, thoroughly carry out the policy of "leniency for those who confess their crimes and severity for those who do not," and accurately, promptly and legally attack criminal elements.

To ensure the smooth implementation of our procuratorial work, we must do well at reorganizing the leading groups of the procuratorial agencies at every level and do well in ideology and organization building for our procuratorial cadre troops. We must carry out further penetrating study of the "Resolution" of the Sixth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and the spirit of the Central Committee's forum on problems on the ideological battlefront. We should use the spirit of the "Resolution" to unite our ideology and to maintain political unanimity with the Central Committee. We must continue to eliminate the residual poison of the Lin Biao, Jiang Qing clique and do a good job in quelling chaos and restoring order. While we continue to eliminate the guiding ideology of the "left," we must clearly criticize tendencies toward bourgeois liberalization and firmly overcome the weak and disorganized state of ideological leadership. Through reorganization we must see to it that the leading groups in procuratorial agencies are strong and that procuratorial cadres and troops have a strong sense of organization and discipline, and we must obey the laws and edicts of the state in a model way, closely unite with the masses, fulfill our duties and responsibilities, arouse our spirits, and work hard to achieve a decisive development in the procuratorial work of our province and to achieve a basic turn for the better in the social order of our province!

9705
CSO: 4005/501

PARTY AND STATE

ROLE OF LAWYERS DISCUSSED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Wang Yang [3076 3152]: "Lawyers Have a Great Role To Play in "Comprehensive Administration'"]

[Text] The "People's Republic of China Provisional Regulations Regarding Lawyers" which was passed by the 15th session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress went into effect on the first of January this year.

Not long before at the Fourth Plenum of the Fifth National People's Congress the people's representatives indicated that: to reestablish social order we must carry out "comprehensive administration." Since lawyers are the nation's legal workers, they too should be a part of the "comprehensive administration." But, in actual life, some people feel that: since lawyers defend the accused in criminal matters, how can they take part in "comprehensive administration?" Actually, in carrying out "comprehensive administration" to reestablish social order, lawyers have done a lot of work. The "People's Republic of China Provisional Regulations Regarding Lawyers" assigns five major tasks to lawyers, each one intimately related to carrying out "comprehensive administration" to reestablish social order.

First, the answering of questions of law and writing up of legal documents for others by lawyers is extensive work of service to society. After lawyers in every area began operating, they faced a tremendous amount of work in dealing with letters and visits from the masses, and, in line with the spirit of passified handling of the contradictions within the ranks of the people, they responded with reason and with guidance in terms of the law to the various questions concerning the law and the demands for lawsuits which were raised by the visiting masses, seeing to it that the average civil dispute and disputes involving minor criminal matters are taken care of at their onset. There are numerous examples of this. Such as the man in Jiangyan County who wrote a legal appeal 132 times. When he came to the legal counsel office to ask a lawyer to write 133d appeal, the lawyer took aim at the concrete conditions surrounding his careless fanning of the flames of disaster which were causing losses of both public and private resources and cited the law in persuading

this fellow to forego his doubts and suspicions. The man later said: "I am indebted to you for your clear and reasoned guidance and systematic explanation which allowed me to finally see the light. I will never, ever bring suit again...." Other legal counsel offices have also had similar experiences. When some of the masses come to legal counsel offices, they angrily demand that an "indictment" be written. But after receiving the clarifying guidance of a lawyer, they understand the basic principles involved and with a pleasant demeanor request that a "legal agreement" be written. According to statistics of the legal counsel office in Yizheng County: of 52 persons who met with lawyers and demanded to have an indictment written up, 18 abandoned their requests to bring lawsuits after the lawyers expounded on the spirit behind policies and accurately explained the law. This was 34.6 percent of those bringing complaints against others.

Now, as for lawyers "taking on matters for parties not involved in litigation, offering legal aid or becoming legal representatives to participate in mediation or arbitration activities," this too is an important aspect of lawyers having a hand in "comprehensive administration." Everyone is willing to bring certain disputes between legal persons, and even questions of citizenry and the individual, family property, marriage, inheritance, adoption, etc. to lawyers in search of ways to deal with them. Some matters get to the point where they cannot be worked out and then people come to legal counsel offices where the matters are handled without litigation and solved. For example, there was the company in Suzhou that got into a dispute with a nearby factory over the boundary line to the land on which they were building during basic construction--the two sides could not agree and neither side would give in. A worker in the factory found an excuse to occupy the living quarters of the company. The leadership of the factory did not prevent it. The company could only invite a lawyer to handle things. The lawyer told the worker occupying the housing that doing so was a violation of the law, and that having already broken the law, if he did not repent and mend his ways, that he would have to bear legal responsibility; and he told the factory leadership that between the two parties was to be drawn, they were to carry out concrete discussions in the spirit of mutual understanding and of making mutual concessions. Through mediation by the lawyer, the matter was reasonably solved and an enlargement of the situation was avoided, which was good for social stability. Lawyers in some places have run across disputes between married couples brought on because one of them had had an affair and they all place emphasis on clarifying which matters fall within the scope of morality and which situations involve criminality. The lawyers take the initiative in urging reconciliation, thereby avoiding an unnatural break up of a family. Numerous cases similar to these reflect the role of lawyers in "comprehensive administration."

Lawyer participation in criminal litigation is even more closely related to "comprehensive administration." Because, in regard to the average defendant held in criminal matters, the lawyer protects his legal rights and therefore, to a certain extent, it is easy for him to gain the confidence of the accused. Some of the accused, because they fear punishment or out of a sense of good luck, adamantly deny their crimes. But, after a lawyer teaches them about the

legal system and patiently guides them, most will confess their crimes and receive lenient treatment. This has positive significance in terms of getting the accused to admit guilt, take the medicine and accept reform.

Our lawyers are, like other political and legal workers, a force in the construction of our legal system and are one aspect of "comprehensive administration." When the "People's Republic of China Provisional Regulations Regarding Lawyers" are fully put into effect, we must strengthen the ideological and political leadership of lawyers, raise the political quality of persons engaged in work as lawyers and the level of their professionalism, mobilize the initiative of the entire body of persons engaged in work as lawyers and contribute to building our nation into a strong, modernized socialist state.

9705
CSO: 4005/589

PARTY AND STATE

GOALS FOR SHANGHAI IN 1982 OUTLINED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jan 82 pp 1, 2

Another year is past, and 1982, the new year full of promise is here.

We offer warm new year's wishes to comrades on all fronts in Shanghai.

In the year that just passed, there were new developments in all kinds of party and state operations. The political and economic situation is even better than what was estimated. The signs that things are good are: 1, the political situation of peaceful unity has been further solidified and expanded. The plenum of the sixth Central Committee passed the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of our Party since the Founding of the PRC," and this has had a great positive role in unifying the ideology of the whole party and all the people. 2, the national economy has continued to improve. This is not only manifest in the overall increase in agricultural production despite droughts and flooding; industrial output rose somewhat through readjustment; and most important, the financial situation improved, showing a balance between finance and credit; and the people's standard of living continued to improve. Just as in the nation as a whole, in the past year Shanghai has made new contributions in all works due to the strenuous efforts of the workers, peasants, and intellectuals. The gross value of industrial output rose three percent. There was a large increase in light industry products. Heavy industry was readjusted in the direction of services, and there was a good agricultural harvest. Some work has not been good enough in doing what the masses have demanded of us, and some problems have not been solved satisfactorily. However, our work is improving every year. All comrades who believe that our party has the ability and the means to do a good job in managing our country should have confidence in this.

We enter the new year full of confidence and strength. 1982 is the sixth year since the smashing of the "gang of four." It is the fourth year since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Party Committee. It is the second year of the sixth five-year plan. It is also the first year following the completion of our party's task of weeding out erroneous ideology. This is an extremely important year with even more favorable conditions, so we can do an even better job in all of our work. The major task facing us in 1982 is to solidify and stabilize economic successes, to

continue to support a basic balance between revenue and loans and a basic stability in commodity prices. We must have better economic results and strive to develop our national economy at a steady pace, which can be attained through hard work, and which will be greater than last year. All sectors in Shanghai involved in economic work must take increasing economic results as their starting point, and use all possible means to gain better economic results in the realism of production, construction, and circulation, making new contributions to the state. They must learn the lesson of 1981, "If the year starts out lax, you will be in a passive position the whole year long." We must have a firm grasp of production from the first of the year and wrest new production increases from industry and communications in 1982. We must also get a bumper harvest in agriculture. At the same time we strongly advocate socialist ideology and culture, carry forward the fine tradition of our party, bring order to society, improve social practices and the practices within our party even more every year. The people of Shanghai are ambitious and industrious. They have a special capacity for struggle. They should be the frontrunners in the construction of both material and spiritual culture.

Recently leading comrades of the Central Committee emphatically pointed out to the whole party that the primary task for our party now and in the future is to improve the national economy and to improve spiritual culture. All departments and all operations must struggle to realize these two great objectives.

These two great objectives are beckoning and urging all the people of the country victoriously onward. Our tasks for 1982 have been designated based on these two great objectives, and doing a good job in the new year is to make progress in the realization of these two great objectives. Members of the Communist Party, members of the Communist Youth League, and broad masses, no matter what their trades or specific jobs, must all establish an ideology for struggling to realize these two great objectives. This is the source of our strength for doing a good job in everything. Grasp the construction of material culture with one hand and the construction of spitirual culture with the other. The two are intimately related and cannot be separated. We are a socialist nation. The superiority and vitality of socialism is not only manifested in the ability to develop social productivity and to construct a good material culture, it is also clearly manifested in the ability to foster a brand-new mental attitude among the people, to establish lofty social moral customs, and to establish a very human spiritual culture. Only by building a great socialist spiritual culture at the same time as we build a great material culture can we ensure the long-lasting development of China's national economy as well as the building of material culture in the socialist direction. Therefore, at all times, we must resolutely grasp with both hands. All our work must follow these two objectives and must serve them. Doing all this is what being of one heart and one mind really means. What is it that we call having a high level of ideology? To habitually remember these two objectives of our struggle; this is what it means to have a high level of ideology. Otherwise, when doing our jobs and in our work we are apt to miss the main point and not reach our objectives. We might even end up carrying our decentralism, routineism, or parochialism.

The conditions for improving the national economy are much more favorable now than they were in the past. The most important thing is that we already have the ten point economic program pointed out by comrade Zhao Ziyang at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Fifth National People's Congress. This ten point program summarizes the experiences in economic work, both good and bad, since the founding of the country. It embodies many major ideas of chairman Mao Zedong on economic construction. It reflects the positive results in correcting erroneous ideology in economic work since the Third Plenary Session of the central committee. It is a flying leap in the understanding of economic work. This ten-point program is suitable to the situation of the state and it is completely suitable to the actual situation in Shanghai. This cost us a lot of time and a dear price. In the future we need only adhere to this ten-point program and economic construction will be on a new road to more realistic growth rates and better economic results, which will bring even more benefits to the people. This is how it is for the whole country and Shanghai as well. The economic construction task for 1982 is brought out based on this ten-point program. We must struggle hard to complete this mission. Build up a spiritual civilization--this slogan is being enthusiastically echoed by all the people of the country. This objective has appeal, it can mobilize. Its demands are also very clear, and the scope of spiritual civilization is very broad. It contains two important aspects. One is the further development of education, science, culture, arts, health, and physical education. This is a guide post of whether a society is civilized and to what level it is civilized. The other aspect is to broadly establish through society, through effective propaganda education work and ideological political work, a socialist and communist ideology, moral customs, and work ethic. We must foster a spirit of patriotism and internationalism. Especially, since we are a socialist nation of people's democratic dictatorship, the nurturing and education of the new generation in the far-reaching ideology of communism and in communist moral ethics is the major objective of building a spiritual civilization. The development of this ideological spiritual civilization marks the distinction between our socialist society and capitalist societies as well as all the exploitive societies of the past. It is also the mutual hope and strong demand of all of China's broad masses of understanding upright citizens. In accordance with these two demands, in 1981 we in Shanghai must definitely mobilize the whole party and all the forces of society to create a strong and enduring social opinion that will view spiritual civilization as something to be proud of and not something to be ashamed of, and press on with all construction of spiritual civilization. Without a strong enduring social opinion to support the correct and suppress the errant, social traditions will be transformed, and with only bits and pieces of a weak ineffective social opinion to rely on, a socialist spiritual civilization will be impossible to construct. On this point, this newspaper will work hard with other circles, and do its best.

The objective is very clear-cut, and the program is even more in line with reality. The key point for completing all our tasks in 1982 lies in rousing the revolutionary spirit in the broad masses of cadres, and doing every task in a down-to-earth manner. The rousing of the revolutionary spirit

was brought out by the Party Central Committee. It was directed at something specific, and what it was directed at was those comrades among our cadres who are apathetic. For example, when some comrades are faced with a problem, they just moan and groan. They do not have enough faith in the future. Some comrades are satisfied just to listen to reports, to run around in circles creating red tape. Some comrades are not responsibile enough in their jobs, they do not apply themselves, and when a problem arises they just criticize each other. Some comrades just look out for themselves and do not dare to adhere to a principle. Some comrades are fond of taking petty advantages and carrying out corrupt practices.... This kind of spirit is not suitable for the demands of realizing the two great objectives, nor for completing our tasks for 1982. Here is the problem of rousing the revolutionary spirit. Of course, when we now speak of rousing the revolutionary spirit, we should not reiterate past errors. It seems that once someone mentions rousing the revolutionary spirit they are talking about boasting, about raising standards, of empty talk and formalism, of lying or reporting only the good news and not the bad. Today when we talk of rousing the revolutionary spirit, it should primarily manifest itself in the scrutiny of the new situation, solving new problems, finding new ways of doing things, and creating a whole new ballgame. We must have working zeal, a pioneering spirit, and an inquisitive mind. We must go deep into the realities of life, investigate and research, work very hard, be cautious and conscientious, modest and prudent, and do our work in a down-to-earth style, with even better results. Only with this kind of sure and steady progress will we be sure to be able to complete our tasks for 1982, and be able to take the happy step necessary to successfully attain these tow objectives.

9559
CSO: 4005/447

PARTY AND STATE

PHILOSOPHI JOURNAL ON LIU SHAOQI'S THINKING

HK101040 Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU in Chinese No 1, 25 Jan 82 pp 3-8

[Article by Song Shitang [1345 1102 1016] of the Modern History Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Li Demao [2621 1795 5399] of the theory teaching and research section of the party school of the Beijing Dongcheng District CCP Committee: "Materialism in Revolutionary Practice--Studying the Philosophical Concepts in Volume 1 of 'Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi'"]

[Text] The great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary Comrade Liu Shaoqi was an outstanding Marxist theorist of our party. During the protracted revolutionary struggles, Comrade Shaoqi persistently upheld the materialist principles and persistently applied the Marxist philosophy in practice. He was particularly good at linking the Marxist philosophical principles to practice, conducting thorough investigations, specifically analyzing problems, creatively applying the Marxist philosophy to all his revolutionary activities and very effectively carrying out revolutionary work. Although Comrade Shaoqi had not written many special philosophical works, his philosophical concepts are condensed in a number of articles, speeches and reports by him. Seriously studying Comrade Shaoqi's philosophical concepts is very necessary to our upholding the party's dialectical materialism ideological line, summing up historical experiences and promoting socialist modernization.

I

Comrade Liu Shaoqi was persistently loyal to the materialist principles. He upheld seeking truth from facts and proceeded from the actual situation in everything. He held: In the course of transforming the world, we the communists must proceed from the actual situation and not from our subjective imaginations. He said: "We must not depart from reality when transforming the world. We must not ignore reality, escape from reality, nor surrender to the ugly reality. We face up to reality, understand reality, seek survival and development in reality, struggle against the ugly reality, transform reality and gradually attain our ideal." ("Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi," Vol 1, p 129. Hereafter when passages are quoted from this book, only the page number will be noted.) Proceeding from reality in everything is not just a simple formula. It embodies very rich content and

is a fundamental demand of the dialectical materialist philosophical line. Therefore, "all guiding principles must seek truth from facts." (p 307) Once we depart from the principle of seeking truth from facts, we will not be able to formulate correct principles, and we will not be able to have correct leadership. Moreover, in the course of upholding the principle of seeking truth from facts, Comrade Shaoqi also gave a lot of explanations about this principle.

Comrade Shaoqi pointed out: In upholding the principle of seeking truth from facts, we must first adopt an honest attitude. We must admit whether we understand something or not. "You must not teach or guide others on questions of which you have not obtained a clear picture." (p 42) On all questions, we must "make no exaggerations nor obligations. We must not feel conceited over achievements nor cover up mistakes. We must state whether something is good or bad as it is." (p 384) In 1947, he spoke at the national land conference: "There was a process of development for the land conference. At the initial stage, there were shortcomings and even mistakes in some views, arguments and policies. They were later corrected. It can thus be seen that the conference sought truth from facts, and that we people, including myself, did make mistakes. We made mistakes at the beginning; but they were later corrected. This is the way to do it." (p 384) This fully manifested Comrade Shaoqi's honest attitude of seeking truth from facts.

Second, in upholding seeking truth from facts, we must also strive to explore and master the inherent laws of objective things. Otherwise, we will not be able to obtain a correct understanding, and we will not be able to take correct actions. Comrade Shaoqi particularly opposed the erroneous tendency of formularizing certain experiences and the dogmatist attitude of rigidly adhering to certain clauses. He advocated facing up to reality and finding out the laws of things in reality. It is necessary to "'seek truth' from facts" and not "'seek truth' from historical analogies." (p 308)

Third, Comrade Shaoqi also emphasized: To uphold seeking truth from facts, it is necessary to have very great revolutionary courage. People who have no party spirit or principles cannot seek truth from facts. Why? This is because in general, efforts to seek truth from facts mean a developmental and innovative force, it is a challenge to the outmoded and conservative force and is therefore invariably seriously fettered and obstructed. Therefore, "upholding seeking truth from facts has to be achieved with a high level of revolutionary spirit and courage." (p 313) During the period from after the failure of the great revolution to the early 1930's, there was an erroneous tendency in our party of making Marxism a dogma and of making the resolutions of the Communist International and the experiences of the Soviet Union something sacred. At that time, the principal leader of the CCP Central Committee repeatedly committed the mistakes of leftist adventurism. The Chinese revolution was almost once again brought to a hopeless situation. During that time, Comrade Shaoqi spent most of his time working in the dangerous white area. However, he disregarded his personal safety and his personal gain or loss and, even under the situation that he was given the punishment of dismissal, he unswervingly took the stand of Marxist principles,

courageously upheld adopting an attitude of seeking truth from facts when studying and solving practical problems of the Chinese revolution, and staged a resolute struggle against leftist adventurism and leftist dogmatism. We can imagine that, amid the circumstances of that time, very great courage and very lofty revolutionary spirit were required to uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts! Nevertheless, as was pointed out by Comrade Shaoqi: "The materialists are courageous." (p 402) This is exactly where the strength of revolutionary materialism lies.

Fourth, in upholding the principle of seeking truth from facts, we must specifically analyze various specific situations. We must not only see the phenomenon, but must also see the nature of things. We must not only see one aspect, but must also see all the other aspects of things. Otherwise, we will not be able to see the true features of things, and we will not be able to master the laws of things. As noted by Comrade Shaoqi: "To be true we must be comprehensive. It will not be truth if one aspect is missing." (p 402) This is because all things are unified bodies of contradictions and complications. Therefore, when understanding and analyzing things, we must achieve: "The first thing is to be true without any exaggeration; and then it is necessary to be comprehensive and profound." (p 403) What we mean by being true is that we must reflect things in accordance with their original features without adding any subjective factors. This is in fact the basic demand of materialism. What we mean by being comprehensive and profound is that when understanding things, we must not only see all aspects of them, but we must also go deep inside them and master their nature. This is in fact the basic demand of applying dialectics to the theory of knowledge. Comrade Shaoqi gave a very detailed and thorough exposition of this question. He pointed out: "When we talk about being comprehensive and profound, we should say that if we are not profound, we will not be comprehensive. If things are not raised to the theoretical level, they cannot be comprehensive. They can only be fragmentary, phenomenal and unsystematic. To be comprehensive, we must have synthesis and summation and raise things to the level of policies and theories. If we do not raise things to the level of theory, we will not be able to understand their nature. Theories should be 'penetrating.' They should not only be able to explain phenomena and superficial knowledge, but should also be able to explain the internal connections of things." (p 403) What Comrade Shaoqi stated here was in fact a summation of his own experiences. It is a truth that has been tested and verified through his own practice. The reason that he could make such profound and incisive explanations of many significant practical issues in China's democratic revolution was that he raised the issues to the level of theory and made a theoretical summation and explanation.

Comrade Shaoqi attached importance to practice. This was first manifested in the fact that he regarded practice as the basis for people to understand and transform the world. He profoundly understood that revolutionary materialism cannot depart from practice for even a single moment; and this is determined by the nature of materialism itself. Without practice, it will be impossible to have any real materialism. From the point of view of revolutionary materialism, people must go through practice in order to obtain a correct

understanding and the rights to speak and lead in work. Comrade Shaoqi not only upheld this materialist view, but also further pointed out: people must go through practice in the process of transforming their subjective world, which includes their personal ideological and moral self-cultivation. He said: "We are revolutionary materialists and our self-cultivation must not depart from the masses' revolutionary practice." "We must not depart from the practical revolutionary movement of the working masses, especially of the proletarian masses." (pp 109, 101) "To transform and enhance themselves, revolutionaries must participate in and must never depart from revolutionary practice." (p 99)

Comrade Shaoqi persistently attached importance to the unity of theory and practice. He was diligent in conducting investigations and study and in summing up experiences and lessons and was good at raising practical experiences to the level of theory. He attached great importance to integrating the Marxist philosophical principles with daily work in solving practical revolutionary problems. In particular, during the transition period of the revolution, he greatly emphasized that ideology and theories must change with the development of revolutionary practice and changes in the situation. On the eve of the war against Japanese aggression, when the Japanese imperialists occupied north China step by step and vainly attempted to destroy the whole of China, the Chinese people's national salvation movement against Japanese aggression rose to an unprecedented height. Under the leadership of our party, an extensive national united front against Japanese aggression was quickly established, and there was therefore a fundamental change in China's domestic situation. It was a comprehensive change. Comrade Shaoqi pointed out: In line with this change, our party must make a corresponding change in the organization of struggle and methods of work. At the same time, there must be a change in ideology and theory. Without the latter change, it would be impossible to achieve a political and organizational change. He said: We must change "from empty talk to reality, and from metaphysics to dialectics." (p 56) Practice has demonstrated that this view of Comrade Shaoqi is completely correct. And it was actually a fact. Every major turning point in history is invariably accompanied by a major change in ideology and theory. This is a historical truth.

Theory has to be tested and revised by practice. This is a basic Marxist principle. Comrade Shaoqi persistently used practice as an objective criterion for testing theories and resolutely advocated using practice to test the party's theories, principles and policies. At a talk to a delegation of reporters in north China, he pointed out: "You are allowed to inspect whether the party's policies are correct or not. In case you find that the party's policies are wrong, you are allowed to speak up.... Does this mean a disbelief in the party's policies? Not at all. Whether the party's policies are correct or not has to be tested in practice by the masses." He also pointed out: "If there is any mistake in policies, we then revise them; and if they are incomplete, we then supplement them to make them complete. This is the way Marxist-Leninist leadership should be." (p 403) Comrade Shaoqi also held: Marxist-Leninists must continuously inspect every step of their work through practice. In the journey of revolution, people must always

continuously sum up their experiences, review their past and look forward to the future. As was pointed out by Marx, for every step advanced, the proletariat will generally turn around and carry out a number of criticisms and examinations before they continue to move forward. This is a question encountered by all revolutionaries. However, what criterion should be used to inspect our own work and appraise the past rights and wrongs? Comrade Shaoqi held: This criterion can only be practice. He said: In our work, we will never "use quotations from books and idioms as our grounds. We will use practical experience as our grounds, use it to inspect every step of our work and learn through our own mistakes and educate others to push the work forward." (p 296) This was what he said and what he did. All his activities and works have eloquently explained this point.

Comrade Shaoqi always resolutely opposed those dogmatists who ignored practice and departed from reality. He said: "They fear most the test of practice." (p 298) He strictly criticized the dogmatists' subjectivism and formalism of "paying attention only to the superficial form of things and paying no attention to their vivid content," and of "remembering only the clauses of Marxism and not being able to vividly apply those clauses to specific situations." He also pointed out that "the philosophical mistakes of dogmatism have caused great losses to our party." Therefore, "our comrades must resolutely discard this kind of subjectivism and formalism and replace it with Marxist dialectics." (p 71) In the protracted revolutionary activities, he staged a most arduous and unyielding struggle against the dogmatists who greatly jeopardized the party's cause.

Comrade Shaoqi also greatly despised the sort of empty talk which departed from reality and ignored practice. As early as in 1936, he wrote the article "Eliminate the Leadership Style of Empty Talk" and relentlessly exposed and criticized empty talk. He said: People who indulge in empty talk never try to solve practical problems, but only play with empty political terms. This sort of "empty talk has no advantages but only disadvantages." "Once a lively subject or a vivid question falls into the hands or mouths of those people who indulge in empty talk, it immediately becomes something very lifeless. Once rebuked and messed around by these people who indulge in empty talk, comrades who are originally very vivid and lively immediately become people who have lost their souls and future. (p 42) He thereby concluded that "without eliminating and changing this sort of phrase-mongering, our party's organization and work will not develop actively." (p 41) While opposing empty talk, Comrade Shaoqi also clearly pointed out: "Our theories are materialist." That is to say, they are "objective and materialist principles which proceed from reality and are aimed at practice." (P 217) He therefore held that our party must advocate: Face up to reality, oppose empty talk and be brave in practice.

Comrade Shaoqi's theories and philosophical thinking have penetrated into reality and have merged together with his activities of revolutionary practice. His theories and philosophical thinking therefore embody great vitality. This remarkable advantage of his philosophical thinking is particularly worth our studying.

II

Marxist philosophy is a complete and thorough scientific world outlook. Historical materialism is an organic and inseparable integral part of Marxist philosophy. It is in fact a very significant part. It has provided the proletariat with a direct ideological weapon of understanding and transforming the society. Being a revolutionary and practical materialist, Comrade Liu Shaoqi always attached importance to using the principles of dialectical materialism to observe and analyze social problems and to guide revolutionary work. He said: "Marxist-Leninist theory is our weapon for observing all phenomena and handling all questions, especially for observing all social phenomena and handling all social questions." (p 116) He also repeatedly emphasized that it is necessary to uphold and publicize historical materialism and use historical materialism to educate the cadres and masses. He demanded that the cadres and masses "enhance their theoretical level, be familiar with Marxism-Leninism, and particularly study historical materialism, the theory of knowledge and the method of class analysis." (p 406) Comrade Shaoqi certainly directly applied the basic principles of historical materialism to his revolutioary practice.

The theory of historical materialism founded by Marx and Engels tells us: The masses are the creators of history and they constitute the main body of historical activities. Only in the practical activities of the people is there the decisive force of historical development and a yardstick for commenting on history and appraising the rights and wrongs of history. During the protracted revolutionary struggles, Comrade Shaoqi unswervingly upheld this basic principle of historical materialism. He specifically pointed out: "History is created by the masses, and not by the heroes." (p 311) However, in terms of Marxist philosophy, the people are a historical category. That is to say, in different historical periods and at different stages of historical development, the composition of the people varies. However, no matter in what time and under what conditions, the working class and working masses are always the core of the people. As was pointed out by Engels: "Ever since the development of classes, there has never been a period in which the society could exist without the working class." "No matter what changes occur in the upper strata of the society which do not engage in production, the society will not survive without a producers' class." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 19, p 315) Throughout the period of the new democratic revolution, Comrade Shaoqi spent most of his time directly developing the workers' movement and mass work. He had a profound understanding of the worker and peasant masses and was closely linked with them. He thus had a very profound and thorough understanding of this view expounded by Engels. He constantly used words that were easy to understand and vivid to publicize to the masses this basic principle of historical materialism. He said: "Who created the world? It was created by the workers and peasants. Where does the rice come from and where do the houses come from? All these are created by the workers and peasants. However, those who did not create the world have occupied the world. He thereby drew a conclusion: "The world can be a world without the landlords and capitalists, but not without the workers." Therefore, "wemight as well overthrow the world." (p 236) He always

earnestly practiced what he advocated and put into action what he used to educate other people. It was exactly because Comrade Shaoqi could unswervingly uphold this basic principle of historical materialism and that he was as good as his words that he could put right the relationship between the individuals and the masses and correctly appraise the historical roles of individuals (especially leaders). It was also because Comrade Shaoqi had a profound understanding of the basic principle of historical materialism that he was able to consciously establish a firm mass viewpoint. Comrade Shaoqi actually made many incisive expositions about the mass viewpoint. He held that it was in fact an inevitable conclusion derived through the application of the basic principle that the masses are the creators of history, to revolutionary practice; and this mass viewpoint is something all revolutionaries should have. Not only should the leaders establish mass viewpoint, but the cadres, workers and peasants should all establish a mass viewpoint. "All people should have a mass viewpoint." (p 305) There is no exception for any revolutionary. This is because, "the mass viewpoint is a revolutionary viewpoint and a revolutionary spirit. It is linked to the stand of the proletariat and the feelings of the people. Without them, there will not be a thorough mass line." (p 392)

During the protracted revolutionary struggles, Comrade Mao Zedong systematically applied the principle that the masses are the creators of history to all the activities of the party and formed a mass line in all the work of the party. It is a scientific summary of the precious historical experience of our party. In all his work, Comrade Shaoqi not only faithfully implemented and practiced this line, but also on the basis of personal practice made an explanation and elaboration in theory of the various basic points of the party's mass line. In particular, in his report on the revision of the party constitution delivered at the Seventh Party Congress, he made a systematic and scientific exposition of the party's mass line; and he also made significant contributions to the formation and development of the party's mass line.

Comrade Shaoqi held that the basic point of departure of the mass line is doing everything for the masses. This is determined by the nature of the Communist Party; and it is the point of convergence of we communists in deliberating questions and undertaking work. He said: "The sole purpose of our policies is for the interests of the masses." (p 393) He also further pointed out: "The mass line is the basic line. Once we depart from the mass line, it is impossible to have a correct line in policies, organization, military affairs or everything else." (p 392) The basic point of departure of the mass line is "doing everything for the masses. Otherwise, revolution will be meaningless." (p 234) Therefore, during the revolutionary struggles and in his daily work, he often repeatedly emphasized: "We are doing everything for the people. We are the servants of the people and we must serve the people in politics, military affairs, economics and culture." (p 310) Doing everything for the masses is not just an empty slogan. Comrade Shaoqi resolutely opposed the kind of armchair revolutionaries who turned "doing everything for the people" into just high-sounding words. He said: "The idea of serving the people conscientiously should be established. It is no

good shouting slogans loudly and putting on a very convincing act but not actually doing anything for the people. We had better serve the people conscientiously!" (p 311) To him, "doing everything for the people" was never an empty slogan, but a motto for action. He bent his back to his tasks for the people until his very last day; and the Chinese people will never forget this.

Comrade Shaoqi also emphatically expounded that the basic foothold of the party's mass line is relying in everything on the people. He held: All causes of our party are the causes of the masses. "Therefore, everything in our party is dependent upon and determined by the consciousness and voluntary actions of the masses. Without the consciousness and voluntary actions of the masses, we will not be able to achieve anything and will only make some thankless efforts." (p 351) He also said: "The Communist Party will have no future if it relies solely on the barrel of a gun and on developing a united front with the landlords, gentry and businessmen. Relying on the masses is a Marxist revolutionary principle and it must not be violated by our actions." (p 398) He also profoundly pointed out: The source of strength of us communists lies in the masses. "If we do not have a good connection with the masses, we will be in danger and will be strangled to death by others, as was Antaios." (p 397) Therefore, he said: "The Communist Party has nothing to fear except being detached from the masses. So long as the Communist Party relies on the masses, then it is invincible." (p 234) In all the practical work he carried out, Comrade Shaoqi persistently upheld the leadership method of from the masses and to the masses, and always took the revolutionary practice of the masses as the basis for testing and verifying the party's policies. He said: "The method of deciding policies is from the masses; and when the policies are decided, they have to be publicized among and explained to the masses and implemented among the masses. When they are right, they will be supported by the masses; and if they are wrong, then they will not have the support of the masses. If the masses oppose something and do not support it, there must be a problem." (p 3393 [as printed]) This has fully demonstrated that Comrade Shaoqi resolutely relied on the masses in his practical work.

In relying on the masses, we must base ourselves on trusting and respecting the masses. Without the complete trust of the masses, it will be impossible to truly achieve a reliance on the masses. At the theoretical level of historical materialism, Comrade Shaoqi incisively expounded this question. He said: "A basic principle of Marxism-Leninism is that the workers liberate themselves." (p 238) He held that we must firmly believe that great truth that the masses are able to liberate themselves. He resolutely opposed the kind of outmoded conventions and bad habits of standing on top of the masses. He said: "Some of our comrades do not understand this point. They always stand on top of the masses to 'liberate' the masses. This is a view of bestowing favors--a viewpoint of the exploiting class." (p 311) He repeatedly emphasized: We must rely on the masses in all work and believe that the masses can do a good job of it. The work must not be taken on by people above them. For example, at the end of 1942 when he talked about the question of a reduction in rent and interest, he said: "If it is the

government which takes the place of the masses in struggling against the landlords, it will lose the stand of the government and not be able to take into consideration the interests of the landlords. On the other hand, the masses will not be mobilized and they will not believe in their own strength. They think that it is the Eighth Route Army and the Communist Party which look after their interests. A reduction in rent has become a 'favor bestowed.' As a result of this, the government falls out with the landlords and yet fails to have the support of the masses. The original intention of those people was that they want to do something good. However, it turned out that they have done something bad. We should understand that it is not permissible to depart from the masses and have only a small number of people struggling against the landlords." (p 238) Although all these vivid and active discussions refer to specific questions in the course of revolution, a basic principle runs through them all: the working masses must liberate themselves. However, whether or not the workers can really achieve their own liberation is "determined by the degree of consciousness of the masses themselves." (p 312) It is thus necessary to educate the masses and enhance their political consciousness. He emphasized: In the course of revolution, educating and arousing the masses is always a significant task. "The reason the enemy can oppress the masses is, apart from the strength of the enemey themselves, the backwardness and lack of organization of the masses themselves. If the political consciousness of the masses is enhanced, they will rise up to strive for their own liberation. It is our basic method to gradually educate the masses on the basis of their present experience and, amid actual struggles, enhance the masses' awareness day after day and allow the masses to become naturally revolutionized." (p 312) Comrade Shaoqi attached very great importance to this task. Ever since his early years, he had done a lot of work in arousing and educating the masses. He was commended as a "good teacher and helpful friend" of the worker-peasant masses.

Soon after Comrade Shaoqi started his journey of revolution, he resolutely held: So long as we believe in and rely on the masses and are good at arousing and educating the masses, there will definitely be victory in revolution. He pointed out: The big wheel of history has already carried us forward toward the direction of the emancipation of all mankind and has called on the workers to seek happiness for their own class--and for all mankind. Just who has the strength to stop this wheel and push it backward? "Turning it will simply help it to move forward." This is a physical law. We must not speak of "the power of saving a desperate situation." To be honest, people who stand in the way of progress are only shortening their own lives and quickening their own destruction. It is inevitable and irresistible that socialism will replace capitalism and communism will ultimately be attained.

Marxist philosophy is a science. It does not put an end to truth, but opens up for us a road for continuously developing the Marxist philosophy in practice. Fundamentally speaking, Marxist philosophy is revolutionary and practical. It progresses with the progress of revolution and develops with the development of practice. Comrade Shaoqi upheld materialism all through his life and was brave in and good at revolution and practice. He integrated and diffused the principle of materialism into revolutionary practice. His philosophical thinking has both upheld the general principles of Marxist philosophy and at the same time has its own features. His revolutionary and practical materialism is a philosophy full of life and of forging courageously ahead.

CSO: 4005/644

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURAL

AGRICULTURAL RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM, POPULATION CONTROL SEEN RELATED

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Wu Jinyi [0702 6651 5030] and Duan Deyuan [3008 1795 0337]: "System of Agricultural Production Responsibility and Control of Population"]

[Text] In promoting the development of agricultural production, it is of important practical significance for us to proceed from the actual situation of the population in our country, to adhere to the principle of being practical and realistic, to study and resolve relations between population growth and the development of national economy in China, and especially to understand the necessity of population control since the system of agricultural production responsibility has been put into practice.

Ours is a developing country with a population of one billion people, of which 800 million are peasants. The population structure in our country shows that peasants are of the overwhelming majority--accounting for 85 percent of the total population. The agricultural labor force has more than 300 million people, which amounts to over 75 percent of the labor force in the entire country. In the 30 years from 1949 through 1978, 80 percent of the population increase has been in rural areas. Ours is still a country composed mainly of peasants. This is the state of our nation as well as our basic point of departure.

The implementation of the four modernizations is the central task of the whole nation. In the course of implementing the four modernizations, for the purpose of effectively keeping population growth under control, special attention should be paid to the study of the question of rural population. At present, following the practice of the system of agricultural production responsibility, some new problems have emerged in the population and family planning work which require immediate study and settlement. This is an important topic in current population science research.

The agricultural population must adapt to the development of agricultural production. Marxism holds that population production must be suited to material production, which is an objective law independent of man's will. The large population and the low level of development of productive forces in our country have become a sharp contradiction to the implementation of the four modernizations. At a time when we continue to adjust our national economy, we understand that one of its important aspects is to promptly adjust

the proportional relationship between both population and material production, particularly the relationship between the development of the agricultural population and agricultural production. In order to achieve this goal, it is necessary for us to start from the objective economic situation and economic laws to integrate with the actual population situation in our country, and to formulate effective measures and means of control which are suited to the actual rural situation so that the development of agricultural population can be suited to agricultural production and thereby accelerate the process of the four modernizations.

The reason why population production must adapt to material production and maintain a relative relationship between them is that there are inexorable internal relations between these two kinds of production. Since men are both producers and consumers, in the course of social reproduction, they, on the one hand, cooperate with each other and thus become the basic productive forces of society. As producers, only through combining themselves with the means of production can they engage in production and thus create material wealth for society. On the other hand, as the basic consumers of society, they are in need of food, clothing and consumer goods to exist and proceed with production. Moreover, the consumption level is determined by the quantity and structure of the population which, in turn, has a tremendous impact on the size, speed and direction of reproduction. In view of this, it can be seen that the relative relationship between both population and material productions must be suited to each other. This is the universal law existing in any society. According to the principles of dialectical materialism, the production of materials determines the production of mankind themselves. And the production of mankind themselves, in turn, reacts on the production of materials. This fact reflects the internal contradictions and interactions between these two kinds of production.

The agricultural population must be suited to the development of agricultural production because agriculture plays an important role in the whole national economy. Agricultural development as a principal supplier of the means of livelihood must adapt to the conditions of agricultural production, or even to the population development of the whole country so that they can promote each other and development harmoniously. Both the state of agricultural development and the condition of the peasants have an important bearing on economic development and consolidation of political power in our country. In order to gear agricultural population to the needs of agricultural development, consideration must be concentrated on two aspects: One is that population growth must be suited to the means of subsistence which agriculture is able to provide. Another is that the agricultural working population must correspond to the labor force agriculture can accommodate. With regard to the present situation of our country, it appears that there are some extremely contradictory factors in both aspects. First is the contradiction between population growth and the development of agricultural production. Calculating on the basis of the total grain output of our country in 1978, the per capita quota averaged something over 630 jin. Each agricultural laborer produced 2,080 jin of grain. In other words, the grain produced by each agricultural laborer can only feed three people including himself. In 1979, total grain output of the whole country registered a 9 percent increase over that in

1978. However, owing to population growth, the average per capita grain quota remained at something over 600 jin. Situations like this have limited the expansion of agricultural reproduction and directly affected the efforts to raise the living standards of the peasants.

Second is the contradiction between the yearly increase in agricultural population and the amount of labor as well as the working place. At present, agricultural labor productivity in our country is not high. Manual labor is the mainstay of agricultural labor. In agriculture, there is still a large labor force. However, due to the limited arable area, the means of production and the subject of labor in agriculture can no longer accommodate increases in the labor population. At the same time, the limited capacity of the cities to absorb the rural labor force has made the contradiction between the agricultural labor population and the laboring place more conspicuous, which has resulted in a surplus labor force in rural areas. The surplus labor force has also affected the improvement of agricultural labor productivity.

Since the implementation of the system of fixing output quotas for each household, we are faced with a population problem. The system of agricultural production responsibility in various forms, including the system of fixing output quotas for each household which is presently being carried out in rural areas is a necessary measure to maintain close links with the masses and to develop agricultural production. However, it has at the same time brought about new population problems which need immediate study and solution. We have conducted an investigation at the Shetang Commune of Tianshui County on matters concerning themselves and their population problem since implementing the system of agricultural production responsibility. Since the second half of the year before last, this commune has progressively established and perfected the system of agricultural production responsibility. However, some new problems in such aspects as population problem and family planning lie ahead of them: First is the contradiction between taking the household as a unit of production and population control as well as family planning. Due to changes in the style of management, the family planning process has somewhat been slackened, or even developed to a state of non-interference without anybody taking responsibility for it. Some commune members felt that with the implementation of the system of fixing output quotas for each household, every family is in need of labor force. More labor force can help them cultivate land and engage in sideline production. They can thus earn both money and grain for the betterment of their lives. Therefore, they are inclined to have more children than the prescribed limit. Second is the lack of appropriate measures to control population growth under the condition of changing situations. Since the implementation of the system of fixing output quotas for each household, some old measures of reward and punishment are no longer applicable and some of the new regulations are not realistic nor in line with local conditions. For instance, there used to be a rule that in rural areas, 10 percent of the labor workpoints of each couple should be deducted should they give birth to children beyond the prescribed limit. However, at brigades practicing the system of fixing output quotas for each household, remunerations are no longer calculated by workpoints, therefore the regulation of deducting then is no

longer calculated by workpoints, therefore the regulation of deducting then is no longer applicable. At present, it is stipulated that at brigades where the system of fixing output quotas for each household is practiced, 10 percent of the lots to be assigned to each couple having children beyond the prescribed limit should be deducted. With regard to brigades located in heavily populated areas where land is scarce, this regulation may obtain certain results. However, it will have little influence on brigades located in the vast and thinly populated mountainous areas. Third is that the contradiction between the management of fixed output quotas and the struggle to augment the labor force is comparatively more conspicuous, which has affected the proper placement and utilization of the labor force. Families having more children but fewer laborers often ask their children to quit school in order to raise cattle, mow grass, or do housework, while families having surplus laborers often try to find job opportunities themselves by either taking up odd-jobs elsewhere or engaging in sideline industries.

The central link for getting population under control is to strengthen leadership and adopt effective measures. The establishment of the socialist system in our country has, once and for all, abolished the root of relative population surplus resulting from the system of private ownership, and has provided the possibility for realizing planned birth control, reasonable placement of the labor force, and full employment. While we desire to alter the situation of inconsistency existing between population production and material production to meet the needs of agricultural modernization, we must, on the one hand, pay attention to agricultural production, and, on the other hand, make an effort to control the production of population. The relative relationship between agricultural population and agricultural production must be well adjusted so that the two can develop in a coordinated way. It is necessary to proceed from the actual situation to work out practical ways and means well accepted by the masses to control population growth and promote the implementation of agricultural modernization.

First, party leadership in family planning work should be strengthened. This is an important guarantee for implementing family planning. At the time when the system of agricultural production responsibility is to be further strengthened and perfected, the leadership at all levels must regard matters concerning population control and family planning as their daily routine and have someone specially assigned to take charge of the work. In the rural areas, commune party committees and brigade party branches should be called to strengthen their leadership in family planning work. New situations must be studied and new problems must be resolved so that population planning work can be implemented. In places practicing the system of fixing output quotas for each household, an erroneous laissez-faire attitude toward family planning work should resolutely be corrected.

Second, we must insist that we proceed from the actual situation to formulate some practical economic measures and carry out various population policies in order to guarantee fulfillment of the task of family planning. In the past, measures for providing incentives or imposing economic sanctions in rural areas have played a positive role in promoting family planning work. However, since the system of agricultural production responsibility has been

set up, although some of the original economic measures continue to be effective, there are still some which need to be supplemented or amended. It is not advisable to "insist on arbitrary uniformity." Policies such as starting to enroll a child in a nursery or school, seeking medical advice, recruiting workers or students, alloting residential lots, taking care of only children and their families, as well as the distribution policy concerning men and women enjoying equal pay for equal work and the policy for supporting "households enjoying the five guarantees" and the aged which were adopted for the purpose of getting the population under control should be firmly implemented in order to relieve the masses of worries concerning their families. Things must be done by making overall plans and all-round arrangements. We must plan out both material production and population production so that the two aspects of social reproduction may develop hand in hand. Only at the time when agricultural production has been well developed can the collective economy be consolidated and developed and the living standards of the peasants be improved, and thereby lay a solid material foundation for the expansion of agricultural reproduction and for the whole national economy. The control of agricultural population and the planned control of population growth will, in turn, promote the development of agricultural production and the improvement of the livelihood of the peasants. At the same time, the surplus labor force in rural areas must be organized and arranged in order to facilitate the development of cultural and educational work in rural areas for realizing the unity of quantity and quality of population so that the agricultural population may be suited to the development of agricultural production and thereby promote the realization of the four modernizations.

9560
CSO: 4005/607

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

AUTHORS URGED TO ACCURATELY DEPICT SOCIAL CONTRADICTIONS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Dec 81 p 5

[Article: "Positively Reflect the Life of [Building] the Four Modernizations; Correctly Depict the Contradictions in Society"]

[Text] The editorial department of the JOURNAL OF LITERATURE AND ART and the literature and art department of the PEOPLE'S DAILY held an informal conference recently to discuss the play "Who Is the Stronger?" created and performed by the Peking People's Art Theater (authored by Liang Bingkun [2733 4426 1024] and directed by Lin Zhaohua [2651 0340 5478]), and considered that this is a good play that positively reflects the life of building the four modernizations, and is brave in exposing, and able to portray accurately, the contradictions in society.

Attending and speaking at the informal conference were comrades Cao Yu, Wu Xie, Zhao Xun, Lu Peng, Feng Zi, Shu Qiang, Diao Guangtan, Chen Mo, Su Shuyang, Gu Xiang, Liu Mengxi, Lin Hanbiao, Kang Hongxing, Wang Jingyu, Tian Fen, as well as Yue Zhihe of the disciplinary committee of the Beijing Municipal Power Supply Office and Wang Richu of the Beijing Municipal Cotton Textile Mill No 2. The meeting was presided over by Comrades Feng Mu [7458 3668] and Miu Junjie [4924 0193 2638].

The comrades participating in the informal conference considered that the play "Who Is the Stronger" had achieved delightful results in reflecting the fervent life of building the four modernizations and presenting the contradictions and conflicts in society in our new period of historic changes, as well as maintaining the artistic method of revolutionary realism. The successes of the play's performance, with regard to answering some new questions about both the creation of plays at present, and even literary and artistic creation in general, such as how to correctly understand the party Central Committee's series of policies and programs in the new period (including programs and policies relating to literature and art), how to positively develop the area of new subject matter that reflects the building of the four modernizations, how to deal correctly with the relationship between eulogizing [good things] and revealing [bad things], how to do a better job of portraying the image of the new socialist man, and overcome the tendency in literary and artistic creation to avoid contradiction and conflict; provided a beneficial revelation for us.

Positively reflect the new life of building the four modernizations.

The comrades taking part in the informal conference first of all fully affirmed that "Who Is the Stronger?" is a good work that positively reflects the true-to-life subject matter of building the four modernizations, and that it was extremely effective in reviving and promoting our fighting tradition that plays should have an intimate connection with reality.

In their speeches, Comrades Zhao Xun, Shu Qiang, and Feng Zi said that the subject matter presented in "The Stronger" is the life that all of us are quite familiar with, and that the problems met with by the protagonist are of the kind that everyone sympathizes with. The author keenly grasps the problem of the "art of exploiting relationships" that people in the course of building the four modernizations frequently meet with and are indignant about; concentrates the strong feeling, found universally among the masses, of demanding that this kind of improper practice be changed; and ties them in with the future of building the four modernizations and the fate of the party and nation. Proceeding from this angle, he extracted the incisive theme that the dictim . "If party practices are not correct, the four modernizations cannot be accomplished" must engage in a decisive struggle with the "art of exploiting relationships"; hence, he imbued the entire play with a strong spirit of life, and struck a responsive chord in the audience. It must be said that this play was totally bound up with the mood of the people, and expressed the heartfelt wishes of the broad masses.

Comrade Kang Hongxing said that "The Stronger" was so well received by the masses "because its subject matter was taken directly from the area of life that reflects the building of the four modernizations. At present, everyone in the country is most concerned about building the four modernizations, and whether the building of the four modernizations proceeds quickly or slowly, well or poorly, and whether it succeeds or fails, is directly connected with the future of our state and people, and also connected with the future of all of us. For this reason, the people and things that well up in the torrent of building the four modernizations are those that are most capable of affecting people's hearts, and our playwrights should afford them more enthusiasm."

Comrades Cao Yu, Wu Xue, and Zhao Xun emphatically pointed out in their speeches that during the recent period in playwrighting and even in literary and artistic creation generally, along with the appearance of some good and comparatively good works, the following tendency has also appeared: a good many authors have vied with each other to write about love, historical subjects, the relationship of China and foreign countries, and famous personages, yet do not place enough importance on the actual subject matter of the building of the four modernizations, to the extent that some comrades even feel that "if you get too close to the four modernizations, you cannot see clearly," or that "it's easy to make mistakes," pointing out that "one must maintain one's distance from real life." This kind of tendency and attitude is cause for concern because it directly violates the requirement that literature and art positively reflect real life, and can only cause the art of writing plays to develop in the wrong direction. Comrade Wang Richu said: "Our workers and cadres working at the grassroots level welcome plays that

touch on actual subject matter. Different subject matter in literary and artistic works have a different influence on reality. It is not that we aren't allowed to write about love; it's just that, compared with the subject matter of "The Stronger" that so directly reflects the subject matter of building the four modernizations, and its influence on the enterprise of socialism and the future course of our history, the impact is not the same." Comrade Lu Peng said: "At present in the life of our society, in the general mood of society, there are some problems that everyone is concerned about, like party practices, and the "art of exploiting relationships"; there are also the problems of security, and finding employment. People have not seen this kind of subject matter for some time, and authors are a bit timid and have misgivings about dealing with it. The appearance of "The Stronger" has opened up a new area for us, proving that this kind of subject matter not only should be presented, but can be presented extremely forcefully and movingly.

Comrades Wu Xue, Shu Qiang, and Liu Mengxi analyzed the various causes that have brought about this state of affairs, considering that playwrights should have a very clear idea of their particular social responsibility. Faced with the building of the four modernizations, are we active participants, or mere spectators? Shall we take up our pens and boldly enter the fray, or shall we avoid contradictions and go back to ancient times, to foreign countries, to the fringes of life, or to look for a little universe within our private worlds? In this respect, the sense of responsibility of the author of "The Stronger" towards the building of the four modernizations is worthy of emulation.

Accurately portray the contradictions and conflicts of the new period.

The comrades attending the informal conference gave an enthusiastic appraisal of the bold exploratory spirit and realistic creative attitude displayed by "The Stronger" in touching upon the great contradictions and conflicts of this period of historical transition.

Many comrades pointed out in their statements that "The Stronger" from beginning to end penetrated to the heart of the intense and complex contradiction and conflict between those who engage in improper practices and those who resist them--that it is a play that deals with problems, a social play. However, the author, in revealing the phenomena of the morbid condition of society, all along placed the positive forces that are engaged in a struggle with these morbid phenomena in an important position. On the one hand, he incisively described the universality, seriousness, and harmfulness of the "art of exploiting relationships"; on the other hand, he placed the latter in a position of being despised and overcome, because it represents only a minor current, a countercurrent, the dark current of the whole of society. The author did not mistakenly place the blame for bringing about these unhealthy phenomena on the socialist system or the party's line, programs, and policies, but accurately unearthed their social causes, which have nothing whatever to do with socialism, in the corrupt ideology of the exploitive classes. Due to the fact that the author knew how to exercise restraint in treating these subjects, he imbued his play with true artistic force, enabling those who saw it to be inspired and feel their confidence increase.

Comrade Lu Peng said: "For some time, a good many authors have been asking, can the seamy side of actual life be presented, after all? In what way would it be possible to present it? I feel that the creation of the play "The Stronger" has answered this question very well. Without any doubt, the dark side of society should definitely be portrayed; however, the question of how it is presented is a question of how an author understands and evaluates these negative phenomena." Comrade Lu Peng analyzed the basic attitude of the author of "The Stronger" on this question. He said: "First, the author did not make an exhibition or a great presentation of these negative phenomena but, filled with loathing and contempt for them, revealed the masses' feelings of hatred and disgust for them. Second, this work revealed the fact that, despite the universal significance of these phenomena, in society as a whole they are still only a minor current, and occupy an illegal position. Third, the work accurately answered the question of the origins of these phenomena. They are not the products of the socialist system, or the products of the party's line, programs, or policies, but are in conflict with the will and wishes of our party. For example, the judgment the work gives of Section Chief Xiang Ni; having done something wrong, he is afraid, and has no choice but to try and conceal his ugly deeds in every way possible. Fourth, these phenomena, in the play, are in the process of being resisted, reduced, and overcome. In this way, this work, along with being bold in revealing the dark side of things, is also able to correctly recognize and evaluate them, and forcefully portray the struggle between good and evil forces.

Comrade Gu Xiang said: "For some time, in certain works and theoretical viewpoints, there has appeared a certain deviation with regard to the understanding and application of revolutionary realism. Some comrades equate realism with exposing the seamy side of the life of society. And there are also some works which occupy an erroneous standpoint in viewing the dark side of society, giving a distorted description of the nature of our society. For this reason, it is really necessary to give these erroneous tendencies exactly the kind of criticism they deserve. But in criticizing this kind of creative tendency we cannot, by implication, deny the judgmental function that socialist literature and art must have. We are opposed to exaggerating negative, dark phenomena in socialist life, or ignoring the brighter side which, generally speaking, occupies the dominant position in society; but we must also, in our creative work, guard against avoiding contradictions, and not daring to look squarely at contradictory phenomena; we must be vigilant, lest the possibility of the doctrine of "no conflict" raise its head. The play "The Stronger," in upholding our tradition of revolutionary realism, has been most enlightening.

The comrades attending the conference believe that the times have bestowed a glorious mission upon playwrights--that of using the writing style of revolutionary realism to depict the typical figure of the pioneer of the new age. The creation of the figure of factory director Yuan in the play "The Stronger" has added luster to the picture gallery of socialist personages.

Comrades Kang Hongxing and Tian Fen felt that factory director Yuan is the typical figure of the kind of pioneer that appeared in the particular historical environment that followed the Third Plenum. He is an old cadre who has received many years of party education who possesses a lofty sense of

responsibility and a strong party spirit. This play captured the complex internal contradiction of factory director Yuan in combining its portrayal of both his struggle against the "art of exploiting relationships" and his yielding to it. He is no lofty, totally perfect hero; he is humorous and optimistic; both capable and experienced, and naive; he has individuality, and a family life. The difficulties and contradictions that he encounters are those that everyone who makes an effort to bring about the four modernizations may encounter. His ideology is tangible, comprehensible, and clear-cut, so that the audience finds him thoroughly likable. He represented the advanced class, and advanced ideology and, as such, carried out a conscientious struggle against the sordid things on society.

Comrade Gu Xiang said that we must affirm that the plays dealing with social problems that have appeared over the last few years have had a positive social effect, and acknowledge the strong and estimable sense of historical mission that the authors had in creating them. In looking back over them, however, we see that some plays dealt with problems, but had no characters. With the passage of time and the change in circumstances, these plays no longer attract people's notice. The deepening of the whole question of realism by "The Stronger" consists in its depiction of the artistic figure of factory director Yuan, who possesses the characteristics peculiar to the new age. Comrade Su Shuyang pointed out that at present there exists a view that does not accept the idea that the socialist age possesses a new form of hero, and advocate the viewpoint that wants to cease making heroes out of our characters. The appearance of "The Stronger" has really struck home regarding these malpractices of the times that occur in literary and artistic creation.

Comrade Gu Xiang felt that the success of the portrayal of the figure of factory director Yuan had crucial significance for the success of the play as a whole. The planting on the stage of the figure of a pioneer of the new age such as factory director Yuan enabled this play to place in correct juxtaposition a whole series of opposites--the eulogizing of good things and the exposure of bad, the good versus the dark side of society, appearance and substance, and the part versus the whole, thus ensuring the positive ideological direction of the work.

Many comrades considered that factory director Yuan was the central character of the entire play, who from beginning to end occupied a leading position in the contradictions of the play. Therefore, the characters of factory director Yuan, Fang Jing, and Wu Zong together formed a positive, elevating force for the entire play.

Make an effort to present a simple, unadorned writing technique.

The comrades attending the informal conference considered that "The Stronger" employed a simple, unadorned, realistic technique of presentation, one that sought naturalness and truth, and that this is very desirable. Artists should rely on deep ideological forces and a high level of artistic charm to affect their audience, and cannot use vulgar, low-class appeal to attract audiences.

Comrade Su Shuyang said: "This play is realistic, and close to life. To put it simply, true realism must necessarily touch every part of the audience's heart." "The audience, in attending the theater, wants to enter into the creative process together with the author, the director, and the performers, and ponder and examine problems together with them. This, then, makes a demand on authors, that they overcome their habit in creative work of violating the realistic mode of presentation. The performance of certain plays has already developed this fault to an insufferable degree. Exaggerated stage dialogue, overly dramatic action, and inappropriate stage management have caused the theater to depart from life more and more. "The Stronger," in its direction and performance, sought to achieve simplicity and naturalness, and required of the performers that they perform as if they were not acting. Although it is a play dealing with social problems, there is no stage posturing or bombastic speeches."

Some comrades said that though "The Stronger" is a play that attacks the maladies in society, nevertheless the author provides it with the artistic style of a comedy, and this is in harmony with the wishes of the people. Comrade Cao Yu said: "This play has a marvelous structure, and an extremely convoluted plot. Now, the characters are at the end of their tether; now, everything seems rosy again; at one point, the lights are bright; at another, extinguished; the factory, at one point, is at work; at another point, work has ceased; and the whole is a literary work centered on the problem of the "art of exploiting relationships." Comrade Cao Yu also praised the play's stage design for its simplicity and economy; the stage props were convenient to carry, which is highly recommendable.

Those attending the conference also pointed out that at present there is a bad tendency to rely upon vulgar, low-class appeal to attract audiences. Comrade Lin Hanbiao said: "There is a list of plays, the advertisement for which reads: 'Brothers annihilating each other, sisters becoming enemies, husbands and wives deserting each other for someone else, the meeting of enemies, passions and hatred aroused, they want to stop themselves but cannot.' A serious, responsible artist absolutely cannot take this path." The comrades considered that we absolutely cannot allow this kind of unhealthy tendency to spread unchecked.

Uphold the principle of going deeply into life.

The comrades attending the conference considered that the fact that the author of this play had gone deeply into life for a year and 3 months, and had had both bitter and sweet practical experience in order to nurture and complete the play "The Stronger" proves that this is a necessary prerequisite for the success of artistic creation. Authors should participate in the fervent building of the four modernizations, and create more and better works for the motherland and for the people.

From what does the inspirational force of literary and artistic works derive? It derives from life itself. Comrade Lu Peng said: "The author of "The Stronger" went deeply into life, and made his investigations among more than a hundred workers and cadres in order to gather material. He adopted an

attitude of true realism, and saw the beauty, and the power, of life." Comrades Wu Xue, Diao Guangtan, and Chen Mo asked why it is that subject matter that is so far removed from life appears. One of the causes of this is that authors have not gone deeply into life sufficiently. Some authors consider that present-day topics are difficult to write about, and that the appropriate time for a call for authors to go deeply into the lives of workers, peasants, and soldiers has past. Hence, they sit in their rooms and revise novels, and take some material from the newspapers and use it as a basis to write plays, with the result that the plays are quite unsuccessful. Once socialist literature and art becomes separated from real life, and authors begin to write about topics they are not personally familiar with, then only unformed and wooden productions will result. There is no enterprise at all in avoiding real life.

Comrade Chao Xun said "Only by going deeply into life can we truly understand the people and feel the pulse of life. Even if we are writing a historical play, we should go among the masses to understand their thoughts and feelings."

Comrade Wang Richu of the Beijing Municipal Cotton Textile No 2 said: "Before the "great cultural revolution," the old author Comrade Meng Chao came to our factory to go deeply into the life there. At the time, we knew that his play "Miss Li Hui" had been severely criticized, but none of the workers of cadres looked down upon him in the slightest. He had formed a very good relationship with us and, afterwards, when we learned that he had been struggled to death during the cultural revolution, everyone was very hurt. Our workers welcome authors coming to our factories to enter deeply into life. We must definitely receive them like relatives, and create the proper conditions for their investigations, study, and creative work.

Suggestions and hopes.

The comrades participating in the informal conference carried out a detailed analysis of "The Stronger" in a manner of seeking truth from facts and, though they acknowledged the play's success, they also pointed out its insufficiencies.

Comrade Feng Zi pointed out that: "Since 'The Stronger' brings up the question of who is the stronger, it must provide an explicit answer to the question. Although the typical characters in this play are well depicted, it seems the typical circumstances are not depicted effectively enough. Typical circumstances does not indicate merely set design, but means depicting the relationships among people on the inside and those on the outside, between those above and those below. In the play as a whole, the attitude of the masses toward right and wrong is not depicted adequately. Comrades Shu Qiang and Yue Zhihe felt that the character of Fang Jingshen was supposed to portray the assistant secretary of a disciplinary committee, and yet she did not possess a clear sense of right and wrong, and actually seemed more like a virtuous wife or mother. The figure of Wu Zong was rather generalized. Due to the fact that the typical circumstances in this play were not presented thoroughly enough, the solution of the question of who is the stronger did not appear very clear-cut or forceful.

Comradex Wu Xue, Shu Shuyang, and Chen Mo brought up some suggestions on the technique of artistic presentation in depicting good characters and dealing with the subtle relationships between them, pointing out that "this play merely depicted a 'loach' who is happy in his wickedness, but did not explain the reason for his wickedness. If the author had done more to depict the traces of his character's collusion with all sorts of people in society, then he would have been able to expose the social basis of the 'art of exploiting relationships' more effectively."

Each of the comrades attending the conference expressed his own views in examining the conclusion of "The Stronger."

One view considered that a degenerate of the "loach" variety, who is a serious obstacle to the building of the four modernizations, should have been restrained [in the play] by the law, thus giving the people an opportunity to vent their anger, and giving the audience a greater satisfaction.

Another view held that the fact that factory director Yuan's struggle did not end in a complete victory served all the better to express the complexity and immense difficulty of this struggle, and this also was not lacking in profound significance.

Yet another opinion felt that literary and artistic works must depict good forces as occupying the leading position, regardless of how the ending is handled. If only we depict a flesh-and-blood new socialist man, then we will be able to display healthy tendencies overcoming evil ones.

Comrade Wang Richu of the Beijing municipal Cotton Textile Mill No 2 said: "Our authors must broaden their outlook, and become bolder. Our cadres on the industrial front are also frequently criticized, but that doesn't matter. Countless facts since the Third Plenum tell us that our present party Central Committee is completely trustworthy." He also expressed the hope that authors would write more about industrial topics: "some authors consider that factory life is monotonous, and that the process of production, and technical terminology, are too complicated. This is actually a misunderstanding. Factory life is rich and varied, and writing on industrial topics has great possibilities.

9634
CSO: 4005/458

FU SHENQI, CHINA'S DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT REVIEWED

Hong Kong CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI [SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 2, Feb 82 pp 88-90

[Article by Chou Lu-i [0719 7627 6654]]

[Text] "I have long known that disaster will befall a person who opens the path out of necessity, but it has been decreed by fate. It tells me that at any time and in any place, freedom will not be won on the battlefield without sacrifice. For the total liberation of all mankind, I am willing to perish. I know that I can and am willing to do so. I know clearly that there is no smooth highway on the journey to the realm of ideals, and only those who have the courage to climb the rugged and dangerous path and struggle vigorously will attain the goal."

These are the words of Fu Shenqi [0265 3947 1142], a figure active in China's popular democracy movement. Fu Shenqi is fairly young--probably 27 years old this year. (According to his campaign circular, he was born in Shanghai in 1954). The words cited above are from his "Declaration of Life" written when he was barely 20 years old.

Recently, this writer received an article, via different hands, written jointly by Fu Shenqi's two brothers and one sister. The article, entitled "Family Disaster--Social Inquiry, Our Brother Fu Shenqi," gives a good description of the background and ideology of the famous soldier of the democracy movement. Reportedly, it was written upon the request of the Shanghai municipal public security bureau for a "profile of Fu Shenqi." What we see in it is a bright image filled with vitality, enthusiasm and ideal.

Difficult Democracy Movement; Momentous Significance

All those interested in the development of China's democracy movement know that, in April or May this year, just after the 5th anniversary of the "5 April Movement," China's popular democracy movement, after a little more than 2 years since its inception at the Beijing democratic mass meeting on "25 November" 1978, finally encountered the full-scale crackdown by the Chinese communist government. Activists of the movement and editors of "popular publications" in various areas were arrested one after another, and even many who had read

the "popular publications" (mimeographed material) were investigated and questioned. After traveling 1,000 li from Shanghai to Beijing and joining several hundred activists in the democracy movement from all areas in the country in holding a commemoration meeting of the "5 April Movement" in front of the "Monument to the People's Heroes" in Tiananmen Square (according to foreign dispatch from Beijing, about 300 plus people participated in the public meeting demanding democracy), Fu Shenqi, the most active popular democratic figure in Shanghai, the first spontaneous candidate representing worker and popular organizations in the campaign for "people's congress" below the county level, and the chief editor of RESPONSIBILITY, organ publication of the "China National Association of Popular Publications," was arrested by the Chinese communist government.

We know that the popular democracy movement in Shanghai had a much weaker foundation than Beijing. Its main components, such as the "Democracy Wall" in the People's Square, the "large-letter posters" and "popular publications" before their suppression, and the spontaneous campaign activities for basic level "people's congresses" below the county level on issues connected with assembly and association and with the movement of young intellectuals returning to the city against unemployment and for employment, had no organic links. It was reported, for instance, that Fu Shenqi was not aware of the fact that Fudan University students Zhang Shengyou [1728 0524 0645] and Xu Bangtai [1776 6721 3141] were in the campaign for basic level "people's congresses," though they were both in Shanghai city, and only read about it in a Hong Kong newspaper which happened to be brought to Shanghai. Only then did he pay attention to the matter and decided to plunge directly into the election activities.

When communication in society was so cut off, the difficulty for the development of transunit and transsocial district activities was unimaginable. For this very reason, we can understand, on the one hand, the valuable and essentially directional significance of the democracy movement as a social and national movement in a society of isolated "unit-ism" and, on the other, one reason for the failure of the mainland democracy movement to build a foundation of truly organic strengths. Finally, by the time when only the "popular publication movement" was left of the "democracy movement," the government found it extremely easy to make arrests and enforce suppressive measures. However, it does not mean that the majority of the Chinese people does not demand democracy or support the democracy movement. One can be sure that the democracy movement gained a broad popular sympathy. However, because of the negative effect of the traditional "little common man" state of mind and because of the great lack of an inherent organic nature in China's society, it was difficult for a popular movement spontaneously emerging in such a society to grow organically. --Viewed from a certain angle, it can be regarded as a structural phenomenon of a system whereby the "state" is strengthened and "society" weakened.

People with Minds; Pioneers First

However, by now, the platitude that the Chinese people, for the sake of first solving the problem of "food," must sacrifice "democracy" and all things secondary to "food" has long become outdated. Besides the stomach, the people also

have a mind. "The people are no longer hopelessly stupid."--Naturally, those first standing up can only be a small number of "pioneering" individuals among the people. Around the time when the Party Central Committee issued the "Number 9 Document," the situation of full-scale suppression of the popular democracy movement had become critical. In a declaration entitled "the Current Situation and Our Attitude" published in the name of the editorial department in the April 1981 issue of RESPONSIBILITY (a national publication), organ publication of the "China National Association of Popular Publications," chief editor Fu Shenqi wrote:

"We believe that RESPONSIBILITY will become a banner for democracy and the legal system on this land of China. It will exist as long as the realm of democracy and the legal system is not attained. It may topple in the hands of some people, but it will rise again in the hands of others. We may rest assured that, in this important historical period of ours, we need those who can bear the historical 'responsibility,' and they will not be lacking."

Fu Shenqi himself is one of them. Until his arrest, he rivaled Guangzhou's Wang Xizhe [3769 1585 0772] and Beijing's Xu Wenli [1776 2429 4539] in influence and fame, and they were known as the big three in the entire domestic popular democracy movement.--An "old Red Guard," Wang Xizhe, the main writer for the LI YIZHE [2621 0001 0772] LARGE-LETTER POSTERS, one of the most qualified theoreticians among the people and the best known international figure, produced wide repercussions in the whole country 7 years ago. (The Chinese communist government launched "criticisms" in many units on a nationwide scale). The oldest among them and a onetime member of the Liberation Army, Xu Wenli was one of the responsible persons of the 5 APRIL FORUM, a popular publication in Beijing with the widest circulation in North China and the greatest influence. Though the youngest among the three, Fu Shenqi is the most skillful in concentratively expressing the characteristics of the mainland democracy movement of 2 plus years.

Zhenxing Association; Large-Letter Posters

Forming Associations: After graduating from middle school, Fu Shenqi joined the power machinery plant as a worker. Subsequently, he studied for 1 year in the Shanghai Fourth Teachers' College, but left school in 1978 due to illness. It happened to be the time when "Spring of Beijing" stirred up a national democracy movement, and there were responses in Shanghai. Fu Shenqi actively joined this spontaneous popular movement and sponsored and organized the "Zhenxing Association." Immediately thereafter, he joined the "Shanghai Young People's Economic Research Association." "Zhenxing Association" was dissolved not long afterward, reportedly because Deng Xiaoping mistook it for Shanghai's "Democratic Discussion Association" (see Deng's speech on 31 March 1979) and because it was all along considered by certain Shanghai party bureaucrats as Fu Shenqi's "reactionary" appendage. (The "Democratic Discussion Association" was one of the first popular associations banned by the government after the rise of Shanghai's popular democracy movement. Fu Shenqi announced time and again in his "Election Bulletin" that he had nothing to do with it, but Deng Xiaoping made an incorrect reprimane based on incorrect reports.)

According to Fu Shenqi's own words, "the two purposes of 'Zhenxing Association,'" which was formed on 25 November 1978, "were: (1) revitalize and further the socialist literature; (2) promote and develop the socialist democratic system. Its members were all young people, mostly League members (Note: Fu Shenqi himself is a Communist Youth Leaguer) and some League cadres. In the name of the association, we posted three large-letter posters in the People's Square: (1) 'Letter to the Citizens of Shanghai;' (2) 'an Issue Deserving Attention;' (3) 'Announcement on the Formation of the Association.' There was nothing slightly 'reactionary.' Subsequently, the 'Zhenxing Association' was dissolved; it no longer exists." (See "Election Bulletin," Number 7, published in May 1980 when Fu Shenqi was campaigning for "people's congress.").

Chief Editor of VOICE OF DEMOCRACY and RESPONSIBILITY

Running Publications: Fu Shenqi was one of the founders of Shanghai's popular publication VOICE OF DEMOCRACY (started in January 1979). By December 1979, "due to various reasons, it voluntarily suspended publication for the time being" after a total of 6 issues. Its third issue was reprinted in excerpts by the Beijing popular publication 5 APRIL FORUM and distributed in the whole country. According to Fu Shenqi, when Shanghai's government paper JIEFANG RIBAO mentioned on 10 April 1979 such popular publications as VOICE OF THE PEOPLE, "it only said that it was a 'spontaneous' publication, without preceding it with the word 'reactionary.'" However, when Fu Shenqi later on came out to campaign for "people's congress," Wang Bohua [3769 2672 5478], party committee secretary of the plant where he worked, openly attacked VOICE OF THE PEOPLE as a "reactionary publication."

By September 1980, the "China National Association of Popular Publications" was formed in Guangzhou and published RESPONSIBILITY as its organ publication. In principle, the editors of popular publications in the various big cities were to take turns as the chief editor. When Fu Shenqi was arrested in Beijing in April 1981, he was still its chief editor.--Less than a month before his arrest, he published a declaration in the name of its editorial department:

"Popular publications are called 'germs' and 'viruses' and products of anarchism.... Meanwhile, 'crimes against the four basic principles,' 'crimes of disrupting stability and unity' and 'anti-party and anti-socialism crimes' seem to have become the new criminal law. All these have been accomplished by bypassing the 'political consultative conference' and the 'people's congress.' Isn't it the evil conduct of promoting undisguised unconstitutionalism on the part of certain Chinese communist leaders in the name of the central government? We feel that the issue of popular publications can only be solved by legal means. Therefore, the government must immediately promulgate a 'publication law' or 'provisional regulations' and let the courts of the various areas or the Supreme People's Court decide the issue of 'legitimacy' or 'illegitimacy' of the individual publications. It is hoped that the RESPONSIBILITY editorial department... will immediately organize the 'China National Association of Popular Publications,' the 'various organizations' and the broad democratic soldiers into a delegation to proceed to Beijing and negotiate openly and directly with the leaders of the Party Central Committee and

the government." The arrest of Fu Shenqi in April in Beijing was because of his participation in the 5th anniversary meeting of the "5 April Movement" sponsored by the personages of Beijing's democracy movement and even more because of his attempt to find the way to negotiate for the "legal position" of popular publications with the responsible persons of the central government.

Campaign for People's Congress; Worker Pioneers

Campaigning: The direct election of delegates to "people's congresses" below the county level may be considered the changes resulting from the "Deng Xiaoping reform" in the political aspect. Though the substantive implication is limited, it can be called an improvement. Precisely at this relatively "democratic" breach, the popular democracy movement found another arena of development. According to what we know, the spontaneous candidates and those "predecided" by the party campaigned against one another for the basic level "people's congresses." Nationwide, the competition was keenest in Shanghai, Beijing, Changsha and Guiyang, but mostly participated by college students (in Changsha it developed into demonstration marches by several thousand students), while among those participating as workers, Fu Shenqi of Shanghai and Wang Yifeng [3769 1473 1496] of Qingyuan, Hebei, must be considered the most well-known.--Things come in pairs: in the course of competition, they all encountered calumniations and illegal measures by certain party figures.

After Shanghai city began the election of delegates to the new session of the "people's congresses" in April 1980, Fu Shenqi, at the end of April, plunged into the campaign activities of the first electoral district (the Shanghai Power Machinery Plant) of Nanshi ward where he belonged. From 29 April to 14 June, he successively published more than 10 "Election Bulletins," proposing to the voters a campaign program of solving the housing issue of urban residents (especially the young people of marriageable age), fighting for the annual vacation system of the laboring masses, castigating and opposing special privileges and bureaucracy, and introducing reform of enterprise unit economic system (he made a special study of the urban housing issue) and demanding fulfillment of "the right of the people to exercise, through their own representatives, the power to supervise the policies and work of the party in power --the Communist Party--and the various governmental organs."

As a result, even though the party personnel forced and lured the voters with the issue of "investigating capitalism" and continuously attacked him as a "reactionary," Fu Shenqi, at the first round voting, was second as an "unofficial candidate" (636 votes out of a total of 1,480). The said electoral district was entitled to two delegates, but as Fu did not receive more than half of the votes, there should have been, according to Article 38 of the "Election Law," a second round voting. However, in view of the fact that the possibility of his being elected to the "people's congress" was very high, the party called off the second round voting without giving a reason, and made a "predecided" candidate, who received less votes than him, a "delegate."

Bitter Hatred for Dictatorship; Advocacy of Democracy

Theoretical Explorations: While paying serious attention to practice, Fu Shenqi also values theories equally. From the material written by his brothers and sister and a commemorative article entitled "Eternal Glory to Martyr Wang Shenyou [3769 3947 6788]"written by him, we find that he studies hard and has been greatly influenced by the Russian People's Will Party (such as Chernyshevsky)as well as classic Marxist-Leninist books. Meanwhile, in the course of his ideological growth, Wang Shenyou (a student of Huadong Teachers' University and an "old Red Guard," was "criticized and denounced" in Shanghai's citywide broadcasting), who was arrested during the time of the "gang of four," but actually executed by shooting after its downfall, influenced him throughout his entire life.

Though most of his works belong in the category of political commentaries, Fu Shenqi also wrote a theoretical work entitled "Democracy and Socialism" which can represent his basic thinking (published in No 5, 1980, COMMUNICATIONS OF ACADEMIC FRIENDS, Guangzhou, with Wang Xizhe as the chief editor, and reprinted in full in No 2, NEW SOCIETY, Hong Kong). In the article, Fu Shenqi made clear at the very beginning that "all my contemporaries with brains are paying close attention to or showing concern over this issue: Democracy and socialism." He vigorously criticized "Eastern dictatorship," "dictatorial system," "dictatorial state" and the "Soviet model," and felt sure that "doubtlessly, all countries will, by way of democratic republicanism, move toward socialism, but in the process, the concrete courses followed by them are not necessarily completely identical.... Today, all the paths of the proletariat lead to democratic socialism." What he advocates is a certain democratic and humanitarian socialist path and system.

Representative of Democracy Movement; a True Free Man

In view of his positive manifestations in forming associations, running publications, campaigning for elections and doing theoretical explorations, the basic aspects of China's popular democracy movement, Fu Shenqi is indeed symbolic and representative to a certain extent. We will conclude this article with a passage from something written by him when he was 20 years old. In this passage, we can more or less glimpse the mental state of Fu Shenqi as a "man."

"I shall be able to proudly declare that nothing can stop me from becoming a man free in my innermost being; a true soul will never die."

6080
CSO: 4005/616

LINKAGE BETWEEN CHINA'S MILITARY OUTLAY, QUALITY EXAMINED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 82 pp 14-17

[Article by staff special correspondent Wan Bu [5502 2975]: "Communist China's Military Expenditures and the Quality of Its Armed Forces"]

[Text] Year by Year the Figure Falls

Will China's military expenditure for this year increase or decrease?

This is a question of concern to certain people overseas, and is also a question of extreme concern to several millions of people on the mainland, viz, the officers and men of the PLA (of course, ordinary people are also concerned).

Based on the figures made public by the 3d and 4th sessions of the 5th NPC, China's military expenditure is falling year by year.

In 1979--22.27 billion yuan (in renminbi, as are the following)
In 1980--19.33 billion yuan
In 1981--16.87 billion yuan

What has been the reaction of the armed forces to the drop in funds?

Backing by the Entire Armed Forces?

From the relevant news items carried by the official news agency one sees that the reduction in the cost of national defense seems to be received with an attitude of support. A 3 December XINHUA report said: Yang Dezhi, PLA chief of staff, "when speaking of the fairly big reduction in military expenditure this year as compared to last year, said the entire PLA firmly supports the state's readjustment plan, its reduction of expenditures, and its future limiting of the use of funds to the most necessary places, and guarantees that the armed forces training mission will be fulfilled." This XINHUA dispatch was reporting the unanimous support of the PLA leaders attending the 4th Session of the 5th NPC for Zhao Ziyang's government work report delivered at the session.

Does this mean there are absolutely no contradictions of one sort or another within the entire PLA regarding the reduction in military expenditure?

Voices of Dissatisfaction

No. There are always contradictions. For example in the past 1 or 2 years, personnel retrenchments have appeared in certain units. Where do people who have been retrenched go? Some of them return to civilian jobs, basically to governmental law departments. They either become officers of law courts or cadres in public security departments. Generally, these people are not very happy about being ordered to take civilian jobs, because this means they have to learn the jobs from the beginning, and to them this is a big nuisance and burden.

Once when I was on a train on the Beijing-Guangzhou line, I conversed with several PLA cadres. They had a lot of complaints about the correct policy of the central authorities, and told me that their daily mess allowance was 2 mao less (their 'common speech' was mixed with a strong Hunanese accent, and therefore it is hard for this writer to assert that he didn't mishear what they said). I don't know whether they described the true situation, but I felt that this matter was one of the contradictions caused by the reduction in military expenditure, albeit not a big one.

The Main Problem in the Army

The main problem within the armed forces is not that the military expenditure is falling year by year. If this were the main problem, then there would not have been for 3 years in a row a considerably larger drop year by year. That is to say, the CCP Central Committee would immediately discover this problem and appropriately deal with it.

Then, what is the main problem within the army?

What looks like the main problem is that within the armed forces the "leftist" ideology either occupies the superior position or causes a disruptive effect.

We can "dissect the sparrow"--in other words, cite an example--by looking at a unit.

The Example of the Capital Construction Engineering Corps

Now let us look at the situation in the Capital Construction Engineering Corps.

On 6 December, RENMIN RIBAO published an interesting piece of news, saying that a PLA fighter, when digging a trench for a central heating pipe at Xi'an's "Zhi Yuan," the old residence of Yang Hucheng--who together with Zhang Xueliang [the Young Marshal] initiated the "Xi'an Incident" in which Chiang Kai-shek and other Kuomintang generals were arrested and held captive--dug up two pieces of gold ore worth about 200,000 yuan in renminbi. This fighter handed the gold over to the state and gave his reward money to disaster-area relief. This PLA fighter is a member of a certain unit of the Capital Construction Engineering Corps.

The Capital Construction Engineering Corps is a new service arm. In the form of conducting a military operation, it engages in economic construction work. In essence it is part of the PLA, but it has the characteristic of "having both production and militia duties, and can both work and fight, with work being primary" (a policy formulated by the CCP Central Committee). The nature and mission of this corps are clear, but within it, unexpectedly, some cadres have developed an attitude of doubt or even opposition to the above-mentioned policy of the CCP Central Committee.

Opposition to the Policy of the Central Authorities

These people especially oppose the part that says "with work being primary." They say that the PLA has its own characteristics. This army is guided by Mao Zedong Thought, including taking "class struggle as the key link" and criticizing the "theory of productive forces," they say that if work is made primary, class struggle is abandoned and there is a manifestation of the theory of productive forces. From its outset, the Capital Construction Engineering Corps was put under the leadership of the departments concerned in the State Council and the local party committees. Because its mission is to engage in work based on the economic construction required by State Council or the local party committees, while in the process of work, it should strive to master the technology and knowledge of production. However, within the corps there are some cadres who do not agree with this way of doing things. They do not respect the leadership of the departments concerned of the State Council and the local party committees, and even want to run independent kingdoms. That is, according to the original formula for the corps, they do not want a proper work-production command system and they want to cut back the technical force. They do not want to be engineers for the departments concerned of the State Council or for the localities. In reality, the idea is that they do not want the party's absolute control over the armed forces, do not want unified regulations for the armed forces, and do not want the organization and discipline of a military unit. What ideological trend is this?

Leftist Ideology and Feelings of Pessimism

This is a leftist ideology.

Some cadres in the party and government organizations on the mainland, including some older cadres, have serious feelings of pessimism. That is to say, they have lost confidence in the party's cause and the country's cause. There are also some cadres like this in the PLA. For example, some people in the Capital Construction Engineering Corps take a negative attitude toward the policy of readjusting the national economy. They regard the difficulties as too serious, seeing only the side of "retreating" and not seeing the side of "advancing." They think that during the period of readjustment the Capital Construction Engineering Corps has nothing worthwhile to do, and therefore they say that the lower the targets for its mission are set the better and that the less the amount of work it completes the better, reckoning that since there is no work to begin they have an easy conscience about the enforced idleness owing to the poor organization of work priorities. They also say that this is in the spirit of "seeking truth from facts," and even say

that the slogan "the Capital Construction Engineering Corps must advance during the readjustment" is leftist. Obviously, these people are in a rightist mood.

Both the disruption caused by the leftist ideology and the effect of feelings of pessimism have prevented the building up of units and the work of the Capital Construction Engineering Corps from being carried out smoothly. Does this situation only obtain in the Capital Construction Corps? Naturally, the answer is no; it is a common failing within the PLA.

Can Mao Zedong Thought Unify the Army's Ideology?

Of course, the contradictions are certainly not insoluble. Through political and ideological education, the units' military and political quality can be upgraded, their ideology can be relatively unified, and the contradictions can be alleviated. It is said that there has been definite progress in this respect in recent developments in the Capital Construction Engineering Corps.

However, because some PLA leaders have put excessive stress on using Mao Zedong Thought to unify the ideology, there are doubts remaining about the consequences of this.

For example, when Nie Fengzhi, commander of the Nanjing Military Region, was delivering a party lecture on 2 December to the party cadres of the leading organizations and the various service arm organizations under his command (attending the lecture were Du Ping, political commissar of the Nanjing Military Region, and others) he put forward this demand: "We must adhere to Mao Zedong Thought, and first of all we must study Mao Zedong's writings, and the leading organizations should even more take the lead in learning from them." But aren't all the officers and men keen about studying Mao Zedong's writings? Nie Fengzhi admitted that this is not the case. He said: In some units the study of Mao Zedong's writings "first, is without a plan; second, is not required; and third, is not checked. Fundamentally, it is in a state of being left to drift."

Did Hu Yaobang Overstate the Case?

This shows that the movement within the PLA to read Mao Zedong's works has definitely not encountered smooth sailing. Naturally, one cannot, from this point alone, assert categorically that the PLA cannot make any progress politically. According to what Hu Yaobang said in a recent internal speech, since Deng Xiaoping became chairman of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee in December 1980, the armed forces "have made great progress" politically, among which the most important things were the elimination of the tendency toward entering into rivalry with the CCP Central Committee and the elimination of the tendency to want to be separated from party leadership. That is to say, within the armed forces there has begun to appear a situation of unified command, unified leadership, and unified ideology; and complaints and odd statements in the army are becoming fewer and fewer. Did Hu Yaobang overstate the case? It is very difficult for us to decide, but since the spring of 1981, looking at a series of military

exercises under modern conditions that the PLA has conducted, the armed forces have made achievements in strengthening leadership and military training.

Although this writer has heard that in one big exercise there was an accident in which a fighter plane crashed, there is no way to verify the reliability of this rumor.

Was There an Accident at the Big Military Exercise?

Actually, for mishaps to occur in this big an exercise, e.g., the crash of one or two planes, is no cause for surprise, and this sort of thing frequently occurs in foreign military exercises. It would have truly been miraculous if an accident had not occurred at the big exercise at Zhangjiakou.

First, many types of aircraft took part in the exercise and formed an air fleet; they appeared in turn in the same airspace at different altitudes. The time difference for coordination and cooperation between the flight crews, the groups of planes, as well as between the ground and air forces was only an instant. It is said that during the course of the exercise, once several thousands of aircraft in turn appeared in the same airspace at different altitudes. If there were a little mistake in timing, the consequences would not bear imagining.

Second, because in some exercises live ammunition is used throughout, in these live-ammunition exercises the opposing Red and Blue armies, with a series of scenes of thunderclaps and lightning flashes, compose a magnificent picture scroll of modern three-dimensional warfare. On the exercise ground, there are many changes in the twinkling of an eye. A group of fighter planes of the "Red" army suddenly comes into the battle zone to seize control of the air and launches a fierce attack. Almost simultaneously anti-aircraft artillery batteries open heavy fire. The closely packed anti-aircraft shells burst close behind the planes like snowflakes. One "Red" army fighter plane flew on its side and the anti-aircraft shells closely followed it, bursting with white flashes in the deep blue sky. This scene truly keeps people on tenterhooks, because if the pilots were a trifle slower in their movements or the gunners a little impatient, there would be many accidental injuries!

According to the statistics for a certain air unit of the Beijing Command, the unit has never had one accident or lost a single plane in exercises. A motorized infantry division under the Beijing Command, within a mountainous exercise ground 40 kilometers in circumference, concentrated over 1,000 tanks, gun carriages, tanks, and armored cars, which were driven day and night without any collisions or casualties.

"Dangerous Scenes"

Naturally there were still dangerous scenes. A copy of the CCP's materials on the Zhangjiakou exercise says:

"At D village there is a stretch of dirt road about 100 meters long that links three main roads. During the training, a tank unit, an artillery unit, and a motorized troops unit rushed up from the three roads at about the same time,

and wanted to cross this dirt road on the way to their various training sectors. During one preview of the exercise, because the planning was not meticulous--being off by only 5 minutes--the three mechanized units were blocked there for several hours and the commanders were stamping their feet in fury. From this they summed up their experiences and lessons and opened up an additional road, thus successfully solving this problem. 'Time is victory.' Under conditions of modernized coordinated operations, the meaning of this sentence is not only speed but also precision. If one only stresses speed and does not seek accuracy, then in the end one will be bound to disrupt oneself."

There was another "mishap":

"Huang Guicun [7896 6311 1317] is the political instructor of certain paratroop company. His skills are comprehensive and his courage surpasses that of ordinary people. He often says: 'A paratrooper's actions are in the air and behind the enemy lines. Only with courage can he triumph over danger.' In one training session, possibly because of the effect of contrary air currents, his main parachute failed to open and he was falling at a speed of close to 100 meters per second and in about 12 seconds he would plunge to his death on the ground. Huang Guicun was not alarmed, and he handled this abnormal situation with coolness. A split second before hitting the ground, he opened his small reserve parachute and landed safely, after which he plunged into the battle."

Deng Xiaoping's Comments

Rocket mine-laying was the final act of the big Zhangjiakou exercise. Just as the "Red" army had hit the tank group of the "Blue" so hard as to throw it into confusion, suddenly there were whizzing sounds and rockets were seen flying high into the sky and scattering antitank mines, each attached to a pure white parachute, so that the mines fluttered down as if they were flowers scattered by a goddess. In the twinkling of an eye, a row of mines was laid on the "Blue" army tanks' route of advance, thus forcing the tanks into a position in which they could neither advance nor retreat, and could not escape the fate of being completely destroyed.

Obviously, the PLA has made new strides in improving its capacity to conduct combined arms coordinated operations and to apply modern operational measures. It is said that Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang, and others observed this big exercise, and all of them commended it as good training with much boldness of vision and a lot of martial atmosphere.

The Cost of Exercises and the Cost of the War To Punish Vietnam

Some people in Beijing said the cost of the series of exercises in 1981 was only a little less than the cost of the war of self-defensive counterattack against Vietnam. This writer thinks that the cost of the exercises was high. For example, in one exercise alone an engineering battalion used 1,400 satchel charges worth several tens of thousands of yuan. But how many times these 1,400 satchel charges were the number of satchel charges exploded in every

exercise? And how many times the cost of all the exploded charges were the other expenditures? However, if one were to say that the cost of the exercises was more or less the same as the cost of the war of counterattack against Vietnam, then I fear that would be somewhat of an exaggeration. It is very difficult to estimate the cost of the war of counterattack with complete accuracy, but, based on two figures, we can make a guess. One figure is 19 billion yuan in military expenditures for 1978; the other figure is the 22.27 billion yuan in military expenditures for 1979. The latter figure is over 3.2 billion yuan more than the former figure. Obviously, this increase is related to the war of counterattack against Vietnam in that year. In 1981, even with the many military exercises that were carried out, the military expenditures were over 2 billion yuan less than in 1978. This shows roughly that although the cost of the training was large, it was not as large as the rumor would have it!

How Should the Problem of Improving Quality Be Regarded?

The Chinese communists say that among the four modernizations is the modernization of national defense, regarding this "modernization" as the one that lies behind the other "modernizations." Once this "modernization" is successful, it can safeguard the other three "modernizations" and, therefore, it is very important. However, we must return to what we saw before. It is inadequate to merely look at the demonstrations on the training ground, just as it is inadequate to merely look at the figures showing the increases in agriculture and industry. Then, what should we look at? We should look at whether the leftist guiding ideology for the economy has truly been eliminated. By the same token, we should look at whether the fighting power of the PLA has been strengthened, whether the quality of the armed forces has been improved, and, most importantly, we should look at what kind of guiding ideology unifies the armed forces. If the leftist ideology is dominant in the armed forces, then the country is in danger. Therefore, of course it is very important for the PLA to stress military construction and the strengthening of military training; but I'm afraid that what is of prime importance is the removal of the leftist ideology from the army. To do this would guarantee that in wartime the armed forces could crush the enemies inside and outside the nation's gates and would also guarantee that in peacetime the stability of the political situation would be maintained.

During the 4th Session of the 5th NPC, the Chinese communists gave prominence to the "showing of a film for internal consumption": a documentary on military training. In the half-hour film, two scenes left a particularly deep impression the reviews. One scene was that of Deng Xiaoping standing alone in an open car to review troops. The other scene was that of Hu Yaobang coming up to Deng Xiaoping's car and helping him out of it. These two scenes make one think: Today perhaps there can be no doubt that Deng Xiaoping has the capacity to "drive" the army, but if he one day "retires due to old age," what situation will emerge in the armed forces?

9727
CSO: 4005/513

END

JPRS 80370

22 March 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 283

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 80370

22 March 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 283

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Reagan, Haig Hold Talks With FRG's Genscher
(Beijing Domestic Service, 11 Mar 82) 1

PRC Exports Foodstuffs, Ignores Domestic Needs
(Ba Yi Radio, 13 Dec 81) 2

New Finnish President Visits Soviet Union
(XINHUA, 10 Mar 82)..... 4

Kenyan Paper on Soviet South East Asia Threat
(XINHUA, 10 Mar 82) 5

Reagan Scores Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan
(XINHUA, 11 Mar 82) 6

U.S. Official on Pan-American Action on El Salvador
(XINHUA, 10 Mar 82) 7

'WASHINGTON POST' Warns Agains CIA Nicaragua Plan
(XINHUA, 11 Mar 82) 8

U.S. Congressmen Propose Nuclear Arms Freeze
(XINHUA, 12 Mar 82) 9

Arab Conference Scores U.S. Ban on Libyan Oil
(XINHUA, 12 Mar 82) 10

UK To Buy U.S. Trident-2 Nuclear Missile System
(XINHUA, 12 Mar 82) 11

'VODK' Notes Resistance to SRV Operations
(XINHUA, 12 Mar 82) 13

Thai General Urges Closer ASEAN Cooperation
(XINHUA, 11 Mar 82) 14

U.S. Official Announces Ban on Imports of Libyan Oil
(XINHUA, 11 Mar 82) 15

Pyongyang Meeting Scores U.S.-S. Korea Exercise
(XINHUA, 10 Mar 82) 16

Sweden To Improve Its Defense Capability
(XINHUA, 10 Mar 82) 18

U.S. Senator Resigns Due to Bribery Scandal
(XINHUA, 12 Mar 82) 19

'XINHUA' Notes Attempted Coup in Suriname
(XINHUA, 12 Mar 82) 20

'XINHUA' Notes CSCE Adjourns Until November
(XINHUA, 13 Mar 82) 21

DPRK's Ho Tam Meets Yugoslav, Hungarian Leaders
(XINHUA, 13 Mar 82) 22

Reagan-Mitterrand Talks Cover Various Issues
(XINHUA, 13 Mar 82) 23

Briefs
Delegation Visits India 25
Unsuccessful Student Demonstrations 25
Warsaw Pact Exercises in Poland 25
Jaruzelski Meets Marshal ulikov 26
Nordic Nuclear Free Zone Rejected 26
Peace Zone Proposal Adopted 26
Singapore Paper Hits USSR Base 27
Romulo Demands SRV Quit Kampuchea 27
Poland Protests Interference 27
Film of Internees' Release Telecast 28
Good Ties With Arabs 28
'WASHINGTON POST' Reports CIA Plan 28
NATO Conducts Naval Maneuvers 28
Halt to N-Tests 29
Attempted Coup Reportedly Fails 29
Resume Talks on Treaty Renewal 29
Delegation Leaves Guyana for Grenada 29
'War of Words' Over Aegean 30
PZPR Politburo Meets 30
Tapping Devices 30
Man Trying To Bomb Mansion 31

PARTY AND STATE

PRC Decree Promulgates Civil Procedure Law
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 10 Mar 81) 32

'BAN YUE TAN' on Strengthening Rural CCP Branches
(Tian Binchen; BAN YUE TAN, 25 Feb 82) 68

Yin Fatang Attends New Year Tea Party 21 Feb
(Xizang Regional Service, 23 Feb 82) 72

Briefs
New Year Visits 74
Lhasa Wedding 74
Late Nei Monggol Leader 74

TAIWAN

Briefs
PRC Invitation to Taiwan 76

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REAGAN, HAIG HOLD TALKS WITH FRG'S GENSCHER

OW142054 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 11 Mar 82

[Text] West German Foreign Minister Genscher, on a visit to the United States, met with U.S. President Reagan on 9 March to wind up his visit. Following his meeting with Reagan, Genscher and Haig made statements to the press.

Genscher said that the White House meeting once again shows that both the United States and West Germany recognize that the relationship between the two sides is of extreme importance to the Western Alliance.

Haig said that his talks with Genscher were very encouraging and "we have identical views on almost everything."

However, both Haig and Genscher admitted that on the deal between West Europe and the Soviet Union for steel pipes and natural gas, the United States and West Germany still hold different positions.

Haig said: We have all along opposed the natural gas pipeline project. We are still concerned about the matter.

Genscher said during the meeting that negotiations on the deal have been going on for several years. He said that the Americans know that West Germany is a country that stands by a contract and therefore will go through with the natural gas deal.

Western news agencies held that Genscher's visit to the United States was aimed at coordinating the policies of the two sides. It is reported that Genscher suggested during the talks that foreign ministers of NATO countries should periodically hold unofficial meetings to strengthen consultations. A U.S. State Department spokesman said that the U.S. side agreed with Genscher on this.

CSO: 4005/646

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRC EXPORTS FOODSTUFFS, IGNORES DOMESTIC NEEDS

OW201305 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 13 Dec 81

[Text] Comrade Zhao Ziyang's report at the fourth session of the Fifth NPC has not put forward concrete plans for improving the people's living condition. How can it satisfy the broad masses of people?

As we all know, Comrade Deng Xiaoping forcibly pushes his own policy. The argument is that China is still very poor and that there is little hope that the people's very low living standards can be improved within a short period. How can people live in a situation where there is no hope in the future?

It is regrettable that Comrade Zaho Ziyang's report has shattered the people's hope for improving their living standards in the near future. Although there are many objective reasons, there are also quite a few subjective reasons which hamper the prompt improvement of the people's life. Some central authorities have simply overlooked the people's urgent need. This is one of the principal subjective reasons. The present situation is similar to the period when Chairman Mao was alive and the gang of four was in control of the country. The task of improving the people's living conditions has been postponed to the remote future.

However, there are still measures which can actually improve the people's living conditions. First, it is necessary to use food products and daily necessities stored by the state to solve the Chinese people's living problems.

A deputy from Guangdong Province said at the NPC session: because of the constant increase in our country's exports, primarily exports of food products and daily necessities, the supply of commercial goods in urban and rural areas cannot meet the people's demand. At present, our country is increasing to a great extent the export of textile products, clothes, shoes, socks, rice, meat products and various kinds of canned food to capitalist countries. These items are all needed by the people and they account for nearly 75 percent of the total amount of exports. According to statistics, the total value of China's exports will exceed 30 billion yuan this year. In other words, food products and daily necessities with a total value of 22.5 billion yuan will be shipped to foreign countries.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping even said: We have no other way except restraining our own need. We can increase our exports only by reducing domestic consumption. In other words, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has sacrificed the Chinese people's vital interests in order to repay the huge loans obtained from the capitalists.

Deputy (Li Hui) from Guangdong Province gave a specific example. This summer large areas of farmland in Guangdong Province were inundated and the supply of vegetables and other food products in Guangzou Municipality was inadequate. In July the people in Guangzhou Municipality could only get an average of 4.8 liang [unit of weight equal to 50 grams] of vegetables per day. The situation became worse in August and the average daily supply of vegetables for each person was reduced to 3 liang. However, during the same time, large quantities of carefully selected fresh vegetables and fruits were shipped to Hong Kong daily.

The aforementioned facts eloquently prove that some central authorities have stubbornly adhered to the old policy of overlooking the people's urgent needs. They want the people to give up their hope for improving their living condition in the near future. It is quite apparent that this policy can only arouse the stronger indignation of the broad masses of Chinese people.

CSO: 4005/646

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NEW FINNISH PRESIDENT VISITS SOVIET UNION

OW100831 Beijing XINHUA in English 0755 GMT 10 Mar 82

[Text] Moscow, 9 March (XINHUA)--New Finnish President Mauno Koivisto arrived here today for talks with Leonid Brezhnev, Nikolay Tikhonov and other Soviet leaders.

According to TASS, both sides stressed during the talks that the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the Soviet Union and Finland is the basis of the relations between the two countries.

They also discussed ways to develop the two countries' economic and trade relations and their extensive cooperation in industrial and energy fields.

At a banquet in honour of the Finnish president, Brezhnev said that the strengthening of the good neighbourhood relations with Finland plays a particularly important role in Soviet foreign policy. The Soviet-Finnish relationship sets a "good example" for big powers and their small neighbours, he said.

It is known to all that the Soviet Union has all along propagated and spread this idea of "good example" in an effort to make more West European countries "Finlandized."

Koivisto said, "In pursuance of an active, peace-loving and neutral policy, Finland is exerting its efforts to maintain good relations with all other countries." He pledged to continue following the path charted by his predecessor.

According to Soviet statistics, the volume of trade between the Soviet Union and Finland reached 3.9 billion rubles in 1980, making Finland the second biggest Western trade partner of the Soviet Union, next only to West Germany.

CSO: 4000/71

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

KENYAN PAPER ON SOVIET SOUTH EAST ASIA THREAT

OW100843 Beijing XINHUA in English 0714 GMT 10 Mar 82

[Text] Nairobi, 9 March (XINHUA)--The KENYAN DAILY STANDARD, in an editorial says today, that the Soviet threat to Southeast Asia has increased with intensified Soviet spying activities and naval presence in that region.

The editorial, entitled "Russia's big threat in Southeast Asia," says: "Increased Soviet activity in Southeast Asia fits neatly into the pattern that the Kremlin strategists have been trying to establish for the control of the lower reaches of Eastern Europe, the Middle East, the Indian sub-continent and this particular region. What this strategy aims at is to have a sound footing in countries ranging from the Black Sea right through to the Asian approaches of the Pacific Ocean."

Vietnam is the avowed proxy of the Soviet Union exerting its influence over Southeast Asia, the editorial says. The Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia under Soviet tutelage contributes to a direct threat to Thailand.

It points out: "The intensified Soviet activity in this region is also aimed at eroding the cohesion of the association of Southeast Asian nations."

"Should covert and overt Soviet activities succeed in this region, Russian would have unimpeded access to the sea-lanes of Southeast Asia. Especially the strategic Straits of Malaysia...which will enable the Kremlin to maximise the use of her navy and especially aircraft carriers to carry out expansionist policies."

The Soviet threat against Southeast Asia "also affects all those nations that border on the Indian Ocean, in fact all those countries to the south of the Soviet Union," it adds.

It concludes, "it is time not only for the ASEAN group to strengthen its resolve to resist these moves, but also for those other nations that are threatened by the overall Soviet strategy to co-operate and defeat the purpose of advance Russian bases in their region."

CSO: 4000/71

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REAGAN SCORES SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN

OW110908 Beijing XINHUA in English 0736 GMT 11 Mar 82

[Text] Washington, 10 March (XINHUA)--U.S. President Ronald Reagan today signed a proclamation declaring 21 March as Afghanistan Day and called for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country.

Following the European Parliament, the U.S. Congress passed a resolution last week designating 21 March as Afghanistan Day to commemorate the valor of the Afghan people and condemn the continuing Soviet invasion of their country.

Speaking at a White House ceremony today, President Reagan said that since its invasion of Afghanistan in December, 1979, "the Soviet Union has sought through every available means to assert its control over Afghanistan." He said, "No where are human rights more brutally violated than in Afghanistan."

The Afghan people, he added, have defied the Soviet Union and paid a terrible price in their fight for freedom. "The freedom fighters of Afghanistan are defending the principles of independence and freedom that form the basis of global security and stability," he declared.

"We cannot and will not turn our backs on this struggle," he said.

He noted that "we and our allies made clear that Afghanistan will remain a central issue in the U.S. Government and East-West relations as long as Soviet forces continue to occupy that nation."

CSO: 4000/71

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. OFFICIAL ON PAN-AMERICAN ACTION ON EL SALVADOR

OW101251 Beijing XINHUA in English 1232 GMT 10 Mar 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 9 March (XINHUA)--U.S. Assistant Secretary for inter-American Affairs Thomas Enders believed that the El Salvador issue should be solved through political channels but there was also the possibility of an inter-American intervention in that country.

Speaking on the possibility of invoking the inter-American treaty of reciprocal assistance signed in Rio de Janeiro in 1947, Enders said, "invoking the treaty could provide a variety of collective actions, including but not limited to military action. It could be political and economic actions."

Enders made the remarks at a press conference Tuesday following a 3-day visit to Argentina.

He accused Cuba for its activities in Central America and the Caribbean area with the support of the Soviet Union. If an American state should allow external interference in its internal affairs, it would be dangerous, he stressed.

The El Salvador problem could be solved, Enders said, especially since the Salvadoran Government had proposed a land reform. In this regard, the U.S. Government appreciated and respected the proposals made by the Mexican president and the French president on the solution of the El Salvador and Nicaragua issues, the American official said.

But, he stressed, normalization of relations between the United States and Nicaragua would be realized only when the Nicaraguan Government ceased to support the guerrillas in El Salvador. However, the Mexican president had failed to mention this point, he added.

On the problem of South Atlantic security, Enders pointed out that the Soviet Union had sent its fleet to the area, an area of critical importance to Argentina and other littoral states as well as the United States and Europe. Many countries, including the United States and Argentina, believed that a collective action was necessary for the security in South Atlantic, he noted. During his visit here, Enders met with leaders of the Argentine Government and exchanged views with them concerning the situation in the Western Hemisphere, particularly Central America. The two sides agreed on all questions discussed in their talks, Enders said. Enders left here for Chile today.

CSO: 4000/71

'WASHINGTON POST' WARNS AGAINST CIA NICARAGUA PLAN

OW111944 Beijing XINHUA in English 1846 GMT 11 Mar 82

[Text] Washington, 11 March (XINHUA)--The WASHINGTON POST warns the Reagan administration today against carrying out a CIA covert operation plan against the Nicaraguan Government.

The POST reported yesterday that CIA has been authorized to finance and organize a 500-man "paramilitary force" to disrupt the Nicaraguan economy. So far, this report has not been denied, or confirmed, by any top officials of the U.S. Government.

The newspaper notes in an editorial that some of the private words, deeds and plans of the administration suggest the aim of the covert operation is to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government. "It would be dangerous and wrongheaded to do so," and "the American public, plenty leery already, would not put up with such intervention," the editorial cautions.

It can never be forgotten, the editorial recalls, that in Latin America and especially in Nicaragua, "the United States is viewed as the great intervenor," and "you have to be pretty forgetful, or pretty dumb, to buy the argument that the CIA plan is only a warning to the Nicaraguans." "If there is one thing that the United States has proved itself to be bad at in recent years, it is subverting Latin regimes," the editorial adds.

In a commentary entitled "The Intervention Record," columnist Joseph Harsch wrote in yesterday's CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR: "In high school textbook theory the United States never intervenes in the internal affairs of other countries. In practice it has done so scores of times and is doing so again right now" and "Nicaragua is a case in point." He noted that the U.S. has been in and out of Nicaragua beginning in 1909.

"Much of the current trouble in Central America is traceable back to earlier U.S. interventions," he observed.

CSO: 4000/71

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. CONGRESSMEN PROPOSE NUCLEAR ARMS FREEZE

OW121210 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 12 Mar 82

[Text] Washington, 11 March (XINHUA)--Seventeen U.S. senators and 122 congressmen jointly introduced a resolution in the Senate yesterday, calling for a freeze in the levels of Soviet and American atomic arsenals.

The resolution, however, came under fire from government officials.

Secretary of State Alexander Haig, in a reference to the resolution yesterday, said, "this is not only bad defense policy, but it is a bad arms control policy as well."

Richard Burt, director of the Bureau of the Politico-Military Affairs of the State Department, pointed out today that Soviet military spending has far surpassed that of the United States over the last decade. Right now in Europe, he said, the Soviets have anywhere from 3-1 to 6-1 advantages in nuclear weapons.

The freeze proposal, he went on, would "concede to the Soviet Union its present advantage in intermediate-rage nuclear missiles, and eliminate any Soviet incentive to reach a fair and balanced agreement that would reduce nuclear weapons in Europe." He warned that the resolution would "freeze the United States into a position of military disadvantage and dangerous vulnerability."

He pointed out however that the administration "shares the objective to limit and curtail the nuclear weapons competition" but "disagrees on what is the most effective way to do it."

It is only the unity of the Atlantic alliance in moving ahead with the deployment of nuclear weapons that would force the Soviets to negotiate seriously, he emphasized.

CSO: 4000/71

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ARAB CONFERENCE SCORES U.S. BAN ON LIBYAN OIL

OW120836 Beijing XINHUA in English 0818 GMT 12 Mar 82

[Text] Kuwait, 11 March (XINHUA)--The Arab Energy Conference has issued a communique urging Arab countries to take action to foil the U.S. ban on Libyan oil imports, according to reports from Doha.

The communique read by Syrian Oil Minister 'Abd al-Jabbar al-Dahhak at the closing session of the conference today said, "The conference condemns the U.S. embargo against Libya and calls on the Arab nation to support the Arab people of Libya and take necessary measures to nullify the effect of U.S. decisions."

The Syrian oil minister also told the session that the American move was a "Zionist and imperialist" conspiracy against the Arab nation.

The Reagan administration announced on 10 March the decision to boycott oil from Libya, third biggest oil supplier of the U.S.

The 6-day Arab Energy Conference had focussed its discussion on how to coordinate Arab oil and industrial policies.

A statement issued at the end of the conference said that it had adopted seven recommendations including the setting up of an oil industry research center and an Arab center for developing energy resources and collecting information on energy resources, the extension of exploration period for oil and natural gas, Arab cooperation in nuclear energy and electricity and the increase of electricity production and its rational distribution.

The oil industry research center will study synthetic fibers, plastic products and synthetic rubber. It will also work out measures to prevent environmental pollution and raise oil refining capacity.

The conference was attended by 400 delegates from 20 countries. It was decided at the conference that the next conference will be held in Algeria in 1985.

CSO: 4000/71

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UK TO BUY U.S. TRIDENT-2 NUCLEAR MISSILE SYSTEM

OW120148 Beijing XINHUA in English 0127 GMT 12 Mar 82

[Text] London, 11 March (XINHUA)--Britain has decided to buy from the United States the submarine-based Trident-2 nuclear missile system to replace its ageing Polaris force in the mid-1990s, British Defence Secretary John Nott announced in parliament this afternoon.

The decision was approved at a cabinet meeting this morning. The purchase of the new system, also known as Trident D-5, which is believed to be more advanced but also far more expensive than Trident-1, or C-4, was intended to fix the shape of Britain's independent nuclear deterrent force for the next 40 years. Earlier in July 1980, the conservative government had decided in favour of Trident as the replacement force for Polaris, which first went into British service in the 1960s, and had considered buying Trident-1. But after the U.S. administration decided last year to phase out the Trident-1 missiles in favour of the much larger and more sophisticated Trident D-5, the British Government also switched to the more powerful version of Trident.

John Nott told Parliament that the new system would cost 7,500 million pounds (13,500 million U.S. dollars), over 3,000 million pounds more than the less elaborate Trident-1 and that the total cost, which will spread over a period of 15 years, is just over three percent of the 250,000 million pounds (450,000 U.S. dollars) total defence budget envisaged for the same period. This means, he explained, that Britain would spend on Trident an average of somewhat under 500 million pounds (900 million U.S. dollars) a year against the total annual defence spending of 14,000 million pounds (25,000 million U.S. dollars).

Defending the government decision against critics, he pointed out that the cost of running the smaller and cheaper version of Trident would be more expensive in the long run than buying the bigger model. He said it has been agreed that some of the missile components would be produced by British firms with the U.S. advice. This, in addition to the building of the four new submarines for the new system, would guarantee thousands of jobs.

It is learned that each missile in the Trident-2 system carries 14 warheads, and the entire system, still being developed in the United States, has a capacity of 640 warheads with a range of 6,000 miles (9,700 kilometers), compared with the 192 warheads of Polaris.

As expected, the government's decision today sparked a political row in Parliament. Immediately after John Nott's announcement, John Silkin, defence spokesman of the opposition Labour Party declared that a future labour government would cancel the whole Trident project, saying that it escalated the arms race and breached the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. The Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party also criticised the decision on the grounds of too high cost.

John Nott denied all these charges. He stated, "the government remains convinced that no other choice but Trident will provide a credible nuclear deterrent into the year 2000 and beyond; ...to choose a system lacking in credibility to an aggressor, or still more, to abandon unilaterally a capability we have now maintained for three decades, would be a futile gesture that would serve to increase rather than diminish the risk of war."

CSO: 4000/71

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'VODK' NOTES RESISTANCE TO SRV OPERATIONS

OW120714 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 12 Mar 82

[Text] Beijing, 12 March (XINHUA)--Radio Democratic Kampuchea in a commentary today stressed the great significance of the resistance put up by the Democratic Kampuchean National Army and guerrilla forces against the Vietnamese mopping-up operations in Sisophon area, south of highway No 5 of Kampuchea's Battambang Province including Phnom Melai and Mak Heun mountains in the current dry season.

The commentary said that since last January, the Vietnamese occupation troops have launched mopping-up operations in the mountainous area of Melai-Mak Heun. They have met with stiff resistance by the Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas and lost over 2,000 men and five tanks in January and February.

It went on to say that in the first week of this month, over 380 Vietnamese aggressors were eliminated and four tanks destroyed in Phnom Mak Heun, Damnak Chek, Phnom Tuk, Phnom Sampeou Loun, Phnom Veng and Phnom Tasta.

The commentary pointed out these mopping-up operations show clearly that the Vietnamese authorities have no sincerity at all in the settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

The commentary called on the peace-loving and justice-upholding countries in Southeast Asia and the rest of the world to force the Vietnamese authorities to implement the relevant UN resolutions and the declaration adopted by the international conference on the Kampuchean problem and withdraw all their aggressor troops from Kampuchea.

CSO: 4000/71

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAI GENERAL URGES CLOSER ASEAN COOPERATION

OW111407 Beijing XINHUA in English 1225 GMT 11 Mar 82

[Text] Bangkok, 11 March (XINHUA)--Thai Army Commander-in-Chief Prayut Charumani said yesterday that it is necessary for members of the Association of Sdoutheast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to broaden their cooperation in various fields in order to safeguard and ensure peace, security and stability in Southeast Asia, according to local press reports today.

Prayut was talking to reporters at the airport upon his return from a trip to Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore and Malaysia. He headed a group of Thai ranking officers to visit the four countries from 24 February to 10 March. He discussed with military and government leaders of these countries the Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea and the situation along the Thai-Kampuchean border.

All the other ASEAN countries assured him that they would provide Thailand with arms and other assistance if Thailand were attacked. However, it would not be necessary for them to send troops to fight in Thailand, he said. "We have reached a gentlemen's agreement on this in the absence of a signed agreement," he added.

"If any ASEAN country is attacked," he stated, "we will make every effort to strengthen cooperation in various fields in order to win peace, freedom and well-being."

He pointed out: "Should the Vietnamese troops invade our country, we will hit back hard to drive out all the invaders."

"We will never allow anyone to trample upon our territory," the Thai army commander stressed.

CSO: 4000/71

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. OFFICIAL ANNOUNCES BAN ON IMPORTS OF LIBYAN OIL

OW110939 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 11 Mar 82

[Text] Washington, 10 March (XINHUA)--The United States today decided to prohibit imports of Libyan oil and ban exports of its oil and gas technology and equipment to Libya "in response to a continuing pattern of Libyan activity which violates accepted international norms of behavior."

Announcing the decision, the State Department in a statement said "Libya's large financial resources, vast supplies of Soviet weapons, and active efforts to promote instability and terrorism make it a serious threat to a large number of nations and individuals, particularly in the Middle East and Africa."

State Department spokesman Dean Fischer told reporters that the administration, which has been reviewing U.S. policy towards Libya for a year, has evidence that "Libyan efforts to destabilise U.S. regional friends have continued." The administration closed the Libyan People's Bureau in the United States last May.

Once the third largest source of U.S. oil imports, Libya now provides only about 150,000 barrels a day, or 3 percent of total U.S. oil imports, as against 700,000 barrels a day in 1980.

In addition to the oil embargo, the specific measures announced today also included: requiring validated licences for all U.S. exports to Libya, except for food and other farm products, medicine and medical supplies and denying licences for export to Libya of items now on a commodity control list for national security purposes such as high technology items both for civilian and military uses.

CSO: 4000/71

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PYONGYANG MEETING SCORES U.S.-S. KOREA EXERCISE

OW101237 Beijing XINHUA in English 1214 GMT 10 Mar 82

[Text] Pyongyang, 10 March (XINHUA)--Workers, youth and students in Pyongyang held a mass meeting yesterday denouncing the "team spirit 82) war exercises now being staged by the United States and the Seoul authorities.

Speaking at the meeting, Ho Chong-suk, secretary of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee and presidium member of the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the reunification of the fatherland, termed the large-scale exercises as a premeditated "test war" for starting a nuclear war in Korea and a "grave crime" against peace in the Far East and the world.

She pointed out that the joint exercises involving 161,600 U.S. and puppet South Korean forces were held at a time when the entire Korean people were demanding the founding of the proposed Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo at an early date and a prompt convocation of the joint conference of 100 Koreans.

She called the exercises an outcome of the U.S. policy toward Korea designed to perpetuate Washington's occupation of South Korea and turn the latter into a colony and military base.

Refuting the so-called "threat of southward invasion" and argument for "the balance of force," Ho Chong-suk said that the outcries of the U.S. and their puppets are aimed at veiling their manoeuvres to increase the threat of northward invasion.

She demanded that the U.S. stop the exercises at once and withdraw from South Korea its troops together with nuclear and other destructive weapons.

On the same day, Major General Han Chu-kyong, senior member of the Korean-Chinese side to the Military Armistice Commission, pointed out at a MAC meeting in Panmunjom that the exercises "are a military action to examine and complete the preparations for a new war of aggression in Korea and a military operation that may directly develop into aggression against the northern half of the DPRK."

"Team spirit 82" is not only a violation of the Korean armistice agreement, but also an intolerable challenge against peace and the reunification of Korea, Han Chu-kyong said.

He declared that to prevent a war and preserve peace in the country, the war exercises now being held by the enemy and all other provocations must be discontinued at once.

CSO: 4000/71

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SWEDEN TO IMPROVE ITS DEFENSE CAPABILITY

OW100218 Beijing XINHUA in English 0112 GMT 10 Mar 82

[Text] Stockholm, 9 March (XINHUA)--Sweden's national defense capacity can not be reduced as the international situation intensifies.

This was stressed in a bill on total defense of the Swedish Government for the period 1982/83--1986/87 which was released by Swedish Defense Minister Torsten Gustafsson at a press conference here today.

In the bill, a certain reinforcement is proposed of the civil parts of total defense. Preparedness against surprise attacks is to be improved and greater attention is to be paid to protection against nuclear and chemical weapons. A new multi-purpose combat aircraft is to be developed and manufactured within the country. The construction of shelters is to be accelerated and protective masks are to be procured for the entire population. Altogether expenditure on the total defense establishment in fiscal year 1982/83 is estimated at 22,500 million krona.

In the government bill, Swedish Prime Minister Thorbjern Falldin notes that the international climate has been one of growing tension and uncertainty. The process of detente between the superpowers has been replaced by increased tensions. The arms race between the power blocks is continuing at an increased rate. The prime minister notes that international developments have not made it possible for Sweden to reduce demands concerning its total defense capacity.

The bill says assessments of the risk of future conflicts and of their general character are bound to be undertain. But the development of military resources in the world around us has made it possible for attacks to be launched with shorter warning than was previously considered possible. This implies heavier demands on Sweden's vigilance and capacity for rapid mobilization.

It says the strategic importance of the Nordic area has grown during the past ten years. This is reflected, for example, by an intensification of reconnaissance and training activities by both power blocks in Sweden's vicinity. In order to maintain respect for Swedish territorial integrity in peace time and neutrality, sweden must be capable of detecting and repulsing violations. Several serious violations by foreign submarines have shown the necessity of allocating additional resources for preventing and intervening against such encroachments.

CSO: 4000/71

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. SENATOR RESIGNS DUE TO BRIBERY SCANDAL

OW121224 Beijing XINHUA in English 1211 GMT 12 Mar 82

[Text] Washington, 11 March (XINHUA)--Senator Harrison Williams today announced with great reluctance his resignation at the end of a 6-day Senate debate on his involvement in the "ABSCAM" case which generated rage, hate, shame, torment and mixed feelings of all sorts.

The 62-year-old New Jersey democrat, senator for 23 years, was charged for trying to obtain a hundred thousand dollar loan from an undercover FBI agent posing as an "Arab sheik" for a mining operation in which Williams and friends had a financial interest. Williams promised to help with government contracts for the mining company. For this set-up case 2 years ago, Williams was convicted of bribery and conspiracy last May and was sentenced to 3 years in prison and a fifty thousand dollar fine. Williams' resignation avoided a vote of expulsion by the Senate.

But Williams insisted that he broke no law and blamed FBI for exceeding its authority and trapping him. He told a packed Senate chamber today he would pursue his fight for exoneration through the federal appeals courts.

Williams sent a letter of resignation to Vice President George Bush, in his constitutional role as president of the Senate. Bush is to notify the governor of New Jersey to make Williams' resignation formal.

The six other house representatives of Congress have been tried and convicted for taking bribes in the undercover FBI probe have now left Congress. Most of them resigned or lost re-election bids and democratic Representative Michael O. Myers of Pennsylvania was expelled.

CSO: 4000/71

'XINHUA' NOTES ATTEMPTED COUP IN SURINAME

OW121256 Beijing XINHUA in English 1242 GMT 12 Mar 82

[Text] Beijing, 12 March (XINHUA)--A group of Surinamese military officers staged a coup before dawn yesterday, according to news reports reaching here.

The coup, reportedly led by Lieutenant Surendre Rambocus and some other officers, began with a gunbattle in the "Memre Boekeo" barracks, seat of Suriname's army headquarters, and was followed by a shootout at the presidential palace. Casualties were not yet known.

Later, coup leaders announced over the radio the formation of a "national liberation council," which, the radio said, was in control of the whole country. Rambocus announced at the same time that a government taking in representatives of all political parties and nationalities will be formed within 48 hours and free elections be held within 6 months.

However, the situation in this South American country remains unclear amid conflicting reports, with some saying the coup officers have captured Desi Bouterse, army commander and president of the original national military council, while others reporting that Bouterse was still in control of many military posts and made appeals over the radio to soldiers for rallying around him. A latest report today quoted the military government as saying that it had captured the leader of rebels, Sergeant-Major Hawker.

The coup, the fifth in 2 years, was believed to have been staged by pro-Western officers against Bouterse who was considered keeping too close relations with Cuba.

CSO: 4000/71

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' NOTES CSCE ADJOURNS UNTIL NOVEMBER

OW131658 Beijing XINHUA in English 1542 GMT 13 Mar 82

[Text] Madrid, 12 March (XINHUA)--The present phase of the European security conference held a plenary session today and passed Switzerland's motion that the meeting should be suspended until 9 November.

U.S. Chief Delegate Max Kampelman attributed the failure of the conference to reach any agreement to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and particularly to Moscow's role in the Polish situation.

He described the meetings held thus far a "sad phase" of the conference and expressed doubts about the sincerity in any new detente-oriented moves taken by those who do not live up to their old promises of 1975.

Soviet Chief Delegate Leonid Ilichev accused the United States of following a "destructive" line that put the meeting on a dead-end street.

Since the present phase of the conference resumed on 9 February, the United States and other Western countries had kept on accusing the Soviet Union of interfering in the internal affairs of Poland in violation of the Helsinki final act, while the Soviet Union and East European countries insisted on continued discussion of European security and detente questions. They recriminated the Western countries of "interfering in (their) internal affairs" and blamed them for the "positive results" achieved thus far being in danger.

The mediation by neutral countries had failed to ease the antagonism and the conference, the present phase of which had been off for 14 months, had to adjourn again.

CSO: 4000/71

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DPRK'S HO TAM MEETS YUGOSLAV, HUNGARIAN LEADERS

OW130939 Beijing XINHUA in English 0708 GMT 13 Mar 82

[Text] Belgrade, 12 March (XINHUA)--Sergej Kraigher, president of the Yugoslav federal presidency, received here today Ho Tam, vice-premier of the administration council and foreign minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, who arrived here yesterday from Hungary on an official friendly tour.

A Tanjug report said they exchanged views on international questions and on the efforts made by their two countries and other non-aligned countries for realizing the principles and aims of the non-aligned movement.

The talks also covered preparations for the non-aligned summit in Baghdad next September, stressing the need to stop conflicts between non-aligned countries.

Ho Tam thanked Yugoslavia for its consistant support of the Korean people's cause of peaceful reunification.

Another Tanjug report said that the Korean foreign minister was also received today, on separate occasions, by Veselin Djuranovic, federal executive council president, Dobroslav Culafic, member of the presidency of the LCY Central Committee, and Milos Minic, president of the Yugoslav Federal Council for International Relations. They exchanged views with the Korean guest on current international issues and bilateral relations.

During his visit to Hungary, Ho Tam was received by Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and had talks with Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja, according to the Hungarian Telegraph Agency.

Ho Tam and Frigyes Puja condemned the imperialist bloc for aggravating international tensions. Hungary pledged its continued support for the Korean people's struggle for peaceful and independent reunification of the fatherland and for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea.

CSO: 4000/71

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REAGAN-MITTERRAND TALKS COVER VARIOUS ISSUES

OW131255 Beijing XINHUA in English 1208 GMT 13 Mar 82

[Text] Washington, 12 March (XINHUA)--U.S. President Ronald Reagan held talks with French President Francois Mitterrand at the White House today in an effort to soothe the strains between the two countries over a number of major issues.

Mitterrand, originally scheduled to visit Washington in May, decided on an earlier meeting with President Reagan because of mounting differences between the United States and its Western alliance, particularly with France.

After a 3-hour meeting Reagan and Mitterrand told the press that their talks covered a broad range of subjects, including preparations for the seven industrialized Western nations' summit to be held in Versailles, France, and the NATO summit meeting immediately afterwards in Bonn. They also discussed the economic problems in the United States and Western Europe, the East-West relations, and the situation in Central America and the Middle East.

Both Reagan and Mitterrand said their talks had been "productive" and "fruitful," but did not indicate how much their specific differences had been narrowed.

France and other European countries had been critical of Reagan's economic policy, especially the high federal deficits and high interest rates. Mitterrand said that Reagan's policy had obliged the European countries to keep their interest rates high, and thus slowing growth and pushing up unemployment.

President Mitterrand made a forceful and thorough presentation of his government's views on outstanding trade and financial issues, Reagan noted after the meeting. "While it would be impossible to resolve our economic differences in one day, I think we've made tangible progress toward better communications on these important issues," he said.

Concerning the most striking divergence between France and the United States, the current situation in Central America, France feels that the American policy of confrontation with "revolutionary movements: in the area is untenable. France has joined Mexico in calling for recognition of the Salvadoran guerrilla forces as a legitimate political force and is backing the Mexican initiative

for a negotiated solution to the conflict. It also concluded a deal recently to provide 20 million dollars worth of arms to Nicarragua, which the Reagan administration contends as supplying of arms to guerrillas in El Salvador.

Reagan told the press today the United States and France shared the same goals in the area and hoped that the two countries would be able to work together on this problem in the months ahead. However, Mitterrand stressed on the same occasion that the first duty now in Central America was to "fight against poverty and the exploitation of human beings and the domination on the part of bloody dictatorship."

On the East-West relations, Mitterrand said he saw potential grounds for co-operation with the United States in this area, but he also felt Reagan had failed to make his tactics clear to Western Europe. The two countries held different approaches to sanctions on the Soviet Union over the Polish situation. France had contracted to buy Soviet natural gas and to provide major financing for the 10 billion-dollar pipeline project from Siberia. Secretary of State Haig said he was "appalled" that French banks would agree to finance the pipeline when the Soviet Union was intervening into the Polish affairs.

Both sides agreed on the need to "demonstrate allied unity and resolve in respons to Soviet expansionist pressures," Reagan said.

CSO: 4000/71

BRIEFS

DELEGATION VISITS INDIA--New Delhi, 15 March (XINHUA)--A Soviet military delegation led by Defense Minister Marshal D. Ustinov arrived here today for a 6-day visit at the invitation of the Indian Government. The delegation includes the Chief of the Soviet Air Force Marshal Kutakhov, Chief of the Soviet Navy Admiral Sergey Gorshkov and 30 lieutenant generals and major generals. This is the first time Moscow has sent such a high-level military delegation to any country, the Indian press reported. Talks with Indian Defense Minister R. Venkataraman will focus on supplies of Soviet equipment to India. Other talks might focus on the manufacture in India of Soviet fighter aircraft Mig-27M, according to a report in the NATIONAL HERALD. [Text] [OW151310 Beijing XINHUA in English 1258 GMT 15 Mar 82]

UNSUCCESSFUL STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS--Belgrade, 12 March (XINHUA)--Yugoslavia's security forces yesterday frustrated the attempt of more than 300 students to demonstrate in the Center of Pristina, capital of Kosovo Province, Tanjug reported today. The report said, a group of university and secondary-school students yesterday morning gathered in front of the Prestina student center, shouting irredentist slogans. The group dispersed the moment the police arrived. At noon time, a somewhat bigger group gathered and advanced towards the building of the provincial assembly of Kosovo in the center of the city. The group also dispersed as soon as the police arrived. Tanjug said the demonstrators were dispersed "without the use of force." On 11 March, last year, nationalists and irredentists staged disturbances in Kosovo Province, demanding Kosovo's unification with Albania. A statement issued by the Municipal Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo said, "The enemy's action is designed to make the anniversary of last year's hostile demonstration in Kosovo by exerting heavy pressure on public opinion." [Text] [OW131720 Beijing XINHUA in English 1631 GMT 13 Mar 82]

WARSAW PACT EXERCISES IN POLAND--Beijing, 13 March (XINHUA)--Warsaw Pact armed forces today launched the first military exercises in Poland since martial law was imposed in that country, according to a PAP report from Warsaw. Military units of the Soviet Union, the Democratic Republic of Germany and Poland are taking part in the tactical-operational mock warfare, code named "Friendship 82," PAP said. Held in Northwest Poland between 13 and 20 March, the war games are directed by Polish Deputy Defence Minister General Eugeniusz Molczyk who is also deputy commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Pact armed forces. News reports gave no details about how many troops are taking part in the exercises.

But the Soviet Union is reported to have an estimated 30,000 to 40,000 troops permanently stationed in Poland as part of Warsaw Pact deployment. [Text] [OW131638 Beijing XINHUA in English 1539 GMT 13 Mar 82]

JARUZELSKI MEETS MARSHAL KULIKOV--Warsaw, 14 March (XINHUA)--Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, received here today Soviet Marshal Viktor Kulikov, commander-in-chief of the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Pact armed forces. The Soviet Marshal, PAP said, came to Poland for the current 7-day "Friendship 82" exercises begun yesterday in northwestern Poland. Poland, the Soviet Union and East Germany took part in the exercises. The PAP report said that during the meeting of Jaruzelski and Kulikov, "they discussed problems of perfecting cooperation in holding inter-alliance exercises and further tightening of fraternity in arms between allied armies." Present on the occasion were also General Florian Siwicki, Polish chief of staff; Eugeniusz Molczyk, Polish inspector general in charge of training; and Afanasiy Shcheglov, senior Soviet liaison officer with Polish forces. [Text] [OW150252 Beijing XINHUA in English 0223 GMT 15 Mar 82]

NORDIC NUCLEAR FREE ZONE REJECTED--Stockholm, 12 March (XINHUA)--An official Danish committee holds that the idea for a Nordic nuclear free zone is unrealistic, according to a Copenhagen report. The view is expounded in a study published yesterday by the committee of the Danish Government on security and disarmament policies. The study points out that it is impossible for Denmark and Norway, as NATO members, to take part in the establishment of a nuclear free zone while they accept at the same time the nuclear program of their allies. Denmark should reject the proposal for such a regional nuclear free zone, the study suggests. "If Denmark cooperates with others in a security policy without politically a violation of the common stand signified by the alliance," the study says. The document holds that contributions which Nordic countries may possibly make to the reduction of nuclear arms in Europe do not necessarily consist in the establishment of a Nordic nuclear free zone. The question of nuclear arms in northern Europe should be considered in the light of the security and political structure of Europe as a whole and also in view of the fact that there are both neutral countries and NATO member states in northern Europe. The Nordic countries now possess no nuclear arms, and Denmark is not prepared to accept NATO's nuclear arms at peace time, the study says. [Text] [OW130908 Beijing XINHUA in English 0726 GMT 13 Mar 82]

PEACE ZONE PROPOSAL ADOPTED--Kathmandu, 14 March (XINHUA)--Nepal has expressed its desire to establish itself as a zone of peace during the country's first Pancha convention which ended here today after meeting 4 days to discuss the country's political and economic systems. The resolution on the proposal of establishing Nepal as a zone of peace was adopted by more than 1,200 delegates at the convention and said the country wants "to advance peaceful progress, development and prosperity." The resolution also encourages other countries to declare peace zones. The resolution will not adversely affect existing peace and friendship with other countries, particularly neighboring countries, because "Nepal does not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. It also does not wish to become a stronghold for activities against any country." An economic report adopted at the convention stressed the need to develop agriculture and agriculture-based industries; to increase production

of daily necessities; to provide more jobs; to encourage family planning and to develop trade that will help the country's economy. [Text] [OW141544 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 14 Mar 82]

SINGAPORE PAPER HITS USSR BASE--Hong Kong, 13 March (XINHUA)--A Singapore newspaper warned editorially yesterday that the building of a new naval base in Kampuchea by the Soviet Union constitutes a grave threat to the security of the members of the Association of the Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The paper, SIN CHEW JIT POH, quoted news from Thailand that the Soviet Union is building the Ream Port in southern Kampuchea into another naval base to meet the needs of its Pacific Fleet. The paper said that the Soviet Union is seeking to turn Viet Nam and Kampuchea not only as a relay base for its Far Eastern Fleet cruising in both the Pacific and Indian Oceans, but also as an important air-sea base to serve its southward thrust into the Indian Ocean from the continent. The paper pointed out that having stepped up its operations in the South China Sea and the Gulf of Thailand, the Soviet Pacific Fleet is now aimed at guranteeing a "free" navigation through the Malacca Straits. The data captured from the Soviet espionage rings recently unearthed in ASEAN nations show that Moscow is laying special emphasis on this region as well, the editorial noted. [Text] [OW131610 Beijing XINHUA in English 1515 GMT 13 Mar 82]

ROMULO DEMANDS SRV QUIT KAMPUCHEA--Manila, 12 March (XINHUA)--Philippine Foreign Minister Carlos P. Romulo today stressed that Vietnamese troops must completely withdraw from Kampuchea as a first step to a political solution, PNA reported here this evening. Meeting with the visiting UN special representative (Raffudin) Ahmed, Romulo said, "partial withdrawal is not acceptable." Romulo pointed out that the Philippine Government welcomes any initiative taken by the United Nations to solve the Kampuchean problem "provided that it is based on pertinent UN resolutions and decisions of the international conference on Kampuchea." He further stated that the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea is a threat to other countries in the region because it could set a very dangerous precedent." Romulo also said Vietnam must agree to the UN General Assembly resolution calling for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea and the holding of elections under UN supervision. Ahmed arrived here yesterday as part of his regional tour. He had been to Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia and Hanoi. [Text] [OW121800 Beijing XINHUA in English 1613 GMT 12 Mar 82]

POLAND PROTESTS INTERFERENCE--Warsaw, 11 March (XINHUA)--The Polish Foreign Ministry today protested against the unfriendly act of Denmark and France in allowing Solidarity exiles to launch toward Poland 10,000 balloons laden with anti-Polish leaflets. At a press conference held here today, a spokesman of the ministry said the Polish Government held that the launching of the balloons was an interference in the internal affairs of Poland, a sovereign state. It is also a violation of the universally-observed principle of good-neighborliness. He said the action also violated the Chicago air convention. The Polish airline, Lot, also issued a protest, charging the action endangered air traffic and appealing to the governments of Poland and other countries concerned to take measures preventing a repetition of such actions. [Text] [OW120122 Beijing XINHUA in English 0105 GMT 12 Mar 82]

FILM OF INTERNEES' RELEASE TELECAST--Warsaw, 10 March (XINHUA)--Some 109 internees in Poland were released Wednesday, the Polish state television reported today. The people were interned near (Lublinec) in southern Poland since martial law was imposed 13 December. Film footage, the first of its kind since the state of siege began, showed the internees at a meeting after their release. A senior military officer told them "to do a good job" after their return to work and promised that the state would not make reprisals against them. The Polish authorities earlier had released 2,550 people interned during martial law. It was reported most internees freed today were coal miners from Silesia, southwest Poland. [Text] [OW111918 Beijing XINHUA in English 1657 GMT 11 Mar 82]

GOOD TIES WITH ARABS--Cairo, 10 March (XINHUA)--Egyptian President Muhammad Husni Mubarak said Egypt wants good relations with other Arab nations and will continue its policy of non-aggression. According to local press reports today, Mubarak said here yesterday Egypt has no territorial ambitions and that the Arab nation should solve "all inter-Arab conflicts since all the Arabs are brothers." He said Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai is on schedule and that there are absolutely no difficulties toward the final withdrawal. The disputed (Taba) border area will become a neutral zone and a multi-national peace force will be stationed there, he said. [Text] [OW101754 Beijing XINHUA in English 1517 GMT 10 Mar 82]

'WASHINGTON POST' REPORTS CIA PLAN--Washington, 10 March (XINHUA)--The Reagan administration has formally authorized the CIA to build and fund a "paramilitary force" to destroy power plants, bridges, and other targets in Nicaragua in an effort to disrupt its economy, according to a WASHINGTON POST front-page report today. Quoting informed administration officials, the POST says, "operating under a 19 million dollar CIA budget, the planned 500-man force could be increased in size if necessary." The CIA force would be supplemented by another Latin American commando force of up to 1,000 men--some of whom are undergoing training by Argentine military officials, it says. The plan is also designed to disrupt the Nicaraguan arms supply line to El Salvador, it adds. It is also disclosed that the U.S. military currently is engaged in two operations in neighboring Honduras to indirectly support anti-Nicaraguan efforts. The covert plan is described by the officials as part of a broader program through which the administration hopes to achieve "long-term stability" in Central America by creating, nurturing and supporting "new political coalitions of centrist forces" in Nicaragua and other key countries. [Text] [OW101844 Beijing XINHUA in English 1834 GMT 10 Mar 82]

NATO CONDUCTS NAVAL MANEUVERS--Beijing, 9 March (XINHUA)--Six member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) began a 10-day joint naval maneuver for the first time in the Caribbean region Monday. The maneuver is being conducted to examine the ability of passing through sea channels by the United states and its European allies, according to reports from Washington. The massive maneuvers, code-named "safe pass 82," involves 30 warships, 80 jet fighters and some 10,000 troops from the United States, Belgium, Canada, West Germany, the Netherlands and Britain. The maneuvers will reportedly begin in the Gulf of Mexico. Then, a fleet of cruisers, destroyers and escort vessels will pass through the Florida Straits near Cuba and follow the eastern seaboard to the fleet headquarters at Norfolk, Virginia. Western wire agencies report-

ed that the maneuvers, planned two years ago, are being held because of Soviet and Cuban activities in the Western hemisphere and the strengthening power of the Cuban Navy. Meanwhile, NATO announced that the United States will conduct a landing exercise in the Gulf of Guantanamo, Cuba, in mid-April. [Text] [OW092212 Beijing XINHUA in English 1558 GMT 9 Mar 82]

HALT TO N-TESTS--Paris, 11 March (XINHUA)--French President Francois Mitterrand today pledged to visiting Fijian Prime Minister Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara that France would try to halt its nuclear tests in the Pacific as soon as possible. After discussing with the French president on the developments in French New Caledonia and France's nuclear blasts on the Pacific Mururoa Atoll, the Fijian prime minister told reporters that Mitterrand told him, "the tests were necessary for France's defense" and France would "try to end them as soon as possible." Mara said he was satisfied" with French Government's planned reforms in New Caledonia. Mara is here as the leader of a delegation of the South Pacific forum nations. At a meeting in Vanuatu last August, the 14-member forum decided to send a delegation to Paris to protest against French nuclear tests in the Pacific and demand French decolonization in its Pacific territories of New Caledonia, Polynesia, and Wallis and Futuna Islands. [Text] [OW121714 Beijing XINHUA in English 1610 GMT 12 Mar 82]

ATTEMPTED COUP REPORTEDLY FAILS--Beijing, 12 March (XINHUA)--The military junta in Suriname was reported to have foiled a coup staged Thursday by Rebel soldiers and officers and regained control of the capital, according to Western news agencies. Colonel Desi Bouterse, army commander and president of the military council, launched his loyalists troops on a counter offensive against the capital's "Memre Boekeo" barracks, seized before dawn Thursday by coup soldiers. One of the coup leaders, Sergeant-Major Wilfried Hawker, was arrested. Hawker later appeared on television to urge Lieutenant Surendre Rambocus, a coup leader, to surrender. Bouterse and his troops eluded capture by regrouping in a fortress near the Suriname River. Bouterse rose to power in February 1980, in a successful coup against Henk Arron. Arron had been in power since Suriname's independence in 1975. [Text] [OW121808 Beijing XINHUA in English 1654 GMT 12 Mar 82]

RESUME TALKS ON TREATY RENEWAL--Madrid, 11 March (XINHUA)--Spain and the United States have resumed negotiations here this week on the renewing of the Spain-U.S. treaty of friendship and cooperation, EFE reported today. The treaty which was signed in 1976 expired on 22 September 1981. The two countries have held five rounds of negotiations on the renewing of the treaty since last May, but failed to reach agreement. The treaty was then extended for another 8 months. In this round of negotiations, the two parties focus on discussing major problems affecting the renewal. It is estimated that the United States may meet the Spanish demand for more U.S. military aid. However, divergences might remain about the Spanish demand for mutual "defense guarantee" and the U.S. request for more facilities in its use of the military bases in Spain. [Text] [OW121252 Beijing XINHUA in English 1231 GMT 12 Mar 82]

DELEGATION LEAVES GUYANA FOR GRENADA--Georgetown, 11 March (XINHUA)--A delegation from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea led by Premier Yi Chong-ok left here for Grenada after a 4-day official visit to Guyana. The Korean Embassy here gave a reception yesterday evening. Speaking at the reception, Premier Yi Chong-ok said Korea and Guyana stood together on the same front for independence, sovereignty and socialism, and fought for the common cause of

preserving independence and opposing imperialism. In reply, Guyanese Prime Minister Ptolemy Reid expressed his thanks to the Korean people for their assistance to the Guyanese people. He spoke highly of the success achieved by the Korean people. During its stay here, the Korean delegation held talks with top Guyanese officials on matters of mutual concern and on expanding relations of friendship between the two countries. [Text] [OW130226 Beijing XINHUA in English 0202 GMT 13 Mar 82]

'WAR OF WORDS' OVER AEGEAN--Athens, 14 March (XINHUA)--Greece and Turkey have become involved in another war of words, with each making charges that the other is violating territorial rights in the Aegean Sea. The Brouhaha was triggered last week when Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou accused Turkey of violating Greece's airspace in the Aegean Sea and when Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ulusu blamed Greece for violating an agreement between the countries by conducting seismic explorations outside Greek territorial waters in the Aegean. Ulusu said Saturday that Papandreou's protest resulted from "Greece's inclination to view itself as the sovereign power in the Aegean." Turkey was holding naval and air force exercises "within international waters," he said. Papandreou later said it is "the prime minister of Turkey who distorts the truth." Turkey has continuously violated Greece's airspace since 1974, he said. Turkey's "chauvinistic aims have turned the Aegean from a sea of peace into a sea that contains grave dangers for the two countries," Papandreou said. However, Papandreou assured Turkey that Greece wants peace in the Aegean and will make, "no demands in the Aegean." But "neither is Greece willing to concede a square inch of what belongs to it," he said. [Text] [OW141710 Beijing XINHUA in English 1628 GMT 14 Mar 82]

PZPR POLITBURO MEETS--According to PAP, the PZPR Central Committee Politburo called a meeting on 6 March to discuss the party and government delegation's report on its visit to the Soviet Union. The meeting full endorsed the outcome of talks between the Polish and Soviet leaders and viewed it as fundamentally significant in consolidating and further developing full cooperation between the two countries. The meeting noted that the Soviet side understood the decisions and efforts made by Poland in safeguarding socialism and political and economic stability in the society. The meeting stressed that friendship and alliance [Tong Meng] with the Soviet Union remain the cornerstone of Poland's foreign policy. This has already become an important factor that makes the border area and the order in postwar Europe inviolable. The meeting also emphasized the expansion of Polish-Soviet economic relations saying that special attention should be directed from now on to promoting a new and better cooperation between the Polish and Soviet industries. [Text] [OW110607 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1500 GMT 7 Mar 82]

TAPPING DEVICES--Tapping devices were discovered in offices at the Guangzhou military region headquarters. Some people suspect that it was arranged by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the CCP Central Committee Military Commission. Facts show that he has placed a number of well-trained security personnel, equipped with tapping sevices, as secretaries, doctors, nurses and guards by the side of senior cadres, particularly senior PLA cadres. [Text] [OW240935 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 22 Feb 82]

MAN TRYING TO BOMB MANSION--On 17 February, the military court of the Guangzhou military region sentenced [Liu Jiagen), who attempted to blow up Deng Xiaping's mansion in Guangzhou, to death, and the sentence was carried out immediately. (Liu Jiagen) was a disabled soldier. He was wounded in the defensive counter-attack against Vietnam. However, after he was discharged from the army, he could not find a job and support himself. The cold reality filled him with sadness and anger. He felt all his misfortune was caused by Deng Xiaoping and so he intended to kill him. [Text] [OW240839 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 22 Feb 82]

CSO: 4005/646

PARTY AND STATE

PRC DECREE PROMULGATES CIVIL PROCEDURE LAW

OW100136 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0038 GMT 10 Mar 82

[Text] Beijing, 10 Mar (XINHUA)--Decree No 8 of the PRC Fifth NPC Standing Committee:

The "Civil Procedural Law of the PRC" (for trial implementation) has been approved by the 22d session of the 5th PRC NPC Standing Committee on 8 March 1982 and is hereby promulgated for trial implementation beginning 1 October 1982.

[Signed]

Ye Jianying, Chairman

8 March 1982

Civil Procedure Law

Table of Contents

Part I: General Principles

Chapter 1: Aims and Basic Principles

Chapter 2: Jurisdiction

Section 1: Jurisdiction by Level

Section 2: Jurisdiction by Region

Section 3: Jurisdiction by Transfer and Appointment

Chapter 3: Organization of Trial

Chapter 4: Withdrawal [Hui Bi 0932 6699] of Judicial Personnel

Chapter 5: Participants in a Lawsuit

Section 1: Parties to a Lawsuit

Section 2: Legal Representatives

Chapter 6: Evidence

Chapter 7: Time and Delivery

Section 1: Time

Section 2: Delivery

Chapter 8: Compulsory Measures Against Impairment of Civil Action

Chapter 9: Litigation Expenses

Part II: Procedures of First Instance

Chapter 10: General Procedures

Section 1: Filing a Suit, Accepting and Hearing a Case

Section 2: Preparation Before a Trial

Section 3: Safeguards for Litigation and Advance Payment [Su Song Bao Quan He Xian Xing Ji Fu 6083 6075 0202 0356 0735 0341 5887 4822 0102]

Section 4: Mediation

Section 5: Trial by a Court

Section 6: Discontinuance and Conclusion of a Lawsuit

Section 7: Judgment and Ruling

Chapter ii: Simple Procedures

Chapter 12: Special Procedures

Section 1: General Stipulations

Section 2: Cases Concerning Namelists of Voters

Section 3: Cases of Missing Persons Proclaimed to be Dead

Section 4: Cases of Citizens Considered to be Incompetent

Section 5: Cases of Property Considered to be Without a Proprietor

Part III: Procedures of Second Instance and Supervision Over a Trial

Chapter 13: Procedures of Second Instance

Chapter 14: Procedures of Supervision Over a Trial

Part IV: Procedures of Execution

Chapter 15: General Stipulations

Chapter 16: Referrals in and Applications for Execution

Chapter 17: Execution Measures

Chapter 18: Discontinuance and Conclusion of Execution

Part V: Special Stipulations Governing Civil Procedures Involving Foreign Nationals

Chapter 19: General Principles

Chapter 20: Arbitration

Cahpter 21: Delivery and Time

Chapter 22: Safeguards for Litigation

Chapter 23: Judicial Assistance

Part I: General Principles

Chapter 1: Aims and Basic Principles

Article 1: The PRC Law of Civil Procedure is formulated on the basis of the Constitution and in the light of our country's experiences in trying civil cases and its actual conditions in this regard.

Article 2: The aim of the PRC Law of Civil Procedure is to ensure that the people's courts investigate facts, distinguish right from wrong, correctly apply the law, try civil cases in good time, affirm rights and obligations in civil cases and impose sanctions upon violators of the law; to protect the interests of the state, collectives and individuals; and to educate citizens to conscientiously abide by the law.

Article 3: All those who file civil actions within the territory of the PRC must abide by this law.

The stipulations of this law are applicable to administrative cases [Xing Zheng An Jian 5887 2398 2714 0115] to be tried by people's courts as prescribed by the law.

Article 4: The people's court exercises the judicial authority in trying a civil case.

In accordance with the provisions of the law, the people's court independently tries civil cases, being subject to no interference from administrative organs, groups or individuals.

Article 5: In trying a civil case, the people's court shall base itself on facts and take the law as the criterion; parties to a lawsuit are equal as far as application of the law is concerned; and parties to a lawsuit are guaranteed equal exercise of their litigation rights.

Article 6: In trying a civil case, the people's court shall stress mediation; when mediation efforts are of no avail, the court shall pass judgment on the case without delay.

Article 7: In trying a civil case, the people's court shall dispatch a mobile judicial team to handle such a case on the spot according to needs and possibilities.

Article 8: In trying a civil case, the people's court, in accordance with the provisions of the law, shall follow the system of final judgment by trial of second instance, public trial, collegiate bench and withdrawal of judicial personnel.

Article 9: People of various nationalities have the right to present their civil cases in their own spoken and written languages.

In an area inhabited by people of minority nationalities or by multinational people, the people's court shall try cases and issue legal documents in the spoken and written language commonly used in the area.

The people's court shall provide interpreters for the parties to a lawsuit if they do not thoroughly understand the spoken and written language commonly used in the area.

Article 10: The parties to a civil lawsuit are entitled to argue the disrupted issues.

Article 11: Within the scope stipulated by law, the parties to a civil lawsuit are entitled to exercise their civil rights and right of taking legal procedures.

Article 12: The people's procuratorate is entitled to exercise legal supervision over the people's court's activities in trying a civil case.

Article 13: With regard to activities injurious to the civil interests of the state, a collective and an individual, an official organization, a mass organization and enterprise or an establishment may support the injured unit or individual to take legal procedures at the people's court.

Article 14: The People's Mediation Committee is a mass organization to mediate civil disputes under the guidance of the basic-level people's government and the basic-level people's court.

Under conditions prescribed by law and in accordance with the principle of voluntary participation, the People's Mediation Committee conducts its mediation work through the methods of persuasion and education. The parties concerned should follow the agreement reached in the mediation; those who do not want a mediation or those for whom a mediation has failed may take legal procedures at the people's court.

If the People's Mediation Committee violates the policy and the law in mediating a case, the people's court must make a correction.

Article 15: In accordance with the principles in the Constitution and the principles in this law, and in connection with the specific situation of the local nationalities, the people's congresses and their standing committees of the national autonomous areas may formulate certain flexible or supplementary regulations. The regulations of autonomous regions must report to the standing committee of the National People's Congress [NPC] for the record. Regulations of the autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties must be reported to the standing committees of the autonomous regional people's congresses or the provincial people's congresses for approval and then to the NPC Standing Committee for the record.

Chapter 2: Jurisdiction

Section 1: Jurisdiction by Level

Article 16: With exceptions stipulated in this law, the basic-level people's court exercises jurisdiction over the trial of civil cases of the first instance.

Article 17: The intermediate people's court exercises jurisdiction over the trial of the following civil cases of the first instance:

A. Cases involving foreign nationals;

B. Cases that have significant influence in a district under its jurisdiction.

Article 18: The higher people's court exercises jurisdiction over trial of cases of the first instance that have significant influence in a region under its jurisdiction.

Article 19: The supreme people's court exercises jurisdiction over the trial of the following cases of the first instance:

1. Cases that have significant influence throughout the country;

2. Cases that it deems should be tried by itself.

Section 2: Jurisdiction by Region

Article 20: A civil lawsuit is put under the jurisdiction of the people's court of an area where the defendant's residence is registered; if the area where the defendants residence is registered is different from where he resides, the lawsuit shall be put under the jurisdiction of the people's court of the area where he resides.

A civil lawsuit against an enterprise or an establishment, or by an official or mass organization is put under the jurisdiction of the people's court of where the prosecuted unit is located.

When the residences as well as the registered residences of several defendants of the same lawsuit are located in areas under the jurisdiction of two or more people's courts, all the people's courts are entitled to jurisdiction over the lawsuit.

Article 21: The following civil lawsuits are put under the jurisdiction of the people's court of where the plaintiff's residence is registered; if the plaintiff's registered residence is different from where he resides, the lawsuits are put under the jurisdiction of the people's court of where the plaintiff resides:

A. Lawsuit presented by a non-militaryman against a militaryman;

B. Lawsuit concerning the relationship of identify against a person not residing within the domain of the People's Republic of China;

C. Lawsuit against a person who has been subjected to reform through labor;

D. Lawsuit against a person who has been imprisoned.

Article 22: Lawsuits caused by infringement of rights are under the jurisdiction of the people's court of where the infringement activity takes place.

Article 23: A lawsuit caused by contract disputes is under the jurisdiction of the people's court of the place where the contract is carried out, or where the contract was signed.

Article 24: A lawsuit arising from railway, highway, waterborne transport and combined transport is under the jurisdiction of the people's court of the place where the administrative organ that is in charge of investigating the disputes is located.

Article 25: A lawsuit arising from aviation transport is under the jurisdiction of the people's court of the place where the transport begins or ends, or where the contract was signed.

Article 26: A lawsuit arising from demanding compensation for damages caused by an aviation accident is under the jurisdiction of the people's court of the place where the accident takes place, or where the aircraft initially lands.

Article 27: A lawsuit arising from demanding compensation for damages caused by collision of ships or other maritime accidents is under the jurisdiction of the people's court of the affected ship's initial destination, or of the place where the ship causing the accident is detained, or of the port where the ship causing the accident is registered.

Article 28: A lawsuit demanding compensation for sea disaster rescue operations is under the jurisdiction of the people's court of the place where the rescue originates, or of the rescued ship's initial destination.

Article 29: When there are problems in carrying out articles 22 to 28, specifications under article 20 or article 21 may be applied.

Article 30: The following cases are under the jurisdiction of the people's courts specified in this article:

A. A lawsuit over real estate is under the jurisdiction of the people's court of the place where the real estate is located;

B. A lawsuit arising from seaport operation is under the jurisdiction of the people's court of the place where the seaport is located;

C. A lawsuit arising from registration disputes is under the jurisdiction of the people's court of the place where the registration organization is located;

D. A lawsuit arising from inheriting inheritances is under the jurisdiction of the people's court of the place where the residence of the deceased legator is registered, or where the principal legacy is located.

Article 31: Regarding a lawsuit over which two or more people's courts have jurisdiction, the plaintiff may take legal procedures in one of the people's court he selects; if the plaintiff takes legal procedures in two or more people's courts that have jurisdiction over his case, the case shall be handled by the people's court that receives the bill of complaint first.

Section 3: Jurisdiction by Transfer and Appointment

Article 32: When a people's court discovers that a case it has accepted should not be under its jurisdiction, it should transfer the case to a people's court that has jurisdiction over the case, and the people's court to which the case is transferred must not retransfer it to another people's court.

Article 33: When a people's court which has jurisdiction over a case is unable to exercise the jurisdiction because of special reasons, the jurisdiction shall be designated by a higher people's court.

When disputes take place over jurisdiction, the disputes should be resolved by the disputed parties through consultation; and if the disputes over jurisdiction cannot be resolved through consultation, the cause should be reported to a higher people's court, which will designate the jurisdiction.

Article 34: A higher people's court has the authority to try a civil case of the first instance which is under the jurisdiction of a lower people's court, and it may also refer the trial of a civil case of the first instance under its own jurisdiction to a lower people's court.

When a lower people's court deems the trial of a civil case of the first instance under its jurisdiction should be tried by a higher people's court, it may request that it be tried by a higher people's court.

Chapter 3: Organization of Trial

Article 35: A collegiate bench consisting of both judges and jurors or of judges only shall be formed to try civil cases of first instance in a people's court. The members of the collegiate bench must be an odd number.

Simple civil cases shall be tried by the judge alone.

When executing their duties in a people's court, the jurors have the same rights as the judge.

Article 36: A collegiate bench consisting of judges shall be formed to try civil cases of second instance in a people's court. The members of the collegiate bench must be an odd number.

A people's court of first insantce should form another collegiate bench in accordance with the procedure of first instance to retry cases returned by a people's court of second instance.

Another collegiate bench shall be formed in accordance with the procedure of first instance to retry cases ordered to be retried, if the original cases are of first instance; another collegiate bench shall be formed in accordance with the procedure of second instance if the original cases are of second instance.

Article 37: The chief judge of a collegaite bench shall be appointed by the president of the court; if the president of the court participates in the trial, he shall head the collegiate bench.

Article 38: In appraising cases, a collegiate bench must observe the principle that the minority should be subordinate to the majority. Their appraisals should be recorded in writing and signed by members of the collegiate bench. Different appraisal opinions must be truthfully recorded in writing.

Article 39: In handling important and difficult civil cases, the president of a court shall submit such cases to a committee of judges for discussion and decision. The collegiate bench must carry out the decision of the judges' committee.

Chapter 41: Withdrawal [Hui Bi 0932 6699]

Article 40: Judges must withdraw themselves from trying a case and the litigant has the right to request, verbally or in writing, that they be withdrawn from a case should the following circumstances arise:

A. They are close relatives of a party to the lawsuit;

B. They have a conflict of interest with the lawsuit;

C. They have other relationships with a party to the lawsuit which may influence the impartial trial of the case.

The aforesaid provisions apply to clerks, interpreters and appraisers.

Article 41: The litigant should explain the reason for requesting that a judge or judges be withdrawn from a case and submit the request at the beginning of a trial; the request may also be submitted after the beginning of a trial, but before the end of court debate.

Personnel who have been requested to withdraw from a trial should suspend their functions temporarily unless emergency measures are needed for the case.

Article 42: The withdrawal of a court president as the chief judge shall be decided by a committee of judges; the withdrawal of judges shall be decided by the president of a court; the withdrawal of other personnel shall be decided by the chief judge.

Article 43: A people's court may decide, orally or in writing, on a request for the withdrawal of judges. If the litigant is not satisfied with the decision on this matter, he or she may submit the request one more time for reconsideration. The trial of the case will continue while the request is being reexamined.

Chapter 5: Participants in the Lawsuit

Section 1: Parties to the Lawsuit

Article 44: Persons who have the right and power to file lawsuite may become parties to a civil lawsuit.

Enterprises, offices and organizations may become parties to a civil lawsuit and may be legally represented by their principal leaders.

Article 45: The parties to a lawsuit have the rights to entrust a representative, to request the withdrawal of judges, to provide evidence, to engage in debate, to request mediation, to appeal and to apply for execution.

With the permission of the people's court, the parties to a lawsuit may check and read trial materials pertaining to the case and make copies of them and other legal documents at their own expense. However, materials involving state secrets and individuals' privacy are in exception.

The parties to a lawsuit must exercise their right to file a lawsuite in accordance with the law, observe legal proceedings in lawsuits and carry out lawful verdicts, rulings and mediation agreements.

Article 46: Both parties to a lawsuit are allowed to reach reconciliation among themselves. The plaintiff is allowed to drop the lawsuit or to make changes in it. The defendant may accept or refute the law suit and has the right to file a counter lawsuit.

Article 47: Lawsuits of similar nature or of the same category filed by more than two persons from one party or both parties to the lawsuit are common lawsuits, and they may be merged and tried in a people's court.

The persons constituting a party to a common lawsuit have the same rights and obligations. If the action filed by one of them is recognized by the rest, it will be effective for all; however, if the persons of a party to a common lawsuit do not have the same rights and obligations, the action filed by any one of them will have no effect on the rest.

Article 48: In the case of legal proceedings disputed by the parties concerned, a third person has the right to file an action and become a party to the lawsuit if it is deemed that he has an independent right to file a request.

In case the third person has no independent right to file a request concerning legal proceedings disputed by the parties to a lawsuit, but the handling of the lawsuit will affect his legal interests, he may file a request to participate in the litigation or may participate in the litigation upon receipt of a notice from the people's court.

Section II: Agent Ad Litem

Article 49: A person who is incapable of initiating legal proceedings may ask his agent ad litem to do so. The people's court may appoint an agent ad litem for any person who does not have one. If agents ad litem try to shirk their responsibilities to each other, the people's court may appoint one of them to represent the client in legal proceedings.

Article 50: The parties to a lawsuit, legal representative or agent ad litem may appoint one or two persons to represent them in legal proceedings. An agent may entrust a close relative, lawyer, citizen recommended by a people's organization or the unit in which the persons who are engaged in a lawsuit work or anyone approved by the people's court to represent him in legal proceedings.

Article 51: A person who entrusts another person to engage in legal proceedings for him must submit to the people's court a power of attorney on which he must sign or affix his seal.

On a power of attorney, it is necessary to specify the subject and limit of authority for this particular power of attorney. When an agent ad litem represents a client to acknowledge, withdraw or change the subject of a case, institute compromise proceedings, or file a counterclaim or an appeal, he must obtain a special power of attorney from his client. The power of attorney signed by an overseas Chinese who resides in a foreign country must be certified by the Chinese Embassy or consulate in that country. The power of attorney must be certified by a patriotic overseas Chinese organization if there is no Chinese Embassy or consulate in that country.

Article 52: The party to a lawsuit must inform the people's court in writing regarding any change of authority delegated to an agent ad litem to engage in legal proceedings or a decision to revoke such authority so that the court will notify the other party.

Article 53: The lawyer who represents a client in taking legal actions may read the reference materials concerning this particular case. However, we must keep secrets for the client and others if such reference materials involve state or personal secrets. With the approval of the people's court, other agents ad litem may also read the materials regarding court proceedings in a particular case, except those that involve state or personal secrets.

Article 54: In a divorce case with an agent ad litem, the parties involved must still appear in court in person, unless he or she cannot express his or her own opinion. The party who is unable to appear in court truly because of a particular reason must express his or her opinion in writing to the people's court.

Chapter 6: Evidence

Article 55: Evidence is classified as follows:

1. Documentary evidence;

2. Material evidence;

3. Video and audio reference material'

4. Tentimony by a witness;

5. Statement of a client;

6. Conclusion from appraisals;

7. Notes taken from examinations.

Only when the above-mentioned evidence is checked and found to be true, will it be regarded as a basis to identify facts.

Article 56: The litigant has the obligation to provide evidence for his own proposition.

The people's court must compile and investigate evidence in an overall manner, objectively and according to legal procedures.

Article 57: The people's court has the authority to gather evidence from the unit or individual concerned. The unit or individual concerned must not refuse to provide the evidence.

The people's court must distinguish the true from the false in examining the documents supplied by an organ, institution, undertaking, unit and individual and determine its effectiveness.

Article 58: The people's court must maintain secrecy on any evidence that involves a state or personal secret. Should such evidence be shown to the litigant, it must not be done in a public court.

Article 59: The people's court must recognize the validity of legal acts, facts and documents that have been notarized except those whose notarization has been annulled due to contrary evidence.

Article 60: Any document submitted as evidence must be in its original form. The same applies to material evidence. If there is actual difficulty in presenting the original document or material, replicas, photographs, duplicates, or copies containing extracts of the original may be submitted. If a document in a foreign language is submitted as evidence, a copy of the Chinese translation must be attached.

Article 61: All persons familiar with the case have the obligation to testify in court. The responsible person of the unit concerned must support efforts to have the witness testify. Any witness who really has difficulty to appear in court may submit written testimony with the approval of the people's court.

A person who is unable to correctly express his will cannot testify.

Article 62: The people's court must examine the statement of the litigant in close connection with other evidence in the case to determine whether the statement can be used as a basis to ascertain facts. The refusal of a litigant to make a statement does not prevent the people's court from ascertaining facts concerning the case on the basis of evidence.

Article 63: Should the people's court be required to solve a specialized problem, the department concerned, upon notification by the people's court, will have the obligation to act and send a person with specialized knowledge to help make an appraisal.

The appraiser has the right to acquaint himself with the materials necessary for appraising the case and make inquiries with the litigant and witnesses.

The appraiser must present a written conclusion of his appraisal and sign or affix his seal on the letter of appraisal; and the unit where the appraiser works must affix its official seal to the letter of appraisal to certify his status.

Article 64: In examining and gathering material evidence on site an examiner must show the credentials supplied to him by the people's court and may ask a local basic-level unit or the unit concerned to send some persons to assist him in his work. The litigant or his adult relatives should be present on the scene. The examination proceedings should continue even if the litigant or his adult relatives refuse to appear.

On the basis of notification issued by the people's court, the unit and individuals concerned have the obligation to keep the site intact and assist in the work of conducting examination.

In carrying out his work, the examiner may take pictures of the material evidence or of the site and make measurements; he should take notes on the situation and on the results of the examination. The examiner, the litigant and the invited participants must sign or affix their seals on such notes.

Article 65: Should there be a possibility that some evidence may disappear or that it would be difficult to present that evidence later on, the parties to the lawsuit may file a request to have the evidence kept intact. The people's court may also take the initiative in taking measures to safeguard such evidence.

Chapter 7: Time and Delivery

Section 1: Time

Article 66: Time limits include legal time limits and the time limits imposed by the people's court.

A time limit is denoted by hour, date, month and year. The hour and date on which a litigation document is delivered shall not be counted in enforcing a time limit.

If the last day of the time limit falls on a holiday, then the day immediately following the holiday will be regarded as the last day of the time limit. Travel time of a litigation document will be excluded from the time limit. Any litigation document, as long as it is mailed within the time limit, will be regarded as observing the time limit regardless of the time of its arrival.

Article 67: If, because of force majeure or other valid reasons, a party to a lawsuit has failed to meet a time limit, a request for extension of the time limit may be made within 10 days of the removal of the force majeure or other causes. But the approval or disapproval of such a request will rest with the people's court.

Section 2: Delivery

Article 68: A receipt with the receiving date certified and signed by the recipient is required for every litigation document that is delivered.

The date on the receipt signed by the recipient is regarded as the date the document is delivered.

Article 69: Every litigation document of the people's court must be delivered directly to the person for whom it is intended. However, if the person intended is not in residence, the document may be delivered to and the receipt signed by an adult relative of the person concerned who lives in the same house as the person concerned. If a person designates another person to be an agent for receiving litigation documents from the people's court, the documents may be delivered to the agent, who will then sign the receipt.

Article 70: If a person for whom a litigation document is intended refuses to accept it, the person delivering the document should call representatives from

basic-level organizations or other people, explain the situation to them and write on the receipt the cause and date the document is refused which will then be signed by both the person delivering the document and the witnesses. The document will then be left at the residence of the person for whom it is intended, and be considered delivered.

Article 71: If a litigation document cannot be delivered directly to the intended recipient, it may be consigned to other people's courts for delivery or may be sent by post. When delivered by mail, the date mark on the receipt for reigstered mail will be regarded as the date the document is delivered.

Article 72: When the recipient of a litigation document is an armyman, the document will be passed on to him by the political organ at and above the regimental level of the unit to which the armyman belongs.

Article 73: If a person for whom a litigation document is intended is in prison or undergoing reform by labor, the document will be delivered to the person by the prison or labor unit concerned.

Article 74: An organization or unit that has been consigned to deliver a litigation document must deliver it to the person for whom the document is intended immediately after the document is received.

Article 75: If the whereabouts of the person for whom a litigation document is intended is unknown, or if the documents cannot be delivered to that person by the methods previously mentioned in this chapter, it will be delivered by the method of public announcement. Three months after the date of the public announcement, the documents will be considered to have been delivered.

Both the reasons for and the procedures taken for delivery by public announcement must be documented in related files.

Chapter 8: Compulsory Measures Against Impairment of Civil Action

Article 76: The people's court may summon to court by an arrest warrant a defendant who is required to appear in court in person but refuses to do so without a valid excuse after being issued a legal subpoena twice.

Article 77: If a party to a lawsuit or other persons involved have committed any of the following offenses, the people's court, depending on the seriousness of the offense, may reprimand them, ask them to sign a statement of repentance, fine or detain them, or affix criminal responsibilities on them if the offense constitutes a crime. These offenses are:

1) Forging, concealing or destroying evidence;

2) Instigating or suborning others to be false witnesses;

3) Concealing, transferring, selling or destroying property that has been sealed up;

4) Using violence, threats or other such means to obstruct judicial personnel from performing their duties or to harass judicial organs from maintaining law and order;

5) Insulting, slandering, framing, beating up or using other means of vindication against judicial workers, witnesses, appraisers, examiners, judges, parties to a lawsuit or personnel that assist in handling a lawsuit; and

6) If a person, who has an obligation to assist the court in a civil case and has received a notification from the people's court to do so, keeps on making excuses for not assisting the court, openly refuses to assist or even obstructs the procedures of law.

Article 78: Fines should not exceed 200 yuan.

Detention periods should not exceed 15 days. Persons detained should be turned over to public security organs by the people's court for custody. The people's court may make early releases of detained persons if they admit to their offenses and correct their wrongdoing.

Fines and detentions may be meted out simultaneously against a person.

Article 79: Summons by Warrant

Summons by warrant, fines and detentions must be approved by the president of the people's court.

Fines and detentions are executed by a letter of decision. If an offender refuses to accept a fine or detention, a request for reconsideration may be made on a one-time-only basis. During the time of reconsideration, punishment is not suspended.

Chapter 9: Litigation Expenses

Article 80: The party filing a civil lawsuit must pay an acceptance and hearing fee in accordance with regulations. For civil cases involving property, besides an acceptance and hearing fee, other litigation expenses must be paid according to regulations.

Measures for payment of litigation expenses will be formulated separately.

Part II: Procedures of First Instance

Chapter 10: General Procedures

Section 1: Filing suits, accepting and hearing cases.

Article 81: In filing a suit, the following requirements must be met:

1) Plaintiffs must be individuals, enterprises, government agencies, or organizations that have a direct interest in the case;

2) Defendants, specific litigation aims and supporting facts must be clearly defined:

3) The case must fall within the scope and under the jurisdiction of the people's court where it is filed.

Article 82: A bill of complaint must be sumitted to the people's court with coppies prepared according to the number of the accused. If a plaintiff is unable to prepare the bill of complaint in written form, it may be presented orally, in which case the court will put it down in writing and notify the other parties of the case.

Article 83: The bill of complaint should contain the following details:

A. The name, sex, age, nationality [Min Zu 3046 2469], native place and occupation of the person filing the case, the unit in which he works and his address. In the event of an enterprise, an establishment, a government office or an organization filing the case, the bill of complaint should state the name and address of such enterprise, establishment, government office or organization and the name and title of its legal representative.

B. The request contained in the lawsuit and the facts and reasons on which the request is based.

C. Evidence and source of evidence as well as the name and address of the witness.

Article 84: The people's court should deal with the following lawsuit cases in different ways as specified:

A. For cases of violation of the regulations penalizing acts against public security, it should notify the plaintiff to apply to the public security organization concerned for solution.

B. For disputes to be handled by other administrative organs according to law, it should notify the plaintiff to apply to the administrative organ concerned for settlement.

C. For cases in which judgment and ruling have already taken effect legally and about which one concerned party has again filed a lawsuit, it should notify the plaintiff to file an appeal.

D. Any case filed within the period during which, according to law, no suit over the matter should be filed should not be accepted for hearing.

E. Any divorce case disapproved by a previous judgment and refiled within 6 months in the absence of new circumstances and reasons should not be accepted for hearing.

Article 85: When the people's court has received a bill of complaint or an oral complaint which, after examination, has been found to meet the requirements for hearing as specified in this law, it should place the case on file for investigation and prosecution within 7 days. If the complaint does not meet the requirements for hearing as specified in this law, it should notify

the plaintiff within 7 days that the complaint is not accepted for hearing and should inform the plaintiff of the reason therefor.

Section 2: Preparation Before a Trial

Article 86: For cases demanding payment of overdue alimony, money for supporting livelihood, money for child support, pensions and remuneration of labor, the people's court should send a copy of the bill of complaint to the defendant within 5 days after the acceptance of the case. The defendant should file a bill of defense within 10 days after receipt of the copy of the bill of complaint. For other cases, the copy of the bill of complaint should be sent to the defendant within 5 days after the acceptance of the case, and the defendant should file the bill of defense within 15 days after receipt of the copy of the bill of complaint.

Failure to file a bill of defense by the defendant should not affect the trial of the case by the people's court.

Article 87: The personnel handling the trial should carefully examine the lawsuit materials, conduct investigation and study and collect evidence.

Departments concerned have the obligation to help the people's court make investigation.

Article 88: Before the investigator sent by the people's court conducts investigation, he should show his identification card or paper to the person to be investigated. The written record of investigation should be checked by the person investigated and then signed or sealed by both the investigator and the person investigated.

Article 89: Where necessary the people's court may entrust the people's court in another locality to conduct investigation.

In entrusting investigation, the people's court should set up clear-cut targets and investigation requirements. The entrusted people's court may conduct additional investigation as a supplement on its own initiative.

The entrusted people's court should complete the investigation within 30 days after receipt of the letter of entrustment. If for some reason it cannot complete the investigation, it should notify the entrusting people's court in writing within the above-mentioned time limit.

Article 90: If the party filing or responding to a lawsuit does not meet the qualifications for being a party to the lawsuit, the people's court should notify another, qualified party to participate in the lawsuit as replacement.

Article 91: If any party which should be a co-participant in the lawsuit fails to do so, the people's court should notify that party to participate.

Section 3: Safeguards for Litigation and Advance Payment

Article 92: If the implementation of the judgment of a case is hindered or made impossible because of the acts of one of the parties to the lawsuit or

for other reasons, the people's court, at the request of the other party or on the basis of its own authority, may make a ruling of safeguards for litigation.

After accepting an application for safeguards for litigation from a party to the lawsuit and provided the case is urgent, the people's court must make the ruling and begin to implement it within 48 hours.

Article 93: Safeguards for litigation are limited to the requested scope or to the property related to the case.

Safeguards for litigation are carried out by sealing up, distaining or freezing the property, ordering the party concerned to provide securities or in other ways permitted by law.

If the property sealed up or distained cannot be kept for a long time, the people's court may sell it and keep the money obtained.

Article 94: When the people's court has decided to take the measure of safeguards for litigation, it may order the applicant to provide securities. If the applicant refuses to provide such securities, his application may be rejected.

The applicant who has lost a lawsuit should indemnify the other party for the loss of property due to the safeguards for litigation.

Article 95: With regard to the following cases, when necessary, the people's court may make an advance-payment ruling for immediate execution:

A. Request for payment of overdue alimony, money for supporting livelihood, money for child support and pension.

B. Request for payment of overdue remuneration for labor.

C. Other cases requiring advance payment.

Article 96: A party to a lawsuit who refuses to accept the ruling of safeguards for litigation or advance payment may file one application for reconsideration. Implementation of the ruling should not be suspended during the reconsideration period.

Section 4: Mediation

Article 97: If a civil case can be mediated, the people's court should examine the facts, distinguish between right and wrong and conduct a mediation in order to help the persons or parties concerned reach mutual understanding and agreement.

Article 98: Mediation by the people's court may be handled by a judge or a collegiate bench of judges. It should be done on the spot if possible.

Article 99: In conducting mediation, the people's court may solicit assistance from units or individuals concerned if necessary and these units or individuals should assist the people's court in conducting the mediation when requested.

Article 100: Agreement in a mediation should be reached on the basis of willingness of both parties and no coercive measures should be used.

Article 101: When an agreement is reached in a mediation, a written agreement should be drawn up with signatures of both the judge and the court clerk and the seal of the people's court affixed to it. It becomes legally effective as soon as the written agreement is delivered to the parties concerned.

In certain cases, a written agreement may not be necessary. However, the contents of the agreement should be recorded by the court with the signatures or seals of both parties, the judge and the court clerk affixed to it. This also becomes legally effective.

Article 102: If no agreement can be reached by mediation or if one party changes his mind before acceptance of a written agreement, the people's court may decide to conduct a trial and pronounce a judgment instead of prolonging the mediation process.

Section 5: Trial by Court

Article 103: The trial of civil cases by the people's court should be conducted openly except for certain cases which involve state secrets or personal privacy or cases in which trial should not be conducted openly as stipulated by the law.

In divorce cases, if a litigant requests the court to avoid an open trial, the case may be tried in a closed session.

Article 104: In trying civil cases, the people's court may conduct mobile court sessions on the spot if necessary and possible.

With the exception of major or complicated cases, the people's court may use simple procedures in these mobile sessions.

Article 105: In trying a civil case, the people's court should notify the persons or parties concerned and other participants 3 days before the opening of a court session. In the case of an open trial, the name of the litigant, the main points of the case and the time and location of the court session should be publicly announced.

Article 106: Before the court session is called to order, the court clerk should make sure whether the litigant and other participants are present and announce the court discipline.

At the beginning of the trail, the presiding judge or a judge should check the litigant, announce the main points of the case, state the names of the judges and court clerks, inform the litigant of his rights and obligations in the trial and ask the litigant whether there is anyone he wishes to avoid meeting.

Article 107: The investigation in a court trial should be conducted in the following order:

1) Questioning of the litigant and presentation of statement by the litigant;

2) Informing witnesses of their rights and obligations, questioning of the witness and reading of statements of absentee witnesses;

3) Questioning of the appraisers and reading of the findings made by the appraisers;

4) Presentation of written statements, material evidence and audiovisual data in court; and

5) Reading of the written statements of examiners.

Article 108: The litigant may present new evidence in court.

With the approval of the court, the litigant may question the witnesses, appraisers and examiners.

The litigant may ask for a reappraisal, reinvestigation or reexamination. The permission for such actions will be decided by the people's court.

Article 109: Additional requests made by the plaintiff, countercharges by the defendant and requests made by third parties related with the case may be handled jointly by the court.

Article 110: The court debate will proceed in the following order:

1) Presentation of statements by the plaintiff and his legal representative;

2) Reply to charges by the defendant and his legal representative; and

3) Debate between the two parties.

At the conclusion of the debate, the presiding judge will ask both sides to present their final arguments, the plaintiff first and the defendant next.

Article 111: At the conclusion of the debate in court, mediation may be conducted again. If no agreement can be reached in the mediation, a court judgment will be made in accordance with the law.

Article 112: If the plaintiff has been absent twice without proper reason despite a court summons or if the plaintiff walks out during a court session without permission from the court, the court may consider the case as having

been withdrawn. However, if a countercharge is made in the absence of the plaintiff the court will make a judgment.

Article 113: If the defendant has been absent twice without a proper reason despite a court summons or if the defendant walks out during a court session without permission from the court, article 76 of this law will be applicable to him and a court judgment will be made without his presence.

Article 114: The people's court will decide whether it will allow the plaintiff to withdraw a lawsuit before the pronouncement of a judgment by the court.

Article 115: A people's court shall pronounce its judgment in public in all cases. When judgment is pronounced immediately after the trial, a written copy of the judgment shall be issued and delivered within 10 days; when judgment is pronounced at a present date, the written judgment shall be issued immediately after the pronouncement.

When judgment is pronounced, the parties in the lawsuit shall be informed of their right to file an appeal, the time limit for doing so and which court they may appeal to.

When a divorce judgment is pronounced, the parties in the lawsuit shall be informed that they cannot marry another person before the judgment legally takes effect.

Article 116: A trial shall be postponed if one of the following circumstances occurs:

A. If the parties in the case and other participants required to appear in court fail to do so;

B. If the trial cannot be conducted because the parties in the case request the withdrawal of court personnel from the case;

C. If new witnesses are to be notified to appear in court, new evidence is to be obtained for reappraisal and reexamination or additional investigation is to be made; and

D. If other circumstances arise that warrant the postponement of the trial.

Article 117: A court clerk shall record in writing all proceeding of the court trial, and the record shall be signed by the judge and the clerk.

The court record shall be read out in court, or the parties and participants in the lawsuit shall be informed that they may read the record in court immediately or within 5 days. If the parties and participants in a lawsuit find some of their statements to have been omitted from the record or to have been mistakenly recorded, they shall have the right to request for a correction.

The court record shall be signed and sealed by the parties and participants in the lawsuit; if they refuse to do so, a note shall be made of this to be attached to the record.

Section 6: Discontinuance and Conclusion of a Lawsuit

Article 118: A lawsuit shall be discontinued if one of the following circumstances occurs:

A. If one of the parties in the lawsuit dies and it is necessary to wait for his inheritor to participate in the litigation;

B. If one of the parties in the lawsuit has lost his competency for litigation and his legal representative has yet to be determined;

C. If one of the parties in the lawsuit cannot participate in the litigation for unavoidable reasons;

D. If the trial of a case must be based on the results of the trial of another case that has not yet been concluded; and

E. If other circumstances arise that warrant the discontinuance of a lawsuit.

The litigation process shall be resumed after the causes for the discontinuance of the litigation are removed.

Article 119: A lawsuit is concluded if one of the following circumstances occurs:

A. If the plaintiff dies without an inheritor or if his inheritor renounces his right to the litigation;

B. If the defendant dies without any heritage and there is no one who is required to assume his obligations;

C. If no inheritor comes forward to participate in the litigation 6 months after the discontinuance of the litigation because of the death of one of the parties in the lawsuit; and

D. If one of the parties in a divorce lawsuit dies.

Section 7: Judgment and Ruling

Article 120: Clearly written into a court verdict shall be:

A. The main points of the case, the request for filing the case and the facts and causes of the dispute;

B. The facts and reasons certified in the court verdict and the law applied;

C. The result of the judgment and who shall bear the litigation expenses; and

D. The time limit for filing an appeal and which court to appeal to.

The court verdict shall be signed by the judge and court clerk, and the court seal shall be affixed to it.

Article 121: When some of the facts concerning a case being tried by the people's court have been clarified, the court may decide to pass judgment on these clarified facts first.

Article 122: Rulings apply to the following:

A. Rejection of a lawsuit;

B. Matters concerning safeguards for litigation and advance payment;

C. Approval or disapproval of withdrawal of a lawsuit;

D. Discontinuance or conclusion of a lawsuit;

E. Correction of mistakes in a court verdict; and

F. Other matters that require settlement by a court ruling.

A ruling on item "A" may be appealed.

A written ruling shall be signed by the judge and the court clerk, and the court seal shall be affixed to it. A verbal ruling shall be put down in writing.

Article 123: Judgments and rulings of the supreme people's court and judgments and rulings that may not be appealed according to law or that have not been appealed after the time limit for appeal has passed are considered legally valid judgments and rulings.

Chapter 11: Simple Procedures

Article 124: In trying a simple civil case, a basic-level people's court and tribunal dispatched by the court may apply the simple procedures provided for in this chapter.

Article 125: The plaintiff may verbally file a simple civil lawsuit.

The two parties to a lawsuit may appear at the same time at a basic-level people's court or a tribunal dispatched by the court to request settlement of their dispute. The basic-level people's court or the tribunal dispatched by the court may try the case forthwith or set a date for the trial.

Article 126: In trying a simple civil case, the basic-level people's court or the tribunal dispatched by it may summon to court, in a simple manner, the parties to the litigation and the witnesses when the case is filed.

Article 127: A simple civil case shall be tried by one judge who is not restricted by articles 105, 107 and 110 of this law.

Chapter 12: Special Procedures

Section 1: General Stipulations

Article 128: The stipulations in this chapter are applicable when the people's court tries a case concerning namelist of voters, a case of a missing person proclaimed to be dead, a case of a citizen considered to be incompetent or a case of property considered to be without a proprietor. Other relevant stipulations of this law and other laws shall apply in matters not covered in this chapter.

Article 129: When a case is tried in accordance with the stipulations of this chapter, the trial of first instance shall be final. A collegiate bench of judges shall be formed for the trial of a case that concerns namelists of voters or a major, difficult and complicated case, while other cases shall be tried by one judge.

Article 130: If the people's court finds a civil case to be a dispute over rights and interests in the course of a trial, the court should rule the case filed according to special procedures as having been concluded and inform the interested parties that they should file another suit in accordance with ordinary or simple procedures.

Section 2: Cases Concerning Namelists of Voters

Article 131: When citizens refuse to accept an election committee's decision on their appeal concerning a namelist of voters, they may file a complaint with the basic-level people's court located in the electoral district.

Article 132: After accepting a case concerning a namelist of voters, the people's court shall try the case before the holding of elections.

The complaints, the representatives of the election committee and the citizens concerned shall appear in court when the case is tried.

Copies of the judgment of the people's court shall be delivered immediately to the election committee and the complaints, and the citizens concerned shall be notified of the judgment.

Section 3: Cases of Missing Persons Proclaimed Dead

Article 133: A request for declaring the death of a missing person may be filed with the people's court of the locality where the missing person last resided by persons having common interests in that missing person.

The request must clearly state the facts and time the person was reported missing and must be attached to a written testimony by the local public security organ.

Article 134: After accepting a request for proclaiming the death of a missing person, the people's court must issue a public announcement in an effort to find the missing person. The time limit of the announcement is 1 year.

Upon the expiration of the time limit of the public announcement, the people's court, depending on whether the death of the missing person has been ascertained, will then make a ruling on the final hearing of the case of proclaim the death of the missing person.

Article 135: If a missing person that has been proclaimed dead by the people's court reappears, the people's court, in compliance with a request by that person or by persons having common interests in that person, should issue a new ruling to annul the former one.

Section 4: Cases of Citizens Considered Incompetent

Article 136: A request for considering a citizen incompetent may be filed with the basic-level people's court of the locality where the citizen's residence is registered by the citizen's close relatives or unit where he works.

The request must clearly state the facts and proof concerning that citizen's incompetence.

Article 137: After accepting the request, the people's court will make an appraisal, if necessary, of that citizen's incompetence. If the party making the request has already provided the conclusions of an appraisal, the people's court will then examine the conclusions of the appraisal.

Article 138: In hearing a case in which a citizen is considered incompetent, the people's court, when it deems it necessary, must appoint an attorney for that citizen, question that citizen, and summon that citizen to court if the health conditions of the citizen permits.

Article 139: After proclaiming a citizen incompetent, the people's court should appoint a guardian for that citizen according to the law.

When a request is deemed unreasonable, the people's court should reject it.

Article 140: If, complying with a request by the person considered incompetent or by the person's guardian, the people's court verifies that the causes contributing to the person's incompetence have been removed, it should make a new decision to annul the former one.

Section 5: Cases of Property Considered to be Without a Proprietor

Article 141: Requests for ascertainment of unclaimed properties can be filed with the people's court of the locality where the property is located by concerned government agencies, organizations, enterprises, basic level organizations, or individuals.

The request must clearly state the type and size of the property as well as proof that the property is unclaimed.

Article 142: If the fact regarding the unclaimed property has been established after investigation, and if no one comes forward to claim the property within 1 year of a public announcement on the unclaimed property, the people's court can declare that the property is unclaimed and that it be turned over to the state and the collective.

Article 143: If after a property has been declared unclaimed its original owner or rightful heir comes forward to lay claim on the property, the people's court, after verifying the authenticity of the claim by investigation, should issue a new decision to annul the former one.

Part III: Second Instance Procedures and Trial Supervision

Chapter 13: Second Instance Procedures

Article 144: When a party to a lawsuit refuses to accept a decision or a ruling by a local people's court, the party has the right to lodge an appeal with a people's court at the next higher level.

Article 145: The time limit for lodging an appeal against a court decision is 15 days and for appealing a court ruling is 10 days.

Article 146: A written appeal must include names of persons, enterprises, government agencies, or organizations involved in the lawsuit as well as the names of their attorneys. It must also include the name of the people's court where the case was first tried, the file number, main points of the case and a request with justifications for the appeal.

Article 147: The written appeal must be submitted through the people's court where the case was first tried with as many prepared copies as the number of parties involved in the case on the other side.

When a party to a lawsuit directly appeals to a people's court of second instance, the court must transmit the written appeal to the people's court where the case was first tried within 5 days of receiving the written appeal.

Article 148: Within 5 days of receipt of the written appeal, the people's court where the case was first tried must deliver the copies of the written appeal to parties involved in the case on the other side. After receiving copies of the written appeal, parties on the other side must reply to the changes within 15 days. However, the lack of a reply from parties on the other side does not hinder the people's court from trying the case.

After receiving the written appeal and the reply to the charges, the people's court where the case was first tried should deliver, as soon as possible, the written appeal and reply together with the entire file and case evidence to the people's court of second instance.

Article 149: The people's court of second instance must thoroughly review and examine all facts ascertained by the people's court of first instance and the laws it applied to the case without being restricted by the scope of the appeal.

Article 150: In dealing with appeal cases, the people's court of second instance must organize a collegiate bench of judges and open a court session to try the case. If after the facts related to the case are checked by studying the files, investigating and questioning parties involved in the case the collegiate bench of judges should decide that there is no need to open a court session to try the case, it may issue an immediate judgment on the case.

In trying appeal cases, the people's court of second instance may try it in its own court, in a court in the locality where the case originated, or in the people's court where the case was first tried.

Article 151: After hearing an appeal, the people's court of second instance shall dispose of the case according to its circumstances as follows:

A. The appeal shall be rejected and the original judgment sustained if the facts ascertained in the original judgment are clear and the law applied is correct;

B. A new judgment shall be passed according to law if the facts ascertained in the original judgment are clear but the law applied is wrong;

C. The original judgment is overruled and the case is to be returned for retrial by the original people's court if the facts ascertained in the original judgment are unclear and the evidence on which the original judgment is based is inconclusive, or if a violation of legal procedure may have affected the original judgment; the people's court of second instance may also pass judgment on the case after making a thorough investigation of the facts.

The parties to a lawsuit may appeal against a judgment or ruling by the court that has retried their case.

Article 152: The people's court of second instance shall give rulings on all appeals in which the parties concerned refuse to accept the rulings by the people's court of first instance.

Article 153: In hearing an appeal, the people's court of second instance may mediate between the parties concerned. When an agreement is reached through such mediation, a letter of mediation shall be written which shall be signed by the judge and the court clerk and on which the court seal shall be affixed. When the letter of mediation is delivered, the judgment by the people's court that has originally tried the case shall be considered null and void.

Article 154: If the appellant makes a request to withdraw his appeal before the judgment is pronounced by the people's court of second instance, the court shall give a ruling on the request.

Article 155: In addition to the provisions of this chapter, the general procedures followed in the trials of first instance are applicable when the people's court of second instance hears an appeal.

Article 156: The judgments and rulings by the people's court of second instance shall be final.

Chapter 14: Procedures of Supervision Over a Trial

Article 157: If the presidents of people's courts at various levels discover errors in their courts' judgments or rulings that have taken effect legally and deem it necessary to have such cases retired, they shall refer such cases to judicial committees for discussion and decision.

When the supreme people's court discovers errors in judgments or rulings by local people's courts at various levels that have taken effect legally, when a people's court at a higher level discovers errors in judgments or rulings by a people's court at a lower level that have taken effect legally, they shall have the authority to review such cases or instruct a people's court at lower level to retry such cases.

Article 158: If the parties to a lawsuit or their legal representatives hold that the judgment or ruling that has taken effect legally is wrong, they may appeal to the people's court that tried the case or to a people's court at a higher level, but the appeal shall not stop the execution of the judgment or ruling.

When the people's court considers an original judgment or ruling correct and an appeal unjustifiable after a reexamination of the appeal against the judgment or ruling that has taken effect legally, the court shall notify the appellant that the appeal is rejected; if the original judgment or ruling is indeed wrong, the president of the people's court shall refer the case to the judicial committee for discussion and decision.

Article 159: When, in accordance with the procedures of supervision over a trial, it is determined to retry a case, a ruling on discontinuance of the execution of the original judgment shall be given. The ruling shall be signed by the president of the court, and the court seal shall be affixed on it.

Article 160: When, in accordance with the procedures of supervision over a trial, it is determined to retry a case that was tried by a people's court of first instance, the people's court shall retry the case according to the procedures followed in the trials of first instance; and the interested parties may appeal against the judgment or ruling by the court. If the case was tried by a people's court of second instance or if it is brought to court for review by a people's court at a higher level, the case shall be retried according to the procedures followed in the trials of second instance; the judgment or ruling by the people's court that retries the case shall be legally valid.

Part IV: Procedures of Execution

Chapter 15: General Stipulations

Article 161: A legally valid judgment or ruling on a civil case, a legally valid agreement on a civil case reached through mediation as well as a legally valid judgment or ruling on property in a criminal case shall be executed by the people's court of first instance that has tried the case.

Other legal documents that are to be executed by people's court as prescribed by the law shall be executed by the people's court with jurisdiction.

Article 162: In the course of execution, if one who is not involved in the case [An Wai Ren 2714 1120 0086] raises an objection to the purpose of the execution, the executor shall examine the objection. The objection shall be rejected if it is unjustifiable; if the objection is justifiable, the execution

shall be discontinued with the approval of the president of the court and the objection shall be submitted to a collegiate bench of judges or the judicial committee for discussion and decision.

Article 163: The work of execution shall be performed by the executor of the court clerk; bailiffs shall take part in carrying out important execution measures.

Chapter 16: Referrals in and Applications for Execution

Article 166: The interested parties shall comply with a legally valid judgment or ruling on a civil case, a legally valid agreement on a civil case reached through mediation and other legal documents executed by the people's court. When one of the interested parties refuses to comply, the judge shall refer the judgment, ruling, agreement or other legal documents to the executor for execution. The other interested party may also apply for execution by the people's court.

Article 167: When one of the interested parties fails to comply with an arbitration organ's ruling that has taken effect legally. The other interested party may apply for execution by the people's court with jurisdiction.

Article 168: If the litigant of the one party to the lawsuit refuses to implement the document on creditor's right, issued by a notary organization for forcible execution, the litigant of the other party may request the basic-level people's court with jurisdiction to execute such document. If the people's court finds that the notary document is definitely wrong, it may refuse to execute it. At the same time, it should notify the original notary organization.

Article 169: The time limit for filing the request for execution is 1 year if the litigants of one party or both parties to the lawsuit are individuals. The time limit is 6 months if the litigants of both parties are enterprises, undertakings, organizations or groups. The above-mentioned time limit begins from the last day of the time limit specified by the legal document for its implementation. If the legal document specifies that it can be implemented by stages, the time limit begins from the last day of the specific time limit set by the document for each stage.

Article 170: When the executor receives an application for execution or an order to execute a transfer, he must review the case and notify the person against whom a judgment has been passed to execute the judgment within 10 days. If this person refuses to do so within the time limit, forcible execution is necessary.

Chapter 17: Executive Measures

Article 171: The unit concerned must comply with the notice issued by the people's court to help detain or withdraw money from the savings or work income of the person against whom the judgment has been passed.

When the people's court decides to detain or withdraw money from such income, it is necessary to retain some living expenses for the person against whom the judgment has been passed and his family.

Article 172: When the people's court sequesters, freezes or sells off the properties of the person against whom the judgment has been passed, it is necessary to retain the essential means of production for him and the daily necessities for him and the family he supports. The aforementioned measure must be taken with the approval of the president of the people's court.

Article 173: When the people's court sequesters the properties, it must notify the person against whom the judgment has been passed or his family members of age to be present. Execution should still be carried out, even if they fail to show up. The unit where the person, against whom the judgment has been passed, works and the basic-level unit, where this person's property is, should send people to participate in the sequestration. A complete list of properties sequestered must be made. The list must be given to the person against whom the judgment has been passed, or his family members of age, after those who participate in sequestration sign, or affix their seals to, the list.

Article 174: The executor may appoint the person against whom the judgment has been passed to shoulder the responsibility of safekeeping the sequestered properties. Such person is held responsible for any losses incurred because of his mistakes.

Article 175: After the properties are sequestered, the executor should notify the person against whom the judgment has been passed to fulfill the obligations within the time limit, as specified in the legal document. If he fails to fulfill his obligation, the unit concerned may buy the properties or sell them out.

Article 176: The executor must summon the litigants on both sides to personally deliver and receive the properties or instruments specified in the legal document, or he may pass on the properties or instruments. The person who receives them should sign to acknowledge the receipt of such properties or instruments. The unit concerned that has such properties or instruments in its possession must pass on such properties or instruments according to the people's court notice requesting cooperation in handing them over. The person who receives them must sign to acknowledge the receipt of such properties or instruments.

When a person other than the litigant has the properties or instruments in his possession, the people's court must notify him to hand them over. If he refuses to do so, forcible execution is necessary.

Article 177: In the case of evicting someone from a house or a plot of land, the president of the people's court must issue a public notice notifying the person against whom the judgment has been passed to vacate the house or land within a designated period of time. If he refuses to do so after the time limit expires, forcible execution must be carried out by the executor.

In carrying out forcible execution, the unit where the person against whom the judgment has been passed works and where the subject house or land is located should send people to participate in the forcible execution proceedings. The person against whom the judgment has been passed and his family members of age should be present. Their refusal to be present will not affect the forcible execution. The executor should make notes on how the forcible execution is being carried out, and those who are present at that time must sign or affix their seals on the notes.

The people's court must send people to carry the properties seized in the forcible execution to a designated location and hand them over to the person agianst whom the judgment has been passed or his family members of age. This person is responsible for all the losses incurred due to any refusal to accept such properties.

Article 178: The executor should notify the person against whom the judgment has been passed to carry out action specified in the legal document. If he refuses to carry it out without a good reason, the people's court may assign the unit concerned or someone else to fulfill the task. The person against the judgment has been passed must pay all the expenses.

Article 179: Regarding the deposits of an enterprise, undertaking, unit, organization or group which are to be handed over in the course of execution, the bank or the credit cooperative has the obligation to transfer or hand over the money according to the people's court notice requesting the bank or the credit cooperative to cooperate.

Article 180: When the properties of the person against whom the judgment has been passed fail to meet the claims filed by all claimants, he must pay according to the following priority and order:

1. Wages and living expenses;

2. State taxes;

3. Loans from state banks and credit cooperatives;

4. Other debts.

When there is not enough money to pay all the claimants who belong to the same category, it should be divided among them according to the proper ratio.

Article 181: When the litigants on both sides themselves reach a compromise and sign an agreement, the executor should put the contents of the agreement into notes on which the litigants of both sides must sign or affix their seals.

Chapter 18: Discontinuance and Conclusion of Execution

Article 182: The people's court will rule discontinuance of execution in one of the following situations:

A. When an applicant indicates that the execution may be postponed;

B. When an outsider of the case presents a reasonable objection;

C. When the person for whom the judgment has been passed is unable to pay within a short time;

D. When one of the parties concerned is deceased and it is necessary to wait for a successor to inherit the rights or to hear the obligations;

E. When the people's court deems the execution should be discontinued.

When the situation which causes the discontinuance of execution is dissolved, the execution will be resumed.

Article 183: The people's court will rule conclusion of execution in one of the following situations:

A. When the applicant repeals his application;

B. When the legal documents upon which the execution is based have been repealed;

C. When the person for whom the judgment is passed is dead and there is no inheritance to be executed and there is no bearer of obligations;

D. When the person who has the right to demand alimony and living allowances for taking care of the aged and bringing up the young is deceased;

E. When the people's court deems the execution should be concluded.

Article 184: A ruling on discontinuance and conclusion of execution will become effective immediately after it has been delivered to the parties concerned.

Part V: Special Stipulations Governing Civil Procedures Involving Foreign Nationals

Chapter 19: General Principles

Article 185: Stipulations in this part are applicable to foreign nationals, people without nationality and foreign enterprises and organizations engaged in civil procedures within the domain of the People's Republic of China. If not stipulated in this part, other relevant stipulations in this law are applicable.

Article 186: Foreign nationals and people without nationality have equal litigation rights and obligations as the citizens of the People's Republic of China while taking legal procedures and answering to legal procedures.

Foreign enterprises nad organizations enjoy litigation rights and bear litigation obligations in accordance with the stipulations in this law while taking legal procedures and answering to legal procedures at the people's court.

Article 187: The people's court will follow the principle of reciprocity regarding the litigation rights of citizens, enterprises and organizations of a country which restricts the rights of civil procedures of citizens, enterprises and organizations of the People's Republic of China.

Article 188: The people's court will deal with civil procedures against foreign nationals, foreign organizations or international organizations having judicial immunity in accordance with the stipulations in the law of the People's Republic of China and international treaties our country has concluded or participated in.

Article 189: When an international treaty the People's Republic of China has concluded or participated in has different stipulations, the stipulations in that international treaty are applicable, except for those provisions for which our country has stated its reservations.

Article 190: The spoken and written language commonly used in the People's Republic of China is used by the people's court for trying the cases in which foreign nationals are involved. Translation will be provided upon request by the parties concerned, but the expenses must be borne by them.

Article 191: When foreign nationals, people without nationality, foreign enterprises and foreign organizations entrust lawyers to represent them to take legal procedures and to answer to legal procedures at the people's courts, the lawyers of the People's Republic of China must be entrusted.

The power of attorney, sent to a Chinese lawyer or a Chinese citizen by a foreigner, or person without nationality who does not reside within the domain of the People's Repubic of China, will become effective only when it has been notarized by a notarial organization in the country where he resides and must be authenticated by our country's embassy or consulate in that country.

Chapter 20: Arbitration

Article 192: Disputes arising from foreign economic, trade, transport and maritime affairs are not to be prosecuted at a people's court if they are to be arbitrated by a PRC foreign affairs arbitration organ in accordance with written agreements between parties concerned; those without written agreement may be prosecuted at a people's court.

Regarding disputes arising from economic, trade, transport and maritime affairs, the parties concerned may, in accordance with their written agreements, submit them to a PRC foreign affairs arbitration organ for arbitration; they may also prosecute these cases at a people's court that has jurisdiction [over such disputes].

Article 193: Cases that have been arbitrated by the PRC foreign affairs arbitration organs shall not be submitted to the people's court for legal procedures.

Article 194: Regarding cases for which perpetuation measures [Bao Quan Cuo Shi 0202 0356 2238 2457] are deemed necessary, a PRC arbitration organ should, in accordance with the application of the parties concerned, submit them for arbitration by the intermediate people's court at the location where the property of the person--to whom the application is directed--is located, or where the arbitration organ is located.

Article 195: When one party concerned fails to implement the ruling made by the PRC foreign affairs arbitration organ, the other party concerned may request that the ruling be carried out in accordance with this law by the intermediate people's court of the place where the arbitration organ is located, or where the property is located.

Cahpter 19: Delivery and Time

Article 196: In delivering litigious documents to a litigant who does not reside within the territory of the PRC, the people's court may use the following forms:

1. It may deliver them through diplomatic channels.

2. In delivering the documents to a litigant of the Chinese nationality, it may entrust delivery to the embassy or consulate of the PRC in the country where the litigant resides.

3. It may deliver the documents through mail if the law of the country where the litigant resides permits the delivery of such documents through the mails.

4. If the country where the litigant resides has a judicial assistance agreement with the PRC, the people's court may entrust a foreign court of that country to deliver the documents on its behalf or in other forms specified by the agreement.

5. It may deliver the documents through the litigant's agent ad litem.

6. If it is unable to deliver the documents in any of the aforementioned ways, it may do so by means of issuing a public notice. The documents are considered delivered after 6 months from the date of the public notice.

Article 197: When the defendant does not reside within the territory of the PRC, the people's court should put an incoming dispatch stamp on the transcript of the bill of complaint sent to the defendant, notifying him to forward his statement of defense within a period of 60 days after he has received the transcript. An extension of the deadline may be granted if the defendant so requests. However, the extension may not exceed 30 days.

Article 198: A litigant who does not reside within the territory of the PRC must lodge an appeal within a period of 60 days against the judgment passed by the people's court of first trial. The appellee must forward his statement of defense within a period of 60 days after he has received the transcript of the written appeal. If the litigant is unable to lodge an appeal or forward

his statement of defense within the specified period, and if he requests an extension of the deadline, such an extension may be granted. However, the extension may not exceed 30 days.

Chapter 22: Safeguards for Litigation

Article 199: When the people's court approves the request filed by a litigant for safeguarding litigation, it should instruct the person against whom the application has been filed to provide security. If no security is provided, it should issue an order of sequestration to sequester his property.

Article 200: When the property that the people's court decides to sequester needs to be kept under surveillance, the court must notify the unit concerned to provide such surveillance. The person against whom the application has been filed is responsible for all expenses thus incurred. The applicant is responsible for all losses and expenses incurred from any error made in the application.

Article 201: The order to lift sequestration issued by the people's court must be carried out by the executor or the surveillance unit is to be notified to carry out such an order.

Chapter 23: Judicial Assistance

Article 202: On the basis of the international agreement signed or participated in by the PRC or in accordance with the principles of mutual benefits, a people's court and a foreign court may entrust each other to take litigious actions.

A case entrusted by a foreign court may be rejected if it violates the sovereignty and security of the PRC.

For any case that is out of the jurisdiction of the people's court, the people's court must give its reason and return the case to the foreign court.

Article 203: If an applicant files an application for the forcible execution of any judgment with legal effect passed by a people's court of the PRC or the adjudication made by an arbitration organ and if the person against whom the application has been filed or his property is not in China, the people's court may entrust a foreign court to help execute the judgment or adjudication on the basis of the international treaty signed or participated in by China or in accordance with the principles of mutual benefits.

Article 204: In dealing with the judgment or adjudication that a foreign court has entrusted a PRC people's court to execute, the people's court should examine it on the basis of the international treaty signed or participated in by the PRC or in accordance with the principles of mutual benefits. It should issue a ruling to recognize the legal effect of such judgment or adjudication and execute it according to the procedure specified in that law if the court believes that such a judgment or adjudication does not violate the basic principles of the laws of the PRC or China's national and social interests. Otherwise, the people's court should return it to the foreign court.

Article 205: The legal documents sent by a foreign court requesting a PRC court to deliver or help execute such documents or the power of attorney sent requesting the people's court to take a specific litigious action on behalf of the foreign court must be accompanied by the Chinese translation.

The legal documents sent by a people's court requesting a foreign court to deliver or ehlp execute such documents of the power of attorney sent requesting a foreign court to take a specific litigious action on behalf of the people's court must be accompanied by the foreign language translation.

CSO: 4005/647

'BAN YUE TAN' ON STRENGTHENING RURAL CCP BRANCHES

HK120839 Beijing BAN YUE TAN in Chinese No 4, 25 Feb pp 10-12

[Article by Tian Binchen [3944 3521 5256]: "How to Strengthen the Building of Rural Basic-Level Party Organizations?"]

[Text] Question: Why should we stress the strengthening of the building of rural basic-level party organizations at present?

Answer: Since the establishment of various forms of the production responsibility system in rural areas, the basic-level party organizations in many places have paid attention to studying the new conditions, solving new problems, and improving work methods and work style and have played their roles as a powerful fighting force. Their members have played exemplary and leading roles. However, because the establishment of the production responsibility system is a profound and complicated reform involving hundreds of millions of the masses of people, and because we have only been carrying out this heavy task for a short time and lack experience, some of the basic-level party organizations could not for a time cope with the new task, and a number of problems have cropped up. For example, some party member cadres have a poor understanding of the new tasks in the new historical period and have quite a few doubts in their minds. Some think that "since production of grain and cotton have been assigned to relevant people, the party branches have nothing to do." Thus they have shirked their duties and responsibilities. Others have shown no consideration of the interests of the masses and have gone against the demand of the masses in pursuing their personal interests at the expense of the interests of the public, or even violated the discipline and law. Still others have found it difficult to deal with the new situation by means of their old work methods and work style. Having failed to "accommodate the old methods to the new situation or to find proper new methods or having tried to solve new problems by acting rashly," they are completely at a loss as to what they should do. This has seriously affected the implementation of the party's line and policies, the party's prestige among the masses of people and the perfection and stabilization of the agricultural production responsibility system. Therefore, while carrying out the agricultural production responsibility system, we must vigorously strengthen the building of basic-level party organizations. Only by doing a good job of building the basic-level party organizations can we have a solid basis for building our countryside into new rural areas with highly developed socialist material and spiritual civilizations.

Question: What tasks are our basic-level party organizations faced with at present?

Answer: Since the establishment of the production responsibility system, the responsibility of leadership on the shoulders of the basic-level party organizations has not been reduced and there has still been a great deal of work to do. For example, there is the work of propagating and implementing the party's line and policies. There is the work of imbuing the peasants with socialist ideology and teaching the masses to correctly handle the relationships between the interests of the state, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual. There is the work of paying attention to doing a good job of ideological and organizational construction and the work of organizing the masses' study of politics, science and technology and popularizing scientific farming. There is also the work of supervising and helping the management committees to take good care of the families of revolutionary martyrs and PLA servicemen and the families that enjoy the five guarantees, to help the families with material difficulties in developing production and to do a good job of family planning. Any kind of idea or way to abandon their leading role is wrong.

Question: How can party members play their leading and exemplary roles?

Answer: The exemplary role of CCP members is a fundamental prerequisite for realizing the leadership of the party. In other words, the CCP will not be able to play its role of leadership if its members do not play their exemplary roles. We should conscientiously conduct well the education related to the present new situation and the existing problems among party members. We should require our party members to manage to do the following things: take lead in studying, propagating and implementing the party's line and policies; take lead in studying science and culture; take the lead in carrying forward communist work style; take the lead in fulfilling the assigned tasks of production and the quota sales of agricultural goods; take the lead in observing the law and discipline, safeguarding the collective economy and combating unhealthy trends; and take the lead in changing the prevailing habits and customs and conducting family planning. At the same time, we should adhere to the principle that anything of importance should first be revealed to those inside the party and then to those outside the party; the party members should "know earlier." We should put forth requirements in accordance with the tasks in various periods and ask our party members to meet them. We should ask them to report on the fulfillment of tasks and supervise and inspect their performance. We should always be concerned with their political awareness and their livelihood. We should develop in a widespread in a widespread manner the movement of striving to be a fine party member and vigorously praise the advanced and set good examples. We should also strictly conduct our organizational life, carry out criticism and self-criticism, help and educate the party members who are slack in their work and lag behind and the party members who violate the law and discipline, and strictly enforce the party's discipline.

Question: How can we do a good job of building the basic-level leading groups?

Answer: At present, in order to strengthen the building of the basic-level leading groups, we should stress doing a good job of the following four tasks: 1. In accordance with the principle of making a comprehensive arrangement to "combine three into one" and the principle of making the leading groups smaller and more skilled, and in accordance with the demand for making the leading groups more revolutionary, younger, better educated and professionally more competent, we should, through democratic election, select for the leading groups middle-aged and young party members who truly have a strong party spirit, good work style, cultural knowledge and production know-how and who are skilled in management. 2. We should perfect democratic centralism. We should earnestly implement the system of combining collective leadership with division of responsibility. We should oppose either the practice of deciding and acting arbitrarily or the practice of division of labor without division of responsibility. 3. We should strengthen the work of training basic-level cadres and organizing them to study the theory of party construction and to study science and culture in order to augment their leadership capabilities and to raise their scientific and cultural standards. 4. In the spirit of rectifying the party work style, we should conscientiously pay attention to do a good job of reorganizing the party branches that have lagged behind so as to put an end to the paralytic or semiparalytic state in them as soon as possible.

Question: How can we improve our work methods and work style?

Answer: In order to accommodate ourselves to the new situation, we should improve the work methods and work style of the basic-level party organizations. 1. We should divide power and responsibility between the party and the government organizations and put an end to the practice of party organizations replacing government organization and taking everything in their charge. We should give full play to the functions of the management committees. 2. We should persistently carry out the policy of enlightenment and imbue production work and every family unit with ideological and political work. We should closely integrate ideological and political work with solving practical problems in production and in the lives of the commune members. 3. The basic-level organizations must proceed from the local practical conditions in conducting their activities and pay attention to the actual results of their work so as to overcome the previous practice of formalism. 4. We should establish the responsibility system geared to the performance of our cadres, link the results of their work with economic interests, raise cadres' sense of political responsibility to a high degree and make them more devoted to the revolution.

Question: What indispensable systems should be established in the basic-level party organizations?

Answer: According to the party constitution and the special features in rural areas, we can establish the system of party branch members congresses, the system of organizational life, the system of party lessons and the systems of party members maintaining links with the masses. Under normal conditions, a party branch members congress should be held every 3 months or every 6 months, but party branch committee meeting's can be held whenever there is a need in its work. A party group's organizational life meeting should be held once every month for party members to report on their thinking and work and to

carry out criticism and self-criticism. Party lessons should be given every 1 or 2 months. Diversified forms of the lessons are allowed but they must be effective instead of being carried out perfunctorily. The party branch can divide up party members' responsibility in accordance with the locations of the homes of the party members and the commune members and assign every party member the responsibility of linking up with a few households of commune members to propagate to them the party's policies, to look into how things stand in production and in their thoughts and everyday life, to listen to their opinions and demands and to help them solve practical problems in production and everyday life. This system of linking with the masses is a good method to give play to the roles of our party members.

Question: How do we correctly regard basic-level cadres?

Answer: The broad ranks of rural basic-level cadres who have fought arduously for a long time on the first line and borne the burden of work willingly are a backbone force to rely upon. In the past they united and led the masses to conduct the great revolutionary wars, the land reform and the mutual aid and cooperativization movement. At present, they are continuing to unite and lead the masses to build new prosperous and rich socialist rural areas and are continuing to do a great deal of work for the party and the people. Therefore, we should evaluate the broad ranks of basic-level party member cadres in a manner of seeking truth from facts. Among them, those who have done their work creatively and arduously and have achieved good results should be encouraged through praise, and those who have some shortcomings and who have committed some mistakes should be earnestly educated to help them to overcome their shortcomings and correct their mistakes. If those at higher levels are involved in the mistakes, they should shoulder the responsibility on their own initiative and should not shift responsibility onto the lower level. We should show concern and make allowances for basic-level party members cadres, help them to overcome practical difficulties, protect and give play to their initiative, and really arouse them to make efforts to work with one heart and one mind and sturggle hard to realize the modernization of agriculture.

CSO: 4005/647

PARTY AND STATE

YIN FATANG ATTENDS NEW YEAR TEA PARTY 21 FEB

HK250759 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 23 Feb 82

[Summary] On the afternoon of 21 February, the united front work department of Xizang regional CCP Committee and the regional CPPCC Committee jointly held a tea party to celebrate Tibetan New Year. Some 300 responsible comrades of the party, government and army in the region and representatives of various nationalities from various circles in Lhasa Municipality attended. Those who were invited to attend the tea party were responsible comrades of the party, government and army in the region, including Yin Fatang, Qie Jinwu, Raidi, Song Ziyuan, Yang Zongxin, Puqiong, Xia Chuan, (Peng De), Dege Gaisan Wangdui, Pagbalha Geleg Namgyai, Pudoje, Xuekang Tudeng Nima, (Sun Yishan), (Gai Yuxian), Wang Juquan, (Wang Hanping), (Ma Dejie), (Jiang Hongquan), (Gao Fengshan), (Wang Daxuan), Namgyal, Samding Doje Pamo, Lamin Suolang Lungzhu, Jipu Pingcuo Cideng and Jinzhong Jianzan Pingcuo. Others attending the tea party were members of the regional CPPCC Committee who are in Lhasa, some Tibetan compatriots who had returned home to settle down and relatives of Tibetan compatriots who live abroad.

Pagbalha Geleg Namgyai, vice chairman of the National CPPCC Committee, vice chairman of the regional people's government and vice chairman of the regional CPPCC Committee, presided over the tea party and spoke. He said: "While celebrating the festival, we cherish the memory even more of the Tibetan compatriots living abroad. The Tibetan New Year will approach soon. Let us extent seasonal greetings to our Tibetan compatriots abroad." In his speech, he explained the party's policies, "all patriots belong to one big family, whether they rally to the common cause early or late" and "they can freely return or leave home." He earnestly hoped: "The Tibetan compatriots who live abroad will clearly understand the situation, do not live under another's roof and do not be dependent on the pleasure of others. In conformity with the tide of history, they must return to their home town and make the necessary contributions toward the great unity and great unification of the motherland."

(Yong Qin), deputy director of the United Front Work Department of the regional CCP Committee, gave the congratulatory speech. Other speakers included Jipu Pingcuo Cideng, vice chairman of the regional CPPCC Committee; Qie Jinwu, commander of the Xizang Military District; and (Pengce Wangqiu), standing committee member of the regional CPPCC Committee and chairman of the Regional Federation of Trade Unions.

"Amid the fervent applause, Comrade Yin Fatang, first secretary of the regional CCP Committee, spoke. In his speech, he emphatically said: The United Front in the new period shoulders three great tasks: achieving the four modernizations, opposing hegemony internationally and accomplishing the great unification cause of the motherland. We must win over more friends, consolidate and develop the patriotic United Front, strengthen cooperation, work together, inspire our enthusiasm and struggle together to successfully complete the three great tasks."

CSO: 4005/647

BRIEFS

NEW YEAR VISITS--On the first day of the Tibetan New Year, Regional First Secretary Yin Fatang and other party and government leaders visited over 40 families of workers, peasants, herdsmen, teachers, armymen and martyrs, grass-root cadres and other patriotic personages to extend New Year greetings. Yin Fatang talked with street cleaners in Lhasa, speaking highly of their contributions in cleaning the regional capital and encouraging them to make new contributions in the building of a new socialist Xizang. When paying a visit to an advanced teacher's family, Yin Fatang talked with several advanced teachers who were present, encouraging them to acquire new experiences and be deligent gardeners in cultivating a socialist spiritual civilization. Regional people's Government Vice Chairman Puduoje and Xizang PLA Military District Deputy Political Commissar (Gao Songshan) paid a visit to a peasant's family, congratulating him on becoming rich through hard labor. Regional People's Government Vice Chairman Pu Qiong and Lhasa Municipal Revolutionary Committee responsible cadre Wei Dong visited a home for the aged. Other regional and municipal leaders taking part in this New Year activity were: Raidi, Yang Zongzin, Xia Chuan, Pagbalha Geleg Namgyai, (Sun Yishan), Wang Juquan, (Zhang Hongquan), Namgyal, Samding Doje Pamo, Laimin Suolang Lunzhu and Jipu Pingcuo Cideng. [Summary] [HK270326 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 25 Feb 82]

LHASA WEDDING--According to a Wen Hui Bao dispatch from Lhasa, (Sha Yingchang) and (Dong Naiwen), two Shanghai teachers working in Xizang, were married in Lhasa on 24 February, which was Tibetan New Year's Day. Yin Fatang, first secretary of the Xizang Autonomous Regional CCP Committee, happily attended their simple but solemn wedding ceremony and extended warm greetings to the newlyweds-other Tibetan comrades also extended their best wishes and presented the bride and bridegroom with ceremonial scarves and Qingko wine. (Sha Yingchang), a teacher from the Shanghai No 11 Middle School; and (Dong Naiwen), a teacher of the Changping Middle School; are two young party members who volunteered last year to work on the "roof of the world." They are now teaching at the Lhasa No 1 Middle School. [Text] [OW050243 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 26 Feb 82]

LATE NEI MONGGOL LEADER--Hohhot, 2 Mar (XINHUA)--Jie-er-ge-le, 5th NPC deputy, deputy secretary of the Nei Monggol Regional CCP Committee and vice chairman of the regional people's government, died of myocardial infarction in Hohhot on 26 February at the age of 65. Comrade Jie-er-ge-le had faithfully implemented

the party's line, principles and policies and had made important contributions to the liberation of the people in Nei Monggol, to the socialist revolution and construction of the region and to the unity of the people of all nationalities there. [OW111151 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1250 GMT 2 Mar 82]

CSO: 4005/647

BRIEFS

PRC INVITATION TO TAIWAN--Beijing, 7 Mar (XINHUA)--Fei Xiaotong, president of China Sociological Research Society, on 7 March wrote a letter to the Taiwan Provincial Soiological Society inviting the latter to send 5-7 delegates to attend the annual meeting of China Sociological Research Society to be held in Wuhan on 20 May this year. He hoped that the names and correspondence addresses of Taiwan delegates would be submitted to him before 1 May so that arrangements could be made for participation in the annual meeting. [OW111159 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0051 GMT 7 Mar 82]

CSO: 4005/648 END

JPRS 80380

23 March 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 284

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 80380

23 March 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 284

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Labor Ministers Conference Ends in Baghdad
(XINHUA, 16 Dec 81) 1

Egypt's Mubarak Concludes Visit to Oman
(XINHUA, 17 Feb 82) 3

UNSC President Reports on Independence of Ciskei
(XINHUA, 16 Dec 81) 4

Eurogroup Chairman Discusses Improving NATO's Defense
(XINHUA, 18 Dec 81) 5

Zimbabwe's Mangwende Honors Britain's Carrington
(XINHUA, 26 Feb 82) 6

Pakistan Regrets Deferment of Sathe Visit
(XINHUA, 25 Feb 82) 7

Egypt's 'Ali Rules Out Palestinian Concession
(XINHUA, 19 Feb 82) 8

Arab Americans Condemns Golan Heights Annexation
(XINHUA, 17 Dec 81) 9

Kuwait Desires Arab Rapprochement With Egypt
(XINHUA, 20 Feb 82) 10

Tanzania's Nyerere Receives 'Third World Prize'
(XINHUA, 22 Feb 82) 11

Nyerere Speaks in New Delhi on World Tension
(XINHUA, 22 Feb 82) 12

OAU Participants Protect POLISARIO Admission
(XINHUA, 24 Feb 82) 13

U.S. To Stockpile Military Equipment in Norway
(XINHUA, 16 Feb 82) 14

Syrian Troops Battle Muslim Fundamentalists
(XINHUA, 13 Feb 82) 15

Australia To Purchase British Aircraft Carrier
(XINHUA, 25 Feb 82) 18

Thai Official on SRV Reinforcements in Kampuchea
(XINHUA, 11 Feb 82) 19

Thailand Denies SRV Toxic Chemicals Charge
(XINHUA, 23 Feb 82) 20

Thailand Protests to UN Against SRV Intrusion
(XINHUA, 23 Feb 82) 21

SRV Downed Plane Aimed To Intrude Thai Airspace
(XINHUA, 20 Feb 82) 22

Thai Border Guards Killed by SRV Invaders
(XINHUA, 20 Feb 82) 23

Bolivian Official Says Mines To Be State Run
(XINHUA, 18 Feb 82) 24

Briefs
Soviets Seize Thai Boat 25
Thailand Rejects Vientiane Proposal 25
Indian Aid to Vietnam 25
Fighting in Kampuchea 26
SRV in Thai Territory 26
SRV Chemicals on Thailand 26
Thai Action Against SRV 27
Thai Border Forces 27
Vietnamese Governor Killed 27
Thai Maneuvers Near Kampuchea 28
Thai Troops 28
USSR Condemned 28
Turkish Official to Bulgaria 28

USSR in Italian Waters 29
U.S. Missiles to Thailand 29
U.S. Envoy to Madagascar 30
Bangladesh President to Burma 30
Zimbabwean Headquarters Bombed 30
DPRK Elections 30
South-South Conference 31
New Zealand, U.S. Military Agreement 31
India Condemns Israel 31
UN Secretary General 32
Karmal Medal to Brezhnev 32
Japanese Kampuchean Day 32
Taiwan Mission in Jakarta 32
Pakistan Minister Resigns 33
U.S. Secretary Visits Jordan 33
SWAPO Rejects Electoral Proposal 33
Soviet Threat 33
NATO Military Exercise 34
FRG Restricts Soviet Diplomats 34
French Foreign Arms Sales 34
Indonesian 'Slave Trade' Charges 35
Reagan to NATO Summit 35
Hungarian Minister Visits Poland 35
Afghans Kill Soviet General 35
Pakistanis Arrest Terrorists 36
Singapore Expels Soviet Officials 36
Zimbabwe Cabinet Reshuffle 36

PARTY AND STATE

Government Work Report Highlighted
(GAN YUE TAN, 25 Dec 81) 37

Struggle Against Bureaucratism Discussed
(Li Yongbing; JEIFANG RIBAO, 28 Jan 82) 42

New Advances Cited in Nationalities' Work
(Chun Guang, et al.; MINZU TUANJIE, 15 Nov 81) 46

Role of Party Cadres in Rectifying Workstyle Discussed
(Editorial; FUJIAN RIBAO, 14 Jan 82) 53

Mentality of Saving Face on Part of Cadres Analyzed
(Wang Yaping; FUJIAN RIBAO, 5 Dec 81) 55

Rectification of Unhealthy Tendencies in Work Style Discussed
(Wang Fu; SHANXI RIBAO, 15 Jan 82) 57

Need To Check Unhealthy Tendencies, Rectify Work Style Emphasized
(Zhang Lizhou; RENMIN RIBAO, 29 Jan 82) 59

Need To Eliminate Unfair Commercial Practices Urged
(Bai Ding; RENMIN RIBAO, 1 Feb 82) 62

Scholars Discuss Prospects of Reunification of Taiwan
(Tong Jiazhou; FUJIAN RIBAO, 29 Dec 81) 64

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Efforts To Utilize Talent of Overseas Chinese Reported
(FUJIAN RIBAO, 10 Jan 82) 66

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Twelve Economic Offenses by Cadres, Enterprises Reported
(MING PAO, 1 Feb 82) 69

Lao Defector to PRC on VPA Chemical Weapons
(AFP, 15 Dec 81) 71

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

LABOR MINISTERS CONFERENCE ENDS IN BAGHDAD

OW170015 Beijing XINHUA in English 1904 GMT 16 Dec 81

[Text] Baghdad, 16 Dec (XINHUA)--The four-day second conference of labour ministers of nonaligned and developing countries ended here yesterday evening.

The conference strongly condemned Israel for its continued occupation of Palestine and other Arab territories, its establishment of Jewish settlements in occupied Arab territories, and for its wanton actions in destroying people's houses, plundering people's lands and suppressing Arab workers.

It took to task Israeli intensified aggression in southern Lebanon, demanding that Israel stop this aggression immediately to guarantee Lebanon's security, stability and integrity.

The conference also attacked Israel's decision to annex the Golan Heights and its bombing of nuclear installations in Iraq.

The conference accused the South African racist regime of continuously pursuing the policy of illegal occupation, repeatedly violating U.N. resolutions on Namibia and carrying out inhuman acts to suppress the working class.

The conference issued a declaration of principles and purposes, stressing the necessity to seek a common programme and suitable methods based on the willingness of the non-aligned and developing countries so as to serve people's interests and economic development.

The declaration laid emphasis on the importance of cooperation among the non-aligned and developing countries. It pointed out the need to set up joint organizations to strengthen economic and social cooperation in the fields of labour and the development of human resources, to exchange scientific-technical information and thesis; and to carry out technical cooperation.

The conference announced a working programme to realize job training and cooperation on labour protection.

Attending the conference were delegations from 71 countries, international and regional specialized organizations. The next conference was decided to be held in Peru.

CSO: 4000/69

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EGYPT'S MUBARAK CONCLUDES VISIT TO OMAN

OW180023 Beijing XINHUA in English 1833 GMT 17 Feb 82

[Text] Cairo, February 17 (XINHUA)--Egyptian President Husni Mubarak returned here today after a 24-hour visit to Oman, his first Arab trip since taking office last October.

In a joint communique issued here and in Muscat today, Sultan Qabus of Oman said he supported President Mubarak's efforts to obtain "a just and comprehensive peace" in the Middle East. Mubarak's policies will help secure the Palestinians' rights and will provide security and stability to the region, he said.

Mubarak announced in the communique his support for the role played by the Gulf Cooperation Council in maintaining stability and security in the area.

According to the communique, Qabus accepted an invitation by Mubarak to visit Egypt. The date of the visit was not scheduled.

Oman, Sudan and Somalia were the only Arab countries not to sever diplomatic relations with Cairo after slain President Anwar al-Sadat signed the Camp David peace agreement with Israel in 1978.

During a visit to Washington this month, Mubarak urged the U.S. President Ronald Reagan to increase military aid to the countries.

CSO: 4000/69

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UNSC PRESIDENT REPORTS ON INDEPENDENCE OF CISKEI

OW160821 Beijing XINHUA in English 0715 GMT 16 Dec 81

[Text] United Nations, 15 Dec (XINHUA)--The security council this evening adopted a statement by its president saying the security council "condemns the purported proclamation of the 'independence' of the Ciskei and declares it totally invalid."

"The security council does not recognize the so-called 'independent homelands' in South Africa," the statement declared.

"This action by the South African regime, following similar proclamations in the case of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, denounced by the international community, is designed to divide and dispossess the African people and establish client states under its domination in order to perpetuate apartheid," the statement pointed out.

The statement stressed that "it further aggravates the situation in the region and hinders international efforts for just and lasting solutions."

The statement said, "The security council calls upon all governments to deny any form of recognition to the so-called 'independent' Bantustans, to refrain from any dealings with them, to reject travel documents issued by them, and urges governments of member states to take effective measures within their constitutional framework to discourage all individuals, corporations and other institutions under their jurisdiction from having any dealings with the so-called 'independent' Bantustans."

CSO: 4000/69

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EUROGROUP CHAIRMAN DISCUSSES IMPROVING NATO'S DEFENSE

OW181717 Beijing XINHUA in English 1630 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] Brussels, 18 Dec (XINHUA)--Diogo Freitas do Amaral, current chairman of the Eurogroup of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, called for "improving NATO's defense in Europe and the role of Eurogroup."

Amaral's call was contained in an article written by him and published in the December issue of NATO REVIEW.

Amaral, who is also the Portuguese deputy prime minister and defense minister, wrote that Eurogroup will continue just like the past 13 years to strengthen the European input into NATO's defense capabilities. He also wrote that Eurogroup will work toward maintaining the highest level of cohesion and solidarity between the European and North American partners in the alliance.

Amaral wrote that he is appreciative of the presence of Canadian and U.S. troops in Europe and their reinforcement of the European theater during tension or war. He pointed out that the mutual interests which the European and North American nations share in NATO constitute "the keystone to the solidarity of the alliance."

Close political, economic and military links between allies on both sides of the Atlantic are indispensable and irreplaceable, he noted.

CSO: 4000/69

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ZIMBABWE'S MANGWENDE HONORS BRITAIN'S CARRINGTON

OW261614 Beijing XINHUA in English 1507 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] Salisbury, 26 Feb (XINHUA)--Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Witness Mangwende said here Thursday Zimbabwe cannot be neutral on crucial issues of liberation.

Speaking at a dinner Thursday in honor of British Foreign Minister Lord Carrington, who arrived here Thursday, Mangwende said as people in South Africa, Namibia and other countries remain under the yoke of colonialism and racism, Zimbabwe's freedom is seriously threatened.

Zimbabwe cannot be neutral on crucial issues of liberation, he said.

Mangwende also condemned the South African racist regime for conspiring to overthrow the Zimbabwean Government.

In his speech, Carrington said that there would be no negotiated settlement, ceasefire, elections or independence in Namibia unless the essential interests of all parties have been taken into account. Zimbabwe's example is of "the greatest relevance to negotiations" on Namibia's independence.

Mangwende thanked Britain for assisting Zimbabwe's new political, economic and social order and expressed "special gratitude" to Britain for helping Zimbabwe build a national army loyal to Zimbabwean Government.

Carrington said, "I hope that you will agree that our record so far has been a good one, but you will not find us complacent or looking for laurels to rest on."

CSO: 4000/69

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PAKISTAN REGRETS DEFERMENT OF SATHE VISIT

OW251638 Beijing XINHUA in English 1524 GMT 25 Feb 82

[Text] Islamabad, 25 Feb (XINHUA)--The Pakistan Government today said it regretted the Indian Government's decision to defer a forthcoming visit to Islamabad by Indian Foreign Secretary R. D. Sathe because of a reference to the Kashmir issue by a Pakistani delegate at a recent human rights commission in Geneva.

A statement issued here today by a spokesman of the foreign office said that the statement made by the delegate from Pakistan was moderate reiteration of Pakistan's position on Jammu and Kashmir as recognised by both India and Pakistan under the Simla agreement.

The statement said, "The government of Pakistan is committed to the objective of establishing lasting peace and good neighborly relations with India. It believes that no other consideration should be permitted to impede the continuation of the Indo-Pakistan dialogue which began with so much hope and which holds so much promise for the future relationship between the two countries."

Sathe was due here March 1 to hold talks with Pakistani Foreign Secretary (Riaz Piracha). The talks were to continue dialogue on a no-war pact held in January in New Delhi by the countries' foreign ministers.

CSO: 4000/69

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EGYPT'S 'ALI RULES OUT PALESTINIAN CONCESSION

OW191712 Beijing XINHUA in English 1511 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] Cairo, February 19 (XINHUA)--Egyptian Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali told visiting Israeli journalists here Thursday that Egypt will not make any concessions concerning Jerusalem and the Palestinian issue, according to local news reports today.

'Ali told the group of 13 Israeli journalists who arrived here February 14 that the situation which Israel is trying to impose in the West Bank and Gaza is not acceptable.

'Ali said Egypt wants to find "a just solution" that will protect the rights of the Palestinians.

"As soon as the Palestinian issue is solved," 'Ali said, "the whole Middle East will be able to devote all activities to the development of its countries and protect itself against outside imminent dangers."

'Ali also said Egypt will not seek a separate settlement in the Middle East and said the Palestinians and the Jordanians should be included in the peace process. He said that the day Israel withdraws completely from Sinai on April 25, should not be taken as a deadline for the Palestinian autonomy talks.

'Ali disclosed that President Mubarak will visit Israel in March.

He also said Egypt is a link between Israel and the moderate Arab countries and that Oman can play a role concerning the Arab rapprochement "when the Arabs become aware that their return to Egypt is a necessity for peace and security."

CSO: 4000/69

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ARAB AMERICANS CONDEMNS GOLAN HEIGHTS ANNEXATION

OW170421 Beijing XINHUA in English 0250 GMT 17 Dec 81

[Text] Washington, 16 Dec (XINHUA)--The National Association of Arab Americans [NAAA] today called for "unequivocal rejection" by the United States of Israel's annexation of the Golan Heights.

The U.S. Government should declare that the annexation is illegal and affirm U.S. support for Syria's sovereign rights over all its territory including the Golan Heights. It should suspend the 2.2 billion dollar U.S. aid to Israel and rescind the recently signed memorandum of understanding with Israel on strategic cooperation, the NAAA urged in a statement issued at a press conference here today.

Israel has deliberately flaunted the letter and spirit of the Camp David accords and in so doing has clearly exhibited an unwillingness to negotiate a comprehensive peace settlement with all its Arab neighbors, the statement contended.

"The annexation of the Golan Heights is an attempt by Israel to intimidate Egypt and create a pretext for Israel to renege on its commitment to return the last portion of the Sinai, the statement said.

It is time for President Reagan and congress to stand up and say that Israel has gone too far. "Failure of the Reagan administration and congress to respond strongly to the annexation of the Golan Heights will result in further bloodshed of innocent people and will prolong the day when peace can finally be achieved in the Middle East," the statement concluded.

CSO: 4000/69

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

KUWAIT DESIRES ARAB RAPPROCHEMENT WITH EGYPT

OW201619 Beijing XINHUA in English 1605 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] Kuwait, February 20 (XINHUA)--Egypt is an important and powerful part of the Arab nation and it is "our hope that reasons which kept Egypt outside the Arab fold will vanish," said Kuwaiti Foreign Minister Shaykh as-Sabah al-Ahmad.

In an exclusive interview with the Beirut newspaper AN-NAHAR ARAB-INTERNATIONAL published today, as-Sabah reiterated Kuwait's support for the Saudi Arabian eight-point plan for a Middle East peace and regarded it as a sound basis for putting an end to the Arab disputes and solving the Palestinian problem.

In an indirect criticism at the United States, as-Sabah said, "The main threat, which faces the Gulf, the whole area and all Arab and Islamic states, is Israel." Only when the Arabs close their ranks and thrash out their differences, will those who obstinately support Israel give it serious consideration.

The present Gulf situation is stable, he said. The fundamental principles agreed upon at the recent Gulf defense ministers conference include the rejection of foreign military presence in member states of the Gulf Cooperation Council, the non-aligned policy and the defence of Gulf security and stability by self-reliance, he said.

CSO: 4000/69

TANZANIA'S NYERERE RECEIVES 'THIRD WORLD PRIZE'

OW221856 Beijing XINHUA in English 1840 GMT 22 Feb 82

[Text] New Delhi, February 22 (XINHUA)--Tanzanian President J. Nyerere received "the Third World Prize of 1981" today at a ceremony here.

Delegates to the New Delhi consultations on north-south relations and south-south cooperation attended the ceremony.

Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was present on the occasion and delivered a speech of congratulations.

In his address at the function, S. S. Ramphal, (?chairman) of the Third World Prize Committee, said, the idea of the prize sprang from the conviction that as the south looked to its strengths it should also honour outstanding contributions to Third World development, ensuring that those men and women who render to the Third World service of excellence are acknowledged in their own time and by their own generation.

After receiving the prize (medallion and 100,000 dollars), Nyerere in his speech said that "through self-reliance, and organised cooperation on a south-south basis, we can--even in the existing adverse economic circumstances--promote our own declared national objectives."

The Third World Prize, established two years ago, is conferred on individuals or institutions, for outstanding contribution to the Third World development, particularly in the economic, social, political or scientific fields.

CSO: 4000/69

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NYERERE SPEAKS IN NEW DELHI ON WORLD TENSION

OW221840 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 22 Feb 82

[Text] Dar es Salaam, February 22 (XINHUA)--The current tension betweeen the superpowers endangers world peace and has caused great concern among Third World nations, said Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere Sunday in New Delhi, the DAILY NEWS reported here today.

Nyerere is in New Delhi to receive the 1981 Third World Foundation Prize. The 100,000 dollar prize was to be awarded to him today by the Third World Foundation, a non-governmental organization based in London.

Addressing a state banquet hosted by Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, Nyerere said, "Even if this revival of brinkmanship does not lead to world war, the policy itself is endangering the independence of nations outside and inside the power blocs. For the practice of genuine nonalignment is once again being regarded as a sign of enmity towards one or the other of the superpowers, which then feels at liberty to demonstrate its displeasure by use of its economic strength or military might or even by organized subversion."

On the southern African situation, Nyerere noted, "Namibia is still not free. South Africa is still suffering under the appalling oppression of apartheid."

But, with the full backing of the frontline states, and together with the African people, the South-West Africa People's Organization had been conducting an armed struggle that would win independence for Namibia and bring the war to an end, he added.

CSO: 4000/69

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

OAU PARTICIPANTS PROTECT POLISARIO ADMISSION

OW241924 Beijing XINHUA in English [no time given] 24 Feb 82

[Text] Beijing, February 24 (XINHUA)--The 38th ordinary session of the ministerial council of the Organization of African Unity has begun discussion on the organization's financial issue after two days of debate on the admission of the POLISARIO Front of Western Sahara as a full member of the organization, according to reports from Addis Ababa.

When the decision to accept the POLISARIO Front was announced at the opening meeting on February 22, the Moroccan delegation walked out of the meeting. At the following day, a debate on the admission broke out. When the discussion about the financial issue began, delegations from Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Morocco, Senegal, Sudan and Zaire boycotted the meeting in protest against the admission of the POLISARIO Front. Delegations from Gabon and Somalia expressed disapproval of the presence of the POLISARIO delegates at the meeting.

Botswana Foreign Minister Archibald Mogwe was elected chairman of the current ministerial council.

Three more states walked out of the February 24 session when Mogwe formally welcomed the delegation of the POLISARIO Front. Djibouti, Niger and Tunisia joined the eight council member countries who walked out of the meeting yesterday.

It is also reported that King Hassan II of Morocco separately sent messages Tuesday to the OAU chairman, Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi and OAU Secretary-General Edem Kodjo, demanding that measures be taken to "repeal yesterday's illegal decision at Addis Ababa."

He also emphasized that "Morocco solemnly reaffirms its respect for the resolutions passed at the three summits at Nairobi" and that "nothing can make Morocco go back on its promise with regard to the ceasefire and referendum in the Sahara."

CSO: 4000/69

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. TO STOCKPILE MILITARY EQUIPMENT IN NORWAY

OW160146 Beijing XINHUA in English 0124 GMT 16 Feb 82

[Text] Stockholm, February 15 (XINHUA)--The United States will start stockpiling military equipment in Troendelag, central Norway, in September or October for a U.S. 6,000-man marine amphibious brigade, Norwegian defence minister Anders C. Sjaastad said here today.

Sjaastad is on his first official visit to Sweden since he was appointed minister of defence last October.

He told a news conference after talks with Swedish Defence Minister Torsten Gustafsson that the accumulation of equipment will be done in accordance with a U.S.-Norwegian agreement on stockpiling of heavy equipment in Norway for the U.S. reinforcement forces in war time.

He said among the first batch of U.S. material to be shipped to the prepositioning depots is ammunition followed by Hawk missiles.

Sjaastad also said by the end of 1984 NATO's AWACS aircraft will be able to operate regularly from Norwegian territory and these aircraft will provide NATO with a better knowledge of military activities to the East.

Sjaastad said before last Christmas, Norway was formally told by the Canadian side that Canada would begin negotiations with Norway concerning stockpiling of equipment in northern Norway for a Canadian battalion of 1,000 strong which will be designated as reinforcement forces in war time and that the two countries have already reached agreement in principle.

CSO: 4000/69

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SYRIAN TROOPS BATTLE MUSLIM FUNDAMENTALISTS

OW130800 Beijing XINHUA in English 0713 GMT 13 Feb 82

[Text] Beijing, February 13 (XINHUA)--Government operations against "criminals and fugitives" continued in the northern Syrian city of Hamah which has been blockaded for 11 days, the Syrian news agency reported Friday.

An official spokesman said that "What happened in the city of Hamah was merely a drive of search for arms and hideouts of the Muslim brotherhood gangs."

According to an official communique the search conducted by the government forces had resulted in a number of arrests and seizure of 500 automatic rifles, 40 anti-tank rockets and a considerable quantity of small arms, ammunition and explosives.

It was also announced that the trunk highway linking Hamah with Damascus and running through Hamah would be reopened tomorrow.

The Damascus television showed the seized arms and ammunition but not the arrested "criminals."

There is no official word about when the siege of Hamah will be lifted, and there is no signs of unrest in Damascus or the Hamah disturbances spreading to other Syrian cities.

Quoting a well-placed Syrian source "with direct access to the Syrian military command and the Ministry of Internal Affairs," an Associated Press report from Damascus Friday said that nine days of heavy fighting in Hamah between the outlawed and violent Muslim brotherhood bands and the Syrian Army had wounded 2,000 "well-armed rebels and up to 400 soldiers."

The source said Syrian troops aided by helicopter gunships used artillery to shell neighborhoods where the Muslim brotherhood bands were holed up.

"Contary to reports in the West," said the source, "the shelling was not indiscriminate, but carefully directed at the opposition."

He added that the army retook the city February 10, but the town remained sealed off last night and civilians were not allowed within an hour's drive of its fringes.

The fighting flares up on February 2 when the local police went into action to round up "criminals" wanted for attacks on the government. When the police encountered resistance, it called in the army which surrounded the city and used artillery and machinegun fire to wipe out the Muslim brotherhood bands, who "tried to attack the mayor's house and the home of the police chief."

Describing the government operation as "very successful," the source said that the Syrian chief of general staff Gen. Hikmat Shehabi personally commanded the Hamah operation and reported directly to President Hafiz al-Asad.

The Third Syrian Armored Division and the 42d Armored Brigade were quickly thrown into battle against the brotherhood gunmen who held out in a sector of the city crisscrossed with narrow alleyways which denied the use of armored vehicles.

"The fighting to retake this area has been house-to-house, with artillery directed at the places we know they are hiding," the source said.

The Muslim brotherhood is an outlawed group of fundamentalists which has been accused by the Syrian Government of having committed a long list of killings and bombings.

Hamah, a city of nearly 300,000, is inhabited mainly by pious Sunni muslims who account for some 80 percent of the country's population. Sunni fanatics are violently against Alawites, a minority sect which dominates the government.

CSO: 4000/69

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AUSTRALIA TO PURCHASE BRITISH AIRCRAFT CARRIER

OW251848 Beijing XINHUA in English 1831 GMT 25 Feb 82

[Text] Canberra, 25 Feb (XINHUA)--The Australian Government will purchase the modern British aircraft carrier HMS Invincible, to replace the aircraft carrier HMS Melbourne,--the Australian Navy's flagship for the past 25 years.

The decision was made at a cabinet meeting today after three months of debate, Australian Minister of Defense D. J. Killen announced here today.

Killen in a statement said the purchase price of the carrier is 285 million Australian dollars (175 million pound sterling), but total projects costs, including provision for spare parts, test and training equipment, necessary modifications and other support equipment, are estimated at 478 million Australian dollars.

He said the acquisition of the aircraft carrier will enhance Australia's naval capability in the decades ahead. He said the aircraft carrier is necessary because Australia is "surrounded on three sides by vast oceans and dependent for its very livelihood upon trade carried in ships."

Although the project involves a heavy burden on the Australian Government, "It is a burden we must be prepared to pay for in this unsettled world" in view of "the importance of Australia being able to stand on its own feet and fend for itself in regional defense matters," he said.

The HMS Invincible has a wide range of capabilities and is particularly suited to operating and maintaining large anti-submarine helicopters.

CSO: 4000/69

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAI OFFICIAL ON SRV REINFORCEMENTS IN KAMPUCHEA

OW111448 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 11 Feb 82

[Text] Bangkok, 11 Feb (XINHUA)--A senior Thai military officer said last night that Vietnam had sent two fresh army divisions to join the battle against Democratic Kampuchean (DK) forces in the rugged southwestern border area of Kampuchea, reported the BANGKOK POST today.

Lt-Gen. (Som Kattaphan), director of the information office of the Supreme Command of the Royal Thai Armed Forces, identified the two divisions as the 75th and 52d and anticipated that fighting between the Vietnamese troops and DK forces would intensify and would go on for quite a long time.

He added that large quantities of military supplies, including 155-mm artillery pieces and 120-mm mortars, had been ferried up the Klong Kluen River from the sea near Koh Kong Province to beef up Vietnam's firepower on the southwestern border of Kampuchea.

He noted it was the first time that Vietnam had brought into action 155-mm artillery pieces. Such artillery shells had slammed into the Thai side recently during fighting between Vietnamese and DK forces, he added.

He further disclosed that a Soviet-made Antonov-26 transport plane which was converted for reconnaissance missions had violated Thai air space over Ban Klong Namsai village, south of the Thai border town of Aranyaprathet, last Friday. He said he suspected the plane was making a reconnaissance flight over DK bases in the Phnom Malai and Phnom Mak Huen regions.

He said that Thai troops would not interfere in the fighting in Kampuchea, but would retaliate if they were shot at first or if shells were intentionally fired across the border.

CSO: 4000/69

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAILAND DENIES SRV TOXIC CHEMICALS CHARGE

OW231940 Beijing XINHUA in English 1923 GMT 23 Feb 82

[Text] Bangkok, 23 Feb (XINHUA)--Thai Foreign Ministry spokesman Chet Sutcharitkun today termed as "utterly groundless" the Vietnamese charge that Thailand had fired toxic chemicals into the territory of Kampuchea.

The Vietnam News Agency [VNA], quoting the Kampuchean News Agency of the puppet regime in Phnom Penh, reported on February 21 that Thailand had fired toxic chemicals with 105mm guns into southern Phnom Malai, Battambang Province, on February 11 and 14, causing 20 Kampuchean inhabitants in the area to be seriously poisoned.

According to a news bulletin released today by the information department of the Thai Foreign Ministry, Chet Sutcharitkun said, "Thailand has never possessed, nor has it sought to obtain, such toxic chemicals for its own use. What is more, Thailand has never fired shells into the area."

He also pointed out that the VNA fabrication "is aimed at diverting the attention of the world people from condemning Vietnam's use of chemical weapons in Kampuchea and Laos." This showed that "in spite of its repeated protestations, Vietnam has never shown sincerity in maintaining good relations with Thailand," he said.

CSO: 4000/69

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAILAND PROTESTS TO UN AGAINST SRV INTRUSION

OW231230 Beijing XINHUA in English 0729 GMT 23 Feb 82

[Text] Bangkok, 23 Feb (XINHUA)--Thailand has submitted a note to the United Nations, protesting Vietnamese troops' February 17 intrusion into Thai territory and their subsequent clash with Thai border policemen, according to a Thai Foreign Ministry source.

The note was handed over to U.N. Secretary General Javier Parez de Cuellar yesterday by Thailand's permanent representative to the United Nations Phiraphong Kasemsi.

The note said that 40 Vietnamese troops intruded one kilometre deep into Thai territory at Ban Sap Tari, Pong Nam Ron District, Chanthaburi Province on February 17 and attacked a 15-man border patrol police unit, killing five of them. During the clash [that] took place, about 300 more Vietnamese troops were deployed close to the scene, two kilometres inside Thai territory, until early morning on February 19.

"These blatant violations of Thai sovereignty and territorial integrity," the note pointed out, "once again demonstrate (Vietnam's) continued total disregard of the principles of international law and the U.N. Charter."

"Thailand strongly condemns these systematic acts of aggression flagrantly committed by the Vietnamese forces and reaffirms its legitimate right of self-defence against all forms of foreign aggression," it declared.

CSO: 4000/69

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SRV DOWNED PLANE AIMED TO INTRUDE THAI AIRSPACE

OW201323 Beijing XINHUA in English 1247 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] Bangkok, February 20 (XINHUA)--The Vietnamese military transport plane, which crashed in a rice field northeast of Sakeo town in Prachinburi Province of Thailand on February 11, was on a mission of intruding into Thai airspace, confirmed initial results of the on-the-spot investigations by the air and naval forces of Thailand.

A statement to this effect was issued yesterday by the Supreme Command of the Thai Armed Forces. The statement pointed out that the Soviet-built Antonov-26 carried enough fuel and its compass functioned normally. The transporter was equipped with various electronic apparatus capable of flying reconnaissance and spying missions, it added. If reoutfitted, it could also fly bombing missions.

The statement said when Thai Air Force fighters rose to intercept the Vietnamese intruder in the airspace over Pong Namron District of Chantaburi Province, eastern Thailand, the Vietnamese plane immediately lowered its altitude in a bid to escape the surveillance of Thailand's radar network and the interception of Thai Air Force fighters. After the intruding plane made a forced landing near Sakeo town, the Vietnamese spoke in Thai language to local people and wanted to know which Thai province they were in. This showed that the Vietnamese airmen knew thay had already intruded into Thai airspace even before the forced landing.

The statement said it was necessary for the Thai military authorities to continue detaining the Vietnamese plane, its pilots and other Vietnamese military personnel in order to ascertain the real intention of the plane's intrusion.

CSO: 4000/69

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAI BORDER GUARDS KILLED BY SRV INVADERS

OW200800 Beijing XINHUA in English 0750 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] Bangkok, 20 Feb (XINHUA)--Five Thai border policemen were discovered to have been killed by the intruding Vietnamese troops on February 17 when about 300 Vietnamese crossed the Kampuchean-Thai border and attacked a Thai border patrol police unit in Chanthaburi Province in eastern Thailand.

The bodies of the five were located yesterday, the Supreme Command of the Royal Thai Armed Forces confirmed. They had been reported missing since Wednesday's battle near Ban Sap Tali in Pong Namron District of Chanthaburi Province.

Field military sources disclosed that the bodies of the five policemen were discovered by a joint border patrol police and marine-trained ranger force which was sent to comb the area. The five were all apparently killed by Vietnamese artillery. Their combat gear, boots and valuables had been seized by the Vietnamese troops as they pulled back into Kampuchea.

The Thai press here reported today that tension rose along the Kampuchean-Thai border yesterday as Vietnamese troops drew in more reinforcements near the border. Thai military intelligence reports said about 400 Vietnamese tank-led infantrymen were heading towards the Thai border from their Pailin command post.

Meanwhile, a Vietnamese plane was seen dropping something along the Thai border at Ban Klong Chaeng and Sab Tamao yesterday morning. Villagers were warned not to drink water from canals and natural reservoirs as it was feared the Vietnamese might have dropped toxic chemicals.

CSO: 4000/69

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BOLIVIAN OFFICIAL SAYS MINES TO BE STATE RUN

OW181352 Beijing XINHUA in English 1230 GMT 18 Feb 82

[Text] La Paz, February 17 (XINHUA)--The Bolivian Government has decided to put all big mining and metallurgical companies into the hands of the state and strives to smelt all minerals at home in the near future, Guillermo Murguia, sub-secretary of the Bolivian Ministry of Mining and Metallurgy told XINHUA today.

He pointed out that Bolivia is still a mineral producer which produces tin, silver, zinc, lead, copper, tungsten, antimony and other minerals.

Guillermo Murguia said that the output of the 14 sub-companies of the state-owned Bolivian Mining Corporation accounts for 70 percent of the total national output, that of 22 medium-sized private companies 20 percent and the small-sized enterprises and co-ops 10 percent.

Referring to metallurgical industry, he pointed out that the state-owned enterprises represented by the Bolivian State Casting Company assumed 99 percent of the country's smelting task. The Vinto metallurgical plant in Oruro Province can produce 30,000 tons of refined tin, 5,000 tons of antimony and 1,000 tons of alloy.

The official also said that mineral exports amount to 70 percent of the total volume of Bolivia's exports. Its metallic tin and metallic silver can earn about one billion U.S. dollars of foreign exchange for the country per year.

CSO: 4000/69

BRIEFS

SOVIETS SEIZE THAI BOAT--Bangkok, February 12 (XINHUA)--A Thai fishing boat with about 20 crew has been seized by what was believed to be an armed Soviet trawler while fishing in international waters off Vietnam, reported the BANGKOK POST today. According to a radio message sent by a trawler operating off Phu Quoc Island off Vietnam's south coast, the fishing boat "Sin Sirichai 2" was seized by an armed Russian trawler at about 11 a.m. on February 3. The message was picked up by a Samut Sakhon provincial radio station which monitors messages from Thai fishing boats operating in the Gulf of Thailand. An informed source said the Russian trawler fired warning shots at the "Sin Sirichai 2" and later approached it and towed it towards Phu Quoc Island. [Text] [OW121401 Beijing XINHUA in English 1249 GMT 12 Feb 82]

THAILAND REJECTS VIENTIANE PROPOSAL--Bangkok, February 18 (XINHUA)--Thailand said today it rejected a proposal raised at "the Vientiane conference of foreign ministers" of Vietnam, Laos and the Heng Samrin regime in Phnom Penh because it "played the same old tune." Som Kataphan, director of the information office of the Supreme Command of the Thai Armed Forces, told journalists today the proposal called for promoting "contacts" with Thailand to "stabilize" the situation along the Thai-Kampuchean border. Thailand is not interested in such a proposal, he said. Som said the Thai Government recognizes only the Government of Democratic Kampuchea with Khieu Samphan as the prime minister. He said since the Heng Samrin regime is not a legitimate government, Thailand could not have any contacts with it as it is proposed. [Text] [OW181526 Beijing XINHUA in English 1506 GMT 18 Feb 82]

INDIAN AID TO VIETNAM--New Delhi, February 18 (XINHUA)--India will give Vietnam more aid as a result of the talks Indian External Minister P. N. Rao had with Hanoi authorities during his recent visit there, said THE HINDUSTAN TIMES today. "India and Vietnam have agreed to work out a long-term perspective plan of Indian participation in the economic development of Vietnam," it stated. At the moment, India's assistance to Vietnam is of the order of Rs. 1.45 billion which includes Rs. 100 million to be given in 1982-83. India has also agreed to reschedule the repayment of 100,000 tonnes of wheat loaned to Vietnam. [Text] [OW180959 Beijing XINHUA in English 0756 GMT 18 Feb 82]

FIGHTING IN KAMPUCHEA--Beijing, February 19 (XINHUA)--The National Army and guerrillas of Democratic Kampuchea liberated 31 villages two weeks ago in Chikreng District near the strategic highway No 6 leading to Phnom Penh, reported Radio Democratic Kampuchea today. Sixteen villages in Sang Vaeuy in the northwestern province of Siem Reap were liberated on January 29. Seven others in Ta Yek of the same district were liberated on February 1, and eight more in Kok Thlok and Pongro Leu on February 4. These villages in Chikreng District were seized by the Vietnamese aggressors early in the dry season. Another radio report said the Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas killed 145 Vietnamese troops and wounded 172 others in the Siem Reap-Highway No 6 battle zone last month. In five days ending February 10, they inflicted about 40 casualties on the Vietnamese in Siem Reap, Saut Nikom and Svay Leu districts, and demolished a bridge at Trapeang Run in Saut Nikom District. [Text] [OW190938 Beijing XINHUA in English 0720 GMT 19 Feb 82]

SRV IN THAI TERRITORY--Bangkok, February 18 (XINHUA)--About 300 Vietnamese and Heng Samrin soldiers Wednesday crossed into Thai territory and clashed with Thai border patrol police, the Thai Supreme Command announced here today. Lieutenant General Som Kataphan, director of the Thai Armed Forces' information office, said at a news conference that the Vietnamese forces intruded into Pong Nam Ron village in Pong Nam Ron District of Chanthaburi Province about one kilometre inside Thai territory early Wednesday afternoon. They surrounded a Thai border patrol police unit of 15 members there and began fighting. Citing recent reports reaching Bangkok, the director said all intruding forces were driven out of Thailand today by Thai reinforcement troops from other districts, but five Thai border patrol policemen are still missing. He said the Vietnamese forces crossed into the Thai territory with intentions of surrounding the Democratic Kampuchean Armed Forces in Kampuchea from the rear through Thailand. Colonel Naruedon Deopradiyuth, a Thai army representative, said the Vietnamese authorities and Hang Samrin regime in the past month have sent many troops and great quantities of ammunition and military equipment to the border provinces of Preah Vihear, Oddor Meanchey and Battambang near Thailand. He also said they have built trenches and bunkers in these provinces and forced Kampuchean residents to be evicted from the region. [Text] [OW182335 Beijing XINHUA in English 1620 GMT 18 Feb 82]

SRV CHEMICALS ON THAILAND--Bangkok, February 21 (XINHUA)--A Vietnamese plane coming from Kampuchea has reportedly sprayed a light yellow chemical over Ban Saptali and four other Thai border villages in Pong Namron District, Chantaburi Province, eastern Thailand, last Friday. The Thai press reports today that a Thai border patrol police unit spotted the plane at 7:30 p.m. as it flew over the five villages. It circled for about four minutes before flying back into Kampuchea. Yellowish dust was then found on rooftops, trees and the ground. Shaped like small drops of candle wax, the chemical stuck and had to be scratched off. Leaves and pieces of corrugated zinc sheets believed to have been tainted by the chemical were yesterday sent to the medical science department for laboratory tests. THE NATION REVIEW quoted

the governor of Chantaburi as saying yesterday that preliminary tests found the chemical to be "bio-toxin"--a kind of poisonous chemical believed to have been used by the Vietnamese in Laos before. The governor said all local villagers had been told to stop drinking water from nearby wells in Ban Saptali until tests were concluded. [Text] [OW210935 Beijing XINHUA in English 0842 GMT 21 Feb 82]

THAI ACTION AGAINST SRV--Bangkok, February 11 (XINHUA)--Prayuth Charumanee, commander-in-chief of the Thai Army, Wednesday declared that Thai border guards would punish severely those Vietnamese and Heng Samrin soldiers who deliberately shelled Thai border areas, the local press reported today. He told reporters at his headquarters that in recent days the Vietnamese and Heng Samrin forces had taken advantage of the dry season to conduct large-scale mopping up operations against the Democratic Kampuchean forces in Mount Mak Huen and Mount Malai. Some Vietnamese and Heng Samrin units had time and again crossed the border into Thai territories, but all were beaten back. Thai border guards would punish severely those Vietnamese and Heng Samrin soldiers who deliberately shelled Thailand, he said. He stressed that the Thai Armed Forces have full capability to defend their country and are ready to repel any enemy attack. Arthit Kamlang-ek, assistant commander-in-chief and commander of the First Army, told the same press conference that he had ordered the military to be on full alert in preparation against any eventuality. [Text] [OW111301 Beijing XINHUA in English 1235 GMT 11 Feb 82]

THAI BORDER FORCES--Bangkok, December 15 (XINHUA)--A decision to reinforce the tactical forces along the eastern border area of Thailand to cope with any possible military provocations in the coming dry season was made yesterday at a joint meeting of the commanding officers of Thailand's three armed services and frontier police. The meeting was presided over by Gen. Saiyut Koetphon, supreme commander of the Thai Armed Forces. Movements of massive Vietnamese reinforcements from the Kampuchean provinces of Battambang, Sisophon and Siem Reap to areas near Thailand's eastern border have been reported in the past few days. Som Khattaphan, director of the information office of the Supreme Command of the Thai Armed Forces, told Thai reporters yesterday that the dispatch of Vietnamese reinforcements to the Kampuchean-Thai border was aimed at preventing the unity of the three Kampuchean resistance forces. [Text] [OW151327 Beijing XINHUA in English 1251 GMT 15 Dec 81]

VIETNAMESE GOVERNOR KILLED--Beijing, December 17 (XINHUA)--The governor of Siem Reap Province of the Phnom Penh regime, who proved to be a Vietnamese, was killed in an ambush by the Democratic Kampuchean armed forces on December 11, reported Radio Democratic Kampuchea today. Six Vietnamese soldiers were killed and five others wounded in the same ambush laid in Chruoy Neang Nguon village, Srey Snom District, Siem Reap Province. Another radio report said that on December 8 the National Army and guerrillas operating in the lower reaches of the Bom Bek Tom River in northern Koh Nong Province sank a Vietnamese steam boat with 120 Vietnamese soldiers aboard. [Text] [OW170820 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 17 Dec 81]

THAI MANEUVERS NEAR KAMPUCHEA--Bangkok, December 20 (XINHUA)--Troops of the First Army Region of the Royal Thai Army manoeuvred in the past few days in the areas along the Kampuchean border in Ta Phraya District of Prachinburi Province, the Thai newspaper FRONTLINE DAILY reported today. The manoeuvre was aimed to raise the ability to check and drive away foreign invaders into the country, the paper said. Reports said that Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea are moving busily in the Kampuchean side along the Thai border preparing for a mass mopping-up operation against the Kampuchean resistance forces. Therefore, Thailand must get prepared against any possible emergencies, the paper said. Arthit Kamlang-ek, assistant commander in chief who is also commander of the First Army Region of the Royal Thai Army went to the eastern border area to inspect the manoeuvre yesterday. [Text] [OW201251 Beijing XINHUA in English 1211 GMT 20 Dec 81]

THAI TROOPS--Bangkok, February 24 (XINHUA)--Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon said yesterday that Thai Armed Forces along the Thai-Kampuchean border had been put on alert because of stepped-up fighting between the Vietnamese-Heng Samrin troops and the Kampuchean resistance forces, the BANGKOK POST reports today. The prime minister added that although there had been frequent hot pursuits and landing of stray shells in Thai territory recently, he did not think the situation was serious. The morale of the Thai soldiers at the border was high, he stressed. The Thai ministries of defence and foreign affairs had been instructed to cooperate closely in responding to the hostile actions from the other side of the border, he said, adding he summoned the Thai top military and police officers on February 22 for a briefing on the border situation. Thailand's field military sources said yesterday that more Vietnamese reinforcements have been moved close to the border area opposite the Thai village of Ban Saen Suk, about 17 kilometres south of Aranyaprathet, a border town in eastern Thailand, for an attack on the Democratic Kampuchean forces in the Phnom Malai mountain area. [Text] [OW240830 Beijing XINHUA in English 0720 GMT 24 Feb 82]

USSR CONDEMNED--Tehran, February 28 (XINHUA)--Iranian President Sayyed 'Ali Khamene'i condemned the Soviet Union's aggression in Afghanistan, according to the TEHRAN TIMES today. "We condemn sharply the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. We also condemn any kind of Soviet move for expansionism, any kind of invasion, any kind of imperialistic move and effort to establish a Soviet empire," the president declared in an interview with the newspaper's chief editor. "Our aim is to be able to persuade the Soviet Union not to commit aggression against Afghanistan," he said. However, according to the February 13 ISLAMIC REPUBLIC, Khamene'i indicated in an interview with foreign journalists that Iran does not want to sour relations with the Soviet Union. "The Afghanistan issue is one of the factors in our ties with U.S.S.R.," he said. [Text] [OW281940 Beijing XINHUA in English 1834 GMT 28 Feb 82]

TURKISH OFFICIAL TO BULGARIA--Ankara, February 28 (XINHUA)--Turkish head of state Gen. Kenan Evren said here Saturday, "Turkey intends to maintain its policy of carrying out friendly relations with all countries regardless of their political and economic systems." Evren made this statement at a news

conference at Ankara airport after ending his official visit to Bulgaria. Summarizing his visit as "very useful and fruitful," Evren said he and Chairman Zhivkov of Bulgaria reached agreements on several questions including a border adjustment, the delineation of the continental shelf on the Black Sea and the prevention of smuggling. "Problems may arise between countries near and far, and they should always be settled through negotiations," Evren said. "Cutting off dialogue would have a different significance." Evren said he intends to reschedule previously postponed visits to two more Balkan countries--Romania and Yugoslavia. He said dates for these visits are currently being set. [Text] [OW281638 Beijing XINHUA in English 1517 GMT 28 Feb 82]

USSR IN ITALIAN WATERS--Rome, February 28 (XINHUA)--The Italian Defense Ministry said Saturday that an unidentified submarine, not belonging to any NATO countries, was spotted February 24 at the entrance of the Gulf of Taranto. The unidentified submarine, which was forced to flee the Gulf of Taranto after it was chased for 18 hours by Italian submarine "Leonardo da Vinci," was a Soviet vessel, local newspapers reported, because of its size, speed, motor noise and other data collected by the Italian Navy. The Port of Taranto is a military base of vital importance located along Italy's southeastern coast and is often used by NATO ships. The intrusion of a foreign submarine into Italy's territorial waters has caused great concern among political circles here. Socialist Party Senator Silvano Signori said this event is comparable with the intrusion of a Soviet submarine in Swedish waters not long ago. Vice Defense Minister Martino Scovacricchi said he believes the submarine was a Soviet spy unit engaged in a kind of demonstrative intrusion. He said the threatening superiority of the Warsaw Pact and the precarious international situation had given rise to increasing concern for Italy's security. He stressed the importance of strengthening the defense capability of the West in the Meditteranean. Other parliament members also urged the government to take strong measures to protect Italy's territorial waters. [Text] [OW281610 Beijing XINHUA in English 1537 GMT 28 Feb 82]

U.S. MISSILES TO THAILAND--Bangkok, February 27 (XINHUA)--Twenty U.S.-made "Red Eye" anti-aircraft missiles were flown to Thailand today as the first batch of its kind purchased by Thailand from the United States. At a handing over ceremony at Don Muang Airport this morning, American ambassador to Thailand John Dean formally transferred the missiles to supreme commander of the Thai Armed Forces (Saiyud Kerdphol). The "Red Eye" is a portable, shoulder-fired missile designed for use by ground units against low-flying aircraft. Such missiles, sold to Thailand on a special request from Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda when he visited Washington last October, will strengthen Thai defence. [Text] [OW271750 Beijing XINHUA in English 1616 GMT 27 Feb 82]

U.S. ENVOY TO MADAGASCAR--Tananarive, February 25 (XINHUA)--Vernon Walters, special envoy of U.S. President Reagan and Secretary of State Haig, yesterday concluded a visit to Madagascar. Malagasy President Didier Ratsiraka received Walters. Both sides expressed the desire to further develop their bilateral relations. President Ratsiraka said that Madagascar is on good terms with the United States despite political differences. The sole interest of the U.S. in this part of the world is a stable, prosperous and independent Madagascar, Walters replied. According to MADAGASCAR MATIN, since last September, the U.S. has provided Madagascar with rice, edible oil and medicine to a total value of 34,700,000 U.S. dollars. [Text] [OW261302 Beijing XINHUA in English 1250 GMT 26 Feb 82]

BANGLADESH PRESIDENT TO BURMA--Dacca, February 25 (XINHUA)--Bangladesh President Abdus Sattar returned here today after a three-day state visit to Burma saying that his visit was "very successful and fruitful." This was the first visit to a neighbouring country by the president since his election last November. A joint communique issued at the Dacca airport today said that the president of Bangladesh and the president of Burma exchanged views on a wide range of bilaterla, regional and international issues. The two leaders expressed satisfaction at the conclusion of various agreements including those on border arrangements and cooperation. The communique said the two presidents noted with satisfaction the "similarity" of their views on many international issues. "They reiterated their full support for the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly." "They fully support the establishment of a new international economic order based on justice and equity for all countries. They reiterated their determination to continue to strengthen their cooperation in international forums to achieve this objective," the joint communique added. [Text] [OW251720 Beijing XINHUA in English 1509 GMT 25 Feb 82]

ZIMBABWEAN HEADQUARTERS BOMBED--Salisbury, December 18 (XINHUA)--An explosion at the headquarters of the ruling Zimbabawe African National Union (PF) here this afternoon has killed five people and wounded several others, according to a spokesman of the Information Ministry. The explosion occurred only half an hour before the ZANU Central Committee was scheduled to meet, but Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and other cabinet members were not in the building at the time of blast. The police believed a bomb had been planted in the headquarters but they could not confirm the cause of the explosion until experts had examined the rubble for clues. Residents here said it was the worst explosion since 1977 when a bomb in a department store killed 11 and injured 76. [Text] [OW190154 Beijing XINHUA in English 0147 GMT 19 Dec 81]

DPRK ELECTIONS--Pyongyang, March 1 (XINHUA)--Elections of deputies to the Seventh Supreme People's Assembly of Korea took place yesterday in all the constituencies throughout the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. At 9 a.m., voting started simultaneously at all the polling stations, according

to the Information of the Central Election Committee here, 100 per cent of the Korean electors had taken part in voting by noon yesterday. President Kim Il-song participated in the elections of deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly and voted at the poll of sub-constituency No 28, constituency No 123. The whole country was in a festive atmosphere on the day of the elections. Slogans and posters calling upon the voters to participate in the elections and vote for the nominated candidates were seen in the cities. The voters of Tokchon constituency No 181 were the first to nominate Kim Il-song as candidate for a deputy to the Supreme People's Assembly. [Text] [OW011224 Beijing XINHUA in English 1214 GMT 1 Mar 82]

SOUTH-SOUTH CONFERENCE--New Delhi, February 22 (XINHUA)--Indian Minister of External Affairs P. V. Narasimha Rao has expressed the hope that the south-south conference beginning here today will facilitate negotiations for greater global cooperation in all its dimensions and discuss proposals for greater south-south cooperation. In an exclusive interview with correspondent of the NATIONAL HERALD published today, Rao said that in calling this meeting, India hoped that exercises like this would help break the deadlock of the past two years in the negotiations on a new international economic order. The meeting, he said, is being held for an informal exchange of views where no formal decisions were sought to be taken. He favored frequent contacts between nations of the developing world. Rao maintained that the Cancun meeting underlined the fact that interdependence was a reality. However, the "myopic view" of some rich nations who were afraid of losing their economic predominance, created obstacles in the process of mutual give-and-take. [Text] [OW221527 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 22 Feb 82]

NEW ZEALAND, U.S. MILITARY AGREEMENT--Wellington, February 26 (XINHUA)--New Zealand and the United States reached an agreement announced here today on priority supply of U.S. defense materials in the event of war. A memorandum of understanding signed by New Zealand Minister of Defense Dms. Thomson and visiting U.S. Assistant Defense Secretary Lawrence Korb guaranteed that the United States will supply "standardized military equipment" to New Zealand during wartime. Disclosing some details of the agreement, Thomson said in an interview with an Australian newspaper today the U.S. military materials will include ammunition, fuel and replacement parts for aircraft and other equipment. Korb said at a press conference today that he would travel to Canberra, Australia, to negotiate a similar agreement with Australia. Korb said the agreement to supply defense materials is necessary because of the current power imbalance in the Pacific caused by the increasing strength of the Soviet Union and the Soviet access to Vietnamese ports. [Text] [OW261846 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 26 Feb 82]

INDIA CONDEMNS ISRAEL--New Delhi, December 17 (XINHUA)--India said today that Israel's annexation of Syria's Golan Heights was "highly provocative and aggressive." In a statement to both houses of the parliament, Indian External Affairs Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao said that Israel's policy of

"conquest and confrontation" would further aggravate the already tense and volatile situation in Middle East. Rao said that the Israeli action was already before the U.N. General Assembly and that the Security Council had been specially convened to discuss it. In the general assembly, India had co-sponsored a draft resolution which asked the general assembly to declare the Israeli decision as null and void, he said. [Text] [OW171636 Beijing XINHUA in English 1621 GMT 17 Dec 81]

UN SECRETARY GENERAL--United Nations, December 15 (XINHUA)--The U.N. General Assembly today adopted a resolution appointing Javier Perez de Cuellar the fifth secretary-general of the United Nations. The resolution submitted by the Security Council on December 11 recommended that de Cuellar be appointed U.N. Secretary-General for a term of office from January 1, 1982 to December 31, 1986. [Text] [OW151842 Beijing XINHUA in English 1832 GMT 15 Dec 81]

KARMAL MEDAL TO BREZHNEV--Moscow, December 16 (XINHUA)--Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev received a medal, "The Free Sun," from Babrak Karmal, head of the Kabul regime, at Kremlin here today. According to a TASS report, at the medal-awarding ceremony, Karmal repeatedly thanked Brezhnev for his "support," while Breznhev felt "deeply moved" and expressed "heartfelt thanks" for the award. Speaking on the Afghan problem at the ceremony, Breznhev said "imperialist and reactionary forces have never stopped their interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan." He completely ignored the fact that Soviet troops are the only foreign troops in that country. Karmal arrived here on December 15. [Text] [OW161642 Beijing XINHUA in English 1631 GMT 16 Dec 81]

JAPANESE KAMPUCHEAN DAY--Tokyo, February 26 (XINHUA)--The executive committee of the Kampuchean Day for 1982 at its inaugural meeting held here today expressed support for the Kampuchean people's anti-Vietnam struggle and for the talks held recently in Beijing by Kampuchean groups. Makoto Ichikawa, Hisao Kuroda, Shoten Kikuchi and other prominent figures attended the meeting. Tokumatsu Sakamoto, director of the Japan Committee for Afro-Asian People's Solidarity, reported on Kampuchean victories on anti-Vietnam battlefields at the meeting. He also explained the three-point agreement reached by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Prime Minister Khieu Samphan of Democratic Kampuchea in their Beijing talks. The committee said Kampuchean Day would be held in Tokyo on April 10 to support the Kampuchean people's struggle against Vietnamese aggression. Representatives from Democratic Kampuchea will be invited to attend Kampuchean Day meetings. [Text] [OW261726 Beijing XINHUA in English 1517 GMT 26 Feb 82]

TAIWAN MISSION IN JAKARTA--Jakarta, 5 Feb (AFP)--A Taiwan trade mission today held talks with the Jakarta branch of the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry on the possibility of stepping up trade links between the two countries. Mission leader Wu E-ping, who is the president of the Tung Kang Chemical Co Ltd, said Taiwan wanted to offer technology, machinery

and even financial supports to Indonesia. The 21-member mission organised by the China External Trade Promotion Council (CETPC) arrived here on Wednesday for a one week visit to Indonesia. Indonesia has no diplomatic relations with Taiwan but trade ties between the two countries have been [word indistinct] rapidly in the past few years, while Jakarta's diplomatic relations with Beijing are still frozen. [Text] [BK051141 Hong Kong AFP in English 0359 GMT 5 Feb 82]

PAKISTAN MINISTER RESIGNS--Islamabad, February 16 (XINHUA)--Pakistan President Mohammad Ziaul Haq accepted the resignation of Mr. Agha Shahi as foreign minister on grounds of his ill health, says a press note issued in Rawalpindi today. The president has appointed Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, ambassador to France, as the foreign minister of Pakistan. [Text] [OW161919 Beijing XINHUA in English 1844 GMT 16 Feb 82]

U.S. SECRETARY VISITS JORDAN--Damascus, February 13 (XINHUA)--United States Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger and his party left Amman today after a three-day visit to Jordan, Television Jordan reported. During his visit, Weinberger met with King Husayn and other top Jordanian officials and discussed with them military cooperation between the U.S. and Jordan. He told reporters before leaving Amman that his visit was useful and that he was delighted to have the opportunity to discuss various problems of common interest with Jordanian leaders. [Text] [OW140220 Beijing XINHUA in English 0215 GMT 14 Feb 82]

SWAPO REJECTS ELECTORAL PROPOSAL--Lusaka, February 14 (XINHUA)--The South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) Saturday rejected a "one-man, two-votes" electoral system proposed in December by the Western contact group of five countries--the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Canada--on Namibia. In a SWAPO news release issued here Saturday, SWAPO announced it wants a "simple, clear and easy" electoral system and is "prepared to accept either the proportional representation system or the single-member constituency system but not a combination of both." SWAPO's news release said the motive behind the proposal made by the Western contact group was to "deliberately complicate the whole electoral procedure and create confusion that would allow voting manipulation." "What we are opposed to is the sinister attempt to create confusion and complications in order to impose unpopular groups on the Namibian people," the release said. SWAPO announced it is confidence of implementing the proportional representative system or the single-member constituency system and sees no reason why Namibians should be subjected to a complicated electoral system for their first voting opportunity. [Text] [OW141312 Beijing XINHUA in English 1249 GMT 14 Feb 82]

SOVIET THREAT--Bogota, February 13 (XINHUA)--"We are really threatened by the Soviet power," said Colombian President Julio Cesar Turbay here Friday. Colombia, like many other countries, is being beset by tension caused by terrorism "incited by external powers that aim at creating disorder," he added. Undoubtedly, the president stressed, Cuba has participated in the training of Colombian guerrillas. In addition, "we have intercepted weapons

shipped from "outside" and they "came from Cuba," he noted. Colombia broke diplomatic relations with Cuba last March on ground that Cuba had trained anti-government guerrillas and interfered in Colombia's internal affairs. The weekly magazine GUION pointed out recently that Soviet interference in other countries' internal affairs through its satellites, especially Cuba, has become a new form of intervention. [Text] [OW141302 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 14 Feb 82]

NATO MILITARY EXERCISE--Brussels, February 15 (XINHUA)--The headquarters of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization announced here today that the organization will conduct military maneuvers in Norway from February 24 to March 24. According to the announcement, the maneuvers, code-named "Alloy Express," will be conducted to test the operating ability of NATO forces during the winter in northern Norway. The maneuvers will be joined by 14,000 men from Canada, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Britain and the United States. [Text] [OW151624 Beijing XINHUA in English 1610 GMT 15 Feb 82]

FRG RESTRICTS SOVIET DIPLOMATS--Bonn, February 11 (XINHUA)--The government of the Federal Republic of Germany has begun to enforce restrictions on movements of Soviet diplomats in line with the NATO decision in January to step up pressure on the Soviet Union for its role in the Polish crisis, local newspapers reported today. Soviet diplomats are allowed free movement only in the Bonn-Koeln District, and on trips to Frankfurt airport and Helmstedt town to the East Germany border. They are required to give a 48-hour notice to the Foreign Ministry for other journeys in West Germany. No limitations had been placed on Soviet diplomats and commercial office workers before. The West German Government reportedly will meet next Wednesday to discuss further restrictive measures, including possible freezing of financial loans to Poland and the Soviet Union. [Text] [OW120819 Beijing XINHUA in English 0748 GMT 12 Feb 82]

FRENCH FOREIGN ARMS SALES--Paris, February 11 (XINHUA)--Militarily France should help its friends strengthen their defense against any possible invader and prevent them from being annexed by any of the superpowers through alignment, French Defense Minister Charles Hernu told the Diplomatic Press Association here today. He said, "France attaches no political strings and the countries we assist may freely choose this form of assistance. This is the case of Nicaragua, it is equally the case of Egypt, Iraq and Greece." French assistance should serve to strengthen the independence of its friends, he said. "We must therefore ensure the coherence of our policy of foreign relations and of defense and avoid giving the two superpowers the possibility of imposing restrictions in this field," he stressed. Hernu disclosed that France has sold to Nicaragua 100 air-to-ground missile launchers and 7,000 ground-to-air missiles. [Text] [OW121351 Beijing XINHUA in English 1235 GMT 12 Feb 82]

INDONESIAN 'SLAVE TRADE' CHARGES--Hong Kong, February 15 (XINHUA)--Indonesian laborers have been sold to wealthy southern Californians at the price of U.S. dollars 3,000 to 5,000 per person, according to reports from Jakarta, Indonesia. People dealing in the "slave trade" are now under Indonesian and U.S. Government's surveillance. The slaves were promised a wage of U.S. dollar 30 a day by the traders and transported to American homeowners and businessmen for two years of indentured servitude. They would be deprived of return airline tickets and travel documents and sometimes intimidated physically by their owners. Reports from Los Angeles said that the civil rights division of the U.S. Department of Justice is coordinating the investigation of "slave trade" charges and inquiry and testimony of the case which began two weeks ago in the United States. [Text] [OW150752 Beijing XINHUA in English 0719 GMT 15 Feb 82]

REAGAN TO NATO SUMMIT--Bonn, February 12 (XINHUA)--West German Government announced today that heads of state and government of the Western alliance will meet on June 10 for a NATO summit in Bonn and U.S. President Ronald Reagan will attend the meeting. Bonn welcomed the NATO decision to hold the summit in Bonn, West German Government spokesman Kurt Becker said. He said, while in Bonn President Reagan will hold bilateral talks with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. The decision to hold the summit, originally planned to be convened in Brussels, was made at the proposal of Bonn which wished to stress the West German-U.S. partnership, reliable sources here revealed. The last NATO summit was held in Washington in June, 1978, at the invitation of President Jimmy Carter. [Text] [OW130720 Beijing XINHUA in English 0710 GMT 13 Feb 82]

HUNGARIAN MINISTER VISITS POLAND--Warsaw, February 13 (XINHUA)--Poland and Hungary will strengthen their political and economic coordination. This was stated in a joint communique released yesterday by PAP after Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja concluded his two-day official visit to Poland. Puja was the first Warsaw Pact foreign minister to visit Poland since martial law was imposed on December 13. The communique also accused the United States and other Western nations of interfering in the internal affairs of Poland. PAP said the Hungarian foreign minister discussed critical questions concerning the international situation with his Polish counterpart Jozef Czyrek. He was also met by Polish leaders Wojciech Jaruzelski and Henryk Jablonski. [Text] [OW131655 Beijing XINHUA in English 1517 GMT 13 Feb 82]

AFGHANS KILL SOVIET GENERAL--Beijing, February 23 (XINHUA)--A Soviet general was killed on January 19 in eastern Afghanistan when his helicopter was shot down by Afghan resistance fighters, according to Western wire reports received here. Sources in Afghanistan identified the Soviet officer as Lt. Gen. P. I. Shkidchenko, the highest ranking Soviet officer killed in Afghanistan since Soviet troops invaded the country in 1979. It was reported that two or three other Soviets and one Afghan aboard were killed. The wreckage was found about 6 miles from Khost, which is 112 miles southeast of Kabul. The sources said the news of the general's death was received

earlier but was withheld until it was verified by several reliable informants. Reports said the Soviet Army newspaper RED STAR published Shkidchenko's obituary on January 23. [Text] [OW231651 Beijing XINHUA in English 1643 GMT 23 Feb 82]

PAKISTANIS ARREST TERRORISTS--Islamabad, February 23 (XINHUA)--The police authorities in Gujranwala, Punjab Province of Pakistan, arrested nine terrorists last night, according to a newspaper report here today. The terrorists had received training in Afghanistan for conducting subversive activities in Pakistan. A big quantity of Russian-made weapons including 10 hand grenades, two rifles, five revolvers and 560 cartridges were captured by the police. This was disclosed at a press conference by senior police superintendent Mushtaq Ahmad in his office yesterday. [Text] [OW231111 Beijing XINHUA in English 0742 GMT 23 Feb 82]

SINGAPORE EXPELS SOVIET OFFICIALS--Beijing, February 22 (XINHUA)--The Singapore Government today ordered a Soviet diplomat and a Soviet official working for a local shipyard to leave Singapore within 24 hours on espionage charges, according to reports from Singapore. An official statement said Soviet diplomat Anatoliy Alekseyevich Larkin, second secretary of the Soviet Embassy, who had been in Singapore since September 1979 had tried to obtain "sensitive military information" from a Singapore army officer. Larkin had disguised himself as a journalist working for a European newspaper under a different name when he cultivated the Singapore army officer, who later informed his superiors of the matter. Soviet marine superintendent Alexander Alexandrovich Bondarev who was attached to a semi-official shipyard had recruited a local businessman as a KGB agent by promising him business deals. The Soviet official will be prohibited from entering Singapore again. Singapore is the third ASEAN country following Malaysia and Indonesia which had expelled Soviet diplomats and officials recently. [Text] [OW221550 Beijing XINHUA in English 1503 GMT 22 Feb 82]

ZIMBABWE CABINET RESHUFFLE--Salisbury, February 17 (XINHUA)--Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe announced at a news conference today a cabinet reshuffle. Three ministers and one deputy minister from the Zimbabwean African People's Union (ZAPU) were dismissed. The government shakeup followed the discovery early this month of 30 arms caches on two ZAPU farms near Bulawayo, after which the prime minister said at a recent rally that some members of the ZAPU were planning to overthrow and take over the government. The four ZAPU members who were dismissed are Joshua Nkomo, minister without portfolio; Josiah Chinamano, minister of transport; Joseph Msika, minister of natural resources and water development; and J. Ntuta, deputy minister of mine. Mugabe said, two new ministries have been added and some ministries have been adjusted. Former Finance Minister E. Nkala was appointed minister of national supplies, and Dr. A. Zvobgo became minister of legal and parliamentary affairs. Other major cabinet changes include the appointment of Dr. Bernard Chidzero as minister of finance and economic planning; Richard Hove as minister of trade and commerce; Dr. H. Ushewokunze as minister of home affairs (former minister of health). [Text] [OW190322 Beijing XINHUA in English 0154 GMT 18 Feb 82]

CSO: 4000/69

PARTY AND STATE

GOVERNMENT WORK REPORT HIGHLIGHTED

Beijing GAN YUE TAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 24, 25 Dec 81 pp 3-6

[Article: "Important Points for Study in Premier Zhao Ziyang's Government Work Report"]

[Text] The main subject of discussion at the fourth session of the Fifth National People's Congress was economic work. At the session Premier Zhao Ziyang gave a government work report entitled, "The President Economic Situation and the Principles for Future Economic Construction." This report uses the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to analyze our present economic situation by seeking truth from facts and to deal with leftist mistakes and influence in our country's economic construction. Proceeding from conditions in our country and in accordance to objective economic laws, it explicitly sets forth the principles for future economic construction and points out the fine prospects of development. This report is highly significant in guiding our economic development through a new course at a relatively dependable pace with better economic benefits, enabling the people to obtain even more material benefits.

I. The National Economy Is Beginning To Develop at a Steady Pace

The first part of the report analyzes the present economic situation and points out that in the past year, our economic work progressed in the course of consolidating existing accomplishments, overcoming immediate difficulties, further summing up experiences and increasing our understanding. It is estimated that the economic plan for 1981 will be successfully completed and that the goal of stabilizing the economy can be basically realized. This year, readjustment has been carried out extensively and there have been serious natural calamities. The total output value of industry and agriculture has not decreased but will increase by about 3 percent over last year. The whole economic situation is much better than estimated. The national economy has begun to develop at a steady pace.

1. The 10 manifestations of economic stability are: (1) basic balance in finance and credit; (2) basic stability in commodity prices; (3) overall increase in agricultural output and liveliness in the countryside; (4) overcoming historically rare floods and droughts; (5) large increase in light industrial output; (6) long-standing problems of the capital construction

front are gradually resolved; (8) scientific research work is closely combined with economic construction and is playing a major role; (9) expansion in domestic and foreign trade; (10) the daily lives of people continue to improve.

2. Economic stability proves that the readjustment policy is correct. Success in economic construction during the past year is the result of common struggle by people of all nationalities in the country under the party's leadership, and is the result of carrying out the eight character policy of "readjustment, restructuring, reorganization and upgrading." This year facts fully show that in the further readjustment on the economic front, the guiding ideology is correct, the course of development is sound, and the result is outstanding. Through readjustment, the demand of stabilizing the entire economy is basically reached, thereby further consolidating and developing the political situation of stability, unity and liveliness in the whole country.

3. The hidden danger in the national economy has not been entirely removed. The basic balance of revenue and expenditure this year has been realized under the condition of curtailed expenditure and not consolidation. We still need to go through a considerable period of time and make arduous effort in order to maintain the basic balance of finance and credit, achieve suitability of increase in output in consumer goods to increase in the society's purchasing power, maintain basic stability in commodity prices, make possible coordinated development of the national economy on this basis and basically improve financial and economic conditions.

II. Ten Principles for Economic Construction

The 2d part of Premier Zhao Ziyang's report discusses the tasks in our socialist economic construction and systematically sets forth 10 principles for economic construction.

1. Substance of the 10 principles. The first, second and third principles primarily discuss the problems of developing agriculture, light industry, heavy industry, and communications and transportation industries. They explicitly suggest that we must rely on policies and science to speed up agricultural growth; resolve the irrational problems within the economic and industrial structures; give importance to the growth of consumer goods industry; further readjust the service trend of heavy industry, increase the efficient use of energy and strengthen the construction of energy industry, communications and transportation industries. The fourth and fifth principles, based on the conditions and problems of existing enterprises in our country, suggests measures for transformation and reorganization and explains that extended reproduction and growth of productive forces in the future must chiefly rely on technological transformation, giving full play to the role of existing enterprises and carrying out overall reorganization of enterprises by groups. The sixth and seventh principles suggest ways to resolve the problems of construction capital by internal and external means. They suggest that we must emphasize the principle of creating, collecting and using wealth to increase and save capital funds and that we must adhere to an open door policy to increase our country's ability in self-reliance.

The eighth principle mainly explains how we should reliably reform the system of economic management and fully mobilize the enthusiasm of various sides. The ninth principle deals with the proportionally irrational condition between our country's backwardness in education and science and other departments in the national economy. It suggests that we must strive to increase the scientific and cultural level of all laborers and vigorously organize scientific research to tackle key problems. The 10th principle mainly says that we should adhere to the objective laws of the socialist economy in handling our work, centrally plan and arrange production, construction and the people's living proceeding from the mentality that everything is for the people.

2. The significance of the 10 principles is great. These 10 principles for economic construction are formulated on the basis of the "Resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People's Republic of China" issued by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought. It is a concrete expression of the policy of readjustment, restructuring, reorganization and upgrading, and has been accumulated by experience in the 32 years since the founding of the state particularly in the last 3 years. We must earnestly implement these 10 principles in order to thoroughly change the old practice which has long been guided by leftist ideology, truly proceed from the realities in our country, increase economic benefit, and open up a new course for economic construction. When we consider economic problems in the future we must place the basic starting point on increasing economic benefit.

III. Bright Prospects for China's Economic Construction

The third part of the report talks about the bright prospects of economic construction in our country, pointing out that in the last decade of this century we may very possibly open up a new period of economic vitalization.

1. Future Prospects. We need to spend 5 years or a little longer to further readjust the national economy so that the economic structure will become rationalized and at the same time we must carry out gradual and overall reform of various economic management systems. After the foundation is laid, the "reserve strength" will gradually increase and hopefully there will be faster economic growth in the future. When the period of economic vitalization in the last decade of this century arrives, our economy will have a considerable growth rate and there will be actual benefits. The living standards of our people will be greatly increased. We must strive to use the 20 years to triple the total industrial and agricultural output value and to enable people's consumption to reach a comparatively well-off level. By then, our country can proceed from a new starting point and speedily join the economic ranks of relatively developed countries.

2. The basis of optimistic prospects: (1) The emphasis of all our work has already shifted to modern socialist construction and will persist unswervingly. (2) Our rich resources are far short of being fully developed and utilized and contain enormous potentials in every respect. We have our own negative and positive experiences, and can also borrow and use advanced

technology and management experience of other countries to avoid detours. (3) We have the superiority of the socialist system. Reform of the whole economic system can enable this intrinsic superiority fully to play its role.

3. We must prevent two erroneous tendencies: We must prevent the failure to recognize our favorable conditions, lack of confidence in the future, pessimism and loss of hope in modern construction. We must also prevent the failure to recognize our existing problems and the arduousness and complexity of our tasks, and the unrealistic thinking of quick victories.

4. How should we make bright prospects a reality?

(1) We must rouse our spirit, go all out and do well in our present work. Our main task in economic development next year is: consolidate the result of a stable economy, continue to maintain basic balance of revenue and expenditure in finance and credit and maintain basic stability of prices, and strive to increase economic benefit so that the growth rate of the national economy will be a little higher than this year.

(2) Strive to build a high degree of socialist spiritual culture. Building a high degree of material culture and spiritual culture are closely related and supplementary to each other. Only if we build a high degree of socialist material culture and at the same time build a high degree of socialist spiritual culture can we safeguard the long-term growth of our national economy and the socialist trend in building a material culture.

(3) Overcome bureaucratism and increase work efficiency. The bureaucratic tendency existing in our political life and economic management is a serious obstacle to the new course of our national economy and to the construction of the four modernizations. The State Council has resolved to take decisive measures to reform government organs and improve the leadership's style of work and methods.

Questions for Thought

1. Why do we say that our national economy has started to develop at a steady pace?

2. What does basic financial balance of revenue and expenditure in 1981 tell us?

3. After having suffered serious calamities this year, why does our agriculture still have an overall increase in output?

4. Why do we say that the danger hidden in the national economy has not been completely removed?

5. Why do we say that the 10 principles can enable our economy to open up a new and more reliable course with better economic benefit, whereby people can obtain even more material benefit?

6. Why is increasing economic benefit the central problem of economic construction?

7. How should we understand the relationship between building material culture and building spiritual culture?

9586
CSO: 4005/562

PARTY AND STATE

STRUGGLE AGAINST BUREAUCRATISM DISCUSSED

Shanghai JEIFANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by Li Yongbing [2621 3938 0365]: "How Did Lenin Oppose Bureaucratism"]

[Text] After the October Revolution, Lenin strongly emphasized the struggle with bureaucratism in order to consolidate the political power of the soviets and build socialism in an impoverished Russia. He sharply pointed out at that time: "There is still a great deal of bureaucratism in various people's commissariats. Every commissariat has it." He specially exhorted the whole party: Communist Party members have become bureaucrats. If there is anything that can destroy us, this is it. Lenin fully exposed the grave danger of bureaucratism before the party and the people.

Why did bureaucratism exist and grow in Russia where the proletariat had achieved political power? Lenin made a penetrating analysis. First, bureaucratism was a bad influence left behind by bureaucratic organs and bureaucrats. Lenin pointed out that prerevolutionary Russia was a backward country under despotism. "The people were absolutely powerless in the face of bureaucrats, and bureaucrats with special privileges were all unsupervised." The October Revolution smashed the decadent and reactionary state organs and overthrew the bureaucrats who oppressed the people. However, the mentality and habits of the old society and old officials could not be thoroughly removed in a short time. Inevitably it grew in party and government organs and to varying degrees among certain staff workers.

Besides, the existence of small producers is the economic root of bureaucratism. At that time, the Russian countryside had not yet realized socialist collectivization and small agrarian economies remainded widely in existence. "The dispersed and unorganized state of small producers, their poverty and lack of civility, the inaccessibility of their locations, the existence of illiteracy, the lack of circulation between industry and agriculture and the lack of ties and cooperation between them" were precisely the economic roots of bureaucratism. Bureaucratism is the "superstructure of small producers' aversion to discipline and their apathy."

Moreover, low cultural level is another root of the existence and growth of bureaucratism. At that time 60 or 70 percent of the Russian people were

illiterate. This greatly limited the capacity of the masses of workers and peasants in taking part in the administration of the state and other undertakings. The masses of workers and peasants wanted to build superior state and other organs but they did not have the knowledge and culture necessary for establishing them. Low cultural level also greatly limited the growth of socialist democracy. Lenin frankly admitted at that time, "Although in its guiding principles the soviet is an organ that administers through the laboring masses, it is actually done through the advanced stratum of the proletariat for the laboring masses, and is not an organ that administers through the laboring masses." Precisely under these conditions of low cultural level and insufficient growth of democracy, bureaucratism easily grew among the cadres who held power.

At the same time, Lenin soberly recognized that the struggle with bureaucratism in an extremely poor country required a very long period of time and was an arduous task. Consequently, he taught people not to be disheartened by defeat in the struggle with bureaucratism. The "running sore of bureaucratism" cannot be "thoroughly eliminated" overnight. Only through stubborn effort can it be gradually reduced. At that time someone suggested "abandoning the running sore of bureaucratism." Lenin said that this suggestion was incorrect for it did not understand the nature of the problem. A "running sore" cannot be abandoned but can only be treated. This treatment cannot be external surgery; it can only be treated slowly and repeatedly for 20 or 30 times.

Lenin put forth a series of realistic measures to oppose and prevent bureaucratism.

First, inspect the work of all organs earnestly and frequently. Lenin believed that the key to the struggle with bureaucratism and the dilatory style of work was to have men of action and practice. We must seek talent--intelligent and capable men, who can turn the party and government instructions from dirty waste paper to lively practice. We must also conduct earnest and frequent inspection, nonperiodic inspection and sometimes shock inspection, and deal with them promptly. Lenin set an example for this. In January 1922, he personally conducted inspection work of rail cars at the key station of the Mowcow railway posing as an insigificant staff worker of the All-Russia committee on the elimination of counterrevolutionaries. He discovered extremely bad conditions: many things were stolen, engines were inoperative, rail cars frequently broke down on the way, station masters were completely ignorant, order was chaotic, and work was casually performed. If this was the case with transportation vehicles administered by such an authoritative organ as the All-Russia committee on the elimination of counterrevolutionaries, the condition of the entire people's commissariat for transportion could be imagined. Lenin handled this problem vigorously and speedily. He demanded that concerned departments immediately send a responsible person to take direct charge of this work and assume serious responsibility for any further neglect. He also demanded the issuance of a concise military regulation concerning rail cars; making explicit provisions for their secret and speedy movement, repair and maintenance, care for fuel, circuits, key stations and smooth passage through any place. He also demanded detailed reports of the

status of implementation and, in addition, commissioned special personnel to make nonperiodic inspection of implementation.

Second, use administrative and legal measures to struggle with bureaucratism. Lenin suggested that the deputy chairman of the people's committee and the committee of labor and national defense be given authority to carry out more frequent administrative punishment against those who committed bureaucratic mistakes. The state should speedily formulate the bill concerning this problem. Those who committed bureaucratism with serious circumstances must be dismissed from their jobs and be tried and punished by the courts. The people's courts must give greater emphasis to punishment by law against bureaucratism, dilatory style of work and neglect of duties in economic areas. The hearings of these cases should be most solemn and educational and verdicts should leave a deep impression on people. Some offenders should be rebuked in the newspapers. This will enhance a sense of responsibility among the people, draw the attention of the masses of workers and peasants to this important problem, and reach the actual goal: to achieve even greater economic success.

Third, simplify and improve state organs. Lenin pointed out that in order to treat the evil of bureaucratism we must reduce the size of the establishment, formulate standards for the establishment, reduce and carefully select staff, cut down unnecessary expenditure, and establish the system of individual responsibility for all types of work of organs at all levels. For this, Lenin drafted the resolution of the work of the deputy chairman of the people's committee and the committee of labor and national defense. Provisions were made for the deputy chairman's tasks, responsibilities, division of labor, methods of work and administrative organs. Lenin also demanded that state personnel learn advanced management of foreign countries and collect materials related to the standardization of official documents, such as procedure for exchange of official documents, format, typing, questions and replies.

Lenin did not oppose bureaucratism negatively but made positive efforts to improve the work of state organs. He believed that to improve state organs we need much energy, ability, and very earnest study of the question on how to make improvement. We must gradually popularize the work methods truly created by exemplary organs. Moreover, we must pay great attention to fostering good tendencies and those tested, new, young and vigorous forces of communism that have experienced the civil war and poverty.

Fourth, vigorously enhance the cultural level of the whole nation. On bureaucratism, Lenin said that "This kind of poisonous sore cannot be treated by military victory and political transformation, but can only be treated by enhancing culture." Only by greatly enhancing the scientific culture and educational levels of the whole country and nation, so that socialist democracy will more fully develop and all laboring people truly and directly take part in the administration of state and enterprises, can the phenomenon of bureaucratism be prevented and removed to the greatest extent.

Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out not too long ago: "The bureaucratic tendencies existing in our present state and political life as well as the work in economic administration are serious obstacles to the new path of developing the national economy and to the construction of the four modernizations." The party and government are paying great attention to this problem and are setting

party and government are paying great attention to this problem and are setting about to resolve it. In order to earnestly analyze the various manifestations of bureaucratism and its cause and to find the way to resolve such an evil, reviewing the important ideas Lenin had in this regard is clearly of educational value.

9586
CSO: 4005/612

PARTY AND STATE

NEW ADVANCES CITED IN NATIONALITIES' WORK

Beijing MINZU TUANJIE [NATIONALITIES' UNITY] in Chinese No 11, 15 Nov 81 pp 5-8

[Article by Chun Guang [2504 0342], Pei Lian [1014 1670] and Bing Chun [2671 2504]: "New Achievements in Nationalities' Work Since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Central Committee"]

[Text] The 3rd Plenum of the Party's 11th Central Committee, which was convened three years ago, brought about our Party's renewed establishment of Marxist ideological, political and organizational lines, and each work task has been launched upon a pathway of healthy development. This is a great turning point since the founding of our Party and is replete with far-reaching historical importance. Under the guidance of the Third Plenum line, our country's nationalities' work has also brought order from chaos in its guiding principles, and this reaffirmation and implementation under new conditions has perfected and developed the Party's nationalities' policies, effectively readjusted and reformed nationalities' relationships, strengthened nationalities' unity and produced an excellent situation seldom seen in over 20 years.

I. From the foot of Mount Tai to the Qinghai-Tibetan Plateau, from the Treasure Island of Hainan to the Hulun Boir grasslands, throughout our vast nationalities' areas, everywhere there has emerged a vigorous situation marked by ease of mind among the masses, a spirit of inspiration among the cadres, unity among the nationalities, and the development of production. In particular, the redress of unjust and misguided judgments rendered during the Cultural Revolution under the influence of past mistaken leftist ideology has unburdened the spirits of the great number of minority cadres and masses who had been harmed, radiated the positiveness of building socialism, and enormously improved relationships between the Party and masses and among the nationalities. The masses who have had wrongs redressed have movingly stated: "The Communist Party is open and above-board, seeks truth from facts, and lives up to its word. We have faith in the Communist Party, and we will follow the Party forever."

The policy of self-government in the nationalities' areas is China's basic policy for solving nationalities' problems. However, during the decade of turmoil, this policy experienced the severe sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The right of autonomy for the minorities was not respected, and autonomous regions were not so in fact. Now this situation has undergone an obvious transformation.

Nationalities' cadres, nationalities' written and spoken languages, and nationalities' styles have been universally revered, and new advances have been made in staffing autonomous organizations with minorities. The government posts of the five autonomous regions throughout the nation and the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress are all held by nationalities' cadres in the exercise of self-government; and within the 30 autonomous prefectures and 72 autonomous counties (banners), other than a few which have not yet held people's congresses to engage in direct elections, the important responsible people in the government power organs are all self-governing nationalities' cadres, and, moreover, the great majority of main responsible persons in Party organs are also self-governing nationalities' cadres. The number of national minorities' cadres throughout the country has reached 1.02 million, a three-fold increase over 1957, and an increase of 190,000 over 1978. The thing which heartens one is that the proportion of cadres with various professional skills has increased. At the end of the 1950's, only around 10 percent of nationalities' cadres had varying kinds of professional skills, whereas now the number has reached 30 percent. Each nationality has its own scientific and technical cadres. They have made positive contributions to developing science and technology in China by transforming the backward situation of science and technology among the national minorities. The overwhelming majority of national minorities' cadres, especially the leading cadres, support the Party line, uphold the four basic principles, have comparatively rich work experience and organizational leadership abilities, understand their own nationality's language, and are intimately familiar with the political, economic and cultural characteristics of their areas and with the customs and habits, thoughts and feelings of their own nationality. They are good at proceeding from actual conditions, suiting measures to local situations, and in conducting their efforts in the nationalities' manner which the masses of their regions most appreciate. National minorities' cadres and Han nationality cadres in national minorities' regions have come to have an ever deeper appreciation through long experience that when national minorities' cadres are separated from Han nationality cadres, nothing is done properly; and likewise that when Han nationality cadres are separated from national minorities' cadres, nothing is done properly. The mutual dependence and close unity of every nationality both spurs and promotes the unity among the nationalities' peoples.

The clearest manifestation of the transformations wrought in national minorities' regions are in the development of production and the betterment of life. Due to vigorously redressing the slew of leftist errors of the past, seeking truth from facts and the policy of suiting measures to local conditions, policies have been relaxed, the economy has been stimulated, burdens have been lightened, and our nation has been able to rest and build up strength. The nation has strengthened its support for building production in national minorities' regions. In addition to regular funds, additional funds just for aiding construction have reached over 1 billion yuan per year. At the same time, in poor nationalities' regions, taxes on agriculture and animal husbandry and grain requisitions by the state have been reduced or remitted, lessening the burdens and bringing real benefits to the masses. In particular, the promotion of various production responsibility systems has brought about compatibility between the production relations and the productive forces' level of development. Several nationality regions which have for many years been unable to solve basic problems of clothing and food have in one or two years experienced great transformations. In Jinping County of the Miao/Dong Autonomous

Prefecture in southwest Guizhou Province many people in the past often went about begging for food. Last year the per capita grain ration in the county reached 486 jin, and the average income was 60 yuan cash, and not only was there not a single beggar, moreover, 40 percent of the households had savings. The masses have sung out: "Grain is stored in my granary, and for things to eat I need not worry. When guests come into my home, they get both wine and meat aplenty." In the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, which occupies one-sixth of the land surface of China and where dwell over 10 different nationalities, once again this year there was advancement in agriculture and animal husbandry production on top of three successive years of bumper harvests. Total production of summer grains reached 4.313 billion jin, which surpassed the planned target. The total number of livestock in inventory at the end of June was 1.84 million head greater than at the same time the previous year and surpassed the highest levels ever. Industrial production progressed amidst readjustment. At the end of July, the gross output value was 1.991 billion yuan, which was 7.1 percent greater than at the same time last year. Social savings deposits have surpassed quotas in fulfilling the yearly plan. The Nei Monggol Autonomous Region's agricultural and animal husbandry situation is very good; and in a situation in which land area sowed in cereal grains has diminished by 1.3 million mu, the total production surpassed the highest levels ever, and oil crops and sugar beets have increased over 20 percent. The total number of livestock has risen 2 percent, and the proportion of marketed goods has more than doubled over last year, thereby furnishing the nation with great quantities of livestock products.

Among nationalities which dwell in scattered areas are some production communes and brigades which have experienced great changes. There are 35 separate Hui nationality brigades in Jining Prefecture of Shandong Province, and in 1980 they produced a total of over 29 million jin of grains, which was 1.08 million jin greater than 1979 and which represented 740 jin per capita. In 18 of these brigades, the average per mu yield surpassed 1000 jin. The total income of the 35 brigades was 11.12 million yuan, which is 2.51 million yuan more than 1979 and represents a per capita distribution of 117 yuan. In 1977 their average per capita income was 20 percent lower than the average for the entire area, but by 1980 it had become 20 percent higher than the average for the entire area. How great a change this is from low to high!

Last year of the 22 counties throughout the country which had an average collective distributed income of over 300 yuan per person, 16 were counties (banners) of national minorities' inhabited regions, which is 72.8 percent of the total number. In Maduo County of Qinghai Province, the average per capita income was 463 yuan, which is first in the nation.

The educational and cultural affairs of the national minorities' areas have been quite rapidly restored and developed through corrective policies and through reorganization and adjustment. Each relevant province and autonomous region has drafted concrete rules, on the basis of proceeding from actual conditions, for developing nationalities' educational affairs and has increased funds for nationalities' education and substantially raised the ranks of teaching personnel. In grassland areas, mountain areas and border areas, we have restored and established a system of boarding primary and middle schools in which the students' fees are covered by the state. The 10 nationalities' colleges which were devastated by Lin Biao and the

"gang of four" have either been or are being restored. The method of student enrollment which universities have adopted in which selection is based on excellence and preferential treatment is given on a proportional basis has taken positive effect, as well as the methods whereby a number of high level colleges and schools and various special training schools conduct nationalities' courses and preparatory courses in order to promote the greater and faster development of talent among the national minorities. For the past three years, each year there have been about 50,000 national minorities' graduates from universities and colleges, technical middle schools and secondary normal schools who have taken positions in the work force, thereby hastening the process of revolutionizing the ranks of national minorities' cadres and increasing their knowledge and entry into areas of specialization.

The transformation and developments in nationalities' areas have opened up a fine outlook for the people, and the people of every national minority heartily rejoice in this. In the words of one song:

> Grain aplenty, herds abundant, and lots of oil and meat,
> Such is the lift of the national minorities.
>
> Savings deposits abound, and many are they who can afford to buy top quality goods,
> The comrades sing out: Watch out that you don't knock the department store's doors down in your rush to get in!
>
> Many build new homes and many get married,
> Rejoicing and congratulations!
>
> So many are the numbers of national minorities' students and cadres,
> That it goes without saying, they are the masters of their own affairs.

II. Why is it that in the very short period of three years the Party's nationalities' work has achieved such great results and that the nationalities' areas have brought forth such a prosperous state of development that it makes one feel inspired? The most basic reason is that due to the work of the Party in bringing order from chaos, we have embarked upon the correct road. To quote what the masses are saying: "The Central Committee of the Party is concerned about the national minorities; and the Party's policies toward the nationalities once again have returned," and "a golden era of nationalities work has appeared."

Our Party continuously pays serious attention to nationalities' affairs. For a long time it has adhered to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as its guiding principle, has proceeded to act on the basis of China's actual conditions, has formulated and implemented a series of correct policies, such as nationalities' equality, nationalities' unity, nationalities' area autonomy and nationalities' prosperous development, etc., and has created and summed up a whole set of experiences on how to handle nationalities' work well. Since the founding of the nation, there has very rapidly formed among the nationalities of China a newly structured socialist nationalities' relationship which is unprecedented. However, at the end of the

1950's the nationalities' work of the Party began to be affected by the interference of leftist errors; and during the decade of internal turmoil the two counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing seriously sabotaged the Party's nationalities' policies, but even more they brought enormous disaster upon the various nationalities' peoples. In smashing the counterrevolutionary clique of Jiang Qing, particularly since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Central Committee, our Party has paid close attention to carrying out nationalities' policies, has produced major policy decisions and a series of significant directives, and has energetically strengthened nationalities' unity work. For the sake of the united front and of nationalities' and religious affairs departments, the Party Central Committee has expunged the label "carrying out capitulationist and counterrevolutionary lines." It has made important directives concerning nationalities' border areas, and, moreover, it has promoted propaganda education on nationalities' policies for all people and cadres of all nationalities throughout the country. Serious attention to nationalities' work has even increased, particularly since the establishment of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party. Not long after its establishment, the Secretariat held a special discussion on work problems in Tibet and published the Central Committee's first report which was the "Circular on Passing Along the Summary of the Tibetan Work Conference." This circular accurately pointed out the central task of Tibetan affaris and the eight guiding principles. After more than a year the Tibetan Autonomous Region attained spectacular success in carrying out the Central Committee's decisions. The thing which is important and of universal impact is that through this report the mistaken viewpoint that "the nationalities problem is essentially a class problem," which was one of the serious aftereffects of the period of ideological turmoil, has been negated, and thorough reform and changing chaos into order have proceeded on the basis of nationalities' theory; they have clearly stated the essence and substance of nationality relations during the socialist period; and that stressing the strengthening of nationalities' unity and improving the political, economic and cultural conditions of each nationality are great strategic obligations. As the Central Committee of the Party has pointed out to the whole nation, this circular's basic spirit can similarly be appropriately applied in other autonomous nationalities' areas. Following this the Central Committee discussed the solution of work problems in Xinjiang, Nei Monggol and Yunnan, etc., in succession, and it ceaselessly perfected and developed the Party's nationalities' policies according to actual conditions and new circumstances and energetically guided and promoted nationalities' work.

The 6th Plenum of the Party's 11th Central Committee passed the "Resolution on Certain Historical Questions in the History of the Party Since the Founding of the PRC," which improved and developed socialist nationalities' relationships and strengthened the area of nationalities' unity. It contained a special exposition which correctly summed up the basic experiences and lessons of our country's nationalities' work, further clarified future directions in nationalities' work, and further unified thought, understanding and the movement to lay the basic foundation for the nationalities of China.

On 4 October this year when Comrade Hu Yaobang received the responsible persons of the All-China National Minorities Visiting Group, he stressed that the two great political obligations of our country at present were to handle well the nationalities' relationship and the task of bringing Taiwan back to the motherland, and he

raised nationalities' unity to an important position; also he emphatically pointed out the major importance of doing a good job in economic construction in national minorities' areas and strengthening nationalities' unity in a country of many different nationalities like ours.

Correct policy directions and an excellent work style are mutually complementary factors. The leading comrades of the State Council of the Party Central Committee have gone to such border areas as Tibet, Xinjiang, Nei Monggol, Ningxia, Hainan and Xishuangbanna to conduct sincere investigatory research, widely soliciting the opinions of the cadres and masses of those regions, and discussing ways of solving problems with them in order to create an example of restoring and spreading the excellent tradition of the Party's nationalities' work. Just in the period of time from May 1980 to October 1981, 10 leading comrades of the Party's Central Committee, including the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, Secretary of the Secretariat, Premier of the State Council and Vice Premier, et al., have gone individually to conduct investigations and research in nationalities' areas and to guide work there. The major policy-making and the series of general and specific policies of the Central Committee on nationalities' work have been personally initiated by the actions and investigations and studies of our leading cadres so as to be formulated on the basis of experience and observation of the actual conditions in national minorities' areas and on hearing the opinions of the cadres and masses. Concerning the basic principles on nationalities' questions, they adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and they enbody the basic policies on nationalities' equality, nationalities' unity, nationalities' regional autonomy and nationalities' development and prosperity, etc., which the Party has historically formulated through trial and experience to prove that they are correct, and which, in addition, they have developed promptly based on new conditions and new problems. The Central Committee has explicitly pointed out that the important components in the overall mission of building a strong socialist nation which is modernized, highly democratic and highly cultured, are to steadfastly attend to helping each national minority develop its political economy and culture, to ceaselessly move forward in adherence to the socialist road, and to successively bring about true equality for each national minority. It emphasizes that in order to improve and develop a socialist nationalities' relationships, the Han nationality and each national minority must engage in mutual dependence, mutual trust and mutual aid, and ceaselessly strengthen nationalities' unity. When emphasizing nationalities' work one must put doing a good job in economic work as a priority. At the same time it has been pointed out that in order to do a good job in nationalities' work one must delve deeply into the facts, conduct investigations and studies, understand the new conditions, seek truth from facts and suit measures to local conditions in solving real problems.

The Central Committee's guiding ideology and policy-making measures for solving nationalities' problems have received whole-hearted support from the people of every nationality. Even though as we look down the road ahead we still see this or that problem or trouble, nevertheless the national minorities' peoples with hearts full of confidence have said: "The Party's Central Committee has the greatest understanding of the hearts of we national minorities. Whatever we have thought, the Party's Central Committee has also thought, only more deeply and thoroughly than

we." "The Party's Central Committee has the determination, the boldness, and the way to lead us to overcome our difficulties; we then must have the courage and the confidence to cure poverty and bring about richness, to develop economics and culture, and contribute to the Four Modernizations."

9879
CSO: 4005/467

PARTY AND STATE

ROLE OF PARTY CADRES IN RECTIFYING WORKSTYLE DISCUSSED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jan 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Rectification of the Party's Workstyle Will Lead to Success in Improving the Civilian Lifestyle"]

[Text] Both the party and the people can influence each other to bring about changes in their styles of work.

But the key to success in bringing about fundamental improvements in these two styles of work lies in the rectification of the party's style of work.

Although smugglers have become very active along the coast of Changle County, none of them has come from one of its brigades--Haixing. Tribute must be paid to the party branch of Haixing Brigade for maintaining strong leadership and for upholding a decent style of work.

The Jinjiang coast is now an area frequented by smugglers. But none of them comes from the Meilin Brigade in the area, because its party branch has been able to provide strong ideological and political leadership, steering its members clear of such social evils. The party branch has actively led the fishing boats in taking part in the checking and investigation of contraband merchandise. Thus far, they have helped the government caputre and confiscate more than 8 million yuan worth of contraband goods.

Contrary to these examples, there are other localities that are beset by smuggling and speculation caused mainly by some party members and party cadres, ranging from high to low levels, who have worked hand in glove to defraud the government. Their misdeeds have rendered their party organizations impotent as fighting headquarters. Some townships are now being swept by a trend that impels people to build private homes on public land; this trend was triggered by some party members and party cadres who were the first to use farmland for private purposes and to encroach on the public interest in order to enhance their private interests. It is natural that such dirty deals have rendered them impotent as administrators in commanding others.

Huang Changmao [7806 7022 5399], deputy head of the executive office of Longxi Prefecture, has been found guilty of abusing his authority by promoting his 46-year-old wife to a regular official position from a position as temporary

hired hand. Huang Baozang [7806 1405 5661], deputy secretary of the Jinjiang County Party Committee, not only has taken the liberty to build his own home on public land but also has deliberately allowed himself to fall behind in payments for its construction costs. He has also been found guilty of embezzling thousands of yuan from state and collective funds. Certainly, his misdeeds will have an exceedingly bad impact on society.

Meanwhile, those who have access to power have been able to give parties and indulge in excessive eating and drinking, to present gifts to friends, and to build private homes on public land without authorization. They also have been found guilty of corruption, of accepting gratuities and of applying illegal tactics in order to place their children in schools and jobs of their choice and to transfer their loved ones from agricultural to nonagricultural households. If these cadres who are found guilty of abusing power in violation of the law and discipline are not made targets of public condemnation, and if they are allowed to escape the punishment [that is due them] in accordance with the provisions of party discipline and the laws of the state, they will certainly become rotten and will cast a black pall on the brilliant image of our party.

Provincial leading organs have recently adopted a series of measures to correct unhealthy tendencies. It is certain that, with the blessing of the cadres and people throughout the province, their enforcement will have a positive role to play in rectifying the party's workstyle and in building a socialist spiritual civilization.

Rectification of the party's style of work is in need of supervision by the people, while success in improving the civilian lifestyle mainly calls for efforts by party cadres to play an exemplary role in this respect. As soon as the party's workstyle is rectified, fundamental improvements can be expected for the civilian lifestyle and social order. Comrades who erred in this direction must make conscientious efforts to study Comrade Chen Yun's important speech, entitled "Tell the Truth Instead of Trying To Save Your Face," so that they can voluntarily effect a break with their erroneous ideas. Leading bodies at all levels should never be kindhearted in dealing with those who thus far have shown no sign of atonement for their serious breach of discipline and violation of the laws, nor can they cover them up. If they were to do so, they would cast a pall on the party and help wrongdoers and criminals to escape justice.

9574
CSO: 4005/565

PARTY AND STATE

MENTALITY OF SAVING FACE ON PART OF CADRES ANALYZED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Wang Yaping [3769 0068 1627]: "On 'Saving Face'"]

[Text] In 1923, when Lu Xun was in Japan, he told his Japanese friends that the Chinese people had "an unquenchable propensity" for preserving their sense of honor. "This can be called something whose importance is second only to life."

First, it is human to do something to save face. In his "Collection of Qietieting Essays," Lu Xun said: "Any person who nevers losing face will prove to be a person insensitive to humiliation." A man who has no propensity to save face will prove to be one not afraid to lose face. Naturally, persons like that often have "no sense of shame." Among them are uncivilized, impolite, and immoral individuals who take pride in being able to deceive and inveigh against others and take liberties with women. They are not even ashamed to enhance their private interests at the expense of the public interest. In their contact with foreigners, others have proved insensitive to the humiliation of our national dignity. These are persons who are not afraid to lose face, and therefore they have no sense of shame or humiliation. This is why some persons with no sense of honor are capable of doing everything bad and ugly and of countering criticism from the masses with callousness and stony face. The Chinese tradition of regarding the preservation of a sense of honor as a matter of importance "second only to life" is not unjustified.

Second, the intention to save face is a mentality that should be analyzed. The term 'saving face' has its positive and negative aspects. Its positive aspect refers to individuals who should be praised for doing something to save face in the name of justice. Its negative aspect refers to hypocrites who should be critized for saving their skins.

"Those who reluctantly wear a serious face in trying to cover up their mistakes are called hypocrites: The most despicable hypocrites are individuals who regard vices as virtues, who never show any sign of atonement or plead guilty to crimes they have committed, and who always want to find some excuse to cover up their wrongdoings. Therefore, it can be said that the term 'saving face' has its hypocritical aspects." This statement by Lu Xun really provides

an analytical insight into the "hypocritical face" worn by some people. This statement is also applicable in real life. In order to 'save face,' some individuals who are aware of their mistakes have refused to admit or correct them. Instead, they always want to find some excuse to defend their errors. As a matter of fact, no one is infallible. One must be determined to correct one's mistakes. Doing so will not end up [causing one to] lose face. Instead, one will be praised for "performing such a great deed" and for doing such a marvelous job. If anyone tries to cover up his wrongdoings and shamelessly refuses to admit them, he risks loss of face within the truth is made known to the public.

The Chinese tradition of regarding the preservation of a sense of honor as a matter of "importance second only to life" should be highly valued by us, so that we will be able to save it rather than destroy it through an outburst of bad temper. It is good to correct mistakes. Doing so is in the interest of the party. We must save this "face" for our party. In a sense, doing so is not only a matter of "importance second only to life" but a performance more important than life. This is supposed to be a lovely face that everyone must try to save.

Actually, "a lovely face" can be saved only through practical struggle. Do you think that our minister of coal industry lost face when he launched a self-criticism at a meeting attended by thousands of people not long ago? Certainly not. Marxists are determined to correct their mistakes. As soon as practice proves that what we do is wrong, we must display determination to correct it, even at the cost of "losing face." It is pennywise but pound-foolish to save personal face at the expense of our revolutionary traditions and principles. This is why wrongdoers have no reason to save face. Any thought of trying to challenge critics to "gun duels" without taking into consideration the impact and consequences is an ugly idea that should be rejected by everyone.

9574
CSO: 4005/565

PARTY AND STATE

RECTIFICATION OF UNHEALTHY TENDENCIES IN WORK STYLE DISCUSSED

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by Wang Fu [3769 3940]: "Both 'Tigers' and 'Flies' Must Be Hit"]

[Text] In the course of rectifying the party's work style, some people have laid bare a problem, stating that thus far, "only flies are hit, tigers are still untouched," implying that our focus is on rectifying the unhealthy tendency adhered to by those at the bottom or ordinary cadres rather than on rectifying the unhealthy tendency that has affected those at the top or senior cadres. This allegation is clearly unilateral and erroneous.

The allegation that "only flies are hit and tigers remain untouched" is inconsistent with the fact. The party Central Committee and its responsible comrades have repeatedly pointed out: The party's work style is a problem that affects not only party organizations and government agencies at all levels but also all walks of life in our society. The unhealthy tendency takes all forms and wears all colors. It affects not only senior and middle level cadres but also ordinary cadres. Although as a whole, it is not in the mainstream of our party's style of work, and its followers are a minority, it poses a serious threat to the organization of the party and state. It also threatens to drive a wedge between the party and the masses, causing a large number of people to become disenchanted with what has taken place. For this reason, since the smashing of the "gang of four," the party has regarded the task of rectifying its work style as an important part of an endeavor to bring order out of chaos and a matter of prime importance to be grasped. It has displayed determination to rectify any unhealthy tendency no matter where it comes from. In 1979, the party Central Committee and the State Council jointly issued "Regulations Governing the Assessment of Payments for Senior Cadres" to be first implemented by central authorities. Meanwhile, the party and state have addressed themselves to the problems resulting from the prevalance of unhealthy tendencies that affected many senior and middle level cadres. These problems have been handled seriously and published by newspapers. How can we say that "only flies are hit and tigers remain untouched?"

There are some people who want to "hit only tigers." Their principal reason is: "As soon as the problems affecting those at the top or senior cadres are grasped, the problems affecting the ordinary cadres will automatically

disappear, thus making it unnecessary to hit 'tigers' and 'flies' at the same time." This is an oversimplification of facts. Undeniably, everyone will consider it necessary to focus attention on rectifying the style of work of senior cadres in leadership positions because the unhealthy tendencies followed by them will carry greater influence and dangers. But if anyone tends to minimize the problem of unhealthy tendencies that affect the party as a whole as well as all walks of social life as merely a minor issue affecting only senior and middle level cadres, he must be out of his mind, to say the least. Comrade Mao Zedong has left us this famous motto: "The dust untouched by brooms will not disappear automatically." The unhealthy tendency, like the dust, unswept by "brooms," will accumulate until it is stirred up into the air by the wind and spread to pollute the air of our party and threaten the health of people. The unhealthy tendency is undoubtedly a very complicated and delicate problem, that may have an inexplicable impact on those at the top, those at the bottom and others around them. Seeking only solutions for problems that affect those at the top or senior cadres is unlikely to make problems that affect those at the bottom or ordinary cadres "disappear automatically." Furthermore, it must be said that everyone is equal before party discipline and state laws; no one should be permitted to enjoy special privileges. Why should "flies" be treated as clean and innocent creatures, allowed to stand above party discipline and state laws? If that is the case, can it be called a special privilege?

What needs to be explained is the term "hit" discussed in this article, a term that should not be interpreted as an indication of the renewal of "cruel struggles and merciless attacks." Among the proponents of unhealthy tendencies, there are only a few serious violators of party discipline and state laws who have shown no signs of atonement for their wrongdoings despite repeated education. Except for these few persons who deserve punishment in accordance with the provisions of party discipline and state laws, the overwhelming majority presents only problems that can be resolved through criticism and education. The party always welcomes them as long as they admit and resolutely correct their mistakes.

True, it is easy to hit the "flies" and hard to touch "tigers." This is a fact that no one can deny. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that some leading cadres have devised various ways and resorted to a variety of tactics to tamper with the implementation of party discipline and state laws. This is a serious unhealthy tendency that needs to be resolutely corrected. As long as this tendency prevails, it is unlikely that certain "tigers" can be brought to justice.

9574
CSO: 4005/598

PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO CHECK UNHEALTHY TENDENCIES, RECTIFY WORK STYLE EMPHASIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jan 82 p 5

[Article by Zhang Lizhou [1728 7812 3166]: "Check the Evil Practice of Protecting Unhealthy Tendencies"]

[Text] As the new year is ushered in and everything in the world is renewed, one jubilant new event has followed another. One of the events is a decision by the party Central Committee and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission to concentrate attention on further rectifying the party's work style along with a proposal to achieve a decisive victory in this direction in the year to come. The party's work style is an issue that has commanded our attention for years. A survey of new developments in the year to come has brought to light new hopes, prompting the people firmly to believe that the prospect is delightful, and that "each year will bring something better than the previous year; what we can achieve in the year to come will surpass what we did in the year already gone."

Whether we can score a decisive victory in the rectification of the party's work style in the year to come depends largely on whether the leadership at all levels can be successful in overcoming the state of disarray and weakness in their struggle against unhealthy tendencies. This was an important idea emphasized at a forum held early this year by the Central Discipline Inspection Commission. This is really a thoughful and timely question. Why do we still face so many difficulties in rectifying the party's work style? Why can't we make it move in the right direction? It should be said that although the problem is caused by many factors, the crux of the problem is that one unhealthy tendency is protected by another.

This situation can be generally explained in the following two ways: (1) the forces against the unhealthy tendencies have become impotent. For example, many comrades who have described the unhealthy tendencies as grave dangers have been unable to back up their words with strong actions. Although they often "appear angry, they have no guts for combat" the unhealthy tendencies. Some people have summarized this attitude into "three dont's" they don't have courage or guts to combat the unhealthy tendencies; they don't want to fight against each other. Although, from the subjective point of view, these comrades appear to have no intention of protecting the unhealthy tendencies, the objective fact indicated otherwise. (2) A variety of reasons have led

people deliberately to provide cover and protection for the unhealthy tendencies. Whenever a cadre is about to be prosecuted on charges of violation of law and discipline, some individuals in leadership positions often want to come to his aid, or bail him out of detention. They can bring pressures to bear on the discipline inspection agencies until the major issues become minor ones and minor issues become naught. Certainly, they can achieve this by all means at their disposal, and for "reasons" that sound convincing to the public. For example, they can set him free under the pretext that "no one can avoid mistakes;" they can protect him with this admonition: "don't do it again;" they can clear him of all political, economic and legal responsibilities by saying that "the leadership will take over all responsibilities." In this way, they cover up all problems without holding themselves liable for anything. These are their tactics that cannot be enumerated one by one here.

Clearly, whatever they do is incompatible with the requirements for improving the inner-party life and for developing active ideological struggles. As shown in the point 2, some responsible comrades in leadership positions have become a visible or invisible obstacle to the rectification of the unhealthy tendencies. Actually, their role is one of protecting and shielding the serious unhealthy tendencies to varying degrees. This is something that commands our special attention.

A demonstration of determination to put an end to this unhealthy tendency of protecting another, and especially to investigate in a serious manner those who deliberately use their power to shield, protect and cover up the dangerous unhealthy tendencies, is extremely important to our struggle effectively to curb such tendencies. This is a measure that can help the people increase their confidence in this struggle.

Needless to say that some people inside the party and outside have exhibited little confidence in our party's ability to rectify its work style; certainly, they need to be educated. But what makes them lose confidence? Their personal and educational reasons notwithstanding, many comrades have become disenchanted with the "bureaucracy of mutual protection," a bureaucracy which emphasizes only personal relationships with a contempt for the laws. We can persuade these comrades not to think that way but we cannot denounce their thoughts as something completely groundless. Certainly, the pernicious and corrosive impact of that tendency, to protect all other unhealthy tendencies, on our society cannot be underestimated. First, to those interested in promoting the unhealthy tendencies, it means a direct and open support, a stimulus that will cause them to slide farther and farther down the wrong road. Second, to those comrades dedicated to the struggle against the unhealthy tendencies, it means cold waters which will have the effect of dampening their enthusiasm. Third, to the enforcers of the regulations, rules and discipline repeatedly reaffirmed by our party, it poses a threat to harass, boycott, and ruin their efforts. It will make it more difficult for them to improve the laws and discipline of the party and to rectify its work style. In a legal sense, whoever is accused on instigating and covering up crimes can be brought to justice. If those found guilty of accomodating, shielding and covering up the unhealthy tendencies are allowed to prevail without subjecting them to the due process of law, how can we rule out the

possibility that the sactity of the provisions of our party discipline now in force will not be jeopardized and comrades will not be demoralized? This is the reason why the unhealthy tendencies cannot be tolerated. Nor can we tolerate those bent on protecting such tendencies. To steer the party's work style to move decisively in the right direction in the year to come, we must do "two things simultaneously:" we must count on the entire party to continue the struggle until the unhealthy tendencies are brought under control; the entire party must be mobilized to concentrate on combating the evil forces devoted to protecting the unhealthy tendencies and bringing them under control. The latter is a prerequisite for ensuring the success of the former. Only in this way can the people more courageously and confidently resist the unhealthy tendencies and bring the party's struggle against the unhealthy tendencies to a successful conslusion.

9574
CSO: 4005/595

PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO ELIMINATE UNFAIR COMMERCIAL PRACTICES URGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Feb 82 p 8

[Article by Bai Ding [4101 0002]: "The Backlash of Cultivating Relationships for Ulterior Motives"]

[Text] The State Council has issued a "Circular Concerning the Prohibition of the Illegal Practices in the Circulation of Commodities" followed by another "Circular on Strengthening Party Discipline and Banning the Illegal Practice of Building Relationships for Ulterior Motives" issued by the Central Commission for Inspection of Discipline. The tendencies pointed out by the State Council and the Central Commission for Inspection of Discipline are really visible in our everyday activities. Their growth has become so alarming and astonishing that we have found them very difficult to overcome. Thus far, they have become a part of our social climate and a force of habit. Those clearly visible cases of bribery and its variations can now be more easily prosecuted as stipulated in our party discipline and state laws. But there are elusive and baffling cases that cannot be easily solve. Indictment of such cases calls for hard work.

For example, we often fail to get train tickets through reservations or purchase in person no matter how urgent are our trips. Our problems will remain unsolved even if we bring along with us official letters of recommendation certifying the emergency of our trips, and follow it with repeated personal pleas. But we can get the tickets without difficulty if anyone of us has acquaintances on the staff of the railway administration. The same is true of shopping for goods in great demand. If you have acquaintances, you can get anything that is not available to others. I know a doctor who does not worry about the availability of merchandise for him and does not get it through bribery. I was told that as a doctor, he can please his counterparts with "all possible convenient services" including clinical service, and supplies of medicine. He is even responsive to requests for false certifications or prescriptions. A manager of a certain bank used to be responsive to any requests from a certain construction team under his supervision in exchange for its services for processing his own timber into finished products to his satisfaction. Later, in a swift change in his attitude, and in a full exercise of his prerogative as a "supervisor," he began to nitpick about its shortcomings and made things very difficult. This came after two jobseekers and one building contractor he recommended for the team were rejected. It

goes without saying that the team's free processing of his privately owned timber was certainly wrong, and that under normal circumstances, his exercise of a supervisory role in criticizing and correcting errors in work done by the team was also justified. But he did not do this for the benefit of the state but entirely for the purpose of retribution for personal reasons, to vent his wrath, and compulsively push people around as an act of reprisal. This counterblow was really effective because he did so in a "businesslike" manner, and in the graceful name of justice which could silence anyone who wanted to air his side of the story. This is supposed to be the most dreadful backlash of "cultivating relationships for ulterior motives." But if you want to get business done, you still have no choice but to maintain certain relations with persons like that manager. If you strain the relations to the extreme breaking point, he can exercise his power to turn off the engine of your car and stall your movement and your business transactions. Although this practice is deeply hated by the people, they are still fearful of reprisals. Persons like that manager resemble foxes with foul odors. This is why the people are afraid to touch them and want reluctantly to accommodate them. This has prompted some people to say ruefully: "Through the building of such relationships, we can get things easily done. In their absence, we cannot move a single step.

Every party member, every cadre and every state employee are the people's servants. The power delegated to them by the party and the people (including stethoscopes, steering wheels, meat cutters' knives, and scales for sales work) must be used to serve the interests of the party, the nation and the people. No one should be allowed to trade the principles for personal gains. The currently prevailing unhealthy tendency to "cultivate relationships for ulterior motives" is like cancerous cells which will have a serious bad effect on the people's minds, social life, and the health of the party and state. It also threatens to undermine the normal relationships between the party and the masses, between cadres and the masses, between individuals and between one government department and another, to disrupt the development of the socialist economy and the socialist spiritual civilization, to tarnish the brilliant images of the party and socialism. This is something well known to all. This is why the people have already taken action in response to the party Central Committee's and the State Council's call. But they are still scared by the backlash of such business relationships. Leading organs must work out a better plan to deal with the so-called "dreadful souls that nobody dares to touch."

9574
CSO: 4005/601

SCHOLARS DISCUSS PROSPECTS OF REUNIFICATION OF TAIWAN

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Tong Jiazhou [4547 1367 3166]: "On Patriotism"]

[Text] From 7 to 12 December, the Fuzhou Chapter of the Fujian Provincial Society of History and the History Department of Fujian Normal University held their joint 1981 academic seminar, to which a total of more than 150 persons were invited. The major topic of the seminar was patriotism. Other topics discussed by comrades at the seminar ranged from the evaluation of patriotic figures in history to the revolutionary activities that took place in Fujian and Taiwan during the period of the 1911 Revolution, and from the history of relations between Fujian and Taiwan to the contributions of overseas to their motherland.

Comrades present at the seminar said: The subject of patriotism that we are talking about today stands for a warm love of our motherland and its soil, people, history, excellent cultural heritage, socialist system, and great future. This constitutes profound affection for our homeland. Patriotism represents a tremendous spiritual strength that can be harnessed to build socialism, and a broad ideological and political foundation of great unity among the people of all nationalities, including those in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao, and overseas Chinese residents. The Chinese nation is a great nation in this world; it has a history full of outstanding national heroes and patriots too numerous to mention here. This spiritual legacy is so valuable that it is worthy of our constant efforts to pass it along from generation to generation. Today, we must broaden education in patriotism in connection with education in the rehabilitation of the Chinese nation and the realization of the four modernizations. We must take truth at its face value and uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts. Under no circumstances can we adopt far-fetched interpretations to distort history. We must draw a clear line between historical patriotism and the feudal concept of loyalty to the emperor. We must take a correct view of the historical relations between people of different nationalities. With regard to foreign relations, we must oppose foreign aggression, reject narrowminded nationalism, and repudiate the ossified and conservative doctrine that everything Chinese is best. In the course of learning useful things from foreign countries, we must stand for "principle," as Lu Xun did, and must discourage the people from worshiping everything foreign blindly or swallowing it without going

through a digestive process. The syndrome of xenophobia accompanied by violence should be rejected.

Also discussed at the seminar were a number of outstanding historical patriotic figures, including Lin Zexu, Zheng Chenggong, Zuo Zongtang, Kang Xi, Wen Tianxiang, Qi Jianguang, Sun Yat-sen, and Chen Jiageng. Associate Professor Lin Jidao [2651 4764 3614], a great-grandson of a grandson of Lin Zexu, attended the seminar. He said: Lin Zexu was an indomitable national hero--a name he earned through his action to ban opium and through the execution of his strategy to counter British aggression. He was also a champion of patriotism, which he demonstrated during his tour of duty in Jiangsu, Hunan, and Guangdong, by working to relieve victims of natural calamities, and by initiating the building of water-conservancy projects. What makes him even more unforgettable to us was his dedication to the development of the frontier region of our motherland after he was unjustly demoted and banished to Zinjiang. His patriotic concern for the country and the people was reflected in his poems and Chinese couplets inscribed on scrolls.

Also discussed at the seminar were the revolutionary activities that took place in Fujian and Taiwan during the period of the 1911 Revolution and the history of relations between Fujian and Taiwan. During the discussion of a topic entitled "The Taiwan People's Demand and Struggle for the Return of Taiwan to the Motherland During the Period of the 1911 Revolution," some comrades cited a number of facts to verify the point that the Taiwan people are our compatriots linked by blood; they have long been known for their tradition as patriots, and have long cherished the desire for unification with the mainland of the motherland. This desire dates far back to the period of the 1911 Revolution, when Taiwan remained under Japanese occupation. By then the Taiwan people, unwilling to live under subjugation, never ceased staging uprisings and waging struggles in the hope of returning the island to the embrace of the motherland. Some comrades cited facts to portray the life of Wu Sha, a native of Zhangpu County, Fujian, who, during the Qianlong Reign of the Qing Dynasty, led a group of his townsfolk in crossing the stormy strait to Taiwan. After reaching there, they joined the local aboriginal people in developing the land. It took them several generations and cost them hard work to turn that former vast wilderness of Ilan into fertile fields. This indicates that the beautiful island of Taiwan, a part of the motherland, was the fruit of hard labor jointly performed by people from Fujian and Guangdong and local aboriginal people. For this reason, Taiwan can enjoy a bright future only after it is united with the motherland. Comrades also praised the glorious tradition of patriotism inherited by the people of Fujian and national heroes and patriots who have appeared one after another in its history. Today, as the spring breeze is sweeping the province, we must strive to sum up historical experiences and carry forward the tradition of patriotism as a contribution to the rehabilitation of the Chinese nation.

9574
CSO: 4005/568

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

EFFORTS TO UTILIZE TALENT OF OVERSEAS CHINESE REPORTED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jan 82 p 1

[Report: "Exert Our Spirit, Go All Out To Build Socialist New Native Districts of Overseas Chinese; Our Province Convenes Congress of Returned Overseas Chinese, Relatives of Overseas Chinese, Advanced Units of Workers in Overseas Chinese Affairs, and Advanced Production Workers"]

[Text] The congress of our province's returned overseas Chinese, relatives of overseas Chinese, advanced units of workers in overseas Chinese affairs, and advanced production workers took place in Fuzhou from 4 to 8 January.

Four-hundred-eithty representatives of returned overseas Chinese, relatives of overseas Chinese, advanced units of workers in overseas Chinese affairs, and advanced production workers from the province's various fronts attended the congress.

Provincial leading comrades Wu Hongxiang [0124 3163 4382], Yuan Gai [5913 2395], Wen Fushan [3306 7096 1472], Guo Ruiren [6753 3843 0086], and responsible persons of workers,' youth and women's organizations attended the opening ceremony. On behalf of the provincial party committee and the provincial government, Wu Hongxiang extended warm congratulations to the congress and also gave a talk.

After recalling the achievements that our province's work in overseas Chinese affairs has scored, Wu Hongxiang put forward his opinion on four points with respect to our future work: 1. We must clearly understand the fine situation before us and clarify the goals of our struggle. He said that our situation in the province is good: industry and agriculture have scored an overall increase in production; financial revenues and expenditures are basically balanced; external economic work has made new progress; and the political situation of stability and unity is becoming increasingly consolidated and is developing. As for problems that still exist in the path of our advance, we should carry out hard and solid work in order to seriously solve them. He emphatically pointed out that our most basic task at present and in the days ahead is to grasp material civilization on the one hand and spiritual civilization on the other hand by making a go of our national economy and making a go of our spiritual civilization. All our departments and all our work must follow and serve these two major goals in order to make greater

progress than last year in the building of our socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. 2. We must seriously study and implement the 10 principles of economic construction and make greater contributions to Fujian's economic revival. He said: The core question of the 10 principles of economic construction is to do everything we can in order to increase economic results in production, construction, circulation, and other such realms. Entrepreneurial units run by our overseas Chinese affairs departments, such as factories, farms, tourist agencies, and service agencies, must all stress economic impact and devote themselves to enlivening and managing well each and every one of these enterprises. Wu Hongxiang pointed out that in order to adhere to and implement the 10 principles of economic construction, we must insist on the policy of opening up to the outside world and give scope to the many strong points of the overseas Chinese in Fujian. There are both talent and resources among the more than 5 million overseas Chinese of our province, and the overwhelming majority of them are concerned about their motherland and love their native districts and are willing to contribute their resources and talent to the four modernizations. Not only must we continue to manage well the processing of imported materials, the assembly of imported parts, the completion of imported samples and compensatory trade, the settlement of returned overseas Chinese, and the employment of the relatives of overseas Chinese, as well as solve the [problem of] labor outlets in the native districts of the overseas Chinese, thereby creating wealth for the state and the collectives, but we must also dauntlessly absorb overseas Chinese capital and foreign capital, import new technologies and equipment, reform existing enterprises, raise the technical level of our production, add new productive capabilities, further develop joint enterprises and cooperative management, build new medium and small enterprises, and gather capital to establish a number of core projects to welcome investments in them by overseas Chinese businessmen and foreign businessmen, and provide overseas Chinese with conditions more favorable than those intended for investment by foreign businessmen. We should discover, train, and dauntlessly use the talents that exists among the returned overseas Chinese and relatives of overseas Chinese in order to adapt to the expansion of our external economic and technical exchanges. 3. We must strengthen our ideological and political work and do a good job of building our socialist spiritual civilization in the vast overseas Chinese districts. During the period of our economic revival, ideological and political work is of special importance. Overseas Chinese affairs departments at various levels and basic-level organizations in the overseas Chinese districts should all put ideological and political work as an important item on their agenda, and really make a point of paying attention to it ideologically, strengthening it organizationally, and closely grasping it in our work in order to earnestly achieve results. At present, we must make a special effort to grasp well the task of changing existing customs so as to have a clean, healthy, and beneficial Spring Festival; we must carry out propaganda with regard to forestation so as to make the motherland green, with regard to doing a good job of public health work, with regard to beautifying the environment and improving our service attitudes, and with regard to raising the quality of our services; and we must broadly and penetratingly launch activities concerning the "five stresses" and "four points of beauty." In the overseas Chinese districts, we must pay special attention to conduct education on the legal system and on opposition to

corruption and erosion, resist the corrosion of reactionary, bourgeois ideologies, and curb unhealthy practices that ignore state dignity and personal dignity in order to do a good job of ameliorating social customs and social order and security. We must break down old customs and habits and establish new moral customs. 4. We must continue to do a good job in our overseas Chinese affairs work, and protect and develop the overseas brethrens' ardor in loving their country and loving their native districts. We must conscientiously realize the party's various policies in order to mobilize the enthusiasm of the returned overseas Chinese and overseas brethren for loving their country and their native districts and for participating in socialist construction, and at the same time do a good job of external propaganda and reception and entertainment.

Responsible comrades of the provincial party committee and provincial government Xiang Nan [7309 0589], Ma Xingyuan [7456 5281 0337], and Cheng Xu [4453 1645] came to the meeting to call on the delegates. Comrade Xiang Nan also gave a talk at the meeting.

Wang Hanjie [3769 3352 2638], director of the provincial Bureau of Overseas Chinese Affairs, delivered a work report at the meeting. There were 18 advanced units and advanced individuals who made statements at the meeting. During the congress, the provincial corps committee and provincial women's federation also invited relevant delegates to hold a forum.

The congress awarded prized and souvenirs to the advanced units, advanced production workers, and advanced personnel.

The congress passed a proposal to be presented to the returned overseas Chinese, relatives of overseas Chinese, and overseas Chinese affairs workers.

9255
CSO: 4005/580

TWELVE ECONOMIC OFFENSES BY CADRES, ENTERPRISES REPORTED

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 1 Feb 82 p 5

[Special dispatch from Beijing: "Finance Ministry Survey Indicates Irregularities Among Cadres Are Very Serious; There Are 12 Principal Manifestations"]

[Text] In his Spring Festival talk, CCP Vice Chairman Li Xiannian said that two major measures must be carried out this year: one is simplification of the administrative structure, and the other is serious punishment of corruption. The latter is intended mainly for the current cases of economic offenses. Once a leading cadre becomes implicated, no leniency will be shown to him, and [Li] declared that it is necessary to "carry out these measures vigorously and speedily, and get to the bottom of things."

This reporter has learned that the CCP Central Committee started long ago to embark on investigations into the situation concerning economic offenses. According to what is revealed in a set of data sorted out by the party group of the Ministry of Finance and received by the central Commission for Inspection of Discipline, the situation concerning violations of financial and economic discipline by the leading cadres of certain organs and enterprises at present is very serious. There are mainly 12 manifestations in this regard:

1. In submitting profits to the state treasury, these entrepreneurial units fail to follow state prescriptions, allocate costs at random, list expenses at random, and list business expenditures at random; they overdraw funds from the portions of profits to be retained and also from various special funds; they intercept, divert, and lag behind in submitting the profits and depreciation funds due the state treasury; the departments in charge of these enterprises raise the portions of the profits to be retained and extend the criteria and limits for their expenditures without authorization.

2. In the case of tax revenues, tax-paying units resort to evasion of tax payments, omission of taxes, delays in making tax payments, unauthorized decisions on tax reduction and tax exemption, or even resistance to paying the taxes levied; the departments in charge of these enterprises take it upon themselves to issue documents to the lower levels contrary to the tax laws and regulations of the state.

3. In capital construction, construction projects that should be suspended or deferred are allowed privately to continue operation and construction; funds are randomly diverted from all irrelevant sources for the purpose of carrying out capital construction beyond what is planned.

4. In the matter of budget control, local governments, financial and responsible departments turn the general concept of the state into their own parochial concept of the state, and turn what is within budgetary figures into what is beyond them; they intercept and divert revenues that should be submitted to the state treasury.

5. As for prices, the selling and purchase prices of products are raised or price increases for extra purchases are extended without authorization; when products are put up for sale, tricks are played in pricing them so as to fatten private pockets at the expense of the state.

6. In economic management, because of serious dereliction, the state has suffered serious losses.

7. In commodity distribution, commodities which can be purchased only upon approval, such as passenger cars, sofas, carpets, etc., are bought without authorization and in violation of the regulation on control over the purchasing power of social groups; products are privately distributed at a lower price within certain units, or advantage is taken through these products to establish personal relations and extend favors.

8. With regard to the wages and benefits of personnel, organic charts of units are expanded, the number of personnel increased, and the criteria for expenditures raised without authorization; rewards, allowances, subsidies, and overtime compensation in money and in kind are given at random.

9. As for the use of public funds, emphasis is placed on pomp and extravagance, and public funds are used for entertainment and the presenting of gifts; public funds are held and not returned for long periods of time.

10. In the course of external exchanges and foreign visits and study trips, gifts are demanded and bribes are accepted, and foreign exchange is privately divided; efforts are even made to connive domestically and abroad so as to buy tack or sell back materials and make a profit in the process.

11. Advantage is taken of one's own office and power to bribe others and take bribes from others, to fleece and extort from others, to commit corruption and larceny, and to engage in activities of speculation and doubledealing.

12. Attacks are launched and retaliation is practiced against those personnel, especially financial and accounting personnel, who insist on protecting our financial and economic systems and resisting unhealthy practices.

9255
CSO: 4005/583

LAO DEFECTOR TO PRC ON VPA CHEMICAL WEAPONS

OW151409 Hong Kong AFP in English 1353 GMT 15 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 15 Dec (AFP)--A Laotian defector who has just been granted political asylum in China told a press conference here today Vietnamese forces were using chemical weapons in Laos.

Dr. Khamsengkeo Sensathit, a former Laotian Public Health Ministry official, said these arms were used by artillery and air force units mainly against Meo tribesmen. "The Vietnamese have total control over these weapons which they surround with great secrecy," he added.

The United States has indicated that it has "evidence" of use of chemical arms by Vietnamese troops in Cambodia and Laos.

Dr. Khamsengkeo, the first Laotian official to seek refuge in China since the Sino-Laotian [relations] [word indistinct] in 1978, said he had defected during a trip to Afghanistan.

Dr. Khamsengkeo, who would only say that he was "over 50," refused to indicate when he had arrived in China but indicated that he was to have attended a meeting in Kabul in his capacity as secretary-general of the Lao People's Asian-Afro Solidarity Committee.

He said he has chosen to flee because he was unhappy with "the control of (Vietnamese Communist Party first secretary) Le Duan's clique over Laos" and accused Hanoi of "colonizing" his country and turning his countrymen into "slaves."

"The Laotian people increasingly suffer from the Vietnamese presence," he added, noting that about 50,000 Vietnamese troops were controlling his country.

He also indicated that 3,000 Soviet advisers were currently deployed in Laos, mostly assigned to air force units. Sixteen Soviet-built Mig-21 are also based here, he said.

Dr. Khamsengkeo [said] his country's economic situation was now "as bad" as before the establishment of "national independence" (communist rule) in 1975 with spiralling inflation and widespread blackmarketing.

He vowed to continue the struggle for "independence of the (Laotian) fatherland" and said his defection was a "personal matter" in which his family left behind in Laos should not be implicated by Vientiane authorities.

CSO: 4000/69 END

JPRS 80393

24 March 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 285

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 80393

24 March 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 285

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. Move for Effective Military Presence in Persian Gulf Viewed
(Wu Qiyang; SHIJIE ZHISHI, 16 Nov 81)..... 1

USSR Develops, Uses Chemical, Biological Weapons
(Fang Shu; SHIJIE ZHISHI, 1 Nov 81)..... 4

PARTY AND STATE

Nantong's Experiences in Correcting Party Style Extolled
(Liu Binyan; RENMIN RIBAO, 6 Jan 82)..... 8

Need for Leaders To Muster Courage Discussed
(Hua Sheng; RENMIN RIBAO, 8 Jan 82)..... 13

Judicial Work in Shaanxi During 1981 Reported
(Yang Peichen; SHAANXI RIBAO, 9 Jan 82)..... 15

Significance of Communist Morality Discussed
(Shen Zhongjun, Jiang Tingsheng; FUJIAN RIBAO, 10 Jan 82)..... 20

Legal Thought of Shen Jiaben Reviewed
(Zhang Jinfan; FAXUE YANJIU, 23 Aug 81)..... 25

Theory, Practice of Democratic Dictatorship Reviewed
(Wu Daying, Liu Han; FAXUE YANJIU, 23 Oct 81)..... 57

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Photos Provide Close-up Look at War Exercise
(JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, No 12, 1981)..... 67

Platoon Leader Devises Laser Instrument for Training
(He Guangyin; JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, No 12, 1981)..... 71

Command Post Devices Instrument for Coordinating Operations
(Shao Jian; JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, No 12, 1981)..... 72

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Publishing of Minority Literature Speeded Up
(XINHUA, 9 Mar 82)..... 73

Women's Federation Holds Press Conference
(XINHUA, 5 Mar 82)..... 74

Education Ministry Circular on Principals
(XINHUA, 13 Mar 82)..... 75

Briefs
Yin Fatang Visits Xizang Lamaseries 76

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. MOVE FOR EFFECTIVE MILITARY PRESENCE IN PERSIAN GULF VIEWED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 81 p 8

[Article by Wu Qiyang [0702 2601 2254]: "The Rapid Deployment Force"]

[Text] The Rapid Deployment Force is America's deterrent force which is being speedily set up in order to prepare to contain the Soviet Union's steady closing in on the [Persian] Gulf region and to guarantee the overseas interests of America and the entire West.

U.S. military circles long ago considered and discussed the strategic doctrine of rapid reaction. The idea of setting up a mobile force for rapid reaction was also tentatively put forward early on. But, owing to internal disputes, it could never be realized. At the end of 1979, the Soviet Union invaded and occupied Afghanistan, advancing its forward military positions several hundreds of kilometers. The situation in the gulf took a sudden turn and developed rapidly, and the passage of petroleum to the West was in danger of being cut off by the Soviet Union. Facing this grim situation, former U.S. President Carter, in his State of the Union Message issued in January, clearly proclaimed: "Any outside force that tries to control the Persian Gulf will be regarded as encroaching on America's major interests." This is the so-called "Carter Doctrine." The United States "will counterattack with all measures, including military force." Accordingly, the U.S. government stepped up preparations to establish the Rapid Deployment Force. Not long after Reagan became president he announced that America would strengthen its military presence in the Middle and Near East, and also said clearly: "Our military presence there will be sufficient to indicate to the Soviet Union that if the Soviets act rashly they will risk a direct confrontation with the United States." Because America does not now have powerful allies in the gulf region and also does not have permanent military bases there, it is forced to depend on its military power at sea and on its superiority in rapid mobility, so as to oppose the Soviet Union's increasingly serious military threat.

According to the U.S. Defense Department's plan, the Rapid Deployment Force includes 2 airborne divisions, 1 mechanized infantry division, 1 amphibious unit and air force wing, 2 commando battalions, 11 tactical fighther squadrons, 450 transport planes, 3 aircraft carriers, 5 supply ships and a certain number of B-52 bombers--totaling a force of about 200,000 men. If required

in an emergency, it can be reinforced by a supporting force of 100,000 reserve troops drawn from the other serive arms. Based on America's current disposition of military forces, the 200,000-man Rapid Deployment Force is basically stationed within the U.S. homeland. In peacetime, the United States only maintains a certain military presence in the Indian Ocean. America now deploys 2 aircraft carrier task forces in the Indian Ocean, which include 30 warships, 170 aircraft, and over 1,800 marines. In addition, situated in the middle of the Indian Ocean is America's only military strongpoint there--Diego Garcia Island. The United States is preparing to invest heavily in building the island into a munitions depot for the Rapid Deployment Force. Moreover, once there is trouble in the gulf region or the Middle East, according to the calculations of American military strategists, only a sufficient period of advance warning of Soviet aggression will be needed for the surface-based tactical air force to rush to the region within a few hours. A 1,000-man U.S. infantry battalion with its weapons can be rushed to the gulf region within 24 hours. Within 48 hours, a battalion of the U.S. 82d Airborne Division will also arrive; within 72 hours, a brigade of the same division can be rushed there as a reinforcement. Within about 9 days, 2,200 marines can arrive there from the Mediterranean Sea. Within 3 to 5 days, an 8,000-man mechanized brigade equipped with tanks and heavy weapons will be flown to the front from the United States, and within 2 weeks the deployment of 2 full divisions of combat units will be completed. All of the first batch of troops that are landed or dropped can be supported by U.S. naval forces anchored in the Indian Ocean.

The headquarters of the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force was formally set up in March of last year at MacDill Air Force Base in Tampa, Florida. The current commander of the force is Lt Gen Robert (Jinsidun) [6855 2448 7319].

The U.S. government is now carrying out the largest-scale military buildup since the end of the Vietnam War. The Carter government had asked Congress to appropriate $10 billion in funds for equipping the Rapid Deployment Force. After Reagan came to power, the military expenditure for the Rapid Deployment Force was more than doubled compared to that of the Carter government. An increase in building up the navy is the key point of the Reagan government's arms expansion; in the future military budget, the appropriation for the navy is the largest. The Reagan government plans to expand the current 465 warships to 600 warships. Maintaining military superiority at sea is the basic condition for the Rapid Deployment Force's getting the upper hand over the enemy. At the same time, in order to maintain the important feature of the Rapid Deployment Force, viz, mobility and speed, it must make a big effort to strengthen the capacity for air and sea transport. Listed on the U.S. Defense Department's inventory is the purchase of 15 naval cargo ships, 8 fast container ships, and 3 large rolling container ships. It also plans to purchase 130 large jet transport aircraft and air-refueling tanker aircraft to replace the obsolete C-5A and C-141 transport aircraft. If all of this can be realized on schedule, by the middle of the 1980's, the United States will be able to transport 100,000 troops and their equipment to the Persian Gulf within 35 days.

Therefore, Reagan holds that the U.S. military presence must be coordinated with a military presence on land and that a sole reliance on mobile naval power would be inadequate to deal with a crisis situation. (Kemo) [4430 7817], the former U.S. assistant secretary of defense, who was responsible for preparations to build the Rapid Deployment Force, has said: With regard to the Rapid Deployment Force, "the key to whether this military tactic can be effected lies in whether we can obtain the right to use facilities in this region." For this reason, since last year, America has held frequent maneuvers in the Persian Gulf and adjacent areas and has not stinted to create conditions to obtain, in return for large sums of military aid and economic cooperation, the temporary use of military facilities in Oman, Somalia, and Kenya. In addition, America is actively seeking permanent military bases in these areas for stationing its troops on the spot. Recently, the United States reached an agreement with Egypt under which America provides $3.5 billion in military aid to Egypt and Egypt agrees to the participation by 2,000 U.S. troops in the multinational force in the Sinai, thus obtaining for the U.S. military its first foothold in the Middle East. In reality, these U.S. troops stationed in Sinai will be the advance party for the Rapid Deployment Force.

Militarily, there exist many internal weaknesses in the Rapid Deployment Force. First, its speed and mobility cannot match the Soviet Union's advantageous geographical conditions in the gulf region. Another fatal weakness is that it will be hard for the force to obtain the concerted support of the gulf countries. The gulf countries would rather purchase new U.S. weapons to replenish their own defensive strength than to maintain a close military relationship with the United States. Even Saudi Arabia, which has fairly good relations with America, has publicly announced that it is unwilling to provide America with military bases. Under these conditions, it will be difficult for the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force to carry out a large-scale military action in the Middle and Near East regions. Even if this is the case, in view of the U.S.-Soviet military confrontation in the gulf region, America's establishment of the Rapid Deployment Force strengthens its military deterrent strength, and thus has a definite effect on containing the Soviet Union's "southern strategy."

9727
CSO: 4005/548

USSR DEVELOPS, USES CHEMICAL, BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 81 pp 10-11

[Article by Fang Shu [2455 3990]: "How Does the Soviet Union Prepare for Biological and Chemical Warfare?"]

[Text] Crimes That Cannot Be Concealed

Stemming from its need to expand its foreign aggression, Soviet social-imperialism, while sparing no effort to develop nuclear weapons and conventional weapons, is intensifying its research and manufacture of biological and chemical weapons. Long ago this was no secret. In the past one or two years, the Soviets and Vietnamese have used chemical weapons many times to wipe out the resistance fighters and innocent inhabitants of Afghanistan, Kampuchea, and Laos, turning these countries into testing grounds for this type of weapon. International opinion has in succession exposed and condemned these actions.

According to reports of Afghan refugees who have witnessed atrocities committed by the Soviet army, in Kunar Province, Soviet military aircraft have dropped a large number of things shaped like metal cannisters, which, upon hitting the ground, emit a thick blue-green smoke. People who inhale this poison gas soon become completely paralyzed and die. Japanese correspondents reported that when the Soviet army launched its offensive against Kunar Province it used two toxicants: one made people weep and vomit, and after a half an hour their skin turned yellow and they died; the other released a large amount of smoke that caused people to lose their senses and soon die.

One after another, refugees from Kampuchea and Laos have made this accusation: the Vietnamese aggressor army has used aircraft to sprinkle yellow, red, blue, and green "rain." Those who are lightly dampened by this "rainwater" are confined to bed for a long time and become as thin as a lathe; those who are heavily dampened bleed from the mouth and nose, suffer from vomiting and diarrhea, and suffer unbearable pain until they die.

After U.S. Secretary of State Haig on 13 September had censured the Soviet Union for using deadly poisonous substances in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, and Laos, a Thai military spokesman confirmed on 16 September that the Vietnamese army was carrying out chemical warfare in Kampuchea. A Vietnamese army

captain who had fled to Thailand had confessed that his artillery unit used 130-mm cannon to fire an artillery shell containing Soviet-manufactured "CH" poison gas, and in only one attack fired 700 rounds of the poison gas.

International public opinion is still denouncing the Soviets and Vietnamese for these inhuman atrocities. A UN specialist group has requested that it be sent to Asia to investigate the question of whether Soviet-made chemical weapons are being used. Toward this, Moscow has pretended to be deaf and dumb, and Hanoi has again issued a statement "refuting the rumor." However, ink-written statements cannot conceal blood-reeking facts; there is concrete proof of guilt that brooks no denial.

Chemical Weapons

The Soviet Union's production of chemical weapons is longstanding. At the end of World War II, the Soviet Union captured the nerve toxicant factory that Nazi Germany had set up in Breslau and shipped all the factory's equipment and 50,000 tons of toxicants back to the Soviet Union, expanding a factory there into one of the main production bases for chemical warfare toxicants. It is reported that the Soviet Union's annual output of toxicants is 30,000 tons and that so far it has stockpiled 350,000 tons of chemical ammunition of various kinds, 8-10 times the stockpile of the United States and occupying first place in the world. Thirty percent of Soviet guided missiles have chemical warheads; the proportion of chemical shells among all kinds of artillery shells is as high as 20 percent.

The Soviet army has a great variety of toxicants for many different uses. The main ones are the following six kinds: the first kind is a nerve agent. After being poisoned by it, the victim suffers a paralysis of the nerves, constriction of the eye pupils, and night sweats; he drools and has difficulty in breathing until he goes into a convulsion and dies. The second kind is a blister agent that causes the skin to ulcerate; it can also injure the eyes, the respiratory tract, and the digestive tract, so that blood seeps through and the entire body is poisoned. The third kind is a nerve agent that slows the victim's reactions so that he acts as if he were drunk or crazy, and it produces excitability, hallucinations and mania, and can also poison the body. The fourth kind is an all-body toxic agent that makes the cells short of oxygen and obstructs breathing, damages the central nerves and makes the victim feel dizzy and breathe quickly until he goes into a convulsion until death. The fifth kind is an asphixiating agent that causes pulmonary oedema and seriously damages the respiratory organs. The sixth kind is a stimulant agent that causes a burning sensation in the eyes, on the skin, and in the respiratory tract. Its symptoms are weeping, sneezing, coughing, nausea, and vomiting. In addition, the Soviet Union is intensifying the development and manufacture of "even stronger" new-type chemical warfare agents that can penetrate protective equipment (gas masks, protective clothing, etc).

Of the large amounts of these chemical warfare agents that the Soviet Union produces and equips its forces with, some cause immediate death, some temporarily incapacitate people, some continue for a fairly long time, and

some can lie dormant in a person's body for a long time, injuring him for life and even harming his posterity. What is noteworthy is that, in order to meet its needs for preparing for war against China, the Soviet Union has stepped up chemical warfare training and preparations in the Soviet-Chinese border area and has also stockpiled a large quanitity of chemical weapons.

The Soviet Union has many means of delivering its chemical weapons. According to different situations and distances, it can fire them from cannon of 100-mm caliber and above and from guided missiles, and can drop or spray them from aircraft. For example, the Soviet Union has a 200-mm heavy mortar that can fire a chemical shell weighing over 100 kilograms to a place more than 10 kilometers away. The "Fleetfoot" guided missile can spread a fog-shaped poison gas to a place over 100-280 kilometers away, contaminating a circular area of more than 10 square kilometers.

It is said that the Soviet Union's tactical doctrime for the use of chemical weapons is: in general, use nonpersistent agents to attack various targets on the battlefields, and in this way inflict casualties on enemy effectives without contaminating the surface for a long time and thus impeding the movement of its own units. Persistent agents will normally be used to attack ports, airfields, communication hubs, important roads, logistical and supply bases, and other vital targets so that they cannot be used. People in Western military circles reckon that, in a future war, the Soviet Union in order not to destroy certain important facilities and buildings would rather use chemical weapons than nuclear weapons.

Biological Weapons

The Soviet Union is not only sparing no effort to develop chemical weapons but also intensifying the development and manufacture of biological weapons. According to a Soviet writer who migrated to the West, there are now set up in Sverdlovsk, Kazan, and Kirov extremely secret biological germ research organizations, which are doing research on tetanus, yellow fever, and plague germs; inside the USSR each microbe and contagious disease research center has a laboratory that is specially responsible for military projects. According to Western press reports, the Soviet Union, besides continuing to develop and manufacture anthrax, tuberculosis, smallpox, and yellow fever bacteria, is also experimenting on "Lassa fever" and "(Ma'erbao) [7456 1422 1027] fever," African viruses, in an effort to increase the lethalness of these biological warfare agents and to shorten their period of dormancy.

In April and June 1979, there occurred in Sverdlovsk and Novosibursk respectively two incidents in which city residents were "poisoned" owing to accidental explosions at a biological weapons plant and a biological weapons research organization. According to Western reports, in Sverdlovsk alone, 300 persons died and over 1,000 persons were hospitalized. These "poisoning" incidents shook the West. The U.S. Defense Department cried out in alarm that "America must reconsider the problem of defending against biological warfare agents." Public opinion in the West has also urged NATO to seriously consider and discuss this problem.

In order to protect themselves from casualties, the Soviet ground forces have considerably strengthened their defensive capability against nuclear biological, and chemical weapons by equipping all their armored vehicles with air filters and other protective devices so that they can fairly safely and smoothly cross areas contaminated by these weapons. All military men receive training in defense against these three types of weapons and are provided with the necessary protective devices, and also master a definite amount of first-aid disinfecting and detoxifying measures. All sorts of circumstances show that the Soviet hegemonists are bent on preparing for chemical and biological warfare.

However, "a wicked person is sure to bring destruction on himself," and "the evil ones rise a foot, the virtuous ones rise a yard." No matter what new weapons there are in the world, there are always ways to defend against or deal with them. The result of the Soviet Union's disregard of international morality and law by its flagrant development, manufacture, and use of biological weapons can only be to reveal its savage and cruel features and to arouse the righteous indignation of the people of the world. In the end, it will reap what it has sown.

9727
CSO: 4005/544

PARTY AND STATE

NANTONG'S EXPERIENCES IN CORRECTING PARTY STYLE EXTOLLED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Liu Binyan [0491 6333 7159]: "They Broadcast Their Hopes--A Record of the Achievements of the Nantong Municipal Party Committee's Not Fearing Exposure of 'Scandal' and Daring to Correct 'Scandal'"]

[Text] If achievements could make up for shortcomings, then Nantong Municipality, [in] Jiangsu Province, would have nothing to be censured for. Here, the average value of industrial output for each person in the city is already in excess of that of Changzhou, having reached 10,740 yuan. There are no longer any unemployed in the city; help-wanted ads keep appearing in the newspapers. As for housing construction, the average area per person is increasing by 1 square meter per year, so after a few years the housing shortage will have been basically resolved.

But the Nantong Municipal Communist Party kept a clear head and did not think that it could be immune from criticism. They heard a jingle that was making the rounds in the city: "The city looks to the Clock Tower; the Clock Tower looks to the Back (the location of the municipal party committee and the government); the Back looks to the First Floor, the First Floor looks to the East (the municipal party committee secretary's office)." This wasn't really a criticism, but Comrade Xing Bai [6717 4104], the municipal party committee secretary, became alarmed and said to Comrade Cao Guanxiang [2580 0385 4382], the secretary of the Municipal Disciplinary Standing Committee, "Your Disciplinary Committee ought to take a close look at the back of the Clock Tower!"

To Correct Others, First Correct Yourself

Being criticized isn't pleasant. But criticizing Nantong because it shouldn't have given heating expenses to individuals depends on how you look at it. People all say that the CHINA FINANCE AND TRADE NEWS played no small role in the improvement of the Nantong Municipal Party's style. Changing the guard may drag the newspaper into a lawsuit. For example: I found that our a long time ago and was just coming up with ways to correct it; or, I never "feigned compliance" but had even reported it to the provincial party committee previously; etc. This is a fact. The Nantong Municipal Party Committee not only didn't make the "inconsistency" of investigative reporting an important task for themselves, but when the secretary realized his mistake and took back the

heating expenses, he instructed the lower echelons solemnly, "No one is permitted to trace the letter writer. We have already made a mistake, and that would just be adding mistake to mistake!"

This provided municipal leadership cadres at all levels with a model of how to deal correctly with criticism. At the same time, it gave encouragement to people to criticize leadership and to dare to struggle against evil trends and unhealthy practices.

This was also an indication of the municipal party committee's resolve to challenge incorrect styles inside and outside the party. The Standing Committee members were still afraid that the Disciplinary Committee had misgivings and repeatedly told Cao Guanxiang, "Listen to what is being said about our Standing Committee at the lower levels. You've got to name names!" Cao wasn't muddleheaded, and he immediately proposed to the municipal party committee leadership, "How about if cadres above bureau level correct their incorrect style?" Without a word of dissent, it was approved.

When readjusting wages, every unit has many problems. Where do you start? You start with a big one--the deputy mayor.

Initially, the Municipal Economic Committee had the names of 10 people whose salaries needed to be adjusted, and after conferences at five levels, the ranking of the names was fixed and made public at a general meeting of the employees. Later, the higher echelons approved only seven names, so they dropped the person ranked seventh and moved up the person who had been ranked tenth. There was an outcry in the agencies, and this was reported to the Disciplinary Committee. It came out that the leadership was afraid that the man ranked tenth would make a fuss because he was a rebel. The final decision was made by the deputy mayor. The Disciplinary Committee took an interest in the situation and corrected it. The deputy mayor made a self-criticism at a meeting of the Municipal Standing Committee and the Economic Committee.

It really irritates the masses when a cadre's relatives violate regulations and transfer rural residency to the city. Where does one start correcting this? With the chief of the Public Security Bureau. He wanted to transfer a piece of his to the city, and the Disciplinary Committee immediately took an interest. The practice of graft in recruiting workers is another big problem. The Disciplinary Committee watched the deputy chief of the Construction Bureau. In a little over a year's time, he had changed his wife from a temporary worker in a plant to a contract worker and then had his daughter "take her mother's place" as a contract worker so that she could become a regular worker. The Disciplinary Committee also took an interest in this matter and corrected it.

It's easy to talk about "taking an interest" and "getting involved," but it's really hard to do. The incorrect style is in maintaining an incorrect style. How big are the cadres on your Disciplinary Committee? How much authority do they have? Whether they see or pretend they don't see depends on how many people they dare to offend.

From Document to Reality

The Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee long ago stipulated that the Disciplinary Committee has the authority to oversee the party committee at the same level. But the Disciplinary Committee is subject to the leadership of the party committee at the same level, and unless they welcome oversight and the Disciplinary Committee dares to take the responsibility--not be afraid of offending or stirring up a hornet's nest--it's very hard to make this stipulation a reality.

Cao Guanxiang, the secretary of the Standing Committee of the Disciplinary Committee, is one of those people who walk the straight and narrow. The chief of the Personnel Office with authority over personnel matters and the leadership cadre of the Bureau of Industrial and Commercial Management who had charge of the economic area also were both upright men of conviction. But if there were no municipal party committee leaders to back them up, they would have been hard-pressed to do anything.

Cao Guanxiang heard that some leaders of the municipal party committee and the municipal government had made statements partial toward incorrect style in the economic area. He was incensed and decided to give the personnel from the municipal party committee agencies a good talking to during party lessons. But if the secretary and the municipal party committee did not interrupt their meeting and attend the party lessons, it would have only a limited effect. They came, listened, and then turned Cao Guanxiang's class into a criticism of those leaders face-to-face and with the masses.

The municipal party committee also had to take a different step. In those years, everyone hoped that the upper echelons would see that in the area of their leadership the achievements were great and the problems few. Daring to bring the "one beauty" into the open would reveal the "hundred uglinesses," and this wasn't something that made people happy.

If one did dare to bring it into the open, beneath the glorious achievements there would still be alarming problems. In recent years, Nantong's industry has grown by leaps and bounds, but there is another side to it. The Disciplinary Committee conducted an investigation and [found that] the number of channels and the amount of graft, theft, bribery, deceiption, etc in the economic area were greater than before. Often they would hear of something and would track it down, and this would soon bring to light a whole string of problems. It recently came to light that someone in the Municipal Light Machinery Plant had bought a sanyongji [0005 3938 2623] in Fujian for his private use. On investigation, it was discovered that this plant had illegally sold to an outsider half of the 1,200 cubic meters of lumber purchased from Fujian and had made a profit of over 20,000 yuan. On further investigation, it was discovered that the chief accountant had remitted to Fujian 40,000 yuan as unaccounted capital funds with dubious motives. Finally, it was discovered that the head of the plant had illegally used 170,000 yuan of enterprise capital, that a long-term loan of 320,000 yuan to the head of another unit had not been repaid, and that the sum of the two 1 was close to the 500,000 yuan the plant had borrowed from banks. What was particularly alarming was that the plant leaders were completely unaware of this! This is not a problem which is unique to Nantong, of course.

At this time, it is necessary to be firm. In 1979, it had already been found out that a unit in the central ward of the city had made an illegal profit of 110,000 yuan from speculating in steel. The Bureau of Industrial and Commercial Management decided to confiscate 20,000 yuan of this amount. But the ward party committee would not approve it on the grounds that this ward was too poor and complained of insufficient "leniency." Not only did they not investigate, but they expressed their dissatisfaction with the Disciplinary Committee and the Bureau of Industry and Commerce. Last year, the Nantong Municipal Party Committee decided to confiscate the entire 110,000 yuan, and the people concerned also had to conduct an investigation and make a report to the entire city!

Incorrect style is something which developed from the lofty and beautiful words which filled periodicals and literary works during the 10 years of chaos. In correcting it we cannot rely only on propaganda, but we should rely primarily on action. What pleases people is the fact that in Nantong, from the municipal party committee to the grassroots level, opposing incorrect style has already become an action of the entire party.

In fact, party members and the masses were fed up a long time ago and took action. The Nantong Agricultural Chemicals Plant is a progressive plant with over 2,000 workers. They may well be progressive, but there still was incorrect style. Some 110 party members didn't wait for directives from the Central Committee on dealing with "connections," but took action on their own.

The wicker baskets used for packing chemicals were made outside the plant, but any production brigade which didn't give gifts either didn't get the work or had trouble getting their work accepted. For those that sent chickens, fish, and peanuts, third-rate work was accepted as first-rate work. The plant took the initiative to sternly lecture the "connections" that from now on, wicker basket work was to be assigned according to principle, and presents were not to be given any more. The distribution of waste sulfuric acid was also managed this way. The first time they had a meeting, they were uneasy, but the next time the work went very well. In this way the party branch gave full play to the Communist Party as the proper fighting bastion.

If we rely entirely on the Disciplinary Committee, they will be so busy they won't be able to see to everything. The party committees in the economic and administrative departments have now also begun to look into questions of style and discipline in their own jurisdictions. The leadership of the Electric Supply Bureau discovered that when installing electricity in enterprises operated by Nantong County communes, some people had been given dinners worth over 100 yuan, so [the leadership] personally conducted an on-site investigations and returned the money. A shipping company under the Bureau of Communications was engaging in malpractice in connection with lumber. When the bureau and company leaders investigated some related problems of its own, a leader in the shipping company returned his unlawful gains and said, "I'm paying for this lesson!" He also paid for the right to speak. This spurred on each of the subordinate grassroots levels.

What should we do about those people who still have not come to themselves? Educate them. The most effective education is still the facts: Let them be unable to find any advantages and suffer a little. Last year, as many as 54 of over 60 secondary technical school graduates were warned for using "pull" in job assignments. Many people wanted to go to the Laser Institute. What was the best way to get there? The Municipal Disciplinary Committee supported the decision on the Personnel Bureau: Send to the Laser Institute all those who didn't resort to "pull."

If things go on like this, in 3 or 5 years, no one in Nantong will be able to say "Evil Five, Evil Six/Eat fish, eat meat/Be honest/And you'll get nothing."

Precious Resources

We have stressed party discipline and style, and we are beginning to see results, but letters and inquiries from the masses are still on the increase. In the second half of last year, the number of letters exceeded the total of the year before last. This is really a high rate of cases! Not really. The masses have seen the party committee swatting flies and tigers, so this has increased their confidence in the party and their enthusiasm has been raised.

The support of the municipal party committee leadership has emboldened the Disciplinary Committee. The party's stress on party style and discipline has emboldened the cadres and the masses.

Last September at a meeting of over 800 persons, when a deputy secretary of the municipal party committee, in talking about the issue of the distribution of housing, said that "cadres should put the people first and themselves last; they cannot go in for special privileges," a woman comrade in the audience interjected; "The leadership comrades in this city had better set an example!" The whole audience stirred, and the secretary grew red in the face. Why? Because his family occupied several houses; he doesn't discipline his children; he did not obey reassignment [orders] by the provincial party committee; and in several areas he has not set an example.

Reporters visited five municipal counties in Jiangsu and saw almost without exception: cases of both large and small reorganization of party style and discipline all were exposed through letters and inquiries from the masses.

Exposing "ugliness" and correcting "ugliness" did not do the slightest bit of harm to Nantong's "beauty." On the contrary, the arousal of party and citizen feelings which accompanied it can certainly make the city even more heroic and alive. Observant persons can smell a new current in the political atmosphere of Nantong, so perhaps it can be called a purifier to eliminate the pollution. It will be even more exciting than a sharp rise in the value of industrial and agricultural production.

Indeed, in terms of a society led by the Communist Party, what is more important than the organic health of the party? No wonder Comrade Li Wujie [2621 2976 2638], director of the Disciplinary Committee office and a man who has long been concerned about party style, said to reporters: "I see brightness and hope!"

8226
CSO: 4005/479

PARTY AND STATE

NEED FOR LEADERS TO MUSTER COURAGE DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by Hua Sheng [5478 0524]: "Leaders Should First of All Muster Their Own Courage"]

[Text] In July and August 1981, there was a serious water shortage in Tianjin. Some people thought that the amount of work which could be done was related to the amount of water available, so that if there was no water, less production had to be done. Some of the masses also thought that the leadership now was about to slack off, and it looked as if the guarantee that within a year the temporary housing would be pulled down would come to nothing. Faced with serious difficulties, the Tianjin party and government leadership comrades' attitude was: water is short, but production must maintain a certain pace; the temporary housing must be completely torn down, and all the earthquake victims be moved into new housing. With the courage to overcome all difficulties, they gave the Central Committee a military-type characterization of the situation and gave the masses guarantees. In actual work, they guided the broad cadres and masses not only to overcome the serious menace of the water shortage, to overfulfill the year's production plans, and to maintain very good progress in the readjustment of the national economy, but in addition the temporary housing was torn down on schedule with the result that 100,000 earthquake victims were moved into new housing, resolving an old and difficult problem which had plagued the masses for 5 years. This revealed a truth to us: to do our work and engage in the four modernizations, we must muster the courage of our ranks, but the leadership cadres should first of all muster their courage.

Mustering courage means rousing spirit, going all out, advancing with clear intent, and doing the utmost to make the country strong. During the difficult war years, our material foundation was what you could call lacking, but we managed to chase out the aggressors using millet plus rifles; we defeated the reactionaries by relying on a revolutionary spirit which was daring and unconquerable. During the 3 bad years there were natural and manmade calamities, suffering and misery, and the blockades and harassment of hegemonism, but all the people tightened their belts and pulled smoothly through the crisis by relying on their bitter hatred of the enemy and their determined and independent revolutionary will. When the Chinese women

played in the Third World Cup Volleyball Competition, they spared no effort, repeatedly defeated the best, and won every game to become world champions by relying on their excellent skill, but even more by relying on their revolutionary spirit of winning honor for their country and showing the greatness of the Chinese people.

The broad cadres and masses on every front are now bestirring themselves and exerting themselves for the four modernizations. However, there are also some comrades who have not mustered their courage or have not mustered it sufficiently, and this situation should be changed quickly. Our leadership cadres at all levels are not only the builders of the four modernizations, but they are also the organizers and inspirers of the four modernizations. The state of their spirit directly influences the morale of the entire ranks. If the courage of the leaders is mustered, not only does it overcome difficulties but it also brings forth wisdom and methods and gives the people confidence and strength. If the courage of the leaders is mustered, it initiates a positive forging ahead, and it can help correct and get rid of evil; it brings along a good workstyle and social style, and it rouses the enthusiastic initiative which the broad masses of people harbor for the building of socialism.

8226
CSO: 4005/480

PARTY AND STATE

JUDICIAL WORK IN SHAANXI DURING 1981 REPORTED

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jan 82 p 2

[Report by Yang Peichen [2799 3099 3819], President of the Shaanix People's Higher Court: "Work Report of Shaanxi People's Higher Court at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Fifth People's Congress of Shaanxi Province, 1 January 1982"]

[Text] Fellow delegates:

I agree with the work report by Governor Yu Mingtao [0060 2494 3447] and the work report of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress by Deputy Director Chang Lifu [1603 7812 1133]. I will now make the following report on the work of the Provincial People's Court for your consideration.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the Fifth People's Congress in December 1980, all levels of the people's court throughout the province have tried a great number of criminal and civil as well as a number of economic cases and have handled a large number of appeal cases, in accordance with the resolution on the work report of the Shanxi People's Higher Court approved by the Third Plenary Session of the Fifth People's Congress, the general and specific policies of the party and state, and the laws and decrees of the state. All tasks have achieved relatively good results.

In the past year, all levels of the people's court have treated the assault on current criminal offenses as the central task in consolidating public order, closely coordinated with public security and procuratorial organs, conditioned each other, and treated the "criminal law," "criminal appeal law" and the three legal documents approved by the 19th Plenary Session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress as a weapon. They have correctly and promptly passed sentence in a number of antirevolutionary and other criminal cases according to the law, and have strengthened the work of criminal trials. To deal with some rampant conditions of local activities of a criminal nature, they swiftly passed strict sentence on an absolute minority of criminal offenders who committed murder, arson, robbery, rape, bombings, and other crimes that seriously endanger public security. Last year, a total of over 4,920 criminal cases were tried and deliberated on in the entire province. Over 1,070 cases were major ones that seriously

endangered society. Through the activities of court trials, [our] enemies were attacked, their offenses punished, and the people protected. This action plays a positive role in safeguarding public security, promoting stability and unity, strengthening the people's democratic dictatorship, and guaranteeing the successful implementation of economic readjustment and construction of the four modernizations.

In criminal-trial work, we have firmly implemented the party's and state's stipulated attack on the minority and education of the majority, as well as the policy of combining punishment with leniency. As for the absolute minority of criminal offenders who commit murder, arson, robbery, rape, bombings, and other crimes which seriously endanger public order--and particularly the ringleaders of habitual offenders, abettors and accomplices among these categories of criminals--we have been resolute in punishing them severely and swiftly according to the law. As for those sentenced to death, we adhered to caution and acted severely. Every case underwent repeated investigation and verification and was proven. Those whose death alone would sufficiently calm the public anger were executed with firmness, while those whose immediate execution was not necessary were given reprieves. The majority of other types of criminal offenders were given appropriate penalties according to the law, to the seriousness of their crimes, and to individual circumstances. Among these, juveniles who committed offenses were given more lenient and lighter sentences according to the law. Those whose offenses were minor and did not need to be sentenced and punished were exempted from criminal sanction. This [past] year, of the criminals who received sentences, 2.9 percent were given life or longer imprisonment, 73.5 percent were given set terms of imprisonment, and 22.1 percent were given penalties of a fixed term of imprisonment with reprieve, detention, public surveillance, or were exempted from criminal sanctions. While this was a ruthless attack against criminals who seriously endangered society, it also played a role in eliminating criminals and achieved relatively good results in punishing, educating, and rescuing juveniles who have taken a wrong step.

All levels of the people's court stress public trials and have earnestly implemented the various judicial procedures stipulated by the "Law of Criminal Procedure." Judging from cases that have been tried and concluded, with the exception of those which were legally not tried publicly, public trials basically were carried out, with 97 percent of the cases tried by jury and 91 percent concluded within the statute of limitations. In the absence of court facilities and with a shortage of transportation, most of the courts have overcome difficulties, made do with whatever is available, created new conditions, and carried out public trials according to the law. To further strengthen publicity concerning the legal system, all local people's courts have concentrated on attacking current offenses in coordination with one another, selected typical cases with educational significance, and conducted public trials and publicly pronounced judgment on the spot. According to incomplete statistics from 10 localities and municipilities, 233 verdict sessions were convened with over 1,876,000 admissions. At the same time, reports were posted, and live recordings and video-recordings were played. The masses were organized to watch and listen and to

hold discussion forums. Extensive and deepgoing publicity on the legal system and socialist moral education were given. The broad masses cheered the people's courts for punishing criminals according to the law. They generally indicated that the verdicts were correct, that the death sentences were accurate, that the harm to the people had been removed, and that the anger of the people was vented. Quite a few people informed on and exposed illegal and criminal activities. Awed by the power of the legal system, over 1,400 law-breaking criminals gave themselves up, extending the political results of the handling of cases.

In the past year, all levels of the people's court have enthusiastically carried out the work of civil trials and mediation. Marriage, family, and other civil disputes are closely related to the vital interests of thousands upon thousands of families and directly affect social stability and unity. Some cases which were not handled promptly and properly have led to an intensification of contradictions and have created serious and malignant cases. According to statistics, over 60 percent of the cases of criminal homicide sentenced in the province this year were caused by the intensification of marital, love affair, or household disputes or [disputes] between neighbors. Therefore, to gain improvement in public security, all levels of the people's court treated the strengthening of civil trials and mediation as an important aspect of work to be emphasized. During this period the province handled a total of 22,050 civil trials of first instance, 1,703 trials of second instance, and 267 cases of appeal. In administering justice, the policy of "relying on the masses, investigation and study, resolving disputes on the spot, and mediation in the main" was adhered to. Through patient and meticulous persuasion and education, over 70 percent of the cases were settled by mediation, and disputes were resolved. Only about 20 percent or so of the cases had sentences handed down according to the law. All basic courts and people's tribunals cooperated with judicial and administrative departments in strengthening the professional guidance of basic-mediation organizations. As a result, large numbers of civil disputes were resolved at the grassroots level and eliminated in the early stages, preventing the growth and intensification of contradictions, providing convenience to the masses, and promoting social stability and the expansion of production. Under the unified guidance of the Party Central Committee, all levels of the people's court enthusiastically took part in "comprehensive control," combining concerned departments to launch the "five stresses and four points of beauty" and the "five good families," and popularizing "commune regulations and popular agreement." They also adopted measures whereby industrial enterprises take full responsibility for educating their employees, schools take full responsibility for educating their students, neighborhoods take full responsibility for educating their youth, and parents take full responsibility for educating their children in strengthening education of juveniles in the legal system. Through trial activities, some even dealt with the questions exposed by court cases by making proposals to concerned units to improve their work and mend defects. This plays a positive role in enhancing the people's concept of the legal system, reducing factors of instability, and preventing crimes.

In the past year, all levels of the people's court also stressed economic judicial administration. In the course of readjusting the national economy and reforming the management system, economic cases that the people's courts needed to handle increased daily. According to the stipulations of the law of court organization and the demand of the Supreme People's Court for the administration of economic justice, at present the provincial courts, all intermediate courts, and 66 county courts have set up tribunals for economic trials. They have enthusiastically carried out the administration of economic justice in the spirit of organizing and constructing while learning and practicing. During this period a total of 723 economic cases were handled and settled, of which 400 were economic disputes and 323 were economic offenses. Through the handling of economic cases, some longstanding economic disputes between enterprises and economic disputes arising from economic readjustment of the national economy were resolved, a number of economic offenders were promptly punished, the public property of socialistm and the legal rights of those involved were protected, and the socialist economic order was safeguarded.

During this period, all levels of the people's courts in accordance with the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, continued to reinvestigate criminal cases in which sentences were passed during the decade of turmoil. They also paid special attention to cases involving the death penalty and to counterrevolutionary and criminal appeal cases during the years 1977 and 1978. The number of cases that have already been reinvestigated represents 79.9 percent of the total number of cases included for reinvestigation during the last 2 years. Of the total number of cases reinvestigated, 17 percent were unjust and mistried cases that were redressed. They also did a great deal of rehabilitation work, in cooperation with concerned departments.

Fellow delegates! In the past year all levels of the people's court throughout the province have done a great deal of work and have obtained definite results. In this work there still are some shortcomings and problems. Mainly, in the verdicts of a minority of cases, there were those who did not act according to the law, did not act severely in carrying out the law, or violated the "criminal law" and "criminal appeal law." Some places lacked an understanding of the importance of strengthening the administration of criminal justice, and thus, together with the increase in the number of cases and insufficient judicial power, led to a large number of long-pending civil cases. The administration of economic justice has just begun, and the setting up of organs, the professional training of judicial personnel on hand, the investigation and study of problems in this regard, and the summing up of experiences have not been carried out sufficiently. At present, all levels of the people's court generally lack judicial power and expenses, and there are shortages of court facilities, offices, housing, and transportation. In the future, in order to better accomplish the tasks handed down by the party and the people and to do a good job in the administration of justice, we deeply feel that it is most essential to closely rely on the party's leadership, to adhere to the mass line, and to act strictly according to the law. At the same time, we must take a further step to investigate and study, continually investigate the new conditions in the laws that are carried out,

study new problems, sum up new experiences, strengthen the judicial supervision of lower people's courts by higher level [courts], guide judicial personnel to master the legal weapons, and do a good job of administering justice. We must strengthen the work rotation among cadres on the job and enhance their political quality and professional level. We must rouse our spirit, be diligent and conscientious in our work, strengthen the socialist legal system, transform the people's judicial work, and make the necessary contributions to consolidating stability and unity and to safeguarding the successful implementation of economic readjustment and economic construction.

9586
CSO: 4005/502

PARTY AND STATE

SIGNIFICANCE OF COMMUNIST MORALITY DISCUSSED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by Shen Zhongjun [3476 1813 0193] and Jiang Tingsheng [3068 3060 3932]: "Communist Morality Is the Essence of Spiritual Culture--Realization in Studying Mao Zedong's Ethical Thought"]

[Text] Mao Zedong's ethical thought is an important component of Mao Zedong's philosophical thought. In Comrade Mao Zedong's writings, discussions on the problems of communist morality occupy a rather important place. These discussions, as characterized by the combination of communist spirit and the traditions of the Chinese nation, have greatly enriched the ethical thought of Marxism. Today, the Party Central Committee has put forth the great historical task of building our country into a strong, modern socialist nation with a high degree of material as well as spiritual culture. The earnest study of Comrade Mao Zedong's ethical thought has already become an increasingly urgent demand of our people.

Ethics is a system of thought concerning the nature of morality, its origins and development. It is also known as "moral philosophy." So-called morality is the norm and standard of conduct that regulates relationships among men and between individuals and society. In ancient and modern times there have been all kinds of explanations as to the nature of morality, its origins and development, forming different schools of ethical thought. In ancient China there were the "benevolence" of Confucius, the "universal love" of Mo Zi, the "good nature" of Mencius, the "evil nature" of Xun Zi, and other schools of thought. In the West there have been the hedonist, utilitarian, ascetic, and other schools of ethics. These schools of thought played different roles under different historical circumstances, but they all investigaged moral norms without regard to the economic foundation and class relations in society or considered these norms to be prescribed by god or "eternal human nature," and were unable to clarify moral phenomena scientifically. Only Marxist ethics expounds on the nature of morality in a scientific way. For the first time, it points out that morality is a form of social consciousness determined by a certain social economic foundation which reacts against the foundation itself. This is the Marxist "determinist theory of economic foundation" on the origins of morality. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "People's social existence determines their morality." "We recognize that in the totality of historical development, material things determine spiritual

things, and it is social existence that determines social consciousness. But at the same time, we also recognize and must recognize the reaction of spiritual things, the reaction of social consciousness against social existence, and the reaction of the superstructure against the economic foundation." This establishes ethics on a scientific basis and adheres to dialectical materialism. Proceeding from this basic point, Mao Zedong's ethical thought includes the mutual roles of morality and economic foundation, the class character and successive character of morality, the mutual relations between morality and other forms of consciousness, communist moral norms and moral education, and other content that is very rich.

Proceeding from the viewpoint of combining Marxist collective and individual interests, Comrade Mao Zedong raised the problem of the utilitarianism of the proletarian revolution, because the basic moral principles put forward by any ethical system are always related to interest and are a reflection of a certain class interest. In the "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," he pointed out: "Materialists do not oppose utilitarianism in general but the utilitarianism of the feudal, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois classes; they oppose those hypocrites who attack utilitarianism in words but who in deeds embrace the most selfish and shortsighted utilitarianism. There is no 'ism' in the world that transcends utilitarian considerations. In class society there can be only the utilitarianism of this or that class. We are proletarian revolutionary utiliarians and take as our point of departure the unity of the present and future interests of the broadest masses, who constitute over 90 percent of the population. Hence we are revolutionary utilitarians who aim for the broadest and most long-range objectives, not narrow utilitarians concerned only with the partial and the immediate." Comrade Mao Zedong criticized and refuted the capitalist ethical viewpoint that "individual interests are the standard of social morality and the basis of human conduct, and that the public interest should obey individual interests." He raised the subject of proletarian utilitarianism. This so-called utilitarianism of the proletariat proceeds from the unity of the immediate and long-range interests of the broadest masses. Long-range interests are more important than immediate interests, and overall interests are more important than partial interests.

On the basis of the utilitarian thought of the proletarian revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong treated wholehearted service to the people as the starting point and objective of every task on the part of communists. Wholehearted service to the people has a double significance. First, complete the self-conscious and voluntary performance of one's own duties and responsibilities. It does not have as prerequisites the enjoyment of certain rights or the pursuit of certain rights. Second, serve the interests of the absolute majority of the people and not the private interests of the individual or of a minority of people. This fully embodies the moral quality of the proletariat. In Comrade Mao Zedong's writings, much of the discussion embodies this ethical thinking. "Our Communist Party, the Eighth Route Army, and the New Fourth Army led by our party are revolutionary contingents. Our contingents aim solely at liberating the people and thoroughly work for the interests of the people." ("Serve the People") "All words and deeds of communists must suit the greatest interest of the broadest masses and have the support of the

broadest masses at the highest standards." ("On Coalition Government") These discussions by Comrade Mao Zedong are, for a revolutionary political party and for the revolutionaries, a high measure and summary of the world outlook for workstyle. They are also a high measure and summary of proletarian revolutionary goals.

Comrade Mao Zedong always dealt thoroughly with the principle of collectivism in his discussions of the relationship between morality and interest and in his explanation of proletarian utilitarianism and the spirit of wholehearted service to the people. He pointed out in the notes to "Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside": "Advocate the principle of combining collective and individual interests as the standard socialist spirit for all words and deeds." "At any time and in any place, Communist Party members should not put individual interests in first place but should subordinate individual interests of the nation and the people." In "On the 10 Major Relationships," he further pointed out: To properly handle the relationships among the state, collective, and individual, "oppose putting individual interests above everything else. At the same time, we have always cared about the life of the masses and opposed bureaucratism, which is not concerned about the well-being of the masses." Clearly, while he stressed that the collective interest is above individual interests, Comrade Mao Zedong never denied individual material interest. This clearly shows that the principle of collectivism in communist morality is not divorced from the people's concrete material interests and does not talk about collective interest in the abstract. If we were to deviate from the concrete interest of the people, we would not be able to talk about serving the interest of the majority.

Comrade Mao Zedong's discussions on the outlook with regard to life, moral ideals, and moral self-cultivation are very striking. Because outlook on life determines man's moral ideals, and moral ideals reflect man's outlook on life, moral ideals are the highest standards for human conduct and also the morally ideal personality. The proletarian outlook on life and moral ideals is the most advanced and most scientific [outlook]. It is the central manifestation of the spirit of our age; only by establishing the correct outlook on life can we have correct moral ideals and explicit moral self-cultivation. Only in different environments and through long-term, earnest, unremitting moral self-cultivation can we gradually form morally ideal personalities. In "A Letter to Xu Lao," "Congratularoty Speech on Comrade Wy Yuzhang's 60th Birthday," "Serve the People," and "In Memory of Norman Bethune," Comrade Mao Zedong expounded on the proletarian ideal personality. It should be one who does not benefit oneself, solely benefits others, wholeheartedly serves the people, and is never for a moment divorced from the masses. He also pointed out: "Proceeding from this point, he will become a person who greatly benefits the people. A person's capability varies, but with [socialist] spirit he will be a noble, pure, moral person who has been freed of vulgar tastes--a person who benefits the people." "Therefore, selfishness, slacking in work, corruption, and showing off are the most despicable [activities]; whereas the spirit of being just and unselfish, of striving with enthusiasm, of wholeheartedly devoting oneself to public work, and of quietly immersing oneself in hard work is respectable." These discussions reflect the outlook on life and moral

outlook of the advanced class. This ideal personality is an indispensable factor for the development of socialism into a communist society. It entirely conforms to the interests of the absolute majority of the people. Comrade Mao Zedong not only provided theoretical discussions on the communist outlook on life and moral ideals, but he also established a number of communist fighters who represent the spirit of the time, such as Bethune, Zhang Side [1728 1835 1795], Liu Hulan [0491 7579 5695], and Leifeng [7191 6912], who have played a major role in causing revolutionaries self-consciously to foster communist moral values.

In leading the Chinese revolution and the practice of construction, Comrade Mao Zedong particularly stressed the role of Communist Party members as model vanguards, treating them as the source of our party's strength and as the basic condition for the realization of our party's leadership of the broad masses and for the completion of revolutionary and construction tasks. Moreover, he theoretically and systematically discussed the moral character and habits which Communist Party members and revolutionary cadres should possess, establishing a complete set of fine traditions for our party. This is an important reason for the continuous successes of our undertaking. In much of his writings, including "Win the Masses by The millions for the anti-Japanese National United Front," "Combat Liberalism," "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War" and "Rectify the Party's Style of Work," Comrade Mao Zedong had a great deal to say about the moral character of Communist Party members. Communist Party members and all revolutionaries should be boundlessly loyal to the communist cause, serve the people wholeheartedly, care about the masses, and be selfless. They should be extremely responsible in labor and work, study assiduously, adhere to discipline, uphold order, be arduously frugal, and be honest in performing their official duties. They should be concerned more about the interests of the party and the masses than about their own interests, and care more about others than about themselves. They should be exceedingly warmhearted toward the people and their comrades, know and care about the overall situation, unite, cooperate and treat one another equally, put hardships before enjoyment, and put others before themselves. At present, our party is leading the whole people to struggle for the realization of the four modernizations. However, existing problems in our party's style of work are very unsuited to the demands of the current situation and tasks. Studying these teachings of Comrade Mao Zedong and strengthening the moral education of the members of the proletarian political party in power are urgent tasks and will play an important role in building a socialist spiritual culture.

We must build a strong, modern socialist country with a high degree of democracy and culture. We must have not only a high degree of material culture but also a high degree of spiritual culture. So-called spiritual culture not merely refers to a developed education, science, and culture but also includes communist ideology, ideals, beliefs, morality, discipline, revolutionary standpoint and principles, and comradely relationships among people. Communist morality is an important part of spiritual culture. Building a high degree of socialist spiritual culture refers mainly to upholding communist ideology and morality. Only when there is communist

ideology will there be a high degree of socialist spiritual culture. Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are themselves achievements of mankind's spiritual culture. Deviating from the spiritual culture as guided by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought is definitely not socialist spiritual culture. Therefore, the guiding role of Mao Zedong's ethical thought should first be manifested in building a spiritual culture.

Educating the people in communist morality is done mainly through the role of public opinion and by the force of example, using the method of criticism and self-criticism to evaluate the words and deeds of people and to regulate the internal relationships among the people so that everyone understands the objective standards of right and wrong, good and evil, honor and disgrace, and beauty and ugliness. In this way, one's words and deeds are restrained and kept within norms. They will self-consciously adhere to public order, defend the public's interests, and safeguard the successful implementation of socialist modernization. All this cannot deviate from the guidance of Mao Zedong's ethical thought. Mao Zedong's ethical thought is the theoretical basis for our distinction between right and wrong, good and evil, honor and disgrace, and beauty and ugliness. It is also a powerful ideological weapon in resisting the influence and corrosiveness of feudal and capitalist morality. The degree of mastery of Mao Zedong's ethical thought by the masses of people is directly related to whether a socialist spiritual culture can be built to a high degree.

Socialist spiritual culture mainly advocates wholehearted service to the people, concern for the collective, selflessness, subordination of individual interests to the collective interest, concern for others, the spirit of not fearing self-sacrifice, arduous struggle, the spirit of selfless labor, and the establishment of communist ideals and morality. This spirit was always advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong and is a main part of the discussion in his ethical thought. The question of communist ideals in particular is gaining popular attention. This is because the 10 years of turmoil have caused the revolutionary ideals of some people to waver, and ideals and beliefs are the spiritual mainstay of the people. Moreover, communist ideals are the nucleus of socialist spiritual culture and the key to building socialist spiritual culture. Only great ideals and firm beliefs can spark the emotions of people, rouse their ability and wisdom, and help them to form fine moral sentiments. The strength of morality lies herein. This is why the study of Mao Zedong's ethical thought is significant in guiding us to build a socialist spiritual culture and to realize the construction of the four modernizations.

9586
CSO: 4005/563

PARTY AND STATE

LEGAL THOUGHT OF SHEN JIABEN REVIEWED

Beijing FAXUE YANJIU [LEGAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 4, 23 Aug 81, 23 Oct 81

[23 Aug 81, pp 46-54]

[Article by Zhang Jinfan [1728 2516 5672]: "Tentative Discussion of Shen Jiaben's Legal Thought" (Part One)]

[Text] Shen Jiaben (1840-1913), whose courtesy name was Zidun and alias Jiyi, was a native of Guian in Zhejiang Province. "He studied at an early age and loved to immerse himself in deep thought." He passed the "jin shi" [highest imperial] examination in the 9th year of Guangxu [1883] and was retained by the Board of Punishments as an assistant, whereupon he devoted himself completely to the study of law. In the 19th year of Guangxu [1893], he was appointed prefect of the city of Tianjin. Later he successively held the posts of provincial judge in Shanxi Province, senior vice president of the Board of Punishments, president of the Supreme Court, and junior vice president of the Ministry of Justice. In 1902 the Qing government instituted a reform of its laws and regulations and established a Committee for Revising and Compiling Civil and Criminal Codes, appointing Shen as president of this committee. In 1909 he was concurrently appointed to the post of director-general of the Political Advisory Council. Shen was born into an era of violent changes, when China was reduced from a feudal society to a semicolonial, semifeudal society. To counter this situation where the foreign powers lay in wait for further encroachments and the state structure was breaking up, Shen, very early in his life, cherished the fervent wish to rescue the Qing Dynasty. In view of the fact that he had held positions in the Board of Punishments over long periods of time, had read profusely the codes of law, royal regulations of successive dynasties and the files of criminal cases, had deeply immersed himself in the study and critical research of the sources and developmental stages of ancient Chinese law, he had become a famous legal scholar, fully conversant with ancient Chinese law and as a man who to a certain extent had provided a critical summation of that ancient law. He pointed out: "In the present era of government by law, if one would only address oneself to the modern and not examine the ancient, only favor Western law and not probe into the traditional Chinese law, our legal studies would be incomplete, and how could we then have a full comprehension of the field so as to introduce a new system into society." ("Preface to the Unpublished Works of Vice President Xue of the Board of Punishments") He enthusiastically investigated and studied the laws of the capitalist coun-

tries, became much influenced by bourgeois legal thought and deeply felt that "the many excellent scholars who for generations had applied themselves to the study of politics and law" in the Western capitalist countries, have played an important role in reforming the political structure and in the perfection of their legal systems. In order to save China, "which had suffered repeated misfortunes and has to contend with difficulties in a hundred respects," he advocated that "men of vision should investigate the principles of good government, examine and consider on a broad scale the systems of all the various countries, gain a thorough understanding of these systems so that they may be able to take over the essence and thus somewhat supplement our contemporary law."[1] Shen himself was an outstanding example of a man who at that period of time in China had a full understanding of the laws of the capitalist countries, who advocated a bourgeois reformism as he wanted to implement the principle of "Chinese traditional learning for the fundamentals, Western learning for the useful techniques" in the legal sphere. On the one hand he eliminated and revised antiquated and barbaric provisions in the Qing Dynasty laws and on the other hand introduced new legal provisions which had a completely capitalist character. He looked the rapidly changing realities in the face and firmly maintained that the new laws must be formulated on the basis of a "full understanding and mastery of Chinese as well as Western legal institutions." For this purpose he vigorously set up organizations for the translation of foreign law books, established law schools and invited foreign legal scholars to teach and to participate in the work of drafting new laws. In the short few years that he was in charge of law revision, he greatly stimulated the study of Western laws. These years were the most active stage of legislative activity throughout the entire Qing era. Since the Qing Dynasty was soon swept from power by the revolution of 1911, most of the new laws were never promulgated or put into force, but they were used as precedents by the subsequent Beiyang regime. One may therefore say that the legal reforms toward the end of the Qing Dynasty constitute the first chapter in the breaking of fresh ground in the modernization of the Chinese legal system.

The works of Shen Jiaben are to be found in "Collected Works of the Late Shen Jiyi," part 1 22 items, part 2 13 items. In addition there are also the following unpublished works: "Worthwhile Facts About the Autumn Assizes," 10 vol, "Casual Notes on Laws and Regulations," 2 vol, "Miscellaneous Remarks on Laws and Regulations," 2 vol, "Collation Notes on Laws," 5 vol, "Official Correspondence from the 'Snow Hall'," 1 vol, "Cizíji", 2 vol, "Literary Crimes of Laise-Majeste," 1 vol, "Compendium of Criminal Cases," 100 vol, altogether 16 items in 132 volumes.

(1) Shen Jiaben lived in a time of great changes when the sea routes formerly closed were thrown wide open and old passed into new. He was therefore different from the traditional legal scholars of feudal times; he not only investigated in outer forms the inherent advantages and disadvantages of Chinese laws throughout their evolution, but especially threw all his heart into the study of the theory of law and spared no efforts to expound the inner link and mutual relationship between legislation and the study of jurisprudence. He emphasized the guiding role that the study of legal theory should play with regard to all legislation. He said: "The study of law must be pursued with great care and clarity. If one strives for careful examination and clear

elucidation one cannot but pursue the study of legal theories to the limits."[2] He appreciated that ancient China, in summing up practical experiences, established some abstract concepts of criminal law, for instance, "knowingly committing a crime is called 'intentionally,'" "contending with each other is 'fighting,' hitting out at each other is 'beating.'" He thought "the dividing lines were very clearly defined."[3] Only when "legal scholarship is clear in its definitions, will punishment be meted out in fitting measure." "If a law is set that does not conform with legal theory...of what value can such a law possibly be." He fully revealed the fact that China under its autocratic rule showed gross indifference toward the study of legal theories. "All utterances of the legalists, not being well-known officials or members of the Board of Punishments, were ignored by everybody. Famous high officials and great ministers of state regarded them as books of no consequence, abandoned them as insignificant or even as unlucky to look at. They kept away from them and avoided them. That is strange indeed," "Chinese jurisprudence has been going on uninterruptedly without officials controlling it or willing to peruse these works. They claimed they were too busy to probe into sources or discuss advantages or disadvantages." "People in general were ignorant of jurisprudence, already in ancient times and more so in modern times." In his article "The Rise and Decline of Jurisprudence," Shen lifted the curtain of history and proved that "the rise and decline of jurisprudence is very closely linked with whether government is well administered or neglected." He pointed out: "The first symptoms are that men of little knowledge are employed, men who generally do not even know what jurisprudence is. They were expected to observe the laws but possibly ruined them. This is why it was hardly possible to enforce the laws and why jurisprudence declined."[4] Although Shen, in his analysis of the reasons why jurisprudence remained undeveloped in China, touched on some phenomena, he did not, in fact could not, clearly expose that it is precisely the feudal autocratic system and its evil developments that totally destroyed any atmosphere conducive to scholarly investigation and shackled man's mind. That was the only basic reason for the continuous decline of jurisprudence.

Shen laid great stress on jurisprudence as a helpful service in the revision of the laws of the Qing Dynasty. He was of the opinion that "those who legislate laws must be clear on the natural certainty of logic and probe to find the essential meaning; how can the efforts of jurisprudence be slowed down?" "Without clarity in the theories, those with experience have no way to apply them effectively. Without undergoing experiences, theories have nothing to go on to prove their correctness. Experience and theory are two things that need one another." Starting out from this basic knowledge, he refuted those who had their eyes only on "today's jurisprudence, to produce every day new discoveries," who downgraded the summing up of the historical experiences of the Chinese legal system and who dismissed in toto the codes and institutions of the past as "old relics" and "old paper." He emphasized that "theories are of course changing at times, but the new theories are the doctrines of scholars. However, there are things, such as the sincerety and falseness of man, the distance and difference of the five continents, which the scholars cannot altogether overturn. We must therefore further elucidate the theories of those before us and effect comparisons with the conditions of cases in the olden days. Thus new discoveries can be made, mutually, with new doctrines and one certainly must not be partial to those expounding new theories."[5]

In the process of his law reforms, Shen took this concept as his guiding principle; he expressed it in precise terms when he said: "Since I received the command to revise the laws, I consulted as reference and mutual confirmation the Western laws, comparing mutual similarities and differences. However, examining the advantages and disadvantages without a thorough study of the traditional Chinese laws and adopting an inappropriate admixture of Western laws is just as impossible as trying to put a square peg into a round hole. If one were to do that, how could one hope for success."[6]

The way Shen advocated to apply Chinese and Western principles in the legal system reflects the extent to which his ideology was branded by the special political conditions, namely the semicolonial, semifeudal society, and is also evidence of his being influenced by bourgeois law into accepting an ideological system of feudal bureaucratism. At that time, he was an outstanding phenomenon and different from those who onesidedly only esteemed Western doctrines and would permit no other doctrines. He gave his own personal answer to a series of basic theoretical questions of jurisprudence.

1. The Function of Law

What is law? In Shen's opinion, "fa" [law in general] is "the pattern of the world, the outer rule for all affairs."[7] It is "unchangeable in the face of all events, it is constant." The "lu" [statutes] used to be explained in the olden days as "the roots of all affairs, the criminal statutes being one section of them." Today, however, "fa lu" is the name for the entire concept." He also said: "Statutes are law." ("Law and Decrees, 1") "The statutes, once set up, are unchangeable." He also expounded the view that the occurrence of law is inseparably linked with the formation of a bureaucratic system, "as soon as there are officials, there are bound to be laws; in very ancient times the laws and decrees were of a simple nature, not as complex as in later times, but we lack written records and cannot investigate them." ("Preface to Current Regulations")

Shen's opinion on the function of law was that it was: one, to rule the people well and second, to rule the country well. He approved of Guanzi's saying: "The reason why the law promotes good deeds and deters from violence, why the statutes affirm proper social positions and stop contentions, is that decrees inform the people and laws and statutes provide guidelines for the behavior of the people." ("Seven Ministers, Seven Lords") He developed the idea even further: "In my humble opinion the true way of government is to first of all set laws and provide codes of legal restraints for the people...."[8] If "the government attains its true way, it will promote benevolence and righteousness, and propriety and courtesy will become common customs." "Still, one cannot abolish punishments as deterrents for the people." If one were to "abolish normal punishments, it would lift all restraints from the people and encourage villainy," as if one were to "break the protecting dikes that hold back a mass of water." When discussing the actual nature of criminal law, he even more distinctly pointed out: "Criminal law is the tool of the state for disciplining and cautioning." ("On Capital Punishment as the Only Way") As to the target of such "disciplining and cautioning," this is already clearly footnoted by the two characters "dian min" [codes of legal restraints for the people].

On the basis of his summation of an abundant quantity of historical experiences, Shen Jiaben was deeply conscious of the fact that law is the major tool by which the state exercises its rule, and that it plays a vital role in determining a country's quality of government and its rise and fall. "There has never been a country throughout history that could enjoy long periods of peace and a well-governed state without laws." Only if "the entire spirit of the whole country is bonded together in its laws, can there be a constant increase in the power of the state." ("Preface to Collection of Newly Translated Laws and Regulations")

In view of the lessons of history, the continuous records of which show that undesirably harsh laws led to violent changes and revolts, Shen opposed severe punishments as a means of achieving good government. He said in the Five Dynasties period "all actions and the application of the laws were practiced with a onesided severity." The so-called law "was not a lawful law and did not deserve to be followed." The fate of that country was shortlived, "mainly due to the fact that the government's orders were heartless." ("Examining the Criminal Law of Successive Dynasties") He also concluded from the case of Emperor Wudi of the Han Dynasty, that when he issued the laws with collective penal responsibilities of families and clans, banditry did not decline: "The true way of controlling banditry must place value on appropriate methods of handling the problem, merely pasting up a law is useless." "We know that severe laws are not effective as means of governing." "A large number of prisons is not effective as a means of governing." In this connection, Shen explored the fundamental problem of criminality, pointing out that social turbulence and unrest and the state of the country practically swarming with bandits are caused by "government orders being vexing and cruel and the people living in abject poverty." ("Collation of Han Laws," chapters 6 and 7) "In the Five Dynasties period, "banditry repeatedly erupted" only because "the people had no means of livelihood." ("Laws and Regulations," 5) Therefore, merely trying to use severe laws to remedy the turbulence in the world is "a policy of curing the superficial symptoms," which can only aggrevate the contradictions. The crucial point is to "explore the fundamentals," that is, to solve the serious social problems, this alone will plug up the sources of criminality.

In simple and clear language Shen exposed the social roots and sources of criminality. He demonstrated the social consequences of the two policies of dealing with crime, the policy of "treating the superficial symptoms" and the policy of "exploring the fundamentals," and thus touched upon some problems of a very substantial nature. Starting out from these considerations, he expressed the opinion that good government is the fundamental and "criminal laws are only supplemental of government." ("General Examination of the Penal System," 4) Although law and politics are different things, one being the primary, the other the secondary, law is nevertheless the tool for the implementation of political policies, therefore "if jurisprudence is enlightened and punishments are appropriate, this is of utmost importance for politics." He favored the method, practiced toward the end of the Qing Dynasty, of "having men with vision explore the principles of good government and investigate on a broad scale the systems of various other countries," and believed that this would be "beneficial for our present society." When he himself adopted Western legal elements in formulating new laws, he first of all "explored the good points and bad points in the relevant foreign country's politics" and he emphatically warned against blindly taking over things from foreign countries.

Although the legal scholars of ancient China dealt with law in relation to government, the concept of "politics" had not yet taken shape at that time, and they were therefore not in a position to discuss the relationship between law and politics. The great thinker of modern Chinese enlightenment, Yan Fu, introduced Western bourgeois democratic political science and was of the opinion that law is "the immutable rule and regulator in governing the state," but he similarly was not able to directly come to a decision on the problem of the relations between law and politics that came up in his country. In that respect Shen Jiaben surpassed all his predecessors and was far ahead of his contemporaries.

2. Law Must be Unified

Shen Jiaben's idea that law must be unified comprised three aspects: First, there should be a unified purpose in legislation. Starting out from the concept that "law is the tool of the state by means of which he punishes and cautions the people, not a means of personal revenge or reprisals," he pointed out that "there must be no two divergent purposes in legislation." What he called the "two divergent purposes" refers to the purpose of "punishing and cautioning" and having at the same time "the intention of personal revenge," ("Si xing wei yi shuo") "Punishment if taken as a method of giving vent to anger, would lead to extremely grave abuses and could possibly lead to raising the severity of the laws endlessly." ("Detailed Examination of the Penal System," 4) Second, the laws defining the crimes must be unified. This aimed particularly at the situation toward the end of the Qing Dynasty when the old rules had not yet lost their validity while new laws had been formulated so that there was a confusing mixture of the old and the new, both differing in the severity of the penalties. Shen pointed out that "crimes committed, either old or new, must of course be adjudged uniformly, discrepancies must not be allowed as they would detract from the trustworthiness of the laws." ("Notes on the Ming Law," 1) Third, the laws must be applied uniformly, which means that there must be no differences due to the persons involved. He pointed out: "In the Han Dynasty when Wang Zhang committed the crime of 'impropriety in speech,' he had to die in prison and his wife and children were imprisoned, but when Zhang Shouwang and Kuang Heng committed the same crime, the emperor decreed not to prosecute and not to punish. "If there are such differences in degrees of severity in penalties, one may say there is no more definite law." He also attacked the Southern Liang Dynasty, where family members of the scholar class enjoyed all kinds of legal and illegal privileges, so that law was as good as abolished. Shen said: "All men are of one kind...with respect to responsibility before the law; it only matters whether they are good or bad. No distinction must be made between the scholar class and the common people. Bad members of the scholar class should be killed if their crime deserved this punishment. This would not be at odds with the sentiments of the people, but killing good people from among the common people without fitting the punishment to the crime would arouse the resentment of a great many people!" "To make a distinction only between the scholar class and the common people without distinguishing the good and the bad is a sure way to disaster." At the same time he opposed the indiscriminate redemption of penalties due to the "eight grounds of distinction." In these cases, the circumstances should be investigated and the method of the "eight distinction" not applied to all these per-

sons qualifying under the system, thus getting them all pardoned. In the Southern Liang Dynasty, the Prince of Linchuan plotted to rebel and assassinate the ruler. Emperor Wudi of the Liang Dynasty would not prosecute anyone related to the imperial house or of high official rank, with the result that "the feudal princes were overbearing and disregarded all justice and reason." Shen therefore asserted categorically that "the shortcomings of the Liang Dynasty were not that there laws were too lenient, but that they had abolished all law," and he concluded that "if a law is set up, but not enforced it amounts to having no law at all." ("General Examination of the Penal System")

Shen Jiaben particularly castigated that under the rule of the Qing Dynasty, the Manchus had the special privilege to have their penalites reduced or commuted if they committed a crime punishable by transportation, military deportation, exile or prison. Shen pleaded that they should be dealt with in the same way as the common people. He said: "If the law is not uniform for all, the people will suspect it. All elements looking for the abstruse or behaving eccentrically will take advantage of the flaw and laxity of the law. In order to maintain peace and harmony among the people, it is necessary to ensure unified application before enacting new laws. If there is uniformity of law, the people will want to maintain peace, and all the eccentric and vicious talk will not have the power to mislead the people.... If the old way of discriminations is continued without reform, what trustworthiness would there be displayed to dispell the suspicions of the people?"[9]

All the enlightened emperors from the Han and Tang dynasties down, who attached importance to the feudal legal system, advocated the uniform application of the law. Although it was confined to the nature of a feudal legal system, merely able to maintain uniformity within a certain period of time and only to a certain extent, it was extremely effective for the maintenance of social security, the strengthening of the state's power and prosperity and the development of its economy. The phenomenon of the famous "zhen guan" era [627-649] is inseparably linked with the "uniform application of the law" strictly enforced by Li Shimin, the Emerpor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty. The progressive thinkers of the feudal era also all supported this view. For instance, Wang Fuzhi [1619-1692] too emphasized that "law must be fixed uniformly."

As Shen Jiaben lived toward the end of the feudal era, he gradually cast off the fetters of the feudal legal viewpoint on special privileges and adopted the legal principle that "all men are equal before the law" and elucidated the idea that "all men must abide by the law." His attack was particularly directed against the privileges enjoyed by the Manchu nobility by the provisions of the current law. Shen's act was undoubtedly of a tremendous significance.

3. Law and the Inculcation of Moral Principles

Shen Jiaben followed the traditional views of the Chinese legal scholars of the feudal era in such ideas as "virtue (propriety) be primary factor and punishment to be supplemental," and "Be enlightened in the use of punishments and assist in the inculcation of moral obligations." He followed the trend of his society and engaged in thorough elucidations of the relationship of law and moral inculcation. He pointed out: "In the society of the great kings of antiquity, education was primary and punishment something that followed. In

the 12 items concerning education listed by the ancient minister of education, punishments occupied only one space. It said, people had to be educated and only those that did not respond had to be punished. In that case few would be subjected to punishment. Not to educate and execute people was something the ancient kings would not tolerate."[10] "Confucius spoke of governing by morality and ordering by punishments, also of morality, virtue, orderliness and propriety, that is, that politics and punishments must be engaged in or carried out with virtue and propriety, since only then will the most perfect government be achieved."[11] "Laozi said: 'Without action on my part, the people will transform themselves for the better; as I prefer to remain quiet, the people will rectify themselves.'... This means that a virtuous body has a rectifying influence, so that all people may be transformed by teaching...and government will have a firm foundation." ("Investigation of Prisons") From the above extensive quotations he concluded that "punishments are not the tool to dominate the people by power, but rather to supplement in cases where education has not been sufficient or adequate." ("General Examination of the Penal System") He took the opportunity of commenting on the various controversies over the question of retaining punishment by mutilation, controversies that were voiced after Emperor Wudi of the Han Dynasty abolished the punishment of mutilation, to emphasize: "The way to stop villainy is by teaching and educating; it is difficult to rectify villainy without teaching and educating." ("Detailed Examination of the Penal System"]

Although Shen Jiaben praised highly inculcation of moral principles as a foundation of government, this was no reason for him to ignore the functions of law and punishments. He quoted from the "Shun dian" [The Statutes of Emperor Shun]: "Be enlightened in the use of the five punishments, so as to assist in the inculcation of the five obligations." The record in the ("The Criminal Code of Marquis Lu"): "The scholar-elite rules the common people within a framework of criminal laws and teaches them to venerate virtue," was elucidated by Shen to mean that "during the halcyon days of Yao, Shun and the ancient three dynasties, criminal law was esteemed and relied upon as an assist to government; they could not abolish criminal law and not apply it then," how much more was this the state in later generations. Shen criticized for "lack of discernment in his views" the comment by Ji Yun, "criminal law was not highly esteemed in times of great prosperity," a comment which appeared in the chapter "Laws and Orders," Section "Government Documents" in the compilation ("Brief Summary of the Catalog of the Imperial Library"); Shen considers this view contrary to historical facts and realities.

Starting out from the historical fact that Zhu Yuanzhang in the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, achieved little by the harsh laws and severe punishments, by which he ruled the people and the officials of his government, Shen Jiaben pointed out: "The rulers do not realize that they should bend their attention to the fundamentals; they merely want the people to abstain from evildoings and for this purpose increase the severity of punishments and executions, believing that this can stop villainy and prevent violence. Let us investigate whether villainy was stopped and violence prevented: If people were punished in the morning, others would commit crimes in the evening, and if punished in the evening, crime was back in the morning. Before the corpses of the executed were even removed, others had followed in the footsteps of the criminals. The more severe the punishments, the greater the number of crimes. This was the

experience of the founder of the Ming Dynasty, which he wrote down in the "Great Instructive Warnings." It shows us that it is ineffective to try to stop villainy and prevent violence by mutilating punishments." ("Detailed Examination of the Penal System," 5) Precisely because "we see it in the 'Great Instructive Warnings' we can well realize that ruling the people by power cannot be called good government." ("Afterword to Great Instructive Warnings of the Ming Dynasty") He therefore personally compiled the three volumes of the "Great Instructive Warnings" and wrote a postscript to it, hoping that future legislators of criminal laws will probe into the fundamental sources of good government, as otherwise "the people will find themselves at their wit's end and will become alienated. Once the people are alienated, great calamity can be anticipated. Is that not a frightening prospect?" "General Examination of the Penal System") The experiences during the first 30 years of the Ming Dynasty served Zhu Yuanzhang, Emperor Taizu of the Ming Dynasty, as a lesson and made him realize that persisting blindly on a reliance on harsh laws and severe punishments "was ineffective in reforming the people." Shen once remarked to Liu Weiqian: "Benevolence and righteousness are like fat meat and fine grain for the people, punishments are like medicine and acupuncture needles to treat evildoers. Abandoning benevolence and righteousness and merely using punishments amounts to nurturing men with medicine and acupuncture needles; how can that still be good government?" ("Afterword to Great Instructive Warnings of the Ming Dynasty") After the 30th year of Emperor Hongwu, the harsh laws listed in the "Great Instructive Warnings" were therefore practically no more enforced.

To sum up, Shen Jiaben believed that "punishment and education are in a condition of mutually waxing and waning,"[12] "because, regrettably, the number of criminals exceeds the number of people reformed by education. Severe punishments and strict laws can punish and cleanse what has passed, but can hardly purge what is in the future."[13] We must therefore absolutely refrain from downgrading the merits of education.

However, toward the end of the feudal era, the class contradictions sharpened day by day and the rulers sought recourse to an even greater extent in severe punishments as a more direct and more effective method to maintain their rule. Although they paid lip service to "kindness first, punishment secondary," they did not act in this sense. For this reason, Shen heaved a great sigh of regret, as he expressed: "When the state set up officials, it was originally to educate and nurture the people, but the later generations of officials showed absolutely no understanding for education and nurturing.... The lower ranks flaunt their power of criminal jurisdiction and wantonly engage in greediness and cruelties. The consequences of such actions for the people's livelihood can well be imagined. Can there still be any talk of educating and nurturing?" ("Examining the Criminal Judiciary") "If later generations will no more concern themselves with education and merely emphasize punishments, how would that still conform with the intentions of our sages'" Aiming at correcting abuses, Shen Jiaben raised a cry of warning: "As people are governed at present, is it that punishment is in secondary place and only education in primary position?"[14] It was precisely with this idea in mind that Shen mentions at the very beginning of his "Xing guan kao" the ancient minister of education who was engaged in inculcating moral principles.

Not only that, Shen Jiaben also cited the laws of capitalist countries to support his doctrine of "using punishment in an enlightened way and assisting the inculcation of moral principles." "Recent Western laws happen to conform with the said principle." In his memorial ("Memorial Requesting Compilation of Current Criminal Laws to Serve as Basis for New Statutes"), Shen Jiaben, basing on the principles found in the countries of "exemplary great powers," set forth that "punishments and education are in a condition of mutual waxing and waning." He also paid special attention to the education of juvenile delinquents: "Recent scholarly opinion in various countries..sees punishment as the last resort. Juveniles must be educated, not punished, so as to impart self-restraint and moral character, reform their evil habits and transform them into good citizens. This is the meaning of 'using punishments in an enlightened way and assist in the inculcation of moral principles.'" ("Examining the Criminal Law in Successive Dynasties") Following the discussions on the abolition of capital punishment among European scholars during the last decades, he elaborated one step further the relationship between education and punishment by pointing out: "With the abolition of capital punishment and primary efforts being devoted to education, education will be popularized and widespread and the people's morality will be raised rapidly, while criminality will by itself decrease, so that there should be no further need for capital punishment." "If laws are suddenly rendered lenient before education can be popularized, it will hardly have the effect of 'assisting in the inculcation of moral principles.'"[15] In his memorial "On Elimination of the Harsh Laws in Our Criminal Code," he also started out from the Confucian doctrine that "benevolent government must be the primary consideration when governing a country in the true way," when he advocated: "The true way to reform the people relies on political education, not on the power of criminal prosecution." He also recommended the improvement of prisons, "because prisons are to be places of moral education, which is the fundamental meaning in the saying 'use punishments in an enlightened way and assist in the inculcation of moral principles."[16]

As the above shows, Shen Jiaben effected a compromise between the traditional justice and Western law, explaining the relationship between law and the inculcation of moral principles and pointing out that the two complement each other, although there are cases of particular emphasis on one or the other, neither must be neglected. Because the objectives of ethics are much wider in scope than those of law, are also more readily recognized by society as a kind of habit and social characteristic, they often play a role in areas which law does not reach. Throughout history, rulers have always attached extreme importance to the use of legal forms to affirm such moral concepts that would help maintain their class rule. They also took advantage of the special features and the force inherent in moral principles to cover up the essence of law, rather giving free rein to the coercive faculty of law. This is the reason why in China, from the times of its slave society with its "two handles," law and ethics, down through the era of the feudal society, the principles of "morality first, punishment secondary" and "use punishment in an enlightened way, assist in the inculcation of moral principles" were continuously made the guiding ideology and policy in legislation. As Shen Jiaben expressed it: "It would not do to abandon ethics and only give attention to the criminal laws; legislators must never overlook this point."[17]

Shen Jiaben did not merely follow traditional concepts in his thoughts on the relationship between law and moral education, but moreover pursued a very realistic aim. In the later part of the Qing era, the class contradictions sharpened day by day, and in order to highten the intimidating and terrifying effects of the law, the rulers expanded the application of cruel punishments, such as death by slicing or exposure of the head after execution. However, the excessive punishments brought about even worse upheaval and social insecurity. When Shen was writing an expose on "Eliminating Wickedness Requires Working on the Roots of the Evil," he therefore hinted in his criticism, in a way as one would draw the bow without discharging the arrow, at the policy of excessive punishments under the Qing Dynasty and furthermore prepared public opinion for a reform of the old feudal laws, pointing to the legal system of Western capitalism as model.

4. Strict Justice in Applying the Laws

Shen Jiaben gave his attention not only to a detailed investigation of legislation, but also considered in particular the application of the laws. He emphatically pointed out: "For those who govern a country the greatest difficulty is not legislation, but rather the application and execution of the laws." Shen cited the historical lesson provided by the Ming Dynasty in its early years, when the strict laws that were to restrain the eunuchs were in and the end unable to prevent their usurping all power. This, he said, explains that "the best of laws are nothing but empty utensils if the laws are not carried out." ("General Examination of the Penal System") "Merely promulgating a strict law without the sincere intention of applying it makes this a futile law." ("Detailed Examination of the Penal System")

To the question how a law should be enforced in order to benefit government, Shen Jiaben gave the following reply: "The merits of the laws of one era do not lie in the excellence of their legislation, but in the equity with which they are applied." ("Preface to a Collection of Previously Omitted Han Laws") By equity he meant that laws should not be purposely abrogated or applied in a biased way, sometimes strict and sometimes lenient. He used the metaphor of measuring and weighing in expressing the need for "equity" and "accuracy" in the application of laws, when he said: "...as when you measure length down to a "hao" and a "li," as when you measure capacity down to a "gui" and a "cuo," and weigh the weight down to a single grain of millet, thus should be the action of legislators (and of those who apply the laws)." ("Laws and Orders," 1) In order to achieve full equity in the application of the law, there must be "mercy" or "compassions" as the core sentiment. He cited the words of Zengzi: "With a merciful heart, one can be trusted to achieve great things even with minor deviations from the straight rule. Wise men and superior men have given this prior consideration when passing sentence in criminal cases." Shen also approved of Guo Gong of the Han Dynasty who said: "be just in measuring out punishments and careful in passing sentences;" "put yourself in the other person's position when you are assessing cases, disregard appearances in finding out true conditions." He said" "The 'merciful heart' is indeed the fundamental element in 'measuring out just punishments and exercising care in passing judgments.' That cruelties and brutalities can be perpetrated without being checked into is due to a lack of compassion in the hearts of men. Compassion creates benevolence which will not tolerate cruelties and brutalities." ("Remnants of Han Law") He compared the law enforcement in the various dynasties

of feudal China and regarded the Song Dynasty as "displaying strictness in its legislation, but a compassionate attitude in the application if its laws," particularly after the Song had to move south of the Yangtze when "they realized that love of the people was the core concern." ("General Examination of the Penal System")

Shen Jiaben's idea of the high value of equity and accuracy in the application of laws was the historical experience which he derived from a summation of the rise and fall of the successive dynasties, and this idea was well justified. However, law is the expression of the will of the ruling class. It is the sum total of the rules of conduct, the implementation of which the state ensures by force. It is the major tool by which the ruling class exercises its dictatorship over the ruled. Its content is determined by the conditions of the material livelihood of the ruling class. It is therefore absolutely impossible for the exploiting class to enforce laws with an all-embracing benevolence for the entire society. Lenin expressed it well when he discussed the character of the feudal statutes: the feudal statutes "have basically only one objective--to maintain the rule of the landlords over the peasants in their serfhood."[18] Marx and Engels also demonstrated thoroughly that the judges of the exploiting class cannot possibly enforce the laws with true equity. It is outright foolish and an unrealistic fantasy to think that under the conditions of a one-sidedly selfish legislature, there can be just and impartial judges."[19] The propertied class can always in any special situation and in some clever way evade the laws, while the "proletariat is normally compelled to bear on its shoulders the full heavy burden of the laws."[20]

As to the mentioned "compassionate heart" which is the major guarantee for a just and impartial application of the laws, this too must be analyzed from a class viewpoint. In a class society there has never been a supra-class "compassionate heart." Confucius said, compassion is "when you don't do to others what you do not want done to yourself." Zhuzi commented: "Compassion is to put yourself into another's position," but "a man's intrinsic nature is not an abstract inherent in an individual. His real nature is the sum total of certain social relations."[21] It is therefore absolutely impossible to have a supra-class "compassion" in a class society. How could the exploiting class, while exploiting and oppressing the broad masses of working people, possibly display compassion for the target of its exploitation and oppression? Would they consider justice and fairness, or put themselves in the position of others?! Marx said: "Since law is selfish and only out for selfish gain, what sense is there in expecting just and unselfish judgments? The judge can only unscrupulously give expression to the selfishness of the law and can only unconditionally carry out these laws."[22] He also said: "The conscience of a man is determined by a man's conceptions and total lifestyle." "The conscience of a member of the propertied class is different from the conscience of a proletarian.... The 'conscience' of a member of the elite is an elitist conscience."[23]

Opposition to the lopsided severity in the execution of laws frequently came from enlightened feudal politicians and thinkers, and attacks on one or the other action of the contemporary regime occurred mostly when the class contradictions had become more violent and the balance of class forces turned in

favor of the ruled. They arose therefore always out of a certain political need; in the final analysis they occurred to bring the role of the law more effectively into play. The innate character of the law of the exploiting class determined that it necessarily grew gradually more rigorous and harsh, and this particularly so toward the end of the feudal era. Shen used the bourgeois "culture" in his criticism of the backward and barbaric elements in the feudal legal system. During the years that he was directing the law reform, he formally suggested abolition of a whole series of cruel criminal laws, suggestions which were thus very much in tune with the trends of his time.

5. Caution in Punishments, Caution in Pardons

Shen Jiaben integrated in his suggestions elements of the legal systems of both ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign systems and explicitly set forth the demand and the criteria for cautious sentencing, which means, to have criminal cases decided strictly according to law. He opposed the practice of analogous application of laws. He moreover introduced into the discussion the principle, derived from the bourgeois legal system, of "nullum crimen sine lege" [no offense or punishment without previous legal provision]. He criticized the practice, started in the Ming Dynasty and continued in the Qing Dynasty, of "using analogies where there is no specific law," saying, "if the statutes have no applicable provisions and punishment is still meted out, the people will lose all trust." He remarked in addition that such practices are nowhere allowed in the criminal laws of East and West," ("Ming lu mu qian" (Notes on Items of Ming Law")), a remark that was to support his view and strengthen the impetus for relevant reforms. However, the practice of deciding criminal cases by analogy "had a long history in China and many had welcomed it as a great convenience. To suddenly abolish the practice would create a veritable swarm of difficulties." Shen answered the censure from stubborn conservatives with ease and verve by demonstrating that "in ancient times this law had been proposed by many people, not only by one person." He moreover added his comment to each of the various opinions separately to fully express his own opinion. He also expressed appreciation for the commentary by Liu Song, a famous legal scholar of the Jin Dynasty: "Sentencing in criminal cases must all be based on explicit provisions of the various types of laws. If there are no explicit provisions, a decision may be based on analogy according to the general provisions or the general provisions of the law, the act shall remain without penal consequences." Shen added furthermore: "Now this principle is also affirmed by doctrines put forth in Eastern and Western countries, but the principle was evidently already enunciated in ancient times, however since doctrines specifically on jurisprudence were little referred to and studied, there have been few statements on it." Shen also referred to the ("History of the Zhou Dynasty") where it says in the 9th chapter of the 8th moon of the first year of Emperor Xuan Zheng among decrees and institutions: "Decisions in criminal cases and imposition of punishments must conform to the text of the law." Shen added: "My comment is, the phrase 'decisions in criminal cases and imposition of punishments must conform to law' means that sentencing is out of the question if the statutes have no explicit provisions." However, Shen Jiaben, who was very familiar with the history of the Chinese legal institutions, knew well that the practice of basing decisions on analogous cases did not start in the Ming and Qing dynasties, it was only that prior to these

two dynasties the practice of decisions by analogy were subject to certain restrictions. As from the Ming and Qing dynasties on, in the wake of the extreme development of autocratic rule, it became a widespread and unrestricted practice to base decisions on analogy. In chapter "shan xing" of the Tang Code, in a decision concerning a commander-in-chief who retreated at the start of a battle, it is clearly stated: "If there are provisions in the statutes, the decision must conform to these legal provisions." In the chapter dealing with decisions in criminal cases, it is furthermore stipulated: "If the book on pardons stipulates leniency, it is not permissible to cite analogous provisions to render a severe sentence." This shows that "although there existed the practice of analogous application of laws in the Tang Dynasty, restrictions on such practices were strict," such cases were "to be handled with extreme caution." An imperial decree by Emperor Shizong of the Jin Dynasty said: "It has recently been reported that judges either decide at their own discretion or look for the prime minister's opinion. We decree that from now on in cases where no explicit provisions exist, the statutes are to be taken as standard." Shen Jiaben comments on this point: "The Jin Dynasty took over the Tang and Song criminal laws and decreed that cases for which there are no explicit articles shall use the statutes correspondingly, and it is clearly beyond doubt that no other statutes must be used in analogy. China had this legal principle long ago. Liu Song of the Jin Dynasty proposed it first, Emperor Shizong of the Jin Dynasty followed it later, and it did not originate in the Eastern and Western countries of modern times. Shizong at the beginning of the Jin Dynasty was a good ruler. During his reign period, "da ding," his subjects called him 'little Yao and Shun.' If he specially decreed this kind of warning, he must have been well aware of the evil practice!" ("Ming lu mu jian") The Ming Code stipulated: "In applying the law, comparisons may be made in doubtful cases in determine stricter or more lenient punishment." This was therefore different from the principle in the Tang Code, even though the limitation was added: "If a conclusion is reached after deliberation, a memorial must be submitted to report the case. If discrepancies are found because the penalty had been decided upon rashly on the judge's own responsibility, it will be declared a decision not fitting the case." This was specially written down as a kind of remedy "in the realization that the evil practice of decisions by analogy was widespread. However, it was well known that since the practice existed for a long time, the judges did pass rash sentences on their own responsibility." "How can it be that there is no discrepancy in criminal offences?" The Qing Code followed the Ming Code. "Because the statutes and orders cannot contain exhaustive provisions for all cases, there may be cases to which no legal provisions are precisely applicable. In such cases other laws may be adduced in analogy," a practice which led to "delays in decisions...wilful assessment of severity of leniency, injustices, excesses, for which there was no redress." Shen Jiaben especially pointed out that in the Qing Dynasty "most of the injustices inflicted due to sentencing by analogy of law were in the area of literary offences against the rulers." He cited the case of Dai Mingshi [1653-1713] and his ("Essays of the Southern Mountains"), a case which was "totally based on analogy" and which implicated a large number of people. Shen commented: "Analogy has not the strength of law, which can well be deduced from this criminal case." ("Sundry Remarks on Ming Law") He also said that the so-called literary offences against the rulers "had no base in the formal provisions of the law and therefore had to be decided by a comparison with other laws. The cases were actually light but treated as serious laise-majeste, "and as such inflicted harm for over 100

years during the reign of Emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong. In his draft of a new criminal code, Shen Jiaben explicitly stated that "analogies are abolished."

In summary, the principles of "deciding criminal cases according of law" and "no offence without formal criminal statute" are democratic elements in Shen Jiaben's legal philosophy, as they are also infusing in concrete terms certain principles of the bourgeois legal system. To demonstrate the rational of these principles and the fact that they had been of long standing and well established in China, Shen Jiaben quoted profusely many historical data in his effort to have this principle included in the new criminal code that he was charged with formulating. In trying to adduce examples from ancient history for application in present conditions, he therefore tended to exaggerate the old institutions. He also inappropriately equated the ancient Chinese "deciding according to statutes" with the bourgeois "no offence without law," and confused the inherent differences of these two principles. Furthermore, although Shen Jiaben exposed the fact that sentencing by analogy from the Ming Dynasty on had completely replaced the principle of the Tang Code that crime must be adjudged on the basis of laws and orders, Shen did not, and also could not, explain the change and its evil developments, namely that it was precisely the inescapable result of the extreme autocratic system. The feudal legal system was built up on the foundation of the feudal small-scale peasant economy. It could not last long and had to disintegrate due to the presumptuous feudal privileges. It is worthwhile pointing out that Shen Jiaben when assailing the dangers of wilful legal analogies practiced under the Qing regime, cited the literary offences against the rulers. This was not only a convincing argument, but in those days a very daring attack.

At the same time that he advocated caution in sentencing, Shen Jiaben also suggested caution in amnesties and voiced his opposition to indiscriminate pardoning. In Chinese history, general amnesties were particularly frequent in the Han Dynasty, especially in the Eastern Han Dynasty, when even the capture of rare birds or strange animals was occasion for an amnesty, so that people thought light of committing crimes and were always hopeful of being pardoned, which resulted in social unrest and insecurity. The indiscriminate amnesties in the Han Dynasty were therefore ridiculed and criticized in later generations. Enlightened rulers in times of peace and prosperity, as for instance Li Shimin, the Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty, all advocated caution in pardoning. Shen Jiaben summed up the controversies around this question of amnesties and all the advantages and disadvantages as from the Han Dynasty on and set forth that "there had been an abundant discussion of the problem ever since Han times; the undesirable aspects of amnesties were their frequency. With more amnesties, crimes increased. If the amnesty makes sense, it will evoke a certain distrust of the law, and if the amnesty makes no sense it will have people think light of committing crimes. It is as if law destroys lawfulness. This is the harm that amnesties can do, why have frequent amnesties?" ("She jiu" ("On Amnesties," 9)) ("Amnesty Rules," 3) Shen criticized Emperor Renzong of the Song Dynasty who said that without frequent amensties "there is no way of invoking a harmonious atmosphere." This, according to Shen, is "not tracing the fundamentals of the problem." If one is able to practice the principle of "law fitting the crime," one will be able to achieve "equity in punishments," and "what has this to do with the powers of fate?" However, Shen Jiaben was also of the opinion that the institution of amnesties" must not be abruptly abolished," ("Examining

Amnesty," 12) what is necessary is merely to practice it with caution. Especially corrupt officials must not be included in pardons and amnesties. Shen said: "According to the Tang and Song amnesty rules, corrupt officials had mostly been excluded from the amnesty rules and as a result corruption was not very widespread, which is not the case today. The Tang and Song Dynasties were times of "stopping corruption by warnings and deterrents" and of "those in high positions and those in low positions being of one mind," and yet "corrupt officials had not been totally eliminated," let alone today "when there is no admonition against corruption." ("On Amnesty," 9) This is an implied censure of the possibility that corrupt officials in the Qing Dynasty may benefit from amnesties and pardons.

In Chinese history we find that the more amnesties had been indiscriminately proclaimed, the worse the state of lawlessness. Amnesties cannot claim to have heralded benevolent government and have even less been able to alleviate the social contradictions. For these reasons, thinkers who supported the feudal legal system have throughout history opposed indiscriminate and frequent amnesties. By suggesting caution in amnesties, Shen Jiaben indirectly expressed his stand of firm support for the principle of legal institutions.

6. The Human Element in the Execution of Laws

In the course of the law reforms that Shen directed, he was keenly aware of the lack of qualified legal personnel, and the various obstacles against the implementation of the new laws put up by the feudal diehards made the solution of these contradictions a matter of great urgency. Shen therefore did not spare ink and efforts and wrote a long article demonstrating the principle that "in judicial administration the important thing is to attract capable personnel; the implementation of laws depends on the men who are supposed to apply them." Shen Jiaben quoted the old Mencius saying: "The law unaided cannot make itself effective," to express his own idea that "to be effective laws depend on the people who carry out the laws, and unless you have such capable men, the law is nothing but a futile law." ("General Examination of the Penal System," 4) He also referred to the example of the Tang Code, pointing out that even though it was a famous legal code of the feudal era in which leniency and severity were adequately handled, it was still completely disregarded at the time of the "wanton persecutions of the Empress Wu." From this "we are benefitted in knowing that while having laws, it is even more important to have the men to properly apply them. Generally speaking, when there are qualified people applying the laws, even harsh laws will be mitigated by human considerations. If laws are applied by unfit men, even lenient and equitable laws become brutal and will in this exceed the limitations of the law. The reasons for success and failure depend completely on the mind of the rulers. Whether there will be benevolence or brutality, the portents are very subtle. If there is only empty talk of setting up laws, then all policies in this respect will be like empty utensils." Shen refuted the criticism by Ma Duanlin of the Song Dynasty who had said that the Jin Dynasty law was too "leninet and tolerant," saying that this criticism was not appropriate. Shen said that in the Jin Dynasty "those who compiled the laws were quite detailed and careful, and the people of those days praised the laws as "expedient." As to the corruption of the legal system that occurred in the Jin Dynasty, that was "not the fault of the laws, but must

be blamed on those who were to carry out the laws." "How can one say that the Jin laws were too lenient and tolerant; it was also rather a case of the legal institutions having no capable men to apply the laws. Because the laws had no capable men to carry them out, they became nothing more than empty laws." ("General Examination of the Penal System," 2, 4)

Since Shen Jiaben was so concerned about the role of those who were to carry out the laws, he proposed that the senior officers in the central administration and the senior prefects "all must know the law." On the other hand he repeatedly emphasized that "the administration of criminal justice is a field requiring special ability, which not just every person is qualified to be engaged in." Shen said: "Shun of Yu in his administration of criminal law depended on Gao Tao. The Duke of Zhou promoted Su Gong to attend to criminal cases, but "the rulers of later generations each had the idea of being saintly, they were inconsistent in temper and when deciding a case, set up a new rule, sometimes abnormally lenient, sometimes abnormally severe, thus leaving behind an endless harmful legacy. Must we not be cautious!" ("Examining Amnesty," 12) In order to have the officials familiarize themselves with the law, he emulated an institution of the Zhou era of instructing grassroots officials in the law. Shen said: "According to the (Rites of the Zhou Dynasty," the local officials had to study the law, the provincial governors three times a year, the "dang zheng" [chiefs of 500-family organizations] seven times a year, the clan leaders 14 times a year and the village chiefs without fixed periods. They had to study the methods they had to master, admonishing, cautioning...."[24] However, officials of the central administration who issue orders are even more urgently required to know the law, otherwise they will commit errors in actual practice. He cited cases from the Tang and Song Dynasties, where organs of the central administration had issued amnesties that conflicted with current law, as examples that these mistakes had come about due to the ignorance of the law on the part of senior officials of the central administration. "My comments are: criminal laws are determined by officials of the criminal administration, but the amnesties are drafted by the cabinet of ministers who are not necessarily well informed on criminal laws. Whenever an amensty comes up, they will either follow the text of old laws or act at their own discretion. Everybody knows that things change considerably, so that without proper research, conflicts are created. Frequently the law had been change decades ago, but provisions of it were still included in the text of the amnesty law, creating a troublesome problem for those who are to carry out the amnesty, who will then have to find a method of accommodation, with the result that the amnesty will be an empty letter and will arouse distrust in the empire." ("Examination of Amnesty," 12) To have the officials know their law, Shen suggested that the law doctors [of the Imperial Academy] act as "professors." Shen said: "The office of a doctor is a very important one and must be held by a specialist. Law is a special field of knowledge, and a common official cannot be proficient in it. It must be a specialist, then its parts will be fine and meticulous, its integral creation equitable and just. There will be a most equitable and just law and the exercise of a very fine and most meticulous mind. In that case, why would there not be a perfect law. As to the execution of the laws, again exercising the finest and most meticulous minds and employing this most equitable and just law, why should the conclusions not be perfect. This is the profound idea in establishing officials; those deliberating on the administrative institutions

should uphold this idea![25] Even such minor officials as prison wardens, since they exercise control over the entire prison, "are not competent for the position unless they have concurrent qualifications in law, ethics and as military men." It is therefore necessary to create "a reservoir of administrative talents" as the first step toward a prison reform.[26] Shen moreover proposed to punish severely officials charged with the execution of the law who bend the laws. He said: "The law is controlled by the officials, whether it is perverted or not is in the hands of the officials, who therefore should also be responsible for criminal acts in handling the law. Regardless in what respect they bent the law, it is to be considered a serious crime because committee by an official, that is a fixed rule of law. If men who are to carry out the laws show greed for unlawful profits, bend the law in their decisions and violate the law, that law is being destroyed. They are therefore to be sentenced with severity, this is still the best idea to maintain strict order among officials.[27] In his writing "Ri Nan Sui Bi, Huo Dao Qian Guan" he says through the mouth of another person: "To destroy a man's life and to be moved away to a new official post are unfortunate things," which indicates his own rebuke for officials who bent the law or violated criminal laws. He moreover assailed the government clerks who in the Ming and Qing times actually manipulated the judicial procedure. He pointed out that "the power of the clerks has been increasing steadily" ever since the times of the Song Dynasty," and by the time of the Ming and Qing dynasties, this power cannot very well be wrested away from them." ("General Examination of the Penal System," 16)

Summing up we find that in his statements on the relationship between the law and those executing the law, Shen Jiaben follows come historical and traditional viewpoints with the admixture of certain features relevant to his days, such as: (1) he expressed distinct anti-autocratic demands and attacked the phenomenon of having the ruler determine the law and the punishment meeted out by the ruler; (2) through his attacks against the power of the clerks and officials, he touches upon the muddled situation toward the end of the feudal era as regards judicial administration and rule by officials. Most of the officials of the Ming and Qing dynasty had opened up their successful careers in officialdom by their eight-legged eassay writing; they were utterly ignorant of social conditions, customs, human relationships, law and judicial procedures. Once on their official posts and faced with the continuous stream of criminal and civil cases, they were compeltely helpless and did not know what to do. Since moreover the Qing Code prescribed penalties for officials making mistakes in their investigations and sentencing, they therefore had no other way than to rely on the legal clerks who have had long experience in handling the laws and statutes, thus instigating them to play around with legal phraseology and manipulate the law, engage in malpractice for selfish ends, or even rob people by force or trickery. The higher and lower ranks were together in league so that the people suffered injustices with nowhere to turn for recourse and enduring a full measure of hardship under the oppression of the judicial administration. In the Qing era, all officials with a sense of righteousness were opposed to the legal clerks, and men of the reform party contemporary with Shen Jiaben, such as Zhang Jian [1728 6190] also, on many occasions, had voiced a demand for the abolition of the legal clerks; (3) to formulate and propagate new laws, Shen stressed the need for officials to study jurisprudence and become familiar with the laws. (To be continued.)

FOOTNOTES

1. "Ji Yi wen cun" [Collected Works of Shen Jiaben], vol 6, "Preface to Political Reference Works."

2. Ibid., "Preface to Lectures on Jurisprudence."

3. Ibid., vol 2 "On Premeditated Murder."

4. Ibid., vol 3 "On the Theory of the Rise and Decline of Jurisprudence."

5. Ibid., vol 6 "Preface to Volume 3 of Collected Criminal Cases."

6. Ibid., vol 6 "Preface to Lectures on the Qing Code."

7. Ibid., vol 6 "Preface to Collection of Translated Laws."

8. Ibid., vol 1 "On the Remission of Penalties for Manchus."

9. Ibid.

10. "Xing guan kao shang" [Examining Officials of the Criminal Judiciary]

11. "Ji Yi wen cun," vol 8 "On the Section of Books on Government in the Brief Catalog of the Imperial Library."

12. Shen Jiaben, "Memorial on New Draft of Criminal Code."

13. Shen Jiaben, "Four Points Regarding Prison Reform."

14. "Ji Yi wen cun," vol 8 "On the Draft of the New Criminal Code."

15. Shen Jiaben, "Memorial on Compiling Current Criminal Laws."

16. "Ji Yi wen cun," vol 1 "On the Abolition of Severe Punishments."

17. "Ji Yi wen cun," vol 2 "On False Accusations."

18. Lenin, "On the State," in "Selected Works of Lenin" vol 4, p 51.

19. "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 1, p 178.

20. Ibid., vol 2, p 571.

21. Marx, "On Feuerbach's Program," in "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 1, p 18.

22. "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 1, p 178.

23. Ibid., vol 6, p 152.

24. "Ji Yi wen cun," vol 7 "Postscript of Reissue of the Ming Code by Fan Yonglan."

25. Ibid., vol 1 "Suggestion to Establish Doctorate of Law."

26. Shen Jiaben, "Memorial on Four Points for Prison Reform."

27. "Ji Yi wen cun," vol 1 "Deliberations With Colleagues of the Same Examination."

[23 Oct 81, pp 47-53]

[Part Two]

[Excerpts] In 1902 Zhang Zhidong, in his concurrent capacity of minister of trade, revised the trade agreement with various countries. At this time England, Japan, the United States and Portugal tried to prop up the Qing Dynasty Government, which had completely capitulated to them, by signifying hypocritically that they would be willing to give up estraterritoriality if the Qing Government would reform its judicial system. Misled by this deliberate pose of the imperialists, the Qing Government felt extremely exhilerated by this ostensible favor and, totally indulging in fantasies, immediately issued an edict: "Since matters in connection with international commercial negotiations have become more expanded and intricate, Shen Jiaben and Wu Tingfang are hereby appointed to devote themselves to a careful revision of all laws and regulations at present in force, according to the circumstances resulting from these negotiations, consulting thereby the laws of the various countries, and to submit appropriate recommendations in the full hope to benefit the administration of foreign trade relations."[1] The next year, an Office for the Revision of the Laws was established, and Shen Jiaben and Wu Tingfang, who was then ambassador to the United States, were appointed Commissioners for the Revision of the Laws. However, soon after his return to China, Wu Tingfang was appointed Senior Vice-President of the Board of Commerce, leaving his post as concurrent Commissioner for the Revision of Laws, which post was filled by Ying-rui. Ying-rui in turn fell sick and died and was succeeded by Yu Liansan. In 1910 Shen Jiaben resigned because of attacks from the conservatives and was succeeded by Liu Rozeng. At that time the Qing Government had about reached its end, and it had been Shen Jiaben who had been the leading spirit in the revision of the laws that had been going on for almost 10 years during the last years of the Qing Dynasty. The concrete accomplishments of his revision of old laws and compilation of new laws are as follows:

1. Clarification of the Necessity for the Revision of Qing Laws

First of all Shen Jiaben revived the spirit of the ancient Qin Dynasty legalists regarding the justification for changes in the laws, asserting that "law changes as times change" and "government must adjust to the times." He believed that "the harm and the benefit derived from laws change with the current time.... Deducing from a thorough study of the reasons for changes over long times, it is a fact that the present must not follow the patterns of ancient times."[2] "Laws are to be of practical usefulness and must change as the world moves on. One must not stubbornly stick to old ways in the face of changed circumstances."[3] Not only did he quote the "stories" of several law revisions during the reigns

of Emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong, to illustrate that "the statutes of our ancestors" are not at all unchangeable, but he also pointed to the example of Japan and emphasized that "the revision of law was also considered the base for the Meiji Reformation of Japan."[4]

Next, he argued the urgency of law reform, pointing to the unequal relations between China and the world powers. He said: "When a state possesses an established system to maintain its independence, it possesses an independent power of jurisdiction. The sphere of the power of its jurisdiction is the territory.... Only as regards our country a pretext is made of the fact that our judicial system is not yet in a perfect state, to give the consuls the right of jurisdiction. England was the first to demand this, Germany came last. Japan has even opened many law-courts in the land of our ancestors. Our sovereignty wanes by the day; and further calamities just originate from this. We must be alarmed by this situation and change it. At present the governments of the various states daily advance in the direction of universal harmony. Thus, the Peace Conference, the Red Cross Convention, the Congress on Penitentiary Matters, all have been organized on an international scale. In recent years our country has also despatched envoys to participate in these conferences, but we have heard that this time at the Hague Conference, due to the unequal status of Chinese law, we were regulated to the third class. Our participation loses attraction in this way, and, since our prestige is concerned, this situation has to be changed.... Cases involving foreign missions are the worst of the evil, having reached a critical stage.... The local authorities are incapable of negotiating in legal cases between the people and the missions and incapable of making accommodations. Judgments lack fairness and hatred between the people and the missions rises high. In fact since the opening of the country to foreign trade, disturbances due to missionary cases have become a great concern to you as father of the country, mention of which is extremely painful. Searching for the reasons, there is none other than the inappropriate difference in Chinese and foreign law. The cases involving foreign missions are a warning that a change is necessary."[5]

Finally, he represented the compilation of new law codes as "an important work preparatory to arriving at a Constitution." With this in mind he humbly submitted to those in power at the Qing Court: "Whereas Her Majesty, the Empress Dowager, and His Majesty, the Emperor, deeply reflecting upon the difficulties of the time, and diligently striving to regulate them, have by special edict enjoined us to investigate and revise the laws for the purpose of making the law in China applicable to both Chinese and foreigners, in order to recover gradually the power of jurisdiction...we further beg that an edict be issued to Chinese and foreigners, to the end that the whole empire clearly know the purpose of the government and respect the execution of a benevolent reign."[6]

2. Setting Forth the Purpose of the Law Revision

According to the Empress Dowager Ci-xi's guideline for the revision of the laws, which wanted the laws to be "applicable to Chinese and foreigners," Shen Jiaben put forward his aim, namely "to have reference to old and new material and to bring together on a broad scale Chinese and foreign data," "to conduct diplomatic negotiations and follow the model of the Great Powers."[7]

Taking capital punishment as an example, he explained that the laws of the capitalist countries of Europe and America were more civilized and advanced than the old feudal laws of China. The laws that imposed the death penalty in various countries "had been extremely cruel and savage in the past, but in modern times were reduced almost daily, applied, if little, then perhaps in not more than in a few instances, and if much, also in no more than 20 or 30 instances. In Chinese criminal law, considering the statutes presently in force, there are more than 840 articles of capital offences...which is not only shocking to foreigners, but also a proliferation and severity never before experienced in China's many centuries of history."[9] It is therefore necessary to "adopt the strong points of others to make up for one's own shortcomings" and "adopt whatever is good in their laws, as it would be foolish not to so." At the same time, being aware that after China was opened to foreign trade, "there was a tendency in all countries toward uniformity in government administration, science, military institutions and matters of commerce," Shen Jiaben strove, through the revision of China's traditional legal system, to "universalize" Chinese law, so that "it would not lag far behind the laws of the various countries of the world." Otherwise, "if China alone stands opposed to all countries of the world, the inadequacy of such a position would require no great wisdom to perceive."[10] Not only this, in the same manner as the ruling circles of the Qing Court, Shen Jiaben credulously believed the false promises of the imperialists regarding their willingness to relinquish extraterritoriality if China would reform its laws and statutes, and he became most eager to revise the Chinese laws, following the laws of the capitalist countries as his models. He "critically compared Chinese law with the laws in other countries"[11] and concluded that "it would be foolish not to discard whatever is bad in our laws." However, he also strove "not to offend against the teachings of social order and the national lifestyle and sentiments that had prevailed in our country for generations," "only thus can it be said that perfect and comprehensive study has been afforded this matter, without leaving any form or pattern unexplored."[12]

Shen Jiaben's stated purpose in revising the laws glaringly reflects his reformist political stand and bears the imprint of the ideology then prevailing in the nation and typical of that era. It also manifests the complexity and contradictory character of a hodgepodge of old and new things. For instance, his suggestion for an eclectic adoption of foreign legislation and the abolition of antiquated laws are signs of progressiveness, but his explicit proposal "to follow the Great Powers as models" shows a subserviance to imperialism and willingness to have Chinese law conform to the will of the imperialist aggressors. He criticized "mere idolizing of Western law without exploring Chinese law," as leading to "incomplete jurisprudence, which could not possibly bring full understanding and practical applications." This is undoubtedly reasonable, but at the same time he also indirectly manifests the shackles of feudalism that existed in the innermost recesses of his mind. He also attempted to borrow certain forms and principles from the old law in order to reduce the obstacles blocking the introduction of the new laws into actual practice. To sum up, the basic aims of his legal reforms are identical with the tendencies toward semicolonialism and semifeudalism during the latter years of the Qing Dynasty. In many respects his aims do not go beyond the scope of the "Chinese learning for substance, Western learning for function."

3. Measures to Realize the Aims of the Legal Reform

First, assembling a contingent of translators to translate the laws of the capitalist countries. Shen Jiaben believed "that in order to understand the essential principles of Western law, it would be necessary to make a full study of Western learning and particularly to translate Western books."[13] "In consulting and studying the laws of various countries, translating is of prior importance." He knew well that "law books are the most difficult to translate" and therefore "arranged for a large number of capable translators to be assigned translation work" and demanded setting up a Law Translation Office. He "emphasized accuracy" and himself "studied the texts with the original translators, sentence for sentence, word for word, to make certain of a full understanding of the meaning."

During the period that Shen Jiaben was in change of the Law Translation Office, the following 26 works were translated: "The criminal codes of France, Germany, Russia, Holland and Italy, the French Press Law, the German Civil Code, the Japanese Penal Code, the Japanese Revised Penal Code, the Japanese Criminal Code for the Navy, the Japanese Criminal Code for the Army, On Japanese Criminal Law, On the Prussian Judicial System, the Japanese Law Governing Judicial Administration, Report on a Visit to Japanese Penal Institutions, Draft of a Revised Japanese Criminal Code, On Codes of Law, Exegesis of Japanese Criminal Law, the Japanese Law Governing Prison Administration, On Penology, Discourse on Penal Affairs, the Japanese Law on Criminal Procedure, On Japanese Law-Courts. The following 10 translations remained unfinished: the German Civil Code, the former German Code of Civil Procedure, On the Belgian Criminal Code, the Belgian Regulations Governing Penal Institutions, the Belgian Criminal Code, the Criminal Laws of the United States, the Law of Criminal Procedure of the United States, the Swiss Criminal Code, the Finnish Criminal Code, the Private Law Aspects of Criminal Law."[14] The above translations of foreign law codes were to serve as models for the compilation of the new laws. They started the absorption of bourgeois law into the new laws of China, and the gradual dismantling of the traditional Chinese legal system. Generally speaking, toward the end of the 19th century mostly English and American law books were translated, while in the beginning of the 20th century more Japanese books were translated. At that time people thought that "Japanese law books were most detailed and informative, because they had adjusted to the faults and strong points of the established legal systems of the West."[15]

Second, he memorialized requesting the establishment of a law school to train new qualified judicial personnel, realizing that under the Qing Dynasty, "jurisprudence had been neglected for generations," and that especially knowledge of Western law was almost nonexistant." In the need to "train competent judicial personnel to become the judges of the future," he agreed with Wu Tingfang's proposal: "When laws have been compiled, but no one pays attention to the laws, their implementation will certainly be much obstructed. We simply must establish special schools to train competent personnel."[16] He memorialized requesting funds for the establishment of law schools. The key to the prosperous state of jurisprudence in the various capitalist countries and the abundance of candidates for judicial positions is that "law schools had been established in great numbers."

Third, inviting foreign legal scholars as advisors and sending personnel to study abroad. In order to compile reference works on Chinese and Western law, as it is presently current in the world, Shen Jiaben invited Okada Asataro as advisor and also sent personnel abroad for investigation. He realized that "in our times scholarly theories are changing almost daily; if one were not to study them thoroughly, how would one be able to be eclectic in their adoption." He therefore explicitly pointed out that "investigation is as important as the translating of books." In 1906 Dong Kang, an expectant senior secretary of the Board of Punishments, and others were sent to Japan to study the judicial system there. The translations and the dispatch of personnel for study abroad, that Shen Jiaben had suggested, were meant to break down barriers to knowledge and open the eyes to the world. These were measures necessary in preparation for the compilation of new laws, and as such undoubtedly acts that one could draw a lesson from.

4. The Content of "Eclectically Selected" Chinese and Foreign Legal Provisions

Although Shen Jiaben believed that "laws which remain too long on the books are bound to become deficient and will necessarily require amendment," he was taught by history and by the realities of his time that "it is difficult to create law and even more difficult to revise law." "If the revision is not effectively carried out, the evils of the past will be much increased." "We must be very careful to avoid this."[17] During the period that he directed the law revision, he, on the one hand, eliminated and altered in a reformist spirit those backward and barbaric sections in the old laws that were clearly contrary to the times, and, on the other hand, formulated various law codes and legal provisions, separated as to substantial laws and procedural laws, based on the capitalist legal principles. As to the specific times: Before 1905 he devoted himself predominently to revising the old laws and after 1905 to formulating new laws. This order of procedure indicates his cautious attitude, but was also related to the revolutionary situation throughout the nation and the policy of the Qing Government. After 1905 the bourgeois democratic revolution led by Sun Zhongshan made rapid progress and forced the ruling circles at the Qing Court to hasten reforms in political institutions and the revision of the laws, hoping to ward off the revolution by putting up a facade of constitutionalism and reforms.

(1) Revision of the Qing Code and Formulation of a New Penal Code

Shen Jiaben proceeded from the knowledge that "among all laws, the criminal laws are the most important"[18] and started out by revising the most basic law compendium of the Qing Dynasty, the Qing Code.

First, he abolished such cruel punishments as lingering death, beheading with exposition of the head, exposition of the corpse, collective responsibility and branding. He compared Chinese and foreign criminal laws and concluded that in punishments as well as in criminal charges on the whole "Chinese laws are severe while Western laws are lenient." According to the principle that "benevolent government is of the greatest importance in ruling a country," he memorialized that "one of the important concerns of the present benevolent government must be the mitigation of the severity of criminal law." He proposed to abolish cruel punishments, such as lingering death, exposition of the head, exposition

of the corpse, etc and replace them by decapitation, hanging and imprisonment. He emphasized that "the way to reform people is certainly a right of the government, but not to be achieved by stern punishments." At the same time he also adduced the principle of having only the perpetrator himself punished, a principle of criminal law in all capitalist countries, which also follows the ancient maxim [Mencius, I, 5]: "The wives and children of criminals are not involved in their guilt." He asked to abolish all provisions of collective responsibility and that those not implicated in a crime must not be held responsible for it. Furthermore, to "inspire bad people with shame, so that to some extent they might reform and do good," he proposed to abolish all provisions of branding. Those who would have to be branded should instead be sent to workhouses to learn a trade, the period of such retraining to be fixed according to the seriousness of the offences. This "Memorial for the Abolition of Severe Punishments in the Laws and Statutes" was widely acclaimed. Yang Honglie [2799 7703 3525], a contemporary scholar, called it "truly unfolding the most backward and outdated sections of Chinese laws," and "to be reckoned a great manifesto for the reform of the Chinese law."[19]

Second, he discussed methods of executing the death penalty.

Third, he changed the merely formal capital punishments into banishment. Basing on the principle that "leniency and severity must fit the times...at time a crime is considered more leniently and at other times more severely, and that we must not stick to antiquated conventions, Shen Jiaben memorialized that causing death in a game, by mistake or without authority must not be capital offences, but rather punished by banishment. Here, Shen Jiaben strove to reduce the articles with capital punishment and render the Chinese code gradually more "civilized." At the same time he also proposed "to scrutinize carefully whether name and reality correspond," as he was against formalities without substance and empty paperwork. He asserted that "law must show a correspondence of name and reality to be accepted as the regular law of the time. There has never been any law, where name and reality did not correspond." This insistance on the correspondence of name and reality in law implied a criticism of Qing Dynasty law with its discrepancies between the letter of the law and the meaning given to it in reality, and as such the statement is very commendable.

Fourth, according to the bourgeois legal idea of equality before the law, and in view of the imperial edict of the Qing Court which ordered "removal of all differences between Manchus and Chinese," Shen Jiaben opposed the special legal privileges enjoyed by the Manchus of having punishments commuted and reduced. His proposals were beneficial for the development of the social economy and also to enhance national solidarity and the unity of the state.

Under the influence of the bourgeois idea of human rights, Shen Jiaben freed himself of the traditional feudal prejudice of the time in that people were divided into high-class and low-class groups. Out of respect for human dignity, he criticized the trade in male and female slaves prevailing in Qing times. He pointed out that "although the trade in slaves is forbidden by law, the statutes permit contracts for the purchase of a person as slave," thus showing up a discrepancy within the law. Since salves did not enjoy free legal status, they were by law deprived of their right to file a complaint in court. As a result, "an official who kills a slave is merely fined from out of his salary. If a

Manchu kills a slave, he is merely punished to wear the cangue, even lighter punishments than those fixed for killing cattle or horses."

The above shows that under the conditions of the new era we see the glimmer of democracy sprouting in Shen Jiaben's legal ideology.

Fifth, judgment in criminal cases is to be rendered strictly according to "regular legal provisions," and not by an analogous interpretation. According to the principle that "there is no crime unless an act is specifically designated as such," Shen Jiaben made every effort to have prompt legislation deal with the newly arising social relations and activities, and he attacked rendering judgments "by analogous interpretations" with the excuse that "there were no rules to follow in a particular case." He pointed out the evils of judgments based on analogies: Firstly, the judge applies analogy according to his own opinion to a case for which there had been no legal provisions, which amounts to lumping together judicial and legislative functions, "something that must not happen in a constitutionally governed country." Secondly, it destroys the law's credibility and leaves the people with no rules to go by. Thirdly, it allows the judges to wilfully assess crimes this way or that way and destroys all uniformity in the sentencing of the various courts. To add greater persuasive power to his arguments, Shen Jiaben also advised that "in Europe, America and Japan, it is strictly forbidden by the rules of law to apply analogies." At the same time he set forth that new circumstances have to be met promptly by new and appropriate legislation to accommodate newly developing situations and to fill the vacuum that would be left by abolishing all analogous interpretations. He proposed special new articles to punish counterfeiting foreign currency and false accusations. In the new criminal code, which had been drawn up under his direction, certain new crimes are added, such as crimes against the imperial house, rebellion, treason, divulging entrusted information, endangering public affairs, escape from detention or prison, concealing a criminal and destroying evidence.

Finally, he changed the name of certain punishments and instituted a combination of punishments with education. According to the designations in foreign criminal codes, Shen Jiaben had the names of the five punishments, which had been in use during the long space of time since the Sui Dynasty down to the Qing Dynasty, namely flogging with the light bamboo, flogging with the heavy bamboo, banishment, exile and death, changed into capital punishment, imprisonment, detention and fines, in order to show "conformity with the methods of all other countries." On the question of punishment combined with education, he brought up the problem of the criminal's responsibility and age, and determined that for criminals under age "education must have priority over punishment." For this purpose he issued circular instructions to all directly central government subordinated districts and provinces to establish penal workshops to carry out education with punishment, "in the hope of effecting a gradual change for the better in these persons."[20]

(2) Revising the Structure of the Old Law, Which was one of Including All Laws in One Corpus of Law

The traditional structure of China's feudal law was to have all laws in one corpus of law without differentiating between civil law and criminal law. Shen

Jiaben felt this form no more befitting the changed conditions in China and thus to be changed. He attached particular importance to procedural law, saying: "Roughly one may say, criminal law is the substance and procedural law is for function. If the substance is incomplete, the purpose of the legislation cannot be brought out. If there are no functional provisions, the law cannot be effectively executed. The two are mutually interdependent and neither can be done away with."[21] The fact that in Chinese-foreign relations "a minor squabble over procedure often leads to a real problem in mutual negotiations" convinced him even more of the necessity to "regulate procedural laws," and furthermore that civil and criminal affairs are different in character and should be treated separately, although both may be handled in one and the same court of law."[22] In his memorial asking for the compilation of procedural laws, he therefore stated that it was necessary to "separate criminal and civil affairs." In 1906 when the laws on criminal procedure and civil procedure were formulated under Shen Jiaben's direction, it was for the first time that substantive law and procedural law were separated, breaking with a Chinese tradition of over 2,000 years of treating all laws comprehensively. These new codes of procedural law adopted the jury and lawyer systems of the capitalist countries; they met with rejection on the part of provincial governors and could not be published for enforcement.

(3) Independence of the Judiciary

Shen Jiaben believed that as early as in the governmental organization of the Zhou Dynasty, China practiced a system of separation of administrative affairs and criminal jurisdiction. "Their official responsibilities do not infringe upon each other and as a result each could exert itself in whatever was its speciality, governance maintained equilibrium and court cases were handled justly." In later centuries, as government turned autocratic, the executive power and the power of criminal jurisdiction were "gathered in the hands of one person." As a result, "those excelling in administration and education were not necessarily well versed in law, and those well versed in handling criminal cases were not necessarily qualified to administer. If one mind concurrently attended to both, both sides will not show good results,"[23] and this was one of the reasons that "bureaucratic government deteriorated with each passing day." Shen Jiaben therefore proposed the independence of the judiciary, asserting that it conformed to ancient custom as well as to modern practices, and will have the effect of "concentrating in one spot all power of action in a particular law case." In explaining the significance of judicial independence, especially from the viewpoint of constitutionalism, he said: "The budding constitutionalism in the various countries of the East and West essentially bases on the independence of the judiciary" and "the independence of the judiciary is the foundation for any future constitutional government."[24] To guarantee the independence of the judiciary, he believed appropriate legislation was required: "The independence of the judiciary relies on laws for its support and maintenance." Based on this premise, he formulated a Law Governing the Organization of the Courts of Law, in which he clearly stipulated that the administrative and investigative officials "must not interfere in the judicial process of the judges."

(4) Improvement of Prisons

Shen Jiaben viewed "criminal law and prisons as in a relationship of 'outside and inside'," and therefore proposed that at the same time that the criminal laws are revised, the administration of prisons must be reformed. He emphasized that "the purpose of prisons is not to impose hardships and humiliations, but to reform people. He also warned that with the revision of the criminal law, the number of criminals detained in prisons will greatly increase, and he consequently placed prison reform on the agenda of legislative discussion. He proposed four measures of prison reform: building of modern prisons, training of prison personnel, promulgation of prison regulations and compilation of prison statistics. He realized that no one in China had ever paid any attention to penology, and that much sincere effort must be devoted to the task of turning prisons into places of moral reform. However, he felt keenly that the deep-rooted habit of "sticking to old conventions without the least desire to effect improvements" is the serious obstacle to all reforms. This is also true regarding the problem of prison administration, and this fact wrung from him the sigh: "Better do something soon, even though short of perfect, rather than continue the dilatory and evasive ways of the past."[25] In his efforts to turn prisons into parts of the state apparatus and render them in an abstract way into "places of moral reform," he manifested his supra-class concept of the state. In his description of the prisons in the bourgeois countries, he may also be criticized for embelleshing conditions overmuch. In fact, the cruelty inflicted on inmates in the Western prison established in Shanghai was worse than in Chinese prisons. Zou Rong, the author of "Revolutionary Army," was crushed and killed in that Western prison.

3. In 1910 the new Criminal Code of the Great Qing Dynasty was completed and sent by the Constitution Drafting Office to the various provinces for comment. It was then that Zhang Zhidong, at that time Grand-Counsellor and concurrently Supervisor of the Ministry of Education, was the first to raise opposition on the grounds that "the crime of rebellion was not in all cases equally punished by death" and that there was no punishment for "illicit carnal intercourse with a woman without husband." He recklessly attacked the new criminal code for slighting Confucianism. The governors of the provinces and border districts then followed suit and chimed in. Liu Tingshen, Rector of the University of Beijing, attacked "the new criminal code on the ground that it conflicted with the morality and customs of our country in more points than one could possibly list, the most preposterous being that there was no punishment for the disobedience of children and grandchildren and for illicit carnal intercourse with a woman without husband. If Confucianism were to be abolished, the new criminal code might be enforced, but as long as Confucianism is not to be abolished, there is no way that the new criminal code could be enforced."[26] The most vehement and most representative criticism of the time came from Proctor Lao Naixuan. He pointed to the lack of a series of cases, such as infractions of the established relationships and violation of social duties, allowing only sons to stay home to take care of the old, impudicity between relatives, theft among relatives, fights between relatives, premeditated murder of children and grandchildren, killing junior relatives within the categories for which mourning has to be observed, beating of one's husband or wife, illicit intercourse with a woman without husband, disobedience of children and grandchildren, for

which crimes the old Qing Code had specific provisions, but which the new code omits altogether. This, he pointed out, is a great failure in an enlightened criminal law and slights Confucian doctrines; provisions to that effect "must be explicitly reinstated in the criminal code." He attacked Shen Jiaben for solely imitating foreign countries without giving due and weighty consideration to the basic human relationships. This is "capriciously following the fancies of the time, something that has to be remedied most urgently." To provide additional momentum for his attacks, Lao Naixuan distributed pamphlets describing his ideas throughout the country. Shen Jiaben countered Lao's attacks and provocations with detailed rebuttals in his article "Thoughts on Reading Proctor Lao's Pamphlet on the Draft of the New Criminal Code." He explained that some of the cited cases needed no special provisions in the law, some did not run counter to Confucianism, some belonged into the sphere of education and some were in essence compatible with the provisions in the old Qing Code.[27] He particularly pointed out in defense of the new criminal law: "If the law is too severe, it is difficult to actually enforce it, and the written laws will exist in name only. If the laws are somewhat lenient, the people will find them acceptable and proper punishment will certainly be meted out in every case."

Shen Jiaben's rebuttal was ample and adequate according to legal theory, and fully supported by Okada Asataro, Matsuoka Yoshimasa, Dong Kang and all other members of the Constitution Drafting Office and the Office for the Revision of Law. Among these, Yang Du wrote "On the Difference Between Nationalism and Clanism" and Wu Tingxie wrote "Refuting Evaluation of Laws With Antiquated Theories." These two articles explained the basic roots of the new criminal law and refuted the attacks by the conservative faction. However, all political power at that time was completely in the hands of the conservative faction, and an imperial edict of the Qing Court clearly pointed out: "China has always attached importance to the cardinal and basic human relationships, therefore especially severely legislated in the case of infractions of the established relationships and violations of social duties. ...All new and old laws that relate to these basic human relations must not be rashly altered or revised." Although public opinion sympathized and sided with the reform faction, of which Shen Jiaben was representative, the real performances had to submit to and follow the will and views of the conservative faction. Their status, position and their being fettered by feudal ideology resulted in their legal thinking displaying a tendency toward compromise. When the Minister of Justice received the draft of the revised criminal law from the Office for the Revision of Law, Minister Ting-jie, a man who strictly supported the old laws, eventually added five articles of "Provisional Regulations," which mainly dealt with increased penalties for offences against the imperial house, for rebellion and treason, and which rejected, in the spirit of the traditional feudal system, the bourgeois legal principles of the new criminal law in such cases as punishment of illicit intercourse with a woman without husband, the justifiable defense against senior relatives, etc. The New Criminal Code of the Qing Dynasty, together with the added five articles of Provisional Regulations, thus is in form, substance and principles an imitation of the criminal laws of the capitalist countries with an admixture of some of the traditional spirit of the feudal legal system. On the one hand it reflects the bourgeois legal ideology together with outstanding points of feudal legal philosophy, and on the other hand it also shows to be a compromise between the two, to a certain extent, and clearly possesses a semicolonial and semifeudal character.

To sum up, Shen Jiaben was an official of the Qing Dynasty Government who had come to accept the legal philosophy of the bourgeoisie. On the one hand he had thoroughly investigated the feudal jurisprudence of old China and set forth certain critical conclusions, and on the other hand he had adopted the legal philosophy of the bourgeoisie and transmitted it into the actual practice of law revision. Judging from his entire ideological system, he was an exponent of the bourgeois "New Learning" trend. In political respects he displayed a reformist stand. Due to his class origin, career and environment, he preserved close links with feudalism and could not free himself from the ties with the traditional viewpoints of feudal jurisprudence, which has him usually seeking roots in the old laws when deciding on provisions of the new laws. This was not only due to his efforts to mitigate his difficulties with the diehards, but also due to the feudal elements in the depth of his own mind. However, he was also a reformer who, thoroughly familiar with Chinese and foreign conditions, provided the ideology that guided legislation, as he strove for law reforms, much attracted by what he saw in the capitalist world. In the waning years of the Qing Dynasty, it was mainly Shen Jiaben who introduced, fairly comprehensively and systematically, the capitalist legal system into China. He consulted ancient and modern legal material from China and from foreign countries, synthesized the lessons from all experiences in building up a new legal system and spent his own great efforts to bring about a reform in China's antiquated feudal laws.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Dong hua lu" [Records of the State Historiographer's Office], Section on Emperor Guangxu.

2. Shen Jiaben, "Memorial on Completion on the Draft Criminal Law" in the "Historical Material from the Files on Drafting a Constitution Toward the End of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 2.

3. "Ji-yi wen cun" [Collected Papers of Shen Jiaben], 1: "Memorial Requesting Elimination of Severe Laws in the Laws and Statutes."

4. Ibid.

5. Shen Jiaben, "Memorial Presenting the Completed Draft Criminal Law for Perusal and Submitting a Statement of Its Principles" in the "Historical Material From the Files on Drafting a Constitution Toward the End of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 2, p 846.

6. "Collected Papers of Shen Jiaben," 1: "Memorial Requesting Elimination of Severe Laws in the Laws and Statutes."

7. "Collected Papers of Shen Jiaben," 6: "Preface, New Edition of the Ming Code."

8. Shen Jiaben, "Memorial on Compiling a New Criminal Law as Basis for a New Legal System."

9. "Collected Papers of Shen Jiaben," 1: "Memorial on Changing Formal Death Penalties to Banishment."

10. "Collected Papers of Shen Jiaben," 6: "Preface, New Edition of the Ming Code."

11. "Collected Papers of Shen Jiaben," 1: "Memorial Requesting Elimination of Severe Laws in the Laws and Statutes."

12. Shen Jiaben, "Memorial on General Method of Law Revision."

13. "Collected Papers of Shen Jiaben," 6: "Preface to Collection of Newly Translated Laws and Regulations."

14. Shen Jiaben, "Memorial on State of Law Reform and Requesting to Deal Simultaneously With the Merger of the Legal Department with the Supreme Court," in "Historical Material From the Files on Drafting a Constitutior Toward the End of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 2, p 837.

15. Liang Qichao, "Comprehensive Treatise on the Reform of the Political Institutions."

16. "Collected Papers of Shen Jiaben," 6: "Preface to a General Introduction to Jurisprudence."

17. "Fen kao shi er."

18. Shen Jiaben, "Memorial Presenting the Completed Draft Criminal Law for Perusal and Submitting a Statement of Its Principles," in "Historical Material From the Files on Drafting the Constitution Toward the End of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 2, p 845.

19. Yang Honglie, "A History of Chinese Legal Philosophy," Vol 2, p 312.

20. Shen Jiaben, "Memorial Presenting the Completed Draft Criminal Law...." Vol 2, p 848.

21. "Complete Collection of Qing Laws and Statutes; Law Section," Vol 11, p 1.

22. Shen Jiaben, "Memorial Requesting Promulgation of Procedural Laws," "Sixty Items of Files, Laws, Statutes and Regulations."

23. "On Officials Involved With Criminal Affairs," First Part.

24. Shen Jiaben, "Memorial on Limits of Judicial Powers and Comments on the List of the Ministry of Justice," in "Historical Materials From the Files on Drafting a Constitution...," Vol 2.

25. "Collected Papers of Shen Jiaben," 5: "Letter to Minister Dai on the Subject of Prisons."

26. "Historical Material From the Files on Drafting a Constitution Toward the End of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 2, p 888.

27. "Collected Papers of Shen Jiaben," 5: "Reply to a letter from Minister Dai."

9808
CSO: 4005/555

PARTY AND STATE

THEORY, PRACTICE OF DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP REVIEWED

Bidjing FAXUE YANJIU [LEGAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 5, 23 Oct 81 p 6-13

[Article by Wu Daying [0702 1129 5391] and Liu Han [0491 3466]: "The Theory and Practice of the People's Democratic Dictatorship"]

[Excerpts] One of the four basic principles of the Party and the whole nation is the people's democratic dictatorship, which is the proletarian dictatorship. For the last 100 and some years, especially the last 60 years, it has been the focal point of the Chinese people's revolutionary experiences. It is an embodiment of the great labors of untold numbers of revolutionary martyrs, the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries and the broad people; it is an historically unknown, new form of government in which the Chinese people are the masters of their own nation; it is the fundamental guarantee for the construction of a wealthy, powerful, democratic and enlightened modern, socialist state.

1. The Theory of the People's Democratic Dictatorship Carries Forward and Develops the Theory of Proletarian Dictatorship

The theory of Proletarian dictatorship was established by the founders of Marxism who had summed up international proletarian revolutionary experiences. The theory of proletarian dictatorship is moreover continually enriched and developed through struggle.

In the fourth decade of the ninteenth century, Marx and Engels revealed that the true nature of the state was the systematic use of violence by one class to repress another class. They said that in the process of the proletarian revolution the proletariat must first gain power, then establish its own political dominance, eliminate classes and enter a classless society. In 1848 the "Communist Manifesto" was issued, and this clearly explained the fundamental principles of the proletarian dictatorship. The "Manifesto" pointed out: "The first step of the workers' revolution is to make the proletariat into the ruling class and struggle for democracy." ("Makesi-Engesi Xuanji--Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 1, p 272) In the book "Class Struggles in France: 1848-1850" Marx first used the concept "proletarian dictatorship." Lenin believed that Marx summed up the lessons learned from the historical significance of previous revolutions and produced this simple, accurate and evident formula.

During his lifetime Marx saw only the Paris Commune and believed that the commune was the essence of a worker class government.

The basic points of Marx and Engels concerning the theory of proletarian dictatorship were: (1) the great task of the worker class is to seize state power, class struggle necessarily leads to proletarian dictatorship; (2) the worker class cannot simply seize the existin state organs but must smash old state organs and build a new state; (3) the historical task of proletarian dictatorship is to exhaust all possibilities in developing production, eliminating classes and class distinctions and entering into a classless society.

The victory of the October Revolution was an application of the theory of proletarian dictatorship and was a glorious victory which had world-wide historical significance. According to Stalin, Lenin's contribution to the theory of proletarian dictatorship is as follows: (1) The discovery that the best form of government for a proletarian dictatorship was a soviet of worker-peasant-soldier representatives; (2) the explanation that proletarian dictatorship was a special form of class alliance between the proletariat and the exploited masses (peasants, and so on); (3) the information that proletarian dictatorship was the highest form of democracy in a class society. ("Sidalin Quanji--The Complete Works of Stalin" Vol 10, p 87)

The conditions in China differ from those in Russia. Before Liberation China was a semi-colonial, semi-feudal state. The proletariat consisted of only four million people, with peasants occupying 80 percent of the population. Industrial production occupied only about 10 percent of the total production in industry and agriculture. Economic life was entirely under the control of the bureaucrat-capitalist class, and they became dependent upon American and British imperialists, finally turning into the comprador bourgeoisie. In a nation such as this, after the peoples' revolutionary struggles win their fundamental victory what sort of government should then be established? What status should each class have and what mutual class relations should exist? Which fundamental policies should be adopted? These issues required an integration of the theory of proletarian dictatorship with the actual practices of the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong creatively completed this historical task. His work "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," written on the eve of the founding of the nation, makes a concentrated reply to these questions. The main ideas are as follows:

(1) The people's democratic dictatorship must be led by the worker class (through the Communist Party). This mandatory conclusion came about through the Chinese peoples revolutionary struggles. The repeated revolutions under the leadership of the Chinese bourgeoisie inevitably failed. The various imperialist states all extended their hands to China but would not permit it to establish a bourgeois republic and develop capitalism. The only recourse was to follow the leadership of the working class and itsvanguard in winning a new democratic revolution and advancing toward socialism and communism. It is the fact of worker class leadership that determined the nature of the people's democratic dictatorship.

(2) The foundation of the people's democratic dictatorship is the worker-peasant alliance. The worker class and the peasant class together compose 80 to 90 percent of the population. The overthrow of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism depended on the strength of these two classes and the transition from new democracy to socialism primarily depended on the alliance of these two classes. Both left and right opportunists within the party treated the peasants with mistaken attitudes and brought about repeated setbacks and defeat to the revolution. As representative of the members of the Chinese Communist Party, Comrade Mao Zedong correctly solved the issue of the peasants and brought about a continuing, firm alliance between the workers and the peasants. The worker-peasant alliance guarartees that our regime will enable the broad, democratic people to be masters of their own fate.

(3) The people are the main component of the people's democratic dictatorship. During the period of national construction the people were composed of the worker class, the peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. Comrade Mao Zedong divided the Chinese bourgeoisie into two parts, one part was the big bourgeoisie (or the comprador bourgeoisie or bureaucrat-bourgeoisie) which was dependent upon imperialism and the other part was the national bourgeoisie which had revolutionary aspirations but which was vacillating. The former no longer exists in China while the latter was a portion of the people during the period of national construction and helped provide the broadest possible class base for the people's democratic dictatorship. In this way, China has two alliances--the worker-peasant alliance and the alliance between the worker and peasant classes and the national bourgeoisie. Moreover, these two alliances are the foundation of a broad revolutionary united front.

(4) Among the people there exists the two features of democracy and dictatorship over the reactionary faction and the people's democratic dictatorship is the means of uniting these two features. Democracy belongs to each and every class of the people who, under the leadership of the worker class and the Communist Party, are united to form their own state, elect their own government and manage their own national affairs. The people have the rights of expression, assembly and association; voting rights are given only to the people, not to the reactionary faction. Dictatorship is the people's control over the state organs of the military, the law enforcement, the courts and the jails. It suppresses the reactionary class and the reactionary faction, only permitting correct behavior and prohibiting any improper words or deed, which are immediately punished according to the law. At the same time, they are subjected to propaganda and educational work to enable them to reform through labor and make themselves into new people.

(5) The people's democratic dictatorship must join together with international revolutionary forces to form a broad international united front. The actual structure of the international united front changes in accordance with changes in the international situation, nonetheless

it must firmly uphold and carry out the principle of an alliance between the workers of the world and oppressed peoples and oppressed nationalities. In a period of imperialism it would be impossible for the revolutionary endeavors of people in any nation to succeed without the help and support of the proletariat of all other nations, and even if victory is attained it could not possibly be consolidated. Of course, the completion of these endeavors first requires that the proletariat of each nation first establish itself within its own borders and rely its own revolutionary forces and the efforts of its own people and masses, achieve integration of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism with that nation's own revolutionary experiences, be masters of their own fate and be self reliant. Only then are that nation's revolutionary efforts in order.

From this we see that the theory of the people's democratic dictatorship and the theory of the proletarian dictatorship follow one upon the other. The latter is the beginning and the foundation of the former, while the former is the continuation and development of the latter. Essentially, the proletarian dictatorship and the people's democratic dictatorship both are political powers which use the Marxist view of the state as their guide in building and establishing; both are political powers which place the worker class in a position of state leadership; both are political powers which practice democracy for that great population majority of suppressed and exploited classes and which exercise dictatorship over that population minority of former suppressors and exploitors; both are political powers which shoulder the burdens of socialist revolution and socialist construction; and both are political powers which carry out proletarian internationalism. Therefore, any point of view which separates or creates an opposition between the two is mistaken.

2. The People's Democratic Dictatorship is the Best Form of Proletarian Dictatorship for China

Lenin said: "All nations will follow socialism, this is inevitable, but not all nations will follow the exact same path. Democracy may have this form or that form, proletarian dictatorship may be of this type or of that type, and in the speed with which the various aspects of social life undergo socialist transformation each and every nation will have its own special features." ("Lenin Quanji--Complete Works of Lenin" Vol 23, p 64-65) These are the facts. Since the creation of the theory of proletarian dictatorship, in addition to the two forms of the Paris Commune and the soviet, there also is the group of people's democratic dictatorships founded in European nations in the latter part of World War II. Our new democratic revolution achieved victory with aid from the Soviet Union and from the people of other states engaged in the anti-facist struggle. Our people's democratic dictatorship was basically established at the same time as those in the other European nations and is similar to those of the Paris Commune and the soviet, nonetheless proletarian dictatorships have their own special features.

The 32 years of experience since the founding of the nation have proven:

1. Because our party controls the government, leadership conditions within the party directly determine conditions of the people's democratic dictatorship. During completion of the period of socialist transformation the party line, direction, policies and methods were correct so construction of state power was able to develop slowly and be fully utilized. In 1962 the party discovered and to a certain extent corrected leftist errors, and construction of state power was also affected to a certain extent. After the Third Plenum of the 11th Congress the party line, direction, policies and methods were corrected, and under this new form construction of state power attained even greater developments. This proves that our party is able to provide correct leadership in constructing state power.

2. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is our guiding ideology. Whether or not this guiding ideology is correctly understood and applied in practice is a matter of vital importance for the people's democratic dictatorship. The theory of the people's democratic dictatorship is a product of Comrade Mao Zedong's integration of the theory of proletarian dictatorship with the experiences of the Chinese revolution. He correctly carried out and developed this theory. Nonetheless, beginning after the 1950s, his mistakes regarding the theory and practice of the class struggle in socialist society became more and more serious, finally culminating in the so-called "theory of continual revolution under the proletarian dictatorship." This marked a clear departure from the path of Mao Zedong Thought which was an integration of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete experiences of the Chinese revolution. It also departed from the path of theory and practice of the people's democratic dictatorship suited to our nation's conditions and expressive of its power and authority. If we are able to return to this correct path we then definitely will be able to assume and successfully complete the historical task of the people's democratic dictatorship.

3. The economic foundation. Whether or not economic construction proceeds smoothly and is effective depends finally on the degree of stability in the people's democratic dictatorship. During the seven years of the fundamental completion of the socialist transformation there were sharp struggles and complex tasks, however, the national economy was quickly restored and the First Five Year Plan was successfully completed. The people's material and cultural living standards were annually improved and raised, construction of political power also achieved results and the people's democratic dictatorship daily became stronger. Later on, economic construction began to follow a twisted path and construction of political power was influenced. During the past few years there has been a new situation in the construction of political power, the work emphasis has been shifted to necessary constrution of socialist modernization. This explains why the consolidation of political power depends upon having a strong and continually developing economic foundation. The people's democratic dictatorship must use the foundation of continual development of the construction of socialist modernization to make great advances.

4. The state is a product and a manifestation not to be compromised by class struggle. The exercising of dictatorship over reactionary classes is an important task of the state. Because of this, there is an inextricable linkage between the issues of classes and class struggle and the people's democratic dictatorship. Class conditions and class struggle continually change in accordance with developments in revolution and construction so particular care must be taken to make correct and suitably realistic evaluations of conditions in classes and in class struggle. One profound lesson was learned after the basic completion of the issue of private ownership of the means of production in socialist transformation. Although a correct evaluation of classes and class struggle under the new conditions was made (such as the documents of the Eighth Party Congress and Comrade Mao Zedong's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"), they could not be grasped and, on the contrary, enlarged class struggle and brought about severe chaos. After the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Party Congress we greatly brought order out of chaos and made a scientific evaluation of the issues of class and class struggle and moreover suggested correct directions, policies and methods for handling the issues of class and class struggle. With this foundation the people's democratic dictatorship certainly will be able to follow a correct path and achieve a healthy development.

5. Develop socialist democracy and greatly expand the people's direct participation in democracy to enable them to truly reap the benefits of being their own masters. This is the most important aspect of the people's democratic dictatorship. Nonetheless, because of the remaining poisons from the long period of feudal autocracy in ideology and politics and because of various other historical factors, we are unable to systemize and legalize party democracy and democracy in the state political life. Because of this, the principles of collective leadership and democratic centralism in the party and in the state political life have continually been weakened and even damaged, so that the cult of the individual flourished and individual arbitrariness increased apace. The people in leadership positions are of great importance, however, the people are the masters of the state and all people in leadership positions are the servants of the people. We have now corrected this relationship and have gradually reformed and strengthened the cadre system and have grasped the principles of collective leadership and democratic centralism to provide reliable guarantees for the ideological and organizational development of the people's democracy.

6. China's socialist system is a powerful weapon for perfecting the people's democracy, protecting socialist construction and attacking our enemies. All political life in China should be conducted within the scope of the law. In the early Liberation period, some areas still had remnants of Guomindang reactionary armed forces, bandits, landlord hegemons and feudal gangmasters who were still active, so that we adopted large-scale, violent mass style class struggle. Unless these reactionary remnants were defeated the masses would not be able to rise up. At that time however, because the people had already assumed political power and had their own legal system, except for

direct military action against units which continued the armed struggle, the enemy who laid down their weapons were handled through mass denunciations and struggle on a legal basis. Later, especially after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership system of the means of production, struggle against the enemy should have been completely handled by the courts. But we ignored the legal system and used familiar methods and practices, with many serious consequences. We now have completed the socialist legal system, improved the constitution and the laws and have turned them into a force which everyone must obey and which no one can defy. The authority of the people's democratic dictatorship will certainly make greater achievements.

In summation of the above, the people's democratic dictatorship is the inevitable consequence of historical developments. It guarantees the successful completion of the historical tasks of all periods and is a powerful weapon in the hands of the people. It suits our national conditions and accurately reflects changes in the status of the people's economy and government. Since Liberation there have been serious errors, not in the people's democratic dictatorship, but, on the contrary, in departures from the path of the correct theory and practice of the people's democratic dictatorship. The Lin Biao-Jiang Qing anti-revolutionary clique made the direct destruction of the people's democratic dictatorship into one of its major goals. The right and wrong aspects of these experiences proved even more clearly to the worker class and the broad people that the people's democratic dictatorship is the best means of carrying out proletarian dictatorship in China.

3. Firmly Grasp the People's Democratic Dictatorship and Build a Powerful Socialist Nation

The Sixth Plenum of the Eleventh Party Congress has called upon us saying: Under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the entire party, army and all nationalities must closely unite within the scope of the Party Central Committee, continue to develop the spirit of the old man who could move mountains, be of one heart and one mind, and overcome all difficulties in order to gradually build China into a modernized, highly democratic and highly civilized powerful, socialist state! These conditions require that we follow the principles of democratic centralism and strengthen construction of all levels of state organs in order for all levels of the people's congress and its standing committees to become authoritative organs of the power of the people. At the infrastructure of political power and of social life there must be gradual realization of direct participation of the people in democracy, an effort to develop democratic management by the working masses of the endeavors and affairs of urban and rural enterprises, a broadening and perfection of staff and worker congressional representation, an improvement of the sense of ownership among the staff and worker masses, and heightened enthusiaism for mastery over one's fate. We must improve and perfect the system of selecting, supervising and removing workers and personnel

at all levels of state leadership. We must strengthen the building of the revolution and of modernization at all levels of state administrative organs, judicial organs and the People's Liberation Army. We must enthusiastically perfect the national constitution and national laws and strengthen the socialist legal system. We must correctly manage the links between the government and the party, strengthen the party leadership and guarantee the effective functioning of the tasks and powers of the state government organs. This is the only way to enable the people's democratic dictatorship to make improvements in shouldering the burdens of organizing the leadership and guaranteeing the construction of socialist modernization.

Some people say: " Since the exploiting classes have already been destroyed there is no longer any need for dictatorship." This is a confused viewpoint which is divorced from objective reality. We know that various organs of the dictatorship are primarily responsible for directing the army, police, courts and prisons. How can it be said that such things are no longer necessary? In terms of domestic concerns, although class struggle no longer was the main contradiction in Chinese society after the destruction of the exploiting classes, nonetheless, class struggle continued to exist within a certain scope for a long period of time, and under certain conditions could still become violent. It must be noted that society is still plagued with the activities of anti-revolutionary elements, there is the resurgence of the remnant forces of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," there is the rebirth of the old attitude of remnants of the exploiting class, there are the corrosive manners of feudalism and capitalism, there are those actually fear times of peace, there are the unpredictable and destructive acts of murderers, arsonists, robbers, rapists and mad bombers as well as others who commit acts which destroy social order. In terms of international concerns, both big and petty hegemons still cast greedy glances at us and moreover continually stir up border disturbances and lie in wait for an opportunity to attack. With conditions such as this we must continue to strengthen our state institutions and cannot permit any weakness whatever. This is entirely self-evident.

Some people say: "With the development of socialist democracy there is no longer any need to talk about dictatorship." This is an entirely confused concept which separates and creates an opposition between democracy and dictatorship. Marx looked upon the "winning of democracy" by the proletariat as "the winning of political control" by the proletariat; Lenin called the proletarian dictatorship "a new form of democratic state" and "a new form of a dictatorial state"; Comrade Mao Zedong said that it is a people's democratic dictatorship which integrates the people's democracy with dictatorship over the reactionary faction. Dictatorship and democracy are a single entity so unless there is dictatorship over the enemy then there cannot be people's democracy, and vice versa. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" recklessly created opposition to the dictatorship, arbitrarily labeled people as enemies and made indiscriminate use of methods of the dictatorship, resulting in the destruction of the people's democracy and

and an all out change in nature and content of the dictatorship which in turn repressed and harmed the broad cadres and masses, especially great numbers of the party's core leadership. Key links in preventing any replay of this historical tragedy are to greatly develop socialist democracy, strengthen the socialist legal system, and thoroughly protect the people's rights of democracy and freedom. This is the only way to correctly, legally, timely and effectively exercise dictatorship over the enemy. Therefore, it is incorrect to believe that democracy can exist without the dictatorship or that the dictatorship can exist without democracy.

Some people say, "Strengthening the socialist legal system will repress democracy and limit freedom." This is an erroneous argument made by people who have bourgeois liberal tendencies. The Chinese people's rights to democracy and freedom are both broad and genuine and are guaranteed by our constitution, laws and system. They are founded on the basis of the abundant material conditions existing in the socialist system of ownership by the whole people and in the socialist system of collective ownership by the working masses. As masters of thier own fate, the Chinese people who enjoy the various rights of democracy and freedom should adopt an attitude of being masters of their own fate and strictly carry out the constitutions and the laws. This is to say, they should obey the law in exercising their rights of democracy and freedom. Because our constutition and laws manifest the collective aspirations and fundamental rights of the worker class and broad people and because they serve in protecting the common rights of the state and society, it is only with the strict adherence to the constitution and the laws by each individual that the rights of the broad people to democracy and freedom can be reliably guaranteed. If democracy and freedom are misinterpreted as rights which do not pertain to everyone but are looked upon as matters of individual convenience, then they definitely are not the forms of democracy and freedom required by the people. Such "democracy" and "freedom" must be curtailed by our legal system. If we acquiesce to individual desires, destruction of the legal system and damage to the public good, then the democracy and freedoms of the great majority of the people will have lost their guarantees. For the great majority of people, obeying the law is the natural thing to do, they will not feel restricted and, on the contrary, will feel that it is necessary to exercising their rights and enjoying their freedoms. Otherwise, social order will be disturbed, everyone will feel uneasy, democracy and freedom will certainly be harmed and the people's democratic dictatorship definintely will be weakened.

Some people are envious of bourgeois democratic freedoms in the belief that there are no restrictions whatever on bourgeois democracy and freedoms. Such people have been deceived by bourgeois propaganda, actually, however, bourgeois democracy and feedoms have always been restricted by the bourgeois legal system. For example, the famous French "Declaration of the Rights of Man" says that: "The free expression of ideas is one of mankind's most precious rights. Therefore, each citizen has the rights of speech, authorship and

publication, but must exercise these rights in a responsible manner within the law." With regard to the rights of speech, communication, publication, forming organizations, association, travel, demonstrating and striking, all modern capitalist nations have formulated laws, rules and regulations, enforced strict limitations and moreover formulated legal, administrative and economic responsibilities to be shouldered by the criminals. It is obvious that a system of democracy and freedom which is entirely free of restrictions simply does not exist.

Some comrades ask: "We have talked about the proletarian dictatorship for many years and now the people's democratic dictatorship is being brought up. What is the reason"? This is primarily because the concept of the people's democratic dictatorship is suitable for our courtry's concrete conditions. Who exercises the dictatorship in China? Of course, the people and among the people the worker class holds a leadership position, but it is not limited to the worker class alone, as its scope is much broader. The people's democratic dictatorship directly and clearly mentions democracy and also mentions dictatorship. One advantage of this concept is that it even more clearly expresses the primary content of political power. It is convenient for the people to completely control and utilize. It is also beneficial in preventing opportunists and plotters such as Lin Biao and the "gang of four" from operating in the name of "dictatorship in all respects" to trample on the people's democracy and injure and betray the people. The ideology of the people's democratic dictatorship was long ago pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong in the process of the democratic revolution and he frequently made further comments and explanations regarding it. During the War of Liberation this formulation was formally applied, and during the last several tens of years across the broad expanses of China it has planted deep roots in the hearts and minds of hundreds of millions of people so that everyone is relatively accustomed to and familiar with it. Both the people's democratic dictatorship and the proletarian dictatorship can shoulder the historical burden of building a powerful socialist nation, eliminating classes, eliminating class differences and the three great differences. Therefore, it is best to use this concept in our country. After the birth of the people's democratic dictatorship in China there were many laudable victorious developments, there were some losses and setbacks and severe damage was done by the enemy. Now however it is just like a well trained, experienced war rior marching off with proud step on new campaigns. The people depend on it for protection, the state depends on it to attack both foreign and domestic enemies, and the enormous task of socialist modernization depends on it for effective leadership and effective guarantees. We definitely must transmit this "magical weapon of our family heritage" for generation upon generation until we have completed the historical mission of the proletariat and carried out the party's ultimate goals.

11582
CSO: 4005/614

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PHOTOS PROVIDE CLOSE-UP LOOK AT WAR EXERCISE

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 12, 1981 pp 1-23

[Article : "The Great Wall of Steel Defending the Motherland"]

[Text] Inspired by the spirit of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, units under the Beijing Military Region and units of the Air Force, carried out at a certain place in north China a military exercise under modern conditions. The exercise reported to the party and the people that our army is conscientiously and thoroughly implementing the line, policies, and principles of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee; arousing its spirit; rapidly achieving the building of modernized, regularized revolutionary armed forces; and reviewing the rich results obtained since our army launched the spiritual civilization activities of "having ideals, morality, knowledge, and physical strength," of "stressing soldierly discipline, appearances, and bearing," stressing courtesy, and stressing discipline," and of "fearing neither difficulties nor hardships, and not fearing bloody sacrifices."

The units taking part in the exercise, basing themselves on the existing equipment and in line with the demands of modern war, trained in all sorts of operational skills. During the exercise, the various service arms--infantry, armor, artillery, engineer, air force, and airborne--closely coordinated, and the military commands, political work, and logistical supply were tightly organized. A magnificent scene of the inexhaustible power of people's war emerged, fully showing that our army has inherited and carried forward the good traditions and fighting style of the revolution, and that it possesses strict organizational discipline and outstanding command skills and has mastered tactics and technology. The exercise showed that the PLA armed with Mao Zedong Thought is both a great wall of steel defending the great motherland and an honored pacesetter in constructing a socialist spiritual civilization.

[Photo captions; photos not reproduced]

1. Hu Yaobang, chairman of the CCP Central Committee, and Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee, accompanied by Qin Jiwei (center), commander of the Beijing Military Region, watch the military exercise.

2. Service arms closely coordinate in surrounding and annihilating remnants of the "Blue army."

3. Command post near the front issues orders.

4. The "Red army" fights tenaciously to hold its position.

5. Mechanized unit penetrates the "Blue army" position

6. Launching mobile attack through defense works.

7. Braving artillery fire, the "Red army" goes into action.

8. A self-propelled rocket launcher lays down an intense barrage.

9. A rocket launcher moves to the assembly area.

10. A gun howitzer bombards its assigned target.

11. Artillery fighters making ready the abundant shells.

12. Bombarding projectiles fly accurately toward the "Blue army" position.

13. Anti-aircraft gun company commander gives the order to fire.

14. Twin-barreled anti-aircraft machinegun fires fiercely at low-flying "Blue army" aircraft.

15. Anti-aircraft guns intercept "Blue army" aircraft.

16. Tank unit clears away obstacles in front of advancing infantry.

17. Regular units and militia advance to the frontline.

18. Tank unit assaulting the "Blue army" position.

19. Closely coordinating to annihilate the "Blue army.

20. Penetrating the "Blue army" in depth to exploit the victory.

21. A bomber awaits the order to take off.

22. Airborne troops boarding aircraft.

23. Airborne unit commander.

24. Airborne unit parachutes behind "Blue army."

25. Aircraft laying mines.

26. Fighter planes seize control of air.

27. Helicopters carrying combat forces.

28. Attack planes support ground forces.

29. Airlanded troops swiftly occupy positions.

30. Political instructor giving "prebattle" pep talk.

31. Self-made propaganda shells.

32. Political section immediately prints battlefield tabloid to boost morale.

33. Launching a political offensive to undermine the "blue army."

34. Battlefield broadcasting van.

35. Presenting a flag to an advance detachment.

36. Fighters awarded for meritorious service during the exercise wearing garlands.

37. Signalmen insure unimpeded command and liaison.

38. Antichemical warfare troops engaged in decontamination.

39. Engineers erect a bridge for the troops.

40. Camouflage detachment uses camouflage to confuse the "Blue army."

41. [Two characters indistinct] radar searches the sky for targets.

42. Electronic jamming detachment sticking to its post.

43. Flamethrowing soldier destroying "Blue army's" defense works.

44. Rocket mine-laying vehicle launches mines.

45. Vehicle repair center doing rush-repairs in the field.

46. Radar repairmen overhauling radar equipment.

47. Tank repair company repairing tanks in the rain.

48. Ammunition being sent to an artillery position.

49. Mess cocks sending meals to forward positions.

50. Motor vehicle transport troops delivering ammunition to the frontline.

51. Medical detachment giving emergency treatment on the battlefield.

52. Medical staff performing an operation on the medical train.

53. A camouflaged oil depot.

54. Swift and timely refueling of truck convoy.

9727
CSO: 4005/549

PLATOON LEADER DEVISES LASER INSTRUMENT FOR TRAINING

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 12, 1981 p 42

[Article by He Guangyin [0149 1639 5593] et al in "Flowers of Innovation" column: "Firing Training Directional Instrument"]

[Text] Zhang Shudong [1728 2885 2639], platoon leader of a certain unit of the Nanjing Military Region, with the assistance of the department concerned, after repeated trials has successfully developed the SY-801 laser firing training directional instrument. It is suitable for rifles, submachineguns, light and heavy machineguns, 40-mm rocket launchers, and 82-mm recoilless guns. A laser tube, which is connected to the directional instruments, is attached to the weapon and is used for aiming. When the weapon is fired, one can see the point of impact on the target. The directional instrument can also be used for wired voice communication, and in night training it can indicate 30 flash targets. Its successful development saves a great deal of training ammunition, and it is now being widely used in this unit.

[Photo captions; photos not reproduced]

1. Laser firing training directional instrument (left) and laser tube (right).

2. Zhang Shudong personally tests and checks the instrument's effectiveness.

9727
CSO: 4005/549

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

COMMAND POST DEVICES INSTRUMENT FOR COORDINATING OPERATIONS

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 12, 1981 p 42

[Article by Shao Jian [4801 0494] in "Flowers of Innovation" column: "Coordinated Operations Command Instrument"]

[Text] During an exercise, the command post staff of a certain unit of the Wuhan Military Region was highly capable and efficient, for which it was commended by the upper level. This was because the command post used a coordinated operations command instrument that its staff had developed. This command instrument is composed of one main component and the subcomponent, wireless and wired voice communications can be carried on and alerts can be sent and received. The main component is also equipped with a recorder, transmitter, and electronic digital timer. Thus, not only is the command post staff reduced in number but also instructions and orders issued to lower levels and the gathering of situation reports are fast and accurate, changing the past situation in which there were many persons at the command post so that the post was noisy and confused and people disturbed each other.

[Photo captions; photos not reproduced]

1. Main component (left) and subcomponent (right) of the coordinated operations command instrument.

2. Command staff using the coordinated operations command instrument; The work is orderly and systematic.

9727
CSO: 4005/549

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PUBLISHING OF MINORITY LITERATURE SPEEDED UP

OW091304 Beijing XINHUA in English 1240 GMT 9 Mar 82

[Text] Beijing, 9 Mar (XINHUA)--Publication is being speeded up of books on the history, culture, art and customs of China's 55 minority nationalities.

The books, in five series, are "Chinese Minority Nationalities," "A Brief History of Chinese Minority Nationalities," "A Brief History of Minority Nationality Languages in China," "Outline of Local Autonomy of Chinese Minority Nationalities" and "Social and Historical Investigation of Chinese Minority Nationalities."

This is the first time China has compiled and published books on minority nationalities in such a comprehensive and systematic way. The books will be published in both the minority and Han languages.

In 1956, China sent about 1,000 historians to investigate minority nationalities' social history and languages. During the cultural revolution, compiling and publishing work stopped and the editing boards were disbanded. It was not until 1979 that the work was taken up again. So far, 29 volumes have been published.

The state has supported the work with funds and an Editing Committee with many noted historians, linguists, sociologists and scholars of both minority and Han nationalities has been set up with Yang Jingren, vice-premier and minister in charge of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission as its head.

At a recent enlarged meeting of the Editing Committee, Yang Jingren urged that the publishing work be speeded up.

CSO: 4000/70

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WOMEN'S FEDERATION HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE

OW081902 Beijing XINHUA in English 1516 GMT 5 Mar 82

[Text] Beijing, 5 Mar (XINHUA)--Of the country's some 2,000 counties, over 600 have women as magistrates or deputy magistrates, said an all China Women's Federation leader at a press conference held this afternoon. This is the result of China's first direct election at county level held recently. "We admit," said Wu Quanheng, veteran woman leader, "that the proportion of women in the government structure is not very big yet, but we are gaining real progress for equality between men and women."

While the social system changed, the feudal ideas and influences that had ruled the country for thousands of years could not be changed overnight, and the Chinese women would still have to work towards that end, she added.

Answering questions on the rights of work and retirement, federation leader Zhang Jiexun said that the retirement age for women workers is 50 and for women office workers 55, in each case 5 years younger than men. The regulations were adopted in the early 1950's with a view of protecting the women. However, considering the fact that women's life span at present seem to be longer than men, the women's federation is restudying the subject.

In China, women enjoy 56 days maternity leave with full pay and in some provinces the leave is extended to 4 months and some even to half a year, also with full pay. As the state advocates a one-child family, that child should enjoy more attention from its mother, she added.

When asked about China's solution to families not living in the same city, she said, this is a question left over by history. Though the overall figure of these families is a small one, the government is making big efforts to rejoin them. But, "we Chinese do not feel it so keenly as would be felt in some other countries. Work and responsibility come first, and family ties are steady," Wu Quanheng said. The divorce rate of these families is not higher than other families. China's divorce rate is 2 to 3 percent.

CSO: 4000/70

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

EDUCATION MINISTRY CIRCULAR ON PRINCIPALS

OW142324 Beijing XINHUA in English 0735 GMT 13 Mar 82

[Text] Beijing, 13 Mar (XINHUA)--Primary and secondary school principals and deputy principals in China will receive further professional training, according to a recent nationwide circular of the Ministry of Education.

Secondary school principals will acquire an academic level equivalent to college graduates and primary schoolmasters the equivalent of graduates of secondary teachers' schools.

Professional competency, a ministry official explained, had been largely neglected in choosing principals during the cultural revolution.

The planned program will include leading members of education bureaus at county, prefectural and provincial levels.

Chinese educational administrators, those in charge of colleges excluded, total over one million. Sixty percent of them need further training which the ministry plans to provide within 3 to 5 years.

The circular says most of the trainees will leave their offices to study for 6 months to 2 years. Correspondence courses will be given to those working in suburban and rural schools.

Since 1979, more than 100,000 education administrators have received training in colleges and universities, the circular says.

CSO: 4000/70

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

YIN FATANG VISITS XIZANG LAMASERIES--According to XIZANG RIBAO, responsible comrades of the region and Lhasa Municipality visited three lamaseries on 25 February to extend new year greetings to the work personnel and lamas. The responsible comrades included Yin Fatang, Raidi, Song Ziyuan and Pagbalha Geleg Namgya. At a forum, the responsible comrades asked about the conditions in the lamaseries. They urged the lamasery work personnel and lamas to continue to do a good job of work in the lamaseries, and especially to take good care of the numerous valuable cultural relics there, and make positive contributions to developing culture in Xizang. [Summary] [HK270555 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 26 Feb 82]

CSO: 4005/645

END

JPRS 80461

31 March 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 286

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 80461

31 March 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 286

CONTENTS

PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Proposed 'Nordic Nuclear-Free Zone' Discussed
(You Dianshu, Song Mingjaing; SHIJIE ZHISHI, 16 Nov 81)..... 1

PARTY AND STATE

Relationship Between Party, People's Democracy Discussed
(Liang Fen, Wang King; BEIJING RIBAO, 4 Dec 81)..... 6

Elimination of 'Leftist' Influences Urged
(Li Shusheng, et al.; HEBEI RIBAO, 29 Jan 82)..... 10

Spirtual, Material Civilizations Deemed Equally Important
(Editorial; GUANGZHOU RIBAO, 14 Feb 82)..... 12

Reasons for Changes in Party Policy Explained
(Lin Mu; SHAANXI RIBAO, 6 Jan 82)..... 16

Importance of Distinguishing 'Left' From 'Right' Stressed
(Lao Bing; BEIJING RIBAO, 7 Dec 81)..... 22

Provisional Regulations Governing Lawyers Become Effective
(WEN HUI BAO, 28 Dec 81, NINGXIA RIBAO, 30 Dec 81)..... 25

Lawyer's Comments, by Li Shutang
Initial Induction, by Yao Fazhi

Commentator Urges In-Depth Study of 'Resolution'
(HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 29 Nov 81)..... 28

Shanghai People's Congress Discusses Government Reform
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 30 Dec 81)..... 30

Leftist Influences, Bourgeois Liberalization Decried
(Rong Sheng; SICHUAN RIBAO, 3 Dec 81)..... 33

Retirement of Old Cadres, Training of New Ones Urged
(Xie Yun; JIEFANG RIBAO, 1 Jan 82)..... 36

Leading Cadres Urged To Support, Protect Advanced Youths
(Xiao Yi; JIEFANG RIBAO, 11 Jan 82)..... 38

Cadres Urged To Rectify Party's Workstyle
(Huang Junlong; JIEFANG RIBAO, 2 Feb 82)..... 40

Cadres Urged To Read Extensively, Study Selectively
(Yue Ping; RENMIN RIBAO, 1 Feb 82)..... 43

Cadre's Resistance To Criticism Reported
(GUANGZHOU RIBAO, 14 Feb 82)..... 47

'Spiritual Civilization' Requires Confidence, Effort
(Editorial; SHAANXI RIBAO, 5 Jan 82)..... 49

Journal Discusses 'Fairness' of Law
(Wang Zilin; JILIN DAXUE SHEHUI KEXUE XUEBAO, 6 Nov 81).... 51

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Guangzhou Units Leadership Sets Example in Work Style
(Zheng Suihua; NANFANG RIBAO, 31 Jan 82)..... 55

Wang Zhen, Liao Zhengzhi Celebrate Spring Festival on Hainan
(Xing Zenggan; NANFANG RIBAO, 24 Jan 82)..... 57

Zhao Ziyang, Yang Dezhi Visit Beijing Garrison Regiment
(Xing Zenggan; NANFANG RIBAO, 24 Jan 82)..... 59

Leading Cadres Improve Training of Fuzhou Units
(Yang Hefa, Xu Haowen; FUJIAN RIBAO, 2 Jan 82)..... 60

Submarine's Long-Range Training Cruise Described
(Juang Yaonian; ZHONGGUO QUINGNIAN BAO, 21 Jan 82)..... 62

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Decisive Progress in Politics, Law Urged for 1982
(SHAANXI RIBAO, 10 Jan 82)..... 66

Marxist Principle on Nationalities Question Discussed
(Yang Mingqian; GANSU RIBAO, 16 Jan 82)..... 68

Freedom of Literary, Artistic Creation Discussed
(Tang Xuezhi; WEN HUI BAO, 4 Feb 82)..... 72

Shaanxi Political Leaders Discuss Problems, Shortages
(Zhang Zhengshu, Zhu Ruiwen; SHAANXI RIBAO, 10 Jan 82)..... 76

Article Stresses Learning From Past To Avoid Mistakes
(Zhou Guoeong; GUANGMING RIBAO, 31 Jan 82)..... 80

Proponents of 'New Esthetic Principles' Criticized
(Fu Ping; FUJIAN RIBAO, 19 Dec 81)..... 83

Publications Urged To Develop Mass Criticism of Literary Works
(Ruo Hua; GUANGMING RIBAO, 28 Jan 82)..... 87

Graduate Students Complying With State Work Assignments
(Luo Ying; JIEFANG RIBAO, 18 Dec 81)..... 89

Qian Xuesen on Quality of Academic Degree System
(Qian Xuesen; GUANGMING RIBAO, 29 Dec 81)..... 92

State Council Authorizes 458 Colleges To Grant B.A. Degrees
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 16 Jan 82)..... 95

CYL Training of Employment-Awaiting Youths Emphasized
(Ling Guodian; GANSU RIBAO, 15 Jan 82)..... 97

Sichuan Party Focuses on Helping Unemployed Youths
(SICHUAN RIBAO, 21 Dec 81)..... 101

Work on Folk Literature Must Get Higher Priority
(Hong Zhong; SICHUAN RIBAO, 8 Dec 81)..... 103

Bigotry of Artists, One-Sidedness of Theorists Discussed
(Feng Xianguang; SICHUAN RIBAO, 8 Dec 81)..... 107

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Prison Writings of Dissident Liu Qing Published
(DONGXIFANG, 15 Oct, 10 Dec 81)..... 110

CCP Said Planning To Merge Government Bodies, Cut Redundant Cadres
(Xu Xing; CHENG MING, 1 Feb 82)..... 160

ERRATUM: In JPRS 80211, 2 March 1982 No 275, of this series article CRITICISM OF LEFTIST VIEWS OF HUANG GANG, p 61 line 16 of text, sentence "Huang Gang was the editor-in-chief under the name Yao Ershi" should read "The editor-in-chief was Huang Gang, who was known as 'Yao Wenyuan The Second.'"

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PROPOSED 'NORDIC NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE' DISCUSSED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 81 pp 5-7

[Article by You Dianshu [3266 3013 2579] and Song Mingjaing [1345 2494 3068]: "The Tricky and Evasive Nordic Nuclear-Free Zone"]

[Text] At the beginning of this year when the wind of pacifism was spreading over various North and West European countries, a subject which had been left out in the cold for many years--the proposal for a Nordic nuclear-free zone--was again put forward. Significantly, while the subject was still under discussion, on 10 October a Soviet submarine violated the territorial waters of Sweden, creating a stir in this discussion. It is entirely proper and understandable that people are opposed to nuclear arms and nuclear warfare, with their desire to set up a nuclear-free zone. However, what deserves attention is that as soon as this proposal was put forward, the Soviet Union immediately took it over and expressed its very great interest and strong concern. There is something else behind all this. Since NATO made its decision to deploy new intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe, the Soviet Union has tried by all means to stand in the way with a view to developing its own nuclear superiority. At present, it is making special efforts to utilize the pacifist trend of thinking and war scare in Europe, and is trying to undermine NATO's plans from within. Thus, the proposal for a Nordic nuclear-free zone is just a wedge which it can use to disintegrate the Western alliance from within.

Origin

The so-called "Nordic nuclear-free zone" is a proposal which Khrushchev originally put forward in 1959, and it was immediately rejected at that time by the Western countries. Later, in 1963, after the West had a preliminary informal discussion on the establishment of a multilateral nuclear force,*

*The "multilateral nuclear force" was suggested by U.S. President Kennedy and British Prime Minister MacMillan at the end of 1962 at a meeting held in Nassau. Its concrete plan was first to combine the nuclear bombers or nuclear submarines of the United States, Britain and France under the command of NATO Supreme Command. At a later stage, the NATO countries would purchase "Polaris" missiles or nuclear submarines from the United States to form the so-called "Multilateral nuclear force," to be "of multilateral possession and under multilateral control." However, the right of final decision and veto would be held in the hands of the President of the United States.

President Kekkonen of Finland once again suggested the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the four North European countries of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland. This proposal did not meet with the agreement of the other three countries, and it was later set aside.

As a matter of fact, none of the four North European countries has nuclear weapons. The meaning of the so-called "establishment" of a nuclear-free zone is to define this nuclear-free state in the form of treaty (or in legal form)--that is, at present and in the future, all countries in this zone would pledge not to produce or import nuclear weapons, and the nuclear powers would pledge not to use nuclear weapons in this zone.

However, as it is called the "Nordic nuclear-free zone," people may ask: Does it include the part of Soviet territory in the same northern region of Europe, such as the Kola Peninsula? When Norway and Denmark, as members of NATO, are incorporated into such a nuclear-free zone, are their pledges to NATO still valid, and how will NATO's defense be affected? Why does the Soviet Union show so much interest in such a nuclear-free zone and yet exclude itself from this zone?

Regarding these three questions, people are quite suspicious of the proposal for a "Nordic nuclear-free zone." Therefore, this proposal has been left out in the cold consistently.

At the beginning of this year, the then ruling party of Norway--the Norwegian Labor Party--reiterated the proposal for a Nordic nuclear-free zone, bringing up a matter of the past and drawing wide attention. In the past the Norwegian Labor Party always opposed the proposal for a "Nordic nuclear-free zone." Norway is also an important NATO member country, being situated at the tip of NATO's northern wing. For this reason, as soon as this proposal was put forward, it immediately met with the opposition of the United States, Britain and West Germany, and these principal countries of the West one after another asked Norway to clarify the matter. Inside Norway, the party not in power also accused the Labor government of changing Norway's tradition of foreign policy. Within the Labor Party, some people also charged that it was forced upon the people by certain persons in charge of foreign policy. In any case, the fact that the leaders of the Norwegian Labor Party raised this question revealed certain changes in the defense policy of that party. Some commentaries in the West held that it had something to do with the pacifist trend of thinking spreading in Europe.

In 1979 NATO decided on the deployment, beginning in 1983, of new types of medium-range missiles to modernize the nuclear theater weapons. Many people in the Western countries expressed their support; however, there are also a considerable number of people who are afraid of the gradual escalation of the nuclear arms race, which would increase the risk of nuclear warfare, so they voiced their opposition. Some people cherish the illusion of exchanging unilateral disarmament for Soviet concessions. Some Western newspapers and periodicals point out that these people believe in the principle that "nuclear-free means nuclear safety." There are also a considerable number of people who are against the deployment of new types of missiles in Europe, and are even

against the United States keeping stockpiles of conventional heavy weapons in Norway. They are also against Norway accepting American nuclear protection. In October 1980, after the opposition faction within the Norwegian Labor Party put forward a plan to establish a "Nordic nuclear-free zone" including Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland, the party leadership formally put the statement that "Norway will strive for a Nordic nuclear-free zone" in the party's February draft program that year, in order to maintain unity within the party, to win votes, and to placate and hold back the opposition faction.

Bait

After Norway made this proposal, Brezhnev immediately made a speech on 26 June 1981 to express his positive support for the establishment of the Nordic nuclear-free zone, and claimed "to be prepared to conclude multilateral or bilateral agreements with participating countries."

What deserves attention is that this time the proposal is different from the Nordic nuclear-free zone frequently advocated by the Soviet Union in the past; it has a new addition--that is, the claim that it "does not exclude the possibility to discuss certain other measures applicable to our own country's territories adjacent to the Nordic nuclear-free zone." These terms, deliberately mystifying, for a while aroused speculation in the Western countries. Some people thought optimistically that possibly the Soviet Union might dismantle some tactical nuclear weapons on the Kola Peninsula. Therefore, the Swedish Government in September sent a delegation to visit Moscow and make inquiries; however, it was greatly disappointed. The Soviet Union refused to make further explanation. As a matter of fact, even if the Soviet Union would really move back a few tactical nuclear weapons, as far as Northern Europe is concerned, it would not make much difference.

Evidently, Brezhnev's new remarks were in reality only bait to lure the North European countries. Though Norway and Denmark, both NATO member countries, do not permit NATO to deploy nuclear weapons in their territories in peacetime; they reserve the right of option to introduce nuclear weapons for security protection in case the danger of war occurs. The Soviet Union is luring them to participate in a nuclear-free zone, which means asking them to give up this right. As a Finnish newspaper pointed out, it means asking them to give up "the policy of keeping themselves in line with NATO." It also means first the disarming of NATO's northern wing, and then the weakening and disintegration of NATO.

This proposal of Brezhnev's is a component part of the "peaceful offensive" launched by the 26th CPSU Congress. One of the important objectives of this "peaceful offensive" is to break up relations between the United States and Europe, to prevent NATO from strengthening its defenses, and in the first place, to prevent implementation of the plan to modernize the European theater nuclear weapons. The new Soviet proposal for a "Nordic nuclear-free zone" is intended to whip up and utilize pacifist thinking in Europe, and to attain the aforementioned objective with support from within Europe. A Finnish newspaper immediately recognized the ulterior motive and pointed out that "with the continued development of neutralist thinking in Europe, the Soviet Union carefully and cautiously took the opportunity to put forward its proposal."

Differences

At present, the issue of a Nordic nuclear-free zone still remains in the stage of discussion. Among the North European countries, there are still very divergent views on what type of nuclear-free zone should be established. At the Northern European Council held in March this year and at the Conference of Northern European Foreign Ministers held in September, there was no outcome of all the discussions. The focus of dispute was over whether this nuclear-free zone should include the Soviet-governed Kola Peninsula and the Baltic region. To this key question, the North European countries have essentially three answers:

The first answer is not to include them. At the time Finland proposed a Nordic nuclear-free zone, it did not include Soviet territory. Finland still holds this view. Very few people in other countries hold this view.

The second answer is that it should include them. Most people think that the Soviet Union is the only country which possesses nuclear weapons in this region and thus constitutes a threat to Northern Europe. Therefore, if the Soviet Union is excluded from the "Nordic nuclear-free zone," there is no sense in setting up such a zone. To exchange the unilateral establishment of a nuclear-free zone for an empty promise of the Soviet Union "not to use nuclear weapons against Northern Europe" is even more hopelessly stupid. Some people, including the Swedish Government, explicitly hold this view. Certain official quarters in Norway and Denmark were equivocal at first; later, following questioning by the political parties not in power, and as the principal Western countries, including the United States, Britain and West Germany, strongly opposed the proposal for a "Nordic nuclear-free zone," while explaining the official policy they made an additional statement including this part of Soviet territory. It is quite natural for most people in Northern Europe to demand the inclusion of the Kola Peninsula in the nuclear-free zone. At the same time, this may possibly mean "checkmating" the Soviet Union, which is clamoring for a nuclear-free zone. As is known, Murmansk in the Kola Peninsula is the world's largest nuclear arsenal; it is the base for 70 percent of the Soviet nuclear submarines equipped with intercontinental missiles and also for more than 30 submarines equipped with tactical nuclear missiles. Deployed in its surroundings are also SS-4 and SS-5 missiles (reportedly they will soon be replaced by SS-20's) and more than 20 Backfire bombers. Therefore, as a matter of fact, people have long anticipated that the Soviet Union would refuse to include the Kola Peninsula in the nuclear-free zone.

The third answer is to use the "Nordic nuclear-free zone" as "part of the effort to strive for a larger nuclear-free zone within the confines of Europe." This is the view of people in power in the governments of North European countries. This wording does not answer directly the question of whether to include the Kola Peninsula and the Baltic Sea. As regards the meaning of "the effort to strive for a larger nuclear-free zone within the confines of Europe," there are also different interpretations. Former Norwegian Prime Minister Nordli said: "We won't play the role alone. The solution of atomic weapons can be achieved only through extensive European unity." Former Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs Frydenlund said: "It is necessary first to

consult with our allies." Incumbent Prime Minister Brundtland said that all negotiations must be carried out within the scope of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. In fact, in the serious situation of nuclear confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, it is sheer nonsense to talk about the question of a nuclear-free zone within the confines of Europe. The statements made by the Nordic leaders on this issue may be considered as a pretext which can be used, on the one hand, to show to NATO that they won't break away from the West as a whole and will maintain the unity of the West, and on the other hand to express their "desire" for negotiation. So, first, they can deal with the Soviet Union; second, they can show certain independence with regard to the United States; and third, they can reduce the pressure from the pacifist campaign.

After a period of debate, people have seen more clearly the intentions of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, with the opposition of the allies, particularly the United States, Britain and West Germany, Norwegian Prime Minister Brundtland pledged that any action Norway takes on the issue of a nuclear-free zone will be in line with its commitments to NATO.

On 15 September, the result of Norway's general election was announced. The Labor government was replaced by a government headed by the Conservative Party. All members of the new ruling party are against the Nordic nuclear-free zone. After they assume power, how they will actually deal with this issue still remains to be seen. However, no matter which of the abovementioned three answers they adopt, at present they still have real difficulty in carrying it out. Most likely the question of the "Nordic nuclear-free zone" will undergo further protracted discussion.

9039
CSO: 4005/546

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARTY, PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY DISCUSSED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 4 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Liang Fen [2733 0433] and Wang King [3769 5429]: "The Party Is the Leading Force of People's Democracy -- A Discussion on the Relationship Between the Party and People's Democracy"]

[Text] The "Resolution" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee points out: "The goal of our party's struggle in the new historical period is to gradually build our country into a socialist power with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defense and modern science and technology, and advanced democracy and advanced civilization." The party leadership is closely connected to people's democracy, i.e., socialist democracy. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, giving scope to people's democracy has already become a gargantuan historical trend in the development of the entire socialist cause. This the wish of the masses of people and also a result of the party's leadership.

After the 10 years of internal disturbance during the "cultural revolution," people have profoundly sensed the great significance and formidable nature of the development and perfection of our people's democratic system; hence, their concern about, and various discussions on, questions of democracy have also become more and more pronounced and frequent. This is a good thing. But we should also see that not all the people have come to understand clearly what kind of democracy we need, and how to develop and perfect it. Some people think that when we stress democracy, it can only be the stuff the West has, being unable to distinguish clearly what is socialist democracy and what is capitalist democracy. There are also some people who think that our democratic cause is like that of the West in that it does not require party leadership, and that the less control, the more democracy. There are even people who think that stressing democracy today means to "demand democracy" from the party. Although these people are in the minority, the tendency to deviate from party leadership as reflected by them in varying degrees is very harmful. This tendency is not only of no benefit to the healthy development of people's democracy, but may also sometimes be utilized by those who crave nothing short of nationwide chaos and thereby turn it into a factor of instability in our socialist politics. Precisely because of this, as we proceed to exert ourselves in developing and perfecting our people's democratic system, it is

necessary to further make clear ideologically and theoretically the relationship between people's democracy and party leadership.

Today there is this prevailing view: as long as people are permitted to express their views freely and the principle of the minority obeying the majority is put into practice, that is socialist democracy. This view is rather paradoxical, as it actually replaces democratic substance with general principles of democratic form. Without doubt, socialist democracy needs to guarantee the people's freedom of expression (not the freedom of expression of all people) and it needs to carry out the organizational principle of the minority obeying the majority; but these by no means explain the substance of democracy, nor do they provide correct answers as to what is the essence of socialist democracy and the necessary, fundamental conditions for realizing and developing this kind of democracy.

In his book "The State and the Revolution," Lenin said: "Democracy and the principle of the minority obeying the majority are not the same thing. Democracy is none other than the state which acknowledges the minority obeying the majority." In this case, the concept of democracy, its most essential, most important meaning, suggests a kind of state system; what it stresses is the form of the state, namely, which class occupies the ruling position in a regime, and the policies of which class does it implement. Only by grasping this essence can we distinguish the democracies of different classes. When we discuss the minority obeying the majority in the abstract, as a general principle of democratic form, the bourgeoisie and its political parties can also accept and adopt it. For instance, in a bourgeois assembly, they can activate a voting apparatus based on the minority obeying the majority and practice universal suffrage which is subject to various actual restrictions under economic and political conditions ruled by capital, etc. But once the minority obeying the majority becomes a concept of the state which not only generally acknowledges the need to practice the principle of the minority obeying the majority but also requires a clear determination to have the minority of exploiters obey the rule of the overwhelming majority of the people and to handle affairs of state in accordance with the interests and will of the overwhelming majority, then no exploitative class, including the bourgeoisie and its political parties, would accept it. Socialist democracy is the socialist system of the state; it is the power of the people to control the state on the basis of their commonly shared enjoyment of various forms of ownership and control authority with respect to the means of production. In order to establish and consolidate such a state system of the democracy of the overwhelming majority, we can never just depend on spontaneous action, free expression, and a simple vote based on the minority obeying the majority on the part of the masses; instead, we must have a class that can really embody and realize the interests and will of the overwhelming majority in a concentrated manner and the leadership of its vanguard so as to achieve this. Consequently, if we are not lingering on abstract forms but are discussing the democracy of the majority in terms of substance, discussing how to realize and give scope to socialist democracy, then we are broaching the question of party leadership.

Lenin once succinctly analyzed the question of how to realize socialist democracy. He said: "In order to enable the majority to really make decisions on

state affairs, there must be definite practical conditions. We must firmly establish a state system and state power that provide the possibility of deciding on questions according to the will of the majority and that can guarantee to turn this possibility into reality. This is one aspect. In another aspect, we must enable this majority to harmoniously and effectively manage state affairs together in terms of its class elements, that is, in terms of its internal (and external) interrelationship between the various classes. Any Marxist knows that, on the question of the majority of the people and on the question of managing state affairs according to the will of this majority, these two practical conditions play a decisive role" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 25, pp 188-189). It is inconceivable to have these two fundamental conditions apart from the party's leadership. Concerning the first condition, without Communist Party leadership it is impossible to overthrow the rule of the landlord and bourgeois classes and establish the state system and state power of people's democracy; this point has long been irrefutably proven. As for the second condition, just as Lenin said, we must have a leading force that correctly handles the relationship between the various classes and that enables the majority of the people "to harmoniously and effectively manage state affairs together," and that which can serve as this leading force is also limited to the proletariat and its vanguard--the Communist Party. Because among the people, on the basis of the consistency of their fundamental interests, there still exist various economic entities with different interests, there still exist political and social, complex contradictions of a nonantagonistic interclass nature; only under the leadership of the proletariat, which really represents the interests of all the people, and its political party can the majority of the people correctly and effectively harmonize and dispose the various political and social contradictions; only thus can the majority of the people avoid remaining an actually loose or even dissipated majority in form and become a real majority that is conscious of where its own fundamental interests lie, that unites itself and proceeds to realize socialist democracy with unified will and action.

At the central work conference in December last year, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The core of the four principles is adherence to party leadership. I have said many times that, without Communist Party leadership, such a big country as China is bound to fall apart and accomplish nothing." This statement is entirely consistent with Lenin's thinking mentioned above, and also entirely in accord with the actual situation in our country. Today, the exploitative classes have been basically eliminated; class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction of our society; but there still exists class struggle. Although this class struggle, internally, is of a remnant form, it will still exist for a fairly long time; although the overall trend of class struggle is a gradual tapering-off, occasional development under given conditions still cannot be ruled out. Meanwhile, class differences among the people also cannot be eliminated within a short period; the narrow vision and habitual forces of the small producers and domestic and external bourgeois ideas and remnant feudal ideas still exert not a little influence among the people; various political and social contradictions still exist among the people. In such an environment of numerous complicated social contradictions, how can the majority of the masses be organized? How can the interests, demands and wishes of the overwhelming majority be harmonized, concentrated,

and guided toward a unified socialist direction, and enabled to formulate correct policies accordingly? How can these correct policies be assured of strict and effective implementation in the various departments and localities? What is needed here is a force that can exert firm leadership over the majority of the people; this leading force can only be the Communist Party. Because the Communist Party is the only advanced political party of the advanced class of modern society; it is made up of advanced elements of the proletariat; it enjoys Marxist guidance; it is well versed in the objective laws of social development; apart from seeking the interests of the broadest ranks of the people, it has no selfish interests of its own; it is organized according to the principles of democratic centralism, and it abides by strict organizational discipline. It is precisely because of these characteristics on the part of the party that it is able to guide the masses of the people to perceive their own fundamental interests and to organize themselves in order to struggle for their own political rights and economic interests; that it is able to embody and realize the will of the overwhelming majority of the country, to formulate policies that reflect the fundamental interests and long-range interests of the majority and appropriately handle the relationship between their immediate interests and their long-range interests; that it is able to guarantee, through the party's propaganda work, organizational work and the vanguard and model rules of all party members, the implementation of these principles and policies. Therefore, when we treat the question of the people being masters in their own house, we must not merely look at the form but also at the substance; we must see whether our state power can represent the interests of the people and how it can represent the interests of the people.

Of course, we must take note, on the other hand, that, when we say the party is the leading force of prople's democracy, we mean to say that the party should support the people becoming the masters in their own house and not take their place in managing the state, or monopolize all administrative affairs, or still less stand on the heads of the masses of the people and become the rulers of the masses of the people. People's democracy is the essential requirement of the socialist system. "Without practicing full democracy, socialist cannot triumph" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 22, p 138). If socialist has only public ownership of the means of production and does not insure the development of economic construction along the socialist direction, then it cannot guarantee that the fruits of economic development are going to be enjoyed by all the people. Hence, the "Resolution" points out: "Gradually building a highly democratic socialist political system is one of the fundamental tasks of the socialist revolution." Therefore, we must adhere to party leadership on the one hand and improve party leadership, gradually reform the party and state leadership system, and guarantee the development and perfection of people's democracy on the other hand.

To sum up, without party leadership, it is also impossible to establish people's democracy and to develop and perfect people's democracy; on the contrary, if the party fails to support the people becoming masters in their own house and fails to lead the people to realize and develop people's democracy, the party will also be unable to preserve its character as the vanguard of the proletariat. This is the dialectics on the democratic question.

9255
CSO: 4005/593

PARTY AND STATE

ELIMINATION OF 'LEFTIST' INFLUENCES URGED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jan 82 p 1

[Report by Li Shusheng [2621 3932], Jiang Qingquan [5592 3237 3123], and Xu Chunlin [1776 2504 2651]: "Leading Cadres Must First Eliminate 'Leftist' Influences--Hengshui Regional Party Committee Covenes General Meeting of Party Members and Cadres; Li Tie Sums Up Five Lessons in Behalf of Regional Party Committee"]

[Text] The recent activities meeting convened by the Hengshui regional party committee indicates that only by first following the spirit of "stressing truth, not face," launching criticism and self-criticism, and thoroughly eliminating "leftist" influences in oneself can leading cadres gain the initiative in restoring order from disorder and bringing policies to fruition.

Recently, the Hengshui regional party committee convened an activities meeting for 5 consecutive days, passed conscientious criticism and self-criticism; and, using the "Resolution" as its weapon, while thoroughly negating the "Cultural Revolution," it at the same time also took an important step in eliminating its own "leftist" mistakes. Members of the standing committee of this committee generally felt at the meeting that, while under the influence of the "theory of always being correct" on the part of the former principal, responsible person of the provincial party committee, they had exhibited blindness and lacked self-consciousness in respect to their own political and ideological state, and taken the suffering of persecution during the "Cultural Revolution" as a burden. Members of the standing committee of the regional party committee were all subject to the impact of the "left" during the "Cultural Revolution": they have all conducted the so-called "examinations." But by those "examinations" it was meant merely the use of the "leftist" things to criticize correct things; thus they added many "leftist" elements to themselves. After they stepped forward to take on jobs, most comrades implemented "leftist" things to various degrees; they even persecuted people with the "leftist" things. Members of the standing committee of the regional party committee sensed that the spiritual state of "feeling proud as soon as suffering or persecution is mentioned, grumbling as soon as persecution of others is mentioned" is by no means justifiable. They should eliminate the "leftist" mistakes and influences in themselves since the "Cultural Revolution," and sweep away the ideological obstacles in the way of policy implementation and leading-group readjustment.

On 6 January, the Hengshui CCP Committee convened the general meeting of party members and cadres that was attended by more than 1,600 persons from the organs directly under its jurisdiction; Li Tie [2621 6993], first secretary of the regional party committee, conducted self-criticism on behalf of the regional party committee and found 5 lessons on why the committee was subjected to "leftist" influences and committed "leftist" mistakes. One is that, among the "leftist" ranks, it did not recognize what was "leftist;" it only belatedly made an ideological turn. Even before the "Cultural Revolution," it was already ideologically subject to "leftist" influences. The "Cultural Revolution" criticized correct things of the past, accepted many erroneous things; but it did not destroy the old and establish the new and, on the contrary, it destroyed the orthodox as "leftist" and made it possible for "leftist" thinking to develop further and further; after resuming its tasks anew, the guiding ideology remained "leftist." With respect to the "leftist" things of the former principal responsible person of the provincial party committee, they were accepted quite smoothly and properly and also implemented actively; this made it impossible not to make "leftist" mistakes. A second is that, when implementing directives from above, it failed to proceed from actualities; it exhibited blindness especially in the question of differentiating the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought from Chairman Mao's mistakes in his late years; the "two whatevers" tightly constrained its thinking. Thus, some ordinarily preventable mistakes were not prevented, some ordinarily avoidable losses were not avoided. While it sensed something wrong sometimes about certain things issued from above, but because of the failure of seeking truth from facts, plus the effect of the word "selfishness," it was unable to proceed with resistance against such mistaken things; the idea of "the book first, the superior level first" was very serious. A third is a lack of the one-dividing-into-two approach to things, to people, and to oneself and the partiality in one's thinking. More was seen of achievements, but little was seen of problems. During the "Cultural Revolution," it actually made many mistakes but for a long time it simply dismissed them as not much of a problem. The "leftist" things being implemented were partially emphasized as having been arranged by those above, thus taking its own responsibility lightly. A fourth is insufficient investigation, separation from actualities, and separation from the masses. Too little was known about conditions below; too little was understood about opinions of the masses; various different views could not be ascertained, nor was there an inclination to listen to various different views. This made it impossible to carry out any comparison or scrutinization in order to make one's own correct judgement, and also impossible to avoid making mistakes. And a fifth is insufficient study, especially insufficient in making a connection through such study with one's own ideological actualities and working actualities and thereby summing up experiences and lessons, and also insufficient in launching criticism and self-criticism.

Comrade Li Tie asked comrades attending the meeting to make as many suggestions as possible in order to help the regional party committee sum up its lessons so as to thoroughly negate the "Cultural Revolution," thoroughly eliminate the "leftist" mistakes in the guiding ideology of the regional party committee, further do a good job in an ideological restoring of order from disorder, accelerate policy implementation and leading-group readjustment, rectify the party's steps, and build well our material civilization and spiritual civilization.

9255
CSO: 4005/627

PARTY AND STATE

SPIRTUAL, MATERIAL CIVILIZATIONS DEEMED EQUALLY IMPORTANT

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 14 Feb 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Conscientiously Carry Out the Glorious Task of Building the Two Civilizations"]

[Text] "The plan of a year depends upon the spring." In this season of spring warmth and opening blossoms, the municipal committee has convened the second meeting of its fourth (enlarged) plenary session to look back over the work of the previous year, and to discuss and arrange the work of the new year. Their meeting has already been satisfactorily concluded.

The conference determined that the general requirement for work in our city this year will be to implement the program of "seizing with both hand;" one hand will take charge of the building of material civilization; the other will take charge of the building of spiritual civilization. We must achieve the "two improvements"; we must improve our economic benefits and our work efficiency. We must [also] make an effort to strive for the "three improvements". That is, we must strive for a decided improvement in party practices, in the security of society, and in prevailing habits in society. In making arrangements for our work, we must get a good grasp of the "four points of emphasis," which are: along with continuing with our economic readjustment, we must take charge of bringing about a comprehensive reorganization of the work of enterprises, rural communes and brigades, and organizations; we must take charge of bringing about further reforms, and in particular we must have new breakthroughs in our economic activities directed at foreign countries; we must take charge of planning, legislation, and strict management for civic construction; and we must get a good hold on ideological political work, conscientiously rectify attitudes of laxity and weakness among our leadership and rouse the revolutionary spirit of the broad masses of cadres and the masses. In every item of our work, we must make a great effort to strive to realize these general requirements.

"Seizing with both hands" is the correct guiding ideology for arranging the whole of our work. Once we depart from the center and focal point of socialist economic construction, we will have departed from the party's correct line, and it will not be possible for us to do a good job of building socialist spiritual civilization. On the other hand, if we do not get a good hold on the building of socialist spiritual civilization, it will also not be possible

for us to maintain the socialist direction of our economic construction, and it will not be possible to guarantee a protracted development for economic construction. The policy of "seizing with both hands" is precisely the manifestation of the dialectical relationship between these two approaches, and is an objective law that has been proven again and again during the more than 30 years of historical experience of our state.

Regarding the building of socialist material civilization, the municipal committee brought up five areas of work that we should emphasize and get a good hold on. The core question in these five areas of work is that we must do anything we can to heighten economic benefits in each of the areas of production, construction and distribution. Heightening economic benefits is a necessary requirement of economic work. Engaging in economic work without stressing economic benefits is like stressing the plowing without being concerned about the harvest. Our experience in economic construction since the founding of our state has proven that whenever we took care to heighten economic benefits, our work has been on firm ground, construction could proceed steadily, and the people's standard of living was somewhat improved; and whenever we overlooked economic benefits, our work floundered, and even though the speed of the construction seemed to be quite fast, nevertheless there was a disparity in our economic results, and the people's standard of living rose rather slowly. Since the Third Plenum of the party's 11th Central Committee, we have rectified "leftist" errors in our economic work, and with respect to being extremely attentive about heightening economic benefits, we have already made great accomplishments. However, in every item of actual work, that phenomenon of looking only at appearance and not demanding actual results still exists; in the course of putting into effect all styles of systems of economic responsibility, some units have a tendency to stress only a certain quota and ignore the other quotas, even to the extent that it has a negative effect on the situation regarding economic benefits. These circumstances are worthy of our serious attention. For this reason, we must definitely, in every item of our economic work, be fastidious about quality, and place importance on economy. We must speed up the development of the production of consumer goods, continue to adjust the service direction of heavy industry, and promote the rationalization of the entire economic structure. All enterprises must vigorously strive to make every item of the economic and technological quotas reach an advance level and create even more wealth with the same level of human, financial, and material resources. With regard to all products, we should strive vigorously to achieve excellent quality and reasonable price, new and original designs and colors, many varieties of products, and ready markets. We must make a great effort to heighten our efficiency in the utilization of energy resources, and lower our consumption of those resources. We must perfect all kinds of systems of production responsibility, put these systems of responsibility into effect with regard to the workshop, the factory teams and groups, and even each individual worker, thus enabling the systems of responsibility to promote the heightening of economic benefits. Only after we have established the ideology of the heightening economic benefits, will it be possible for us to tap further the potential of the whole economic area, and only then will economic construction show its true potential rate of development.

Regarding the building of socialist spiritual civilization, we must strive vigorously to bring about a decided improvement in the three areas of party practices, the security of society, and current practices in society. In this, it is first of all necessary to strive to bring about a decisive improvement in party practices, and then use the improvement in party practices to spur on an improvement in practices among the people. Ever since the smashing of the "Gang of Four," and in particular since the Third Plenum of the party's 11th Central Committee, the excellent traditions and practices of our party have already had a comparatively good revival and promotion, and the situation regarding improper party practices has already changed somewhat; however, there still has not been a fundamental change for the better, and what is especially serious is that some party members, and even responsible, leading cadres, have already developed to the point where, with their smuggling, wheeling and dealing, corruption, and bribe taking, they have entered upon a serious, illegal, criminal path. At present, if we are to strive to bring about a decisive improvement in party practices, then we must definitely resolutely attack the serious illegal, criminal actions of smuggling and trafficking, corruption and accepting bribes, and also use this breach to bring about a further change in the bad practice on the part of a portion of party members and cadres, of using their positions to obtain private gain. Economically, we have opened ourselves up more to the outside, and have liberalized things domestically, and these are firm policies; but we absolutely cannot lift restrictions on party practices, or liberalize party discipline. We can only be more strict. We must, through taking charge and getting a good hold on party practices, promote a general improvement in prevailing practices in society. Within the party, serious violators of the law and of party discipline are, after all, in the minority, and they are completely isolated; they must receive the punishment of party discipline and the law of the land. Along with attacking the serious illegal and criminal actions of smuggling, wheeling and dealing, corruption, and accepting bribes, we must, throughout the entire party, carry out education in party spirit, correct party practices, and party discipline; conscientiously study the "guiding principles" and relevant documents of the Central Committee; launch programs of criticism and self-criticism; heighten the awareness of all party members, especially cadres; and correct bad practices. In this way, the party's excellent traditions and practices will be certain to enjoy a great revival and promotion.

For the buildling of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization, a great deal of work is required, and the tasks are very heavy; this, then, requires that we rouse our spirits and strive to find methods. All cadres, and the masses, must go all out with revolutionary enthusiasm and set about their work in a solid, down-to-earth manner, and vigorously and speedily; they must proceed methodically, step by step, and they cannot relax for a day. At present, among some middle-aged cadres, there is a kind of unhealthy mood, as if to say of themselves that "in taking over from the previous shift, we are resented for being too old; in handing over to the next shift, we are resented for being too early; after working a few more years, we'll all be pulled down anyway." Towards their work, they adopt the negative attitude of "Be a Buddhist monk for a day, ring the temple bell for a day," and this is quite erroneous. We Communist Party members do not pay attention to whether one is old or young, whether one's position is high or low, or whether one is in office or out of office; all in the same way must struggle for the liberation of the entire human race, and all must serve the people with their whole

hearts and minds. In order to do a good job of building the two civilizations, all levels of party organization must conscientiously take care to do a good job of investigating, studying, examining, and supervising; leading bodies must organize their forces to go down into the countryside, the factories, and the shops, study new situations, solve new problems, earnestly help people at the grassroots level to solve their difficulties, and carry out, one by one, each and every item of their work.

We are taking leave of the old year, and welcoming the new. In the past year, in our city and in the province as a whole, as in the entire country, every aspect of work has achieved a new development, and every field and profession has made a new contribution. We are in the midst of the great change of coming out of chaos into order, from poverty into wealth, and in the midst of a historical tide of great developments. There are still a good many difficulties before us, and all kinds of problems still exist, but we have complete confidence that we will overcome them, and solve them. Let us unite and, under the leadership of the party, greatly increase our aspirations, go all out to make our country strong, have our feet on solid ground, quietly bury ourselves in hard work, and strive for an even greater victory.

9634
CSO: 4005/635

PARTY AND STATE

REASONS FOR CHANGES IN PARTY POLICY EXPLAINED

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by Lin Mu [2651 3668]: "A Discussion of the So-Called 'Many Changes in Policy'"]

[Text] Some people are afraid and tired of changes, and they blame us for "many changes in policy." So far, this question has not yet been solved properly, and still requires some explanation.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, there have been generally the following changes in our party's principle, policy, slogan and action:

First, the change in bringing order out of chaos. For instance, our party Central Committee strongly criticized the incorrect principle of the "two whatevers" and established a new ideological line of "seeking truth from facts," thus clarifying the rights and wrongs in thinking, politics and theory; settling a large number of problems left from the past; recovering the true colors of Mao Zedong Thought as a scientific theoretical system; decisively stopping the use of the out-dated slogan "Taking class struggle as the key link"; firmly discarding the mistaken theory of so-called "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat"; shifting the focus of party and government work to socialist modernization; resolutely clearing up the longstanding leftist guiding thought in economic work; implementing the policy of "readjustment, restructuring, reorganization and upgrading" of the national economy, and so forth. All these are truly changes from the "leftist" principles, policies, slogans and actions of the past. At the same time, they are changes from chaos to order and from wrong to right which are natural and necessary.

Second, the innovative change made on the basis of the summation of past experience. For instance, our party Central Committee has stated that in socialist economic construction it is necessary to proceed from our national state, act in accordance with our capability, make positive efforts, and achieve the aim of modernization step by step and in stages; that state-owned economy and collective economy are the basic forms of our economy, and workers' individual economy within a certain scope is a necessary supplement to public ownership economy; that it is necessary to enforce planned economy on the basis of public

ownership and, at the same time, bring into play the auxiliary role of market adjustment; that we must gradually build a socialist political system with a high degree of democracy; that socialism must have a high degree of spiritual civilization; that in rural areas and factories we must put into effect the responsibility system in production or in economy so that the interests of production units will be linked with the effect of operation, and the workers' income will be linked with the fruit of their labor; that in factories we must make managers responsible for operation under the leadership of the party committee and, at the same time, try out the workers' congress system under the leadership of the party committee, and so forth. These principles, policies, slogans and measures either have never been mentioned before or have gone further than what was suggested in the past. It is indeed a change. However, this change is in conformity with the law of development of socialist construction, coincides with the interests and will of the people, is an innovation on the basis of following the existing correct policy, and is also natural and necessary.

Third, the change brought about by the tortuous course of people's understanding. Lenin said: "People's understanding is not a straight line but an infinite curve similar to a line of circles or a spiral." Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Often, correct knowledge can be reached only after many repetitions of the process leading from knowledge to practice and then back to knowledge." Therefore, a viewpoint, a policy or a measure often goes through a process from its birth to its gradual perfection. For instance, regarding the criterion of modernization, the relationship between readjustment and restructuring, the relationship between planned regulation and market readjustment, and the ways and means of implementing the principle of "to each according to his work" among industrial and communications enterprises, and so forth, our views and wording are different from time to time. Regarding the policy on agriculture, the CCP Central Committee's document No 75 (1980) goes further than the two documents on agriculture passed by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and the State Council's document No 13 (1981) goes still further than the former. Such changes will be unavoidable in the future. Is it possible to have no change and go no further by making a fixed rule once and for all? It is not. The reason is that it is not possible to expose contradictions in the objective world once and for all, and to see and understand the objective world at a glance and completely once and for all.

Fourth, the change of emphasis at different times and in different places. For instance, after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the emphasis was on bringing order out of chaos to correct leftist mistakes, in view of the leftist guiding thinking which was long present during and before the "Great Cultural Revolution," and aiming at the incorrect principle of the "two whatevers." After the party Central Committee's work conference in December 1980, and especially after the forum on the party's ideological front held by the party Central Committee in August 1981, the emphasis, while continuing to oppose new trends on the ideological front and to support cleaning up the influence of leftist thinking in actual work, has been on opposing the bourgeois liberal tendency toward breaking away from party leadership and from the path of socialism. Since 1979 we have gradually enlarged the decisionmaking power in enterprises, and this year we are continuing to

introduce the economic responsibility system in many industrial and communication enterprises. In recent months, in view of new problems which have emerged following the above changes, the party Central Committee has again criticized and corrected certain departments and some comrades for their lack of an overall point of view and their tendency toward departmental selfishness, doing damage to national interests as a whole. In promoting the responsibility system in agricultural production, in some areas it is necessary to lay emphasis on further throwing convention to the wind and emancipating minds, but in other areas it is necessary to lay emphasis on opposing noninterference and on strengthening unified leadership and unified management. Some comrades take these changes of emphasis at different times and in different areas as "many changes in policy." This is not correct. Our basic viewpoint and basic policy have been consistent all along. The only thing is that to cope with changes in the objective situation and in people's thinking and tendencies, we lay emphasis on different criteria at different times and in different areas. However, when we lay emphasis on one thing, we should not think that what we laid emphasis on previously was wrong, and we should not go to the opposite extreme.

Why are some comrades afraid of and even disgusted with the necessary and normal changes?

This is because man's understanding always lags behind reality. A viewpoint, a policy or a measure often becomes a force of habit through propaganda and practice over a long period of time. When the objective situation has changed, and when experience proves that a certain viewpoint, policy or measure is wrong or outdated, some people still yearn for and even persist in maintaining the wrong or outdated viewpoint, policy or measure, and they cannot yet cope with and get used to the new change. Sometimes, when they have surmounted an old convention through practice and ideological struggle, they will take over another new convention which they must surmount again.

Another reason is that when the leftist guiding ideology held sway, especially during the "Great Cultural Revolution," there was truly the phenomenon in varying degrees of people "talking about policy when difficulties arose, forgetting about policy when the situation took a favorable turn, and criticizing policy when a political campaign appeared," so that the masses became afraid of change, and even now they have a lingering fear. Furthermore, in recent years, in some places and organizations, we did not carry out policies firmly and reliably. Sometimes we rushed headlong into mass action; sometimes we would not let people go their own way. In our propaganda work, there was also certain one-sidedness. Sometimes we put undue emphasis on one thing, sometimes on another. For instance, in carrying out the production responsibility system in rural areas, in carrying out the economic responsibility system in industrial and communications enterprises, and in implementing the policy of commodity pricing and the policy of purchasing farm produce and nonstaple products, there was always this situation. Therefore, the people are unable to dispel their misgivings and are still afraid of change.

Still another reason is that any new change always brings about or arouses some new problems in the course of propaganda and implementation. If these problems are not promptly and appropriately solved, some people wonder whether this change is a mistake.

In view of these circumstances, in order to eliminate the fear of trouble and the dislike of change among some people, we must pay attention to the following points:

First, we must teach the cadres and the people to expect problems in the course of their development. We must be aware that everything in the world constantly changes in its endless development. The natural world changes, human society changes, and man's thinking also changes. Therefore, all views, policies, plans or programs which direct people to remake nature, to reform society, and to remold their ideology, naturally must also be suited to the changes in the objective world and to man's subjective knowledge, so they must be revised, replenished and developed. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "True revolutionary leaders must not only be good at correcting their ideas, theories, plans or programs when errors are discovered, as has been indicated, but when a certain objective process has already progressed and changed from one stage of development to another, they must also be good at insuring that they and all their fellow-revolutionaries progress and change in their subjective knowledge along with it--that is to say, they must insure that the proposed new revolutionary tasks and new working programs correspond to the new changes in the situation." Thus it can be seen that our views, policies, plans or programs have changed from the wrong course to the right course in order to cope with new changes in the situation. It was natural and not artificial, a good thing and not a bad thing. We should welcome such changes and have no reason to fear them.

Second, we must teach the cadres and the people to understand and handle the relationship between continuous change and relative stability. There is certainly no doubt that objective things are moving and changing all the time. However, the movements and changes of objective things have two different forms: qualitative change and quantitative change. When a thing is in a state of quantitative change, it is relatively stable. Especially in our socialist society, due to the fact that the relationship between production relations and productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base is fundamentally consistent and yet contradictory, this relative stability becomes all the more common and important. In undertaking necessary reforms, we as persons who implement policies, and particularly the leading cadres at various levels, must be firm in orientation, assume a positive attitude, take reliable steps, and do work meticulously. For instance, before pursuing a new policy, a new measure, or a new system of management, we must persist in the method of work which Comrade Mao Zedong always advocated, whereby "everything must be put to a test," setting up a model for demonstration, and then advancing wave upon wave. During the test, all possible troubles and shortcomings will be exposed and settled, so that when we popularize a new thing in an all-round way, we will meet with fewer problems and advoid detours. Meanwhile, the experimental unit will play an exemplary and demonstrative role, with which we can convince the cadres and the masses. Even during the period of general popularization, we should also do things by stages and in groups, go forward step by step, deal with one group and put them in order, and then tackle the next group. After a new policy, a new measure or a new system is introduced, it is best to wait for a while and gradually make the new thing work well.

When it has not yet brought its superiority into full play and the majority of people do not show their desire for a change, we should not make any change hastily. Even when we discover that a new system or a new measure is not very suitable or correct, we must adroitly guide action according to the circumstances and make the change step by step. We must not criticize people and correct mistakes in a harsh way, and we must not make too abrupt a turn. In short, we must neither fear changes nor make changes indiscreetly. We cannot change things every day or every season. If we make too many and too abrupt changes, even though the changes are good, it will be difficult for the cadres and the people to accept them and cope with them.

Third, in publicizing and implementing any new policy, new system or new measure, we must persist in the method of "one divides into two." We should insure that all the new principles, policies, systems and measures which our party has carried out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee are, in their main aspects, in line with actual conditions and objective laws, in keeping with the interests and aspirations of the great majority of the people, and correct. This should be fully affirmed. However, just as with anything new, when they first make their appearance, they are always imperfect and liable to bring along or give rise to some new problems. Therefore, whoever truly supports the party's principles and policies, whoever is bold and does a good job in making innovations must resolutely carry out these correct principles, policies, systems, and measures; he should never have any doubt about the direction of reform or waver in his determination to carry out the reform simply because unavoidable problems occur. He must also pay serious attention to these new problems which occur in the course of implementing the reform, and take effective measures to solve them promptly, so that our principles, policies, systems, and measures may continuously develop and become perfect. We should carry out our propaganda work in an all-round way. To approve or reject a thing, to commend or criticize a person, and to praise or expose somebody, we must do just the right thing, never make an overstatement, and never lay stress on one side and overlook the other side. Only by acting in this way can we give full play to the positive role of the new principles, policies, systems, and measures, can we eliminate misgivings among those who are afraid of and disgusted with changes, and can we help all people realize that the changes made by our party are necessary and correct, and the more changes the better.

Finally, we must firmly believe in the correctness of our party and the continuity of its policies. Through its glorious fighting career of 60 years, our great party has accumulated and summed up rich experiences and lessons, and is becoming more and more mature, staunch, and correct. With the readjustment, filling out and strengthening of the leading groups of the party and government at various levels from central to local organizations, the continuity of the party's policies will be guaranteed organizationally. The mistake of "too many changes in policy" of the past will not repeat itself. In recent years, due to consequences resulting from the "Great Cultural Revolution" and our lack of experience in undertaking new tasks, certain unnecessary changes have taken place; in the future this, too, will gradually diminish. With the fulfillment of the historical task of bringing order out of chaos in the party's guiding thought, even necessary and normal changes will not be so abrupt. In

the future, all developments and changes will take place steadily and gradually along the party's fixed line and basic policies. There is no need for us to again worry about too many changes in policy.

Of course, these views and convictions cannot come out of the void and must be obtained through study and experience. We must study materialist dialectics and tackle problems by becoming closely involved in the realities of life. This is the effective prescription for the treatment of "aversion to change," as well as for the treatment of other misconceptions.

9039
CSO: 4005/545

PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF DISTINGUISHING 'LEFT' FROM 'RIGHT' STRESSED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 7 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Lao Bing [5071 0365]: "The Interconnection of the Two Extremes"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed with underlines]

[Text] The interconnection of the two extremes refers to the fact that the two opposing extremes are frequently intermingled and misunderstood. In the last few years I have given greater and perhaps more profound consideration to the reasons behind this.

My first thought was that since the two extremes are in opposition, they cannot be equated nor can they be lumped together. For example, "Left" is "Left" and Right is Right, each has its own designated quality. To say that "Left" means Right or that Right means "Left" is to treat them as being one and the same. If this were so, then how could "Left" be distinguished from Right? To describe "Left" as Right and Right as "Left" is to merge them together. If this were true, wouldn't that just be transposing them?

Instances of equating and lumping together the two opposite extremes occur frequently and these two processes are often interdependent. Didn't those distant observers say that after the "gang of four" was smashed there were many comrades who persisted in talking about being "'Left' in form but Right in essence" and "'Left' in name and Right in reality." Here "Left" was equated with Right so that others couldn't tell what was "Left" and what was Right. In practical work, there are some people who, if possible, delay or oppose clearing up injustices, misrepresentations and misjudged cases. If they are unable to delay or oppose these cases, then they put a "tail" on those comrades who were wronged, saying that they "fear the Right." As for the main core who uncovered the "gang of four" faction, they absolve and defend them when possible, saying that they "fear the 'Left.'" In the previous period there were also many comrades who didn't refute views that violated the four fundamental principles nor did they refute fabricated rumors, malicious slander or agitation to destroy unity. Instead, they reproached those comrades who dared to uphold truth and principles for "striking with a bludgeon" and committing a "Leftist error" that "surpassed the historical period." They said it was a "Left deviationist form of Marxism"...and so on, yet they themselves never thought that these accusations could be considered a harsh "bludgeoning." This is an instance of how, in certain people's

understanding, they equate "Left" and Right and in their actions they lump them together, thereby transposing "Left" and Right.

Theoretically, the implied meaning of "the interconnection of the two extremes" should not be interpreted as "considering the two extremes to be identical" or as "merging the two extremes." These two meanings violate the specific designated quality of the phenomena. However, it is very easy for those who always equate or merge the two opposing extremes to jump from one extreme to the other, giving rise once more to the "interconnection of the two extremes." This is not a joking matter. Wang Ming was a historical witness. It was he who all of a sudden jumped from the "Left," which had caused the party of the white area to suffer great losses, to the Right. During the early period of the war of resistance, the Right was characterized as "being completely under the united front line." Of course, this is only an extreme example, but it is worth our careful consideration.

There is bound to be a linking passageway that will explain the frequent interconnection between the two opposing extremes. This linking passageway may be found in one or two of the following three places discussed below.

First, there used to be an argument that circulated among a group of people that went: "Rightist thinking is a problem of standpoint and 'Leftist' thinking is a problem of method." Actually, this is not necessarily correct. Among those comrades who commit errors of the Right, certainly some of their errors involve problems of standpoint but many are also problems of understanding and method. For many people, the starting point is still to try to do things successfully. However, because of their confused understanding, lack of experience and unclear idea of the circumstances, their methods are incorrect and in the end they are taken in by the enemy. This occurs with some frequency. Among those comrades who commit errors of the "Left," many of their errors clearly involve problems of understanding or method. For example, there is nothing wrong in having as one's starting point the desire to do a good job for the party and the people by being more prompt and efficient in one's work. However, it can't be denied that the starting point of some people of the "Left" is not upright nor is their standpoint correct. Perhaps some of them use the "Left" to cover up the Rightist thinking in their hearts because they fear being dismissed from office. Some seek to gain personal advantage by trampling over others; they don't even hesitate to dye their own "official caps" red with the blood of others. As for these "Leftist" counterrevolutionaries who originally infiltrated the revolutionary camp, that is another matter altogether. It is precisely at this point that we find the linking passageway, namely, our sense of responsibility toward the party, the people and the revolutionary cause. Whether mistakes are of the "Left" or of the Right, they all endanger the party, the people and the revolutionary cause. When a person who has a genuine and strong sense of responsibility toward the party, the people and the revolutionary cause makes a "Leftist" error, he is bound to be on guard against the Right while he is in the process of rectifying his "Leftist" mistake and vice versa. Without this sense of responsibility, a linking passageway going from "Left" to Right or from Right to "Left" becomes established.

Second, whether or not a belief, a policy or a measure is correct or whether it can attain positive results is not determined by wishful thinking. Rather

it is determined by whether or not it corresponds to objective conditions and laws. In the past through a "misunderstanding," the theory of the unity of intentions and results was put as follows: "If intentions are good, results will certainly be good; if results are poor, then intentions must also be bad." During the decade of internal unrest, many people were often led to punish others because of this logic. By now they ought to understand that intentions and results often don't coincide. This is because intentions are the responsibility of each individual, and unexpected external conditions may interfere with results. In order to seek the unity of intentions and results, which involves decisionmaking, it is necessary to pay attention to objective reality and to understand and analyze objective reality. In this way we can master objective laws and truly deal with things according to objective laws. If we commit errors of the "Left" or of the Right and remain unwilling to conscientiously sum up our experiences and lessons from objective reality, if we refuse to truly deal with things according to objective laws and continue to rely on our own subjective imagination, guesswork and reckoning to find methods for avoiding committing mistakes, that would create the second linking passageway going from the "Left" to the Right or from the Right to the "Left."

Third, there is another general and extensive linking passageway: that is, the metaphysics of ideological methods. The manifestations of metaphysical methods of thinking are numerous, and they can be said to be found everywhere. For example, in the past several years the ideology of the "whatevers" has been in vogue. Whoever said something that did not coincide exactly with what Comrade Mao Zedong said would be regarded as being very disrespectful. What was said may have even been regarded as a vicious attack. This certainly is a matter of metaphysics. In the past 2 years, especially during a period last year, there were some people who seemed to have recreated a new "whatever": "Whatever was considered correct in the past is today considered to be incorrect." Isn't this also metaphysics? Furthermore, in the past several decades, whoever talked about humanitarianism or human nature would be criticized as propagating bourgeois ideology. Recently some people have proposed that "Humanitarianism /is none other than/ Marxism," "The essence of Marxism /is none other than/ humanitarianism" and "The starting point and result of Marxism /is none other than/ man himself." Their enthusiasm for humanitarianism knows no bounds. Nevertheless, when others criticize this view of lumping humanitarianism together with Marxism, they carefully insist that "this would prevent people from researching and discussing humanitarianism," "It would mean that Marxism lacks its own concept of humanitarianism" and "This would completely deny humanitarianism." After they themselves have slyly changed the subject and set up arguments that obviously don't exist, they vehemently accuse that view of being "Left deviationist Marxism." /"None other than"/ is the same thing as /"equal to"/ and how great are the uses of "none other than"! I believe these people have at least been harmed as far as their ways of thinking are concerned by metaphysics. What is the reason for this? It is because the main feature of metaphysics is the lack of analysis and differentiation. If someone commits a "Leftist" or Rightist" error and continues to rely on these methods to think over problems, how could he not jump from the "Left" to the Right or from the Right to the "Left"?

The way to plug up these three linking passageways can be expressed in 16 words. They are: uphold the truth, encourage healthy trends, free ourselves from old ideas and seek truth from facts. However, this is not an easy task. It will be necessary to go through a severe test and the name of this test is "individual gains and losses, successes and failures." To do otherwise would also be very difficult.

9864
CSO: 4005/599

PROVISIONAL REGULATIONS GOVERNING LAWYERS BECOME EFFECTIVE

Lawyer's Comments

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 28 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Li Shutang [2621 2885 2768], deputy secretary general of the Shanghai Lawyers Association: "Written on the Eve of the Coming Into Force of the Provisional Regulations Concerning Lawyers"]

[Text] The Provisional Regulations Governing the Work of Lawyers in the PRC are about to come into force on 1 January of next year. This is an important event in the progress of strengthening the legal system in our country and marks a new stage in building up the organization of lawyers in our country. We who work as lawyers are sincerely pleased and are determined to devote ourselves to conscientious studies and resolutely to implement the regulations.

The Provisional Lawyers Regulations are important pieces of legislation in our country's legal system. They affirm in legal form the nature, tasks, rights, duties, principles of behavior, qualifications and structure of organization for all lawyers in our country. We are determined to advance the political quality and professional level of lawyers through study and actual practice The Provisional Lawyers Regulations will also serve us as a future standard for strict specialized training and the ideological education of lawyers. Every single lawyer must carry out his duties and exert himself in accordance with the Provisional Lawyers Regulations.

The Provisional Lawyers Regulations are the legal basis for building up our country's organization of lawyers. We are firmly determined to take these regulations as our standard, take care to draw a clear line of demarcation between the principles of our country's legal system and that of the capitalist countries and ensure that our system develops and progresses along the path of socialism. Due to the difference in social systems, the two different legal systems are of different character. The lawyers in our country are the state's legal workers; they must perform their work organized and guided by the Bureau of Legal Conselors. In their prfessional work of protecting the legitimate rights and interests of the parties whom they represent, they must base all their action on true facts. The law must be their guideline, and they must be loyal to the socialist cause and the interests of the people. They must adhere to the stand of the party and start out from

a desire to uphold the correct implementation of the laws. This is a completely different concept from that in capitalist countries, where lawyers start out merely in an employment relationship and scheme to gain profits for their clients. Lawyer-workers of the eighties shoulder the heavy task of carrying on our cause and forging ahead, carrying on the past heritage and opening up the future. We are keenly aware that the work of lawyers is one of great honor, also it is arduous work. Not only does it require a high degree of political responsibility, but also a most thorough knowledge of the law, as well as a rich practical experience in judicial work. Following the developing circumstances, we are faced with many new problems, such as how lawyers may serve in our economic work, make their contribution in cases involving foreign commerce, etc. To show ourselves worthy of the great trust placed in us by the party and the people, we are determined to exert ourselves in our studies of law, accumulate experiences, be on guard against conceit and impetuosity and be modest and prudent. Since we have rebuilt the organization of lawyers under the leadership of the party, it is only under this leadership that we can go on to perfect the system. We fervently hope that the party and the government will render us the greatest support with their guidance and favor us with their care in every way.

In the past a great number of people displayed a full measure of confidence and good faith in requesting legal assistance from us. This is very gratifying. However, presently the work of lawyers is still very far from satisfying fully the needs of the masses, a situation which we are determined to rectify as soon as possible. The work of lawyers is of a wide social character. We hope the broad masses will exercise supervision over our work and spur us on to an even greater effectiveness of our work.

Initial Induction

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 30 Dec 81 p 1

[Article by Yao Fazhi [1202 3127 3112]: "The First Group of Lawyers Officially Inducted in Our Area"]

[Excerpt] The first group of lawyers has been officially inducted in our area. Wu Jialin and others, altogether 26 comrades, obtained their accreditation as lawyers. On the 25th, the Yinchuan Municipality held a lawyers accreditation meeting and handed the lawyers their notification papers.

This group of lawyers has passed a strict political investigation plus a professional examination according to the Provisional Lawyers Regulations of the PRC. Prior to that, appraisals of them had been requested from all units concerned, the public security organs, the procuratorial organs and the people's courts, as well as organizational and personnel departments. Their cases were finally studied and approved by the Judicial Bureau of the autonomous region, and registration for record was implemented with the Ministry of Justice.

In this group there were 10 members of the CCP, 1 assistant professor and 2 lecturers. Seventeen of them are graduates from the law curriculum of

institutions of higher learning and secondary law schools, 4 from other disciplines in institutions of higher learning, 18 have had previous experience in judicial work or in law instruction and research in law, 4 are women, 3 are of Hui nationality. This group of lawyers will undertake the professional work of lawyers under the organization and guidance of the Legal Counselors Office of Yinchuan Municipality.

9808
CSO: 4005/574

PARTY AND STATE

COMMENTATOR URGES IN-DEPTH STUDY OF 'RESOLUTION'

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Nov 81 p 2

[Article by Commentator: "We Must Engage in a Thorough Study of the 'Resolution'"]

[Text] Is it necessary for us to engage in a thorough study of the "Resolution"? How thoroughly should we study the "Resolution"? The experience gained by the Daqing and Suihua units in studying the "Resolution" in depth offers an excellent answer.

Since the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party organizations at various levels throughout the province and large numbers of party cadres have studied the "Resolution" in a serious manner. On many major historical questions, they have achieved outstanding results in distinguishing between what is right and what is wrong, in heightening their understanding, and in uniting their thinking. However, an even more thorough study of the "Resolution" is necessary to meet the demand of the Central Committee and the provincial party committee that the comprehensive contents of the "Resolution" be fully appreciated. Those who think that they have already studied and grasped the spirit of the "Resolution" and that there is no need for them to study it in greater depth are mistaken.

The main purpose of studying the "Resolution" in depth is so that we may relate to actual circumstances, benefit from the lessons we have learned from experience, find solutions to challenging problems, and make use of what we have learned in approaching our tasks. In relating our action to actual facts, it is first necessary that we thoroughly study the eighth part of the "Resolution," which has to do with "uniting in the struggle to establish a socialist, modern, and powerful nation," thoroughly benefiting from our experiences since the founding of the republic 32 years ago, summing up the lessons we have learned from experience in implementing the Central Committee's line, principles, and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and achieving a more profound understanding of the basic spirit of the "Resolution."

In order to relate our actions to actual circumstances and to sum up the lessons we have learned from our experiences, it is necessary that we do a good job of investigation and study so that we may have a truly correct understanding of the actual circumstances. We must investigate and study those problems

which have a bearing on the establishment of a material and spiritual civilization, analyze in a serious manner the impact of history on the present situation, have a clear understanding of the cause and effect of major problems, and sum up the lessons we have learned from experience in uniting our thoughts and our understanding.

In relating our actions to actual circumstances and in summing up our experiences, it is necessary that we conscientiously launch a campaign of criticism and self-criticism, eradicate the effects of leftist thinking, resist and condemn the liberalization trend which seeks to shake off party leadership and to depart from the socialist line, and overcome and change the weak and dispirited state of ideological-political leadership. Without criticism and self-criticism, the summing up of our experiences has no relevance and it will not be possible to distinguish what is right from what is wrong. It is only through criticism and self-criticism on the basis of facts that we can profit from our experiences.

The call has been made by the provincial party committee to party organizations at various levels to give a systematic accounting of their work this winter and next spring in the spirit of the rectification campaign. We must apply to all phases of our work that which we have learned from a thorough study of the "Resolution," and we must use the "Resolution" as a weapon to sum up the lessons we have learned from our experience in implementing the line, principles, and policies of the Central Committee, in conducting a war between capitalism and socialism, and in providing leadership in our ideological-political work. It is of special importance that cadres at the county and regiment levels, through a review of their work and thorough study, should upgrade their ideological theories and their leadership so that they may adopt a firm stand and renew their spirit in attempting to do a better job in the economic and other areas.

There is no doubt that we can effectively promote socialist modernization construction projects and achieve a greater victory if we suit our action to actual circumstances, if we study the "Resolution" in depth, and if we bring about unity of thinking and understanding on the part of large numbers of party cadres and the masses.

9621
CSO: 4005/503

SHANGHAI PEOPLE'S CONGRESS DISCUSSES GOVERNMENT REFORM

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Dec 81 p 1

[Article: "Do Well in All Items of Work in Shanghai in a Down to Earth Manner, Implement the Spirit of the Fourth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress--A Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Congress and the Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Consultative Congress"]

[Text] Yesterday afternoon (the 29th), Hu Lijiao [5170 4539 2403], chairman of the Standing Committee of the Shanghai People's Congress, spoke of the spirit of the Fourth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress at the 17th session of the Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Congress and the 18th session of the Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Consultative Congress. He called on the people of the entire city to study seriously, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, the documents of the Fourth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, to implement resolutely and thoroughly each resolution passed by the congress, to do a good job in all items of work in a down to earth manner and to further develop the excellent situation.

When making his report, Hu Lijiao described the general circumstances of the congress and the results it achieved. He pointed out that the main results of the congress were those of: making a scientific analysis of the 1981 economic picture and indicating the goals to strive for in 1982; summarizing the experience of several years of economic construction and establishing 10 guidelines for future economic construction; further perfecting socialist democracy and its legal system and strengthening the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization; and reforming government agencies in a planned and directed way and overcoming bureaucratism.

Hu Lijiao offered his views on how to go about thoroughly implementing each resolution and how to do well in every item of work in Shanghai in terms of the actual conditions in Shanghai.

1. The work of drawing up the 1982 national economic plan for this city must be firmly undertaken. The Municipal People's Government has already made preliminary arrangements in regard to the 1982 national economic plan for the city. Compared to 1981, the total value of output for industries throughout the city is to increase 4 percent, with light industry increasing 6 percent and heavy industry increasing 1.5 percent; the total value of agricultural output is to increase 4 percent; and fiscal income is to increase 2.7 percent. We must work hard to fulfill

the 1982 national economic and social development plans for the city, to consolidate and stabilize economic achievements, and to continue to preserve the balance of revenues and expenditures in public finance and credit and the basic stability of commodity prices. In 1982, all of the departments engaged in economic work in our Shanghai must take the improvement of economic conditions as the point of departure and by every means possible improve economic results in production, construction, commodity circulation and all areas, making new contributions for the state.

2. Socialist democracy and its legal system must be perfected. The Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Congress should continue to concentrate on local legislative work. Shanghai is the largest industrial city in the nation and should hasten local work on economic legislation; at the same time, it must strengthen its supervision of the work of the Municipal People's Government and the People's Higher Court and the People's Procurate of the city; it should continue to strengthen its relationship with the representatives to the Municipal People's Congress and foster the roles of the representatives. The People's Higher Court and the People's Procuratorate of this city should continue to cooperate with the public security agencies and related departments so as to consolidate and strengthen the social order, to strengthen the promotion of legal education, to arouse the masses, to strike at counterrevolutionary and other criminal elements accurately and in a timely manner, and to bring about a further turn for the better in the social order of the city. At the same time, we must properly handle economic cases in accordance with the law; properly handle civil cases and civil disputes in a timely manner; protect the legal rights of the state, the collective, and the individual; and hasten stability and unity within the ranks of the people.

3. The construction of a socialist spiritual civilization must be strengthened. On the ideological battlefront, we must resolutely overcome the tide of bourgeois liberalization which desires to shake off party leadership and depart from the socialist path. We must undertake effective promotional and education work, ideological and political work, and work in other areas, as well as undertake the further development of socialist democracy and the perfecting of the socialist legal system to insure that the members of our society increasingly establish extensive socialist and communist morals and work attitudes, noble ideological sentiments, lifestyles and esthetic standards; establish a spirit of conscious obedience to the law and a high degree of organizational sense and discipline; uphold the principle of the interests of the individual and the part being subordinate to the interests of the whole and of immediate interests being subordinate to long-range interests; and foster the noble spirit of patriotism and internationalism. Government workers at every level, especially economic workers, must maintain firm views and clear heads, and oppose and guard against the invasion of decadent capitalist ideology and lifestyle. We must in particular strengthen the education of our youths and develop the "five stresses and four points of beauty" campaign to insure that we increase and strengthen our ability to resist the various mistaken ideological tides. We must resolutely put a halt to such improper tendencies in the realm of socialist economic life as giving gifts to solicit favors, using connections to achieve goals, demanding sales commissions, using back door methods, being extravagant and wasteful, etc. We must resolutely attack

avaricious theft, peculation, smuggling and tax evasion and various other forms of criminal activity that damage the socialist economy; we must protect socialism's materialist civilization from harm and hasten the daily development of a socialist spiritual civilization.

4. Government agencies must be reformed. After the agency reform proposals of the State Council were sent down, the Shanghai People's Government took steps to establish a program of government agency reform and presented it to the Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Congress for discussion and approval so that it could be carried out in a directed and orderly manner. The reform of government agencies will firmly overcome the various forms of bureaucraticism, arouse the revolutionary spirit of the broad ranks of cadres, further improve leadership styles and methods, and improve governmental efficiency in a practical way.

Hu Lijiao said that, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, the people of the entire city must uphold the four basic principles, continue to consolidate and develop a stable and unified political situation, and, in order to bring about a period of economic vitality, struggle hard to build our state into a strong, modernized, highly democratic, highly civilized socialist nation.

Attending the meetings were: Vice Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Congress Zhong Min [6945 3046], Di Jingxiang [3693 2529 5980], Su Buqing [5685 2975 7230], Wang Tao [3769 3447], Liu Jingji [0491 7231 1015], Wu Ruoan [0702 5387 1344], Zhou Gucheng [0719 6253 1004], and Li Peinan [2621 1014 0589] and Vice Chairmen of the Municipal People's Political Consultative Congress Zhao Xingzhi [6392 5887 1807], Song Richang [1345 2480 2490], Jing Renqiu [7231 0117 4428], Tan Jiazhen [6151 1367 2823], Liu Liangmo [0491 5328 2875], Wang Zhizhong [3769 5268 0022], Yang Xuanwu [2799 1357 2976], and Xu Wensi [6079 2429 1835]. Attending the meeting as nonvoting delegates were: Shanghai Vice Mayors Zhao Zukang [6392 4371 1660] and Yang Kai [2799 1956], President of the Municipal People's Higher Court Guan Zizhan [7070 1311 1455], Chief Procurator of the Municipal People's Procuratorate Qin Kun [4440 2492], and the directors of all departments of the municipal government and those in charge of the standing committees of the people's congresses and political consultative congresses of every prefecture and county.

Yesterday afternoon, the two sessions separately discussed the report made by Comrade Hu Lijiao. The Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Congress also confirmed related appointments and dismissals.

9705
CSO: 4005/575

LEFTIST INFLUENCES, BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION DECRIED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Rong Sheng [1369 3932]: "Continue to Eliminate Leftist Influence and Rectify Bourgeois Liberalization Tendencies"]

[Text] At present, we must conscientiously study the "Resolution on Certain Historical Questions Since the Founding of the PRC," enter deeply into the spirit of carrying out the Sixth Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee, continue to eradicate the guiding ideology of leftism, and continue to develop the excellent situation we have had since the Third Plenum. At the same time, we must augment the party's leadership, change any condition of laxness or weakness, and criticize and overcome all kinds of erroneous tendencies; in particular, we must rectify that tendency toward bourgeois liberalization which departs from the leadership of the party and the path of socialism. In that case, is continuing to eradicate leftist ideological tendencies in contradiction with rectifying tendencies toward bourgeois liberalism? This is a problem in ideological understanding that must be solved.

We must conscientiously study the "Historical Resolution," and continue to eradicate the influence of the guiding ideology of leftism; this must be affirmed, and we absolutely cannot slacken in this. Ever since the Third Plenum, straight on through the passing of the "Historical Resolution" by the Sixth Plenum, the task of eliminating leftist errors from the guiding ideology of the party was truly completed. The communique of the Sixth Plenum pointed out that: "this meeting will go down in history as the completion of the historic task of bringing order out of chaos in the guiding ideology of the party." However, having solved the problem of leftist error in the party's leadership is definitely not the same as having also completely eliminated leftist ideological influence in every aspect of actual work. Comrade Hu Yaobang, in his speech at the meeting celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, pointed out that: "The task of bringing order out of chaos has not yet been completed; a good many problems still exist in every aspect of work." Looking at it from the point of view of the actual situation, the problem of resolutely rectifying leftist influence really does still exist. For example, with regard to our system of suiting measures to local conditions, or putting into effect a diversified system of responsibility in agricultural production, in some cases we cannot communicate our ideology effectively, and so we "lock horns" with the masses and cannot carry through our policies, or else we adopt the method of "forced rectification,"

dampening the masses' enthusiasm. After locking horns ends in a stalemate, leadership is abandoned, and no attempt is made at management, so that certain concrete problems in actual work cannot get a timely, satisfactory solution. Under these circumstances, if we don't conscientiously examine and correct our own ideology and earnestly strengthen our leadership, then we will erroneously think that putting into effect a system of responsibility for agricultural production is "leftist retrogression." Problems such as this obviously reflect the fact that leftist ideological influence has not been completely eradicated. For this reason, we must definitely continue to go deeply into our study of the "Historical Resolution," criticize and rectify, in a manner of seeking truth from facts, leftist ideological influence existing in all areas of actual work, and unwaveringly implement the party's line, programs, and policies since the Third Plenum, so as to make a contribution to the building of socialist modernization.

At the same time, we should also be aware of the fact that tendencies toward bourgeois liberalization also really do exist. For example, advocating "extreme democracy" and "absolute freedom," bringing up the idea of wanting to "break through" the "restrictions" of the four basic principles, denying the necessity of remaking socialism in our country, considering that the effort to create socialism was "done too early" and that we should "supplement our courses in capitalism," etc. As for the presently-existing problem of the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization, we decidedly cannot look upon it lightly, as a matter not worthy of our consideration. We should soberly recognize the fact that the four basic principles are the common political basis for the unity of our entire party, and for the unity of all the people of all nationalities of our country, and are also the fundamental guarantee of the successful progress of the enterprise of building socialist modernization. And the core of upholding the four modernizations is upholding the leadership of the party. The "Resolutions" clearly point out: "If there had been no Chinese Communist Party, there would have been no new China; by the same token, without the Chinese Communist Party there cannot be a modernized, socialist China." But the core of the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization is opposition to the party's leadership. If we allow this erroneous current of thought to spread unchecked and continue to develop, then it will become a kind of centrifugal force politically, harming the future of our nation and people, and harming our enterprise of socialist modernization. For this reason, regarding the tendency towards bourgeois liberalization, we must carry out strict and accurate criticism and engage in the necessary, appropriate struggle. If we turn a blind eye to these unhealthy tendencies, allow them to spread unchecked, and not dare to criticize them, then this is obviously erroneous, and must be speedily corrected.

Some people believe that all along since the Third Plenum we have been criticizing leftism and that, therefore, when now we also bring up the notion of having to overcome the tendency towards bourgeois liberalization, it seems that this is a new problem which has just arisen. Actually, this view is baseless. For example, the bulletin of the Third Plenum pointed out that: "The building of socialism modernization requires a concentrated, unified leadership"; "bourgeois factionalism and anarchy must be resolutely opposed"; and that "it is absolutely prohibited to damage the political aspects of stability and unity that are required by the building of socialist modernization." On 30 March 1979 Comrade

Deng Xiaoping in his speech at the party's theoretical working conference to discuss ideological guidelines, referring directly to the small minority in society who were in the process of disseminating currents of thought that are doubtful of or opposed to the four basic principles, clearly reaffirmed the necessity of upholding the four basic principles. On 16 January 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, in his report entitled "On the Situation and Task at Present," further pointed out that "we must resolutely eradicate the anarchistic currents of thought that were brought to the party by the "Gang of Four," as well as all kinds of bourgeois liberalization currents that have recently appeared within the party." The document "Regarding Certain Principles Affecting Political Life Within the Party" passed by the Fifth Plenum in February 1980 pointed out that: "We must pass judgment on and engage in struggle against unhealthy tendencies and evil practices in society, and erroneous and reactionary currents of thought." The "Resolutions" passed by the Sixth Plenum point out that: "We must correctly employ the weapons of criticism and self-criticism to overcome all kinds of erroneous thinking that departs from the correct principles of the party." From all this one can see that the problem of rectifying tendencies toward bourgeois liberalism is decidedly not a problem that has just arisen; this has been our party's policy ever since the Third Plenum, and has been necessarily continued and supplemented by the Sixth Plenum.

Our party has all along advocated opening up struggle on two fronts; where there is leftism, oppose leftism; where there is rightism, oppose rightism; and concrete situations are to be analyzed concretely. Whether leftist ideological tendencies or tendencies toward bourgeois liberalism, both are harmful to the enterprise of socialism, and naturally must be opposed. In our ideological understanding we absolutely cannot oppose the two to one another. In fact, our struggle along those two fronts is not only not contradictory, but is connected and complementary. If we do not pass judgment upon and overcome the tendency towards bourgeois liberalism, it will give those who persevere in erroneous leftist ideology a handle for criticism, and even provide a basis for their persisting in this erroneous leftist ideology. If we do not continue to eradicate leftist ideological influence, that will also provide a pretext for a tendency towards bourgeois liberalism and, moreover, it will also not be possible to correctly and effectively rectify this tendency towards bourgeois liberalization. At the same time, if we do not engage in struggle on both fronts, some people might then take correct things and deny them, holding them to represent leftist ideological influence; others might also take correct things and oppose them as representing a tendency towards bourgeois liberalism. From this one can see that at present we must engage in a struggle along both fronts, and cannot ignore any aspect at all. Of course, with reference to a particular department or a particular unit, whenever and whatever problems arise, we must proceed from a basis of reality, carry out a concrete analysis of the problem, and solve whatever problems there are without making forced interpretations and acting mechanically, getting our distinctions blurred, or arbitrarily heightening the seriousness of matters. In the course of solving this kind of problem, we must also take care to prevent the appearance of yet another kind of problem. In sum, we must apply the correct medicine to each disease, seek truth from facts, and resolutely provide enlightened leadership. Only in this way will we be able, through conscientiously launching a program of criticism and self-criticism, to attain the unity of all our comrades, do a good job in our work, and promote our goal of the four modernizations.

9634
CSO: 4005/427

PARTY AND STATE

RETIREMENT OF OLD CADRES, TRAINING OF NEW ONES URGED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Xie Yun [6200 0061]: "Will and Energy, Strengths and Weaknesses"]

[Text] Comrade Wang Chonglun [3769 1504 0243] was a nationally known model worker of the 1950's. But during the past several years, as deputy secretary of the Harbin Municipal Party Committee, he has concerned himself with the production of bean curd and other matters of wide interest to the public. The people often stick up their thumbs, calling him a "man of action."

Of course, the main factor that led Wang Chonglun to become an outstanding man of action lies in his ability to show constant concern for the well-being of the masses and his unassuming and good style of work. Added to this quality is the energetic spirit displayed by this man in his early fifties. This is another factor that is by no means unimportant.

Among our leading cadres are many Wang Chonglun-type comrades who have been praised for their revolutionary spirit and solid workstyle. But some of them are growing old and physically weak. We cannot expect them to work like Comrade Wang Chonglun and walk up and down the streets or the muddy country roads or to work with bean curd producers until late into the night. Their energy can no longer support them in doing such things. "Horse Fuli is determined to gallop 1,000 li a day despite advancing years; old heroes always feel young at heart." This spirit is worthy of admiration and promotion. Nevertheless, old horse Fuli cannot be expected to compete for staying power and speed with you young, robust stallions. Aware of this, today, more and more comrades are voluntarily retiring from the first line of duty or are actively preparing to let young, robust new successors assume the leadership positions. This is a demonstration of their awareness of their responsibility to the revolution in response to the current needs of our nation from a realistic point of view.

The previous discussion focused on the issue of a man's will and energy. Next, I will concentrate on the issue of his strengths and weaknesses. Since everyone has his strengths and weaknesses, no one is supposed to be perfect. Nor can anyone keep his strengths and weaknesses unchanged. When you grow old, you become wiser, more experienced and more skilled in planning strategies. Doing so will put you to the best advantage. But your weaknesses lie in your failing health and easily exhausted energy. In your age, you can no longer

jog as fast as young horses, but you are in a very good position to advise others on reaching a goal. After retiring from the first line of duty, old comrades can engage in an in-depth study of problems as a basis for coming up with important suggestiongs with regard to our current work, or write books based on their experiences, or write memoirs providing information of historical significance, passing the revolutionary tradition along to the new generations. In this way, they can bring their strong points into play and overcome their weaknesses.

So far, this issue between a man's will and energy and between his strengths and weaknesses is not yet well understood by some comrades, who contend that they are not too old. This being the case, how about comparing themselves to Conrade Wang Chonglun and carefully taking stock of their physical condition! A genuine man of action uses a mixture of his will and energy in getting something really well done. Our cause and the training of successors in this cause will be adversely affected if our old comrades ignore their physical condition and place themselves in a position not in their own best interests.

The popular appeal for producing more men of action like Wang Chonglun implies that more outstanding young cadres should be appointed to the leadership positions. Now ahead of our old comrades is the urgent but glorious tasks of selecting comrades of good quality and pushing them onto the stage of history.

9574
CSO: 4005/448

PARTY AND STATE

LEADING CADRES URGED TO SUPPORT, PROTECT ADVANCED YOUTHS

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Xiao Yi [5135 7326]: "The 'Advanced' Deserve Support"]

[Text] The ancients said: Earth dikes along the rivers are in constant danger of attack by turbulent currents, tall trees must bear the brunt of storms, outstanding performances unmatched by the masses are bound to catch fire. This means that jealousy was also deeprooted in the minds of the ancients. Otherwise, how can we explain why Sun Bin was ordered to cut off his feet and why Han Fei committed suicide?

But today, fundamental changes have taken place in human relations in our new society. For this reason, it is clear that the number of people jealous of advanced figures has become less and less with each passing day. The same is true of sarcastic and outrageous attacks against the advanced. But this does not mean that jealousy is removed from the human mind. It is actually still raging in some localities. Since Comrade Yang Zhenhuai [2799 6591 2037] became an "outstanding welder" and was subsequently named an advanced individual, he has suffered the same frustration as many of his peers did before him. "Gossip" about Yang Zhenhuai became rampant. Partly it came from those who did not understand him and partly it came from others who were jealous of his performance. This is a truth that cannot be covered up. But Yang Zhenhuai has proved capable of handling such "gossip" well. He has taken appropriate measures to build his relations with other comrades. This proves that he possesses the quality and virtue required of an advanced youth. We are delighted by the picture that more and more advanced youths like him have come to the fore.

But it is also sad to note that some other advanced youths have become depressed for certain reasons. They are probably victims of the jealous rage now in vogue. Why can some advanced youths "survive" the current jealous resentment while others cannot? Personal reasons notwithstanding, their stand or fall depends mainly on whether their immediate superiors give them full support. The leaders of young Yang's unit did an excellent job in this connection. They placed strict demands on him while they never failed to give him support and mount counterattacks against incorrect "criticism." When young Yang encountered difficulties, they also gave him ideological education, encouragement and help, which made him feel the warmth of his party

organization and gave him strength to overcome difficulties. But the leaders of other units have done just the opposite. They have paid no attention to the difficulties faced by the advanced individuals. They have also proved unresponsive to rumors and speculation directed at the advanced figures. Things should not be allowed to develop in this way.

The communist attitude toward labor and the labor ethic displayed by advanced figures is the cream of our socialist spiritual civilization. The development of the socialist spiritual civilization requires us to groom and support the advanced figures and to criticize those who are jealous of the advanced figures and mount attacks against them. This is why our organization and leading bodies at all levels must display a daring spirit to support the advanced.

9574
CSO: 4005/448

PARTY AND STATE

CADRES URGED TO RECTIFY PARTY'S WORKSTYLE

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 2 Feb 82 p 2

[Article by Huang Junlong [7806 0193 7127]: "The Thinking of 'Being Pacifist Officials' Is No Good"]

[Text] A few days ago, a friend of mine engaged in the work of discipline inspection told me excitedly: Since the beginning of this year, the Central Discipline Inspection Commission has held forums and issued circulars calling on party members and cadres to combat all unhealthy tendencies and to seek to irrevocably move the party workstyle in the correct direction in the year ahead. This is a task to be undertaken well in order to increase the people's confidence in our party. Today, since the Central Committee has demonstrated such great determination to get this work done, our comrades in the basic level discipline inspection units will have to bear additional responsibility and can no longer think of themselves as "peace-making officials."

I was deeply impressed by this statement, and especially by the remark that cadres "can no longer think of themselves as peace-making officials." This remark literally echoes the aspirations of the masses both inside and outside the party. I must say that many of our comrades engaged in the work of discipline inspection are capable of upholding principles, are unafraid of offending other people affected by unhealthy tendencies, and have no intention of becoming "peace-making officials." But it is also true that some comrades still think of "being peace-making officials." These comrades have failed to display courage in upholding principles and in combatting unhealthy tendencies vigorously.

"The task of monitoring observation of discipline is bound to offend people and is unrewarding. We had better stay out of trouble and lead a peaceful life." This is the thinking shared by some comrades. This thinking that takes into consideration only personal gain or loss is wrong. Our party has set up the discipline inspection function for the purpose of monitoring whether its members (including cadres at all levels) have observed its discipline and whether they have acted in accordance with its principles. Our party has delegated power to comrades monitoring observation of discipline so that they can keep watch over its members and leading cadres and take bold

steps to "investigate" those suspected of violating party discipline in accordance with principles and "bring them to justice without discrimination." This is a matter of primary concern that will have an impact on the rectification of our party's workstyle. Comrade Chen Yun once stressed: The workstyle of our party in power vitally affects its very existence. A cadre concerned with discipline inspection must constantly bear in mind this problem that vitally affects its very existence. When a comrade is found guilty of violating party discipline, we must dare to check on and investigate him, no matter whether he is a new or old party member or a leading cadre. Doing so is in the interest of the party and the people. If we hesitate to offend a few violators of party discipline in exchange for "a peaceful life," we will certainly put the cause of the party in danger and will truly end up angering the broad masses of party members and people and disturbing the peace of our party and country. In this connection, can we hold a party cadre concerned with discipline inspection liable for a serious dereliction of duty?

"In the absence of support from my counterpart party committee, I will be seen as the only bad guy pursuing a case." A worker associated with discipline inspection should seek guidance and support from the party committees and trust that they will come to his aid. Sometimes, he may encounter resistance of one kind or another in pursuing a case involving a member or members of his counterpart party committee. What should he do in this case? Comrade Chen Yun said it well: It is necessary to tell the truth instead of trying to save face. Zhu Xingren [2612 5281 0088], deputy secretary of the Shucheng County Discipline Inspection Commission, Anhui Province, did a very good job in this connection. Last summer when he found three deputy secretaries of the Shucheng County Party Committee guilty of illegally building private homes at the expense of the public fund, as a matter of principle he immediately called this case to the attention of the responsible persons of the county party committee and the county discipline inspection commission, demanding that the three deputy secretaries of the county party committee take the lead in correcting their mistakes. To his surprise, his proposal was rejected out of hand by the leading members, who were either noncommittal or appeared embarrassed and shook their heads in disapproval for fear of offending the three violators. At that time, some "kindhearted" persons said to Zhu Xingren: "Acting alone, can you change the status quo? You had better be satisfied with being an accommodating official. There is no need to be too serious about this matter." But Zhu turned a deaf ear to this suggestion from those "kindhearted" persons. As a responsible person of the county discipline inspection commission, he considered it his inalienable duty to make justice prevail over vice and to rectify the party's workstyle. He thought it would be a shame to see party discipline trampled underfoot and the people's interests endangered for the sake of his job security! When he found that his counterpart party committee was unable to solve his problem, he joined fellow comrades in drafting a letter to the prefectural discipline inspection commission. He wrote a letter to the provincial discipline inspection commission after the prefectural discipline inspection commission could do nothing about it. Finally, with the support of the provincial discipline inspection commission, the Shucheng County Party Committee and the Shucheng County Discipline Inspection Commission joined together to persuade the three deputy secretaries of the county party committee to rectify their unhealthy

workstyle. When the principle of the party's interests is at stake, we must emulate Comrade Zhu Xingren's indomitable spirit and voluntarily strive to persuade our counterpart party committees and higher leading bodies to support us. When ordinary party members and lower level party cadres are found guilty of pursuing unhealthy workstyles, comrades monitoring discipline observation often have no trouble handling such cases in accordance with the party's principles. But they often cannot take stern measures against the members of their counterpart party committees, and especially the responsible persons found guilty of violating party discipline, in accordance with the principles. This situation should be changed. Whether one is guilty of violating party discipline is the only criterion governing the work of discipline inspection. If we take stern measures against those at the bottom and adopt a lenient attitude toward those at the top, a double standard will come into effect. Comrade Zhu Xingren proved to be a man of courage in dealing with the deputy secretaries of the county party committee found guilty of violating party discipline. At a time when he could not get support from the leading members of the Shucheng County Party Committee, he still persisted in seeking truth from facts, without fear of offending anyone, and in presenting his views upward step by step until they reached the higher authorities. This action demonstrated his indomitable spirit of strong party character in upholding principles.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee has attached importance to the rectification of the party's workstyle. This is why our party has been able to improve its workstyle year after year. In the year to come, the party's discipline inspection agencies at all levels must be prepared to assume additional responsibility and take resolute measures to rectify the party's workstyle as a demonstration of their determination to live up to the fervent expectations of the masses inside and outside the party.

9574
CSO: 4005/611

PARTY AND STATE

CADRES URGED TO READ EXTENSIVELY, STUDY SELECTIVELY

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Feb 82 p 5

[Article by Yue Ping [1471 1627]: "Read Extensively, Study Selectively -- An Important Approach To Making Cadres Knowledgeable"]

[Text] Since the Party Central Committee proposed the requirement of making cadres knowledgeable and professional, the question of study has already attracted the attention of the vast ranks of cadres, and definite results have been achieved. How can we study more effectively? According to the experience of some comrades, reading extensively and studying selectively is an important approach in this regard.

A broad range of knowledge, insofar as the leading cadres are concerned, is a sine qua non. The ancients said: "Any person who serves as a commanding general but who knows no astronomy, studies no geography, ignores the conditions of his own army, is not informed about yin and yang, overlooks battle plans, or remains ignorant of the general military situation can only be mediocre." What is being discussed here is "serving as a commanding general"; as for running a country, far more categories of knowledge are needed. In view of the fact that the construction of modernization is being pursued today, if, as a leading cadre, one lacks extensive knowledge and is not equipped with necessary categories of knowledge such as economics, politics, military affairs, theory, ideology, and culture, if one is not well acquainted with various conditions within and outside the country, within and outside the province, and within and outside the county, it will be very difficult for him to do a good job in his leadership work or to open up a new situation. Take a county, for instance, while its size is not very big, it nonetheless has workers, peasants, merchants, students, soldiers, the party, the government, trade unions, youth organizations, women's organizations and such groups. If, as a leader of a country, one knows nothing or very little about all this, then it will be very hard for him to run that county well.

Comrade Mao Zedong placed great emphasis on the leading cadres' need for a broad range of knowledge. In response to the needs in our socialist construction, he proposed to our cadres that they must "study some natural sciences and technical sciences,""study some philosophy and political economy," "study some history and jurisprudence," "study some grammar and logic," "study some foreign

languages." In proposing that they study some of this and some of that, he meant to have our cadres reach out extensively insofar as study is concerned.

Reaching out extensively first of all requires us to read as many books as possible. Our predecessors put forward a proposition about "reading all books," and Lu Xun called this "looking through whenever convenient"; this is an effective way of increasing our knowledge. Because the extent of a person's practice is limited, it is impossible for him to directly experience everything himself; reading as many books as possible is an important way of gaining such knowledge. As a leading cadre, it is impossible not to read; he needs to look through books in all fields. Sun Yatsen said: "Among the addictions of all my life, the only serious one, apart from revolution, is reading. I can't live even for one day without doing some reading" (Shang Mingxian [1424 2494 6513], "A Biography of Sun Yatsen," p 45). Mao Zedong indulged even more in this addiction to studying and reading all books; he often told comrades close to him: "Eating can be reduced, sleeping also can be reduced, but reading is one thing that cannot be reduced!" Our leading cadres must cultivate this habit of reading. Apart from reading on one's own, reaching out extensively also includes keeping in touch with actualities in all aspects; this is an important avenue through which we can obtain all kinds of knowledge. Our leading cadres have opportunities to come into contact with many persons and things; as long as we have the desire to seek knowledge and are good at study, paying attention as Lu Xun suggested to all kinds and types of people and things, we should be able to learn all kinds of knowledge. If we take all things as being trivial, forgetting them once they are over with and sparing all reflection and attention, then we can hardly learn anything. In a word, as long as we broaden our vision, be humble and diligent at study, we should be able, through reading books, newspapers, and data, through conversations with people, visits, interviews, and investigation and research, to gradually enrich our knowledge.

But it is impossible for a person to be an expert in everything and a specialist in every trade; nor should he remain at the level of understanding only a little in every aspect. Hence there must also be points of relative emphasis in our study, and we also need to learn certain things in conjunction with the points of emphasis in our own business. This requires selective study. Selective study is an important method of obtaining expert knowledge and doing our ordinary work. Experience proves that without expert knowledge, without the spirit of seizing important problems and pursuing them through to the very end, it is impossible to think of doing a good job in our work. When many comrades make mistakes and fail to grasp their work well, it is mainly because they neither understand nor wish to learn. Having penetratingly studied the Marxist theory of reproduction, some comrades who are engaged in economic work say with deep feeling that many of the causes of certain mistakes in our past work were clearly indicated by Marx more than 100 years ago, but in the past we failed to study attentively Marx's theory on reproduction so that we were unable to distinguish right from wrong; with the addition of the influence of a "leftist" guiding ideology, we consequently suffered many a setback in the development of our national economy. Today, the focus of our entire party's work is to work on construction; hence the entire party must concentrate its energy in studying the question of construction. Regarding economic construction, we have, on the basis of summing up the 32 years--and especially the past

3 years—of our experience, already formulated 10 principles of construction. This is an important result of the entire party selectively studying the construction of modernization. But in front of us still lie not a few unrecognized kingdoms of necessity. This is the situation especially with the various fronts, the various departments and the various localities. A series of problems in our work in many respects remain not very clear and await serious study and scrutiny by our cadres at the various levels, especially leading cadres.

Selective study, concretely speaking, may be pursued in to respects. First, we must exert ourselves regarding the systematic nature and the depth of our professional work and professional knowledge and endeavor to turn ourselves in a definite period (such as 3 to 5 years) into experts and specialists in certain fields. For instance, if you are engaged in economic work, then you must selectively study the kind of knowledge directly related to economic work and exert yourself more energetically in that field. You must first of all read several books about economics, including political economy and departmental economics. Then, you must pay attention at all times to domestic and foreign economic developments, regularly look through relevant reports of investigation and statistical data, watch for advanced experiences, and especially make an effort to personally conduct a few careful, systematic investigations and studies in order to obtain firsthand data. In the process of this study, you must make an effort to carry out research and reflection in a comprehensive manner and regularly discuss and exchange opinions with your colleagues. This is the key to digesting book knowledge, refining firsthand experience, and thereby forging systematic knowledge. Without such a process, that which is gained from reading and from investigations will remain dissipated and external. Second, seize an important question in need of urgent solution at present in your practical work, delve into it and study it, and pursue it through to the very end. To a comrade devoted to leadership work, this is a very important and practical method of study; in digging into a thing, studying a problem, we should concentrate our efforts in a particular period to personally carry out investigation, look at some data, and also read some books, and, in addition, consult people with expert knowledge, get a clear idea of that thing by means of both individual research and discussion with others, until the principles and approaches for solving that problem are found. Whether in the past or today, those comrades who did this have always achieved good results. These methods should be promoted among our leading cadres.

Reading extensively and studying selectively are interrelated. Without extensive reading, the range of one's knowledge would be too narrow, and selective study under such circumstances could not be undertaken in great depth; similarly, without selective study, one's professional knowledge would be insufficient, and one's broad knowledge would not be of much further use. Thus broadness promotes professional specialization, and specialization spurs broadening. Only a combination of the two can assure the achievement of systematic and rich knowledge.

Study is the common task of all cadres. In the case of leading cadres, whether they are old cadres, middle-aged or young ones, they must all undertake careful study. At present, there is already a contingent--and there will be still more middle-aged and young cadres--embarking upon posts of leadership. In order to

enable themselves to adapt to the requirements of the construction of modernization and shoulder the heavy burden of leadership work, they should adopt this approach of reacing extensively and studying selectively, assiduously carry out study, and march toward the goals of making themselves more professional and knowledgeable. Some comrades already have a relatively high level of culture and professional knowledge; is there, in the case of these comrades, no longer any question of making themselves more knowledgeable and professional? Not necessarily, because there is no limit to learning; at a time when science and technology advance by leaps and bounds today, the cycle of knowledge renewal has become shorter and shorter; what was learned in the 1950's already looks backward today. Furthermore, in our practical work new situations and new problems surge forth endlessly; what little knowledge we originally have can never suffice. In the case of these comrades, they still must intensify their study. Reading extensively and studying selectively is also applicable to these comrades, and the more they study, the better.

The concrete undertaking of study, its methods and its arrangements must proceed from the actual situation of the respective units and individuals; no uniformity should be imposed upon them. The key lies in conscious striving and sustained effort. Under the conditions of today, we must especially emphasize the need to learn from advanced science and technology, to learn from book data. As a leading cadre, the following two statements may serve as the motto of his study: demand talent from science, take the experts as one's teachers.

9255
CSO: 4005/594

PARTY AND STATE

CADRE'S RESISTANCE TO CRITICISM REPORTED

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 14 Feb 82 p 1

[Article, "Had the Nerve To Tear Down the Sign of the NANFANG RIBAO's Bureau Office"]

[Text] According to a report from the NANFANG RIBAO, on the 11th of this month [February] a serious incident occurred in the city of Shenzhen of resisting criticism by the party organ, seriously insulting the party organ, and rudely and unreasonably tearing down the sign of the Shenzhen bureau office of the NANFANG RIBAO. The perpetrator of this disturbance was Lin Jingyi [2651 2417 6146], member of the Heping Road Neighborhood Committee, Luohu District, Shenzhen Municipality, and his confederates.

On 10 January a leading article of the NANFANG RIBAO was a report entitled "Shenzhen City Formulates its 'Regulations for Cadres in Special Areas'," presenting the experience of Shenzhen's municipal committee, in the course of building special areas, of simultaneously taking charge of the building of both material and spiritual civilization. The report made mention of the following: "The municipal committee and the city government shall report to the entire city the mistake of Lin Jingyi, vice-manager of the Municipal and Heping Road Combined Enterprise Company, in illegally trafficking in a large quantity of smuggling goods in the hope of getting exorbitant profits, and also recover the whole of his illegal income and turn it over to the national coffers." This material was based on the "Report on Shenzhen Municipality Attacking the Smuggling Situation" provided in the No 6 issue of 1981. Lin Jingyi's error was criticized in the Luohu District Committee's organ. But the party concerned, Lin Jingyi, held a grudge about this, and unreasonable made trouble about it. On the morning of 11 January, Lin Jingyi telephoned the Shenzhen bureau of the NANFANG RIBAO, saying that this report was a "carrying out of political persecution" against him, and demanded that the NANFANG RIBAO "acknowledge its mistake", and "set the matter straight."

On 22 January after this report had been reprinted in RENMINRIBAO, the Heping Road Neighborhood Committee wrote a letter to the editorial department of the NANFANG RIBAO, again demanding that that newspaper " acknowledge its mistake, and set the matter straight." On the morning of 1 February, that neighborhood's party committee specially sent an Assistant Secretary of the party committee and the head of the neighborhood committee office to the Shenzhen bureau of the NANFANG RIBAO to look for a journalist to "rectify the matter."

Because no journalists were there, they threatened to tear down the sign of the NANFANG RIBAO's Shenzhen bureau; after threatening this, they were promptly warned by journalists of the Xinhua bureau. On 3 February Lin Jingyi wrote a letter to the editorial department of the NANFANG RIBAO, unreasonably demanding that the NANFANG RIBAO "set straight" the matter of the report, and also threatening to carry out "clarification" of the matter through a periodical in Hong Kong. The editorial department of NANFANG RIBAO, after receiving his letter, indicated that their bureau would investigate to clarify the matter, and issue a report to the Shenzhen Municipal Committee. Just as the NANFANG RIBAO was carrying out its investigation, Lin Jingyi and others had the nerve to go to the Shenzhen bureau of NANFANG RIBAO and make a disturbance, tearing down the bureau's sign. This was a premeditated act of provocation.

After the incident, the NANFANG RIBAO bureau raised a protest against the Heping Road Neighborhood Committee and those responsible for the incident, demanding that the Shenzhen Municipal Committee and the Luohu Area Committee deal with this matter severely. The Shenzhen Municipal Committee placed great importance on this matter, and indicated they would deal with it seriously. The Luohu Area Committee made an apology to the NANFANG RIBAO's bureau. The Heping Road Neighborhood Party Committee also sent someone to hang the NANGFANG RIBAO bureau's sign back up, but the illegal actions of Lin Jingyi and the others have not yet been dealt with.

9634
CSO: 4005/635

PARTY AND STATE

'SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION' REQUIRES CONFIDENCE, EFFORT

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jan 82 p 1

[Editorial: "The Establishment of a Spiritual Civilization Calls for Greater Confidence and Effort"]

[Text] The fourth conference of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress and the fourth conference of the Fourth Provincial Political Conference have been brought to a successful close. Discussions at these conferences centered on what our province can do to implement the 10 principles for economic construction, to bring about the establishment of a socialist spiritual civilization, and to set the chief duties for the current year.

It is up to us to heighten our confidence, to increase our efforts, and to unite as one in the performance of our duties. In that regard, our most pressing task is the establishment of a spiritual civilization in the ideological area. As was pointed out by Premier Zhao Ziyang in his report on the work of the government delivered at the fourth conference of the Fifth National People's Congress, political ideology and ethics and morality are major ingredients for the establishment of a socialist spiritual civilization, and the neglect of this problem for whatever reason "has now assumed such alarming proportions that a solution is urgently needed."

First, in order to solve this problem we must learn to use both our hands--that is, we must seek to bring about a spiritual civilization at the same time that we are engaged in the establishment of a material civilization. The fact should be established that of all our work, the most fundamental [task] is to put our economy in good order. Of that, there can be absolutely no doubt. However, that does not mean that people's thinking will automatically be correct once the economy is put on a sound basis. Spiritual civilization cannot exist apart from certain material considerations, but neither can it be expected to come about and develop as a matter of course with the development of material civilization. Experience tells us that there is a close relationship between material and spiritual civilization. The development of spiritual civilization in the realm of thought ensures the long-term development of our national economy and the socialist nature of our undertakings. It is what sets our socialist society apart from capitalist societies and the other exploitative societies of the past. We must learn to work with both our hands and not lose sight of the

need to establish a link between showing concern for the material well-being of the people and the need to heighten the awareness of the people in the realm of thought. It is only thus that material and spiritual civilization can be made to complement each other and to develop in the right direction in a positive and stable manner.

Second, we must firmly and fearlessly uphold what is right and spurn what is evil. Due to the destructive acts committed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the continued existence of obsolete ways of thinking, and the erosion caused by the decadent ideas of the capitalist class, there exist at the present time certain undesirable trends and practices among some cadres and the masses. In order to overcome such undesirable tendencies, it is crucial that those in leadership positions at various levels should hold firm and stand united. We must give our unwavering support to those who are highly dedicated to socialism and communism and who are possessed of moral rectitude, and we must use various propaganda means to extol their progressive ways of thinking and to create a favorable climate of public opinion. As for those who have gone astray, we must exercise great patience in offering them criticism and education so that they may be helped to mend their ways. As regards the criminal elements, we must wage a struggle against them and deal with them severely according to the law. It is only thus that we can uphold what is right and put an end to what is perverse, and it is only thus that we can forge fearlessly ahead like a powerful liner surging forward with the prevailing wind.

Furthermore, all cadres must dedicate themselves to the service of the people and set themselves up as role models in a spiritual civilization. Our party is the ruling party. Many cadres are party members, and many party members are in leadership positions at various levels. Their every word and action has vast repercussions. So that the flower of spiritual civilization may blossom forth among the people of the province, it is important, as was aptly put by a number of delegates, that "those in leadership positions at various levels should set a personal example and take the lead." We must do well wherein we expect others to do well, and we must refrain from doing what we expect others to refrain from doing. The crux of the problem hinges on total dedication to service. It is only when cadres are dedicated to the service of the people that they can win their support and that the masses, convinced that they are truly the masters of their country, can summon up a positive socialist attitude in the implementation of the various construction projects.

The situation is improving year by year. Let us take advantage of this new situation to implement the spirit of the fourth conference of the Fifth National People's Congress, to exert greater efforts, to bring about the establishment of a spiritual civilization in the realm of thought, and to win a greater victory than last year's!

9621
CSO: 4005/503

JOURNAL DISCUSSES 'FAIRNESS' OF LAW

Nei Monggol JILIN DAXUE SHEHUI KEXUE XUEBAO [JOURNAL OF JILIN DAXUE] in Chinese No 6, 6 Nov 81 pp 67-68

[Article by Wang Zilin [3769 1311 3829]: "'Fairness' Is not an Inherent Characteristic of Law"]

[Text] To arrive at a correct understanding of a certain thing, we must expose the inner laws that govern it. What we mean by inner laws are the inherent relationships in its essential qualities. What are the inner laws of that social phenomenon, the law? Some reply: "It is nothing else but that law must maintain 'fairness.'"

This interpretation is not at all new. It was expounded from the times before the advent of Marxism up to the present day, in China as well as abroad. In China the ancient character "fa" (law) was interpreted as meaning "equitable" and "perfectly fair and just." This later led to such pronouncements as "The high value of law is its being equitable and straight," and "The high value of statutes is their being equal and uniform," which may be reduced to the saying that law must not deviate from fairness and equality. The situation is the same in other countries. The cover of the Napoleonic Code, published in France in 1804, depicts a stately woman holding a sword in her right hand and a scale in her left hand, signifying reighteousness and equity of law. Although there are a great many schools in modern and contemporary Western jurisprudence and a wide variety of legal theories, all rely on such generalities as "justice at all times" and "impartiality in all acts." This shows that the question of the "inner laws" of law as being "fairness" has actually been overwhelmingly current among legal circles for many years in ancient and modern times, in China as well as in other countries, but this is not at all scientific. Engels regarded using the terms "just and equitable" as "leading to confusion beyond remedy." It is, therefore, always wrong to link up fairness and law, from whatever angle one views the question.

Marxism considers law to be an expression of the will of the ruling class. Its content is determined by the material living conditions of the ruling class, that means, determined by the material interests of the ruling class. However, the interests of the ruling class are diametrically opposed to the interests of the ruled class, and whatever is beneficial to the

interests of the ruling class is, of course, harmful to the interests of the ruled class. Since this is so, how can the law, the norms of which must be observed throughout the entire society, have a character of fairness? Even though certain provisions of the law, objectively, also benefit the ruled class, the premise of such benefits is of course that they also benefit the interests of the ruling class. Essentially, it is law that benefits the interests of the ruling class, but is declared to be of general fairness. Isn't that merely obfuscating the class character of law? Once law is bereft of its class character, it can not be called law anymore.

Some people may hold this kind of an opinion: The fairness of law, of which we speak, refers to the application of the law. In the face of law, we "must not admit personal considerations or individual exceptions," which in the end is the principle of "equality of all persons before the law."

However, even if so, has there ever been this kind of fairness throughout the long history of legal practice? It is true, Shang Yang advocated "classlessness of law," and Han Fei propounded that "law must not pander to those in high positions," but in a feudal society all this remained merely legalist theory. It could never be carried out in actual practice. When Prince Si (son of King Xiao of the Qin Dynasty; Si later became King Hui of the Qin Dynasty) violated the new law, it was none other than Shang Yang, the advocate of the "classlessness of law," who could not carry out the principle of not distinguishing as to class and passing impartial judgment, although he was at that time in the high position of a minister with decisive powers at Court and in the country at large. He did not dare punish the crown prince but rather punished his tutor, Prince Qian, instead by having his nose cut off, thus concluding the affair in a rather perfunctory manner. The reason is that in those days neither the production relations nor the social relations provided conditions for the implementation of "classlessness" in law. It was precisely as one of the classical writers of Marxism pointed out: "As long as the relations had not yet developed to the degree of allowing the will to be put into practice, the emergence of that 'will' remained a fact only in the imagination of the thinkers." It could not attain realization.

Bourgeois law propagates "equality of all persons before the law," but is this equality fair and just? Not at all. The so-called equality before the law is merely an equality in form and inequality in substance. Having the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, alike, observe the same equality of law which expresses the will and the interests of the bourgeoisie, is in itself an inequality. Furthermore, equality must be manifested not only in law, but also in the social and economic field, otherwise there cannot be real equality. On this topic Engels pointed out: "Since the principle of equality is curtly reduced to an 'equality before the law,' and the equality before the law is an equality under the precondition of the inequality between the rich and the poor, and since it is an equality whithin a sphere of inequalities that are presently most important, it virtually amounts, briefly but comprehensively, to calling inequality equality." Can this kind of inequal "equality" be called fair?

Actually, even in the application of the law, there is no fairness to speak of. Outwardly, the bourgeois law has high-sounding provisions which during the actual application of the law, are not necessarily carried out conscientiously. "At every possible occasion, they will violate the provisions of the law, but will still insist that everybody else must observe these provisions." In the bourgeois countries, all the judges and members of the jury are wealthy people, all come from the propertied classes and are imbued with the consciousness of the exploiting class. Instinctively, they protect their own kind and adopt a hostile attitude toward poor people. "The poor are not tried by people of their own kind; they are always tried by their deadly enemies." Poverty, itself, already subjects them to difficulties and cruel ill-treatment in a hundred and one ways, how can we here speak of fairness? That is why Engels indignantly exclaimed: "In these respects, the application of the law is even much less humane than the law itself." Bourgeois law is already sufficiently inhumane. As there is even less humaneness in the application of the law, how can there be any fairness?

Perhaps people who hold this view will regard socialist law as a model of fairness and point out: As it is wrong to call any law of the exploiting class fair, is it also wrong to say that socialist law is fair? We say this is exactly the truth.

Surely, socialist law really demands "equality of all persons before the law" and will not tolerate that anyone places himself above the law or claim privileges beyond the law. The law treats all persons equally and without discrimination, and recognizes that every person has equal rights. Does this constitute fairness? No. We know that every right is preconditioned by inequality, because "every right is the application of the same standard on different persons, it is applied to persons who are different in actual conditions and positions. 'Equal right' therefore becomes unequal and unfair."

This condition cannot be avoided during the historical stage of socialism and during the existence of socialist law. Marx said: "To avoid all these evils, rights must not be equal, but must be unequal." This shows that "equality of all persons before the law" in bourgeois society as well as in socialist society is only an equality of rights, and the equality of rights is precisely an inequality and unfairness in actual facts. It is therefore not possible to say, a law that recognizes equality of rights is fair. This applies not only to bourgeois law, but even socialist law is no exception.

From these facts we see that fairness is not a characteristic of law and also is not an inner rule inherent in all law, but it is something that scholars who are embracing idealism have forcibly impressed on the concept of law. In a strict sense, law and fairness are opposites; they run counter to each other. The two cannot exist side by side. If one were forcibly to impose the rule of fairness on law, it would certainly lead to an erroneous comprehension of the essential character of law itself. This would be extremely harmful to the application of the Marxist scientific legal viewpoint in the study of jurisprudence and law.

What exactly then is the inert character of law? Expressed briefly but comprehensively, it is that law must express and manifest the will of a certain ruling class of the society concerned, and that the content of this will must again be determined by the material life of the ruling class.

This means that law does not express the will of certain people, but represents the interests of one class, the will of that particular class that occupies a ruling position. Outwardly, this will appears to be completely free, free to follow comp tely this class' own inclinations, running wild and unbridled. "Seen from a viewpoint that is incompatible with concepts related to state law and social production conditions, those laws would of course be fully arbitrary commands, which could easily be replaced by directly opposite commands at any time." However, this is not the reality. This will of the ruling class, incorporated in law, is restricted by the material living conditions of the class. The will shaped by the ruling class and the laws which will be formulated are determined by the production relations, the level of the productive force and mode of exchanges of that class at the time in question. This in fact is the inner law which applies unswervingly to law of whatever type it may be.

9808
CSO: 4005/431

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GUANGZHOU UNITS LEADERSHIP SETS EXAMPLE IN WORK STYLE

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 31 Jan 82 p 1

[Article by Zheng Suihua [6774 4482 5478]: "Leadership Organs of Guangzhou Units Take the Lead in Changing Work Style"]

[Text] In building socialist spiritual civilization, the leadership organs of the Guangzhou Units, starting with themselves and starting with the present time, have changed the organs' ideological work style and provided an example to the units in building socialist spiritual civilization.

The principal leading comrades of the Guangzhou Units have paid full attention to the building of spiritual civilization. Every department of the organs has integrated its jobs, sough out weak links, and formulated specific measures for building spiritual civilization. Through the launching of activities to build socialist spiritual civilization, the headquarters, political and ligistical organs have become geared to the needs of the basic level and have a good atmosphere of serving the units. In its liaison with subordinate units, face to face or by telephone, the headquarters staff is always warmly receptive and amiable and tries hard to satisfy the other party's requests. If they are temporarily unable to solve a problem, they patiently and clearly explain the reason. The materiel subdepartment of the logistics department regularly organizes its personnel to go to a unit and investigate the situation there, taking the initiative to distribute all kinds of material and resolve the unit's difficulties. The cultural affairs subdepartment of the political department, on hearing the request by the garrison unit at Fakashan for more article for cultural life, immediately sent a batch of books and chess and weigi sets to the Fakashan position.

Good practices have also gradually been formed in the service work of the organs. The service section of the political department has restored the tradition of delivering goods to the door. Every day the section dispatches a mobile shop to each office building and living quarters area so that articles of daily use can be purchased. The mess hall personnel of the headquarters, political, and logistical organs regularly take the initiative to go to dining tables and meal-preparation units to solicit opinions, and they make an effort to provide good food at low cost. The outpatient departments of the organs have launched "good service month" activities, setting up sickbeds in the home and providing door-to-door care and medicine,

thereby improving the quality of medical service. Every Sunday and holiday, the leading comrades of the headquarters personally take the lead in having personnel concerned go into the streets and each compound to inspect the soldiers' bearing, appearance, and discipline; the organs have restored the system of early operation; except in special circumstances, the cadres of the organs go to work and leave work on schedule, and if they report back after their absence, and they do not attend to private matters when on duty. They also set aside days for sweeping and hygiene activities in which they practice the hygiene responsibility system, so as to keep the offices clean and neat.

9727
CSO: 4005/634

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

WANG ZHEN , LIAO ZHENGZHI CELEBRATE SPRING FESTIVAL ON HAINAN

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jan 82 p 1

[Article by Xing Zenggan [6717 1073 1626] et al.: "Wang Zhen, Liao Zhengzhi Go to Hainan Island To Convey Greetings to the Broad Masses of Armymen and Civilians on the Eve of the Spring Festival"]

[Text] Wang Zhen, member of the Politburo of the CCP Central Committee and member of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission of the party Central Committee, and Liao Zhengzhi, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, on behalf of the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Military Commission of the Centrat Committee, came to Hainan Island on the eve of the Spring Festival to convey greetings to the broad masses of armymen and civilians, encouraging all of them to strengthen unity and work had so as to obtain even greater successes in the new year.

Accompanied by leading comrades of the local party, government, and armed forces--Zhang Rihe [1728 2480 0735], Liang Cheng, Chen Shufeng [7115 2579 7685] (Li nationality), Li Peng, Nie Kuiju [5119 1145 5112], and Wang Chaoyu [3769 2600 3768]--they began their greeting activities on 20 January. On successive days, they went to the Yulin naval base, a certain naval air unit, a battalion of a certain army division that is on garrison duty in the western part of the island, the Ximaozhou production brigade of a commune that engages in fishery in the South China Sea, new villages, ports, and fishing villages in Linshui County, as well as party and government organizations in Linshui County. Through meetings, forums, and individual visits, they listened to reports on, and asked about, the situation in the military units with regard to their military and political construction and their industrial and agricultural production and the situation in the life of the masses. They also saw the guided missile corvette designed and built by our country and an artillery demonstration. They were extremely pleased that the broad masses of militarymen and civilians of Hainan are upholding the four basic principles; are throughly implementing the party's line, principles, and policies since the third plenary session; have made achievements in preparatory work for modernization of the units and in military and political training; as well as that an excellent situation obtains with regard to the rapid development of agricultural and fishing production and to the continual improvement of the commune members' life. On behalf of the party Central Committee, comrades Wang Zhen and Liao Zhengzhi congratulated and greeted all

the people. Comrade Wang Zhen said that in the past year the party and government, militarymen and civilians had united as one to score victories in defending the motherland and in building up Hainan and had performed meritorious service and labor. He wished all of them a joyful Spring Festival and good health. The people of Hainan have a glorious history of struggle. During the great revolution, under the leadership of the party they launched revolutionary struggle, and their glorious history of struggle is part of the glorious history of China's struggle. He hoped the broad masses of militaryment and civilians would display the glorious revolutionary traditions in the new year, strengthening army-government unity and army-people unity, obtaining even greater successes in military building and socialist economic construction, and performing new meritorious services and labor in defending the motherland and developing and constructing Hainan. Comrade Liao Zhengzhi also encouraged everybody by saying that our country achieved very big successes last year. In 1982, we must surpass last year. Whether in economic construction, whether in struggle against all unhealthy tendencies within the party, whether in the united front against international hegemonism, whether promoting the return of Taiwan to the motherland, or whether in realizing the motherland's great cause--in all of these aspects we must obtain even greater successes than we did last year. We must make still further progress. We must study well and make persistent efforts to build up Hainan Island even better and raise the level of modernizing the units to an even higher level. We believe, he concluded, that the broad masses of Hainan's militarymen and civilians will conscientiously implement the spirit of the party's Central Committee's third and sixth plenary sessions, carry forward the revolutionary tradition, work hard, and make even greater contributions to the construction of socialist modernization.

The cordial greetings of Comrades Wang Zhen and Liao Zhengzhi greatly encouraged the broad masses of militarymen and civilians. They indicated that in the new year they would further carry forward the revolutionary tradition, strengthen unity, struggle hard, quicken the pace of Hainan's development and construction, defend Hainan and the Xisha Islands, and with practical actions repay the care of the party Central Committee, putting it and the people at ease in their minds!

Last evening, comrades Wang Zhen and Liao Zhengzhi, at a certain division on garrison duty in Hainan, attended with the militarymen and civilians a Spring Festival celebration party, and watched an artistic performance together with leading comrades of the party, government and army, celebrating the joyous festival together with them.

9727
CSO: 4005/634

ZHAO ZIYANG, YANG DEZHI VISIT BEIJING GARRISON REGIMENT

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Xing Zenggan [6717 1073 1626] et al.: "Zhao Ziyang, Yang Dezhi Visit Officers and Men of a Certain Regiment Under the Beijing Garrison Command"]

[Text] Today Premier Zhao Ziyang and [PLA] Chief of Staff Yang Dezhi went to garrison fighters in the capital to extend Spring Festival greetings to them. Shortly after 9 am, when the two leaders riding in a bakery truck arrived at the unit, they were warmly welcomed by the officers and men.

Zhao Ziyang and Yang Dezhi happily gathered under the same roof with the officers and men; they made detailed inquiries about the situation regarding the unit's training, building of spiritual civilization, demobilization of veterans, and recruitment of new soldiers. The responsible person of the unit reported that in the past year, especially after Comrade Deng Xiaoping took charge of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee, the building up of the unit made great progress, the work in all aspects improved, and many good fighters of the Lei Feng type emerged. Zhao Ziyang and Yang Dezhi said that last year the unit had got a tight grip on the study of the spirit of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and had unswervingly and thoroughly implemented the party Central Committee's principles and policies. The successes obtained in building up the unit were the result of the party Central Committee's correct leadership.

Zhao Ziyang and Yang Dezhi also went to the fighters' living quarters and the company clubs and acquinted themselves with the fighters' study, life, and recreation.

9727
CSO: 4005/634

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

LEADING CADRES IMPROVE TRAINING OF FUZHOU UNITS

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jan 82 p 1

[Report by XINHUA correspondents Yang Hefa [2799 0736 4099] and Xu Haowen [1776 1170 2429]: "Marked Improvement in Operational Capability of Units"]

[Text] Fuzhou, 1 Jan (XINHUA)--Leading cadres at all levels of the Fuzhou PLA Units have obtained marked successes by becoming closely involved with reality and conscientiously getting a good handle on military training.

We correspondents learned from the recent conference on education and training held by the Fuzhou Units: in 1981, the infantry of the Fuzhou Units received a general assessment of excellent for its achievements in live-ammunition weapons firing; in many specialized technical items, the level of the various service arms of the units rose one to two grades; new breakthroughs were achieved in some tactical training items; and there was a marked improvement in the ability to command coordinated operations by all service arms.

In the past year, leading cadres at each level of the Fuzhou Units have displayed the revolutionary spirit of the war years, bent down to their tasks, and striven to get a good handle on training. According to an investigation, last year throughout all the units there were over 1,000 cadres at regimental level or above on the frontline of training; together with the other cadres and fighters, they crawled, climbed, rolled, and attacked, studying and researching all sorts of problems in modern military operations. Each division and regiment has set up an "experimental ground;" many subunits have put into practice the system of "contracting at the beginning of training to achieve results on a given topic within a limited time" for leading cadres, which puts the responsibility on the individual. Based on the demands of modern warfare, certain divisions have worked out five key subjects in which the leading cadres of the division contract to make breakthroughs. After deputy division commander Zhang Jianmin [1728 1696 3046] had made a contract on the topic of firing a rocket launcher at a moving tank, he went to the training site, led gunners to repeatedly drill with the weapon, study relevant scientific knowledge, search for laws governing the operation, and take part in over 50 training discussions, which raised the division-wide rate of hits scored on tanks by 100 percent over last year's rate. Wang Xikun [3769 6932 0981], commander of a certain division, in order to improve his ability to

organize and command units in wartime, on six occasions this year led organizational cadres out of the barracks into the field for training, during which they covered several hundreds of li. He posited the military situation and then guided them to train in it, imparting bit by bit experience in actual warfare, so that the leading organizations of the division rapidly improved their ability to direct combat training.

In order to improve firing accuracy, the leading cadres of each anti-aircraft artillery unit led the officers and men in assiduously studying mathematics and relevant scientific knowledge and in conscientiously conducting research on the best trajectories for firing into the sky. The leading cadres at the regimental level and above of a certain anti-aircraft artillery division conducted tests at selected points. After four experiences in hitting the target accurately, last year they again went down to the basic levels and provided guidance by categories, thereby effectively improving the unit's ability in surface-to-air combat. At the end of last year, the anti-aircraft artillery troops took part in a live-ammunition firing test in which the pass rate was 100 percent and for which they obtained a general assessment of excellent.

In the process of overcoming key points and difficult points, the leading cadres at all levels of the Fuzhou Units were adept in using their heads and bold in searching for fresh experiences. Xu Lianfa [6079 6647 3127], commander of a certain division, integrated the study of foreign military conditions and organized his units to repeatedly carry out confrontational training, which added more clarity and focus to the training topics. In July of last year, the leading organizations of the Fuzhou Units convened an on-the-spot meeting at this division and called on each unit to learn from the division's experiences. Wang Zhaokun [3769 2507 0981], the deputy commander of a certain army, in order to help staff officers carry out good training in strategy, put a good deal of time and effort into studying "Sun Bin's Art of War" and other ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign works on military theory. He led the staff personnel to interview old cadres who had personally gone through many battles. They gathered and arranged 50 examples of battle strategies. Integrating the special features of coordinated operations by all service arms, they compiled teaching materials of over 100,000 Chinese characters and gave them to everybody to learn from and study. He also led the staff officers to train in judging what measures to take under conditions of different terrain, weather, and enemy situations. After a little over a month of practice, not only did the units amass experiences in strategy training, but also over 80 staff officers raised their level of strategy.

9727
CSO: 4005/553

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SUBMARINE'S LONG-RANGE TRAINING CRUISE DESCRIBED

Beijing ZHONGGUO QUINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 21 Jan 82 p 2

[Article in the "Great Wall of Steel" column by Juang Yaonian [7806 1031 1628] et al.: "Record of a Submarine in the Depths of the High Seas"]

[Text] Deep black night, blowing snow fills the air. A certain submarine or our People's Navy leaves a naval port, and like a great whale bores into the depths of the ocean.

The Captain's Smile

From seaman to captain, nobody had ever gone on such a long voyage. How many dangers on this journey under the sea and what kind of a dreamlike life they would lead, nobody could conjecture. The seamen had only one desire: to risk their lives for the motherland. As the submarine cruised under the blue waves, its body frequently shook. Ren Jiakui [0117 1367 1145], the youthful captain, holding the periscope, gazed intently at the surface of the sea, which was dotted with blowing snow. Light-buoys and fishing lamps, like stars in the sky, shifted gradually. He knew that the submarine was already cruising under a fishing ground and if he let a fishing net get tangled up in the submarine's propeller or elevator, the long-voyage plan would fall through. He directed the submarine so that it carefully and cautiously avoided the fishing lights.

The submarine with agility threaded its way through this "marine city without night." Just as Ren Jiakui was thinking of relaxing, he saw through the periscope another black shadow loom up head-on. What bad luck! It was a fishing boat that was not abiding by the rules as there was not a single light burning on the boat! Ren Jiakui hurriedly gave the order--"Full right rudder!" The submarine made a sharp turn and steered clear of the boat.

After cruising for several days, the submarine came to a certain training area. The higher level had demanded that they pass through it with the utmost secrecy. If the submarine was spotted as a target, it would have failed its first test on the long voyage, because a submarine's fighting effectiveness lies in its ability to hide and then suddenly attack the enemy.

How difficult! In this area many radar sets were sweeping the sea and ships were moving about on the surface. However, the seamen were extremely self-confident, because they had an astute commander. He commanded a new Chinese-built submarine, and in less than half a year he had led the submarine to complete seven training topics. The fleet leadership was somewhat less confident in him, and had ordered the submarine to take part in a competition with over 10 other submarines. To everyone's surprise, this submarine took first honors.

In order to pass through undetected, Ren Jiakui had issued three orders: first, before submerging beneath the blue waves, there would be no swimming and no dumping of rubbish overboard; second, the use of detectible instruments was forbidden, and radar and radio silence was maintained; and third, power would be conserved as much as possible by not using air conditioners or electric fans and by preparing only one meal a day. Very quickly, the "season" in the cabins changed from autumn to the dog days of the hot season, and the mercury in the thermometer rose to 43 degrees centigrade. Everybody was bathed in sweat....

As the submarine passed through the training area, it constantly picked up radar signals. Ren Jiakui calmly analyzed each one of them, and discovered that these radar sets were making circular searches and were not tracking by sector. He could see that the radar had not discovered the underwater submarine.

Minute by minute, Ren Jiakui stayed by the periscope for a long time in order to avoid these radar sweeps. When the chief navigator reported to him, "The submarine has passed through successfully," he first allowed himself to smile pleasantly, "Ah," and switching on the electric fan above his head, gave the order, "Turn on the air conditioners!"

Immediately, all the seamen shouted with jubilation.

Oh, Petrels!

The calm and mysterious unfathomable sea. For several days in succession, one could not see through the periscope a single ship or bird, making the crew feel the monotony and dullness of the scene. Suddenly, Deputy Captain Jin [6855] spotted a petrel in a white breaker. He couldn't help shouting: "Look, a petrel!" The atmosphere in the command module immediately became animated as everyone in it vied to be the first to see the petrel.

The submarine was far away from the petrel and could not be seen; what remained in the periscope was again blackish-green sea water and white breakers. Suddenly Ren Jiakui heard a jingling sound outside the submarine. He decided that surging waves had broken a piece of the hand railing, which was not hanging down on a steel cable and could become entangled in the elevator or propeller; it would be easy for the submarine to be detected if it produced this metallic striking sound so, no matter how it was done, the railing must be cut loose.

"Captain, I'll go!" Boatswain Chen Yanping [7115 1484 1627] stepped forward. Ren Jiakui understood in his heart that this would be an extremely dangerous job and there was a possibility of the man doing it being swept overboard by the wind and the waves. In this situation, the skipper could only pick the best seaman. He approved Chen Yanping's request.

The submarine floated on the surface of the sea as huge waves flew past the conning tower. Chen Yanping fastened a safety line around his waist and firmly grasped a fire axe. Taking advantage of a mement when the hull was level, he rushed toward the bow. Just as he was standing firmly he was hit by a breaking wave and the bow was buried in the sea. "Oh my God!" everybody exclaimed, thinking that he had been swept overboard by the unge wave, but when the bow rose from the wave they saw Chen Yanping standing erect on top. With one hand gripping the broken railing, he pushed it down to the deck and, with a clanging sound, chopped it loose and threw it into the sea. Just as he was about to return, another huge wave closed in and everybody shouted: "Look out. A wave's coming!" With his two hands Chen Yanping clung to the submarine, waited until the huge wave had rolled over him, shook the water off himself and returned to the conning tower. Everybody shouted in unison: The petrel has returned!

One by one the calendar pages flipped by, and life under the blue waves became more and more difficult. The continual rocking of the boat like a swing, seasichness and not seeing sunlight for a long time made the seamen depressed and vexed; the continually had bad dreams and all day long went around in a semitrance.

Then, suddenly from the galley wafted a fragrant smell. Smiles immediately appeared on the faces of the seamen. Whoever poked his head into the galley and looked found that what smelled made his mouth water: How fragrant!

Cook Chen Yuming [7115 3768 2494] was frying oil cakes. In the galley the smoke of frying oil swirled up and the temperature reached 45 degrees centigrade. Young Chen was bathed in seat. He drew a breath and fried several dozen of the floury oil cakes. By the time the seamen had eaten the fragrant cakes he was exhausted. Although he hadn't eaten a bite himself, he was smiling.

Looking at the Moon From the Depths of the High Seas

A week passed in the depths of the high seas. All the seamen though of seeing what the far ocean looked like, and someone suggested that they take photographs of it as a memento. But this was hard to do; the mission demanded absolute concealment. However, the seamen very much wanted to look at the ocean. Feeling this urge in their hearts, some seamen quietly crowded into the sonar room and silently listened to the mysterious language of the schools of fishes at the bottom of the ocean. The hearts of the youths soon flew through the iron blockade and roamed the sea.

Captain Ren though of a good idea. He let each cabin send a representative to look at the ocean scene through the periscope. The seamen were extremely pleased.

It was a still night. In the spotless sky hung a bright moon, its crystalline rays shining on the surface of the sea, and everything was shrouded in dim moonlight and mystery. Taking turns to look at the scene, the windows of their hearts were opened one by one. Looking at the moon, sky and ocean, how could these young men, who had left the naval port several dozens of days ago, not be moved?

One day at dawn, the submarine returned to the territorial waters of the motherland. Once the submarine captain for the first time the light-buoys and white sails of the motherland, intense emotion welled up in his breast: "Motherland, we have returned from our long voyage!"

A few days later, the submarine was floating on the surface of the sea. One by one the seamen came up through the hatch and stood on the deck. With tears on their eyes, they solemnly saluted the coast and fishing boats of the motherland. From the radio came Su Xiaoming's song "Mama, We Have Returned From a Long Voyage...."

9727
CSO: 4005/553

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

DECISIVE PROGRESS IN POLITICS, LAW URGED FOR 1982

Xi'an SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jan 82 p 1

[Article by Reporter: "Strive for Decisive Progress in Political and Legal Work This Current Year"]

[Text] Let us wage a struggle for decisive progress in the field of politics and law this current year. That was the central theme of discussion at a meeting of the chiefs of public security, the procuratorate, and the people's court of the province called by the Provincial Public Security Bureau, the Provincial Procuratorate, and the Provincial People's Supreme Court on New Year's Eve.

At the meeting, the chiefs of the Public Security Bureau, the procuratorate, and the people's court of the province conveyed to those in attendance the spirit of the three national conferences, summed up the work experience of the past year, and mapped out a plan of action for the current year.

Under the leadership of the party committee, the political and legal organizations at various levels in the province, in making the improvement of public security their chief mission, did a great deal of work last year and achieved some creditable results. There have been various degrees of improvement in public order in the cities and villages and within the various units throughout the province. That is chiefly borne out by the gradual decline in the number of criminal cases. Implementation of the policy of dealing severely and promptly with criminal cases according to the law has brought about a change in the phenomenon of dealing leniently with cases involving murder, arson, robbery, rape, the use of explosives, and other serious crimes endangering public order. Such regions as Hanzhong and Baoji, which have been the major areas of crime, have salvaged the situation by dealing promptly and severely with criminal elements who had sought to exploit the situation and by ensuring the stability of social order. There has been an increased feeling of security among the masses and a more positive attitude on the part of the masses to wage a struggle against criminal elements. It was unanimously agreed among those attending the meeting, however, that although public security in our province has taken a turn for the better, the progress has been spotty and a number of problems, some of a very serious nature, still remain.

It was agreed by those attending the meeting that in order to bring about a decisive improvement in the political and legal areas, it will be necessary to come to grips with the following tasks: 1) There must be a new breakthrough in

dealing with the entire problem. 2) A serious effort must be made to solve major cases and to deal with the culprits sternly and promptly. 3) Continued efforts must be made to improve security within the units. 4) A better job must be done at the basic levels. 5) The work of reform and education through labor must be improved. 6) A determined effort must be made to deal severely with illegal and criminal activities in the economic area. 7) A determined effort must be made to deal with counterrevolutionary acts of sabotage. 8) A greater effort must be made to establish a corps of political and legal rank-and-file workers.

Yan Kelun [0917 0344 0243], secretary of the provincial party committee, gave an important address at the meeting. Speaking of the strengthening of party leadership in political and legal work, he said that party committees at various levels must put the target of the struggle for decisive progress in political and legal work as an important item on the agenda of the party committee, that ideological and political work on the political and legal front must be strengthened, that the cadres in the police force must continue to be organized to study the "Resolution" in depth, and that the thinking of large numbers of cadres in the police force must be truly unified so that they may be identical to the line, policies, and principles of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the spirit of the "Resolution," and so that they may also be in line with the political stand of the Central Committee. He added that words and actions which run counter to the four basic principles, the liberalization trend of the capitalist class, and unlawful acts and violations of the law must be dealt with fearlessly, that criticism must be directed and a struggle waged fearlessly against the guilty parties, and that culprits must absolutely not be appeased or accommodated or allowed to do as they please. He further pointed out that the party committee's policy of strengthening political and legal work and of exercising leadership in the implementation of the policy does not in any way interfere with the exercise of autonomous powers by the political and legal organizations, but that the main function of the party committee is to check on and exercise supervision over the political and legal organizations and to see that they faithfully implemented the policies and principles of the party. He explained that while it was not the job of the party committee to review ordinary cases, it would still concern itself with and take part in the deliberation of major cases of a difficult or controversial nature; that the political and legal organizations should report to and seek instructions and guidance from the party committee without delay; that the party committee should respect the autonomous powers bestowed on the political and legal organizations by law; and that the party committee should not monopolize or take over the normal duties of the political and legal organizations. He finally emphasized that, under the leadership of the party committee, the Public Security Bureau, the procuratorate, and the court should exercise mutual restraint, establish close cooperation, and wage a struggle in a coordinated manner.

9621
CSO: 4005/494

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

MARXIST PRINCIPLE ON NATIONALITIES QUESTION DISCUSSED

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Yang Mingqian [2799 2494 0467]: "A Basic Principle of Marxism To Handle Nationality Questions"]

[Text] Adhering to the equality between nationalities, strengthening unity among the various nationalities, and opposing all forms of oppression and discrimination against any nationality is the basic principle of Marxism for handling nationality problems. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee implemented this principle on nationality problems and, in accordance with the actual conditions of our various nationalities at present, made this principle concrete and also provided new regulations. These regulations are bound to have a profound and far-reaching influence on the unification of the thinking and behavior of the whole party and the people of various nationalities in the whole country, on the improvement and development of the socialist relations among the nationalities in our multinationality state as well as the strengthening of the unity among these nationalities.

Marxism holds that because of different historical conditions, there exist in the long process of development of the various nationalities some distinctions between those that are large in number and those that are small and between those that are advanced and those that are backward; but there is definitely no distinction as to superior and inferior, or nobler and humbler. All nations have made beneficial contributions to the progressive cause of mankind, have learned from and exchanged with one another, have promoted progress in social, political, economic and cultural respects, and have enjoyed equal status. Stalin said: "Every nation, big or small, has some characteristics that represent its own essential quality and some special qualities that belong only to that nation and not to any other nation. These characteristics constitute the very contributions each nation makes to the common treasury of world culture; they serve to supplement and enrich it. In this sense, all nations, big or small, enjoy equal status, and each nation is just as important as any other nation"("Selected Articles of Stalin," p 507).

Our great motherland has historically been a multinationality state. The various nationalities developed the country's vast territory in common, created

their prosperous economy and brilliant culture in common, and promoted the advancement of history in common. In their common development, the various nationalities forged their own respective characteristics and united to become the Chinese nation. For this reason, the relations between our various nationalities should be equal, should be those of unity and mutual assistance and those of friendship and cooperation.

Adhering to the principles of equality and unity among the various nationalities is also a requirement for the proletariat to accomplish its own historical mission. In a society ruled by exploitative classes, the toiling people of no nationality can enjoy freedom. The system of exploitation based on private ownership is the root source engendering the oppression of, and discrimination against, some nationalities. Only by overthrowing the rule of the exploitative classes, establishing a socialist state in which the people are masters in their own house, and further realizing the foresighted goal of communism can enable the proletarians and toiling people of the various nationalities to cast off forever the fate of being subject to exploitation and oppression. This historical mission of the proletariat can be realized only by unity among the various nationalities. Therefore, the proletariat is firmly opposed to all policies of the exploitative classes aiming at oppression of some nationalities and division of the nationalities and insists on the principles of equality and unity among the nationalities.

The establishment of our socialist system has brought to fruition and consolidated the great unity among the various nationalities of the country. But in order to accomplish the great historical mission of the proletariat, to eliminate the de facto inequality between the various nationalities, we must energetically develop our productive forces and realize the construction of socialist modernization. In a unitary multinationality state such as ours, while the population of the minority nationalities makes up only 6 percent of the country's total, the area of their distribution is nonetheless very extensive, as it makes up about 60 percent of the country's total. If we fail to improve and develop the relations between the nationalities and fail to adhere to equality between the nationalities or to forge their unity well, then realization of the four modernizations will become empty words. In the meantime, in order to build our country into a socialist modern power, we must have a good social order and a political situation of stability and unity. The more than 21,000 kilometers of our borderline of defense are mostly inhabited by our minority nationalities; their strategic position is very important. Only by adhering to equality and unity among the nationalities can we consolidate our national defense and create the condition for smoothly carrying out the construction of our modernization. Apart from this, historically speaking, the way relations between the various nationalities was handled has often made a difference between security and danger, governance and disturbance, in the country. Therefore, forging good relations between the nationalities and adhering to unity among the nationalities are of great significance. Lenin pointed out incisively: "Whoever fails to acknowledge national equality and linguistic equality, or fails to struggle against various kinds of national oppression and inequality, is not a Marxist or even a democrat. This is beyond any doubt" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 12, p 11).

Our party has adhered to the Marxist principles of equality and unity among the nationalities. After the establishment of New China, the party and the state, basing themselves on the actual conditions of the various nationalities, made these principles concrete and further formulated and carried out a series of policies, decrees, and measures on adhering to equality between the nationalities and strengthening unity among the nationalities. From the "Common Program" of the early period of the founding of the state to the several constitutions promulgated by the various sessions of the National People's Congress, pertinent articles have all been clearly provided. In order to assure the minority nationalities their right to participate in the management of state affairs on an equal status, the party and the state have taken special care of the quota of delegates from the minority nationalities participating in the National People's Congress and local people's congresses at the various levels. The ratio of such minority nationality delegates usually exceeds the ratio each such minority nationality enjoys in the country's total population; this is to insure that all nationalities, including those with less than 1,000 in population, have their own delegates. Meanwhile, in areas where the minority nationalities live in compact communities, nationality regional autonomy is put into practice so as to enable them to exercise the right to manage the internal affairs of their respective nationalities in the great unified family of the motherland. Each minority nationality has the freedom to develop its own spoken and written language, is entitled to proceed with litigations and defense in court in its own spoken and written language; it has the freedom to preserve or reform its customs and habits, with no interference from others; it has the freedom to participate in people's groups and the various professions, which cannot reject anyone because of his nationality background. When members of a minority nationality encounter national discrimination or abuse, they have the freedom to lodge complaints with the people's government. The party and the state have also done their best to help the minority nationalities to gradually develop their economic and cultural construction and cause their material and cultural life to undergo fairly great changes. All this has helped turn the scores of minority nationalities, who were unrecognized by the reactionary ruling classes and who remained powerless in the past, into equal members of the great family of our socialist motherland; a new type of socialist national relations have thus been established among the toiling people of the various nationalities. The vast ranks of the people of the minority nationalities, consequently, have developed profound feelings toward our socialist motherland and toward the great Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and earnestly love and uphold them.

But "on the national question, we have in the past, especially during the 'cultural revolution,' made the serious mistake of expanding class struggle and injured many cadres and masses of the minority nationalities. In our work, we have accorded less than sufficient respect for the right to autonomy on the part of the minority nationalities. We must learn a serious lesson from this and take note of it." Taking advantage of our mistake, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" counterrevolutionary clique trampled on the Marxist basic principles of open national discrimination and national oppression, thus creating not a few sensational unjust, false and erroneous cases of litigation and cruelly attacking and persecuting many good people. Under their interference and sabotage, the equal rights the various minority nationalities already

enjoyed were trampled under foot, and the unity among the nationalities was also seriously damaged. After the smashing of the "gang of four" counterrevolutionary clique, our country entered into a new period of historical development. The party time and again reiterated its policies regarding national equality and national unity and also adopted various measures in order to return to order from disorder on the national question; in particular, the Party Central Committee's 1980 decision on the question of our work in Tibet made it possible once again for our nationalities work to exude a thriving outlook in its forward development, and the cause of our national equality and national unity is thus provided with a new vista under the new situation. The party's "Resolution" conscientiously summed up the experience and lessons of the many years of our nationalities work by clearly pointing out: "Today the relationship between our various nationalities is basically the relationship between the toiling people of these nationalities." It can be foreseen that, along with the implementation of the "Resolution" and along with the deepening progress of the construction of our socialist modernization, the relationship of equality and mutual assistance between our various nationalities will continue to be consolidated and developed forward.

9255
CSO: 4005/608

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FREEDOM OF LITERARY, ARTISTIC CREATION DISCUSSED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 4 Feb 82 p 3

[Article by Tang Xuezhi [3282 1331 2535]: "A Discussion on Freedom of Creation"]

[Text] At present, our party is just seriously strengthening its leadership over literary and art undertakings and placing an emphasis on correcting the tendency of bourgeois liberalization. "Will this hamper and restrict our freedom of creation?" This expression of concern is actually unnecessary.

In literary and artistic creation, the authors should be given the full freedom to select their subject matter and artistic forms and to proceed with their creation according to their respective singular perception and particular strong points in style; as Lenin said, it is "absolutely necessary to assure people a broad world of individual creativity and individual likes and a broad world of ideas and fantasies, forms and substance." But this freedom is definitely not anarchism in creation, definitely not bourgeois liberalization, and definitely not what Lenin criticized as that kind of "absolute freedom in creation according to sheer individualistic thinking." It can only be a process of consciously perceiving, grasping, and complying with the inevitable laws of literary and artistic creation, including goals of literary and artistic production, on the part of the authors, and the better such perception, grasp, and compliance, the more extensive will also be the freedom thus gained. Such real freedom of creation in the scientific sense is not only not in contradiction with the party's leadership over literary and artistic undertakings but, on the contrary, actually inseparable from party leadership, and it can be fully guaranteed only under the correct leadership of the party.

Freedom of creation can only be predicated upon the authors' political freedom; this is possible only under correct party leadership. The history of literary and art development indicates that truly free literature and art are devoted to society and to human life; they are related to the active and progressive classes, strata, and ideas in man's history and consistent in varying degrees with the wishes and demands of the people and historical trends; they are thus also protected, supported and praised by them. Precisely because of this, the reactionary ruling classes of all the dynasties as well as Lin Biao and the "gang of four" all had to practice reactionary cultural autocracy by

drafting political means (police, the law, etc) to aid them in limiting the authors' freedom. Many progressive writers, artists, and literary critics were subject to cruel attack and persecution; many fine creations were proscribed, and some simply could not even be published and were merely transmitted orally and by transcription in secrecy. Such reactionary oppression is a fundamental obstacle to freedom of creation, and the state apparatus of the proletarian dictatorship led by the Communist Party has precisely eliminated such an obstacle in this fundamental instance. Because it is the most advanced and greatest revolutionary party in human history, its social ideals, spirit, sentiments and world view not only represent the direction of man's historical development but also provide unprecedented new personalities, new ideas, and a world for man's literary and art development; because the great cause of revolution and construction in which it is engaged urgently requires brand new, multifarious, rich and colorful literary and art works to serve it, therefore it not only does not need to limit real freedom of creation but, on the contrary, finds it necessary to energetically promote and enthusiastically encourage such freedom and endeavor to struggle against those reactionary forces and erroneous tendencies endangering the freedom of creation and sabotaging literary and art development by applying its own correct political leadership. Since the founding of our state, while our party has had serious faults on this question, its basic orientation of promoting and developing new socialist literature and art has not changed; hence, after it perceived its mistakes in practice, it had the courage to struggle against them and to solemnly and conscientiously correct them. Such reliable political leadership is the fundamental guarantee for implementing real freedom of creation.

Freedom of creation requires good ideological and theoretical conditions; it is also inseparable from the party's leadership and training. Since freedom of creation depends on the authors to consciously perceive, grasp, and comply with the laws of literature and art, including the fundamental goals of literary and art production, this requies the authors necessarily to have correct political views, literary and artistic views, and thinking methods, to be armed with an advanced world view and scientific theory; only thus can they achieve a profound understanding of the complex, multifarious social phenomena and freely proceed with their typical generalization according to the laws of literature and art. If a correct ideological and theoretical basis is absent and we engage ourselves in literary and artistic creation only from the standpoint of our individual and small-group selfish desires and prejudices, then we are bound to embark upon the devious road of bourgeois liberalization. It was precisely in this sense that Lenin emphatically pointed out: the real freedom in literary and artistic understakings is not naturally gained merely by politically casting off "police oppression"; authors are also required to thoroughly cast off "capital," "craving for fame and status," "bourgeois anarchist individualism" and such dirty things ideologically and theoretically, to establish an enthusiastic belief in the "socialist ideology" and the lofty goal of "serving hundreds and thousands of toiling people, these cream of the crop of the state, these forces of the state, and these representatives of the future of the state."

Practice proves that such correct ideology and theory with Marxism as its guide cannot take shape spontaneously by itself; it can only be the results of the

party's long efforts of education and training. Just look at the large contingent of fairly successful authors today, especially the middle-aged authors who constitute the core force: which one of them has not grown under the party's lengthy education? Even though many of them have suffered blows through mistakes, their thinking has never departed from the party's cause, their belief has never been separated from socialism, communism, their feelings have sided with the party and the people at all times, and their perception of the laws of literature and art and the goals of creation has been profound. Precisely because of this, they sense unprecedented freedom in their creation today, and they also demonstrate an exuberant, thriving capacity to create.

Apart from this, we must also see that, under the condition that class struggle and the influence of capitalist culture still exist, liberalization and anarchism in creation and various bourgeois literary and artistic ideas are bound to stubbornly manifest themselves under the pretext of freedom of creation; this would constitute a considerable interference with the freedom of creation. And if we wish to criticize in time and effectively such erroneous tendencies and eliminate such interference, we must also rely on the party's correct leadership. In the past few years, while a good situation prevailed in our literary circles, there also appeared certain expressions and works in contravention to the four basic principles, certain conspicuous petty-bourgeois sentimentalism, and low, vulgar descriptions of love and relations between the sexes, etc. These endanger the freedom of creation and the normal development of socialist literary and artistic undertakings. In stressing leadership over literary and artistic undertakings and actively launching correct literary and art criticism at present, the purpose of the party is previsely to eliminate interference in time in order to facilitate the prosperous development of our literary and artistic undertakings, and definitely not to limit or restrict such freedom.

A solemn people's author should fully recognize such a reliant relationship on the part of freedom of creation in respect to party leadership, and thereby consciously struggle against the tendencies of liberalization banking on weakening and casting off party leadership and against various bourgeois literary and artistic ideas. This is one aspect of the problem.

Another aspect is that, as far as the party's leading departments are concerned, we should also take sufficient note of the fact that in order to provide correct leadership over literature and art, we must resolutely carry out the principle of freedom of creation. This is because truly correct leadership can only be built on the basis of fully respecting the particular laws of literary and artistic production; as we depart from the objective laws of things, we also depart from Marxist science, and we are bound to make mistakes. The history of development of our socialist literature has both positively and negatively proved this truth.

In the spring of 1957, the Party Central Committee proposed the "double-hundred" principle; the formalistic and dogmatic mode of leadership then prevailing in literary and art circles was subject to due criticism, and freedom of creation was fairly well respected; this made it possible for literary and art productive power to experience a great liberation; a good situation of a

hundred flowers blooming and exuberant development soon emerged on the literary and art front. It was common knowledge that some tendencies of bourgeois liberalization, in fact, also appeared at the time. This was because class struggle and bourgeois literary and artistic ideas still existed and at the same time also because our party still lacked experience in exercising leadership. Ordinarily, if correct leadership could be adhered to, such erroneous tendencies would not have been very difficult to overcome. But while mistakes were critized, extremist efforts were made to theoretically confuse bourgeois liberalization with freedom of creation and to place them together on the side opposite to the party and attack them, thus erroneously hurling blows against and hurting a contingent of talented shock troops in literary circles and new flowers in the literary garden.

As a result, the baby was also thrown away with the dirty water. Thereafter, not only this "leftist" erroneous tendency continued to exist but it even continued to develop and ultimately was utilized by the "gang of four" and became the theoretical weapon with which they pushed their cultural autocracy; thus socialist literary and artistic undertakings were subjected to unprecedented destruction. This was a profound historical lesson. Precisely in view of this, while stressing the overcoming of tendencies of bourgeois liberalization today, our party places emphasis on the strengthening of the party's leadership over literature and art on the one hand and on the improvement of party leadership itself on the other hand. This is correct as well as wise.

9255
CSO: 4005/609

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHAANXI POLITICAL LEADERS DISCUSS PROBLEMS, SHORTAGES

Xi'an SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jan 82 p 2

[Text] [Statement by Zhang Zhengshu [1728 2973 6615] and Zhu Ruiwen [2612 3843 2429], members of the Provincial Political Consultative Conference: "Control Over Quack Doctors Must Be Tightened"]

At the present time, there are a large number of quack doctors practicing in various areas. Some claim to be "herb doctors trained by their forebears specializing in internal medicine and surgery" and some display phony pennants and citations in order to sell bogus medicine and cheat the masses out of their money. They are guilty of malpractice and have caused the death of their patients. It is proposed that the provincial Bureau of Public Health and the bureaus of public health in the various areas should look into the problem and put a stop to the illegal practice of medicine and the sale of bogus drugs. A permit to practice medicine should be issued to those who are truly qualified and who have passed an examination. However, they must not be permitted to charge exorbitant fees.

[Statement by Li Cuilin [2621 5488 7792] and Wang Xiuhua [3769 4423 5478], members of the Provincial Political Consultative Conference: "We Must Do a Good Job of Discovering and Using Talented People"]

A technician in a certain factory who graduated from college in 1962 has a particular aptitude for technology. Because of certain family problems, he failed to be promoted to engineer. However, after having been assigned to another place, he was first promoted to engineer and then to chief engineer, and eventually he was appointed deputy mayor.

Implementation of the policy toward intellectuals is something which has been brought up for discussion year after year. However, further steps must be taken to examine and implement the policy, to make an appeal to the public, to adopt concrete measures, and to make sure that they are implemented. Only by finding a solution to real difficulties is it possible to solve the brain-drain problem. Aside from removing the difficulties resulting from the assignment of husbands and wives of the intellectual class to different areas, it is also necessary to give people correct titles. Instead of giving a title to a person according to his performance and contributions, some units make seniority the chief consideration in the assignment of titles, with the result that the same

title of engineer is given to everybody who has served for a certain number of years. In the evaluation of senior engineers, no change in title is made. This indiscriminate system of conferring titles cannot serve to activate a positive attitude on the part of intellectuals.

[Statement by Zhang Fengling [1728 7264 3781], Pan Songchen [3382 2646 6591], Yu Guangliang [0359 0342 5228], and Luo Zhiquan [5012 3112 0356], delegates to the Provincial People's Congress: "Do Not Show Movies That Poison the Young"]

Some movies and television programs are harmful to the young. Some movies and television programs show love scenes taking place in the enemy camp, on the battlefield, or inside a tank. Some young men are now in the habit of sporting a moustache and of wearing a knife in their belt, and young women are taking to wearing necklaces and earrings, putting rouge on their lips, and having plastic surgery done on their eyelids. All that is more or less due to the showing of unhealthy movies and television programs.

[Statement by Lou Jianyan [2869 1696 3601], delegate to the Provincial People's Congress: "Do Not Show Movies That Poison the Young"]

The elaborate wedding scenes and home decorations shown in some movies have no basis in reality. Young people tend to do what they see in the movies. They long to possess such things as tape recorders, cameras, television sets, record players, floorlamps, electric fans with adjustable stands, and sofas. Some young people have launched into a career of crime in order to satisfy their needs.

[Statement by Du Daoshi [2629 6670 2514], member of the Provincial Political Consultative Conference: "An Emergency Call To Save the Forests in the Suburbs of Xianyang Municipality"]

During the past 20 years, the forests in the suburbs of Xianyang Municipality have been severely damaged. For example, the ancient cedar trees in scenic Zhouling, the trees that lined the road from Zhouling to Maoling, and the cedrela senensio trees that protected the road for a stretch of over 40 miles were decimated within the single year of 1959. After the locust trees that provided shade along the road from Dizhangwan to Changling had been felled, new trees were replanted and cut down again every year. All the trees along the 50-li highway from Chenyangchai to Dawangzhen and all the trees along the roads in Xianyang have been felled. Deserving special mention is the fact that the few little old trees from Nanhe village to Dizhangwan along the Xiansong highway have been so damaged that what tree limbs still remain shake in the wind. If this is permitted to continue, the beautiful suburbs of Qindu and Xianyang will be totally denuded of trees. It is proposed that the people's government in Xianyang Municipality adopt effective measures to deal with this problem.

[Statement of Xie Wanjie [6200 5502 2638], delegate to the Provincial Political Consultative Conference: "The Shortage of Farm Animals Requires Prompt Solution"]

The present shortage of farm animals in the villages has become a blatant contradiction. Take Yongshou County [Xianyang Prefecture] as an example: the number of large livestock has yet to reach the highest amount recorded in history. With the implementation of the responsibility system in agricultural

production, large domestic animals have become "farmers' treasures." The lean have been fattened and the number of litters has increased. While it is true that the breeding and rearing of animals by private individuals constitute a basic method of remedying the shortage of farm animals, it is too late for this method to cope with the crisis. There is a shortage of female animals and a large number of aging animals in the county, and the annual 700 or 800 births fall far short of the need. Taking the buying and selling of livestock in such counties as Yongshou as an example, there are more buyers than sellers. The price of livestock keeps going up, so that a decent animal can hardly be bought for 200 or 300 yuan. Some among the masses are of the view that by buying a large number of cows and horses from them every year, the government helped to solve a big problem, and that it would be nice if the government would now return the animals to them. It is proposed that (1) the concerned authorities in the province should have a uniform plan to assist the various county organizations to replenish their livestock, to bring about a balance between supply and demand, and to provide the counties with guidance in the purchasing of animals in the grazing areas, and (2) that the concerned authorities in the province should urge the concerned parties in the counties to do the purchasing on their own or jointly with other parties and to pay the purchase price of animals in advance to the masses, who would then do the purchasing on their behalf in order to meet their needs with the imminent approach of spring ploughing.

[Statement by Pan Konglin [3382 1313 2651], delegate to the Provincial People's Congress: "Proposal To Resume the Display of Standard Samples"]

There should be standard samples of flour to be sold and foodstuffs to be purchased. Last year, the masses expressed dissatisfaction over the inferior quality of the standard flour purchased by the food stations. In reply to questions put to them, the higher food authorities claimed that the flour had been analyzed and found to be wholesome. They were unable to produce a standard sample, however, when asked to do so. There are also no standard samples for grain buyers. The word of the examiner of grains is taken for granted, with the result that the masses are shortchanged and the reputation of socialist commercial dealings suffers. It is proposed that grain departments should resume the practice of the 1960's of displaying standard samples so that the masses may exercise some supervision and that improper practices may be corrected.

[Statement by Zhang Zhihe [1728 1807 7729], Hu Sheng [5170 4164] and Ma Yifang [7456 5031 5364], delegates to the Provincial People's Congress: "There Should Be a Change in the Administration of Operations by 'Prodigal Sons;"]

The waste and financial losses resulting from the mismanagement of business operations remain a common phenomenon of a serious nature at the present time. Some enterprises are plagued by such problems as inefficiency, corruption, theft, pretentiousness, and misappropriation. Some enterprises suffer from lax labor discipline, and machines are left to run unattended. If these problems are not corrected, the cost of production will not go down, profits will not go up, and losses will inevitably result.

At the present time, many enterprises are selling their products below the market price in the domestic market. This practice will reduce the income of the state, erode the morale of the workers and staff members, encourage undesirable practices, and create an extremely bad influence in society.

The provincial government and the concerned departments at various levels should come forward with effective measures to improve the administration of enterprise operations, strictly enforce financial and economic discipline, and put an end to the practice on the part of some enterprises to entrust the administration of operations to "prodigal sons." The problem cannot be solved merely by engaging in empty talk at a meeting or by putting some words in a document.

9621
CSO: 4005/494

ARTICLE STRESSES LEARNING FROM PAST TO AVOID MISTAKES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 31 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Zhou Guoeong [0719 0948 2837]: "Conceal One's Sickness for Fear of Treatment"]

[Text] "Conceal one's sickness for fear of treatment" is a story that dates back to long ago, alluding to the fact that everyone has his own different reasons to "conceal his sickness for fear of treatment."

There are some people who really do not know (nor believe) that they are sick. Duke Huan of the State of Qi during the Warring States Period was an example. One day when the famous doctor, Bian Que, found that the duke had "contracted a disease that affected the outer layer of his skin tissue and that it might get worse if not treated," his reply was: "I am in good health." Almost 5 days later, when Bian Que pointed out that the "disease begins to affect his blood vessels," meaning that he was now more seriously ill, the duke still did not believe it. Another 5 days later when Bian Que further warned the duke that the "disease now threatens his abdominal system," and was worsening, he just ignored what was said. Another 5 days later, the duke still reacted nonchalantly when he was told that the disease had spread to his marrow, and beyond the point of any medical cure. One day when he really fell ill, and "sent for Dr Bian Que, the doctor disappeared." At this point, his illness was beyond the power of doctors. If Duke Huan of the State of Qi had taken the doctor's word at its face value from the very beginning and allowed the doctor to treat him, his recovery from the disease was possible. Because he assumed that he was in good health when he was really "sick" and because he treated the doctor's advice as "nonsense," his illness eventually got out of control, and cost him his life!

There are others who can admit their sickness but still want to "conceal it for fear of treatment." Their mistrust of the doctors' "motives" often discourages them from seeing a doctor. A relevant example can be found in "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms" which includes a scene depicting Cai Cao inviting Hua Tuo to treat his headache. Cai Cao is a self-styled king of the Wei Dynasty known for his covert plot to cooperate with Sun Quan in isolating the Han Kingdom in Sichuan and in defeating Guan Yu. When Cai Cao gleefully sees his plot pay off, he feels heady all of a sudden, and sends a special envoy to fetch Hua Tuo to treat him. Hua Tuo tells Cai Cao: "Your Majesty, your illness is caused by an epidemic. It is now rooted in your brain, and cannot be expected to go away by itself. Nor can it be cured by drinking herb tea alone. My suggestion of treatment is to let

you first drink some herb tea which will numb your lungs, and then to let me perform brain surgery with a sharp-edged ax. In this way, the cause of your illness can be removed and eliminated." Upon hearing this, Cai Cao flies into a rage and says: "Do you want to murder me?" Hua Tuo then proceeds to tell Cai Cao of his previous successful experience in scraping the bone of Guan Yu and healing his wounds, caused by a poisonous arrow, with his own highly developed surgical technique; he implores Cai Cao to trust him. Unexpectedly, this explanation makes Cai Cao more suspicious of Hua Tuo and more angry than ever. In the end, he even orders his aides to "arrest and imprison Hua Tuo" and "set up a kangaroo court to question and torture him" until he is beaten to death. By then, Cai Cao also feels more heady than ever under "a clout from the rising fever which makes his eyes cloudy, until he cries loudly, with tears trickling down his face. Soon, Cai Cao is pronounced dead." Of course, "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms" is fiction and not an authentic historical record whose contents are at variance with that of the authentic "Historical Account of the Three Kingdoms." At any rate, the historical fact shows that Cai Cao did kill Hua Tuo because of his suspicion of the doctor's motives. The character of Cai Cao as portrayed in the novel typifies an impressive artistic personality whose suspicion of Hua Tuo's motives against him leads him to conceal his sickness and to kill the doctor.

Men fed by grains cannot avoid being sick. Can anyone claim himself to be a saint free from mistakes? When you make mistakes, you must accept criticism. If you are sick and not aware of it, and if you act like Duke Huan of the State of Qi concealing your sickness for fear of treatment, in the end, your health will become hopeless. Your rejection of criticism of your mistakes will lead you to commit even more serious mistakes until you get bogged down in a quagmire and can find no way to extricate yourself from it. This is an attitude that is not worthy of emulation.

As soon as you are aware of your sickness, your sincere cooperation in following the doctor's prescriptions and treatment is necessary. As soon as you are aware of your shortcomings and mistakes, you will have no reason to fear displeasing but sincere admonition. Nor should you have any reason to nitpick about the method and demeanor with which criticism is conducted. If you mistake the doctor's sincere attempt to save your life as a sinister plot to harm you, you will make a big mistake. "To remember the past mistakes as an assurance against repetition of the similar mistakes in the future" is a lesson left by Cai Cao. This is a lesson that is worthy of appreciation and study by us.

As believers in scientific materialism, we must seek truth from facts. We should not conceal our sickness for fear of treatment. When anyone commits mistakes, he should be prepared to accept criticism. By concealing his sickness for fear of treatment, and by glossing over his fault and covering it up, he will end up hurting not only himself but others as well. This is why our party has viewed the practice of criticism and self-criticism as one of its three excellent traditional styles of work. As a result of the 10 years of catastrophic civil strife, and under the impact of the leftist ideology, many comrades have made themselves appear "like birds frightened by the bow" at the mere mention of criticism. This is in effect absolutely unnecessary. We must make "criticism and self-criticism" part of our political life and something indispensable to our daily activities.

Of course, we must draw lessons from those such as "quack doctor, Hu." Critics should conduct criticism in a friendly manner, and in a way that is appropriate to a given locality, and pay attention to method and demeanor in the course of criticism. The most simplified form of criticism designed to "cure a hundred diseases with a single fixed prescription that is bound to cause a hundred mistakes" should be avoided. We must sincerely "learn from our past mistakes in order to avoid the same ones in the future and cure the sickness to save the patient."

While rejecting the tendency to conceal the sickness for fear of treatment, we must hone our skills in curing the sickness. Only in this way can we truly turn the practice of "criticism and self-criticism" into a new style of work of our socialist society.

9574
CSO: 4005/582

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PROPONENTS OF 'NEW ESTHETIC PRINCIPLES' CRITICIZED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Fu Ping [0265 5493]: "Toward Which Direction Should the Skylight of Art Open?--A Critique of 'The Rise of the New Esthetic Principles'"]

[Text] In the face of the appearance of "hazy poems" in poetic circles and people's extensive discussion of these poetic works in the last few years, Comrade Sun Shaozhen [1327 4801 2182] has attempted to expound the value and status of the poetic works of certain youths in today's poetic circles from the standpoint of esthetic theory. It should be said that in literary and art circles in which theory has fallen behind creation, this kind of exploration is quite meaningful. But the "new esthetic principles" proposed by Comrade Sun Shaozhen, just like some of the "hazy poems," are as murky as they are biased. This calls for some deliberation.

In his "Rise of the New Esthetic Principles," Comrade Sun Shaozhen touches on how some young poem writers have demonstrated a kind of recalcitrant attitude toward traditional esthetic concepts, saying: "They disdain to become trumpets of the spirit of the times, and they also disdain to portray great achievements beyond their own emotional world. They even avoid writing about the experiences and scenes of heroic struggle and selfless labor of the personalities to whom we have become accustomed. Their tradition is different from our tradition of songs of praise in the 1950's and fighting songs in the 1960's in that they do not directly praise life but pursue the secrets life has dissolved in their souls." This passage not only constitutes a generalization of the characteristics of those poetic works on his part but also confers upon them the appelation "new esthetic principles" and thereby praises them and affirms them. On the basis of these "principles," Comrade Sun Shaozhen excludes the socialist spirit of the times and people's experiences of work and struggle in our real life from the realm of art, and confines the vision of poets and artists to the small circle of "delineating our own emotional world" and pursuing "the secrets in our own souls." On this point alone, Comrade Sun Shaozhen has already pushed these "new esthetic principles" toward the individualistic abyss of "self-expression." According to what is said in Comrade Sun Shaozhen's article, the political ideology in society can only influence a part of man's spiritual life; beyond this there is also a "self-matter," which can be neither replaced nor influenced and which is independent of the political ideology in society. This "self-matter"--consciousness and feelings--"has different connotations and differents laws" from

the consciousness and feelings subject to the influence of the political ideology in society, and art seeks precisely to explore the consciousness and feelings of such people. Hence, not nakedly as in the above case but evasively in his expression, Comrade Sun Shaozhen executes another exclusion, that is, he excludes the part of consciousness and feelings of the poet which are subject to influence by the political ideology in society, and thereby further confines the vision of art in the expression and pursuit of those "private feelings" and "secrets in our souls" which are not subject to the influence of the political ideology in society. In this way, Comrade Sun Shaozhen also tinges his individualistic "self-expression" with a thick color of subjective idealism.

As a result, we can see that this theory of esthetics on Comrade Sun Shaozhen's part violates the Marxist principles of esthetics. Engels demanded in his day to have the working class' life of struggle included in the realm of realistic creation and expressed the hope that literary and art works could "praise the stubborn, earthshaking, revolutionary proletarians." Lenin asked that literary and art workers "constantly place workers and peasants before themselves." Comrade Mao Zedong in turn earnestly guided revolutionary literary and art workers to go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, to get to know them, to understand them, to describe them, and to portray them, thus "propelling the masses of people toward unity and struggle, and to proceed to transform their own environment." If one calls oneself a poet or artist who serves the people and affirms that one's art is socialist art, then one must adhere to this Marxist literary principle. Today, the soldiers and civilians of the whole country are exerting themselves for the prosperity of the state and sweating and shedding blood for the construction of socialist modernization; there have emerged praiseworthy, heroic personalities and stories by the thousands. How can our poets declare that they "disdain" to portray the people and their achievements? Only the people's life and struggle are an inexhaustible source for our literature and art. In his congratulatory message at the nation's fourth congress of literary and art circles, Comrade Deng Xiaoping called upon the literary and art workers to "fully demonstrate the fine qualities of our people, praise the great achievements the poeple have won in revolution and construction and in their struggle against various enemies and various difficulties," to "consciously absorb raw materials, themes, stories, languages, poetic feelings and picturesque ideas from the life of the people and nurture themselves with the assertive spirit of the people in creating history." On this question, Comrade Sun Shaozhen has turned the guiding hand of art precisely in the opposite direction, suggesting that artists avoid people's experiences of struggle and scenes of selfless labor, that they disdain to portray the timely feelings of this new era and open the skylight of art only toward the fairy land of peach bloosoms of "self-spirit expression" and "secrets in the soul." According to this kind of esthetic theory, poets and artists may simply turn a deaf ear to, and look but not see, the stemmed flood current at Gezhouba Dam, the gunshots during the war of self-defensive counterattack, the smiles on the faces of the peasants, the eternal lights in front of the computers, and they need only shut themselves up underneath the small skylight of art, recall the "bright red scarf" kissed by someone, pursue the "blue handkerchief" that fell from a porch, and fabricate love stories ranging from

the "sublime" to the "ignoble." According to this kind of esthetic theory, people can only knit their brows and mull over the "super art" of such unintelligible stanzas as "Against the swift wind, the bird/Quickly turns in a different direction/A lad proceeds to pick up/A fen-coin/Because of fancy, the grapevine's/Extended tentacles/Because of cringe, the sea wave's/Hunched back." According to such a theory as that of Comrade Sun Shaozhen, there would be nothing left of literature and art serving the people and serving socialism.

Then do the expression and pursuit, as advocated by Comrade Sun Shaozhen, of such "private feelings" and "internal secrets" independent of the political ideology in society really exist? While emphasizing that "we ourselves" and "individuals" "should have a higher status in society," Comrade Sun Shaozhen broaches "we ourselves" and "individuals" in conjunction with society and the times. "Since man has created society, society should not deny individual interests on account of its own interests' since man has created society's spiritual civilization, the spirit of society (of the times) should not be taken as a rival force of the individual spirit." Here, we need not dwell on the preposterous nature of this emphasis on elevating "we ourselves" and "individuals" above society; actually, this approach on his part has already bored an unstemmable hole in the wide dam of his theory. Since he still broaches "individuals" and "we ourselves" along with their antagonistic struggle against "society" and "the times," then "individual feelings, individual grief and pleasure, and individual mental worlds" are bound to be subject to the influence of the political ideology in society, and cannot possibly be sublimated to become some transcendent "self-matter." Marx said: "Man's essence is not necessarily the abstract matter intrinsic in a single individual; actually, it is the sum total of all social relationships." Comrade Mao Zedong said: "In a class society, every person lives in a definite class status and all ideas are without exception marked by class imprints." In reality, it is also impossible for those hazy, wavering, gloomy and other deformed "individual feelings" and "individual mental worlds" to be transcendent, intrinsic; it is only because of the influence of the more complicated social phenomena, factors, and ideologies to which they are subjected that they are manifested in a certain individual in a singular way. Some youths, having emerged from the social environment of the 10 years of turmoil, eventually wrote some poems describing the distorted minds created by this society; this is understandable. Such manifestations of art, like the social phenomena of the 10 years of turmoil, can only be temporary in history and in the long river of art. At the end of 1980 and beginning of 1981, after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, Comrade Sun Shaozhen was not guiding young poem writers to depart from those distorted private feelings and join the trend of exerting our spirit and reviving the China of the day, to feel the new feelings, ideas and consciousness of the masses of the people, and to sing new songs with their new vocal cords; instead, he wanted them to shun and stay far away from the people's life, to portray the "private feelings" and "secrets in the soul" which were not subject to the influence of the political ideology in society. This was bound to be like what Lu Xun had criticized, "living in a fighting era but wishing to stay independent of fight"; this could only be "a fantasy created by the mind." No doubt, Comrade Sun Shaozhen was guiding the young poem writers; but this

guidance directed them precisely to a blind alley. Perhaps Comrade Sun Shaozhen did not anticipate this.

Naturally, we by no means exclude the "self" in poetry and the "self" in art, because all works of art are results of using the eyes and the mind of this "self" to observe life, observe the world, and then reflect them in definite artistic forms through this "self" and with the ideas and feelings of this self. But only when this "self" and "the feelings of this self" are consistent, or basically consistent, with the times, the masses of the people, and social life can one's art possess esthetic value and moving power. The more the feelings of the "self" are deeply rooted in the soil of social life, the more they are closely linked to the feelings of the masses of the people, then the greater will be the social value of one's art, and it may even be conveyed and praised by posterity forever. "The bright moonlight before my bed, Looks almost like frost on the ground; As I raise my head to look at the bright moon, I can't help lowering it immediately to think of my native village." What this little poem expresses is entirely Li Bai's private feelings. But these private feelings on Li Bai's part partake of the general character of the people. Who has not experienced nostalgic thinking and feelings toward his native village? This little poem of Li Bai's, which expresses individual feelings in a given environment, is also most likely to evoke the common feelings of all people in thinking about their native villages. Hence, it has transcended all dynasties and been passed on and praised by all without decline. What is expressed by Guo Xiaochuan's [6753 1420 1557] "Autumn Song" is also individual feelings: "As a fighter, one can never lay down one's weapon; even if there is but one minute left/One must pursue the revolution, never halt one's steps without advance, even if one faces a forest of bayonets." "I know, there is bound to be one day, I am going to grow weak and old, wearing a clumsy outlook/But I only wish that by then my heart remains young just like the time when I first joined the army." Such feelings can really touch people's hearts, encourage people to assert themselves, and encourage people to strive forward. If the personal feelings of poets and artists run counter to the feelings of the masses of the people, as suggested by Comrade Sun Shaozhen, and they cast aside the life of struggle on the part of the masses of the people, ignore the sentiments and wishes of the masses of the people, turn their backs on the times, turn their backs on society, and indulge in portraying and pursuing the "private feelings" and "secrets in the soul" which no one else except one's "self" can guess, then, we may also borrow the words of Belinsky to say: "With respect to those who express only their own sorrows, we may borrow the words of Lermontov to say: 'Whether it is painful to you or not, what does it have to do with us?'" Indeed, however aloof you may pretend to be and however elegant you may pretend to be, what can such "inarticulate" and "hardly understandable" feelings have to do with the masses of the people?

9255
CSO: 4005/585

PUBLICATIONS URGED TO DEVELOP MASS CRITICISM OF LITERARY WORKS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by Ruo Hua [5387 5478]: "A Brief Discussion on 'How To Be Involved'"]

[Text] Recently, I enjoyed a chit-chat with a number of comrades who devote their spare time to reviewing literary and artistic works. In response to the question of how correctly to develop literary and artistic reviews, these comrades said ruefully: "It is hard to say. It is really difficult to find a way to develop the literary and artistic review." How difficult is it? Their answer to this question raised by me is that their articles have been rejected by the editorial departments of newspapers and publications. These are comrades who have devoted their spare time and attention to reading newspapers and journals. Their insinuative review of certain unhealthy styles of literary works has been mostly returned by publications. Their articles have been returned not because of quality but because they are full of "criticism." In letters returning their articles, the editorial departments of some publications often give this polite but pointed remark: It appears that your articles are devoted to criticizing certain works in certain publications, and from the positions of our publications, we consider it inappropriate to criticize the contents of other fraternal publications. For this reason, we have to return your articles. Some even have taken a more clear-cut attitude by stating that we are not planning to publish your articles because we do not want to involve ourselves in controversies about other publications. This argument against "involvement in controversies" has also been heard frequently these days. For example, during informal discussions, some comrades are eager to involve themselves in debates over the merits or demerits of certain films, television programs and novels they have seen. These are debates full of incisive analysis, independent views, positive but sharp criticism. But when you urge them to put them in print as contributions to the newspaper "debates," you will face difficulties in persuading them to do so. In recanting what they have said, they can immediately change their attitude by stating that the things that have happened in the literary and artistic circles are none of our business and why should we get involved? You see, this is another argument "against involvement." As a result of such "arguments against involvement," debates over the major issues of the day involving the violation of the four basic principles have disappeared, giving rise to ultraindividualism and the liberalization tendency. Our failure to subject them to timely criticism by means of persuasion, and warn the public of their growth and our tolerance of their development have proved harmful not only to the development of our literature and art but also to our young comrades.

Gone forever with the downfall of the "gang of four" are attempts to exaggerate the mistakes of others to the maximum, to frame with false charges the innocent through the launching of mass criticism, and to use criticism as a weapon to overthrow their adversaries and other feudal fascist tactics. I have no doubt in my mind that these tactics which prevailed when the "gang of four" was in the heyday of their power have been prohibited forever. But we cannot abandon the decent and healthy form of criticism and self-criticism just as we cannot give up eating for fear of choking. As a matter of fact, fearing criticism is a mental disorder. To cure it calls for vigorous development of criticism and self-criticism. As soon as the people get used to it, their fear will disappear. Of course, in the course of criticism, the policy of persuasion and education must be implemented and coupled with the method of reasoning. It is needless to mention this here. I understand that the reactivation of literary and artistic review calls for taking the mass line and making efforts to secure the support of the masses. Only in this way can we gradually create a new environment in which the people can speak out on issues of the day freely and without apprehension, and a habit of this kind can be expected to develop. For example, is it possible for us to rely on a small number of professionals to canvass and review so many publications and so many works on literature and art that are published every month and every year throughout the country? We must understand that the people love the art and the art needs to be appreciated by the people even more. If artists want to continue to make progress and to improve the quality of their works, they must be prepared to listen to criticism from all directions with a humble mind and turn receptive ears to valuable opinions voiced by others, and they must rely on the people to judge their works, and their ideological and artistic achievements. The vast numbers of spare time literary and artistic reviewers and lovers of literature and art have expressed their concern and love for the kind of literature and art promoted by our party. Clearly, the argument "against their involvement" in literary and artistic review is unwise! What is wrong with their open-minded "participation" in such reviews in the people's interests?

I hope that those in charge of the supplementary editions of various newspapers and publications devoted to literary and artistic review are ready to welcome warmly criticism from readers. Only in this way can the contingent of professional reviewers work more closely than ever with the contingent of spare time reviewers to enliven the activities of the review of our socialist literature and art and to brighten the prospect for the development of literature and art in our country.

9574
CSO: 4005/582

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GRADUATE STUDENTS COMPLYING WITH STATE WORK ASSIGNMENTS

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Luo Ying [7482 5391]: "Analyzing the Statement of 'One Should Be Able to Design One's Own Life'--On Work Assignment of Graduates of Schools of Higher Learning"]

[Text] Recently, assignment decisions for this year's graduates of schools of higher learning have continuously been sent down. The clarion call "respond to the call of the motherland; comply with the work assignment of the country" is being accepted by an ever greater number of graduate students. Overflowing with lofty sentiments, many graduate students have resolved to go wherever the motherland needs them most!

On the question of work assignments for graduates of higher level schools, there are also those who espouse the slogan "Each designing his own life." Comrades who hold this opinion feel that in assigning work to graduates of higher level schools one need only proceed based on the aims, interests and desires of the graduates to most effectively develop the utilization of their talents. If the emphasis in on compliance with central work assignments of the country [they say], the development of talent will be hindered to the point of strangling talent. How should we, in the final analysis, view this issue?

We feel that if we take "Each designing his own life" to mean that in the process of cultivating talents we proceed by noting each person's special characteristics and fully broadening individual initiative and individual creativity to more greatly contribute our talents and intelligence to the four modernizations of the motherland, then there is in it a certain positive significance. However, be that as it may, the fruition of human talents cannot entirely rely on "Each designing his own life." This is because the development of talents, even talents developed through self-study, cannot be detached from particular social conditions; all must be affected by the restrictions and regulations of society. Our's is a socialist country and everyone can "design his own life" but this "designing" must proceed from the needs of the state and the people and cannot stand in opposition to those needs. To bring up "designing one's own life" while assigning work to graduates and to only mention work assignments based on the personal wishes, desires and interests of the graduates while not mentioning that individuals should comply with centralized work assignments of the country is wrong.

We do not deny that in previous assignments of work to graduates, owing to changes in situations and alterations in construction plans graduates in some specialties were, based on original projections, too many. Either due to the work not being sufficiently refined or inflexibilities in work assignment plans, there arose deficiencies such as specialties not matching with skills and training not being utilized etc. which adversely affected the development of people's talents. This certainly must be improved. At the same time, we do not consider the general policy and implementation of the country's central work assignment program to have already reached a point of perfection; henceforth we can still advance further and summarizing from experience carry out the process of graduate work assignment in a more reasonable manner. But whatever the case, the socialist nature of our country and the demands of realizing a planned economy both determine that graduates of higher levels of education must carry out the principles of the country's central work assignment program. This is without doubt and there can be no vacillation. Facts from more than 30 years prove that, generally speaking, the policy of central work assignment is correct and effective and beneficial to the full development of individual talent and the full utilization of individual skills. To only grasp some of the deficiencies of past work assignment [programs] and to entirely refute the central work assignment policy of the state to the point of saying that whatever compliance there is to national work assignment will strangle talent is entirely without basis.

There are those who envy the freedom of university graduates of capitalist countries to seek their own employment. They really don't know that in capitalist countries there are indeed a good number of university graduates who find employment matching their specialties and who find positions they really enjoy. But at the same time, there is a good portion of graduates who are unable to utilize what they have learned and many become unemployed after graduation. To eke out a living, they have no choice but to seek work as helpers in hotels and restaurants or to become taxi drivers. How can it be said that this is making the most of their talent or fully utilizing what they have learned? Indeed our university graduates do not have the "freedom" of capitalist countries and our centralized assignment does nonetheless have this or that shortcoming, but we at least have one point [in our favor]--none will have to face the threat of unemployment. That state expends large amounts of human effort and financial resources to cultivate university students who, upon graduation are given suitable employment by the state. This is an embodiment of the superior nature of the socialist system. Today, if we employed the slogan of "each designing his own life" to advocate to university graduates the "freedom" of looking for jobs and positions, then we could positiviely say that not only would it be disadvantageous to the four modernizations of the country but it would also lack any benefit to the majority of university graduates. The only result it could have would be to cause great numbers of people to fail to find work. It would only aid the growth of improper trends such as "opening the back door" and "nepotism" etc. How can this guarantee "developing talent to the fullest; utilizing what one has learned"?

The popularity of the slogan "Each designing his own life" has already caused some difficulties for the graduate assignment [effort]. We see in every

school of higher learning some graduate students who have designed for themselves this sort of "ideal plan": Don't go to other parts of the country. Stay in Shanghai. Don't go to the basic level or hardship areas. Go to work only in large schools, big organizations, scientific research institutes and design academies. Such "self-serving designing" is fine indeed. Too bad it doesn't work. Were everyone to "design his own" in this manner, everyone would remain in Shanghai, unwilling to go out to hardship areas. How then could our goals of revitalizing China and improving our underdeveloped [country] be realized? For some of those graduates who are so enthusiastic about "Each designing his own life" and are unwilling to comply with the country's central assignments, the key factor may not be to best develop their personal talents and capabilities in order to make greater contributions to the country, but may be for the love of comfort and the fear of hardship that they fiddle with ideas of individualism.

We believe that today's university graduates who are aware, who possess ambition and who have aspirations, will disagree with the slogan "Each designing his own life" and will certainly place the interests of the state and the people above everything else. They are certainly able to closely integrate their personal future with the socialist future of their motherland and, happily complying with the central work assignments of the state, will go wherever the country needs them most.

9519
CSO: 4005/454

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

QIAN XUESEN ON QUALITY OF ACADEMIC DEGREE SYSTEM

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 29 Dec 81 p 2

[Article summarizing a speech given by Qian Xuesen to the members of the Staff Office of the State Council Academic Degree Commission: "Qian Xuesen Makes Suggestions for Making a Success of Our Country's Academic Degree System"]

[Text] Recently, State Council Degree Commission member and Vice Chairman of the National Defense Scientific and Technological Commission, Qian Xuesen [6929 1331 2773] put forth some constructive suggestions to the comrades in charge of the State Council Academic Degree Commission Staff Office on the issue of how we might make a success of our country's academic degree system.

Qian Xuesen said: Our country is a socialist country. As our academic degrees are different from the academic degrees of capitalist countries, they ought to have their own characteristics. First, applicants to be given academic degrees should have a definite upbringing in Marxist philosophy and be able to utilize Marxist philosophy to guide research work. This point ought to be embodied quite prominently in the academic degree system of our country. For example, those who would study natural sceince or engineering technology should first fully learn natural dialectics, the theory of knowledge and the history of science. At the beginning of the papers they write, graduate students ought to clearly explain the position their paper occupies in the development of the subject in their field and how it was developed dialectically, so as to verify the degree of the writer's grasp of Marxist philosophy. This way, not only would the imperatives of the graduates students but also those of their advisors would be heightened. Second, applicants to receive academic degrees certainly should establish the concept of serving the people. Anyone who would become a science worker ought to have this kind of ability; the ability to employ ordinary language to explain his specialized knowledge to the people (including the leaders). At the time graduate students write their thesis it would be best if they would also compose a piece in ordinary language with the same content. This can help to smash bookish knowledge and the corrupt practice of only being able to talk jargon. Third, each specialized academic degree should be planned based on proportioned development. Presently, whenever a specialty has the conditions for cultivation, specialized talents are then cultivated. This is acceptable initially. But scientific technology is developmental; there is constant change in the relative importance of specialized subjects of study.

New subjects of study and new specialties are continually emerging. We should henceforth, step by step, prepare a cultivation program based on the needs of socialist construction. We should enthusiastically support newly established sciences and urgently needed and fragile specialties and motivate a portion of science research personnel to transfer over to these sciences and specialties and cultivate talent in these areas in a planned manner. Fourth, we need the entire country playing the same game. The academic degree of capitalist countries exists in a free market so only a degree from a famous university has monetary value. Our situation is different; our country has uniformly formulated academic degree criteria. [Even] an unpublishable degree thesis ought to be printed up and distributed to members of an appraisal group in the relevant field of study and colleagues for their evaluation. So long as we genuinely carry out academic democracy, the key point of quality will be firmly grasped. After units to confer academic degrees have approved a thesis, there should be a period of time to allow colleagues to bring up differing opinions, to isolate those who haven't done well, and to be able to nullify academic qualifications.

Qian Xuesen raised the point that our cultivation of specialized talents should serve the four modernizations. The research topics of academic degree graduates should closely tie in with the needs of the country. What sense does it make if a clinic medical doctor is unable to cure illness? We need to guard against dead-end probings and multitudiously detailed philosophies in research methodology. Presently, there are those within the social sciences who take a phrase from the ancients to create long essays; repeatedly examining points, they compose a long thesis--to my mind this is meaningless.

Qian Xuesen said: To raise the level of the ranks of qualified teachers is to guarantee the foundation of academic degree quality. Presently, the number of older generation scientists in our country is small and their average age is old. It is the middle-aged associate professors and lecturers who occupy the front line. They graduated prior to the "Cultural Revolution" and their studies have been comparatively more systematic. They have been working already for 20 or 30 years and are well qualified in the performance of ordinary research work and have hidden potential resources. Among them are a good many who have carried out numerous scientific research projects and have attained a certain accomplishment of whom it can be said, as when ascending Mount Tai, they have passed through "Middle Heaven Gate" and are just making their way to "Eighteen Plates" to climb up to "South Heaven Gate" but who still have not ascended "Jade Emperor Peak" and so are unable to "in one look make small the group of foothills." This is because their range of knowledge is comparatively narrow; lacking creativeness, they can only follow others. Help them upward a bit and it becomes a "breakthrough." This is an immediate task of greatest urgency. As I see it, we must first resolve the question of their ambition. Lacking ambition to promote the prosperity of China keeps them from reaching the top. Besides this, there must be a methodology of scientific thought; both the educational and scientific realms should seriously organize study of Marxist theory of knowledge and methodology, and study of the general and specific policies relevant to scientific research. Additionally, we should certainly foster academic democracy. For example, each research room could organize weekly academic discussion sessions.

Specialists from different fields could "drop by" and freely participate. Specialists could explain their views and students could express their opinions. After much repeated discussion, they could conclude with a summation and hence achieve some results. For every participant, this manner of working, of 100 Schools Contending, of removing the chaff and retaining the essence, of throwing out the false and preserving the true should be excellent training. When we were graduate research students overseas we depended on these methods to raise our level. The academic centers of every country in the world have adopted such methods.

With special emphasis, he said: After resolving the above mentioned issues, we will then have the most important basis for the realization of the modernization of science and technology.

9515
CSO: 4005/454

STATE COUNCIL AUTHORIZES 458 COLLEGES TO GRANT B.A. DEGREES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jan 82 p 1

[Article: "Beginning This Year 458 Institutes of Higher Learning Will Offer B.A. Degrees"]

[Text] The State Council recently authorized 458 institutes of higher learning to grant the first group of B.A. degrees. The State Council Commission on Academic Degrees and the Ministry of Education jointly issued the list of the first group of colleges and universities authorized to grant B.A. degrees. They also jointly sent out notices on how the task of awarding this year's B.A. degrees should be handled to each concerned ministry, committee and central bureau office of the State Council and to departments (bureaus) of higher education in every province, municipality and autonomous region.

The first group of colleges and universities that were authorized to grant B.A. degrees were all established with the authorization of the State Council. They started enrolling undergraduates before and during 1978. They met the demands in every regard for qualified teachers and teaching prerequisites. Included are: 31 colleges, 169 colleges of science and engineering, 57 teaching colleges, 18 colleges of finance and economics, 3 colleges of political science and law, 10 colleges of language and literature, 8 colleges of physical education, 22 colleges of art, 9 colleges of ethnic studies, 51 colleges of agriculture and forestry, and 80 colleges of medicine. These institutions of higher learning are authorized to grant the first group of B.A. degrees to this year's graduates.

In the joint notice of the State Council Commission on Academic Degrees and the Ministry of Education, it was pointed out that all concerned colleges and universities must uphold a socialist orientation in conferring B.A. degrees. In order to receive a degree, this year's graduates must endorse the leadership of the CCP and the socialist system. They must be willing to serve the cause of socialist construction, observe discipline and the socialist legal system, and be well-behaved. The following academic standards are necessary for receiving a B.A. degree: candidates must be college undergraduates who have already fulfilled all academic requirements and be verified as permitted to graduate. They must have done well in their course of study and in their graduation thesis (graduation project or some other graduation exercise) and have clearly demonstrated a fairly good mastery of the basic theories of their

subject. They must also have some specialized knowledge and basic abilities in their field. They must have an elementary ability to do scientific research or undertake specialized technical work.

The notice also indicated that each institute of higher learning that is authorized to grant B.A. degrees and each of their departments, when verifying the academic records of undergraduate students, need not organize an academic qualifying examination. Rather, they may base it on the cumulative academic record of the student in completing his course of study. Methods for assessing a graduation thesis (graduation project or some other graduation exercise) may be determined by each college or university. It is not necessary to set up a defense.

9864
CSO: 4005/534

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CYL TRAINING OF EMPLOYMENT-AWAITING YOUTHS EMPHASIZED

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Ling Guodian [0407 0948 1156], secretary of CYL Gansu provincial committee: "The Communist Youth League Must Shoulder the Heavy Responsibility of Educating the Employment-Awaiting Youths"]

[Text] At present, employment-awaiting on the part of large contingents of senior and junior middle school graduates has already become a social problem on which the eyes of the whole country are fixed; the number, the degree of influence, and the extent of involvement have all reached a point where they can no longer be avoided or overlooked. How this problem is going to be solved directly concerns the immediate interests of thousands of households, the growth of a whole generation of youths, and the stability and unity of the whole society.

The party and the government pay a great deal of attention to this question of employment-awaiting youths and have adopted a series of major measures to properly settle a large contingent of employment-awaiting youths. Very recently, the Party Central Committee and the State Council once again issued a "Decision Concerning Opening All Avenues, Stimulating the Economy, and Solving Employment Problems in Cities and Towns"; this represents a major readjustment and reform in the employment structure by the party and the government and a scientific summing-up and generalization of the past 30 years of labor and employment arrangements; it points out the direction for further solving the employment of youths in cities and towns and fully demonstrates the party's intimate care and earnest expectation of the youths in cities and towns.

Under the party's education and training, employment-awaiting youths all have a given degree of socialist consciousness and scientific and cultural knowledge. But because they are waiting for employment, their lives are not very stable, they are somewhat despondent, and in looking at problems they often cannot transcend individual circles so that their views are liable to become radical, and sometimes they do not have sufficient understanding of the advanced, positive aspects of our socialist system but are liable to accept the negative things in society or even take them too seriously and thereby undermine their confidence in their own future and the country's destiny. Because of myriad material and spiritual difficulties, these people have become the sector of the youth today among whom problems are rather numerous. Precisely

because this is the case, the employment-awaiting youths need especially the care and assistance of all concerned, including the CYL. But because of past employment structures and traditional concepts, the point of emphasis in the league's work in cities and towns has been basically placed on state-run enterprises and relatively large collective entrepreneurial units, whereas work on employment-awaiting youths as such was not sufficiently stressed. In many places, the employment-awaiting youths found themselves in a state of being "out of the jurisdiction of control by schools, beyond the control of their families, and subject to control by no one in society." The strength of the league among the employment-awaiting youths was weak, its organization was loose, and it therefore failed to play the core role of uniting and educating these youths. On Lingxia Road in Lanzhou, there were over 1,000 youths, but there were only a little over 50 league members. In the Chengguan District of Lanzhou Municipality, there were over 500 young heads of individual industrial and commercial households, but there were only two or three league members and there was no league organization established; not to mention educating other youths, even league members themselves lacked normal organizational life. If such a situation is not quickly reversed, it will not only affect the healthy development of the league but also hamper the growth of a generation of new people toward maturity. Employment-awaiting youths have usually just left school and begun to step into society; their world view is just taking shape. If they are educated properly and in a timely way, they will become an important force for the construction of the four modernizations; otherwise, they will be adversely affected.

The CYL is the school where youths learn communism; employment-awaiting youths should naturally be students at such a school. The view which takes employment-awaiting youths as a burden of society, an encumbrance to the construction of the four modernizations, or which even equates such employment-awaiting youths with fallen youths is neither objective nor fair. If we should insist on this kind of prejudice and throw up our hands about these employment-awaiting youths and exclude them from the gates of the CYL, that would be still less justifiable. Or if we should consider employment-awaiting youths as the sector of youths who are more problematical, and thereby fail to have the courage to intervene and let them do whatever they please and fend for themselves, that would also be a manifestation of irresponsibility. In reality, a great deal of socialist enthusiasm is embodied among the employment-awaiting youths; once they are guided onto the correct course, they will immediately become an important force for the construction of the four modernizations. Take our province as example: Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, collective enterprises in cities and towns have been revived and developed anew, the channels for their establishment have become more and more numerous, the speed of their development has increasingly picked up, and their results have become increasingly better. By the end of 1980, there were already more than 6,100 collective enterprises of various kinds and types throughout the province; those engaged to run them have been mainly employment-awaiting youths, who numbered more than 129,000; the year's output value amounted to 550 million yuan, with 18.6 million yuan of tax money submitted to the state treasury and a profit of more than 40.8 million yuan realized. Employment-awaiting youth Du Yongsheng [2629 3057 3932] of Cheng County united himself with 20 other youths and gathered enough capital to run a factory of electronic

products; after strenuous effort, the quantity and quality of their products quickly improved: more than 50 firms signed order agreements with them. This not only solved the employment problem for some of the youths but also made up the shortage of products in the market and stimulated the economy. Such examples have become more and more numerous in our province. Furthermore, there is also a great deal for the CYL to do among the employment-awaiting youths. Following the request of the party committee, the league committee of the Lanzhou oil refinery labor service company sought in its work with employment-awaiting youths to begin with ideological education, energetically grasp technical training, earnestly develop sparetime cultural and sports activities, lead more than 1,000 employment-awaiting youths to play a shock-troop role in production and construction, keep the company's accumulation growing continuously, and keep its profits increasing continuously, thus also making greater contributions to the state; the economic income of these employment-awaiting youths also increased as a result, and this not only turned the company into a place where the youths' employment problem was solved but also a school where people become educated and trained. During the past half year and more, it has developed altogether more than 100 league members; more than 350 youths have filled out league membership applications; 42 backward youths have made progress in varying degrees, and among them 11 have entered the league. These facts illustrate that the pulse of the employment-awaiting youths beats along with the pulse of the times; in their hearts are lighted the flames of springtime. As long as our league organizations at various levels actively coordinate with the concerned departments and strengthen their education and training, they are bound to grow up healthily in the CYL, a big school.

Although the employment-awaiting youths have some definite scientific and cultural knowledge, what they have absorbed happens to be mostly basic education in cultural classes; they lack various kinds of professional knowledge; the various production departments are strange to them. This brings very great difficulties to possible encouragement of employment-awaiting youths to organize themselves and seek professional engagements on their own. Hence, the CYL should assist concerned departments to run some good professional training classes of various kinds in order to create conditions for the employment-awaiting youths to get hired. Here is a task not only suggested by the realistic situation of the employment-awaiting youths but also determined by the character and task of the league itself. At present, it can directly solve the difficulty of technical deficiency on their part in getting hired in the various trades. From the point of view of long-range needs, what their cultural, scientific and technological level is like determines the quality of the future working class as well as the rise or fall of our enterprises of modernization.

Energetically developing sparetime cultural and sports activities is an important link in administering ideological education to the employment-awaiting youths. Like youths on other fronts, employment-awaiting youths not only demand to gradually improve their material conditions, but their needs in spiritual and cultural life are also becoming increasingly salient. The reason why a part of the employment-awaiting youths were depressed and why some of them engaged in gambling and fighting or resorted to superstitious activities was because they lacked the necessary healthy cultural and spiritual life.

Therefore, in our work of ideological education among the employment-awaiting youths, we must organize them to launch various beneficial and healthy cultural and sports activities. Where grounds and equipment for such activities are lacking, they should be built as quickly as possible. Grounds for such activities available at factories and mines, institutions and streets should be opened to employment-awaiting youths. During festival or vacation periods, league organizations at various levels may organize the employment-awaiting youths to hold various physical education and sports contests and cultural and artistic get-together activities, to put up fine arts, photography and calligraphy exhibits, so as to mold the temperament of the employment-awaiting youths, enrich their spiritual lives, and promote their physical and mental health through various cultural and sports activities.

9255
CSO: 4005/605

SICHUAN PARTY FOCUSES ON HELPING UNEMPLOYED YOUTHS

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Dec 81 p 2

[Article: "Initiate a Collective Economy and Make Arrangements for Unemployed Youths"]

[Text] The party committeee for agencies directly under provincial control recently convened a conference of all leaders of provincial level ministries, committees, departments, bureaus, offices, firms and commune units. It transmitted the order of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council for implementing "Certain Resolutions on Tapping New Sources, Resuscitating the Economy and Solving Urban Unemployment Problems." Comrade Yan Changqing [7051 7022 1987], deputy secretary general of the provincial CCP committee and secretary of the party committee for agencies directly under provincial control presided over the conference. Comrades in charge of the province's Labor Bureau summed up the conditions of finding work for the unemployed in the province and in provincial level organs. They explained and publicized the major points of the "resolution."

The conference was of the opinion that remarkable results could be achieved if provincial organs opened up various employment channels, made every effort to develop a collective economy and made arrangements for unemployed youth according to the "three-in-one" employment policy proposed by the Central Committee. At present, our province's Forestry Bureau, Hydroelectric Bureau and Thermal Power Planning Institute, Posts and Telecommunications Bureau, the staff office of the provincial CCP committee, the Government Office, the Agricultural Machinery Bureau, the Commerce Depratment and 28 other units have all already initiated 66 collective economy organizations and made arrangements for 1,600 unemployed youths. For the most part, these collective enterprises have been successful. Their income is steady and the personnel are content. The province's Geology Bureau, the E Film Studio, the Sichuan broadcasting station, the branch of the science academy and other units conducted training classes in tailoring, finance and accounting, radio repair, cold working optics and other technical and vocational work. They accepted 150 unemployed youths to participate in their study program. Over 600 unemployed youths participated in the supplementary education classes given by various units in preparation for the entrance exams for various schools. Four hundred and fifty unemployed youths did temporary work and manual labor. These measures not only provided training and instruction for the unemployed

youths, but they also provided them with employment qualifications. In addition, they eliminated the fear among staff and workers of creating trouble at home. Both the unemployed youths and their parents were satisfied.

The conference analyzed the favorable conditions and problems existing in the arrangements being made for unemployed youths in organs under provincial control. They demanded that each unit under provincial control take the lead in implementing the resolutions of the Central Committee and the State Council. They must mobilize the vast numbers of staff, workers and the masses to conscientiously study the resolutions of the Central Committee and the State Council. They must improve their understanding of the importance of urban employment problems, acquire a thorough understanding of the related principles and policies, and overcome their outdated concepts of looking down on collective and individual economy and holding commerce and service trades in contempt. The leading comrades of each unit should personally set about making satisfactory arrangements. There should be specialized agencies or special personnel to be responsible for routine work. The party committee for agencies under provincial control decided to establish an office to make arrangements for the unemployed and to be responsible for making work arrangements for provincial organs. At present, the focal point of the work is to develop a collective economy. Before the Spring Festival we must once again initiate a group of collective economy organizations and make arrangements for 1,000 unemployed youths. The collective units that have already been set up should improve their management and administration so that they will continue to be strengthened and developed.

9864
CSO: 4005/534

WORK ON FOLK LITERATURE MUST GET HIGHER PRIORITY

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Hong Zhong [3163 6988]: "Work on Folk Literature Must Be Further Improved"]

[Text] During the 10-year period of domestic unrest, folk literature also suffered a damaging blow. However, under the line and policies and the guidance of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the speed and scope of its development has been unprecedented. Following two meetings of the Provincial Literary Congress, comrade folk literature representatives from various areas have come to appreciate the many functions served by folk literature and have acquired a better understanding of the relationship between folk literature and literature produced by established authors. It has come to be appreciated that since we all come under the influence of folk literature at a tender age, and that even established writers have to derive sustenance from folk literature, there is considerable truth to the premise that "folk literature is the mother of literature." The work of collecting and arranging folk literature has been going on at an unprecedented pace during the past 3 or 4 years. At a recent literary competition held in the province, 69 works passed preliminary selection and were recommended to the provincial [committee], and of these as many as 39 pieces of folk literature have been judged by the provincial selection panel and by the provincial appraisal committee to be of outstanding merit.

The works which have been selected deal with a wide range of themes and are in many forms. Some are folksongs about the old communist base and the Long March; some are stories about the exploits of the Red Army; some are stories which have been passed along about veteran proletarian revolutionaries; some are stories about peasant heroes; some are stories about skilled artisans; and some are new stories which reflect the new climate in the socialist era. Particularly worthy of note is the prominence of the folk literature of the minorities. The first, second, and third parts of the world-renowned epic "Gesaer" were published in the Tibetan language. The number of copies published exceeded all publications previously published in a minority language. "The Taking of the Ali Gold Mine" and "The Battle of Men Ling" will also be published this year. "The Story of Akoudengba," an outstanding Tibetan folk tale, is a story about a sharp-witted person which has been widely circulated throughout Xizang.

Both the Tibetan and Chinese versions of the story have been published. The well-known Yi epic "Lewu Teyi", the refreshing allegorical poem "Erbierji" and the ingeniously intricate "Kezhi" have also been translated and published. Worthy of special note is the fact that such long narrative poems as "Mujiezhu yu Douanzhu" of the Qiang minority, who have no written language, have also been recorded and collated.

All these are examples of popular, time-tested, and long-lasting oral literature that has been widely circulated among the working people of the minority races and the collective creations of anonymous writers over hundreds of years. These works have a direct relationship with the working people, since these [people] not only are the characters depicted in these works but also are the narrators. They are not only the people who appreciate these works but also their creators. The thoughts that go through the minds of the working people, their feelings, their character, and their sentiments are also graphically revealed in these works. The interests of the working people, their characteristics and their style, etc., are also described in these works. In both content and form, these works have strong racial overtones and bear the stamp of the special features of the people and of their localities.

The review and selection of outstanding literary works go to show that our province has achieved gratifying results in the promotion of folk literature. However, we have taken only the first step in the right direction, and we have no reason to become self-satisfied and rest on our laurels. The Party Central Committee has pointed out the goal of our struggle to establish a socialist spiritual civilization of a high order. We should adopt a high standard in reviewing the work we have done and make more stringent and higher demands on ourselves in the future.

What are the problems that continue to exist, and where have we fallen short in the work of promoting folk literature in our province.

First, there is an imbalance in developing the work of collection and collation. In some prefectures (such as Wenjiang, Mianyang, and Liangshan), the leadership has paid more attention to the work, has a better grasp of the task at hand, and has achieved better results. In other prefectures, the leadership has not paid sufficient attention to the work and has adopted a laissez-faire attitude. The tales of fancy lanterns, the intricate songs, and the exploits of the Red Army in Fuling Prefecture have long been known to the country. However, no serious effort has been made to organize the necessary people to collect and collate them in a systematic and serious manner. The work is left to the collection teams organized by the higher-ups, who make sporadic efforts at collection. Although such haphazard efforts have yielded some results, only 1 item out of 10,000 is netted. In dealing with the work of collection and collation, it is necessary to pay attention to the different forms and different types of folk literature, instead of concentrating on one particular type to the neglect of the rest. In some areas, effort is made by the collection teams to collect only new stories, while other forms and types of folk literature are allowed to slip through their fingers. It should be realized that new stories are only one form of folk literature out of dozens, and that they are not representative of the entire body of work.

Secondly, the importance of folk literature has yet to be fully appreciated. Some people are reluctant to collect folk literature because they lack a correct appreciation of the importance of the creative work that has been passed orally by the working people over the generations and because they fail to grasp the fact that this type of "heave-ho" literature is actually the forerunner of literary creations. The birth of a new form of literature and the growth of a great writer owe a debt to the sustenance provided by folk literature. Furthermore, oral literary creations are derived directly from the masses and from life itself. Their content naturally is a direct, indirect, or refracted reflection of the historical, social, and racial features and the folkways existing at a particular period of time. They represent a lode of vivid historical, racial, and social material, some of which cannot be found in written records and historical volumes. Furthermore, oral literature, rich in imagination and uncanny in concept, is capable of providing people with a high degree of enjoyment of the esthetic and is possessed of a "permanent charm."

There is a tendency on the part of some to downgrade the old folk literature and to believe that the time has come to create a socialist type of new folk literature. They tend to equate folk literature with new stories and to reject all the rest. This view is incorrect both in theory and in practice. In the first place, it departs from Lenin's theory that racial culture consists of two cultures. In the second place, it goes against Lenin's brilliant line of thinking that "the culture of the proletarian class is not something that materializes out of nowhere and is not something that is molded by the hands of the self-styled experts of the culture of the proletarian class. All that is just so much balderdash. The culture of the proletariat should be a treasure trove of knowledge built up according to certain laws out of the oppression of a society dominated by capitalists, landlords, and the bureaucracy." In the third place, our experience over the years has proved that the treatment of new stories as a political activity will not sit well with the masses. The treatment of new stories as such will only create a hubbub and then disappear without a trace. Actual experience has proved that the search for new stories to the exclusion of other forms of folk literature is an exercise in futility and is therefore nonproductive.

Thirdly, sufficient attention has not been paid to the need to mobilize the rank and file. Since folk literature is scattered over an extremely wide area, it is necessary to make a strenuous effort to mobilize the resources in society to engage in the work of collection and collation. It is also necessary to have a certain number of professional personnel who engage in the work of collection, collation, research, and dissemination. The number of professional personnel available in the province, the prefectures, and the counties at the present time is far from adequate to cope with the work. It is hoped that the departments concerned will appreciate the need to develop the necessary personnel, to make a greater effort to invest in the development of talent, to develop the necessary number of professionals, to use them as a core to mobilize the various forces in society, to get the professionals and amateurs to make a joint survey of folk literature, and to go about the work at a more rapid pace.

Our province has abundant natural resources, great scenic beauty, an extended history, and a large population. It also is the province with the richest treasure trove of folk literature. The collection, collation, research, and dissemination of the folk literature of all the races in the province would not only go a long way in promoting the new socialist culture of the various races in our country, but it would also contribute to the work of building up a valuable collection of literature with its unique qualities renowned throughout the world. It is my hope that professional and amateur workers in folk literature will take positive action to implement the policy of "making an all-out effort to collect, collate, strengthen research, and effectively disseminate folk literature," and to intensify the work of promoting folk literature in our province so that it may be pursued on a higher plane.

9621
CSO: 4005/478

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BIGOTRY OF ARTISTS, ONE-SIDEDNESS OF THEORISTS DISCUSSED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Feng Xianguang [7458 2009 0342]: "The Bigotry of Artists, and the One-sidedness of Theorists"]

[Text] Just as politicians are not infallible, artists, too, are not free from bigotry. Although it is common knowledge that to err is human, it does not seem that we are at all times mindful of the fact. In the past, we have suffered a series of reverses by treating every phrase and every word uttered by classic writers on Marxism as being sacred. It was only after we had been subjected to a series of ordeals that we woke up to the fact that we should take a firm hold of the entire system of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and accurately analyze every piece of writing, every chapter, every paragraph, and every phrase of the classic writers in the cold light of actual facts.

However, it is not only in the drift and interpretation of the writings and utterances of classic writers that we can find traces of the "two whatevers" school of thought. I have found that, in discussing the theories of literature and art and in citing and expounding the writings and utterances of well-established artists, some comrades are not untainted by the "two whatevers." As if by coincidence, several articles I have read recently in support of the theory that emotions represent the essence of art all quoted Rodin's thesis that "art and the emotions are one and the same" as the best argument in support of their theory. It seems that just because Rodin happened to be one of the foremost sculptors in the world and a paragon in the realm of art, they believe that whatever he said about art represents the final word in the basic discipline of art.

The fact is, if we would give the matter some serious thought, we would come to realize that the conclusion that "art and the emotions are one and the same," a conclusion which has come to be regarded as Rodin's "last will and testament" and which has been incorporated into "Rodin's Dissertation on Art," is biased from the esthetic point of view and has no scientific basis. Experience in art appreciation tells us that art includes at least four elements--namely, intuition, emotion, imagination, and perception. If a piece of work merely stirs up the emotions, it is merely an expression and a depiction of the emotions and not a piece of art. A work of art invariably exerts a direct appeal to the beholder, leads him through the door to the realm of art, stirs up his imagination and association of ideas, and proceeds to unleash his faculty of contemplation and soul-searching. That is the charm and basic nature of art. Even

Rodin's own masterpiece "Oumiaier" [phonetic], (also known as the "Aging Courtesan") which has been described as being "so ugly that it is exquisitely beautiful," made use of the curled-up and crouching posture of that aged and emaciated woman to appeal to the spectator and to conjure up in his mind the exquisite beauty of the woman when she was in her prime, to inspire his commiseration and sympathy for this ludicrous and yet pitiful, deformed person, and to come to appreciate the enormity of the crime for which the capitalist system must be held responsible. How can that be adequately summarized in that one word "emotion?" In criticizing Tolstoy, who also held that art and the emotions are one and the same, Plekhanov said: "It is not correct to say that art is merely an expression of people's emotions. No, in addition to being a manifestation of human emotions, art is also an expression of people's thoughts, not in an abstract but in a vivid form. That is the chief characteristic of art." Eighty years later, Bulyanov's criticism of Tolstoy still merits the sober contemplation of those who hold that "art and the emotions" are one and the same.

Although "Rodin's Dissertation on Art" is not lacking in profound ideas that are both correct and penetrating, his view that art and the emotions are one and the same is not the only instance in which he has shown a certain bias. He also made so bold as to assert that "the only principle that applies to art is to copy down what can be seen." This is something that even those who hold that everything uttered by artists of renown is the unquestionable truth would be hard put to explain. It is our view that such aberrations are the products of the biased views of renowned artists. If, instead of analyzing and studying the utterances of renowned artists, we blindly idolize them to the point of superstition and regard every word they utter as immutable artistic truth, we will inevitably accept utterances of theirs that have no scientific basis as the essential discipline of art and will create confusion in the realm of theory. There is an urgent need for us to breach the forbidden emotional territory which has entrapped us over a long period of time and to look fearlessly into the question of the role played by the emotions in the area of art. Nevertheless, there are still some comrades who regard Rodin's one-sided view that "art and the emotions are one and the same" as the ultimate proverbial truth and thus reduce the essence of art to the emotions. No matter how sincere they may be in maintaining their subjective views, they have gone from one extreme represented by the "desensitization of literature and art" by the "gang of four" to the other extreme of contending that "literature and art have to do only with the emotions." A number of factors have contributed to this error. One factor which may be cited here is that we have failed to adopt a realistic attitude in analyzing and studying the utterances of renowned artists and have reverted to the familiar "two whatevers" mentality. Believing blindly in the biased views of renowned artists is bound to lead theorists into the trap of bigotry. Is that not something to which we should direct our thoughts?

The late well-known British modern poet Wystan Hugh Auden, in his "On Reading," said in an amusing way, "We can never believe unreservedly in the critical opinions expressed by a writer. Most of these opinions are manifestos in his own defense of what he should or should not do next. Furthermore, unlike scientists, he usually knows even less than the public what his contemporaries are engaged in doing." Auden was also a well-known artist. What he said in all sincerity should be analyzed and studied and not be accepted in blind faith.

The basic attitude adopted by Auden in his literary criticism of writers was "never to believe in something without reservation." This one-sided position represents the other extreme from those comrades who "believe without reservation." My opinion is that there is a great deal of merit in "never believing in anything without reservation" in the initial period, but that there is no harm in "believing in something without reservation" after a writer's views on art have been found to be correct upon thorough analysis and study.

9621
CSO: 4005/478

PRISON WRITINGS OF DISSIDENT LIU QING PUBLISHED

Hong Kong DONGXIFANG [EAST AND WEST] in Chinese Nos 30, 31 and 32, 15 Oct, 10 Dec 81

[No 30, 15 Oct 81 pp 52-67]

> [Text] Editor's Note: The Chinese Communists were pretty nervous when Liu Qing's prison writings were published overseas. Their official news agency issued a denial alleging that the article was fabricated. Since what we received is a shorter version, instead of Liu Qing's original text, we have no scientific ground to pass judgment on its authenticity. After going over its contents, we believe it was written by Liu Qing, because nobody else could have done it for him unless he had been through what Liu Qing had experienced. So we decided to publish the full text even though it is a lengthy article.

The Chinese Nation was Not That Kind of Nation

I learned on 14 October 1979 that Wei Jingsheng would be tried in open court the following day. I passed the information on the certain unofficial publications and cell organizations in Beijing, and we agreed to meet in front of the Higher Court, No 1 Zhengyi Road, on the 15th at 0700 to get visitors' permits to witness the trial. The next day, when I arrived in front of the Higher Court, I saw a few foreign correspondents and the responsible heads of various unofficial publications and cell organizations shivering in the cold morning wind. There was a notice on the iron fence of the court saying that Wei Jingsheng would be tried on another date to be announced separately. We asked the receptionist at the Higher Court for the approximate date, but he said he did not know it. Judging by past experience, when a trial was postponed, it was usually postponed indefinitely. Surprisingly, I found out later in the evening the Wei's trial would begin at 0800 the following day (the 16th), and I also learned that visitors' permits were being controlled and issued inside the bureau. Since this was to be an open trial, why should it be so mysterious?

The arrest of Ren Wanding (head of the "Human Rights League"), Wei Jingsheng, Fu Yuehua, Chen Lu, Zhang Wenhe and others in March 1979 had become such a

focus of attention at home and abroad that the foreign press which carried reports on the case had approached the Chinese leaders and the unofficial publications and cell organizations of Beijing for more information about their condition. What accounted for the concern at home and abroad about the fate of a few ordinary Chinese citizens? It was because the arrests stirred up a "cold March wind" blowing across the Chinese political arena that set the whole country and world reeling with doubts and misgivings. The public was not only concerned about their fate but was also anxious to learn the outcome of the case in order to take China's political pulse. I was also concerned about their fate. Realizing the difficulty of getting a visitor's permit inside the bureau (why did they want to issue the permits inside the bureau?), I went all over the city looking for a friend who had obtained a permit. I gave him a recorder and asked him to record the actual proceedings of the trial.

I got the tape back from my friend on the evening of 16 October, and several of us spent 4-5 hours transcribing it. We all agreed that Wei Jingsheng had violated the ruling against disclosure of secrets, but the court convicted him of two other, more serious crimes, and sentenced him to 15 years' imprisonment and a loss of his political rights for 3 years.

Such a decision was unacceptable to the public. It was a blow to democracy and the administration of justice, and also a warning that in China one had to be careful what he said. Genuine freedom of thought and speech had yet to be fostered by the force of history.

But it would take human effort to foster a just cause. If nobody was courageous enough to expose what was unjust and improper and if everyone turned away from it with his eyes closed, the cause of justice would not have the impetus to advance. A nation which tolerated and lacked the courage to tackle injustice would be bound to be eliminated, nor would it deserve any support or a better lot. The Chinese nation was not that kind of nation, because it had people who would risk their lives to speak out even against the most vicious tyranny. The unjust conviction of Wei Jingsheng stirred up such an outburst of debate because so many people were concerned. All the unofficial publications in Beijing agreed it was their duty to make the facts known to the world in order to draw more public attention to the case.

It was a very simple task to mimeograph the trial transcript; there was no need to involve all the unofficial publications. We knew at the time we would run into difficulties if we openly touched a sore spot of the "authorities." Unfortunately, our apprehensions were to be borne out by the facts later. So it would be unwise to let too many people take part in this "ill-omened" undertaking. Assisted by a few enthusiasts, I finally undertook it myself.

How Could One Plead for the Accused When There Was No "Criminal Law?"

I took over the task because I was better prepared and had an obligation to see it done.

The 5 APRIL FORUM had made its clear-cut political position widely known to the reading public. It differed from the candid and straightforward political viewpoint of TANSUO run by Wei Jingsheng. Being one of the conveners of the 5 APRIL FORUM, I had debated with Wei Jingsheng on our different political points of view. After Wei Jingsheng published the TANSUO editorial, "We Must Choose Between Democracy and New Dictatorship," I wrote articles discussing and questioning the validity of his position. As far as I knew, the official circles had not written anything seriously refuting his views, even though they hated him immensely. Perhaps they were afraid to boost Wei Jingsheng's stature by attacking him. The opinions expressed on the Democracy Wall were so divided that some praised him as their hero while others branded him as scum. I was the only one who wrote serious but simple articles to refute him. A friend of mine told me: "I really want to tear the trash you have written off the wall." So I felt nobody could call me his fellow-traveller even though they did not regard me as Wei Jingsheng's enemy. I believed innocently that my past record would be good enough to stop people from accusing me irresponsibly of being in league with Wei Jingsheng and enable me to speak out impartially without any reason for fear.

In June 1979, Luo Kejun [5012 0344 0971], a judge of the Beijing Higher Court, forwarded to me a request from Wei Jingsheng: "I want Liu Qing to defend me in court or he may find an attorney to defend me." After I got the request, I talked to certain people in the Department of Law, Beijing Daxue, and other legal experts. Since China at that time had not yet promulgated the "criminal code," I had to tell Luo Kejun: "Since China does not have a 'criminal code' for us to base our defense on, I am not in a position to accept Wei's request. However, if the court can provide me with something similar to a 'criminal code' or other relevant provision of the law, I will accept the request to defend him in court. We hope the court can give us permission to visit the prison and talk to the prisoner about the details of his case so that Wei Jingsheng can enjoy the real benefit of defense. Finally, on behalf of all the unofficial publications and a considerable number of individuals in Beijing, I should like to ask the court to give Wei Jingsheng an open trial." Whenever the "criminal code" was promulgated, a few friends and I planned to form a defense organization to defend Wei Jingsheng, Fu Yuehua, Ren Wanding and others. It was a pity that before we had time to notify the court of our acceptance of the request, the court had already begun the trial. We, prone to traditional tardiness and indecision, did not act fast enough. Even though I had failed to defend them, I still felt morally obligated because the prisoner had showed so much confidence in me at the most critical moment.

I had had heated arguments with him on many occasions over our ideological differences. As we argued, I had been quite optimistic, believing that the leadership, just sobered by a fresh bloodbath, would not resurrect soon anything close to "vicious attacks," a weapon of the proletarian dictatorship. Listening to the trial transcript, I learned that criminal convictions at will, excessive and unjust punishments, still existed. I would have been contemptibly weak if I had failed to keep my word to expose and work for the elimination of these excesses.

The last but not the least important point was that the Chinese people could no longer let the rule of law be trampled upon and disfigured through political discretion. The Chinese people had to have the courage to make their concern about everything known to those inside the sacred for bidden area. They could no longer surrender their rights through blind obedience.

The impact of the unjust decision in Wei's case was so disastrous and far-reaching that every responsible individual had to be concerned.

The "Patriotic Bouncers" Who Crushed the Masses

Assisted by friends, I finished making handwritten copies of the transcripts at the beginning of November. We proofread the copies against the transcript many times. Except for the parts we missed due to mumbling and the changing of tape, the copies we made were absolutely accurate and true. Before we mimeographed over 1,000 copies, we copied the transcript on a big character poster and posted it on the "Democracy Wall" for those who had been waiting for it impatiently.

On 9 November 23 posted a notice on the Democracy Wall announcing the sale of the "Proceedings of Wei Jingsheng's Trial" on the 11th of the month. At about 1400 on the 11th, several thousand people had gathered in front of the sales notice. We began the sale ahead of the announced time, as requested by the crowd. Although I was assisted by about 20 people to maintain order, confusion and commotion quickly ensued, as everybody tried to get to the front to buy our limited number of pamphlets. While I was busy keeping order, a man with a familiar face gave me a gentle pull and asked to speak with me. I followed him to a quieter spot where he said to me: "The Public Security people are out to get you people. They will act within 30 minutes." I rushed back immediately, but it was too late. There was a panicky mass of humanity, some whispering nerviously, some running aimlessly, others anxious to find out why. I saw Victoria of United Press International and her assistant, Liu Xiangcheng, and Wade of the Daily Telegraph. There were tens of foreign correspondents looking puzzled as they shrugged their shoulders. A few daring ones tried to take pictures, but their cameras were pushed aside by somebody in the crowd. People wearing hard hats were dashing back and forth in the midst of the crowd, which gave way quickly to avoid collision, thus forming a "lane of people." A man told me a raid was taking place, the pamphlets were being taken away, and people were being arrested. When he pulled me to the curb, I saw a "fully packed" bakery truck and another ambulance-like vehicle starting to move and then speeding away toward the west.

Later, people told me what had happened.

While I was away, the police had suddenly arrived. According to eyewitnesses, there were 70 or 80 of them, others even put the figure at over 100. Some blocked both ends of the sidewalk by the "Democracy Wall," while others charged into the crowd, grabbing pamphlets. One of the sellers was seized by three or four policemen, who twisted his arms back and pushed him "like an airplane" into an automobile. People who angrily asked questions were

beaten and pushed away with arms twisted back "like airplanes" to an automobile. The foreign correspondents watching the scuffle in front of the "Democracy Wall" were in a hurry to get their cameras ready to get a few price shots. However, those who tried to take pictures were pushed and beaten.

According to eyewitnesses, the "bouncers" were all in plainclothes, probably to show deference to the national axiom that patriotic people "don't wash their dirty linen in public." But I did not rule out that the bouncers had dual identities.

I remembered that when the "gang of four" were at the height of their power, the Central Committee had instructed all localities to let foreigners interview people and take pictures where they were permitted to visit. Was it conceivable that the "gang of four" cared even in the heyday of their abusive rule about respecting international custom and permitting foreigners to interview people and take pictures where they were permitted to visit, while the current law-enforcement public security personnel, committed as they were to promote the rule of law, should feel so insecure as to bar picture-taking by foreigners and trail behind the "gang of four?"

Reportedly, at least one of those arrested was a friend who had helped me sell the pamphlets. A young woman who had bought a few pamphlets was stopped by the police. When she refused to let go of the pamphlets she obtained in panic purchasing, she, too, was taken away indiscriminately. At least four were arrested.

"Remember, You People May Have to Serve 15 Years"

I made up my mind to go to the public security offices to argue the matter out. I alone should face all the consequences, whether legal or administrative, if the sale of the pamphlets was a violation of the law; none of those who had been arrested should have been implicated. If what I had done was lawful, the Beijing Public Security Bureau should have been responsible for releasing the arrested and returning the confiscated pamphlets. Yang Jing, an editor of 5 APRIL FORUM; Zhao Xing, a member of a key unit of the HUMAN RIGHTS LEAGUE; Sun Yan, its public relations man; and a young girl I knew who was enraged by the arrests, offered to go with me to the Public Security Bureau.

The automobiles carrying the arrested went westward, away from the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. The police who had confiscated the art objects shown at the "Xingxing Art Exhibition" had also come from that direction. This misled me into believing that the show of "martial art" was directed by the precinct of western Beijing. When we got to the west precinct and inquired about the incident, they told us they knew nothing about it but they said the police substation in the area where the incident occurred should know. So we returned to the West Changanjie substation. At first they denied any knowledge of the matter. However, when Zhao Xing identified a bespectacled policemen who had taken part in seizing the pamphlets and described how he had grabbed a pamphlet from the hands of a woman, they were ill at ease and admitted they had acted on the instructions of their superior.

They said they did not know the details. When we asked who their superior was, they tried to evade the question. Finally they asked their substation chief to see us.

He looked thin and walked in deliberately measured steps, which distinguished him from the average policeman. He was no stranger to me. His name was Liu and he used to be a policeman on the street where I lived. In about 1970, when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were at the height of their power, he had made headlines in the newspapers as a pacesetter who knew how to make creative use of what he learned. I remember it was on 10 December 1968 that a group of Red Guards had broken into my house late at night and had taken me to a "study class" run by the West Changanjie substation, where I had been detained for 4 days. It was this policeman, later promoted to the position of substation chief, who had asked me imposingly: "Are you convinced that you should go to join your team?" Then I realized that I was being detained late at night in the study class because I had not followed the orders of this policeman to go to a village. Confronted by this policeman with a face proud enough to deserve a promotion, I had said to him firmly: "I am not convinced and I don't think I will ever be convinced." As a result, I had been kept in the study class for more than 40 days, after which they had to let me go because the study class had ceased to exist.

The moment he recognized me, he pretended to act like an old friend. But I asked him bluntly: What legal grounds do you people have to make arrests and seize pamphlets? If you do not have any legal justifications, I ask you to give me my pamphlets, set free the people you arrested and also give me an explanation.

Acting like police officer Ao chu mie lo fu [phonetic], he put on a pokerface and his smile disappeared as he made a long threatening statement. Judging by what he said, he was really acting on instructions from his superior. But he refused to identify the superior who had given him the order no matter how hard I tried to get the information from him.

I was furious because these policemen wanted to interrogate those who came with me separately, as usual. We made it clear to the police that I was the only one concerned with the pamphlets and I was also the only one who came to make inquiries. Those who came with me had nothing to do with the pamphlets; they accompanied me because they were concerned about those arrested and the incident as a whole. But the police insisted on interrogating those who accompanied me.

The substation was obviously not the place to get my problems resolved, and it was meaningless to argue with the police any further. So we left the West Changanjie substation and went to the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, which was behind the incident.

The November weather was indeed unpredictable. It was sunny and mild in the afternoon, but the temperature dropped suddenly toward evening. Apparently we were going to face a new cold current. We braved the cold wind to get to the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. When we finally arrived at the "Reception Office for Mass Visitors," we were so cold that we had

to clench our teeth to steady our nerves. I explained to the policeman on duty the purpose of our visit. He said inattentively that he would call his superior on the telephone in a minute. Before he had time to make the call, his superior, obviously more concerned over the incident than he, called him instead. The West Changanjie substation apparently had reported on the incident and our whereabouts. The man on duty suddenly became attentive and came to the entrance hall to talk with us. As soon as we touched on the legality of the arrests and the seizure of pamphlets by the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, he defended their position and said that as long as the arrests and seizure were carried out by the public security authorities, they were all done in accordance with the law. In the eyes of this law enforcement officer, they were the law givers. I teased him by asking Yang Jing to jot this down and threatened to quote him when I found it appropriate. He appeared a bit uneasy, but he commented, as the saying goes, logically and philosophically: "The most you can do is to write a few articles and make a few speeches and get them published abroad. That doesn't hurt the Public Security Bureau at all. However, if you people are not discreet, it could cost you 15 years."

"The Law and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Their Ruthless Style"

We waited for a long time, and we were cold and hungry. Those who called on the telephone to ask about me kept us waiting in the cold hallway for more than 2 hours. No doubt they were seeking instructions, figuring out a way for a breakthrough and gathering information to reinforce their position. This was verified for me very quickly. Lao Wang, one of the four who worked in the "mass reception office," had to admit to me: "We can't say we don't understand you at all. You may say we understand you to a certain extent." I also considered carefully the whole situation and my own conduct. I was confident that my actions were lawful and proper. The Public Security Bureau would not be able to find legal justifications for what it had done. The Chinese public security agencies always believed that they were right and that they represented the dictatorship of the proletariat and the law. Moreover, they had developed a ruthless style. They expected everyone else to yield and confess mistakes in order to help them back away gracefully no matter whether they were right or wrong. They would never admit to me that they were wrong. These headstrong people tolerated by our society were prone to resort to the power of the "proletarian dictatorship" and forget their obligation to obey the law.

How could I cope with the situation? After careful consideration, I made up my mind to hold my ground before the law.

Since I would be fighting the battle singlehanded, anything might happen. But I was mentally prepared for the worst.

Four personnel of the "Reception Office for Mass Visitors" finally came down at about 2200. Like the police at the West Changanjie substation, they started separately interrogating the four people, including Yang Jing, who came with me but who had not intended to talk to them. They did not want to speak to me, although I was the one who came to make inquireies and seek redress. Apparently they were trying to gather enough incriminatory evidence

in these separate interrogations to help them deal with me more effectively. I didn't care about that, but I would not tolerate the insult, abuse and intrigue. The four who came with me, including Yang Jing, and I told them over and over that I alone wanted to contact the Public Security Bureau, not those who came with me. They had come to keep me company and had nothing to do with the incident. But the officers still refused to listen to what we said. Finally, I said in protest that if the four officers did not care to receive me, I would leave. Then they turned around reluctantly to receive me.

The conversation took place in a small room within the reception office. The moment I entered the room, they acted as if they were going to try me. Pointing to a stool on one side, one of them said: "Sit down." Then he began shuffling and looking through the papers on the desk as though he was considering where the "trial" should start. As a matter of fact, the papers he was shuffling were blank. After a moment of silence, he said: "Let us talk about why you came here."

After giving them a brief summary of what had happened that afternoon, I asked four specific questions. First, what law had I violated when I mimeographed the transcript of the court proceedings? Second, what law had the man who helped me sell the pamphlets violated? Third, if the Public Security Bureau had no legal grounds for making the arrests and seizing the literature, I requested that they let me get back the pamphlets, and fourth, that they immediately release those who had been arrested for helping me sell the literature. If the Public Security Bureau had legal grounds, I was responsible for everything and nobody else had anything to do with it.

I Appealed to the Social Court of Justice

The oldest of the four personnel, a man named Wang, pondered in silence for a second and then took the offensive without answering my questions: "Where did you get the tape recording of the court proceedings?"

I told them that how I got hold of the tape had nothing whatsoever to do with the case in question. Wei Jingsheng had been tried in open court. Anyone who had recorded the actual proceedings to help more people understand the case by reading such firsthand information had not contravened the principle of a trial in open court. However, since the one who had made the recording did not want the Public Security Bureau to know his name because he had no faith in either the existing political system or the public security agencies, I was obliged to keep the secret for him. But if the Public Security Bureau regarded the recording as unlawful and could tell me what specific provision of the law I had violated and assure me that they told me the truth, I would explain to them how I had obtained the tape. I said I was willing to cooperate with the public security and judicial authorities to deal with the unlawful action.

Attempting To Blame Others for One's Own Unlawful Action

That day I felt even more confident of myself because the Public Security Bureau had absolutely no legal grounds for seizing the pamphlets and making

arrests. They had probably acted according to their "simple proletarian emotion and indignation" and had not considered the backlash of the question of the law. Consequently, when I pressed them to produce the law to justify their action, they realized they had no specific law to fall back on. Please note their amusing arguments:

The court did not authorize you to make the recording and produce mimeographed pamphlets.

The law did not say expressly that you, Liu Qing, could do it. The fact you did it was a violation of the law.

Wei Jingsheng was adjudged a counterrevolutionary by the court. The fact that you produced mimeographed pamphlets on the proceedings of his trial constituted counterrevolutionary propaganda, and that was a violation of the law.

If you would tell us where you got the tape and who owned the recorder, we would know whether the law was violated--for instance, whether the man who gave you the tape was a person of questionable character, whether he had any ulterior motives, and whether the recorder was stolen or obtained by unlawful means, and so on. It is practically impossible to repeat what he said.

It was baffling and disheartening to confront such a person and argue with him about legal principles. But I had to talk to these law enforcement personnel as if I were teaching them the rudiments of the law which regulated man's social conduct in the spirit of a basic law. The law punished a man who did what the law forbade. Needless to say, the law did not tell people what they could do. The binding force of the law did not extend to those areas where the law was silent. If what people could do aldo had to be specifically provided by law, then even an idiot would know how absurd it was. For instance, people had to eat every day, but so far there was no law anywhere in the whole world which regulated people's right to eat. If people ate, were they violating the law in the eyes of these four personnel of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau?

I did not have to do too much to refute their allegation that since Wei Jingsheng was a counterrevolutionary, the mimeographed pamphlets were meant to speak for him and to publicize counterrevolution. I called their attention only to the case of Zhang Zhixing and Ma Mianchen of Guizhou who had been given death sentences by the court on charges of counterrevolution, and the case of Yu Luoke who had been executed in Beijing for being a counterrevolutionary. There had been newspaper headlines about the redress or the possibility of redress of their convictions. I knew that four or five newspapers had begun collecting information to write about the life of Yu Luoke. I hoped the dedicated servants of the "proletarian dictatorship" would arrest those who dared to write in newspapers to publicize the rehabilitation of these "ghosts of dead counterrevolutionaries."

The most detestable thing was that they shamelessly questioned whether the recorder had been stolen or obtained unlawfully and whether the person who gave me the tape had been a questionable character. Obviously they were trying to find fault with me without any justifiable cause. I was surprised that they acted on a whim "to look for bones in an egg." I told them in no uncertain terms that their suspicions were groudless, and groundless suspicious amounted to insult. Such outright insult was a ruthless abuse of authority. I said I would not put up with their attempt to blame others for their own unlawful action.

My attitude infuriated these law enforcement personnel, who could not provide any legal justification for their action. In spite of my repeated protests, they still treated me as if I were being tried in court. They shouted and pounded the desk to make me reveal who had provided the recorder and who had helped in making the recording. I refused to cooperate and told them that they could not try me unless they arrested or detained me legally, or at least produced a summons for me to appear in court.

"Since You Have Come, You Must Answer the Questions or Else You Won't Be Allowed to Leave Here"

The personnel of the "Reception Office for Mass Visitors" at the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau would be acting unlawfully if they tried a visitor without due process of law. If they regarded my action as serious enough to be tried, they should have complied with all the necessary legal procedures before they were qualified to put me to trial. Their disregard for the law was a sign of nerviousness even though they appeared very firm.

Enraged by my insistence on regard for the law, they said to me emphatically: Since you have come, you must answer the questions. Otherwise, you won't be allowed to leave here."

I said it was unlawful to detain a person without due process of law, and that I would not yield to any unlawful action. I also reminded them that I had come as a visitor and that they were the receptionists. I said it would be incompatible with both their status and mine if they were to try me, extort confessions by force and threaten to imprison me.

They warned me arrogantly and "sarcastically": "This is an agency of the dictatorship."

This put an end to the need for further discussion. Objectively, the attitude of both sides was responsible for the deadlock. Having talked with the receptionists, I soon found out that the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau had no prior knowledge of the contents of the pamphlets. It had not known who the seller was or his relationship with Wei Jingsheng, and whether or not they had shared the same ideology. The contents of the pamphlets the actual court proceedings, which appeared in a large character poster on the Democracy Wall more than half a month before they were out for sale, had been covered extensively by both foreign and domestic press. There was nothing so startling as to warrant such a massive police raid.

The funny part was that the large character poster, which covered more than the pamphlet (which covered only the first half of the proceedings) and had been on the Democracy Wall for over half a month, was kept intact by the masses even after the police raid. I suppose the appearance of my announcement to sell "the court proceedings of the trial of Wei Jingsheng" must have led the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau to two mistaken conclusions: 1) that the sellers must be Wei Jingsheng's ideological sympathizers, and 2) that the pamphlets were meant to defend Wei Jingsheng and to refute the court decision. Consequently, they had concluded that they could seize the literature and make the arrests and that they would have no problem finding valid cause to press the charge of violating the law. Even if that were not possible, those arrested could be frightened away, blaming themselves for the mishap and thanking the proletarian dictatorship for leniency.

"Kidnaplike" Detention Without Due Process of Law

Having made the arrests and finding that their "foolproof scheme" would not work, they had to have a pretext to frighten their adversary in order to save their own skins.

Frankly, I never rated very highly the Public Security Bureau, which often resorted to the "proletarian dictatorship" to frighten people. Now its ruthless, mean and vicious attitude had destroyed what little goodwill I had for it. The embarrassment and anger of the bureau could never have made me bend my knees to help those ruffians get away without any affect on their dignity.

Having failed to get what they wanted, these personnel left the room, probably to telephone to their superiors for instructions, to report on the case and make recommendations.

Meanwhile, a fuming, angry man over 40 entered the room and shouted at me: "Liu Qing, this is an agency of the dictatorship; you have come in and it won't be easy to get out. Don't think you are so important. We know how to handle a lad like you. You must answer my questions or else you cannot leave here."

I stared at him and asked: "May I know your name?"

He roared back: "That's none of your business."

I told him that since he knew me and my name, if he wanted to talk to me, he would have to identify himself and let me know his name. I said I would not talk with anyone whose identity I did not know. I refused to talk to him because he refused to identify himself and let me know his name. I asked him not to shout at me any more.

He shouted at the top of his voice, forcing sprinkles of saliva into the air: "Do you know what kind of place this is? Do you know what kind of place this is? This is an agency of the dictatorship. You had better behave

yourself. Liu Qing, you are not that terrific. You mustn't think we don't know how to handle you. We do.... Do you dare to say that Wei Jingsheng is not a counterrevolutionary? Do you dare to seek redress for Wei Jingsheng? Do you dare? Do you dare?"

What could I say to him? I realized I had entered the "Anding Hospital" by mistake. But I asked old Wang, who seemed to be the leader of the four, to consider the angry man's attitude, as anger was not likely to resolve the problem. Old Wang disagreed and pointed out: "This is an agency of the dictatorship." I leaned over the desk to catch some sleep while the room was filled with the fuming and shouting of this angry man. He kept shouting for about 15 minutes and finally dashed out of the room still fuming and choked with foaming saliva on his lips.

Yang Jing and the other three came in at about midnight and said: "Let's go home now." I tried to leave but the personnel working in the "Reception Office for Mass Visitors" stopped me. This marked the beginning of my detention.

A severe cold current had actually arrived, and it was very cold that night. I had only a sweater and was practically frozen stiff. They sent over several policemen in heavy overcoats to watch me. The following day, I declared that a detention not carried out in accordance with legal procedure was kidnapping, and I went on a hunger strike to register my protest. By noontime, a man over 40, accompanies by a woman over 20 and a bespectacled man who had taken notes the evening before, sat facing me while I was curled up on a sofa without moving. After a minute or two, he asked my name in a soft voice. Then he said they had decided to detain me. I turned around a little and asked: "What for?"

He got to his feet all of a sudden and said aloud: "Get up and listen to the decision I am going to read to you." He pulled out a piece of paper and read it to me. I asked to see the paper. It was a form printed in black on newsprint. My name was filled in in the space for detainee, the reason given was violation of the maintenance of social order, and the duration of detention was 15 days. I returned the paper to him without saying a word as he waited for my response. I remained silent because I had to consider the case in the light of my knowledge of the law. He signaled to the two who had come with him: "Take him away."

I entered a sedan flanked by the bespectacled man and a policeman.

"To Act in Accordance with the Law Doesn't Imply Hard and Fast Rules; There Are Bound To Be Exceptions"

The young woman worked over 20 minutes to get the car past the huge iron gate of the Beijing Municipal Detention Center. Once we were inside the gate, I remained in the car for more than an hour while the driver of the car went into the building to keep warm. Finally, they called me in to go through the routine frisk and registration. Then a young policeman led me disinterestedly to a "cell." Before he left the office, he told the police who handled the

registration: "Send in one of our quilts. I am afraid the people in the building might refuse to take him. This is a temporary detention; don't fuss over the precedents."

I had had my doubts about that detention paper right from the beginning. Now what I had seen and heard convinced me that the detention paper I saw was a fabrication. The Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau was playing unlawful tricks to intimidate me.

The very first step it took to handle the case was unlawful. In my judgment, it had to go all the way to complete the "journey" in order to save face.

The suspicion I had at first was later confirmed by what I learned from the guards during my prolonged solitary confinement. When I told policeman Liu, my guard, my suspicion and asked him to confirm it, he said: "I do not know whether your detention procedure was authentic or fabricated (of coures he knew). Once the front gate admitted you, I have to receive you. If you have doubts, I will submit them to my superior for an answer." When the chief guard in Row 6 (a large cell) forced me to obey the humiliating rules of the detention center, I protested: "I have not bee convicted. The Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau detained me unlawfully because it did not arrest me in accordance with legal procedure, nor did it detain me in accordance with proper procedure...." He said to me: "We know your situation very well, and we have already reported it to our superior. You say you are a realist. Then you ought to wait patiently for a solution...."

A young guard by the name of Wang in Row 6 was even more straightforward. He said in front of all the detainees of No 9, Row 6: "To act in accordance with the law does not imply hard and fast rules; there are bound to be exceptions. We have to lock up anyone committed on orders issued by the chief of the Public Security Bureau, the mayor of Beijing, the secretary general or a member of the party committee, even though he is not processed in accordance with legal procedures."

I learned afterward from more experienced people that the detention paper I saw was a fabrication, a "gimmick" of the Public Security Bureau. All formal detention papers were type-printed on glazed paper instead of old newsprint. "Detention papers" mimeographed on newsprint were used only for processing within the Public Security Bureau, and they did not have binding force outside the bureau. Moreover, a detention paper type-printed on glazed paper was not legally binding unless it bore the official chop of a law enforcement agency authorizing the detention. The detention paper they showed me did not bear any official chop. A formal detention paper had to be signed or endorsed by the detainee. My name had already been filled in in the detention paper they showed me, and they did not ask me to sign it. Finally, the detainee had to have a copy of the detention paper, but they did not give me one.

The reason for the detention was absurd. The "Regulations Governing Penalties in the Administration of Social Order" had become practically an omnipotent weapon of the Public Security Bureau. I remember I had read the

"Regulations Governing Penalties in the Administration of Social Order" when I was much younger. As far as I could recall, I had not violated any of its provisions. But one cannot always depend on his memory and so I could not say for sure whether I had violated any of its provisions. I asked the interrogators, the recordkeepers and the guards many times to tell me exactly the provisions of the law I had violated. They either blushed and talked nonsense to evade my question or acted surprised and did not know what to say.

Later, I read the new "Regulations Governing Penalties in the Administration of Social Order" of 1980, which contained only one provision on the sale of periodicals and printed matter: "The sale of reactionary, pornographic, or obscene publications and pictures already banned shall not be permitted." At least, the pamphlets I mimeographed could not be branded pornographic or obscene. I did not think anybody could call the proceedings of the trial of Wei Jingsheng by the Beijing Higher Court reactionary. Since I was the first one who had mimeographed them, these pamphlets had not been "already banned." So, according to the new "regulations," I had not violated any provision of the law.

The logic of the first interrogator was quite amusing. I asked him about the specific provisions of the "regulations" I had violated that were the ground for detaining me. He hesitated for a while and finally said to me: "You just admit the mistakes you made. There is no reason to be obstinate; obstinacy won't do you any good. We have no intention of locking you up even for one minute. It all depends on your attitude."

What did one's attitude have to do with such a question of law as whether or not to detain a person, or, as the interrogator put it, to lock or not to lock him up? Did that mean that a person who should have been detained would not be detained just because his attitude was good, while another who could not be lawfully detained would be detained because he was unable to please the Public Security Bureau? By the same token, should a convict who was sentenced to die be set free because his attitude pleased the Public Security Bureau? I was in favor of doing things in accordance with the law and would never agree "to accept the wishes of officials as the law," which had already done so much damage to the Chinese nation. So I did not pay any attention to his suggestion but asked quite candidly: "What are my mistakes and how are they related to the law?"

"Wei Jingsheng was pronounced a counterrevolutionary by the court. Your sale of the pamphlets was propaganda on his behalf. That was a very grave mistake."

I grinned: "What I offered for sale was the recording of the trial of Wei Jingsheng by the court, without any comment by anyone. If you call that propaganda on behalf of a counterrevolutionary, aren't you saying that the court proceedings of the trial are propaganda activities on behalf of a counterrevolutionary?

Somewhat shocked, he shouted back in anger: "Nonsense, you insult the court, you insult the law enforcement personnel."

The Public Security Bureau Was Like the Russian Troops "Invited" to Afghanistan.

"Have you ever studies logic?", I asked him.

It was impossible to continue the interrogation.

Like the Russian troops "invited" to Afghanistan without any solid justification for the "invitation," the Public Security Bureau was not able to pinpoint any specific provision of the law in answer to my question about the legal basis of my detention. I was sure that if this appeal were published, the Public Security Bureau, like the Russian troops, would still be unable to provide a clear-cut answer to this question, even if it were interested in it.

At first I was locked in No 9, Row 12, Building REN of the Beijing Municipal Detention Center. I was the only one locked in a room 15 square meters in size. It was at the end of the building, damp, gloomy and cold. I had to bundle up in a cotton-padded garment and curl up in a corner. For a time the joints of my left leg gave me so much pain that I had to grit my teeth every time I walked.

People of All Descriptions Were Secretly Seized and Kept Here

Row 2 was the most unique in the entire detention center. Instead of peeping stealthily at a mirror on the air vent of the door to keep an eye on what was going on in each cell, the guards depended on television to do the surveillance work. Although I was not able to verify this, I knew that whenever I touched the window, the guards were alerted immediately. Perhaps they had installed some kind of alarm device. When the guards pushed a button to open the door, there was always a frightening noise. A guard in his office could hear what the inmates were talking about because there were loudspeakers in all the hallways. One pushed a button on the cell door to get in touch with the guards. The radiator control and light switch were not inside the cell, as in the other rows. They were on the wall covered with a heavy metal screen. Here the lights were on 24 hours a day, sometimes glaringly bright and sometimes so dim that one could hardly read a newspaper. When I was in No 4, Row 2, I saw angry remarks written on the cell wall by Wang Zhenxiong, an overseas Chinese from California, who had marched with Fu Yuehua in a demonstration and had been secretly arrested without due process of law. I could still make out messages left behind by those arrested during the "5 April" period. Later, when I moved to No 10, Kuai Dafu was my nextdoor neighbor in No 11, and Sun Fengyi, the second person to put his signature on the "First Marxist Big Character Poster," was in No 18, across the hallway. Finally, I found out that Chen Lu, who used to handle the organizational work for the HUMAN RIGHTS LEAGUE, was in a cell facing me. I learned from what he had told the guards that he had been "invited" over by two plainclothes policemen for a talk. I left him a message on the toilet wall: "Greetings from No 76 to Tianjing No 2 (No 2 was a liaison point of the Human Rights League and No 76 was my home address). Victory depends on persistent pursuit of truth." He never answered my greetings. Wei Rongling told me later that he

had been rather pessimistic about the democratic movement. But we succeeded in meeting twice to exchange greetings. The guards must have become aware of our secret, because Chen Lu was moved away all of a sudden.

I was in solitary confinement, in Row 12 and Row 2, for 5 months. When I was in Row 12, a young guard asked me whether I was bored and would like to have a companion. I said of course I would. He said he would try to take up the matter with his superior. The next time we met, he did not say a word but gestured with his hands to show disappointment. Solitary confinement was illegal even for a convict accorded due process of law. In 1979, Zhao Cangbi [6392 5547 1048], minister of public security, issued a circular banning solitary confinement. This was a minimum protection of human rights. Solitary confinement was detrimental to the physical and mental health of the inmate. It was an absolutely unnecessary, inhumane and cruel persecution.

Once I stayed in the same cell with Hong Taoxing. He had been committed to solitary confinement for 8 years, followed by 3 years of reform through labor. He had been arrested again within 1 month after his release, and had been locked up again for nearly 3 years already. Although he had been out of solitary confinement for 5 years, he still could not speak clearly. He felt such a numbness in his tongue that speaking was hard work. The emotional injury he sustained was even more obvious. He told me that when he had been in solitary confinement the guard had tried to kill him and had fed him poison. He said he had managed to keep some of the poison as evidence to charge them once he was released. More dreadful still was his account of a sensitive electronic device in his cell which he said could control his thoughts and induce him to think about the evidence the authorities needed. He said it could also record his thoughts so they could be used against him the next day during interrogation. He claimed the device kept prompting him to committ suicide. He thought like a normal person the moment he stopped talking about those things.

His mental condition reminded me of another friend, Guo Lusheng, whose celebrated poem, "Have Faith in the Future," had been treasured for more than 10 years by the youth of the whole country. His protracted suspicion that people were controlling his thoughts had led him to schizophrenia. After he was cured, he still seemed a bit abnormal. His old illness returned just a few days after the conviction of Wei Jingsheng, and he ended up in "Anding Hospital."

"Let Me Return to the Blue Sky!"

My solitary confinement was rather short and did not hurt me much. However, I noticed a few changes. One day I saw lots of loose hair on my blanket. When I looked inthe little mirror on the door vent, I discovered I had begun losing hair and was bald on top. The cell was so gloomy and cold that I had to curl up in a corner. That may very well have been the cause of the swelling and pain in my left leg. I had been nearsighted for a long time, but it became worse. I sometimes talked to myself as though I were holding a heated debate. I also recalled mathematical and chemical formulas and wrote signs and symbols on the wall as if trying to solve problems. In particular,

I missed my mother and felt grieved by the trouble I was causing her in her old age. It was April, and I saw outside the broken window of the toilet a small green budding leaf pushing out of the dark mud by the tall surrounding wall. It was so green that it caught my eye immediately. I felt a strong urge to get under the blue sky.

I realized that my yearning for freedom was futile because my interrogators and the superiors who gave them instructions would not and could not let a legally free man return to freedom under the blue sky. They wanted the persecuted to plead quilty in order to show that their unlawful acts were lawful and correct. I could not yield because I knew I would not trade my clear conscience for the natural blue sky.

The first interrogator questioned me only once and never returned. Maybe he was baffled by his own confusing logic or may be he had shown emotion unbecoming to an interrogator when I challenged his logic. At any rate, he had disappeared "like a migratory bird."

Substituting One's Own Concept of Right and Wrong for the Law

The second interrogator was a whitehaired man over 60, but he still remembered things very well. He loved to brag about himself. He told me many times, more than 10 times to be exact, that he had been one of the first group of victims of the criminal acts of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and he said that I must not treat him the way he had been treated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." But how should I treat him? Should I wear a smile and wait on him while the Public Security Office arrested and detained me unlawfully without justification and plotted against me secretly?

This interrogator really had something to brag about. I noticed that the recording clerk acted very respectful in his presence. On another occasion, when he was interrogating me, I noticed a young woman over 20 years old acting bashfully in speaking to him. I overheard the recording clerk telling another woman that he had come from the Public Security Office in a chauffeur-driven automobile to interrogate me.

This was how I and the second interrogator began our protracted sessions. After I sat down, he looked at me for a while and then asked me in a concerned tone whether I was nearsighted. I answered him politely. Politeness was often interpreted as being uninterested. He was silent as he went through the papers in fron tof him. He asked me: "Whose recorder is it, who made the recording for you?"

This immediately led us into a heated argument. The regrettable thing was that this gentleman, who claimed to have been cultivated by the party for decades, did not appear to have any better knowledge of the law than the personnel of the "Reception Office for Mass Visitors" of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. Equally bad was the fact that they all took their own concept of right and wrong as the law and had no respect for the specific provisions of the written law. This was a failure of the society we lived in, and there was not much we could do about it.

It was not that we should not blame the people for this phenomenon brought about by history, the Chinese society and its culture: it was a different story with the law enforcement personnel, who were educated and trained in the law. Their failure to distinguish between the two might very well be construed as "fishing in troubled water." I made it clear to this whitehaired interrogator that they could interrogate me and I would agree to be interrogated in accordance with the law provided they proved to me that they had complied with lawfully provided procedure.

The whitehaired interrogator told me that I was being detained for investigation, and that I would know the reason and conclusion as soon as the investigation was over.

I said they could not detain me for investigation without justification, and I would not accept "the wishes of superior officials" as the ground for my detention and investigation.

He came 2 days later to tell me that the legal ground for detention was a 1949 State Council decree on the right of news reporting. He read me the gist of the decree: The right to report all important news, such as government organization, proclamations, state business, foreign relations, warfare, important construction projects, the discovery of important mineral resources, and cases of nationwide importance, was assigned to the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY. Unlass authorized by the State Council, no newspaper, publication or periodical should report such matters. The interrogator said that since Wei Jingsheng's case had been a case of nationwide importance, I had violated the decree by mimeographing the pamphlets.

You Must Answer the Questions Unless You Are Dead!

Having detained me for nearly 10 days, the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau finally came up with a written decree to justify my detention. Even though it came a bit late, it still represented some plausible progress in law enforcement in China. They no longer believed that whatever they did was lawful as long as it was in the interest of the "proletarian dictatorship." Instead, they wanted to have something written to prove the legality of their actions. But was this decree applicable to my case?

News always meant a piece of new information reported to the public for the very first time. If it had been reported already, it would be difficult to regard it as news. Wei Jingsheng had been tried by the Beijing Higher Court on 16 October. BEIJING RIBAO had carried the news on 17 October, and other papers had simply relayed its version. In fact, all important foreign newspapers had simply relayed its version. In fact, all important foreign newspapers, publications and news agencies had also carried reports on the case. It had featured even more prominently, as pointed out by Xia Yan at the fourth literary congress, than that important speech of Ye Jianying. Many foreign journalists had written voluminously about the case. As a matter of fact, reports and comments on the case also had multiplied in China. I had offered the pamphlets for sale on 11 November 1979, long after the case had been so colorfully covered by the press, nearly 1 month after Wei's first

trial, and quite a few days after his second trial. Any reasonable person would have agreed that it was no longer news or even "old news." The 1949 State Council decree assigned the exclusive right to report all important news to the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY. But BEIJING RIBAO was the first one to report Wei's trial, while RENMIN RIBAO and other newspapers simply relayed the BEIJING RIBAO account. This showed that the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY had not regarded Wei's trial as important news falling within its exclusive reporting right. Consequently, it had not covered the trial, nor had it published any report. BEIJING RIBAO also had not considered that it was contravening any law in covering and reporting the case. If the decree had in fact been violated, BEIJING RIBAO should have been the first offender to face prosecution, while the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY might have been suspected of dereliction of duty. I doubted that BEIJING RIBAO and NCNA would accept the interpretation of the decree by the Public Security Bureau.

There was also the question of the jurisdiction of the different courts. The supreme court had jurisdiction over all national and important regional cases, while ordinary criminal cases subject to punishment ranging from 5 or more years of imprisonment to the death penalty and counterrevolution cases were tried by the higher courts. Wei Jingsheng had been tried by the Beijing Municipal Higher Court. Consequently it had been an ordinary case, and not a case of nationwide importance over which the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY had the exlusive reporting right.

The government could always find grounds to incriminate a person. However, if it wanted to have "grounds" for incrimination, it should have weighed carefully the "grounds" it had. Its efforts would be self-defeating if the "grounds" left too many loopholes for the public to gauge the real motive behind them. Personally, I thought the difference between one who misued the "grounds" and one who resorted to brutality was what distinguished a bedbug from a mosquito, as Lu Xun had described: A mosquito buzzes around with its rhetoric to justify why it bites a person and why that person deserved the biting. The bedbug, on the other hand, simply charges ahead quietly and bites as hard as it can. Even though I intended to spurn such a legal ground, still I made it clear that the provision was not applicable in my case. Surprisingly, told me in anger and frustration "You won't be able to get away with your refusal to answer our questions. Let me tell you, you must answer the questions, no matter where or when, unless you are dead." Now, I was no longer permitted to answer the interrogator's questions in accordance with the law; I must answer their questions the way the authorities wanted.

After a few arguments, he became quite blunt and handed me a kind of "ultimatum." He said: "You have to answer my questions, even if you did not violate any law. Let me tell you, we have many different ways to handle you. We can tell the public what kind of person you are. We can convict you in accordance with old precedents, the unwritten law which evolved in our internal policy or other established practices. We can also lock you up indefinitely and make you serve your time as long as we want. Let me remind you that the 'criminal code' will not take effect until 1980. This is 1979 and we can decide the case in accordance with previous precedents."

He was telling me bluntly that they did not have to act in accordance with the law and could do what they wanted. Moreover, they were threatening me openly. A few days before, the whitehaired interrogator had made veiled threats on more than one occasion, but I had played dumb and showed no sign of concern. In threatening me, he had said that I had concealed my real age and changed my personal history when I applied for college and that I had filled out my own sick leave slips for the unit I worked for.

These measures the Public Security Bureau used were not new to me. After Ren Wanding, Wei Jingsheng, Fu Yuehua and others were arrested, there had been rumors based on information from the Public Security Bureau that so and so, a member of a counterrevolutionary group, had been smuggled across the national border to work against the country; that so and so had received huge sums of money from Taiwan and Western countries to run intelligence operations and carry out subversive activities; and that so and so had led a loose life and used to sneak into foreign embassies to practice prostitution. But the trial of Wei Jingsheng and Fu Yuehua had shown me how much one could believe these rumors.

After my detention began, I had expected to hear rumors like that even without being reminded by the interrogator. What he told me led me to believe that they had already done what I had suspected. Their tactic of covert slander could only enrage instead of frightening one dedicated to the pursuit of truth and the wellbeing of his country. People made mistakes. Did anybody ever hear that only faultless people were qualified to show concern for society and the masses, while "those less than faultless" were the "concern" of everybody else? The fact that the Public Security Bureau resorted to "many different ways" to deal with me showed that to defend its own dignity, the Public Security Bureau would not hesitate to "discipline" a person whom it had no legal authority to punish but who refused to bow in submission to its "overpowering" authority.

In view of the bluntness of what the interrogator had said, I had to decide what to do next, because it was futile to argue with the law enforcement agencies. Therefore I decided to appeal to the public for a solution to the problem and to let people know as soon as possible the true facts in order to mobilize public pressure to put an end to these unlawful actions. I considered that we should not let the Public Security Bureau believe that it could do what it pleased, while the public could not even register its displeasure. I had to act quickly to expose to society the firsthand information I possessed.

Having made up my mind to appeal to society and having studied their psychology and the actual conditions, I decided to stop asking them to provide a legal basis to justify their actions and to abide by truly creditable legal procedure. Instead, I would resort to silence in answer to some of their questions. This was depressing but necessary because there was no alternative.

In a word, my approach was noncooperation and nonconfrontation. One could cooperate only with law-abiding reasonable people, but not with those who relied on power and brutality. Confrontation would be gratifying but it

would cost dearly, so I decided to abandon it. But I swore I would expose them to the best of my ability whenever possible.

The following were the questions asked by the interrogators and my answers, plus explanations, especially the explanations. I put all these in writing so that those who read them would see that the questions asked by the Public Security Bureau were not matters of its concern nor within its authority to inquire into. I put my emphasis on the explanations because they were problems facing the democratic movement, and I wanted to avail myself of the opportunity to express my own views.

Before I take up these questions, I should like to discuss a problem of law. The focus of my emphasis so far, which had baffled the Public Security Bureau, was my persistent request that they produce a legal basis for the way they treated me.

Some might think what I was after was to show that "no action was criminal unless there were express legal provisions at the time of its occurrence" or that "criminal responsibility was not retroactive." In reality, I was not pursuing legal technicalities. I knew that the Chinese "criminal law" provided that any act deemed criminal but not expressly stipulated in the law could be prosecuted, provided it was submitted to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress to be examined and declared a legally binding precedent. I requested during the interrogation both in the Reception Office for Mass Visitors and afterward that if they could not produce any express provisions of the law and yet regarded my action as criminal, they could turn me over to the procuratorate for formal prosecution, and I would defend myself in court. But they never did this in spite of my repeated requests. Those ludicrous law enforcement personnel were probably afraid to act in accordance with legal procedure. The reason I stressed the importance of legal provisions was that I wanted to prove that I did not act against any written law before I proved that my arguments were "logical and well founded." In my appeal to the social court of justice, I had to consider popular psychology and demonstrate that I was innocent in the eyes of the law and correct both logically and ethically.

The questions asked by the interrogators fell into five categories.

1. Questions About the 5 APRIL FORUM

The interrogator began by asking about the founding and organization of our 5 APRIL FORUM.

At the beginning of 1979, the 5 APRIL FORUM had written to the Central Propaganda Department, the Publications Bureau, the Public Security Bureau and the Office of Taxation to apply for registration and to pay the required taxes. But our letters had vanished like lost kites. This showed that we had no intention of concealing our organization, and had filled out the required forms waiting for registration. They had not let us register and had denied us the constitutional right of freedom of association and freedom of press. Thus, we had been forced to use a mimeograph, a primitive form of

printing. By denying us the right of registration, they had lost a proper vehicle to inquire about our conditions. But we had not wanted them to imagine things behind closed doors in their offices or to become biased by information fed by "special agents." We had done our best whenever possible to let the authorities concerned have an objective understanding of our activities. When Tang Xin of BEIJING RIBAO had come to see us, we had explained to him in detail about the founding and organization of 5 APRIL FORUM and had invited him many times to attend our meetings.

If the interrogators had known how to use approaches other than "police interrogation," they could have obtained lots of firsthand information instead of sketchy reports.

The interrogator was interested in some members of the 5 APRIL FORUM.

The first one he mentioned was Lu Pu.

Lu Pu's father, Lu Ji, had been president of the China Music Association. In November 1978, Lu Pu had posted on the Democracy Wall a large character poster containing "An Open Letter to Cong Fusheng" to refute Cong Fusheng's remarks in "In the Midst of Silence" that the 5 APRIL FORUM had been motivated by its love for Premier Zhou and its hostility toward the "gang of four." He thought those were superficial reasons. In reality, this reflected the dissatisfaction of the Chinese people with a stagnant economy, a declining standard of living and extensive restriction of freedom of thought.

The appearance of the article immediately turned the Democracy Wall on Xidan into a site bustling with activity, drawing worldwide attention to a "democratic movement" it had set in motion, which advocated political reform to provide China with democracy and the rule of law. Tang Xin, a reporter of the internal reference department of BEIJING RIBAO, had described Lu Pu as "the man who lit the torch at the Democracy Wall," an expression he got from someone else.

Lu Pu had always used his work card number, 538, to sign the articles he published. He had joined 5 APRIL FORUM in February, after we had had an extensive exchange of views. He had become one of three conveners of 5 APRIL FORUM on the recommendation of Xu Wenli and myself. We had been reelected to serve consecutively after our reorganization. He was a careful thinker with an ardent sense of social responsibility and political acumen. In October 1979 he had written 5 APRIL FORUM a dubious letter "to be kept on record" in which he had asked for a long leave of absence. It was said that he and Wang Juntao, assistant chief editor of SPRING IN BEIJING and a student of Beijing Daxue, had had a 4-hour discussion in Hu Yaopang's house about their views of the "democratic movement." I heard later that in a report given at a high-level party school, Hu Yaopang said he had won over the son of a cadre, an influential figure, at the Democracy Wall. It was he. But Lu Pu told me he had held his ground in the debate even though there was no way for him to continue the debate.

In addition to his general interest in Lu Pu's condition, the interrogator also asked about his understanding of the four principles.

Lu Pu and I had not been able to agree on two particular ideological issues.

The first point had been our evaluation of Chairman Mao. He had thought the Great Cultural Revolution was a damaging error for which Chairman Mao was criminally responsible, or at least inexcusably wrong. He had believed it was due to Chairman Mao's monarchical aspirations. I had thought that the Great Cultural Revolution was a big mistake, but that it only accelerated the spread of a chronic disease of our country, our society and the power structure, but did not "create" another chronic disease. Its mistake was the failure to cure that chronic disease. Relatively, the Cultural Revolution had contributed to emancipating the mind and destroying godlike images. As a matter of fact, emancipation of the mind had been one of charted objectives of the Cultural Revolution. Although the direction of the drive to emancipate the mind did not quite agree with the anticipations of those who had launched the campaign, its overall direction had been in keeping with the objectives set down at its beginning.

The second point had been our assessment of the proletarian dictatorship. He considered it necessary to strengthen the proletarian dictatorship, without which the state would become defenseless. Consequently, he thought that the freedom of the press should not be unlimited and that opposition to socialism and Marxism should be punished.

I had not been able to accept his views on proletarian dictatorship and freedom of the press.

Who were the proletarians in our society at the time? We did not think we could identify them. If we could not even identify who the proletarians were, how could we talk about proletarian dictatorship?

The orthodox concept of class distinction rested on the position of each individual in the economic life of the society in which he lived. This covered his possession of the means of production, the role he played in production and finally whether he exploited others or was exploited.

If the exploiting class consisted of capitalists and landlords who owned the means of production and if proletarians, poor peasants and tenant peasants were the exploited, we would not be able to distinguish them in presentday China. Property under socialism, including the means of production, was owned by the whole people. If the ownership of the means of production were a mark of class distinction, then everybody would be a capitalist. That would be ridiculous. If not, then there wasn't a single capitalist in the whole country.

Furthermore, were the peasants proletarians or capitalists? Nominally, the peasants owned the land and related means of production collectively. But their right over the land was extremely limited. They could not sell or transfer the land as they wished, and they did not even have the complete right to decide what to grow and how to grow it. If the knowledge one had in one's mind was not capital and brain work was not labor, then all intellectuals were proletarians. If our society was not considered to be converted to a state capitalism, then all government employees were proletarians.

If this were true, then our country had only a proletarian class, and who would be the object of the dictatorship?

Speaking of exploitation, except for those in power who could "exploit" by unlawful and improper means, there was no other vehicle of exploitation. That kind of "exploitation" no longer meant what it had formerly meant. By exploitation, we meant those who occupied commanding positions in production and earned huge "remunerations" in the form of profits, land rent, stock dividends, and so on by means of capital and other means of production protected by the law. Material gains obtained through power, unlawful and improper means constituted, in reality, corruption and bribery. I did not want to comment on whether it was exploitation for the leaders of our country to be so well treated, because I did not have enough data on hand and had not studied the problem.

People might say that even though the exploiting class had been destroyed, its huge corpse, not yet buried, still emitted harmful poisons, which was what the proletarian dictatorship should cope with. This, however, was an ideological dictatorship instead of a class dictatorship. But ideological delineations were not as distinct as economic positions. There were bound to be proletarians with capitalist mentality who wished to exploit other people, just as there were capitalists with proletarian mentality, such as the well-known (Sir) Thomas Moore, (Count de) St-Simon, (Alfred) Fouillee and (Robert) Owen. How were we going to apply the dictatorship? Moreover, an ideology which existed in one's mind and did not actually harm or exploit anyone else should be free instead of being trampled upon by the rule of the dictatorship.

In reality, the proletarian dictatorship in our country was mainly a means to suppress those who did not agree ideologically with the highest authority. This meant to suppress "counterrevolution." The suppression of this kind of "counterrevolution" seriously disrupted the democratic system of our society, undermined the civil rights provided by the constitution, and killed public enthusiasm and practical endeavors.

In our presentday society, the concept of revolution versus counterrevolution was just as unwarranted as the emphasis on proletarian dictatorship.

The interrogator also asked in detail about Xu Wenli and told me to write a report on him. Obviously, as he had indicated, he wanted me to provide him with information damaging to Xu Wenli because Xu was a very influential figure on the Democracy Wall. He, Zhao Nan and Hou Congzhe had been the sponsors and founders of the 5 APRIL FORUM and had worked hard to get the 5 APRIL FORUM formally established in January 1979.

He was an outstanding organizer, capable of getting young strangers together to work peacefully to produce written material. He volunteered to bear the brunt of the daily routine of 5 APRIL FORUM. He was so busy that for quite some time he slept only 2 to 3 hours a day. He offered his own bedroom to 5 APRIL FORUM for use as an office. He was one of the conveners of 5 APRIL FORUM and the frontline commander of the "Xingxing Art Exhibition" demonstration

If this were true, then our country had only a proletarian class, and who would be the object of the dictatorship?

Speaking of exploitation, except for those in power who could "exploit" by unlawful and improper means, there was no other vehicle of exploitation. That kind of "exploitation" no longer meant what it had formerly meant. By exploitation, we meant those who occupied commanding positions in production and earned huge "remunerations" in the form of profits, land rent, stock dividends, and so on by means of capital and other means of production protected by the law. Material gains obtained through power, unlawful and improper means constituted, in reality, corruption and bribery. I did not want to comment on whether it was exploitation for the leaders of our country to be so well treated, because I did not have enough data on hand and had not studied the problem.

People might say that even though the exploiting class had been destroyed, its huge corpse, not yet buried, still emitted harmful poisons, which was what the proletarian dictatorship should cope with. This, however, was an ideological dictatorship instead of a class dictatorship. But ideological delineations were not as distinct as economic positions. There were bound to be proletarians with capitalist mentality who wished to exploit other people, just as there were capitalists with proletarian mentality, such as the well-known (Sir) Thomas Moore, (Count de) St-Simon, (Alfred) Fouillee and (Robert) Owen. How were we going to apply the dictatorship? Moreover, an ideology which existed in one's mind and did not actually harm or exploit anyone else should be free instead of being trampled upon by the rule of the dictatorship.

In reality, the proletarian dictatorship in our country was mainly a means to suppress those who did not agree ideologically with the highest authority. This meant to suppress "counterrevolution." The suppression of this kind of "counterrevolution" seriously disrupted the democratic system of our society, undermined the civil rights provided by the constitution, and killed public enthusiasm and practical endeavors.

In our presentday society, the concept of revolution versus counterrevolution was just as unwarranted as the emphasis on proletarian dictatorship.

The interrogator also asked in detail about Xu Wenli and told me to write a report on him. Obviously, as he had indicated, he wanted me to provide him with information damaging to Xu Wenli because Xu was a very influential figure on the Democracy Wall. He, Zhao Nan and Hou Congzhe had been the sponsors and founders of the 5 APRIL FORUM and had worked hard to get the 5 APRIL FORUM formally established in January 1979.

He was an outstanding organizer, capable of getting young strangers together to work peacefully to produce written material. He volunteered to bear the brunt of the daily routine of 5 APRIL FORUM. He was so busy that for quite some time he slept only 2 to 3 hours a day. He offered his own bedroom to 5 APRIL FORUM for use as an office. He was one of the conveners of 5 APRIL FORUM and the frontline commander of the "Xingxing Art Exhibition" demonstration

on 1 October 1979. Foreign correspondents had interviewed him many times and had written extensively about him. I am agraid the report on Xu Wenli which I wrote for the Public Security Bureau was a disappointment to them. I emphasized Xu Wenli's sense of social responsibility and historical urgency, his organizational talent, his self-sacrificing outlook and his emancipated mind. Although I might have praised Xu Wenli a bit excessively, yet as far as the Public Security Bureau was concerned, I think I was entitled to sing the praises of my courageous and dedicated friend.

The interrogator also asked about Wang Chong, especially the pseudonyms he used and the articles he had published. Wang Chong was an editor of 5 APRIL FORUM, a major contributor. A young student of the People's University majoring in economics, he was a fast writer and fast thinker. He wrote at least one article for each issue of 5 APRIL FORUM.

The interrogator asked about all the members of the 5 APRIL FORUM. Even though I had a suspicion that 5 APRIL FORUM might have been infiltrated by "special agents" and traitors, I thought they had all been ideologically independent young people, full of a sense of social responsibility, dedicated and career-minded. So I was glad to provide the interrogator with my impressions of them all.

In January 1979, all the government agencies of Beijing had circulated a document issued by the Beijing Municipality attempting to discredit the Democracy Wall, all the unofficial publications and cell organizations. At that time, the public impression of the Democracy Wall and the unofficial publications was mixed. To improve our distorted image and to win social approval, all the unofficial publications found it necessary to call a big discussion meeting in order to let the public know our objectives, our platform, what we wanted to do and the reasons for what we were trying to do. At the same time, we wanted to prove to society that we had the courage to speak out instead of spreading rumors. The meeting was attended by representatives of the unofficial publications, including 5 APRIL FORUM, TODAY, PEOPLE'S FORUM, ENLIGHTENMENT SOCIETY, REFERENCE INFORMATION FOR THE MASSES, HUMAN RIGHTS LEAGUE, and TANSUO.

2. Questions About the "Joint Conference"

The meeting took place on 28 January 1979 and was later called a protest meeting. After the meeting, everybody present wanted to retain some form of permanent meeting to keep in touch and exchange views. So we formed a "joint conference" consisting of one delegate from each of the seven unofficial publications. They asked me to be the convener of the "joint conference", possibly because they were considering using my home as its office and because I did not like to interfere in the internal affairs of other organizations. The organization was blown to pieces by the end of March 1979 by a gust of ill wind. So I declared the conference in recess indefinitely. Later, during the "Xingxing Art Exhibition" incident, the 5 APRIL FORUM, TODAY, and SPRING IN BEIJING proposed to join someother unofficial publications, such as FERTILE SOIL, to organize another "joint conference," and they asked me to serve again as its temporary convener. But this organization was aborted before it saw the light of day.

The first "joint conference" lasted about 3 months, during which we met once a week and a few more times in emergency. It lacked efficiency because of ideological differences among the member unofficial publications. The only meeting open to the public took place on "28 January." Later, we tried on several occasions to hold public meetings, but they never took place due to lack of unity. After Fu Yuehua's arrest, her brother had contacted the "joint conference" to appeal to the public for help. However, due to rampant rumors and speculation, the "joint conference" found it unwise to step out in full force to support Fu Yuehua, whose case had become clouded by rumors that she "had sneaked during the night into Japanese and American embassies possibly for purposes of prostitution" and had had very little contact with the unofficial publications as her activities had been confined to those who had come to seek redress, even though those rumors were hard to believe. Having no evidence to rule out the suspicions, nor any compelling reason to oversee the case, the "joing conference" voted to study the case first and then decide what to do as soon as the situation became clearer. In the meantime, it organized two delegations of reporters on two separate occasions to interview the relatives of Fu Yuehua, those who knew her, her neighbors, the police substation concerned, the public security office in the Xuanwu section, the Beijing Municipal Reception Center at Gongdelin and the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. We played the recordings of these interviews for the "joint conference" to study.

We edited all the information we gathered, copied it on large character posters, and posted them on the Democracy Wall to provide the public with firsthand materials to help them form their own judgment. In July and August 1979 the 5 APRIL FORUM held meetings to appeal on behalf of Fu Yuehua, Wei Jingsheng and Ren Wanding, who had been held without trial for too long. We knew that what we had done was not enough, but we did what we could. These activities would no doubt make the memory of an activist at the Democracy Wall live in China and abroad for quite some time to come. Our work may have been unsatisfactory, "too litte" and too weak to some people, including Fu Yuehua's relatives. Here I wish to quote what Chu Ziqing said: It was impossible to achieve complete satisfaction; I did my best to keep my conscience clear.

The most taxing problem the "joint conference" faced was the factional squabble between the "Ren clique" and the "Chen clique" within the HUMAN RIGHTS LEAGUE, which had left a bad taste in Beijing.

In February 1979, ENLIGHTENMENT SOCIETY of Guizhou had split into an "Editorial Committee" headed by Huang Xiang, an "Editorial Department" headed by Qin Xiaochun and Yang Zaixing, and a "Thaw Souery" headed by Li Jiahua. Their dispute had reached a deadlock by the end of March, and they decided to call a democratic discussion meeting in Beijing during May to put their dispute to public debate. This was customary, because people who joined the "democratic movement" were bound to differ in ideologies and aspirations. Some were prompted by an ardent sense of social responsibility, a sense of history and urgency. Others who dedicated themselves to public interests were driven by personal grudges or were disillusioned with certain social phenomena, It was therefore difficult to avoid disputes in working with them.

That was unavoidable in any social movement. Even if everyone were dedicated wholeheartedly to public interests, they could still run into arguments due to ideological differences, differences of position and the breadth of individual viewpoints. Arguments and debates were healthy because they would help clarify ideological confusion and obsessions. I was in favor of debates. I thought that if we had internal squabbles, we shold resort to pen debates, it called for, to clarify who was right and who was wrong. But it was not the right time for them to travel from Guizhou to Beijing to argue out their differences, because the unofficial publication was facing a credibility problem created by fast-travelling rumors and allegations and the split in the HUMAN RIGHTS LEAGUE. We simply could not afford another big battle from Quizhou. Consequently, the "joint conference" told those from Guizhou in no uncertain terms that we would not welcome them to beijing to stir up more controversies. We were able to stop them from publicizing their differences in Beijing. That was something the "joint conference" did not want to do and yet had to do.

The "joint conference" also helped the participating unofficial publications to conclude a number of agreements, one of which was the four-point mutual obligations previously referred to.

After Wei Jingsheng's arrest, Yang Guang, who later testified in court, wrote us a letter asking me to carry out the "four-point agreement." The 5 APRIL FORUM kept its promise and carried out the obligations it had assumed. During the March crisis, we visited with the family members of both Wei Jingsheng and Ren Wanding, and told the public what we had learned about their condition. We addressed the public and conducted opinion polls in July and August to appeal to the government to resolve problems of worldwide concern as soon as possible. Our recording of Wei's trial was a piece of firsthand information which helped us to let the public know what had transpired. We also wrote an article criticizing the court for imposing heavy penalties for minor offenses.

The second "joint conference" never outgrew the embryo stage. It had been proposed by SPRING IN BEIJING after the "Xingxing Art Exhibition" demonstration. What we did then was to produce a booklet on the "Xingxing Art Exhibition" based on what we knew, and circulated it to refute those malicious rumors. We were also invited to cover a press conference for both Chinese and foreign reporters to be held at the "People's University" to discuss the demonstration. Concerned about possible changes before the conference, before we went over we telephoned to the party committee and the student council of the "People's University" about the matter. Unable to get any clear-cut answer, we asked Chai Song of TODAY to go to the "People's University" to survey the situation. We asked him to call us if the conference was going to take place. When he got there and told the student council of the "People's University" that he was a representative of all unofficial publications to cover the conference, a loudspeaker blasted the news over the entire campus that he was welcome. When the conference was over, we were very sorry we had not got thereon time to cover the conference and offer our support. Xu Wenli wrote a letter on behalf of 5 APRIL FORUM to offer our apology to the student council of the People's University. Frankly, I had not bee in favor of the demonstration. At first, I proposed "Xingxing Art

Exhibition" and the suppression of its normal cultural activities by the East City Public Security Office and post it on the Democracy Wall, and that we hold a large discussion meeting to appeal to society for help and to mobilize public opinion to censure the police authorities. But my moderate views and the more conservative views were outvoted by the radicals. I thought that demonstration had an important bearing on what happened afterward. Some of us were a bit overoptimistic about the situation at that time.

The "Xingxing Art Exhibition" demonstration took place on 1 October 1979. We learned later that some party and state leaders said when they talked about the demonstration: "Anyone with a bit of patriotism would not have had the demonstration on this particular day." That was illogical. What was patriotism? I thought all actions and opinions that supported the spirit of the constitution were patriotic. All actions and opinions, no matter whose, that damaged and contradicted the spirit of the constitution were unpatriotic and detrimental to the national interests. The "Xingxing Art Exhibition" demonstration aimed at supporting the constitution, and our march banners were: "We March in Support of the Constitution," "We Want Political Democracy," "We Want Freedom of Art." The crucial issue was to ask the government to protect the right of citizens to engage in social and cultural activities without brutal police interference. To uphold the basic spirit of the country on the national day was the best way to celebrate that festive occasion. How could anyone call it unpatriotic? We had to draw a line of demarcation between the craving to save face and true patriotism. Those who crafed to save face only cared about the momentary glee of gratification, without considering the consequences, and about taking shelter under an umbrella of harmful actions. That was really harmful to the country. The only issue worth considering was the question of tactics, because the demonstration did not achieve much. It actually became a factor responsible for the changes which took place afterward.

3. Foreigners

I did not take the initiative to contact foreigners, not because I did not want to contact them but because of the reality in China. I acted voluntarily only once, to give issue No 3 of 5 APRIL FORUM to Wade of the British DAILY TELEGRAPH to thank him for a New Year's greeting card he had posted on the Democracy Wall on 1 January 1979 to extend his best wishes to the budding unofficial publications. We would always remember Wade as a friend.

Although I did not volunteer to contact foreigners, I always received warmly any foreigner who came to see me. This was not only a matter of courtesy but also a subjective necessity. The voice of ordinary Chinese people could hardly be heard by the leaders of the state. If someone worked hard enough to get his voice heard, it would not draw any attention. But the same piece of information would receive their maximum attention if it had been "gilded" abroad. Since we favored political reform in China, I thought this medium would help make our voice reach both the leadership and the masses. We also wanted to have the world understand us. The world had no place for any country to live in isolation and keep out all outside influence.

The interrogator tried by hook or crook to capitalize on the problem of foreigners. I told him candidly that I would answer all questions he cared to ask about foreigners. Realizing that the Public Security Bureau did not have much to gain by dwelling on the question of foreigners, he began to threaten me, but he did it so awkwardly that he only made me laugh.

Victoria, a United Press correspondent and her assistant, Liu Xiangcheng, had made arrangements for me to meet Bai li bo [phonetic], a famous correspondent. According to Liu Xiangcheng, he was a China expert and had accompanied former U.S. Vice President Mondale to visit China. I asked the representatives of SPRING IN BEIJING, TODAY, FERTILE SOIL, TANSUO and HUMAN RIGHTS LEAGUE to be with me at our meeting. Bai li bo arrived about 40 minutes late; he apologized to us for this and said it was because he had to attend Sihanouk's reception. He had an American sense of humor. He was 36 years old in 1979. We talked for more than 3 hours. Before leaving, he said he had applied for permission to stay in Beijing as a correspondent of TIME. He figured he would get the approval in 1980 and would return to Beijing in the spring. By that time, he said, we could talk like olf friends. Liu Xiangcheng recorded the conversation. We also made a recording and jotted down the essential points.

The interrogator took this interview as an excuse to threaten me. He said every foreign correspondent in China had to have a correspondent's identity card issued by China. He was not entitled to interview anyone unless he possessed such an identity card. Bai li bo [phonetic], who did not have a correspondent's identity card, was not entitlted to interview anybody. The interrogator said we violated the law by permitting him to interview us.

That was ridiculous. If it were against the law for a correspondent who did not have the ID to interview people, the interviewer, instead of us who were being interviewed, should have been held criminally liable. Furthermore, the ban on interviews and news gathering was applicable only to such activities as public gatherings and demonstrations. It could not possibly cover casual conversations of three-five people. Any foreigner, not necessarily newspaper reporters, who could write and wanted to profit by writing, would write about conversations with a Chinese or quote what he had said. This meant that any Chinese who talked with a foreigner would be held criminally liable for permitting unauthorized interviews. Should every Chinese ask every foreigner he met for his correspondent's identity card before talking to him, or else not talk to him at all? The simplest way would be to make it criminally punishable for the Chinese people to talk to any foreigner, or else copy what the "gang of four" had done.

But I did not think there was such a law. Maybe the interrogator wanted to enact such a law.

Mo la lei si [phonetic], a correspondent of AI FEI [phonetic] NEWS AGENCY, had visited me at home a few times. The interrogator told me that Mo la lei si had filed a report, "Hua Guofeng and A Young Man Hold Different Political Views." He said I was the young man mentioned in that article, which also quoted what I had said. That was an exaggeration of a specific point.

Mo la lei si had once asked me: What's your attitude toward Hua Guofeng? In reply, I had told him that Hua Guofeng should be given credit for crushing the "gang of four." He had become the leader of the country during the 10 turbulent years. Since I knew nothing about his past and had no way of knowing what had happened to him during those 10 turbulent years, I really did not know what to say. But I was sure of one thing. If we were to cast a vote of confidence for the leader of our country, we should consider very carefully whether or not to vote for Hua Guofeng. A vote of confidence, the highest honor, was not cast for the office; it was cast for a person we had known for a long time. This was probably what the interrogator had in mind when he told me that my statement had gone too far. I still believed the position of a person was not necessarily a decisive indicator of the public trust he enjoyed. I would not place my confidence in anyone unconditionally just because he happened to be the chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

4. Internal Information

There were always rumors floating around in Chinese society. The Chinese people, who were kept in the dark, often did not know as much about the conditions in China as foreigners. To compensate for such lack of communication, they had to depend on unofficial news. We used to receive this kind of unofficial news more than most people because people loved to pass it to us and also because we needed to receive it in order to assess the overall situation. Sometimes the unofficial news turned out to be unadulterated "internal information." For instance, I knew long ago that Wang Dongxing and Wu De would be forced to leave the Politburo and stripped of their state leadership positions; that the "Democracy Wall" would be banned in 1979; that the "four rights to speak out" would be abolished; and that the "gang of four" would be tried in open court. We also had received information as yet unconfirmed, such as the promulgation of a law on publications in 1980 to permit the unofficial publications to register.

The interrogator tried to induce me to reveal the source of my unofficial news. I knew it was a trap. If I revealed the source of a single item of news, I would be trapped on the horns of a dilemma. I would be accused of spreading rumors if I refused to reveal the sources of all the information I had. If I did reveal the sources, I would expose those who had supplied us with the information to harassment by the Public Security Bureau. That would be a breakthrough for the Public Security Bureau. So I decided to answer all the questions by saying that I did not know. Aided perhaps by "special agents" or audio surveillance, they were so sure of certain items of information that they just would not let me off the hook.

One of the cases was about Tang Ruoxin of the Research Office of the Youth Corps Central Committee. Tang Ruoxin had talked to me a few times, and the Public Security Bureau had accused him of revealing to me internal information of the Public Security Bureau.

To induce me to accept their version, the interrogator assured me that he did not mean to implicate me by asking these questions. They just wanted to

get at those who leaked the information. He said some cadres, even high-level cadres, always liked to pass information to us, and these were the people they were trying to deal with. He asked me to cooperate with him for the sake of the state. I believed that they were really trying to deal with those who had provided us with information, because the Public Security Bureau, which could not tolerate anyone who supported democracy, wanted to punish them whenever possible. My dealings with the Public Security Bureau reinforced my earlier view that the Public Security Bureau was a conservative force, not interested in reform but well adapted to the status quo. Having failed to get anything on Tang Ruoxin from me, I am sure they also approached Tang Ruoxin in the name of the party organization. In fact, the interrogator repeated to me what Tang Ruoxin had told me. He said Tang Ruoxin had confessed that he had revealed to me internal information of the Public Security Bureau and described how he did it.

Tang Xin, a BEIJING RIBAO reporter, was another they were concerned about. In 1979, after the Shanghai city authorities had published a six-article public security circular, BEIJING RIBAO also published a six-article circular voted by the Beijing Municipal People's Committee. I had knowledge of the circular and disclosed it to the 5 APRIL FORUM inner circle before it was published by BEIJING RIBAO. Suspecting that I had obtained the information from Tang Xin, the police asked me to confirm their suspicion. It was true that I had prior knowledge of the circular.

Since the Public Security Bureau was determined to track down all those who sympathized with the democratic movement, it was my duty to protect them from the Public Security Bureau. As a matter of fact, I did not have to keep their identity a secret, since more than 90 percent of the matters we talked about were legitimate and only a small fraction could be considered unlawful disclosure of classified information. I did it just because the Public Security Bureau always tried to make things hard for people. Very few people wanted to have anything do with it, and it had no need to know.

Captions of photo inserts:

(1) p 53: Liu Qing addressing the public in front of the Democracy Wall.

(2) p 55: Public security personnel arresting Ren Wanding (in circle) in front of the Democracy Wall, November 1979.

(3) P 59: Liu Qing leading the "Xingxing Art Exhibition" demonstration; from left to right are Wang Keping, Xu Wenli, Lu Pu, Ma Desheng, a disabled wood engraver, and Yang Jing.

(4) p 59: Xu Wenli, founder of "5 APRIL FORUM", and his daughter.

[Nos 31, 32, 10 Dec 81 pp 65-74]

[Text] At the beginning of 1979, a Hong Kong periodical called ZHENGMING published an article signed by Jiang Beiyou which contained an account of the life story of Yu Luoke, a national hero. The interrogator, who believed

that the article was written for ZHENGMING by Yu Luojing, Yu Luoke's sister, was anxious for me to confirm his suspicion. Yu Luojing had written an article on the same subject which appeared in the September 1979 issue of 5 APRIL FORUM. The article carried by ZHENGMING was written by another friend of mine. Although I knew it, I did not have to tell the Public Security Bureau. There was no law prohibiting a Chinese from publishing his writing overseas, and as long as he did not misrepresent facts or slander anyone, it was perfectly acceptable. Therefore, I had no obligation to work with the Public Security Bureau and satisfy it.

It was difficult to get an article published in China unless it suited the "taste" of the propaganda agencies. Except for official publications, there was no other medium in which to publish an article, no matter how pertinent, objective and truthfull. It was therefore plausible to get one's articles published overseas in order to make his voice heard throughout the world and let the whole world judge whether it was reasonable to muffle what he wanted to say. As for the writings on the heroic life of Yu Luoke, they should have been published long ago.

Efforts To Seek Redress for Yu Luoke Thwarted

The heroic deeds of Yu Luoke were brought to the attention of the China Consultative Conference by one of its members, whose moving account made his audience sob. The outcry for redress for Yu Luoke had won popular support long before. A profound and logical thinker, brave enough to face reality and challenge the world singlehanded, Yu Luoke represented the best of our national integrity. During the time of the "red terror," when many people were carried away by the excitement of terror and blind enthusiasm, he alone rose above them to make his wise and feeble voice heard, and he sacrificed his life for it. The passage of history proved this martyr was correct, as he was sober enough to point out a world of absurdity to the intoxicated masses. He passed on long ago, and his "grave" remained deserted, with neither fresh flowers nor green grass, except for the crying migratory geese. If "nobleness, the epitaph of a "noble soul" were the only epitaph the world could offer to a noble soul, why did we hesitate to present it to him whose nobleness we knew, and it was actually possible to present that epitaph to him?

Could it be that we were afraid to have people grieve over the fresh blood already shed or afraid to expose the executioner and brand him the "common enemy" in the face of public wrath? Did people have to have pity on the cruel coward? It was necessary that the people act immediately to expose the assassin and punish the culprit in order to soothe the noble soul in heaven.

Thus, when the redress for Yu Luoke was still slow in coming after a full year of pleading, an infuriated author sent to Hong Kong an article aimed at presenting Yu Luoke's story to the people of the whole world. Wasnt' that what all concerned and righteous people wanted? I just did not understand why the Public Security Bureau still wanted to track down the author.

He had formed his own views about the abuses he found during the period of socialism and their solution through extensive study of works on Marxism-Leninism. He included all these in a book entitled "On Proletarian Democratic Revolution." I remember I came across the term "the bureaucratic class", now widely quoted in newspapers, for the first time in his book. No matter whether his views were right or wrong, the motive of his effort to study social problems and their solution should not have been questioned, because that was a civic right of all citizens and not the monopoly of the leaders. Yet that was what put him behind prison bars. After his conditional release in 1979, he risked threats to his personal safety and went to Beijing to look for an opportunity to offer the work he had done all those years to society. At first, he approached the official press. After being "turned down" repeatedly, he decided to approach the unofficial publications. The editors of 5 APRIL FORUM who read his book were impressed by his brand new points of view, which they thought should be made available to those who might be interested. Even if they contained very little to benefit society, they were still worth publishing. I remember a philosopher named Po-ke once said: Work hard in your own field. If your work does not lead to something worthwhile or is simply waste of time, at least it succeeds in serving as a road sign: Dead End. That was the least Chen Erjin's book could do. In view of this and the fact that it might reactivate the minds of the Chinese people, 5 APRIL FORUM finally published Chen Erjin's book of more than 100,000 words. Realizing that Chen Erjin had worked hard during the progress of the publication and that the book had landed him in prison, 5 APRIL FORUM felt dutybound to find him a place to take a break and see how the public would respond to his writing. So we had moved him to a hideout in a village outside Beijing.

The interrogator knew this and seemed to sense the possibility of a conspiracy. So he kept asking about the case. As a matter of fact, the interrogator knew very well that Chen's book was moderate except where he attacked the bureaucrats and those who abused their autority for unlawful gains. Was what Chen Erjin did unlawful under the constitution? The interrogator's interest in the case was obviously intended to gauge the undercover activities of 5 APRIL FORUM in order to discredit it to his superiors and the general public.

Chen Sizhou of the Inner Mongolian Writers League had given me his article, "The Constitutional Movement of 1979," in which he proposed reorganization of the Chinese economy. I did not know how the Public Security Bureau got hold of it and quoted it out of context in order to misrepresent the true intentions of the author.

The interrogator also asked about the correspondents of 5 APRIL FORUM, including Wang Xizhe, one of a group of three of the "Li Yizhe" correspondents council in Guangzhou; Sun Feng of Qingdao; Liu Shixian of Tianjin; and other correspondents in other provinces and cities. I told him the same thing as I had regarding all previous questions. That is, our relationship was confined to ideological exploration, theoretical studies and publication of writings, none of which fell within the jurisdiction of the Public Security Bureau.

This covered all the questions the interrogator asked. My answers did not cover as much ground as my writing here. I answered some of his questions but declined to answer the others or refuted those allegations which I considered harmful to the interests of others. The boring details I have put down are meant to help the public understand the situation better.

I believe my description could clarify one particular point, no matter whether I acted properly or improperly. That is, I did not violate the criminal law or any other regulations. The interrogator, who began to see the point as he went on, seemed frustrated as he was not able to pin me down. So I had become a piece of "chicken bone" in the hands of the Public Security Bureau, "tasteless" but a shame to throw away. In the eyes of the public security people, they would say "it makes people angry to throw it away." Could you oppose the powerful Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau even if you knew it was treating you, a powerless citizen, unfairly and unlawfully? Even if you did, how far could you get? It would not let a "stubborn thing" like you get away until it made you as submissive as a piece of dough.

(DONGXIFANG Editor's Note: a page containing about 500 characters is missing here.)

The interrogator kept hammering away at his questions, even though he knew I was getting impatient with him. The funny part was that he tried to tell me how to examine what I had done. You must be patient, he said, and hear me out. You must understand and realize that when you make things difficult for us, it means you are dissatisfied with the Party Central Committee headed by Hua Guofeng, and resent its current policy and line. It also means you do not like the socialist system. Objectively, you are obstructing political stability and unity and the implementation of the "tour modernizations." You must do some in-depth examination in this particular area. We hope you will be able to return to society soon and do something constructive to serve the people.

The Public Security Bureau Forced Me To Give In

This was the first time the Public Security Bureau had forced me to examine myself and help it achieve a breakthrough. I was asked to write a report on the issue that I had concealed my true age in seeking admission to college and had taken sick leave from my work unit on the basis of a sick leave slip I had filled out myself. These were two minor problems blown out of proportion by the Public Security Bureau. The reason they were willing to "lower their dignity" to go after these problems was because they thought these could lead to something much more significant, as they had indicated. They asked me to include in my reports on those two questions anything else that called for examination, such as my ideological errors and improper attitude toward ideology. I wrote on those two questions because they were "less than honorable," although I was obliged to report to the Public Security Bureau on those matters. As for their suggestion, I wrote that I did not have any ideological errors, and since the Public Security Bureau was not an educational organ, I did not want to talk to the police about the question of right and wrong. Although this was their major concern, I did not think the question of right and wrong was a legal issue within the jurisdiction

of the law enforcement organs. Having failed on two counts by indirect approach, they switched to frontal assault. I knew they wanted to get my "confession" of ideological errors to relieve their anxiety. By the same token, they asked about all my friends, hoping that I might by chance say something harmful to them and fall flat on my face.

As I said before, my principle of compromise was that I would make certain admissions, just enough to allow them to save face and enable me to return to society. Now the Public Security Bureau wanted me to capitulate instead of compromising. That was wishful thinking. I realized by now that my original assessment and the demands of the Public Security Bureau were miles apart and that my recognition of their authority to interrogate me, a concession I had made against my better judgment, was an exercise in futility.

The interrogator volunteered to explain to me the intentions of the Public Security Bureau. He said: "Liu Qing, you aren't just a single individual. Your influence reaches many people. Your activities affect many people of every social stratum. If you were just a single individual, we would not care about you and would have let you go home. Now, since you have influence over other people, you must admit your errors."

He made it very clear that the crucial point was the extent of one's influence and not a matter of legality. If you were very influential, they would never set you free until you were destroyed to the extent that you were no longer a threat to the Public Security Bureau. If your influence was minimal and would not be able to do much, they might let you go free. So, influence was a crime while their need was the law. I wondered when my fatherland would rid itself of this absurd phenomenon. It was an honor that the Public Security Bureau ranked me as an influential individual and wanted me to beg for mercy and admit my errors. But there was no force strong enough to make me do that. I would admit my errors only when I was proven wrong by logic or by the passage of history. Otherwise, nobody could force me to admit my errors, not even a political party, a group, any government authority or a respected leader. I had no stomach for those who used brutal force to control people's minds and bribery to corrupt their consciences. I would have loved to return to society. But I would rather have stayed in prison the rest of my life then to lose the basic qualities of a man and renounce my identity under duress.

Since my plan to compromise to let the Public Security Bureau back away without losing face had not worked, my only option then was to appeal to the judicial departments against the unlawful acts of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. Although this might be meaningless or even an exercise in futility, it would at least raise questions about whether the Chinese law enforcement organs were governed by law or were subservient to force or simply political weather vanes, and show the people the need to work for democracy, the rule of law and government reform.

After I was incarcerated, I asked the guard to provide me with paper and pen because I wanted to exercise my lawful right to file charges against the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. The guard refused my request on

all sorts of excuses. The interrogator also tried to evade the issue. So I decided to be more conciliatory and stopped talking about filing charges. Later, Liu Jingyu, the chief guard in Row 2, who thought I was unlawfully detained, gave me the paper and pen I requested. He told me the detention center had to report to its superior authority on the conditions in the center once very few days and could ask for a solution to or reprocessing of pending cases. On 21 January 1980, about 3 days after my interrogator had asked me to give in, I handed Liu Jingyu my letter addressed to the Beijing Municipal Procuratorate to lodge my complaints against the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. Liu told me afterward that my letter plus their comments had been forwarded to the superior organ. I waited patiently for more than 2 months, but nothing happened. I could no longer get to see the whitehaired interrogator who had previously interrogated me practically every day. He seemed to have disappeared after he interrogated me for the last time on 18 January.

Feigned Forgetfulness Caused More Mental Pressure

Some 2 months later, when I tried to contact Liu Jingyu, he avoided me. Even when I ran into him while lined up for food, he refused to talk to me and pretended to have forgotten what he had promised. I was so frustrated that I finally shouted aloud to get him to talk to me. The first thing he told me was that the letter had been forwarded to the higher authority but no reply had been received, even though one had been requested several times. He knew I was terribly worried and had been trying to get in touch with him to clarify the matter. He said he had tried to avoid me because he knew so little that he did not have any news for me. I calmed down after listening to his explanation, but I asked him to provide me with about 60 sheets of paper. Instead of appealing again to the Beijing Municipal Procuratorate, which I no longer trusted, I decided to write to the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate of the People's Republic of China. Each letter was over 20 pages long and contained more details than the one I had written previously. By the time I finished the letters, I was moved to a large cell in Row 7. On 5 April I handed the letter to old Yuan, a friendly guard for both Row 6 and Row 7. That was 10 months ago and I have not had any response as yet.

As I said before, the reason the public security agencies could act in violation of the law without restraint was that those under their jurisdiction, no matter how unfairly they were treated, had no way to contact the public and make their miserable conditions known to the outside world so as to enlist public concern and sanction against unlawful persecution by the law enforcement agencies. Consequently, there was no way to make a law enforcement agency retract any unlawful act it had already committed. The victim had to learn to put up with his bad luck and stop badgering the unreasonable police with the question of "justice." If he appealed to a higher authority, the police would still be exonerated from malfeasance if they could lay their hands on any mistake the victim had made recently or in the past, no matter how irrelevant. If the injustice was flagrant and the victim was absolutely innocent, the police could still get away by submitting a written report on the case. Since there was no way to stop the law enforcement personnel during the progress of a persecution or to punish them when it was over, they

could very well take the law into their own hands to give vent to their personal spite.

As a matter of fact, before I wrote the letter, I realized from what I knew about the way things were being done in China that the letter would be useless and night lead to ruthless persecution as it could offend the Public Security Bureau. Nevertheless I decided to write it, after careful consideration, because I wanted to reveal the persecution and denial of legal protection I personally had experienced as a reminder of how little supervision the people had over the law enforcement agencies. I also wanted to point out that enforcement of the law should be under strict control, and I appealed to the "social court of justice" because the courts of the state could not protect my rights as a citizen. As we pursued democracy and the rule of law, it was the duty of every citizen to know that if the law enforcement agencies were permitted to deny at will the lawful rights of a particular citizen, they could deny at will the rights of all citizens. Any respectable citizen could be imprisoned without the protection of the law.

Some people might blame me for having written only once to the law enforcement agencies and not continuing to write, in the hope of reaching the "enlightened leader," and for resorting to intemperate approaches unbecoming to a gentle and honest Chinese citizen. Frankly, I did not want to write to the law enforcement agencies at all because I knew only too well how they "pass the buck" and "push their paper." I knew many innocent victims of injustice who ended up in reception centers or prison after years or even decades of agony and arduous travel to get to the capital to seek redress. As for me, even if I did not violate any law, they regarded me as a rebel "sho deserved to be tortured to death," and I should feel unlucky that they had not done it as yet.

Furthermore, I never liked to appeal to authority and beg for mercy. I was a victim of injustice, and that was already unfair. How could anybody expect me to crawl on my knees to look for redress? The injustice suffered by many people was irrefutable in the eyes of the law. Why should they appeal for grace? Should they save face for the perpetrators of injustice and let them remain comfortably in a position of power? Should a victim of injustice suffer hunger, cold, a broken home and ruin to find out that it did not pay to oppose the officials? That being the case, whose rights was this regime protecting? As the persecuted, we had to protect our lawful rights.

If the courts did not punish those who ought to be punished or protect those entitled to be protected, we had to appeal to society against the persecutors and their superior authority, and enlist social pressure to punish and restrain them. We did not have to be gentle and honest to save face for the persecutors. We needed firmness and frontal attack, not pity and kindness. The courts of the state were powerless to cope with bureaucrats and autocrats. We had to learn to make full use of the "social court of justice" to make the courts of the state discharge their duty in accordance with the law.

Abolition of the "Four Ways To Speak Out" Was a Denial of Free Speech

Viewing "society as a court of justice," I resented "the abolition of the "four ways to speak out," especially the ban on the large character posters. The reasons given for "abolishing the four ways to speak out" were to eliminate slanderous, abusive and irresponsible opinions and to uproot the causes of disorder and instability. It was alleged that "the four ways to speak out" did more harm than good. It was the Chinese law enforcement agencies, and not the "four ways to speak out," that should have been held responsible for these matters. The tool which John Doe used to serve society could be used by Richard Roe to harm and kill people. It was a mistake to blame the tool. The most effective wayto stop anyone from "harming and killing" others was to punish people like Richard Roe and warn people not to copy him. It was pointless to destroy the tool.

If the law and the law enforcement agencies of a society were ineffective in coping with people like Richard Roe, the crucial thing was to improve the law and strengthen the enforcement system, not to destroy the tool. If false accusations, slander and abusive opinions were punishable, then they should be punished no matter how they were expressed, whether in spoken words, letters or large character posters.

Since anyone who used large character posters to falsely accuse others could be punished, why should we give up eating for fear of choking? If word of mouth and letter writing could be liable for false accusations and slander, were we going to seal people's mouths and ban letter writing?

As I said before, the courts of the state in China were powerless to cope with bureaucratic actions; there should have been established vehicles to preserve the "social court of justice." In general, the more democratic a country, the better its "social court of justice." In a democratic country, the people enjoyed all the facilities and rights. In a nondemocratic country, the bureaucrats enjoyed all the facilities and rights. The "social courts of justice" in the Western world were more advanced because they were sustained by powerful publicity media, free speech and the publication of all shades of opinion. In his "Bits and Pieces of America," Xiao Qian said that Americans were quite free. They could say what they wanted to say and do what they wanted to do, as long as they were within the limits of law. Under the watchful eyes of the people, all officials had to act very cautiously to preserve their good image and avoid bureaucratic practices. This showed the effectiveness of a "social court of justice" in eliminating bureaucratic abuses. The newspapers in China were run by one owner and published only one school of opinion, and they tolerated only mildly different points of view. Thus, the people were denied the opportunity to take their wishes, aspirations and grievances to the "social court of justice." After many years of effort, the people had cracked open a bit of the wall surrounding a captive "social court of justice." This crack embodied the large character posters and unofficial publications. The abolition of the "four ways to speak out" would push the unofficial publications to the brink of extinction. Once the "crack" was gone, what way was left for the people to exercise their lawful rights? How were we going to take our grievances and dissenting views to the "social court of justice" to let the people pass judgment? Did this mean that the

the people could only place their hopes on charity and fantasize about the future" Did they have to wait for years and decades until they ran into an enlightened leader or until the day when a popular drive for redress emerged over the dead body of erroneous policies? How were we going to eliminate bureaucratic abuses? Were we going to let those who perpetuated bureaucratic abuses go ahead and do it or simply give a warning, as the saying goes, by killing a chicken to scare away a monkey?

Were we going to rely on persuasion by repetitive rhetoric? How could we be sure that the drive to uproot bureaucratism was genuine, as the means to do so were being destroyed, even though we said lipservice to the elimination of bureaucratism? By democracy, we meant that the people had access to vehicles of free expression. How could anybody call it democracy where the people did not have any means to express their opinions other than the official publications and propaganda organs? Personally, I would call it "control over people." In a word, to abolish instead of improving the "four ways to speak out" was tantamount to depriving the people of the only medium by which they could make their wishes known. This would favor bureaucratism. From then on, a persecuted person could only crawl on his knees to beg for leniency to save his skin, because he no longer enjoyed any right to resist or bring charges against his persecutor. It would be splendid if he could run into an enlightened leader. If not, his option would be either to put up with the humiliation or kill himself. He could hand himself behind the courthouse to register his protest.

In a democratic society, every citizen enjoyed the right to criticize and bring charges against persecution by cadres. A democratic system should provide the persecuted with an opportunity and a vehicle to appeal to society for help if he failed to receive fair treatment either in the courts of the state or other agencies and could not successfully appeal to a higher authority. Was this possible in our society of this time? No official publication would publish what you wrote (I believe only 5 out of every 1,000 letters written to these publications ever got published). Your voice would be muffled in a vacuum.

Consequently, I was not in favor of abolishing the "four ways to speak out," because that would be like the saying about giving up eating for fear of choking. A more logical approach would be to study the drawbacks of the "four ways to speak out" and enact laws to prevent abuses. It would be futile for one to fight against the unlawful actions of the Public Security Bureau when he was caught in its web of control. I realized that I was bound to fail as I had no way to obtain protection by law, because I was a single individual confronted with an "omnipotent" dictatorial agency without the protection of law and could not appeal to society to enlist support and sympathy. They had the power to do anything to me, and they were ready to order me about. But I still wanted to put up a good fight because I would much rather fight until I lost than to wait for failure to befall me. I had to avail myself of every opportunity to expose how the Public Security Bureau had trampled on the constitution and to tear down its protective cover under the guise of law.

Not Knowing Well Enough the Meanness of the Public Security Bureau

On the third day after I became angry with policeman Liu, I was moved from a maximum security prison row, Row 2, to a large cell full of convicts. This was a serious change, a sign of grave consequences. When I was in Row 12, even my sympathetic guard was unable to get permission to find me a cellmate, and yet later I was moved into a cell with tens of other convicts. The situation must have changed. If they could not subdue me by leniency coupled with firmness, they might do something drastic to me. I talked with Kuai Dafu's (Editor's Note: ringleader of the rebels at Qinghua University) friend. He thought they might pronounce me formally arrested. That was what I had been looking for, because that would give me an opportunity to defend myself in court on the strength of specific legal provisions and end the situation of having to deal with the Public Security Bureau, which might still want to apply pressure to force me to give in. If so, they must have figured that I was simple and easy to handle. No matter what happened, I had made up my mind to keep asking the detention authorities to report to their superiors on the question of my unlawful detention and act in accordance with legal procedures, and to tell my fellow inmates about my condition so as to let more people know about the unlawful actions of the Public Security Bureau. In fact, my story actually won a considerable amount of sympathy. Some fellow inmates were indignant, while others even confronted the detention authorities with my case. Embarrassed and dumfounded, the guards either pretended that they knew nothing about the case or that they believed that exceptions were always possible.

I was so inexperienced that I did not realize how mean the Public Security Bureau was and I had no idea that it might look for loopholes instead of lawful grounds to teach me a punishing lesson. But my cellmates--including Yue Zhenping of the Shilou Production Brigade, Shilou Commune, Fangshanxian; Jia Mao, who was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment on trumped-up charges and was still serving time due to complications in his appeal for redress; Li Anjiang, who was serving a 6-year sentence for speculative profiteering and fraudulent acquisition of supplies; Hong Tao, whom I mentioned above; and Yu Haibin, son of a cadre--who knew the Public Security Bureau very well, had thought about the possibility and warned me what to expect. Yue Zhenping's mimic account was the most vivid: "You say you didn't make any mistake; fine. You say you didn't violate the law; fine. We are not going to convict you. What we want is to send you away for reeducation through labor. We can send anyone away for reeducation through labor if we believe he needs it. That is for your own good. Although you have not violated the law, you may still do something wrong or break the law. You are a dangerous potential wrongoder and lawbreaker. We will send you away for reeducation through labor to stop you from making more serious mistakes." Making a mock angry gesture, he concluded his presentation in a rather comic tone: "My friend, for the sake of your health and safety, I'll devour you. You can rest assured you'll be safe and sound in my digestive tract."

They were right. I will discuss this a bit later. I was very grateful to my fellow sufferers. Crowded in one cell, we became close friends, even though some had broken the law and some had not. Their advice was timely

enough for me to understand that the Public Security Bureau could be both autocratic and "mean" and that I should be prepared to face their despicable actions calmly.

I also should thank my fellow sufferers for the support they gave me in my daily life. After all, the way I led my daily life was not flawless. I often could not see what I ought to do and how to look tidy. I was not even aware of the need to wash my dirty quilt and clothes. I often spent my time reading newspapers and remained sitting idly, and sometimes I argued with people. My cellmates cleaned up for me several times. I was touched watching them washing my clothes and sewing my wornout socks. They even bathed me and scrubbed my back several times. The cleanliness was refreshing and made me feel more comfortable and alert.

I appreciated especially the support they gave me when I clashed with the guards for refusing to comply with their humiliating rules. One day when the inmates were let out for exercise, the guards suddenly ordered all the inmates in some rows to put both hands on the lower half of the bellies, while those in the other rows were told to walk slowly with their heads down. I told the guards I would not do that for two reasons. First, I was not a convict but had been detained unlawfully by the Public Security Bureau, and the rules of the detention center were not applicable to me. Second, it was against the law to impose humiliating rules on convicts. All my fellow sufferers joined me in resisting the order, but the guards forced them to give in. They were very angry when the guards tortured me for resisting their order. Some even questioned the right of the guards to punish a person unlawfully detained without due process of law. Yue Zhengping was so indignant that he asked for paper and pen to prepare charges against the Public Security Bureau for unlawful detention and brutality. Afraid to let me return to No 9, Row 6, the guards locked me once more in a small cell. Every time my fellow sufferers passed by (to go to the toilet), they would knock on my cell door to express their concern. My fellow sufferers in No 9 gave me a nickname--chicken--because, due to nearsightedness, I had once said the two fat babies on Yue Zhengping's book cover looked like chickens at a distance. So when they passed by my cell, they often called me "chicken" just to tease me. What a coincidence; my friends working for TODAY also nicknamed me "chicken" because I loved to argue with them. They said I resembled a fighting "cock."

My fellow sufferers were friendly to me probably because they were fond of people who took part in the "democratic movement." All of them, no matter whether they had pleaded quilty or innocent, favored emancipation of the mind, social democracy and a strict rule of law. But many of them, who had considerable knowledge of social problems, would become confused, stubborn and unreasonable whenever their personal problems werr touched upon. This was understandable because people were prone to forgive themselves. But if they did not forgive themselves, who would?

Yang Guang Was Despised by the Inmates

But their impression of some of the participants in the "democratic movement" was not at all favorable. Yu Yi of the "Human Rights League" had not impressed

them favorably. When Yu Yi began serving time, he talked all the time about democracy and human rights, and refused to talk about anything else or set his eyes upon anything evil. Cell life was dull and boring, and the inmates had to figure out all sorts of ways to kill time, including lewdness and obscenity. After all, they were human beings. Yu Yi used to scream at them as if he were superhuman and absolutely uninterested in women. Before long his topics of conversation suddenly switched to sex and speculative profiteering. This made them think he was a hypocrite.

Yu Yi was set free in November 1979, and I had run into him on 11 November when I was selling my publications. He was a native of the Northeast and had come to Beijing to seek redress concerning his personal problems. Following his release, he entered a reception center where he had a single room to himself with a sofa and a spring bed. With a daily living allowance, he lived like a "retired bureaucrat" pending the solution of his problems. The comfort accorded him was way above those who slept on sidewalks and begged at restaurants. Maybe his "performance" in the Public Security Bureau had been acceptable, or at least he had admitted his mistakes. If he had not, it would have been impossible for him to enjoy such "special privileges." This proved what the ancients used to say: "If you want to succeed in politics, commit murder and arson and then accept amnesty." It seemed he had done just that to gain some leverage, and had given in at the most favorable hour.

Yang Guang fared the worst with the inmates, who called him a traitor. As far as I knew, he was a radical among those taking part in the democratic movement, much more radical than Wei Jingsheng. Let me illustrate my point. Wei Jingsheng and I had argued heatedly about Marxism-Leninism and socialism. My position was that when a theory was not successfully carried out, that did not mean the theory per se was bad. I considered that we had to study whether the theory and its application were incomplete accord before we rejected the theory. Wei Jingsheng argued that a theory which had failed in practice was bad, and that China must switch to another theory to bring about real improvements.

Our argument lasted till 0300 the following morning, and we had to break it up without reaching any agreement. One day Yang Guang and Zhao Nan got involved in a heated argument at a session of the "joint conference." Zhao Nan was one of the sponsors, founders and responsible leaders of 5 APRIL FORUM, PEOPLE'S FORUM, and the "Friendship Association of Chinese and American People." He made his home available to TODAY for its editorial works. He was progressive, with an emancipated mind and a cautious style. During the March 1979 crisis, he wrote for the Democracy Wall a poem, "Dedicated to You," which made many of his readers sob. Jiang He, a gifted poet, called him "a poet who had matured overnight." Instead of reasoning, Yang Guang tried "to pin down" Zhao Nan reproachfully by labelling him a defense attorney of the government, a position which Yang Guang considered the embodiment of all evil and should be opposed.

There was another case. After the arrest of Wei Jingsheng, Yang Guang wrote "An Appeal to the Chinese People" for the editorial department of TANSUO,

which he distributed in China and mailed to various foreign embassies in Beijing. He wrote in this appeal: "We call upon the people to take up arms to battle the Central Committee until final victory is achieved." This was much more violent that any of the articles Wei Jingsheng had ever published. He was a conspicuously radical speaker at the "protest meeting" on 28 January 1979, and was rated by the radicals as a speaker "with a clear-cut stand." Yet he stated on the witness stand that his thinking had been influenced and prodded by Wei Jingsheng. That was not true. I had known Yang Guang long before I knew Wei Jingsheng. He had always been a radical, impulsive and emotionally excitable. To him, anyone who had accused Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of being unfit to lead the Chinese people was a true revolutionary. I once attended a meeting of the sponsors of "25 November" which he had lined up. He was so disappointed with my "extreme" conservative position that he left before the meeting was over, forgetting that he was a sponsor. If Wei Jingsheng had any influence on him at all, I believe it worked to calm down his irrational behavior and violent "passion," and made him aware of reality and logic. Due to his performance in court, Yang Guang was reinstated several months after he had been expelled from the Beijing Industrial University.

If Yang Guang had changed his attitude for ideological reasons, mobody should have held it against him, because people underwent changes all the time. As far as I knew, that was hardly the case. I believed he spoke against his conscience out of his desire for immediate gain when his own interpests conflicted with those of others. The Public Security Bureau could not have influenced him by its reeducation. This conclusion was based on my experience.

I Ran into Wei Jingsheng in Prison

When they brought me to the small cell, I was full of bruises, handcuffed and wearing a gas mask which made breathing extremely difficult. There were two other inmates in the cell. One was Luo Xinguo, a pickpocket who had drifted from Shaanxi to Beijing. The other was Wei Rongling, who, according to his own story, was once an assistant section chief of the PLA General Political Department and had served as a guard to Zhang Chunqiao and Jiang Qin. Wei Rongling used to be my cellmate in No 9, Row 6. He said he had done a year's hard labor on death row (Row 23), and he told me stories about the death row inmates. When he found out I was Liu Qing, he told me a few things about Wei Jingsheng as well as about Fu Yuehua. He said Wei Jingsheng, who was locked in death row instead of a prison after he was sentenced, had left some writing with him for delivery to Lu Lin or myself when he was released. But the guard took it away and gave him a hard time over the writing. At first I did not believe what he said, because by the time he told me the story Wei Jingsheng had been sentenced by the Higher Court for nearly 8 months and should have been committed to a reform through labor unit to serve his time. How could he still have been in the detention center? But Wei Rongling was right. The proletarian dictatorship was indeed unpredictable.

On 1 July 1980 when I was on my way from the exercise ground back to my cell, I ran into Wei Jingsheng, ashen and thin. He looked puzzled and tormented when he saw me. Escorted by two interrogators, he walked by me in silence.

I also met Zhang Wenhe, the most radical member of the "Human Rights League." Still irrepressible in prison, he always protested and argued with the guards, who really gave him a hard time. With his hands handcuffed behind him for months, he found it very hard to take his food, to go to the toilet, to sleep or to change clothes. He had to wear a helmet and a gas mask and he was beaten repeatedly. He was locked in No 1, just across the hall from No 9. I always lined up immediately ahead of him during exercise time. We sometimes managed to slow down an exchange a few words or shake hands. The Lianhua Temple was a prison for reform through labor. It had been designed to house convicts serving long prison terms. At that time it took in practically anybody. According to the guards, there were five different categories of inmates: those committed to reform through labor, those serving time, those committed to reeducation through labor, those committed to hard labor, and those convicted of job offenses. The prison was inside a 5-meter-high gray surrounding wall topped with meshed live wire. There was a watchtower at each corner guarded by armed soldiers pacing back and forth. One had to pass through four gates, one after another, to get into the building. These gates served as checkpoints and markers of the checkerboard-like cubicles which housed the four categories of inmates other than job offenders. The work the inmates did, including hauling heavy stones, was very taxing. The criminal convicts were assigned so-called technical work--actually lighter and easier jobs. Heavy manual jobs were handled by those committed to hard labor or reeducation through labor. The criminal convicts, trusted by the guards, formed the core of a detachment of inmates. In addition to their unquestioning obedience and seniority in prison residence, this trust in the criminal convicts rested mainly on questionable relations between the guards and the convicts, including joint smuggling ventures and other underhand dealings.

I noticed a number of irregularities at the camp for reeducation through labor. First, there were people who had been committed to reeducation through labor not necessarily for any infraction of the law or public order, but for having courted the displeasure of a higher level leadership or the Public Security Bureau. For instance, Shi Jinsheng, an apprentice at the Hongan Company, Shaanxi, once got into an auditorium without an admission ticket to watch a performance put on by the company. It was a minor matter which occured quite often. Moreover, the company usually let people watch the performance free after it had been on for half an hour. But Shi Jinsheng was taken to the guard's office, where they beat him so hard that he had to hit back. He was thereupon taken immediately to the Public Security Bureau for detention and then sent back to the factory to face a struggle. His tutor, Yu Zhenghai, infuriated by the injustice, blamed the chief of the workshop and the factory security section for what had happened. As a result, both were committed to reeducation through labor for 2 years. If Shi Jinsheng had disturbed public order, he might have been placed in custody for reeducation or given a "2-year sentence." But the punishment meted out to his tutor was so outrageous that even the guard at the Second Detachment for Reeudcation Through Labor said it was unfair. It was essential that any law or system rise above the influence of power play and the wishes of an individual or group and be enforced strictly. How could it remain intact

when it was enforced halfheartedly and inattentively and by killing a few innocent "chickens" in an emergency in order to scare the naughty monkeys."

Second, certain felonious lawbreakers who deserved severe punishment often got their sentences reduced to reform through labor. Then they lobbied through a network of "relations" to get themselves released for medical treatment and serve their time of reeducation through labor at home, which might also be reduced. Take another example. There was a gang which had broken into people's houses to steal, and had stolen over 1,000 jin of copper ingots from a factory. Yet they were committed to only 2 years of reeudcation through labor, and they lobbied successfully to get released sooner.

Third, a person charged with lawbreaking or serious wrongedoing who had been acquitted after administrative detention and "prolonged investigation" might be recommitted to reeducation through labor to help make up an assigned quota of commitments.

Zhou Donglin, charged with theft, was acquitted after detention and investigation. Repenting what he had done, he decided to redeem himself by following the good example of Lei Feng. A year later, he was arrested for no specific reason and recommitted to reeducation through labor. When he asked the reason for his arrest, he was told it was that old case of theft for which he had been detained for a year. They also told him they "could go back to old charges if there were no new charges." I think this implied a "revolving door" which would keep turning.

Fourth, when a felonious lawbreaker or wrongdoer could not be turned over to the court for lack of solid evidence or confession, the Public Security Bureau might still commit him to reeducation through labor on the strength of a suspicion or circumstantial evidence, and very few had raised their voices against the injustice. But this was not a plausible way to handle "criminal suspects." In the first place, it revealed the incompetence of the public security agencies, which had to rely on arbitrary decisions of their own for lack of solid evidence. Second, it encouraged the Public Security Bureau to resort to easygoing, arbitrary and simplistic bureaucratic practices. Third, it made those convicted resentful and vindictive for being convicted without legal justification--a potential threat to social order. Current social disorders and many serious criminal offenses were perpetrated by those who had been through reform through labor. This was the net result of unreasonable and unlawful reform through labor and the brutality of the Public Security Bureau. Nearly 90 percent of those reeducated through labor whom I knew were ready to go on an action spree to recoup their "losses."

As for me, since the Public Security Bureau had no legal ground to hold me as it wanted, it could only dump me into the legal loopholes. Even thgough this was less gratifying than to punish me lawfully, it still served the purpose of demonstrating to the people the omnipotence of the Public Security Bureau. But the bureau did not take too much for granted. The Public Security Bureau must have figured out that it could put the matter to rest by punishing me behind closed doors. I thought that was only the beginning. I would not call off my struggle until my four questions were answered, my pamphlets were returned to me, and the new criminal acts of the Public Security Bureau were rectified.

Of course, I could fail even more disastrously. They might ignore me completely, or worse still, kill me. In a word, prospects for a redress of the injustice looked pretty grim. Nevertheless, I would not give up looking up to the "social court of justice." I believed that no matter how badly I fared in the court of the state, justice was still on my side in the "social court of justice." This was enough to sustain my life-and-death struggle. Furthermore, I was sure my struggle was not just an exercise in futility; it would reinforce the edifice of the "social court of justice."

Now, let me say something about the "bizarre actions" of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. Reform through labor, as specified by the regulations, was a maximum administrative penalty meted out by an administrative authority to a party liable to receive reform through labor. That is to say, the power to mete out such a maximum administrative penalty rested with the committee on reeducation through labor of the locality where the punished party maintained his residence and job relations. As far as I knew, this was true throughout the country. For instance, those receiving reform through labor at the Chadian Reeducation Through Labor Camp of Beijing were convicted administratively by the Beijing Municipal Committee on Reeducation Through Labor. Those receiving reeducation through labor at the Lianhua Temple were convicted by the Shaanxi provincial authority. I was the only exception. The Beijing administrative authorities which handled my case had no relation to me, and the administrative district which meted out my administrative penalty had no jurisdiction over me. The administrative penalty meted out by Beijing had to be carried out in a Beijing administrative enclave in Shaanxi. I learned they had put in an additional provision authorizing a local reception center to commit to the local reeducation through labor camp any unemployed and homeless individual who had drifted into the locality. This being the case, I should have been taken to Chadian instead of to the reform through labor unit in Shaanxi inside a high surrounding wall secured by electronic wire, machine guns and police dogs. This was contrary to the established practice. But the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau was so powerful that it could do anything it wanted.

An individual committed to receive reeducation through labor was entitled, according to regulations, to receive a written notice covering the charges so as prevent him from being victimized by trumped-up charges. They did not give me the required notice. When I asked for it, they told me it was not needed in my case. They did not even provide the Lianhua Temple law inforcement unit with a formal notice of the decision of reeudcation through labor. What they produced at first was only a handwritten notice, which was later replaced by a formal notice upon the request of the Lianhua Temple authority. Since they were all part and parcel of the Public Security Bureau, a formal notice of reeudcation through labor could be overlooked.

Unlike others, I cannot repeat word by word the charges against me because I never received a formal written decree.

But my memory memory is still good and I can still recall what they had against me. The charges were as follows:

1. That I had mimeographed and offered for sale transcripts of recordings of the trial of Wei Jingsheng by the Beijing Municipal Higher Court. As Wei Jingsheng had been adjudged an active counterrevolutionary by the court after two consecutive trials, the mimeographed pamphlets were tantamount to publicizing opposition to the court decision, spreading propaganda for Wei Jingsheng, a counterrevolutionary, abstructing the work of the court, damaging the credibility of the law enforcement agencies, creating factors of instability, and undermining the pour modernizations. That the evidence obtained in investigations during detention proved that: 1) I had organized and taken part in the "Xingxing Art Exhibition"(1) demonstration on 1 November 1979, and delivered speeches attacking the work of the law enforcement agencies; and 2) I had handed adulterated sick leave slips to my work unit. Since these charges fell within the purview of the "Regulations Governing Penalties in the Administration of Social Order," I was sentenced to 3 years of reeducation through labor, 12 November 1979 to 11 November 1981.

Both charges in the reeducation through labor decision (2) were fabricated by the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, not founded on any law, regulation or government decree. It was a typical case of incrimination based on "personal opinions instead of law" and "trumped-up charges." It was a case of flagrant political persecution in violation of the spirit of the constitution and was unauthorized by any written provisions of the law. The reasons it gave were outrageous enough to make anyone with legal common sense and the government attorneys blush. Be that as it may, I still had to refute them so as to enable all eyewitnesses to see clearly what had taken place.

Wei Jingsheng was arrested on 29 March 1979, but he was not tried until 16 October of the same year, more than half a year after his arrest. Judging by the trial proceedings, the facts of Wei Jingsheng's case were by no means complicated. There were only two charges, which the public security and law enforcement authorities had known for a long time.

Why did they wait for more than half a year before bringing such a clear-cut case to trial? Everybody knew that the cases involving Wei Jingsheng and others had become the focus of worldwide attention, a matter of concern to both foreigners and Chinese, especially the Chinese. Their arrest was a dark cloud hanging over the heads of the Chinese people. Many people, disturbed and worried, began to warn each other; "Be careful what you say; a clampdown is about to take place again." The government law enforcement agencies, which were aware of the situation, simply would not get the court to try such clear-cut cases to remove the suspicions of the Chinese people and put to rest one concern of our foreign friends about China. Those who participated bery actively in the "democratic movement" were so concerned that they met repeatedly to appeal openly for an early trial of the case. Nothing seemed to work. Perhaps these little people did not deserve a break. However, the trial suddenly began after Hua Guofeng was asked by French television news reporters about the French concern over the fate of "the arrested young dissidents." Could this convince the public that the court had been performing its independent judicial functions? Would people believe that the court had been acting strictly in accordance with the law and was not just trying to be in tune with the political climate of the day? Would people

believe that the court which had meted out such heavy punishment to Wei Jingsheng out of context of certain weighty evidence had acted in accordance with the rule of law and not political expediency?

More than 60 years ago, Cai Yuanpei, a bourgeois democratic revolutionary leader, said: "Any independent school of opinion which is logical and well founded" should be accorded the right of free speech and publication, and he applied this to the periodicals he himself edited. Could anybody imagine that at this time the proletariat, which was many times superior to the bourgeois democrats, would not make room for any dissenting opinion and would even punish opinions and speeches it did not trust? The people of the West could attack their country, government and president without fear, even though their views were "unrealistic." How could a system based on realistic principles refuse to tolerate attacks or even logical dissent? Shouldn't Marxism-Leninism and socialism demonstrate more courage and daring than capitalism in tolerating opposition? How could the false capitalist freedom of speech allow people to attack capitalism verbally or in writing, while socialism which provided people with true freedom of speech would not tolerate unpleasant speeches and writings? In other words, were we expected only to praise socialism? It seemed we were allowed only to put an equal sign between true and false.

A True Account of the "Xingxing Art Exhibition" Demonstration

The "reeducation through labor" decision also accused me of participating in the "Xingxing Art Exhibition" demonstration, which took place on a rainy morning on 1 October 1979. The marchers in formation carried banners: "We Support the Spirit of the Constitution," "We Want Political Democracy," and "We Want Freedom of Art." Ma Desheng, a young artist with paralyzed legs who led the marchine column, walked on crutches to cover a distance of 10 li from the Xidan subway to the municipal party committee office. They were determined to demonstrate to the world that they wanted to translate the democracy provided in the constitution into reality.

The demonstration was not the casual venture of a mob. It was an organized move to petition the authoritites concerning specific political and economic issues, a mammoth propaganda drive to enlist popular support. Such a gigantic and complicated drive undoubtedly had to have a leader. Since the constitution gave citizens the right to demonstrate, it naturally expected all demonstrations to be well organized and orderly, and permitted the marchers to select their own organizers and leaders. As a matter of logic, the leaders and organizers of the demonstration did not violate the law.

Yet, surprisingly, the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau had the courage to sentence me to 3 years of reeducation through labor for taking part in and organizing the demonstration.

The Reason I Used False Sick Leave Slips

Finally the reeducation through labor decree accused me of using false sick leave slips. I confessed to the Public Security Bureau that it was my mistake, and I prepared a written report on it as they requested.

When I was studying at the Nanjing Industrial College, I was plagued by a number of ailments. After my graduation, when I was assigned to No 011 Base in Guizhou, I had to stay in the hospital all the time for medical treatment. Realizing that I could not stand the cold climate, the hospital brought my case to the attention of the ministry, which agreed to transfer me to No 012 Base in central Shaanxi. After I got to No 012 Base, I was still sick and had to stay in a hospital.

The 012 Base thereupon asked the ministry for permission to transfer me back to Beijing, where my family could look after me and save the unit lots of trouble. I could start working whenever I was able. But no response came back. At this point I asked for permission to visit my parents. The base leadership asked me to do two things while I was in Beijing. First, I should approach the ministry for transfer to Beijing, and also I should look for a unit that would accept my transfer. Becond, since Beijing had excellent medical facilities, I should have my ailments cured. I could stay in Beijing for good if I could get a sick leave slip, and the base would send me my pay and grain coupons every month.

I found out upon returning to Beijing that no hospital would provide a sick leave slip to an employee of any unit which had no contractual relations with the hospital. I explained my problem to the doctors and asked them to help me. A kind doctor did give me a couple of temporary sick leave slips, while those who stuck to principles simply refused to accommodate me. But I had already contacted a few units which hopefully might accept my transfer, The hope would not come true unless I could run about getting more people to put in a good word for me, and I had to do this myself. So I had no other options. A few friends who were working in hospitals got me some blank sick leave slips at my request. I filled them out and forwarded them to my base. When the police questioned me about the matter, I said I had stolen them from the hospitals, because I did not want to implicate my friends. During my incarceration, the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau made it a point to capitalize on my mistakes and tried to put me through a "third degree" interrogation. It was immensely interested in this matter because it wanted to use the material to tell the public and foreigners what kind of man I was.

At any rate, I admitted that I had made a mistake and disrupted the attendance records by asking others to get sick leave slips for me. But I was not trying to take advantage of sick leave, because I was actually sick. My medical history kept in my school and the records of the Guizhou No 011 Base hospital, the Hanzhong No 012 Base hospital and the hospital in Beijing which had treated my illness could attest to my chronic illness. Even the reform through labor camp where I served time had a record of my illness, because I did not go out with my team to do heavy work because I had to stay in for medical treatment. The Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau became aware of my illness long ago when it interrogated me. The interrogators often asked about my illness when they talked with me. They knew very well that I was sick. Yet the Public Security Bureau still wanted to build a case against me on this simple mistake. It was clear the Public Security Bureau was bent on taking advantage of everything, no matter how trivial, to pin me down.

In conclusion, the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau had no right to label me for "disrupting stability and unit" unless the law said so. If I had not violated the law, then what I had done was for the sake of stability and unity, and it would be slanderous to accuse me of disrupting stability and unity. I would have been guilty of disrupting stability and unity if I had violated the law. The law, not the word of the Public Security Bureau, should have been the basis for deciding whether or not I had disrupted stability and unity.

Looking back, I see a long shadow cast by Yu Luoke, Zhang Zhixin, Ma Mianchen, Shi Yunfeng... who were deprived of the right to live for doing what I did, while I am "mercifully" committed to only 3 years of reeducation through labor. I am touched by a bit of painful irony. As long as history marches on, the blood of heroes is not shed in vain....

Looking ahead, I see our nation burdened with the weight of history, entangled in a web of conflicting interests, and pulled backward by conservative forces. After all, history still needs people like Yu Luoke and Zhang Zhixin. Heavyhearted, I realized life and blood are essential to fuel the onward march of history, but I cannot help feeling distressed.

Finally, I want to say something to the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau and the law enforcement agencies. I write this letter to bring charges against you in the social court of justice. If you find my charges do not agree with the facts and that they are false accusations, you may exercise your official authority, and I am ready to appear in court at an open trial to defend my reights and interests and the democratic rights of the people. Of course, the trial must really be open to the public. Otherwise, you could, as you have already done, resort to force instead of law. At any rate, I am a bird caught in your net, and you may handle me as you want.

Let me tell you something else. The fact that I appealed to the social court of justice instead of waiting to be judged by an enlightened official does not mean that I believe there is no enlightened official in China, but that even if I could run into an upright enlightened official after years of arduous pursuit, you could still come out unscathed and arrogant. The most you have to do is to write a report, but you have "disciplined" me harshly for years. Your brutality and meanness should never remain unpunished. I am sure the social court of justice would bring you down with justice. (End of text)

Notes:
(1) The "Xingxing Art Exhibition" was organized by a group of young artists in their spare time. Their works had won the approval of the Beijing Municipal Art Association, but they had difficulty in finding an exhibition hall. Finally, they put on the exhibition on 27 September in a part across the street from the east side of the "China Museum of Art." The Beijing public security authority came the following day and raided the place.

(2) Reeducation through labor is for "wrongdoers," while reform through labor is for "criminals."

5360
CSO: 4005/554

CCP SAID PLANNING TO MERGE GOVERNMENT BODIES, CUT REDUNDANT CADRES

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 52, 1 Feb 82 pp 58-60

[Article by Xu Xing [6079 5887]: "What Will The Chinese Government Administrative Reform Be Like?"]

[Excerpt] The Origin of the Expansion of Organizations

In the initial period of the CCP's founding of its state, the Chinese communists needed to rely heavily on the democratic parties. Therefore, the First CPPCC passed the "organizational Law of the Central People's Government." Afterward, with the carrying out of the "three-anti," "five-anti," and socialist reform movements, not much attention was paid to democratic figures. When in 1954, the First NPC passed the constitution, the original government organization law lost ist force. From this time on, the government was organized completely on the basis of the acts of will of the CCP leadership. Although on the surface the setting up of and changes in the State Council's ministries, commissions, and directly subordinate organizations had to be approved by the NPC Standing Committee, and the head of each ministry and commission was also appointed by the NPC Standing Committee, this was a mere formality. The real decisions were made by the party's Politburo, the Standing Committee of the Politburo, and even the party's chairman. With the advent of the "Cultural Revolution," even this little formality was dispensed with and everything was in a state of lawlessness. After the "gang of four's" fall from power, although the pre-Cultural Revolution method was restored, because the redistribution and recomposition of power has been complicated and frequent in recent years, the organizations have become more filled with redundant personnel, so that even the period of the gang of four was too inferior in this respect to bear comparison.

Some of this organizational expansion stems from an unnecessary division of work. For example, why can't the Ministry of State Farms and Land Reclamation be incorporated into the Ministry of Agriculture? (Even the Ministry of Forestry could be merged with the Ministry of Agriculture to form a Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry.) Why is there a Chinese Academy of Sciences and also a State Scientific and Technological Commission? Why are there so many ministries of machine building connected with national defense and also a National Defense Industry Office subordinate to the State Council? Why is there a Ministry of Finance and a Ministry of Foreign Trade, and also

a Finance and Trade Group subordinate to the State Council? Why is there an Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs subordinate to the State Council and also an Office of Hong Kong and Macao Affairs subordinate to the State Council? These are only a few of the examples that could be cited and are provided only to make people think.

Another prominent manifestation of organizational expansion is the appearance of "commissions" within organizations. These "commissions" were mostly set up on the basis of the focal points of the party's policies. In the 1950's, the Chinese communists stressed capital construction and so they set up the State Capital Construction Commission, when actually all capital construction could have been administered by the relevant ministries. For example, iron and steel capital construction could have been administered by the Ministry of Mettalurgical Industry, and petroleum capital construction could have been administered by the Ministry of Petroleum Industry. But in the eyes of the CCP leaders, if the various ministries administered capital construction it would not be emphasized and there had to be concentrated unified leadership. With a vice premier personally taking command he would be on a higher level than a ministry, and so the State Capital Construction Commission was set up. On the same principle, the promotion of new agricultural policies has been stressed in recent years and the State Agricultural Commission has been set up, so that the Ministry of Agriculture actually has no responsibility whatsoever for the promotion of new agricultural policies. In addition, in order to stress the energy problem, they set up the State Energy Commission, when in reality the energy problem principally belongs to the Ministry of Petroleum Industry and the Ministry of Coal Industry. Most chaotic are the departments concerned with opening the economy to foreign countries. In order to stress the introduction of foreign capital and technology, the State Council has gone so far as to add additional organizations, setting up the Foreign Investment Control Commission, the Import/Export Commission, and the Ministry of Economic Relations with Foreign Countries. The needless duplications are too numerous to mention.

In all fairness, some of the hugeness of State Council's organizations cannot be avoided, but there should be no disorder. The reason for this bigness is that the State Council controls and manages the affairs of the entire country and is all-embracing. To truly simplify, the central concentration of power must be abandoned and power at the center transferred to lower levels, letting the localities practice autonomy. In this way, there would be no need for the central government to spend too much energy on managing the affairs of localities and enterprises, and it would only have to manage affairs concerning the entire country and affairs concerning relations with foreign countries. Then one could truly speak about simplification.

However, under the system of centralized concentration of power, if you are given free rein to cut down and merge, at best you can only cut down, merge, or abolish a few organizations that overlap too much. In reality, "if you cut down in the east there will be expansion in the west." The idea behind the present reform plan is to abolish the State Capital Construction Commission, and it is said that its functions will be absorbed by the State Planning Commission and the State Economic Commission. In that case these

two commissions are bound to be expanded in order to accomodate the work and staff of the abolished commission.

The Reason for the Many Redundant Deputies

The expansion in the number of redundant personnel is, admittedly, connected with the expansion in the number of organizations, but it is certainly not purely caused by this latter expansion; it is mainly connected with the system of concentrating power at the top as well as with the overlapping of the distribution of power in recent years.

Why does China have over a dozen vice premiers? This is extremely rare in the world.

As a rule, there can be direct communication between the premier and the ministers. For important matters between various ministries, a meeting of ministers can be convened to handle them, or a joint meeting on national affairs between the premier and the ministers can be convened to handle them. In the early period after Russia's October Revolution, the soviet government set up by Lenin was a fairly democratic organization. The ministries were called "people's committees"...and they practiced the committee system, democratic discussions, and collective leadership; the joint meetings of all the people's committees was called a comment and appraisal conference of the people's committees, similar to what in the West is a cabinet meeting between the premier and his ministers. However, China's State Council does not stress democracy, only centralism. It conducts no state conferences, and each vice premier separately commands several ministries. The State Council has 50-odd ministries and commissions and 40-odd subordinate organizations, so that over a dozen vice premiers are needed to exercise command. This method of dividing up the work and assigning a part to each vice premier, as a matter of fact, is in keeping with the actual power seized by each group within the CCP.

The above-mentioned situation gives rise to the following bad examples. One vice minister commands several departments, and one deputy department director commands several offices. Power is drawn upward layer by layer so that one vice premier takes over the apportioned share of power of several ministers, one vice minister takes over the apportioned share of the power of several department directors, and one deputy department director takes over the apportioned power of several office directors. From this is created a particularly strange phenomenon that affects the posts of deputies in China's administrative system!

"Sequelae" to the Redressing of Mishandled Cases

This strange phenomenon is one of the reasons for the creation of many deputy posts. However, the excessive number of deputy posts has gone to such lengths as to be beyond reason. For example, there are as many as 28 vice ministers in the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry, and within the ministry where are this many departments for them to command? Obviously, the proliferation of deputy posts has now far outstripped the requirement to concentrate power at the top.

Then, how did the excessive number of deputy posts come about? Tracing this phenomenon to its source, we find that, in the main, it was caused by the redressing of unjust, false, and mistaken law cases. Although the State Council is an enormour structure with over 100 subordinate organizations, the chief positions in these organizations have consistently been filled. With regard to the redressing of unjust, false, and mistaken cases, there is the loophole of an unwritten rule, viz, all people whose cases have been redressed must be restored to their original official posts. If the original posts are already filled they must be assigned to deputy posts, so that they are assigned to deputy posts commensurate with their official grades. By redressing a person and assigning him to a deputy post, every ministry comes to have over 10 or over 20 vice ministers. Reckoning the State Council as a whole, the total number of vice ministers is close to 1,000, truly a plethora of deputies! As for how many department directors and office directors there are, I do not have reliable data at hand. I would expect that there are 10 times the number of vice ministers.

Once there are so many deputy posts, the distance travelled on official business will naturally be lengthened and administrative efficiency still become lower and lower; it is not improbable that there are attempts to advance many personal interests our of selfish motives and mutual wrangling.... This situation not only obtains among personnel who hold the posts of deputies; it has already almost become a common bureaucratic failing of the CCP. The excessive number of deputies only adds even more bureaucratic abuses.

There is one prominent phenomenon among deputies, viz, to hold down their jobs without doing a stroke of work. This is because most of those who have been assigned to posts as deputies after their cases had been redressed are advanced in years, weak in body, and suffer from many ills. Even if they want to work, natural conditions prevent them from going to their offices and handling affairs. Usually, they should retire early, but they are not willing to do so, because once they retire they not only lose all of their own prerogatives as officials, but even their children and grandchildren frequently lose many opportunities for personal advancement because of their loss of official prerogatives. Power is the armor for themselves and the shield for their children and grandchildren. This is the infallible law of a society based on power.

The redundant personnel I am now talking about are mainly the deputies, especially those who don't do a stroke of work. In addition, there are some other redundant personnel who have emerged after the redressing of cases, only their positions are not as high as deputies. Most of these people have been assigned to vacant posts in various ministries and commissions. Some of them are also old and sick and cannot go to work. The redundant personnel whose power is great both waste administrative funds and delay government affairs, and they are a drag on the improvement of administrative efficiency.

The redressing of cases was originally a manifestation of the benevolent rule of the reform faction, and who would have thought that this benevolent rule would have produced a "sequelae" in the administrative departments.

The Method of Preferential Resignation and Retirement

To solve this "sequelae" problem originally should not have been too difficult. The difficulties here involved the problem caused by the redressing of cases and also the cadre problem. The CCP's handling of the cadre problem was circumspect, and this circumspection reached a degree of being conservative (with the exception of Mao Zedong's handling of the problem during the "Cultural Revolution"), because the CCP recognized that its political power was sustained by the cadres: without the cadres there would be no Communist Party. Therefore, the CCP, no matter what, maintained the high-level appointment system for government officials, gave the cadres many special privileges, and promoted but never demoted them (with the exception of those who had committed particularly gross errors), and in the past consistently maintained the system of lifetime tenure for them.

In recent years, because the problem of cadres' aging has become more and more serious, the reform faction came up with a proposal to abolish the system of lifetime tenure (as a matter of fact, this system had never been stipulated in explicit terms but had all along only existed as an unwritten convention). In February 1980, the proposal was put in writing and passed by the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. However, the abolishment of this system aroused deep resentment among the older high-level cadres, and the first to resist it was an old military commander-in-chief. This resistance represented the general attitude of high-ranking military officers and the attitude of many high officials in administrative organs who should retire but are unwilling to retire.

Therefore, the reform faction was forced to think up a set of methods for preferential resignation-retirement. Here, resignation means resigning for recuperation, and it is an intermediate mode between recuperating from illness and retirement. This was a product of racking their brains to the utmost! Those who leave office to recuperate from illness retain their posts, but those who resign to recuperate do not retain their posts, but they do retain all the political and livelihood privileges they enjoyed in their respective organizations and posts. Those who retire are considered to be separated from their organizations, and they only enjoy the treatment given to officials who have retired.

The specific article pertaining to the new method of resignation and retirement has not yet been officially announced, and perhaps it must await consideration by the Legal Commission, so that it can appear in coordination with the new administrative reform package, or perhaps....

No matter how it will appear, news leaked from various quarters has already given us the broad outline.

This year's 3 January issue of RENMIN RIBAO published a report that over 20,000 older cadres in Weifang Prefecture, Shandong, who had resigned for recuperation reasons or who had retired had received preferential treatment. This report suggests that, politically, these older cadres are treated like active cadres of their same grade in that they can participate in meetings

and hear reports, and that, with regard to their material livelihood, they are given special treatment in respect of medical and health care and, in particular, arrangements are made to solve their housing problems.

Synthesizing the materials from various quarters, we arrive at the following outline: 1) After cadres resign for reason of recuperation they continue to receive their full salaries, and after cadres retire they continue to draw 70 to 80 percent of their salaries (I don't know if it is true, as some news items say, that when cadres resign for a reason of recuperation or retire they are promoted one grade in terms of salary); 2) all cadres who resign for reason of recuperation or who retire fully maintain their formal political privileges, and those at the level of department and bureau head or higher are still authorized to read "internal" documents and take part in report meetings of their former grade, and when necessary they can still use special vehicles and each year are allowed to travel one time at public expenses; 3) the sons and daughters of cadres who resign for reason of recuperation or who retire are given priority in job transfers, promotion, promotion to cadre, and salary rises; and 4) the original residences of cadres who resign for reason of recuperation or retire are not changed.

Whether these pieces of news are completely accurate will be known after the method of resignation and retirement is publicly announced. However, we can now affirm the following point: the CCP reform faction hopes to obtain, in exchange for some preferential treatment, the resignation or retirement of certain redundant older cadres, and this is an indubitable fact. This is perhaps a "policy of buying out," i.e., exchanging the retention of privileges for the retirement of redundant personnel from their official positions.

If it is truly a "buy-out" this is because there is no alternative under the existing CCP system, but, in the final analysis, it is not a normal method. The normal method would be, by considering the system in a fundamental way, to eliminate the bureaucratic system, abolish the cadres' special privileges, set up a social welfare system, and integrate the retirement of officials with the people's old age pension system.

9727
CSO: 4005/559

END

JPRS 80488

5 April 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 287

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 80488

5 April 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 287

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Deng Using Hoang Van Hoan in Attack on SRV
(Ba Yi Radio, 18 Mar 82) 1

Briefs
Sihanouk Denounced 3
Industrial Accidents 3
Guerrilla Column in Vietnam 3
Deng's Beijing Remarks 3
More Aid to DK 4
Sino-U.S. Talks 4

PARTY AND STATE

Need To Launch Positive Ideological Struggle Stressed
(Xiu Rong; HEBEI RIBAO, 9 Dec 81) 5

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Poet Ye Wengu's Works Presented
(YALUJIANG, Nov 79, SHIYUE, Mar 81) 8

Discusses Own Poem on Corrupt General, by Ye Wenfu
'I Am a Moth,' Other Poems, by Ye Wenfu

Population Growth, Family Environment Discussed
(Various sources, various dates) 19

Population Growth in Countryside, by Lin Gang
Fewer Children Can Better Care for Aged, by Zhen Yubao
Factors for Better Raising Children, by Jin Ma

Pope Scored for Remarks on Religious Freedom
(AFP, 22 Mar 82) 24

State Council Puts Shrines on Protected List
(XINHUA, 11 Mar 82) 25

'GUANGMING DAILY' Highlights Shanghai Suburban Culture
(XINHUA, 16 Mar 82) 27

Yunnan Schools Promote Minority Languages
(XINHUA, 23 Mar 82) 28

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DENG USING HOANG VAN HOAN IN ATTACK ON SRV

OW192141 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 18 Mar 82

[Text] In his speech delivered at a meeting of the military commission on 26 February, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that from now on it would be necessary to launch an all-out offensive against Vietnam militarily, politically and ideologically and to deal blows at the Le Duan-Pham Van Dong clique from the inside.

In this regard our Vietnamese friends, particularly the famous Vietnamese leader Comrade Hoang Van Hoan will play an important role. According to the instructions issued by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, China is now strengthening its political and ideological offensive against Vietnam. The radio stations are increasing their programs beamed at Vietnam in order to weaken the prestige of the Vietnamese authorities. At the same time, the number of Vietnamese language propaganda leaflets from China has multipled. The number of overseas Chinese in Vietnam who have been especially trained by China has greatly increased. They are actively gathering information and carrying out sabotage activities. In order to train more backbone cadres, a training class was held not long ago for such cadres. Also, efforts have been made to enhance Comrade Hoang Van Hoan's prestige through various propaganda media as suggested by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. Hoang Van Hoan's poems and articles were often carried by newspapers and journals. He also presided over an opening ceremony of the so-called training class for Vietnamese cadres. Newspapers also reported how he toured a training camp in Yunnan which was specialized in training cadres for fighting guerrilla wars in Vietnam. All this has shown that Comrade Deng Xiaoping is making preparations to launch an all-out offensive against Vietnam by making use of this former Vietnamese leader. However, it is doubtful whether or not his goal can be achieved. Our data showed that Hoang Van Hoan was not so clean. During the period when the Vietnamese people were fighting against the French colonial rule, Hoang Van Hoan was deputy defense minister in charge of security work. While the Vietnamese armymen and people were fighting against the French colonial army, several cadres who worked under Hoang Van Hoan become special agents of a French intelligence organ. In view of Hoang Van Hoan's serious dereliction of duty, President Ho Chi Minh

had personally relieved Hoang from his post as the deputy defense minister and forbade him to take charge of intelligence work. From that time, Hoang Van Hoan's prestige in the party and the army and among the people dropped tremendously. After that he only handled diplomatic affairs of a general nature. In addition, Hoang Van Hoan had some new problems. When the U.S. armed forces withdrew from Vietnam and the Vietnamese puppet regime collapsed, the Vietnamese troops had captured some documents which proved that Hoang Van Hoan had contacted France and its intelligence organs. At that time, a Vietnamese government organization had begun to investigate this case. The VWP Central Committee had decided to relieve Hoang Van Hoan from his post as a member of the VWP Central Committee before the judgment was passed. Without waiting for the judgment, Hoang Van Hoan sought refuge in China. All these facts indicate that one will achieve very little in making use of Hoang Van Hoan to launch a political and ideological offensive against Vietnam. In addition, it is also doubtful whether or not the political and ideological offensive suggested by Comrade Deng Xiaoping at present can possibly achieve anything.

CSO: 4005/687

BRIEFS

SIHANOUK DENOUNCED--Radio Democratic Kampuchea carried a commentary denouncing Samdech Sihanouk's anticommunist stand. The article says: In deference to Samdech Sihanouk's request and the CCP's suggestion. the Kampuchean Communist Party has long been dissolved. However, Samdech Sihanouk still keeps bringing up what happened in the past. At a recent meeting with Deng Xiaoping, vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee and chairman of the military commission, he said that during the more than 4 years when the Kampuchean Communist Party headed by Pol Pot was in power, its perverse acts caused much suffering to the people and were condemned by both gods and men. He said: Although the Kampuchean people have a strong national consciousness and deeply resent occupation by Vietnamese troops, they prefer occupation by the Vietnamese to Pol Pot's return, choosing the lesser of two evils. [Text] [OW221119 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 21 Mar 82]

INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS--Statistics from the All-China Federation of Trade Unions show that in the 5 years since the downfall of the "gang of four" there have been more than 123,600 accidents on the industrial front, resulting in more than 5,300 deaths and more than 68,700 disabling injuries. [Text] [OW221000 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 21 Mar 82]

GUERRILLA COLUMN IN VIETNAM--A guerrilla column, trained and fully armed in Yunnan, was secretly sent to Vietnam in groups on 14 February, after listening to a speech and being presented flags by former Vietnamese leader Hoang Van Hoan. The column consists of 421 former overseas Chinese in Vietnam and 124 Vietnamese. The column's commander and political commissar are all Chinese. The column's code name is S3194. [Text] [OW221023 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 21 Mar 82]

DENG'S BEIJING REMARKS--Khieu Samphan, who recently had a meeting with Sihanouk in Beijing, told a (?Thai official) while making a stopover in Bangkok that, when he was leaving Beijing, Deng Xiaoping told him in private: "You people who persist in fighting the Vietnamese in Kampuchea

have always been my good friends. As for Son Sann, that ex-premier who has indulged in empty talk everywhere and is leading a life of debauchery in Paris, but who is still obsessed with a lust for power and is still putting on obnoxious airs, can, at best, our hanger-on." [Text] [OW180221 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 16 Mar 82]

MORE AID TO DK--Ye Jianying, chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, declared at a meeting of the NPC Standing Committee on 2 March that, while receiving Khieu Samphan, premier of Democratic Kampuchea, Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping promised to give an additional 25 million yuan of military aid to the Kampuchean People's Army to equip a new formation now being trained in Thailand. [Text] [OW180107 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 16 Mar 82]

SINO-U.S. TALKS--Negotiations between the military representatives plenipotentiary of China and the United States on opening China's Dalian port to the U.S. Seventh Fleet have been stalemated. The focus of difference is: the U.S. side has insisted that China, in addition to providing (?supplies) needed by U.S. warships, must also undertake maintenance and repair services. [Text] [OW180227 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 16 Mar 82]

CSO: 4005/687

NEED TO LAUNCH POSITIVE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE STRESSED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 9 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Xiu Rong [0208 2837]: "We Must Correctly Launch Positive Ideological Struggle"]

[Text] During the decade of internal unrest there existed unlimited exaggeration, indiscriminate criticism, arbitrary struggle, and confusing ideologies. There are even some comrades today who violate a taboo as soon as they hear mention of ideological struggle--that is, they don't dare to justly and forcefully launch a struggle against mistaken ideological trends. In actual fact, this is a misinterpretation.

Launching a positive ideological struggle is a powerful ideological weapon for resolving contradictions within the party and among the people. It is a fine tradition of our party. The "Great Cultural Revolution" destroyed this tradition. At present, our negation of the indiscriminate criticism and struggle that took place during the decade of internal unrest does not mean that we are discarding this tradition of positive ideological struggle. Rather, it will restore and encourage this tradition. Comrade Mao Zedong once pointed out: "We advocate positive ideological struggle, because it is a weapon for attaining unity within the party and among revolutionary organizations and is of benefit to the battle. Every CCP member and all revolutionaries should take up this weapon." He went on to say: "If within the party there are no contradictions and no ideological struggle to resolve these contradictions, the life of the party will come to an end." CCP members who saw Comrade Mao Zedong as their representative have persistently advocated launching a positive ideological struggle. Furthermore, during this struggle, and during the process of triumphing over Chen Duxiu's Right opportunism, Wang Ming's Left opportunism, and Zhang Guoshou's splittism, they unified the whole party and led the Chinese revolution from victory to victory. Mao Zedong Thought, the result of combining Marxism-Leninism and the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, took shape and began to develop during positive ideological struggle. Our party's Yan'an rectification movement is a shining example of the positive ideological struggle that was launched by the new democracy in the revolutionary period. It laid down a solid ideological foundation for seizing the victory of the new democratic revolution. Since the founding of the nation, our party has committed "Leftist" errors--in particular, the serious mistake of the "Great Cultural Revolution," which deviated from the path

of correct ideological struggle. Since the Third Plenary Session, our party has eradicated disorder and returned to rectitude. We have revived and encouraged this fine tradition.

Launching a positive ideological struggle is a requirement for attaining the goals of the four modernizations. Along the path toward attainment of the four modernizations, we will surely come across all kinds of obstacles and obstructions. For example, due to the evil legacy of traditional society and the pernicious influence of the "gang of four," bureaucratism, particularism, and other unhealthy practices still exist within our party. If we do not launch a positive ideological struggle, we will not be able to overcome these practices. If we do not launch a positive ideological struggle against [the practices of] seeking to break away from the leadership of the party, departing from the socialist path, and engaging in bourgeois liberalization and anarchism, then these problems cannot be resolved.

The goals of correctly launching criticism, self-criticism and, when necessary, ideological struggle are to uphold the truth, correct mistakes, and instruct and help transform comrades who have committed mistakes. These goals are attained by launching correct criticism and self-criticism, and by many other means. While in the process of carrying out ideological struggle among the people and dealing with those people who have made relatively serious ideological mistakes, we must adopt a serious attitude of constructive concern to help them and instruct them. If we do not do this, we cannot truly unify and help transform these comrades.

Now we come to the question of what positive ideological struggle is and how we should launch this struggle.

First of all, it is essential to have a correct starting point, and that means correct goals and attitudes. In launching a positive ideological struggle, it is necessary to start from the desire for unity, to undergo criticism and self-criticism, and to educate and help transform comrades who have committed errors. Then we must unite to struggle for common objectives. If we do not do things in this way, but rather use freezing irony and burning satire, speak sarcastically, malign others, give vent to personal spite, and nurse thoughts of revenge, then ideological struggle will become increasingly confused and arbitrary. Comrade Mao Zedong warned us: "The goal of exposing mistakes and criticizing shortcomings may be compared to a doctor curing a patient: it is done only to save the person, not to punish him." Only with a correct starting point can we set out with good will, and only then can we seek truth from facts and make the person who is criticized feel happy to receive criticism and correct his mistakes. Of course, when we speak of having a correct starting point, we mean that we must have a correct attitude and not act impetuously. In dealing with mistakes, we must not perform our duty in a perfunctory manner or be too accommodating and indulgent. We should not violate party policies, exaggerate wildly, or engage in indiscriminate criticism and struggle. Instead, we must be sure to be serious and conscientious when criticizing mistakes. We must cure the disease to save the patient. Otherwise, we will be unable to attain the goals of criticizing mistakes and educating those who have committed mistakes.

Next, we must use scientific methods in launching positive ideological struggle. These so-called scientific methods mean that we must make a factual analysis of mistakes and of those comrades who have committed mistakes. We must explain how these mistakes manifest themselves, and we must clarify their nature. We should point out their danger and find out the reasons for their occurrence. As for those who have committed errors, we must first use the method of "one divides into two" to carry out a historical and comprehensive analysis. We must not seize upon one point and ignore the overall picture. Second, we must make a concrete analysis of the subjective and objective reasons for the occurrence of these errors. Third, people commit different kinds of errors, so we must adopt different kinds of methods. Fourth, criticism of people who have committed mistakes must be fair, reasonable, and appropriate.

Launching a positive ideological struggle is an important aspect of ideological and political work. It is an effective means of strengthening party leadership, overcoming laxity and disorganization, and promoting unity among comrades. All of us, especially leading comrades at all levels and political activities cadres, should learn this science and master this scientific method. In our real life there are different perceptions, different attitudes, and different manifestations regarding the implementation of the party line, principles, and policies as well as the various styles of practical work. This is the reason for the existence of contradictions among the people. An effective means of correctly understanding and handling these contradictions includes generally carrying out criticism and self-criticism as well as launching the necessary ideological struggle. Naturally this is not the only way, nor is it the method that should be applied to all contradictions among the people. Some people say that launching a positive ideological struggle may jeopardize the implementation of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and letting a hundred schools of thought contend." Others say it may affect stability and unity. This is a misunderstanding. Actually, in a certain sense, the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and letting a hundred schools of thought contend" is the policy of launching a positive ideological struggle. Only by launching a positive ideological struggle is it possible to correct mistakes and unify understanding. Only then can we attain solidarity and unity within the party and among the revolutionary ranks. With the present lax, disorganized, state of affairs in ideological and political work, there is an even greater need to advocate correctly launching a positive ideological struggle.

9864
CSO: 4005/628

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POET YE WENFU'S WORKS PRESENTED

Discusses Own Poem on Corrupt General

Shenyang YALUJIANG [THE YALU RIVER] in Chinese No 11, Nov 79

[Article by Ye Wenfu [5509 2429 4395]: "Just Whom Did I Write About--How 'General, You Must Not Do It This Way' Was Written"]

[Text] Comrade Ye Wenfu:

> Perhaps you did not expect your poem "General, You Must Not Do It This Way" to create such an enormous social response, but each and every one of us who has read it feels that it is an honor well-deserved. Those who regularly read poetry like it, and those who seldom or never read poetry also like it. It is closely linked with the readers' hearts and with life. It has shaken many of our writers and made us ponder. In the course of pondering, such a request has emerged in our minds: We hope that you will discuss your creative process and experience in writing the poem. We feel that it will benefit our poetic creation.
>
> How do you feel?
>
> We salute you!
>
> Bian Yi [6708 3015] and
> Pu Cong [5543 5523]
>
> 26 September 1979

Usually I dislike writing article after article after completing some relatively popular works to recount how such works have been created. This time I have no alternative.

After "General, You Must Not Do It This Way" was published, I received many readers' letters and the close attention of the units concerned.

Questions engulfed me like a torrent. All these are concentrated on one sharp query: "Just whom did I write about?"

It reminds me of Lu Xun's A-Q. Who was A-Q? Rather than asking Mr Lu Xun, I think that it is better to ask A-Q himself, or, to be more direct, ask those who, after reading "the Official Biography of A-Q," were paralyzed with shock, suddenly dashed out like a whirlwind, splashing saliva big as teardrops, and pointed at Mr Lu Xun's nose and demanded: "Why, why, why did you write, write, write about me?"

Originally, I was unwilling to answer such extremely ridiculous questions. However, when the responsible comrades of the central government units concerned also wanted to know "just whom did I write about," I was bewildered. At the beginning I could not believe my own ears, and afterward an indescribable pain seized my heart.

Had I been a poet of profound literary cultivation, I could flatly refuse to answer. Unfortunately I am not; I am a soldier. Answering the questions of the higher level or blindly carrying out its orders has become the habit of a soldier. Otherwise, why did Comrade He Long [6320 7893] suffer inhuman abuses and Martyr Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450] fall before the muzzle of a superior sharpshooter who had no eyes? Yet I am unwilling to inform only the higher level of whom I wrote about; I also wish to inform our people, because I feel that what they know is truly too little. Thereupon, I have decided to publish the creative course of this poem.

It was a painful course.

In these years, I, same as all my comrades, have been hearing about people's housing complaints in many places and on many occasions, but for quite a long time, such complaints did not arouse my attention, as my mind was so rigidified that it was almost apathetic.

I saw many structures of all kinds and all types with their shapes determined by the terrain extending from the sides of residential houses.

I saw many families quarreling or fighting because of housing.

I saw many honest people weeping bitter tears when failing to be assigned housing and wild with joy after obtaining it (wild with joy like Du Fu in the old days upon "the sudden news of the capture of Jibei beyond the Jianmen Pass").

I saw many large leading organs embezzling all kinds of funds belonging to their subordinate units to build houses for themselves, and even the relief funds for the people in disaster areas.

I saw the special "maintenance and repair teams" of many large organs spending months and years to "maintain and repair" the luxurious mansions

of the few chiefs. (To put it more frankly, it is breaking up the whole into parts and continuously expanding).

I saw the "guerrillas" sleeping in a different place every night over an extended period of time....

However, all these failed to arouse my serious attention as my mind was so rigidified as to be almost apathetic!

When I heard in April this year that the commanding officer of a certain branch of armed services actually issued an order to level an organ kindergarten in order to build a modern mansion for his own family, I was finally shocked!

I was shocked awake!

Ending my painful apathy, I finally know pain!

I am distressed! I am enraged! My thoughts are like a tide!

A veteran Red Army soldier who charged and shattered the enemy lines on the 25,000-li Long March, a high-level officer who suffered the cruel persecution of the "gang of four"--how the party and people had hoped that, feeling a bitter hatred for the "gang of four," he would, with his remaining years, make new contributions needed by history on the road of the new long march! Yet he....!

A series of question marks evoke my painful thoughts:

Is it conceivable that the spark of Jinggangshan which even the water of Dadu River failed to quench
will actually be extinguished in your cup of Maotai wine?

Is it conceivable that the red boat sailing out of the wind and rain of Nanhu
will run aground in your electric refrigerator?

Is it conceivable that a Communist Party member actually wish to write the lamentable history of those like Niu Jinxing?

Is it conceivable that the generation after generation which raised the standard of revolt and waged a desperate struggle was actually for the inexhaustible pleasures of your family?
....

But what puzzles me after pondering it a hundred times is the following question: For a high-level cadre educated and trained by the party for decades,

what right does he have to squander unscrupulously the hot blood of the martyrs, the trust of of the people in the party and the assiduous sweat of the laborers?!

Yet when they have done so, or are in the course of doing so, why is there no one who shows concern? What about our law? Where has it gone to play hide-and-seek? Can it be that the law which was raped by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" can no longer regain its purity? Oh law, Oh law, why are you always so coy, covering half your face with the pipa? Or, why are you always like the dainty hands of a pampered lady, capable only of holding the needle and the thread?

I really want to seek the general out and have a talk with him:

The old woman of Taihang Mountain who once fed you millet soup is still stirring the wild vegetables in the bowl with the wooden ladle in her hand;

the three generations of the woman of Luoyang who dressed your wounds in former years are crowded in a small room of 6 square meters, working their cooking pots on the bed....

Oh, my general of high rank and great power, for what purpose did you do battle for decades?

Ignoring the weals and woes of the people, you!

Can it be that the conscience of a Communist Party member is exempt from the censure of truth?

In my extremely painful thoughts, I wrote the first draft of the poem in one breath. Yes, I wrote with tears in my eyes; I wrote by seizing my conflicts and pains and feeling the party's deep yet complex love. After writing it, I could not keep it to myself, but immediately (without one second's delay) gathered a few friends to read it aloud to them. Afterward, my friends and I faced one another and wept bitterly....

However, it was during the chilly springtime of April, and some people felt that "the party's policies are too rightwing," that "the ideological emancipation is excessive," that "there should be some restraint," etc. To be careful, I first read my manuscript to some friends close to me. Once I read it in an organ of another branch of the armed services and evoked a strong response.--It turned out that the political commissar of the branch (another old comrade subjected to ruthless denunciations in the Great Cultural Revolution) also leveled the organ kindergarten and rebuilt it into his own mansion.

During the Fifth National People's Congress, I heard that some high-level leaders occupied several hundred rooms per family!

I was so shocked that....!

Among the members of their gigantic families--sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and sons-in-law, is it conceivable that there is not even one true Communist Party member voicing a protest? Is it conceivable that, in the socialist mansion erected on the skeletons of our martyrs, they all enjoy an easy conscience, blowing smoke rings leasirely on the sofa?

I finally woke up from my agony: Houses! Houses! The two entirely different circumstances contrasting against each other so clearly have turned into an extremely serious social phenomenon!

I made up my mind to revise properly the first draft of my poem!

Soliciting the opinions of some friends, I made another revision. But I still did not bring it out--suspecting my own excessive ideological emancipation. To what an intolerable extent my mental rigidification had reached! It was a social issue intensely felt by me, yet a gust of wind made me doubt myself! Thus, the manuscript was shelved for more than a month.

One day, passing through by chance a street near Beihai while in the city, I saw dust flying in the whole street and large trucks shuttling back and forth. Standing on the roadside in the dust, I saw a large crane inside the walls in constant motion. Rows of modern buildings had replaced the rear palace once inhabited by the Empress Dowager. My eyes became confused. Though I had heard of the large-scale constructions in this area, costing hundreds of millions, I had never given the matter my close attention. Now, clearly I was standing before the splendid modernization!

I am stupefied!

I am dumbfounded!

Like a spring flood without a floodgate, the tears on my face, the face of a soldier, surge in distress.

I finally understand why certain individuals among the party cadres of the various levels squander the blood and sweat of the people! In that instant, I painfully recall the Second Emperor of Qin and Yang Guang! Heavens, we are proletarians! Proletarians! Can it be that the powerful proletarian revolution, because of various historical limitations, is unable to escape the tragic fate of the corrupt feudal dynasties? Our national economy has not recovered its vitality from the brink of collapse and the people still lack food and clothing. How can we scorn even the buildings inhabited by the Empress Dowager and discard them for modern mansions?!

Standing in the flying dust, I fondly think of Chairman Mao; I fondly think of Premier Zhou. The houses they lived in in those years were too

old, but when repairs were suggested, they were reluctant to spend the money! Previously, the newspapers sincerely extolled the simple life of the leaders, yet today, in face of this phenomenon, why are they silent?

I think of the scrawny hands of mothers with infants in their arms carrying our food bowls in the Taihang Mountains, on the streets of Chongqing and in tiny county seats!

I think of the sharp contrast between democracy and special privileges!

I think of the sharp contrast between the four modernizations and the bureaucrats over whom the people are helpless!....

I think that the first-generation proletarian revolutionaries armed our party with the theories of Marxism-Leninism. However, China's revolution followed the road of "rural villages surrounding the cities." Originally, the peasants were the broadest ally of the proletariat, but, due to this special reason, the peasant component constitutes the overwhelming majority in our party. These peasants were all individual producers. In those days, they were subjected to all kinds of oppressions and exploitations of the three big mountains and urgently demanded liberation. Under the party's leadership, their resistance against the old world was courageous and fearless. However, in regard to realizing communism in China, the [words illegible] of them was hazy about it. Today, several decades later, they have become the leaders of the various levels in our party. But are they really proletarian revolutionaries? Finally, their backward class attributes have stubbornly revealed themselves! They want to corrode our proletarian political party with the shallow vision of the rebels of the past dynasties.

It is an extremely dangerous signal!

Our party must, by means of its own party spirit, wage a firm struggle against the backward ideology of the small producer!

I have not elaborated; I have not exaggerated. I am a Communist Party member, and I speak the truth! In China, those speaking the truth sometimes run a risk! However, I want to speak! I firmly believe that, in today's China, those speaking the truth do not necessarily suffer a misfortune.

On this scale of squandering, in what century will modernization arrive at the outlying mountain villages from Changan Street along the rugged paths of history?

I can no longer bear it. Holding my tears and bowing my head, I leave the street engulfed in dust, without the courage to look back at the proud tall buildings. Hastily returning to my little room, I take out the manuscript which has been shelved for over a month for another major

revision. Resolutely I deliver it to the editorial department of SHIKAN [POETRY].

I think that the fact that the central government units concerned want to know just whom did I write about is a good thing; it is perfectly proper to earnestly investigate and handle those who squander the people's blood and sweat! I have also thought it over to myself: Can it be that the leaders of the units concerned are unaware of the conduct of launching such large-scale constructions? The fact that they actually seek information from the writer of a poem on such a major issue and in a very serious manner bewilders me. However, I am providing here all the sources of my raw material for writing "General, You Must Not Do It This Way." I firmly believe that I have told the truth--a Communist Party member should courageously face reality and tell the truth!

11 October 1979, Shenyang

'I Am a Moth,' Other Poems

Beijing SHIYUE [OCTOBER] in Chinese No 3, Mar 81 pp 82-84

[Poems by Ye Wenfu [5509 2429 4395]]

[Text] I Am a Moth

The piercing wind blowing on my face,
the boundless snow cutting like daggers,
the lifeless cold night--
I search for--light!
I search for--fire!
I am a moth!

Sending forth the inexhaustible sentimental silk,
biting asunder the trammels,
leaving the warmth to others,
leaving the seeds soaked in blood for future generations to harvest,
I search for--light!
I search for--fire!
I am a moth!

Light, shine through the shamelessness accumulated these thousands of years,
fire, destroy the evils ascending the halls and entering the rooms!
I want to start the engine of life,
I want to search far and near.
I search for--light!
I search for--fire!
I am a moth!

Once I obliviously rushed toward the firefly,
thinking it an emissary of God.
It deceived me!
It tricked me!
My vision is not broad, not broad!
I am a pitiable moth!

No! The weak,
pursuit can be unflagging!
I pursue--light!
I pursue--fire!
I want to find the eternal source of light for mankind,
offering the living me!

Ah, finally in the pale ruins and stark poverty,
I see light! I find fire!
I want to dash to it!
I want to rush to it!
I use my life in its entirety
to test whether it is real or phoney
--whether it is light,
--whether there is heat.

I finally see-light!
I finally find--fire!
I start the engine of life
and use my wings to wrap up the dark night--
   wrapping up its murders, terrors, secret plots, open schemes,
   wild ambitions, baseness, cunning, stupid conceit,
   the cancer of power, absurdity, betrayal, mediocrity,
   tyranny, bribery, servility, degeneration,
   honorable parasitism, sacred plunder!....
wrapping up all these, all these--
Rushing to light--
I rush to light! I rush to light! I rush to light!
Rushing to fire--
I rush to fire! I rush to fire! I rush to fire!

I toss off the heavy dewdrops on my wings!
I ignore the slanders and threats in the dark pine forest!
I start the engine of life,
loudly singing the song of the weak!
Oh, moth! I am a moth! I am a moth!
Oh, not me! I am not me! I am not me!
I am right, I am wrong! I am wrong, I am right! It is not me, it is me!
[Above three lines are puns.]
--I dash to light!
--I dash to fire!

Light, shine on all that I have wrapped up!
Fire, destroy all that I have wrapped up!
Shine through all--including me!
Destroy all--including me!
Burn, burn a raging fire,
burn, burn away the laments of ten thousand generations!
As long as you are the true light!
As long as you are the true fire!

You shine through me!
You burn me to death!
I am perfectly willing, perfectly willing....
I shall, in this magnificent and tragic destruction,
see a mighty China tempered by a shining raging fire!

10 November 1979, Beijing, at dawn
15 October 1980, revised in Beijing
25 January 1981, revised again in Puqi,
Hebei

Standing on My Soil

I am a street lamp.
I rebel against darkness.
I am the eye of mankind in the night.
I faithfully stand on my soil,
standing on my soil and raising high my faith without compromise
and, with my innumerable companions,
silently sending forth light in the dark night....
until my last companion stretches his arm of light to raise the sleeping sun,
until the eyes of mankind can see the rough ground under its feet.

I make no sound.
Silence is my language.
The wild and deafening gale throws itself on me
and in the surging sand, I see gloom and desolation,
but I do not waver, nor fall.
My crystal-clear mind is deeply rooted in the Mother Earth.
I cannot fall. Innumerable arteries and veins of power and fire
link my heroic companions.
No, I cannot implicate them!
I am not a solitary giant tree
--I cannot fall!
I have no right to fall!

I am a street lamp.
I eagerly hope that my arteries and veins
will link all the roads.
How many roads are lampless?!
Plots spin their web in darkness
and the vision of the brave night-walkers
is unable to penetrate the curtain of night.
Trudging arduously for a long time,
they are still treading on the same spot.
The dark night chews in large mouthfuls
the skeletons of the pioneers and the indomitable heroic souls

have turned into bits and pieces of will-o'-the-wisp,
looking everywhere for the path of life....

Our forebears held the torches aloft,
rushing along the tiny snaky paths in the wild mountains!
The freezing wind and the cold rain extinguished
all the hopes, and the skeletons heaped into hillocks.
Afterward they raised high the kerosene bamboo tubes,
but kerosene could not penetrate the dark night.
Only when the generator appeared did I come into being--
I am the bastard of faith and science.
I am the crystallization of man's wisdom.
I am the signal of the bankruptcy of the corrupt divine power.
I am the symbol of the victory of the objective law.
Oh, people! Oh, era!
I look at you with deep emotions,
I see the galloping and wailing torrent rushing to the sun....
I am a street lamp!
I am--a street lamp!

4 December 1980, Beijing

Death of a Swan

Immediately after the 10-year calamity, four snow-white swans from beyond the skies landed in Beijing's Yuyuantan Park. The glad tidings brought an indescribable joy and comfort to everyone. Yet not long afterward, a hero actually shot one of them dead. My heart....

A flower. A flower. A flower. A flower.
Four snow-white clouds, in our eyes of longing,
in the chilly dawn wind of the era, fly into our motherland.
Have you come to cleanse the wounds in our hearts?
Oh, you kind emissaries of Heaven! You sacred and pure swans!

Your dignity and elegance are like the sentiments of my dreams.
Your solemnity and simplicity are like my pure songs of love.
When I see you, I am ashamed of the filth covering me.
My heart, dripping blood, is gently healed by your soft and beautiful curves.

Yes, you should be our entire life.
Truth, beauty, kindness and harmony touch the depths of one's heart and move one's soul.
Calm as the water of the lake, you have no enemy!
Your lovely profile melts all the shamelessness and ugliness.

A crack of gunshot, and you are another lead of yet another tragedy.
The barely healed heart is again ruthlessly torn asunder.
I sink into a deep grief; my blood which once stained the morning sun
flows on your snow-white feathers, but unfortunately I have
no tears for weeping, no words for lamenting, and no song for singing....

Oh, Heaven! How we convulsively destroy ourselves!
How we march to naked shamelessness and degeneration!
Emissary of Heaven, you are too pure and untimely.
The blood in our tears is actually so murky!

Hearing this gunshot, I think of another one--
two pools of blood merged into one old legend.
When she fell, she was unable to call out; when you fell, there was a
desolate long scream.
We march forward with our voices raised high, but only cover
a pitiable section on the meter ruler of the elementary student....

Conflicts and pain convulse our frail thoughts.
How should we comfort you? How should we comfort your sacred and pure
soul?
Fly away, please fly away, Heavenly emissary of my heart.
You and I are not the same--you have no motherland....

No, no, no! You must not fly away!
Please believe me--our faith will never again stain your feathers.
This is a land permeated with the fragrance of mother's milk.
This is a land of hope irrigated with tears and blood.
This is a land destined to be worthy of cherishing.
Blood is in the process of blooming; love is in the process of reviving.

25 December 1980, Beijing
31 December 1981, revised in Wuhan

6080
CSO: 4005/660

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POPULATION GROWTH, FAMILY ENVIRONMENT DISCUSSED

Population Growth in Countryside

Beijing LIAO WANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 9, 20 Dec 81 p 27

[Article by Lin Gang [2651 1511]: "Why the Population in Our Rural Countryside Continues to Grow"]

[Text] China has 1 billion people and among them 800 million are peasants. This rural population is growing faster than that of the cities and a long term effective plan for controlling the rural population is yet to be found. In recent years, agricultural villages have implemented the system of production responsibility and the birthrate has risen again. What is the reason for this?

Before liberation, China's agricultural villages had a self-sufficient, natural economy and labor productivity was very low. To increase the output of agricultural products, it was necessary for peasants to put more people into the labor force during the production process and this required that the population continually increase. It can be said that given a low level agricultural foundation, this is a fundamental law of population development. This law was still in effect after liberation.

From the period of land reform to that of the movement to organize cooperatives, the first birth peak occurred along with the rapid development of agricultural production. From 1952 to 1957, China's annual population increase was between 12 million and 13 million and the natural growth rate reached 2 percent. After this, following the development of industries and cities, especially the development of heavy industry, the pressure on China's agriculture increased. The pressures came from two areas: one was that the requirement and demand for surplus agricultural products by the industrial worker population and urban population was increasing daily. Each increase in the industrial workers population required several corresponding increases in the population-consuming commodity grain and increased the burden on agriculture. We solved this type of daily increasing burden by relying on enlarging the labor intensive level so as to attain an increase in total output. This then caused the demands for the development of agricultural production to be even more pressing on the labor force. The other area of pressure was the contention for the labor force for industrial development and agricultural production. This became especially noticeable during the first

2 years of the Second Five-Year Plan. From 1957 to 1958, China's labor population for heavy industry increased from 5,570,000 to 33,500,000, an increase of nearly 30 million; the non-agricultural population increased from 106,180,000 to 122,100,000, a net increase of 15,920,000. These increases in the heavy industry population and non-agricultural population arose mainly from shifts from the rural countryside. For the same period, the agricultural labor force decreased from 192 million to 151 million, a net decrease of 41 million. As a result, the area to be farmed by each agricultural laborer increased from 8.8 mu in 1957 to 11 mu. For the same period, the number of farm animals decreased which caused a great decrease in agricultural production. China's total yield of grain for 1960 showed a net decrease of over 100 billion jin as compared to that of 1957 so that sufficient food supplies became a great problem. After 1960, only 20 million laborers were transferred to the countryside. But, this was still insufficient to compensate for the decreased agricultural labor force. After 1961, China's birthrate rose dramatically. In 1962, it reached 4 percent and the natural growth rate was 3.35 percent. After this, the absolute total of the agricultural population increased greatly. The two areas of pressure mentioned above can be said to be double stimuli for China's population increases. They strengthen the effects of the population law of births given a low level of agricultural production and this causes rapid population increases to become a steady and sustained tendency. From 1962 to 1974, China's natural population growth rate was consistently above 2 percent.

Reliance on increasing the population and labor force so as to increase the yield of agricultural products impeded technological advancement and the upgrading of labor productivity. In 1955, the annual output value of each agricultural laborer was 298 yuan, and calculating on the basis of unchanged prices, in 1978 this output value was 270 yuan. Thus, the agricultural labor productivity declined 10 percent. In 1979, China's grain production amounted to over 660 billion jin which was a more than 270 billion jin increase over 1957. The agricultural labor force increased from nearly 200 million in 1957 to 300 million [in 1979]. China's agricultural grain commodity rate fell from 29.4 percent in 1957 to 18.7 percent in 1978. This shows that the requirements for the development of China's agricultural production on the labor force are still tremendous. These types of demands still give great impetus to the population increases. Because of this, the population of the countryside has consistently increased faster than that of the cities.

To sum up, if we want to transform the population in our rural countryside from high growth to low growth, which is needed for the economy to develop, it is necessary to make great efforts to upgrade the technological level of agricultural production, to upgrade labor productivity, to bring about a decrease in the demands of agricultural production on the labor force, and to cause the peasants to prosper as fast as possible. This is a great hundred-year plan for controlling the population of the rural countryside.

Fewer Children Can Better Care for Aged

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by Zhen Yubao [6966 0151 0202]: "The Aged Can Still be Taken Care of With Fewer Children in a Family"]

[Text] The present age composition of the population of Chanan Commune in Jiangsu's Rudong County is: 23.42 percent are under age 14, 34.58 percent are between 15 and 29 years of age, 33.37 percent are between 30 and 64 years of age and 8.63 percent are over 65 years of age. The greater proportion of the population is under the age of 30.

According to statistics for the latter half of 1981, the entire commune had 1,412 persons under age 6 and among these 904 were from one child families, 462 were from two-children families, and 46 were from three-children families; there were 3,296 persons between 7 and 14 years of age and among these 146 were from one child families, 1,627 were from two-children families, and 1,526 were from three-children families. It can be seen that within the next 20 years because the continuous flow of youths entering marriageable and child bearing years will be a mixture of only children and children from families with two or more children, in the near future the compositions of households will not be of the widespread "four, two, one" pattern.

According to 1980 statistics, there were 1,779 persons over age 65 in the entire commune and among these 75.7 percent relied on their children for support, 23.06 percent lived independently and 1.23 percent had children supporting them in rotation. The material and cultural life of three generations of single-grandchild households was noticeably higher than that of households of three generations with many grandchildren. This is because the costs for taking care of the aged, marriages, funerals and setting up new households was less for the former than for households with many grandchildren. Thus, when one reaches old age and has a certain amount of savings, it is only necessary that the children provide proper care. However, because the income of the latter is needed to take care of the aged and to construct small households, there are few savings. When something is divided into several parts there is not much left over so that in supporting the aged they always fall short of the intentions.

Within the No 7 brigade of this commune, in 1980 the number of those who died who were over 65 years of age was 14 and the average lifespan was 73.5 years. On the average, the support, medical, nutritional, and funeral and internment costs for these 14 older persons was less than 680 yuan. However, for the 13 youths in this brigade who were married, the average burden for a household to bring up each child from birth to marriage at 24 years of age was 2,180 yuan. It can be seen from this that even if one has many children the aged can be supported, yet with fewer children this support should be much less difficult.

Factors for Better Raising Children

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by Jin Ma [6855 7456]: "A Brief Discussion on Family Environment for Children"]

[Text] In recent years the scientific rearing of children has been taken as the beginning of the high quality development of a person and has become a new field of research in many countries. Because of China's persuance of a one child per family policy, many parents urgently require the guidance of comprehensive knowledge concerning the scientific rearing of children. Therefore, the question of how to establish a science of family child rearing to suit China's conditions and to build it on a foundation of physiological and psychological development with the aim of overall development of people in virtue, intelligence, physique and beauty is a matter of strategic importance for best bringing up the next generation.

At present, due to social development and the unprecedented strengthening of scientific research measures, family child rearing science already has even wider extensions and deeper connotations. To systematically understand the richness and profound content of this field of science, we will try to summarize it in terms of the scientific child rearing principles of good birth, good rearing, good teaching and good environment.

As regards the concept of good birth, the new eugenics of the last 10 odd years, which is based on Galton eugenics, commonly refers to the combined measures of genetic consultation, antenatal diagnosis and selective abortion. Its aim is to make every effort to prevent genetic defects and congenital diseases (at present, 3,000 types have been discovered), and to reduce unhealthy individual births. Yet, taking into account the significance of later generations in selecting a spouse, we should therefore vigorously guide the masses of youth to take genetic conditions as an important prerequisite for selecting a spouse so as to strengthen national genetic quality. At the same time we must take into account that the growth of a zygote into a mature fetus is a systematic dynamic growth process inside the mother's womb and therefore whether the majority of fetuses have normal or abnormal characteristics in the growth process is the result of the mutual effects of genetic elements and environment. Because of this, the eugenic concept in family child rearing science should best be understood in the broad sense, that is, from the synthesis of healthy fertilization to the birth of a healthy embryo. Thus, premarital eugenic examinations, prenatal care and planned childbirth should be carried out within the family. Further research into techniques for the improvement of mankind can certainly be developed as the basis for scientific child rearing.

Good rearing has marked effects in ensuring that a child grows strong and handsome because a person's innate qualities are dependent on postnatal scientific care for attaining ideal development. Because of this--the concept of good rearing in family child rearing science--besides helping parents to deeply understand the physiological characteristics of children at each age and each stage of their

development, their nutritional requirements, means to protect them against various illnesses and tending to their learning, we should also study and develop a science which impels the physical constitutions of children and youths to develop to be strong and handsome. Due to complex reasons, during the last 20 odd years, China's children and youths have had a noticeable tendency to grow tall, slender and weak. This situation should arouse vigilance and attention from numerous parents as well as the entire society. Therefore, this is a pressing problem which requires that we immediately develop the study of family child rearing physical training. Moreover, the timely popularization of its scientific achievements will cause the next generation to attain scientific physical training starting at a very young age and to gradually form an integral harmony and complete physical training system from family child rearing physical training and school physical training to societal physical training.

Good teaching is the means of arousing children's intelligence and urging them to grow up and be useful. At present, besides wanting to advance gradually and intelligently on the basis of their child's physiological and physchological development, parents have another outstanding problem: the improvement of the traditional concept of "rearing is more important than teaching" during infancy. This will help parents establish a scientific method starting from the birth of their child wherein rearing and teaching will both be important. Another important problem is paying special attention to a child's character and the special features and stages of his development as well as grasping the key points of the child's development and then educating him.

At present, few people have mentioned the problem of good environment within the context of family child rearing science. During the 1930's, the family education specialist, Chen Heqin, wrote specialized articles discussing this topic. Because mankind has already stepped into new spiritual and material environments, he is closely connected with environmental protection science and it is inevitable that he develop his own rich and special environmental science for rearing children. His philosophical basis is: humans are social beings and their high quality development cannot be divorced from their social and natural environments. Therefore, the moment the embryo starts to grow is the moment the problem of good environment begins. After the birth of a child, the problem of good environment becomes more directly perceptable; yet many important principles regarding a good environment for rearing children are often easily overlooked. For example, during infancy a child needs to have frequent contact and play with children his own age so as to avoid suffering profound harm psychologically which will be difficult to cure throughout his life. The problem of how to prevent negative factors and even the poisonous pollution of mental illness for children during puberty are important topics for the study of a good environment for rearing children and it is worthwhile to try hard to resolve them.

The development of family child rearing science is in the stage of ascendency. The research and development of this field of science has the most extensive mass base and the largest experimental scope. Many noble minded persons within China's scientific community are joining in this joyous project of eternal significance. This pleasing situation marks a turning point and the timely publication of China's first large scale popular book which systematically introduces scientific knowledge on rearing children entitled "The Encyclopedia of Family Education of Children" is really a joyous event.

9480
CSO: 4005/584

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POPE SCORED FOR REMARKS ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

OW221532 Hong Kong AFP in English 1230 GMT 22 Mar 82

[Excerpt] Beijing, 22 Mar (AFP)--Chinese authorities accused Pope John Paul II today of "vicious slander" for questioning the existence of religious liberty in China.

Commenting on a sermon delivered yesterday in Rome by the Pope who voiced the hope that Chinese Catholics could practice their faith "without obstacle," China's Foreign Ministry information department said "Chinese citizens have the freedom of belief, which is protected by law."

"Any attempt to distort facts is futile," the information department added, recalling that the pro-government Chinese patriotic Catholic church has just lashed (?out) at the Pope for his "vicious slander" that Catholics are persecuted in China, it was noted.

The Chinese attack against the Pope appears to close the door to any prospect of a dialogue between China and the Vatican.

During a mass at Saint Peter's Basilica, the Pope called for reunification between the Chinese patriotic Catholic church which split with the Vatican in 1957, when China broke off relations with the Papal State.

Asked to comment on the Pope's sermon, a spokesman of the government's religious affairs bureau referred journalists to a statement issued Saturday by the patriotic church, in which the Pope was castigated for having offered "an insult to the All-mighty God" by saying that Catholics were persecuted in China.

CSO: 4000/72

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

STATE COUNCIL PUTS SHRINES ON PROTECTED LIST

OW111041 Beijing XINHUA in English 0827 GMT 11 Mar 82

[Text] Beijing, March 11 (XINHUA)--The State Council has approved a new list of 62 ancient sites and buildings of revolutionary or scientific significance for special national protection. It was proposed by the State Administrative Bureau of Museums and Archaeological Data.

This is the second list, the first being announced in March 1961.

Prehistoric sites include one in Yuanmou County in Yunnan Province, anthropologists found two fossil incisors of an adult apeman in 1965 estimated at 1.7 million years old.

The seat of the earliest capital of the western Zhou Dynasty (around 11th century b.c.-771 b.c.) is in what are now Fufeng and Qishan counties in Shaanxi Province, northwest China. The Zhouyuan archeological site covers an area of 15 square kilometers where many bronzes and oracle bone and tortoise shell inscriptions have been unearthed.

A gigantic stone mitreya buddha, made between 718-803 a.d. during the Tang Dynasty on the east bank of the Min River in Leshan City, Sichuan Province, is 71 meters high and is China's largest stone statue on cliffs.

Ancient buildings listed include Xiantong temple (temple of revelation) on Mount Wutai in Shanxi Province, one of the four famous Buddhist shrines in China. It was first built 1,900 years ago in the reign of Emperor Ming (58-75 a.d.) of the Han Dynasty (206 b.c.-220 a.d.). Today's structure is primarily of Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) renovation and reconstruction.

Zhaibung (Drepung) and Sera monasteries, two of the three big ones in Tibet, were built in the reign of Yongle (1403-1424) during the Ming Dynasty. Both were built by disciples of Zong Kaba (Tsong Kapa), founder of the yellow sect of Tibetan Buddhism.

Typical of buildings of scientific significance is the Beijing Astronomical Observatory, a brick terrace building which was used in the Ming and Qing

dynasties. The astronomical instruments are now in the Zijinshan (Purple Mountain) Observatory in Nanjing. The extant eight astronomical instruments including an equatorial theodolite (also called an armilla), a celestial globe, a quadrant and a new armilla were made in early Qing times.

The tomb of Genghis Khan in Ejinhoro Banner, Inner Mongolia, was moved during the war of resistance against Japanese aggression (1937-1945). It was returned to Inner Mongolia in 1954 and a splendid mausoleum built at the site.

Mansion and garden of a younger brother of Emperor Xianfeng originally was the residence of Prime Minister He Shen during the reign of Emperor Qian Long (1736-1795). It was later incorporated into the palace. It is said to be the prototype for the grand view garden Cao Xueqing described in his famous 18th-century classical novel "A Dream of Red Mansions."

Among the sites of revolutionary significance are the two pools on the beach at Humen in Dongguan County, Guangdong Province, where patriot official Lin Zexu in 1839 burned 1,188,127 kilograms of opium illegally imported by British and American merchants and the site of Humen Fort at the outlet of the Pearl River, where the Chinese Navy thwarted a British armed attack the same year.

Other revolutionary sites include the model clinic for operations founded by Canadian surgeon Norman Bethune in 1938 in Songyankou village in Wutai County, Shanxi Province. The original building was burned up by the Japanese invading army in 1940. It was restored in 1940. [as printed]

The Beijing residence since 1949 of Soong Ching Ling, honorary president of the People's Republic of China, and her tomb in Shanghai are included.

CSO: 4000/72

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING DAILY' HIGHLIGHTS SHANGHAI SUBURBAN CULTURE

OW170057 Beijing XINHUA in English 0708 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] Beijing, March 16 (XINHUA)--A large number of cultural facilities have been established or restored on Shanghai's rural outskirts in the past two years, reports today's GUANGMING DAILY.

According to the paper, around 200 rural communes in the city's 10 suburban counties now have 10 major cultural centers, 12 major libraries, 239 commune cultural centers, 66 town cultural centers, 206 sub-libraries, 303 film projection teams, and 112 cinemas and theaters.

Based on local conditions and peasants' interests, the paper says, cultural, recreational, sports and technological facilities have been set up and amateur rural workers trained as staff members.

A cultural center in Xinchang Commune in Nanhui County, including a library, a club, a lighted court and a recreation room, has so far organized 15 sports teams and helped to arrange 178 matches involving about 4,500 participants last year. Another cultural center in Sanlin commune in Shanghai County has, since its founding in December 1980, given 200 performances of plays or operas, which attracted 250,000 spectators, the paper says.

CSO: 4000/72

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

YUNNAN SCHOOLS PROMOTE MINORITY LANGUAGES

OW230822 Beijing XINHUA in English 0710 GMT 23 Mar 82

[Text] Kunming, March 23 (XINHUA)--The Dai, Jingpo, Lisu, Lahu, Yi, Wa, Tibetan, Miao and Ha'ni languages, as well as the Han language, are being used in schools in Yunnan Province, according to the provincial department of education.

There are 22 minority nationalities in this southwestern border province, all of which have their own spoken languages. However, only 11 have written languages.

There was little schooling available to minority people before liberation. The provincial people's government has since 1949 taken steps to set up educational facilities for the minority national people including using their languages in the local schools. This work was stopped during the "Cultural Revolution" from 1966 to 1976.

The provincial committee in charge of minority nationality language work was restored at the end of 1979. Its main task is to help minority nationality people develop a written language to reform and popularize their languages. Branches were set up in 4 of the 8 autonomous prefectures and some autonomous counties of the province. To date, training courses run by the committee have trained 543 minority language teachers.

A publishing house for minority languages has been set up in the province. Textbooks and other publications in the Dai, Lisu, Lahu, Jingpo, Wa and Miao languages have already been printed.

In the Dehong Dai and Jingpo nationality autonomous prefecture, 339 of the 622 schools teach in either Dai or Jingpo and Han. Han and the local minority languages are both used for official documents, announcements and court proceedings in the prefecture.

CSO: 4000/72 END

JPRS 80621

21 April 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 292

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 80621

21 April 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 292

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

PARTY AND STATE

'Theory of Continuous Revolution' Analyzed
(Zhang Xianyang, Wang Guixiu; XUEXI YU TANSUO, No 6, 1981) 1

Persistent Anti-Bureaucracy Struggle Encouraged
(Wang Yihe; SHANXI RIBAO, 20 Jan 82) 16

Jiangsu Promotes Middle-Aged, Younger Cadres to Leading Bodies
(XINHUA RIBAO, 22 Jan 82) 20

Liu Shaoqi's Work on Erroneous Tendencies Still Valid
(Yao Liwen, Zhou Zhixing; JIEFANG RIBAO, 4 Feb 82) 22

Importance of Socialist Spiritual Civilization Stressed
(Han Chenghuang; TAIYUAN RIBAO, 5 Feb 82) 26

Study of Correct Theory To Rectify Party Practices Called Urgent Task
(TAIYUAN RIBAO, 5 Feb 82) 28

Ideological Understanding Said Key to Spiritual Civilization
(NANFANG RIBAO, 8 Feb 82) 30

Building of Good Character, Morals Stressed
(Jiang Yongliu; NANFANG RIBAO, 8 Feb 82) 33

Importance of Building United Front Stressed
(WEN HUI BAO, 4 Mar 82) 35

Large Number of Educated Youths Return to Xinjiang
(WEN HUI BAO, 14 Mar 82) 38

Harbin Government Work Report
(Wang Huacheng; HARBIN RIBAO, 16 Mar 82)..... 40

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Effects of Weather Conditions on Missiles Described
(Chen Lanqing; JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, No 3, 1982)..... 42

Transport Unit Crosses Snowbound Mountains To, From Xizang
(Zhao Guangwen, Bai Meiyan; RENMIN RIBAO, 12 Feb 82)..... 44

Briefs
Wuhan PLA Units' Circular 46
Henan Militia Education Forum 46
Lhasa PLA Study Meeting 46
Army Cadres Sent to Work 47
Chemical Weapons Work Explosion 47
Retirees Commit Suicide 47

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Mao's Teachings on Literary Ideology Said Still Valid
(Ren Fuxian; DAZHONG RIBAO, 13 Dec 81)..... 48

Strengthened Leadership Over Sparetime Creative Workers Urged
(Gao Yanxue, Zhao Anting; DAZHONG RIBAO, 20 Dec 81)..... 51

Young Writer Liu Zhengtai's Works Praised
(Fang Xie, Zhang Ning; WEN HUI BAO, 29 Dec 81)..... 53

Development of Minority Education Emphasized in Liaoning
(LIAONING JIAOYU, 14 Jan 82)..... 56

Mongolian Minority
Korean Minority
Working Conference Measures

Hu Qiaomu Praises Gains Scored in Language Reform
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 26 Jan 82)..... 62

Trends in China's Birth, Death Rates Discussed
(Li Chengrui; RENKOU YANJIU, 29 Jan 82)..... 64

Party Propaganda Department Forum on Literary Creation Held
(WENYIBAO, 7 Feb 82)..... 67

Form of Medium-Length Novels Discussed
(Zhang Ren; GUANGMING RIBAO, 22 Feb 82)..... 73

Readers Write In To Criticize Novel 'Lost Forever'
(ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO, 17 Jan 82)..... 78

'THEORY OF CONTINUOUS REVOLUTION' ANALYZED

Harbin XUEXI YU TANSUO [STUDY AND EXPLORATION] in Chinese No 6, 1981 pp 10-18

[Article by Zhang Xianyang [1728 7359 2254] and Wang Guixiu [3769 6311 4423]: "An Analysis of the 'Theory of Continuous Revolution under the Proletarian Dictatorship'"]

[Text] When analyzing the "theory of continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship," the "Resolution on the Party's Historical Issues since the Founding of the Nation" passed at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee consistently links it with the "Great Cultural Revolution," treating it as its guiding ideology. The so-called "continuous revolution" is none other than the theoretical expression of the "Great Cultural Revolution;" conversely, the "Great Cultural Revolution" is none other than the practical expression of the "continuous revolution" theory. Only by scrutinizing the "continuous revolution" theory in conjunction with the practice of the "Great Cultural Revolution" will it be possible to understand in depth its errors and grave dangers.

When analyzing the "continuous revolution" theory, the "Resolution" strictly distinguishes two demarcations: that between it and Mao Zedong Thought; that between its errors and the disastrous criminal activities of the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques by utilizing such errors. The formulation "continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship" was not advanced by Comrade Mao Zedong himself, but he did support it. The main arguments contained in the theory, as pointed out in the "Revolution," were indeed his. As for epitomizing the arguments into the "theory of continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship," making it into a system and giving it such a high value, it was not the work of Comrade Mao Zedong, but he did agree with and approve of it. Therefore, viewed from the scientific angle, one must admit that the "continuous revolution" theory was indeed his. However, one absolutely must not, for this reason, include it in the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought. As stated in the "Regolution," the erroneous leftwing arguments of the theory have obviously deviated from the course of Mao Zedong Thought which integrates the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism

with the concrete practice of China's revolution. Therefore, it must be completely distinguished from Mao Zedong Thought. Meanwhile, nor must it be lumped together with the criminal acts of the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques because of its leftwing errors and its utilization by them, as they are issues of two different essences. The former was a mistake made by a great proletarian revolutionary and must be scrutinized in the sphere of theoretical right and wrong within the Marxist ranks; the latter is an issue in the nature of the enemy and ourselves. This demarcation, same as the first one, must be strictly distinguished.

One "combination" and two "divisions" constitute the principle which must be observed when scrutinizing the "theory of continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship."

I. The "continuous revolution" theory is a product of the long development of the leftwing errors in the party.

Like all theories creating an influence in practical life (regardless of the nature of the influence), the "continuous revolution" theory did not just appear out of a blue sky. It was gradually conceived in the fast spreading "leftwing" errors in the 1957 anti-rightist struggles and especially in the 1959 struggle against "rightwing opportunism."

Everyone knows that the "leftwing" tendency which began in the 1957 anti-rightist struggles and caused a tremendous loss to China's revolution again reared its head in a fairly sharp new form in our party. Its main manifestations were as follows:

(1) The correct assessment of the classes and the class struggle situation after the basic completion of the socialist reform of the production means private ownership contained in "the Correct Handling of the Internal Contradictions within the People" was abandoned, first quietly, then openly, and "large-scale stormy mass class struggles" under the slogan of "carrying out a socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts" were launched time after time.

(2) The length of the transitional period was extended incessantly, from 10 plus years, decades, a century to several centuries. Finally, in disregard of the repeatedly expounded Marxist-Leninist truths and without bothering with proof, the socialist society, which is the rudimentary phase of communism, was merged into the concept of the "transitional period" from capitalism to communism and termed the "socialist phase" or "socialist historical phase." The struggles between the proletarian and bourgeois classes and between the socialist and capitalist paths were considered the main contradictions threading through the "entire socialist historical phase," and slogans such as stressing the class struggle year after year, month after month and day after day and taking the class struggle as the key link were proposed.

(3) The dangers of a capitalist restoration were exaggerated more and more. In the entire socialist historical phase, if not handled properly, a capitalist restoration might become possible at any time. Meanwhile, such dangers mainly originated from the bourgeois agents and the authorities following the capitalist road in the party.

(4) The assessments of the defects, errors and miscalculations emerging in the socialist revolution and socialist construction became ever less sober. The moment a problem appeared, it was interpreted as a new trend of the class struggle and a manifestation of its aggravation. Meanwhile, intra-party contradictions and struggles were not evaluated objectively. The moment there was a dissension, it became a line struggle, and the moment the line struggle was mentioned, it became a desperate struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the two major hostile classes. As a result, the tendency of "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" grew ever more serious day by day.

(5) While ever magnifying the line struggle and confusing it with the class struggle, the "struggle between the two fronts" was obviously abandoned, concentrating on the so-called rightwing dangers while paying little attention to the "leftwing" dangers. Any time an anti-tendentious struggle was launched, it was almost always against rightism, never conscientiously against "leftism." As a result, the feelings that "'left' is better than right" and "rather 'left' than right" became ever more widespread.

(6) In consequence, the normal course of the socialist construction was continuously disrupted, the economic situation fluctuated, and the people's living failed to be improved. What was even more serious was that, when handling the interrelations between the class struggle and the economic construction, the former was placed ever more consciously above the latter, as if the goal of economic construction were for the class struggle, instead of vice versa. Therefore, whenever there was some slight improvement in the economic situation or some slight development in production, new political movements were immediately launched, which continued without interruption.

These were the main manifestations of the growing "leftwing" tendency in the 8 or 9 years from the 1957 anti-rightist struggle to the time before the Great Cultural Revolution. How to interpret in theory the social historical factors and international environment (primarily the changes in the Soviet Union and the Poland and Hungary incidents after Khrushchev came to power) for the emergence of the situation is an issue calling for an in-depth study. However, one point is extremely clear: Under the situation of the gradually developing "leftwing" tendency which advocated the growing aggravation and all-decisiveness of the class struggle, such an extraordinary "leftwing" theory as "continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship" was bound to emerge sooner or later.

With the ever more serious "leftwing" tendency, the political life of the party and the state became ever more abnormal and the contradictions ever sharper and more complex. Meanwhile, all these, in the views of Comrade Mao Zedong, served to prove the accuracy of the various conclusions on the class and line struggles. Therefore, it became more urgent to launch even larger mass class struggles to solve the contradictions. In a talk in February 1967, recalling the conception of the Great Cultural Revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong declared: "In the past, we launched struggles in the rural villages, in the plants, and in the cultural realms and carried out the socialist education movement, but failed to solve the problems, because we had not found a form, a pattern, to openly, comprehensively and from bottom to top mobilize the masses to expose our dark aspect." What was our "dark aspect" which required us to find a form to "openly, comprehensively and from bottom to top mobilize the masses" for its exposure? The answer was given in the Party Central Committee's "Circular" of 16 May 1966.

The circular stated that "our dark aspect" referred to the "group of bourgeois representatives" infiltrating the party, the government, the troops and the cultural realms, i.e., the "counterrevolutionary revisionists," the authorities following the capitalist road in the party, who would seize political power when the conditions were ripe and turn the proletarian dictatorship into a bourgeois dictatorship. Since they were so large in number, so vast in spread and so grave in danger, then, any local struggle naturally would not solve the problem, and it was mandatory to find a form and openly, comprehensively and from bottom to top mobilize the masses to expose them. In a word, the "Great Cultural Revolution" was imperative. The "16 May Circular" was a programmatic document formulated for the purpose of launching a nationwide "Great Cultural Revolution."

When compared with the main substance of what was subsequently epitomized as the "theory of continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship," one will find that the "16 May Circular" laid the foundation for the theory. The central idea of the "Circular" is to launch a large-scale class struggle and seize power from the authorities following the capitalist road in the party, which is the core of the "continuous revolution" theory. For this reason, the emergence of the "16 May Circular" indicated the formation of the theory. The document was a momentous turn in our party history since the founding of the nation. If it is said that, previous to that, it was only a "leftwing" tendency, then, the document indicated not only that such leftwing tendency had developed into an incorrect leftwing theory, but also that the incorrect leftwing theory had seized a dominant position in our party. The Great Cultural Revolution which caused the party, the state and the people to suffer the severest setbacks and losses since the founding of the nation was carried out under the guidance of this incorrect leftwing theory.

Under the theoretical guidance of power seizure, the Great Cultural Revolution was bound to turn into a real movement to seize power. The 1967 New Year editorial of JENMIN RIBAO and HONGQI entitled "Carry the Great

Proletarian Cultural Revolution to the Finish" stated: "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a full-scale contest of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie and its agents in our party." "The year 1967 will be the first year for the nationwide all-out deployment of the class struggle." "The year 1967 will be a year when the proletariat, together with other revolutionary masses, launches a general offensive on the handful of authorities in the party following the capitalist road and the monsters and demons in society." "Launching a general offensive" meant a nationwide "full-scale power seizure" movement. As everyone knows, the inception of the movement was "Shanghai's January storm of power seizure."

The movement was developing, and theory required explanation and elaboration. Though the idea of power seizure had long been advanced in the "16 May Circular," it had not been systematically elaborated, or epitomized, into a "theory" or "doctrine." Thus, while the "power seizure" idea was clear to the leaders of the movement, the participants were rather hazy about it. Busy all day long with "revolutionary mass criticisms," criticizing and denouncing the "capitalist roaders" and wiping out the "four olds" on the streets, they did not comprehend "power seizure," the core. To adapt to the need of a "full-scale power seizure," it was necessary to explain and elaborate the "power seizure" idea. Thereupon, those in the Cultural Revolution Group stepped forward to serve as missionaries, and the most typical among them was Chen Boda [7115 0130 6671]. In his talk on 19 January 1967 at the forum of a part of the delegates of industrial and mining enterprises, he declared: "The Great Cultural Revolution is... a struggle to seize power." "The power struggle of China's proletariat has undergone two stages. The first stage was after liberation when the Liberation Army took over control and seized power. Today is another stage: the revolutionary worker class and the revolutionary masses are taking over control." "We seized power once, but the seizure was not complete, nor properly carried out, and there was some peaceful evolution. Therefore, now there must be a mass power seizure." He also declared that the "first large-letter poster" of Nie Yuanzi [5119 0337 2737] and others was to create public opinion for a power seizure. "Thus, one may say that the power seizure issue has developed from the schools to the industries, railways and other units, and power seizure has been well carried out in many areas and many units, beginning with one unit and surging into a high tide in the whole city.... It is a continuation of the proletarian power seizure after liberation."

In terms of the course of development of the "Great Cultural Revolution," Chen Boda's brilliant views were compatible with reality, except that he did not tell the truth. The "power seizure" did not "begin from the schools," but from the Cultural Revolution Group formed by the Party Central Committee with Chen Boda as the chief, Jiang Qing the assistant chief and Kang Sheng [1660 3932] the advisor. Nominally under the standing committee of the Politburo, the group actually was above the standing committee of the Party Central Committee. Brushing aside completely the Party Central Committee, the Central Politburo and its standing committee,

the "Cultural Revolution Group," on the basis of the "newest supreme directives," issued direct orders to the entire party and the entire country, commanded the arrest and denunciation of so-called "renegades," "special agents" and "capitalist roaders," and could declare at any time members of the Politburo and its standing committee, and even vice chairmen of the Party Central Committee, "major renegades," "supreme capitalist roaders," etc. The situation unequivocally indicated that the "Cultural Revolution Group" had indeed seized a large portion of the power of the Party Central Committee.

Nevertheless, regardless of how Chen Boda concealed the inception of the power seizure, that the Great Cultural Revolution was a "continuation of the power seizure" after liberation and that "continuous revolution" was "continuous power seizure" were more clear-cut and more conspicuous than any other time, and meanwhile, more incentive. Thereafter, the uproar of "power, power, power" filled the universe and the "power seizure" movement spread throughout the country. Not only thus, but Chen Boda's statements and the major articles in JENMIN RIBAO and HONGQI in this period all demonstrated a tendency to figure out a concise formulation for this theory and epitomize it into a concept. It was undoubtedly necessary for its wide propaganda. Thereupon, the initial shape of the formulation appeared in the "Great Historical Document," the editorial article of JENMIN RIBAO and HONGQI of 18 May 1967: "Revolution under the condition of the proletarian dictatorship." Subsequently, after almost 5 months of repeated processing and revision, the standard formulation was finally completed in "Vigorously Launch a Great Revolution of Mao Zedong Thought," the editorial of HONGQI, Number 13, October 1967. It stated: Only by conscientiously studying and profoundly comprehending such great programs as "fighting selfishness; repudiate revisionism" proposed by Chairman Mao "will we understand and master Chairman Mao's lines, principles and policies on /the theory of continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship./"

Almost a month later, on 6 November 1967, Lin Biao's "Talk at the Mass Meeting of the People of the National Capital Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution" and the commemorative editorial article entitled "Advance along the Path Opened by the October Socialist Revolution" of the two newspapers and one periodical with Chen Boda and Yao Wenyuan [1202 2429 0337] in charge of writing made a formal assessment of the theory, finding it "an extremely significant symbol of the development of Marxism-Leninism to the stage of Mao Zedong Thought." The article made a systematic exposition of the theory and summarized it into six "essential points" for the first time. The six "essential points" will be discussed later. In short, from then on, the "theory of continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship" was widely disseminated as a complete system and regarded as sacred, until it became the basic guiding ideology of the party and the state, time and again cited in the party's official documents, including the reports of the 9th and 10th Party Congresses and the party constitution, and in the constitution

passed at the 4th National People's Congress, thereby acquiring the character of a party doctrine and state law.

The above was the approximate course of the conception, birth and systematization of the "theory of continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship." One can see in this process that its emergence was not incidental. It was a logical product of the long existing "leftwing" feelings and "leftwing" errors in our party.

II. "Continuous revolution" is an incorrect leftwing theory in violation of Marxism-Leninism.

As discussed above, the central idea of the "continuous revolution" theory is to seize power from the "capitalist roaders." Nevertheless, an idea in isolation could not constitute a "theory" or "doctrine." That "continuous revolution" is known as a "theory" or "doctrine" is because it indeed has a set of interrelated theoretical components. In this aspect, one must admit that the summation of the theory in the editorial article of 6 November 1967 commemorating the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution appearing in the two newspapers and one periodical is indeed fairly complete. Now, we will take this article as the principal basis to analyze briefly the main components of the "continuous revolution" theory.

The article summarizes the "continuous revolution" theory into six "essential points." In the first point, it points out that "the law of the unity of opposites of Marxism-Leninism must be used to observe the socialist society." "In the socialist society, there are 'two kinds of social contradictions, viz., those between the enemy and ourselves and those within the people.' 'The contradictions between the enemy and ourselves are antagonistic contradictions. Those within the people, among the laboring people, are nonantagonistic.'"

Strictly speaking, this point is not a component of the "continuous revolution" theory itself. It is in fact incompatible with the "continuous revolution" theory as a whole. The characteristics of the "continuous revolution" theory are confusing the two kinds of contradictions of different natures and magnifying those between the enemy and ourselves. Had the doctrine of correctly distinguishing and handling the two different kinds of contradictions been truly followed, then there would have been no "continuous revolution" theory, nor the "Great Cultural Revolution."

The second point is: "'The socialist society is a fairly long historical phase. In the historical phase of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and the class struggle, still the struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths, and still the dangers of a capitalist restoration.' After the completion of the socialist reform of the production means ownership, 'the class struggle has not concluded. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, that among the various factional political forces, and that between the proletariat and bourgeoisie in the ideological aspect remain long-term, tortuous and

at times very fierce.' To prevent a capitalist restoration, to prevent 'peaceful evolution,' the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts must be carried through to the end."

The classes and the class struggle in the socialist historical phase discussed in this point constitute the theoretical premise of the "continuous revolution" theory and cover a fairly broad range. We will only bring up three issues for analysis. First, the protracted nature of the class struggle and the dangers of a capitalist restoration in a socialist society are obviously excessively magnified. If the class struggle and the dangers of a capitalist restoration "exist from beginning to end" in a socialist society, then, unless there is a miracle, we will never enter communism. We can only flounder around back and forth: Only by eliminating the classes will we enter communism; only by entering communism will we eliminate the classes. Theoretically it makes no sense, nor is it compatible with the actual development tendency of the class struggle in a socialist society.

Next, does the bourgeoisie, which still remains after the basic completion of the socialist reform of the production means private ownership, exist as a complete class substance or as a class remnant? The Marxist political economy tells us that a complete class substance can only exist in the original production relations system; once the production means is lost, the bourgeoisie can only exist as a remnant, which, after a certain period of time, will vanish. The viewpoint of the ever existing classes and class struggle in fact severs the inherent link between class existence and the production means ownership relations. Precisely along this path, theoretical scoundrel Kang Sheng invented the absurd theory of dividing the classes according to political thinking. Regrettably, Comrade Mao Zedong did not denounce this fallacy. Actually, no one could locate the bourgeoisie which had lost its production means, and finally the search had to be made in the Communist Party.

Thirdly, just what is the meaning of the argument that "the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts must be carried through to the end?" According to the Marxist view, the "revolution" on the "political" front can only be rationally interpreted as seizing political power. After the proletariat overthrew the control of the bourgeoisie and created a people's democratic dictatorship, the "revolution" in this aspect had been carried through "to the end." Naturally, for a period thereafter, there is still the class struggle on the political front, but this struggle involves only the suppression of the resistance of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat, and suppression basically cannot be called "revolution," because the political "life" of the bourgeoisie, i.e., its state power, has long been taken away by the proletariat. Calling the struggle on the political front, especially the struggle between the proletariat and the remnant forces of the bourgeoisie after the basic completion of the socialist reform of the production means private ownership, "revolution" is a misuse of the term. Such unscientific formulation

developed into the so-called "great political revolution" in the "Great Cultural Revolution." As demonstrated by practice, this so-called "great political revolution" was not, and could not possibly have been, a revolution in any sense of the word. As for the "socialist revolution on the ideological front," it is also very questionable. The issues in the ideological aspect can only solved by means of criticism as the weapon, not the weapon as criticism, by means of convincing by persuasion, not overwhelming with power, and they can only be changed, not eliminated. When discussing the historical mission of the proletarian dictatorship, that Marx used the word "eliminate" for the first three "all's," viz., all class disparities, all production relations and all social relations left by the old society, but the word "change"for the fourth, viz., all concepts left by the old society, was definitely not incidental. Therefore, to use the term "revolution"on ideology cannot be considered appropriate. Furthermore, changes in ideology can only be accomplished alongside improvements in politics and the economy and serve as reflection of such improvements. Therefore, to treat ideological changes as an independent "revolution" is incorrect in theory and extremely detrimental in practice.

The third point is: "The class struggle under the proletarian dictatorship, in essence, remains an issue of political power: The bourgeoisie wishes to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship, while the proletariat wishes to vigorously consolidate its dictatorship. The proletariat must enforce a total dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including each and every cultural realm...."

The essence of the class struggle in the period of the proletarian dictatorship is discussed in this point. To sum up the class struggle in the period of the proletarian dictatorship as an issue of political power is completely incorrect in theory and incompatible with the historical experiences of the proletarian dictatorship. First, the view that the class struggle in the period of proletarian dictatorship is an issue of political power is premised on magnifying the dangers and protracted nature of a bourgeois restoration. As everyone knows, for a certain period just after the victory of the revolution, the bourgeoisie still possessed a considerable strength. However, with the expropriation of its production means and the continuous successes of the socialist construction, the resistance of the bourgeoisie, rising and falling like waves, will gradually weaken and finally vanish. We must never feel that, as long as it exists, the bourgeois remnant will always pose a threat to the proletarian dictatorship. The view is incompatible with the objective tendency of the development of the class struggle. The question is not whether the remnant forces of the bourgeoisie wish to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship, but whether objectively they possess the strength and whether they can form a real threat.

Next, the view that the class struggle in the period of the proletarian dictatorship is an issue of political power runs counter to the essence

of the proletarian dictatorship. As everyone knows, the goal of the class struggle waged by the proletariat by means of state political power, i.e., the proletarian dictatorship, as the weapon is to eliminate the proletariat as a class as well as the bourgeoisie, not to perpetuate forever the regime itself. This point was clearly expounded when Marx first advanced the concept of the proletarian dictatorship. He declared that the proletarian dictatorship "is merely a transition to the elimination of all classes and entry into a classless society." If the struggle is epitomized as an issue of political power and the proletarian dictatorship taken as the end itself, it will be equivalent to abolishing the task of eliminating the classes.

Thirdly, epitomizing the class struggle in the period of the proletarian dictatorship as an issue of political power is equivalent to limiting the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship. The proletarian dictatorship is a new phase of the class struggle waged by the proletariat, with new tasks and new forms. Its tasks are not only to suppress the resistance of the bourgeoisie and prevent a bourgeois restoration, but also to organize economic and cultural constructions and create a higher labor productivity than capitalism. If it is felt that the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship are only to prevent a bourgeois restoration, it will be equivalent to abolishing the task of raising labor productivity. One cannot say that the fact that we failed to shift the emphasis of work to the socialist construction long after the basic completion of the socialist reform of the production means private ownership had nothing to do with this incorrect view.

The fourth point is: "The struggles between the two classes and between the two lines in society are inevitably reflected in the party. The handful of authorities in the party following the capitalist road is the representative figures of the bourgeoisie. They are a group of counterrevolutionary revisionists. The moment the time is ripe, they will want to seize political power and turn the proletarian dictatorship into a bourgeois dictatorship. To consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, we must pay full attention to recognizing the 'characters like Khrushchev sleeping alongside us,' fully expose and denounce them, knock them down, make it impossible for them to wreak vengeance, and firmly recapture the power usurped by them."

This point is the center of the so-called "continuous revolution" theory. But there is nothing more wrong than it. The "Resolution" points out: "The 'capitalist roaders' knocked down in the 'Great Cultural Revolution' were the leading cadres of the party and state organs of the various levels and the key strengths of the socialist cause. The so-called 'bourgeois command post' headed by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping basically never existed in the party." When the theory was advanced, what kind of people were regarded as authorities "following the capitalist road?" Were the "capitalist roaders" an intraparty or extraparty issue? Were they an issue of the line struggle or of the class struggle? Was it comrades making mistakes or counterrevolutionaries engaging in disruptions

and trouble making? All these questions were not answered. One can see that the theory on the "capitalist roaders" was chaotic. If it was an issue of intraparty line struggle, then they could not be declared "counterrevolutionary" revisionists, and the means of "knocking down," "making it impossible for them to wreak vengeance," mobilizing the masses to arrest and denounce them, using the tool of dictatorship to handle them could not be resorted to. If it was an extraparty issue, involving counterrevolutionaries and class enemies, then it was not an issue of "the struggles between the two classes and between the two paths in society reflected in the party," those involved could not be called authorities following the capitalist road "in the party," and the statement that "we must not consider them all evildoers the moment 'capitalist roaders' are mentioned" could not be made.

The key of the issue here is confusing the demarcation between the line struggle in the party and the class struggle in society and blurring the distinction between the contradictions within the people and those between the enemy and ourselves, the two kinds of contradictions of different natures. As early as the time when Comrade Peng Dehuai was wrongly determined to be a rightwing opportunist at the 1959 Lushan Meeting, line and class struggles were lumped together. By the time of the Great Cultural Revolution, such error grew more serious. It was supposed to be exposing "intraparty" issues, yet powerful mass struggles on a nationwide scale were launched; it was supposed to be a "great political revolution," yet the spearhead of dictatorship was aimed within the Communist Party. Comrade Mao Zedong once declared that, if we want revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. If we want to carry out the socialist revolution of the proletariat, we must have a revolutionary party like the Communist Party. Without the leadership of the Communist Party, the revolution will not succeed. Now, with the Communist Party made the objective of revolution, how could the revolution be carried out? Furthermore, such a revolution will be endless: With the Communist Party, there will be capitalist roaders; with capitalist roaders, there must be revolution; to carry out the revolution, there must be the Communist Party; with the Communist Party, there will be capitalist roaders.... How can it be revolution? It is a vicious circle through and through. No wonder there was the advocacy of the necessity of multiple "Great Cultural Revolutions."

The fifth point is: "The most important thing for the continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship is to launch a Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

"'The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution can only be the masses liberating themselves.' 'We must let the masses educate themselves in this great revolutionary movement.' In other words, this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution practices great democracy under the proletarian dictatorship and freely mobilizes the masses from the bottom to the top, while following the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries and

and the three-in-one combination of the revolutionary masses, the People's Liberation Army and the revolutionary cadres."

This point shows that the "Great Cultural Revolution" was the form of "continuous revolution" and discusses the ways to proceed with the "Great Cultural Revolution," its substance, etc.

According to Comrade Mao Zedong's view, the "Great Cultural Revolution" was the form of "continuous revolution" finally found after a long search. However, as pointed out in the "Resolution," "history has ascertained that the 'Great Cultural Revolution' was a civil strife erroneously launched by the leaders, and utilized by counterrevolutionary cliques, bringing severe calamities to the party, the state and the people of all races."

First, let us look at the relations between the "Great Cultural Revolution" and party leadership. From the first day of its launching, what was repeatedly stressed was "the masses themselves," never mentioning the party's leadership. On the contrary, the party organs of the various levels were placed in the position of being denounced and stripped of power. When in the spring of 1967, several old generals and vice premiers, seeing the growing deterioration of the situation of the party and the state, brought up the issue, they were condemned as the "February countercurrent." It clearly indicates that the "Great Cultural Revolution" did not recognize the party's leadership. Afterward, Kang Sheng equivocated: "The Great Cultural Revolution was personally launched and led by Chairman Mao. How can there be no party leadership? If it is said that there is no party leadership, where do we place Chairman Mao? According to this argument, since Chairman Mao was the party, and the party Chairman Mao, even if the entire party organization was destroyed, there was still party leadership. Once this fallacy was advanced, the collective leadership of the Party Central Committee no longer had a leg to stand on.

Next, let us look at the driving force of the "Great Cultural Revolution." According to what has been cited above, the driving force was the "proletarian revolutionaries." Marxism teaches us that, whether in determining the revolutionary objectives or in determining its driving force, we must not depart from strict class divisions. Nevertheless, what kind of concept were the "proletarian revolutionaries?" It was entirely an indistinguishable nonclass concept. Precisely as demonstrated by the reality of the "Great Cultural Revolution," those recognized as "revolutionaries" were not all proletarians, while the proletarians were not all regarded as "revolutionaries." Here, the proletarians and the "revolutionaries" were basically not linked. First, party leadership was abandoned. Next, there was no definite class ranks, and some of the factional organizations of all kinds and all types had "knocking down so-and-so" or "supporting so-and-so" as their sole purpose. With Lin Biao and the "gang of four" making use of the opportunity for their vigorous conspiratorial activities on top thereof, the "Great Cultural Revolution" could not but bring chaos to the entire country.

Finally, let us look at the substance of the "Great Cultural Revolution." According to Comrade Mao Zedong's determination, the "Great Cultural Revolution" was actually a great political revolution. Since it was a "great political revolution," the issue of its attitude on the state political power had to come up. What was the attitude of the "Great Cultural Revolution" on a state of proletarian dictatorship? It was to treat the state political power as the target of struggle. Wherever the existing state political power was overthrown and seized, the revolution whereby one class overthrew another was considered accomplished in that area. A HONGQI editorial entitled "on the Power Struggle of the Proletarian Revolutionaries" at that time explained it even clearer: "Some units corrupted by the handful of authorities following the capitalist road in their long usurpation enforce a bourgeois dictatorship, instead of a proletarian dictatorship. The power struggle in these units must follow the Marxist principle of breaking up the old state machine." Precisely on the basis of this principles, all the areas and units which were thought to require power seizure had to be "smashed" and "broken up," while actually almost no area or unit was exempt. Consequently, power seizures and "smashing" and "breaking up" occurred in all areas in the nation (except Taiwan province). The so-called "revolutionary three-in-one combination" was used to replace the "broken up" "old state machine" with a "new state machine," which was the so-called "revolutionary committee." It must be pointed out that the power struggles waged in all areas in the nation were the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Nevertheless, following the principles of "power seizure" and "breaking up" was not their decision, but the substance of the Great Cultural Revolution, contained in the great political revolution itself. Short of involving the issue of the state political power and following the principle of "breaking up" the existing state machine, it would not have been a great political revolution whereby one class overthrew another. However, taking the state political power of the proletarian dictatorship as the goal of seizure and the objective of breaking up was absolutely not a great political revolution of the proletariat. As aptly put in the "Resolution," "a great political revolution under the socialist conditions whereby 'one class overthrew another' had neither an economic, nor a political, basis. It would inevitably fail to propose any constructive program, but would only create chaos, disruption and regression." The facts turned out precisely thus.

The sixth point, which is the final point, is: "The basic principle of the Great Cultural Revolution in the ideological realm is 'fighting selfishness and repudiating revisionism.' 'The proletariat wishes to reform the world according to its own world outlook, while the bourgeoisie also wishes to reform the world according to its own world outlook.' Therefore, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great revolution touching people to their very souls and for the purpose of solving the issue of the world outlook. It aims at criticizing revisionism in politics, ideology and theory, overcoming bourgeois egoism and all nonproletarian ideas with the proletarian ideology, reforming education, reforming literature and art, reforming all superstructures not adapted to the socialist economic base, and eradicating the root of revisionism."

This point has no independent meaning, as its main idea has been stated in the first five points. Only the passage that "the Great Cultural Revolution is a great revolution touching people to their very souls" is unique, but also completely wrong. How could the issue of the world outlook, the issue of the mental world, be reformed with the unprecedented great social upheaval like the "Great Cultural Revolution?" The actual meaning of the so-called "fighting selfishness and repudiating revisionism" at that time was "establishing the word 'public,'" while the greatest "public" was the so-called "loyalty." Loyalty to whom? To the people? No. It was loyalty to the individual leader. Obviously, it was openly replacing the proletarian world outlook with the feudal concept of loyalty to the monarch. Finally, summing up the reform of the world outlook as merely reforming the bourgeois egoist ideology is also one-sided in theory. The issue of the world outlook is not merely an issue of ideology; there is also that of the method of thinking. Such idealist and metaphysic method of thinking as "most, most, most" is definitely not the proletarian world outlook. Excluding the method of thinking from the task of reforming the world outlook and epitomizing the reform of ideology into the word "loyalty" resulted in a further deviation from Marxism, a greater rampage of idealist metaphysics, and a more widespread worship of the individual. In a word, that ignorance grows with reform was only to be expected.

III. The slogan of "continuous revolution under the proletarian dictators-ip" must never be used again.

That the "theory of continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship" is an incorrect leftwing theory running counter to Marxism-Leninism is very clear. The present question is whether the slogan of "continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship" may be used in the future.

This question has long been clearly answered in the "Resolution." It points out: "The arguments" for the "Great Cultural Revolution" launched by Comrade Mao Zedong "mainly appeared in the '16 May Circular' and the political reports of the 9th Party Congress, and were epitomized into the so-called 'theory of continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship,' thereby giving a special meaning to the phrase 'continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship.'" In other words, same as the "theory of continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship," the slogan must not be used again.

A slogan in a social movement is different from a mathematical formula. Different figures may be fitted into the latter, while the former has no such convenience. The slogans or formulations in social movements, especially those known to every household and linked with the gains and losses of millions, all have special meanings acquired during the course of the practical development of the movements and are indivisibly connected with the actual substance reflected by them. It is thus with the slogan of "continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship." Its meaning is completely determined by the history of the "Great Cultural Revolution"

and has an indivisible connection with it. In fact, "continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship" and the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" have become synonyms.

Does the fact that discarding the slogan or formulation of "continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship" indicate that the mission of the socialist revolution has been completed and that no revolutionary struggle needs to be waged in the future? Naturally not. As aptly stated in the "Resolution," "that we firmly rectify the error of the slogan 'continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship' of the 'Great Cultural Revolution' whereby one class overthrows another absolutely does not indicate that the revolutionary mission has been completed and that it is necessary to firmly continue the revolutionary struggles in the various aspects. Socialism must not only eliminate all exploiting systems and exploiting classes, but also vigorously develop the social production force, perfect and develop the socialist productive relations and the superstructure, and gradually eliminate all social disparities and inequalities created mainly by the inadequate development of the social production force. The struggles waged by us now to build a modern socialist power are precisely one phase of this great revolution. Different from the revolution before the overthrow of the exploiting system, this revolution is accomplished not by means of fierce class confrontations and conflicts, but by means of the socialist system itself, carried out with leadership, step by step and in the proper order." In other words, discarding the slogan of "continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship" is precisely for the purpose of completing more successfully our socialist revolutionary cause and avoiding a recurrence of the turmoil like the "Great Cultural Revolution." On this issue, any doubt will be groundless.

6080
CSO: 4005/716

PERSISTENT ANTI-BUREAUCRACY STRUGGLE ENCOURAGED

Xian SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by Wang Yihe [3769 4135 0735]: "Bureaucracy Is the Greatest Scourge of State Organs--Studying Lenin's Anti-Bureaucracy Discourses"]

[Text] Lenin bitterly hated and detested bureaucracy. He called it the greatest "scourge, running sore, poisonous bacterium, malicious ulcer," declared it the "most detestable enemy within our ranks" ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 33, p 196).

Following victory in the October Revolution, at the time when the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) shifted the center of gravity in its work from warfare to economic construction, bureaucracy gradually began to grow up and thrive within the ruling party and in all government organs. Certain party cadres "worked in a dilatory manner, busied themselves merely with shuffling papers, worked totally disorganized and acted clumsily stupid in all they did." The state organization was inflated and overstaffed, there were more hands than needed and efficiency was low, so much so that some staff were just loafing around in a kind of goslow or semigoslow state. In the end Lenin lashed out severely on many occasions, in party documents, letters and at various meetings, against arrogant and conceited party members who indulged in empty talk and put on bureaucratic airs. He pointed out sharply: "The next party purge will hit those party members who haughtily pose as officials of the government, but know nothing else but forming all kinds of committees, calling meetings and talking, without performing even the simplest work. It would be best to ask them to transfer to departments which conduct propaganda and agitation" ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 33, p 197). The reason why Lenin bitterly hated and detested bureaucracy of all shades was that he realized in his clear and sober mind how extremely dangerous bureaucracy is. Lenin precisely hit the target when he point out: "The greatest weakness in all the work in our economic organs is bureaucracy. Our party members have become bureaucrats. If there is anything that could ruin us, it is this fact" ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 35, p 552). If the running sore of bureaucracy is not cured, the public officers in the state agencies of our proletarian dictatorship will turn from public servants of society into the haughty lords and masters of old, far divorced from the people and placing themselves high above the masses. It is therefore "in the interests of the people that government organs overcome bureaucracy. They must activate the

entire creative force of the state and open up the broadest new fields of operation" ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 26, p 320).

Bureaucracy is a complex social phenomenon with ideological, political and economic causes. Lenin penetratingly analyzed the socio-historical roots of the growth and existence of bureaucracy in the organs of socialist states.

In Lenin's opinion bureaucracy in the organs of the socialist states is the evil legacy of the old society; it reflects a reactionary style of work of the exploiting class as being extant in the organs of the proletarian state. In the course of developments from the slave-owning system to the capitalist system, an enormously inflated bureaucratic structure gradually took form in the military, administrative, legislative and judicial departments. These organs were rearing and feeding large numbers of parasites who lived on high salaries, enjoyed special privileges and oppressed and exploited the people. This bureaucracy became a special clique with its own bureaucratic style of work. After assumption of state power by the proletariat, it was not immediately possible to wipe out completely, thoroughly and all at once the evil legacy of the old state and the filth in officialdom; it was only natural that it would still show up in the state machinery of the proletarian dictatorship. Like a ghost it has attached itself to certain party members and resists their efforts to free themselves from its entanglements. Under these conditions "even the leading cadres of the proletariat too might not be able to avoid 'bureaucratization' to some extent."

Bureaucracy is the superstructure of small-scale production in its unorganized and moribund condition. During the life time of Lenin, the Soviet Union had not yet collectivized agriculture. Lenin pointed out: The economic roots of bureaucracy are the dispersed and unorganized operations of small-scale producers, their poverty, lack of civilization, their inaccessibility as regards means of communications and their illiteracy, also their lack of mobility, mutual contacts and mutual cooperation. Another condition contributing to the growth of bureaucracy as it exists today is the insufficient development of science and education and lack of democratic spirit. Lenin pointed out that it is precisely "due to this low level of education that even though the Programme designated the soviets as organs which were to exercise administration by way of the masses, in reality they do so by way of a progressive strata of the proletariat, but not by way of the masses." The masses are thus not the masters in their own house, and it is only a natural consequence that certain cadres who wield the power should develop the defects of bureaucracy.

How can we overcome bureaucracy under socialism? Lenin pointed out: The struggle against this evil can be, and furthermore must be placed, on our agenda, but we must not criticize for criticism's sake, but rather devise means and ways to conduct this struggle in a realistic manner. "Concrete and realistic methods must be decided upon to combat such phenomena as working in a dilatory manner, idling away one's time and stupid incompetence" ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 35, p 431).

Reform of the organizational structure and retrenching in the state organs. In August 1918, Lenin found out that 231,000 people worked in the soviets of

Moscow (including the municipal organs of Moscow). He then repeatedly demanded retrenchments, but in October 1922 the figure had on the contrary rather increased to 243,000. In November, while already sick, Lenin addressed a letter to the Fifth National Congress of All Soviets, in which he pointed out: The most important and pressing task to achieve through a retrenchment of soviet organizations is an improvement of the organization, an elimination of the dilatory style of work and of bureaucracy, a reduction in unproductive expenditure, a retrenchment in soviet organs and a reduction of their expenditures. Lenin also emphatically pointed out: "We must have the party members effectively control those organs to which they have been assigned as administrators, and we must not allow a condition, as we see here frequently, that the organ controls them" ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 33, p 399).

Develop democracy, have the masses administer the organs of state. Lenin believed that the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship provided the most beneficial conditions in political respects for the struggle of the masses against bureaucracy. In affording the workers and peasants participation in the administration, the socialist state achieved what had not been achieved, and furthermore could not have been achieved, by the best republics in the world throughout many centuries. It is for this reason that Lenin emphatically pointed out: Only when the entire population participates in the administrative work, can the struggle against bureaucracy be thoroughly carried out and can bureaucracy be completely defeated.

To exercise supervision, strict party rules and party laws. Lenin already reorganized the state's supervisory organs into worker-peasant supervisory organs and workers supervisory organs as one of the measures to combat bureaucracy. He emphasized that the people's courts must give increased attention to punish according to law all instances of bureaucracy, as also the dilatory style of work and derelictions of duties in economic respects. He was of the opinion that the congresses of soviets, newspapers and periodicals and all measures against bureaucracy suggested by the masses "must all be systematically, unremittingly and repeatedly subjected to tests, comparisons and study." It must be realized that the fight against bureaucracy is a long-term struggle task. Lenin said: "The struggle against bureaucracy in a peasant country in a condition of extreme poverty requires a long period of time. The struggle must be conducted unremittingly, and a one-time defeat must not be allowed to cause dejection. An even longer period of time will be required to create an economic basis of a kind that will bring about the elimination of bureaucracy. Our struggle against bureaucracy must therefore be conducted in a persistent and dauntless spirit, and conducted relentlessly over a long period of time over and over again."

In our struggle against bureaucracy we must exercise sound judgment and be practical and realistic. Lenin expressed it in most unequivocal terms: "If we find the evil of bureaucracy to be extant in administrative work, we must never conceal this abominable phenomenon, but expose it and eliminate it. Anyone who struggles against evil phenomena in the new system and forgets the true essence of the new system, also forgets that the working class established and is furthermore guiding this soviet type state, is absolutely incapable of clear thinking and talks irresponsible nonsense" ("Collected

Works of Lenin" Vol 33, p 6). We therefore do not agree to combat bureaucracy by means of anarchism and shall even less permit to have the fight against bureaucracy serve as a pretext for a total denial of the leadership of the party or for the adoption of a bourgeois liberalization. We must rather arm outselves with the ideological weapon of Lenin's antibureaucratic pronouncements and place ourselves under the unified strategy of the CCP Central Committee in our systematic and resolute fight against bureaucracy in our state organs, in order to make our contribution toward building up our country into a powerful socialist state with a high degree of material and spiritual culture.

9808
CSO: 4005/653

JIANGSU PROMOTES MIDDLE-AGED, YOUNGER CADRES TO LEADING BODIES

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jan 82 p 1

[Article: "Over 800 Middle-Aged and Younger Cadres Have Been Selected To Join the Leading Bodies at County and Higher Levels"]

[Text] In an effort to speed up the process of organizing contingents of revolutionary, well-educated, and professionally competent young cadres to meet the current needs of the various construction projects, more than 800 middle-aged and younger cadres throughout Jiangsu Province have been selected over the past year to join the leading bodies at county and higher levels. Among them are more than 100 outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres who have been appointed to leading posts in the provincial departments, offices, bureaus, and sections of various commissions and in prefectures and municipalities.

This group of long-tested middle-aged and younger cadres has come to the fore through the struggle to build a socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in their heyday of power, many of these comrades proved able to resist and struggle against them in many different ways from a position of indomitable party character. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," they have been determined to thoroughly implement the line, principles, and policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, to uphold the four basic principles, to emancipate their minds, and to work hard. In this way, they have achieved remarkable successes in all fields of work. Some comrades have been praised by the masses as "men of action" for doing everything on a solid basis, for working hard, and for making frequent appearances in the frontline of duty in order to study and solve practical problems.

A survey of the more than 100 middle-aged and younger cadres selected to replenish the staff of provincial departments, commissions, offices, sections, and bureaus as well as the staff of the prefectures and municipalities shows that their average age is 48 years old, and that their youngest cadres are 37 years old; college and middle school graduates make up 67 percent of the total. Many of the comrades have systematically studied agricultural and industrial economics, enterprise management, metallurgy, mechanics, textile production, electronics, and other professional courses. Some even have completed advanced studies in foreign countries. Some newly appointed middle-aged and younger cadres have acquired their professional skills through lengthy experiments in practical work, through diligent

study, and through self-education. They are truly skilled in the management of industrial and agricultural production, and are truly able to organize work and provide leadership.

This group of middle-aged and younger cadres was first recommended by the masses and then repeatedly examined and evaluated by their respective organizations before they were finally selected by the provincial party committee, whose leading comrades shared the responsibility of examining them one by one and of soliciting views reflected by various authorities. In order to increase their understanding of these newly selected cadres, leading comrades on the provincial party committee have spent time studying and discussing the "Historical Resolution" with these outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres at reading classes and on other occasions. In the course of examining and evaluating them, the democratic style was brought into full play and the mass line was upheld. The decision on their selection was finally made by the standing committee of the provincial party committee as a result of collective discussion.

At present, these newly appointed outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres are closely cooperating and working together with the old cadres so that they can play a positive role in their respective posts. In response to the provincial party committee's demand, these young cadres have promised to preserve their present lifestyle and their original nature as servants of the people, despite their transfer to new positions which bring them additional responsibilities.

9574
CSO: 4005/677

LIU SHAOQI'S WORK ON ERRONEOUS TENDENCIES STILL VALID

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Feb 82 p 4

[Article by Yao Liwen [1202 0500 2429] and Zhou Zhixing [0719 1807 5281]: "Two-Front Struggle Deemed Necessary To Oppose Erroneous Tendencies"]

[Text] In our efforts to ensure the smooth implementation of the correct political line, our great party and every Marxist must be well prepared to work out a correct strategy in the struggle against erroneous tendencies. This is an invaluable experience that our party has acquired at a high price during prolonged revolutionary struggle. After going over Volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi," one will find that Comrade Shaoqi paid dearly for summing up his experiences and for making an important contribution along this line.

Unless Fallacies Are Discredited, Truth Cannot Be Verified

Comrade Shaoqi maintained that opposing erroneous tendencies in a correct way calls for firmly waging a struggle on two fronts. If we fail to wage a struggle on two fronts in a realistic way that takes into account actual conditions, rightist or leftist trends of thought will flow like a flood to wash away what we have already achieved. In his "Talk to the Journalistic Delegation to North China," he said: It is necessary to "firmly implement the party's correct line, and to criticize leftist and rightist tendencies simultaneously. This should be called the basic Marxist approach to criticism. Without discrediting leftist and rightist fallacies, the truth cannot be verified. Endorsing truth means denouncing fallacies." ("Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi," Vol 1, p 406; future mention of this volume will be indicated by page numbers only.) He drew this conclusion from our party's revolutionary practice. True, what Comrade Shaoqi had done during his prolonged tour of duty in the Kuomintang-controlled areas was based on this understanding. He had no respect for dogmatism, nor had he any respect for any mistaken leftist advice. At no time was he ever carried away by any particular statements by the masses or by some leaders' emotional or pessimistic reports. Whatever he did, he always bore in mind the need to analyze the situation thoroughly and carefully, and to take proper steps to capture every opportune moment. He often reminded comrades of this truth: "When the objective situation is developing in a way that is unfavorable to our movement, we must wait patiently rather than act recklessly. If we lose patience at such crucial moments, we are bound to make mistakes. But when the tide of the objective situation flows in favor of our movement, we must never hesitate to move forward boldly. If we still want to wait at that hour, we may

also make mistakes." (p 263) His emphasis on applying correct methods to prevent and oppose erroneous leftist and rightist tendencies was a reason that led him to come up with correct working policies, strategies, and principles during his tour of duty in the Kuomintang-controlled areas.

Comrade Shaoqi never wanted to parrot what others had said before him in the course of criticizing a certain tendency. He always wanted to think everything over thoroughly in his own way and to assess every event in connection with the historical conditions of a given time, so that he could see both sides of the coin. In 1937, he wrote a letter to a responsible comrade on the Central Committee discussing the experiences and lessons drawn from the defeat of the great revolution of 1927. In addition to emphatically denouncing the erroneous right opportunist line represented by Chen Duxiu, he presented a view of his own, saying that the leftist tendency that existed in our practical work at that time also had a damaging effect on our revolutionary cause. Likewise, when he was in the process of formulating a policy to solve problems, he never overlooked the need to prevent and struggle against erroneous tendencies. On the eve of nationwide liberation, Comrade Shaoqi discussed new China's economic development policy and explicitly pointed out that this policy must be designed to prevent the following two erroneous tendencies: (1) The capitalist tendency to "pin all our hopes for economic development on individual capitalists and to make unprincipled concessions to them" (p 430); (2) the adventurist tendency to "take too many premature and thoughtless steps in the socialist direction of planning and developing the economy beyond the actual potential." (p 430) He emphasized: "In planning the economy in the days ahead, we must constantly wage a struggle on two fronts and oppose the two aforementioned tendencies, in an effort to ensure thorough implementation of the correct policy of economic development." (p 431) A restudy of this statement by Comrade Shaoqi and a review of the twists and turns that we have traversed since the founding of the PRC really constitute something that is highly thought-provoking!

Direct the Spearhead of Struggle at the Principal Tendency

In his struggle against erroneous tendencies, Comrade Shaoqi always wanted to concentrate his attention on applying Marxist dialectics as a yardstick to distinguish the leftist tendency from the rightist tendency, so that he could point out the tendency that poses the main danger to our interests. He was always capable of correctly assessing the situation, keeping to the correct orientation, and directing the spearhead of the struggle at the principal tendency harmful to our revolution. After the great revolution of 1927 failed, the left opportunists staged three comebacks to dominate the party. Many comrades were fooled by the promoters of the leftist line who could always present themselves as typical "revolutionaries." During this period, Comrade Shaoqi began to take every opportunity to combat and criticize the erroneous leftist tendency. In his article entitled "Criticize the Strategy for 'Quitting the Scab Trade Union,'" published in 1932, he sternly criticized some comrades for considering themselves revolutionaries second to none and for taking a "leftist" stand in favor of quitting the scab trade union, and pointed out that this was "a typical form of left opportunism." (p 17) In the spring of 1936, Comrade Shaoqi arrived in Tianjin as the head of the North Bureau. By then, the party organizations in the North China region were under a grave threat of white terror. After seeing some comrades regularly take to the streets

on every commemorative occasion, distribute leaflets, throw stones, hold demonstrations, and follow other adventurist approaches despite the harsh conditions and environment, despite our own weaknesses and the mood of the masses, and despite the state of combat-readiness plotted by the enemy at that time, he agonizingly asked them: "Why, under such unfavorable conditions and circumstances, do you still want to continue to do something like that, at the risk of punitive attacks by the enemy?" (p 26) During this period, he wrote a series of articles criticizing such "leftist" wrongdoings and giving erring comrades patient education. Under his guidance, the party organizations in North China finally succeeded in eliminating the "leftist" ideological influence, thus clearing the way for consolidating the achievements of the "9 December" movement and for bringing the anti-Japanese movement for national salvation to a successful conclusion.

Don't Overlook Hidden Tendencies

Comrade Shaoqi could always keep close watch over a situation in which the interaction of different types of contradictions takes place. While opposing the principal erroneous tendency, he never overlooked another tendency lurking behind it, since he knew that the situation of the struggle and the social trends of thought are so complicated that in a given period of time, leftist and rightist tendencies may coexist and interact under certain conditions. When the anti-Japanese national united front was about to be formed, he went about the business of analyzing the class contradictions and national contradictions then under development so that he could work out a correct strategy for struggle. At that time, he was very much interested in the interaction of different types of contradictions. In November 1936, he explicitly pointed out: "Before the formation of the present national united front was officially announced, the leftist ideology objecting to this front poses the main danger to us. But after its formation, the rightist ideology will gradually grow in strength [and be] the main danger to us." (p 47) Facts proved Comrade Shaoqi's judgment correct. Before the anti-Japanese national united front was officially formed, Comrade Shaoqi severely criticized the "leftist" viewpoint, saying that some comrades "known for their 'absolutely uncompromising' and 'absolutely unyielding' attitude seemingly want to overthrow everything. But actually, they are capable of overthrowing nothing at all. In doing so, we may face the consequence of rejecting all allies who are likely to cooperate with us today, and push them into the embrace of the reactionary camps adding strength to the alliance and its overall power antagonistic to us." (pp 28, 29) After the outbreak of the "7 July" incident, thanks to the efforts and push by our party, anti-Japanese national united front work developed on a wide scale. From then on, some comrades shifted their position from the extreme "left" to the extreme right through the adoption of a capitulationist policy of accommodating the big landlords and capitalist classes and the Kuomintang. In a decision that he drafted for adoption by the North Bureau in November 1937, Comrade Shaoqi promptly pointed out: "We must step up our efforts to oppose the dangerous rightist tendency, because it wants to discontinue and tone down our struggle for exercise of leadership over the masses, because it wants to abandon our struggle to lead the masses in improving their economic life, for fear of irritating and frightening away our allies, and because it is relunctant to mobilize the masses on behalf of the Eighth Army and the party, thus casting a pall over the independent political image of our party." (p 95) From then on, Comrade Shaoqi began to struggle energetically against the rightist wrongdoers who worked under the united front. In

doing so, he did not overlook the leftist tendency. In this connection, he stated: "At the same time, we must struggle against leftist wrongdoers who have proposed slogans too lofty to fall within the context of the principles of the united front and who have adopted methods of work and struggle that irritate the allies to an unnecessary degree." (p 95)

In the course of combating erroneous tendencies within the party, Comrade Shaoqi also persisted in waging a struggle on two fronts in a correct way. Thus, he laid a foundation for the complete victory of the new democratic revolution in China. His works constitute an invaluable theoretical asset that he passed along to us. But during the socialist revolution and construction that have come about since the founding of the PRC, we have failed to make full use of this invaluable theoretical asset. We have also failed to pay attention to the struggle on two fronts, and [have failed] to survey and analyze comprehensively and dialectically problems that exist in our socialist society. While opposing erroneous tendencies, we have frequently overlooked or intended to cover up the "leftist" tendency. We even have got "leftist" trash mixed up with rightist rubbish in our struggle against them. In the end, the more we oppose them, the farther we move to the left, thus causing grave damage to our revolutionary cause. We must remember this profound lesson.

A conscientious study of Volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi" can make us further understand the need to struggle in a correct manner against erroneous tendencies. It can also help us sum up positive and negative experiences, avoid mistakes during this new historical period of socialist construction, and speed up the tempo of building a socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization in our country.

9574
CSO: 4005/679

IMPORTANCE OF SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION STRESSED

Taiyuan TAIYUAN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Feb 82 p 2

[Article by Han Chenghuang [7281 2110 3385] of the Propaganda Department of the [Shaanxi] Provincial Committee: "Marxism Has Always Placed Importance on the Building of Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] The party Central Committee is calling on the people of the entire country, along with building a high level of socialist material civilization, to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization as well. This is both a task of great importance being proposed at present, and a feature of Marxist ideology all along.

Since the history of the human race has departed from its primitive condition of savagery and ignorance and developed into civilized society, it has already passed through slave society, feudal society, capitalist society, and socialist society. Every society has its own material and spiritual civilization. As history advances, the level of civilization is also heightened, and socialist society, compared with other forms of society in the past, is the most advanced, the most reasonable, and the most superior, and with respect to its level of civilization is naturally far higher than all other forms of society in history. Marx and Engels clearly pointed out in the "Communist Manifesto" that after the proletariat seized political power and confiscated all the capital of the propertied classes, they would "do everything possible to increase the total productive capacity," that is, develop material civilization. At the same time, they "must carry out the most thorough break with traditional concepts," and establish the ideology of communism; that is, develop spiritual civilization. Lenin also emphatically pointed out that socialism would definitely create a "new and far higher productivity of labor," because "the productivity of labor is ultimately the major and most important thing that will guarantee the victory of the new social system." At the same time, we must also "educate the masses anew, organize and train the masses, spread knowledge, and engage in struggle against our heritage of ignorance, roughness, and lack of civilization." Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out as early as the period of the socialist revolution that we must not only establish a China that is politically democratic and economically prosperous, "but, moreover, we must take a China that is ignorant and backward due to having been ruled by the old culture, and change it into a China that is civilized and advanced because of being ruled by the new culture." After the entire country was liberated, Comrade

Mao Zedong solemnly announced: "The period of Chinese people being considered uncivilized by others has already passed; we shall appear in the world as a people possessing a high degree of culture."

One can see that the revolutionary leaders of the proletariat have all along placed importance on the building of both material and spiritual civilization.

Material civilization and spiritual civilization are mutually dependent, and each serves to advance the other. First of all, material civilization is the basis of spiritual civilization, and we cannot depart from material civilization in order to stress spiritual civilization, but we must definitely place the emphasis in the work of the entire party and the people of the whole country on economic construction. The more we advocate spiritual civilization, the more importance we must place on material production, and the more concerned we must be about the masses' material lives. It is precisely on this point that we draw a strict and clear line of demarcation between ourselves and the "leftists" of the past. On the contrary, spiritual civilization also has an immense countereffect on material civilization. This countereffect manifests itself chiefly in two areas: first, socialist spiritual civilization is an immense force, and can promote the continuous and stable development of socialist material civilization. The advancement of the building of material civilization is quite apparent; the immense promotional effect on material civilization of the socialist political ideology, ethics, and morals contained within spiritual civilization is also extremely obvious. If a person warmly loves his motherland and socialism, and has firmly established lofty communist ideals and the attitude of a worker, then he can conscientiously create even more wealth for the state, and can sacrifice all of his strength and wisdom for the building of the four modernizations. Second, socialist spiritual civilization is also an important guarantee of the socialist direction of the building of material civilization. Of course, the things that are foremost in deciding the socialist direction of the building of material civilization are the economic and political systems of socialism. At the same time, the political ideology, ethics, and morals of socialism and communism also have an effect that cannot be overlooked. It is very clear that if all the members of our society establish the ideology, morals, sentiments, and worker's attitude of communism in a way that is more and more widespread and more and more firm; establish a conscientious law-abiding spirit and a high level of organizational spirit and spirit of discipline; and establish a lofty spirit of collectivism, patriotism, internationalism, etc., then the socialist direction of the building of our material civilization will have a reliable guarantee.

9634
CSO: 4005/656

PARTY AND STATE

STUDY OF CORRECT THEORY TO RECTIFY PARTY PRACTICES CALLED URGENT TASK

Taiyuan TAIYUAN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Feb 82 p 2

[Article by the party committee of the Taiyuan Light Industry Bureau: "Step Up the Study of Theory; Make a Great Effort to Rectify Party Practices"]

[Text] The party Central Committee has brought up the idea that this year we must cause our party practices to have a decisive change for the better. This is an urgent and serious task that has been placed before the entire party, and is also the crux of building socialist spiritual civilization.

How are party practices to be rectified? Experience has clearly demonstrated that we must make a great effort to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and step up the building of party ideology and theory from the fundamentals.

In the early period after our state was first established, the comrades of the entire party conscientiously studied the history of the development of society, conscientiously mastered the basic concepts of historical materialism, remade their thinking, firmly established a revolutionary world view, developed and carried forward the glorious tradition of serving the people with their whole hearts and minds, and were enthusiastically supported by the broad masses. In the first 7 years after the founding of our state, a socialist remaking of agriculture, handicrafts, and capitalist industry and commerce was successfully carried out; industrial and agricultural production increased rapidly, and the general climate of society was renewed. This is all still fresh in the minds of a good many comrades. But thereafter, and in particular during the 10 years of upheaval, due to the fact that we were under the influence of an erroneous guiding ideology, and adopted a doctrinaire and metaphysical attitude towards Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, ideology and theory were thrown into confusion. We lost our ability to resist the encroachments of the propertied class, feudalism, and small-producer mentality, and serious improper practices grew and spread within the party. To this day, there is still a portion of party members, particularly some comrades in positions of leadership who, because they underestimate the importance of studying Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, are not able to use the standpoints, viewpoints, and methods of dialectical materialism and historical materialism to understand deeply, in the process of combining theory and practice, the correctness of a whole series of the party Central Committee's lines, principles, and policies. Hence, it is

also not possible for them to rouse their spirits, overcome their own interests in order to serve the common good, or strive to do a good job of the work they are responsible for.

Ever since the party's Third Plenum, in order to improve the party's leadership, further rectify party practices, heighten the party's combat effectiveness, and guarantee the implementation of the party's lines, principles and policies, we have carried out, in the entire system of party branch secretaries, a program of releasing people from work, in groups, to undergo rotational training; and universally carried out edcuation of party members by means of party lectures on the four basic principles, the "three things to be warmly loved," the "five things to be stressed," and the "four beautifuls;" and organized them to conscientiously study the "Standards," the draft of the revised constitution, and the "Resolutions Regarding Certain Historical Questions Since the Founding of Our State." On this basis, bureau party committees arranged for the disposition of the work of reorganizing enterprises and bureau organizations. Principal leading comrades of party committees separately immersed themselves in key enterprises, and helped leading bodies at the grassroots level to augment their organizational and ideological construction, enabling the broad mass of party members and cadres to further unify their thinking, rouse their spirits, and change their practices, thus advancing the reorganization of the enterprises.

The "Resolutions Regarding Certain Historical Questions Since the Founding of Our State" points out that a very important reason why in the past we were capable of making a series of mistakes is that we adopted erroneous attitudes and methods toward Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; and it is decidedly not that Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought themselves are not efficacious. In the new year, we resolve to guide the broad mass of party members and cadres in conscientiously studying Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and the party's lines, principles, and policies; correctly launch programs of criticism and self-criticism; commend good party members and cadres who are brave in struggling against improper practices; and step up disciplinary and examination work. We must deal severely with individuals whose mistakes are serious or who are incorrigible, and carry out solid, down-to-earth work in order to enable party practices to have a fundamental change for the better.

9634
CSO: 4005/656

IDEOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING SAID KEY TO SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 8 Feb 82 p 1

[Article: "Further Strengthen the Building of Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] In the past year, the building of spiritual civilization in our province, under the leadership of the provincial committee and all levels of the party committee, has achieved heartening results. The people's spirit has been further aroused; tangible progress has been made in social habits, public order, and public security; new morality and new habits have been promoted; and good individuals and good deeds continue to appear. We must sum up experiences and advance on the crest of victory in the new year so that the building of spiritual civilization in our province will be further enhanced and will sustain profound development.

An increase in our ideological understanding is a prerequisite for doing well in building our spiritual civilization. In the past year, knowledge concerning the building of spiritual civilization on the part of the broad masses of cadres and people in our province, particularly the leaders at all levels, has gradually increased. However, some cadres and people are still confused in their understanding. Every part of the province must organize the cadres and people to study and clarify. It is a long-term and major strategic task to understand that building a spiritual civilization is the basic guarantee for determining the direction of modern socialist construction. In implementing special policies and flexible measures, operating special economic zones, and being more open to foreigners in our province, it is especially important to do well in building a spiritual civilization.

We must be good at using and developing the experience created by practice. This is an important condition for safeguarding an in-depth, sustained growth in building spiritual civilization. In the past year, every place that has launched the building of spiritual civilization has searched out and created good experiences. In the new year we must even more self-consciously use and develop these experiences. This requires us to clarify the demands on the present building of spiritual civilization. In the cities we must continue to stress sanitation and hygiene and civilized manners as the breach and launch activities concerning the "five stresses and four points of beauty." We demand that all organs, enterprises, services, schools, and organizations take the lead in launching the "five stresses and four points of beauty,"

greening of the motherland, beautification of the environment, and other socialist public activities which should be sustained. At the same time, according to how things develop, we must continue to stress party workstyle, public order, and social customs so that they will decisively improve. In particular, we must stress the rectification of party workstyle and combine it closely with the struggle against erosive influences. Party workstyle is most important and is the key, and we must stress it vigorously and thoroughly. Among industrial mines, rural communes, and production teams, we must conduct education on the four basic principles and on socialism, patriotism, collectivism, and a concern for state, collective and individual interests. We must build a healthy and progressive cultural life and oppose feudal superstition, business deals in marriages, and other old practices. We must continue to mobilize and organize all propaganda forces and instruments, and we must intensify and sustain on a grand scale the propagating of the goals, meaning, and role of the building of spiritual civilization to create public opinion. We must emphatically propagate all kinds of good, moving examples while carrying out the necessary criticism and exposure of erroneous ideological tendencies and undesirable individuals and deeds in order to support the good and suppress the evil, encourage the people throughout the province to be singleminded, and arouse their spirit to engage in the four modernizations and build a socialist spiritual civilization. On the basis of extensively mobilizing the masses and increasing their understanding, we must adroitly guide action according to circumstances and formulate public agreements, popular agreements, rules, and administrative regulations that are feasible and practical and that concern general or specific aspects of spiritual civilization, so that they can be commonly adhered to and institutionalized. We must launch diversified forms of activities for different objects in building spiritual civilization. For example, young people can engage in shock worker activities, and women can engage in the "three-eight" Red-banner pacesetter activities. We can also launch activities to make proposals and selections through public appraisal which are of a mass character. What needs to be pointed out is that schools are the important front for building a spiritual civilization. We must further strengthen the ideological and political work of the schools; do well in the "five stresses and four points of beauty," in learning from Lei Feng, and in creating the "three good"; and emphasize the education of young people. We must advocate the wearing of uniforms by primary and middle school students. We must vigorously popularize the common speech [Putong hua], starting in kindergarten and primary school. Through such education and activities, we can enhance the building of spiritual civilization and proceed more intensely, sturdily, and effectively.

We must conscientiously strengthen and improve the party's leadership. This is the safeguard for doing well in building spiritual civilization. We should recognize that strong spiritual might derives from the party's ideological education. Leading members of the party committee at all levels should truly proceed at the forefront of the masses, self-consciously place the building of spiritual civilization on the party committee's daily important agenda, and get a firm handle on the building of material civilization and spiritual civilization. We must formulate long-term and short-term programs for building spiritual civilization and exert every effort for their

implementation. We must do well in investigation, study, inspection, and supervision. We must sum up experiences and commend the advanced. We must earnestly resolve various problems arising from the building of spiritual civilization. We should, for example, gradually establish a backbone contingent of the masses to build spiritual civilization in the countryside and industrial mines; gradually revive and perfect the reporter system so that leaders at all levels will regularly make news and policy reports to the cadres and the masses; do well in television broadcasting and cable broadcasting in the countryside; do well in building facilities for cultural and amusement activities for the masses (cultural palaces, cultural centers, and cultural rooms); and strengthen the management of imported cultural finished products. We must give full play to the important roles of worker, youth, women's, and other mass organizations as well as propaganda, educational, cultural, art and literature, and other departments. At the same time, when we stress mass activities for the building of spiritual civilization, we must vigorously stress the building of the party committee's own spiritual civilization, rectify the party workstyle, and guide popular customs. Leaders at all levels must self-consciously promote the party's fine workstyle and lead the broad masses of cadres and people in the resolute struggle against all kinds of unlawful activities, unhealthy trends, and evil practices, so that all levels of party committees will truly become strong command headquarters leading the masses in building material civilization and spiritual civilization. In any case, leaders at all levels must become leaders in building a socialist spiritual civilization and take the lead in implementing, reporting, and performing ideological and political work. We must make the outcome of the work of building a spiritual civilization a major part of the assessment of the spiritual condition and cultural level of all party organizations, as well as a major condition in the assessment of all levels of leading groups.

Comrade Hu Yaobang has pointed out: "A basic task on our ideological front is to make our party's correct line truly the unshakable will and belief of the broad masses of party members, cadres, and people, and truly the ideology, consciousness, and opinion of the millions upon millions of people themselves." To build a spiritual civilization, we must firmly bear this basic task in mind and emphasize the central link of ideological education. In this way, the party line will reach deep into the hearts of the people; the strong belief that our cause will triumph and that the four modernizations will become a reality will be generally established; and proletarian ideology, including political beliefs and moral concepts, will become the ruling ideology, social consciousness, social opinion, and social custom. To build a spiritual civilization, we must carry out [the task] with perseverance beginning right now, in every concrete activity and by every individual.

9586
CSO: 4005/642

BUILDING OF GOOD CHARACTER, MORALS STRESSED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 8 Feb 82 p 4

[Article by Jiang Yongliu [3068 3057 3177]: "On the 'Character and Morals of the Lotus'"]

[Text] Of all the flowers, I have a special adoration for the lotus. Whenever I have some free time in the height of summer, I go by lotus root ponds in the near suburbs or banks of lotus ponds in the park to enjoy the sight of lotus with great pleasure. Strange to say, the mere enjoyment of the sight of the lotus in bloom naturally causes me to think about the popular lines of the Northern Song philosopher Zhou Dunyi that praise the lotus. He wrote in his prose work "On the fondness for lotus": "I am fond of lotus only because they grow out of the mud untainted and do not look frivolous as they are washed in the clear and bright moving water. They are through on the inside and straight on the outside; they do not cling to anything for support and have no side branches; their fragrance travels far and their clearness is enhanced; they are graceful, untainted, and upright...." Lotus grow out of the mud but are not tainted in any way. For a long time, at the mere mention of lotus, people have not been able to help blurting out the famous line "growing out of the mud untainted."

Actually, praise of lotus for "growing out of the mud untainted" in "On the fondness for lotus" is a personification. The author at that time used lotus to make self-comparisons and hints to those mundane people who pursued riches and honor, benefits and salary. Precisely because of this, the author's famous words in praise of lotus have for centuries been the common phrase to describe those who have exceptionally good character and morals and who are not assimilated by a negative environment.

In a recent speech to some of the leading cadres in our province, a leading comrade of the disciplinary committee of the Party Central Committee mentioned his hope that party members and cadres in Guangdong would maintain and carry forward two noble qualities and [points of] character in building a socialist spiritual civilization: be like the pine tree, which cannot be blown down by the most severe typhoon; be like the lotus, which grows out of the mud but is untainted. These ardent expectations are very touching.

I believe today's hope that our party members and cadres will maintain such noble character and morals of the lotus and will "grow out of the mud but be untainted" will not be misunderstood. But ours is a land liberated for 30-odd years and with a bright environment; how can it be touched by mud? Raising such a subject is nothing more than saying that we still have a "polluted environment." With the rapid growth of foreign economic activities, a capitalist mentality and temperament has unavoidably been introduced to some extent in Guangdong in particular, so that the environment has been "polluted" in certain ways. Therefore, the advocation of the "character and morals of the lotus" has a very practical aim.

What we can be proud of is that in the "polluted" environment, an absolute majority of our comrades refuse to be contaminated by evil influences. They are unmoved and unobsessed in the face of grotesque and gaudy material temptations as well as the bribery and erosion of undesirable elements, maintaining their constant and upright moral integrity. On 27 January, NANFANG RIBAO reported on Peng Shi [1756 6524], deputy chief of the public security bureau in Lufeng County, who has been in charge of examining and approving entry and departure [requests] since August of the year before last, and has handled his work impartially and refused to accept gifts on 14 instances. Whether they were gifts expressing gratitude or big monetary gifts, they were graciously declined or harshly rejected. Is Comrade Peng Shi's healthy and untainted moral integrity not a precise indication of the "character and morals of the lotus"!

Nevertheless, some people cannot withstand "pollution." They are tempted in the face of the invading capitalist "candied bomb": the smuggling and sale of smuggled goods, corruption and taking of bribes, or the use of public office for private gain. From "a few opportunities," some pursue Renminbi, and when not content with the pursuit of Renminbi they pursue "overseas remittances." To satisfy their personal desires they ignore national and personal integrity, act obsequiously in front of foreigners, and ruin national prestige. What is terrible is that among those who engage in this kind of business, there are "small cadres" as well as those who participate with the blessings of "big cadres." Of course, to talk about "character and morals of the lotus" with these people is mere sarcasm, for they themselves are the "mud" and are among the things to be removed. Despite the fact that these people are an absolute minority, their unfavorable influence should not be underestimated. For this reason alone, to demand that the broad masses of party members and cadres maintain the "character and morals of the lotus" is truly profound in significance.

9586
CSO: 4005/642

PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF BUILDING UNITED FRONT STRESSED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO 4 Mar 82 p 1

[Article: "A Unified Front Is Still Our Party's Great Magic Weapon"]

[Text] For a very long historical period hereafter, a united front shall continue to be a great magic weapon of our party, and continue to have immense vitality. Without the broad masses of comrades outside the party working in full cooperation with us, and fighting shoulder to shoulder with us, it would not be possible for us to complete the Three Great Tasks. At present the major erroneous tendency affecting the work of bringing about a united front is not rightism, but "leftism." Hereafter, the task of building a united front will not be lessened, but will be made more difficult. This was the common understanding of the comrades attending our city's working conference on building a united front.

The Shanghai Municipal Committee's working conference on the united front was held from February 24 to March 2. The conference transmitted and enthusiastically discussed the spirit of the recently held national working conference on maintaining a united front, as well as the content of the speeches made there by Hu Yaobang and other leading comrades of the Central Committee, for which everyone displayed resolute support and a will to implement them conscientiously. The conference was attended by leading comrades of the municipal committee Chen Guodong [7115 0948 2767], Hu Lijiao [7579 4539 2403], Wang Daohan [3976 6670 3211], Zhong Min [6988 3046], Zhao Xingzhi [6392 5887 1807], Fu Zhengnong [5958 1767 6593], Chen Yi [7115 3085], and Yang Shifa [2799 1102 3127], and Comrade Chen Guodong made an important speech. Zhang Chengzong [1728 2110 1350], chief of the united front section of the municipal committee, made a statement at the meeting on the subject of the 1982 task for Shanghai Municipality in the work of bringing about a united front. The conference was attended by more than 1000 people including those in charge of the municipal committee; all departments, committees, and offices of the municipal government; the various areas, counties, and bureaus; and the party committees of specialized schools of higher education and research departments; as well as leading cadres of all levels of the united front section.

In his speech, Comrade Chen Guodong said that the speeches of leading comrades of the Central Committee that were transmitted at this conference provided a theoretical elucidation of the fundamental problems of building a united front

in the new historic period, and clearly pointed out the main tasks for future united front work. After the Third Plenum of the party's 11th Central Committee, a patriotic united front was gradually restored, and developed vigorously. However, the important significance of united front work in the new historic period has still not aroused the universal serious attention of comrades on all fronts. There are some comrades who still have quite a vague understanding of united front work, and this phenomenon can be concentrated into one point--that "leftist" influence has not yet been completely eliminated, and their misgivings [which arise from that influence] have not been dispelled. This is all connected with the fact that we have not propagandized enough regarding the strategy and policy decisions relating to the party's united front work, and have not studied the problems enough. It is also apparent that we still must continuously study the party's lines, guiding principles, and policies since the Third Plenum, deepen our theoretical understanding of them, become more deeply involved in eliminating the erroneous influence of "leftism" from every aspect of life and, at the same time, be aware of tendencies that deviate from the Four Basic Principles. Thus, we will be able to maintain true political unanimity with the party Central Committee.

Comrade Chen Guodong said that in Shanghai there is a comparatively large concentration of personages outside the party who are patriotic, support the party, and support socialism. Many of them have considerable knowledge, are experts in their fields, and some of them have inventive and creative ability, and have brought a positive effect into play in each and every area. They are an important force that cannot be overlooked for the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization. If only we do a good job of our work, then it will have a very great effect on mobilizing all positive elements and promoting the building of the four modernizations and the return of Taiwan to the motherland. Doing a good job of united front work is absolutely not merely a measure of expediency, but is a great strategy and policy decision. As long as classes have not been totally eliminated, and the Communist Party still exists, then we must persevere in cooperating with personages outside the party, and maintain a united front. Engaging in united front work is not only the affair of the united front branch, but all party members of all levels of party committee, especially the principal comrades in charge of the party committees and governments, must place great importance on, and do a good job of, united front work.

Comrade Chen Guodong mentioned the problem of doing a good job of our work among intellectuals. He said that intellectuals are an important, indispensable force for our building of socialist material and spiritual civilization. The revolution needs intellectuals, and the building of the four modernizations especially needs a large number of intellectuals. The object of our united front work, for the most part, consists of intellectuals, and Shanghai is a place where there is a comparatively large concentration of intellectuals. For this reason, doing a good job of our work among intellectuals is especially important. However, to this day there is still a portion of comrades who have an insufficient understanding of the position and effect of intellectuals in the new historic period, and there is even still a certain amount of prejudice. We must be aware of the ardent patriotism of the broad mass of intellectuals, their warm love of the party and of socialism, their positive work, and their

willingness to make an effort towards the building of the four modernizations; these qualities characterize the mainstream of intellectuals. At present, we must strengthen our ideological leadership, continue to implement the party's policies on intellectuals, do a good job of solving the problems we have inherited from the past, fully mobilize the enthusiasm of the broad mass of intellectuals, bring their intelligence, ability, and wisdom into full play, and struggle a vigorously to be comparatively effective in all this within a short period of time.

The comrades attending the conference, in summing up their work, felt that over the past 5 years, and particularly since the Third Plenum of the party's Central Committee, the united front work of Shanghai Municipality, under the leadership of the municipal committee, had conscientiously implemented the Central Committee's lines, guiding principles, and policies, and had accomplished a great deal, so that there had actually been improvement in certain areas. The mood of personages outside the party has calmed, the party's political unity with personages in all walks of life has been strengthened, and our unified front presents a most vigorous aspect.

The conference brought up four suggestions for opening up a newer prospect for united front work in the new year: 1. Launch, on an extensive scale, a program of re-education on the theory, guiding principles, and policies relating to the united front, to heighten the understanding of the broad mass of party members of the importance of a united front in the new period. 2. Continue to take firm charge of the implementation of all policies relating to the united front. If these policies are not implemented, then the idea of stepping up our united front work will become mere empty words. In the wake of the 3 years following the bringing of order out of chaos, a very great deal has been accomplished in the work of implementing our various united front policies. However, a good many problems still remain to be solved, there is still a great deal of work to be done, and we must pay careful attention to enabling these remaining problems to obtain a satisfactory, fair, and reasonable solution. 3. Bring the effect of the Political Consultative Conference, the various democratic party factions, and relevant people's organizations into full play; do a good job of the work of arranging for the utilization of personages outside the party, do a good job of cooperating and working together with them, mobilize their enthusiasm, and continue to organize them and motivate them to serve the building of socialist modernization and the great enterprise of national unity. 4. Step up self-construction by the united front branch. The vast contribution made by Comrade Zhou Enlai throughout his life towards building a united front for the Chinese Revolution, and the glorious image and spiritual force he left behind him, will always be with us. We must definitely study the good thinking, good practices, and good style of Comrade Zhou Enlai; improve our practices in united front work; actively make friends with personages outside the party; and make a great effort to establish a relationship of true devotion, of sharing the bitter and the better, with friends outside the party.

9634
CSO: 4005/680

PARTY AND STATE

LARGE NUMBER OF EDUCATED YOUTHS RETURN TO XINJIANG

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 14 Mar 82 p 1

[Article: "Shanghai Sends Over 10,000 Youths Back to Xinjiang"]

[Text] Since last year, Shanghai Municipality has sent more than 10,000 "support the frontier region" youths back to Xinjiang farms where they will serve as farmers and defenders of that frontier region.

During the early 1960's, in response to the Party Central Committee's call to support and develop our frontier regions, nearly 100,000 educated youths in Shanghai volunteered to go to Xinjiang to take part in the work of the PLA Production and Construction Corps. They have spent more than 10 years in that sparsely populated Gobi Desert area working hard to reclaim the wasteland and raise grain and cotton crops as a contribution to the consolidation and development of that frontier region. This effort has been warmly praised and highly valued by the people of all nationalities in Xinjiang. But by the end of 1980, a "back to the city" wind triggered by a few people in some localities of Xinjiang drove many thoughtless youths back to Shanghai with the illusion that they could restore their residential status and find jobs in Shanghai.

Early last year, the State Council proposed that feasible but resolute measures be adopted to resettle in Xinjiang the majority of those support-the-frontier youths who had returned to Shanghai. Meanwhile, realistic steps were to be taken to transfer a specific number of specifically qualified youths back to Shanghai. This has been hailed as realistic and reasonable by the overwhelming majority of support-the-frontier youths, who are willing to continue to carry forward the traditional revolutionary spirit which "inspires good sons and daughters to pursue careers far from their homes," and to follow the government-sponsored arrangements. Since then, many have packed for the trip back to Xinjiang. Visitors who returned for family reunions have also left for their posts in Xinjiang as originally scheduled. During their stay in Shanghai, cadres on the staff of relevant departments and residential commissions in the neighborhoods who are concerned with their well-being have organized the young visitors to study the party's principles and policies and have, through patient and meticulous implementation of ideolcgical and political work, persuaded them to return to their posts as soon as possible. In addition, they have voluntarily helped some of the support-the-frontier youths to solve specific difficulties caused by their prolonged stay in Shanghai.

After their return to Xinjiang, these support-the-frontier youths have been accorded a warm welcome by the government at all levels in Xinjiang, the leadership of the farms under the PLA Production and Construction Corps, and the masses of workers. In their letters to cadres and their relatives in Shanghai, in which they report on their life in Xinjiang and on what they have done since their resettlement there, many of them have reassured their beloved ones and the cadres in Shanghai that they will turn out to be all right; in addition, they have pledged to redouble their efforts to make up for losses caused by their thoughtless trip back to Shanghai. Returning these support-the-frontier youths to Xinjiang from Shanghai is bound to have a beneficial effect on economic readjustment and political stability in both areas.

For many different reasons, some support-the-frontier youths failed to return to Xinjiang last year as scheduled. While in Shanghai they have noted many problems [there], ranging from overpopulated residential areas and housing shortages to traffic congestion. This is why they have called the decision of the Party Central Committee and the State Council to resettle the overwhelming majority of support-the-frontier youths in Xinjiang a correct policy. The spreading of the news that a large number of support-the-frontier youths have again settled in Xinjiang after their return has led those who remain in Shanghai to become more determined than ever to pack up for the trip back to Xinjiang. Today they have completed their mental and material preparations for such trips. As soon as the weather becomes warmer, they will be eager to return to the Xinjiang farms where they had lived for years. It has been learned that in March, more than 300 support-the-frontier youths are ready to return to Xinjiang; more are expected to leave for Xinjiang in April and May.

9574
CSO: 4005/677

PARTY AND STATE

HARBIN GOVERNMENT WORK REPORT

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO 16 Mar 82 p 1-4

[Report by Wang Huacheng [3769 0553 2052]: "Government Work Report to the Third Session of the Seventh Harbin Municipal People's Congress, 5 Mar 1981"--excerpts from a three-page article]

[Excerpts] 4. Relying on the Masses, Strengthen City Management....

At present, the problems of city management are very numerous. In particular, the city plan does not provide full guidance for construction, so that private and excessive construction is serious; the urban population is not strictly controlled, the machinery [of government] has grown too large, the natural increase in population is rising again; great amounts of land and water resources are wasted; damage to the city government's public facilities and pollution of the environment are severe....

5. Energetically Implement Socialist Spiritual Civilization....

Further improve social order; combat criminal economic activity.... Resolutely combat criminal economic activity in economic regions. This is a serious struggle against ideological corruption by the bourgeoisie, a serious struggle to eliminate the poisonous heritage of the old society and the ten years of internal chaos. It is integral to the existence and prosperity of our party and country. It is the key to shaping up the party's style, social attitudes, and social order....

Rectify Government Organs in a Down-to-Earth Way

The provincial party committee and the provincial government have decided to make this year the year of rectification. The municipal government is the city's leading organ and must take the lead in rectification, as a model for the whole city....

Continue eliminating the "leftist" tendency; remove rightist interference, rectify thought....

Establish and perfect the unit responsibility system, strengthen leading groups, rectify organizations. Overcoming bureaucratism and raising work efficiency is

a key to the reform of government work. The various departments of government must all fully carry out their functions and take the initiative to fulfill their duties creatively. Each cadre must take charge of his own affairs in accordance with the unit responsibility system, fulfill his responsibilities, and do his job well.... The structure of the leading groups at each level should be strengthened and gradually made more revolutionary, younger, more intellectual, and more specialized.

CSO: 4005/764

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

EFFECTS OF WEATHER CONDITIONS ON MISSILES DESCRIBED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 3, 1982 pp 40-41

[Article by Chen Lanqing (7115 1526 1987): "The Weather and Guided Missiles"]

[Text] The success or failure of military operations is greatly affected by such weather conditions as wind, rain, snow and sand storms and bitter winter cold and intense summer heat. According to legend, during the period of the Three Kingdoms, the allied forces of Sun Quan and Liu Bei, with the aid of the southeast wind, destroyed Cao Cao's warships by fire, and Zhuge Liang made use of dense fog to "fool the enemy with straw boats to capture his arrows." These are battle examples in which weather conditions were utilized to defeat the enemy by a surprise move. In June 1812, some 600,000 troops under the command of Napoleon attacked Russia with tremendous success in the early stage of battle. Later on, because the French troops unexpectedly encountered Russia's continental climate of intense summer heat and severe winter cold, their combat strength was greatly reduced. About December, they were forced to flee in panic. At all times and in all countries, it is not hard to find examples in history in which weather conditions had an impact on victory or defeat in battle. With the advent of modern weapons and equipment and three-dimensional warfare, the effect of weather conditions on military training and military operations will become greater and greater.

In comparison with units of other service arms, guided missile units are more susceptible to the effects of weather conditions. In ground support operations, a missile that has been erected must be able to withstand the wind force for it to remain in an upright position. A pointed and conical shape missile nose is a good discharge object, and launchers, missiles and ground support electronic equipment standing upright can easily be hit by lightning.

During fueling operations, lightning can touch off a fire and an explosion. Lightning can also strike a missile in the air. Moreover, torrential rain and dense fog can affect a missile's accuracy, and high humidity can lower the insulation resistance of a missile fuselage and ground support equipment and cause them to have electricity leakage and become short circuited and electrically charged. Water penetrating a missile fuselage can damage the instrumentation stored inside.

In summary, we can see that weather conditions have an important effect on such things as the accuracy, launching, flight, tracking and guidance, storage and transport of missiles. Therefore, establishing meterological fenduis within guided missile units to take up the work of making weather observations from the ground and aerial survey and atmospheric forecast is necessary to provide support to missile units in training and in combat.

Photo captions [photos not reproduced]

1. A guided missile unit's weather station.

2. Rainfall gauging radar monitors changes in weather conditions around the launch site.

3. Weather balloons can provide such data as temperature, hunidity, [Barometric] pressure and wind force.

4. Workers receive meterological data sent back from the atmosphere.

5. On duty forecasters analyze weather information to make a weather forecast.

6. A guided missile being launched under favorable weather condition.

CSO: 4005/765

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

TRANSPORT UNIT CROSSES SNOWBOUND MOUNTAINS TO, FROM XIZANG

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Feb 82 p 1

[Article by Zhao Guangwen [6392 0342 2429] and Bai Meiyuan [4101 5019 0337]: "Logistics Department of Chengdu Units Commends Its Transport Brigade for Successfully Transporting Materials to Xizang Despite Snowstorm"]

[Text] On 31 January the logistics department of the Chengdu units commended some 2,300 commanders and fighters of its transport brigade for successfully transporting materials to Xizang and bringing back transferred cadres despite a snowstorm. These commanders and fighters, fearless of hardships, hunger and severe cold, battled against a snowstorm for 8 nights and days, and both personnel and vehicles safely passed through snowbound mountain areas and snowslide sectors. They successfully fulfilled their glorious tasks.

At the end of last year, these commanders and fighters of the transport brigade took up the task of shipping Spring Festival goods to Xizang and bringing back Xizang cadres transferred to other tasks. On their westbound drive and eastbound return, they ran up against an extraordinarily heavy snowstorm such as has seldom been seen in Xizang in the past three decades. A 73-km sector from Baiman to Ranwu and Zhongba on the Sichuan-Xizang highway was covered with snow 1 meter deep, and severe snowslides in many sectors of the Ranwu, Mila, and Demula mountains 4,000 meters above sea level blocked the highway and stopped traffic. More than 1,190 motor vehicles were blocked in this sector. The units were confronted with serious difficulties--scarcity of oxygen in the high mountains, severe cold, lack of food, and water supply cut off. In order to clear the accumulated snow and open the highway as quickly as possible, the deputy leader of the working team, Cheng Weirong [7115 4850 2837], and deputy commander Zhou Jigao [6650 4764 0707] of a certain motor battalion immediately contacted the local units concerned. The Zhanu road maintenance section sent two bulldozers, which worked for 5 days to shovel the snow and open the way. Commander Chen Xifu [7115 6932 4395] of a certain motor battalion at the head of unit cadres and fighters worked feverishly to dig snow in the blocked sectors, braving severe cold 30° C below zero, and directed the vehicles to pass through the danger sectors one by one. The second motocade company of a certain motor battalion was stopped by snowslide on the Ranwu mountain, and two vehicles were buried by snow. All comrades of the company dug snow and saved their vehicles, despite the fact that they had no food or drink round the clock. Not having tools, they dug

the snow with their bare hands until they had salvaged their vehicles from the snow bank. As night fell the wind howled, flying snow blew in their faces, and the temperature dropped 40° C below zero. Some fighters offered their bed rolls to the local drivers and passed the night in the vehicle or driver's cabs. Every half hour they started the engines to prevent them from freezing. The third company of a certain motor battalion was blocked up on the Mila mountain with a motorcade of five vehicles following. Wielding a spade, political commissar Yin Haiyang [1438 3189 3152], together with all the fighters of his company, dug snow to open the way, moving forward a sector as soon as it was cleared of snow. They nibbled on biscuits when hungry and swallowed a handful of snow when thirsty. The company had only 10 jin of biscuits, and the cadres offered their share to the fighters, and the old fighters offered theirs to the new fighters, none taking one piece more. They fought hard for 2 days and a night. They advanced scores of vehicles over the mountain top one by one, opening the way for the oncoming motorcade. The 9th company of a certain motor battalion arrived at the Ranwu station on the afternoon of 22 December; they could have taken a rest there overnight before passing through the danger sector at the Wugou Tiger Mouth the next day. But if they had done so the oncoming motorcade could have been blocked once again. Disregarding hunger and fatigue they took risks and passed the Wugou Tiger Mouth the same night. Here the road was narrow, with hanging cliffs on one side and deep valleys on the other, and the vehicles had to be driven along the road skillfully. Comrades like Communist Party member Sun Dawen [1327 1129 2429] took off their fur overcoats, placed them under the wheels, and pushed the vehicles forward. Disregarding obstacles they pushed scores of vehicles through the Tiger Mouth, thus insuring a smooth transit. After fighting hard for 8 days and nights from 10 through 18 December, they finally beat the violent snowstorm and all the vehicles safely arrived without accident.

9780
CSO: 4005/674

BRIEFS

WUHAN PLA UNITS' CIRCULAR--The headquarters of the Wuhan PLA units issued a circular to commend 21 advanced units and 73 advanced individuals who emerged in the activities of building socialist spiritual civilization. The circular calls on all commanders and fighters of their subordinate units to strive to become progressives and models in the activities of building socialist spiritual civilization. The circular was issued at this morning's closing ceremony of the symposium on spiritual civilization which was held at the headquarters of the Wuhan PLA units. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Mar 82 HK]

HENAN MILITIA EDUCATION FORUM--From 11 to 13 March, the propaganda department of the Henan Provincial CCP Committee and the political department of the Henan Provincial Military District jointly held a forum on militia political education. The forum laid stress on studying the issues of conducting militia political education in the new situation by people's armed forces departments under the unified leadership of local CCP Committees and in coordination with local propaganda and cultural departments, trade unions, CYL organizations and women's federations. Attending were responsible comrades of all prefectural and municipal CCP Committees, the CCP Committee's Propaganda Department and the people's armed forces department of the Zhengzhou Railway Bureau, the political departments of all military subdistricts and garrisons, the provincial federation of trade unions, the provincial CYL Committee and the Provincial Women's Federation and relevant comrades of the Provincial Culture Bureau and all press units. [Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 15 Mar 82 HK]

LHASA PLA STUDY MEETING--The Xizang Military District convened a meeting of Lhasa PLA units in commemoration of the 19th anniversary of Chairman Mao's call for learning from Comrade Lei Feng on the afternoon of 5 March. Present at the meeting were Qie Jinwu, commander of the Xizand Military District; Sun Yushan, political commisar; other leading comrades of the military district and the officers and fighters of the Lhasa PLA units, all together over 1,200 people. (Da Mayuan), deputy political commissar of the military district delivered a speech at the meeting, expounding the great significance of the drive of "learning from Lei Feng" and that of the all-people civility and courtesy month, and elaborating on the steps and requirements to start off the drive. [HK090921 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 8 Mar 82]

ARMY CADRES SENT TO WORK--At a work meeting of the military commission, Chief of General Staff Yang Dezhi once again stressed the importance of the instructions issued by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the military commission. To reduce the burden on urban areas and localities, cadres of the PLA units stationed in big cities who are to be transferred to civilian work should generally be transferred to civilian work in other areas than the cities. [Text] [OW032114 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 2 Apr 82]

CHEMICAL WEAPONS WORK EXPLOSION--It has been learned that the big explosion in the Fuding County Pharmaceutical Plant in Fujian Province was caused by an experiment of a formula related with the manufacture of chemical weapons. According to a report, over 100 people were killed, while 215 people were injured. The total property damages were estimated to be tens of millions of yuan. [Text] [OW101126 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 9 Apr 82]

RETIREES COMMIT SUICIDE--From 3 January to 31 March, 4,200 personnel were retired from the Shenyang PLA units, including more than 500 veteran combat heroes and model armymen. In the course of their retirement, 11 of them commited suicide--2 division-level cadres, 4 regimental-level cadres and 5 battalion- or company-level cadres. [Text] [OW032120 (Clandestine) By Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 2 Apr 82]

CSO: 4005/750

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

MAO'S TEACHINGS ON LITERARY IDEOLOGY SAID STILL VALID

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Ren Fuxian [0117 1318 0341]: "We Must Conscientiously Study and Research Mao Zedong's System of Literary Ideology"]

[Text] The resolutions of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party made scientific and precise criticism of Mao Zedong Thought in order to give us a guiding ideology and establish models for our study and research into Comrade Mao Zedong's literary ideology. Our proletarian literature is fundamentally distinguished from the literature of other times and classes by its distinctly party character and correct guiding ideology, the latter being Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. More particularly, the guiding ideology is Marxist literary ideals and Comrade Mao Zedong's literary ideology. Comrade Mao Zedong's system of literary thought is an important ideological weapon for us when we are engaged in creating literature or in literary criticism, it being the guarantee that our revolutionary literary work is advancing in the correct direction.

But in the face of the tide of capitalist liberalization that has appeared on the literary battlefront, Comrade Mao Zedong's system of literary thought has become the target for some people's disparagement and attacks. What they say is: "Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, along with Comrade Mao Zedong, together did not establish an ideological system that included a completely correct theory of literature." They say that Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Art and Literature," in which he said that "the most important thing is to study the external rules of literature," "does not directly or correctly discuss the fundamental rules of literature." Some people then speak frankly and without reservation, saying that the greatest area of danger in art is this "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Art and Literature." These problems are not run-of-the-mill problems but rather are problems of fundamental principle, relating to whether those of us on the battlefront of literature and art are going to be able to uphold the four basic principles, and whether or not our socialist literature will be able to maintain the party's line, principles, and policies. We cannot be indifferent to this and do nothing.

Within Marxism, the ideological system of Mao Zedong is its world view and methodological theory. Marxist literary theory and Mao Zedong's system of literary ideology form one section within it. Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism are not only for the other sciences but are also fundamental to the Marxist science of literature. Comrade Mao Zedong from the beginning paid close attention to the special rules of art and literature, and because of this, his system of literary ideology is at the same time a part of the total system of Mao Zedong Thought and has its own special meaning. So to speak from this point of view, Marxist literary theory and the literary thought of Comrade Mao Zedong form a completely correct scientific system. Mao Zedong's basic point of view in the "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Art and Literature" is correct. If literature is a fundamental attribute of the superstructure, then the fundamental relationship between literature and the economy, the individual relationships between literature and the other elements of the superstructure, the place and utility of literature in the total task of the revolution, and the relationship between literature and life are all fundamentally those that are found in the Marxist view of literature. Even today, this still has an intensely practical significance. How can it be said that it is not a completely correct system? How can one claim to elucidate only literature's "external laws" and not explain literature's "internal laws?" What are its necessary "internal laws?" Comrade Mao Zedong's literary thought is, moreover, not limited to the "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Art and Literature." In "On New Democracy," in "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," in "Speech at the Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work," and in other works, there are incisive discussions of literary problems. It can be seen from these that Comrade Mao Zedong's thoughts on literature were very rich.

To speak of the "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Art and Literature" as being "the greatest danger zone in art and literature" and as "destroying creative work in art and literature" shows surprising ignorance of history and is irresponsible talk. After the "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Art and Literature" was published, a number of good writers appeared in the revolutionary base area and created new monuments in the history of proletarian literature. Several famous writers of our province [Shandong], also working largely within the guidance of the "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Art and Literature," brought forth artistic weapons that sang the praises of the struggle of the party and the people and exposed and attacked the enemy, creating many excellent works. These well-known facts forcefully prove that the "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Art and Literature" opened up a vast road and most certainly have not obstructed literary work. In the past, the "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Art and Literature" nourished a number of excellent artistic works that promoted an artistic flowering. Now and in the future, it will certainly also nourish many more talented artists and even more powerfully promote the development of socialist artistic affairs.
If we were to depart from Comrade Mao Zedong's literary thought and instead seek creativity in some theory of human nature, or seek creative force by "putting art above all else," or take art to be "an expression of self" expressing a sort of "sexual love," it would mean going down the road to depravity. This is emphatically not a resort to sensationalism. As past

artistic history has shown, present and future artistic development will continue to prove these truths.

In the past, our study of and research into Comrade Mao Zedong's system of literary thought produced results. But we ought to see that the serious disruptions caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" impeded our delving deeply into Mao Zedong's literary thought and even more from any systematic study and research. Because of that, on the literary battlefront we must strengthen study and research into Comrade Mao Zedong's system of literary thought. This is the fundamental national policy for reconstruction by those in literary ranks, and it is also a task of the greatest urgency. Only when we have proceeded earnestly and have united the realistic study and research into Marxist literary ideals and Comrade Mao Zedong's system of thought on literature will we be able steadfastly to occupy a proletarian position, to insist that art and literature serve the people and socialism, and to achieve results in creative literary work and criticism, thereby promoting a flourishing of socialist literature and making it more effectively serve socialist revolution and reconstruction.

9504
CSO: 4005/581

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

STRENGTHENED LEADERSHIP OVER SPARETIME CREATIVE WORKERS URGED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Gao Yanxue [7559 7692 7185] and Zhao Anting [6392 1344 0080]: "Strengthen Leadership Over Amateur Creative Work"]

[Text] Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and more especially since the Third National People's Congress, each level of leadership has thoroughly carried out the party's correct guidance and policy, activating amateur literary work. The broad masses of amateur writers with their intellectual liberation, diligence, hard work, and brave explorations have made the letters sections of the newspapers flourish brilliantly, with the result that they occupy a very important position in socialist literature.

But there are also some amateur writers who have been influenced by the current rage for capitalist freedom and who in their thinking have produced some confused and even erroneous conclusions. For instance, some have inappropriately shown a so-called gloomy face, while others have put together some strange stories and plots vulgarly describing many twists, changes, loves, and the like. And yet some leaders, fearing that they will commit the error of being "presumptive and intrusive cadres," do not dare in either word or action fearlessly to criticize these works that oppose the four basic principles, and do not dare to develop a Marxist-Leninist literary criticism movement. This has gotten to the point that cadres seldom make contact with these amateur authors, allowing them to commit ideological errors and to develop a tendency toward erroneous works; therefore, the cadres are unable to rectify these errors in a timely fashion.

Strengthening the leadership over amateur writers is not just a matter for the literary leadership but is also a matter for the leadership of the party and the government units to which the amateur writers belong. The party and government leaders of these units ought to give serious attention to making this an important component of their ideological and political work, closely coordinating with the literary sections and cooperating with them to carry out this work.

In strengthening leadership over amateur creative work, the authors' political concerns are most important. We must organize writers to study

Marxist-Leninist ideals and the literary thought of Mao Zedong and earnestly and foremost to study especially deeply the resolutions of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, so that they will establish a correct creative ideology. We want authors as much as possible to provide reading that will facilitate the needed high-quality literature, by allowing them, at the right time, to understand the party's course of action and the government's policies. Politically it is necessary for them to be progressive, and those who are qualified to be party members and organization members must be recruited into the party and other organizations. We must select many types of styles and, according to plan, cultivate and instruct them so that in an orderly fashion we will raise the authors' literary background and artistic level. For instance, we will sponsor various kinds of model classes, readers' clubs, and writers' clinics, and invite authors or comrades with a certain level of creative work to discuss their experiences. We will also organize writers to visit senior units to carry out investigations and inquiries seeking out labor models with ample productive experience to give talks that will expand the writers' horizons, enrich their lives, and prompt their diligent portrayal of the new life under the four modernizations and new leaders so they can make valuable contributions to socialist spiritual civilization.

In guiding amateur creative work, it is necessary to respect the authors' labors and respect the authors' work. We must show concern for the amateur authors' lives, helping them to resolve various concrete difficulties. Especially for those authors who are in isolated peasant villages, we must help them resolve the problem of "reading decadent [works]." In general, we must create some beneficial spiritual and material conditions, enabling them to devote even more time and stamina to creating works of high quality and socialist spirit.

Amateur creative work is one important facet of literary affairs that cannot be taken lightly. Activism and wisdom are stored up within the ranks of amateur authors. It is only necessary for the literary departments and authors under their leadership to dare to lead and to be skilled in leading, for then the amateur workers will be able to follow the tenets of socialist literature and produce even more abundantly and brilliantly, providing the people with ever more abundant and varied food for the spirit.

9504
CSO: 4005/581

YOUNG WRITER LIU ZHENGTAI'S WORKS PRAISED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 29 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Fang Xie [2455 2438] and Zhang Ning [7022 1337]: "Integrating History and Literature--On the Young Writer Liu Zhengtai and His Works"]

[Text] Sitting in front of us are two medium-length novels newly published by the Youth and Children's Publishing House and by the People's Publishing House of Sichuan: "Beifei Yan" ["North-Flying Geese"] and "Yingwang Chen Yucheng" ["Chen Yucheng, Prince of Ying"]. Their author is Liu Zhengtai [0491 1767 3141], who began studying history at Fudan University in 1977.

Liu Zhengtai's name is familiar to young readers. Several years ago his screenplay "Chen Yucheng" produced a considerable reaction among readers. That skillfully done movie showed artistry and abundant historical knowledge melded together in such a way that people could not conceive of its having come from the pen of a youth scarcely 24 years old. On the basis of his excellent test scores, Liu Zhengtai entered the history department of Fudan University in 1977. When several of his classmates who were familiar with his literary accomplishments learned that the department of history was his first choice, they quickly understood that his goal was clear: To write historical fiction.

The start of Liu Zhengtai's creative career can be traced back to 1956. At that time, he was just in his second year of primary school. Upon returning home after school, he often went off by himself to paint. Once he did a colored pencil drawing of an "expeditionary army" which, although done in delicate lines, envisioned a scene of an entirely different character. Later, this drawing was selected for the world children's art exhibition being held in Japan, where the eight-year-old Liu Zhengtai received the first-place "contributor's fee"--a 1 yuan prize. Young Liu grew up in a family of intelligentsia, and from an early age his abilities and interests were extensive. He liked music, art, and literature, while loving to listen to stories from history. Very early in his life he was able to read and understand the "Shiji" ["Records of the Grand Historian"]. When he was in the third grade he read a large-size volume of pictures portraying the Taiping Rebellion. The pictures fervently and extensively showing this peasant uprising--the brave peasants on top of the world, the leaders after their

victory severed from one another in "internal squabbles," caused him to marvel ceaselessly. As he looked at it time and again, his questions came out one after the other. How could the Taiping Rebellion be victorious and yet also fail? The young Liu Zhengtai was naturally unable to answer these questions; however, he imprinted each picture deep in his memory. Thereafter, Liu followed the road of history and literature and, moreover, made the Taiping peasant rebellion the chief theme of his creative work, probably as a result of having looked at that volume of pictures.

After his matriculation, Liu immediately immersed himself in the university's vast holdings of historical materials and wrote pile after pile of note cards and book after book of ideas for stories on historical themes. Seeing his state of infatuation, some of his classmates would say: "You write well, but why don't you write more about contemporary subjects, rather than being so bent on burying yourself in piles of old paper?" Liu would laugh softly and not answer. He remembers that not long after he came to the university, the vice chairman of the History Department, Prof Huang Shiye [7806 0013 8518], gave him this serious and heartfelt instruction: "The union of history and literature is a fringe discipline. We still have little available experience about it, so we must gain that experience on our own, but in the end what is most important is to pierce through to reality." He kept this teacher's admonition firmly in mind and earnestly did his studies, so that in the university his test scores were all in the 90's. While strictly keeping a scholarly attitude, he launched a lightboat of literature into the sea of history, sailing to win his freedom. During the summer of 1979 his historical novel "Sima Qian Xiayu" ["Sima Qian in Jail"] was published in WEN HUI BAO and received favorable reader comment. From its conception through its final draft, this novel took only 7 days. The description of Sima Qian had previously been established in his mind, and then one day he put his pen to paper and the ink flowed like running water. The essay "Ping'aiguo Zhuyi Hai Shi Mai Guo Zhuyi" ["A Comment on 'Patriotism Is Still Treason'"], written by him and his classmates in order to examine afresh the Boxer Movement and to refute Qi Benyu's [2058 2609 4416] slander of Comrade Liu Shaoqi, evoked the notice of scholars overseas after its publication. With deep intuition he said: "To write on historical subjects also requires one to delve deeply into life. This then means fully obtaining and examining (naturally, also including realistically examining) historical materials. While we are unable 'to personally inspect' the historical environment of an ancient person's life, we certainly must 'mentally inspect' it, for from where else will come historical verisimilitude?" In recent years he has, besides two midsize novels, published more than 20 short stories, essays, and biographies. These some 300,000 characters are mostly on historical subjects.

When our topic of conversation turned to his two newly published novels, Liu said: "I would like to thank very much my comrades in the publishing houses. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the Children's Publishing House provided me with the conditions for writing, sending me back to my hometown area of Daliangshan in Sichuan to live for a time." What the "Beifei Yan" describes is the passage of the Red Army through the Daliangshan

area during the Long March and its battles with the Yi tribesmen of that area. The work sculpts several lovable youths. In the novel, the historical picture of the Red Army's Long March and the life and emotions of the minority children are harmoniously united, with the plot having lifelike twists that delight the reader. The other book, "Yingwang Chen Yucheng," he began while he was writing the screenplay for the movie "Chen Yucheng." The novel narrates the life of the hero, not only recreating the glorious Battle of Sanho but also writing of the tragically heroic defense of Anhui that decided the fate of the Taiping Rebellion. At the same time, the novel also reflects the muddled state of government in the period after the Taiping Rebellion and the historical limitations of some leaders. Critically examining the many historical materials concerning Chen Yucheng, Liu Zhengtai often brings the readers to tears. Impenetrable emotions are transformed into lifelike portraits of important persons that still express the lessons of history. Liu recognizes that when writing on an historical subject, one must give the reader correct historical knowledge and conceptions, but even more he should encourage people in today's affairs and their struggles. Because of this, mechanical portrayals are inadequate, compared to relying on the actual record, and they would be meaningless for history and the writing of historical fiction. What is important is to get the pulse of the modern reader beating together with that of historical figures of many years ago and to let the readers themselves draw lessons from the process. Talking about this, Liu said bashfully: "That is only a requirement that I have imposed on myself, but my own work is still very far from satisfying the requirement."

As far as the union of history and literature, Liu has now advanced just one step, but he is very active over a very wide domain. We hope that from now on he will more powerfully take a second step forward, a third step....

9504
CSO: 4005/581

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION, AND CULTURE

DEVELOPMENT OF MINORITY EDUCATION EMPHASIZED IN LIAONING

Mongolian Minority

Shenyang LIAONING JIAOYU [EDUCATION IN LIAONING] in Chinese No 1, 14 Jan 82 p 6

[Article by the people's government of Kzuo Mongolian Autonomous County: "Developing Minority Education, Disseminating Minority Languages"]

[Text] After the Third Plenum, we eliminated the influence of leftist ideology, and from the higher levels to the lower, using many methods, we carried out education in the party's policy on minorities and propagandized the importance of minority education. Thus minority education has entered a new phase, heightening the awareness of cadres and the masses, dispelling their doubts and stirulating their enthusiasm.

The county party committee and the country government put the work of minority education on their daily agenda. Work in this area was managed jointly by a deputy party secretary and a deputy county magistrate, both of Mongolian nationality. Developing minority education is an important component part of government work; it requires frequent study and discussion, the formulation of plans, the adoption of measures, and the solution of problems. The minority education section set up by the county education bureau is responsible for the administration and management of minority elementary and middle schools. The posts of chief and one deputy chief of the Education Bureau are held by cadres of Mongolian nationality. In the bureau as a whole, the proportion of minority cadres is 50 percent. Of principals and secretaries of Mongolian nationality middle schools, three are cadres of Mongolian nationality, representing a fundamental realization of the policy of allowing minorities to hold cadre positions. Minority education has been supported with both financial and material resources. In 1980, 200,000 yuan was invested in five Mongolian elementary schools for the expansion of dormitories and the purchase of facilities, thus improving the conditions for operating the schools. Each year, the county's Mongolian nationality upper middle school is allocated an additional 8,000 yuan for expenses.

The particular characteristic of the distribution of our county's Mongolian nationality population is that they are greatly dispersed and seldom live in compact communities. For this reason, in commune-sized units where

Mongolians live in compact communities we have set up Mongolian middle schools, and in brigade-sized units where Mongolians are living in compact communities we have set up Mongolian elementary schools. In middle schools that have more than 30 Mongolian students and in elementary schools where there are more than 15 Mongolian students, minority classes are set up. For convenience in leadership and management, the county's Mongolian nationality upper middle school that was located over 80 li from the county seat has been moved into the city, thus improving the conditions for operating the school. The county seat's first elementary school has been transformed into the county Mongolian nationality elementary school, linking the county seat's Mongolian upper middle, lower middle, and elementary schools into an integrated system. Following adjustment, our county now has one Mongolian nationality upper middle school, two lower middle schools, and 31 elementary schools, with regular middle schools having a total of 27 Mongolian students' classes attached, and regular elementary schools having 41 Mongolian students' classes attached, and overall a fundamentally reasonable situation. The proportion of Mongolian school-age children attending school is as high as 92.8 percent, while the proportion for children in the county as a whole is 85 percent. These have been preliminary steps in the formation of a system of minority education appropriate to the situation in our county.

In order to revive the teaching of minority languages and popularize minority languages, we have specified that Mongolian nationality middle and elementary schools, as well as minority classes attached to regular schools, must, according to the stipulations of the teaching plan, set up Mongolian language classes, thus changing the circumstance of "every year, study Mongolian; every year, start all over again," so that the proportion of students passing the literacy level in Mongolian has already reached more than 60 percent. Middle and elementary schools are attaching increasing importance to Mongolian-language classes, and the province as a whole is in the midst of a great upsurge in Mongolian-language study.

The professional level of teachers of Mongolian nationality in our county is quite low. For this reason, doing a good job of teacher training and heightening the cultural and professional level of teachers is an urgently needed task at present. In our teacher training, emphasis is given first to the training of Mongolian-language teachers and then, through many means, helping them to pass the teaching materials level. One method is the holding of short-term classes to study current teaching materials. A second is having them meet together for training during the winter and summer vacations, and organizing them to acquire basic knowledge in Mongolian language, teaching materials, and teaching methodology, to iron out the important and difficult points encountered in teaching the language. A third is for the county as a whole to set up 10 guidance centers, and for the county education office to send people to make the rounds of the training centers and provide coaching in teaching methods. A fourth is to hold frequent Mongolian-language teaching conferences where teachers can exchange experiences, so that breakthroughs can be achieved in the various difficult teaching problems affecting the entire county. Because we have had a firm grasp on the work of teacher training, the teaching level of teachers of Mongolian nationality has been gradually heightened, and their students' accomplishments have also risen gradually year by year.

Korean Minority

Shenyang LIAONING JIAOYU [Education in Liaoning in Chinese No 1, 14 Jan 82 p 7

[Article by Guangyu Elementary School, Pingshan District, Benxi Municipality: "Strengthen Leadership and Do Good Work in Minority Classes"]

[Text] Our Guangyu Elementary School is a Chinese school with three classes for pupils of Korean nationality. Ever since the Third Plenum, comrades from the municipal people's committee and the Municipal and district offices of education have come to our school many times to check up on the work of minority classes, going over with us the Central Committee's directives regarding minority work, and have enabled us to recognize that helping the minority nationalities to develop their education and heightening the scientific and cultural level of our brother nationalities is the glorious responsibility of those of us of Chinese nationality in the education field, and one that we are dutybound to perform. Having improved our understanding of this, we redoubled our efforts to conduct special classes for minority pupils. In May 1981, the school decided to set up a preschool preparatory class for pupils of Korean nationality. Since classrooms were in short supply, we decided to have one of the eight Chinese first-year classes operate according to a rotating, two-section system, thus leaving one classroom free in which we could conduct our Korean-nationality preschool class. Some teachers of Chinese nationality did not come around to our way of thinking. The teachers of Korean nationality, seeing how difficult the situation was, did not have their hearts in it either. We then organized the teachers to study minority policies and patiently engaged in ideological work, clarifying for them the significance of being concerned about our minority nationalities, raising their scientific and cultural level, and strengthening unity among them. Two teachers of Chinese nationality finally came around to our way of thinking, happily led their students to sweep out and tidy a classroom, and vacated it for us. This unified action on the part of teachers of both nationalities provided a fine example for the students. Now the schools present a heartening prospect of friendly unity and learning from each other on the part of teachers of the two nationalities.

The schools seven teachers of Korean nationality are the main force for doing good work in the minority classes. The party branch is extremely concerned about them, and in the work of selecting advanced workers and adjusting salaries, appropriate consideration has been given to the proportion of teachers of Korean nationality. With respect to livelihood, everything possible has been done for the Korean teachers. On holidays, students have been taken to visit the teachers' homes, helping them to solve problems relating to their livelihood. Hardship subsidies have been given to large families with small incomes for specified periods, thus greatly improving their work and study morale.

Through such means, we have improved the students' ability to use their own national language, and have developed in them a habit of using it. The families of the Korean students are widely scattered among the Chinese people, and so the basis for their use of Korean language is relatively

limited. For this reason, we created an environment for them within the school where they could study and use Korean. Because the number of pupils in Korean classes was small, in the past whatever classroom was small would be alloted to them, with Chinese and Korean classes held alongside each other. Last year, the classrooms were adjusted so that the three Korean nationality classes were placed on the second floor, with only the faculty office besides themselves, and their between-classes activity would be independent of others. The appointments and decorations of the classrooms were uniformly in Korean. Korean maps and instructional charts were purchased; subscriptions to YANAN RIBAO and a Korean edition of NEWS REFERENCES were ordered; teachers were given copies of YANBIAN EDUCATION; and over 300 volumes of reading material for children were purchased. Since the Korean teachers and students all had contact with one another at the school, they were able to become ethnicized with respect to both the spoken and the written language. The school appointed a director of Korean teaching to take exclusive charge of the work of teaching the Korean classes. In assigning teachers to the Korean classes, emphasis was placed on elementary schools that are centralized. The school's leaders often audited classes, studying how to solve the teaching problems that arose. In the past, Chinese-language classes were taught by Chinese instructors. In the course of this auditing of classes, it developed that the Chinese comrades were not able to teach by means of comparing Chinese and Korean, which was not an advantage to the quality of the teaching, so we immediately adjusted the situation so as to have Korean comrades do the teaching. Classes in political ideology, general knowledge, physical education, and music were all taught by ethnic Korean instructors, and the instruction was uniformly conducted in the minority language, so that the students' level in the Korean language was continually improved.

We frequently organize the Korean teachers and students to engage in cultural and sports activities having an ethnic flavor, thus improving their ability to express themselves in their native language. In 1980, the school presented a costume dance performance, for which long drums and other ethnic musical instruments were purchased. In large-scale activities such as programs of evening entertainment on holidays, Young Pioneers' Day, theatrical festivals, and school sports meets, the Korean children put on their native costumes, play the long drum, perform their ethnic folk dances, and sing songs in their native language. We have also reinstituted a yearly Korean spring outing. The school's leaders, teachers and students, family heads and a whole group of Koreans all take buses out to the suburbs, enjoy the delightful spring weather, perform their ethnic songs and dances, have a picnic together, and return after having a wonderful time. This not only provides the students with a good opportunity to practice their native language, but also improves our friendship with the teachers and heads of families.

Working Conference Measures

Shenyang LIAONING JIAOYU [EDUCATION IN LIAONING] in Chinese No 1, 14 Jan 82 p 8

[Article: "We Must Attach Importance to Developing Minority Education"]

[Text] Ours is a country of many nationalities. Developing minority education and heightening the scientific and cultural level of our minority

education and heightening the scientific and cultural level of our minority nationalities has great significance for strengthening unity among our minorities, promoting the prosperity of our minority nationalities. consolidating national defense, and building the four modernizations.

Ever since the founding of the PRC, minority education has enjoyed very great development, and the scientific and cultural level of our minority nationalities has been greatly improved. However, due to the influence of the "leftist" error and to the interference and ruin brought by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the "blending of nationalities" was inappropriately stressed; the slogan, "the essence of the nationality question is a class question" was wantonly propagated; comrades holding different opinions were accused of "local ethnicism" or "ethnic divisionism"; the use of the minorities' native languages was limited; minority schools were eliminated or combined with Chinese schools; and minority education in general was greatly harmed.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," and in particular since the Third Plenum of the party Central Committee, order has been brought out of chaos, and minority education has been reinstated and developed. However, there are some comrades whose understanding of the importance of this work is insufficient, who are influenced by the notion that "minority languages are useless," and who believe that "the work of developing minority languages is useless," that "minority education concerns the minority and has no relation to our situation as a whole," etc. These ways of looking at things are obviously incorrect and are a great impediment to our implementing the party's policies on minorities and doing a good job of minority education.

Language is the first among the important special characteristics shared by an ethnic community. Nationalities that possess their own spoken and written language are extremely solicitous about the study and use of their language. And they are extremely sensitive about whether their spoken and written language is respected. Lenin pointed out incisively that "whoever does not accept and uphold ethnic and linguistic equality, and whoever does not struggle against all kinds of ethnic inequality and oppression, is no Marxist, and even no democrat." The historical period of socialism is the period of the flourishing and development of all ethnic minorities, and this includes the flourishing and development of minority languages. We must encourage all our ethnic minorities to study and develop their own spoken and written languages, and we must protect their right of linguistic equality. We must carry out a program of reeducation in the party's policy toward minorities, heighten our understanding of the problems, and attach importance to developing the enterprise of minority education.

In order to develop minority education, we must conscientiously implement the party's policies on minorities, and we must respect the particular characteristics of minorities. The greatest interference and impediment to implementing the party's policies on minorities is leftist thinking regarding this problem, of which the main features are ignoring the particular characteristics of minorities and the differences between them, and a wish to implement excessive uniformity. If we want to restore and develop the education of minorities, then we must make a great effort to eliminate the

influence of leftist error; create the proper teaching conditions; promote the development of minority languages; respect the lifestyle, customs, and practices of our minority nationalities; and with regard to the educational system as a whole, the method of running the schools, study programs, the scope of the programs, the assignment of teachers, and instructional materials and facilities, we must proceed from the actual situation of the minority nationalities, and not simplistically misapply the methods used in Chinese schools.

The economic and cultural level of the ethnic minorities is deficient, and their foundation in these areas is poor; if we want to diminish the discrepancies among nationalities that have been brought about by history, then we must give our main support to that problem, and show them some preference with regard to manpower, financial resources, and physical resources. We should take charge of the education of minority nationalities with an even greater sense of urgency than that which we apply to Chinese education. The working conference on minority education and minority languages recently convened in our province formulated a good many effective measures for developing minority education. Among these are: raising the authorized strength of teachers in minority schools, in proportion to that of Chinese schools, by 0.57 percent; increasing the stipend of minority resident middle school students from 20 to 50 yuan a year; proportionately delineating the three allocations currently given to minority areas (the minority area subsidy, border area enterprise subsidy, and border area basic construction subsidy) and using them for basic construction for minority education; increasing the staff and facilities for key middle and elementary schools; developing minorities teacher education and doing a good job of teacher training; perfecting the managerial system, etc. It is believed that, through this working conference on minority education, the various areas will definitely attach greater importance to the work of minority education, and the minority education in our province will definitely have greater, more rapid, and healthier development.

9634
CSO: 4005/663

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HU QIAOMU PRAISES GAINS SCORED IN LANGUAGE REFORM

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jan 82 p 1

[Article: "Hu Qiaomu's Important Talk on Striving Even More for Overall Success in Language Reform"]

[Text] On the eve of the Spring Festival, the Committee To Reform the Chinese Written Language held a directors' conference. Comrade Hu Qiaomu, a secretary of the Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee and director of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, attended the conference and made an important speech.

Attending the conference were the Committee To Reform the Chinese Written Language and the following responsible cadres: Dong Chuncai [5516 4783 2087], Lu Shuxiang [0712 0647 3276], Wang Li [3768 0500], Zhang Youyu [1728 0645 3342], Ni Haishu [0242 3189 2562], Tang Shouyu [0781 1343 1946], Zhou Youguang [0719 2589 0342], Li Rong [2621 2837], Liu Yongquan [0491 8673 3123], and Wang Yi [3768 2253].

Also attending the conference were reporters from RENMIN RIBAO, GUANGMING RIBAO, and Xinhua She.

During the conference, Comrade Hu Qiaomu restated the three tasks of the Committee To Reform the Chinese Written Language, stipulated in the 1950's by the party Central Committee and the State Council. They are: popularization of common spoken Chinese, popularization of the Chinese Pinyin system, and simplification of Chinese characters. In addition, Comrade Hu Qiaomu expressed his opinion concerning these three tasks based on the past, the present situation, and the future.

He emphatically pointed out: 1) The task of popularizing common spoken Chinese must continue to be strengthened in the schools and in society. 2) The Chinese Pinyin system was formulated after long-term, extensive discussions and the adoption of careful measures. Not only was it submitted by the State Council to the National People's Congress for discussion and approval, but it already has received worldwide acceptance. There are no grounds for wavering. What is necessary now is to quickly formulate correct morphological rules and resolve a series of technical problems. 3) Regarding the simplified system of Chinese characters, we must further perfect it in

order to meet the demands of communications, and especially to enable Chinese characters to be more easily coded for input into computers. This is not only a pressing need for the building of modernization in our country, but it is urgently needed by all those countries which use Chinese materials. Comrade Hu Qiaomu has confirmed the successes achieved by the reform of the writing system. He earnestly hopes that the next generation will continue to kindle the flames and strive even more for overall success in language reform.

9686
CSO: 4005/579

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

TRENDS IN CHINA'S BIRTH, DEATH RATES DISCUSSED

Beijing RENKOU YANJIU [POPULATION RESEARCH] in Chinese No 1, 29 Jan 82 pp 15-16

[Article by Li Chengrui [2621 2052 3843], a member of China's delegation [sic] and deputy chief of the State Statistical Bureau: "Development Trends in the Birth Rate and Death Rate of China's Population"]

[Text] Before the People's Republic of China was established, our nation's population was the type that had a high birth rate, a high death rate, and a low natural rate of growth. After the establishment of the PRC, within an acceptable period of time we became the type that had a high birth rate, a low death rate, and a high natural rate of growth. Since entering the 1970's, we have been turning into the type with a low birth rate, a low death rate, and a low natural rate of growth.

For a long time, old China existed under the heavy oppression and cruel exploitation of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism; its economy and culture were completely backward, its people's standard of living was extremely poor, and it had very poor sanitation and health conditions. And because the masses were taught the feudal morality of having many offspring to carry on the family line, there were many births and many deaths in China's population. There were no accurate and comprehensive statistics concerning China's birth and death rates throughout most of this time. But according to data from 1936, the birth rate of the population at that time was 3.8 percent, the death rate was 2.8 percent, and the natural rate of growth was 1.0 percent.

After new China was established, the birth and death rates of the population turned around dramatically. The following are the figures for 1950 through 1970 (they do not include figures for Taiwan, and shall not hereafter):

Year	Birth Rate (%)	Death Rate (%)	Natural Rate of Growth (%)
1950	3.700	1.800	1.900
1952	3.700	1.700	2.000
1957	3.403	1.080	2.323
1962	3.722	1.080	2.714
1965	3.806	0.955	2.851
1970	3.359	0.764	2.595

We can see from the above table: 1. For the first 20 years after new China was established, the birth rate remained at a fairly high level, within the range of 3.3 to 3.8 percent. This was because the lives of the people during this time were stable and marriages and births were numerous. The effects of old China's feudal concept of childbearing--the more sons, the better one's fortunes--and the custom of early marriage could not be quickly eliminated. And although by 1956 the government had already put forward the idea of controlling the birth rate, it took no forceful measures and there was little effect. 2. The death rate rapidly declined from 1.8 percent in 1950 to 1.08 percent in 1957, and then to 0.764 percent in 1970. This is because after new China was established, the masses became the masters of the state, industrial and agricultural production increased more rapidly, the lives of the people improved, medical treatment and sanitation measures were widely developed, certain severely contagious diseases that seriously damaged the health of the people were brought under control, the level of the people's health improved, and the stigma of the "sickly East Asian" was discarded. 3. This inevitably led to an increase in the natural growth rate of the population. In these 20 years the natural growth rate remained at a high level, within the range of 1.9 to 2.85 percent.

The sharp increase in the natural growth rate of the population led to an increase in the population from 541.67 million persons in 1949 to 825.42 million in 1970--an increase of 283.75 million in 21 years, or an increase of 52.4 percent, which is an annual average increase of 2.0 percent [as published].

After we entered the 1970's, a new and evident change gradually occurred in the trends in our nation's birth and death rates. We can see from the table below that: 1. The birth rate fell from 3.074 percent in 1971 to 2.313 percent in 1975 and then to 1.79 percent in 1979. This was due to the forceful measures adopted by our government in its birth control work. Under the guidance of the state plan, and through widespread promotion, we mobilized the masses to consciously practice birth control, and we offered free contraceptives and medical services to the masses. The 53rd article of the Constitution of the PRC, which was passed by the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress, clearly stipulates: "The state shall advocate and promote birth control." The marriage code of the PRC, which was passed by the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, stipulates: "Late marriages and late births shall be encouraged." This legislation effectively spurred the development of birth control work. 2. The death rate continued to decline, from 0.734 percent in 1971 to 0.624 percent in 1979. This was the result of the continued improvement in the level of health of our nation's people. 3. Based on the aforementioned two factors, our nation's natural rate of growth fell from 2.34 percent in 1971 to 1.5777 percent in 1975, and then to 1.166 percent in 1979.

Year	Birth Rate (%)	Death Rate (%)	Natural Rate of Growth (%)
1971	3.074	0.734	2.340
1972	2.992	0.765	2.227
1973	2.807	0.708	2.099

1974	2.495	0.738	1.757
1975	2.313	0.736	1.577
1976	2.001	0.729	1.272
1977	1.903	0.691	1.212
1978	1.834	0.629	1.205
1979	1.790	0.624	1.166

Owing to the drop in the natural rate of growth, our nation's total population increased from 825,420,000 persons in 1970 to 970,920,000 in 1979--a growth of 17.6 percent in 9 years, or an annual average increase of 1.8 percent.

In the areas of controlling the birth rate and reducing the death rate, our nation has achieved much, but we still have a lot of work to do. China is a developing nation with a population of nearly 1 billion, 800 million of whom reside in rural areas, and is a nation of many nationalities. In the work of controlling the population, we will encounter many problems that are in need of solution. Looking at the age breakdown of the population, we see that people under 30 represent nearly two-thirds of the total population. From now on, the annual average number of persons entering the marriage and childbearing years will be more than 20 million. It will be a tremendous task to control the birth rate of the population. Our goal is to level the population off at 1.2 billion by the end of the century. This is an extremely important strategic policy decision made by our government. Reaching this goal will require a tremendous effort. We believe that, with the guidance and serious attention of the National People's Congress, with the resolute leadership of every level of the people's government, with the active support of the broad masses, and with help from the United Nations, our goal can be reached.

9705
CSO: 4005/666

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PARTY PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT FORUM ON LITERARY CREATION HELD

Beijing WENYIBAO [LITERATURE AND ART JOURNAL] in Chinese No 2, 7 Feb 82 pp 24-26

[Report: "Propaganda Department of CCP Central Committee Convenes Forum on Literary Creation"]

[Text] In order to put into effect the spirit of the forum on problems of the ideological front and the directives recently issued by central leaders on literary and art work, the Central Committee Propaganda Department convened a forum on literary creation 5-12 November 1981. Present at the forum were 53 old, middle-aged and young authors and relevant responsible comrades in the capital, including Feng Mu [7458 3668], Ge Luo [5514 3157], Yuan Ying [5913 7751], Wei Junyi [7279 0689 1355], Chen Mo [7115 2875], Xu Huaizhong [1776 2037 0022], Zang Kejia [5258 0344 1367], Cao Ming [5335 2494], Qu Bo [2575 3134], Feng Zongpu [7458 1350 3877], Mala Xinfu [3858 2139 3084 1133], Zou Difan [6760 3752 1581], Shao Yanxiang [6730 3601 4382], Meng Weizai [1332 0251 0762], Jin Jin [6855 6602], Li Guowen [2621 0948 2429], Lei Jia [7191 0502], Liu Shaotang [0491 4801 2768], Lin Jinlan [2651 2443 3482], Cong Weixi [1783 4850 3356], Liu Xinwu [0491 1800 2976], Chen Jiangong [7115 1696 0501], Li Yingru [2621 5391 0320], Su Ce [5685 4595], and Zhang Chenghuan [1728 3397 1403]. Comrades Zhao Shouyi [6392 1343 0001], He Jingzhi [6320 2417 0037] and Li Yingmin [2621 5391 2404] also attended the forum and gave speeches. The forum first of all spent 3 days in studying by groups Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech at the general meeting commemorating the 100th anniversary of Lu Xun's birth and his two talks, on 25 September and 2 October respectively, with responsible comrades of literary and art circles and journalist circles, as well as Comrade Hu Qiaomu's speech at the national forum on problems of the ideological front redirected to the forum under instructions of the party Central Committee. Then, 3 and 1/2 days were spent in carrying out collective discussion, with 23 comrades making statements. The comrades present indicated that the forum on problems of the ideological front and the central leaders' speeches provided scientific, profound analyses of the situation in the literary and art circles; they both affirmed achievements and sounded an alarm embodying the care and expectations entertained by the central authorities with respect to the literary and art circles. Those present found great encouragement in the central leadership suggestion that the literary and art circles be zealous in their exertions, and indicated their determination to

be zealous in their efforts to create for the people and to stimulate the people's zeal with their creative works. Some comrades indicated that, after the conclusion of the forum, they would immediately plunge deep into life, learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers, and produce works appealing to the workers, peasants and soldiers and the vast ranks of the masses. Some comrades said they were determined to maintain political consistency with the party Central Committee and provide the people with fine spiritual food. The following major questions were discussed at the forum:

1. Concerning the Situation in Literary Creation

It was stated at the forum that since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party Central Committee has repeatedly and clearly affirmed the achivements in our literary and art work With respect to literary creation, during the past 5 years, according to incomplete statistics, there have been published more than 300 long novels, 520 medium-length novels, and nearly 8,000 short novels; reportage, poetry, prose, children's literature, scientific literature and literary creation by the minority nationalities have all undergone considerable development. Whether in terms of content, form or style, all these works have become far more plentiful and diverse; and among them have appeared many fine works which reflect the realistic life of the masses and which are welcomed by the vast ranks of the readers. A large contingent of new people in literature are also growing up amidst the ranks of the writers. Literary creations during the past few years have made positive contributions toward emancipating our thinking, returning to order from disorder, implementing the party's correct line and elevating the people's spiritual plane. This has been the main current of the development of literary creation in the last few years. Under no circumstances or pretext can denial of this main current be said to be correct.

The comrades said that while fully affirming our achievements, we must at the same time see that among our literary creative works, there has indeed existed a tendency toward bourgeois liberalization and other erroneous tendencies. Apart from the cinematographic literary play "Unrequited Love," there have also been a very small number of works that violated the four basic principles and reflected the erroneous trend that tended to cast off party leadership and deviate from the socialist course. For instance, part of Comrade Ye Wenfu's [5509 2429 4395] expressions and works are salient examples. Some works were unable to correctly reflect the process of our new democratic revolution, especially our socialist revolution, and presented our realistic life in a distorted way. Some works denied man's class character and social character, and instead praised the "human nature" in the bourgeoisie and certain hostile elements. The artistic taste of some works was vulgar and low, as they fabricated at random and even pursued provocative and sexy presentations. Other aspects which need to be overcome are: shortcomings in creation such as repetition, conceptualization, slipshod artistic design, a short work being not so short and a long work being too long.

It was mentioned at the forum that problems like these which exist in literary creation are all detrimental to the prosperous development of literature and

the full demonstration of the important role of literature in building a socialist spiritual civilization. Comrades said that after the conclusion of the forum on problems of the ideological front, criticism of bourgeois liberalization brought some preliminary results. But there are still a small number of comrades in the literary and art circles whose attitude remains less than clear-cut; some even doubt the existence of any liberalization trend; this is not correct. On the other hand, we must also prevent simplification and expansion of attack; we must distinguish between the main current and the side currents and between various problems, and not take just any problem as one of bourgeois liberalization. The purpose of criticizing liberalization is to promote the further prosperity and healthy development of literary creation and thereby further mobilize writers' enthusiasm.

2. Tasks of Literary Creation and Responsibilities of Writers

Socialist literature is created under the guidance of the Marxist world view. While requiring genuine reflection of life, it must at the same time maintain its clear-cut socialist trend; while continuing to emancipate our thinking, it must adhere to the direction of serving the people and serving socialism; writers who are party members, in particular, should adhere to the principle of party character in socialist literature.

In his speech at the forum on play creation, Comrade Hu Yaobang put forward the question of correct understanding and profound reflection of the socialist new era. The comrades mentioned that, in respect to this great new era, writers have the responsibility to provide a genuine presentation. They must reflect the social contradictions of this new era from a correct standpoint and viewpoint, mold the image of the socialist new people who are representative of the characteristics of the time, stimulate the people and struggle for the realization of the four modernizations. Regarding methods of creation, the participating comrades were of the opinion that under the premise of a consistent political direction we should allow various methods of creation and their exploration to prevail, on the one hand, and at the same time make a point of stressing revolutionary realism, continue to adhere to its basical principles, and promote its development with new creations. We should likewise pay attention to revolutionary romanticism and should not, because we have learned some lessons in the past in this regard, simply abandon or despise it. Correct application of revolutionary romanticism is in line with the literary and art laws and is also required by the spirit of the time.

Improving the quality of literary creation is an important question at present. The profound nature of ideological exploration and the richness in the reflection of social life must both be strengthened. The molding of artistic models, in particular, still awaits the writer's endeavors. It is necessary to enable more model personalities, especially model images of the socialist new people, to enter the literary gallery of the new era. There must be constant improvement in artistic cultivation; efforts must be made to seek refinement in language, composition and description of details. Artistic innovation should be encouraged; the purpose of innovation is to better reflect life, to make the products even more welcome to the masses of the people.

3. Principal Measures To Make Literary Creation Prosperous

In order to make literary creation more prosperous and promote its healthier development, the following measures were recommended for adoption by the forum:

(1) Strengthening Study

It is first of all necessary to strengthen the study of the basic theory of Marxism. During the past few years, among some of the young writers, there has been a tendency to despise the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Some even wanted to "break through" the basic principles of Marxism-Leninsim and Mao Zedong's literary thought; some said that what they suffered had to do precisely with "adhering" to these basic theories. Some blindly worshipped certain Western bourgeois theories and viewpoints. This situation was one of the important reasons why the appearance of certain practices of bourgeois liberalization resulted. All suggested that, from now on, we must organize writers to seriously study the philosophy and political economy of Marxism, and the basic theories of scientific socialism, to study the literary thought of Marx, Lenin and Mao Zedong. The fundamental spirit of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Speech at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" should continue to be adhered to. With respect to young writers, we must further organize them to study CCP history and China's modern history in order to enable them to understand the process of the most arduous struggle the Chinese people went through under CCP leadership. In order to improve their artistic cultivation and writing techniques, we must also organize them to study the well-known ancient and present literary works of China and foreign countries, critically inherit such a literary legacy, and thereby develop the militant traditions of revolutionary literature.

In order to strengthen such study, the participants made certain concrete proposals. Some comrades said that the Beijing municipal party committee's practice of organizing writers into groups and having them attend the municipal party school to study is a good approach. Some comrades suggested that the central party school should run a literary and art class to provide rotational training to literary and art workers. Some comrades proposed that the Literary Association, the Writers Association and other pertinent societies should hold reading classes, reading gatherings. Hope was also expressed for the Writers Association's literary institute to be strengthened so that its conditions can be improved and a good job can be done in the training of middle-aged and young writers. The participants also expressed the hope that the propaganda departments of party committees could transmit central documents and party policies regularly to the writers so that they could experience the spirit of the central authorities directly, and also regularly ask leading comrades and actual workers of the various departments to introduce the achievements and problems on the various fronts so that writers would understand the situation and the development of the construction of the four modernizations.

Comrades also asked the concerned departments to do a good job in operating libraries and materials centers so as to provide the convenience of study to the literary workers.

(2) Be Closely Involved in Life

The people's life is the inexhaustible source of literature and art. Some comrades in the literary and art circles once overlooked the necessity of becoming closely involved in life, and some individuals even promised to eliminate the slogan "Be closely involved in life"; this obviously is not in accord with the laws of literary and art creation. In organizing writers to get closely involved in life, we must follow their different situations and thereby adopt different ways; in some cases, they may look at the flowers while riding the horse, but in others they may dismount to look at the flowers. However, all young, able-bodied professional writers should spend more time to seriously get closely involved in life, join the construction of the "four modernizations," learn from society and unite with the masses. After acquiring such "bases" where they regularly spend time on the spot, they should further integrate areas of expansion with these spots and endeavor to broaden their own vision in life. With respect to the life with which they were familiar in the past, they should also, along with the pace of advance of the times, continue to understand the new situation and its development forward. Also expressed at the forum was the hope that the concerned departments would help writers solve the practical difficulties they encounter in becoming closely involved in life and provide them with support in politics, ideology and material conditions.

(3) Active Launching of Literary Criticism

The prosperous development of literary creation is inseparable from genuine, pivotal literary criticism. Writers attending the forum expressed their ardent hope that literary criticism would be further launched so that it could play the role of "getting rid of bad weeds" and "watering fine flowers." The view of taking all criticism as "swinging the stick" and of taking the launching of literary and art criticism as "restriction" would be incorrect. In the absence of criticism, self-criticism and counter-criticism, in the absence of discussion of different opinions, how can there be "one hundred flowers blooming, one hundred schools of thought contending"? How can the attitude of fearing to hear even a single "good advice unpleasant to the ear" and of regarding one's own works as unchangeable even by a single letter serve to continue to improve quality, to improve the level of one's writing? The participants all expressed the hope that literary criticism would become regularized and could overcome the defects of meekness, appeasement, single-minded flattery and applause, on the one hand, and at the same time be aware of the practices of unlimitedly bringing matters to the level of principle and attaching labels at random. Critics must endeavor to help writers sum up their experiences in creation "from the esthetic viewpoint and historical viewpoint" (Engels' words) and thereby master the laws of literary and art creation. There must be established between writers and critics a close friendship, so that they can promote each other and improve each other.

(4) Strengthen and Improve the Party's Leadership Over Literary Work

The forum was of the opinion that since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party Central Committee's series of important

directives and guidance work has set examples for strengthening and improving party leadership. Vivid facts once again prove that without party leadership, socialist literature would accomplish nothing. Any tendency to attempt to weaken, cast off or even deny party leadership would be wrong. The party's literary and art policies during the new era are firm, consistent; it is not in accord with actuality to regard the party's literary and art policies as having "changed back and forth." The participants asked the party's leading departments to regularly urge the concerned units to conscientiously implement the direction of literature and art serving the people and serving socialism, to carry out the principle of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend; they must overcome both the phenomena of laxity, feebleness, abandonment and drifting, and the practices of being simplistic and rude, subjective and partial. Seeking truth from facts is a struggle of adhering to both fronts. The participants all expressed the hope that, under the unified leadership of the party, the relationship between the governmental departments of cultural administration and mass groups like the Literary Association and Writers Association will be better coordinated. Groups like the Literary Association and Writers Association must prevent and overcome their tendencies of becoming bureaucratic organs and offices; they must closely associate themselves and broadly unite with old, middle-aged and young writers and better develop their function of providing organizational guidance. The participants asked the government's cultural and publishing departments to improve their work of publishing and distributing literary works; they must not just pay attention to economic revenues and ignore social effects.

There are many literary periodicals today; they have played an important role in discovering and training literary new people and bringing prosperity to literary creation. But there is still need to strengthen the management of editorial and publishing work. In selecting manuscripts, an editor should definitely not resort to "the art of cultivating connections." In the case of editors whose competence is poor and journals in which the published works are of a low quality (including certain journals that are devoted to the publication of translated works), there is need to rectify them. An author's remuneration system must be beneficial to improving the quality of works and encouraging refinement of writing; it must really calculate remuneration on the basis of quality, and not just by looking at the number of words. The practice of appraising and rewarding literature also needs to include the summing up of experiences and be subject to rectification and improvement.

9255
CSO: 4005/661

FORM OF MEDIUM-LENGTH NOVELS DISCUSSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Feb 82 p 3

[Article by Zhang Ren [1728 7282]: "A Rudimentary Discussion of the Form of Medium-Length Novels"]

[Text] What are the characteristics of the form of medium-length novels? This is a question about which opinions are widely divided and which urgently awaits a solution. During the past few years, the creation of medium-length novels advanced from a sudden rise in popularity to peak prosperity, with well-known, fine products profusely coming off the press to the delight of all critics. Yet we cannot but pay attention also to a question in another aspect, that is, while medium-length products increase in length, perhaps long novels are being compressed. Certain medium-length products resort to embellishment and exaggeration in the manner of rough and slipshod work; they are easily expanded into more than 100,000 or 200,000 characters; thus, nominally medium-length, they have actually already lost a medium-length novel's characteristics and beauty of form. When the underlying causes are examined, they seem to be multifarious; but the main point is that, with respect to the fundamental characteristics of the medium-length novel as a style, we still lack due attention and study; we have failed to fully master its laws and thereby to develop its strong points and avoid its weak points. As a result, there have appeared certain products which indulge in large scale and comprehensiveness but prove to be empty in content. In order to maintain and develop the momentum of their sudden rise in popularity, overcome attendant shortcomings, and improve their quality, the question of the characteristics and form of medium-length novels is raised here; an exploration of their artistic laws has already become a task of burning urgency for us.

While the characteristics of medium-length novels are diverse and multifarious, what distinguishes them from long and short novels in terms of length and volume lies precisely in the word "medium." Knowledgeable personalities have already suggested that the length of medium-length novels be limited to about 100,000 characters. This suggestion generally accords with the traditional convention of medium-length requirement. "The Orthodox Biography of Ah Q," which enjoys worldwide reknown, exceeds any short novel coming from Lu Xun's pen in terms of volume and number of characters described, but it is not more than 30,000 characteris in length. Among

Chekov's medium-length novels, the shortest in length, "The Peasants," has only 27,000 words; "The Prairie" is his longest medium-length novel, but it is still no longer than 90,000 words. His "Hospital Room No 6," which "strongly impressed" Lenin and was praised by the latter as indicative of his "talent," also has a length of merely about 48,000 words. But such volume is limited to the question of volume and constitutes only one indicator which distinguishes the style of a novel, not all its characteristics. If novels whose content fits only a short length are stretched into medium length, or long novels are compressed into medium-length ones, can they be regarded as medium-length novels? Therefore, we must not only limit the number of words but take note that the key lies in their method of writing and therefore also explore the characteristics of their structure and the complexity of their plots and number of characters involved. Only after we have fully understood the characteristics of a medium-length novel can we halt the practice of "prolonging" it, and thereby fundamentally distinguish it from a long novel or a short one, thus making it possible for us to increasingly bring the art of medium-length novel writing to perfection.

Mao Dun said: "Structure means the framework of the whole novel." Because of the difference in style, each novel requires a different structure. In respect to the standpoint of subject selection, events organization, plot deployment, arrangement of scenes and depiction of personalities, the structure of a medium-length novel cannot have as many threads as that of a long novel but it is at the same time different from the simple structure of a short novel; it requires a medium between the complex and the simple.

Deng Youmei [6772 0645 2734], author of the prize-winning medium length novel "Female Soldiers Who Attempt To Catch Up With Their Units" (OCTOBER, No 1, 1979), said that if "one has the habit of working out one's plot in writing a short novel," then "very likely one tends to lean toward presenting a flimsy plot or one comes up with a restrictive structure when writing a medium-length novel, thus failing to allow ample development." "Female Soldiers Who Attempt To Catch Up With Their Units," as the title suggests, depicts the story of three drop-out warriors who try to catch up with their own units. Such subject matter is by no means unprecedented in short novels. But in working out its plot and developing the composition, this medium-length novel succeeds both in depicting the tense situation of the female soldiers rushing forward along the muddy road and running into their enemies, and in presenting as flashbacks the experiences of the three in their respective lives and the histories of the growth of their minds and their characters. Such a structure, combining both horizontal and vertical description, can hardly be accommodated in a brief short novel, but it is at the same time different from that of a long novel. The artistic panorama of the work, in the main, consists not of the lengthy, complicated life experiences of the three female soldiers but of the several important scenes along the road of their march; the scenes of their respective personal experiences are only flashbacks. In this regard, its structure appears to resemble a short novel of a "horizontal cut." However, the structure is not "restrictive" like that of a short novel; the threads of the plot are amply developed and also drawn to a close at the appropriate time. Thus among the three female soldiers, there are separations and get-togethers, perspectives

and feature amplifications, which make it possible for one to enjoy the beauty in form peculiar to a medium-length novel, i.e., with its story expanding or contracting at will, with its sparseness alternating with compactness, and with its richness combined with refinement.

Closely related to structure is plot. Plot, if it means the concrete events depicted by a written work, is of course a factor pertaining to content; if it is a story abstracted from happenings in life, which the author has reorganized and rearranged, then this is a question of structure. The plot of a medium-length novel must be relatively complicated, with fairly complex contradictions and conflicts, waves and ripples. It is not as simple as that of a short novel, and the threads of its plot may be unitary, but they can also be multilineal or radial. But one earnest caveat about a medium-length novel is that it must not, like a long novel, attempt to broadly and limitlessly depict rather long historical lives, nor can it accommodate the complicated and complex stories involving major incidents. In a word, the plot of a medium-length novel must convey richness through simplicity and reveal simplicity by seizing the main theme from a complexity of threads. According to Cong Weixi [1783 4850 3356], in "writing 'The Red Magnolia Under the Tall Wall' (HARVEST, No 2, 1979), I originally thought of writing a short novel, and its structure also included only the two threads of the real and the sham homeward-bound legion. In the process of my writing, many characters suddenly took on life, the two athletes, Gao Xin and Zhou Li, for instance, almost automatically appeared from my pen." In order to depict the meeting of Gao and Zhou in prison and their faithful and unswerving love, the author added chapters 4, 5 and 6. Noteworthy here is that the novel not only is expanded by three chapters but also leads from the meeting of Zhou and Gao to important new developments; that is, the several pictures brought by Zhou Li from Beijing also evoked the great historical scene of the people mourning Premier Zhou Enlai at Tiananmen Square. These precious pictures, like matchlessly powerful explosives, in turn paved way for the lively scene and stirring conclusion of the commemoration of Premier Zhou Enlai by the movements behind the tall wall of the prison and at Tiananmen Square echoing each other. The sharp struggle between the likes of Ge Ling and Ma Yulin is the main theme of the novel; the love between Zhou and Gao is another theme. A medium-length novel permits the existence of another theme and its threads, but its structure cannot, like that of a long novel, accommodate two rivers running their separate ways or triple themes competing with one another; it requires that the principal and the auxiliary themes be clearly distinguished, and the trunk and the limbs proportionately cut in the overall suit of clothing; in this sense, the meeting of Gao and Zhou is merely an auxiliary theme subordinated to the main theme. If the author allowed his pen to wander aimlessly without any limits, this medium-length novel would have become jumbled and cumbersome, losing the symmetrical, harmonious beauty of the plot and structure of a medium-length novel.

The central question of literature is to mold the images of personalities. Balzac said: "The mission of an artist is to create great models." The images of personalities, of course, are a question pertaining to the content of a writing, but novels of different styles, when molding such images of personalities, also change with such styles their standpoint of subject

selection, their structuring techniques, and the methods of writing used. Content determines form. But perfect writing methods and form will also enhance the beauty of the images molded. A medium-length novel is different from a short novel, which aims at a good depiction of one or a few personalities, but it also cannot be like "The Dream of the Red Chamber" in depicting several dozens or several hundred personalities. In depicting such personalities, a medium-length novel not only includes more personalities than does a short novel, but it often also presents the character development of such personalities. It can both use the "horizontal cut" of the personalities, revealing the character of the personalities from the "growth rings" of such cuts, and disclose the histories of their character growth from several years or several dozens of years of the long river of time in the life of such personalities. Through the destinies and changing characters of the personalities are revealed all the more their multidimensionality and their historical reality. Mao Dun said that his short novels are "compressed medium-length novels"; this is by no means because his writing career started with "Eclipse," which is presented in three parts, so that he therefore harbors some bias in favor of medium-length novels, nor simply because his short novels are usually somewhat longer in length. In my opinion, works like "Lin's Shop" and "Silkworms in the Spring" not only include a rather large number of personalities, but the dispositions of the main characters such as shop owner Lin and Old General Treasure also exhibit profound changes in the complicated plot and complex conflicts. And all this is rarely seen in short novels in the ordinary sense. Short novels with the characteristics of medium-length novels like these are what Mao Dun called "compressed medium-length novels"; this shows his succinct view on the styles of novels.

Jiang Zilong's [5592 1311 7893] [Red, Orange, Yellow, Green, Black, Blue and Purple" (THE CONTEMPORARY ERA, No 4, 1981) and Shui Yunxian's [3055 6663 2009] "Internal Strife Afoot" (HARVEST, No 1, 1981) are both fine works of rather broad influence that surged forth in the literary garden of medium-length novels last year. What they describe all has to do with life on the industrial front in the construction of the four modernizations; their ideology and art also each represent individual values. But looking at their personality depictions, their writing techniques and forms alone, one may perhaps say that "Red, Orange, Yellow, Green, Black, Blue and Purple" is more like a medium-length novel, whereas "Internal Strife Afoot" appears to be a compressed long novel. The personalities appearing on the stage of "Red, Orange, Yellow, Green, Black, Blue and Purple" cannot be said to be scarce, but the author's pen concentrates on the few important personalities, such as Jie Jing and Li Sijia, as well as on Ye Fang, He Shun and Zhu Tongkang. At the very opening scene of the novel, the "strange occurrence" of workers Liu and He setting up stalls to sell pancakes in front of their own factory immediately appears; thus at one stroke the sharp contradictions inside that huge steel and iron works are presented to the reader. But the author's dexterous handling of the plot lies in the fact that he did not follow that old syllogistic convention of having the contradictions presented, developed and then brought to their peak and solved. The novel merely uses industrial readjustment as a background, and most of it is taken up with depicting how a group of youths of the passenger-car team treat labor, friendship and love; within a period of about 2 years, it meticulously selects typical "milestone" episodes and several moving scenes

in the growth processes of the personalities to create the image of a thought-provoking new personality such as Jie Jing, who grows up in the construction of the four modernizations, and at the same time presents the ideological awakening and character changes in Liu Sijia, Ye Fang and He Shun. As the author says, he did his best to "omit what the reader does not wish to see" from his work, earnestly worked out his plot and "put in true facts." Precisely because the author mastered the laws of a medium-length form and refrained from squeezing numerous personalities and complex developments indiscriminately into his work, because he paid attention to pruning, trimming off trivial banches, giving prominence to the trunk, so that the reader can feel the unhurried ebb and flow of this novel in a rhythmic and stirring pattern, the images of several personalities also begin to rise vividly and dramatically through the circumstances of conflict. Compared to "Red, Orange, Yellow, Green, Black, Blue and Purple," the personalities in "Internal Strife Afoot" are far more numerous; from the provincial capital to the local district, more than 20 personalities are presented; also, it begins with the appearance of contradictions, depicting the two visits to Jiajin, many big and small meetings and the whole processes of sundry contradictions. Even though the author's writing shows considerable sophistication and the image of the pathfinder Fu Lianshan in institutional reform is rather moving, because of his repeated embellishments and multifarious descriptions--as many as 130,000 to 140,000 characters are employed--one is still left with the feeling that heads are crowding together and images are shallow, developments are complicated and patterns are not clear. If the underlying reasons are examined, perhaps it is because the approach of a long novel is used in a medium-length presentation.

The characteristics of a medium-length novel are not limited to the above, but they illustrate that it is distinct from either a long or a short novel, and among the three there are indelible boundaries. A medium-length novel absorbs the strong points of both the long and the short novel; it is able to present the rather rich contents of real life with the flexibility and speed of a short novel, but which a short novel finds no time to reflect; but its writing approach does not allow it to dawdle like a long novel, requiring instead the kind of neatness, compactness and pithiness peculiar to a short novel. Of course, our exploration of the characteristics of the writing approach of a medium-length novel by no means implies our readiness to restrict a creation with this or that kind of rules. Create, create--no author fails to seek to create according to his own understanding of a literary style; one likes one approach, and another likes another; the manifestations are endless. Yet we cannot deny that each literary style has its own laws to follow, and creation needs to function according to those laws. This short article serves merely to pose the question and offer some rudimentary words in the hope that more cultivated ones are forthcoming. The form of a medium-length novel is a question pertaining to the realm of esthetics. Let all authors explore beauty and create beauty diligently.

9255
CSO: 4005/672

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

READERS WRITE IN TO CRITICIZE NOVEL 'LOST FOREVER'

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 17 Jan 82 p 1

[Text] Following the publication of the medium-length novel "Lost Forever" in the No 4 issue of CHANG CHENG for 1981, several readers wrote letters to this paper severely criticizing this novel.

The basic plot of this novel is as follows: Wei Congcong, a young technical worker, and his wife Liu Yin live apart in separate places. By chance, the frivolous and coquettish Ai Lili falls in love with Wei at first sight. Early in their acquaintance, Ai invites Wei to do model sculpturing. The two presently have relations and fool around with each other. Meanwhile, Liu Yin, working in another place, has been writing diligently and has scored some achievements. Afterward, just as Liu Yin is transferred to her husband's side, Wei Congcong, because he harbored Ai Lili's smuggled stolen goods, is summoned to the public security department.

Comrade Shi Jun, of the Jian Hua Road Primary School in Baoding, wrote in to say that the style of this novel is very poor, that in many chapters the author has flagrantly propagated sex, and that he has proceeded to describe all this with an enjoyable attitude. This type of literary work is harmful to the physical and mental health of young people. At the Baoding battery factory, workers Yang Liping, Luo Min, Yu Jun, Wen Lan, and other comrades said in letters that the author seemingly wanted to use the method of contrast to expose the two goals in life of Wei Congcong and Liu Yin and the contradictions in Wei's thinking. However, this intention is not only drowned out by descriptions playing up carnal desires, but from the last part of this novel we see that the only loss felt by Wei Congcong, after all, is his sexual love with Ai Lili. Consequently, no one is able to understand just what the author's purpose was in writing this novel. This novel also describes Ai Lili fooling around with foreigners, but it fails to criticize this kind of behavior that causes us to lose our national dignity. Comrade Lang Ye of Beijing pointed out that this novel, in order to pander to low tastes, invents many preposterous plots and scenes; there is love, there is sexual arousal, there is the cracking of a criminal case, making for a nondescript mixture. It is impossible for anyone to believe that such a hideous-minded person as Ai Lili unexpectedly would be able to create such splendid works of art. That male student who falls in love with Liu Yin, who one day is a

JPRS 80635

22 April 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 293

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 80635

22 April 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 293

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' Reprints Article on Sino-U.S. Ties
(Beijing Domestic Service, 5 Apr 82) 1

'XINHUA' Praises Egypt's Foreign Policy Goals
(XINHUA, 24 Mar 82)..... 2

PRC Commentator on Crux of Sino-U.S. Ties
(XINHUA, 6 Apr 82) 4

Bangladesh to Honor International Commitments
(XINHUA, 27 Mar 82) 7

British Foreign Secretary Carrington Resigns
(XINHUA, 5 Apr 82) 8

Japan, N. America, Europe Stress Cooperation
(XINHUA, 7 Apr 82) 9

Nonaligned Group Seeks Support for Palestinians
(XINHUA, 6 Apr 82)..... 10

ESCAP's 38th Session Ends in Bangkok 2 April
(XINHUA, 3 Apr 82)..... 12

Zimbabwe Premier Meets PRC Journalists
(XINHUA, 20 Mar 82)..... 13

Briefs
Bangladesh President Sworn In 15
India Air Force Modernization 15
UN Draft Resolution Vetoed 15
UK New Foreign Secretary 15
Pakistani Foreign Minister's Comments 16
Soviet Intrusions Monitored 16
U.S. Special Forces to Liberia 16
PRC Weapons to Pakistan 17
Pro-U.S. Policy 17

PARTY AND STATE

Briefs
Report on Social Order 18

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Further Preparation for Nationwide Census Planned
(FUJIAN RIBAO, 15 Feb 82) 19

Ulanhu Addresses China Democratic League Meeting
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 1 Apr 82) 21

Marital Morality Stressed in Creating Spiritual Civilization
(Liao Jingdan; ZHONGGUO FUNU, 15 Feb 82) 25

'ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO' on Religion in China
(Xiao Hai; ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO, 27 Mar 82) 31

National Forum on Aging Held in Beijing
(XINHUA, 3 Apr 82) 35

PRC Awards 15 Outstanding Radio Dramas
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 5 Apr 82) 36

Linguist Calls for Standardized Spoken Language
(XINHUA, 3 Apr 82) 37

Hunan Radio Conducts Audience Opinion Survey
(Hunan Provincial Service, 2 Apr 82) 38

Guangdong Staff Remove Illegal TV Antennas
(Guangdong Provincial Service, 26 Mar 82) 39

'RENMIN RIBAO' Encourages Use of Mandarin
(RENMIN RIBAO, 31 Mar 82) 40

Forum Urges Writers, Artists To Learn From Labor Models
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 21 Feb 82)..... 42

Population Studies in Schools of Higher Education Increasing
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 21 Feb 82) 43

'NINGXIA RIBAO' on Literature, Art Criticism
(Gao Shen; NINGXIA RIBAO, 20 Mar 82) 45

Improved Education Opportunities for Nei Monggol Nationalities Reported
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 22 Feb 82) 48

Beijing's Liu Daosheng on Civility Month Campaign
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 31 Mar 82) 50

Briefs
Guizhou Circular on Superstition 51
Public Security 51
Civility Campaign 51
Hubei Women's Gathering 52
Spending Cut on Pornography 52
Trees Planted 52
Guangdong CCP Cadre Courses 52
Living Conditions 52
Poor Families Increase 53
Suicides Increase 53
Peasants Resist Family Planning 53

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Briefs
Heath Comments on Economy 54

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' REPRINTS ARTICLE ON SINO-U.S. TIES

OW060106 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 5 Apr 82

[Report on RENMIN RIBAO 6 April reprint of Issue No 2 of 1982 GUOJI WENTI YANJIU contributing commentator's article: "Where Lies the Crux of Sino-U.S. Relations?"]

[Text] The 6 April RENMIN RIBAO reprints on page 7 an article by a contributing commentator of Issue No 2 of the 1982 GUOJI WENTI YANJIU [JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES] entitled "Where Lies the Crux of Sino-U.S. Relations?"

The article says: The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States was warmly welcomed by the people of the two countries and the people of various countries throughout the world because it is not only to the advantage of the two countries but is also favorable to world peace. But, in the United States, there are people who are not reconciled to recognizing only one China; they still think of pursuing the two Chinas or one China, one Taiwan schemes. Shortly after the establishment of Sino-U.S. diplomatic relations, the U.S. Congress passed a Taiwan Relations Act which was signed into U.S. law by the President. Some U.S. senators did not even bother to conceal that the aim of enacting the Taiwan Relations Act was to continue to treat Taiwan as a nation and to deny the PRC Government, the sole legal government of China. The United States continued to supply arms to Taiwan in 1979 according to a previously signed contract with Taiwan. At the start of 1980, the U.S. Government again announced U.S. arms sales to Taiwan according to the new manifest.

The article stresses: China's position against the United States' selling arms to Taiwan is consistent and firm. China can never tolerate conditions whereby the United States continues its arms sales to Taiwan without a time limit. The situation in which Sino-U.S. relations are seriously threatened at present is created entirely by the United States.

The article says: The history of Sino-U.S. relations over the past three decades or more shows that Sino-U.S. relations can be developed as long as the United States respects Chinese sovereignty. It will be destroyed if China's sovereignty is infringed upon. The continuous development of Sino-U.S. relations under the current international situation will be beneficial to the overall world strategy. It is therefore necessary to seek a way to remove obstacles so that the relations between the two countries will continue to develop on the basis of common adherence to the fundamental norm in international relations. Relations between the two countries today are at a crossroad. While the Chinese side is striving for good prospects, it is also prepared for a bad ending.

CSO: 4005/746

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' PRAISES EGYPT'S FOREIGN POLICY GOALS

OW241912 Beijing XINHUA in English 1839 GMT 24 Mar 82

["Egypt's Foreign Policy Fundamentals: Peace and National Dignity--by XINHUA Correspondent Wan Guang" -- XINHUA headline]

[Text] Cairo, March 24 -- At a time when Egypt is facing a powerful force pressuring it into making concessions, Egyptian President Husni Mubarak reaffirmed Tuesday that Egypt's foreign policy rests on two fundamentals: peace and national dignity.

Israeli authorities have recently threatened to delay or cancel its withdrawal from the Sinai in April if disputes between Egypt and Israel on demarcation lines in Taba and other places cannot be resolved. According to today's local press, President Mubarak told parliament members at a Tuesday meeting that Egypt's borders with Israel are demarcated and "we cannot cede a single span of our land."

In an interview with the New York TIMES published by the Cairo newspapers today, Mubarak said Egypt cannot give any concessions on the border issue.

To settle differences between Egypt and Israel, Mubarak has sent Usamah al-Baz, first secretary of state of the Foreign Ministry and director of the president's political affairs office, to Israel. Al-Baz met with Israel's Prime Minister Begin Tuesday and gave him a letter from Mubarak.

Mubarak said he told Israel about the necessity of consolidating peace in his letter. He said that according to the Egyptian-Israeli peace agreement, differences between the two sides may be put forward for mediation or arbitration.

"We try and hope to reach agreement," he added.

Meanwhile, Egypt, on the Jerusalem problem, will remain with an Arab stand. Mubarak has refused to visit Jerusalem in his proposed Israel tour in defiance of the U.S. and Israeli pressure.

Egypt also has rejected Israel's demand to hold two meetings in Jerusalem--an expert's meeting on Palestinian autonomy negotiations and a joint Egyptian-Israeli military committee meeting.

Mubarak reiterated Tuesday that Egypt will follow a non-alignment policy. Although Egypt keeps special economic and military relations with the United States and wants more U.S. military and economic aid, he said, "we are a non-aligned country. We do not align ourselves. We do not enter into any alliance."

He also emphasized that importance should be attached to the role military forces play in protecting Egyptian sovereignty.

"Without the army, Egypt will have no say in the world," he said.

Egypt also is going ahead with a policy of diversifying sources of its weapons. Egyptian Defense Minister Abu Ghazala announced to journalists after holding talks on military production cooperation with the visiting British Minister of State for Defense Viscount Trenchard Tuesday that he will visit Italy, Austria and some other European countries this year to discuss further military cooperation.

Observers here said positions taken by Egypt at this critical moment show that Mubarak intends to pursue an independent foreign policy.

CSO: 4000/85

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRC COMMENTATOR ON CRUX OF SINO-U.S. TIES

OW061248 Beijing XINHUA in English 1231 GMT 6 Apr 82

[Text] Beijing, April 6 (XINHUA)--"Relations between China and the United States is now at the crossroads. China on its part is working for the best possible prospects and is at the same time prepared for things to get worse," writes a guest commentator in the summer issue of the quarterly STUDIES OF INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS this year.

He points out that events in the past 30 years show that "only when the United States respects China's sovereignty, can Sino-American relations develop. Any American encroachment upon China's sovereignty will result in jeopardizing the relations between the two countries."

Entitled "Wherein Lies the Crux of the Problem in Sino-American Relations," the commentator's article is reprinted in the PEOPLE'S DAILY today.

In the context of the present international situation, commentator says, continued development of Sino-American relations is in the overall strategic interest of the world. It is, therefore, necessary to seek ways and means of overcoming the handicap and carrying forward these relations with both sides observing the basic criteria of international relations. Such is the desire of the Chinese as well as the American people."

Commentator goes on to say that progress of Sino-American relations cannot be one of plain sailing. "The road forward is rough and bumpy with twists and turns," he adds.

Writing about a solution to the issue of American arms sales to Taiwan, he says: "China sticks to principle and is at the same time quite reasonable. The United States must end its arms sales to Taiwan. That is a matter of principle. As for the steps and ways to put the principle into effect, they can be worked out satisfactorily through talks between the two parties taking various factors into consideration. This is what China did in the negotiations for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States and subsequently in handling Sino-American relations including American arms deals with Taiwan. China has shown patience and flexibility. But there is a limit to its forbearance and it will not barter away principle."

Commentator stresses that the United States and the United States alone is to blame for the present crisis in Sino-American relations.

China's opposition to arms sales to Taiwan is "consistent and firm," he continues. During the talks on the establishment of Sino-American diplomatic relations, the two sides failed to agree on the issue. The Chinese side then stated explicitly its opposition to more arms deals with Taiwan and made it clear that two countries subsequently must arrive at a solution to the problem. China will not tolerate indefinitely continued U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. This does not stem from China's fear of the military threat posed by the arms sales. It is because, first and foremost, the U.S. action constitutes a grave infringement upon China's sovereignty and interference with its internal affairs. China's modern history is essentially a record of the Chinese people's struggle to safeguard its independence and sovereignty and fight against foreign intervention. This long-drawn-out struggle cost the Chinese people countless lives and untold suffering. The liberated New China will not tolerate any encroachment upon its sovereignty, and for this very reason it opposes foreign arms sales to Taiwan.

Commentator notes that in the past three years the two countries have developed their relations considerably in the fields of politics, economy, culture and science and technology. However, there are also difficulties and obstacles. Failure to overcome them in good time will place these relations in danger of retrogression.

The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States was warmly welcomed by the Chinese and American people and other peoples of the world as it benefited the two countries as well as world peace, says commentator. But some people in the United States refuse to recognize there is only one China. They want to have "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan." Shortly after the normalization of relations, the U.S. Congress passed the "Taiwan Relations Act," which was later signed into law by the U.S. President. The act says it is aimed at "the continuation of commercial, cultural, and other relations between the people of the United States and the people on Taiwan." Here the phrase "other unofficial relations" in the communique on the establishment of Sino-U.S. diplomatic relations becomes "other relations" in the act. The deletion of the word "unofficial" is significant. What is more, many stipulations of the act directly violate the principles set forth in the communique. The act says that "to consider any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means" is a matter "of grave concern to the United States," and that the United States has to "maintain the capacity.....to resist any resort to force or other forms of coercion that would jeopardize the security, or the social or economic system, of the people on Taiwan." For this, it says, "the United States will make available to Taiwan such defense articles and defense services in such quantity as may be necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capacity." Thus, the United States takes a stance to obstruct the return of Taiwan to the embrace of its motherland and for this purpose will not scruple to intervene militarily.

Commentator asks: Since the United States recognizes Taiwan as part of China, how could the future of Taiwan be of "grave concern" to it and what right does the United States have to concern itself with the social or economic system in China's Taiwan province, which comes under China's sovereignty? And against whom are the "defense articles" and "defense services" supplied to Taiwan by the United States?

These clauses have invalidated the U.S. commitment to terminate within one year the U.S.-Taiwan "mutual defense treaty," commentator writes. What is worse it actually extends the treaty's application to cover what it calls "any resort to force or other forms of coercion" that threatens Taiwan's security.

According to the act, all "treaties" and "agreements" in force at the end of 1978 between the United States and Taiwan should continue in force, and the property in the U.S. controlled by the Taiwan authorities should remain intact.

Commentator notes that some U.S. congressmen have made it clear that the "Taiwan Relations Act" is meant to continue to take Taiwan as a "state" and the authorities there as the "government" of that "state." This is an open attempt to deny the fact that there is only one China in the world and that the government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legitimate government of China.

CSO: 4000/85

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BANGLADESH TO HONOR INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS

OW270827 Beijing XINHUA in English 0710 GMT 27 Mar 82

[Text] Dacca, March 26 (XINHUA)--Bangladesh would continue to adhere strictly to the objectives and principles of the U.N. charter, the non-aligned movement, the Colombo Commonwealth and the Islamic conference, said Bangladesh Foreign Secretary Humanyu Rashid Chowdhury yesterday.

Mr Chowdhury made the statement when he met heads of the diplomatic missions here to explain the country's foreign policy after the imposition of martial law.

He said there would be no change in the country's foreign policy and all treaties, agreements and multilateral and bilateral commitments would be honored by Bangladesh. Bangladesh would be guided by the mottos of respect for sovereign equality of all nations, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, peaceful settlement of all problems and disputes and the right of every nation to determine the form of its social, economic and political system.

He said Bangladesh would continue to support the struggle of the Palestinians and demand for a withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories.

He said his country stood for a withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea to allow the people of those two countries to determine their own destiny. He pledged that his country would continue to condemn apartheid and racism in all their manifestations.

Chowdhury declared Bangladesh would strive to bring about harmonious north-south economic relations based on the spirit of the Cancun summit and develop south-south relations based on the principle of economic cooperation among developing countries.

CSO: 4000/85

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY CARRINGTON RESIGNS

OW051651 Beijing XINHUA in English 1636 GMT 5 Apr 82

[Text] London, April 5 (XINHUA)--British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington and two senior ministers at the Foreign Office resigned today under heavy criticism after Argentina's invasion of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands.

The ministers are Humphrey Atkins, lord privy seal or deputy foreign secretary, and Richard Luce, minister of state.

The resignations were accepted by the Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Carrington and his senior ministers are the first victims of a political storm facing Thatcher's conservative government following the Argentine Friday seizure of the disputed South Atlantic Falkland Islands, which Britain has ruled since 1832. During the first weekend sitting of Parliament since the Suez Canal crisis 26 years ago, the government was strongly criticised in the House of Commons for its lack of preparedness against the Argentine invasion.

Angry conservative members of Parliament joined the opposition Labor Party and the alliance of Liberals and Social Democrats in demanding resignations of the foreign and defense secretaries. Thatcher reportedly resisted the demands because she needs a unified government to regain control of the lost colony.

Lord Carrington, who was appointed foreign secretary when Thatcher's conservative party came to power in May 1979, admitted in his letter of resignation to Mrs Thatcher that the invasion of the Falkland Islands had been a humiliating affront to Britain and that he had been responsible for the conduct of the policy which had led to that humiliation.

It was reported that Thatcher refused a letter of resignation from Defense Secretary John Nott.

A 36-ship task force, spearheaded by the aircraft carriers "Invincible" and "Hermes," left Portsmouth in southern England today to face an Argentine fleet of 15 ships. The armada is the largest to sail from Britain since the Suez Canal crisis in 1956.

Defense Secretary John Nott declared on a television broadcast yesterday that if a diplomatic solution was not reached, Britain would fight to regain the islands. Nott did not rule out the possibilities of sinking Argentine vessels, blockading the islands or even attacking the Argentine mainland.

CSO: 4000/85

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JAPAN, N. AMERICA, EUROPE STRESS COOPERATION

OW080542 Beijing XINHUA in English 1623 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] Tokyo, April 7 (XINHUA)--More than 130 representatives from Japan, North America and Western Europe participated in the 13th plenary meeting of the private tripartite commission here this week.

Takeshi Watanabe, Japanese chairman of the commission, said Tuesday at a news conference after the conclusion of the two-day meeting that cooperation among Japan, North America and Western Europe, was essential and that the participants of the present meeting "exchanged views scrupulously for the sake of mutual understanding."

Western countries have posed economic sanctions on the Soviet Union since the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in 1979. The meeting's participants discussed economic relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern European nations.

The meeting's participants agreed it was imperative to enhance the role of the coordinating committee controlling East-West trade (COCOM) and the setting up of a special COCOM sub-committee to examine the export of technology to the Soviet Union to eliminate the use of Western technology in the Soviet military.

In an address to the meeting, Japanese Foreign Minister Yoshio Sakurauchi urged Western countries to enhance their unity. He also pledged to continue Japan's efforts to follow up unilateral market-opening measures.

CSO: 4000/85

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NONALIGNED GROUP SEEKS SUPPORT FOR PALESTINIANS

OW061855 Beijing XINHUA in English 1836 GMT 6 Apr 82

[Text] Kuwait, April 6 (XINHUA)--The non-aligned coordination bureau began a three-day extraordinary meeting here today to study the best possible ways and means to support the Palestine cause.

The meeting will also adopt a working draft on the Palestine problem to be submitted to the seventh non-aligned summit to be held in Baghdad this September.

Kuwaiti deputy premier and minister of foreign affairs and information Sheykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir as-Sabah opened the meeting, which is attended by the 34 members of the coordination bureau and observers from 54 non-aligned countries.

In an ensuing speech, he demanded complete Israel withdrawal from all the occupied territories. Kuwait, he stressed, rejected any bilateral or partial agreements infringing on the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and establish their own independent state.

Pressure must be brought to bear on Israel to force it to adhere to the United Nations charter and to observe all resolutions made by international organizations, he pointed out.

He appealed to the non-aligned movement to give full support to the Palestinian people and to initiate an urgent remedy in relations among the non-aligned nations.

Palestine Liberation Organization chairman Yasir 'Arafat made an account of the horrid atrocities of the zionist aggressor in the occupied territories and their sinister designs in the Arab world, in southern Lebanon in particular.

He said the Palestinian people enjoy the support of the world freedom-lovers and shall continue their struggle until victory.

Both Sheykh as-Sabah and 'Arafat appealed for an earliest possible end to the Iranian-Iraqi war.

Considering the dangers in the Gulf region, Arafat pointed out, effort must be exerted to end this war as soon as possible, so as to bring about security and unity in this region to confront the common enemy--zionism.

The Egypt delegation headed by Egyptian ambassador to the United Nations Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid also attended the meeting. Observers here said as he maintains good relations with many Arab representatives in the United Nations, he is going to make contacts with many other Arab delegates here in what will pave the way for Egypt's return to the Arab ranks.

CSO: 4000/85

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ESCAP'S 38TH SESSION ENDS IN BANGKOK 2 APRIL

OW030805 Beijing XINHUA in English 0103 GMT 3 Apr 82

[Text] Bangkok, April 2 (XINHUA)--A call for the transformation of the existing inequitable and unjust international economic relations and for the establishment of a new international economic order was strongly voiced at the 38th session of the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), which concluded here tonight after 11-day meetings.

Delegates of many developing countries to the annual session, attended by 209 delegates from 38 member or associate member states and regions, expressed resentments against protectionism practised by the developed countries, and pressed for early global negotiations on the economic relations.

Many delegates appealed to the developing countries in this region to strengthen collective self-reliance and develop regional economic cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefits.

They also demanded that positive and suitable measures be adopted to ensure food supply and distribution in Asia-Pacific, the main theme of this session.

An annual report reflecting these demands was adopted at the end of the session.

CSO: 4000/85

ZIMBABWE PREMIER MEETS PRC JOURNALISTS

OW201311 Beijing XINHUA in English 1215 GMT 20 Mar 82

[Text] Salisbury, March 19 (XINHUA)--Prime Minister Robert Mugabe said here today the independence of Zimbabwe has been consolidated over the last two years and great success has been scored in various fields.

In an interview with a XINHUA journalist group and a PEOPLE'S DAILY correspondent, Mugabe said Zimbabwe's "political situation is very good" and "the majority of the people support the ruling party."

He told the Chinese journalists that "upon our victory in 1980, we invited the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) to join us in an alliance." "However, we are disappointed that ZAPU has been planning to overthrow the government headed by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)." The discovery of hidden arms on ZAPU-owned farms, supplied by the Soviet Union during the war, has affected the alliance with ZAPU. Now there exists an unpleasant relationship and conflicts between the two parties, he added.

But, he said, "We have refused to adopt the position that the whole (ZAPU) party is wrong. Our attitude is that its leadership is wrong and also the leadership of the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA). That is why we removed the ZAPU leaders from the government and arrested the ZIPRA leaders."

He said, "We allow some members of ZAPU to remain in the government and I'll appoint some ZAPU members to be government officials who, we believe, are progressive and have not had a hand in Nkomo's plans."

Mugabe noted, "The people themselves are united, they don't want war. Whether they are Shona, Nedbele or any other tribe, they want unity." "We will continue to uphold the people's unity."

"In the military field," Mugabe said, "we proceeded to unite our armed forces, the forces of the three components: the ZANLA built by ZANU, the ZIPRA founded by ZAPU and the former Rhodesian army. They are now under a single command." "They are now the forces to defend the people, not the forces to threaten and fight against the people."

He said ZANU would "unite with all forces in the country."

On the economic situation, Mugabe said the past two years "have been years of hard work to consolidate our hard-won victory." Zimbabwe's three-year transitional national development plan would be carried out beginning July this year, he said. He also dwelt on the achievements made in industrial and agricultural production.

Speaking about the Southern African situation, Mugabe said, "The frontline states are in agreement that the Namibian people are entitled to their independence this year." Yet "we know that the imperialist forces want to delay it, especially South Africa," he added.

The prime minister pointed out that the strategy of South Africa is to destabilize the countries in this region, which has aroused great concern.

He stressed that the U.N. Resolution 435 of 1978 should be implemented and the "one-man-two-vote" system be rejected.

Mugabe highly appreciated the prolonged friendship between Zimbabwe and China. He said, "We must proceed as we enter a new phase of struggle, the social-ecoromic struggle, to work out ways of joining forces again as partners so we can achieve a second victory in the economic field."

In conclusion, he said he wished "to assure the Chinese people that they will forever remain our good friends." "We fought a bitter war together, we suffered together and now that we have got this victory, it must lead us to the development of closer friendship, the friendship between our two peoples."

CSO: 4000/85

BRIEFS

BANGLADESH PRESIDENT SWORN IN--Dacca, 27 Mar (XINHUA)--Abul Fazal Mohammad Assanuddin Chowdhury was sworn in as president of Bangladesh in a ceremony at the Presidential Palace here today. Bangladesh official news agency BSS said the ceremony was presided over by Chief Justice Kamaluddin Hossain and attended by chief martial law administrator Hussain Mohammad Ershad. The nomination of Chowdhury, a retired supreme court judge, as president was announced in a martial law decree issued yesterday. [Text] [OW271900 Beijing XINHUA in English 1850 GMT 27 Mar 82]

INDIA AIR FORCE MODERNIZATION--New Delhi, 31 Mar (XINHUA)--India's first deep penetration strike plane, the Jaguar, soared into the sky today, according to a report from Bangalore. The Jaguar is an advanced fighter manufactured by Britain and assembled in India. Defence Minister Ramaswamy Venkataraman, who watched the inaugural flight, told newsmen that India would start manufacturing this kind of plane "progressively." The plane, assembled by the Hindustan Aeronautics Corporation in Bangalore, was claimed to have more thrust than that used in Britain. This is one of the efforts made by India to modernize its air force and to diversify its aircraft purchase. India is now negotiating with France for the purchase of Mirage-2000. [Text] [OW311912 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 31 Mar 82]

UN DRAFT RESOLUTION VETOED--United Nations, 2 Apr (XINHUA)--The United States today vetoed a draft resolution condemning Israel for its dissolution of the elected municipal council of Al Birah and its dismissal of the mayors of Nabulus and Ramallah, following the conclusion of the U.N. Security Council's debate on the situation in the occupied Arab territories. The vote on the draft resolution was 13 in favour (including China) to 1 against (United States) with 1 abstention (Zaire). The draft sponsored by Jordan denounces Israel for its violation of the liberty and rights of the inhabitants in the occupied Arab lands. The draft also calls on Israel to rescind its decision disbanding the elected municipal council of Al Birah and its decision to remove from their posts the mayors of Nabulus and Ramallah. [Text] [OW030824 Beijing XINHUA in English 0808 GMT 3 Apr 82]

UK NEW FOREIGN SECRETARY--London, 5 Apr (XINHUA)--British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher today appointed former Defence Secretary Francis Pym to succeed Lord Carrington as foreign secretary, it was announced here. Lord Carrington and two other senior ministers at the Foreign Office resigned

earlier today to take the responsibility for Britain's setback over the crisis of the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands in the South Atlantic. Pym was appointed secretary of state for defence in May 1979 when Mrs Thatcher's conservative party came to power. He became leader of the House of Commons in a cabinet reshuffle at the beginning of last year. Today's announcement also said that John Biffen, the trade secretary, was named to replace Francis Pym as leader of the House of Commons and lord president of the council. [Text] [OW060136 Beijing XINHUA in English 0127 GMT 6 Apr 82]

PAKISTANI FOREIGN MINISTER'S COMMENTS--Islamabad, 6 Apr (XINHUA)--Pakistani Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Ali Khan said today Pakistan will not become involved in any nuclear war because of its non-aligned, peace policies. The foreign minister made this statement in reference to the opinions of some unidentified American experts who say if there is a future nuclear war, it will occur in countries such as Pakistan and Afghanistan. The foreign minister said the opinions of the American experts have caused concern in Pakistan, were speculative and made far-fetched conclusions because Pakistan has good relations with the great world powers. He said Pakistan's efforts for peace are well known. "We have moved in the United Nations for the declaration of South Asia as a nuclear free zone and supported the denuclearization of the Indian Ocean," he said. "We also have sought securities and guarantees for non-nuclear states regarding the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, against them." [Text] [OW061735 Beijing XINHUA in English 1528 GMT 6 Apr 82]

SOVIET INTRUSIONS MONITORED--Tokyo, 7 Apr (XINHUA)--The air self-defense force of Japan scrambled a record number of 939 times in fiscal 1981 mainly to monitor approaching and intruding Soviet aircraft, according to a KYODO report. This was publicly reported for the first time to a regular cabinet meeting by Director General Soichiro Ito of the defense agency. Japanese jets scrambled 783 times in fiscal 1980. The past record of 798 was registered in fiscal 1978. The defense chief attributed the increase to more reconnaissance flights by Soviet planes, especially in Western Sea of Japan around Tsushima Island. "Soviet reconnaissance aircraft appeared almost every time when Japan tested its sophisticated weapons such as air-to-ship missiles," Ito was quoted as saying by NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN. Soviet anti-submarine patrol planes, he also revealed, had infringed upon Japanese territorial airspace 13 times since 1967. [Text] [OW070802 Beijing XINHUA in English 0735 GMT 7 Apr 82]

U.S. SPECIAL FORCES TO LIBERIA--Monrovia, 9 Apr (XINHUA)--Forty-two American green berets flew in today to participate in month-long joint military manoeuvres with the Liberian armed forces. This is the second year in a row that Liberian head of state Samuel K. Doe has invited the U.S. special forces to Liberia for such joint manoeuvres. Beginning from April 12, the green berets will hold various parachute demonstrations for the general public for three days as part of the celebrations of the second anniversary of the April 12 coup which brought the Liberian military to power two years ago. This will be followed by military training programmes with Liberian troops, including airborne operations, communications and ground tactical operations. [Text] [OW101220 Beijing XINHUA in English 1205 GMT 10 Apr 82]

PRC WEAPONS TO PAKISTAN--In his report to the military commission, director Hong Xuezhi of the PLA general logistics department dealt with the question of supplying Pakistan with new weapons and military equipment. During his recent visit to Pakistan, Ji Pengfei reached an agreement on this matter with Pakistani leaders. The report points out: Supplying the Pakistani Government, Afghan guerrillas and the Kampuchean national army with weapons, ammunition and military equipment on an emergency basis will disrupt the carrying out of the plan for the work of the general logistics department. Moreover, a considerably large amount of our army's materials will also have to be made available for them. [Text] [OW032221 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 2 Apr 82]

PRO-U.S. POLICY--The institute concerned of the Chinese Academy of Sciences recently submitted a research report on the international situation to the secretariat of the CCP Central Committee. The conclusion of the report on the pro-U.S. foreign policy advocated by comrade Deng Xiaoping is considerably optimistic. First, the Taiwan question has not yet been solved as anticipated; on the contrary, the effort to solve this question has reached an impasse. Second, in the course of economic readjustment, various data show that U.S. economic aid to our country is far less than that provided by Japan. Third, U.S. military aid to our country is not even worth mentioning. At the same time, the tensions between our country and its southern neighboring countries have been aggravated. [Text] [OW032204 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 2 Apr 82]

CSO: 4005/746

BRIEFS

REPORT ON SOCIAL ORDER--The 14th meeting of the 5th Xinjiang Regional People's Congress Standing Committee held a full session on 13 March to listen to reports delivered by responsible persons of the regional higher people's court, procuratorate and public security department on the situation in tidying up social order. They pointed out: "Social order throughout Xinjiang is now gradually turning for the better. Upholding social order is the important duty of the court, procuratorate and public security organs. The public security and judiciary organs at all levels must regard achieving a fundamental turn for the better in social order as their primary task." They said: "We must correctly apply the weapon of law to deal resolute blows at counterrevolutionaries and elements who commit serious crimes, and strive for a fundamental turn for the better in social order in the region. At present economic crimes are rampant. These include smuggling, speculation aimed at gaining huge profits, theft of public property, selling valuable cultural relics for profit, and bribery and corruption. These things seriously endanger the state's socialist construction and the people's interests. The public security and judiciary departments at all levels must resolutely implement the NPC Standing Committee's decision on severely punishing criminals who carry out serious economic sabotage." [HK140344 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 13 Mar 82]

CSO: 4005/749

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FURTHER PREPARATION FOR NATIONWIDE CENSUS PLANNED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Feb 82 p 1

[Article: "Fullscale Assignment of Tasks for the Nationwide Census--Province Convened the Third Session of a Conference of Census Work"]

[Text] The third session of the provincewide conference of census work was held in Fuzhou from 4 to 6 February. The conference examined the situation of work in preparation for the census and made fullscale assignments of all census work.

The conference passed on the spirit of the third session of the Nationwide Conference on Census Work.

The conference pointed out that the census work is important for clarifying our national conditions and national strength. This census will be the largest in our nation's history and is not only of concern to the people of our nation, but will be the focus of world attention. For more than a year now, our province has been doing a lot of preparation for the census. The province and every prefecture, municipality and county have established agencies, formed census leadership groups and offices, carried out a reorganization of households, carried out a pilot census in the city of Nanjing and done a lot of work in the areas of address coding, promotion and logistics in order to create the most advantageous conditions for carrying out the fullscale census.

The conference pointed out that, according to advance plans, on 1 July of this year the nationwide census will begin. Each department and prefecture involved must swing into action immediately and better grasp each item of preparation work: (1) We must do well in widespread and penetrating promotional work, making use of newspapers and periodicals, broadcasting, television, films, slides, cartoons, folk art, stage works, operatics, etc., and we must explain the significance of the census, and the items and requirements of the census must be made known to all so as to obtain the active support of the broad masses. Promotion work must begin now and should be brought to its height in June which is Census Month. (2) All prefectures, municipalities and counties must firmly grasp pilot programs, raising the pilot work to a new level, and they must bring their experience into play in the nationwide census. (3) According to stipulated conditions and requirements,

we must do a serious job of selecting and training survey, encoding and data recording personnel. (4) We must continue to do well in our work of household reorganization, address coding and logistics.

The conference demanded that party committees at every level and the government cooperate in all aspects of leadership and organization of the census work and supply the necessary material preparation for the census in keeping with the principle of industrious frugality in order to create conditions for a highly accurate completion of the census work.

Provincial CCP Committee Secretary and Deputy Governor of the Province, Jin Zhaodian [6855 2507 0368], spoke at the conference.

9705
CSO: 4005/670

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ULANHU ADDRESSES CHINA DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE MEETING

OW020533 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1508 GMT 1 Apr 82

[Text] Beijing, 1 Apr (XINHUA)--The China Democratic League Central Committee held a meeting this afternoon at the auditorium of the CPPCC National Committee to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the birthday of the late Mr Zhang Lan, one of the founders and formerly chairman of the China Democratic League Central Committee.

Ulanhu, member of the political bureau of the CCP Central Committee, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee and director of the united front work department of the CCP Central Committee; Xi Zhongxun, member of the secretariat of the CCP Central Committee and vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee; Liu Lantao, vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee; and responsible persons of democratic parties and mass organizations concerned Qu Wu, Hu Ziang, Ye Shengtao, Yan Xinmin, Huang Dingchen, Jin Shanbao, Li Chunqing and Lin Liyun; attended the meeting.

Ulanhu spoke at the meeting, expressing the deeply cherished memory and great esteem of Mr Zhang Lan. He said: Mr Zhang Lan was a democratic revolutionary of our country, respected patriot, outstanding leader of the China Democratic League and close friend of the Chinese Communist Party.

Ulanhu said: In the past 100 years or so, to save the country and the people, countless advanced people and noble-minded patriots with democratic ideas in our country courageously stood up to fight and wrote brilliant chapters in the history of the people's democratic revolution. Mr Zhang Lan was one of their glorious representatives.

He said: Mr Zhang Lan took part in leading the people of Sichuan Province in the movement for preserving railway rights and against imperialism and feudalism, which took place even before the 1911 revolution. After the "May 4th" movement, he advocated democracy and ran schools in Sichuan and supported the students' progressive activities. During the war of resistance against Japan, he supported the Chinese Communist Party's call for unity in the war of resistance against Japan and opposed the Kuomintang reactionaries' policy of being passive against the Japanese and active against the communists. During the war of liberation, he displayed a fearless spirit, exposed the Kuomintang reactionaries' plot to start a civil

war and supported the political proposition put forward by the Chinese Communist Party to stop the civil war and establish a coalition government. During the period of the old CPPCC, as a leader of the China Democratic League, he closely cooperated and coordinated activities with the Chinese Communist Party. In 1946 he instructed the headquarters of the China Democratic League to issue a statement flatly refusing to take part in the puppet National Assembly, thus isolating the Kuomintang reactionaries, upholding the China Democratic League's correct stand and upholding the people's democratic united front. In November 1947, he was being watched by the Kuomintang reactionaries, but he remained convinced that "democracy will ultimately prevail in China." He made immortal contributions to the founding of new China. After the founding of the People's Republic, he took part in the leadership of the people's democratic political power and was one of our country's leaders who enjoyed high prestige and commanded universal respect.

Ulanhu said: Mr Zhang Lan's life was a militant life which advanced constantly together with the historical development of the Chinese revolution. Marching forward from the old democratic revolution to the new democratic revolution, to close cooperation with the Chinese Communist Party and to accepting the CCP's leadership, he at last fulfilled his long-cherished wish to overthrow the old society and found a new China. He was a patriotic old man who made progress with each passing day, was respected by the people, firmly supported the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and took the socialist road. Twenty-seven years have past since he left us. Now, tremendous changes have taken place in our country, brilliant progress has been achieved in socialist revolution and socialist construction, and the patriotic united front has been constantly consolidated and developed. Especially since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the people of all nationalities throughout the country have worked with one heart and one mind and continuously achieved new successes in building China into a modern and powerful socialist country. This has fully demonstrated the superiority of our socialist system and the advantages of many parties cooperating under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Affairs of state are the public affairs of the whole nation and not the private affairs of a single party or group." Our party will unite and cooperate with all the democratic parties and democratic personages without party affiliation, and this is a firm and unshakable principle. In the new historical period, we will continue to implement the principle of long-term coexistence and mutual supervision with the democratic parties; conscientiously respect the political freedom, organizational independence and equal legal status of the democratic parties within the limits of rights and obligations given them by the constitution; really foster a relationship of utter devotion and sharing honor or disgrace with our non-CCP friends; and vigorously support the democratic parties and mass organizations to independently carry on their work.

Ulanhu expressed the hope that the democratic parties will bring into full play their enthusiasm, initiative and creativeness, continue to open up new vistas for the work of democratic parties, unite all the forces that can be united and fight together to build our motherland into a modern and powerful,

highly democratic and cultural advanced socialist country, to accomplish the great cause of reunifying the motherland, and to oppose hegemonism and safeguard world peace.

Shi Liang, chairman of the China Democratic League Central Committee, entrusted Lo Hanxian, deputy secretary general of the China Democratic League Central Committee, to read her speech. In her speech she recalled Mr Zhang Lan's life story and expressed the reverence and memory she cherished for Mr Zhang Lan. She pointed out: Zhang Lan was a warm and sincere democrat, patriot and staunch democratic fighter. He spent his whole life fighting for China's independence, freedom, democracy and peace. She urged comrades of the China Democratic League to strive to emulate Mr Zhang Lan's fighting spirit and noble moral character and make contributions to our country's great reunification and great unity and to enhancing the level of our material and cultural development.

He Ziang, vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee, vice chairman of the central committee of the China Democratic National Construction Association and chairman of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, said in his speech: Mr Zhang Lan had groped his way forward along a rugged and rough road. Several decades of practice in tortuous and complicated struggle enabled him to see that only the Chinese Communist Party can lead the people, save the motherland and make China prosperous and strong. Therefore, he finally chose the road of following the communist party.

After recollecting past events in getting to know and associating with Mr Zhang Lan, He Ziang said: In old China, in the face of the bloody white terror, Mr Zhang Lan was fearless and full of confidence, persisted in struggle and firmly stood on the side of the people. After the founding of new China, he actively participated in the work of the people's democratic political power, served as vice chairman of the central people's government, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee and vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee and dedicated his energies to the Chinese people's revolution and construction cause until he breathed his last.

Hu Ziang said: Mr Zhang Lan was the honor of the China Democratic League and Chinese intellectuals. We should learn from him, rally closely around the Chinese Communist Party, continuously consolidate and expand the patriotic united front and strive to fulfill the Chinese people's three great tasks.

Chu Tunan, vice chairman of the China Democratic League Central Committee, presided over the meeting.

The meeting was attended by some 1,000 people including Mr Zhang Lan's son, Zhang Qiaose, and daughter, Zhang Shuyan; responsible persons of departments concerned and the China Democratic League Central Committee members, Ping Jiesan, Li Gui, Fang Zhida, Peng Youjin, Zhang Youyu, Hua Luogeng, Sa Kongliao, Li Wenyi, Fei Xiaotong, Wen Jiasi and Gao Tian; and members of the China Democratic League.

The China Democratic League Central Committee has sent a telegram to Mr Zhang Lan's wife, Liu Huizheng, expressing sincere solicitude to her, and a telegram to responsible persons of the Chongqing Municipal Committee of the China Democratic League, asking them to call on comrade Liu Huizheng on behalf of the China Democratic League Central Committee.

CSO: 4005/748

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

MARITAL MORALITY STRESSED IN CREATING SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

Beijing ZHONGGUO FUNU [WOMEN OF CHINA] in Chinese No 2, 15 Feb 82 pp 2-4

[Article by Liao Jingdan [1675 0064 0030], deputy director, Propaganda Department, CCP Central Secretariat: "Marriage Morals and the Building of Socialist Spiritual Civilization"]

> [Text] Comrade Hu Yaobang's Written Instructions on Marriage and Family Questions
>
> Families are still the cells of our society; our handling of marriage and family questions directly affects the development of our society. When facing problems in marriage and family, we must not only restrain them by law but we must also rely on correct public opinion in society to provide guidance. The power of public opinion in society, namely social morals and customs, is inestimable in comparison to that of law. It is hereby recommended that the Women's Association, in conjunction with the Communist Youth League, the trade unions, cultural groups and educational circles, take up this matter and concentrate on it for the next 10 or more years so that a new situation in which every family enjoys harmony and everybody loves everybody else in the whole country and the whole nation may emerge.

Marriage and family questions have always been an important aspect of social questions. They are closely related to the building of our material civilization, and especially to the building of our spiritual civilization. In undertaking the building of our socialist material civilization on the one hand and the building of our socialist spiritual civilization on the other hand today, it is very important for us to do a good job in propagating the ideology, morality and ethics of socialism. The family is the cell of the society, and marriage and family relations are fundamental ethical relations in society; none of us can depart from such ethical relations. The development level of marriage and family morality is a conspicuous indicator measuring the developmental level of our socialist spiritual civilization. The handling of marriage and family questions directly affects our socialist morals and customs. At the present stage, the development of the building of our socialist

material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization is bound to penetrate deeply into various parts of society and into the marriage and family realm. Doing a good job in our work in respect to marriage and family in turn promotes stability and unity in society as well as the development of our socialist material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization. Today, not a few problems urgently awaiting reform still exist in our social trends with respect to marriage and family. We should closely study these problems and handle them correctly; we need to further propagate and implement the Marriage Law and handle this complicated social question of marriage and family in a comprehensive manner. This is an important component part of the building of our socialist spiritual civilization.

When attempting to solve marriage and family problems, we must not only restrain them by correct discipline and law but also rely on correct public opinion in society to provide guidance. Comrade Hu Yaobang recently pointed out: the power of public opinion in society, namely social morals and customs, is inestimable in comparison to that of law. A new situation in which every family enjoys harmony and everybody loves everybody else in our socialist country and nation depends on correct theory, ideology and belief for its establishment. The shaping of fine social morals and customs depends on powerful public opinion in society, and political and ideological work as its guarantee. We should seize the problems about which society and the masses exhibit urgent concern in order to strengthen our propaganda and education on marriage and family problems in a planned and orderly way.

What are the principal problems about which society and the masses exhibit urgent concern and demand solutions today?

1. Opposition to arranged marriage and mercenary marriage and insistence on an independent decision on marriage. When marriage and family problems lead to unfortunate consequences, they are mostly the result of arranged and mercenary marriages. The fundamental difference between socialist marriage and marriage in the old society lies in that the unity between the two parties is built on the basis of love. As Engels said, this is "the greatest moral progress." Marriage in the old society was based on money and power and was controlled by all kinds of conditions other than love; no matter whether high-sounding pretexts were used and shady forms were adopted, its essence never really changed. Independent decisionmaking in marriage became possible only after the people were liberated, repealed class exploitation and oppression, and established the socialist system. We should fully respect this right to independent decisionmaking in marriage achieved through revolution. In some localities today, the remnant forces of the old society still operate in private; as a result, incidents of women being deceived and sold have occurred. In the case of such bad people engaging in these criminal plots, we must crack down on them seriously according to law. In the case of those who sabotage and interfere in other people's independent decisionmaking in marriage, we should examine the kinds of situation and the degrees of all consequence involved in order, in some instances, to take disciplinary action against them and, in others, to punish them according to law. The victims must be protected according to law.

2. Opposition to big, extravagant weddings and promotion of civilized, frugal and pleasant wedding ceremonies. Recently, public opinion against big, extravagant weddings has gained definite currency and begun to achieve results. We must continue to carry out propaganda in this regard. Big, extravagant weddings are in essence a manifestation of the sterile and vulgar customs in the old society that regarded wealth and position as a condition of marriage; this is incompatible with socialist spiritual civilization. Big, extravagant weddings bring heavy economic burdens to the participants and their families, relatives and friends; they also affect postmarriage marital relations and harmony in the family, and are therefore very harmful to the newlyweds. Big, extravagant weddings, as people say, have already created havoc in society. Changing this unwholesome trend is urgently demanded by the broad masses. Concerning the harm of big, extravagant weddings, we must continue to broadly and penetratingly carry out propaganda and education in order to arouse everybody to resist such an unwholesome trend.

We must strengthen our education on the legal system, explaining that once marital registration takes place according to legal procedures, a marriage becomes legitimate and is protected by law. The old society required the parties to have three go-betweens and six witnesses and to hold a big feast before they were regarded as formally married as husband and wife; such an unwholesome custom, which has already become a relic of history, should be eliminated. When youths register to get married, relevant personnel must carry out ideological work designed to change such social trends and customs; with good will it should be suggested that they refrain from resorting to a big, extravagant wedding, and that they adopt a civilized, frugal and pleasant form of wedding. When we proceed with such propaganda and education, we must be sensible and reasonable and convince people to do things happily. Being sensible and reasonable means, first of all, that the purchase of necessary articles should not be transformed into resorting to pomp and waste or showing off; the appropriate entertainment of relatives and friends should not be transformed into wining and dining and ostentation, and the normal presentation of gifts by close relatives and good friends should not be transformed into forced contributions and random collection of fancy tributes. In carrying out propaganda and education in the manner of seeking truth from facts, we should enable the principals to proceed from their own actual economic situation in order to hold a frugal wedding in the interest of their life after marriage; we should be thinking of their happiness, and not try to interfere in their wedding.

3. Opposition to rash divorces and encouragement of mutual respect and love and harmonious living between husband and wife. At present, the incidence of divorce has increased somewhat; this has often had to do with the corrosion by bourgeois ideology and distortion of freedom of divorce. We must get rid of the erroneous view regarding freedom of divorce. Indeed, a marriage should be a union based on love, and freedom of divorce is a supplement to freedom of marriage. Under the condition that arranged and mercenary marriages in our country still have not been completely eliminated, in particular, it is especially necessary for the Marriage Law to provide freedom of divorce. But people must never take this provision as a pretext in order to love the new and loath the old, become fickle in their choices and tend to resort to a

divorce on the slightest excuse and thereby make freedom of divorce absolute. A marriage is itself subject to restraint by obligations and moral requirements. After the October Revolution in the Soviet Union, Lenin criticized the erroneous conduct of embracing "a-cup-of-water theory." Getting married or getting divorced is a solemn matter and should be treated solemnly. Getting married is not simply a matter between two persons, since once the two are united they are bound to procreate the new life of a third and thereby touch upon the question of the next generation, and they should hence shoulder their social responsibilities and obligations. Divorcing lightly, looking only after oneself and ignoring others is a manifestation of egotism incompatible with the public morality of society; it should be subject to the reproach of social morality and public opinion.

In marriage and family questions, rights and obligations are also unified. We should acknowledge that the realistic situation in our country still harbors not a few problems left over by history; it would not be sensible for us to attempt to measure all marriages completely on the basis of love. If, because of the provision on freedom of divorce, we should seek to negate all those marriages not completely based on love and let people divorce lightly, that would be a preposterous policy of ignoring the situation of historical development and not conducting any concrete analysis. A large number of facts indicate that in the case of many couples whose union is not based on love, they often respect historical facts and, on account of their sense of moral responsibility and obligation, they can still maintain normal, harmonious relations, and not a few of them have been fostered and established profound marital feelings and achieved what Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Deng Yingchao jointly exemplified as "mutual respect, mutual love, mutual trust, mutual encouragement, mutual assistance, mutual accommodation, mutual understanding, and mutual consolation." We revolutionaries always proceed from reality in order to realize our ideals; in respect to marriage and family, as long as the revolutionary work in which we are engaged is not hampered, we should have lofty morals and sentiments. Today there are people who seek to spread the preposterous theory of "sexual liberation," alleging that it is in accord with the inevitability of social development. No, it definitely does not accord with, but violates, the inevitability of social development; it damages socialist spiritual civilization and ruins social customs; it is moral degeneration.

In a word, we oppose feudal, arranged marriage on the one hand, and, on the other hand, we do not permit people to wave the banner of opposing feudal, arranged marriage just to propagate the corrupt ideology and lifestyle of the bourgeoisie. What we want is a correct view of marriage and love that is in accord with communist morality.

In the case of correct public opinion in respect to marriage and family, we must concentrate on this for the next 10 or more years. This is an important matter in changing social trends and customs and building our socialist spiritual civilization; we must seriously and assiduously concentrate on it until good social customs take shape. As long as problems exist, correct public opinion in society must continue to provide guidance. Naturally, along

with the continued development and change in conditions, points of emphasis in our propaganda should also be different. We must be good at applying the Marxist viewpoint to the interpretation of new problems and the development of our socialist spiritual civilization in the face of new situations. At present, we are engaged in propagating the implementation of the Marriage Law, independent decisionmaking in marriage, opposition to big, extravagant weddings, and promotion of the communist morality in respect to marriage and family. If at the time of Women's Day on "8 March," Youth Day on "4 May," National Day on "1 October" and the spring festival each year, we can propagate good morals and customs in respect to the correct handling of marriage and family problems in a concentrated manner, and persist in doing this for a number of years, that will certainly play a considerable promotional role in our social development.

The marriage and family question is a complicated question. Like other questions, the correct handling of relationships in this regard and the shaping of good trends must begin with strengthening internal party education. If Communist Party members and party cadres, especially leading cadres, take the lead in paying attention to propagating and implementing the Marriage Law and serving as exemplars in communist marriage and family morality, then they will be able to stimulate good social customs with good party workstyle.

The current broadly launched "five-good family" activities are a very good form for the correct handling of marriage and family relationships. As a cell of society, the family today still plays a role in four aspects, that is, a role, in part, of proceeding with material production, of having members living together, of procreating population, and of educating the younger generation. In localities in the countryside where output quotas and work quotas are fixed on the basis of individual households and in the case of self-employed individuals and "couple stores" in the cities, the role of the family is even further enhanced. The form of the "five-good family" activities helps to inculcate the propaganda and educational work on building our socialist material civilization and our socialist spiritual civilization deeply into all the cells of society. The facts in some localities indicate that when a single household does something well, it is capable of stimulating a village; thus, when a family handles its problems well, it should be able to promote great change in our social morals and customs. We must pay attention to launching the "five-good family" activities.

We must energetically develop urban and rural cultural and recreational activities in order to provide male and female youths with places of social intercourse for normal and broad contact. Today, many youths are troubled by not having such places. They are now independent in decisionmaking concerning their marriage, but looking for objects of love still presents difficulties. While marriage introduction centers have played a role, they cannot take the place of everything; nor are they the most ideal way. Some localities have given attention to this question; they have both solved the problem of a place for healthy cultural and recreational activities and provided conveniences for unmarried male and female youths to have social intercourse, increase their mutual understanding, and look for satisfactory objects of love; these are welcomed by the youths. In advocating independent decisionmaking in marriage,

can be realized. This would help counter arranged marriage and foster youths' lofty moral outlook. United with the "five stresses and four points of beauty" activities, the effects of this work would be even more conspicuous. This is an important question concerning the fostering of the socialist generation of new people. We hope that all circles will work together, solve well the youths' marriage and family problems, and make contributions to the building of our socialist material civilization and our socialist spiritual civilization.

9255
CSO: 4005/662

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO' ON RELIGION IN CHINA

HK060751 Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 27 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Xiao Hai [2556 3189]: "Why Religion Still Exists in Our Country"]

[Text] Editor's note: Some young readers ask in their letters: Why is religion permitted to exist in our socialist country? How should we correctly treat the phenomenon of religion in our country? They wish to know the party's policy for religion and knowledge concerned. Here, Comrade Xiao Hai's article is published for young comrades' reference. [End editor's note]

In the past few years, with the gradual implementation of the party's policy for religion, religious organizations in various localities have resumed their activities one after another and the broad masses of religious believers have ease of mind. However, a "religious fever" has emerged in some places. One or two CYL members have gone so far as to give up their belief in Marxism-Leninism and turn to religion. Even cases of female CYL members having their heads shaved to become nuns have occurred. Furthermore, those engaging in feudal superstitious activities have taken advantage of the opportunity, and these activities have spread unchecked. A very small handful of bad people have made use of religion to carry out illegal and criminal activities. In the face of these numerous and complicated phenomena, some comrades have suspected the correctness of the party's policy on religion and think that it is better to forbid or ban religious activities, while other comrades have proceeded from the angle of favoring freedom of religious belief and doubted whether the Marxist thesis that "religion is opium for the people" is scientific. How should we look upon these religious phenomena? Why are there still religious phenomena in our socialist country?

Social Roots of Religion

Philosophically speaking, all religions have created a mysterious and imaginary "heavenly kingdom" which is beyond the human world and let the gods in the "heavenly kingdom" rule the men on earth. Therefore, they all belong to schools of the idealist camp. Militant European atheists in the 18th century explained religion as "an idiot meeting a swindler." They held that religion emerged because the swindler created and spread religion and the idiot believed that it was true. Marxism has proceeded from the concept that social ideology is determined by social being and holds that the social roots of religion are

sufferings in reality. In addition to man's lack of a correct understanding of some irresistible natural forces, the chief reason why religion was engendered was that exploitative systems existed in human society and the exploited people turned to religion to look for a way to shake off their sufferings in reality. The history and present situation of religion has completely proved this Marxist thesis.

Buddhism is the earliest of the world's three major religions and has 240 million believers. Buddhism was born between the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. in Kapilavastu in northern ancient India where class contradictions were very acute in the ancient Indian society. The Buddhist religious doctrines can be summed up in one word, "bitterness." "The sea of bitterness is endless. Repent, and salvation is at hand." This means that the human world is full of sufferings and only if men are in pursuit of the "Nirvana" realm of regarding "calmness and extinction as happiness" can they sever themselves from "roots of bitterness." The word "bitterness" reflected the aspirations of the masses of exploited people. Therefore, in its early stage, Buddhism attracted a large number of people at the lower social strata of the caste system, spread extensively and developed into a world-wide religion. Christianity, the influence of which is the greatest of the world's three major religions, has 950 million believers. In the first and second century, it began to spread among various tribes which were under the rule of the Roman empire. In the beginning, it was the religion of the slaves and the common people. Later, it was used by the exploiting classes as a spiritual support to rule the people. As a matter of fact, "original sin" and "Christ's sufferings" mentioned in the Christian "bible" reflected that the masses of people suffered hardships and had a difficult time. They suffered from the dual oppression of social forces (the exploiting classes) and the forces of nature. This is also true of Islam, one of the world's three major religions. To date, the great majority of the world's people are still living under exploitative systems and are suffering various kinds of hardships. As a result, two-thirds of the world's people today believe in different kinds of religions. In 1978, the incident that some 900 believers of the "People's Temple" religion collectively committed suicide in the United States shocked the world. Most of the believers in this incident were helpless laboring people who suffered poverty and solitude.

A Correct Understanding of the Phenomenon of Religion in Our Country

In our socialist China, the percentage of people who are religious is not large. Moreover, viewed from the general trend of development, this percentage will become smaller and smaller. The main reason is that the socialist system based on public ownership has been established in our country and the people have become masters of the country. They decide their own destiny and have embarked on the road of truly and thoroughly shaking off their sufferings. Besides, in the ideological realm of our country, Marxism occupies a dominant position and is the guiding ideology of our party and country. However, the absolute number of people who sincerely believe in religion is not small. Besides factors of knowledge, nationality and history, the basic cause for the emergence of this phenomenon is still a social one. Because

various evils handed down from the old society have not been completely eliminated, the new system is not yet sound and perfect, the country's economic backwardness has not been fundamentally changed, and the level of national education is not yet high; and because various mistakes and setbacks have occurred in our work and there are still unhealthy trends such as bureaucracy and making use of connections to one's own advantage, there are still some concrete difficulties and hardships in the people's economic life. Under these circumstances, when a portion of people still do not have a thorough understanding of the great significance and bright prospects of socialism and communism and have not fostered the determination and confidence to join the party and other people in overcoming difficulties and eliminating evils, they are prone to turn to religion in order to give vent to their miseries and seek spiritual sustenance.

In real life, some young people are showing passionate interest in religious activities. There are many concrete reasons for this. Some are influenced by their families. Some are drifting with the tide. Some are interested out of curiosity. What is most worthy of attention is that there are those who believe in religion because of spiritual depression. Due to various social problems caused by the decade of civil disorder, some young people have met with setbacks in continuing their study, in getting a job, in marriage and so on, whereas we are lagging behind in ideological and political work and have not given them effective guidance. Consequently, they are suffering from ideological depression and feel that the road of life is getting narrower and narrower. Therefore, some of them are disillusioned with the mortal world and try to look for a way out in the religious kingdom. There is a young man in Fujian Province who has been religiously influenced by his family since his childhood, but for a long time he remained an atheist. During the decade of civil disorder, he went to settle down in the countryside. There, he found that his companions were transferred one after the other to work in cities by making use of various kinds of "connections." He himself had no "connections" to make use of and met with many concrete difficulties in his everyday life which he was unable to overcome. Consequently, he felt lonely and pessimistic and felt that he was not the master of his own fate. Finally he became a pious Christian.

It can be seen from this that in our country the social roots of religion have not been thoroughly eliminated. The existence of religious activities is inevitable and not strange at all. The constitution stipulates that citizens of our country enjoy the freedom of religious belief and the party and government have implemented a policy for protecting the freedom of religious belief. In handling people who believe in religion, we should first of all understand them and be concerned with them. We should be aware of our responsibility. If we doubt the party's policy for religion or even want to stop religious activities by resorting to an oversimplified way of banning religious activities, we cannot make religion die out. Besides, we will violate provisions concerning the freedom of religious belief stipulated in the constitution, divorce ourselves from our country's national and historical reality and existing conditions and may give rise to very bad political consequences, undermining stability and unity and damaging the fundamental interests of the party and the people.

An Illusory Flower

Although there are reasons for the existence of religion and religious belief is people's freedom, religion is an illusory flower after all. Religions over the world vary greatly. They offer a great variety of dreamlands--paradise, future life, the opposite shore, Sukhavati and so on. They also have a great variety of idols--God, Allah, Buddha and so on. Who has ever seen the divine power and the realization of the "kingdom of love" even though people have been prostrating in worship for thousands of years? The illusory flower of religion has not been able to bring happiness to men after all. To the oppressed masses of people, religion also plays the role of blunting their fighting will. Therefore, all the reactionary ruling classes have always tried their best to make use of, prop up and develop religion. In the name of a god, they exploit and oppress the people and turn them into obedient, patient and submissive cattle. In our socialist country, religious theology runs counter to Marxism, which guides the advancement of our party and country. The idealist world outlook and the outlook on life of pessimism and inertia propagated by religion directly restrict the thinking of those people who believe in religion and relax and disintegrate the people's faith and fighting will in overcoming difficulties and realizing the four modernizations.

Marxists have all along taken a critical attitude toward religious theology. Since religious belief is an ideological question, it can only be settled by the method of persuasion, education and guidance. On the one hand, we should understand and respect those who believe in religion. On the other hand, we should strengthen the propaganda of Marxist atheism, carry out socialist education among them and enlighten them to see their own interests and prospects and to foster a scientific world outlook and outlook on life. At the same time, we should be concerned about their lives, help them overcome their concrete difficulties and lead them in turning from religion to socialism. Of course, in order to speed up the withering of religion, we should also strive to develop the productive forces and build a highly-developed socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization, thus thoroughly eliminating the social roots on which the existence of religion depends. With the development of socialism and the arrival of communism and with man's growing understanding of the society and nature, religion will certainly weaken with each passing day and will eventually die out.

CSO: 4000/88

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NATIONAL FORUM ON AGING HELD IN BEIJING

OW031749 Beijing XINHUA in English 1515 GMT 3 Apr 82

[Text] Beijing, April 3 (XINHUA)--More than 30 leading scholars and medical specialists met here today with suggestions how to "add life to years" [as received] advocated by the World Health Organization.

The forum was sponsored by the Chinese Geriatrics Association under the Chinese Medical Association on the eve of the world health day which falls on April 7.

Huang Shuze, vice minister of the Public Health and president of the Chinese Geriatrics Association presided over the forum.

It was noted that it is important to pay attention to the health of and the social services for the aged since the life expectancy of the Chinese people has risen.

Wang Xinde, director of the neurologic department of the Beijing Hospital suggested that the experience of the Chinese people to keep fit over the past thousand years should be summed up and a national research institute for gerontology set up.

An associate professor of traditional Chinese medicine, Chen Keji, vice-director of the Xiyuan Hospital under the Academy of the Traditional Chinese Medicine, said the traditional Chinese medicine and pharmacology provide a wealth of experience in building a long life. A leading physician, Weng Xinzhi, vice-director of the Zhaoyang Hospital, urged the whole society to carry forward the tradition of respecting the elderly.

Xu Shulian of the Institute of Psychology under the Chinese Academy of Sciences proposed to develop academic activities and dissemination of popular science knowledge dealing with geriatrics and also to promote an all-round development of gerontology.

84-year-old Zhao Bingnan, a leading doctor of traditional Chinese medicine and the 75-year-old Huang Kewei, a neurologist, both told their own stories. Zhao said: "To keep fit, one must have regular diet." Huang said: "An aged person must do brain work as well as some physical labour to have a good memory."

Other proposals offered at the forum included courses on geriatrics to be added at the medical colleges and special departments to take care of the elderly to be set up.

CSO: 4000/88

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PRC AWARDS 15 OUTSTANDING RADIO DRAMAS

OW070151 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1239 GMT 5 Apr 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 5 Apr (XINHUA)--An awards ceremony was held at the Central Broadcasting Building on the afternoon of 5 April to award the "Golden Deer" and 14 other outstanding radio dramas selected by the recent National Radio Drama Evaluation Conference.

He Jingzhi, deputy director of the propaganda department under the CCP Central Committee, attended and addressed the ceremony. He said: Radio drama is an effective propaganda means and a very good art form. He expressed the hope that more attention be given to developing radio drama and further improving its quality. He called on literary and art workers to plunge into the thick of life, study hard and write more profound and artistic dramas to reflect the spirit and typical characters of the age.

Zuo Moye, deputy director of the Central Broadcasting Administration, also spoke at the ceremony. He said: Like other literary and art works, radio drama should correctly and profoundly reflect the spirit of the age and the new life, new things and new contradictions of the new era and create typical images of the new people in socialist society, particularly the image of those who work hard for the four modernizations. It should reflect the positive side of things, guide the people and give them confidence and strength. All radio drama writers must show prudence with respect to their social influence. They must ensure that radio drama will educate and encourage the people to build a socialist material and spiritual civilization.

CSO: 4000/88

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LINGUIST CALLS FOR STANDARDIZED SPOKEN LANGUAGE

OW031214 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 3 Apr 82

[Text] Beijing, April 3 (XINHUA)--Great efforts should be made to popularize standard spoken Chinese to facilitate the country's modernization drive, said 78-year-old Lu Shuxiang, noted linguist, who is also vice-chairman of the committee for reforming the Chinese written language.

In an interview with XINHUA granted at the end of a recent 5-day national conference called by the Ministry of Education on the popularization of standard spoken Chinese, Professor Lu said the Chinese written language was unified over 20 centuries ago, greatly promoting the country's culture and economy. A unified spoken language did not seem so pressing until China entered the modern age, he said.

The needs of communication grow as the country develops and very often people coming from different parts of the country to a meeting had difficulty conversing with each other, let alone discussing problems. In the long run, romanization of the written Chinese language, though it may take generations, still depends upon and must start with standardization of the spoken language.

The best way to do this, Lu Shuxiang said, is to start young. Instruction should begin at the kindergarten level and continue in primary and middle schools. Students account for one-fifth of the country's population, he said, and this was why the Ministry of Education had called the recent meeting. Recordings of textbooks for primary and middle schools have been made and soon will be distributed throughout the country. Training classes for teachers in the standard spoken language have already begun and more efforts should be devoted to this work, he added.

The international organization for standardization has voted in favor of using the Han language phonetic letters (based on the standard spoken language) to phoneticize the Han language.

Contemporary spoken Chinese is divided into eight major dialect groups, each with many local variations.

CSO: 4000/88

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HUNAN RADIO CONDUCTS AUDIENCE OPINION SURVEY

HK030222 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 2 Apr 82

[Text] Since 22 January, Hunan Radio Station has used various methods such as printing opinion forms in the Hunan Radio and Television program notes, calling for listeners' letters, sending investigation groups to the grassroots to directly listen to the masses' views and so on to seek listeners' views on its work and programs. By now we have received 7,800 opinion forms and letters and over 10,000 audience opinions. We want to sincerely thank the listeners who have put forward their views and suggestions.

Not only listeners in Hunan put forward their views and suggestions. We also had them from listeners in 17 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions including Guangdong, Guangxi, Jiangxi, Hubei, Nei Monggol, Heilongjiang, and Xinjiang, and also Hong Kong. From their enthusiastic letters and views we can see that despite the differences in job, age and likes of the listeners, the aims of their opinions, whether making criticisms or suggestions, are to fervently hope that we will continually improve our work, run broadcasting still better and provide better service for the people and socialist construction. We have thus received profound education and encouragement. At the same time we have realized still more profoundly the heaviness of our responsibility and the value of our work. We have thus gained further confidence and strength in running broadcasting well to serve the people.

With regard to the listeners' letters and opinion forms, we have organized forces to read and take notes on them and compile them. The radio station has held numerous meetings to discuss listeners' views and suggestions and analyze and study each one. At present we are drawing up a scheme for improvements in light of views that are relatively unanimous. We are determined to translate the wisdom of the listeners into our practice so that our broadcasts can adopt a new look and style. We sincerely hope that listeners will keep close ties with our station and regularly put forward criticisms and suggestions on our work.

Let us work together to run the Hunan People's Broadcasting Station well, to make still greater contributions to the modernization drive.

CSO: 4000/88

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GUANGDONG STAFF REMOVE ILLEGAL TV ANTENNAS

HK270403 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 26 Mar 82

[Text] The units directly under the provincial people's government have seriously implemented the instructions of the provincial CCP committee and government and launched the cadres and staff to dismantle UHF fishbone television antennas used for receiving Hong Kong television. Originally 2,330 cadres and staff of 39 units directly subordinate to the provincial authorities and central government units in the province erected such antennas. By now, 1,763--76 percent--have been dismantled.

The units directly under the provincial authorities have attached relatively great importance to dismantling these antennas. Most of the units have held meetings to convey instructions, mobilize people and make arrangements. They also dispatched personnel to cadres' and staff members' quarters to make a thorough check. They conducted education by persuasion for all cadres and staff who had erected such antennas, particularly stressing that leading cadres and party members must take the lead in dismantling them.

At present 22 units including the Provincial Cultural Bureau, Supply and Marketing Cooperative, Scientific Institute, Publishing Bureau, Tourism Bureau, Broadcasting Bureau, and Personnel Bureau have dismantled all their fishbone antennas. Units that have not yet completed this task are continuing to conduct education by persuasion, and have set deadlines for dismantling the antennas.

CSO: 4000/88

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ENCOURAGES USE OF MANDARIN

HK030308 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Mar 82 p 4

[Commentator's article: "Actively Study and Speak Mandarin"]

[Text] When we talk about civilization we should emphasize the need to actively study and use Mandarin.

Language is a widely used means by which people communicate. In order to bring the function of language as a means of communication into full play, nationalities throughout the world have adopted the necessary measures to promote their own common languages. The common language of the Chinese nationality is Mandarin. In a vast country such as ours, with a large population and a multiplicity of regional dialects, it is very important that a common language be promoted.

Immediately after the founding of the PRC, the party and government adopted the promotion of Mandarin as one of our country's policies on language. During the 1950's there was a nationwide upsurge in the use of Mandarin. The study and speaking of Mandarin became a common practice among teachers, students, train attendants, shop assistants, service personnel, managers, young workers and young rural commune members. After this, however, a number of factors, particularly the 10-year period of internal disorder, led to the suspension and decline of work in this area. While some progress has been made in promoting Mandarin during the past few years, it has been far from ideal. Even today there are many primary schools where teaching is done in the local dialect, and in both medium and large cities it is still rare for Mandarin to be used a public gatherings. This situation does not suit the needs of either modernization or the construction of socialist spiritual civilization. Long-term linguistic fragmentation and an inability to promote a common national language are incompatible with the needs of a rapidly developing great socialist nation.

Education departments must shoulder the main responsibility for promoting Mandarin. Back in 1958, comrade Zhou Enlai said: "Where should we focus our efforts in promoting Mandarin? In my opinion the best place to start is in the schools. We must work hard to promote it among children and young people." Schools must cultivate the student's ability to use the motherland's language correctly and must improve the standard of written and spoken expression. Teachers should be strongly encouraged to teach in Mandarin.

The promotion of Mandarin is a form of mass work. Commercial, railroad, communications, telegraph and telephone, and tourism departments have a great deal of contact with the masses. The workers and staff members of such departments, particularly managers, service personnel, attendants, ticket sellers and broadcasters, should take the lead in mastering and using Mandarin. They should see the use of Mandarin as an aspect of civilized service, and as something essential to the improvement of service.

The aim of promoting Mandarin is to eliminate language barriers, not to destroy regional dialects. Regional dialects will exist for a long time to come. What we are advocating is a "bilingual" system, whereby people will be able to speak both their native dialect and Mandarin. At public gatherings they will be able to speak Mandarin and in their homes they will continue to use the regional dialect.

The promotion of Mandarin is a long-term and arduous task and also one that we must carry out in a continuous and effective manner. We should conscientiously implement the correct policy of "strenuously encouraging, promoting at key points, and progressively extending." Once a fairly extensive base has been established, progressive improvement should not prove too difficult.

For the sake of national prosperity and nationwide harmony and unity among the people, we must take definite action to make the speaking of Mandarin a common practice throughout society, and struggle to achieve relatively great progress in this area during the 1980's.

CSO: 4000/88

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FORUM URGES WRITERS, ARTISTS TO LEARN FROM LABOR MODELS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Feb 82 p 2

[Article: "Let Writers and Artists Become Friends With Labor Models--Leading Comrades of Heilongjiang Province Come Forward to 'Build a Bridge'"]

[Text] The leading comrades of the CCP Committee of Heilongjiang Province have come forward directly in order to "build a bridge" so that writers and artists can become friends with labor models.

A forum was held for this purpose on February 8. Those invited to attend included labor models from all areas and writers, playwrights, song writers and engravers--more than 60 persons in all. The forum was presided over by Chen Zhizhi [7115 0037 4160], the director of the Propaganda Department of the Provincial CCP Committee, and a member of the Provincial CCP Standing Committee. Li Lian [2621 0500 1344], the Second Secretary of the Provincial CCP Committee, and the Committee Secretary, Li Jianbai [2621 0494 4101], participated and spoke at the meeting. Li Lian said that that day we were building a "bridge" between writers and artists on the one side and labor models on the other in the hope that they would become fast friends and would struggle shoulder to shoulder in building the two civilizations [material and spiritual] and move forward together. Responsible comrades in art and literary units must make active efforts to strengthen the ties between writers and artists and the masses.

Labor models, as well as writers and artists, spoke at the meeting. Liu Yufang, [2692 3768 5364], a special instructor and all China labor model, hopes that writers can delve deeply into schools and create more material for teaching elementary and middle school students about ideological and moral character, offering more and better spiritual sustenance to our children. Playwright Cong Shen [0654 3234] spoke at the meeting about what he has learned from delving deeply into life for such a long time. The young female writer, Zhang Kangkang [1728 2123 2123], told how, after completing a novelette for children, she immediately returned to the farm she had once lived on for 8 years to spend some time.

Ba Po [1572 3134], Lin Yu [2651 0056], Pan Qing [3382 7230] and other writers presented their works to labor models and sincerely hoped to receive their assistance.

9705
CSO: 4005/670

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POPULATION STUDIES IN SCHOOLS OF HIGHER EDUCATION INCREASING

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Feb 82 p 2

[Article: "The Study of Demography in Our Country's Schools of Higher Learning Is Flourishing--Scientific Demography Research Troops Have Begun Forming"]

[Text] Demography research work in the institutes of higher learning in our nation is on the upswing. So far 24 demography research organs with more than 260 researchers have been set up and have taken the initial steps in forming scientific demography research troops. The People's University of China has already started to become a national research center for demographic theories; Beijing University, Lanzhou University, and Jilin University have all established graduate schools of demographic theory, demographic research centers or similar scientific research organs, separately taking on the tasks of demographic research and education work for the six major areas of the country, including the establishment of branch centers.

Presently, the scientific research and educational activities of each branch center are going full tilt. Researchers have already written a large number of research reports. Publications publicly released both inside and outside of the country are: "Population Research" and "Collected Essays on Population" put out by the People's University of China, "Interpretive Writings on Population Research" put out by Sichuan University, "Population and Economics" by the Beijing College of Economics, as well as "Population Studies," "Anhui Population," "Northwest Population," "Population Research," and others which are distributed only within the country. And 1.35 million words of foreign library materials on population have been translated. Recently, Professor Sun Jingzhi [1327 2417 0037] of the Beijing College of Economics has made preparations and started to edit a collection entitled "Introduction to the Populations of China's Provinces, Municipalities and Prefectures." This collection will consist of 31 volumes, each of somewhat more than 300,000 words, and is scheduled to be completed in 4 years. The work of training specialized talent for population study has already begun. The People's University of China is training 31 undergraduate students in the field of demography and the Economics Department of Fudan University has enrolled 20 undergraduate students for study in this area. In addition, some universities have established population courses, and some have set up birth control training classes, specialized report sessions and lectures. In order to meet educational needs, "Studies in Population Statistics" and "Introduction to

Demography" have already been formally published; and People's University and others are in the process of compiling a "Chinese Demographics Dictionary" and writing "Studies in Population Economics," "Birth Control Studies," and other works.

In the last 2 years, our nation has sent 15 students abroad to universities in the U.S., France the Phillipines and other nations and to the Mengmai [phonetic] Center for Population Studies in Cairo to study. Their academic accomplishments have all been very good. Jiang Zhenghua [5592 2973 5478], a teacher at Xian Communications University, upon completing his studies received the first gold medal awarded by the Mengmai Center in 25 years, and now he is working hard to earn his doctorate in demography.

9705
CSO: 4005/670

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'NINGXIA RIBAO' ON LITERATURE, ART CRITICISM

HK061437 Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 20 Mar 82 p 3

[Short commentary on literature and art by Gao Shen [7559 3234]: "Three Views on Literary and Art Criticism"]

[Text] "One of the chief means of struggle in literary and art circles is literary and art criticism."* Party leadership over literature and art is mainly exercised through the conduct of healthy literary and art criticism. This means using the method of literary and art criticism to carry out the party's general and specific policies on literature and art.

Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, literary and art criticism has made positive contributions toward enlivening literature and art. This has especially helped in clarifying the confusion in literature and art ideology which had been caused by the "gang of four." It has also helped in drawing a clear distinction between many problems of right and wrong where the line has long been blurred. It is no exaggeration to say that literary and art criticism has made quite some contribution. But comparatively speaking, with the deepening of the movement to emancipate the mind and the thriving growth of literature and art, literary and art criticism has remained an obviously weak sector. This is reflected in the amount of literary and art criticism falling short of the demands of the time. Its quality is also less than satisfactory. Literary and art criticism that is really brave and enlightening is especially lacking.

I feel that there are at least the following few problems in literary and art criticism:

First, we must draw a line of distinction between adherence to principle and strict standards on the one hand and ruthless criticism on the other. When the "gang of four" ran wild, literary and art criticism was carried so far as to demand perfection, exaggerate things and make indiscriminate charges. Such a practice runs counter to Marxism. We can never promote this again. However, some comrades have failed to distinguish adherence to principle and strict standards from ruthless criticism. For this reason,

---

*Mao Zedong: "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art"

there has appeared another undesirable phenomenon, as far as comments on literature and art are concerned. Some articles criticizing certain works have said things in an irresponsible manner. They even disregard the facts of life reflected in a work and instead "exaggerate things that are irrelevant" and build them up without the guidance of principles. Concerning certain individual works that show wrong tendencies, they also do not dare to "use bitter medicine or give an honest opinion" and make stern criticism. Even if a few frank views are given, they are couched in vague terms. Such literary and art criticism is harmful and unwholesome. On the surface, "saying things in an irresponsible manner" and "using vague terms" in airing views are two different manifestations. But in reality, they are both an indication of taking the easy way out and being irresponsible. Only as a correct manifestation of the party's literary and art line and policy can literary and art criticism help the healthy growth of writers and stimulate the enlivening of literature and art, enabling the party's literature and art to develop in the correct orbit. It may be asked: Can such a method of literary and art criticism marked by a tendency to simplify things, shoulder this heavy burden? In assessing anyone's works or assessing any work, we should adhere to principle and follow strict standards. We should say that a work is as good or as bad as it actually is. We must take a correct and proper approach and be guided by a clearcut viewpoint. Some comrades worry that speaking the truth may be equated, by some people, with "ruthlessness" and "wielding the club." In fact, following strict standards is prompted by a sense of love. The aim is to dispel doubts and set a clear direction. Ruthless criticism means distorting facts, exaggerating things and driving people to desperation. If a distinction is not made between the two, then it is very difficult to launch normal and healthy literary and art criticism.

Second, political judgment of literary and art works is no substitute for artistic analysis. Artistic analysis of literary and art works also cannot be separated from political contents. Frankly speaking, in assessing literary and art works, some of our comrades have often paid more attention to political judgment than to artistic analysis and have even replaced artistic analysis with political judgment. In assessing a given work, most artistic analyses by some commentators also follow a fixed concept or formula. They don't deviate from such sterotyped expressions as "the theme is positive, images clear-cut, descriptions vivid, traits prominent, and the style austere." As to where the images are "clear-cut" and where the descriptions are "vivid," no detail is given. Some people call this kind of literary and art criticism as "criticism by walking on only one leg." As far as most serious writers are concerned, it is not very difficult for their works to reflect correct and positive ideas. But it is relatively difficult to draw on an accumulation of life experiences and artistic means to create lively artistic images and reflect life in a graphic and correct manner. Therefore, literary and art criticism cannot be divorced from artistic analysis. In this regard, proletarian revolutionaries have provided us with examples. In assessing Tolstoy and his works, Lenin not only made a penetrating analysis of the writer's thinking, his stand and his world outlook from a political angle but also attached great significance to the artistic images and their peculiar sentiments. He made many interesting and penetrating remarks about Tolstoy.

Lenin's remarks about Tolstoy gave full play to the party spirit and scientific nature of proletarian literary and art criticism and its revolutionary spirit and down-to-earth attitude.

An assessment of the political contents of a work is extremely important. But such an assessment should not be isolated and cursory and should instead be linked with a penetrating artistic analysis. Through analyzing the scenes in a work, the images of figures created, the artistic means used, and other features, we can find out whether a work has really reflected the basic features of life and the style of the time. Any political idea that calls for completely breaking away from artistic features and analyzing works in an isolated and cursory manner means losing the features of literary and art criticism. Also, on the other hand, while subjecting a given work to artistic analysis, we cannot analyze art for its own sake, or replace political leanings with artistic features. Instead, we should make an artistic analysis and assessment with an eye to the ideological contents of a work.

Moreover, literary and art commentators, together with literary and art writers, should live life to the full, study and analyze life and take the realities of life as a basis in criticizing works in a courageous and enlightened manner under the guidance of Marxist aesthetic principles. In the past, it often happened that between commentators and writers (and even readers), there was a wide gap in understanding of a given work. Apart from other factors, this had to do with differences on the part of commentators, writers and readers in their understanding, knowledge and experience of life. Commentators must master Marxist aesthetic principles, correctly understand the party's literary and art guideline and policy and have a good knowledge of literature and art and good artistic training. All these are important requirements for the job of literary and art assessment. But if a commentator does not understand the kind of life reflected in a work and is a total stranger to the main characters portrayed in it, it is impossible to make a down-to-earth assessment of a work--an assessment that hits the nail on the head and pinpoints what is wrong. As commentators, we must have "vigor," increase our political perception, and gain a correct idea of the prevailing situation. This is undoubtedly highly necessary. But showing "vigor" without having an idea of actual conditions is like a marksman having a weapon but nothing to aim at. As such marksmen, we cannot be good commentators. To acquaint ourselves with realities, we must also have an idea of the thinking, feelings, ideals and interests of the masses of readers, and the worker-peasant-soldier and educated readers in particular. Only by really understanding the situation at both higher and lower levels, can we enable literary and art criticism to be more to the point, more convincing, more reflective of the party's literary and art policy and more effective in protesting 100 schools of thought, removing weeds and stimulating the growth of socialist literature and art.

CSO: 4000/88

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

IMPROVED EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEI MONCGOL NATIONALITIES REPORTED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Feb 82 p 2

[Article: "Achievement Made in Higher Education of Nei Monggol Nationalities --Active Training of Teachers, Improved Creation of Teaching Materials"]

[Text] The Nei Monggol Autonomous Region has forcefully furthered the higher education of its minority populations, increasing investment in education and expanding enrollments. When recruiting students for colleges, percentages are set for minority students and separate minimum scores are determined. And more attention is given to students of the Daghor, Owenk and Oronchon minorities in the autonomous region whose populations are relatively small. Presently, Monggol and other minority students represent one-fourth of the total student population of all institutes of higher learing in Nei Monggol; the number of Monggol and other minority students enrolled in schools per every 10,000 persons in the minorities population is higher than the number of Han students enrolled in schools per every 10,000 persons of the Han population.

The institutes of higher learning in Nei Monggol, such as Nei Monggol University, Nei Monggol Normal College, and Farming and Animal Husbandry College, and Medical College, the Finance and Economics College, the Normal College and the Medical College have 16 disciplines that offer classes taught in Mongolian. Classes taught in Mongolian were first introduced at the Nei Monggol Normal College and have now been extended to 11 disciplines. Approximately one half of the teaching at all colleges and universities is done in Mongolian. Presently, more than 70 classes are taught in Mongolian. In order to train even more high level minority talent in natural science, engineering, agronomy and medicine, they have begun prepatory courses for minorities. Since 1980 when enrollment of students was reestablished, five schools have enrolled a total of 319 students. The students in the prepatory courses were admitted from those taking the college entrance exams. Adopting this measure allows certain minority students whose Mandarin capability is lacking to study in prepatory classes for a year and, for those who qualify on tests, to go on to study science, engineering, agriculture and medicine in regular undergraduate college courses. They also adopted various methods to firmly grasp the development and improvement of minority teachers. At present, the entire region has more than 1,000 minority teachers, of which 50 hold the position of associate professor or higher. For several years now,

the autonomous region s Bureau of Higher Education and each institute have, in a planned way, sent promising young minority teachers outside the region for further training; have invited scholars and professors from inside and outside the country to come to the autonomous region to lecture and exchange scientific knowhow; and have sent some superior students abroad to study. Combining editing and translating on their own has been upheld in an effort to do well in creating higher education teaching materials in the Mongolian language. For the last 2 years, the Bureau of Higher Education of the Autonomous Region, the Education Publishing Agency and all related schools of higher learning have fostered a spirit of self reliance, organized editing committees for higher education teaching materials in the Mongolian language and, in a planned way, composed and edited, translated and published textbooks and reference books for every field of study in schools of higher learning. Twenty-three kinds of books have already been published and 25 books are in the process of being edited and translated. At present, the teaching materials in the Mongolian language for the basic courses during a first year of study in schools of higher learning have basically been taken care of, as has a part of the second year materials.

9705
CSO: 4005/670

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BEIJING'S LIU DAOSHENG ON CIVILITY MONTH CAMPAIGN

OW012132 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1505 GMT 31 Mar 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 31 Mar (XINHUA)--In an interview with a XINHUA reporter, Liu Daosheng, secretary of the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee, expressed his views of how to consolidate and enhance the results of the "All-People Civility and Courtesy Month" campaign.

He emphatically pointed out: Beijing's first "All-People Civility and Courtesy Month" is over, but the civil and courteous activities here have not ended. We must continue to rely on and mobilize the masses to keep the good beginning and promote the establishment of socialist spiritual civilization in a sustained manner in the capital.

He said: The "All-People Civility and Courtesy Month" campaign was in fact an all-people ideological education campaign. As a result of the 1 month of practice, the four directives issued by the CCP Central Committee secretariat on the construction plan for the capital have been more deeply rooted in the hearts of the people, communist thinking and morality have been further advocated and Lei Feng spirit has been spread in a more widespread way. Beijing Municipality has made great and remarkable achievements in this campaign. However, there are also shortcomings. Some units were slow in taking action. A few units failed to improve their dirty, disorderly and inferior situation due to poor leadership. These problems need a serious solution in the days to come.

Liu Daosheng said: We plan to stress the following work in the future:

1) We will take ideological education as a key link in the establishment of spiritual civilization. The governments at all levels and all trades and professions should strengthen ideological and political work. In light of their specific situation, they should constantly conduct ideological education in a planned way among the people, particularly the youth, and help them foster the idea of loving the party, the motherland, socialism, the collectives and work.

2) We will formulate long-term plans and work out permanent measures for carrying out the activities to promote civility and courtesy with the "five stresses" and "four beauties."

3) We will seize typical examples at various levels. All trades and professions should set their own good examples.

4) We will strengthen leadership over the establishment of spiritual civilization.

CSO: 4000/8P

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

GUIZHOU CIRCULAR ON SUPERSTITION--In the light of the recent handling of feudal clannish activities in Majiang County, the discipline inspection committee of the Guizhou provincial CCP committee issued a circular to the whole province on 5 March. The circular demanded that all party members and cadres throughout the province be resolutely prohibited from taking part in feudal and superstitious activities. The circular affirmed the Majiang County CCP committee's method of prohibiting feudal clannish activities. The circular demands that all county CCP committees seriously deal with these activities in the same way as Majiang County CCP committee did. The circular says that Communist Party members are thorough materialists and atheists. Opposing feudal and superstitious activities and actively building socialist spiritual civilization is a glorious duty of every Communist Party member. The circular points out that the feudal clannish activities of repairing tombs, performing rites in honor of ancestors and compiling genealogies in Majiang County have frequently occurred in other places in our province and are incompatible with the honorable title of Communist Party members. It is imperative to resolutely curb this. The circular stresses that as the Qingming Festival will soon be here, these activities are likely to appear. The discipline committees of CCP committees at all levels, particularly county and district CCP committees, must curb these activities. [HK020311 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 28 Mar 82 HK]

PUBLIC SECURITY--Provincial CCP committee Secretary Wu Lengxi spoke on 28 March at a symposium on launching the "five stresses and four beautifuls" drive in the public security organs. He said: "The public security cadres and policemen throughout the province must actively take part in the struggle to hit at illegal and criminal activities in the economic field and fully play their role as functional organs. They must also grasp the anticorruption struggle in the organs themselves and be vanguards and models in building spiritual civilization." Wu Lengxi also announced at the symposium that the provincial CCP committee had initially decided to hold a provincial spiritual civilization commendation rally this year. [HK290321 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 28 Mar 82]

CIVILITY CAMPAIGN--Feng Jixin, first secretary of the provincial CCP committee, Liu Bing, deputy secretary, and Li Dengying, provincial governor, as well as responsible comrades of Lanzhou Municipality yesterday visited downtown areas

in Lanzhou to examine implementation of the civility-courtesy month campaign. Feng Jixin and Liu Bing went to Tianshui Road and held a forum of responsible comrades of some 10 units, including Lanzhou University, the Provincial Commercial Department and Coal Industrial Bureau, to discuss and devise measures to plant trees along the road. Feng Jixin said: Tianshui Road is the gate of Lanzhou Municipality. We must ensure that it has beautiful scenery and environment. Comrades participating in the forum pledged they would follow the unified command of Lanzhou Municipality to fulfill the assigned afforestation tasks qualitatively and quantitatively. Li Dengying examined the sanitary conditions of shops, schools, organs and establishments and catering units along (Shangye) Road and were satisfied with the work. [Excerpt] [SK020158 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 1 Apr 82]

HUBEI WOMEN'S GATHERING--A Hubei provincial gathering to commend model women workers and advanced collectives opened in Wuchang on 2 April. Chen Pixian, Han Ningfu, Li Wei, Xue Tan, Li Fuquan, Lin Musen, Rao Xingli, Ma Xueli, and Hua Yuqing, responsible comrades of the provincial CCP committee, people's congress standing committee, government and CPPCC; Guo Liwen, secretary of the All-China Women's Federation secretariat; and Chen Ke, a responsible comrade of Hubei military district, attended the opening ceremony. Provincial women's federation chairman Chen Xi made a speech. Provincial CCP committee deputy secretary Xue Tan also spoke. [HK030325 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Apr 82]

SPENDING CUT ON PORNOGRAPHY--Since the beginning of the All-People Civility and Courtesy Month, the secretariat of the CCP Central Committee has adopted a resolution to cut down the amount of foreign exchange used to buy pornographic films and publications and limit the number of showings of these kinds of films within the central committee. Some central leaders have voluntarily turned in all kinds of pornographic films and publications. [Text] [OW040151 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 2 Apr 82]

TREES PLANTED--Urumqi PLA units commander Xiao Quanfu and political commissar Tan Youlin led 1,000 commanders and fighters to plant trees in barrack areas in Urumqi on 3 April. They planted 7,000 trees during the morning despite high wind and a sandstorm. [HK050537 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 4 Apr 82]

GUANGDONG CCP CADRE COURSES--The Guangdong Provincial CCP committee recently decided that five colleges should run special courses for cadres. Courses on industrial enterprises, agriculture, industrial economy, law and political sciences, finance and education will be offered by Huanan Academy of Industry, Huanan Academy of Agriculture, Zhongshan University, Jinan University and Huanan Teachers' College. These courses will commence at the beginning of September. [HK080945 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 7 Apr 82 HK]

LIVING CONDITIONS--After its surveys conducted in 46 cities throughout China, the state statistical bureau confirmed that in the next 3 to 5 years, there

would be no significant improvements in workers' livelihood. The steep rise in commodity price has greatly affected the low-income families, particularly, the actual income of those workers whose wages have not been adjusted since 1956 has dropped in varying degrees in recent years. [Text] [OW101311 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 9 Apr 82]

POOR FAMILIES INCREASE--In contracting production to families in Gansu Province, some 90 percent of the production teams have distributed land to commune members. As a result the number of poor families in the rural areas has increased rapidly. This is because in many localities, land has been distributed according to the number of family members totally in disregard of their age and health conditions. As such, the armymen's families and peasant families which do not have sufficient manpower have suffered the heaviest blow to their livelihood. [Text] [OW101319 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 9 Apr 82]

SUICIDES INCREASE--The statistics compiled by the Public Security Ministry showed that there were many more suicide cases in China during 1977 as compared with those in the past several years. For example, the number of persons who committed suicide due to various reasons in 1977 was 83 per 100,000 including 28 young people and 2 retired and demobilized armymen. However, the number of persons who committed suicide during 1981 soared to 152 per 100,000 including 81 young people and 22 retired and demobilized armymen. [Text] [OW101120 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 9 Apr 82]

PEASANTS RESIST FAMILY PLANNING--Through the third national census work, it is found that many peasants resist family planning. The primary factor for such resistance is that, although the policy of having only one child is in keeping with the nation's needs, it does not tally with the peasants' interests. This is because, after the implementation of the system of contracting production to families, the peasants ardently wish to become well-off as soon as possible and that calls for more manpower to do farm work. [Text] [OW101315 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 9 Apr 82]

CSO: 4000/88

BRIEFS

HEATH COMMENTS ON ECONOMY--Beijing, 6 Apr (AFP)--China will need eight years to restructure its economy rather than the three years originally planned, former British Prime Minister Edward Heath said here today after talks with Premier Zhao Ziyang. In talks yesterday, Mr Zhao spoke at length of the economic reconstruction and of the present reorganisation of administrative personnel, Mr Heath told reporters. He was unable to say whether the delay in economic reforms also applied to administrative reforms. The reforms in government and central organisations began in January and are to be expanded to include the provincial level next year. [Text] [OW060805 Hong Kong AFP in English 0751 GMT 6 Apr 82]

CSO: 4000/86

END

JPRS 80699

29 April 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 295

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 80699

29 April 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 295

CONTENTS

PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UN Official Seeks Solution to Afghan Problem
(XINHUA, 11 Apr 82) 1

U.S. To Help Arrange Israeli Sinai Withdrawal
(XINUA, 13 Apr 82) 2

'XINHUA' Cites Haig on U.S. Middle East Policy
(XINHUA, 9 Apr 82) 3

Israel Concentrates Troops on Lebanese Border
(XINHUA, 11 Apr 82) 4

Jordan's Husayn on USSR Threat, U.S. Position
(XINHUA, 1 Apr 82) 5

RCP Central Committee Holds Plenary Session
(XINHUA, 2 Apr 82) 6

Ceausescu Reviews Romania's Economic Progress
(XINHUA, 10 Apr 82) 8

Italy Defers Ratification of Pipeline Agreement
(XINHUA, 1 Apr 82) 9

Xizang Party Chief Invites Dalai Lama To Return
(XINHUA, 3 Apr 82) 10

Thai Commander Exposes SRV, USSR Use of CW
(XINHUA, 10 Apr 82) 11

DK Urges Vietnamese To Repulse Le Duan Clique
(XINHUA, 12 Apr 82)..... 12

Democratic Kampuchea Scores France on Aid To SRV
(XINHUA, 8 Apr 82)..... 13

'XINHUA' Raps Angkor Wat Destruction By SRV Troops
(XINHUA, 8 Apr 82)..... 14

'VODK'Slams French Invitation To SRV 'Aggressors'
(XINHUA, 11 Apr 82)..... 16

Kim Il-Song Reelected President of DPRK
(XINHUA, 5 Apr 82)..... 17

Briefs
Burma's Drug Suppression Campaign 18
'Provocation' on Yunnan Border 18
SRV Border Violation 18
French SRV Aid Decision 18
Pakistani Martial Law Tribunal 19
Indian Satellite Launched 19
U.S. Embassy Attacked 19
Polish Delegation Visits Czechoslovakia 19
Iran Not To Interfere 20
Rental Cooperation With FRG 20
Sino-Japanese Technical Exchange Association 20
Sino-Japanese Hematology, Immunology Center 20
Former Turkish Official Arrested 21
Necessity of IO Rules 21

PARTY AND STATE

Wan Li Speaks, Duan Junyi Attends Beijing Rally
(XINHUA, 8 Apr 82)..... 22

'Ba Yi ' Links Deng Xiaoping With Gang of Four
(Ba Yi Radio , 12 Apr 82)..... 23

Briefs
Guangzhou United Front Conference 25
Hubei Cadre Study Symposium 25

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Program For Control of Population Growth Described
(Liu Zheng; RENKOU YANJIU, 29 Jan 82)..... 26

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UN OFFICIAL SEEKS SOLUTION TO AFGHAN PROBLEM

OW110340 Beijing XINHUA in English 0252 GMT 11 Apr 82

[Text] Islamabad, April 10 (XINHUA)--Diego Cordovez, personal representative of the U.N. secretary-general, said today his hopes "are that we will find a solution through discussions and find ways and means to achieve a durable and lasting solution of the Afghanistan problem."

Speaking to newsmen at the Islamabad airport late this evening upon his arrival from Geneva on shuttle diplomacy in the region for a political solution to the Afghanistan problem, Cordovez said, "There are always possibilities for new initiatives but my intention is to listen to the parties concerned and then we will see how we proceed."

The Pakistan Government had expressed the hope that Diego Cordovez would carry forward the negotiating process initiated by his predecessor Javier Perez de Cuellar, who is now U.N. secretary general.

Commenting on Cordovez's visits to Islamabad, Kabul and Tehran, a government spokesman reaffirmed that Pakistan was committed to an honourable political solution of the Afghanistan problem based on the principles enunciated in the resolutions of the organisations of the Islamic Conference and the United Nations.

The spokesman said that the Cordovez's efforts could prepare necessary ground for trilateral talks between Iran, Pakistan and the representatives of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan under the U.N. aegis.

CSO: 4000/90

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. TO HELP ARRANGE ISRAELI SINAI WITHDRAWAL

OW130424 Beijing XINHUA in English 0350 GMT 13 Apr 82

[Text] Washington, April 12 (XINHUA)--The United States has decided to send deputy secretary of state Walter Stoessel to the Middle East to help arrange Israeli withdrawal from Sinai by April 25 as new tension appeared to be mounting in the region.

State department spokesman Alan Romberg said today that while the principal focus of the mission is to "assist Egypt and Israel with arrangements leading up to April 25," Stoessel "is prepared to address all areas of tension."

Romberg confirmed that there was a "certain higher degree of tension" in the border between Israel and Lebanon. He said, this is an "important moment" and the United States "strongly believes that cease-fire is in the interests of all parties involved."

On April 10 Lebanese President Elian Sarkis charged that Israel had massed two armored divisions and 40,000 troops along their common border. He maintained that Israel was posed for an immediate attack and asked the United States to persuade Israel to call off any planned invasion.

Recently Israel has stepped up its repression of Palestinians on the West Bank and Jerusalem and has shown increasing bellicosity toward the Palestine Liberation Organization.

U.S. press has pointed to a possible Israeli attack on southern Lebanon at a time when the United States and other countries are preoccupied with efforts to resolve the dispute between Britain and Argentina over Malvinas (Falkland) Islands.

CSO: 4000/91

'XINHUA' CITES HAIG ON U.S. MIDDLE EAST POLICY

OW092200 Beijing XINHUA in English 1906 GMT 9 Apr 82

[Text] Cairo, April 9 (XINHUA)--U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig said he is ready to make a tour of the Middle East at any moment so long as his presence in the region may be a factor effectively contributing towards the peace process.

Haig told AL AHRAM editor-in-chief Ibrahim Nafeh in an interview published today that his recent talks with Egyptian Defense Minister 'Abu Ghazala dealt with the peace process, restoration of the remaining part of Sinai and the West Bank events.

He asserted that Israeli withdrawal from Sinai will take place on time and that America's efforts in the Palestinian autonomy talks will continue after April 25. The U.S. will find itself forced to exert bigger efforts after the restoration of Sinai to achieve progress in the autonomy talks, he added.

Answering a question on the Saudi peace plan, Haig said the U.S. is continuing its commitments towards the Camp David accords. He then said the U.S. noticed some elements of interest in the plan. However, there are other elements which the U.S. does not view with satisfaction and believes not practical, he added.

On the Iraq-Iran war, Haig said America believes that it is in the interest of regional stability that this conflict comes to an end as soon as possible. America will not accept any change resulting from the activities of any power which threatens the sovereignty of the Gulf states, he stressed.

Haig said he still believes that the biggest danger confronting the Middle East area comes from Soviet threats, direct or indirect.

CSO: 4000/91

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ISRAEL CONCENTRATES TROOPS ON LEBANESE BORDER

OW111848 Beijing XINHUA in English 1829 GMT 11 Apr 82

[Text] Beirut, April 11 (XINHUA)--A Palestine Liberation Organization leader told XINHUA today that Palestine commandos will answer a possible Israeli offensive with a "vigorous counter-blow."

He said two Israeli divisions stationed on the Lebanese-Israeli border are ready for an attack.

The Lebanese Government is observing the situation and has instructed its representative to the United Nations to report the consequences of a massive Israeli troop build-up to the U.N. Security Council president and the U.N. secretary-general. Lebanon officials stated that Lebanon will demand the Security Council to hold an emergency meeting, if necessary, to halt Israeli aggression.

Lebanon also informed the Arab League secretary general about the tense situation, the officials said.

Lebanese Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan Saturday had a meeting with PLO chairman Yasir 'Arafat on the worsening situation.

After the meeting, 'Arafat told reporters that Israel has massed four divisions along a 117-kilometer border section in southern Lebanon. Arafat said that if Israel believes it could "get something good from doing so, it has miscalculated."

Israeli authorities have remained silent on the alleged plans for aggression, but they reportedly keep moving troops into the border areas.

Today, the atmosphere became even more tense in Beirut, when reconnoitering Israeli planes that flew over the city were fired upon by air defense forces.

CSO: 4000/91

JORDAN'S HUSAYN ON USSR THREAT, U.S. POSITION

OW011910 Beijing XINHUA in English 1521 GMT 1 Apr 82

[Text] Beijing, April 1 (XINHUA)--King Husayn of Jordan has warned that the presence of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan could enable it to get to Iran and then proceed to reach the Hormuz Straits, Bab al-Mandab Straits and the Red Sea, which would beef up the presence of the other superpower in the area.

This was stated in an interview with the Jordanian magazine (AL-OFOK) published Wednesday quoted by the Qatari News Agency.

Husayn said the Middle East is coming to a period of flaming international confrontation which could endanger the Arab fundamental cause. The Arabs need a unified stand to deal with the threat, he said.

On the possibility that the United States will pursue a balanced policy in regard to the Arab cause, Husayn said "It takes time although our cause is just." Only militancy and solidarity could press others into a balanced policy.

Husayn expressed his determination to get the weapons Jordan needs. He hoped that the United States can understand Jordan's requirement to renew its weapons and strengthen its armed forces.

Husayn pointed out that Jordan has good relations with the Palestine Liberation Organization. He hoped that such relations would continue developing.

CSO: 4000/91

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

RCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE HOLDS PLENARY SESSION

OW021908 Beijing XINHUA in English 1849 GMT 2 Apr 82

[Text] Bucharest, 1 Apr (XINHUA)--The Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] today issued a call for endeavors to achieve higher work efficiency, better quality of products and lower production costs as the "priority aims" of the nation.

The appeal was contained in a communique on a plenary session of the party Central Committee held yesterday under the chairmanship of the party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu. All newspapers here published the communique, together with reports on the seven items on the agenda of the session.

The meeting, in an examination of the economic-financial situation in the country, agreed that "remarkable important achievements" were made in 1981 thanks to the "implementation of the party's program for the continuous improvement of the material and spiritual standard of living of all citizens." Above all, the economic sectors achieved a 12.3 percent increase in net benefit, the state budget registered a surplus of 8.5 billion lei, and foreign trade witnessed a favorable balance of U.S.$300 million.

However, the meeting pointed out, not all sectors displayed "the highest sense of exigency and responsibility" in applying the new economic-financial mechanism, improving work efficiency and implementing plan indicators. The party asked the government and enterprises "to take firm action to make up for the arrears and overcome all the existing shortcomings fast" by better organizing labor and production, fully using the existing machinery and equipment, lowering input and introducing modern technologies.

In foreign trade, the meeting stressed that "everything possible should be done" to increase exports and for the elimination of foreign debts.

The economic-financial situation came first on the agenda of the session, which also discussed an energy program, development of livestock breeding, the strength and structure of the party, cadre policy, enhancement of working people's democracy and foreign policy.

The plenum observed the party committees at all levels have carried out "intensive political and organizational" activities to strengthen the party

and expand its role as the leading force of the society, to give revolutionary education to party members and to make the masses more socialist-conscious. It asked them to work still harder to "improve the quality of the ranks of the party" and make sure that membership goes to those who are "resolute in implementing the home and foreign policies of our party and state."

The meeting also stressed that through letters and audiences, "the party's links with the people got stronger and socialist workers' democracy was strengthened" in 1981. Measures were taken at the meeting to further improve the letter-and-audience work so as to "involve broader masses of people in the running of public affairs and in the resolution of the specific problems posed by life."

The meeting fully approved the party and state activity in foreign affairs in 1981 and highly appraised the decisive role played by Nicolae Ceausescu in this regard. It reaffirmed the party and state's stand on attaching prime importance to strengthened cooperation and friendship with all socialist countries, with neighbouring socialist states in particular. It also mentioned closer ties of cooperation and solidarity with the developing countries and expanded relations with the developed capitalist countries.

The meeting highlighted Romania's firm action in 1981 for European security, for the complete withdrawal of nuclear arms from the continent.

In the future, the meeting decided, Romania's foreign activity should continue to be devoted to "closer cooperation and solidarity with all progressive, democratic, anti-imperialist forces, with all peoples," in the interests of detente, international security, national independence, peace and socialism.

CSO: 4000/89

CEAUSESCU REVIEWS ROMANIA'S ECONOMIC PROGRESS

OW100922 Beijing XINHUA in English 0707 GMT 10 Apr 82

[Text] Bucharest, 9 Apr (XINHUA)--Romania will rely on its own resources to ensure its economic and social development. The decision was made today at a meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party.

The meeting, chaired by the party's General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, decided that Romania will no longer borrow foreign loans for its investment and energy programs. Convertible foreign currencies needed for the construction of a nuclear power station will be earned through the increase of exports. The meeting, therefore, stressed the importance of fulfilling the country's export targets.

The meeting called for efforts to increase the production of certain equipment and parts to save funds for the import of raw materials. It also urged the need to encourage technical innovations, to make better use of raw materials and energy, to step up the construction of enterprises for the production of more raw materials and to shorten the time for technical experiments.

The meeting pointed out that industrial production in the first quarter of the year showed an increase over the same period of last year, but some enterprises failed to fulfill their production targets.

CSO: 4000/89

ITALY DEFERS RATIFICATION OF PIPELINE AGREEMENT

OW011341 Beijing XINHUA in English 1246 GMT 1 Apr 82

[Text] Rome, 31 Mar (XINHUA)--The Italian Government has deferred ratification of a technical agreement with the Soviet Union on aiding the latter to build a natural gas pipeline from the Soviet Union to Europe.

The Spadolini government has been prudent in tackling this question because of opposition from the United States and dissent voiced within the five ruling parties.

A vehement debate was still continuing today among the ruling parties.

The Christian Democratic Party, the leading ruling party, called for immediate ratification of the agreement on the grounds that it would help diversify the country's energy sources and was desirable economically. This stand was echoed by political secretary of the party Flaminio Piccoli and Industry Minister Giovanni Marcora, also a Christian Democrat, in addresses they made today.

However, the agreement has met with opposition from the Socialist Party, the Social Democratic Party and the Liberal Party.

Vice-speaker of the Chamber of Deputies Luigi Preti, a Social Democrat, pointed out that it was not worthwhile to aid an imperialist power, whose SS-20 missiles are targeted at us, to expand its powers of energy and war. What is more, he said, the Soviet Union would cut off supplies and levy a truculent blackmail on us once the international situation worsened.

Francesco Forte, a Socialist member of the Chamber of Deputies, said that the agreement was not desirable even in terms of economic considerations.

In face of such a complex problem as it stands, Gianpao Lomora, Christian Democratic member of the Chamber of Deputies, along with 30 other members from his party, have called on the parliamentary groups in the Chamber of Deputies to meet for a discussion of the matter, while Pietro Longo, secretary-general of the Social Democratic Party, requested that a meeting of secretaries of the five parties be called to decide on this matter.

CSO: 4000/89

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

XIZANG PARTY CHIEF INVITES DALAI LAMA TO RETURN

OW031544 Beijing XINHUA in English 1521 GMT 3 Apr 82

[Text] Lhasa, April 3 (XINHUA)--"Dalai Lama and his followers residing abroad are welcome if they wish to come back for visits, to see relatives or to settle down in China. We ensure that they have the freedom to come back and leave."

Yin Fatang, first secretary of the Tibet Autonomous Regional Party Committee, said this yesterday when he reiterated the party's policy towards Dalai Lama and other Tibetan compatriots residing abroad at a meeting on the local united front work.

"Our party's policy is consistent," he added. "Let bygones be bygones. Forget the past and look forward. Our country has now entered a new period of sustained political stability, constant economic development and unity among all nationalities.

"Dalai Lama and his followers should have confidence in our policy. We hope that they do their share in enhancing the reunification of the motherland, the great unity of all nationalities and the modernization. If they still have doubts, they can wait and see for a few more years."

Yin Fatang said: "The families of the Tibetan compatriots abroad now living in Tibet enjoy equal treatment as other Tibetan people in accordance with the present policies of the party and government. The government will help them solve their reasonable problems."

CSO: 4000/90

THAI COMMANDER EXPOSES SRV, USSR USE OF CW

OW101815 Beijing XINHUA in English 1616 GMT 10 Apr 82

[Text] Bangkok, April 10 (XINHUA)--Supreme Commander of the Thai Armed Forces Gen Saiyut Koetphon declared yesterday chemical toxins had been truly used by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and by Soviet-backed Vietnam in Laos and Kampuchea.

Inaugurating a military exposition held here yesterday to mark the bicentenary of the founding of Bangkok as the capital of the Chakci Dynasty, the Thai general said that he had arrived at this conclusion after meeting with an investigation team of U.S. experts on chemical and biological weapons and checking the findings of Thailand's investigations. He said that the U.S. experts had conducted investigations among victims and users of the chemical agents as well as other refugees who had fled from Laos into Thailand, whose testimonies turned out to be in coincidence with what was found out by Thailand.

To deal with this situation, he said, the Thai military authorities had taken preventive measures, including one to provide protective masks to frontier guards and other people concerned with frontier defence. A working commission specialized in chemical agents study composed of the three armed services had been set up, he added.

CSO: 4000/90

DK URGES VIETNAMESE TO REPULSE LE DUAN CLIQUE

OW130118 Beijing XINHUA in English 1510 GMT 12 Apr 82

[Text] Beijing, April 12 (XINHUA)--The government of Democratic Kampuchea [DK] has issued a statement appealing to the Vietnamese people to wage various forms of struggle against the Le Duan clique's military invasion of Kampuchea, according to Radio Democratic Kampuchea today.

The statement dated April 9 says that the recent fifth congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party showed big and sharp differences within the party since its founding in 1930. This was a result of the Le Duan clique's policy of genocide against the Kampuchean nation, the social disorder caused by economic bankruptcy at home and the Vietnamese people's dissatisfaction with the authorities, the statement stresses. At the same time, it adds, the world public opinion has strongly accused the Le Duan clique of its policy of aggression against Kampuchea.

The statement says that the battlefield in Kampuchea as seen in the past three wet and four dry seasons is an eloquent proof that the Le Duan clique cannot defeat the Kampuchean people, their national army and guerrillas but will only drain its own resources in various fields, its aggressive policy being unable to escape its doom.

The statement appeals to the Vietnamese people, youth, armed forces and politicians in and outside the party for further actions to end as soon as possible the aggressive war launched by the Le Duan clique. "The war has brought nothing to Vietnam and the Vietnamese people but death, sufferings, misery and the loss of national dignity," says the statement.

In conclusion, the statement points out that "once the Le Duan clique pulls out its troops and war machines from Kampuchea, and proceeding from the interests of the two countries and two peoples and the interests of peace and stability in Southeast Asia, our two countries and two peoples will resume normal contacts and live in harmony, thus allowing time for them to improve their livelihood and achieve prosperity."

CSO: 4000/90

DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA SCORES FRANCE ON AID TO SRV

OW081935 Beijing XINHUA in English 1843 GMT 8 Apr 82

[Text] Beijing, April 8 (XINHUA)--The Information Ministry of Democratic Kampuchea issued a statement on April 5 deploring France's decision to give aid to Vietnam, Radio Democratic Kampuchea broadcast yesterday.

The statement said that while the whole world is condemning the Vietnamese Le Duan clique for its aggression in Kampuchea and has suspended any aid to Vietnam, the French Government decided in last December to grant Hanoi an aid worth 40 million U.S. dollars. In February this year, the French Government sent an assistant to the president to Southeast Asia in an attempt to persuade the ASEAN nations into giving up its present just stand on the Kampuchea question. In recent days the French Government even sent a minister to Hanoi to discuss further aid to the Hanoi authorities.

The statement said that the Kampuchean people and the government of Democratic Kampuchea "deploy [as received] this political stand of the French Government," which is "tantamount to recognition of the Vietnamese Le Duan clique's aggression in Kampuchea." The French decision is contrary to the U.N. resolutions concerning the Kampuchea problem and the declaration of the international conference on Kampuchea. It also violates the French people's tradition of adhering to justice and principle and contradicts the efforts of the ASEAN and all other peace and justice-loving countries to bring political, diplomatic, economic and financial pressure to bear on Vietnam for its withdrawal from Kampuchea.

The statement urged the French Government to reconsider its attitude towards Vietnam. It said, "The above-stated activities of the French Government can in no way extricate the Le Duan aggressive clique of Vietnam from its doomed failure."

CSO: 4000/90

'XINHUA' RAPS ANGKOR WAT DESTRUCTION BY SRV TROOPS

OW081241 Beijing XINHUA in English 1217 GMT 8 Apr 82

["Commentary: Rescue Angkor Wat from Vietnamese Wreckers and Looters in Kampuchea--by XINHUA correspondent Li Yongming"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, April 8 (XINHUA)--The world-known Angkor Wat in Kampuchea now faces the danger of utter destruction in the hands of the Vietnamese occupation troops.

Since their occupation of Angkor Wat, Vietnamese troops have made priceless stone relief sculptures and stone Buddha statues their targets of shooting practice. Many Buddha statues and relief sculptures were badly damaged and the pagodas there were riddled with bullet holes.

Reckless driving of Vietnamese army vehicles has brought havoc on Angkor Wat relics, knocking down statues and causing damage to temples. Trees which render protection to stone buildings against erosion by wind and rain have been felled at will. This wanton destruction of Kampuchea's great cultural heritage was reported by a correspondent of the Japanese paper MAINICHI SHIMBUN during a recent visit to Angkor Wat.

The Vietnamese troops also looted the priceless relics from Angkor Wat and sold them in Vietnam. Foreign correspondents and tourists reportedly had seen stone statues and relief sculptures and other Kampuchean art treasures on sale in the antique shops in Ho Chi Minh City in Vietnam.

Foreign correspondents reported that although there were long reports about the widespread destruction of Kampuchean historic sites by the Vietnamese troops, the Heng Samrin regime "keeps silence." This laid bare the true feature of the regime as traitor to the Khmer nation.

The Vietnamese troops' destruction and looting of the relics of Angkor Wat is a serious challenge to the world civilization. Angkor Wat is not only a priceless cultural heritage of the Khmer nation, it also occupies an important place in the cultural treasure-house in the world. Can the United Nations and other international organizations concerned as well as archaeologists, artists and tourists all over the world remain indifferent in face of this wanton destruction of the world's cultural heritage by the Vietnamese authorities?

In order to rescue the famous cultural relics, it behooves the international public opinion to demand an end to Vietnamese aggressor's further acts of destruction and looting of Angkor Wat relics. The most fundamental way out is to force the Vietnamese authorities to end their aggression against Kampuchea and withdraw all their troops immediately and unconditionally in accordance with the U.N. resolutions concerned so that Angkor Wat can be returned to her owner--the people of Kampuchea--at an early date and that one of the world's most beautiful architectural masterpieces may illuminate in radiant splendor anew.

CSO: 4000/90

'VODK' SLAMS FRENCH INVITATION TO SRV 'AGGRESSORS'

OW110716 Beijing XINHUA in English 0704 GMT 11 Apr 82

["Democratic Kampuchea Denounces France for Inviting Vietnamese Foreign Minister to Visit France"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, April 11 (XINHUA)--Radio Democratic Kampuchea today describes France's invitation to Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach to visit France as giving encouragement to Vietnamese aggressors in Kampuchea.

The radio says in a commentary that while the peace-loving and justice-upholding countries the world over are exerting sustained pressure on Vietnam for a complete troop withdrawal from Kampuchea, the French Government has not only extended aid to Vietnam but also invited Nguyen Co Thach for a visit to France. This gesture on the part of the French Government will only serve as an encouragement to the Vietnamese aggressors and a shot in their arms in their continued war of aggression in Kampuchea and give a help to Vietnam and the Soviet Union in their pursuance of the strategy of aggression and expansion in the Southeast Asian region.

The commentary says Vietnam has been bogged down deeply in the battlefield in Kampuchea. They cannot defeat the Kampuchean people in the past three years despite the increase of Soviet aid by folds. The French Government also can in no way save Vietnam by providing aid to it in defiance of the will of the world people and in disregard of the trend of the times.

The commentary pledges that Kampuchean people will under the leadership of the Democratic Kampuchean Government continue to fight heroically against the Vietnamese aggressors until the total ouster of them from Kampuchea. All the peace-loving and justice-upholding countries in the world are sure to continue to support the Kampuchean people in their just struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors, the commentary says.

CSO: 4000/90

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

KIM IL-SONG REELECTED PRESIDENT OF DPRK

OW060123 Beijing XINHUA in English 1545 GMT 5 Apr 82

[Text] Pyongyang, April 5 (XINHUA)--Kim Il-song was reelected president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea at the first session of the seventh Supreme People's Assembly opened here this morning.

The session elected Kim Il, Kang Yang-uk and Pak Song-chol vice-presidents of the DPRK.

Yim Chun-chu was elected secretary of the Central People's Committee.

Members of the Central People's Committee: Kim Il-song, Kim Il, Kang Yang-uk, Pak Song-chol, Choe Hyon, Yi Chong-ok, O Chin-u, Yim Chun-chu, So Chol, O Peak-yong, Kim Hwan, Hyon Hu-kwang, Yun Ki-pok, Li Kun-mo and Kang Hui-won.

Yi Chong-ok was elected premier of the administration council.

The session elected Hwang Chang-yop chairman of the standing committee of the Supreme People's Assembly and Ho Chong-suk and Hong Ki-mun vice-chairmen.

The session elected Pang Hak-se president of the central court and appointed Han Sang-kyu as procurator general of the central procurator's office.

The session also made public the following list of the members of the administration council of the DPRK:

Premier: Yi Chong-ok

Vice premiers: Kang Song-san, Kye Ung-tae, Ho Tam (concurrently foreign minister), Hong Song-yong (concurrently chairman of the state planning commission), Hong Si-hak (concurrently chairman of the extracting industry commission), Choe Chae-u (concurrently chairman of the machine industry commission), Kong Chin-tae (concurrently chairman of the foreign trade commission), Choe Kwang (concurrently chairman of the fishery commission), Kim Chang-chu (concurrently chairman of the agrarian commission), Kim Hoe-il (concurrently chairman of the transport commission), Kim Tu-yong (concurrently chairman of the building-materials industry commission), Kim Pok-sin (concurrently chairman of the light industry commission) and Chong Chun-ki (concurrently president of the Academy of Sciences).

The fifth session of the sixth central committee of the workers' party of Korea was held on April 3 which discussed the agenda for the seventh Supreme People's Assembly and approved decisions concerned.

CSO: 4000/90

BRIEFS

BURMA'S DRUG SUPPRESSION CAMPAIGN--According to a report of the News Agency of Burma on 26 March, a total of 10,539 acres of poppies have been destroyed to date under the drug suppression campaign in Burma which began on 19 December 1981. Burma passed a law banning narcotic drugs in 1974 and every year since then it has destroyed soporific crops such as opium and marijuana. In 1980-81, a total of more than 5,000 acres of poppies were destroyed. [Text] [BK291341 Beijing in Burmese to Burma 1130 GMT 29 Mar 82]

'PROVOCATION' ON YUNNAN BORDER--Kunming, 11 Apr (XINHUA)--Vietnamese troops opened fire at Chinese motor vehicles running on Hong He Highway in border areas in Yunnan Province, at 1:10 p.m., April 9. Yan Jiacai, deputy director of the militia department of Hekou Yao Autonomous County, was shot dead when he was helping people to move away, and a bank office worker was injured. A truck and a car were damaged. Chinese frontier guards returned fire and helped people there move out of danger. [Text] [OW110258 Beijing XINHUA in English 0247 GMT 11 Apr 82]

SRV BORDER VIOLATION--Bangkok, 11 Apr (XINHUA)--The Vietnamese and Heng Samrin troops entrenched on Khao Ban Thad along the Thai-Kampuchean border area mortared a Thai border post in Chong Khao Vong, Khlong Yai District, Trat Province at 17:30 on April 7, wounding five frontier armed policemen, according to press reports here today. This was disclosed to the press yesterday by Som Kataphan, director of the Information Office of the Supreme Command of the Thai Armed Forces. He said: "We strongly denounced Vietnam for its violation of Thai sovereignty" which has constituted a threat to peace and security of Thailand. Referring to Vietnam's use of toxic chemicals in Kampuchea, he said the evidence is certain that Vietnam has used "yellow rain" and other toxic chemicals there to cope with the Kampuchean people and armed forces who are fighting against its occupation. He also said it is possible for Vietnam to use chemical weapons in Thailand and Thailand has taken preventive measures. [Text] [OW111244 Beijing XINHUA in English 0820 GMT 11 Apr 82]

FRENCH SRV AID DECISION--Hong Kong, 12 Apr (XINHUA)--The Malaysian newspaper NANYANG SIANG PAU published an editorial today accusing France's decision to aid Vietnam as an encouragement of Vietnamese aggression. The editorial said a recent aid agreement between the countries "would not only make Vietnam feel less isolated, it also would give the country a more flexible position

to ask for more aid from the Soviet Union." The editorial stressed that the agreement would encourage Vietnam's aggression and "harm the realization of stability in Southeast Asia." The editorial also urged France, Japan and other western European countries to re-examine their policies toward Vietnam in which "they condemn Vietnam's aggression in Kampuchea and Laos yet continue to grant aid. The editorial demanded the countries to refuse aid to Vietnam until Vietnam withdraws its troops from Kampuchea. [Text] [OW130052 Beijing XINHUA in English 1639 GMT 12 Apr 82]

PAKISTANI MARTIAL LAW TRIBUNAL--Dacca, April 3 (XINHUA)--A special martial law tribunal has been set up in Bangladesh by order of chief martial law administrator and commander-in-chief of the armed forces general Hossain Mohammed Ershad, according to an official handout made public here today. The five-member tribunal with Brigadier Mashahed Chowdhury as its chairman will deal with martial law offences all over the country. [Text] [OW040318 Beijing XINHUA in English 0231 GMT 4 Apr 82]

INDIAN SATELLITE LAUNCHED--New Delhi, April 10 (XINHUA)--India's first multi-purpose communications satellite Insat-1A was launched to space today by a U.S. Delta rocket from Cape Canaveral, Florida, according to the Press Trust of India (PTI). The satellite was built by the U.S. Ford Aerospace and Communications Corporation for India. The spacecraft will enhance the telecommunications, meteorological and mass communications capabilities of India. Its life is estimated to be seven years. It will become operational by mid-May, and the TV utilisation is scheduled to be launched on 15 August. [Text] [OW101332 Beijing XINHUA in English 1248 GMT 10 Apr 82]

U.S. EMBASSY ATTACKED--Beirut, 12 Apr (XINHUA)--The U.S. Embassy here was hit by rockets this morning, and the third floor of the building was slightly damaged, according to local newspapers. No casualties were reported. After the incident, a so-called "al-Aqsa group" claimed responsibility for the attack saying it was carried out in retaliation for Sunday's attack in the al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. [Text] [OW130248 Beijing XINHUA in English 0235 GMT 13 Apr 82]

POLISH DELEGATION VISITS CZECHOSLOVAKIA--Prague, 6 Apr (XINHUA)--A party and government delegation led by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, paid an official friendship visit to Czechoslovakia here today. Ceteka News Agency reported that a Czechoslovak party and government delegation led by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the Communist Party, held talks with the Polish delegation "in a cordial and comradely atmosphere." They briefed their home situations to each other and exchanged opinions on developing their bilateral relations. The report said that the two delegations also discussed urgent problems confronting the world and found "identical" stands on all problems discussed. The Polish delegation left here for home this evening. [Text] [OW060248 Beijing XINHUA in English 0232 GMT 6 Apr 82]

IRAN NOT TO INTERFERE--Kuwait, 5 Apr (XINHUA)--Iran has assured the United Arab Emirates that it has no intention of fomenting trouble in Islamic countries and that it had no connection whatsoever with the saboteurs who had been recently arrested in Bahrain. This assurance was given recently by a high level Iranian delegation to senior officials of the United Arab Emirates, the UAE president, Shaykh Zayid ibn Sultan al Nuhayyan, told Kuwaiti newspaper ARAB TIMES in an exclusive interview published today. The president said that he had called upon the Iranian delegation to work for a peaceful end to the war with Iraq. Shaykh Zayid said it was unfortunate that no end was in sight though both Iran and Iraq had suffered grievous losses. He would be glad to mediate between the two if so asked, he added. He would also try to work together with other Arab countries to see if a peaceful solution could be found, the president stated. Zayid said the Iranian delegation assured him that Tehran would not involve itself in any conspiracies in the neighboring countries. [Text] [OW051407 Beijing XINHUA in English 1228 GMT 5 Apr 82]

RENTAL COOPERATION WITH FRG--Beijing, 6 Mar (XINHUA)--At the invitation of China International Trust and Investment Corporation [CITIC], the West German Investment and Rental Corporation delegation recently paid a friendly visit to Beijing. Both sides held talks on rental business and signed "protocol on cooperation in rental business" in Beijing on 26 February. Rong Yiren, chairman of CITIC board of directors, and the president of the West German corporation had sincere talks. According to the protocol, both sides will give preferential treatment to each other in rental business and constantly exchange information on developments in rental business. [OW111117 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1239 GMT 6 Mar 82]

SINO-JAPANESE TECHNICAL EXCHANGE ASSOCIATION--Tokyo, 8 Mar (XINHUA)--A Japan-China Industrial Technical Exchange Association with more than 20 small- and medium-size Japanese enterprises as members was established at a meeting here this afternoon. The new association is expected to enhance the technical and administrative levels of industries in both countries by exchanging technical post graduates and trainees with China; exchanging experiences in industrial production techniques and administration; and promoting exchange visits between industrial personnel for more cooperation in industrial technology between the two countries. Wang Xiaoyun, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy here, attended the meeting, a congratulatory message was sent to the association by Zhou Peihuan, chairman of the Scientific and Technical Association of China. [Text] [OW111117 Beijing XINHUA in English 1305 GMT 8 Mar 82]

SINO-JAPANESE HEMATOLOGY, IMMUNOLOGY CENTER--Shanghai, 10 Mar (XINHUA)--The first China-Japan research center for hematology and immunology opened here yesterday at a ceremony attended by 500. The center was unveiled by Qian Xinzhong, minister of public health. Yang Kai, Shanghai vice-mayor, and Jin-Uemon Konishi, president of the Nippon-Zoki Pharmaceutical Co. Ltd., cut the ribbon. The center was established under an agreement signed in April 1981 in Osaka, Japan, by the Chinese Ministry of Public Health and the Japanese firm. The project was originally proposed by Liao Chenzhi,

vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and president of the China-Japan Friendship Association. Two associated research laboratories for the center have been established in the Shanghai Institute of Biological Products directly under the Ministry of Public Health. They have been equipped by the pharmaceutical company. [Text] [OW111117 Beijing XINHUA in English 1229 GMT 10 Mar 82]

FORMER TURKISH OFFICIAL ARRESTED--Ankara, 10 Apr (XINHUA)--Former Turkish Prime Minister and former Chairman of the dissolved Republican People's Party Bulent Ecevit was placed under custody here today for giving statements to foreign newspapers. The Turkish authorities said Ecevit gave an interview to a Norwegian newspaper and some statements to other publications abroad. This was in violation of Turkish law, the authorities added. The authorities cited the country's penal code and a security decree that ban publication of political statements abroad by former Turkish leaders. The former prime minister might be sentenced to 5 years imprisonment for violating the penal code. [Text] [OW102202 Beijing XINHUA in English 1927 GMT 10 Apr 82]

NECESSITY OF IOC RULES--Hong Kong, 1 Apr (XINHUA)--The president of the International Olympic Committee said here today that all international associations should follow IOC rules. President Juan Antonio Samaranch arrived in Hong Kong today after visting the People's Republic of China. At news conferences held at Hong Kong's airport and the Elizabeth Stadium, he said that all "those who want to be recognized by IOC or want to remain in the olympic families must follow our rules." Samaranch said he would submit the problems "besetting the fifth women's world softball championships" to the executive board of the International Olympic Committee in Rome this May. Samaranch is in Hong Kong for 2 days. [Text] [OW011724 Beijing XINHUA in English 1642 GMT 1 Apr 82]

CSO: 4000/89

PARTY AND STATE

WAN LI SPEAKS, DUAN JUNYI ATTENDS BEIJING RALLY

OW091005 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1500 GMT 8 Apr 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 8 Apr (XINHUA)--The Beijing municipal CCP committee and the municipal people's government held a meeting at the great hall of the people in Beijing on 8 April to sum up and commend activities during the "all-people civility and courtesy month." On behalf of the CCP central committee and the state council, Wan Li, secretary of the CCP central committee's secretariat and vice premier of the state council, extended his greetings to and spoke at the meeting.

Jiao Ruoyu, second secretary of the Beijing municipal CCP committee and mayor of Beijing municipality, presided over the meeting. Liu Daosheng, secretary of the Beijing municipal CCP committee, gave a report summing up Beijing's "all-people civility and courtesy month" activities. On behalf of the municipal CCP committee and the municipal governemnt, Liu Daosheng extended warm congratulations to the 1,056 advanced collectives and individuals who achieved outstanding results during the courtesy month activities. He also extended cordial greetings to comrades of central organs and PLA units stationed in Beijing as well as to cadres and the masses of the entire municipality for their participation in the capital's civility and courtesy month activities.

Liu Daosheng said: The capital's first "all-people civility and courtesy month" campaign has ended victoriously, thanks to the tremendous encouragement and support of the party central committee and the state council, but everyone must clearly realize that long and persistent efforts are still required to eradicate "filth, disorder and poor service" and improve social practices.

In his speech, Wang Li, secretary of the secretariat of the CCP central committee and vice premier of the state council, extended his greetings and congratulations on behalf of the party central committee and the state council.

A total of over 6,000 people attended the meeting. They included Duan Junyi, Yan Jingsheng, Wang Huide, Song Kanfu, Gao Zhanxiang, Song Yiping, Ye Lin, Wang Chun, Bai Jiefu, Ye Zilong, Lu Yu and Fan Jin; responsible comrades of organs directly under the CCP central committee, of state central organs, of leading organs of PLA units stationed in Beijing and of departments of Beijing municipality; and representatives of advanced units and individuals which were to be commended.

CSO: 4005/775

'BA YI' LINKS DENG XIAOPING WITH GANG OF FOUR

OW131211 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 12 Apr 82

[Text] On the matter of reforming government structure and promoting younger cadres to leading posts, comrade Deng Xiaoping said: Anyone who made his fortune following Lin Biao and the gang of four as rebels or had connections with them must not be promoted to leading posts. Those already promoted must be removed from leading bodies without mercy.

Needless to say, that instruction affects tens of thousands of cadres at all levels. However, the stands and attitudes of these cadres during the cultural revolution were not the same. Consideration should be given to each person's different historical background. They cannot be written off as one person. Moreover, while demanding renewed exposure, criticism and examination of all cadres, some people are trying in every possible way to conceal there own actions during the cultural revolution. If on this question no distinction is made between good and bad and between the more and the less serious, how can people be convinced?

Take comrade Deng Xiaoping for example. Some of his activities and actions during the cultural revolution remain, to this day, forbidden topics about which no one is allowed to make inquiries. Today, if comrade Deng Xiaoping's performance during that period is to be mentioned, one can only sing his praises. For example, one can say that comrade Deng Xiaoping waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the gang of four during that period, that the gang of four wildly persecuted comrade Deng Xiaoping, and so on. But, these statements do not tally with historical facts.

In the early days of the cultural revolution, comrade Deng Xiaoping, as a member of the Liu-Deng bourgeois headquarters, indeed was attacked. Subsequently, however, he wrote a self-criticism totaling tens of thousands of words, completely renouncing everything he had done before the great cultural revolution and putting all the blame on comrade Liu Shaoqi. He also attacked comrades Peng Dehuai, He Long, Chen Yi, Tao Zhu and others. Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly stated that he would always be loyal to chairman Mao's so-called revolutionary line and that the cultural revolution was timely and necessary. He sang the praises of Jiang Qing and others and ingratiated himself with the gang of four in every way possible.

Finally the gang of four were convinced that Deng Xiaoping would do them no harm. Thus, 9 years ago, they forgave and liberated him. On 12 April 1973, Wang Hairong, a trusted follower of the gang of four, accompanied comrade Deng Xiaoping to a banquet held in honor of Samdech Sihanouk. This was a gesture of the gang of four at that time to show their trust in comrade Deng Xiaoping. In the 3 years after 12 April 1973, the relations between Deng Xiaoping and the gang of four remained close. There can be no doubt that if he did not pursue the gang of four's line and policies at that time, he could not possibly be put in charge of the work of the party central committee, the State Council and the PLA general staff headquarters.

During the period when comrade Deng Xiaoping was chief of the general staff of the PLA, he became even closer to Zhang Chunqiao, then director of the PLA general political department, and Wang Hongwen, designated by chairman Mao to be in charge of the military commission of the CCP Central Committee. This is common knowledge. It was during that same period that comrade Deng Xiaoping, together with Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao, using the so-called Lin Biao incident as an excuse, launched a massive purge of PLA cadres.

In short, many of comrade Deng Xiaoping's activities during the cultural revolution were not exactly open and aboveboard. Therefore, if now there really is the need to investigate the behavior of a vast number of cadres during the cultural revolution, then all cadres--regardless of rank--should be treated equally without discrimination.

CSO: 4005/775

BRIEFS

GUANGZHOU UNITED FRONT CONFERENCE--From 19 to 27 March, the Guangzhou municipal CCP committee held a conference on united front work throughout the municipality. Responsible comrades of the municipal CCP committee, including Liang Lingguang, Xue Yan, (Xu Shijie) and Ou Chu, spoke at the conclusion of the conference. Liang Lingguang said that the united front for the new period has great vitality and is still a magic weapon of our party. All party members, particularly responsible comrades of CCP committees at all levels, in the municipality must understand the importance of the united front. He pointed out that it is now essential to seriously implement the policies of the central authorities on intellectuals. He said that many overseas Chinese and compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao have invested in and run enterprises in the municipality and greatly contributed toward construction in the motherland and their hometown. It is necessary to continue to encourage their enthusiasm in cherishing the country and their hometown and to protect their legal rights and interests. We must unite them and encourage them to make even greater contributions toward the motherland. [HK311450 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 27 Mar 82 HK]

HUBEI CADRE STUDY SYMPOSIUM--The symposium which was held by the propaganda department of the Hubei provincial CCP committee concluded yesterday. The symposium dealt with the study of theory by cadres. At the symposium, the participants studied the spirit of the latest instruction of the central authorities, discussed the relevant problems of theory, summed up and exchanged cadres' experiences in the study of theory and made arrangements for this year's study by cadres. The symposium was attended by comrades of the propaganda departments of all prefectural and municipal CCP committees, the CCP committees of some large factories, mines and enterprises and the CCP committees of organs at the provincial level. The symposium decided that cadres should continue to study economic theory in the first half of this year and should study philosophy in the second half of this year. At present, it is particularly necessary to stress the study of the spirit of the latest instruction of the central authorities. [HK011449 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 31 Mar 82 HK]

CSO: 4005/775

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PROGRAM FOR CONTROL OF POPULATION GROWTH DESCRIBED

Beijing RENKOU YANJIU [POPULATION RESEARCH] in Chinese No 1, 82, 29 Jan 82 pp 11-14

[Article by Liu Zheng [0491 6927], director of the Research Institute of Population Theory, Chinese People's University: "China's Population Program"]

[Text] I.

China's population problem and the results of China's control of population growth since the 1970's have aroused widespread attention among people and politicians in countries throughout the world. This is because China's population problem has special importance: (1) China is the country with the largest population in the world. By the end of 1980 its population (Taiwan Province included) exceeded 1 billion people, 22 percent of the world's total. China's control of population growth and the extent to which China's population problem is resolved have a decisive effect on the world's demographic trends and on solving the world's population problem. (2) In the economic structure of China's population, over 80 percent is rural. That is to say, the absolute majority of the total population are peasenats. Proper handling of the relationship between China's population and economic and social development largely determines the solution to the population problem of 800 million peasants. In this respect, China's circumstances are extremely special. (3) Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, major achievements have been made in socialist construction. Industry, agriculture and commerce have expanded significantly. On this basis, people's lives have greatly improved compared to the time before liberation; medical and health work has expanded rapidly; and the death rate has significantly decreased, from over 20 per thousand before liberation to over 10 per thousand in the 1950's, about 10 per thousand in the 1960's, and 6 to 8 per thousand in the 1970's. For a rather long period of time the birth rate did not decrease correspondingly, while the natural growth rate increased at an average of 2 percent annually. The total population increased from 540 million at the beginning of liberation to 1 billion at present. (4) The age structure of China's population is young. According to estimates from a sample survey in 1975, 36.8 percent of the total population are children under age 14, and less than 5 percent are elderly people above age 65. Therefore, the main problems of China's population are the rearing and education of young children, the employment of youths, other social and economic problems as well as the problem of future rapid population growth. (5) After liberation, China's

economy greatly expanded. But because China was a semifeudal and semi-colonial society for a long time before the revolution, the state of economic and cultural backwardness could not be completely transformed overnight. Due to the interference and destruction by Lin Biao's and Jiang Qing's counter-revolutionary cliques, as well as mistakes in our work, we have not achieved as great success as we should have achieved. Therefore, an important task we are confronted with is to concentrate our energy to develop the economy, control the population growth rate, and as speedily as possible increase the gross national product which is based on the population average. Precisely because of the five causes mentioned above, the correct handling and solution of China's population problem bear an extremely important relationship to China's economic construction, social development and China's realization of the four modernizations.

II.

Although we have a population of 1 billion people, we still rely on our own efforts and basically guarantee the necessities of food and clothing for the people. We believe that man is the principal part of social production and social life and that man is the primary factor in social productive forces. In the past 30 years we have relied on the efforts of the people to build and develop the socialist economy. In the future we still need to rely on the people of our country to build a modern, socialist state. Population has a close relationship with social and economic development, and economic development plays a major role in population changes. Conversely, population has an influence on economic development that cannot be ignored; it may speed up or slow down economic growth. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the speeding up of population growth has conformed to the law in a certain way, but it has also brought considerable difficulties to our socialist economy, as manifested in the following aspects:

1. Population and employment. The effect of population growth on the economy is first reflected in the employment problem. Under the government's overall planning and guidance, we have dealt with this problem by carrying out the policy of combining recommended employment by labor departments with voluntarily organized and self-sought employment. In recent years, we have vigorously developed enterprises and the necessary individual economy in the system of collective ownership so that employment can be arranged for the labor force through diverse means. In the future, about 3 million young people from cities and towns reaching working age each year will need to have employment arranged, while large sums of investment will be needed by industries, communications and transportation, post and telecommunications, and other departments in order to absorb the labor force. This will create contradictions between arranging employment for the labor force and limited state investment. Each year over 20 million people in our countryside reach working age. This is an enormous force. Therefore, rational employment arrangement for the newly added labor force remains a major problem confronting our country.

2. Population and accumulation. To speed up the progress of construction of the four modernizations, we must primarily rely on the strength within our

country and increase accumulation as much as possible. According to estimates, in this country the expense for raising a child, from a woman's pregnancy to age 16, averages about 2,200 yuan. Based on this calculation, raising 600 million people to age 16 since liberation would have cost over 1.3 trillion yuan, about 30 percent of the accumulated national revenue since liberation. Clearly, had there been fewer births since liberation we could have saved part of the national revenue otherwise used to maintain the newly added population, turned it into accumulation and increased capital investment.

3. Population and the lives of people. Rapid growth and the high absolute number of our population also hamper the rise of the people's living standards. In the 25 years between 1953 and 1978 our consumption fund increased 2.8 times, a considerable amount of increase. But in the same period the population increased by 0.63 times, so that the average per capita consumption merely increased 1.3 times. In this period, 58 percent of the annual increase in consumption fund was used to satisfy the needs of the newly added population, while only 42 percent was used to raise the living standards of the original population.

In the lives of people, grain is the most basic means of subsistence. Because of the effects of various causes, including population growth, the average increase of grain per capita has been small; at its highest in 1979 it was only 630 jin. The average cloth consumption and living space per capita are also very low.

4. Population and education. Our primary and secondary education cannot be speedily made universal, and those who have received university education are even smaller in number. This is strongly related to the rapid increase in our population. Over half of the teenagers have not received a complete secondary education. Obviously this is unfavorable to raising the scientific and cultural levels of our nation and does not suit the demands of the four modernizations on quality population.

Precisely because our country's population is increasing too rapidly and by too much, it has had unfavorable effects on our social and economic development. Thus we must strongly emphasize the economy in order to realize the four modernizations as soon as possible. Under the prerequisite of a relatively large increase in the social productive force, we must vigorously control the size of the population and positively increase the quality of the population so that population growth will suit the growth of the national economy.

III.

Since the 1970's our country has achieved relatively tangible results in controlling population growth. The natural increase in population has declined rapidly. In 1970 it was 25.95 per thousand; it fell to 12.72 per thousand in 1976, and it further dropped to 11.66 per thousand in 1979. Control of population growth has achieved such results for the following reasons:

1. On the basis of past experiences and lessons, government departments at all levels began to stress the work of planned parenthood, which has been put on their daily agenda. The historical practice of over 20 years has taught cadres at all levels that under the circumstances of an undeveloped productive force and a relatively backward economy, rapid growth in population intensifies the contradiction between population and economic development. To enable cadres at all levels and workers in planned parenthood to enhance consciousness in the work of planned parenthood and population control, various prefectures operated study classes in population theory. Through the study of theory, they became clear about the necessity and feasibility of population control, the principles and policies of planned parenthood, and stressed the two kinds of production at the same time. After the smashing of the "gang of four," particularly in the winter of 1978 following the shift of the focus of work in the whole country to modern construction, planned control of population growth was made a strategic measure to realize the four modernizations, thereby increasing the attention of the whole people on population control.

2. Ours is a socialist state. The basic interests of the people and state are in keeping with each other. When the broad masses of people truly understand the benefits of planned parenthood and population control to the state, collective and individual, they will consciously respond to the call and consciously practice late marriages and birth control. Therefore, we must vigorously carry out ideological education and increase the consciousness of the masses regarding the practice of late marriages and birth control.

First, the significance of practicing planned parenthood and controlling population growth to the realization of the four modernizations by the state were clearly explained to the masses. In terms of the individual family, the birth of one more or one less child does not seem important, but in terms of the whole country it becomes a serious matter directly affecting the scale and growth of the population of the whole country. It is essential that we educate the masses in the control of population growth by explaining the fact that difficulties were brought to the construction and economic development of the country by population growth during the past 20 or 30 years.

Second, there was vigorous propaganda on the relationship between planned parenthood and woman's liberation, and an increased consciousness among the broad masses of women in practicing planned parenthood. By having too many children and too closely, women are bound to get bogged down in strenuous household labor and will not be able to concentrate their energies on social labor. Vivid events from local investigations have been used to educate women everywhere to consciously marry late and have less children.

Moreover, the method of showing figures and ratios was used to explain the advantages of planned parenthood to the collective and individual, combining the course of coprosperity with the improvement of individual and family life resulting from planned parenthood and development of the collective economy. Many county production teams calculated production growth, economic income and population growth so that the broad masses of commune members could see that continued growth in population was unfavorable to increasing the average per capita output, increasing the average per capita income and maintaining the average per capita cultivated land.

Planned parenthood was popularized by treating it as a transformation of social traditions to change people's old mentality, old customs and old habits. Efforts were made to remove the marriage and child-rearing view of "having sons early," the views that "plenty of sons bring plenty of fortune" and that "there are three filial impieties, the chief of which is having no posterity," which had profoundly affected people and led to early marriages for several thousand years. Establishing a new marriage and childrearing view of late marriage and having fewer children is an important link in doing a good job in planned parenthood.

In short, in the work of planned parenthood, we have firmly opposed resorting to coercion and commandism, and have persevered in ideological education to increase the consciousness of the masses. Since the 1970's, practice has proved that this is the most practical and effective way to achieve results.

3. Control of population growth should be conscientiously included in planning. For many years we only included production of material goods in the national economic plan, while population growth was not included and remained in an anarchist state. This created a contradiction between planned production of material goods and unplanned population production. In the 1970's we began bringing control of population growth into planning. Practice has proved that a population plan which has explicit population control goals and corresponding measures is a necessary condition for realizing planned control of population growth. Our population program distinguishes between long-term and short-term programs. A so-called long-term program refers to a population program of 5, 10 or more years; a short-term program refers to one on an annual basis. Long-term population programs are significant in having a strategic goal in population control which indicates objectives of struggle and the direction of efforts for short-term population programs. Short-term population programs are the concrete guarantee of realizing long-term population programs.

4. In our country, the family remains a consumption unit and a child birth unit. The number of children in a family is closely related to its economic interests. Peasants generally wish to have more children in order to safeguard their family interests. Therefore, primarily under the prerequisite of ideological education, it is necessary to adopt suitable economic measures to harmonize the contradictions among the state, collective and family on the problem of child birth. The measures adopted by various parts of the country in recent years generally include the following:

(1) Rewarding those who have only one child throughout their lives. The forms of reward include providing children's medical aid and extending maternity leave to half a year or longer with regular pay for the staff worker; also, quite a few provinces and municipalities have made provisions for preferential treatment of single children in entering nursuries, medical care, employment and schooling. In cities, every single child is given the housing space of two children, while in the countryside single children are given the housing area and private plot of two children.

(2) To remove the worry of childless or single-child families, we must strengthen the social guarantees of the lives of the aged. Most city staff

workers are safeguarded by retirement pensions and there are few worries in this regard. In order to encourage having only one child throughout life, couples who are childless or who have only one child for life are given a supplement of a definite percentage of retirement pension. In the countryside, the extent and circumstances of social guarantee during the latter years of the aged are different. A pension system is established for production teams with a relatively developed economy and a relatively high income level. For commune teams with a medium level of economic development, the collective will strive to operate homes for the aged so that there will be guarantee of living during the latter years for elderly people who are childless or have only one child. For commune teams with poorer economic conditions, production teams will insure a living standard somewhat higher than the local one. When the production teams find it difficult to achieve this, the state will provide a suitable subsidy.

5. Strengthening technical guidance for birth control and promptly supplying contraceptives is the primary material guarantee to realize birth control. Reagrding contraceptive methods, we advocate the adoption of comprehensive contraceptive measures and suiting measures to human conditions. The state supplies free contraceptives and provides free induced abortion and sterilization operations. The state also provides for several days of rest after induced abortion or sterilization operations, with wages or work points fully compensated for. In order to strengthen the technical guidance of contraception and birth control, a contingent of medical personnel familiar with birth control techniques has been established in health departments.

6. A special organ engaging in the work of planned parenthood has been established, definitely guaranteeing an organization for carrying out planned parenthood and population control. In 1973 the State Council's Office of Planned Parenthood was revived, and in 1980 the State Committee on Planned Parenthood was established. Local governments at all levels have also established organs of planned parenthood; planned parenthood workers at the grassroots level are either specialized or hold concurrent posts. This contingent is enthusiastic about the work of planned parenthood. They are responsible for propaganda work on planned parenthood, population planning, and investigation and research. Practice has shown that without such a strong contingent it would have been hard to achieve the progress made in planned parenthood.

The National People's Congress and its Standing Committee, the highest organs of the people in our country, are very mindful and concerned with the work in planned parenthood and population control. Article 53 of the "Constitution of the People's Republic of China" approved by the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress in March 1978 stipulates that "the state shall advocate and popularize planned parenthood." This is the first time since the founding of the state that the problem of planned parenthood has been written into the basic law of the state, and this has become the constitutional basis of our country's strategic task of extensive implementation of planned parenthood and vigorous control of population growth. In 1980 the National People's Congress also approved the new marriage law, in which Article 2 of the general rules explicitly stipulates the "practice of planned

parenthood," and Article 12 stipulates that "both husband and wife have the duty of carrying out planned parenthood." This legally establishes that planned parenthood is a civic duty that must be performed by each couple. Apart from this, the marriage law also makes explicit stipulations regarding late marriages, late child births and preferential treatment in child births. These legislative measures have forcefully safeguarded and given impetus to the unfolding of planned parenthood work, enabling them to achieve relatively good results.

We believe that through the Conference of Asian Members on Population and Development we will strengthen the cooperation among countries of the Asian region in the realm of planned parenthood and population control, and we will also promote the development of demographic work in this region in a direction that favors the social and economic development of these countries.

9586
CSO: 4005/664

END

JPRS 80836

17 May 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 299

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 80836

17 May 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 299

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

PARTY AND STATE

Provincial Congress Hears Report on Work of Law Courts
(LIAONING RIBAO, 10 Mar 82)..... 1

Editorial Sums Up Work Of Fifth Provincial Congress
(Editorial, LIAONING RIBAO, 11 Mar 82)..... 3

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Chief of Staff Discusses Regularization of PLA
(Yang Dezhi; JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, 1982)..... 5

Unit Learns Strengths, Weaknesses of Night-Vision Equipment
(Wang Hong; JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, 1982)..... 7

Snow, Ice Effects on Tank Movement Discussed
(Liu Chunda; JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, 1982)..... 10

PLA Unit Gains Experience in Large-Scale Tank Operations
(Kong Hai; JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, 1982)..... 12

New Simulation Equipment Used in Training Described
(Lin Tingsong; JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, 1982)..... 14

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Article Urges Development of Human Resources
(Wang Kang; GUANGMING RIBAO, 18 Mar 82)..... 16

Scholars Discuss 'Water Margin'
(Zhang Zhongliang; JIANCHAN LUNTAN, 1982)..... 23

Shaanxi Planned Parenthood Work Report Issued
(Sung Youtian; SHAANXI RIBAO, 9 Mar 82)..... 28

Comments on Qu Youyuan's Political Poems
(Zhang Jihe; CHANGCHUN, 1982)..... 31

Comments on Qu Youyuan's 'Democracy Wall,' 'Recollecting'
(Yang Yinlong; CHANGCHUN, 1 Jan 82) 39

PARTY AND STATE

PROVINCIAL CONGRESS HEARS REPORT ON WORK OF LAW COURTS

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Mar 82 p 1

[Article: "Punishment of Criminals, Protection of the People, Struggling to Effect a Distinct Improvement in our Public Security--Report on the Work of the Law Courts by Liu Peng [0491 5570], Law Court President, at the Fourth Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress"]

[Text] On the afternoon of 7 March, Liu Peng, president of the Provincial People's High Court, gave a report on the work of the law courts at the second plenary meeting of the fourth session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress.

Liu Peng first of all reported on the work of the law courts during the last year. He said that our provincial law courts of all levels worked under the guidance and supervision of the People's Supreme Court, the provincial party committee and the standing committee of the Provincial People's Congress and in close cooperation with the public security and procuratorial organizations, so as to continue the work of rectifying public security. They struck a blow at the current centers of crime, vigorously launched various judicial activities and disposed of a large number of criminal and civil cases as well as a series of cases concerning the economy. They punished criminal elements and protected the interests of the people with the aim of maintaining public security, promoting stability and unity, guaranteeing the readjustment of the national economy and the smooth progress of the four modernization projects, and thus brought into full play the functional effectiveness of judicial action.

Liu Peng went on to discuss in detail the tasks for 1982. He said that in this new year the people's courts at all levels throughout our province shall implement conscientiously the spirit of the directives issued by the CCP Central Committee and the provincial party committee, shall strictly enforce the laws and decrees of our country and do excellent work in the great variety of judicial work, punish all criminal elements, justly resolve the economic and civil disputes, consolidate and develop the overall political state of stability and unity, and guarantee the smooth progress of our two projects for the construction of our civilization.

He said that it is the primary and major task of people's courts at all levels to resolutely attack all counterrevolutionary and other serious criminal activities and strive with great effort to effect a distinct improvement in our public security. We shall resolutely attack and break up the remnant forces of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. We shall resolutely attack and break up all counterrevolutionary elements who are intent on destroying our socialist construction and our state of stability and unity. We shall resolutely attack, be on guard against and curb all other kinds of criminal cases and activities, resolutely attack large-scale smuggling and illicit sales of smuggled goods occurring in the economic field, as well as speculating and profiteering, active and passive bribery and corruption in office. We are determined to learn to perfection how to use the legal weapon in the struggle against the antiparty and antisocialist forces and against all kinds of criminal elements. We shall effect an organic integration of our resolute attacks with the breaking-up, guarding-against and curbing activities so as to assert fully the authority of the socialist legal system. To attain a basic improvement in our public security we must conscientiously implement the principle of "comprehensive control." In exercising "comprehensive control," legal sanctions are an important measure, and we must pay attention in our judicial activities to the broadened effect of our handling legal cases, launch propaganda for the legal system on a broad scale, also launch activities to obtain opinions regarding our legal system, close loopholes, prevent and reduce the commission of crimes.

President Liu Peng said that presently the judicial work of handling civil cases fulfills a very important mission. The successfulness of handling civil cases will directly affect the stability of our society and the solidarity among the people. Civil cases that are not dealt with promptly and properly may degenerate into conflicts and possibly lead to criminal acts. People's courts at all levels must therefore most definitely and decidedly exercise stronger leadership and make a success of the way they handle civil cases. The large number of disputes over rights and interests that are newly coming up, must be dealt with in an appropriate way. In the wake of our country's intensified economic construction and the continued improvement in our socialist legal system, there will arise the need to apply legal measures to settle a large number of economic disputes. The people's courts at all levels must make a conscientious effort to learn to implement the law governing economic contracts and all other legal provisions concerning the economy, must thoroughly investigate and gain a thorough understanding of the new situation and new problems arising from our economic readjustment and energetically and effectively deal with all kinds of economic disputes in order to maintain and protect the socialist economic order and the smooth progress of our economic construction.

9808
CSO: 4005/729

PARTY AND STATE

EDITORIAL SUMS UP WORK OF FIFTH PROVINCIAL CONGRESS

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Mar 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Going All Out, Plowing Through the Waves, We Advance--Congratulations on the Successful Conclusion of the Fourth Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress and the Fourth Session of the Fourth People's Political Consultative Conference"]

[Text] The Fourth Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress and the Fourth Session of the Fourth People's Political Consultative Conference have come to a successful close. This had been a one-time meeting of unity and one which roused great enthusiasm. The representatives and delegates who attended the meeting sized up the present situation, summed up their experiences, examined the prospects of the future, made suggestions and were full of confidence that even greater achievements will be attained in the various fields of work during the coming year. The conference was highly satisfactory and a complete success.

The present situation in our province is very good. That our area, which is a base of heavy industry whose core is the iron and steel industry, could attain a bumper harvest in agriculture while carrying out further readjustments during the last year, could make up for the downward adjustment in the heavy industry plan, with a large increase in the light industry, overfulfilling the state plan, and could further improve the stability of the overall political situation, was a tremendous achievement not easily accomplished. It is the result of great exertions on the part of the peoples of various nationalities throughout our entire province. The representatives and delegates freely discussed the excellent situation and gained a better understanding of the absolute correctness of the lines, principles and policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session. Their continued firm and unswerving implementation will bring even greater successes.

This year our tasks are very complex and arduous. To make further progress in the construction of the socialist material and spiritual civilization, the present congress defined a series of tasks and measures, and the representatives and delegates put forward many good opinions and suggestions during the deliberations. In order to accomplish this year's task, we shall work diligently, overcome our many difficulties and perform much arduous work. One core item which must be emphasized is that everyone's vigor must be fully aroused and the zeal of the masses must be brought into full play.

If we are to engage in the construction of overall modernization, we must stress the material prerequisites and respect the objective law; this is a truth which we have paid for dearly. However, we are proponents of dialectic materialism and pay attention not only to the definite function of material things, but also to the spiritual reactions, as we also emphasize giving full play to man's subjective motivations. Under certain material conditions the subjective efforts of men differ and the results can be quite different. Precisely as many representatives and delegates said, our province has a very solid industrial base, a fairly strong technological capacity, a comparatively large number of large-scale and backbone enterprises. Many of our economic norms are still below the levels of production achieved last year, and the latent potentialities are still very great. If we only implement the party's lines, principles and policies, firmly and unswervingly, bestir ourselves, coordinate our knowledge, arouse everybody's zeal and bring into full play the intelligence and wisdom of the masses, it will be absolutely possible to realize a solid growth rate, beneficial results in our economy and to open up new prospects in the work of Liaoning Province.

Arousing everybody's zeal must depend on the policies and on strengthening ideological political work, and also on a successful integration of these two factors. Without correct policy, it will not be possible to bring the initiative of the masses into full play; many people are now well aware of this principle. Without vigorous ideological political work, the ideological consciousness of the people cannot be raised, nor can enthusiasm be aroused. Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "Political work is the lifeblood of economic work." This is absolutely true. We must implement the policy of distribution according to work, further consolidate and perfect our system of production responsibility and carry out a system of bonuses. All these things must be accomplished effectively and must not be neglected. However, in implementing these policies, we must uphold the principle of giving priority to ideology. We must carry out a deeply penetrating and painstaking ideological political work, otherwise not only will our good policies be perverted, but trends of bourgeois liberalization and various "money-minded" trends will spread and grow. Only by instituting vigorous ideological political work, education of the people to develop a love of the party, the country and socialism, by educating them to foster a spirit of dedication for the socialist modernization and to foster a work attitude of masters of the state, can our policies be effectively realized, can the enthusiasm of the people be aroused and will there be further improvement in our work.

It is hoped that following this conference, everyone will carry back the spirit of the conference, will fulfill the model function as people's representatives and the delegates of the political consultative conference, will take the lead in the work of building up our material and spiritual civilization, in ideological political work, in bestirring ourselves, and will go all out, overcome all difficulties, plow through the waves and strive hard to fulfill and overfulfill this year's economic plan and all the other different tasks.

9808
CSO: 4005/729

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

CHIEF OF STAFF DISCUSSES REGULARIZATION OF PLA

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 1, 1982 p 1

[Article by Yang Dezhi [PLA chief of staff]: "Unite and Summon the Spirit To Build a Modern, Regular Revolutionary Army"]

[Text] In the autumn of last year, the leaders of the party and state, at a certain place in north China, watched a military exercise and reviewed troops. This constituted a comprehensive inspection of our army's work and also a kind attentiveness to, and great inspiration for, the building of our army after the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee.

This exercise showed that our army has improved its military command, political work, and logistical support, and has made new strides in its capability for coordinated operations by combined forces and in using modern combat methods to deal with an enemy. It also indicated that our army, with firm steps, has entered a new period of construction. At the military review after the exercise, Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee, issued the call: "Build our army into a powerful, modern, regular revolutionary army." This call is the glorious battle mission entrusted to our army by the party Central Committee and its Military Commission. All officers and men in the army certainly must, with practical actions, plunge into the construction of a modern, regular revolutionary army.

The construction of a modern, regular army must be commanded by the revolution, steadfastly maintaining the correct political orientation. We must further study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; study the party's line, principles, and policies; and be models in upholding the four basic principles, maintaining political unity with the party Central Committee, and implementing the party's instructions. We must continue to restore and develop the excellent tradition and workstyle of the people's army; have close army-government, army-people relations; strengthen internal and external unity; and launch "four haves, three stresses, and four nonapprehensions" activities, acting as pacesetters for a spiritual civilization.

Following the development of our country's national economy and its science and technology, our army's weapons and equipment are gradually being improved and their level of modernization is continually being raised. To adapt ourselves to this situation, we must strengthen regular training, train a large

number of cadres who possess modern scientific and cultural knowledge and the capability to organize and manage, and train human talent in all professions and trades. The more advanced and scientific weapons and equipment become, the more we must stress regularization. The mistaken view that regularization is formalism must be corrected. Under given conditions, the degree of regularization is a measure of a unit's military and political quality, an important indicator of its combat style, and an expression of combat effectiveness. Our army already has a fairly good foundation for its regularization; there are unified provisions for command, system, authorized strength, discipline, and training. Based on new situations and new problems, we must additionally formulate some new rules and regulations. At present the key is to do things strictly according to rules and regulations, with high standards and strict demands; to establish a regular order in work, study, and life; and through duties in military and political training and combat readiness and through daily work, to get a firm grip on cultivation and education, and persevere in them. Leading cadres and organizations at all levels must play an exemplary role, being strict with themselves, putting their own affairs in order first, having each level take care of itself, and placing responsibility according to level. They must, through strict management of the units, stress obedience to orders and adherence to discipline; maintain the strictness provided by the system; correct laxness, indiscipline, and negligence; and also, fully displaying the power of political and ideological work, they must avoid rigidity and coarseness. We must also gradually reform the system of organization and establishment, the work systems and methods that do not suit regularization, "reducing the swelling" and "paring the fat," simplifying the administrative structure; in a planned and measured way, reduce or remove nonmilitary conditions; and according to the demand for a highly trained, efficient, and upgraded combat effectiveness, we must scientifically organize the organizations and units into groups. Currently, we are still confronted with a turbulent, unstable, complex international situation, and none of the officers and men of the army can in any way slacken his fighting will. In the new year, we must be even more dedicated heart and soul to the same cause, upgrade our vigilance, strengthen preparations against war, work in a down-to-earth way, and make unceasing contributions to carrying forward the building of a modern, regular revolutionary army!

9727
CSO: 4005/550

UNIT LEARNS STRENGTHS, WEAKNESSES OF NIGHT-VISION EQUIPMENT

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 1, 1982 pp 8-11

[Article by Wang Hong [3789 4767] et al: "New Topics in Modern Night Fighting"]

[Text] On a night in which the moon was dark and the stars were few, a certain unit of the Lanzhou Units carried out a military demonstration of the use of night-vision equipment in combat. Set up side by side on the viewing platform were an infrared night-vision instrument, a microphoto [1792 0342] night-vision instrument, a microphoto television instrument and other night-vision equipment, on the the fluorescent screens of which ridges, clumps of grass, and individual soldiers up to 700 or 800 meters away could be seen as if it were daylight.

When the demonstration began, three fighters in military attire were standing 100 meters to the front, indicating their position. Suddenly they vanished. The microphoto television instrument continuously scanned but did not discover a trace of them. Just as everyone was perplexed, over the audio amplifier came the voice of a guide: "They have now entered our front, 80 meters...50 meters...30 meters...." Suddenly a searchlight shone, and everybody saw that these fighters had donned mottled camouflage clothing that was the same color as the background and, carrying well-camouflaged weapons, had made use of the surface features of the terrain to crawl forward. The searchlight was turned off, and the fighters again disappeared under the curtain of night.

Subsequently, specialized service arms--machinegun, artillery, antichemical warfare, and motor vehicle--also separately carried out nighttime enemy-approaching movements, probing the new topic of night warfare under modern conditions.

Who would have thought that 5 months before they would have been at a loss as to what to do with these modern "night owl eyes!" That was also a pitch-dark night. The Fourth Squad of the Second Company was carrying out a war game exercise against the "night owl eyes," but when it entered the attack starting position, it was discovered by the night-vision equipment. Remaining unconvinced, the fighters changed uniforms, but they were still seen by the "night owl eyes."

From this time on, the cadres and fighters realized that the enemy's night-vision equipment is an achievement of modern science and that for us to engage

in combat against this equipment we must study it with a scientific attitude and reform our past training methods. The unit's party committee first of all organized everybody to acquire knowledge pertaining to night-vision equipment and asked specialists in the scientific research department to give lectures, so that the fighters fully understood, from a theoretical standpoint, the strengths and weaknesses of night-vision equipment. Then, with all kinds of night-vision equipment, the unit carried out conscientious separate tests of the equipment's efficacy in observing individual soldiers, individual vehicles, and individual artillery pieces during tactical training from the fendui level up to the battalion and regiment level under different weather conditions--clear night, rainy night, moonlit night, and starry night--and on different terrain--mountainous land, rivers, hills, forest land, ground with tall plants, and open ground. Through practice everybody saw that, to a certain degree, night-vision equipment really made up for the lack of visibility in the darkness of night and added to the difficulties of night combat. But there are many weak points in the equipment, e.g., a large blind angle, a narrow field of vision, a short effective range, and the great effect of terrain, weather, light rays, and smokescreens, so that the equipment cannot fundamentally change the natural darkness of night.

After the fighters understood the properties of night-vision equipment and mastered the laws of its use, they adopted positive measures to deal with the equipment. They made use of: all kinds of camouflage to baffle the other side, the terrain's surface features to conceal their movement, bad weather to suddenly launch an attack, and bright lights to blind the night-vision equipment.... By employing these measures, the unit attained its goal of securing advantage and avoiding disadvantage, thereby seizing the initiative in night combat.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. A comparatively advanced device at present--the thermal imaging system--can observe the images of two fighters hidden in a forest.

2. On a microphoto television set, one sees different images of two fighters: The fighter without camouflage is seen distinct, but the image of the camouflaged fighter is blurred.

3. With a microphoto night-vision instrument, one can see an uncamouflaged truck 650 meters away, but another truck next to it that is camouflaged with yellow mud is hard to spot.

4. On the fluorescent screen of a microphoto television set, one can see the light of a fighter's cigarette at 400 meters.

5. Infrared binoculars are necessary equipment for nighttime reconnaissance.

6. After being camouflaged in deceptive colors, an 82-mm recoilless rifle hides behind a ridge and waits for the opportunity to wipe out the "enemy."

7. Flamethrowing soldiers throw flames to obstruct view and thus blind the other side's night-vision equipment.

8. Tank forces use camouflage nets.

9. Infantry gathering weeds to weave into their camouflage clothing.

10. Local vegetation used to camouflage armored transport vehicles.

11. Truck and cannon camouflaged by mud-smearing method.

12. Firepower concentrated to destroy the other side's night-vision equipment.

13. A flexible, irregular battle formation, using dark places in the terrain's surface features, swiftly and secretly moves in depth toward the "enemy."

9727
CSO: 4005/550

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SNOW, ICE EFFECTS ON TANK MOVEMENT DISCUSSED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 1, 1982 p 41

[Article by Liu Chunda [0491 2504 6671]: "A Few Words About Tanks in a World of Ice and Snow"]

[Text] People often use the term "goosefeather flakes" to describe the whiteness and softness of snow. Actually, this pure-white, soft snow, when it accumulates to a certain thickness, can block moving vehicles and can even lift up a tank weighing several tens of tons. When tanks are moving in an area that gets a lot of snow, this effect must not be overlooked.

The main effects of a world of ice and snow on tanks are:

Lifting up the tank's underside. When a tank is driven along a road surface where the snow accumulation is fairly deep, if the snow depth is double the height between the surface and the tank's underside, the underside will be lifted up by the snow, causing the tracks to slip, and the tank will be unable to move forward. If the surface is covered with old frozen snow, this effect is even more pronounced. So, the depth of the snow should be estimated and the excess thickness removed.

Crosswise slide. When a tank is on a road surface where snow has accumulated, particularly on a road where the snow has already been packed down, because the track's traction power on the road is lessened, the tank track's crosswise drag is reduced and the tank can easily slide crosswise. If the tank is traversing an inclined road surface covered with frozen snow, the tank is even more likely to slide. In this situation, attention must be given to controlling the tank's speed, and it is not advisable to brake sharply. The method of putting down several track planks can be used to increase friction drag.

Tank pitfalls. After a snowfall, the terrain's landform undergoes a fairly big change, and on the surface the country may look flat when in reality it conceals "pitfalls." When a tank moves crosscountry, if there is the least inattention, the tank may encounter a "pitfall." When conditions permit, a road survey should be made and preparations taken to avoid difficulty.

Everything is a case of "one divides into two." In a severe winter, rivers freeze over and deep chasms are turned into thoroughfares, giving tanks advantageous conditions to cross natural protective barriers. Before a tank crosses

a frozen river, the temperature and the thickness of the ice layer must be measured, and, based on the tank type, a suitably thick layer of ice chosen. Close to the thaw season, the texture of the ice layer loosens, and leeway must be allowed in choosing a thickness.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. A tank bogged down in accumulated snow. The marks of its tracks can be clearly seen.

2. A tank sliding crosswise on a road where the snow has been packed down.

3. A tank which has fallen into a deep ditch covered by snow.

4. Tanks crossing a frozen river to the opposite bank.

9727
CSO: 4005/550

PLA UNIT GAINS EXPERIENCE IN LARGE-SCALE TANK OPERATIONS

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 1, 1982 pp 2-5

[Article by Kong Hai [1313 3189] et al: "Account of Tank War Game"]

[Text] Like clouds of iron, the war chariots roll. A tank war game exercise on a relatively large scale is in full swing. The "Blue Army" tank force, with the tactical features of broad front, great depth, high speed, and many waves, moves steadily forward. The "Red Army" tank force, after making full preparations, at an opportune moment and on advantageous terrain counterattacks powerfully.

Large-scale tank operations are an important feature of modern warfare. Because of the quantitative and qualitative gap between the enemy's tanks and ours, the study of how, during attacks and counterattacks between massed tanks, inferior equipment can triumph over superior equipment was one of the important topics in the exercise.

The officers and men of the units taking part in the war exercise pooled the wisdom and efforts of everyone, made bold explorations, and summed up the experiences of each exercise, thereby making steady improvement. With regard to assault movements, in order to give expression to the tanks' first-attack shock power, they increased tank density in the main breakthrough sector, and, under cover of powerful air and artillery firepower, advanced wave after wave, in successive attacks. With regard to battle formations, they employed a multiroute, multiwave formation, stressing rapid attack. With regard to tactical methods, in order to give expression to the tactical doctrine of making bold and powerful penetrations, making bold outflanking movements, and cutting up, surrounding and annihilating the enemy, after the attack was launched, they ordered the tank force to make swift, violent attacks, both hitting the enemy and penetrating, rapidly cutting him up, and with decisive movements in depth, disrupting the other side's deployment.

In a war game exercise, each unit, focusing on its weak links, gets a firm grip on training in basic movements, repeatedly practicing the first echelon's breakthrough and deep thrust, and the second echelon's joining in the battle. In armored forces' operations, there is great mobility, and at times they can fight in isolation and under difficult conditions. With this point in mind, they have a tenacious spirit of consciously tempering the unit and giving it

a suitable capacity for field operations. Through several months of repeated training exercises, this unit has accumulated initial experience in large-scale tank operations.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. Massed "Blue Army" tanks advancing on "Red Army."
2. Braving artillery fire, "Red Army" tanks plunge into battle.
3. "Red Army" commander decisively issuing commands.
4. Armed helicopters covering the swift advance by "Red Army" tanks.
5. "Red Army" tanks open fierce fire.
6. Motorized infantry jumping out of their vehicles to attack and blow up "Blue Army" tanks.
7. "Red Army" tanks extend their cannon fire, exploiting the victory.
8. "Red Army" scout closely watches for "Blue Army's" next attack.
9. Braving gunpowder smoke, infantry men reinforce defense works.
10. Infantrymen riding in tanks drive a wedge into the "Blue Army's" position.
11. "Red Army" tanks pursue and attack the "Blue Army."

9727
CSO: 4005/550

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

NEW SIMULATION EQUIPMENT USED IN TRAINING DESCRIBED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 1, 1982 pp 6-7

[Report by Lin Tingsong [2621 1656 2656]: "New Ways in Training Reform"]

[Text] Research on and use of training simulation equipment is one important way to improve the quality of training and education. The features of these pieces of equipment are that the simulation is lifelike, the images are audio-visual, and they are economically practical. Practice has shown that the use of simulation equipment in training can reduce the wear and tear on weapons and equipment and save on costs, and can also shorten training time and improve training results.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. The "hydraulic-pressure moving deck gun," developed and built by Naval Factory 101, simulates a deck gun emplacement rocked by waves, by which the gunner fixes on his target and aims his fire with an external bore cannon or a laser cannon, thereby changing the past situation in which this kind of training could only be carried out at sea.

2. A certain model of an "aircraft firing simulator," developed and built by the Air Force Military Training Equipment Plant, simulates multidirectional level straightline attacks by an aircraft on a target in the air. The simulator's sensitivity in operation as well as the movements of the enemy's aircraft and ours are relatively lifelike. Hits are indicated by flashing dots.

3. The "motor vehicle driving simulator," developed and built by General Staff Research Institute No 60, is used in basic training for driving motor vehicles. It simulates starting, steering, changing gears, and braking a Liberation-model motor vehicle. A mistake in operating the vehicle is indicated on a monitor, and when there is a violation of operating instructions that could cause an accident, an alarm is sounded.

4. The "motion picture-type antiaircraft firing simulator," developed and built by an artillery unit and Factory 6019, uses a combination of motion picture and slide projection to project on a screen the terrain background

protecting targets, targets in the air, and traces of fired projectiles, thereby creating conditions for training commanders in fire command.

5. The "infantry fendui tactical training simulator," developed and built by the Beijing Units, in accordance with current situations, can by remote control indicate individual soldier and tank targets, as well as firing points, burst points, sounds, the firing of signal flares, and smokescreens, thereby improving the fendui's capability to observe, judge, and deal with tactical situations.

6. In the "antiaircraft gun 'sky-aiming ground-hitting' firing simulator," a successful innovation of deputy regiment commander Wang Hong [3769 3163], while the cannons aim at the sky the machineguns fire at ground targets, thereby solving the previous problem when it was hard to select and inconvenient to inspect the accuracy of firing aimed at a site from which firing was directed into the sky.

7. The "82mm recoilless rifle simulated shell," developed and built by the Wuhan Units, closely simulates a live shell; it conforms to the firing table, is safe to fire, has good accuracy, bounces when it hits the ground and emits smoke and light, is easy to observe, and can be reused many times.

8. The "Type 71 rocket mine-laying simulated projectile," developed and built by the Nanjing Units and Factory 1103, simulates the whole process of ignition, flight, separation, and scatter when the projectile is launched. It is closely similar to a live shell and can be used again and again.

9727
CSO: 4005/550

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ARTICLE URGES DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN RESOURCES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Mar 82 p 2

[Article by Wang Kang [3769 1660], Director of the China Human Resources Institute: "The Primary Task at Present is Research on Human Resources"]

[Text] Our party has always valued cadre training and human resources development and has seen them as a basic task in party building and national construction. Since the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Party Congress, with the implementation of the policy on intellectuals and other policies as well, there has been a new atmosphere of successive generations of fresh talent appearing on all battlefronts. Construction of the four modernizations requires great quantities of human resources and requires the founding of a generation of new people. Human resources research and the study of human resources have emerged in response to the demands of the new historical conditions. In October of 1979, the preliminary group of a human resources institute was established in Beijing. Over the past several years, this preliminary group has accomplished great amounts of work. It has conducted academic discussions, convened human resources conferences, promoted the discussion and the publicizing of self-study materials, and started the two publications REN CAI [HUMAN RESOURCES] and CHOU XIAOYA [THE UGLY DUCKLING]. The China Human Resources Institute was recently established and many local human resource study groups were also established. A great many personnel and organizational work cadres have joined the human resource research units. These units have already begun to take shape. Human resource research is both necessary and has the potential for making great progress.

Human resources research is multi-faceted. Inquiries should be made from the aspect of academic theories and studies must be made of real issues in human resources. It is necessary to absorb and learn from foreign research results, and we must also gather and study the material on human resources thought and systems found in Chinese history. However, several points must be clarified. What should function as the focal point of modern research work in human resources? What is the first task to be accomplished? My view is that the focal point should be the study of the realization of human resources. This also is the first task to be accomplished.

More and more, people are becoming aware of the urgency and importance of the issue of human resources. On January 10th of this year, the GUANGMING RIBAO published an article titled "The Urgency of the Issues in Human Resources," and on February 24th initiated a discussion focusing on the topics of the development of the intellect and the development of human resources. This discussion has already received a broad response in society, which thoroughly demonstrates the importance placed on this issue by the broad cadres and the masses. Because of the great differences and the contradictions between the requirements of the four modernizations and the real conditions in human resources, and because some places and some departments have not yet erradicated their leftist ideology on the issues in human resources, there still are numerous shortcomings and errors in the actual work and there moreover are gaps in some systems concerning human resources. Consequently, in the current employment, development and management of human resources, there are a number of problems which urgently require study and solutions. If these problems are not solved it will be impossible to fully utilize the positive features of human resources and it will be impossible for human resources to quickly grow and come to the fore. Our workers in human resources research ought to take up the task of solving these problems, investigate all sorts of issues in the area of human resources and make suitable and realistic suggestions in order to provide the policies, principles and actions formulated by the party and the state with a scientific basis. In the study of human resources, theoretical inquiries naturally are an important part, so the theoretical workers should take positive actions and make great efforts. At the same time, the comrades performing the actual work should eagerly study and enthusiastically take part in the inquiries into academic theory in order to provide themselves with a theoretical foundation. However, our academic theories serve the purpose of providing better explanations and solutions for the real issues which are not prominent in the field of human resources. This is to say that the inquiries into and the establishment of human resources studies must follow the principle of integrating theory with practice. This is because it is only by proceeding from construction of socialist modernization in China under the leadership of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to study the issues in human resources and discover the governing laws that we can establish a department of human resources studies which suits China's needs.

The issues in human resources studies impinge upon a broad area and there is an abundance of materials. Which issues should we focus on?

1. The Study of the Distribution of Human Resources and the Study of the Circulation of Human Resources

Our national economy is now undergoing adjustments, and adjustments should also be made in the distribution and utilization of human resources, especially in the distribution and utilization of scientific and technical human resources. Throughout China there now is a serious shortage of scientific and technical human resources, and there also is a very irrational distribution pattern. According to statistics in 1980, light industry had a production value which was 46.9 percent of the national total production value for industry, and the total of scientific and technical personnel in light industry was 15.5 percent of all scientific and technical personnel in all industrial departments. Although there are many departments in light industry, scientific and technical personnel are only about one tenth of all staff and workers. Such conditions are not suitable for the policy of strong development of consumer goods production. In addition to the irrational distribution of scientific and technical personnel in light and heavy industry, there also is an irrational distribution of scientific and technical personnel in the large cities and in medium and small cities and in the coastal regions and the border provinces and border prefectures. What is the current situation in the circulation of scientific and technical personnel? What policies and actions should be taken to rectify the situation? How can we encourage and support reasonable circulation and prevent unreasonable circulation? These issues are all worthy of study.

2. The Study of Economic Management and Enterprise Managment and the Study of the Development and Utilization of Human Resources

Construction of the four modernizations requires great quantities of superior human resources for economic managment and enterprise management. This was precisely the case in the Soviet Union in 1926, when, in connection with large-scale industrial construction, Stalin said: "We cannot even take a single step without such human resources!" This is especially true for our new road of future economic development which emphasizes reform of the extant enterprises and depends upon improving economic efficiency of extant industries. There is an even more urgent need to promote and develop human resources for economic management and enterprise management.

During the 1950s, the party and the state transferred a great many young cadres to various technical schools and to schools abroad to study science and technology and management, and then set them to work in economic departments and enterprises. The majority of them have now become knowledgeable leading cadres in their departments. Unfortunately, this important practice was later discontinued. What was even more discouraging was that frequent political movements and the ten years of chaos also resulted in attacks on and damage to a great many of the management human resources in the economic departments and the enterprises, and consequently resulted in the present condition of having even

fewer management human resources than scientific and technical human resources. Such conditions cannot continue. How we are to conduct large-scale promotion, development and correct utilization of economic management and enterprise management, human resources has already become an urgent major issue which will require a large-scale struggle. I believe that this issue should be investigated from both the macro and micro perspectives. This means that we must investigate these superior management human resources in terms of their necessary qualities and requirements (both morals and abilities), that we must investigate the intellectual structure, the knowledge structure and the laws of the maturation of talent, that we must investigate the principles and policies involved in the management, utilization and development of human resources. For example, how to develop systemization, how to carry out educational reforms to speed up the development of human resources, how to integrate simplification of the administrative structure with cadre training in rotation and develop many mature cadres well versed in administrative skills into economic management and enterprise management human resources, and so on.

Besides these, we also must strengthen research on the human resources issues in scientific and technical management. The development of modern science and technology makes greater demands on management work. Even scientific and technical personnel with excellent backgrounds in scientific research have difficulty achieving success if they lack human resources skills in scientific and technical management.

3. Conditions in Research in Scientific and Technical Human Resources, Especially in Agricultural Science and Technology

The party is highly conscious of and concerned about scientific and technical human resources. However, in many departments and areas, because the party's policy on intellectuals has not been properly implemented and because of the limitations of national economic conditions, the present utilization, development and management of scientific and technical personnel as well as their working and living conditions, still face many problems and difficulties, especially the serious problem of middle-aged scientific and technical personnel. Throughout the nation there are about six million various types of scientists and technicians and 60 percent of them are middle aged. The great majority of them have already become professional cadres in various occupations and enterprises and they have the responsibility for developing young scientific and technical personnel. They have heavy burdens, low income, many household responsibilities and relatively inferior working and living conditions. Therefore, the investigation of the issues involving scientific and technical human resources ought to focus on the middle aged scientific and technical personnel. When their problems are clarified we can suggest solutions for consideration by the party and government. This will stimulate them and encourage the ranks.

There are many categories of scientific and technical personnel and they are scattered throughout all occupations and enterprises. The issues involving agricultural scientific and technical human resources now require special attention. Their present conditions are as follows: 1. Their numbers are small. Our rural population numbers 800 million persons, but, according to 1980 statistics, the number of agricultural scientific and technical personnel (including both units in the whole-people ownership system and the collective ownership system) stands at about 320,000 persons, less than 6 percent of the nation's scientific and technical personnel. Throughout the nation, for every 10,000 persons in the agricultural population there is an average of only four scientists and technicians (compared to 18 such persons in Japan). 2. The quality is not high and there are very few mid and high rank scientific and technical personnel. 3. They are not given serious consideration in politics. Their working and living conditions are rather poor, and in comparison with scientific and technical personnel in other industries, their wages and benefits are low and inferior. The consequence is the frequency with which they depart from the "agricultural departments." From 1979 to 1980, there was a 4.2 percent decline in agricultural scientific and technical personnel in the units under the whole-people ownership system. 4. The countryside urgently needs scientists and technicians, but a great many of the agricultural vocational school graduates are not assigned, which results in a serious imoalance. 5. In all rural areas, among the returned graduates, rehabilitated soldiers and skilled artisans there are a great many scientific and technical personnel who are only partially or not at all engaged in production and who are a force that should not be underestimated. However, there are numerous problems regarding their development, utilization and compensation. In short, the problems of agricultural scientific and technical personnel are serious and prominent, which is not at all suitable for the party's principle of accelerating agricultural development. What is encouraging is that some people are beginning to pay attention to these problems. Not long ago, Wenjiang prefecture in Sichuan province convened a conference on rural human resources problems and studied the issues of the identification, utilization and development of rural scientific and technical human resources and human resources management. The conference offered suggestions to the provincial party committee and the provincial people's government and also established the preliminary group of a special committee to study rural human resources. Their experiences are worthy of consideration.

4. Investigation of Conditions in the Building of Spiritual Culture.

We must build a high degree of socialist spiritual culture, and this requires the efforts of many ranks of people to carry out, including personnel in ideological and political work and workers in journalism, publishing, literature, art, education and physical

education. A great many superior human resources have already appeared in their midst--new singers, youthful writers and artists, teachers of special classification and world class premier athletes. However, these ranks must be expanded and new levels of excellence must be attained in order to meet the needs of building a new era of spiritual culture. Prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution," such heroic models of socialist spiritual culture as Lei Feng and Jiao Yulu [3542 5940 4389] emerged to educate and stimulate the people with socialist spirit. We now need more heroic models like them and we need great amounts of human resources to carry out ideological education work in a lively fashion under the new conditions.

5. Study of the Ranks of Human Resources Managers

The management of human resources in all fields and all enterprises is carried out by the organizational and personnel departments on all party and government levels. Conditions in the ranks of the human resources managers and the level and quality of the work performed are of great importance in the growth of our human resources. Many of the comrades in the field are now studying theory and policy, acquiring knowledge in science, technology and culture, doing professional research, liberating their thought, taking note of research results, continuously studying new conditions and new issues and striving to integrate their own experiences with high level theory and policy in order to make themselves into a new type of managerial and organizational expert. In their midst is a new generation resembling Bo Le [legendary horse trainer]. They are superior human resources for the management of human resources. They are skilled in carrying out the party's organizational line and policy on intellectuals, are able to recognize talent, have a predilection for talent and the courage to utilize it. However, there are some comrades who view personnel and organizational work as incidental professional duties and who see themselves and their fellow workers as "tiger balm--panaceas," refusing to admit that personnel management and organizational work are a separate profession and so are lacking a new spirit of discovery and a mind for study. There are yet other comrades who have not yet cleared their minds of leftist ideology and whose thought is fully or semi-ossified. Still others are so conservative that they stubbornly hold on to old conventions. Consequently, the building of their ranks is an issue of extreme importance. We who are involved in human resources studies must also conduct research of these issues to help them properly carry out their work in developing and promoting human resources and bring forth a new generation resembling Bo Le.

The five points given above should be an intimate part of the work of those of us engaged in research on issues in human resources. In addition, we should continue research on and promotion of self-study materials and continue to to broaden our

approaches. We also should integrate our work in institutional reforms, the promotion of middle-aged and youthful superior cadres, the preparation of leadership groups and the selection and appointment of those who are good and capable with our studies of the collective structure of various different units and organizational levels; and we should integrate our work of rotating the various types of cadres in training with our studies on the intellectual renewal of human resources and in lifeling learning systems.

In carrying out work on human resources issues we ought to adhere to correct principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in carrying out research, must uphold the four basic principles and moreover must liberate our thinking and dare to make reforms. In this regard, the Party Central Committee has provided a model: it recently has taken decisive actions to implement institutional reforms, formulate a retirement and furlough system for old cadres and eliminate the de facto lifetime employment system for old cadres. This broadens the horizons for the speedy growth of the youthful and middle-aged cadres and all types of human resources. Certain local party committees and governments have been successful in reforming their personnel systems. For example, the mid and small cities of Xiangfan, Siping, Xuzhou and Changzhou used the method of getting the permission of the units to solicit applications for employment in order to siphon off a number of human resources from large cities, thus stimulating rational human resources circulation and promoting local economic development. Some other places used the methods of temporary transfer, concurrent positions, lectures and technical cooperation to promote intellectual circulation and intellectual unity. To a certain extent they also broke up the departmental ownership system over cadres and human resources. Their courageous spirit in carrying out reforms is worthy of our consideration and their experiences are worthy of summation and dissemination.

The study of human resources, in addition to studies by human resources researchers and organizational and personnel departments, also requires integration with discussions by the broad cadres and masses. The GUANGMING RIBAO is now conducting a discussion of intellectual development and human resources issues. We who are engaged in human resources research should eagerly join in this discussion or else should initiate and conduct similar discussions in our respective areas to provide human resources issues with an even broader mass base, ilicit all-round greater consideration of human resources issues and promote the strong, healthy growth of human resources.

11582
CSO: 4005/744

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUATION AND CULTURE

SCHOLARS DISCUSS 'WATER MARGIN'

Wuhan JIANGHAN LUNTAN [JIANGHAN FORUM] in Chinese No 1, 82 pp 50-51

[Article by Zhang Zhongliang [1728 0113 5328]: "On the First Forum of Academic Discussion of 'The Water Margin'"]

[Text] The first academic symposium on "Water Margin," sponsored by the Hubei Province Society on the Study of "Water Margin," the Institute of Literature under the Hubei Province Academy of Social Sciences, and the Chinese Department of some colleges and universities, was held in Wuhan from 14 through 18 November, 1981. Over 160 "Water Margin" scholars and students from all over the country attended. More than 110 special articles and theses were received during the symposium. Below is a summary of the major academic views discussed at the symposium.

I. The Original Version and Author of "Water Margin"

There are two views regarding the original version of "Water Margin." One view holds that the original version is the detailed 100-chapter edition by Guo Xun. The two themes in this version--amnesty for rebels and the Taoist doctrine--are stressed by Guo Xun to cater to the needs of Emperor Jia Jing. Those who hold this view, basing it on the content of the 100-chapter edition and relevant historical materials, infer the Guo's version of "Water Margin" was completed around the 11th or 12th year of the reign of the Ming Dynasty Emperor Jia Jing. There are mistakes in general knowledge in this version and the descriptions of upper class life are done in rough broad strokes, quite different from the style of "A Dream of Red Mansions." The author, this view infers, was a scholar of the lower classes. Another view reiterates Mr Sun Kaidi's idea, put forth in the thirties, that "the simplified version evolved from the detailed version." It holds that the first parts and later parts of the 100-chapter version are contradictory and so are not written by the same person. The Guo version is not the original version. There should have been an older version before Guo, who revised it to become the 100-chapter version.

There are two views regarding Shi Nai-an, the author of "Water Margin." Some hold that there really was a person by the name of Shi Nai-an, citing the Shi family register and epitaphs as proof. The explain that the present-day town

of Baiju in Dafeng County, Jiangsu Province, was the hometown of the Shi family, also where the Shi clan resided, that the Shi family burial ground is to be found at the present-day Shi Family Bridge brigade of Xinduo Commune in Xinghua County, Jiangsu Province. Others hold that historical records of the Shi family are fragmentary and contradictory, that the Shi family register and ancestral temple all date from a time later than the reign of the Qing Dynasty Emperior Xian Feng and so cannot be used as proof. An analysis of the edition also shows that Shi could not have lived toward the end of the Yuan Dynasty. "Shi Nai-an" is a pseudonym used by the author of "Water Margin" to avoid being caught in the literary dragnet. As for the idea that Shi Nai-an and Luo Quanzhong coauthored "Water Margin," some maintain that the novel was written by Luo Guanzhong, that he wrote "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" first and "Water Margin" later, showing the changes in his world outlook and the maturing of his creative writing. The two books "are as different as heaven and earth, one profound, the other superficial; one finely worked, the other inferior in skill."

II. The Theme of "Water Margin"

Some comrades again raised the idea that "Water Margin" depicts "the true feelings of the common people of the market town." Some say the theme of "Water Margin" is to show "how the people are forced by the government to rise in rebellion," that the basic contradiction is between loyalty and treachery, not between peasants and landlords. The commanders in the Liangshan Mountains come mostly from the vagrant class and do not represent the interests of the peasantry. These comrades point out that Happy Ridge is on the scale of a commercial town, that the weight of Lu Da's cane shows iron smelting to be well developed, and that the scope of the lantern festival and the bustling activities of the marketplace reflect the beginnings of capitalism in China. They hold that townspeople as a class had come into being by the time of the Northern Song Dynasty. "Water Margin" was written by a writer of the townspeople class and reflects their vague awareness of a desire for equality and self-emancipation. To cater to the needs and tastes of the townspeople, the author recreates the life of the townspeople and creates a whole gamut of characters of that class (including negative characters), each with a distinct personality of his or her own.

Some comrades retain the view that the theme of "Water Margin" is to praise peasant rebellions. They hold that in terms of main content and tendency, "Water Margin" is about peasants, that the depiction of town life is only to show the growth of the peasant rebel army. They maintain that the nature of the rebel army should not be judged according to the class origin of its leaders but the goal and program of the revolution. The program of the Liangshan rebel army is to "carry out the Way of Heaven, to rob the rich to aid the poor." They rob mainly the landlords and aid mainly the peasants. They hold that capitalism in China began in the middle and later Ming Dynasty. Even if the townspeople had become a social stratum at the time "Water Margin" was completed, it could not have developed into a townspeople rebel armed force that would shake both the rulers and the ruled. The enormous impact of "Water Margin" on later peasant leaders, too, proves that it is in praise of peasant rebellion.

III. The Image of Song Jiang

Generally there are three views regarding the image of Song Jiang. One view holds that Song Jiang is a member of the landlord class from beginning to end. There is no basic change in his class stand before and after he goes into the Liangshan Mountains. His essential class nature is the same as Gao Qui's, only a little more enlightened and a little more cunning. Some comrades, analyzing Song Jian'gs deeds in the 120-chapter edition, hold that his image as a capitulationist is rare in the history of literature. He takes advantage of his position as leader to expand his proamnesty ranks, form factions in his rebel force, and persuade one after another, a great number of "court appointed officials" to join his army in the Liangshan Mountains. He does everything he can to change the nature and purpose of the rebel army, placing the "righteousness" of helping the poor and imperiled and mutual assistance second to "loyalty" to the emperor, causing qualitative change in the meaning of loyalty and righteousness and leading the rebel army onto the wrong path.

One view holds that the artistic image of Song Jiang is a successful one. He starts out as a minor official, and though he joins the peasant revolution, he inevitably demonstrates the limitation of his time and the brand of his class. He possesses both the fine qualities of resistance to evil and tyranny and the feudal ideology of loyalty, filial piety, moral integrity, and righteousness. The author has created a complex character, reflecting the reality of historical life. The book not only describes in broad strokes the breadth of Chinese historical life but also brings out the characteristics of the times when the Song Dynasty was about to be superseded by the Yuan Dynasty. Some comrades point out that the tragedy of Song Jiang's character lies in what he does--leading a mighty peasant rebel army onto the road of capitulation and his kith-and-kin comrades to the abyss of destruction. He himself dies a tragic death. Song Jiang's tragic character is of profound significance.

Another view holds that Song Jiang is a leader of peasant rebellion, but he later betrays the revolution. He is a hero in the first half of the book and a traitor in the second half. His is a typical artistic image of the prodigal son returning to the landlord class. Others are of the view that the different versions present different images of Song Jiang.

IV. The Tragic Ending of "Water Margin"

Some comrades hold that because peasants were individual small producers and did not represent new productive force and could not establish new relationships of production, peasant rebellions in history inevitably came to three kinds of endings: 1. Be suppressed by reactionary armed forces; 2. accept amnesty, then used by the ruling class and finally destroyed; 3. overthrow the old dynasty, fruits of revolution usurped, establish new dynasty. Limited by the historical times and his class, the author of "Water Margin" could only pour out his grief and sorrow and could not produce a better ending. This is in keeping with historical realities, not a distortion of peasant rebellion.

Some comrades disagree with the "praise view," "negation view" and "contradiction view" regarding the author's attitude toward amnesty. They hold that the author cannot but conclude the story with amnesty, but negates

the idea of fame and fortune, and is for retiring after meritorious service. He does not provide a "retirement after meritorious service" ending for Song Jiang and writes instead a tragic ending of Song being poisoned to death. His purpose is to use bloody facts to show how the ruthless ruling class has no qualms about killing off people who are loyal and who have performed meritorious services. It is an accusation made with blood and tears. The novel is a criticism and repudiation of the entire ruling class headed by the emperor. This is the main ideological tendency expressed by the tragic ending of amnesty.

Some comrades say that the novel's tragic ending provides a picture of gloom and terror for the reader, arousing deep sympathy for the Liangshan rebels and great hatred for the feudal rulers. The ending of Lu Zhishen and Yan Qing and others is a sharp contract to Song Jiang's terrible death. This inspires the reader to reflect and recognize that amnesty is a lie, that no good will come of capitulation. The artistic effect of the novel's tragic ending embodies a great victory for realism. Some comrades say that while the authors could not have possessed the viewpoint of class struggle and class analysis, they were faithful to the creative method of realism, faithful to historical facts and so were able to portray the entire process of how a peasant rebel army begins, develops, expands, surrenders and is destroyed, endowing the book with tremendously important value in understanding. "Water Margin" does not describe only the revolutionary and resistance aspects of the peasant rebel army, but portrays it as it actually happened. This is not a fault but precisely where the value of the book lies.

V. Comments and Revision by Jin Shengtan

Some hold that Jin Shengtan was an outstanding enlightened thinker of ancient times. He spoke highly of the Liangshan heroes, heaping them with praises. Influenced by the ideology of the tradespeople, he was for equality and self-emancipation, hated the upstarts who bullied and oppressed the people and was indignant about inequality among people. He was sympathetic to the cause of the Liangshan rebels and praised it. He had his political reasons for cutting short the novel. This, just like his cutting of the "reunion" ending in "West Chamber," shows that he was against amnesty. The cutting has made the plot more compact and highlighted the idea of "being forced," his idea that "the people are forced by the government to rise in rebellion." Jin's version of "Water Margin" has preserved the fine essence of the novel. It is no accident that for 300 years his version has prevailed over the others and has been widely distributed among the people. His curses of Song Jiang and the rebel army, some comrades hold, are "protective colorations" under the repressive policies of the time. Others hold that those are expressions of his "class brand."

Some comrades disagree with the view of "protective colorations." They maintain that Jin Shengtan was really against peasant rebellions, that his curses of the peasant rebels were an expression of his true feelings. He commented on and revised "Water Margin" from the standpoint of hatred of peasant rebellions. He believed that most of the Liangshan heroes were "bandits" and did not deserve a good ending. The original version "attributes

merits to the bandits and crime to the court." Jin Shengtan reversed this. Even after cutting short the novel, he added an epilogue of Lu Junyi having a nightmare, a method that can be described as "to catch the bandits, first catch the ringleader." He then kills off the Liangshan heroes, one by one, to realize "peace under heaven." Some comrades point out that it is not surprising for an intellectual of the exploiting class living in the feudal society to oppose peasant rebellions. Jin Shengtan sympathized with the people in misfortune and hated corrupt officials, so he was a feudal but not a reactionary scholar. Basically he can be regarded as a positive writer but should not be elevated to unsuitable heights.

Some point out that Jin Shengtan's theory of novels should not be underestimated, that his theory as summed up in his critical comments represents a peak in ancient literary and artistic criticisms. For example, he was for reflecting reality without subjective prejudice. He stressed that writers should move in the mainstream of life on a broad scale. He believed it important to achieve unity in content and form. His views on artistic fabrication, typification of characters, and depiction of details were much more advanced than those of people before him. We must analyze them with Marxist-Leninist literary and artistic viewpoints and critically assimilate the beneficial parts. Some comrades analyzing Jin's ideas of literature and art, show how they stemmed from those of earlier people, how Jin's theories did not fall from heaven but were in a way legacies of the past. They should not be negated entirely, nor should they be elevated at will.

Some comrades use the method of comparative literature in the study of "Water Margin," pointing out that the novel was completed way before "Don Quixote," the highly mature realist novel of the West, that the ideological and artistic qualities of "Water Margin" surpass such classics of the West as "Ivanhoe" and "Ya Ke Tuan." "Water Margin" also represents a peak in the history of world literature.

The symposium implemented the policy of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend" and was both lively and down-to-earth. It sorted out and summed up related questions, making a deeper study in certain aspects.

9856
CSO: 4005/753

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHAANXI PLANNED PARENTHOOD WORK REPORT ISSUED

Xi'an SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 9 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Sung Youtian [1345 0645 3944], deputy governor of Shaanxi Province: "Report On Planned Parenthood Work (Extracts)—Given at the 13th Session of the Standing Committee of the Shaanxi People's Congress on 25 February 1982"]

[Text] Controlling the rate of growth of the population is a tremendous strategic problem in the socialist modernization construction of our province. In September of 1980, the CCP Central Committee issued "An Open Letter to All Communist Party Members and Communist Yough Group Members." In his "Report On the Work of the Government" at the Fourth Session of the Fifth People's Congress in October of 1981, Comrade Zhao Ziyang [6392 4793 7122] further explained in a comprehensive way the prospects for, and the principles and policies, and goals concerning our nation's population problem. Recently, in order to consolidate and develop the results of planned parenthood work, the Central Committee and the State Council has taken aim at problems presently confronting us and released a "Directive On Moving Ahead In Planned Parenthood Work." Under the leadership of the Central Committee and the State Council, the provincial CCP Committee, the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress, and the Provincial People's Government have all emphasized planned parenthood work and adopted a series of measures. Last year, the Standing Committee of the People's Congress issued "Shaanxi Provisional Regulations On Planned Parenthood," and received the broad support of the masses. Planned parenthood cadres at every level—commune hospitals and barefoot doctors—worked diligently and compiled a clear record of accomplishments in planned parenthood work in our province. We have provided more than 2,900 planned parenthood assistants throughout the province so that all areas under county jurisdiction, communes, towns and neighborhood offices in cities have such a professional cadre. The principles, policies, laws, and decrees of the party and the state concerning planned parenthood are more and more understood by the masses. The number of women of childbearing age that receive single child certification is increasing annually; 80 percent of women of childbearing age are using some form of birth control; in carrying out our planned parenthood work, we have had many good experiences—large numbers of advanced units and individuals have arisen—and, along with the development of our planned parenthood work, the natural rate of growth of

our province fell from 23.2 per thousand in 1971 to 7.17 per thousand in 1980. In 1981, because of measures advanced in the new marriage code, the youths of three age brackets simultaneously entered the marriage and child-bearing period and the birth rate of the population of our province consequently entered a peak period. But, because of the great volume of work done, the natural rate of growth of the population of our province was maintained at fewer than 10 per thousand. We have begun to put an end to the situation of unplanned population growth and have created advantageous conditions for developing the national economy and improving the lives of the people.

The present natural rate of growth of the population of our province is still a little too high, and for the next 10 or more years the tendency toward large population increases will exist. Sixty-seven percent of our province's present population of more than 280 million persons were born after liberation. The greatest proportion are teenagers who will be entering the marriage and childbearing years during the 1980's, and this, in conjunction with the policy of permitting second births and the difficulty of putting a stop to third births all at once, means that, in spite of doing a bit better in planned parenthood work, forecasts still call for an annual natural rate of growth through the 1980's of 11 per thousand. If we do not forcefully promote planned parenthood and resolutely control the growth of the population, then inevitably this figure will be much higher and will affect every aspect of national economic development. We must work hard to see that population growth corresponds to the growth of the national economy and that we progress smoothly along the road to the four modernizations construction. The problems at present are that the number of new marriages has increased sharply, the proportion of late marriages has declined, the number of those practicing birth control has dropped, and the proportion of single child families has declined, and the existence of these problems affects the realization of our population planning. There are objective factors producing these problems, the major one being the problems in our work. Leadership work in many areas has been generalized, with too little concrete guidance; some leading comrades are unwilling or do not dare to come to grips with matters and ignore large population increases. After we implemented systems of production responsibility in agriculture, especially farm output quotas for each household and household responsibility for completing tasks, planned parenthood work was faced with a new situation and new problems. Some systems and methods of limiting births that had been used are no longer suitable; some people believe that with life easier now they can afford to raise more children, and that more children means a wider distribution of responsibility. The roles of planned parenthood networks in some areas have not been developed fully and no one has been concerned with work below the brigade level. We must widely promote and resolutely implement the "Directive On Moving Ahead In Planned Parenthood Work" which was recently issued by the CCP Central Committee and the State Council. We must bring the thinking of party members, cadres and the broad masses in line with the "Directive," move ahead in planned parenthood work, and hold the natural rate of growth of the population of our province to under 11 per thousand.

We must strengthen leadership and make planned parenthood work an important part of the agenda at every level of government—to be discussed several times each year—and we must firmly establish 2 kinds of plans and get a hold on 2 kinds of production. Before March of each year, we must finalize population plans for the following year, seeing to it that leaders, the masses, and women of childbearing age all know who should and who should not give birth. Every level of government and every department and unit should have a leading comrade in charge of planned parenthood work. We must strengthen survey and research work, examination and supervision, the establishment of models, and the summarizing and promoting of advanced experiences, and emphasize being early, detailed, and realistic in our work. We must perfect the planned parenthood agencies at every level, strengthen the harmonious cooperation between all departments and people's organizations, and seeeto it that the entire society works to control population growth. Incidents of cadres looking down on or being afraid of planned parenthood must be dealt with severely, and scoundrels who sabatoge planned parenthood must be resolutely attacked. In carrying out the "Five Stresses and Four Points of Beauty" and the "Five Good Families" campaigns, we must make planned parenthood an important element.

We must seriously carry our party policy. We must continue to advocate late marriage, late birth, few births, and eugenic births. For state cadres and workers and the residents of cities and towns, every couple should have only one child, unless they receive permission to have more because of special circumstances. In rural areas, we ordinarily advocate that a couple have only one child, but if certain of the masses ask to give birth a second time because of actual difficulties, then arrangements can be made after approval has been granted. No circumstances warrant giving birth a third time. Making distinctions between rural and urban areas and between special and ordinary circumstances is completely in accord with national conditions and popular sentiment in our nation. We will, in accordance with the "Directive" of the Central Committee and changes in the situation, make supplemental regulations to go along with the "Provisional Regulations" announced last year by the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress, and submit them to the Standing Committee of the People's Congress for examination.

The population of the rural areas of our province stands at 84 percent of the total population, and the emphasis in our planned parenthood work should be placed on rural areas. Regardless of what form of production responsibility system is implemented, it must incorporate planned parenthood. When production brigades and communes sign production contracts and establish systems of responsibility for cadres, they should make planned parenthood work an important part, setting up two production contracts and establishing two kinds of responsibility systems at the same time. Medical and sanitation departments at every level should work hard to improve their capabilities to perform birth control operations while insuring the safety of those undergoing the operations. We must strengthen scientific research and develop and promote new birth control methods and contraceptives that are highly effective, safe, convenient and economical. The commercial, pharmaceutical and planned parenthood sectors must work together in providing contraceptives and insuring that supplies are available for the convenience of the masses.

9705
CSO: 4005/760

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

COMMENTS ON QU YOUYUAN'S POLITICAL POEMS

Changchun CHANGCHUN in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 82 pp 64-68

[Article by Zhang Jihe [1728 7535 3109]: "Comments on 'Recollecting the Past for the Sake of the Future' and Other Poems"]

[Text] Editor: Due to the influence of the bourgeois liberal trend, this periodical published Comrade Qu Youyuan's [2575 2589 3293] "Recollecting the Past for the Sake of the Future" and "I Extol the Xidan Democracy Wall," two poems with a serious incorrect tendency, and failed to launch criticisms promptly, to the disappointment of our readers. To correct the error, we now publish two critical articles in this issue.

How socialist literature should correctly and profoundly bring to light the theme of combating bureaucracy and remove the obstacles to the four modernizations is a new problem posed by the general task of the new period and the progress of the age to our writers. In the past few years, many writers have made some courageous explorations and attempts in this aspect. Correctly summarizing the experiences and lessons is doubtlessly beneficial to upholding the direction of literature serving the people and socialism and developing its role in building an advanced material and spiritual civilization. Around the time of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, Comrade Qu Youyuan, a young poet of our province, created a set of political lyrics for democracy and against bureaucracy and special privileges and produced a relatively strong reaction among the young readers keen on poetry and in the poetry circles. Differing with Comrade Qu Youyuan's "Recollecting the Past for the Sake of the Future" and several of his political lyrics, I wish to express my views for consultation with the readers.

I feel that "Recollecting the Past for the Sake of the Future" is a political lyric with serious mistakes. What it expresses is an incorrect political concept and unsound sentiments. The impression it gives is: The broad leading party cadres have degenerated, turning from the people's "public servants" of the war years into "feudal bureaucrats" and "overlords" riding herd over the people, while the broad masses have lost their

right as masters of the country. It is the manifestation of the bourgeois liberal trend in poetic creation. For such incorrect creative tendency, we should criticize and help the poet.

While truth is the life of art, artistic truth is not the individual incidents found objectively in life, but typical and essential truth. Exaggerating bureaucracy and special privileges in our social life, taking the part as the whole, distorting the relations of our socialist social reality and smearing the image of the party and the old cadres, "Recollecting" is detrimental to strengthening and improving the party's leadership. Styling himself the spokesman of the people, using an extremely desolate tone, expressing an extremely plaintive feeling and adopting the technique of contrasting, the poet describes an extremely dark prospect: On the land of the new China, the new bureaucratic special privileges spread like "twisted roots and gnarled branches;" the "work team members wearing leggings in the land reform" and the "work team leaders with Mausers slung over their shoulders during liberation" are now "county party secretaries, commune chairmen, brigade leaders...," today's bureaucrats; they are "a main pillar of our society... thick and strong..., the 'prestigious figures' tightly embracing their clans, relatives and hatchet men," and the people "tremble in fear" at the sight of them. "With ever more advanced high-quality nutrition," they have "changed their original image of special material," sitting "on sofas sipping," "smoking filtered cigarettes," "playing mahjong".... Meanwhile, where the broad masses live are "low shacks;" what they use are "obsolete farming implements;" what they eat are "food from begging." In the broad rural areas, "the most conspicuous are no longer the residences of the landowners, but the tile-roofed houses of the secretaries; the most spacious are no longer the compounds of the rich, but the enclosure walls of the chairmen." Thereupon, the poet loudly appeals:

> "Alas!
> "Like suction discs,
> "bureaucratic special privileges, with twisted roots and gnarled branches,
> "closely attach themselves to the people's intestinal walls!
> "Like coordinates,
> "the interlocking feudalism
> "fastens down the minds of the citizens!"

Such artistic generalization is obviously a serious distortion of the real life of our socialist society.

Perhaps some people feel that bureaucracy and the special privilege phenomenon in real life are very serious and, since the leading comrades of the central government have time and again stressed the necessity to combat and rectify the unhealthy trends, why is it not proper to write poems about them? The issue is not in whether there are bureaucracy and the special privilege phenomenon in our life and whether they should be combated, but in the standpoint, goal and ideological viewpoint in combating

them. Our state is socialist in nature and the people are its masters. Our party led us to overthrow the three big mountains and create the new China. Under its leadership to build socialism, we have traveled an arduous and tortuous path for 31 years and made great achievements. It is the essence and main current of our society. In spite of the many setbacks and the emergence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," as aptly pointed out by Comrade Hu Yaobang, "our state political power, in its basic character, is after all different from that of the landowners and capitalists. Our government organs and the broad state personnel serve the people and are mandated by the people to seek their interest. Those seriously contaminated with the special privilege mentality and bureaucratic habits are after all a minority, and cannot represent the main current of our political power. Therefore, we absolutely cannot say that our government organs are all bureaucratic structures, and we must never place an equal sign between our entire cadre ranks and special privileges and bureaucracy." ("Talk at the Forum on Drama Creation.") Precisely on this point "Recollecting" deviates from the logic of real life. Seizing on one point and ignoring the rest and taking the tributary as the main stream, it opposes not individual instances of bureaucracy and special privileges, but a stratum, including both the old cadres who participated in work during the period of the broad democratic revolution ("work team members wearing leggings in the land reform" and "work team leaders with Mausers slung over their shoulders during liberation") and the broad new cadres after the founding of the nation (county party committee secretaries, commune chairmen, brigade leaders....). The poem also indicates that these people have not done anything beneficial for the people in the 31 years since the founding of the nation, and gives the impression that there are "no good man in Hongdong county." Under the poet's pen, the major and minor leading cadres in our party have turned into feudal bureaucrats exploiting and oppressing the people, thereby consciously or unconsciously placing an equal sign between bureaucratic special privileges and our broad cadre ranks. Reading the poem, people cannot help asking: If our broad party cadres are all like this, how can they represent the interest of the people and lead us to realize the four modernizations?

Here, I also wish to mention another of the poet's poems, "the 'Rebel' Army of the New Age" (JIANGCHENG, combined September-October issue, 1979). I find his eulogy of the new productive forces undoubtedly correct, but it is not proper for him to set the "new productive forces" against the four basic principles and our current socialist political system and place an equal sign between the people's government organs and the "bureaucratic structure." In the 3 years after the downfall of the "gang of four," at the great turning point when our party and our state, after 10 years of turmoil, have barely recovered, the poet advertises that "the masses are filled with anger," that "below the sofas" of the party cadres is "a volcanic crater" and "behind the walls is a collapsed large dike," and that "the bureaucratic structure is facing a total crisis." Using the "Great Cultural Revolution" as an analogy, he advocates a revolution more "thorough" than "any other revolution." This view is extremely wrong

and dangerous. It must be pointed out that, though the political-economic system of our state still lacks perfection and even has many flaws (e.g., overconcentration of power, life tenure in the cadre system, patriarchy, bureaucracy, and all kinds of special privilege phenomena in our party and state leadership and cadre systems) requiring reform, basically speaking, it is a socialist democratic system fundamentally adapted to the development level of our current productive forces and constitutes the basic guarantee for the realization of the four modernizations. We must also realize that, since the downfall of the "gang of four," the many reform measures instituted by the Party Central Committee, such as abolishing the life tenure of the leading cadres, strengthening democratic centralism and formulating party rules and party laws, provisions on the pay of high-level cadres, and the 12 "Guiding Principles" on intraparty political life, have made our political system increasingly perfect. Basically there is no question of "a total crisis." Not the inherent products of the socialist system, bureaucracy and the special privilege mentality are running sores caught from the feudal and capitalist societies. The sources for the emergence of bureaucracy in a socialist state are many-sided. In addition to historical factors and questions of individual thinking and quality, imperfections and loopholes in the system will also create bureaucracy. Lin Biao's and the "gang of four's" interference and disruption inflated bureaucracy and the special privilege phenomenon for a time and seriously endangered the party organism. Therefore, the struggle against bureaucracy is a formidable task which cannot be accomplished instantaneously by simply relying on developing "new productive forces." Admitting the presence of bureaucracy and the special privilege phenomenon and waging a firm struggle against them are entirely different in essence from negating our current system in its entirety.

The poet will perhaps argue that his intent is good and that he is "utterly innocent," without any malice. We must admit that the four "for's" at the end of "Recollecting" indicate that the goal of his creation is good. However, we feel that the judgment of a poet's creative motive is not only by how he expresses it, but, more importantly, by how he does it. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out long ago that "social practice and its result constitute the criterion to test the subjective desire or motive." As the poet takes a wrong standpoint, fails to understand and analyze bureaucracy and the special privilege phenomenon with the correct viewpoint and method, merely making simple contrasts and mockeries of the negative phenomena spread out in life, and fails to deeply reveal the essence, dangers and source of bureaucracy and the special privilege phenomenon, to give full attention to the main current of the broad cadres and broad masses, and to fully record the struggles of the cadre masses under party leadership against the abuses, the poem makes people feel that the broad cadres are unreliable and untrustworthy, that, "like suction discs," they "closely attach themselves to the people's intestinal walls," that the broad people are ignorant, resigning themselves to adversities, and that, "like coordinates, the interlocking feudalism fastens down" their minds. Meanwhile, filled with plaintive and depressing sentiments, stifling and hopeless, the poem describes scenes of "apathy," "slave psychology" and

"desolation" everywhere. How can such "recollection" attain the good goal of the poet's four "for's?" Things in the world are often complex. With only subjective enthusiasm, with only good desires and motives, but without a correct guiding ideology and the scientific method of observing issues, it is also possible to make mistakes. Anger creates poets, but not necessarily truth. Assessing the political tendency of a work, we mainly rely on the artistic image provided by the artist. It is valuable for a revolutionary poet to be full of political enthusiasm and good motive, but to correctly understand and reflect our era, he must rely on a firm proletarian standpoint, a sober political mind and a scientific Marxist world outlook and method. While a poet must conscientiously and solemnly select his subject matter, the key remains in how to write. The poet's standpoint, viewpoint and method determine the political tendency and ideological significance of his work. In a previous period, the view with its one-sided stress on "depicting truth" and "exposing the dark side," neglecting or even negating the guiding effect of a writer's world outlook on his creation, is extremely harmful and should be cleared up.

Comrade Chen Yun said that the issue of the style of the party in power is an issue linked with its life and death. Bureaucracy and the special privilege phenomenon are obstacles to the four modernizations, and the party and the people are waging a relentless struggle to eradicate them. "The party also eagerly hopes that the comrades in the field of literature will, together with us, adopt a correct policy and expose and overcome bureaucracy and special privileges by means of literary creation." (Hu Yaobang). Therefore, we must vigorously protect the writers' political zeal in their concern for the future of the party and the state, and enthusiastically welcome and support them in adopting, together with the party, a correct policy and creating literary works exposing such unhealthy trends as bureaucracy and special privileges. Even if there should appear certain deviations, we should render positive and active guidance, and guard against casually lumping together and equalizing works against bureaucracy and special privileges with the reactionary slogans against "the bureaucratic class" and the "special privileged stratum" proposed by the remnants of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," attaching the "anti-party" label on them, and repeating the "leftwing" mistakes of the past. However, the erroneous creative tendency which, under the excuse of ideological emancipation, attempts to cast off the party's leadership, break away from the socialist path and promote bourgeois liberalism must be criticized and properly combated; it must absolutely not be permitted to spread, poison the social atmosphere and corrupt man's soul. A writer with a high sense of social responsibility must also demand strictly of himself, give full consideration to the possible social effect of his work, strive to take the correct standpoint and, by means of the correct viewpoint and method, make historical and concrete analyses of bureaucracy and the special privilege phenomenon. He must strictly distinguish bureaucratic special privileges from the party, from the socialist political organs and from the broad cadre ranks; he must profoundly expose the source and dangers of bureaucratic special privileges and the law of their inevitable extinction; he must

correctly handle his relations with the party and the masses, stand between the party and the people with his words and fully reflect the struggle against bureaucracy and the special privilege phenomenon waged by the cadre masses under the party's leadership. His writing should enable the readers to see the light, increase their confidence and receive education and encouragement. He must not, for the sake of transient joy, pander to the current trend, exaggerate beyond the truth, paint a dark picture of reality. One step beyond truth is error. The criticism of bureaucracy and special privileges may come from different standpoints and viewpoints. Only by taking the proletarian standpoint and using Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as the weapon will they be knocked down. Taking the petit bourgeois or bourgeois standpoint and resorting to the anarchist, equalitarian and ultra-egoist ideologies and the idealist metaphysic method will not accomplish the purpose. I feel that criticizing the cadres for riding in "handsome sedans" and living in "spacious residences" as special privileges by the poet in "Recollecting" is a reflection of the ultra-equalitarian ideology.

Comrade Qu Youyuan's "Recollecting" and other political lyrics remind me of another issue: To write good works criticizing bureaucracy and the special privilege phenomenon, we must purge the remnant "leftwing" poison and the bourgeois liberal influence from our minds. That Comrade Qu Youyuan writes poems such as "Recollecting" with serious political mistakes is not an incidental slip, nor misanthropy or extreme sentiments, but has its ideological source. Comrade Qu Youyuan entered the field of poetry during the 10-year civil strife, and such fallacies as the "democratic faction" and "capitalist roaders" peddled by the "gang of four" produced a certain influence on his writing. I remember that, on the eve of the "gang of four's" downfall, he wrote "Thus We Commemorate," a poem published in JILIN WENYI [JILIN LITERATURE], September 1976, vigorously promoting "confrontation" and advocating the commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the "Great Cultural Revolution" with the practical action of "counterattacking the rightwing reversal trend." Urged on by the ultra-leftwing line promoted by the "gang of four" at that time, it was not surprising for him to write such an undesirable poem. The poet's creation is always consciously or unconsciously influenced and conditioned by the social ideological trend and his own world outlook, and always linked with a certain kind of politics. However, the reform of the world outlook requires a long process. Once an ideology or viewpoint is formed, it is not easily changed all at once. It will often rekindle under certain climatic conditions, emerge in a new form, and exert a subtle influence on creation. Comrade Qu Youyuan's situation is precisely thus. In the 10-year civil strife, for instance, we suffered severely from the anarchist great democracy. After the downfall of the "gang of four," we denounced the ultra-leftwing line and anarchism, yet in April 1979, the poet published "I Extol the Xidan Democracy Wall," a poem advocating the human rights, freedom and democracy of the bourgeoisie. When the party and the state decided to ban the "great democracy" of the Xidan Wall, he, instead of recognizing his mistake in writing the poem, stubbornly expressed himself and wrote "I Search for the Missing 'Democracy' at the 'Wall.'" Not only publishing it, a poem depicting the antagonism between

democracy and party leadership and spreading dissatisfaction with the party, in an illegal publication, but he also instigated those with an ulterior motive to copy and post it on the Xidan Wall and even sent it "beyond the ocean," creating a most undesirable influence. What a profound lesson it was! One can see that the poet has slid far down the wrong path. Take another instance: After exposing and denouncing the fallacy of "democratic faction--capitalist roaders" advocated by the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques, the poet, during the time of ideological emancipation, bringing order out of chaos and replacing the old with the new, again went astray, leaping from one extreme to another and erroneously asserting that "the contradiction between the masses and bureaucracy is the main contradiction in a socialist society," that "feudal restoration is the main danger," and that "bureaucracy is the main obstacle to the four modernizations." Thereupon, he becomes the self-styled "people's spokesman," considers the fight against feudalism and for democracy his own obligation, and extremely erroneously sets the party against the people, and the four modernizations against the four basic principles. Under the influence of such erroneous thinking, he is unable to maintain a sober mind, and easily fails to clarify the demarcation of criticizing bureaucracy and special privileges from combating "the bureaucratic class" and "special privilege stratum," thereby deviating from the four basic principles and performing acts detrimental to the party and the people and to stability and unity. In this regard, I think that the lesson assimilated by the poet should be profound. At no time should we set the proletarian political party against the people. To a revolutionary writer, loyalty to the party and loyalty to the people are completely identical. In the new historical period and in face of many new conditions and new issues, we must firmly emancipate our minds. However, ideology emancipation absolutely does not signify that we may depart from the party's four basic principles, stop studying Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, abandon the reform of our world outlook and cast off the guidance of Marxism. If so, we may follow the wrong path in our creative work. It is the profound lesson learned by us in such works as "Recollecting."

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "To have a genuine good intent, one must give consideration to the result, summarize the experience and study the method .... To have a genuine good intent, one must sincerely criticize the defects and mistakes in one's own work and resolutely correct them. The method of self-criticism of the communists has been thus adopted. Only such a standpoint is the correct one." ("Talk at the Yanan Literature and Art Forum"). Qu Youyuan is a young poet with a certain influence in our province. Some mistakes may be inevitable in the tremendous changes occurring in the course of bringing order out of chaos, but the key is in taking the correct standpoint and attitude on them. We believe that Comrade Qu Youyuan will be able to look squarely at his mistakes, criticize himself courageously, analyze himself strictly, reinforce his study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, vigorously reform his world outlook, consciously eliminate the "leftwing" interference, break away from

the bourgeois liberal trend, and truly shift his stand to that of socialism, the proletariat and the masses. We believe that he will not disappoint the party and the people in their hopes.

6080
CSO: 4005/726

SOCIOLOGICAL, EUDCATION AND CULTURE

COMMENTS ON QU YOUYUAN'S 'DEMOCRACY WALL,' 'RECOLLECTING'

Changchun CHANGCHUN in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 82 pp 69-73

[Article by Yang Yinlong [2799 5593 7127]: "Comments on the Erroneous Tendencies of Comrade Qu Youyuan's [2575 2589 3293] Two Poems"]

[Text] Comrade Qu Youyuan's political lyrics "I Extol the Xidan Democracy Wall" (hereinafter referred to as "Democracy Wall") and "Recollecting the Past for the Sake of the Future" (hereinafter referred to as "Recollecting") , published in CHANGCHUN Monthly, Number 4, 1979 and Number 12, 1980, have evoked different reactions among the readers.

Political lyrics doubtlessly express the poet's understanding and feelings of the social political life. All those who have read the two poems realize that they are filled with political agitation, frankly and directly expressing the poet's feelings on the practical political issues. Precisely as stated by the poet himself, he wishes to rely on "reason" to "catch hold of and reveal his personal impressions." With an intense sentiment, the poet appeals for democracy and is determined to devote the "second half of his life" to the fight for it. In a satirical tone, "Recollecting" lashes out at "bureaucracy" and "feudal special privileges." Not that such issues should not be dealt with in writing, but after reading them, one feels that the spearhead is not aimed properly and wonders on what standpoint and with what viewpoint the poet interprets the issues. Is he upholding the socialist democracy? Is he criticizing bureaucracy and special privileges? I feel that, on such basic issues, the political tendency of the poem is wrong, producing an unfavorable influence on our adherence to the four basic principles and our attempt to rally the people to build the four modernizations with one heart and one mind.

Let us first look at the poem "Democracy Wall." In terms of its sentiment, it is stirring and sincere. Seizing on "democracy," the issue which is of general concern and tremendous appeal, the poet expresses his views. First, with intense admiration and yearning, he extols the Xidan Democracy Wall as "a declaration of the people" and "the dawn of the new era." Hearing the voice of the "Democracy Wall," he eagerly "makes inquiries" and "gazes from afar," finding that the emergence of the wall

"rocks the ruins of the feudal society of several thousand years," "bewildering those like Jia Gui, terrifying those like Ye Gong, and gladdening the hearts of hundreds of millions." He extols "Democracy Wall," because he looks upon it as a symbol of "democracy," indicating that politically, he is at least rash and infantile, failing to see that "Democracy Wall," even in its conception, fostered anarchism and ultra-egoism, thereby leading to the emergence of those like Wei Jingsheng [7614 0079 3932] who hoisted the banners of "democracy," "human rights" and "freedom," maneuvered everywhere, and endangered stability and unity, until finally the party and the state had no alternative but to ban this unlawful position. Why is the poet so infatuated with "Democracy Wall" of such a nature, and how can he call it "the voice from the hearts of the people?" Why does he revere it as something "miraculous?" According to his poem, before the emergence of "Democracy Wall," China had no democracy, and this "great land" was "filled with brambles" where "democracy could not root" and which "suffered the hailstones of bureaucracy." Thus he completely negates the newly restored democratic system in our social life after the downfall of the "gang of four." According to Lenin's viewpoint, "democracy is a state form, a state pattern." The essence of the socialist democracy is the socialist state system. The poem negates the existence of democracy in the socialist China. Then, how does it regard the socialist system with the people's democracy as the state form? Anyone possessing some knowledge of the basic Marxist truths and writing with a solemn sense of social responsibility should not smear our socialism as in the poem. Since China has no democracy, then one must fight for it. The poem advocates against "favor" and "charity" and urges the use of the "tools in our hands" to fight for the "recognition and spread" of "Democracy Wall."

"Oh! Democracy Wall,
"though you are not high,
"you are a watershed.

"Those wishing to overturn you
"and those wishing to support you
"are two classes standing face to face.

"To prevent you from turning into a
"Paris Commune members' wall,
"Our people must never slacken their effort!"

Here, the ideological viewpoint is completely revealed. By comparing "Democracy Wall" with a "watershed" and "two classes standing face to face," one wonders who wishes to "overturn it" and who to "support it." Such comparison and insinuation make one ponder, yet are not hard to comprehend. Isn't it obviously comparing "Democracy Wall" to the touchstone to distinguish revolution and counterrevolution? Why is "Democracy Wall" arbitrarily linked with the "Paris Commune members' wall?" Everyone knows that "members' wall" was where the Paris Commune members were finally beseiged by Thiers' reactionary troops in the Laxuexi [phonetic] public

cemetery and sacrificed themselves heroically. Obviously, the poet takes a wrong standpoint. On the issue of "democracy," should one "fight" against the party "face to face," or should one strengthen and develop the socialist democracy with an attitude of helping the party? The poet time and again declares that he wants to be the "spokesman of the people" and "repair" and "extend" "Democracy Wall," and that he is willing to serve as a "tile layer" and a "piece of brick," not knowing that such determination and fervor run counter to the desires of the party and the people, and that he sets himself against the people.

It must be admitted that, after Lin Biao's and the "gang of four's" despotic and high-pressure policy during the "10-year civil strife," the people's demand for full democracy today is understandable. The phenomenon of suppressing and damaging democracy is still found in today's political life. It is completely proper for us to understand it correctly, criticize and expose it by means of literary works and promote a high degree of socialist democracy. However, unwilling to recognize our party's effort to strengthen the socialist democracy and legal system and improve and perfect the socialist political system, the poet, in his poem, flatly negates the socialist democratic system, obliterates the essential distinction between socialist and bourgeois democracy, and sets the socialist democracy against the party's leadership, as if the party's leadership and the people as the masters of the country were mutually exclusive. It is precisely the "theoretical" basis of the bourgeois liberal trend. In recent years, some people who have been relatively deeply influenced by anarchism and liberalism mistakenly feel that the bourgeois democracy is a democracy without any restraint, and they demand the same for the socialist democracy. The moment strengthening the legal system is mentioned, they claim that it is "suppressing democracy." They fail to realize that the socialist democracy is not a reinless horse or a rudderless ship, but democracy under the party's leadership. Meanwhile, when advocating democracy, some people in our field of literature, including the writer of the poem, also neglect to strictly distinguish democracy under two different social systems. By casting off the party's leadership and stressing only an abstract democracy, it becomes inevitable to fall into the bourgeois liberal trend. Lenin once hit the nail on the head when he pointed out that, in a proletarian state, "anyone opposing us with the terms 'democracy' and 'freedom' is on the side of the propertied class and hoodwinking the people." These words of Lenin's cited here may perhaps help the poet understand his own wrong viewpoint.

Comrade Qu Youyuan's wrong viewpoint is also very obvious in "Recollecting." Under the excuse of combating the so-called "bureaucracy" and "feudal special privileges," the poem turns our party's cadre ranks into degenerated rulers and a new bureaucratic special privileged stratum. How is it so?

1. The poem sets the broad party cadres against the masses. Through its description, it tells people that the party cadres in the past represented the people and pursued their interest, but today, they have gone the opposite way and become a special privileged stratum. It paints a dark

picture of the party cadres from the top to the bottom and seriously distorts and smears our cadre ranks. To bring out the antagonism between the cadres and the masses, the poem resorts extensively to the technique of contrast. The first is contrasting the past with the present. The poem relates that the work team members "wearing leggings" and "slinging Mausers over their shoulders" during the land reform and the liberation period were able to live in "low shacks" and eat "millet with onions and sauce" alongside the common people, and were the "hope" of the people. Yet today, these very same cadres "sit on sofas sipping tea," "play mahjong on the terrace of the sanatorium," "sample filter cigarettes," "try out electric fans and refrigerators," and contemplate "modern housing" for their children. The people are "puzzled" and "amazed" by them. Next is conteasting the two different kinds of life of the cadres and masses: "low shacks and obsolete farm implements" vis-a-vis "handsome sedans and spacious residences;" "food from begging" vis-a-vis "wine surreptitiously poured on the ground for fear of being intoxicated." Besides distorting and obliterating the heartening changes in the lives of the broad peasants in recent years, how deplorable is the image of the party cadres painted by the contrasts! With their "soft and fat hands" and "round bellies," "a bit of excitement may possibly flash from their eyes under swollen lids." What is the conclusion? "Ever more advanced high-quality nutrition is changing the original form of the 'special material!'" In other words, the cadres of our party and state have exuviated, betrayed the people and lost their qualification as leaders, and our party no longer symbolizes honor.

2. The poem lumps together those in today's cadre ranks contaminated by certain undesirable bureaucratic habits and special privilege mentality and the privileged bureaucratic class inherent in the feudal and capitalist societies. It described them thus: "The most conspicuous are no longer the residences of the landowners, but the tile-roofed houses of the secretaries; the most spacious are no longer the compounds of the rich, but the enclosure walls of the chairmen." In other words, today's secretaries and chairmen are the same as the landowners and rich men of the past. With "feudal poison" "in every cell," they have become a "thick and strong main pillar" of our society," "'prestigious figures' tightly embracing their clans, relatives and hatchet men...." How abominable they are! No wonder the "apathetic" and "dejected" commune members "tremble in fear" at the sight of them! In addition, certain special privileges of today's cadres remind the poet of "Bald-head Lin scrambling for power," "Jiang Qing bringing disaster to the nation and misery to the people," and the reason"why Gao Qiu's [7559 0184] son could get into today's sedan." The insinuations in such alarming analogies and associations are obvious. In case the readers should miss the point, the poet finally points out that such specially privileged bureaucrats are not a minority, but, with "twisted roots and gnarled branches" and "crisscrossing vertically and horizontally," they closely attach themselves to the people's "intestinal walls" like "suction discs," ruthlessly sucking the people's blood and turning into an incurable disease. Rather than critizing bureaucracy, it is obviously a wholesale negation of the party and

the cadre ranks! Instead of a truthful reflection of social life, it can only be called the revelation and diagram of the poet's incorrect political viewpoint.

Perhaps the poet feels that the poem is not a vilification and negation of our party's cadre ranks, but a criticism of bureaucracy and special privileges. The problem is his failure to clarify the dividing line. On the basis of his own extreme feelings and erroneous viewpoints, he takes the part as the whole, exaggerates without bound the remnant bureaucratic special privileges among the cadre ranks, and considers the situation the main current of the party, thereby painting our party's cadre ranks as exuviated rulers and a new privileged bureaucratic stratum and regarding the fight against bureaucracy the main domestic contradiction today. Therefore, the spearhead of the poem is inevitably pointed in the wrong direction, and the objective result created by it inevitably harmful. Naturally, we should expose and criticize bureaucracy and special privileges, and even ridicule them, but we should make concrete analyses. First, we must realize that our party has always been clearly aware of the issues, and is determined to lead the masses to do everything possible and adopt positive means for their basic solution. Next, we must also realize that the nature of the current bureaucracy and special privileges are basically internal contradictions among the people. Though constituting a sort of harmful ideological style, they remain issues in the ideological realm and the mental world. We absolutely must not regard them as class opposition. Comrade Hu Yaobang already pointed out in his talk at the National Drama Forum last year: "We absolutely cannot say that our government organs are all bureaucratic structures; we absolutely cannot put an equal sign between our entire cadre ranks and special privileges and bureaucracy." Written after Comrade Hu Yaobang's talk, the poem "Recollecting" violates completely the spirit of the talk. Literary works will always produce an influence on people's thinking. For a poet, a writer, to help in overcoming and eliminating the various abuses in society, he should analyze the nature of the contradictions and abuses and, starting from protecting the interest of the party, make persuasive criticisms. He should never attack one point and ignore the rest, thereby negating all and even regarding certain vestiges left by the old society and the defects found in certain links as incurable chronic ailments in the party organism and fatal weaknesses in the socialist system. As everyone knows, even though our party made mistakes and suffered wounds, it is, in recent years, in the process of rectifying and healing them. After the party's Third Plenary Session, particularly, our party and socialism have regained their vitality. "Spring has returned, returning to this great land." Each and every person wishing to follow the party and build the four modernizations must not overlook this fact: Regardless of how many flaws and how many mistakes, our party is always great and cherishable; it seeks, with loyalty and devotion, the interest of the people. As Lenin said, our party, "behind 100 mistakes, has 10,000 great and courageous acts." We should establish our confidence with these words.

Comrade Qu Youyuan is a young poet in our province with a certain influence and a certain "talent." However, anyone's "talent" will only develop fully under the guidance of a correct world outlook. Literary works are the products of social life reflected in the mind of the writer. Not only reproducing life, but the works must assess and influence life. Therefore, creative work cannot depart from the guidance of the world outlook. Not that Comrade Qu Youyuan is ignorant of this point, but in creative practice, he has slackened the reform of his world outlook and neglected his study of Marxism-Leninism and the party's principles and policies. Feeling that he is standing at the command point of history and society, seeing far and deep, he has actually deserted the party's principles, resulting in confusing the demarcations of some major issues in the two poems, viz., the basic demarcation between the privileged bureaucratic class of the capitalist society and the remnant bureaucracy and special privilege phenomenon among our socialist cadre ranks; the basic demarcation between the destruction of democracy during the "10-year civil strife" and the imperfections of our democratic life and the defects in our work appearing in the course of vigorously restoring the democratic system. It again illustrates the point that the reform of the world outlook is a basic issue. In addition, as Comrade Qu Youyuan has long left the fiery life of the mass struggle and fails to recognize the continuously growing light and heat found in the torrent of life, he is often overwhelmed by the dark and tormenting phenomena. In other words, his field of vision is dominated by the ugly phenomena, thereby breeding a feeling of doubt in the socialist system and resentment for the party. The two poems are the proof. What a poet expresses should be the dominant sound of the times; he must not confine his mind in the enclosure erected by himself. While naturally the dark side of society should be exposed and criticized, he must, as stated by Gorki, take a high "observation point" and temper himself to gain "the capacity to observe the old era from the peak of the great goal of the future." Nevertheless, a poet must not only consider himself a "critic of life," but what is even more important is that he must undertake the mission of a "builder of the new life" and, with a sober mind and a keen eye, point out, beyond the life phenomena which attract people's attention, the profound social changes rocking the foundation of the old life. The lesson to be learned here is that, if a poet, as an "engineer of man's soul," relies only on resentment to create and fails to take the party's standpoint and observe reality with the historical materialist and dialectic materialist viewpoints, he will inevitably be blinded by the life phenomena and become a "captive of observation." As a result, it will be difficult for him to distinguish right and wrong, love and hate, thereby leading to mistakes in artistic description.

If we interpret the poems against the background of the entire current society, their emergence is not an incidental and isolated instance. Besides the poet's subjective reasons, they are also influenced by the erroneous trend of society. We are in the midst of a great turning point of history. Due to the sequelae of the "10-year civil strife" and the corrosion of the foreign bourgeois ideology, all kinds and types of ideas

and views, including bourgeois liberalism and works attempting to cast off the party's leadership and break away from the socialist path, have also emerged with the times. Among them, the demand for democracy and the opposition to bureaucracy have become issues receiving the serious attention of many people. Some people, contrary to the will of the party and the people, persistently admire the bourgeois democracy and set the socialist democracy against the party's leadership; they advocate the opposition between the masses and the bureaucratic class as the main domestic contradiction, and replace the "capitalist roader" label attached to the broad leading party cadres by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" with the "bureaucratic class" label. What a gigantic calamity will be created if the party is regarded in this light! These two issues are the manifestations of the bourgeois liberal trend in politics. Yet Comrade Qu Youyuan expresses his erroneous viewpoints on these very issues and influences the readers with his wrong viewpoints and sentiments. Just where is his sense of social responsibility? Regardless of whether he recognizes the gravity of the problem, the two poems are actually the products of the trend, and objectively they produce the effect of adding fuel to the fire. Should he not be shocked awake?

Hence, we must not only regard the two poems as an issue of the mistakes of individual works, but a substance of criticizing the current erroneous trend and rectifying the slack and weak state of the literary and artistic front. We hope that Comrade Qu Youyuan will, based on this understanding, also conscientiously launch criticisms and self-criticisms alongside everyone else, truly change his standpoint, unearth the root of his errors in world outlook, assimilate the lessons, thoroughly break away from the bourgeois liberal trend, develop his own creative work along the correct path, and create more and better spiritual food for the party and the people.

6080
CSO: 4005/726

END

JPRS 80839

18 May 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 300

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 80839

18 May 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 300

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Berlinguer Urges USSR-U.S. Peace at Milan Rally
(XINHUA, 18 Apr 82) 1

Soviet Development, Use of Aircraft Carriers Viewed
(Fang Shu; SHIJIE ZHISHI, 16 Feb 82) 2

Deng Criticized for Selling Titanium to United States
(Ba Yi Radio, 26 Apr 82) 6

Disarmament Committee Closes Spring Session
(XINHUA, 24 Apr 82) 8

PRC at UN Commission on Human Settlements Meeting
(XINHUA, 27 Apr 82) 9

Reagan Meets Visiting Netherlands Queen
(XINHUA, 20 Apr 82) 11

Greece Supports Spain's Entry Into EEC, NATO
(XINHUA, 13 Apr 82) 12

Zimbabwe's Mugabe on Progress Since Independence
(XINHUA, 18 Apr 82) 13

Australian Ministers Resign for Smuggling TV
(XINHUA, 20 Apr 82) 14

Libya's Economic Growth Viewed
(XINHUA, 30 Apr 82) 15

Commentary on Egypt
(XINHUA, various dates) 17

Arab Affiliation
Arab Cooperation Urged
Arab League Head Views

Commentary on Palestinian Issue
(XINHUA, various dates) 19

Israel Asked To Pull Back
Aid Raid Against Lebanon
UN Session Hits Occupation
Lebanon Protests
Observance of Lebanon Ceasefire
Israel Condemned at UN
Gulf States Condemnation
Minister on Palestinian Cause
Attacked by Speakers at UN
Implement Resolutions

Commentary on Return of Sinai to Egypt
(XINHUA, various dates) 26

Numayri Seeks Arab Summit
Withdrawal Problems
Egypt-Israel Talks
U.S. Deputy Arrives
Sinai Withdrawal Nears
Border Dispute Viewed
Sinai Issue Discussed
Comment on Sinai Withdrawal
Israel Completes Return
'TASS': Return 'Farce'
Mubarak Speaks on Return
Ceausescu on Middle East
U.S. Praise
Agreement on Taba Dispute
UN Head on Withdrawal
May Day Ceremony
USSR View Scored

Commentary on Afghanistan
(XINHUA, various dates) 38

Rebels Urge Europe To Pressure USSR
Refugees Protest USSR Invasion
Mojahedin Continue Fight Near USSR Border
Guerrilla Organizations Form New Alliance

Commentary on Iran and Iraq
(XINHUA, various dates) 41

Qotbzadeh Confesses Plot To Kill Khomeyni
Iran Launches Spring Offensives in Kurdish Areas
Syrian Relations Cut With Iraq
Khomeyni's Son Names Iran's Future Leader

Commentary on USSR
(XINHUA, various dates) 44

Kenyan Paper Condemns USSR Espionage in Africa
Spain's Expulsion of Soviets
First Quarter Economic Statistics
Egypt's Abu Ghazalah on Soviet Threat
Netherlands, Spain Suspend Talks on Gas

Commentary on NATO
(XINHUA, various dates) 47

European Security Institute Stresses Defense
May NATO Exercise in FRG
Schmidt Supports NATO's Nuclear Strategy
Turkey's Bayulken Speaks on Defense Policy
NATO's Balance of Forces

Briefs
Italian CP Official Assassinated 51
E. European May Day Festivities 51
L. America May Day Rallies 52
UK Goodwill Delegation 52
Togo Envoy's Reception 52
Azanian Congress Chairman Feted 52
Algerian Foreign Minister Killed 52

PARTY AND STATE

Government Work for 1982 Discussed
(Chen Puru; LIAONING RIBAO, 13 Mar 82) 53

Important Measures Stressed for Building Spiritual Civilization
(Huang Guoxi, Zhang Jifang; SHAANXI RIBAO, 13 Mar 82) .. 60

Shanxi Mobilizes Cadres To Strengthen Leadership at Basic Levels
(RENMIN RIBAO, 3 Apr 82) 63

Article Explains Terminology of Civil Procedure Law
(Li Chunlin, Yang Rongxin; BEIJING RIBAO, 15 Mar 82) ... 65

Beijing Cuts Sentences for Inmates Who Inform on Others
(Xi Ping; RENMIN RIBAO, 7 Apr 82) 68

Need To Use Law as Weapon To Combat Crime Seen
(Yu Haocheng; RENMIN RIBAO, 9 Apr 82) 70

Need To Control Import of Locally Available Equipment Urged
(Chen Si; RENMIN RIBAO, 31 Mar 82) 73

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Economic Development of National Minority Regions Discussed
(Zhong Wen; MINZU TUANJIE, No 2, 1982) 75

Personnel Utilization Goals, Problems Reported
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 14 Mar 82) 80

Use Qualified Personnel Wisely, by Zhang Wenhua
Victims of Misuse Complains, by Gu Tianjue

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BERLINGUER URGES USSR-U.S. PEACE AT MILAN RALLY

OWL81744 Beijing XINHUA in English 1526 GMT 18 Apr 82

[Text] Rome, 18 Apr (XINHUA)--Some 200,000 people from all parts of Italy gathered in Milan Saturday for a march and rally calling for peace and disarmament by the Soviet Union and the United States and for an end to these two countries' nuclear arms race.

According to today's L'UNITA, the Italian Communist Party's publication, the demonstrators marched from three directions to a park where they staged a rally.

Enrico Berlinguer, secretary general of the Italian Communist Party, said at the rally, "Internationally, our primary aim is to end the arms race, give priority to negotiations."

"We don't want and reject arms from the Soviet Union, and we don't want and reject arms from the United States and elsewhere," he said.

Berlinguer said the Soviet Union's intervention in Afghanistan is harmful to detente, peace, the cause of all peoples for liberation and independence.

Berlinguer discussed the conflicts taking place today in various parts of the world and said they are poisoning international life.

"These conflicts have direct links with the antagonism between the two superpowers and with their contention for the expansion of their respective spheres of influence," he said.

When the world is full of tension, he said, it is indispensable to have an independent, united and unified Europe--a Europe which can take more practical and effective steps in East-West and South-North relations, particularly in the relations with the Mediterranean, Middle East and African countries.

The rally was sponsored by the Italian Communist party and attended by workers, students, youths, and old people.

CSO: 4000/111

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOVIET DEVELOPMENT, USE OF AIRCRAFT CARRIERS VIEWED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 82 pp 22-23

[Article by Fang Shu [2455 3990]: "New Types of Soviet Naval Vessels--Aircraft Carriers"]

[Text] In August and September of last year, just when the Polish situation was turbulent and tense, the Soviet Union conducted a naval exercise on an unprecedented scale in the Baltic Sea area close to Poland. Also, the "Kiev" aircraft carrier of the North Fleet and the "Leningrad" helicopter cruiser of the Black Sea Fleet for the first time entered these Baltic Sea waters. Public opinion in West Europe held that the fact that the carrier "Kiev" entered an area in the Baltic Sea unsuited to its operations obviously was in pursuance of the Kremlin's gunboat policy and was designed as a show of force to put pressure on NATO and Poland.

The aircraft carrier is a new type of vessel in the Soviet Navy, and although carriers began to be built in the early 1960's their development has been very fast. The Soviet Union already has two carriers each of two classes, which are deployed with the North Fleet, Black Sea Fleet,and Pacific Fleet, and is now intensifying the construction of a large nuclear-powered carriers

First-Generation Carriers

Enlightened by the important role played by carriers in World War II, the Soviet Union thought they would be a powerful weapon in a future war. After the war, the Soviet warship-construction plans included four carriers. But, because of Khruschev's superstitious faith in nuclear weapons, he compared carriers, under modern conditions, to "seaborne coffins" and "floating targets" for nuclear weapons, and cut out the carrier development plan. In the October 1962 Cuban crisis, the United States dispatched 183 warships, including 8 carriers, to impose an armed blockade or "quarantine" on Cuba, which intercepted and inspected Soviet ships sailing toward Cuba in order to make the Soviet Union dismantle and remove its guided missiles and other "offensive weapons" installed in Cuba. At that time, the Khrushchev clique, awed by America's pressure, had to yield and comply. From this the Soviet Union again saw that the carrier, which has the capacity for long-range operations, was an important instrument for contending for hegemony on the high seas and for carrying out its policy of strength. At this same time, the "Polaris" guided

missile nuclear submarine, which America had begun to deploy, already posed a serious threat to the security of the Soviet Union's own territory. Faced with this threat from the sea and again wanting to contend with the United States for hegemony, the Soviet Union began to build a type of carrier that possessed antisubmarine operational capacity and that could deal with the "Polaris" guided missile nuclear submarine. In the middle of the 1960's there appeared in the Black Sea a strange-looking warship. It looked exactly like a cruiser. On the front half of the ship was a tall, large complex "superstructure" with row upon row of various types of cannon and guided missiles and torpedo launching tubes; on the rear half of the ship was a wide flight deck on which were parked over 10 antisubmarine helicopters.

The Soviet Union began to build its first carrier in 1963, and it was commissioned in 1967, after only 4 years. There are now two carriers, the "Muskva" and the "Leningrad," deployed with the Black Sea Fleet.

The "Moskva"-class carrier is 196 meters long and 35 meters wide. Its full-load displacement is 19,000 tons, and its cruising speed reaches over 31 knots (1 knot=1.852 kilometers), 60 kilometers per hour. The principle mission of this carrier is to attack submarines, but it can also be used to support landing operations. On the ship is a 90-meter-long, 30-meter-wide helicopter pad on which 18 Ka-25 antisubmarine helicopters can take off and land. Although the Ka-25 antisubmarine helicopter is small in bulk, it can carry mines or torpedoes for antisubmarine attacks. In addition, this carrier is equipped with various types of antisubmarine guided missiles, antisubmarine torpedoes, and ship-to-ship guided missiles that can deal with threats from sea or air.

Second-Generation Carriers

In the 1960's, the Soviet Union's hegemonistic ambitions swelled malignantly. After brazenly sending troops to invade and occupy Czechoslovakia in 1968, in 1970 and 1975 it staged two global naval exercises. However, it felt deeply that its military strength was still "far from commensurate" with its expansionist ambitions and that the single-function "Moskva" class carrier was far from able to satisfy its requirements for seizing global hegemony. Therefore, it began to build carriers with more advanced functions. The new generation of carriers, in addition to retaining the antisubmarine capacity of the first-generation carriers, with regard to ship-to-air and ship-to-ship attack capacity, in performance and tonnage far surpassed the "Moskva" class helicopter cruiser.

Building the "Kiev," the first of the "Kiev" class carriers, began in 1971, and it was commissioned in 1976. It was first deployed with the North Fleet based at Murmansk on the Kola Peninsula. The second ship of this class, the "Minsk," was completed in 1977, and made its shakedown cruises in the Black Sea. After being commissioned in 1979, it was deployed with the Pacific Fleet based at Vladivostok. Another ship, the "Kharkov," is on a shakedown cruise. Still another ship, the "Novorossisk," is being built.

The "Kiev" class carrier is 270 meters long and 48 meters wide, and the angle-shaped deck for aircraft takeoff and landing is about 185 meters long. The

external form of this carrier has been greatly changed: its deck is low, its bow rises steeply, most of its equipment is concentrated on the starboard side, and from far away it looks like a small island. Its full-load displacement is 38,000 tons, and it can reach a cruising speed of over 30 knots. It has 45 carrier-borne aircraft, among which are 30 K2-25 antisubmarine helicopters and 15 Yak-36 short takeoff and landing fighters.

The Yak-36, called "Forger" by the West, appeared for the first time in 1967, and in 1976 it began to be placed on "Kiev" class carriers. It is a medium-type single-wing fixed-wing aircraft with a speed up to about 1,100 kilometers per hour, and it can carry over 1,300 kilograms of projectiles and bombs. The Yak-36, in addition to carrying out its antisubmarine mission, can be used in operations against antisubmarine patrol aircraft and antisubmarine helicopters. But this aircraft also has many weak points, the chief ones being that its fuel consumption is large, its operational radius short, and its engine heavy, the last affecting its bomb payload capacity.

Besides carrier-borne aircraft, the "Kiev" class carrier has a large number of other weapons, like the AS-N-12 and the SA-N-4 ship-to-air guided missiles and the SS-N-12 ship to-ship guided missiles. The SS-N-12 ship-to-ship guided missile has a range of 550 kilometers.

The "Kiev" class carrier is a ship intermediate between a cruiser and an aircraft carrier. It was specially designed and built according to the Soviet Union's own ideas about sea operations. It can be used to fulfill its anti-submarine mission and can also be used to cover its own guided missile nuclear submarines, and can engage in operations against enemy surface warships. It provides the Soviet Union with a mother ship for the activities over the sea of the fixed-wing aircraft it carries, indicating that the development of the Soviet Navy has entered a new stage. The Soviet Union often uses its carriers --these "huge monsters"--to expand its political and military influence. In 1979, when the "Kiev" class carrier "Minsk" was transferred from Europe to the Pacific Fleet, a voyage which should have taken a little over 1 month was extended to one of a little over 4 months. On its way from the Black Sea to Vladivostok, it called at many countries and also frequently conducted exercises and activities of varying scope, using this "long ocean voyage" to display its sea power. What is even more striking is that in October 1980, when the "Minsk" was carrying out activities in the South China Sea from its base at Com Ranh Bay, it unexpectedly entered the Gulf of Siam and came to a point only a few nautical miles from Thailand's territorial waters boundary, thus making a show of force against Thailand and the ASEAN countries.

Nuclear-Powered Carriers

Although the Soviet Union's development of carriers has been very fast, compared with those of the United States they still fall short--smaller tonnage, smaller bulk, a more limited number of carrier-borne aircraft, less advanced equipment, and lower technical level. Owing to a problem in quality, some breakdowns have occurred. The deck of the "Kiev" was once burned badly by high-temperature air gushing from a vertical takeoff and landing aircraft, and

carrierborne aircraft often fall into the sea. In particular, because the carriers do not have aircraft catapults and arrestor gear, they cannot carry high-performance fighters. Thus, it is hard for them to seize control of the air over the seas. In order to contend with America for sea superiority, the Soviet Union has set about building a "fighter carrier" that will be a match for America's carriers and that will be nuclear powered. This aircraft carrier displaces over 60,000 tons, can reach a speed of over 34 knots, and can carry 60-70 fighters. At present, tests on using arrestor gear for the landing of high-performance fighters are being conducted on the carrier, which, it is estimated, will be commissioned at the end of the 1980's. Following the compeltion of these new-type carriers, the Soviet Union's expansionist ambitions will be even greater, and people of every peace-loving country must increase their vigilance.

9727
CSO: 4005/743

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DENG CRITICIZED FOR SELLING TITANIUM TO UNITED STATES

OW301139 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 26 Apr 82

[Text] Under pressure from the U.S. Government, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has personally approved a request to increase the export of rare metals, particularly titanium, to the United States. Titanium is an indispensable, rare metal used in the manufacture of aircraft and rockets.

Following Comrade Deng Xiaoping's visit to the United States in early 1979, we sold 99 tons of titanium to the U.S. capitalists. As of 1980, the amount of titanium sold to the United States soared to 861 tons. In line with the guidelines laid down by Comrade Deng Xiaoping's recent note of approval, the amount of titanium to be sold to the United States will reach 1,237 tons this year. That will mean an 11-fold increase. However, from either the economic or strategic point of view, the export of a large amount of this kind of important strategic material to the U.S. imperialists is a very unwise move.

Let us first look at this issue from the economic point of view. When Deng Xiaoping visited the United States in 1979, he negotiated a long-term trade agreement with U.S. President Carter to provide the United States with titanium at a price fixed at the 1979 level. But, for the past several years, the price of titanium on the world market has sharply increased. However, we have to export titanium to the United States at the lower 1979 price, thus incurring tremendous losses each year. In addition, the export of a large amount of titanium to the United States has created a shortage of this rare metal at home, thus greatly affecting the aircraft and missile manufacturing industry in China. When we manufacture aircraft for military and civilian use, we have to substitute other alloys for titanium in order to use less titanium. That seriously affects the quality of our aircraft.

Now let us look at this issue from the strategic point of view. We must realize: when we sell an important strategic material such as titanium to the largest imperialist nation, we are permitting U.S. imperialism to use our titanium to manufacture large quantities of various types of military aircraft and missiles and to improve the facilities of its air force and rocket troops. Objectively, selling titanium to the United States means we are helping U.S. imperialism strengthen its armed forces.

In the past, although the "gang of four" had close ties with Nixon, they still dared not approve his request to sell China's titanium to the United States.

What makes people even more furious is that the Americans are using the titanium imported from China to manufacture missiles, aircraft and parts for the Kuomintang authorities. In other words, by increasing our exports of titanium to the United States we are, in fact, helping the United States manufacture missiles, aircraft and parts. That means we are helping the Kuomintang authorities strengthen their air force and missile troops.

From the strategic point of view, the practice of arming your enemy with your own hands is very foolish. However, there is such a person who, on the one hand, opposes the sale of aircraft and parts to Taiwan by the United States and, on the other hand, grants approval to increasing the export of titanium to the United States in total disregard of the national interests.

CSO: 4005/826

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE CLOSES SPRING SESSION

OW240322 Beijing XINHUA in English 0244 GMT 24 Apr 82

[Text] Geneva, 23 Apr (XINHUA)--The 1982 session of the Geneva Committee on Disarmament (CD) adjourned today.

During the spring session of the committee which opened on February 2, delegates from many countries spoke of the adverse impact of the present grave international situation on the multilateral disarmament negotiations. They pointed out that the situation is characterized by the superpowers aggression, expansion and military occupation and the increasingly intensified arms race between them. Under such circumstances, the negotiations within the framework of the CD have not been able to make real progress on the substantive disarmament issues in the past three years.

The major items under negotiation are: banning of nuclear tests, cessation of nuclear arms race and reduction of nuclear arms, security assurances for non-nuclear weapons states, prohibition of chemical weapons, banning of radiological and other new-type weapons of mass destruction, and a comprehensive programme on disarmament.

During the spring session the CD decided to set up an ad-hoc working group for negotiations on the question of banning nuclear tests, one of the two major items remaining without working groups, the other being the cessation of nuclear arms race and reduction of nuclear weapons.

The CD's 1982 session is scheduled to resume on August 3.

CSO: 4000/111

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRC AT UN COMMISSION ON HUMAN SETTLEMENTS MEETING

OW270843 Beijing XINHUA in English 0739 GMT 27 Apr 82

[Text] Nairobi, 26 Apr (XINHUA)--The fifth session of the United Nations Commission on Human Settlements opened at the Kenyatta International Conference Centre here this afternoon.

The session will discuss recommendations on a programme for the international year of shelter for the homeless poor which the UN has called for 1987. Other main items on the agenda include planning for human settlements in disaster-prone areas, transportation for urban and rural areas with emphasis on groups with limited resources.

Mrs Imelda Marcos, wife of Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos and Philippine Minister of Human Settlements, opened the fifth session in her capabity as the outgoing chairman of the commission. In her speech, she called for coordination among related United Nations organs and specialized agencies, governments, public and private sectors of all countries in a coordinated effort for the improvement of human settlements.

Speaking on behalf of the host government, Kenyan Minister of Foreign Affairs Robert Ouko stressed that "development is about people".

The executive director of the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS), Arcot Ramachandran, made a report on the state of human settlements of the world. He expressed concern about the deterioration of the conditions of human settlements as a result of rapid urbanization. He warned that at the present rate, urban population in developing countries will double within the next 20 years to 2,000 million, resulting in growing slums, squatter settlements, over-crowding and deteriorating transport and santitation services. Meanwhile, the majority of the people in developing countries will still be living in rural areas and "confronted by problems of isolation, undernourishment, poor housing conditions, shortage of water, and lack of transport, electricity, health and educational services."

He added that social conditions would not automatically improve as a consequence of economic development. "It is imperative that governments recognize the need for integration of social, economic and physical development programmes

in order to bring about balanced progress for all socio-economic groups in all aspects of their living, working and recreational environment." The commission which is the governing body of the UNCHS was established by the United Nations General Assembly in 1978 and consists of 58 member states.

Chinese Ambassador to Kenya Yang Keming attended the opening ceremony as an observer.

The meeting is scheduled to last until May 7th.

CSO: 4000/111

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REAGAN MEETS VISITING NETHERLANDS QUEEN

OW200800 Beijing XINHUA in English 0733 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Washington, 19 Apr (XINHUA)--U.S. President Reagan today met at the White House Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands, and the two leaders proclaimed the 19th of April as the Dutch-American Friendship Day.

The Dutch queen and her husband, Prince Claus, are on a six-day state visit to the United States, which coincides with the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Netherlands.

During their meeting this morning, Reagan emphasized the importance of strengthening the U.S.-Dutch relations at a time when some nations in Europe want to "achieve military superiority" over the NATO in which the Netherlands is a member.

Besides the cultural and historical ties, the United States and the Netherlands have strong economic relations. The Netherlands is America's third largest trade partner in Europe and Dutch investment accounts for a quarter of all direct foreign investments in the United States.

However, the Dutch Government joined other West European countries last year in complaining about the adverse impact of high U.S. interest rates on the economy of the European Common Market. The two countries also couldn't see eye to eye on some political issues, such as the policy toward detente and the deployment of U.S. cruise missiles in Western Europe.

CSO: 4000/111

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GREECE SUPPORTS SPAIN'S ENTRY INTO EEC, NATO

OW132315 Beijing XINHUA in English 1942 GMT 13 Apr 82

[Text] Athens, 13 Apr (XINHUA)--Greek Prime Minister Andreas George Papandreou said that his country will give its full support for Spain's entry into the EEC and NATO as a gesture of solidarity.

Papandreou made the announcement after talks with Spanish Prime Minister Leopoldo Calvo-Sotelo, who arrived here Monday to negotiate with Greek Government leaders on Spain's participation in the EEC and NATO.

Papandreou said Greece will support Spain's entry into the EEC, with which Greece had certain difficulties.

Papandreou noted that Greece signed Spain's application for NATO membership. He said the problem of Greece's relations with the military alliance is being tackled by his government. However, he added, since the new Spanish Republic considers its NATO membership as an important move even affecting the country's internal structure, Greece cannot but approve the application, regardless of whatever doubts Greece may have about the alliance's usefulness as far as this country is concerned.

Sotelo was satisfied with Papandreou's speech. He referred to the common historical, cultural and political bonds between the two countries.

Sotelo said they also discussed various problems in Europe, matters concerning the EEC and NATO, and the problems the two countries have with the two Western organisations.

Sotelo left for home this afternoon at the end of his two-day visit.

CSO: 4000/111

ZIMBABWE'S MUGABE ON PROGRESS SINCE INDEPENDENCE

OW180802 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 18 Apr 82

[Text] Salisbury, 17 Apr (XINHUA)--Prime Minister Mugabe said today: "Last two years of our independence have been years marked by good progress showing that the initial goals of our independence have been fulfilled."

Speaking at a press conference Mugabe said: "When we started as new government, we made clear to the nation that our main priority was achievement of peace, unity of our people and establishment of a government under the guiding principle and policy of national reconciliation."

Reviewing the achievements made by the government in the past two years, Mugabe said: "We are happy that the people of all Zimbabwe have decided on a path of peace and decided to unite in the establishment of a society based on the recognition that we are one."

Mugabe added that the establishment of peace showed itself in the military by the establishment of a single army, in political field by the national unity of the government and in economic field by the growth rate of 14 percent in 1980 and 8 percent in 1981.

Referring to relations between ZANU (PF) and ZAPU, Mugabe said despite discovery of arms caches on ZAPU's properties, there is still room for unity between ZANU and ZAPU.

Reviewing foreign relations in the last two years, Mugabe said Zimbabwe has established broad relations with many countries and international organizations and reaffirmed its policy of non-alignment.

He condemned the apartheid policy of South Africa and pledged to continue supporting struggle of the Namibian people for independence.

CSO: 4000/111

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AUSTRALIAN MINISTERS RESIGN FOR SMUGGLING TV

OW200806 Beijing XINHUA in English 0754 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Canberra, 20 Apr (XINHUA)--Two Australian Government ministers, Minister for Health M. J. MacKeller and Minister for Business and Consumer Affairs J. C. Moore, resigned last night because of being involved in an incident of bringing in a color television set without payment of customs duty.

This was announced last night by Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser who had accepted their resignations.

It was reported that MacKellar brought a color television home last October without paying duty after a false customs declaration had been filled out in his name by a member of his staff. When the incident was brought to the attention of Mr Moore, who had ministerial responsibility for the customs, the latter phoned MacKellar to emphasize the seriousness of making a false customs declaration, but failed to follow up the questions.

The revelation of the incident to the public last weekend by the secretary of the Customs Officers Association brought heavy press pressure to bear on the prime minister to sack them.

The incident was reportedly at the top of the agenda of a special cabinet meeting held before Malcom Fraser made the announcement.

Fraser announced last night that he had nominated Minister for Employment and Youth Affairs N. A. Brown to replace MacKellar as minister for health, and Minister for Aboriginal Affairs Senator Baume to take over Moore's portfolio. Both assignments are "for the time being" until permanent arrangements are made.

Asked if there would be a cabinet reshuffle, the prime minister said, "I think there's been a fairly broad assumption that there will be at some appropriate time."

Since the Liberal Party's defeat by the Labour Party in the Victorian State election on April 3, there has been persistent suggestions of a cabinet reshuffle in the near future.

CSO: 4000/111

LIBYA'S ECONOMIC GROWTH VIEWED

OW301607 Beijing XINHUA in English 1544 GMT 30 Apr 82

[Feature: Libya Makes Great Strides in Developing National Economy by Correspondent Ye Zhixiong"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Tripoli, 30 Apr--Great changes have taken place in Libya, an "ancient desert country," in the past 10 years or more.

Libya was formerly an under-developed agricultural and livestock-breeding country. Since 1959, the country has discovered various oil fields with deposits estimated at 5,000 million tons. Exploitation started so quickly that the country produced 159 million tons of oil in 1970 (the oil output fell to 55 million tons in 1981), now it has become one of the major oil producing and exporting countries of the world. At present, Libya is making headway in developing its oil processing industry along with the oil exploitation. Oil has gathered sizable fortune for the country, whose oil earnings amounted to 23,000 million U.S. dollars in 1980, or 55 percent of the gross national product. The country's per capital national income reached as high as 10,000 U.S. dollars as against only 135 U.S. dollars in 1958.

Libya has been making great efforts to change its oil export-oriented economy. In the five-year plan (1976-1980) period, the Libyan Government allocated 3,100 million Libyan dinars out of its total investment of 7,800 million to develop agriculture, industry and power industry. The country has now achieved self-sufficiency by and large in barley, vegetables, fruit and egg products. The self-sufficiency rate of wheat, meat and milk has grown. Progress has also been made in afforestation. Meanwhile remarkable developments have been achieved in textile, food processing, petro-chemical and building material industries.

The Libyan Government has also exploited the oil revenue to develop education and public health, and improve traffic facilities and housing conditions as well as other social welfare. In the past ten years, free education and medical care have been instituted throughout the country step by step. The numbers of middle schools, their teachers and students and of the doctors have all doubled in this period. Now the country boasts over 500,000 cars running all over the country in place of camels. The seaside highway, 1,800 kilometres long, has become the trunk line running across the country.

Libya's road of development is by no means smooth sailing. Its political and economic systems are to be probed and experiences and lessons to be summed up. The Soviet Union is trying hard to expand its influence in Libya through selling arms and dispatching military advisers to the country. Meanwhile, the United States has exerted pressures on Libya by banning import of oil from the country. People are looking forward to fresh successes of this ancient and young nation in continuing its advance and improving its relationship with African and Arab countries.

CSO: 4000/111

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON EGYPT

Arab Affiliation

OW190819 Beijing XINHUA in English 0222 GMT 19 Apr 82

[Text] Cairo, 18 Apr (XINHUA)--Egyptian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali has said that Egypt's Arab role and affiliation is one of the priorities of the country's foreign policy.

In an interview with the Cairo weekly ROSE AL-YUSUF to be published tomorrow, 'Ali said that Egypt gains its political weight in the region from the fact that it is an Arab, Islamic, African and non-aligned country.

But he added that it is possible for Egypt to have special relations with the United States while pursuing a non-aligned policy.

The Soviets are continuing to seek access to warm seas, he said. "There should be a corresponding power ready to maintain the balance."

'Ali referred to Egypt's offer to the United States of facilities in Ras Banas on the Red Sea. The offer is based on the fact that "the Americans are to expand the naval-air base at their own expense, to be used by them in the region--in agreement with Egypt--if necessary. But so far the Americans have not done much," he said.

Arab Cooperation Urged

OW280116 Beijing XINHUA in English 0102 GMT 23 Apr 82

[Text] Cairo, 27 Apr (XINHUA)--Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Butrus Ghali declared today that Egypt would help any Arab country in accordance with the Arab joint defence treaty of 1950.

Speaking to a group of Arab newsmen who were here covering Egypt's recovery of the Sinai, Minister Ghali underlined the necessity of Arab cooperation and solidarity through which "all differences could be solved". He urged the world to maintain peace, adding that "the Arabs could not achieve any progress except through peace."

He stressed that differences among the Arabs "should be settled peacefully and within an Arab framework. He said that Egypt is ready to conciliate between Iraq and Iran in an effort to end the Gulf war by peaceful methods. He called for preserving the integrity of Lebanon's soil and its political independence and for non-interference of other countries in its affairs.

The minister said that the recovery of the Sinai heralded the end of an era and opened the door for fresh activities by Egypt for reaching a just, overall and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. He said that Egypt is ready to play the role of full partner in any future negotiations between the Arabs and Israel.

Ghali said that the Egypt-Israel relations were normal and ordinary ones like those existing between Egypt and some 150 countries. "Egypt rejects to have any distinguished relations with Israel and placed that principle on record in the peace treaty and in all the other agreements it signed with Israel," he added.

Arab League Head Views

OW291717 Bejing XINHUA in English 1651 GMT 29 Apr 82

[Text] Tunis, 29 Apr (XINHUA)--The Arab League Secretary General Chadli Klibi said yesterday that the possibilities of Egypt's return to the Arab community should be studied.

At a seminar of "Reality and Aspirations" organized by the Arab League, Klibi said the restoration of Egypt's seat in the Arab League was "not out of the consideration of the situation, but a question of principle for organizing various Arab forces which should not be weakened or separated."

Klibi said that in light of the economic strength of Egypt and its position in the Arab world, the absence of Egypt in the Arab League would "greatly change the balance of actions within the league itself and with other countries."

Klibi also said that "although the ninth Arab summit suspended Egypt's membership in the Arab League, no resolution can separate the Egyptian people and its culture from other Arab peoples."

It is the "common aspiration" he said, to have Egypt back into the Arab community, enabling it to play its important role again and to join in the common Arab actions and development.

CSO: 4000/98

COMMENTARY ON PALESTINIAN ISSUE

Israel Asked To Pull Back

OW200718 Beijing XINHUA in English 0705 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] United Nations, 19 Apr (XINHUA)--Israel was asked to end its illegal occupation of Palestine including Jerusalem when the Security Council resumed today consideration of an Islamic conference's complaint against the recent Israeli armed attack on a Jerusalem mosque.

Representative of the United Arab Emirates Fahim Sultan al-Qasimi condemned Israel for the criminal attack. He said to prevent the recurrence of similar crimes required that the council put to a final end Israel's illegal occupation of Palestine, and enable the Palestinians to exercise their inalienable right of self-determination. He also accused the United States of its unlimited support for Israel.

Representative of Djibouti Saleh Farah Dirir said that the Security Council should shoulder its responsibility by taking quick and effective actions to arrest any further deterioration of the situation in the Middle East.

Representative of Somali Ahmed Mohamed Adan said Israel shoudl relinquish its illegal occupation of Jerusalem. Only then could there be an end to the desecration of the holy places in Jerusalem and the forcible alteration of its demographic character.

Zehdi Labib Terzi, representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, read out a message from the mayor of Gaza to the president of the Security Council urging the council to act to prevent Israeli terrorism before it was too late.

Aid Raid Against Lebanon

OW220747 Beijing XINHUA in English 0743 GMT 22 Apr 82

[Text] Washington, 21 Apr (XINHUA)--The United States today said it deplores Israel's air strike against Lebanese towns south of Beirut earlier today while opposing "violence against Israelis".

The White House issued a statement upon receiving reports of the air attack, saying "the United States deplores these actions and remains committed to the maintenance of the ceasefire".

The U.S. believes that all parties involved should "exercise the utmost restraint and avoid actions which could prolong or escalate violence," the statement said.

Meanwhile, a State Department spokesman said he did not think the bombing would have impact on the scheduled Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai.

UN Session Hits Occupation

OW210804 Beijing XINHUA in English 0659 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Text] United Nations, 20 Apr (XINHUA)--Israel was asked to withdraw from all the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967 and recognize the Palestinian people's right to an independent state, at the Seventh UN Emergency Special Session on the question of Palestine today.

The special session, which adjourned on July 29, 1980 was reconvened today by the current president of the General Assembly at the request of member states of the coordinating bureau of the nonaligned countries which met recently in Kuwait.

Faruq Qaddumi, observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), urged the Security Council to take necessary actions to protect the Palestinian people and their land, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, until there was a complete Israeli withdrawal. He pointed out that Israel and the United States should shoulder the responsibility for the failure to reach a political solution.

'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of Syria, said that a just peace required Israel's total withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories and the recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of their own independent state on their own soil.

He criticized the United States for repeatedly using its veto power in the Security Council to paralyse the work of the UN, and protecting Israel from mandatory sanctions. This attitude has encouraged Israel to continue its aggression, he added.

[Massamba Sarre], representative of Senegal, said that his country hoped to stop any further deterioriation in the situation in Palestine with the United Nations being unable to play its rightful role in stopping the process.

He reaffirmed Senegal's solidarity with the Palestinian people under the guidance of PLO and called on Israel to withdraw from all the territories it has occupied since 1967.

Lebanon Protests

OW220755 Beijing XINHUA in English 0746 GMT 22 Apr 82

[Text] Beirut, 21 Apr (XINHUA)—The Lebanese Government has instructed its representative to the United Nations to make an urgent appeal to the Security Council against Israeli bombing of Lebanese territory, said radio reports here today.

A large number of Israeli F-15 and F-16 planes Wednesday bombed by turns al-Damur, (El Nahme) and the southern suburbs of Beirut from 2:30 p.m. to 4:00 p.m., killing 20, wounding several hundred others and destroying many builings.

Syrian Air Force fighters intercepted the invading planes, shooting down one Israeli jet in the air battle fought over Beirut and Bekaa al-Biqa'. Syria lost two jets.

A spokesman for the Israeli Army announced that the Israeli Air Force planes raided three targets of Palestinian guerrillas "in retaliation" for the Palestinian operations inside Israel in violation of the cease-fire and attacks against Israeli diplomats in Europe.

PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat called an urgent meeting of the Palestine military committee after the Israeli attack. In a message to the UN secretary general, 'Arafat denounced the Israeli aggression.

The Israeli bombing today has completely scuttled the cease-fire agreement reached with Palestine last July.

Observance of Lebanon Ceasefire

OW240258 Beijing XINHUA in English 0239 GMT 24 Apr 82

[Text] United Nations, 23 Apr (XINHUA)--UN Security Council President Kamanda wa Kamanda (Zaire) has pressed for an end to all armed attacks and violations which jeopardize the cease-fire between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in effect since July 24, 1981.

He made this demand in a statement last night on the situation in Lebanon arising from the Israeli air strikes on Palestinian guerrilla positions south of Beirut on Wednesday.

President Kamanda warned against any recurrence of violations of the cease-fire. He enjoined all the parties concerned to fulfill their responsibilities with respect to peace and invited them to work for the consolidation of the cease-fire.

Israel Condemned at UN

OW230727 Beijing XINHUA in English 0709 GMT 23 Apr 82

[Text] United Nation, 22 Apr (XINHUA)--The resumed Seventh Special Session of the UN General Assembly today heard more condemnation of Israel's policy of aggression and expansion and more support for the Palestinian people's struggle to restore their national rights.

U.O. Fafowora, representative of Nigeria, attacked the Israeli policy to evict Palestinians from their homeland. He said the Palestinians have the right to return to their land and that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) must be admitted fully to any negotiations on the Middle East. He also accused the United States of aiding Israel's aggression against Arab countries.

Indonesian representative Abdullah Kamil said that faced with the rapidly deteriorating situation caused by the determination of Israel to absorb all occupied Arab territories, the General Assembly could not allow the United Nations to become immobilized and powerless in the implementation of its resolutions.

Oscar Gonzalez of Mexico declared Mexico maintained that the Palestinians should be allowed to establish their own independent state and that Israel should withdraw totally from the illegally occupied Arab territories.

Romanian representative Teodor Marinescu said that the recent actions of the Israeli authorities, including the grave measures taken against the Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza, were designed to reinforce Israeli military domination. He added that the new Israeli attack against Lebanon could only make the struggle for peace more difficult.

Harold H. Francis of New Zealand said that a key element in the negotiation for a just, durable and comprehensive Middle East peace settlement is the realization of the rights and aspirations of the Palestinian people.

Belgian representative Edmond Dever speaking on behalf of the 10 member states of the European community said that the heads of state of the ten had denounced the measures imposed on the Palestinian population by the Israeli authorities. He pointed out that the Israeli policy of creating settlements in the occupied Arab territories was a grave obstacle to peace in the region.

He said that all countries in the region had the right to live in peace, the Palestinian people had the right to self-determination, and the PLO should be associated with the negotiations.

Gulf States Condemnation

OW230725 Beijing XINHUA in English 0703 GMT 23 Apr 82

[Text] Kuwait, 22 Apr (XINHUA)--The United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia and Qatar have condemned the Israeli air raids against the Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon and expressed deep worry over the U.S. consistent support of Israel.

According to a report from Abu Dhabi, an official source of the United Arab Emirates' Foreign Ministry said the raids "reflect the aggressive and expansionist objectives of the Zionist state."

In Doha, Qatari Minister of Foreign Affairs Shaykh Muhammad ibn al-Thani today summoned American Ambassador to Qatar Charles E. Marthinsen, informing him of Qatar's protest against the American stand of aligning itself with Israel. Referring to the American veto at the UN Security Council over a draft resolution which condemned Israel's crime of attacking a mosque in Jerusalem, the Qatari minister said the American move had encouraged Israel to pursue its aggressions against Arab and Muslim nations.

Continuation of the American support to Israel would lead to disastrous consequences not only for this region but for the whole world, the Qatari minister added.

In a statement, Saudi Arabia called on Arab and Muslim states to overcome differences and unify their ranks in order to confront the Israeli campaign against the Arab nation. The kingdom also asked big powers to give peace to the region.

Minister on Palestinian Cause

OW241918 Beijing XINHUA in English 1904 GMT 24 Apr 82

[Text] Cairo, 24 Apr (XINHUA)--Egyptian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali said at a news conference today that after the recovery of Sinai tomorrow Egypt will continue its efforts for the Palestinian cause and go ahead with the autonomy talks.

He said Egypt has never let the Palestinians down. It has fought four wars and initiated the battle of peace for the Palestinian cause.

'Ali stressed the importance of building bridges of confidence between the Israelis and Palestinians.

On Egypt's relations with other Arab countries, 'Ali said Egypt's door is open to all other Arab countries. Egypt will neither impose nor accept any conditions for rapprochement, he said.

There are no problems as regards Israeli withdrawal from the remaining part of Sinai, but border issues, including Taba, are still the theme of discussions between Egypt and Israel.

Attacked by Speakers at UN

OW240816 Beijing XINHUA in English 0727 GMT 24 Apr 82

[Text] United Nations, 23 Apr (XINHUA)--Israel was again under heavy attack at the 7th Emergency Special Session of the UN General Assembly today with more nations castigating its policies of aggression, occupation and annexation.

Yugoslav representative Miljan Komatina said that the main causes of the present tension in the Middle East were the unchanged Israeli policy of aggression and annexation, violation of the already minimal rights of the population

in the occupied territory and the denial of the rights of the Palestinian people. The intensified Israeli policy of aggression was making the situation in this most dangerous hotbed of crisis in the world even more acute, he noted.

Indian representative Natarajan Krishnan said that the acts of state terrorism perpetrated by Israel against the Palestinians had aroused universal indignation and deserved strong condemnation. He urged the Security Council to take effective action including imposition of mandatory sanctions against Israel to compel it to comply with the council's decisions.

Turkish representative Coskun Kirca condemned Israel for dangerously deteriorating the situation in the occupied Arab territories. He asked Israel to abide by UN resolutions, respect the principles of international law and observe the Geneva convention.

Burundi representative Gerard Baranyanduza said that the General Assembly must condemn in unequivocal terms Israel's illegal occupation of Arab territories and its annexation of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. He also accused imperialist circles of seeking to impose hegemony in the Middle East, through their support of Israel.

Brazilian representative Sergio Correa da Costa listed four indispensable conditions for peace in the Middle East: the complete withdrawal of Israeli occupation forces from all Arab territories; the exercise of the right of the Palestinian people to return to Palestine, and the recognition of their right to self-determination, independence and sovereignty; peace negotiations; and the recognition of the right of all states in the region to live in peace within recognized borders.

U.S. representative Jeane Kirkpatrick took a position which was entirely different from others. She said she understood that efforts would be made at this session to pass a resolution that would prepare the way for questioning Israel's credentials and its right to participate in the various bodies of the United Nations. She voiced U.S. opposition to any UN decisions to exclude Israel.

Implement Resolutions

OW270741 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 27 Apr 82

[Text] United Nations, 26 Apr (XINHUA)--The United Nations was urged to take effective and immediate measures to force Israel to implement the UN resolutions on the question of Palestine at the resumed 7th Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly which ended its general debate this afternoon.

The representative of the United Arab Emirates said without international pressure, Israel would not observe United Nations resolutions. Since the United States veto had prevented Security Council action against Israel, it was up to the General Assembly to act.

He stated it was time for the United Nations to do something besides adopting resolutions. Otherwise it would lose its ability to be a peace-keeping force in the world.

The representative of Cyprus noted that without a comprehensive and just solution of the Palestine problem, there could be no peace and security in the Middle East. His government supported the adoption of practical measures which alone could lead to the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly on Palestine.

The Iraqi representative said that the General Assembly must take serious action to protect the national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and their right to establish their own state on their own national territory. If Israel did not observe the provisions of the UN Charter, the organization must be prepared to take appropriate sanctions against it, he stressed.

The representative of Saudi Arabia pointed out that the unlimited support given to Israel by certain countries, and the incapacity of the Security Council due to the United States veto, had aggravated the situation in the region. He called for the restoration of the credibility of the United Nations." The time has come when Israel's membership should be suspended and military and economic measures should be taken to prevent it from causing the destruction of world peace and possibly of mankind as a whole," he stated.

The Sudanese representative pointed out that the failure of the Security Council to discharge its responsibility made it incumbent on the assembly to assume its responsibility in maintaining peace and security. The assembly should reaffirm that no peace could be established in the Middle East without the full withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories and without a just solution of the Palestinian problem. The assembly should also affirm the right of the Palestinian people to their own homeland, and the right of the PLO to participate in all conferences concerned with the Palestinian question.

No draft resolution has been formally presented to the session today, but sources close to the session said "There are two drafts under consultation."

CSO: 4000/99

COMMENTARY ON RETURN OF SINAI TO EGYPT

Numayri Seeks Arab Summit

OW042146 Beijing XINHUA in English 1531 GMT 4 May 82

[Text] Cairo, 4 May (XINHUA)—Sudanese President Ja'far Muhammad Numayri yesterday called for an Arab summit conference in Egypt to work out solutions to the Arab problems and avoid bartering away the Palestinian cause, according to the Egyptian paper AL-AHRAM today.

After the restoration of Sinai, Numayri pointed out, the present atmosphere is favourable for the Arab countries.

He reiterated that Prince (Fahd's) peace plan could be discussed at the summit.

Cairo dailies today also reported that Egyptian People's Assembly speaker (Soufy abu Taleb) and the visiting Sudanese National People's Assembly speaker (Izzeldin el Sayed) yesterday discussed the role President Numayri and his country can play in achieving an Arab reconciliation.

AL-AKHBAR wrote in its editorial today, "There is a wide talk in Arab countries about the restoration of relations with Egypt. All those who talk about this stress that the restoration is imminent and necessary." In the face of this genuine wish on the part of the Arab countries, Egypt has to respond and show respect. It says "Egypt will not give up her responsibility toward the Arabs and will always seek peace for all the Arabs and insist that the cherished peace be a just and comprehensive one," it concludes.

Withdrawal Problems

OW132325 Beijing XINHUA in English 1935 GMT 13 Apr 82

[Text] Cairo, 12 Apr (XINHUA)--An Israeli official said after a six-hour cabinet meeting yesterday that a number of outstanding problems must be solved before its final withdrawl from Sinai which was seen here as a fresh obstacle on Egyptian takeover of Sinai.

The announcement coincided with a statement by Israeli Defense Minister Ari'el Sharon in an interview published today that Israel should delay its final evacuation of Sinai if a border dispute with Egypt is not resolved by April 25.

Israeli Deputy Prime Minister David Levy threatened today that Israel would not withdraw from Sinai if Egypt failed to respect the Camp David agreement in both spirit and letter.

Observers here were concerned about new Israeli blames on Egypt for its new proposal put forward at the non-aligned nations meeting in Kuwait last week which advocated mutual recognition by Israel and Palestine. Israeli officials said the proposal "contravenes the Camp David agreement."

Israeli officials also accused Egypt of "violating the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel" and of "tightening links between Egypt and the Palestine Liberation Organisation."

Meanwhile, the Israel administration allowed several thousand Israelis who opposed the withdrawal to stay in Yamit until after the Passover.

Observers here believed that in placing fresh obstacles Israel aimed at bringing new pressure to bear upon Egypt, delaying or making incomplete the final withdrawal.

They also noted that Israel has concentrated massive troops in areas bordering South Lebanon in preparation for a new attack on Lebanese territory.

Egypt was worried about the deteriorating situation, and reports from Washington said that the Reagan administration was surprised by Israel's creation of new problems. Egypt has held emergency meetings with the United States, asking for U.S. interference.

The United States began today a new diplomatic move to solve differences between Israel and Egypt. U.S. Assistant Secretary of States Nicalas Veliotes left here for Israel after talks with Egyptian officials. It was reported that Washington would send higher officials to the Middle East.

Observers here are watching closely how the U.S. Government, which has a bias toward Israel, will act before the Begin regime's new challenges.

Egypt-Israel Talks

OW151902 Beijing XINHUA in English 1838 GMT 15 Apr 82

[Text] Cairo, 15 Apr (XINHUA)—Israeli Defense Minister Ari'el Sharon today met with Egyptian leaders but failed to solve the dispute with Egypt over the Sinai border demarcation.

During his trip which lasted only a few hours, Sharon had discussions with Egyptian President Husni Mubarak and Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali.

Before departure, he held another round of talks with Kamal Hasan 'Ali that lasted for two hours [and] included a working luncheon.

'Ali told reporters after the talks that the dispute over the resort town of Taba on the Gulf of Aqaba will be discussed further.

'Ali said he believes that Israel will withdraw from the Sinai as scheduled, but Sharon did not comment.

Sharon only said at the news conference that he would report the discussions to Prime Minster Menahem Begin. He reportedly said recently that "Israel should delay its withdrawal from the Sinai" as long as differences continue between Egypt and Israel.

Egypt and Israel have so far refused to compromise on the 15 points along the demarcation line, and tension has increased in the past few days amid accusations by Israeli officials that Egypt had violated "the letter and the spirit" of the Camp David accords.

The United States has stepped in to help the two countries resolve differences. U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Walter Stoessel is now in Israel for talks with Begin and is scheduled to arrive in Cairo tomorrow.

U.S. Deputy Arrives

OW171702 Beijing XINHUA in English 1602 GMT 17 Apr 82

[Text] Cairo, 17 Apr (XINHUA)--Egyptian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali was quoted by the newspaper AL-AHRAM as saying today that Egypt will not give any concessions and all disputes between Egypt and Israel can be solved through negotiations.

'Ali's statement came amid a flurry of diplomatic contacts between Egypt, Israel and the United States to discuss a number of differences created by Israel before its final withdrawal from Sinai scheduled for April 25. The Begin government has threatened to postpone the withdrawal if the differences are not settled.

Following the Israeli defense minister's visit to Cairo Thursday, Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Butrus Ghali paid a flying visit to Israel yesterday and delivered an urgent message from President Husni Mubarak to Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

Local newspapers reported today that Mubarak stressed in the message the necessity of implementing the peace agreement between Egypt and Israel both in letter and in spirit, building up confidence between the two countries and practising self-restraint in the remaining days before Israel's withdrawal. The message also dealt with the demarcation issue over Taba in the Gulf of Aqaba.

'Ali said in an interview with Monte Carlo Broadcast Station yesterday that Egypt would not give up one inch of its territory. He insisted that Egypt ask for conciliation or arbitration on the disputes.

Local papers summed up Egypt's position on Taba as follows: Israel withdraws to the borderline accepted by Egypt; the Egyptian administration steps forward to the line accepted by Israel; an Egyptian-Israeli committee will look into the status of the disputed area until it is referred to arbitration and no new establishments are to be set up in the area.

'Ali said that he expects to visit Israel next week and the date will be defined in the light of the Israeli cabinet's session tomorrow.

Meanwhile, U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Walter Stoessel arrived here last night for talks with the Egyptian leaders after his two-day talks in Israel. He will return to Israel Sunday.

Sinai Withdrawal Nears

OW171550 Beijing XINHUA in English 1506 GMT 17 Apr 82

[Text] Cairo, 16 Apr (XINHUA Correspondent Wan Guang]--It is only a little more than a week before Israel's scheduled final withdrawal from Sinai and yet no agreement was reached in the negotiations yesterday between Israeli Defense Minister Ari'el Sharon and Egyptian officials on the pending problems concerning Sinai borders.

In the view of Egyptain sources and foreign pressmen and diplomats here, there are other possibilities than the scheduled Israeli withdrawal, and the situation is far from optimistic.

One possibility much talked about is: Israel probably will withdraw its troops from most parts of the one-third of Sinai it occupies but with pretext left behind to facilitate its stay in Taba and other disputed areas.

Other possibilities as seen here include an Israeli postponement of withdrawal or partial withdrawal with some places such as Yamit left under its occupation.

Why Israel's last-minute effort to provoke dispute? Many here believe that this comes from Israel's expansionist policy. The Israelis are not reconciled to withdrawal from the territories they have occupied. Some of them called withdrawal from Sinai as Israel's "funeral". There has also been a fanatical outcry against withdrawal.

Apart from the dispute over the demarcation of the Sinai border, the Menachem Begin government has accused Egypt of violating the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. People here believe this reflected Israeli dissatisfaction with current tendencies in Egyptian policy. While maintaining peaceful relations with Israel, Egypt persists in its stand of safeguarding its territorial sovereignty and the Palestinian and Arab rights, a stand intolerable to Israeli policy which aims at alientating Egypt from other Arab states.

Some people recalled the Israeli attitude since the signing of the Camp David accords and pointed out that Begin is prone to creating tension at the last minute and exerting heavy pressure to gain advantage from his opponent's concessions.

It is viewed here that the Begin administration is counting on splitting the Arab world to reduce the pressure on Israel. The United States, busily mediating the British-Argentine dispute, would have no time for the Middle East. In addition, the U.S. partiality to Israel's recent provocations in the occupied Arab territories has also encouraged Begin to persist in his reactionary stand.

The Israeli threat to postpone withdrawal from Sinai has placed an acute problem before the United States. The Camp David accords are regarded as the sole diplomatic success of the United States in the Middle East for the past few years. An Israeli refusal to withdraw would be a heavy blow at the U.S. Middle East policy. Some people believe that in order to maintain its strategic situation in the Middle East, the U.S. has to try its utmost to make Israel withdraw, while others argue that not quite at ease with current tendencies in Egypt's foreign policy, Washington may welcome Israeli pressure on the Sinai problem to squeeze some sort of guarantee from Egypt.

In these circumstances, while indicating it is not going to make more concessions, Egypt has continued the talks with Israel on their differences in an effort to bring about Israeli withdrawal on schedule.

It is generally believed here that the U.S. will play a key role in the development of the situation in the next few days. An Egyptian journalist said the situation can only clear up at the last minutes of the timetable of withdrawal.

Border Dispute Viewed

OW181856 Beijing XINHUA in English 1833 GMT 18 Apr 82

[Text] Cairo, 18 Apr (XINHUA)--U.S. Special Envoy Walter Stoessel today met with Egyptian President Husni Mubarak here and discussed with him Egyptian-Israeli border disputes and Israeli allegations that Egypt has violated the peace treaty between the countries.

Since his arrival from Israel on April 16, U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Stoessel met with Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali, Minister of Defense and Military Production Abu Ghazala and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Butrus Ghali. He returns to Israel today to inform Israeli officials on the outcome of his meetings with Egyptian officials.

'Ali told Stoessel yesterday that Egypt has not violated the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. The most flagrant violations were statements and threats made recently by Israel attempting to create "an atmosphere of unjustifiable tension," 'Ali said.

'Ali rejected the Israeli charge that Egypt has violated the military annex of the peace treaty and emphasized that the reports of the American early warning station in Sinai were proof of its adherence to the treaty. American observers in the Sinai submitted eight reports earlier this month explaining that Egypt was abiding by the treaty.

During meetings with 'Ali, Stoessel was presented two memorandas of understanding that had been given to Israeli Defense Minister Ari'el Sharon during Stoessel's visit to Egypt. The documents dealt with the Taba border dispute and called for arbitration and a definition of status during a transitional period.

'Ali also told Stoessel that the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty are "standing agreements" that constitute a commitment to all parties concerned. Therefore, there is no need for fresh pledges, he said.

According to well-informed sources here, the Israelis expressed misgivings over a possible change in Egypt's foreign policy after the scheduled Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai on April 25.

'Ali said Egypt's policy after the withdrawal will not change and Israeli fears are groundless. However, he said Egypt is an Arab country and welcomes the restoration of relations with other Arab countries without imposition of any preconditions on either side.

Stoessel said it was his belief that a solution can be found to Egyptian-Israeli differences and said the Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai will take place as scheduled.

But Stoessel did not mention the position of the United States and did not present a solution to the differences. Sources here noted that Stoessel's attitude did not eliminate concern about the U.S. stand toward Israel.

Sinai Issue Discussed

OW201840 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Cairo, 20 Apr (XINHUA)--Egyptian President Husni Mubarak today met with U.S. Under Secretary of State Walter Stoessel who arrived here this morning after talks in Israel.

Stoessel is on a mission to ascertain the completion of Israeli withdrawal next Sunday. Egyptian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali was present at the meeting.

Stoessel told reporters after the meeting that he is "optimistic about the outcome." "Things are moving well," he said.

Well-informed sources here said today there are still differences on the Taba issue and the Israeli accusation about Egyptian violation of the peace agreement between the two countries. It was learned that Egypt refused to sign any new declarations in this respect.

According to a report from Israel, an Israeli official threatened today that Israel might delay the final withdrawal from Sinai if Egypt does not agree to a written reaffirmation of the provisions for Palestinian autonomy in the Camp David accords.

The Israeli cabinet is to meet tomorrow and "might decide to reconsider the timing of the withdrawal," he said.

Stoessel will return to Israel this afternoon.

Comment on Sinai Withdrawal

OW220342 Beijing XINHUA in English 0257 GMT 22 Apr 82

[Text] Cairo, 21 Apr (XINHUA)--Egypt expects Israeli troops to evacuate Sinai in due time despite "a technical difference" in the negotiations between Egypt and Israel, a spokesman for President Husni Mubarak said today.

Director of the president's political bureau (Osama el-Baz) made the statement after a meeting called by President Mubarak to discuss the arrangements for Israel's withdrawal from Sinai.

(El-Baz) said that the two countries would refer to article seven of the Camp David accords, which call for arbitration or conciliation to settle the differences over Taba.

He also said that the Taba issue is "merely a technical difference and not a territorial claim on either side". The area, about 1,020 square meters, is a desert spot without any sign of life.

On the proposition that Egypt would freeze the Camp David accords, (El-Baz) said, "There is no justification for such propositions because Israel has not violated its commitments, particularly its obligations regarding the withdrawal."

Later, the Egyptian cabinet held a meeting under Premier Fu'ad Muhyi al-Din to review Israeli cabinet's decision to pull out all civilians and troops by April 25. The meeting affirmed Egypt's commitment to the letter and spirit of the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli treaty. It also reiterated its determination to make continued efforts to push forward the Palestine autonomy talks.

Israel Completes Return

OW251555 Beijing XINHUA in English 1525 GMT 25 Apr 82

[Text] Rafah, Sinai, 25 Apr (XINHUA)--The triple-colour national flag of the Arab Republic of Egypt rose steadily over the border town of Rafah in North Sinai at 1:47 this afternoon. After the Israeli troops left the Egyptian territory before noon. Thus the last one-third of the Sinai is liberated.

The 61,080-square-kilometre strategic peninsula that links Asia and Africa officially returns to the embrace of its motherland from under a 15-year occupation by Israel.

The flag-raising ceremony at Rafah was solemn and joyous. A similar ceremony was held at the same time at Sharm el Sheikh on the tip of the peninsula. A salvo of 21 guns were fired. Egypt's national anthem was played. Among those present at the ceremony here was the governor of north Sinai who kissed the national flag before raising it. Representatives of different circles and tribal chieftains, who offered congratulations on the recovery of their lost land were also present.

Attending were a group of runners with flaming torches. They started on April 22 from the Memorial of the Unknown Soldier in Cairo to honor the flag-raising ceremonies in Rafah and Sharm el Sheikh.

The peninsula witnessed the ravages of many wars in its history. Israel occupied it for the first time in 1956 and was forced to withdraw because of the heroic resistance of the Egyptian Armed Forces and people who enjoyed the support of the other Arab peoples and the people throughout the world. The Sinai was again occupied by Israel through a war of aggression in 1967. Egypt launched the October war in 1973, breaking Israeli fortifications and liberating part of the Sinai. This October war broke the myth of Israeli invincibility. There is a common belief in Egypt that it was on this basis that the road to peace was opened. The Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty was signed in 1979. In accordance with this treaty, Egypt had recovered two-thirds of the peninsula by January 1980.

April 25 has become a national day in Egypt. The national flags are fluttering over buildings in Rafah as well as other cities throughout Egypt.

Standing on the soil that has just been recovered, many Egyptians in Rafah can not help recalling the hard course they have traversed in getting their land back. Even in the last days before the withdrawal, Israel had threatened to delay it. Thousands of squatters who entrenched themselves in Yamit of north Sinai for months in an attempt to stop the withdrawal, were evacuated only in the last moment. Today, the issue of Taba, a land of 1,020-square-metre that belongs to Egypt according to an 1906 agreement, remains to be solved.

On the eve of handing over the Sinai, Israel sent war planes to bomb Lebanon. In addition, Israel still clings to its occupation of the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights and has recently stepped up its suppression in these occupied territories. People attending the ceremony in Rafah are aware that the Palestinian people are still deprived of their homeland, and that without a just solution to the Palestinian problem, there will be no just peace in the Middle East.

After the recovery of the Sinai, the Egyptian-Israeli relations have begun a new phase. Egypt hopes to maintain normal relations with Israel as with other countries. Egypt values peace and at the same time is ready to safeguard the Arab national interests. The national flag flying over the border town of Rafah will be a historical witness of the struggle of the Egyptian people in continuing to safeguard state sovereignty and strive for the rights of the Arab and Palestinian peoples.

'TASS': Return 'Farce'

OW261652 Beijing XINHUA in English 1648 GMT 26 Apr 82

[Text] Moscow, 26 Apr (XINHUA)--The Soviet official news agency TASS today described the return of the Sinai peninsula to Egypt as a "farce performed by the participants in the anti-Arab Camp David deal."

Commenting on the transfer of the Sinai to Egypt, TASS said in a statement that the governing circles of the Soviet Union believed the Sinai operation had "nothing in common with the task of the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East."

Referring to the stationing of the multi-national peace-keeping force in the disputed Taba area, the statement said this operation meant that "the Israeli occupation of the Sinai is replaced by American occupation."

The statement repeated the proposal for calling an international conference of all parties concerned put forward at the 26th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, saying this was "a realistic and constructive road" to the solution of the Middle East issue. This proposal remained valid, it added.

Observers here noted that Moscow's response to the return of the Sinai to Egypt was an indicator of the fierce rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States. It gave evidence that the Soviet Union had been trying to have a hand in the settlement of the Middle East problem, they said.

The Soviet national TV station said in a commentary on April 24 that the Middle East region "concerns the interests of the Soviet Union" while "the United States regards the strengthening of its military presence in this region as part of its global strategy in antagonizing the Soviet Union."

Mubarak Speaks on Return

OW261957 Beijing XINHUA in English 1920 GMT 26 Apr 82

[Text] Cairo, 26 Apr (XINHUA)--President Husni Mubarak hailed Egypt's recovery of the Sinai peninsula and said the next step in the Middle East peace process would be the resumption of negotiations on Palestinian autonomy.

Addressing a joint meeting of the People's Assembly and the Shura Council here this morning, the president said, "The Israeli withdrawal is an event to consolidate the progress of peace," and that Egypt hopes to see further cooperation, based on respect for treaties and obligations, and that "Israel will also keep all its promises so that peace can be deepened."

On the disputed issue of Taba, Mubarak said Egypt had no interest in any territorial expansion, but pledged not to retreat "a single inch of the sacred land."

According to the latest report, Israel has withdrawn to the line recognized by Egypt at Taba, south of the Israeli port of Elat, and Egypt's forces have advanced to the line recognized by Israel. The multi-national peacekeeping force is currently in Taba while negotiations on the dispute are continuing.

Concerning the Palestinian autonomy negotiations, Mubarak said that the violent events occurred recently in both the West Bank and Gaza and Lebanon had shown the urgency to step up the peace process, and that the Palestinian issue is the essence of the problem.

He said: "Egypt is looking forward to resuming autonomy negotiations during the coming few days in an attempt to reach a declaration of principle encouraging the Palestinians to join the peace process."

He stressed: "We will never negotiate on behalf of the Palestinians for their rights and demands". "None of us would accept the perpetuation of the Israeli occupation nor the consecration of the Israeli domination".

He also stressed that "Egypt's ties with the Arab countries are deeper than any accidental differences," and "to be belonging to the non-aligned movement would not restrict our movement for the promotion of our relations with the other nations." "We allow no military bases to be set up on our territory. We seek good relations with all countries, based on mutual benefit," he said.

Mubarak said that the security and stability of the Arab Gulf countries are an integral part of Egypt's strategic security. "Any threat endangering the safety of the Gulf region constitutes a grave situation and will be of great concern to Egypt," he noted.

On the Iran and Iraq war, Mubarak said: "From the beginning we opposed the outbreak of a war between Iraq and Iran. Proceeding from this, we look forward to the day on which this war will cease. We also show our readiness to mediate between the two countries in an attempt to end this war."

Ceausescu on Middle East

OW261943 Beijing XINHUA in English 1917 GMT 26 Apr 82

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Apr (XINHUA)--Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu said here yesterday that he cherished the hope that the return of the Sinai to Egypt would constitute a vital juncture for the Egyptian people to achieve peace and progress and for the Middle East to win a comprehensive, just and lasting peace, according to a report by the Romanian radio and television.

In a televised talk given at the request of the Egyptian television, the president pointed out that the current situation in the Middle East was still tense and Egypt should show a high sense of responsibility to avoid doing anything which might lead to new conflicts. What should be done, he said, was to try every means to get Israel to withdraw from the territories it occupied in 1967, and solve the problems of the Palestinian people with respect to their right to self-determination including the founding of an independent Palestinian state.

U.S. Praise

OW261513 Beijing XINHUA in English 1503 GMT 26 Apr 82

[Text] Washington, 25 Apr (XINHUA)--The White House in a statement today on Israeli withdrawal from Sinai pledged that the United States will work "with renewed vigor and dedication" to pursue the course of peace in the Middle East.

A White House spokesman said President Ronald Reagan telephoned the leaders of Egypt and Israel after the transfer of Sinai to Egypt that he and the U.S. Government are firmly committed to the Camp David peace process and ready to help in any way that we can."

The White House statement noted the "courage" shown by Egypt and Israel in their search for peace.

The statement admitted that to continue the pursuance of the course of peace "will not be an easy task." But it said, "the President is determined that the United States, together with Egypt and Israel, will continue to pursue the course of peace, under Camp David, with renewed vigor and dedication."

Agreement on Taba Dispute

OW270428 Beijing XINHUA in English 0254 GMT 27 Apr 82

[Text] Cairo, 26 Apr (XINHUA)—Egypt and Israel reached an agreement on the settlement of their dispute over Taba, announced the Egyptian Foreign Ministry today.

Under the agreement, Israel will withdraw behind the international border recognized by Egypt and a multi-national force and observers will be stationed in the disputed region. Israel will also abstain from building new installations in the region till a final settlement is worked out.

The agreement also said meetings should be held to discuss the implementation of article seven of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty providing for conciliation or arbitration in cases of dispute. And the United States should take part in these meetings at the request of both parties.

UN Head on Withdrawal

OW270252 Beijing XINHUA in English 0126 GMT 27 Apr 82

[Text] United Nations, 26 Apr (XINHUA)--United National Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar today welcomed Israel's final withdrawal from the Sinai, according to a UN spokesman.

The spokesman said the secretary-general viewed the move as "a significant and constructive development."

May Day Ceremony

OW011729 Beijing XINHUA in English 1449 GMT 1 May 82

[Text] Cairo, 1 May (XINHUA)--Egyptian President Husni Mubarak said today Israel's final withdrawal from Sinai created a new momentum which Egypt should exploit in the process of reconstruction.

Speaking at a May Day ceremony in Cairo, Mubarak stressed that increasing production should be the starting point. He said "We have the experiment of People's China in self-reliance and refusing to submit to the policies of foreign powers with selfish interests."

He also referred to the experience of Japan who he said had realised a "miracle" in spite of scarce resources.

Mubarak said that the consolidation of the public sector would be the basis in any economic reform. A productive open door policy would also be one of the mainstays for economic changes, and "we welcome foreign and Arab capital", the president said.

Mubarak also stressed the importance of cohesion on the home front. "We are striving to achieve unanimity through dialogue and consultation on stratetic aims", he declared.

USSR View Scored

OW031834 Beijing XINHUA in English 1514 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] Cairo, 3 May (X(NHUA)--The Egyptian weekly ROSE AL-YOUSUF in an article today criticized the Soviet attitude toward Egypt's recovery of Sinai.

The article said that "the comment made by the Soviet news agency (TASS), as well as that made by the newspaper SOVETSKAYA, on Egypt's recovery of Sinai was astonishing. The news agency said that nothing new did happen as the Israeli occupation troops were substituted for by the NATO occupation troops... while the SOVETSKAYA said that the Israeli evacuation from Sinai was a great political illusion since Israeli troops were replaced by U.S. troops." [as received]

"Let us first define what occupation is. The occupation by a foreign force of a piece of land belonging to another country will abolish that country's sovereignty over that piece of land. Are then the multinational forces--stationed in the last one-third of Sinai--occupation troops? The task of these forces is just to prevent the occurrence of a clash between the Egyptian and the Israeli Army."

"It will be argued that they are not UN forces. Well, that is right. But who is to blame for the non-formation of UN forces? It is you, Soviet comrades, who are to blame for that, as you threatened to veto if the Security Council tried to form such a force.
CSO: 4000/100

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON AFGHANISTAN

Rebels Urge Europe To Pressure USSR

OW231734 Beijing XINHUA in English 1528 GMT 23 Apr 82

[Text] Brussels, 22 Apr (XINHUA)--Afghan resistance forces today appealed to European countries to put greater political and economic pressure on the Soviet invaders.

A visiting delegation composed of leaders of Afghan resistance forces voiced the appeal at a press conference here today. The aim of their European tour was reported to brief European countries on the present situation in Afghanistan and to ask for their all-round assistance, especially military materials.

A member of the delegation said: "Moscow has thrown more and more troops into Afghanistan to cope with the Afghan resistance forces, which has caused our people huge losses and untold suffering. But, the resistance against Soviet invaders will continue and grow stronger and stronger. The resistance forces will not stop fighting until they achieve their goal--the founding of an independent and free Afghanistan."

On the situation in Afghanistan, he said that the general staff of the Soviet Army had predicted that the war in Afghanistan would last only two weeks. But it has gone on for over two years with little results for the aggressors. Eighty per cent of the territory has been liberated by the resistance forces and civil administration established. The Soviet occupants and their puppets don't feel secure even in Kabul.

The spokesman pointed out that the morale of the Soviet soldiers is lower than the Europeans imagine. The Soviet soldiers sold their weapons to buy drugs.

On Soviet brutal suppression of the Afghan people, he pointed out that the use of chemical weapons and antipersonnel mines and wanton bombings by the Soviet occupation forces have forced three million Afghan people to flee their homeland. The reign of terror, arbitrary arrests, torture and executions at will have taken the lives of tens of thousands of Afghan intellectuals and specialists.

The spokesman said in conclusion that despite intensified Soviet suppression, the will of Afghan resistance fighters is unshakable. The Afghan resistance movement is now in the process of getting united.

Refugees Protest USSR Invasion

OW271509 Beijing XINHUA in English 1452 GMT 27 Apr 82

[Text] New Delhi, 27 Apr (XINHUA)--More than 200 Afghan refugees held a demonstration in front of the Soviet Embassy here today condeming the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

The demonstrators appealed to all nations and peoples of the world including the Government and people of India, to condemn the Soviet aggression. They demanded immediate and total withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan. They also demanded the restoration of the right of the people of Afghanistan to self-determination to freely decide their fate without any outside interference.

Mojahedin Continue Fight Near USSR Border

OW271705 Beijing XINHUA in English 1617 GMT 27 Apr 82

[Text] Islamabad, 27 Apr (XINHUA)--Fierce fighting that erupted at the end of last month between the Soviet-Karmal troops and Mojahedin in Takhar Province of Afghanistan bordering the Soviet Union, is still continuing, the AGENCY AFGHAN PRESS reported today. The sphere of the fighting has widened, and the Mojahedin are attacking the enemies at difference places. Over 200 Soviet-Karmal troops have been killed, so far.

A source of the AFGHAN AGENCY PRESS quoting Mojahedin's Takhar Commander Imam Ali reported that besides Taleqan, the provincial headquarters of Takhar, where the clashes have been continuing for the last three weeks, the Mojahedin have also repeatedly attacked the Soviet troops at Dasht-e-Qala, Khawaja Ghar and Bangi Qala. The Soviets who did not anticipate the sudden attacks suffered heavy losses.

On the other hand the Soviet also heavily bombed Taleqan and destroyed hundreds of houses.

Guerrilla Organizations Form New Alliance

OW 021748 Beijing XINHUA in English 1640 GMT 2 May 82

[Text] Islamabad, 2 Mary (XINHUA)--Seven Afghan Muslim guerrilla organizations today formed a new alliance pledging to continue armed struggle against Soviet aggression in their country.

The formation of the new alliance, named the Unity of Afghan Mujahideen, was announced at a press conference in Rawalpindi by its President Professor (Abdul Rab Rasool Sayaf).

A statement issued by the alliance at the press conference says, "History is a witness to the fact that whenever Russians talk about sincerity and friendship, they mean treachery and enmity, whenever they talk about peace and security, theymean war and homicide, and whenever they talk about liberty and love, they mean oppression and cruelty. In the case of Afghanistan, whenever they have set forth their wish for peace and security in that country, they have brought in reinforcing and more blood-thirsty troops on the same day in order to strengthen their positions of crime and barbarism."

The statement stresses, "We believe there is no other response to the Russian aggression but armed jehad (holy war)."

The seven organizations in the new alliance: Jamiati Islami Afghanistan led by Professor (Burhanuddin Rabbani), Hezbi Islami Afghanistan led by (G. Hekmatyar), Hezbi Islami Afghanistan led by (Maulavi) Khalis), Harakat Inqilab Islami Afghanistan led by (Maulavi Moazen), the National Liberation Front led by (Maulavi Mohammad Mir), and the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan led by Professor (Sayaf).

Professor (Sayaf) is the president of the alliance and chairman of the political committee while engineer (G. Hekmatyar) is vice president and Professor (Rabbani) holds the post of chairman of the military committee of the alliance.

CSO: 4000/108

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON IRAN AND IRAQ

Qotbzadeh Confesses Plot To Kill Khomeyni

OW201602 Beijing XINHUA in English 1516 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Tehran, 20 Apr (XINHUA)--Former Iranian Foreign Minister Sadeq Qotbzadeh has confessed to having plotted to kill Iranian leader Ayatollah Khomeyni and overthrow the Islamic government.

Qotbzadeh and other 44 persons were arrested last week on a charge of the plotting.

Qotbzadeh said in a television interview yesterday that three months ago a group of army officers planned to blow up Khomeyni's residence in Tehran and take over headquarters of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps and the Komitens (security institutions) as well as radio and television stations.

He said he did not oppose the plan of killing Khomeyni at the beginning when the army officers made contacts with him but he was going to reject it because of his sentiments towards Khomeyni.

Qotbzadeh said he had contacts with Ayatollah Shariat Madari, the influential Iranian spiritual leader, through two clergymen. Shariat Madari told the clergymen that he would support them if they could have overthrown the government, but he could do nothing before that. Shariat Madari has been under de facto house arrest in the holy city of Qom for two years and his son-in-law was among those arrested last week.

Hojat ol-Eslam Reyshahri, head of the Revolutionary Court of the Armed Forces, was quoted by the IRANIAN REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY as telling reporters yesterday that the authorities began keeping an eye on activities on Qotbzadeh and his collaborators one and half years ago.

Iran Launches Spring Offensives in Kurdish Areas

OW181758 Beijing XINHUA in English 1553 GMT 18 Apr 82

[Text] Tehran, 18 Apr (XINHUA)--Iranian troops began their spring offensive operations early last week in the Kurdish-inhabited areas of northwestern Iran.

Radio Iran broadcast this morning a communique released by the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) announcing that government forces on April 15 attacked 13 villages held by "counterrevolutionaries" for three years along the Kamiyaran--Marivan highway, in Kordestan Province. During the attack, the communique said, 30 "counterrevolutionaries" were killed and two were captured.

According to earlier reports, government forces launched spring offensives codenamed "Operation Ansarollah" and "O, Mohammad" on April 13 in Kurdish-inhabited provinces. During the offensives, government forces claimed to have captured the strategic Kalteh bridge and the Dehbaq village on Baneh-Sardasht road.

The government's helicopter gunships bombarded three armed insurgent bases in Saqqez area, Kurdistan Province, Radio Iran reported Saturday. Three villages in this area were also reportedly taken over by government forces.

According to Saturday's ISLAMIC REPUBLIC, government forces in an offensive near Bukan in West Azerbaijan Province recovered a 2,000-square-kilometer area. A spokesman of northwest operation headquarters said 100 "counterevolutionaries" were killed and 100 others wounded.

The war with the Kurdish minority, stubborn autonomy-seeking nationals, has been a chronic headache for the Iranian central government. Last year when Bukan, the last stronghold of Kurdish rebels, was captured by government forces, former Foreign Minister Musavi said during an interview in New York that [words illegible] the Kurds had ended, but the offensives continue.

Syrian Relations Cut With Iraq

OW181748 Beijing XINHUA in English 1543 GMT 18 Apr 82

[Text] Damascus, 18 April (XINHUA)--Syria has announced that it will cut off any kind of relations with Iraq.

In a statement to the SYRIA ARAB NEWS AGENCY published today by all local newspapers, Syrian Deputy Premier Walid Hamdun said: "For a number of years, the Iraqi regime has been conspiring against Syria." Iraq has played a role in Hama by giving arms to the Muslim Brothers," he added.

"Syria will support the struggle of the Iraqi people to overthrow this regime," Hamdun said.

Syria had announced the closure of its borders with Iraq and the oil pipeline from Iraq thorugh Syria on the Mediterranean port in Lebanon on April 8th.

Khomeyni's Son Names Iran's Future Leader

OW290924 Beijing XINHUA in English 0717 GMT 29 Apr 82

[Text] Tehran, 28 Apr (XINHUA)--"Grand Ayatollah Montazeri will certainly take over the leadership of the Revolution in the future," declared Ahmed Khomeyni, son of Imam Khomeyni, reported ETTELA'AT today.

Ahmad Khomeyni's clear-cut remarks came in an exclusive interview with the official paper ETTELA'AT.

"The record of prolonged struggle (against the ex-shah's regime) of Ayatollah Montazeri is more outstanding than other religious leaders. It needs the experience of a prolonged struggle to lead the revolution," Ahmad Khomeyni said.

"I don't think Grand Ayatollah Golpayegani would be offended by what I said.... I am sure he himself would recommend the respected religious leader Montazeri," he added.

Of course, he said, it should be decided by an experts' assembly which is to be elected, he added.

Ahmad Khomeyni's statement gives the impression that preparations for a smooth transition of authority are under way, observers here noted. Such a transition is imminent as 82-year-old Ayatollah Khomeyni's health is failing.

CSO: 4007/107

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON USSR

Kenyan Paper Condemns USSR Espionage in Africa

OW230146 Beijing XINHUA in English 0133 GMT 23 Apr 82

[Text] Nairobi, 22 Apr (XINHUA)—The activities of Soviet agents in Africa "give a clear indication of the Soviet determination to destabilize the continent," THE STANDARD OF KENYA pointed out editorially today.

The editorial entitled "Soviet Union: A Strange Friend" said that "in her relations with other nations, particularly those in the Third World, the Soviet Union poses as a friend of oppressed people who struggle to free themselves from such evils as colonialism, imperialism and capitalist exploitation. However, an analysis of the activities of her diplomats and other Soviet citizens working under such covers as journalists, technical assistance personnel, trade union advisors and sports coaches, reveals more subterfuge than genuine help."

"In the developing world, especially Africa, there are other more ominous activities. One of these is the funding of labour and student unrest, political agitation against the legally constituted government, support for tribal and separatist dissidents, propaganda, deception and the spreading of false information to discredit some leaders," the editorial said.

"As a result, Soviet diplomats and other citizens are constantly being expelled from other nations," it said. In the past two years alone, some 143 Soviet officials were expelled from other countries for engaging in activities that were detrimental to the interests of their hosts," the editorial added.

"It is in this light that the declaration of 'friendship and solidarity' that accompany any Soviet diplomatic move in the Third World should be viewed. It is a strange friend indeed who has to operate under false identity," the editorial concluded.

Spain's Expulsion of Soviets

OW281532 Beijing XINHUA in English 1520 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Beijing, 28 Apr (XINHUA)--Two Soviet Aeroflot employees have been expelled from Spain for alleged spying activities, according to a Spanish Foreign Ministry spokesman today.

Fedorin Nikolayevich, local director of the Soviet airline Aeroflot, was accused of attempting to obtain information on U.S. arms sales to Spain, while engineer Vladimir Tirtishnikov was suspected of seeking information on Spanish arms manufacturers. The two Soviets were also reportedly to be sounding out the reaction of the Spanish military to Spain's planned entry into NATO.

According to EFE, both left for Moscow on a Swissair flight this morning. Plus the two, ten Soviet officials have now been expelled from the country on spying charges since the diplomatic relations between Spain and the Soviet Union were renewed in 1977.

First Quarter Economic Statistics

OW291515 Beijing XINHUA in English 1503 GMT 29 Apr 82

[Text] Moscow, 28 Apr (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union has failed to meet the projected targets for its national economy in the first quarter of this year.

The production communique released by the Central Statistical Board showed that industrial output rose only by 2.1 percent in the first quarter of this year as compared with the same period last year, falling short of the target of a 4.7 per cent growth. The moderate increase hit an all-time low in the post-war period.

The growth of labour productivity was set at 4.1 per cent for this year, but it posted an increase of only 1.5 percent in the quarter. This constituted another lowest record for peace time in the Soviet Union.

Among the 65 kinds of the "most essential products" listed by the Central Statistical Board, natural gas, metal-cutting machines, instruments and meters, automatic tools, fulfilled the production plan whereas the output of 27 other items, such as steel, rolled steel, iron ore, chemical fertilizer, cement, turbines, oil equipment and textile products fell from the same period last year.

Furthermore, poor harvests in three consecutive years have severely affected animal husbandry. According to published figures, the output of meat and milk amounted to 3.94 million tons and 111957 million tons respectively, down 1 and 4 percent from the last year's output.

By April 1, the amount of cattle in the collective and state farms showed a slight increase while that of pigs reduced for lack of fodder.

The reduction of livestock breeding has resulted in further deteriorating supply of meat and milk on the Soviet market.

Egypt's Abu Ghazalah on Soviet Threat

OW031656 Beijing XINHUA in English 1622 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] Cairo, 3 May (XINHUA)--"The only way to safeguard the security of the Middle East and Africa is to drive the Soviets out of the region," the MAYO

weekly reported today by quoting Egyptian Defense Minister Mohamed 'Abd al-Halim abu Ghazalah. Abu Ghazalah said that the Soviet Union attempted to divide Africa and encircle the oilfields in the Gulf area. If they and their mercenaries from Cuba were able to put Africa under their control, they would have the raw materials much needed by the Western aviation industry in their hands, Abu Ghazalah said. If they cut off the oil supply for the West, Europe would have to kneel down before them, he added. Abu Ghazalah stressed that along with the establishment of a United Arab force, the United States should supply the region with necessary military equipment to cope with the threat from the Soviet Union and the mercenaries it has installed in the heart of Africa. He held that the U.S. rapid deployment force was largely a symbolic force unable to challenge any Soviet attacks.

Netherlands, Spain suspend Talks on Gas

OW041808 Beijing XINHUA in English 1514 GMT 4 May 82

[Text] Brussel, 4 May (XINHUA)--The Netherlands and Spain have suspended their talks with the Soviet Union on purchasing Soviet Siberian natural gas, according to press reports here.

The Netherlands' project of buying 2 billion cubic metres of Soviet natural gas is "frozen" at the moment, said the monthly EUROPE today. The talks on the deal will soon be halted definitively, it added.

Initially, the Netherlands intended importing 4 billion cubic metres of natural gas from the Soviet Union starting from the mid-1980s. This volume was brought down to 2 billion cubic metres last February.

The Netherlands produces about half of the gas turned out by the European Economic Community countries. Fifty-seven per cent of its gas is exported to other EEC member states. Sales were, however, down 9.2 per cent during the first three months of this year.

The Spanish paper EL PAIS reported that Spain has also suspended its talks on buying Soviet gas. Spain now wishes to examine the deal more closely and see whether it is financially advantageous, the paper said. But informed sources said that the political climate could have played a role, too, in the suspension, the paper added. Spain's accession to NATO and its expulsion of two Soviet diplomats on spy charges last week might have affected the Spanish decision to suspend its talks on buying 3 billion cubic metres of Soviet gas a year, it noted.

CSO: 4000/109

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON NATO

European Security Institute Stresses Defense

OW160746 Beijing XINHUA in English 0721 GMT 16 Apr 82

[Text] Brussels, 15 Apr (XINHUA)--Special attention will be paid to problems concerning European defense by the newly established European Institute for Security matters (EIS), a manifesto issued by a symposium of the EIS indicates today.

The manifesto says no European strategic thought has come forth for many years "because of the fact that the credibility of an American strategic nuclear response was considered sacrosanct and represented the panacea, a type of deterrence that nobody dared to question." However, it points out, "If we find it necessary to reinforce the European pillar of the alliance, we consider it mandatory that this be done within the Atlantic Alliance's framework, the only guarantee for our present and future security in the absence of an autonomous European defense".

This is the first symposium of the EIS since it was founded in December, 1981.

The manifesto states that the EIS intends to "undertake specific studies regarding much more Europe than the United States", but all of which have an impact on the security and cohesion of the alliance. One example is, it notes, "the pacifist and neutralist movements, which have torn Europe apart and which could lead to a widening of the gap between the new and the old continent with incalculable consequences for Europe." Another example would be the vulnerability of Europe in the peripheral areas not covered by the treaty which calls for exclusively European solutions. And at last, Europeans must try to solve the appalling dilemma of "nuclear holocaust or capitulation", of which they refuse to acknowledge the finality and its implications, the manifesto adds.

Secretary General J. Luns and EEC President G. Thorn made greeting addresses at the symposium this morning.

The second symposium is planned to take place here in September.

May NATO Exercise in FRG

OW161952 Beijing XINHUA in English 1842 GMT 16 Apr 82

[Text] Brussels, 16 Apr (XINHUA)--Six nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) will hold a four-week-long exercise next month in West Germany.

According to a communique issued by the NATO Supreme Headquarters of Allied Powers in Europe, the exercise, code-named "Ardent Ground 82", will start on May 3 and involve more than 1,200 artillery and infantry men from Belgium, Canada, West Germany, Italy, Britain and the United States.

The exercise, the communique says, aims at practising air mobile operations and artillery firings of the Allied Command Europe Mobile Force (AMF), which was formed in 1960 for a rapid deployment of army and air units to a threatened area under the NATO's Allied Command of Europe.

Schmidt Supports NATO's Nuclear Strategy

OW211235 Beijing XINHUA in English 1218 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Text] Bonn, 20 Apr (XINHUA)--West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt today called on his Social Democratic Party (SPD), the major ruling party in West Germany, to support NATO's nuclear strategy. He again rejected the Soviet proposal for a freeze on deploying medium-range missiles.

Schmidt said, at the SPD Congress in Munich, that the Soviet missile superiority is a threat to West Germany's security and freedom of action. "The Geneva negotiations between Washington and Moscow will meet with success only if the Soviet Union is convinced that in the event of failure it will have to reckon with the deployment in Europe of the American nuclear missiles at the close of 1983," he added.

Rejecting the Soviet proposal to freeze deployment of missiles, he said, "I understand their motives, but a freeze is not possible unless they give up their big advantage in SS-20 missiles."

He also said the growing peace movement in the Social Democratic Party could lead to Soviet aggression. "Experience has shown that if one side is impotent it does not hinder aggression by the more powerful."

On West Germany's relations with the United States, he said, "Our close and cooperative relationship with the United States is the cornerstone of our security and guarantees our freedom."

Turning to home affairs, he said, "We must seek compromises that the Liberals will accept." Otherwise the opposition would take over.

It is believed that Schmidt may win a majority at the SPD Congress but he is unable to cover up the ever deepening differences within the party over its policies.

Turkey's Bayulken Speaks on Defense Policy

OW281527 Beijing XINHUA in English 1510 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Ankara, 28 Apr (XINHUA)--Turkish Defence Minister Haluk Bayulken announced here yesterday that "modern Turkish armies with a high firing power will be a considerable deterrent factor to any hostile power with a goal of intervention in the area," the local press reported today.

In an interview with 11 journalists from NATO's European member countries, Bayulken said, "Turkey's defence policy, like that of the alliance, aims at making war impossible through credible deterrence."

"Peace cannot be insured by goodwill only," the defence minister said. "Turkey believes, hence, a strong defensive posture is necessary. A strong NATO is essential to keep the peace."

Bayulken said, "There is no nuclear missile on Turkish soil, and the modernization of the Turkish armed forces involves conventional weapons."

Bayulken also said: "It is out of question for Turkey to take part in a rapid deployment force being established by the U.S. to deter any possible attack against rich oil fields in the Persian Gulf region. The defence of the Gulf region is a matter for the independent Gulf states."

On relations with the Soviet Union, Bayulken said Turkey had friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other neighbors on the basis of each keeping its own system intact without interfering in the domestic affairs of others.

NATO's Balance of Forces

OW042046 Beijing XINHUA in English 1845 GMT 4 May 82

[Text] Brussels, 4 May (XINHUA)--NATO Secretary-General J. Luns said today that the numerical balance of forces in Europe has moved "slowly but steadily" in favor of the Warsaw Pact over the past two decades.

In a brochure entitled "NATO and the Warsaw Pact Force Comparisons" released here today, Luns said the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have lost much of the technological advantage which permitted NATO to rely on the view that quality could compensate for quantity.

It is clear that the trend is dangerous, but NATO's overall deterrent continues, he added.

According to statistics in the brochure, the comparisons for NATO-Warsaw Pact conventional forces in Europe are in favor of the Warsaw Pact with 2.6 million against 4 million in the armed forces, 84 against 173 divisions, 13,000 against 42,500 in main battle tanks, 10,750 against 31,500 in artillery/mortars, and 2,975 against 7,240 in combat aircraft.

"This advantage for the Warsaw Pact is likely to remain and, indeed, could increase at least for some considerable time as both sides reinforce, with NATO having to bring most of its reinforcements, particularly its equipment, across the Atlantic, and the Warsaw Pact benefiting from internal and shorter lines of communications," the brochure says.

In nuclear forces, the statistics show that NATO has 2,022 strategic missiles and bombers, countering 2,704 on the Soviet part. NATO has none of the currently deployed longer-range INF missiles systems against 600 Soviet SS-4, SS-5, and SS-20s. In the number of short-range nuclear forces including missiles and artillery, NATO deployed 1,100 in Europe over 900 of the Warsaw Pact facing it.

Luns told reporters today that the Soviet Union has been deploying SS-20s in both its Eastern and Western parts since Brezhnev proposed a nuclear freeze last March.

He pointed out that the proposal would leave NATO an ineffective "flexible response strategy" and an ever mounting expenditure for conventional forces.

CSO: 4000/110

BRIEFS

ITALIAN CP OFFICIAL ASSASSINATED--Rome, 30 Apr (XINHUA)--Head of the Italian Communist Party in Sicily Pio La Torre was assassinated in an ambush this morning in downtown Palermo, Sicily's capital. La Torre was shot dead along with his driver Rosario Di Salvo near the site of the Sicily Regional Committee of the party. The case is now under investigation. La Torre, 55-year old regional secretary of the Italian Communist Party in Sicily, joined the party in 1945 and was elected to the Chamber of Deputies successively in 1972, 1976 and 1979. This incident of assassination has aroused strong indignation among people from all walks of life in Italy. Enrico Berlinguer, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party, expressed grievance over La Torre's death at a party meeting of cadres, saying that "the labouring masses and democratic forces are capable of striking a powerful counterblow at this kind of crime", and the leading body of the Italian Communist Party would hold an emergency meeting to discuss the incident. On hearing the grievous news the labouring masses in Palermo promptly staged a demonstration. [Text] [OW301908 Beijing XINHUA in English 1858 GMT 30 Apr 82]

E. EUROPEAN MAY DAY FESTIVITIES--Beijing, 1 May (XINHUA)-- Massive demonstrations were held in East European capitals today to mark the International Labour Day. A total of 100,000 Polish workers and other working people held a four-hour demonstration in Warsaw. Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, reviewed the parade and made a brief speech. Meanwhile, between 20,000 and 30,000 Polish youths and citizens demonstrated on the Royal Palace Square in protest against the imposition of martial law. The demonstrators were dispersed by police. No clashes were reported. Two hundred thousand Hungarians demonstrated in Budapest in review before party and government leaders Janos Kadar, Pal Losonczi and Gyorgy Lazar. Hundreds of thousands of German working people demonstrated in Berlin. Party, government and military leaders Erich Honecker, Willi Stoph, Horst Sindermann joined the celebration. The Prague parade by hundreds of thousands of Czechoslovak people was reviewed by party and government leaders Gustav Husak, Lubomir Strougal and Alois Indra. Bulgraian working people marked the occasion with a massive demonstration in Sofia and similar activities in other parts of Bulgaria. [Text] [OW020740 Beijing XINHUA in English 0732 GMT 2 Mar 82]

L. AMERICA MAY DAY RALLIES--Beijing, 2 May (XINHUA)--Rallies were held in some Latin American countries on May 1 in celebration of International Labor Day. In Mexico, working people numbering 1,500,000 held demonstrations at the Constitution Square in Mexico City, protesting price increases and demanding higher wages. President Lopez Portillo, cabinet ministers and trade union leaders took part in the demonstration. In Caracas, Venezuela, thousands of workers held demonstrations despite heavy rain, demanding restoration of their economic rights. They also expressed support for Argentina in its military conflict with Britain. In Colombia, 10,000 workers met in a grand rally in Bogota. They shouted such slogans as "British fleet withdraws from the Malvinas", "Imperialist intervention in Central America must be stopped". They also expressed support for the Afghan and Kampuchean people in their struggle against the "Soviet social imperialist" aggression and control. In Panama City, 10,000 workers voiced support at a rally for the Argentine people in their just struggle for the return of the Malvinas. In San Jose, Costa Rica, workers put forward demands at a rally for higher wages and more housing. [Text] [OW021234 Beijing XINHUA in English 1220 GMT 2 May 82]

UK GOODWILL DELEGATION--Beijing, 24 Apr (XINHUA)--Xie Bangding, vice president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, met here today with a goodwill delegation of the Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding led by its Vice Chairwoman Peeny Kane. He gave a dinner in honor of the guests and had a friendly conversation with them. The delegation arrived in Beijing 22 April at the invitation of the host association. Before arriving here, the delegation visited Guangzhou, Kunming, Chengdu and Shanghai. The guests will leave there for home shortly. [Text] [OW251331 Beijing XINHUA in English 1513 GMT 24 Apr 82]

TOGO ENVOY'S RECEPTION--Beijing, 27 Apr (XINHUA)--Bloua Yao Agbo, Togolese ambassador to China, and Mrs Agbo gave a reception here this afternoon in celebration of the national day of the Republic of Togo. Among the guests were Zhou Weizhi, acting minister of culture, Gong Dafei, vice-minister of foreign affairs, and leading members of other govenrment departments and the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries. Diplomatic envoys of various countries to China were also present. [Text] [OW271609 Beijing XINHUA in English 1602 GMT 27 Apr 82]

AZANIAN CONGRESS CHAIRMAN FETED--Beijing, 27 Apr (XINHUA)--Wang Bingnan, president of the Chinese People's ASsociation for Friendship With Foreign Countries gave a banquet this evening for John Nyati Pokela, chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, and his party. Wang Bingnan and Pokela hoped to see further development of friendship between the peoples of China and Azania. Pokela and his party arrived yesterday at the invitation of the association. [Text] [OW271722 Beijing XINHUA in English 1639 GMT 27 Apr 82]

ALGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER KILLED--Tehran, 4 May (XINHUA)--Algerian Foreign Minister Mohamed Ben Yahia was killed in a plane crash near the Iran-Turkey border last night, Radio Iran announced here this morning. He was en route to Tehran for an official visit to Iran. All the passengers and crewmen on board the private Algerian plane were killed. Details of the incident would be announced after investigation is completed, an Iranian Foreign Ministry statement said. [Text] [OW040921 Beijing XINHUA in English 0836 GMT 4 May 82]
CSO: 4000/111

PARTY AND STATE

GOVERNMENT WORK FOR 1982 DISCUSSED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 13 Mar 82 pp 1-4

[Article by Governor Chen Puru [7115 3877 1172]: "Government Work Report of the Fourth Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress"]

[Excerpted from a three-page article]

Work in 1981

It has been over a year since the third session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress which was held in February of last year. Under the Liaoning Provincial CCP Committee, all levels of government in our province have conscientiously implemented the party Central Committee's policies on economic readjustment and political stability. They have thoroughly implemented the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session, the spirit of the fourth session of the Fifth NPC and the spirit stressed by Chairman Hu Yaobang in his talk during his inspection visit to Liaoning. They gave top priority to economic construction and they motivated and organized the people throughout the province to go all out for the prosperity of the country and to work hard. All construction projects have made new headway and there have been encouraging changes. The national economy has continued to improve, the political situation is even more stable and the overall situation is getting better and better.

Tasks for 1982

For 1982, the People's Government at all levels throughout the province and all the people must continue throughly to implement the "Resolution" of the Sixth Plenary Session and carry out the spirit of Premier Zhao Ziyang's "Report on Government Work" given at the fourth session of the Fifth NPC. They must firmly implement the 10 point policy on economic construction and uphold the policy of establishing a socialist material civilization and a socialist spiritual civilization. They must work hard to open up new prospects for work in Liaoning and strive to make even greater headway in all areas of work throughout the province.

We must give full play to the superiority of heavy industry and develop production in agriculture and light industries so that our national economy can steadily advance during readjustment. The 10 point policy on economic

construction in teh "Report on Government Work" presented to the fourth session of the Fifth NPC by Premier Zhao Ziyang combines Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought with the new conditions and new reality of China's economic construction. It provides a scientific summation of economic work experiences during the 32 years since the founding of the nation, especially the last 3 years. It is our long-term program for economic work from now on. Once this 10 point policy on economic construction is carried out then we will be able to shake off the yoke of the guiding ideology of the "Left" found in past economic work; this will solve the core problem of improving economic results in our economic construction. We can head in a new directinn at a more realistic pace, get better economic results so that the people will obtain even more material benefits. Then we can ensure that national economic readjustment is carried out without a hitch. On this basis we can accelerate national economic development and strive to usher in a new period of vigorous economic development during the last decade of this century.

We must strengthen work in foreign affairs and actively develop foreign economic trade. We must actively launch friendly foreign contacts and economic, scientific and technological exchanges as well as devote major efforts to develop the tourist trade. As for personnel who deal with foreign affairs, we must earnestly educate them in patriotism, internationalism and in foreign policies. We must also instruct them on discipline in foreign affairs so that we can continue to strengthen the establishment of a foreign affairs corps.

This year the planned purchase of export commodities was 2.84 billion yuan, an increase of 2.2 percent over last year. Port export plans are $4.41 billion. We must work hard to surpass this quota.

The key areas in developing our superiority are metallurgy, machinery, oil, chemical industries, building materials, etc., as well as the export of ndigeneous livestock products and aquatic products. We must continue to develop our productive capacities in traditional arts and crafts and in lifht and textile industries. We must also increase exports of industrial art products, hardware and industrial chemicals in everyday use, foodstuff, textiles and clothing. It is necessary to earnestly improve the management and administration of export commodities and lower trading costs. In order to bring about conditions for expanded export it is necessary to concentrate on the establishment of specialized export plants and bases and actively to develop "hot-selling" products for export. It is important for us to make every effort to absorb advanced foreign technology, to develop more competitive export products, to strive to improve product quality, to increase variety and to increase the volume of sales in the competition of the world market.

In the two areas of industry and trade we must further implement the principle of the "four combinations and two made publics" jointly to make production plans and promote foreign sales. We must conscientiously set up talks on export commodities to be run by Chen Yang [3088 7122] in March of this year in our province.

It is necessary to go all out to develop processing of imported materials, assembling of imported parts and processing of imported models as well as compensatory trade and flexible trade such as joint and cooperative management. This year the proportion of our export of finished products of processed imported materials must be increased. We must boldly make use of foreign capital, actively introduce advanced technological equipment and speed up the technological transformation of medium- and small-sized enterprises. This year our province introduced 90 projects. Each prefecture and each department must carry out this work.

The government at all levels must strengthen its leadership in work in foreign economic trade, learn how to make use of both kinds of resources, open up both markets and master both skills. We must actively reform the system of foreign economic trade and revive importing and exporting. We should improve work in port transportation and make a concerted effort in upgrading routes, ports and further develop the role of the Dairen harbor joint committee.

We must strengthen the establishment of a socialist spiritual civilization and increase the broad masses awareness of socialist and communist ideology and improve their moral practices. We are engaged in the establishment of socialist modernization. Not only are we trying to establish a highly developed material civilization, we are also trying to establish a highly developed spiritual civilization. These two are closely related and inseparable. Only if we establish a highly socialist spiritual civilization while establishing a highly developed material civilization can we ensure the lasting development of our national economy and ensure the socialist orientation of our material civilization. Since the Third Plenary Session we have done a great deal of work and there have been gradual improvements in party style, social order and social practices. However, due to the enduring destructive influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the corrupting influence of bourgeois ideology from abroad, the infiltration of hostile foreign influences and because of various factors in our work, party style, social order and social practices still have not basically changed for the better. Consequently, striving to establish a highly socialist spiritual civilization is of major immediate significance and profound historical significance. Basically it is the main sign of our socialist society and it distinguishes our society from capitalist societies and all exploiting societies of the past. It is the foundation of social and political thought which guarantees the future development of our socialist economy and of socialism. It is the common wish and intense desire of numerous aware and true citizens.

The task of establishing a spiritual civilization is wide ranging. The major task includes developing the scope and level of education, science, culture, arts, health and sports. It also includes the development of the direction and level of social and political thought and ethics. I will now focus on discussing problems belonging to the latter problem which involves building a spiritual civilization.

Based on the important plan of the party Central Committee and the State Council, while establishing a socialist spiritual civilization under the leadership of the provincial CCP committee, we must strive to make outstanding improvements in social practices and social order during this year.

We must adopt effective measures and resolutely attack crimes in the economic sphere. At present economic crimes such as smuggling, graft, bribery, profiteering and theft of state property are rampant in certain areas and departments. In some areas there have even occurred the phenomena of brazen theft of state goods and embezzlement of state property. The conniving, covering up and direct participation in criminal activities of certain economic units and certain state workers is particularly serious. It has severely contaminated state agencies and the ranks of cadres. In severely punishing major criminal cases in the economic sphere, we must first conscientiously investigate and deal with those major criminal cases in the economic sphere involving leading cadres. This is an important task for the year that should be strongly stressed. This struggle has a bearing on the rise and fall of our party and the prosperity and decline of the nation. We must regard attacking crimes in the economic sphere as a major political and economic struggle between capitalist corruption and socialist opposition to corruption. We must understand the importance of protecting the socialist system and it is essential resolutely to engage in this task. As for those state workers who had a hand in criminal activities, they must be uniformly punished without indulgence or leniency. Leading cadres in all state agencies and economic organizations must learn to apply essential legal procedures and other means to safeguard economic order. In addition to economic departments, public security departments, judicial departments, administrative and management departments in industry and commerce, customs, tax bureaus, etc., must coordinate with the procuratorate and law courts under the laws and regulations of the state and strive promptly and effectively to attack all economic crimes. When dealing with these cases it is necessary to carry out large-scale propaganda and instruction, to reorganize organizations, integrate systems, plug up loopholes and prevent the occurrence of economic crimes.

Strengthen Political Work, Improve Work Style

In the last year, the People's Government and work departments have all achieved initial results in improving their work style, raising their work efficiency and in other areas closely linked to the masses. Quite a few district governments have done many good deeds for the wellbeing of the masses and they have received their praise.

However, our work has still not been satisfactory. Just as Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out in his "Report on Government Work" at the fourth session of the Fifth NPC: "At present the bureaucratic trends that exist in our state political life and economic management present major obstacles to setting out on a new path toward developing our national economy and carrying out the four modernizations." This analysis corresponds to the actual circumstances in our province. Overstaffed organizations, an

excessive number of administrative levels and low work efficiency is widespread in our province at all levels in the People's Government and in economic management departments. Among certain cadres there is the phenomena of varying degrees of bureaucratism and lack of initiative and enthusiasm. There are also a handful of cadres who engage in unsound practices and violate discipline and the law. We must adopt decisive measures to change resolutely this intolerable state of affairs. In order to spur on people throughout the province to engage in economic construction and inestablishing a spiritual civilization, it is necessary to continue earnestly to concentrate on the establishment of the People's Government at all levels and on improving political work under the leadership of CCP committees at all levels.

Simplifying administrative structures, overcoming bureaucratism and increasing work efficiency are the strategic policy decisions for developing the revolutionary cause and carrying forward the establishment of the four modernizations. They are important for the government's own establishment and they are urgently required by the broad masses and cadres. We must resolutely carry out this important work under the unified plan of the State Council. We must also strengthen the establishment of leading groups in all levels of the government, select the virtuous and appoint the capable and promote in a planned way a group of exemplary middle-aged and young cadres who have good ideological and political views, professional knowledge, practical experience and leadership skills to leading positions at all levels. In this way there will be more revolutionary, specialized, knowledgeable and younger cadres. At the same time, suitable political and living arrangements should be made for veteran cadres who have left office or retired. On the basis of simplifying administrative structures, we must clarify the duties and limits of authority of all government, department and administrative structures and clarify the scope of workers responsibilities. We must set up the system of responsibility for cadre positions and establish a system for strictly assessing state workers as well as a system of rewards and penalties. It is necessary firmly to correct the bad practices of shifting responsibility onto others, procrastination and being irresponsible in one's work. We must resolutely get rid of the yamen work style of being eager to prepare official travel documents but not to solve practical problems.

It is the major responsibility of all levels of government to upgrade investigation, study, inspection and supervision. All leading cadres must spend more time going down to the grassroots units. They must investigate, study, personally keep up on firsthand information, think independently, make their own judgements, overcome subjectivism and prevent one-sidedness. This is the most basic prerequisite for all levels and departments in doing good work. It is also our basic method of work. If we want to simplify conferences and documents, uphold the effective work styles of going down to the grassroots level, on-the-spot administration and joint efforts, and if we want to be oriented toward grassroots units, production and the masses, then we must do all we can to solve problems in the basic levels. In work only half of the plans and appeals are unsatisfactory so it is necessary to strengthen inspection, supervision and specific guidance.

The People's Government at all levels must report on their work to the standing committee of the NPC and they must accept supervision by the standing committee of the NPC. They must maintain close ties with the masses, listen attentively to the voice of the masses, conscientiously deal with proposals from the people's congress and treat seriously the letters people send and the complaints they make when they call. The People's Government must accept the supervision, criticism and suggestions of the people's delegates and the broad masses. Thus government work will become even more effective.

We must continue to free ourselves from old ideas and encourage revolutionary enthusiasm. We must have an accurate understanding of how to inspire revolutionary enthusiasm. Inspiring revolutionary enthusiasm does not mean boasting, indulging in empty talk or engaging in formalism. On the contrary, it means freeing ourselves from old ideas, studying new conditions intensively, resolving new problems, looking for new solutions and opening up new prospects. We oppose ignoring objective conditions and reluctantly dealing with those matters that have not been dealth with successfully in the past. However, we do want to develop a strong sense of political responsibility toward the people and toward work. We must take the interests of the whole into account, vie with each other for the hardest job, combine revolutionary spirit with a scientific approach, go all out to advance despite difficulties, and actively handle those affairs that require some effort. All this will enable the national economy to maintain a certain rate of development during readjustment and even better work can be done. Cadres at all levels, particularly leading cadres must regain and keep up that burst of energy from that period of revolutionary war. They must act as good leading soldiers during the establishment of socialist modernization and make new contributions.

Strengthening the establishment of political parties on the basic levels is a necessary measure for ensuring long lasting order. At the present time, in some urban and rural areas, social order and social practices are not stable. A major reason for this is that the organization of political power in basic levels is unsound. It has even reached the point of becoming paralyzed or semiparalyzed so that basic work has become very weak. Consequently, we must earnestly strengthen the establishment of political power in the basic levels in cities and in the countryside. If rural areas carried out all forms of the system of responsibility in production, particularly the fixing of household quotas and contracts, then the function of communes and production brigades as the political power at the basic levels would be strengthened rather than weakened. In order to bring about the widespread restoration and strengthening of municipal people's committees, public security committees and people's mediation committees, we must strengthen security organizations in agencies, schools, factories, mines, enterprises, railroads, aviation, communications, transportation and in other basic level units. We must also give full play to their role in safeguarding public order, reinforcing the establishment of the legal system and handling disputes among the people.

All workers in political departments, particularly leading cadres, must uphold the principle of democratic centralism, strengthen their overall point of view, conscientiously implement principles and policies of the party and state, maintain political unity with the party Central Committee and strive to complete all assignments from the upper levels. They must energetically encourage the practice of studying Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and study the principles and policies of the party and state. They must also learn to apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method in studying and solving new problems. Furthermore, they must integrate their work practices, study modern scientific technology and modern economic management as well as improve their ability to establish the "two civilizations." They must further cultivate the ideology of serving the people wholeheartedly, take the lead in observing law and discipline, be honest in performing their official duties, work hard and live simply, dare to launch criticism and self-criticism, consciously resist the attack of capitalism's "sugar-coated bullets" and firmly resist and overcome all unhealthy trends. The People's Government at all levels must give free reign to the fine traditions of our party, maintain close ties between the government and the people and between cadres and the masses. They must show concern for the needs of the people in clothing, food and housing, keep in touch with conditions at the lower levels and try to do several good deeds for the local people every year based on their actual needs. This will ensure that the People's Government functions to organize and lead the masses as well as to represent the interests of the people and act as their best friend.

9864
CSO: 4005/762

IMPORTANT MEASURES STRESSED FOR BUILDING SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 13 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Huang Guoxi [7806 0948 6932] and Zhang Jifang [1728 4949 5364]: "Officers and Men of the Provincial Military District Enthusiastically Launch a Movement of Learning From Lei Feng [7191 6912] and for the Establishment of a New Work Style To Create a New Stage of Advancement--Advance Models in Constructing Spiritual Civilization Emerge in Large Numbers"]

[Text] When the broad masses of officers and men of the provincial military district enthusiastically launched a movement to learn from Lei Feng and to establish a new work style to create a new stage of advancement in an effort to make an even greater contribution toward the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization, advanced models emerged in large numbers. Since the beginning of March of last year, more than 140 cadres and soldiers received citations for glorious merit and more than 2,100 comrades received commendations. Nine units and 35 individuals attended the great meeting sponsored by the Lanzhou militaty unit to publicize the construction of the spiritual civilization, and among these, three units received citations from the Central Military Committee and the Youth League Central Committee.

The party committee at all levels in the provincial military district made learning from Lei Feng, establishing a new work style and launching a penetrating movement for the construction of a spiritual civilization with the "four have's, three discussions and two fear-nots" as core content, the important measures to be mastered in the building up of the military units. For the last year, the whole district carried out an ideological mobilization, level by level. The targets were those people in whose mixed-up mind there still remained the ideas that the Lei Feng spirit was "outdated" and that learning from Lei Feng will "bring grief." This spiritual mobilization employed various propagandistic forms, such as calling various kinds of meetings, repeatedly emphasizing the significance of learning from Lei Feng and of building a socialist spiritual civilization, furthermore demonstrating and propagating the advanced models that have emerged in large numbers among our military units. We must make learning from Lei Feng, establishing a new work style, and emphatically discussing culture become more and more a conscious activity of the broad masses of officers and men.

In order to make learning from Lei Feng and establishing a new work style a firmly established and regular practice, the party and youth league

organizations at all levels must pay attention to guiding the cadres and soldiers in integrating with their own work this new movement. Luo Qingchun [5012 7230 2504], a squad leader of the 9th Company of a certain regiment, in the military service for 5 years, steadfastly persisted in adopting the Lei Feng spirit as his inspiration. He was shifted five times in his work, but always obeyed cheerfully; he would "work his job, love his job, become master in his job." He was repeatedly evaluated as a man of outstanding merit in the execution of his duties, a good squad leader, excellent party member, and was set up as an advanced model soldier in learning from Lei Feng and building a spiritual civilization. She Yongzu [0152 3057 4371], a caretaker in the guesthouse of the provincial military district, is a cadre of Tibetan nationality, who for many years unremittingly studied Lei Feng and conscientiously immersed himself in his work. When he became soldier he displayed great zeal and made good progress. He was commended every year. He took up studies at the military college, worked arduously and excelled in every course he took. When he served as company quartermaster and caretaker of the guesthouse, he tried every means to improve the food service, and to be of benefit for everyone in the public. Cadres and soldiers praised him as "our 'Red' caretaker." He has already received seven awards, one commendation for meritorious service and was twice assessed an outstanding party member.

As part of the movement of learning from Lei Feng and establishing a new work style, the broad masses of officers and soldiers of the provincial military district strode out of their barracks to participate and support enthusiastically the socialist construction and do good deeds for the masses. Since last year, the troops under the provincial military command organized altogether over 600 "learn-from-Lei-Feng" groups, resolutely set up public welfare undertakings for production units, agricultural communes and production brigades in the area where they were stationed, thus doing good deeds for the masses. The 3d squad, 7th Company of a certain military unit which was stationed at Yumenkou in Hancheng County, on different occasions rescued 36 people from the Yellow River waters and also saved 15 tons of property. The masses praised them as the "Lei Feng squad" at the Yellow River bridgehead. Cheng Linzhong [4453 2651 1813], a cadre of the people's militia in Huanglong County, used his rest time to give free haircuts to the masses. During the last year he cut the hair of over 8,000 people, military men and civilians. In autumn of last year, during the flood disaster in the area of Hanzhong and Baoji, the cadres and men of the military units under the provincial military command displayed the revolutionary spirit of the "two fear-nots" and stepped bravely forward to fight for the interests of the people. Over 10,000 men took part in fighting the floods. They rushed out to struggle in this emergency and rescued over 1,600 people and saved over 9,230 tons of property. They also contributed tickets for over 54,000 jin of grain and over 3,000 pieces of clothing for the disaster area. The masses were greatly moved and said: "In times of danger, we feel an even closer kinship with our very own armymen!"

When the activities were first started in the "month for culture and courteous behavior," they furthermore stimulated the launching of movements to learn from Lei Feng and establishing a new work style among the broad masses of officers and men of the provincial military district and aroused the revolutionary enthusiasm for the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization.

In the last few days, over 10,000 officers and men of the whole district left their barracks at different times, went into the streets, cleaned up the environment, planted trees and engaged in afforestation, and put forth an even greater effort in the spirit of building socialism.

9808
CSO: 4005/725

PARTY AND STATE

SHANXI MOBILIZES CADRES TO STRENGTHEN LEADERSHIP AT BASIC LEVELS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Apr 82 p 1

[Article: "Shanxi Orders 6,500 Cadres To Work in Communes"]

[Text] In accordance with a decision by the Shanxi Provincial Party Committee to improve the agricultural production responsibility system, quickly to change the paralyzed and semiparalyzed state of disarray in the basic level organization of communes and brigades in the countryside, and further to develop the excellent situation there, some 6,500 office cadres from all over the province have been organized to work at selected grassroots units and to help them function normally. In a circular issued on 18 March, the committee required that all cadres selected by provincial-level agencies and by prefectural and county governments should be those who are determined to support and implement thoroughly the party's line, principles and policies adopted since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, who pledge to serve the people wholeheartedly, who are in a position to implement policies, and able to organize and provide leadership, who have specific knowledge of agricultural production, management and administration, and who are young and physically strong and are willing to work at communes and brigades whose structures need to be consolidated. Following collective training, they will report for duty at the selected units not later than early April. Their temporary tour of duty is 1 year.

While there, they must help brigades fulfill the following primary tasks:

(1) They must do a good job of reorganizing the leading bodies of communes and brigades, and help party branches improve their work under this new situation so that they can fully play the role of fighting headquarters and party members can act as vanguards and models.

(2) They must make efforts to implement the party's policy for the countryside. Their present primary task is to improve and enforce the production responsibility system. Meanwhile, they must concentrate on conducting investigations and study so that they can discover and solve new problems resulting from the implementation of the production responsibility system.

(3) They must endeavor to revise and put into effect an overall plan for the development of agricultural production for 1982, and related measures and

pledge to fulfill this task. Furthermore, they must be able to help localities or units with which they are concerned realistically to work out a longer range plan for the development of production and set goals to be fulfilled.

(4) They must help those communes and brigades where they stay actively to develop the "spiritual civilization-oriented" activities.

9574
CSO: 4005/774

PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE EXPLAINS TERMINOLOGY OF CIVIL PROCEDURE LAW

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinse 15 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Li Chunlin [2621 2504 7207] and Yang Rongxin [2799 2837 2450]: "Definition of Terminology in the Civil Procedure Law (For Trial Implementation)"]

[Text] Liang shen zhong shen yuan ze (the principle of providing two instances of people's courts for each case of civil litigation with the court of second instance being the final one) is the system in which civil cases can be heard by courts of two instances, but not appealed further. According to the provisions of the Civil Procedure Law, a party that refuses to accept a decision or judgment by a people's court of lower instance--which excludes the People's Supreme Court--has the right to appeal according to law to the people's court of higher instance. The people's court of higher instance that will investigate the case which is being appealed and render judgment, is the second instance. Its decision or judgment is final and of legal force. There is no further appeal.

He yi yuan ze (the principle of collectivity) is the system of collective handling of cases at the people's courts. Courts handling civil cases in the first instance are composed of a collegiate bench of judges and assessors or a collegiate bench of judges. The assessors and judges on a collegiate bench have equal rights. The collegiate bench must be made up of an odd number of members so that when voting there is a majority which the minority must follow.

She hui gan yu yuan ze (principle of social infringements). Article 13 of the Civil Procedure Law provides: "In case of acts which have inflicted damage on the state, the collective or an individual citizen in their affairs, rights and interests, the organizations, corporate bodies, units of enterprises and industry may support the unit or individual that has suffered damage or injury, to initiate proceedings in the people's court." This is the principle of social infringements, the purpose of which is to protect the one whose right or interest was impaired and to uphold the socialist legal system. This principle is determined by the socialist character of our state. In capitalist countries, civil law is private law, where the sanctity of private rights must not be infringed upon and where others have no right to interfere, a system that is determined by the bourgeois dictatorship character of those states.

Yin bu dong chan ti qi de su song [Lawsuits concerning immovable property). Immovable property refers to property that cannot be moved from its location, or that is destroyed or changed in character or substance if it is moved from its location, such as land and buildings. Our Civil Procedure Law provides that lawsuits concerning immovable property are to be handled by the law court at the site of the immovable property, because of the special nature of this property in that it cannot be moved. To be handled by the people's court at its location facilitates on site inspection in ascertaining the true conditions of the case, so that it can be settled correctly, according to law and without delay.

Fa ding dai biao ren (legal agent) refers to the executive in administrative charge of an industrial or commercial enterprise, organization or corporate body, who conducts proceedings in a civil case. The law prescribes that only persons of this kind can represent the said organizations; they are therefore called legal agents. Apart from conducting the legal affairs of the case in person, they may also authorize personnel of their unit or others to represent them in the lawsuit.

Fa ding dai li ren (legal representative) refers to a person who represents a party in litigation in cases where explicit legal provisions require such representation. In civil procedure, minors who have no legal capacity, persons lacking mental faculties, insane persons who have lost their legal capacity are to be represented by their parents, foster parents, spouses, children or other guardians according to the provisions of the law, in exercising their rights to litigation. In the course of litigation, these parents, foster parents, spouses, children or other guardians are called legal representatives.

Su song biao di (the subject of litigation) is the civil right or obligation that is in dispute between the parties of the lawsuit, which they ask the people's court to settle. The people's courts have no way of handling any civil case that has no subject or of which the subject is not clear. In each case the concrete question that the plaintiff asks to resolve is different and the relationship in civil law is different each time, so that the subject of the various cases is also different each time. Clarifying the subject of a lawsuit, which means discovering the focus of the dispute and clearly defining the crucial point at issue, enables a direct and correct settlement of the case.

Su song wen shu (documents of litigation) refers to the written material produced by the people's court and all participants in and during the litigation, such as summonses, notifications, rulings, judgments, mediation agreements, appeals, rebuttals, applications for execution of judgment, expert opinions, etc.

Su song bao guan (safeguarding action in litigation) is a measure of enforcement adopted by the people's court on the application of one party or an ex officio in case the future judgment might become impossible or difficult to enforce due to some action by the other party or for some other reason. If there is urgent danger that the party will sell, squander, transfer, conceal or destroy the property in dispute, it will become necessary to issue within 48 hours a ruling ordering the sealing, confiscation, freezing, the submission of a guarantee or other legally permissible measures of enforcement.

Xian xing ji fu (performance in advance). If the plaintiff in a lawsuit involving support is really in extreme difficulty and unable to await the judgment ordering the support for him to become legally effective, the people's court can, on the request of the plaintiff or an ex officio, order the defendant temporarily to advance the plaintiff some sum of money or property. This measure of ordering payment before the judgment becomes legally effective is called performance in advance.

Zhi xing dui xiang (target of enforcement) refers to the property which the losing party is ordered to hand to the victorious party, or the action he is ordered to carry out, according to a valid judgment of the people's court or its ruling or agreement of mediation in court.

The person of the defendant must not be made target of enforcement, and it is not permissible to arrest the defendant, forcibly coerce him, or substitute certain other property or action. Any criminal act in the enforcement will be prosecuted according to criminal law.

Zhong cai (arbitration). If both sides agree to submit a dispute of a civil law nature that has arisen between them to the mediation of a third party to give a decision or verdict and both sides agree to abide by it and have it enforced, this is called arbitration. The parties to the arbitration are called the "shen su ren" (complainant) and the "bei shen su ren" (defendant) of the arbitration. The third party is the arbitrator or arbitrating organization that the parties have selected.

9808
CSO: 4005/725

PARTY AND STATE

BEIJING CUTS SENTENCES FOR INMATES WHO INFORM ON OTHERS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by reporter Xi Ping [5045 1627]: "Beijing Seriously Carries Out Central Policy in Fighting Crime"]

[Text] In the course of strengthening the social order and public security and combating crime, Beijing Municipality has made conscientious efforts to implement the policy of "leniency toward those who confess their crimes and severe punishment for those who refuse to do so," a policy aimed at breaking criminal rings and rescuing the victims of traps set by criminals—victims who are willing to correct their mistakes and turn over a new leaf in life. This policy has proved instrumental in strengthening the social order and public security in the capital.

On 10 June 1981, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress adopted a "Resolution Dealing With Fugitives or Convicts Who Have Been Sentenced to Hard Labor or Committed to Correctional Institutions for Repeatedly Committing Crimes." This resolution was put into effect on 10 July. In an effort to rescue the victims of criminal traps, the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, the Beijing Municipal People's Procuratorate, and the Beijing Municipal People's Court have explained the "Resolution" at meetings held in prisons, at detention centers, and on rehabilitation farms and other occasions, and have called on those who are willing to correct their mistakes and turn over a new leaf to take swift action to confess their crimes to the government. They have also promised to give lenient treatment to those inmates who truly decide to confess their crimes and inform the government of the whereabouts of criminals at large, thus demonstrating real atonement for their wrongdoings. During the past month, more than 19,000 inmates have confessed their crimes and kept the government informed of problems, while providing more than 33,000 clues that have led law enforcement agencies to break various criminal cases. In many localities, parents have urged their children and wives have encouraged their husbands to confess what they have done.

Since the second half of 1981, the public security organs, people's procuratorates, and people's courts in Beijing Municipality have held more than 300 meetings to announce decisions to give lenient treatment to those who have really shown signs of atonement for their crimes, who have confessed their crimes, and who have provided clues that have led to the breaking of criminal

cases. (Among them are convicts who have been sentenced to hard labor and committed to rehabilitation institutions.) At these meetings, prison terms were shortened for those who have done things that merit commendation. The decision by the Chaoyang District People's Procuratorate to dismiss charges against a thief detained by the Chaoyang District Public Cecurity Subbureau has drawn a strong response from inmates in other detention centers and has prompted a criminal ringleader to confess his crimes and provide clues for 85 cases, including 2 cases of rape, 6 cases of robbery, and 77 cases of emblezzlement. He has also provided the government with a list of names of 24 criminals. The clues provided by him have led the public security organs to break 43 criminal cases.

The Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau has conducted a survey of the performance of 132 ex-convicts in Dongcheng and Congwen districts and in Changping County whom it pardoned earlier. The survey shows that 83.3 percent of them have behaved well or relatively well; only two of them have been arrested by the public security organs on charges of again committing crimes. Of all the ex-convicts who have behaved well, some have truly broken their ties with past accomplices, some have informed the government of bad elements who have continued to entice them to commit crimes, and some have been praised by their parents and the masses for working hard after being reemployed and for changing to varying degrees their former pleasure-seeking, lazy habits.

9574
CSO: 4005/794

PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO USE LAW AS WEAPON TO COMBAT CRIME SEEN

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Yu Haocheng [0060 3185 2052]: "Use the Legal Weapon To Strike at Criminal Activities"]

[Text] The "Resolution Aimed at Severely Punishing Those Found Guilty of Seriously Disrupting the Economic Order," Adopted by the 22nd Session of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, has won resolute support from the broad masses of cadres and people because its adoption is in intersts of the people throughout the country and conforms to their wishes. The proclamation of the "Resolution" means a telling blow to criminals found guilty of disrupting the socialist economic order, while its enforcement will make them realize it is impossible to escape from the meshes of the law. This has left them no alternative but to voluntarily give themselves up to the law enforcement agencies, to confess their crimes, and to return to the original owners cash and goods they have stoled. Shortly after it became law, it began to make its influence felt among the people. This action has enchanted the masses of people and has strengthened their confidence and courage in the struggle against criminal activities in the economic sector.

The "Resolution" is designed to modify and revise the relevant provisions of the "Criminal Law" on the basis of a review of cases of smuggling, illegal remittances of foreign exchange currency, bribery, thefts of public property, thefts of rare cultural relics for sale, and other economic crimes that have occurred during the past 2 or 3 years. One of its important aspects is a stipulation calling for heavier penalties than ever against economic crimes, including life imprisonment and death sentences for those whose crimes are particularly serious. But the original "Criminal Law" stipulates death sentences only for exceptionally serious crimes of corruption and crimes of robbery of public property that result in fatal injury and death to people. In the original "Criminal Law," life imprisonment is provided only for crimes of embezzlement, counterfeiting national currency, and stealing rare cultural relics in a way that seriously damages the national interests. Prison terms prescribed for such crimes are less than 7 years. Given today's crimes in the economic sector, which seem more serious than ever, such penalties as provided for in the original version of the "Criminal Law" are clearly too lenient. They are even lighter than similar stipulations contained in the "Statute Dealing With Cases of Corruption" that went into effect in 1952. The

fact that economic crimes of a serious nature have increasingly gotten out of hand and cannot be kept in check even by means of the laws now at our disposal stems from the failure of cadres in many localities and departments to obey and strictly enforce the laws and to bring criminals to justice. The relevant provisions of the "Criminal Law" have been revised and modified in order to meet the needs of the current objective situation. This action is deemed absolutely necessary as an effective measure for checking and dealing blows to criminal activities in the economic sector and for protecting the interests of the state and the people.

Another important aspect of the "Resolution" that is designed to modify and revise the relevant provisions of the "Criminal Law" is a stipulation calling for severe punishment for state officials who are found guilty of economic crimes. At present, the direct and indirect involvement of certain state officials and even highly responsible cadres in many cases of economic crime, and their attempts to condone and cover them up, have forced investigators to broaden their probe into such cases, have further complicated the nature of the problem, and have added new elements to the strength of the resistance against investigation. Particularly noteworthy is their failure and inability to deal with major, important cases. Unless vigorous efforts are made to solve problems caused by guilty state officials, it is most unlikely that economic crimes will be brought under effective control. The "Resolution" draws a clear distinction between state officials who take part in criminal activities and ordinary criminals, and it stipulates that the former shall be more severely punished than the latter. State officials who attempt to shield and protect criminals from prosecution, who take retaliatory action against law enforcement officials, informants and witnesses, who fail in their duty to bring criminals to justice or fail to do so in the face of obstruction of justice, and who fail to report crimes knowingly or commit perjury in the courts shall be prosecuted on charges of practicing favoritism, of misconduct, of obstructing the exercise of the social management order, of framing false charges against the innocent with intent to carry out reprisals, and of dereliction of duty, respectively. The fact prove that unless serious charges are leveled against the small number of cadres found guilty of disobeying the laws, and even knowingly breaking the laws, it is absolutely impossible to effectively prevent and keep in check criminal activities.

Someone may ask: Is it consistent with the principle that everyone is equal before the law if state officials are more severely punished than ordinary citizens for breaking the law? I believe that there are no inconsistencies between this approach and the said principle; this approach is a necessary step in the direction of upholding this principle. State cadres found guilty of breaking the law should be punished more severely than ordinary criminals for the reason that they are power-wielders, and in accordance with the principle of justice to all. This approach is also consistent with this ancient Chinese saying: "Those who knowingly break the law from their position as a law enforcement officials deserve heavier penalties than ordinary lawbreakers." Last year, in his report on the work of the government, Premier Zhao Ziyang

pointed out: "Without exception, state officials should be severely punished for their involvement in criminal activities, since appeasement will nourish evil." If state cadres are allowed to wield power for illegal purposes, and if they are allowed to abuse their power with impunity, such power will sooner or later become their de facto prerogative. This being the case, the principle that everyone is equal before the law will become a joke.

The current struggle against criminal activities in the economic sector is in the nature of a struggle carried out by us against corrosive bourgeois influences--or a form of class struggle. But this form of class struggle occurs at a time when we are entering a new period in history and when the entire party and the entire nation are shifting the focus of their work to economic construction, and it exists only in specific localities. For this reason, it cannot be called the principal contradiction in our society. This is why this particular form of class struggle should be carried out within the normal framework of the law. In other words, the law should be applied as a weapon for punishing criminals. Only in this way can we deal steady, accurate, and relentless blows to criminals in a way that will not adversely affect, hamper, or disrupt the normal development of our economy, culture, education, and other work.

I fully believe that, under the leadership of the party, we can certainly win this struggle against corrosive bourgeois influences as long as we can bring into play the mighty power of the law.

9574
CSO: 4005/794

PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO CONTROL IMPORT OF LOCALLY AVAILABLE EQUIPMENT URGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Mar 82 p 2

[Article by Chen Si [7115 1835]: "An Important Aspect of Patriotism"]

[Text] We must encourage the people to carry forward the excellent tradition of cherishing our homeland, its industrious and brave citizens, its splendid mountains and rivers, and its excellent cultural heritage. During the years of the revolution, the revolutionaries of the older generation mounted a patriotic camgaign to "defend our national sovereignty against the threat of foreign encroachment, and to punish traitors at home at the cost of blood." Under the camgaign, they advanced wave upon wave and struggled heroically. Since the founding of new China, patriotic acts ranging from "the campaign to resist the United States and aid Korea and to defend our country" to "the struggle to rehabilitate the Chinese nation" have further glorified this patriotic tradition.

Patriotism is a spirit that can be displayed in many ways. In the economic field, an important aspect of patriotism lies in the demonstration of a spirit to use home-made equipment, cars, electronic products, and other native products. I do not personally advocate boycotting all kinds of foreign goods. Nor do I take pride in being able to utilize foreign goods. As a matter of fact, many people have been insistently unwilling to use native commodities despite their good qualities. Although the industrial steam turbine engine--product of the Hangzhou Steam Turbine Plant--is of good quality and even superior to its foreign counterpart in many respects, welcomed by more than 10 foreign countries, it has found that it is very difficult to break into the domestic market. Some units have unilaterally cancelled their contracts with domestic plants and signed contracts with foreign firms for purchase of steam turbine engines in a demonstration of their mistrust of our native equipment and a blind faith in foreign merchandise.

On other occasions, after receiving some "gifts" from foreign businessmen, some people have changed their attitude toward foreigners radically from one of aloofness to one of flattery. They are even willing to do anything for foreigners at the expense of our national interests and national dignity and are willing to bend their knees in an ugly style before the foreigners.

Of course, we must assess native products correctly and persist in "dividing one into two." For example, domestic automobile manufacturers should lose no time in catching up with foreign manufacturers and making efforts to improve the quality of their products whose technical characteristics remain below par in many respects. On the other hand, domestic cars are really improving and undergoing changes. A report on this matter published today proves this point.

Workers on the economic front must be determined to improve the qualities of native products, to make them not only nationally famous but also competitive on the world market. This is a demonstration of patriotism in another specific way. In short, we must have a sense of national pride and self-confidence and a patriotic heart so that we will not look down upon ourselves.

"The survival or demise of a nation is the responsibility of its citizens." Practical measures must be taken to rehabilitate the Chinese nation. The economic front must be encouraged to use native products. Importing equipment that can be manufactured at home should be banned.

9574
CSO: 4005/774

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL MINORITY REGIONS DISCUSSED

Beijing MINZU TUANJIE [NATIONALITIES UNITY] in Chinese no 2, 1982 pp 11-13

[Article by Zhong Wen [0112 2429]: "Exchange and Inquiry--Sidelights From the First Annual Economic Study Meeting for China's National Minorities"]

[Text] The First Annual Economic Study Meeting for China's National Minorities was held last year in Beijing from 3 to 8 December.

The well-known economist Comrade Yu Guangyuan [0060 0342 6678] who is the vice president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the vice chairman of the State Scientific and Technological Commission and Comrade Yang Dongsheng [2799 2639 3932], vice chairman of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission both participated in the conference and gave talks. The NPC Nationalities Affairs Commission and other units issued letters of congratulations which inspired the conference delegates.

Eighty-three formal delegates representing 13 nationalities participated in this conference. Over 60 papers and findings reports were given, dealing with research in national minority economic theory. This research is already in full swing and has achieved initial results.

Delegates participating in the conference conscientiously studied the major directive of Comrade Hu Yaobang on giving top priority to work on economic development among nationalities and cultivating the concept of putting production first. They studied the 10 point policy on economic construction mentioned in Comrade Zhao Ziyang's report on government work given at the 4th conference of the 5th NPC. They also integrated the experiences of nationality regions and then brought up economic questions concerning national minorities, exchanged information and launched a heated discussion.

Development Must Be Realistic

At present there is much work being done on nationalities. It is possible to select many topics but which are the most important? Comrade Chen Guoxuan [7115 0948 6513] from Hainan said that in the Local Nationalities Affairs Commission work often gets bogged down in routine matters such as organizational visits, etc. They have not concentrated their energy in the area of

economic development. Comrade Pan Wen [3382 2429] from Guangxi pointed out that the economy is the base and mankind's most basic activities involve material production. If the economy does not move forward then no work can be completed satisfactorily, unity of nationalities will not be achieved and border defense will not be consolidated. At present the situation in nationality regions is very good but we must not cover up important contradictions. What is the principle contradiction? Poverty. Why poverty? Are minority nationalities lazy? No, they are industrious and valiant. During the war years they controlled the Changjiang River base area. After Comrade Wei Baqun [7279 2149 5028] sacrificed his life, the Kuomintang killed several tens of thousands of people. However, the masses stepped into the breach as others fell and continued to fight. After liberation they were diligent and conscientious on all fronts of endeavor. At present over 30 years have gone by yet this area is still impoverished and backward. This situation deserves our deep consideration.

Indeed, delegates from all areas looked into this problem. In addition to historical causes, defects in work have also contributed to the problem such as contradictions in dealing with production relations and productive forces that have not been firmly grasped. Productive forces determine production relations. Whatever the level of development of productive forces, corresponding production relations should be established. If not, there will be a large discrepancy between production relations and the level of development of productive capacity which would be detrimental and may even jeopardize the development of production. Consequently, it was stressed at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee: "The transformation and perfection of socialist production relations must correspond to the productive capacity, it is of benefit to the development of production." For many years, due to the influence of "leftist" ideology, national minority areas have sought "large size" first and "public ownership" second. The scope of things that production brigades have to handle is getting larger and larger and the extent of public ownership is increasing. They have seriously departed from a relatively low level of development of productive forces. As a result things have not gone as wished and the development of production in agriculture and animal husbandry has been slow. The appearance of mountain areas and the countryside has not changed much. Comrade Li Jiaxiu [2621 1367 4423] of the Institute of Nationalities Affairs in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences went to investigate Liangshan in Yi Autonomous Prefecture, Huili County, Lihua Prefecture. She said in her report on her investigation that Liuhua had changed prefecture CCP committee secretaries 90 times since the founding of the prefecture. Each secretary had wanted to "rush" production, yet had never been able to. What are the reasons for this? It is primarily because of the low level productive capacity, crude tools, extensive cultivation and slash and burn cultivation. Communications, science and education have also been unable to advance. Some production brigades have even been unable to find an accountant so they rely on drawings and counting beans to record work points. Such being the case, they still copy indiscriminately the experiences of Han areas and they blindly seek "large size," "public ownership" and "unity" with the result that the development of the nationalities economy which had slid onto the path of self-advancement has now been seriously undermined. Take the Caoyuan Commune for example, although there was an increase in the area of land that

was cultivated from 1964 to 1978, the total output of grain fell from over 1.44 million jin to 1.19 million jin. The average production per mu fell from 298 jin to 172 jin. From this it can be seen that in nationality regions with extremely low productive capacity and inferior production conditions, as the extent of socialization of ownership increases, as economic management becomes more centralized and as the scope of labor organizations expands, they depart more and more from actual conditions and side effects become greater. As far as policies on developing productive capacity are concerned, in the past they disregarded the characteristics of the natural conditions of national minority regions. Regardless of whether they were mountain areas, plains or grasslands, they singlemindedly pursued "making grain the key link" and "making steel the key link." They treated all regions with arbitrary uniformity. They did not make full use of the superiority of each region nor did they develop a diversified economy and develop in an all-round way. For example, the Ningxia Steel and Iron Works, the opening up of uncultivated land in the 1960's in Inner Mongolia, etc., caused the economy to suffer damage and created strained relations among nationalities. Since the Third Plenary Session national minority regions have gradually eliminated the influence of "leftist" ideology and their economic policies are now on the right track. In the past few years the Central Committee has reiterated that we must respect the policy of regional national autonomy for national minorities and allow each national autonomous region to adopt specific policies that are appropriate for their respective economic conditions and for the characteristics of each nationality. Economic theory workers and practical workers believe that only if things are done in this manner can the economy of national minorities begin to develop at a rapid rate. They eagerly discussed how currently implementing the various forms of the system of responsibility in production such as linking planned output with remmeration, contracts and assigned household quotas will solve the discrepancy between production relations and productive capacity. This then will have an encouraging effect on the development of production in national minority regions. In the past, Debao County in Bose Prefecture, Guangxi was a county of the "three dependencies" in which "grain consumption depended on unified marketing, subsistence depended on relief and finances depended on subsidies." In 1980, 95 percent of production brigades carried out the system of responsibility in production, by fixing group and household quotas. It aroused their production enthusiasm and although there was a 7-month drought they still increased production by 5.1 million jin over 1979. The masses said: "In the past when we shared and shared alike, industrious workers became lazy. Nowadays with the system of responsibility those who were idle have become hard-working." Some people stuck up a couplet in a doorway: "When we depend on hard work to attain wealth we have justice on our side; making money through the sweat of our labor will make us rich and the nation strong." All forms of the system of responsibility in production clearly reveal its role in spurring on the development of production. It should be maintained in keeping with local conditions.

In Construction We Must Handle Correctly the Relationship Between State Interests and Interests of Nationality Regions

In the end, should priority be given to state support or to self-reliance in the economic development of national minorities? This is a problem that

has caused heated discussion in academic exchanges. The unanimous opinion is that the state must do all it can to provide more assistance, but the national minority regions must also make a great effort to develop their spirit of self-reliance and establish enterprises through arduous effort. If state aid and the self-reliance of people in national minority regions are put together then it may become a powerful motivation for the development of the economy of nationalities.

Some comrades depict our country's overall national economy as a large machine. The economy of national minority regions is an important component part of this machine. If this component doesn't operate well, the overall national economy will naturally be unable to function properly. Therefore state aid will enable the economy of national minorities and the overall national economy to develop in a coordinated way by developing production, science and culture in national minority regions and by increasing their self-reliance. However, while the state is in the process of helping national minorities to develop their economy, if we fail to respect their right to economic self-determination of national autonomous regions in handling the relationship between state interests and interests of nationalities and if we do not give full consideration to the interests of national minority people then we will be unable to reach this goal. Many delegates said that it was a good idea for the state to operate plants and farms and open up mines and quarries, but they often failed to give sufficient attention to the interests of the people of that area. For instance they did not recruit workers from that area or only recruited very few. When economic profits were made, few if any earnings ever reached the national minorities. This does not encourage economic self-determination in national autonomous regions. Due to poor handling of economic interests, several problems in relations among nationalities have inevitably occurred. This, of course, influences their economic development. Naturally, national minority regions must also have an overall point of view. It should also be emphasized that they must strive to help national construction and promote the development of the cause of socialist modernization. Only the correct handling of the problem of economic interests can be of benefit to the development of the national economy and to the unity of nationalities. The change in the relationship between farms and communes on the island of Hainan is a remarkable case in point. In the past there were some farms that disregarded the interests of local national minorities in developing the production of rubber. Their relationship with production brigades was very strained. Later on the farms adopted methods such as profit returns, restoring rubber forests, joint farming with production brigades and helping the people to develop their rubber industry. Thus they were able easily to resolve the contradiction between farms and communes. Their relationship improved day by day and the economy of Hainan (regardless of whether it was state-run or run by the national autonomous region) began to flourish.

Study Must Begin With Investigation

China's study of the economics of nationalities is still in its infancy. Even its name has not yet been agreed upon. Some comrades advocate calling it "economics of national autonomous regions," others advocate calling it

"national minority economics" while still others want to call it "national economics." National economics includes studying the concrete manifestations and characteristics of socioeconomics. It includes studying the special laws of the economics of national minorities as well as basic theories of national economics, departmental economic theory, the history of national economics, the history of economic thought, national socioeconomic formation and the circumstances and existing state of the development of the economy of nationalities. A particularly important task is how to find the path to the establishment of the four modernizations in national minority regions. Studying all of this requires a major effort. Those who earlier tried to study national minority economics did not do it systematically. Research on certain questions was quite slipshod. There was not much work we could make use of. It was basically necessary to start all over again. Dong Zijian [5516 1311 0256], vice president of the Yunnan Academy on Nationality Affairs, has devoted over 30 years to work on nationalities. He said that research in national minority economics must proceed from actual conditions. It must realistically study the economic roots of questions involving nationalities and the national roots of economic questions. It must also carry out dialectic and inductive analyses of national and economic problems so as to clarify the laws of national economics. However, where should this research begin? Another comrade, Comrade Zong Qun [1350 5028] who devoted himself in the Yan'an period to national education and who currently holds the office of deputy secretary and vice president of the Central Committee Nationalities Academy, emphasized that research on national economic theory must start with investigation. As Chairman Mao said, without investigation there is no right to speak. Without investigation how could he write so many works? This senior comrade spoke with fervor and assurance as he cited the following examples: How could Sima Qian write several national minority biographies such as Xinan Yi, Dawan, Chaoxian and Xiongnu in "Records of the Grand Historian"? How could Li Daoyuan write "Comments on the River Classic"? How could Xu Xiake write "A Record of My Travels," a famous geographical work? These works are the results of their willingness to work hard and make thorough investigations (including investigation of literary materials). These men all set examples of research and study. We should be like our predecessors and thoroughly and soundly investigate and study nationality regions. Everyone fully recognizes that the purpose of investigation is to seek truth from facts and that we must proceed from actual conditions. On the basis of understanding large quantities of first-hand data we must summarize our scientific and theoretical knowledge. Without this kind of investigation, regardless of whether it is in natural science or in social science, there can be no advancement. This is also true with national minority economics, investigation is the only way.

Marx said: "In science there is no level road to walk upon. Only those who do not fear hard work while climbing up rugged paths have hope of reaching the glorious pinnacle." Those comrades who are involved in research on national minority economic theory and in practical work all have the fierce desire vigorously to develop China and bring about prosperity in the national economy. They have the courage and wisdom to climb the high peak of science. With their hard work, China's research in national economics will certainly take on the new aspect of letting one hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend. National economics certainly will easily ascend the heights as a new scientific star.

9864
CSO: 4005/755

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PERSONNEL UTILIZATION GOALS, PROBLEMS REPORTED

Use Qualified Personnel Wisely

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 14 Mar 82 p 2

[Article by Zhang Wenhua [1728 2429 5478], Organization Department, Anhui Provincial Party Committee: "Make a Success of the Work of Readjusting the Use of Qualified Personnel, and Promote the Rational Distribution of Qualified Personnel"]

[Text] With regard to research on the question of qualified personnel today, most have placed partial emphasis on the study of problems like laws of development of qualified personnel, how to grow into becoming qualified personnel, and factors contributing to the development of qualified personnel. But these efforts are still not enough. I am of the opinion that we must study and explore further such problems as the total structure of qualified personnel, the distribution of qualified personnel, the levels of qualified personnel, and the direction of flow of qualified personnel in order to use qualified personnel in a more rational way.

Insofar as the situation in Anhui Province is concerned, the personnel structure and economic structure are hardly well adjusted to each other, and the distribution of qualified personnel can hardly be said to be rational. Scientific and technical personnel in the province make up about 4.9 percent of the total of all staff deficiencies in the personnel situation in the various departments and units, and thereby formulate a readjustment program. When conducting such a survey, they may in the first instance carry it out in their own systems, their own departments, and their own units internally, and then between their systems and departments.

Second, we must simplify the procedures for transferring cadres. Authority for transfer of personnel should be pertinently decentralized downward a bit, to the units in charge in enterprises and production units. The transfer of scientific and technical personnel should be even more relaxed, so as to break down the barriers between trades, professions, and systems. For instance, those in enterprises owned by all the people may be transferred to collectively owned enterprises, and those in a heavy industry system may, according to their professional skills, be transferred to a light industrial

department to work. The status, wage, and welfare benefits of transferred personnel should not change; from now on their promotion, elevation, and office and title appraisal should all be treated the same way.

Third, certain enterprises may experiment with a recruiting system. All those with appropriate educational qualifications (including equivalent educational competence) and professional and technical skills, whether they are workers or cadres, should be allowed to register for examination and respond to such recruiting. After they are qualified through examination and hired, they should be classified as technical cadres, with their offices and titles relevantly appraised, and the departments concerned should recognize such appraisals.

Fourth, in order to change the situation of irrational distribution of qualified personnel as quickly as possible, apart from readjustment we should from now on proceed from the developmental needs of our national economy to train workers. Among them, scientific and technical personnel in heavy industry make up 6.8 percent of the total of all staff and workers, and scientific and technical personnel in the first light industry, second light industry and textile industry systems make up only 0.84 percent of the total of all staff and workers. Technical personnel in agriculture number even less, as they make up only 0.003 percent of the agricultural population. Viewed from the different types of ownership and leadership relations in enterprises, scientific and technical personnel make up 5 percent of the total of all staff and workers in the province's enterprises under the ownership of all the people, while those in enterprises under collective ownership constitute only 1 percent. Scientific and technical personnel make up 5.5 percent of the total of all staff and workers in the central enterprises located in Anhui, whereas they make up only 1 percent in the local enterprises. Such a situation obviously cannot lead to the development of our agriculture, light industry, collectively owned enterprises, and local enterprises, nor is it beneficial to the promotion of coordinated development in production between the two categories of means of production and means of livelihood. For this reason, readjustment is urgently needed. In the process of such readjustment, I think emphasis should be placed on solving the problem of insufficient qualified personnel--a problem faced by light industrial, collectively owned, and local enterprises. I therefore propose the following:

First, organization and personnel departments at various levels must conduct a survey and analysis of their existing personnel, learn about their backgrounds, and at the same time learn what personnel are needed by various trades and professions, including forecasting the numbers needed for future development. On this basis, they should carry out a comprehensive analysis as to the surpluses or personnel in a planned way. Specialty programs and the ratio of students to be recruited at higher institutions and professional intermediate schools should also be subject to necessary readjustment.

Fifth, we must strengthen the training work for technical personnel in our collectively owned enterprises, light industry, and agriculture. In some enterprises, staff members and workers with a given level of culture may, on the basis of their present foundation, be given relevant training so that the ranks of technical personnel can be expanded. In the case of heavy industry, because of the relative concentration of qualified personnel, some

heavy industries during the readjustment period should change the direction of their service to serve the light industries and serve the technical transformation of other enterprises. At the same time, heavy industries must transfer their qualified personnel to light industries. In order to ensure that heavy industries will always have a definite scale of construction and speed of development, the core membership of their scientific and technical personnel should be maintained at a stable level.

Victim of Misuse Complains

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 14 Mar 82 p 2

[Correspondence by Gu Tianjue [7357 1131 3635] of Beijing: "Should Response to Recruitment by a Formally Approved Unit Be Subject to Approval by One's Own Unit?"]

[Text] At the beginning of 1980, I learned the news about the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences recruiting research personnel. I therefore registered for, and participated in, the examination that was given, and I thereupon was admitted. However, this notice of my admission has been sandwiched in a book for over a year and now become a useless piece of paper. According to the recruiting personnel at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the recruitment at that time was approved by the State Council; Xinhua News Agency also released a news report about it. Yet a basic-level unit has succeeded in not releasing me. When I told the responsible persons in the personnel department of my unit the facts about my registration for the examination and my eventual admission, they first took as their reason that my "registration for the examination was not approved in advance by the organization," and they refused to fill in the political survey form sent to them by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Then they also refused to transfer me on the pretext of our "unit's own need." On a certain day in the fall of 1980, GUANGMING RIBAO published in the first column of its first edition a report which carefully related the whole story about the recruiting of research personnel by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and also mentioned that some units refused even today to release those registrants for the examination who were eventually admitted. I took this issue of the newspaper to show to the leaders of our unit, but they maintained that there was some question about the way the newspaper had publicized the matter, and certain individuals even suggested that this report was written by someone connected with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Upon hearing this, I really did not know whether I should cry or laugh.

In the meantime, between 1980 and 1981 I also responded on different occasions to recruitment notices and registered for examination at the Institute of International Politics, the English-language ZHONGGUO RIBAO [CHINA DAILY], the Bank of China, and the Science Publishing House, where in each case I was admitted. But all these endeavors, too, came to naught, one after another. Dear Comrade Editor, does response to recruitment by a unit approved by the government or pertinent leading organ, with attendant participation in an examination held by it, require approval by one's own unit? I hope to get an answer from you. (This question has some general applicability; it may be taken as a problem about which discussion is hereby invited--Editor.)

9255
CSO: 4005/759

END

best copy
available

JPRS 80866

20 May 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 302

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 80866

20 May 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 302

CONTENTS

PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Brezhnev Proposes USSR-U.S. Summit in Fall
(XINHUA, 18 Apr 82) 1

UN Calls for Recovery of Palestinian Rights
(XINHUA, 22 Apr 82) 2

Captured USSR Officer Views War in Afghanistan
(XINHUA, 29 Apr 82) 4

Thailand Claims Laos Provoked Shooting Incident
(XINHUA, 1 May 82) 5

Visit of Luxembourg's Prime Minister Werner Described
(XINHUA, 30 Apr; 2,3,4 May 82) 6

Zhou Weizhi, Werner Attend Drama
Werner Visits Heroes Monument
Meets Zhao, Visits Nanjing
Werner Arrives in Xian
Werner Visits Guilin

Thailand Rejects SRV Request for Direct Trade
(XINHUA, 13 Apr 82) 9

Thai Foreign Minister Discusses Talks With SRV
(XINHUA, 3 May 82) 10

Thai Premier Reviews Recent West European Tour
(XINHUA, 2 May 82) 11

Thai Prime Minister Holds Press Conference in United Kingdom
(XINHUA, 30 Apr 82) 12

 [III - CC - 80]

Thai Official Recounts SRV Dry Season Casualties
(XINHUA, 26 Apr 82) 13

Joint Defense Group Discusses U.S. Aid to Turkey
(XINHUA, 29 Apr 82) 15

Antinuclear Week Activities Close in United States
(XINHUA, 28 Apr 82) 16

Japan Issues Statement on Falklands Dispute
(XINHUA, 26 Apr 82) 17

UK Cabinet Confers on U.S. Peace Proposal
(XINHUA, 25 Apr 82) 18

Japan-USSR Roundtable Conference Ends
(XINHUA, 23 Apr 82) 19

Kim Il-Song Marks DPRK Army's 50th Anniversary
(XINHUA, 26 Apr 82) 20

Zimbabwe's Mugabe Calls for United Workers
(XINHUA, 1 May 82) 22

Kampuchea Opposes International Aid to Vietnam
(XINHUA, 25 Apr 82) 23

Thai Official Discusses Kampuchea Problem
(XINHUA, 29 Apr 82) 24

Thai Official Notes Recent Fighting in Kampuchea
(XINHUA, 22 Apr 82) 25

Japan, India Hold Foreign Ministers' Meeting
(XINHUA, 19 Apr 82) 26

SRV, Heng Samrin Troops Suffer Heavy Losses
(XINHUA, 19 Apr 82) 27

May Day Rallies in West Europe, Japan Reported
(XINHUA, 2 May 82) 28

U.S., Japan Conduct Joint Naval Exercises
(XINHUA, 20 Apr 82) 30

FRG, U.S. Sign New Agreement on Military Forces
(XINHUA, 15 Apr 82) 31

Canada Celebrates Full Independence From UK
(XINHUA, 18 Apr 82) 32

Nicaragua Protests Presence of U.S. Warship
(XINHUA, 16 Apr 82) 33

U.S. Says USSR World's Biggest Arms Dealer
(XINHUA, 30 Apr 82) 34

Chinese Commentary on Yugoslavia
(XINHUA, 16, 22,30 Apr 82; May 5 82) 35

Austrian, Yugoslav Presidents Meet
Progress in Economic Development
New Government Ministers
Anniversary of Tito's Death

Reagan Holds Talks With Tunisian Prime Minister
(XINHUA, 30 Apr 82) 38

FRG Social Democratic Party Holds Congress
(XINHUA, 20, 23, 25 Apr 82) 39

Congress Opens
Party Leaders Elected
Congress Reviewed

Chinese Commentary on Romania
(RENMIN RIBAO, 17 Apr 82; XINHUA, various dates) 42

Ceausescu Comments on Cooperation
Romanian Papers Hail Visit
Ceausescu Returns to Bucharest
Ceausescu Visit Praised
Romania's May Day Festivities Noted

Briefs
U.S. in Kenya 46
Foreign Officials Tour China 46
UK, U.S. Talks 46
Reagan-Brezhnev Meeting 47
DPRK Protest With S. Korea 47
Pakistani-Indian Talks 47
East Asia Tennis Association 47
Indians to China 48
Pakistan N-Power Plant 48
Hungary's Kadar Ends FRG Visit 48
Office of FRG Inaugurated 48

PARTY AND STATE

'LIAOWANG' Comments on Reform of Cadre System
(LIAOWANG, 20 Mar 82) 49

'Ba Yi Radio' Raps Deng Style in Appointing Cadres
(Ba Yi Radio, 30 Apr 82) 57

'Ba Yi Radio'Raps Deng Xiaoping Cadre Policy
(Ba Yi Radio, 2 May 82) 59

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Ideological, Political Work
(Tan Tao; GUANGMING RIBAO, 18 Apr 82) 61

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Li Dazhao, Dr Sun Yat-sen
(Huang Zhen, Yao Weidou; RENMIN RIBAO, 27 Apr 82) 69

Nei M[illegible]cial Reviews Achievements
([illegible]; Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service, 1 May 82) 73

Anhui [illegible]entative Meeting Ends
([illegible] Anhui Provincial Service, 28 Apr 82) 75

Hunan Party Representative Meeting Concludes
(Changsha Hunan Provincial Service, 24 Apr 82) 77

Government Provisional Notarial Regulations Promulgated
(XINHUA, 24 Apr 82) 78

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Simpler Administration in 1940's
(Zhao Henglie; GUANGMING RIBAO, 18 Apr 82) 79

Briefs
New Guizhou Autonomous Prefecture 83
Qinghai United Front Conference 83
Train Robberies 83
Gansu Historical Forum 84
Henan Advanced Policemen's Congress 84
Henan National Philosophy Meeting 84
Illegal Occupation 85
Deng Cadre Policy 85
Xinjiang Mountaineering Meet 85
Xizang Publishing Activities 86
Security Breech 86

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Hubei Urges Practicing Birth Control
(Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service, 13 Apr 82) 87

'SHANXI RIBAO' Discusses Planned Parenthood Work
(Editorial; SHANXI RIBAO, 12 Apr 82) 88

'RENMIN RIBAO' Discusses Liu Baiyu on Military Writing
(Liu Baiyu; RENMIN RIBAO, 21 Apr 82) 90

Historian Rebuts Taiwan Critics of History
(Sun Sibai; RENMIN RIBAO, 20 Apr 82) 101

Ismail Amat Addresses Xinjiang Islamic Meeting
(Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service, 26 Apr 82) 106

'RENMIN RIBAO' Report on Nationality Unity in Xinjiang
(Huang Wenfu; RENMIN RIBAO, 17 Apr 82) 108

Guangxi Checks on Work Regarding Intellectuals
(Nanning Guangxi Regional Service, 2 May 82) 111

Bai Hua's Brother Discusses Brother's Character
(Zhu Jian; ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE, 26 Mar 82) 113

Song and Dance Drama Depicts PLA Modernization
(XINHUA, 1 May 82) 115

Heilongjiang's Yang Yichen Inspects Vocational School
(Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service, 2 May 82) 116

'RENMIN RIBAO' Urges Checking on Intellectual Policy
(RENMIN RIBAO, 22 Apr 82) 117

'SHAANXI RIBAO' on Religion, Superstition
(SHAANXI RIBAO, 14 Apr 82) 119

Fujian Urges Rural Patriotic Socialist Education
(Fuzhou Funian Provincial Service, 1 May 82) 123

'NANFANG RIBAO' Discussing Criticism of Crime Fighter
(Man Tian; NANFANG RIBAO, 20 Apr 82) 125

Hu Sheng Discusses Study of Taiping Tianguo
(Hu Sheng; GUANGMING RIBAO, 12 Apr 82) 128

Country To Enroll College Students From Overseas
(XINHUA, 12 Apr 82) 133

Briefs
Zhuang Script 136
Nei Monggol College Enrollment 136
Zhuang Script Program 137
Nei Monggol Workers Education 137
Shaanxi Commendation Rally Circular 137
Crime, Corruption Movies 138
Minority Youth Group 138
Zhu De Birth Place 138
Floating Population 139
Yanan Forum Anniversary 139

Guangzhou Opera 139
Heilongjiang Teachers Examination 139
Yunnan Student Enrollment Conference 139
Liaoning Newspaper Distribution Forum 140
Guangxi Bans Pornographic Materials 140
Heilongjiang Technical Schools 140
Guizhou Planned Parenthood Drive 141

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BREZHNEV PROPOSES USSR-U.S. SUMMIT IN FALL

OW180742 Beijing XINHUA in English 0731 GMT 18 Apr 82

[Text] Moscow, April 17 (XINHUA)--Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev today expressed his readiness to meet the United States President Ronald Reagan in a "third country" this autumn, TASS reported today.

Brezhnev made the suggestion when he answered a question put by PRAVDA's correspondent during an interview today.

Early this month, Brezhnev had rejected Reagan's proposal for a U.S.-Soviet summit meeting during a United Nations' disarmament session in New York in June.

Such a meeting, Brezhnev said in the interview, "must be well-prepared and held in a solid way, not incidentally in connection with this or that international forum."

Speaking about the time and venue of the proposed summit, the Soviet leader said that it could be held in "some third country, say in Finland or Switzerland, naturally with the preliminary consent of a corresponding government."

Brezhnev also considered October the "suitable time" for the meeting.

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UN CALLS FOR RECOVERY OF PALESTINIAN RIGHTS

OW220827 Beijing XINHUA in English 0717 GMT 22 Apr 82

[Text] United Nations, April 21 (XINHUA)--More nations at the seventh emergency special session of the U.N. General Assembly today stressed an urgent need for the recovery of the national rights of the Palestinian people.

Algerian Minister of Health Abderrazak Bouhara said that the Israeli Zionists were unmasking their real purposes of domination and expansion and that their misdeeds must be condemned. There was a pressing need for the Palestinian people to recover their national rights, he added.

J. V. Gbeho, representative of Ghana, described Israel's claims to occupied territories, its insidious increase in the tempo of annexation in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, its actions to expropriate Arab land and other illegal acts as "a threat to international peace and security." He urged the assembly to help halt potentially explosive developments in the Middle East.

Pakistani representative Niaz Naik said: "The threat to peace in the Middle East is growing and at its heart lies in Israel's expansionism and its callous denial of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people."

Angolan representative Elisio de Figueredo declared that Angola supported the Palestinian people in their struggle led by their sole authentic representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, against the Israeli military occupation of their land and for establishing their own independent sovereign state in Palestine. Without a solution to the issue of Palestinian independence and other Palestinian rights, there would be no fair, just and lasting peace in the Middle East, he said.

Kuwait representative Muhammad A. Abu al-Hasan pointed out that Israel's ultimate design for the occupied Arab territories aimed at vacating as many as possible the Arab people and annexing as much as possible the Arab land. In order to achieve those two objectives, Israel had committed many crimes "shielded by the United States protection," he said.

Japanese representative Masahiro Nisibori said: "Japan is firmly convinced that it is first and foremost essential that Israel withdraw from all the occupied territories, including East Jerusalem." He reaffirmed the Japanese view that the Palestine Liberation Organization represented the Palestinian people and that it was essential for the PLO to participate in the peace process in future.

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CAPTURED USSR OFFICER VIEWS WAR IN AFGHANISTAN

OW291529 Beijing XINHUA in English 1511 GMT 29 Apr 82

[Text] Islamabad, April 29 (XINHUA)--"The war the Soviet Union is carrying out in Afghanistan and the occupation of the country is unjust," said Alexandr Petrovich, a captured captain of a Soviet armoured unit, at a freedom-fighter base at Allah Jirgar, Zabul Province, Afghanistan.

Speaking to foreign reporters, the former Soviet commander of 80 men with 25 tanks said soldiers of his country were killing innocent Afghan civilians including children, women and the old.

Petrovich was taken prisoner during an operation searching for Mojahedin at a village in Parwan Province on March 15.

He told the reporters that since he came to Afghanistan in November 1980, the Parwan military base he guarded had come under Mojahedin attacks on three occasions. As a result, 25 Mig-fighters and 13 helicopters were destroyed.

He also revealed that the morale of the Soviet occupation forces was sinking, and war-weariness and homesickness were rampant among the rank and file of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

He told the press conference that he had received well treatment in the hands of the Mojahedin.

An Afghan guerrillas leader told XINHUA that they do not kill prisoners-of-war, and are contacting the International Committee of Red Cross for their future.

Also speaking at the press conference was another Soviet captive, (Kusrov Varerie Uroviech). The 19-year-old military motor-cyclist said many Soviet soldiers had been lured to Afghanistan with promises of promotions. "Before we came to Afghanistan, our commander told us we were going to Afghanistan to fight the Chinese, Americans, Pakistanis and Egyptians. But since I arrived here on December 26, 1981, I have found none of them except Afghans," he said.

This was the second press conference sponsored by the Islamic party of Afghanistan headed by Gulbuddin Hekmatyiar, member of the newly formed Islamic Unity of Afghan Mojahedin, in this military training base since the Soviet invasion of the country. The first was held at the end of last year.

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAILAND CLAIMS LAOS PROVOKED SHOOTING INCIDENT

OW010808 Beijing XINHUA in English 0755 GMT 1 May 82

[Text] Bangkok, May 1 (XINHUA)--General Saiyud Kerdphol, supreme commander of the Thai Royal Armed Forces, said yesterday the Monday night shooting of a Thai patrol boat by Laotian troops was provoked by the Laotian side while the boat was cruising on the Thai side of the Mekong River, the BANGKOK POST reported today.

Thai navy sources disclosed earlier that two Thai navy petty officers were killed and one wounded when their boat came under fire from the Laotian side on the Mekong River on April 26. It was reported the Thai patrol boat had intercepted a Laotian row boat and arrested two occupants on board on espionage charges.

General Saiyud reaffirmed the charge made by the Supreme Command and the Thai Royal Navy that the Laotian shooting was a provocative and unfriendly act "for which the provocateur must bear full responsibility."

However, he said Thailand was willing to follow the joint communiques signed between the two countries, expressing the desire to solve disputes through negotiations.

He disclosed that local officials from both countries would meet for talks aimed at preventing the recurrence of a similar incident.

Meanwhile, it was learned that a memorandum sent by the Laotian Foreign Ministry to the Thai Embassy in Vientiane described the shooting as a "minor incident" and expressed the Laotian Government's willingness to negotiate with the Thai authorities to solve the problem. However, the memorandum made no mention of the death of two Thai navy officers.

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

VISIT OF LUXEMBOURG'S PRIME MINISTER WERNER DESCRIBED

Zhou Weizhi, Werner Attend Drama

OW301652 Beijing XINHUA in English 1644 GMT 30 Apr 82

[Text] Beijing, April 30 (XINHUA)--Luxembourg Prime Minister Pierre Werner attended a dance drama "Silk Road Episode" presented by art troupe of the Ministry of Coal Industry here this evening.

At the end of the performance, Werner and his Vice Prime-Minister Colette Flesch mounted the stage to shake hands with the performers and present them a basket of flowers.

The performance was sponsored by the Ministry of Culture.

Present were Zhou Weizhi, acting minister of culture, and Zhang Chanming, vice-minister of foreign affairs.

Earlier today, the guests toured the Great Wall and the Ming Tombs. In the afternoon, they visited the Yong He Lamasery.

Werner Visits Heroes Monument

OW301530 Beijing XINHUA in English 1516 GMT 30 Apr 82

[Text] Beijing, April 30 (XINHUA)--Pierre Werner, prime minister of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, and Madam Werner, laid a wreath this afternoon before the monument to the people's heroes in Tiananmen Square. On hand was Zhang Chanming, Chinese vice-minister of foreign affairs.

Amid the solemn music, Prime Minister Werner, Madam Werner, and their party, stood in silent tribute before the monument.

Meets Zhao, Visits Nanjing

OW021632 Beijing XINHUA in English 1608 GMT 2 May 82

[Text] Beijing, May 2 (XINHUA)--Luxembourg Prime Minister Pierre Werner left here for Nanjing at noon today after wishing farewell to Chinese Premier

Zhao Ziyang at the state guesthouse. Werner thanked the premier for his warm reception during his stay. He invited Zhao Ziyang to visit Luxembourg at a time convenient to him.

Premier Zhao said that he would be very happy to visit that country. He said: "Your excellency prime minister's Beijing visit is short, but fruitful. Your visit will further enhance the friendship between our two countries."

The guests were greeted at the Nanjing airport by Hui Yuyu and Wang Bingshi, governor and vice-governor of Jiangsu Province, and Wang Zhaoquan, city mayor. The Jiangsu Provincial People's Government gave a banquet this evening for Werner. Accompanying the guests are Zhang Canming, Chinese vice-minister of foreign affairs, and Zheng Weizhi, Chinese ambassador to Luxembourg.

Werner Arrives in Xian

OW031810 Beijing XINHUA in English 1639 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] Xian, May 3 (XINHUA)--Luxembourg Prime Minister Pierre Werner, his wife and party arrived here from Nanjing by special plane this afternoon in the company of vice-minister of foreign affairs Zhang Canming.

There were greeted at the airport by Yu Mingtao and Li Lianbi, governor and vice-governor of Shaanxi Province, and Zhang Tiemin, acting mayor of Xi'an.

The guests visited a museum some 30 kilometers east of this ancient city to see the hundreds of life-size terracotta horses and armored warriors excavated from sites near the tomb of Qin Shi Huang (259-210 B.C.), first emperor of the Qin Dynasty (221-207 B.C.). They also toured the famous Huaqing Hot Springs.

Prime Minister Werner and his party were honored at a banquet hosted by the Provincial People's Government this evening.

Governor Yu, in his toast, said that the 1979 visit to Xi'an by Grand Duke Jean of Luxembourg still remained a pleasant memory to the people of Shaanxi. He said that Prime Minister Werner's current visit would promote friendship between the people of China and Luxembourg.

Werner described his visit to the ancient city of Xi'an as an exciting occasion. While building socialist ethics, the Chinese people were paying much attention to the study of their history over thousands of years, he said.

This morning, the Luxembourg guests visited the Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge and the Nanjing Iron and Steel Works. After the visit, the prime minister said, "The Chinese people should feel proud of the extremely magnificent bridge."

Werner Visits Guilin

OW042224 Beijing XINHUA in English 1623 GMT 4 May 82

[Text] Guilin, May 4 (XINHUA)--Luxembourg Prime Minister Pierre Werner, his wife and party arrived here this afternoon by special plane from Xian.

The Luxembourg guests were greeted at the airport by Qin Yingji, chairman of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Regional People's Government, and Liang Shan, mayor of Guilin.

This evening, the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Regional and Guilin City People's Governments gave a banquet in honor of the Luxembourg guests. Chairman Qin and Prime Minister Werner toasted to the continuous development of friendship between the two peoples and cooperation between the two countries.

In the afternoon, the Luxembourg guests visited the luti (reed flute) cave and other scenic spots.

During their stay in Xi'an this morning, the Luxembourg guests visited the Dayan Pagoda and the Shaanxi Provincial Museum.

After visiting the museum, Prime Minister Werner said, "From here I have come to understand the ancient culture of China. Viewing from the angle of world history, China has made great contributions to the development of the world civilization."

CSO: 4000/112

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAILAND REJECTS SRV REQUEST FOR DIRECT TRADE

OW132108 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 13 Apr 82

[Text] Bangkok, April 13 (XINHUA)--Thailand has rejected Vietnam's request for direct trade with her and increased export across the Thai-Kampuchean border, according to press reports here today.

The Thai stance was announced by (Prasong Soonsiri), secretary general of the National Security Council of Thailand, yesterday.

A Vietnamese diplomat here called on a high-ranking official of the Thai Commerce Ministry recently to express his country's hope to import rice directly from Thailand.

(Prasong) said that Thailand had put restrictions on the export of certain kinds of commodities, particularly of strategic materials, so that such materials would not fall into the hands of certain countries, which were fighting a war, and bring harm to the security of Thailand.

He said that now Vietnam's economy was in a very bad state, with large amounts of foreign debt. Therefore, it could not afford to buy commodities from Thailand. Even the World Bank would not extend any loans to Vietnam because nobody believed that Vietnam's economic, financial and banking situation would turn for the better.

(Prasong) said that trade between Thailand and Laos would continue at opened ports. As for the export of commodities listed among strategic materials, permission must be granted by local officials concerned. In the case of Kampuchea, (Prasong) said, no trade was allowed as the Thai-Kampuchean border had been closed, for there were no diplomatic ties between Bangkok and the Heng Samrin regime in Phnom Penh.

(Prasong Soonsiri) said that no countries were permitted to transport strategic materials through Thailand to any Indochinese country which would "harm the security of Thailand."

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAI FOREIGN MINISTER DISCUSSES TALKS WITH SRV

OW031945 Beijing XINHUA in English 1829 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] Bangkok, May 3 (XINHUA)--Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila reiterated here yesterday that it is not a suitable time for a dialogue with Vietnam but Thailand is not closing the door to such a dialogue.

Sitthi was speaking at an early morning airport press conference after returning from Paris with Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon.

France was the last leg of Prem's four-nation European tour.

He said that in his talks with the French foreign minister, the French side proposed a dialogue between Bangkok and Hanoi because Thailand has been closely related with the Kampuchean problem and the developments in the area. He told his French counterpart that Thailand is a member state of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Before it takes any decision it has to consult other ASEAN states. Besides, it is not a suitable time for a dialogue with Vietnam.

Sitthi said he has told the French foreign minister that Thailand has no intention to discontinue its ties with Vietnam and remains ready to hold negotiations with it. But these negotiations should start "at a lower level" instead of at high levels, he added.

It should be made clear to the French Government that Thailand still demands a withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, a demand contained in U.N. resolutions, the Thai foreign minister said.

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAI PREMIER REVIEWS RECENT WEST EUROPEAN TOUR

OW021232 Beijing XINHUA in English 1205 GMT 2 May 82

[Text] Bangkok, May 2 (XINHUA)--Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon said today that his ten-day West European tour has achieved satisfactory results which are conducive to the strengthening of the friendly and economic relations between Thailand and these nations.

He made these remarks to reporters on his return from a tour of Belgium, Austria, Britain and France.

He said: "During the meetings, top leaders of the four countries showed concern over the problems in this region, especially those endangering peace in the region resulted from the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, as well as superpowers' role in this region."

He said, the four countries and the European Economic Community supported the ASEAN's stand on Kampuchea.

Leaders of these nations, he said, had assured him that they would not change their policies on Kampuchea. "So long as Vietnam refuses to implement the UN resolutions demanding withdrawal of its troops from Kampuchea and respect for the Kampucheans right to decide their own destiny, they will not resume economic aid to Vietnam," he noted.

Referring to the Indochinese refugee problem facing Thailand, Prem said that the four countries and the EEC "appreciate Thailand's humanitarian policy and sympathize with it for its heavy burdens. They have promised to continue to help Thailand solve this problem."

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAI PRIME MINISTER HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE IN UNITED KINGDOM

OW301614 Beijing XINHUA in English 1558 GMT 30 Apr 82

[Text] London, April 30 (XINHUA)--General Prem Tinsulanon, prime minister of Thailand, left here for Paris today to continue his current European tour after a two-day official visit to Britain.

During his stay in London, General Prem and British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher had talks on a number of international and regional issues including Kampuchea and the Falkland (Malvinas) crisis.

At a press conference here yesterday, General Prem condemned the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea. Thailand would never accept Vietnam's military occupation as a status quo, he said.

General Prem expected that a coalition government of the three sides of Kampuchea could be set up soon.

General Prem also expressed concern over the current international trend to reduce aid to refugees in Southeast Asia. British sources said that Mrs Thatcher praised Thailand's efforts and contribution in this area.

Speaking later on at a luncheon hosted by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Britain, General Prem pointed out that the relations between Thailand and Britain could be brought "ever closer through investment and trade." He hoped that bilateral trade would be further increased and Britain would play a more active role in investing in his country.

The Thai Prime Minister arrived in London on April 28 after visiting Belgium and Austria, the first two legs of his European tour. He is accompanied by his ministers of foreign affairs, trade, industry and agriculture.

CSO: 4000/95

THAI OFFICIAL RECOUNTS SRV DRY SEASON CASUALTIES

OW261310 Beijing XINHUA in English 1255 GMT 26 Apr 82

[Text] Bangkok, April 26 (XINHUA)--A senior Thai security official told the NATION REVIEW last week that the Vietnamese occupation troops had suffered very heavy casualties in this year's dry-season operation against the Kampuchean resistance forces.

In an exclusive interview with the paper, Prasong Soonsiri, secretary general of the National Security Council (NSC) of Thailand, said that the Vietnamese had deployed heavy weapons and military equipment during this year's dry season operation. They included armoured carriers, artillery pieces, and 130-mm cannons which have a firing range of 26 to 27 kilometres. The Vietnamese also employed more aircraft to give close air support in the operation, he added.

However, Prasong said the Khmer Rouge guerrillas' ambush tactics and guerrilla warfare had dealt quite a blow to the Vietnamese. Bridges were blown up and ambushes were frequent, creating some serious logistical supply obstacles to the Vietnamese. A large number of Vietnamese troops had been killed or wounded by land mines.

The NSC secretary general disclosed that the Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea also suffered from an acute shortage of food, rampant of malaria and other difficulties. "All these problems have made it impossible for Vietnam to achieve its goal in launching a large-scale and heavy dry-season offensive in western Kampuchea this year," he noted.

He pointed out that although the Vietnamese had suffered big losses in the dry-season, their present military movement showed that they still intended to fight on in the rainy season. "The war in Kampuchea will continue. It will be a war of attrition. The Vietnamese simply cannot achieve their goal," he said.

The NSC secretary general also disclosed that the Soviet Union continued to dispatch military aid to Vietnam, and Russian experts were also in Kampuchea. At the moment, the interests of Vietnam and Soviet Union run in parallel but Hanoi aims only at short-term objectives, which is to consolidate its

influence over Kampuchea and Laos. And to achieve that Vietnam still has to depend on the Soviet Union. Moscow seeks long-term objectives, meanwhile, and views what Vietnam is doing as being favourable to its own interests in the long run. In the end, the Soviet Union will have access to bases and other military facilities in Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, he said.

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JOINT DEFENSE GROUP DISCUSSES U.S. AID TO TURKEY

OW291522 Beijing XINHUA in English 1508 GMT 29 Apr 82

[Text] Ankara, April 29 (XINHUA)--The Turkish-American high-level joint defense group at its first official meeting here on April 27-28 reviewed common security considerations of the two countries "particularly with regard to the modernization of the Turkish armed forces as a priority objective," according to a press release issued here following the meeting.

The press release said, "The group also assessed the global as well as the regional aspects of the overall threat against the NATO alliance and exchanged views on the western security objectives and requirements."

It said, "In this connection, possible shortfalls in NATO's defensive and deterrent capabilities that currently exist in the region were examined."

The release went on, "It was particularly noted that the improvement of Turkey's political, economic and military strength has become an increasingly vital factor for enhancing regional stability and peace."

According th Turkish daily MILLIYET today, both sides agreed that U.S. aid to Turkey should be increased every year systematically.

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ANTINUCLEAR WEEK ACTIVITIES CLOSE IN UNITED STATES

OW280725 Beijing XINHUA in English 0714 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] New York, April 26 (XINHUA)--An estimated one million people throughout the United States had taken part in the "Ground Zero Week," an anti-nuclear movement, which came to a close yesterday.

Activities during the "week," sponsored by the anti-nuclear group "ground zero," included teach-ins, forums and film-showing on the horrors of nuclear war and the impelling need to freeze nuclear weapons, held in 650 cities, 350 universities and more than 1,000 high schools all over the country.

With the stepping-up of the nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union in recent years, popular concern about the possible outbreak of nuclear war has been mounting and has gradually led to the emergence by an anti-nuclear movement.

Since taking office the Reagan administration has drastically augmented military spending and slashed social welfare funds. This has caused bitterness among the man-in-the-street and has consequently made them join the ranks of the anti-nuclear movement.

A local press commentator said the anti-nuclear movement "is going to be to the 1980's what the civil rights movement was to the 1960's and what the anti-war movement was to the 1970's."

CSO: 4000/95

JAPAN ISSUES STATEMENT ON FALKLANDS DISPUTE

OW261547 Beijing XINHUA in English 1524 GMT 26 Apr 82

[Text] Tokyo, April 26 (XINHUA)--Foreign Minister Yoshio Sakurauchi was authorized by his government today to deliver a speech expressing Japan's deep worry about the sharpening dispute between Argentina and the United Kingdom over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands.

The Japanese Government tried to persuade the two sides to prevent the armed conflict from spreading.

The foreign minister said Japan appealed once again for "an immediate cessation of hostilities" and "an immediate withdrawal of all Argentine forces from the islands" in accordance with the U.N. resolution adopted at the Security Council on April 3. He added, "Japan is convinced that the door is open for a settlement of this issue through diplomatic moves. It hopes in earnest that the countries concerned will make more efforts for a peaceful solution of the matter."

Japanese opposition parties also made statements today regretting the British troops' landing on the South Georgia Island and asking Argentina and the United Kingdom to stop fighting and enter into peaceful negotiations. The Japan Socialist Party said that "the Malvinas Islands, seen from the historical point of view, should belong to Argentina." But it sternly criticized the two countries for resorting to force.

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UK CABINET CONFERS ON U.S. PEACE PROPOSAL

OW250342 Beijing XINHUA in English 0219 GMT 25 Apr 82

[Text] London, April 24 (XINHUA)--British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher called an emergency meeting of her inner cabinet here this evening to consider the latest peace proposals on Falklands (Malvinas) crisis brought back from Washington by Foreign Secretary Francis Pym.

The positions of Britain and Argentina are said to be still "very far apart."

The meeting lasted nearly three hours with Mr Pym reporting in detail his talks with U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig, mediator in the crisis. There was also "a thorough discussion" on the options open to the government. A report said that the meeting decided to get in touch with Haig again and continue the search for a diplomatic solution through the American secretary of state.

Soon after his return from Washington early this morning, Pym went straight from the airport to Downing Street to report to the prime minister. He told reporters afterwards that there had been "a bit of progress." But later the foreign office made it clear that what Pym had referred to was "procedural progress."

Officials said that the proposals Pym brought back from Washington had been compiled largely by the United States and they contain elements of both British and Argentine proposals made during the recent rounds of shuttle diplomacy. No official comment has been made on the new proposals but people are warned against expecting any quick solution to the dispute. Press reports point out that the main obstacle remains the difference on the key issues of sovereignty and the Argentine withdrawal.

The Ministry of Defence here today denied reports that part of the British task force had landed on South Georgia, 800 miles off the Falklands, which is now also under the Argentine occupation. It refused to comment on claims that two British warships are now off the coast of that island. Speculation seems to have increased here that a limited scale of military action might come soon so as to step up pressure on Argentina to reach a negotiated settlement.

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JAPAN-USSR ROUNDTABLE CONFERENCE ENDS

OW231732 Beijing XINHUA in English 1511 GMT 23 Apr 82

[Text] Tokyo, April 23 (XINHUA)--The third Japanese-Soviet round-table conference ended here Thursday with "differences of opinion" between the two sides remaining unsolved.

This was stated by a joint statement issued at the end of the three-day conference sponsored by the Dietmen's league for Japan-USSR friendship, the Japan-USSR Friendship Association and three other organizations. The Soviet delegation was led by merchant marine minister Timofey Guzhenko, the first Soviet minister to visit Japan since the Soviet aggression of Afghanistan.

In his keynote speech, director-general of the Japan-USSR Friendship Association Toshiaki Yokoyama noted that Japan has in no way removed its apprehensions regarding the developments in Afghanistan and Poland and the Soviet military buildup in northern territories belonging to Japan. That is why the Japanese people have heightened their vigilance against the USSR.

However, the Soviet side reiterated that "there is no territory problem between the Soviet Union and Japan." It attributed the deterioration of Japanese-Soviet relations to "anti-Soviet campaign by some persons" and "the U.S. pressure to force Japan to take part in the strategy against the Soviet Union." The Soviet arguments were repeatedly refuted by the Japanese side at the conference.

While discussing bilateral relations, the Soviet side demanded the conclusion of a Soviet-Japanese friendship treaty and putting aside the northern territories problem. But the Japanese side pointed out that "as there are deep and serious differences between Japan and the Soviet Union, it is impossible to cover up the rift by sounding rhetoric about principles."

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

KIM IL-SONG MARKS DPRK ARMY'S 50TH ANNIVERSARY

OW270100 Beijing XINHUA in English 1317 GMT 26 Apr 82

[Text] Pyongyang, April 26 (XINHUA)--President Kim Il-song yesterday called for greater efforts to strengthen the Korean People's Army so as to smash the ever-blatant clamours of the enemy for a new war.

Kim Il-song underlined this need at a banquet given by him here yesterday evening to mark the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Korean People's Army. The Korean Central News Agency (KCNA) released the text of his speech today.

Kim Il-song recalled the heroic contributions of the Korean People's Army to the independence of Korea during the anti-Japanese war and the defence of the fruit of revolution during the fatherland liberation war against U.S. aggression.

He said, "During the half a century of arduous, fierce revolutionary struggle, our revolutionary armed forces have been trained and tempered politically and ideologically and in military technique and have grown into an invincible army which has acquired the juche-oriented art of war and rich combat experience."

Kim Il-song said, "The security of our country and the victory of our revolution are firmly guaranteed by the unconquerable Korean People's Army."

He stressed the need to set up a solid all-people defence system with the people's army as the core. "We must ensure that all the people are under arms and study military affairs in earnest." He said, "It is a notable and beautiful tradition of our society that the army and the people love each other and help each other."

As the party's role in the army, Kim Il-song said, "The people's army must be infinitely loyal to the party's leadership. Without this leadership, it would be impossible to maintain its revolutionary character and successfully fulfil the important mission entrusted to it by the country and the people."

"Today," Kim Il-song said, "we take great pride in saying co[illegible]ly that we have built up an indestructible self-reliant defence power capable of destroying aggressors from any quarters and safeguarding the socialist motherland."

Kim Il-song pledged to "strengthen unity and solidarity with the international revolutionary forces in the struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their stooges and for national sovereignty.

In his speech, Kim Il-song condemned the United States and the South Korean ruling clique for their manoeuvres to heighten tension in the Korean Peninsula.

Among those present at the banquet were Korean party and government leaders as well as diplomatic envoys and military attaches of various countries in Pyongyang.

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ZIMBABWE'S MUGABE CALLS FOR UNITED WORKERS

OW012121 Beijing XINHUA in English 1909 GMT 1 May 82

[Text] Harare, May 1 (XINHUA)--Prime Minister Mugabe today called on all workers to unite and organise themselves under lawful workers' trade unions and try to transform Zimbabwe society from a colonialist dependence to a socialist self-reliance.

Mugabe made the remarks at a mass rally at Rufaro Stadium here to celebrate May Day. He said, May Day is an occasion for the revolutionary working class to rededicate themselves to the task of fighting imperialism in all its forms.

He urged all Zimbabwe workers to unite not only by themselves in Zimbabwe but with the international working class movement.

Referring to the achievements since independence, Mugabe stressed the significance of forming workers' committee and works council system throughout the country. He added wide communication gap between workers and management and between workers and government have been narrowed through introduction of workers' committee.

In conclusion, Mugabe said, "all workers should cherish our sovereign independence and need for permanent peace by maintaining maximum vigilance against lawless bandits, political malcontents and saboteurs on pay-roll of South Africa who seek overthrow of our democracy and sovereign rule."

Rallies were held throughout the country to mark May Day today.

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

KAMPUCHEA OPPOSES INTERNATIONAL AID TO VIETNAM

OW251220 Beijing XINHUA in English 1202 GMT 25 Apr 82

[Text] Rome, April 24 (XINHUA)--Democratic Kampuchea voiced its objection at the 13th session of the committee of food aid policies and programs here Saturday to a proposed committee's aid to the Vietnamese authorities.

Refuting a proposal put forward at the session to help build an irrigation project in Tay--Ninh, Vietnam, Te Sun Hoa, representative of the permanent office of Democratic Kampuchea to U.N. in Geneva, said that the location of the project borders upon Tay Ninh Province, Kampuchea. [As received] Once the project is approved, many people in the region will fall victim of the project. For instance, he went on to say, Hanoi has turned 100 apartments and village hospitals built with the aid of the world food program into a barracks of the Vietnamese occupationists.

He pointed out that the generous assistance of the international community should not be turned into weapons in the hands of some people. It is known to all that the Vietnamese clique has embezzled tremendous funds, even the humanitarian aid to victimized Kampucheans, for spending in war.

The 13th session which opened here on April 19 will last till 30. The proposal on the irrigation project in Vietnam was strongly rejected by representatives of Thailand, Argentina, the United States, Britain, West Germany, Canada and Japan.

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAI OFFICIAL DISCUSSES KAMPUCHEA PROBLEM

OW291551 Beijing XINHUA in English 1528 GMT 29 Apr 82

[Text] Bangkok, April 29 (XINHUA)--A high Thai official (Prasong Soonsiri) said of late that the problem of Kampuchea must be settled from the fundamental, not from the outside. And any settlement must agree with the related U.N. resolutions and adhere to the principles. No compromise solutions should be taken into consideration.

(Prasong), secretary-general of the National Security Council of Thailand made the above statement on April 26 in an interview with the Thai daily SIAM RATH. He pointed out: "The Indochina problem, i.e., the Kampuchean problem, is a big problem. I consider it deserves special attention and constant concern. Guidelines most favorable to the national security must be worked out."

On invasions from the Kampuchean side across the Thai-Kampuchean border, (Prasong) said: "No matter such invasions are deliberate or not, we must be on our guard and drive the invaders out."

"As to whether the three parties can get united at present," he said, "I think they should continue their efforts towards this end. For even though they can get united at present, it does not mean the immediate withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops. We should also take some other measures."

He said: "The problem fundamentally lies in the Kampuchean people themselves who ought to get united. When they move towards this end, we should help them."

Referring to the proposed dialogue between Thailand and Vietnam on Kampuchea, he said: "I don't think direct dialogue with Vietnam could achieve any good result. Nevertheless, it does not mean that dialogue cannot be conducted between our two countries. We can talk to each other since we maintain relations."

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAI OFFICIAL NOTES RECENT FIGHTING IN KAMPUCHEA

OW221810 Beijing XINHUA in English 1559 GMT 22 Apr 82

[Text] Bangkok, April 22 (XINHUA)--Vietnamese and Heng Samrin troops since early March have launched a series of more violent mopping-up operations against Kampuchean resistance forces in the Kampuchean-Thai border areas. The operations, however, have failed to achieve their goals, said Lt. General Som Kataphan, director of the information office of the Supreme Command of the Thai Armed Forces, at a news conference today.

Som said Kampuchean resistance forces have successfully compelled [as received] the operations with guerrilla warfare, destroying the enemy's logistics line and diminishing its offensives.

Nonetheless, Som said the fighting posed a grave danger to security in Thai border areas. He said two Vietnamese battalions mounted attacks on democratic Kampuchean and Khmer Serei (Free Khmer) forces on April 2 and 3 in Kampuchea near Prachinburi Province in Thailand.

Additional Vietnamese troops equipped with sohpisticated weapons are moving to the Kampuchean-Thai border areas and several highways have been turned into all-weather roads, Som said. The Battambang airport also has been turned into the third biggest airport in Kampuchea, he said.

Despite Kampuchea's rainy season, Som said Vietnamese and Heng Samrin troops will continue the mopping-up operations against the Kampuchean resistance forces. However, he said the operations will not wipe out Kampuchean resistance forces.

Pobsuk Sutranan, representative of the Thai Army Command, also said at the conference that in the past month, the Kampuchean resistance forces have been "locked in fierce fighting with Vietnamese and Heng Samrin forces that have attacked Thai border posts, killing or wounding many Thai border inhabitants."

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JAPAN, INDIA HOLD FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING

OW191910 Beijing XINHUA in English 1852 GMT 19 Apr 82

[Text] Tokyo, April 19 (XINHUA)--India has asked Japan to increase its economic aid including commodity loans needed for the implementation of India's sixth five-year economic program, according to press reports here.

The Indian request was made at the third regular foreign ministers' consultative meeting of the two countries here today.

Indian Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao and his Japanese counterpart Sakurauchi exchanged views at the meeting on bilateral economic cooperation and international issues.

Rao was quoted as saying that India would maintain its non-aligned diplomacy of not leaning toward either of the two superpowers although his country has friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

Referring to India's relations with China, Rao said these relations are making progress slowly. India is also trying to improve its relations with Pakistan, he said.

The Japanese side promised economic cooperation with India and welcomed improvement in India's relations with both China and Pakistan.

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SRV, HENG SAMRIN TROOPS SUFFER HEAVY LOSSES

OW191311 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 19 Apr 82

[Text] Bangkok, April 19 (XINHUA)--The Democratic Kampuchean (DK) Forces have inflicted heavy losses on Vietnamese and Heng Samrin troops in battles on the western highlands of Kampuchea opposite the Thai districts of Aranyaprathet and Wattana Nakhorn in Prachin Buri Province, the BANGKOK POST reported quoting sources close to the DK today.

The sources disclosed yesterday that the DK guerrillas had killed and wounded 3,000 Vietnamese-Heng Samrin troops and knocked out a number of tanks in the fightings in Phnom Malai, Phnom Mak Houen, Khao Loem and Khao Din mountains since the beginning of this year. Most of the destroyed Soviet-made tanks were knocked out by landmines, according to the sources.

The sources said the guerrillas had launched flank and rear attacks against the advancing Vietnamese force, harassed their logistic supplies and blown up their strategic roads. They said the Vietnamese had sustained such heavy losses that all their troops were withdrawn last Monday from twelve contested zones including Chakrei, Baraing Tok, Phnom Sampoeore, Loun, Kilometres 12 and 13 of Highway 502 which runs parallel to the Thai border.

The sources added that all the DK bases in western Kampuchea opposite Aranyaprathet and Wattana Nakhorn districts were intact even though a few of them, including the one at Khao Din, were briefly overrun by the Vietnamese forces.

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MAY DAY RALLIES IN WEST EUROPE, JAPAN REPORTED

OW020744 Beijing XINHUA in English 0736 GMT 2 May 82

[Text] Beijing, May 2 (XINHUA)--Workers held demonstrations and rallies in West Europe and Japan yesterday to celebrate International Labor Day, demanding higher wages and better working conditions.

In Italy, tens of thousands of workers held rallies and demonstrations in scores of cities, demanding guarantees for employment, renewed contracts and a new economic policy.

Addressing the meeting in Bologna, Pierre Carniti, secretary general of the Italian confederation of working people trade unions, drew attention to the seriousness of unemployment in the country. "It is an extremely pressing social problem," he said, urging the government to adopt a new economic policy.

In Finland, about 15,000 people took to the streets in Helsinki. The demonstrators carried streamers and placards inscribed with slogans: "no to war," "nuclear-free Europe," "guarantee for employment," etc.

France marked its first May Day under the first socialist government with marchers and rallies in Paris and other cities.

Similar demonstrations and rallies were held in Greece, West Germany, Spain and Portugal.

In Japan, 350,000 workers attended a rally in Tokyo jointly organised by the General Council of Trade Union of Japan, the Japanese Confederation of Labour, the Federation of Independent Trade Unions and the National Federation of Industrial Organisation. Leaders of the four trade union organisations expressed in their speeches the determination to fight for a better life and rights of the Japanese workers.

A declaration adopted at the rally demands reduction of taxes, increase of real wages for workers and easing of trade frictions between Japan and Western countries.

The declaration also condemns the intensified nuclear arms race between the superpowers and urges the Japanese Government to continue to pursue its "non-nuclear three principles."

The rally also adopted a special resolution demanding that May Day be formally set as one of the national holidays.

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S., JAPAN CONDUCT JOINT NAVAL EXERCISES

OW201546 Beijing XINHUA in English 1509 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Tokyo, April 20 (XINHUA)--The five-week Pacific basin cooperation naval exercises reached the climax as U.S. naval troops and Japanese maritime self-defense forces conducted joint operations for command of the ocean, according to Japanese news reports today.

The naval exercises began March 23 in the central Pacific Ocean and were jointly conducted by naval forces from the United States, Japan, Australia, Canada and New Zealand.

During the joint operations held to seek superiority of the ocean, U.S. and Japanese naval forces also experimented with using electronic warfare for exchanging tactical information and with launching missiles at an imaginary enemy on the sea.

The Japanese paper NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN reported that the exercises were designed to demonstrate Japan's role in defending its sea lanes as a supplementary force to U.S. combat troops in the western Pacific.

More than 29,000 troops, some 60 warships--including aircraft carriers, cruisers and nuclear-powered submarines--more than 120 aircraft fighters and anti-sub reconnaissance planes were used during the exercises.

This was the eighth time joint exercises have been conducted in the western Pacific Ocean since 1971. The first time Japan participated in the exercises was in 1981.

CSO: 4000/95

FRG, U.S. SIGN NEW AGREEMENT ON MILITARY FORCES

OW161222 Beijing XINHUA in English 1208 GMT 16 Apr 82

[Text] Bonn, April 15 (XINHUA)--An agreement to increase U.S. military forces in West Germany to "more than twice their present strength" at times of tension was signed by the two countries here today.

Under the agreement, the United States will, within 10 days at times of war or crisis, bring its troop strength in the country from the present four divisions to ten. West Germany will provide 93,000 military reserves in support of the U.S. reinforcements. It will also undertake to protect U.S. military installations, maintain communication links and provide logistic supplies.

The agreement will be in force in 1983 for a period of four years. Its implementation requires a cost of 1.2 billion marks, of which 0.55 billion marks will be covered by West Germany through military appropriations.

Foreign Minister of West Germany Hans-Dietrich Genscher said at the signing ceremony that the agreement will increase NATO's deterrent force in Central Europe and therefore accords with the interests of West Germany and the whole alliance.

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CANADA CELEBRATES FULL INDEPENDENCE FROM UK

OW180808 Beijing XINHUA in English 0737 GMT 18 Apr 82

[Text] Ottawa, April 17 (XINHUA)--Fifty thousand Canadians gathered at the Parliament Hill here this morning in a grand celebration of Canada's full independence following the patriation of the country's constitution from Britain.

From now on Canada has full power to execute and reform its own constitution.

When Queen Elizabeth II formally proclaimed the patriation of the constitution at the ceremony, the excited crowds began to sing "O Canada," their national anthem. The red and white maple leaf, Canada's national flag, was everywhere to meet the eye.

Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau declared "at long last, Canada is acquiring full and complete national sovereignty."

Canada was constituted in 1867 as a self-governing federation within the British Empire and it achieved independent status in 1931. However, colonial vestiges still remained. According to the old constitution, the British North American act adopted by British parliament 115 years ago, Britain retained the power of amending the constitution.

After many years of great differences between Canada's federal and provincial governments, a bill to patriate and amend the British North American act as Canada's new constitution was agreed upon and passed by the Canadian parliament last December to end the anomalous situation.

The new constitution, which includes a charter of rights, does not alter Canada's status as a member of the British commonwealth with the queen as its head of state.

While the majority of the Canadian people are pleased with the complete independence, the opposition to the new constitution from Quebec Province, observers say, might become an unstabilizing factor in the country's politics.

CSO: 4000/95

NICARAGUA PROTESTS PRESENCE OF U.S. WARSHIP

OW170144 Beijing XINHUA in English 1900 GMT 16 Apr 82

[Text] Beijing, April 16 (XINHUA)--The Nicaraguan Government has urged the United States to withdraw a U.S. Navy destroyer from Nicaraguan territorial waters, according to a report from Managua.

In a protest note to the U.S. Government the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry said Thursday the three-day presence of the destroyer in Nicaraguan waters "violated Nicaragua's territorial sovereignty."

BARRICADA, newspaper of Nicaragua's ruling Sandinist Liberation Front, identified the destroyer as the USS Coontz and said the vessel is equipped with missiles and torpedoes.

"This act of force is a clear denial of the publicized desire of the U.S. Government to contribute to a lessening of tensions in the region and confirms that it continues not to rule out military adventures against Nicaragua," the letter said.

Nicaragua yesterday extended a one-month state of emergency, declared March 1 to ready the nation for what it defined as an imminent U.S.-backed invasion by Nicaraguan exiles.

Nicaragua also offered to Washington yesterday a 13-point plan to improve strained relations between the two countries. The plan counters an eight-point proposal announced last week by the United States.

The Nicaraguan plan reportedly calls for the withdrawal of U.S. warships from Central American waters and for an end to U.S. spy flights over Nicaragua.

It also calls for the closure of military training camps in the United States used by Nicaraguans and the prohibition of force in the solution of disputes in Central America and the Caribbean.

CSO: 4000/95

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. SAYS USSR WORLD'S BIGGEST ARMS DEALER

OW301333 Beijing XINHUA in English 1243 GMT 30 Apr 82

[Text] Washington, April 29 (XINHUA)--The U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has said that the Soviet Union exported 9.6 billion dollars in military equipment to other countries in 1979, as against 5.1 billion dollars from the United States when global arms exports hit a record high of nearly 24 billion dollars.

In its latest survey released here yesterday, the agency said a considerable amount of arms were delivered to the developing countries. During the 1977-1980 period, the arms sold to these countries by the Soviet Union and the United States were 27,529 million and 17,260 million dollars, nearly 40 percent and 16 percent respectively of the total arms deliveries to the Third World.

The Soviet Union has increasingly used arms transfers "as a major instrument for its foreign policy of expansion," says the report. According to an analysis made by the report, during the period 1977 through 1980, the Soviet Union entered into arms transfer agreements with 38 Third World countries. Soviet arms sales were focused on strategically-located countries in North Africa, the Middle East and South Asia. In South Asia, the primary Soviet arms agreements were signed with Vietnam. Cuba was the major Latin American recipient of Soviet arms.

One of the main objectives of the Soviet arms sales is to acquire hard currencies in order to meet balance of payments deficits resulting from the trade with the West.

The U.S. administration has also stepped up arms sales and used it as a major instrument of foreign policy. It is reported that the Reagan administration is prepared to sell a total of more than 24 billion dollars in arms in fiscal 1982, compared to a record 15.8 billion dollars in 1975 during the Ford administration. But even with the projected increase in U.S. deliveries in the 1980's, the Soviet Union would remain the world's most active weapons merchant.

CSO: 4000/95

CHINESE COMMENTARY ON YUGOSLAVIA

Austrian, Yugoslav Presidents Meet

OW162208 Beijing XINHUA in English 1554 GMT 16 Apr 82

[Text] Belgrade, April 15 (XINHUA)--Austrian President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger concluded a three-day visit here today with the assurance to further his country's political, economic and cultural cooperation with Yugoslavia.

According to a joint communique issued here, the two sides agreed to promote bilateral trade, economic cooperation and coordination in production. Efforts will also be made to put economic relations between the two countries on a long stable and balanced basis, the communique said.

While visiting Zagreb, capital of Croatia, President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger had talks with the president of the presidency of Croatia, Jakov Blazevic, and other officials.

The issue of processing in Croatia some 1.5 million tonnes of oil to be exported to Austria was discussed during the talks in Zagreb. The talks also concerned the possibilities of Austrian investments in harbour facilities in Rijeka for handling Austrian goods in transit. The Austrian president also paid a visit to the "Rade Koncar" factory which cooperates successfully with some Austrian firms.

According to the communique, Kirchschlaeger said Austria will ensure the rights and positions of Yugoslavia's Croatian and Slovene minorities in Austria. He also pledged to improve the position of Yugoslav workers in Austria and their working and living conditions.

The Austrian president also met Yugoslav President Sergej Kraigher and exchanged views on international issues, the communique said.

The two presidents firmly opposed the use and threat of force in international relations. Both presidents upheld respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country. They called for an immediate halt of arms race, the beginning of real nuclear disarmament and the reduction of conventional weapons.

The two presidents noted, the communique said, that the ever increasing antagonism and arms race between blocs are threatening world peace and security.

Progress in Economic Development

OW221213 Beijing XINHUA in English 1213 GMT 22 Apr 82

[Text] Belgrade, April 21 (XINHUA)--Per capita national income in Yugoslavia increased from 1,840 U.S. dollars in 1978 to about 2,800 dollars in 1981. The gross output value increased on the average by 4.8 percent a year, and industrial production, 6.2 percent.

These figures were disclosed today by Veselin Djuranovic, president of the federal executive council, in his working report to the assembly.

Djuranovic said that during his tenure of office, apart from agriculture, all economic departments have increased production by a big margin. The rate of employment increased 3.6 percent. In four years time, about 797,000 people found work. In the past two years, there has been a sharp decrease in deficits in trade and international payments.

In the report, Djuranovic also listed the problems and difficulties in the country's economic construction and analysed their causes.

He gave the problems as: More processing departments and less infra-structural ones; the development of energy department cannot keep pace with the increased demand for energy; inadequate export against a glut of import; decentralized use of foreign exchange, etc.

The government has taken energetic measures to tackle these problems and difficulties, the president added.

New Government Ministers

OW301355 Beijing XINHUA in English 1233 GMT 30 Apr 82

[Text] Belgrade, April 29 (XINHUA)--The federal conference of the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance today accepted the nomination of the government members proposed by premier designate Milka Planinc, according to TANJUG.

Milka Planinc, 57, was nominated for the sixth premier designate of the federal executive council by the presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic last January. She is Yugoslavia's first woman premier designate.

Some of the proposed 29 new government members were nominated on the basis of equality of the six republics, each with two candidates.

According to the list, Zvone Dragan, Borislav Srebric and Mijat Sukovic are candidates for vice-premiers; Branko Mamula for the federal secretary of

national defence; Lazar Mojsov for the federal secretary for foreign affairs; Srane Dolanc for the federal secretary of internal affairs; Joze Florjancic for the federal secretary of finance and Milenko Bojanic for the federal secretary of foreign trade.

The average age of the new government candidates is 51. The youngest is 41 and the oldest 62. All of them have rich experience in work and served at different posts of the federal republics or (?provinces).

The list of new government will be submitted to the assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for approval on May 15.

Anniversary of Tito's Death

OW050810 Beijing XINHUA in English 0704 GMT 5 May 82

[Text] Belgrade, May 4 (XINHUA)--Yugoslav people of various nationalities today solemnly marked the second anniversary of the death of President Josip Broz Tito, their beloved leader.

At 3:05 p.m., sirens of all factories, steamers and trains wailed simultaneously, cars, trolleys and tractors stopped running, pedestrians in the street, workers in the plants and students in the classrooms all observed one minute's silence to pay homage to President Tito.

At 3:06 p.m., a Yugoslav federal delegation led by President Sergej Kraigher and including president of presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Dusan Dragosavac and chairman of parliament Dragoslav Markovic, laid flowers at Tito's tomb.

A delegation of the Yugoslav people's army headed by Defense Minister General Nikola Ljubicic also laid a wreath at Tito's tomb.

Tito's photos and articles to his memory were frontpaged by the newspapers throughout the country today. Some of Tito's important recorded speeches were broadcast by the radio and T.V. stations.

CSO: 4000/103

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REAGAN HOLDS TALKS WITH TUNISIAN PRIME MINISTER

OW300853 Beijing XINHUA in English 0823 GMT 30 Apr 82

[Text] Washington, April 29 (XINHUA)--U.S. President Ronald Reagan met with Tunisian Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali here today at the end of the latter's three-day official working visit to the United States.

The president said that he and Mzali exchanged views on the Middle East and he reassured the Tunisian prime minister of U.S. commitment to "seeking to bring a just and lasting peace" to the region.

At a press conference held here this afternoon, the Tunisian Prime Minister said that during his meeting with Reagan they came to an agreement that it is "urgent to find conditions appropriate for peace" in the Middle East because he said the situation there is "dangerous" and "explosive."

"We can show that we do want peace by recognizing the rights of Palestine so their people can have their own right and their own country," he noted.

The prime minister believed that Egypt's recovery of its territory Sinai through negotiations "is very good for Egypt" and such a policy "can be envisioned by all concerned parties."

The prime minister began his visit to the United States on the evening of April 26. Since then he has discussed with Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, Secretary of State Alexander Haig and members of congress bilateral relations and the situation in North Africa.

During the visit, a bilateral security assistance agreement was signed, under which the United States is to provide Tunisia with 85 million dollars in foreign military sales credits in the current fiscal year. An administration official said this will enable Tunisia "to begin purchasing a modest number of aircraft, tanks and missiles to deter outside aggression."

CSO: 4000/95

FRG SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY HOLDS CONGRESS

Congress Opens

OW201212 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Bonn, April 19 (XINHUA)--The Social Democratic Party (SPD), the biggest ruling political party in West Germany, opened a congress in Munich today with calls for creation of more jobs and guarantees for peace and freedom.

Opening today's session, SPD leader Willy Brandt appealed for party unity to regain confidence from the electorate. He said the congress was held at a time when the party had greater difficulties than it did ever before.

He noted that economic policies, those on employment in particular, would be the focus of the discussions of the five-day congress. He believed that the country's economic structure should be so altered as to allow greater worker participation in the drive to raise productivity and improve working conditions. To further modernize the economy, attention must be paid to economizing energy, the SPD leader added.

Experts predict that the present serious unemployment could not be easily alleviated and would remain somewhere between 1.5 million and 2 million for the next three years.

Disarmament was another major topic in Brandt's address. Recognizing that his party is bitterly divided on the planned deployment on new U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe, he called on his party to support Chancellor Schmidt's position to deploy them from next year if the present U.S.-Soviet talks on reduction of medium range missiles fails.

The Social Democrats are not anti-American on the missile problem and they are not neutralists, Brandt stressed. However, he noted, "I very much doubt that the policy of detente--or what is left of it--will survive the 1980's if there are no concrete advances in disarmament." The policy of detente was initiated by Brandt when he was West German chancellor in the early 1970's.

The 400 delegates of the SPD congress will continue their discussions through to April 23. About 1,000 guests and reporters also attended the opening congress session held at the Wiass Olympic Hall.

Party Leaders Elected

OW230903 Beijing XINHUA in English 0839 GMT 23 Apr 82

[Text] Munich, April 22 (XINHUA)--The congress of West Germany's ruling Social Democratic Party (SPD) being held here today re-elected Willy Brandt as chairman and chancellor Helmut Schmidt as deputy chairman of the party.

Johannes Rau, a state premier of North Rhine-Westphalia, was elected a second deputy chairman of the party. He takes over from Hans-Juergen Wischnewski, who is expected to return to the chancellor's office to become a minister of state. Johannes Rau, 51, is widely tipped to be a possible successor to chancellor Schmidt.

During today's debate, the congress rejected by an overwhelming majority the left-wingers' demand to suspend the NATO plan to deploy new American nuclear missiles in West Germany. Another anti-nuclear demand, a two-year moratorium on the construction of nuclear power plants, was also thwarted at the congress.

Congress Reviewed

OW251516 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 25 Apr 82

["Roundup: SPD Congress--A Compromise Congress"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Bonn, April 24 (XINHUA correspondent Hu Yongzhen)--A five-day national congress of the West German Social Democratic Party (SPD) ended yesterday in a compromise between all factions in the party who are determined to safeguard the position of SPD as a ruling party.

The congress beginning April 19 was held when SPD was beset with difficulties. The party's prestige is declining steadily because of intensifying conflicts between factions in the party, sluggish economy at home, increasing unemployment, financial difficulties and various setbacks in foreign affairs.

A large number of SPD members who are dissatisfied with the situation have quit the party. Last year alone, 33,000 members withdrew from SPD, accounting for 3.3 percent of the entire membership.

SPD's disadvantageous position has sharpened its contradictions with another ruling party--the Free Democratic Party (FDP), which has created uncertainty in the Bonn government and jeopardized its position as a ruling party.

In order to change the situation, the SPD congress stressed the need to keep power and the determination to make a "new start." On the other hand, all factions within the party exercised restraint and reached a compromise in an attempt to ease the contradictions.

At the congress, SPD President Willy Brandt, chancellor Helmut Schmidt and others all avoided any sharp words in their speeches for fear of irritating the opposition. Brandt called on the whole party to support the federal government. He firmly stood on the side of Schmidt on major issues such as arms supplementation and the development of nuclear energy.

Schmidt openly admitted mistakes in his speech.

Signs of compromise can also be found in the three resolutions adopted at the congress.

The congress approved with overwhelming majority the draft resolution initiated by the left-wing on the issue of economy and employment, which calls for the increase of taxation and enlargement of national debts so as to increase national investments and create more jobs.

The resolution lays emphasis on the launching of an "employment offensive" in the 1980's to give priority to the achievement of full employment.

The SPD congress rejected the left-wing draft resolution on abolishing the supplementation of arms and on suspending the deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear weapons during the U.S.-Soviet negotiations on medium-range nuclear weapons being held in Geneva.

In another resolution, the congress rejected the left-wing proposal for the stoppage for two years of the construction of nuclear power plants and adhered to the policy of the Schmidt government on limited development of nuclear energy.

Although the contradictions inside the Social Democratic Party have been alleviated a bit through the congress, they are far from being solved and the party still faces a hard time. On the issue of arms supplementation, the left-wing said it would continue to fight against the deployment of U.S. missiles in West Germany.

It remains to be seen that in what degree the government could enforce the resolution on economy and employment adopted at the congress. So is the question on how SPD could iron out the differences on economic and social problems such as the policy of employment.

Generally speaking, however, the SPD congress constituted a positive factor in stabilizing the present political situation in West Germany.

CSO: 4000/104

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHINESE COMMENTARY ON ROMANIA

Ceausescu Comments on Cooperation

HK191224 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Apr 82 p 1

[Report: "President Ceausescu Warmly Answers Two Questions Put by RENMIN RIBAO Reporter During Press Conference"]

[Text] Romanian Socialist Republic President and Communist Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu held a press conference for Chinese and foreign reporters at which he warmly answered two questions put to him by a RENMIN RIBAO reporter regarding his impressions of his present visit to China and prospects for Sino-Romanian friendly cooperation.

Comrade Ceausescu said, "The great successes won by the Chinese people in developing their economy and in their work have left me with a very good impression." He said he had visited Shenyang, Liaoning and had seen a machine tool plant there. He said that they had noticed the plant attached great importance to technical reforms and to raising the quality of its products. The plant was undergoing structural reform and had adopted measures to raise the people's living standard.

In replying to the question on Sino-Romanian friendly cooperation, Comrade Ceausescu told the reporters, "Agreements and protocols have been signed. Among them is a long-term programmatic agreement on economic, scientific and technological cooperation." He said, "These documents will lay a solid foundation for our future long-term cooperation." He said that the two countries had also reached an agreement to cooperate on several production projects, such as coalmining, nonferrous metal mining and other projects. Ceausescu stressed, "All this will open new vistas for the development of Sino-Romanian relations."

Romanian Papers Hail Visit

OW191916 Beijing XINHUA in English 1844 GMT 19 Apr 82

[Text] Bucharest, April 19 (XINHUA)--Romanian papers have in the last few days issued commentaries, highly appraising President Nicolae Ceausescu's fruitful visit to China.

SCINTEIA (THE SPARK) said in a commentary yesterday that the visit was a political event of far-reaching significance and constituted a new important miledone of cooperation between Romania and China.

It pointed out, the talks held between President Ceausescu and Chairman Hu Yaobang, Premier Zhao Ziyang, Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping and other leading members of the Chinese party and government were a manifestation of mutual respect, trust and understanding between close friends and between close comrades. The Romanian people, watching the visit with warm and joyful feelings and a sense of pride of patriotism, noticed the warm hospitality and high respect the Romanian envoy received on China's soil.

A commentary of "Romania Libera" (Free Romania) said today that all communist party members and the entire people of Romania warmly welcome the rich fruits of this visit and regard them as a vivid expression of the friendship and unity between Romania and China, an important contribution to the promotion of an all-round cooperation between the two parties and two countries, which is conducive to socialism, progress and peace.

Referring to the agreements signed during the visit, the Romanian press pointed out that the long-term programmatic agreement on the development of the economic and scientific and technical cooperation between Romania and China is a historic document in the annals of friendship between the two countries, which, together with other agreements, provide a long range and stable prospect for the bilateral cooperation.

Many newspapers also stressed that the fact that the two countries have identical or similar views on major international problems has laid a basis for the two countries to cooperate more closely on the international arena.

A SCINTEIA commentary pointed out that in view of the different economic and social conditions of the two countries, and since the specific realities must be taken into consideration as there is no fixed pattern for building socialism, it is only natural that differences exist between the two sides on certain issues.

The Romanian-Sino relationship is based on this precondition, the paper wrote. Relations between the two countries have developed noticeably because they have adhered to the revolutionary principles of scientific socialism, total equality, mutual respect for independence and sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and mutual benefit.

It is only based on these principles, the paper said, that friendly cooperation and unity can be guaranteed among the socialist countries and among the communist and workers' parties of various countries.

Ceausescu Returns to Bucharest

OW220852 Beijing XINHUA in English 0705 GMT 22 Apr 82

[Text] Bucharest, April 21 (XINHUA)--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and comrade Elena Ceausescu returned here this afternoon after their successful visits to the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Arriving here in the same special plane with President Ceausescu and his wife were Ion Dinca, member of the RCP executive political committee and first deputy prime minister; Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the RCP executive political committee and minister of foreign affairs; Ioan Ursu, alternate member of the RCP executive political committee and first vice-chairman of the national council for science and technology; and others.

Among the several thousand citizens at the airport to welcome the delegation were Ilie Verdet, member of the RCP executive political committee and prime ministers, and other party, government and army leaders as well as representatives of mass organizations and science, culture and arts circles.

Charge d'affaires of the Chinese Embassy Tian Jingfeng and the charge d'affaires of the Korean Embassy Yi Ha-(?Chun) were also present at the airport.

Ceausescu Visit Praised

OW281520 Beijing XINHUA in English 1503 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] Bucharest, April 27 (XINHUA)--President Nicolae Ceausescu's recent visit to China was a "historical event" in the annals of friendship, unity and close cooperation between Romania and China.

This appraisal was made by the executive political committee of the central committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] at a meeting today.

The meeting heard a report by Ceausescu who is also general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party. It pointed out the fruitful results of the visit.

The meeting noted the smooth development of Sino-Romanian relations on the foundation laid by President Ceausescu with Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai and in the spirit of mutual respect for national independence and state sovereignty, equality, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, mutual benefit and comradely mutual assistance.

During the visit, Ceausescu had fruitful talks with Chairman Hu Yaobang, Premier Zhao Ziyang and Vice-Chairmen Deng Xiaoping and Li Xiannian. The talks played a decisive role in promoting the good relations between the two parties, the two countries and the two peoples, the meeting pointed out.

the two sides decided to strengthen cooperation between the two parties and promote political contacts and cooperation between the governments, national assemblies, mass organizations and social groups of the two countries. This is of great importance in promoting the friendly relations and cooperation between the two sides, the meeting noted.

It held that the agreements and documents signed between the two sides on economic development and cooperation in science and technology will serve as a great impetus to the cooperation between the two countries, and facilitate their socialist construction.

The meeting demanded that all ministries of the government and party organizations take measures to fulfill the decisions made during comrade Ceausescu's visit.

It also stressed the importance of exchanges of views between party and government leaders of the two countries on international issues. It attached special importance to the determination of the two parties and two governments to further cooperate for resolving various complex problems confronting mankind.

The meeting also expressed satisfaction with Ceausescu's reaffirmation of Romania's firm support for China's position on the Taiwan issue.

The meeting also heard a report by Ceausescu on his visit to Korea and highly appraised the results of the visit.

Romania's May Day Festivities Noted

OW010906 Beijing XINHUA in English 0822 GMT 1 May 82

[Text] Bucharest, April 30 (XINHUA)--Romanian party and state leaders today joined several thousand citizens in a mass rally here to celebrate international labour day.

Present on the occasion were Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic, Prime Minister Ilie Verdit and former prime ministers Ion Gheorghe Maurer and Manea Manescu, both in retirement, and other veteran revolutionaries.

First Deputy Prime Minister Gheorghe Oprea, who is also a member of the executive political committee of the central committee of the Romanian Communist Party, told the mass rally Romania had accelerated the process of making the structure of industrial production suit the new demands of economic development last year.

He said industrial output value and exports in the first quarter of this year increased compared with the same period of last year while imports dropped by 13 percent.

The participants saw a performance of songs and dances after the speech.

CSO: 4000/102

BRIEFS

U.S. IN KENYA--Nairobi, May 1 (XINHUA)--A U.S. naval task fleet of nine ships sailed in Mombasa port today for a seven-day visit, reported the DAILY NATION today. The fleet is led by aircraft carrier "John F. Kennedy," with [figure indistinct] officers and men on board. On the flag ship is Rear Admiral E. H. Martin, commander of a U.S. naval task group. Other ships of the fleet include destroyers "Barney" and "Spruance," submarine "Cavalla," cruiser "Josephus Daniels," frigates "Robert E. Peary" and "Marvin Shields," repair ship "Hector" and replenishment oiler "Wichita." The U.S. fleet will cruise in the Indian Ocean before sailing home to North Virginia. [as printed] [Text] [OW020726 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 2 May 82]

FOREIGN OFFICIALS TOUR CHINA -- Beijing, April 23 (XINHUA)--Military attaches and deputy military attaches of various countries to China and their wives returned here today after visiting Xi'an in Shaanxi Province and Kunming and The Dai Autonomous Prefecture of Xishuangbana in Yunnan Province, at the invitation of the Chinese Ministry of National Defense. They were accompanied on the trip by Chai Chengwen, director of the Foreign Affairs Bureau under the Ministry of National Defense, and his wife. Between April 14 and 23, they visited military academies, industrial and agricultural establishments, scenic spots and places of historical interest and joined the people of the Dai nationality in Yunnan in marking the water-splashing festival. [Text] [OW231742 Beijing XINHUA in English 1633 GMT 23 Apr 82]

UK, U.S. TALKS--Washington, April 22 (XINHUA)--Visiting British Foreign Secretary Francis Pym and U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig today held a four-hour-long discussion for settling the British-Argentine crisis over the Malvinis (Falkland) Islands. They agreed to meet again tomorrow. It was disclosed that Pym explained to Haig the details of the British three-point proposal on solving the crisis. No details of the proposal were disclosed. When reporters asked whether he hoped for a peaceful settlement, Pym replied: "There is always hope, but I have never disguised the difficulty of it." Argentina last Tuesday put forward its new proposals during the talks between Argentine leaders and U.S. mediator Haig. But British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher later said that those proposals fell short of British objectives. [Text] [OW231718 Beijing XINHUA in English 1641 GMT 23 Apr 82]

REAGAN-BREZHNEV MEETING--Washington, April 20 (XINHUA)--U.S. President Reagan said here today that he still hopes to meet Soviet leader Brezhnev in New York in June when a United Nations disarmament session is held. During a question and answer session at the White House, Reagan told the press: "I would hope that he would find a possibility there and that we could have a meeting." "But not in any sense that that would replace a later summit meeting, a full summit meeting, in which there would be adequate preparation on both sides," the president added. Reagan's remarks today are a response to Soviet leader Brezhnev who, having rejected Reagan's April 5 proposal for a June summit, proposed instead to meet the U.S. President in a "third country" in October. [Text] [OW210957 Beijing XINHUA in English 0749 GMT 21 Apr 82]

DPRK PROTEST WITH S. KOREA--Pyongyang, April 22 (XINHUA)--Major General Han Chu-kyong, senior member of the Korea-China side to the Korean Military Armistice Commission, yesterday lodged strong protest with the South Korean side, according to a KCNA report. Through two telephone calls, he protested against South Korea's military provocations against civil policemen of the northern part of Korea on a routine patrol duty in the demilitarized zone. Han Chu-kyong pointed out that the South Korean side should take responsible measures to prevent repetition of such incidents. At around 17:00 on April 21 the South Korean army fired several large-calibre machine-gun shots from a spot 1,300 metres south of the military demarcation line market No 1008 in the eastern sector of the front into the portion of the northern part of Korea. Earlier, at around 15:10, it fired several automatic rifle shots from a spot 350 metres southeast of the MDL marker No 10055 in the eastern sector of the front. [Text] [OW221822 Beijing XINHUA in English 1556 GMT 22 Apr 82]

PAKISTANI-INDIAN TALKS--Islamabad, April 27 (XINHUA)--Pakistani Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Ali Khan said this evening Pakistan welcomes the resumption of Indo-Pak talks on a no-war pact but does not press New Delhi to resume these talks, according to APP. The foreign minister, who returned to the capital this evening via Karachi after a goodwill visit to China, said at Islamabad airport: "We have left to them (New Delhi) to choose the time which suits them and which is propitious from their point of view of resuming the talks which were not interrupted by us." Asked about the content of the message reported to have been sent to Indian Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao through the Pakistani ambassador to India, Yaqub Khan said the message was a reply to Mr Narasimha Rao's congratulatory message on his assumption of office as the foreign minister of Pakistan. [Text] [OW280252 Beijing XINHUA in English 0231 GMT 28 Apr 82]

EAST ASIA TENNIS ASSOCIATION--Hong Kong, April 15 (XINHUA)--The East Asia Tennis Association was set up at a meeting held at Hotel Plaza here this morning. Representatives of the tennis associations from China, Japan, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, Hong Kong, China's Taibei, South Korea and Macao attended the meeting. The meeting decided that the membership of China's Taibei in the East Asia Tennis Association will be

treated in accordance with the resolutions of the International Olympic Committee and the International Lawn Tennis Federation regarding the change of the name, flag and anthem. F. K. Hu, executive president of the Hong Kong Tennis Association, was elected chairman of the East Asia Tennis Association at the meeting. Eiichi Kawapei of Japan was elected secretary-general of the association. [Text] [OW151412 Beijing XINHUA in English 1306 GMT 15 Apr 82]

INDIANS TO CHINA--New Delhi, April 14 (XINHUA)--Indian pilgrims will visit Kangrinboqe of the Gandise range and Mapam Lake in Tibet of China between June and September this year in eight batches of 25 each, an Indian Foreign Ministry spokesman announced. This will be the second time that pilgrimages are undertaken since China agreed to allow Indians to visit the holy places last June. The last pilgrimage to Mount Kangrinboqe and Mapam Lake took place between September and October, last year. The spokesman said that the Chinese side had agreed to provide the pilgrims with tents, cooking utensils, fuel and beddings at the base camps. Tents will also be made available to them at sites of overnight halts. The pilgrims will set off from New Delhi and cross Lipu-Lekh Pass into Tibet where they will stay for 12 days. [Text] [OW151402 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 15 Apr 82]

PAKISTAN N-POWER PLANT--Islamabad, April 14 (XINHUA)--A nuclear power plant project at (Chashma) in Northwest Frontier Province was approved Tuesday by the Executive Committee of the National Economic Council of Pakistan, according to a government news release. The 937-megawatt plant, scheduled for completion in mid-1980, will cost Rs.16,818 million. Pakistan has a single nuclear power plant at Karachi. [Text] [OW141612 Beijing XINHUA in English 1503 GMT 14 Apr 82]

HUNGARY'S KADAR ENDS FRG VISIT--Bonn, 28 Apr (XINHUA)--Hungarian leader Janos Kadar today ended his two-day visit to West Germany. He held talks with chancellor Helmut Schmidt on international situations, security policies and bilateral relations. At a joint press conference held after the talks, both sides expressed their readiness to seek detente and further expand their relations. But, the differences in their views on the Soviet missile build-up in Europe and Moscow's military intervention in Afghanistan remained. Kadar was the first East European leader to visit a Western country after martial law was enforced in Poland. [Text] [OW291144 Beijing XINHUA in English 0721 GMT 29 Apr 82]

OFFICE OF FRG INAUGURATED--Beijing, 16 Apr (XINHUA)--The representative office of the Commerzbank of West Germany in Beijing was inaugurated today. This is the third West German bank office in Beijing. Dr Walter Seipp, chairman of the board of managing directors of the Commerzbank, officiated at a celebration reception this evening. Among the 300 people attending the reception were Chang Yanqing, vice-president of the Bank of China; Li Peng, vice-minister of finance; and Chinese and foreign economists and financiers. Dr Seipp and Chang Yanqing toasted the growth of financial cooperation between the two banks. [Text] [OW162046 Beijing XINHUA in English 1506 GMT 16 Apr 82]

CSO: 4000/104

'LIAOWANG' COMMENTS ON REFORM OF CADRE SYSTEM

HK010642 Beijing LIAOWANG in Chinese No 3, 20 Mar 82 pp 5-7

[Commentator's article: "The Strategic Policy for Reforming the Cadre System"]

[Text] The smooth progress of the work of streamlining the administrative structure has been followed by a major reform of our cadre system.

On 2 March, premier of the State Council Zhao Ziyang gave a report on the problem of the State Council's streamlining of the administrative structure at the 22d session of the 5th NPC Standing Committee. This stirring report has produced a great impact at home and abroad. From Premier Zhao Ziyang's report, people have noted that over the past 2 months, our country's work of streamlining the administrative structure has been carried out in a smooth and healthy manner. In reforming government organs, the State Council and the various departments under it are setting examples. Some departments that started the effort relatively early have abolished or integrated some units with too many overlapping or superfluous organs under them. The situation of leading groups being staffed by old people and the number of holders of the title of assistant being excessive is rapidly changing. Many veteran cadres who have made major contributions to revolution and construction have taken the initiative to withdraw from the first line. A number of younger cadres, who have both ability and political integrity and who are in the prime of life and well trained in special fields, are taking up leadership posts. With the State Council and the organs of various departments under it streamlined, work personnel will be reduced by one-third from the present number. Meanwhile, a retirement system for cadres and other systems are also being gradually established and improved upon.

For a period of time, cable messages poured in from all parts of the world reading as follows:

The streamlining of the administrative structure shows that the political situation in China is stable. This is a sign of national prosperity;

This administrative reform can be considered one that carries the great significance of "a second revolution";

This campaign will change the face of the government of China;

The aim of this reform is to improve work efficiency, reduce bureaucratism and red tape and bring a new atmosphere to the government;

China's bold and decisive act to streamline bureaucracy is really cause for admiration.

World opinion is sensitive to the reform being carried out in China. This is no small thing. It shows that this reform is a major event that not only has to do with whether our socialist modernization can proceed smoothly but also concerns whether full play can be given to the superiority of our socialist system. Everyone of our communist party members and everyone of our office cadres must correctly understand the deep significance of this reform. They must assume a correct attitude toward this great reform and consciously accomplish this glorious task with which we are charged by history.

New Problems Under the New Situation

Why should we want to reform the existing cadre system? This is, of course, not a decision promoted by any individual's subjective will. It is still less a problem raised on the spur of the moment. This is a major strategic policy decision that the CCP Central Committee worked out from a long-term point of view and with the interests of the party and the people in mind and after conscientious investigation and study and careful consideration.

Since the time from the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee to the 6th plenary session, the situation in our country has undergone a series of major changes. Our country has entered a new period of historical development. Our party has completed the historical task of turning chaos into order, as far as guiding ideology is concerned. The whole party and the entire nation has shifted the emphasis in work to socialist modernization. In line with new historical conditions, we have charted a new path of developing the national economy that suits the national conditions of China. Given this new situation, the fundamental task of our people is to firmly and unswervingly realize the socialist modernization of our country in accordance with the party's political line in the new historical period. While creating a high degree of material civilization, we must achieve a high degree of spiritual civilization. This is the Marxist line.

But who is to be relied upon in carrying out this Marxist line? Who is to be relied upon to carry out the weighty historical tasks of the party in the new period? With the political line defined, cadres are the decisive factor. For the political line, we must rely on the organizational line as a guarantee. We must rely on cadres at all levels to lead the masses in carrying it out.

Now, one prominent contradiction is that the situation existing among our cadre ranks is quite incompatible with the demands of socialist modernization.

Our existing 20 million cadres are the cherished wealth of the party and state. They have made major contributions to our revolution and construction and to the implementation of the party's general and specific policies in the new period. But given the changes in our historical tasks, the composition of our cadre ranks has proved irrational. The percentage of professionally trained cadres is too small. Among leading groups at all levels, middle-aged and young cadres represent quite a small proportion. The situation of old cadres dominating their staff is serious. The retirement system for cadres and other systems have yet to be really established. Some shortcomings also exist in other aspects of the cadre system. Related to these problems are overstaffed bureaucracy, an excessive number of organs at all levels, superfluity of workers, a serious state of bureaucratism and low work efficiency. This situation has seriously interfered with the smooth progress of our socialist modernization.

Concerning leading cadres at all levels, how should we bring about a staff dominated by people who are revolutionary, knowledgeable, professionally trained and younger? How should we properly train and select successors and guarantee the permanency and continuity of the party's general and specific policies organizationally? How should we reform the existing cadre system in line with the demands of socialist modernization? These are new problems we are faced with in the new situation.

To solve these problems, the CCP Central Committee has adopted a strategic policy decision to reform the cadre system.

'Seven Measurements and One Cutting'

Early this year, Comrade Hu Yaobang said in an important speech that only after 2 years of careful consideration did the CCP Central Committee decide to take action on this important matter.

That is a fact.

As early as in December 1978, the third plenary session of the CCP Central Committee reaffirmed the Marxist ideological line, political line and organizational line. Since the third plenary session, the CCP Central Committee has taken a series of important measures on reforming the leadership system and the cadre system.

In the second half of 1979, Comrade Deng Xiaoping went to Jianjin, Shanghai, Shandong and other areas to make investigations and studies and made a point of studying the conditions of the cadre ranks. On 16 January 1980, Comrade Xiaoping gave a report entitled "The Current Situation and Tasks." He pointed out that in realizing socialist modernization, we must solve four problems. One of them is that we must have a contingent of cadres who adhere to the socialist road and who are professionally trained and knowledgeable.

In February 1980, the fifth plenary session of the CCP Central Committee called for abolishing lifelong tenure that has actually existed for leading cadres. This session additionally elected a Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and decided to set up the secretariat of the party Central Committee. Thus, an important step was taken in reforming the leadership system for the party. At this session, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun and other leading comrades of the older generation showed great concern over the reform of our country's leadership system and cadre system. They said that the ultimate aim of us communist party members is to realize communism. This is a long drawn-out and arduous great task and cannot be accomplished in one or two generations. It must be carried on from generation to generation in a continuous struggle! Cultivating and training successors and especially successors to the CCP Central Committee is really a very important and urgent strategic task confronting us. Our party committees at all levels and old comrades in particular must never for a minute forget that they are shouldering this solemn responsibility.

On 18 August 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping gave an important speech at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee. This speech analyzed the defects existing in the leadership system of the party and the state, the cadre system and other aspects and put forth major measures for effecting gradual reform. He said: "To reform the leadership system of the party and of the state and other systems is to give full play to the superior features of the socialist system, and speed up the development of socialist modernization." "Many shortcomings still exist in some concrete systems being followed by the party and the state, hampering and even seriously preventing the development of the superiority of socialism." "As far as the leadership system of the party and of the state and of the cadre system are concerned, the major defects are the phenomenon of bureaucratism, the phenomenon of excessive concentration, the phenomenon of patriarchy, the phenomenon of lifelong tenure for leading cadres and various other phenomena marked by special privileges." After this speech, our party and state further accelerated the pace of reforming the leadership system and the cadre system.

In September 1980, the third session of the Fifth NPC discussed the problem of overcoming bureaucratism and analyzed the various manifestations of bureaucratism in the state's existing management system and their causes. It stresses the need to seek solutions by reforming the various systems. At the suggestion of the CCP Central Committee, this session appointed Comrade Zhao Ziyang as premier of the State Council and agreed to let several old comrades who had made magnificent contributions to the party and state leave their posts as vice premiers of the State Council and vice chairmen of the NPC Standing Committee. This session took another important step forward in stimulating the reform of the leadership of the state and the abolition of lifelong tenure for cadres.

In June 1981, the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee made new arrangements for the principal party leading members and elected Comrade Hu Yaobang as chairman of the CCP Central Committee.

On 1 July, in his speech at the meeting in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out clearly that our party and state are in an important historical period, a period in which we are bringing order out of chaos, carrying on our cause and forging ahead. He said: "In order to ensure that there is an adequate number of successors to carry on our cause and guarantee continuity in our party's guidelines and policies, we must devote much of our energy from now on to the selection and training of thousands upon thousands of cadres who combine ability and political integrity and are in their prime and give these comrades the opportunity to take part in leadership in various fields so that they may be better and more effectively tempered through practice. It is now a pressing strategic task facing the whole party to build up a large contingent of revolutionary, well-educated, professionally competent and younger cadres."

At the beginning of this year, after repeated and careful consideration, the CCP Central Committee made a policy decision to streamline the administrative structure, raise work efficiency and overcome bureaucratism. In accordance with the suggestions of the CCP Central Committee, the State Council decided to take resolute measures and began the streamlining in its various departments. The work is to be completed within a set time limit and the phenomena such as overlapping and overstaffed units, red tape, arguing over trifles and work inefficiency will be resolutely done away. This is a great policy decision.

This policy decision forcefully shows that the CCP Central Committee had made careful consideration before it decided to conduct this great reform. When talking about the reorganization of state apparatus, Lenin put forth a principle of "cutting after seven measurements" and pointed out that "it is necessary to prudently, considerately and skillfully make use of the truly good points of our system to build up the new people's commissariats." In the process of making the policy decision, the CCP Central Committee did act as Lenin instructed, that is, "cutting after seven measurements." In this decisionmaking process, the veteran leaders of our party, who are circumspect and farsighted and have the people's interests at heart, have, with the proletarian revolutionary's boldness of vision, carried on their shoulders the important strategic responsibility of reforming the cadre system and have thus made great contributions to our party's cause.

Tasks for the Great Reform

There are many tasks to accomplish in carrying out this great reform. The following are the main ones:

First, to streamline the administrative structure, raise work efficiency, overcome bureaucratism and clarify tasks and responsibilities of the various departments. Bureaucratism is not merely a remnant of the evil practice

left by the old society in our country's real life, it is also a result of the imperfection of some of our systems, the irrational establishment of administrative organizations and the unclear division of work with unclear responsibility in various departments. At present, leading organs at various levels have taken over too many jobs which should not or could not be done by them. Originally, if proper regulations had been worked out, these jobs could have been done very well in enterprises and institutional departments in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism. But when they were done by leading party organs and by various central departments, they were not done very well. Actually, noone is able to manage everything in all aspects of social life and do all the heavy and unfamiliar jobs. This is a cause of bureaucratism in our real life. The other cause is the lack of systematic and realistic rules and regulations in various leading organs over a long period of time. As a result, when dealing with problems, people can find no rules and regulations to follow and have to ask a higher body for instruction. Thus, there have occurred the phenomena such as red tape, submitting countless reports to higher authorities and arguing over trifles. The mushrooming of administrative organizations also lead to the development of bureaucratism. So, in this reform, it is necessary to streamline the administrative structure and clarify the tasks and responsibilities of the various departments and their subsidiary bodies. At the same time, it is necessary to establish and perfect complete systems of inspection, supervision and giving rewards and punishment, so that our work efficiency can be raised and the party and government's leadership over socialist modernization drive can be strengthened.

Second, to appoint virtuous and able people to leading posts so that a contingent of revolutionary, well-educated, professionally competent and younger leading cadres will be built up. Leading comrades in the central authorities have time and again stressed the necessity of strengthening leading bodies at various levels by selecting a large number of cadres who are in the prime of life, who have both ability and political integrity and possess professional knowledge. At present, the key to doing a good job by various leading organs lies in further emancipating the mind, breaking free from old conventions and acquiring a new idea on appointing people. It is necessary to boldly transform the old organizational and cadre systems which do not suit the needs of the modernization drive and select and use fine and outstanding young and middle-aged cadres. In the process of streamlining organizations, leading bodies at all levels must absorb some new elements and reduce some old ones, with the stress on the former. It is necessary to select virtuous and able people to leading posts. By saying "virtuous," we mean that they must have political integrity. By saying "able," we mean that they must have professional knowledge and practical experience and must be in good health. Through this reform, we must establish and perfect various systems such as the systems of selecting, using and examining cadres, so that a powerful contingent of cadres who are politically conscious and professionally competent will be built up.

Third, to practice the retirement system and the system of leaving posts for convalescence, and to abolish the system of lifelong tenure. The lifelong tenure system has not only resulted in the aging of our cadre contingent and obstructed the training and growth of talented people, but also has seriously damaged the normal democratic life within our party and state. The 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee clearly stipulated the abolition of the lifelong tenure system. This was a great event in the political life of our party and state. Since then, the CCP Central Committee and the State Council have made several changes in personnel affairs and have thus set a good example in abolishing the lifelong tenure system. Now is the time for us to thoroughly solve this problem. In this reform, we must make it a rule that cadres should retire, leave their posts for convalescence or act as advisers on the second line when they become old and weak. It is necessary to make proper arrangements for these cadres when they happily retire or leave their posts for convalescence so that they can also do what they can for the party and people. This is an important question for the present in carrying out the party's organization line.

Fourth, to train a large number of cadres by rotation so that the quality of our cadre contingent will be improved. Do we have too many cadres at present? In such a big country as ours, we should say that the number of our cadres is not big at all. The problem is that the makeup of the cadre contingent is not so good and there are less cadres with professional knowledge than are needed. In this reform, it is necessary to make it a rule to release part of our cadres to study culture, theory and various subjects which are needed in our socialist modernization drive. After study, they will return to their posts, and after working for another period of time, they must be sent to study again. At the beginning of the 1950's, in order to suit the needs of the economic construction, our party did very well in the training of cadres by rotation. As a result, a large number of cadres who were both red and expert was brought up. This was the first upsurge in the study campaign. Now, we must set off a new upsurge of study and train more red and expert cadres as soon as possible to meet the needs of our socialist modernization construction.

This Is a Revolution

The reform of our cadre system is of vital importance to the fate of our party and state. It will inevitably cause profound changes in all aspects of our country's political life.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: In a sense, the streamlining of the administrative structure is a revolution.

Can we achieve success in this revolution? Some foreigners doubt that this is possible.

However, facts speak louder. Premier Zhao Ziyang's report has given a forceful answer. The practice of our people will continue to give forceful answers.

Of course, no reform can be carried out easily. The great reform of our cadre system is a most arduous historical mission and will inevitably meet with a lot of difficulties. It is all the more difficult to get rid of old conventions in carrying out reform.

However, this revolution is bound to succeed, for the trend of reform is irresistable. It does not only represent the fundamental interests of the party and the state but also reflects the long-cherished desire of the broad masses of cadres and people. When the party and people have a common desire to do something, success is inevitable. This is an objective law having been repeatedly proved by history. Now our party has already made the policy decision to reform our cadre system and has adopted a series of active, effective and concrete measures, and the large number of party and state cadres, especially veteran leading cadres, are taking active part in this great reform. This great reform is being carried out under the guidance of the revolutionary spirit and is our basic policy. We are convinced that under the leadership of the CCP Central Committee and with the joint efforts of the comrades in the whole party, this strategic task, which is of great historical significance, will be successfully fulfilled.

CSO: 4005/827

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI RADIO' RAPS DENG STYLE IN APPOINTING CADRES

OW011331 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 30 Apr 82

[Text] On 30 April 1976 Chairman Mao allegedly wrote a note to Comrade Hua Guofeng saying "With you in charge, I am at ease." Thus, it was not by a decision based on the collective consideration of the central authorities but by an appointment made personally by Chairman Mao that Comrade Hua Guofeng assumed the position of top party and state leader.

At the time Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly and scathingly criticized the personal appointment of a successor and pointed out that under no circumstances should anyone place his own trusted followers in leading party, government and army posts. However, later facts proved that Comrade Deng Xiaoping's criticisms were by no means aimed at upholding the principles and criteria of party life but at shaking the prestige of Comrade Hua Guofeng and his company and at depriving them of their leading power in central organs.

After taking over the leading power of the party, government and army, Comrade Deng Xiaoping changed his original stance and put into practice a patriarchal style of leadership. He even went further than Comrade Mao Zedong in appointing trusted followers to fill important leading positions in the party, government and army. Now Comrade Deng Xiaoping wants to replace all the leading cadres he does not like. The slogan of "using younger cadres" and the current measures such as improving staffs simplifying administration and streamlining administrative organs are mainly aimed at transferring to the second line those cadres who are enjoying prestige, pay attention to principles and dare to resist and oppose wrong lines and policies and at replacing them with Comrade Deng Xiaoping's obedient followers. As a matter of fact, cadres who are loyal to Comrade Deng Xiaoping have been placed or are going to be placed in all departments from the CCP Central Committee, the State Council and the military commission down to the general staff headquarters and the general political department of the PLA, provincial CCP committees and leading organs of the military regions.

Of course, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has not written any note as Chairman Mao did. Instead, he has stressed that the appointment of cadres should be decided on the basis of collective consideration, not on a personal decision. However,

the fact is that the so-called democratic principle of collective consideration and decision is not being carried out. "What I say counts" is still the prevailing practice. Not only is this the case in appointing cadres, but all important party, government and army affairs are also handled according to personal decision. The old bad practice of promoting trusted followers continues. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has not written any note saying "with you in charge, I am at ease" when appointing cadres; but the real principle that he depends upon is "only with my own men in the proper positions can I feel at ease."

CSO: 4005/827

'BA YI RADIO' RAPS DENG XIAOPING CADRE POLICY

OW031155 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 2 May 82

[Text] In the past few months, facts have proved that the principle of reorganizing the cadre contingent, insisted on by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, is incorrect. This principle of consolidating the party and reorganizing the cadre contingent has not only damaged the situation of stability and unity which had emerged, but also dampened the enthusiasm of the broad masses of cadres in carrying out their work. What is worse is that many cadres, who are not veteran senior cadres, have openly expressed their lack of confidence in the party Central Committee. In past years, many cadres worked assiduously and conscientiously without giving a thought to personal gain. However, they have now gone so far as to study the "science of relationship." They have become anxious about making job arrangements for their own children and preparations for their own retirement. This is partly due to the wrong workstyle of these cadres. But on the other hand, isn't it the typical realistic attitude held by cadres towards the party Central Committee and leading comrades of the central authorities? Many veteran cadres, in particular, have become more and more dissatisfied with individual leaders of the central authorities?

After the 6th plenary session of the party Central Committee, Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun asked first secretaries and ministers to stay on for a discussion on the problem of youth cadres, and pointed out that all those who had relations, either ideologically or organizationally, with Lin Biao and the "gang of four" [words indistrinct] must be expelled from the party. Furthermore, Comrade Deng Xiaoping personally received army leaders and pointed out that all those who rose to their posts through rebellion in connection with Lin Biao and the "gang of four" should be removed. Retirement should be arranged for those who abandoned their stands or betrayed their principles, [words indistinct]. Those who have not yet reached the age of retirement and who are not involved in serious cases may be transferred to local posts and should never be assigned to important leading posts.

It is evident to you that the above-mentioned instructions run counter to our party and our army's cadre policy for many years in making a clear distinction between right and wrong, between merit and demerit and between who should be

commended and who should be punished, as well as in forgiving past misdeeds and awarding meritorious deeds. Those youths who were admitted to the party and promoted to cadre during the Cultural Revolution and those cadres, particularly army cadres, who were not seriously attacked [words indistinct] during that period, are not all bad elements. Why should all of them be removed simultaneously and indiscriminately?

It may well be asked, what is the difference between this cadre policy and the cadre policy of the "gang of four" of appointing only those who were close to them but spreading slanderous rumors about, and even attacking or discriminating against, those cadres who oppose them?

Under such circumstances, how can cadres be asked to have confidence in the cadre policy currently implemented by the party Central Committee? And how can they be asked to have confidence in individual leading comrades of the central authorities?

CSO: 4005/827

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK

HK301121 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Tan Tao [6223 3325]: "Explore From Practice Ways To Put Ideological and Political Work on a Scientific Footing"]

[Text] In autumn, 1980, GUANGMING RIBAO organized a discussion on how to do a good job in ideological and political work. In the course of the discussion, particular attention was devoted to the propagation of an idea: the activities of man's thinking have their own laws and there are also laws to follow in ideological and political work. Therefore, it is necessary to put ideological and political work on a scientific footing. Recently, the writer of this article has attended the national work conference on industry and communications and had learned some experiences in ideological and political work which were introduced by some provinces, municipalities and enterprises and has been greatly inspired by the gratifying results gained in putting ideological and political work on a scientific footing and has thus deeply felt that it is quite necessary to further disseminate and practice putting ideological and political work on a scientific footing.

Some of their experiences and problems raised during the discussion are, from some aspects, presented as follows:

Try To Find Out the Ideological Pulse of the Youth and Raise Their Fundamental Political Consciousness

Young staff members and workers have gradually become the main force in enterprise production. In some factories, they constitute half of the total number of staff members and workers and in other factories they constitute an overwhelming majority. A considerable number of them become backbone elements in production. For this reason, exploring the laws of doing a good job in the ideological and political work among the youth and training a new generation of the Chinese working class has become a pressing task. The youth in the 1980's are different from those in the 1950's and 1960's and the environment in which they live is different, as well as the experiences they have undergone

and the education they have received. This is an objective fact. A certain factory summarized this state of affairs into three phrases: "The youth over 20 years old were "born in times of difficulties (meaning the economic difficulties our country encountered at the beginning of the 1960's), brought up during the period of turmoil (meaning the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution) and are working during the stage of readjustment (referring to the leftover difficulties which are now being overcome)." Such experiences have enabled them to bear conspicuous characteristics in various fields, such as thoughts and feelings, ideals, wishes, dispositions and hobbies.

Take the youth in the 1950's and 1960's for example. They themselves or their parents have just undergone the old and new societies of two different worlds and still have an entirely different contrast between the light and the darkness in their minds. The sufferings in the old society seemed to them to be a bottomless abyss and they have not yet recovered from the fear of the sufferings and they thus very much treasure the happy life they are leading in the new society. Ardent love for the CCP, ardent love for new China and ardent love for socialism are the spontaneous desires of the broad masses of the people and the youth as well. However, it is impractical to ask the youth in the 1980's to spontaneously possess such consciousness and feelings. The present-day youth are fond of, generally speaking, thinking independently, bold in exploring, dare to think, dare to speak and dare to act and are readily receptive to new things as well. But some of them lack firm political beliefs, mental preparations for hard work and arduous struggle and due moral cultivation and have a weak sense of organization and discipline. They do not know China's past on the one hand and have an insufficient understanding of China's present on the other.

With this understanding, starting with helping the youth study modern history, the Tianjin soda factory launched the activities of "three ardent loves" (love the motherland, love socialism and love the CCP) and "four upholds" (uphold the four basic principles) to raise the fundamental political consciousness of the youth. In carrying out this education, they created many vivid and vigorous as well as interesting and absorbing forms rather than adopting the method of certain people lecturing with most people attending the lectures. For instance, they concentrated on the focal point and made the education in modern history figurative and vivid. They chose some influential figures, such as Lin Zexu, Hong Xiuquan and Sun Yat-sen and drew their portraits, wrote accounts of their lives and contributions and expounded and proved the reasons for their failure to save China. They picked up some influential events, such as the Opium War and the treaties of national betrayal and humiliation which were imposed on the Chinese people to help understand the countless crimes committed by imperialism and the feudal-bureaucrat ruling class. They studied the major events in the history of our party and the immortal contributions made by Comrade Mao Zedong to the Chinese revolution and helped understand the truth that without the CCP there would have been no new China. They mobilized everyone to gather material records,

compile teaching materials, sponsor exhibitions, conduct social investigations and let the youth educate themselves. Through this education, the young comrades have acquired a more profound understanding of the truth that "socialism and socialism alone can save China."

Find Out the Root Cause for the Less Advanced and the Youth Who Have Taken a Wrong Step in Life and Prescribe the Right Remedy for an Illness

Almost all the enterprises which introduced their experiences in doing ideological and political work dealt with the question of helping the less advanced and those youth who have taken a wrong step in life. This shows it is of universal importance to explore the laws to do a good job of the work concerning this section of youths. This section of people constitute a tiny number of youths, but the role they play among the youth must not be taken lightly. According to the experiences of these enterprises, in doing a good job in the work concerning this section of youths, attention has been paid to the following aspects:

First, sincerely and wholeheartedly pay great attention to this section of youths. Oh, yes. Are there really any reasons on earth for us not to proceed from taking good care of and valuing them? They are, after all, our sons and daughters! As aged persons, we get angry at the sight of our children doing wrong and evil deeds, but when they have recovered their bearings and returned to the fold and are willing to sincerely and wholeheartedly mend their ways, how can we help loving them more deeply? Whatever reason do we have to discriminate against them? Let everybody go and see "New Bank" which depicts real people and real events!

Second, analyze the reasons why they have become less advanced and have taken a wrong step in life. The reasons involve many factors, judged from the youth who were talked about in the experiences introduced at this conference. Some of the youth who are less advanced and have taken a wrong step in life do not simply understand the darkness of the capitalist world and look forward to it as "a paradise on earth"; some of them are deeply influenced by bourgeois ideas and seek only the bourgeois way of life; some of them, lured by some criminals, join in unlawful associations and go by brotherhood; some of them violate the criminal law by learning bad examples in the books they read, unhealthy films and TV programs they watched; some of them have been left in a state of no one directing and teaching them and lacked the warmth of a family for a long time because their families met with misfortune with their parents becoming divorced, and so on. Without making a careful analysis of the reasons, we will not be in a position to find out the root cause of the trouble.

Third, attach importance to helping them foster a correct outlook on life. In the reasons why a man is in an anxious state of mind and even makes a mistake and takes a wrong route, apart from his own cognitive reasons, there are also accidental factors and objective incentives. But there is a common reason for the less advanced and the youth taking a wrong step in life to

take a wrong route, that is, they do not have correct political beliefs, lofty aspirations and lack a correct outlook on life. Only when we help them try hard to remold their world outlook, can we promote a fundamental change in them.

Fourth, be good at discovering positive factors, pay special attention to the flashpoint in every person and encourage all meager progress.

Fifth, the work of educating this section of youths is fairly arduous and they often have relapses. This requires that we should do the transformation work well in a patient and persevering manner.

Analyze the Reasons for the Undulations of People's Thoughts and Feelings and Do Meticulous Work

The Tianjin No 1 cotton mill organized a small research group to put ideological and political work on a scientific footing, in the light of actual work, explored the ideological laws of young workers, summed up the reasons which affected the ideological undulations of the staff members and workers and raised the farsightedness and directness of ideological and political work. In the light of the problems which have cropped up and from different persons and different dispositions and qualities, they summed up 11 cases which should be handled by using different methods:

1. As for those who like everything to fall in with their wishes, it is necessary to uphold giving priority to commendation but not to depart from principles.

2. As for those who are open to persuasion, but not to coercion, it is necessary to lay their problems aside for the moment and then point out the relationship between good and harm with specific objects in mind.

3. As for those whose enthusiasm waxes and wanes suddenly, it is necessary to be much more mild towards them, "preserve heat while the water is hot" and do the work well.

4. As for those who like praise but not criticism, it is necessary to consider what has happened as it stands, not to dredge up embarrassing facts about their past and to notice any changes in the course of their advance.

5. As for those who like to show off and are apt to be proud, it is necessary to affirm the achievements on the one hand and point out the problems on the other.

6. As for those who waver and lose heart easily, it is necessary to help them not to lose sight of their achievements and help them pluck up their courage and confidence.

7. As for those who easily get worked up and excited, it is necessary to put the trends under control in good time and strengthen the education in self-restraint.

8. As for those who are concerned about face-saving and value self-respect, it is necessary to adopt a method of praising them at the meetings on the one hand and having a private heart-to-heart talk with them and criticize them separately on the other.

9. As for those who are apt to have ideological relapses and write themselves off as hopeless and act recklessly, it is necessary to point a way out for them, so they are not afraid of relapses, seize the opportunity and guide action according to the circumstances.

10. As for those who seek to do others down and yield unwillingly, it is necessary to lead their love of preeminence to making more contributions to the four modernizations.

11. As for those who are fond of personal loyalty, it is necessary to make frequent contacts with them, point out the harmfulness of personal loyalty and lay particular stress on key points and provide guidance to them in good time.

The Learning of a Chart

In doing ideological and political work, the Wuxi No 2 cotton mill of Jiangsu Province developed a fine tradition, summed up fresh experiences, enthusiastically explored new methods of ideological and political work and worked out "an analogous chart for putting ideological and political work on a scientific footing." This analogous chart shows that proceeding from the main subject of how to kindle the enthusiasm of staff members and workers, the party organizations at various levels divided ideological and political work into a total of four stages: they are investigation and study (gathering information), implementation (grasping the laws and paying attention to enlightenment) and check up, appraisal and summarization (establishing systems). Importance was attached to the directness (aiming at the ideological characteristics, the features of disposition and the principal reason, and so on), prevention (when the feelings, conditions and environment are changed, it is imperative to do a good job of prevention and solve ideological problems in the bud) and flexibility (upholding seeking truth from facts and making concrete analysis of concrete problems) of ideological and political work.

They proposed that in doing ideological and political work, attention should be paid to guarding against seven things:

We must guard against criticizing others before their cases are sorted out; guard against exaggeration in educating others; guard against giving an admonitory talk to others and abusing our power; guard against lightly demanding others to write a "self-criticism," to "keep to one side" and "go home"; guard against drawing a conclusion that "there is no remedy for them" at the sight of some people having ideological relapses; guard against going back on the decisions we have made; and guard against doing what we do not allow others to do.

Enlightenment From Two Books

In attending this forum on ideological and political work, the writer got two books.

One is a "Handbook of Political Work" compiled by the CCP committee of the Tianjin No 1 cotton mill. This handbook was used by departments in the mill. The handbook formulates the fundamental tasks of political work; the cultivation of political quality and leadership skills of political cadres; the work methods of cadres engaging in political work; the party's organizational system and concrete tasks; the work system; the regulations for launching an emulation drive of advanced party branches and advanced party members within the party; the bounds of powers and duties of the trade union and its work system; the limits of powers and duties of the Communist Youth League and its work system; the points for attention for the political cadres who leave the mill for study and the rules and regulations for political cadres.

The other is "Explore Ways To Put Ideological and Political Work on a Scientific Footing" compiled by the small research group of ideological and political work under the CCP committee of the Chengdu rolling stock plant. This book consists of a total of eight parts: the ideological and political work during the new stage can only be strengthened rather than weakened; ideological and political work is a science; ideological and political work must uphold dialectical materialism; constantly explore the laws governing ideological and political work; ideological and political work must adhere to the principle of enlightenment; use some of the scientific methods of modern management in implementing ideological and political work in production; carry out ideological and political work in the light of the characteristics of the youth; and strengthen the leadership of the party enterprise committee over ideological and political work.

These two books are compiled by the party factory committees have one thing in common, that is, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, they have summed up the practical experiences of their factories respectively and laid stress on the necessity to put ideological and political work on a scientific footing. In "A Handbook of Political Work," it is written that: "The party's ideological and political work is a science. In order to enhance ideological and political work, it is imperative to raise the cultivation of quality and leadership art of cadres engaging in ideological and political work. This is the most important link in perfecting the party leadership." This idea runs through the "Explore Ways To Put Ideological and Political Work on a Scientific Footing." That book contains the following passages: "Are there any laws to go by governing the ideological problems which exist in a staff member or a worker? Or in other words, objectively, is there a process of evolution and development? Can we discover this process then? The answer must be in the affirmative. Marxism tells us that man's being determines his ideology and at the same time man's ideology reacts on his being.... The ideological activities of the staff members and workers more often than not follow an orbit like this, that is, man's being--ideology--actions--results.

Man's being determines his ideology; ideology governs actions and actions give rise to results. Therefore, in carrying out ideological work, it is necessary to pay attention to the ideological pulse, find out the reasons from the environment of the staff members and workers, and try to solve the problems in a way that suits the remedy to the cause."

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "If people want to succeed in their work, that is, to achieve the required results, they must adapt their ideology to the laws of the external objective world. If their ideology does not conform to the laws of the external objective world, then they will fail in practice." ("On Practice") In the past, in learning to fight, we acted according to this thesis; now in learning to carry out socialist construction, we must act according to it; and it goes without saying that in doing a good job of ideological and political work, we must act according to it too. Precisely for this reason, we continue to appeal: it is imperative to put ideological and political work on a scientific footing.

Party Committees Must do Ideological and Political Work Well

In this forum, the question of who would be in charge of conducting ideological and political work was also discussed. All participants unanimously agreed that ideological and political work should be done by full-time personnel. However, if must be the work of primary importance of the whole party. Every party member must do it and the party committees must lead everybody in doing it. First secretaries of the party committees must take the lead in doing ideological and political work.

The Chengdu rolling stock plant introduced the experience in this respect. In their opinion, the monopoly of administrative matters, important or trifling, by the party committee will weaken the party leadership over enterprises on the one hand and interfere with giving full play to the role of the factory director on the other. This plant has in practice restored and improved the system under which the factory director assumes full responsibility for production under the leadership of the party committee and the system of staff members and workers' congresses. The party has devoted all its energy and effort to grasping well the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies and caused ideological and political work to permeate into various fields with production as the center, established systems, such as educating party members, cadres and staff members and workers and analyzing their ideological developments, thus making ideological and political work into a regular system. In doing ideological work, the party committee laid stress on fostering three points of view, the point of view of seeking truth from facts, of development and of looking at problems from all sides, and adopted the "10 methods," that is, the method of conducting investigation and study and seeking truth from facts; of educating by positive measures or examples and arousing people's political consciousness; of giving priority to commendation and leading people gradually into good practices; of shooting the arrow at the target and prescribing the right remedy for an illness; of

affecting people by tender sentiments and convincing them by reasoning; of paying a visit and having a heart-to-heart talk and teaching a person according to his merits; of encouraging the advanced and changing the less advanced; of setting up examples for others with both precept and practice and demonstrating by models; of forecasting the motives and guiding the actions; and by educating by exerting a favorable and subtle influence on people's character and thinking. All this has enabled the ideological and political work to produce good results.

That the party should do ideological and political work is the fine tradition of the party and the foundation of building the party. It is necessary to propagate and implement the party's line, principles and policies and organize and lead the broad masses to realize them; it is necessary to concentrate on propagating the results which have been achieved since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee so as to strengthen the confidence of the masses in continuing to forge ahead; it is necessary to uphold in practice the socialist road and wage struggle against all actions which damage the socialist cause; it is necessary to frequently imbue the theory of scientific socialism into the minds of the broad masses with vivid contents and propagandize the superiority of the socialist system and train generation after generation of new people with the communist world outlook; it is necessary to constantly understand the needs and difficulties of the masses, truly and wholeheartedly help them and continuously boost their enthusiasm for study and work, and so forth. All these are the contents of ideological and political work which our party should do regularly. In fulfilling any task of the party, we must not rely on administrative orders alone but supplement them by ideological and political work. Otherwise, the masses will find it hard to understand why they should do the matter. In addition, large numbers of ideological problems of the party members and masses stem from the failure to correctly handle the problems they encounter in the work and in the relationship among comrades. This demands that ideological and political work should go hand in hand with vocational work and be carried out in our work, study and life. It is justified to say that divorcing themselves from ideological and political work, the party committee and every responsible cadre cannot move a single step. Just think. If we do not rely on the scientific and powerful ideological and political work which tallies with reality, what did our party rely on in the past to lead the whole party in leading the people throughout the nation to fight heroically for several decades and win victory after victory? How will our party today lead the whole party and the people all over the country to struggle for continuing to build a great, powerful socialist country?

Let us study the history of our party and read the documents of the party national congresses and the CCP Central Committee and earnestly learn from the example set for us by the CCP Central Committee over the last few years in putting ideological and political work in the first place from start to finish.

CSO: 4005/827

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON LI DAZHAO, DR SUN YAT-SEN

HK031310 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Apr 82 p 5

[Article by Huang Zhen [7806 4176] and Yao Weidou [1202 4850 2435]: "Li Dazhao and Dr Sun Yat-sen"]

[Text] The first KMT and CCP cooperation from the beginning of 1924 to the first half of 1927 promoted the in-depth development of the national democratic revolution of our country. In establishing cooperation between the two parties, Li Dazhao and Dr Sun Yat-sen displayed their lofty revolutionary spirit in full.

Early in 1919, Dr Sun Yat-sen already had contact with Li Dazhao through a magazine entitled THE NEW YOUTH. In August 1922, the CCP Central Committee held an extraordinary meeting in Xihu District in Hangzhou. At that meeting, Li Dazhao adhered to supporting the instructions of the Communist International and advocated that a joint front of the CCP and the KMT represented by Dr Sun Yat-sen be established and that CCP members join the KMT. On 23 August, Li Dazhao left Hangzhou for Shanghai, and in accordance with the party's decision, he met Dr Sun Yat-sen for the first time. During their meeting, they "exchanged their opinions freely without getting tired; they almost forgot their food." In about 1 week's time, they held several talks "On problems of national reconstruction" which focused on "various questions" regarding "reviving the KMT so as to revive China." (Li Dazhao: "An account of Li Dazhao's life in prison in his own words") Once, when they were discussing the "general plans for national reconstruction" written by Dr Sun Yat-sen, Dr Sun Yat-sen said that he was willing to personally recommend that Li Dazhao be admitted into the KMT. Li Dazhao explicitly told Dr Sun Yat-sen he supported communism and was a party member of the Third International. Dr Sun Yat-sen said, "It does not matter, you can remain a party member of the Third International and still feel free to join the KMT to help me." In accordance with the decision of the CCP Central Committee, Li Dazhao agreed to join the KMT while remaining a CCP member. Through Dr Sun Yat-sen's "personal recommendation," Li Dazhao joined the KMT and became a dual-party member.

With the help of some communists, Dr Sun Yat-sen started to reorganize the MKT. On 19 October 1923, Dr Sun Yat-sen personally sent a telegram to the Shanghai office of the KMT and asked them to "send a secret message to Li Dazhao in

Beijing and ask him to come to Shanghai immediately." He also announced that "Li Dazhao is a member of the KMT reorganization committee." In November, Li Dazhao arrived in Shanghai and left for Guangzhou in December to participate in the preparatory work of the First KMT Congress. On 20 January 1924, the congress opened in Guangzhou and Dr Sun Yat-sen personally took up the post of chairman of the congress. He also appointed Li Dazhao one of the five members of the Presidium. During one of the congress' meetings, Dr Sun Yat-sen pointed out that some party members "were suspicious when they heard that a communist party member had joined our party." This suspicion, he said, was "the result of the pernicious effect of the imperialist states' propaganda that defamed the Russian revolution."

While discussions on the "draft regulations for the Chinese KMT" was being held at the congress on 28 January, some leftist elements of the KMT pointed out with ulterior motives that "regulations stipulated that members of our party must not join other parties." They opposed CCP members holding "dual party" membership. In the face of this critical struggle, on behalf of the communists who had joined the KMT and attended the congress, Li Dazhao seriously pointed out that "we joined the party to make contribitions to the party while at the same time making contributions to the national revolution." He refuted the views of those leftist KMT members who opposed people holding "dual party" membership and said that there was "a party within the party." He pointed out: "We must shoulder double responsibilities to the party: one is the general responsibility of a party member, the other is the responsibility to contact the world's revolutionary movements so as to advance together." "Mr Sun, the president of our party, has allowed us to join the Chinese organization on the Third International, thus, we were open and above-board in our joining the KMT while remaining CCP members. This is not a conspiratorial act." Dr Sun Yat-sen was indignant at the leftist KMT members who opposed the three major policies. In his face-to-face talk with Dai Jitao and others, he said, "If you oppose cooperating with the CCP, I can withdraw from the KMT and join the CCP." After some heated discussions, with the resolute support of Dr Sun Yat-sen, the congress approved that communist party members and members of socialist youth league could as individuals join the KMT. Li Dazhao was elected a member of the KMT Central Executive Committee.

In the course of the congress, Dr Sun Yat-sen relied heavily on Li Dazhao. From the existing documentary films and historical pictures, we can see the lively scenes when they walked out of the conference hall shoulder to shoulder in big strides. With the help of communists like Li Dazhao and with the enthusiastic support of leftist KMT members such as Dr Sun Yat-sen and Liao Zhong-kai, the congress adopted the "Manifesto of the First National People's Congress of the Chinese KMT" and established the three major policies of allying the Russians and the communists and supporting the peasants and workers advocated by Dr Sun Yat-sen. This gave the three major policies new interpretations and accomplished cooperation between the KMT and the CCP. In the second half of October 1924, Feng Yuxiang staged a coup d'etat in Beijing. He imprisoned the president of the northern government, Cao Kun, renamed his army as the National Army, and appointed Duan Qirui to head the provisional government. At the same time, he got in touch with Zhang Zuolin, the Liaoning warlord, and both of them expressed their desire for Dr Sun Yat-sen to come north to discuss the major national program with them.

Dr Sun Yat-sen decided to go north; he accepted the slogan of "convening a national conference" advocated by the CCP Central Committee. On 10 November, the "Northern Manifesto" was issued in which Dr Sun advocated "convening a national conference to accomplish unity for China and reconstruct China." On 31 December, under the support and at the suggestion of the CCP, Dr Sun Yat-sen went to Beijing in spite of his ill health. At that time, Feng Yuxiang was squeezed out by Zhang Zuolin and Duan Qirui.

By the end of the year, the CCP Executive Committee in the northern district headed by Li Dazhao was officially established. The committee of the northern district resolutely supported Dr Sun Yat-sen and was inclined to support the Revolutionary National Army. It combated Duan Qirui and the Liaoning warlords, and devoted major efforts to organizing workers, peasants and students to launch anti-imperialist and antifeudal revolutionary movements. In order to oppose the conspiracy of Duan Qirui who staged another conference after the congress had concluded, Li Dazhao led the northern CCP and KMT members to organize a mammoth mass struggle and actively prepared for the preparatory meeting of the national conference to be held in Beijing. On 1 March, a national congress of the society for promoting the national conference was held in Beijing and a general office of the society was established.

Upon arriving in Beijing, the health of Dr Sun Yat-sen was deteriorating. He decided to establish the KMT Central Political Committee and appointed six members to the committee, including Li Dazhao. On 12 March, Dr Sun Yat-sen passed away. Li Dazhao personally led the memorial activities for Dr Sun Yat-sen. Hundreds and thousands of people took part in the memorial activities to publicize the political ideas of "arousing the masses" and the new three people's principles advocated by Dr Sun Yat-sen. More than 100,000 people took part in the Dr Sun Yat-sen funeral procession and they staged an anti-imperialist and antiwarlord massive demonstration. Li Dazhao wrote an elegiac couplet, each consisted of 107 characters, for Dr Sun Yat'sen's funeral.

The elegiac couplet said, "Guangdong has been the center of modern ideologies since the Ming Dynasty. Sons and grandsons of the Han nationality have been trading with foreign countries. Righteous people such as those participating in the Taiping uprising were all born here. Our respected Dr Sun was also born in this land amid the eventful years of our country, and he became a mainstay for the revolution. He inherited the past and ushered in the future, discarded the gross and selected the best to bring the righteous national spirit into full play. He was resolutely in reconstructing our motherland and for more than 40 years, he bent his back in working for the revolutionary cause till his dying day. He pledged to fly the national flag all over China, to arouse the spirit of liberty and independence so that healthy trends would prevail."

"Foreign powers, from Western Europe to Japan in the East, flocked to China to scramble for power, to carry out political aggression and to stage economic invasion. They even conspired to enslave our people and capture our country. It was under such circumstances that we found our party. But now, we have lost our great leader. The sky is murky over the dark land; clouds are weeping and the sea is whimpering. Who can succeed him to rally our forces? Among the hundreds and thousands of people in our country, workers and peasants are the ones to rely on. We must adhere to the three people's principles and the five rights; pool the wisdom and efforts of everyone, follow the teaching of our deceased leader and strive to realize the revolutionary cause so as to comfort his soul."

This elagiac couplet summarized the revolutionary life of Dr Sun Yat-sen with great preciseness. It also points out that the workers and peasants must continue the struggle to accomplish the national democratic revolution.

Soon after the second anniversary of Dr Sun Yat-sun's death, Laioning warlord Zhang Zuolin arrested communists such as Li Dazhao and other leftist KMT members. In Li Dazhao's "Account in His Own Words" which he wrote while in prison, he expounded on his militant friendship with Dr Sun Yat-sen which was forged by their common aspiration to revive China. On 28 April, Li was executed. The great characters of Li Dazhao and Dr Sun Yat-sen, their lofty moral characters and their intimate and sincere cooperation will be remembered by the Chinese people forever. Their revolutionary spirit will forever encourage the future generations to advance bravely.

CSO: 4005/827

NEI MONGGOL OFFICIAL REVIEWS ACHIEVEMENTS

SK021208 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 May 82

["Radio talk" by Kong Fei, chairman of Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional People's Government: "Great Victories of Party's Policy on Regional Autonomy of Nationalities"--recorded]

[Summary] "Since its founding, our autonomous region has victoriously traversed 35 years of a militant course. During the past 35 years we have, under the leadership of the CCP, earnestly implemented the party's policy on regional autonomy of nationalities and scored great achievements in all undertakings. Profound changes have taken place in our region. In marking the 35th anniversary of the founding of Nei Monggol autonomous region, it is of great immediate significance to review the history of revolution and struggle of people of all nationalities in the region."

For a very long time people of Han, Mongolian and other nationalities have worked for the prosperity of this vast expanse of an area blessed with magnificent mountains and rivers and rich natural resources. They have closely cooperated with one another to develop and construct the borders and contributed to building a unified multinational motherland. Mongolians were once in the ascendant in history and then declined as a result of historical changes. Over the past 300 years, people of Mongolian nationality have bravely struggled for national survival and liberation.

After the war to resist Japan broke, the party Central Committee promptly issued a declaration calling on people of all nationalities to unite together and resist Japan. It built revolutionary bases for resisting Japan in Nei Monggol. Following the war against Japan, the party Central Committee issued suggestions on work in Nei Monggol, proposing to implement regional autonomy of nationalities. In November 1946 the Federation for the Movement of Regional Autonomy of Nei Monggol was initiated in Zhangjaikou. On 1 May of the following year, the federation elected the Nei Monggol autonomous regional people's government headed by Comrade Ulanhu.

"Thiry-five years of practice have shown that the party's policy on regional autonomy of nationalities is the only correct, Marxist policy capable of solving the country's problems concerning nationalities. Without the CCP there

would be no Nei Monggol as it is today. This is a great truth. Over the past 35 years people of all nationalities in our region have, under the radiance of the party's policy on nationalities, taken the broad road of joint development and common prosperity and scored brilliant achievements in all undertakings. Making vigorous efforts to cultivate minority communist cadres is crucial to the achievement of regional autonomy of nationalities. Today, 20 percent of the region's cadres are Mongolians and other minorities. The number of Mongolian staff members and workers in the region's state-owned enterprises increased to 192,000 in 1981 from 7,000 in 1947. The number of other minority staff members and workers increased from 500 to 60,000.

"The region has achieved tremendous progress in economic construction over the past 35 years. The region's 1981 gross industrial and agricultural output was valued at 8,567,000,000 yuan, 15.3-fold increase over that of 1947 and averaging an annual growth rate of 15 percent. With the development of socialist economic construction, other undertakings including education, science, culture, public health, physical education, press, publishing and radio and television broadcasting have been further developed."

Comrades, we have entered a new historical period in which the central task of the party's work concerning nationalities is to vigorously develop economically and culturally and eliminate inequities among nationalities. Shortly after the sixth party plenum, the party Central Committee issued important directives on work in Nei Monggol. The directives perfectly conform to the actual conditions of the region and fully reflect the desires of people of all nationalities in the region. We must resolutely follow the directives, further develop and improve regional autonomy of nationalities, strengthen unity among the various nationalities and achieve the goals put forth by the party Central Committee for our region.

CSO: 4005/827

ANHUI CCP REPRESENTATIVE MEETING ENDS

OW300437 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Apr 82

[Text] The Anhui provincial CCP representatives' meeting came to a successful close on 27 April. The 6-day session successfully accomplished the predetermined objectives.

After hearing acting First Secretary Zhou Zijian's report, entitled: "Strengthen Party Spirit, Rectify the Party's Work Style and Bring Into Full Play the Party's Role as the Vanguard of the Working Class in the New Period," the representatives seriously engaged in discussions. Centering on the theme: "The party should improve itself," the representatives freely expressed their views in light of local conditions. They held that while there are still problems in party building, the achievements scored by the party in the past few years, particularly after the convocation of the party's third plenary session, should be affirmed. They cited the experiences of some localities and departments in strengthening education for party members and improving party work style. They also studied the concrete measures for improving the building of the party's ideology, organization and work.

The representatives unanimously endorsed the report delivered by Comrade Zhou Zijian, which called for strengthening the party spirit, rectifying the party's work style, raising understanding, improving ideological and political work, thoroughly waging struggles to oppose corruption and degeneration and promoting building of the two types of civilization. To strengthen building of the leading bodies and the party's grassroots organizations are issues of major importance in party building at present. They held that the report correctly analyzed the current situation and put forward practical measures to solve the various problems. So long as the party organizations at various levels adhere to the party's line, principles and policies for the new period and work hard to meet the requirements set forth by the report, the province's party building can surely be greatly advanced and the party organizations in Anhui Province can better accomplish their historical missions.

Democracy was given full play at the meeting in the election of deputies to the forthcoming 12th CCP National Congress. After lengthy deliberations, the representatives worked out at a plenary session a list of candidates

for election of deputies. The method of nominating more candidates than the number of deputies to be elected was adhered to in the election. Through voting by secret ballot 41 deputies and 4 alternate deputies were elected to attend the forthcoming 12th CCP National Congress.

The representatives' meeting was presided over by Comrade Yan Youmin. Present at the meeting were responsible comrades of the provincial party committee: Zhou Zijian, acting first secretary of the provincial CCP committee; Yan Youmin, Wang, Guangyu, Yang Weiping, Su Yu, (Su Hua) and (Yuan Zhen), secretaries of the provincial party committee; (Liu Lianmin), Yu Guangmao, Cheng Guanghua, (Shi Chun), (Wang Yuzhao) and (Shi Junie), members of the provincial party committee; and Li Shinong and Zhang Kaifan, advisers of the provincial party committee. Also present at the meeting were members and alternate members of the provincial party committee. (Mao Duo), permanent member of the central discipline inspection commission, attended the meeting as an observer.

Comrade Zhang Jingfu attended and made an important speech at the meeting. Comrade Yan Youmin also spoke at the close of the meeting.

CSO: 4005/827

HUNAN PARTY REPRESENTATIVE MEETING CONCLUDES

HK250214 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 24 Apr 82

[Text] A Hunan provincial party representative meeting concluded on 24 April after 7 days in session. After repeated deliberation and consultation, the 600 representatives attending the meeting elected 50 delegates and 5 alternate delegates to attend the 12th National Party Congress.

Provincial CCP committee second secretary Wan Da made an important speech on 24 April on upholding the party's communist purity and opposing corruption and degeneration. He said: Judging by the situation in recent years, there has indeed been a notable increase in serious criminal activities in the economic field. Due to the corruption and degeneration of a few party members and cadres, the party's prestige among the masses has been gravely damaged. If we fail to wage resolute struggle against this corruption and allow it to develop, it is certain that still more party members and cadres will come to grief and that the destiny and future of our party and state will be threatened. Hence, our struggle to hit at criminal activities in the economic field and oppose corruption and degeneracy is precisely aimed at averting this danger and upholding our party's communist purity. So far as the present moment is concerned, this is yet another most practical and effective measure for rectifying the party and its work style.

Comrade Wan Da said: In the new historical conditions, in order to enhance our ability to resist corruption and avoid degeneracy, we must make great efforts to firmly establish the revolutionary outlook on life. We must restudy Chairman Mao's "In Memory of Norman Bethune," "Serve the People," and "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains," establish the correct concept of public and private, strive to be so devoted to public service as to forget one's own interests, and always maintain the nature of struggling amid difficulties.

Comrade Wan Da said in conclusion: To maintain the party's nature as the vanguard force of the working class, we must ceaselessly step up education for the party members and cadres, and enforce strict control and supervision and party discipline.

CSO: 4005/827

PARTY AND STATE

GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL NOTARIAL REGULATIONS PROMULGATED

OW241439 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0715 GMT 24 Apr 82

[Text] Beijing, 24 Apr (XINHUA)--China's first notarial regulations--"the provisional notarial regulations of the People's Republic of China"--were officially promulgated for implementation on 13 April. It is an important measure adopted by China for perfecting the state notarial system, safeguarding the socialist legal system, preventing disputes and reducing litigations.

Notarization is an act by which a state noratial organ, at the request of the interested party, verifies an act in law or the authenticity and lawfulness of a document or a fact of legal significance so as to protect public property and the rights and legitimate interests with regard to a citizen's status and property. China's notarial work history spans over 30 years. Following the gradual perfection of the socialist legal system in recent years, notarial work has also made considerable progress. Currently, there are 1,596 notarial offices in China with a total of 3,170 notary publics. In 1981 alone over 251,000 notarial cases were handled. Thus, public property and citizens' legitimate rights and interests were effectively protected. The promulgation and implementation of "the provisional notarial regulations of the People's Republic of China" marks a new stage in the establishment of a notarial system and of progress in notarial work in China.

"The provisional notarial regulations of the People's Republic of China" promulgated on 13 April contain 6 chapters and 30 articles. The titles of the six chapters are as follows: General Principles, Scope of Business of Notarial Offices, Authority and Organization of Notarial Offices, Jurisdiction, Notarial Procedure and the Appendix. The regulations stipulate that the notarial offices are state notarial organs led by the judicial administrative organs. Notarial offices are to be set up in municipalities directly under the central government, counties and municipalities, as well as districts directly under the municipalities. The Chinese embassies and consulates in foreign countries are authorized to handle notarial cases for Chinese citizens who reside abroad. Furthermore, the regulations also apply to foreign nationals residing in China.

CSO: 4005/827

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON SIMPLER ADMINISTRATION IN 1940'S

HK271236 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Zhao Henglie [6392 1854 3525]: "Better Troops and Simpler Administration"]

[Text] The following is written in Article 15 of "The Constitution of the People's Republic of China": "State Organizations Must Apply the Principle of Better Troops and Simpler Administration, Practice Strict Economy, Increase Efficiency and Oppose Bureaucracy." Here "Better Troops and Simpler Administration" is mentioned. This is "an extremely important policy" of the CCP, which was implemented during the war of resistance against Japanese aggression. It played an important role in overcoming material difficulties in the liberated areas and in the struggle to finally defeat the Japanese aggressors. Today, on the long march to realize the four modernizations, it is still important for us to recall how this policy was implemented and to gain benefit from it.

The most difficult years in the liberated areas during the war of resistance against Japanese aggression were 1941 and 1942. Due to savage attacks launched by the Japanese aggressors and the encirclement and blockade of the KMT, as well as floods, droughts and insect pests that repeatedly afflicted north China at that time, the liberated areas met with very great financial difficulties. In the anti-Japanese ranks, there were once hardly enough clothes and hardly any salt, pepper or vegetables. The fighters had no shoes or stockings to wear and the work personnel had no cotton quilts to cover them in winter. The armymen and civilians in some localities had to eat tree leaves and grass roots. In order to overcome the serious financial difficulties, the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong worked out and implemented in good time a series of policies. As far as economic development was concerned, these policies mainly covered two aspects--broadening sources of income and reducing expenditure. To broaden sources of income, the public ownership economy was developed. Border region governments ran self-sufficient industrial, agricultural and commercial operations. The army, government organizations and schools reclaimed land for farmwork and carried out a large-scale production campaign. In order to reduce expenditure, the policy of better troops and simpler administation was implemented.

In his article entitled "Serve the People," Comrade Mao Zedong said, "The idea of 'better troops and simpler administration' was put forward by Mr Li Dingming, who is not a communist. He made a good suggestion which is of benefit to the people, and we have adopted it." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," one-volume edition, p 905) At the second session of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area consultative council which was held in Yanan on 6 November, 1941, Mr Li Dingming, vice-chairman of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area, made the suggestion of "better troops and simpler administration." Comrade Mao Zedong attached great importance to this suggestion. He copied every word of it in his notebook and made this comment in the margin: This is a good method. It has been prescribed precisely for doing away with our officialism, bureaucracy and formalism. This suggestion was thoroughly discussed and adopted at the session and it was decided "to submit it to the government for prompt implementation." Therefore, we should say that the implementation of this policy started in November 1941. It was first implemented in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area. In the winter of 1941, shortly after the second session of the consultative council, the number of state functionaries at various levels of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area was reduced to 76 percent of its original level. In 1943, it was again reduced by 35 percent. In this year, the border area government promulgated the "Outline for Simplifying Administration." The work of simplifying administration was integrated with the rectification campaign. Work efficiency was increased and the work system was improved. The Shaanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan border area was a model in implementing the policy of better troops and simpler administration and was cited and praised by Comrade Mao Zedong. It started to implement this policy at the beginning of 1942. It [passage indistinct] percent of the number of residents, and the number of people working in party and government organizations who were divorced from production should not exceed 1 percent. Although militiamen were not divorced from production, their number was not to exceed 5 percent of the population. Various methods were adopted, such as reorganization, reducing the size of logistic organizations, cutting down or merging organizations and transferring people from organizations at higher levels to strengthen organizations at lower levels. After simplifying administration three occasions, once at the beginning of 1942, once in May 1942 and once in January 1943, the number of state functionaries was reduced by 51 percent. The higher the level of an organization, the greater the number of people by which it was reduced. The number of people in the border area government was reduced from 548 to only 100. As a result of staff reduction in organizations, work efficiency was increased. What was more important was that the financial expenditure of the border area was reduced, the people's burden was lessened and social wealth was accumulated. An example was that the people's burden in south Hebei area in 1942 was reduced by two-thirds when compared with 1941. Grain levies imposed in Taihang and Taiyue in 1943 were one-third less than in 1941. War services required of the people were also much reduced. Let us take the statistics of 10 villages in Yuci, Taihang as an example. Before simplifying administration, the number of laborers working for war services as required by the village office was 96 and the number after

simplifying administration was 28. According to border area government statistics on the provision of draft animals for public service, from March to September 1941, 66,923 head of draught animals were provided for public service, an average of 8,366 head per month. In the same period in 1942, only 1,293 head were provided, an average of 206 head per month. The burden in providing draft animals for public service was reduced by over 96 percent.

In order to thoroughly implement a policy, leaders must personally set an example, do propaganda work, carry out inspections and participate in practice. Comrade Mao Zedong set a good example in this respect for our whole party. After the policy of better troops and simpler administration was put forth, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote an editorial entitled "A Very Important Policy" on 7 September 1942 for JIEFANG RIBAO which was published in Yanan. Comrade Mao Zedong said that the party's policy of better troops and simpler administration was an important measure for overcoming the material difficulty in the base areas. The base areas had become smaller and within a certain period of time, they might become even smaller. We had to simplify our administrative organizations as much as possible in order to meet the needs of war. As Comrade Mao Zedong metaphorically put it, if "we made our bodies smaller but stronger," we would finally defeat the enemies. At a conference of senior cadres of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area, which was held in December 1942, Comrade Mao Zedong made a report entitled "Economic and Financial Problems in the Anti-Japanese War," in which he again mentioned the necessity of implementing the policy of better troops and simpler administration. He said, "The policy of better troops [passage indistinct] must be carried out strictly, thoroughly and universally, and not perfunctorily, superficially or partially. In carrying it out, we must attain the five objectives of simplification, unification, efficiency, economy and opposition to bureaucracy." ("The Selected Works of Mao Zedong," one-volume edition, p 850) In particular, we had to oppose bureaucracy because bureaucratic practices such as corruption and graft, overelaborate organization, meaningless "standardization" and red tape, had turned some cadres from the people's servants into the people's lords, which seriously affected the democratic political life in base areas. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong and advocated by him, the policy of better troops and simpler administration was implemented not only in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area and the Hebei-Shandong-Henan border area but also in the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei border area, the Shanxi-Suiyuan border area and the Shandong liberated area. Very good results were obtained. At that time, the central organization in Yanan was located at Yangjialing and Comrade Mao Zedong also handled official business there. It was later moved to Zaoyuan. The office consisted of only a few simply-furnished cave rooms. There were few secretaries and not many guards. The guards used inferior rifles and horses. Good horses and rifles were sent to the front. The clothes, shoes and socks worn by Comrade Mao Zedong were patched many times over and his meals were plain and simple. At that time, Comrade Zhou Enlai was in charge of the Eighth Route Army Office at Hongyan village, Chongqing.

The office was in a small house. The size of the staff was small but the work was heavy. They have difficulties even in their daily lives. But under these circumstances, Comrade Zhou Enlai and Deng Yingchao used their meager monthly allowance to improve the livelihood of other comrades. They indeed "saved every single penny for war and for the revolutionary cause." In short, the CCP Central Committee made up of Comrade Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and other comrades set a perfect example in implementing the policy of "better troops and simpler administration."

At present, in order to hasten our progress, we must also implement the policy of better troops and simpler administration and overcome the drawbacks of overlapping organizations, complicated structure and low efficiency. In simplifying administrative organizations, we should promote vigorous cadres with ability and political integrity to leading posts. In this way, our cause will grow and flourish with vigor and vitality. The practice of demanding more people whenever work is discussed and the idea that work can only be improved by expanding the [word indistinct] of the staff are wrong. We should realize that it is quality and not quantity that counts. Overlapping organizations, overelaborate organizations, overstaffing and undefined and confused limitations on authority are hotbeds for breeding bureaucracy and officialism. We should not forget that our country is a big country which is backward in economic development and has a large population. Everything should be done in accordance with the policy of better troops and simpler administration. On the road to socialist modernization of our country which is to be characterized by a Chinese style, let us continue to carry forward the glorious tradition of arduous struggle and uphold the policy of better troops and simpler administration!

CSO: 4005/827

BRIEFS

NEW GUIZHOU AUTONOMOUS PREFECTURE--A grand rally was held in Xingyi on 1 May to celebrate the establishment of the Qianxinan Autonomous Prefecture, formerly Xingyi Prefecture. Present on the Presidium were Wen Zhengyi, a representative of the NPC Nationalities Committee and the State Nationalities Commission; Su Gang, leader of the provincial congratulatory delegation and deputy leaders Luo Dengyi, Long Xianzhao, Wang Bingyun, Meng Sufen, (Wu Tuming) and others; and leaders of the autonomous prefecture Zhu Chuanmo, Li Xueshu, Wang Anze and (Meng Wenchao). Delegates from neighboring parts of Yunnan and Guangxi were also present. Zhu Chuanmo, first secretary of the autonomous prefectural CCP committee, presided at the rally. Wang Anze, secretary of the committee and prefectural head, made a speech. Greetings cables from the NPC Standing Committee, State Council, NPC Nationalities Committee, State Nationalities Commission, and the provincial CCP committee and government were read out. Wen Zhengyi also spoke. [HK030201 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 1 May 82]

QINGHAI UNITED FRONT CONFERENCE--According to QINGHAI RIBAO, the provincial united front work conference which was sponsored by the provincial people's government was held in Xining from 15 to 23 April. Attending the conference were comrades in charge of political and united front work at prefectural, autonomous prefectural and municipal CCP committees and provincial organs. Liang Buting, first secretary of the provincial CCP committee, and Zha-xi-wang-xu and Zhao Haifeng, secretaries of the provincial CCP committee, attended and spoke at the conference. [Excerpt] [SK040146 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 3 May 82]

TRAIN ROBBERIES--The Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee pointed out in its instruction written on the No 90 special report submitted by the Ministry of Railways that it is imperative to take emergency steps to stop train robbery. On the Chengdu-Chongqing line, where serious train robbery incidents have occurred, the instruction said, local PLA units should send their men to escort trains carrying important cargoes. The Ministry of Railway's report revealed that the train-robbing gangs are generally composed of 10 to 50 people. [Text] [OW031029 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 2 May 82]

GANSU HISTORICAL FORUM--The Gansu Provincial CCP Committee recently sponsored a forum on struggle events in eastern Gansu during the democratic revolutionary period. Attending the forum were Gao Jinchun, vice chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee; Lei Enjun, vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee; Yang Bolun, vice chairman of the Shaanxi Provincial CPPCC Committee; Guo Tingfan, vice chairman of Qinghai Provincial CPPCC Committee; a number of veteran comrades who worked at eastern Gansu areas from Qingyang Prefecture and other places; and responsible comrades of party members' leading groups in charge of collecting materials on party history from various prefectural, autonomous prefectural and municipal CCP committees throughout the province. Liu Bing, deputy secretary of the provincial CCP committee, addressed the forum, urging party committees at all levels to strengthen leadership over the work of collecting party historical materials. Efforts should be made to probe the correctness of local historical events to provide better materials for enriching party history. [SK041310 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 3 May 82 SK]

HENAN ADVANCED POLICEMEN'S CONGRESS--The congress of advanced collectives and advanced individuals of the armed people's police force of the Henan provincial public security department was held in Zhengzhou from 21-23 April. The congress summed up experiences, commended the advanced and mobilized all armed people's policemen throughout the province to make new contributions toward maintaining social order and defending the four modernizations. Attending the congress were Li Fuxiang, Standing Committee member of the provincial CCP committee and head of the provincial political and legal leadership group; Yue Xiaoxia, vice governor; Ding Shi, president of the provincial court; (Bai Jun), director of the public security department; (Ma Jinghan), director of the judicial department; (Cai Mailun), director of the civil affairs department; and responsible comrades of relevant departments. Yue Xiaoxia spoke. This congress was the first gathering of outstanding workers since the PLA was converted into the people's armed police force in this province in 1976. The congress adopted a written proposal to all commanders and fighters of the armed people's police force throughout the province. [HK041441 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Apr 82 HK]

HENAN NATIONAL PHILOSOPHY MEETING--The 1982 national discussion meeting on the history of Marxist philosophy was held in Luoyang from 17 to 23 April. This was the first national meeting since the first national discussion meeting on the history of Marxist philosophy was held in Hangzhou last year. This meeting was sponsored by the National Society for the Study of the History of Marxist Philosophy, the Henan Provincial Social Science Institute and the party school of the Luoyang Prefectural CCP Committee. Some 200 Marxist philosophical history research workers of institutes of higher education, press and publication circles and the propaganda departments of the party and the government from 27 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions attended. This meeting mainly discussed the issues of the formation of Marxist philosophy, on the role and function of Leninist philosophical thought in the history of Marxist philosophy and on the role and function of

Mao Zedong's philosophical thought in the history of Marxist philosophy. The comrades present at this meeting "let a hundred schools of thought contend," aired their own views, spoke without any inhibitions and handed 144 theses to the meeting. This meeting made preparations for the activities of marking the centenary of the death of Karl Marx next March and for the study of Comrade Mao Zedong's eight philosophical works which will soon be conducted throughout the country. [Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 27 Apr 82 HK]

ILLEGAL OCCUPATION--In the past 3 years, nearly 220 million square meters of new houses have been constructed in cities and towns in our country. According to estimates by the State Statistical Bureau covering three municipalities, however, only 38.4 percent of the new houses have been alloted to the masses, while most of them have been illegally occupied by cadres at various levels and their relatives. [Text] [OW031347 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 2 May 82]

DENG CADRE POLICY--At a recent meeting of cadres from organs directly under the Lanzhou PLA units, deputy chief of general staff Zhang Zhen relayed Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech delivered at a military commission meeting. He said: All cadres who climbed by following Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in rebellion should be resolutely removed from their posts. All veteran cadres who departed from the correct stand and betrayed the correct principles during the Cultural Revolution should retire before the 12th CCP National Congress. Those who have not reached retirement age may be transferred to work at local level, but they should in no way assume important positions of leadership. [Text] [OW031251 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 2 May 82]

XINJIANG MOUNTAINEERING MEET--To mark May 4th Youth Day, the Urumqi Municipal Communist Youth League Committee, Physical Culture and Sports Commission and Education Bureau jointly sponsored a mountaineering competition today, on Qingnian Mountain. More than 2,000 youngsters of various nationalities succeeded in climbing the mountain. "Comrade Wang Enmao, regional party first secretary, also took part in today's mountineering activities with great enthusiasm. Comrade Wang Enmao had attended the first mountaineering competition on 4 May 1964. Today he was in high spirits, eager to climb the mountain with the youngsters of various nationalities." Other leading comrades from the regional and Urumqi municipal governments who attended today's mountineering activities included Ismail Amat, Janabil, Zhao Yuzheng and others. Urumqi Municipal Communist Youth League Committee, Physical Culture and Sports Commission and Education Bureau awarded prizes to the winners of the competition. [HK050913 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 4 May 82]

XIZANG PUBLISHING ACTIVITIES--Lhasa, 28 Apr (XINHUA)--The Tibet People's Publishing House is planning to issue 19 new books by June in Tibetan and Han languages. The volumes will cover the geography, history, social customs, religion and medicine of the region and also include a revolution memoir, novels, dictionaries, folk tales, plays, picture books and folk songs One of the books, "Natural Conditions and Social Customs of Tibet," has been written by one of the 19 Tibetans working at the publishing house. The book records Xizang's geography, population origins, social customs and habits, cultural relics, myths, daily life and the history of the region's capital, Lhasa. The publishing house was founded in 1971 and is staffed by 8 Han and 19 Tibetan people. It publishes in both Han and Tibetan languages. [OW021355 Beijing XINHUA in English 1206 GMT 28 Apr 82 OW]

SECURITY BREECH--(Li Guangyi), responsible person of ZHONGGUO CAIMAO BAO [CHINA FINANCE AND TRADE PAPER], who was sentenced to a 5-year imprisonment on a charge of divulging secrets, appealed to a higher court. In the appeal he said: I do not agree with the court's judgment, and I object to making me a scapegoat. It was based on Comrade Deng Xiaoping's instructions or his concurrence that I told foreign guests of any important news, such as the date and location of the 6th Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and information about the 17th session of the NPC Standing Committee. [Text] [OW031239 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 2 May 82]

CSO: 4005/827

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HUBEI URGES PRACTICING BIRTH CONTROL

HK140959 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Apr 82

[Station commentary: "Planned Parenthood Is Also a Way To Become Rich"]

[Excerpts] During the provincial meeting of the advanced representatives in planned parenthood, many facts were cited to prove that conducting planned parenthood and birth control is also a way to become rich. Since the implementation of the production responsibility systme in our rural areas, the old ideas of "more sons, more bliss" and of "having sons early means enjoying bliss early" has gained ground in some peasants' minds. These peasants think that there is no harm and only benefit in having more children, because by having more children they can be allocated more land to till and will have more manpower. They think that, although they will not be allocated grain by the state for their children to eat, they can still support their children. These ideas are very wrong.

After the establishment of the production responsibility system in our rural areas, we cannot rely on having more children to improve our livelihood. Those commune members who have many children have to spend a great deal of their time and energy in raising their children and thus have less time and energy to attend to production on the land, for which they have been assigned responsibility, and on their private plots. Moreover, the heavy burden of providing food, clothes, education and medicine for their children makes it impossible for them to make ends meet, and the heavy burden of housekeeping nearly crushes them. They have to struggle desperately for years until their children are grown up. Even when their children have grown up, there will still be problems that will continue to trouble them. Therefore, having more children and having children in an unplanned manner is not a way to become rich. On the contrary, only by conducting birth control to reduce the number of their children and thus increasing income can they become rich.

CSO: 4005/825

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'SHANXI RIBAO' DISCUSSES PLANNED PARENTHOOD WORK

HK301335 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 12 Apr 82 p 5

[Editorial: "Planned Parenthood Work Absolutely Cannot Be Relaxed"]

[Text] The work of planned parenthood has been confronted with many new problems and conditions after the implementation of various forms of production responsibility systems. It is necessary for localities to study and tackle such problems. Yicheng County is a step ahead of other localities in this respect. Party committees at all levels in the county vigorously took the lead in paying close attention to ideological and political work. The establishment of the agricultural production responsibility system was followed by the implementation of the responsibility system of planned parenthood. Close attention was paid to the linking up of the three policies. Last year the birth rate of the county dropped by 5.36 per 1,000, the lowest of all the counties in the province. Although there are many deficiencies and inadequacies in the work of planned parenthood, the experience gained by the communal brigades through the implementation of the responsibility system of planned parenthood is undoubtedly very valuable and should be promoted to the vast countryside.

The objective of implementing planned parenthood and birth control is consistent with that of implementing the production responsibility system in the countryside--to speed up socialist construction and to raise the people's standard of living on the basis of developing production. Cadres and people should know that our land and resources are limited. If the birth rate is not controlled, the growth of population will be so rapid that it will become incompatible with the development of production and everyone will get less from the state. It will be very difficult for commune members to increase their income and to improve their livelihood. Socialist modernization will also be seriously hampered. It is incorrect to believe that "one should have many children in order to mobilize a family and to build up a family fortune." The attitude that "planned parenthood can be ignored as long as commune members fulfill their production quota" is very detrimental. We will be making a historical error if we give up planned parenthood work on account of the implementation of the production responsibility system. The

experience of Yicheng is valuable in that not only did the people find out new problems and conditions, but they were also clearly aware of the imminence and serious consequences of such problems. Committees at all levels took the lead without hesitation to adopt a series of effective policies so as to adapt to the new circumstances and to resolve new problems. While the production responsibility system was being perfected step by step, various responsibility systems of planned parenthood were also established. They were initially successful in "paying attention to both production and birth control, in laying down two targets at the same time and in establishing two forms of responsibility systems." While ideological work was being strengthened, necessary awards were introduced and corresponding economic restrictions were imposed. Such practices have proved to be effective in curbing the freedom of giving birth and the growth of the birth rate. The vast countryside including factories and mining enterprises, and people in cities and towns should gain a good deal of enlightenment from the experience of Yicheng. They should also link it up with their local conditions to set up and perfect various forms of planned parenthood responsibility systems.

Positive and negative experience indicates repeatedly that the success of planned parenthood still depends heavily on leadership. At present, the most serious problem is that some party organizations in the countryside have abandoned the leadership in planned parenthood after the implementation of the production responsibility system. This situation should be immediately rectified. All party members and cadres should take the lead to execute the provisions of planned parenthood. Cadres have not upheld planned parenthood for members of party organizations. A bad effect will be created since the members do not take the advice. The provincial government should take necessary disciplinary or administrative action against them as well as imposing economic restrictions. The legislative and other departments concerned should strictly deal with those who undermine planned parenthood. We should continue to advocate late marriage and late childbirth, less but better offspring, and to advocate one birth for one family, to strictly control a second birth, and firmly put an end to a third birth, so that planned parenthood work in our province can be normalized, systematized and regulated.

CSO: 4005/825

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' DISCUSSES LIU BAIYU ON MILITARY WRITING

HK261501 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Apr 82 p 5

[Article by Liu Baiyu [0491 4101 5038]: "Strive To Develop Socialist Literature on Military Subjects in Our Country During the New Historical Period--Speech (excerpts) at National Forum To Discuss Literary Writing on Military Subjects"--note passages within slantlines denote boldface type]

[Text] This is the first time since the founding of the PRC that the Chinese Writers' Association and the cultural department of the PLA general political department have jointly held a national forum to discuss literary writing on military subjects. Today I would like to exchange opinions with our comrades on several problems.

/First point, the great significance of promoting literary writing on military subjects./

Why we should attach importance to literary writing on military subjects and promote it is the first question to be discussed at this meeting.

Today, our country has entered a new historical period. In order to realize the magnificent goal for the new period, the party requires our writers and artists to play an immense role through their works in promoting socialist spiritual civilization and in cultivating new socialist people.

In the "congratulatory speech" delivered on behalf of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council at the fourth congress of the Writers and Artists Association, Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forth the task of vigorously cultivating new socialist people. He pointed out that literary and artistic work, which is irreplaceable by any other field, plays an important role in enhancing the ideological, cultural and moral standards of the whole society. He said, "Literary and artistic creation must fully display our people's fine character and give praise to the great victory that our people win in revolution and construction, and in the struggles against various enemies and all kinds of difficulties." "In our literature and art, we should make greater efforts to portray and cultivate new socialist people and strive for richer fruits."

In the last few years, Comrade Hu Yaobang linked again and again the literary and artistic creation on military subjects to building socialist spiritual civilization and cultivating new socialist people in some of his speeches. During the forum on play creation held in February 1980, when talking about "how to treat our PLA," Comrade Hu Yaobang said, "This army of ours has two characters. First, they are indeed the most lovable people. Since the founding of the army in 1927, for several decades they have charged under hails of bullets and braved untold dangers again and again. Without them there could never possibly be the revolutionary, victorious and glorious history of the Chinese people. Our revolutionary history is closely related to the PLA. Second, we mainly depend on them to safeguard the conditions for the realization of the four modernizations. Therefore, they are also the most reliable people. So, they are on the one hand the most lovable and on the other the most reliable people. That is the reason why there should be an important position reserved for them in our propaganda work and literary and artistic creation." The leading comrades of the CCP Central Committee regarded the promotion of the creation on military subjects as an act of strategic and guiding importance. Therefore, I think, we should recall the spirit of the directive of the CCP Central Committee through this meeting, and conscientiously attach importance to the literary creation on military subjects.

The sacred historical mission of building socialist civilization and cultivating new socialism people needs to be jointly borne by all branches of the superstructure and the whole socialist literary and art circles. But, the literary writing on military subjects alone has its specific force, and can play an educational role which is irreplaceable by works on other subjects. Description of the armed struggle of our Chinese nationalities and Chinese people in resisting aggression and striving for liberation is the main content of our literature on revolutionary military subjects. Patriotism and revolutionary heroism are always intensively embodied in military struggles and strongly expressed by the army and the masses of the people who support the wars. As those excellent military literary works describe the acute struggle which is of life-and-death importance to the fate of the class, the people, the country and the nation; as they give praise to the great spirit of revolutionary fighters who sacrifice themselves for the motherland and the lofty ideal of communism; and, as they profoundly expose the cruel nature of the aggressors and the reactionary ruling force, they have their own function which other works cannot perform, in cultivating the spirit of patriotism and revolutionary heroism.

Our army is one which is armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Based on the characteristics of the Chinese revolution as an armed struggle and the leadership of the CCP, the army formed its own fine traditions. These fine traditions, formed on the basis of communist thought, are the concentrated expression of the proletarian nature of the armed forces led by our party, the distillation of the Chinese people's industrious and courageous character, and the wonderful spiritual wealth of our people. On the other hand, the revolutionary spirit and lofty sentiment displayed by our army who feared neither hardship nor death, united as one and advanced wave upon wave during wartime are still very necessary for our army and people today in building the four modernizations.

What we should particularly remember is that our four modernizations are being built under the international conditions that the threat of war is constantly with us. At present, as the contention between the superpowers is escalating every day in the world, and the hegemonist powers are speeding up their global strategic disposition, both the world's peace and our country's safety are seriously threatened. The Vietnamese authorities repeatedly carry out armed provocations on the southern border of our country. Therefore, we must maintain sharp vigilance at all times, keep the vast number of commanders and fighters of our army, and the broad masses of our people and youth aware of the possibility of future wars against aggression, and urge them to be ideologically and mentally well prepared for combat. The vivid artistic images created in literary works on military subjects can educate and influence the vast number of readers, make them vigilant in peace time, and thus cultivate within the whole society a sense of responsibility to fight for the interests of the motherland and the people at any time and a moral concept of fearing neither hardship nor death. Such a sense of responsibility and moral concept must be fostered every day.

Fine military literary works can help the young generation to set up a correct world outlook, outlook on life and view on war; and help them to grow into a generation of new socialist people with the lofty spirit of internationalism, patriotism and revolutionary heroism. If all the hundreds of millions of our young people possess these fine traits, they will forge ahead courageously and try their best to create miracles at their own posts in building the four modernizations every day, being a shock brigade in building a powerful socialist country; and, once war breaks out, they will unite as one to resist the invaders with full confidence, join the combat as courageous fighters, and overwhelm the enemy like crashing waves in the sea. In short, as long as the communist ideal burns like raging flames, they will be able to show their invincible fighting force whether in the face of difficulties and dangers or of life-and-death struggles.

Our country has rich deposits for literary writing on military subjects and exceptionally favorable conditions for developing military literature. Our country is a multinational one with a long history. Numerous large-scale just wars to resist dark rule and combat foreign invaders have occurred in our country over the past few thousand years. Among these wars, the revolutionary civil wars, the war of resistance against Japan, the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, and so on, are especially magnificent and earthshaking. There is no comparison, at any time or in any country, to these wars, in view of their lofty goal and the nature of the army which carried them out. Among these wars, which occurred on an immense area of land, involved a large population, took various forms and lasted for a long period of time, we found the unprecedented long march, and the magnificent people's warfare. During these wars, we saw numerous and brilliant long-tested generals and innumerable great heroes.

Wars are cruel but varied and colorful as well. In wars, there are terrifying hails of bullets, cautious devising of strategies, hardships of arduous journeys and fieldwork and scenes of parting forever. There are not only victories but also setbacks; not only enthusiastic cheers but also profound sorrow; and, not only the most magnificent scenes but also the most lofty

sentiments. All this, after condensation and typification, can become moving works. And the thousands and tens of thousands of PLA soldiers today are ardent youths who come from all corners of the land, and they are heroically struggling to safeguard and build the four modernizations. The actual life at present of the PLA units is also vivid and exciting. During the great floods in Sichuan and other provinces and regions last year, the commanders and fighters boldly struggle, fought against the floods and dealt with emergencies. They were not afraid of difficulties nor of sacrifice. Some comrades even sacrificed their lives in order to protect the life of the masses and the property of the state. The military exercise in northern China last year was a tough test of the military administration quality of the PLA units. We can see from this military exercise that the advancement of the PLA is promising. The PLA is indeed the wall of iron and steel which protects the socialist motherland. The changes in the PLA units today, the new things and new contradictions which crop up in the cause of building the PLA, and new personalities and new achievements in the cause of struggle should be included in the scope of vision of writers and artists.

We can say that our military literature has rich deposits. However, only a small quantity has been uncovered by our writers today. We should incessantly expand the field of military themes. We should on the one hand advocate vigorous portraits of actual life in the PLA, and on the other, should encourage the writers to work hard in reflecting the several revolutionary wars launched under the leadership of our party.

In short, our fundamental aim in vigorously encouraging literary writing on military subjects is to build socialist spiritual civilization and cultivate new socialist people by means of propagandizing patriotism, revolutionary heroism and the lofty ideal of communism.

/Second point, make all-out efforts to raise the standard of literary creation on military subjects during the new period./

It is necessary for us to study the question of building in the future socialist literature on military subjects during the new historical period. A relatively urgent question confronting us at present is to make all-out efforts to improve rather quickly the quality of literature on military subjects and to create works of high ideological and artistic standards. This is a key issue determining whether literature on military subjects can win love from the vast number of readers.

Compared with the troops in the past war years, an extremely great change has taken place in our troops today. They have become cultured troops. The new situation has posed a new problem before us; the more cultured the vast number of commanders and fighters are, the greater and higher their demands for spiritual food are. At the same time, a generation of new people has also emerged on the front of literature on military subjects. They are at once the readers and writers.

Confronted with new features in the object of service and portrayal, it is imperative for our literature on military subjects to make a great breakthrough at the present level. It is out of the question to be complacent and conservative or to stick to conventions. We must strive to improve the ideological content and artistic quality of the works so that they are imbued with a stronger power or appeal. Here, I would like to set forth my tentative ideas relating to certain problems of creative work in our troops for consultation with the comrades.

/1. We must clearly and vividly portray individuals./ In our creative work, it is necessary to discard the practice of paying attention only to the portrayal of the process of a campaign or a battle. The duty of a military historian is to record the process of a certain campaign while that of an artist is to highlight the portrayal of individuals against the background of this campaign. That is to say, he has to devote his main efforts to portraying typical characters in a typical environment. The duty of a writer lies not only in reflecting social life but, what is more important, in promoting social progress through the reflection of life. This makes it necessary for literary works to attach greater importance to reflecting the growing newly emerging forces and the images of new people with communist ideas and consciousness representing the orientation of the times.

The heroic image of the people's army has its special significance. As a model of communist spirit and an example of great wisdom and of performing meritorious services, it not only exerts an imperceptible influence on the readers but enables them to follow its example directly. Practice has proved that heroic images in literature and art have turned into a powerful spiritual force in the minds of the commanders and fighters of our army. From the growth of Lei Feng and Ou Yanghai we can perceive this force in literary works. In our self-defensive counterattack against Vietnam, the tremendous role of the heroic images such as Dong Cunrui and Huang Jiguang was very obvious in inspiring morale. A great many fighters charged the enemy lines and fought heroically by shouting slogans of learning from heroes.

War is a most severe test for everyone. In war we can perceive the most splendid element in people's nature, the disposition of our great nation, the fine traditions of this revolutionary army and the noblest and finest feelings of the human race stored in heroic figures. Comrade Zhou Enlai made a very good summation of the moral character of a hero when he wrote an inscription about Lei Feng as follows: "The class stand of being clear about what to hate and what to love, the revolutionary spirit of suiting one's actions to one's words, the communist style of working selflessly for the public interest and the proletarian fighting will that defies personal danger." This moral character will manifest itself most clearly in war. We should say that war provides us with a very favorable condition for the portrayal of individuals. If we record not only the process of a campaign or a battle but also portray the colorful inner world and lofty realm of thought by focusing

our attention on the vicissitudes of life and the feelings of heroic figures in a war environment and on the extraordinary deeds generated from people's various characteristics and by merging the fate of the characters with the portrayal of the revolutionary war, we can naturally touch the souls of the readers.

Naturally, while stressing the portrayal of heroic figures, we should not neglect the portrayal of ordinary people. Heroic figures should not be isolated from millions upon millions of masses for they are inseparable from each other. In our people's army, not only are there thousands upon thousands of heroic or model figures who have become the examples of the masses on account of their high ideological consciousness, there are also a greater number of unknown ordinary officers and men who are devoted to their duty and display their spiritual splendor at ordinary posts. What is referred to as "ordinary people" are by no means the petty and low "nobodies" referred to by certain people but the ordinary soldiers in great revolutionary struggles. The images of these ordinary soldiers should also be praised. They are likewise people with communist ideological splendor in some fundamental aspects. Who were those people fighting at the frontline at Fakashan and Koulinshan? They were ordinary youths and many of them were in their late teens. It was they, however, who performed immortal feats and every kind of miracle in fiery life. Some of the fighters who laid down their lives still held on to the enemy's corpse and others were still standing firm with a gun in their hands. How these sacred images tugged at people's heartstrings and filled them with deep veneration! Indeed, they were common and ordinary; but they were at the same time uncommon and extraordinary. They had a common feature, which was the beauty of their souls. You may imagine: Is there a nobler, loftier, greater or finer soul than this when one unhesitatingly gives up one's blood and life for the sake of the motherland? Could not this fine soul strike a sympathetic chord and evoke people's minds?

In our literature on military subjects, there are many experiences worth summing up in creating artistic models. It is extremely preposterous for the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques to concoct the theory of "fundamental task," fabricating a whole series of unrealistic patterns such as heroic figures must be "noble, great and capable of everything." In recent years we have achieved very good results in liquidating the "theory of the fundamental task." However, a "nonheroic" viewpoint has emerged which holds that heroes are nonexistent in life and that it is not based on life to demand literary works to portray heroes. Under the influence of the viewpoint of "abstract and eternal human nature," some people look upon the so-called "human nature" as something that is not socialized and they observe and portray life with this viewpoint, with the result that some works have emerged which are no good or unhealthy in their political inclinations. Although there are not many works of this kind their erroneous tendencies are shocking. Literary works have as their objective the portrayal of human feelings and psychology. But the question is whether we admit that man is characterized by his class nature, that there are heroic figures in life, that writers should stress the portrayal of socialist new things and the fine elements in their souls and that they have realistically and profoundly portrayed the

revolutionary fighters and the enemy. If we are not clear about or even befuddled by these questions of fundamental importance, it will be impossible to realistically portray various kinds of people in practical life to propel life forward and we are bound to create some "distorted images" which will lead readers astray.

/2. It is necessary to profoundly reflect contradictions and conceive really touching plots./ Without carefully conceived plots, it will be difficult to mold vivid artistic models and also to firmly grip the attention of the readers. However, for many years, many of the works produced by the writers of our units have often been unable to break away from the primitive form of writing about actual people and things in a dull and flat way and plots are identical. On the other hand, proceeding from certain concepts, there are also some works which have created strange tales divorced from true life and from the molding of characters.

The conflict of contradictions in the life of military struggle is the basis of plots for works in military literature. The vividness and richness of the plots in military literature are precisely the concentrated manifestation of the conflict of contradictions in the life of military struggle. There is no need to talk about the acuteness and complexity of contradictions and the soul-stirring struggle of all our past revolutionary civil wars, the war of resistance against Japan and the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, even now the life of the units is filled with contradictions and struggle. The units are not isolated from society, so the contradictions in society will inevitably be reflected in the units. As a result of the modernization and standardization in the construction of the revolutionary army, the appearance of every new thing and the success of every new reform are invariably accompanied by contradictions and struggle. As long as our writers proceed from actual life and work hard, they will be able to extract vivid plots from the mass of contradictions. There is not the slightest doubt that the contradictions within the units can enter the domain of literature on military subjects. As long as the writers have a correct stand and attitude in authentically reflecting life, they will be able to grasp the leading aspect of the bright side in the struggle between the bright side and the seamy side and to grasp the leading aspect of the advanced in the struggle between the advanced and the backward. This will contribute to pushing life forward and to army construction. There is also a problem of reflecting internal contradictions in historical subjects of the revolutionary war. However, the most conspicuous problem at present is that the exposure of the contradiction between the enemy and ourselves has not been thoroughgoing enough and we have often adopted a caricature style of excessively playing up the impotence and weakness of the enemy, therefore, we are unable to vividly model the images of proletarian leaders and revolutionary heroes in the violent and acute contradictions. We must have the courage to write about how our army, under adverse conditions and even in a hopeless situation, has managed to pull through and reversed the situation because of the brilliant leadership, the ingenious command and the stubborn fighting of the commanders and fighters and the energetic support of the people. As a result of the twists and turns as well as ups and downs in the situation of

the war, the plots of the writings should be full of changes and surprises before they can become soul-stirring and moving. It is not advisable to pay too much attention to looking for fantastic plots, but portraying the dynamic and colorful life in an insipid manner will not excite the imagination of the people either or strike a sympathetic chord among the people.

/3. Strive to raise the ideological level of literary works./ Literary works always transmit a kind of idea or philosophy to lead the audience into a certain realm of thought. Proletarian writers use the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to observe life and to form their own profound and unique opinion which sparkles with the brilliance of Marxist truth, and this is also called philosophy by the people. The philosophy we advocate cannot be confused with idealist philosophy. We hold that in order to improve the quality of literature on military subjects, we must raise the ideological level of literary works.

In outstanding literary works, the ideological level the writers want to reach is not primarily manifested in the comments inserted by the writers but by means of the development of the plot, the conflict between the characters and the spiritual world revealed by the characters. In other words, it must be naturally shown in an authentic and touching manner by means of the characters and plots. Our writings are definitely not intended to merely show the smoke of gunpowder or the flames of war. We must by means of these things bring forth the sparks of ideas and the brilliance of truth, for only this can be considered to be the soul of the works.

The beautiful and lofty ideological level we refer to is the supreme love of the revolutionaries who spilled blood and sacrificed their lives for the communist cause. "Life is indeed valuable; love has a higher price. If for the sake of liberty, both I will gladly sacrifice." This was the love of the pioneers of bourgeois democracy. For the sake of communist ideals, the proletarian revolutionaries gave up their lives for the happiness of the people and the future generation. This most lofty beauty and supreme love of proletarian heroism is precisely what socialist literature on military subjects must seek.

/4. The key to building socialist literature on military subjects of our time is to plunge deep into the thick of life and produce new ideas./ Proletarian literature on military subjects is a new kind of literature, but it has not just appeared out of thin air severed from history. We must critically inherit the literary heritage of our ancient Chinese military classics and oppose the nihilist attitude of rejecting our national heritage in literature. At the same time, it is also worthwhile to draw on the experience of the outstanding military classics of foreign countries.

We must mainly inherit the proletarian tradition of revolutionary literature. In recent years, there have indeed been some phenomena of rejecting the prolerarian tradition of revolutionary literature. They are: blindly worshipping bourgeois war literature, making no distinction between just wars and unjust wars and opposing all wars, publicizing pacificism, muddling up the line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves, and advocating class

reconciliation. This will naturally play the pernicious role of weakening the morale and disintegrating the fighting will of the people. This must be opposed. China's revolutionary literature on military subjects has already become an important part of the treasure house of revolutionary literature of the world proletariat. Socialist literature on military subjects must inherit this tradition before it can fulfill the glorious task of bringing up new socialist people.

Inheritance is for the sake of creation. Since socialist literature on new military subjects is a new and revolutionary literature, it must, on the basis of critically inheriting the heritage, integrate new ideas and new artistic techniques with the reality of actual life before it can make new creations.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, tremendous changes have taken place in all sectors of our socialist motherland. Our army is being built into a modernized and standardized revolutionary army. If we do not go deep into life or study the new conditions, we also will not be able to correctly reflect actual life in the army. I think that the essence of Mao Zedong Thought on literature and art is to go deep into life and integrate the literary and art workers with the workers, peasants, soldiers and people. Today, only by going deep into the heat of struggle for carrying out the four modernizations, protecting the four modernizations and attaining perfect harmony with the masses can we feel the pulse of time and reflect the spirit of our time and will we be able to write about the new people and the new vocational work.

The study of Marxism-Leninism is still an important task. As early as 40 years ago, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "It is right for writers and artists to study literary and artistic creation, but the science of Marxism-Leninism must be studied by all revolutionaries, and writers and artists are no exception." Only by using the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to observe life will we be able to better understand the essence of life. The "resolution on certain questions in the history of the party since the founding of the PRC," formulated at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee is the compass for guiding our reflection of the past and present struggle of our party and army. Integrating the study of Marxism-Leninism with going deep into life is what we have often said about reforming world outlook. Comrade Zhou Enlai said: "Learn and reform ourselves as long as we live." Only in this way can we always keep our literary and artistic creation young.

/Third point, we must strengthen leadership over literary writing on military subjects./

Creating socialist military literature of the new era is a major event concerning the long-term interests of the whole people. Involved here is a very tough task. Only under the leadership of the party and after vigorous efforts on the part of the masses of writers, with support from all sides, can we accomplish this task.

Developing literary writing on military subjects should be the concern of everyone in the literary and art circles. Today, for the masses of commanders and fighters, spiritual or cultural food chiefly comes from society and from the whole literary and art world and publishing world. This is the case with the masses of readers and spectators among army units, to say nothing of the masses of young readers and spectators in society. Therefore, as an important part of socialist literature and art, literary writing on military subjects must arouse the concern and attention of the whole literary and art world and publishing world. This is an important guarantee for the development of literary writing on military themes.

Four basic principles must be upheld in writing literary works on military themes. This is a problem concerning the basic direction. In the current struggle against bourgeois liberalization and against the corrosive effects of capitalism, the party Central Committee has called on us to be resolute, clear-headed and worthy Marxists. The whole body of communist party members have been urged to firmly bear in mind the fact that wholeheartedly serving the people is our party's fundamental aim and the fact that realizing great communist ideals is our party's ultimate goal. Every communist party member must faithfully carry out the solemn pledge he made when joining the party and devote his whole life to fighting for communism. We must be guided by these requirements in unifying our awareness and our actions. This is of great significance in doing our literary work well. Of course, our stressing the need to uphold the four basic principles and to strengthen party leadership over literature and art does not clash with the emancipation of the mind. By emancipating the mind, we mean linking theory with practice and getting emancipated from hackneyed, rigid and outdated ideas in a down-to-earth manner. In our work, we may sometimes experience some improper demands. Oversimplified and crude methods and unjustified interference are also sometimes not unknown. We must encourage individual originality in literary writing and ensure there is a vast scope for thinking, for imagination, and for form and content in writing.

In developing literary works on military themes, we must firmly and unswervingly uphold the party's guideline of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and promote literary and art criticism in an energetic and healthy manner. In upholding the guideline of "blooming and contending" in the literary and art fields, we must stress two freedoms, the freedom to write and the freedom to criticize. Similarly, the development of literary writing on military themes is also inseparable from literary and art criticism. The pity is that what we have done is far from adequate in the matter of consciously, constantly and artfully wielding literary and art criticism as a weapon. Research, assessment or propaganda work where literary writing on military themes is concerned is a particularly weak sector. Concerning certain works with unhealthy political sentiments and ideas that are not lofty among current literary works on military themes, criticisms began to be made after the forum on problems on the ideological front last year. The dull atmosphere in literary and art criticism also began to change. But we hope that literary and art criticism can be promoted in a more active and lively manner.

In a speech of greeting at the fourth literary and art congress, Comrade Xiaoping said that party leadership over literature and art is not a matter of issuing commands and dictating orders. Instead, in line with the characteristics of literature and art and the laws of development, we must help create necessary conditions for literary and art workers to produce good literary and art works. We must help writers and artists understand the struggle on the various fronts of our country, understand the tasks of our present era and the problems confronting us, and understand our party's general and specific policies. We must help writers and artists live intensely among the masses, so that they can draw on actual experiences and have a strong urge to write, turning the party's demands into their conscious actions.

To develop the writing of literary works on military themes, we wish to put forth the following several suggestions:

First, we must live life to the hilt doing so in a down-to-earth manner. We wish to invite after this meeting some writers outside the army who are willing to write on military themes to live deep in the midst of the army units. We hope that such a practice of deep involvement in life can become popular.

Second, it is hoped that all newspapers and magazines in the country can devote space to literary works on military themes and recommend fine literary works on military themes packed with patriotism and revolutionary heroism to the masses of readers and young ones in particular.

Furthermore, to improve the quality of literary works on military themes, we must, on the basis of promoting literary and art criticism, make regular assessments of literary works on military themes and select fine works as targets of propaganda. Encouragement must be given to good works and special encouragement given to particularly good ones.

We hope that this forum can become a meeting of unity. So long as we act in concert and work in unity toward this common goal, we can surely in the not too distant future usher in a new situation in our literature and art on military themes--a situation marked with a thriving scene.

There is a kind of flower called "taiyang" [sun] flower on the battlefield of the southern border of our motherland. It is a very hardy kind. Where the earth has been reduced to a shambles by the gunfire of Vietnamese troops, flowers of this kind peep out in full bloom, a riot of color, undaunted by the wind. I hope that our literature on military themes, like "taiyang" flowers, can radiate unusual brightness on our socialist literary and art front!

CSO: 4005/825

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HISTORIAN REBUTS TAIWAN CRITICS OF HISTORY

HK270932 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Apr 82 p 5

[Article by Sun Sibai [1327 1835 4101] originally carried in No 2, 1982 issue of JINDAISHI YANJIU [STUDY OF MODERN HISTORY]: "On the Problem of Compiling 'History of the Republic of China'--A Few Words for Fellow Historians in Taiwan"]

[Text] The news that we are compiling a "history of the Republic of China" aroused considerable interest among our counterparts in Taiwan's historical and public opinion circles, sparking a prolonged and wide-ranging discussion. This is not something we expected to happen.

From various news reports, we have been able to learn of the impressions and opinions expressed by our colleagues on the other side of the straits. Take, for example, the informal speeches and articles of Chin Hsiao-i, Li Huang, Liu Shao-tang, Shen Yun-lung, Wu Hsiang-Hsiang, Chang Yu-fa, Li Yun-han, Chiang Yung-ching, Lai Yuan-guang, Yen Ching and others. Of these, the article by Chin Hsiao-i, chairman of the Kuomintang's party history committee, is the most noteworthy. Having had the pleasure of reading these articles, one cannot but feel disturbed by the fact that after years of separation from each other, the inability of experts in the same field to establish contact with each other has led to a lack of mutual understanding on both sides of the straits. In the past, we certainly did not entirely understand your thoughts and actions (the situation has already changed, however, since the smashing of the "gang of four" and books on Taiwan is history are now openly read here); you, however, have even less of an understanding of us. The fact that you continue to use words and phrases such as "cunning scheme," "plot," "conjuring" and "tricks" to discuss our current efforts to compile a history of the Republic of China only makes us say, with regret, that such an attitude is based purely on subjective conjecture. Of course, we can appreciate that there are many historical reasons for these phraseologies.

As for the statements comparing our work with a "passing typhoon" or some other "threat," they are the products of overly suspicious minds.

As you have all been discussing this issue for some time, it is important that we give an explanation of how the whole thing first started. As someone who took part in this work and also bore a certain amount of responsibility, I should like to clarify certain questions relating to the compilation of this history of the Republic of China.

1. As far as I am concerned there is no need for fellow historians on the other side of the straits to harbor such doubts. As far as we are concerned, the work now in progress is of a perfectly normal academic nature. Since the founding of the PRC, scholars on the mainland have been doing research into every section and period of Chinese history; why should the republic period be an exception? In the interests of preserving documents and checking up on past events we should have begun this work as early as was possible. Unfortunately, the project has only just gotten underway. The people taking part in this work are specialists who, having considered the objective conditions, are willing to fulfill their responsibility in the hope of doing meaningful work. This is all there is to the matter. It never occurred to us at the start that this work would arouse so much irritation and suspicion among historians on the other side of the straits.

2. You seem to regard our work as nothing more than a continuation of the tradition of "altering history after gaining office." This is a mistaken view. Certainly, the compilation of "history of the Republic of China" has often been suggested by leaders of new China. In 1971, for example, Premier Zhou Enlai proposed that such a work be entered as an item in the national publication plans. The suggestions of national leaders, however, were never anything more than recommendations and decisions on questions of responsibility, policy, planning, and layout were made by the experts involved without any interference from national leaders. This has absolutely nothing in common with "altering history after gaining office." People taking part in this project divided responsibility among themselves in accordance with the order and demands of the independent academic discipline of history itself. Certainly, this project has been organized under the auspices of a state run academic organization, the modern history institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and we are all research members of state academic bodies. However, this is necessarily the case under a socialist system as there are no private research organizations in our country. While this research project may have been suggested by national leaders, the decision as to whether the modern history institute should accept the responsibility of such a project was made by the institute itself on the basis of its own conditions. This project was first made a part of the national research plan in 1956 and the fact that work never actually began offers additional proof of the institute's independence.

3. Friends in Taiwan see the compilation of the history of the Republic of China as a massive project which has both political and tactical significance for the Chinese Communist Party. This is an even greater misunderstanding. It seems as if Chin Hsiao-i is very familiar with the "history of the Republic of China Research Center," which has been established as a part of the Institute of Modern History. (See the paper he presented at the 1980 conference of the International Chinese Studies Association.) According to the original plan, there were to be around 50 people involved in the compilation work. In reality, however, the staff has never reached full strength and we make no claim whatsoever to having "gone all out to enlist all available scholars" (this phrase was stated by Lai Yuan-kuang). In fact, for some of the university graduates working on the project, this is their first experience of such work. In terms of both scale and prestige, therefore, this setup has little in common with the history offices of past dynasties.

It is clear from this that the scale of this project has been determined by our own capabilities and is not as monumental in size as some people abroad seem to imagine; nor does it represent an attempt to "steal the thunder" from our fellow historians in Taiwan. Some of these fellow historians fear that by taking the lead we will be able to "overawe our opponent." This has never been our intention at all. Chin Hsiao-i has ever gone so far as to adopt the slogan of "gain advantage over the enemy by taking steps to forestall him." As we see it, writing history is an academic, not a military matter and terms such as "advance" and "lying in wait" are most inappropriate. The standard for judging a work of history is not whether it came out sooner or later. What you imagine and what we have in mind are two entirely different things. We are merely carrying out our work in a slow and meticulous manner.

4. There is nothing at all surprising about the fact that certain colleagues in Taiwan have objected to our use of Marxism as the work's guiding ideology. No matter what the task at hand may be, one must always have some form of guiding ideology; and similarly, every historian must have his own historical view and a corresponding basic method. We adhere to the Marxist historical method, that is, historical materialism, just as our fellow historians in Taiwan believe in their own historical view and follow their own historical method. As far as this question is concerned, everyone has the right to follow their own path and no one should be allowed to exercise force over anyone else. The view that people who adhere to historical materialism must necessarily be trying to use the shifts and changes of history to serve their own ends and must, as a result, "tend towards dogmatism" is a view to which we cannot subscribe. Dogmatic types of history certainly exists, but that is not what we are aiming for. The basic spirit of the Marxism we know is "seeking truth from facts" and making concrete analysis of concrete facts. The materialist historical view of Marxism and the idealist historical view of other schools are based on different historical viewpoints and belong to different ideological systems. That controversy exists between the two has been known for a long time and there is no need to discuss this question at great length. What we should like to inform our colleagues of is that although most historians in new China certainly tend to use the materialist historical view in their study of history, this in no way implies that all other methods have been excluded from the front line of historical research. The old generation of historians such as Chen Yinke, Gu Jiegang, Chen Yuanan, Jin Yufu and Zheng Yisheng made use of old scholarly methods and made important contributions. Elderly but still hale and hearty historians such as Xie Guozhen, Xu Zhongshu, Han Rulin and Zhou Gucheng have freely pursued their own favorite fields of specialization and have enjoyed positions of great respect. These people have gradually tended towards historical materialism as a result of their own scholarly practice and not as a result of their being forced to do so. Because of this I should like to reiterate that, as far as historical view and method are concerned, each should do as he thinks best and when it comes to the elaboration of concrete historical questions there should be discussion of any points of disagreement.

Controversy is by no means a bad thing and everyone is entitled to have their own views on academic questions. There will always be considerable differences of opinion among historians (not merely those in Taiwan) as regards the concrete historical questions of the Republic of China. While we may disagree with our Taiwan colleagues on method and on specific historical questions, we also have something in common: a common belief in the proposition raised by Chin Hsiao-i that history should "establish good faith among the people through frank and honest discussions." To seek truth from facts is to be objective and objective historical facts are our common foundation.

5. Historians in Taiwan have objected fiercely to the 1949 cutoff date for the history of the republic, believing that this reflects an attempt to "put an end to the history of the "Republic of China" in Taiwan. Because of this they have suspended their own "plan to compile a history of the Republic of China within the next 3 years" and are saying instead that "refusing to write such a history is the only way to avoid falling into the trap." "How can one write a dynastic history before the country has actually fallen." In response to this we should like to make our position a little clearer.

First of all, there is the question of whether or not it is appropriate to limit our history of the Republic of China to the years between 1912 and 1949. On this point it is important to respect the actual historical circumstances. There are two sides to the historical reality: in 1949 the Kuomintang regime withdrew from the mainland, moving to the province of Taiwan where it has managed to maintain its rule right up until the present day. This, of course, is historical fact. However, the establishment on the mainland of the first united national regime since the 1911 revolution is also a cast iron historical fact. Lai Yuan-kuang put this rather well when he said, "If one looks at things from the standpoint of the communist party one cannot but fix 1949 as the terminal date for the history of the Republic of China"; similarly, one cannot ignore the history of the People's Republic of China, which has been under the rule of the Chinese Communist Party from 1949 until the present day, by continuing to write China's history as the history of the Republic of China under the "nationalist government." As far as we are concerned this makes perfect sense if we are to avoid total absurdity. Even as far as the Kuomintang is concerned, once the nationalists had retreated to Taiwan Province, their political power was limited to the province, even though they continued to call themselves the Republic of China. I should like to ask how can one possibly expect to include the history of 30 years of new China's socialist reconstruction into what you call the "republic." Therefore, it is out of respect for historical fact that we have limited out "history of the Republic of China" to the years preceding 1949. It is an indisputable fact that the history of the country's mainland since 1949 belongs to the history of the People's Republic of China. But how should we deal with the history of Taiwan, which has been under the rule of the Kuomintang since 1949? It is out of the same respect for historical fact

that we have been unable to include the history of Taiwan since 1949 in the history of new China under the socialist system. How its history will be written in the future is a question that we should discuss calmly; but fortunately, it is a question, the implications of which do not go beyond the provincial area of Taiwan. That historical reality is like this is something that we must accept. The fact that our motherland is still caught in the vice of manmade divisions is keenly regretted by all Chinese people. We are historians and while the question of how to reunite the motherland is one for which we all feel great concern, it is the politicians in power who must address themselves to this question, first of all. The focus of their attention should be the present and the future but for us it is the history of events which have already passed. When we write the history of the past we can rely only on the objective facts of past events. Since we and our colleagues in Taiwan are all historians, there should be a common faith in the need to accept and respect facts.

In addition to this, the fears of historians in Taiwan that the writing of their own history of the Republic of China will symbolize their own doom are, as far as we are concerned, completely without foundation. In compiling "the spring and autumn annals" Confucius recorded events right up to 14th year of Duke Ai of the State of Lu that is, 2 years prior to Confucius' own death. Si Maqian "dared to record the mistakes of the Han Dynasty," even writing about the age in which he himself lived, a pattern later followed by Ban Gu, Xun Yue, Xiao Zixian, Shen Yue and Wang Shao. There have been many cases of people writing histories of the ages in which they themselves lived; why do our colleagues in Taiwan harbor so many reservations? Until now the history of the Republic of China has been relatively uncharted territory and our compilation of the "history of the Republic of China" is an attempt to fill in this gap. We hope that everyone will make an effort to open up and cultivate this new terrain. If the time is thought to be ripe, we are willing to cooperate with fellow historians in Taiwan in the writing of such a work. If not, we can write our own work and they theirs, perhaps sharing material and discussing, in an appropriate fashion, the questions involved. Research units for the history of the Republic of China have already been set up in Japan, America, Britain and France; so how can our colleagues in Taiwan continue to drag their feet? In his report Chin Hsiao-i says that it is necessary to first compile a series of "edited primary sources." Although this is certainly one area of possible work, it would not really represent any significant research achievement. We sincerely hope that our colleagues in Taiwan will make a rich and valuable contribution to the history of the Republic of China. There are bound to be many omissions and errors in the sections of the "history of the Republic of China" already published or about to be published, and we hope to receive help in rectifying these shortcomings. There are a number of old teachers and friends among our colleagues in Taiwan and if we were to exchange ideas, carry on debate and discussion and adopt a common plan, we could also share the joy of each other's achievements.

CSO: 4005/825

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ISMAIL AMAT ADDRESSES XINJIANG ISLAMIC MEETING

HK280408 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 26 Apr 82

[Summary] The Second Xinjiang Islamic Association Committee held its second enlarged meeting in Urumqi from 15 to 24 April.

The meeting examined and approved the work report of the association and studied the stated intentions on national minorities and religion set forth by the party and government. It discussed and approved some suggestions on the self-management of mosques by Muslims themselves and a patriotic pact of the Xinjiang Islamic figures. It also put forth the tasks for future work.

"Through the study of the party's religious policies, the participants in the meeting further distinguished between legal and illegal religious activities. They expressed their determination to give full play to the role of the association, do well in the democratic management of the mosques by Muslims themselves, and channel the religious activities onto the right course as allowed by policies and laws, and properly handle the relationships among the religious people and the relationship between religious believers and nonbelievers."

Responsible comrades of the autonomous regional CCP committee, the Standing Committee of the regional people's congress, regional people's government and the regional CPPCC visited the delegates to the meeting.

Ismail Amat, secretary of the regional CCP committee and chairman of the regional people's government, spoke at the meeting. In his speech, he emphasized the party's religious policies. He particularly stressed: "Respecting and protecting the freedom of religious belief is by no means a temporary expediency but the party's basic policy on the religion issue." He said: "We must strictly distinguish between legal and illegal religious activities as well as between religious activities and feudal superstitious activities. We must protect normal religious activities and curb all illegal religious activities. We must deal blows at all violations of law, crimes and counterrevolutionary sabotage carried out under the cloak of religion."

Ismail Amat expressed hope in his speech that by uniting closely around the CCP all association members and religious people would further promote unity among all nationalities, give full play to their wisdom and ability and contribute in building the four modernizations and improving the people's livelihood. He also hoped that they would carry out the party's line and policies in a exemplary way, combat all unlawful practices and fight together for accomplishing the great cause of unifying the motherland, opposing hegemonism and safeguarding world peace.

CSO: 4005/825

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' REPORT ON NATIONALITY UNITY IN XINJIANG

HK191230 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Apr 82 pp 1, 4

[Report by reporter Huang Wenfu [7806 2429 4395]: "Unity Among All Nationalities in Xinjiang Marked by a New Situation"]

[Text] Since the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region CCP Committee reorganized and strengthened its leading group in October last year, it has seriously upheld the spirit of the party Central Committee's directive "properly handling relations between various nationalities and strengthening national unity is the key to success in the proper handling of various tasks in Xinjiang." The party's policy toward nationalities has become increasingly deeply engraved on the minds of people. Nationality disputes have been properly handled. National unity has been continuously strengthened. There has appeared a new situation of stability and unity.

Since Comrade Wang Enmao returned to Xinjiang as first secretary of the autonomous region party committee, he has paid great attention to conducting education among party members in the party's policy toward nationalities. The problem of national unity has been taken up at every meeting. At the work conference of the autonomous region party committee held in January this year, he stressed, "to consolidate and carry forward the situation of stability and unity in our Xinjiang, the most important thing is to thoroughly carry out the party's policy toward nationalities and properly handle unity among nationalities. Without national unity, we cannot proceed smoothly with economic construction, nor can we safeguard the building a the motherland's border areas." He also specially pointed out: "This is a major problem concerning a unified motherland, stability and unity, modernization and the strengthening of national defense. It concerns the common fundamental interests of various nationalities." The autonomous region party committee has treated the strengthening of education on national unity and the proper handling of relations between various nationalities as a matter of prime importance in Xinjiang's energetic efforts to build socialist spiritual civilization. Now, Xinjiang has swung into action at all levels, and in every field. First, education in the Marxist theory on nationalities and the Marxist conception of nationalities has been conducted among cadres and people of various nationalities. Second, great publicity has been given to the correct viewpoint of "two inseparables," which means that the Han cadres

of Xinjiang are inseparable from the cadres of various nationalities and that the latter are inseparable from the former. Third, units and individuals that perform well in handling unity between various nationalities are cited in a timely fashion. Some areas and units have also taken the matter of supporting and strengthening national unity as an important requirement for party and league membership, for citation and for promotion.

For historical reasons, there have long existed certain problems in the relations between various nationalities in Xinjiang. An extremely small number of bad people and counterrevolutionaries who are hostile to the unity of the motherland and the socialist system, have tried to take advantage of every available chance to exploit certain disputes between various nationalities to undermine the relations between nationalities and national unity. The autonomous region party committee has made a clear-headed analysis of this situation. At an enlarged meeting of its Standing Committee held in December last year, the party committee summed up the experiences and lessons of the Kashi prefecture in solving nationality disputes and put forth a correct guideline for solving nationality disputes; we must firmly believe that the vast majority of the masses of various nationalities have a fervent love for the party and for the socialist motherland and energetically support unity between various nationalities. In our approach to disputes between nationalities, we should correctly distinguish the nature of the contradictions. We must devote ourselves energetically to mass work, political work and propaganda and educational work. We must have faith in, rely upon and unify the great majority of the people. We must rely more on the cadres of various nationalities to do work and solve problems.

From the standpoint of party spirit and party policy, leading cadres of all nationalities must handle matters in a fair and correct manner and can never be swayed by sentiment. Under the guidance of this correct guideline, party organizations at all levels have actively worked on properly solving disputes between nationalities. From October last year to March this year, certain disputes liable to impair national unity successively arose throughout Xinjiang. These were taken care of in a timely and satisfactory manner. National unity was thus upheld.

To properly handle national unity in a realistic manner, the leadership at all levels must take the lead in upholding and strengthening national unity. When Comrade Wang Enmao first assumed office, at two cadres' meetings he offered personal apologies to those leading cadres of various nationalities who were erroneously criticized and treated in the past. These leading cadres felt deeply moved and pledged to show unity in jointly marching forward. Cadres of the Uighur nationality of the Standing Committee of the Yuepuhu County party committee went deep into the midst of the lower levels and among religious believers, energetically preaching the need for national unity. On hearing a drunken commune member of the Uighur nationality swearing at the Han masses, Su Pi Rou Zi [5685 4122 5131 1320], secretary of the country party committee, solemnly said to the responsible person of the relevant department: "National unity concerns the situation of Xinjiang

as a whole and is of great importance. We must cherish national unity, above all. In future, if anything that may impair national unity occurs, an immediate report must be submitted, so that timely action can be taken."

Under the inspiration of leadership cadres at all levels, people of all nationalities in Xinjiang have consciously upheld and strengthened national unity. Many good people and good things have appeared. In the currently deepening movement to promote civic virtues and to learn from Lei Feng and create a new style, cadres of various nationalities have especially shown mutual concern and mutual help and have vied to do good things of benefit to national unity.

CSO: 4005/825

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GUANGXI CHECKS ON WORK REGARDING INTELLECTUALS

HK031237 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 May 82

[Text] Recently the regional CCP committee sent inspection teams, led by leading comrades, to the departments directly under the regional authorities, the economic, construction and agricultural committees and their affiliated organizations and the units concerned to conscientiously check up on the implementation of the policy toward intellectuals. They have achieved initial results by solving problems while doing inspection work.

In recent years, the regional CCP committee and the leadership at various levels have done a lot in conscientiously carrying out the instruction of the CCP Central Committee on implementing the policy toward intellectuals. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, unjust, trumped-up or erroneous cases against intellectuals in various political movements and during the cultural revolution have been basically reversed or rectified. In the departments directly under the regional authorities and in the enterprises and institutions under these departments, 229 senior and middle-level intellectuals have joined the party in the past 2 years. In the evaluation of titles, 407 persons have been promoted to senior engineers, senior agronomists, senior veterinarians, senior economists, professors, assistant professors, head doctors, deputy head doctors, research fellows or associate research fellows. Twenty senior intellectuals have been promoted to leadership positions in regional organizations at the bureau level or above or in the universities and colleges. Family members of 802 key scientific and technological elements, who used to live in the rural areas have moved to cities and towns for reunion.

The current inspection is chiefly aimed at further solving the problems left over from the implementation of policies toward intellectuals by caring for them, having full confidence in them politically, boldly employing them, giving full play to their special knowledge in work and caring about their livelihoods as much as possible.

Inspection of work toward intellectuals has been conducted quite thoroughly and painstakingly in the regional construction department and affiliated organizations. Problems raised by senior intellectuals have been discussed and solved one by one.

According to reports filed by the departments directly under the regional authorities on various fronts and the various localities, since the middle of April, the various departments directly under the regional authorities, the eight prefectures of Nanning, Yulin, Qinzhou, Bose, Guilin, Liuzhou, Hechi and Wuzhou as well as the four municipalities of Nanning, Guilin, Liuzhou and Wuzhou have also sent inspection teams to check up on work toward intellectuals.

CSO: 4005/825

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BAI HUA'S BROTHER DISCUSSES BROTHER'S CHARACTER

HK270412 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 0056 GMT 26 Mar 82

[Feature by correspondent Zhu Jian [2612 1696]: "The Brothers Ye Nan [0673 2809] and Bai Hua [4101 2901]"]

[Text] Beijing, 26 Apr (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--Participants in the national forum on creative literature with military themes have great difficulty in quickly telling the brothers Ye Nan and Bai Hua apart. Because of this, there have been quite a few funny incidents of one being mistaken for the other. Ye Nan smilingly said to this correspondent: We were very much more alike when we were young. Even our mother could not tell us apart. She therefore fastened a string around my wrist.

Ye Nan and Bai Hua have equally great talents for literary creations. Over the past few years, they have each written five plays which have influenced society and they have each written large numbers of novels and prose works. Speaking of the difference between their artistic styles, the elder brother Ye Nan always says: I cannot equal Bai Hua in ideological openness [si xiang kai fang 1835 1927 7030 2397]. Although there is no difference between our views on literary creation, my practice of literary creation is different from his. This is because of a difference in character. Bai Hua has all along been ideologically active. Despite his several great ups and downs, he has all along been optimistic and cheerful. I have always been rather reserved and my literary creation also appears to be rather conservative.

In fact, this is just Ye Nan's being self-deprecatory. His play "Bashan's Evening Rain" boldly reveals the dark aspects of the Cultural Revolution and shows the process of the people's awakening and struggle. This play has been very well received by audiences. His recently completed historical tragedy is tentatively entitled "Yellow Sand Cannot Bury Deep-Seated Hatred." This play describes how the defeated fighters of the western route army of the Red Army surmounted numerous difficulties in the Gobi Desert during the Long March in the hope of returning to the northern Shaanxi base area. They all eventually died martyrs deaths. Just like Bai Hua, Ye Nan hopes to make breakthroughs in the contents of films. He takes great pains to portray the souls of the characters in his plays. His themes are intensified

through his characters; he does not simply arrange historical incidents in a row. Only a writer with courage and insight can be bold in bringing forth such new ideas in scriptwriting and can also deeply analyze and reproduce historical incidents. According to Ye Nan, Bai Hua's spirit of being bold in exploring literary creation is praiseworthy and is also worth emulating. Speaking of his younger brother Bai Hua, Ye Nan had many subjects for discussion. He happily recollected the past and said: Bai Hua's character has been different from mine since childhood. Ideologically, he was a radical; he dared to think and dared to act. Therefore, I always worried about his safety. When we were attending a senior middle school, Bai Hua and I slept in the same dormitory. Due to his dissatisfaction with the then Kuomintang rule and due to his inclination toward revolution, he insisted on hanging a portrait he had painted of Marx in the room and did not accept other people's advice. In the school, he also publicly wrote poems opposing Chiang Kai-shek. As a result, he was expelled from the school. I had to ask some people to transfer him to another school. I also advised him to avoid exposing himself too much. However, his radical articles soon appeared in the school magazine. The party organization had to send him to the liberated area to join the army. He was such an ardent youth who was headstrong, eager to excel and ideologically radical.

Referring to current literary creation, Ye Nan said: of course, different practices of literary creation lead to different styles. I do not compel him to adopt one particular style. However, I think Bai Hua has his own weak points. His writing mirrors himself: he lacks self-restraint and exposes himself too much. He is not in accord with the Chinese Confucian demands, namely, being "temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous." His words are too sharp and he is extremely self-confident. I think that the recent criticism of "unrequited love" will be of benefit to his literary writing. The criticism will enable him to become more mature and to further perfect his works. He will create good works during his current visit to Yunnan to plunge into the thick of life. This is because the visit he made a few years ago was too short; relying only on things accumulated in the past is not enough. Bai Hua joined the army in Yunnan in 1947. As a member of the army led by Chen Chan, he participated in many great campaigns such as the Huai-hai campaign and the Yunnan campaign to suppress bandits. The Yunnan border areas are the "roots" of his literary creation. He will gain much experience and a lot of source materials for literary creation.

After talking with Ye Nan, this correspondent has this impression of him: Ye Nan has proved himself to be an elder brother who is good at giving systematic guidance. He is also a writer with keen insight.

CSO: 4005/825

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SONG AND DANCE DRAMA DEPICTS PLA MODERNIZATION

OW011341 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0235 GMT 1 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 1 May (XINHUA)--The presentation of "Ode to the Great Wall," a full-length song and dance drama about the PLA's modernization, began at the Beijing Exhibition Hall Theatre on 1 May.

The song and dance drama, prepared and presented by the Zhanyou [comrades-in-arms] Song and Dance Ensemble of the Beijing PLA units, consists of four acts: "Ironclad Pledge," "Dragnet," "Have the Motherland in Mind" and "Follow the Party in Its Advance." It is a concentrated reflection of the powerful might of various PLA arms in their joint operations. It shows how the people's army inherits and carries forward the glorious traditions of our party and our army and how it undertakes modernization under the new historical conditions. It depicts the heroism displayed by the PLA, a great wall of steel, in defending the motherland and the four modernizations. The drama, which reflects the rich flavor of the troops' activities in combat and in daily life, is a successful expression of a theme based on military reality.

The singing by famous singers Ma Yutao, Ma Guoguang, Jia Shijun and Geng Lianfeng, the graceful dancing of the dancers and the excellent orchestral music combine to form a beautiful and magnificent picture.

In producing this program, the literary and art fighters of the Zhanyou Song and Dance Ensemble of the Beijing PLA units visited units to learn about the troops' life. They were deeply moved by the enthusiasm displayed by the commanders and fighters in building a modern regular revolutionary army. The song and dance drama has been presented to troop units and greatly welcomed and praised by the commanders and fighters.

CSO: 4005/825

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HEILONGJIANG'S YANG YICHEN INSPECTS VOCATIONAL SCHOOL

SK030854 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 2 May 82

[Text] According to HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, Yang Yichen, first secretary of the provincial CCP committee, recently inspected the Jiamusi Municipal First Vocational School and made some remarks. He said: Training laborers with basic and special knowledge at vocational schools is an important way to improve the quality of worker contingents of state and collective-run enterprises. Training at vocational schools is also an important way for youths running their own businesses to master techniques and skills.

Yang Yichen, Chen Jianfei and other leading comrades of the provincial CCP committee visited classes of this school and had an informal discussion with teachers and cadres. A responsible person of the school made a report on the situation since the founding of the school. Comrade Yang Yichen said: vocational schools should be vigorously developed. The method of establishing close contact between enterprises and schools merits attention and popularization. Various localities should make overall plans for reforming the school structure and make it as an important item on the daily agenda. Rural areas should run agricultural schools. In addition to the agricultural curriculum, these schools should open specialized courses on industry and other fields. In developing agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, fishery and a diversified economy, persons with rudimentary knowledge and professional skills are needed.

Speaking on the employment of vocational school graduates, Yang Yichen said: This is a question of what kind of persons should we train? The courses opened in vocational schools should be suited to the readjustment of the national economy and the needs of local production and livelihood. In the meantime, the avenue for running private businesses should not be blocked. Students should be educated to make a living by real capability instead of only depending on the state. Working at collective-run enterprises and engaging in individual labor and businesses are also considered employment. The idea that working only at state units is stable employment should be eliminated. Equal attention should be paid to full-time and part-time teachers, and both of their roles should be brought into play. Departments concerned should cooperate with educational departments to train teachers. Reform of the secondary education structure was put forward by the provincial CCP committee a few years ago. All localities should strive to achieve success in this work.

CSO: 4005/825

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' URGES CHECKING ON INTELLECTUAL POLICY

HK271055 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Apr 82 p 3

[Report: "State Personnel Bureau Checks on Results of Implementing Policy Toward Senior Intellectuals in Agriculture, Forestry, Finance and Trade Departments (Bureaus) Under State Council"]

[Text] Since the end of last year, assisted by the Beijing units of the agriculture, forestry, finance and trade ministers and commissions under the State Council and guided by the unified plan of the CCP central organization department, the state personnel bureau has checked on the results of implementing policy toward 863 senior intellectuals working in 33 organs directly under the State Council. In the process of inspection work, various units have raised 96 questions concerning the work of implementing the policy for senior intellectuals. Of these 96 questions, 54 have been submitted to the departments concerned (10 of them have been or are being solved) and 42 will be solved by the related departments and their affiliated organizations under the State Council. In accordance with the principle of refraining from shifting the tasks onto others, Beijing dilatory in doing things, waiting and relying on others, various agriculture, forestry, finance and trade departments have done their best to conscientiously study the questions which they can solve. Most of the questions have now been solved.

The following three aspects have been involved in the inspection work:

1. Political concern and trust and proper settlement of the problems left over from the past in accordance with policy. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," the cases of 315 senior intellectuals in the agriculture, forestry, finance and trade departments were placed on files for investigation. The cases of 309 people have been rehabilitated and redressed. While reexamining the remaining political problems of six people, the departments concerned adopted the methods of private talk and soliciting opinions to correct the former conclusions. They negated the former groundless conclusions. In case the former conclusions should remain unchanged, they exchanged opinions with the people concerned to do effective ideological work. The party committee of the Beijing Forestry Institute specially studied the problem of admitting senior intellectuals to the party. Apart from promptly admitting three qualified professors to the party, party organizations at all levels have also formulated plans for fostering [word indistinct]

2. Giving senior intellectuals a free hand in their work and assigning important tasks to them. As has been reported, over the past 3 years, 480 senior intellectuals working in various agriculture, forestry, finance and trade departments, who have both vocational speciality and leadership ability, have been promoted to leading posts at ministry, bureau and department levels. This number accounts for 55 percent of the total number of senior intellectuals. However, the work of a small number of senior intellectuals has not yet been properly arranged. The inspection groups helped the units concerned reassign the work. For instance, a senior engineer in the Ministry of Farm and Land Reclamation studied land planning in the United States. Before the inspection groups came, he worked in a translation group. The Ministry of State Farms and Land Reclamation has decided to transfer him to the design institute of undeveloped land surveying to work as an adviser.

3. Being concerned with the well-being of senior intellectuals and providing them with special care. The inspection work this time urged various units to improve senior intellectuals' living conditions, such as residential housing, cars for their use and medical services. Among 37 senior intellectuals working in the Ministry of Finance, 32 of them have changed their residential housing and their difficulties in residential housing have been solved. Before the inspection work was carried out, Yu Dafu, a first-grade professor of Beijing Agricultural University who is about 80, had difficulties in obtaining medical attention. The inspection group contacted the departments concerned to help him establish new medical relations.

The inspection groups of the state personnel bureau have maintained that over the past 3 years, agriculture, forestry, finance and trade departments (bureaus) have done a lot in implementing the policy toward senior intellectuals. Senior intellectuals are fairly satisfied with the work. This is a matter of great significance, which has brought their role into full play. However, the progress of the work is not even and the solution of some problems has been put off again and again. This is a matter which should be tackled immediately. In the meantime, some work should be done to improve the working and living conditions of middle-aged intellectuals. Most of these comrades are our mainstay, who are working in the forefront of scientific research and education. They are making more and more contributions to our country's socialist material and spiritual civilization. It is a task of top priority to firmly grasp the work of checking on the results of implementing the policy toward this part of intellectuals and to pay attention to improving their living and working conditions.

CSO: 4005/825

'SHAANXI RIBAO' ON RELIGION, SUPERSTITION

HK240631 Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 14 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by research office of provincial CCP committee propaganda department: "How To Distinguish Between Normal Religious Activities and Feudal Superstitious Activities"]

[Text] Recently, in opposing feudal superstitious activities, some of the cadres and masses have been unable to draw a clear line of demarcation between normal religious activities and feudal superstitious activities and this has given rise to many muddled ideas. Such being the case, how can we distinguish between normal religious activities and feudal superstitious activities?

Religion and feudal superstition are both backward and conservative in essence and basically opposed to science and the Marxist ideological system. They originate from mankind's ignorance, perplexity, fear and impotence regarding the forces of nature and are the reflection of mankind's illusory misconceptions and erroneous understandings. In class society, they are also utilized by the ruling class to deceive the exploited and inducing them to endure the humiliations and sufferings of the world of reality and to find sustenance in heaven, gods and "saviors" or in "paradise" after death and happiness in the "next life." Therefore, religion is in essence also a kind of superstition.

However, not all superstitions are religious in nature, and there is also a distinction between the two.

In the first place, religion has already been developed into a kind of world outlook and has become an integrated idealist religious philosophy. It has a definite organizational structure and religious system with written scripture, system of religious doctrine and standardized ritual, and with specific believers. For example, there are Catholics, Protestants, Muslims, Buddhists and Taoists. Feudal superstitious activities do not have such religious characteristics. They mainly refer to the various activities of sorcerers and sorceresses and to such things as magic water and potions, divination and fortune telling, physiognomy and phrenology, planchette writing and senances, and astrology and geomancy.

In the second place, religion is a longstanding social and historical phenomenon which has a profound influence on the world and on our country. It has been in existence for a long time and it is a national as well as international mass organization of a complicated nature. For example, Islam and the Lama sect of Buddhism exert a very powerful influence on certain minority nationalities. In the past, almost all the people of certain minority nationalities believed in a certain religion, and the ideology and certain rites of the religion had infiltrated almost every aspect of social life. After a long historical process, some of these contents and forms which formerly belonged to religion have also become the customs and habits of fraternal nationalities. Religion also has a very powerful influence on the international scene and many people in the world believe in religion. The Xiangji Temple, which Xian municipality is repairing, is one of the founding seats of the Jodo [pure land] Buddhist sect of Japan. Two years ago, the Japanese Buddhist Association sent two delegations to worship at the temple. From this we can see that religion has a direct bearing on nationalities solidarity, national unity and international intercourse, whereas feudal superstition only affects a certain section of the people and does not possess the above-mentioned characteristics of religion.

Furthermore, although the broad masses of believers have their own specific religious belief, the overwhelming majority of them are patriotic and they all ardently love their motherland and support the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system. All religious bodies and patriotic organizations are generally able to love their country and observe the law, and they have done a great deal of work and played a positive role in uniting and educating the broad masses of believers, developing normal religious activities, combating religious and feudal privileges, opposing the exploitation and repression system of getting rid of the forces of imperialism as well as gathering, compiling and studying historical religious materials and promoting international intercourse. As long as such religious activities are correct, it is necessary to give them guidance. This will help the people of various nationalities throughout the country to achieve the common goal of unifying the country, uniting the nationalities and building a socialist country. However, feudal supersitious activities hamper unity, affect public order and are detrimental to working with one heart and one mind for the four modernizations. Some of these activities, such as the so-called omens given by the "three old comrades," are obviously taking advantage of the lofty prestige enjoyed by the revolutionary leaders to create rumors and spread reactionary views. Some, which have only attacked the major policies of the party and the state since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, have a distinct reactionary political hue. Some of the people, under the name of restoring temples and making new statues for the gods, have appropriated grain and money from the masses, accumulated money by illegal means, instigated seizing property from the communes and production teams and directly affected and sabotaged socialist construction. Pretending to possess supernatural and uncanny powers of divination, telling fortunes

and praying for children on behalf of childless couples, some sorcerers and sorceresses have swindled money, endangered people's life, caused endless anxiety and fear among the people, greatly impaired the physical and mental well-being of the masses and the younger generation in particular, disrupted public order and affected the political situation of stability and unity.

Because of the above reasons, the government has also made a distinction in the policy of dealing with religious belief and superstitious activities. In accordance with the relevant stipulations provided by the constitution and law on the protection of freedom of religious belief and religious activities, the government has helped the religious bodies to open up some of the churches and temples required and which can be opened up. However, it has at the same time stipulated that religious activities must be carried out within the framework permitted by law. We must be on guard against the handful of evildoers sowing dissension among various nationalities and carrying out sabotaging activities harmful to the state and people in the name of religion. We must ask believers not to carry out propaganda against Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and not to meddle in politics and education. Apart from religious institutes and churches, schools cannot hold religious classes or give religious education. Every citizen not only has the freedom to believe in a certain religion, but he also has the freedom not to believe in any religion. However, CCP and CYL members cannot take part in any religious organization or its activities. Believers have the right to engage in such normal religious activities as going to church for religious services. However, these must not interfere with production or affect public order. Nonbelievers also have the freedom to propagate atheism. However, they must respect the religious sentiment of believers and must not carry out atheist propaganda at religious meeting places or during religious activities. Superstitious activities must be firmly opposed and superstitious organizations must be abolished. The production and sale of superstitious articles must be strictly prohibited. We must strengthen education over sorcerers and sorceresses so that they can take up productive labor or other normal work. As for the deluded masses, we must pursuade and educate them so that they will struggle against feudal superstition by themselves. As for those organizations taking advantage of feudal superstition, superstitious sects and secret societies carrying out counterrevolutionary activities and sorcerers and sorceresses making use of superstition to carry out activities for creating rumors and swindling money, it is even more necessary to strictly prohibit them and punish them according to law. In the process of struggling against feudal superstitious activities, care must be taken to correctly differentiate between, and handle, the two different properties of the contradiction. In feudal superstitious activities, there is not only the contradiction between the enemy and ourselves, but there is also the contradiction among the people, and a great deal of it is contradiction among the people. Most of the people with feudal superstitious ideas are working people. Moreover, as a kind of ideology, feudal superstition is mainly a problem of ideological understanding. We absolutely cannot simply describe the problem of ideological understanding as a political problem or a problem between the enemy and ourselves. What is more, we cannot drive all the people with feudal superstitious ideas over

to the enemy's side. We must be means of painstaking and meticulous ideological education constantly and unremittingly carry out propaganda and explanation to raise the ideological consciousness of the broad masses of cadres and people and let them emancipate themselves. We absolutely cannot use the method of running things all by ourselves without consulting others, or just crudely use administrative orders to force them to give up their superstitious ideas. We must be even more gentle and patient in conducting propaganda for the older people. Otherwise, we will not only not be able to help them overcome superstitious ideas, but we will also create resentment and misunderstanding, cause the superstitious activities to go into hiding and increase the resistance to getting rid of superstition.

Naturally, to completely eliminate feudal superstitious ideas, the most basic way is to swiftly develop social production as well as science and technology and to raise the cultural level. We believe that as a result of the progressive change for the better in the situation, the unremitting improvement in the material life of the masses and the unremitting heightening of their cultural and educational level and ideological consciousness, and in addition to the conscientious effort on the part of the comrades of the whole party and the energetic development of scientific atheist propaganda, the broad masses of people will certainly be able to smash the shackles of feudal superstition and throw themselves wholeheartedly into the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005/825

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FUJIAN URGES RURAL PATRIOTIC SOCIALIST EDUCATION

OW020214 Fuzhou Funian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 1 May 82

[Excerpts] The Fujian Provincial CCP Committee's propaganda department held a meeting in Jianou from 19 th 27 April to exchange experience in conducting education on the "four adherences, three considerations and two oppositions" in the rural areas. The meeting emphatically pointed out that it is necessary to regard the unfolding of education as a very important task for the rural areas this year and carry it out in a down-to-earth manner. All the communes and production brigades must undergo the education in groups and by stages before the summer harvesting and summer and autumn sowing.

Representatives of the Jianyang prefectural CCP committee's propaganda department and other advanced departments introduced their experience in conducting education at the meeting. Responsible persons of the provincial office on culture and education, the agricultural commission, CYL committee, culture bureau and other departments concerned spoke at the meeting. Cheng Xu, secretary of the provincial CCP committee, addressed the meeting. (Huang Ming), director of the provincial CCP committee's propaganda department, made a summary speech.

The meeting held that in view of the practice in various localities in the past few months, the provincial CCP committee's decision on conducting patriotic socialist education in the rural areas with the "four adherences, three considerations and two oppositions" as the main content is imperative and correct. Through this education, the party's line, principles and policies on the rural areas can be more correctly understood and implemented and the agricultural production responsibility system can be further improved and stabilized. Through this education, we hope to effectively stop the evil practices in rural areas, consolidate and raise the standard of the party's grassroot organizations, and combine the masses' enthusiasm to become rich through labor with the superiority of the socialist system, thereby ensuring a healthy advance of agricultural production and all works in the rural areas along the socialist direction.

The meeting pointed out that the general requirements for conducting the education follows: First, it is necessary to penetratingly publicize the

party's rural economic policies and the government's relevant laws and decrees so that they are known to every household. Second, it is necessary to stop such evil practices in the rural areas such as smuggling, trading of smuggled goods, speculation and profiteering, stealing of state and collective property, unauthorized chopping of trees, gambling, feudal superstition, unauthorized use of land for private housing and mercenary marriage. Violators should be given due punishment. Third, it is necessary to educate, consolidate and reinforce party and government grassroot organizations so that the cadres can work with full vigor. Fourth, it is necessary to popularize, establish, perfect and stabilize various types of agricultural production responsibility systems and resolutely enforce the contract system. Fifth, it is necessary to formulate and put into effect various rules, regulations and village conventions. Sixth, it is necessary to promote agricultural production, planned parenthood and work in all fields.

CSO: 4005/825

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'NANFANG RIBAO' DISCUSSING CRITICISM OF CRIME FIGHTER

HK230554 Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Apr 82 pp 1, 3

["NANFANG Forum" article by Man Tian [3355 1131]: "Analysis of So-Called 'Different Viewpoints'"]

[Text] "One will be in trouble if one is praised as an advanced person." This is not a natural or reasonable phenomenon under our socialist system, nor a phenomenon that facilitates the popularization of good things. On the contrary, this is a phenomenon that goes against the will of the people. Nevertheless, such phenomena do to some extent, occur here and there. One such example is that even the heroic woman fighter against smuggling, Comrade Zhuang Xiying, has been criticized by some people for her good feats.

At present, people in Guangdong Province and in many other areas throughout the country are praising and learning from Comrade Zhuang Xiying for her dauntless courage in fighting against economic crimes. However, it is strange that in Chaoyang County and even in the whole Shantou Prefecture, there are quite a few people who are making a hue and cry about their "different viewpoints" on the evaluation of Comrade Zhuang Xiying.

Some people are spreading the rumor that, "Zhuang Xiying had impure motives in fighting against smuggling activities." This "different viewpoint" has been fabricated by these people on the basis of the following allegation: The reason why Zhuang Xiying hated her boss, the former county postmaster Ma Zhenxing, stems from the fact that a few years ago when Zhuang's family was turned out of their house and could not find anywhere to live, Ma Zhenxing would not help Zhuang in solving her housing problem. They said that this prejudiced Zhuang against Ma Zhenxing and caused Zhuang to find fault with Ma Zhenxing.

This kind of "different viewpoint" is not something new. It is almost identical to the viewpoint that was advocated by the responsible person of the Shantou prefectural post and telecommunications office, who shielded and supported Ma Zhenxing in his smuggling activities and who retaliated against Zhuang Xiying. They are practically propagating the same viewpoints. According to a report in NANFANG RIBAO on 28 February, as far back as in

last February the responsible person of the Shantou prefectural post and telecommunications office said in his investigation report that, "the informer Zhuang Xiying is pursuing this for her own private ends...she is concocting a case against the Chaoyang County postmaster." In a more flustered and exasperated manner, Ma Zhenxing issued a loud cry and said, "Zhuang Xiying harbors some evil personal intentions...and should be punished as severely as possible." Shouldn't those comrades who are spreading the rumor about Zhuang Xiying's "impure motives" think things over and find what their stand really is and who they are helping?

In fact, a little analysis of the objective facts will easily show that it is completely groundless to find fault with Zhuang Xiying over her housing problem and to use this to prove that Zhuang had "impure motives."

The following is what has really happened: Long before Comrade Zhuang Xiying's housing problem occurred, when Ma Zhenxing continued to pay a salary to his daughter after her dismissal from the post and communications office, Zhuang Xiying frankly and directly criticized Ma Zhenxing out of her love and concern for a comrade. But Ma not only rejected her well-meaning criticism but began to hate her. Then he did a great many things to make it hard for Zhuang Xiying by abusing his power of office. For example, he refused to pay Zhuang's Sunday overtime premiums. He publicly alleged that Zhuang's family "could not rely on the organization to solve their housing problem. He also refused to pay her yearly, quarterly and monthly bonuses that she sould have duly received. All these facts are undeniable evidence that prove that Ma Zhenxing abused his power of office to openly retaliate against Zhuang Xiying because Zhuang had criticized him. This proves that by turning things upside down and declaring that Zhuang Xiying "had harbored evil personal intentions" in exposing activities of smuggling and trafficking in contraband, both Ma Zhenxing and the responsible person of the Shantou prefectural post and telecommunications office were playing the trick of the guilty party filing the suit first. Is this not the truth? Those who see themselves as a people that hold "different viewpoints" on the evaluation about Comrade Zhuang Xiying must think things over and see the fact that at least what they are doing results in supporting these "evildoers" in filing suit against Comrade Zhuang Xiying.

Naturally, because Ma Zhenxing and his ilk's retaliation against Zhuang Xiying was carried out in an underhanded manner, it served to deepen Zhuang's understanding of Ma Zhenxing's personal characteristics and enabled her to see through him. She began to be more vigilant in observing his words and actions. That was why she paid special attention to his crimes in supporting activities of smuggling and trafficking in contraband and that was why she always kept a close watch on him. What was wrong in her doing so? It was precisely because of her inveterate hatred against evil that in very difficult conditions she could persist in steadfastly fighting against Ma Zhenxing and his ilk with the help of her family and with the help of the workers in the parcel room and thus finally succeed in exposing his crimes to the public. This precisely showed Zhuang Xiying's strong sense of responsibility for the interests of the party and people.

How can this be treated as having something to do with so-called "prejudice" or so-called "impure motives?" Should Zhuang Xiying have winked at Ma Zhengxing's serious criminal activities or even succumb to collude with Ma after she suffered Ma's retaliation? Would she have been treated as having "pure motives" if she had done so?

"The newspapers did just in the same thing by propagating about rebels during the 'Great Cultural Revolution' in their about propagating Zhuang Xiying now." This is another kind of so-called "different viewpoints."

It is very imperative for these people to review the "resolution on certain questions in the history of the party since the founding of the PRC" that was approved by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. This great historical document clearly points out, "Practice has proved that the "Great Cultural Revolution" was not and can never be, in any sense, a revolution or a social progress." It brought serious calamitous civil disorder to the party, the state and the people of all nationalities. The struggle to deal blows at serious economic crimes that we are carrying out at present is an important new form of class struggle in the socialist society of our country under the new historical conditions. Carrying out this struggle among CCP members and state personnel in order to preserve the purity of communism and fight against corruption is vital to the prosperity and survival of our party and nation. Enough! Only this alone proves how wrong it is to compare Zhuang Xiying, a heroic fighter against corruption, to the rebels in the "Great Cultural Revolution." It is not necessary to mention many other reasons.

People should refute in a tit for tat manner these strange tales and absurd arguments that have been spread by some people in the name of "different viewpoints" and should teach everyone not to support such wrong viewpoints, thus we will open up the way for carrying out the activities of learning from Zhuang Xiying.

Glory belongs to our heroic woman fighter Zhuang Xiying!

CSO: 4005/825

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HU SHENG DISCUSSES STUDY OF TAIPING TIANGUO

HK231456 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 12 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Hu Sheng [5170 4939]: "Some Ideas on How To Deepen the Study of the History of Taiping Tianguo--Letter to a Friend"]

[Text] Editor's Note: This article was written by the author for the first issue of the TAIPING TIANGUO ACADEMIC JOURNAL edited by the Taiping Tianguo Research Institute of Beijing. With the approval of the author and the journal, this paper enjoys priority in carrying it. [end Editor's Note]

Comrade X:

Your letter was received many days ago. Since I did not have well-considered opinions on the questions you raised to discuss with me, my answer has been delayed. Now that I have thought over the matter, I am still not sure whether what I am going to say will be appropriate.

In my opinion, it is quite necessary to strengthen and deepen the study of Taiping Tianguo on the basis of previous achievements.

In China, under the long-term rule of the feudal system, peasant wars frequently broke out, and the scale of the wars was usually very big. This is one of the characteristics of Chinese history. Although the Taiping Tianguo movement occurred at the time when China began to turn into a semifeudal, semicolonial society, it still bore many common characteristics of previous peasant wars. Some researchers feel that there are not enough materials for the study of Taiping Tianguo history. But, in comparison with other peasant wars, the materials for studying Taiping Tianguo history are very abundant. It is obvious that the study of Taiping Tianguo history will also be helpful for the study of many other previous peasant wars.

Taiping Tianguo was the first great struggle of the Chinese people after China entered the period of semifeudal, semicolonial society. Through the study of this struggle, we can see some inkling of the development of modern Chinese society and modern Chinese revolution. The profound study of Taiping Tianguo

history will help us see why China's revolution could not but be developed from the old democratic revolution to the new democratic revolution. We can also learn something about the characteristics of China's new democratic revolution. The profound study of this great revolution at the beginning of China's modern history will also be helpful for us to understand the role played by the peasants in modern Chinese history, in the old and new democratic revolutions and in our socialist revolution and socialist construction.

I think we can also comprehend the significance of studying Taiping Tianguo history from another aspect. Of course, Marxist history workers should study the whole course of the development of human history, but the stress should be laid on the study of the historical events at some critical historical turning points, which better reflect the complicated relations of class struggle. They are important links in the whole historical chain. Taiping Tianguo can be regarded as one of such links. By grasping these links, the whole chain of history can be better recognized. But this is not an easy job to do. Therefore, the guidance of Marxist theories and the Marxist way of scientific analysis are specially important. They are actually the best weapons for Marxist history workers. Bourgeois scholars both at home and abroad have given different views on the history of Taiping Tianguo. There are also differences among the researchers who are applying Marxist theories and method in the study. This shows that the history of Taiping Tianguo is very complicated. We must study the Marxist theories and methods and raise our ability of applying them through the study of Taiping Tianguo history. When we are able to correctly, clearly and scientifically analyze the problems in Taiping Tianguo history, the might of Marxism can also be felt.

Then, how do we deepen the study of Taiping Tianguo history and raise the level of our research work? This was the main question you raised in your letter.

At present, things seem to be like this: While a lot of materials have been accumulated, sufficient work has not yet been done to sort them out, to analyze and study them. As a result, different views and opinions have emerged and they are supported by almost the same materials.

Is it necessary to find and collect more materials? The answer is positive. If possible, we must collect as many materials as possible. Marxists should certainly possess all materials that can be possessed. However, I am afraid it is not correct to impute all the differences in views to the insufficiency of material. At least, quite a number of differences cannot be eliminated as soon as certain new material is discovered.

In my opinion, the most important thing is how to sift, analyze and study these materials, how to discard the less important (although not completely putting them aside) and select the most important and essential materials from the large quantity of complicated materials, how to see the essence through the complicated phenomena and how to take a realistic attitude toward various contradictions existing in the historical phenomena.

What the history workers have to study are concrete historical figures and events. If one rests content with the study of what a certain person did and the description of some concrete details of a certain historical

phenomenon, one can only do some textual research work. If one wants to make a sound judgment on the historical role played by a historical figure and give a sound explanation of the historical significance of a historical event, one should enter the stage of theoretical thinking. Just as was mentioned by Engels (his following remarks were made on the study of natural phenomena): "Without theoretical thinking, we cannot even relate any two natural things to each other or understand the connections between them." Engels continued: "The only problem here is whether the way of thinking is correct. Despising theory is obviously the very practical way of the naturalist and is, of course, incorrect thinking." ("Dialectics of Nature")

In our historical science circles, does there exist the trend of despising theoretical thinking? Does there exist the phenomena of naturalism (that is, the theory of willful thinking) and incorrect thinking? I think we cannot say no. So, I am afraid that it is necessary to stress the problem of studying theoretical thinking and correct thinking for the Taiping Tianguo researchers, as well as for those doing research in other historical spheres.

For this reason, historical researchers must study philosophy, study Marxist philosophy, study the theory and method of dialectical materialism and study the theory and method of historical materialism and historical dialectics. This is probably a most important and key link for raising our level of study. Raising the level of our research work actually means raising the level of the historical researchers.

Our historical research work must be built on a solid philosophic basis, and that is dialectical materialism and historical materialism. However, we cannot say that with a common philosophic basis, we are sure to come to a common conclusion on every concrete subject. We must advocate "letting a hundred schools of thought contend." Through contention, we may possibly be able to come to a common conclusion. "Dispute" without a common philosophic basis will find no common language and will not result in a common conclusion.

Of course, there are several ways to raise our ability in theoretical thinking. Although I deem the study of philosophy as a basic and indispensable way, I do not deny there are some other ways.

I suggest that historical researchers earnestly restudy some of Marx' and Engels' works on historical analysis, such as "German Peasant Wars," "The Class Struggle in France, 1848 to 1850," "German Revolution and Counter-revolution," and "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte." ...I wonder whether you can spend some time on reading these works and discussing them in your work unit. I am sure that everyone has read these books, but as people also know, the understanding of the same proverb varies greatly between young people and those who have abundant experience of life. After having bitter experience in creation and study, restudying these works may result in a more profound understanding. Besides these most famous works,

the two founders of the proletarian scientific theory also left us many historical-political comments, which are well worth reading. For example, we can find in Volume 7 of the "Collected Works of Marx and Engels" "The Movement To Defend Imperial Constitution in Germany"; in Volume 9, Marx' "The British Rule in India," "The Future Results of British Rule in India," and "Lord Palmerston"; in Volume 10, Marx' "Revolutionary Spain"; in Volume 11, Marx' "Lord John Russell [4760 5060 5012 4790]," and in Volume 15, some short articles written by them on U.S. Civil War. Through the study of these works, we can see how the two great thinkers analyzed and commented on concrete people and events. It will be of great help for our study.

What I originally wanted to say was something about how to improve and deepen the study of the Taiping Tianguo. I am afraid I have strayed from the point and changed it into the discussion of ordinary historical research work.

Of course, I do not mean to say that people engaging in research on the Taiping Tianguo should put it aside for the time being and increase their ability in theoretical thinking first before they come back to the research of the Taiping Tianguo. No, even the ability to do theoretical thinking needs to be increased in practical work--in this case, concrete research work.

Some people say that although much research on the Taiping Tianguo has been done in past years, the scope of the research is still too narrow. I agree with this view. We are not just doing research work on the Taiping Tianguo but on the historical period of the Taiping Tianguo. Therefore, we should widen our field of vision in our research on the socioeconomic conditions of various localities throughout the country, the trends of various classes and strata, the state of the enemies of the Taiping Tianguo and relations with foreign countries during this period.

Although we may extend the scope of our research even further, I think that what we can and should do at present is to review and sum up the fruits of our research in order to write relatively more systematic works.

Other comrades say that in the past 30 years, many treatises, pamphlets and relatively thick books have been written but it is regrettable that there is not yet a multivolume history of the Taiping Tianguo. Since we mean to sum up the fruits of our research, we can gather some people together to write a multivolume history of the Taiping Tianguo.

It is possible for many units and individuals to write a multivolume history together, each writing a chapter in accordance with an agreed outline. But I think this method can only be used for writing reference books. If we can write a book that primarily collects and catalogues an abundant amount of confused data, it will also help to promote the work of the broad masses of research workers. But I expect to have one which is based on rich data and has ideological content, original views and the author's own style.

If there are some people with noble aspirations who will write a history of the Taiping Tianguo (either in one volume or in several volumes) that is not the simple accumulation of materials, but a book with relatively deep analyses of major problems during the Taiping Tianguo period, and whose analyses and syntheses are ably made though not completely "comprehensive," we will certainly welcome their books and appreciate their efforts. However, in my opinion, we can resort to another method. We can divide up this subject into a few themes and assign each theme to one writer to write a book on it. Examples of these themes would be: "Inception of the Taiping Tianguo" (about the social condition before the commencement of the Taiping Tianguo and about how the Taiping Tianguo began), "The Rural and Urban Policies of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom," "Taiping Revolutionary War" (in the main a history of military affairs), "Taiping Heavenly Kingdom and Capitalist Foreign Countries..." Maybe the themes should be even more specific. For example, "Shanghai During the Period of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom," "Jiangsu and Zhejiang Under the Taiping Reign..." Moreover, we do not require that all these books together form a comprehensive history of the Taiping Tianguo. Each writer will select what he thinks he is best suited to write about. Though he is only writing about a part of the history, he must take the whole history into account and through the part he writes about express his views on the whole history. On the other hand, because he only writes about a part of the history, he will be able to understand comparatively well and fully all the relative materials and he will be able to make a relatively complete check of all the existing opinions on relevant questions. Then he will be able to write on the theme in a more profound manner. As each writer writes his book independently, naturally, his opinions will not be identical with those of another. If there is a proper organization (such as a Taiping Tianguo Research Association) to make some readjustment of the work of all those who write about the themes selected by themselves, to ensure that no important aspects are omitted and to ensure that there will be no unnecessary repetition, the work will be done much more satisfactorily. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to seek perfection and there will be nothing to blame if some repetition indeed occurs.

I think that if some writers complete five, eight or a dozen books on specific themes in the coming 3 to 5 years, then we can say that we have taken quite a great step forward in our research work on the Taiping Tianguo.

The above are my opinions written at random, which were evoked by your letter. I will treat it as an informal discussion with you.

CSO: 4005/825

COUNTRY TO ENROLL COLLEGE STUDENTS FROM OVERSEAS

OW120819 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0216 GMT 12 Apr 82

[Text] Beijing, 12 Apr (XINHUA)--Recently a XINHUA reporter interviewed a responsible person of the department concerned under the Ministry of Education with regard to the enrollment of college students from among Overseas Chinese and youths in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan Province.

Question: Will the work of drawing up the questions, the entrance examination and the screening of applications still be handled separately this year for Overseas Chinese and those in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan Province applying for admission to institutions of higher learning?

Answer: Yes. We have done so since 1980 on the basis of the characteristics of these applicants. The time for the work with regard to these applicants has always been earlier than the others. It will be the same this year. They can apply for Jinan [2555 0589] University, Huaqiao [Overseas Chinese] University or any other institution of higher learning.

Question: What qualifications are required of the applicants? When and how should they apply? When and where will the examination take place?

Answer: To qualify for application, the applicant must be a senior middle school graduate or have an equivalent educational background. In general, he must not be over 25 years old, but the maximum age limit is 28. Moreover, he must be well-behaved, in good health and unmarried.

Applications will be accepted from 6 to 10 June.

Overseas Chinese youths who meet the qualifications may submit to the Chinese embassies or consulates concerned their requests for entry into our country and, after approval is obtained, proceed with the entry formalities. Applications for admission may be filed at the following places: Guangzhou municipality, Guangdong Province (to be received by the Guangzhou Overseas Chinese Continuation School); Jimei town, Xiamen municipality, Fujian Province (to be received by the Jimei Overseas Chinese Continuation School); Dandong municipality, Liaoning Province (to be received by the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of Dandong municipality); Hong Kong (to be handled by the China Travel Service in Hong Kong); and Macao (to be handled by the

China Travel Service in Macao). The examination is slated for 22-24 June. The locations for the examination are: Guangzhou municipality of Guangdong Province; Jimei town of Xiamen municipality, Fujian Province; and Dandong municipality of Liaoning Province.

Question: What subjects are included in the examination?

Answer: There are two different categories--one for those majoring in physical science, engineering, agriculture or medicine and the other for those majoring in literature or history. For the former category, the examination covers six subjects: politics, the Chinese language, mathematics, physics, chemistry and foreign language. For applicants for medicine or biology specialties, the examination includes biology as an additional subject. For literature or history majors, the examination covers five subjects: politics, the Chinese language, history, geography and foreign language. For those who wish to major in economics, the examination includes mathematics as an additional subject. Salient features of applicants will be taken into consideration when screening them for admission, and for this purpose a proper method will be used in calculating examination scores. For example, examination scores in politics will only be used as a reference, while foreign language scores will be fully included in the total score.

Question: What treatment will be given to the successful applicants to institutions of higher learning?

Answer: According to current stipulations, they are entitled to free tuition and lodging and those among them who have economic difficulties may apply for people's grants.

Question: Will the students be allowed to take leave and go back to their original places of domicile during the period of schooling? May the students from overseas, Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan Province seek employment on the mainland of China after their graduation?

Answer: In accordance with the policy of "freedom to come and go," they can go back to their original places of domicile within the authorized periods of leave and seek employment there after graduation. Students from overseas, Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan who are willing to seek employment on the mainland of China after graduation will have jobs assigned them by the state.

Question: May the student applicants who want to prepare for the entrance examinations come to the mainland of China or its interior provinces to take up cultural study courses?

Answer: Yes, they may. There are a number of continuation schools set up in Guangzhou and Fujian for overseas Chinese. Those who are ready to take part in the entrance examinations and those who are disqualified as successful applicants may apply for admission to the continuation schools to take up high school refresher courses as they wish.

Question: In recruiting students of institutions of higher learning, will there be any preferential treatment given to returned Overseas Chinese youths and the dependent children of returned Chinese nationals who have settled down in the country?

Answer: Returned Overseas Chinese youths and dependent children of returned Overseas Chinese nationals who have settled down in this country must take part in the unified, nationwide entrance examinations for applicants to institutions of higher learning. They will have priority in enrollment over other examinees when they take up the examinations as other examinees do. There will be more preferential treatment given to those whose first choice is Jinan University or Huaqiao University.

CSO: 4005/825

BRIEFS

ZHUANG SCRIPT--Guangxi Regional People's Government recently proclaimed a revised program for the Zhuang script. This program was a joint effort of the Guangxi Minority Nationality Language Committee, the Nationalities Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and some language experts in the Central Nationalities College. The work of revising the program for Zhuang script was suspended for a long time when the "leftist" ideology prevailed. For people's convenience in study and use, all the Zhuang letters have been Latinized. The regional people's government issued a "circular on proclamation and implementation of the revised program for the Zhuang script," requiring people to do a good job in publication and popularization work. All previous seals and signboards will gradually be substituted by new ones with revised Zhuang script within this year. [HK280903 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Apr 82]

NEI MONGGOL COLLEGE ENROLLMENT--Nei Monggol Autonomous Region has begun its 1982 student enrollment work for higher educational institutions and secondary vocational schools. According to a plan formulated by the regional student enrollment committee, the region plans to recruit 7,558 college students this year, a 10-percent increase over the 1981 figure. Of these new students, 2,193 will be recruited for the higher educational institutions of outside provinces and municipalities and 5,365 students for our regional colleges and universities. The region plans to recruit 5,628 students for junior colleges and secondary vocational schools of both our region and outside provinces and municipalities. These new students will include 4,368 senior middle school graduates who will be enrolled by junior colleges and 1,260 junior middle school graduates who will be enrolled by secondary vocational schools. The region also plans to recruit 6,000 students for secondary normal schools throughout the region. The deadline for enrolling is from 7 to 13 May. The deadline for entrance examinations for higher education institutions is from 7 to 10 July and for junior colleges and secondary vocational schools, 12 to 15 July. [SK292218 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Apr 82 SK]

ZHUANG SCRIPT PROGRAM--GUANGXI RIBAO carries an editorial today to acclaim the proclamation and implementation of the revised program for the Zhuang script. It points out that this is a great event for the Zhuang nationality. The proclamation of the program is an important policy decision in implementing the party's policy on nationality work, the editorial says. In order to implement the program for Zhuang script, the editorial stresses, it is necessary to earnestly do a good job in political and ideological work and eliminate the influence of the "leftist" ideology on nationality linguistic work. It is necessary to take a correct attitude towards the implementation of the Zhuang script program and clarify the important significance and necessity of this work in the region inhabited by the Zhuang nationality. It is necessary to actively and steadily popularize the Zhuang script in the countryside, schools and organizations in the Zhuang-inhabited regions step by step and in a planned way. Party committees and people's government at various levels must warmly support this work and strengthen leadership over it, and cadres at various levels must set a good example in studying and popularizing the Zhuang script, so that the socialist spiritual and material civilization construction in the Zhuang-inhabited regions will be further promoted. [Text] [HK280919 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Apr 82]

NEI MONGGOL WORKERS EDUCATION--The regional education office recently held a forum on work of staff and workers institutions of higher education in Hohhot. The forum disclosed that the eight workers institutions of higher education have graduated about 3,000 specialists and experts for the state. A large number have become backbone forces in production, scientific research and teaching. There are still some problems requiring an immediate solution in the field of management, leading organs, teaching equipment and teachers at workers institutions of higher education. Qualified workers institutions of higher education should report to the Ministry of Education so that diplomas issued by these institutions can be recognized by the state. Beginning this year, workers institutions of higher education in Nei Monggol region will enroll students in accordance with a unified plan. [SK200956 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 19 Apr 82 SK]

SHAANXI COMMENDATION RALLY CIRCULAR--The Shaanxi Provincial CCP Committee has decided to hold a rally in the fourth quarter of this year to commend model party branches and model party members and recently issued a circular, demanding that CCP organizations at all levels and all party members throughout the province quickly, universally and penetratingly carry out the activities of creating model party branches and striving to become model communist party members and greet the holding of the rally with outstanding achievements. The province must publicize and commend in various forms the model party branches and model party members who have been selected after assessment. The conditions for a model party branch are: 1) adhering to the four basic principles and actively publicizing and implementing the line, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, 2) spontaneously pursuing democratic centralism and carrying out collective leadership, 3) doing political and ideological work vigorously and closely

integrating with the masses, 4) putting the system and activities of an organization on a sound basis, and 5) being able to lead the cadres and the masses to accomplish all tasks in the course of building spiritual and material civilization. The conditions for a model party member are: 1) seriously studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and seriously implementing the line, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, 2) abiding by party discipline and state laws, 3) wholeheartedly serving the people, 4) loyalty and honesty to the party, and 5) studying and working hard. [Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 0500 GMT 20 Apr 82 HK]

CRIME, CORRUPTION MOVIES--A recently concluded national film editors' conference in Beijing pointed out that people like to see the plays and movies reflecting the reality of life and especially those exposing the dark things during the Cultural Revolution period, such as grafting of state property, embezzlement and bribery as well as the corrupt activities of high-level cadres. For example, "who Is the Strong," "A Shackled Man," [words indistinct] are all welcomed by people. The conference also revealed that people were afraid that this kind of play and movie would be banned. [Text] [OW031225 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 2 May 82]

MINORITY YOUTH GROUP--Beijing, 28 Apr (XINHUA)--A minority youth group of some 400 model workers and advanced youths of 45 nationalities from border areas, including Nei Monggol, Xinjiang, Xizang, Guangxi, Yunnan, Fujian, Guangdong, Liaoning, Jilin, Gansu and Heilongjiang, arrived in Beijing for a visit on 28 April. Under the sponsorship of the State Nationality Affairs Commission, the CYL Central Committee and the All-China Youth Federation, the visiting group was organized for the first time since the founding of the PRC to strengthen education in patriotism among minority youths and to promote unity among the people of all nationalities. The members of the group include workers, peasants and herdsmen as well as youths working in such fields as trade, finance, science and technology, culture, education and public health. During their stay in the capital, they will join Beijing youths in celebrating both the 1 May International Labor Day and the 4 May Youth Day. [OW021421 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1626 GMT 28 Apr 82 OW]

ZHU DE BIRTH PLACE--Sichuan Provincial CCP Committee first secretary Tan Qilong, who is currently inspecting work in the old revolutionary bases in North Sichuan, visited Comrade Zhu De's birthplace at Maan commune in Yilong County on 1 May. He met Comrade Zhu De's relatives, took part in local tree-planting, and inspected the memorial hall of Comrade Zhu De's old residence, which is now under construction. In the evening he joined in May Day celebrations in Bazhong County, the center of the old Sichuan-Shaanxi Soviet. [HK020642 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 1 May 82]

FLOATING POPULATION--A recent work meeting of the Ministry of Public Security discussed exclusively the problem of floating population. According to reports from various provincial public security departments, 93 percent of the floating population came from rural areas. Poor harvest, caused by natural disasters, and inadequate family labor force after the implementation of the household output quota system have made it difficult for the peasants to earn a living. They are forced to leave their homes and go out begging as a means to eke out an existence. Particularly in those cities and towns not open to foreigners, there are large numbers of people wandering about, causing a serious problem to public security. [Text] [OW031305 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 2 May 82]

YANAN FORUM ANNIVERSARY--WENXUE BAO on 29 April frontpaged an article by Ding Ling: "The Ins and Outs of the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art." The writer said in the article: This year marks the 40th anniversary of the Yanan forum on literature and art. Talks by Chairman Mao at the forum will again trigger new discussions. On the basis of what I have experienced and understood, I would like to write down some fragments on the forum as an objective and honest record for my personal review and study and as reference for comrades who are doing research in the history of this period. [Text] [OW301401 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 28 Apr 82]

GUANGZHOU OPERA--The combined Beijing and Shanghai Beijing opera troupe that has just performed in Hong Kong gave a performance in Guangzhou in the evening of 12 April. Present were Ren Zhongyi, first secretary of the provincial CCP committee; Wu Kehua, commander of the Guangzhou PLA units; and Liu Tianfu, Liang Lingguang and other leading comrades of the province and municipality. Also present was Wang Congwu, deputy secretary of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, who is currently working in Guangzhou. [HK130207 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 12 Apr 82]

HEILONGJIANG TEACHERS EXAMINATION--Heilongjiang Province sponsored an examination for 220,000 unqualified nursery, primary and middle school teachers on 18 April. Those who pass the examination will be allowed to attend correspondence schools. Those who fail will be organized to study teaching program and materials so that they can qualify in 2 to 3 years. [SK200805 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 19 Apr 82 SK]

YUNNAN STUDENT ENROLLMENT CONFERENCE--The Yunnan Provincial Education Department recently held a conference on the enrollment of students. The conference looked into the problems of and arranged for the enrollment of students in institutes of higher education and middle vocational schools in the province this year. This year, institutes of higher education plan to enroll about 7,200 students and middle vocational schools plan to enroll some 14,000 students in the province. About 5,900 of the 14,000 students will be enrolled in middle normal schools. On the whole, the number of students enrolled this

year is slightly more than last year. The conference demanded that enrollment departments at all levels resolutely implement the relevant principles, policies and regulations on the enrollment of students and, in close coordination with relevant departments, successfully complete the enrollment tasks in the province this year. [HK151427 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Apr 82 HK]

LIAONING NEWSPAPER DISTRIBUTION FORUM--The propaganda department of the Liaoning Provincial CCP Committee and the provincial post and telecommunications bureau recently sponsored a forum on distribution of newspapers and periodicals in rural areas in Shenyang, urging all brigades to subscribe to newspapers and periodicals in the third quarter. The forum also urged production teams to subscribe to newspapers prior to the end of 1982. It disclosed that Liaoning Province has 2,100 newspapers and periodicals with 11 million copies in circulation. [SK200804 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 19 Apr 82 SK]

GUANGXI BANS PORNOGRAPHIC MATERIALS--On 30 March, the Guangxi Regional CCP Committee and the Guangxi Regional People's Government issued a circular on implementing the "regulations on strictly prohibiting the import, duplicating, selling and broadcasting of reactionary, pornographic and obscene sound and video tape recording products" as promulgated by the CCP Central Committee and the State Council. The circular called on party committees and government departments at all levels to adopt effective measures to implement the regulations. It said: We must conscientiously clean up all urban shops, street stalls, audio publishing units and book lending stalls that once were engaged in reactionary, pornographic and obscene products. Book lending stalls must have the approval of industrial and commercial administrative departments before doing business. Their books must be examined and approved by cultural departments prior to lending them to customers, otherwise their books may not be lent to customers. [HK151238 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Apr 82 HK]

HEILONGJIANG TECHNICAL SCHOOLS--According to our reporters, in view of the fact that technical schools have developed relatively quickly in our province in the past few years, a considerably large number of them are unable to offer on-the-job training and conditions to run the schools are very poor, the provincial labor bureau has decided to spend 4 years on consolidating existing technical schools beginning this year. Our province has 233 technical schools. Only 20 percent meet the standards of first-class technical schools in leading bodies, variety of courses, specialized facilities, teacher qualifications, places for study, school buildings, funds, management, organization and school systems, scale and purpose of training. The remaining 80 percent of second and third class technical schools need to be consolidated immediately. The consolidation of technical schools should be focused on the issues of leading bodies, overall arrangements for technical schools, variety of courses, facilities and teacher contingents. At the same time, it is necessary to establish and improve factories attached to technical schools to

see that technical schools focus on teaching and that teaching focuses on practice. It is necessary to strengthen disciplines and maintain order in the teaching regime. During the consolidation, most technical schools will not enroll students or reduce the number to fulfill the workers' on-the-job training task. [Text] [SK260604 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Apr 82]

GUIZHOU PLANNED PARENTHOOD DRIVE--According to GUIZHOU RIBAO, compilation of Guizhou's 1981 planned parenthood statistics was completed at the end of March. During the year the natural population growth rates declined in Duyun municipality, and Xifeng, Yuqing, Meitan, Fenggang, Zhengan, Jinzhi, Xingren, Liuzhi, Shunning, Puding, Dafang, Dejiang, Nayong, Luodian, Sandu and Zhijin counties and special zones. The population growth rate remained rather high in certain places. Fuquan, Shibing, Changshun, Taijiang, Ziyun, Zhijin and Wengan counties recorded growth rates of over 20 per 1,000. "Although the percentage of couples having only 1 child and of those taking out single-child certificates rose compared with 1980, while the percentage of couples having more than 1 child declined by 1.19 percent, the province still lags behind the national averages. The percentage of couples in Guizhou with more than one child is the highest in the whole country. Planned parenthood work cannot be relaxed for an instant." [HK160323 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 15 Apr 82]

CSO: 4005/825

END

JPRS 80897

25 May 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 303

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 80897

25 May 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 303

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Commentary on the Falklands Crisis
(XINHUA, various dates)..... 1

SFRY Urges Settlement
Ceausescu on Settlement
Argentina Publishes Protest
U.S. 'Regrets' Sinking
Moving OAS Out of U.S.
Ready for Cease Fire
Argentina Accepts UN Proposals
Concern Over Falklands Developments
Parties Back Government
Pym Speaks to Parliament
Premier Insists on Pullout
UN Secretary General Comment
Defense Minister on Conflict
Britain Extends Blockade Zone
Threat 'Embarrasses' UN Mediators
Minister Lauds UN Intervention
Argentina Protests
Latin American Countries Score Britain
UN Head Meets
Minister Scores UK Attacks
Renewed Attacks Confirmed
Stand on Falklands Reaffirmed
Ships Shell Port Stanley

Regional Commentary on USSR, United States
(HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, various dates)..... 18

Views on Soviet Military Power, by Ji Yanfeng
Relations With Egypt, by Yang Wenke
Confrontation Over Polish Issue, by Xin Ji
Views on Reagan Administration, by Ji Yanfeng

Commentary on Poland
(XINHUA, 6, 8 May 82)..... 25

Government-Episcopate Meeting
Demonstrations Continue in Cities

UN Commission on Human Settlements Meets
(XINHUA, 8 May 82)..... 27

'RENMIN RIBAO' Carries Biography of George Bush
(RENMIN RIBAO, 7 May 82)..... 28

PRC Group Leaves for Nairobi Environment Meeting
(XINHUA, 5 May 82)..... 29

PARTY AND STATE

Significance of Political Consultation Discussed
(Sun Qimeng; RENMIN RIBAO, 16 Mar 82)..... 30

Municipal Party Committee Discusses United Front Work
(Qu Changan; HARBIN RIBAO, 27 Mar 82)..... 32

Harbin Organ Mobilizes Cadres To Combat Economic Crimes
(HARBIN RIBAO, 27 Mar 82)..... 34

Streamlining of Administrative Structure Urged
(RENMIN RIBAO, 4, 3 Apr 82)..... 36

Proposal at Work Forum
Bureaucrat's Commentary, by Liu Zhenhua

Ideological Work, Forthright Workstyle Stressed
(HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 23, 24 Mar 82)..... 40

Face-to-Face Approach
Strengthening of Confidence

Role of Socialist Morality in Building Spiritual Civilization Discussed
(Ji Kefei; FENDOU, No 1, 1982)..... 44

Building Spiritual Culture by Veteran Cadres Stressed
(Sun Qimeng; RENMIN RIBAO, 5 Mar 82)..... 48

Virtues of Civilized Manners, Conduct Extolled
(Li Zhun; RENMIN RIBAO, 28 Mar 82)..... 51

Spirit of Foolish Old Man Who Moved the Mountain Praised
(Xin Ren; RENMIN RIBAO, 30 Mar 82)..... 53

Vice Ministers Who Retired Voluntarily Are Interviewed
(Li Anding, Huang Fengchu; LIAOWANG, No 2, 1982)..... 56

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Guangdong CCP Holds Public Security Meeting
(Guangdong Provincial Service, 1 May 82)..... 61

Nanjing PLA Commends Collectives, Individuals
(Jiangsu Provincial Service, 3 May 82)..... 62

Wu Kehua, Two Advisers Visit PLA Company
(Guangdong Provincial Service, 29 Apr 82)..... 63

Tianjin 'RIBAO' Reviews Book on Military Subject
(Zhi Wu, Jun You; RIBAO, 12 Apr 82)..... 65

Briefs
Mapping of Xizang Plateaus 68
Armed Forces Committee Holds Meeting 68

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Poems Smearing Mao, Socialism Criticized, Author Denounced
(Xue Sheng; SHIDAI DE BAOGAO, No 2, 1982)..... 69

Two Articles Stress Validity Today of 'Yanan Talks'
(SHIDAI DE BAOGAO, Feb 82)..... 72

Review of 1981 Prize-Winning Short Stories
(Guo Zhigang; RENMIN RIBAO, 31 Mar 82)..... 79

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON THE FALKLANDS CRISIS

SFRY Urges Settlement

OW052028 Beijing XINHUA in English 1630 GMT 5 May 82

[Text] Belgrade, May 5 (XINHUA)--Yugoslavia last night urged Britain and Argentina to settle the crisis over the Malvinas Islands in a peaceful way.

The Yugoslav stand was made public in a statement by its Foreign Ministry spokesman.

The statement said that Yugoslavia has followed with grave anxiety the escalation of the military conflict between the two states in that area.

It is hoped, the statement said, Argentina and Britain should stop their hostilities without delay and settle their dispute through negotiations in accordance with the U.N. Charter and the stances taken by meetings of the United Nations and the non-aligned countries over this issue.

The statement said that Yugoslavia through its envoys has repeatedly urged both Argentina and Britain to achieve a just and perpetual settlement of their dispute over the Malvinas Islands in a peaceful way and in the interest of peace and security both in that region and the whole world.

Ceausescu on Settlement

OW052034 Beijing XINHUA in English 1625 GMT 5 May 82

[Text] Bucharest, May 4 (XINHUA)--Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu recently said the clashes between Argentina and Britain should be settled through peaceful means, Romanian newspapers reported today.

In an interview with the Greek newspaper TA NEA and the state television station of Greece here on April 22, shortly before he left for Greece, Ceausescu said that "international life has grown particularly tense."

"This is the direct outcome of the actions aimed at maintaining and re-dividing the zones of influence and, at the same time, of the deep-going transformations taking place in the world, of the fact that the old balance

is changing and a new balance is to be achieved on a world plane through the diversification of the zones of power," he said.

He continued, "Colonialism, in its classical form, was virtually abolished. The new states which have emerged do their utmost to consolidate their independence. They have already played an ever more important role in international life."

"Until a new balance is achieved, until stability is reached in the balance of forces, further divergencies and conflicts can occur--as it has recently happened between Britain and Argentina," the president said.

He stressed, "Under such circumstances, Romania considers it necessary that greater attention should be paid and, we may even say, greater wisdom should be shown, that highly responsible actions should be taken, that nothing conducive to further conflicts should be undertaken. Events prove that it is easy to start a conflict but difficult--since many other problems may occur afterwards--to stop it, to solve it."

He said that everything possible should be done for the settlement of any interstate conflict through peaceful negotiations alone.

He also said firm action should be taken to put an end to the current conflicts and to ensure a political, negotiated settlement.

President Ceausecu left here for Greece today on a four-day state visit.

Argentina Publishes Protest

OW052040 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 5 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, May 4 (XINHUA)--The Argentine Foreign Ministry today published an official note of protest against the U.S. partiality to Britain in the Argentina-Britain dispute over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands.

The note was sent to U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig on May 2.

The note said that the U.S. attitude was unfriendly and surprising because "only a few hours ago, the United States acted in its capacity as friend of the parties, assisting them in search of a negotiated, just and honorable settlement."

It said that today, while arguing about the failure of its mediation efforts, the United States "unilaterally defends one side and imposes the unacceptable sanctions on us, with the obvious intent to break our determination and impose on us by force the solutions that serve the most particular purposes the U.S. Government maintains on this question," it added.

It said that the United States attributed the failure of the negotiation to Argentina's "intransigence" but "said nothing about Britain's intransigence

nor about the form of aggression Britain takes." The U.S. also remained "indifferent" when the powerful British navy and air forces made final preparations for attacks on Argentina, the note said.

The note also said that Argentina far surpassed Britain in its desire for compromise and sincerity for negotiation because it "has made important concessions and shown flexibility on all the questions."

Nevertheless, the note said, Argentina cannot agree to the approach of turning negotiations into "an exercise whose result must necessarily be our capitulation and the renunciation of our most fundamental rights."

The note said that Argentina did not reject the U.S. proposal and was ready to hold dialogues to work out a solution.

It said that the U.S. position "will have to leave a deep wound in the relations between our two countries." The Argentine people neither understand nor forget that in one of the most critical hours of their history, the United States "has preferred to side with a power outside this hemisphere and cooperate with its aggressive designs."

A communique issued by the U.S. Embassy in Argentina said that a number of people of the embassy and family members of some U.S. diplomats will leave Argentina soon.

U.S. 'Regrets' Sinking

OW052024 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 5 May 82

[Text] Beijing, May 5 (XINHUA)--The United States Tuesday expressed regret at the loss of life in the sinking by Britain of an Argentine cruiser, but it pledged continued support for Britain in its conflict with Argentina, according to reports from Washington.

Answering reporters' questions on British torpedoing of Argentine cruiser "General Belgrano," White House Press Secretary Larry Speakes said, "We regret the loss of life, and we think it points up the seriousness of the situation."

The U.S. remains "available to both parties" and is willing to resume its mediation efforts, Speakes said.

The same day, Secretary of State Alexander Haig said at a Senate committee that the U.S. still supports Britain in the dispute over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands. He noted, however, the U.S. backing will not lead to direct U.S. military support or involvement.

The House of Representatives, in a resolution adopted Tuesday, said the U.S. fully supports Britain in a diplomatic settlement of the crisis.

Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger told reporters at Brussels airport on his arrival for NATO defence ministers' meeting that Britain's attack on the Argentine warship was justified.

Weinberger said he agreed with British Foreign Secretary Francis Pym that British military actions in the South Atlantic were only in response to aggressive acts by Argentina. He said he would meet British Defence Secretary John Nott to discuss possible British requests for support. The U.S. would consider any new British requests for support of its military operations in the Malvinas (Falkland) region, he said.

Moving OAS Out of U.S.

OW051325 Beijing XINHUA in English 1215 GMT 5 May 82

[Text] San Jose, May 4 (XINHUA)--Costa Rican President Rodrigo Carazo proposed today moving the headquarters of the Organization of American States out of Washington because of "the partiality of the United States in the problem of the Malvinas."

He also suggested in his message to the heads of the state of other OAS member countries that his own country be accepted as a suitable alternative site.

His message called their "attention to the problem which the OAS will have in the future in view of the possible resentment, tension and conflict of the U.S. with many countries of the continent. For this reason, it is necessary to raise the question of a possible moving of the seat of the OAS in order to save the said system."

Costa Rica's Foreign Minister Bernd Niehaus said later that Carazo was not suggesting the United States withdraw from the OAS.

Ready for Cease Fire

OW061914 Beijing XINHUA in English 1632 GMT 6 May 82

[Text] Brussels, May 6 (XINHUA)--Britain is still seeking a peaceful settlement with Argentina over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands in the South Atlantic and is prepared for a ceasefire, Defense Secretary John Nott said here today where he is attending NATO defense ministers' meeting.

Before a ceasefire, however, Nott said Argentine troops must withdraw from the disputed islands.

He told reporters that after the proposed ceasefire there should be some transitional arrangements for a long-term solution over the Falkland Islands. If the British task force is not challenged or threatened by Argentine forces, there will be no further military actions in the next few days, he said.

Nott confirmed he had discussions with U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger on possible American material and logistic support to Britain if the conflict continues.

Argentina Accepts UN Proposals

OW061650 Beijing XINHUA in English 1510 GMT 6 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, May 5 (XINHUA)--Argentina declared today that it is ready to accept the intervention of the United Nations for a peaceful solution to the British-Argentine dispute over the Malvinas Islands.

A statement issued by the Argentine Foreign Ministry said that the Argentine Government is prepared to negotiate a peaceful solution to the dispute over the Malvinas Islands, the South Georgia Island and the South Sandwich Islands.

The first step towards the settlement of the dispute should be an immediate cease-fire between the British and Argentine troops, the statement pointed out. Argentina, it said, agrees to U.N. intervention in the dispute through the secretary general, the security council or both, considering it as the most appropriate channel for resolving the problem.

Concern Over Falklands Developments

OW060738 Beijing XINHUA in English 0719 GMT 6 May 82

[Text] United Nations, May 5 (XINHUA)--President of the security council Ling Qing was authorized this evening to issue a statement on behalf of the council members expressing deep concern over the deterioration of the situation in the region of the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands and the loss of lives.

The statement declared that "the members of the security council also express strong support for the efforts of the secretary-general with regard to his contacts with the two parties."

The statement was issued after the security council ended its consultations at the request of Ireland to seek an end to the battle over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands.

The members of the council have agreed to meet for further consultations tomorrow.

Ireland yesterday asked for an urgent council meeting. However, U.N. Secretary-General Perez De Cuellar persuaded Ireland not to press for an immediate meeting of the council but to wait until replies from Britain and Argentina came in to his peace plan. He was supported in this move by the current president of the council.

The secretary-general said this evening that he had received a "positive reaction" from Argentina to his proposals. He also said that Britain had assured him it was considering his peace plan "with great interest and a sense of urgency."

The secretary-general has reportedly proposed a ceasefire and the withdrawal of Argentine troops from the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands and the British fleet from the area. According to the plan, a small number of U.N. officials will administer the islands while negotiations between Argentina and Britain are to be conducted by a U.N. official.

A U.N. spokesman today announced that in a statement on yesterday's fighting in the Malvinas (Falkland) area, Secretary-General Perez De Cuellar noted: "This tragic development underlines once again the urgency of a solution of this problem on the basis of Resolution 502."

Argentine representative Eduardo Roca today charged that the abortive U.S. mediation effort gave time for the British fleet to arrive at the Malvinas and accused the U.S. Government of siding at last with Britain in the conflict.

The situation in the Malvinas (Falkland) area has reached a critical stage after the sinking of an Argentine cruiser and a British destroyer. Facing the escalation of the armed conflict, many nations have called for immediate cessation of hostilities by both British and Argentine forces and a negotiated settlement.

Parties Back Government

OW061254 Beijing XINHUA in English 1228 GMT 6 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, May 5 (XINHUA)--The Argentine multi-party committee today reiterated its "absolute solidarity with the armed forces of the nation in military actions in defense of the Malvinas Islands.

A document, signed by leaders of the five major parties forming the committee, said that Argentina was attacked by "the colonialist war of a decadent empire." Britain's sinking of the Argentine cruiser, "General Belgrano," "violated the most fundamental norms of civilization and international law," it said.

It said, "Equally censurable is the undeclared economic blockade adopted hastily by the European Economic Community because this only stimulates the bellicose spirit of the British aggressors but at the same time violates the elementary principles of universal co-existence."

The Argentine General Confederation of Labor and the Peronist 62 trade unions also condemned Britain for attacking the Argentine cruiser "General Belgrano" and the signal boat "Sobral."

They said in a joint communique yesterday that the British attacks are "only military actions in an undeclared war," these events cannot but heighten the militant spirit of the Argentine people in defending their soverignty, the communique said.

Pym Speaks to Parliament

OW060120 Beijing XINHUA in English 0104 GMT 6 May 82

[Text] London, May 5 (XINHUA)--British Foreign Secretary Francis Pym said today the government was working actively on new ideas for an early ceasefire in the South Atlantic.

Pym told the House of Commons that "a vital ingredient of the ideas on which we are working is an early ceasefire and the prompt withdrawal of Argentine forces."

The foreign secretary's statement came after an emergency cabinet meeting to discuss the new situation in the South Atlantic in the wake of the sinking of the British destroyer HMS Sheffield by an Argentine missile Tuesday. A vital issue which the cabinet is believed to have discussed is whether to step up military operations around the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands in an attempt to secure the withdrawal of Argentine forces or to accept international calls for a ceasefire.

Pym assured the House of Commons: "Any obstructionism (in an early ceasefire) that may be will not come from our side."

The British Broadcasting Corporation reported today that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was "devastated" by the loss of the destroyer with some 30 of its 270 crew. There have been reports that Britain's mood of confidence was shaken by the losses.

Some of Britain's staunchest allies were also reported to be "stunned" and "appalled" by the British navy's sinking of Argentina's cruiser General Belgrano and the loss of 362 lives earlier. Ireland has called for an end to common market trade sanctions against Argentina.

Premier Insists on Pullout

OW070801 Beijing XINHUA in English 0716 GMT 7 May 82

[Text] London, May 6 (XINHUA)--Britain will not accept a ceasefire in the South Atlantic without a withdrawal of Argentine forces from the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher stated here today.

In the House of Commons this afternoon, the opposition labour party leader Michael Foot pressed hard for an immediate and positive response by the government to the peace proposals of the United Nations secretary-general and urged no further military escalation around the Falklands while negotiations continued. Mrs Thatcher replied that Britain was pursuing two diplomatic paths to a negotiated settlement--one set of ideas advanced by the U.N. secretary-general and the other by the United States and Peru. She indicated that she was more favorably inclined to the U.S.-Peru proposals, to which the government had already made "a very constructive response."

She also said that she welcomed the U.N. secretary-general's ideas as "a framework on which more specific proposals could be built." A report from New York later said that the secretary-general had received a "positive reply" from London.

However, Mrs Thatcher repeated her government's tough negotiating position and told Parliament that "there can be no ceasefire unless it is accompanied by a withdrawal which is fully and properly supervised." Defence Secretary John Nott stressed the same position at a NATO meeting in Brussels today.

UN Secretary General Comment

OW070216 Beijing XINHUA in English 0153 GMT 7 May 82

[Text] United Nations, May 6 (XINHUA)--U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez De Cuellar declared this afternoon that Britain and Argentina have given "positive responses" to his peace plan for resolving the Malvinas (Falkland) crisis.

He was "looking forward to more progress this night and tomorrow," he said.

He told reporters waiting outside the security council chamber that the situation there is "very delicate," but he felt "a little more optimistic" over his peace ideas.

Sources close to the secretary-general disclosed that Britain said at noon today that it will "accept the ideas put forward by the secretary-general as a framework to build more specific peace programme to end the conflict with Argentina."

The secretary-general hoped that an agreement on cease-fire and withdrawal of all forces from the Malvinas area should be reached as a first step.

As to the questions of cease-fire and withdrawal of forces, the two parties have different views. Argentina holds that "the first step toward a solution should be an immediate cease-fire." Britain makes a total withdrawal of Argentine troops from the islands as a "precondition for cease-fire."

Another main point of the secretary-general's peace plan is that United Nations administrators would govern the islands while negotiations between Argentina and Britain were held under the direction of a representative of the secretary-general.

The peace plan does not mention the thorny issue of sovereignty over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands. Argentina who claims sovereignty over the islands pointed out repeatedly that the issue is "non-negotiable." However, Britain insisted that sovereignty is "a matter for negotiation" and any solution must respect the islanders' right to "self-determination." Some U.N. diplomats indicated that this issue apparently would be left to be resolved in later phase of the negotiation.

The security council conducted its second consultation on the matter this afternoon. The secretary-general briefed the council the responses from Argentina and Britain [sentence as received]. The council members expressed their continued support for the secretary-general's efforts to end the conflict on the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands. U.N. sources said that the council will meet again when needed in a few days.

Defense Minister on Conflict

OW071253 Beijing XINHUA in English 1209 GMT 7 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, May 6 (XINHUA)--Argentine Defence Minister Amadeo Frugoli said here this afternoon that to defend its sovereignty, Argentina is prepared to fight wherever it is attacked. But Argentina is also ready to hold negotiations for a peaceful settlement of its conflict with Britain.

Frugoli stressed at a press conference that such negotiations must always be based on the recognition of Argentina's sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands without imparing its honor.

He said that Argentina would accept the U.N. mediation on condition that hostilities cease by both sides.

He said that Britain's argument of self-defence in attacking the Argentine cruiser General Belgrano "is an inadmissable excuse," because the cruiser was not equipped with modern anti-submarine weapons. What is particularly intolerable is that the attack was launched at the time when diplomatic efforts promoted by the Peruvian Government were intensified, he added.

"Argentina is not an aggressor and will defend itself wherever it is attacked," he stressed.

He added, "Argentina did not attack any British warships outside the exclusion zone because it only defended itself from British attacks.

Referring to military aid from other Latin American countries, he emphasized that his country will rely on its own efforts.

In reply to a question, he said that "Argentina belongs to the Western bloc" and Argentina hasn't intended to ask for and will certainly not ask for military aid from the Soviet Union."

Britain Extends Blockade Zone

OW081056 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] London, May 7 (XINHUA)--Britain today extended its total blockade zone around the disputed Falkland (Malvinas) Islands in the South Atlantic almost to the Argentine coast, causing worries about its military and political implications amidst renewed diplomatic activity to find a peaceful settlement of the Anglo-Argentine conflict.

The Ministry of Defence announced this evening that any Argentine warship or military aircraft found more than 12 nautical miles from the Argentine coast would be regarded as hostile and liable to attack. The new measure was taken "in the self-defence of British ships and aircraft engaged in operations and in resupplying and reinforcing British forces," it said.

Britain imposed a 200-mile sea blockade around the islands on April 7, two days after its naval task force set sail towards the South Atlantic. The blockade was extended on April 25 to include air space over the zone. These moves were followed by an escalation of military conflict between the two countries, including the sinking of warships and loss of lives on both sides.

A few hours before the Defence Ministry's announcement today, Foreign Secretary Francis Pym accused Argentina of blocking diplomatic efforts to end the conflict and warned that Britain would not allow "diplomatic obstructionism" by Argentina to halt the military operations of the British task force.

In an address to Parliament he repeated Prime Minister Thatcher's statement yesterday that there could be no "unconditional ceasefire" and that implementation of a truce must "be unambiguously linked to the commencement of Argentine withdrawal which must be completed within a fixed number of days."

If the U.N. talks fail, Pym said, Britain would do "whatever may be necessary" to retake the islands. He did not rule out military options.

Threat 'Embarrasses' UN Mediators

OW081052 Beijing XINHUA in English 0741 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] United Nations, May 7 (XINHUA)--Argentine Deputy Foreign Minister Envique Ros this afternoon discussed with U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez De Cuellar a possible way to end the conflict between Argentina and Britain over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands.

Enrique Ros later told reporters in the U.N. headquarters lobby he had made comments on the secretary-general's peace ideas, but declined to disclose any details. He will meet the secretary-general again tomorrow, he said.

Although Britain and Argentina have accepted the secretary-general's ideas as "a framework" for a more specific peace programme to end the conflict, they are far apart as to how to fill it with details. Britain insists that any cease-fire must be linked to an Argentine agreement to withdraw its troops from the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands, while Argentina stresses that its sovereignty over the islands must be guaranteed.

Argentine Foreign Ministry officials have announced that they will not negotiate any substantive points--including an Argentine troop withdrawal--until Britain agrees to halt its military activities.

Meanwhile, observers say that Britain seems to step up rather than reduce its military activities in the South Atlantic. After Argentina turned down a U.S.-Peruvian plan for a cease-fire and a phased withdrawal of forces from the Malvinas (Falkland) area, Britain today threatened to attack any Argentine warship or warplane found more than 12 miles from the Argentine coast. London's new threat embarrasses those in the United Nations who are seeking a peaceful solution to the Malvinas crisis.

More and more nations are calling for cessation of the armed conflict. The co-ordinating bureau of the movement of non-aligned countries and the Latin American group in the United Nations held meetings respectively in the past two days, urging Britain and Argentina to begin negotiation with a view to achieving a just, peaceful, practical and lasting settlement. The co-ordinating bureau reiterated its support for Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands.

In a letter to the U.N. secretary-general yesterday, the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden) expressed their full support to the U.N. secretary-general in his endeavours to find a peaceful solution to the conflict.

Minister Lauds UN Intervention

OW081346 Beijing XINHUA in English 1206 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, May 7 (XINHUA)--Argentine Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Mendez today described the intervention of the U.N. secretary-general as "the only positive point so far" in diplomatic efforts to solve the Britain-Argentina conflict.

Mendez made the comment to a local radio station after the departure Thursday night of Deputy Foreign Minister Enrique Ros for the United Nations to discuss the peace proposal by U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez De Cuellar.

He said the intervention of U.N. secretary-general was backed by the U.N. Security Council. This means that the United Nations "has intervened in the problem in substitution of some unsuccessful private mediations," he said.

"At this moment," he said, "we are trying to give a proper diplomatic response to achieve a honorable and just peace through negotiation."

He said, "The military action and the diplomatic action are closely linked and one depends on the other."

He said, "There is certain hope for progress towards an understanding with Britain." But, "all negotiations must lead inexorably to Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands," he added.

He said that the United States made a mistake in supporting Britain because it "has made a bad analysis of the current situation and, above all, a bad analysis of the future."

He said if Latin America unites to oppose the United States, the latter will fall into international isolation. Although the U.S. relations with Latin America "are bad, they should and can be recovered with goodwill on the part of the U.S.," he added.

Argentina Protests

OW081413 Beijing XINHUA in English 1222 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, May 7 (XINHUA)--Argentina tonight denounced Britain for its "lack of good faith" in search for a diplomatic solution to the Malvinas crisis, in a protest against Britain's extension of its "maritime exclusion zone."

An Argentine Foreign Ministry communique said the British decision to extend its blockade zone up to 12 nautical miles off the Argentine coast was "another escalation of the conflict."

The communique said that Britain, "while declaring its interest in undertaking negotiations and reaching a peaceful solution, contradicts that position with concrete actions, creating situations that seriously perturb any possibility of negotiation."

Britain's extension of its naval blockade "for all practical purpose amplifies the war zone to the entire South Atlantic," the communique pointed out, adding that "this extension of the scene of hostilities constitutes another escalation of the conflict, attributable, like the previous ones, to the unilateral decision and responsibility of the United Kingdom."

Argentine Defence Minister Amadeo Frugoli told reporters here tonight that Argentina was ready to fight against British aggression in whatever manners and wherever necessary to defend its own rights.

Reports from the United States said that Argentina today sent a note to the U.N. Security Council and the Organisation of American States separately, protesting against the extension of the British blockade zone. Argentina will "reserve its legitimate right to self-defence" in accordance with the U.N. charter, the note said.

In fact of [as received] the British threat, Argentine radio and TV network today began broadcasting a new patriotic song every 15 minutes, which calls on the Argentines to rise to the occasion and strive for victory. The Argentine military sources once again have pledged to smash the new British blockade.

Latin American Countries Score Britain

OW091900 Beijing XINHUA in English 1609 GMT 9 May 82

[Text] Beijing, May 9 (XINHUA)--Some Latin American states condemned Britain Saturday for its enlargement of the maritime exclusion zone around the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands in its dispute with Argentina.

A statement released by the Peruvian Foreign Ministry said Peru protested Britain's decision to extend the zone to Argentina's territorial waters. The statement urged an immediate end to the hostilities and expressed Peru's support to mediation by U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez De Cuellar.

Guatemalan Foreign Minister Alfronso Alonso Lima condemned Britain's decision as "unopportune and inappropriate" and an indication of London's "new colonialist policies."

Panamanian Foreign Minister Jorge Illucea described the extension as "arbitrary and unopportune." It will not help create conditions for a dialogue leading to a settlement, he said.

Fidel Chavez Mena, foreign minister of El Salvador, said Britain's attitude damaged the dignity not only of the Argentines but also of the people of Latin America as a whole. El Salvador "can in no way accept such a decision," he said.

Ecuadoran President Oswaldo Hurtado expressed concern about Britain's decision and appealed for redoubled U.N. efforts to bring peace to the South Atlantic.

Venezuelan Defense Minister Bernargo Leal Puchi said his country, as well as other O.A.U. countries, would have to consider sending military assistance to Argentina "if Britain takes direct action against Argentina in its continental part."

An official from Belize, Fred Hunter, said his government supports mediation by the U.N. secretary-general for a peaceful solution.

UN Head Meets

OW090243 Beijing XINHUA in English 0205 GMT 9 May 82

[Text] United Nations, May 8 (XINHUA)--U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez De Cuellar today intensified his efforts to end the conflict between Britain and Argentina over the Malvinas (Falkland) islands.

The secretary-general held two separate talks with Argentine Deputy Foreign Minister Enrique Ros and British Ambassador Anthony Parsons this morning to bridge the gap between the Argentine and British positions on his peace plan.

He told reporters that "there is some common ground. The simple fact that they were up there during this morning is already an expression of interest in a possible solution."

The secretary-general stressed his exercise was a limited plan that would not settle the future of the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands. "The discussion of the problem of sovereignty is excluded from my exercise," he noted. He

said that his goal was to stop the fighting so that negotiations between Britain and Argentina could begin.

The secretary-general indicated that he has won implicit and critical concession from each side. He said that yesterday he got comments on his peace plan from both Britain and Argentina.

Both Argentina and Britain have expressed their willingness to achieve a solution through negotiations. Argentine Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Mendez said yesterday that "there is certain hope for progress towards an understanding with Britain." Britain indicated its agreement to dilute its earlier insistence that the inhabitants of the Falklands should have the right of self-determination. It was willing to accept a formula that the "aspirations and interests" of the Falklanders be taken into account.

But observers here feared that new military conflict will break out again if U.N. peace efforts fail. Britain sent 20 more Harrier jet fighters to beef up its Falklands armada Saturday following its extension of the exclusion zone Friday. Argentina vowed to challenge British threat of war by strengthening its coastal defences.

Asked by a reporter if "this could be a make-or-break day...for finding a diplomatic solution," Secretary-General Javier Perez De Cuellar said, "Yes, it is. I hope that today we will have real progress, or at least we will know whether there are reasons for hope."

Minister Scores UK Attacks

OW100241 Beijing XINHUA in English 0223 GMT 10 May 82

[Text] Washington, May 9 (XINHUA)--Argentine Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Mendez today accused Britain of attacking the Malvinas (Falklands) early today when "sound talks" were under way for a negotiated settlement of the dispute.

In a pre-recorded interview in Buenos Aires shown in CBS TV's "Face the Nation" program, Mendez said, "That attack does not surprise me. It has always been the same. Whenever we are in sound talks some sort of attack comes."

An Argentine communique said British ships and helicopters attacked Puerto Argentino (Stanley) and Puerto Darwin in the Malvinas early Sunday and the attacks were repulsed by Argentine forces.

Mendez said his country has always been ready to negotiate. It "began the negotiations 17 years ago with great patience."

He said that Argentina is "ready to withdraw" its troops from the Malvinas if the British withdraw their fleet and the authority of the U.N. is established. "Then we will, as part of the arrangement, discuss the problem of

sovereignty because we have no doubts about our sovereignty...but all this must lead us to a recognition of the Argentine sovereignty of the islands."

"We are ready to begin negotiations but those negotiations in one way or the other should conduct to that recognition even if the British do not accept that sovereignty at the very beginning," he said.

"We want to negotiate, in the first place, ceasefire. We want to negotiate the withdrawal of troops and the withdrawal of the navy fleet. We want to negotiate the way that the islands should be administrated during the period." Mendez said Argentina wanted to settle all the fundamentals for the acceptance of Argentina's sovereignty but did not put sovereignty as a pre-condition for talks. "There is no other goal than sovereignty. Everything else can be discussed with Britain," he said.

He added that Argentina is "ready to be generous" with the inhabitants of the islands and with Britain itself on economic and other matters.

The Argentine foreign minister pointed out that the key to a ceasefire and de-escalation of tension is "good-will from the British."

Mendez said he was "very surprised" at the attitude of the U.S. "I think already the U.S. has gone too far. The U.S. should be really neutral," he said. He could not understand, he said, why the United States continues to put pressure on Argentina. "I cannot understand why the United States does not assume a more neutral position at this very moment when peace is being discussed" in the United Nations."

He indicated that Argentina has not talked with the Russians about the possibility of military assistance to Argentina.

Renewed Attacks Confirmed

OW100254 Beijing XINHUA in English 0231 GMT 10 May 82

[Text] London, May 9 (XINHUA)--The British Defence Ministry tonight confirmed reports of renewed military action by the naval task force on the Argentine-held Malvinas (Falkland) Islands, though it had initially denied any attempted landings to recover them.

A brief statement from the Ministry said that the task force "today attacked military targets in the vicinity of Port Stanley airport." A further statement reported that two British helicopters opened fire on an Argentine fishing vessel within the 200-mile exclusion zone, which was said to have been "spying" on the British fleet.

According to British reporters with the naval task force, British planes and ships bombarded military installations around Port Stanley airport for about 50 minutes in the early morning in a so-called "softening-up" operation to prepare for a possible full-scale attack on the islands. Press Association,

Britain's domestic news agency, reported that an Argentine troops-carrying helicopter was shot down during the operation.

Defence Secretary John Nott said in a TV interview today, Britain's present policy is to totally isolate the occupying forces on the Falkland Islands. Its aircraft has bombed Port Stanley airport several times since fighting started nine days ago to stop Argentine planes from using it to resupply the troops on the islands. But press reports here said the British-imposed sea and air blockade has not been a complete success.

Stand on Falklands Reaffirmed

OW100850 Beijing XINHUA in English 0822 GMT 10 May 82

[Text] Beijing, May 10 (XINHUA)--"Argentina will never under any circumstances relinquish its legitimate rights of sovereignty over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands," Argentine Defense Minister Amadeo Frugoli said in a British TV broadcast Sunday.

Interviewed by the London weekend television program, "World Weekend," Frugoli said the Argentine people "are now more determined than ever to defend their legitimate rights."

Asked whether Argentine forces will withdraw if a ceasefire is agreed upon, the defense minister replied, "Ceasefire means specifically that no military operations should be carried out, but it does not imply a withdrawal of troops."

Answering the question on whether Argentina will accept the latest U.N. peace plan if the issue of sovereignty is left to a later stage, Frugoli said, this will depend on how the diplomatic talks develop. "But the principle of the recognition of sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands is unchangeable," he stressed.

Frugoli said, "Argentina has from the very outset been ready to seek a peaceful settlement to this dispute."

He added that for 17 years Argentina had negotiated its sovereignty claim with Britain, "within the framework of the U.N. based on resolutions adopted by the General Assembly but no specific result had been obtained."

Frugoli once again rejected the argument of self-determination for the inhabitants of the islands, saying the argument "has no justification, since what is involved is a population transported there by a colonial power, in this case Great Britain, which took over the Malvinas Islands by force in 1833." "But this does not mean that we do not take into account the interests of the Malvinas inhabitants," he added.

Ships Shell Port Stanley

OW110849 Beijing XINHUA in English 0707 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Beijing, May 10 (XINHUA)--British ships today shelled Puerto Argentino (Port Stanley), the Malvinas (Falkland) capital, but caused neither casualties nor damage, the Argentine news agency SAPORITI reported from Buenos Aires today.

The bombardment followed yesterday's pattern, when one or two ships would approach the coast and fire their guns at random. Many of the shells fell in unpopulated areas outside the capital, according to a local newspaper "LA RAZON."

There was no immediate official word on the shelling from the Argentine high command thus far.

According to another report, the Argentine air force announced today that casualties of the Argentine air force in the Malvinas (Falklands) crisis so far total ten deaths, four men missing and 18 wounded. The communique did not mention the date of the battles.

CSO: 4000/115

REGIONAL COMMENTARY ON USSR, UNITED STATES

Views on Soviet Military Power

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Mar 82 p 4

[Article by Ji Yanfeng [1323 1693 7364]: "Reaching the Same Goal by Different Routes"]

[Text] According to reports, Nikolay Ogarkov, Soviet military chief of staff, in a booklet recently issued by the Ministry of Defense criticized the pacifism of some young people. He complained that they "underestimate" the danger of war, and said that some young people do not understand the great effort to enhance Soviet defensive strength and that this "can produce serious consequences," and he advocated that this pacifist thinking "be struggled against wherever it appears."

Here, it is as if Ogarkov was covering up half of the pipa [a plucked string instrument] he was holding. His statement that some young people do "not understand" the great effort to enhance Soviet defensive strength and are "fond of tranquility and stability" revealed that many Soviet youths are dissatisfied and disgusted with the authorities' wanton engagement in military aggression and their policy of aggressive expansion. If you doubt this, look at the facts: According to disclosures, the Soviet Army that invaded Afghanistan is fed up with the Afghan war. Some soldiers doubt the necessity for the Afghan war; some refuse to go to the front; some desert; and some sigh with emotion, "I don't know when I will be able to return to my hometown!" What opened people's eyes even more was the Western news agencies' recent report that, due to falling morale, part of the Soviet Army stationed in the German Democratic Republic had been recalled back to the Soviet Union. With regard to all these things, in the eyes of the Soviet military chieftains, there "could be serious consequences" to their expansionist strategy and, therefore, Ogarkov has launched a large-scale punitive expedition against this "pacifism."

However, people note that Ogarkov's severe criticism of the youthful "pacifism" within the Soviet Union stands in sharp contrast to Moscow's extolling and supporting, for some time now, the peace movement in Western Europe.

People know that the Soviet Union is truly pleased with the emergence of a peace movement in Western Europe, and its press highly praises the advocacy

by Western European pacifists of the position which demands that the West unilaterally disarm, and crowns this movement with the laurel of being a "great antiwar movement." Of course, in a situation in which the contest between the Soviet Union and America for nuclear war preparations is continually intensifying, it is understandable that people in Western Europe who have experienced to the fullest the suffering caused by two world wars would love tranquility and stability, demand peace and oppose war. However, today, when the Soviet threat to Western Europe is increasingly overbearing, and its conventional military force already surpasses that of NATO, there are people in the peace movement who one-sidedly advocate that the West disarm unilaterally. They oppose NATO's guided missile plan but do not oppose the Soviet missiles already deployed--this can be advantageous for the Soviet Union's realization of its expansionist plan. The purpose of the Soviet press in extolling in every possible way this movement is obviously not peace, but it is to use this large-scale peace movement to split the Western alliance, so as to restrict the West, continue to maintain Soviet military superiority, and force Western Europe to knuckle under, and to realize its goal of exclusive domination in Europe.

The Soviet Union has adopted two sharply different attitudes in its approach toward pacifist thought: "wielding the big stick" and "carrying the sedan chair." On the surface, this seems hard to understand. Actually, these two attitudes reach the same goal by different routes: the Kremlin's purpose in wielding the big stick against pacifism within the Soviet Union is to protect its hegemonist policy of wanton military aggression and aggressive expansion; it carries the sedan chair for pacifism in Western Europe in order to attain the same goal. To its way of thinking, its goal will be attained by hook or by crook.

Relations With Egypt

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Mar 82 p 4

[Article by Yang Wenke [2254 2429 4430]: "Soviet, U.S. Rivalry Over Egypt Intensifies Day by Day"]

[Text] In the nearly half a year that Mubarek has been in power, a new trend has appeared in relations between Egypt and the Soviet Union. In order to return to Egypt and vie with the United States for dominance in the Middle East, the Soviet Union is stepping up its use of Egypt's current situation to improve Soviet-Egyptian relations. According to a report, a deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers recently sent a telegram to Egyptian Prime Minister Muhi al-Din, which expressed the desire for normalization of relations with Egypt, offered to participate in the project to improve the Aswan Dam power station, and agreed to increase imports from Egypt this year and to send technical experts to Egypt.

After Mubarek came to power, he set about readjusting Egypt's policy toward the USSR and easing relations with it. The Egyptian foreign minister revealed that Egypt has requested that the Soviet Union send 66 experts back to Egypt and continue to give Egypt aid, and also that Egypt has agreed to the

Soviet Union's increasing, as appropriate, its embassy staff in Cairo. Mubarek also publicly expressed Egypt's willingness, on the basis of peaceful coexistence and noninterference in each other's internal affairs, to develop its relations with the USSR, and said that for the two countries "the principle of again exchanging ambassadors is unavoidable."

Why has flexibility appeared in Egyptian-Soviet relations? First, this is something required by both countries. Egypt occupies an extremely important strategic position in the Middle East and for a long time has been an object of contention between America and the Soviet Union. When President Nasir was in power, Egypt depended militarily and economically on the Soviet Union. After al-Sadat took power, he saw through the Soviet Union's wolfish nature of trying to control Egypt through "aid," reversed the old system and turned toward America, bringing Egyptian-Soviet relations close to zero.

After Mubarek came to power, he learned a lesson from his predecessors and, proceeding from the requirements for Egypt's independence and for its political, economic, and military interests, and while continuing to strengthen its relations with America, he relaxed its relations with the Soviet Union, so that Egypt's relations with the two superpowers were "a little more balanced," in order to enhance its image on the international political stage and restore its position as a nonaligned country.

Ever since Egypt made peace [with Israel], it has been isolated in the Arab world and its relations with some Arab countries supported by the Soviet Union have been strained. By easing Egyptian-Soviet relations, Mubarek is trying to improve Egypt's relations with these countries.

The serious internal economic problems Egypt is facing also impelled Mubarek to readjust relations with the USSR. Some of the large enterprises and installations in Egypt were built in the 1960's with Soviet aid. For example, there is the Aswan Hydropower Station, whose electricity provides 65 percent of Egypt's power needs. Operating for over 10 years now, its generating unit parts urgently need repair or replacement. Egypt wants Western countries to replace the Soviet technical equipment now in most enterprises, but this will be hard to accomplish in a short period of time. To again arrange for Soviet experts to return to Egypt is a great advantage for Egypt's economy. The easing of Soviet-Egyptian relations has caused America great concern. Americans know that an improvement in Soviet-Egyptian relations will have an important effect on the structure of U.S.-Soviet rivalry in the Middle East and will be extremely detrimental to America's position in Egypt and the Middle East. In order to tighten its ties with Egypt, and counter the Soviet offensive, the United States has taken relevant measures. When Mubarek visited America, it satisfied as fully as possible his military and economic requests. The United States still makes Egypt one of the key countries for aid. This year it will give Egypt $1 billion in economic aid and has agreed that Egypt can flexibly use $2.5 billion in economic aid funds that had not been put to use over the past several years, and also it has increased its military aid to Egypt, from $900 million to $1.3 billion.

Following the change in Egyptian-Soviet relations, the rivalry over Egypt between the two superpowers has sharpened day by day.

Confrontation Over Polish Issue

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Mar 82 p 4

[Article by Xin Ji [6580 4764]: "The Focus of Soviet-U.S. Contention"]

[Text] Since the end of last year, the struggle between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, over the Polish question has grown in intensity. One side threatens that it will "hold on and never let go" and the other side asserts that it will "deliver a firm counterblow"--you struggle against me and I struggle against you--and neither side will yield. Each side censures the other for "wanton interference in Poland's internal affairs" while defending its own actions. This sovereign country of Poland has become the object of the hegemonist powers' contention for interference.

Intensification of the situation began with the announcement on 13 December of last year that Poland had been put on a wartime footing (i.e., the imposition of military control). U.S. authorities held that this "suppresses the citizens' freedom," "violates the European Security Conference agreement," and "poisons the international atmosphere," and they charged that the Soviet Union "bears major direct responsibility"; and therefore they took "economic sanctions" against Poland and the Soviet Union. Under America's impetus, some other Western countries also separately took certain kinds of measures. At the same time as this, America launched large-scale propaganda activities and also used some international forums to condemn the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union also did not give the impression of weakness, and swiftly retorted in biting terms rare in the history of Soviet-U.S. relations, condemning with even more force America's "provocation," censuring the Reagan government for "trying to use the Polish affair to provoke" an East-West "conflict."

Now, with the Soviet Union and America still continuing to cross verbal swords, intercourse between the two sides obviously has lessened. The negotiations in Geneva between the two countries on the limitation of medium-range nuclear weapons are at a standstill. And the continuing session in Madrid of the European Security Conference, because it was engaging in heated arguments, announced a long-term adjournment. All East-West relations have been "chilled." All of these phenomena have centered on the Polish question.

The reasons for such fierce contention between the Soviet Union and America over the Polish question are complex and far-reaching.

First, it is a strategic necessity for the two sides in contending for hegemony.

For many years both America and the Soviet Union have made Europe the focal point of their strategy. They have considered Eastern Europe and Western Europe to be their respective spheres of influence, and neither allows the other to stretch its hands into its own sphere while at the same time each wants to undermine the other side's foundation. Since the beginning of the 1970's the Soviet Union has infiltrated Western Europe in many aspects, and although America has repeatedly tried to force its way into the "backyard"

of the Soviet Union's "big family," it has never achieved its wishes. After the Polish situation became turbulent in the summer of 1980, the United States was greatly heartened, and it expressed openly the hope that "Poland's political experiment" would become a "geopolitical victory," and actively supported the antigovernment forces in the "Solidarity" trade union. After Poland imposed military control, America expressed its strong opposition and demanded that Poland end the military control, release the detained leaders of "Solidarity," and restore the three-way (the authorities, "Solidarity," and the church) dialogue, threatening that if it did not, America would not have "normal contacts" with the Soviet Union and Poland. Obviously, America's goal was to impel Poland to break away from Soviet control and become "independent." The Soviet Union, doing its utmost to keep Poland under its control, has denounced America for trying to drag Poland out of the "big socialist family," has asserted that "Poland is certainly not within Washington's scope of jurisdiction," and has warned America to stop thinking of "tampering" with the "European postwar borders" fixed by the Yalta agreement, meaning that it does not permit America to enter the Soviet Union's sphere of influence.

Next, Poland's strategic position is extremely important.

Poland is situated in the middle of Europe, bordering on the Baltic Sea in the north, having a 1,240-kilometer-long border with the Soviet Union in the east, and bordering Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic respectively on the south and east. What is usually called the "Polish Corridor" between the East and West has always been an area that military commanders had to contend for, and has many times been carved up and occupied by other powers; in both world wars it was the first battleground. Poland has a territory of over 310,000 square kilometers and a population of 35.4 million and is the largest country (excluding the Soviet Union) in Eastern Europe. Rich in natural resources, it places fourth in the world in coal output and third in the world in sulphur output; it ranks among the world's most advanced in shipbuilding, electrical power, iron, and steel, and motor vehicle manufacturing. At present, Poland is a member country of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and Warsaw Pact, both of which are headed by the Soviet Union. Two Soviet divisions have been stationed in Poland for a long time. In the Soviet Union's view, if it were to lose Poland that would mean the collapse of its western defense line. From America's side if it could open a breach in Poland it would be able to press up to the Soviet Union's "soft belly." It is very obvious that the Polish question is crucial, that the Soviet Union naturally will refuse to budge an inch, and that America also will not easily let go.

Furthermore, Poland's special conditions play a role.

The Polish people have a tradition of struggling against aggression, particularly their long courageous struggle to resist the many occupations and enslavement by tsarist Russia. After World War II, a large slice of Poland's territory was incorporated into the Soviet Union (compensated for by part of Germany's territory); this is very much resented by Poles. In the most recent historical period, Moscow's great-nation chauvinistic, egotistical, and

"patriarchal" control have brought much suffering to Poland. Therefore, sentiment for breaking away from Soviet control and upholding national independence are fairly strong in Poland. Every turmoil in Poland in recent years has been connected with this fact.

Poland is also a Catholic country, 30 million of its over 35 million population being Catholics, and many members of the party in power and army officers are believers. The church has a great influence in society. The leadership of the party in power--the Polish United Workers' Party--has made repeated mistakes with regard to a series of policies, and its prestige among the masses is not high. The party's main leaders, Gomulka and Gierek, were both forced out of office because they could not gain confidence and support. This is something that has not happened in the Soviet Union and the other East European countries. But, in any case, this is Poland's internal affair and other countries have no right to interfere.

The Polish situation's complication of the intense contention between the two hegemonist powers also obviously affects international relations. Neither one of the superpowers can leave the matter at that. However, along with all the things that the two sides disagree on, and so long as there are no major changes in the situation, it will be difficult for the Soviet Union and America, except for exchanging curses, to do any new alarming things. The decisive factor is Poland itself. Only if the Polish authorities and people themselves satisfactorily handle their own internal affairs can the Polish question, which the whole globe is fixing its eyes on, be resolved.

Views on Reagan Administration

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Apr 82 p 4

[Article by Ji Yanfeng [1323 1693 7353]: "Rob the Poor To Relieve the Rich"]

[Text] Since time immemorial, "rob the rich to relieve the poor" has always had a humanitarian flavor of opposition to exploitation and has been warmly eulogized by many poets and men of letters. However, in present-day America, people have seen in the budget plan proposed by the Federal Government a completely different scene: "rob the poor to relieve the rich."

The budget plan drawn up and proposed by the Reagan government was a big shock to the entire country. Some American newspapers and periodicals have said: The government's budget plan "will be a big disaster for poor people" and wealthy businessmen, from large-scale "reductions in tax revenues, will obtain astonishing profits." It looks as if this appraisal by the U.S. press is not an alarmist rumor. On the one hand, the Federal Government's budget drastically cuts social welfare, and almost all of the cuts are concentrated on items that provide aid to poor people. For poor people, this is no different than "taking away firewood under the caldron." Not long ago, President Reagan in his State of the Union Message, slashed a total of $63 billion from welfare items. In the 1983 budget, Medicaid and Medicare are cut by $4 billion and other health care plans by $1.3 billion. Take New York City for example: Due to the Federal Government's cuts in welfare items, over the

next 2 years the city will lose $2 billion in federal funds; this year 400,000 poor people will lose their eligibility to receive food stamps, 30,000 people will lose their eligibility to receive child support money, and the funds provided to old people's centers will be reduced by $60 million. It is no wonder that a meeting of over 2,000 poor people and old people in New York criticized and hit government cuts in social welfare as "making poor people the first target of attack, and making people who have no way to protect themselves the first target of attack."

On the other hand, the government's budget provides excessive tax relief for rich people, and from this they get huge profits. According to a report in the WALL STREET JOURNAL, this year and next year the tax rate for rich Americans will be cut from the present 70 percent to 50 percent, and the revenues from capital gains taxes will be cut on a large scale. Some companies will be greatly enriched by relaxed depreciation regulations and tax reduction laws. As for members of Congress, who are among the rich people, the benefits they will get are even more astonishing; according to standard tax exemption provisions, they will pay almost no tax on their over $60,000 salaries. It is no wonder that the chairman of the board of the First National City Bank of New York was pleased at President Reagan's insistence on carrying out his tax-reduction plan, and continually expressed his "happiness."

9727
CSO: 4005/776

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON POLAND

Government-Episcopate Meeting

OW061844 Beijing XINHUA in English 1606 GMT 6 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 5 May (XINHUA)--Both the Polish Government and the Catholic Episcopate expressed their concern over social stability in Poland at a meeting of the government-episcopate joint commission here today.

They discussed the internal situation after street demonstrations and riots took place in a number of cities on May Day and May 3.

The secretariat of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party also met today to discuss the political situation and made a similar assessment.

The Polish Catholic Episcopate said in a communique after its meeting on May 3 and 4 that "new tensions shaking the country have delayed social harmony and return to normal and disoriented the youth of Poland."

The communique reiterated its call for dialogue on social compromise between the authorities and representatives of all social strata and the trade union.

Telephone communication with other parts of the country has been restored since the situation is gradually calming down.

The Polish television station reported today that the summary martial law courts in several cities have started trials of demonstrators and rioters. [A total] of 597 cases have been tried till today. Among them 115 were sentenced to internment, 356 were fined and 26 were set free with a verdict of "not guilty." A number of other cases were sent for trial at civilian courts.

According to the Interior Ministry, 1,372 people were interned during the recent demonstrations and riots throughout the country.

Demonstrations Continue in Cities

OW081036 Beijing XINHUA in English 0752 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, 7 May (XINHUA)--Street clashes continued in a number of Polish cities in the past two days following widespread anti-authority demonstrations in a dozen of cities on May 1 and 3.

Polish television said today that university and middle school students in Gdansk took to the streets on May 4 and clashed with the police. To prevent incidents, the governor of Gdansk Province announced a curfew and the banning of the sale of drinks containing more than 4.5 percent alcohol.

In another Baltic city, Szczecin, small-scale street demonstrations were reported on May 4 and 5. The newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU disclosed yesterday that telephone service in the city was still out and sale of petrol to private cars and taxis and alcoholic drinks to residents banned.

The same newspaper also reported street disturbances in Elbrag on May 4. As a result the governor decreed a curfew between 9 p.m. to 6 a.m. for youngsters under 18.

To forestall similar riots, various provinces have reiterated restrictions under the martial law, such as the banning of public meetings without permissions, the banning of distributing leaflets and posts, harsh punishment for organizers of "protest actions" and for those who attack policemen and arrest or fining of disturbers of public order.

CSO: 4000/117

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UN COMMISSION ON HUMAN SETTLEMENTS MEETS

OW082012 Beijing XINHUA in English 0713 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] Nairobi, May 7 (XINHUA)--The United Nations commission on human settlements has called for national action and international cooperation, and the integration for improving human settlement conditions (housing, infrastructures and services) with national and local economic development planning.

During the two-week meeting of the fifth session of the U.N. commission on human settlements which ended here this afternoon, many delegates expressed concern about the continued deterioration of settlement conditions in many developing countries and called for concrete measures at international, regional and national levels to reverse this trend.

Some delegates pointed out that the human settlement aid which accounts for only 1.7 percent in all U.N. development programme assistance needs to be substantially increased.

The meeting stressed in particular (?the) planning for human settlements in disaster-prone areas. According to U.N. estimates, natural disasters cost many countries as much as three percent of their gross national product annually. Thus, the meeting called for attention by governments concerned to incorporate natural disaster considerations into their settlement development planning.

A resolution sponsored by 15 African states appealed to developed countries and international financial institutions including the World Bank to increase their contributions to the improvement of settlement conditions in developing countries.

The meeting also called for easing transport difficulties of the low-income people both in urban and rural areas, for the difficulties have affected the people's job opportunity, schooling, marketing, social activities as well as family expenditure.

It was decided that the next session of the commission will be held in Helsinki of Finland in April, next year.

The commission is composed of 58 member states elected from all U.N. members for a three-year term.

CSO: 4000/116

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' CARRIES BIOGRAPHY OF GEORGE BUSH

HK070953 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 May 82 p 1

[XINHUA report: "People in the News: U.S. Vice President George Bush"]

[Text] The vice president of the United States, George Bush, was born in Milton, Massachusetts, in the eastern part of the United States on 12 June 1924. He graduated from (Phillips Academy) in June 1942. During the World War II, he joined the navy as an aviator and was cited many times. After resigning from the service, he studied economics in Yale University where he completed his study in 1948 and earned his degree of B.A. in economics.

In 1951, he set up the Bush-(Overby) Development Company in Texas. Together with his partners, he founded the Zapata Petroleum Corporation in 1953. He was general manager of the Zapata Offshore Company in 1954.

He started his political career in the late 1950's. He moved to Houston in 1959 and became a republican leader there. In 1964, he ran for a senator seat in the Texas legislature but was defeated. He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1966 and reelected for another term of office in 1968. He was a member of the House Ways and Means Committee.

He ran for the U.S. Senate in 1970 but was unsuccessful. In 1971, he was appointed permanent U.S. delegate to the United Nations. He was chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1973. He was director of the U.S. liaison office in China during the period from October 1974 to December 1975. He was director of the Central Intelligence Agency for the period from January 1976 to January 1977. He was elected vice president of the United States in November 1980. He visited China in September 1977 and again in August 1980.

CSO: 4000/116

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRC GROUP LEAVES FOR NAIROBI ENVIRONMENT MEETING

OW051327 Beijing XINHUA in English 1220 GMT 5 May 82

[Text] Beijing, May 5 (XINHUA)--A Chinese delegation left here for Nairobi today to attend a session of a special character of the governing council, of the U.N. Environment Programme in memory of the Stockholm conference on human environment held ten years ago.

The delegation is led by Li Jingzhao, advisor to the Ministry of Urban and Rural Construction and Environmental Protection and acting president of the council of the Society of Environmental Sciences.

The session will review achievements in implementing the action programme of the Stockholm conference exchange and sum up experiences and propose environment prospects for the coming ten years.

CSO: 4000/116

PARTY AND STATE

SIGNIFICANCE OF POLITICAL CONSULTATION DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by Sun Qimeng [1327 6386 1322]: "Political Consultation Is a Good Experience for Developing Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] As a whole, political consultation is a principle and method to handle political relations.

A brief look at the political practice in our country over the last 40 years shows that the nature of political consultation varied under different historical circumstances.

After the end of the war of resistance against Japan in 1945, a political consultation conference was held between the Kuomintang on one hand and the Communist Party and other democratic forces on the other. At that time, the Kuomintang, under the domination of Jiang Jieshi, adopted the policy of upholding dictatorship and exterminating the Communist Party, while the Communist Party united the democratic forces and adopted the policy of peaceful unification, building New China and protecting the rights of the people. Under these concrete conditions, political consultation was unavoidably a sharp and complex political struggle, namely, class struggle. This political consultative conference ultimately ended because of the destruction by the Kuomintang reactionary clique. On the surface it appeared to have achieved no results, but actually this was not the case. Two accomplishments can be ascertained. First, the true face of the Kuomintang reactionary clique was thoroughly exposed, and they thereby lost some of the only political capital they had among the people. The people were made to understand that there was no other way except overthrowing Jiang Jieshi's Kuomintang and its accomplices, the running dogs of imperialism. Second, it provided the experience and prepared for the implementation of the people's democracy and socialist democracy in New China. In 1949 after the victory over the Kuomintang reactionary government that was supported by U.S. imperialism, the Chinese people revived political consultation on an entirely new basis and convened the Chinese People's Political Consultation Conference.

After liberation of the whole country, the nature and scope of political consultation had new development. In the period between 1949 and 1954 the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and its local committees took over the authority of the people's congress at the national and local levels

respectively. Activities of political consultation were launched and organized on a national scale. In substance, political consultation in this period was an important way for our organs of state power to exercise their functions and powers. After the National People's Congress was established in 1954 the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference no longer functioned in place of the people's congress, "but it remains in existence as an organizational form of the united front and an organ of consultation. Major state policies and principles must still go through its consultation before they are carried out by the government in accordance to the aims and principles of its reports." (Zhou Enlai: "Report on several questions concerning the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference") Actually, after this numerous matters were consulted by the national political consultative conference before the National People's Congress and the State Council deliberated on legislation and decrees or made major decisions. At a time when our country had not yet realized the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce and when the capitalist class remained in existence, political consultation as a form for the realization of the people's democracy inevitably had the character of class struggle on questions concerning the contradiction of interests between the proletariat and capitalist class. In this sense, and in this sense alone, such political consultation had been a special form of class struggle in our country. This special characteristic of political consultation disappeared following the basic change in the class condition of our society. The former industrialists and businessmen had joined the ranks of laborers. There was no contradiction of fundamental interests between them and the workers and peasants. This shifted the political consultation of the new historical period to the focus of socialist construction. Through exchange of views and launching of discussion, all the people in the country unite even more closely in one heart and mind, pool the wisdom and efforts of everyone, and work positively for the victorious realization of the task of socialist construction.

Our country is striding forward toward the great goal of a strong, modern socialist state with a high degree of democracy and culture. Political consultation has already continued to manifest the increasingly explicit role it plays in developing socialist democracy. Adherence to the majority by the minority is an important principle in a democratic system. Due to the fine tradition of political consultation, when this principle is practiced in our social and political life it will not become mere formalism or autocracy in substance, since decisions by vote are carried out on the basis of prior and full ideological deliberations. Political practice in our country has clearly shown that proposals made by leaders on principles and policies in concern are often supplemented, revised and upgraded because of adequate political consultation. We persist in carrying out political consultation because for one thing it does not do harm to the implementation of the principle of majority decision, and for another it can truly respect the minority so that rational elements in the minority views will not be neglected but may play the part they should play. Political consultation is a good form to develop socialist democracy.

9586
CSO: 4005/694

PARTY AND STATE

MUNICIPAL PARTY COMMITTEE DISCUSSES UNITED FRONT WORK

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Mar 82 p 1

[Article by Qu Changan [2575 7022 1344]: "Harbin Municipal Party Committee Holds United Front Work Conference on Elimination of 'Leftism'"]

[Text] The Harbin Municipal United Front Work Conference ended its week-long discussions on 26 March.

The conference was held by the Harbin Municipal Party Committee. While in session, the guidelines of the National United Front Work Conference were distributed and studied, along with important speeches by leading comrades on the Central Committee, and plans were laid for future united front work. The conference also heard a speech by Li Lian [2621 0500 1344], second secretary of the Heilongjiang Provincial Party Committee and first secretary of the Harbin Municipal Party Committee, and a report delivered by Comrade Ma Kaiyin [7456 7030 0603], entitled "Further Strengthen the Patriotic United Front as a New Contribution to the Fulfillment of the Three Great Missions During This New Period of History." Leading comrades on the Harbin Municipal Party Committee--including Wang Zhao [3769 6856], Wang Huacheng [3769 0553 2052], Qian Xingmen [6929 5281 7024] and Niu Naiwen [3662 0035 2429]--attended the conference.

Comrades who attended the conference pointed out that since the last municipal united front work conference under the leadership of the Harbin Municipal Party Committee, held in 1980, united front work in Harbin Municipality has progressed rapidly. They stated: The united front is still regarded by our party as being a magic weapon for a considerable time to come. In the future, workers on the united front must continue their efforts to eliminate "leftist" influences and to prevent and overcome parochial tendencies. When we hold consultations and meetings with friends outside the party, we must treat them as equals and comrades so that a relationship of mutual trust and mutual concern will grow.

The conference pointed out that during this new historical period, united front work has become broader in terms of scope and the numbers of people involved. Today, the united front consists of various democratic parties, nonparty but well-known persons, nonparty intellectuals and cadres, former Kuomintang military and political personnel who have revolted and crossed over to our side, former industrialists and businessmen, upper-echelon figures of minority nationalities, patriotic religious leaders, dependents and relatives of families now living on Taiwan, returned overseas

Chinese residents and our compatriots residing in other countries, and friends in Hong Kong and Macao. On our shoulders is the very difficult task of finding ways to rally them behind our cause and to fully stimulate their enthusiasm for the realization of the four modernizations in their homeland. In the face of this task, party organizations at all levels throughout the city must undergo intensive reeducation in the theory and policy of the united front. They must thoroughly implement the series of policies related to the united front. The People's Political Consultative Conference, all democratic parties, and mass organizations concerned with united front work must be encouraged to play a role in further enforcing such policies, in effectively fostering a cordial and cooperative relationship between our party and nonparty people, in strengthening work concerning nationality affairs and religious and overseas Chinese affairs, and in intensifying the ideological and organizational construction of the united front work department. Only in this way can they contribute anew to the building of our socialist material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization and to the fulfillment of the three great missions during this new historical period.

9574
CSO: 4005/799

PARTY AND STATE

HARBIN ORGAN MOBILIZES CADRES TO COMBAT ECONOMIC CRIMES

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Mar 82 pp 1, 4

[Article by HARBIN RIBAO reporter: "Broaden the Campaign to Combat Economic Crimes"]

[Text] At a meeting called by the Harbin Municipal Party Committee on the afternoon of 26 March and attended by nearly 5,000 cadres, including responsible members of various sections and higher level departments, Wang Zhao [3769 6856], secretary of the Heilongjiang Provincial Party Committee and second secretary of the Harbin Municipal Party Committee, delivered a mobilization report outlining the strategy to broaden the struggle against unlawful and criminal activities in the economic sector.

Comrade Wang Zhao pointed out: A central task now facing party organizations at all levels, party members, cadres, and especially leading cadres at all levels is to broaden our struggle against unlawful and criminal activities in the economic sector. Another task is to display determination to bring to a successful conclusion the campaign to combat all corrosive influences. We must fully recognize the seriousness and inevitability of this struggle and clearly understand the importance and the protracted and complicated nature of still another struggle against decadent capitalist ideology. As Marxists, we must be firm, sober-minded, and capable of getting things done. Leading cadres at all levels must convey and explain to the workers the "Resolution Aimed at Severely Punishing Those Found Guilty of Seriously Disrupting the Economic Order" and the relevant provisions of the "Criminal Law." The broad masses must be mobilized to play an active role in combating corrosive influences.

In his report, Comrade Wang Zhao said: Party committees at all levels must make an overall arrangement and work out a specific strategy for development of the struggle. Plans must be worked out and steps must be taken to lead the struggle to develop in depth. Party members and CYL members throughout the city must be encouraged to play a vanguard role in the struggle. The current extensive inspection of financial and economic discipline must be accompanied by a thorough investigation of economic problems caused by specific units. All important cases of economic crime, including cases of smuggling, speculation, extortion, cheating, embezzlement, bribery, criminal acts of converting state or collectively-owned property into that of private ownership, and other serious violations of law must be thoroughly investigated until justice is done. We must first make conscientious efforts to

investigate important economic crimes involving responsible cadres and cases of collective cheating. All cases, some of which may involve high-ranking organizations or cadres, must be thoroughly investigated and seriously dealt with--without discrimination. Under no circumstances should we show leniency, indecisiveness, and softness in dealing with them, or an attitude of appeasement of wrongdoers.

Comrade Wang Zhao pointed out: In the course of the struggle, the party's principles and policies must be correctly conveyed to the public. Determination must be displayed by party organizations at all levels to thoroughly implement the instructions issued by the Central Committee with regard to interpreting the policies designed to guide the development of the struggle. Although this struggle is not a political movement, the masses must be relied upon and the mass line must be followed in carrying it out. In the course of their investigation, investigators must emphasize evidence and must persist in seeking truth from facts; they must strictly distinguish those contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people; they must strictly distinguish between felonies and unhealthy tendencies, between mistakes in work and unlawful and criminal activities involving the abuse of power, and between those who have voluntarily confessed their crimes and made prompt compensation for their wrongdoing and those who have stubbornly refused to do so. They must analyze and understand every problem, its nature, and its details clearly and correctly. They must make the major targets of attack definitely clear, mete our severe punishment to those who really deserve it, and accord lenient treatment to others as deemed necessary. They must accurately explain the party's policies to the public, and vigorously publicize the "Resolution Aimed at Severely Punishing Those Found Guilty of Seriously Disrupting the Economic Order," adopted by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. They must convey to the masses the party's policy of "leniency toward those who confess their crimes and severe punishment for those who refuse to do so," so that the role of our legal system in preventing crime can be brought into full play. Those troubled with problems must race against time and prepare to convey their problems frankly to the party and government before the limited time between now and the expiration date of 1 May runs out, and before their eligibility for lenient treatment is forfeited.

9574
CSO: 4005/799

PARTY AND STATE

STREAMLINING OF ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE URGED

Proposal at Work Forum

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Apr 82 p 1

[Report: "Peng Min [1756 2404] Makes Proposal at Capital Construction Work Forum: Let Us Interfere Neither With the Streamlining of the Administrative Structure Nor With Capital Construction Work"]

[Text] A Xinhua News Agency reporter and our own staff reporter report that a capital construction work forum was convened by the State Capital Construction Commission in the forenoon of the 34d of this month. Responsible comrades in charge of capital construction work in the relevant departments of the State Council attended the meeting. Deputy Chairman Peng Min proposed at the meeting: While streamlining our administrative structure, we must strengthen our leadership over the work of capital construction and try earnestly to interfere neither with the streamlining of our administrative structure nor with our capital construction work.

During the first quarter of this year, the situation with regard to our nationwide capital construction was fine. Progress in the construction of certain key projects in the energy, textile, communication and transportation, and raw materials industries was accelerated. In the large-scale mines of coal-mining areas such as Huainan and Huaibei, Gunzhou, and Handan, planned drilling progress was overfulfilled during the first quarter. Housing space completed in the country's cities and towns in January and February amounted to 740,000 square meters, a 16-percent increase over the corresponding period last year. But some departments were so busy streamlining the administrative structure that they failed to remain closely engaged in capital construction work. In the process of such streamlining, too, some departments failed to dovetail their projects capital construction smoothly, with the result that some problems awaiting urgent handling were not solved in time. Peng Min pointed out: The second quarter is going to be a good period for carrying out capital construction. We must do all we can to see to it that our leadership over capital construction work is not relaxed, and we must strengthen our daily instructions and adjustments, do a good job of dovetailing the various projects, and earnestly try not to interfere with either the streamlining of our administrative structure or our capital construction work.

Comrade Peng Min said that in our capital construction work this year, we must stress paying close attention to the following projects: shortening the period required for construction, improving the results of investment, paying close attention to the construction of projects to be put into operation and of key projects, doing a good job or rectification work with respect to constructing and designing units and making them operational, solidly carrying out basic work for capital construction, adhering to the operational procedures for capital construction, strengthening the groundwork for capital construction management, and striving to raise the level of our capital construction management.

Bureaucrat's Commentary

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Apr 82 p 5

[Reader's commentary by Liu Zhenhua [0491 2182 5478], Secretary General, Luliang Administrative Office, Shanxi, in "Readers' Forum": "Let Us Not Wait for the Streamlining of Our Administrative Structure; Let Us Improve Our Workstyle First"]

[Text] With regard to the streamlining of our administrative structure, we must accomplish it in a planned, orderly manner. How should we proceed with this at the prefectural and county levels today? I think we should not sit and wait but should earnestly improve our workstyle first, so as to prepare well for such streamlining.

My work in the secretariat of the Luliang Prefectural Administrative Office has consisted basically of sitting in this agency. Apart from going to the party school of the provincial party committee to study, participating in meetings convened by the province, and taking sick leave for 10 days last year, I worked in this agency (including festivals and holidays) for about 310 days. What did I do for this long period of time? According to my calculations, my work mainly included:

1. Handling documents, most of my time. Apart from the Central Committee, provincial party committee, and prefectural party committee documents I reviewed according to regulations, even if only the documents I commented on and handled are counted, their number is still quite amazing. During the year, the State Council, the State Council General Office, and the Military Commission General Office sent a total of over 303 documents, and those which I commented on and handled numbered 259; the provincial government, the provincial government general office, and the various commissions, departments, and bureaus sent altogether over 305 telegrams, and those which I commented on and handled numbered 243; the prefectural administrative office itself sent out 262 documents in all, and I examined 153 of them; the various committees and bureaus under the administrative office and the various county governments sent a total of over 653 documents, and I reviewed 392 of them. All together, the above amounted to 1,523 documents, two-thirds of which I read myself, or as many as 1,047.

2. Commenting on and handling telephone messages and cards. During the year, the Prefectural Administrative Office's reception office received 328 recorded telephone notices and appeals for instruction from governments at various levels and relevant departments; I reviewed and handled 240 of them myself. There have been also countless ad hoc telephone calls.

3. Meetings. During the year, I spent 29 days on trips to the provincial capital to attend meetings, and no small number of days attending meetings convened by the prefectural party committee, too. The Prefectural Administrative Office convened 25 meetings, and I attended 20 of them. The duration of these meetings was generally limited, and they did solve certain practical problems. But what is terrible is that some meetings lasted a rather long time and were of very little consequence.

The result of these numerous documents, numerous telephone calls, and numerous meetings is: people don't actually go anywhere, real situations cannot be learned, and work efficiency is very low.

Such a situation may be rather general. From this, we can see that a streamlining of the administrative structure must be attempted. But I think the prefectural and county levels today should not sit and wait for the streamlining of their administrative structure but should energetically improve their work efficiency. My concrete suggestions are:

First, clearly define duties and responsibilities, so that every unit will take the responsibility of completing each specifically assigned task. We must do a good job of separating the party from the government. With the premise of letting the party committees take the lead, we must give full scope to the functional roles of government organs. Departments of the government must also clearly define their respective limits of responsibility so as to avoid passing the buck or monopolizing things when matters to be dealt with are at hand. We must strengthen our collective leadership and division of labor with individual responsibility. Among the general working personnel, an individual responsibility system should be established for each post.

Second, reduce the number of documents. We must improve quality, and stress practical results. There must be investigation and study before documents are drafted, and the procedures of examining them and commenting on them must be made strict. Attention must be paid to the implementation of the documents; they must not be set aside once they are dispatched.

Third, get deeply involved at the basic level in order to understand the conditions surrounding the implementation of established principles and policies. The focus of work of the prefectural and county leaders should be placed under investigation and study; it cannot be centered on transmitting the intention of the higher level downward one level after another, so that by the time it is transmitted to the basic level it still consists of the scant original statement. We must pay great attention to studying the conditions of our practical work.

Fourth, rectify our style of study and energetically promote the practice of engaging in study. Today, deviations in our style of study at the prefecture and county levels are very serious. Very few people bother about studying the theory of Marxism-Leninism. With regard to documents from the Party Central Committee and the State Council, most people simply let them go after a brief glance. Studying in an agency consists merely of reading newspapers, engaging in chitchat, and killing time, and some refrain from doing any studying at all. To get a handle on improving our workstyle, we must begin with getting a handle on our style of study. Leaders must take the lead in studying. Effective or ineffective study should be regarded as an important component in the evaluation of cadres.

9255
CSO: 4005/771

PARTY AND STATE

IDEOLOGICAL WORK, FORTHRIGHT WORKSTYLE STRESSED

Face-to-Face Approach

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 23 Mar 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Carry Out Ideological Work Face-to-Face"]

[Text] Since the beginning of last year, leading cadres at various levels, prompted and influenced by leading cadres of the provincial party committee, have all undertaken to go down to the basic level to carry out ideological work face-to-face among the masses and have achieved fine results. This is a successful experience.

Today, our country is in an important historical period of advancing from disorder to order and from poverty to prosperity, and of great change and great development. The reason why our line and principles since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee have been very popular is basically because they reflect the demands of this historical period and reflect the fundamental interests and will of the people. We cannot think that once the party's line and principles are correctly formulated, they will spontaneously become the conscious action of every party member, cadres, and individual. We should see that there are still people who lack sufficient percenption and understanding of our party's line, principles, and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee; their awareness is not comprehensive enough. There are also people who, because they have been subjected to rather deep "leftist" ideological influences, are still used to viewing questions by "leftist" standards and therefore frown upon or even suspect the party's line and principles. And there are a very few people who are opposed to the party's line and principles. Leading comrades at various levels must look squarely at this reality and personally go down to the basic level to do a good job of face-to-face ideological work, in view of such ideological realities on the part of the cadres and masses, in order to help them clear away such suspicions in their thinking so that the party's line, principles, and policies will genuinely become the unswerving will and belief of the vast ranks of our party members and cadres and will genuinely become the people's own ideas.

At present, not a few ideological problems among certain cadres and masses have arisen with regard to the economic aspects. Because they lack an

understanding of the overall situation, once they encounter certain concrete problems or come upon certain inconveniences in their individual lives, with no reasonable interpretation or solution at hand, they often immediately come up with this or that kind of opinion or go a step further by suspecting that the whole economic situation is not very good. This plays havoc with the concentration of their attention and efforts on the construction of our socialist modernization. Leading comrades at various levels must seek truth from facts and forthrightly carry out propaganda and education among the vast ranks of the cadres and masses on the economic situation. They must be good at using the methods of enumeration and comparison in order to illustrate the great efforts exerted by the party and government in the past few years to improve the people's livelihood. Without talking about them systematically and going into details, many people simply may not know about them. Once the masses learn about these main facts, they will understand the state's difficulties, and when an individual encounters some specific difficulty he should be able to deal with it correctly.

In doing ideological work among the masses, we must adhere to the principle of providing guidance by stressing facts, speaking the truth, and exercising persuasion. We must adopt different methods in response to each individual's specific conditions, and we must do very careful work. We must adopt the conversational form, persuasively answer questions that are on people's minds, and, in accordance with the party's established policies, do our best to help them solve certain practial problems. We hope that leaders at various levels, especially leading comrades above the county level, will systematically practice going down to the basic level personally to carry out ideological work face-to-face among the masses/and get involved with it on a long-term basis; this would be an important guarantee for our project of building our material civilization and spiritual civilization today.

Strengthening of Confidence

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Mar 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Strengthen Our Confidence"]

[Text] We often hear this kind of comment: Unhealthy practices are prevalent today; unless one resorts to something devious, one can hardly handle "upright" things. Comrade Li Yonghe [2621 3067 0735] has handled several big "upright" matters, yet each was handled in the public interest and each was smartly handled. Was the situation in which he found himself the "Land of Peach Blossoms?" No, the troubles relating to "real power-holders" and "people with connections" he encountered were by no means rare. Did he have anything to "beat others" with? What one cultural section chief could brandish "was but a few movie tickets." What did he rely on to be able to withstand the encroachment of unhealthy practices while presiding over capital construction work and making it possible for several buildings to rise straight up? What he relied on was the firm belief of "the devious being never able to overcome the upright." What he relied on was his flaming enthusiasm toward the revolutionary cause.

Comrade Li Yonghe says he "never believes that the devious can overcome the upright." What a fine statement! What is mentioned as the "upright" here is nothing other than the party's standpoint, principles, and policies, and all ideas and deeds that deviate from them are the "devious." We are revolutionary contingents led by the Communist Party. Everything we do serves the people and serves the interests of the overwhelming majority. The consistent nature of the character and goal of these contingents determines that every member of them must be honest and upright, must work selflessly for the public interest, and must carry out the party's principles and policies in an exemplary manner; and every constituent part of them must sincerely unite and keep step with others in order to ensure the realization of the party's overall goals. That is to say, every word and every deed on our part must conform to the party's standpoint and principles, so that we can remain open and aboveboard, loyal and active, without ever deviating. Nor is it permissible to deviate from them and resort to the airing of dissension and complaints or to the tactics of evasion and manipulation. Comrade Li Yonghe has unswervingly adhered to this kind of "upright" conduct, despised and discarded that kind of "devious" conduct, and sought with great enthusiasm to "uphold the upright and get rid of the devious," thereby evincing the revolutionary integrity of a communist.

At present, many unhealthy practices still prevail in our life. Under such circumstances, whether or not we can adhere to the party's standpoint and principles has to do with the question of party character on the part of a communist and a revolutionary cadre, and with the question of revolutionary integrity. Whether or not we have the confidence that "the devious will never overcome the upright" is also such a question. If a communist does not firmly believe that the party's principles and policies are something more effective than "entering by the backdoor" and "seeking connections," or [does not believe] that the party's ideology and principles are something more powerful than "exchanges of authorizations" and "material lures," than how can he be called a communist?

Firm belief in "the devious being never able to overcome the upright" does not mean that the formidable effort required to "uphold the upright and get rid of the devious" can be underestimated. The tasks of overcoming the multifarious unhealthy practices, and especially of carrying out a struggle against economic crimes, is indeed formidable. We must devote our utmost efforts in order to win victory. But we are equipped with all the necessary conditions to win such a victory. First of all, unhealthy practices have already become the common scourges of our society and, apart from those very few persons who attempt to fish in muddy water, most people loathe them and urgently demand that they be removed as soon as possible. Where the party's wish is directed and where the people's will is directed constitute the source of our strength for carrying out struggle. Secondly, relevant party discipline, government decrees, and laws of the state are all made very clear; these are the weapons and norms with which we can carry out our struggle. At the same time, we should see that the ongoing building of our spiritual civilization and the crackdown on economic crimes and other illegal activities also serve to create a beneficial situation for the overcoming of unhealthy practices. Under such conditions, the proposal by the Party Central Committee

to score a considerable turn for the better in our party workstyle and social trends within the year can work from a strategically advantageous position. The issue today is to require every one of our comrades to take positive action and to struggle against erosion by bourgeois ideology and for rectification of the party's workstyle and purification of the people's habits.

For this reason, we must make sure that we ourselves do not resort to unhealthy practices in the first place. On the basis of the party's principles and policies, things that should be handled must be handled well and with utter devotion, and no attempt should be made to set up bottlenecks for others. Those things that should not be handled must not be handled, no matter what is involved. This is a key link. If I refrain from resorting to them and you refrain from resorting to them, unhealthy practices will disappear gradually naturally. In the meantime, if some persons still resort to them or induce you to "accommodate" them, or force you to follow suit, you must by all means firmly resist them and work to admonish them to desist in their practices. By doing this, you may temporarily encounter some trouble such as incurring retaliation and the like, but that should be nothing to worry about. Party discipline and the laws of the state ultimately will not tolerate such incorrigible evildoers.--This is a point in which we should firmly believe.

9255
CSO: 4005/777

PARTY AND STATE

ROLE OF SOCIALIST MORALITY IN BUILDING SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION DISCUSSED

Harbin FENDOU (STRUGGLE) in Chinese No 1, 1982 pp 9-10

[Article by Ji Kefei]

[Text] Recently, at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Premier Zhao Ziyang appealed to the entire nation to establish a high-level socialist spiritual civilization, and at the same time, to establish a highly material civilization. [This appeal] asks us citizens to cultivate more extensively socialist and communist thought, moral behavior, and work attitudes, to cultivate noble ideological sentiment, lifestyle and aesthetic appreciation, to cultivate the spirit of consciously obeying the law and a heightened sense of organization and discipline and to develop a spirit of patriotism and internationalism. Therefore, it is extremely necessary to recognize the status and role of communist morality in building socialist spiritual civilization.

Communist Morality Is the Main Substance and Symbol of Socialist Spiritual Civilization

We know that the substance of socialist spiritual civilization is abundant and widespread. On the one hand, it is the developing pattern and standard of educational, scientific, cultural, artistic, hygienic, and athletic undertakings and on the other hand, it is the developing orientation and standard of social political thought and moral principles. Since the beginning of human history, just as morality has always been the main substance of human spiritual civilization, communist morality, naturally, has been the main substance of socialist spiritual civilization. The increase in material civilization cannot automatically cause an increase in spiritual civilization. To bring about the development of spiritual civilization, we must develop the teaching of communist morality, and make communist morality the standard of thought and action of the great masses--this is the main symbol of socialist spiritual civilization.

Morality is social consciousness which is established on a definite socioeconomic base. It serves as the code for thought and action including ideals, values, and beliefs. This code helps an individual determine his relation and obligation to society and guides him in establishing principles of handling interpersonal relationships. Communist morality is a constituent part of the communist world view and is a powerful ideological weapon of proletarian and mass workers in carrying out revolution and construction. It

demands that we behave according to collectivism, the basic principle of communist morality. Everyone knows that to carry out modern socialist construction, develop production, and create abundant material wealth requires us to deal with the relationships among people and to stimulate the socialist enthusiasm and creativity of everyone. In building the four modernizations, skillful handling the relation among the state, the collective and the individual interest is the key to interpersonal relationships, and the principle of collectivism in communist morality is the guiding ideology for dealing with the three relationships correctly. Based on the requirements of the principle of collectivism, personal interests should yield to those of the collective, partial and local interests must be subordinated to the whole, immediate interests should be subordinated to long-term interests. When contradictions occur, the nation and the collective, keeping individual worker's interest in mind, should make revision and adjustment of their policies and measures, while the people are required to behave according to the guidance of collectivism--the basic principle of communist morality.

One of the fundamental details of communist moral standards is to encourage citizens' enthusiasm for work. A person's moral standard should be judged by his eagerness to work and his appreciation of the end products. If this communist standard of loving work can become the deep-rooted conviction of each [person participating in the] "four modernizations," then it will inevitably evoke immense enthusiasm and creative initiative. It is clear that strengthening communist moral education is an important condition in the political thought of our nation's economic development of socialism; otherwise, establishing a highly socialist material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization is empty talk.

Communist Morality Is the Spiritual Strength Which Promotes Wholesome Social Custom

One of the means to judge social spiritual civilization lies on social customs and habits. Whereas the popular custom is influenced by the fluctuations in the level of social morality. A socialist society is no exception. Good customs and habits depend on the dissemination of communist morality.

Experiences and lessons learned during the 32 years of fluctuations within our country have indicated that the forming of good habits requires the carrying out of communist moral education. Beginning with the establishment of our nation, under the leadership of our party, we popularized patriotic education throughout the entire country. Subsequently, Comrade Mao Zedong advanced the moral standard of the "five loves" [the love for motherland, the people, labor, science and public property]. As a result, public opinion in the entire country, lauded communist morality. The old, decadent social customs transformed radically, and the moral standards of the entire society rapidly elevated and accelerated the development of socialist construction. However, the influence of the vestiges of feudalism and bourgeois morality as well as various old traditions and customs are still in existence. Given a chance they will multiply, spread and assault the communist moral standards already established.

The 10 years of internal upheaval thus provided the catalyst for the revival of feudal and bourgeois morality; various old ideologies, morals and customs were permitted to grow and expand which brought about a rapid decline in the standard of social morality and critically corrupted social behavior. After the 3d Plenary Session of the [11th] Central Committee, [the party] brought order out of chaos, undertook thoroughgoing reforms, adroitly guided the people's struggle to victory, and consolidated control. Social behavior has undergone extensive changes; nonetheless, it still has not been fundamentally improved. Along with the development of economic activities with foreign countries, there also occurred some negative aspects. For example, some people advocated a philosophy of egoism, contending that it is "man's nature to be selfish." Therefore, the ideology of worshipping money and advocating power developed among some people. This kind of social behavior, if it is permitted to develop uncontrolled, will undoubtedly influence the building of our material and spiritual civilization. In order to thoroughly change social behavior, we must criticize feudal and bourgeois morality and strengthen the education of communist morality.

To be sure, eliminating feudal and bourgeois moral ideology, fostering the moral concepts of communism and establishing a socialist atmosphere will be a long-term and arduous task. Lenin pointed out that to establish a new morality is very difficult. In his discussion on communism's voluntary labor on Saturdays, he said: "For the workers themselves to create and organize communism's voluntary labor on Saturdays is an act of tremendous significance. Obviously this is only the beginning; however, it is an extremely important beginning. This beginning is even more difficult, more significant, more profound, and more decisively meaningful than the overthrow of the bourgeoise, because it is a triumph in self-preservation, and it eliminates petty bourgeois egoism. This is a triumph over the extremely evil capitalistic customs passed down to the workers and peasants. (The Selected Works of Lenin" vol 4 p 1) To understand that the establishment of communist morality and the formation of a socialist atmosphere are extremely difficult and long-term, require that we treat communist moral education as a strategic task, and persevere in it.

The Basic Purpose of Socialist Moral Civilization Is To Use Communist Morality To Develop in an All-round Way a New Individual

The fundamental purpose of constructing socialist spiritual civilization is to develop in an all-round way a new generation. The base is material; the goal is to cultivate talents. To stress people's status, expand human values, and develop individuals in an all-round way are also basic features of the socialist spiritual civilization. As persons living during this socialist period, we not only should have an abundance of scientific knowledge and healthy bodies, we also need selflessness; we need to strive solely for others, to be unselfish, to work hard, to be steadfast in our work, to be modest and prudent, to be honest and faithful, and to have fine moral qualities. Only in this way can mankind then truly enter into a civilized period. Lenin profoundly pointed out: "The overall task of cultivating, educating and training the contemporary youth should be taken as the communist moral cause of cultivating youth." (Selected Works of Lenin" vol 4 p 351) The building of a socialist spiritual civilization is also a task of using communist morality to mold a new generation.

Our party has always attached importance to using communist morality in educating the next generation. In the 1960's at Comrade Mao Zedong's suggestion, the activity of "learning from Comrade Lei Feng" was initiated, communist morality deeply penetrated the hearts of the people, and there emerged a group of advanced personages who were brightly lighted with communist morality. However, because of 10 years of confusion, in the minds of the people, especially in the minds of the younger generation, selflessness has decreased while selfishness has increased, resulting in a decline in moral standards. Therefore, to carry out education on communist morality and to resist the decadent thought and life style of capitalism has become urgent tasks in building a socialist spiritual civilization.

The goal is clear-cut. The task is urgent. Let us justly and forcefully strengthen the education and propaganda on communist morality. This bears importantly on improving party style and people's habits, and on building a socialist spiritual civilization.

9936
CSO: 4005/713

PARTY AND STATE

BUILDING SPIRITUAL CULTURE BY VETERAN CADRES STRESSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by Sun Qimeng [1327 6386 1322]: "The People's Political Consultative Conference and Democratic Parties and Groups Should Play a Part in Building Socialist Spiritual Culture"]

[Text] The Party Central Committee has repeatedly pointed out that in carrying out socialist construction we not only need to build material culture but also spiritual culture.

The People's Political Consultative Conference is a united front organization of the Chinese people led by the Communist Party. Democratic parties and groups constitute a political alliance of a portion of our socialist laborers and patriots who support socialism, which is also a kind of united front organization. They have made a valuable contribution to the socialist construction of our country. Here, I wish to discuss the question of the part they play in building spiritual culture.

Some believe that members of the political consultative conference and democratic parties and groups are mostly elderly people who cannot play too great a part. This is a one-sided view and a half-baked understanding. Old age is often accompanied by physical weaknesses and illnesses which are certainly "disadvantages" of elderly people who are restricted by the law of nature. However, precisely because of their old age, elderly people have the experience young people lack. Some veteran comrades even have considerably good mentality, good moral character and good work style which are their "advantages." These "advantages" of veteran comrades are valuable "resources" for building our spiritual culture. We must have resources for our construction. To investigate our resources, we must stress material as well as spiritual resources. Good mentality, good moral character and good work style hidden among veteran comrades are valuable spiritual resources for developing socialist construction. We must intensely investigate, properly protect and suitably utilize these spiritual resources. We must not underestimate or ignore them, nor must we take a nihilistic attitude toward them.

Recently, leading comrades of the Party Central Committee pointed out that veteran cadres who are retired or on sick leave should be given not only good care in their political life but also a correct and positive part to play. This is a major policy that is comprehensive and wise. It embodies the

superiority of the socialist system. This policy is in accord with the wishes of veteran cadres because as people say, they are in the frame of mind that "the days of dedicating oneself to the country are arduous and few, and the mind of dedicating oneself to the country is many times more anxious." This policy is also in accord with the interests of state and nation because whether we implement this policy or not, it concerns the major question of the speed and effect of realizing our modern construction.

There are diverse channels to give full play to the role of veteran comrades. Precisely because the members of the People's Political Consultative Conference and the democratic parties and groups are largely elderly people, they are an important channel for correctly giving play to the role of veteran cadres in bullding spiritual culture.

Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out that the main substance of spiritual culture consists of two aspects. One is the scope and level of development in education, science, culture, art, health and sports. The other one is the direction and level of development in socio-political thought and ethics. In the first aspect, the People's Political Consultative Conference and democratic parties and groups have already done a great deal of beneficial work. In the second aspect, because of numerous veteran cadres inside and outside the party the political consultative conference and democratic parties and groups can surely provide rich spiritual resources and make new contributions.

What are the spiritual resources of good mentality, good moral character and good traditions that veteran cadres have that can be used to build socialist spiritual culture? In general, they can use their personal experiences and what they have learned to carry out ideological education among the masses they contact, particularly the younger generation.

The first is education on patriotic thinking. Using facts to make comparisons is an effective way to increase the sentiments of patriotic thinking. Comrades inside and outside the party from the older generation are witnesses who have experienced the two historical periods of Old and New China. The tragic experience of the descendants of the Yellow Emperor who suffered oppression and devastation under imperialism in Old China and the pride and elation af the Chinese who have stood up in New China are vivid before their eyes. The rule of reactionary forces in Old China and the leadership of the Communist Party and the people's government in New China also have made deep impressions on them. Comparisons between Old and New China have taught them profoundly, and they in turn have the responsibility and qualifications to teach the younger generation. For comparisons of the motherland and foreign countries, there are numerous returned overseas Chinese, former students who studied abroad and compatriots from Hong Kong and Aomen among members of the People's Political Consultative Conference and democratic parties and groups who have rich first-hand materials that can be used to rouse patriotic thinking and sentiments among the people.

The second is education on collectivist thinking. The present social morality and habits basically have not improved because of the hindrance of individualistic mentality. We must use collectivism to overcome individualism and make

the mentality of subordinating individual and partial interests to overall and state interests the mentality that governs our society. On this question, members of the People's Political Consultative Conference and democratic parties and groups can use their personal experiences and what they learned in reality to explain by examples and carry out effective propaganda education among the masses they contact, particularly the younger generation.

9586
CSO: 4005/695

PARTY AND STATE

VIRTUES OF CIVILIZED MANNERS, CONDUCT EXTOLLED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by Li Zhun [2621 0402]: "A Discussion of Civilized Manners Pertaining to Meng Min's Disposition"]

[Text] The great reputable scholar Guo Linzong of the Eastern Han Dynasty was erudite and talented, insightful and good at perceiving people's character. He often observed a person's moral temperament and disposition through some minor mannerisms in his daily conduct. Once upon a time he was going to the market in a street in Taiyuan; a young peasant happened to be walking ahead of him. This peasant had bought a new pot and tied it to a pole, and he was carrying the pole on his shoulder with the pot slung on his back. Because of the crowding by many people, one person who was carrying a harrow on his shoulder inadvertently hit the pot, which dropped on the ground, its lower half broken. This person with the harrow hurriedly squeezed into the crowd and sneaked away; however, the young peasant with the pot did not even turn his head to cast a glance, but simply continued to walk forward with half a pot on his shoulder. Walking behind him, Guo Linzong saw this very clearly and hence rushed forward a few steps, patted that young peasant on the shoulder, and said: "Hey! Your pot is broken!" That young peasant somehow replied calmly: "I know it is broken." Guo Linzong was greatly amazed and asked once more: "Why don't you look for that person who broke your pot?" Un moved, the young man replied: "The pot is already broken. What would be the use of looking for him? Hardly anything can happen except a quarrel which would provide a noisy scene for bystanders. He apparently did not mean to cause what happened." Upon hearing this, Guo Linzong admired his disposition very much, and therefore held his hand and asked: "What is your name?" "My name is Meng Min, a native of Julu," replied the young man. Guo Linzong thereby enthusiastically advised him: "You should study and travel. You will certainly accomplish a great deal in the future." Under Guo Linzong's help and encouragement, Meng Min later became a great scholar.

This story about Guo Linzong and Meng Min happened more than a thousand years ago, but I somehow always continue to remember it.

In recent years I have been squeezing my way to catch a bus, but I feel that Beijing, after all, is the capital; civilized and courteous conduct on the bus seems far better than that in other places. But sometimes certain unpleasant

things do--occur for example, you might squeeze my leg, I might trample on your foot, water from your umbrella might drip on me, the mud from my vegetables might rub off on your trousers. All of this ordinarily can be a trivial matter, but somehow it often causes a "scolding match." The degree of foulness of the language in such "scolding matches" often escalates; some male youths often grimace while they scold, with an elated expression on their faces, and some female youths let loose a torrent of abuse in return, showing off their prowess for counterattacking. Some individual male youths, in particular, seem to find it hard to go on if they don't have a chance to match their loquaciousness with each other once every couple of days, and some individual female youths, too, tend purposely to look for trouble and play the coquette, as if the modern clothing they wear would go unnoticed if they didn't quarrel a little.

Every time I encounter such a senseless quarrel, I always have a feeling of pity. I think of their parents, and I also think of their teachers in their schooldays. China has so many good books which they have no chance to read, and China has so many stories about unspoiled customs which they have no chance to hear. It occurs to me that if they only knew a bit more, their spiritual outlook would not be so shallow. Chinese peasants have a saying: "Never discuss trivialities." "Trivialities" are naturally things not worth quarreling about; "never discuss" means that people must have some broadmindedness so as not to bother with them. It occurs to me that if everyone could achieve this, then it would not only be beneficial to our drive for civilized manners but would probably also have some effect on reducing our urban noise.

9255
CSO: 4005/738

PARTY AND STATE

SPIRIT OF FOOLISH OLD MAN WHO MOVED THE MOUNTAIN PRAISED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Mar 82 p 8

[Article by Xin Ren [2946 0088]: "Spiritual Civilization and the Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountain"]

[Text] Not long ago, RENMIN RIBAO published in succession several dispatches and articles concerning the foolish old man who removed the mountain, plus some miscellaneous essays and short discourses explicating the spirit of the foolish old man in removing the mountain; they all provided us with some encouragement and enlightenment. But at the same time, we also encountered some sharply different criticisms which were rather harsh. These criticisms prompted us to reflect repeatedly as to what really is the spirit of the "foolish old man who removed the mountain?" Should giving scope to this spirit also become a component part of our effort to build a socialist spiritual civilization?

This fable about the "foolish old man who removed the mountain" has been passed on for one or two thousand years. Since Comrade Mao Zedong expounded it at the party's Seventh Congress, the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountain became synonymous with the revolutionary spirit of hard struggle possessed by the CCP and the Chinese people. The party and the people have always taken "transforming China like the foolish old man who removed the mountain" as their own mission, and they have also actually dug up the "big mountains" once pressing down on their heads. In the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State," it was reiterated, on the basis of a summing up of our historical experiences, once again that this famous work of the "foolish old man who removed the mountain" "is still of great significance to us even today," and a call was also issued to the whole party, the whole army, and all nationalities of the country to "continue to give scope to the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountain" and to struggle hard for the building of a socialist modern power. Obviously, whether it is our past revolutionary practice or the experiences in our contemporary economic construction, whether it is Comrade Mao Zedong's discourses or the decisions of our Party Central Committee today, they all consistently explain that during this pivotal historical era we must continue to give scope to the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountain.

Yet, why should different opinions still appear?

First of all, because of the deviation in our party's guiding ideology and its mishandling of practical work in economic development, there has been a misunderstanding by some people regarding the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountain, as they think that promoting the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountain is equivalent to acting recklessly without paying attention to objective facts, and that we are ready once again to resort to the kind of tiring but fruitless blind commands as "dig up mountains and pave the fields" and "transfer water from the west to the east." Consequently, they begin to take the wise old man who refrains from doing anything in the face of difficulties and who resigns himself to his fate as the one who seeks truth from facts. Bitten by a snake one day, one is liable to be afraid even of a rope for 10 years. This misunderstanding that arises from doubt is one of the reasons why so many different opinions have appeared.

But we should also see that in the case of some people, it is erroneous ideas that are playing tricks. Afraid of hard struggle, they fail to understand that in order to improve our living and our welfare, we must diligently seek to change our world. Instead, under the pretext of correcting mistakes and summing up experiences, they attempt to fundamentally negate the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountain. They allege that the story of the foolish old man who removed the mountain is preposterous and unscientific; the foolish old man is a petit-bourgeois fanatic, whereas the wise old man is a representative of the intellectuals and should be respected. Therefore they advocate "detours" and "moving," etc.

The essence of this dispute is how to treat the difficulties that lie across the road ahead of us, and what attitude to adopt with regard to undertakings that are related to our own interests and that at the same time are of benefit to future generations. Are we going to be like the foolish old man who "broke up rocks and cultivated the soil, doing all he could to level down the precipitous terrain?" Or are we going to be like the wise old man who shrinks in the face of difficulties, takes a detour, and moves away? These are evidently two entirely different spiritual states and two different attitudes.

Here we may make a brief comparison between two pieces of reportage published in RENMIN RIBAO on 5 February and 13 January this year and the fable of the "foolish old man who removed the mountain." The tree-planting "foolish old man" Li Wanshou [2621 5502 1108] is 77 years old this year. After 6 years of tree-planting efforts, he has turned a once-forlorn muddy hilltop into a "little gold treasury." When the old man began to reclaim the hill area during the first year, some people advised him to stop: "Trees planted by individuals are liable sooner or later to be turned over to the collective; why should you waste your effort for nothing?" The old man replied: "When these trees grow up, whether they are turned over to the collective or not, there is bound to be some benefit. Even if I myself am simply going to get a bunch of wood for fuel, that will be good enough for me." Other people also advised him to stop: "You are already so old and still planting trees; will you have time to enjoy them?" The old man smiled a bit, saying: "Even if I myself will not have time to enjoy them, the fact that they will be of benefit to posterity will please me enough." When the wise old man of the [fable] laughed at how stupid the foolish old man "already nearing 90" was, wasn't his reason for asking him not to dig up the hill as follows: With your [few] remaining years and leftover strength, how can you even budge the hill one iota?" How similar are the tones and dispositions in the fable and in this true story! Are they not worthy of our deep

reflection? In Xinjiang, the place called "Qiongshesi," where the Maimaiti [6314 6314 2251] family resides, is troubled by wind and sand throughout the seasons, with the ground everywhere full of alkaline patterns. Unlike several of his neighbors, however, who simply moved away, he is like a red willow that takes deep root in the "great marsh." In 8 consecutive years, he planted more than 10,000 trees and thereby turned a forlorn land into one of thriving profusion. What is so bad about this "stupidity" that can change the world by hard struggle? And what can be so good about that "wisdom" that prompts people to avoid difficulties and change their minds the moment they see something new?

Therefore, the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountain, which we praise and advocate, represents this kind of workstyle: when one considers problems in social practice, one not only keeps in mind the interests of one family or one household but attempts still further to establish what is beneficial and remove what is harmful for all residents; one considers not only one's personal, immediate interests but thinks still further of benefiting posterity; one not only pays attention to the difficulties on the road ahead and keeps an eye on the limitations of the individual but also sees the inevitable human triumph over nature in the future of our social development and the people's great strength generation after generation. Marxism holds that environment remains to be changed precisely by human effort. We must change the world in a dynamic manner, and this is called revolutionary practice.

Between the foolish old man and the wise old man, whose spirit is noble and whose is base? Whose sight is profound and far-reaching, and whose is shallow and short? Whose workstyle is practical, and whose is superficial? Who represents the quintessence of our nation, and who the dross? This obviously is too easy to see.

The difficulties we face today are formidable. In leading the people of our various nationalities, the CCP has been used to struggling against formidable difficulties; at the same time, we are also unlikely to feel frightened by such formidable difficulties and hardships in a long march. Lenin taught all socialist revolutionaries: "We are determined to carry out this task with all our energies. We must be patient, persistent, determined, decisive, good at making repeated experiments and making repeated improvements, and never stop until our goals are attained." This kind of Leninist workstyle and Yan'an spirit of "making up our minds, being afraid of no sacrifice, and removing all difficulites in order to win vicotry" is nothing more than the spirit of the "foolish old man" of today: One brings into full play the fine traditions of the Chinese nation, and, in one's own home or at one's own post, one assiduously seeks to struggle for the transformation of China. Why is this kind of spirit of the foolish old man not worthy of development and expansion?

Misunderstandings must be removed; confusion must be clarified. The spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountain is also an important ingredient of our effort to build an advanced socialist spiritual civilization. To impart this spirit to the masses is rightly one of our tasks in building this spiritual civilization.

We wish to sing for the rest of our lives our praise of the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountain!

9255
CSO: 4005/738

PARTY AND STATE

VICE MINISTERS WHO RETIRED VOLUNTARILY ARE INTERVIEWED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 2, 1982 pp 6-7

[Article by Li Anding [2621 1344 1353] and Huang Fengchu [7806 1144 1353]: "Those No Longer in Office Advise the Government--An Interview with Several Vice Ministers Who Resigned of Their Own Accord"]

[Text] In January there were two news items--each a mere several hundred words long--that attracted concern and attention both inside and outside the country.

These two news items announced that 13 old comrades of the 3rd Ministry of Machine Building and the Ministry of Coal Industry had of their own accord resigned their positions as vice ministers, retreating behind the scenes to act as consultants or to retire.

These 13 old comrades are Vice Ministers Zhao Jianmin [6392 0256 3046], Duan Zijun [3008 1311 0193], Wang Zhengan [3769 2182 0051], Zhu Dixin [2612 3321 2450], Xiao Youming [5135 0645 2494], Zhang Liangcheng [1728 5328 6134], and Xu Changyu [1776 2490 5940], of the 3rd Ministry of Machine Building; and Zhong Ziyun [6945 1311 0061], Wang Xinsan [3769 2490 0005], He Bingzhang [6320 4426 4545], Yang Yifu [2799 0001 1133], Zhao Zishang [6392 1311 1424], and Jia Linfang [6328 2651 2397] of the Ministry of Coal Industry.

Why were people so interested in these two items of news? Because they saw in this the vigorous, speedy and daring style of the Party Central Committee and State Council, and in particular they saw in this "glorious first group" the high party character and revolutionary vision of the 13 old comrades. In a word, they saw in this the hope of our party and state.

Chinese Communist Party members should be able to take power and to relinquish power, to "be an official" and to be one of the people. This is easy to say, but it is really not a simple matter to carry out. What considerations led this group of 13 old comrades to take this glorious first step? On the eve of the Spring Festival, with feelings of deep respect, we went to interview several of them.

The Young Surge Forward

Seventy-two-year-old Comrade Zhu Dixin, thin but hearty, sat straight upright as usual on the sofa, the heroic air of the old Red Army still present. Having been informed of the purpose of the visit, he pondered for a moment and then offered this line by way of an opening remark: "This certainly is a new topic!" He spoke of the strategic significance of cultivating successors, and, recalling the newborn innocence of the former days of revolution, could not help feeling a surge of emotion: "Fifty years ago, I joined the Red Guards [armed units of the masses in revolutionary base areas from 1927 to 1937] and entered the party. In those war-ridden years, comrades might one day eat from the same pot and then never see each other again. Revolution was a task for life, to be worked at for a lifetime. We never thought of working for a while and then giving it up. I am talking about the basic revolutionary attitude. But in our specific work, we obeyed the orders of the organization, attacking where we were directed to attack without saying a word. After the smashing of the 'gang of four,' we old cadres who resumed work naturally thought we would work conscientiously for some years. But the law of the old being superseded by the new is merciless. There were more and more of us with white hair at each meeting, and even those who joined the work in the early period of liberation are closing in on 60 years of age. The problem now is that cadres are old and there are a lot of people holding positions who are not really concerned with matters, and this keeps young people from moving up. If this situation is not changed, it could be disastrous. The temple is only so large, and it is crowded full of saints, but extra dragons cannot control flooding. New conditions require that some old comrades step down a group at a time and support the rise of those who are younger and stronger. This is similar to the situation during the fighting on many fronts during the war when those who had to withdraw withdrew, while those who had to attack attacked. In those years we did not speak of the cost of the revolution. But does such noble consciousness exist today? I see this as the greatest test of whether or not we can maintain this in our later years." He paused for a moment and said: "Our 'job' is to make revolution until we die, not to be a minister until we die." At this, his eyes moistened.

In a highrise apartment on the outskirts of the city we met with Comrade Wang Xinsan, who has already retired. This old warrior of the army of volunteers in the war of resistance against Japan shook our hands and said, "I heard you were coming, and the experiences of my 50 years flashed through my mind as if I were watching a movie. Not very many of those who were with me in the revolution are still living. I have led a charmed life, for I was not born to be an official...." At this point, Old Wang's eyes welled with tears and his voice choked with sobs. He paused for a moment and then said, "What is the key to old comrades persevering into their later years? I think it is a matter of thinking more of revolution and less of themselves. Allowing the younger generation to come forward and the revolution to develop and prosper is truly the best of the twilight years."

What I Thought When I Entered the Party "Underground"

Among these 13 old comrades are those who traversed snowy mountains and those who walked across plains; those who carried on the underground struggle during the long period of the white terror; those who were pioneers in new China's aviation industry,

and commanders on her coal front. In terms of qualifications and service or of contributions made, they are all meritorious workers and models, and they would all be able to continue as vice ministers for a number of years to come. But all of these comrades tendered their resignations to the Party Central Committee of their own accord around the time of the 6th Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee last year.

We have in hand the written resignation of Comrade Zhao Jianmin. Many people are familiar with Comrade Zhao. In the spring of 1933 the Ahandong party underground was severely damaged by the disclosures of a turncoat. At that time, Comrade Zhao Jianmin, who was the secretary of the Shifan party branch of Shengli village in Jinan, used his vacation time to walk through the county towns around Jinan, placing his life in danger, in order to restore and develop party organizations--right up until the connections were formed with the Northern Bureau of the Central Committee in 1936. This old revolutionary has been a PLA political commissar, a commander of a military area, a vice minister, a governor of a province, and a provincial CCP committee secretary. During the Great Cultural Revolution he was framed by Kang Sheng and languished in prison for 8 years. In prison he withstood the torture of the evildoers. Sometimes he used a "brush" made of a stick wrapped with cloth and "ink" made of blood collected by piercing his palms and nostrils to write essays and poems of struggle against the "gang of four" and expressing to the end his firm faith in the revolution. After the "gang of four" was overthrown, Comrade Zhao Jianmin became vice minister of the Third Ministry of Machine Building. When Comrade Lu Dong [0712 2639], minister of the Third Ministry of Machine Building, became vice director of the State Machine Building Commission, Comrade Zhao directed the overall work of the ministry. Many comrades were thinking: In terms of qualifications, service and physical condition, it looks as if Old Zhao will easily get the position of minister. But as it turned out, this was just when Comrade Zhao submitted his resignation.

Comrade Zhao Jianmin was to be a representative at the 12th People's Congress, and his comrades urged him to take part in the 12th Congress before resigning, but Old Zhao just waved his hand, saying: "I cannot wait; now is the time to step down."

What time is this? This is the time to take the lead! If you do not take the lead for the revolution, then what sort of old comrade are you?! This is such a lofty ideological realm!

But Comrade Zhao Jianmin speaks of this as if it were common: "When I joined the party underground, to tell the truth I never thought I would see the victory of the revolution. I thought only to be an elementary school teacher and to carry out revolution all my life. I had no other desires, to say nothing of being a 'minister'!"

The day was very cold. The heat generated in the office raised the temperature to no more than 15 or 16 degrees, but Old Zhao nonetheless left the front of his jacket open, exposing his old gray underclothes. We noted that he seemed to be quite fit. He squinted his eyes and laughed: "In physical terms, I could still work for 5 years, but it will take some doing just to finish in 5 years the memoirs I hope to write. Middle-aged comrades can all do what we can do. Writing memoirs is our special right, you know?"

"Stepping Down Is of Greater Benefit to the Party"

The first time we went to find Comrade Wang Zhengan, he was being an old "reporter," having gone out to interview a venerable former student of the old Dongbei University in order to gather material for the institutional history of Dongbei University that he was editing. His own history has a bit of the color of a legend: He engaged in student movements at the old Dongbei University started by Mr Zhang Xueliang [1728 1331 5328]; he worked in the "soldiers' movement" in the Northeast Army and participated in the war of resistance against Japan; during the war of liberation he organized the "Northeast Forward Column," and he once reformed insurrectionary troops of the Kuomintang. Very early on, these experiences made the writing of his memoirs a hobby and a duty over and above his regular work. He would often take his lunch and sit in the Beijing Library all day. And even when he was sent to other areas on official business, he would find time to gather material.

The afternoon that we met with Comrade Wang Zhengan, the radio had just broadcast the news of his resignation. He happily told us: "Once they finished broadcasting it, I received quite a few phone calls, all 'congratulatory calls' from old war buddies." Old Want wore a Chinese-style jacket, but he also sported a pair of rimless eyeglasses and had the voice and smiling countenance of a scholar. If one did not notice the faded old army blanket spread on his bed, it would be difficult to guess that he was once a general in command of a powerful army.

Old Wang's speech was truly lively: "If you issue too much currency, it depreciates in value; if there are too many cadres, their function also is devalued. During the 1960's, each of us vice ministers was in charge of several areas, but now most vice ministers are in charge of a single area. At times, several vice ministers will issue orders to one area at the same time, confusing those below who do not know to whom they should listen. At any rate, everyone must draw boundaries. More than 2,000 documents come out of just one level of a department every year.... How can this be considered the good workstyle of past years! In my view, stepping down--immediately--was of greater benefit to the party. We don't want to wait until we are flat on our backs in bed before requesting to be made consultants. I would like to change this practice."

Old Wang said all this practically in one breath--he was quite excited. He saw his retreat behind the scenes as a "new battle task" given him by the party, just as in the 1960's when he firmly accepted the party's orders and took the lead in setting aside his army uniform and taking his place at the Third Ministry of Machine Building. He said: "When I was a student, I read the line 'Work on the world's worries today; enjoy the world's pleasures tomorrow'; I still admire that spirit. When a man becomes a member of the CCP, can he still be obsessed with holding office? People must speak of spirit. You must have this bit of revolutionary spirit to keep from being vulgar."

We asked Old Wang of his plans for the future, and he generalized them in a 4-part, 16-word line: Consult for the government; calm the old cadres; study history, literature, philosophy; and write some memoirs. He said: "First, those no longer in office give advice to the government. Those who step down cannot become a shadow cabinet, but must advise party organizations. I am a longtime senior member of the

Third Ministry of Machine Building, and I can speak of some matters more easily from my present position. The second point is one of not simply looking out for yourself alone. We must help the party and attend to the lives and work of old comrades. For this purpose, we are discussing the establishment of an association of old cadres. Thirdly, I come from a scholarly family and I studied liberal arts, but I feel that I lack theoretical understanding. I have collected some books and hope to delve into them." At this point, Old Wang took us to see his newly arranged study. The room had no fine furniture--only one table and one chair--but a wooden bookcase was piled high with Chinese and foreign books.

Old Wang's plans for writing memoirs were to step us his writing of the institutional history of Dongbei University. He said that he had heard there were persons on Taiwan who were also writing one, and that all the writing would make a contribution to Chinese history. In addition, he is collecting material on the Northeast Army and the situations of the Hunan and Yunnan armies. He said: Those who understand what went on are all old, and if this part of history is not "hurriedly" put down on paper, then it will "decay." In doing this, my contribution to the party is that much greater.

When we met Comrade He Bingzhang in the office at the Ministry of Coal Industry, he had his head buried in a report he was writing for his superiors suggesting that greater importance be placed on coal research. This is an insight gained from summarizing his more than 20 years of experience in directing coal research work. He said: "Research has consistently been squeezed out. I want to exert the greatest effort toward opening up channels above and below in order to see to it that this item of work has a healthier development. For example, coal liquefaction has tremendous potential. There is no telling how much crude oil this could replace!"

We also interviewed Comrade Duan Zijun. He was our nation's first chief engineer of the aviation industry and one of the organizers behind the production of China's first jet aircraft. He spoke in detail of our nation's aviation industry from its very beginning, of the road from copying others to designing and manufacturing on our own, and of the excellent prospects for the modernization of our aviation industry. Afterward, he emotionally spoke of his own desires: he was busy for decades, but now he has time to devote to writing the history of China's aviation industry.

These unusual interviews on the eve of the Spring Festival made us feel more deeply the vitality of the "unstoppable fullness of spring." These old comrades, retreating but not resting, are still giving off heat and light. In the course of our interviews, we thought of two lines of a poem: "Why is the sea so blue? It holds Heaven in its bosom." Is it not true that it also is just this "Heaven"--the great interest of the party and the people and the great plans for the resurgence of the motherland--that is held in the bosom of these old comrades?!

9705
CSO: 4005/768

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GUANGDONG CCP HOLDS PUBLIC SECURITY MEETING

HK030939 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 1 May 82

[Text] The political and legal committee of the Guangdong provincial CCP committee recently held a conference in Guangzhou on political and legal work to analyze the present situation of public security in the province, make arrangement for severely punishing in accordance with the law those criminals who seriously sabotaged the economy, further rectify social order and security, resolutely deal blows at criminal offenders, and strive for decisive improvement in the province's public security this year.

The conference resolved that the political and legal organs under the leadership of the local CCP committees throughout the province must conscientiously grasp the following tasks:

1. Resolutely carry out the CCP Central Committee's decision to deal blows at serious criminal activities in the economic field; strengthen investigation, preliminary trial, prosecution and trial of serious economic criminal cases; and vigorously and speedily handle these cases according to the decision of the national people's congress standing committee.

2. Further strengthen the investigation into espionage, counterrevolutionary and criminal cases. Organizations in various places must organize several unified operations to crack down on these criminal acitvities.

3. Deal blows in good time at various kinds of criminals. In particular, those criminals who severely jeopardize public security must be seriously and promptly punished.

4. Facilitate a favorable change in cities, towns, communes, brigades, vital communication lues and public places where social order is bad.

5. Strengthen investigation and study, sum up the experience gained in comprehensive administration and grassroot-level work, further improve order inside units, strengthen security administration and take precautions to minimize criminal cases and other offenses.

CSO: 4005/840

NANJING PLA COMMENDS COLLECTIVES, INDIVIDUALS

OW040529 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 3 May 82

[Text] A meeting was held in Nanjing on 3 May by the Nanjing PLA units to commend collectives and individuals who have distinguished themselves in developing the socialist spiritual civilization. A total of 28 such advanced collectives and 53 advanced individuals were commended at the meeting including the Harbone Sixth Company, the Good Eighth Company on Nanjing Road and the Model Company for army-civilian joint defense and other typical model units that have made fresh contributions in recent years. They also included a group of new, advanced collectives and individuals who are imbued with lofty ideas, high moral standards and vigorous discipline, and who have worked hard in developing spiritual civilization.

Attending the meeting were leading comrades of the Nanjing PLA units Nie Fengzhi, Guo Linxiang, Du Puing and other comrades. Wang Chingmin, deputy political commissar of the Nanjing PLA units, read the names of the 28 advanced collectives and 53 advanced individuals of the Nanjing PLA units who distinguished themselves in developing spiritual civilization. Leading comrades Nie Fengzhi, Guo Linxiang and Du Ping presented citations and medals to the supply and logistics departments of the Nanjing PLA units, heroic fighters (Dai Xiaotian) and (Gu Zhengfang) and the advanced collectives and individuals.

First Political Commissar Guo Linxiang delivered a speech at the meeting. After viewing the activities launched by the Nanjing PLA units in promoting spiritual civilization, he emphatically pointed out: It is necessary to develop spiritual civilization in breadth and depth. Efforts must be made to lead cadres and fighters to foster the lofty ideals of communism, cultivate communist ethics and moral standards, consciously observe discipline and follow orders at all times. A comrade of the central authorities recently pointed out that one must be imbued with lofty ideas, high moral standards and rigorous discipline. These three requirements represent the three essential points in opening the spiritual world and developing the spiritual civilization. We must score achievements with these three essential requirements in mind. He emphatically pointed out: Just like developing material civilization, to develop spiritual civilization is like engineering a major project in the entire socialist historical period. It is a tremendous strategic task. The leadership at all levels must become engineers in developing spiritual civilization, carry out their work of design, education and management in a meticulous way, and turn cadres and fighters into new communist men with lofty ideals, high moral standards and rigorous discipline.

CSO: 4005/840

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

WU KEHUA, TWO ADVISERS VISIT PLA COMPANY

HK301346 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 29 Apr 82

[Newsletter by unnamed correspondent: "Veteran Members of the Red Army Visit the 2d Company at the Foot of the Lotus Mountain Peak"]

[Excerpts] Lotus flowers are in full bloom on the rocky mountain peak in the vicinity of Haimen, Chaoyang County. This rocky mountain peak is called Lotus Peak and is known far and wide. During the struggle against degeneration in recent years, another advanced collective which is as pure and noble as a lotus flower has grown up at the foot of the Lotus Mountain Peak. This advanced collective is the 2d company of the artillery battalion of a certain unit under the Guangzhou PLA units. During their visit to a certain unit in Shantou Prefecture on 4 April this year to check up on the unit's work, Wu Kehua, commander of the Guangzhou PLA units, and Lai Chunfeng and (Chen De), advisers to the Guangzhou PLA units, specially called on cadres and fighters of the 2d company who have made contributions to the struggle.

It was windy and raining hard on the early morning of 4 April. In view of the heavy rain and the slippery road, work personnel suggested that their inspection tour be made on another day. Commander Wu said heartily: We three veteran members of the Red Army braved the storm of revolutionary war. A small storm like this is nothing to us. The two comrade advisers readily agreed with him. Braving wind and rain, their cars bumped along the road and drove into Haimen Town. When Comrade Wu Kehua and other comrades arrived at the company, they immediately held a forum. First of all, (Lin Huochun), political instructor of the 2d company, reported on his company's experience in waging the struggle against degeneration. There have been serious phenomena of smuggling and of trafficking in smuggled goods in Haimen Town in recent years. The streets and lanes have been flooded with smuggled commodities. The party branch of the 2d company has kept a clear head, organized cadres and fighters to study Comrade Mao Zedong's relevant expositions, carried out education in patriotism and in the socialist legal system, and formulated six regulations which forbid buying smuggled goods, forbid seeing pornographic videotapes listening to pornographic tape recordings, viewing pornographic pictures, reading pornographic books and periodicals and forbid singing songs that have an unhealthy emotional appeal. Over the past few years, not a single member of the 2d company has either bought smuggled goods or trafficked in smuggled goods. A group of strong fighters in resisting the decadent ideological influence of capitalism has emerged in the company. Those who rendered

meritorious service and received awards in the company totalled more than 500. In October last year, the company was cited for meritorious collective service, second class.

While listening to the political instructor's report, the veteran members of the Red Army frequently nodded in approval.

Comrade Wu Kehua gladly said: Our army is an army of the Proletariat. We must be strong-willed and must be able to stand any tests. I hope that you can preserve and develop honor and glory and that you can sum up and spread your experience of being spotless and observing discipline and law so as to bring along other companies.

Adviser Lai Chunfeng visited this place in 1980. He said: At that time, the streets were flooded with smuggled goods and many people engaged in the trafficking of smuggled goods. Such conditions caused people to worry. It is gratifying that you have stood up against this evil trend. I hope that from now on you will be able to withstand even more severe training and tests in the struggle against degeneration.

After warmly encouraging the comrades of the 2d company to do still better, adviser (Chen De) showed concern for and inquired about their plans in the new year.

After the forum, Comrade Wu Kehua, other leading comrades and fighters of the company were photographed together. After the photograph was taken, Comrade Wu Kehua shook hands with every comrade of the whole company and encouraged them to achieve new successes in the struggle.

It was drizzlingly when the three veteran members of the Red Army reluctantly left the place where the 2d company was stationed. They firmly believe that with the promotion of the activities of building socialist spiritual civilization in a thoroughgoing way, more companies modeled on the 2d company will be in full bloom just like Lotus flowers in border areas, on islands and in cities and towns.

CSO: 4005/840

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

TIANJIN 'RIBAO' REVIEWS BOOK ON MILITARY SUBJECT

HK281357 Tianjin RIBAO in Chinese 12 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Zhi Wu [1807 2976] and Jun You [0193 2589]: "New Achievement in Liberature on Military Subjects--Reading Yuan Jing's New Work'Ambushing the Tiger'"]

[Text] When I turned over the title page of "Ambushing the Tiger," an inscription "for the martyrs who laid down their lives and the heroes who survived the great war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea" met the eye with the fragrant smell of the printing ink. After reading the 400,000-character novel and reviewing scene after scene of soul-stirring battles, I profoundly realized that, as a colorful picture scroll of revolutionary history and a paean dedicated to the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation, "Ambushing the Tiger" has been characterized by distinctive features in the fields of literature and art where novel creation is thriving.

Comrade Yuan Jing is a writer whom vast numbers of readers are familiar with and fond of. For many years in the past she has been hard at literary work and has dedicated quite a few works to the literary circles. In August 1977, in her determination to glorify the "heroes and martyrs imbued with patriotism and internationalism," she plunged into the thick of life. Centering on the arduous and militant career of the two principal characters, Guo Gengquan and Xie Wencai, and the pure and sincere love affair between them, "Ambushing the Tiger" reproduces the heroic and tenacious style of the Chinese people's volunteers and delineates in vivid and moving details numerous heroic figures with strong individual characters. It eulogizes the great sentiment of patriotism and internationalism of the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation and the kindred feelings between the Chinese and Korean peoples. It is gratifying that the author has made a true and detailed description of the antiwar elements among the American POW's on the basis of the full and accurate data available to her, thus evoking the strong interest of the readers. From the heroic characters described by the author we can perceive the spirit of revolutionary optimism of the Chinese people characterized by unyielding heroism and looking death calmly in the face. These heroic characters also displayed the indomitable and heroic spirit of the people's army who had the capability, confidence and determination to vanquish an enemy more powerful than themselves. This will exert an imperceptible influence on our efforts to inspire and help the youths to foster a correct world outlook and outlook on life.

Generally speaking, the criteria for weighing up the merits and demerits of a novel lie chiefly in whether or not it has intensely reflected the spirit of the times. This method of reflection should at least tally roughly with what Engels advocated: "Being the representatives of a given class or tendency, the principal characters are therefore also the representatives of a given ideology of their times. Their motives are derived from the historical trends they are in and not from their trivial and individual desires." ("Letter to Ferdinand Lassalle") What merit our attention is that, in their artistic practice, some comrades have often unconsciously turned the principal characters into mouthpieces of a certain abstract concept. Naturally, partiality is permissible in art, but the practice of emphasizing a certain art at the expense of another is at least the result of ignorance and faults on the part of the critics. History has proved that the secret of vitality of an immortal art surviving opposition and time lies in the profound understanding and practice of the principles of realism. The author of "Ambushing the Tiger" should be commended because she has refined the characters, the life and even a portion of the spiritual world from her personal experience. "Ambushing the Tiger" is permeated with the powerful spirit of the times because it is derived from the life which the author is familiar with and by which she is deeply touched. Since it is true and believable and shows strength, it can therefore reflect the essence of the times to a sufficient extent.

Guo Gengquan is a typical image of an oriental giant who the author has taken pains to describe elaborately. "A dauntless, unyielding man who grew up amidst suffering and battles," he and his family had struggled for existence on the verge of death ever since he could remember. He joined the eighth route army when he was 18 and reached maturity in the great revolutionary family. However, the flames of war burned to the doorstep of his home just as he was about to rebuild his homeland. He again had to cross the Yalu River "valiantly and spiritedly." The growth of Guo Gengquan reflected in broad outline the style and features of the times during the 1950's. At the same time it concentratedly gave expression to the spirit of revolutionary heroism of the revolutionaries of that generation who "had participated in both the liberation war and the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea" and who had devoted themselves to the communist ideal. Through a series of vivid and dramatic descriptions of events, from crossing the river to engagement in bloody battles and from running out of food and being wounded to finally being firmly entrenched on the 38th parallel, the author concentratedly and colorfully reflects through the typical image of Guo Gengquan the revolutionary quality of the oriental giant. The process of Guo Gengquan's ideological development and the formation of his character are permeated with the flavor of the times, manifesting proletarian ideas and feelings and reflecting the great sentiment of the Chinese nation. The elements that reflect the special features of the times, such as selfishness and fearlessness, the courage of making sacrifices, lofty ideals, pure sentiments, persistence in seeking the light and yearning for the fine future, reveal themselves spontaneously from the writings of the author without a trace of artificiality. Are there any difficulties that cannot be overcome in the face of such heroes? It is precisely for this reason that, a'though our weaponry was poor and the people in the rear were engaged in rebuilding their homeland on the site of the debris, our fearless fighters, lying prone on snowy ground and taking fried wheat meal, were able to deal a

deadly blow at the enemy. The foundation of victory lies in the fact that our times had cultivated a large number of dauntless fighters who were eager to give their lives for the people, the motherland and communism. This spirit of dedication should still be a powerful spiritual force in developing the Chinese nation and the four modernizations program. The success of "Ambushing the Tiger" is precisely due to the distinct party spirit of proletarian literature displayed by the author.

Furthermore, in her description of the love affair between Guo Gengquan and Xie Wencai, the author does not follow the set pattern of "substituting love scenes for insufficient plot." On the contrary, in her artistic description, she enriches and intensifies the personalities of the heroic figures and gives expression to the excellent quality of the heroic sons and daughters who have blended together their loyalty to the motherland and love. The author has implicitly and quietly merged the expectation of, and desire for, love into life's journey. This conforms not only to historical reality and life but also to the methods of expressing traditional oriental morality. This authenticity deriving from life may not be in keeping with the habits of appreciation of the readers, but it reveals to a certain extent the author's rigorous adherence to the principle of realistic creation.

Furthermore, it should be mentioned that the author has elaborately portrayed a typical character in the person of Wu Yougong, a scum in the Chinese people's volunteers. As soon as the liberation war was over, deputy company Commander Wu Yougong was busy looking for a girl friend. In seeking ease and comfort, he grumbled and made cynical remarks. Thinking that he had joined the revolution at an early date and had made some contributions, he stretched out his hand in an attempt to bargain with the party and people. After the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea broke out, he spread war-weariness everywhere and deserted from the army with an excuse. He roped in and corrupted cadres by "going through the back door" and finally took the illegal and criminal path of associating with the capitalists. Through this artistic image which is vividly described, the author clearly tells us that, with respect to the germs that infiltrated into the party and exercised a corrosive influence on the healthy organism of our revolutionary ranks, it is necessary to always wage relentless struggles against them in order to maintain the purity of the revolutionary ranks.

A few critics hold that Comrade Yuan Jing is skilled in a simple, straightforward style of writing. This traditional Chinese style of writing has been manifested conspicuously in "Ambushing the Tiger." It has been employed vividly and dramatically either in throwing the scenery into sharp relief or in portraying the characters in spite of the variety of its presentation. Comrade Yuan Jing has always respected the habit of appreciation of the readers and persisted in seeking a national style and atmosphere. This has not only been reflected in her employment of a traditional Chinese novel with each chapter headed by a couplet giving the gist of the content but, what is more important, in her attention to detail with the whole plot hanging together and the links correlating with one another. Particularly in the description of scenes, the author often elaborately describes local customs and habits to enable the readers to feel as if they are personally on the scene.

CSO: 4005/840

BRIEFS

MAPPING OF XIZANG PLATEAUS--A certain mapping unit of the Chengdu PLA units has successfully completed the survey and drawing of the Xizang Plateaus, which were the last part of the mainland of our country to be surveyed and drawn. This mapping unit began survey and drawing work in 1961 and after 20 years' hard work, successfully completed this arduous task. [Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 7 Apr 82 HK]

ARMED FORCES COMMITTEE HOLDS MEETING--According to GUIZHOU RIBAO, the provincial armed forces committee held its fifth meeting on 19 April, attended by principal leading comrades of the provincial CCP committee, government, military district, and armed forces committee. Leaders of the provincial military district reported to the armed forces committee on the situation in militia work and gave their views and work in the second half of the year. Comrades Chi Biqing and Li Tinggui spoke at the meeting. "They demanded that the people's armed forces departments at all levels seriously implement the relevant central instructions on militia work. While organizing the militia to preserve social order, they must also organize them to seriously study the relevant policies and decrees." The militia themselves must set a good example and take the lead in curbing activities such as building houses on farmland, cutting down mountain forests and so on. [Summary] [HK240252 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 23 Apr 82]

CSO: 4005/840

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POEMS SMEARING MAO, SOCIALISM CRITICIZED, AUTHOR DENOUNCED

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [CURRENT REPORTS] in Chinese No 2, 1982 Feb 82 p 82

[Article by Xue Sheng [5641 3532]: "Poet, You Must Wash Yourself"]

[Text] I am a college student interested in poems. To tell the truth, in the past I had a special admiration for a poet whose name I will not mention here. I regarded him as one of the talented poets who have risen to prominence in the last few years. But later, he disappointed me after I found him going astray and moving farther and farther away from the people.

This feeling came from a lecture I attended. At the lecture, after discussing the problem of "why so far no one in China has been named the winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature," that poet said: "Up to now, three Soviet writers have been named the winners of the Nobel Prize for Literature, notably, Pasternak in 1958, Sholokhov in 1965, and Solzhenitsyn in 1970. Both Pasternak and Solzhenitsyn were prominent political dissenters in the Soviet Union and produced literary works criticizing the government and its policies. The reason that no Chinese writer has ever been named the winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature may stem from the fact that none have ever displayed a daring spirit to criticize their government. Now Chinese literature must take its place in the ranks of world literature. There is no other reason that Chinese writers cannot be named winners of the Nobel Prize for Literature. What I wrote in the past was only eulogies. From now on, I will have to write some political poems as a starting point toward capturing the Nobel Prize for Literature."

I was really upset by this highly thought-provoking speech.

First, I must declare that I do not object to having a poet like him named winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature. But in doing so, we must consider a basic fact already confirmed by Westerners that the Nobel Prize for Literature and the Nobel Prize for Peace are two prizes that are highly politically oriented. This approach has deprived many world-renowned, great writers such as Tolstoy and Gorki in Russia and Lu Xun in China of a place on the "list of winners" of the Nobel Prize for Literature. In other words, the Nobel Prize for Literature characterized by this remarkable political orientation will not be awarded in the same fair way as the Nobel Prizes for science. This proves that this award cannot be regarded as the

only criterion for evaluating and judging world literature or literary works and writers in any given country. I feel that that talented Chinese poet should not give up the writing of poems praising the people and the "four modernizations" for the sake of a "struggle" to capture the Nobel Prize for Literature.

Second, I feel that the problem of whether a certain government needs to be criticized calls for analysis. Certainly, a writer should consider it necessary to expose and criticize any politically reactionary government, but not the politically progressive government in China which sides with the broad masses of people at home and abroad. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that since the smashing of the "gang of four," efforts have been made by the party and government to eradicate the effect of disasters caused by the 10 years of civil strife and to guarantee democratic rights for the people. It is completely unreasonable for a writer striving to be named the winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature to criticize his home government without conducting an analysis of its justification.

A chill went through my nervous system after I heard him finish his speech. I assumed he was just joking and would disavow that extremely erroneous approach to capturing the Nobel Prize for Literature. But I was shocked when I pored over two poems on "generals" written by him; they prove his determination to work for the Nobel Prize for Literature against the wishes of the people.

A remarkable characteristic of his poems is a tendency to confuse friend with foe and right with wrong. For example, in his poems on "generals," the line between the new and feudal society is totally blurred. He also compares our army generals to the generals of the feudal era "who wore feather hats," including Robespierre, head of the French Jacobin dictatorship of the 18th century who was later guillotined. Meanwhile, he implies that the generals can exercise their influence over the party as a whole, saying that "Qinshihuang has stretched his tail into the conference room of the party"! In another lengthy narrative poem, he dramatizes the Chinese people's leaders Comrade Mao Zedong as an ugly man! In a dialogue between "me" and mother, contained in that poem, he says: "Mother, don't ask him for any help. An influential slave is more overbearing than his master. He is a descendant of Qinshuhuang whose 'revolution' would shock Hitler...."

I feel that analogies of this kind would irritate the feeling not only of the Chinese people but also of the people in other parts of the world. Now let me cite just one example here. In late May of this year, when I was assigned to play host to the West German student delegation, I casually men mentioned that poem's analogy "between Chairman Mao and Hitler" to some of these visiting German youths. Upon hearing that the respected Comrade Mao Zedong has been described by some one in China as a Hitler-type person, or a fascist leaders, they widened their blue eyes and remarked: "How could anyone compare a great man of the world to a demon of the world?" "That man probably does not know much about China's Mao Zedong. Nor does he know anything about Germany's Hitler." This was not a "diplomatic parlance"

sounded by a group of West German students with strong German accents during their visit to China but a political view and protest that came from the bottom of their hearts.

As a youth who once loved poems written by that poet, I have to make my position clear with regard to this matter. The truth is that he has been out of touch with life and the people. This occurred after he allowed his mind and soul to be contaminated by the bourgeois ideology. I hope that he will study Marxism-Leninism and keep in touch with life so that he can make conscientious efforts to wash that dirt away from his soul. Only after he has done that can he join the people in producing healthy and splendid poems dedicated to the socialist cause again.

9574
CSO: 4005/754

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

TWO ARTICLES STRESS VALIDITY TODAY OF 'YANAN TALKS'

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [CURRENT REPORTS] in Chinese No 2, Feb 82 pp 80-82

[Text] Editorial explanation: It has already been 40 years since Comrade Mao Zedong held his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" in 1942. These "Talks" followed Comrade Lenin's "On Party Organization and Party Literature" and constitute an important programmatic document of Marxist theory on literature and art and on the science of literature and art. During these 40 years they have guided our literature and art in carrying on and cultivating the revolutionary tradition of Lu Xun and furthermore have had an immense impact on the integration of workers, peasants, and soldiers and on the advances that have been made with the masses as the moving force of history. Practice again proves that the "Talks" are still a beacon for our socialist literature and art.

However, in the 16 years since the "Cultural Revolution," the "Talks" have also suffered distortion and falsification by the "left" and the right. The counterrevolutionary Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company used ultraleftist methods to turn the people's literature and art, which were to serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers, into a conspirational literature and art for the usurpation of party and state power by the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques. After the smashing of the "gang of four," there were some who regarded the "Talks" as part of past conventions that had to be thrown out, and as a result this attitude landed them unavoidably in the quagmire of bourgeois liberalization. Even if certain particular formulations in the "Talks" lend themselves today to various argumentations, the events of the past 16 years make it quite clear, in direct evidence and in counter-evidence, that the basic principles of the "Talks" are absolutely correct. Of course, the "Talks" would have to be expanded to cover the new conditions of today, but the expansions would have to be carried out on the basis

of the fundamental principles of the "Talks," and there definitely could be no denial or departure from the basic principles of the "Talks."

In view of these facts, we believe that it is very necessary for us to review the "Talks" in renewed studies, in the course of implementing the "Resolution" passed at the Sixth Plenary Session [of the 11th CCP Central Committee]. For this reason, this periodical will start a new column, beginning with the present issue, under the title "Renewed Studies of the 'Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art'," and will publish articles that make a study of the "Talks." We hope these renewed studies will explore certain questions and set right some misunderstandings, so that our literature and art may develop in a healthy way along the correct road pointed out by the "Talks."

[Article by Zhang Xiaosheng [1728 2556 3932]: "The Great Significance of the 'Talks' on Liberating the Mind"

In May 1942, Comrade Mao Zedong published the famous "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art." This is an important document which radiates the brilliance of Marxism-Leninism page by page. Although it is already 40 years old, its basic spirit and basic principles are still like a lighthouse sheddings its rays in all directions and thus showing the way along which socialist literature and art should advance.

However, in the past few years there have indeed been people who believed that in order to liberate our thinking, we must breach the last defense line, namely the "Talks." These people undoubtedly have regarded the "Talks" as a set of conventions which were fettering the mind. It is not by chance that some comrades came to hold this opinion, because during the 10 years of turmoil, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques used ultraleftist methods to turn the "Talks" into a cudgel by which many a comrade was badly hit. For instance, Jiang Qing and company once declared a whole group of literary and art workers to be a sinister gang and branded their works as antiparty, antisocialist big poisonous weeds, etc. We must of course reject such slander and libel, but we must also be careful in our analysis; it is especially necessary to draw a clear line of demarcation between Mao Zedong Thought and the ideology of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. We must under no circumstances throw the baby out with the bathwater. This alone, we believe, is the true attitude of a Marxist.

From the day they were created, the "Talks" have in fact been a bright light pointing out the road to emancipation of the mind.

It is well known that the Yanan Literary and Art Forum was a part of the great Yanan rectification movement of that year, which had as its purpose the overcoming of certain fundamental weaknesses in the new literary and art movement--weaknesses that could not be solved for a long period of time

and which had manifested themselves particularly in the special situation of the time. These fundamental weaknesses were the unproletarian ideas which in those days were fairly widespread among the Yanan literary and art circles, and the dogmatic trend which failed to properly integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Expressed in today's language, it actually means that they displayed signs of liberalization and "leftist" trends. These were writers who had been deeply influenced by Wang Ming's stuff and nonsense and had been blind imitators of the Soviet RAPP [Russian Association of Proletarian Writers] faction of writers. Their brains had become ossified, and they were able to give only a mechanical representation of life, utilizing some of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. They had absolutely no understanding of the realities of the Chinese revolution, so that no matter how admirably "leftist" their works were, they were insipid and sterile and of no assistance to the cause of the revolution. The writers and artists that had come to Yan'an from Shanghai and other places had not changed their world view one bit, and there was a contradiction between their bourgeois and petit-bourgeois stand and sentiments, on the one hand, and the new environment and new audience in the base areas on the other hand--the audience that their works were supposed to serve. Especially in 1941 and 1942, when the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area was experiencing extreme difficulties, some writers and artists developed unhealthy and improper ideas and sentiments which were reflected in their works. They strongly propounded the priority of art, advocated the bourgeois theory of human nature, opposed the study of Marxism-Leninism, thought that the study of Marxism-Leninism would impair their creativity, etc. Though these two kinds of people showed different appearances and sounded off in different tunes, they were in substance contrary to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

It is beyond doubt that this unproletarian ideology and these dogmatic tendencies were admittedly a kind of shackles, and it is precisely due to these shackles that their works could not adequately serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers. In order to solve this problem, it was therefore necessary to smash these shackles, which meant to liberate the mind. In more scientific terms, it was necessary to have one's own ideology conform to the developmental laws of the objective world and attain a certain kind of freedom in this manner. How can one attain this kind of freedom? By going deep into the masses, by going deep into life, by studying society, by studying Marxism-Leninism and furthermore by shifting one's standpoint to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers.

However, Marxism-Leninism did not at all grow up by itself, and the shift in standpoint will not come about naturally and by itself. It is for this reason that the "Talks" point out that the question of remolding one's thinking is a question of remolding oneself by the process of going deep into life, studying society, and studying Marxism-Leninism. This question is in essence the question of emancipation of the mind.

Practice has proved that the road to the liberation of the mind pointed out by the "Talks" is the only correct one. In that year, brightened by the glorious ideology of the "Talks," there was an upsurge among literary and

art workers of going deep into life and studying Marxism-Leninism, and there emerged a large number of writers and artists who were welcomed by the masses, resulting in an unprecedented development of literature and art in the liberated areas, be it music, the fine arts, drama, poetry and song, or novels. We may particularly point out that, following the publication of the "Talks," a better integration was achieved between the literature and art of the liberated areas and the workers, peasants, and soldiers, resulting in an unprecedentedly strong impact on the masses and helping them to propel history forward.

In modern Chinese history, the emancipation of the mind that began in 1942 with the Yanan rectification movement was a movement--the same as the 4 May movement--for a one-time, penetrating study of Marxism-Leninism, and also a movement for the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the realities of the Chinese revolution. If one considers the 4 May movement as laying the groundwork for the ideology and organization of the Chinese revolution, then the Yanan rectification movement laid the groundwork for the final victory in the Chinese revolution. It is therefore said that in a certain sense the Yanan rectification movement is also the continuation and further development of the 4 May movement.

In the modern history of the emancipation of the mind, the "Talks" constitute a brilliant historical document that serves as a link between past and future, carries on our cause, and forges ahead. In the 40 years since the "Talks" were written, they have continuously guided the broad masses of revolutionary writers and artists in their victorious advance.

However, it must also be pointed out here that the "Talks" were treated with contempt and trampled underfoot during the "Cultural Revolution" by such people as Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. For instance, all of the conspiratorial literature and art produced with the purpose of assisting the usurpation of party and state power abandoned the principles of the "Talks" altogether, moved away from life, engaged in the so-called "first setting the main theme before everything else," etc. After the "gang of four" was smashed, there were some who could not fully rid themselves of the poison spread by the "gang of four" and went from one extreme to the other, advocating a "break with revolutionary tradition." Their liberation of the mind was a liberation in name only, while in actual fact they considered the "Talks" a restrictive convention that fettered thought and must be broken out of. The truth is that they broke with what they called the restrictive conventions of the "Talks," but then saw themselves slide into the quagmire of bourgeois liberalization.

We can't go on here without mentioning Comrade Ye Wenfu [0673 2429 4395]. Comrade Ye Wenfu started out as a writer of good poetry that was serving the people, but later Ye Wenfu abandoned the road pointed out in the "Talks," moved away from life to write such things as "The General Used Foreign Exchange To Build His House," "Buying and Installing a 10,000 Yuan Bathtub," and other such stuff. He thus broke away from the principles of the "Talks," and in doing so he fell into the trap of bourgeois liberalization.

Many phenomena in literature and art testify to the fact that abandoning the road of the "Talks" cannot truly liberate the mind, but the corrupting influence of an unproletarian ideology will merely lead into an abyss from which no one can pull himself out by his own strength.

[Article by Yan Ming [3601 6900]: "Subject Petit-Bourgeois Ideology to More Intensive Guidance--An Understanding Gained From the Study of the 'Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art'"]

Not only is it necessary for us to renew the study of the many theoretical and policy questions which the "Talks" set forth and resolve, and for us to use the fundamental principles of Comrade Mao Zedong's ideology on literature and art in a comprehensive and correct way in order to answer the many questions that the creation of literature and art poses under the new historical conditions, but it is even more important [to recognize] that workers in literature and art, carrying on their work in the wake of the new developments in all fields, are still faced with the major problem of remolding their world outlook and of shifting their standpoint.

In his opening speech at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art, Comrade Mao Zedong on 2 May 1942 vividly and cordially told of his own change in his thoughts and sentiments when he went among the workers, peasants, and soldiers. Comrade Zhu De also spoke with gravity of his own transformation at the same forum, saying: "It was not just a change; I would rather call it a surrender. Originally I was not a member of the proletariat, but as the proletariat represented the truth, I surrendered to the proletariat." These two leaders of the party and of the armed forces presented their experiences regarding the change in their personal feelings, standpoints, and world views, recounting how they had integrated themselves with the workers, peasants, and soldiers through the study of Marxism, how they had studied the practice of society and art, remolded their petit-bourgeois ideology and workstyle, and finally realized their transformation from one class to another. The response was most striking. The rectification movement launched following the forum was very effective in breaking down the fetters of subjectivism, sectarianism, and stereotyped party writing, so that all writers and artists could achieve a great liberation of their thinking and change the entire appearance of all literature and art in the liberated areas.

We must realize that the present situation is completely different from the situation during the Yanan era. Workers in literature and art have by now become a part of the working class. However, we must also recognize that the task of ideological remolding has not at all been fully accomplished--in particular, the influences of the 10 years of turmoil, the influences of bourgeois liberalization, and petit-bourgeois ideas of all forms and shades can still be frequently observed among our own ranks. For instance, we see some comrades who once, some time ago, had become deeply involved in the fiery struggle of the workers, peasants, and soldiers and had written many good works, acclaimed by the broad masses, but then had suffered serious setbacks in the socialist cause and began to waver when the party experienced its tremendous difficulties. Some felt remorse about the past but then did

not stop themselves from throwing the baby out with the bathwater and did not shrink from trampling underfoot whatever contributions they themselves had made to the revolutionary cause. Some prostrated themselves at the feet of the fake science and false freedom of the bourgeoisie and sang the high praises of capitalist society, and also did not refrain from insulting as "apologists" and "hack writers" those comrades who criticized their trend toward bourgeois liberalization. Others expressed skepticism as to the need for literature and art to serve the people and to serve socialism, and they instigated young people to write what are now "banned books." When Marx once criticized a personality typical of the petit-bourgeois bent of mind, he pointed out that that man was merely "a manifestation of the contradictions in society," that he was "infatuated with the luxuries of the big bourgeoisie, but on the other hand he also sympathized with the hardships of the people; he was at the same time a bourgeois and one of the people." We cannot simply draw an analogy for our own comrades from the typical man with a petit-bourgeois bent of mind, but the forceful sketch that our revolutionary mentor painted of the twofaced, vacillating nature of the petit-bourgeois mentality may serve as effective medicine for comrades who want to abandon the standpoint of the party and the standpoint of the masses.

For a period of time, many readers and viewers have stated that there are few works in our literature and art that have as their themes industry, farm villages, and the military. Although many works deal with workers, peasants, and soldiers, their sentiments are far removed from the workers, peasants, and soldiers. In works depicting intellectuals, the authors stand not on a proletarian standpoint but on a petit-bourgeois standpoint, emphasizing bourgeois "self-expression" or even embellishing their shortcomings. Some comrades even express the view that the slogan of entering deep into life--especially into the fiery struggle of the workers, peasants, and soldiers--seems wrong. Some comrades eagerly engaged in frivolous talk in writers' and artists' "salons" and take pleasure in unprincipled flattery of each other. All these facts make one thing clear: it is still an arduous task to have the standpoint of those who work in the field of literature and art shift to the side of the workers, peasants, and soldiers--that is, to shift to the side of the proletariat--a task that still awaits continuous efforts to accomplish.

At present, continued liberation of the mind on the front of literature and art means to eliminate erroneous leftist influences and also to engage in emphatic criticism of the bourgeois trend of liberalization that is divorcing oneself from the guidance of the party and moving one away from the socialist path. At the same time, it is highly necessary to give our attention to guiding and turning the petit-bourgeois mentality toward the correct path. Fanaticism, a vacillating nature, and onesidedness in leaning toward extreme metaphysics are the important ideological sources of the "leftist" and rightist mistaken trends. To gain a correct knowledge of society's trend of thought, there is no other way but the method of class analysis, for them it will not be possible to overlook the petit-bourgeois ideological trend that actually still exists in today's social life and in the fields of literature and art.

We must of course only use methods of guidance and reasoning with the petit-bourgeois ideology within the ranks of our writers and artists. Any excessive combativeness and impatience for quick results can only have unwanted opposite results. At the same time as we act in this manner, it is also of primary importance, as far as workers in literature and art are concerned, that the fundamental question of shifting their standpoint to the side of the proletariat must by all means not be overlooked.

9808
CSO: 4005/766

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

REVIEW OF 1981 PRIZE-WINNING SHORT STORIES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by Guo Zhigang [6753 1807 0474]: "Exposure of Contradictions and Realism--Brief Comments on Prize-Winning Short Stories of 1981"]

[Text] A country with a population of 1 billion is in the process of passing through a rapid transformation. In the final analysis, to what extent have our literary and artistic creations reflected a view oriented to the transformation of the motherland? What sort of perspective are they utilizing to probe the past, present and future of the motherland? Let us now, by means of 20 literary works selected for prizes in 1981, see how the authors observe and depict the new contradictions and the new problems which touch the daily agenda of our lives.

Since the Third Plenary session of the party, extensive changes and new accomplishments have occurred in our country's villages, but also new situations have arisen and new contradictions have developed. These new social contradictions have received, in varying degrees, depictions in short stories. "Domestic Manager," "The Swindle" and "The Black Girl's Photo," etc., reflect these changes by means of the course of the spirit of several characters. Using intricate and diverse social phenomena, "Domestic Manager" captures this contradiction: After adopting an open policy toward the outside world and flexible domestic policies, how ought one to recognize and manage a relationship between persons belonging to two formerly opposing camps (especially with such a person as was received by the main character of the story, who has the special status of overseas Chinese)? The different responses to this question not only influences the actualization of the party's rural policies and influences the dignity of the people and country, but even influences the present and future development of the villages. "Domestic Manager," correctly proceeding from the different responses to this issue, describes intense contradiction and conflict.

The contradiction exposed by "Mountain Moon Knows Not Matters of the Heart," differing from that of "Domestic Manager," appears to be of an even more universal nature. Following implementation of the production responsibility system, the peasants began to get wealthier. Rong'er, the young group branch secretary, feels somewhat "lonely" because, since "each family and household tends their own crops," even their little scientific study group has broken up. New transformations in life can often be accompanied by the appearance of

new problems. For example, emphasize individual development and problems arise in the relationships between individuals and the collective body; emphasize economic principles and problems arise in the relationships between economics and politics, etc. Due to this, Rong'er's vexation has a social character. That is to say, the author, through the secrets discovered in the heart of a young rural girl, is reflecting a social contradiction.

The younger generation is the hope of our revolutionary cause; their healthy maturation is an attention getting issue of the whole society. "Fluttering, Fading, Flowery Scarf," "This Is the Last Train Station" and "Flying Across the Blue Sky," etc., all present from differing angles, the seeking, pondering and struggles of the younger generation. Through the different lifestyles of the male and female main characters revealed in "Fluttering, Fading, Flowery Scarf," people can see, in the lives of the current younger generation, elation and despair, hope and disillusionment, winding paths and pursuit; these contradictions turn out to be interwoven together. These are a portion of the people who are dynamic and lively and require more concern from society. The author has contributed an artistic idea which greatly moves people to profound introspection. "This Is the Last Train Station: implies just from the title a life philosophy that gives one food for thought. The main character, Chen Xin, rides the train from Xinjiang on his way back to the Shanghai he has yearned for day and night. But upon his return what does he encounter? In the "narrow box" [of a residence] which wasn't more than 20 square meters, what he encountered was the befuddled life of his younger brother, quarreling between the brothers and the in-laws over the partition rights of the buildings, and the mother is worry over the lives of her sons and their wives. Is this life's "last station"? He finally doubted it. For 10 years, he had been gone from Shanghai working in a production team in Xinjiang. And then from Xinjing he returned to his hometown. And now, finally, he thinks fondly of the oasis-like land of Xinjinag. [Like the poet], he awakes from "10 years; 1 sleep, Yang Zhou dream." In 10 years, he made 1 big circle, but this is a result of the contradiction in his life based on a spiral-shaped development of his path, and not on the thoughts of the main character to return to his original land. "Flying Across the Blue Sky" depicts a theme generally similar to this: in its development one sees yet another inventiveness worked out with great pain. The story basically describes two "people." One of them is just a pigeon with the name of a person--Jing Jing. The true main character is the young intellectual named "Ma Qiao" ["sparrow"] who went off to work in a production team. In order to return to the city, "Ma Qiao" gave Jing Jing to a master who solicits work. After his hopes have failed, he becomes a cynic who takes everything lightly and he ends up joining a group of hooligans. Meanwhile, Jing Jing escapes from the cage of the extortionist and from the north country flies across the blue skies over vast distances, experiencing extreme hardships and dangers in pursuit of his goal of setting out again to fly back to his beloved hometown. But then the bird with the quest dies at the hand of the master who has lost his ideals; "Ma Qiao" accidently kills it with a hunting rifle. Yet the death of Jing Jing inspired his master; finally, in sunken thought, he returned to the place of his own books and curved sword. Man ought to have beautiful quests and ought to have lofty beliefs. The story utilizes allegory and through fresh and distinct comparisons between the bird and the man, the lofty and the base, muddled thinking and clear thinking, clearly explains this philosophy in great depth.

In this public selection of prize-winning short stories, there are hardly any works reflecting the industrial battleline--there is only the single piece, "Road Bank" which depicts construction life in the city, enabling the readers to get a whiff of the fiery odor of our construction enterprises as they vigorously advance in the face of numerous obstacles. The rundown and cramped private residence of Jin Jia Gou and the orderly and peaceful building of the municipal party committee dormitory; the feasible and workable plan to remodel Jin Jia Gou and the sluggish work style...these contrasting elements make up the plot of the story, and in its forward progression it is especially rich in intense emotions. At the same time, they constitute a distinctive background in which a generation of reformists give full play to their ambitions and audacity. "Jin Lu'er" is a reflection of the lives of staff workers of the commercial sector. Through the observation and description of the image of a new type of model salesman from the old viewpoint of a branch league secretary, the fine image of Jin Lu'er was made to be misunderstood and damaged. But the development of the incident also is so richly comical: The branch league secretary with the self-appointed mission of "supervision" does not "remold" Jin Lu'er. On the contrary, it is Jin Lu'er's meritorious deeds which triumph over her usual personal power, altering her outmoded thinking habits. Other than this, [stories] such as "The Female Culinary Prefect," "The Bust," and "Young Women," etc., also reflect various aspects of social life from different angles, bringing inspiration to the readers.

Things always reveal their significance when placed in opposition to one another. Realistic literature can only burst forth in glistening beauty through penetrating exposure of contradictions and conflicts. In "Domestic Manager" it is men within the Communist Party such as Director Sun, raising challenges toward the ordinary peasants and masses. The "meterological college graduate" type of cadre, used to doing whatever they please under the pretext of implementing new party policies, act as if they represent the new historical trend; this brings heavy pressure to the lives and psyches of the people to the extent that it even causes primary level fold such as Old Man Suo Cheng to worry about "changing heaven." The realistic power of the story is: It does not avoid describing the "prevalent" trend of letting county and village cadres take the lead in launching attacks and raids against the common people, but standing in opposition to this trend, portrays a "China's backbone" type of character. When Li Quilan of "Domestic Manager" gives the order to fire to the master stonemason down in the well, we hear the gloomy and heavy explosion "coming from beneath the earth" and we feel this is the voice of the people, the voice of history. When the gunpowder smoke and dense fog created by Director Sun have all dissipated, we see the new hope developing in rural life. The contradictions contained in the story "Mountain Moon Knows Not Matters of the Heart" possess a significance which warns and alerts people: After the original sequence of production in the village is replaced by a new sequence of production, the contradiction between the public and private [interests] was not covered by the new management methods, but is made to stand out even more. Be it Rong Er's dissatisfaction with the simplistic "each family and each household tilling his own plot" or Ming Quan's taking the initiative to contract for "the hilly land which no one wants to contract," each reveals his fair and selfless heart and his enthusiastic pursuit of an ever higher idealistic goal. Because this kind of pursuit emerges after the

implementation of the responsibility systems, their noble spirits look even more self-conscious and persistent. It is natural for such youth group cadre as Rong Er and Qiao Qiao to be concerned about certain phenomena which followed the implementation of the production contracts. When their concerns are pointed out by Ming Quan: "Your concerns are also the problems currently existing in our work. Higher level [authorities] have taken notice." The reader will immediately feel that: The shackled youthful vigor will further attain liberation; the bird will extend its wings and fly up to the sky. Although the main female character in "The Fluttering Fading Flowery Scarf," Chen Ping, has sadly sunk into depravity, she still aroused profound thoughts in Chin Jiang. No, readers will contemplate along with Chin Jiang: The life represented by one such as Chin Jiang ought to come to an end now. We can see that it is precisely in this process of contradictions and conflicts that people of our country, whether they are of the older or younger generation or this or that occupation, they all realize new improvements and awakenings with daily increasing frequency. And it is precisely this series of actual living experiences of the people and masses that continually enriches and deepens the writer's artistic thinking process. Every literary work reaches maturity in a process of penetrating exposure and recognition of contrddictions and conflicts.

"Without entering the tiger's den, how can the tiger be taken?" Only by persistent probing of the masses and probing of life and by facing up to reality and exposing contradictions can authors ceaselessly discover new angles of expression and form profound knowledge and penetrating insight into their own creations. At the same time, the examples above also make clear: It is precisely those literary works which thoroughly expose the contradictions and conflicts in real life that can conscientiously provide new outlets and new hopes and thereby quite naturally sparkle with new radiance. The incident described in "The Green Vine Covered Log Cabin" is comparatively unique, yet the contradiction exposed has a definite universal significance. Stupidity, unreasonableness and narrow-mindedness such as that of Wang Mutong are incompatible with our social development. Apparently, the author intends, through the contradictions and conflicts between the characters, to send forth a call to the building of an intellectual culture. Sometimes, people often consider revelation of contradictions and exposure of reactionary elements as synonymous or similar in meaning. This is a misunderstanding. Almost every one of the above illustrated works proves that the so-called exposure of dark elements and praise of brightness do not have between them and cannot have between them an impassable gulf. There is yet another typical view which holds that unmasking contradictions will make people depressed. A number of "bruised" or "expose" literary works seem to intensify this view of people. In fact, true as it may be, it is because these works are too superficial.

In art, exposure of contradictions is an important requirement of realism; the so-called intensification of reality, speaking from a certain level of meaning, is but an intensification of the unmasking of contradictions. The reason that all the masterpieces of realism have been able to open the hearts of the readers and have been constantly read and reread over the years is that they thoroughly expose the social contradictions of their own era. Of course, throughout history many authors have been unaware of this point; the majority

of them came to realize the principles of realism through long periods of living experience and honest artistic practice. That our writers consciously realize and embody this point is referred to as revolutionary realism. To sum up, in the process of unceasingly unmasking contradictions and conflicts, we cultivate the success of art and the victory of realism, and boundless "freshness" or "beauty." And as for the readers, only things that are "fresh" or "beautiful" are able to move them, to educate them and so realize the objective of art. One might say that his principle is an artistic law. When our authors, readers and comrades working in leadership positions are all able consciously to recognize this law and accelerate its realization, our literary enterprise will develop even more vigorously.

From looking at the situations enumerated above, this set of prize-winning short stories are generally still weak in the aspect of reflecting the contradictions of our time, especially the important social contradictions, and fall behind the practical development of real life. We still lack comparatively powerful literary works in numerous life concerns. Secondarily, from the point of view of the works we have discussed above, although they have attained lauditory results, they still contain certain inadequacies. "Domestic Manager" is a good story. However, why does Director Sun possess such tremendous power to stir up the winds and make waves? It appears that the story insufficiently unmasks the social factors which form Director Sun's character. So in the scene of "Domestic Manager" where he gives the order to blast and retreats awkwardly, there is conveyed an even stronger flavor of a ridiculous clown on stage, unlike a real person in life. I fear the Director Sun of real life would be more "difficult to handle." In "Mountain Moon Knows Not Matters of the Heart," if the author could more concretely and accurately compose the distinctive background which gives rise to Rong'er's worries and, for example, could make a more complete analysis of the general social psychology following the implementation of the production responsibility system, I think the main ideological theme of the story would be more profound and the characters more substantial. Also, the "Fluttering Fading Flowery Scarf" lacks a reason for us to believe in the cause of Chen Ping's fall into depravity. Is it the result of her vanity? If so, what are the causes which change her from a promising young person with her head buried in work for 10 years into this sort? The story does not adequately account for the environment creating her tragic character, and so when it comes to a conclusion, although the readers cannot help but feel sorry for the misfortune she faces, they are not sufficiently clear as to the mischief played upon her by "the god of fate." Of course the educational value of the work is thereby weakened.

These 20 pieces of literary effort, in the domain of short stories of the past year, represent, on the whole, the depth of authors in delving into life. In the face of the rushing, advancing tide of life, literature will never feel satisfied. The new things which await opening up are endlessly emerging. "A couple of plum branches blossom outside the bamboos. Ducks first know of the warm water of the spring stream." Those courageous enough to wade into the stream and with the earliest obtained message of spring and newest discovery bring about a breakthrough in literature, will be the outstanding ones who dare to wrestle with the winds and waves and to heroically swim toward the depths of the ocean of life.

END

9519
CSO: 4005/752

JPRS 80911

26 May 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 304

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 80911

26 May 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 304

CONTENTS

PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Japan's Probable Direction in 1980's Viewed
(Xu Yan, Yi Lin; SHIJIE ZHISHI, No 4, 1982) 1

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Visit to Korean Military College
(Zhou Bizhong; RENMIN RIBAO, 24 Apr 82) 6

Commentary on Western Europe
(XINHUA, 6, 7, 9 May 82) 8

NATO Support to Alliance
Defense Conference Ends
EEC Foreign Ministers Meeting

Commentary on Egypt
(XINHUA, 7, 8 May 82) 11

Ties With Arab Nations
Mubarak, Numayri Talks
Egypt Protests USSR Stand

PARTY AND STATE

Treatment of Backward Elements Discussed
(Tian Lin; BEIJING RIBAO, 17 Mar 82) 15

Strict Punishment for Economic Crimes Urged
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 2 Mar 82) 17

High-Level Involvement, by Liu Sheng
Types of Speculative Activities, by Chen Guansheng

 [III - CC - 80]

Shandong Attaches Importance to Training of Technical Cadres
(RENMIN RIBAO, 12 Apr 82) 20

Need To Separate Academic Research From Politics Urged
(Wang Zhong; WEN HUI BAO, 2 Apr 82) 22

National Interest Relationship to Local Interest Defined
(Xie Fei; RENMIN RIBAO, 12 Apr 82) 24

People's Congress Encourages 'Common Cause' in Construction
(BEIJING RIBAO, 21 Mar 82) 26

Party Branch Reelection Work Reported
(BEIJING RIBAO, 18 Mar 82) 28

'Rule by Law' versus 'Rule by Man'
(Li Buyun; FAXUE YANJIU, No 1, 1982) 29

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'Ba Yi Radio' on Injustice, Distortion of Lin Biao Case
(Ba Yi Radio, 4 May 82) 39

'RENMIN RIBAO' Discusses Nationalities Work
(Jiang Ping, Huang Zhu; RENMIN RIBAO, 3 May 82) 41

Hubei Meetings Discusses Mao's Yanan 'Talks'
(Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service, 8 May 82) 51

Gansu Trains Party Members on Principles, Policies
(Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service, 7 May 82) 52

Briefs
Guangxi Water Polo Match 53
Xian Academic Meeting 53
Shaanxi Journalists' Association 53
Youth Cadres Training Class 53

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JAPAN'S PROBABLE DIRECTION IN 1980'S VIEWED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 4, 1982 pp 6-10

[Article by Xu Yan [1776 3225] and Yi Lin [2184 2651]: "Japan's Course in the 1980's"]

[Excerpts] Entering the 1980's, the Western countries have generally fallen into the predicament of economic stagnation. Recently, some Japanese have begun calling Japan the "world's number two economic power," second only to the United States.

Therefore, Japan's course of development in the 1980's has become the focus of world attention.

"Third Long Voyage"

The Japanese nation is vigorous and, with its attainment of success, its confidence has become stronger. When Prime Minister Suzuki visited America in 1981 he asserted: Japan is now entering the period of its "third long voyage." Various circumstances indicate that Japan is now preparing, full of high ambitions, to scale new heights.

Recalling the past...we see that Japan became one of the world powers as a result of the eiji Restoration. This was the "first long voyage." Being a defeated country in World War II, Japan formulated at the beginning of the 1950's the strategic policy of "founding the state on the economy" and "founding the state on trade," thereby beginning the "second long voyage of postwar revival." After 30 years, Japan has developed into an "economic power," realizing its long-cherished wish since the Meiji Restoration of catching up with the West. Now, the "third long voyage" has been announced by Japan to be to play the role of a "dynamic creator" on the world stage.

From the opinions on public affairs expressed by some Japanese newspapers and periodicals, in present-day society a so-called trend of thought is now surging up which reevaluates "Japan's intrinsic worth," advocates "Japanese civilization," and creates a "Japanese model." People in Japanese political circles proudly maintain that because Japan's economy is flourishing, its social and political situation quite "stable." In the election for the two houses of the Diet held in 1980, a stable majority of seats in the legislature

was obtained by the Liberal Democratic Party. Inside Japan a "neoconservative trend of thought" that is "unwilling to effect sudden changes in the status quo" has developed. Above in broad outline is the capital and dynamic force for the new goals of Japan's long voyage.

A "State Founded on Technology" and a "Political Power"

Japanese Government officials and various "brain trusts" (the various research organizations) have made all sorts of designs and plans concerning the prospects for development in the coming 10 to 20 years. Within them, two fundamental slogans have been raised: one is to take the path of a "state founded on technology" and the other is to establish the position of a "political power."

The purport of the so-called "state founded on technology" is to establish a powerful industrial and technological superiority and continue to vigorously develop the economy.

Many Japanese scholars and experts disagree with the argument that the country is now in "a period of stagnation in technological development." They think that the technological revolution that emerged from the 1940's to the 1960's of the 20th century ended the "state of invention and discovery" and changed over to the "stage of the widespread application, combination, and systematization of existing technology," and that in this period there is still a high tide of innovation, and its motive force is the high-speed development and the application in great numbers of semiconductor electronic computers. They think that in the 1980's there will arise the "age of the minicomputer revolution."

Time worked per week	Country	Actual time worked per year (hours)
43.1	Japan	2,146
39.1	America	1,934
40.5	Britain	1,957
37.3	West Germany	1,728
39.4	France	1,799

Japanese workers work over 3 months more a year than West German workers

Source: Comparative international data compiled by Japanese banks

What is a "political power?" From looking at representative comment in the Japanese press, its main meaning is to stress "not becoming a military power" but rather establishing a "position in international politics commensurate with the actual strength of its economic power."

The majority of people in Japan's ruling faction, in view of their prewar lessons and postwar experiences, maintain that in the present stage by not engaging in large-scale arms expansion, not arming itself with nuclear weapons, and preserving its image as a "peaceful power, Japan benefits the continuing development of its economic and technological superiority. They maintain that the cost of arms is huge, that the arms race drags back the economies of both

the United States and the Soviet Union, and that the stocks of medium-grade nuclear weapons laid up by Britain and France pose a considerable strain on these two countries, and if "one rides a tiger one will find it hard to get off." If Japan were to put a lot of its national strength into arms, it would lose the foundation for its economic vigor. At the same time, if Japan were to equip itself with nuclear weapons this would inevitably sharpen the contradictions within the country and throw internal politics into confusion, to the extent of endangering the stability of political power; outside Japan, it would lead to opposition and uneasiness on the part of other countries and cause Japan to become isolated. In addition, Japan's territory is small and narrow, its industry and population are concentrated, and it would be hard for it by itself to match the strategic postures of the Soviet Union and America. The result of their weighing of advantages and disadvantages was that they tended to take the opportunity in the present state of Soviet-U.S. confrontation toward continuing to increase Japan's economic strength so as to improve its political position internationally.

In order to win this position of a "political power," Japan has proposed a "comprehensive security guarantees scheme." Its indicated goal is to develop in the future the "creation of a peaceful international environment," so that Japan will gradually become a "country that is internationally acknowledged to be able to play a leading role." The main content of this strategic scheme is: First, the world of the 1980's faces a "comprehensive crisis": The Soviet threat, the energy problem, the West's economic difficulties, and the turbulence in the Third World--factors which mutually affect each other and which develop in an interlocked manner. Second, the preservation of the world's peace and stability depends on the "collective interests" of countries that possess common strategic interests: Japan wants, as a "member of the We tern camp," to maintain the Japan-U.S. alliance and the "Japan-U.S.-Europe system"; to develop its relations with China; to cooperate with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations; to avoid a direct confrontation with the Soviet Union; and to gradually give impetus to "pan-Pacific cooperation." Third, Japan wants to bring together various means--economic, military, diplomatic, and cultural--so as to make "contributions" to the world with "comprehensive strength": economically Japan wants to assume more "responsibility" and give full play to the "political results" of its economic aid in order "to eliminate the factors for instability in international politics and economic affairs and to insure the supply of natural resources," and Japan plans within 5 years to double the amount of governmental aid for development, thereby making Japan the "world's number two economic power." Fourth, Japan has "solidly increased military expenditures," strengthened to a moderate degree military arms, shared responsibility for more of its defense tasks, gradually extended its ship-escort limit to 1,000 nautical miles, accelerated the modernization and domestic manufacture of weapons and equipment, studied and mastered advanced military technology, so as to gradually reverse the uncoordinated situation of Japan being a "big economic power" and a "small military power."

"...In its development Japan also faces many problems. The general thinking is that the main problem is the worsening of external conditions. At the same time, in comparison with the past 30 years, there have been enormous changes in Japan's international circumstances, and some factors for instability have had a restrictive effect on its economic development.

Japan is a "small power in natural resources," and its present dependence on overseas natural resources and energy is greater than ever before in its history and is deeper than that of any country in the world; its natural resources import is concentrated in several important areas. In the future, by the taking of various conservation measures, in absolute terms imports could be much reduced but with the expansion of the economic scale some imports will still increase. Therefore, Japan's most worrying situations in the supply of natural resources and energy have changed drastically.

What is closely interrelated with the natural resources and energy resources problem is that the threat to the security of transport lines that is clearly becoming more serious. At present, Japan accounts for about 25 percent (in terms of ton nautical miles) of the world's maritime cargo transport. Every year it imports or exports about 700 tons, and about 75 percent of the maritime transport is concentrated in a crescent-shaped belt from the western Pacific Ocean through Southeast Asia to the Persian Gulf, and this area is precisely the principal target of the Soviet Union's "southern" strategy. With the Soviet Union's seeking hegemony over the world, the entire international situation tends to become more turbulent and tense. Therefore, the international conditions that Japan seeks to develop are very undependable.

In addition, Japan's economic war with America and Europe is becoming more and more fierce. For example, the United States has now changed from Japan's "protector" to its main "competitor." In recent years, Japan's trade friction with America and Europe has continually escalated and relations have become strained. Reischauer, an American scholar, has said: There are only two ways of solving the Japan-U.S. economic problem. One is for the United States to increase its rate of production, and the other is for Japan to increase its military expenditures and thus slow its speed of economic development. From looking at the situation in 1981, we see that the United States is more and more tending to demand that Japan expand its military expenditures, purchase U.S. weapons, and share the cost of escorting ships, so that Japan will make economic "sacrifices."

Strategically, Japan needs to coordinate with America and Europe in order to withstand Soviet pressure; at the same time it is striving hard to enhance its right to speak up in the Western camp, and it is especially striving for a greater "right to act on its own" in the Japan-U.S. alliance. Looking at the past summit conference of seven countries of the West, it seems that Japan feels that internationally it has not yet received the attention commensurate with its national strength and that it still has not obtained a position like that of West Germany or France. It ardently desires the realization of a so-called "Japan-U.S.-Europe plural leadership system." This tendency means a challenge to America's dominant position and will affect Japan's strategic coordination with America and Europe. Therefore, how Japan will handle in the future its relations with America and Europe is a very difficult problem.

It should be pointed out that Japan's security and development depend to a high degree on its relations with Asian countries. In view of the lessons of history, over the years it has handled the Asian problem comparatively cautiously. However, the Asian countries are not satisfied with the cooperation

provided by Japan, and are closely watching to see if it will assume the posture of a "world economic power," and even consider itself to be the "leader of Asia," adopting an attitude of great-nation chauvinism. Brzezinski, former U.S. national security adviser, in a book "Fragile Flowers," pointed out this "economic power," Japan, has had both "domestic troubles" and "foreign aggression," and changes in the international environment will probably be the direct cause of the outbreak of various kinds of contradictions within the country. Only time will tell whether in the 1980's the big ship "Japan" will have smooth sailing on its "third long voyage."

9727
CSO: 4005/782

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON VISIT TO KOREAN MILITARY COLLEGE

HK270612 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Apr 82 p 6

["Newsletter From Korea" by correspondent Zhou Bizhong [0719 1801 1813]: "The Cradle of High and Middle-Ranking Military Commanders--A Visit to the Kim Il-song Military College"]

[Text] The Kim Il-song Military College, which is likened to the cradle of high and middle-ranking military commanders in Korea, is surrounded by a verdant thicket. The school buildings, being beautifully set off by red and yellow flowers, look so beautiful and secluded. We paid a visit to this military college on a warm and sunny spring day.

The college's first vice president, Lieutenant General Kim Sun-il warmly received this reporter and spoke briefly about the college. This college grew out of the advanced military institute which was established in October 1952 during the liberation war. At that time, in order to meet the needs of war, the method of short-term training was chiefly adopted to train company to divisional commanders of the field army. The name of the school remained unchanged until 1973, and since then it has been the most important military institute of Korea. There are four departments, the departments of tactics, artillery, communications and social sciences, and 32 teaching and research sections in this well-appointed academy. Of the 180,000 square meters' of built-up area, the educational building covers an area of 8,000 square meters. On the first floor, there is a library and on the second and third floors, there are various classrooms. In some classrooms there are large sand tables which show the topography and landforms of Korea and in some others there are sketch maps based on some typical battles in the fatherland's liberation war. Through television, the students can see and hear a lecturer in another classroom.

As this college is for training high and middle-ranking commanders from battalion to divisional levels, it has many strict regulations governing enrollment and graduation. According to these regulations, the entrance examinees are recommended by the army units where they work and should be young officials under 32 who have been trained in ordinary military

schools and have learned some basic knowledge of military theory. After they are admitted into the college, they are divided into several classes in accordance with the different specialties they are going to study. Like regular university students, they have to pass examinations before going on to a higher grade and must prepare an acceptable academic thesis before graduation. At present, there are 10 classes in the college. For commander and chief officer students, the length of schooling is 3 years, and for students of technological management, the length is 4 years. In the morning, they study battalion or group army commandership knowledge by combining theory with practice, and in the afternoon, they study on their own. When they graduate from this college after years of strict and scientific training, most of them will return to their original units and take up posts of a higher grade, while a few of them will remain at school. Outstanding students may be promoted more than one grade and appointed to important posts after having practiced at a lower level leadership position for the necessary period of time. In the last 30 years since its founding, this college has trained tens of thousands of high and middle-ranking military commanders. All current commanders from the divisional to group army levels are graduates from this college. General Kim Sun-il thus told this reporter wittily: "No, I do not have to worry about my meals no matter where I go!"

In order to raise the quality of education, the college pays great attention to the selection and training of teachers. Every year, it selects a number of excellent students who are capable of teaching from among the graduates, and appoints them assistant lecturers. If they have studied very well in all subjects, they may be given an examination and directly promoted to lecturer. At regular intervals of several years, the teachers are given a promotion test. When the teachers feel it necessary to systematically sum up their experiences or write books and essays on some special subjects after years of educational practice, they are encouraged to do so by the college, and their hours of lecturing will be reduced by the teaching and research section when they make arrangements. Thus, they can spend more time on theoretical work. At present, of the over 600 teachers in this college, about 50 percent have experienced battle during the fatherland's liberation war and have rich battle experience, and about 50 percent are graduates from this college. In order to better combine education with practice, about 10 to 15 percent of the teachers are usually sent in rotation to various army units to do practical work and take up commanding posts at various levels.

There is a research institute for postgraduates in this college. It has two classes. One is for cultivating high-ranking military commanders through studying divisional and group army tactics and the other is for cultivating high-ranking miltary theoretical cadres at the doctorate and associate doctorate level.

After the visit we saw a group of young army officers walking on the campus boulevard. Some were standing in a circle, discussing something. They all look so healthy, strong and full of vigor. Today, in the northern part of Korea, there are thousand upon thousands of such young men, who are taking the posts of guarding the republic.

CSO: 4005/853

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON WESTERN EUROPE

NATO Support to Alliance

OW061924 Beijing XINHUA in English 1559 GMT 6 May 82

[Text] Brussels, May 6 (XINHUA)--Defense ministers from the European member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization reaffirmed their readiness to strengthen the alliance, according to a communique released Wednesday.

The communique, issued after a one-day meeting of NATO's Eurogroup defense ministers, said European security and defense depend on the partnership with North America through the NATO alliance.

It noted that the presence in Europe of North American armed forces with rapid reinforcement capabilities and nuclear commitment remains integral to European security.

The defense ministers approved the development of the Eurogroup as a forum for substantial political-strategic discussions in defense, the communique said.

Ministers participating in the annual spring meeting expressed concern about the adverse balance of forces in Europe caused by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact.

Speaking to news reporters this morning, chairman of Wednesday's meeting and Italian Defense Minister Lelio Lagorio said the North American public should become more informed about Europe's contributions to the NATO alliance. According to the communique, Eurogroup provides 90 percent of NATO's ground forces, 75 percent of the air forces and a high proportion of maritime forces.

Concerning the Anglo-Argentine conflict over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands, the Eurogroup defense ministers "condemned Argentina's armed invasion" and urged all parties "to seek a negotiated solution."

Defense Conference Ends

OW072018 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 7 May 82

[Text] Brussels, May 7 (XINHUA)--A two-day NATO defense planning committee conference reviewed NATO's defense efforts under the current international situation and discussed security problems in other areas outside NATO.

According to a communique issued today at the end of the conference, the conference expressed concern over the grave challenges facing NATO, particularly the Warsaw Pact's numerical superiority in various fields as well as the marked advances the Soviet Union has made in technology and arms production capability. Ministers at the conference stressed the need for NATO to maintain an effective military posture.

Reviewing NATO defense planning issues, the conference studied the force goals [as received] for the period of 1983 to 1988. It stressed the importance of NATO's member countries adhering to the existing 3 percent formula guidance in augmenting military spending. NATO will continue to strengthen its capabilities by making the best use of the human, material and financial resources available, the communique said.

Concerning arms control, the conference called on the Soviet Union to take action "to reestablish an international climate of confidence. In this context, the conference welcomed the U.S. negotiating position in the Geneva INF talks. However, the participating ministers said it is important to continue preparations for the deployment of cruise missiles and Pershing II missiles in Europe. Greece expressed reservations on this issue.

Security problems outside NATO, such as the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, were also discussed at the conference.

Concerning the Ango-Argentine conflict in the South Atlantic Ocean, the ministers endorsed a statement by the Eurogroup ministers condemning "Argentina's armed invasion of the Falkland Islands" and underscored "the need to seek a negotiated solution (of the dispute) acceptable to all parties concerned on the basis of U.N. Security Council resolution 502."

On the question of out-of-area deployment of forces, the conference called for consultations in advance which it described as "necessary," since any policy adopted in this respect is a matter of national decision. The military committee is studying the implications of the United States strategic concept for Southwest Asia to the NATO alliance, the communique said.

The communique concluded by stating that NATO is welcome to [as received] the prospects of Spain becoming a member of the alliance.

EEC Foreign Ministers Meeting

OW091846 Beijing XINHUA in English 1626 GMT 9 May 82

[Text] Beijing, May 9 (XINHUA)--Foreign ministers of the European Economic Community countries ended their regular semiannual meeting, which centered on the British-Argentine conflict, in Villers le Temple, Belgium, Saturday, according to reports from Brussels.

British Foreign Secretary Francis Pym briefed the meeting on the latest developments of the monthlong conflict and explained why Britain enlarged its exclusion zone in the South Atlantic. While expressing Britain's desire to seek a diplomatic solution, Pym demanded an extension of EEC's sanction against Argentina which expires on May 17. The failure of extending the sanction would be a serious blow to Britain's negotiating position, Pym stressed.

Dutch Foreign Minister Max Van Der Stoel told a press conference after the meeting that any extension of the EEC embargo will depend on Britain's restraint in the use of military force. "We have not given a blank check to Britain," he said.

Though the British use of military force resulted from what he called "an Argentine aggression," the Dutch foreign minister believed it "cannot justify disproportionate reactions."

It is reported the 10 EEC members preferred to await the outcome of U.N. mediations on a British-Argentine ceasefire. Whether there would be an extension would be decided by their permanent missions in Brussels.

The EEC sanction, in force since April 17, consists of a stoppage of arms sales to, and all imports from, Argentina.

The foreign ministers also discussed the Iranian-Iraqi war, the Palestinian problem, the situation in Poland and Britain's contribution to the EEC budget.

CSO: 4000/113

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON EGYPT

Ties With Arab Nations

OW071910 Beijing XINHUA in English 1614 GMT 7 May 82

["Fine Prospects for Egypt's Relations With Other Arab Nations--by XINHUA Correspondent Wan Guang"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Cairo, May 6 (XINHUA)--Egypt's recovery of its territory, the Sinai Peninsula, opened new prospects for improving its relations with other Arab nations.

Since the return of Sinai to Egypt from Israel on April 25, some new developments in Egypt's relations with other Arab countries have appeared. King Husayn of Jordan and King Hassan II of Morocco sent messages to Egypt on April 27, congratulating Egypt's restoration of Sinai.

Moroccan Prime Minister Maati Bouabid, Tunisian Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali and secretary general of the Arab League Chedli Klibi also expressed hope for Egypt's return to the Arab world.

Omani Sultan Qabus will reportedly visit Cairo soon. Bahrain Amir's Brother Shaykh Muhammad ibn Salman al Khalifah and Princess (Teghrid), wife of the brother of Jordan's King Husayn, are now in Egypt on a visit. It has been speculated here that high ranking officials from other Arab nations have been in Cairo on "unofficial visits." According to an unconfirmed Saudi Arabian news report, Moroccan Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Boucetta is also scheduled to visit Egypt.

Some factors are causing Arab moderate states and Egypt to consider improving their relations.

Since its withdrawal from Sinai, Israel has tightened its control over the West Bank of the Jordan River, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights and has attempted to launch a new attack on Lebanon. Repression by Isaeli troops against the Palestinians in Lebanon is reported daily.

Israel's grave challenge calls for Arab unity. Arab leaders who seek the return of Egypt to the Arab world have unanimously stressed Egypt's weight and important position in the Arab world. They point out that the absence of Egypt from the Arab world has weakened the Arab strength.

After the restoration of Sinai, Egypt has expressed its determination to support the Palestinian and other Arab people's struggle for the recovery of all their lost land and to seek a comprehensive and peaceful settlement for the Middle East problem.

The Arab nations in the Gulf particularly want Egypt's support to protect the Gulf from any possible Soviet further thrust into the region. Egypt has said that the security and stability of the Gulf Arab nations is "an integral part of our strategic security" and it "would view with deep concern" any threat to the security of these nations.

Egypt supports Iraq in its war with Iran, and this support has resulted in a good opinion of Egypt by the Arab nations. Egypt has also said that it will help the Gulf nations protect the Gulf oilfields from a takeover by the Soviet Union.

In return, the Gulf nations have offered aid to Egypt to help solve its economic difficulties.

However, obstacles still exist on the road toward the rapprochement between Egypt and the other Arab nations. While expressing the wish to mend fences with the other Arab nations, Egypt continues its commitment to the Camp David accords. Hence, some Arab moderates are taking a wait-and-see attitude to see what step Egypt takes next.

Saudi Arabia's ARAB NEWS said in an April 26 editorial about the withdrawal of Sinai that "Mubarak is in a better position to repair Egypt's bridge with the Arab states," but "it remains to be seen what developments will occur."

Syria and other Arab nations belonging to the rejection front that opposes negotiations between Egypt and Israel on Palestinian autonomy insist that Egypt should renounce the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. It seems that it will take a long time to remove these obstacles.

Mubarak, Numayri Talks

OW070300 Beijing XINHUA in English 0246 GMT 7 May 82

[Text] Khartoum, May 6 (XINHUA)--Egyptian President Husni Mubarak, in an official visit to Sudan today, discussed with Sudanese President Ja'far Numayri the current situation in the Arab world following the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Sinai and ways and means to strengthen the bilateral relations between the two countries.

Speaking to reporters upon his arrival at Khartoum airport this morning, Mubarak said that Egypt welcomed the restoration of Arab unity and the proposal put forward by President Numayri on the convocation of an Arab summit conference with Egypt present.

At a press conference here today, President Numayri said that the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai makes Arab strategists or Arab leaders realize that a way has been paved for Arab unity.

"We feel that great changes have taken place in the view of many Arab state leaders on Egyptian activities which have led to the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai. We wish this would become a strong impulse for the Arab people to urge their leaders to follow suit," he added.

Mubarak said, "President Numayri and the Sudanese people are standing and will still stand by our side. For the sake of our common cause, we will continue to support each other."

On the restoration of relations with other Arab countries, Mubarak said, "Egypt welcomes Arab brothers to make contacts with it at an appropriate time for them to restore relations with it."

According to a report from Cairo, Mubarak declared in Cairo today upon his return from his visit to Khartoum that he is not running after restoring relations with other Arab countries. "I am leaving every Arab country at its convenient time to join us," he said, "we did our best for solving the Middle East problem, so whenever they decide to join Egypt they are welcome."

Referring to Israeli Prime Minister Begin's remarks that Jerusalem should be one of the venues of the autonomy talks, the Egyptian President said that this is Begin's personal opinion. "We have our opinion. We didn't change completely," he added.

Egypt Protests USSR Stand

OW081350 Beijing XINHUA in English 1316 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] Cairo, May 8 (XINHUA)--Egypt declared that the Soviet Government's recent statement on the completion of Israeli withdrawal from Sinai was an attempt to cast doubt on the importance of this development. "It was timed to heighten the tension and disputes among the Arabs."

According to local papers today, Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, Egypt's permanent U.N. delegate, sent a message yesterday to U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, in answer to the Soviet statement issued by the Soviet delegate. The Egyptian message has been distributed to the U.N. members.

The message regretted that the Soviet Union, a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, should issue such a strong reaction against "the successful conclusion of an important phase of the Middle East peace process." It added that "the Israeli withdrawal was the direct application of the principles of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of land by force, a principle accepted by the Security Council including the Soviet Union."

The message added that the Soviet attempt to cast doubt on the liberation of Egyptian territory is bound to fail.

CSO: 4000/114

TREATMENT OF BACKWARD ELEMENTS DISCUSSED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 17 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Tian Lin [3944 7202]: "Should the Backward Masses Be Represented?"]

[Text] Often in life we come across the kind of person who doesn't work hard, who loves to grumble and make cynical remarks, who speaks with twisted reasoning and makes unreasonable demands, and who nonetheless expects party members to report these things to party organizations, saying that they "must represent the masses." What should we think of this?

This is actually a question of whether or not "party members should represent the backward masses."

The answer to this is clear--Communist Party members cannot represent the backward masses. We in the Communist Party are the advanced elements of the proletariat and can only represent the progressive thinking of the advanced classes, embodying the basic interests of the broadest masses. As Communist Party members, in accordance with the aim of the party, we should closely unite with the masses, being in turn with their hearts, having a finger on their pulse, and listening attentively to their voices. But this is not to say that we must satisfy the demands of every one of the masses; or that all ideas coming from the masses are correct. Among the masses, there are those who are advanced, those who are in the middle, and those who are backward. Because they are dominated by old ideologies and consciousnesses, the ideas and demands raised by a small number of people are fundamentally backward, and even incorrect, being unsuited to the interests and desires of the majority of the masses. They cannot represent the masses, so how can we Communist Party members represent such backward ideas?

Of course, not everything said by the small number of ideologically backward persons is backward, not every idea they raise is incorrect. Although their thinking is a little backward and their work lags behind a bit, their views on certain questions are nonetheless on the right track, and some of their opinions, ideas and suggestions can be adopted. This requires patient listening and serious analysis--as long as they are correct ideas or suggestions, we should take them seriously and either adopt them or report them to higher levels. And in regard to incorrect ideas, we must patiently explain and do a good job of persuading and educating the person who raised the idea. This will not only help the work of the party, but at the same time can serve to bring out the positive aspects of the masses that are lagging behind.

to lead the masses forward." We Communist Party members can neither become "loners," separate from the masses, nor become the "tail" of the masses, but must keep our responsibility and glorious duty in mind and unite and work together with the greatest number of masses. We should get close to the small number of the backward masses and carry out patient and detailed ideological work. In regard to the backward ideas and opinions of some of them, we should not be tolerant, nor should we react excessively, but we should offer rational and gentle criticism, gradually leading them to recognize what is incorrect and where their mistakes lie. In the course of normal contacts, we should aid and direct them in learning a bit more Marxist-Leninist theory and in understanding dialectical materialism so as to broaden their ideology and outlook. If we Communist Party members fulfill our function in these areas, then the negative, backward elements among the masses can be turned into positive elements.

9705
CSO: 4005/785

STRICT PUNISHMENT FOR ECONOMIC CRIMES URGED

High-Level Involvement

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 2 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Liu Sheng [2692 4563]: "Serious Cases Should Be Strictly Punished According to the Law"]

[Text] Resolutely attacking crime in the economic sphere is not only an economic struggle but also a political struggle. In order to achieve a decisive victory in this struggle, it is necessary to give serious attention to important cases and mete out strict punishment according to the law. This so-called strict punishment refers to serious legal punishment. Only in this way is it possible to control criminals and instruct the people.

During this struggle we must stress solving serious economic crimes. Above all, we must earnestly investigate and punish those leading cadres who take part in major economic crimes. At the same time, we should mete out punishment for serious economic crimes committed in the past 2 years that are still outstanding. Once serious cases are settled, minor cases can be handled more efficiently. Many important economic cases are often linked to graft, embezzlement, bribery, and smuggling. Internal economic and social crimes are frequently interconnected with internal and external collaboration. Consequently, whenever economic crimes are rampant, social order is disrupted and industrial and agricultural production inevitably sustains damage. In order to stabilize social order at the basic level and to obtain long-term public security, it is necessary to firmly attack serious economic crimes. This is a requirement for rectifying party style, political style, and popular practices. It has an impact on the major problem of the rise or decline of the party and the nation.

Judicial practice shows that most cases of serious economic crimes involve party cadres and even leading cadres. Some of these people have instigated speculative activities either openly or secretly. Some have incited their relatives to participate in them and take a share of the spoils. Others have covered up their crimes and accepted bribes. All of this has brought about a serious loss in state and collective property and has presented obstacles to the readjustment of the national economy and market stability. It has also seriously damaged the prestige of the party and government among

the people, and it has encouraged evil trends in society. Therefore, in attacking economic crimes, we must first of all deal seriously with the important economic crimes of party cadres, especially leading cadres.

Crimes committed by state workers who take advantage of their positions often involve upper and lower levels and the Left and the Right. This creates many obstacles and difficulties in investigating and dealing with criminal cases. Thus, it is necessary for us to uphold the leadership of the party and support close cooperation between upper and lower levels and between Left and Right and make concerted efforts. During the struggle against serious economic crimes, regardless of how high the position of the criminal suspects, how great their power, or how thick their protective layer, we must continue to investigate thoroughly until everything is exposed. Facts concerning the crime must be thoroughly checked, and party, political and legal discipline must be meted out according the circumstances of each case.

Types of Speculative Activities

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 2 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Chen Guansheng [3088 7070 3932]: "Crimes Involving Speculation"]

[Text] Speculation can be either a violation of administrative law or a criminal offense. One involves illegal practices in administrative management, while the other is a criminal offense requiring that someone be charged with responsibility for the crime. Speculation that violates administrative management refers to speculative activities in production, supply, transportation, and selling. They are relatively few in number, and the circumstances are not that serious. For example, someone may sell watered-down sesame oil or exchange eggs for noodle vouchers and then use the vouchers to buy vermicelli and sell it in the countryside or in rural markets at a high price. Practices such as these require disciplinary sanctions such as setting fines according to wholesale prices, confiscating property involved in illegal activities, confiscating part or all of that which is obtained through illegal means, being prevented from doing business, undergoing criticism and education, signing a statement of repentance, and other administrative disciplinary measures.

In the penal code, crimes involving speculation are dealt with in articles 117, 118, and 119. There are some speculative activities that are dealt with in administrative laws and regulations; examples of these are the seeking of profit, forgery, the sale of negotiable instruments from planned distribution for speculative profit, evasion of taxes and tariffs, counterfeiting of state currency, forgery of valuable securities, and counterfeiting of registered trademarks. None of these is a crime of speculation; they all constitute separate crimes. This is all clearly set out in Section 3 of the penal code on crimes concerning the undermining of social and economic order.

To be considered a crime of speculation in criminal law, a crime of speculation must fulfill the following three conditions. First, it must violate the laws and regulations concerning finance, foreign exchange, bullion, and

industrial and commercial management. Second, it must reap unlawful profits. Third, it must disrupt the market and subvert social and economic order, creating a grave situation. All of these conditions must be met. In judicial practice, crimes of speculation generally include the following types: 1) Forcing prices up to cause panic buying of goods for state-planned procurement, thus undermining state procurement plans. 2) Illegally selling industrial and agricultural production materials for speculative profit. 3) Speculative selling of bullion, foreign currency, jewelry, cultural relics, foreign goods, and expensive medicines. 4) Illegal purchases from state-run retail stores of commodities which are later resold at higher prices. 5) Individual resales at wholesale prices. 6) Reaping staggering profits through dealings on the blackmarket. 7) Hoarding and speculation so as to drive up commodity prices. 8) Cheating on workmanship and materials, mixing goods so as to misrepresent quality, and substituting fake for genuine articles. 9) Engaging in illegal buying and selling in the name of enterprises and public agencies, and defrauding people of their belongings. 10) Selling certificates, invoices, and contracts; substituting certificates, invoices, and contracts; providing bank accounts, checks, ready cash and greedily seeking illegal income from such [activity]; and so forth and so on.

At present, the nature of crimes of speculation is that there are many that include internal and external collaboration and many that involve gangs. In addition, there are many persons who engage in profiteering in the name of enterprises and public agencies, and many crimes of speculation are committed by commune-brigade enterprises. There also are numerous cases involving major crimes of speculation. For example, in Zhejiang there was a joint forestry, industrial, and commercial enterprise that falsely issued invoices so that they could receive a 20-percent commission. They charged up to 400,000 yuan a year. In Tianjin, a plant resold over 1,000 tons of industrial oil allocated by state planning at a profit. This involved over 50 units, and they reaped an illegal profit of more than 200,000 yuan. The reason for the success of speculation is closely tied to the unsound practices of cadres, particularly leading cadres. Some people describe the situation by saying: "In the past, cigarettes opened the way, rare wine built bridges, and chopsticks clinched a deal. Nowadays, bicycles open the way, triple-purpose machines build bridges, and television sets clinch a deal." Some cadres, particularly leading cadres, frequently give the green light to speculation.

In looking at the subject of crimes of speculation, in addition to those [involving] persons, quite a few are done in the name of units. Thus we must mete out economic sanctions against those units. When we impose prison sentences, we must investigate and charge the person in the unit who is directly responsible for the crime of engaging in speculation. In looking at the subjective aspects of the crime, speculation is necessarily done willfully. If it is unpremeditated, then it cannot be considered a crime of speculation.

Crimes involving speculation constitute a large proportion of economic crimes. Consequently, criminal speculative activities must be given widespread attention. There must be comprehensive regulation in every area such as rectifying party style, correcting unsound practices in society, establishing and strengthening rules and regulations, and plugging loopholes. Only by doing this can we effectively check and prevent such crimes.

9864
CSO: 4005/675

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG ATTACHES IMPORTANCE TO TRAINING OF TECHNICAL CADRES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Apr 82 p 3

[Article: "Shandong Provides Rotational Training for Cadres"]

[Text] Since the beginning of 1979, Shandong Province has adopted an overall plan authorizing units at all levels to broaden the avenue of education for cadres at all levels and in all trades and to train them on a rotational basis. Thus far, more than 590,000 cadres throughout the province have graduated from such training classes.

This training has proved instrumental in helping cadres raise their political consciousness, theoretical levels of economics, and levels of professional skills and management. Two responsible leading cadres at the Jinan Machine Tools Plant No 4 are now able to run the business in accordance with the economic laws after attending economic and enterprise management training sponsored by the Shandong Provincial Industrial Cadre School. After returning to their plant, they have led technical cadres and management personnel ti visit consumers and to survey and acquaint themselves with the needs of society. Last year, they helped their plant trial-produce 11 new varieties of equipment, including yarn twisting and spinning machines, and automatic assembly lines for sewing machine bobbins, along with 133 sets of specially designed equipment for light textile industry. In this way, they have helped their plant solve problems caused by slumps in contract orders and put it in a better position to spur the development of light textile industry. After attending the training class for cadres sponsored by the Shandong Provincial Agricultural Commission, Wu Gongxing [0702 0361 5281], deputy head of the Weifang Administrative Office, has begun a search for answers to problems related to the soil fertilization and promotion of high-yielding seed strains, and has come up with reasonable proposals to cross-breed the high-yield seed strains of wheat and other crops, to plant them in soil suitable to their growth, and to use improved methods to plant them along with measures to improve the application of fertilizer. These proposals have proved instrumental in overcoming the tendency to direct production from the subjective point of view and in promoting the scientific farming method. Technical cadres, who have graduated from the Jining Prefectural Scientific and Technological Commission-sponsored training in heat disposal, electronics and foundry, are now able to apply their newly acquired technology, techniques and theories to research and have come up with new findings in 36 categories, 11 of which have been put to good use and have led

enterprises concerned to save a large amount of capital. Shandong Province has scheduled its training program for cadres in the following ways: (1) Party and cadre schools at all levels, and other training centers for cadres are encouraged to enhance their role in the course of training leading cadres at all levels and management cadres; (2) various colleges and middle and vocational schools will be assigned to use their facilities and teaching staff to give outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres special training or education in politics, culture and various trades; (3) technical cadres will be organized to devote their spare time to study or they will be encouraged to take leave from work to attend training classes and study new techniques, new theories and new technologies in connection with scientific research and production; (4) short-term training classes will be planned in a way that takes into account the needs of various technical projects. For example, the comprehensive training in economic accounting and quality control, sponsored by the departments of industry and communications, and the training in field management of cotton crops and desalinization technology sponsored by the Department of Agriculture are being scheduled for this purpose.

Many prefectures and departments in Shandong Province have concentrated on strengthening training bases and contingents of teachers and on improving their teaching programs. Zaozhuang Municipality has turned "abandoned" or production-suspended factories into municipal industrial cadre schools, capital construction cadre schools and public security cadre schools. Four county and district cadre schools have sprung up in Zaozhuan Municipality along with permanent training centers for cadres. Today, Shandong Province has 176 cadre schools of all kinds and at all levels, which represent an increase of 40 since 1980. Party and government organizations at all levels and administrative departments have assigned res pnsible leading cadres to take charge of the training programs for cadres and have set up administrative offices for this purpose. Many units have instituted examination and educational systems and systems designed to train and place cadres in jobs. Their aim is to ensure the smooth development of the training programs for cadres.

9574
CSO: 4005/793

PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO SEPARATE ACADEMIC RESEARCH FROM POLITICS URGED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 2 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Wang Zhong [3769 0022], dean of a branch school of Fudan University and director and professor of its Journalism Department: "What is the Key Step in the Direction of Stimulating the Enthusiasm of Intellectuals?"]

[Text] During the past several years, vast numbers of intellectuals have seen their political status soaring to a new high and living conditions improve remarkably as a result of the thorough implementation of the party's policy for intellectuals. Although intellectuals, and especially social scientists, consider political status and living condition important to them, what really matters most to them is an environment in which their intellectual authority is respected and their professional skills can be put to good use, an environment that can truly boost their morale. Confucius said: (Yan) Hui always enjoyed his life with a single bamboo dish of rice and a single gourd dish of drink and with a shelter located in a narrow and shabby lane. What matters most to a dedicated intellectual is a stable environment in which he can concentrate on academic research and devote his energy for the rest of his life to enhancing the scientific programs of his motherland. Out of this desire has emerged the problem of separating academic research from politics. If no satisfactory answer can be found to this problem, a social scientific worker will find it difficult to emancipate his mind and to press ahead courageously with his scientific research work. This being the case, we will find it difficult to bring his initiative into "full" play.

In the past when scientific research was not separated from politics, our attention was frequently drawn to the volatile situation in which the "double-hundred" policy could be proclaimed today and replaced tomorrow by the assertion that "any academic problem is a political problem," thus causing confusion among the people. The political reason notwithstanding, this situation was caused by a tendency to ignore differences between academic research and politics. We must understand that when we engage a social scientific worker in a specific academic study, we cannot force him to come up with conclusions completely identical with our political lines in a given period of time or beyond. This is one point. The second point is that the so-called political problem is practically a problem that needs to be resolved by political means. To this end, those in political positions should take timely action to reflect and assess the complex actual situation before coming up with relevant principles and policies. True, there are problems to which perfectly correct

answers cannot be found because objective reality cannot allow the search for their solution to remain in the stage of "research" forever, and necessary steps should be taken to resolve them through a voting process in which the opinion of the majority prevails over the minority. Once a relevant decision is made, it can still be continuously revised through its implementation until it becomes perfect. But academic research is a different story and its outcome is unpredictable. For this reason, a researcher cannot be pushed to make hasty conclusions on any given subject of study, nor can he be expected to be free from faulty conclusions. Even when the research project is halfway through, he may err. We should never feel surprised by such an outcome which will have no adverse effect on the formulation and implementation of our current political policies. As long as he promises not to involve his work in any antiparty and antisocialist political activities, he should be allowed to promote his particular school of thought, and develop his own style of work despite its shortcomings and imperfections. Academic research is a problem that cannot be handled in the same way as a political problem which can be resolved through a voting process in which the opinion of the majority prevails over the minority. A correct answer to an academic problem can be gradually made possible only through a debate in conformity with the "double-hundred" policy which has been proved completely correct by both positive and negative experiments. No one should be surprised by the fact that debates on many academic issues that have gone on for decades or even centuries remain inconclusive today.

Academic research and politics are actually related. There have been times when academic interests did not go hand-in-hand or even conflicted with political interests. This is why greater efforts should be made to insure strict separation of academic research from politics. Painful lessons drawn from the "Great Cultural Revolution" prove that a political situation of stability and unity is essential to the realization of this goal. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party Central Committee has endeavored to bring order out of chaos on all fronts and has continued to acquaint the people with the party's "double-hundred" policy. Science is essential to socialism even as socialism is essential to science. Only under the current political conditions can academic research be truly separated from politics.

But we must understand that the reason for separation of academic research from politics remains a fundamental problem incomprehensible to comrades who tend to prejudge everything recklessly and even want to make stereotyped "leftist" dogmatism applicable everywhere. There are also comrades who have trod the beaten path too long and have developed a habit of putting academic research on the same level with politics. This is why the problem of how to find ways to separate academic research from politics should be discussed right now. If this problem can be handled correctly by our party as a whole, we are confident of our ability to avoid the mistake of regarding academic problems as political problems which occurred during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and even earlier. Only in this way can we renew our fundamental pledge to implement the party's policy for intellectuals and make maximum efforts to boost the morale of intellectuals dedicated to scientific research. I would also like to suggest that details on how to separate academic research from politics be discussed through public debates so that everyone can air his views.

9574
CSO: 4005/792

NATIONAL INTEREST RELATIONSHIP TO LOCAL INTEREST DEFINED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Apr 82 p 2

[Article by Xie Fei [6200 7236]: "Take the Interest of the Whole Into Consideration"]

[Text] In our country, there is no conflict of basic interest between national and local authorities. In other words, the basic interest of the state coincides with that of enterprises although they may have disputes over specific issues from time to time. In the event of such disputes, how should they be settled? Local authorities should obey their national authority and should consider the situation as a whole. The Shanghai Cotton Textile Mill No 28 is an enterprise known for its sound economic accounting system. By giving first consideration to the national interest and putting its own interest second, it has made efforts to increase the output of items in great demand in world markets, but which are not very profitable to itself. It has been suggested that every enterprise should give first consideration to the national interest in running the business, and even if it runs the risk of economic losses, it should meet the demands of the national authority and serve the national interest. This spirit of considering the situation as a whole is worthy of admiration.

All activities of the nation should be planned in much the same way as a chess game is played. There should be coordination between an across the board overall strategy and specific tactics. As long as the overall strategy is sound, specific tactics can be easily worked out. If the overall strategy is on the defensive, tactical offensives cannot possibly be expected. If we fail to pay attention to the national interest, the collective interest will be forgotten. This is why the local interest cannot be placed above the national interest why the national interest cannot be ignored in dealing with the local interests. There are people interested only in promoting their local interests at the expense of the national interest. In doing so, they often contend that "by doing so, I have nothing to gain personally"! Departmentalism is actually an extension of individualism. Although it differs in nature from practices of embezzlement and corruption, its disruptive effect on the situation as a whole is so great that it may cause serious damage to the socialist cause.

Of course, the national interest represents and draws its strength from various local interests. Aware of this fact, the national authority should take care of local authorities on the premise that it will go out of existence without their support. But at present, our primary task is to encourage the people to pay attention to the interest of the whole and consider the situation as a whole. There are enterprises whose only interest is making profits. They never want to risk their resources for projects that promise no profits. But they tend to forget that as long as they can do a good job, they can turn an unprofitable business into a lucratic enterprise. As a result of efforts, the Shanghai Cotton Textile Mill No 28 has succeeded in turning a plan with a projected loss of 1.97 million yuan into one that has produced a profit of 800,000 yuan! Liu Bei of the Three Kingdoms once said: "Don't do anything that you think will cause the least damage to us; nor should you turn down any assignment that you think will bring us a profit even one too small to be considered worthwhile." We should never do harm to the national authority however small that harm might be; we should do everything beneficial to the national authority no matter how small the benefits will be.

9574
CSO: 4005/793

PARTY AND STATE

PEOPLE'S CONGRESS ENCOURAGES 'COMMON CAUSE' IN CONSTRUCTION

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Mar 82 p 1

[Article: "With Common Heart and Cause, Construct the Capital"]

[Text] The Sixth Session of the Seventh Beijing People's Congress fully completed establishing each item of the agenda for the future and successfully concluded yesterday. The Fifth Session of the Fifth Municipal Political Consultative Conference which was held concurrently also concluded yesterday. During the meetings, people's representatives from every battlefront in the city and committee members from each democratic party and every area of society, with the demeanors of major dramatic protagonists and the serious spirit of seeking the truth, heard and considered various work reports of the municipal government, the Standing committee of the Municipal People's Congress, the Municipal Political Consultative Conference and the municipal people's court and procuratorate affirming that there had been new developments in the last year in the work on every front, offering numerous constructive criticisms and suggestions, and determining the struggle tasks in the coming year for all the people of the city. We wish to express our enthusiastic congratulations for the complete successes achieved at these two meetings! We certainly must resolutely carry out the spirit of the meetings and, with common heart and cause, struggle to construct the capital.

Common heart refers to uniting our ideology to achieve a single common goal. The goal is that raised by the Central Committee of the party of constructing socialist material and spiritual civilizations. In regard to the municipality of Beijing, the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the party issued four clear directives concerning the principles for construction in the capital in accordance with the position and special nature of Beijing. These four directives are in complete accord with the demand for construction of the two civilizations and represent the basic interests of the broad people. Practice has proven that if all our hearts are directed toward this ideal and all our efforts are in this direction, then progress in every item of work will be rapid and the masses will be happy. In the past year, the work of Beijing has gradually been set on the track of the four directives of the Central Committee of the party, and party style, social customs and the work on every front has seen greater improvement than in the previous few years. The political and economic situations throughout the city are very good. From now on, we must continue to unify our ideology and unswervingly proceed toward our goal.

Common cause refers to having a common moral standard. This morality can only be communist morality. Communist morality is the core of a socialist spiritual civilization. Its primary elements are the advocation of collectivist principles and the work ethic of a heroic figure. Only by advocating a communist ethic can we overcome the tendencies toward individualism and anarchism that were rampant during the 10 years of unrest; can we resist the encroachment of bourgeois ideology and lifestyle; can we correctly uphold and implement the line, principles, and policies established since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee; can we bring into play the initiative of the cadres and masses in work and production to the greatest extent; and can we, under the unified leadership of the party and the government, unify and coordinate the strength of every department and unit and achieve the best economic results. In accordance with the special nature of the capital and pressing needs at present, our city must give top priority to the construction of a spiritual civilization. Every unit must uphold the principle of ideology leading, and strengthen ideological and political work. The Civilized Manners Month campaign launched in March has already made a good start in the areas of curing "filth," "disorder," and "impropriety." We must work hard to normalize and systematize the "Five Stress and Four Points of Beauty" campaign and to continue it in a long term and penetrating way.

Beijing is the capital of the People's Republic of China. The quality of her construction not only has a direct influence on the interests of the people of Beijing, but affects the hearts of the billion persons throughout the nation and is involved with the reputation of our nation around the world. Every comrade who lives and works in Beijing should look to the responsibility he shoulders and share the nation's burdens. At present, there is a lively forward moving momentum in the work in Beijing. But the situation is still far from that demanded by the Central Committee of the party and the people throughout the nation and the city. We must see clearly that there are many problems and difficulties that await our solution. We cannot solve these problems quickly in a single breath. But, to make progress in the construction of the capital every year, every month, and even every day is something we should be able to achieve. We have the leadership and the concern of the Central Committee of the party and the State Council and the support of all areas of the country. Our foundation is relatively good. If we only work with common heart and common cause and in a down to earth manner, we can certainly see greater accomplishments in the new year ahead.

9705
CSO: 4005/785

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY BRANCH REELECTION WORK REPORTED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Mar 82 p 1

[Article: "More Than 30,000 Party Branches Throughout the City Are Separately Carrying Out New General Elections--Strengthen the Building of Party Organizations at the Basic Level, See To It That Party Style Turns for the Better"]

[Text] According to the plan of the municipal CCP committee, more than 30,000 basic level party branches throughout the city are separately and at different times carrying out new general elections. Up to the present, more than 22,000 branches, 60 percent of the total number, have already finished or are now carrying out this work.

The party branches which are holding the new general elections are doing so after the party committees (party cells) of every district, county and bureau had universally carried out pilot programs. In the course of carrying things out, the party committees at every level strengthened categorical guidance. The majority of party branches were being attentive to fostering democracy, listening to the opinions of the masses and carrying out criticism and self-criticism. The majority of the more than 13,000 branches that have already concluded this work have had good results.

Leading comrades on the municipal CCP committee have attached great importance to the new general branch elections, from getting a hold on the pilot programs to carrying out the individual elections. On a number of occasions they heard reports by each branch committee of the municipal committee and by districts, counties and bureaus, and they stressed that doing well in new general branch election work is important for thoroughly implementing the 4 directives of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party and for strengthening the building of basic level party organizations, and is an important step in securing a great turn for the better in party style and in furthering the construction of spiritual and material civilizations. The party committees at every level must certainly do well in this work, actually strengthening leadership, upholding high standards, and not merely going through the motions. All new general branch election work will be concluded at the end of April.

9705
CSO: 4005/785

PARTY AND STATE

'RULE BY LAW' VERSUS 'RULE BY MAN'

Beijing FAXUE YANJIU [STUDY OF LAW] in Chinese No 1, 82 pp 6-11

[Article by Li Buyun [2621 2975 0061]: "The Scientific Nature of the Concept of Rule by Law"]

[Text] In the present debate over the question of rule by law and rule by man, some comrades put forward the idea that this concept of the rule by law is not scientific. They say it has a one-sided nature and conflicts with the four basic principles, also that there is no need to pay attention to the rule by law since we are already concerned with the legal system. They suggest therefore we abandon this "rule by law" concept. In our opinion this viewpoint is open to question.

Is the "Rule by Law" Concept of a Scientific Nature?

Some comrades are of the opinion that the rule by law concept was advanced by the exploiting classes and that it is a "classless" or "supraclass" viewpoint, therefore it should be rejected. This argument is untenable. There are many terms and concepts by which the exploiting classes obliterated or concealed their class nature, but that did not stop Marxists from revealing the true class-dependency of these terms and concepts and of assigning to them their class implication. To determine whether a term or concept has a class nature, one must not merely look at its wording. The question is rather how people interpret them and apply them. For instance, "democracy" as a word has no class nature, the proletariat can use the word and the exploiting classes can also use it. In history there was the democracy of slaveholders in Athens, there were bourgeois democracies, and now we have our socialist democracy. No exploiting class will admit that democracy is of a class nature, it is only the Marxists who believe that democracy has a class nature. It is the same with the term "rule by law." The rule by law proposed by Aristotle was a rule by the law of the slaveholder class. The rule by law proposed by Han Fei and Shang Yang was the rule by law of the newly arisen landlord class. The rule by law proposed by men like Locke and Rousseau was the rule by law of the Bourgeoisie. What we are today advocating is the socialist rule by law. The concept of the rule by law that we are using today has of course a certain sequential relationship to the rule by law concepts that existed before throughout history, but this sequence is not one of indiscriminate copying, by an essential succession. The points where the socialist rule by law is

descended from the rule by law of the exploiting classes of the past and where it has certain features in common with it, is that it is a theory, principle and method of governing the state. All proponents of the rule by law more or less emphasize the following: A country must formulate a fairly comprehensive set of laws to serve as behavioral norms for its people; everybody, including the highest leaders of the country, must obey the law and conduct affairs strictly according to law; everybody is equal before the law. The differences between the various types of rule by law are, primarily, due to the substantial difference in the classes. The differences are determined, basically, by the class nature of the laws themselves. Since laws manifest the will and interests of the different classes, the rule by law instituted by the different classes always favors maintaining the interests of its own class and favors strengthening the political control of its own class. Secondly, there is a difference among the different types of rule by law in their specific content and degree of realization. For instance, the rule by law in modern times is inseparably linked with democracy, and the rule by law of feudalism is bonded into one entity with the autocratic monarcy. The division of the three powers is an important feature advocated by the bourgeois rule by law, while the faudal rule by law combines all three great powers, legislative, judiciary and executive, in the one person of the ruler. Regarding the principles of conducting all affairs strictly according to law, the equality of all men before the law, etc., the rule by law practiced in different historical eras varied greatly in the degree to which these principles were carried out. In brief, the concept of rule by law is not at all a "classless" or "supraclass" viewpoint. Provided we subject the concept of rule by law and its application to a scientific analysis and give it the theoretical interpretation that conforms to the objective realities, the class nature of the concept of rule by law will become very clear and there will be no misunderstanding about it; we are indeed fully justified in using this concept.

Some comrades have expressed the idea that although we lay great stress on the functions of industry, science, etc., it would be hardly possible to speak of "rule by industry" or "rule by science." We also place great importance on the effectiveness of the army, but we would hardly speak of a "rule by military." It would therefore also be unscientific to propose "rule by law." In our opinion the above is an inappropriate analogy and conclusion, because law is quite different in nature and characteristics from industry, science and the military. Law is the concentrated manifestation of the will of the ruling class; it is determined by the state (or approved by it), its implementation is ensured by the power of the state and it consists of norms that must be observed strictly by the people in all their activities. The expressions "rule the country by means of law: and "relying on law in ruling the country" (that is, rule by law) mean nothing else than the attachment of the greatest importance to the exercise of law as a norm for all behavior, and furthermore the administration of the state strictly according to the provisions of the law. Because the law has the above-mentioned special character and features, it is quite appropriate and scientific to speak of "ruling the country by means of the law" and "relying on law in ruling the country." It is precisely as Comrade Ye Jianying said: "our country shall enjoy perfect order, that is why we must have a constitution to govern our country." ("Report on the Revision of the Constitution") The constitution is the highest set of rules that regulate the governing process of the country, and the criminal law, civil law, civil procedure law, organizational law, administrative law,

election law, economic law, labor law, marriage law, etc., are the concrete regulations to take care of various aspects in the governing of the country. The conditions of industry, education, military affairs, etc., are quite different from law. They don't have the regulatory features like the law which everybody has to obey, and also they do not have the special features of the law which has to be carried out uniformly in political, economic, cultural, educational, military and other respects. It is therefore not possible to advocate the "rule of the country by industry" or "rule of the country by military affairs." Some comrades bypass this primary difference in character and features of law as compared with industry, science and military affairs, but merely seize only on the one point that they all have their functions on governing the country, and it is obviously inappropriate therefore to draw the conclusion that "rule by law" is unscientific because it is not scientific to propose the principle of "rule the country by means of military affairs."

Some comrades have put forward the idea that the term "rule by law" is of a "one-sided nature," because it shuts out the function of the state power, of ideological work, of moral education, or production relations..., in brief, the term merely affirms the function of the legal system to the exclusion of everything else, thus it is advocating the "omnipotence of law." This argument, we believe, is incorrect.

Viewed from a theoretical angle, every concept has its specific meaning, its specific concrete content, its specific sphere of application, its specific social function, and one must not ask that it cover everything and represent everything. For instance, "strengthen the socialist democracy, perfect the socialist legal system" are basic policies determined by the party at the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, but this demand tries to solve the problem of only one aspect in the area of the superstructure. When the proposal is for "building socialism with a high degree of spiritual civilization" as the objective of the struggle, it is putting forward demands concerning a different aspect, it is emphasizing the important significance and effect of spiritual civilization on the construction of the state. On the analogy of this, there are also such policies as "self-reliance," "let a hundred flowers bloom," "let a hundred schools of thought contend," etc.; each of these has its scientific significance and sphere of functions. If we call these formulations "one-sided in nature," because each emphasizes only one aspect of a matter, or of the important function and meaning of a question, this would obviously be incorrect. If we emphasize rule by law, it does not mean that apart from law there is nothing else to be used in the governing of a country and that exercising law is the only method of governing a country. In actual fact, during the 3 years, since our party and state advocated rule by law, the majority of our people have correctly understood the basic meaning implied in the concept of rule by law and gained a good grasp of it. No one has concluded that the function of man is therefore unimportant, or that ethics and education are unimportant, that developing production and improving production relations are unimportant. As to the minority of comrades who really have only a one-sided understanding of the concept of rule by law, who believe that it is only necessary to have laws, rules and regulations to be able to solve all problems, the occurrence of this

kind of a mentality is probably due to our insufficient correct explanation and propaganda on the theoretical side of the concept of rule by law. It is a problem in the area of our work, and not at all due to any "one-sidedness" of the concept itself.

Viewed from the angle of practical experience, rejecting the rule by law and instituting instead a rule by man would make it quite impossible for the country's leading personalities to function properly and effectively. The grim realities of the "Great Cultural Revolution" are a proof of this. Opposed to this, if our state had rejected rule by man and instead carried out rule by law, the overall situation would have been completely different. The situation prior to the 1957 anti-Rightist campaign and following the 1976 smashing of the "gang of four" are excellent illustrations of this.

Is Their Conflict Between Rule by Law and Insistence on the Four Basic Principles?

Some comrades believe that rule by law must not be adopted because it conflicts with our insistence on the four basic principles, the mainstay of our way of governing the state. We believe that this opinion is open to question. The effective government of a state involves many aspects, political, economic, cultural, etc.; the question is extremely complex. "Rule by law" is only one particular principle in governing the state, and it does not at all mean that there is only this one principle for the way a state is governed. Upholding the socialist road, upholding the people's democratic dictatorship, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding the leadership of the party, upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, are the four basic principles by which we govern our state. However, "governing the state according to law" by no means conflicts with our insistence on the four basic principles. Whether we look at it from the theoretical or the practical angle, exercising rule by law is highly beneficial for sustaining the four basic principles. If we were to have rule by man, that would be utterly damaging for the thorough implementation of the four basic principles.

Carrying on government by law is closely bound up with the question of upholding the socialist road. In 1954, Comrade Mao Zedong, speaking on the principle of having a constitution for our country, pointed out: "There are basically two principles, one is the principle of democracy and the other the principle of socialism." He also said: "Adopting this form of a constitution, that is, a great basic law, will consolidate the principles of people's democracy and socialism, will delineate a clear path for the people of the entire nation, will have the people of the entire nation perceive that there is a clear and correct road along which to advance, and thus will raise the enthusiasm of all the people throughout the nation."* The basic principle of our constitutional law which Chairman Mao mentions is also the one basic principle of the socialist legal system of our country. Upholding the socialist path runs like

*"Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5 pp 127, 129.

a red thread through the entire legal system and institutions of our country. Socialist law is an important tool for the construction, consolidation and development of the socialist production relations. In our country, socialist law has already been of service in expropriating the landlords and the bureaucrat-capitalist class, in building up the socialist state-run economy and collective economy, and in restricting, utilizing and transforming capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises, and in the socialist transformation of the handicraft industry. After the fundamental completion of the socialist transformation of the system of private ownership of the means of production, the outstanding function of the legal system in protecting the production relations, the socialist public ownership, the principle of "each according to his ability and to each according to this work," and in protecting the reasonable relationships of man to man within the socialist production, received uninterrupted consolidation, development and perfection; that is, protection of the socialist production relations and public property from any encroachment. The creation and development of the socialist economic system is ruled by its own objective law. Correctly to recognize and control this law, we should rely merely on the wisdom of the whole party and entire people. Only by relying on this kind of collective wisdom in striving to attain the scientific knowledge of continuous development and perfection of the socialist production relations and to have law and institutions become the norm for the thoughts and actions of the whole party and people, only in this manner will we ensure our state's healthy advance along the socialist path. Actual accomplishment of this objective is only possible through an effective rule by law. If our country did not practice rule by law, if it were to become a state where laws would not be considered essential, where the application of existing laws would be considered optional and where all affairs would depend on the words of a small number of leaders, then the country could not possibly advance smoothly along the socialist road.

Practicing the socialist rule by law and upholding the people's democratic dictatorship (that is, dictatorship of the proletariat) are also two interdependent things that complement each other. Their mutual relationship could be summarized as follows: The people's democratic dictatorship determines the character and content of the socialist rule by law, and the socialist rule by law, on the other hand, is an effective means of realizing the people's democratic dictatorship. The people's democratic dictatorship comprises the two aspects of democracy for the people and dictatorship over the enemies. To practice "relying on law to govern the country" is beneficial for the development of the people's democracy as it is also beneficial for the strengthening of the dictatorship over the enemies. After having led the broad masses of the people in seizing power and gaining democracy, the proletariat must employ the socialist legal system to affirm the fruits of victory, and to safeguard, consolidate and further develop them. The people need law in the first place for the sake of protecting their own democratic rights. Under socialism, the effective guarantee and full development of people's democracy requires such tools and methods as propaganda and education, moral standards, the policies of the party, etc., but of particular significance is the utilization of the law and institutions, because law has the specific characteristics of serving as a norm for all action, of being the will of the state, of being compulsory in its execution, which are specific

characteristics not found, or not all found, in ideological education, moral standards and party policies. It is precisely through these special characteristics that the legal system exercises its function of guaranteeing the people's democracy. Only by affirming, paragraph by paragraph, item by item, all aspects of socialist democracy and the rights and freedoms of the citizens in the Constitution and in all the other various laws, having them clearly articulated, rendered concretely and standardized, will the masses clearly recognize what democratic rights they will after all enjoy, only then will the initiative of the masses be fully mobilized and only then can they be guided correctly to employ their rights to govern their own state. With regard to the state organs of all levels and the broad masses of cadres, only by institutionalizing democracy and firmly establishing it in law, can their work find legal provisions to rely on and regulations to follow; only then will they have clear and concrete knowledge of how they themselves must foster people's democracy, how they must carry on their activities according to the principle of a system of collective democracy, how they are to observe the democratic rights of the people; what democratic work style they themselves must show and how to rely and depend on the broad masses in order to perform well in their various fields of work. At the same time, as soon as democracy is institutionalized and established in law, the fostering of people's democracy will also become the will of the state, which each unit and each individual, without exception, must comply with and carry out. Whosoever does harm to socialist democracy is violating the will of the state. The state and the people can then use the compulsory power of the law to prosecute any act that violates democracy and inflict various kinds of punishment. All this explains that the development of a people's democracy is impossible without the rule by law.

Again, looking at it from the angle of strengthening the dictatorship over the enemy, it is only through government by law that it will be possible to apply strictly a well-developed set of laws and institutions to spot, accurately and effectively, the enemy and to attack, punish and transform him. In meting out punishment to the enemy we must proceed according to the procedure prescribed by law, and our action must be accurate as well as legal. The lessons of our experiences since the establishment of our government make it quite clear that there is a close link between whether rule by law is carried out in a country and its ability to maintain a people's democratic dictatorship.

Practicing rule by law is also closely linked with adherence to the principle of guidance by the party. Ruling the country by law requires the guidance of the party, and guidance of the party can best be carried out through governing the country by law. Socialist law has been formulated under the guidance of the party; it is the fixed, standardized and articulated lines, principles and policies of the party. The party makes and implements the laws through its guidance of the state's legislative, judicial and administrative organs, and elevates what is only the will of a class to become the will of the state, furthermore using the state's compulsory force to ensure implementation of the laws. The effect is precisely a consolidation and strengthening of the party's guidance, and certainly not a downgrading or weakening of the leadership of the party. Our party is the party in power; its leadership position received recognition and guarantee in our Constitution.

Article 2 of our Constitution stipulates: "The CCP is the core of the leadership of the Chinese people. The working class exercises leadership of the country through its vanguard, the Communist Party." Anyone who opposes the leadership of the party therefore also violates the Constitution. However, if there would be no laws to determine the party's guidance of the state in clear, concrete and specific terms, the party would not be in a position to do a good job of guiding the state. Chairman Mao said: "As any association must have its statutes, so must the state have its statutes."* The constitution is indeed the chief statute for the government of a country, and the various particular laws are specific regulations for the government of the country. Only with a very perfect and highly authoritative set of regulations to govern the country can the party in its leadership of the masses in governing the country increase political consciousness and foresight and reduce blindness and capriciousness, increase stability and avert instability, and only then can there be a guarantee that the entire large and complex machinery of the state will run accurately and effectively along a common track. Ruling a country by law makes strict demands on every party organization and individual, from the president of the Central Committee down to each single ordinary party member, that all affairs are conducted by them strictly according to law so as to have a uniform and strict implementation of all laws. This is not rejecting or weakening the leadership of the party, but rather a system that will safeguard and strengthen the party's leadership.

The party must arm the entire nation with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to employ these ideologies to direct and guide work on all fronts. However, Marxism is not law and cannot take the place of the socialist legal system. Kang Sheng [1660 3932], a prominent figure in the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, screamed, what of all this law and that law, "Marxism is the fundamental great law." This is absurd in the extreme. Marxism is a kind of scientific truth, it is something belonging in the field of ideology. To have the people accept Marxism, we must use propaganda and education, but we cannot use coercive methods to make people believe in Marxism. With law it is different; law is the will of the ruling class elevated into the will of the state, and the state's coercive power ensures its execution. It is norm for actions that must be obeyed by everyone. Anyone violating the law and committing a crime will be punished. Marxism and the socialist legal system are therefore things of two different categories that must not be mixed up. It is also absolutely inadmissible to have Marxism take the place of socialist law. Those who believe that since we have the guidance of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, it is not necessary to have socialist law, are utterly wrong. If we say that one cannot force people to believe in Marxism, it does not mean in the least that one should allow people wnatonly to slander and attack Marxism, because these are two questions completely different in character and the two must not be mixed up. Article 2, paragraph 2, of our Constitution stipulates: "The guiding ideology of the PRC is Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought." This provision of the Constitution is absolutely justified and unshakable. Anyone who intends to disturb this provision is entering an extremely dangerous path.

---

*"Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5 p 129.

Marxism has been the guiding ideology in the formulation and implementation of our Constitution and of the various specific laws, including the criminal law, civil law, procedural laws, economic law, marriage law, etc. Governing the country by law can by no means downgrade or weaken the position and function of Marxism, but is rather apt to further consolidate and safeguard its position in the governing of the state and raise and enhance its function in the revolution and in construction. Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are the scientific summation of the practical experience in the people's revolutions, as they are also the theoretical weapons that we may use in guiding the people in the realities of the revolutionary struggle. Under the guidance of Marxism and on the basis of the summation of practical experiences, laws, regulations and rules were formulated on various aspects, such as politics, economics, culture, education, military affairs, foreign relations, etc., to serve as norms for all actions of the people, and obedience by everybody, high and low, to these norms was assured, so that the great function of Marxism may assert its role more accurately, more comprehensively and more effectively in guiding the people's revolutionary struggle and practice of socialist construction. In contrast, if one were not to adopt the rule of law, but the rule of man, if there were no laws to follow or no reliance on laws where such exist, and if all affairs would depend on the words of a small number of leaders, it would result in great damage to the guiding function of Marxism in the people's revolutionary struggle and in the practice of socialist construction. The positive and negative experiences since the founding of our government have taught us this truth and have fully proved this point.

The above analysis clearly shows us that upholding the four basic principles is the basic guiding ideology in implementing socialist rule by law, provides the political foundation for the socialist rule by law and points out the direction of our advance. Implementing government of the country by law is an important method and reliable guarantee for the upholding of the four basic principles. It is obviously not right to place the two, the "upholding of the four basic principles" and the "implementation of socialist rule by law" into a position of opposition to each other.

Why Can "Legal System" Not Take the Place of "Rule by Law"?

Some comrades point out that since we have already raised the proposal of "perfecting the socialist legal system," we do not need to pose again the demand for "implementation of a socialist rule by law." In our opinion this argument cannot be upheld, because "legal system" and "rule by law," although both somehow connected, are two different concepts and should not be mixed up. The concept "rule by law" has functions that cannot be taken up by the concept "legal system."

What then is the legal system? Our jurists are just debating this question and have not yet arrived at a uniform opinion. Although viewpoints are not altogether uniform, there is one point everybody can accept and that is that "legal system" refers to a system of legal controls. Every country in every period of time has had its particular legal system. In the past there was

the legal system of the slaveholder class, the legal system of the feudal class, the bourgeois legal system and the socialist legal system. The so-called legal system comprises the various laws and also the various systems concerned with the making, implementation and observance of laws. The former comprises the constitution and the criminal law, civil law, procedural laws, marriage and family laws, administrative law and labor law, the latter comprises the legislative system and the judicial system. Within the judicial system there are the trial system, the procuratorial system, lawyer system, reform through labor system, etc. Within the trial system there are the public trial system, the collegiate system, the jury system, the system of exemption due to partiality, the system of defense in court, etc. Apart from these, there are still other principles governing the legal system running through its entirety, such as the principle of democracy, of equality of independence of the judiciary, the principle of humaneness, etc. What we call "legal system" is therefore nothing but the collective term for the above-mentioned laws and systems. The concept of a legal system includes many things and is very extensive. When we usually say that "the socialist legal system is to be perfected" we mean to include here all these laws and systems.

Rule by law is something different from the legal system. The difference between the two concepts is primarily evident in the following: First, the legal system belongs in the category of systems. It is in the same category and the same set of concepts as the country's political system, system of state institutions, economic system, military system, cultural system, educational system, etc., and is spoken of relative to all these systems. "Rule by law" is different. It is a kind (and only one kind) of theory, principle and method of government. It is spoken of relative to "rule by man," which is another theory, principle and method of government. In political and legal ideology or in jurisprudence, in the past as well as at present, the two concepts always appear as antithetical. Legal system and rule by law are therefore concepts that belong to two different categories. Second, the evidence of implementation of the rule by law is that a country will have fairly perfect laws and institutions and will place special emphasis on the fact that the laws must be obeyed by every state organ, social group or individual citizen, including the highest leaders of the country, and that all affairs must be conducted strictly in accordance with law. This is the most basic meaning of this concept of rule by law. The two concepts, legal system and rule by law, are quite different in what they comprise and what they cover. Third, every country at any time in history has had its legal system, but not necessarily rule by law. A country in which the theory, principle and method of rule by man occupies a dominant and controlling position will still have its particular legal system. Evidently, legal system and rule by law are two different concepts, each has its own particular scientific meaning and each also has its special social function. The two must not be equated and they also cannot replace each other.

Of course this does not mean to say that there is no connection at all between the two concepts, the rule by law and the legal system; they are indeed closely linked. Strictly speaking, advancing the theory, principle and method of rule by law for the government of a country is to give direct service to the establishment, strengthening and perfection of a certain legal system. The establishment, strengthening and development of the socialist

legal system requires various correct theories and principles as its guiding ideology. The world outlook of dialectic materialism with its methodology, the doctrine of the correlation of the Marxist superstructure and its economic foundation, the theory of the state, the theory of class struggle, the theory of contradictions between two categories, etc., are all correct guiding ideas indispensible in building up a socialist legal system. One of these is also the theory and principle of the rule by law. The positive and negative experiences since the founding of our government have revealed to us that if we firmly uphold the theory and principle of rule by law, the establishment of the socialist legal system progresses and will grow and flourish; if we reject the theory and principle of rule of law, the establishment of the socialist legal system retrogresses and stagnates.

In history, the debate over the rule by law versus rule by man and its broad and deep influence on social politics and on the economic and cultural life is an objective fact. At different periods of history, the demand for rule by law always represented the interests of certain progressive forces and reflects the urge for social advance in whatever time it occurs, which is a fact that cannot be denied. The reason why people again and again demand rule by law as the theory and principle for the government of their country and furthermore use it to advance in their efforts to establish a legal system is certainly not that some people are seized by a whim, but because of their objective demand for social progress. During the era of socialism, the reason why people energetically advocate the rule by law is due to the same situation. Today, when more and more people in our country very forcefully advocate rule by law and oppose rule by man, the demand for rule by law has begun to sink in deeply into the minds of the people. This fact alone is eloquent proof that the principle and slogan of "ruling the country according to law" is of great vitality.

9808
CSO: 4005/781

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'BA YI RADIO' ON INJUSTICE, DISTORTION OF LIN BIAO CASE

OW071213 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 4 May 82

[Text] By the middle of April, nine of the so-called important criminals of the Lin Biao case had been released after serving only part of their sentences because of illnesses. Although their release was approved by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, PLA cadres do not appreciate his mercifulness because these comrades, though set free, are too ill to live long. Moreover, these comrades have been suffering mental agonies which are worse than the torture of their illnesses. More than 3,170 PLA leaders at various levels are in jail because of their involvement in the Lin Biao case, a case of injustice. Most of them were arrested when the "gang of four" rode roughshod. Some of them were put in jail after Comrade Deng Xiaoping regained the position of chief of general staff and took charge of the work of the military commission of the CCP Central Committee. Others entered prison sometime around the public trial of Huang Yongsheng and other comrades. If the leaders of the military commission of the CCP Central Committee are truly concerned about and sympathetic with the leaders of the former military commission, they should nullify the blacklist material fabricated by Kang Sheng and the "gang of four" and give the Lin Biao case a fair and objective retrial.

The right and wrong of a historical issue, particularly an important historical event such as the Lin Biao case, should not be decided by a certain person of a certain group of persons according to his or their likes and dislikes. A fabrication, exaggeration or distortion of facts will reveal its true features sooner or later.

Emperor Kangxi, a man of considerable talent and bold vision in Chinese history, once wrote these comments on a report: I dare not rashly decide the right or wrong. If I do so, someone in the future will blame me when he makes fair comments about me. I fear people of the future generations, not people of the present.

Feudal emperors had absolute power, but people of later generations are not subservient to the power of past rulers. They will correctly appraise the right and wrong of historical events. In the past, Chairman Mao and the

"gang of four" brought unfounded charges against comrades Peng Dehuai, Liu Shaoqi, He Long, Tao Zhu, Peng Zhen and others. Although they were approved by the party national congress and plenary session of the party Central Committee, haven't those charges been repudiated? Moreover, differences over the Lin Biao case have always existed within the CCP Central Committee and its military commission.

Comrade (Wang Yucheng) said at a Hubei meeting of responsible cadres of provincial level organs: several comrades expressed different views when the Political Bureau was considering the question concerning Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and Jiang Tengjiao. Later, those comrades' views were proven wrong.

In fact, Comrade (Wang Yucheng's) subjective view is wrong. It goes without saying that the Lin Biao case is a case of injustice, distortion and exaggeration. In fact, the great majority of those who are serving sentences are innocent. If the witnesses of this generation do not reach a just, final conclusion on this event, the next generation will surely seek truth from facts and expose the right and wrong of this historical event.

CSO: 4005/843

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' DISCUSSES NATIONALITIES WORK

HK080430 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 May 82 p 5

[Article by Jiang Ping [3068 1627] and Huang Zhu [7806 6999]: "Certain Questions in Nationalities Work"]

[Text] Since the third plenary session, the CCP Central Committee has attached great importance to nationalities problems and to nationalities work. The party's policy toward nationalities which had proved efficient has been revived and enriched. CCP committees and people's governments at different levels have also done a great deal of work, and thus obviously improved the relations between nationalities and daily consolidated the foundation of the unity between nationalities. This is the true nature and major aspect of the matter.

The general principle of the party's nationalities work is to assist all minority nationalities in achieving overall political, economic and cultural development, and in advancing unceasingly along the socialist road, to realize step-by-step real equality between all nationalities. Here we would like to give our opinions on certain questions of nationalities work.

I. The Question of Equality Between Nationalities and Regional National Autonomy

Equality between nationalities is the foundation of unity between nationalities. We communists object to national oppression and advocate equality between nationalities. This is one of our basic points of view in regard to the nationalities problem. With the founding of the PRC and the establishment of the socialist system, we overthrew the system of national oppression, eliminated the sources of suspicion, discrimination and confrontation between nationalities, and thus ensured once and for all general equality between different nationalities. However, racial discrimination and the distrust between nationalities which has existed for a long time cannot be completely eliminated at one stroke. Since 1958, certain "leftist" mistakes in regard to the nationalities problem, in particular the destruction caused by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, have even encouraged these tendencies. We must resolutely oppose all words and acts which may hurt the unity and equality of nationalities, and consolidate and develop our new type of socialist relationships between nationalities.

But, anyway, we should never improperly exaggerate these phenomena of inequality between nationalities and relate all problems to the inequality between nationalities. For example, there exists undeniable inequality between the Han nationality and minority nationalities, and between minority nationalities themselves. This is a historical issue which is mainly due to the unbalanced development of social productivity. The actual inequality of the equal rights enjoyed by different nationalities is quite different from the inequality of political and legal rights among different nationalities [sentences as published] Therefore, they should not be confused. Our socialist system has opened a road to eliminating this actual inequality. But it is not possible to completely eliminate this within a short period. Lenin said, "A large nationality must cancel out the inequality which actually exists in life by applying unequal treatment to itself. "In fact, our party and state are taking such an attitude and have done this in many fields. For example, we have lowered the admission requirements minority nationality candidates to institutes of higher learning, the state provides a great deal of financial subsidies to those regions of minority nationalities, and so on. All these measures embody this spirit.

Regional national autonomy is the fundamental policy of our party in correctly handling the nationalities problems in our country. As every locality subject to national autonomy is an undivisible part of our motherland, and every autonomous organ is a local government under the centralized leadership of the central people's government, they enjoy the rights derived from autonomy. In other words, they can handle their own local political, economic and cultural problems and enact specific decrees, based on adhering to the constitution and the law, the principle of democratic centralism, the line, principles and policies of the party, and according to the local conditions of the nationalities and in the regions. As for those principles and policies which are stipulated by the central government or superior organs, and which do not conform with local circumstances, autonomous localities and organs are exempt from the obligation to implement them, or they can just make appropriate adaptations in implementing them. The only thing they have to abide by is to ask for instructions in important problems, and make reports after handling ordinary problems. This is what has been stipulated in "the resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC"-- "to ensure the decisionmaking power of every minority nationality region in implementing the policies of the party and the state in the light of the actual local circumstances." In a large and unified multinational country like ours, the lack of regional national autonomy and full autonomous rights will be an obstacle to fully mobilizing the initiative of the people of various nationalities, to giving special consideration to the varied national and regional characteristics, to ensuring the equal rights of minority nationalities, and to consolidating and developing the unity between nationalities and unification of the country.

However, some problems with regard to the understanding on the party's policy of regional national autonomy still need to be appropriately clarified at present, so as to facilitate the healthy development of regional national

autonomy. First of all, our regional nationality autonomy is an autonomy under unified central leadership; the autonomous rights are exercised subject to the constitution and the law, in accordance with the party's principles and policies, and under the CCP Central Committee's unified leadership. This is not the same as the so-called "national sovereignty" which tends to cast off the guidance of the central leadership and deviates from the party's principles and policies. Second, our regional national autonomy is not equivalent to the so-called "nationality autonomy," which does not correspond to a specific geographical division (Marxism always opposes such nationality autonomy), but to a kind of regional autonomy which is limited to those regions where minority nationalities live in compact communities. Therefore, no nationality is allowed, independent of the whole entity of nationalities, to manage on its own the local economic construction and the nationwide four modernization construction and promote "by its own efforts" the so-called "national economic system." Third, the basic characteristics of the nationalities relations in our country is that the Han nationality population, which amounts to more than 900 million, is much larger than the total population of all the minority nationalities, which amounts to only tens of millions. Moreover, the latter is distributed over a vast area, and most of these minority nationalities live together with the Han nationality or in their own groups. Therefore, we should not take the proportion of population as the sole criterion for granting regional national autonomy. A nationality with a relatively large population is qualified for autonomy, which another nationality with a relatively small population can also be granted autonomy. In fact, it is not true that only in localities where a minority nationality accounts for the majority of local population can autonomy be implemented. Fourth, since autonomous localities are inhabited by several minority nationalities and the Han nationality; in order to consolidate regional national autonomy, not only must the relations between the upper levels and the lower levels be properly handled but also the relations between the nationalities in the autonomous locality itself. This not only means the relations between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities but also the relations between the minority nationalities have to be properly handled. The correct practice must be: the Han nationality should enthusiastically take the initiative in assisting minority nationalities to promote autonomy well; minority nationalities and the Han nationality must unite and respect and help each other; and different minority nationalities should consult each other in regard to affairs of common interest and handle them in a unified and planned way. Only in this way can we push various nationalities to unite, advance together and prosper together.

Vigorously cultivating a contingent of national cadres who stick to the party's principles and policies, maintain close links with the masses of various nationalities, possess a rich knowledge of science and culture and are professionally competent; and replenishing this contingent so as to make the proportion of nationality cadres in the total number of cadres match the ratio of the population of minority nationalities to the total population of the

autonomous locality--these form the key to consolidating regional national autonomy and making minority nationalities the masters of their own autonomous localities. At present, we must increase the number of nationality cadres step-by-step. At the same time, we must also take effective measures to vigorously train the existing nationality cadres. We must promote those excellent young and middle-aged cadres who have both ability and political integrity and are enjoying great popularity among the masses to various leading posts in party, government and mass organizations at different levels, and vest them with titles and authority. Here the central issue is: increasing the number of nationality cadres must be integrated with the intensification of their communist spirit. In other words, we must strengthen their education in communism while expanding the contingent of minority nationality cadres.

Since the founding of the PRC, the party and the government have successively sent a great number of Han nationality cadres and technical personnel to work in minority nationality regions. The majority of them have long been sincerely and enthusiastically serving the people of all nationalities, while establishing close ties with the people of minority nationalities and fostering a large number of minority nationality cadres. In the future, we will still have to send a certain number of Han nationality cadres, especially scientific and technical personnel and specialists in other fields to work in minority nationality regions, and help these regions to change their backward appearance.

As emphatically pointed out by the CCP Central Committee, Han nationality cadres working in minority nationality regions should have the correct concept that work cannot be properly promoted without the cooperation of minority nationality cadres. Similarly, minority nationality cadres should also have the correct concept that work cannot be properly done without the help of Han nationality cadres. This is an extremely important spirit, which we must thoroughly understand and resolutely carry out.

II. The Question of Developing the Economies of Minority Nationalities

An economy is a foundation. Our minority nationality areas must take economic construction as the key and strive to promote the economy. We hope that all minority nationality areas will strive to improve their backward appearance by means of practical work and pay a solid foundation for future development. At least one or two autonomous regions and nationality provinces must attain the average national standard of development. Premier Zhao Xiyang emphatically pointed out in his government work report to the fourth session of the Fifth NPC: "Ours is a unified multinational country. Our 10 principles for economic construction are, in general, all applicable to the minority nationalities areas. But they should be implemented with due consideration to specific local characteristics and conditions." "In particular, we reaffirmed last year that the right of the minority nationalities to regional autonomy must be respected and that the national autonomous areas should be

allowed to adopt specific policies suited to their economic conditions and national characteristics. This policy has led to favorable results in the economic development of the minority nationality areas and we should persevere with it."

The following are some of our opinions on the question of developing the economies of the nationalities:

1. We must continue upholding the flexible policies and do a good job of implementing and perfecting the economic responsibility system. In most of the minority nationality areas where the standard of the development of productivity is rather low, we must adopt more flexible measures. In areas which are extremely backward, we must adopt particularly flexible measures. In the future, we must gradually perfect and stabilize the production responsibility system of remuneration according to output in accordance with the local conditions in various places and the masses' desire. Fundamentally speaking, the [passage indistinct] of promoting the agricultural and animal husbandry responsibility system and promoting agricultural and animal husbandry production means doing a good job of work in the minority nationality areas.

2. We must formulate the major principles for production and construction by proceeding from the actual conditions of the minority nationality [word indistinct] most of the minority nationalities live in the border areas, hilly areas and grasslands where there are limited conditions for developing grain production but which are very rich in other resources. Therefore, it is necessary to give play to the merits, avoid the shortcomings and develop diversification. In areas where conditions for developing grain production are poor, we must appropriately lower the grain procurement quota and allow the people to exchange cash crops for grain so that they will stop destroying the forests to open up farmland.

3. In accordance with the principle of the CCP Central Committee, expanded reproduction in the future will mainly rely on technical renovation, giving full play to the role of existing enterprises. Over the past years, a certain number of plants have been constructed in the minority nationality areas. However, the economic returns of these plants are greatly lower than the average national standard and are much lower than those in the advanced areas. Therefore, we must grasp well technical renovation in the existing enterprises in the future in order to improve the economic returns. At the same time, where conditions permit, it is also necessary to appropriately construct new plants to develop the processing industry because most of the minority nationality areas have a poor industrial foundation to start with. We must ensure the fulfillment of the raw materials allocation quotas assigned by the CCP Central Committee, but we must gradually change the situation in which the minority nationality areas are only raw materials supply areas. Some of the raw materials can be supplied to other parts of the country after being processed. For other raw materials which are not included in the allocation plans, we should more actively processing industries.

4. We must follow the path of promoting joint operations. It is impossible for the minority nationality areas to do without the help of the advanced areas. Over the past few years, in response to the call of the CCP Central Committee, various sectors of the advanced areas have provided aid to relevant sectors in some minority nationality areas and obtained good results. In addition, the advanced areas have also jointly built some plants with the minority nationality areas. In some cases, after fulfilling the state's allocation quota, the minority nationality areas have provided raw materials to advanced areas which have then processed and sold them. The profits gained were shared between both parties. The minority nationality areas enjoy superiority in many resources and can get very good economic results if they carry out technical cooperation with advanced areas. At the same time, these areas should also try to make use of foreign capital in appropriate forms under the state's unified arrangement and should import technology.

5. We must conscientiously implement the "decision on strengthening education for workers and staff members" made by the CCP Central Committee and the State Council, and provide training for the workers and staff members in a planned and scheduled way. Regarding the peasants and herdsmen, we must also, in accordance with needs and capabilities, organize short-term rotational training in advanced farming and animal husbandry techniques.

6. In exploiting the resources in the minority nationality areas, it is necessary to integrate the state's interest with the personal interests of the minority nationality people. In the past, we did not pay much attention to this aspect and the guiding ideology was not made clear, which consequently led to contradictions between the state and the minority nationalities. We must pay attention to solving this problem in the future.

7. It is necessary to integrate state assistance with self-reliance in developing economies of the minority nationality areas. The state must vigorously support the minority nationality areas in the areas of finance, manpower and material supplies. All the minority nationality areas must arduously struggle, accumulate and economize on construction funds.

We must put it this way. The state has already allocated a large sum of money to the minority nationality areas, but some of the money has not been correctly used and the economic returns were unsatisfactory. In the future, we must set up an effective method to handle, use and supervise various funds set aside for subsidizing and assisting the minority nationalities, including funds set aside for assisting underdeveloped areas and used for the minority nationalities. Thus, the funds will be handled properly and really used for the minority nationalities.

8. Under the state's unified leadership and unified planning, we [passage indistinct] of the financial and economic system and deciding on what financial and economic policies to implement in accordance with the local conditions.

9. We must adopt powerful measures to help those very poor minority nationality areas and those nationalities which have [word indistinct] people. The economic situation in the minority nationality areas has been improved with each passing year since the third plenary session. However, up to now, there are still some areas and nationalities which have not shown obvious improvement. In regard to this situation, we suggest all areas adopt effective measures to gradually solve the problems. They should follow the examples of Yunnan and Guangxi where comprehensive work teams were sent to minority nationality areas to solve problems.

10. The nationalities affairs commission must do a good job of the following as far as economic construction of the minority nationality areas is concerned: 1. study the economic theories, economic knowledge, the party's economic policy and economic strategy; 2. study and carry out research in the economic situation of the minority nationalities areas, and put forth suggestions when problems are detected; 3. promptly report situations to the CCP Central Committee and the party committees; 4. work with the concerted efforts of departments concerned to study questions of principles and policies for agriculture, animal husbandry, industry, commerce and other trades in the minority nationality areas, and conduct necessary meetings; 5. in accordance with the power delegated by the party and the state, handle and supervise funds set aside for the nationalities and pay attention to examining the results.

III. The Question of Developing the Culture and Education of Nationalities

The problem of developing the culture, education, science and public health work of nationalities has become very acute.

The cultural and educational development of minority nationalities is very uneven. A few nationalities have a development similar to that of the Han nationality. But cultural and educational development of the majority of the minority nationalities are very backward. This has been caused by long-term historical factors.

The CCP Central Committee is very concerned about helping the minority nationalities develop culture and education. It was stipulated in the "decision on certain questions of popularizing primary education" made by the CCP Central Committee and the State Council in 1980: "The state should give vigorous support to the development of education in the minority nationality areas. It is necessary to adopt special measures in developing culture and education in the very backward minority nationality areas. The state will be responsible for free education in the poorest areas." Later, the leading comrades of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council approved the "opinion on strengthening nationalities education work" put forth by the Ministry of Education and the State Nationalities Affairs Commission. This document put forth a set of principles, policies and measures for the development of nationalities education in accordance with the local conditions.

What merits our attention is that great importance has not been attached to the question of backward culture and education of the minority nationalities. Some areas not only refuse to spend more money on developing education but try every possible means to misappropriate funds set aside for educational development. Some areas neglect culture and education as soon as they stress the economy. This situation is a great obstacle in changing the backward cultural and educational situation in the minority nationalities. We must realize that vigorously helping the minority nationalities develop culture, education and science is key to showing concern and giving them assistance.

In developing nationalities culture and education, we must attach great importance to the teaching of, translation of, publication of newspapers and magazines in, and the broadcasting and dubbing of films in the languages of the minority nationalities. It is necessary to take nationalities' languages as the medium of instruction among primary and secondary students who do not understand or speak the Chinese language. At the same time, it is necessary to encourage students to learn Chinese and other foreign languages. The medium of instruction in schools depends on whether or not it is conducive to imparting knowledge. In schools where the students can communicate well in Chinese and can read and write well in Chinese, there is no need to take the nationality languages as the media of instruction. Otherwise, there will be misunderstandings between Han nationality teachers and minority nationalities students. In certain institutes of higher learning, if there is a shortage of teachers who can teach in the nationalities languages, a shortage of necessary textbooks and reference books in the nationalities languages, or if most of the students do not understand the nationalities languages, instruction in nationalities languages should not be pushed forward. We should not exclude these kinds of schools from nationalities education merely because of this.

IV. The Problem of Education in National Unity

Our great Chinese nation (including all nationalities in the country) has a long brilliant history. From the Qin and Han dynasties, a unified multinational country with centralized power began to take shape. Despite class oppression and nationality oppression in history, there formed among our various nationalities, after a long historical test, a Chinese nation marked by great cohesion. A modern times, imperialist aggression has subjected various nationalities in our country to the same fate of foreign oppression and aroused the people of all nationalities in a common struggle against imperialism. Especially in the period of new democratic revolution, the people of all nationalities in our country were united in a revolutionary war against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. They finally achieved the victory in the people's revolution and founded the unified People's Republic of China. Our "Common Program" and "Constitution" clearly state: The People's Republic of China is a unified multinational country with equality of all nationalities and autonomy for the regions of various nationalities. All such autonomous regions are an inseparable part of the

People's Republic of China. This was unanimously agreed upon after full discussions by the representatives of various nationalities and was an embodiment of the free will of all nationalities. This also meant national self-determination for all nationalities in China, which was a matter of significance in world history.

After the founding of the PRC, in order to carry out the party's policy toward nationalities, and strengthen national unity, regular education of the nationalities policy was conducted for a time. Unfortunately this process was later interrupted by the appearance of "leftist" mistakes. Since the downfall of the "gang of four" and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party Central Committee has attached great importance to education in national unity, the party's nationalities policy and fundamental Marxist viewpoints on nationalities and problems concerning nationalities. All parts of the country have done a large amount of work. But what has been done is not extensive or penetrating enough.

In the government work report at the fourth session of the Fifth NPC, Premier Zhao Ziyang also pointed out: "We must seriously and repeatedly conduct education in the nationalities policy among people and cadres of all nationalities, improve and develop socialist nationality relations and strengthen unity and mutual help between various nationalities." We must adopt various means and conduct extensive and penetrating education among people of all nationalities.

Education in fundamental Marxist viewpoints on nationalities and problems concerning nationalities is the basis of education in the nationalities policy and national unity. We should take effective measures to conduct such education well among cadres of all nationalities and especially among party members and party member cadres of all nationalities. This is also part of the party's capital construction effort in the regions of various nationalities.

In conducting education in the nationalities policy, we must not only make a point of guarding against Han chauvinism but also pay attention to overcoming and preventing regional nationalism. In their relations with other minority nationalities, the minority nationality that occupies a dominant position in a region must also pay attention to overcoming and preventing big-nationality chauvinism. Past experiences and lessons may be summed up in the following several guiding rules: 1) We must not only oppose Han chauvinism but also oppose regional nationalism. 2) The most important thing is to make a point of overcoming and guarding against Han chauvinism. Only by so doing can a contribution be made to the effort in overcoming and guarding against regional nationalism. As to which tendency is the dominant one in a given period in a given area, a concrete analysis must be made with reality in mind. 3) Han chauvinism or regional nationalism

must be treated as a contradiction among the people. We must put emphasis on education and seek a solution through the means of study, the means of criticism and self-criticism and the means of reasoning things out. 4) We must not use the label of Han chauvinist or the label of regional nationalist. Any offense against the law must be dealt with according to law. Before the law, everyone is equal. People of a particular nationality should not shield any criminals of the same nationality. Instead, they should actively fight these criminals. 5) We must pay attention to drawing a clear line of distinction between proper national sentiments or opinions representing the proper interests of a nationality and nationalism. 6) We must refrain from using the method of launching a mass political movement.

V. The Question of Strengthening and Improving Party Leadership

In order to improve and develop socialist nationality relations and strengthen nationality unity, we should strengthen and improve party leadership over nationalities work.

In our country, the nationalities problem is a very important one concerning the unity of the motherland, the consolidation of national defenses, stability, unity and modernization. Party committees at all levels and party committees of the regions of various nationalities in particular must treat nationalities work as a major matter and strengthen and improve the party leadership in this respect. They must link the four basic principles with the features peculiar to nationalities and continuously carry out the guidelines of taking a prudent approach and making steady progress. This is a guarantee for the proper handling of nationalities work.

In the nationality regions, we must establish a party organization which is capable of adhering to the four basic principles, establishing close links with the masses of people, acting in unity and showing great militancy. This is a matter of decisive significance. The party knows no distinction between nationalities. The party cannot be divided into one for this nationality and another for that nationality. The party leadership organs or the leaders cannot be elected by people of a single nationality. The party is a proletarian vanguard. All communist party members must be imbued with party spirit. Concerning those people who place nationalism above party spirit, we must strengthen education and make them correct themselves in a realistic way. Regarding historical factors, we must be guided by the spirit of taking a broadminded rather than a narrow-minded approach to historical problems and uniting for the sake of the future. We must seek a solution through criticism and self-criticism and through mutual understanding and mutual concession. We hope that the party organizations of minority nationalities can give full play to the traditions of Yanan and fully benefit by their own historical experiences, building themselves into a solid core or bulwark that leads the people of all nationalities in carrying out socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/843

HUBEI MEETING DISCUSSES MAO'S YANAN 'TALKS'

HK090624 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] An academic forum on Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," convened by the Hubei Provincial Social Science Institute and Federation of Social Science Associations, concluded on 7 May. The 150 participants aired their views in connection with reality and held fervent discussions. Over 50 theses were presented.

The participants held: Comrade Mao Zedong's "talks" is a brilliant work of major historical and current significance. It has enriched and developed Marxist-Leninist literature and art theory. It has guided the development of China's revolutionary literature and art cause for 40 years.

They all held: The question of whom literature and art should serve remains a fundamental issue and a matter of principle today. Our literature and art must persistently follow the orientation of serving the people and socialism. Many moving deeds of progressive figures have come to the fore in the course of accomplishing the motherland's four modernizations. These should become the main topics for description and praise in our literature and art.

The meeting held: social life is the sole source of literature and art. Revolutionary writers should go deep into the masses' life for a long time. In particular they should become familiar with and express topics of major historical and current significance. This is extremely important for overcoming certain unhealthy trends in writing at present.

The meeting also discussed issues such as criteria for literature and art criticism, writing methods, democratization and popularization. The participants pledged: We must adhere to the basic spirit of the "talks," seriously study the new situations and problems in literature and art, and make still greater contributions to promoting socialist literature and art and building specialist spiritual civilization.

CSO: 4005/843

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GANSU TRAINS PARTY MEMBERS ON PRINCIPLES, POLICIES

SK080342 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 7 May 82

[Text] Last year provincial party organs at all levels sponsored rotational training courses for 530,000 party in urban and rural areas--70 percent of the province's total--to enable them to receive education on the party's purpose, the party's line, principles and policies and the party's three major work styles. During the rotational trainings for rural party members, all localities stressed the study of the central resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People's Republic of China and, in the light of the reality, emphatically solved problems arising in the people's understanding of the current situation and the party's rural policies and educated party members to take the lead in implementing and improving all kinds of production responsibility systems, properly handle the relations of the state, the collectives and the individuals and be models in building the socialist material and spiritual civilizations. All localities integrated the rotational training of party members with the strengthening of the party's basic organizations. At the same time, they conducted democratic reelections among over 80 percent of grassroots level party organizations and established and improved a number of systems necessary for the education of grassroots-level party members.

Through rotational trainings, party organs have clarified some confused ideas of party members, enhanced their consciousness in implementing the party's line, principles and policies and heightened their spirit. Many party members of communes and brigades have pledged to take the lead in publicizing and implementing the party's line, principles and policies, fulfilling all production contracts and procurement and assigned procurement tasks, studying scientific and cultural knowledge, doing assigned farming work well, helping the masses to become prosperous through hard work, safeguarding the collective economy, changing old customs and social habits, carrying out the campaign on five stresses and four points of beauty, practicing birth control and bringing into play the role of party members as vanguards and models.

CSO: 4005/843

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

GUANGXI WATER POLO MATCH--On the evening of 5 May a water polo match was held in Nanning between the Guangdong and Guangxi water polo teams. Guangxi beat Guangdong by a score of 6 to 5. Leading regional party and government comrades including Qiao Xiaoguang, Guangxi regional CCP committee first secretary, and Xu Qihai attended the match. [HK070638 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 May 82]

XIAN ACADEMIC MEETING--A national meeting on study and research of ancient literature and art opened in the Northwest University in Xian on 6 May, attended by 180 experts, professors and students from all over the country. Leading comrades of Shaanxi Province including Ma Wenrui, Chen Yuanfang, and Lin Yinru attended the opening ceremony. Chen Yuanfang made a speech. He noted that the study of ancient literature and art represents an important content of building spiritual civilization. The meeting has received more than 20 congratulatory cables, including one from Lanzhou PLA units First Political Commissar Xiao Hua. [HK070157 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 6 May 82]

SHAANXI JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATION--A rally was held in Xian on 30 April to mark the establishment of the Shaanxi Provincial Journalists' Association. Chen Yuanfang, secretary of the provincial CCP committee; (Huang Zhi), Standing Committee member of the provincial CCP committee and director of the propaganda department of the provincial CCP committee; and (Lu Gang), deputy director of the propaganda department, attended. (Huang Zhi) spoke at the rally, encouraging journalists throughout the province to do journalism well in the new historical period. Before the rally was held, the association had held a council meeting to discuss and adopt the regulations of the association, to arrange for work of the association in 1982 and to elect members of the council and responsible persons of the association. [HK060639 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 2 May 82 HK]

YOUTH CADRES TRAINING CLASS--An opening ceremony for the second training class of national youth work cadres sponsored by the CYL school of the CYL Central Committee was held in Beijing on the afternoon of 5 May. Zhang Wensong, vice minister of the Ministry of Education, and Zhou Pengcheng, secretary of the secretariat of the CYL Central Committee, attended the ceremony and spoke. They urged the trainees to devote themselves to youth work and make contributions to educating China's young people to be successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. [OW100331 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1600 GMT 5 May 82 OW]

CSO: 4005/843

END

JPRS 80953

1 June 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 305

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 80953

1 June 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 305

CONTENTS

PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'Ba Yi Radio' Comments on Deng-Bush Talks
(Ba Yi Radio, 9 May 82) 1

'Ba Yi Radio' On Bush Visit, Military Talks
(Ba Yi Radio, 16 May 82) 3

Briefs
CIA Trains Security Cadres 5
Few U.S. Banks Willing to Invest 5
Philippine Premier 'Inspects' Nansha Islands 5

PARTY AND STATE

Overseas Chinese Legal Advisory Committee Set Up
(XINHUA, 6 May 82) 6

Ulanhu's Memorial Speech for Sha Qianli
(XINHUA, 11 May 82) 7

CCP Leaders' Letters to Soong Ching Ling Found
(XINHUA, 17 May 82) 10

CCP Publication Bureau Holds Publishing Forum
(XINHUA, 10 May 82) 11

Jurist Zhang Youyu on Constitution Draft
(WANBAO, 28 Apr 82) 12

'WEN HUI BAO' Stresses Crackdown on Economic Crimes in Shanghai
(WEN HUI BAO, 1 Apr 82) 15

Party Members of Shanghai Mill Rectify Work Style
(Li Shiwei; JIEFANG RIBAO, 28 Mar 82) 19

Shanghai Urged to Build Material, Spiritual Civilizations
(Editorial; WEN HUI BAO, 5 Apr 82) 21

Jiangxi Leaders Discuss Revised Constitution
(Shi Jianxiu and Hu Yaxian Interview; Jiangxi Provincial Service, 11 May 82) 25

'Ba Yi' Stresses Improving People's Livelihood
(Ba Yi Radio, 10 May 82) 26

Briefs
Revised Constitution Will Cause Conflicts 28
Anhui Meeting Discusses Constitution 28
Hua Guofeng's Resignation 28

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Zhou Zijian Attends Courtesy Campaign Meeting
(Anhui Provincial Service, 15 May 82) 29

Zhou Yang Addresses Literature, Art Study Class
(XINHUA, 8 May 82) 30

Song Emperor Opposed Obscene Writing
(Liu Shaoying; WANBAO, 4 May 82) 31

Chengdu Hosts West China Propaganda Meeting
(Sichuan Provincial Service, 14 May 82) 33

Awards Announced for Best 1980-81 Drama, Opera Scripts
(XINHUA, 17 May 82) 34

Briefs
Tie Ying Meets Tennis Players 36
Xiang Nam Attends Exhibition 36
Hubei Nursing Society Opening 36
Fewer Jobs for Vocational Graduates 37
Subscription Restrictions Lifted 37
College Graduates 37
Undergraduates' Labor, Military Training 37

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

'CHENG MING' on Relations Between Deng, Ye
(Luo Ping; CHENG MING, 1 May 82) 38

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'BA YI RADIO' COMMENTS ON DENG-BUSH TALKS

OW101357 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 9 May 82

[Text] Regardless of opposition by other leading comrades of the Party Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping firmly decided to invite U.S. Vice President Bush to visit China in order to hold talks with the latter on the question of Sino-American relations.

Other comrades hold, however, that the stand taken by the United States on its arms sales to Taiwan is intolerable. Flatly rejecting our demand that it discontinue its supply of weapons to the Kuomintang, the U.S. Government is continuing to pursue its polity of two Chinas, thus interfering with out country's internal affairs. In view of the fact that the U.S. authorities have been clinging to their policy of being hostile to our country in dealing with major issues in Sino-American relations, most leading comrades hold that continuing the talks with the United States is meangingless.

Regrettably, submitting to U.S. hegemonism under U.S. political and economic pressure, Comrade Deng Xiaoping decided to hold talks with Bush on the so-called strategic issues of common interest.

What has infuriated people is that while Bush was visiting China, American leaders particularly showed their uncompromising attitude toward the Taiwan issue. President Reagan himself absurdly declared: In the long-term strategic interests of the United States, we will continue to supply weapons to Taiwan in order to ensure the security of Taiwan and the freedom and independence of its people.

Moreover, it was during Bush's visit to our country that the U.S. Congress was flagrantly discussing a batch of new weapons and military-related parts for the Kuomintang.

Shortly before his departure for our country, Bush asserted with ulterior motives: Our stand on providing U.S. arms for Taiwan is known to all. We will not make any concessions on this question, and talks on this question are meaningless.

Thus, people cannot but ask: What was the purpose of Bush's visit to China? What strategic issues did he discuss with Deng Xiaoping?

It can be seen from the agenda of the talks that the United States simply wanted Comrade Deng Xiaoping not to raise the Taiwan question again and to lay aside for the time being this important issue in Sino-American relations. At the same time, the American side called for discussing the so-called strategic issues of common interest, including the expansion of Sino-American cooperation in international affairs and the strengthening of cooperation between the two countries on strategic issues not only in the Far East and Asia but in the world as well. In other words, Bush played political tricks in the talks. Using the bait that our country will play a role as an equal partner in the U.S. global strategy, Bush attempted to induce our country into renouncing its sovereignty over Taiwan forever.

Bush's visit to China this time further proves that the ultimate aim of U.S. policy toward China is to bring our country into the orbit of the U.S. global strategy and to tie our country ever more firmly to the imperialist chariot so that our country will serve as a pawn in its policy of aggression. Obviously, this heinous U.S. imperialist scheme is designed to seriously harm the national interests of our country.

Despite all this, Comrade Deng Xiaoping held talks with Bush and once again made concessions to the United States on major issues of principle, which is most unwise and dangerous.

CSO: 4005/860

'BA YI RADIO' ON BUSH VISIT, MILITARY TALKS

OW190220 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 16 May 82

[Text] The working conference of the Military Commission held on 12 May discussed several military questions touched on during the recent talks with U.S. Vice President Bush. Several comrades spoke up and pointed out positively that the results of the talks show that the United States will continue to supply weapons to Taiwan.

On his arrival in the United States, Bush himself openly stated at the airport that "We and the Republic of China [Zhonghua Minguo] are tested friends, and we shall never ignore our old friend." In other words, U.S. leaders have once again made known to the world that they plan to provide military assistance to the Kuomintang indefinitely and pursue a "two Chinas" policy.

From now on we should take this policy of the U.S. authorities into full account in our policy and strategic considerations. However, despite everything, someone still insists on a line of allying with the United States. A certain person believes in the nonsense that U.S. arms sales to Taiwan do not matter very much. To maintain friendship with the United States and for the sake of so-called common strategic interests, this person is trying in every possible way to prevent our government from taking a strong position against U.S. interference in China's internal affairs and stepped-up military cooperation with the Kuomintang.

Anyone with a little elementary military knowledge understands that extensive U.S. military aid to the Taiwan authorities and supplies of highly destructive weapons will certainly further strengthen the Kuomintang's military power. In short, the weapons are to be used against us and are aimed at PLA units stationed along our southeast coast. Any PLA commander or fighter can get killed by these U.S. weapons. How can anyone say that this is a minor issue which does not matter very much?

As to so-called common strategic interests, on the common enemy to be opposed, U.S.-Chinese global strategic cooperation and so forth suggested by Bush during the talks, we should especially maintain sharp vigilance. These high-sounding words are nothing but a U.S. scheme for self-benefit at the expense of others. Without doubt, U.S. imperialism has long planned

to use China in opposing the Soviet Union, India, Afghanistan and other countries on its behalf. And U.S. imperialism will sit on top of the mountain to watch the tigers fight and take advantage of the situation to benefit itself.

For example, the U.S. side proposed during the talks to set up in northeast China, Xizang and other places, radar intelligence bases similar to those already set up in northwest China. However, setting up additional U.S. radar intelligence networks in China's border regions can only worsen our relations with our neighboring countries, and the United States will make more gains, particularly military gains, in the process.

Historical experience has shown us that so-called cooperation on an equal footing with the United States more often than not turns out to be the kind of cooperation between a horseman and his horse. As to the advantages of allying with the United States advertised by a certain person, so far our country has not gained anything real politically, economically or militarily. In the meantime, however, our fundamental national interests in reunifying the motherland have suffered serious losses because of difficulties created by our American friends.

CSO: 4005/860

BRIEFS

CIA TRAINS SECURITY CADRES--Since Comrade Deng Xiaoping's 1979 trip to the United States, China's Public Security Ministry and the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] of the United States have laid down a foundation for the development of relations. Now 10 Chinese public security cadres are undergoing training at the CIA to learn the methods of operation of the U.S. special service organization. Meanwhile, a number of U.S. special agents and military instructors are in China [words indistinct]. [Text] [OW121334 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 11 May 82]

FEW U.S. BANKS WILLING TO INVEST--Speaking at the meeting on the work of the ministry and committees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Huang Hua, minister of foreign affairs, said that in the past 3 years, some 80 private banks of the United States conducted socioeconomic investigations in China, but very few of them were willing to invest in China. Scientific and technological exchanges have also been unsatisfactory. So far only outdated military and civilian technology and equipment has been imported and it has been very expensive. [Text] [OW121332 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 11 May 82]

PHILIPPINE PREMIER 'INSPECTS' NANSHA ISLANDS--Immediately after the outbreak of the British-Argentine conflict over the Malvinas Islands, Philippine Prime Minister Virata went on a so-called inspection tour of some of China's Nansha Islands, which were occupied by the Philippines in 1978. He said that the Philippines will defend these strategically important places with their rich underground resources and will not allow encroachment by China or any other countries. The Philippine prime minister emphatically said that U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger, during his recent visit to the Philippines, guaranteed that the United States would assist the Philippines in accordance with the joint defense treaty if the territories of the Philippines, including the Nansha Islands, were invaded by any other country. [Text] [OW121336 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 11 May 82]

CSO: 4005/860

OVERSEAS CHINESE LEGAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE SET UP

OW080953 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1311 GMT 6 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 6 May (XINHUA)--The Legal Advisory Committee of the All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese was set up today in Beijing.

Zhang Youyu, vice chairman of the Commission of Legislative Affairs of the NPC Standing Committee and vice president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, was appointed chairman of the Legal Advisory Committee. Li Tiezheng, Lin Hengyuan, Zhang Sizhi and Zhang Chukun were appointed vice chairmen.

The Legal Advisory Committee was established in accordance with the decision of the enlarged session of the Standing Committee of the All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese. Its main functions are to provide legal counsel for the protection of the legitimate rights of returned overseas Chinese and their families, to provide legal assistance to them in dealing with major cases of offense that infringe on their legitimate rights and to answer legal questions raised by them.

Zhuang Xiquan, vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee and chairman of the All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese, attended and addressed the founding ceremony. Lin Yixin, deputy director of the State Council's Overseas Chinese Affairs Office, also spoke at the ceremony. Lin Yixin pointed out: The Legal Advisory Committee was founded to implement the party's policy on overseas Chinese, to consolidate and develop the patriotic united front of overseas Chinese and to arouse the initiative of overseas Chinese, both at home and abroad, in contributing to the four modernizations.

Today's meeting was presided over by Zhuang Mingli, vice chairman of the All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese.

CSO: 4005/862

ULANHU'S MEMORIAL SPEECH FOR SHA QIANLI

OW120154 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1156 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 11 May (XINHUA)--The following is the text of Ulanhu's memorial speech at the memorial meeting for Comrade Sha Qianli.

Today, with extreme grief we mourn Comrade Sha Qianli, outstanding member of the Chinese Communist Party, faithful fighter of the proletariat and political activist of the people.

Comrade Sha Qianli was vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee, Standing Committee member and concurrently deputy secretary general and vice chairman of the Commission of Legislative Affairs of the NPC, vice chairman of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, Standing Committee member of the Central Committee of the China Democratic National Construction Association, and member of the Central Committee of the China Democratic League. He died in Beijing at 10:14 am on 26 April 1982 of illness, after failing to respond to treatment. He was 81 years old.

Comrade Sha Qianli was a native of Shanghai municipality. He began in his youth to demand progress, pursue truth and seek a road to save the country and people. Deeply influenced by the "May 4th" movement, he actively engaged in progressive activities and, as chief editor of the FRIEND OF YOUTH, disseminated anti-imperialist and patriotic ideas.

Around the time of the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan, he worked as a lawyer while actively participating in the anti-Japanese national salvation movement led by the party. After the "18 September" incident, he joined the peripheral organization of the underground party in Shanghai, united people from various circles, successively participated in initiating and organizing the Shanghai National Salvation Association of professional circles, the Shanghai Federation of National Salvation Associations, the All-China Federation of National Salvation Associations and other progressive organizations, and edited "Life Knowledge" to disseminate the party's anti-Japanese stand. In November 1936, he and other well-known patriots, including Shen Junru and Shi Liang, because of their active participation in anti-Japanese and national salvation activities, were arrested and imprisoned by the Kuomintang reactionaries. He was one of the "seven gentlemen" renowned at home and abroad and a leading figure in the national salvation associations of that time. In 1938, Comrade

Sha Qianli was admitted to the Chinese Communist Party. Later, he was engaged in the party's united front work in Wuhan, Chongqing and other places. Together with Shen Junru and other leaders of national salvation associations, he launched a movement for constitutional government, organized the China Economic Enterprise Promotion Association and waged an unremitting struggle to uphold resistance against Japanese aggression, for unity and progress.

During the liberation war, Comrade Sha Qianli formed a National Salvation Organization in Shanghai to unite the various parties, trade unions and educational organizations there, and organized the Shanghai Federation of People's Organizations to push forward the democratic movement. As a lawyer, he also defended progressives persecuted by the Kuomintang, and because of this, he was subjected to persecution by the Kuomintang reactionaries. Subsequently he went to Hong Kong to take part in the leadership of the Chinese People's National Salvation Assocation. In January 1948, he attended the third plenary session of the Central Committee of the China Democratic League in Hong Kong and contributed to restoring the leading organ of the China Democratic League and advancing the Democratic League's response to the CCP's "1 May" call for convening a new political consultative conference.

In 1949, he went south with the army and took part in the work to take over control of Shanghai City, serving as deputy secretary general of the Shanghai Municipal Military Control Commission and the municipal people's government. In September of the same year, he attended the first plenary session of the CPPCC as a representative of the Chinese People's National Salvation Association. Following the founding of the People's Republic of China, he successively served as deputy to each national people's congress, Standing Committee member, and deputy secretary general of the Fourth NPC, member of the First CPPCC National Committee, vice minister of trade, vice minister of commerce, deputy director of the 6th office of the Central Financial and Economic Committee of the Government Administrative Council, minister of local industries, minister of light industry, minister of food, secretary general of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, and so forth.

Comrade Sha Qianli's life was a revolutionary one, a fighting life, and one of serving the people wholeheartedly. He ardently loved the party, the people and the motherland. For a long time, he fought in Kuomintang controlled areas, persistently performed revolutionary work under the white terror, braved hardships and dangers, faced danger fearlessly, fought courageously and made important contributions to the great struggle to overthrow reactionary control by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and to found New China.

He diligently studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, firmly implemented the party's line, principles and policies, actively took part in the socialist revolution and socialist construction and achieved much of importance in building political power and particularly in developing and consolidating the united front and in the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce.

He bitterly hated the perverse acts of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, and he was filled with joy when the "gang of four" was overthrown. He firmly supported the line, principles and policies formulated since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Even when he was critically ill, he was still concerned about affairs of state, about the four modernizations and about the great cause of reunifying the motherland. He fought for several decades for the party and the people and dedicated all his energies to the great communist cause.

Comrade Sha Qianli's death is a great loss to our party and state. We have lost an old comrade in arms and an old comrade. In mourning for Comrade Sha Qianli, we should learn from his noble qualities of being boundlessly loayl to the party and to the people's cause and from his diligence and conscientiousness, his industry and willingness to accept criticism, his amiableness and approachability, his modesty and prudence, his being strict with himself and broad-minded with others, and his fine style of hard struggle and plain living. Let us translate our sorrow into strength and strive under the leadership of the party Central Committee to develop the patriotic united front, accomplish the great cause of reunifying the motherland, and build our country into a highly democratic and culturally advanced socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture, modern national defense and modern science and technology.

CSO: 4005/862

PARTY AND STATE

CCP LEADERS' LETTERS TO SOONG CHING LING FOUND

OW171615 Beijing XINHUA in English 1604 GMT 17 May 82

[Text] Nanjing, 17 May (XINHUA)--The friendship of the late Chinese Communist Party leaders Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Liu Shaoqi with Soong Ching Ling, the late honorary president of China, was reflected in letters between them, according to a report at a meeting on collecting historical data of the Communist Party here recently.

The letters were found by Shanghai departments responsible for clearing Soong Ching Ling's residence last November. The Shanghai Municipal Party Committee presented the documents to the Central Archives.

Most of the letters were written to Soong Ching Ling before the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. The late honorary president preserved these documents together with the articles used by Dr Sun Yat-sen.

Also discovered were letters addressed to her by Kuomintang leaders and minutes of talks between Soong Ching Ling and a Kuomintang representative.

The minutes recorded that in 1929 Dan Ji-tao, at the order of Chiang Kai-sheck, once asked Soong Ching Ling "not to make any more speeches attacking the government." But she replied, the minutes said, there was only one way to make her mute--killing or jailing her.

CSO: 4000/118

PARTY AND STATE

CCP PUBLICATION BUREAU HOLDS PUBLISHING FORUM

OW100547 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0007 GMT 10 May 82

[Excerpts] Zhengzhou, 10 May (XINHUA)--The Publication Bureau of the CCP Central Committee Propaganda Department recently held a forum in Luoyang on publication of easy-to-understand political theory books. The forum pointed out: To imbue the masses with Marxism-Leninism is a communist duty. Writing popular political theory books is a major political, as well as theoretical, task.

Comrades from publishing houses and propaganda departments of central and a number of provincial, municipal and regional party committees reviewed progress in the publication of popular political theory books and deepened their understanding of the importance of this work. Since its third plenary session, the CCP Central Committee has attached great importance to writing popular political theory books. Some central leading comrades personally selected subjects, and many noted theoretical workers took the lead in writing such books. China published 353 popular political theory books, totaling 91 million volumes, in the past 3 years.

Comrades attending the forum pointed out: A new task in writing and publishing political theory books is to deepen the study of the new situation and problems arising in the process of China's four modernizations and, on the basis of the abundant facts, come up with new, convincing arguments for the basic Marxist-Leninist points of view. Comrades doing this work must have political initiative and the courage for theoretical exploration to arrive at an answer which can be used as guidance.

The forum called particularly for writing and publishing readers of Marxist-Leninist basics, books on the basics of various social sciences, supplementary books for cadres in their theoretical study and basic readers used in conducting political theory education in plants, mines and rural areas.

CSO: 4005/862

PARTY AND STATE

JURIST ZHANG YOUYU ON CONSTITUTION DRAFT

HK110931 Beijing WANBAO in Chinese 28 Apr 82 p 1

[Special interview: "On Restoring the Post of State Chairman and Other Matters--Zhang Youyu Answers Questions Raised by This Reporter on the Draft of the Revised Constitution"]

[Text] In a special interview made with this reporter on 27 April, well-known jurist Zhang Youyu pointed out: "The draft of the revised constitution to be made public for discussion by the people of all nationalities in the country is fairly excellent and satisfactory." Comrade Zhang Youyu has devoted himself to studying the constitution for years and also took part in the work of revising the draft constitution. In the interview, he answered questions raised by this reporter on some provisions of the present draft of the revised constitution.

Question: Why reinstate the post of state chairman in the draft of the revised constitution?

Answer: The 1954 constitution included a provision for the post of state chairman and this was prescribed as an important system. But this provision was deleted under the abnormal situation of the 10-years of political turmoil. Now that our country has returned to normal in all areas of work, the provision for the post of state chairman should be restipulated in the revised constitution. In view of the state system, it is necessary to have a state chairman to represent a country in domestic and foreign affairs. Internally, the state chairman, as the representative of the state, nominates candidates for the premier and vice-premiers of the State Council to the NPC. In pursuance of the decisions of the highest organ of state power, he also promulgates laws, appoints and removes the constituent personnel of the State Council, and ratifies and abrogates treaties and important agreements concluded with foreign countries. Externally, the state chairman, as representative of our country, engages in international intercourse and friendly exchanges of visits. This helps further promote our country's peaceful foreign policy and strengthen our friendship with people of all countries in the world. Furthermore, the existence of the chairmanship conforms with the customs and aspirations of the people of all nationalities in our country. It is, therefore, quite necessary to reinstate the post of state chairman.

However, reinstatement of this post does not mean that all related stipulations in this respect of the 1954 constitution should be copied accordingly. With regard to the legal status and the functions and powers of the state chairman, the present draft is a little different from the 1954 constitution. It affirms that the legal status of the state chairman is as a representative of the state in domestic and foreign affairs. The 1954 constitution stipulated that the chairman had the power to convene the supreme state conference and command the armed forces of the country and was chairman of the Council of National Defence. The present draft, however, does not have such stipulations. At the same time, the present draft restricts the term of office of the chairman to 5 years, and the chairman should not serve more than two consecutive terms. This, in fact, abolishes the system of lifelong tenure. All these are changes of far-reaching significance.

Question: What are the new stipulations on religious belief in the draft of the revised constitution?

Answer: The present draft clearly stipulates that citizens enjoy freedom of religious belief, and that this right is fully protected by the constitution.

In our country, freedom of religious belief, as one of the fundamental rights of citizens, is protected by the constitution. Meanwhile, the penal code of our country also stipulates that the serious criminal offence of infringing upon freedom of religious belief should be sanctioned according to law. But, freedom of religious belief also means freedom of nonbelief. Nonbelievers should be protected by law too. Thus the present draft prescribes: "No state organs, public organizations or individuals shall compel citizens to believe or disbelieve in religion, nor shall they discriminate against citizens who believe, or do not believe, in religion." In our society, citizens who believe, or do not believe, in religion must be political patriots and supporters of socialism. Hence, the present draft not only defines that the state protects legitimate religious activities, but also clearly points out: "No one may use religion to carry out counterrevolutionary activities or activities that disrupt public order. harm the health of citizens or obstruct the educational system of the state." Meanwhile, the Chinese religious organizations and their activities should be carried out, governed and managed by the Chinese religious believers themselves. Any interference in religious affairs by foreign organizations or individuals is intolerable. On this, the draft says: "No religious affairs may be dominated by any foreign country." This is quite necessary for safeguarding the interests of the country and people.

Question: Why reinstate the stipulation that all citizens of the PRC are equal before the law in the present draft of the revised constitution?

Answer: All citizens being equal before the law is one of the fundamental rights of our country's citizens, and is also one of the fundamental principles of the socialist legal system. The present draft reinstates this provision as prescribed in Article 85 in the 1954 constitution. This is quite necessary. When we talk about all citizens being equal before

the law, we must apply the same provisions under the same given circumstances. When working out legislation, we must distinguish between people and enemies. This is because our country's law is a concentrated manifestation of the will and interests of the broad masses of people, but not a manifestation of the will and interests of hostile elements. Those who have been deprived of political rights by law have no right to take part in the work of formulating the laws of our country. At the same time, when making legislation, we should also make distinctions between people in accordance with their different conditions. For instance, the deputies to the people's congresses at various levels have the right of not being able to be arrested without the consent of their standing committees. However, when the law is made, it should be exercised equally in regard to everyone, and everyone should also abide by it. All citizens should be equally treated before the law regardless of their family origin, social status, political and historical backgrounds, nationality and sex. No one can be an exception. Persons with similar conditions should not be treated unequally in accordance with the same provisions of the law. Meanwhile, every citizen must strictly abide by the constitution and the law. He enjoys the rights prescribed by the constitution and the law and at the same time has the duty to abide by them. Only by practicing these principles, can we vigorously fight against the ideas of privilege and privileged persons, and can we strongly maintain the unity and dignity of the constitution and the law.

CSO: 4005/862

'WEN HUI BAO' STRESSES CRACKDOWN ON ECONOMIC CRIMES IN SHANGHAI

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 1 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[Commentary: "Guard the Sanctity of the Legal System, Crack Down On Economic Criminals"]

[Text] The "Resolution On Severely Punishing Criminals Who Cause Serious Damage to the Economy" which was approved by the 22d Session of the Standing Committee of the 5th People's Congress goes into force today. This is a major matter on which people throughout the country and municipality focus their attention. The "Resolution" stipulates that if those who committed economic crimes before the 1st day of its implementation, give themselves up prior to 1 May, make a complete and honest confession and positively expose themselves and report to the authorities, they will be dealt with entirely according to the articles and provisions of the related law which was valid prior to the implementation of the "Resolution." Otherwise, they will continue to be treated as criminals and will be dealt with firmly according to the new "Resolution." This fully reflects the firm resolve of the party and government to crack down on criminal activities in the economic sphere. It also fully reflects the party's and government's implementation of the policy to combine punishment with leniency toward criminals and to be lenient to those who confess their crimes and severe to those who refuse. The Communist Party and the people's government have always honored their words. The law must be complied with; enforcement of the law must be strict; and violators of the law must be prosecuted. This is the essential point in building the socialist legal system. The implement of the "Resolution" has greatly inspired the confidence of the whole party, army and people in the struggle to crack down on criminal activities in the economic sphere. All criminals must wake up to the truth: Do not let an opportunity slip by; it may never come again. They must quickly decide for themselves what course to follow. The whole party, army and people have taken a strong interest in and placed high hopes on the crack down on criminal activities in the economic sphere which begins this year. It is because this struggle concerns the prosperity and decline of our party as well as the vital interests of all the people. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee our party has formulated the correct lines, principles and policies so that our country is again on the road of prosperity. But due to the serious damage done to the work style of the party, the government, the army and the people during the decade of internal turmoil, under the new historical conditions of the economic opening to the world and

the increasing influence of the decadent mentality of capitalism and of bourgeois lifestyle inside the country, relatively serious bourgeois liberal tendencies have appeared in many spheres of social life. Smuggling and resale of smuggled goods, speculation and swindling, corruption and accepting bribes, taking possession of large amounts of state and collective wealth and other serious illegal and criminal activities in the economic sphere are striking manifestations of bourgeois liberalization. If we lack sufficient understanding of their seriousness, harmfulness and danger and if we do not concentrate our effort to carry out a resolute and solemn struggle against this adverse current, it is bound to corrode the body of our party, government and army, poison the mind of the people, pollute the air of society, destroy economic construction, affect stability and unity, and do enormous harm to our socialist cause.

At present, the crack down on illegal and criminal activities in the economic sphere is an important manifestation of class struggle under the new historical conditions. Judging from the situation in Shanghai, the party organization does have combat strength and the broad masses of cadres are good or relatively good. This is the mainstream. However, we must also recognize that the Old Shanghai of "10 miles of metropolis infested with foreign adventurers" was once the "paradise of adventurers." Under the conditions of opening to the world, the decadent mentality of capitalism revived itself like dying embers glowing again and the dregs resurfacing. Shanghai was also the den of the "gang of four" during the decade of internal turmoil. The "gang of four" has been smashed for 5 years but its pernicious influence has not been completely removed. There is indeed an absolute minority of irresolute and disloyal cadres within our contingents who have been corroded by capitalist mentality, and there is an absolute minority of Communist Party members and cadres who have taken the shameless, illegal and criminal course. We must understand this adequately and soberly.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" approved by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee pointed out: "After the exploiting class was eliminated as a class, class struggle has no longer been the main contradiction. Due to internal factors and international influence, class struggle will remain for a long time within certain limits and may still intensify under certain conditions." This argument is entirely correct. We must sufficiently understand the significance of this struggle launched against capitalist corrosion. While we must not view everything as class struggle, we must not fail to treat something as such when it is obviously so or we will lose the political vigilance that we should have. We must understand it by elevating this struggle to the level of defending the socialist system and the purity of the party.

Strengthening the party leadership and correctly implementing the party's principles and policies are the basic guarantee of successfully launching the struggle to crack down on illegal and criminal activities in the economic sphere. We must strictly succeed in achieving the "two musts" and the "two must nots," namely: We must be firm, vigorous and speedy in dealing with smuggling and resale of smuggled goods, speculation and swindling, corruption and accepting bribes, taking possession of large amounts of state and collective wealth and

other serious illegal and criminal conduct. Toward cadres whose crimes involve serious circumstances, we must first punish those who occupy important posts in compliance with the law. We must not ignore or conceal what we know of serious economic problems existing among cadres, above all, those in charge. We must not be indecisive and must not appease or shield their wrongdoings. Otherwise, we must severely investigate and affix the political, economic and legal responsibility of the concerned organization and its leaders. Smuggling and resale of smuggled goods, speculation and swindling, corruption and accepting bribes, taking possession of large amounts of state and collective wealth are all illegal and criminal activities. For a long time there have been explicit stipulations regarding them in our state Constitution and relevant laws. The argument that the "policies are unclear" is highly erroneous. Of course, on the various circumstances exposed in the struggle we must draw the line between faults in one's work and crimes, and between smuggling and resale of smuggled goods, offering and accepting bribes, speculation and swindling on one hand, and normal foreign trade and interchange on the other. In passing sentence, we must also distinguish between the different circumstances on the basis of irrefutable facts and handle every case correctly and carefully according to party discipline, political discipline, military discipline and state law. However, we implement this policy in order to benefit this struggle carrying out victoriously, and therefore we definitely will not allow anyone to use various excuses to appease, connive or shield those illegal and criminal acts and doers.

In the crackdown on criminal activities in the economic sphere we will not adopt the method of mass movement and will not allow everyone to go pass. At the same time we must completely take the mass line. We must mobilize the masses to investigate all major cases within a certain limit, mobilize the masses who understand the circumstances, and expose, examine and supervise personnel members who commit serious, illegal and criminal conduct. The handling of certain cases must also be submitted for discussion by the masses who are directly in concern within a suitable framework whose views are to be sought so that the cases are dealt with equitably and so that the masses will be satisfied and educated.

The "Resolution On Severely Punishing Criminals Who Cause Serious Damage to the Economy" approved by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is a powerful weapon to crack down on illegal and criminal activities in the economic sphere. We must extensively popularize this "Resolution" to the extent that it is known to every household and everyone. All Communist Party members, state cadres and citizens have the duty to implement the "Resolution" in earnest and they have the duty to carry out the firm struggle against law-breaking criminals in accordance with the spirit of the "Resolution." This "Resolution" also provides a forceful weapon for public security departments and inspectorial departments. At the same time, it increases the burden of responsibility of all levels of public security departments, inspectorial departments and courts of law to promptly investigate, prosecute and try various criminal economic cases strictly according to the "Resolution," particularly to handle criminal

economic cases which involve specially serious circumstances severely and promptly in compliance with the law. The only course for economic criminals pointed out by the "Resolution" is: They must quickly give themselves up, make an honest confession of all their crimes and truthfully report on the facts of crimes of other law-breaking personnel members. If they intend to leave things to chance and even refuse to come to their senses and to give themselves up, then they will alienate themselves from the people and will be severely punished by law.

We believe that with the implementation of the "Resolution" and as this struggle intensifies and unfolds, our crack down on illegal and criminal activities in the economic sphere will surely be victorious!

9586
CSO: 4005/778

PARTY MEMBERS OF SHANGHAI MILL RECTIFY WORK STYLE

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Mar 82 p 1

[Article by Li Shiwei [2621 0013 4850] and Xue Peiyi [5641 3805 3015]: "Party Committee of Shanghai No 12 Cotton Mill Launches the Activity of 'Competing to Become Qualified Party Members,' Large Numbers of Party Members Start With Themselves To Improve Party Work Style; Life Within the Party Has Become Normal, Party's Relations with the Masses Has Become Harmonious; Unhealthy Tendencies and Violations of Law and Discipline Have Decreased"]

[Text] The party committee of the Shanghai No 12 Cotton Mill used the party constitution as the standard to launch the activity of "competing to become qualified party members" as well as to teach the large numbers of party members to become leaders, eager to shoulder heavy burdens, honest people who adhere to discipline and law, professionals who are both Red and expert, masters of their own house who are frugal and hardworking, and close friends of the masses. During the past year since this activity was launched, relatively good results have been achieved.

In its analysis of the condition of party members last year, the party committee of this mill soberly saw that due to the influence of the decade of turmoil, particularly under the new historical circumstances of carrying out a policy of openness to the world and a policy to enliven the domestic economy, the decadent capitalist mentality made inroads in our contingents and caused an unhealthy party work style in some departments and rather poor quality among some party members so that the party's prestige has declined among the masses. To change this situation, the party committee of the mill decided to begin with strengthening the education of party members and launched the competitive activity of "competing to become qualified party members" within the party. First, they demanded that each party member earnestly study the "Party Construction," the "Guiding Principles" and the "Historical Resolution," check one's thinking against the standards for party members, check one's discipline against the "Guiding Principles," check one's work style against traditions and generally live a well organized life with this as substance. At the same time, they emphasized that in different periods they should make different demands on party members. Last year when cigarettes and liquor prices were increased, the party committee of the mill demanded that party members become closely involved

in active work among the masses. Before the Spring Festival this year, it again demanded that party members use practical actions to revive the fine traditions of the party and rectify party work style. Party organizations at all levels made regular examination, criticism and comparison. They relied on the masses to do a good earnest job in appraising party members through public discussion and established the advanced model of a group of qualified party members who included Tan Xinqin [6151 2450 3830], "one who completes a year's work in half a year and moves forward;" Yu Lanying [0205 5695 5391], who "leads in the five stresses and four points of beauty" and "is a good daughter-in-law who respects the elderly and cares for the young;" and Zhang Ruyu [1728 1172 3768], "a good friend of the masses who makes home visits and holds intimate talks 550 times a year." After the activity of "competing to become qualified party members" was launched, four changes took place within the party: Life within the party became normal; the party's relations with the masses became harmonious; unhealthy tendencies and violation of law and discipline decreased; and exemplary and model party members play a greater role.

The activity of "competing to become qualified party members" has caused an enormous reaction among the large numbers of party members. Everyone expressed the desire to achieve acceptable standards in production as well as in political matters, at ordinary times as well as in key moments, in the mill as well as at home and in society. Party member Fang Guangjiang [2075 1684 3068] who quietly immersed himself in hard work at the mill has been called a "willing ox" by the comrades. At one time, neighbors were involved in a dispute with Fang's family members over a street lamp. Although the neighbors had physically and verbally abused his family members, Fang managed not to talk back or strike back, positively did well in his family's ideological work, and showed the good moral character of a Communist Party member. Later through organizing the two sides the neighborhood dispute was eventually resolved and he was praised by the neighborhood residents. Party member Zhou Fudi [6650 1381 1229] is a spun yarn doffer worker who was reassigned to a group that lagged behind in production, reducing her award money from 7 or 8 yuan a month to about 3 yuan a month. But despite personal gain and losses she positively coordinated with the production group leader in getting a good handle on the work and made frequent home visits and held intimate talks, changing the appearance of the group rather rapidly. Although cloth machine flatcar worker Xiao Niu [1420 3662] joined the party when he was in the army, he lacked self-discipline and initiative in his work after he entered the mill. He often dozed off and the masses called him a "diseased ox." In the activity of "competing to become a qualified party member," Xiao Niu felt that he would be unlike a party member if he continued that way. Henceforth he showed enthusiasm and initiative in his work, earnestly perfected his skills in his sparetime, and in the workshop's operation competition he was first for three consecutive months in the same work category. The masses said with cheers: "The diseased ox has turned into a live ox." At present 28.81 percent of all party members of the mill are qualified members, 68.15 are basically qualified, and 16 party members have been nominated "fine party members" by the party committee of the textile department.

9586
CSO: 4005/778

SHANGHAI URGED TO BUILD MATERIAL, SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATIONS

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 5 Apr 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Set a New Pace in Building the Two Civilizations--Warmly Congratulate the Victorious Conclusion of the Fourth Session of the Seventh Municipal People's Congress in Shanghai"]

[Text] The Fourth Session of the Seventh People's Congress of Shanghai Municipality has come to a victorious close. Through the common effort of the people's delegates, the session examined and approved the "Government work report" and made the resolution concerning an in-depth and sustained launching of the activity of the "five stresses and four points of beauty" as well as other resolutions. The Fourth Session of the Fifth Municipal Political Consultative Conference which was convened at the same time as the municipal people's congress also achieved the desired results. From start to finish, these two conferences were filled with a democratic atmosphere and implemented the spirit to seek truth from facts and to keep positively forging ahead; they embodied the firm resolution of the people of the whole municipality to make contribution to building socialist material and spiritual civilizations under the guidance of the correct lines, principles and policies of the party Central Committee.

This is the 20 year of the implementation of the policy to readjust further the economy and to achieve greater political stability. In order to consolidate the results already achieved so that there will be relatively significant progress and a new start in the economic construction in Shanghai this year, to gain an even greater change in party work style, social habits and public security, we must emphasize two things: building socialist material civilization and building socialist spiritual civilization. Economic work must center around the increase of economic benefits, continue to do well in the work of readjustment, restructuring, reorganization and upgrading. It must strive for a growth rate which has good economic benefits and is reliable. To build spiritual civilization, we must be guided by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, adhere to the Four Basic Principles, strengthen ideological and political work, launch the struggle against the corrosive influence of capitalism, resolve to crack down on criminal economic activities, consolidate various socialist fronts and develop the political situation of stability and unity.

Every front, department and unit must correctly understand the relationship between building material civilization and building spiritual civilization, stress building the two civilizations together, combine them and enable them to give impetus to each other so that this year various tasks in Shanghai will continue to advance at a steady pace and make new progress.

Premier Zhou Ziyang recently pointed out at the National Industry and Communications Work Conference: "The essence of the 10 principles of economic construction proposed by the State Council is to increase economic benefits." "This year we must make a major change in increasing economic benefits and open up a new situation." In performing all economic work, we must firmly establish this guiding ideology, combine the actual conditions in Shanghai, develop what is useful or healthy and avoid what is not, develop with coordination, tap the potentials in increasing economic benefits, emphasize speed, and combine speed and benefits so that production growth may truly be built on the basis of increasing quality, increasing varieties, reducing cost and having suitable market channels. We must exert our effort on economizing active labor consumption and material consumption and on suiting social needs, and open up a new way to increase economic benefits.

Shanghai's history of industrial development is relatively long. With a scientific and technical contingent of relatively high standards, a workers' contingent relatively skilled in techniques and a fine harbor, it has always been a center that joins coastal and inland areas and connects domestic and international trade. We must take full advantage of various favorable conditions, strive to make breakthroughs in the following four aspects this year: (1) Carry out technical transformation of existing enterprises with a focus and step by step, and increase the level of productive techniques. At present, quite a few industrial products of Shanghai are not sufficiently competitive in the international market. The quality of some products are poorer than that of some fraternal districts in the country and economic benefits are not high. An important reason is that the technical level, technical installations and production technology are backward. We must give importance to technical transformation and to renewal of equipment in existing enterprises. This is a strategic measure to develop vigorously industry in Shanghai and increase economic benefits. According to the needs of domestic and foreign markets, we must aim at developing varieties, increasing quality, reducing cost and expanding export, vigorously adopt new techniques, new technology, new equipment and new material. We must stress key industries, enterprises and products and achieve tangible results. (2) Expand foreign economics and trade, develop internal economic unity. We must widen our vision, expand the production of goods that are competitive in the world market. In particular, we must develop textile and handicraft products and electrical machinery products which require less energy and material to produce, take up less space, are technologically and labor intensive, and have high value. We must create even more famous brands and products of fine quality. At the same time, through organizing joint enterprises, technical transfer, transmission of techniques and administrative experiences, we must develop the economic integration of fraternal districts under the principle of mutual benefit. (3) Strengthen the development and administration of cities, gradually increase their comprehensive function. To gradually resolve the contradiction of incompatibility between urban construction and economic development, we must have

overall planning, promote coordinated development between the economy and society, urban and rural areas, production and living. We must strengthen the transformation and construction of residential housing construction, communications and transportation, and environmental protection. (4) Stress intellectual development, give play to the role of various professional talents. We must vigorously foster various talents of construction, fully utilize intellectuals, organize the rational circulation of talents, operate well various kinds of schools strengthen sparetime education, and encourage staff workers to take the initiative in self-instruction to develop their talent. The four aspects of work mentioned above are interrelated. Positive technical transformation is the only way to make Shanghai's industrial production stride forward toward modernization, and is the basis of expanding foreign economics and trade and developing internal economic integration. Increasing the comprehensive function of cities shares a mutual position with technical transformation, the expansion of foreign trade, and with the development of domestic economic integration. Giving play to the role of specialists and talents is the key to taking the new road of economic construction.

At the same time when the building of material civilization is strengthened, we must strengthen building socialist spiritual civilization to ensure sustained growth of economic construction and that material civilization will be built in the direction of socialism. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "In carrying out our open-door policy toward the world, all kinds of undesirable influences will come with it. The problem is to remove these influences." "We must advocate spiritual civilization.... We must have ideals, stress morality, adhere to discipline, have manners, and we must struggle arduously. Everyone must have patriotic spirit and national self-esteem. This is closely related to realizing the four modernizations." Shanghai is a city that is open to the world. It is beneficial to enhancing our friendship with people of other countries and to developing economic and technical exchange. But it can be easily corroded by the decadent ideology of capitalism and lifestyle from abroad. Therefore, strengthening the building of spiritual civilization in Shanghai has an even more realistic and profound significance. We must adhere to the four basic principles, strengthen ideological and political work, correctly understand and handle the following relationships: In handling political and economic relationships as well as the relationships in all other work, we must adhere to the principle that ideology will take the lead; re-educate the broad masses of cadres and people on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; carry out the education of ardent love for the motherland, the Communist Party and socialism; carry out the education of social morality, professional ethics,family and marital morality so that the people of the whole municipality will increasingly and widely establish socialist and communist ideology; carry forward noble morality, practice and work attitude; achieve the subordination of personal interests to collective interests, partial interests to overall interests, immediate interests to long-term interests, and contribute to the four modernizations. In handling various internal relations among the people, we must advocate concern for the overall situation, stress unity, establish new habits, change old customs, provide mutual respect, concern and help, and make a strong effort to sustain the activity of the "five stresses and four points of beauty." In the activities of foreign exchange, we must carry forward the lofty spirit of patriotism and internationalism,

enhance our national self-esteem and self-confidence without being arrogant or servile but self-consciously resist the corrosion of the decadent bourgeois ideology. In handling the relationship between ideals and reality, we must firmly establish our belief in the four basic principles, the lines and policies of the Third Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee, and in the present leadership of the Party Central Committee. We must face up to historical lessons and carry forward the fine traditions formed by our people in the prolonged revolutionary struggle. We must not dodge existing difficulties and problems and must recognize the bright prospects of socialist China so that we will rouse continuously our revolutionary spirit of work hard for the prosperity of the country, struggle arduously, and sacrifice bravely to realize the four modernizations.

Like the rest of the country, the present situation in Shanghai is good. Industrial production continues to maintain good impetus of sustained growth, market supply is relatively good, public order is stable, the spirit of the people in the whole municipality is heartened and they are daring and energetic. We believe that under the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee, the State Council and the Shanghai Municipal Committee, through relaying and implementing the spirit of the Fourth Session of the Seventh People's Congress, the people of the whole municipality are bound to be of one heart and mind, work together, and make new contributions to setting a new pace in building the two civilizations.

9586
CSO: 4005/778

JIANGXI LEADERS DISCUSS REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW120506 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 May 82

[Excerpts] In an interview with a station reporter, (Shi Jianxiu), acting director of the Provincial Public Security Department and (Hu Yaxian), director of the Provincial Judicial Department, called on public security cadres, policemen and law enforcement personnel to study and discuss the revised draft constitution and to set a good example in abiding by the law.

Comrade (Shi Jianxiu) said: The preamble of the constitution affirms the upholding of the four fundamental principles, outlines the essential tasks for the people of the whole country and defines the country's political and economic systems as well as the basic rights and duties of citizens. Article 27 stipulates: The state maintains social order, suppresses treasonable and counterrevolutionary activities, applies sanctions against crimes endangering social security and order, sabotaging the socialist economy and other crimes, and punishes and reforms criminals. The constitution bestows these glorious responsibilities on our public security organs, as one of the important tools of the people's democratic dictatorship. Law enforcement personnel therefore must abide by the law. Public security organs at all levels throughout the province must attach great importance to studying and discussing the revised draft constitution. They must, through extensive and thorough study and discussion, encourage cadres and policemen to abide by the constitution and law in order to maintain social order and strike at the enemy effectively, to punish and reform criminals, to protect public property, to safeguard the legitimate rights of citizens, to ensure smooth progress of socialist modernization and to strive to noticeably improve social order in our province.

(Hu Yaxian), director of the Provincial Judicial Department, said: Article 113 of the revised draft constitution specified the role of neighborhood, village, people's mediation and public security committees and so forth not included in the last three constitutions. We must put these committees at the grassroots level into full play. Cadres of judicial organs throughout the province must take the lead in discussing the revised draft constitution and voice their opinion for amending it.

CSO: 4005/862

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI' STRESSES IMPROVING PEOPLE'S LIVELIHOOD

OW111431 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin 1330 GMT 10 May 82

[Text] The preamble of the draft of the revised constitution of the PRC points out: The basic task of the Chinese people in the coming years is to concentrate their efforts on socialist modernization. It also points out: The constitution is the fundamental law of our state and has supreme legal authority.

In other words, China's fundamental law affirms the policy of undertaking socialist modernization; this policy has supreme legal authority and must be followed by everyone. To a certain extent, this guarantees that China will never deviate from the correct orientation again in the future, that it will not repeat the 1958 mistake of deviating from the line of the Eighth CCP National Congress and of embarking on the road of "three red banners" which caused calamity to both the people and the country.

[Words indistinct] task of primary importance at present and in the future is to make every effort to improve the people's livelihood in the shortest possible time. Therefore, it is very necessary to include this task in the fundamental law of the state and give it legal binding force so that everyone must implement it. Only in this way can we guarantee, to a certain extent, that no one will overlook the people's most pressing demand as someone did in the past two decades and more.

Frankly speaking, improving the people's livelihood has not been considered China's most important task although more than 5 years have elapsed since the passing away of Chairman Mao and the downfall of the gang of four. In the past several years, the livelihood of some grassroots personnel has somewhat improved, but generally speaking our country is still very poor. In some provinces and regions, the peasants earn very meager income for 1 year of hard work. They are incredibly poor. Many people cannot even maintain a low level of living because they do not have sufficient cash, food or clothing. Urban workers' and servicemen's families also have many difficulties in livelihood. Most serious is that no one knows when he will be able to free himself from hardship and improve his life. The lack of bright prospects has brought about pessimism, despair and a confidence crisis.

The Chinese people are outstanding and diligent people. They work hard, live a plain life and are not upset by criticism. [Words indistinct] (?the government) should work out practical and concrete measures to improve the people's livelihood as soon as possible and include them in its overall economic development plan. The planned tasks should guarantee the [word indistinct] improvement of the people's material and cultural life. They should begin with satisfying the people's demand for clothing, food, housing and transportation and then follow up by improving education, public health, culture, [word indistinct] and other work. It is very important to affirm the policy of improving the people's livelihood as soon as possible in our country's constitution so that it has legal binding force and will be adhered to by all.

CSO: 4005/862

BRIEFS

REVISED CONSTITUTION WILL CAUSE CONFLICTS--While discussing the draft of the revised constitution at the PLA General Logistics Department, some people questioned the article concerning the establishment of the Central Military Council. They held that the installation of a state chairman and a chairman of the Central Military Council, both of whom would have command over the nation's armed forces, will most likely result in serious conflicts similar to those that occurred between Chairman Mao and Comrade Liu Shaoqi. [Text] [OW121324 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 11 May 82]

ANHUI MEETING DISCUSSES CONSTITUTION--The Standing Committee of Anhui Provincial People's Congress held a meeting on the afternoon of 7 May, to study and discuss the draft revised constitution. Invited to attend the meeting were responsible persons of democratic parties, the provincial Federation of Industry and Commerce, the provincial Nationalities Affairs Commission, the provincial Social Science Research Institute, Society of Political Science, Society of Law, Society of History, Lawyers Association and the Anhui University Department of Law. Cheng Yetang, Yang Chengzong and Zhang Zuoyin, vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, attended the meeting. The comrades present at the meeting, while studying and discussing the draft revised constitution, also put forward some opinions and suggestions. Comrade Zhang Zuoyin presided over the meeting. [Excerpts] [OW092008 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 May 82]

HUA GUOFENG'S RESIGNATION--Acting on Deng Xiaoping's proposal, the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee is drafting a resolution for the 12th CCP Congress concerning Comrade Hua Guofeng's application for resignation because of poor health. [Text] [OW121326 (Clandestine) B Y Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 11 May 82]

CSO: 4005/862

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ZHOU ZIJIAN ATTENDS COURTESY CAMPAIGN MEETING

OW161041 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 15 May 82

[Excerpts] A provincial meeting to sum up experience and commend advanced collectives and individuals in the all-people civility and courtesy month campaign centering on the "five stresses and four beauties" opened ceremoniously this morning in Hefei. In addition to summing up experience and commending the advanced, it also serves as a mobilization meeting for the continued, in-depth development of the "five stresses and four beauties" activities in an effort to further promote socialist spiritual civilization.

Attending the meeting are 304 representatives of advanced collectives and individuals that have emerged in the campaign.

Others present at the meeting include responsible persons from various prefectural and municipal party committees and government organizations, from propaganda departments, trade unions, CYL organizations, women's federations and institutions of higher learning in various prefectures and municipalities, and from various provincial departments concerned.

Today's opening session was presided over by Wang Guangyu, secretary of the Anhui Provincial CCP Committee. On behalf of the provincial CCP Committee and the provincial government, he paid great respect and extended warm congratulations to the representatives of advanced collectives and individuals present at the meeting. He also took the opportunity to extend cordial regards to all advanced collectives and individuals in the province that are unable to attend the meeting, to cadres at all levels and to the broad masses, including youngsters, who played an active role in the all-people civility and courtesy month campaign centering on the "five stresses and four beauties." In addition, he warmly welcomed the honorable representatives from the PLA invited to the meeting.

Among the leaders attending today's session were Zhou Zijian, acting first secretary of the provincial CCP Committee and governor of the province; Yan Youmin, Yang Weiping and (Yuan Zhen), secretaries of the provincial CCP Committee; Yu Guangmao, Cheng Guanghua and (Shi Jinjie), Standing Committee members of the provincial CCP Committee; Zhang Kaifan, adviser to the

provincial CCP Committee and chairman of the provincial CPPCC Committee; Meng Jiaqin, vice provincial governor; and Wang Zenong, Fang Qikun, Liu Zhengwen, Chen Tianren, Ma Leting and Hu Xiguang, vice chairmen of the provincial CPPCC Committee.

Deputy Secretary of the provincial CCP Committee Lan Ganting and Secretary of the provincial CYL Committee (Wang Qing) addressed the meeting, relaying the guidelines of the forum held by the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee and the CYL Central Committee to sum up the work in the all-people civility and courtesy month campaign.

CSO: 4005/863

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ZHOU YANG ADDRESSES LITERATURE, ART STUDY CLASS

OW082121 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0754 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 8 May (XINHUA)--Zhou Yang, adviser [gu wen 7357 0795] to the CCP Central Committee Propaganda Department, speaking at a literature and art theoretical study class of the Ministry of Culture, pointed out: It is imperative to pay attention to the theoretical studies of literary and art cadres, as it is of great signficance to building up the ranks of literary and art workers. To really grasp the essence of Comrade Mao Zedong's works on literature and art, we must combine study with the very rich and complex realities of life, and to create and develop something new, we must study new problems and new situations.

The Ministry of Culture's literature and art theoretical study class lasted 1 and one-half months and ended on 6 May. In light of the actual conditions of the literary and art circles, the class mainly studied Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" and at the same time also studied writings on literature and art by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Comrade Mao Zedong as well as important speeches on literary and art work by leading comrades of the party Central Committee in recent years.

On the morning of 5 May, Zhou Yang came to the class and had a discussion with the students. He said: In regard to the "talks," what we have done in the past was mostly propaganda and explanatory work. There has been little real indepth study of the "talks" in the light of historical and present conditions. There are even less academic works that can be described as of any scientific value. Some explanations are even examples of over-simplification. Of course, propaganda and explanatory work is needed and will be continued. Because Marxism itself is a constantly developing science, to study it well we must uphold and apply a developing viewpoint--not to develop as one pleases according to one's own subjective wish, but to create and develop according to the laws governing the historical development of art itself and following the veins of the development of objective reality and history.

Zhou Weizhi, vice minister of culture, and Lin Mohan and Chen Huangmei, advisers to the Ministry of Culture, successively made reports on special topics at the literature and art theoretical study class.

CSO: 4005/863

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SONG EMPEROR OPPOSED OBSCENE WRITING

HK171501 Beijing WANBAO in Chinese 4 May 82 p 3

["Words of a Hundred Schools" column article by Liu Shaoying [0491 4801 2819]: "Why Song Renzong Did Not Employ Liu Yong"]

[Text] The article "Strong and Weak Points of Li Bai and Liu Yong," which was carried in the "Words of a Hundred Schools" column of BEIJING WANBAO, mentioned something about why Song Renzong did not employ Liu Yong. This is worth pondering. When Song Renzong was in power, he really wanted to make some contributions in political affairs. This is why he advocated purifying culture and opposed all salacious songs and music which corrupted the minds of the people. This is also why he did not think highly of Liu Yong, who was an expert in writing ci poems for prostitutes. There is an account of this in the "Records of the Neng Gai Building."

Song Renzong attached great importance to the selection and promotion of Confucian scholars and attended to his proper duties. He reprimanded obscene and frivolous works. Liu Sanbian [Liu Yong] was a scholar who was fond of composing obscene music and spreading it far and wide. A line of a ci poem says: "I would rather drink low quality wine and sing vulgar songs than have an undeserved reputation." On one occasion, just before the list of successful candidates in an imperial examination was published, Liu Yong said intentionally: "Why should we have undeserved reputations? Let us go and drink low quality wine and sing vulgar songs." In order to carry out Song Renzong's line, the imperial court adopted a policy of giving tit for tat, and did not employ Liu Yong. This can be regarded as a punishment for his spreading of decadent culture.

After Song Renzong told him to "go on writing ci poems," Liu Yong knew that the emperor's impression of him was not good and he became more despondent and unrestrained in his life. He "spent all his days with Juan Bozi in brothels, drinking and calling himself 'Liu Sanbian who writes ci poems at imperial decree.'" ("Comments on Literature and Art") Thus, by idling away his time in pleasure-seeking he laid himself open to ridicule and impressed the emperor more deeply with his unrestrained and decadent life. After that, instead of thinking highly of him, Song Renzong always found fault with him whenever his name was mentioned. During the Huangyou period, an imperial court official, who was surnamed Shi recommended Liu Yong again before the emperor. At the same time, Liu Yong, who was anxious

to get into the official circles, wrote another ci poem "Zui Peng Lai Man" [6816 5570 5490 1976] and presented it to Song Renzong. However, the latter did not appreciate it and threw it to the floor. ("Sheng Shui Yan Tan Lu" [3427 3055 3601 6151 6922]] Although this also shows that Song Renzong was judging him with an old view, since Liu Yong had not mended his ways, this prejudice was not unreasonable.

Was Liu Yong really so noble-minded in not claiming an "undeserved reputation?" The answer is negative. In order to get into the official circles, he tried every possible means to establish contact with officials through the back door. He even sought help from some prostitutes he had got acquainted with. In the "Records of Green Mire and Lotus Flowers," there is the following story: When Sun He, a friend of Liu Yong, became governor of Hangzhou, Liu Yong wanted to visit him. But since the "doors were heavily guarded," he did not get a chance. Then he thought out a plan. He wrote a ci poem "Watching the Tide" (also known as "Osmanthus and Lotus") and went to see a famous prostitute Chu Chu, imploring her to sing this ci poem before Sun. He said: "I want to see Sun, but cannot find an opportunity. Next time when you go to his office, pleace sing this song before him. And if you are asked who wrote it, please mention my name." As was expected, he finally succeeded in seeing Sun.

Liu Yong deserved a series of frustrations in his political life due to his practices. It is unfair to say that Song Renzong wronged him. Being a politician of the landlord class, Song Renzong was not completely fatuous. He was wise in some aspects. This is why he guarded against the corrosive role of decadent culture and opposed "obscene and frivolous works." It is also right to do so today.

CSO: 4005/863

CHENGDU HOSTS WEST CHINA PROPAGANDA MEETING

HK150428 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 14 May 82

[Excerpts] A symposium on radio and television propaganda in southwest and northwest China was held in Chengdu from 6 to 14 May. Attending were responsible comrades, editors and reporters of the broadcasting bureaus, radio and television stations of Xinjiang, Gansu, Ningxia, Qinghai, Shaanxi, Xizang, Yunnan, Guizhou and Sichuan provinces and autonomous regions and of broadcasting bureaus of Chengdu, Chongqing, Zigong and Dukou municipalities in Sichuan. The meeting also invited responsible comrades from the Central Television Station and the Shanghai, Shandong, Hunan, Hubei and Guangdong radio and television departments. Over 80 persons were present.

Gathered together, the comrades from various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions learned from each other and exchanged the rich experiences of radio and television in publicizing the building of material and spiritual civilization. They expressed resolve to do still better in the party's radio and television propaganda.

Sichuan Provincial CCP Committee Secretary Du Xinyuan, Deputy Secretary Nie Ronggui, Propaganda Department acting heat Shen Yizhi and deputy head (Shan Yifu) visited the participants and were photographed with them.

Comrade Shen Yizhi made a speech. After warmly welcoming them on behalf of the Propaganda Department of the provincial CCP Committee, he said: Comrades from all parts of the country have come to convey their valuable experiences to us. This is a very good opportunity for us to learn. It is a very great stimulus for promoting radio and television work.

During the meeting the participants watched 26 television films and two plays brought from various stations, and also listened to recording of 10 radio programs.

The meeting held: Radio and television constitute an important aspect of the party's entire propaganda front and an important medium of propaganda and public opinion. They play a very important role in building socialist material and spiritual civilization. Leaders at all levels and the masses attach great importance to radio and television work. They have also set very high demands on this work. The situation is good and also pressing. The comrades on the radio and television front must brace their spirits, redouble their efforts and strive to produce more, better and richer radio and television programs, to meet the masses' needs and serve the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization.

CSO: 4005/863

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

AWARDS ANNOUNCED FOR BEST 1980-81 DRAMA, OPERA SCRIPTS

OW171534 Beijing XINHUA in English 1505 GMT 17 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 17 May (XINHUA)--The results of China's first national selection of the best drama and opera scripts published in 1980-1981 were announced today at an awarding ceremony attended by 1,000 people. The selection was sponsored by the Ministry of Culture and the Chinese Dramatists' Association.

The 72 prize winning items were selected from 376 plays entered from all over the country. Over 60 percent are on contemporary themes. Subjects include the true communists' fight against selfishness and corruption, the younger generation's increasing awareness of their share of responsibility to the country, the perseverance and patience required in cleaning up the after affect of leftist ideology, and people's different attitudes toward life. Prominent among such plays is "Who Is Stronger," a modern drama by Liang Bingkun, on ideological clashes in building an advanced textiles works in the modernisation drive.

"Mayor Chen Yi," by Sha Yexin, heads the list of the five awarded plays on revolutionary history. It introduces the late marshal to the audience in one of his famous speeches, shows his close ties with the people and refusal of privilege and flattery, his attitude toward the laboring masses, the intellectuals and the bourgeoisie, while serving as the first mayor of Shanghai after the liberation of the city in 1949.

Close on heel are "General Peng Dehuai," by Wang Deying and Xin Hong; and "March Northward," about the Red Army's long march in the 1930's by Li Bozhao, a veteran of the long march, in cooperation with three younger playwrights.

Awarded are four plays which tell peasants' stories in deep-moving drama and with lively characterization.

Also awarded are operas, modern and traditional.

Yang Hansheng, over 70 years old, a leader of China's progressive and revolutionary drama movement since the 1930's and vice chairman of the Chinese Dramatists Association, said at the ceremony that correct leadership of the party, including its timely attention to liberalization

tendencies, has promoted a flourishing theater. Convincing criticism and patient help instead of big sticks and frightening labels have enabled the writers to work with confidence while drawing lessons from past errors.

Yan Haiping, Shanghai college student and 26-year-old author of "Prince Li Shimin," said "We look into the future of the nation. It shall be built up in the spirit of solidarity and perseverance."

Zhao Xun, on behalf of the 28 member panel of the national selection, said in an earlier interview that the awarded scripts "represent the major trend of the Chinese theater today." China has some 3,500 [scripts] of over 360 types of drama and opera. "While there emerged tendencies of commercialisation, the major trend has remained sound and vigorous," he said.

"Our dramatists are dealing with problems of utmost concern with the masses, presenting the process of the correct overcoming the wrong, and this helps the people to fight for a better future," he said.

CSO: 4000/119

BRIEFS

TIE YING MEETS TENNIS PLAYERS--On the morning of 11 May, Tie Ying, first secretary of the Zhejiang Provincial CCP Committee and chairman of the Standing Committee of the Zhejiang Provincial People's Congress; Liu Yifu, vice provincial governor; and Hu Tianming, vice mayor of Hangzhou Municipality, met coaches and athletes who came to Hangzhou to participate in the national tournament of outstanding table tennis players. Comrade Tie Ying said: We were very happy that the national tournament of outstanding table tennis players was held in Hangzhou. Your consummate skills and fine sportsmanship are bound to serve as a great impetus in promoting our province's sports activities as well as other undertakings. [Excerpts] [OW112305 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1040 GMT 11 May 82]

XIANG NAM ATTENDS EXHIBITION--The Fuzhou No 19 middle school held a report meeting yesterday on the school's achievements in promoting vocational training. A total of 242 articles of painting, sculpture, calligraphy, clothing and embroidery created by students of the vocational class were on display. Leading comrades of departments concerned of the province and municipality, teachers and students of the school and students' parents attended the report meeting and saw the exhibition. Xiang Nam, first secretary of the Fujian Provincial CCP Committee, praised the achievements of the school in promoting vocational training. He hoped that vocational education would be further developed in the province. [Excerpts] [Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 17 May 82]

HUBEI NURSING SOCIETY OPENING--In celebrating the international nurses festival, the Hubei branch of the China Nursing Society was established today in Wuchang. Provincial CCP Committee First Secretary Chen Pixian and provincial Governor Han Ningfu attended the opening ceremony to extend their greetings. The Hubei Nursing Society is an academic organization of the nursing circles in the province. The society will serve as a liaison for all nursing staffs, conduct medical education studies and popularize science so as to increase the technical competence of nurses. Provincial Governor Han Ningfu spoke at the meeting. He pointed out that since nursing work is an indispensable part of the four modernizations, everybody should respect and cherish nurses. Leaders at all levels, in particular leaders of public health departments, must show concern for HNSNLP. At the same time, nurses must learn from Bai Qiuen and foster the idea of wholeheartedly serving the patients. [Summary] [HK120727 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 May 82]

FEWER JOBS FOR VOCATIONAL GRADUATES--This year plants, mines and enterprises throughout the nation can only provide jobs for 47 percent of the graduates from vocational and technical schools. This serious problem can be attributed to three causes: 1. Graduates from vocational and technical schools are not guaranteed job assignments and they do not know where to turn to for jobs; 2. Labor departments of plants, mines and enterprises throughout the nation have not incorporated into their plans the recruitment of graduates of vocational and technical schools; 3. Too many positions are still being occupied by those who went in by the back door, the privileged patrons and children of leading cadres. [Text] [OW121328 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 11 May 82]

SUBSCRIPTION RESTRICTIONS LIFTED--SHANGHAI MEIZHOU GUANGBO DIANSHI BAO [SHANGHAI RADIO AND TELEVISION WEEKLY] has decided to lift the restrictions to subscriptions as of today to meet its readers' demand. This weekly is now open to all people in Shanghai, including its suburbs. The weekly is published on Saturdays. Its main purpose is to introduce this station's radio program and the Shanghai television station's programs to be broadcast during the coming week. Readers wishing to subscribe to this weekly can do so at the newspaper and periodical retail departments in nearby post offices starting today. Subscribers will receive the weekly as of June. Because of limited delivery capacity, the Post Office can only deliver the weekly to the work unit to which the subscriber belongs. [Text] [OW090648 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 8 May 82]

COLLEGE GRADUATES--Beijing, 11 May (XINHUA)--More than 310,000 college students and postgraduates will finish studies in institutions of higher learning in China this summer, according to the Ministry of Education. The number of graduates is the highest since the founding of New China in 1949. The second largest batch of 270,000 graduated at the beginning of this year. In a just issued joint circular, the ministry and the Communist Youth League's Central Committee appealed for a step-up in ideological education among the graduates, encouraging them to go to work where they are most needed and where living conditions are difficult. The circular asked the student unionists and members of the Communist Party and Communist Youth League to take the lead in accepting job assignments from the state. Statistics show that party and league members constitute the majority of the graduates. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0244 GMT 11 May 82]

UNDERGRADUATES' LABOR, MILITARY TRAINING--Beijing, 15 May (XINHUA)--Beginning this year, college freshmen in some universities under the Ministry of Education will do part-time physical labor and military training, according to a ministry official. A ministry monthly magazine, "Higher Educational Front," quoted the official as saying the new practice would help cultivate students' communist ethics, discipline and correct attitude toward labor and working people. Physical labor has always been an important part of China's education to bring up a generation of people well versed in theory and good at practice and manual labor. During the "cultural revolution," however, too much stress has been put to labor to the neglect of classroom studies. Now the country is trying to find a proper proportion between the two. The new practice will not prolong the total schooling period of 4 years or 5 years, he said. [Text] [OW151240 Beijing XINHUA in English 1231 GMT 15 May 82]

CSO: 4000/119

'CHENG MING' ON RELATIONS BETWEEN DENG, YE

HK071520 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 55, 1 May 82 pp 7-11

[Article by Luo Ping [5012 0393]: "Deng Xiaoping, Ye Jianying Relationship in the Tiger Hunt"]

[Text] During the month of April Beijing is bathed in glorious sunlight almost everyday. The yellow winter jasmine flowers are all in bloom as are the blossoms on the white pear trees. However, because of the arid climate people suffer chapped lips. Being a southerner, I often have to contend with nosebleeds and also find it difficult to speak because my throat is always dry. By the time the first spring rain fell on the morning of 20 April I had been given a good taste of what it was like to "long for rain clouds during a drought."

Thanks to the promotion of the "civility and courtesy month," there has been a recent revival in Beijing of habits that have not been seen for some time. The sight of a young man giving up his seat on a bus to someone of advanced years such as myself is something I have not witnessed for many years. Of course, this is not to say that there has already been a fundamental improvement in the social atmosphere. The people's hopes of reforming the party work style and the social atmosphere have a lot in common with "longing for rain clouds during a drought." Why do I say there has not been a fundamental improvement in the social atmosphere? Please allow me to recount an experience I had.

On the evening of 18 March I went to the Beijing workers' sports stadium for the "hundred flowers blossom in spring cultural evening." Tickets for the event, which numbered around 10,000 and certainly were not cheap, had been sold out within the space of a single hour. Because it was a sports stadium, as soon as I entered it, I was reminded of the experience I had several months previously at a concert given by Guo Lanying in the Shandong Sports Stadium. Guo Lanying was about to sing one of the solo numbers of her program when she heard the shrill sound of someone in the audience whistling. She announced that if she heard the whistling sound again she would not go on with her performance. When it was announced that she would sing "Recalling Premier Zhou Weaving Cotton Yarn" however, the whistling began again and Guo Lanying stormed off the stage in a huff. This event, however, passed quickly from my mind. "This is 'civility and courtesy month' and such a thing simply could not happen again." The program for

the evening's entertainment was extremely rich and varied, including not only Beking opera performed by Li Yuanchun and Li Huifang and crosstalks performed by Hou Baolin's son Hou Yaowen but also a performance of the "Drunken Stick," a form of martial arts made famous by the monk Bankong in the film "Shaolin Temple." The entire show was absolutely superb and was greeted with thunderous applause. I was very surprised therefore, to notice a sudden change in the atmosphere after the performance of the eighth item on the program. This was a recitation by Zhu Yanping, the principal action in the very popular martial art television series "Wu Song." At first everyone welcomed him on stage with enthusiastic applause. After he had finished his reading of Ostrovskiy's poem "Each Person Has Only One Life," however, the crowd seemed very disappointed, perhaps because of the poem's literary style as well as its brevity (less than half a minute), and demanded that Zhu Yanping give a martial arts demonstration. The performers of the two following acts were driven off the stage by the audience's hooting and jeering. Zhu Yanping was therefore left with no choice but to return to the stage and do a few summersaults and give a brief performance of the drunken stick before being able to get away. Before the next performer Li Guyi could set foot on stage, however, the announcer, who is commonly accepted as "the No 1 announcer," announced that "this evening's performance will end here." After hearing this, the crowd erupted angrily, shouting "Why don't you finish the show," "give us our money back." Realizing that things did not look good, I hurriedly left the building. On the following day I ran into a friend who had also been at the performance. He told me that after I had left things got even more out of hand. People started throwing pop bottles and other things at the members of the municipal and eastern district police forces who had been sent to quell the disturbance. By midnight, when the situation was finally brought under control, more than 30 people had been taken into custody. Even after this, however, a large number of people continued to chant "money back, money back" like a group of demonstrators.

Was this a Hong Kong-style riot or Beijing-style riot?

It is rather ironic that such an incident should occur during "civility and courtesy month."

The social atmosphere certainly needs to be improved and everyone now agrees that only when party work style has been altered will it be possible to bring about any fundamental improvement in the social atmosphere.

At present, the Communist Party seems to be firmly resolved about eliminating corruption. This is certainly a move of critical importance to the rectification of party work style.

A Restricted Document

The Central Committee's and State Council's "decision on dealing blows at serious criminal activities in the economic field," released on 13 April, is perhaps the best indication of Deng Xiaoping's firm intention to deal with the tiger. From the full title of this "decision" we can see that

people at the core of the CCP Central Committee are determined to deal with major and important cases. In the past, the phrase associated with anti-corruption activities was "dealing blows at criminal activities in the economic field." Now, however, the word "serious" has been added, making the full title "decision on dealing blows at serious criminal activities in the economic field." Without this word the title embodies the desire to limit the scope of the attack and avoid any unnecessary widening of the conflict. With this word added, however, it signifies the firm intention to deal with major and important cases. Following the release of this "decision," a restricted document was circulated to all state organizations, pointing out that not everyone need either prove their innocence or be exposed. What matters, the document said, was that cadres in each organization examine the question of whether or not they themselves have committed economic crimes in the past few years. Some units in Beijing held small group meetings to discuss this, with those who had things to say speaking up and those who did not remaining silent. In other units leading cadres carried out a "random sample," talking casually with a few people rather than forcing people to make confessions. Whenever the tiger's tracks were discovered, those who had any information would be asked to supply this information about the facts of the case. In this way it was possible to avoid launching a political campaign.

The question everyone is interested in at the moment is whether or not the tracks of a large tiger have been discovered.

Important People Involved in Major Cases

A friend of mine who works in politics and law told me that there are several major cases involving cadres at the ministerial level. Take for example the illegal establishment of the "Chinese Aldose Research Institute" by the swindler Chen Mengxiao. He managed to swindle people for 4 years, deceiving more than 200 cadres and ordinary people and cheating more than 50 different departments. Masquerading as a Communist Party member he managed to obtain by deceit the titles of "chief engineer," "research institute director" and "chairman of the board" and drew a salary of over 200 yuan each month. The "research institute" he established began to engage in various "business activities" with foreign concerns, doing considerable damage to the country both politically and economically. I have heard it said that this great swindler's application report for the establishment of a new "company" was reviewed and approved in person by a cadre who is both a vice premier and minister. In his comments on this case, the deputy secretary of the Discipline Inspection Commission, Zhang Yun touched on this point, saying that one of the main reasons for this swindler's success was that "some of our cadres are politically apathetic and have let their defenses down." It is said that this statement was aimed at the vice premier. Of course, the only mistake this high-ranking cadre can be said to have committed is that of extreme bureaucratism. There are certainly no signs so far of any financial improprieties.

Foreign observers have shown a great deal of interest in the question of the former Vice Minister of the Ministry of Chemical Industry Yang Yibang.

It is said that many letters have been sent to the Discipline Inspection Committee reporting the details of the situation and the Yang case is now under serious investigation.

It seems from the material released so far that criminal cases involving the children of high-ranking cadres are extremely common. Take for example the case of Zhong Jialun and Ren Qingsheng, both sons of ministers, who embezzled payments for goods amounting to 3 million yuan.

Major Cases of Suspected Bribery Now Being Investigated

When it was still not clear who would be chosen as the minister of economic relations with foreign countries, there was a rumor circulating among a small number of high-ranking cadres that one cadre, whose position was above that of a minister and who had volunteered himself as a possible choice for the minister's job was suspected of involvement in a case of receiving massive bribes from abroad. This major case is now under investigation. Because it involves foreign trade, the Central Committee has decided that the case should be kept secret and no information should be released outside. My friend says that when the selection process for the minister of economic relations with foreign countries first began this important cadre was definitely a front runner. When information about the case became known, however, his name was struck off the list of possible candidates, leaving the "dark horse" Chen Muhua to take the prize.

This friend who is involved in political and legal work also told me that there are many honest and clean-cut people serving as vice premiers, ministers and vice ministers. However, there are also more than one or two whose integrity is perhaps rather questionable. Deng Xiaoping and his colleagues will not try to publicly expose those black and white cats who have only minor problems and are still capable of catching mice. My friend made the following comparison: The Minister of Commerce Wang Lei, who once tried to take advantage of his position at Fengze Yuan Restaurant, in Beijing, was a man of considerable talent: A cat who could catch mice. Deng Xiaoping and others had originally intended that he should replace Lin Hujia as the mayor of Beijing. When the Beijing newspapers started stirring up the Wang Lei question (which was seen as relatively unimportant) the decision-makers on the Central Committee were rather annoyed. As far as they were concerned, people such as Wang Lei who make minor mistakes need only undergo internal examination and should not be subjected to public criticism. "To be frank, there are still lots of mice at the moment but there are very few cats capable of catching them; that is to say, the number of old cadres who have both energy and strength is very small." Deng Xiaoping and others are concerned that they are becoming fewer and fewer in number. This poses a very real problem. Moreover, it represents a major structural defect in the Communist Party. A decision has already been taken at the highest level of the Central Committee to train outstanding young and middle-aged cadres and to promote them to around grade 15. However, those cadres who have shown great promise have already been promoted to the rank of ministers and vice ministers. Examples of this are Liu Yi, who replaced Wang Lei as the minister for commerce, and Xu Cai, formerly the chief editor

of TIYU BAO. While it has already been decided that Xu should be the deputy head of the National Sports Commission, at the time of this writing, a public announcement has yet to be made. The measures taken by the Central Committee are certainly on the right track and compared with measures taken in the past, they mark a great step forward.

Talk of Conflict Between Deng and Ye

The most talked about economic criminal in Beijing is the son of a very important figure. Without exaggerating too much, one could say that this affair is on everyone's lips. Against this background, there has been a sudden upsurge of speculation, both inside and outside of China, concerning the struggle between Deng Xiaoping and Ye Jianying. A retired Beijing intellectual told me that Deng and Hu's struggle against corruption was an important aspect of the attempt to rectify the party's work style; however, at the same time, it is also part of a larger struggle against Ye Jianying. If in the course of the struggle against corrupted people who have connections with Ye Jianying get dragged into the fray it may become possible to achieve the goal of deposing Ye Jianying.

There has long been talk abroad about the conflict between Deng Xiaoping and Ye Jianying. According to one theory, Ye Jianying has sufficient power and influence in the army to be able to resist any pressure Deng Xiaoping may apply. This in turn has given rise to the theory that serious contradictions exist between the army and the party.

However, in the final analysis, is there really any serious contradiction between Deng Xiaoping and Ye Jianying, or between the party and the army? If there is contradiction between Deng and Ye has it really escalated into a fierce struggle?

During my days in Beijing I have tried every possible means to get the correct answers to these questions. These are questions that have perplexed all of the world's journalists interested in the state of affairs at Zhongnanhai. I earnestly hoped that I might be able to make some sort of breakthrough in this very challenging area of work--and clarify the real situation.

One Aspect of the Conflict

The real situation is that the relationship between Deng Xiaoping and Ye Jianying is one of both contradiction and cooperation. In fact, there is no secret about certain contradictions. Take for example, the comparative open mindedness of Deng and Hu or their comparative interest in reform; (this was seen most clearly during the third plenary session) one only has to read Ye Jianying's "Report on Revising the Constitution," prepared by Ye Jianying for the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress, to know that his ideology has more in common with that of Hua Guofeng than that of Deng Xiaoping. Ye's ideology is not without some flexibility, however. The "National Day Speech" he gave on the 30th anniversary of the founding of the PRC (though, of course, not his own work) reflects that his thinking is capable of keeping up with the times. Because of this it

was Hua Guofeng and the "whatever faction" he lead rather than Ye Jianying who obstructed the political and economic reforms of Deng and Hu.

Cooperation Is the Most Important Aspect

Let us take as another example the question of how to assess the merits and demerits of Mao Zedong. On the one hand, Deng Xiaoping has consistently affirmed that Mao Zedong's achievements are far more significant than his mistakes; on the other hand, however, he has set about overturning one by one Mao Zedong's mistaken line, principles and policies. Ye Jianying is certainly more disposed towards taking a kinder view of Mao Zedong's contributions and thought. At the sixth plenary session of the Central Committee Ye Jianying issued a written recommendation affirming that he both agreed with and supported the Central Committee's "resolution." In discussing the contents of the "resolution" he mentioned only the question of assessing Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought, saying that the "resolution" "firmly established the historical position of Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought and this is certainly of great importance for the great cause of our party." We can see from this phrase that Ye Jianying's appraisal of Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought may be a little higher than that of Deng and Hu. These various examples all go to show that there are various differences of opinion and contradictions between Deng Xiaoping and Ye Jianying.

However, is it not unity and cooperation rather than contradiction which forms the more important aspect of their relationship?

The Political Situation Dictates That Four People Will Never Retire

Recently I met an old newspaperman in Beijing who told me some rather curious bits of news which I thought I might use to help me answer this question.

"It has been said for some time now that Deng Xiaoping has been urging Ye Jianying to retire. Now, however, the truth of the situation has become apparent," said the old newspaperman. "Earlier this year the Central Committee's Political Bureau decided that Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian and Chen Yun should retain indefinitely in their positions as vice chairmen of the Central Committee."

This news stunned me for a few seconds. If it were not for the fact that this person was extremely well informed and had a certain degree of authority, I could never believe such a report.

"Is the Central Committee not advocating the retirement of all overage cadres? Are they not trying to do away with the system of lifetime tenure. So why would they possibly decide that four people should never retire?"

"Yes, leading members of the Central Committee are now encouraging most overage cadres to retire. However, they believe that because Ye, Deng, Li and Chen have worked hard and performed valuable services and enjoy such

high prestige and respect, they should, in fact must, be accorded the privilege of never having to retire. The political situation dictates that several tens of cadres should be allowed to hold on to their posts so as to 'strengthen the front line.'"

While I had my own views on "never having to retire" and "strengthening the front line," I pointed out instead that "rumors both here and abroad about Marshal Ye have provoked considerable speculation..."

Deng Exaggerates the Diligence and Valuable Services of Marshal Ye

"As far as that is concerned," said my friend interrupting me, "I have heard that several people have asked Deng Xiaoping what should be done? Deng Xiaoping is reported to have said that Marshal Ye has worked hard and performed valuable services and although he is now extremely old and there may be problems in certain areas, such problems are of only minor importance. There is nothing particularly terrible at all."

This piece of information was also news to me and I could not help but be surprised. I was just about to question him further when my friend suddenly forestalled me with a question of his own: "Do you know how Deng Xiaoping was rehabilitated in 1978?"

"There was a group of old military and civil cadres at the time who demanded the return of Deng Xiaoping. Hua Guofeng, Wang Dongxing and others tried desperately to thwart such a move, but their efforts were in vain. They were unable to resist these demands..

"Of these cadres calling for the return of Deng Xiaoping it was Ye Jianying whose voice carried the most weight. He had really done quite well for himself during the "cultural revolution," joining the Political Bureau at Ninth Party Congress and being selected as vice chairman at the 10th. In spite of this, however, he did not belong to the "cultural revolution faction." And during the "February countercurrent" he launched a stinging attack on Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. After taking over as minister of defense in 1975 he, together with Deng Xiaoping, worked to reform the armed forces. Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping and Ye Jianying can all be said to follow the same true. In helping to engineer the downfall of the gang of four on 6 October 1976, Marshal Ye, who has been involved in military advisory work for many years, rendered outstanding service."

Mao Zedong's Savior

While discussing the relationship between Mao Zedong and Marshal Ye, my friend recounted the story of how Ye Jianying saved Mao Zedong's life during the long march. After the Zunyi conference, Zhang Guotao, the general military commissar, favored launching a southern attack while Mao, on the other hand, advocated moving northwards. This difference of opinion erupted in a fierce struggle with Zhang Guotao forming a conspiracy to destroy the Central Committee and eliminate the rival force of Mao Zedong

and others. It was through the resourcefulness and assistance of Ye Jianying, the front line commander in chief, that Mao Zedong was able to escape from danger. Exaggerating a little, we can say that Ye Jianying was Mao Zedong's savior."

"Does the fact that Mao Zedong held Ye Jianying in relatively high esteem help to explain Deng's relatively polite behavior toward Ye Jianying?"

Unlike Except for Slight Similarities, Alike Except for Slight Differences

"No that is not the case at all. Surely Hua Guofeng enjoyed Mao Zedong's favor even more. But Deng and his colleagues had no qualms about removing him from the post of party chairman and premier. Why is it that although Hua and Ye both enjoyed Mao's favor, Deng Xiaoping has adopted two very different attitudes in dealing with them? In my view, the reason for this is that as the leader of the "whatever faction" Hua Guofeng constituted one of the principal obstacles in the way of Deng Xiaoping's reform plan. As long as this obstacle remained the road to reform was impassable. Marshal Ye acceded to the decision taken by the sixth plenary session demoting Hua Guofeng from the position of chairman to that of the least important vice chairman. From this we can see that Ye and Deng are "alike except for slight differences," while Ye and Hua are "unlike except for slight similarities."

My friend's analysis struck me as being very novel and I did not have enough time to examine the details of what he had said. So rather than raise any objections I acted as any journalist would talking to an authoritative source and just kept on asking questions.

What Is the Conflict Between the Party and the Army All About

"You have just said that Ye Jianying's appraisal of Mao Zedong is perhaps higher than Deng's and Hu's. Does this mean that his thinking on this point accords more or less with the views of high-ranking cadres in the army."

"Perhaps that is true. Mao Zedong's leftist thinking had a fairly profound impact on most high-ranking cadres in the military and traces of Mao's personality cult can still be found. As far as they were concerned, the line adopted by the third plenary session of the Central Committee was a revisionist line and Deng Xiaoping's reforms represented capitalist restoration. Serious contradictions naturally existed between these people and Deng Xiaoping. They had a relatively favorable opinion of Marshal Ye. The situation has already changed, somewhat due to the gradual routing out of military cadres hostile to Deng Xiaoping's line and efforts to educate people whose thinking is confused. Needless to say, supporters of Lin Biao and the gang of four are now very few in number, while most of the key figures in the military are basically Deng Xiaoping's men. For this reason, it is wrong to emphasize the conflict between the party and the army."

My friend cited an example...

While the storm raised by "unrequited love" has now passed, the whole incident is regarded as reflecting the contradictions between the party and the army. But what did it really mean?

The attack on Bai Hua was first launched by Jiefangjun Bao. Does the fact that RENMIN RIBAO never reprinted the special commentator's article reflect the existence of any contradiction? It is hard to say that it did not. The army adopted a rather crude attitude and it is not surprising that not everyone was convinced. However, this is not the crux of the problem. The crux lies in whether or not Deng Xiaoping shared the army's belief that "sun and man" contained political mistakes and should therefore have been criticized. The facts of the case go to show that as far as this crucial question is concerned Deng and the military were entirely as one on this question.

The People's Hope

Last of all my friend went on to say that, "certain people have exaggerated the contradictions between the party and the army without giving due attention to their common ground. It is the latter which is most important. High-ranking members of the Central Committee will never do away with the principle that the "party should command the gun." Deng Xiaoping represents the party's and the Military Commission's command of the gun. Therefore, any reform of the military must be carried out on the basis of stability and security and must not lead to any possibility of disturbance."

Deng and Hu have both been extremely sincere in their demand for stability and unity. Moreover, they have achieved some results. Political stability is certainly an important condition that must be met before construction can be carried out. At the same time, on the condition that the stability of the overall situation remains undisturbed, spirit and courage are also required in the handling of certain affairs. Take for example the current struggle against corruption. The common people all hope that the Central Committee will have the courage and resolve to carry the struggle through to the end. We must struggle against all tigers, whether they be northeastern tigers, southern tigers or tigers from Zhongnanhai. We must be firm and steadfast and must not be tempted into giving up halfway along or settling for minor victories. We must not relent in our struggle against the tiger on the pretext that we are carrying out protracted struggle, nor must we protect the tiger using the excuse that we are promoting "stability and unity." Otherwise we can say for certain that the current crisis of confidence will deteriorate into a complete collapse of confidence and no one will be able to rescue the Communist Party from its unfortunate fate.

CSO: 4005/861 END

JPRS 80998

7 June 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 306

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 80998

7 June 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 306

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

PARTY AND STATE

Cadres Urged To Adhere To Mass Line in Party Work
(Liang Rongde; SHANXI RIBAO, 15 Mar 82) 1

Biographical Notes on State Council Officials
(RENMIN RIBAO, 5 May 82) 4

Heilongjiang Provincial Government Work Report
(Chen Lei; HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 3 Mar 82) 9

Amendment to Civil Law Concerning Jury System Analyzed
(He Shan; RENMIN RIBAO, 9 Apr 82) 18

Crack Down on Economic Crimes in Hubei
(Gong Dafa; RENMIN RIBAO, 3 Apr 82) 20

Former Guangzhou Party Official Sentenced
(RENMIN RIBAO, 4 Apr 82) 22

'BA YI' Hits Tenure Article of Draft Constitution
(BA YI Radio, 8 May 82) 24

Party Members, Cadres See Province-Level Organs as Model
(Zhou Shiquan, Lu Aimin; XINHUA RIBAO, 27 Mar 82) 26

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Deng's Way of Consolidating PLA Cadres Criticized
(BA YI Radio, 8 May 82) 28

Deng's Military Reform Plan Discussed
(BA YI Radio, 16 May 82) 30

'BA YI' on Plight of Families of Soldiers, Martyrs
(BA YI Radio, 13 May 82) 32

Qiao Xiaoguang Meets PLA Athletes
(Guangxi Regional Service, 13 May 82) 33

PLA Units in Xinjiang,Xizang Guard Frontier
(Beijing Domestic Service, 7 May 82) 34

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Party Urged To Keep Hands Off Literature, Art
(Huai Bing; CHEN MING, No 3, 1982) 35

PARTY AND STATE

CADRES URGED TO ADHERE TO MASS LINE IN PARTY WORK

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 15 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Liang Rongde [6647 2837 1795], secretary, CCP Central Shanxi Regional Committee: "Adherence to the Mass Line Is Guarantee for Realization of the 'Two Civilizations'"]

[Text] The mass line is our party's fine tradition and workstyle and also a guarantee for the accomplishment of our party's cause. When we are situated in such an important historical period of returning to order from disorder and advancing from poverty to prosperity, adherence to the mass line appears even more important if we wish to insure a stable rate of development in our economy and a decisive turn for the better in our social order and security, social customs and party workstyle.

In adhering to the party's mass line, we should first of all establish the fundamental point of view of Marxism that the masses are the real masters. Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly taught us: "The masses are the real heroes"; "The people have boundless creative power, they can march toward all places and departments where they are in a position to demonstrate their power; they can march toward all depths and breadths of production, and create for themselves more and more welfare enterprises." In the face of heavy tasks, some comrades tend to lose confidence; a fundamental reason in this regard is that there is no place for the masses in their eyes. If our comrades who shoulder leadership tasks can constantly keep in mind the history of revolutionary struggle of our party and state during the past 60 years and keep in sight the power of the 39 million communists and more than 900 million masses of the people, they are bound to have full confidence and for them there will be no difficulties that cannot be overcome.

Second, we should make clear that the task of the party is to wholeheartedly serve the people. Comrade Hu Yaobang has pointed out: After the victory of the revolution, the people are the masters of our state and society. The most essential content of the party's leadership in the life of the state is to organize and support the people as masters of the house and build a new socialist life. Proceeding from our national situation, the party Central Committee has suggested that we constantly keep in mind the 800 million peasants and undertake to operate things well for them. This is a major

strategic policy which holds high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought; to understand the great significance of this policy and endeavor to realize it is especially important for our comrades who work in the countryside on a long-range basis. What is the greatest thing to do well? To make a go of the "two civilizations" and enable the vast ranks of the peasants to have a good material and spiritual life; this is the greatest thing to do well. After becoming the political masters of the house, the vast ranks of our peasants strongly demand to live an affluent life. In order to work in the interest of the peasants, we must firmly carry out the party's various policies in a relevant way by applying this golden key so as to open for the peasants the door leading to the road of affluence. If we cry about serving the people daily without trying to help the peasant to become rich, then we have not yet grasped the fundamental task and hence are not yet in accord with the wishes of the vast ranks of the peasants. Along with the peasants' gradual advancement toward an abundant life, we must also endeavor to satisfy their increasing needs in material and cultural life. This requires us to grasp material civilization on the one hand, and spiritual civilization on the other hand. If every communist, every cadre, every unit, and every department can take as the point of departure as well as the destination of their work the intention to serve the interests of the masses, then we are definitely able to lead the masses to realize the "four modernizations."

Third, we must closely link ourselves with the masses. During the 10 years of turmoil, the relations between the party and the masses were subject to serious sabotage. The masses said that the fish-water relationship of the past had become an oil-water relationship. This statement is very poignant and profound and merits the profound reflection of every party member and cadre. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party's workstyle in closely linking itself with the masses has been once more restored somewhat; but a gap remains when it is compared to the period of revolutionary war; hence there is a great need to place emphasis in this regard. We must strike sharply those cadres who lack revolutionary zeal, who claim credit for themselves and become arrogant, and who seek only pleasure, comfort and privileges in a selfish manner, in order to make them understand that if they separate themselves from the masses, strike the posture of an official-lord instead of a "public servant," then one day they are bound to be cast off by the masses. They must clearly understand that, no matter how high the office, how great the seniority, or how talented, we can enjoy the support of the masses only if we put down roots among the masses, breathe with them and share weal and woe with them.

How can we better adhere to the mass line?

In adhering to the mass line, we must wholeheartedly believe that the masses liberated themselves; we cannot look upon ourselves as heroes while treating the masses as "weaklings." Without the genuine consciousness of the masses, not a single good thing can be accomplished no matter how good it is. In undertaking whatever work, when the masses still have not become conscious, our responsibility is to guide them by all effective and appropriate means. Once the masses achieve the appropriate degree of consciousness, we must direct the masses in time to take action according to the party's policy. We

must carefully analyze the particular situations in various places, and link the central principles and policies and the directives and requirements of the superior level with the actualities of the given locality. We must never adopt simplistic, rigid, commanding approaches to force the masses to accept them. In the past, we had a very painful experience in the learning-from-Dachai operations; we should earnestly remember this. There are also comrades who seek to uncover mistakes and defects and seize people's bad examples as soon as they get somewhere, to negate all of their past, to criticize, reproach, or even carry out struggles in order to promote their work, while they neglect to look at the good things there, are not good at seeking out positive factors, or encouraging the comrades engaged in enthusiastic work, and therefore end up alienating the local cadres and masses. This kind of approach must be changed. In trying to serve the people, we are supposed to be responsible to the people, to help the people achieve some benefit objectively because of our service. Conditions at the basic level are diverse; if certain views, prescriptions, and requirements issued by the superior level cannot be carried out in certain localities or units, or defects and mistakes thereof are discovered, we should, in the spirit of being responsible to the people, make suggestions to the superior level and not take a perfunctory attitude; otherwise, we would fail to be responsible to the people, and that would also constitute a failure to be responsible to the superior level.

In adhering to the mass line, we must have the attitude of being willing to be a pupil and to learn humbly from the masses of the people. In order to serve the people, apart from the necessity of having revolutionary enthusiasm and spirit, we must likewise have sufficient knowledge and rich experience. It is of course important to learn from books, but it is just as important to learn from the masses of the people. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: We must first learn from the masses and then teach them; be a student first, and then a teacher. If you don't understand the responsibility system, science, or scientific management, you should learn from the masses, and then concentrate the experiences of the masses, systematize them, and thereby guide the action of the masses through them. Without this approach, no work can be done well. Of course, this is not to suggest that we can therefore relax our work on ideological education among the masses. It is also a mistake to put learning from the masses in opposition to educating the masses.

9255
CSO: 4005/784

PARTY AND STATE

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON STATE COUNCIL OFFICIALS

HK060912 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 May 82 p 4

[Report: "Brief Biographies of the Secretary General of the State Council and Some Ministries and Commissions"--slantlines denote boldface as published]

[Text] /Du Xingyuan/ [2629 2505 0997] (Secretary general of the State Council): Male, 68, Han nationality, native of Xiapu County, Fujian Province; served as director of the Industrial Department and deputy secretary of the Guangzhou Municipal CCP Committee; director, assistant minister and vice minister of the first and second Ministries of Machine-Building Industry; vice minister of the State Economic Commission; vice minister of water conservancy and electric power; secretary of the Sichuan Provincial CCP Committee; vice chairman of the Sichuan Provincial Revolutionary Committee; first deputy secretary general of the State Council; secretary general of the central financial and economic leading group.

/Yang Jingren/ [2799 7234 0088] (Minister of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission): Male, 64, Hui nationality, native of Lanzhou City, Gansu Province; served as vice minister of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission; secretary and first secretary of the Ningxia Regional CCP Committee; chairman of the Ningxia Regional CPPCC; secretary of the Secretariat of the Northwest China Bureau of the CCP Central Committee; deputy director of the United Front Work Department of the CCP Central Committee; vice chairman of the Fifth National CPPCC Committee; vice premier of the State Council.

/Zhao Cangbi/ [6392 5547 3880] (Minister of Public Security): Male, 66, Han nationality, native of Qingjian County, Shaanxi Province; served as chief of the third section of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau; deputy director of the Nanjing Municipal Public Security Bureau; deputy director of the Southwest China Public Security Department and concurrently president of the Southwest China Public Security Institute; Standing Committee member and secretary of the Sichuan Provincial CCP Committee; vice governor of Sichuan and director of the Public Security Department of Sichuan Province.

/Cui Naifu/ [1508 0035 1133] (Minister of Civil Administration): Male, 53, Han nationality, native of Shahe Town, Beijing Municipality; served as director of the Propaganda Department and dean of studies of Lanzhou

University and vice chairman of the Lanzhou University Revolutionary Committee; responsible person of the Political Department and vice minister of the Ministry of Civil Administration.

/Liu Fuzhi/ [0491 1788 0037] (Minister of Justice): Male, 65, Han nationality, native of Mei County, Guangdong Province; served as director of the general office and vice minister of the Ministry of Public Security; vice minister of culture; now serving as deputy director of the Legal Commission of the NPC Standing Committee and secretary general of the Central Political and Law Commission.

/Wang Bingqian/ [3769 0014 0051] (Minister of Finance): Male, 57, Han nationality, native of Li County, Hebei Province; served as deputy chief of the North China Finance Department; chief of the comprehensive planning section, director of the Budget Department and vice minister of the Ministry of Finance.

/Lu Peijian/ [0712 1014 0313] (President of the People's Bank of China): Male, 54, Han nationality, native of Hongze County, Jiangsu Province; served as group leader and deputy section chief of the North China Finance Department; deputy section chief, chief, deputy department head, department head and deputy director of the general office, deputy director of the Industry, Communications, Commerce and Finance Department and vice minister of the Ministry of Finance.

/Lin Hujia/ [2651 0039 0502] (Minister of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Fishery): Male, 66, Han nationality, native of Changdao County, Shandong Province; served as head of the Propaganda Department, secretary general and secretary of the Secretariat of the Zhejiang Provincial CCP Committee; vice minister of the State Planning Commission; secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee; first secretary of the Tianjin Municipal CCP Committee and mayor of Tianjin; first secretary of the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee, mayor of Beijing and first political commissar of the Beijing Garrison Command; minister of agriculture.

/Yang Zhong/ [2799 6988] (Minister of Forestry): Male, 50, Han nationality, native of Xichong County, Sichuan Province; served as secretary of the Guangan County CCP Committee; acting first secretary of the Wusheng County CCP Committee and first political commissar of the Department of the People's Arms, Wusheng County; secretary of the Guangan County CCP Committee and first political commissar of the Department of the People's Arms, Guangan County; vice governor of Sichuan Province.

/Li Ximing/ [2621 6932 6900] (Minister of Urban and Rural Construction and Environmental Protection): Male, 56, Han nationality, native of Shulu County, Hebei Province; served as secretary of the Shijingshan Power Plant CCP Committee; vice minister of water conservancy and electric power; vice minister of electric power industry.

/Sun Daguang/ [1327 1129 0342] (Minister of Geology and Minerals): Male, 65, Han nationality, native of Shou County, Anhui Province; served as president of Dalian Maritime Transport Institute, director of the Planning

Department, assistant minister and vice minister of the Ministry of Communications; minister of geology.

/Li Dongye/ [2621 2639 0396] (Minister of Metallurgical Industry): Male, 64, Han nationality, native of Pinglu County, Shanxi Province; served as secretary of the Liaoning Provincial CCP Committee; first secretary of the Anshan Municipal CCP Committee and concurrently secretary of the Anshan Steel Corporation CCP Committee; vice minister of metallurgical industry.

/Zhou Jiannan/ [0719 1696 0589] (Minister of Machine-Building Industry): Male, 65, Han nationality, native of Yixin County, Jiangsu Province; served as director, assistant minister and vice minister of the First Ministry of Machine-Building Industry; vice minister of the Administrative Commission on Import and Export Affairs.

/Zhang Chen/ [1728 1820] (Minister of Nuclear Industry): Female, 64, Han nationality, native of Xinan County, Henan Province; served as director of the Organization Department of the Wuhan Municipal Enterprise CCP Committee; deputy director of the Tianjin No 2 cotton mill; vice chairman of the Shenyang Municipal Planning Commission; deputy director of the 13th bureau and director of the 1st bureau of the Second Ministry of Machine-Building Industry.

/Mo Wenxiang/ [5459 2429 4382] (Minister of Aviation Industry): Male, 59, Han nationality, Xiajin County, Shandong Province; served as director of the Second Industrial Department of the Shenyang Municipal CCP Committee; secretary of the Shanyang Municipal CCP Committee and vice chairman of the Shenyang Municipal Revolutionary Committee; vice minister and minister of the Third Ministry of Machine-Building Industry.

/Zhang Ting/ [1728 2185] (Minister of Electronics Industry): Male, 59, Han nationality, native of Xin County, Shanxi Province; served as deputy director of the Planning Department of the First Ministry of Machine-Building Industry; deputy director of the Planning Department of the Third Ministry of Machine-Building Industry; director of the Planning Bureau and vice minister of the Fourth Ministry of Machine-Building Industry.

/Yu Yi/ [0060 0001] (Minister of Arms Industry): Male, 57, Han nationality, native of Ye County, Shandong Province; served as deputy director of Jiangbei machine-building factory of Jilin; chief engineer, director and secretary of Jianhua machine-building factory of Qiqihar; deputy director of the Department of National Defense Industry of Heilongjiang Province; vice minister of the Fifth Ministry of Machine-Building Industry.

/Zhang Jun/ [1728 6874] (Minister of Spaceflight Industry); Male, 63, Han nationality, native of Shouguang County, Shandong Province; served as second political commissar of the Public Security Corps of the Kunming PLA units; deputy political commissar of the Yunnan Provincial Military District; secretary of the CCP Committee of No 1 compound [Yi Yuan 0001 7108] and vice minister of the Seventh Ministry of Machine-Building Industry.

/Tang Ke/ [0781 0344] (Minister of Petroleum Industry): Male, 64, Han nationality, native of Yancheng County, Jiangsu Province; served as deputy director of the General Bureau of Petroleum of the Ministry of Fuel Industry; deputy director of the general office, director of the Prospecting Department and vice minister of the Ministry of Petroleum Industry; vice minister of fuel and chemical industry; vice minister of petrochemical industry; vice minister and minister of metallurgical industry.

/Yang Bo/ [2799 3134] (Minister of Light Industry): Male, 61, Han nationality, native of Rongcheng County, Shandong Province; served as director of the Research Office and director of the Comprehensive Department of the State Statistics Bureau; deputy director and director of the Shandong Provincial Statistics Commission; vice chairman of the Shandong Provincial Revolutionary Committee; vice minister of the State Statistics Commission; vice minister of the State Energy Commission.

/Chen Puru/ [7115 3877 1172] (Minister of Railways): Male, 64, Han nationality, native of Boxin County, Shandong Province; served as secretary of the Huxi Prefectural CCP Committee in the Hebei-Shandong-Henan border area; secretary of the Fuliang Prefectural CCP Committee and concurrently secretary of the Jingdezhen Municipal CCP Committee, Jiangxi Province; secretary of the Zunyi Prefectural CCP Committee, Guizhou Province; director of the Industry and Commerce Department and director of the Planning Commission of Guizhou Province; secretary of the Secretariat of the Guizhou Provincial CCP Committee; vice governor of Guizhou Province; secretary of the Liaoning Provincial CCP Committee; governor of Liaoning Province.

/Li Qing/ [2621 3237] (Minister of Communications): Male, 62, Han nationality, native of Ninghe County, Tianjin Mujicipality; served as third secretary of the Changsha Municipal CCP Committee; deputy director of the General Bureau of River Transport, deputy director of the Haihe (River) Bureau and director of the Harbor Superintendency Administration Bureau of the Ministry of Communications; secretary of the Wuhan Water Transport Engineering Institute; director of the Water Transport Bureau of the Ministry of Communications; director of the Comprehensive Transport Research Institute of the State Economic Commission; vice minister and concurrently director of the Oceangoing Transport Bureau of the Ministry of Communications.

/Wen Minisheng/ [2429 2404 3932] (Minister of Posts and Telecommunications): Male, 66, Han nationality, native of Yuanqu County, Shanxi Province; served as deputy director of the Central South China Public Security Department; director of the Social Department of the South China Subbureau of the CCP Central Committee; political commissar of the frontier troops; secretary of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee; vice governor of Guangdong Province; secretary, second secretary and acting first secretary of the Henan Provincial CCP Committee; governor of Henan Province; vice secretary of the Harbin Municipal CCP Committee, secretary of the Heilongjiang Provincial CCP Committee and first secretary of the Harbin Municipal CCP Committee.

/Zhao Shouyi/ [6392 1343 0001] (Minister of Labor and Personnel): Male, 65, Han nationality, native of Weinan County, Shaanxi Province; served as deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the Northwest China Bureau of the CCP Central Committee; director of the Propaganda Department, alternate secretary, secretary and second secretary of the Shaanxi Provincial CCP Committee; secretary of the Anhui Provincial CCP Committee; vice chairman of the Anhui Provincial Revolutionary Committee; deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee.

/Zhu Muzhi/ [2612 4476 1133] (Minister of Culture): Male, 66, Han nationality, native of Jiangyin County, Jiangsu Province; served as department head, deputy chief editor, deputy director, and director of the XINHUA News Agency; deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee.

/Wu Lengxi/ (0702 0397 6007] (Minister of Broadcast and Television): Male, 62, Han nationality, native of Xinhui County, Guangdong Province; served as chief editor and director of the XINHUA News Agency; chief editor of RENMIN RIBAO, deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee; deputy director of the Central Documents Research Office; secretary of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee.

/He Dongchang/ [0149 2639 2490] (Minister of Education): Male, 59, Han nationality, native of Zhuji County, Zejiang Province; served as teacher, associate professor, head of the Aeronautics Department, dean of studies, deputy secretary of the CCP Committee and vice president of Qinghua University.

/Cui Yueli/ [1508 2588 3680] (Minister of Public Health): Male, 62, Han nationality, native of Shen County, Hebei Province; served as director of the United Front Work Department and director of the Public Health and Physical Culture Department of the Beijing Municiapl CCP Committee; vice chairman of the Beijing Municipal CPPCC and deputy mayor of Beijing; vice minister of public health; vice minister of the Family Planning Association of China; president of the All-China Institute of Traditional Chinese Medicine; vice chairman of the Chinese People's National Committee in Defense of Children.

/Li Menghua/ [2621 1125 5478] (Minister of Physical Cultural and Sports Commission): Male, 60, Han nationality, native of Pingshan County, Hebei Province; served as director of the School Administrative Affairs Office of the Central CYL School; vice secretary of the Southwest China Working Committee of the CYL Central Committee; director of the Southwest China Office of the All-China Youth Federation; deputy director of the Southwest China Physical Cultural and Sports Commission; director and vice minister of the Physical Cultural and Sports Commission.

/Qian Xinzhong/ [6929 0207 1813] (Minister of State Family Planning Committee): Male, 71, Han nationality, native of Baoshan County, Shanghai Municipality; served as president of the Red Army's 25th army hospital; director of the Public Health Department of the 129th Division; director of the Public Health Department of the North China military area; director of the Public Health Department of the Second Field Army; vice minister of the Second Ministry of Machine-Building Industry; vice minister and minister of public health.

CSO: 4005/868

HEILONGJIANG PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT WORK REPORT

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Mar 82 pp 1, 3-4

[Report on Government Work by Chen Lei [7115 7191] to the Fourth Session of the Fifth Heilongjiang Provincial People's Congress on 23 February 1982]

[Excerpted from a two-page article] It has been fully a year since the Third Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress held in February 1981. On behalf of the Provincial People's Government, I will now report on the work of the past year and submit a work plan for 1982 for your examination and discussion.

1. Work of the Past Year

In the past year, guided by the spirit of the Work Conference of the Party Central Committee and the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, we have carried out the principles of further readjustment in economic work and realizing further stability politically, made new achievements in all fields of work, and accomplished in the main the tasks set forth at the last congress. The political and economic situation as a whole is moving in the direction of continuing improvement.

In accordance with the spirit of the December 1980 Work Conference of the Party Central Committee and the specific plans drawn up by the Provincial Party Committee, in this period of further readjustment in the economy, our last Provincial People's Congress proposed as its guidelines "Take the interests of the whole into account, share difficulties, bring superior forces into play, and make more contributions." The congress determined that implementation of readjustment includes both starting new projects and discontinuing existing ones, both moving forward and cutting back, and practicing "retrenchment, shifting to other products, amalgamation, tapping of potential, and filling in blank spots." In this way we will gradually build our province into five modern bases--for agriculture, light industries, forestry, energy and chemical industries, and heavy industries in order to effectively strengthen leadership over economic work, more than 10 professional leading groups were formed under the leadership of the Provincial Party Committee and Provincial Government. The fields involved included farm mechanization, reclaiming wasteland, sugar refining, textiles, foodstuffs, energy, gold, and machinery. The groups were headed by the vice governors and chiefs of party committee offices and

made up of representatives of related departments. They were able to concentrate their efforts in solving problems in production and construction, providing organizational guarantee to the smooth implementation of readjusting the economy.

Results of the implementation of the 1982 economic plans were satisfactory. Total output value of industry and agriculture is expected to reach 29.2 billion yuan, an increase of 1.8 percent over the previous year. Revenue is expected to reach 16.6 billion yuan, an increase of 3.6 percent over the previous year, averaging 605 yuan per person, an increase of 17 yuan over the previous year. Average consumer spending is expected to reach 390 yuan per person for the province, a 11.1 percent rise over the previous year. In the past year, the economy in the province continued to advance steadily through readjustment, consolidating and developing political stability and unity. Practice proves that the guidelines and measures we adopted to implement readjustment have been in keeping with the line and principles laid down by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the Work Conference of the Party Central Committee.

2. Main Tasks of 1982

Nineteen eight-two is the 20th year of our country's Sixth 5-Year Plan, also the 20th year of the readjustment of the economy. We will make the spirit of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the 4th Session of the 5th National People's Congress as our guide, make further readjustment of the economy, develop the excellent situation of stability and unity, and work to build a spiritual civilization as well as a material civilization. In accordance with the general goals and demands of economic growth for our province as set forth by the provincial party committee, the main tasks this year are: Carry out in an all-round way the 10 principles for readjusting the economy and economic construction, in the spirit of "taking the interests of the whole into account, sharing difficulties, bringing superior forces into play, and making more contributions," continue to build up a modern agricultural base with commodity grain as the main undertaking and an overall development of industrial crops and a diversified economy; a light industrial base with emphasis on the foodstuff and textile industries; a forestry base with forest management as the foundation and emphasizing the multiple utilization of timber; an energy and chemical industrial base developing mainly coal and petroleum; a heavy industry base which stresses readjusting the service direction of the machine industry and developing the construction materials industry. With the construction of the five bases as the focus, we will energetically promote scientific experiements and intellectual development, work hard to attain a faster economic growth--the rate of increase for industry will be to guarantee three, strive for four, and aim at five; for agriculture, to guarantee six, strive for seven, and aim at eight. We must concentrate on overall reorganization in all trades, professions and industries, so that economic effectiveness will increase and revenue will exceed the increase rate of industry and agriculture; continue to stabilize the market and prices; on the basis of developing production, improve the people's material and cultural life and further improve public order.

3. Overall Reorganization and Comprehensive Rectification

To further implement the principles of readjusting, restructuring, reorganizing, and upgrading the economy, the provincial party committee has decided to make 1982 the year or reorganization. Through reorganization, we will work to build up the material and spiritual civilization, achieve marked results in the economic sector, and realize still greater stability and unity politically. Therefore, both town and country, both leading organs and grassroots units, and all trades and professions should carry out overall reorganization and comprehensive rectification step by step and in a planned way.

1. Earnestly carry out enterprise reorganization. Enterprises are the lifeline of the economy. The mental attitude of the staff and workers, the efficiency of production management, and the degree of economic effectiveness all have important bearings on socialist modernization and construction. In overall reorganization, the stress must be on reorganization of the enterprises.

In reorganizing industrial, communications, finance and trade, and capital construction enterprises, we must earnestly carry out the "Decision on Overall Reorganization of State-Owned Industrial Enterprises" issued by the Party Central Committee and the State Council, doing it step by step and in a planned way, stressing key units while attending to the whole situation, in groups and by stages.

We will reorganize and perfect the economic responsibility system, improve enterprise management and administration, do a good job of overall planning management, quality control, and economic accounting. We must foster the management viewpoint, establish and strengthen management organs, carry out effective decisionmaking, see to it that plans are carried out, and achieve balanced production. We must foster the idea of quality first, establish comprehensive systems of quality control, draw up quality standards for high-quality products, and work hard to increase product varieties to meet market demands. We must establish comprehensive systems of economic accounting, perfecting such basic work as quotas, statistics, and measurements. The large and medium-sized enterprises should strengthen the three-level economic accounting system, and the small enterprises should carry out the two-level accounting system, both in order to increase economic effectiveness. We must, through reorganization, guarantee a year-by-year increase of the state's income, while looking after the interests of both the enterprises and the individual workers; strengthen and perfect the special responsibility systems and personal responsibility systems in production, technology, and management, so that strict responsibility systems will be instituted for the plant director, departments, workshops, teams and shifts.

We will reestablish and strengthen labor discipline, strictly carry out the system of rewards and penalties. Through reorganization, the staff and workers will develop a sense of responsibility as their own masters and conscientiously observe labor discipline. We will mobilize the staff and workers to draw up "regulations for staff and workers," and practice systems of rewards

and penalties as needed. The tendency to issue rewards indiscriminately and insist on equalitarianism must be corrected. Staff and workers who do well in work, observe discipline, and make outstanding achievements should be commended and given rewards. For those who seriously violate labor discipline, the enterprises have the right to take economic or administrative disciplinary action against them according to regulations. Those who refuse to mend their ways despite repeated admonition should receive more serious punishment, or even be dismissed or fired.

We will strengthen financial and economic discipline and perfect financial and accounting systems. We will audit accounts of all units and block all loopholes. We will strengthen financial work organs and financial management systems. We will strengthen and readjust financial and accounting personnel, improve financial and accounting work so as to bring into play the supervisory role of financial management. In cases of violation of financial discipline, fraud and deception, graft for private gain, interception of profit to be turned over to the state, and evasion of taxes, investigation will be conducted against related personnel and leading personnel to affix economic and legal responsibilities.

We will reorganize the labor force, and organize production by fixing the number of workers and their quotas. On the basis of the personal responsibility system, we will assign qualified personnel according to set standards and fixed numbers. We will actively seek to open up new productive undertakings so that personnel in excess of authorized numbers will be trained for new jobs in a planned way, in groups and by stages, continually to improve their political caliber and technical and professional abilities.

We will rectify our ideas about business operations and overcome the tendency toward liberalization in the economic field. In economic work, we will persist in the principle of relying mainly on planned economy as the main factor and market regulation as a supplementary factor. All production, construction, and circulation activities will be carried out under the guidance of the state plan. Rectification in industry and communications, finance and trade, will be directed at solving the problem of deviation from the socialist direction and violation of the party's principles and policies, at overcoming such erroneous tendencies as slipshod manufacturing, expanding productive capabilities at will, purchasing commodities without planning, going all out to make highly profitable products, being lukewarm about making products with small profits, and refusing to make products that will bring no profits. We must do all we can to correct ideas and actions that ignore state interests and advance local or departmental interests. In agriculture we will try to solve such problems as planting whatever one wishes, turning to trade and neglecting farming, in the surrounding countryside turning to industrial work and neglecting vegetable cultivation, failing to fulfill purchase-and-sale contracts, and hiring hands to grow vegetables. The goal is to achieve, through rectification, correct thinking on business operations and persist in the socialist direction.

The key in reorganizing enterprises is to reorganize and build up the leading groups. All enterprises must observe the basic principles of collective

leadership by the party committee, democratic management by the staff and workers, and the plant director issuing administrative orders. Within this year, we will establish and perfect the system of plant director assuming responsibilities under the leadership of the party committee. We will work effectively to rectify the thinking, work style, and organization of the leading groups, and bring a change to the present state of "laxity, flabbiness, overstaffing, and aging."

Reorganization of units in agriculture, forest industry, science and technology, culture, education and public health, and rural commune-run industries should be carried out in the light of the specific conditions of each unit and referring to the "Decisions of Overall Reorganization of State-Owned Industrial Enterprises." In rural communes and brigades, overall reorganization will be carried out with emphasis on reorganizing and perfecting the responsibility system of paying according to joint quotas, and improving management and administration. Urban neighborhoods should also conduct overall reorganization with focuses on courtesy, cleanliness, and safety.

It is hoped that through reorganization, by the end of this year, one-third of our province's industrial and communications enterprises will markedly increase their economic effectiveness, one-fifth of the enterprises will become "six good enterprises"--good in taking care of the three parties, good in product quality, good in economic effectiveness, good in labor discipline, good in civilized production, and good in political work. Financial, trade, capital construction, and agricultural enterprises should all work hard to increase economic effectiveness and create "six good enterprises."

2. Further strengthen public order. We will earnestly carry out the Party Central Committee's "Directive on Strengthening Political and Legal Work," make the strengthening of public order a political task. We will mobilize all forces on all fronts, implement rectification policies in a comprehensive way, and work hard to bring about a decisive change for the better in public order and social mores.

To strengthen public order, we must strike forcefully at counterrevolutionaries of all kinds, antiparty and antisocialist elements, and active criminal activities, resolutely suppressing the blatant arrogance of the criminals. We must fully mobilize the masses, organize forces on all sides, striking continually in a planned way, and with leadership, at habitual offenders, criminal rings, criminals constantly on the move, muggers, rapists, and burglars. We must adhere to the party's consistent policy of striking at the handful and trying to win over, split off, and reform the majority. We must implement the basic policy of combining punishment with leniency, being lenient to those who confess their crimes and severe to those who refuse to do so. The handful of active criminals who commit homicide, robberies, rapes, blowups, arson, and other crimes seriously endangering law and order must be punished severely and promptly according to law. As for those who commit less serious crimes, based upon the nature and the consequences of their crimes, we will try and convict them according to law, and send them off to be reformed through labor. With the majority of the criminals whose cases do not call for prison sentences, we will keep them under surveillance, detain

them, or reeducate them through labor. With juvenile delinquents, we will deal with each case differently, either send them to juvenile reformatories or to work-study schools and give them a chance to study and reform.

We will be stern in handling economic crimes. We will strike hard at crimes such as smuggling and illegal peddling, speculation and profiteering, offering and accepting bribes, and perverting justice for bribes. We will give special attention to investigating serious economic crimes in which there is collusion between people in and outside the country and which involve responsible cadres. Cases with proven evidence and serious in nature will be dealt with severely and promptly according to law. In cases where criminal activities are ignored, tolerated or abetted, we will investigate and affix responsibilities.

We should pay more and special attention to disciplining juveniles who have committed misdeeds. Because of the 10 years of turmoil and the pernicious influence of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, there have been some conspicuous criminal activities by juveniles. We must not treat the phenomena lightly. Administrative departments in government, offices, schools, factories, mines, enterprises, urban neighborhoods, and rural communes and brigades should regard strengthening the education of juveniles as their obligatory duty. We should pay careful attention to the healthy growth of juveniles, watch the trends of their thinking, study the causes of juvenile delinquency and lessons to be drawn, take active measures to educate and guide the juveniles and prevent crimes. We should, with great warmth, help and educate juveniles who have gone astray and help them change for the better. The methodology can be that work units are responsible for their staff and workers, neighborhood committees are responsible for the residents in their areas, schools are responsible for their students, and parents are responsible for their children. We should establish the help-and-educate responsibility system and put into practice help-and-educate measures. We should organize the juveniles to study politics, acquire general education, and learn scientific knowledge, so that they will, in the shortest possible time, change and become useful citizens taking part in the building of socialism. All large and medium-sized cities should earnestly implement the stipulations in the State Council's No 60 document issued last year, gradually set up or expand work-study schools equivalent to general middle schools, regarding the effort as an educational undertaking to transform society and doing a good job of it.

The stress of reorganization will be at the grassroots level. Doing a good job of reorganizing the grassroots organizations and laying good groundwork are fundamental measures to ensure permanent law and order. All grassroots organizations in town and country must step up reorganization work. Legal counseling offices and public notaries will be established at the county level and above. More and better legal cadres will be appointed to rural communes and city neighborhood offices, to bring into play their role in maintaining public order, building the legal system, and handling disputes between people. City and rural public security committees, mediation committees, and city neighborhood committees will all draw up plans of reorganization by groups and in stages. We will select and invite veteran party members, veteran cadres, and

veteran workers to head the three types of committees. Each person will have a specific position and specific responsibilities, rely on the masses, and do a good job of safeguarding public security, mediating disputes, and strengthening unity among the people. We will strengthen the security organizations in government offices, schools, factories and mines, enterprises, railroads, aviation, communications and transportation, and other grassroots units, strengthen safety and guard work, especially at armories, treasuries, and warehouses, and block up loopholes so as not to give any opportunity to criminals. We will organize workers' pickets to strengthen joint military and civilian defense. Public security departments must work closely with relevant departments, rely fully on the masses, post patrols day and night to maintain law and order. We will organize and mobilize forces from all sides to maintain overall law and order. Responsibility systems of safety and guard work will be instituted from top to bottom on all fronts, in all departments, all trades and professions, so as to give rewards and punishments strictly and impartially, thus ensuring the implementation of the responsibility systems.

We will further publicize the socialist legal system, educating the cadres and the masses so that they will gain an ever deepening understanding of the system. Laws are the expressions of the will of the classes and the people. They are weapons used to strike at the enemy, punish criminals, and protect the people. We must uphold the dignity of law and bring into full play the role of the legal system, but we absolutely must not set the legal system against, or separate it from, the leadership of the party. Only public security and judicial departments have the right to deal with criminal actions in violation of the state's laws. No administrative organs, other organizations, or individuals are allowed to interfere. We must insist on the principle that everybody is equal before the law, no matter who he is. We must vigorously commend people who are exemplary in abiding by the law and ever ready to fight for justice. We will do away with anarchistic tendencies and extreme individualism and work hard to create a social environment and the kind of public opinion in which everyone is responsible for maintaining law and order, in which a healthy atmosphere prevails, and in which goodness is upheld and evil condemned. All types of cadre schools, colleges and universities, middle and primary schools should add courses on the legal system in their curriculum in order firmly to establish in the students' minds the importance of abiding by the law. We will combine publicity and education of the legal system with the building of a spiritual civilization, launch "five stresses and four beauties" activities extensively and in a thoroughgoing way, and gradually foster fine social mores.

3. Do an effective job of reorganizing government organs. In reorganizing government organs, the first thing is to rectify ideology, work style, and discipline, giving special attention to solving such problems as bureaucratism, listlessness, low efficiency, and unhealthy tendencies. We must exert ourselves, overcome a flabby and lax state of mind, and wholeheartedly serve the central tasks. We must conscientiously improve our work style and do a good job of investigation, study, supervision, and inspection. Leading cadres in governments at all levels should devote more time to going deeply into realities and among the masses and devote their main efforts to studying new conditions, discovering new methods, solving new problems, and opening up new

situations. In the work of government organs, we will establish and strengthen personal responsibility systems, define clearly the scope of duties and responsibilities, set up strict work disciplines, and establish good work order. Staff personnel in the organs should all foster the ideology of wholeheartedly serving the people, keeping close contact with the masses, be concerned with their illnesses and sufferings, carry forward the fine traditions of working hard, observing discipline, and being honest in performing official duties, work hard for prosperity, and make every effort to improve the quality and efficiency of work.

We should foster in a big way habits of studying, conducting investigations, making criticism and self-criticism. We must resolutely correct the bad habits and bureaucratic style of being superior and divorced from the masses, dragging one's feet in work, being slack in discipline, wrangling over trifles, and being irresponsible. In accordance with the requirements set forth in Premier Zhao Ziyang's government work report to the Fourth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress--to streamline and simplify government organs, overcome bureaucratism, and raise work efficiency--we must, in a step-by-step way, restructure and streamline government organs, provide training for cadres in an orderly manner. Before restructuring of organs is carried out, all cadres must set their minds at rest, each carrying out his duty, working according to his ability, shouldering his responsibility, and exerting himself to do a good job in his work. The departments should cooperate and support each other and not shift responsibilities to others, each going his own way and affecting work adversely.

4. The method of reorganization will be to combine key individual units with the general situation, doing so in groups and by stages.

Reorganization at key units will be carried on at the same time with reorganization of all units. In key units, the reorganization and rectification must be comprehensive, and be done group by group. For the overall situation, rectification will be done item by item, one after another. It is planned to complete rectification of key units in 2 or 3 years, doing so by groups. The first group of units to be rectified will be experimental and so there should not be too many units in number. After reorganization and rectification of the first group is completed, there will be a summing up of experience before proceeding group by group with the rest.

All branches of industry and trade should proceed from reality, and make plans for reorganization in groups and by stages. Leading departments of key units to be reorganized must appoint responsible cadres and cadres with good ideology, work style, and drive, who are familiar with production, technology and the profession, to form investigation teams. Under the unified leadership of the local party committees and governments, the teams will go in groups and at different times to the units to give guidance as needed, help solve problems, and improve the caliber of leadership.

Current tasks of reorganization in other than key enterprises are to overhaul financial work and strengthen financial discipline. At the same time, in accordance with the spirit of the circular, "Report on the Question of Learning

"from Daqing in Industry," issued by the party committee of the State Economic Commission and transmitted by the Party Central Committee, the units should carry out careful and thoroughgoing ideological education so that the masses of staff and workers will take active part in enterprise reorganization as masters of the country. We will guide the people in learning from advanced regions, trades and professions, units, individuals, science and technology, and operations and management, and in building up capabilities through mastering advanced science and taking experts as teachers. We hope in this way to bring about an upsurge in comparing, learning from, and catching up with the more advanced, and helping the laggards, in an upsurge of the "six goods." We will earnestly sum up and popularize the advanced experiences and promote the healthy development of overall reorganization.

Overall reorganization and rectification involve a wide range of activities. We must strengthen leadership and strictly implement policies. Reorganization must be carried out under leadership and in a planned, organized, and step-by-step way, and not having each unit do things its own way. We must proceed from reality when solving problems and not impose arbitrary uniformity. We must strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and implement the principle of relying mainly on the method of education. We must persist in carrying out reorganization and restructuring at the same time, integrating the two; and restructuring and rebuilding at the same time, integrating the two. Enterprises and units that have drawn up plans for reorganization must do a good job from start to finish, making inspections after reorganization is completed before final approval. An investigation team must not leave a unit which does not measure up to standards but must stay and continue with the reorganization program. Enterprises should rely mainly on their own personnel in conducting reorganization. Special investigation teams are there only to assist in the work, not to take over the work. Reorganization will not be done in the form of conducting movements, but in normal ways.

Delegates:

Heilongjiang Province is one of our country's important agricultural forestry, and industrial regions. Doing a good job of work in every field of our province is of importance to the development of the economy and accelerating the four moderniations. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have summed up the positive and negative experience in economic construction and found a new way to develop the economy suited to the actual conditions of our province. Now the Party Central Committee and the State Council have put forth 10 principles of economic construction. We have the cadres' and masses' enthusiasm and creativity in building socialism, a fairly solid material foundation, and rich natural resources. As long as we work with one heart and mind, we will achieve better economic effectiveness, our economy will grow steadily, the people's life will continue to improve, work in education, science, technology, and culture will produce still greater achievements, and a situation of stability and unity is sure to be realized. Under the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, we will unite with the people of different nationalities, exert ourselves, go all out, actively implement policies and steadily push forward the socialist modernization and construction of our province!

9856
CSO: 4005/763

AMENDMENT TO CIVIL LAW CONCERNING JURY SYSTEM ANALYZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Apr 82 p 5

[Article by He Shan [0149 1472]: "The Reform of the Jury System in Civil Cases"]

[Text] The system of trial by jury in civil cases is an institution of litigation in which the presence of the people's jury is required at the first trial of civil cases in the people's court. The "Law of Civil Procedure of the PRC (Draft)," Article 35, adopted by the 22d Session of the Standing Committee of the 5th National People's Congress, stipulates: "The panel at the first trial of a civil case in the people's court may be jointly organized by the jury and the prosecution or organized by the prosecution alone." This stipulation that the presence of the jury may or may not be required at the trial of certain cases is an amendment to the original stipulation that requires the presence of the jury at the first trial of every complicated civil case in the people's court. This decision to limit the use of trial by jury to specific cases is an important reform in the system of trial by jury in civil procedure in our country.

Why should this reform be carried out? First, we must consider it necessary to conduct an objective analysis of the role of the system of trial by jury in the civil procedure. On the one hand, the presence of the people's jury at the trial of certain cases is significant in that it can offer knowledge and information not in the possession of the prosecution, or advice that can help the people's court come up with a correct verdict. For example, the presence of the jurors at the trial of certain cases that need their technical knowledge can help the joint panel in the court come up with correct and swift decisions on issues of fact; the presence of jurors at the trial of a technically complicated case for which they can provide technical knowledge can also help the prosecutor with additional information. On the other hand, we must recognize the limited role played by the people's jury in the legal proceedings. For example, generally speaking, the jurors are handicapped by their lack of legal knowledge and experiences in law enforcement, and therefore, their presence at the first trial of even a very complicated civil case is not necessarily a guarantee for fair trial. Furthermore, as a matter of principle, the people's jurors cannot be asked to spend more than 10 days a year on jury duty, a length of time which is far from sufficient to conclude the trial of a complicated civil case. When the jurors are not allowed to spend enough time

investigating and studying the case or looking into the details with which they are unfamiliar, summoning them to appear in the court in such a hurried manner will serve "no useful purpose." This proves that the rule requiring the presence of the jury at the trial of every case is not justified and is bound to turn the jury system into a matter of formality. Second, this reform now underway is based on a review of the actual application of the system of trial by jury in civil cases in our country. Our people's jury system went into effect in 1951 as indicated in the "Provisional Regulations Governing the Organization of the Courts of the PRC" adopted by the Central People's Government that year. This stipulation on the trial by jury in civil cases was included in the laws proclaimed thereafter. As far as the jury system is concerned, it has been in force in our country for many years. But for the reason mentioned earlier, the ratio of civil cases tried by jury to other civil cases not tried by jury in our country is very small. In view of this, we must take realistic steps to enact laws limiting the use of trial by jury to specific cases.

Third, our current reform of the jury system has been conducted in a way that takes into account the experiences of foreign countries in this respect. The jury system was originally founded in the middle ages by the Kingdom of the Franks and later introduced to England by the Normans. Since then, the grand or petit juries have been organized to participate in the indictment and trial of legal cases in England. After England came the United States which has adopted the same jury system. The great French Revolution was instrumental in spreading the jury system from France to other parts of Europe until its popularity reached a peak. But the jury system began to decline in the middle of the 19th century. There was a law concerning the jury adopted by the Kuomintang government in old China. But it was never put into effect. Today, only a few capitalist countries still continue to retain the jury system. The people's jury system is now also practical by the Soviet Union and East European countries. The evolution of the jury system is reflected in the history of its vicissitude. During the period of transition from the feudal society to the capitalist society, the jury system was instrumental in depriving the feudal rulers of the judicial power and in making it serve the new bourgeoisie. This transition was a step forward in popularizing the jury system throughout the world. But as soon as the bourgeoisie succeeded in consolidating its political power, it began to recognize this form of jury trials as a stumbling block to the trial by judge and a system incapable of meeting the needs of the legal proceedings of the modern time. Today, those countries which still retain the jury system have also begun to limit its use to specific cases while concentrating their attention on bringing its merits into play.

9574
CSO: 4005/791

PARTY AND STATE

CRACK DOWN ON ECONOMIC CRIMES IN HUBEI

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Apr 82 p 4

[Article by Gong Dafa [7895 6671 4099]: "Crack Down on Economic Crimes in Hubei Develops in Depth"]

[Text] The great inspection on financial and economic discipline in Hubei Province which started last November has already entered a stage of overall rectification and reform. It cracks down on various criminal economic activities and is developing in depth.

In recent years, all kinds of unhealthy tendencies in the economic sphere generally exist in some districts and units of Hubei. Like an enormous "mud-rock flow" they seriously pound at the socialist system and national economy and have undermined party work style and corrupted a number of cadres and staff workers. Since last year, close to 10,000 cadres and finance and accounting personnel selected and mobilized by the Hubei Provincial Committee of the CCP and the provincial government have organized over 1,900 inspection groups which have conscientiously inspected the units of all kinds of enterprises and professions in the province on the basis of individual units conducting self-inspection. By early March, a total of 221 million yuan resulting from the violation of financial and economic discipline throughout the province has been discovered and 60 million yuan has been handed over to the national treasury.

In the course of inspecting its financial and economic discipline, Hubei Province has stressed cracking down on economic criminals involved in smuggling and resale of smuggled goods, speculation and swindling, offering and accepting bribes, corruption and stealing. It has handled 24 cases of major economic crimes each involving over 10,000 yuan. After the disposal of the case on theft and resale of automobiles in Anyang, Honan, the Hubei provincial committee immediately authorized the party committee of the No 2 Automobile Plant to investigate everyone involved. Preliminary investigation proved that the No 2 Automobile Plant's supply section chief, Yang Weiyu [2799 4850 3768], and the deputy chief of support and planning section, Li Zhaorui [2621 0340 3843], received from the "auto king," Chen Xihai [7115 1585 3189], bribes of television sets, radio-tape recorders and watches valued at over 20,000 yuan. After accepting the bribes they took advantage of their authority to collude with people from inside and outside, perpetrated frauds and resorted to trickery, stole and sold 404 East Wind automobiles manufactured by that plant so that Chen

Xihai and others reaped a huge profit amounting to 64,000 yuan. Yang Weiyu and Li Zhaorui have already been arrested in compliance with the law. Others involved are being further investigated. In Wuchang County, vocational worker Zhou Xin [6650 9515] of the Tuditang Quarry used bribery to collude with the purchase agent of the Qingshan Heat and Power Plant in Wuhan Municipality to take away over 14,000 yuan from the state capital funds by falsifying reports on rock materials and transportation fees. Zhou Xin alone swallowed up the enormous sum of 100,000 yuan. He has already been arrested in compliance with the law.

9586
CSO: 4005/773

PARTY AND STATE

FORMER GUANGZHOU PARTY OFFICIAL SENTENCED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Apr 82 p 1

[Article: "Speculating, Profiteering and Reaping Huge Profits; Resisting Investigation and Refusing To Admit Guilt--Guangzhou Sentences Wang Weijing to 2 Years' Imprisonment in Compliance With the Law"]

[Text] The intermediate people's court in Guangzhou today publicly tried the case of Wang Weijing [3769 4850 4842], former secretary of the party committee and chief of the telecommunication bureau in Guangzhou, for engaging in speculation and profiteering with his wife, Wang Min [3769 2404]. In compliance with the law Wang Weijing was sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment.

In January 1981 Wang Min linked up with Wang Weijing, a student in Beijing, and brought three color television sets illegally purchased from Japan, one West German radio-tape recorder, together with a Guangzhou-made black-and-white television set which she had used for many years; she joined Wang Weijing in Yantai in Shandong. They then went to Wang Min's hometown in Wendeng County to resell them at the Shaizi Commune. The total resale price was 10,805.90 yuan, reaping a staggering profit of over 4,000 yuan.

In July 1980 Wang Weijing used the official seal of the municipal telecommunication bureau to make personal certifications for Wang Min. Once again Wang Min brought 2 imported television sets, 2 radio-tape recorders, 98 electronic calculators and 5 watches to Shandong for resale at high prices. Eventually these were discovered by customs at Yantai. The resale goods were confiscated and she was fined 4,000 yuan.

In the course of speculation and profiteering, Wang Weijing and Wang Min illegally took a total of HK $8,000 in remittance. Wang Weijing even accepted a bribe of one Japanese radio-tape recorder from traders in Hong Kong.

After the criminal conduct of Wang Weijing and Wang Min was exposed. to conceal his crimes Wang Weijing made a pact with Wang Min and persons in the know to shield each other by fabricating lies and instigating others to give false evidence and to resist investigation. Ever since his arrest he has refused to admit his guilt.

Today when the court tried the case of speculation and profiteering by Wang Weijing, a large amount of material evidence and testimony was shown, proving

that Wang Weijing and his wife Wang Min had collaborated in the crime of speculation and profiteering. In accordance with the provisions of articles 117 and 119 of the criminal code, the court sentenced Wang Weijing to 2 years' imprisonment.

Wang Min died in the hospital on 21 March because of schlerosis combined with cancer of the liver. The court halted the trial and ceased to pursue her criminal responsibility.

9586
CSO: 4005/773

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI'HITS TENURE ARTICLE OF DRAFT CONSTITUTION

OW091221 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] An article in the draft revised constitution stipulates that the chairman of state, the premier of the State Council and the chairman of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee may be reelected, but only for one additional term. At first glance, the article seems very democratic since it prevents these leaders from indefinitely staying in their jobs and thus lording it over the collective and the entire party. However, the truth is that this article has affirmed by law the lifetime office tenure of these party, government and army leaders.

During the months of discussion concerning the draft revised constitution, many comrades offered specific views aimed at revising this article. They pointed out that besides limiting the terms of office to no more than two, the article should also impose an age limit for candidates for these positions. Otherwise, the article cannot fulfill its intended purpose.

The article was written into the draft revised constitution in compliance with instructions given last year in a talk by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. He said: Ours is a big party and our nation is a big country. Thus, we need scores of veteran cadres who are world renowned, circumspect and far-sighted, capable of planning ahead in overall national affairs and yet still vigorous enough to stay in party and state leading posts in order to secure our positions. Just think: What difference is there between what the article stipulates and the system of leaders' lifetime office tenure when one realizes that these scores of veteran comrades who are renowned, capable of overall planning and physically vigorous are mostly in their 70's or even in their 80's, and that when they are reelected for even only one additional term, they will be in their 80's or 90's by the time they have served their terms of office.

As a general rule, comrades who are young, vigorous, virtuous and talented should be elected to leading posts in the party and state organs. The constitution is our nation's fundamental law. It is improper to implement a de facto system of lifetime office tenure by scores of veteran cadres--in fact, only five or six party and army leaders.

True, these veteran cadres are an invaluable treasure to our party. They have rendered indelible meritorious service to the party and the people. But as the years go by, our party's veteran cadres--particularly those heading the central organs--have become senile and physically feeble. In fact, it has become more and more difficult for these comrades to endure the burden of their jobs. At present, most of the comrades in the central organs even lack the physical stamina to sit through a conference that takes a little longer than usual. If these comrades are reelected or appointed to leading posts in the party, government and army central organs, they not only will hinder the growth of new leading comrades but also, very possibly, even cause serious damage to the causes of the party and the people.

CSO: 4005/868

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY MEMBERS, CADRES SEE PROVINCE-LEVEL ORGANS AS MODEL

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 27 Mar 82 p 1

[Article by Zhou Shiquan [0719 1102 3123] and Lu Aimin [0712 1947 3046]: "Province-level Organs Party Committees and the All-Committee Expanded Conference Call on All Party Members and Cadres to Strengthen Party Spirit Discipline; Strive to Make Province-level Organs an All-Province Model"]

[Text] Province-level organs party committees held an all-committee expanded conference on 15-16 March and demanded that party members and cadres of province-level organs begin to take positive action to strengthen party spirit discipline and to strive to make province-level organs a model for the entire province.

Comrades Hu Hong [5170 1347], Zhu Jiang [0328 3068] and Lo Yunlai [5012 6663 0171] attended the conference. Comrade Zhu Jiang gave a speech at the conference calling on party organizations at all levels to resolve to strive to rectify party style, raise party fighting strength, uphold the spirit of thoroughly implementing the directive of the Central Committee on launching an attack on economic crime. Leadership comrades at all levels should take a firm stand and actively throw themselves into this struggle with staunch party spirit and a high degree of responsibility toward the people.

Comrades at the meeting emphatically discussed six areas in which province-level organ party members and cadres should be models:

1. *Uphold the four basic principles and maintain political unity with the Party Central Committee.* Communist party members, especially party member leadership cadres, should conscientiously study and carry out the party's lines, principles and policies. They should criticize and struggle with words and deeds which go against the party's lines, principles and policies, and the four basic principles and disorganized and undisciplined phenomena to protect party unity.

2. *Conscientiously implement the "Guiding Principles" and improve party style.* Party members and cadres should seriously observe the "Guiding Principles," party discipline and state law and must not use the authority for personal gain or use public offices for private gain, invent pretexts to appropriate and squander state and collective property. They should now conscientiously get into the struggle to attack economic crimes.

3. *Intensify study and strive to adapt to the needs of the four modernizations.* We should conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, study hard and master the specialized knowledge for modernization and raise scientific education and professional levels.

4. *Reform organ work style and improve work efficiency.* We should be geared to the needs of the grass roots and the masses and resolutely reform the bureaucratic work style of doors hard to enter, people hard to find and things hard to do and resolutely correct the very irresponsible phenomena of equivocation, being slow, wrangling and passing the buck.

5. *Strengthen organization and raise party fighting strength.* We should make party organizational life healthy, launch criticism and self-criticism and vigorously praise good people and good deeds. Party members and leadership cadres at all levels should fully develop democracy and accept the supervision of party organizations and the masses.

6. *Launch "Five Stresses" and "Four Points of Beauty" activity in depth and strive to build a socialist spiritual culture.* In "five stresses" and "four points of beauty" activity, party members should take the lead in exemplifying social morality, self-consciously obey the law and maintain public order of organs and society; in family, neighborhood and social activity, establish the excellent style of mutual respect and mutual help. Strengthen education of children. Take the lead in carrying out late marriage and planned parenthood.

At the meeding, Wang Weiliang [3769 4850 5328], secretary of the Province-level Organ Party Committee, gave a work report "Begin to Take Positive Action, Strive to Make Province-level Organs the Model for the Entire Province." The Provincial Chemical Industry Office party organization and the organ party committees of the Provincial Public Safety Office and the New China News Agency presented experience in intensifying ideological and political work and launching activity to choose outstanding party members and advanced party branches.

Comrade Lo Yunlai gave a speech at the conclusion of the conference.

8226
CSO: 4005/790

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

DENG'S WAY OF CONSOLIDATING PLA CADRES CRITICIZED

OW091237 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] During his tenure of office as chairman of the Military Commission, Comrade Deng Xiaoping could not wait to conduct a major consolidation of cadres at and above the regimental level in the PLA. Since the consolidation began 1 year or so ago, it has led to two serious consequences. First, the majority of army cadres who are transferred to civilian jobs, particularly those transferred from urban to rural areas, are reluctant to leave the army and are dissatisfied with their new stations and jobs. Second, the placement of several hundred thousand PLA commanders and fighters in civilian jobs in various localities in China has directly affected job opportunities for civilians who have been unemployed for a long time. In the past, some persons were able to get jobs or transfers in a year or so. Now they do not know how much longer they will have to wait to have their job problems solved. It is precisely because of this direct conflict of interests between unemployed civilians and army personnel transferred to civilian jobs that many unfortunate incidents have taken place throughout the country in the past year and more.

We should first realize that the various principles concerning the consolidation of army cadres at and above the regimental level proposed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping violate the cadre policies consistently pursued by our party and our army. If cadres were to be consolidated according to these principles, none of the cadres promoted or holding leading posts during the cultural revolution would meet the conditions for discharge and transfer to civilian jobs.

Just think, Lin Biao was a famous general of our army who served as minister of national defense for many years. At the Ninth CCP National Congress, Chairman Mao proposed that Lin Biao be vice chairman and successor of our party's cause and the proposal was unanimously adopted by the congress. Premier Zhou, a proletarian revolutionary, in a speech in August 1967, said: Our deputy supreme commander, Comrade Lin Biao, enjoys popular confidence. With several decades of training, tempering and leading experience, Comrade Lin Biao has proven that he is the first one to hold aloft the red banner of Mao Zedong Thought.

Under these conditions, PLA commanders and fighters naturally implemented Lin Biao's line on army building, his fighting principles and his cadre policies. Thus, any army cadre who is disliked today may at any time be accused of being influenced by the Lin Biao line and having certain organizational and ideological connections with Lin Biao. It goes without saying that the consolidation of army cadres according to those so-called principles will surely go astray and inevitably arouse dissatisfaction among army cadres.

More serious still, it was precisely because Comrade Deng Xiaoping could not wait to consolidate the contingent of army cadres during his tenure of office as chairman of the Military Commission that he did not have the time to make conscientious and proper arrangements for handling the large number of cadres. As a result, many cadres, after their discharge from the army and transfer to the civilian community, are unable to find suitable jobs which meet the needs of their new life. This is particularly true with army cadres who have lived a long time in cities. Their wives and children used to have jobs or go to schools in the city. With their transfer to rural areas, they lose all this. Moreover, after their transfer to civilian jobs, army cadres sometimes encounter difficulties in their work because they are not familiar with civilian work. Furthermore, the several hundred thousand discharged army commanders and fighters have taken jobs which could have been given to a large number of civilians who have been jobless for a long time. This has caused dissatisfaction among local people with the army and has seriously affected the army-civilian relationship just as it has begun to turn for the better.

CSO: 4005/867

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

DENG'S MILITARY REFORM PLAN DISCUSSED

OW181132 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 16 May 82

[Text] Without question, the military system needs to be reformed, because the shortcomings affecting the work efficiency of party and government organizations also exist in military leading organs at all levels, for example, overstaffing, the lack of clearly defined responsibilities, the dilatory style of work, bureaucracy, aging leading cadres, and so forth.

However, some of the reform measures being adopted cannot but make people feel worried. First, these reform measures inevitably will basically disrupt the PLA's command system formed over decades. Second, reforming military leading organs by dealing blows at cadres inevitably will undermine the PLA's strength.

One proposed plan calls for the merger of the General Staff Headquarters, the General Political Department and the General Logistics Department into a new leading organ similar to the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. It seems that after his frequent contacts with high-ranking U.S. military leaders, Comrade Deng Xiaoping is inclined to have our military system reformed after the U.S. military system, ignoring the PLA's experience in army-building over the past more than 50 years.

Moreover, the previously mentioned plan on merging the three PLA general departments calls for the elimination of many organizations and positions and the establishment of new ones. When this plan is implemented, again a large number of PLA cadres, particularly veteran cadres, inevitably will be forced out of the military.

Because of the many serious mistakes made in internal and foreign affairs in the past few years, there are cadres in every PLA unit, military district and military organization who are to varying degrees discontented with the present policies. This is only natural. It is absolutely impermissible to use this as an excuse to dispose of PLA cadres. Moreover, the elimination of the experienced cadres who uphold principle and are of a rather high political level from the PLA can only undermine the PLA's fighting capacity.

Recently someone suggested to have Wu Xiuquan, Zhang Zhen, Zhang Aiping, Yang Chengwu, Zhang Caiqian and other deputy chiefs of general staff moved to the second or third line and to ask the commanders, political commissars and other leaders of the Nanjing PLA units, Guangzhou PLA units and Wuhan PLA units to retire or become advisers and so forth. This is intended as a way to achieve the above-mentioned goal.

Although no date has been officially set yet for the reform of the entire military system, it can now be said with certainty that when the plan is put into effect, it will certainly bring an unprecedented calamity to the PLA.

CSO: 4005/867

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'BA YI' ON PLIGHT OF FAMILIES OF SOLDIERS, MARTYRS

OW181434 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 13 May 82

[Summary from poor reception] Since the implementation of the new economic policies, most families of soldiers and revolutionary martyrs have found it difficult to make a living. Most of them cannot match the living standards of other commune members. This problem merits attention. If the problem is not solved, it inevitably will create great difficulties for the work of the army.

In the past, during the war of resistance against Japan and the liberation war, or after the founding of the People's Republic, families of soldiers and revolutionary martyrs were well taken care of, and it was an honor for young people to join the army and go to the frontline.

"By contrast, despite the fact that now is peacetime and that living conditions have much improved in the army, young people in rural areas have the unhealthy tendency to dodge military service. This is something that never happened before.

"To be sure, the production responsibility system, free markets, private plots and so forth have enlivened the rural economy, but we cannot underestimate the disadvantages brought by the new economic policies. At present, except for the opportunists engaged in dishonest practices, the best-off people in rural areas are commune members with more able-bodied workers in their families. In short, families with more grownup sons and daughters and greater labor force are becoming more prosperous. By contrast, families of revolutionary martyrs and soldiers, or families which are short in manpower but still have some members serving in the army, are obviously facing serious difficulties making ends meet.

"Especially since Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forward the slogan of permitting individuals and households to get rich, the unhealthy tendency of going after money is becoming more and more rampant." Many county and commune cadres have left their posts and returned to their home villages for long periods to engage in businesses that can make money quickly. Under the circumstances, it is not at all surprising that many rural youths are unwilling to serve in the army and prefer to stay home and make money.

If the problems of the livelihood of families of revolutionary martyrs and soldiers in rural areas are not solved properly and in good time, the consequences to the military service will be serious.

CSO: 4005/867

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

QIAO XIAOGUANG MEETS PLA ATHLETES

HK140604 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 May 82

[Text] To further promote the development of our frontier forces' sports activities, the Guangxi Regional Military District recently held a table tennis tournament in Nanning Municipality. The athletes and referees who attended the tournament came from various frontier units in Guangxi, and military subdistricts and units directly under the regional military district. They included company cadres who were cited for meritorious service during the self-defense counterattack against Vietnam; army staff commanders and clerical staff and responsible comrades of sections and departments of PLA units; new recruits who enlisted for military service this year; and old cadres who are veterans in battle and have left jobs for convalescence. It was a lively tournament. After the tournament, responsible comrades of the Political Department of the Guangxi Regional Military District awarded certificates of merit and prizes to representatives of the winning teams in the team competitions and to the winners in the individual competitions.

On the evening of 11 May, Qiao Xiaoguang, first secretary of the autonomous regional CCP Committee and first political commissar of the Guangxi Regional Military District, received the athletes and urged them to contribute to the promotion of PLA units' sports activities when they return to their units.

CSO: 4005/867

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA UNITS IN XINJIANG, XIZANG GUARD FRONTIER

OW081245 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 7 May 82

[Text] According to a JIEFANGJUN BAO report, frontier units in Xinjiang have launched an extensive campaign to emulate advanced examples in guarding the frontier. At the same time, they have conducted in-depth education among fighters to have them love the motherland, like border defense work, regard it as a glory to bear hardships and view the sentry posts as their homes. This has spurred on the fulfillment of the task of preparations against war and other duties.

Early this year the party committee of the Urumqi PLA units awarded citations to 18 advanced units and 17 advanced individuals in border defense work and called on frontier commanders and fighters to emulate the spirit of valuing the interests and honor of the motherland above everything else. In the emulation campaign, the frontier units have led cadres and fighters to discover their shortcomings and formulate measures in the light of the advanced examples. The patriotism aroused through the campaign has been used to promote the work of safeguarding and building the frontier. As a result of this emulation campaign, many grassroots cadres have become more determined to take root at the frontier.

Another source said that the party branch of the ninth company of an air force radar unit in Xizang conducted a concrete and lively patriotic education among its cadres and fighters, known as "I Love New Xizang" education. This education stimulated their feelings of honor and responsibility in performing their service in the PLA, in guarding the border region and in carrying out hard struggle. Now that all cadres and fighters of the ninth company like the mountainous area where they are stationed, cherish their company and love Xizang, a new outlook has appeared in this company.

CSO: 4005/867

PARTY URGED TO KEEP HANDS OFF LITERATURE, ART

Hong Kong CHEN MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 3, 1982 pp 51-53

[Article by Huai Bing [2837 0393]: "'Governing by Nonaction' Is the Ideal of CCP Literary and Art Workers"]

[Text] The democratization of Chinese communist literature and art is an enormous process. In this process, without regard for their own safety, many literary and art critics have opened avenues for creative artists. Wang Ruowang [3769 5387 2598] is outstanding among them. Whether in demanding the broadening of the writer's creative material and permitting the exposure of society's dark side or in demanding that literature and art shed its political dependency and that the CCP relax its control of literature and art, he has dared to call a spade a spade, contend with those in power, and express the strength of character of writers and artists with consciences. For example, in early 1980, when Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang said that writers should pay attention to "social results," Wang Ruowang opposed them circuitously: "Because the abuses of the gang of four's cultural dictatorship are still around, and those who have picked up the cudgels even though they consider themselves good people have not yet changed their ways. When the party Central Committee's good intentions reach them, they convert them into cudgels. As far as "social results" are concerned, as soon as this phrase gets into their hands, it can turn into an all-encompassing cudgel that will attack any writing. For example, as long as more than three people (three people is a crowd) get together to oppose it, the consequences of their brandishing the "ruthless cudgetL as representatives of the "social results" which exist objectively can be said to sow the seeds of "endless disaster." Thus he proposed earnestly: "There should be a dual 'exhortation,' one exhorting literary people to pay attention to social results of works to raise writers' feelings of political responsibility; the other exhorting critics and leadership comrades not to assign the label of 'social results' indiscriminately." Under the Chinese Communist system, the words of the leaders are sacred edicts and people generally get angry, but do not dare to speak out, so they protest in silence, becoming "party member" writers. But it was the "rightist" Wang Ruowang, who dared publically to dissent (in CCP terms, it was "singing a different tune than the party") and without being sincere in sacrificing for literature and are this would have been absolutely impossible to do.

Having understood what has been said above, one can understand why in literary and art criticism, the CCP authorities have named names and made him the "target" of criticism in this CCP movement to criticize "bourgeois liberalization."

I. RED FLAG Criticizes "Governing by Nonaction"

The CCP authorities' dissatisfaction with Wang Ruowang is naturally multifaceted, but the greatest dissatisfaction is with his artistic ideal of "governing by nonaction." Why this ideal provoked such antipathy on the part of the authorities requires careful study. Below we will look at the content of the most recent authoritative critique.

Wang Ruowang's artistic ideal of "governing by nonaction" was published in No 9 of 1979 of RED FLAG (the CCP's theoretical publication and was entitled "On 'Governing by Nonaction' of Literature and Art." (Hereafter "Nonaction.") Last year in No 13, RED FLAG carried an article by Yu Yiding [0060 0001 0002], "On Liberating Thought and Bourgeois Liberalization" which contained a severe criticism of "Nonaction" through not by name. The writer said this: "Central to upholding the four basic principles is upholding the party's leadership, but the center of bourgeois liberalization is to oppose the party's leadership. People who engage in bourgeois liberalization proclaim the party should 'govern by nonaction,' that is, they do not want the party's leadership, thinking that once the party leads it will 'crudely interfere' and obstruct the thorough implementation of the 'double hundred' principle. This view is very mistaken: it violates the fundamental interests of the peoples of the entire nation and it violates objective truth." It also said, "People who engage in bourgeois freedom use the pretext of liberating thinking to write articles which doubt and oppose the party's leadership, so either their thinking is confused or they have an alterior motive and this is something we must watch out for."

Leaving aside for the moment whether or not what Mr Wang said conforms to the facts, whether or not that many good works really did appear in the years after the founding of the PRC, we can see that he did not oppose CCP leadership. What he did oppose was the leadership method which did not understand the characteristics of art, the blind dictating which often violated artistic laws and set various regulations and restrictions which bound the artist hand and foot. The "governing by nonaction" which he proposed was only a better leadership method offered to the CCP so that the CCP literature and art could come back to life from its withered state.

2. According to Wang Ruowang, his literary and artistic ideal was not made up by him, but was presented by Chen Yi in 1962 at the Guangzhou conference: Chen Yi felt: "There are a great many things which it appears can be governed by nonaction, whatever is led seems to be led poorly, and those things which are not led turn out to be better." Mr Chen also felt that if one does not have confidence, then one should not lead, and that it is better "to let those with experience do it and 'sit and enjoy the fruits of the work of others.'"

Actually, the point of "Nonaction" doesn't really extend this section from Chen Yi ['s speech] and it does not depart from the theme of his speech: There are

some things, for example the few sentences following "if one does not have confidence" where Chen Yi speaks more sharply than Mr Wang. Therefore, I really do not understand just where he made his mistake. Where is his crime?

What a big label and what a big stick! If we read the "Nonaction" essay carefully, it is easy to see that Mr Yu's critique has garbled the essay and has not sufficiently sought truth from facts. Wang Ruowang has no rights to counter this criticism, but has only the obligation to make a self-criticism, so I wish to speak in his defense.

II. Is Wang Ruowang Opposed to Party Leadership?

Is Wang Ruowang really opposed to party leadership and not want party leadership? No, this is not so. Mr Wang definitely does not disapprove of CCP leadership and to say that he is opposed to it is even greater nonsense. This can be seen clearly in the following from his essay:

1. One paragraph in his essay expresses in particular that he supports CCP leadership. He says: "The historical facts of literature and art over the past 30 years show that in the period after the founding of the PRC, the party adopted a rather liberal policy toward literary and artistic creation. The upper levels of the party (read: Zhou Enlai and Chen Yi) summarized creative achievements at several Wendaihui [2429 0108 2585], pointed out the direction of the future, praised well-written works and pointed out the unhealthy trends, etc." He also mentioned how the present CCP leaders were friends with writers and artists, had heart-to-heart talks and when they criticized a work for being wrong, they did not do so as judges, but just made proposals as part of the ordinary audience. They have not used their personal likes and dislikes as a standard for their choices, nor have they decided the fate of a work with a single word, so the present-day world of literature and art is prosperous and everyone's spirit is free from worry. As a consequence, many good works have appeared like bamboo shoots after a spring rain.

III. "Governing by Nonaction" and Speeches of the Leaders

When people who live in a free democratic society look at the artistic ideals of "governing by nonaction" under the leadership of the CCP, they feel that this is clearly inadequate. But in terms of its social environment, this is the most that he could do. I think that if Mr Wang's ideals could be realized, CCP literature and art would certainly flourish far more than they do at present.

Wang Ruowang said: "I do not want the kind of leadership which sits on high, which is arrogant and is always instructing and correcting people in moralistic tones. What we expect from the present literature and art leadership comrades is really that they assume the tasks of 'service stations and supply stations'" and "first conscientiously carry out the provisions of guaranteeing the 'three nots' and be easy to approach, treat others as equals and respect the labor of workers. Doing this can greatly improve the relations between leadership comrades and writers and artists." This is entirely the same spirit and essence as "the party's leadership in literature and art work

"is not to order people about, nor is it to demand that what literature and art follow is the temporary, specific and direct political missions, but for literature and art, in accord with the characteristics and developmental laws of literature and art, to help literature and art flourish" which Deng Xiaoping said at the CCP's Fourth Wendaihui on 30 October 1979, so why do they say that Mr Wang's "governing by nonaction" is opposed to the CCP and the "four upholds"? If one were to say there are any differences, they are mainly that the literary and art policy formulated by the CCP leaders changes unpredictably. They once could say "This complex spiritual labor of literature and art demands in particular that writers and artists develop their individual creative spirit, what and how they write can only be determined by the writer and artist by searching and gradually striving for success in artistic practice. In this regard, we should not willfully interfere." But later they could also issue CCP Central Committee documents with numbers (such as the 81-7 and 30 documents), or a speech concerning a writer or work given by a leader would close in and suppress it entirely, such as the decree on criticism of "Bitter Love" which was passed down from "Talk on Questions on the Ideological Front" of Deng Xiaoping in July 1981 and Yu Yaobang in August 1981. In addition specific directives are made in the process of criticism: Deng Xiaoping said, "Today we have reached agreement on criticism of 'Bitter Love': JIEFANG RIBAO no longer needs to criticize it, but WENYIBAO should write a high quality article criticizing 'Bitter Love' and when it is finished publish it in WENYIBAO, then it will be reprinted in RENMIN RIBAO." Later on these steps were carried out in this way. At this time, the statement that "In all periods when literature and art have flourished, it has not happened by relying on careful intervention and orders from state leadership organs." This was said in "Nonaction," actually it is very thought provoking. If you look at the history of CCP literature and art over the last 30 or more years, every time the CCP leaders implement "governing by nonaction," literature and art advance, develop and flourish; as soon as the CCP leadership willfully interferes and carries out some criticism, literature and art retreat, shrivel up and die. For example, in the few years after the gang of four came to power in the spring of 1956, when the CCP relaxed its control of literature and art, moving works were produced one after another. But later on, once they began the anti-rightist campaigns, the sad scene of "a vast sterile expanse" appeared in literature. Once one speaks of social results, and again criticizes "bourgeois liberalization" a "wilting of the flowers" will appear again. If the CCP does not turn around its attitude of interfering in literature and art, I really cannot see any hope for literature and art.

From "Governing by Nonaction" to Zhao Dan's "Last Will and Testament"

The views expressed by Wang Ruowang in "Nonaction," in actuality represented the thinking of missions of writers and artists, literature and art lovers and those concerned with China's literature and art. If one were to do a public opinion poll, I think that except for those who are concerned about "literature and art kongjuzheng [1858 2040 4017]," over 90 percent of the people would support them. Are the people who support these views people the CCP says have "ulterior motives"? I do not think this is the case at all. Zhao Dan, the famous actor and patriot, known to everyone, was the greatest supporter and advocate of the literary and artistic ideal of "governing by

"nonaction." In his essay, Wang Ruowang constantly bore in mind party leadership and the "four upholds." We have already discussed his views on party leadership above, but with regard to the "four upholds" he said: "Should literary and artistic leadership maintain reviews? I think that reviews under a liberalized system are necessary. Yet there are really only two review standards: One is to uphold the four basic principles and the other is to uphold the dual hundred principles and that is all." But Zhao Dan simply ignores the former and thinks that the CCP literary and artistic leadership is proper or is only "unflinchingly carrying out the 'dual hundred' principle." He says the CCP "probably does not need to tell how to farm, or how to sit down, or how to put on one's pants, or how to cook, and it probably does not need to tell writers how to write and performers how to perform." Then he says categorically, "literature and art are the business of writers and artists and if the party's governance of literature and art is too specific, then there is no hope for literature and art and they are finished." This is the most powerful protest against those who, relying on the power in their hands and with murder in their eyes, say "What's to fear in covertly banning a play? I can even ban a play openly," (a remark by Wang Renzhong [3769 0117 6850] in "Talk on Questions on the Ideological Front." The CCP leaders wanted to criticize Zhao Dan all along, but they were afraid of provoking a public outcry, so they took the knife of Wang Ruowang and made him the scapegoat. The weakening of a nation's political authority in such a way is rarely seen in history. When I saw the RED FLAG criticizing the "Nonaction" article, I had to think of Zhao Dan's last will and testament. If Zhao Dan, in heaven, saw this essay which turns right and wrong upside down, he would certainly grow angry, slap the table and soundly curse these tramplers of the flowers of literature and art.

8226
CSO: 4005/795

[First cartoon caption "Snowman" [drawn by Ding Yuanping [002 0626 1627], originally published in SATIRE AND HUMOR--words on snowman "Works Which Are Exalted"]

[Second cartoon caption "Echo" [Drawn by Zhan Tong [6124 0681], originally published in WENYI YANJIU--top: "'This work is good.'"--echoes of "Good! Good! Good!" etc. bottom: "'This work is bad.'"--echoes of "Bad! Bad! Bad! Bad!" etc.]

END

JPRS 81021

10 June 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 307

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81021

10 June 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 307

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

PARTY AND STATE

Determined Struggle Urged Against Economic Crimes
(MINZHU YU FAZHI, 25 Mar 82) 1

Historical Efforts To Eliminate Bureaucratism Enumerated
(Hua Ding; LIAOWANG, 20 Mar 82) 5

Lenin Quoted To Urge Greater Efficiency
(Chi Xinzhi; DAZHONG RIBAO, 25 Mar 82) 8

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Marx's Research Style, Spirit
(Wang Qianyu, Chen Hanchu; RENMIN RIBAO, 18 May 82)..... 10

'BEIJING RIBAO' Compares Warring States' Commanders
(Xu Zhonghua; BEIJING RIBAO, 18 May 82) 15

'Ba Yi' Radio Stresses PLA Role in Political Life
(Ba Yi Radio, 19 May 82)..... 17

PRC Constitution Never Faithfully Implemented
(Ba Yi Radio, 21 May 82) 19

'Ba Yi' Raps CCP Neglect of People's Livelihood
(Ba Yi Radio, 19 May 82) 21

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Article Describes University Training for Engineers
(Zhang Guangdou; RENMIN RIBAO, 8 Apr 82) 22

Call Issued for Unity of Nationalities
(Dao Guodong; YUNNAN RIBAO, 28 Mar 82) 35

'Ba Yi' Raps Deng's Views on Literature, Art
(Ba Yi Radio, 23 May 82) 39

Youth Paper on Studying Modern Chinese History
(Editorial; ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO, 18 May 82) 41

Shanghai Bans 'Unhealthy' Books From Hong Kong
(Shanghai Domestic Service, 20 May 82) 44

Henan Official Reports on Improving Social Order
(Henan Provincial Service, 10 May 82) 45

Xizang Holds Forum on Banning Pornographic Tapes
(Xizang Regional Service, 15 May 82) 46

Study of Constitution Reaffirms Socialist System
(Hunan Provincial Service, 18 May 82) 47

Minority Women's Work Forum Closes in Beijing
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 21 May 82) 48

'Beijing Radio' Comments on Theoretical Education
(Beijing Domestic Service, 20 May 82) 50

CYL's Han Ying on Teaching Children Communism
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 27 May 82) 51

Shaanxi's Ma Wenrui Attends Film-Award Meeting
(Beijing Domestic Service, 23 May 82) 52

Briefs
Gansu People's Congress Meeting 53
Guizhou CYL Committee 53
Hunan Cadre Rally 53
Opera Troupe Performance 54
Child Workers Rally 54
Liaoning Education Society 54
Liaoning Childcare Undertakings 54
Hubei Overseas Chinese Rally 54
Beijing Chorus Festival 54

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Tian An Men Incident Aftermath Examined
(Xu Xing; CHENG MING, No 4, 1982) 56

PRC's Move To Streamline Administrative Structure Analyzed
(Mu Fu; CHI-SHIH NIEN-TAI, No 4, 1982) 62

PARTY AND STATE

DETERMINED STRUGGLE URGED AGAINST ECONOMIC CRIMES

Shanghai MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM] in Chinese No 3, 25 Mar 82 pp 2-3

[Commentary: "Energetically Publicize the Resolution of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Firmly Crack Down on Crime in the Economic Realm"]

[Text] The "Resolution on Severe Punishment for Serious, Distruptive Economic Crimes" passed by the 22d session of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is a major resolution for safeguarding our nation's socialist system. It supplements and amends some relevant articles in the "Penal Code of the People's Republic of China" and is a potent weapon for cracking down on crime in the economic realm. We must earnestly study it, give it wide publicity, and make it known to all. We must firmly put it into effect, fully wield this powerful weapon, and wage a determined struggle against criminal behavior in the econimic realm.

In recent years, our nation's implementation of the correct principles and policies of lifting foreign restrictions and enlivening the domestic economy, along with the step-by-step correction of "leftist" erroneous tendencies in economic work, have caused our socialist economy to take on a flourishing and vital look and have effectively pushed forward the construction of our nation's socialist modernization. These practices prove that the lines, principles, and policies formulated by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee were entirely correct and that they must also be unswervingly adhered to in the future.

In the meantime we must also soberly notice that in the 10-year period of domestic upheaval, everyone was deeply hurt in some way by the anarchistic and out-and-out individualistic ideological trends instigated by the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, and that during that time while the policies of lifting foreign restrictions and enlivening the domestic economy were put into effect, our ideological and political work and administrative measures did not keep pace, with the result that within the country there was a gradual increase in the effects of decadent capitalist ideology and bourgeois ways of life, and rather serious bourgeois liberalization tendencies appeared in the many spheres of socialist life. The smuggling and peddling, speculation and fraud, graft and bribery, and pilfering of huge amounts of

state and collective property in the economic realm have already reached a stage of serious criminal activity that is much more serious than the "three-anti" and "five-anti" periods of 1952. From within and without they conspire to sabotage the socialist modernization construction. Even though this kind of criminal activity within our party and nation is carried out by only a handful of people and is a minor countercurrent, nevertheless, if it does not draw immediate attention and is not firmly attacked, it will spread unchecked and surely will further contaminate the body of our party, our nation, and our people. It will poison people's thinking, pollute the socialist atmosphere, disrupt economic construction, affect stability and unity, and will endanger the socialist system.

The appearance of these phenomena is a significant manifestation of the current class struggle in our nation's socialist society under new historical conditions, and is a reflection of the calss enemies from within and without the state corrupting and damaging us with decadent capitalist ideology. This is a struggle to oppose the corruption of the capitalist ideology and to safeguard the socialist system. This struggle will have a bearing on the success or failure of our nation's socialist modernization construction and on the rise or fall of our party and state, and certainly cannot be treated lightly. So, we must now carry out a concentrated and resolute attack against these kinds of criminal activities. It should also be noted, however, that due to the class struggle still existing within certain spheres, this struggle will inevitably be protracted and surely will be waged over and over. We must be fully aware and highly vigilant and at no time can we relent in this struggle.

The crackdown on crime in the economic realm is a most complex struggle. Thus, we need to strengthen party leadership and the correct understanding of principles and policies, and it is essential that this struggle be carried through to the end in an orderly, measured, and unflinching manner under the guidance of the party. Resolve must be great, policies must be correct, methods must be sound, and the attack must be accurate.

There are three key points in the "Resolution" of the People's Standing Committee: one is the provision that for severe penalties for economic crimes and particularly grave cases, the sentence can be life imprisonment and the death penalty, respectively. The second is that the illegality of severe punishment for state personnel must be investigated. The third is the practice of leniency to those who confess their crimes and severity to those who do not. In the "Resolution" is the provision that for past criminal activities, offenders can, before 1 May, turn themselves in to the judicial department, make a full confession, actively denounce and expose offenses, and all will be dealt with in accordance with past relevant legal clauses; otherwise they will be regarded as continual offenders and will be dealt with firmly in accordance with the new provisions. This, then, embodies the spirit of leniency in severity and it provides offenders with the opportunity to mend their ways promptly. Time is short, so all offenders who hope to be treated leniently should clearly understand the situation, seize the opportunity, promptly turn themselves in, and make factual confessions. This is the only way out.

In the course of cracking down on crime in the economic realm it is also essential that we pay attention to increasing ideological and political work, promptly resolve and correct every kind of erroneous ideology and muddled thinking that arises in the struggle, and correctly understand policies. For example, some people believe that the policies of this struggle are not clear, the range of people is too vast, and that it is being poorly handled. Some fear criminals, fear retribution, and fear once more stirring up misjudged cases that must be set right, etc. All of these ideas and inclinations are wrong and they must be corrected.

It must be made clear to our cadres and masses that smuggling and peddling, speculation and fraud, graft and bribery, etc, are criminal actions, that there are explicit stipulations in our country's constitution and laws and in our party's constitutions and "Guiding Principles," and that the dividing lines for major issues of principle are quite clear. Of course there are some specific policies that also need to be clarified, such as the boundary lines between work errors and illegal offenses, between ordinary and serious mistakes, between making a mistake and committing a crime, between normal economic dealings and specific policies and smuggling and peddling, speculation and fraud, graft and bribery, and so on. Moreover, the stress should be on evidence, investigation, and study; obtaining confessions by compulsion and then giving them credence must be forbidden. In light of different circumstances and conditions, each case should be dealt with on its own merits and should be handled realistically. However, we certainly cannot allow using as any excuse the indulging, pampering, and shielding of those criminals and acts.

At the same time we must also state explicitly that in view of past "leftist" errors, the method of mass movements will not be used in this struggle, so as to avoid creating new misjudged cases. Nevertheless, it definitely will fully follow the mass line. By means of this struggle, not only will crime in the economic realm be firmly, accurately, and vigorously attacked, it will also save and educate people, and will enable the vast party members, cadres, and masses to learn the profound lessons of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the teachings of the fine traditions of the party and socialism to further strengthen immunity.

This struggle is one of this year's key tasks and we must earnestly get a good handle on it. This thus requires that propaganda and education work be strengthened. Closely unite with reality, adopt various forms, use model cases, give wide publicity to the severity, perniciousness, and perilous nature of crime in the economic realm, publicize the importance, protracted nature and complexity of the struggle to oppose the corruption of capitalist ideology, and publicize the party's principles, policies, and measures for successfully carrying out this struggle. In order to heighten the political awareness of party members, cadres and masses, enhance the ability to distinguish and resist the decadent ideologies of capitalism and the remnants of feudalism, as well as bourgeois ways of life, and consciously wage a determined struggle against all unhealthy trends. In the midst of struggle, meanwhile, revolutionary vigilance must be heightened and every kind of

destructive activity must be forestalled. We must protect and praise all good people and good deeds in courageously and tenaciously carrying out this struggle. Unite in this struggle, further attack unhealthy trends and foster healthy ones, do well each and every bit of work, promote stability and unity, and propel unendingly forward the construction of the material and spiritual civilization of socialism.

9926
CSO: 4005/779

PARTY AND STATE

HISTORICAL EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE BUREAUCRATISM ENUMERATED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 3, 20 Mar 82 p 2

[Commentary by Hua Ding [5478 0002]: "Cleansing Bureaucratism 10 Times, 100 Times"]

[Text] As the new year began, the Party Central Committee issued a call for us to reform our administrative structure, overcome our bureaucratism, and improve our work efficiency.

This call caused many recollections to flash across my mind.

I thought of--

The period of 1941-1942, when the various anti-Japanese bases experienced the most difficult moments because of the large-scale attack by the Japanese imperialists and the siege by the Kuomintang troops. Accepting Mr Li Dingming's advice, the Party Central Committee carried out an extremely important policy of streamlining the military units and simplifying the administrative agencies. That policy had as its goals streamlining and simplification, unification, efficiency, economy and antibureaucratism. At the time, Comrade Mao Zedong cited the story about the Monkey King changing himself into a tiny insect and making his way into the stomach of the Princess of the Iron Fan in order to overpower her, and also the fable about "The Donkey in Guizhou Who Found Itself at the End of Its Wits," as described by Liu Zongyuan, in order to profoundly and vividly illustrate how, if we "make ourselves become smaller," "we should become invincible."

The year 1953, when the country had just concluded the period of national economic recovery and had gradually begun the march of its construction under the First Five-Year Plan: On 5 January, the Party Central Committee issued the instruction to oppose bureaucratism, commandism and violations of law and discipline, pointing out that these were reflections in our party and government ranks of the reactionary workstyle of the reactionary ruling class in dealing with the people, and that they "not only constitute a great problem today but will remain a great problem for a long time to come."

Today, our party is leading the people of the whole country to carry out the construction of our socialist modernization and has started a great new march. In repeatedly proposing the strategic policy of streamlining our administrative

structure, overcoming our bureaucratism, and improving our work efficiency, the party is determined to handle this matter well. It is a big matter relating to the rise or fall of our party and state in the new historical period.

I thought of--

The period between 1919 and 1922, following the success of the Russian Socialist Revolution, when Lenin repeatedly cried out his urgent appeal for assiduous struggle against bureaucratism: In her "Memoirs of Lenin," Krupskaya wrote: "To uproot all kinds and forms of bureaucratism from Soviet soil--this was Ilyich's long-cherished wish." In order to understand the actual working conditions at the People's Commissariat of Transportation, Lenin not only rode a railroad car incognito so as to carry out an on-the-spot investigation, but also abruptly sent out personnel to inspect the work of this department. He also specifically intervened in a case in which the People's Commissariat of Food was dragging its feet in running things--a bureau chief of this people's commissariat, after having received appeals for a reduction of agricultural taxes from two districts which had suffered hail damage, had suppressed them in his drawer for 3 months. Lenin firmly requested the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal to finish trying this "rather educational" case in the shortest possible time and to inform him of its adjudication. Lenin even personally drafted a sentence in the public trial of a case of bureaucratism.

Why did Lenin pay so much attention to struggling against bureaucratism? In his article "To the People's Commissariat of Finance," he said: If anything can destroy us, it is bureaucratism. More than once he pointed out that the struggle against bureaucratism "requires a long time. We must persistently and assiduously carry out this struggle"; "we must cure it and cleanse it 10 times, 100 times." The key to the problem lies in our having practitioners as well as practice, so that we can discover select and able talent by choosing 1 from every 100, 1 from every 1,000 communists.

I also thought of--

The prosperous reign of Zhenguan in our history, which carried out the reform of reducing and merging central and local administrative institutions and solving the shortcoming of "officials not being properly appointed" and "officials outnumbering the people." Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty Li Shimin suggested: "The foundation of governing lies in prudence. Offices should be granted according to the qualifications of the recipients, and officials and personnel should be appointed as sparingly as possible." Such reforms in the early years of the reign of Zhenguan actually achieved quite some results in terms of "establishing all the offices in the empire, none being granted superficially; appropriating all the wealth of the empire, little being spent unjustly." Because of class and historical limitations, however, this kind of reform was no longer heard of by the time the period of Zhenguan rule had reached its peak.

History is a mirror. History can provide us with enlightenment:

In order to make sure that our people's political power maintains the closest possible link with the vast ranks of the masses of the people and forever retains its youth, we must cleanse away the dust of bureaucratism.

Cleansing away bureaucratism is not something that one can accomplish once and for all; it requires long, assiduous struggle.

To cleanse away bureaucratism, we must not only streamline and simplify our administrative structure but, more importantly, also select the virtuous and talented and pick hundreds and thousands of men of action who are loyal to the party's cause.

9255
CSO: 4005/772

PARTY AND STATE

LENIN QUOTED TO URGE GREATER EFFICIENCY

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 25 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Chi Xinzhi [6688 1800 1807]: "Lenin Stressed Improving Agency Work Efficiency"]

[Text] After the victory in the October Revolution, the Soviet national economy and the lives of the people were in extremely difficult circumstances because of the destruction wrought by the war. In order to more effectively consolidate the newborn political power of the revolution, to better implement the new economic policies and to speed the recovery of industry, transportation and agriculture, Lenin specially emphasized improving bureaucratic efficiency in all areas in party and state agencies. Lenin believed that, after seizing revolutionary political power, the continued improvement of state agencies remained a basic problem. He said: "If we do not wage a systematic and tenacious struggle to improve state agencies, then we will certainly perish before our socialist foundation is completely established." ("The Complete Works of Lenin," vol 32, p 311) To do this, Lenin firmly proceeded to promote the work of streamlining organs. In "A Letter to the Leaders of Every Agency of the Central Soviet" he pointed out: "I request that you carry out immediate reforms. Soviet administrative organs must work methodically, accurately and quickly. Because laxity and disorder not only damage the individual interests of some, but also insure that all management work fails to live up to its name, being mere substanceless form." ("Writings of Lenin," vol 9, p 783)

Lenin believed that in order to improve state agencies and work efficiency, it was necessary to eradicate bureaucratism, dilatory workstyles, red tape and other corrupt practices in state agencies. He said: "Any dilatory workstyles or bureaucraticism that obstructs lively functioning should be mercilessly punished." He demanded that "the people's courts be more attentive to applying legal sanctions against those engaging in bureaucraticism, dilatory workstyles and dereliction of duty in economic areas." ("The Complete Works of Lenin," vol 33, pp 151-52) Lenin also clearly noted the standard for judging agency work efficiency. He said: Judge "the true measurement of the labor productivity of each agency first in the extent to which it truly and promptly completes the matters it handles. I request that from now on, without exception, you should make the most

prompt and detailed reply to each item of work and inquiry handed you. If you merely limit yourselves to hollow and perfunctory responses to matters, or send them on to other agencies, then you similarly foster dilatory workstyles and waste paper." ("Writings of Lenin," vol 9, p 783)

Lenin felt that one effective way to combat dilatory workstyles, bureaucratism and various elements of disorder was to establish systems of responsibility. He said: "We must stipulate with extreme clarity the responsibility for carrying out specific tasks and actual work to be shouldered by each person working for the Soviet." ("The Complete Works of Lenin," vol 28, p 329) Lenin believed that only in this way could they instill a sense of responsibility in people and oppose the bad things that are presently difficult to eliminate, could they focus the attention of the peasant and worker masses on this important problem and could they reach their actual goals: to achieve greater economic results.

When the heart of the work of the Bolshevik Party turned from war to economic construction, Lenin again pointed out that only by selecting personnel with management capabilities who are deeply concerned about economic recovery and about improving labor productivity to work in agencies, could they effectively carry out production and construction. He said: "The key to all present problems lies in having those who practice and in practice itself. Discover talented people--astute and hardworking people," for only then can "our orders (good orders and bad orders alike) be transformed from dirty wastepaper into vital practice--this is the key." ("The Complete Works of Lenin," vol 33, p 447) At the same time, Lenin took aim at the situation in which large numbers of Communist Party members did not have a basic knowledge of economics or management, and raised the matter of agency cadres needing to get a tighter hold on study. He said: "First is study; second is study; and third is also study--and then examination to see to it that our learning truly penetrates our being, truly becomes a part of our lives, and that it does not become ossified dogma or fashionable rhetoric." ("The Complete Works of Lenin," vol 33, p 443) Lenin further noted: "Use the methods of inspecting personnel and examining actual work to combat the swampland of bureaucratism and dilatory workstyles; mercilessly remove excess personnel, reduce staffs, and remove from office those Communist Party members who do not seriously study management work." ("The Complete Works of Lenin," vol 35, p 545) Lenin believed that only in this way could they raise the quality of personnel and agency work; unite more closely with the masses; and see that agency work was more methodical and dependable. He said: "Only by means of such work can we arrive at our goal, and, moreover, only by reaching our goal can we construct" a true model state agency "of a Soviet socialist republic that is worthy of its name." ("The Complete Works of Lenin," vol 33, p 444)

At present, overstaffing resulting in extremely low work efficiency is quite serious. Because of this, we should seriously study the teachings of Lenin, work hard to streamline agencies and improve work efficiency so as to guarantee the smooth progress of socialist modernization construction.

9705
CSO: 4005/787

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON MARX'S RESEARCH STYLE, SPIRIT

HK251326 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 5

[Article by Wang Qianyu [3769 6197 1342] and Chen Hanchu [7115 3352 2806]: "'At The Entrance to Hell'--Learning From Marx's Spirit and Style of Doing Theoretical Research"]

[Text] //We should learn from Marx's spirit and style of doing theoretical research. They are: The dauntless revolutionary spirit of daring to criticize, to explore and to fight for truth; the scientific approach which is characterized by making honest inquiries and being meticulous about every detail; and the devotional spirit of defying difficulties and hardships and of being firm and indomitable.// [Slantlines denote boldface as published]

In his "Preface to the Critique of Political Economy" written in 1859, Marx likened the entrance to science to the entrance to hell and quoted the following verses from Dante:

"Here all mistrust must be abandoned
And here must perish every craven thought."

In the preface to the first volume of his monumental work "Das Kapital" published in 1867, Marx said: "Every opinion based on scientific criticism I welcome. As to the prejudices of so-called public opinion, to which I have never made concessions, now as in the past the maxim of the great Florentine poet (Dante) is mine: "Follow your own course, and let people talk!" The fact that this world-famous proletarian great master in science quoted Dante's well-known sayings in the prefaces to his two monumental works is not accidental. This is because the verses from Dante give the best expression to Marx's spirit and style of doing theoretical research: the dauntless revolutionary style, the scientific approach which is characterized by making honest inquiries, and the devotional spirit of being firm and indomitable.

The spirit of daring to criticize, the explore and to fight for truth is a characteristic of Marx's style of doing theoretical research. When Marx rose to prominence in society in the 1840's in the capacity of a revolutionary activist and a theoretical fighter, he announced that his task was

not to dogmatically predict the future. He hoped to "discover a new world while criticizing the old one." In 1844, he cooperated with Engels in writing their first work "The Holy Family--A Critique of the Critique--Refuting Bruno Bauer and His Partners." This work criticized the young Hegelians and all philosophical works by Hegel on idealism. At that time, Bauer and his followers advocated a critique which surpassed reality, transcended political parties and politics and engaged all practical activities. This type of critique just "critically" and quietly observes things around the world. They described the proletariat as a group of people without the ability to discriminate, described themselves as thinking philosophers who were capable of practicing criticism, and also described themselves as the only active force in the history of social development. To counter this view, "The Holy Family" proposed that "historical activities should be regarded as undertakings of the masses," and that the proletariat must be capable of criticizing the old world and building a new one.

At that time, bourgeois and petit bourgeois socialist schools of every hue occupied dominant positions within the European labor movement. They looked down on the forces of the masses of people, spread among the workers illusions about the ruling class and attempted to reconcile social contradictions. Marx held that without exposing and criticizing these erroneous theories, the working class would not be able to find the correct road to liberation. He disregarded ridicule and attacks from other people, did not place blind faith in authoritative conclusions, and resolutely and determinedly carried out merciless criticisms of all types of erroneous trends of thought. He wrote "The Poverty of Philosophy" to criticize Proudhon's anarchism and reformism. During his various debates with Grun and Weitling, he criticized "the true socialism." After this, in "The German Ideology" and "The Communist Manifesto" which he wrote in collaboration with Engels, he thoroughly exposed and criticized their erroneous views on the theoretical plane.

In his speech entitled "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues," Lenin said: Marx critically reshaped everything that had been created by human society. He reshaped and criticized everything that had been created by human thought. The theory of scientific socialism was born out of the criticism of Europe's three major progressive ideological trends. Marx and Engels jointly criticized Feuerbach's philosophy and Hegel's philosophy, implemented materialism and dialectics through to the end, and founded historical materialism. They also critically inherited the classical political economy and discovered the law of surplus value. The founding of historical materialism and the discovery of the law of surplus value turned utopian socialism into scientific socialism. With regard to ancient things and with regard to all valuable bourgeois creations, Marx never treated them in an oversimplified or absolute way, did not totally and uncritically accept them and did not completely discard or negate them in a nihilistic way. In fact, Marx criticized and analyzed these things, discarded the dross and kept the essential. Marx's historical materialistic attitude toward cultural heritage is still of practical significance to our adoption of a correct attitude toward ancient and foreign things during the current building of our socialist spiritual civilization.

Marx's revolutionary spirit of daring to criticize was born of his spirit of fighting for truth. William Liebknecht said: "Marx is a person of thoroughgoing integrity. With the exception of worshiping truth, he does not know what else to worship." He can discard without the least hesitation his precious theories which he gained through hardships as long as he thinks that these theories are wrong. Although Marx was once a member of the young Hegelians and although he once highly praised Hegel's idealistic philosophy, he made unceasing efforts to seek truth, discarded all erroneous ideas, and turned himself from a revolutionary democrat into an outstanding communist fighter. He dared to boldly explore in the theoretical field, dared to bring forth new ideas and dared to take paths never trodden before. He showed the greatest courage in doing theoretical research. To hold firmly to the truth, he had no fear of the bourgeois boycott and objection and did not bow to the prejudices of public opinion in society. He waged irreconcilable struggles against any trends which broke away from and debased the basic theory of scientific socialism, and damaged the communist ideological system. He declared time and again: I have never made concessions at the expense of the truth. We can clearly see this point if we recall the time when Marx founded the new world outlook. At that time, he disregarded the clamors and unrestrained abuses from the representative figures of the whole old world and all types of socialists, persisted in taking his own road, and criticized the German Social Democratic Party's Gotha program in defiance of all kinds of obstructions. It has all along been necessary for theoretical workers to learn from Marx's spirit of submitting oneself to the truth only and of holding firmly to the truth.

Other characteristics of Marx's theoretical research work style are conscientious investigation and scientific approach. In his preface to "The Critique of Political Economy," Marx said: "This is to show that my views, however they may be judged and ower little they coincide with the interested prejudices of the ruling classes, are the result of conscientious investigation lasting many years." He was telling the truth. Even to develop materialist viewpoints on the basis of a single historical example, one must also spend many years in carrying out objective and intensive scientific work; one cannot rely on hollow words but can only rely on a vast amount of historical data which have been criticized, examined and completely mastered.

Marx's approach to theoretical research work was always a conscientious and meticulous approach. He always worked conscientiously and prudently. In recalling the past, Lafargue said: Any facts or figures which Marx quoted or cited as proof or evidence have been confirmed by the most prestigious authoritative people. He was never satisfied with secondhand material. No matter how much trouble or how inconvenient it was, he always wanted to find original works so as to get to the bottom of things. He made a special visit to the British museum just to verify an unimportant fact.

"Das Kapital" took Marx 40 years to finish. It can be described as a paragon of his meticulous scholarship. "Das Kapital" is a monumental work which contains nearly 3 million words. The final draft of the first volume of

"Das Kapital" was made and published after Marx completed three volumes in manuscript. And "the final polishing prior to making a final draft and sending it to the compositor" actually took more than 4 years to finish. To write "Das Kapital," Marx pored over more than 1,500 types of books and read material and data written in various languages. To write an article of more than 20 pages on the British labor law, he studied all the blue books written by British and Scottish commissions of inquiry and factory inspectors in the library. However, these blue books were just used by many members of the House of Lords and the House of Commons as targets for their pistol-shooting practice. They tested the power of their pistols by measuring the number of pages which their bullets pierced. After the death of Marx, Engels collated Marx's manuscripts. When he saw that Marx's manuscripts had been repeatedly revised, he felt deeply touched about this and said: "Marx's handwritten material and data for the second volume can prove that prior to announcing his great discovery in the economic field, he adopted a tremendously conscientious approach and implemented the spirit of vigorously practicing self-criticism in order to perfect the great discovery."

With regard to the approach which distorts and vulgarizes facts, we can say that no one detests this approach more utterly than Marx. Marx had studied practically every type of knowledge, loved every type of art, and was charmed by every type of natural beauty. He bitterly detested all lies, hollow words, boasts and shams. Marx bitterly detested Lassalle for his nauseating self-glorification and pretentiousness. In 1858, Lassalle published his philosophic work "The Philosophy of Heraclitus, an Obscure Philosopher of Ephesus," praised his own work as a "masterpiece by a genius," and was immensely proud of himself after winning official approval and after his work had been well received by sordid bourgeois merchants. Marx seriously noted: This kind of psychology of seeking vanity is directly antagonistic to a scientific approach. In the light of Lassalle's activities of pretending to be a theoretical authority, of parading his learning among the workers and of worming his way into the workers' confidence, Marx noted: Using science as a tool to seek personal fame and gain and to realize personal wild ambition is a very mean action. Later, Marx and Engels jointly launched a merciless criticism of Duhring, a swindler. Marx and Engels not only criticized Duhring's erroneous viewpoint but also made a most telling exposure of his trick of trying to please the public with claptrap. Marx said: "We are not adopting a pose of using empty talk and we are not going to shout the following words to the world with a set of ready-made new principles in our hands: The truth is here. Prostrate yourself before it! We are just elucidating new principles for the world on the basis of original principles in this world." This is a matter of principle which all theoretical workers should pay attention to. Using it for reference is still worthwhile.

Why is it that Marx's style of study possesses the fearless revolutionary style and the scientific approach characterized by conscientious investigation? Judging from Marx's lifework of carrying out theoretical and practical activities, we can see that he possessed the devotional spirit of having no

fear of difficulties and hardships. All the people including scholars and workers who had come into contact with Marx unanimously praised his spirit of being firm and indomitable. Although Marx had fought for the 8-hour working system for the working class, his own daily working time far exceeded 8 hours. He always worked late into the night. Sometimes he lay awake all night. In a letter to Engels in 1857, Marx said: "I am madly summing up my research on economics throughout the night."

The value created by Marx's industrious labor cannot be estimated. What did capitalist society repay him for his work? When he was 31 years old, he had already been expelled from the country 4 times and had also been detained, arrested and brought to trial. However, Marx did not care about these things, did not yield to pressure and did not vacillate. According to Engels' description, both the autocratic and republican governments expelled Marx from their countries and both conservative and radical capitalists smeared and cursed him. However, Marx did not yield to pressure. He showed contempt for all these things and gently wiped them out just like wiping out spiders' webs. To Marx, difficulties and hardships are not just persecution by the ruling classes. They also include financial difficulties, living in poverty and sufferings caused by lingering illness. Lenin said: "Poverty almost killed Marx and his whole family." Financial difficulties took the lives of several of Marx's children. Due to financial difficulties, his own health seriously deteriorated and he died an early death.

Marx devoted almost all his energies to theoretical research. Just as he himself said: "For its sake, I have already sacrificed my health, happiness and family." To Marx, theoretical work is not a personal cause. Theoretical research is aimed at producing revolutionary weapons for emancipating the oppressed proletariat. The failure of the Paris commune made Marx think more deeply: The labor movement urgently needs the guidance of the theory of scientific socialism. If the struggle of the working class departs from the guidance of theory, it will grope in the dark. Just because of this, Marx felt that if he failed to finish writing "Das Kapital" prior to the arrival of a new revolutionary storm in Europe, he was not fulfilling his bounded duty. Marx had serioulsy criticized long ago all trends that ignore theory. He had a debate with Weitling in the 1840's. During the debate, Weitling publicly attacked the scientific theory, saying: Ordinary preparatory work is more conducive to our common cause than theoretical analysis. Marx jumped with anger and said: "Ignorance has never been conducive to anybody."

With the development of the times and socialist practice, our theoretical work must promote Marxism. To enable our theoretical work to suit the needs of the new situation and to have new creations, we must learn from Marx's tremendous courage, scientific approach and devotional spirit.

CSO: 4005/875

PARTY AND STATE

'BEIJING RIBAO' COMPARES WARRING STATES' COMMANDERS

HK241003 Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 3

["Jottings" by Xu Zhonghua [1776 0112 5478]: "Lang Shen and Wei Qi"]

[Text] Lang Shen and Wei Qi were both warriors of the state of Jin. They were both dissatisfied with the higher authorities, but their methods of dealing with the matter were arbitrarily different.

In 627 BC, the army of Jin laid an ambush for the army of Qin at Yaoshan and dealt the troops of Qin a crushing defeat. For his valor in battle Lang Shen was promoted deputy commander in chief by Duke Xiang of Jin.

This incident surprisingly infuriated Marshal Xian Zhen. During the "Battle of Ji," Lang Shen was dismissed from his post without any justification. Lang Shen's friends were indignant and they urged him to create a disturbance and kill Xian Zhen in order to avenge himself. However, Lang Shen would not agree to do so. He said: "Courage without a sense of righteousness is not genuine courage. I have won recognition and become deputy commander in chief because of my courage and have again been accused of lacking in courage and relieved of the post of deputy commander in chief. If I make trouble now, people will say instead that the King of Jin had obviously made a mistake when he promoted me deputy commander in chief and that Xian Zhen is therefore correct in dismissing me. We must wait for an opportunity to serve the country and then use our lives to prove our courage."

Two years later, the state of Jin and the state of Qin were again engaged in battle at Pengya. Lang Shen and his friends, together with their men, bravely stormed the enemy's line. The army of Jin charged after them and routed the troops of Qin. Lang Shen and his friends all died for their country in the battle. The people praised Lang Shen for his loyalty and courage and said that he was a noble-minded person: "Instead of rebelling in anger, he submitted himself to command. He was indeed a man of noble character."

Wei Qi was the son of a meritorious official of the state of Jin. Relying on the meritorious record of his father, he tried to apply for the post of senior official. When his request was unsuccessful, he became highly

dissatisfied with the government. In 597 BC a dispute broke out between the state of Jin and the state of Chu, and both sides were ready to resort to arms. Far-sighted people on both sides tried to proceed cautiously and to avert the conflict. At that time, the state of Jin and the state of Chu were both major military powers and equally matched. When two major powers battle, one is bound to get hurt. The one which should be unfortunately defeated would not only damage the prestige of the country but would also weaken its effective strength. However there were also people who, because of various personal motives, hoped for the early commencement of hostility between the two armies, and Wei Qi was one of them.

To give vent to personal spite, Wei Qi wanted the state of Jin to suffer a serious defeat. He requested and obtained approval to go over to the camp of the Chu army to hurl the gaunlet. He also requested and obtained permission to go as an envoy to the Chu army to carry out friendly activities. Therefore, he visited the Chu army in the capacity of an envoy of the Jin army. Wei Qi was playing a double-dealing game at that time. He not only was not acting as a peace envoy but was also carrying out provocative activities in the Chu army. "Either fight or turn back" was actually the delivery of a challenge to war. When the troops of Chu attacked, the army of Jin was caught unprepared and suffered a crushing defeat. This was the famous battle of Bi in history.

Lang Shen was undaunted in the face of perils and courageous in battle. The position of deputy commander in chief was not of his own seeking and his dismissal was purely caused by prejudice on the part of his superior. However, he still managed to take the interests of the state to heart, patiently waited for an opportunity to gloriously sacrifice himself for the country and proved his valor. For the sake of personal fame and gain and seeking an important post and because he was unable to satisfy his personal desire, Wei Qi would not hesitate to sacrifice national prestige and cause loss of officers and men to the state of Jin in order to give vent to personal spite. Lang Shen's pure and lofty ideological and moral character formed a vivid contrast with the despicable sordidness of the inner recess of Wei Qi's soul.

In a song verse of the Song Dynasty, there are the words "carefully applying makeup with eyes brimming with tears." This means that although a beautiful woman might be suffering from humiliation and sorrow, she must still carefully apply makeup for fear that some insignificant flaws might impair her personal image. The writer had used these words to picturesquely praise this solemn attitude toward life. I have always associated Lang Shen with the words of this song verse.

CSO: 4005/875

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI' RADIO STRESSES PLA ROLE IN POLITICAL LIFE

OW210149 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 19 May 82

[Text] In the course of various discussions on the draft revised constitution, many commanders and fighters unanimously suggested that it should be stipulated that the tasks of our army are to consolidate national defense, defend the motherland, participate in national construction and work in the interests of the people at all times and in all places. In other words, our army should shoulder certain responsibilities, not only militarily but also politically. In this connection, the new constitution of the People's Republic of China should clearly stipulate that the broad masses of commanders and fighters of the people's liberation army of China should play an active role in the political life of the party and the state.

It is currently of great significance to stress this traditional mission of the people's liberation army, because Comrade Deng Xiaoping has recently been saying, once again, that the army should pay more attention to military training and concern itself less with political affairs. He simply wants to put the army's role in the political life of the party and the state in a secondary place and confine the role of the broad masses of commanders and fighters within the narrow sphere of military life. [Words indistinct] this line runs entirely counter to the revolutionary tradition of our party, our army and our people.

Since the very day our army was founded, it has been the most conscientious and best-organized political force during the Chinese revolution. During every stage of the revolution, the broad masses of commanders and fighters have played important roles in political life. They have been one of the most active forces in the political life of the party and the state. Our army's commanders and fighters have taken pride in the fact that, for a long period leading comrades of our army were always the first to stand up to reactionary forces which brought calamity to the country and the people.

For example, it was none other than Marshal Peng Dehuai and Comrade Huang Kecheng--who was chief of the general staff at that time--who dared to go against their superiors and stood up to point out the dangers that the three red banners [of general life for socialist construction, the great leap forward and the people's communes] might impose on the state and the people. During the decade of turmoil, it was again none other than the army

which first dealt resolute blows at those making a practice of beating, smashing and looting. And as early as 1968, comrades Yang Chengwu [words indistinct] followed Lin Biao's instructions and resolutely counterattacked Jiang Qing and her lackeys who were insufferably arrogant at that time. Again in October 1976, it was due to the resolute actions by the leaders of our army that the gang of four and their sworn followers were [words indistinct] arrested. Furthermore, it was due to the firm support from the leading comrades of our army that a large number of veteran comrades, including Comrade Deng Xiaoping, were able to return and take up principal leading posts.

Why is it that Comrade Deng Xiaoping ignores the active role played by the army at every critical moment in the past concerning the destiny of the country and the people and wants the army to bother less with political affairs? We cannot but notice that it was exactly due to the restriction imposed by comrade Deng Xiaoping that the number of armymen admitted into the party has been greatly reduced and it has been decided that the members of the 12th CCP Central Committee to be elected from the army will be reduced to a minimum.

In short, imposing limitations on the political role of the army and reducing the army's role in the political life of the party and the state to a secondary place [words indistinct] is to strengthen the dominant position of a certain individual in the central authorities. It is suggested that imposing limitation on the army's political role artificially will certainly fail to build up the political prestige of the party and the state. In this connection, the new constitution should clearly stipulate the army's role, duties and responsibilities in the political life of the state and this stipulation should be resolutely implemented. Only in this way, can the broad masses of commanders and fighers make greater contributions to the motherland and the people.

CSO: 4005/875

PARTY AND STATE

PRC CONSTITUTION NEVER FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTED

OW232331 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 21 May 82

[Text] The draft of the revised constitution, although discussed for several months, has generated a new upsurge of discussion since it was officially published. In the course of discussing it, many new viewpoints and opinions were made known by the National Defense Scientific and Technological Commission, organs directly under the PLA General Political Department, the PLA's three academies and two schools and organs directly under Beijing PLA units.

The crux of their viewpoints and opinions can be summed up in the following three points:

1. Since the founding of our country, we have been busy drawing up the constitution and discussing, revising and studying it; but we have never faithfully implemented it.

2. The constitution has never become the supreme law of the country having the supreme power of the law. This was due to the party's top leader being put higher than the party and the status of the party higher than the government and the law.

3. The NPC and its Standing Committee have existed in name only since their very establishment. NPC deputies and members of the NPC Standing Committee cannot perform their duties and play their true role of people's representative. All resolutions, and especially personnel appointments, were adopted and approved by deputies or the Standing Committee members who, following faithfully the documents and namelists prepared well in advance, raised their hands to give approval.

The constitution is the cardinal law of the land, the supreme status which must be adhered to and implemented at all times. Over the past 30 years, our country has had four constitutions. This is something rarely seen at home or abroad since ancient times. During these 30 years or so, we were quite busy drawing up a constitution, discussing, revising and studying it. Then we helplessly watched dictators wantonly violate and trample it underfoot. The background of this situation was that the constitution was regarded by party and state leaders at all levels as a trick of democracy, a golden

shop signboard with which they could cover up their totalitarian dictatorship and paternalism. Because of this, the constitution was regarded as a scrap of paper.

Those in power randomly changed the policies of the state and arbitrarily dismissed leaders of the government and members, chairman and vice chairmen of the NPC Standing Committee. In the 1950's, they launched the anti-rightist and Great Leap forward campaigns and, later in the 1960's, initiated the (?notorious) Cultural Revolution. It was not that we did not have a constitution. In the few years following the downfall of the gang of four, a massive purge was carried out throughout the army and country. Military cadres were repeatedly purged under the pretext of the "13 September" incident. The country's foreign policy has since been one of one-sidedness. It was not that this country did not have its constitution. The problem was that our constitution did not have power and prestige. The people only knew that they had leaders, while knowing nothing about the existence of the constitution.

When it came to questions of domestic and foreign policies, no consideration was given to these policies conforming to the constitution. The only thing taken into account was if these policies were formulated in accordance with the wishes of the top leaders.

More recently, drastic policy changes in the national economy, the big scale restructuring of the leading party, government and army organizations and the overall reshuffle of the principal leading cadres were carried out so that they have become accomplished facts before the next NPC is convened to officially adopt the constitution. All these took place prior to the adoption of the constitution which we should observe in electing the government of the country [words indistinct] but designed to request the NPC (?to act in accordance with the new constitution) to approve, in legal form, the principles and policies being pursued by the present central leaders and to approve the appointments of state, government and army leaders.

CSO: 4005/875

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI' RAPS CCP NEGLECT OF PEOPLE'S LIVELIHOOD

OW202343 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 19 May 82

[Text] Over the past 20 years and more, our party has done many things detrimental to the people's interests and has told many lies to deceive them. Consequently, it has lost faith with the people and has caused a crisis of confidence among the masses. That is why the principle of seeking truth from facts was repeatedly stressed by a resolution adopted at a CCP Central Committee conference held in the wake of the third plenary session. The party's obscurantist policy can no longer be followed.

However, recently a certain person of the central authorities, deviating from the principle of seeking truth from facts, has vigorously publicized the CCP Central Committee's and the government's concern for the people's livelihood, in an attempt to divert the people's attention from the series of economic failures. In less than a month, the propaganda department of the CCP Central Committee has instructed the major newspapers in China to publish four articles on the important measures adopted by the state for insuring a stable livelihood for the people. For instance, the articles cited huge state subsidies for grain, edible oil and vegetables over the past 3 years. However, such measures are unwise and can give rise to adverse effects. Rampant inflation in the past few years shows that the government's current policy of giving subsidies has its defects. Last year, government subsidies on vegetables failed to keep up with price hikes. Besides, government subsidies are but the people's money earned through hard toil. The people's livelihood can be improved to a certain degree if the government outlays more funds to increase vegetable production, which helps to lower vegetable prices. In this way, cadres and the people can surely understand the central leaders' concern for the people's well-being.

Every citizen and every worker and staff are fully aware whether the government and the central leading comrades care for their livelihood and whether their living standard has improved? Propaganda is to no avail. What is more imperative is that effective measures must be adopted to lower commodity prices, particularly the prices on nonstaple food, and to thoroughly implement the third plenary session's principle of seeking truth from facts. The party, the army and the people of the whole country must always be told the truth and must never be kept in ignorance.

CSO: 4005/875

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ARTICLE DESCRIBES UNIVERSITY TRAINING FOR ENGINEERS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Zhang Guangdou [1728 0342 2435]: "Implement Party Educational Policy and Run Science and Engineering Universities Well"]

Text] Summary: Our science and engineering universities must undergo reform and improvement, but these actions must not imitate foreign experience. The training goal of the science and engineering universities is to produce engineers, and there must be a change in the emphasis on producing scientists and teachers and a change from the lack of interest in producing engineers. Science and engineering university students must persevere in all-round development of intelligence and moral character and become both red and expert. Education should join theory with reality, at present there is a tendency toward emphasizing theory and neglecting practice and this must be rectified. The industrial enterprises must provide support in properly operating the science and engineering universities. Science and engineering universities must energetically develop scientific research, but scientific research and education must complement each other and moreover must serve the purpose of building production in China. The professional courses in the science and engineering colleges must suit the requirements of national construction, and the current practice of emphasizing professions in new technology and slighting professions in basic industry must be overcome. The professions should be expanded and their intellectual scope should be increased. Investigation and research should be carried out to make scientific predictions concerning the requirements for human talent, and we should formulate a plan for training human talent based on these requirements and the existing potential. At the same time that the science and engineering universities are put into operation there should be a major effort to develop technical colleges, technical middle schools and technical schools in order to create a more favorable ratio of engineers, technicians and skilled workers.

* * * *

Education in engineering is the foundation for developing the people's economy and for building national defense. The key link for developing the people's economy and building national defense is proper operation of the science and engineering universities in training highly qualified engineers and technicians. All countries throughout the world place great emphasis on science and engineering universities. After the founding of New China, the party and the government highly valued education in engineering, greatly developed science and engineering universities and achieved major success in training great numbers of highly qualified engineers and technicians. They became the core for our present endeavors in production, scientific research and education. However, in comparison with developed nations, China's engineering sciences and technology fall rather short. In order to accelerate implementation of the four modernizations and catch up to advanced international standards, China's science and engineering universities must place emphasis on reforms and improvements. During the last three years, I have had opportunities to visit the advanced countries of the United States, France and Japan, and the developing nations Mexico and Argentina where I visited science and engineering universities and participated in international conferences on engineering education. I felt that the foreign science and engineering universities have considerable experience but also have many problems and are worthy of our study. Of course, China's science and engineering universities also have many good points and superior features. Because of the different social systems, differing populations and raw material conditions and because of different levels of development our science and engineering universities ought to be Chinese in style, with their own special features which suit our needs for socialist construction. It will not do to ignore our own actual conditions and imitate foreign experience. The following presents some of my views on the key issues in the proper operation of the science and engineering universities.

1. Training Goals and the Educational System

The training goal of the science and engineering universities is to produce engineers. Engineers must have a strong theoretical foundation and abundant practical experience, be able to resolve complex engineering problems, create and rennovate engineering science and technology and develop the scope, standards and methodology of engineering. Everyday tasks in engineering are primarily performed by various levels of technicians according to the operational methods determined by the scope, standards and handbooks. Science and engineering universities train both undergraduate and graduate students who receive the bachelor, master or doctoral degree upon graduation and then participate in production, research or education. After a training period they acquire substantial theoretical knowledge and accumulate practical experience, thus becoming engineers, of course they can also

become researchers or teachers in the field of engineering. The graduate of a science and engineering university is not yet a finished product and does not immediately become an engineer on graduation. Because the holders of the undergraduate, masters and doctoral degrees have differing levels of theoretical capabilities, after becoming engineers they also have differing capabilities so a different emphasis is attached to their work assignments. All levels of technicians who take supplemental university courses will have similar levels of educational attainment and after a period of training may also become engineers.

In developed nations the science and engineering universities train the engineers. They place great emphasis on the engineers, whose compensation equals and sometimes surpasses that of scientists and professors. For example, the salaries of engineers are from 30 percent to 100 percent higher that that of scientists and professors. Our current national need for engineers has not been clarified. Society still has a tendency to value scientists and teachers and neglect engineers. This is not advantageous for developing engineering sciences and technology and for accelerating construction of the four modernizations.

There is but one problem in the educational system in formulating the training goal of the science and engineering universities, and that is how much time should be taken to attain the training goal. Because engineering sciences and technology are international in nature, so if we wish to be capable of competing on the international level the issue of making international comparisons then arises. In addition, the quality of training of the science and engineering universities and the level of the students being admitted is of importance, so it is necessary to give some consideration to the educational systems of primary and middle schools. In America and Japan the science and engineering universities have four year programs and the primary and middle schools have twelve year programs. The science and engineering universities in such countries emphasize basic study courses and basic technology courses, and seldom if ever have any professional courses or practical experience. They believe that professional knowledge and practical knowledge are more effectively learned at the work sentry post and generally require that approximately two more years of learning are necessary to actually begin work. Consequently, their educational program in science and engineering colleges actually is about six years rather than four years. In France and other countries the science and engineering universities have five year programs with twelve or thirteen years of primary and middle school, the science and engineering universities teach basic courses, basic technology courses and professional courses, they also do not have any practical experience.

In China the present educational program in science and engineering universities is four years, and the primary and middle school system will be changed to twelve years. The science and

engineering universities teach basic courses, basic technology courses and professional courses and they also have practical experience. Science and engineering universities in China plan their education so that it is easy to match suitable people in the right positions. There are close links between the universities and the enterprises and industries. This is an advantage for us. However, our students must spend more time in the study of foreign languages and their practical experience away from the university is relatively minor. Moreover, in China the faculty, pedagogy and other conditions are inferior to those of developed nations and the students' study and livelihood conditions are also inferior. Our middle and primary school education is comprable to that of other countries, but our science and engineering education on the university level compares unfavorably to that of the developed nations. This of course weakens our curriculum and the practical experience is less meaningful. Our science and engineering universities generally find that a five year program is most suitable.

2. Overall Moral and Intellectual Development

The party's educational policy is that those receiving education should have moral, intellectual and physical development to become workers having socialist enlightenment and culture. The science and engineering universities must implement this policy and train engineers who are both red and expert and who will become the successors in the revolutionary cause and the builders of socialism.

Moral education requires the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, history, law, economics, literature and sociology. In carrying out ideological and political education students should attain socialist enlightenment, establish a communist world view, become patriotic, willingly accept the state assignment and serve the people. Study of the humanities and social sciences can broaden the students's intellectual horizons, improve the capacity for thought, develop concern for social progress and provide an economic viewpoint.

We must make a conscious break with feudalistic and capitalistic ideology and there must be emphasis on moral education and ideological and political education in the science and engineering universities. We have done so in the past and should do so more strongly in the future. Our pedagogical plans should gradually increase political, humanities and social science classes to about 15 percent of the curriculum; and there also should be emphasis on extra-curricular ideological and political education.

Intellectual education should place emphasis on teaching students to acquire the ability to analyze and solve problems and should encourage students to develop a creative, innovative spirit.

Engineers must solve complex engineering problems and must create and rennovate engineering science and technology, so training students to have such capability and such spirit is extremely important.

Science and engineering universities in America, France and Japan place great emphasis on developing ability and in France they also evaluate achievement according to a student's creative spirit. Their curricula call for less than 20 classroom hours per week, lectures emphasize the heuristic method, students are encouraged to engage in individual studies and advanced students also attend seminars.

Chinese science and engineering universites also place emphasis on developing two skills, but this is not done enough. The curricula call for too many classroom hours, course content is too heavy, lectures are not sufficiently heuristic, students are not encouraged to develop a creative spirit and students are accustomed to booklearning rather than being creative or innovative. We should strive to make progress.

Physical education should place emphasis on perseverence in physical training. Our science and engineering universities have physical education classes and require that students participate in physical activity for one hour each day. This good system should be firmly maintained and there ought to be improvement of physical education conditions.

3. Integration of Theory with Practice

Understanding is derived from practice, but in learning knowledge, students cannot always start with practice and must first grasp theory. In order to truly understand theory there must be certain perceptual knowledge such as experience, production practice or participation. In a university one must study how to apply theory in solving actual engineering problems and learn to use scientific research methodology to search for new theories. In a university students cannot learn concrete methods for solving a great variety of engineering problems but must learn the basic theories and methodologies for solving engineering problems.

The guiding ideology of Chinese science and engineering universities values the integration of theory with experience and requires that the curriculum have basic courses for study of the fundamental theories of mathematics, physics and chemistry. There are basic courses in technology to learn the fundamental theories of all engineering professions. There are professional courses for the study of professional theory, i.e., the theoretical foundation to be used in the profession and to make further development there is the study of the practical knowledge of the profession. There are engineering skills courses such as drafting, surveying and computer applications. There is actual practice such

as experience, production training and curriculum planning. Finally, there is the graduation project or the dissertation, which apply the theories that have been learned to the solution of engineering problems or to the development of scientific and technological theories. This sums up university learning and provides a transition to the tasks assumed upon graduation. Prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution," science and engineering universities in China had basically correct curricula, even though there were too many classes and class sessions so that the students were overburdened. The basic courses and basic technology courses imparted too much information and still need to be redone. There were too many professional courses and an overemphasis on practical knowledge. There was no emphasis on the application of fundamental theory in the solution of engineering problems or in developing professional theory; the professional courses were divorced from the basic courses and the basic technology courses and their content was outdated. In practice the heuristic method was seldom used and the efficiency rate was comparatively low. The graduation project was too burdensome a task, with overemphasis on results and insufficient attention to pedagogical links.

French science and engineering universities place emphasis on linking theory with practice, their course planning is generally the same as that found in our science and engineering universities. They also place value on connections and cooperation between universities and industry, but there are certain difficulties because of the need to protect industrial secrets. In addition, there is too much basic theory in their curricula, and they also believe that too much study of mathematics will result in a separation of theory from reality. Their links with practice lean towards theory. Their professional courses teach professional theory with relatively less practical knowledge. They have one half year for the graduation project or the dissertation, and this also emphasises theory. It is said that West German science and engineering universities are more successful than the French in linking theory with reality.

American and Japanese science and engineering universities do not mention the links between theory and actual practice. They concentrate on basic theory and seldom if ever have engineering skills courses, professional courses or links with practice. They do not have graduation projects or dissertations. The basic courses emphasize experiments and there is insufficient emphasis on experiments in the basic technology courses. They believe that engineering skills, professional knowledge and practice are more effectively learned on the job and that it doesn't pay to learn them in college. There are objective reasons for this point of view: First, the people they train do not have specific plans for the future, so that studying professional courses might not suit their future work and therefore be of no use; second, their company or enterprise schools are excellent and have an abundance of

highly skilled engineering teachers, there are well-equipped laboratories and professional training classes to teach the newly arrived graduates; third, industries and enterprises also have the problem of protecting technical secrets and cannot make them known to universities. American science and engineering institutions together with the various industries and enterprises believe that American science and engineering universities are in danger, primarily because of the weak links between theory and practice and the lack of a close relationship between universities and factories. Consequently, the course content of science and engineering universities cannot meet the needs of industry. The same conditions exist for the same groups in Japan. All concerned hope that the science and engineering universities and industry and the enterprises can work together to solve this problem.

Chinese science and engineering universities must firmly maintain the links between theory and practice, strengthen basic theory courses, teach professional courses, train engineering skills, and firmly uphold practice, the graduation project and the dissertation. There must be suitable ratios of all courses in the educational plan and course content must be revised. Theory is studied in order to solve actual engineering problems so that practical training is a necessity. Such a course of action will improve the quality of education and strengthen links with the production departments. Our industrial enterprises do not now have training courses for new graduates, middle and small enterprises are relatively weak in technology and are hard put to establish training classes, so it is mandatory for science and engineering universities to have professional courses and provide practice. The training of graduate students must also institute a policy of linking theory with practice. Of course, the primary task of graduate students is to perform research work and develop scientific research skills; they must also study advanced theory and broaden their professional knowledge. The dissertation must be creative and innovative, and the doctoral dissertation should make a significant contribution to knowledge. There is now a tendency for our science and engineering universities to emphasize theory and de-emphasize actual practice, there has been a reduction of course planning and production practice, and the industrial enterprises always are unwilling to have students engage in production practice. Courses on theory always are too burdensome and too profound and the students are generally overburdened so that there is less time avaliable to engage in training, experiments and investigation of reference works. This is not beneficial in training a capable and creative attitude. There are more graduation dissertations than graduation projects and this is not helpful in the overall solution of engineering problems. To solve these various issues we must ask the industrial enterprises to provide help is properly operating the science and engineering universities.

4. Emphasizing Scientific Research Work

Science and engineering universities must make a great effort to develop research. Research and teaching are mutually complementary, help make mutual progress, share the goal of training human talent and simultaneously produce scientific results. It is necessary to develop the universities into both teaching centers and research centers, with the emphasis on teaching.

If teachers conduct scientific research this can elevate the level of learning, develop engineering science and technology and improve the quality of education. Students engage in scientific research in order to develop their research skills, and to develop the ability to analyse and solve problems. Undergraduate students should engage in certain scientific research work while graduate students ought to emphasize research work. If professors are to direct students in scientific research they themselves must be engaged in such research.

If the science and engineering universities conduct scientific research and strengthen their links with industrial enterprises this will benefit teaching, research and production. If scientific research is to improve the quality of education and recapture the expenses incurred it must improve the quality of scientific research results. A de-emphasis on achieving scientific research results or overemphasis on achieving scientific research results are both wrong as they do not support or improve teaching.

In carrying out scientific research the science and engineering universities must integrate theory with practice in order to carryout production construction responsibilities and to develop engineering science and technology. Of course, it is important for teachers of basic courses to conduct some basic scientific research. Our scientific research must solve the problems we encounter in our industrial development rather than carry out a piecemeal pursuit of the levels achieved by advanced nations. Scientific research serves industry and the development of our industry will cause the level of our engineering science and technology to gradually overtake advanced international standards.

In order to bring about mutual help and accomplishments in teaching and research, the direction of scientific research and the direction of teaching in science and engineering universities must be basically consistent. It is incorrect for scientific research and teaching to sever links and unilaterally determine the directions of their scientific research.

It must be noted that in the content of a given curriculum the required courses have general knowledge while the scientific research is relatively specialized and narrow. In order to improve the quality of teaching it is necessary to have wide reading in the domestic and foreign publications in a given discipline, digest these works and then include them in the teaching materials. Reliance on one's own scientific research work is inadequate. In France and Japan the teaching levels in basic coursework of science and engineering universities is relatively high. The teachers of their basic courses are widely read in foreign and domestic scientific journals. They absorb new theories and new results, continually update their teaching materials and at the same time study pedagogy and take note of teaching results. They seldom engage in scientific research work. We do not believe that the relative lack of scientific research experience of French and Japanese teachers of basic courses suits our needs, however we should note the importance of being widely and deeply read in foreign and domestic publications. In the past, our teachers of basic courses in science and engineering universities seldom engaged in scientific research work a therefore need training in scientific research work.

Well-known Americ n science and engineering universities place all emphasis on scientific research. Their scientific research tends toward basic theory and there are no close links with industrial enterprises so that the results of scientific research cannot satisfy the needs of industrial enterprises. There are differences of opinion on this between American engineering and scientific communities. Because of competition the industrial enterprises establish their own research laboratories which surpass those of the science and engineering universities in scope, instrumentation and equipment, personnel and funding. The science and engineering universities are therefore hard put to compete with the industrial enterprises in applied research.

The scientific research conditions in well-known science and engineering universities approximates those in the United States. The scientific research results of the faculty and students are hard put to compete with the industrial enterprises and can only turn toward theoretical research. The Japanese science and engineering universities and engineering science community are dissatisfied with these conditions.

French science and engineering universities and French industrial interprises are closely integrated and engage in personnel exchanges and in joint research. But because of the capitalist system and the need to protect scientific and technological secrets the industrial enterprises still place value on developing their own scientific and technological strengths. The research equipment and research funding of the science and engineering universities are greatly inferior to that of the industries and they face the same problems as those found in America and Japan.

Although the science and engineering universities of some developing nations also place value upon scientific research work there nonetheless are great difficulties. The main industries in these countries are monopolized by transnational corporations which are under the control of the advanced nations. It is difficult for the scientists and technicians of these countries to participate in the key engineering science and technology work taking place and this has a negative influence on the teaching and scientific research taking place in the science and engineering universities.

Although scientific research has has a relatively long history in our science and engineering universities, a genuine emphasis on developing scientific research work has only just begun. The main problems we now face are difficulties in scientific research funding and inadequate or outmoded scientific instruments. In order to properly operate our science and engineering universities we must strengthen scientific research work to enable the universities to truly become centers of both teaching and scientific research. It is necessary to locate funding sources for scientific research and provide experimental laboratories with scientific research equipment. Scientific research in our science and engineering universities must serve our current national economic construction amd make these universities an organizational component in the vanguard of our nation's scientific and technological strength. This can be completely accomplished in our socialist nation.

Our science and engineering universities are now successful in developing scientific research work, however there is insufficient mutual support between scientific research and teaching, in some areas the links are broken between scientific research and teaching with each determining an independent course so that there even seems to be a tendency to emphasize scientific research and de-emphasize teaching. Some teachers delight only in scientific research and are unwilling to perform teaching duties. In scientific research work there is a onesided pursuit of producing dissertations and a neglect of improving the level of domestic technology and of solving domestic production problems and a neglect of economic results. The evaluation of the results of scientific research places too much emphasis on obtaining the good opinionof foreign experts rather than placing value on serving domestic economic construction. Scientific research lacks a spirit of cooperation, units do notcooperate correctly and even individuals fail to do so, which is harmful to concentrating our forces in concerted efforts. All such problems must be thoroughly rectified.

5. Planning for Professional Specialized Institutions and for Human Talent

The establishment of specialized institutions in the science and engineering universities must match national requirements. Development of national construction must first occur in the basic industries, such as mining, smelting, materials, civil engineering, irrigation, energy, machinery, electric power and chemical engineering. The development of new technology to a great extent serves basic industry. In advanced nations science and engineering universities all value the basic industries along with their associated professions. At the same time they develop professions in new technology in order to develop their industry. The newly developed technology is applied in the basic industry. Because the professions in the new technology have been recently established are in a developmental state they easily elicit the people's interest. Nonetheless, they still are in the vanguard of the professions in the basic industries.

In our science and engineering universities the professions of the basic industries have relatively long histories, but because we began to construct basic industries only after Liberation the professions of the basic industries in our science and engineering communities also are relatively weak, the scientific instruments found in the laboratories are inadequate and need to be greatly augmented. The development of the professions in the newly established technologies should be accelerated. However, at present the science and engineering universities have a tendency to emphasize professions in the new technology and neglect professsions in the basic industries. It is relatively difficult to construct basic industries and at present students are unwilling to study the professions in the basic industries. Such conditions are unfavorable for the four modernizations and changes must be made.

Progress in modern technology and science promotes industrial development. Because of this the science and engineering universities have increased the courses and the course content in science and technology and have established new professions and departments in some areas of science and technology. For example, in America the Massachusetts Institute of Technology not only established a college of engineering but also established a college of science. The college of engineering also added courses in science and technology. However, the college of science serves industry and the curriculum emphasizes science and technology and also has engineering courses. The basic science found in a college such as this differs from that of a college of science in a general university. American universities such as Columbia have colleges of science and colleges of engineering. The college of science handles basic science and departments in the college of engineering also have courses in science and technology.

They also have new departments of science and technology, such as the department of applied physics, however, American industry and American engineering science feel that too heavy a burden of science and technology courses will weaken the links between engineering courses and practical experience and will weaken the integration of theory and practice.

In recent years Chinese science and engineering universities have acted correctly to increase technology and science curricula and establish more departments and specializations in science and technology. These departments and specializations serve industry and have engineering courses. They are different from the basic science taught in the science colleges of general universities. The addition of technological and scientific curricula in science and engineering universities should not affect engineering training and the departments of technology and science must also link theory with practice. Sometimes the expression "science and engineering on the same campus" is intepreted to mean that the basic science taught in a science college shares the same campus as an engineering college, but this is incorrect.

The professional establishment in our science and engineering universities must suit the needs of national construction. Our stage of industrial development is different from that of the advanced nations and the social needs and capital resources also are different. The professional establishment must suit our national condition and cannot imitate those of foreign science and engineering universities. If foreign science and engineering universities have some new professions which we do not urgently need at this time then we should do without.

China is a socialist nation and ought to train people according to plan as this will effectively strengthen the professional establishment in our science and engineering universities. Nonetheless, the professsions in our science and engineering universities are too narrow. The plan for training people was based on predictions made several years ago with the professions too narrowly defined so that it is difficult to correctly assign people upon graduation. The universities lay a foundation and simply cannot teach all of the concrete engineering technology, they grasp basic theory and the methodology of solving engineering problems. The professions therefore must be enlarged and the range of knowledge must be expanded.

The training of people according to plan must be in accord with needs and our capabilities. We must predict five years and ten years in the future how many people will be needed in engineering to suit the needs of national construction. We must also consider the potential, the teaching resources, classrooms, laboratories and equipment and must exert all effort to create the correct conditions. If we truly lack the capability to

fulfill the plan then we must assess our strengths and plan accordingly. There now are differing views on expanding student enrollment in science and engineering universities. Those who advocate expanded enrollment believe that we have too few students in our science and engineering universities. Their conclusions are based on population ratios, but they haven't performed deep analysis to predict how many people will be needed for national construction in the future. Those who advocate maintaining the current enrollment level of students believe that we face difficult conditions and they also have not predicted how many people will be needed in future national construction. It can be seen that the plans made for training people are incomplete.

In America, Japan and France the government and colleges of engineering science all engage in prodigious investigations and calculate developmental trends of the past to make five, ten and even fifteen year predictions on the number of professionals that will be needed and then use these figures for reference in enrolling students. Of course, capitalist nations cannot train people according to a plan. China has a superior socialist system and is thoroughly capable of training people according to plan. The State Planning Commission, Ministry of Education and the Chinese Academy of Sciences should make extensive investigations to determine the number of people needed in the future. At the same time they should formulate a plan for training people according to our capabilities. Not enough work of this sort is being done at present.

The proper operation of the science and engineering universities is closely related to the proportional training of research students, undergraduate students and of vocational college students, technical middle school students and skilled workers. The science and engineering universities train engineers, the vocational colleges train highly skilled technicians, the middle technical schools train technicians and the technical schools train skilled workers. All these have different educational systems, course planning and course content. According to statistics from advanced nations a single engineer requires five technicians and over 20 skilled workers. If there are not enough technicians then the engineer must perform technical work and he will not be able to give full use to the knowledge he acquired in the science and engineering university and this has a definite influence on university teaching. More serious is the fact that if the engineer is unable to solve complex engineering problems and create and rennovate engineering science and technology this will have serious consequences for the development of national construction. At the same time that we exert great effort to train engineers we must also exert ourselves to train skilled technicians, technicians and skilled workers in a ratio which is to be determined by our national conditions.

11582
CSO: 4005/788

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CALL ISSUED FOR UNITY OF NATIONALITIES

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Mar 82 p 2

[Article by Dao Guodong [0430 0948 2767]: "Strengthen Unity, Work Together To Realize the Task of Building the Four Socialist Modernizations and Bringing About Prosperity for All Nationalities"]

[Text] Last year while receiving an all China minorities visiting group on National Day, Comrade Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721] strongly emphasized: at no time can we forget the unity of all nationalities. The relationship between the Han nationalist and minority nationalities is one of interdependence and mutual help, neither separate from the other. This further clarified the direction in which we must move to improve and develop the relationships between socialist nationalities.

Each of our nationalities in Yunnan Province have, from remote antiquity, labored, lived and multiplied on the frontiers of our nation and, together with the people of the entire nation, created a magnificent culture. In the long history of development, differing political, economic and cultural relations were formed between the various nationalities and, in learning from each other and supplying each others needs, we hastened economic and cultural development. Up to the early period of liberation, many of the minority peoples of our province did not know how to smelt copper and iron, but had already used copper and iron tools; several hundred years ago, the Thais of the Xishuangbanna area [now an administrative area at the southern tip of Yunnan Province] learned how to process rice flour, bean curd and soy bean cheese, and even today they call these foods by the Han names. For the majority of the nationalities, such relationships have reached the point of intimacy at which they cannot be severed.

After liberation, the Central Committee of the party and the State Council established and thoroughly implemented a complete set of Marxist-Leninist racial principles, abolishing the system of racial oppression and carrying out the principle of racial equality. This enable the minority races that went unrecognized by the KMT in the old society and were without rights to step onto the political stage and become an equal members of the loving, cooperative family of our nation. Since then, on the foundation of common basic interests, the Han people and all of the minority peoples have shared mutual respect, mutual trust, mutual concern and support, and mutual assistance

and jointly worked to preserve and build our socialist nation and create beautiful and prosperous lives.

For 32 years, in order to aid the development of every nationality, the party and the government have adopted such methods as opening schools and sending cadres of the Han race to pass on their experience, give help and set examples of actual struggle in order to train a large number of cadres from among the fraternal nationalities of our province--a large number of which have already taken on leadership work in party and government agencies at the provincial, prefectural and county levels; and, in order to create a large number of expert technical personnel of each nationality, have seen to it that the fraternal nationalities who in the early period of liberation were still recording events by tying knots in ropes and carving notches on trees have their own teachers, doctors, and engineers and technicians. They are more and more exercising their rights as masters of the house and doing a good job in every item of construction in their own areas. In order to aid the regions of each nationality in doing well in economic and cultural construction, the party and the government have given them priority care economically and technologically, supplying a large amount of special funds and equipment every year and continually sending out skilled personnel from the interior. According to statistics from 1953 to 1978, our nation's investment in basic construction in the minority areas of our province was more than 5.3 billion yuan, and with the help of Han workers and technical personnel each area used the funds for construction in such areas as industry, handicrafts and rural water conservancy, Prior to liberation, some of the minorities in our province had only a small handicraft industry, and some had no handicraft industry at all; now there are more than 3,000 handicraft and industrial enterprises. A large number of roads have been repaired and, by 1981, throughout the province there were more than 45,8000 kilometers of roads carrying traffic, connecting 96 percent of the communes and 64 percent of the brigades. Before liberation, the Xishuangbanna Thai Autonomous Prefecture did not have a single kilometer of road. At that time, the minister "Na Luo" [4780 5012] in charge of communications under the Pacification Commissioner only had charge of one ox cart; now all 3 counties and 29 communes throughout the prefecture are connected by roads; moreover, most communes have bus service and peasants of all nationalities can ride vehicles when they take to the roads; almost all villages and outposts have tractors, forcefully hastening transportation between town and country, the frontier areas and the interior and mountainous areas and flatlands, and hastening economic development. Culture and education have also been developed, starting from scratch. Statistics from the end of 1981 show that the number of minority students in all types of schools at all levels had reached 1.29 million, a 3.6 fold increase over 1952. With the exceptions of the Pai-lang, Na-hsi, Moslem and Yi peoples, very few of the nationalities of our province in the early period of liberation had some of their own in college; but by 1981, there were 2,860 minority students among the college student population, and 22 minorities throughout the province had some of their own in college. Prior to liberation, there were no hospitals in the minority areas of our province, only Chinese herbal medicine that was practiced among a small number of people, and therefore it was very difficult for the masses to find medical help. If pestilence became widespread, large numbers of the population would die, towns and outposts would become wastelands. Prior to 1929, the Puwen

[2528 2429] Plain of Jing Hong [2529 3163] County had a minority population of more than 30,000. By the time of liberation their numbers had fallen to just more than 3,000 because of the spread of pernicious malaria and other diseases. The Puwen case is not an isolated one in the minority areas on the frontiers. After liberation, the party and the government continously sent large numbers of medical workers--while at the same time actively helping to train medical workers of each nationality--to build hospitals in every region, prefecture and county, to build health institutes (clinics) on communes, and to build brigade health offices. Some very dangerous contagious diseases have already been eliminated and the masses who have fallen sick have received treatment. The period of rampant pestilence and the decline of entire nationalities has passed forever.

Recalling the developments in the minority areas of our province over the last 32 years gives people a feeling of elation. The accomplishments are the result of the correct leadership of the party and of the unity and mutual assistance of all nationalities, especially the tremendous support and help given the minorities by the Han people. History and reality both prove: the Han people and the minorities are inseperable. The Han race and the minority races are especially bound together at the common basic interest of constructing socialism and realizing prosperity for all nationalities, the relationship increasingly being one of interdependence and inseparability.

In order to strengthen unity, improve and develop the socialist relations between nationalities, and do well together in carrying out the four modernizations construction and bringing about prosperity for all nationalities, the cadres of every nationality--especially comrades who are Communist Party members and those shouldering leadership work--must seriously study the basic concepts of Marxism regarding problems between nationalities, firmly establish a proletarian outlook toward nationalities, continually improve and strengthen the unity of the nationalities, maintain an awareness of state unity, and strengthen the concept of viewing conditions as a whole--thinking of the more than 50 nationalities throughout the nation as a single unit in speaking and in handling matters. From the lofty perspective of a single large socialist family of 1 billion people and more than 50 nationalities, it is easy to see clearly the ambitious goals of realizing the socialist four modernizations construction and bringing about prosperity for all nationalities, and to handle correctly relations between the whole and the parts, between the Han people and the minorities, and between one minority and another. When the interest of the part and that of the whole come into conflict, we must consciously and happily serve the interest of the whole. In our work, we must combine and unite the four fundamental principles and special ethnic characteristics and, starting from the specific conditions of each people and area, adopt serious principles that will lead to steady progress, seeing to it that every construction task in minority areas has an increasingly healthy development.

The more than 20 minorities in our Yunnan Province and we Han people have, for a long time now, jointly opened and protected the vast frontiers of the motherland and created her magnificent culture. Especially during the last 100 years, we have jointly launched the patriotic struggle to protect the

nation against the encroachment of imperialism and carried out the national democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and socialist construction. We have a glorious tradition of mutual help, mutual concern and unified struggle. In the new period of socialism, the Central Committee of the party has clearly indicated the great goal for all the people of the nation of realizing the four modernizations, which is also the goal of bringing about prosperity for all nationalities. Realizing this task is the common basic interest of the people of every nationality. In order to complete this glorious and arduous task, the cadres and masses of all our nationalities must, in accordance with the requirements of the new situation and the new task, more deeply, more broadly and on a larger scale strengthen unified cooperation and make concerted efforts to carry out the four modernizations construction with mutual study, mutual aid and mutual efforts to utilize strengths and remedy weaknesses. If we can just do so, even though we still face various difficulties, we can overcome them. Let us unite even more closely under the leadership of the Central Committee of the party, strengthen our unity, work hard for the prosperity of the country, and struggle hard together to realize the tasks of socialist four modernization construction and prosperity for all nationalities.

9705
CSO: 4005/800

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'BA YI' RAPS DENG'S VIEWS ON LITERATURE, ART

OW242325 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 23 May 82

[Text] At various times, there have been a few in our party who arbitrarily interfere with normal literary and artistic creation in a high-handed manner. Whenever a thriving situation appears in the field of literature and art, these people become panic-stricken, fearing that literature and art may break through restrictions and shake off their control. So they start persecuting writers and artists in a big way and high-handedly control literary and artistic creations.

The "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," published 40 years ago, was the theoretical basis prescribed precisely for the purpose of controlling the thinking of literary and art workers and arbitrarily interfering with literary and artistic creations.

We might well recall that in the 40 years since the publication of the "Talks," our country has seen very few outstanding writers and works which can stand the test of time. The few which did appear were criticized and repudiated in recurring political movements because they went beyond the bounds of dogmatism.

Why is it that, since the 1940's, our country has failed to produce writers like Lu Xun, [name indistinct], Ba Jin, Lao She, [name indistinct] and Tian Han, theatrical performers like Mei Lanfang, Zhou Xinfang, Ma Lianliang and Gai Jiaotian, and painters like Zhang Daqian, Qi Baishi, Guan Shanyue, Xu Beihong and Pan Tianshou? To put it bluntly, it is mainly because the policy on literature and art pursued by the party since comrade Mao Zedong published his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" has hindered the appearance of outstanding writers, artists and works of literature and art.

For example, from the repudiation of Wang Shiwei's "Wild Lily" in Yanan until 1945, almost all literary and art workers followed the same pattern in portraying images of workers, peasants and soldiers. This was what the Kuomintang termed the so-called "Yangge" literature and art to ridicule our literary and art creations.

In 1954, when literature and art began to revive, the movement was launched to oppose the rightists, again putting literature and art under the restrictions of the "Talks." During the Cultural Revolution, the 900 million people in the country could see only 8 so-called model theatrical works.

After the downfall of the gang of four, a springtime appeared in literature and art, but the good times did not last long. Some leaders were mortally afraid of the creative freedom of literary and art workers and promptly launched a disguised rectification campaign in the field of literature and art, attacking and persecuting thousands of literary and art workers, represented by Bai Hua, (Sun Dingxuan), (Gu Wenhu) and so forth.

In a report summing up creative works of literature and art in the army in 1981, comrade Deng Xiaoping wrote this instruction: Literary and artistic creations are not controlled too tightly, but are allowed to drift. From now on, it is necessary to increasingly study the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art."

This instruction of comrade Deng Xiaoping has again virtually put literary and artistic creation under the old conventions of dogmatism and formalism.

On this question, comrade Chen Yun, in his letter to the political bureau dated 12 May 1981, put forward a brilliant view: It is impossible for works of literature and art to be absolutely correct. What is incorrect can be freely debated by writers and readers. We need not oppress people with an "imperial edict."

Comrade Bai Hua was more specific. He said: For a long time, our literary and art workers have lost self-confidence. The rule that literature and art must serve politics has replaced the laws governing literature and art, even to the extent where literature and art are serving reactionary politics. Therefore, the continued dissemination of the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" is tantamount to throwing our literary and artistic creation back into the dark years of the past.

CSO: 4005/874

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

YOUTH PAPER ON STUDYING MODERN CHINESE HISTORY

HK251140 Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Let All Young People Be Well Versed in the Modern History of the Motherland"]

[Text] In recent years, CYL branches in many localities have organized young people to study the modern history of China to enhance their education and promote their love of the motherland, socialism and the party. Gratifying results have been achieved in this respect. The experience provided by the CYL branch of the Tianjin Caustic Soda Factory is a good and vivid example.

Our motherland is a great country with a long culture of more than 5,000 years. It had a large number of creations and inventions in history, which were great contributions to mankind. However, at the time when Europe was gradually stepping into the capitalist stage, China was still under the shackles of feudalism. We Chinese lagged behind. Thus, we were subjected to humiliation and aggression, and we were in danger of being subjugated. Starting from the Opium War, almost all imperialist countries in the world, big and small, came one after another to China to carry out invasion. They wantonly and excessively sucked the blood of the Chinese people. From the "Nanjing Treaty," the first restraint the imperialists imposed on the Chinese people, to the large invasion by the Japanese imperialism, the governments of Old China was forced to have signed more than 1,000 unequal treaties with the imperialist countries. Large quantities of China's wealth were stolen by the imperialists, vast pieces of land were occupied and nearly half of our land were trodden upon. China was on the brink of extinction.

The modern history of China is a history of shame and disgrace, but is also a history of glorious struggles in which the Chinese people bravely fought for national salvation and resisted foreign aggression. From the Opium War in 1840 in which the Chinese people severely punished the British invaders at Sanyuanli in Guangzhou, up to 1949 when the new democratic revolution led by the CCP and Mao Zedong removed the weight of the three big mountains on the backs of the Chinese people and founded the PRC, during this time, we heard of the endless stirring strains of the magnificent feats and we saw numerous warriors dying heroes deaths for the cause of national salvation.

Thousands and millions of the Chinese people waged struggle wave upon wave and shed their blood in battles to save their motherland from subjugation.

The CYL must assume the responsibility of educating young people in the history of their motherland, in particular the modern history of China. This will serve to fill them with patriotism and with national confidence and pride. Some comrades said: "Studying history and carrying out education in loving the motherland, socialism and the party is as useful as if distant water can quench one's thirst. We had better educate them in loving the factories and enterprises they work in and the products they turn out. This education is more practical." As a matter of fact, the two things are not contradictory. The former serves as the basis of the latter. Today's China is the culmination of the developments of what China was yesterday and the day before yesterday. One can hardly well understand today's China without knowing what China was in the past. Lenin pointed out: "Patriotism is the deepest affection for one's motherland which has been fostered for thousands of years." Nowadays, a certain number of young people cherish no affection for the party and the motherland and lack sufficient understanding of socialism. This is for no other reason that they have no knowledge of history, especially the modern history of China. In their study of the modern history of China, the young workers of the Tianjin Caustic Soda Factory became very upset when they read the passage on a series of unequal treaties concluded between the governments of Old China and the imperialist aggressors. Their bodies welled up with all sorts of feelings. They said: "In the past, China was a land which all could trample upon. Now, China has risen to its feet, refusing to bow to hegemonism. What a reason for being proud for every real Chinese!" This tells us that only when young people know the history of their motherland as well as the national calamities it suffered from and the zigzags it traversed for salvation, will they understand well the truth of socialism alone being able to save China, and will they be more resolute to follow the party and socialism. And only with this correct thinking, will they have a sense of responsibility of being the masters of the country, and will they go into action to love the factories and enterprises they work in and the products they turn out. Therefore, education in patriotism is a course which young people should take, and also is a long-term and basic course for every youth to take.

In organizing young people to study the modern history of China, some comrades worry that the study will become insipid and not impressive. In fact the content of the modern history of China is very rich. It itself is an attractive and vivid teaching material. If we use our brains and rely on the masses, we can surely arrange to make the study more lively. The experience provided by the Tianjin Caustic Soda Factory tell us:

First and foremost, they did not arrange the study according to the rule of thumb. They selected some passages aimed at solving the problems in the minds of young workers. They arranged discussions on some historical materials which touched the young people to their very souls, such as the unequal treaties of national betrayal and humiliation, the brutal conduct of the imperialists in China as well as some biographical sketches and

stories of key historical figures who fought to save the nation from extinction. This is a way of study which combines ideological education with factual knowledge.

Second, their study was not only concentrated on history books, the sitting and reading of them but also on the historical sites and relics in local places. In the past century, from the southeast coastal areas of our country to the northwest remote boundaries, and from the Sanjiang Plain in northeast China to the Xizang Plateau, all had been trodden on by the imperialist iron heels. Therefore, we can easily find historical sites and relics bearing marks of national humiliation in all these places and use them as vivid teaching materials for educating young people.

Third, their study was no lecturing in a classroom. They organize young workers to teach themselves by arranging visits to historical sites and holding exhibitions and evening poetry recticals. Through these attractive activities, young people can be greatly enlightened.

The modern history of China which is of magnificent sweep, is a good textbook for us to carry out the education in the three loves--love of the motherland, socialism and the party. A universal law is in the experience provided by the Tianjin Caustic Soda Factory. CYL branches in all localities should take effective measures to gain a good grasp of this study. If we can do so, the affection shown by the young people of our country for their motherland, socialism and the party will be further enhanced. This will help in the building of socialist spiritual and material civilizations. And our cause will flourish even more.

CSO: 4005/873

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHANGHAI BANS 'UNHEALTHY' BOOKS FROM HONG KONG

OW211443 Shanghai Domestic Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 20 May 82

[Text] In an interview with this station's reporter today, a responsible person of the Municipal Public Security Bureau said that the renting out of picture-story books, periodicals and books published in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan shall be strictly prohibited. He pointed out that effective immediately, all book-renting establishments and stalls shall not be permitted to rent out or sell books, periodicals and picture-story books published in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan. The picture-story books published in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan shall not be imported as trade items and sold. All departments concerned should work in coordination with the Industrial and Commerical Administration in checking all picture-story books, periodicals and books published in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan in the possession of book-renting establishments and stalls. Those of a reactionary and obscene nature and those featuring violence and fantasy shall be confiscated and destroyed.

The Municipal Public Security Bureau called on other departments concerned to strengthen control over book-renting establishments and stalls and ensure that they rent out only healthy books, periodicals and picture-story books. Those who are found renting out books, periodicals and picture-story books published in Hong Kong and Taiwan again in future shall be punished in accordance with the Public Security Control regulations in the form of a fine or detention according to the gravity of each case. Those who commit serious offense and refuse to mend their ways despite repeated admonition, their business permits shall be suspended.

CSO: 4005/873

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HENAN OFFICIAL REPORTS ON IMPROVING SOCIAL ORDER

HK120805 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 10 May 82

[Summary] On 9 May, (Bai Jin), director of the Henan Provincial Public Security Bureau, made a report on the public security front in the whole province at the Congress of Advanced Collectives and Advanced Figures. The report was entitled: "Sum Up Experience, Advance on the Crest of a Victory and Struggle Hard to Achieve a Greater Improvement in Social Order."

In his report, (Bai Jin) first dealt with the achievements in social order in the province over the past 2 years and the important role of advanced model figures. He pointed out: "However, we must realize that the class struggle will still exist within a certain scope for a long time, all kinds of unsolved problems still exist and we still have a complicated struggle and arduous tasks before us. Therefore, public security personnel throughout the province must clearly understand this and maintain a high degree of vigilance. Our future main tasks are that under the leadership of the Provincial CCP Committee, the provincial government and the Ministry of Public Security, we must seriously implement the important instruction of the central authorities on strengthening political, legal and public security work, continue to implement the spirit of the national forum of five big cities on social order, adhere to the principle of comprehensive control, wage a general war and continue to grasp well the struggle to improve social order."

He said: "At present, we must firmly grasp well the struggle against serious crimes in the economic field. We must work hard to create excellent social order, consolidate and develop the political situation of stability and unity, consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship and defend the smooth progress of the four modernizations."

In conclusion, he said: "With determination to complete the above-mentioned tasks, we must do a great deal of work. However, the most fundamental and decisive work is to fully inspire the revolutionary enthusiasm of the tens of thousands of our cadres and policemen and the hundreds of thousands of our public security workers, whip up an upsurge in learning from and striving to become progressives on the public security front throughout the province and build a public security force which resolutely implements the line, principles and policies of the party, has professional knowledge and work skills, is closely integrated with the masses and is both red and expert. With such a force, we can overcome all difficulties and complete the glorious mission entrusted to us by the party and the people."

CSO: 4005/873

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XIZANG HOLDS FORUM ON BANNING PORNOGRAPHIC TAPES

HK171021 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 15 May 82

[Summary] In order to further implement the ban issued by the CCPCC and the State Council on importing, duplicating, selling and playing the reactionary, pornographic and obscene cassettes and videotapes, the propaganda department of the Xizang Regional CCP Committee on 13 May held a forum for responsible comrades of departments concerned.

Participants at the forum held that under the leadership of the Regional CCP Committee, initial success has been scored in the work of banning these tapes, but the work is not thoroughly done yet. They pointed out that it is necessary to resolutely carry out the ban issued by the CCPCC and the State Council, to stop duplicating and playing obscene cassettes and videotapes and to ferret out pornographic books and photos with a view to clearing the minds of spiritual pollution. All this is essential in building up socialist spiritual civilization. CCP committees at various levels should, therefore, attach great importance to this work by making thorough investigations and should not work perfunctorily. They should grasp it as an important educational work politically and ideologically. The following must be done accordingly: 1. The ban issued by the CCPCC and the State Council must be fully conveyed to all cadres and the masses so as to make it known to every household. In the light of the ban, we must educate politically cadres and the masses, especially the young people, so that a powerful public opinion can be created to supervise one other. 2. All banned recording and videotapes which have been uncovered in offices, organizations and schools must be cleared under the supervision of the relevant CCP committees or leading groups. As for private cassettes, we must persuade the people to hand them over or to clear the tapes on their own accord. 3. CCP committees at various levels must strengthen their leadership over the work so as to thoroughly carry out the decision made by the central authorities.

The forum also emphatically pointed out that all party members, CYL members, cadres, especially leading cadres at all levels, must take the lead in implementing the decision of the central authorities and consciously handle their private tapes of that sort. Those who go against the decision must be educated and criticized. Those who refuse education and create a bad influence because of their behavior must be severely dealt with according to party, CYL and administrative discipline.

CSO: 4005/873

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

STUDY OF CONSTITUTION REAFFIRMS SOCIALIST SYSTEM

HK200057 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 18 May 82

[Text] (Jinlong) District of Pingjiang County conscientiously organized cadres of communes and production brigades and commune members to study and discuss draft of revised constitution and properly guided them so that they correctly understood stipulations concerning the delimitation of work and responsibility between the governments and communes and the establishment of village administration. In so doing, muddled views were expeditiously clarified and some problems of harming the interests of the collectives, which occurred in a small number of places, were properly solved.

(Jinlong) District is located in a remote mountain area of Pingjiang County. After the promulgation of the draft of the revised constitution, the district committee immediately held a meeting attended by cadres of communes and production brigades. They studied the draft of the revised constitution and comrade Peng Zhen's explanations on the draft. After the study, it was clear to all the participants that the socialist system is a fundamental system of our country and that the system of public ownership of the means of production must be persisted in and the basis of the collective economy should not be shaken. They also realized that the delimitation of work and responsibility between the governments and communes and the establishment of village administration were for the purpose of strengthening the building of grassroots political authority. People's communes as organizations of the collective economy should be retained. The property ownership of communes, production brigades and production teams should remain unchanged. After the meeting, responsible comrades of the district committee led 523 commune and brigade cadres and to go right to 677 production teams throughout the district to explain and publicize the draft of the revised constitution to the masses and organize them to study and discuss it. Through publicizing and studying the draft of the revised constitution, cadres and the masses raised their understanding. They corrected their misunderstandings and promptly solved problems which had occurred. Cadres of communes and production brigades are now shouldering their tasks and boldly grasping their work and carrying out criticism. The area under early rice throughout the province is more than 3 percent larger than originally planned.

CSO: 4005/873

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

MINORITY WOMEN'S WORK FORUM CLOSES IN BEIJING

OW231425 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1448 GMT 21 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 21 May (XINHUA)--Luo Qiong, vice chairman of the All-China Women's Federation, said today at the forum on work regarding women in minority nationality areas that the main task in this work should deal with the youth and children, and that this should be done by proceeding from the actual conditions of the local nationalities according to the needs and capabilities of the masses in the course of economic development and by carrying out moral character education among families well so as to make the children understand from childhood the need to love the motherland and the people.

Luo Qiong said: Since the beginning of last year, the party and government departments in the minority nationality areas have strengthened their leadership over and support for women's work, thereby creating an excellent situation for this work. Fearing neither high mountains nor long journeys, many minority nationality women caders have carried out arduous struggle and done a great deal of work in arousing the enthusiasm of minority nationality women and in promoting the development of agriculture, livestock breeding, sideline occupations and other undertakings. Some of them have even carried out cultural and scientific studies and "five-good family" activities. They have done a great deal of work in opposing remnant feudal ideas and old and unhealthy customs and ways and in protecting the rights of women and children.

Luo Qiong called on women's organizations in the minority nationality areas to attach importance to training minority nationality women cadres into cadres with both virtue and talent, that is, women cadres who faithfully implement the party's policies and possess modern cultural and scientific knowledge and various professional skills.

Yang Jingren, director of the CCP Central Committee's United Front Work Department and minister in charge of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, and other responsible comrades described the conditions of nationalities work to the participants and answered to questions they asked. Yang Jingren said: To speed up the training of minority nationality women cadres, the institute for nationalities should set a definite proportion of women cadres in enrolling students. Besides, classes should be set up for training minority nationality women cadres, and minority nationality women should be organized to go to the interior for visits and study.

He said: We usually have few women cadres and even fewer minority nationality women cadres. Therefore, it is necessary to give them special concern and attention, to provide them with conscientious training and to continuously raise their capabilities.

Yang Jingren urged everyone to strengthen the unity among all fraternal nationalities and to bring into play the women's role as "half the sky" in the four modernizations.

The forum, convened by the All-China Women's Federation, began on 18 May and ended today.

CSO: 4005/873

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'BEIJING RADIO' COMMENTS ON THEORETICAL EDUCATION

OW221430 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 20 May 82

[Station commentary: "Successfully Conduct Education in Marxist Theory for Cadres to Meet the Needs of Socialist Modernization"]

[Text] Our cadres are the organizers and leaders in building a highly developed socialist materialist and spiritual civilization. Paying close attention to the systematic education in Marxist theory for cadres, enhancing their consciousness in implementing the party's principles and policies and improving their ability in solving the new problems in the new period so as to uphold the socialist road is an important strategic task that will determine the success or failure of our great undertaking--the four modernizations.

The history of our party shows some good experiences in organizing the cadres in the study of Marxist theory. For example, our party carried out comparatively systematic theoretical education among cadres from shortly after the founding of New China until 1957, which was significant in helping cadres to foster communist world outlook and raise their leadership proficiency. This systematical theoretical education among cadres, however, was discontinued in the late 1950's, especially during the decade of chaos when this work was again seriously undermined by Lin Biao and the gang of four.

Investigation shows that about 80 percent of the cadres presently lack a systematic and basic knowledge of Marxism. This is particularly true of the middle-aged and young cadres who constitute more than 50 percent of the total number of cadres. Most of these cadres started their careers in the late 1950's. Many of them are weak in Marxist theory, but they are the backbone for promoting our cause. Therefore, in the future, we should place the emphasis on the middle-aged and young cadres when we carry out theoretical education for cadres. We also need a well-established system to ensure that the theoretical education for cadres is institutionalized. We believe that as long as we are doing a good job of the systematic education on Marxist theory, we will certainly improve the quality of the contingent of cadres to meet the needs of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005/873

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CYL'S HAN YING ON TEACHING CHILDREN COMMUNISM

OW270351 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1518 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 26 May (XINHUA)--To commemorate "1 June," international children's day, the CYL Central Committee this morning invited some of the young pioneers' instructors and instructors on extracurricular activities in Beijing to a forum, calling on society, parents and schools to educate children and youth in communist ideology.

At the forum, Han Ying and Zhou Pengcheng, first secretary and secretary of the CYL Central Committee extended regards on behalf of the CYL Central Committee to young pioneers' instructors on the first line. They said: It is admirable that many instructors, who maintained a firm political orientation and correct thinking and work style, had worked diligently in boycotting the contamination of bourgeois ideology in order to protect the healthy growth of the next generation. They hoped that the young pioneers' instructors would set their minds on opening a new phase in training and educating young pioneers. The young pioneers' instructors attending the forum said: The party central committee has paid great attention to child and youth work and adopted a series of important measures. People in all walks of life have shown concern and supported child and youth work and made great efforts in that direction. They said: In order to bring up children into a new generation with morality, ideals and culture, loving the party, the people and socialism, it is necessary to strengthen ideo-political work and carry out activities that cope with the characteristics of children.

The instructors also said: Child and youth work should be done by everyone. Comrades engaged in film television and literary and art work should provide more exquisite food for thought for the children.

CSO: 4005/873

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHAANXI'S MA WENRUI ATTENDS FILM-AWARD MEETING

OW261156 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 23 May 82

[Excerpts] On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the publication of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," the Chinese Film Artists Association held a meeting in Xian Municipality this evening to present Golden-Cock Awards for Chinese films for the second time and Hundred-Flower Awards for popular films for the fifth time.

(Lin Shang), member of the secretariat of the Chinese Film Artists Association and chief editor of Dazhong Dianying [popular film], presided over the meeting.

At the meeting, Bai Yang, vice chairman of the Chinese Film Artists Association, announced the namelists of Golden-Cock and Hundred-Flower Awards winners. On behalf of his ministry, vice minister of culture Ding Qiao made a speech at the meeting.

On behalf of the Chinese Film Artists Association, Yuan Wenshu, vice chairman of the association, addressed the meeting. He hoped that large number of film workers would set an example to build socialist ethics, assiduously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, delve into real life by integrating themselves with the masses in the new epoch, guide their playwriting with communist ideology and contribute to the development of socialist film industry.

Vice Chairman Chen Huangmei of the Chinese Film Artists Association and First Secretary Ma Wenrui of the Shaanxi Provincial CCP Committee presented awards to the winners.

CSO: 4005/873

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

GANSU PEOPLE'S CONGRESS MEETING--The 12th meeting of the standing committee of the 5th Provincial People's Congress was held in Lanzhou on 5 May. The meeting adopted a resolution on unfolding discussions on the draft of the revision of the PRC constitution, calling on the masses of the people in the province to engage in the discussions. Wang Shitai, chairman of the standing committee of the Provincial People's Congress, presided over the meeting. Vice chairmen of the standing committee of the Provincial People's Congress attending the meeting were Gao Jinchun, Qiang Zixiu, Wu Hongbin, Li Shenghua, Wu Zhiguo, He Jianshan, (Qu Zhengting), Li Peifu, Li Keru, Sun Runhua, Liu Lanting and Yang Fuxing. [SK061400 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 6 May 82 SK]

GUIZHOU CYL COMMITTEE--With the approval of the secretariat of the CYL Central Committee and the Guizhou Provincial CCP Committee, the seventh Guizhou Provincial CYL Committee is composed of 85 persons, with (Zhao Antang) as the secretary and (Liu Yinxiang), (Long Guiying), (Gou Huajing), (Hou Xingyuan) and (Wang Wanxiong) as deputy secretaries. [HK200700 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 10 May 82 HK]

HUNAN CADRE RALLY--On 11 May, the Hunan Provincial CCP Committee held a rally of responsible cadres of organs at the provincial level to make arrangements for the discussion of the draft of the revised constitution. Sun Guozhi, Provincial CCP Committee secretary and governor; and Luo Qiuyue, Provincial CCP Committee standing committee member and Provincial People's Congress standing committee vice chairman, spoke at the rally. In his speech, Sun Guozhi demanded that CCP committees at all levels and government organs attach importance to the discussion of the draft of the revised constitution and do well in publicity and educational work. Leading cadres must take the lead in studying and explaining the constitution. In the course of discussing the draft of the revised constitution, it is essential to grasp the major issues and the basic spirit, give full play to democracy, pool the wisdom of the masses and allow people of all nationalities and various circles to speak without any inhibitions. Rural areas are required to complete discussion by the end of June and urban areas are required to complete discussion by the end of July. All prefectures, autonomous prefectures, municipalities and counties and all fronts at the provincial level must collect all views on revision put forth by the masses during the discussion and submit them to the Provincial People's Congress standing committee. [Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 12 May 82 HK]

OPERA TROUPE PERFORMANCE--Responsible comrades of Guangdong Province including Ren Zhongyi, Liu Tianfu, Liang Lingguang and Chen Yueping watched a preview performance given by the Guangdong Cantonese Opera Troup in Guangzhou on 18 May. The troupe is about to tour Canada and the United States. [HK190201 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 18 May 82]

CHILD WORKERS RALLY--The Urumqi Municipal Federation of Women, Education Bureau, Public Health Bureau, Nursery Office and Planned Parenthood Office held a rally on 21 May to commend 35 progressive units and 275 progressive individuals who have worked hard in nursery work and promoted the healthy growth of children. Leading comrades of the regional CCP committee including Wang Enmao, Ismail Amat, Zhang Shigong, and Tomur Dawamat and leading comrades of Urumqi Municipality attended the rally. Ismail Amat made a commendation speech. [HK220239 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 21 May 82]

LIAONING EDUCATION SOCIETY--A meeting to mark the establishment of the Liaoning Provincial Society of Higher Education and its first academic convention were held from 18 to 21 May in Shenyang Municipality. Deputy Governors Chen Beichen and Zhang Zhiyuan were elected honorable directors, and (Li Di), chief of the Provincial Higher Education Bureau, was elected director of the society. The main purpose of the society is to organize academic exchanges and sum up achievements of education and scientific research. [SK220922 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 21 May 82 SK]

LIAONING CHILDCARE UNDERTAKINGS--Thanks to the concern of the CCP Central Committee, childcare undertakings have been well developed in Liaoning Province over the past few years. In 1981 some 700 nurseries and kindergartens were built or expanded. The province now has 25,200 nurseries, kindergartens and infant schools, accepting over 892,700 children and employing 75,200 childcare personnel. [SK252207 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 May 82 SK]

HUBEI OVERSEAS CHINESE RALLY--The Hubei provincial rally to commend advanced producers and advanced workers who are returned overseas Chinese, dependents of overseas Chinese or overseas Chinese affairs workers opened in Wuchang yesterday. This rally is being attended by 220 representatives of returned overseas Chinese, dependents of overseas Chinese and overseas Chinese affairs workers on all fronts throughout the province. Huang Zhizhen, provincial CCP Committee secretary and vice governor, made a report at the rally, demanding that all returned overseas Chinese and dependents of overseas Chinese continue to plunge into the building of spiritual and material civilization. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 May 82 HK]

BEIJING CHORUS FESTIVAL--Beijing, 26 May (XINHUA)--The first "Beijing Chorus Festival," which is the first grand gathering of chorus groups in the capital city, opened at the Erqi [7 February] Theater on the afternoon

of 26 May. The Beijing Chorus Festival is sponsored by the Ministry of Culture, the Chinese Musicians Association, the Cultural Department of the Chinese PLA General Political Department and the Beijing Municipal Cultural Bureau. Participating in the festival are 37 professional and amateur groups with more than 3,000 members. They will present some 260 classic, modern, Chinese and foreign programs. The first "Beijing Chorus Festival" will end on 10 June. In addition to the festival performances, there will be academic discussion meetings. Present at today's opening ceremony were Zhou Yang, Zhou Weizhi, Liu Daosheng, Li Wei, Song Kanfu, Nie Dapeng, Zhao Dingxin and Chen Mo. [Excerpts] [OW270801 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1523 GMT 26 May 82]

CSO: 4005/873

TIAN AN MEN INCIDENT AFTERMATH EXAMINED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 4, 1982 pp 41-43

[Article by Xu Xing [6079 5887]: "Six Years After the Tian An Men Incident"]

[Text] I

The Tian An Men Incident took place only 6 years ago; the rectification of this incident was also only 4 years away. In the long river of history this has been but a ripple, yet China has in the meantime undergone very great changes--it has advanced from the Hua Guofeng transitional stage into the Deng Xiaoping era. This is an era in which the country has inclined toward liberalization econoicaally, emphasized ideological unity politically, carried out self-reform, so as to consolidate its political power.

After the elapse of 6 years, the Tian An Men Incident has gradually turned into a historical event far removed from present reality. The "camera of the times" has already pushed back its focus on the Tian An Men Incident--pushing it from a current one farther away, although not yet far removed.

When the incident was current, many things tended to be affected by social emotions of the time which weakened people's ability to perceive it in any profound, rational manner. Such social emotions contained too many sentimental elements and easily led people to certain illusions. Only when the focus on the incident is pushed farther away separating people's vision from the social atmosphere of the time can such illusions gradually disappear from people's minds and make it possible for people to perceive better the approximate essence of things.

Today, when we come anew to examine the Tian An Men Incident, our feelings are necessarily different.

II

As everyone knows, the direct fuse leading to the outbreak of the Tian An Men Incident was the mourning of Zhou Enlai. At the time, the feelings of the people of the whole country toward Zhou Enlai were incomparably

profound. "Flowers in front of the Tian An Men are like a sheet of snow; under the monument people shed their tears like rainfall." This scene had to do of course with the lofty image of Zhou Enlai in the mind of the people, but more important was because the people realized that Zhou Enlai was the last giant Mao Zedong and the gang of four wanted to attack. Thus the people poured all their feelings onto the activity of mourning him, so as to vent their fierce wrath toward the fascist tyranny of the time.

Author Deng Youmei [6772 0645 2734] puts it very well in an article of his in commemoration of the Tian An Men Incident, entitled "Meteoric Rise Toward Heaven": "Focus of the struggle superficially seemed to be centered on what attitude people should have in treating Premier Zhou Enlai's lifetime career, but in reality it was a life-and-death struggle between Marxism and fascism, socialist reform and feudalist restoration, and the two forces of democracy and autocracy."

Because the Tian An Men Incident was one during which the people exploded with their antifeudalist, antifascist, and antiautocratic struggles as a facet of their mourning for Zhou Enlai, the people's feelings toward Zhou Enlai and his real role in Chinese history may not altogether correspond to each other as to reputation and substance.

If these words had been uttered in 1976 when the Tian An Men Incident exploded, they definitely would not have been accepted with understanding by the masses, or they might even have been taken as a vicious slander. But at the time, after the fanatic mourning of Zhou Enlai passed away, people gradually began to perceive clearly that if Zhou Enlai was compared to Peng Dehuai, the latter apparently had been even more righteous and courageous, even more willing to shoulder his responsibility toward history and toward the people.

Recently, BEIJING YINYUEBAO [BEIJING MUSICAL JOURNAL] revealed an unusual incident: Guo Lanying [6753 5695 5391], a vocalist well known for her singing of songs in praise of Zhou Enlai was singing at a concert in Jinan, Shandong, on the evening of 20 January of this year. When the concert drew toward a close, the announcer declared that Guo Lanying's third song was to be "Thinking of Premier Zhou Turning the Spinning Wheel," shouts and whistling immediately exploded in the hall. This so enraged her that she immediately withdrew; hence the concert came to a close in a rather unpleasant manner.

Some people interpreted this incident as remnant cronies of the gang of four making trouble; but I feel that this reflected a change in the social psychology of the masses. The masses usually resent very much the worshiping of any individual, and they felt tired of excessive praise of even such a personality as Zhou Enlai. Naturally, there were others whose perception of Zhou Enlai had become much clearer and more profound. In their minds, Zhou Enlai was no longer a deity, nor a perfect man without blemish. This illustrates that time can help deepen people's thinking. Of course, the shouts and whistling at that concert cannot be regarded as civilized conduct.

III

A fact similarly known to everyone is : The Tian An Men Incident was connected to the same attack to which Deng Xiaoping was subjected. Mao Zedong especially charged that the responsibility for this revolutionary storm on the part of the masses at the Tian An Men Incident belonged to Deng Xiaoping, taking him as the dark behind-the-scene manipulator of the Tian An Men Incident, and thus dismissing him from all of his posts inside as well as outside the party.

After Mao Zedong's death, appeals for Deng Xiaoping's comeback immediately broke out. People venerated Deng as a reform leader who dared to take action and hoped that he would come forward to sweep clean all blemishes of the Mao dynasty. This was the flame of hope that sprang forth from the mourning in the Tian An Men Incident. It was precisely this kind of flame of hope that represented the real wish of the masses in the Tian An Men Incident.

When Hua Guofeng first acceded to power, he was afraid of Deng Xiaoping's return to the political arena and thereby becoming his powerful rival; hence he did all he could to delay the matter, suppressing both the rectification of Deng Xiaoping's case and the rectification of the Tian An Men Incident itself.

But this perverse conduct against the wish of the masses on his part was subject to strong pressure within as well as without the party. Facts prove that the struggle between the Hua and Deng factions started at that time. But the devious cannot possibly overcome the forthright, and the fact is that Hua Guofeng's prestige was in no way any match for Deng's. Deng Xiaoping was ultimately vindicated at the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee held in October 1977, but the Tian An Men Incident itself was not rectified until December 1978.

It makes good sense to recall again today the fanatic appeals for Deng Xiaoping's reinstatement at the time. These appeals, I think, came from three sources: first was the momentum of those victims of the Cultural Revolution in the party who demanded rectification and "return to court"; second was the reformist force in the party disposed against the Cultural Revolution; and third was the momentum among the people demanding democratization of the political regime.

The above mentioned two inclinations may occur in the same person or the same group of persons, but strictly speaking, the demands they made on the party and on society regarding reform were still some distance apart. Some people rejected the Cultural Revolution and placed emphasis on rectification of their individual cases rather than on social reform; what they honed for was cleansing the record of their "criminal cases" and reinstatement. As for the reform they expected of the party and society, that remained limited to the prevention of a comeback of the gang of four. Such a low-key attitude on the part of the backlash faction

could never foster any great ambition. But in the case of some other people, apart from demanding a rectification of their own personal cases they deeply felt the grave injuries the inflictions of the Cultural Revolution had wrought on society and were determined to reform the social roots which produced Mao Zedong's personal dictatorship and the fascist autocracy of the gang of four. Certain elements in the higher stratum of these people have today already become members of the braintrust of Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang. Other expressive personalities among these people have failed to secure important offices for themselves because their thinking and their utterances already exceed the limits allowable by the reform endorsed by Deng and Hu, so that even to this day they are still put away in the cold storage with their frustrations. As for the third force, namely, the democratic force among the people, it is now, following the Democracy Wall movement of the winter of 1978 and the spring of 1979, and the subsequent people-published journals movement and through the student movement, worker movement, the local election movements of 1980, subject to total suppression. Wei Jingsheng was sentenced to heavy punishment because of his utterances; the right to issue big-character posters was formally canceled in the Constitution; publication of civilian journals was declared an illegal activity; and elements associated with underground journals across the country were arrested by large numbers.

The wishes expressed by people 4 or 5 years ago for Deng Xiaoping's reinstatement and facts emerging before people today should cause people to compare and have some deep thoughts. These facts may be summarized as follows :

--The gang of four have been overthrown, unjust cases of litigation have been rectified, Mao Zedong's mistaken policies during the Cultural Revolution have been negated, but Mao Zedong is still appraised as having greater merits than faults and Mao Zedong Thought is still applauded as the guiding ideology for the Chinese society.

--Political discussions in conversation among the people have been rather free; those who have said the "wrong things" are generally no longer subject to scrutiny. But the people's democracy has not been genuinely realized. The people still do not have their electoral right, their right to recall officials and their freedom of expression, the press, and assembly.

--A series of economic reforms has been entirely pressed downwards from above in its implementation and of this the most important ones include: opening up relations with foreign countries, resuscitating the peasants' enthusiasm in production, paying attention to market adjustment, and looking after production of the people's necessities. But the people even to this day still lack the right to economic management.

--The peasants' livelihood has been improved; while wages of urban people have increased somewhat, they still cannot catch up with rising commodity prices.

—The trumpeting for ideological liberation was vociferous for a while, but it soon stopped. After a thriving development in 1979 and 1980, literary creation is now encountering obstacles again. Under this premise of people losing their social ideals, selfish desires spread, "looking up to money" becomes the common social attitude, the "art of cultivating connections" permeates every corner of society. Corruption, bribing, speculation, and smuggling prevail everywhere; they have seriously eroded the organic body of the whole CCP and ruined its reputation.

This has been an era of reform from above; compared to the period of the Cultural Revolution, it is of course far better, or it is in certain aspects —such as economic liberalization, rough stoppage of political movements, diminished direct control over the people's life by the party, etc., even better than the days prior to the Cultural Revolution. But the structure of society has not changed; power is still wielded in the hand of the party leadership; the party and its leaders are still the masters of society; the people have remained consistently the ruled; the state of "the people being the masters" by no means exists in this society.

These are the results the people have reaped since they hoped for a change in their country's destiny 4 or 5 years ago.

Such a state of affairs merits people's reflection and efforts to sum it up.

IV

The Tian An Men Incident is a revolutionary storm the people spontaneously raised. It came about in the darkness of highhanded oppression by Mao Zedong and the gang of four, and it was in substance a struggle against Mao Zedong's autocracy. This is why in the sea of poems in the Tian An Men Square appeared this famous one:

> "China is no longer the China of the past,
> Nor are the people matchlessly stupid;
> The feudal society of the emperor of Qin has passed
> away and will never return,
> We believe in Marxism-Leninism.
> ....."

This was an immortal poem that conveyed the spiritual substance of the Tian An Men Incident.

Because of various reasons the leading strata of the CCP, while proceeding to effect a rectification of the Tian An Men Incident, somehow purposely concealed the anti-Mao significance implicit in the Tian An Men Incident and turned it into a movement against the corrupt officials but not against the emperior himself.

Yet, as a movement the Tian An Men may well have become a broken-away kite, but in terms of the revolutionary spirit evidenced by the Tian An Men Incident, it will remain forever in China's history and in the people's memory. I believe that it will still play a stimulating role in moving history forward.

9255
CSO: 4005/807

PRC'S MOVE TO STREAMLINE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE ANALYZED

Hong Kong CHI-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 4, 1982 pp 20-23

[Article by Mu Fu [3668 1133]: "Communist China Moves To Cut Its Deadwood"]

[Text] The problem caused by the bureaucratic growth and structural overlapping in China dates back to long ago. In the winter of 1955, the CCP Central Committee issued a directive on streamlining the state organs and pointed out: "The phenomenon characterized by structural overlapping and bureaucratic overstaffing has reached serious proportions." Contrary to the expectations of improvement, the situation has been deteriorating with each passing day until it becomes "intolerable," despite a series of movements to streamline the administrative structure and send cadres down to lower levels and despite the calls for struggling against the bureaucracy that were issued year after year. Since his rise to power, Deng Xiaoping has found that unless this unwieldy bureaucratic structure is reformed, the modernization program will become a joke. In 1980, he delivered an important speech on this matter at a Politburo meeting. As soon as the power center headed by Hu and Zhao came into being, he decided to perform a sweeping surgery on that extremely unwieldy structure in coordination with a move to deal blows to the corrupt tigers. These two events reflect a single concern about the quality and quantity of government service. As long as he is determined to bring order out of chaos, he can certainly shoot two birds with a single stone.

Irresistible Parkinson's Law

British scholar Parkinson came up with a thesis on bureaucratic structure, later dubbed "Parkinson's Law," theorizing that bureaucracy tends to grow and swell naturally and represents a tendency independent of man's control. It has been said that this theory has aroused communist China's great interest. What is the true picture of bureaucratic growth in China? An answer to this question can be found in a roughly tabulated statistical table on the senior cadres of the State Council, as shown here.

No year	Vice Premiers	Ministers	Vice Ministers
1952	4	42	180-240
1956	12	85	487
1964	16	81	451
1975	12	29	nearly 200
1979	18	83	700-800
1982	13	99	nearly 900
Planned reduction	2	52	nearly 200

This table shows that except for the period of the Cultural Revolution in which bureaucratic organizations were either paralyzed or semi-paralyzed under the impact of the ultraleftist anarchistic trend of thought, the swelling tendency is noticeable. This tendency reached a peak shortly after the downfall of the gang of four, when the number of vice premiers increased to 18, and when many absolutely unnecessary directly affiliated agencies such as the "Chairman Mao Memorial Hall Administration," the "General Drug Control Bureau," the "Foreign Languages Publishing Administration," and the "Administration of Government Operations" were added to the original administrature structure, and each ministry or commission, or office and bureau increased its deputy heads to more than 10. These added staff members are old, incompetent in handling the affairs of the state, and sluggish in action, and therefore, can do only harm to the nation. This cancerous structural growth clearly results from considerations for equitable distribution of power, and competition for special privileges between the new dignitaries of the Cultural Revolution and reinstated officials.

Although U.S. Goverment agencies are also being overstaffed, specific ceilings have been imposed on the number of their senior officials. Under the Federal Government are only 13 ministries and 20 "independent agencies." In the 1950's, the Soviet Union had only 25 union ministries. As far as the number of provinces is concerned, China's 25 provinces are a cross between the 50 states of the United States and 16 republics of the Soviet Union. But the size of central organization in China is many times greater than in the United States and the Soviet Union. It is undeniable that this is connected with the feudal Chinese tradition of concentrating power in the central government.

Although Japan is a great economic power with a population of over 100 million, it has only 24 ministries, general agencies, and commissions under the Office of the Prime Minister, and 68 ministers and vice ministers.

Historical Reform

Last March, in a report to the session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress, Premier Zhao Ziyang set forth proposals, principles, and policies for streamlining agencies under the State Council, and reported moves that have been made in this respect.

The general proposal consists of plans to reduce the number of vice premiers from the present 13 to 2, and to create the positions of ministers without portfolio with ranks equivalent to vice premiership, who can act concurrently as ministers and chairmen of various commissions or on behalf of the premier in his absence. But Zhao shed no light on the number of ministers without portfolio to be created. To "strengthen the centralized leadership," the State Council will set up a standing conference normally attended by the premier, vice premiers, ministers without portfolio, and secretary general.

The present plan is to reduce, by means of "dismantling," disintegration and merging, the number of agencies and offices under the direct jurisdiction of ministries and commissions from 98 to approximately 52, and the staff size by one-third from the present 49,000 to 32,000.

Under the general proposal, the primary task of the State Council is to "direct the economic construction program," to do a good job of developing the planned economy, to strengthen the State Planning Commission, to rebuild the State Economic Commission, and to abolish the State Agricultural Commission and the State Capital Construction Commission.

Zhao Ziyang also set forth the following policies for streamlining the administrative structure:

1) The division of responsibility must be clearly defined and effective regulations and rules must be drafted and put into effect by all agencies, so that employment of additional work force will be tied to work to be done, two persons will not be used to do the job that can be done by one person, and buck passing can be avoided.

2) Persons of integrity and competence should be selected to form leading groups composed of revolutionaries, youths, intellectuals, and experts. The staff size must be cut down to the minimum and should include the minister and vice ministers numbering no less than 3 and no more than 5 for each ministry, and the director and deputy directors numbering no less than 2 and no more than 3 for each bureau or department. Ministers must be aged less than 65, and vice ministers and bureau chiefs and their deputies less than 60.

3) The following categories of persons cannot be employed: rebels who were followers of the Lin and Jiang cliques; ideologues obsessed with factionalism; elements engaged in vandalism and robbery; serious violators of law and discipline. Such of those who are still employed must be dismissed.

4) Attention must be paid to the training and recruiting of women cadres and cadres of minority nationalities.

5) Political status and costs of living entitlements will remain unchanged for old cadres who plan to retire or resign. Those who are experienced in work and are in good health may retire to the second line of duty as

counselors so that they can involve themselves in consultations, investigations and supervisory work, and can take a proper place in the operation of the government.

6) The training of cadres on a rotational basis must be strengthened in an effort to improve their qualities. (This training reportedly involves mainly cadres aged 40 or less.) They will be organized to study culture on a rotational basis and acquire professional knowledge. Their work and study can be scheduled alternately.

7) This emphasis on reform is a revolution whose targets are systems but not people.

8) Various provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions will begin to reform their administrative structure in 1983.

Using the State Council as a model, Zhao Ziyang has come up with an exemplary plan to cut the size of bureaucratic organization with a grand ax. This most sweeping action ever taken since the founding of the PRC demonstrates courage and determination on the part of reformers to struggle against "Parkinson's Law." But is it possible for those deeply entrenched occupants of key positions created by 30 years of power struggle in China to step down from the political stage?

Speculation From Beijing

As has been the case in the past, this well-orchestrated campaign to streamline the administrative structure has aroused the concern of cadres throughout the country, and has touched off a debate among them, who consider this a matter that will have a bearing on the future of their country, their careers and direct interests.

It was said that the current structural streamlining campaign will take the form of an "across-the-board cut" in the number of "officials" in a "businesslike fashion" rather than the form of a movement to send them down from one level to another. The people hope that this campaign will deal a telling blow to corrupt officials and bureaucrats. What concerns the intellectuals most is who should be retained. To them, this is a question of choice between political consciousness and professional competence. In the past, upon hearing the two-character term downward movement, everyone would be scared; those whose working relationships with their bosses were not cordial would have no alternative but to prepare to go, because their stay or departure was basically not decided by qualifications of political consciousness and professional competence. Today, this feeling is gone. Now the unanimous view among the people is that during the current streamlining campaign, qualifications of professional competence will be considered to be an important factor in deciding who should remain and who should go, because the Central Committee has unequivocally promised to shift the focus of its work from the intermittent political movement to economic construction, and because every unit needs

"those truly competent professionals." It is believed that "those politically conscious but not professionally competent persons" will end up being losers during this campaign. I learned that some of the elderly senior cadres with excellent qualifications of professional experiences who are "indispensable" to the nation may be asked to stay but are subjected to approval by the Political Bureau.

It was said that with regard to the problem of the overall streamlining of the three major systems of "the party, government and army," the party has shown faith in the daring spirit of Hu Yaobang to do the job, although the armed forces have not yet made clear their attitude. The vastness of the Chinese armed forces is probably second to none in the world. They are maintaining organizations and installations comparable to local governments. Among them are political, economic, technical and cultural departments. The size of staff at the headquarters, political, logistics and staff departments of every PLA service and branch of arms plus personnel working for the civil air defense and militia organizations is as staggering as their expenditures. For the time being, the military staff size is also swelling, with each company level unit maintaining more "cadres" than it really needs. This has caused the ratio of officers to men in arms to rise remarkably. Particularly noteworthy is an increase in the number of army cadres hating and opposing the political line adopted by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Such cadres are now estimated at over 90 percent of the total. These are cadres who have benefitted from the implementation of the Mao Zedong line, and who were seldom touched during the Cultural Revolution. Even Deng Xiaoping is afraid of offending them, and hesitant to talk about the "reductions in force" in their presence. These are also cadres who have loudly complained about the recently adopted proposal for transformation of the intellectual aspect of officers. Among the senior officers are many persons who once belonged to the Lin and Jiang factions, including deputy commanders of a certain military region, who were reportedly promoted to their present positions by Huang Yongsheng [7806 3057 0524], and who still continue to make frequent appearances before the public. How the military staff is to be cut back is a big problem that needs to be solved. Unless the problem concerning the armed forces is solved, the Hu-Zhao group will never feel secure.

How a large number of elderly cadres are treated has also aroused the public's great attention. So far, one thing is believed to be certain, that is, they will still eat three meals a day, will still have jobs to do, and will receive the same pay; they will not be treated like those layoffs in the capitalist countries who will have to hunt for new jobs. Many people hail this as the "superiority of socialism." Otherwise, if they were not taken care of after being laid off, it would spell trouble for the world.

The existence of resistance to reductions in force and structural reform is also evident if we take note of the fact that 2 years ago, a number of useless old cadres refused to retire in accordance with a plan, despite a promise to increase their pay by one grade (which means tens of yuan

for senior cadres). The reason is that if they agreed to retire, they would lose popular support and special privileges. To them, "power means everything." It is certain that these cadres will pose an obstacle to the structural streamlining. But since this structural reform takes the form of a movement which will compel the majority of senior cadres to retire, and which is allowed to retain a small number of them, they will have no alternative but to follow the irresistible main trend for retirement.

A Good Beginning

The initial plan is to streamline the administrative structures of 12 ministries on a trial basis, two of which--the Ministry of Water Conservancy and the Ministry of Electric Power Industry--have been merged into the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Electric Power Industry. These two closely related sister ministries were twice merged and twice separated before. But each still went its own righteous way by expanding its organization until many of its professional projects overlapped that of the other at the expense of the state.

This merging and reorganization "was successfully completed" in a matter of 1 and a half months. Qian Zhengying [6929 2973 5391] former 59-year-old minister of the Ministry of Water Conservancy, has been renamed minister of the newly merged ministry, which retains only 4 of 26 vice ministers, 16 of 35 bureaus and departments, 48 or one-fourth of 192 directors of bureaus and departments of the two defunct ministries, and 50 percent of their personnel.

The average age of the new minister and vice ministers and of new bureau chiefs is 60 and 54, or 5 and 6 years younger than their predecessors respectively. College graduates make up 60 percent of cadres at bureau chief and higher levels, who are experienced in directing and designing the hydroelectric power engineering projects. The more than 200 elderly leading cadres at bureau chief and departmental director levels who were on the staff of the two defunct ministries are being asked to resign or retire, except for those who are in good health and who can be renamed counselors. Seven of the former vice ministers have been transferred to work at basic levels with the same pay. Former vice minister of personnel Jian Xianfo [6456 0341 0154] has joined her husband Xiao Ke [5135 0344], vice minister of the Ministry of National Defense, in applying for "leave from office for health reasons" so that they can open up their positions to "younger successors."

There are a large number of ordinary cadres who cannot be accommodated under the new system. In this connection, new Vice Minister Li Peng [2621 7720] said: they will take leave from office, and will take turns to attend study classes. They will receive the same pay and are in no danger of losing jobs.

The remaining 10 ministries have also come up with plans to streamline their administrative structures. The Standing Committee of the National

People's Congress has approved appointments to the positions of ministers of the four new ministries. What deserves attention is 61-year-old Chen Muhua [7115 1970 5478], who has been named minister of the Ministry of Economic Relations with Foreign Countries and Foreign Trade, an amalgamation of four defunct ministries including ministries of economic relations with foreign countries and of foreign trade.

The proverb says: a good beginning is a guarantee for success. This structural reform represents a realistic step in the direction of modernizing a country. I believe that with popular support, the Chinese communist reformers will be able to overcome all difficulties in fulfilling their already set streamlining plans.

But as far as the grand objective of structural reform is concerned, what has been done for the time being can be viewed as only the first round of battle during the 10,000 li long march. If it is not accompanied with urgent measures to solve relevant problems, the structural reform can hardly be expected to produce positive results or to consolidate what it has already achieved. Historical lessons in this respect are too numerous to mention here. In my opinion, the following rpoblems cannot be ignored.

The Party Needs To Be Unhesitatingly Liquidated

In the history of Communist China, there was the "rectification of the party's workstyle" almost every year. But the "liquidation of the party" was never mentioned. Today, it seems necessary to liquidate the party.

The Chinese Communist Party is now the only ruling party in China enjoying a supreme power of control over 1 billion people. Not only can it exercise its leadership over the state organs through its members but can also dictate orders to the nation directly by means of resolutions. For a long time, it has got "the party mixed up with the government, and allowed the party to take the place of the government" so that it could exercise the "centralized leadership" of the party. It has also made the head of the state a figurehead, and has placed the party committees and their secretaries in a position to decide everything, both important and less important, on matters involving the Central Committee or production teams. It is believed that this phenomenon remains to be eliminated. For this reason, in the course of discussing loopholes in the state organs, the party should not avoid mentioning its own loopholes. The CCP now claims 39 million members, equivalent to twice the population of Yugoslavia. Of these party members, 60 percent joined the party during the Cultural Revolution. In other words, the majority of party members are faithful followers of the ultraleftist line. Among them are bad elements and violators of law and discipline. Even among those who joined the party before the Cultural Revolution, many are yes men and sycophants who cannot deserve to be called party members with communist consciousness. Exactly to what degree has the party purified its organization as a result of so many rectifications of its workstyle? How many bad elements have been expelled from the party, which now claims millions of members, as a result of that

10-year dynamic and disastrous Cultural Revolution? Some of those who have been jailed for years are now still allowed to maintain party membership for the reason of "exercising caution in dealing with persons whose political life is at stake." It is no wonder that speculators and opportunists want to join the party at any price so that they can reap profits 10,000 times greater than their investment. It is no wonder that the country is filled with so many party members and officials who have been proved unresponsive and insensitive to criticism voiced by the masses. The people have detected a sharp drop in the prestige of the party. A representative of the masses running for public office recently was warmly applauded by his audience for declaring that "none of my family members is a party member!" Does this indicate that the party has become a haven for corrupt officials? How can these thiefs and embezzlers be expelled from the party without subjecting them to the tests of a resolute liquidation movement? It must be noted that in the 1920's, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union counted on the working class to clean itself up. Although the CCP fully understands that it has admitted as members a variety of persons obsessed with privileges, it has never attempted to punish them for fear of losing face.

The party itself in China is a vast and comprehensive system under which there are units comparable to their local administrative counterparts. In view of its leading position, the people have the right to know how its structural streamlining plan is faring. A mere observation of the organization of the Party Central Committee shows that the Central Committee founded on the Leninist principle of building the party functions as "fighting headquarters" for the entire party membership, as had been the case of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Lenin's time, whose Central Committee members were outstanding revolutionaries and Marxist theoreticians whose number was naturally limited. Before its Eighth Congress, the CCP followed the same basic rule in organizing its Central Committee. When the Eighth Party Congress was held, the Central Committee had only 170 members (including alternate members) as opposed to the 355 members it has today. Among them are "representatives of workers, peasants and soldiers" who have never read the "Communist Manifesto." Can they participate in the formulation of policies? They are nothing more than a bunch of persons who can constitute the majority for the Central Committee and who can easily be exploited at will by careerists. As has been the case in the past, they could be persuaded into following not only Mao Zedong but also Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. What credentials do they have in deciding the future of China? Why are they still allowed to remain with the Central Committee, and not be expelled from it?

If the party can take the lead in streamlining and liquidating its structure, and set an example for the state organs to follow, it can certainly clear the way and create a more favorable condition for this purpose.

Hold High the Banner of Letting Experts Run the Country

I welcome the introduction to the structural streamlining campaign of the requirements that cadres be armed with "knowledge," "professional skills"

and "college diplomas." Since the Chinese communist leaders have endorsed the viewpoint that "nonprofessionals cannot lead professionals," it appears that they have come to understand that it is necessary to "let experts run the country." But this does not indicate that they are wholeheartedly committed to this viewpoint.

As modern civilization is developing at high speed, it is unthinkable for any nation to fail to count on the wisdom and professional skills of experts in running the affairs of the state. Letting experts run the country is a principle not only widely adopted by the Western countries but also accepted by the Soviet Union and its Eastern European bloc. Nixon invited college professors to offer their views before proceeding to formulate his U.S. policy toward China. Some people have called the Soviet Union a country "dominated by three engineers." Meanwhile, the number of Third World leaders with famous English and American college diplomas is on the increase. In a nutshell, the "dictatorship exercised by country bumpkins" is a very painful lesson to China. If the CCP leadership were an intelligent leading group with access to the high levels of knowledge, it would not have allowed so many barbaric, stupid and ugly criminal farces to occur in the 1970's. Mao Zedong's inclination to despise, reject and ruin culture and science was neither shared by Stalin nor anticipated by Hitler.

Although the statesmen of the younger generation in Communist China have made invaluable contributions to saving their nation, they appear unaware of the serious consequences left by Mao. This ignorance can be verified by Zhao Ziyang's move to "train cadres on a rotational basis." Although the motivation to improve the qualities of cadres cannot be questioned, can China's problem of cadres be solved by training the existing cadres? In Premier Zhao's view, this is an "intellectual investment" of strategic significance. But it is certain that this investment will not yield its intended results. I regret that I must point out that this bunch of cadres "whose cultural and technical levels need to be improved" have been stamped with a brand which is out of tune with modernization. It is sad to see China pin its hopes for modernization on those people whose ideas should have been buried with things that belonged to the bygone "Ma Zedong era." Why can't we pin our hopes for modernization on the intellectuals of the younger generation?

Those children who started school after liberation, and graduated from college in 1965 are now middle-aged men and women with 16 years of working experiences to their credit. These college graduates who reached maturity under the red banner are estimated at no less than 1 million. Do you think that it is difficult to select 100 from among them as new ministers? Deng Xiaoping said: "Since liberation China has produced 7 or 8 million college and middle school graduates who have survived more than 10 years of tests." Allowing such an enormous intellectual human resource to be wasted while trying to train culturally and technically handicapped cadres on a rotational basis is an approach which will certainly lead people to suspect that the belief that "nonprofessionals can lead professionals" remains alive. This approach will become incomprehensible, if anyone

argues that is not the case. Of course, letting experts run the country is a general idea that refers to leaders with specific educational qualifications who know how to use experts. It is not necessarily a reference to leaders with college diplomas.

China Is in Need of Specific Method of Recruiting

How to recruit talent is a problem that needs to be solved in China. In his report, Zhao Ziyang gave no detailed instructions on this matter except to say that "attention must be paid to the recruiting of younger cadres of both political integrity and professional competence." The past practice was to "allow responsible leaders to select, and party committees to decide candidates." Actually, this was a way of recruiting cadres in which responsible leaders' subjective views and their personal relationships with candidates were allowed to play a decisive role. Now the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Electric Power Industry has adopted a new recruiting process in which candidates must be first recommended by its leading groups, then discussed by the masses and "interviewed by those at the top and those at the bottom" three times before a decision can be made. Although this democratic method is good, it appears designed to serve only one specific purpose of a movement. Whether it can be implemented as a regular system, I am afraid, remains a problem. The reason is that this approach is far from effective in recruiting talent, in broadening the dimension of exploration and in recruiting talent from all over the country. For this reason, consideration must be given to other methods of nomination, recruitment through advertisement, and examination. If cadres are allowed to freely choose their employers and occupations, they may be able to enjoy greater opportunity of employment. If this idea is acceptable, it may involve basic reform in the current unified systems of distribution, organization, transfer of manpower, individual choice, food rationing based on individual households, and other social institutions in communist China.

Problems Concerning Tenure, Dismissals of Cadres

As a part of structural reform, a limit has been imposed on the age of senior cadres qualified for public office. This should be called an important revolutionary step in the direction of abolishing the life tenure system for cadres. But there is no indication as to their tenure. Nor is there any mention of provisions for dismissing cadres from office in case of incompetence and dereliction of duty. The problem concerning the dismissal of cadres from office should be viewed as an important aspect of structural reform that no one can ignore. The past practices in which cadres could only be promoted but not demoted, could be protected from prosecution in case of wrongdoing, and could be criticized and transferred without their positions and pay being affected constitute a major factor that has caused many cadres to look upon themselves as "heroes," to look down on others, and to grow arrogant until they degenerated into overlords sitting on the backs of the people. The most prominent feature of democracy is that the people are entitled to impeach and censure officials, including the head of the state, when they are found guilty of

violating the laws. What has irritated the Chinese people most is the cadre system which has turned upside down the relationship between public servants and their masters, and has rendered the former powerless to punish the latter after they are found guilty of wrongdoing. If no guarantee is provided with regard to this point, the structural reform can hardly be expected to produce any good results. The corrosive nature of political power is a starting point in formulating the Western legal system. It is also a point verified by crimes committed by Mao Zedong and Wang Shouxin [3769 1343 0207]. Who can guarantee that officials can become saints immune to corruption following the structural streamlining?

I hope to see a most effective way of overseeing officials gradually evolve in China. This is a method by which the people can oversee the government through the mass media, including the press, radio and television stations which will be allowed to express public opinions by seeking truth from facts, to question and raise charges against government officials, and to press the officials for answers to those questions, without their having the benefit of protection by the government. Once they are found guilty of wrongdoing, they should resign while awaiting prosecution.

But so far, the Chinese government has demonstrated an undemocratic attitude toward criticism from the people. Its policy is to criticize junior officials and protect senior ones. If anyone subjects a senior official to criticism, he will do the nation no good, because he must prepare to face a variety of visible and invisible retaliatory attacks.

The Recruiting of Female Cadres Deserves Attention

Of the six recently announced new ministers, three are women. Certainly, the Chinese women should take pride in their appointments, because it proves that "women can take care of one half of the world." This writer neither wants to shower any obtrusive opinions nor wants to heap any unnecessary praise on them. It can be said that the people understand Qian Zhengying relatively well while they know too little about Chen Muhua and Hao Jianxiu [6787 1696 4423]. I believe that Minister Chen's rise to prominence is entirely due to her outstanding performance as minister of the Ministry of Economic Relations with Foreign Countries, in which talented people abound.

But the practice of reserving specific positions for women cadres will not merit endorsement from the public. If women cadres are not awarded positions in a rational way in recognition of their outstanding performances, but are awarded positions in accordance with a man-made arrangement, the structural streamlining whose aim is to cut the size of staff to the minimum will become meaningless. In my opinion, the preservation of women's status in this manner is not necessary at a time when the national interests should take precedence over personal interests.

Prevent the Overcentralization and Abuse of Power

Decentralization of power, or transfer of power down to lower levels in Chinese language, is an important factor that has led many countries to streamline their administrative systems. In other words, officials should

refrain from poking their nose into the affairs of others, which are none of their business. The Chinese bureaucracy is a centuries-old tradition based on the "patriarchal system." Its purpose is to tighten government control over the people. In short, the government seems always concerned with their well-being. Even those officials of integrity prefer to be called "officials loving the people as if they were their own children," and prefer to be fathers rather than children. Co-munist China has treated the people in much the same way, seemingly telling them that without the government's control, they would die. But that is not the case in the United States where the government has no intention of extending its tentacles into the affairs of private citizens. For example, it has no intention of setting up the "Ministry of Culture." If the government wants too much control, certainly, "Parkinson's Law" will gain momentum. On the other hand, reductions in force will certainly lead to the concentration of power. Under such new circumstances, attention must be paid to preventing the abuse of power and the revival of the patriarchal system.

9574
CSO: 4005/808

END

JPRS 81033

11 June 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 308

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81033

11 June 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 308

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

PARTY AND STATE

CCP's Independence of Soviet Control Said Vital to Success
(Zhang Yueming; HUADONG SHIFAN DAXUE XUEBAO [JOURNAL OF EAST CHINA NORMAL UNIVERSITY], 25 Feb 82) 1

Maintain National Dignity in Face of Foreigners
(Gao Xingchuan; HEBEI RIBAO, 1 Apr 82) 9

Rectify Party's Workstyle; Maintain Social Order
(Youg Xi; SHANXI RIBAO, 2 Apr 82) 11

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Military Discipline in Xi'An Area Strengthened
(Dong Xianglin, et. al.; SHAANXI RIBAO, 2 Apr 82) 14

Regimental Party Committee Supports Strict Enforcement of Discipline
(RENMIN RIBAO, 31 Mar 82) 16

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION, AND CULTURE

Importance of 'Yanan Talks' Stressed
(Zhong Han; SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [CURRENT REPORTS], No 3, 1982) ... 18

Anniversary of 'Yanan Talks' Commemorated
(Tian Jian; SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [CURRENT REPORTS, No 3, 1982) 22

Publications Carry Articles Criticizing Poems by Ye Wenfu
(Li Wen; SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [CURRENT REPORTS], No 1, 1982) 24

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Report on Deng Xiaoping's Trip to South China
(Luo Bing; CHENG MING [CONTENDING], No 3, 1982) 29

Mao's Erroneous Judgement on Hungarian Incident Analyzed
(Wen Hui; CHENG MING [CONTENDING], No 4, 1982) 37

'Certain Theoretical Questions' Raise Comments, Discussion
(CHI-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES], Mar 82) 46

Comments on Forum Statements
Editorial Department Article

PARTY AND STATE

CCP'S INDEPENDENCE OF SOVIET CONTROL SAID VITAL TO SUCCESS

Shanghai HUADONG SHIFAN DAXUE XUEBAO [JOURNAL OF EAST CHINA NORMAL UNIVERSITY] in Chinese No 1, 25 Feb 82 pp 1-4

[Article by Zhang Yueming [1728 2588 2494]: "Independence and Internationalism"]

[Text] Independence is a spirit of Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Mao Zedong long ago declared: "We the Chinese nation have the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood, the determination to recover our lost territory, and the ability to stand on our own feet in the family of nations." At the same time, he pointed out: "This is not to say that we do not require international support; no, international support is indispensable for the revolutionary struggles in all modern countries and nations." After establishment of the capitalist world's economic system, the long-standing situation in which feudal socieites were closed to international intercourse and were not interrelated was ended, the economic and political relations among various countries of the world became extremely close, and the people's struggles in various countries became interrelated. In the struggle against international imperialism, the proletariat of various countries and the oppressed nations are mutually supportive. However, to overthrow the rule of international capital, "the proletariat of every country must overthrow the bourgeoisie in their own country." The proletariat in various countries must engage in revolutionary activity on the political stage of their own countries, and this requires that the vanguard--the communist party--with all forms of support from the international proletariat, in line with the specific conditions in a given country, apply the basic principles of Marxism, independently formulate correct principles, policies, and lines, and carry out well revolution and construction in the given country before it can strongly support the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat. Therefore, to insist on independence is precisely the embodiment of proletarian internationalism.

With regard to Chinese communists, independence fell into two categories: The first was that we did not yield to the armed pressure of imperialism and were not misled by its blandishments, but through several decades of bloody struggle finally "stood on our own feet in the family of nations." The second was that within the international communist movement, no matter whether it was before or after the founding of the state, under the leadership of the

party and Comrade Mao Zedong, no matter what difficulties we encountered we did not waver in our independence and self-reliance. In the latter aspect, we have profound experiences and lessons.

When the advanced elements of the Chinese proletariat began to engage in revolutionary activity, they obtained support from the international proletariat. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" points out: "The CCP is a product of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese workers' movement, and it was born under the influence of the Russian October Revolution and our country's 'May Fourth' movement and with the help of the Comintern led by Lenin."

Not long after the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, the Comintern, set up in Moscow, was founded in a period of a high tide of revolution in Europe and amid the struggle against the revisionism of the Second International. Owing to the historical conditions at that time, the Comintern organization had two important characteristics. The first characteristic was that the Bolshevik Party enjoyed high prestige in this organization, and the Bolshevik Party's experience became the "model" for the parties of various countries to study. Following the consolidation of Soviet political power and the development of the cause of building the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union became "the core of the proletariat in various countries and the center of the international communist revolution." (See "Comintern Resolutions") The second characteristic was that the Comintern was a tight and highly concentrated organization, and in reality it was a united communist party of a global nature. Its constitution clearly stipulated: Any country's party that joins the Comintern is the branch of the latter; the permanent leading Executive Committee of the Comintern issues instructions to its branches, supervises their activities, and if it discovers that a subordinate branch has violated its programs or resolutions it has the power to annul the branch's decisions, and can even expel the entire branch or some of its members from the Comintern. In order to implement Comintern resolutions, the Executive Committee sent specially appointed representatives to the various branches, and these representatives were often people trusted by the Soviet party. All these stipulations indicate that ideologically, politically, and organizationally the Comintern and the communist parties in various countries played the binding roles of the leader and the led.

From the founding of the Comintern to the holding of its fourth congress in 1911, communist parties were set up in 58 countries. The CCP was also set up in this period with concrete help from the Comintern. This help was manifested in: 1) the program, line, and general and specific policies formulated by the Comintern played a direct role in the determination by the Chinese party of its program and line, and the "Outline for National Colonies" and "Outline on the Land Question" adopted by the Comintern raised some fundamental problems that had to be solved in carrying out national democratic revolutions in the imperialist era; 2) the Comintern directly dispatched people to help in the founding of the Chinese party and, together with the leaders of the Chinese party, to determine the policy and line at important

junctures in the revolution; and 3) a batch of theoretical cadres and the party's working cadres were trained for the Chinese revolution at Sun Yat-sen University and Eastern Toilers University in the Soviet Union. In this respect the Comintern's contributions were positive, and the CPSU gave direct support to the Chinese revolution.

However, in this century, in the late 1920's and early 1930's, there emerged in the international communist movement a mistaken tendency to make Marxism a dogma and to make the resolutions of the Comintern and the experience of the Soviet Union sacred. When he was living, Lenin paid full attention to opposing within the international communist movement the revisionist ideological trend of the Second International, and exposed its theoretical mistake of deviating from the basic principles of Marxism. After Lenin passed away, Stalin inherited Lenin's work. In directing the work of the Comintern, Stalin emphatically criticized the tendency toward social democracy and continued to oppose the danger of Right deviation. But, during the course of struggle, Stalin developed the deviation of dogmatizing Marxism and, without asking about the circumstances and causes, demanded that the parties in various countries copy mechanically the experiences of the Soviet revolution. Owing to the special position of the CPSU in the Comintern and the high prestige it enjoyed among the parties of various nations as the party of the first socialist country, this dogmatic deviation had a direct effect on the parties of the other countries. The resolutions of the Comintern and the experience of the CPSU were regarded as "paragons of Marxism-Leninism," the "only correct line," the only models to learn from, and rules that could not be disobeyed. The specially appointed personnel sent by the Comintern became within the fraternal parties "imperial envoys" who could "command everything." Actually, the circumstances in the various countries differed in thousands of ways. Some were imperialist countries, and some countries were still under the rule of the feudal patriarchal clan system and had even more backward forms of production. Even in the advanced capitalist countries of Europe, there were differences between the various countries in political and economic circumstances and in international relations, and the political tasks the parties faced were different. In addition, the headquarters of the Comintern was in Moscow, far from the various countries. It was difficult for this international center to solve the various kinds of problems in the revolutionary movement of every different country, and it was very hard for it to issue instructions that perfectly suited the circumstances in the various countries without making mistakes. If the Comintern's decisions had only been passed to the parties of the various countries for consultation, there would have been fewer problems. But the relationship between the Comintern and the parties of the various countries was that between the higher level and the lower level, between the leader and the led; it was an organizational principle that the decisions made by the Comintern had to be obeyed. Under these circumstances, if the leaders of the parties in the various countries lacked a high level of Marxist theory and made the Comintern's resolutions and the Soviet experience sacred, then they unavoidably would cause the revolution to suffer setbacks and damage. Making these things sacred "almost caused the Chinese revolution to go down a blind alley." As everyone knows, when the party in its infancy led the first revolutionary civil war, Chen Duxiu's rightist capitulationism soaked the revolution in a pool of blood; Wang Ming's leftist adventurism,

which emerged in the period of the second revolutionary civil war, caused the revolutionary forces of the White areas to suffer extremely great losses, the 300,000-man Red Army being reduced to about 30,000 men and the 300,000 CCP members being reduced to about 40,000 members. Naturally, we Chinese ourselves were responsible for these two serious mistakes, but it cannot be denied that they were both related to the Comintern, or that they were made because of an inadequate understanding of the internal class situation and the political forces inside China, or that they were made because the specially appointed representatives mechanically copied the Soviet experience and gave arbitrary and impracticable directions.

How was the Chinese revolution rescued from the "blind alley it had almost fallen into"? It was Comrade Mao Zedong and many outstanding leaders of our party who investigated and studied the situation obtaining the Chinese society, who profoundly analyzed the characteristics and laws of the Chinese revolution, and amid the practice of struggle gradually explored and found a path of liberation suited to China's national condition, viz, the countryside surrounding the cities, and finally seized the path to nationwide victory. This was a brilliant chapter in the CCP's independently finding the path for the Chinese revolution. The practice of the Chinese revolution gave a new meaning to independence: "finding ourselves the path of advance suited to the situation in our country." Mao Zedong Thought was precisely formed and developed gradually during the course of struggling against the mistaken tendencies of the Comintern and during the profound summing up of historical experiences in this respect.

During the antifascist war, the Comintern declared its own dissolution, but the CPSU's restricting role with regard to other fraternal parties and the Soviet Union's influence on other countries did not change because of this. After World War II, a series of people's democratic countries, including the PRC, were founded, and a socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union was formed, as well as a socialist world market on an equal footing with the imperialist world market. It was necessary to strengthen in all aspects cooperation between the fraternal parties and between the socialist countries so that they would jointly oppose the reactionary forces of international imperialism and jointly defend the security of the socialist countries and world peace.

The CCP and Comrade Mao Zedong paid full attention to acting in conformity with the principle of proletarian internationalism, protected the unity and cooperation between fraternal parties, and totally respected the views of CPSU leader Stalin. However, because of its experience in practice and its painful lessons, our party understood that if the revolutionary cause was to develop successfully, our starting point must continue to be based on independence. It is an undeniable fact that, with regard to handling postwar China's problems, the Soviet Union's attitude was not proper. In the big power conferences between America, Britain, and the Soviet Union, China was put in America's sphere of influence. After Japan's surrender, the United States masterminded a scheme for Chiang Kai-shek, in the vain hope that he would swallow up the Communist Party; and the Soviet Union urged the Communist Party to surrender its weapons and its armed forces and to unite in reverting to Chiang Kai-shek's leadership, after which the Communist Party was to provide officials with legal

status in the Kuomintang government in a so-called form of "cooperation." When U.S. Secretary of State Byrnes went to see Stalin, the latter said: "Support Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. Only Chiang Kai-shek can be the leader of China; other people are not qualified." At that time, the Soviet leaders clearly expressed to Hurley and Hopkins that it was mainly up to America to help unite China and its armed forces, saying that the Soviet Union had many affairs of its own and could not spare the time from its main work, and clearly indicated that Chiang Kai-shek could be China's leader. They also said that wherever the Soviet armed forces went Chiang Kai-shek could set up an administrative structure for China. For the Chinese people, who were engaged in bloody, bitter battles in the war of resistance and to found a peaceful, democratic, independent, and new China, this stand taken by the Soviet Union naturally could not be accepted. The CCP led by Comrade Mao Zedong was not like it was in its infancy, when it obeyed the Soviet Union's orders in everything, but, based on our own actual situation, the CCP independently put forward the line and policy for action.

As a method of dealing with Chiang Kai-shek's vain attempt to capture the fruits of the victory in the war of resistance, our party put forward the policy of "giving tit for tat and fighting for every inch of land." In order to defend the fruits if victory, "the armed forces of the people would keep every rifle and bullet and not surrender a single one." An American said to Comrade Mao Zedong: "You should listen to Hurley and send several people to be officials in the Kuomintang government." Comrade Mao Zedong replied: "It is not good to be officials bound hand and foot, and we will not do so. If we were to do so, our hands and feet must be unbound, free and unrestrained. This is the democratic basis for forming a united government." If Chiang Kai-shek insisted on fighting a civil war, we were resolved to fight him to the end, thoroughly wipe out the reactionaries, and then build a new China. Chiang Kai-shek tore up the agreement reached at the Chongqing negotiations, challenged us to civil war, and attacked the liberated areas. Under the leadership of the CCP, the Chinese people waged the third revolutionary civil war. The Soviet Union did not approve of this, thinking that the United States had the atom bomb and if war broke out China would be destroyed. Chairman Mao, with indomitable revolutionary spirit, declared to the whole world that imperialism and all reactionaries were paper tigets, that the atom bomb was also a paper tiget, and that the masses of people would decide victory or defeat in a war and not new types of weapons. The PLA led by the CCP, with swift and fierce attacks, quickly smashed the several million-strong armed forces of the Kuomintang. The Soviet leadership then ordered us to stop before going too far. Based on the actual situation in our country, the CCP issued the battle call "to carry the revolution through to the end." It was precisely because of the correct policy and line formulated independently by our party that we were able to win victory in the third revolutionary civil war and found the PRC. Just imagine, if at that time we had not insisted on "independence" but had obeyed the Soviet Union's orders in everything, then we could not have been victorious in the war of liberation and we could not have united the mainland of the motherland. The victory of the Chinese democratic revolution was the result of the integration of the universal tenets of Marxism with the reality of the Chinese revolution, and was also the victory of the principle of independence.

Stalin was a great Marxist. With regard to the Chinese question, he once made this self-criticism: "After the war, we invited the Chinese comrades to come to Moscow to discuss the situation in China. At that time we frankly told them that we didn't think there were any prospects for an uprising in China, that the Chinese comrades should seek a temporary agreement with Chiang Kai-shek, join his government and disband their armed forces. The Chinese comrades agreed with the views of the Soviet comrades while they were here, but after returning to China their actions were a different matter. They concentrated their strength and organized their armed forces, and now, just as we have seen, they have defeated Chiang Kai-shek's armed forces. With regard to the Chinese case, we now admit that we were mistaken. Facts have proven that the Chinese comrades, and not we, were correct." Afterward, when the CCP lecture leaders went to Moscow and met with Stalin, he said humorously: "You were victorious," "You were correct, victors are not punished."

When Stalin was living, the Soviet Union's approach to fraternal parties and fraternal countries was one of great-nation chauvinism, and the most prominent example of this was its intelligence agency's mistaken decision in 1948 with regard to the Yugoslav question. Within the socialist camp, the Yugoslav comrades were the first to resist the Soviet Union's great-nation chauvinism and defend their own nation's independence; and the Yugoslav comrades were the first to criticize the existing malpractices in the Soviet Union's model of building socialism, to find the specific path for Yugoslavia's building of socialism, and set a good precedent for the struggle model of building socialism.

When Stalin was alive, the Chinese party and government, in its internal and external policies, did not diverge much in principle from those of the Soviet Union. Whenever the Soviet Union displayed a certain amount of great-nation chauvinism toward China, our party responded appropriately and between the two countries there grew contradictions and disharmony. To sum up, we defended the principle of independence and the Soviet Union did not interfere excessively in our affairs.

However, after the Khrushchev-Brezhnev cliques took over supreme power in the Soviet party and state, their great-nation chauvinism swelled malignantly until it developed into social-imperialism, they completely betrayed proletarian internationalism, and they practiced hegemonism in a big way. In its struggle to contend with U.S. imperialism for world hegemony, the Soviet Union tried to further control the socialist camp and make the camp its "sphere of influence." They interpreted internationalism as meaning that other socialist countries had to obey the Soviet Union's orders; their reach was very long as everywhere they contended for spheres of influence. Naturally, the Soviet Union would not let go of China with its vast territory, and in whatever "combined fleet" or "long-wave radio station," you simply had to obey the Soviet Union's command and be subordinate to its control. The Chinese nation, which had gone through a long period of bloody struggle to become independent, certainly could not put up with being controlled by another country. The Khrushchev clique, which regarded itself as always being able to command, flew into a rage from shame and, taking advantage of a period of economic

difficulties in our country created by leftist mistakes and natural calamities, put pressure on us, thinking it would force us to yield to it. It was they--the Khrushchev clique--who first engaged in polemics; it was they who used their actual economic strength to press us for payment of debts; and it was they who tore up contracts and withdrew experts, thinking that by this they could put the Chinese people in a fatal position. The Chinese people were of unyielding character and, under the leadership of the party and Comrade Mao Zedong, no matter what kind of difficulties they encountered and self-reliant and to never submit to any external pressure. By readjusting the national economy and overcoming temporary difficulties, we increased the public accumulation of funds on the basis of developing production and repaid all the Soviet loans (which were principally munitions loans made during the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea). People throughout the country worked with a will to make the country strong, relying on their own experts and technical forces and unearthing the country's natural resources so as to build up the national economy. On the theoretical front, we launched debates in which with regard to questions of principle a clear distinction was made between right and wrong, thereupon breaking through the Soviet Union's "unified domain" that had been formed for a long time. Because we insisted on independence, internationally we won the sympathy and support of the people of the world.

Following the growth of the Soviet Union's actual economic strength, its great-nation chauvinism broke out malignantly and became social-imperialism, which, from controlling the development of the political and economic affairs of other countries to dispatching troops and making armed incursions, wantonly trampled on the principle of proletarian internationalism. The CCP and Comrade Mao Zedong with vigilance watched the actions of the "polar bear." The Chinese people defended their national honor and went against them. Not resigned to this opposition, they thought of seizing our country's Zhenbao Island but were rebuffed; they deployed a million troops along our border and caused frequent border clashes; and they built a ring of military encirclement around China and instigated Vietnam to challenge us to a war. The party and Comrade Mao Zedong constantly educated the people to maintain a high degree of vigilance, to defend the independence and security of the motherland, to set up an international united front against hegemonism, and to create an international environment conducive to the building of socialism in our country. When the Chinese people have independently built a prosperous socialist country, they can vigorously support the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat and the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations, thus fulfilling the proletarian internationalist obligations that the people of our country have assumed. The matter is very clear: if we do not carry out a tit-for-tat struggle against social-imperialism but let it be as overbearing as it wishes, the Chinese nation will again fall under the control of a different nation and the international communist movement will suffer even greater damage.

The 60-year history of the CCP's revolutionary struggle indicates that only by unswervingly defending the independence of the party and state can we always be in an invincible position. And upholding independence also means to uphold the principle of integrating Marxism with the practice of the Chinese

revolution, to uphold the principle that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. Only by from beginning to end making social practice the basis and proceeding from reality in everything, can we make the cause of revolution and construction in our country continually go from victory to victory. Comrade Zhou Enlai said: "No matter whether in revolutionary struggle or construction undertakings, the Chinese people consistently adopt the policy of making self-reliance primary and the striving for foreign aid secondary...the Chinese people mainly rely on their own strength, and for them to build socialism well in a country with one-fourth of the world's population is in itself a contribution to all humanity, and can also be the best fulfillment of their own inter-nationalist obligations." Comrade Mao Zedong, who was the leader of our party in this very long and arduous struggle, made outstanding contributions to the upholding of the principle of independence and deserves to be called the greatest national hero in the history of the Chinese nation.

9727
CSO: 4005/789

MAINTAIN NATIONAL DIGNITY IN FACE OF FOREIGNERS

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 1 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Gao Xingchuan [7559 5201 2504]: "Keep National Pride in Mind When Dealing With Foreigners"]

[Text] As a result of the development of foreign relations and tourism, there has been an increase in contacts between China and other countries. Out of this development has come an awareness of the need to put the interests and national pride of the motherland above all else in the handling of foreign affairs and friendly visits. We must understand that whatever we do under such circumstances will leave a mark in the minds of foreigners. The Zhuoxian County Tourist Hotel in Hebei Province has won admiration for its beautiful environment, for its warm, thoughtful and quality services, and for its emphasis on treating foreign guests in a civilized way. A foreign guest said: "I appreciate your excellent services, which have made my stay here a very happy memory. I am looking forward to coming here again during my next trip to China."

Doing a good job calls for practical action, We must count on our own ways of thinking, our own style of work, and our own practical performance to develop the foreign policy of the party and government, and build a spiritual civilization fitting the Chinese people. Ours is a country with an ancient civilization. The people in our country have won praise from many foreign friends and visitors for their polite and civilized manners, for their selfless devotion to others, for their willingness to help others, for their spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, for their practice of collectivism, and for their excellent tradition of unity and mutual assistance. During the past few years, our province has received many letters sent by foreign friends praising those on the staff of our restaurant-hotels, bus convoys, and commercial stores for their honesty and trustworthiness. These foreign friends have called the Chinese virtue of returning lost money to their owners and being willing to help others a noble deed that is worthy of their acknowledgment. Don't you see that these comrades have already done something graceful on behalf of our motherland and people?

But there are other things that deserve our great attention. For example, during some completely unexpected encounters with foreigners, some of our comrades have obtrusively tried to contact them as though they were old

acquaintances or friends. Some have even invited foreigners to their homes as guests without the knowledge of their organizations. Some have buttonholed foreigners or interrupted their activities in areas near their living quarters, on the street, or at their activity centers, where they have forced foreigners to teach them foreign languages, to give away things against their wishes, and to pose for photographers. This behavior reflects a total insensitivity to civil courtesy and a lack of concern of the impact it may create in the minds of foreigners. It is also a wrongdoing that is offensive to the sense of national pride and national dignity. I hope that the civil courtesy activity now underway in our country will play a role in overcoming this unhealthy tendency.

Strengthening our sense of national dignity and self-confidence and maintaining our national pride and honor constitute a duty that should be shared by every citizen in our country.

9574
CSO: 4005/809

PARTY AND STATE

RECTIFY PARTY'S WORKSTYLE; MAINTAIN SOCIAL ORDER

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 2 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Youg Xi [0516 1835]: "Keep the People in High Spirits in the Course of Rectifying the Party's Workstyle"]

[Text] The call issued by the Party Central Committee this year to score greater successes in improving the party's workstyle, public security, and social climate fully reflects the aspirations of the broad masses of party members and people. The key to success in realizing these three great improvements lies in rectification of the party's workstyle. By using the party's workstyle to guide the civilian lifestyle, we can enhance the order and stability of our society as a whole, and bring about improvements in the social climate. The measures taken by the Shanxi Provincial Party Committee with the aim of helping party committees at all other levels resolutely to prevent cadres from building private homes for themselves--a starting point in the direction of banning all other unhealthy tendencies--have received a strong response from the people throughout the province. From this activity, the masses of people have gained hope and confidence in rectifying the party's workstyle and in making it move in the correct direction.

Although much has been done and remarkable success has been scored by the province in rectifying the party's workstyle since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party's unhealthy workstyle remains a serious problem of universal concern. Now what commands our attention are the adulterated forms of ideology, style of work, and organization that still need to be purified, the leading bodies which remain in a state of disarray and weakness, and the cases of violations of law and discipline. Also noteworthy are various slogans used by some comrades as a refutation or in direct contravention of the political line and policies adopted by the Party Central Committee, and the ultraindividualism and the irresponsible and dilatory styles of work practiced by some party members and cadres who do not have good spirits. Some have even gone so far as to abuse their authority and embezzle funds from the state or collective treasury in order to build private homes for themselves on farmland they have taken without authorization. Even worse is the fact that a few party members and cadres have shamelessly embarked on economically profiteering activities involving smuggling, trading in contraband goods, corruption, embezzlement, blackmail, extortion, bribery, and conversion of state property into private ownership by cheating. Such activities

have been condemned by the broad masses of party members and people. If we fail to pay close attention to such problems and are not determined to resolve them, whatever we do will become meaningless.

The rectification of the party's workstyle is a guarantee of the successful implementation of the party's political line. The political line, principles, and policies adopted by our party since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee have proved correct. But if adulterated forms of ideology, styles of work, and organization are allowed to exist, we will find it impossible to thoroughly implement the party's correct line or to realize the four modernizations. Furthermore, we must understand that the masses often tend to evaluate our party in terms of the performance of its members and cadres. Only after the party's workstyle is rectified can the civilian lifestyle develop along sound lines. This can be substantiated by this ancient Chinese saying: "As long as you behave yourself, your subordinates will follow you automatically; if you do not behave yourself, your orders will mean nothing to them." As long as our party members and cadres can strictly discipline themselves, institute clean government to serve the public interest, and act as models in implementing the party's line, principles, and policies, the broad masses will never hesitate to follow their orders, and will sincerely take orders from the party.

Today, a lack of confidence in the ability of the party to rectify its workstyle has led some of our comrades to mistakenly believe that our party is now in the "terminal stage of illness." There are also some people who have dramatized themselves as good guys in the face of the struggle against unhealthy tendencies. After disavowing their commitment to the lofty ideals of communism, some comrades have even become obsessed with the reactionary philosophy of life, saying: "If man does not work for himself, he will be damned by heaven and earth." Because they have sunk so low to the level of evils, they can no longer extricate themselves from a predicament of their own making. To say the least, these comrades have become so shortsighted that they appear unaware of the positive factors that exist in the ranks of the party, and they are in danger of losing their confidence in the strength of the party and the people. Of course, we cannot underestimate the serious situation resulting from the practice of the party's unhealthy workstyle, nor can we ignore the conditions favorable to its rectification or the main trend of the party life that is reflected in the determination of party members and cadres to preserve the party's excellent tradition and workstyle. Also deserving of our attention are the determination of the Party Central Committee to rectify the party's workstyle and the series of effective measures it has taken in this direction. The broad masses of people have lodged strong protests against the unhealthy styles of work practiced by some party members. Although some unhealthy styles of work resulting from the 10 years of turmoil are deep-rooted and cannot easily be dislodged from the minds of party members, we have ample reason to believe that as long as our entire party works with one heart and one mind, the party's workstyle will certainly begin to show signs of improvement year after year.

Since the current situation favors rectifying the party's workstyle, Communist Party members must work more energetically than ever, and must use criticism

and self-criticism as a weapon to promote healthy workstyles and eliminate unhealthy ones, and to weed out the old and bring forth the new. They must work and struggle hard to restore and carry forward the party's excellent workstyle and stamp out unhealthy lifestyles.

9574
CSO: 4005/809

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

MILITARY DISCIPLINE IN XI'AN AREA STRENGTHENED

Xi'an SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 2 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Dong Xianglin [5516 4382 2651], Ju Jiefang [1565 6043 2397] and Liu Gang [0491 0474]: "A Firm Hold Taken On Military Conduct and Discipline Is Beginning To Yield Results--The Provincial Military District and Troops Stationed in the Xi'an Area Take a Letter From the Masses Seriously"]

[Text] Troops stationed in the Shaanxi Military and the Xi'an area have sincerely listened to the criticisms made by the masses and have adopted measures to educate and supervise the military discipline of military personnel moving through Xi'an and other areas, and results are already evident.

Not long ago, two comrades with the pen names Liu Fei [0491 7378] and Li Zhongqiang [2621 0022 1730] wrote a letter to Comrade Du Yide [2629 5030 1795], Commander of the Lanzhou Unit, and Xiao Hua [5135 5478], First Political Commisar of the unit, criticizing the military conduct and discipline of the military personnel moving through the Xi'an area, saying that some were baring their chests and wearing their hats at an angle; some were dangling cigarettes from their mouths and carrying satchels; some were growing beards and long hair; and individual female soldiers were wearing earrings and rings--creating a bad impression on the masses. Having received the letter, on 8 March Comrade Du Yide forwarded it to the Shaanxi Provincial Military District, noting that it was worth looking over and requesting that it be posted among the troops stationed in Xi'an and that forceful measures be taken to correct matters. On 9 March, the leading comrades of the Shaanxi Provincial Military District received the letter. They held a meeting of concerned comrades on the afternoon of 10 March to consider measures for correcting the improper discipline on the part of military personnel in transit; subsequently they held a meeting of leading comrades of all units above the regiment level in Xi'an and the surrounding vicinity where they distributed copies of the letter from Comrades Liu Fei and Li Zhongqiang and the comments of Comrade Du Yide, and considered measures to improve the military conduct and discipline of the troops stationed in and moving through Xi'an.

Afterwards, all units immediately swung into action. A certain unit stationed in Shaanxi promptly held a tele-conference requesting that officers and men

pay specific attention to military conduct and discipline when they go off base. After the tele-conference, the chief of staff led agency cadres to the major transportation lines to check on military personnel in transit. Leading cadres of an air force unit stationed in Shaanxi, the Fourth Army Medical College, the Xi'an Political School, the Xi'an Garrison Command and troops stationed at Xianyang successively went out on the streets to make checks. Shaanxi Military District Headquarters decided that: the comrades in charge of every department and office at headquarters would take turns keeping watch on the streets every Tuesday and Friday; the major leading comrades of the Provincial Military District would take turns making checks on the street once every week. On 14 March, the Provincial Military District Political Commisar, Cai Changyuan [5591 7022 0337], put on a red armband and accompanied comrades from headquarters to the train station to keep watch. Commisar Cai saw a soldier walking down the road with his shirt open and his hat on crooked and personally strode forward to straighten his hat and button his shirt and then seriously said, "Junior comrade, you must consciously maintain military conduct and discipline to do credit to the PLA!" The soldier, with some embarrassment, said, "Senior Officer, I made a mistake. From now on, I shall reform."

9705
CSO: 4005/789

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

REGIMENTAL PARTY COMMITTEE SUPPORTS STRICT ENFORCEMENT OF DISCIPLINE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Mar 82 p 3

[Article: "The Party Committee Firmly Supports the Impartial Handling of Matters By the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline--An Artillery Regiment Promptly Handles Instances of Breeches of Discipline By Party Cadres"]

[Text] The party committee of a PLA artillery regiment has actively supported the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline in its enforcement of party regulations and discipline, seeing to it that 17 instances of violations of law and discipline were dealt with seriously and hastening an obvious turn for the better in the party style.

Once, someone brought it to light that a battalion commander had exchanged a welding rod some place for a steel tube to be used as personal furniture. The party committee and the commission for the inspection of discipline of the regiment was thoroughly embarrassed to discover that the matter involved 3 leading cadres who were in the regiment at the time (all on the standing committee of the party committee). Yu Fengshan [0060 7685 1472], Secretary of the Regimental Party Committee and Political Commisar, convened 3 party committee meetings to study the matter, unify thinking and support the commission's establishment of a study panel to check into and deal with the matter. After the matter had been investigated, the battalion commander and the 3 leading cadres were severely criticized and were instructed to make penetrating self-criticisms, and the steel tube, lumber and other materials that had been used were taken back.

Three batteries of the regiment violated financial regulations by using improper methods to purchase bicycles, which led to bad results. When handling this case, the commission for the inspection of discipline decided to severely criticize those involved and instructed them to return the bicycles. But because a leading comrade of the regiment came forward to speak on behalf of his subordinates and suggest that the batteries be allowed to keep the bicycles, for a time, the commission's decision could not be carried out. After the regimental party committee learned of this, it criticized that leading cadre and upheld the correct decision of the commission. The 3 batteries all returned the bicycles and several persons with primary responsibility for the affair paid for the financial losses

incurred. After this, experts on the regimental party committee made the regulation: it is not permitted to use personal position or authority to arbitrarily involve oneself or interfere with the work of the commission for the inspection of discipline.

This regimental party committee also upholds principle without concern for people's sensibilities when dealing with persons or matters that involve leaders at higher levels, and it supports the commission for the inspection of discipline in its handling of matters in accord with party principles. Once, the regimental party committee commission for the inspection of discipline heard a case involving the son of a high level leading cadre who was speculating in silver dollars, and the phone calls on his behalf just kept coming. The regimental party committee spoke with one voice in rejecting each of them and supporting the work of the commission. The commission for the inspection of discipline seriously dealt with the son of the high level leading cadre.

9705
CSO: 4005/789

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

IMPORTANCE OF 'YANAN TALKS' STRESSED

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [CURRENT REPORTS] in Chinese No 3, 1982 pp 86-87

[Article by Zhong Han [6945 1383]: "They Are the Only Source"]

[Text] Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" was published 40 years ago. Since the, under the guidance of the spirit of the "Yanan Talks," our revolutionary literary and art movement has made very great progress. Our literary and art workers have accepted and grasped the only materialist principle expounded in the "Talks" that the life of a given society is the source of literary and artistic works. They have consciously, or fairly consciously, strengthened the close ties between their creation and the life of the people, and have produced a great number of works throbbing with the pulse of the times and voicing the people's aspirations during the late period of the democratic revolution, during the period of socialist revolution and construction, and in the current new historical period towards socialist modernization. Historical experience has proved that this entirely materialist subject put forward in the "Talks" not only played in the past a tremendous role in guiding and promoting our literary and art movement but will also play the same important role in the future development of our socialist literature and art.

It is as if it is historically predestined that materialism, having grown up in its attack against the severe restrictions of idealism, will always go through a heated controversy with idealism in every step of its advance. Idealism also always tries to find certain faults with materialism as ammunition to make a breach in the camp of materialism. Some believers in materialism have sometimes also raised doubts about materialism and wavered because of certain mistakes committed by persons of their own camp. Marx and Engels had also reproached Feuerbach who later rejected materialism because of the mistakes of some materialists. On the problem about the relationship of literature and art with social life, the controversy between idealism and materialism has not disappeared on account of the birth and propagation of Marxist scientific tenets. On the problem of the source of literature and art, there are still multifarious views of idealism in opposition to Marxist views of materialism. In China, after the publication of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks," although the majority of people have gradually accepted the materialist view on the problem of the source of literature and art, it is not true that nobody disagrees. During the period of the 10-year turmoil, this

correct view of Comrade Mao's was distorted and altered by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," so that some people even began to have doubts. The "gang of four" preached such fallacies as "proceeding from the line" and "the theme goes ahead of the rest," and they exerted a widespread pernicious influence. After the collapse of the "gang of four," though this pernicious influence has been somewhat eliminated, some comrades have deviated from the basic spirit of the "Talks" in another form of expression, and have fallen into the quagmire of idealism. For instance, some of them hold that real life cannot be taken as the source of all literary and artistic works, and that such source should be the knowledge and experience left behind by our predecessors. Others hold that in creation the writers depend mainly upon their effort in exploring their subjective world of "oneself." Still others reject things outside their own sentimental world, and take only their search for one's "individual spiritual world" as the new principle of aesthetics. Thus it can be seen that it is not an easy matter to persist in thoroughgoing materialism. On the road of getting to know materialism, anybody who hesitates or feels confused can possibly vacillate to idealism. Therefore, on the problem about the source of literature and art, it will not be without practical significance once again to study and understand the entirely materialist view as explained in the "Talks."

In his "Yanan Talks" Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "In the last analysis, what is the source of all literature and art? Works of literature and art, as ideological forms, are products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society." In other words, the life of human society is the source of all literature and art. This materialist view of Comrade Mao's is complete because he affirmed clearly: "This is the only source, for there can be no other." It stops up any loophole through which idealism can intrude, and it upholds unswervingly the principle of materialism.

As a matter of fact, there has been consistently the view that there is not only one but also another source of literature and art. In ancient China there was the saying that "Literary works came originally from the Five Classics." It holds that the classical works of our predecessors and literary and artistic works in old books also constitute the source of literature and art. Some works have drawn their material from historical writings or old literature and art. They are then mistaken for examples of the other source of literature and art. Comrade Mao Zedong corrected this wrong view by saying: "Some may ask, is there not another source in books, in the literature and art of ancient times and of foreign countries? In fact, the literary and artistic works of the past are not a source but a stream; they were created by our predecessors and the foreigners out of the literary and artistic raw materials they found in the life of the people of their time and place." This exquisite judgment is truly a scientific summarization of many facts in the history of literature and art. Many of the traditional theatrical performances still on the stage today draw their material from the classical novels including "The Romance of Three Kingdoms" and "The Water Margin." However, these two classical novels are not the true source of the traditional theater because they are only the artistic reflection of the social life in the last years of the Han Dynasty and the Northern Song Dynasty and the social life of the times when the writers of these novels lived. The relationship

between traditional theater and classical novels is only similar to that between the leaves and branches of a tree, as their roots are the life of the people in history. Indeed, literary and artistic works must have materials for reference, and must draw on and use the legacy of various knowledge and experience of our predecessors. However, these are only some ideolcgical and artistic materials which are likewise the products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society and are not the true source of literature and art. If these things are also taken as the source of literature and art, it will be the same as taking the stream for the source, to take a certain mental product as the source of another mental product, and to turn back again to the line of idealism that consciousness decides life.

Perhaps some people will think that literature and art reflecting life is not like a mirror reflecting things directly in a purely objective manner but must go through the refraction of the authors' subjective world, and that all works are the description and revelation of their authors' subjective world, and show the authors' views and feelings about life. In that case, the source of literary and artistic works is not limited only to the objective life, but there is also the subjective world of the authors. Those whc sum up literary and artistic works as the "new principle of aesthetics" of mainly expressing one's "individual spiritual world" and self-consciousness actually also think that literature and art may have another source, that is the source of the authors' subjective mentality.

Truly literature and art, as a special mental product, can be produced only after the social life is processed in the brain of the author. In the course of this processing, the product cannot but bear the subjective stamp of the author's knowledge, experience, thinking, sentiments and so forth. In depicting the image of the objective world, the works of literature and art naturally will embody factors of their authors' subjective world. For this very reason, all literary and artistic works can reflect social life in all kinds of forms and countless postures. However, the subjective world of any author's "self" can never be independent and isolated from the objective world, and all his knowledge, experience, thinking, sentiments, ideas, impressions and illusions are produced in the course of his contact with the objective world as right or wrong, normal or deformed reflections of the objective world. If author Zhou Libo [0719 4539 3134] had not come into contact with the surging land reform movement in the northeast liberated area, he could not have gained his profound experience and knowledge of the tremendous changes in the life and destiny of the Chinese peasants, and would have had no means to produce his "The Tempest." Similarly, the novel "Pioneers" has profoundly summarized the peasants' historical destiny on the road of a new life after the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, also because author Liu Qing [2692 7230] took part personally in the mutual-aid and cooperation movement at Huangfu Village and gained his knowledge in an artistic perspective. It is not the product of the author's self-consciousness. Those works which reveal the 10 years of turmoil, whether they are realistic and deepgoing or distorted and deformed, also are products of reflection in the brains of different authors of the complex social life during the 10 years of turmoil. The only thing is that some reflections are correct and others are wrong. In isolation of social life, the subjective world of an author's

"self" can only be a nonsensitive blank plate. How can this blank plate show like a fairy tale the miracle of literary and artistic works? If a person is isolated from the world and out of touch with reality, how can he create anything is his brain? Belinsky said correctly: "If art is conceived as something pure and exclusive, living in one's own special small world and having nothing in common with the other aspects of life, this kind of conception is abstract and illusory. Such art is nonexistent at any time and in any place."

In literary and artistic creation, it is necessary to stress the authors' role of the subjective world. Because, without the effective work of the authors' brains as a processing factory, it would be impossible to turn the raw material of social life into literary and artistic works correctly and profoundly reflecting social life in ideology. However, if we exaggerate the significance of the authors' subjective world in their works to such extremes as to replace social life and to be taken as the principal object of expression and the source of literary and artistic works, then not only will it be as absurd and ridiculous as looking for water from a dry well, but also it will certainly lead to the withering of literature and art in vitality. In recent years, a small number of works have appeared which cut themselves off from the reality of life and seek weird and uncanny plots, vulgar and narrow-minded expressions, just because they cut off their veins of life and suffer from anemia.

Comrade Mao Zedong's "Yanan Talks" refutes any idea of trying to look for the source of literature and art beyond social life, and presents a scientific explanation of the relationship between literary and artistic works and social life, and of the dynamic role of the authors' subjective world in their works. It not only solves completely the question about the source of literature and art but also solves the question about the relationship between literature and art on the one side and the times and the people on the other. Comrade Mao Zedong said that writers and artists must go into the life of the people, go into this broadest and richest source. This is exactly the correct policy to guide the development of literature and art according to the law of literature and art. As far as the writers and artists are concerned, only by understanding profoundly the topic of thoroughgoing materialism which Comrade Mao Zedong expounded on the question about the source of literature and art can they consciously make their works take root in the life of the people and get at the inexhaustible source. As China has now entered a new era of modernization, the development and prosperity of socialist literature and art will depend to a very great extent on more and more writers and artists achieving mastery through a comprehensive study of this subject of the source of literature and art by combining theory with practice, so that the works of socialist literature and art will be worthy of this new era of ours.

9039
CSO: 4005/786

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ANNIVERSARY OF 'YANAN TALKS' COMMEMORATED

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [CURRENT REPORTS] in Chinese No 3, 1982 p 85

[Article by Tian Jian [3944 7035]: "Once Again Read the 'Yanan Talks'--In Commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the Publication of Chairman Mao's 'Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art'"]

[Text] 1) We are living in a socialist country, and are now undertaking the "four modernizations." Therefore, as revolutionary literature, it is necessary to inspire the great masses and positively express their achievements, and as far as possible to make itself easily accepted and appreciated by the broad masses.

2) Politically the writers should keep themselves in line with the Party Central Committee and, on this basis, should also strive to maintain unity among themselves.

3) We hope that more works of literature and art will enter the ranks of the masses.

The national and popular style of literature and art is inseparable from writers going deep into life. This requires that the writers must study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to correctly understand and analyze life. This is not only the demand of the current situation but also a demand of the law of literature and art. The reason is that what we call creation (including certain skills of writing) must make its stand on the living of the masses.

4) Whether we draw on the experience of advanced culture from abroad or carry forward our own fine literary traditions, we must always make our stand on the living of the masses, and hold firmly the demand of the time and the expectations of the people. This can only make the writers' individual character varied, and will not do the opposite.

5) If our writers are not infatuated with the outward appearance of life and do not have the determination to tap the people's hearts, they should participate in certain social activities to look for the sequence of people's ideas and open the door of the mental world. Thus, they will find that the road of popular literature and socialist literature is very bright and magnificent.

6) There are bound to be contradictions in life. When you solve the contradictions, you make a new step forward. In doing this, we must throw in our lot with the people and carefully pick up their language. You should be a practical worker of revolution and not simply an onlooker before you can talk about going deep into life. You cannot accomplish this by doing so once or twice. It should be a whole process of long observation and true understanding. However, it is a pity that some people disdain to give a thought to this.

7) Literature and art should depict the flowers and roots of life, and the writers and artists must live together with the people. This is particularly true with us who are working for socialism. "The people are the mother of literary and art workers." We should always remember this statement and think about it again and again.

8) The national and popular style can never be accomplished in one step. It has nothing in common with the life of the capitalist society and with bourgeois literature and art, and the bourgeois face and soul.

9) It is certainly undesirable to be pedantic. However, is it desirable to accept everything without distinguishing the essence from the dross, such as those who think that the moon is fuller in foreign countries than in China? The world is going forward. When we are transforming the objective world, we must also change our world outlook continuously. The reason is obvious.

10) The world is created by the working people. We should never consider ourselves always in the right, and should never think that the masses of people do not understand literature and art and only like simple things. In the past there were such literary works as "The Water Margin" and "The Romance of Three Kingdoms." Are they not handed down among the masses of people?

About all these above points, I myself am still learning and trying to know more and better. Let us encourage each other in our endeavors!

Written in early 1982

9039
CSO: 4005/786

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PUBLICATIONS CARRY ARTICLES CRITICIZING POEMS BY YE WENFU

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [CURRENT REPORTS] in Chinese No 1, 1982 pp 83-84

[Article by Li Wen [2621 2429]: "A Review of Ye Wenfu's Poems--A Summary of Articles Carried by JIEFANGJUN BAO, JIEFANGJUN WENYI [LIBERATION ARMY LITERATURE AND ART] and HEBEI RIBAO"]

[Text] On 1 November 1981, JIEFANGJUN BAO carried an article by Fan Shi [5400 4311] entitled "Is It a 'Bouquet' or a 'Bayonet'?" along with another article by Shi Guoshi [4258 0948 0099] entitled "Can Anyone Act in This Manner?"; in its November 1981 issue, JIEFANGJUN WENYI carried an article by Lu Yu [7120 5038] entitled "Hallucinations and Illusive Crises" along with another article by Ma Yunpeng [7456 0061 7720] and Wang Peifu [3769 3805 3769 1318] entitled "Fallacies Cannot Be Used To Distort the Truth"; on 5 January 1981, HEBEI RIBAO carried an article by Cheng Gang [2052 6921] entitled "Poems Must Be Used To Cheer Up the Spirit of the People" criticizing Ye Wenfu's poems entitled "Generals, Please Clean It Up" and "I Am a Flying Moth" and other works.

Fan Shi's article points out: "At the start of his poem and songwriting career, Comrade Ye Wenfu did give us some good poems. He was once praised by the people for composing a song in praise of PLA cadres and fighters entitled 'Cherish the Mountains' and other beautiful works extolling the happy life under socialism as contributions to the people. But over the past 2 years, he has pervaded his poems with the bourgeois liberalization trends of thought and erroneous ideas and has made their influence felt among the people. The more he writes, the further he moves in the wrong direction, and the fewer "bouquets" he can present to the people. What we can see in his works now is "thrust with bayonets reverberating with battle cries." Such bayonets are not directed at the enemy but at the high-level leading cadres of the party and the army.

The article further points out: "In his poem 'Generals, Please Clean It Up,' Comrade Ye Wenfu even goes so far as to compare our PLA generals to the generals of the feudal Chinese kingdoms 'who wore feather hats' and to Robespierre, head of the French Jacobins of the 18th century, who ended up being guillotined, and he raves: Generals, 'even if you die, you should keep your bodies clean.'" What is worse is Comrade Ye Wenfu's article entitled "Chronic Pains From the Emancipation of the Mind." In this article, he calls the generals merely small "flies" and those "superior to them" "tigers." It is clear that

he wants to direct his bayonet at the "proletarian revolutionaries characteristic of the backward class," "the party's supreme leaders," "leaders at all other levels," and "Yang Guang, second emperor of the Qin Dynasty" of modern times. He also wants to direct his bayonet at the so-called "feudal peasant" party, the "unscientific" socialist system, the dictatorship of the proletariat which stands for "the closed door political doctrine," the "insensitive" people, and "the ancient kingdom which still stubbornly lives behind the icy wall of the Middle Ages." "Obviously, his attempt is not to criticize the shortcomings of the generals or their mistakes but to distort and disgrace the image of our party, country and army and to attack them. May I ask where the author now stands? His literary works are full of distorted pictures of our real life, depictions that get the two different types of contradictions mixed up and that confuse the feudal rulers with the people's revolutionary leaders. Can we call this a deviation from the four basic principles and a prominent bourgeois liberalization tendency?"

Fan Shi's article further points out: "After the October Revolution, Lenin once said: 'If we find that bad bureaucratic styles of work exist in our management system, we should expose and struggle against them instead of covering them up. If anyone fails to pay attention to the contents of the new system and the fact that the working class is the founder and master of our Soviet-type nation during the struggle against loopholes in the new system, he is either out of his mind or mentally deranged.'" ("Selected Works," Vol 4, p 558) "In his struggle against the bureaucracy and 'other shortcomings,' Ye Wenfu seems to forget to pay attention to the difference between the old and new society and between old and new China." "The bureaucracy in the old society reflects the true nature of the system of exploitation of man by man, while the bureaucracy in the new society does not reflect its true nature. The socialist system is essentially opposed to the bureaucracy."

"How to gear literary and artistic works to distinguish correctly between the two different types of contradictions and to criticize the negative and backward aspects of life among the people is not only an ideological, epistemological and methodological problem but also a problem of class stand and attitude from the basic point of view. A writer or poet in a socialist country like ours must consider it necessary to take the position of the party in order to ruthlessly expose the enemies and enthusiastically extol the people. He should adopt a comradely rather than a hostile attitude toward the shortcomings that affect the people."

Comrade Lu Yu writes: "Undoubtedly, the existence of a bureaucracy and special privileges in our society today is an important problem which will have a corrosive effect on the party's workstyle and will pose an obstacle to the smooth development of the 'four modernizations,' a problem that commands our close attention. But a survey of our society as a whole shows that this phenomenon is a matter of secondary importance because it will not end up producing a 'bureaucratic class' in our party and country. Nor will it become the principal contradiction which may tend to change the nature of our society and the course of social development. The 'Resolution' adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee points out: 'After our socialist transformation is mainly completed, the principal contradiction that needs to be resolved in our country will be one between the people's growing desires to

improve their material and cultural life and the backward social productive forces.' This analysis of the current social principal contradiction in our country is correct. A grave mistake occurred during the 'Great Cultural Revolution,' when no efforts were made to grapple with this kind of principal contradiction and when resources were diverted to promote a great political revolution in which 'one class is allowed to overthrow another.'" "Today...a few people with ulterior motives have spread the fallacy that a 'bureaucratic class' has emerged in our party and therefore a struggle against the 'bureaucracy and special privileges' must be carried out by the people. Their aim is to discredit and shake the people's confidence in the four basic principles and to bring about disorder across the land. Our writers should never be fooled into echoing their line." The articles carried by JIEFANGJUN BAO and JIEFANGJUN WENYI point out: The prefaces to Comrade Ye Wenfu's two poems entitled "Generals, Don't Do That" and "Generals, Please Clean It Up" are perplexing and deceptive in the eyes of the public.

Ma Yunpeng, Wang Peifu, Shi Guoshi and other comrades of the PLA Engineering Corps point out: The allegation in Comrade Ye Wenfu's poems accusing a general of building a luxurious home for himself at the cost of several hundred thousand yuan in foreign exchange currency and buying a bathtub at a price of 10,000 yuan in local currency is "purely Alice in Wonderland" This allegation accusing the general of squandering several hundred thousand yuan in foreign exchange currency is purely a sensational fabrication which can be proved false by the fact that our country now exercises strict control over the remittance of foreign exchange currency. The allegation accusing the general of purchasing a bathtub at a price of nearly 10,000 yuan is also inconsistent with the fact that the "price of a most expensive and specially designed enamel bathtub now available in our country does not exceed 700 yuan" not to mention the price of nearly 10,000 yuan for a bathtub as charged. Shi Guoshi's article adds: "In a clear declaration, Comrade Ye Wenfu calls his poems fiction or artistic condensations of events. It goes without saying that as far as literary works are concerned, fiction and artistic condensations are not only permissible but also necessary. But it is commonsense that they should be true to life. I regret to say that the comrade who professes to 'tell the truth' at all times has concealed the truth from the ignorant readers. At one time, one may hear him defend his poems eloquently and say that they are essentially fiction, but at other times, one may hear him swear that his poems are based on facts. Out of such statements has emerged a contradiction that cannot be resolved even by Comrade Ye Wenfu himself. Which of the two allegations does he expect the readers to believe? It can be said that the vital part of his poorly written poems is untenable for it is presented in a perplexing, deceptive and confusing manner in the eyes of the public. In order to convince the people of his 'sincerity' and 'goodwill' in the course of framing sensational but false charges against someone, he often tries to present himself as a person very much concerned with the destiny of mankind or a 'rebel who is willing to risk being humiliated in order to argue his case before others.' This behavior is really a violation of the code of ethics to which a revolutionary poet should subscribe."

On 17 November 1981, JIEFANGJUN BAO carried an article on literature and art by Gu Quan [6254 3123] entitled "The Feeling of a Poet" criticizing Comrade Ye Wenfu's poem entitled "The Setting Sun." This poem, which contains only four

sentences, says: "Prayer has been said several times from the bottom of my heart. But it still cannot make you remain in this world. You have spent too much time in the air. You should come down to kiss the earth." Comrade Gu Quan wrote: Who is the "you" to which the poem refers? What thought and sentiment does the poem purport to express? A clear answer can come from the bottom of the heart of the author himself. But the readers can also figure out what it really means. Comrade Mao Zedong's lifetime contributions to the nation are so great that they cannot be erased from the hearts of the broad masses of people despite the fact that he made mistakes in his later years, mistakes that should not be covered up by us. But in the course of analyzing historical merits and demerits in concrete terms, we should not allow a fig-leaf to prevent us from seeing Mount Tai. A personal appreciation of life has led the vast numbers of our countrymen voluntarily to express their love and respect for their leader from the bottom of their hearts. When Comrade Mao Zedong left the world forever, plunging the entire nation in deep grief, there was an automatic outpouring of nostalgic thoughts and affection from the bottom of the people's hearts. The mistakes he made in his later years should be assessed and his life should be dispassionately judged with the same nostalgic thoughts and affection. But Comrade Ye Wenfu seems enjoying making fun of him through the composition of the poem "The Setting Sun." Expressing his personal thought and feeling in this way has nothing in common with the attitude of the broad masses toward their leader. Clearly, there is a disagreement between Comrade Ye Wenfu and others in the country over how to come up with conclusions on what is right and what is wrong and what is good and what is bad. "Comrade Ye Wenfu once said that the secret that led him to success was his loyalty to his feeling and his identity." But we should never forget that a poet has no alternative but to identify his feeling with that of the broad masses. Pushkin, a poet of the Tsarist era, once said: "My voice of justice always echoes the Russian people." This means that he regarded his poems as a reflection of "himself." Does he consider that he has lagged even behind a bourgeois poet of the 19th century in this respect?

Comrade Cheng Gang's article carried by HEBEI RIBAO says: "Although Comrade Ye Wenfu has come up with some good poems in the past, I began to think there was something wrong with his emotion and stand the day I read his poem "Generals, Please Clean It Up" (see issue No 1 of LOTUS POND, 1981) along with another poem "I Am a Flying Moth" (see issue No 3 of OCTOBER, 1981). "Our people's army has many generals who have survived the hail of bullets and artillery fire and who have distinguished themselves in bloody battles. Today, they are still working hard for the people, while making themselves the mainstay of our people's revolutionary army now ready to modernize itself. Earlier, I was moved to tears by reading a newspaper report on an anecdote about General Luo Shunchu [5012 5293 0443]." "Our true PLA generals cannot be represented by the 'phony generals' as portrayed in the poem 'Generals, Please Clean It Up.' Realism in literature and art should typify true characters and their personalities." "Everyone can predict what effect a sensational literary work will have on society if it is proved to be unfaithful to artistic realism."

Cheng Gang's article says: "Comrade Ye Wenfu's intention in composing the poem 'Generals, Please Clean It Up' is not accidental at all. A mere reading of his poem 'I Am a Flying Moth' can help us easily find the crux of the problem. In

the poem 'I Am a Flying Moth,' there is no single ray of hope visible to us. It is filled from beginning to end with such terms as 'silent and dark nights,' and 'murder, terror, conspiracy, intrigue, ambition, underhanded tricks, cunning and cheating, foolish arrogance, cancer of power, absurdity, betrayal, compromise, overbearing, bribery, slave mentality, degeneration, pride in being parasites, view plunder as sacred....' The poem says: the only 'deceptive' light I can see is emitted by 'playful' 'fireflies.' Only 'a heroic death' will lead me to see a powerful China when I gaze into a blazing fire...." Such remarks are clearly a distortion of real life or reality. Cheng Gang's article says: "Although our society has its dark side, its bright side still prevails over its dark side. If anyone wants to dramatize our great socialist undertaking and our great struggle being carried out by 1 billion Chinese people as a big mess, he will certainly end up putting himself in a position hostile to the party and people. The reason Comrade Ye Wenfu's recent works have given the people a dismal feeling probably stems from this fact. This proves that adherence to the four basic principles is very significant for literary and artistic workers in reflecting life along sound lines."

These articles also unanimously express the hope that Comrade Ye Wenfu will be able painfully to sum up his experiences and lessons and change his stand in this connection, to break with the bourgeois liberalization tendency, to turn his poems into daggers directed at the true enemy of socialism, bouquets presented to the party and people, or songs in praise of the beautiful socialist life, songs that can inspire the people to work with one heart and one mind to bring the four modernizations program to a successful conclusion.

9574
CSO: 4005/756

REPORT ON DENG XIAOPING'S TRIP TO SOUTH CHINA

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 3, 1982 pp 7-10

[Article by Luo Bing [5012 0393]: "On the Trail of Deng Xiaoping"]

[Text] The Busy Hu Yaobang

"The staff at Zhongnanhai are 'heading out in all directions.'"

"Only about half the number of secretaries in the Secretariat of the Central Committee remain in the capital."

These were the "secrets" revealed to me by several friends in Beijing prior to the Spring Festival.

They presented a long list of people and places: Peng Chong [1756 5897] has gone to Fujian; Wang Zhen [3769 7201] has gone to Hainan; Yang Dezhi [2799 1779 1807] has gone to Guangdong; and several secretaries have gone to Guangdong and Fujian.

My view is that "this will cause Hu Yaobang to have to work even harder."

One friend told me: "Indeed, he is probably the busiest politician in the world. At present, he is striving to correct party style, streamline the administrative structure, etc. The All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles has just convened a general meeting. It is said that Hu Yaobang will attend a series of conferences and give a speech.

There are two objectives: first, to bolster the morale of the literary and art world and allow them to feel assured in producing creative works: second, to emphasize the leadership of the party in the sphere of literature and art...."

Why have so many important people gone to Guangdong? This is the question that intrigued me the most. A person with high-level contacts told me: "Deng Xiaoping will also be in Guangzhou during the Spring Festival."

I realized that major news may be unearthed in Guangzhou.

As far as a news reporter is concerned, new and significant news must be able to excite the nerves even more than stimulants. Therefore, I gave up the pleasure of spending the New Year's wrapping dumplings at a friend's home in Beijing. On the evening of 22 January, I boarded the southbound No 19 express train.

Every minute, I was consumed by the thought of following Deng Xizoping in search of news!

A special Train for Deng Xizoping?

On the 23rd, the train passed through Wuchang.

A middle-aged man who looked like a cadre came to the soft compartment in which I was traveling, replacing the "Hong Kong guest" who had just disembarked.

After we had chatted for a while, he told me in a low voice about an interesting episode that had occurred several days earlier.

On that day, although there had been no snow, it was very cold. He had gone to see a friend off at the Wuchang station. He had waited a long time in a room on the rear train. The platform was cordoned off so that only security personnel could enter. Even railroad attendants were turned away. For a while there was much discussion about this. There was a special train going south by way of Wuhan, and so the platform was cordoned off for nearly an hour. What was interesting was that to the rear and front of the VIP compartments were freight cars, and in the freight cars were several high-level officials. One could say they were heavily guarded.

"Whose special train was this?" I asked.

"Some people said it was Ye Jianying going south to escape the cold."

"That can't be." I firmly said: "I've heard that Ye Jianying plans to go to Conghua in Guangzhou, but he hasn't even left Beijing yet."

"Could it have been Deng Xiaoping?" A sly smile flashed across the face of this middle-aged cadre. I believe he was in the know.

A Chance Meeting With Deng Xiaoping

On my first day in Guangzhou, friends told me that Deng Xiaoping had arrived in Guangzhou.

I was very pleased and secretly hoped that I wouldn't fail in this job.

Why had Deng Xiaoping come south? What activities was he involved in? Were the rumors from abroad that he had been shot or was suffering from a serious illness all fiction? Is his health good? Does he have the leisure time to

celebrate the festival and play bridge?... A lot of unanswered questions flooded my mind. I resolved to find the answers to these questions in the southern city that Deng Xiaoping had come to visit.

At 3 pm on 28 January (the fourth day of the lunar month), I hurried downstairs and anxiously went to the reception room next to the first entrance door of the guesthouse to meet a "well-informed source." I believed that he would be able to give me some news about Deng Xiaoping. While I was walking through the main hall of the old building of the guesthouse (built before the "Cultural Revolution"), among the group of people surrounding the two "small peach blossom kings" a fairly short, familiar-looking person attracted my attention and caused my footsteps to falter in surprise.

Who was he?

Deng Xiaoping!

Before me was the person in the news that many reporters throughout the world had been searching for without discovering his whereabouts. This was an important opportunity for me to unearth a major news story.

Deng Xiaoping was wearing a dark gray, wool, cadre's outfit (he was not wearing an overcoat). He was looking at the peach blossoms on the large flower vase. The vase was about 2 meters high, taller than a man. He laughed with those who were clustered around him and exchanged a few remarks. Because those around him were somewhat taller than Deng, there were times when he was lost in this "sea of people." I couldn't make out which person accompanying him was Ren Zhongyi [0117 0112 1138] and which one was Liang Lingguang [2733 7227 0342]. All I could see was a group of 10 or so people, all wearing dark cadre's clothing. There were no military personnel in uniform.

After a moment, Deng Xiaoping and his entourage walked over toward the new building.

This "fleeting glimpse of greatness" could be said to be like "covering a story without covering a story." Deng Xiaoping's healthy countenance and smiling face as well as his calm and alert spirit removed all anxieties from the hearts of millions of people. He was not ill, nor had he been shot at. He would not disappoint the hopes of political circles....

The news value of the fortuitous meeting was great.

Not Idle During Recuperation

When I met my friend in the guesthouse, the first question he asked was: "Have you run into Deng Xiaoping?"

I told him about what I'd just seen and said: "There have been absolutely no precautions taken for Deng Xiaoping's visit to the guesthouse. This is surprising."

"This is normal. If a VIP's trip is extremely secret, then security precautions aren't necessarily taken. Have you forgotten the story of Deng Xiaoping's visit to Huangshan where he gave orders to remove the guards?"

This "well-informed source" told me that after Deng Xiaoping came south, he attended the Spring Festival get-together tea given by the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee. Aside from this, he hadn't participated in any meetings. He had come south to rest. Today he went to make an inspection tour of the newly-rebuilt, celebrated, Dongfang guesthouse (including the peaches and the amusement park). This was not work but rather an "event" that was part of his recuperation.

I asked: "You mean that Deng Xiaoping has done no work during this period of recuperation?"

"No, that's not true. Many problems have appeared in the rectification of Guangdong's party style, in the opposition to economic crimes, and in the move to streamline the administrative structure. There are some particularly serious problems with regard to opposing economic crimes. Deng Xiaoping naturally made inquiries into this. Local leaders also could not pass up this opportunity to rely on the support of such an important person as Deng. Of course there are also problems in the military. I'm sure you will soon know more about all this than I."

Execution of a Group of People

In mid-February I heard that Deng Xiaoping was returning north. I packed my bags and hurried back to Beijing.

In the 20-odd days that I was in Guangzhou, I met some old friends and made some new acquaintances. For the most part, they were the sources of my news report on Deng Xiaoping.

This is a method in which many speak out with one voice: Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang, Chen Yun, and Zhao Ziyang have set in motion a revolution consisting of two phases. The first is to rectify party style and fight economic crime, while the second is to streamline the administrative structure and eliminate old and feeble redundant personnel. After about half a year of ferment, planning, discussion, and research, they formulated policies, plans, steps and measures. Seventy-seven-year-old Deng Xiaoping accepted the advice of Hu Yaobang and the others to leave the capital for a short while for a "semi-recuperation," "Which would be of benefit in the upcoming battle."

Deng Xiaoping and the others were resolute concerning the two phases of the revolution. Because of unsound party style and the overstaffing of organizations, the party has long had low prestige. This may seriously affect the development of all undertakings throughout the nation. Whether or not there is a revolution in these two areas has already become the dividing line between the life and death of the CCP.

The resolve of Deng, Hu Chen, etc., to rectify party style can be seen in the "Talks to Leading Cadres" given after the Spring Festival to high-level cadres at level 12 and above. These talks were equivalent to a mobilization order. It is said that some VIP's spoke very incisively.

--We must disregard sensibilities and official position in uniformly and sternly dealing with (those who commit economic crimes).

--In particular we must catch key people in leading positions.

--Those whose crimes are particularly serious must be punished with the death penalty.

The document "An Urgent Notice on Fighting Crimes of Smuggling and Speculation" provided leading cadres at all levels with a clarification of principles and measures for opposing economic crimes.

It is reported that Chen Yun said that if we don't execute this group, then the party will perish. Furthermore, he said, among the small group that should be executed are the offspring of high-ranking officials engaged in foreign trade.

Of course, this news is reported for the sake of "recording everything one has heard." Further verification is needed.

Attacking a "Nation of Senior Cadres"

Deng, Hu, and the others also laid down resolutions concerning the streamlining of the administrative structure. Have you heard that there exists a "nation of senior cadres" in the world? The people of Beijing joke that China has tens of thousands of level 13 senior cadres (that is, prefectural party committee secretaries and above). There are enough to form a nation of senior cadres that has several times more people than Andorra. Deng and Hu are presently "attacking" this problem of a "nation of senior cadres." They intend to cut back on large numbers of senior cadres.

It is said that the approximately 100 ministries, commissions, and bureaus under the State Council will be simplified to 38 ministries. In each ministry there will be only one minister and two to four vice ministers. There will also be a reduction to three or four vice premiers.

The work of simplification in all ministries under the Central Committee must be completed during the first half of this year. If they set an example and model, it can be extended to the rest of the country.

Two Formidable Tasks

These two phases of the revolution are formidable, and success will not be easily won.

Some people reckon that simplifying the administrative structure is going to be more difficult than rectifying party style. However, there are actually many difficulties and obstacles in correcting unhealthy trends and fighting economic crime.

There is the case of Mao Xiaohong [3029 2556 3163], a bricklayer in Beijing who raped a 5-year-old girl. He was expelled from League membership. He underwent instruction for 3 years. Before his term was up, his membership in the League was renewed and he was promoted to cadre. Later on he was admitted to the party and acted as a county official and then became a Beijing official (in a foreign trade organization). In recent years he frequently smuggled and resold goods at a profit between Beijing and Guangdong, and he also raped a girl in Guangzhou. During those 6 years Mao Xiaohong went scot-free and gradually rose to higher positions. How was this meteoric rise possible? He must have had a backer. Who was his backer? His father--Mao Lianjue [3029 6647 3778], who once held the post of secretary in the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee and who currently holds the position of deputy secretary general in the State Council. Mao Lianjue is his umbrella, and Hua Guofeng's daughter was his sponsor for admission to the party. The case of Mao Xiaohong was finally resolved. However, were it not for the help of Deng Xiaoping's power and influence, political and legal institutions would have been incapable of action.

There is another example in Guangzhou. Wang Weijing [3769 4850 4842], bureau director of the Telecommunications Bureau and secretary of the party committee, and his wife, a CCP member, both engated in smuggling and reselling goods. Staff and workers at the Telecommunications Bureau informed on them for years. Only on 1 February of this year was Wang Weijing arrested and brought to justice. (His wife was arrested in July last year.) Why did it take so long? Wasn't there someone also backing him? It was widely known in Guangzhou that Wang Weijing was finally captured because Deng Xiaophing "stepped in." It appears that there is support for this belief. In general, party officials who commit crimes are not expelled from party membership until after their case is decided. However, Wang Weijing was expelled from party membership only 7 days after his arrest. He had not yet been sentenced.

The Sons of Two High-Ranking Officials

A friend told me that Deng Xiaoping and the others have made Guangdong and Fujian national key points in the struggle against economic crime. The situation is very serious in these two provinces. There are numerous problems, particularly in Guangdong. In Fujian, Xiang Nan [7309 0589], the newly appointed first secretary of the provincial CCP committee, vigorously opposed smuggling and graft. His attitude was firm, and he struck out at a swarm of flies and a group of small tigers. The former first secretary's wife and son were tainted, and it seemed as if they wouldn't escape punishment. However, because several cases in Guangdong were so entangled, it was extremely difficult for them to do anything. The leadership in Guangdong and Guangxi intentionally made bringing Wang Weijing to justice a breakthrough in fighting economic crime. Can we influence criminals whose cases are much more serious than Wang Weijing's and who have even stronger backing?

There is an unconfirmed item of news that has spread from Beijing to Guangzhou. The sons of two very high-ranking officials have a great reputation for smuggling and reselling. As soon as this phase of the revolution has achieved results, then people in the capital demand that they be restrained by the law. One of the high-ranking officials was worried that once this incident was publicized, it would be detrimental to stability and unity and would seriously harm the reputation of the party. As a result, he had a different opinion on the matter. The Commission for Inspection of Discipline did not agree, however, nor did Deng Xiaoping. The outcome will be disclosed in the ensuing section.

One of these two high-ranking officials is old and the other is "middle-aged" (actually he is over 60). There is no need to discuss the older one any further. People in Guangzhou believe that the younger one is untainted. Except for his oldest son, who works at the Guangdong branch of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, his other three sons are all dishonest. There are problems with their lives and workstyles. It is also difficult to say for sure whether or not they are involved in economic crimes. This high-ranking cadre is one of Deng Xiaoping's men. This presents a difficult problem for an important man like Deng.

At present, the people of Guangzhou are paying close attention to whether or not Deng Xiaoping dares to make an example of an important person who has this kind of a problem. Naturally, Deng Xiaoping is not necessarily involved specifically in dealing with these problems. It is said that several secretaries in the Secretariat of the Central Committee have received instructions to go south to handle this matter.

Problems in the Military

In Guangdong there are not only numerous local problems, but there are also major problems in the army.

In the past, as everyone knows, Lin Biao's power in Guangdong was great. In the army there are remnants of Lin Biao and the gang of four as well as cadres under the influence of the Left. They oppose the line of Deng Xiaoping. Deng Xiaoping is determined to resolve this problem in the Guangdong army and in the armies in other areas. It is said that last fall the CCP Central Committee demanded that Guangdong devote major efforts to eliminating the remaining influence of Lin Biao and the gang of four. Consequently, in the suburbs of Guangzhou there immediately appeared fairly large "schools." All military officials who were involved with the gang of four at the regiment level and above were required to leave the army and go off to "study" and "recuperate." It will be some time before we can accurately determine whether or not this measure will be able to solve the problem. Apart from this problem in the army, there are problems of unsound practices and economic crimes. Hu Yaobang once exposed an incident in the air force involving top-grade cigarettes and alcohol. The ordinary people of Beijing and Guangdong also tell how airplanes were used in smuggling gold and other materials. Who can fly airplanes to rush off to purchase commodities, smuggle goods, and resell them at a profit? How could it not be people in the military?

A friend told me that a high-ranking official in the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the CCP may go to Guangdong to help the army solve this difficult problem. Of course this was engineered and arranged by Deng Xiaoping.

After Returning to the Capital

This reporter returned to Beijing from Guangdong. As soon as I disembarked from the train I heard that Deng Xiaoping, who had returned to Zhongnanhai several days earlier, was preparing to make a public appearance in order to refute rumors. (Editor's note: Deng Xiaoping had already met with Sihanouk on 18 February.)

Those from abroad who have a good opinion of Deng Xiaoping can now rest assured.

Based on what I learned in Beijing and Guangzhou, most people are still worried. What are they concerned about?

They are concerned that the two phases of revolution, in particular the rectification of unsound practices and the fight against economic crimes, will not be carried through to the finish.

This is actually the sentiment of the majority of people throughout the nation. Reporters are included among these several hundred million people.

Of course, reporters have become aware that Deng, Hu, Chen, etc., have still not relaxed their efforts in the least. It is said that Hu Yaobang is now in a city in Hebei launching a project to rectify workstyle and purge the party.

It is hoped that the concerns of several hundred million people will eventually be relieved and in the end will change to rejoicing.

9864
CSO: 4005/796

MAO'S ERRONEOUS JUDGEMENT ON HUNGARIAN INCIDENT ANALYZED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 4, 1982 pp 30-33

[Article by Wen Hui [3306 8748]: "Reversing the Verdict on the Hungarian Incident--On a Serious Political Mistake of Mao Zedong on the Occasion of the Sixth Anniversary of the Tiananmen Incident"]

[Text] 1. Clarifying the Important Nature of the Question

The 5 April of this year marks the 6th anniversary of the Tiananmen incident. In the year of the incident, the official newspaper of the CCP Central Committee (under the control of the "gang of four") compared the Tiananmen incident with the 1965 Hungarian incident and called both "counterrevolutionary incidents." Two years after the downfall of the "gang of four," the Tiananmen incident achieved its rehabilitation, and the "counterrevolutionary incident" was finally recognized as what it really was, namely a revolutionary movement, but to this day nothing has ever been written on the Hungarian incident. What then was the true character of the Hungarian incident? This is a question that requires clarification. The present writer believes that Mao Zedong's mistaken assessment of the Hungarian incident was one of the many complex factors contributing to the serious mistakes committed by him in the years following the middle fifties. A new assessment of the Hungarian incident is therefore not only of historical interest, but also significant in relation to the realities of our country's political life.

If I present herewith my limited understanding of the matter, it is with the intention of stimulating a broad discussion of the subject.

2. Historical Review

(1) The Background of the Hungarian Incident

The Hungarian incident which erupted in October 1956 was a major event that shook the world.

The incident was inseparably connected with the new developments inside and outside of Hungary that occurred in the general situation at that time. As to the internal situation in Hungary, the long-term first secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party Rakosi had introduced Stalin-type socialism in

Hungary and wrecked the national economy. He had also instituted a personality cult, suppressed democracy, destroyed the legal system and practiced a Stalin-type rule of autocratic dictatorship and terror, thereby arousing great popular indignation with cries of discontent rising all round. Under the pressure of popular sentiment, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party made Rakosi give up his post, but Gero, who replaced Rakosi, was merely another Rakosi with a different face, and he too was highly unpopular. In short, before the outbreak of the Hungarian incident, the political and economic life of the Hungarian people had become unbearable, and the contradictions among the Hungarian masses had sharpened.

As to the external situation, 8 months before the Hungarian incident, Khrushchev had delivered his secret report at the 20th Congress of the CPSU in February 1956, in which he totally repudiated the Stalin regime. This report led certain Western politicians to believe wholeheartedly that high hopes might become fulfilled and the socialist countries would turn away from Stalinism and return to the capitalist track. They seized the opportunity to launch a propaganda offensive against communism. On the other hand, Khrushchev's attacks against Stalin, though somewhat excessive, had a considerable impact on the fetish of Stalin, as created over the years, and on the customary personality cult that had prevailed in the socialist countries. These circumstances created a strong upsurge of anti-Stalinism and antihegemonistic sentiments in the East European countries under Soviet control which were still tied up in the fetters of Stalinism. On 28 June 1956 a sensation throughout the world was caused by the bloody Poznan incident in Poland, where 50,000 workers staged a demonstration under the slogan "Bread, Free Elections and Withdrawal of Soviet Troops."

This was the background to the Hungarian incident.

(2) The Historical Aspect of the Hungarian Incident

On 23 October 1956 the masses of the Hungarian capital of Budapest staged a demonstration demanding "Russians beat it, go home (withdrawal of Soviet troops)," demanding an improvement in the livelihood of the people, demanding real people's democracy, demanding the dismissal of Gero, the first secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party, and in support of the return of Imre Nagy, a one-time fitter, then university professor, member of the Academy of Sciences and also one-time Hungarian premier. The Soviets moved tanks into action to suppress the masses. The armed uprising spread quickly to the whole country. Under pressure from the masses, the first secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party Gero was replaced by Kadar and Nagy became president. Soon thereafter a multiparty government was newly organized; it demanded the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, but at the same time proclaimed that it would protect the fruits of socialism, that land, factories, enterprises and banks would remain state-controlled, that measures would be taken to improve the livelihood of the people, that work norms would be lowered, that measures for the compulsory collectivization of agriculture would be stopped, and that furthermore preparation would be made for free elections throughout the country, allowing all democratic parties to participate. Nagy's political views and measures had every chance of bringing about a relaxation in the

general situation. However, the Soviets moved large troop reinforcements into Budapest. Nagy protested to the Russians. On 1 November the Hungarian Government proclaimed its withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact and requested the United States, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union to guarantee Hungary's independence. From 4 to 7 November, Soviet tanks moved into the Hungarian capital and opened fire on the masses and on the Hungarian military barracks. Several thousand people lost their lives. Then there was a sudden and rapid change of the overall situation: Kadar proclaimed the establishment of an anti-Nagy government. Nagy and several members of his government took refuge in the Yugoslav embassy. On 22 November Nagy left the Yugoslav embassy to return home, relying on a safe-conduct by the Kadar government, but on his way the Russians took him prisoner. On 15 June 1958 Nagy was sentenced to death by a Hungarian court for the crime of "collusion with domestic and foreign counterrevolutionaries, incitement to counterrevolutionary revolt" and "restoration of capitalism in Hungary." The next day Nagy was executed by hanging. One of Nagy's last statements was: "Twice, in 1953 and in 1956, I defended the honor of our country's socialism. The first time my opponent was Rakosi; the second time my opponent was the entire armed might of the Soviet Union...In the future, history will pass a true judgement on my murderers." (For an account of the Hungarian incident, see Kopacsi's memoirs "The Tragedy of Hungary." The author. For the main contents of this book, see the article "I Was a Witness of the Hungarian Incident From Beginning to End," in the present issue of this periodical. The editor.)

Khrushchev was well satisfied that the Hungarian incident was concluded in this manner.

Mao Zedong was also well satisfied that the Hungarian uprising was put down in this manner.

(3) Mao Zedong Poked His Nose Into the Hungarian Incident

The eruption of the Hungarian incident evoked an extremely strong reaction at the Zhongnanhai in Beijing. Mao Zedong and the CCP described the Hungarian incident as a "counterrevolutionary revolt" instigated by "counterrevolutionary elements." When President Nagy organized his new government at the end of October 1956, Liu Shaoqi secretly flew to Moscow for discussions with Khrushchev. An article entitled "The Reasons and the Development of Our Parting Ways With the Leadership of the CPSU," which was part of the "Nine Commentaries," reveals that Khrushchev originally intended to yield somewhat to Nagy and the Hungarian Communist Party, but due to the firm insistence on the part of the CCP on crushing the Hungarian "counterrevolutionary revolt," the Soviets changed their mind and their methods. This article reads:

"At a critical moment when the counterrevolutionary forces had occupied Budapest, the leadership of the CPSU was ready to follow a policy of capitulationism, intending to surrender socialist Hungary to the counter-revolution."

"These various mistakes by the leadership of the CPSU invited reckless activities from all enemies of communism, created serious difficulties for

many fraternal parties, and did serious damage to the international communist movement."

"In the face of this situation, members of the CCP...firmly advocated taking all necessary measures to crush the Hungarian counterrevolutionary revolt and firmly opposed abandoning socialist Hungary."

Finally, Chinese and Soviet views became identical and as a result the roar of Soviet guns shook the entire city of Budapest....

After the incident, when calm had returned, the CCP dispatched a telegram of congratulation to Soviet Russia, and Zhou Enlai was sent to the Soviet Union, as well as to Poland and Hungary, to hold discussions with Khrushchev, Gromulka and Kadar.

3. Mao Zedong's Mistakes

(1) Erroneous Judgement of the Hungarian Incident

In every major article that Mao Zedong published at that time and in every speech he dealt with the Hungarian incident and talked of its counter-revolutionary nature. (Cf. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, pp 318, 334, 337, 338, 351, 352, 355, and 367) In his article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," he wrote: "Deceived by domestic and foreign counterrevolutionaries, a section of the people of Hungary made the mistake of resorting to violence against the people's government." "Because our Hungarian comrades took proper action in the course of the incident, what was a bad thing has eventually turned into a good one. Hungary is now more consolidated than ever, and all other countries in the socialist camp have also learned a lesson." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 397)

Chinese communist articles and documents written in that period or after 1956 all follow, in their assessment of the Hungarian incident, Mao Zedong's version. The "Third Commentary on the CPSU Central Committee's Open Letter," which is part of the "Nine Commentaries," not only calls the Hungarian incident an "incident of counterrevolutionary revolt," but also calls Nagy's efforts to improve the livelihood of the people and the economic life "counterrevolutionary measures." The article "The Counterrevolutionary Political Incident on Tienanmen Square" in the RENMIN RIBAO of 8 April 1976 also calls the Hungarian incident a "counterrevolutionary incident." Even after the downfall of the "gang of four" the "counterrevolutionary" label that had been stuck on this historical event was never removed, as seen, for instance, in the footnote to the Hungarian incident on page 329 in volume 5 of the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," which still uses this hackneyed term.

Is the Hungarian incident then after all a counterrevolutionary incident?

Is then after all the assessment of the nature of the Hungarian incident made by Mao Zedong and the CCP Central Committee a fair one?

No; calling the Hungarian incident a counterrevolutionary incident is a distortion of the true facts, a falsification of history and a travesty of logic. On the question of this incident, Mao Zedong and the CCP Central Committee are guilty of a very great mistake.

First, Mao Zedong and the CCP Central Committee said that the Hungarian incident originated by "a section of the people of Hungary being deceived by domestic and foreign counterrevolutionaries" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 397), and that "international imperialism played a major decisive role" ("A Further Discussion of the Historical Experience of the Proletarian Dictatorship"). This article was written by the editorial staff of the RENMIN RIBAO based on a discussion at an enlarged meeting of the CCP Politburo, and does not conform with the true facts. The Hungarian people shed their blood in this struggle and thousands heroically gave their lives. Would the deception of domestic and foreign counterrevolutionaries give such tremendous magic power to make the Hungarian people willingly go to their deaths? Calling international imperialism the decisive factor is disregarding the dialectics of the "priority of internal causes over external causes," as it is also an intentional coverup of the true causes for this incident. Its causes are admittedly complex, but the major factors are certainly the long-term extreme dissatisfaction of the Hungarian people with the line, principle and policies of the Hungarian Communist Party (that is, of its first secretary Rakosi), especially with the mechanical copying of Stalin-type methods, the strong demand to throw off the worn-out old restrictive conventions, the demand to raise the standard of living and for the enjoyment of democratic rights. Had there been external causes? Of course there had been, but the major external cause did not come from the West, but came from Moscow. The Soviet Union's hegemonism over Hungary (including the stationing of troops on Hungarian territory) and Khrushchev's heavy-handed anti-Stalin action had a much greater impact on creating the Hungarian incident than the anticommunist propaganda by Western politicians.

Second, Mao Zedong's view of considering the nature of the Hungarian incident as a counterrevolutionary one actually amounts to designating the Hungarian masses as counterrevolutionary, a mixing up of black and white and confusing right and wrong. The composition of the masses taking part in the incident is complex; there were extremists from the right and the left, criminals, political criminals, bureaucrats and military police of the old regime, and former landlords, but the question is who were the backbone of those participating in the fight? The hard core of the contingents in the Hungarian incident were workers, students and soldiers. As to evil elements that had infiltrated the contingent it is more correct to speak of them as the exceptional, rather than the normal component. In past history and actual conditions, where has the purity of the revolutionary contingents ever achieved the 100 percent mark? Haven't there also been "leftist" and rightist elements among those who called themselves the vanguard contingent of the proletariat? Haven't there also been hidden all kinds of evildoers, careerists and conspirators? Has the CCP not also had its degenerates of the type of Zhang Guotao? Why do you call your own not so pure but still pure contingents revolutionary contingents but call others' not so pure but still pure contingents counterrevolutionary?

Third, when Mao Zedong vigorously clamored for Soviet military intervention after the Nagy government was established with the support of the Hungarian masses, that was pure manifestation of great-nation chauvinism. Even if some of the policies and methods of the Nagy government may have been incorrect, the popular character of that regime cannot be denied. In any case, it is in accordance with the norms of international conduct that the Hungarian people have the right to handle their own political affairs and that no foreign country has the right to interfere (especially not militarily). The military intervention in the Hungarian situation was in conflict with morality and justice and in conflict with proper principles. Mao Zedong played a most inglorious role in the Hungarian incident. One may ask, how many counter-revolutionary elements were there among those who died before the Soviet tanks and before the guns of the Hungarian peace preservation corps? Why the impudence of calling a suppression by military force a "proper handling"?

To sum up, the crux of Mao Zedong's mistake was that he mixed up a non-antagonistic contradiction with an antagonistic contradiction.

(2) The Test of Practice

Practice is the sole norm of verification of truth. Let practice answer the question whether Mao Zedong's assessment of the Hungarian incident must be affirmed or rejected.

Throughout all the years after Nagy, Hungary under the control of the Soviet Union has been as one of the "children" in the "great family of socialism," obediently following the commands of the head of the family; it had become a base for the expansion of Soviet hegemonism. For many years the Hungarian economy had remained in a state of poverty and backwardness. Only through a most tortuous course did Hungary break out in certain respects from the Stalin-type restrictive conventions and under the precondition of the superiority of the system of ownership by the whole people adopt a structure that allowed coexistence of manifold economic components and manifold ownership systems. The macrocosmic economic policies are under the centralized control of the state; the microcosmic economic policies are carried out in a decentralized way: planned economy is primary, market economy is supplementary. This new system gave the Hungarian economy a new lease on life, however it was an achievement gained only through a course of suffering for over 20 years. Furthermore, this achievement was gained, after all, by breaking out from the Stalin-type mold, while 20 years ago the Hungarian people's efforts of instantly breaking out from the Stalin-type restrictive conventions had met with suppression. Was it not a long historical roundabout road that Hungary has traveled?

How would Hungary have changed if there had been no military intervention in the struggle of the Hungarian masses some 20 years ago? We can well imagine that if it would not have developed at least into a second Yugoslavia, it would have become even more democratic and more prosperous than Yugoslavia. We can also well imagine that due to a chain reaction a third, fourth, etc., Yugoslavia would have emerged in the East European community. This would have been beneficial for the peoples of Eastern Europe and for the international

communist movement and of disadvantage to the proponents of Soviet hegemonism who want to maintain by all means the bases in Eastern Europe for further expansions in Europe and the world.

(3) The Reasons for Committing the Mistakes

There are basically two reasons for Mao Zedong's mistakes in the question of the Hungarian incident:

First, an insufficient mastery of the theories of scientific socialism and insufficient practical experience. At that time the Stalin model was regarded as the one and only model of socialism. Anyone who would think of shattering this model would be labeled "revisionist," "restorer of capitalism," "counter-revolutionary," and "rebel." As Mao Zedong and the CCP Central Committee affixed this label to post-1948 Yugoslavia and Tito, it naturally affixed a similar label to the Hungarian reformist party. On the other hand, Mao Zedong considered democracy as a kind of "artifice," not understanding that people's democracy is the major objective of socialist revolution and the major content of the political life of the socialist state, not understanding that the realization of democracy was the primary principle of the Paris Commune and that carrying out socialism must implement the principle of the Paris Commune. Whenever the call for democratic freedom arose, Mao Zedong would regard it as "bourgeois liberalization." This was precisely his assessment of the Hungarian intellectuals.

Second, his worry that "a single spark can start a prairie fire"--that the flame of breaking out of the Stalin model, of antidictatorship and anti-bureaucratism might spread to Beijing. This is one of the major reasons for the mistakes committed by Mao Zedong and the CCP Central Committee in the question of the Hungarian incident. Mao Zedong's concern reveals his selfishness. Although he was aware of the high prestige of the party, he also came to know of the many complaints of the people against the old bureaucrats and the Chinese Rakosies of many shades. If the Chinese people should find out about the Hungarian incident, the stability of his own position, his party and his government might become questionable. Political mistakes often originate from greed for power and selfishness.

3. The Serious Consequence of the Erroneous Assessment of the Hungarian Incident

(1) The Emphasis on Class Struggle

His political worries caused confusion in Mao Zedong's way of thinking. See for instance how at one moment he says that in China "a great upheaval like the nationwide Hungarian incident cannot happen" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 337), while the next moment he again says: "I think we should be prepared for major incidents...it would be at most nationwide riots, or a "Hungarian incident" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 352). He had just finished stating that "only a small number of people may cause trouble here or there," when soon afterward he changed "small number" into "quite a number of people"--"There are some democratic personages and

professors...who stand opposed to us. Among the students there are also quite a few who stand opposed to us. Since most of today's college students come from exploiting-class families, no wonder that some are opposed to us. Such persons can be found in Beijing, Shijiazhuang and elsewhere." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 351) He also reckoned that possibly "several million people may rise up against us, occupying a few hundred counties and advancing on Beijing. All we would need to do then would be to go back to Yenan." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 352) Obviously, the Hungarian incident made Mao Zedong extremely nervous.

(2) The "Anti-Rightist Struggle"

It seems that at that time Mao Zedong absorbed the experiences of the defeat of the Rakosi regime in Hungary, as he pointed out that the masses must not be suppressed. He said: "Whenever people utter queer remarks, go on strike or present a petition, you try to beat them back with one blow, always thinking that these things ought not to occur. Why is it then that these things which ought not to occur still do? This very fact proves that they ought to occur. You forbid people to strike, to petition or to make unfavorable comments, you simply resort to repression in every case, until one day you become a Rakosi." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 354) In fact, what he emphasizes with greater strength is the experience of "effective class struggle." He said: "The fundamental problem with some East European countries is that they have not done a good job of waging class struggle and have left so many counterrevolutionaries at large." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 323) In the light of this experience, Mao Zedong in 1957 abandoned the line of the Eighth CCP National Congress and vigorously proclaimed class struggle. First it was to "lure the snake to come out of its hole" and to "lure the ants to come out of their holes," then to stage a surprise attack by an "anti-rightist struggle" on a broad scale. There is one passage in Mao Zedong's writings which may be underlined for special attention as epitomizing his setup for staging the "anti-rightist" struggle out of fear of a refurbished version of the Hungarian incident and on absorbing the experiences of the Hungarian incident:

The anti-rightist struggle "is a big battle (with the battleground both inside and outside the party). If we don't win this battle, it will be impossible to attain socialism and there may even be some danger of a "Hungarian incident." Now by launching the rectification of our own accord, we have purposely invited a possible "Hungarian incident" and broken it down into many small "Hungarian incidents" staged in various organizations and colleges and dealt with individually. Besides, the party and government have not been thrown into disarray except for a very small section (it is just fine that this small section has gone rotten, for this means that the pus has been squeezed out). All this is very beneficial." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 432)

(3) The Increasingly "Leftist" Trend and the Tiananmen Incident

As from the "Anti-Rightist" movement on, Mao Zedong's political line became more and more "leftist." Emphasizing class struggle while class contradictions were easing up with each passing day was bound to lead to one general chaotic

struggle. In 1964 Mao Zedong was oversensitive in feeling shrouded by the shadow of the "counterrevolutionary Hungarian incident," and therefore issued the "directive" to be on guard against a "Hungarian Petofi Club." Guided by the leftist political line, one movement after the other, from the "anti-rightist movement" to the "cultural revolution," was one disaster after another.

Finally, China experienced, quite unexpected by Mao Zedong, its own "Hungarian incident," similar but not completely like the Hungarian incident itself.

If the scribes of the "gang of four" compared the Tiananmen incident with the Hungarian incident, there was indeed a similarity in essence between the two incidents, but not as the "gang of four" said, as "counterrevolutionary incidents," but as righteous movements of the people. Another similarity is that China too produced a Rakosi, in fact not only one, but several; the end of the Chinese Rakosies was even more ungraceful than that of the Hungarian Rakosi.

4. The CCP Should Draw a Lesson From These Experiences

In the last few years many injustices of the Mao Zedong era have been set right. This writer believes that the verdict in the case of the so-called "Hungarian counterrevolutionary incident" should also be reversed. It is especially important that the CCP acknowledge the mistakes committed in the question of the Hungarian incident and the even greater mistakes that followed from the first mistake, and that the CCP draw a lesson from these experiences so that it will not rigidly adhere to outmoded molds of socialism, nor suppress people's democracy, nor lightly ignore the livelihood of the people, nor engage in indiscriminate class struggle, nor allow leading cadres at all levels to turn into bigger or smaller Rakosies.

9808
CSO: 4005/806

'CERTAIN THEORETICAL QUESTIONS' RAISE COMMENTS, DISCUSSION

Comments on Forum Statements

Hong Kong CHI-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES]: "Some Comments on Statements Made at the Forum on 'Certain Theoretical Questions'"]

[Text] The article "Certain Theoretical Questions on the Later Stage of the Socialist Transformation in China" which was published while "liberalization" was ascendant in China in 1980 has recently been criticized by Chinese official sources. In order to get a better understanding of the viewpoints of the two disagreeing parties, the writer has studied the special issue published in November 1981 which carried statements made at a forum for carrying out criticisms and self-criticisms of "Certain Theoretical Questions." My comments on that are as follows:

A Retreat from Taking Truth as a Criterion for Discussion:

The discussion of "practice is the sole criterion for testing truth" which was carried out in 1978 all over the country has smashed the long time rule of the ultra-Leftis dogmatism over the ideological circles in China and has saved academic research in China from being suffocated. This was an ideological leap forward having profound significance. An appraisal of a theory can be made only by the effects of practice. The recognition of this concept in China has dimmed the glories enjoyed by Mao Zedong. People are beginning to understand that not every word of the great leader is truth. Scholars are no longer willing to play the part of bodyguards of the imperial court or annotators of the Red classics. They are beginning to seek for the rational self through exploration and to secure powerful logical strength from the sufferings and voices of the people. And then they are spreading the results of this thinking to the people.

Yet, all these have grown faint again in the light of the unpredictable political struggles in China. Statesmen who believe in pragmatism do not necessarily derive inspiration and fervor from philosophy. The endeavor to use the four basic principles to replace letting a hundred schools of thought content has begun and the will of the commanding officers again becomes predominant. What the scholars can do is prostrate themselves before the political incantation and mutter unintelligibly, or regret their accidental carelessness. Hu Fuming [5170 4395 2494], the writer of the famous article "Practice Is the Sole Criterion for Testing Truth" attended the forum and

spoke to defend "On Practice." he did his utmost to praise highly the great significance of Mao Zedong's epistemology. It has been pointed out in the resolution adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee that: "The habit of continuously using the old method and experience, familiar only in the past, but impossible to copy mechanically now in order to wage tempestuous and large-scale mass struggles has led to the serious magnification of class struggle." This part of the resolution obviously pointed out that Mao Zedong had made the mistake of narrow empiricism. Yet, Hu Fuming, the theorist who made contributions 3 years ago in the appraising the Mao movement, went far this time in quoting important words to speak in defense of Mao. He stressed that Mao Zedong Thought is not allowed to be doubted and be tried to extricate Mao from accusations by saying that errors made since the Great Cultural Revolution have been the result of idealism and the personality cult advocated by Lin Biao.

The person who wanted to call back the spirit of Mao Zedong Thought happened to be the one who once took the lead in criticizing the "two whatevers." Historical irony really is endless. Yet, we are unwilling to see retrogression appear once again in this disaster-ridden land.

A Priority or Theory of Reflection:

In the living soul of Marxism-Leninism rests the idea of making a concrete analysis of concrete conditions. The value of Marxist-Leninist theory lies in the fact that it has provided a way of thinking which is selective and not a set of ready conclusions or formulae which are always considered correct. The Western academic circles often feel perplexed by the method of seeking proof applied by their Chinese counterparts in judging right and wrong on the basis of classics or quotations.

In the course of the Great Cultural Revolution, the farce of fighting for the quotation between opposite factions holding the same little Red Book showed how ridiculous it was to confine an academic research in a frame of fixed conclusions. The brain, even that of Lenin or Einstein, as a kind of living material, can only reflect a very limited part of the imcomparable plentifulness of the objective world, and certain of its functions may not even be comparable to a computer. At the time when Tito opposed Stalin, he criticized by saying "there is only one brain throughout the country." When Lin Biao fell from power, "historical heroism" and a priority were fervently criticized in China. However, seeking for help from words and phrases of Marx and Lenin instead of searching for evidence from daily life and history is still deep-rooted.

From the criticisms of "Certain Theoretical Questions" we can see many examples like this. For instance, the writer has invoked the new economic policy of Lenin to criticize the Chinese Communist Party's "superstructural determinism" and "communism, the paradise; people's communes, the bridge." Critics at the forum, ignoring the strategic "retreat" of the system of "fixing output for each household" which is at present extensively implemented in rural areas, were unwilling to face reality. They complained of the writer "muddling things up," and "publicizing the capitalist theory" of

"making up a missed lesson." The Chinese Communist Party has defined "integrating theory with practice" as one of the "three great work styles." But in practice, it has often been the case that theory is seriously divorced from reality. What has been carried out is not necessarily what has been told.

Even if it is necessary to prove a quotation, "everything is dependent on time and place" should still be the prerequisite. Senior orthodox theorist Huan Xiang [1360 6763] said recently when he touched upon the study of "the doom of imperialism": "The present issue is not to defend or prove the correctness of every sentence in "On Imperialism," but rather to deem it a principle for carrying out the study of new situations and issues. Even individual conclusions made by Lenin under conditions of his time are not necessarily always content." He was very much guarded in his words, but still he expressed his explicit idea.

Maoists in China have taken both a complacent and a conservative stand in refusing to make progress. In 1957, to criticize the "rightist" was to "attack one point without touching upon the rest." Likewise, today they again often complain that new ideas in defiance of the dogma put forward by researchers are "looking upon the overall situation with a limited view" and "deviating from the classics or rebelling against orthodoxy." They can utilize both inductive and deductive methods willfully to make a conclusion of "total repudiation" of socialism on behalf of dissidents.

In the ever-changing new era, we cannot see the possibility for official theories like this to make any progress if they continue to stick to the philosophical thoughts and debates of "not tallying concepts of oneself with things, but on the contrary making things conform to one's own concepts," to seek proof for the classics and excuse for political purposes.

The Central Issue at Present:

It can be observed from the special issue of the forum that by looking back to the path of theoretical development in the past 30 years in China, the central issue is still criticizing Mao. Since the viewpoints in this article have been rejected and criticized at the forum, is there any new idea to take its place? This is what we are expecting. Yet, there is none. On the question of criticizing Mao, the critics unanimously repeat only one point of view, i.e., Mao's errors are secondary and inevitable. The reason is that the history of the communist movement is not a long one and it is inexperienced. There is neither a concrete analysis of Mao himself, nor a theoretical summation of the roots of social history.

Mao said in 1956 when he was criticizing Stalin: It is inevitable for a party of the proletarian class to commit mistakes, but it should not commit comprehensive, long-drawn-out and gross mistakes. Unfortunately, the mistakes made by Mao were of that kind and the seriousness of his mistakes was unprecedented. The nation was on the brink of collapse and the people suffered grievous losses. According to the principle of law, even death

would not be enough to redeem his crimes. Can the merits on his earlier days vest in him the privilege of defying laws, human and devine? Is this Republic Mao's dynasty or the land of the people?

The comprehensive, long-drawn-out and gross blunder itself was not caused by inexperience. He could draw lessons from Stalin. People from within and outside of the party had continuously cautioned and resisted him, but he paid no heed. He was bent on having his own way and acted more and more arbitrarily and subjectively. As a result, his mistakes became unmanageable. For all these, does he still deserve to be a "great revolutionary"?

What is the good of oversimplifying such an important issue as criticizing Mao to prevent a repeat of history? The masses of overseas Chinese remain perplexed despite much thought.

By putting emphasis on historical inevitability instead of appraising Mao individually or making excessive political analysis, the writer of "Certain Theoretical Questions" displayed his tolerance and wisdom.

The people, after experiencing the enlightenment movement since the Great Cultural Revolution and Tian An Men Incident, will no longer be fooled on the question of criticizing Mao. In the mind of the awakened people, Mao is dead and discredited. An upright philosopher must hold himself responsible to history and dare to express the ideas and aspirations of the people. Huang Kecheng [7806 0344 6134] said, Mao Zedong is the symbol of the Chinese Communist Party. Correct. When Mao's merits are affirmed, it stands for honor; when Mao's errors are defended, this symbol becomes a disgrace. Our teachers Marx and Lenin have repeatedly exhorted us that to admit mistakes is a solemn symbol of the party. Mao's fall was caused by covering up his errors. This is a lesson from yesterday which is worthy of the Chinese Communist Party is repeated deliberation.

Amazing Frankness:

At the forum, many speakers lectured the writer with the tone of a "senior" blaming him by saying that his style of study is "indiscreet," his style of writing is "unhealthy," and that "he is not serious in study," "superficial," and "deviating." For many years, using vocabularies in "stereotyped party writing" to disgrace a target as frivolous and ignorant without a single redeeming feature has been a usual practice in criticizing the young "pagans." The fact that there was no new idea in criticisms made at the forum says nothing but: Since there are the four basic principles and the Resolution of the party that we must observe, any new theoretical exploration is not called-for. The mission of a philosopher is merely to repeat what the book says and not to overstep the bounds.

This principle which represents the party spirit has at last been revealed straightforwardly by a speaker in a statement entitled "Style of Study, Style of Writing, And Their Effects." He criticized the writer for failing to take the following questions into consideration before starting to write this article on "important issues."

1. Does he have the knowledge and ability to accomplish this mission?
2. Can this mission be accomplished by only one article?
3. Can it be accomplished by one person alone? and
4. Is this a mission of the theoretical circles or one of the whole party?

These four points are really intriguing and worth considering. Then, who should, in the end, handle important theoretical questions? Who can answer these four questions? Theoretical workers should remain silent. It turns out to be that all such demands as the so-called "thoroughgoing materialist spirit" and "to be brave in seeking truth" are phoney. Criticism is not due to their erroneous viewpoints, but to the fact that fundamentally they should not write or think. Writing or thinking in itself is a mistake. To speak out on this true essence without reservation is probably unheard-of previously in the history of academic criticism within the Chinese Communist Party. We would hope that this is not the real wish of the authorities of the party, but the opinion of the speaker himself.

The writer of "Certain Theoretical Questions," failing to measure his own strength, has expressed his viewpoints on the pressing theoretical questions in contemporary China. Without measuring its value, it is still the evidence of enthusiasm, bravery and loyalty of a young revolutionary. He, after all, flies higher than those experienced and prudent scholars. He firmly believes that scientific socialism is bound to triumph over agricultural socialism and bring about real progress to China.

Hegel (Georg Wilhelm Friedrich) praised the 18th Century French School of Enlightenment as "a magnificent sunrise." For over the period of a century we have had great expectations of China. However, she is still hesitating at the juncture of the darkness of the Middle Ages and the dawn of the contemporary age. In the future, what will be the advice the theoretical circles in China can give us?

Editorial Department Article

Hong Kong CHI-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] No 3 Mar 82 p 42

[Article by the Editorial Department: "The 'Bai Hua Event' in the Eyes of Ideological-Theoretical Circles in China"]

[Text] The year 1981 was a time when China strengthened its control over ideology by "tightening up" in an all-round way. In literary and art circles, there was the Bai Hua Event which criticized the play "Unrequited Love" by name and attracted worldwide attention. In the ideological-theoretical circles--the sector which has played an important role in promoting the movement of emancipation of mind, a similar event of criticism also took place. The criticism was aimed at an article published in the JOURNAL OF NANKING UNIVERSITY probing into the roots of the mistakes made by the Chinese Communist Party over the past 30 years. The Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee issued four directives specifically for this event and thus reminded us of its great importance.

The article "Certain Theoretical Questions on the Later Stage of the Socialist Transformation in China" was first published in the JOURNAL OF NANKING UNIVERSITY (PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIAL SCIENCE) Vol 4, 1980. Since its publication, nobody in the press circles has ever raised any objection. Following the issuance of "Documentation No 30" in August, 1981 asking for criticisms of the "trend of bourgeois liberalization," the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee promptly regarded this article as an example of "bourgeois liberalization" on the ideological-theoretical front and accused it "of violating the four basic principles and going beyond the scope of letting a hundred schools of thought contend." Soon afterward, Nanking University and theorists in various places started to criticize this article internally.

The article "Certain Theoretical Questions" was signed by two names: Ying Xueli [2019 1331 3680] and Sun Hui [1327 6540], but actually they are the same person. It is reported that his name is Jiang Guangxue [5592 1684 1331]. As revealed by relevant articles that carry out criticisms, he is a young Communist, "diligent and eager to learn," "upholding the party and socialism." He has had some of his "good articles" published.

This article contains about 10,000 words. In a self-criticism made at a later time, the writer said: "It is distressful to see the leftist guiding ideology exist in the party for a long period of time and the disastrous effects it hss produced. The reason why I wrote this article was that I intended to explore where the theoretical roots of the leftist guiding ideology are, in order to provide a theoretical proof of the various policies adopted at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee." However, the critics said that his article "is an overall appraisal of the socialist revolution and construction in our country. To speak gently, it looks upon the overall situation with a limited view; speaks emphatically, and is a total repudiation."

What really is this writer's overall appraisal of the past 30 years under the Chinese Communist Party's rule? His viewpoints on certain ideological questions can be summarized as follows:

1. The spontaneous admiration of the Chinese Communist Party toward the peasantry and the vast numbers of petty bourgeoise in Chinese society showed that the class basis of the Chinese Communist Party is not the proletarian class but the peasant small producers.

2. The Chinese Communist Party, in violation of the strategic thinking of Lenin concerning forming an alliance with the capitalist class against the peasant small producers, launched a premature revolution to extinguish capitalism. It turned back the wheel of history and thus brought bureaucratism and ignorance to the entire contingency of the cadres and a long-standing stagnation of productive power.

3. Obliterating the decisive role of developing productive power, blind faith in political violence, and the use of artificial "class struggle" to carry out forcefully the transformation of productive relations resulted in

absolute equalitarianism which advocated the practice of taking whatever one needs or wants without necessarily making a commensurate contribution and enterprises are both political and militarized.

4. Over the past 30 years, China has implemented a complete ideological line of historical idealism. The roots of its philosophy go back to the work of "On Practice" which embodies Mao Zedong's narrow empiriciam. It is inevitable that China will move to the revival of feudal autocracy from the practice of agricultural socialism.

The analysis of China's mistakes and retrogressions of the past 30 years made by the writer is more comprehensive. Although some of his viewpoints have previously been put forward in various degrees by others, yet never was there an article like this one, with such concentrated and systematic expositions and clear-cut and sharp criticisms on critical points. The radical official theorists have difficulty in carrying out such challenges because they are renowned or widely involved. And theorists among the people, such as Wang Xizhe [3769 1585 0772], are deprived of their rights to speak at public forums. Therefore, the emergence of this article is commendable. The readers have no difficulty in finding out that the article is most representative. For instance, the proposition of "agricultural socialism" not only appeared in discourses written by Wang Xizhe, but also in certain newspapers and articles of the party.

The Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee did not give wide publicity to the criticism of the article "Certain Theoretical Questions." Obviously it was because the writer of this article was not as famous as Bai Hua, but only a "nobody." To limit criticisms within a certain norm could "prevent unfavorable effects from spreading." However, the nature and the representativeness of this event was just the same as that of the "Bai Hua Event."

We are of the opinion that in handling a major issue like summing up the experiences and lessons drawn by the Chinese Communist Party during the past 30 years and which is vital to the destiny of our country and our nation, we must continue to "follow the mass line" and adopt the principle of "relaxation." It is not advisable to run the whole show with only a handful of people and to "let one person alone have the say." Pooling the wisdom of the masses can help save and regenerate our country. Now, we are going to recommend this article to overseas readers, and say that we esteem this writer's courageous spirit and sense of responsibility in theoretical exploration rather than value his criticism which hits home.

Since it is an exploration, criticism is of course permissible. The party committee of Nanking University, after receiving the four directives from the CCP Propaganda Department, convened a forum of 16 September 1981 to carry out "criticism and self-criticism of this article. The forum lasted 4 days. More than 10 theoretical workers spoke at the forum. They unanimously criticized the writer as having made "serious political mistakes." The writer himself also successively carried out self-criticisms at the forum. The JOURNAL OF NANKING UNIVERSITY published a special issue in November 1981 introducing statements made at the forum. Owing to the limited space, we are unable to reprint it. However, we attach herewith for reference an article written by Mu Fu [3668 1133] giving his comments on the special issue.

9560
CSO: 4005/805

END

JPRS 81068

16 June 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 309

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81068

16 June 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 309

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Soviet Threat in Middle East Reviewed
(Gao Bo, Yu Lei; XIANDAI GUOJI GUANXI [CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS], Oct 81) 1

Japanese Official Discusses Northern Territories
(XINHUA, 23 May 82) 9

Japan, U.S., Europe Legislators Form Security Body
(XINHUA, 12 May 82) 10

'XINHUA' Notes World Health Assembly Resolutions
(XINHUA, 15 May 82) 11

U.S. Professor Writes on World Food Trade
(XINHUA, 24 May 82) 12

U.S. Orders Polish Diplomats to Leave Country
(XINHUA, 14 May 82) 14

'XINHUA' Views Problems of Australian Government
(XINHUA, 22 May 82) 15

Manila Conference on Apartheid Reported
(XINHUA, 26 May 82) 17

U.S. Nuclear Warship Visits New Zealand
(XINHUA, 25 May 82) 18

Bangladesh, India Issue Communique on Talks
(XINHUA, 23 May 82) 19

'VODK' Cites Army Communique on SRV Offensive
(XINHUA, 12 May 82) 20

DPRK Memorandum Urges U.S. Withdrawal From ROK
(XINHUA, 21 May 82) 22

Bangladesh, Saudi Arabia Issue Joint Communique
(XINHUA, 5 May 82) 23

New Strike in Assam Protests Aliens Issue
(XINHUA, 7 May 82) 25

Thai Paper Cites Sawetsila on SRV Proposal
(XINHUA, 8 May 82) 26

'VODK' Reports DK Cabinet on Wet Season Tasks
(XINHUA, 5 May 82) 27

DK Radio Hits SRV Proposal on UN Seat
(XINHUA, 9 May 82) 29

Briefs
Vietnamese Guerrillas 30
Pakistani Pact With India 30
Kampuchea's Hun Sen in USSR 30
India Cooperation With Afghanistan 31
Japan's Defense Policy Reviewed 31
UNESCO Official to Kampuchea 31
Thais Release Vietnamese 31
USSR, India Space Research 32
U.S.-Made Tanks in Thailand 32

PARTY AND STATE

First Talk on Draft Revised Constitution
(Zhang Youyu; Beijing Domestic Service, 27 May 82) 33

Second Talk on Draft Revised Constitution
(Wang Shuwen; Beinjing Domestic Service, 28 May 82) 38

'Ba Yi Radio' Comments on Deng-Initiated Purge
(Ba Yi Radio, 28 May 82) 40

'RENMIN RIBAO' Article Eulogizes Zhang Guohua
(Fan Jinzhen; RENMIN RIBAO, 20 May 82) 42

'Beijing WANBAO' Discusses Makings of Statesmen
(Bei Chen; WANBAO, 13 May 82) 49

Liao Chengzhi Addresses Soong Memorial Ceremony
(XINHUA, 29 May 82) 51

Briefs
Hebei People's Congress Meeting 53
Kuomintang Committee Mourns Martyr 53

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Guided Missile Unit Conducts Counterattack Exercise
(Zhao Ruishan, et al.; JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL], No 5, 1982) 54

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Writing of Liu Binyan Criticized for Factual Errors
(Sun Lijun, Tan Fangzhi; SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [CURRENT REPORTS] 25 Dec 81) 59

Briefs
New Teachers' Colleges 71

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOVIET THREAT IN MIDDLE EAST REVIEWED

Beijing XIANDAI GUOJI GUANXI [CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS] in Chinese No 1, Oct 81 pp 12-15

[Article by Gao Bo [7559 0590] and Yu Lei [7411 4320]: "The Soviet Strategy of Thrusting Southward and the Impediments It Faces"]

[Text] The Position of the Middle East in the Global Strategy of the USSR

After the war, there was a transformation in the Soviet Union's Middle Eastern strategy. For the most part, prior to the 1960's their primary objectives were to penetrate the encirclement of the West and defend the security of their southern borders. Their objectives were essentially defensive. Upon entering the decade of the seventies, a distinct change occurred in the Soviet Union's Middle Eastern strategy: it became offensive rather than defensive. At present, the Soviet Union has adopted as its global strategy a view of the United States as its principal adversary and Europe as its field of battle. They are "prepared to fight to win and are striving for victory without taking up arms." They now regard the Middle East as the main direction of attack and as an area of penetration. Soviet Middle Eastern strategy centers around control of oil in the Middle East and stresses the pivotal role of the Middle East. Their intention is to establish a "curved strategic zone" that goes through North Africa and the Gulf to the Strait of Malacca. If the USSR implements the above-mentioned plans it will force Western Europe and Japan, both of which rely heavily on Middle Eastern oil, to undergo "Finlandization" and it will cause the United States to become isolated. At the same time, it will enable their military forces on their eastern and western fronts to join together and work in concert. In the west they will outflank Europe on its southern wing and in the east they will surround China and Japan. In this way they can basically fulfill their global plans. Since the 1970's, the USSR has greatly expanded its naval strength in the Mediterranean Sea and in the Indian Ocean. In the middle East they have sought by every means possible to establish naval and air bases. In particular, at the end of 1979 they dispatched troops to Afghanistan. All this provides clear proof that the Soviet Union is carrying out its strategy of driving southward.

The reason why the Soviet Union selected the Middle East as its main direction of attack and as its area for penetration in its global strategy is

because the Middle East (including the Indian Ocean) is the oil supply base of the world and it links the two oceans. It occupies a major pivotal strategic position as it joins together the three continents of Europe, Asia and Africa. Furthermore, at present the Middle East is a weak link in the Western defense so conditions are favorable for the Soviets to carry out their strategy of driving southward. For a long time the USSR and the United States have been engaged in fierce rivalry primarily in the three strategic areas of Europe, the Far East and the Middle East. If the USSR now makes a strategic breakthrough on their eastern and western fronts, they will encounter formidable resistance on both sides. In Europe there is NATO and in Asia they will have to contend with the United States, China and Japan. In addition, there is a new U.S.-Australian organization, as well as ASEAN. However, in the Middle East the combined strength of opposition to the USSR is currently rather weak. After the war, the United States painstakingly built up the Baghdad Pact Organization and the Central Treaty Organization in the Middle East, both of which disintegrated in the 1950's and the 1960's. Towards the end of the 1960's, Great Britain implemented strategic withdrawal and withdrew their military forces to east of the Suez Canal. The Middle East became a "vacuum zone" of Western defense. In the last several years, the United States has organized new area defense organizations but so far they have not been successful. The destruction of Iran's Pahlevi monarchy caused the West to lose a major prop in the Middle East. In addition, in the Middle East complex contradictions exist among nationalities, religions and social classes, all of which provide ample opportunity for exploitation by the USSR. Although the United States has now increased their military deployments in the Middle East, the Middle East is after all far away from the United States and close to the USSR. Geographical conditions do not favor the United States.

After many years of building up the Middle East, even though the USSR has had successes and failures, in the overall view, they have managed to make substantial headway. This is primarily manifested in the following areas. (1) They have gained certain footholds. At present, the USSR already occupies Afghanistan. They have signed military "treaties of friendship and cooperation" with South Yemen, Ethiopia and Syria. By supplying arms to Libya and other countries, they have made them militarily dependent on them. The USSR has long lured others over, under the pretext of being "natural allies." They have expanded political, economic and party ties with certain nations. By relying on these ties, the USSR can use a variety of reasons to take advantage of these countries to infiltrate and expand into surrounding areas. (2) They have increased their military presence. Soviet garrison forces in the Middle East far outnumber those of any other Western country. In Afghanistan there is a contingent of 100,000 men. In Ethiopia, South Yemen, Syria and Libya there are as many as 10,000 military advisers and in Ethiopia there are also over 10,000 Cuban mercenary troops. Some countries have also admitted East German "military and police specialists." The naval strength of the USSR in this region is also very conspicuous. There are about 70 or 80 permanent warships stationed in the Indian Ocean and in the Mediterranean Sea. The USSR has established many naval bases in ports in South Yemen and Ethiopia. They also have access to use of port facilities in Syria and Libya. The Soviet military presence seriously threatens the

security of the Gulf oil region and Western oil passages. (3) They have won over several nationalist organizations and have built up their own influence in many countries. The PLO requires widespread support in their struggle to restore national rights. The USSR has taken advantage of this opportunity to establish all kinds of political and military ties with them. In the last few years, the USSR has propped up pro-Soviet Communist Parties in Iran, Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Egypt and most of the other Arab countries. At present, although the power of these parties is not great, indeed, some still operate underground, the Soviets have still managed to gain a long-term foothold. They have painstakingly built up the area and they hope that when there is a sudden change in the situation of these countries, they will be able to seize state power at this opportune moment. In addition, the USSR has also built up pro-Soviet influence among popular organizations of workers, youth, women and peasants as well as among religious and pacifist organizations in certain Middle Eastern countries.

The Principle Plans and Methods of the USSR in the Middle East Today

The Soviet offensive in the Middle East involves taking risks. However, their overall policy is to advance gradually and entrench themselves at every step, to take advantage of contradictions and to await an opportunity to take action. At present, the Soviet's major course of action is as follows:

(1) They intend to consolidate established positions and go all out to prevent losing what they have gained. In the 1970's, the USSR repeatedly lost what they had gained in the Middle East. In order to guard against a repeat performance of the "tradedy" that occurred in Egypt, Sudan and Somalia, the Soviets have strengthened their control of their positions. Furthermore, they have adopted a series of measures according to the differing conditions:

They have dispatched troops for immediate occupation. For example, in Afghanistan they have already set up permanent military camps and are prepared for a long stay.

They have urged certain countries to establish "Marxist political parties" based on the Soviet model thereby increasing their ideological domination. They regard bilateral treaties and agreements as links for developing special ties with certain nations.

They have urged countries under Soviet influence to establish reciprocal ties, to conclude agreements for military cooperation, to hold bilateral or multilateral meetings and to follow the Soviet line in international affairs or to work on their behalf, etc.

(2) They intend to close in on the Gulf and they have urged Iran, Saudi Arabia and other nations to break with the United States. The "primary target" for which the Soviets have been competing in the Middle East is the oil producing area of the Gulf. In addition to surrounding the Gulf from Afghanistan, South Yemen and Ethiopia, the USSR is at present mainly using

methods of intimidation and persuasion, their focal point being Iran and Saudi Arabia. The Soviets have been harassing the 25 divisions on the Soviet-Iranian border and have expanded their influence through the pro-Soviet political party in Iran. They have also made preparations to seize power in Iran and to coordinate external Soviet intervention. At the same time, the USSR has expressed goodwill toward Iran. During the Iranian hostage crisis they pretended to side with Iran and during the war between Iran and Iraq they have remained ambivalent in their support. As for Saudi Arabia, on the one hand, they have used South Yemen as a base area and they have propped up antigovernment organizations in Saudi Arabia thereby creating unrest. On the other hand, they have extended an olive branch. Brezhnev has personally guaranteed King Saud that South Yemen will not attack Saudi Arabia and he has proposed that the USSR and Saudi Arabia resume and expand trade relations as soon as possible. Since last year, in order to get a greater foothold in the Gulf, Brezhnev twice presented proposals to ensure the security of the Gulf area.

(3) They intend to take advantage of the Arab-Israeli conflict, to attack the United States and to isolate Egypt. At present, the Camp David talks have already reached an impasse. Since Reagan came to power the United States has sided even more with Israel thereby provoking strong resentment among Arab countries. The USSR is now using this fact plus the recent flare-up of the "Lebanon missile crisis" and the Israeli bombing of the Iraqi nuclear installation to launch an offensive. They have invited leaders of Kuwait, Jordon, Libya and Algeria to visit the USSR. They are trying to stir up anti-American sentiment among Arab countries to encourage them to break away from the United States. The USSR plans to take advantage of the divergence of opinions among Arab nations concerning the Arab-Israeli question to foment discord. They want to create divisions in the Arab world by ganging up against Egypt. Due to the fact that in the past few years the USSR has been excluded from the Middle East peace talks, they have vigorously advocated that they are an indispensable influence in resolving the Middle East question. During the 26th CPSU Congress, Brezhnev once again presented a proposal for convening an international conference on the Middle East.

(4) They intend to further expand their base network and strengthen their naval forces. In order for the USSR to counter recent military developments achieved by the United States in the Middle East and in order to match U.S. military deployments, they have strengthened their existing naval and air base installations. In addition, the Soviets are building new bases in Ethiopia's Dahlak Archipelago and in January of this year they talked the Maltese Government into signing an agreement to supply fuel. They thereby forced Malta to transfer the possession of their subterranean oil deposits (oil reserves of 300,000 tons), that had been used to supply the NATO fleet since the 1950's to the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean Sea.

Obstacles Faced by the Soviet Union

In the past 20 or so years the USSR has made substantial headway in the Middle East, however, once they have quickened the pace of their expansion in the Middle East, particularly into Afghanistan, neighboring countries are

becoming increasingly on guard against the USSR. This has alarmed the United States and other Western nations and resulted in the United States, Europe and Japan uniting to oppose the USSR. The Soviet ambition to carry out expansion is now confronting increasingly larger obstacles.

(1) The contradiction between Soviet hegemonism and local nationalism is escalating. More and more countries regard the USSR as a major threat to the Middle East. In looking at their attitudes toward the USSR, most countries in the Middle East can be divided into three classifications. One type has learned their lesson, they have come full circle from being on intimate terms with the Soviets to opposing them. This includes Egypt, Sudan and Somalia which have already taken the road of resistance against the USSR. Another type has consistently sided with the West and supported taking precautions against the USSR. This type includes Saudi Arabia, other monarchies, Turkey and the other countries that are commonly referred to as the "northern tier." They are faced with the threat of Soviet expansion and feel more insecure than ever before. At the same time when they are paying greater attention to strengthening their own defenses they are drawing closer to the United States and other Western allies in order to contend with the USSR. Several striking examples of this occurred recently. Saudi Arabia requested that the United States send AWACS to be stationed there. Oman has offered the United States access to military bases. After the military took over in Turkey, they once again strengthened ties with the United States and NATO. Pakistan withstood Soviet pressure and continued to uphold the resistance struggle of the people of Afghanistan. It is apparent that the tendency to unite in opposition to the USSR in the two types of countries mentioned above is growing. Sudan and Somalia have respectively signed joint military defense agreements with Egypt. The six monarchies around the Gulf—Saudi Arabia, Oman, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Qatar have already formed the "Gulf Cooperation Council." Relations between Saudi Arabia and Egypt are somewhat more flexible. The Egyptian Government has repeatedly stated their willingness to make every effort to defend the security of the Gulf and resist Soviet aggression. There are still other countries such as South Yemen, Ethiopia, Libya, etc., who still maintain quite close ties with the USSR. However, there have been developments in the struggle for control and against domination between these countries and the USSR. Even though some have been coerced into signing "treaties of friendship and cooperation" with the USSR, they are unwilling to become complete appendages of the USSR. In addition, while the Khomeyni regime in Iran has been strongly anti-American, they have also consistently been on guard against the USSR. They call the USSR a great power with as much "evil" as U.S. imperialism.

(2) The United States has totally revised their Middle Eastern strategy to contain a Soviet offensive. The Middle East and the Gulf are areas of "vital interest" to the United States. After the United States withdrew from Vietnam in the 1970's, they began to revise their Middle Eastern policies to prevent a Soviet offensive. After the shah of Iran fell from power and the USSR dispatched troops to Afghanistan thus speeding up their southern expansion, the United States became even more concerned with the Middle East region. In January of 1980, Carter announced that the Middle East was a

strategic area of "vital interest" to the United States and the United States would utilize all means necessary to safeguard the Persian Gulf, including military measures. After Reagan was elected president, the United States further emphasized the use of military strength to counter Soviet expansion. The United States considers their top priority in the Middle East to be the restoration of military balance with the USSR. According to a report in the WALL STREET JOURNAL on 15 June of this year, U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger disclosed that the United States has formulated a new "two war" strategy which will replace the former "one and a half war" strategy. The new strategy requires that the United States simultaneously prepare to fight at least two large-scale wars, one in Europe and one in another area, probably the Middle East. The fierce rivalry between the two hegemonist powers is becoming increasingly intense in the Middle East. At present, the United States is actively seeking a way to improve their strategic situation and to speed up the implementation of new plans.

They emphasize support for Israel and Egypt so that they will become "two major props" of the United States in militarily resisting the USSR. In the past 4 years, U.S. military aid to Israel has amounted to $6.1 billion and military aid to Egypt has amounted to $3.5 billion. In April of this year, the United States and Egypt reached a new agreement. It was determined that within the next 5 years the United States would again give Egypt up to $3.5 billion in military aid so that they could completely replace their Soviet equipment. Since last year, U.S. and Egyptian Armed Forces have twice conducted simulated battle training in Egypt to practice defending the Persian Gulf.

The United States has accelerated preparations for establishing a Rapid Deployment Force and they are seeking naval and air bases. At present they have decided to draw on special funds in defense expenditures to establish naval and air transport corps and sea borne supply ships. Since last year, in addition to extending their agreement with Turkey concerning use of military bases, the United States has also reached agreements with Egypt, Oman, Somalia and Kenya concerning access to naval and air installations. Recently the United States also made contacts with Israel and Egypt hoping that the two Israeli air force bases set up in the Sinai Peninsula would be turned over to the United States for their long-term use. After the outbreak of war between Iran and Iraq, the U.S. Naval Fleet in the Indian Ocean consisted of 32 ships. Combined with the fleets of Great Britain, France and Australia there was a total of over 60 ships, surpassing the number of Soviet ships.

They have urged their West European allies to put more effort into "Middle East defense." The United States and the NATO allies have already reached a tentative agreement on sharing the responsibility. The United States has transferred some of its military force from NATO to be used in defending the Persian Gulf. After the outbreak of war between Iran and Iraq, the United States again suggested that Western Europe and the United States organize a joint naval fleet to defend the security of the Straits of Hormuz.

Plans were transmitted through political and diplomatic channels which mitigated the contradictions between the United States and countries of that

area. They continued to organize a front to resist the USSR in the Middle East. In April of this year, U.S. Secretary of State Haig visited the Middle East seeking to maintain a "unanimity of strategic viewpoints" between the United States and countries in that area in order to jointly resist the USSR. The United States has increased military aid to Pakistan. Since Iran and the United States reached a compromise with the Khomeyni regime concerning the hostage situation, the strained relations between the two countries have eased up. As for the Arab-Israeli question, in view of the fact that the Camp David Agreements have reached a stalemete, the Reagan administration is seeking a new solution. They are urging Saudi Arabia and Jordan to participate in the peace talks. The primary consideration of the Unites States is to set up a "new security structure" in the Middle East that would include the United States, the West European allies and countries from the Middle East area.

(3) Although contradictions exist between Western Europe and the United States, nevertheless, emphasis is still placed on uniting to resist the USSR. This would enable them to join with the United States to counter the Soviet threat. Strategically, the Middle East is a flank of Western Europe. Western Europe is even more dependent on Middle Eastern oil than the United States. They therefore are as concerned as the United States about the deterioration of the situation in the Middle East and in the Persian Gulf. At the same time as they engage in competition with the United States, they are also actively making a concerted effort with the United States to resist the USSR. As for the Afghan problem, they have all denounced the USSR and have demanded the total withdrawal of invading Soviet troops. They all have differing views of the Arab-Israeli problem and they are mindful of the predicament of the United States. They have taken the initiative in trying to find a solution with the United States for breaking through the stalemate in the Arab-Israeli peace talks. They have also taken the initiative in preventing the USSR from making any gains during this unrest. In recent years there has been a rapid development of economic ties and arms supplies between West European countries, especially between France and Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Although this may crowd out the U.S. market, on the whole it is of benefit to the struggle of Middle Eastern nations to resist and defend against the USSR. As for the military, Western Europe has also assisted the United States through the joint command of defense forces. After the outbreak of war between Iran and Iraq, U.S. and British naval forces conducted joint maneuvers in the Persian Gulf while France dispatched warships to the Indian Ocean. In February of this year, when British Prime Minister Thatcher visited the United States she publicly proposed that the United States, Great Britain and France set up a rapid deployment force in the Middle East in order to improve the security of the Persian Gulf.

To sum up, as the Soviets accelerate their expansion southward, countries in the Middle East will proceed to unite in opposition to hegemonism. It will be extremely difficult for the USSR to fulfill their strategic plans as hoped. However, contradictions between Middle Eastern countries and the West and contradictions within the West itself may still persist. Uniting to oppose the USSR is a complicated situation. Regarding the rivalry between the two hegemonist powers, the USSR and the United States, it will be

difficult to reverse the military situation in which the USSR is on the offensive and the United States is on the defensive in the near future. At present both sides are striving to strengthen their own military deployments and they are both moving from political confrontation to military confrontation. Factors leading to warfare in the Middle East are clearly on the increase. The possibility of the USSR seeking an opportunity to reenact the Afghanistan incident in the Middle East cannot be ruled out. Once Iran began to disintegrate, the possibility of Soviet intervention was great. However, as the two hegemonist powers are evenly matched and as both fear direct confrontation in the Middle East, it is believed that in the early part of the 1980's the possibility of war breaking out in the Middle East is not great. Nevertheless, the overall situation will become increasingly unstable.

9864
CSO: 4005/871

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JAPANESE OFFICIAL DISCUSSES NORTHERN TERRITORIES

OW231244 Beijing XINHUA in English 1231 GMT 23 May 82

[Text] Tokyo, 23 May (XINHUA)—The director-general of the Japanese prime minister's office, Kunio Tanabe, said yesterday that the national movement for the Soviet return of Japan's northern territories must be pushed forward so as to effect an early recovery of these inherent territories.

Kunio Tanabe made the statement to Japanese newsmen after he made an inspection tour on the waters off the northern territories. The newspaper YOMIURI SHIMBUN said that Tanabe yesterday visited the "northern hall", in Nemuro, in which materials and data about the northern territories are on display. After that, he viewed the Soviet-occupied northern territories on board a patrol boat of the Maritime Defence Agency.

On the evening of May 21, Tanabe had a talk with personages from those organizations active in the movement for the recovery of the northern territories. He said that since the Japanese Government designated "the day of northern territories" and Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki viewed the northern territories from a distance, the Japanese nationals have become more eager for a solution to this problem and a movement to this effect is developing nationwide.

Tanabe told newsmen, "I have seen with my own eyes the northern four islands from a short distance. The recovery of the northern territories—a long cherished desire of the Japanese nationals—must be realized at an early date by relying on the united efforts of the government and the entire people."

CSO: 4004/122

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JAPAN, U.S., EUROPE LEGISLATORS FORM SECURITY BODY

OW121630 Beijing XINHUA in English 1539 GMT 12 May 82

[Text] Tokyo, 12 May (XINHUA)—Parliamentarians of the ruling Japanese Liberal-Democratic Party and three opposition parties met here today to formally launch a Japan-U.S.-Europe parliamentarian's security consultative group to discuss overall security issues.

The supra-partisan body is the first group ever established for mutual exchange of information to promote a common understanding of security problems among Japan, the United States and Europe.

As of this afternoon, 150 members had signed up, including the Liberal-Democratic Party, 114; Komeito, 11; Democratic Socialist Party, 18; and New Liberal Club, 7. Asao Mihara, Liberal-Democratic Dietman and former director general of Defence Agency, was nominated the group's chairman.

An announcement of the group said: "The international situation in the 1980s is characterized by increasing volatile factors and growing threat to world peace due to Soviet military buildup on a global scale and its notable infiltration into the Middle East and the Third World and the abnormal economy in Western countries."

The announcement said no sufficient understanding exists between Japan and the United States on the Soviet threat and on their bilateral trade frictions for lack of frank exchange of views on their national strategy and timely readjustment in this respect.

Noting that the Japan-Europe relations could hardly be regarded as "very close," it pointed out: "It is essential for the Western countries to cope with the threat to world peace by making efficient cooperation and taking the overall situation into consideration. Therefore, mutual cooperation and unity among Japan, the United States and Europe is very important."

CSO: 4004/122

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' NOTES WORLD HEALTH ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS

OW150258 Beijing XINHUA in English 0237 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Geneva, 14 May (XINHUA)--The 35th World Health Assembly closed here today after adopting a number of resolutions.

The two-week assembly approved the seventh general program of the World Health Organization (WHO) for 1984-1989. This is a medium-term program of WHO's global strategy, "Health for all by the year 2000." The main thrust of the global strategy is to help member countries develop primary health care for the whole population. The programs include measures for health promotion, disease prevention, diagnosis, therapy and rehabiliation. The assembly noted that realization of the "health for all by the year 2000" program will require not only efforts of health workers but all human resources.

The assembly also adopted a resolution inviting WHO member states and the international community to collaborate in WHO's action program on essential drugs. WHO has already drawn up model lists of some 200 basic drugs and vaccines for effective and economical health programs in developing countries. The lists can be adapted to the specific needs of each member state.

The assembly encouraged breast-feeding. It urged the member countries to observe the "international code of marketing of breast-milk substitutes" adopted last year.

The assembly also urged all the countries in the world to intensify their efforts to control diarrheal diseases as part of primary health care, which will have immediate impact on early childhood mortality.

It called for intensified international cooperation on the control of cancer.

Other resolutions adopted by the assembly covered the worsening health conditions of the Arab population in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories including Palestine, assistance to Africa's front-line states, health assistance to refugees in Africa, and health care for the elderly.

CSO: 4004/122

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. PROFESSOR WRITES ON WORLD FOOD TRADE

OW240718 Beijing XINHUA in English 0703 GMT 24 May 82

[Text] Geneva, 23 May (XINHUA)--Hawaii University Professor of Political Science George Kent takes issue with some U.S. economic planners on their argument that the developed countries, particularly the United States, feed the world.

In an article entitled "The Poor Feed the Rich" carried by the United Nations' journal DEVELOPMENT FORUM in May, Professor Kent cited eloquent facts and figures to uphold his view.

A recent report of the "U.S. President's Commission on World Hunger" said that "the United States is still the 'breadbasket of the world'".

Criticizing this point of view, Professor Kent pointed out in his article that "most of the grain sold by developed countries is sold to other developed countries." "Only about a fifth of the grain in international trade goes to less developed countries. That proportion is projected to be even smaller by the year 2000."

Referring to U.S. agricultural exports in 1978, Kent noted that over two-thirds of all U.S. agricultural exports went to the wealthy countries having the per capita GNP about 3,000 U.S. dollars.

The professor said of the food imports, the developing countries chiefly import grain, while the developed import from developing countries large quantities of protein-rich foods such as meat and fish in addition to grain.

He said that of the food which entered into international trade in 1976, 11.9 per cent went from richer to poorer countries, while 20.2 per cent went from poorer to richer countries. Developed countries exported 3.8 times as much food to other developed countries as they did to developing countries. Developing countries exported 3.1 times as much to developed countries as they did to other developing countries.

It indicated that the developed countries export 61.7 per cent of the total food exports, but they take out a larger share--67.7 per cent. The developing

countries put in 30.9 per cent of the total value of food entering into world trade, but they take only 20.4 per cent.

After citing these figures, Professor Kent concluded that most of the international food trade is among developed countries, that there is little trade among the less developed countries, and that in the trade between the two groups, food tends to flow from the less developed to the more highly developed countries.

CSO: 4004/122

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. ORDERS POLISH DIPLOMATS TO LEAVE COUNTRY

OW140314 Beijing XINHUA in English 0252 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Washington, 13 May (XINHUA)—The United States today ordered two Polish diplomats to leave the country "in retaliation for the Polish Government's expulsion" of two American diplomats, State Department spokesman Alan Romberg said.

The United States also suspended travel by scientists of on-going jointly-financed scientific research projects between the two countries following Polish accusations that visiting American scientists are engaged in espionage activities.

Romberg said Andrzej Koroscik, attache for science and technology, and Mariusz Wozniak, political officer, of the Polish Embassy in Washington have been told to leave the country before midnight, May 17.

On May 10 the Polish Government demanded that two American diplomats—John Zerolis, scientific attache, and J. Daniel Howard, cultural affairs officer—leave Poland by May 14 for "promoting destabilizing activity."

The United States and Poland had been conducting cooperative scientific research in Poland under an agreement signed in 1974. The agreement expired on December 31, 1981. Early this year, the United States suspended discussions with the Polish authorities for a new agreement beyond 1981, but work had continued on incomplete research projects under the 1974 agreement.

CSO: 4004/122

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' VIEWS PROBLEMS OF AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT

OW220134 Beijing XINHUA in English 0113 GMT 22 May 82

["News analysis: Australia's Ruling Liberal Party in Political Dilemma"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Canberra, 20 May (XINHUA)--To Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser and his ruling Liberal Party, the passing autumn has been a season full of troubles.

Starting form mid-March, the Liberal Party, the largest party in Australia's coalition government, has met a series of challenges in both the by-election of the Federal Parliament and local elections, with the heaviest blow coming from the election in the State of Victoria in which the opposition Labor Party defeated the Liberals and brought their 27-year rule of the state to an end.

The southern State of Victoria was the birth-place of Liberalism. With a concentrated population and developed industry plus a national financial center Melbourne as the capital, the area had been an important stronghold of the Liberal Party. The swing of power to the Labor Party there has greatly weakened the position of the Liberals.

Following the crushing defeat of the Victoria election, resigned Foreign Minister Andrew Peacock failed to challenge Fraser's leadership of the Liberal Party, and the treasurer John Howard replaced Phillip Lynch as the deputy Liberal leader in a party vote on April 7.

This was followed by the resignation of two Liberal ministers who had been involved in a tax evasion scandal.

Tne, after restructuring the government and personnel last weekend, Prime Minister Fraser embarked on a state visit journey to Washington and Tokyo.

Earlier, the Liberal Party was put through its first crucial contest of this year with the Labor Party in a mid-March by-election in New South Wales' Lowe District. To its great surprise, the Liberal Party lost nine percent of its votes in the election held due to the resignation of Sir William McMahon who had been a Liberal MP of that district ever since 1949.

The defeats in Victoria and New South Wales' Lowe District have deprived the Liberal Party of two important states with developed industry and concentrated population. This is an indication that the Liberal's foundation has been seriously weakened, especially in the big cities.

Political observers here pointed out that the election results in Victoria bespoke of the Australian people's resentment against the Liberal Party's economic policy of high interest rates, rising unemployment, double-digit inflation, high income taxes and low economic growth.

Affected by an overall economic recession, Australia has faced a general deteriorating economy at home. In addition to its declining economic growth, double-digit inflation and rising unemployment since the beginning of the year, rapid increases of imports and stagnant exports have plunged the country's international payments deep in the red. As the Australian dollar has dipped continuously at the foreign exchange market since last August, the Australian Government was forced to adopt a high interest rate policy in support of the Australian dollar and to keep a balance with the high interest rates of the United States. But this has hit the big and small debtors at home hard.

The Liberal Party is now facing a dilemma: a continued tight money policy and high interest rates will arouse deeper dissatisfaction among the electorate and bring serious effects to the next general election in 1983; but to relax financial restrictions may cause further inflation and other serious results to the national economy.

Moreover, as a major exporter of agricultural and mineral products, Australia is very sensitive to international price fluctuations of raw materials. Therefore, without a substantial economic upturn in the United States and other Western countries in the second half of the year, it seems very unlikely for Australia's economy to turn for the better and the ruling alliance will eventually meet greater challenges in next year's general election.

Observers here noted that it was against such a background that Fraser went on his state visits to the United States and Japan. He wanted to let the United States and Japan "near Australia's voice" before the upcoming economic summit of seven Western countries to be held in France at the beginning of June.

CSO: 4004/122

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MANILA CONFERENCE ON APARTHEID REPORTED

OW261722 Beijing XINHUA in English 1613 GMT 26 May 82

[Text] Manila, 26 May (XINHUA)--An Asian conference on apartheid today denounced South Africa for its policy of racial segregation and announced its support for the liberation South African and Namibian people.

In a declaration issued at the end of a three-day meeting here, the Asian regional conference for action against apartheid also strongly condemned Israel and Taiwan for growing economic, military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa.

The conference also affirmed the right of the people of South Africa and Namibia "to choose armed struggle as their means of struggle for liberation." It said the international community has a duty to support their legitimate struggle and to "assist it in destroying apartheid by exerting sufficient pressure on the racist regime through sanctions and other effective measures."

It emphasized the need for the full implementation of the United Nations mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, the effective enforcement of the embargoes imposed by oil exporting states to prevent supplies of oil to South Africa, cessation of loans to and investments in South Africa and the implementation of the other economic measures recommended by the United Nations. It also emphasized the implementation of sports, cultural and other boycotts against South Africa.

CSO: 4004/122

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. NUCLEAR WARSHIP VISITS NEW ZEALAND

OW251600 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 25 May 82

[Text] Wellington, 25 May (XINHUA)--A nuclear-powered warship of the United States, USS Truxtun, sailed into Wellington harbor this morning, beginning a four-day visit to New Zealand's capital.

Explaining the reason for accepting the U.S. nuclear warship's visit, Prime Minister R. Muldoon said last month, "Under the ANZUS treaty we have a clear obligation to help our allies maintain their capacity to resist armed attack.... We have therefore no hesitation in agreeing to the American request for another visit by the USS Truxtun."

Interviewed by the NZPA, the minister of foreign affairs, Cooper said: "It's on our invitation in respect of the fact that we like the Americans to show their flag here...."

The Truxtun was greeted by public protests. A motley flotilla of some 25 protest craft surrounded the Truxtun as she entered Wellington harbor this morning.

The Wellington Trades Council called on all affiliated unions to stop work for two hours today in protest against Truxtun's visit. The 1,000 members of the Wellington Drivers' Union stopped work from 3 pm to 5 pm. The harbor workers held a 24-hour strike in protest.

The Wellington City Council had declared the capital a nuclear-free zone last month.

The 8,800-ton, 170-meter Truxtun is powered by two nuclear reactors, and has a crew of about 500 officers and men.

It is her third visit to N.Z. since 1976.

CSO: 4004/122

BANGLADESH, INDIA ISSUE COMMUNIQUE ON TALKS

OW231644 Beijing XINHUA in English 1605 GMT 23 May 82

[Text] Dacca, 23 May (XINHUA)--Bangladesh and India agreed today to intensify efforts to find a mutually acceptable solution to problems of sharing the Ganges waters and increasing its flow.

A joint press communique issued at the end of two-day talks between the visiting Indian External Affairs Minister Narasimha Rao and Shamsud Doha, adviser to the Bangladesh chief martial law administrator, also says that the two countries agreed to meet frequently and approach the matter in a spirit of goodwill, cordiality and good neighborliness.

All other outstanding issues between the two countries, including implementation of the land boundary agreement of 1974, the dispute over the ownership of the South Talpatty Island and delineation of the maritime boundary, should be resolved peacefully through amicable negotiations as soon as possible, the communique says.

The two countries agreed that bilateral relations should be given further impetus through frequent consultations and exchange of visits at all levels to promote an atmosphere of goodwill conducive to further consolidation and strengthening of these ties and the resolution of all outstanding problems, according to the press communique.

It says that a joint economic commission will be set up with a view to further developing economic and technical cooperation between the two countries to their mutual benefit.

The two countries agreed to take all steps in close concert with other countries in the South Asian region to maintain the momentum of progress in implementing the proposal for regional cooperation among the South Asian countries, the communique concludes.

The Indian external affairs minister is leaving here for home this afternoon.

CSO: 4004/122

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'VODK' CITES ARMY COMMUNIQUE ON SRV OFFENSIVE

OW121254 Beijing XINHUA in English 1236 GMT 12 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 12 May (XINHUA)--The mopping-up operations launched by the Vietnamese authorities in the last dry-season in Kampuchea have become a fiasco. Meanwhile, the Kampuchean National Army instead of being annihilated has grown stronger.

This was stated in a communique issued by the general headquarters of the Kampuchean National Army on May 8 and broadcast today by Radio Democratic Kampuchea.

The communique said in the last dry season from November 1981 to April 1982, Vietnam sent in over 10,000 fresh troops to reinforce the Vietnamese troops already deployed in Kampuchea who launched several large-scale mopping-up operations in Western Kampuchea in an attempt to grab land under the control of Democratic Kampuchea and regain the initiative in the battlefields. However, the Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas had not only successfully preserved their own strength but also wiped out a considerable enemy effectives, in repulsing the Vietnamese offensives.

The communique pointed out that Vietnamese troops deployed in the eastern and central war theatres in Kampuchea in the dry season turned out to be weaker and the scale of mopping-ups they launched much smaller compared with that of the previous dry season. In the western war theatre where Vietnamese troops had carried out considerably big mopping-up operations, the offensives were only confined to four battlefronts--the Chhep-Reabarivoat, the Siemreap-Angkor-Highway 6, the Northern Koh Kong, and the Sisophon battlefronts. Each time a mopping-up operation was launched, 7,000 to 10,000 Vietnamese troops were thrown into these four battlefronts. By so doing, Hanoi was showing off its strength to the world that it was still strong enough to occupy and control Kampuchea. But in these four major mopping-ups, the Vietnamese aggressor troops had all failed to obtain their objectives after suffering a considerable loss of men and war supplies.

The communique said in their resistance against the Vietnamese, the national army and guerrillas had successfully preserved their own strength by stepping up guerrilla activities in squads or in smaller groups. They had hit the Vietnamese enemy the hardest they could by wearing down the enemy and cutting off enemy communication lines. Statistics show that in the last dry season,

the Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas attacked and overrun 186 Vietnamese strongholds, dislodging Vietnamese mobile units on 164 occasions, ambushing Vietnamese convoys 40 times, cutting off or destroying 254 section of highways and 258 sections of railway lines, cutting off strategic highways No 4, No 5 and No 6 on many occasions as well as the Phnom Penh-Battambang and Phnom Penh-Kompong Som railway lines. In addition, the national army and guerrillas also had recovered all the communes, villages they lost to the enemy early in the dry season, and liberated 17 more communes and 317 villages.

During the dry-season, the communique said, the Vietnamese troops were thrown into confusion and its morale was very low. According to incomplete figures, 2,560 Vietnamese soldiers deserted, 182 were killed in in-fighting within the army, 3,270 soldiers of the Phnom Penh puppet troops fled away and another 477 crossed over to the national army and guerrillas.

The communique pointed out the Kampuchean people have gone through three rainy-seasons and four dry-seasons in their war of resistance against the Vietnamese aggressors. The Le Duan clique was landed in a predicament. Strategically, it has lost in theKampuchean battlefield. It will suffer greater defeat if Hanoi continues its war in the future.

It stressed in conclusion that the Kampuchean people's fight against the Vietnamese aggressors would be arduous and difficult. Therefore, they have to persist in a protracted war and an active and flexible tactics. They will surely win the final victory.

CSO: 4004/122

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DPRK MEMORANDUM URGES U.S. WITHDRAWAL FROM ROK

OW211812 Beijing XINHUA in English 1539 GMT 21 May 82

[Text] Pyongyang, 21 May (XINHUA)--The Foreign Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea released a memorandum Thursday, urging the withdrawal of U.S. aggressor troops from South Korea and an end to U.S. interference in Korea's internal affairs.

The memorandum was released on the occasion of the centenary of the Korea-U.S. treaty which was concluded on May 22, 1882. It noted that the treaty is an "aggressive, subjugating and unequal treaty."

The three-part memorandum, carried in the newspaper NODONG SINMUN, enumerated a host of facts to expose the acts of aggression and plunder committed by the United States in the past 100 years. It said that the U.S. aggression has brought about a division in the unique nation of Korea with a long-standing history and culture. And the United States, by pursuing a "two Koreas" policy, has tried in every possible way to obstruct Korea's peaceful reunification.

The memorandum said, "So long as the U.S. imperialist aggressor troops hang on in South Korea and the U.S. Administration continues pursuing its policy of aggression against Korea, it will be impossible for the Korean people to enjoy full national sovereignty, to achieve reunification of the nation or to see peace in Korea," it stressed.

"In order for the Korean people to solve the question of Korean reunification independently by themselves," it noted, "it is imperative to force the U.S. imperialist aggressor troops out of South Korea and put an end to the U.S. imperialist' interference in the internal affairs of Korea."

CSO: 4004/122

BANGLADESH, SAUDI ARABIA ISSUE JOINT COMMUNIQUE

OW052046 Beijing XINHUA in English 1657 GMT 5 May 82

[Text] Dacca, 4 May (XINHUA)--Bangladesh and Saudi Arabia today reiterated their demand for immediate withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghan soil and the need for creation of conditions in Afghanistan for her people to determine their own destiny free from any external interference.

This is contained in a joint communique issued simultaneously from Dacca and Riyadh on the conclusion of a three-day visit to the Kingdom of Saudia Arabia by Bangladesh Chief Martial Law Administrator Hussain Mohammad Ershad who returned here this evening.

The communique said that the two sides reviewed the global political and economic situation and underlined the necessity of promoting and strengthening international peace and security based on the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and peaceful settlement of all disputes.

They emphasized the need for total adherence to the principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter and the Organisation of Islamic Conference. While reviewing the current situation in the Middle East the two leaders reiterated their firm conviction that a just and permanent peace in this region can be achieved only on the basis of complete and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and restoration of the legitimate and inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish an independent state in their own homeland under the leadership of the PLO, their sole and legitimate representative.

They rejected the Israeli act to annex the holy city of Jerusalem as illegal and invalid and a gross violation of all international laws and conventions. The two leaders strongly condemned the Israeli move for annexation of the Golan Heights and the latest outrage of killing in holy Al-Aqsa Mosque.

The two leaders expressed their deep concern over the continuing conflict between Iran and Iraq. The two leaders reiterated their full support for the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean and its natural extensions and reaffirmed that safeguarding of security and stability in the areas was the responsibility of the Gulf States only without any foreign interference.

While reviewing the international economic situation they emphasized the need to turn into concrete shape the Cancun spirit, hold global negotiations and implement the new programme of action for the least developed countries.

The two leaders also expressed their resolve to intensify their efforts in furthering economic cooperation among the developing countries. Referring to bilateral relations the two leaders expressed their deep satisfaction at the achievements. They reaffirmed their determination to further cooperate in the fields of trade and commerce and in economic, scientific, cultural and educational spheres.

CSO: 4004/122

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

NEW STRIKE IN ASSAM PROTESTS ALIENS ISSUE

OW070805 Beijing XINHUA in English 0721 GMT 7 May 82

[Text] New Delhi, 6 May (XINHUA)--Agitation and turmoil over the aliens' issue in Assam States intensified with a 24-hour general strike today.

The strike called by the all Assam Students Union and other organizations demanded the expulsion of aliens from the state.

Normal life in the state was affected with all private buses and trucks kept off the roads. But public transport services were operating, according to a report from the state.

In Gauhati, the state capital, most of the business and commercial centres, including shops and markets were closed. Government offices were open with very thin attendance. However, oil production continued unaffected.

The state government had deployed police and para-military forces throughout the state to control the situation, and about 50 persons were arrested in different parts of the state.

In the past two years, Assam has been beset by turbulence. The local residents have repeatedly demanded that the aliens, people coming from other states and neighbouring Bangladesh, be driven out of Assam.

Lengthy talks between the agitators and the government have been held with no concrete results so far. On March 18, the union government decided to bring Assam under direct rule of the president.

CSO: 4004/122

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAI PAPER CITES SAWETSILA ON SRV PROPOSAL

OW081301 Beijing XINHUA in English 1159 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] Bangkok, 8 May (XINHUA)--Thai foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila yesterday described Vietnam's suggestion that the Kampuchean seat at the United Nations be left empty during this year's General Assembly session as nothing but "old political tactics", the BANGKOK POST reported today.

He said this in response to the proposal outlined by this Vietnamese counterpart Nguyen Co Thach in an interview with the AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE in Hanoi on May 6.

"The Vietnamese want the Kampuchean seat, now occupied by the representative of the Democratic Kampuchean Government, to be left empty so that they can later propose that it be filled by a representative of the Heng Samrin regime," the foreign minister said.

He said he was certain there would be no change in the seating position in the United Nations this year. In fact, he added, if the three Kampuchean resistance factions can form a coalition government in time, they will pick up more support for their continued representation in the General Assembly.

"The Association of Southeast Asian Nations prefers that the legitimate government of Kampuchea retain its seat," he declared.

He pointed out that the Vietnamese repeat the same call every year while Democratic Kampuchea receives increasing support at the United Nations.

Sitthi denied Thach's claim that Thai leaders had agreed to meet him. Speaking about his two earlier meetings with Thach, he said, "I realised that there was nothing to be discussed." "I wanted to talk to him about the implementation of the UN resolution on Kampuchea but he kept insisting that there was no problem in Kampuchea to be discussed."

Though Thailand and its ASEAN partners agreed that Vietnam's proposals for meetings were nothing new, he said, Thailand still keeps the door open for discussion of any new idea. He also reaffirmed that any future contacts should begin at the lower level.

CSO: 4004/122

'VODK' REPORTS DK CABINET ON WET SEASON TASKS

OW051323 Beijing XINHUA in English 1244 GMT 5 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 5 May (XINHUA)--A cabinet meeting of the Democratic Kampuchean Government presided over by Prime Minister Khieu Samphan reviewed and summed up the work in dry-season 1981-82 and put forward the tasks for the 1982 rainy-season, according to Radio Democratic Kampuchea today.

A statement issued at the meeting which was held from April 20 to 21 said the meeting expressed satisfaction over the success of the government work in the dry-season. "The Vietnamese aggressor troops withdrew their troops from the Phnom Malai-Phnom Makheun battlefield in disorder on April 12, 1982. The day can be regarded as a historic date of the Kampuchean Army and people in frustrating Vietnam's 1981-82 dry-season mopping-up operation. The Vietnamese aggressors believed that the dry-season was the last during which they could completely wipe out the Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas."

The statement said that simultaneously with the crushing of the Vietnamese mopping-up operation in the dry season, the Kampuchean National Army and guerrilla forces have also expanded the liberated areas. The Kampuchean people have thus seen clearly that the Democratic Kampuchean troops constitute the main force against the Vietnamese aggression, the statement added. It stressed that the Democratic Kampuchean force has won stronger support in the international arena.

The statement said, "The Democratic Kampuchean Government does not want to resolve the Kampuchean problem by resorting to the use of force only, but welcomes all measures leading to Vietnam's withdrawal from Kampuchea. But at present, the Vietnamese aggressors are forcing us to take up arms."

"As to national union," it said, "Democratic Kampuchea took the initiative in proposing private negotiations with other Kampuchean forces against Vietnam and signed the Singapore joint statement in September, 1981." "In order to achieve national union of the country, Democratic Kampuchea has made various sacrifices and concessions. At present, the Democratic Kampuchean Government must lead in the anti-Vietnamese struggle, otherwise, the nation will be destroyed," it pointed out.

The statement called upon the Kampuchean people and soldiers to hold high the flag of national union and make concerted efforts in counterattacking

the mopping-up of the Vietnamese troops to be launched in this year's rainy season. It called upon the Kampuchean people and soldiers to implement better the political program of the patriotic and democratic front of the great nation union of Kampuchea and unite friends all over the world in their struggle.

The statement also called upon friendly countries of the world to maintain at the next UN General Assembly conference the legitimate seat of Democratic Kampuchea and force Vietnam to implement UN resolutions and continue to provide all kinds of assistance to the fighting Kampuchean people.

CSO: 4004/122

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DK RADIO HITS SRV PROPOSAL ON UN SEAT

OW091024 Beijing XINHUA in English 0800 GMT 9 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 9 May (XINHUA)--Radio Democratic Kampuchea in a commentary today stressed the need to foil Hanoi's attempt to leave the Kampuchean seat at the United Nations vacant. It called upon all peace-loving and justice-upholding countries to maintain Democratic Kampuchea's legitimate seat at the 37th session of the UN General Assembly.

The commentary says that Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach, in a recent interview with AFP, said the United Nations should leave the seat of Democratic Kampuchea vacant if it wanted to make contributions to the settlement of the Kampuchean problem. This is the dirtiest diplomatic trick of the Le Duan clique aimed to deprive Democratic Kampuchea of its legitimate seat and to squeeze the puppet regime in Phnom Penh into the United Nations so as to obtain something which had not been obtained in the Kampuchean battlefields in the past three years.

Everyone knows, it says, the root cause of the Kampuchean problem is Vietnam's aggression against an independent and sovereign state, which endangers peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

To leave the D.K. seat at the United Nations vacant, the commentary points out, will mean punishment to the victim, and reward for the aggressor and will set an extremely dangerous precedent for the small and weak nations in the world. That's why many countries have supported Democratic Kampuchea's seat at the United Nations in the past few years. This demonstrates the inevitable tendency in the United Nations to safeguard the UN Charter and the international law, it says.

CSO: 4004/122

BRIEFS

VIETNAMESE GUERRILLAS--Beijing, 19 May (XINHUA)--Vietnamese guerrillas in Tay Nguyen area attacked the government forces stationed at Pleirei, Pleitei and Pleihait of Pleiku, Gia Lai Province from February 3 to 26. They killed 22 government soldiers, wounded 20 others and captured 18 pieces of arms, according to Radio Democratic Kampuchea today quoting a report from Vietnam. During the same period, the guerrillas repeatedly ambushed the government forces along their communication lines in Kon Tum Province and attacked government garrisons at Pleasas and Pleakrang, killing 14 government troops and wounding 18 others. During the attacks the guerrillas also captured 11 pieces of arms and destroyed an ammunition depot. [Text] [OW110038 Beijing XINHUA in English 0803 GMT 10 May 82]

PAKISTANI PACT WITH INDIA--Islamabad, 16 May (XINHUA)--Pakistani Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Ali Khan told reporters here yesterday evening that the interest of both Pakistan and India would be best served by the early conclusion of a non-aggression pact, according to APP. He was replying to a question at Karachi airport on his return from a two-week tour of a number of Islamic and Arab countries. He said Pakistan and India have discussed some elements of the proposed pact of non-aggression and non-use of force. The requisite ground for the promotion of mutual friendship and cooperation can be effectively prepared through this approach, he added. The foreign minister said, "There is also no element of doubt or ambiguity about the proposal regarding the establishment of a joint commission. Pakistan has welcomed the proposal in principle and is prepared to discuss the terms of reference, composition and other aspects of the commission at a mutually convenient time." [Text] [OW161217 Beijing XINHUA in English 1206 GMT 16 May 82]

KAMPUCHEA'S HUN SEN IN USSR--Moscow, 16 May (XINHUA)--The Phnom Penh puppet regime's Foreign Minister Hun Sen today ended his week-long visit to the Soviet Union, according to a TASS report. Hun Sen discussed with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko mainly on the Southeast Asian situation, a "joint communique" issued here said. At a banquet on May 10, Gromyko said that the Soviet Union "fully endorses and supports" the "peace proposals" put forward by Hanoi and the Heng Samrin regime--proposals aimed at legalizing Vietnam's military occupation of Kampuchea. He said that the Phnom Penh regime "can continue to expect full assistance and support from the Soviet Union." [Text] [OW170734 Beijing XINHUA in English 0715 GMT 17 May 82]

INDIA COOPERATION WITH AFGHANISTAN--New Delhi, 18 May (XINHUA)--India will step up its technical and economic assistance to Afghanistan under a protocol signed between the two countries in Kabul today, according to a PTI report. The prootocal was signed by Natwar Singh, Indian secretary of external affairs, and the Afghan deputy foreign minister at the conclusion of a three-day meeting of the Indo-Afghan joint commission. Under the protocol, the number of Indian experts in health and other fields, which had dwindled from 150 to 29 in view of the situation in Afghanistan, is likely to increase modestly. [Text] [OW180838 Beijing XINHUA in English 0811 GMT 18 May 82]

JAPAN'S DEFENSE POLICY REVIEWED--Tokyo, 20 May (XINHUA)--A meeting today of Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki's cabinet stressed the need to increase defense of the country's sealanes and to stockpile foodstuffs, energy resources and rare metals. Soichiro Ito, director general of the Defense Agency said that it was necessary to secure the country's sealanes, which he said would contribute to the Japan-U.S. security system. He urged the cabinet to decide on measures to strengthen the defense of the sealanes. Agriculture, forestry and fisheries Minister Kichiro Tazawa said that because of agricultural production shortages and unstable supplies of foodstuffs in the international market, it is necessary for Japan to enhance self-sufficiency in grain, to ensure stable food import and to store more foodstuffs. In other business, Director General Ichiro Nakagawa of the Science and Technology Agency said the government should review its policy of restricting defense expenditures to less than 1 percent of the country's Gross National Product. [Text] [OW201846 Beijing XINHUA in English 1839 GMT 20 May 82]

UNESCO OFFICIAL TO KAMPUCHEA--Beijing, 20 May (XINHUA)--A representative of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has expressed appreciation of the Democratic Kampuchean Government's efforts to safeguard and promote national culture, Radio Democratic Kampuchea reported today. UNESCO Assistant Director-General Dragojem Najman was impressed by these efforts during his recent visit to Democratic Kampuchea. He met with Deputy Prime Minister in charge of foreign affairs Ieng Sary, who briefed him on the current situation in Kampuchea. They discussed in particular how to preserve the historical sites of Angkor Wat. Both held that this cannot be done before the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. Najman was the first UNESCO representative to visit Democratic Kampuchean areas. During his tour he visited hospitals, schools and new villages. [Text] [OW200731 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 20 May 82]

THAIS RELEASE VIETNAMESE--Bangkok, 21 May (XINHUA)--The Thai Government today returned 12 Vietnamese crew men and soldiers of an Antonov-26 aircraft which had intentionally intruded into Thai airspace and crashlanded in eastern Thailand in February. The ashes of a Vietnamese soldier who died in the crash also were returned. The handover ceremony was held at the military wing of the Don Muang airport in Bangkok, after the Vietnamese Government had expressed "regret" over the incident and promised to prevent further intrusions in the future. The Thai Foreign Ministry distributed a statement at the airport which said adequate evidences have proved that "the Vietnamese aircraft has intentionally violated Thailand's sovereignty." The Vietnamese plane crashlanded in February 11 in Pong Saeng Village, Prachinburi Province, 75 kilometers into Thai territory. The statement said the incident adversely

affected Thailand's security and its relations with Vietnam. The statement said the Thai Government "released the Vietnamese military men and allowed Vietnam to recover the wreckage of the aircraft out of the interests of Thailand-Vietnam relations and on humanitarian grounds." [Text] [OW211631 Beijing XINHUA in English 1617 GMT 21 May 82]

USSR, INDIA SPACE RESEARCH--Moscow, 22 May (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union will help India complete its space research program for the 1980s. An agreement to this effect was signed here today between the two countries. The agreement provides for the launching by the Soviet Union of an Indian satellite for probing natural resources of the earth in the mid-1980s. By now, the Soviet Union has helped India manufacture and launch three artificial satellites. [Text] [OW221804 Beijing XINHUA in English 1533 GMT 22 May 82]

U.S.-MADE TANKS IN THAILAND--Bangkok, 25 May (XINHUA)--Five tanks of the M-48 A 5 type, the first batch of its kind purchased from the United States this year, were transported here yesterday. Earlier, U.S. planes sent 155-mm guns to Thailand on May 22. Gen Saiyut Koetphon, supreme commander of the Thai armed forces, told reporters yesterday that these new types of weapons will be sent to Prachinburi Province bordering Kampuchea at the quickest pace possible to equip artillery and tank units guarding the frontier. They will be also used in the joint military exercise to be held in that area at the end of the month to test the fighting and defending capabilities of various armed forces, he added. He said it is necessary to renew the military equipment of the Thai armed forces to maintain state security. [Text] [OW251220 Beijing XINHUA in English 1209 GMT 25 May 82]

CSO: 4004/122

FIRST TALK ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW281301 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 27 May 82

[Radio talk by Zhang Youyu, vice president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences: "Why Is the Constitution Revised?"--first of a series of 14 radio talks on the draft revised constitution]

[Text] The draft revised constitution is the draft of a socialist constitution suited to China's national conditions. It reflects the developments and reforms in all fields in our country, sets the basic tasks for the people throughout the country in the new historical period and further perfects our socialist system. The publication of the draft revised constituion for discussion by all the people indicates that socialist democracy and the legal system of our country are marching forward in big strides. At the same time, it will inspire the people throughout the country to courageously advance toward the socialist goals of the four modernizations.

Today I would like to go into one question in particular--why is it necessary to revise the constitution? At the same time I would like also to briefly explain how the revisions of the constitution was carried out and why the draft revised constitution is published for discussion by all the people.

First, why is it necessary to revise the 1978 constitution?

The constitution is the country's fundamental law and set of general rules. The articles of the constitution are to be followed by every citizen. Therefore, the constitution should have a certain degree of stability. Some people inevitably will wonder: Since the constitution is the country's fundamental law, it should remain stable and unchanged. The constitutions of some countries are inflexible constitutions which have not been revised for many years. Why should we revise our constitution?

Referring to the 1918 Soviet constitution, Lenin pointed out: "The new constitution gives concentrated expression to what has already come true in life and will be revised and supplemented in the course of practical application."

This is to say that the drawing up and revision of a constitution are closely linked with social life and directly reflect developments and changes in a country's political life and economic life. When a country's economy changes

and develops, its laws as a part of the superstructure will also change and develop, and so will its constitution.

Of course, because of its own characteristics, a constitution is widely applicable. Compared with common laws, the constitution has the highest legal force and is the basis for the enactment of common laws. It indeed should remain stable and applicable for a long period, and should not be rashly revised. However,the stability of anything can only be relative, and is not absolute. Therefore, it is in keeping with the objective law governing the development of things to make necessary and appropriate revisions to the constitution at a specific time so that it will suit socialist political and economic developments.

Moreover, since constitutions came into being in various countries in the world, there has not been one constitution that lasts for ever. Judging by the constitutions of all countries, some contain provisions on the inalterability of some specific articles, but there is no constitution which dictates the inalterability of all its articles. As to inflexible constitutions, they are so called only because there are more rigid procedural restrictions in revising them.

Using the revision procedure as a standard, the constitutions of various countries in the world are generally divided into two categories--flexible constitutions and inflexible constitutions.

The revision procedure for flexible constitutions is the same as that for common laws. The revision procedure for inflexible constitutions, however, is different from that for common laws. For example, in some countries the constitution dictates that its revision requires approval by two-thirds of all the members of the legislative organ; in other countries, a three-fourths majority vote is required; and in still other countries, a referendum is required. But this does not mean that inflexible constitutions are not to be revised.

Here, we should especially point out that if certain provisions of the constitution are found to be inappropriate or wrong, it is all the more necessary to have them revised. We should not allow inappropriate provisions of the constitution to remain indefinitely unchanged just to maintain constitutional stability.

The 1954 constitution of our country reflected socialist and democratic principles by proceeding from the reality at that time. It manifested a combination of principle and flexibility. Its provisions were appropriate, and the contents were relatively flawless. It was described as the first good constitution since the founding of our country. However, with the development of the politics and economy of our country, especially with the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the means of production, some provisions of that constitution became out of date. For instance, the provision of the ownership of the means of production in article 5 and the provision on protection of capitalist ownership in article 10 should be revised promptly. However, the work in 1975 to revise the constitution was

unsuccessful. At that time, because of the interference and sabotage by the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, it was impossible to correctly sum up the practice of our country's revolution and construction; on the contrary, many wrong things were included in the constitution, while many correct provisions were deleted, for example, the provisions stating that all citizens are equal before the law and that people's courts shall exercise judicial authority independently and by following the law only. These correct provisions were not reinstated in the subsequent constitutions, including the one promulgated in 1978.

The constitution currently in effect was drawn up in 1978. There were minor revisions on two occasions, but basically no major change was made. The constitution can no longer meet the needs of developments in politics and economy in our country and has to be revised for the following reasons:

1. When the constitution was adopted in 1978 by the first session of the Fifth NPC, it was not long after the gang of four had been smashed. Because of the restriction by the historical conditions at that time, there was not enough time to sum up all experiences and lessons in our socialist revolution and construction since the founding of our country and to liquidate and eradicate thoroughly the influence caused by some "left" ideas on the provisions of the constitution during the 10 chaotic years. As a result, the constitution still contains some out-of-date and even wrong political viewpoints and some provisions which do not conform to the present objective situation. Obviously, such contents and wording should be deleted.

2. Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, political, economic and cultural life in our country has undergone a tremendous change and development. The focus of our party and state work has shifted to socialist modernization. The CCP Central Committee has put forward a series of correct policies, such as that economic construction must suit the condition s of our country and follow economic and natural law, that in economic construction we must try to accomplish what is possible, pay attention to real economic results and link the development of production closely with the improvement of the people's living standards, and that while our basic principle is to work independently and self-reliantly, it is necessary to acively develop economic cooperation and technological exchange with foreign countries. Guided by these policies, the work of restructuring the economic management system, including expanding the enterprises' self-management powers and strengthening their democratic managements, is being carried out step by step in conjunction with economic readjustment. Moreover, the CCP Central Committee has made a new scientific analysis of the class situation in our country, pointing out the basic fact that, despite the elimination of the exploiting classes, there still exists class struggle in certain areas. The work of strengthening socialist democracy and the socialist legal system has made considerable progress. The restructuring of the state system and state organs is being carried out smoothly. Major accomplishments have been made in education, science and cultural work. All these facts were not and could not be manifested and reflected in the 1978 constitution. Now it is urgently required and necessary to have them reflected in the constitution.

3. Many provisions in the 1978 constitution are not perfect, rigorous and clear-cut. Take the term of the NPC as an example, the constitution only states very generally that its term may be extended or shortened under special circumstances, but fails to clearly specify the circumstances. This means that it is far from being rigorous. We should now develop socialist democracy, improve the socialist legal system, consolidate and perfect the basic state system, really protect the people's rights and the rights of all nationalities in our country, consolidate and develop a political situation characterized by stability, unity, liveliness and vigor, mobilize all positive factors to the fullest extent, give full play to the superiority of socialism and speed up the work of the four modernizations. To do so, we must revise the constitution in a rather specific manner.

For these reasons, in August 1980 the CCP Central Committee made a suggestion to the Presidium of the third session of the Fifth NPC that the constitution be revised and that a committee for the revision of the constituion be established. The third session of the Fifth NPC agreed to this suggestion and to the namelist of members of the committee for the revision of the constitution proposed by the CCP Central Committee. It decided that the committee be in charge of the work of revising the 1978 constitution.

The following shows how the work of revising the constitution was carried out.

The work of revising the constitution began after the third session of the Fifth NPC adopted the resolution on revising the constitution and forming the committee for the revision of the constitution. From beginning to end, the work was characterized by two things: first, the principles of seeking truth from facts was upheld. That is, the work proceeded from the current situation in our country and combined Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the present practice in China. Second, the mass line was upheld. Extensive efforts were made to solicit opinions from all departments concerned and from the broad masses of people. After the opinions from the masses had been obtained, work was carried out to make a rather drastic revision of the 1978 constitution on the basis of the historical experience summed up in the resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC and by upholding the four basic principles.

In view of the vital importance of the work of revising the constitution and the complicated questions involved in various areas, it was necessary to do a great deal of investigation and study and to extensively solicit opinions from the masses. In particular, further practice and study were necessary in dealing with the major questions on the restructuring of the state system. To do the work carefully and to make the constitution as good as possible, a rather long time was spent in revising the constitution. After repeated discussions and revisions by the committee for the revision of the constitution, the present draft revised constitution was finally drawn up.

Now the Standing Committee of the Fifth NPC has decided to make public the draft revised constitution for discussion by the people throughout the country. After it has been discussed by all people, the committee for the revision of the constitution will further revise it according to the opinions of the masses and then submit the further revised draft of the fifth session

of the Fifth NPC for examination and discussion. After official adoption by the fifth session of the Fifth NPC, a fundamental law of our country for the new historical period will come into being.

Finally, I will explain why the draft revised constitution should be discussed by the people throughout the country.

First, discussion of the draft revised constitution by the people throughout the country is a way and an example of management of state affairs by the people. As stipulated by our constitution, all power in the PRC belongs to the people. The people have and should exercise the power to take part in the revision of the constitution. Discussion of the constitution by the people throughout the country means that the people are exercising their power as masters of the country. Second, of the three preceding constitutions that China has promulgated, the 1954 constitution was relatively flawless. One of the reasons was that it was discussed by the people throughout the country, and as a result the wisdom of the masses was pooled and all useful ideas were absorbed. Discussion of the draft revised constitution can ensure the perfection of the constitution. Third, discussion of the draft revised constitution by the people throughout the country is a popular education in the socialist legal system. As a result of the discussion, the people will be made aware of the contents of our country's fundamental law, the nature of our state, the work targets for the future, the fundamental rights and duties of citizens, and so forth. This will lay a foundation for the promulgation and implementation of the constitution in the future and will enable the people to uphold, on their own initiative, the idea of abiding by the constitution. Because of this, all people should pay full attention to the discussion and make joint efforts to formulate a perfect socialist constitution.

CSO: 4005/911

PARTY AND STATE

SECOND TALK ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW291201 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 28 May 82

[Radio talk by Wang Shuwen of the Institute of Law of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences: "The Guiding Ideology and Basic Principle of the Draft of the Revised Constitution"--second of series on the draft revised constitution]

[Excerpts] The guiding ideology in revising the constitution is adherence to the four basic principles, that is, adherence to the socialist course, to people's democratic dictatorship, to CCP leadership and to Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. These four basic principles are also the four basic principles upheld in the draft of the revised constitution. Let me elaborate further on this issue.

First, why is it necessary for the draft of the revised constitution to stipulate that the four basic principles must be adhered to? The need to adhere to the four basic principles stems from the experience of the Chinese people over a long period of revolution and construction. The four basic principles are the truth that has been tested through prolonged practice. These principles reflect the objective law and necessity in China's historical development.

Second, adherence to the four basic principles is the guiding ideology and basic principle in revising the constitution. This has been expressed as follows:

1. The preamble of the draft of the revised constitution comprehensively and prominently expounds the four basic principles and reaffirms that it is essential to adhere to the four basic principles.

2. Article 1 of the general principles of the draft states that the People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. It also says that the socialist system is the basic system of the PRC, and that disruption of the socialist system by any individual and by any means is prohibited. The article comprehensively states that people's democratic dictatorship is our country's basic feature and that the socialist system is our country's basic system.

3. The entire draft of the revised constitution embodies the spirit of the four basic principles. The principles of people's democracy and socialism are embodied in the articles in the draft concerning the socialist economic and political systems, the fundamental rights and duties of citizens and the structure of the state. Thus, as a fundamental cardinal law, the draft of the revised constitution defines that the four basic principles are the fundamental code of the whole nation.

Adhering to the four basic principles is the basic feature of our country's constitution. This is the basic difference between our constitution and those of capitalist and other socialist countries. To cheat the working people, the capitalist countries in their constitutions describe themselves as countries governed by the people with the people holding the power in their countries. But the fact is that the constitutions of capitalist countries consolidate the social order that serves the interest of the bourgeoisie so that they can maintain their dictatorship over the proletariat and over the broad masses of working people.

Third, the significance of adhering to the four basic principles lies in the fact that these four basic principles--the socialist course, the people's democratic dictatorship, CCP leadership and Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought--serve as a common political base for uniting the whole party and the people of all nationalities in the country. Adhering to these four basic principles also basically guarantees the realization of the four socialist modernizations. We must, therefore, adhere to the four basic principles in all work and wage a resolute struggle against all words and actions that oppose and undermine the four basic principles.

The most important requirements in adhering to the four basic principles is to uphold the CCP leadership and the socialist course. Only socialism can save China. This is the historical conclusion drawn from the Chinese people's protracted struggle over the last century and more. It is also the most basic historical experience gained in the last 32 years since the founding of our country. Under the socialist system we have accomplished what old China could not accomplish. This effectively proves the superiority of the socialist system.

Adhering to the CCP leadership is the core of adhering to the four basic principles. It is the key of whether or not the four modernizations can be realized. Without the CCP there would be no new China. Likewise, without the CCP there can be no modern socialist China.

The articles concerning adherence to the four basic principles in the draft of the revised constitution will have tremendous immediate and far-reaching historical significance in ensuring the Chinese people's vigorous advance along the road of building a modern, highly democratic and highly civilized socialist China under the CCP's leadership and under the banner of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

CSO: 4005/911

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI RADIO' COMMENTS ON DENG-INITIATED PURGE

OW300444 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 28 May 82

[Text] The communique adopted by the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee pointed out: This session will go down in history for fulfilling the historic mission of righting things which have been thrown into disorder in the guiding ideology of the party. That means that the historic mission of righting things has been completed and that the whole party, the whole army and the people throughout the country must concentrate their energy on carrying out the modernization program in line with the resolution adopted by the sixth plenary session.

Regrettably, after the convocation of the sixth plenary session, Comrade Deng Xiaoping handed over the daily routine work to comrades Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang and Deng Biao, Kiang Qing and their cohorts; those who possess serious factional thinking; and those who resist the party's line and policies--must be expelled from the leading bodies at all levels. It is said that the party and army organizations are impure because of the existence of remnants of Lin Biao and the gang of four. Recently, the lackeys of Lin Biao and the gang of four have truculently alleged that their remnants remain among the ranks of cadres, particularly in the army. They have also pointed out that there are also people who are deeply influenced by the reactionary thinking of the two counterrevolutionary cliques and undesirable people who have found their way into the ranks of cadres during the 10 chaotic years.

It is self-evident that those who have been cadres during the cultural revolution, particularly during the period when Lin Biao was defense minister, are likely to be labeled at will. We can definitely say that if cadres are not labeled at will, it will be difficult to expel over 10 million cadres in the next 3 years as was instructed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. Recently, the party, the government and the army leading cadres have shown strong resistance to the massive purge. The leading comrades of the party Central Committee and the Central Military Council, in particular, have set an example by refusing to leave their posts for recuperation or to retire.

In a recent letter to the NPC Standing Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping wrote that the current administrative restructuring is a revolution, and if we

are not determined to carry through the revolution, modernization will not materialize, and even the existence of the party and the nation will be endangered. Thus, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has enlarged the scope for purging cadres. In the final analysis, the purpose of the massive purge is to squeeze out and expel those who are not trusted. Consequently, the purge unavoidably runs counter to the resolution of the sixth plenary session, which calls for concentrating energy on socialist construction.

CSO: 4005/911

'RENMIN RIBAO' ARTICLE EULOGIZES ZHANG GUOHUA

HK290935 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 May 82 p 5

[Article by Fan Jinzhen [2868 6602 4176]: "The Moral Character of a Real Communist"]

[Text] The date 20 February 1972 was a Sunday. That afternoon, Comrade Zhang Guohua was at a meeting, listening attentively to a report. The meeting was a continuation of a meeting held that morning. The discussion was quite heated. When Comrade Guohua was giving a speech, he suddenly felt ill. He took some medicine and, ignoring the advice of others, insisted on continuing. Afterward, he collapsed on the floor. Much to my surprise, he started to vomit after a few injections and, that night, Comrade Guohua left us forever. As he himself had often said, "I don't want to lie in bed groaning. The battlefield is where I belong."

In view of his abrupt departure, he did not have time to summon to his bedside his children, who were working in other localities. However, he did manage to leave his most precious asset--the moral character of a true Communist Party member--in our hearts forever.

I

A few days before the death of Comrade Guohua, I had heard him singing the "Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention" in the secretary's office. The song was at times loud and at times soft. When he reached the phrase "All actions must correspond to directions," the song was especially loud and to this day still reverberates in my ears.

Comrade Guohua was a native of Yongxin County, Jiangxi Province. In March 1929, barely 15, and spurred on by the agrarian reform at the time, he took part in the guerrilla activities led by the special committee of the northeastern part of Yongxin County. In May 1931, he officially became a CCP member of the Fourth Red Army. From that time on, he gave his all for the party. This revolutionary career spanned more than 40 years. He took part in the long march of 25,000 li. During the war of resistance against Japan, he penetrated enemy lines from northern Shaanxi to set up anti-Japanese bases. During the war of liberation, he went from northern China to fight in central China and, from eastern China, fought all the way to the great southwest.

After liberation,he went from Sichuan to the plains of Xizang. No matter how harsh the environment proved to be and no matter how difficult the work was, he never once stipulated any conditions and obeyed the directions of the party in all matters up to the moment of his death.

In April 1940, Comrade Guohua was ordered to lead troops to take over the defense of the Jiangsu-Shandong-Henan-Anhui region (later renamed the Huxi region). He was appointed political commissar of the 4th trainee brigade of the 115th Division and political commissar for the Huxi area. Under the highly complicated circumstances brought about by the "purge Trotskyists" incident, Comrade Guohua soon began a new phase by consolidating and expanding the anti-Japanese bases. In August 1942, the organization approved Comrade Guohua's request to study in Yana. This was indeed a rare opportunity for someone like Comrade Guohua who had been separated from the high-level leadership for such a long time and who had been a lone warrior in an armed struggle in a single place behind enemy lines. He enthusiastically handed over his work and hastened to Yanan. His journey took him past the base in Taihangshan Mountain. There he reported on his work to the frontline headquarters of the Eighth Route Army. After he reached the No 2 Taihang subdistrict and was preparing to pass through the Datong-Puzhou railway blockade line, he suddenly received a telegram from headquarters asking him to return immediately to the Shanxi-Shandong-Henan No 4 subdistict (now the area comprising Anyang, Huaxian County, Puyang, Neihuang and Tangyin in Henan Province) to work. At that time, due to the cruel mopping-up campaigns carried out by the enemy in the area and the unusual severity of natural disasters there, the life of the masses was extremely tough and the struggle was acute and complicated. Comrade Guohua resolutely obeyed the decision of the organization, firmly put aside the study opportunities he had looked forward to for so long and immediately returned to the Shanxi-Shandong-Henan area to carry on the arduous frontline struggle for our victory in the anti-Japanese war.

By early 1950, we had already achieved overall victory in our nationwide war of liberation. Comrade Guohua was ordered to lead the 18th army into Chuannan. A large batch of cadres in the army were to be transferred to local work. Comrade Guohua was appointed head of the administrative office in Chuannan. Shortly afterward, the 18th Army was assigned the task of marching into Xizang. The comrades, having lived through heavy fire and life-or-death situations, were only just beginning to settle down. When they heard that they were to advance into Xizang, they had difficulty accepting this, especially certain comrades who had adopted themselves to the local work, including a small number of responsible cadres. They were not mentally receptive to the idea. Other deterrents were that Xizang was a minority nationality region, not much was known about it, it was so far away, transportation was a problem and it was difficult to get supplies through. Under these circumstances, they could envision the difficulties involved in speedily carrying out the task of liberating Xizang and protecting the border area. As the commander of the 18th Army and secretary of the army party committee, Comrade Guohua felt that the task he shouldered was heavier than ever before. In order to eliminate the erroding force and effects of imperialism, uphold the intetrity and unity of the motherland, strengthen the unity between people of the Xizang

and Han nationalities, build up and consolidate national defense, and sweep away obstacles to the political, economic and cultural development of the Xizang people, the party committee of the 18th Army resolutely implemented the directive issued by the CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao that "the advance into Xizang should be made early rather than late." They did not hesitate in assuming this enormous and honorable task. Under the direct leadership of the CCP Southwest Bureau and Southwest Military Region, they began to study methods for implementing the plan and carried out a series of heavy and complicated preparatory work. Comrade Guohua suffered from frequent attacks of tonsilitis. In order to adapt himself to the climate of the Xizang plains, he resolutely had his tonsils removed. For 6 days and 6 nights, he could neither eat nor speak and was in constant pain.

At that time, I had just arrived in Sichuan from Henan to work. I had been separated from him for a long time and, what was more, I was just about to give birth. How much I had hoped that our lives could be more peaceful and that I would have the chance to study specialized banking, which I liked so much. It was at this time that our eldest daughter became ill and died. Comrade Guohua was still busy making preparations for the advance into Xizang. He said that Communist Party members must disregard personal interests, that when we reached as tough a place as Xizang, difficulties would definitely increase, that the party's cause needed me and, as a Communist Party member, I should go. I was convinced and, dragging along my frail body that had given birth just 20-odd days before, marched with him shoulder to shoulder on the long road to Xizang. Together with our comrades-in-arms, we crossed 19 permanently snowcapped mountains, waded through dozens of ice-cold streams and rapids that chilled us to our bones, traversed numerous primeval forests and muddy marshes, endured untold hardships, overcame such serious problems as the shortage of oxygen at high altitudes and supply deficiencies, and, after an arduous trek of more than 3 months, finally reached Lhasa on 26 October 1951.

II

Comrade Guohua's revolutionary zeal was really something. In his revolutionary work, he was stern and serious, a consistently hard worker who simply got on with the job. His fiery enthusiasm and arduous work style profoundly moved and encouraged comrades all around him.

In November 1946, Comrade Guohua was transferred to the Henan-Anhui-Jiansu region to get work started up there. He was appointed commander of the Henan-Anhui-Jiangsumilitary region. In a complicated and dangerous environment, he commanded his troops during continuous fighting. The Henan-Anhui-Jiangsu region was an isolated and remote guerrilla area. The enemy, who outnumbered us 10 to 1, was carrying out an "extermination campaign" against us. They tried in vain to wrench the "dagger" from their hearts. Comrade Guohua had only just been transferred from political work to military work and his burden was heavy. Often, when I went to see him, he was engrossed in a telegram directive from the CCP Central Committee, and was pondering over and deciding how he was to effectively carry out the instructions of the CCP Central Committee. I watched him endure many sleepless nights, lose his appetite, develop bags under his eyes and a swollen face. I was sad and worried. I told

him to look after himself. At first, he ignored me. After I said this a few times, he said repeatedly: "I'm a communist. I am responsible to the party [words illegible] Henan-Anhui-Jiangsu military region CCP committee of the strategies and tactics of the CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao, the war situation soon changed in their favor and they forcefully coordinated with the strategic advance of the great army led by Liu and Deng into Dabieshan Mountain. [As published]

Seventeen years of Comrade Guohua's life were spent on the plains of Xizang. Chairman Mao said: "Whenever pondering over a problem in Xizang, we must first take the people and their religion into consideration. We must proceed cautiously in all our work." Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "In Xizang, we must walk according to our policies, eat according to our policies, and use correct policies in order to rid ourselves of the spell and miasma cast by Chinese and foreign reactionaries, eliminate the national barriers and preconceptions created by history, and unite the vast numbers of monks and layment, as well as patriots, under the great banner of anti-imperialism." Comrade Guohua fully appreciated the importance of his responsibilities and dared not slacken for one moment. He resolutely implemented the directives of the CCP Central Committee and devoted his utmost to this end. After accepting the task to advance into Xizang, he immediately sent an advance party, entered deep into the Xizang region to ascertain the political and military situation there, carried out a survey on the customs and religions of the Xizang people and also personally went to Changdu to invite specialists and scholars learned in Xizang affairs to hold discussions. On the basis of this, the army party committee formulated the "Rules for the Military Advance Into Xizang." This was issued to the troops and they were briefed on the policy regarding nationality and religion. In order to respect the customs of the Xizang people, on his march, he and the others refrained from entering temples and living in people's houses, preferring to sleep on the icy ground. After the troops had entered Lhasa, a handful of proimperialist splittists tried in vain to tread the "Russian path." Comrade Guohua and Tan Guansan, the political commissar, personally led troops in to get up production started, and soon the grain, vegetable, and supply situation improved. In order to improve and strengthen the anti-imperialist, patriotic united front, Comrade Guohua took every opportunity to make broad contacts with people of all classes in Xizang. Dozens and dozens of times, he would call on people personally to convey the concern and expectations that the CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao have for the Xizang people and to propagate the national and religious policies of the party. During his time in Xizang, he frequently worked nonstop from morning to night. He often said that the task had been given to him by the party and the work had been given to him by the people and that if he could not perform it, he could not face the party and the people.

One night in June 1952, I was at a meeting in the Xizang people's bank. Comrade Guohua's bodyguard suddenly came to call me, saying: "Political Commissar Tan would like you to come immediately. The commander is seriously ill." I hurried along and found out that Comrade Guohua had fainted from exhaustion. He was treated for a few hours and left to rest. I was not until dawn that he regained consciousness. For the sake of the happiness of the Xizang people, Comrade Guohua worked for a long time on the plains of Xizang

in a selfless, indefatigable and self-exhausting manner. By 1967, when he left Xizang, his body had already suffered much damage.

Comrade Guohua was hardworking and studious. In the war years, he always carried a small dictionary in the pocket of his jacket. He kept important documents and books in a small saddlebag and took them with him wherever he fought. Every time the CCP Central Committee issued documents or directives, he would always study them conscientiously and ponder over them and, when it was time to implement them, would integrate them with the actual conditions. In order to facilitate the starting up of work after the advance into Xizang, he led the way in the learning of Tibetan on the journey and continued his lessons regardless of the burden of work. He made neat jottings inside various notebooks of Tibetan words and read them whenever he had the time. Shortly after his arrival in Xizang, he was able to hold simple conversations in Tibetan. He was hardworking and studious. He displayed a wide knowledge. In his conversations, he was able to use simple words to express profound thoughts. He quoted copiously from many sources and was a highly convincing speaker. It was hard to believe that he was a leading cadre who had been born into a peasant family and had only studied for 4 and 1/2 years in an old-style private school.

After the testing and training of a protracted revolutionary struggle, Comrade Guohua had experience in both military and local work. He was both an outstanding cadre for political work and an outstanding military director. He had experienced numerous battles, was resourceful and decisive and had directed some glorious campaigns and struggles. He showed great vigor and enthusiasm in his work. He was clear-headed, steady and sedate. He was held in high regard and was trained by the revolutionaries of the old generation. He was also deeply loved by his fellow comrades.

III

Comrade Guohua was unselfish and magnanimous. He was honest and upright. He took the overall situation into account. He was open in everything he did. He was a fair-minded and sincere communist.

Comrade Guohua was always severe in disciplining himself. He was modest and cautious. He was not pretentious or arrogant. Once when he was in the Shanxi-Shandong-Henan No 4 subdistrict, Comrade Guohua, after a victorious battle, was sitting with the soldiers and celebrating their victory. A soldier recited a story to the rhythm of bamboo clappers praising Comrade Guohua for his decisiveness in directing the fighting. After hearing just a few lines, he left. In 1962, after victory in the war to protect the motherland's border area, the CCP Central Committee wanted Comrade Guohua to go to Beijing and report on the situation. A member of the work staff who was by his side said that their leading cadre now had to pass through the Desheng gate. Comrade Guohua immediately corrected him by saying that although this person was thinking of passing through Desheng gate, he himself was thinking of going out of the Xuanwu gate.

Comrade Guohua had the courage to carry out a self-criticism of his own mistakes and shortcomings, and sometimes even gave people the impression of being

overdemanding. In his younger days, he was slightly more conceited and his style was at times not democratic enough. With his gradual development to full political maturity, he managed to overcome these shortcomings. Nevertheless, he remained continually self-critical and asked comrades by his side to remind him to pay attention to his shortcomings so that they would not affect the party's work. In his work summations and autobiography, he never once mentioned his own role and achievements, but always conscientiously summed up lessons and criticized himself.

On the cadre question, Comrade Guohua welcomed cadres from all over the country. He never practiced favoritism, formed a group for his own private ends or took part in factionalism. He laid great importance on the unity between his own troops and other friendly armies in the same region and the unity between local cadres and cadres from other localities. He was always harsh on those closest to him and lenient toward those furthest from him. He was originally a cadre of the first regional army of the Red Army. During the time that he spent teaching the 4th brigade, he paid special attention to the care and unity of the comrades in the Fourth Regional Army. When they marched into Xizang, the forces were from the southwest and the northwest. He taught the cadres in the 18th Army to respect cadres from the northwest and mobilized them to prepare themselves for posts as deputies after they joined forces. He always attached importance to the unity between intellectual cadres and worker and peasant cadres, boldly selected and used intellectual cadres, and paid attention to raising the cultural and theoretical level of worker and peasant cadres. He attached great importance to the unity between cadres of the Han and Xizang nationalities and the unity between "old Xizang" and "new Xizang," and especially to the training and use of cadres of Xizang nationality, giving them duties and powers and enabling them to play their unique role in the building of Xizang.

As for cadres who had made mistakes, Comrade Guohua would sternly criticize and educate them. He did not ignore them; thus they sensed his comrade-like concern and help. In the Henan-Anhui-Jiangsu military region, there was a cadre responsible for propaganda work who, because of a transfer problem, was engaged in an argument with a leading comrade in the political department of the political region and adopted an erroneous attitude toward the organization. Afterward, Comrade Guohua went to have a chat with him, sternly criticizing him on the one hand, and on the other, patiently helping him thoroughly analyze the reason for his mistake, telling him what to do and genuinely winning him over. In 1949, when this comrade came to the south, he had to stay in Nanjing because of bad health and did leadership work in a certain department. Upon hearing the news of the 18th Army's advance into Xizang, he resolutely asked the organization to let him follow Comrade Guohua to the plains of Xizang despite his illness. Many comrades who worked under the leadership of Comrade Guohua felt that Comrade Guohua was not only a leader who was "strict without being fearsome" and "intimate without being vulgar," but also a bosom friend who was happy to share other people's problems.

Toward others, Comrade Guohua was modest, amiable and generous. However, when it came to party matters, he always adhered closely to party principles. He never yielded and never tried to appease others. After the Huaihai campaign, the troops had grown arrogant and violations of policies and discipline

frequently occurred. A certain regimental deputy chief of staff had beaten and scolded some people at Kaifeng station in Henan. By the time this incident was discovered, the soldiers had already reached Jiangnan. Comrade Guohua nevertheless ordered the comrades in the army political department to escort that person back to Kaifeng to apologize to the masses and to make some effort in undoing the damage. He also distributed a circular to all his troops warning them about such behavior. After the Chengdu campaign, individual cadres committed errors on questions of marriage. Comrade Guohua and the army party committee dealt with this sternly and resolutely resisted the hedonistic mentality that had developed in the wake of their victory.

One day in May 1967, Premier Zhou went to have a chat with Comrade Guohua. He said to him that, with Chairman Mao's permission, they had decided to transfer him to Sichuan to work. During his time in Sichuan, Comrade Guohua worked under extremely harsh conditions. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" attacked and framed him, and even managed to destroy him physically. However, Comrade Guohua did not yield in the face of pressure. He was frank, open, endured humiliation, took the overall situation into account and never once moaned in front of us, perservering in the party's work to the best of his ability. He was extremely tense about his work. Sometimes he refused to stop work even with a high temperature. I once reminded him: Lin Biao and his associates want you dead. He said: "I do not count for much, as long as the party's cause lives on." I was hoping that he would report to Premier Zhou about his predicament. After a long silence he slowly replied: "The premier knows. He's busy enough himself. Do you know the difficulties the premier faces? I must on no account add to his problems." When I saw his stern expression, I realized that the problem was nowhere near as simple as I had thought.

After the death of Comrade Guohua, Premier Zhou personally telephoned Chengdu directing the ashes of Comrade Guohua to be sent to Beijing. Premier Zhou, Ye Jianying, Li Xiannian, Nie Rongzhen, Xu Xiangqian and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation went personally to the airport to collect Comrade Guohua's ashes. When I saw tears flowing down the gaunt cheeks of Premier Zhou, I could no longer control my own feelings. I tightly shook both hands of Premier Zhou and tears poured from my eyes.

One of Comrade Guohua's comrade-in-arms wrote the following few lines in his memory: "He stands like a hero in a forest of rifles and under a shower of bullets. He serves as a model of openheartedness. He gives his all to the revolution despite his illness. He works indefatigably while lying in his bed." Naturally, the life of Comrade Guohua is open to appraisal by the party and the people. As a revolutionary companion who has lived with him and fought alongside him for over 10 years, I have merely noted a few fragments of his revolutionary career, so as to encourage the children and myself to continue struggling for the party's cause and to give myself the chance to put my thoughts down on paper.

CSO: 4005/911

PARTY AND STATE

'BEIJING WANBAO' DISCUSSES MAKINGS OF STATESMEN

HK270937 Beijing WANBAO in Chinese 13 May 82 p 3

["Words of a Hundred Schools" column by Bei Chen [0554 6591]: "Speaking in Defense of Li Bai"]

[Text] The article "On the Strong and Weak Points of Li Bai and Liu Yong" said: Judging from Li Bai's "temperament, behavior and character", we can see that he did not have the makings of a statesman. This argument cannot stand close scrutiny.

He-er-cen [6378 1422 1478] said: "All characters are the product of the times." In appraising an historical figure, we must not just fix our attention on his "temperament, behavior and character" but must also analyze the times he was in and his social environment. During the long years of the Chinese feudal society, there were very few professional writers and poets among China's intellectuals. In those days, Chinese intellectuals always cherished their major ambition of "dedicating themselves to the service of their country." In other words, they worked hard to obtain fairly high position within the ruling class so as to carry out their political proposals. Literary talent had always been an important asset in obtaining a fairly high position. Many intellectuals at that time, such as Han Yu, Liu Zongyuan, Bai Juyi, Wang Anshi and Su Shi, were both statesmen and writers. It is very difficult to make an absolute distinction between their "makings as statesmen" and their "makings as writers." Although Li Bai did not attend any imperial examinations, he cherished his political ambitions: "I want to model myself on Guan Zhong and Yan Ying and seek the skill of serving emperors. I want to make the best use of my wisdom and ability to assist the ruler in governing the country and in bringing about great order throughout the country." What a pity Li Bai did not have an opportunity to realize his ambition.

After discussing the point that Pei Du's contributions made during the first half of his lifetime are greater than those made during the second half of his lifetime, the "Xin Tang Shu" [2450 0781 2579] said: "This was not because he was wise during the first half of his lifetime and stupid during the second half of his lifetime. It all depended on whether he was given the opportunity to make the best use of his wisdom and ability. The situation determined the outcome." These words contained profound truth. With regard to those historical figures with lofty ideals who did not have the opportunity

to dedicate themselves to the service of their country and who had no opportunity to use their talent, if we denounce all of them as people who did "not have the makings of statesmen" and who did "not necessarily have talent in this aspect," are we not reproducing the outworn viewpoint that "he who conquers is crowned king; the vanquished become bandits?"

Let us take a look at the times Li Bai lived in. At that time the Tang Dynasty had begun to go downhill from a period of great prosperity. Li Longji, Emperor Xuanzong abandoned his earlier national policy on making vigorous efforts to make the country prosperous, wallowed in luxury and pleasure, put powerful treacherous court officials in important positions and cut off all channels for remonstration and forthright admonition. The Kaiyuan era of great order was turned into the Tianbao era of upheaval. At this time, Emperor Xuanzong put Li Linfu, Gao Lishi, Yang Guozhong and an Lushan in important positions. A large number of historical facts have proved that these people were a group of careerists and conspirators. Is it conceivable that their appointments meant "appointing people on their merits?" Is it conceivable that these people had "the makings of statesmen?" The viewpoint that Li Bai should just mind his own business of writing poems and should not interfere with politics is not only now, but was then, a middles viewpoint confusing right and wrong.

The contradictions and clashes between Li Bai and those powerful treacherous court officials were clearly recorded by history. Li Bai was not willing to "servilely and obsequiously wait on ranking officials," thus offending them. But Li Bai was Li Bai after all. He dared to ask Gao Lishi to "take off his boots" for him on a public occasion. He also dared to liken Emperor Zuanzong's favorite imperial concubine Yang Yuhuan to Zao Feiyan in his poem entitled "A Song of Pure Happiness." As a result, Gao Lishi incited Yang Yuhuan to urge Emperor Xuanzong to "bestow gold" on Li Bai to "transfer him to other localities." This virtually meant expelling him from the capital. Li Bai ended in failure. This was apparently a sharp political struggle. We definitely should not censure Li Bai's "temperament, behavior and character" and let off those people condemned by the whole nation. Li Bai's bold and uninhibited character and his form of struggle which was characterized by derision, taunts and furious curses were really rare and commendable at that time. Up to now, his character and his form of struggle still afford general satisfacton. In writing teaching material, it is quite natural for historians to "speak in defense" of Li Bai and to "favor one and be prejudiced against the other." Is it conceivable that we should speak in defense of Gao Lishi and his like?

CSO: 4005/911

LIAO CHENGZHI ADDRESSES SOONG MEMORIAL CEREMONY

OW300158 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1430 GMT 29 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 29 May (XINHUA)--Vice Chairman Liao Chengzhi of the NPC Standing Committee gave a speech at a ceremony in commemoration of the first anniversary of the death of Comrade Soong Ching Ling, honorary chairman of the PRC. The speech reads in full as follows:

PRC Honorary Chairman Comrade Soong Ching Ling, known throughout the world as a great patriotic, democratic, internationalist and communist fighter, has been gone for a year now. However, her great revolutionary spirit and lofty integrity as well as her outstanding contribution to the country and the people will live forever in our hearts. Cherishing a feeling of great reverence for her and her memory, we have now gathered here at this grand ceremony to unveil Comrade Soong Ching Ling's former residence.

Since she came to Beijing from Shanghai in September 1949 at the invitation of the CCP Central Committee to join in planning the establishment of the PRC, Comrade Soong Ching Ling lived, worked and studied hard here and brought forth fruitful results in promoting our country's socialist construction and world peace. This small residence linked Comrade Soong Ching Ling closely with the Chinese people of all nationalities and the people of various countries throughout the world. Here she worked diligently for more than 20 years until her last breath. It is here that her heart stopped beating. Many relics, documents and artifacts here are a real record of Comrade Soong Ching Ling's devotion to the great revolutionary cause and powerful testimony of the modern history of Chinese revolution. In order to carry on Comrade Soon Ching Ling's great revolutionary spirit and let the people cherish her memory and learn from her from generation to generation, the place has been officially designated "former residence of Comrade Soong Ching Ling, honorary chairman of the People's Republic of China."

At this solemn moment as Comrade Soong Ching Ling's former residence is unveiled, we miss all the more our Taiwan compatriots on the other side of the Taiwan Strait. Before her death, Comrade Soong Ching Ling always keenly looked forward to accomplishing the great cause of reunifying the motherland, a goal toward which she did a great deal of useful work. We are glad to note that the nine-point policy put forward by chairman Ye Jianying of the NPC

Standing Committee has produced an increasingly far-reaching influence among the 18 million compatriots in Taiwan. Accomplishing the great cause of reunifying the motherland is a common desire and the sacred duty of the people of all nationalities throughout China, including the Taiwan compatriots. We are convinced we will certainly be able to reach this goal. We warmly welcome Dr Sun Yat-sen's relatives and old friends now residing in Xianggang [Hong Kong], Aomen [Macao], Taiwan and foreign countries; Comrade Soong Ching Ling's old friends; all personages with breadth of vision who wish to see a reunified and powerful motherland; and friends from various countries to come here to pay respect to Comrade Soong Ching Ling and to commemorate her together with us.

Before her death, Comrade Soong Ching Ling earnestly hoped that our socialist motherland would become more prosperous. Our beloved and esteemed Comrade Soong Ching Ling would be relieved by the fact that the lines, principles and policies laid down since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and the resolution adopted by the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee are being further implemented and that one new victory after another has been won in the socialist modernization drive of our country.

Let us rally closely around the party Central Committee and advance courageously toward accomplishing the great, sacred cause of reunifying the motherland and building China into a powerful, modern socialist country which is highly democratic and cultured.

CSO: 4004/121

BRIEFS

HEBEI PEOPLE'S CONGRESS MEETING--The 15th meeting of the 5th Hebei provincial People's Congress Standing Committee opened on 12 May. Committee chairman Jiang Yizhen presided and spoke. The main agenda of the meeting consists of studying the draft of the revised constitution and adopting a resolution on organizing the people of the whole province to discuss it. The meeting will also hear and examine a provincial government report on the 1982 draft budget and a report on controls of urban and rural trade fairs. Also present at the meeting were committee vice chairmen Niu Shucai, Wu Qingchang, Cao Youmin, Ding Tingxin, Quan Zemin, Zhao Zhenzhong, Zhang Da, Geng Changsuo, Pan Chengxiao, Zhou Xueao, Huang Hua and Yang Dingan. Present as observers were provincial higher people's court President Lu Zhiguo and provincial Chief procurator Sun Guangrui. [Summary] [HK200425 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 13 May 82]

KUOMINTANG COMMITTEE MOURNS MARTYR--Beijing, 26 May--The Central Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee held a forum this afternoon at the Taiwan Hall of the Great Hall of the People in commemoration of the death of patriotic General Dai Anlan, who died a martyr for the country. Xiao Ke, vice chairman of the CPPCC national committee praised Dai Anlan as a national hero. He said: "The best way for us to commemorate him is to realize the four modernizations of the motherland and to build China into a powerful socialist modernized country." The forum was presided over by Qu Wu, vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee. Zheng Dongguo, vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, described General Dai Anlan's heroic deeds. Dai Anlan sacrificed his life on the battlefield on 26 May, while fighting the Japanese Army in Burma. After Dai's death, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote a poem in mourning. Comrade Zhou Enlai called him "a hero of Whampoa and the nation." Zhu De, Peng Dehuai and Deng Yingchao also presented mourning scrolls. [Excerpts] [OW270319 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1503 GMT 26 May 82]

CSO: 4005/911

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GUIDED MISSILE UNIT CONDUCTS COUNTERATTACK EXERCISE

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 5, 1982 pp 18-19

[Article by Zhao Ruishan [6392 3843 1472], Zhang Jucheng [1728 1565 2052], Li Shuliang [2621 2579 5328] and Hu Baoyu [5170 1405 3768]: "Counterattack Exercise"]

[Text] Guided missile units would be an important fighting force in a future war against aggression. Here we introduce to everyone a counterattack exercise in the wake of an enemy attack organized by an unidentified guided missile unit.

In accordance with the party committee's demand, the unit participating in the exercise placed every technician [haoshou [5714 2087]] under strict technical and coordinated training and laid emphasis on cultivating a sure, accurate, meticulous and careful operation workstyle. The leaders of the unit went into the company to go through study, inspection and safeguard procedures with the technicians. Since grounds at the site were muddy, the cadres and fighters pooled their wisdom and conducted survey and tests inside a simple and crude field workshed. The technicians thoroughly and carefully checked over the numerous closely packed circuits. The launch technicians' work is very important, and under the commander's order, they must not only work uniformly but must also ensure accuracy without any mistakes.

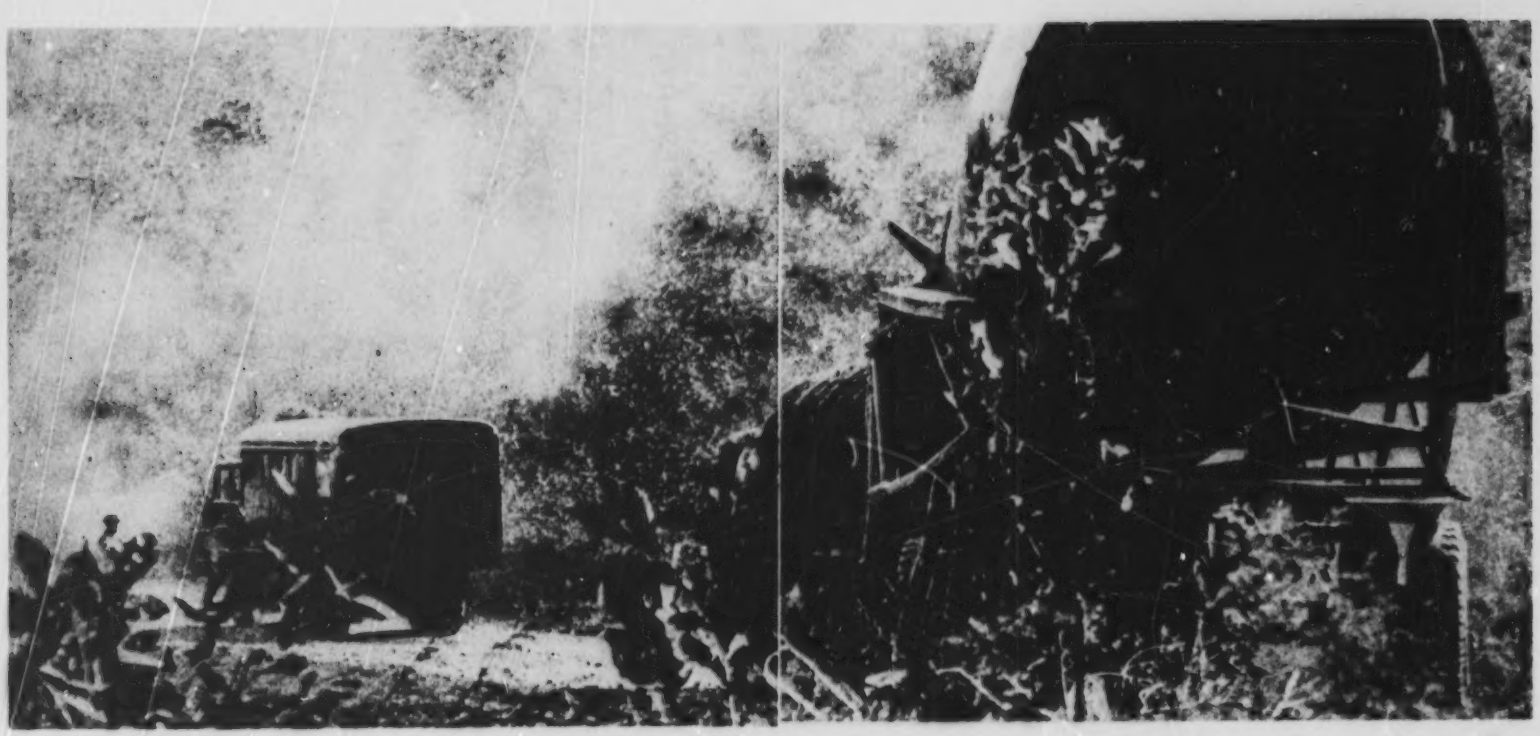
In this simulated actual combat exercise the unit improved its level of technical and tactical skills and also cultivated a fine combat workstyle. The commanders praised that it is through this type of troop training that true skills can be learned.

Studying counterattack deployment.

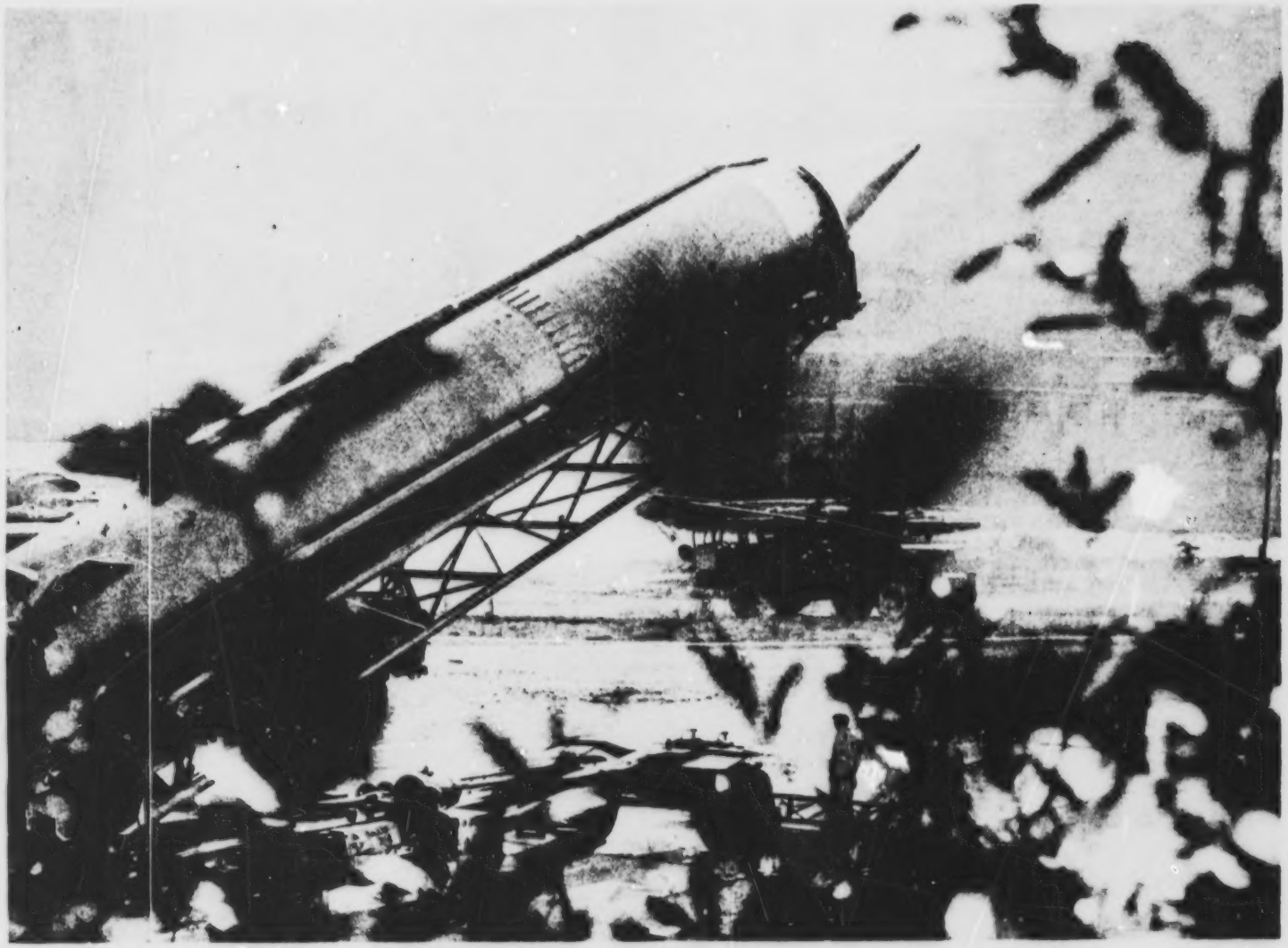
Making survey preparations.

Swiftly setting up the equipment.

Ensuring unimpeded signal communication. →



Advancing toward the launch site.



Swiftly erecting the missile and awaiting orders to counterattack.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WRITING OF LIU BINYAN CRITICIZED FOR FACTUAL ERRORS

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [CURRENT REPORTS] in Chinese No 4, 1981, 25 Dec 81 pp 46-51

[Article by Sun Lijun [1327 0448 6511] and Tan Fangzhi [6223 2455 0037]: "Reportage Must be Truthful and Accurate--Starting With Comrade Liu Binyan's 'Between Men and Demons'"]

[Text] Recently we read an article by Comrade Liu Binyan entitled, "Who Sits in Judgment--My Fact-Finding Tour Through Three Provinces," published in the No 5 issue of NEW EPOCH, and we spotted a number of factual errors. They are reminiscent of the factual errors in the same author's feature story, "Between Men and Demons," published in 1979 in the No 9 issue of PEOPLE'S LITERATURE as well as his article, "Man Is the Purpose, Man Is the Center," published in 1979 in the No 6 issue of LITERARY COMMENTARY. Such errors have caused considerable talk among cadres and people who know the truth.

In a number of articles, Comrade Liu Binyan boldly drew attention to the problems of our time, presented people and events in graphic detail, and said things that had never been said before. That is why they make such stimulating and provocative reading. We enjoy reading what Liu Binyan writes for the same reasons that the average reader does, except that, after learning the truth about the people and the events that graced the pages of Liu's writing, we cannot help being surprised at the amount of inaccuracy found in his material. Our devotion to truth and our commitment to responsible writing compel us here to bluntly and sincerely offer our own opinions and thoughts.

What are the discrepancies found in the material used in some of the writings of Comrade Liu Binyan? Let us compare the facts as we know them with the people and events described in his recent article, "Who Sits in Judgment--My Fact-Finding Tour Through Three Provinces," his recent feature story, "Between Men and Demons," and his unscheduled speech at a recent writers' congress, "Man Is the Purpose, Man Is the Center."

I. Concerning "Who Sits in Judgment--My Fact-Finding Tour Through Three Provinces"

Comrade Liu Binyan declared in this article: "The masses attributed the increase in grain production in Pin County in 1977 to two reasons: 1) the help of God; 2) the absence of Mr Wang, the secretary of the prefectural CCP committee, due to his enrollment in a party school." "While this may sound disrespectful, it rings true to those who know Secretary Wang's working style. When he went off to the party school, his penchant for blind supervision and his indulgence in overstatement also went with him; hence a boom in agriculture. Does this kind of folk humor spread by word of mouth have any impact at all? After all, Secretary Wang could not stay at the party school forever. He had to do something. He had to discharge his duties both as the first secretary of the prefectural CCP committee and as a standing committee member of the provincial CCP committee. In fact, it was precisely under his leadership that the Pin County CCP Committee played a key role in uncovering the unlawful activities of Wang Shouxin [3769 1343 0207] at the Daching oil fields. For this achievement, every member of the Pin County CCP Committee received a promotion of one grade, while he, as the first among equals, received a promotion of two grades. In all, the committee as a whole boasted a 110-percent rate in receiving both salary increases and promotions."

If Secretary Wang did have a questionable working style, any criticism supported by facts would be justified. However, Comrade Liu Binyan's criticism was unsupported and irresponsible. As far as we know, we can find three factual errors in the two short paragraphs quoted above:

1. Secretary Wang went to the party school from June 1978 to January 1979. Liu's article stated that he was away at the party school during 1977 and that his absence contributed to the bumper crop in Pin County. This statement has no basis in fact. The fact is that Secretary Wang did not go to the party school in 1977 and was doing his job in his home office that year. As Comrade Liu Binyan's dating and factual errors nullified one of his two reasons for the bumper crop in Pin County, "the help of God" became the only factor for the good agricultural showing.

No doubt the "weather" played a role in the increased 1977 agricultural production, but it was not the only factor. By giving credit to "weather" alone, Comrade Liu Binyan was unfair not only to Secretary Wang but also to the cadres and the masses of Pin County. Everyone knows that several factors were responsible for Pin County's good harvest, the most important being the determination and the sweat of the cadres and masses. Without their hard work, a good harvest would be a castle in the air.

2. Secretary Wang was the secretary of the prefectural CCP committee. He never held the concurrent post of standing committee member of the provincial CCP committee.

3. The allegation that the Pin County CCP Committee as a whole, under the leadership of Secretary Wang, achieved a 110-percent rate in salary increases is also untrue. Secretary Wang got a transfer in February 1980 and a salary review of the Pin County CCP Committee members did not get underway until 6 months after his departure from his prefectural post. At that time, there were 14 cadres at and above the rank of standing committee members of Pin County CCP Committee and vice chairmen of the Pin County Revolutionary Committee. Two of them reported to duty in Pin County after the salary review and had received their raises while still at their previous posts. Another standing committee member had a lower grade than his fellow members and received his salary review at his grade level (he had one promotion at his previous grade level, but no further promotion once he reached the county level). Therefore, all in all, only 11 leading cadres in Pin County received county-level salary review. Only four of them were promoted, so the percentage of promotion should be 36.3 percent. Nobody was promoted two grades at a time. Thus Liu's claim of an overall 110-percent rate in salary increases for the Pin County CCP Committee is very wide of the mark.

II. Concerning "Between Men and Demons"

To our knowledge, there are eight factual errors in "Between Men and Demons."

1. Who played the key role in uncovering Wang Shouxin's unlawful activities?

"Between Men and Demons" exaggerated the role played by Liu Changchun [0491 7022 2504] and Shi Huailiang [0670 2037 0081], two "small potatoes," claiming that the work team dispatched by the county CCP committee "received no support whatsoever from local party organizations nor tipoffs from any party member about the wrongdoing of Wang Shouxin." It went on to say: "The problem with the work team that came to light is also a problem of the county CCP committee. It is a problem of losing touch with the people and thus losing touch with realities." These words present a completely distorted picture of the key role played by the county CCP committee in cracking the Wang Shouxin case, the contribution of the party members at large, and the relationship between our party and the people. Here are the facts. In the summer of 1978, the Pin County CCP Committee, following the plans made by the provincial and prefectural CCP committees, decided to introduce a double-barreled (anti-embezzlement, antitheft, and antiprofiteering) struggle into the departments and enterprises that came under direct county jurisdiction. Acting upon the complaints and tipoffs from the masses, the committee focused its attention on the Pin County Fuel Company.

On 31 July, the committee set up a work team and stationed it at the Pin County Fuel Company.

On 1 August, it convened a mobilization rally to kick off the double-barreled struggle at the county-level departments and local-level enterprises.

On 2 August, Liu Changchun put up a big character poster attacking Wang Shouxin as the coal lord.

On 3 August, Wang Shouxin's accomplices also put up a big-character poster in the name of Wang Shouxin in retort. It was later removed from the wall by the order of the Pin County CCP Committee.

On 5 August, the work team stationed at the Pin County Fuel Company mobilized the masses to report on Wang Shouxin. At the time there were 17 party members working at the company. Eight of them put up big-character posters pressing for investigation of Wang Shouxin's case. Others blew the whistle on Wang Shouxin at various public meetings. Still others individually provided leads to the work team. Therefore, Comrade Liu Binyan's allegation that "from start to finish not a single party member tried to tip off the work team on what Wang Shouxin was up to" is contrary to fact. There is no denying that Comrade Liu Changchun provided a good deal of useful information to the work team and was an active force throughout the struggle. The fact remains that it was the Pin County CCP Committee which, after 3 months of exhaustive investigation with the help of the masses, collected enough incriminating evidences and put together a strong case against Wang Shouxin by the end of December.

The facts leave no doubt that the leaders of the Pin County CCP Committee, with the help of party members and the masses, played a decisive role in breaking the case of Wang Shouxin. It is true that several members of the Pin County CCP Committee failed to act swiftly upon the information provided by the masses against Wang Shouxin and that some members even maintained contacts with Wang. We should definitely criticize and take issue with such negligence of duties. However, we should not dismiss the decisive role played by the Pin County CCP Committee in breaking the case. If we do, we are not being respectful to the truth.

2. Is it true that "none of the CCP committees at any level and none of the social science departments" ever took a first-hand look into the Wang Shouxin case?

In his "Answers to Readers," Comrade Liu Binyan wrote: "None of the CCP committees at any level and none of the social science departments ever sent anyone to Pin County to study the social conditions and the structure of the party organizations there in order to find out what went wrong. This is why I took it upon myself to write 'Between Men and Demons.'"

People who do not know the truth will conclude from the above paragraph that none of the party organizations at any level and none of the social science departments took an active interest in the Wang Shouxin case, a case of grand theft that shook the whole nation. They will form the impression that since nobody in the nation and nobody in the province paid any attention, it was up

to the author on his own to draw attention to it. This impression cannot be farther from the truth. The fact is that in the course of investigating the case, the key members of the provincial and prefectural CCP committees followed closely the developments and listened to many briefings on the progress. Furthermore, the prefectural CCP committee sent out a work team. The provincial government also dispatched liaison agents to coordinate the investigative efforts of the provincial, prefectural and county departments involved. Before Comrade Liu Binyan's visit to Pin County in July 1979, the provincial and prefectural party and governmental organs, the press corps, and cultural organizations had all sent representatives to make exhaustive investigations, from different vantage points, of the Wang Shouxin case from start to finish, to sum up the lessons of this case, and to write up investigation reports.

Toward the end of November 1978, that is, 20 months before Comrade Liu Binyan's visit to Pin County, the Songhuajiang Prefectural CCP Committee sent an investigation team headed by one of its standing members and a vice chairman of the prefectural revolutionary committee and consisting of leading cadres from the discipline inspection subcommittee of the prefectural CCP committee, the prefectural Bureau of Public Security, the prefectural office of the inspector general, and the district court. Upon completion of its mission, the investigation team produced a report. Thereupon the prefectural CCP committee circulated its "resolution to introduce a prefecturewide campaign to put the party in order, to rectify the style of work in general, and to educate the public, drawing on the lessons provided by the negative examples of Wang Shouxin's embezzlement case."

In February 1979, the provincial CCP committee sent an investigation team, consisting of personnel from provincial, prefectural and county departments, to Pin County for investigation. On 20 February, the provincial CCP committee received an investigation report entitled, "The Bitter Lessons of the Wang Shouxin Case," from this team and forwarded it to the central government. Subsequently the "Organizational Work Newsletter" published by the Organization Department of the Central Committee printed excerpts from this report. The RENMIN RIBAO also carried an edited version of the newsletter excerpts. On 5 June, the provincial CCP committee circulated this report throughout the province, urging party organizations at all levels to use the Wang Shouxin case as a negative guide in their house-cleaning effort.

Beginning in Feburary 1979, the Pin County CCP Committee devoted a good deal of time to rectification of the workstyle first among its own leading members and then within all the county-level departments, using the Wang Shouxin case as a negative example, and reported its effort to both the prefectural and provincial CCP committees.

On 15 August 1979, the HEILONGJIANG RIBAO published a long newsletter entitled, "A Profile of the Decade of Catastrophe." RENMIN RIBAO also sent a reporter to Pin County to dig up the facts, and on 16 August 1979 published

a long newsletter entitled, "Shocking and Thought-Provoking--How Could the Grand Embezzler Wang Shouxin Pull Off a Job Like That?"

Didn't all such published material contain revealing facts about the social conditions and the conduct of the party organizations that spawned people like Wang Shouxin? Without any investigation of such social conditions and such conduct of the party organizations, how could the report "The Bitter Lessons of the Wang Shouxin Case" be written? Without such material being published, what alerted Comrade Liu Binyan to the fact that something was going on in Pin County? Even if Comrade Liu Binyan was not aware of all of the investigations being conducted, he should have seen or heard a little bit about them. Why did Comrade Liu Binyan ignore such facts? Regardless of whether this oversight was intentional or unintentional, Comrade Liu Binyan was still wrong in taking the credit away from the party organizations and giving himself all the credit. The damage he did goes far beyond self-aggrandizement.

3. Who was responsible for casting a wide dragnet?

The article "Between Men and Demons" had this to say: "Liu Changchun made some mental calculations: If 90,000 tons of coal was sold in an average year and 10,000 tons of this was sold as if it had been production from small kilns, there would be an extra income of 150,000 yuan. In 5 years this extra income would add up to a staggering 750,000 yuan! How can we find out? Easy! Cast a wide dragnet. Let all the county-level departments audit the invoices they have received from buying coal." The fact is that it was the county CCP committee which proposed the "casting of a wide dragnet" when the investigation into Wang Shouxin's embezzlement was underway. The county CCP committee picked 28 department-level cadres to lead 129 grassroots cadres in going from one town to another for a thoroughgoing audit of all invoices showing surcharges (single-copy invoices of which only the buyers receive a copy) issued by the Pin County Fuel Company since 1972. Then in order to provide stronger leadership, the Pin County CCP Committee put four committee secretaries in charge and expanded their staff to 219 people. These people checked out all the affected units and worked among the masses, thus casting the widest possible net to catch Wang Shouxin. Now about Comrade Liu Changchun. He was just a junior level cadre. What authority did he have in making all departments carry out the auditing of invoices of coal transactions? Anyone with a little bit of political common sense would know that Liu Changchun could not do that.

4. Have there been changes in Pin County after the downfall of the "gang of four?"

Comrade Liu Binyan wrote: "Though the 'gang of four' was toppled, the county CCP committee as a whole has remained just as cowardly toward the rebels as before." "The conditions that aided people like Wang Shouxin have remained unchanged."

The fact is that since the downfall of the "gang of four," the Pin County CCP Committee set out to break down the political, ideological and organizational strength of the followers of the "gang of four." They have taken various steps to shake up and strengthen the leadership bodies at all levels. There were 32 "rebels" holding leadership positions in the county-level departments. The Pin County CCP Committee took appropriate action or made appropriate job reassignments affecting the majority of them on the merit of each individual. At the same time, the CCP committee also did a lot of work in restoring order and setting things right and implementing the party's policies. Therefore, Comrade Liu Binyan's claim that "conditions ... have remained unchanged" and "there is no basic change" runs counter to the facts. Otherwise, how could the unlawful activities of Wang Shouxin and others have been uncovered?

5. Was Zhao Yu [6392 3768] against Tien Fengsan [3944 7628 1472]?

"Between Men and Demons" had this to say: "Zhao Yu, a member of party committee for commerce, did a good job of bringing down Tien Fengsan.... As a result, he was promoted to the head of the party committee for commerce by Political Commissioner Yang." "He supported Wang Shouxin in his move to fire a large number of staff members and workers from the Pin County Fuel Company."

This is at variance with the facts. Zhao Yu's real name was Zhao Guoyi [6392 0948 5030]. He used to be the deputy head of the county department of finance and trade. He was not against Tien Fengsan during the "Cultural Revolution." In fact, he even sided with Tien Fengsan and for this reason was demoted to a commune-level job. Nine people were transferred out of the Pin County Fuel Company, many of them of their own free will. Zhao Yu had nothing to do with it. In fact, the transfer was handled by a deputy section chief in charge of administrative duties at the time. So Comrade Liu Binyan got all the facts mixed up.

6. When did Comrade Shi Huailiang [0670 2037 0081] write his big-character poster entitled "The Satellites of Social Sciences?"

"Between Men and Demons" stated: "On 15 September 1978, he (Shi Huailiang) wrote another big-character poster and personally put it up on the building housing the office of the county CCP committee. It was an eye-catching poster. The title was 'The Satellites of Social Sciences.'"

The fact is that Comrade Shi Huailiang wrote his big-character poster entitled "The Satellites of Social Sciences" on 19 February 1979, following the breaking of the Wang Shouxin case. It called for serious study of the Wang Shouxin case in order to sum up and to benefit from its lessons. Advancing the date of this poster, Comrade Liu Binyan claimed that the poster

was written in September 1978, before the Wang Shouxin case was broken. So it was not a simple mixup of dates. It was a serious misrepresentation. Besides, the same feature story even mentioned that Shi Huailiang put up a big-character poster entitled "Wang Shouxin is the key to the solution of problems in Pin County" as early as 1972. This is also untrue. The fact is that Shi Huailiang sent a big-character poster to the party committee of the commercial section of Pin County in 1972, but it was never shown to the public. It is obvious that the feature story overexaggerated the role of Shi Huailiang in uncovering Wang Shouxin's unlawful activities. We believe that we must give criticism where criticism is deserved and that we must give credit where credit is due. Once criticism or credit is misplaced, they are no longer convincing.

7. Was Secretary Pang of the Medicinal Herbs Company one of the nouveaux riches?

In "Between Men and Demons," Cromrade Liu Binyan had this to say about Secretary Pang: "After 2 years as a secretary, he became one of the nouveaux riches." "He was able to pay back in 2 years 1,300 yuan which he owed to the government." This Secretary Pang was, in real life, Comrade Yu Lianzhong [0060 6647 0112], who was the secretary of the party branch of the Pin County Raw Medicinal Herbs Company. In 1975, the county CCP committee required staff members and workers to pay back their debts to the government. Therefore Yu Lianzhong had to borrow from his relatives and friends and to sell his wristwatch to raise enough money to settle his debt. It was not true that he enriched himself by unlawful means in order to pay his government debts. Therefore Comrade Liu Binyan's description and criticism are ill-founded and unreasonable.

8. The description of the section chief for the power industry, the manager of a towel factory, and the section chief for industry is also inaccurate.

"Between Men and Demons" called the county section chief for the power industry a "power lord" and a "millionaire." The fact is that this section chief had nothing to do with the Wang Shouxin ring. It is true that his section was wasteful. In the years between 1973 and 1978, it ran up an entertainment bill of over 10,000 yuan. It is also true that the blame for the wastefulness rested with the leadership. This situation has since been redressed and corrected. It is a clear misstatement to describe the section chief for power as a "power lord" and a "millionaire."

The feature story also claimed that a certain manager of a towel factory "indulged in extramarital relations wherever he went, and managed to come out of those entanglements clean every time, like a duck that emerges from water dry every time." It even claimed that extramarital relations were a "hobby" of this factory manager. These claims have no basis in fact. They amounted to personal attacks and caused marital problems for the people thus described.

The author should not take such an irresponsible attitude. The author also made certain factual errors regarding the housing problem of a certain Mr. Yang.

"Between Men and Demons" also contained factual errors regarding other good people and other situations which are too numerous for this short article.

III. Concerning "Man Is the Purpose, Man Is the Center"

Comrade Liu Binyan's article entitled "Man Is the Purpose, Man Is the Center" was published in 1979 in the No 6 issue of LITERARY COMMENTARY. It described the Huanan Transportation Company as "being engaged in counterrevolutionary conspiracy in the name of the proletariat" and a"model of total dictatorship" and "class struggle." It mentioned real people and real events, but again gave erroneous accounts of them.

1. It claimed that "for a few pieces of fish, a worker was subjected to group criticism and struggle lasting 34 days."

The fact is that this worker did misbehave. The masses complained about it. The company authorities tried to help him during party member gatherings and "political line analysis meetings." There might have been some overreaction to this worker's misbehavior, but there was no such thing as group criticism and struggle against him. To say that such criticism and struggle lasted 34 days was extremely far-fetched. Such willful exaggeration cannot stand up to close scrutiny.

2. It also claimed that "Just because driver Tang Wenli [3282 2429 4409] talked back when the top man of the company was chiding him, he was arrested and later sentenced to manual labor under surveillance. Still later he was condemned as a "production saboteur" and imprisoned for 3 years. The fact is that driver Tang Wenli was involved in several traffic accidents while on duty and he caused damage to state property. On 15 August 1975 he was arrested by the county bureau of public security and on 6 April 1977 he was sentenced to 6 years in prison on the charge of "sabotaging production" by the People's Intermediate Court of Hejiang Prefecture. Thus it is true that Tang Wenli spent time behind bars, but not for the reason given by the author. Besides, on 13 April 1979 the court overturned the guilty verdict as it found no criminal responsibility in connection with the accidents. Then in May, Comrade Tang Wenli got his job back and received his back pay. He is now a technician. Comrade Liu Binyan attributed Tang's arrest and imprisonment to his talking back to a leading cadre of his company. Such exaggeration borders on absurdity.

3. This feature story claimed that "Liu Shulan [0491 3219 5695], a station supervisor, was also subjected to relentless struggle after she refused to

let an acquaintance of a leading cadre get on a bus without paying the fare. She had an infection of the uterus and this condition became a subject of ridicule. During several struggle sessions, Zhao Yufeng [6392 6595 6912] forced her to take off her pants in public. Her condition continued to worsen until the swelling in the uterus reached her rectum. She was hospitalized. Nonetheless, Zhao Yufeng continued to have her brought back from the hospital, without pants, for criticism-and-struggle sessions."

The fact is that in the summer of 1975 Comrade Liu Shulan developed a vaginal infection. She requested sick leave. People in the labor management section inquired about her condition. She then voluntarily took off her pants in the privacy of the broadcast room of the bus station and showed the infected spot to three women comrades. Later, two other women comrades visited her at home. She again took off her pants to show her infection to the visitors. There was no such thing as refusing to let an acquaintance of a leading cadre get on a bus and then being subjected to a relentless struggle. As for the graphic description that "Zhao Yufeng forced her to take off her pants in public" and that he "continued to have her brought back from the hospital, without pants, for criticism-and-struggle sessions", this sounded totally unreal and comical to colleagues of Liu Shulan when they read Comrade Liu Binyan's article. Obviously, if someone were to force a woman to take off her pants in public and have her brought back from a hospital with her pants down, he would create a public outrage. This shows that for his purpose of discrediting one cadre, Comrade Liu Binyan would not hesitate to make up stories and to discredit a whole group of people. We still do not understand why Comrade Liu Binyan would try to describe the cadres and the masses of Pin County in such grotesque and dastardly detail?

This feature story also made gross misrepresentations concerning the case of Bian Weisi [0593 0787 2448], the case of cashier Zhang Yucai [1728 3768 6299] and the "study class for the invalid." We will not go into details here.

The factual errors cited above amply prove that Comrade Liu Binyan took too many liberties with the facts in some of his writings. Sometimes he drew the wrong conclusions. Sometimes he matched the events with the wrong people. Sometimes he simply made things up. Sometimes he called black white. In our opinion, these are serious aberrations for investigative reporting. We are taking issue with these aberrations here in the hope that Comrade Liu Binyan may benefit from our criticism. Should he be endowed with the nobility of spirit for criticism and self-criticism, he should write articles of self-criticism and apology for those periodicals which published his misleading articles.

In our opinion, it is a lack of a sense of propriety and a lack of a sense of responsibility that bred the factual errors in Comrade Liu Binyan's articles.

One rule of thumb for all classical Marxist writers is to check their material for truthfulness and accuracy. Paul Lafargue remembered this about Karl Marx: "For every fact and every figure used in his writing, Marx would seek confirmation from the most respected and most authoritative sources. He was never satisfied with second-hand information. He would go to endless trouble to find the direct source." Wilhelm Liebknecht also said that in Marx' writings, "every word is like a straight arrow and every sentence is a well-pondered accusation based on facts and speaks the utter, irrefutable, and naked truth." Krupskaya said: "Lenin did not trust his memory. Not that his memory was poor. He simply did not want to cite a fact just because he remembered it so. Whenever he cited a fact, he was absolutely sure." The articles written by Liu Binyan were not fiction. They were feature stories, essays and speeches concerning real people and real events. Therefore they should have adhered strictly to the facts. The events they described should be typical cases taken from real life, and the figures they quoted should be accurate. After all, they are convincing only as long as they are truthful. Truthfulness is the very soul of literature and the material on which it is based. Even some accidental errors in a piece of writing would cast doubt on all the facts and arguments it is presenting and would set off an undesirable reaction.

Indeed that is exactly what Comrade Liu Binyan's articles did. They created serious misunderstanding and caused untold mental distress and pain and created many personal problems for those comrades implicated in those articles. Such repercussions probably were not expected by the author. On the other hand, the cadres and the people who knew the facts lost their respect for the journals that printed Comrade Liu Binyan's articles as well as for the author himself. This brings to mind a common practice during the "Cultural Revolution." At that time, some people would willfully attack innocent comrades in their big-character posters with the sole purpose of ruining the latters' career and reputation. These big-character posters made their victims look like monsters. Fortunately, those posters had only limited local exposure. In those days, big-character posters were not taken seriously, so their impact was limited. The articles of Comrade Liu Binyan were published in respectable national journals of mass circulation. They could do many times more harm that big-character posters. If these articles had directed their relentless criticism against those who did stray and who did victimize the masses, they would have served the rightful purpose of turning public opinion against them and causing them mental distress and pain. Even within this context, these articles still should not have deviated from the facts nor from the rule of propriety.

Comrade Liu Binyan could have avoided the factual errors if he had been a little more conscientious. He could have gotten all his facts right if he had taken the trouble to make extensive and painstaking research and study, to thoroughly check out his sources of information, and to enlist the help of local party organizations to verify the facts which he intended to use in

his articles. As it is, Comrade Liu Binyan did not even bother to go to some of the places which were home to the people and events he intended to write about. Nor did he bother to consult the local party organizations closest to those people and events. He based his articles purely on the say-so of certain individuals. No wonder he made one factual error after another. If he continues to write in his haphazard way, he will soon ruin his own reputation as a writer.

It is our hope that Comrade Liu Binyan will be able to draw some lessons from this article. It is always advisable to follow the principle of truthfulness, to form a habit of thoroughly researching the subject, and to cultivate a scientist's respect for accuracy and precision and a writer's strong sense of responsibility. A writer must thoroughly check his material for truthfulness and accuracy. This applies to background material, material incidental to the subject, as well as supplementary material. It is our hope that Comrade Liu Binyan will not repeat the same mistakes and will, from now on, write more and better articles for the benefit of the people.

9055
CSO: 4005/758

BRIEFS

NEW TEACHERS' COLLEGES--Beijing, 21 May (XINHUA)--The Chinese State Council has just approved the establishment of four new colleges to train junior-high school teachers, adding to the 119 existing institutions, according to the Ministry of Education. The Ministry said this is the latest step in efforts that the Chinese Government has made to improve teaching of junior-high schools since 1977, when there were only 16 such colleges in the country. Courses offered at these colleges include mathematics, physics, chemistry, Chinese literature, foreign languages, politics and pedagogics, the ministry said. Such colleges are in great demand because their graduates are usually assigned to local schools and their schooling is 1 or 2 years shorter than the country's 69 regular 4-year teachers' colleges and universities, which mainly train teachers for senior-high schools and colleges. Besides training new teachers, the Ministry of Education also organizes on-the-job training or full-time refresher courses for teachers. The country now has around 4,000 such institutes or schools giving courses to millions of teachers. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0711 GMT 21 May 82 OW]

CSO: 4000/120

END

JPRS 81103
22 June 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 310

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81103

22 June 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 310

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Military Strategy of Reagan Administration
(Wang Qianqi; XIANDAI GUOJI GUANXI, Oct 81) 1

U.S. Dollar: Developments, Trends
(Xie Yao; GUOJI WENTI YANJIU, No 2, 1982) 8

West European Peace Movements Discussed
(Ding Yuanhong; GUOJI WENTI YANJIU, No 2, 1982) 12

Commentary on the Falklands Crisis
(XINHUA, various dates) 16

Argentina 'Flexible' in Negotiations
Argentine Defense Actions
Thatcher Considers 'Military Options'
Brazil, U.S. Support Peace Efforts
U.S. 'Secret' Argentina Visit
British Comments on Crisis
UN Mediation Efforts
'Slow Progress' in Talks
UN Blamed for Stalled Negotiations
UK Refutes Soviet Protest
Thatcher on UN Talks
Galtieri Sees Probable Rapprochement
UK Accused of Stalling Talks
Argentina, UK Resume Talks
British Attitude Toughening
UK Use of Nuclear Submarines
EEC Extension of Sanctions
'War Cabinet' Emergency Meetings
Peru Premier Hits U.S. Support
Gap Between, UK, Argentine Positions
British Assets Frozen

[III - CC - 80]

U.S., New Zeland Military Support
UN Falklands Mediation Ended
UK Withdraws Proposals
Argentina Still Willing To Negotiate
Argentina Urges International Aid
UK Establishes Bridgehead
Argentina Reiterates Hope for Solution
Argentina Accepts Peru Peace Plan
Italy's Berlinguer on Conflict
'TASS' on Conflict
UK Demonstrators Urged End to Fighting
Haig Discusses Islands Situation
Brazil Proposes Peace Plan
Argentine Defense Minister on Conflict
OAS Official on Britain's Stand
Galtieri Grateful for Nonaligned Support
Argentine Denies S. African Aid
Venezuela Supports Argentina
U.S. Ready To Help Solve Dispute
Parliament Grim at Warship Losses
UNSC Adopts New Resolution
UN Secretary General on Ending Crisis

Soviet Union Afghanistan Policy Today, in Lenin's Times
(Fang Lianqing; GUOJI WENTI YANJIU, No 2, 1982) 42

Korean Reunification Considered
(Tao Bingwei; GUOJI WENTI YANJIU, No 2, 1982) 44

PARTY AND STATE

Regional Chinese Commentary on U.S., USSR
(HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 10, 17 Apr 82) 48

Failed Soviet Mission to India, by Yang Xun
Soviet Spy Submarines, by Ji Yanfeng

Provisional Party Official Need Adhere to Party Work
(Li Yuanlin; SHANXI RIBAO, 26 Mar 82) 51

Party Must 'Vigorously Promote Education, Improve Practice'
(Ma Shengde, Dan Guizhem; SHANXI RIBAO, 16 Mar 82) 53

Party Committee Calls for Struggle Against Economic Crimes
(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 21 Mar 82) 55

Legislation Needed To Simplify Administration
(Li Zongxing; JIEFANG RIBAO, 18 Mar 82) 58

Better Use of Middle-Aged Intellectuals Urged
(WEN HUI BAO, 13 Apr 82) 62

Need for Spiritual Civilization Addressed
(Xue Xi; BEIJING RIBAO, 2 Apr 82) 66

Briefs
Provinces Observe Soviet Army Day 68

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MILITARY STRATEGY OF REAGAN ADMINISTRATION

Beijing XIANDAI GUOJI GUANXI [CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS] in Chinese No 1, Oct 81 pp 22-24, 39

[Article by Wang Qianqi [3076 0051 3825]: "Military Strategy of the Reagan Administration"]

[Text] I. Since the Reagan administration came to office, in contrast to the Carter administration, there has been an even greater emphasis on increasing military strength to engage in a struggle with the Soviet Union on a global scale. The Reagan administration has asserted: The 1980's will be an era when the danger of war will continue to increase. Due to the unfavorable status of the United States in the balance in development of military power between Russia and the United States over the past 10 years, Soviet military strength appears to have caught up with and surpassed that of America in every regard. America must, therefore, intensify its arms buildup in order to counter this situation.

The Reagan administration holds that under the conditions of maintaining parity in strategic nuclear capability between America and Russia, while it is impossible to eliminate [a possible] nuclear exchange, what is most likely to occur is conventional warfare and conflict with Russia. Relying on increased military power, Russia will in every manner possible, resort to "ever more bold" actions on a worldwide scale. This will include "training and support of armed insurrections," wielding military assistance to prop up regimes with close ties to Russia and making use of proxies such as Cuba and Vietnam, etc., even sending in troops themselves to intervene and carry out military occupations. The Reagan administration still holds that the "primary target" of Soviet strategy is Europe but for the present and foreseeable future, the "fulcrum" of conflict with America lies in "Southwest Asia and the Persian Gulf." The Soviet Union will also stretch its hand toward any locales which present opportunities in Asia, Africa and Latin America, etc., especially in those places with abundant resources and important strategic locations. The Soviets will "bully the weak and fear the strong." Whenever they meet a rebuff, they will temporarily withdraw. But in the long run, they are determined in their plan to seek to "become a country with a dominating role throughout the world."

Based on the above analysis of the situation, the Reagan administration is just formulating its strategy against the Soviet Union. While this strategy

is still in the process of being worked out, its broad outlines can already be seen in the speeches of military heads and in national defense budget plans.

While the Reagan administration is continuing with some of the military strategy inherited from the Carter administration, it has also developed some of its own; the important points are as follows:

1. To Take Further Steps To Replenish the "Countervailing Strategy."

This nuclear stratagem was officially determined during the latter part of the Carter administration. Its basis still lies in the stratagem of "mutually assured destruction" and requires America to possess "adequate" strategic nuclear capability and to maintain nuclear parity with the Soviet Union so that should the Soviets launch a surprise nuclear attack, the United States would be able to give the Soviets an insufferable retaliation. The "aim" of this strategy lies in "deterring" the Soviets so that they will not lightly initiate a nuclear attack. On this basis then the "countervailing strategy" requires an additional increase in "flexibility." That is, preparations to fight any type of nuclear war, including limited nuclear wars. As the "countervailing strategy" requires enhancement of actual combat capability to hit the other side's military targets, it can have the actual effect of increasing "nuclear deterrent." The Reagan administration, planning to further substantiate the "countervailing strategy," is preparing to make an even greater effort than the Carter administration in the area of modernizing strategic nuclear capabilities.

2. To Have Preliminary Discussions To Revise the Strategy of "Conducting One and One-Half Wars" and Formulate New Strategy.

Since Nixon was in office America has favored the strategy of "one and one-half wars." That is, to prepare to wage a major battle in Europe (or Asia) but also to have the ability to wage a smaller battle simultaneously in another location. The Reagan administration has seen that the Soviet military already possesses the "ability to simultaneously fight two and one-half battles" and that the "one and one-half battles" strategy of America is already unable to meet the needs of the times; in the preliminary discussion arguments to revise strategy, the administration repeatedly indicated that countering the Soviet war challenge is a global effort and that the United States has no way rigidly to determine the number of wars it must prepare to fight simultaneously. The Reagan administration made the preliminary suggestion of being well prepared "to conduct at least two battles simultaneously" as a good plan (words from newly appointed Defense Department Secretary Weinberger.) Such conflicts could arise simultaneously in middle Europe or the Persian Gulf, or they could also arise in "areas separated from one another by vast distances"--Africa, East Asia or Central America. These conflicts may be short-term, but could also occur as long-term conventional wars; America must be prepared for all possibilities. The Reagan administration also advocates mobile and quick use of conventional forces to counter these conflicts. It was suggested that since Soviet strikes are "generally not

directed against the strongest points of American forces," should America be "forced to join in a war" she should not just limit herself to the area of direct occurrence of the attack in counterattacking the Soviets, but should at the same time seek out where "Russia is most vulnerable to attack." Wherever her weak point lies, that is where to attack, forcing her to "pay a very high price." In summation, we should plan the linking of one area of war with other areas of fighting.[1]

3. To Explicitly Put Forth the Necessity of Ensuring "Superiority Over the Seas."

In contrast with the Carter administration, the Reagan administration is attaching more importance to strengthening the navy. As for naval requirements, the Carter administration emphasized protection of the sea lanes leading to Europe in the event of break out of a major war in Europe. The Reagan administration's naval strategy has as a major direction, requiring the capacity to protect the interests of America throughout the globe, as well as the ability to become a major weapon in the conduct of counteroffensives directed against the weak points of the Soviet Union at the initial outbreak of any conflict. Weinberger has stated that American provision of industrial and raw materials and the sending in of troops to foreign countries during any crisis or war, all depend on the safety of the high seas. Because of this, as far as America is concerned, control of the oceans "has a significance equal in importance to Russian control over their land territories." In this respect, parity and reciprocity are meaningless words; the United States must possess "naval superiority."[2] Secretary of the Navy Lehman declared, the U.S. Navy must be able to control the three major oceans--the Atlantic Ocean, the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean, as well as be able to make a northward attack on the Soviet's northern naval base in Murmansk.

4. To Further Emphasize Development of Military Relationships With Allies and Other Important Countries.

The Reagan administration, admitting that America cannot withstand the Soviets by simply relying on itself, stresses the need to strengthen the old alliances such as NATO and those between America and Japan, America and Australia/New Zealand and America and Korea, etc. They have indicated their own willingness to take the lead in expanding military preparedness but also, urge the allies to make their own efforts to counter the "common threat" through "reasonable participation" and "collective defense." In contrast to the Carter administration, the Reagan administration is placing greater emphasis on supplying military aid to countries with important strategic locations (focal points are Southwest Asia and the Persian Gulf) as seen in the willingness to provide weapons, etc., to Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Thailand.

II. In the early part of March of this year the Reagan administration proposed its national defense budget, seeking military expenditure appropriations of up to $178 billion and $222 billion respectively for the fiscal years of 1981 and 1982. In contrast to the Carter administration, military expenditures for these 2 years would increase altogether $32.6 billion;

after deducting inflation factors, this represents an annual increase of 12.4 percent and 14.6 percent. This budget plan also seeks to continue the 7 percent actual increase rate for increasing military expenditures, making the total amount appropriated for the 5 fiscal years of 1982 to 1986 about $1.3 trillion. This would be the largest-scale military revamping in the peacetime history of the United States.

The national defense budget of the Reagan administration calls for overall advancement of military defense plans originally formulated by the Carter administration, as well as inclusion of some new items--distinguishing features are as follows:

1. To First Pay Attention to Improving the State of War Preparedness of Presently Existing Conventional Forces.

In all Defense Department plans, allocations for conventional forces occupy top priority; expenditures for training, medical and personnel activities come next, followed by expenditures for materiel, repairs and maintenance. The increase of $32.6 billion for 1981 and 1982 fiscal years would, for the most part, be used in these areas, with the goal of improving supplies of ammunition, fuels and spareparts, increasing the selection and purchase of conventional arms, and upgrading the training of troops in order to raise the level of war preparedness of the present troops and to strengthen the capability of sustaining a war effort. To stabilize troop morale and to retain experienced and technical personnel, preparations are being made to raise military salaries based on pay increases seen in the past 2 years.

2. To Gradually Expand Conventional Forces, Especially Troops With Quick Action Capability.

The Reagan administration is making plans to expand the military during the next 5 years by about 250,000 personnel, increasing the total number of soldiers serving the 3 branches of the armed services from the present less than 2.1 million to nearly 2.3 million. The new administration is seeking to beef up the "worldwide mobile capability" of the U.S. troops. That is, a quick-response tactical capability for any of the four major war zones (Europe, Asia, Middle East, Western Hemisphere) as well as within any of these battle zones. At present then the major concern is establishment of "quick deployment troops" targeted toward the Middle East and the Persian Gulf. Expenditures appropriated to this area in the 1982 fiscal year will almost double the amount allocated by the Carter administration. The U.S. Defense Department has announced that within the next 3 to 5 years an independent command for quick deployment forces will be established, having under its command, two airborne divisions, four airwings, two detachments of Marine Corps amphibious operations units and several aircraft carrier combat groups.

3. A Plan for Large-Scale Expansion of the Navy.

The Reagan administration plans to increase the number of naval vessels from the present 456 ships to more than 600 ships, and, utilizing the aircraft carrier as the task force nucleus, to increase the numbers of battle groups

from the current 12 to 15. To do this will greatly expand ship construction plans including construction of Nimitz-level nuclear powered carriers which the Carter era failed to build. Among the various armed forces, the Navy will receive the largest allocations.

4. To Develop and Deploy Advanced Nuclear Weapons Systems.

The Reagan administration considers nuclear weapons to be the "ultimate mainstay" in "deterring" the Soviet Union, and seeks to continue to strengthen the strategic nuclear capability of the army, navy and air force "three in one." Aside from continued development of the MX mobile missile which the Carter administration already decided to build and the Trident missile submarine, there are plans to resume development and improvement of the B-1 bomber shelved by the Carter administration, and to develop a new model bomber capable of evading radar detection. At the same time, seeking further to strengthen tactical nuclear capability, it has been decided to assemble the neutron bomb, something the Carter administration would not allow, and to begin stockpiling this type of weapon domestically.

III. The resolve of the Reagan administration to expand military preparedness is greater [than the previous administration]. At a time when large cuts are being made in various expenditures of the federal government, military expenditures alone are being increased. This reflects that the Reagan administration has already brought about significant changes in shaping the priorities of national affairs. If the military preparedness plans of the Reagan administration are consistently carried through there is a possibility of attaining definite results. The actual strength of the troops would be increased and the effect of the "deterrent" directed toward the Soviets could be correspondingly enhanced. However, owing to considerable differences between the current state of the troops and strategic requirements, and difficulties encountered in areas of manpower, materiel and finances, etc., it will be difficult in the short-term to bring about marked improvements in the state of U.S. military readiness vis-a-vis the Soviet Union.

1. The "Gap in Investment" Formed Over a Long Period of Time in Which Military Expenditures Fell Below Those of the Soviets Cannot Be Instantly Adjusted.

For 10 years Soviet military expenditures have been greater than those of America. Based on Weinberger's estimates, Soviet investments during the past 10 years in the areas of military purchases, construction and research and manufacturing have an accumulative total higher compared to the United States by $35.5 billion; $5 billion in the past year alone. Since Reagan assumed office, although military expenditures have been increased on a broad range, the Soviets have also continued to increase their military outlays. For this reason, Weinberger admits that America will find it difficult to wipe out the gap in military expenditures between the two countries before 1987. Even if there is overall smooth fulfillment according to Reagan's "economic recovery plan," Reagan must wait until 1984 before realizing a balanced budget. Under the conditions of a staggering budget deficit and having to deal with monetary inflation, the Reagan administration will encounter many difficulties if it

wants to realize fully its military budget plans. It was recently decided to reduce the 3 year 1982-84 military budget by $21 or $22 billion.

2. It Will Be Difficult Fully To Complete Important New Weapon Systems Within the 1980's.

If Reagan's military defense plans are effectively implemented, supplies of arms and equipment such as tactical airplanes, tanks and missiles will be improved during his term of office, the scale of the navy will be definitely increased and construction related to the 200,000 man mobile strike force will be considerably advanced, but the goal of naval expansion to more than 600 vessels will not be realized before 1990. It will probably be several years before the MX missiles can be deployed. The current state of the U.S. armament industry also is not suited to the requirements of rapid, large-scale increases in production. Following the conclusion of the Vietnam war, there was a reduction in the industrial base of America's national defense. Much of the machinery and equipment of the munitions factories is outdated; trained workers have been reduced; important raw materials are in short supply; the margin of increase in production rate has declined and delivery dates have been greatly extended. Because of this, although the Reagan administration has increased military expenditures, the problems of military hardware production cannot be resolved instantly.

3. Military Posture Toward the Soviets Will Be Difficult To Visibly Improve in the Short Run.

In the area of strategic nuclear capability the Soviets currently possess numerical superiority and have also caught up with the United States in some aspects of quality and quantity. The U.S. Minuteman ICBM's can be easily destroyed by Soviet heavy-duty missiles. This is already a pronounced problem with concern increasing daily. The only way the United States can make up for this deficiency and maintain the lead in quality and quantity is to deploy advanced strategic nuclear weapons such as the MX missile on a large-scale. In the European theater, in regard to middle and long-range nuclear capabilities, the Soviet Union already occupies a superior position. But when NATO begins deployment of the Pershing II missiles and the Cruise missiles during the latter half of 1983, the situation should gradually improve. As for conventional forces, America can still maintain and improve its quality and quantity superiority over the seas and in the air. Also, in long-range delivery capability, America surpasses the Soviets. Yet the strength of Soviet conventional ground forces greatly surpasses that of America. The decision of the Reagan team to assemble and stockpile neutron bombs will provide support to U.S. nuclear capability and offset the Soviet position of major numerical superiority in tanks. While America could obtain more allied support [than Russia,] mobilizing allies to strengthen military defenses involves numerous contradictions and difficulties. As for the general posture and future prospects of U.S. military affairs, Chairman of U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Jones has said: "it looks pessimistic in the short-term," "as the danger is already there, and remedial measures will take time even under the best of conditions." However, "taking a long-term view, we can be more optimistic."[3] From this we can see that during Reagan's term of office

the United States will continue to adopt a defensive strategy. However, following a gradual strengthening of its military forces there will simultaneously develop various types of integrated anti-Soviet capabilities. Compared to the Carter administration era, there is hope for improvement in actual strength of the American position. (September, 1981)

FOOTNOTES

1. Weinberger, 4 Mar 81, Senate Armed Services Committee discussions (Washington International Exchange Office 4 Mar 81), Weinberger, 17 Jun 81, speech in New York at the Foreign Relations Council.

2. Weinberger, 4 Mar 81, Senate Armed Services Committee speech.

3. Jones, 4 Feb 81, Report to Senate Armed Services Committee on the Posture of American Military Affairs.

9519
CSO: 4005/872

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. DOLLAR: DEVELOPMENTS, TRENDS

Tianjin GUOJI WENTI YANJIU [JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES]
in Chinese No 2, 1982 pp 31-38

[Article by Xie Yao [6200 2565]: "The US Dollar: An Analysis of Recent Conditions and their Developmental Tendencies"]

[Excerpted from a 5300-word article] In 1973 the currency exchange system of the West formally changed from a fixed exchange rate based on the US dollar to a floating exchange rate system. Under this new system, although the US dollar tumbled down from a position of supremacy the entire Western world still uses it as the primary means of currency reserves, currency exchange and currency intervention. Because of the increasingly negative nature of the various factors which determine the exchange value of the US dollar, as well as the irresponsible monetary policies of the US government, for the last ten years the exchange rate of the US dollar has fluctuated wildly, creating extremely unstable conditions in currency systems of the West and severely hampering the normal operations and development of the Western economy. This is one of the most important causes of Western economic decline during the 1970s.

However, in 1979, after the second escalation of petroleum prices and implementation of the second Volker plan to save the US dollar (actually a policy of high interest rates), the exchange value of the US dollar gradually strengthened. After Reagan assumed office last year, the US dollar rose at a startling rate and now has more than recovered the exchange rate value lost since the 1970s. What are the factors which brought about this surprising recovery? What are the future possibilities for the exchange rate of the US dollar? These are question asked by the whole world because of their future importance to international currency financial markets.

The chart shows that in the 1970s, especially after March 1973 when the floating currency system was inaugurated, the US dollar had a weakening exchange rate most of the time, but also had two resurgences. The first was from a low in July 1973 to September

1979, with a peak from the summer of 1975 till the fall of 1977. The second was from the low point in the end of October 1978 till the present, with a peak from October 1980 till August 1981. Although the US dollar now is in a decline again it still is in an upward spiral. This rise, compared to the previous one, has some special features.

First, this rise in the exchange rate of the US dollar is greater than the first rise.

Second, the first rise showed an increase in value over comparatively weak currencies but in this rise still showed a decline in comparison to the hard currencies the Swiss franc and the Japanese yen, while it also showed only a four percent rise against the mark. This time there was an overall rise in the US dollar, while its rate of increase against the hard currencies greatly exceeded the adjusted average value indicies. This is one point which differed from the last time. Even though this is the case, in comparison with the hard currencies the mark, the Swiss franc and the Japanese yen the exchange rate still was much lower than the low points in 1969 and 1971.

Third, if we make comparisons with the lowest point that the US dollar reached since 1970 (October 1978), then after the decline at the end of 1981 the level of the rate of exchange is still high, generally showing an increase of about one-fourth against several hard currencies. This was very unfavorable for the competitiveness of American goods on the international market.

Finally, in this upward trend of the US dollar, there was, comparatively speaking, a relative weakening of the currencies of continental Europe, which declined to a considerable extent, although during the period from August through December when the US dollar declined, the mark and the Swiss franc make a relatively fast recovery.

Several features cossed this resurgence of the US dollar, with the main features listed below:

(1) In 1980-81 the American balance of international payments was stronger than any major industrialized nation except England.

(2) In 1979 the second sharp increase in oil prices took place and because the OPEC nations have accepted only the US dollar for petroleum sales since 1975, there was a consequent increased demand for US dollars on the international marketplace.

(3) With the implementation of the Volker plan on 6 October 1979, American interest rates rose day by day.

(4) Worsening conditions in Mid-east and East Europe countries produced a flow of currency into the relatively secure United States, and purchases of American goods helped to strengthen the US dollar exchange rate. These also were factors in the great weakening of European currencies during this rise in the US dollar.

An Analysis of Several Concrete Factors Determining the Long-Term Outlook for the US Dollar

The long-term outlook for the US dollar is not optomistic. Compared to the hard currencies the mark and the Japanese yen, its reserves are extremely weak, currency inflation is relatively high and the balance of international payments is taking a turn for the worse, despite similar weaknesses in Europe and Japan. More serious is the fact that with the decline of American power the US dollar no longer qualifies as the central currency of the West; persistence in this course will exact a stiffer price from the US dollar than the English pound paid in similar circumstances and will intensify the decline of American status. The only difference is that when the English pound departed from the stage of history the US dollar was already waiting to succeed it, while today there is no successor, which will have serious consequences for the future of the Western economy.

The Recent Condition of the US Dollar and the Monetary Policy of the Reagan Administration

Although the overall long-term picture for the US dollar in light of certain basic factors is not promising, it nonetheless will not show a straight decline but will have rises and declines in a circuituous fashion.

The US dollar reached a high point in August last year, began to decline in September, and since then generally has been in a spiral, firming up in approximately the middle third of January of this year.Because of the relative complexity of the factors affecting the US dollar recently, there is no way to make concrete predictions and it is only possible to give consideration to a few major current factors to arrive at an overall calculation.

One prominent factor affecting conditions for the US dollar is the trend in interest rates for the future. For the last two years there has been a close relationship between conditions for the US dollar and the scale of interest rates. One major reason for the fall in US dollar exchange rates was the crises which forced interest rates down.

The American policy of high interest rates can possibly provide short-term support for the US dollar exchange rates, but such methods are as poisonous as opium. The brief stimulus will create a major loss of future vitality.

If the American government continues the policy of high interest rates there eventually will be a great price to pay in politics and foreign affairs. It certainly will damage relations with Americnn allies, perhaps even causing them to reduce military expenditures which in turn will affect the entire NATO strategy. It also might produce political and social tensions in American allies and in the Third World, thus providing expansionist opportunities for the other superpower.

11582
CSO: 4005/823

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

WEST EUROPEAN PEACE MOVEMENTS DISCUSSED

Tianjin GUOJI WENTI YANJIU [JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES] No 2, in Chinese 1982 pp 7-11

[Article by Ding Yuanhong [0002 0626 3163]: "The Conspicuous Western European Peace Movements"]

[Excerpted from a 3,000 word article] During the last half of last year, large-scale demonstrations primarily in opposition to nuclear weapons and increased military outlays successively broke out in a number of nations, such as West Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, England, Italy and France--the smallest of which involved several tens to a hundred thousand persons and the largest two to three hundred thousand. At the same time, movements demanding the establishment of a "North European nuclear free zone" in Norway and Denmark also reached a climax. Spain and Portugal saw mass movements opposing their entrance into NATO. At one time, these movements extended to all of Western Europe with a momentum which has rarely been seen there. This makes clear the intense desire for peace on the part of the people of Western Europe, and, at the same time, obliquely reflects the shakey situation there. These movements have an effect on the political situation in Western Europe and on the international scene which can not be ignored, and they have drawn serious attention from all sides.

1

Peace movements have a tradition in Western Europe. After World War II, numerous peace organizations were established in every nation in Western Europe. Mass movements in the 1950's opposing the remilitarization of West Germany and its entrance into NATO and opposing atomic and hydrogen bombs, and in the 1960's opposing the Vietnam War became quite large in scale. At the end of the 1960's and the start of the 1970's, in the period of so called "detente" between the East and the West, the peace movements of Western Europe dissipated. Their resurgence makes it clear that under the new international conditions of the 1980's, the peace movements have entered a lively period and they possess the unique characteristics of the time.

The first is that their make up is a mixed bag--numerous organizations and a collection of every kind of ideological tendency.

The second is that their role in West Germany is prominent and this effects all of Western Europe.

The third is that the movements are aimed at the two dominant nations. America and the Soviet Union--especially America--and, at the same time, to a definite extent, they are aimed at their own governments.

A neutralist mood is matched with this tendency of opposing the two dominant powers; it is spreading and has already become an important element in the present day political life of Western Europe. In a certain sense this reflects part of the public mood in Western Europe, especially that of some of the youth, who hope to break the old structure, formed after the Yalta Conference, and avoid becoming entangled in the fight between the two superpowers. This mood of neutralism is especially evident in West Germany and is related to the national desire for the unification of Germany.

2

That such large-scale peace movements with clear anti-U.S. tendencies and neutralist sentiments have taken place in Western Europe has caused tremors on both sides of the Atlantic. America's leaders have had to admit the seriousness of the problem, but have taken great pains to play down their significance, emphasizing that these were the actions of a small number of people and insisting that the movements were created by Soviet propaganda. To be sure, destroying NATO's plans to deploy new medium range nuclear weapons in Europe, maintaining their own nuclear superiority in the European theater of operations, dissipating West European morale and weakening the Western alliance are stratigic objectives sought by the Soviet Union. They aim at the feelings of the Western European public, continually launching so called "peace offensives"--suggesting the establishment of nuclear free zones, a freeze on deployment of new nuclear weapons, the convening of talks on limiting nuclear weapons in Europe, etc. Brezhnev himself wrote a letter to the Western European socialist parties requesting support for the suggestions of the Soviet Union.... Without question, the Soviet Union has truly fanned the flames of this round of peace movements in Western Europe and has exerted great effort to use them. But, we should also note that the peace movements are after all broad political movements with a definite mass base. They have deep roots as social political phenomena, and their decline and resurgence are closely linked to the entire international situation and the social environments of the involved nations.

The resurgence of Western European peace movements is a product of the intensified struggle between the two dominant powers, the USSR and the United States, and of the daily increasing international tensions. After entering the 1980's, the international situation became less stable, and factors that lead to war increased, due mainly to the intense fighting to secure world hegemony on the part of the two superpowers. The people in every nation in Europe, located as it is in the important strategic position between the Soviet Union and America, are deeply worried about this. Both the Soviets and the Americans have massed troops in Europe, collected vast amounts of military equipment and, in the name of maintaining a "balance," stepped up the arms race in an effort to achieve military superiority. At the same time, Europe also has the two largest armies in the world sternly facing each other. Disruptions in other parts of the world also affect Europe. If this situation with weapons poised to strike continues to develop, the result will be difficult to predict. Having

gone through two world wars, the people of Western Europe are deeply afraid of becoming involved in another catastrophe that they have no way of controlling and where they, themselves, will suffer. This concern about war breaking out is a psychological state and is especially concerned with a limited nuclear war being fought in Europe and is an important reason for the rising tide of pacifism in Western Europe. At the same time, it is what induces large numbers of the masses to participate in antiwar peace demonstrations.

This round of peace movements is a reflection of the sharpening contradictions between America and Europe and of the fact that Western European safety is at a crossroads.

3.

Although Western Europe's peace movements at present are made up of many different elements with dissimilar ideas who have yet to form a united political force with an organized program and who cannot yet change the basic political policies of the nations of Western Europe, still the public sentiment they reflect cannot be ignored and their influence should not be underestimated.

First, they form a specific check on many of the national governments of Western Europe.... If there is a change in West Germany's political situation, the impact will not be felt only in West Germany. In short, because of the existence and development of the peace movements, there is an increased element of instability in the situations faced by the Western European governments.

Secondly, this round of peace movements is an impediment to America's policies toward the Soviet Union. Moreover, looking at it from a long-term perspective, it will influence the direction of future development in the U.S.-Europe alliance. The U.S.-European alliance is basic to U.S. foreign policy and is an important component of its global strategy. The United States cannot take lightly the increase in anti-American tendencies and neutralist sentiment of its European allies. On 30 November of last year, the American Government agreed to begin talks with the Soviet Union on nuclear forces in the European theater. The primary motivations behind the move from opposing so called "piecemeal proposals" to President Reagan's hurried announcement agreeing to this proposal prior to Brezhnev's visit to West Germany were to pacify popular sentiment in Western Europe and to lighten the pressure on the West European governments. If NATO plans cannot be smoothly implemented on schedule and neutralist sentiment continues to grow, then the Western defense system and the U.S.-European alliance will face a serious crisis. How to handle the relations between the nations on both sides of the Atlantic, to adopt them to this new situation, is an urgent task already facing the United States and Europe. This problem and the direction which Western Europe moves in the future in establishing its close relationships will have an extremely great impact on the entire international situation.

The Soviet and American struggle and arms race in Europe and throughout the world is still intensifying, making it impossible to avoid the basic reasons for the existence and development of the West European peace movements for quite some time and suggesting that they will continue to exist while alternately

gaining and losing in strength. Both the United States and the USSR see the intensity of the desire of the West European people for peace, and both are scheming to get the peace movements onto their own track to serve their own diplomatic strategy. Because the major theme of the peace movements during the last half of last year was opposition to West European deployment of new American missiles, they have been advantageous to Soviet hegemonist aims. But, as time passes and the situation changes, it will not only be the real threat posed by the Soviet Union that will lead to a change in the movements, but factors such as the Polish situation and the course of the U.S.-Soviet talks in Vienna will also produce their effects. Certain things make it difficult to say whether or not the development of the peace movements will continue to be advantageous to the Soviet Union. In short, the future development of this round of movements is a matter worth close attention and study.

The people of Western Europe suffered tremendous damage in two calamitous world wars, receiving severe wounds, and they intensely desire that Europe remain at peace. This is completely understandable and something with which we sympathize. Of course, it remains necessary to consider how this goal can be achieved. You can believe that through practical searches the people of each nation will each make their own contributions toward finding effective channels to oppose hegemonism, defend against the outbreak of a large war and ensure world peace.

9705
CSO: 4005/820

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON THE FALKLANDS CRISIS

Argentina 'Flexible' in Negotiations

OW111343 Beijing XINHUA in English 1249 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 10 May (XINHUA)--Argentina now does not insist on its demand for British recognition of Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands as a precondition for negotiations, said a high-ranking Argentine official today.

Gustavo Figueroa, the Foreign Ministry chief of cabinet, said in a TV interview that his country hopes to negotiate with the British through the UN secretary-general or any other person.

Figueroa said Argentina wants to make it easier for British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher "to sit down and negotiate" without having to say that the sovereignty over the Malvinas is Argentine.

Figueroa made it clear, however, that Argentina will "take all the precautions so the negotiations will inexorably conclude in the recognition of our sovereignty."

Observers here pointed out Argentina's dropping of sovereignty recognition as a pre-condition reflected a more flexible and more conciliatory stance in seeking a peaceful solution to the Anglo-Argentine conflict.

Figueroa also said that Argentina is showing its maturity and tranquility.

Argentine Foreign Minister Costa Mendez stressed tonight that his country had full confidence in the UN mediation. He expressed his "moderate and reasonable hope" for a negotiated settlement of the British-Argentine conflict in the South Atlantic. He once again denied the allegation that Argentina was adopting an intransigent and obstinate stand and lacking the spirit of understanding.

Argentine Defense Actions

OW 120732 Beijing XINHUA in English 0719 GMT 12 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 11 May (XINHUA)--Argentina has taken action to break the air and naval blockade by the British task force in self-defense against British aggression, Argentine Defense Minister Amadeo Frugoli told reporters today.

The Argentine military junta released a communique earlier today declaring that any British ship or plane found within 12 miles of its coast and heading for the zone of operation would be considered hostile and treated accordingly.

"Everything we have done is for self-defense in face of a daily intensifying aggression," the defense minister said.

He said the British bombardment of the Malvinas Islands on Monday "was intended to undermine the resistance of Argentine troops morally and physically."

Thatcher Considers 'Military Options"

OW120838 Beijing XINHUA in English 0818 GMT 12 May 82

[Text] London, 11 May (XINHUA)--Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher told Parliament today that peace negotiations in the Falklands may take some time and Britain will not meanwhile close off military options.

She said there were "certain fundamental principles" Britain could not fudge in any way. "A ceasefire must be accompanied by a withdrawal to a specific timetable and in a comparatively short time...the Argentinians must not enter into these negotiations in the belief or on the condition that by the end of them sovereignty is ceded to them," she said.

Prime Minister Thatcher rejected a demand of the opposition Labor Party that no decision should be taken on the UN talks until Parliament has debated it.

A British warship attacked an unidentified vessel near the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands early today. This shows that the military action of the British task force in the South Atlantic is continuing for the third consecutive day while intense diplomatic activity to seek a peaceful settlement is under way at the United Nations.

According to the British Defense Ministry, today's action took place in the channel between the two main Falkland Islands in the early morning darkness. No details were given about the type or nationality of the ship attacked. It was only believed to be "either an Argentine patrol boat or a supply vessel." A British Broadcasting Corporation correspondent with the task force reported that following the vessel [as received] "exploded with a fireball that broke the cloud base." This indicates that it had been hit and probably sunk."

British warships continued their bombardment on Argentine positions on the islands yesterday, reportedly for a threefold purpose: to keep pressure on the Argentine garrison; to enforce the blockade by ensuring that Port Stanley airfield remains unusable for large aircraft; and to soften up the defenses to pave the way for a possible invasion.

Brazil, U.S. Support Peace Efforts

OW130744 Beijing XINHUA in English 0737 GMT 13 May 82

[Text] Washington, 12 May (XINHUA)--Brazilian President Joao Baptista Figueiredo and U.S. President Ronald Reagan conferred for 90 minutes in the White House today and expressed support for the mediation efforts of the UN secretary-general for an honorable solution of the Britian-Argentina conflict over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands.

No joint statement was issued after the talks, but a senior U.S. Government official briefed the press later that the "focus of the conversation" between the two presidents was on the current crisis in the South Atlantic. The two leaders were concerned about the situation and hoped that an early solution acceptable to both sides could soon be found, the official said.

The official acknowledged that while both presidents supported the UN Security Council Resolution 502, they held "different positions" on this dispute. The U.S. takes sides with the British but the Brazilians support the Argentines.

Relations between Brazil and the U.S. have improved in recent years but there are still disagreements between them. The two presidents had discussed a Brazilian request for an easier entry of Brazilian sugar and other products into the U.S. market, the senior U.S. official revealed. But the request was reportedly to have been side-stepped by the U.S. side.

Figueiredo arrived here yesterday for a visit, the first by a Brazilian president in 11 years.

U.S. 'Secret' Argentina Visit

OW142030 Beijing XINHUA in English 1510 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 13 May (XINHUA)--A special envoy of U.S. President Reagan, General Vernon Walters, made a three-day secret visit here, according to Argentine press reports today.

The visit, which started on May 10, was the first made by a high U.S. official since the Reagan administration openly threw its support behind Britain in the latter's dispute with Argentina.

During his stay, the U.S. special envoy reportedly held talks with Argentine Government and military leaders on the Malvinas conflict.

Reliable Argentine sources were quoted in a CLARIN report as saying the general's visit did not produce any results.

A commentary in the paper CLARIN speculated that the secret visit had been aimed at explaining the U.S. position concerning the Anglo-Argentine dispute and conveying the U.S. hope to seek a solution which could avoid an escalation of military confrontations.

British Comments on Crisis

OW140804 Beijing XINHUA in English 0750 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] London, 13 May (XINHUA)--The British House of Commons held its fifth emergency debate on the Falklands (Malvinas) crisis here this afternoon.

During the debate, Foreign Secretary Francis Pym said that the current talks at the United Nations had reached an "important and delicate stage." He mentioned a number of key issues to be tackled in subsequent negotiations--arrangements for Argentine withdrawal, the nature of an interim administration and the framework for negotiation for a long-term solution. He stressed that the withdrawal of Argentine forces was a fundamental precondition of a ceasefire and the second fundamental requirement was that the outcome of long-term negotiations on the future of the islands must not be prejudged. But he indicated that Britain was prepared to be flexible in discussing sovereignty in future negotiations.

The foreign secretary's speech was repeatedly interrupted by Tory members, some of whom were opposed to any concession on the British side.

Prime Minister Mrs. Thatcher made the assurance earlier that the government was working "for a peaceful settlement, not for a peaceful sell-out". She emphasized that "no military options could be stopped by the negotiations and if there was not a settlement, the government had the power to act."

The opposition Labour Party promised continued bi-partisan support for the government's current policies and urged greater efforts to seek a negotiated settlement.

Speaking for the first time on the Falklands dispute, former Prime Minister Edward Heath called on the government to press ahead with negotiations by ignoring pressure for an invasion of the islands and not to be moved in any way by the cries of sell-out.

UN Mediation Efforts

OW150710 Beijing XINHUA in English 0702 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] United Nations, 14 May (XINHUA)--UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar declared this afternoon that "substantial progress" has been made in the search for a peaceful solution to the Malvinas (Falkland) crisis, but added that the differences between Argentina and Britain still need to be bridged.

He said: "Time is not on the side of peace. But it does not mean the negotiations have broken down."

British Ambassador Anthony Parsons, who will fly home for consultations, indicated that he is still in business and his departure does not mean the negotiations have broken down.

The Malvinas crisis dominated the discussions at the Security Council meeting this afternoon. UN sources said that Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar had briefed the council on his efforts for a peaceful solution. But the results of the private consultations have not been made public.

The UN secretary-general had many rounds of separate talks with Argentine and British representatives in the past week to seek a peaceful solution. His plan calls for a cease-fire, followed by a phased withdrawal of Argentine troops and British ships, and an interim United Nations administration. During the interim period, direct talks will be held between Argentina and Britain under the auspices of a representative of the secretary-general.

The unsettled issue now centers on sovereignty over the islands. Argentina insists that direct talks should lead eventually to its sovereignty while Britain demands that the second-stage negotiations should not prejudge their outcome. The press here said that Buenos Aires has shown some flexibility seeking only Britain's informal signal that sovereignty would eventually go to Argentina.

'Slow Progress' in Talks

OW151234 Beijing XINHUA in English 1227 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 14 May (XINHUA)--Argentine President Leopoldo Galtieri said today that "there is a slow progress" in the indirect negotiations between his country and Britain over the Malvinas dispute, "but the definitive concrete shape of the subjects being discussed is not yet in sight."

The president said this in an interview with Peruvian television. A transcript of the interview was issued by the Secretariat of Public Information.

Indirect negotiations between Argentina and Britain through the UN secretary general for a peaceful settlement of the Malvinas problem have been going on in the past few days.

The Argentine president also said, "Argentina is prepared to meet the English forces with its air and navy power ready to do battle."

During the indirect negotiations, he went on, both Argentina and Britain showed flexibility in their respective positions. He described this as a usual practice in all dialogues for reaching an agreement. He stressed that the Malvinas "were, are and will be Argentina's forever" but this point has not yet been discussed.

Galtieri also said that Argentina would request military aid from Peru and other brother countries in Latin American if it was needed.

UK Blamed for Stalled Negotiations

OW151559 Beijing XINHUA in English 1552 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 14 May (XINHUA)--Argentine Foreign Minister Costa Mendez said today that the responsibility for delaying negotiations on the Malvinas Islands rests with Britain, rather than with Argentina.

In an interview with pressmen here, Mendez pointed out that to strive for a dignified, just and honorable peace has always been his country's stand on its dispute with Britain. In the meantime, he added, Argentina has also done everything in its power to defend itself.

Asked whether Argentina will mount attacks as indirect negotiations are going on, Mendez said, "since an end to hostilities was called for, Argentine has launched no attacks, but has been acting in all-out, effective self-defense in face of British assaults."

He also regretted U.S. President Reagan's recent remark which blamed Argentina for adopting an inflexible attitude toward the Argentine-British negotiations.

Besides, nine of Argentina's former defense ministers, in a meeting with Defense Minister Amadeo Frugoli today, pledged support for the current government efforts toward a just resolution of the Malvinas conflict.

UK Refutes Soviet Protest

OW151443 Beijing XINHUA in English 1318 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 15 May (XINHUA)--A spokesman of the British Foreign Office issued a statement yesterday rebuffing the Soviet protest against the British blockade of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands, according to reports from London.

The Soviet protest was lodged when the Soviet Foreign Ministry received British Ambassador in Moscow Curtis Keeble yesterday.

In his statement, the British Foreign Office spokesman said that the exclusion zone established by Britain around the Falklands "is being enforced under our right of self-defense under article 51 of the UN Charter" and the zone "remains in operation".

He also said that London was studying the Soviet statement and would decide later whether to issue instructions to Ambassador Curtis Keeble for a formal reply.

Thatcher on UN Talks

OW180756 Beijing XINHUA in English 0729 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] London, 17 May (XINHUA)--Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said today Britain is making one last attempt at the United Nations this week to find a negotiated settlement of the Malvinas (Falklands) crisis.

In an interview on London's independent radio news, she said that Britain has gone as far as it can and it is now up to Argentina to choose between peace and war.

Britain's UN Ambassador Sir Anthony Parsons, after urgent consultations here, went back to New York today to have what Mrs. Thatcher termed as "one more go" at the negotiations table to seek a peaceful solution. "We shall know this week whether we are going to get a peaceful settlement or not," Mrs. Thatcher said.

The prime minister indicated Britain would use military means to take back the disputed islands if a diplomatic solution is not found.

Mrs. Thatcher's remarks demonstrated that time for a negotiated settlement is running out and her government now seems set on an intensification of military pressure, including a possible landing on the islands.

Galtieri Sees Probable Rapprochement

OW161236 Beijing XINHUA in English 1223 GMT 16 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 15 May (XINHUA)--Argentine President Leopoldo Galtieri said here today that his country remains ready to hold dialogues for a settlement of the Malvinas (Falkland) conflict.

"In any case, Argentina would not block up the passage because it has been seeking a peaceful settlement of the (Malvinas) conflict," Galtieri said.

The president made these remarks when interviewed by Mexican TV reporters, who asked him whether Argentina will take a flexible approach in the negotiation. Argentina and Britain are conducting indirect negotiations in New York through UN Secrtary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Referring to the negotiations, Galtieri said, "I think that in the next few days it is probable that some kind of rapprochement, not definitive, will arise in order to find a solution to this problem."

He said the Argentine Government hopes that "an agreement on the peaceful solution to the problem should be reached with Britain to avoid further bloodshed."

"Nevertheless, we will never abandon the view the Argentine people have insisted on from generation to generation," he said. "The sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands belonged to Argentina in the past, and also belongs to it now and in the future."

He said should Britain continue its military actions against Argentina, the Argentine people would be prepared to make greater sacrifices. "Argentina is prepared (to lose) 4,000 or 40,000 in five or six months or five or six years," he said.

"Argentina will never lower its national flag nor raise a white flag" on the Malvinas Islands," he added.

UK Accused of Stalling Talks

OW171240 Beijing XINHUA in English 1226 GMT 17 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 16 May (XINHUA)—Argentine Foreign Minister Costa Mendez today charged that Britain is "delaying" in the negotiations at the United Nations for a peaceful solution to the Malvinas (Falklands) dispute.

He told American pressmen that "It is not so much a question of the recent British attacks as it is the delay in negotiations."

"The refusal to accept normal and reasonable dialogue is the direct fault of the Britons' intransigent position," he said.

Mendez declined to say if the British attitude was designed to play for time in preparation for an even bigger assault on the islands. He only noted that Argentina is prepared for talks and at the same time ready to repel any new attacks.

The foreign minister admitted that the next few days will be "very difficult" as the mediation of the UN secretary-general has entered a crucial moment.

Argentina, UK Resume Talks

OW180822 Beijing XINHUA in English 0714 GMT 18 May 82

[Text] United Nations, 17 May (XINHUA)—Argentina and Britain today resumed their indirect negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the Malvinas (Falkland) dispute through UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

After separate talks with British representative Anthony Parsons and Argentine Deputy Foreign Minister Enrique Ros earlier today, Perez de Cuellar told reporters that Parsons had informed him of the British position as defined during intensive consultations with his government over the weekend. He said he had conveyed the British position to Enrique Ros this afternoon.

"The time is not on the side of peace. Therefore, efforts to find a peaceful solution will be pursued with vigour. The next few days will be decisive," he stressed.

Neither side revealed the details about the latest British proposals. The Argentine deputy foreign minister only said that he would report this back to his government, while the British representative said that "we are still engaged in very serious, determined and urgent efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement."

The indirect negotiations were suspended for two days because Anthony Parsons was recalled to London Friday for consultations with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's war cabinet.

The talks reportedly are hung up over several points, centering around Britain's insistence that Argentina's withdrawal from the islands be guaranteed before talks begin to determine the islands' sovereignty. Argentina has demanded that negotiations led to its sovereignty over the islands, a position rejected by Britain.

As UN mediation has entered a crucial stage, some UN observers believe that Britain's increased military actions against Argentine targets on the Malvinas Islands in the past two days have cast a gloomy shadow on the UN mediation efforts.

British Attitude Toughening

OW191242 Beijing XINHUA in English 1236 GMT 19 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 19 May (XINHUA)--Argentine Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Mendez said Tuesday Britain's attitude in the Malvinas (Falkland) conflict "is getting harder each time", according to reports from Buenos Aires.

Costa Mendez was talking to reporters after discussing with military leaders the latest British proposals. Asked whether he had any plan to travel to New York to take part in talks, he replied, "Who knows what could happen in the next 24 hours?"

Mario Benjamin Menendez, military governor of the disputed Malvinas (Falkland) Islands, said in a radio interview that the British "are attacking indiscriminately in the area of the airport, dropping bombs from high altitude nearly every day." Their "harassment is becoming increasingly greater," he added.

Asked about a possible British landing on the islands, the military governor said, "evidently a landing could take place but we are prepared."

UK Use of Nuclear Submarines

OW191314 Beijing XINHUA in English 1301 GMT 19 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 18 May (XINHUA)--Argentine Defense Minister Amadeo Frugoli today said the presence of British nuclear submarines in the South Atlantic has flagrantly violated the treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapons in Latin America, or the treaty of Tlatelolco.

Frugoli said in an interview with the radio of Port Blanca, "the presence of British nuclear submarines is causing serious concern in Latin America, for such submarines might possibly pollute environment when they go under water. It is grave because it has violated the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. It worries countries like ours which stand for the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes."

He said the U.S. open declaration of support for Britain is a factor which enables that country to be stiff in its attitude and stubborn in sticking to its errors.

The treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapons in Latin America came into force in May 1969. There are two protocols attached to it. One calls for respect for the treaty by countries outside the Latin American non-nuclear zone which have territories in the continent; and the other requests countries with nuclear weapons not to take any action in violation of relevant provisions and not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against any signatory countries. Britain has signed the two protocols.

EEC Extension of Sanctions

OW191312 Beijing XINHUA in English 1254 GMT 19 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 18 May (XINHUA)--The Argentine Government today condemned the extended economic sanctions by the European Economic Community against Argentina as an act of "economic aggression" and "violation of international law".

An Argentine Government statement said although the EEC decision extended its sanctions for a period of seven more days, it could not reduce the gravity of the action. "The European Communist continues to support with coercive economic measures a state that has openly resorted to military aggression, and in fact makes common cause with all that this state seeks in pursuance of its colonialist aims," the statement said.

The statement stressed that "the Argentine Government appreciates and values in its real magnitude the gesture of those governments of the member states of the community which, faithful to their tradition and sensitive to their public opinion, have striven to attenuate the scope of these measures or have tried to dissociate from them."

These countries "have also intended to make a positive contribution" to "a just and reasonable peaceful settlement" of the Malvinas (Falkland) conflict, the statement said.

'War Cabinet' Emergency Meetings

OW191936 Beijing XINHUA in English 1914 GMT 19 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 19 May (XINHUA)--The British "war cabinet" held two emergency meetings Tuesday to discuss the situation in the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands, according to press reports from London.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher told the Parliament after the meetings that the outcome of negotiations at the United Nations should be known by May 20 at the latest and that if they failed "no military action can be held up in any way." "We cannot have endless Argentine prevarication," she added.

She also reportedly told Queen Elizabeth II Tuesday that the government has already decided to launch an attack on the Falkland Islands but the final timing is still to be fixed.

Officials of the British Defense Ministry said that the British naval task force is well prepared and can take action within hours on order. At the same time, the ship Canberra that carried more than 2,000 marines and paratroops has reportedly moved to within 100 nautical miles of the Falkland Islands.

British Government sources also said Tuesday that the naval task force has been put on war alert and it is incumbent on British merchant ships and civilians in the South Atlantic to take orders of the navy. This is the first time the British armed forces are put on war alert since 1965.

Peru Premier Hits U.S. Support

OW200732 Beijing XINHUA in English 0720 GMT 20 May 82

[Text] Brussels, 19 May (XINHUA)--Peruvian Prime Minister Manuel Ulloa is here on an official visit which is expected to end tomorrow.

He has held talks with Prime Minister Wilfried Martens. Both sides signed an agreement under which Belgium will offer Peru a credit of 100 million Belgian francs for 1982.

In a joint press communique issued today, both sides expressed anxiety over the dangerous development of the British-Argentine dispute. Under the present extremely grave conditions, it said, it is ever more urgent than before to find a peaceful solution.

Manuel Ulloa told a press conference tonight that Peru sided with Argentina and supported its claim to sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands. He showed satisfaction at UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar's efforts for a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

The Peruvian Prime Minister described the American attitude toward the dispute as "clumsy" because the United States, he said, has not taken into consideration its profound relations with Latin America as a whole.

Gap Between, UK, Argentine Positions

OW201824 Beijing XINHUA in English 1534 GMT 20 May 82

[Text] London, 19 May (XINHUA)--British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said today that Argentina's response to the latest UN peace proposal for a negotiated settlement of the Falkland (Malvinas) crisis was "not very encouraging."

"The gap looks big" between the British and Argentine positions, she said in a BBC radio interview.

She said her comment was based on a "preliminary indication" of the Argentine reply conveyed by the British ambassador to the United Nations last night.

But she said the cabinet would carefully study full details of the reply, which is scheduled to be transmitted to London this evening.

Observers here believe that the prime minister is likely to make public the positions of both sides in the one-day UN talks when she opens the sixth parliamentary debate on the crisis tomorrow afternoon.

The mood among government ministers and officials here is reportedly almost one of resignation to a failure of the UN peace talks and a further use of force. One senior minister claimed that the cabinet unanimously agreed that there is now no alternative to intensification of military pressure.

According to news reports here, the British task force in the South Atlantic has received extra aircraft and the troopship "Canberra", carrying more than 2,000 marines and paratroopers, has joined the main fleet near the Malvinas Islands. One report indicates that the entire fleet is already placed on "red alert" tonight, waiting for a signal from London.

British Assets Frozen

OW201818 Beijing XINHUA in English 1518 GMT 20 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 19 May (XINHUA)--Argentine Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Mendez today accused Britain of "intransigence" in the UN talks for a peaceful solution of the Malvinas dispute.

He told reporters that a failure of the talks would be the fault of the British side. He warned, "Argentina does not accept any ultimatum from anybody." He said his country fully supported UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar's peace efforts and was prepared to go on negotiating with him.

He said he had no immediate plans to travel to New York but that he was ready to go "if that is necessary."

It was reported that President Leopoldo Galtieri today met the country's military chiefs on the current situation at the islands. He also held telephone talks today with the UN secretary-general, hoping that he would continue efforts to seek a peaceful solution.

The foreign minister made these remarks shortly after his government announced a freeze of all British assets in Argentina. This measure, which was laid down in law, was intended to counter Britain's freeze of Argentine assets following the occupation of the Malvinas Island on April 2.

Under the new legislation, the freeze would apply to all properties belonging to the British Government and individuals, other nationals residing in Britain or enterprises and institutions in Argentina directly or indirectly controlled by them.

U.S., New Zealand Military Support

OW211830 Beijing XINHUA in English [time not given] 20 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 21 May (XINHUA)—The United States and New Zealand have decided to provide military support to Britain in its conflict with Argentina over the Malvinas (Falklands) crisis, according to reports reaching here.

It was officially announced in Washington that U.S. Air Force tanker aircraft will take over British refueling functions to enable similar British planes to fly missions in Malvinas (Falklands) operations.

An undisclosed number of American KC-135 tankers now at an air base near London will be made available to take over British commitment to NATO. Britain is also receiving other types of military assistance under an April 30 U.S. promise of material support, the reports said.

Meanwhile, reports from Wellington, New Zealand, said Prime Minister Robert Muldoon has made a decision to offer a frigate as assistance to the British. It is reported that the 112.8-metre-long frigate "Canterbury" will probably be deployed in the Indian Ocean to free a British frigate to go to the South Atlantic.

The N.Z. frigate carries a crew of 248 officers and sailors, has a displacement of 2,860 tonnes and is equipped with surface-to-air missiles and two 4.5-inch guns.

UN Falklands Mediation Ended

OW210750 Beijing XINHUA in English 0727 GMT 21 May 82

[Text] United Nations, 20 May (XINHUA)--UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar announced here tonight that his efforts to achieve a peaceful solution to the Argentine-British conflict over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands have ended without any results.

At a press conference, the secretary-general made public a letter he wrote to the current president of the Security Council Lin Qing (Chona). He said in the letter, "I must now state that the necessary accommodations which were still needed to end the conflict have not been forthcoming."

The secretary-general said his judgment was that his mediation efforts "do not offer the present prospect of bringing about an end to the crisis nor, indeed, of preventing the intensification of the conflict.

Asked by reporters what would be the next, the secretary-general said, "That will be decided by the Security Council."

Before the secretary-general's announcement of the breakdown of his mediation, a spokesman of the Argentine mission to the United Nations accused Britain of breaking the negotiations.

He said, "Britain did not want to negotiate. Britain wants to restore by force a colonial regime on Latin-American soil."

A British statement said Argentina's response to Britain's final proposal represented a hardening of its position. "The present round of negotiations is, therefore, now at an end," the statement said.

UK Withdraws Proposals

OW210346 Beijing XINHUA in English 0241 GMT 21 May 82

[Text] London, 20 May (XINHUA)--Prime Minister Mrs. Thatcher told the House of Commons this afternoon that Britain's latest proposals for a peaceful settlement of the Malvinas (Falkland) crisis represented "the furthest that Britain could go in the negotiations", indicating that negotiations have come to an end.

"These proposals have been rejected. They are no longer on the table," Mrs. Thatcher said.

The British Government today published the proposals and Argentina's response.

According to a cabinet document published, the British position is: 24 hours after the two sides sign an interim agreement, they should immediately cease hostilities and completely withdraw their forces from the Falkland Islands and their surrounding waters within 14 days and at the end of the withdrawal, British troops would be at least 150 nautical miles from the islands; during an interim period, the legislative and executive council of the islands must continue in existence and be consulted by an interim administrator appointed by the UN secretary general; negotiations between Britain and Argentine on the long-term future of the islands shall be completed by December 31 this year, with the question of ultimate sovereignty to be discussed in good faith but without prejudgment of the outcome. Mrs. Thatcher said that Britain was prepared to make "practical changes that were reasonable", but not compromise on principle.

The Argentine position as set out in the same document is: all forces should be pulled back to their normal bases and areas of operation within 30 days; any peace deal should also cover South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands, which Britain insists are different cases; the United Nations should be solely responsible for the islands' interim administration and during this period Argentine nationals should be free to move in and live there.

Mr. Thatcher described Argentina's response as "in effect a total rejection" of the British proposals and warned that the implications were "of the utmost gravity."

Referring to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar's last minute formula for a compromise solution, the prime minister stated that some of the suggestions were the very ones which had already been rejected in Argentina's response to the British proposals and that the secretary general's plan also differed in certain important aspects from the British position which was described as the furthest London could go, "even if it were acceptable to both parties as a basis for negotiation, that negotiation would take many days if not weeks to reach either success or failure," she said, adding: "We have been through this often before and each time have been met with Argentine obduracy and procrastination."

Mrs. Thatcher did not state clearly whether Britain would stage a military operation to retake the disputed islands, but she left members of Parliament in little doubt that the British Government would resort to military action.

Argentina Still Willing To Negotiate

OW211816 Beijing XINHUA in English 1620 GMT 21 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 20 May (XINHUA)--Argentine Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Mendez said today that "Argentina is still willing to talk" for a negotiated settlement of the conflict with Britain over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands.

But he stressed that his country is also ready to repel British invaders "with all our courage and energy" if they launch an attack on the islands.

Speaking at a press conference, Mendez said that negotiations at the United Nations have not broken down, but there cannot be an indefinite delay. A deadline should be fixed and the final goal of the negotiations should be a recognition of Argentina's sovereignty over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands, he said.

He said that Argentina is still asking UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar to continue his mediation effort toward a peaceful solution to the Malvinas conflict.

Mendez also told reporters about the whole process of Britain-Argentina negotiations and the positions of both sides.

He said that the two countries have not reached any agreement because their views are divergent on such questions as the sovereignty and ownership of the islands, forms of administration and withdrawal of troops.

The only agreement reached, he said, is that Britain has promised to lift its economic sanctions against Argentina. He also disclosed that Argentina will raise its national flag on the Malvinas Islands and during the period of the UN auspices the Union Jack will be allowed to fly together with the UN flag.

He said that Britain's uncompromising position has prevented the negotiations from going on.

But "Argentina is not intransigent" he said. "It is always prepared to talk so long as its basic rights are not attacked."

Asked whether war could now be avoided, Mendez said, "War is not inevitable in any way, but it would be if Britain stubbornly continues to maintain a politically, socially and economically senseless situation."

He said that the Argentine Government has received a proposal from Peruvian President Fernando Belaunde Terry on a peaceful settlment of the crisis. But he gave no details of the proposal.

Mendez said that if the United States had not sided with Britain, "the road to peace would have been much easier."

Argentine Defense Minister Amadeo Frugoli today also accused the United States of supporting Britain in the conflict.

Frugoli told reporters of the BUENOS AIRES HERALD that the United States should adopt "a highly fair attitude" to make a contribution to a ceasefire between Argentina and Britain and a diplomatic settlement of the conflict.

Argentina Urges International Aid

OW221526 Beijing XINHUA in English 1504 GMT 22 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 21 May (XINHUA)--Argentina today appealed for international support for its sovereignty over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands.

In a memorandum delivered to members of the diplomatic corps here, the Argentine Foreign Ministry gave details about the fruitless negotiations conducted by UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar to end the Argentine-British conflict over the Malvinas (Falklands). The memorandum blamed Britain for the failure of the negotiations.

The memorandum which was distributed after the outbreak of new armed conflict in the South Atlantic said that in the entire process of negotiations, Argentina "demonstrated a conduct of good faith, discretion and moderation

to achieve a dignified, just and lasting solution to a crisis that affects the territorial integrity and the dignity of our nation." In contrast, the British attitude was one of "obstructing the work and frustrating the effort of the good office" of the UN secretary general, the communique added.

Expressing the belief that the great majority of the community of nations sympathize with Argentina's just position, the communique stressed that history will not go backward and colonial restoration by force has already become more and more intolerable to the conscience and justice of the civilized nations.

UK Establishes Bridgehead

OW220118 Beijing XINHUA in English 0111 GMT 22 May 82

[Text] London, 22 May (XINHUA)--Britain has established a "firm bridgehead" on the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands, declared British Defense Secretary John Nott here tonight.

Nott said in a communique that "royal marine commandos and the parachute regiment are now ashore in substantial numbers, with artillery, air defense weapons and other heavy equipment already disembarked from our ships." "A secure land base is being consolidated," he added.

At the same time, Nott admitted that Britain lost two helicopters and five British warships were damaged, two seriously in the fighting.

British forces shot down 14 Argentine aircraft and destroyed two helicopters, Nott said.

Argentina Reiterates Hope for Solution

OW221620 Beijing XINHUA in English 1508 GMT 22 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 22 May (XINHUA)--Argentine Foreign Minister Costa Mendez reiterated his country's hope for a peaceful settlement of the Malvinas (Falklands) dispute before taking off for New York early this morning.

Argentina is going to expose the current British invasion at the forthcoming UN meeting, Mendez told newsmen at the airport.

"We are not expecting any special solution," he said. "What we want to do is merely to tell people at the international forum about the truth." He also said that his country hopes to have support from other countries.

The foreign minister left for New York with special instructions from the ruling junta. He is accompanied by three top-level generals including secretary general of the Presidential House.

Argentina Accepts Peru Peace Plan

OW221216 Beijing XINHUA in English 1210 GMT 22 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 21 May (XINHUA)--The Argentine Government today informed Peruvian President Fernando Belaunde Terry that Argentina has accepted the Peruvian peace proposal to end the Malvinas (Falkland) crisis.

The Peruvian proposal was delivered by President Fernando Belaunde yesterday to the British and Argentine ambassadors in Lima. An Argentine Government official disclosed that the proposal calls for a ceasefire in the South Atlantic and "open negotiations" between Argentina and Britain under the supervision of the UN and a liaison group composed of several countries.

It was reported that while accepting the Peruvian proposal, Argentina put forward some minor revisions including the request that the proposed negotiations should be held in accordance with the provisions of the UN Charter and relevant UN resolutions concerning the question in dispute.

Western news agency reports say Britain is studying the Peruvian plan and will make a reply soon.

Italy's Berlinguer on Conflict

OW240828 Beijing XINHUA in English 0811 GMT 24 May 82

[Text] Rome, 23 May (XINHUA)--Italian Communist Party General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer today said Britain and Argentina should cease fire at once and resume their negotiations, through the UN.

He was speaking at the 22d congress of the Communist Youth Federation of Italy which ended in Milan today.

Berlinguer said the war broke out amidst chaos and crisis in the world. The main reason for the crisis, he said, was disrespect for the sovereignty and independence of countries and their people. He supported the independent and correct stance of the Italian Government and hoped that Italy would make postiive efforts together with other EEC nations to resolve the British-Argentine conflict.

He stressed the need for the party to attach importance to the work of the youth federation.

"We feel," he also said, "certain concepts used so far are no longer sufficient." "A new basic concept and road and new socialism are needed," he added. He said, "The myth of Soviet-styled countries is outmoded. A new kind of socialism, to be decided by men, women and youth in Italy, has been put forward."

He also talked about the issue of defending world peace and many problems the West is facing--unemployment, drug taking, etc.

The four-day congress discussed the struggle waged by the youth to defend peace, oppose a new world war and guarantee employment and other democratic rights for youth. Marco Fumagalli was reelected secretary of the federation.

Sixty foreign delegations attended the congress. A Chinese mission headed by Liu Weiming was warmly received by the participants of the congress.

'TASS' on Conflict

OW240740 Beijing XINHUA in English 0722 GMT 24 May 82

[Text] Moscow, 23 May (XINHUA)--"The Soviet authorities expressed anxiety over the dangerous development of events around the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands and denounced Britain's use of military force," said a TASS statement here today.

The statement pointed out that Britain has made a massive attack on the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands and heavy fighting is under way between the armed forces of Britain and Argentina, showing that the conflict over the islands has taken a new dangerous turn.

The statement said, "There is no doubt that Britain bears responsibility for the situation that aroused around the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands."

"The British armed invasion of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands imperils international peace and security."

The statement also said "The responsibility for that is also borne by those states, above all the United States, which associated themselves with the British stand, which openly sided with London and thereby actually encouraged it for a military solution of the conflict."

The TASS statement said that the Soviet Union held that the British-Argentine conflict should be settled through negotiations.

UK Demonstrators Urged End To Fighting

OW241836 XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 24 May82

[Text] Beijing, 23 May (XINHUA)--Some 5,000 people staged demonstrations in London today, protesting against the stand of the British Government in the Falklands (Malvinas) crisis and demanding an immediate end of the conflict and a peaceful solution, according to reports from London.

The demonstrations were organized by the left wing of the opposition Labor Party and some trade unions. About 3,000 people walked in heavy rain past the government offices in Whitehall. They handed over a petition to the prime minister's office, demanding an immediate end of hostilities.

Similar demonstrations occurred in the past few days in Manchester, Glasgow and Nottingham.

Haig Discusses Islands Situation

OW241543 Beijing XINHUA in English 1525 GMT 24 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 24 May (XINHUA)--U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig said that a resumption of British-Argentine negotiations on the Malvinas (Falkland) dispute depends on a military change in the South Atlantic, according to news reports from Washington.

During a CBS television interview Sunday, Haig said "We of course hope that there would be a renewed round of negotiations at any point, but it is clear that until some evidence of change in the military situation is available, there may be continued stalemate."

While reaffirming U.S. support for Britain in the conflict, Haig confirmed for the first time that the United States has already supplied "certain levels of military assistance" to Britain. But the United States will take no direct military action, he added.

He admitted that supporting Britain has already "damaged" U.S. interests in Latin America. "It goes without saying that this crisis from the outset endangered a number of long-standing American interests in this hemisphere and, indeed, worldwide," he said.

A NEW YORK TIMES editorial Sunday said that in the British-Argentine conflict over the Malvinas Islands, "the United States has found itself in an uncomfortable situation. Either side's victory could cost heavily in Washington."

Brazil Proposes Peace Plan

OW251932 Beijing XINHUA in English 1556 GMT 25 May 82

[Text] Brasilia, 24 May (XINHUA)--The Brazilian Government has put forth a four-point proposal for the settlement of the British-Argentine conflict over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands.

The new proposal was contained in a letter addressed today to current President of the UN Security Council Lin Qing by Brazilian Minister for External Relations Ramiro Saraiva Guerreiro.

The letter notes that now the Security Council of the United Nations can no longer delay taking a firm and decisive action to restore international peace and security. It must take a decision to put an immediate end to the military confrontation and to establish the bases for a permanent settlement of the problem.

In the light of the discussions held by the parties, the letter says, the Brazilian Government wishes to submit to the Security Council the following points which can be the basis for a council resolution that will ensure a just and honourable peace:

1. Immediate cessation of hostilities;

2. Simultaneous withdrawal of Argentine forces to continental Argentine territory and of British forces in the northeast direction to a distance equivalent to that between Argentine continental territory and the Malvinas Islands;

a) The withdrawal of the British and Argentine forces should be initiated 48 hours after the adoption of the resolution;

b) All Argentine and British forces should have been withdrawn from the area within 21 days, one-third of the forces of each party being withdrawn at seven-day intervals, in accordance with criteria established by the secretary general;

3. Appointment by the secretary general of the United Nations of a provisional administration for the islands, with exclusive competence, which will hold consultations with the representatives of the inhabitants, to be designated by the governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom;

a) The administration of the United Nations will be established simultaneously with the beginning of the withdrawal of Argentine and British forces;

b) All United Nations member states will grant the secretary general the support required for the establishment of the provisional administration and for the supervision of the implementation of the provisions of the present resolution.

4. Establishment, under article 29 of the United Nations Charter, of a committee presided over by the secretary general of the United Nations and composed of the two parties and of four other member states, two of which are to be appointed by each of the parties, with the mandate of conducting urgent negotiations leading to a permanent settlement of the question. The committee will begin its work the day following the completion of the withdrawal of the forces from the area and will submit its report to the Security Council not later than 31 January 1983.

The letter says that the Brazilian Government fervently appeals to the governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to, placing the interests of peace and humanity above all else, determine to cease hostilities forthwith and enter into negotiations.

Argentine Defense Minister on Conflict

OW251238 Beijing XINHUA in English 1225 GMT 25 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 25 May (XINHUA)--Argentine Defense Minister Amadeo Frugoli warned yesterday that the conflict with Britain over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands could become internationalized. He called on the United States to adopt a "balanced" position which would contribute to a peaceful solution of the conflict, according to a report from Buenos Aires.

Appearing in a televised interview Frugoli also said that the Malvinas Islands crisis "would be extremely serious for the world political balance" and would be damaging to the West.

He pointed out that the United States, as the most important nation in the West, "cannot evade its responsibility." "The North American Government must think seriously about the gravity of the situation and adopt a more balanced position that will allow it to contribute in a more effective and real manner to setting the basis for a preaceful solution."

Frugoli described the British attempt at recapturing the disputed islands as a "suicidal and absurd colonialist adventure." It would be very difficult for the British to consolidate and defend their position, he said, because they have no way of resupplying the troops.

Argentine Air Force Commander Lami Dozo, in a congratulatory message to all officers and men of the air force on Argentina's "Air Force Day" yesterday, called on them to teach the invaders a good lesson and fight in the defense of the country's territory and national tradition.

OAS Official on Britain's Stand

OW251938 Beijing XINHUA in English 1544 GMT 25 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 25 May (XINHUA)--Secretary-General of the Organization of American States Alejandro Orfila has condemned Britain for its colonialist position on the question of the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands, according to reports from Washington.

Orfila, an Argentine, said in a statement Monday, "The invasion of my country by a power outside the continent has led to large-scale military actions and heavy casualties. Facing the fact, I can no longer keep silent though I am an official of an international organization."

Orfila and other senior officials of the organization had restrained from expressing views on the British-Argentine dispute because of OAS Charter restrictions.

Orfila said "hostile activities" should be halted immediately. This is "the prerequisite measure for achieving justice and lasting peace," he said.

Orfila said he has called on leaders of American countries in a proposal "to continue their joint efforts to bring about an immediate halt of hostile actions and to make negotiations continue smoothly."

He also said the OAS is facing "the most difficult and most troublesome situation" in its history.

Argentina Monday appealed to the OAS to hold another meeting of foreign ministers to discuss the Malvinas dispute. A meeting was held in mid-April.

Argentine Foreign Minister Costa Mendez Monday announced that Argentina has decided to "reduce or [word indistinct] withdraw" its military personnel from the Inter-American Defense Board. It also has decided to recall Argentine officials working in bureaus affiliated with the organization.

Costa Mendez said the action is a protest against U.S. support for Britain in the Malvinas dispute.

Galtieri Grateful for Nonaligned Support

OW251958 Beijing XINHUA in English 1839 GMT 25 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 25 May (XINHUA)--Argentine President Leopoldo Galtieri reiterated that a just and lasting peace in the South Atlantic can be attained only by eliminating the shameful colonial situation in the Malvinas, South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands.

In a letter to chairman of the Non-aligned Movement Fidel Castro, which was later made public here, President Galtieri said the aggression Argentina is now suffering from is not only a threat to the Non-aligned Movement but also an expression of Britain's defense of international injustice by force.

Galtieri thanked the non-aligned countries for their support for Argentina at a critical moment.

Castro reportedly wrote to leaders of the non-aligned countries two weeks ago, urging them to mediate for a halt to the aggression against Argentina. He also called for "a political settlement of the dispute through negotiations and respect for Argentine sovereignty."

Argentina Denies S. African Aid

OW251308 Beijing XINHUA in English 1300 GMT 25 May82

[Text] Beijing, 25 May (XINHUA)--The Argentine Foreign Ministry has described as "totally false" the British allegation that South Africa is offering military aid to Argentina in the Malvinas (Falklands) conflict, according to a report received here.

In a statement distributed in New York yesterday, spokesman of the Argentine Foreign Ministry Hernan Massini Ezcurra said that the British allegation "is part of the hypocritical propaganda of war being conducted by Britain with an aim to weaken the support for Argentina's struggle against colonialism."

The statement noted that in making this false charge, Britain was trying to extract the Malvinas conflict from its historical context which is clearly the elimination of colonialism from the American continent.

Venezuela Supports Argentina

OW251944 Beijing XINHUA in English 1513 GMT 25 May 82

[Text] Brussels, 24 May (XINHUA)--A high-level Venezuelan mission now on a tour of Europe criticized today the European Economic Community for invoking economic sanctions against Argentina and pledged Venezuela's full support for Argentina's claim for sovereignty over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands.

This Venezuelan stand was made clear by the delegation, led by Gonzalo Garcia, secretary-general of the presidency, during a meeting with EEC leaders. Earlier today, the EEC was reported to have decided to prolong indefinitely the economic sanctions against Argentina pending a solution of the conflict.

The Venezuelan stand was also conveyed to Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens by the Venezuelan mission during a meeting with the Belgian leader.

In a press statement, the mission criticized the United States for siding with Britain over the Malvinas Islands dispute, terming the U.S. approach "a historic mistake".

The Venezuelan mission began its European tour from May 15 with the stated aim of expounding the stand of Latin American nations on the Malvinas Islands dispute to the European nations. It was also to ask the EEC nations to lift their economic sanctions against Argentina.

U.S. Ready To Help Solve Dispute

OW260936 Beijing XINHUA in English 0758 GMT 26 May 82

[Text] Washington, 25 May (XINHUA)--The United States today reaffirmed its readiness to help in resolving the Falklands (Malvinas) dispute between Britain and Argentina while insisting on implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 502.

State Department spokesman Dean Fischer said at a press briefing that as the President and the secretary of state have said, "We remain ready to be helpful in any way possible in the resolution of this dispute." He reitereated that the United States continues to believe that UN Security Council Resolution 502 "remains the basic framework for settlement and it should not be undermined." "We would support any initiative consistent with resolution 502 that will lead to a negotiated settlement," he said.

The resolution demands an immediate cessation of hostilities and withdrawal of all Argentine forces from the Falklands Islands and calls on both sides to seek a diplomatic solution to their difference.

Argentina has appealed to the OAS for another meeting of foreign ministers, requesting that the meeting consider additional measures to be taken in accordance with the provisions of the inter-American treaty of reciprocal known as the Rio Treaty. But the State Department spokesman said the U.S. position with respect to the OAS meeting is that "the framework for solution to the United Kingdom and Argentina dispute is contained in UN Security Council Resolution 502."

Over the past few days, Argentina has asked the United States to stop supporting the British and adopt a "balanced" position in order to be acceptable as a mediator at a future point.

Parliament Grim at Warship Losses

OW270730 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] London, 26 May (XINHUA)--British Parliament was in a grim mood today when Defence Secretary John Nott reported the loss of the fourth British warship and a big support vessel in the Falklands (Malvinas) conflict with Argentina.

The two ships were knocked out in a massive Argentine air attack last night with 24 men killed and dozens more wounded, he said. According to what he had told Parliament earlier in April of the task force composition, the South Atlantic fleet has now lost a quarter of its warships. The death toll on the British side has totalled 100.

In spite of the heavy losses in materials and lives, the defence secretary stressed that the objective of the task force remained to repossess the Falkland Islands and said British ground troops "are now poised to begin their thrust on Port Stanley", the main Argentine garrison on the islands. He also told members of Parliament that ten more destroyers and frigates had joined the task force in the past two days, which now comprised about 100 shipsand 25,000 "men and women".

When pressed by a handful of Tory members to order the bombing of Argentine mainland bases, John Nott dismissed the suggestion as counter-productive and not feasible militarily.

Prime Minister Mrs. Thatcher took the same theme of the Falklands conflict when she addressed the Conservative Women's Conference in London today. She told her supporters that "despite these grievous losses, neither our resolve nor confidence is weakened."

UNSC Adopts New Resolution

OW270732 Beijing XINHUA in English 0705 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] United Nations, 26 May (XINHUA)--The UN Security Council today unanimously adopted a resolution requesting the UN secretary-general to renew his mission of good offices to end the present hostilities between Argentina and Britain around the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands.

The resolution expresses appreciation of the efforts made by the UN secretary-general to bring about an agreement between the parties, to ensure the implementation of Security Council Resolution 502 (1982), and thereby to restore peace in the region.

The resolution urges the parties to the conflict to cooperate fully with the secretary-general in his mission.

The resolution requests the secretary-general to enter into contact immediately with the parties with a view to negotiating mutually acceptable terms

for a cease-fire, including, if necessary, arrangements for the dispatch of United Nations observers to monitor compliance with the terms of the cease-fire.

The document asks the secretary-general to submit an interim report to the Security Council as soon as possible and in any case not later than seven days after the adoption of this resolution.

Meeting with the UN secretary-general this morning, Argentine Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Mendez reaffirmed Argentina's continued support to the secretary-general's effort to seek a peaceful settlement to the Malvinas crisis.

UN Secretary General on Ending Crisis

OW270812 Beijing XINHUA in English 0737 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] United Nations, 26 Mar (XINHUA)--UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar declared today that a durable solution of the crisis over Malvinas (Falkland) Islands can only be achieved through negotiations, and the first requirement for negotiations is a cessation of armed conflict.

The secretary-general was speaking at the Security Council right after the council had adopted a resolution giving him a mandate to renew his efforts to seek a peaceful solution to the Malvinas Islands.

He said that he recognizes the difficulties encountered by the council in reaching such an agreement, and fears that the terms of reference may not provide a sufficiently clear and precise guidance either to the parties or to him.

He pointed out that "when war is in full sway, as is now the case, the early achievement of a cease-fire and a return to negotiations is certain to be of extreme difficulty." He promised, nevertheless, to do his best to bring about peace, and "as a first step in this new effort," he said, he would urge the parties "to recognize that a durable solution of the crisis in the South Atlantic can only be achieved through negotiations."

He stressed that "the first requirement for negotiations is a cessation of armed conflict. Herein lies the interest of both sides. I remain convinced that the restoration of peace can be accomplished in consonance with resolution 502 and the progress made in my earlier efforts."

He expressed the hope that the force of reason and the tragic cost of continuing conflict will make the parties ever more aware of the weight of their responsibility and thereby facilitate the early end of this crisis.

CSO: 4000/123

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOVIET UNION AFGHANISTAN POLICY TODAY, IN LENIN'S TIMES

Tianjin GUOJI WENTI YANJIU [JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES] in Chinese No 2, 1982 pp 22-25

[Article by Fang Lianqing [2455 6647 1987]: "Soviet Union Policy Toward Afghanistan During Lenin's Times"]

[Excerpted from a 2300-word article.] The Soviet Union occupation of Afghanistan has already gone on for two years. During these two years, member nations of the United Nations and other international organizations which uphold justice have repeatedly criticized the Soviet Union occupation of Afghanistan and the bloody repression of the Afghan peoples, have clearly demanded the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, have demanded respect for Afghan independence and recognition of the right of the Afghan peoples to determine their own fate. This provides powerful support for the Afghan peoples who are now engaged in an anti-aggression struggle.

However, the Soviet Union is using all possible tricks to prolong and legalize its military occupation of Afghanistan, pretending that it is to "assist" Afghanistan in opposing "foreign aggression" and to "preserve peace in this area," even saying that the invasion "faithfully" upholds the foreign policy line of Leninism.

Pearls and pebbles should not be confused. Lenin's principle of proletarian internationalism which supports people's liberation movements is thoroughly distorted and trampled on by the current actions of the Soviet Union leadership. This article investigates Soviet Union policies toward Afghanistan during Lenin's times to aid understanding of the present Afghanistan issue and aid in understanding the reactionary nature of the expansionist policies of Soviet Union hegemonism.

The Soviet Union was the first nation to recognise Afghan independence and Afghanistan was the first nation to recognize the Soviet Union. The speedy development of friendly relations between these two countries thoroughly demonstrates the correctness of Lenin's policy of regarding the oppressed peoples of

Afghanistan and the Mid-east, policies which Lenin personally formulated and put into action. These policies were manifested in the foreign policy practices regarding Afghanistan. In 1921, the Soviet Union government directive to its diplomatic representatives in Afghanistan said: Our Mid-east policy is not an aggressive one but rather is one of peace and friendship. In Khyber, especially, we ought to develop friendship with Afghanistan as an important goal for action.

The pronuncements of the Soviet Union authorities claim that they are "faithfully" carrying out the foreign policy line of Leninism, but differences only show up through comparisons and a study of the Soviet Union policies toward Afghanistan under Lenin's leadership easily shows the fundamental opposition existing between the two sets of policies.

The current Soviet Union leadership is "faithfully" carrying out the former hegemonist policies of the Czars. It is obvious that the Soviet Union invasion of Afghanistan is not an isolated event but rather is a link in its southern strategy which plans to use Afghanistan as a springboard to penetrate Iran and Pakistan, enter the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, encircle the Mid-east oil fields, control the ocean shipping lanes and strengthen their struggle for world hegemony.

The aggressive acts of the Soviet Union invasion of Afghanistan encountered the determined resistance of the Afghan peoples and strong criticism in worldwide opinion. It can be believed that with the support of the people of the world the Afghan peoples will win final victory in their struggle for national independence.

11582
CSO: 4005/822

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

KOREAN REUNIFICATION CONSIDERED

Tianjin GUOJI WENTI YANJIU [JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES]
in Chinese No 2, 1982 pp 18-21

[Article by Tao Bingwei [7118 3251 5588]: "Some Considerations Regarding the Korean Issue"]

[Excerpted from a 2500-word article.]

1. The Long Cherished Hopes of Fifty Million People

The ruler of the Korean pennisula is the 50 million Korean people and the solution to the Korean issue can only be resolved according to the wishes of the Korean people. The main wishes of the Korean people are:
--early reunification and the reuniting of fellow countrymen in a permanent union;
--peaceful reunification with the people's consultation and cooperation to bring it about and the prohibition of the use of any armed force or the occurance of any mutual slaughter among the people;
--the issues of reunification ought to be decided by the Korean people themselves without any foreign interference.

In short, reunification should take place soon with the peaceful, autonomous union of the people and the state. It is only through autonomous and peaceful reunification that the Korean issue can be thoroughly resolved.

In short, the government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic stands on the side of the people in order to carry out national hopes--an unremitting effort to carry out an autonomous and peaceful reunification, while the present government of South Korea actually wishes to continue following separate paths. This actually is the internal cause for the prolonged delay in reaching a solution to the Korean issue.

2. America Also is a Source of Obstacles

The willful resistance of the South Korean government to reunification springs from its American supportors. America has adopted a policy of long-term control over South Korea in order to maintain its strategic plan of hegemony in East Asia and to protect its political and economic interests in the Korean pennisula. America maintains troops in South Korea and interferes in domestic politics in order to make South Korea acquiesce in military and political affairs.

The American excuse for these actions is that they prevent North Korea from launching a "surprise attack" on South Korea. Actually, even some American officials disagree with this explanation in the belief that they "cannot see that North Korea presents any military threat to South Korea," [Note: Statement made on 29 May 1980 by John (Kannong), former US State Department public affairs advisor on Far East and Pacific Affairs.] and that "there are no indications that the north intends to take any action against the south." [Note: Statement on 23 May 1980 by Harold Brown, former head of US Department of Defense.]

It should also be pointed out that in order to permanently occupy South Korea, America has always planned the creation of "two Koreas."

It was only when the government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the major nations concerned agreed to the "two Koreas" that the United States finally agreed to hold talks with the Korean People's Democratic Republic and that there was any possibility of carrying out the United Nations resolution concerning a ceasefire agreement and a peace agreement. This clearly demonstrates that the "two Koreas" plan was forced upon the people.

In addition, America gave verbal support to the desire for a democratic society in outh Korea, but actually supported the South Korean military dictatorship and actually even helped the South Korean government to strengthen its military dictatorship.

While the Korean people are engaged in their struggle to achieve an autonomous and peaceful reunification of their homeland, international society has an obligation to remove foreign obstacles, create a beneficial environment and conditions and promote progress toward this goal. To this goal it is necessary to:

(1) Withdraw all American troops as soon as possible. The presence of American troops in South Korea can only aggravate conditions and heighten tensions and obstruct the process of autonomous, peaceful reunification. This not only is interference in the internal affairs of Korea, it also is not conducive to stability in Northeast Asia. The just support of the Korean people's

demands for American troop withdrawal from South Korea has the firm support of China and the broad nations of the Third World. After normalization of Sino-American relations the West developed a sort of theory which stated that in order to obtain American agreement to a joint anti-Russian stance there was "tacit acceptance" or even a "welcome" of continued American presence in South Korea. This is a distortion and villification of China's policy regarding the Korean pennisula. The opposition of China, America and other Western nations to the aggressive expansion of Soviet Union hegemony is the result of parallel lines of action which are intended to preserve world peace. The mere development of these relations does not at all mean that we would give up or act counter to the fundamental interests of the people of China and the Third World. There is no way in which China could ever bargain away its principles relating to the basic interests of the people of China and the Third World.

(2) A halt to the creation of "two Koreas," and a gradual change of the condition of a divided Korea. The Korean people have a long cherished desire to unite and do away with the division of their nation. Any plot to legalize, regularize or perpetuate the division of Korea and create "two Koreas" will never be allowed by the Korean people. On the international scene there still are some people who advocate support for the present conditions in Korea. This also ignores the fervent hopes of the Korean people for peaceful reunification in searching for a solution to the Korean problem. It cannot be denied that there still are many difficulties and obstacles to autonomous, peaceful Korean reunification. However, to advocate continuation of present conditions actually shelves any solutions for the Korean issue and maintains unstable conditions in the Korean pennisula. It is only through advocating a path which turns away from maintaining present conditions and turns toward a path of promoting a change in conditions that there can be any effort toward reaching a gradual resolution of the Korean issue.

(3) View the Korean issue from the overall strategic perspective. It can be predicted that whether the republics of North and South Korea each maintain their own individual system under a Korean Democratic Federal Republic or whether they have a completely united Korea, they will exercise a policy of independent autonomy, neutrality and non-alliance and that no force of aggressive expansion will be able to reap unfair gains from an opposition between north and south or by interfering in Korean affairs. At the same time, the peaceful reunification of Korea will inject a new element in international Asian affairs which will help the relationships between certain concerned nations make progress in following directions which are not beneficial to hegemonists. All of this will make contributions to Asian and world peace. Consideration from this vantage point of the importance and necessity of achieving a solution to the Korean issue will produce a more

correct and positive attitude toward the matter of arriving at an autonomous and peaceful reunification of the Korean people.

Korea has been a lost nation for 36 long years and has endured 36 years of division of the land and its people. How is it possible to allow the Korean people's history of suffering to continue? A divided nation will always want to reunite one day. The desire of the Korean people for autonomous, peaceful reunification cannot be forever obstructed by any force whatsoever.

11582
CSO: 4005/821

PARTY AND STATE

REGIONAL CHINESE COMMENTARY ON U.S., USSR

Failed Soviet Mission To India

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Apr 82 p 4

[Article by Yang Xun [2799 6061]]

[Text] Recently, the Soviet Union sent a large military delegation led by Defense Minister Ustinov to India. In addition to the defense minister, the delegation included a naval commander, an air force commander, an army vice commander and 30 generals--the size and scope gave "the Indians quite a start when they received the list of those who were coming."

According to Indian sources, this mission was suggested by the Soviets themselves and was confirmed not long after they received the Indian acceptance. Why was Ustinov in such a hurry to visit India? Foreign public opinion believed there was three objectives: The first was to persuade India not to purchase Western weapons in order to preserve the Soviets' position as the major supplier of weapons to India. Since 1969 when Britain and America implemented a munitions embargo, more than 70 percent of India's weapons have come from the Soviet Union. But Soviet weapons are expensive and of inferior quality, and suffer a high rate of breakdown. The Soviets frequently fail to meet deadlines for supplying parts and, moreover, continue to keep technological secrets from the Indians. For example, the Soviets would not even allow the Indians to see the wreckage of the MiG-25 that crashed on a test flight to India. India was extremely displeased with this. The second objective was to put political pressure on India. After the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan and intervened in the Polish situation, there were indications that Soviet-Indian relations were strained and cooling off. On this trip Ustinov planned to urge Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to visit the Soviet Union in order to tighten the bonds between India and the USSR. The third objective was to obtain cooperation and support for the proposals tossed out by Brezhnev, not long before, of halting the deployment of medium range missiles in Europe. And at the same time, the visit was to make clear that the Soviet Union is not without friends in the world, that she has a big friend, a dependable friend--the largest nation of South Asia, India.

But Ustinov's visit did not achieve its desired aims. Moscow offered a plum, but New Delhi did not respond in kind.

First, even though the delegation repeatedly made guarantees that the Soviet Union was willing to satisfy India's defense needs and would "continue to strengthen" "cooperation" in the areas of supplying defense equipment, development of military production, etc., the two nations did not sign an official agreement, India did not promise to refrain from purchasing Western weapons and, once Ustinov left India, Indira Gandhi immediately went to England to negotiate the purchase of weapons.

Secondly, at the time India did not clearly promise that Indira Gandhi would accept the invitation to come to the USSR. On the contrary, India is anxious to improve its relations with the United States and, according to Indian newspapers, the prime minister was "not enthusiastic about making a trip promoting Indian-Russian alignment that Washington could possibly perceive as 'official.'"

Thirdly, in speeches in India, Ustinov more than once hawked the so-called "new proposals" of Brezhnev, but the Indian side maintained a continual silence.

In the course of the visit, the attitude of the Soviets was consistently warm while that of the Indians was cool, and, at the conclusion of the visit, no joint statement was issued. With his objectives unmet, all that Ustinov could do was return to Moscow empty handed.

Soviet Spy Submarines

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Apr 82 p 4

[Article by Ji Yanfeng [1323 1693 7364]]

[Text] A man cannot stand to sleep barechested with a snake at his side. These experienced words of the ancients still ring in our ears today. On 1 April, a Soviet nuclear submarine slipped into British territorial waters near Scotland to gather military intelligence. The British navy immediately began tracking it. Their quick reaction would appear to be related to the shock given the West when, not long ago, a Soviet spy sub openly slipped into the important NATO naval base at Taranto in southern Europe. It is no accident that having just made a disgraceful slip-up in Sweden, another Soviet spy sub should dare to slip into and wantonly move about within NATO's territory. Taranto is Italy's most important military harbor and is an important military base on NATO's southern flank; and the Soviet sub nonetheless was able to cruise about in that area and, in the words of Western journalists, "play hide and seek" with NATO ships for as long as 18 hours. This makes it clear that the Soviet Union has already spotted "holes" and "flaws" in the defense system there, and spotted the "soft underbelly" of the southern flank of NATO in Western Europe.

We need not mention that Moscow covets the Mediterranean Sea because of its strategic position. The Soviet Union has always wanted to maintain a permanent fleet of 45 to 55 ships in the Mediterranean. Especially since the beginning of this year, it has posed a serious challenge to NATO on Europe's southern flank, strengthening its hold on the Mediterranean: it has attacked from 3 directions, forcefully scheming to bring the area encompassing the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, its southern shore and the Balkans, and that extending from the Ionian to the Aegean Sea into its own sphere of influence. Under such conditions, we can only consider a Soviet spy sub's intrusion into an important NATO military base in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea to be a probing thrust of this challenge.

"Having lost a sheep, it is not too late to mend the fence." The Western nations have truly lost a large number of "sheep," but if, through the series of Soviet spying incidents, they can spot the "holes" through which the sheep have been lost and decide to mend the "holes" in the fence and adopt strong, realistic defense measures, it is not too late.

9705
CSO: 4005/816

PARTY AND STATE

PROVISIONAL PARTY OFFICIAL NEED ADHERE TO PARTY WORK

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 26 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Li Yuanlin [2621 0955 2651]: "Party Work" and "Work"]

[Text] Recently, the organizational and propaganda departments of the provincial committee held an informal conference on the work of educating party members. At the meeting, a good many comrades reported that in the midst of all the present clamor about vigorously promoting, from the higher to the lower levels, education in party spirit, correcting party practices, and party discipline; there are still a minority of party committees and comrades in charge of party committees who exhibit a serious tendency for the party not to take care of its own and promote its policies within its own ranks. The broad masses of cadres, and the masses, are extremely dissatisfied with this, and criticize them as "hanging out the signboard of the party committee, though what they do is not the government's work; the name doesn't fit the reality, they are not doing the work they should."

These comrades who are "not doing the work they should" have one thing in common: They would "rather pay attention to their own work, and not bother with party work." Why would they rather do their own work and not party work? The sources of this disease can for the most part be attributed to the following three points: The first is habit. For a long time in the midst of our actual work the problem has existed that the party and the government were not separate, with the party representing the government. Everything everywhere was handled by the party committees, with party secretaries in command of everything. The second is laziness. What some comrades in charge of party committees have been doing for a long time is carrying on their own old "business" of expediting the planting and harvest and the like, and in doing this they felt very competent. But as for getting on with the construction work of the party, due to long years of not concerning themselves with this, they feel the matter to be unfamiliar. And yet they are not inclined to study or apply themselves. The third is great selfishness. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had a counterrevolutionary theory for taking over the party and taking control, called "When you have power, you have everything"; to this very day, the poisonous influence of this error has not yet been completely eliminated. Why, when the position some people occupy is that of "party secretary," do they hanker after doing the work of a "county magistrate?" This, in the eyes of these comrades, is "power," and to have this "power" is to have everything.

What is past cannot be recovered, but starting with today there should be a new beginning. All comrades engaged in party work must carry through to completion the eradication of the pernicious habit of party workers not doing the work of the party, bring about a thoroughgoing change, change laziness into diligence, laxity into enthusiasm, and earnestly get on with promoting the party's ideological and organizational construction. As for individual comrades who are too selfish, and obsessed with power and gain, we should give them a good, vigorous shove in the back, get them to purify their party spirit, and set their party practices straight, and set about remaking their world views. If only the entire party, from higher levels to lower, would make a great, unified effort, then the phenomenon of "the party not managing its own" will not be difficult to overcome.

9634
CSO: 4005/783

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY MUST 'VIGOROUSLY PROMOTE EDUCATION, IMPROVE PRACTICE'

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 16 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Ma Shengde [7456 3932 1795] and Dan Guizhem [0830 2710 3791]: "Vigorously Promote Education in Party Spirit and Party Discipline; Strive To Bring About a Fundamental Improvement in Party Practices"]

[Text] On the basis of a continuous, intensive study of the "Resolutions Regarding Certain Historical Questions Within the Party Since the Founding of the PRC," we must vigorously promote education in party spirit, good party practices, party discipline, and basic party knowledge; heighten the combat strength of the party groups and party members' level of awareness; in order to build the "two civilizations," bring into full play the fighting fortress effect of the basic-level party groups and the vanguard model effect of party members; and do an even better job in every facet of our work. These were the tasks for this year's work in the education of party members proposed for the various levels of party organization throughout the province by the informal conference on the education of party members recently convened in Datong Municipality by the organizational and propaganda branches of the provincial committee.

The conference summed up and circulated the circumstances and the experience gained in various areas in party member education since last year. It pointed out that 47 percent of our province's more than 1.16 million party members are new, recruited since the "Cultural Revolution," and that the majority of these comrades have never received organized education in basic party knowledge, and do not understand, or understand imperfectly, what party spirit, correct party practices, and party discipline are, and do not know how to go about being Communist Party members. Even for some old party members, there is a need to improve their party education. Particularly since the emphasis in party work has shifted, a good many party members have not adapted to this properly, producing a negative effect on the implementation of the party's line, programs, and policies. For this reason, under the new circumstances, strengthening party education and improving the quality of party members has especially important significance.

The comrades attending the meeting felt that over the past year the various levels of the party committee had eventually gotten a firm grasp of the fundamental ideology-building task of bringing order out of chaos with regard to our guiding ideology. They had adopted a policy of combining concentrated rotational training and regular, daily classes and a system of "one class, three

meetings'; and had achieved outstanding results in launching a movement to "create advanced party branches, and strive to be a good party member who sacrifices himself for the building of the four modernizations" and improve the work of educating the broad masses of party members. Particularly after the party's Sixth Plenum, the entire province, based primarily on the study and implementation of the "Resolutions" and speeches by leading comrades of the Central Committee, universally launched programs of rotational training for party members in maintaining political unanimity with the party Central Committee and implementing the party's lines, programs, and policies since the Third Plenum. However, compared to what the party Central Committee actually requires, and the tasks facing us, the difference is still very great. We still have a considerable number of party members whose party spirit is not strong, whose party practices are not correct, whose discipline is lax, and who do not do a very good job of carrying out the duty of Communist Party members; and the masses are aware of this. There are some party committees which do not place enough importance on the education of party members; some basic-level party groups have still not set up solid "one class, three meetings" and the like in regular educational systems; and some, though they have systems, have not standardized them. All of these problems are in need of a conscientious solution.

Through an earnest discussion, the comrades attending the meeting emphasized that education of party members must adhere to the principle of tying in theory with actual situations, in order most effectively to strengthen party members' socialist and communist ideals and concepts. Education must implant the ideology that the party's advancement is above everything, and advancement of the individual is unconditionally subordinate to that of the party and to serving the people and socialism with one's whole heart and mind; promoting the excellent traditions and practices of the party; strengthening party spirit; tighening up party discipline; and striving to bring about a fundamental improvement in party practices within this year. Attending this informal conference were comrades in charge of the work of party member education in the propaganda and organizational branches of the various local areas and municipalities, and representatives of a selection of outstanding units.

9634
CSO: 4005/783

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY COMMITTEE CALLS FOR STRUGGLE AGAINST ECONOMIC CRIMES

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Mar 82 p 1

[Article: "Conscientiously Implement the Party Central Committee's Important Directives; Resolutely Attack Criminal Activities in the Economic Areas"]

[Text] Yesterday morning the Zhejiang Provincial Committee of the CCP convened a meeting of responsible cadres drawn from the ranks of party members of the various units of province-level organizations. They implemented the Central Committee's important directives and the spirit of recent important speeches by leading comrades of the Central Committee; emphasizing that the various levels of the party committee must recognize fully the seriousness of capitalist ideological corruption, and resolutely attack illegal, criminal activities in the economic area. It must be pointed out that, no matter who may become implicated, investigation must be carried through to the end, revealing the hidden guilt of those responsible for wrongdoing; offenders must be dealt with severely, and the struggle against corruption must be carried through to the end.

Comrade Li Fengping [2621 6265 1627], provincial governor and secretary of the provincial committee, presided over the meeting and made a speech. He called upon leading party groups and party committees of the various units of province-level organizations to study the Central Committee's important directives conscientiously, examine previous stages of their work, integrate their efforts with the actual situation at hand, and make concrete arrangements for the further launching of a struggle to attack illegal, criminal activities in the economic area. He requested that, taking the party spirit as their guarantee of success, they earnestly and firmly take charge of this struggle.

Wang Fang [3769 5364], deputy secretary of the provincial committee, gave a talk at the meeting based on ideas presented in discussions at the provincial standing committee.

Comrade Wang Fang said that the important directives of the Central Committee and recent speeches of leading comrades of the Central Committee incisively clarified the nature and the great significance of the struggle, currently in progress, against illegal, criminal activities in the economic area. Comrade Wang Fang, continuing with a discussion of the problems of how we are to understand the spirit of the Central Committee's important directives, and further heighten our understanding of the great significance of attacking illegal, criminal activities in the economic area, and tying in the actual situation,

expressed ideas in three areas: First, all levels of leading cadres must recognize fully the seriousness, harmfulness, and danger of illegal, criminal activities in the economic area. Over the past few years, criminal activities in the economic area have already been far more serious than in the period in 1952 of the "three antis" and the "five antis." The current circumstance regarding the number of economic cases that province-level organizations and the various local areas, municipalities, and counties have already investigated and dealt with, or are currently investigating and dealing with, proves that, under the corrupting influence of capitalist ideology, some party members and cadres really have been conquered and overthrown by the "candy-coated artillery shell of capitalism." Some party members and cadres have even attempted to steal capitalism's "candy-coated artillery shell" for themselves. This struggle is not isolated, but is an important phase of a grave struggle between capitalist ideological corruption and the anticorruption of socialist ideology which our country currently faces in the realms of politics, economics, and culture. Under peaceful conditions, the danger of having the party decline and move in the direction of "peaceful evolution" is still far from being eliminated, and we definitely must awaken ourselves to this danger. Second, our presently ongoing struggle to oppose bourgeois liberalist tendencies and attack illegal, criminal activities in the economic area is a manifestation of the class struggle in socialist society under the new historical conditions. Data uncovered by this struggle reflects the fact that class enemies both within and outside our country, using the corrupt ideology of capitalism, are engaged in an effort to ruin and corrupt us. For this reason, this struggle concerns the very flourishing or decline, and the success or failure, of our party and the enterprise of socialism in our country; and will be an all-embracing, long-term struggle. Some comrades are still not clearly aware of the nature of this struggle, do not dare to speak of class struggle, and do not see it as a struggle between two divergent, incompatible paths; these views are entirely erroneous. Third, this struggle is an extraordinarily severe, historical test of every party member and cadre, particularly leading cadres. Will they be able to pass this test? Each comrade must produce a clear answer to this question. Each and every party member and leading cadre must become vigilant, improve the tempering of his party spirit, maintain a clear head, must not be a mediocre fellow or, still less, a decrepit and muddleheaded one, and must resolve to be a person of promise.

Comrade Wang Fang said that over the past more than 2 months our province's initial launching of the struggle to attack illegal, criminal activities in the economic area has met with some success. However, this struggle has only just begun; we must become more deeply immersed in it, for the forces resisting us are very great. The crux of whether or not we are able to immerse ourselves in this struggle and carry it through to the end will lie in whether or not the resolve of the various levels of the party committee is firm enough. Once the resolve of the provincial committee has been formed, and it proceeds with determination according to the directives of the Central Committee, then no matter what forces of resistance there are, they will all be eliminated; no matter what persons are implicated, investigations must be carried through to the end, so as to reveal the hidden guilt of wrongdoers, who must then be sternly dealt with. The provincial committee requests that the various levels of party committees all form this resolve, and unswervingly carry this struggle through to the end.

Comrade Wang Fang said that the various levels of the party committee must make this struggle to attack illegal, criminal activities in the economic area one of their central tasks for this year; earnestly strengthen their leadership; check up on work being done, supervise, and urge in a timely way; and make a great effort to do a good job in their work. Party committees at the county level and above must conscientiously study the Central Committee's directives and the document "On the Decision To Punish Severely the Serious Crimes Injurious to Our Economy" of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; tie in the actual situation; heighten their understanding; and conscientiously throw themselves into the struggle. They must also make good use of both positive and negative examples; engage in vital, concrete ideological education of party members, cadres, and the masses; heighten their sense of discrimination; resist the power of capitalist ideological corruption; and engage in a determined struggle against all corrupt and evil practices. Within the province, we must continue to place emphasis on taking charge of the work in province-level organizations and Wenzhou Municipality; and at the same time we must help Hangzhou Municipality to launch this struggle. The various levels of the party committee must unify and organize the forces of the disciplinary committees, the procuratorial organs and people's courts, and the industrial, commercial, administrative, and customs departments, to investigate and solve the most serious cases. Aside from taking charge of the struggle within their own organizations, the various province-level departments must also be responsible for having the struggle carried out well in subordinate units within their own organizational system. We must get a good grip on serious and important cases, organize investigations speedily, clarify the issues, and strive to deal with a good number of these cases as quickly as possible. We must have an accurate grasp of policy, and clearly demarcate the areas where policies overlap. We must persevere in keeping to the mass line, and launch programs of education in keeping party discipline and obeying the law; for all serious cases, we must, within a definite, limited scope, arouse the masses to make a thorough investigation; we must deal with certain cases openly, according to the law, but we must not bring about a mass movement of informing on and exposing others; or have everyone engaging in self-criticism or going through ordeals. We should be definite about what should be eliminated and what should be established, adopt effective measures, establish a system, plug up loopholes, and achieve a complete victory in this struggle.

9634
CSO: 4005/739

LEGISLATION NEEDED TO SIMPLIFY ADMINISTRATION

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Mar 82 p 1

[Article by Li Zongxing [2621 1350 5281]: "From Simplifying Organizational Structures to Administrative Legislation"]

[Text] One has heard the suggestion that "Nowadays, in order to get anything accomplished, you have to set up a temple, and invite a few buddhas. There are more and more organizational structures, and more and more people, all the time; if we do not simplify organizational structures, how can we accomplish anything?"

Truly, over the last few years in our country there has been a continuous tendency for all levels of government organizational structures, including the organizational structures of enterprises, to expand and grow larger. Despite repeated injunctions by the Central Committee that we must sharply curtail the authorized strength of organizations, and cut down organizational structures and staff as soon as possible, nevertheless we have not been able to comply. Government departments have been established in great numbers; organizational structures have grown immensely; there is a great proliferation of levels of government, with tasks awash in seas of people; there are too many subsidiary and meaningless positions and offices; and the intolerable condition of inefficiency resulting from all this can be felt by practically everyone. If this circumstance is allowed to continue, it will definitely be incalculably harmful to our realization of the four modernizations.

How can we change this situation? It will require arduous and painstaking work in all areas. For example, it means overcoming the habit of following established practice, or believing that "many people are good for getting a job done," and overcoming the notion that cadres can resort to higher authorities but cannot go down to work among the lower levels, etc. Yet another job that cannot be overlooked is strengthening administrative legislation, and using the force of law and system to protect the simplification of organizational structures, which will be highly effective. And this very question is one that has been overlooked since the founding of the PRC. Why is it that every time we want to accomplish something, right away we want to set up an organizational structure? The very first reason is that we lack strict administrative legislation in this area. At the same time, the various level establishments of party committees have not yet been able to implement their intended effect of controlling the authorized strengths of the various levels of government departments.

The term administrative legislation is perhaps unfamiliar to many people. Actually, so-called administrative legislation consists of the laws and regulations formulated by the state concerning administration and management. "One can't make a circle or a square without a compass or a carpenter's square." Administrative structures also cannot be allowed to grow unchecked; there must be a system of rules and regulations to follow. The problem is that laws and regulations in this area are extremely imperfect. At present, all we have is the Constitution and the body of regulations on principle constituting the organizational laws of the various levels of people's government. But on the question of just how to set up the working departments of the various levels of government, and their internal organizational structures, and how to set up systems of administration and management, there are as yet no clear, concrete regulations.

For example, in setting up organizational structures for government, just exactly what working departments are to be set up? How many administrative levels need to be set up within each working department, and how many people should they be staffed with? How many deputy positions are needed, and with what scope of responsibility? What will their relationship be with the organizational structures of other departments above, below, and on the same level as themselves, etc.? These problems are all urgent, following the summing up of our experience, and an analysis and further study of our using the forms of law and system to consolidate them, enabling them to have a definite stability and continuity. In this way, the methods of expanding organizational structures at every turn, increasing governmental levels, enlarging the organized strength of establishments, constantly creating new deputy positions, and interdepartmental bickering, can be brought effectively under control.

Again, with regard to the management of cadres, in what manner are cadres to be selected, employed, evaluated, trained, promoted, rewarded, and punished? How can we enable cadres, in the context of training and utilization characterized by leadership and planning, to have a relatively high degree of initiative? How can we reform the managerial system of personnel cadres? And so forth. Problems in this area are also in great need, following a scientific study, of our setting up a relatively perfect cadre management system. In this way, we will be able to employ the smallest number of competent cadres to do a relatively large amount of work, and put an end to the "human tactic." We will also be able to bring about a change in the current situation where people are employed simply to round out the staff, or occupy posts without any real function; and we will be able to restrain certain people from ruining competent cadres professionally in the name of "simplifying the organizational structure."

Also, with regard to our work methods, how can we make policy decisions, and overcome the tendency to have administrative authority dissipated through many channels? How can we execute our policies, and overcome red tape and loss of documents from too many bureaucratic procedures? How can we supervise, and overcome irresponsibility, perfunctory performance, and dereliction of duty? How can we get feedback, and overcome the situation of having things suggested but not resolved, decided but not acted upon, or acted upon without result?

We must not only clearly stipulate the duties and responsibilities of the various levels of administrative organizational structures and their working personnel, but also specify how those responsibilities should be carried out and, hence, enable the entire administrative "machine" to be highly efficient with few "hitches," procedures that are strict but not rigid, and methods that are lively but not chaotic.

The meaning of administrative legislation is naturally far from limited to these things. Our citing these examples is done merely with the hope that everyone will come to place more importance on this concept of administrative legislation. It should be pointed out that although our country's presently-existing administrative laws and regulations are far from perfect, such laws and regulations nevertheless do exist. Not long after the PRC came into existence, the Central People's Government Administration Council passed a series of administrative laws and regulations, such as the "General Organizational Rules for the Central People's Government Administration Council and Subordinate Organizations," "General Organizational Rules for Provincial People's Governments," "General Rules for Municipal People's Governments," "General Organizational Rules for County People's Governments," "General Organizational Rules for People's Governments of Greater Metropolitan Areas," and the "General Organizational Rules for People's Governments of (Administrative) Villages." In these sets of general rules, the relative complexity and staff size of each and every administrative organization, and their internal organizational structures, is concretely specified. In the "State Council Resolutions Regarding the Setting Up of Working Departments and Working Organizational Structures by the People's Committees of the Various Provinces" promulgated in 1954, it is also clearly pointed out that the organizational structure, authorized strength, and name of each department must be set up in accordance with the concrete situation in each and every province and the actual working needs of each department, and the setting up and readjustment of organizations must be carried out on the basis of the principles of keeping things simple and within bounds. There decidedly cannot be a proliferation of levels of organization; staff strengths definitely cannot be allowed to increase out of bounds; administrative bodies should make their decisions specifically on the basis of work needs and the situation of the cadres; personnel should be highly competent; scattering our forces should be avoided; and the organizational structures cannot be too large. However, due to the influence of legal nihilism, and the 10 years of turmoil that we have gone through, though there are laws, they are not enforced. These splendid articles of law have not enabled the various levels of government organization to maintain simplicity and realize a high rate of efficiency, but they themselves have been looked upon as mere conventions, and discarded. We cannot consider that we have learned a historical lesson from this.

Of course, generally speaking, our country's present administrative laws and regulations are extremely imperfect. Over the past 30 years or more our country's enterprise of building socialism has had a very great development, and our country's work situation in the areas of economy, culture, and politics and law is far different from what it was in the period just after the PRC was founded. Faced with the new historical task of building the four modernizations, if we are to carry out a reform of systems of economic management, and in other areas, then we will be required, on the basis of the new conditions,

to formulate relevant laws and regulations. In order to overcome the maladies of the unchecked growth of organizational structures, the situation of assigning far more people than are required to accomplish tasks, the general low level of work efficiency, and bureaucratism, it is necessary to revise or draw up the relevant administrative laws and regulations, such as: revising the "Organizational Laws of the State Council of the People's Republic of China," reformulating the "General Organizational Rules for the Various Working Departments and Working Organizational Structures Subordinate to the State Council" and the "General Organizational Rules for the Various Working Departments and Working Organizational Structures Subordinate to the Various Levels of Local People's Governments," bringing about a legalization and systematization of the administrative organizations' establishments, organizational changes, possible abolishment, and scope of authority. We must establish organizational strength committees for the various levels of government, having the legal authority to supervise and examine increases, decreases, and changes in the organizational structures and establishments subordinate to their own level of government. These can be used to prevent the reoccurrence of both the unchecked expansion of organizational structures and excessive staffing. We must draw up a "National System for the Selection and Evaluation of Working Personnel," and revise the "Temporary Methods of Reward and Punishment for the Working Personnel of State Administrative Organizations," which can then be used to improve the quality of the state's working personnel. In order to make proper assignments to the various kinds of jobs, the working staff of state organizations should be given specialized professional examinations; people should be assigned to posts only after passing the examination; those who do not qualify can study further in order gradually, in turn, to reach the level of qualification, etc.

Premier Zhao Ziyang [6392 4793 7122] pointed out last year in the government work report resulting from the fourth session of the Fifth National People's Congress that along with simplifying organizational structures we must also improve administrative legislation. Recently, in the "Report on the Question of Reforming the Orgnizational Structure of the State Council," it was also pointed out that in reforming the organizational structure we must also solve these four problems: clearly defining the tasks, and the scope of responsibility, of the various departments and the organizational structures subordinate to them; selecting and assigning people of virtue and ability, and deploying and establishing good leading bodies; conscientiously doing a good job of making arrangements for old cadres who resign or retire; and earnestly improving the work of rotational training for cadres, and improving the professional quality of the ranks of cadres. The work of reforming government organizational structures is now proceeding smoothly, and has had a good beginning. We must immerse ourselves in the continuation of this task, and consolidate our results, because the work of strengthening administrative legislation demands immediate attention.

9634
CSO: 4005/739

PARTY AND STATE

BETTER USE OF MIDDLE-AGED INTELLECTUALS URGED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 13 Apr 82 p 1

[Article by our commentator: "Fully Bring Middle-Aged Intellectuals into Play"]

[Text] Ever since the Party Central Committee proclaimed that intellectuals form a part of the working class and a dependable force for socialist undertakings, party committees at all levels have achieved great results by thoroughly implementing the party's policy vis-a-vis intellectuals. In recent years they have eliminated the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in which the intelligentsia were destroyed or persecuted, reversed the verdicts on past trumped-up charges, and straightened out and resettled the cases of intellectuals who were wrongly branded as rightists in 1957. At the same time, they have exonerated and rehabilitated the intellectuals, restoring their political and job positions, readjusting the positions not related to their training or speciality, redefining their terms of reference, and promoting to leadership positions those who are well-trained and have long experience. Furthermore, the party committees have to a certain extent improved the intellectuals' working and living conditions. In the wake of the steady execution of party policy on intellectuals, the spiritual aspect of the broad masses of the intelligentsia has undergone a great change. In particular, the great majority of middle-aged intellectuals, who are working hard and shouldering heavy responsibilities as the backbone on the fronts of technology, culture and education, and medicine and public health under relatively deficient work, learning and living conditions, have made valuable contributions to the socialist modernization of our fatherland.

Recently, the Party Central Committee issued a directive to all authorities to examine their respective work on intellectuals and to carry out the following: politically, treat all intellectuals without discrimination, use them to the maximum extent in work, and take good care of their livelihood. The Central Committee's directive clearly stated that the party and the broad masses of the intelligentsia are linked in their hearts. In putting into practice further the policy on intellectuals, the question of how to fully bring the middle-aged intellectuals into play is one that is highly worthy of pursuit.

In the wake of the progress of socialist modernization, the significance of middle-aged intellectuals is becoming more and more evident. Of the nation's 6 million scientific and technological cadres, more than 60 percent are middle-aged people cultivated after the founding of the People's Republic. Our major scientific and technological achievements are mostly attributable to their hard work. According to an investigation by the Shanghai Institute of Phamarcology, 92 percent of its intermediate and senior scientific and technological personnel are of middle age. During the past 3 years, this institute achieved 37 major scientific results and carried out research on and produced more than 20 kinds of pharmaceuticals, of which 90 percent were completed by middle-aged scientific and technological personnel. Thus is the backbone role played by middle-aged intellectuals not only in the scientific and technological field, but in educational, medical and other fields as well. This is true for the entire nation, and in Shanghai, as well. As far as Shanghai's four major universities are concerned, middle-aged teachers shoulder more than 70 percent of all teaching and research tasks; moreover, they carried out 80 percent of the universities' major scientific research projects. Again, many middle-aged scientific and technological personnel as well as teachers are responsible for guiding and cultivating research fellows. The backbone role played middle-aged intellectuals in all fields has a bearing on whether our nation's scientific culture can be inherited and developed, whether the younger generation can produce talent in large numbers, and whether our socialist modernization construction can be carried out in a steady manner. It may be said that the middle-aged intelligentsia constitute the decisive generation--the heirs of the ancient sages and the teachers of posterity. Based on the party's policy on intellectuals and modernization requirements, we must pay the greatest attention to doing a good job with regard to middle-aged intellectuals and to opening up wider channels for their continued growth and further development.

At present, due to the serious destruction caused by the 10 years of civil strife as well as our errors in work, the potential of the middle-aged intellectual ranks holding the front line in scientific research, teaching and production is still far from being brought fully into play. The principal cause of such a situation is that leading cadres in certain units and departments continue to belittle, distrust, ignore and even show contempt for middle-aged intellectuals and their leading direction. They have used the intellectuals improperly, assigning the latter to undertakings not related to their specialties or letting large numbers of them remain idle. This waste of talent is still prevalent today. Many outstanding young and middle-aged talented persons have fallen victim to "arrangement of positions according to qualifications" and high-handed methods; if they are employed, their nurturing and improvement are ignored. The fact that their working, learning and living conditions do not correspond to their assigned tasks has made it difficult for the intellectuals to fully concentrate on their work. All these phenomena need further attention, so as to raise the importance given to the understanding and treatment of middle-aged intellectuals to a high-level strategic measure.

From the political viewpoint, we must first of all give kind protection to and show concern for middle-aged intellectuals. There still exists here the

problem of the continuous mopping up of the "leftist" detrimental effect of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" exhibited by showing loathing and contempt for the intelligentsia. In the course of our revolutionary history, whether during the period of democratic revolution or during the socialist revolution and reconstruction, we could not have achieved victory in our revolution and reconstruction if the broad masses of the intellectuals had not played a positive role. In the new historical period, the massive rank and file of the intelligentsia who master modern science and culture will decide the success or failure of all modernization undertakings. To regard the intellectuals as a part of the working class and a major reliable force for the realization of the four modernizations completely coincides with our nation's realistic conditions. As middle-aged intellectuals hold the crucial position of carrying on the heritage and paving the way for our future generations within the ranks of the intelligentsia, as they were nurtured and grew up during the socialist period, and as they have undergone 20 to 30 years of tempering and training, sharing the same trials and tribulations with the party and the people, they deserve all the more respect. Those persons who deeply harbor improper sentiments in their hearts, disowning the intellectuals, casting aspersions on them and wishing to push them aside, are maintaining incorrect attitudes. Based on the party's policy on the intelligentsia, we must eradicate our subjective opinions and prejudices, liquidate the detrimental effect of "leftism," earnestly regard the intellectuals as a major reliable force, and treat them politically and ideologically without discrimination. Our conviction regarding the party's policy toward the intellectuals must not vacillate in the least, and we must not lump the intellecutals together as "unreliable" and "untrustworthy" simply because some individuals within the intellectual ranks entertain leanings toward bourgeois liberalism. We advocate that our party's leading cadres at all levels befriend and share the feelings of the intellectuals in politics and work. We must give them credit where credit is due, soothe and explain their doubts and worries, and patiently help them rectify their outlook if it is incorrect. All in all, we must vividly, realistically and effectively carry out ideological and political work with them, and intensify their self-awareness so they will relentlessly remold their world outlook.

We must realize that the overwhelming majority of middle-aged intellectuals fervently hope to give wide scope to their respective specialties and contribute their energy to our four modernization project. Although living under relatively difficult conditions, many outstanding middle-aged intellectuals are strongly responsible and dedicated in their desire to do their part for the country. Therefore, one basic task in order to demonstrate a serious regard for intellectuals is to use them boldly and reasonably. It is clear that in order to give full play to their crucial role, we must assign them to crucial positions. This further requires us to smash such antiquated prejudices as "taking account of class origin alone" and "arranging positions according to qualifications," and to make a new breakthrough in employing, nurturing, selecting and promoting intellectuals. In line with the Party Central Committee's demands for revolutionizing, rejuvenating, instilling knowledge and creating specialists among our cadre units, we must systematically and boldly promote middle-aged intellectuals with good political thinking and organizational management ability,

particularly middle-aged scientific and technological cadres engaged in leading work, and we must gradually change the structure of our cadre units. For those middle-aged persons with professional knowledge of their special subjects, we must create the essential conditions in order that they may assume more important tasks, speedily progress to become authoritative and leading persons in their respective subjects, and have their scholarly positions enhanced. At the same time, while using them, we must also pay attention to their cultivation by improving their basic theories and the level of their professional knowledge. On the basis of our general improvement, we must do a good job in key training work so that we can create a group of people with first-rate outstanding talent in all fields of science and technology, thereby enabling them to shoulder the heavy responsibilities of scientific and technological modernation in the eighties and nineties.

As regards the improvement of the intellectuals' working and living conditions, the party and the government have made great efforts in the past few years. However, it is noteworthy that many of them are still experiencing conditions of low pay, congested housing, heavy family burdens, insufficient rest and malnutrition, all of which require adequate attention and concern. The Party Central Committee has repeatedly pointed out that we must effecitvely help middle-aged intellectuals in solving their actual difficulties which should and can be solved with some effort. Thus, we can relieve them of their worries so that they can concentrate their energies on their work and undertakings.

Years of practice have proven that the broad masses of intellectuals and the party, with one heart and one mind, are capable of struggling together and overcoming all difficulties in their march toward national prosperity. Through further implementation of the party's policy vis-a-vis the intellectuals, the latter doubtless will be able profoundly to recognize their own historical mission during the adjustment period of our national economy and our socialist modernization, continue to struggle energetically and make greater contributions.

9300
CSO: 4005/818

PARTY AND STATE

NEED FOR SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION ADDRESSED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 2 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Xue Xi [5641 6932]: "Is Building a Socialist Spiritual Civilization an 'Expedient Measure?'"]

[Text] Building a high level socialist spiritual civilization is a long-term strategic task for the entire party and the people of the entire nation and is definitely not an "expedient measure" of the moment.

Truly, getting a hold on the building of a socialist spiritual civilization is an urgent task pressed upon us now by actual life. Because of the sabatoge and disruption by the Lin Biao, Jiang Qing cliques for 10 long years, the political ideas, revolutionary ideals and moral principles formed in the minds of the people over a long period of political and ideological education and the set of excellent traditional work styles formed in the long period of revolutionary struggle suffered severe damage and this led to ideological confusion among the people, a lowering of moral standards and the corruption of social practices, and inflicted harsh wounds in the spiritual life of the party troops and the masses. In recent years, while carrying out the policy of opening up to the outside world, the corrupt ideologies and lifestyles of the bourgeoisie have continually flowed in, having a corroding effect on people with weak wills and on youths with little experience. Because of this, anarchistic and ultraindividualist tendencies such as pursuing material enjoyment, being lax in discipline, being boorish and arbitrary and violating laws and regulations have spread among a party of the people. If we do not get a firm grip on political and ideological work and make the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization an important part of our agenda, then the entire party and the people of the entire nation cannot be of a single mind, energetically working hard and throwing themselves into modernization construction with great revolutionary enthusiasm. We cannot form excellent moral practices among the people and further consolidate and develop the stable, unified political situation. Therefore, at present we truly have a need to encourage getting a hold on the construction of a spiritual civilization, and we must struggle to achieve pronounced turn for the better in social order, social practices and out party style.

But building a socialist spiritual civilization is an urgent matter and is also a long-term goal. The modernization construction that we are engagwd in is socialist modernization construction. Because of this, in the areas of aims, channels and methods, it must have socialist characteristics and must proceed in a socialist direction. This requires that social, political and ideological conditions act as safeguards, seeing to it that the construction of a materialist civilization develops along a socialist track. A high level of democracy, a complete socialist legal system, a new spiritual face for the people and an educational, scientific culture that advances daily are these social, political and ideological conditions, and are also important elements of a socialist spiritual civilization. If we do not stress the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization and work hard to create and develop these social, political and ideological conditions, then either modernization construction will not succeed; or, even if it is successful, it will not be socialist modernization. Socialist modernization must not only include the attainment of the levels of modern science and technology, labor productivity and standards of material life achieved by the capitalist nations, it should also include a high level of democracy and an advanced spiritual civilization that no capitalist nation can achieve. Developing a socialist spiritual civilization is an important mark distinguishing our socialist society from capitalist societies. In order to guarantee the future development of our socialist economy and socialist society, in the course of all modernization construction, at no time can we be lax about building a spiritual civilization. In basic terms, to build a socialist spiritual civilziation we must cultivate and create succeeding generations of new socialist men. The development of the socialist cause, the realization of communist ideals depend on the continuing efforts of succeeding generations, on the cultivation and creation of succeeding generations of new men--education is an important thing. One important task in building a socialist spiritual civilization is to train youths to become a new generation of men possessing modern scientific knowledge and skills, communist ideals and noble moral sentiments. Being concerned with the growth of our young people, we must be concerned with the building of a socislist spiritual civilization. This is a matter that relates to the future of the nation and our peoples and which requires the long-term unswerving effort of the entire party and the people of the entire nation.

Therefore, saying that the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization is an expedient measure which "attacks only the symptoms" is one-sided and incorrect.

9705
CSO: 4005/812

BRIEFS

PROVINCES OBSERVE SOVIET ARMY DAY--Beijing, Feb 23 (Xinhua)--On the 64th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Army, the responsible persons in the provincial and municipal people's governments and chapters of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Committee of Shenyang and Dalian in Liaoning Province, Changchun in Jilin Province, Harbin, Suifenhe, and Heihe in Heilongjiang, Wuhan in Hubei Province, Manzhouli in the Nei Monggol Autonomous Region each presented wreaths at the Soviet Red Army Martyrs' Tombs and Memorial Monuments in their regions. The responsible persons of the provincial and municipal people's governments and the chapters of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Committee in Wuhan, Hubei Province presented wreaths at the Soviet Air Force volunteer martyrs' tombs. These Soviet Red Army martyrs sacrificed themselves in the war against fascism. [Text] [Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Feb 82 p 4]

CSO: 4005/922

END

JPRS 81134

25 June 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 311

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81134

25 June 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 311

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

OECD Meeting Examines Western Economies
(XINHUA, 12 May 82) 1

President Reagan Talks With Moroccan King
(XINHUA, 20 May 82) 3

Third World Environmental Problems Viewed
(Ye Zhixiong; XINHUA, 18 May 82) 5

Discussion on Mitterrand's African Trip
(Pan Yongming; XINHUA, 26 May 82) 7

UN Namibia Council Declaration Denounces U.S.
(XINHUA, 14 May 82) 9

Commentary of the Mideast
(XINHUA, various dates) 10

UNESCO Condemns Israel
Arms Sales to Israel
U.S. Envoy to Athens
U.S. Planes to Israel
Algerian, Syrian, Egyptian Relations

 [III - CC - 80]

Commentary on Eastern Europe
(XINHUA, various dates)..... 14

Jaruzelski Meets Rusakov
Polish Domestic Situation
Poles Answer Solidarity Demonstrations
New Yugoslav Assembly
Nonaligned Bloc Unity Stressed
SFRY, Romania Produce Planes

Commentary on Western Europe
(XINHUA, various dates)..... 18

NATO Officials Meet
Topics of Session
NATO Air, Sea Maneuver
Greek, Turkish Disputes
Haig, Papandreou Talks

European Troop Reduction Talks Open
(XINHUA, 14 May 82)..... 22

Briefs
U.S. Sugar to Guyana 23

PARTY AND STATE

Importance of Party Spirit Stressed
(HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 21 Feb 82)..... 24

Streamlining the Administration--'Fewer But Better'
(Peng Xueshi; HEBEI RIBAO, 7 Apr 82) 26

Information on Party and Other Leaders
(Various sources, various dates) 29

Tie Ying Watches Gymnastics
Xu Jiatun Attends Festival
Anhui Cadres in Construction
Feng Jixin Visits Schools
Qiang Xiaochu Visits Athletes
North China Music Festival
Xu Jiatun at Ceremony

Need for Improvements in Social Order, Security Stressed
(LIAONING RIBAO, 16 Mar 82)..... 31

Study of Marxist Public Ownership Theory Urged
(Xu He; JIEFANG RIBAO, 11 Mar 82)..... 33

Harbin Steps Up Public Security Work To Fight Crime
(Zheng Fawei; HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 27 Feb 82) 37

Hungary Gives More Power to Enterprises
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 15 May 82) 41

Briefs
Jiangxi Woman Leader Dies 42
Shanghai Memorial Meeting 42

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Psychological Features of Chinese College Students Discussed
(Wu Song; SIXIANG ZHANXIAN, 20 Dec 81) 43

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Challenge to Worship of War Discussed; Mao Vilified
(I Kuo; CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI, Mar 82) 54

Crackdown Urged for Economic Crimes of High Cadres
(Xu Xing; CHENG MING, No 3, 1982) 67

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

OECD MEETING EXAMINES WESTERN ECONOMIES

OW121640 Beijing XINHUA in English 1544 GMT 12 May 82

[Text] Paris, May 11 (XINHUA)--Ministers from 24 member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) ended a two-day meeting here today.

With a view to working out a common strategy for freeing these countries from the economic crisis, the meeting paved the way for a summit conference of seven major industrialized countries to be held at Versailles near Paris early next month.

The U.S. policy of high interest rates was once again censured at the meeting. Western Europe and Japan held that the U.S. monetarist policy has affected a recovery of the Western economy from recession. They asked Washington to reduce sharply financial and budget deficits so as to lesson pressures on the interest rates.

France, Denmark and several other countries at the meeting set out their views that stimulating economic growth to create employment is now a top priority.

France called for coordinated action to stabilize foreign exchange markets through a system of government intervention.

The United States defended its high interest rate policy, stressing that its strict policies have succeeded dramatically in bringing down inflation and that interest rates will drop as soon as the United States gets a grip on its huge budget deficit. It held that divergent economic policies are a major source of the difficulties faced by the Western world.

A communique issued after the meeting showed that in the view of the ministers, the battle against inflation should remain their prime economic priority for ending the current economic recession. "There is a pressing need to reduce unemployment, but this objective cannot be achieved on a substainable basis unless continued successful efforts are made to reduce inflation," the communique said.

It continued, "Ministers agreed that although some countries have been successful in lowering underlying inflation, it nevertheless remains a serious problem."

The communique stressed that ministers agreed to carry forward the strategy they have been following since the second oil shock to promote a non-inflationary growth which "cannot be achieved unless there is more productive investment, better productivity, and technological progress." It added that maintenance of an open trading system is essential.

The industrialized countries, the communique noted, should make efforts to develop their relations with the developing countries, particularly to engage in global negotiations with these countries.

On the future of the Western economy, it pointed out, "The short-term prospect is for moderate expansion of economic activity in the OECD area, including perhaps a recovery in employment next year, but not one sufficient to lead to an early reduction in current high levels of unemployment."

New OECD forecasts include a prediction that unemployment will reach 8.8 per cent of the OECD work force or about 30 million workers next year. The forecasts also set gross national product growth this year at 0.3 per cent instead of 1.1 per cent predicted earlier.

CSO: 4000/126

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRESIDENT REAGAN TALKS WITH MOROCCAN KING

OW201220 Beijing XINHUA in English 1209 GMT 20 May 82

[Text] Washington, May 19 (XINHUA)--U.S. President Ronald Reagan today held talks with King Hassan II of Morocco with both pledging to further strengthen the relationship between the two countries.

During a 2-hour morning session today, Reagan and King Hassan discussed a wide range of bilateral and global issues including the Middle East, and the Western Sahara.

In his remarks made after the meeting, Reagan noted the importance of the relations with Morocco, saying that country is located at the crossroads of two continents lying on NATO's southern flank at the entrance of the Mediterranean. The United States places "great value" on cooperation and friendship with Morocco, Reagan said.

In response, the King said, "We must try to build a bridge of solidarity and understanding." Morocco is ready to further develop relations with the United States, he added.

One of the major bilateral issues in their discussions was U.S. access to the facilities in Morocco in the event of an emergency in the Middle East. An agreement in principle on this matter had been reached during Secretary of State Haig's visit to the kingdom last February. After today's meeting, a senior U.S. official disclosed that both sides agreed the agreement should be completed as soon as possible. The facilities will include an air base, he added.

On international issues, Reagan briefed the king about the ongoing U.S. efforts in the Middle East peace process. Reagan said the king and he agreed "to continue a strategic dialogue on security" in the region. Hassan indicated his country will continue its support for Arab countries in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Meanwhile, the king briefed the president on the latest development in his efforts to reach a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Western Sahara.

The United States has a long-standing relationship with Morocco and their ties have been developed in recent years. The two countries have set up a joint committee for economic relations and a joint military commission which held its first meeting last month. An agreement establishing a bi-national commission for cultural and educational exchanges was also signed. The United States gives Morocco 55 million dollars in economic aid annually and provides about 30 million dollars in yearly foreign military sales credit.

King Hassan II arrived in Washington on Tuesday for a four-day official working visit. He will hold a series of talks with members of Reagan's cabinet on military, trade and other issues before leaving on May 21.

CSO: 4000/126

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THIRD WORLD ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS VIEWED

OW181915 Beijing XINHUA in English 1855 GMT 18 May 82

["Round-up: Environmental Deterioration in Developing Countries Should Be Checked--by XINHUA Correspondent Ye Zhixiong"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Nairobi, May 17 (XINHUA)--The governing council of the U.N. Environmental program held a special session here recently to review the achievements on environmental protection since the Stockholm conference on human environment in 1972 and studied the measures to be adopted.

Representatives from more than 100 member states and international institutions unanimously pointed out at the meeting that the most important achievements in the past decade was [as received] the general awareness of the importance of environmental protection. So far more than 100 countries have set up related national departments, adopted legislations, approved international cooperation agreements and taken concrete measures to strengthen environmental protection.

The meeting held that in the past decade, some progress has been made in the developed countries with their advanced technology and financial strength. However, many delegates from the Third World countries pointed out that the environmental situation in most of the developing countries has actually worsened further in the past decade as a result of poverty, population growth, deteriorating terms of international trade and other economic difficulties. They held that the underdevelopment and poverty left from the past have constituted the worst and the most intractable problems in the Third World and the major cause of the environmental deterioration.

It was pointed out at the meeting that more than 450 million people were chronically hungry or malnourished during the past decade, and over 50 nations have ceased to be self-sufficient in food in the past two decades.

The Swedish delegate noted that at present 250 million poor people are living in urban slums and squatter areas.

The director general of the World Health Organization told the meeting that infant mortality during the first year of life in most of the developing countries ranges from 100 to 200 per thousand, whereas in developed countries

it ranges from merely 10 to 20 per thousand. During the past decade, five million children in the developing countries died each year from diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus, measles, poliomyelitis and tuberculosis.

The meeting pointed out that the sharp increase of world population is also one of the causes of the deteriorating environmental problem. In the past decade, the population in the world as a whole increased by 900 million people.

It said that the wanton felling of trees for firewood or settlement needs is another cause of the deterioration of the environmental problem. In the developing countries, forest destruction has become increasingly serious. An investigation showed that a quarter of the earth's closed canopy forests has been lost over the last 20 years. Tropical forests are destroyed at over 11 million hectares a year. At least, 12 percent of the world's existing tropical forests will disappear by the year 2000. Widespread deforestation has led to serious soil erosion, desertification and other natural disasters in the developing countries.

The Canadian delegate said that the environmental problem in the developed countries includes the acid rain and toxic chemical management. He referred to the "environmental dumping" by the developed countries at the expense of the developing countries with the sole purpose of evading provisions on environmental protection. He called this practice "a real danger of neo-colonialism."

In order to improve the current situation, the Yugoslav delegate pointed out that the serious environmental problem of the developing countries is a result of poverty and can therefore be dealt with successfully only through development. The Tanzanian delegate said: "For the developing countries to play a more effective role in the field of environment management, it is imperative that a new international economic order must be established."

As many delegates pointed out that there is "only one earth," for the interests of the present and future generations of mankind, the developed countries should sincerely cooperate with the developing countries in dealing with the environmental problem. The question is whether they have the political insight to do so.

CSO: 4000/126

DISCUSSION ON MITTERRAND'S AFRICAN TRIP

OW261854 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 26 May 82

["Roundup Mitterrand African Trip by XINHUA Correspondent Pan Yongming"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Paris, May 26 (XINHUA)--French President Francois Mitterrand, toured the three African countries of Niger, Ivory Coast and Senegal, and made brief stopovers at Algiers and Nouakchott from May 19 to 26.

This is President Mitterrand's first visit to Africa since he took office at the Elysee Palace in May, 1981.

During his visit, Mitterrand repeatedly made assurances of France's "commitments" to Africa in talks with African state leaders or in open speeches. He also explained the policy of his socialist party government towards the Third World and towards Africa in particular, to indicate that his party is more concerned about their relations with French-speaking Africa than their predecessors.

Africa is important to France not only because France used to be the suzerain state of many African countries in the past but also because today's France, as an industrialized capitalist country short of raw materials and markets, can hardly exist and develop without these countries.

Since Mitterrand came to power, he has internationally concentrated his efforts on relations between East and West and between Europe and the United States, the European Community issues and the Middle East crisis. Now he hopes to consolidate and strengthen France's relations with those African countries which are more closely related to France and broaden France's influence in Africa through his visit.

He has focused his visit on Africa's "independence" and "security." In his speech made in Niger, he warned African leaders of the two superpowers' hegemonic attempts. He said the superpowers are "seeking at all costs to push their global interest further" and that "Africa can acquire its real position only in an international community where the independence of various countries

is respected and foreign interference is prohibited." He stressed that France will continue to exist in Africa but will not interfere in its affairs. He said that France "will carry out its commitment to the security of its friends."

France currently has concluded defense treaties or military agreements with more than 20 African countries, and has stationed 7,500 military personnel in 17 of these countries.

During his visit, Mitterrand reiterated France's support to the view that African problems should be solved by Africans and advocated that their disputes should be settled through consultations among the Organization of African Unity and the states concerned.

During his visit, Mitterrand also said that the north and south should hold more consultations to strive for a "best balance" of the north-south relations and "joint development" of the developed and developing countries.

Mitterrand emphasized in particular that the prices for raw materials should be stabilized "to guarantee the stabilization of market prices for raw materials is the essence of the north-south policy," he said.

In recent years, the sharp fall of prices for various raw materials, resulting from economic recession in the capitalist world, has brought enormous losses to the Third World countries.

However, Mitterrand promised that he will appeal to the summit meeting that will be held by heads of state of seven Western countries in June to adopt measures for the stabilization of prices for raw materials.

While stating that France is willing to make contributions to the economic development in Africa, Mitterrand promised that France will increase economic aid to the African countries so as to strengthen its traditional ties with them.

Mitterrand's trip to Africa, therefore, shows clearly that the policy pursued by the French Socialist Party in Africa is designed to match the two superpowers' expansion by strengthening its relations with African countries and extending its influence there. As Mitterrand stated clearly before his trip, France will "try its best to support the presence of African countries and, at the same time, it will certainly maintain and strive to increase its appropriate interests."

CSO: 4000/126

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UN NAMIBIA COUNCIL DECLARATION DENOUNCES U.S.

OW141956 Beijing XINHUA in English 1605 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Arusha, Tanzania, May 13 (XINHUA)--An Arusha declaration and program of action for Namibia was adopted here this evening at the closing session of the extraordinary plenary meeting of the U.N. Council for Namibia.

The declaration said the meeting has served to draw attention to Namibia's current and critical situation and intensify support by the international community for the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the Southwest African People's Organization [SWAPO].

The U.N. council reiterated its conviction that the intensified armed liberation struggle by the Namibian people continues to be a decisive factor in efforts to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence.

The declaration pointed out that the situation in Namibia is a matter of decolonization and must be resolved in accordance with relevant U.N. resolutions. It denounced and rejected all South African maneuvers used by the illegal regime to perpetuate its occupation of Namibia.

The declaration denounced the United States for collaborating with the racist regime of South Africa and engaging in hostile acts and propaganda against SWAPO.

The declaration said the U.N. plan contained in Security Council Resolutions 385 and 435 is the only universally accepted basis for a negotiated settlement and called for its immediate implementation.

The program of action said "The council urges the international community to extend support and assistance to SWAPO for its liberation struggle and to the front line states for defending their sovereignty and territorial integrity against South African aggression.

The program called on all U.N. members not to recognize any puppet regimes or any internal settlement for Namibia's problems.

It said the U.N. council asks all U.N. members to work toward an early negotiated settlement for Namibia based on U.N. resolutions 385 and 435.

CSO: 4000/126

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY OF THE MIDEAST

UNESCO Condemns Israel

OW151652 Beijing XINHUA in English 1642 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Paris, May 15 (XINHUA)--The 114th session of the UNESCO Executive Council adopted a resolution here yesterday; condemning Israel for carrying out a repressive policy in its annexed Arab territories.

The resolution asked the UNESCO director-general to continue "his action in strengthening the cooperation between UNESCO and the educational and cultural institutions in the occupied Arab territories, especially technical and financial aid in universities as well as scientific and technological institutes."

Representatives of Algeria,, Senegal and Syria in their speeches yesterday condemned Israel for declaring Jerusalem its capital, and the Israeli parliament for adopting a resolution on the annexation of the Golan Heights. They also denounced Israel for taking measures to annex the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip with the intention to create a "Grand Israel."

Chinese representative Yang Bozhen said in his speech, "The pursuance by Israel of a policy of destroying the characteristics of Arab culture and the rights to education in the occupied Arab territories, including the Golan Heights and Jerusalem, has caused new and serious consequences, which cannot but arouse our grave attention." This, he noted, was inseparable from the policies pursued by the two superpowers in the Middle East.

The American representative said he was opposed to the resolution concerning culture and education in the occupied Arab territories because it was too political and because the settlement of the Arab-Israeli difference was outside the competence of UNESCO.

The session, opened in the UNESCO headquarters on May 5, will last till May 21.

Arms Sales to Israel

OW150812 Beijing XINHUA in English 0757 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Washington, May 14 (XINHUA)--The National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA) has urged the Reagan administration to suspend further military sales to Israel, including eleven more F-15 jet fighters.

At a press conference it held here today, the NAAA said it has also requested that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee hold hearings on Israel's use of American weapons and review Israel's occupation policies in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights prior to approving further military sales to Israel.

The NAAA maintained that there is ample evidence that Israel has violated the terms of the U.S. arms export control act in its attacks on Lebanon and Iraq last year. Israel's unprovoked bombing raids on April 21 and May 9 are only the most recent examples.

Suspension of the sale of F-15s would be a direct signal to Israel of U.S. objection to Israel's illegal use of American weapons and to Israel's policies in the occupied territories that are in violation of United Nations resolutions and the fourth Geneva convention, it said.

The U.S. administration notified congress on April 26 of Israel's request to purchase the jet fighters and other military equipment.

U.S. Envoy to Athens

OW151615 Beijing XINHUA in English 1547 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Cairo, May 15 (XINHUA)--U.S. special envoy to the Palestinian autonomy talks Richard Fairbanks left here for Athens this morning at the end of a three-day visit to Egypt.

Fairbanks will report to Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who is currently visiting Greece, on the outcome of his talks in Egypt and Israel on resuming the stalled Palestinian autonomy talks.

Since his arrival in Cairo from Israel Tuesday, the U.S. envoy had held talks with Egyptian deputy premier and minister of foreign affairs Kamal Hasan 'Ali and had been received by President Husni Mubarak.

During the talks, the Egyptian side reiterated its standpoint on the proposed Palestinian autonomy. It stressed the necessity of extending full power to the Palestinian authorities during the transitional period. It called for the initiation of confidence-building measures in the occupied territories "so as to create an atmosphere which will encourage the Palestinians to participate in the autonomy negotiations."

It also called for halting Israeli acts of repression against the inhabitants in the West Bank and Gaza. It regarded Israeli settlements in the occupied territories as an obstacle to peace.

The Egyptian side also said that the Palestinian autonomy negotiations should not take place in Jerusalem as Israel insists since the status of the city itself is a subject of negotiations.

An American proposal that the negotiations be held in Washington has been rejected by Israel.

It was reported that no other venue has yet been decided for the trilateral negotiations.

U.S. Planes to Israel

OW270832 Beijing XINHUA in English 0821 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Washington, May 26 (XINHUA)--The U.S. Government has secretly notified congress of its plans to sell 75 F-16 fighters to Israel for 2.7 billion dollars, it was learned here today.

The sale will double the number of F-16s in the Israeli inventory and, in the view of the Pentagon, maintain Israeli military superiority.

The notification was reportedly sent to congress on May 24, a day before Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon conferred with U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger. Sharon was in Washington for a private visit. He also met with Secretary of State Alexander Haig on Tuesday.

Last month the Pentagon was said to have completed plans to provide Israel with 11 F-15 fighters for 510 million dollars, bringing Israel's fleet of F-15s to 51.

The U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted yesterday to increase direct military grants to Israel 100 million dollars above the 750 million requested by the U.S. Government.

Algerian, Syrian, Egyptian Relations

OW171549 Beijing XINHUA in English 1522 GMT 17 May 82

[Text] Algiers, May 16 (XINHUA)--Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid and Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad today announced their objection to Arab countries' resumption of normal relations with Egypt.

In a press communique issued here today, the two presidents called on "all Arab countries to abide by the decisions adopted at the Arab summit conference held in Baghdad and bring an end to any attempt at the reestablishment of their relations with the Egyptian regime as long as the causes leading to the rupture of these relations are still valid."

The communique pointed out that the objective of the imperialist-Zionist offensive is to isolate and liquidate the Arab world's "revolutionary, progressive and nationalist positions and to liquidate the Palestinian cause by the extension of the Camp David process to other Arab countries."

The communique also said, the two presidents discussed the situation about the steadfastness front and decided to hold a foreign ministers' meeting of the front in Algeria late this month.

Member states of the front are: Algeria, Syria, Libya, South Yemen and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

President Hafiz al-Asad left here this afternoon after a two-day visit to this country.

CSO: 4000/127

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON EASTERN EUROPE

Jaruzelski Meets Rusakov

OW201816 Beijing XINHUA in English 1637 GMT 20 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, May 20 (XINHUA)--Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, Tuesday met with Viktor Georgiyevich Kulikov, commander in chief of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty states.

The Polish News Agency reported that the meeting dealt with the training of the armed forces and the perfection of their combat disposition.

Earlier, the agency said, the Polish party leader received Konstantin Viktorovich Rusakov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, and discussed with him how to strengthen the organizational ties between the two parties.

Polish Domestic Situation

OW111347 Beijing XINHUA in English 1231 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, May 10 (XINHUA)--The Polish Government met today under chairmanship of Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski to examine the tense situation in the country following a series of demonstrations in some cities early this month.

A government press spokesman announced in a statement after the meeting that the government had recently taken legal actions against the planners and organizers of these demonstrations and their participants.

The statement said the government had detained a total of 2,269 provocative agitators, of whom 24 were sentenced to prison terms and 1,339 others either put into three-month detention or fined. Disciplinary actions ranging from suspension of student privileges to expulsion would be taken against those college and high school students who had taken part in the demonstrations.

The statement noted that despite these incidents, the possibility of resuming dialogues to reach mutual understanding and engaging in people's consultations still existed.

In the evening, a Polish T.V. program showed a film about Radio "Free Europe" and accused the said radio of engaging in the inflammatory propaganda to incite tension in Poland.

The Polish Foreign Ministry reportedly ordered today the expulsion of two diplomats of the U.S. Embassy on charges of their engagement in activities incompatible with their diplomatic status. They are John W. Zerolis, science attache and James D. Howard, first secretary of cultural affairs.

Poles Answer Solidarity Demonstrations

OW142024 Beijing XINHUA in English 1534 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Warsaw, May 13 (XINHUA)--Answering the call of the banned Polish "Solidarity" Trade Union, Part Mielec Airplane Factory in southern Poland downed tools for 15 minutes at noon today, PAP reported.

Meanwhile, the report said, there were demonstrations in the Warsaw streets. At 12:00 hours sharp today, in downtown Warsaw, over 100 buses, trams and cars stopped almost simultaneously as the drivers began honking horns for one minute. There was a huge traffic jam and big crowds gathered chanting anti-martial law slogans until 20 minutes later when anti-riot police armed with tear gas and shields came and charged and dispersed the crowds of thousands of people.

This is the third time the "Solidarity" union has organized protesting actions since early this month. "Solidarity" made the call for today's 15-minute strike, and one-minute horn-honking, early on April 22, in protest against the imposition of martial law and demanding the release of Lech Walesa and other union leaders.

Government press spokesman Jerzy Urban at a press conference this afternoon described the strike and demonstrations as "not surprising." He added however, that although the situation in the country was calm on the whole, it would not mean calm would prevail throughout the country from now on.

New Yugoslav Assembly

OW160200 Beijing XINHUA in English 0100 GMT 16 May 82

[Text] Belgrade, May 15 (XINHUA)--The assembly of Yugoslavia today elected Raif Dizdarevic as its president and Mito Michjkov as its vice-president, both for a term of one year.

This was the first time that an one-year-term system was introduced for the presidency of the assembly of Yugoslavia, in accordance with the principle of collective leadership put forward by the late president of the republic Josip Broz Tito.

The two chambers of the assembly also elected their respective presidents, Dr Anton Vratusa as president of the Federal Chamber and Nikola Kmezic president of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

This is Yugoslavia's third delegate assembly, which is the highest legislative body of the country. The new president of the Federal Executive Assembly (the Yugoslav Government) and its 28 members will be elected at a joint session of the two assembly chambers.

Raif Dizdarevic, 56, was president of the presidency of the Constituent Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina before he he was elected to the present post.

Dr Anton Vratusa, 67, held many ranking posts in the Federation including the post of the Federal Executive Council vice-president.

Nikola Kmezic, 63, was president of the Provincial Executive Council of Vojvodina before he was elected to the present post.

The Federal Chamber is composed of 220 delegates, with 30 delegates from each republic and 20 from each province.

The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces consists of 88 delegates, with 12 delegates from each republic and 8 from each province.

The assembly delegates have the right to make laws on all important issues through a consultative consensus.

Nonaligned Bloc Unity Stressed

OW110945 Beijing XINHUA in English 0747 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Belgrade, May 10 (XINHUA)--India and Yugoslavia have agreed to make efforts to increase the unity and capability of the non-aligned countries to contribute to relaxing the world tension.

Indian President Neelam Sanjiva Reddy today concluded his five-day official good-will visit to Yugoslavia, during which he held talks with Sergej Kraigher, president of the Yugoslav Presidency, on major world problems and bilateral cooperation between the two countries, according to local reports.

In their talks the two heads of state expressed their concern over the deteriorating world situation, military rivalries between big powers in Europe, the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean as well as the constant threats to the independence of small countries by the superpowers.

They stated that they would work for the settlement of the disputes between Iraq and Iran and those between other non-aligned countries.

The two heads of state also discussed ways and means to strengthen cooperation between the two countries in the fields of trade, science and technology and production.

SFRY, Romania Produce Planes

OW220746 Beijing XINHUA in English 0728 GMT 22 May 82

[Text] Belgrade, May 21 (XINHUA)--Yugoslavia and Romania have begun to jointly produce jet-fighters Jastreb (hawk) for the use of their armed forces.

This was disclosed by Slobodan Alagicj, commander of the Yugoslav Air Force and the air defence force, in a statement to the Yugoslav army paper NARODNA ARMIJA today to mark the Yugoslav Air Force Day.

Alagicj also said that besides the Jastreb, the Yugoslav Air Force also has the Galeb-4S (seagulls), a kind of training fighter designed and produced in Yugoslavia.

CSO: 4000/128

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON WESTERN EUROPE

NATO Officials Meet

OW171635 Beijing XINHUA in English 1612 GMT 17 May 82

[Text] Luxembourg, May 17 (XINHUA)--NATO's Secretary General Mr J. Luns today urged the allies to work "for a safer world through dialogue and negotiation with equivalent vigour in maintaining a convincing defence posture."

The secretary general said here at an opening ceremony of NATO's spring meeting of foreign ministers that at a time of widespread economic hardship this would inevitably entail agonizing choices between the requirements of prudent defence and competing social demands. He said that the allies should pool their resources in the defence field, but unfortunately this question had been handled often in their narrow national interest. He stressed that this trend must be changed. Mr Luns noted that although the Atlantic allies continue to prefer dialogues to military confrontation, there must be reciprocal willingness to act with restraint and to avoid provocation. However, looking for signs particularly in the Soviet Union is not a very encouraging enterprise, he added.

Luxembourg Prime Minister Mr. Pierre Werner noted at the ceremony that it would be dangerous to believe the mollifying statements of the Soviet Union. He asked the allies not to disregard the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet forces. "In view of the Soviet Union's present behaviour, the Atlantic Alliance has no option but to devote all its efforts to preserving a strong defence posture which is able to deter any potential aggressor and induce our enemies to resume a constructive dialogue with the West," he stressed.

"Luxembourg is ready and willing to do its bit in furtherance of our common purpose," Mr Werner declared. He also stressed the importance of North America's military commitment to Europe and of the preservation of a harmonious trans-Atlantic relationship.

Honourary president of the council, the Canadian Foreign Minister Mr. MacGuigan welcomed President Ronald Reagan's recent proposal to the Soviet Union on the reduction of strategic weapons. He also expressed his support to Britain in the current conflict with Argentina over the Falklands (Malvinas).

Topics of Session

OW171232 Beijing XINHUA in English 1206 GMT 17 May 82

[Text] Luxembourg, May 16 (XINHUA)--NATO's Secretary General J. Luns said here today the allies must make whatever effort is required to preserve a strong and credible capability in order to convince the Soviet Union of the need to negotiate seriously on arms control.

Speaking at a press conference on the eve of the two-day spring session of NATO's foreign ministers due to open here tomorrow, Luns said the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Moscow's role in the Polish incident have obviously violated the international law and are incompatible with its declared peaceful intentions.

Referring to the spring session, Luns said the current state of East-West relations will undoubtedly be one of the principal subjects to be discussed at the session. Other subjects, he said, will include the up-coming NATO summit in June, the peace movements in the NATO member countries and economic and scientific cooperation and cooperation in the field of armaments within the alliance.

The security implications for the alliance of the transfer of advanced military technology to the Warsaw Pact countries will also be discussed at the session, he added.

He welcomed U.S. President Ronald Reagan's recent proposals to the Soviet Union on strategic weapons reduction.

On the British-Argentina conflict around the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands, he declared that NATO will not change its position in support of Britain.

NATO Air, Sea Maneuver

OW160354 Beijing XINHUA in English 0244 GMT 16 May 82

[Text] Rome, May 15 (XINHUA)--The 12-day NATO naval and air maneuver in southern Europe ended today, according to an ANSA report.

The military maneuver, code-named "Distant Drum 8," was directed by Admiral William Crowe Jr [as received], commander-in-chief and other generals of the allied forces in southern Europe.

About 10,000 soldiers from Turkey, Greece, Italy, the United States and France took part in the maneuver, which included the aircraft carrier "Eisenhower" and three other warships.

The maneuver was divided into three stages. Simulated attacks from the sea by U.S. and other allied troops were staged at the last stage to help Italy "liberate" the key positions on Sardinia from enemy occupation.

Admiral Crowe said that the maneuver was designed to train land-based naval, air and amphibious forces and put them on full alert.

Italian Deputy Defence Minister Martino Scovacricchi [as received] watched the maneuver.

Greek, Turkish Disputes

OW151545 Beijing XINHUA in English 1531 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Ankara, May 15 (XINHUA)--U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig announced here this morning, "The U.S. wants the disputes between Turkey and Greece over the Aegean Sea to be solved by peaceful means."

This was said by Haig at a press conference held at Ankara airport this morning just before his departure at the end of a three-day visit to Turkey.

Haig said he was going to Athens and would discuss with Greek leaders on the same subject.

Haig was received here yesterday afternoon by Turkish head of state Kenan Evren. In their talks, Haig told Evren that the U.S. administration felt deep concern for the deterioration of the relations between Turkey and Greece. Haig said, "The frictions between the two countries pose a serious threat for the southeastern flank of NATO and considerably weaken NATO's deterrence ability."

U.S. officials here said that the secretary of state wanted to promote Greek-Turkish understanding, but not as a mediator.

Turkish Foreign Minister Ilter Turkmen announced at the same press conference that Turkey always wanted to negotiate with Greece.

Turkey and Greece, two neighbors and NATO members, have had a longstanding dispute over the Aegean Sea. Their relations have further deteriorated since their dialogue was suspended last October.

Haig, Papandreou Talks

OW161254 Beijing XINHUA in English 1244 GMT 16 May 82

[Text] Athens, May 16 (XINHUA)--U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig told a press conference here this morning that he and Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou had talks which would improve bilateral relations.

Haig arrived here yesterday for a visit at the invitation of the Greek Government. He had two meetings with the Greek prime minister.

He said at the press conference that all issues were discussed at the talks: U.S.-Greek relations, U.S. bases in Greece, Greek-NATO relations, Greek-Turkish relations and the Cyprus problem. He had a full knowledge and understanding of the issues and hoped to find out solutions later, he said.

When their talks ended yesterday evening, Papandreou said, no problems found a solution. The main purpose of the talks was to create a framework for future solutions, he said, adding that he was satisfied with the talks.

In the two weeks preceding Haig's trip to Turkey and Greece, sources said, there were signs of improvement in the atmosphere of Greek-American relations. Increased U.S. military aid to Greece was approved earlier this month. The U.S. Defense Department Friday announced the proposed sale of Harponoon missiles to the Greek Navy.

Haig leaves here this noon for Luxembourg to attend a NATO foreign ministers meeting.

CSO: 4000/125

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EUROPEAN TROOP REDUCTION TALKS OPEN

OW141858 Beijing XINHUA in English 1546 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Vienna, May 13 (XINHUA)--A new round of the talks on troops reduction in Central Europe started here today.

Twenty-six rounds of talks, which were attended by NATO members on the one side and Warsaw Pact countries on the other, were held in the past nine years but all ended in failure because of the wide gap in the assessment of the military strength of the Warsaw Pact countries.

During the 26th round of the talks, the Polish delegation put forward a draft agreement "On the Mutual Reduction of Forces and Equipment in Central Europe and Related Measures in the First Stage." The NATO countries rejected it as a propaganda stunt with nothing new. At the last meeting of the 26th round, the head of the Soviet delegation accused the West of carrying out "fruitless debate" with "ulterior motives." The head of the U.S. delegation countered by stressing the necessity of making clear the present military strength of the Warsaw Pact bloc. Without this, he said, it is impossible for the talks to make headway.

The 304th [as printed] plenary session was held this morning. Head of the German Democratic Republic delegation Andre Wieland spoke on behalf of the Warsaw Pact countries at a jointly sponsored press conference after the session and asked the West to consider the Warsaw Pact proposal in a realistic and constructive manner.

The British representative Murry Simons noted at the press conference on behalf of NATO countries that although the draft agreement "contained some useful elements, it at the same time revealed no progress on data and insufficient progress on associated measures to permit drafting a first agreement text." He added that joint efforts to start drafting would be meaningful only after differences on overall issues had been brought closer to solution and genuine progress had been made towards agreement on data and associated measures.

The process of the Vienna talks, just as a NATO spokesman pointed out at the conclusion of the last round of talks, is "difficult and disappointing." Observers here predicted that from prevailing signs, the new round of talks will be no more fruitful than previous ones.

CSO: 4000/126

BRIEFS

U.S. SUGAR TO GUYANA--Georgetown, May 13 (XINHUA)--The state run Guyana Sugar Corporation in a statement today criticised the U.S. introduction of a quota system for sugar imports as a protectionist measure severely damaging the interests of sugar exporting developing countries. The corporation pointed out the measure undermines the whole conception of the Caribbean basin initiative. It encourages the inroad in the sugar market of alternative sweeteners such as high fructose corn syrup, tends to increase prices for U.S. consumers and damages most severely the interests of sugar exporting developing countries, the statement added. The corporation suggested that the U.S. authorities should consider giving the Caribbean Community countries a group sugar quota, which would enable sugar-exporting member countries to take up each other's shortfalls if there is any. The statement also blamed the EEC for the current decline in the world price of sugar. It said the decline was due to a huge EEC beet sugar surplus. [Text] [OW150134 Beijing XINHUA in English 0104 GMT 15 May 82]

CSO: 4000/126

PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF PARTY SPIRIT STRESSED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Feb 82 p 1

[Commentary: "Party Spirit--The Soul of the Strong"]

[Text] The play "Who Is the Stronger" currently playing in Harbin has aroused a strong social response. The Jiamusi No 2 Agricultural Machine Factory, in treating the problem of the "relationship door," has over the past few years persevered in the principle of "no giving gifts, no accepting gifts, no compromise," and in so doing they, in real life, are among the strong.

What is the soul of those who are strong? It is party spirit.

Party spirit is the concentrated manifestation of the proletarian world view; stated simply, it is what makes every party member and cadre want to take the party's standpoint, forget themselves and strive for the fundamental advantage of the party and the people, and engage in absolutely uncompromising struggle against all things that are to the disadvantage of the party or the people. In our present efforts to enable party practices, the general atmosphere of society, and order in society to show a fundamental improvement, party practices are the major point of emphasis. And in the course of our efforts to bring about a decisive improvement in party practices, the core issue is how to strengthen party spirit.

For some time, some comrades have had misgivings that it would be difficult to overcome improper practices, such as "the relationship door," saying that "it is difficult for a single wall to block the wind from four directions," and being on the one hand affected by misgivings, yet continuing to engage in the bad practices. This attitude smacks of wavering, to one degree or another, in the principle of party spirit. Party spirit may indeed be likened to a wall that blocks the wind of improper practices; yet if the wall is already torn down, what wind can it withstand?

There are also some comrades who plainly engage in improper practices, consoling themselves with the idea that they themselves "are not the source of the practices." This is also a manifestation of weakness in party spirit. We must recognize that in the course of our future influence on each other with regard to what bad practices we may develop, others might have corrupted us, or we might have corrupted

others. Then one day, when the situation has developed further, in relation to others we would have become that source of bad practices. Therefore, the correct course of action can only be to strengthen our own party spirit so that we ourselves can serve as a strong link in our relationship with others.

There are also some comrades who fear "bucking the trend," and fear a "backlash" from the institution of the relationship door.

It is a question of what a person believes in; if what you believe in includes improper practices, such as the "relationship door," however that way of thinking may have spread to you, then is it still, after all, illegal in our party and society, or is it not? The question here is whether or not one is steadfast in party spirit. The more that bad practices have not been eliminated, the more we need to hate evil like an enemy, and be firm and indomitable about it. If everyone strives together, and perseveres in carrying out their business in accordance with the principle of party spirit, then all fears of "bucking the trend" or suffering a "backlash" will have vanished without a trace.

Thoroughly rectifying improper practices, of course, will require an arduous struggle. This kind of corrupt, bourgeois thinking is fundamentally incompatible with our socialist syste, and saying that it is "hard to control" is not as correct as saying that only in our kind of society can it be brought completely under control. Ever since the Third Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee, we have been in the process of getting a good hold on the solution of this problem. Beginning with this year, the Party Central Committee has emphasized our taking charge of the building of spiritual civilization, and at the same time has taken charge of dealing with some serious cases of economic crimes, and this is even more advantageous for bringing about a decisive improvement for the better in party practices and the general climate of society. At present, all of us Communist Party members and cadres face a task of engaging in a serious conflict with bourgeois corruption, and we all must expend all of our forces for the sake of building socialist spiritual civilization.

The comrades of Jiamusi No 2 Agricultural Machine Factory have given us a fine example of persevering in the principle of party spirit and not bowing to the influence of corrupt practices. In only all of us, like them, so emphasize party spirit, engage in less idle talk, knuckle down, struggle determinedly, uphold right and eliminate evil, then we will definitely obtain a speedy success. Of that we may rest assured.

9634
CSO: 4005/735

PARTY AND STATE

STREAMLINING THE ADMINISTRATION -- 'FEWER BUT BETTER'

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 7 Apr 82 p 4

[Article by Peng Xueshi [1756 1331 6108]: "'Fewer But Better' -- A Study of Lenin's Theory of Streamlining the Administration"]

[Text] The great revolutionary teacher Lenin always placed great value on constructing and reforming the proletarian state administration. In 1922, he commented during one of his major speeches saying, "I am especially concerned about this topic." In March of 1923 when he was seriously ill he nonetheless spoke to the Russian Communist Party's "Twelfth Congress," making major suggestions concerning methods for reforming the worker-peasant office of investigations and how to improve the entire Soviet administration. Lenin pointed out that reform of the state administration ought to follow the principle of "fewer but better."

The Soviet state administration was born in the flames of the revolution, serves the proletariat and the broad people and has good basic qualities. Nonetheless, it also has shortcomings. For example, there are serious problems of bureaucratism and slow work style. Lenin believed that, "Such problems can be overcome only after many years of unremitting struggle."

After cessation of the civil war, within the Soviet state the class struggles still were very sharp and there was an abundance of revolutionary tasks. The proletarian ruling party urgently needed a capable and vigorous state administration to quickly handle all sorts of urgent problems and organize economic and cultural construction. At that time, however, the condition of the Soviet administration was such that a suitable response to the needs of the proletarian government could not be made. "There probably are no more than ten or so courageous, unstinting people while there are several hundred who idle about, work slowly or half-heartedly, buried in a mound of documents. Such a ratio will bury our vigorous efforts in a sea of official papers.

Confronted with those frustrating aspects of the Soviet administration Lenin calmly told the members of the Russian Communist

Party: "Never become dispirited and don't be afraid of failure, just keep trying harder." In talking to the Russian Communist Party members about the important and urgent task of streamlining the administration, Lenin said: "At this time the most important tasks for the next few years are to reduce the administration, improve organizations, eliminate idleness and bureaucratism and reduce non-production expenses in order to streamline the administration and reduce the expenses."

Lenin believed that streamlining the state administration was of great importance in eliminating idleness and bureaucratism, speeding up socialist construction and guaranteeing the independence of the Soviet state. There is a close relationship between bureaucratism and idleness on the one hand and overstaffing on the other hand. This is an extreme waste and one which must be resolutely struggled against. It concerns the solidarity of the worker-peasent alliance and concerns the future and the fate of the whole nation. We must eliminate from our state administration all of the wasteful practices which are left from czarist Russia and its capitalist bureaucracy. In this way we can maintain the proletarian leadership of the peasants. We also have the potential to rigorously economise and accumulate some savings in order to develop our large machine industry and promote electrification.

Lenin also used the forum of the Communist Internationale to lead the Communist parties of all nations and inform them of the great significance of the administrative streamlining by the Russian Communist Party. On 1 October 1922, Lenin spoke at the Fourth Congress of the Communist Internationale saying, "We are now conducting a study on how to reduce the national budget and streamline the state administration." He strongly emphasized that, "No matter what, we must streamline the state administration, we must economize rigorously. Whatever can be saved should be saved." He wished to use this method to save heavy industry and restore it. If heavy industry is not saved and not restored,"We will be lost and unable to establish an independent nation."

From this it can be seen that Lenin made a direct connection of streamlining the state administration with restoring and developing heavy industry, carrying out national industrialization, protecting national independence, and building a strong socialist state. Lenin suggested two plans for carrying out streamlining of the state administration, overcoming bureaucratism and idleness and eliminating all waste. The first plan was to "Use the method of investigating personnel and investigating actual work to carry on a struggle against the morass of bureaucratism and idleness. " The second plan was to "relentlessly lay off excess personnel, reduce the staff and get rid of those who did not fulfill the Communist Party member obligation of sincerely studying management practices."

China is now in the process of streamlining the administration and it is extremely important to review Lenin's practices on administrative streamlining. We definitely can find important guidance and valuable references in Lenin's guiding ideology, basic plan and methods for streamlining the administration.

11582
CSO: 4005/831

PARTY AND STATE

INFORMATION ON PARTY AND OTHER LEADERS

Tie Ying Watches Gymnastics

OW210557 Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 May 82 p 1

[Excerpts] Leading comrades of the Zhejiang Provincial CCP Committee, the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress and the provincial people's government Tie Ying, Zhang Jingtang, Xue Ju, Cui Jian and Liu Yifu and vice mayor of Shanghai Yang Kai [attended a gymnastic tournament on 9 May].

Xu Jiatun Attends Festival

OW231102 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 May 82

[Excerpt] Comrade Xu Jiatun, first secretary of the Jiangsu Provincial CCP Committee [attended a drama festival].

Anhui Cadres in Construction

OW250025 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 May 82

[Excerpts] Responsible comrades in Anhui and Hefei, Zhou Zijian, Yan Youmin, Yang Weiping, (Yuan Zhen), Lan Ganting, Cheng Guanchua, Meng Jiaqin, Meng Fulin, Li Qingquan, (Wu Tan), Wei Anmin, (Jiang Yongliang) and others [participated in construction at a children's palace].

During a break, our station reporter had an interview with Comrade Zhou Zijian. He said: By national standards, the facilities in our province for teenagers and children are somewhat backward. After the enforcement of the measures for planned parenthood, we should pay even greater attention to the well-being of our children.

Construction of the children's palace in Hefei started in December 1980. The total area under construction is 3,127 square meters with a total cost of more than 600,000 yuan for the five-storied building. The top floor is a platform with a fish pond.

Construction work is currently being further intensified so that the palace will officially open its doors to the public before 1 June, International Children's Day.

Feng Jixin Visits Schools

SK270334 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 26 May 82

[Excerpts] According to our reporters, responsible comrades of Gansu provincial party, government and army organs, including Feng Jixin, (Guo Hongchao), Zhang Rusan, Liu Haifeng, Zhang Jiangang and Zheng Zhongyuan, and responsible persons from the provincial level units concerned, mass organizations and Lanzhou municipality, on the afternoon of 25 May visited primary schools, kindergartens, nurseries, neighborhood children centers, blind and deaf-mute schools, child welfare institutions and work-study schools throughout Lanzhou municipality to extend regards to children, youths, teachers and workers engaged in child-care activities on the eve of 1 June Children's Day.

On the same afternoon, responsible comrades at all levels in Lanzhou municipality also held discussions with elementary education teachers and personnel engaging in child-care work and presented gift to the children.

Qiang Xiaochu Visits Athletes

SK210537 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 May 82

[Excerpt] Leading comprades including Qiang Xiaochu, Yu Lin and Liu Yunzhao went to the gymnasium of the provincial physical culture institute.

North China Music Festival

OW240800 Beijing XINHUA in English 0751 GMT 24 May 82

[Excerpts] Tianjin, May 24 (XINHUA)--An annual North China Music Festival was formally inaugurated yesterday with the opening of "Spring on Hai River" music week in Tianjin.

Acting major of Tianjin Li Ruihuai and chairman of the Chinese Musicians Association Lu Ji spoke at the opening ceremony yesterday. Also present were Chen Weida, first party secretary of Tianjin, Zhou Yang, chairman of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, and Zhou Weizhi, vice-minister of culture.

Xu Jiatun at Ceremony

OW201754 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 20 May 82

[Excerpts] Nanjing, May 20 (XINHUA)--Nanjing University today celebrated its 80th anniversary with a grand ceremony and a call on teachers and students to carry forward the tradition of scientific approach in study and spirit of research.

Present were Xu Jiatun, chairman of the Jiangsu Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee and first secretary of Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee and Hui Yuyu, governor of Jiangsu Province.

CSO: 4000/124

NEED FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN SOCIAL ORDER, SECURITY STRESSED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Mar 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Make Sure To Effect a Turn for the Better in Social Order and Security"]

[Text] In 1982, we must make sure to take a turn for the better in social order and security. This is an important political task. The people of the whole province must further exert their spirit with full confidence, earnestly do a good job of strengthening social order and security, and create a fine social environment for the construction of the four modernizations.

Doing a good job of strengthening social order and solving the conditions of "disorder" constitute an important aspect of our efforts to build a socialist spiritual civilization. The question of order and security is a comprehensive reflection of all social problems. With regard to this "comprehensive disease," we must carry out a "comprehensive cure." Under the unified leadership of the party committees, we must practice the methods of assigning responsibilities to individual units and combining line with staff operations in order to weave the forces of the various fronts and departments into a single strand by adopting measures that coordinate education with administration, the economy, and the law, so as to promote various security protection responsibility systems that are adapted to all situations and thereby implement at the basic level the task of this "comprehensive cure." We must seriously rectivy and strengthen urban and rural state organs of power at the basic level in order to give scope to the roles of the residents and the organizations for mediation and for the protection of order, and have problems solved on the spot, so that we can refrain from passing cases of contradictions on to higher levels, incur fewer cases of disputes, arrest fewer people and achieve good social order and security.

Strengthening the education of youths and children is the central link in doing a good job of administering the "comprehensive cure." Party and government organs in all institutions, schools, factories and mines, enterprises, streets, communes and brigades, and mass organizations such as the CYL, trade unions and women's associations should take the education of youths and children as their own incumbent responsibility. Every parent must seek to educate his children as well. He must, in accordance with youths' and children's characteristics, closely and persistently carry out education on love for the motherland, love for the party

and love for socialist and education on the development of our fine revolutionary traditions and the establishment of communist ethics and the Marxist world view, thereby enabling them to cultivate from their very childhood the good habits of loving to study, loving their collectives, loving to labor, emphasizing courtesy, and abiding by discipline and the law.

Administrative and legal organs must take as their goal the effecting of a conspicuous turn for the better in our social order and security, and must do their work well, attending fully to their duties and responsibilities. They must conscientiously implement the party's consistent principle of attacking the minority and of winning over, differentiating and transforming the majority; carry out the basic policy of combining punishment with leniency, with leniency granted to those who are frank, and strict pumishment meted out to those who resist; and severely and swiftly punish the extreme minority of criminal elements caught in the act. As for criminal elements in general, they should differentiate their treatment according to the situation and the consequences of their offenses and their attitude toward acknowledging such offenses. They should further strengthen their work on reform through labor and education through labor, improve the quality of educational reform and thus enable the objects of such reform to see their outlets and their bright future and live a new life accordingly.

Building our socialist spiritual civilization, doing a good job of improving our party work style and the people's habits, and doing a good job of our social order and security are big matters toward which the popular will is oriented. With this goal of struggle clearly established, and with the beginning of the new year, we should stress this task and spare no effort in seeing it realized. As long as we combine our revolutionary spirit with a scientific attitude, see the formidable nature of our tasks, and at the same time make use of all propitious conditions with full confidence and courageously push forward, we are bound to attain our present goal.

9255
CSO: 4005/720

STUDY OF MARXIST PUBLIC OWNERSHIP THEORY URGED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by Xu He [1776 4421]: "We Must Achieve an Overall Understanding of the Theory of Marx and Engels on Public Ownership"]

> [Text] The theory of Marx and Engels on public ownership of the means of production consists of two parts. We must both study the part on the essence and characteristics of public ownership and earnestly appreciate the part on the steps, methods, avenues and forms by which public ownership is established.

When the theory of Marx and Engels on public ownership of the means of production is discussed, we often hear this kind of argument: It sounds as if Marx and Engels maintained that once the proletariat seizes political power, it can rapidly establish public ownership of the means of production, and this public ownership can be of a high level from the very beginning--that is, with society taking possession of all means of production. This perception, in my opinion, is partial and wrong.

Actually, the theory of Marx and Engels on public ownership of the means of production consists of two parts: one part discusses the essence and characteristics of such public ownership. This centers on the mature form of such public ownership and, setting aside the various specific patterns it adopts in the process of its formation and development, constitutes a generalization carried out in theory, as exemplified by propositions such as, for instance, "society taking possession of all means of production." The other part discusses the steps, methods, avenues and forms by which such public ownership is established. Along with their increasing maturity in theorization and their continued accumulation of experiences of struggle, their discourses in this regard became more and more comprehensive, profound and realistic. Certain principles of these discourses are of great significance to our present-day efforts to build socialism and effect economic reforms. In the past, we paid relatively greater attention to the former part of their discourses, while comparatively lagging behind in our study and research into the latter part.

The steps, methods, avenues and forms Marx and Engels adopted in establishing public ownership of the means of production are very rich in content. Here the "Principles of Communism" and the "Communist Manifesto" are taken as examples. Although these two works are both suggested here as key documents of communism, in terms of their content what they discuss has basically to do with the program of how to establish socialism. They do not have even a single word to say about the question of distribution to each according to his needs. As for how to eliminate private ownership and establish public ownership, as we can see from these books their considerations are very practical and prudent. They also gave serious consideration to the difficulties in realizing this goal and the ways of solving such difficulties. They wrote: "Communist revolution (i.e., socialist revolution--quoter) will not be a revolution limited to one country; it will break out simultaneously in all civilized countries--at least in England, America, France and Germany, that is. How fast this communist revolution is going to develop in each of these countries depends on whether or not that country's industry is more developed, whether or not its accumulated wealth is greater, and whether or not its productive power is higher. Hence, realizing communism in Germany will be slowest and the most difficult to achieve, but the fastest and easiest in England" ("Principles of Communism"). Here, they made a clear division between the two mutually related, yet different, revolutionary tasks: the seizure of political power by the proletariat, and the establishment of the economic aspects of the socialist system thereafter. They held that the latter is a question pertaining to the further "development" of the revolution. After the seizure of political power by the proletariat, the speed by which socialism is built in a country depends on the developmental level of industry and all productive forces at the time. History has repeatedly proved that this concept of Marx and Engels is entirely correct. But during the past, we somehow erroneously held that, although China is economically backward and because it has been subject to less bourgeois influence, it should have a far easier time than countries like England and America in building socialism.

The "Principles of Communism" states: "Can private ownership be repealed at a single stroke? The answer: No, this is impossible, just as it is impossible for us to expand existing productive forces to the extent necessary for the establishment of a public economy. Therefore, the imminent proletarian revolution, whose signs are already conspicuous, can only gradually transform present society and can repeal private ownership only after considerably means of production necessary for such repeal are created." We see here that Marx and Engels were of the opinion that the maturing of conditions for the proletarian revolution is not the same as the proletariat's being able, after its seizure of political power, to repeal private ownership at a single stroke; in order to realize this task, it must also rely on the further development of productive forces. Precisely basing themselves on such an understanding, they proposed in the "Principles of Communism" and the "Communist Manifesto" a series of transitional principles and programs on how to gradually eliminate private ownership and establish public ownership according to the historical and economic situations in the various countries in Western Europe at the time. Viewed today, certain prescriptions among them are less demanding than some of the steps we adopted in the 1950's when we carried out the three great reforms. Relevant examples are the application of progressive taxation to the bourgeoisie, the elimination of the right to inheritance, etc.

Concerning the question of eliminating classes, Engels wrote around 1875 in his "Documents on Wanderers": "Only when social productive forces develop to a certain stage, to a stage even higher than conditions for our modernization, will it be possible for us to improve our productivity to such a level as to turn the elimination of class differences into real progress, to consolidate such elimination and make it permanent, and at the same time not to cause stagnation or even a decline in the mode of production in society." At that time, it has already been nearly 30 years since the publication of the "Principles of Communism" and the "Communist Manifesto," and the productive forces of the countries of Western Europe had already improved considerably compared to 30 years earlier. But Marx and Engels were of the opinion that, on the basis of the level of the productive forces at that time, it was still not sophisticated enough for the elimination of classes. If one wished to eliminate classes, one would have to create productive forces far more sophisticated than the level already reached at the time. Otherwise, if and when efforts were artificially made in a forced manner to "eliminate" classes, not only would these classes have proven insusceptible to elimination, but even stagnation and decline in social production would have resulted. Today, if we review these discourses in conjunction with the impetuosities we have committed in the course of our socialist revolution and construction, it would be said to be very educational.

If the theory of Marx and Engels on public ownership can be said to be based on a high degree of socialization of production or on all the civilization and achievements created during the capitalist period, this would in no way imply the neglect of individual peasants or the neglect of the characteristics brought to the establishment of public ownership by the existence of a large number of individual farming enterprises. The principles broached by Engels in these articles when discussing how German and French peasants had embarked upon the road of public ownership, such as voluntarism, the demonstration of models, and nonexploitation of the peasants, actually also included the idea that the transformation of small-peasant private ownership should not be carried out hastily. In an article written in the 1870's, Marx wrote: "Wherever peasants exist as private landowners in large groups, wherever peasants still more or less occupy most places, like the countries of the West European continent," the proletariat, after seizing political power, should adopt measures to "directly improve the peasants' situation and thereby attract them to the side of the revolution. From the very beginning, these measures should promote the transition of private ownership toward collective ownership and let the peasants realize such transition themselves through the economic path; however, no measures offensive to the peasants should be adopted." This kind of device, put in today's terms, means that "our attitude must be positive, our steps must be steady," we must not be too anxious to see results, and we must not resort to coercion and commandism, and so forth.

From the pertinent discourses of Marx and Engels enumerated above, we can see that their central idea is to emphasize the necessity of establishing public ownership of the means of production gradually, throught the development of productive forces. Unless these productive forces are developed, establishment of public ownership is impossible, and if it is forcibly established, it will not become consolidated very well. The level of our productive forces today has been considerably improved compared to that of the early postliberation period. There are

400,000 industrial and transportation enterprises across the country (of which industrial enterprises number 340,000), and the total value of their fixed assets amounts to 328 billion yuan. Agricultural production has also undergone considerable development. Such a material and technical foundation should be said to be quite presentable. But when averaged out according to our total population, it makes us feel everywhere the limitations of our economic strength. Many things which we wish to and should do simply cannot be done, or done very extensively, for the time being. The level of our existing productive forces, generally speaking, remains very backward. Proceeding precisely from this actual situation, since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our state has formulated and carried out a series of new economic policies in order to rectify our leftist mistakes of the past in blindly pursuing the question of "larger size and higher degree of public ownership" and of resorting to "a uniform way of dealing with everything" and in order to further perfect and develop our socialist production relations at the present stage. This serves to create anew the necessary conditions for the development of productive forces.

9255
CSO: 4005/720

PARTY AND STATE

HARBIN STEPS UP PUBLIC SECURITY WORK TO FIGHT CRIME

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Feb 82 p 1

[Article by Zheng Fawei [6774 3127 0251]: Strive To Bring About a Decisive Improvement in Social Order Within This Year"]

[Text] Recently, Comrade Yang Yichen [2799 2496 6591], first secretary of the provincial committee, and Comrade Zhao Dezun [6392 1795 1415], provincial committee secretary, jointly presided over Harbin Municipality's informal conference on social order. Attending the conference were provincial committee secretaries, Comrade Wang Zhao [3769 6856], second secretary of the Harbin Municipal Committee, leading comrades from a portion of basic-level units of Harbin Municipality, as well as responsible cadres from concerned provincial and municipal departments. The informal conference heard a presentation of the experience of Harbin Municipality's advanced local police stations and subdistrict offices, and reports from the various neighborhoods; analyzed the situation regarding public order in the municipality; and studied measures for bringing about a decisive improvement in social order. Comrades Zhao Dezun and Wang Zhao made statements, and Comrade Yang Yichen gave an important speech.

The conference was of the opinion that Harbin Municipality had done a great deal of work toward rectifying the social order situation, and had accomplished quite a lot, resulting in the appearance of a number of advanced local police stations and subdistrict offices that are doing a good job of their public order work. However, there still has not been any notable improvement in the public order situation; the situation is far worse than it was during the best periods in history; and criminal activities are still quite rampant, seriously affecting the successful carrying out of socialist construction and the safety of people's lives and property. The appearance of these circumstances was brought about by the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the 10 years of internal conflict, and is the result of the corruption of bourgeois thinking. The Party Central Committee requires us to bring about, this year, a decisive improvement in social order, prevailing customs in society, and party practices. The "three decisive improvements" are absolutely indispensable; party practices are their core; prevailing customs in society are their basis; and social order is their point of emphasis. We must make our point of emphasis prominent. The main symbol of our efforts to bring about a decisive improvement in public order is the slogan "Keep crime down, and be firm and steady in our efforts." We are required

to accomplish a considerably reduction in the occurrence of criminal cases, with the emphasis on bringing down the number of cases of robbery, rape, and burglary; in the wake of the improvement in party practices and the general atmosphere of society [which will follow], the absolute number of juvenile offenders will be greatly reduced, the number of criminal cases relating to public order will be much fewer, order in public places will return to normal, the masses will rouse themselves, relations between the police and the populace will improve, bad people will fear good people, and the masses will have a fundamental sense of security.

The conference pointed out that the prospect of bringing about a decisive improvement in public order in our city within this year is very hopeful, and we should be full of confidence. The entire party's setting about taking charge of spiritual civilization, party practices, practices among the people, and taking charge of comprehensive measures for bringing the situation under control, are the guarantees of our accomplishing a decisive improvement in social order. A stable and unified political prospect, and an ever-better economic situation are necessary prerequisites for rectifying the public order situation. A total mobilization on all fronts, of more and more people who are brave in struggling against criminal elements, is the basis for any improvement in social order. Once basic-level construction and foundation work have been stepped up, and a certain amount of experience in bringing the situation under control has been sought and accumulated, these will be important conditions for doing a good job of public security. In Harbin Municipality this January there was a great reduction in the occurrence of criminal cases compared with December of last year, and that is a very good beginning toward achieving a decisive improvement. Practice has proven that the negative attitude of fearing difficulty and not doing anything about problems is incorrect.

The conference felt that the fundamental problem in achieving a decisive improvement in public order lies in having everyone in the party set about the job, and comprehensively implementing a comprehensive policy for bringing the situation under control, persevering in, first, educating; second, punishing; third, prevention; and fourth, reorganizing the agencies responsible for handling these matters.

First educate; this means that we must step up our ideological political work, make our propaganda more far-reaching, and do a great deal of work on influencing public opinion. Within organizations, enterprises, and schools we must launch a universal program of internal education on party discipline, party practices, party spirit, class struggle, our legal system, and safeguarding secrecy; and this must be an important aspect of the lives of party groups and branches, educating party members, Youth Group members, and workers and staff to serve as models in obeying the law and party discipline, and using the resulting good effect on party practices to bring about a secondary good effect on practices among the people, thus promoting an improvement in social order. Among the masses we must get involved in launching programs of education on spiritual civilization and on obeying the laws and party discipline; establish a number of advanced model examples, and engage in a good deal of propaganda in commending them. We must mobilize the forces of the entire party and society to do a good job of the work of educating youth, educating them to love the motherland, the party, and socialism warmly, establish

a correct view of human life, and cultivate a communist moral character. At present, we must place emphasis on doing a good job of educating young people who have committed some wrongdoing, and conscientiously implement the measures called the "four guarantees," in which the workplace is responsible for the behavior of their workers and staff, neighborhoods are responsible for their residents, schools are responsible for their students, and family elders are responsible for their children, setting up a system of responsibility for helping with this instruction; this will be implemented first among party government organizations, and afterward the people themselves will be responsible for implementing it, so that, with so much assistance, the instruction is certain to be effective. The Communist Youth League must take as the focal point of its work the education of young people who have taken a wrong step in life, students who have dropped out of school, and young people who are waiting for a work assignment. Trade unions must place the education of young workers in the forefront of their political work. Women's organizations, in launching the "five things to be done well" programs of family activities, must place emphasis on taking charge of the education of children.

Second, punish; that is, we must resolutely and severely punish active counterrevolutionary activities and serious criminal activities. The focus of the attack is on murderers, thieves, rapists, bombers, arsonists, as well as other active criminal elements seriously harmful to social order, particularly those among them who are chronic offenders, ringleaders, roving bandits, escaped criminals, and serious criminal elements guilty of committing the "two waylayings and one breaking in" [mugging, rape and burglary]. As for criminal elements engaged in the illegal activities of smuggling, trafficking and the giving and taking of bribes, we must attack them resolutely and firmly. We must get a great momentum going, propagandize about our legal system, strike fear into the heart of the enemy, arouse the masses to action, spread out a network covering heaven and earth so that bad people have no place to hide themselves, and repress this swelling arrogance on the part of criminal elements.

Third, prevent; that is, strengthen the system of controls throughout society. Police engaged in public security work must keep up a constantly rotating series of shifts, night and day, and step up patrols in important areas; all workplaces must augment their shift systems, with emphasis on doing a good job of keeping guard over the safety of strategic places and the "three storehouses"; residents' organizations must assign public security personnel to keep watch over entranceways and prevent fire and theft; we must mobilize our forces in each and every area, organize workers into disciplinary patrols, divide up the work and assign a part to each group, persevere in these tasks throughout the year, patrol day and night, and maintain public security and order.

Four, reorganize; that is, reorganize our basic-level organizations and the ranks or our political and legal functionaries. At present, we must educate cadres to correctly understand the effect of the state's political power function; conscientiously step up the work of the subdistrict offices; and universally assign people's government assistants and judiciary assistants. In the city we must organize a number of cadres to form work organizations, to go deeply into the basic levels and truly carry out reorganization and reinforcing of residents'

committees, order and protection committees, and mediation committees, so as to do a good job of basic reorganization within this year. We must recruit old party members, cadres and workers to direct the "three organizations" [residents', security and mediation committees], having it as their sole duty and responsibility to make a new contribution toward the "three decisive improvements." We must carry out a reorganization of the ranks of political and legal personnel ideologically, organizationally, and with respect to practices; reorganize, and increase the staff of all levels of leading bodies; commend excellent police personnel; and conscientiously rectify certain instances of opportunism, perversion of the law, and demanding special privileges, thus greatly improving the relationship between the police and the people. In our reorganization, there is the specific and the general; these should be combined together, and we should proceed by apportioning the work among shifts and groups.

The crux of striving for a decisive improvement in social order is having the party committees concentrate on this work--and concentrating on the party committees. Party committees must become thoroughly and personally involved in the work of public order; secretaries in charge must do everything possible to go to places to take charge; other secretaries and standing committee members must take charge of the front in their areas of responsibility, with systems of responsibility set up at each level. Each and every individual and every front and mass organization must take charge of the work of the "three decisive improvements," put into effect coordination between the central and local authorities, and enable the system of responsibility to be implemented at the lower levels. Organizations directly subordinate to the province or the municipality, enterprises and workplaces, and specialized schools of higher education in the course of reorganizing their social order work must all proceed according to the arrangements of the local party committees' leaders and the public security organizations. The party committees' taking charge of social order work means, primarily, taking charge of the implementation of the appropriate buiding principles and policies; taking charge of a unified deployment and implementation that is comprehensive enough to bring the problems under control; and taking charge of the promulgation of our representative experience. If Harbin Municipality promulgates the experience of Donglai and Liushun local police stations, and Fushun and Dazhai subdistrict offices, in getting a good hold on basic work and instructing young people, then within the year over one-third of the local police stations and subdistrict offices will reach or approach the level of success of Donglai station and the Fushun Street office.

Harbin is the political, economic and cultural center of the entire province, and whether its public order situation is good or bad has a decisive effect on the entire province. The conference requested that Harbin's work of rectifying the city's public order show results within a short period of time, so as to serve as a good example for the entire province.

9634
CSO: 4005/735

PARTY AND STATE

HUNGARY GIVES MORE POWER TO ENTERPRISES

OW161155 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1534 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Bucharest, 14 May (XINHUA)--The Hungarian Council of Ministers adopted on 13 May a series of new regulations to further restrict the functions and powers of higher-level leading organs and custodial organs of enterprises and to grant more decision-making powers to enterprises.

According to previous regulations, any enterprise in Hungary must get the finance minister's approval for the purchase of any privately owned real estate whose price exceeds a certain limit; it was up to the minister concerned to decide the material remuneration to a staff member or worker of an enterprise who goes on a tour at home or abroad on official business; and the time schedules of various enterprises for the period between Christmas and New Year were also decided by higher-level organs. The new regulations provide that from now on the enterprises themselves will have the power to make decisions concerning all these matters. The new regulations also include provisions for cutting down the statistical data and reports an enterprise is required to submit to higher-level organs, simplifying the rules pertaining to labor matters and eliminating the mediation role custodial organs play between an enterprise and its leading organ.

The Hungarian press notes that the purpose of the new regulations is to further expand the independence of enterprises. At the same time, they also enable leading and custodial organs to do away with some unnecessary routine and administrative work and focus efforts on providing essential and principled guidance to the enterprises.

In the past (?2) years the Hungarian Government has been actively studying the question of how to further expand the decision-making powers of enterprises so as to mobilize their initiative. Specially for this purpose, it has set up a "coordination committee for the examination of enterprise organization" headed by the finance minister. In the past 2 years this committee has laid stress on examining the work of the higher-level leading organs and the custodial organs of enterprises and revised a number of relevant regulations in an effort to gradually eliminate the restrictions put on the decision-making powers of enterprises. At present this work is still being continued.

CSO: 4005/914

BRIEFS

JIANGXI WOMAN LEADER DIES--Xu Min, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress, member of the Standing Committee of the Fourth Jiangxi Provincial CPPCC Committee and member of the fourth All-China Women's Federation Executive Committee, died of a heart attack on 9 May 1982 in Tianjin at the age of 65. She was on her way to Beijing for a meeting of the executive committee of the All-China Women's Federation. [Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 May 82 OW]

SHANGHAI MEMORIAL MEETING--Comrade (Yang Tao), former deputy party secretary and deputy director of the Shanghai Municipal Broadcasting Bureau, died of cancer on 10 May 1982, at the age of 65. A memorial meeting was held for him in Shanghai on 18 May. (Wu Jian), deputy director of the propaganda department of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee, officiated at the meeting. (Zhou Huaiyang), director of the Shanghai Municipal Broadcasting Bureau, delivered a eulogy. (He Yixiang), deputy commander of the Nanjing PLA units, and leading comrades of the propaganda department of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee were present at the meeting. Rao Shoukun, commander of the (?North China Sea Fleet); (Zhang Weixiang), deputy political commissar of the PLA navy; Xie Zhenghao, commander of the East China Sea Fleet; (Zhang Chaozhong), commander of the South China Sea Fleet; and the East China Sea Fleet Headquarters sent wreaths. [OW191405 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 18 May 82 OW]

CSO: 4005/913

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES OF CHINESE COLLEGE STUDENTS DISCUSSED

Kunming SIXIANG ZHANXIAN [IDEOLOGICAL FRONT] in Chinese 20 Dec 81 pp 14-19

[Article by Wu Song [0702 2646]: "Tentative Discussion of the Current Psychological Features of the College Students of Our Country"]

[Text] People of different age groups have different psychological features, even though living in the same era, as people of the same age group living in different periods of time have different psychological features. The different psychological features have a direct influence and controlling effect on the ideology, words and deeds of different people. If the ideological political work among the young students is to be rendered more scientific, abundant attention must be paid to the role of their psychological factors, recognizing and gaining a good command of their psychological features. It is for this reason that the present article attempts to give a brief analysis and presents some superficial viewpoints on the current psychological features of the college students of our country (mainly concerning the older students).

The Subjective and Objective Conditions Shaping the Psychological Features of the College Students

Psychological behavior of man is conditioned by a variety of factors. As Engels expressed it: "Everything that activates man has of necessity to pass through his brain, but what form this 'everything' assumes in the brain of man is determined to a very large extent by a variety of circumstances."[1] According to scientific psychology, the mind reflects subjectively the objective world; it is the result of the subjective and objective in mutual interaction. Generally speaking, the shape and development of things in man's mind is therefore determined by both subjective and objective conditions. The subjective conditions are the changes and developments in man's body and mind; the objective conditions are the changes and variations in his social surroundings and their effect on man. Because "in actual fact, each mental image of the world system is always limited, in objective respects, by the historical situation and, in subjective respects, by the physical and mental condition of the man receiving the mental image,"[2] in order to analyze the current psychological features of the college students it is therefore necessary for us to clarify the subjective and objective conditions that have shaped their psychological features.

Youth is man's golden age of flourishing vitality delimited by certain years of his life. Every man who develops into this youthful period attains the physiological maturity in the development of his organs, the basic perfection of the structure and functions of his brain, the fastest increase in brain cell activity, a great increase in the regulatory effect of the second signal system on the higher nervous activity, a rapid increase in the capacity of the central nervous system, an increasingly robust skeleton and a high developed intensity of energy. Connected with these developments is his gradual breaking away from the guardianship of his parents and other adults and a tendency toward taking the initiative and toward independence. His way of thinking, memory, ideals, beliefs, values, will, interests, temperament, etc., are in the process of being rapidly developed and shaped, and especially his elevated capacity for thinking can already use abstract logical structures and carry on his own cognitive activities. In gaining understanding of things, the youth will therefore not limit himself to the perception of his five senses, nor to a mere understanding of the outer phenomena directly perceived, but will have a strong thirst for knowledge and eagerness to arm his own mind with the fruits of all the accumulated knowledge of mankind. He will furthermore strive to penetrate consciously into the inner aspects of things to learn the nature and characteristic features of things and expose the essential distinctions and inner links between things. His inner sentimental experiences will be sustained, manifesting a state of mind and also a certain self-control. This is a developmental stage of college students that is the same for youths in general, but different from the psychological development of young people at an earlier age.

However, there are certain differences if we compare college students with youths of a relatively low educational level of the same time. College students have comparatively ample knowledge of science and general subjects. Due to their study and mastering of various aspects of general knowledge, the level to which their capability of thinking has developed is, comparatively speaking, somewhat higher. They also think faster and the ability for theoretical thinking has obviously been fostered and trained in an excellent study environment. The natural gift of abstract logical thinking has already become a real activity practiced by college students who, as a result, are of a conspicuously more independent spirit when compared with youths in general. Lenin once said: "College students are a group of highly susceptive intellectuals, and the reason that intellectuals are called intellectuals is that they have the highest degree of awareness and most thoroughly and most correctly reflect and manifest the development of class interest of the entire society and the development of political factions."[3] It is for these reasons that the spiritual development of college students differs from that of youths in general.

This "bodily condition and spiritual condition" of the college students is the subjective condition for their distinctive psychological life process, from which possibly their distinctive way of thinking and their awareness is derived.

"However, if you take it a step further and ask: What, after all, are thought and consciousness, and where do they come from, then you will discover that both are products of man's brain, and furthermore, that people themselves are a product of nature, and develop not only within their environment, but also along with it."[4]

The psychology of the college students is also developed in the environment of their lives and in close company with their environment, and is controlled by the social history in which they grew up.

Our present college students entered college after the system of entrance examinations for admission to colleges and universities had been reinstituted. The party and the government are today providing them with excellent study and living environments, but their past was lived in the turbulent 10 years. Among them are some who had been Red Guards, fully of fiery excitement, had left the classrooms, moved into society, established contacts with other groups, taken part in this or that movement, and, imperceptibly influenced by what they have been constantly seeing and hearing, have engaged in the so-called rebelling and seizure of power and in exposure, criticism and struggle. Some of them had been mobilized to go up to the mountains and down to the countryside, moving into the border areas and villages of our fatherland and experiencing being tempered by great hardship and exacting trials. Still others have participated in the famous 5 April movement. Ten years of turmoil have robbed them of valuable time when they were in their formative years. The changes in society have given them personal experiences, some favorable, some adverse, some ruinous, some viable. All this has left a deep imprint in their hearts. While they are now thirsting for book knowledge, they are also very sensitive to the various problems of society. They fervently support the great strategic decision of shifting the focus of the party's work, and are extremely concerned about the prospects of our fatherland and the fate of mankind. They are extremely troubled by the fact that certain cadres still to this day harbor unhealthy tendencies and that various bad customes manifest themselves in society. Another thing is that due to the opening of our country to foreign relations, their field of vision has been broadened. The speedy economic, scientific and technological progress in many foreign countries is being acclaimed by them as the acme of perfection, and as a consequence they are burning with impatience to effect a change in the backward condition of our country.

"Man creates the environment, but, similarly, the environment creates man."[5] If we compare the present college students with those of the fifties, there is a striking difference in their environment. The college students of the fifties were deeply aware of the suffering and misery of the old society. The present college students were born in the new society and grew up in times of upheaval and transformation. Comparatively speaking, they have had fairly broad experiences and their ability for independent thinking is very high. Marx and Engels once pointed out: "Man's ideas, standpoints and concepts, in one work, man's consciousness changes following the changes in man's living conditions, man's living conditions, man's social relations and his social existence,"[6] "and man's existence in fact is his actual life process."[7] The life process of the present college students constitutes the objective condition of their psychological life.

The Psychological Peculiarity of College Students

The above-stated objective and subjective sides of the conditions determine the psychological life of the present college students, and it is furthermore a fact that the psychological peculiarities, such as cognition, ideals, sentiments, will, have been shaped by these conditions.

Regarding cognition, the independent nature of thought and its creativity is especially obvious. In youth, the development of their own individual selves compels youths to turn their eyes to themselves, to look back on themselves, to get to know themselves, explore their own inner world, but at the same time they direct their eyes toward society, observe society, get to know society and reflect on social questions. This is a new reorientation of the self-consciousness of youths. In the course of the reorientation, the effect of the subjective and objective conditions will not let their self-consciousness remain satisfied with the directions of their heads of family or the knowledge imparted by their teachers, will not be satisfied with the views propagated in the press and in books, they will not merely echo the views of others and not easily believe things not tried out in their own practical experiences. They will always approach human life and social questions with reflections based on the knowledge and experience that they themselves have acquired, thus manifesting their outstanding peculiarity of independence and creativity.

As they look back on their own selves, they discover that they squandered their time during the 10 years of turmoil and are deeply conscious of their lack of knowledge in so many respects. Then again, beholding the present with the excellent study conditions that they have gained, they feel fortunate and well pleased. They are therefore making their entrance into the university a new starting point in their lives, striving to cast off the selves of the past, gain independence from the past state of benighted ignorance and naive devotions that had them fall victim to deceit and become duped, now to come out into a state of independence and ability to build up new selves. Hence they take Yu Luoke [6657 5012 0344] and Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450] as their models, with courage to reflect, ardently exploring and upholding the truth. They yearn for science and democracy and thirst for the freedom to roam a world of socialist democracy.

With regard to society, they eagerly reflect on the structure of society and its essential character from the overall view of all its political, economic, educational and other aspects, and explore the country's prospects and the future of society. They bitterly hate the extreme leftist line which had plunged our society into a great calamity and urgently demand reform of the malpractices of our time, linking the prospects of our fatherland and the fate of every individual to the success of these reforms. They want to promote and raise China; it is their aspiration to make China into a prosperous land and a strong nation. The college students therefore generally support the line, principles and policies of the party since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. From the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," passed at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, they furthermore gain the knowledge that the party's excellent traditions and workstyle of seeking truth from facts and being brave in criticism and self-criticism is now being promoted and developed to a higher stage.

In the course of gaining a better understanding of their selves and of society, the college students display the special feature of independence of thought and also manifest the creativity of thought. The creativity of thought is becoming particularly evident in the study activities of the present college students. In general, students at the college stage, due to the specialization of study, will

have their thoughts limited to the area within the discipline they are studying, leading to a decrease of thinking in broad terms and a greater concentration of thought; however, in the case of the present college students, due to the effect of the course their actual lives have taken--this is an objective condition--they will still be affected by a tendency of an expansive way of thinking after they enter the university, even though it may decrease to some extent. Due to this expansive way of thinking and the development of their imagination, also their greater capacity for concentrated thinking, the present college students are capable of displaying the special feature of creativity in certain questions. It is only that the range of knowledge of the present college students is rather narrow, their understanding of Chinese history, of the world situation and of the basic theories of Marxism is very limited, and it is therefore unavoidable that certain confusion may arise at times in their independent reflections.

In their ideals (a special form of imagination) they pay attention to the present, but also take a broad view of the future. The present college students of our country, as youths in general, may pay much attention to material benefits. They detest the politics of empty promises and the ascetism preached by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They have their physiological needs, hope to improve their living conditions and live more comfortably, and at the same time also have their psychological needs, such as satisfying their self-esteem, gain recognition, happiness, etc. Most of them hope to do well in their studies and achieve excellent results. Some hope to be able to achieve a breakthrough in the specialty they are studying or in the special line they are fond of, gaining a certain achievement in certain problems. Some also have the ambition to pass the examination for research fellowships and seek to be permitted to pursue advanced studies after graduation. They perceive themselves as the future theoreticians, literary personalities, scientists and men of action. This shows that the college students have much of their minds on the material benefits, however, though most of them pay attention to material benefits, they also lay plans for the future. They pursue realistic benefits, but also pursue achievements in enterprises.

In actual life the college students often experience a conflict between the demand for material benefits and the possibility of realizing them. During such times when they cannot yet, for the time being, fully satisfy their needs for material benefits, their social understanding will continuously deepen and the patriotism, generally common among college students, together with self-respect and self-confidence will grow stronger, so that most of them will be able to sublimate these needs in the intense study and living environment of the university as psychological needs and pursuits of their undertakings, and thus will gain psychological and spiritual satisfaction. They will therefore devote themselves wholeheartedly to their particular specialized studies; they will be brimming with fervor for future achievements, and the pursuit of their psychological needs will by far surpass the pursuit of physiological needs. Their deep innermost feelings, the discovery of their own vitality and the successes in their undertakings will bring them pleasures much more lasting and of a much more abundant significance than the temporary satisfaction of the senses. This is linked with their reflections on society, the state and human life, and is also closely linked with their

special psychological features in the field of cognition, precisely as Engels pointed out: "The influence of the outside world shows in man's mind, is reflected in man's mind, is turned into feelings, thoughts, motives of action and will, and, in short, is turned into 'ideal intentions,' and furthermore, through these formations, is transformed into 'ideal force'."[8]

As to their feelings, their abundant emotions gradually turn into noble sentiments. Due to the continuous accumulation of knowledge and its mastery, and their alert and nimble thinking process, the stimulations and depressions in their central nervous system further intensify and tend to arrive at an equilibrium, which is also due to their life experiences and the emotional wealth of the present university life. The innermost personal experiences of most of them have stabilized somewhat, as has their ability to maintain a clear-headed and calm attitude in the face of external irritations, even the capacity to control fairly strong irritations. The majority of the students show ease of mind, breadth of mind, an exhilarating straightforwardness, vigor and vitality and strength, and yet also a certain moderation in their actions. All these characteristics then gradually shape their intellectual, moral and esthetic mood.

Mood is composed of high-grade emotions of complexity and continuity and also of intellectual character. The mood of our country's present college students is now in the process of a conscious and unconscious formation and development. The formation and development of their mood does not only depend on the quantity of their knowledge, but is also related to the moral, esthetic and psychological education given them in their homes, schools and by society, as it is also related to individual self-cultivation and life experiences. This is so because "every change in a person's life teaches him many things, makes him experience and feel many things."[9] Therefore, the majority of college students who have grown up in socialist China already has an initial intellectual, moral and esthetic mood.

Generally speaking, in real life, the present college students are already capable of using their intelligence to adjust their own emotions. In contact with whomever and whatever, most of them are capable of using practical experiences as criteria to effect intelligent assessments and adduce logical proof, capable of distinguishing truth from falsehood and take on themselves the responsibility to explore the truth, discover the truth and uphold the truth. This is the mood of reason. It gradually deepens in the student's process of acquiring knowledge and is nurtured and shaped in the course of the continuous accumulation and growth of knowledge. As for the socialist moral norms and standards for action, the college student will be in the initial stage of continuously internalizing them as his own psychological demands, and as the next step will have his own actions conform to these psychological demands which he has internalized (and will not be merely responding to the pressure of external public opnions). By applying the said standards he will evaluate his own actions and the actions of others, will initially build up a certain moral character and will be able to observe whether such actions will be a comfort and joy to his conscience or reason for censure and shame; the former is good and the latter bad. This kind of examination in one's heart during the evaluation of actions and their morality is the moral mood which they are forming and developing. As for the esthetic appreciation, with college students this gradually deepens in content and its range also gradually broadens. The majority

of them already begin to show an ability to integrate outer and inner beauty. They gradually strive for a harmonious unity of external beauty and spiritual beauty and strive for unity of form, ideological content and social content. They will experience pleasure at beauty and dislike the ugly. This kind of exquisite and noble sentiment, which is born in the active appreciation of beauty, is the esthetic mood which they are now in the process of forming.

With regard to their will, they have made striking progress in self-control, aim-consciousness and determination, but stability is not perfect. Will is man's psychological process of consciously establishing an objective and directing his actions toward the realization of the set objective. College students are just in the formative years of their will; compared with middle school and elementary school students, their inner self-control has obviously grown stronger. In their studies they are capable of consciously directing their own activities; they have a certain willpower, they have determination and perseverance in attaining the objective they have set for themselves. However, due to the wide-ranging interests college students in general have, their many hobbies and also due to social reasons, the objectives of some frequently change, and some are even not clear about their objectives. Wide-ranging interests and specialized interests are hard to combine. Some change their minds as soon as they see something new; at one time they want to do this and at another time they want to do that. In certain fields of science, some encounter difficulties in their studies and lose confidence; some do not want to continue to exert efforts, or even drop out half way. Some are not feeling at ease with their specialization from beginning to end and lack willpower and enthusiasm. Engels pointed out: "Men create their own history by each individual pursuing his own consciously hoped-for aim, but regardless of what the final outcome of this kind of history might be, still the many aspirations acting in different directions and the effect resulting from these various kinds of influences on the outer world, that is history. The question therefore is what the aspirations of these different people are. Aspirations are determined by intense emotions or deliberations and the levers that directly control the emotions and deliberations are of all kinds and forms. Some are possibly things of the external world, some are possibly spiritual motives, such as ideas of honor and rank, 'zeal for truth and righteousness,' personal dislike, or even purely individual eccentricity."[10] Due to this great variety of reasons, the college students may be rapidly developing the various facets of their volition in their formative years, but will not yet have reached the final and ultimate setting, still maintaining a certain moldability.

In the above we have described such aspects as cognition, ideals, emotions and will that, in general, make up the special psychological features of our present college students.

The Psychological Development of College Students

As our present college students undergo the formation of the above-stated special psychological features, the main trend and essential character of the process is good, but they also display a great variety of tendencies which we must take note of and on which we must get a good hold.

The mental initiative and independence of thinking in their thoughtful examination of society and human life is a positive attitude. If they form their own independent opinions in all questions, we must admit, this is a good thing. It is the independent thinking which is precisely the precondition and basis for the creativity of thinking. In this respect Lenin once pointed out: "If our young people do not show an abundant independent character, they will not be able to temper themselves to become outstanding socialists, nor will they be able to lead the advance of socialism."[11] However, in the process of their independent development, it is possible that the college students take an incorrent direction in their development. On the one hand, "because the college students are a group of highly susceptible intellectuals," whatever current of thought or factions there might be in society, the same currents of thought and factions may emerge among the college students. In their process of gaining an understanding, the bourgeois ideas of liberalization and anarchism may find a certain response among particular college students. In their call for "democracy" and "freedom," they confuse at times democracy and freedom with anarchism and liberalism, and as a consequence some take a course that leads them from psychological freedom to a denial of the four basic principles; they are full of grievances reasoned only on the basis of their own consciousness and their own circumstances, and an extremely small minority go even so far as to regard the past mistakes of the party and the dark sides of society as sufficient reason to attempt to cripple the leadership of the party or break away from it altogether. On the other hand there are also some who are deluded by the lifestyle of the Western bourgeoisie into a blind idolization of foreign countries, and, one step further, into a denial of the superiority of the socialist system. A fairly large number of people do not understand the dialectic relationship between reform and readjustment and overlook the fact that reform must be carried out on the basis of a period of recuperation and on stability and unity; they will therefore easily develop an extremist disposition and lack prudent attitudes toward men and affairs. This explains that in the case of the independent nature of development to be enjoyed by our young students, we must respect their independence and self-esteem, "but we must also stand for our full freedom to express our comradely criticism of their mistakes! We must not try to ingratiate ourselves with our youths."[12] We must guide their independence to developing in the right direction, and have them build up a firm confidence in the four basic principles.

In their approach to the question of material benefits and ideals, some students have possibly completely fallen for the material benefits and attach importance only to their personal benefits of the moment, or even end up as proponents of individualism. These men do not understand that there is a unity between these three, the individual interests, the interests of the collective and the interests of the state, and also do not understand that individualism and collectivism stand in opposition to each other. As a consequence they believe that the state and the people owe them much and they do not realize the responsibility that they themselves must bear toward the state and the people. Some people may also pay attention only to ideals. Immersed in petty bourgeois fantasies, they will not revise their plans according to actual conditions and their own conditions, all the time allowing their fancy to run wild, without serious consideration for the study of basic knowledge and the training in basic skills, setting their target too high, but achieving little, for a lack of real content and a viable foundation.

This explains that in dealing with the question of the relationship between material benefits and ideals, we must provide guidance and help, have them integrate ideals with realities, establishing a unity of the individual interests with the interests of the collective and the state so that the individual must submit to the needs of the state and of society.

In the formation and development of their emotions, the college students possess an initial measure of intelligence, morality and esthetic values, but they still need further development and consolidation, and furthermore not all college students are thus endowed. Some lack intelligence and always take "self" as a standard in their entire outlook. They cannot engage in an intelligent deliberation, their intelligence cannot control their emotions, the polarized nature of their feelings and their impulsiveness are very obvious and on meeting by chance some improper or somewhat forceful irritation, their inner elation and restraints get out of balance, violent feelings or impetuous manners erupt and may even end in action that violates the social morality. This is what is lack of intelligence. There are also some who lack moral values; they cannot distinguish between good and bad, and even if they obey the moral norms and standards of behavior of society, it is also only temporary and completely due to the pressure of public opinion, and not that they have formed a firm moral character. In the area of esthetics, there is also a minority of people who have not formed their esthetic values; they are only pursuing external beauty, do not seek spiritual beauty and blindly pursue the Western lifestyle. It is true, each person may make his own selections in dress, etc., according to his own interests, likes and economic conditions, but some people turn to whatever is "fashionable," dress as they see others dress up, little realizing that people are different and ending up in blind imitation with ludicrous effects, certainly the opposite of beautiful. At the developmental stage of their emotions, the young students must therefore be given an education in ethical principles and esthetics as well as a psychological education, which will nurture in them a healthy mentality so that they will consciously pay attention to their mental health and acquire a diversity of lofty values.

At the formative stage of their volition some students show a shilly-shally state of mind; they are irresolute, not at ease with their specialization; they have the mentality of having "entered the right door, but gone the wrong road." They have the most ambitious ideals, but fail to make a tenacious effort; they have skyhigh intentions, but lack the spirit for solid work, etc. These cases require patient and meticulous education of a scientific nature to awaken their interest, starting out from the purpose of studies and the needs of society, thus arousing their inner motivation and strengthening it continuously, guiding them to a perfect integration of their broad interests with the determination to specialize in a certain field, establishing an organic unity of the broad and the special, so that the task will be accomplished to full satisfaction.

On the question of their assignment after graduation, some students are headstrong, possibly because of the inflexibility of their ambitions. Some students only take their own self as the point of departure and do not take the needs of the state and the expectations of the people into account. They will want to obey only such work assignments that suit their own wishes, and will not obey what goes against their wishes. They will remain self-opinionated and go only the one way they had in mind. It is therefore still necessary in the matter of assignments after

graduation to carry out education in the nurturing of determination. As far as possible consideration should be given to the actual conditions of the graduate and his special qualifications, but at the same time he should be assisted in making his request in accordance with the needs of the party and the state, in resolutely revising his own objectives according to the objective situation and in turning the demands of the party and the state into the subjective needs of the individual. He must be made to attach importance to the overall situation, since ambitions can be fulfilled everywhere. He must be made to overcome and prevent stubbornness and to firmly and resolutely obey the state's assignment.

The famous Soviet educator A.S. Makarenko once said: "No matter how perfect man may appear in a most abstract concept of our mind, as a target of education man actually is material of an extraordinarily great variety of types and kinds, and the 'product' created by us will also be very diverse. The general character and the individual character can, in our planning, be formed into intricate and complex patterns." He goes on to say: "The greatest danger is to dread this complexity and diversity. A fear of this kind may manifest itself in two forms: one form is to strive to treat all men equally without discrimination, to force all men into one standard mold of uniform type. The other form of this fear is to passively follow every single individual and hopelessly attempt to deal with the mass of millions of students with methods solely fit to treat single individuals piecemeal."[13] In carrying out ideological political education among our college students, we must also not fear the complexity and diversity of their psychological state. We must not rely on some abstract preachings and devise only one single work method, but rather recognize and grasp their special psychological features and developmental direction, adopt a variety of methods and under the premise of making clear that an enlightened and correct socialist educational policy is to firmly strengthen the correct political direction, and under the further premise of persisting in integrating education with the social realities, and finally under the premise of nurturing workers who are well-developed in all aspects--morally, intellectually, physically and esthetically--and who possess socialist consciousness and culture, we must recognize and encourage our young students in self-cultivation and development of their vigorous individuality. There is a unity of individuality and the socialist nature; individuality formed under the conditions of socialism is a particular manifestation of the socialist nature and constitutes the diversity of socialism. In order to protect the common interests, society must have a uniform law, uniform ethics and a uniform education as norms for individual action, but the development of society also requires men of a great variety of skills to serve society. To achieve social prosperity, society must therefore encourage individual men to develop their own healthy individuality. It is the responsibility of society to create ever more conditions and to provide ever more alternatives to choose from for individuals to develop their individualities. It is the responsibility of the individual to develop his individuality for service to society under the premise of obeying the norms of society. In order to develop the positive individuality of our students so that they may better serve society, we must integrate teaching and learning and carry out ideological political education of different forms and of different content so as to nurture a large number of talents who will be pillars of the state in the building of our four modernizations.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 245.
2. Ibid., Vol 3, p 76.
3. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 7, p 30.
4. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 74.
5. Ibid., Vol 1, p 43.
6. Ibid., Vol 1, p 270.
7. Ibid., Vol 1, p 30.
8. Ibid., Vol 4, p 228.
9. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 115.
10. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, pp 243-244.
11. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 23, p 164.
12. Ibid., Vol 23, p 164.
13. A. S. Makarenko, "On Communist Education," People's Educational Publishing Company, 1962, p 40.

9808
CSO: 4005/727

CHALLENGE TO WORSHIP OF WAR DISCUSSED; MAO VILIFIED

Hong Kong CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 3, Mar 82 pp 87-91

[Article by I Kuo [2496 6665]: "The Daring Challenge Against War Worship--A Discussion Starting with the Criticism of the Poem 'The General and the Soldier'"]

[Text] "The General and the Soldier," by Li Jianzhao [2621 7003 6856]:

A magnificent
Medal
Decorated with designs,

They
Are the bloodstains
On the soldier's body;

A towering
Honorific monument
Inscribed with words of praise,

They
Were written by the bones
Of the brave soldier;

The medal
Worn
On the general's chest,

The honorific monument
Stands erect
Beside the general's grave;

The blood and bones of the soldier
Decaying in the mud
Have long been forgotten....

The beautiful "spring city" of Qunming has recently been caught by the tide of criticism of liberalization. This provincial capital, which had fostered a group of scholars in the 1940's, including Yang Zhenning [2799 2182 1380] and Li Zhengdao [2621 2398 6670], and had produced a number of "rightists" in the 1950's, including Bai Hua [4101 2901] and Gong Liu [0361 0491], published a poem entitled "The General and the Soldier" in BIANJIANG WENYI in December 1980. Unexpectedly, this short, unastonishing poem caused a great stir, creating "strong disgust throughout the country, and particularly in the army." After its key points were criticized within the province and the army, and after criticism was made by name throughout the country, it was "destroyed by one stroke of the stick"--unlike questionable works such as "Unrequited Love," which took several twists and turns and underwent discussions. Not only did the author have no opportunity to strike back; no one spoke out for him against injustice. If we regard the Bai Hua incident as somewhat comical, the fate of this poem would be almost like the "Essay on Grass and Trees" of a quicksand river, which was purely a tragedy.

Such experience is seldom seen in the literary and art criticism movement of China in 1981. After reading this poem we will be able to see that:

This is an antiwar poem that reveals the inhuman nature of war.

A Seldom-seen Criticism

Less than a month after the poem was published, YUNNAN RIBAO carried Su Ce's [5685 4595] critical essay "A Critique of 'The General and the Soldier'," which was shortly republished in the Beijing WENYI BAO.

The weight of Su Ce's essay is serious; its tone is likened to that of a verdict which allows no contest. He asserts that the author of the poem "cursed and distorted the relationship between officers and men in our army." He also questions the author: "Why does the author depict the close relationship between officers and men in our army as so horrifying, antagonistic and unconciliatory?" He says: "This poem has a total of 21 lines. Its artistic standard is beyond question, but its ideology is so simplistic and blatant. I really do not believe there is anyone who does not clearly see what its language, implication and spearhead are pointing at."

In this way, Su Ce limits what the author refers to as the relationship between officers and men in general to a definite scope, namely the scope of the PLA, and orders the author to explain the motive for his writing. This form of criticism, which restricts someone's activities to a designated area and gains the initiative by striking first, was a common occurrence in past movements and has the effect of allowing the opponent no chance for defense. Particularly when accusing literary form which is relatively implicit, it can be wantonly raised to the higher plane of principle and two-line struggle.

The crudeness of Su Ce's criticism of this poem is not only revealed in his utter lack of discussion. His complete denial of what the poem says is a priori; it is not the result but the prerequisite of analysis (except that he did not dare to be as overbearing as was common in the past). Moreover, nowhere in his entire

essay did he mention the author's name. Not that he had the magnanimity of "concerning oneself with facts and not with individuals," but [his attitude] is derived entirely from his contempt of the author, fully showing that he did not treat the author as "a comrade who has made a mistake." His innermost mind had already decided to criticize this poem for its nature of "contradiction between ourselves and the enemy." The "ill omen" revealed by his words was not present in the criticism of any other writers, including Bai Hua, Sun Jingxuan [1327 7234 6513] and Wang Ruowang [3769 5387 2598]. (The only thing that can compare to is probably is Huang Gang's [7806 6921] major critique of "Unrequited Love.")

Another difference is that Su Ce uses his own name in his essay, but in style he assumes the air of a military leader and speaks like a "general." It is somewhat overbearing, which Liu Baiyu [0491 4101 5038] did not dare to do when he criticized Bai Hua.

The First Antiwar Literary Work in Communist China

Why did such a seldom seen, overbearing manner appear in the criticism of this poem?

Clearly, it is because the author has touched on what has so far been a sacred, inviolable and forbidden zone. The "sun" god had to be shaken because he left many poor marks, and public resentment had been enormous, but as for the red god of war--recognized as the fountain of all well-being that brought revival and liberation to the Chinese people--no one has thought of disturbing it; at least we have not seen anyone doing it so far.

If Mao Zedong had not negated and wiped out everything, and if there had been anything left for him to worship, it would be the worship of war--of force. He decleared over 40 years ago: "Someone laughed at us that ours is the 'theory of the omnipotence of war.' True, we are believers in the omnipotence of revolutionary wars. This is not bad; it is good, and is from Marxism." On this point Mao's deeds were as good as his words. The highest possible praise for revolutionary wars, the special emphasis on the military function of machines in the state, and the absurd experiments with using the methods of war to solve the problems of economic construction can all be proven by countless facts during the past 20 years in Communist China.

The specific rationality and necessity of a just, revolutionary war of force will not be denied by materialists. Sometimes they even have the role of compelling the advance of history. However, do they have a dual character? Are they all-powerful and do they deserve to be praised to the heart's content without reservation? Do pacifism and antiwar ideology have positive significance? Are Mao Zedong's views on war the "absolute" truth of the Chinese revolution? In commenting on socialist antiwar literature, it is impossible not to touch on these questions, which strongly relate to the destiny of mankind. We can first look at the conditions in the Soviet Union.

Having undergone fascist invasion, and after the great war of national defense, the people of the Soviet Union--a developing socialist society--realized what a heavy price they had paid for this just and holy war. Because of the high number of

deaths, the male-to-female ratio in postwar Moscow and Leningrad was 1 to 7 and 1 to 11, respectively. After several years of revival and the rebuilding of their homes, painful memories forced their way into the Soviet literary realm following the death of Stalin. From the 1950's to the 1970's, works using the war of national defense as their subject matter depicted the heroic spirit and extensively depicted the cruelty and barbarism as well as the inhumanity of war. Soviet writers, including the internationally known Sholokhov and Simonov, told people: Although a brilliant victory had been achieved over the Nazis in the war, the love, dreams and everything beautiful of millions upon millions of people have been sacrificed; the spring wind from year to year cannot dry the tears of orphans and widows. A number of famous works were introduced in China, such as "The Experience of a Person," "The Living and the Dead," "The Geese Fly South," and "The Song of Soldiers." Later they were labeled and criticized by Communist China for having "vilified the great war of national defense and exaggerated the horrors of war."

On the other hand, under the cultural tyranny of Kang Sheng and Jiang Qing, works depicting wars in China, even things which were merely true sketches of minor matters, were always taken to task, and there was always the worry of distorting revolutionary war. Therefore, China's literary works on war are almost all the same: the commanders can predict the enemies' [moves] in superior ways; the fighters are vigorous and energetic, while the enemy is ruthless and stupid; naturally, in the conclusion the heroes rejoice in victory and the enemies are defeated. The true picture of various complexities and details of war are all covered up. It is said that only in this way can "patriotic spirit" and "revolutionary heroism" be expressed. Not long ago, the debate on the movie "The Stars Tonight Are Shining Bright," in which Bai Hua depicts the battle of Huai Hai, still reflected this kind of restraint on the subject of war. In the movie, certain scenes depicting sacrifices were censored and deleted. Otherwise it would be implicated for being "antiwar."

Even at the height of "liberalization" we do not see a Chinese literary work that reaches even Soviet antiwar literary and art standards. This is the result of Mao Zedong's long worship and exaltation of "revolutionary wars" as an all-powerful recipe to resolve China's problems and his refusal to tolerate the slightest dissent.

Precisely because of this, Li Jianzhao's short poem and the criticism of it deserve our attention. This poem is realistic and daring. The relationship between officers and men which he depicts should of course be taken to include justice and revolutionary war. Yet he tells an ordinary but painful truth: the general's honors and the soldier's misfortune. The value of this poem is that, through this truth, it explicitly and sharply reveals and denounces the cruelty of war, thereby breaking the long-term confinement that Mao Zedong and his followers have had on the question of war and peace, and boldly challenging the unquestionable worship of war. This is unprecedented in Chinese Communist literary circles.

"A General's Merit, Ten Thousand Bones Wither"

Su Ce criticizes "The General and the Soldier" for being "a refurbished version of the line 'A general's merit, ten thousand bones wither,' from Tang Dynasty poems," and for being "old stuff which plagiarizes the work of feudal society and whose appearance had been changed." "A general's merit, ten thousand bones wither" is nothing but "obsolete thinking."

The artistic conceptions of "The General and the Soldier" and "A general's merit, ten thousand bones wither" are indeed traceable to the same origin, but to call it "plagiarism" is totally ignorant and arbitrary about literary and art creation and deserves no debate.

The line "A general's merit, ten thousand bones wither" can be found in the "Complete Poems of the Tang." The author was Cao Song [2580 2646], a late Tang poet from Shuzhou in Anhui. The original poem is as follows:

The Year 879
The realm of the watery land has come under war,
The people with no means of livelihood would be happy to gather sticks and grass for fuel;
Even if you do not talk about the reward of creating a feudal prince,
A general's merit, ten thousand bones wither.

Because of the brilliance of the last line of this poem, the original meaning has been forgotten by posterity. In the year 879, the 6th year of the reign of Qianfu of the Tang Emperor Xizong, Gao Pian, the revenue commissioner of Zhenhai, sent his troops to halt and attack the peasant rebel forces of Huang Chao. They killed at will, and the dead covered the open country. Cao Song's poem was about this incident. The "general" actually referred to was Gao Pian, whose merit made him a feudal prince. It is clear that the author's antiwar sentiment was against the unjust war of suppression of a peasant rebellion and was intended to ridicule and condemn the feudal prince Gao Pian. Therefore, this poem undoubtedly is populist. Where, then, does "obsolete thinking" come from?

Chinese history is filled with the sufferings of war--the continuous burning of beacon fires; the scenes of utter desolation; the serious damage to productive forces; the dislocation, homelessness and death of large numbers of people; and even numerous cases of tragic cannibalism. Poets and scholars with a good heart all felt a deep sense of sorrow and expressed their grief and indignation with their pens, writing antiwar works one after another. Read the "Eulogy of the Ancient Battlefield," and with the scene of "The dead fill the shore of the great harbor, blood fills the holes of the Great Wall," who would be in the mood to praise the military merits of defeating the Xiongnu? Many widely read poems denounce the cruelty and crimes of war. "The Journey to Longxi" by Chen Tao [7115 7118] has always been recognized as "even more bitter than the line, A general's merit, ten thousand bones wither":

Sworn to wipe out the Xiongnu without regard for themselves,
Five thousand men in sable uniforms perished in the barbarian dust.
Pity those uncertain bones on the riberbanks,
They were like dreamers in their spring quarters.

The great poet Du Fu [2629 3940] even used his frequently quoted, widely loved and brilliant poems, including "The Three Officials," "The Three Farewells," "Former Journey to the Frontier" and "Later Journey to the Frontier," to express his incomparable grief over the people's suffering under military conscription and over deaths in war and turmoil. Antiwar thinking became a major characteristic of Du Fu's poetry.

War as depicted by the ancient poets encompassed the character of internal strife within the ruling class and aggression outside it, as well as the character of resistance to invasion by foreign nationalities, pacification of the frontier, and the quelling of internal turmoil. However, never has anyone criticized them for exaggerating the sufferings of war" and "creating the horrors of war." On the contrary, people have always been moved by these excellent poems generation after generation, praising their unusual artistic conception and vivid depiction. Precisely because these antiwar writings express the best of intentions of the people, they have become a part of China's cultural heritage with the greatest brilliance of populism and humanitarianism. Without these works, how can we prove that the Chinese nation is a peace-loving nation?

Lenin Also Denounced War

How does Marxism treat war? Everyone knows that Lenin was an ardent advocate of revolutionary war. During the First World War, he vigorously advocated turning the imperialist war into a civil war and conducted an intense debate over this with pacifists of the Second International and Socialist Party members. But Lenin was not a believer in the theory of the omnipotence of war; he never said that force and war could resolve all problems, but maintained a sober analysis of war. More than once he pointed out that a progressive war, "like all wars, cannot avoid bringing all kinds of horrible disasters, atrocities, catastrophes and sufferings," and that modern wars "put the whole of mankind close to an abyss, the whole culture to the brink of destruction and millions upon millions of people to vulgarity and death." Many communists who study the problems of war believe that every war is a misfortune to the proletariat.

Even a personality like Stalin did not totally lose his senses with regard to war. It was precisely because he wanted to avoid the catastrophe of war that he was lax in his preparations for war and was fooled by Hitler's false appearance. After the war he also raised the banner of peace.

In view of the painful lessons of the two world wars, the congress of communist parties of different countries adopted the "Declaration on Peace," which solemnly pointed out that if war broke out next time it would create suffering surpassing all the catastrophes that mankind had thus far experienced. It also stressed that

"war can be prevented" and appealed to "give the world peace!" We have no reason to deny the principles and standpoint of the contemporary international communist movement on war and peace.

Men Are Not Equal

Many Western thinkers have correctly pointed out that war is an ugly side of human reason, and is a reflection of man's "original sin" or his inability to shake off his animal nature and heredity. The great development of modern civilizations has caused even more skeptics to believe that mankind will eventually perish as a whole in the disaster of a war. Therefore, to advance mankind we must advocate universal love, value peace and treat war as something to be carried out only when there is no other choice. Military specialists have regarded "victory without war" as the ideal of military strategy. "Sunzi's Art of War" states: "The most perfect [accomplishment] is not to win a hundred victories in a hundred battles; the most perfect is to defeat your opponent's troops without going into battle." "When using troops, make a show of strategem; secondarily, make a show of diplomacy; even more secondarily, make a show of force; and as a last resort, attack the walled city." This highly praises the use of wit to achieve one's objectives.

The first victims of war are naturally those soldiers who confront the ferocious fire and who fight at close quarters under the cannonfire. Generals and commanders no doubt enjoy a large degree of physical safety. War casualties relate only to the scale and length of war, and have nothing to do with the nature of war. A war that involves both victory and defeat is bound to have a number of shiny medals and piles of dreary bones. Therefore, the facts and the harsh truth revealed by "a general's merit, ten thousand bones wither" are applicable to wars of any kind.

What is so strange about this? Before we attain an ideal and perfect world, and before the removal of "bourgeois rights," human society has always been full of all kinds of inequalities and unreasonableness. From Caesar to Zhukov and from Genghis Khan to Napoleon, people have praised their achievements throughout the ages but have forgotten those unnamed soldiers who had fallen along the great Roman roads and the plains of Eastern Europe. In places where hero worship is feverish and unrestricted, the two fates of the general and the soldier are even farther apart. Perhaps, no other comparison than that between the general's honor and the soldier's blood can better show the injustice in human society. But for thousands of years, people have been used to this inequality and have come to know its historical inevitability. By denouncing and affirming it, they have realized the great progress which primitive men could not imagine.

The Rules of Modern Warfare Have Changed

The struggle between war and peace has experienced two major debates in the history of the international communist movement. During the period of the Second International and after the Second World War, the antiwar faction was condemned as revisionist. If we say that what Kautsky said in 1919 remains an unproven worry, that "the next war will not only bring poverty and catastrophe but will thoroughly destroy all civilizations, and what is left will merely be smoking ruins and decaying bodies," then what Khrushchev said, that "the atomic bomb does not

adhere to class principles... and destroying a monopoly capitalist will destroy millions of workers" cannot be alarmist talk. The enormous nuclear arsenal among present-day nuclear countries and the extremely fast means of delivery have enabled the whole human race to see the possibility of self-destruction. An atomic bomb equivalent to 25,000 metric tons of TNT burned Hiroshima to the ground in an instant and took 20,000 lives. What then does the tested hydrogen bomb of 1 million metric tons signify? Questions that politicians squabbled over for a whole century have finally been answered by physicists. Einstein, this scientific genius who played a decisive role in the making of the nuclear bomb, became a great pacifist. He said: The next war will use the atom, and in the one after that only sticks will be used. For this, he and the philosopher Russell and others vigorously advocated the establishment of a "world government" so that war might be effectively prevented. Therefore, the belief that rockets and nuclear weapons have changed the former concept of war is undoubtedly correct. The conclusion is very clear. Opposition to the use of force and the threat of force, use of negotiations to resolve all international disputes and conflicts, turning hostility into friendship have become the goals politicians of all countries strive for. Nevertheless, Maoist theorists have condemned all this as "nuclear superstition," "the craze for negotiations," "the philosophy of survival" and "the greatest hoax." In particular, they have vilified at will the contribution the United States had made toward world peace.

Inhuman Views on War and Their Evil Consequences

Mao Zedong's fondness for struggle and his emphasis on military affairs are fully shown by facts.

From the 1950's to the 1970's, China advocated the mentality that "the state will perish forever if no enemy states commit aggression." All along, the atmosphere was that "we have to prepare for war." The slogan of "Stress revolution, promote production, and promote war preparations," was changed for over a decade during the Cultural Revolution. Every turn in life inside the country was a demand for "militarization," to learn the "March 8 workstyle" of the PLA, and to popularize the three main rules of discipline and the eight points of attention of the army. From "U.S. imperialism" and "Bandit Chiang" to "Soviet revisionism," there was an "imaginary enemy" at all times watching and waiting to strike at the gates of the nation. Consequently, a large portion of the budget was set aside for maintaining an enormous and primitive army, so that merely in order to gain the face value of international prestige it was worth wasting tens of billions of yuan to study and manufacture nuclear weapons.

Internationall, China was isolated. It stubbornly maintained the unique argument that "a world war cannot be avoided," it opposed the "nuclear test ban treaty," it opposed arms reduction, and it took pride in playing the role of a hardline warhawk. It regarded others' desire for peace and engagement in detente as false, believing that they were asking others to act against their own interests, so it was disdainful to be their fried. China had no hesitation about spending a trillion of its capital funds to support "armed struggle" in other countries.

Ever since he advanced [the notion] in the 1930's that "political power comes from the barrel of a gun" and asserted that "only the gun can transform the world," Mao Zedong never changed his worship of force. In this respect we need only point out two examples: one was the famous formula he put forward during the Cultural Revolution--"Our country has a population of 800 million; how can we not struggle? The second was the conclusion about his whole life--he felt that he had done only two things, namely: drive Chiang Kai-shek to the island, and launch the Great Cultural Revolution.

When there are too many people, they must struggle against each other. Such fantastic, maniacal logic fully exposes the evil psyche of this great dictator in "ruling the country." The use of one faction to fight against another, "instigating the masses to struggle against the masses," creating endless internal contradictions and turmoil so that he could divide and rule--these were the most successful magic weapons for seizing power in his many decades of political life. Of the two things he was most complacent about, it is unnecessary to mention the former, the triumph with the gun; whereas the latter, the Cultural Revolution, was characterized by its destructiveness, violence and armed struggle. From this, other than fooling around with the gun, he had no special likes and no special skills. Culture and economics really had no place in his mind. Under the tyranny of such a maniac for armed force, how could China's socialist construction not meet with failure?

The prominent characteristic of Mao Zedong's views on war is the emperor's mentality of treating human lives as nothing. On 17 May 1958 he casually told his senior cadres: "Do not be alarmed when a world war breaks out. Fighting a war is nothing other than people getting killed, and I have seen people get killed in war. The elimination of half the population has occurred several times in Chinese history. The number of people killed in the two world wars was not high; 10 million in the first and 20 million in the second. In our case we could easily lose 40 million.... An atomic war has not been experienced; we do not know how many will die. The best is to leave half the population, and the next best is to leave a third. If a few hundred million are left from over 2 billion people, several five-year plans will make them grow again, totally wiping out capitalism and achieving permanent peace. This is not a bad thing." We can find evidence for this quoted passage, which clearly shows that there is a ruthless, tyrannical, inhuman and abominable part to Mao Zedong's personal character. In the "Great Leap Forward" and the "Cultural Revolution" which he himself launched, more than tens of millions of people died, almost equivalent to the price paid in the two world wars. But who has seen him have the slightest compunction? No one. Not only that, but he laid the blame on others and brutally victimized those honest communists and masses who held different views. His ruthlessness confirms his admission that he was "not 10 times but 100 times more formidable than Qin Shihuang"!

Worship of war--this is the sacred and inviolable heritage Mao bequeathed to China. In his whole life, from guerilla war in the Soviet area to the Cultural Revolution, Mao used military control to clear up messy situations, and many times he succeeded with the help of the god of war. Because of this, Communist China accepted a deep-rooted philosophy of struggle and honored it as the highest precept, applicable to the whole world. The "broadening of the scope" of class struggle, the condemnation

and criticism of the parliamentary road, the advocation of revolutionary violence, and the launching of the 10 disastrous years of the Cultural Revolution--were they not derived from this? Mao clearly indicated it in "On Contradiction": "The struggle between opposites in a contradiction is absolute and unconditions. Their unity is antithetic, conditional and temporary." Ultraleftist views on war became the most stubborn fortress of Mao Zedong's ideological system, which had been negated by practice. Under the extent of its damage, not only did the Chinese people who had lived for 30 years in a peaceful environment suffer violent turmoil, and not only did many loyal revolutionaries die in senseless internal struggle, but it also brought harm to other countries. Aidit and Yue-duo were affected by Mao's theory on the violent seizure of power and gave up the fruit of the parliamentary road. In the "30 September" incident, 400,000 Indonesian communists lost their lives. Even Aidit and Yue-duo were not spared.

In 1967 Mao frankly said: "Some say that China loves peace. That is not true. Actually China is fond of struggling. I am an example of this."

This unfortunate age has already paid an alarming price for Mao's theory of war. This price is the living proof that Mao Zedong had abandoned Marxism and opposed the people. However, this is not what many Chinese generals would admit. They even look forward to a modern Sparta, Mao Zedong style. They still believe that to transform China they have to use the gun and not peace, democracy and science.

Relationship Between Officers and Men in China

Let us turn back and look at the relationship between officers and men in China. In stirring up contradictions between ranks among party, government and local departments in China, the phenomena of disputes over trifles and even of confrontations were truly everywhere but there were few occurrences of them in the army. Obedience is the bounden duty of the soldier. This is the same for all countries and at all times, but it does not mean "intimacy." It is undeniable that the relationship between officers and men was closer before the Chinese Communists seized power. Officers and men alike lived an arduous and egalitarian life. However, having maintained an army for a long time after the founding of the state, civil officials became indolent and military officers frivolous. Special bureaucratic privileges grew extensively; it not only existed in the army but became even more serious. The reason is that, based on his blind faith in military force, Mao Zedong adopted a policy of winning over the forces so that they would become an obedient imperial tool, and in addition to normal special treatment they had even greater special privileges. For example, the fanatic advocation of "class struggle" and "struggle of the lines" generally existed in the Cultural Revolution, but the armed forces were not allowed to take part in any form of struggle except "positive education." A group of veteran commanders and generals could be ruthlessly rectified, but the slogan "Lift a small handful of men in the army" was defined as a great crime of "destroying the stability of the forces." The armed forces went everywhere to "support the left" and "support and safeguard" comprehensive military control. They did not have to be responsible for their mistakes, not to mention preferential treatment as to wages, changing job upon demobilization, and unspecified grain allowances. With such godly protection, lofty social position and strict military discipline, the army became a state within a state. Unjust and

unlawful acts by army officers became easier to cover up than those of local bureaucrats, and it became easier for them to have their own way. As a result, it is reasonable that literary and artistic works after the fall of the gang of four have given even more sympathy to local cadres who, half-dead, had been rectified and that these works have exposed even more of the tyranny and abuse of power by army cadres. It is therefore not surprising that the conservative power of the military has become the major stumbling block to the reforms of Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang.

In the course of constant expansion of special privileges among different levels of military officers, can we count on the relationships between officers and men in the PLA remaining equally intimate and one of life and death, compared to the time when they ate weeds and tree roots together? We do not wish to give examples of trivial facts of many mainland friends who mentioned that when Chinese Communist Army officers relieved a garrison, two trucks could not haul away one person's property. We also do not wish to repeat the scandals depicted in the movie "Flying in the Air" and in the poems of Ye Wenfu [5509 2429 4395]. It will be sufficient for us to make some logical deductions based on the existence of a "special bureaucratic privileged class," as admitted by Mao Zedong. We can say with certainty that since new class polarization has appeared in China, the Chinese Army cannot be as clean and equal as it has been beautified all along. In the face of class differences and confrontations, to say that the relationship between officers and men is intimate can only be a fairytale that no one can believe any longer.

The Unprecedented War of Defensive Counterattack

Su Ce said "As this poem was published in militarily burdened Yunnan, it particularly made people feel resentful and pained." He said that the Yunnan borderland, where a victorious war of defensive counterattack had been carried out against Vietnam, is still constantly disturbed. He demanded that writers should write more works to rouse the spirit of the soldiers, and said that "as for the poem 'The General and the Soldier,' with its content, we have no choice other than to express opposition."

We respect Mr Su Ce's sense of responsibility, and we have absolutely no intention of appeasing Vietnam's provocative behavior. Su Ce can fully order literary and art workers of the army to praise the great victory of the war of defensive counterattack, but he has no right to command local writers what they should write or sing. He said: "Even if what they write criticizes our shortcomings and mistakes, we will warmly welcome them."

According to those who understand conditions in the interior, response in the country to the punitive war against Vietnam in the spring of 1979 was not ideal. In the two provinces of Yunnan and Guangxi, which are situated on the frontlines, people did not show the expected enthusiasm for this sudden war. When the time came for really going into the "bloody battlefield," many young people and their parents, who at first regarded joining the army as a good way out, now felt it was too late for regrets. According to what one young person told his friend: "Since it is impossible to get away, it is better to think of a way to come home a hero."

At a time when fighting was intense on the frontline, a large-scale dance party was organized in a park in Qunming Municipality for several days, but privately people had a lot to say about the war.

TS'AN-K'AO HSIAO-HSI published the reactions of different countries. People noticed that quite a few countries, including long-friendly Romania and Yugoslavia, took a critical or reserved attitude toward the punitive war. Vietnam's evil needs no discussion, but can punishment be unscrupulous or disregard common principles? According to international practice, for border conflict and disturbance, there is no justification for conducting an all-out and large-scale warfare style of "counter-attack" along a border over 1,000 miles long and striking deep into the interior. The complacent air of using armed force to teach others a lesson can only be regarded as a manifestation of the remnants of great-power chauvinism, which cannot win the praise of people in the world. As for the war itself, how great was the victory? Was it successful? It is no longer a secret today. Other than having conducted a rather incomplete maneuver of one's modern military power, this war can be said to have achieved nothing.

We ask Mr Su Ce, can one write about these controversial aspects? Did the punitive war have shortcomings and mistakes? Can they be criticized?

The Fate of China's Korneychuk

Su Ce gave an example which shows that he welcomes criticism of "undesirable phenomena" on the part of the army. During the war of national defense, the famous Soviet writer Korneychuk wrote a play, "Front Line," which criticized an arrogant commander who was a lieutenant general. After it went on stage it was opposed by quite a few Red Army commanders, who submitted a request to Stalin for the arrest of the "reactionary writer." But Stalin approved the script of the play and awarded the author.

Can we imagine a play criticizing the wrongdoings of a commander of the Volunteer Army being shown in China at the height of the Korean War? Would it not "boost the enemy's morale and dampen one's own spirit?" Among China's numerous army officers, there may not be a lack of typical cases of bitter attack like that by Korneychuk. The army poet Ye Wenfu, who strongly abhors evildoings, dared to go against the wind and repeatedly attacked those generals corroded by special privileges, reflecting the fact that the incompetence and deterioration of the upper ranks of the Chinese army had reached an intolerable level. Yet, China's Korneychuk is not that fortunate. When he comes under the fierce "self-defense and counterattack" of the generals, no authoritative person will come to his aid.

It is a pity that by merely writing a little of what is commonly regarded as "gloomy" stories, Chinese writers often bring trouble upon themselves and have no escape. A political power that regardes itself as the representative of the people's interests can permit a minister who wasted hundreds of millions of yuan in capital funds to continue to hold power. It can also permit a commander who has

seriously neglected his duty and lost men in action to continue to lead a large army. Yet it cannot tolerate a poem of 21 lines that exposes the nature of war. In this sense, Stalin was a little "wiser" than the leaders of Communist China. His severity in punishing defeated generals was awesome.

But it would be comical if a literary and artistic work must be determined to be right or wrong by the head of a party and state, however serious it might be. Korneychuk was fortunate to have the blessing of Stalin, who was subject to changing moods. In countries like China and the Soviet Union, have there been just a few intellectuals who lost their lives because of one word from the leader?

This antiwar poem by Li Jiangzhao was born quietly and "died" quietly. Henceforth, perhaps, it will be forgotten. But its publication manifested a mature trend of thought. When the shadow of Mao Zedong disappears and the true spring of the people arrives, this trend of thought will blow over China like a wind, bringing peace, universal love and happiness to people who have been subjected to the turmoil and ravages of war.

9586
CSO: 4005/742

CRACKDOWN URGED FOR ECONOMIC CRIMES OF HIGH CADRES

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 3, 1982 pp 42-45

[Article by Xu Xing [6079 5887]: "The Little Flies Have Been Killed Off, Now Let Us Also Get the Tigers"]

[Text] Where There Is No Real Achievement, No One Will Applaud

At the group meeting for mutual congratulations for the Spring Festival in Beijing, Li Xiannian [2621 0341 1819], vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee, declared: In our efforts to build a spiritual civilization in China we shall this year carry out two things: (1) Streamlining the administrative structure, getting rid of bureaucracy, raising work efficiency; (2) Sternly deal with economic and other serious cases of crime, above all prosecute active cases of serious economic crimes in which cadres in responsible positions are involved. It seems somewhat farfetched to speak of streamlining the administrative structure and prosecuting economic crimes as building up spiritual civilization; ordinarily, building up spiritual civilization would mean developing the ideological, scientific, artistic and cultural life.

Of course, the heart of the matter is not a semantic one but rather the substance itself. As things stand, either the streamlining of the administrative structure or the prosecution of economic crimes, each is a good thing. All we should care about is whether the Chinese communists are truly determined, have the courage to break through the obstructing forces and will pursue the matter to the very end "with the power of a thunderbolt and the speed of lightning"!

After their decade of experiences with the "cultural revolution," the Chinese people have become much smarter and mere propaganda will not make them dance with joy immediately. They will rather see what action follows the words, and without any true achievement, no one will applaud. Let us hope that the Chinese communists will this time produce some real achievements.

We Had It Before, But Today It Is Worse

This article will not deal with the streamlining of the administrative structure, but instead will concentrate on the question of economic crimes.

When we speak here of economic crimes, the following criminal activities are included: graft and corruption, embezzlement, misappropriation or squandering of public funds, theft of public property, the giving or taking of bribes, extortion and blackmail, tax evasion, smuggling and trafficking in smuggled goods, speculation and profiteering, forging negotiable instruments, assuming another person's name for fraudulent purposes, holding back profits that are due to the state, entertaining and sending gifts, indiscriminate distribution of rewards, ..., etc. Many of these criminal activities had already been rampant in the fifties before the "Three-Anti, Five-Anti" movement. At that time they were said to be the bourgeoisie's attack with sugarcoated bullets, and all the blame was placed on the capitalists, considering those activities the vicious attacks of the bourgeoisie against the party. Later, the capitalists were eliminated in the "socialist remolding" movement, and the market economy strictly controlled, so that the sphere of economic crimes was indeed correspondingly reduced. In recent years, in the wake of reopening the country to foreign trade and the resumption of domestic market activities, economic crimes have reappeared and risen at a speed that exceeded the economic recovery. now reaching unprecedented proportions, and are much more serious than at the time of the "Three-Anti, Five-Anti" movement or any time thereafter. At the top, up to certain senior officials, at the medium level including certain leading cadres in the provincial, municipal and automonous district administrations, and at the lower level, many responsible cadres, functionaries in the county, commune and production brigade administrations have all been pulled into the whirlpool of these criminal economic activities. Going through the back door and establishing personal relations to reap personal favors have already become indispensable methods of mutual contacts in the society of communist China and without them it is impossible even to carry on normal production in enterprises or any other economic activity. The "xiang qian kan" ["looking for the money," a pun, homophonous with "looking forward"] has become a fairly common attitude in society. It has corrupted a large number of members of the CCP and the Communist Youth League, and even many old cadres had no way of escapting the trend, so that their will and determination of the old days became completely dissipated in today's power structure and influences. This serious decadence in today's China, where there are no more capitalists, can no longer be blamed on "vicious attacks by the bourgeoisie," nor again be considered an onus of the "gang of four," because it was only after the downfall of the "gang of four" that these conditions grew more and more pernicious. This urged on certain enlightened men in the leadership strata of the CCP to sound the alarm that the very life of the party and the state were in danger. Some of them believe that if this unhealthy trend is not promptly stopped, the CCP may go the same way as the Kuomintang of former times, that it will be shorn of all prestige and finally abandoned by the people.

Those So Far Exposed Were Small Fry of County Rank and Below

What then is the concrete condition of the economic crimes in present-day China? Due to the news blockade of the Chinese communists, no one can know the whole picture! All the more so since cases of economic crimes that involve senior leadership personnel are sealed up, their disclosure is prohibited, and they become "highly secrete internal material." The cases that have presently been officially handed to the Disciplinary Control Committee or the procuratorial authorities mostly concern people of county rank or below.

The Shanghai magazine MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM] last December published a letter signed by Liu Sanqi [0491 0005 7871], who probably works in either the public security organs, procuratorial organs or the people's court and therefore has all the material at his disposal. According to his statement, including all 28 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of the country, except Tibet, over 5,400 cases of economic crimes were investigated during the first quarter of last year. Among these, 37 cases concerned malfeasances in office involving 10,000 yuan or more. There were also cases of graft of several hundred thousand yuan and cases of misappropriation of grain of several hundred thousand jin. In one case the deputy chairman of the Oversease Chinese Federation in a certain county of Fujian Province collaborated with the section chief of the county bank, embezzling as much as 190,000 yuan in remittances and savings of overseas Chinese. In another case the accountant of an engineering company in the town of Dukou in Sichuan Province embezzled over 262,000 yuan of public funds in 7 years. In yet another case the custodian of the grain storage house of a mill in the Huaiyin District of Zhejiang Province stole 295,000 jin of wheat in collusion with others inside and outside of his work place.

Looking at the nationwide data divulged by Liu Sanqi, all the cases obviously concern only crimes of personnel of county rank and below. As of yet no one has dared to expose cases of leadership personnel of one higher rank. Even in the graft case of Wang Shouxin [3769 1343 0207] which caused a sensation throughout the country involving the huge amount of more than 530,000 yuan, Wang Shouxin was only the manager of a fuel company of Bin County in Heilongjiang Province.

The many rumors abroad of a case of someone's son smuggling gold remain only rumors, and nobody has yet exposed the true facts of this case. The case of a man returning in great style to his native place and spending several million yuan is also only a rumor. The only case of malfeasance of a man in a high position that has become known is the case of Yang Yibang [2799 5030 6721], vice minister of the Ministry of Chemical Industry. That case revealed that when Yang visited Hong Kong and Japan in 1979 for trade talks, he took bribes during negotiations with certain Hong Kong merchants on the importation of raw materials and equipment for chemical plants. After this was discovered, Yang was dismissed from all posts inside and outside the party at the beginning of last year. Recently there have been some indications of an "about face" in this case, and it is said that a certain person or persons is acting between the parties, trying to overturn the verdict.

The case of Wang Weijing [3769 4850 4842] which recently caused a sensation was also not the case of a man who could be considered high in rank. Wang was party secretary in the Guangzhou Telecommunications Bureau and also director of that bureau. According to usual ranking order he was between the 16th and 13th rank, comparable to the rank of a head of a county, which is "insignificant as a sesame seed, as the seventh rank officials of Qing times," but among all the cases so far exposed, he must be reckoned as fairly high. Wang Weijing plotted, together with his wife Wang Min [3769 2404], misusing the powers of his office, to fraudulently garner state-controlled foreign exchange to buy up TV sets, tape recorders, electronic calculators, watches and other articles in Hong Kong, Macao, Guangzhou, Chaoyang and other places and ship this merchandise to Yantai and Wendeng in Shandong Province for sale, reaping staggering profits and thus committing the

crime of speculating and profiteering. Someone in the Guangzhou Telecommunications Bureau had reported this case already at the beginning of last year to the Disciplinary Control Commission, the judicial authorities and the press, but only in June of last year did the Guangzhou procuratorate institute proceedings, arresting Wang Min on 25 July and dragging out this case until today. Most recently, probably because of the drive of the central authorities to rectify the workstyle of the party, there was some reaction among certain provincial party secretaries. This case was then seized upon as a model and Wang Weijing was arrested on 1 February.

A case of an economic crime similar to that of Wang Weijing, as far as position of the perpetrator is concerned, occurred in Nanjing. The main culprit was Chen Shouyang [7115 1108 7122], assistant manager of the Jiangsu Machinery Export Company. In January last year he visited Italy, taking along Dai Guixie [2071 6311 7327], a clerical employee of the company, and Shen Kezhong [3947 0668 0022], assistant manager of the Huaihai Leather Factory at Xuzhou. Under the pretext of having been robbed and of loaning the money, he accepted bribes from the foreign merchants and submitted to their harsh demands in the trade negotiations, thus doing great harm to the interests and the reputation of our country. Chen Shouyang was later expelled from the party and dismissed from his administrative position. On 8 January this year the Disciplinary Control Committee of the Central Committee issued a special bulletin on the case.

"Huaibei's Wang Shouxin"

Last year a case of graft was exposed in Huaibei City, Anhui Province, which became known as "Huaibei's Wang Shouxin Case." The culprit in this "Huaibei Wang Shouxin Case" was Zhang Kai [1728 0418], manager of the Huaibei Leather Factory. This man is said to have already twice committed fraud and larceny in the sixties. Because he had protected a vice chairman of a local revolutionary committee during the cultural revolution, he had earned the gratitude of certain leading cadres of the municipal party committee of Huaibei. He finally linked up with the head of the secretariat of the municipal party committee Ren Shoudao [0117 1343 6670] and in 1973 was appointed manager of the leather factory with all the powers of production, acquisitions and marketing concentrated in his hands. In the course of several years he exploited the opportunities of his position and took advantage of the confused state of financial management by omitting the proper accounting of income, forging invoices and making out fake receipts and thus embezzling an amount of over 30,000 yuan. Connected with this case was the case of Zhao Dehong [6392 1795 3163], assistant party secretary of the suburban district of Huaibei. This case was exposed by someone already several years ago but held up all that time, the main obstruction coming from the Huaibei party committee. Zhang Kai even reviled the man who had exposed his misdeeds, saying: "Go ahead and write, write a whole carload full, it will all come back into my briefcase!" He was full of confidence that those above or below him would work with him hand in glove. He liked to use the phrase: "If one has money one can buy power, if one has power one need not worry about money." Zhang Kai was arrested only as late as 3 July 1980. On 23 January 1981 the RENMIN RIBAO published a news report entitled: "Where Do All the Obstructing Forces Come From?" reporting on this case. Only one year later, at the beginning of February, the Central Broadcasting Company

broadcast the report that the intermediate people's court had sentenced Zhang Kai to 15 years, Ren Shoudao to 4 years and Zhao Dehong to 3 years imprisonment. These sentences were probably also only pronounced to conform to the "rectification of the party's workstyle on a grand scale" instituted by the central authorities.

The Big Graft Case in Heilongjiang Province

As the CCP Central Committee is stepping up its rectification of the party's workstyle, more and more articles are being gradually seen in the press that bring relevant material to light, and cadres of higher and higher rank are shown as being involved. In the middle part of January the FUJIAN RIBAO reported the case of a cadre of the prefectural party committee, Huang Changmao [7806 7022 5399], member of the standing committee of the prefectural party committee of Linxi in Fujian Province and deputy prefectural commissioner, who was involved in an affair of fraud for personal gain. Under fraudulent pretexts he converted the rural residential registration of his wife and children into an urban cone and in defiance of policies arranged a regular job for his wife. The punishment meeted out to him was not severe at all. His wife and children were merely required to be returned to rural residential registration and the employment that contravened policy had to be revoked. He himself was to examine and acknowledge his own mistakes and to "conscientiously correct his future workstyle, final disposal of the matter to await later decision." In the beginning of March the BEIJING RIBAO reported several large cases of graft in Heilongjiang Province, with the total amount involved exceeding 250 million yuan. Good gracious, that is really a huge figure! It is said that the cases included fabricating production costs, extra-plan construction projects, indiscriminate distribution of rewards, tax evasion, etc. Unfortunately the BEIJING RIBAO did not specifically name the enterprises that committed the malfeasances, purposely concealing their identity. It is said that only one-fifth of the misappropriated funds could be recovered. The BEIJING RIBAO also gave as the main reason for the success of the present investigation that the financial authorities had promised leniency in case the enterprises confessed their malfeasances, for only then would the enterprises be willing to acknowledge their misdeeds. This shows that as a quid pro quo for their confessions the enterprises received lenient consideration, which again means that there would be no punishments according to law and not even disciplinary punishment. Dealing in this manner is called "internal settlement," meaning private settlement among the parties and relegating the law to a mere scrap of paper.

Pilferage Committed by the Collusion of Several Persons

Another case in which only lower ranking personnel were exposed was the case of pilferage at the Hankou Steel and Iron Company, a case reported in the RENMIN RIBAO of 6 February. The main culprits were Duan Yaoming [3008 5069 2494], temporary employee at the Wuhan Crane and Hoist Company, and Liu Kangping [0491 1660 1627], who was in charge of the supply and marketing team of the said company. By bribery they bought over Zhang Ronggen [1728 2837 2704], an employee in the materials office of the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company, Xiong Zhenglong [3574 2973 7893], deputy chief of the production section of the cold rolling plant, Wang Yuansong [3769 6678 2646], employee in raw material planning, and Sun Lin [1327 2651], employee in charge of

opening contract bids. Payment for steel purchases was always less than the value of the goods actually delivered. In the year from June 1980 to July 1981, they took delivery of 1.032 tons of waste and inferior steel, paying for only 654 tons and leaving over 300 tons unpaid. The steel that was paid for was priced at 350 yuan, but resold at 700 or 800 yuan per ton, so that an enormous profit of over 400,000 yuan was reaped in that one year. This case was made a model case in the education for improvement of party workstyle and correct political discipline, education conducted by the party secretaries of the Wuhan Steel Company and the cold rolling plant.

Cases of such collusion for the commission of larceny by means of buying in material and selling it at high prices can now be found everywhere throughout the country. Much pained by the danger and harm to the country brought about by the large number of criminal economic activities, two men who had something to do with the trial of economic cases write a special article, which was published in the January issue of MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM]. In this article they reveal that in a certain silk weaving factory, the person in charge of the production team misused the powers of his position, accepted bribes and entertainments and when concluding a contract with a certain collective unit for the processing of ethylene glycol purposely worded the contract so ambiguously that the processing unit could steal over 75,900 jin of the processed ethylene glycol, valued at 300,000 yuan, in the course of a little over 2 years.

On 5 February the ZHONGGUO FAZHIBAO [JOURNAL OF CHINESE LEGAL SYSTEM] reported a large case of graft at Datong in Shanxi Province. This case involved 13 counties in the three provinces of Shanxi, Hebei and Zhejiang; over 50 people were directly involved and the state funds embezzled or illegally retained amounted to 587,000 yuan. The culprits used such methods as issuing phony oil vouchers, giving and taking bribes, speculating and profiteering, theft in collusion with others, buying and selling on margin, busying themselves all over the place to establish connections and getting the middleman's profit, etc. The heaviest penalty in this case, namely 16 years, was imposed on Xin Yin [6580 0603], a statistician at the Kouquan coal platform of the Datong Municipal Mining Company.

The people that so far could have been exposed as having committed economic crimes are elements of the lower level who actually had certain powers in their units. Their positions were not high, but the enormous profits gained were considerably indeed, frequently as high as several hundred thousand yuan. This sum amounts to over 1 million Hong Kong dollars and, considering the low living standards on the mainland, this million is at least equivalent to 10 million of the very rich here!

Smuggling and Trafficking in Smuggled Goods

One type of economic crime is the smuggling and trafficking in smuggled goods. It is well-known that there are three provinces where smuggling is rampant, i.e., Guangzhou, Fujian and Zhejiang, all located along the ocean and close to Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan. Much of the smuggling is carried out over the sea lanes. Several gangs of smugglers abroad regularly use large fishing vessels to ship TV sets, tape recorders, electronic calculators, watches, etc., into areas close to Chinese waters

and conduct their transactions with Chinese smuggling gangs on the high sea, taking in gold or silver dollars. Smuggling activities of this nature cannot be carried out without the participation of big and small Chinese communist cadres.

The newly appointed first provincial party secretary of Fujian Province, Xiang Nan [7309 0589], had the following to say at the meeting of party members and cadres in responsible positions in the administrative organizations directly under the Fujian provincial administration, held on 5 February: "Smuggling and trafficking in smuggled goods, speculation and profiteering is not possible unless there is some collusion between those higher up and those below and between those in our country and people abroad." He therefore suggested on the one hand to resolutely attack all graft and theft within the party, and on the other hand to resolutely attack all the nouveaux riches in the society who had enriched themselves through smuggling, especially those upstarts who in a short time have reaped large profits of several tens of thousands, hundred thousands and even several hundred thousands of yuan; their property should be confiscated and they should be punished according to law, so as to eliminate these people as well as their accumulated wealth.

Precisely on the same day as Xiang Nan gave his speech, the FUJIAN RIBAO published the news of a sentence by the Jinjiang people's court in Fujian Province concerning a smuggling case. The culprits were all not high ranking officials--one was the purchasing agent for the Jinjing department store in Jinjiang, another was a cashier of that agency, another a cadre of the tax bureau, and yet another a member of an agricultural commune. They all had worked in collusion, importing smuggled tape recorders, electronic calculators and other goods, buying them up as imports by overseas Chinese and reaping exhorbitant profits. The total value of their sales of smuggled goods amounted to 250,000 yuan and the taxes that they had evaded amounted to 75,000 yuan. In publishing this news, the propaganda department of Fujian Province probably intended to coordinate their work with Xiang Nan's speech. It is only regrettable that the culprits in the Jinjiang smuggling case are all small fry and not really fitting targets considering the formidable caliber of Xiang Nan's momentous speech.

Fraudulent Simulations

The criminal economic activities in China appear in a great variety of forms, worked out in strange schemes, some even assuming the form of fraudulent simulations.

As revealed by Chen Ming [7115 2494], deputy chief of the Zhejiang Provincial Bureau of Public Security, some very amazing swindles have been perpetrated on certain communes, production brigades and neighborhood enterprises in the Zhejiang area. Because these communes, brigades and neighborhood enterprises originally have no network for extended operations but are most eager to expand their business, some lawless persons are taking advantage of this weak point. They illicitly carved themselves phony official seals, forged certificates and pretended to be "factory directors," "managers" and "purchasing agents" from other localities to carry out their fraudulent tricks. Some pretended to be signing processing contracts or placing orders for goods, others pretended to be marketing certain merchandise,

some pretended to help the communes, brigades or enterprises in their purchases, while they actually engaged in buying and selling on margin or engaged in fraud and extortions.

In March last year, a certain Li Sujuan [2621 4790 1227] (female), a family member of a worker in a branch of a certain Nei Monggol coal mine, working in collusion with Qian Bin [6929 2430], a purchasing agent for the Zhuge Clothes Factory of the Tanqiao commune in Shouxing County, Zhejiang Province, pretended to be an "assistant manager" and "purchasing agent," placed an order with the silk weaving factory of the Lize commune in Jiashan County, Zhejiang Province, for a large quantity of brocade quilt covers and defrauded the place by over 1,300 quilt covers of soft silk fabric in satin weave, valued at over 20,200 yuan.

Also in March last year, two men posed as "purchasing agents of the Fancun Machine Manufacturing Plant No 1" and placed orders with the knitting mill of the Xiaoshao commune in Zhenhai County, Zhejiang Province, signing a contract for 50,000 yuan worth of "qing lun" shirts and nylon stockings. When the factory consigned the goods for shipment to Hebei Province, the fraud was discovered at the Handan railway station and the goods were confiscated. It was then that the factory found out it was swindled.

Furthermore, there was the case of the agricultural machinery plant of a commune in Zhengzhou City, Henan Province, that signed a contract with the cotton mill of the Chaoyang brigade of Chaoyang commune in Shaoxing County, Zhejiang Province, for the supply of one fly frame and one spinning frame. The cotton mill twice remitted the sum of over 30,000 yuan to the agricultural machinery plant, but never heard from them, so they dispatched someone to Zhengzhou to ask for delivery who was told by the manager of the agricultural machinery plant: "We did receive your money and have spent it already on salaries and wages for our staff and workers. As for the machinery you require, we are unable to manufacture it." To have the gall to sign a contract for things one is unable to manufacture and then also to accept money and use it for salaries and wages, that is really a mean way of cheating!

The above are examples of swindles perpetrated on the people of Zhejiang Province; there are also examples of Zhejiang Province swindling other provinces. There is a certain factory in Wenzhou, manufacturing machinery for water conservancy work. It signed a contract with a unit outside of this province accepting 210,000 from the other party, but ended up with no goods to deliver and all money having been spent. There is also a certain welfare establishment which signed a contract for 500,000 yuan. The buyer repeatedly called asking for delivery, but the goods could not be delivered and the money was all gone.

It is clear from these examples that domestic trade in China simply has no sound credit system. If the trade through domestic contracts would employ a system similar to overseas trade and stipulate payments by letters of credit through banks, these messy cases of fraud could all have been avoided.

"Dragons in Repose and Tigers in Concealment" in the Area of Foreign Trade Activities

The factual examples quoted above are cases already officially publicized by the Chinese communists. They are but a drop in the ocean of presently perpetrated crimes and are also only a "drop" of crimes committed by small fry officials alone.

There are two aspects of the economic opening of the country, one is the domestic and one is the foreign aspect. The domestic economic activities are on a much smaller scale than the foreign economic activities. The economic relations with foreign countries comprise the ordinary import and export trade, the compensation trade, the introduction of foreign capital and technological know-how (including joing Chinese-foreign investments), the establishment of special trade zones and the employment of Chinese capital abroad, especially in the Hong Kong and Macao markets. All these foreign trade activities involve large sums, frequently several million, tens of millions or even as much as several hundred million. Compared with these foreign trade transactions, the criminal cases so far exposed are really like "a small sorcerer in the presence of a great one." The ordinary small citizen or small cadre has no way of getting his hands into these foreign trade transactions that involve huge sums of money. To get one's fingers into this kind of game one must be a man of medium or higher position. It is rumored that there are some medium and higher ranking officials in China who are very much concerned with foreign trade activities, and who frequently get their relatives or close friends to stay abroad to cooperate with them. Since these high level economic activities are treated as "top secret," and also require a high degree of technical skill, it is hardly possible that they will be divulged and exposed by anyone.

The "socialist" path now being followed by China is of a fairly unique character among all the communist countries of the world. The uniqueness in economic matters is manifested mainly in China's efforts to expand relations with foreign capital, and that China intends to expand special economic zones in many more areas. It is even more unique in China's cooperation with the capital of overseas Chinese in direct investment and speculative activities in the Hong Kong market. This peculiar situation brings about contacts between bureaucrats and overseas capitalists with an unprecedented closeness of relations. If it is asserted that economic crimes result from bourgeois influences, then the influences received in this fertile ground are indeed most direct and most serious, and one may suspect there are quite a number of "dragons in repose and tigers in concealment" here.

There is a passage in Zhuangzi, Chapter Qu Qie [Rifling Boxes] which reads: "Those who merely steel clasps will be executed; those who steel entire countries become feudal lords." This is a golden saying derived from the experiences of history. Let us hope something like that will not be reenacted in our present society.

A commentator wrote in the RENMIN RIBAO of 5 February: "In order to achieve a definitive improvement in the workstyle of the party, we must resolutely attack such serious and criminal activities as smuggling and trafficking in smuggled goods, graft and bribery, and get this extremely important problem firmly and unrelentingly under control, since it is seriously destroying the prestige of the party and

constitutes a matter of life and death for our party. The problem must be solved vigorously and speedily. The more these cases involve highly placed personalities and high level organizations, the more resolutely and unrelentingly should they be prosecuted and dealt with with greatest severity."

However, if that is really to be achieved it would be desirable that the Chinese communists not merely kill off the little flies, but also sally forth and attack some of the big tigers! Only this will truly satisfy the people.

9808
CSO: 4005/797

END

JPRS 81165

29 June 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 312

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81165

29 June 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 312

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Key Issues in Struggle Against Soviet Hegemonism
(Qi Ya, Zhou Jirong; XIANDAI GUOJI GUANXI, Oct 81)..... 1

Modernization—The Case of Meiji Japan
(Yi Xing; XINHUA RIBAO, 20 Apr 82)..... 20

PARTY AND STATE

Class Essence of Economic Crimes Expounded
(Various sources, varios dates)..... 22

Nature of Present Struggle
Struggle in Fujian, by Xiao Li
Struggle in Shandong
Relevant Decision

Additional Discussion on Economic Criminals Reported
(Jiao Yongfu; RENMIN RIBAO, 11 May 82)..... 33

Ming Official a Model of Honesty For Cadres
(You Gan; XINHUA RIBAO, 20 Apr 82)..... 35

Short Commentary on Cadre Reform
(XINHUA RIBAO, 20 Apr 82)..... 38

County Guidance to Strengthen Team Leadership
(Tang Chengfen, Wang Baishen; XINHUA RIBAO, 20 Apr 82)..... 39

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Book Introduces Principles, Applications of Sonar
(Yu Yongyan; SHUIXIA QIANLIYAN, Mar 81) 42

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Gansu Province Stipulations on Family Planning Reported
(GANSU RIBAO, 2 Apr 82)..... 49

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

PARTY AND STATE

Reform Campaign Seen as Test For Deng-Hu Group
(Ai Nan; CH'I-SHI NIEN-TAI, Mar 82)..... 55

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

KEY ISSUES IN STRUGGLE AGAINST SOVIET HEGEMONISM

Beijing XIANDAI GUOJI GUANXI [CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS] in Chinese No 1, Oct 81 pp 1-11

[Article by Qi Ya [0796 0068] and Zhou Jirong [0719 4764 2837]: "Some Key Issues in the Struggle against Hegemonism"]

[Text] Does Soviet social imperialism still wish to pursue expansionism in spite of all kinds of difficulties? How should the Russia policy of the Reagan government be regarded? How do the conflicts between the United States and its allies influence the strategic coordination against Soviet hegemonism? How should the role of the Third World in the struggle against hegemonism be assessed? What is the basic tendency of the Soviet-U.S. contention and the prospect for world peace?

In the second year of the eighties, the tidal wave to defend peace and oppose hegemonism throughout the world continues to rush forward. The flagrant Soviet occupation of Afghanistan by force at the end of the seventies has become the focus of world attention; the Cambodian people are waging a bitter struggle against the Vietnamese armed invasion; whether the turmoil of the Polish political situation will lead to Soviet armed intervention is also a concern of the world people; storms are rocking South Africa and the Caribbeans. In another aspect, there are the war between Iran and Iraq which neither side can halt, the repeated crises in Lebanon, the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor by Israel, the spreading international terrorism, etc. All these indicate that the eruption points of a global crisis are ever increasing in number, manifesting the characteristic of the growing unrest of the international situation. The aggression and expansion of hegemonism in many areas in the world are the main source for the aggravation of the turbulent international situation and the disruption of world peace. So long as all peace loving forces in the world unite and wage a firm and efficient struggle against hegemonism and against aggression and expansion and effectively handle all the difficult situations, it will be possible to stave off the outbreak of a world war and preserve international peace for a relatively long period of time. This article expresses some views on several often discussed key issues in the current struggle against hegemonism.

Does Soviet Social Imperialism Still Wish to Pursue Expansionism in spite of All Kinds of Difficulties?

As Soviet social imperialism faces a fairly large number of difficulties, recent international opinion wonders whether its expansionism will be somewhat "restrained," and some people even feel that, strategically, it has already withdrawn to the "defensive." True, it is facing a series of difficulties at home and abroad, and finds its ability unequal to its aspirations. But the situation is not enough to check its expansionist ambitions and momentum.

In terms of its current international situation, the tendency that more and more countries are uniting against Soviet expansionism is developing, and the greatest strategic difficulty encountered by the Soviet Union is the unfavorable situation of simultaneous operations on the Eastern and Western fronts. Politically, it finds itself in an unprecedentedly isolated international position. Its direct occupation of Afghanistan by force, thereby ripping off the disguise of "supporting the national liberation movement," aroused world anger, encountering censure from all sides and finding itself a defendant at all international forums. The recent international conference on the Cambodia issue initiated by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations in the United Nations indicated that a growing number of nations in the world are upholding the standpoint against Soviet hegemonism. Economically, it is laboring under a heavy load. According to the estimates of the U.S. government and others, it has spent $4 billion for Afghanistan in the past year or more; its military and economic aid to Vietnam costs $3 to $6 million per day; its aid to Cuba is $7 to $8 million per day. The heavy burden has further aggravated the already difficult Soviet economy. Militarily, it has landed itself in a "Vietnam-type war" in Afghanistan, a quagmire for manpower and materiel. To the Soviet leaders aiming at a quick battle for a quick decision, it is a strategic miscalculation, thereby causing it to run into an insurmountable obstacle in the crucial move of its southward strategy.

In addition, the struggles of the Eastern European countries against the Soviet social imperialist domination continues without cessation. The continuous turmoil of the Polish situation is extremely troublesome. Western publications say that "Walesa is a figure which drives the Kremlin insane." Brezhnev cried out in alarm at the 26th Soviet Party Congress that a "fundamental threat" to the "large family" member nations has emerged in Poland. Though Soviet hegemonism has redoubled its pressure, it is worried that, if not handled properly, the situation may lead to yet another severe censure by world opinion, an all-out resistance by the Polish people and the chain reaction of other member nations, basically rocking its patriarchal position in the "large family," disrupting the overall arrangements painstakingly made by it with Europe as the strategic focus, and even encountering a disaster itself. Therefore, it must guard against the danger of the eruption of anything similar to the Polish incident at home. What deserves attention is that, once losing control of the Polich situation, it may possibly launch an armed intervention.

Nor is the domestic situation of Soviet social imperialism very encouraging. Besides the inherent national contradictions, the social issues, the rigidification of the system, the "aging" of the leadership, etc., the more serious are its economic problems. The 8th, 9th and 10th (1976-1980) 5-year plans all failed to reach their targets. With the poor grain harvest continuing for years, the depreciation of the rouble and the rise of commodity price, the dissatisfaction of the people is growing. One important factor for its deep-rooted economic difficulties is the unmanageable gigantic military budget. Yet the 26th Soviet Party Congress did not prescribe any recipe to improve the economic situation.

While the internal and external difficulties of Soviet social imperialism are many, our assessment must be appropriate. There are both gains and losses in its expansionist aspect. It has gained control over, or created single-handedly, certain pro-Soviet regimes, developed a number of military bases and acquired some economic benefits. It has also made progresses in certain aspects in domestic construction. While its economic growth rate has dropped, it is, after all, still growing, showing a 3.8 percent gain for the year 1979-1980. "Soviet imperialism is not merely a paper bear."* Unduly stressing the feeling that its difficulties will restrain its expansion will make our assessment inaccurate.

The Soviet social imperialist expansionism has a profound historical source. As early as in the 17th century, Peter I said: "When Russia can freely enter the Indian Ocean, it will gain military and political control in the world." By carrying out the southward strategy today and taking the serious measure of armed invasion of Afghanistan, Soviet hegemonism is continuing the ambition of the tsar to enter the Indian Ocean. Its southward advances to the Persian Gulf and the Pacific are all a continuation of the tsarist policy of seeking a warm ocean. It is impossible for it to lightly abandon this historical tradition of expansionism.

Currently, Soviet hegemonism still possesses the strength for expansion, and is intensifying its global strategy. Its military strength rivals the United States. Its economic foundation remains fairly solid. Its leaders brag that "the state economy can be converted to the wartime track at any given moment." Its various resources are also relatively abundant. Meanwhile, the basic goal of the Soviet Union in its global strategy to dominate the world, formed in the course of its degeneration into social imperialism, can be summarized as follows: Make the United States the main opponent; make Europe the strategic focus, outflanking Europe from the Mideast and Africa and placing the NATO nations in a predicament of "being unable to fight even while wishing to do so;" make Asia and the Pacific an important strategic region and coordinate the Eastern and Western fronts; intensify the expansion into the Third World and other crucial or weak regions. The main means of implementation is: Backed by military strength, carry out nuclear blackmail; with "detente"

* U.S. "UNITY," 5 May 1981

as the banner, resort to political strategy; continuously enhance its economic strength and use "economic bait" as the supplement; seek "global victory by all means other than total war," thereby dominating the world. Large numbers of conclusive authentic facts indicate that it has started, and will actively pursue, such strategy. It continues to launch contentions in various ways with the United States in Europe, the cockpit, and seeks to take Europe "by strategy" under a "nuclear stalemate." On the one hand, backed by military strength, it continues to enhance its superiority over Western Europe, and forces the latter to submit by utilizing its psychology of fear of war. On the other hand, with "detente" as the banner, it attempts to split Western Europe, disintegrate NATO and gradually elbow U.S. influence out of Europe. The Italian CORRIERA DELLA SERA declares that what Soviet hegemonism pursues in Europe is "an indirect strategy to make Europe collapse without firing a shot." At the same time, it steps up its southward stratety and vigorously reinforces its infiltration and expansion in the Mideast and Africa, pressing on Hormuz Strait, the "key link" of the thoroughfare of oil and resources for the West, and encircling and blocking Europe. Until now, it still stubbornly refuses to withdraw from Afghanistan and attempts to follow the policy of gobbling up the weak nations of Central Asia once pursued by the tsars in history, turning Afghanistan into a "bridgehead" for its southward march to the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, directly exposing Iran and Pakistan to its military threat, coordinating with the position already under its control in the Red Sea region, forming a pincer attack posture on the Gulf, and creating a favorable military situation in the Mideast, the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. It is also strengthening the strategic offense on the Eastern front and actively reinforcing its military strength in Asia and the Pacific region, vigorously pursuing the "dumbbell" strategy, intensifying the buildup of the Cam-ranh base, supporting Vietnam's continued invasion of Cambodia, attempting to control the situation of the entire Indochina, using it as a "springboard" to close in on the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and dominate the Strait of Malacca, the "vital passage" between the two oceans, and thereby linking the Eastern front with its southward move and connecting the Eastern and Western fronts. Meanwhile, it "ships advanced weapons to Cuba on an almost record creating level," transshipping a part of them to El Salvador and Nicaragua. Through Cuba, it is doing its utmost to infiltrate the Caribbeans and watching for an opportunity to fight its way into other crucial regions in the Third World. At present, it concentrates on the unstable and weak areas, so that it will gain substantial strategic benefits at relatively low risks. It has also built a military strength far in excess of its defense needs, vigorously pursues nuclear intimidation, reinforces the military deployment of the various theaters of operation, and actively prepares to fight all types of war. It ceaselessly varies its tactics of the "detente strategy," and launches "peace offensives" one after another, utilizing the pacifist trend to further its treachery. The "peace" appeal issued by the 26th Soviet Party Congress is "the suggestion of the fox in the chicken coop," and the purpose is to shift the line of vision from Afghanistan and Cambodia, alienate the relations between Europe and the United States, exert pressure on the West to follow

the principle of "detente" with the Soviet Union, sabotage U.S. deployment of nuclear arms in Western Europe and preserve its military superiority and political pressure in Western Europe. We must not mistake its "olive branch" as a retreat. Furthermore, under the names of "economic cooperation" and "military and economic aid," it gains economic benefits and political control. Not only wishing to consolidate the sphere of influence already acquired, but it ceaselessly watches for an opportunity to launch new expansions. All these indicate that the Soviet offensive remains overwhelming. The strategic posture of "Soviet offensive and U.S. defensive" formed since the mid-seventies has not changed today.

To be sure, due to various difficulties and out of strategic considerations, the Soviet Union now and then needs time to rest and reorganize or to change tactics. The WASHINGTON POST says that "the Soviet Union is like a giant snake which needs a period of calm to digest the large amount of food." Therefore, its offensive is at times intermittent. However, we must realize that the difficulties confronting Soviet hegemonism have not reached the degree which checks its expansion. Not long ago, 40 expert strategists of 14 Western nations arrived at a common conclusion: The Soviet Union has a "global strategy" of expansion, and also possesses today "the proper manpower, military strength, organization and funds" to realize it. Though all kinds of difficulties are blocking the completion of its global deployment, to feel that it will retreat in face of difficulties, "restrain" and "check" its expansionist desires, and "take the defensive" in strategy will be obviously incompatible with the facts. Overestimating its difficulties and feeling that it will change its course, and thereby relaxing the effort against Soviet hegemonism, will be detrimental to the cause of world peace.

How Should the Russia Policy of the Reagan Government Be Regarded?

Since President Reagan came to office, international opinion generally feels that the U.S. government will adopt a hard-line policy toward the Soviet Union. However, some experts on international issues point out that the situation of inadequate strength on the part of the United States is difficult to be basically changed within a short time, and that there are many domestic restraining factors which cast some doubt on whether the United States can persevere in its hard-line stand toward the Soviet Union.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan seriously threatens the vital interest of the United States in the Mideast and Persian Gulf and severely rocks the U.S. position as a superpower. The U.S. government and public have reacted strongly, and the demand to take "a hard line against the Soviets" has become the main current of public opinion. According to the opinion polls of the U.S. Associated Press and the National Broadcasting Company at the end of last February, about two-thirds of the voters favored increase in military spending, and close to three-fourths supported adopting a hard line toward the Soviet Union and following the "linkage principle" in Soviet-U.S. relations. In the later stage of his administration,

former President Carter already started readjusting the Russia strategy and announced the "Carter Doctrine" of defending the vital U.S. interest in the Persian Gulf by force if necessary. Reagan, long known for his hard line toward the Soviet Union, promptly "seized upon the national feelings," stressed "the pursuit of peace through strength," and vigorously sought to include all foreign policies in the total strategy to check the Soviet global expansion. The Reagan government seems to be reconsidering and revising the Russia strategy. According to the views of its main members and the strategic measures being undertaken, the basic points are to revitalize the U.S. economy, enhance its military strength, restore the equilibrium with the Soviet Union in nuclear strength and in military strength in the theaters of operation, and strive for superiority over the Soviet Union in naval strength; to repair the alliance relations and launch "closer and more effective consultations" with its allies, improving understanding and coordinating strategies and tactics; to enlarge, by every possible means, the U.S. capacity to handle Soviet provocations in the Third World and gradually increase attention on the strategic relations with China; to negotiate, backed by strength, with the Soviet Union. In talks on arms control, the United States wishes to implement the policy of verifiable balanced arms reduction. Carrying out the "linkage principle," it uses trade as the political weapon to exert pressure on the Soviet Union, and links the talks with the question of whether the Soviet Union will "restrain" its expansion. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Eagleburger recently revealed to Congress that the United States has indicated to the Soviet Union that if the latter moves in the direction of solving the Afghan issue and finally withdraws from Afghanistan, U.S.-Soviet relations may further expand. Meanwhile, if the Soviet Union takes rash actions in Poland, there will be serious consequences in such relations. Secretary of State Haig calls the Russia policy "a big stick with a carrot." Judging from the political atmosphere at home and the basic attitudes of the representative figures in the Reagan government in charge of foreign affairs and national defense, especially the objective fact of the ever narrowing margin in America's compromise with and concession to the Soviet Union, we may predict that the Reagan government will have to persevere in its Russia policy discussed above after disposing of the various contradictions.

Nevertheless, the Reagan government faces many difficulties and resistance at home and abroad, which unavoidably produce a restraining influence on its hard-line policy on the Soviet Union; therefore, it will fluctuate to a certain extent in handling the relations with the Soviet Union. Besides the external conditioning factors, the Reagan government faces crucial issues in two aspects which also constantly influence its attitude toward the Soviet Union.

One is the practical result of strengthening defense. The Reagan government is determined to "rearm the United States." In the 5 fiscal years from 1982 to 1986, its defense budget will reach $1.5 trillion (computed according to 1981 prices), approximately equivalent to its total expenditures on armed forces in the past 12 years and unprecedented in peacetime.

This heavy burden will bring serious consequences to Reagan's plan to restore the economy. The failure of the economy to show an obvious improvement will certainly affect the living standard of the people. Over an extended time, public feeling will gradually shift to the direction opposite to the present one, while whether the gigantic military budget can be carried out according to plan is hard to foresee. Recently, the Reagan government has decided to reduce defense spending by $13 billion in the next 3 years. It is reported that Senate majority leader Baker and others advocate further reductions in order to remedy the growing budget deficit. Furthermore, the Reagan government lacks an arms expansion plan on military appropriations according to the order of importance and urgency. To reverse the unfavorable situation in strategy and in the nuclear strength of the NATO theater of operations, the United States is accelerating the construction of the "Ohio" missile submarine, the MX intercontinental ballistic missiles, new model strategic bombers, air, sea and land strategic cruise missiles, Pershing II ballistic missiles and neutron bombs. To counter Soviet provocations in the Third World, especially in the Persian Gulf region, the United States is stepping up the implementation of the "RDF" plan. To seize naval superiority, it will, in the near future, expand its current 450 ships to 600. As already pointed out by some U.S. strategists, such large-scale arms expansion involving several projects simultaneously will run into the difficult question of "just how much is enough" in defense spending, let alone the fact that many contradictions in formulating and carrying out a feasible arms expansion plan await solution, while the overextended defense line and the inadequate military strength are weaknesses which are hard to overcome. Such doubts are not groundless.

The Soviet Union, the main opponent of the United States, has already declared that it will never permit the United States to gain military superiority, and will take the necessary countermeasures. In spite of its economic difficulties and heavy military spending, the Soviet Union is a state with a high degree of power concentration, free from the handicap of pressure groups and opposition parties. It will maintain the momentum of its current military spending, even increasing its military budget to 15 percent or more of its national income. In the arms race, the one ahead runs for all its worth, and the one behind pants to catch up. Recently, U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger declared that it will possibly take 6 years "before closing" the "military expenditure gap" between the United States and the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, it will also take about 5 years before the new U.S. nuclear missile system and its "RDF" begin to take shape. It signifies that, in the 4-year term of the Reagan administration, the current military ratio between the two countries will not change substantially. In their contention, both the United States and the Soviet Union rely on strength to back themselves up. In its competition with the Soviet Union, the United States lacks adequate strength, its ability falling short of its ambition. Its "reconciliation" faction with the financial groups as background, which, with civilian industry, have trade interest with the Soviet Union, will gradually gain the upper hand, and the pressure of the allies on the United States to

negotiate will grow. In the negotiations, "the Soviets will, by all possible means, force the West to make unilateral concessions." As the Reagan government does not possess an adequate bargaining power, the possibility of certain compromises and concessions and of secret understandings with the Soviet Union cannot be ruled out. This point must not be overlooked.

Another issue faced by the Reagan government is the conflicts between different parties and among difference influence groups. In the recent 6 months, conflicts of this type have occurred successively, while those in the cabinet hamstring one another. To a certain extent, they hamper the pursuit of a unanimous and consistent Russia policy. In spite of the many difficulties faced by the United States, protecting its basic interests against Soviet provocations is crucial. Therefore, in the contention between the two countries, the dominant tendency of following a hard line on the Soviet Union will not be easily changed.

How Do the Conflicts between the United States and Its Allies Influence the Strategic Coordination against Soviet Hegemonism?

In terms of the relations between the United States and its allies, after President Reagan took office, international comments were varied, and some people even predicted the "disintegration" of the Western alliance and the "imminent collapse of NATO."

The Reagan government makes improving relations with the allies one of the pillars of its foreign policy, attempting to bridge the successive serious splits during the Carter administration, eliminate the lack of trust, and enhance the mutual strategic coordination against the Soviet Union. Reagan received in succession the government leaders of West Germany, Great Britain, Japan and Australia, and his appointment of Haig as the secretary of state won the favorable reaction of the Western European allies. When Japanese Prime Minister Suzuki visited the United States in May, the two countries made certain progresses in the labor division of defense tasks and in restricting Japan's export of automobiles to the United States. In U.S. relations with its Western European allies, through the NATO foreign ministers' and defense ministers' conferences held in May, the continued implementation of the dual policy of arms expansion and negotiations passed by NATO in 1979 was reaffirmed, and the reinforcement of military strength to counter the growing threat of the Warsaw Pact agreed on. On the assessment of the Polich situation and the countermeasures and on the issue of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, basically unanimous standpoints were reached. At the seven-nation summit held in Ottawa in July, strengthening defense to offset the Soviet threat was stressed. Japanese public opinion feels that the "Japan-United States alliance" has been brought into the entire Western "United States-Europe-Japan alliance structure." However, there have been new developments on the issue of the tactics toward the Soviet Union, the mutual economic and trade relations, and the policy issues of some regions in the Third World,

such as the splits and conflicts on the policies on South Africa, the Mideast and Central America. [Sic]

At present, the crucial split between the United States and its Western European allies on the attitude toward the Soviet Union is: The United States wants its allies to adopt a hard-line policy, while Western Europe is yet unable to keep pace with the United States. In implementing the 1979 dual policy of NATO on military affairs, what the United States stresses are to increase defense spending, deploy new model U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe, restore NATO's strategic balance with the Warsaw Pact, deal from a position of strength, and negotiate with the Soviet Union on nuclear arms limitations in the European theater of operations and on arms reduction. On the other hand, NATO's European members, especially West Germany, Holland and Belgium, due to geopolitics, are worried that "the tense relations between the two superpowers" will spread to Europe. West Germany, in particular, fears that it will become a victim of a limited nuclear conflict. Therefore, they vigorously urge the United States to hold talks with the Soviet Union on nuclear arms limitation in the European theater of operations, hoping thereby to make the Soviet Union reduce its SS-20 missiles aimed at Western Europe, obtain a low level military balance with the Warsaw Pact, and turn Europe into an "island of detente." In addition, due to economic difficulties, the Western European allies generally take a negative attidude on increasing military spending and undertaking more defense responsibilities. Recently, the pacifist trend of "peace, not war" has made a new development on the Western European mainland. Such desires of the Western Europeans are understandable, but it will again give Soviet hegemonism an opportunity to prevent the United States from deploying new model nuclear arms in Western Europe.

In the economic aspect, both Western Europe and Japan need Russian oil, natural gas, minerals and forestry resources, and they also need to find products and investment markets in the Soviet Union. During the "detente" of the past decade, Western Europe and Japan have enlarged their economic and trade relations with the Soviet Union. After Soviet hegemonism invaded Afghanistan, Italy, France and West Germany, in disregard of U.S. embargo, have continued to expand trade with the Soviet Union, and the 1980 volume of trade increased 20 to 40 percent. Western Europe is a big creditor of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Up till 1980, they (excluding Romania and Yugoslavia) owed the West approximately $68 billion, mostly to Western Europe.* Meanwhile, the 5,500-km natural pipeline from Siberia to Western Europe will help ease the energy and economic crises of Western Europe. (West Germany, Italy, France and Holland plan to supply $10 billion for the project. After completion, the supply of natural gas to West Germany from the Soviet Union will grow from the present 17 percent to 30 percent).** Though the interest rate of Western

---

* U.S. COMMERCE WEEKLY, 16 February 1981

** U.S. FORTUNE, 1 June 1981

loans is high and the conditions still under bargaining, the West German government has openly rejected U.S. pressure and indicated that it will advance funds for the project. Unwilling to be left behind, Japan has, for the purpose of developing the raw material, coal and forestry resources of South Yakutia, provided the Soviet Union with more than $900 million in trust loans. Recently, Japan and the Soviet Union formed an agreement on developing the offshore oil and natural gas of Sakhalin, and Japan will supply approximately $3.2 billion in loans from the Export-Import Bank.* Negotiations on $3 billion in funds and equipment for the natural gas pipeline are underway. In another aspect, the trade and financial wars between the United States and Japan are growing ever more fierce, and the high interest rate policy of the United States which seriously affects the exchange rate and money-outflow of its Western European allies is crucial at this moment. Precisely as pointed out by the NEW YORK TIMES, "more possibly, political splits and disputes are actually reactions of the profound antagonistic feelings in the economic structure."

It appears that, due to the effect of the law of imbalance in the development of capitalism, the economic strengths of Western European and Japan will continue to rise; therefore, the demand to create a truly equal "partnership relation" with the United States politically will continue to grow, the rivalry in economics will aggravate, and the splits on the Soviet tactics of the Western European allies with the United States will ceaselessly emerge. Nevertheless, the basic fact is that the basic threat to the security of the United States, Europe and Japan comes from the Soviet Union, and their strategic interdependence is "the foundation for the survival of the Western alliance." In face of the ever aggravating provocations of Soviet hegemonism, the United States, Europe and Japan have a greater need to support one another. Without U.S. military protection, Western Europe and Japan have no capital to pursue "detente" with the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, economically they mutually infiltrate and mutually rely on one another. To protect the oil source and shipping route of the Persian Gulf, they also have a common interest. Therefore, reconciling the conflicts and splits is the need of the overall situation of resisting Soviet hegemonism. The leading figures of West Germany and France warned the Soviet Union that, if it feels that it can split Europe and America, it will be "shortsighted." Hereafter, the relations between the United States and its European and Japanese allies will continue to follow the path of conflict--reconciliation and of reinforcing the joint resistance of Soviet hegemonism and advance on a winding course.

How Should the Role of the Third World in the Struggle against Hegemonism Be Assessed?

One view is that, with the poverty and backwardness and the internal problems, just how much effect will the Third World produce in the anti-hegemonist struggle is doubtful. Possibly those entertaining this doubt

* Japanese ASAHI SHIMBUN, 1 July 1981

take into account only the temporary secondary phenomena, while overlooking the long-range dominant tendency.

The current common basic task of the Third World is to resist imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, defend world peace, preserve national independence, and develop the national economy and culture. Tremendous changes have occurred in the Third World after the war. First, the overwhelming majority of its nations have gained independence, and only a minority of the states and possessions needs to continue to strive for independence. Next, a considerable number of the countries has followed the path of developing the national economy, and some of them have made progresses to different extents. They are realizing ever more clearly that, only by casting off the fetters of the unfair and unequal international economic relations and striving for economic independence will they consolidate their political independence. Today, the main threat to their independence is the grim reality that the Soviet Union considers the Third World the main target of its contention, while the "hot spot" areas of the contention are all found in the Third World. Especially with the gradual decline of U.S. strength and the ceaseless inflation of the Soviet strength, the threat of the Soviet hegemonist expansion and infiltration to the Third World is growing ever more crucial. Brezhnev, for instance, revealed the Soviet strategic intent in the Mideast and Africa regions when he declared: "Our goal is to control the two great treasuries which the West relies on for its vurvival, viz., the energy treasury of the Persian Gulf and the mineral treasury of Africa."* At present, as the attitudes toward the Soviet Union and the United States in different areas and different countries are somewhat varied, such as the antagonism of many Latin American countries for U.S. hegemonism, and as the banner of "supporting the national liberation movement" hoisted by Soviet hegemonism still has a certain deceptiveness, it will require a process for most Third World nations to recognize the true colors of Soviet social imperialism. However, in terms of the general development tendency of a relatively long range, to thoroughly complete the tasks of national independence and of developing the national economy and culture, more and more Third World nations will gradually recognize the true colors of Soviet hegemonism and realize that it is the main source of today's threat of war. Only when the struggle of the Third World against Soviet hegemonism rises on a large scale will it become possible to effectively postpone war, safeguard world peace, and win a relatively long period of international peace for the broad Third World to build its own nations.

That the Third World has become the main force against hegemonism, mainly the more aggressive and threatening Soviet hegemonism, is primarily because of its wide area and large population. Its 128 nations, spread over the vast regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America, constitute 76 percent of the independent nations in the world and 59 percent of the total world area, and its total population of 3 billion constitute 72 percent of the world population. Next, the Third World possesses many strategic spots and most of the world's crucial oil and resource "thoroughfares," such as

* Nixon, "the Real War"

Hormuz Strait, the Cape of Good Hope navigation route, the Suez Canal, the Strait of Malacca, Panama Canal, etc. In addition, its strategic resources are extremely abundant. The total deposit of oil in the Mideast, for instance, is 49 billion ton, or 58 percent of the world total, and the export volume is 60 percent of the world total. The proportions of the mineral deposits of Africa in the world totals are: Diamond, close to 100 percent; gold, 70 percent; uranium, 30 percent; lithium, cobalt and chromium, 90 percent or more. Therefore, the Third World occupies a crucial position in the struggle against hegemonism.

The Third World has already played, and will continue to play, a major role in the struggle against hegemonism, mainly Soviet hegemonism. As the Third World nations possess a strong national sentiment, firmly defending national independence and sovereignty, opposing external intervention and aggression, and seeking intensely to safeguard world peace, they are determined to combat hegemonism. Meanwhile, they ceaselessly enrich their experience in struggle, enhance the techniques, and reinforce unity, and all kinds of political, economic and even defensive regional organizations have mushroomed. In recent years, many countries among them have improved their understanding of the Soviet hegemonist threat, and the tendency to unite and resist Soviet expansionism is developing, effectively checking the expansionist arrogance of Soviet hegemonism.

In Asia, the people of Afghanistan and Cambodia stand on the front line against the Soviet and Vietnamese armed aggressions. So long as the Afghan and Cambodian issues are not fairly and rationally solved, they will persevere in a protracted struggle. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations, especially their statesmen with vision, warn that the invasions of Afghanistan and Cambodia are "the first move of the Soviet Union to drag the Southeast Asian countries into its sphere of influence." They unanimously demand the complete withdrawal of the Soviets and the Vietnamese from Afghanistan and Cambodia and support Thailand in its resistance of Vietnam for border violations. They continue to support the anti-Vietnam armed forces, including the Democratic Cambodia, and uphold the legitimate seat of the Democratic Cambodia on the United Nations. They actively seek the rational solution of the Afghan and Cambodian issues. Western newspapers report that, "in Asia and the Pacific region, an anti-Soviet 'rejection front' is forming." In another aspect, Soviet hegemonism takes Western Asia and the Mideast as the current main direction of attack and impels the anti-Soviet setup of the region to develop gradually. The two meetings of the foreign ministers of Islamic nations passed resolutions demanding the complete withdrawal of the Soviet invasion army from Afghanistan. Pakistan continues to support the resistance struggle of the Afghan guerrilla forces. Many figures in Iran have also pointed out that "the main threat comes from the Soviet Union." The six Gulf countries are in the process of jointly boosting their naval forces. The Arab League organization is urging a ceasefire between Iran and Iraq, mainly to forestall Soviet hegemonism from taking the opportunity to instigate the pro-Soviet forces within those countries to "seize power by coordinating with forces from without."

In Africa, ever since the Soviet Union instigated the Cuban mercenaries to invade Angola, many countries have reinforced their vigilance. By their own experience, Egypt, Sudan and Somalia have recognized the true colors of Soviet social imperialism, the "natural ally," and firmly oppose its expansionist conduct. After the assassination of Egypt's President Sadat, his successor President Mubarak declared emphatically that there will be no change in Egypt's foreign policy. During the second Saudi incident, some six countries, including Senegal and the Central African Republic, dispatched a joint force to support Zaire and repelled the invasion of a mercenary army with a Soviet background. Among such countries as Guinea and Congo, some have dismissed the Soviet military advisers, others have foiled the Soviet scheme to grab military bases, and still others have pared the influence of the pro-Soviet strength. The "merging" of Libya, encouraged by the Soviet Union, with Chad aroused the strong opposition of the Chadians and the African nations and earned a severe censure from the summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity. Some African state leaders appealed for strict precautions against the conspiracy of the Soviets "to hoist the 'detente' banner to annex Africa."

In Latin America, the Soviet Union mainly utilizes Cuba as the agent to expand its influence. A Brazilian newspaper pointed out that "Moscow is attempting to shift its global conflict with Washington to the neighboring regions of the United States." The Soviet Union first utilizes in many ways the turbulent situation of Central America. A Venezuelan newspaper pointed out that "the Soviet infiltration of the Caribbeans is no longer purely political, but military." Therefore, a number of countries has reinforced their move to unite against hegemonism, especially Soviet hegemonism, and formed all kinds of regional organizations. Eight countries, including Panama, declared that "better understanding among Central America, the Caribbeans and the Andes region in the course of forming an organic whole is the need of regional geopolitics." Brazil declared that it will "serve as a friend in need during the difficult times of the Andes group." Such large countries as Argentina and Brazil are in the process of reinforcing cooperation to block the expansion of the Soviet Union and Cuba. Latin America is playing an ever more important role in resisting hegemonism and defending regional peace and stability.

Part of the Third World, China has all along consistently breathed the same air and shared the same destiny with the Third World countries. China will never become a superpower, but will firmly align itself with the Third World nations, uphold the standpoint of waging an irreconcilable struggle against hegemonism, and promote the development of the united anti-hegemonist strengths in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The strategic pattern whereby China is allying with more and more Third World nations, and also with the United States, Japan and European nations, to resist Soviet expansionism is developing and strengthening.

However, we must also open our eyes to the fact that internal problems in the Third World are numerous, which must be gradually and rationally solved. There are, for instance, the intricate and complex class, tribal

and religious conflicts in some countries, the frequent outbreak of border disputes between others, and the turbulent and unstable conditions in many countries and regions. Taking advantage of the situation, Soviet hegemonism and other imperialists utilize their internal and external contradictions, foment discord, vigorously expand and infiltrate, and reap a profit in the confusion. All these block the progress of the Third World against Soviet hegemonism. As a whole, the internal difficulties of the Third World are problems occurring in the course of progress. As long as the Third World nations stand on their own feet, rely on themselves for improvement, believe in themselves, enhance mutual understanding, solve their disputes by negotiations on an equal footing, seek a common ground while reserving the differences, unite closely, refrain from "internal strifes" and effectively prevent Soviet hegemonism and other external influences from meddling, the anti-hegemonist struggle of the Third World will forge ahead in the course of continuously overcoming the difficulties.

It must be pointed out that certain policies adopted by the United States on Asian, African and Latin American countries produce an unfavorable influence on the Third World's united resistance of Soviet hegemonism. The Reagan government stresses the "strategic unity" with the Third World to check Soviet expansion. Today, the United States starts from the overall situation of the contention with the Soviet Union to determine the crucial strategic areas and, according to the attitude of the countries in those areas toward the United States and the Soviet Union and their roles in regional security, deals with them in different ways, selects the key points for aid and cooperation, and stresses military aid. It is also supporting and promoting multilateral or bilateral joint anti-Soviet organizations. While such policies and principles produce a certain positive effect in checking Soviet expansionism, as the United States supports the regimes of most of those countries which are opposed to the people, it places itself on their opposite side, and diverts and even shifts the attention of some areas and countries from resisting Soviet hegemonism, thereby giving the Soviet Union an advantage.

First, there is the issue of how to handle the relations with China. Due to the feeling of urgency of the Soviet threat, the view advocating continuing the development of strategic relations with China has gradually gained influence in the Reagan government. During U.S. Secretary of State Haig's visit to China in June, both sides agreed to increase cooperation, develop the economic and trade relations between the two countries, and coordinate strategic actions. Yet the Reagan government still insists on implementing the "Taiwan Relations Act;" there are still those in power who plan to upgrade U.S. relations with Taiwan; the Reagan government has sold weapons to Taiwan. It is actually following the so-called "double-track policy" on China, the policy of "one China and one Taiwan," so that Taiwan will continue to serve as a strategic "unsinkable aircraft carrier" among America's Pacific islands. Certain advisers in the U.S. government have all along been scheming on ways to continue to

develop relations with China while also doing so with Taiwan, such as using "balanced sale of weapons" in exchange for our tacit consent to its weapons sale to Taiwan, or "nongovernmental relations" to conceal its actual governmental relations with Taiwan, and new variations emerge constantly. Nevertheless, regardless of the pattern used to interfere in China's internal affairs and block the return of Taiwan to the motherland, it will encounter China's firm opposition. There are also some among those in power in the United States who advocate that the development of the relations between the United States and China should not excessively "provoke" the Soviet Union. They feel that the rapprochement of the two countries may endanger the possibility of reaching an agreement with the Soviet Union on arms control and other bilateral issues and lose the restraining effect on the Soviet Union on the Polish issue. Actually, it is still "playing the China card," definitely detrimental to the development of the China-United States strategic relations. The improvement and development of the relations between the two countries are the long-term need of the strategy of the two countries and the common desire of both peoples. It is linked with the long-range security, stability and peace of the world. Only by scrupulously abiding by the principles by which diplomatic relations were established, mutually respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other and mutually refraining from interfering in the other's internal affairs will the relations between the two countries be further improved.

The Reagan government considers the Mideast and the Persian Gulf the crucial strategic region to check the Soviet advance to the south. It actively reinforces its military presence in the region, strengthens its strategic relations with Egypt against the Soviet Union, and gives serious attention to the strategic position of Pakistan, promosing to provide Pakistan with more than $3 billion in military and economic aids within 5 years, in order to enhance its capacity to resist the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, it vigorously launches diplomatic activities with the Mideast. Secretary of State Haig visited the Mideast in April, seeking to reach a "strategic unity" with the moderate Arab nations on the anti-Soviet issue, and a special envoy was dispatched to mediate the conflict between Israel and Syria, vigorously ejecting the Soviet influence in the area. Nevertheless, as the United States continues to side with Israel, and its standpoint on solving the Arab-Israeli issue is contrary to the desire of most Arab nations, it has furnished the Soviet Union the opportunity to intervene in Mideast affairs. In South Africa, the Reagan government stresses the reinforcement of military cooperation with its government, and protects, in strategy, the Cape Town navigation route of the South African coast. (Approximately 12,000 ships and 60 percent of the oil consumed in the West pass through this route annually). On the Namibia issue, the United States advocates obtaining the agreement of South Africa and, under the premise of protecting the interest of the whites, solving its independence and election issues through negotiations. Recently, in disregard of world opinion, the United States continued to side with South Africa and actually vetoed the Security Council draft resolution censuring South Africa for invading Angola, thereby arousing the strong dissatisfaction of the African nations. Even the U.S. NEW YORK TIMES had to admit

that most black African nations hold the United States responsible for blocking the independence of Namibia.

In Latin America, the Reagan government considers checking the infiltration of the Soviet Union and its agent Cuba its "action program" and makes El Salvador "a card in the world political gamble" between the United States and the Soviet Union. It sends large volumes of military aid and dispatches military advisers to the Salvadoran government, and even assembled a formidable naval force for a large-scale maneuver on the Caribbean Sea to show its tough attitude toward the Soviet Union and Cuba. Besides external factors, the political unrest of some Central American countries is caused by their internal problems, and the U.S. practice has encountered the criticisms of some Latin American countries and its allies.

In short, the obstacles placed by the Reagan government to improving relations with most of the Third World nations are unfavorable to promoting the strategic needs of the Third World to unite against Soviet hegemonism; on the contrary, they have given the Soviet Union an opportunity to meddle.

What Is the Basic Tendency of the Soviet-U.S. Contention and the Prospect for World Peace?

The development tendency of the Soviet-U.S. contention is an issue of concern to the whole world. As the "hot spots" increase in number, the area affected widens. There are both direct and indirect patterns of contention, and the means are many and varied. Therefore, in the foreseeable future, the Soviet-U.S. global contention will grow sharper, fiercer and more complex, and the eighties will be fraught with greater dangers of war.

As one main means of contention is reliance on strength, a new round of arms competition will undoubtedly occur. In the past decade, Soviet spending on conventional weapons was double that of the United States, and its spending on nuclear arms triple. The military expenditures of both sides hereafter will be like the boat rising ever higher with the rise of the water. Brezhnev stressed at the 26th Soviet Party Congress that "both sides should refrain from seeking military superiority over the other." Actually, both are seeking to restrict the other and strengthen itself. The Soviet Union plans, by the mid-eighties, to strengthen and renew its nuclear strike force, reinforce its land, sea and air mobility and assault capacity, narrow the gap with the United States in military technology, and surpass the United States in certain realms. The United States does its utmost to maintain strategic parity with the Soviet Union, gives attention to the ceaseless growth of its nuclear strike capacity, creates new sophisticated weapons, and pays an increasing attention on the development of its conventional strength, while reinforcing the rapid reaction capacity of its armed forces. It also demands that the allies appropriately develop their military defense capacity.

The recent seven-nation summit showed concern over the Soviet increase in military strength, and "unanimously feels that it is necessary to seek parity in strength" and that, besides the United States, all nations must also "reinforce their defense capacity according to their national conditions." The Warsaw Pact headed by the Soviet Union and the NATO headed by the United States, the two big blocs, will go all out to further the momentum of arms expansion.

The strategic focus in the Soviet-U.S. contention is still Europe. There the open strifes and veiled struggles are unusually fierce. Nevertheless, the current "hot spots" of contention in Asia, the Pacific Region, Africa and the Caribbeans have continued to increase, while the "hot spots of hot spots" are concentrated in the Mideast and the Persian Gulf. The ever aggravating oil crisis of the West has made the Soviet Union realize that control of the Mideast oil source is "a weapon more lethal than the atom bomb to crush the Western economy," while the continued turmoil of the Mideast political situation provides a great "temptation" to the Soviet Union. The strategic control of the Mideast region will ameliorate its predicament of "suffering attack front and rear" and enable it to gain a more favorable strategic posture in a global range. Even though the Soviet Union has run into a "dead-end alley" in Afghanistan and finds itself in a dilemma on the Polish incident, it is still concentrating on the Mideast. On the one hand, it continues to intensify infiltration and expansion and strengthen military deployment. On the other hand, it is launching a political offensive and has proposed "not to use force on the Persian Gulf, but to seek a package plan of solution," for the purpose of interfering in the Mideast issue and utilizing the splits among the Arab nations and the conflict between the Arabs and Israel to isolate Egypt and elbow out the United States. Nevertheless, the serious Soviet threat has enhanced the sense of urgency of the West to stabilize the Mideast and the Persian Gulf. The United States vigorously attempts to preserve and expand its influence in the region. The Reagan government has indicated that the Mideast is "an issue of the first priority" at present, and adopted a series of corresponding measures to stabilize it. However, as certain U.S. practices are like "spinning a cocoon around oneself," it plays into the Soviet hand, making it hard for the solution of the Arab-Israeli issue, the key to the Mideast issue, to make a breakthrough in the near future. Under the fierce Soviet-U.S. contention, the various contradictions in the Mideast region continue to aggravate, with various forces grouping and regrouping repeatedly, and the situation will fluctuate without certainty.

While intensifying their contention, both the Soviet Union and the United States wish to maintain the "detente" pattern as far as possible. One of the important reasons that the Soviet Union hesitates to launch armed intervention in Poland is its concern that it may affect its conspiracy to promote the so-called East-West "detente" and cause the West to impose stringent economic sanctions against it and to suspend the arms reduction talks. The united States also has to maintain a cautious attitude on the Polish issue. Therefore, within a considerable length of time, both sides

will utilize "detente" to bargain back and forth and serve their own political goals. The London International Institute of Strategic Studies has the following view: "Both the United States and the Soviet Union want to avoid a direct armed confrontation, and both sides constantly seek strength and negotiation." It appears that neither can tolerate the heavy burden of arms competition and both need to restrict the other by nuclear arms limitation and arms reduction talks. We must also realize that "detente" is the long-range strategy of the Soviet Union to undermine the West and strengthen itself and to dominate the world. The purpose is to gain time in order to catch up with the United States in economy and gain an overall military superiority, and to dismantle the Europe-United States alliance, complete its global strategic deployment and create conditions for a "victory without war." Recently, Soviet leaders advocated giving "detente" a "second breathing spell," bragging that the "detente" pursued by the Soviet Union has resulted in "indisputable strategic achievements" and vowing solemnly that it will "promote the detente policy indefinitely" in the future. At the 26th Soviet Party Congress, Brezhnev stressed the necessity to "preserve detente," hypocritically advocated "political detente" supplemented by "military detente," declared the Soviet desire to promote the holding of the European arms reduction talks, and announced the intention to "resort to all political means" to block the United States from deploying new nuclear weapons in Western Europe. Advocating the "theory of the divisibility of detente," he said that, "regardless of the growing tense situation in other areas in the world, detente can be continued in Europe," thereby attempting to drive a wedge between the United States and Europe, continue to acquire the technology and funds needed by the Soviet Union from Europe in order to solve its domestic economic difficulties, and win a breathing spell in handling the "Eastern European lifeline beset with crises." As for Reagan's "words on abandoning detente" and the adoption of certain hard-line policies on the Soviet Union, one intent is to arouse public opinion at home in support of his domestic and foreign policies, primarily to handle the severe economic problems, to further reinforce military strength, to readjust the relations with the allies, to promote the so-called "peace through strength," and to strengthen U.S. position in talks with the Soviet Union. When Brezhnev, at the 26th Soviet Party Congress, expressed willingness to "hold dialogues of various levels" with the United States, especially "dialogue of the highest level," U.S. Secretary of State Haig signified that there were certain "innovations" meriting attention, and reacted favorably to a high-level dialogue between the two countries, but he urged "careful preparations" beforehand. Currently, both sides are mutually appraising the intent of each other and both wish to force concessions from the other through the talks. Therefore, even if talks are held, it will be difficult for any substantive progress to be made within a short time, nor will the inevitable objective tendency of the ever aggravating Soviet-U.S. contention be changed even if a temporary and partial compromise or tacit understanding is achieved.

The eighties will be the period of "deadlock coexistence" under the fierce Soviet-U.S. contention. The contention will tense and ease

alternately. The "detente" between them will "disappear" at times and "appear" at times. The Soviet Union admits that "detente has met with resistance," "with low tides and high tides," and that "the golden age of detente" of the mid-seventies will not emerge again, but nor will there be a return to the "cold war" of the fifties. The fierce Soviet-U.S. contention, especially the Soviet offensive strategy, has continuously increased the factors of war, but the world force opposing and restricting war is also daily developing. Western strategists feel that the current Soviet-U.S. contention is "a conflict below the threshold of a world war," while the Soviet Union, "under the extremely unstable situation caused by a number of small-scale incidents," may again resort to force in local areas.

In short, the world continues to develop in the "multipolar" direction, and the Soviet Union and the United States, after all, cannot control the world situation. Japan's SEKAI magazine says: "The great-power mold has revealed its cracks, and power politics is daily losing its persuasiveness." Meanwhile, the intensified expansion of Soviet hegemonism will further advance the awakening of the people of all nations, favorable to the development of the united international strength against Soviet hegemonism. Western diplomats with a keen insight advocate "a global alliance composed of all the continents to counter the global strategy of Soviet expansionism." It is in line with the trend of the times. The development of the strength against hegemonism and for world peace will further disrupt the global strategic deployment of Soviet hegemonism and stave off the outbreak of a world war. While we must maintain a high vigilance against the increasing dangers of war, we must strive to gain a considerable period of international peace.

6080
CSO: 4005/870

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MODERNIZATION--THE CASE OF MEIJI JAPAN

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 20 Apr 82 p 4

[Article by Yi Xing [1150 2502]: "Japan's Meiji Restoration"]

[Text] Meiji Restoration is an epoch-making event in the modern history of Japan. It not only saved Japan from a national crisis of becoming a colony but also propelled Japan from a feudal capitalist society, turning [Japan] into Asia's only capitalist power.

In 1603, the Tokugawa shogunate was established, and the nation's supreme power was held in the hands of feudal military leaders led by the shogun. The Emperor's power was completely eliminated. In order to preserve its autocratic control, the shogunate adapted a "closed-door policy" toward foreign countries while a strict feudal class system was implemented domestically. Samurai (bushi) including the shogun, feudal warlords, and their vasals belonged to the controlling class, while farmers, artisans, and merchants belonged to the controlled class. Upper and lower, honorable and humble were separated according to class, and the restrictions were absolute.

Beginning in the 18th century, the productive power of Japanese society was raised significantly by the rapidly growing commodity economy, and many capitalist handicraft factories appeared one after another in various productive sectors. By the middle of the 19th century, the development of commodity economy destroyed the natural economy of the feudal society and broke the class restrictions, throwing the entire society into turmoil. Peasant rebellions grew larger and larger. Uprisings by urban commoners were triggered frequently by speculating merchants who raised the price of rice. Continuous uprisings by farmers and urban commoners severely damaged the control of the shogunate which was trying to maintain the feudal productive relationship.

Starting in the beginning of the 19th centruy, warships of the Western powers continuously pounded the front gate of Japan, which maintained its closed-door policy. Since 1853, American warships twice entered Japanese harbors and forced the shogunate to sign unequal treaties. They opened up harbors and even secured consular jurisdiction, the right to negotiate tariffs and the right to establish settlements. Following in the steps of the Americans, Great Britain, Russia, and Holland, too, forced the shogunate to sign similar unequal treaties,

and Japan, on the verge of becoming a colony, came face to face with a national crisis of being the Japanese people rose and resisted foreign economic and military aggression: they attacked foreign embassies and merchant ships, and destroyed stores dealing in foreign goods. However, the shogunate surrendered to the colonialists, begging for foreign economic and military aid to suppress the Japanese people's movement. This aroused the people's indignation toward the shogunate even more, and Japan's class contradictions and national contradictions were intermingled. The lower samurais belonging to several clans in the Southwest including Satsuma and Choshu, taking advantage of the people's indignation toward the shogunate for losing supremacy and disgracing the nation and the people's movement to attack the shogunate, unfolded a struggle to topple the shogunate under the banner of "protecting the emperor and driving away foreigners." After a civil war, the anti-shogunate army defeated the shogunate army decisively, and the shogun was forced to surrender. The Tokugawa shogunate which controlled Japan for more than 260 years came to an end.

In August 1868, Emperor Mutsuhito ascended the throne and adopted "Meiji" as the regnal designation of the era by taking two characters from a phrase in the old Chinese text "I-jing": "A sage faces south and listens to the world; he governs while facing the light." The capital was moved to Tokyo. After the Meiji government was established, three great policies--"enrich the nation and strengthen the military," "promote production and build industry," and "cultivate civilization"--were brought forward as the guidelines for the national reform. The goals pursued by these policies included taking thw Western capitalist powers as a model, learning from the West, catching up with the West, and building Japan in a short period of time into a modernized capitalist nation with powerful armaments and great economic power. The main details of the reform include the following: Through policies such as "returning to imperial system, abolishing clans, and establishing prefectures," feudal separatist powers were eliminated and a national system centered around the emperor and consisting of centralized administrative power and a landlord bourgeoisie was established; the feudal class system was reformed and the samurai's special privileges were eliminated; monopoly rights and customs barriers were abolished and free trade was encouraged; railroads, postal service, and factories were established and capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises were supported; the ban on purchasing and selling of land was lifted and the ownership of land was confirmed; the nation's cultural level was raised; the educational system was reformed with zeal, and Western technologies and systems were introduced.

The Meiji Restoration was an incomplete bourgeois revolution. Through reform, domestic contradictions were relaxed, productive power unleshed, and obstacles to rapid development of capitalist eliminated. As a result, Japan was able to achieve in less than half a century the bourgeois modernization which took the the Western bourgeois nations more than 200 years to accomplish. Due to the fact that the leadership of the Meiji Restoration was in the hands of a samurai group representing the bourgeois, a large feudal residue remained after the reform. For example, the peasant land problem was never solved; the feudal production relationship still dominated the villages; preservation of the imperial system also preserved a strong sense of feudalism including the Bushido spirit. As a result of this incomplete revolution, Japan was soon to go the way of militarism and became a feudal military imperialist nation.

9113
CSO: 4005/841

PARTY AND STATE

CLASS ESSENCE OF ECONOMIC CRIMES EXPOUNDED

Nature of Present Struggle

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 5 Apr 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Clearly Recognize the Class Essence of Illegal and Criminal Activities in the Economic Realm"]

[Text] Recently, newspapers of various localities have continuously published, exposed and handled cases of illegal and criminal conduct in the economic realm. These cases involve certain party members, cadres, and even cadres with considerable responsibilities. The seriousness of the situation in some cases has reached an alarming degree. Hence, a crackdown on illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm for the purpose of digging up the termites undermining the construction of our socialist modernization has become an unavoidable, serious struggle.

What is the nature of this struggle? How serious is it? We should say that the perception of this problem on the part of most comrades is quite clear, and their attitude likewise positive. But it also cannot be denied that a small number of comrades are still not very clear about this, and they still harbor some muddled perception. This should be earnestly solved.

Our struggle against illegal and criminal activities such as smuggling and trading in contraband goods, corruption and taking of bribes, speculation and swindling, taking large amounts of state and collective properties into private possession, etc., is a kind of class struggle in the economic realm under new historical conditions; it is a question relating to the rise and fall of our party and to whether or not the edifice of our socialist modernization can be built. Once we carefully study the criminal facts exposed by the newspapers, we can immediately see the importance of this struggle. Some people, including certain cadres with considerable responsibilities, have chosen to ignore state laws and party discipline and resort to smuggling and trading in contraband goods, corruption and taking of bribes, speculation and swindling, and thereby grab money and wealth with insatiable avarice. In order to achieve this end, they spare no efforts in adopting all kinds of base means, including even the stealing and sale of state treasures, for the purpose of fattening their own pocket at the expense of the state, thus setting aside all questions of state and personal dignity.

Among the cases already exposed, the 10,000 (yuan) figure is by no means rare; nor is a case involving over 100,000 yuan unheard of. If we say that the "three-anti" and "five-anti" campaigns of the 1950's were meant to beat back the attack of the bourgeoisie, then our crackdown on illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm today is a serious struggle against capitalist influences, and this struggle has already gone beyond the ideological realm.

Facts illustrate that, whatever motives may be harbored, and whatever banners waved, by the perpetrators of illegal and criminal conduct in the economic realm (have some not professed to be serving their enterprises and collectives rather than themselves individually?), its ultimate consequence inevitably proves to be destructive to the construction of our socialist modernization; and insofar as the forms and means of such conduct are concerned, like smuggling and trading in contraband goods, evasion and omission of tax payments, speculation and swindling, trading without any actual exchange of goods or services, etc., they are invariably stamped with the imprints of the bourgeoisie and capitalism. All this is incompatible with the character, style and socialist system of the proletariat. Upholding and promoting the construction of our socialist modernization or being hostile to, and sabotaging, such construction is precisely the important connotation of class struggle under new historical conditions; our struggle against illegal and criminal elements in the economic realm is a genuine kind of class struggle under socialist conditions.

After cleansing away certain "leftist" influences that have existed in the question of class struggle for many years, some comrades, upon hearing this proposition about class struggle, seem to feel puzzled or even think that it runs counter to the proposition of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. This is at least a misunderstanding. The communique of the Third Plenary Session very clearly pointed out: "In our country today, there still exists a very small number of counter-revolutionary elements and criminal elements who are hostile to and banking on sabotaging the construction of our socialist modernization, we can definitely not relax our struggle against them, nor weaken our proletarian dictatorship." The criminal activities that have emerged in the economic realm during the past two or three years serve exactly to prove the correctness of the judgment of the Party Central Committee. Our struggle against these criminal activities is precisely the inevitable action on our part to continue the implementation of the decision made by the Third Plenary Session.

Amidst the muddled perception of the nature of this struggle at present, it is possible that some comrades fail to understand why, after the exploitative classes are eliminated in our country, there is still this proposition about a continuing class struggle. Actually, this is not very hard to understand if we only look at the question of the essence of this struggle. Some comrades compare this situation to that of a wall having fallen down with its bricks still left intact: the landlord class and bourgeoisie in our country are like the wall which has been pushed down by the people of the whole country, but, as the remnants of this wall, it still requires some time to sweep away their members. Have not a large number of facts proved that remnants of feudalism and bourgeois influence

still stubbornly exist in many realms?! Are not all kinds of influences and sabotaging activities of foreign exploitative classes, including those in the political, ideological, and economic categories, continuing to attack us?! Is not the struggle between erosion by the capitalist ideology and efforts to combat it still raging?! Even though the deployment of this struggle is no longer a confrontation between the armies of the two classes, the essence of this as a class struggle is still easily visible, and no one can deny it.

Marxism tells us, when we look at a problem we must adhere to the theory of two points and must be good at analyzing that problem and observing that problem from different flanks. As we expose certain cases of economic offense and point out that the danger of "peaceful evolution" is still far from having passed away, we must at the same time affirm that, since the smashing of the "gang of four," the Party Central Committee has already led the whole party and the people of the whole country to rescue the party and the state from the serious crises resulting from the 10 years of internal disturbance and to enable them to embark anew on the road of prosperous development; thus, the political and economic situation is now fine, and there also has been a turn for the better in our party workstyle, in the habits of the people, and in our social order and security. As we point out that class struggle still exists, a crackdown on illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm is still necessary, and a struggle against bourgeois liberalization is still necessary, we should at the same time see that this struggle is one which takes place under the condition that the exploitative classes as classes are already eliminated. Therefore, in order to handle this struggle well in a steady, accurate and stern manner, it is possible not to resort to mass campaigns, and it is possible to carry the struggle through to the end by relying on the legal system. But we must also follow the mass line. We must strengthen our leadership, pay attention to the differentiation of two kinds of contradictions, and master the boundaries of application of our policy by being lenient to those who confess their crimes honestly and strict to those who resist prosecution, and making sure that leniency is granted whenever justifiable and strict prosecution is pursued likewise whenever justifiable. This way, we are bound to be able to crack down on the criminal elements, rescue those who have made mistakes, and educate the vast ranks of the cadres and masses; we are bound to be able to cleanse in time the rotten, deteriorated parts of the organic body of the party and the state, and thereby enable the undertakings of construction of our socialist modernization to develop forward even more healthily and with still greater vigor.

Struggle in Fujian

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Xiao Li [5135 7812]: "Opening to the Outside World and Anti-Erosion Struggle"]

[Text] This struggle of cracking down on criminal activities in the economic realm which we are carrying out at present is a serious struggle by the proletariat against bourgeois erosion. Today, certain criminal elements have

already been, or are being, exposed and punished; certain dragged-on cases have already, or are being, settled and disposed. The masses of the people are applauding with pleasure, with their spirit elevated and their confidence in the realization of the four modernizations enhanced. Our Fujian is a province where special policies and flexible measures are being implemented; how to understand and handle well the relationship between opening to the outside world and this anti-erosion struggle is a very important question.

In the process of carrying out our policy of opening to the outside world, a struggle against erosion by the bourgeois ideology is inevitable; it is a salient manifestation of class struggle under new historical conditions. In our country, the exploitative classes as classes are no longer in existence; but class struggle remains. This is because remnant forces of those exploitative classes, especially the influences of those exploitative classes, still cannot be eliminated right away; internationally, we are opening to the outside and stepping into the world and maintaining all kinds of relations with the capitalist world. Under such circumstances, it is inevitable that class struggle should manifest itself in political, ideological, and economic forms. Take our province as an example: the implementation of special policies and flexible meansures, the running of special economic zones, and the importing of foreign advanced science and technology and management expertise are bound to accelerate the speed of our economic construction and benefit our enterprises of modernization; therefore we must unswervingly continue to carry out this policy of opening to the outside world, conscientiously sum up our experiences, and further do a good job in running the Amoy Special Economic Zone. But at the same time, the erosive ideology and lifestyle of the bourgeoisie would also seep in alongside and erode and corrupt our ranks. Hence, we must crack down on criminal activities in the economic realm with fanfare, and firmly carry out our anti-erosion struggle. Since we must both have intercourse with international capital and stick to socialism, we can never overlook or abandon necessary struggles; and, the more we open to the outside world, the more we must pay attention to the anti-erosion struggle.

Energetically cracking down on criminal activities in the economic realm and firmly carrying out anti-erosion struggles is an important assurance for correctly and healthily implementing our open-door policy as well as the decisive key as to whether our special policies and flexible measures are going to succeed or fail. From the already exposed data, we can see that the infiltrating activity of capitalism in the economic realm and ideological and cultural realms has been rampageous, and the resultant "spiritual pollution" is very serious. Many of our party members and cadres have been downed by "sugar-coated bullets" as they stoop down to illegal and criminal activities such as smuggling and trading in contraband goods, corruption and taking of bribes, speculation and swindling. Particularly serious is the fact that a very small number of responsible cadres, under the erosion of the bourgeois ideology, actually connived internally and externally with the residues of society and lawless elements and followed them in corrupt practices. Their criminal conduct has already seriously damaged the party's prestige, polluted social customs, interfered with our foreign economic intercourse, and is endangering our economic construction.

Should this be left to develop unchecked, it would not only lead to the failure of our special policies and flexible measures and more seriously damage our socialist enterprises, but even destroy all the fruits of revolution our party and people have achieved through many years of hard struggle. With respect to this great problem relating to the rise and fall and life and death of our party and state, our comrades must have clear thinking, a clearcut attitude as well as a firm determination; we definitely cannot remain mum and indifferent.

Some people think that since we wish to open up to the outside world, we should not stress anti-erosion; an emphasis on anti-erosion is liable to affect our open-door policy. This is incorrect. We are of the opinion that opening to the outside world and anti-erosion struggle can and must be united. Opening up to the outside world is to adopt the strong points of the outside world for our own use and to reinforce our own ability to rely on ourselves. We must insist on the policy of self-reliance in the main and foreign aid as a supplement, and independently develop the enterprises of our socialist construction and definitely not allow the Western world to influence us and let them lead us by the nose. This anti-erosion struggle we are carrying out is to clear away the path of our forward march and accelerate the pace of our socialist modernization; it by no means excludes international capital and Hong Kong and Macao industrialists and businessmen from doing business with us by proper means. In a certain sense, cracking down on economic criminal activities is precisely to eliminate interference and facilitate the implementation of the open-door policy. The view which expresses fear of such erosion and tends to turn to a closed-door attitude or which regards abandonment of struggle as permissible because of the open-door policy is invariably wrong.

We must have a correct and complete understanding of our special policies and flexible measures. We must perceive clearly that this specialty is a specialty based on observing the Constitution and laws of the state, and this flexibility is a flexibility predicated upon adhering to the party's line and principles. Politically, we must adhere to the four basic principles, and can never trade on our principles; we cannot just stress economics and knowledge and ignore politics and ideology, nor just stress technique and method and ignore orientation and path. Economically, we must assure absolute dominance by the socialist economy and insist on relying mainly on a planned economy, to be complemented by market adjustment, and can never allow any attempt at liberalization, nor permit the use of devious means such as smuggling, drug trafficking, offering of bribes, and deception in an effort to impinge on the sovereignty and interests of our state. Ideologically and culturally, we must resolutely resist erosion by the corrupt ideology of capitalism, reinforce the building of our socialist spiritual civilization, and never allow intentional propagation of the corrupt bourgeois way of life or let reactionary, yellow, lowly publications, audio and visual cassettes to infiltrate and spread among our ranks and thereby erode the masses of our party members and cadres. These represent our basic point of departure. Forgetting this basic point of departure would mean that one is not a clear-headed Marxist, and as such, one is liable to suffer defeat in our foreign intercourse.

In the history of our party, whenever we had dealings with the bourgeoisie, we always encountered the question of being subject to bourgeois erosion and encroachment. Every time, our party succeeded in exerting its proletarian dauntlessness, firmly launching its anti-erosion struggle, beating back the bourgeois attack, and thereby maintaining the purity of communists. Under new historical conditions today, the rotten bourgeois ideology once again invades our organic body; inside our party there are indeed certain swerving elements who cannot withstand the temptations of the dazzling world of capitalism and completely stray away from the communist's lofty plane of wholeheartedly serving the people and embark upon the road of corruption and degeneration. This situation of becoming politically, ideologically, and culturally eroded also exists to various degrees in some units and some individuals. If in the course of implementing our open-door policy we should abandon our anti-erosion struggle, our proletarian vanguard is likely to encounter the danger of becoming corrupt and degenerate and "evolving peacefully." In order to overcome this capitalist challenge in the political, ideological and economic realms and correctly and healthily implement our open-door policy and assure the triumphant progress of our enterprises of modernization, we are determined to eliminate all obstacles, get a tenacious handle on the major cases of criminal offense in the economic realm and severely dispose of them. We are determined to strengthen our resolve and spend considerable energy, so as to carry our anti-erosion struggle through to the end.

Struggle in Shandong

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 8 Apr 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Carry the Struggle of Cracking Down on Illegal and Criminal Activities in the Economic Realm Through to the End"]

[Text] The struggle of cracking down on illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm being carried out at present is not an isolated struggle, nor a struggle of brief duration, but an overall, long term struggle relating to the rise and fall of our party and state and our socialist cause. Only by making up our minds, strengthening our leadership, and achieving victory in this struggle can we promote a turn for the better in our party workstyle, in the people's habits, and in social order and security and assure smooth progress in the construction of our socialist modernization. We must grasp clearly the great significance of this struggle and carry it through to the end.

The struggle to crack down on illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm in our province is now preliminarily launched. Party committees at various levels and the vast ranks of our party members, cadres and masses all firmly support this important deployment on the part of the Party Central Committee; their attitude is positive. Yet, we must point out that some comrades still lack a clear perception of the seriousness and harm of these illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm and the great significance in the launching of this struggle; nor have they grasped it energetically. Such a situation should be quickly changed.

The crackdown on illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm is a kind of class struggle being carried out under new historical conditions in our socialist society at present, and an important aspect of the serious struggle between erosion by the capitalist ideology and anti-erosion by our socialist ideology that we are facing politically, economically, and culturally. This struggle relates to the success or failure of the construction of our socialist modernization and the rise and fall of our party and state. We must clearly see that, because during the 10 years of internal disturbance the poison sown in a part of our people by the anarchism and extreme individualism under the instigation of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques has been profound, and because when we proceeded to implement our open-door policy externally and the policy to enliven our economy internally during the past few years, our ideological and political work and certain necessary management systems and management measures failed to catch up at the same time, so that the influence of the corrupt ideology of capitalism and the bourgeois way of life inside the country has increased and a tendency of bourgeois liberalization has emerged in realms of our social life. Under new historical conditions, the danger that tends to prompt the corruption of the party and steer it in the direction of "evolving peacefully" still has not disappeared. We must see clearly that among those who carry out illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm, some are originally remnants of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques. But there are, in fact, also those who, unconquered by the enemy's armed forces in the olden days, nor vanquished by the despotic power of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the 10 years of turmoil, are somehow hit by the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie today and become capitulationists and termites undermining our socialist cause. A fortress is easiest breached from within. In this sense, the main danger comes from no other direction but the corruption and degeneration of swerving elements inside our party. This struggle between erosion and anti-erosion is not only reflected in many ordinary cadres of our ranks but also in certain middle and highranking cadres in the party. If these of our cadres become corrupt and degenerate in a peaceful environment, that will be even more dangerous. Under new historical conditions, and in the longterm struggle against erosion by the capitalist ideology, many party members and cadres will have to pass this severe test.

The situation regarding cases of economic crimes initially uncovered in our province also strongly indicates that it simply won't do if we fail to carry out this struggle. If we fail to do this, it will be unlikely that there can be a turn for the better in our party workstyle, our people's habits, and social order and security; by failing to do this, and letting the situation get worse, we would seriously undermine the prestige of our party, undermine the socialist cause, or even destroy all the fruits of revolution that our party and people have achieved through hard struggle during the past 60 years. Cadres at various levels should all participate in, and lead well, this struggle, with a highly responsible spirit toward the people and toward socialism, and become a resolute, clear-headed, and striving Marxist in the struggle.

In order to carry this struggle through to the end, the key lies in leaders at various levels making up their minds. The first thing is their determination; the second thing is their determination; and the third thing is still their determination. Today, some comrades put "fear" as the first thing in their minds when grasping this struggle. They are afraid of offending people, afraid of incurring trouble, afraid of making mistakes, and afraid of attack and retaliation. Some fail to make a distinction between right and wrong, turning serious criminal activities into "sources unclear, uses improper," "for the collective, not put into private pocket," etc., and thereby releasing the perpetrators in question; some even appease, condone and shelter those persons and events involving law violations and crimes, under various pretexts. These problems must all be solved according to their respective situations. In this struggle, we must seek to achieve the following: in the cases of smuggling and trading in contraband goods, speculation and swindling, corruption and taking of bribes, stealing large amounts of state and collective property and turning it into one's own possession and such serious illegal and criminal activities, we must seize them tenaciously and dispose of them with utter severity and speed; in the cases of those cadres whose criminality is more pronounced and whose offenses are also very serious, and with respect, in the first place, to cadres who occupy important posts, they must all be severely punished, with no exception allowed. Personnel who shelter major cases and interfere with their investigation, whoever they are, must all share joint responsibility. All party members, cadres, and especially leading comrades at various levels must all consciously clarify various murky conceptions and resolutely and unswervingly get a good handle on this struggle. In their work, they must correctly master established principles and policies, and consistently point the spearhead of the struggle at economic crimes; they must follow the mass line, insist on placing emphasis on evidence, on investigation and study, and gather solid data on the cases, so that they will neither let criminals escape, nor wrong innocent persons; they must bring into full play the power of policy in order to succeed in enabling more criminals to follow the path of honestly turning themselves in and repenting their wrongdoing and turning a new page in their lives; they must through the crackdown on illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm engender a turn for the better in our party workstyle, the people's habits, and social order and security, and do their best to win complete victory in this struggle.

Relevant Decision

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 19 Apr 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Let Us Unify Our Thinking and Perception Under the 'Decision'"]

[Text] At present, an important task facing our party organizations and the vast ranks of cadres at various levels is to conscientiously study and implement the "Decision on Crackdown on Serious Criminal Activities in the Economic Realm by the CCP Central Committee." We must elevate our ideological perception through study, make up our minds, resolutely and correctly launch the struggle on a crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic

realm and at the same time have the vast ranks of our party members and the vast ranks of our cadres all undergo an ideological education on adhering to communist purity, adhering to the four basic principles, and opposing erosion and degeneration.

This "Decision" is a powerful ideological weapon. It provides a scientific exposition and clear regulations on the necessity and urgency of launching the struggle on a crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic realm as well as the nature, significance, principles and policies, the key points and steps, and methods of struggle. The situation at present has to do mainly with insufficient understanding of the significance of this struggle. Some comrades fail to perceive the havoc played by serious criminal activities that have appeared in the economic realm, such as smuggling and trading in contraband goods, corruption and taking of bribes, speculation and swindling, and stealing of state and collective properties. There are also comrades who harbor some muddled perception which makes them feel worried that a crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic realm would lead them astray from their central task of economic construction and affect the development of the construction of the four modernizations, or they thereby put the launching of this struggle in opposition to the implementation of the policies opening to the outside world and enlivening the economy internally. Consequently, only a conscientious study of the "Decision" can help unify our thinking, overcome various ideological encumbrances and obstacles, and enable us to positively and actively, unswervingly carry this struggle triumphantly through to the end.

In studying the "Decision," we must link with our actual situation and link with our own ideological perception, and understand the spirit of the "Decision" as a whole. The "Decision" fully affirms on the one hand that the leadership of the Party Central Committee and the State Council since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee has been correct, that the party's various principles and policies have continued to achieve conspicuous results in practice, that party discipline has been strengthened, and that party workstyle has experienced a turn for the better. It points out on the other hand that there are still some dark aspects in our economic and political life and that serious criminal activities in the economic realm have conspicuously increased in the past few years, and the problem in this regard is hence far more serious than it was at the time of the 1952 "three-anti" campaign. If such criminal activities are allowed to spread freely, they are bound to seriously harm the enterprises of construction of our modernization. Serious criminal activities in the economic realm are often perpetrated through the connivance between a few people in the state organs and public and entrepreneurial units and lawless elements in society. The main cause leading to this situation is the aftermath of serious sabotage by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques. Among our ranks there are some feeble-minded persons who, under the new situation of the implementation of our policies of opening to the outside world and enlivening our economy internally, cannot withstand the test and thereby become corrupt and degenerate, while our ideological and political work and management measures fail to catch up in time, and our crackdown on certain serious criminals playing havoc on the economy is not

forceful enough. This struggle is an important manifestation of class struggle in the economic realm under new historical conditions; it is a great matter of an overall nature relating to the defense of our communist purity, the defense of our socialist system and the interests of the masses of the people. For this reason, leading organs and the vast ranks of our cadres at various levels must have a clear-cut stand and resolute attitude in this struggle, and their crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic realm must be energetic. In the meantime, they must know clearly the key points of this crackdown, get a hnadle on major cases and current cases as well as cases relating to state organs and public and entrepreneurial units, concentrate their energy on disposing of big cases and crucial cases, strictly differentiate and correctly handling the two categories of different contradictions, and correctly master established policies. In the case of serious criminals playing havoc on the economy, whatever units and whoever may be involved, they must remain strictly impartial and incorruptible and administer the law judiciously without allowing anyone to give unprincipled protection to, or shield, anyone, nor permitting limits of the struggle to be expanded at random or its goal to be diverted elsewhere. They must insist on basing themselves on facts and following the norms of the law, and crackdown on serious criminals playing havoc on the economy steadily, relevantly and forcefully. They must clearly understand that opening to the outside world and enlivening our economy internally are the correct policies adopted by our party under the new situation for longterm application; they parallel, and are not in contravention to, our determined crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic realm. We cannot overlook any part of lawless elements taking advantage of this opportunity to commit criminal acts detrimental to our socialist economy just because we are carrying out these policies; nor can we start doubting, and wavering toward, the policies already proved to be correct in practice just because we are launching this struggle on a crackdown on economic criminals. In a word, we must through the study of the "Decision" enable the vast ranks of our cadres, especially leading cadres, to have a clear understanding of and a high-degree of vigilance toward, the carrying out of this struggle to adhere to communist purity and oppose corruption and degeneration under new historical conditions, as well as the longterm and protracted nature of this struggle.

Studying the "Decision" is itself a vivid, profound ideological and political education. We must strengthen an ideological education on communism, strengthen an education on adhering to the four basic principles, and strengthen an education on our socialist legal system among the vast ranks of our party members and cadres. We must view this struggle on a crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic realm and opposing corruption and degeneration as one of the most practical, most effective measures for rectifying the party and its workstyle under present conditions. We must through study continue to improve our ideological and political consciousness, preserve the communist purity of communists, strengthen our discriminate differentiation of, and resistance against, the rotten ideology of capitalism, the remnant influences of feudalism, and other rotten ideas, strengthen our ability to resist the bourgeois way of life, and consciously and resolutely struggle against unhealthy practices and criminal conduct. We must make use of various typical cases in propagating among the vast ranks of our cadres

and masses the party's principles and policies in triumphantly carrying out this struggle; we must propagate with fanfare the seriousness and harm of criminal activities in the economic realm and the necessity and urgency of our efforts to oppose corruption and degeneration; we must propagate the importance of adhering to the socialist path and insisting that the interests and honor of the motherland are more important than everything else; we must propagate the honor of serving the public honestly, the honor of abiding by law and discipline, the shame of corruption and taking of bribes, the shame of smuggling and stealing, the honor of opposing bad people and bad things, the shame of shielding bad people and bad things, and thereby uphold the forthright and get rid of the devious, creating a powerful public opinion. We believe that so long as we study and implement the "Decision," unify our thinking, unify our steps, we are bound to be able to win total victory in this struggle and to renovate the outlook of our party and government, invigorate the spirit of the people, considerably change our social customs, and propel the enterprises of construction of our socialist modernization to march forward in great strides.

9255
CSO: 4005/819

ADDITIONAL DISCUSSION ON ECONOMIC CRIMINALS REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 May 82 p 8

[Article by Jiao Yongfu [3542 0516 1133]: "Rats, Cats, and Tigers"]

[Text] Having read Comrade Zhao Qilong's [6392 0796 7893] article entitled "Thoughts on Catching Rats" which was carried by RENMIN RIBAO on 16 Apr 1982, I feel that some ideas have not been fully discussed and wish to make additional remarks.

It is appropriate to treat criminal activities in the economic realm as "the rat's trade" and people who engage in this kind of business as rats. First, it expressed people's contempt and disdain for them and second, it depicts such people and trade as characteristic of those who cannot face the world and trade which must always be carried out covertly behind someone's back.

However, what I want to say is that judging from the new conditions of criminal activities in the economic realm, naturally there are those "rats" which bite their way through the door but of even greater harm are those rats which disguise themselves as cats, or more precisely, "tigers" which have changed from "cats." By virtue of their position and the duties they should have, staff workers of state organs, particularly those who are in charge, should basically be "cats." They should punish and crack down on the "rats" in the economic realm. But unfortunately some of these people take advantage of their authority and engage in an "alliance between cats and rats" and take part in the activities of the rats, steal what is entrusted to one's care and become behind-the-scenes supporters of the rats, thus changing themselves from "cats" to "tigers." One may ask why do we not say that they have changed from "cats" to "rats" but insist on saying that they have changed into "tigers"? The answer is that in zoological terms, cats and tigers both belong to the cat family and have common ancestry. The change is easy; cats catch rats and tigers hurt people. This is one point. Another point is that in the opinion of people in general, tigers are "regal" and dignified in appearance, awe-inspiring and imposing in manner so that their appearance and temperament are like of tigers. It is said that the cat was the tiger's teacher, and because at the time when it taught the tiger its skills the cat preserved its ability to climb trees to protect itself so that it had an edge over the tiger. Today, as it further changes itself into a tiger, with a cat's position, a tiger's awe and a rat's evil-mindedness and skill to steal, it is three-in-one and truly extraordinary and is therefore particularly hard to deal with.

In terms of strategy and essence, I believe there is no harm for us in regarding those criminals as "rats" and showing contempt for them, because even if they are more fierce and malicious, they are essentially no more than "rats" when we adhere to the Four Basic Principles, rely on the broad masses of the people and particularly when true Communist Party members serve as "cats." But in terms of tactics, because of their privileged position and the role they play, we must regard them as tigers and must pay attention to them. Moreover, when we fight them, we must have some courageous and death-defying spirit in order to subdue them. Otherwise it would be very easy for the tige to hurt us. This problem was well illustrated by Comrade Zhuang Xiying's [8369 1917 5391] tortuous experience in exposing Ma Zhenxing's [7456 2182 2502] crime in making use of mail to smuggle and resell smuggled goods. When Comrade Zhuang Ziying was pronounced to have "filed false charges" and was required to "undergo inspection during work," she said to her husband Comrade Cai Mingda [5591 2494 1129]: "There are two paths before us, either submit or continue to struggle. I am resolved to follow the latter path and even if I am arrested and jailed I will struggle against them to the end." At that moment, as a party member who joined the party in the 1950's, Comrade Cai Mingda held his wife's hand and said: "If you are really put in jail, I will appeal to the higher authoritieis and lodge a complaint even if I have to sell all my property. The party Central Committee will not allow them to act wildly in defiance of the law." Here, the spirit of "not to be subdued by force" as manifested by this husband and wife members of the Communist Party at the critical moment of "imminent collapse" fully illustrates the truth that the cat is bound to triumph over the rat. But besides, it also shows hos formidable the might of the "tiger" can be! If Comrade Zhuang Xiying had retreated one step or if Comrade Cai Mingda had become slightly shakened at this time, the despotic power of Ma Zhenxing, Yu Baihui [0060 4102 1902], Dong Weijian [5516 4850 0313] and the like would immediately have had its way; they would suddenly have triumphed and not only would Zhuang Xiying's previous efforts have been wasted, ending with her in chains, but it would also have brought disaster to all those who had supported her. What is frightening is that the suppression of and attack on Zhuang Xiying were not directly carried out by Ma Zhenxing but were the successive efforts of the chief and deputy chief of the prefectural office of post and communications--Yu Baihui, Dong Weijian and the like--who were requested to act as "cats" and were his immediate supervisors! This most graphically demonstrates the process of change from "cats" to "tigers" and also shows the craftiness, cunning and terror of Ma Zhenxing and the like. Of course, whether Yu Baihui and Dong Weijian were "tigers" watching in safety while others fought or whether they were merely "helping a villain to do evil" must await further factual proof.

The story of Wu Song fighting the tiger has greatly increased man's will in the face of a tiger and has destroyed the tiger's power and prestige. In terms of changing from "cats" to "tigers," the two "tiger heads" of Liu Qingshan [0491 7230 1472] and Zhang Zishan [1728 1311 0810] which were hanged over the "door of the rats" were like "spells" used for "ridding a dwelling of evil spirits" in the past. For over 10 years this caused rats and tigers not to act rashly. I believe that the talk about "fighting the tiger" in the movement against the three evils was not only basic and precise but it also sounded enchanting.

9586
CSO: 4005/864

PARTY AND STATE

MING OFFICIAL A MODEL OF HONESTY FOR CADRES

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 20 Apr 82 p 4

[Article by You Gan [1429 2413]: "A Small Talk About Honesty"]

[Text] Xu Guangqi of Ming Dynasty rose to the post of prime minister. He has been considered by many people to be a great scientist. But many people are still unaware how incorruptible he was!

"Ming Shi" [History of the Ming] describes his honesty as follows: "On the day he was interred, there was no money left in his pocket." In fact, when he died, there were only 10 liang of silver in his pocket, and there was a big hole in the quilt that covered him! He was very strict toward himself, and never accepted goods from other people. In July 1617, he was ordered to go to Ningxia to deliver the appointment of Shu Zuocui, the heir to King Qing, as King of Qing. According to the custom, the person who was appointed king was supposed to give a valuable present to the bearer of the appointment. However, before the present could be brought to him, he had left for a journey back to the capital. The King of Qing dispatched his people, bearing the present (200 liang of silver and many other valuable things), to catch up with him. They were able to catch up with him at Tongguan. However, Xu Guangqi would not accept the present under any circumstances, and in his reply to the King of Qing, he wrote two popular phrases:

"I will not accept the gift, but I have already accepted your compliment." A high official such as Xu Guangqi, who could be so incorruptible in a feudal society, was very rare indeed. A famous writer Yuan Haowen of the Jin Dynasty wrote the following: "Able officials can be found easily; what is most difficult to find is one who is just and incorruptible." These phrases describe this point vividly. Therefore, it is not surprising at all to witness a situation described by "in office for only 3 years, a hundred thousand snow flake silver pieces already."

In [title untranslated] edited by Liu Xiangsuo of Xihan [Western Han], there is the following phrase on honesty: "Since I was young, I have believed in purity," to which Wang Yi of Eastern Han wrote the following remark: "Not to accept is to be incorruptible; not to be contaminated is to be pure." To be incorruptible, an official must not be influenced by evil ideas and must be able to remain pure and maintain self-control, or be able to withstand hardship and

live frugally. However, in a feudal society, this can only be extremely individualistic. As to greedy officials running rampant and corrupt officials going everywhere, this is a situation determined by the exploiting system, and it cannot be stopped no matter what extremely severe measures may be taken by the emperor. What Zhu Yuanzhong did to punish corrupt officials in order to protect the territories of Ming Dynasty could not be described as not severe enough. Accoridng to what was written in the history book, Zhu Yuanzhong tried to use severe punishment to discourage officials from becoming greedy and corrupt. He ordered the Ministry of Justice to compile criminal codes for the governmental officials, which came in three big chapters. Included in it were the descriptions of more than one thousand crimes and punishments including dismemberment, beheading and display, and extermination of a family, and more than ten thousand crimes starting with beheading. He who took bribes exceeding 60 liang of silver was to be beheaded and displayed. He was also to be skinned, with the skin being stuffed with straw. Adjacent to every government office building was built a temple called skin temple (where skinning was carried out). In every office was hung the stuffed skin of a dead official, so that the live official would be reminded of the punishment whenever he saw it. What was the effect of all this? Even Zhu Yuanzhong said in agitation and stomping his feet: "I wanted to eliminate greedy officials who took bribes. What can I do if they witness an execution in the morning then commit a crime in the evening!" This proves that though he was able to kill, he was unable to change the feudal system, much less eliminate the greedy and corrupt officials. As to incorruptible officials such as Xu Guangqi, they are rarer than hair of the phenix and horn of the unicorn in a feudal society. And those who remained incorruptible did so only to preserve their personal honor and privileges of the ruling class. Their motives were basically different from the ideological foundation of the advanced members of proletariat who remain incorruptible.

Honesty of the advanced members of proletariat is self-aware; it is built on an ideological foundation of liberating the entire mankind. Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: "The Proletariat is completely opposite to all exploiting classes; the Proletariat never exploits other people, but is exploited by others." In order to develop itself and to achieve its own liberation, the Proletariat not only does not need to bring harm to the welfare and development of other working people, but must also unite with the vast majority of the other working people and struggle together. In pursuit of its own liberation, the Porletariat must also liberate all working people and the entire mankind. It is impossible to liberate only a single worker or a portion of the workers." In a poem entitled "Showing to the Children," Comrade Chen Yi summarized this thought: "You must value the idea, and make plan for the world. I must work for the masses, so I should be ashamed to busy for myself. If everybody can act like this, then the world will be free." Communist Party members who uphold the idea of liberating all mankind, who will not withhold anything from matters related to the revolution, including their own lives, must of course fight more determinedly against those matters which can bring damage to the party and the people's welfare. Only because the Communist Party members have such self-awareness, was the greater majority of the comrades able to remain incorruptible during the struggle and after the revolution was won, and was it able to remain dedicated to party affairs. The minister of general management of the Red Fourth Front Army, Comrade Zheng Yibin, was surrounded by the enemy in 1937. Disregarding the danger to his life, he collected all the gold and silver kept in the minis-

try and ordered a soldier, Shao Zhang, to carry the money and break through the enemy line while he himself stayed behind to provide cover. In the end, Shao Zhang was able to break through and the money was delivered safely to the hand of a leader at the headquarters, while he himself died heroically. The honesty and the self-control demonstrated by our President Zhou and his modest appearance which demonstrated the noble character of a Communist Party member, left a deep and vivid impression on the entire nation.

However, we cannot say that all Communist Party members are incorruptible and full of self-control. There are a very small number of Communist Party members and the leading cadres who could not withstand the raids by "sugar-coated bombs" and gave up the great communist ideology, became corrupt and contaminated, and took to the road of crimes including smuggling, trading for private gain, corruption and taking payola, speculating and swindling, stealing from the nation and collective property. That is to say that these people's deeds are no longer under the control of the Proletariat ideal which is honest and without the slightest self-interest, but are under the control of corrupt bourgoisie ideal which consists of obtaining advantage at the expense of others. These people, though they may be small in number, can do great harm. That is why the party and the nation are determined to carry out the battle against criminal activities in the economic field to the end in order to preserve and protect the profit of the party and the people by digging out the worms which are obstructing the progress of four modernizations. At the same time, to the vast majority of Communist Party members and to the masses, this provides an excellent educational opportunity. We can learn to make the distinction between the Proletariat ideal and the bourgeois ideal, and thus strengthen our ability to fight corruption and contamination so as to propel forward the socialist construction of spiritual civilization. To be sure, we will not be able completely to eliminate the phenomena of corruption and theft in a very short period of time. This is going to be a protracted struggle. We must exert our efforts untiringly, because the influence of obsolete ideas, errosion by the feudal class and bourgeois ideas will be with us for a long time to come!

9113
CSO: 4005/842

PARTY AND STATE

SHORT COMMENTARY ON CADRE REFORM

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 20 April 82 p 1

[Article: "'Timely Rain' Must Fall"]

[Text] When a small number of production team leading groups are paralyzed or semi-paralyzed, what should be done? Leaving it alone and doing nothing obviously is not the answer. Reprimanding them violently will not solve the problem. Replacing them unthinkingly will not necessarily solve the problem either. The method adopted by the Guanyun County is better after all: study and investigate the problem on the spot, understand the circumstances thoroughly, treat each problem seaprately, and solve the problems one after another.

Facts show that a large number of cadres of these production teams were not unwilling, but rather did not understand the policy well and could not get guidance from anybody, could not get help when the method they used was wrong, or could not get support when they were attacked. When bad things happened in their own teams, they themselves became impatient, and they wished their superiors could give them support. Their wish was as urgent as a wish for rain in a severe drought. In the midst of such circumstances, the Guanyun County party committee organized more than 800 cadres and dispatched them to the troubled production teams to help them solve their problems. This move was comparable to the timely rain which nurishes the dry seedlings. It restored life to more than 400 production teams.

After the responsibility system was implemented, the burden on the shoulders of the production team leaders did not become lighter but rather heavier. The remuneration they receive is only commensurate to the amount of work they do. The leaders at superior levels must show consideration for their suffering, listen intently to calls for help, and give them concrete assistance as often as needed. If we could put ourselves in the team cadres' place and think for them, we would do just as the Guanyun County party committee members did, namely, step out of our offices and go to the foot-dragging teams, together in joy and pain with the team cadres, sharing misfortunes and help dissipating sorrows, showing them consideration and teaching them the method. In this way the state of paralysis or semi-paralysis that appeared in certain production teams can be resolved in a short period of time without much difficulty.

9113
CSO: 4005/842

PARTY AND STATE

COUNTY GUIDANCE TO STRENGTHEN TEAM LEADERSHIP

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 20 Apr 82 p 1

[Article by Tang Chengfen [3282 2052 1164] and Wang Baishen [3769 2672 2773]: "More Than 400 Production Teams Corrected the State of Weak Leadership and Paralysis; Guanyun County Organized County and Commune Cadres and Sent Them To Help Those Backward Teams"]

[Text] The Guanyun County party committee members organized more than 800 cadres from county and commune levels and dispatched them to those production teams where the responsibility system has not yet been successfully implemented, to give them assistance. Through more than 2 months' efforts, the weak and disorganized state of the leading group of more than 400 production teams has been turned around, and the production responsibility system can now be implemented stably.

Through investigation, the responsible comrades of the Guanyun County party committee discovered that the disorganized state of the leading group of some production teams was not because the team cadres wanted it to be so. For example, Advanced No 4 Team of Jieyu Commune used to be able to increase production 3 years in a row. Last winter a small number of people who went out to undertake sideline production did not want to hand over their income to the team treasury according to the regulation. With a pretense of undertaking extensive assignments, they incited a few people to demand distribution of all the collective land property. The team leader wanted to resist but was not certain about the policy. He reported the matter to his superior but was not able to get any help. He could not but become paralyzed. This kind of situation was quite typical in those foot-dragging teams. In order to alter this situation, the party committee members at the two levels, county and commune, carried out detailed analysis of the more than 400 foot-dragging teams all over the country. Except for a limited number of cadres in a small number of teams whose economic problems were so severe that the masses had lost confidence in their leading cadres or those cadres who, even after an education, still refused to carry out their duty and needed to be replaced, what the great majority of the team cadres needed consisted mainly of enlightening education, support and assistance. The county-commune cadre working group under the leadership of four regular county party committee members accomplished the following:

Team cadres were organized to restudy government policy in order to strengthen the core structure. The team cadres did not study the central documents exten-

sively but did listen to short talks regularly. They often misunderstood rain for wind, and they did not have their own opinion when incidents occurred. Or, due to insufficient understanding of the policy, first they were afraid of making mistakes, then when the masses rebelled they tried to suppress them, and when that failed, chaos resulted, and chaos led to paralysis. After the work group came to the team, the team cadres were organized so that they could study the relevant central documents and use government policy to back up their acts. At the same time, they deepened the understanding of the policy in connection with the actual local circumstances. A number of production team cadres belonging to the Tongwangji Commune dared to undertake but did not dare to control. The work group took them to the Liuli batallion to carry out on-site education. No 6 Production Team of this batallion has 40 mu of three types of wheat and the sprouts are growing uniformly and strongly as a result of holding fast to the unified standard quality control with five ditches and the accessaries, while in another 70 mu of three types of wheat in an adjacent lot, the sprouts grow unevenly as a result of each family digging its own ditch in its own way so that irrigation is inconsistent from one family to another, thus creating many contradictions on matters related to management. The team cadres heard on site the voice of masses demanding "control" and thus learned the relationship between undertaking and controlling.

Team cadres were taught to throw away their ideological hang-ups and to calm down: Some production teams were weak in their leading group; weak on the "private" matter. In the past, there were many incidents of embezzlement, appropriation, borrowing, unpublished financial account, and undemocracy in economic affairs. After the responsibility system was implemented, some automatically stepped aside because the masses did not have confidence; some tried to lay down their burden because no advantage could be taken. After the work group came to the team, a detailed ideological education was carried out in order to help them throw away their ideological burdens and straighten their back. The team leader of Qunan production team, Dengzhuang batallion, Xiangyang commune, took collective reserve grains and exchanged them with pressed bean cakes to feed his own hogs. He also borrowed public fund for personal use and the masses were up against him. The comrades of the work group undertook his education and, as a result, he did selfexamination in fromt of the masses and paid back the cost of pressed beancakes, and also made arrangement to pay back the public fund in installments. The commune members understood him and reelected him to be their team leader. Since the spring this year, he led the masses to prepare various types of work orderly and expertly.

The team cadres were given support to uphold justice and eliminate evil; they were given a new pair of stronger shoulders. Some leading groups of foot-dragging teams were full of contradictions which constituted one of the reasons for the disorganized state of affairs. For these, the comrades of the work group carried out specific analysis, each case treated separately. For those cases in which the problem concerned the ideology and the manner with which the cadres conducted themselves, the cadres were patiently educated and guided to reform. For those cases in which the problem was caused by an improper production method, the cadres were given concrete instruction and more responsibility was shouldered by the leader. Those cadres who were opposed by a minority because they held fast to the party policy in order to preserve and protect the collective profit were openly and clearly given full support in order to

fight back against erroneous tendencies. The team leader Zhang Tingxian of No 10 Production Team, Zhigou Batallion, Yufeng Commune, upheld principle and led his team to make strenuous efforts. Many were dissatisfied. So when the responsibility system was to be implemented, they incited the clan, attacked him from all sides, and insulted him. As a result, the responsibility system could not yet be implemented. A responsible comrade of the commune party committee visited this team in person to praise and encourage the team leader and also seriously criticized their mistakes. Since then, implementation of the responsibility system has proceded smoothly.

9113
CSO: 4005/842

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BOOK INTRODUCES PRINCIPLES, APPLICATIONS OF SONAR

Beijing SHUIXIA QIANLIYAN [UNDERWATER TELESCOPE--SONAR] in Chinese March 1981, National Defense Industries Press

[Book compiled by Yu Yongyan [0060 3057 3293] and Pan Laixing [3382 0171 2502]

[Excerpts] Synopsis

This book is a volume of popular science reading materials that provides an introduction to the technology of marine acoustics. The book provides an introduction to the history of the development and basic knowledge of marine acoustics technology and the principles of various kinds of sonar, as well as its widespread application in national defense, oceanic exploitation, and the fishing industry. At the same time, the book briefly introduces the technology of silent probes as well as the new types of sonar and their future.

The book's contents are rich, its writing is lively, and its illustrations are clear-cut; it is easy to understand and is suitable for reading by the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers and by students.

UNDERWATER TELESCOPE--SONAR

Compiled by Yu Yongyuan and Fan Laixing

National Defense Industries Press

Distributed by Xinhua Bookstore, Beijing, and sold at all Xinhua Bookstores

Printed by the Printing House of the National Defence Industries Press

787 x 1092 1/32 Stamp 5 3/16. 108,000 characters

First edition, March 1981. First printing, March 1981

Impression: 0,001 - 3,700 copies

Unified book number: 15034 2123 Price: 0.41 yuan

Editor's Note:

In recent years we have come to keenly realize from actual experience the great role played by the work of popular science in science and technology, especially in the most advanced branches of science and technology. However, since liberation there has not yet been a popular science book that especially provides an introduction to the technology of marine acoustics, and this has been detrimental to the popularization of marine acoustics, which is a new branch of advanced technology. Therefore, we have plucked up our courage and made a little attempt in this respect by compiling this popular science book "Underwater Telescope--Sonar" in order to add strength to the development of the work of popular science. In the course of the compilation, we received warm encouragement and support from Prof Wang Dezhao [3076 1795 2507], a veteran in marine acoustics circles and a famous scientist. Comrade Xu Zhenyong [6079 2823 6978] conscientiously revised the original manuscript, and Comrade Wei Zhongyin [7614 0022 0603] designed the book's front cover and the illustrations. All this enabled us to complete our work smoothly.

Because our scientific level is limited and our experience inadequate, the book certainly still contains many shortcomings and inadequacies. We sincerely invite the masses of readers and the experts to provide criticisms and point out the mistakes so that they can be corrected.

Table of Contents

Introduction 1

1. The Sonar Family 5

History of Sonar 6

Sonar's Siblings 12

Sonar--an Interesting Animal 21

2. Record of Sound Waves Traveling Through Water 27

Sound Waves and the Ocean 27

The Mystery of Sound Transmissions in the Ocean 31

The Enigma of Sound Absorption in the Ocean 43

The Noisy "Crystal Palace of the Dragon King" 45

Annoying Mixture of Sounds 50

Intriguing Interrelationships 51

"From the Realm of Necessity to the Realm of Freedom" 53

3. The Bodily Organs of Sonar 57

A Singular "Treasure"--Sonar Transducer 57

Sonar's Heart--Transmitter and Receiver 60

Sonar's Electric Eye--Sonar Indicator 63

Sonar's Electronic Brain--Electronic Computer 65

4. Sonar's Superb Capabilities 68

Range-Finding Expert 68

Skillful Measurement of Warships' Speed 69

Highly Skilled in Orientation 71

Calm and Collected Hunter 76

Underwater Messenger 77

5. Bodyguard of the Ocean 80

Eyes and Ears of Warships 80

Central Nervous System of Submarines 87

Fiery Golden Eyes of Antisubmarine Aircraft 90

Standing Sentry in the Ocean Depths 95

Sea Dragnet 99

6. Great Power of Marine Acoustics Weapons 104

Might-Redoubling Acoustical Mines 104

Pathbreaker 106

Long-Viewing Torpedoes 111

7. Underwater Battle of Wits 115

Cleverly Capturing the "Noisy Spy" 116

Capturing the "Noisy Spy" Alive 119

The "Air Bubble-Screen Tactic" That Heads Off Disaster 120

Cuttlefish Tactics 121

Escape by a Cunning Maneuver 123

Beating the Enemy at His Own Game 124

8. Sonar's Relatives and Friends--Silent Probes 126

Contributions of Antisubmarine Radar 126

Reliable Means of Making Probes for Submarines--the Magnetic Probe 128

Inspiration of the Rattlesnake 130

Luminous Pearls of the Sea 132

Magical Effect of Sense of Smell 132

Marvelous Light Ray--Underwater Lazer 133

9. Extraordinary Splendor of New Types of Sonar 137

Entirely New All-Digital Sonar 137

The Resourceful Sonar That Deals With Random Contingencies 139

Remarkable Ability of "Small Silicon Chips" 141

A New Flower of Sonar--Filament Optical Sonar 143

A New Plant Displaying Its Ability for the First Time--Variable-Depth Sonar 146

Underwater Demon-Detector 149

A Look Into the Future 155

Introduction

Have you heard the stody of the "thousand-li eyes" and the "ears that could hear faraway sounds"? According to legend, in ancient times there were three brothers. The eldest brother had eyes that could see as far as 1,000 li; the second eldest brother had ears that could hear far away in all directions; and the youngest brother was fleet of foot and could run as if he were flying, covering 1,000 li in a day. Once upon a time, enemies attacked their state. The eldest brother, from 1,000 li away, saw the military forces of the enemy rushing straight toward them and immediately told the second eldest brother. The second eldest brother used his ears and heard the enemy general discussing how his troops would make a surprise attack on the capital of the state, and he told the youngest brother what he had heard. Seeing that this was an emergency, the youngest brother immediately got his legs moving, and in the course of one night he ran to the capital and reported this piece of

important military intelligence to the king. The king immediately dispatched a large formation of troops to lay an ambush along the route the enemy was taking. In the end, a great victory was won and the enemy's entire army was destroyed. The three brothers had performed a deed of great merit. Of course, this is not a true story, but this myth reflects the wonderful fantasies of the people of ancient times.

Today, owing to modern electronic technology, this fantasy has become reality. Electromagnetic waves can be propagated at a rate of 300,000 kilometers per second, and modern radar can discover an enemy target 1,000 li away and also direct guided missiles to destroy the target. Communications satellites can transmit information to every corner of the globe in the twinkling of an eye and send into countless homes fine, moving musical, television, and radio programs. Radio signals can telecontrol spaceships, travel through space, and bring back to earth the mysteries of the universe gleaned through probes. Remote-sensing equipment on reconnaissance satellites in outer space can take clear pictures of pedestrians walking along the streets and can locate all sorts of military facilities such as underground guided-missile silos and strategic deployments. Their reconnaissance ability far surpasses that found in the mythical legends.

However, electromagnetic waves are not omnipotent. In the vast ocean, electromagnetic waves are greatly inferior. We know that an ocean is a huge conductor of electricity and that electromagnetic waves are very quickly absorbed in water, so that their range of propagation is very short. Therefore, in the mysterious oceanic world, electromagnetic waves cannot be depended on for probing, communicating, tracking, and navigating. Similarly, the attenuation of various kinds of light waves such as visible light, infrared rays, and ultraviolet rays is extremely large (in essence, they are a kind of electromagnetic wave). Fortunately, scientists have provided us with a very useful medium, viz, sound waves (see Fig. 1).

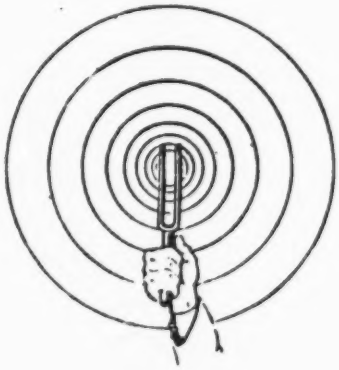


图1 声波

Fig. 1 Sound Waves

Speaking of sound waves, people are not unfamiliar with them. Every day and every hour, we, without exception, live in a world of sound. There are the beautiful sounds of music ans songs, and there are also noises that disgust people. All of then are produced by the vibration of material entities. However, not all sound waves can be heard. The normal human ear is only aware of sound waves that vibrate about 20 to 20,000 times per second, which can be called audible sounds. Sounds above this range are called ultrasonic; sounds below this range are called infrasonic. Neither ultrasonic nor infrasonic sounds are heard by the normal human ear. The frequency (number of vibrations per second) range of sound waves is very wide, from 10^{-4} to 10^{12} times per second. And its uses are even wider. Sound waves can be used for communication, and can form moving spoken language and music to express our thoughts and feelings. But this is not their only use. Originally, both sound waves and electromagnetic waves were extremely important means of locating and measuring. Particularly in liquid and solid bodies, they displayed even more originality. For example, by using ultrasonic sound waves, one can quickly detect flaws inside a material body and pathological changes inside a physical body. In steel and iron, the speed of sound waves can reach 5 kilometers per second, and therefore they are an important means of conducting harmless measurements. Ultrahigh-frequency sound waves can penetrate deep into the microscopic structure of matter and are an effective means of studying the internal structure of matter. By using infrasonic sounds, one can locate and measure nuclear explosions and earthquakes. Ultraflow-frequency sound waves can penetrate deep under the earth's strata and ascertain underground structure and ore-producing natural resources.

One of the important fields of application for sound waves is the ocean, where they have almost completely replaced electromagnetic waves and have come to play a decisive role. Sonar, which was developed on the basis of acoustical technology, is an effective means of locating and measuring, communicating, navigating, and fixing positions (Fig. 2).

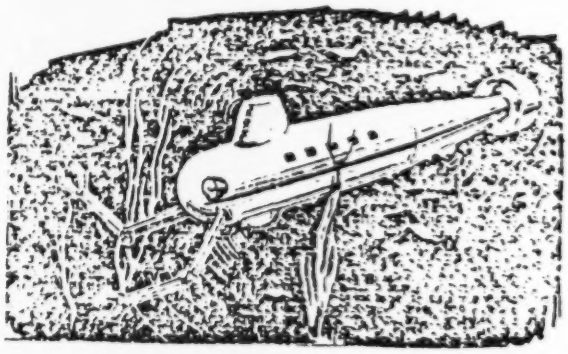


图2 水下声波导航

Fig. 2 Underwater soundwave navigation

When we speak of sonar, many people will feel that they are on unfamiliar ground, but if we mention radar many of them will be on familiar ground. Speaking oversimply, sonar is underground radar. The difference is that sound waves are substituted for electromagnetic waves. If we compare radar to a telescope, then sonar is an "underwater telescope." Compared with electromagnetic waves, in water the attenuation of sound waves is very small and they can be disseminated a long distance; especially in the deep sea they can traverse the ocean, and their propagation range can reach over 10,000 kilometers. Sonar truly deserves the name "underwater telescope"!

Ever since submarines came into being, sonar has been an important instrument for antisubmarine probes; in particular, the appearance of nuclear submarines has made the role of sonar even more prominent. Therefore, it is related to an important scientific field of national defense and security, and from this has been produced an important and advanced technical discipline--marine acoustics. In recent years, following the development of undertakings to exploit the ocean, sonar has entered an important field related to the national economy and the people's livelihood--oceanic research and exploitation. As we march toward the four modernizations, marine acoustics technology is an important "frontline army." It is too bad that in our country today, except for comrades who are directly engaged in this kind of work, there are still not many persons who understand this branch of learning.

Here, we want to introduce to our readers, and in particular to our young friends who aspire to the four modernizations, this new and interesting branch of learning. We hope more young friends will contribute their fervent youth to the cause of the motherland's marine acoustics, using their bold and unrestrained zeal and sweat of hard work to irrigate the flowers of science in the motherland so that they will blossom and bear the rich fruit of technology.

9727
CSO: 4005/804

GANSU PROVINCE STIPULATIONS ON FAMILY PLANNING REPORTED

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 2 Apr 82 p 2

[Article: "Stipulations on Concrete Policy of Planned Parenthood by Gansu Provincial People's Government"]

[Text] Article I. These stipulations are formulated on the basis of the Constitution and Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China, the directives of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and State Council on doing planned parenthood work better, strictly control population quantity, improve population quality, continue to advocate late marriage, late childbearing, fewer births and eugenics, and take into account the actual conditions in our province.

Article II. Couples who are state cadres and employees and live in cities and towns (including cases where one partner is in the countryside) may have only one child.

The birth of a second child may be permitted under one of the following conditions on application by both partners, with agreement of their unit, on verification by their neighborhood office (or commune), and with the approval of the county (municipal, district) planned parenthood committee:

1. When diagnosis by a hospital above county level indicates that the first child has a nonhereditary disease and cannot be expected to grow into a normal ablebodied person;

2. When one partner of a remarried couple has had one child while the other partner has not;

3. When there are no births in many years of marriage and the wife becomes pregnant after adopting a child.

Article III. It is generally advocated that in rural areas a couple give birth to only one child. In addition to the special conditions stipulated in Article II, if an individual commune member is having true difficulties, a second birth may be permitted, but specific conditions of the county people's government must be met, and then only after approval by the administrative office or the zhou or municipal people's government. If the conditions are met, both partners of the couple must apply and after verification by the people's commune report to the county planned parenthood committee for approval.

Article IV. All approved second births must be separated by an interval of more than 4 years.

Article V. Under no conditions, whether in the city or rural areas, can there be the birth of a third child.

Article VI. Minority nationalities should also practice planned parenthood. The number of childbirths permitted to minority nationalities with small populations who live in pasturelands and forestlands may be increased as appropriate. The specific method [of determining the increase in births permitted] is to be formulated by nationality autonomous zhou and counties and implemented after approval by the provincial people's government.

Article VII. The agencies and units of temporary residence and the neighborhood office (commune) shall take measures to terminate within a limited time all unplanned pregnancies of people not in their home residential area. Otherwise, in addition to punishment of the couple themselves according to these "stipulations," responsibility will be fixed on the leadership cadres concerned in the temporary unit.

Article VIII. To improve the population quality, hospitals above county level should gradually launch eugenic outpatient activity. Those who have hereditary nervous disorders, hereditary mental incapacity, severe heredity deformity and dementia may not bear children. Those already pregnant should be dealt with promptly to avoid influencing population quality and creating a burden for the family and society.

Article IX. Couples who bear only one child all their lives will be known as parents of a single child, and the child will be known as single child.

On assurance that they do not want another child, those who have adopted a child due to the death of another child or because of infertility will be issued a "single child certificate" and will enjoy the considerations of a single child, but will not be awarded health subsidies, nor will they enjoy other preferential treatment economically.

Parents of a single child and single child treatment will not be accorded under the following conditions:

1. A couple who have had more than two children but who have kept only one because the others were adopted by others;

2. In a second marriage, regardless of which partner, if one had a child in the previous marriage and another in the current marriage.

Article X. Late marriage and late childbirth is vigorously advocated. Marriage of males over the age of 25 and of females over the age of 23 is considered late marriage. Childbirth by females over the age of 24 is considered late childbirth.

The honeymoon period is extended to one month for all couples who both marry late. Maternity leave is extended to 100 days for all who qualify for late

childbirth and to 150 days for those who receive a "single child certificate" during maternity leave. While on maternity leave, cadres and employees will receive full wages and benefits. Pay increases, promotions and awards will not be affected. After delivery, female commune members in rural areas who secure a "single child certificate" will be registered according to the stipulated rest period work points. By guaranteeing production and work by the household and other management systems, husband and wife are forgiven that year's voluntary work.

Article XI. On joint application by husband and wife who have given birth to one child, have taken effective contraceptive measures and guarantee they will not have another child, on the verification of their unit's report to the commune (urban neighborhood office) and with the issuance by their county (city or district) of a "single child certificate," they will enjoy the following preferential treatment:

1. Single children of state cadres, employees and urban residents will receive annually a health subsidy of 23 yuan beginning with the year they received their certificate up to the age of 14. Those who do not receive 14 years of benefits because they secured their certificates late will not receive any supplements.

The health subsidy for single children of employees of state-run business and urban collective enterprises will come from the enterprise's benefits funds and retained profits. If there are real difficulties, with the approval of the county (municipal, district) financial administrative sections, it can be supplemented from enterprise management funds. In administrative and personnel units, it will be paid from employee benefits expenses. If there are real difficulties, it can come from the unit's administrative or personnel expenses. The health subsidy for the single children of the urban unemployed will temporarily be paid by planned parenthood expenses.

2. To reward single-child households, rural areas carrying out production and work guarantees by household may adopt the methods of increasing private plots, increasing the responsibility field by one person-share or lowering the norms for production guarantees. Some can pay the health subsidy from multichildren family levies. Production teams which have collected a large public welfare fund may also pay single-child health subsidies from the public welfare fund. With the approval of the county (municipal, district) people's government, at its discretion the state may supplement the necessary single-child health subsidy expenses for production teams whose average income is under 50 yuan.

Methods of providing health subsidies: when both parents of a single child are employed, the unit of each partner will pay one-half of the health subsidy; when one partner is a commune member or an urban resident without an employment unit and the other is employed, the unit of employment will pay the full amount; if one partner is outside the province and the amount of the health subsidy [in that province] is different from Gansu's, each will receive a portion according to the stipulations [of each province]; in cases where the health subsidy is entirely paid by one partner's unit, the other partner in the rural area will no longer receive the treatment described above; when both partners are

urban residents without employment units, it will be issued by the county (municipal, district) planned parenthood section in which they are situated.

3. All things being equal, single children can use their "single child certificate" for priority admission to day care centers, kindergartens, school and hospitals, and units which meet the conditions may avoid payment. Mothers of children under the age of one are relived of night duty. All other things being equal, a family holding a "single child certificate" has priority in assignment to an urban residence or rural residence.

Article XII. Rural areas should actively carry out care of the elderly. The elderly who do not have a single child with them should be treated the same as elderly with no children and be provided conscientious care to insure that their standard of living is slightly higher than the average for people in their area so that they can spend their late years in comfort.

Article XIII. Advanced units and advanced individuals who have made evident achievements in planned parenthood work should be praised and rewarded (including material rewards). Units should make the implementation of planned parenthood policy stipulations one condition for choosing the advanced and assessing cadres.

Article XIV. The earliest possible remedial measures should be taken for all unplanned pregnancies to terminate the pregnancy; otherwise, depending on circumstances, the following economic sanctions and treatment will be meted out:

1. All cadres and employees (including employees of collectives) who are not dissuaded from unplanned pregnancies through education will have the wages of both partners stopped until the pregnancy is terminated.

For those who stubbornly have a second child, in addition to having their wages stopped without retroactive payment, the couple will have a 10-percent excess child expense deducted from their basic wages monthly from the time the child is born until he is 10. In addition, one salary adjustment and promotion seniority will be eliminated.

Those who insist on having a third child, in addition to both partners losing a salary adjustment, promotion seniority and deduction of wages for the period of the pregnancy, will also have a 15-percent excess child expense deducted from the wages of both partners from the time the child is born until he is 16. Those who have more than three pregnancies will have 5 percent excess child expense deducted for each additional child until the child is 16. During this period, neither partner will receive wage adjustments or promotions.

2. For all unplanned pregnancies, charges for examination, medicine and medical procedures during pregnancy and delivery will not be waived, and maternity leave wages will also be deducted. Couples who have excess children will not receive hardship subsidies, and excess children will not receive subsidized medical treatment or day care subsidies.

3. All cadres and employees who violate the stipulations of planned parenthood policy and through repeated education will not be dissuaded from having more children must be disciplined or administratively punished according to the circumstances of their cases. The right to approve punishment is reserved to units above county level.

4. All couples who do not carry out planned parenthood cannot be recruited for work and must be dismissed as contract workers, temporary workers and recruited workers.

5. For all those who have a second child after securing a "single child certificate" the certificate will be reclaimed by their unit, considerations appropriate to a single child will be removed, all single child health subsidies and other preferential treatment expenses already issued will be revoked, and they will be dealt with in accordance with the relevant stipulations on unplanned births.

6. Excess children of rural commune members will not receive private plots or residential land.

7. Other methods of rural reward and economic restriction will be formulated by county (municipal, district) people's governments according to actual local conditions and reported to administrative or zhou and municiapl people's governments to be entered into the records.

8. For those who are engaged in individual industrial and commercial activity in either the city or the countryside, industrial sections can revoke their business permits before remedial measures to terminate the pregnancy have been taken and the pregnancy terminated. The permit can be reissued after effective contraceptive measures have been taken.

Article IV. The excess children expense levied by districts and units is to be managed under a special heading by people's communes, neighborhood offices, organs and enterprise units. Communes or neighborhood offices should send an accounting to the county (municipal, district) planned parenthood committee quarterly. These moneys can only be disbursed for planned parenthood and for no other purpose.

Article XVI. Controlling births should be mainly by contraception, supplemented by other effective birth control measures, and ideological education should be done before pregnancy occurs. To raise the quality of planned parenthood technical guidance work and the level of birth-control surgery, quality is first and so is safety of the patient.

1. After birth control surgery has been performed on a Yuling [5148 7881] couple, during the stipulated rest period, their employee wages will be paid by their unit without affecting full employment and bonuses. In case one needs the nursing care of the other, with evidence from the hospital and the approval of the unit leadership, wages will be paid for the period of nursing without affecting full employment and bonuses. After undergoing birth control surgery or taking remedial measures to deal with an excess pregnancy, a rural commune member, within a stipulated rest period, may be granted an allowance by the

commune or brigade depending on actual circumstances. In cases of real need, suitable consideration may be granted from social relief funds or excess children levies.

2. With authentication of the planned parenthood birth control surgery authentication team from above county level, any complications and consequences brought on by birth control surgery should be conscientiously treated by the health and medical treatment sections, and expenses for hospitalization and medication will be borne by the individual's unit. If there is no unit to pay these expenses, as verified by the department responsible for planned parenthood at the county or equivalent level, payment will be made from planned parenthood expenses. For loss or essential loss of labor which causes a hardship on a family's standard of living, apart from commune-brigade and neighborhood office consideration, help will come from the social relief funds of the people's government and the unit of the cadre and employee.

Article XVII. Planned parenthood cadres and medical service personnel should be models in implementing planned parenthood policy. Those whose violation of planned parenthood policy for private gain or fraudulent practices is serious will be given the necessary administrative discipline and punishment.

Those who destroy planned parenthood work by attacking and villifying planned parenthood personnel and activists and by stealing intrauterine devices must be dealt with severely. Whatever is a crime should should be punished according to the law and the injured party compensated.

Article XVIII. Planned parenthood stipulations formulated in the past by areas and units played an important role in launching planned parenthood work. The issues which were dealt with in the past according to the stipulations are still effective. From now on, those which are in conflict with these "stipulations" should be revised in the spirit of these "stipulations" and reported to the provincial people's government for entry into the records.

Article XIX. These "stipulations" are usable by the Central Committee and units from fraternal provincial and district units in Gansu. PLA units in Gansu are to implement these stipulations in accordance with the methods formulated by the PLA.

Article XX. These "stipulations" are effective as of the date of publication.

16 March 1982

8226
CSO: 4005/801

REFORM CAMPAIGN SEEN AS TEST FOR DENG-HU GROUP

Hong Kong CH'I-SHI NIEN-TAI [The Seventies] in Chinese No 3, Mar 82 pp 10-11

[Article by Ai Nan [5337 0589]: "A Test for the Reformist Faction of the Chinese Communist Party"]

[Text] Deng Xiaoping, after his 1-month "disappearance" during the New Year, finally confirmed the complete renewal of the "revolution" planned while he was in the South. A series of signs have become clear; the campaigns to rectify bureaucratism, to have select troops and a simplified administration, and to punish economic criminals severely are to be developed simultaneously throughout China with great vigor and resolve; these campaigns are to be enforced with unremitting determination.

Arrangements for the Campaigns, and Rumors

As early as August 1980, Deng Xiaoping in a Politburo conference on the 24 manifestations of bureaucratism had already recognized the seriousness of "the predicament that leading people is intolerable." More than a year later, he again exposed many problems and decided to carry out major surgery in 1982. At the beginning of January, the Secretariat of the Central Committee continually convened forums for senior cadres to expose broadly incorrect tendencies; at a mass meeting during the New Year, Li Xiannian suggested that the purification and simplification organizations and the strict handling of economically important legal cases were the two most important tasks for this year. On 5 February, they announced the arrest of the party secretary of the Guangzhou Telegraphic Bureau and the bureau head, Wang Weijing [3769 4850 4842]. These incidents can be seen as mere curtain-raisers. Shortly thereafter, Vice Premier Wang Li discussed Deng Xiaoping's participation in making policy while in retreat at Erxian. The newly appointed first secretary in Fujian, Xiang Nansheng [7309 0589 5116], spoke about performing surgery on the nouveaux riches in order to expropriate their personal wealth. The central authorities also dispatched high-ranking officials in all directions to inquire about party conditions and to take charge of major cases. The news from Beijing was that central organizations were to be reduced by 200,000 excess personnel, with each organization to make large-scale personnel mergers, even to the point of reducing the 13 vice premiers to 2 or 3. In mid-February, Politburo member Wang Zhen, together with the six vice ministers of the Coal Ministry, announced their retirement. Aiming directly at various kinds of unfounded rumors, Vice Premier Bo Yibo told reporters that Deng Xiaoping

and Chen Yun are now leading this revolution for purification and simplification. When Hu Yaobang received Ding Zhaozhong [0002 5128 0022], he stressed the importance of these two major matters. Now the campaigns are developing even further.

At the same time, a rumor has it that while Deng Xiaoping was in charge in Guangdong, he had two important high-level criminals arrested, and that daily this attack is penetrating deeper and deeper to the heart of the problem. Rumors were rife in foreign trade units, while among the people [it was said] foreign trade had already come to a complete halt; a famous merchant who rushed to the capital was unable to sign a contract and had to return emptyhanded. The rumors also said that the central authorities earlier had intended to let Guangdong's corruption go until it became so rotten as to cause the fall of some cadres and only then to come put things in order.

Yet the people's universal caution has resulted from their fear that things would not be seen through to the end, and that there would only be a great deal of noise with little action. If the authorities only went halfway and then stopped, there would be interminable suffering afterward.

This eye-catching situation provoked new hope among people concerned about China's development, but an examination of previous experience and its complicated reality makes people feel that there are numerous problems and that the road ahead is going to be difficult.

What Is the Standard for Economic Crime?

The Chinese legal system is not complete; jurisprudence and administration are of a very flexible character, and injustices are often encountered. What sort of people will the campaign hit? This is what concerns people. The most recent reports have made it clear that cases like that of Wang Weijing or an even greater case naturally pose no problem, but is the receipt of a tape recorder or a television as a bribe to be regarded as criminal? This has not yet been clearly defined. The authorities obviously intend to implement a policy of "reducing the area of attack," allowing the strictness of disciplinary action to move toward the homily that "the law does not govern the masses." From the speeches and the Chinese Communist newspapers, people are entirely unable to see the distinction between what is illegal and what is merely improper, and they all still often consider that "violations of the law and disobedience of regulations" constitute only impropriety. This sort of thing could lead to confusing the boundaries between punishment and education. Moreover, this leaves abundant leeway for the subjective conclusions of leading party members.

The "expansion" that occurred in political struggles of the past from chaotic attacks and sturggles, chaotic arrests and killings, was serious; now, with the development of struggles in the economic area, how are they going to prevent deviations of both the left and the right? We are unable to say whether they already have reliable experience. Although the Chinese Communists vigorously argue that the present case is neither a "rectification" nor a "campaign," the facts have already made it clear that this is a campaign. It is only a non-political campaign, however, with party regulations and national laws powerless

in the face of the daily more rampant illegal activities. They are only using an organizationally initiated model called "beating the tiger" as a way of attacking these problems. This is completely understandable.

Three Grave Characteristics

For several years the spirit of the Chinese Communist Party and state has declined steadily. Within China this is already well known, while outside China there have been widespread rumors and discussions to this effect. As for the seriousness of this, Chinese newspapers recently have stopped concealing these things. Based on many other facts, we can see that these improper currents and crimes have the following characteristics:

The first is their extremely widespread character. Before the Cultural Revolution in the economy there were still many, from the party and government down to the intelligentsia, who were above corruption, who knew proper behavior and shame, and who saw money as something apart from themselves and did not prey upon others in its pursuit. However, after the changes over many years, viewpoints on virtue and values have produced deep-seated changes, with private [interests] overwhelming the public [interest], idealists being seen as "dirt," and fetishists serving to fulfill an empty spiritualism. This process has appeared not only among high-level cadres but also among the common people in the marketplaces; even those previously high-minded and morally righteous scholars have overwhelmingly failed to avoid the vile and the petty and have conformed to common practice and current fashion. With the receiving and giving of bribes as an example, almost all Chinese know that, regardless of whether one is handling a private or a public matter, if you do not have a "connection" and do not use the "back door," then the whole thing will come to nothing. These kinds of connections and back-door dealings help to preserve each form of bribery and mutual profit. Their widespread character has already reached the stage where they are considered a virtue rather than something to be ashamed of. Things have gone so far that even many grade-school students understand it all.

The second [characteristic] has been around for a long time. Since the Chinese Communist Party took power, the call for "rectification" has been repeated many times year after year without end; simplification and transfer have also been tried many times, yet evil practices have increasingly flourished. Organizations have become ever larger, and time after time, bullying cadres have become braver and more cunning. Therefore when the [authorities] wanted to correct them through punishment it usually became a case of "if a demon is a foot tall, then the correction is a yard tall," and the attempt would come to nothing. If the present alarm "becomes unbearable" it will really be the result of deeply rooted animosities.

Third, the hidden connections among cadres have reached a situation of extreme complexity, with mutual interests, origins, and political factions causing many cadres who are involved in illegal plots to be united in tangible and intangible groups that are more extensive than before. Cruelly and craftily, officials stick together, with the result that in many legal cases all the parties have a high official acting as their patron. Recently the more or less typical case of Wang Weijing dragged on for 2 years, proving the above point.

Fundamental Causes

That these corrupt practices flourish is very serious, and we must get to their origin. The popular proverb "hunger and cold create the will to be a bandit" corresponds to the principle of "existing decisive consciousness," completely affirming the fact that the fundamental cause of the Chinese society's ills is the contradiction between the scarcity of goods in that society and the daily increasing demands of that society. The lack of productive forces leads to a universal decline in moral strength. Productive forces declined as a result of Mao Zedong's prolonged implementation of an extreme leftist line that slighted economic development and continuously manufactured "class conflict," while increased demand is closely related to the population explosion and the attacks of modern tides of thought on the patterns of traditional life.

One can discover in China many vivid proofs of this simple, materialistic explanation. In areas where a rationing system for meat has been imposed, a lowly clerk in a butcher's shop can become the object of bribes, as many people curry his favor. For a pitiable yet precious bit of pork he can solicit an endless, illegal trade. Once meat is "openly" supplied, this kind of phenomenon immediately disappears.

Naturally, one can find many other causes, but they are all secondary. Chinese propaganda experts do not want to recognize this fact, and they argue that during a period of warfare goods are scarce while ideological virtue is, to the contrary, extremely exalted. Regrettably, the people cannot permanently live in war; moreover, today's materialistic culture also exercises a universal attraction--attracting even those old fighters who had suffered for dozens of years.

This author is naturally unable to equate these unhealthy tendencies and crime, but these unhealthy tendencies nonetheless are without doubt the soil in which crime multiplies.

Problem of the Existence of Simplified Organizations

The forging ahead, in disregard of trifles, with the campaign for select troops and simplified administration in order to promote administrative efficiency reveals the Deng-Hu faction's determination to pursue reform. But the corruption of this huge nation's machinery has already reached the point where it will be very difficult to reverse; it manifests a kind of protective instinct to resist any innovations. We must not underestimate this in the slightest.

The purpose of simplifying organizations is to conquer bureaucratism and increase efficiency. What guarantee is there that in the degree of simplification, all the needed cadres will be retained? Simply speaking, the time for carrying out this simplification is not very long. First, there is the surface problem of how to weigh the importance, or lack thereof, of "virtue and ability." To one-sidedly investigate "political behavior," including the "family's class status"--this being the way of the extreme leftist cadre--has been the fatal weakness in the 30 years of the Chinese Communists' utilization of people. The consequence of this is that "the brazen bell is smashed and discarded; the earthen crock is thunderously sounded"--an approach that produces a good deal of ignornace that will call only mediocre talent into politics, will completely block each level of an organization's leadership, will mislead the country, and will harm the

people. Generally speaking, under Chinese Communist rule, talented people's so-called "political qualifications" are comparatively lacking, and because of this, they suffer in each period from the pehnomena of transfers and simplification. Those who are skillful in seeking their own advantage, those past masters at giving others a hard time, and other shameless whores, on the contrary, make meteoric rises. Will people with those kinds of roots believe that this simplification will produce any other result?

Even were they to carry out this simplification under comparatively unbiased conditions, it would still discourage people. Recently, rumors from several regions indicate that people are apprehensive. The reality heretofore has also been like this. If one recalls that in the past, the universally chosen method of punishing those who were guilty of "committing errors" was transfer to hard labor or fundamental reeducation, then one can under stand that simplification and transfer, even if they are gloriously named, are nonetheless not a matter apt to please people. The reason for this lies in the great difference between city and country in China, with the out-of-the-way suffering in the country while the cities are comfortable. This coldblooded comparison reduces revolutionary ardor to nothingness.

Because of this, every time there is a transfer campaign, it is accompanied by open and covert fighting, and usually several hidden contradictions are exposed and even deepened. Furthermore, some leaders take their revenge, using the campaign as a good opportunity to serve themselves. Thus it is naturally difficult to produce positive results. Because personal animosities have reached the point of making a business of the decision to transfer or not to transfer a person, this has become in many cases an important reason why simplification has proven fruitless. Moreover, once a campaign has run its course, there are those who are able to use anything to cause their own organizations to be enlarged.

In this instance of a campaign for crack troops and simplified administration, the best that can be hoped for is that the remnants of the extreme left will receive a blow and a purging, and that some superfluous personnel will be reduced. But one dares not be too optimistic about whether or not "cleverness" can be achieved. If there is not a fundamental reform of the existing system of working groups and the supporting system of human customs, then the simplification of forms will not improve matters in the end.

Prospects for Rule of Law

Although the legal system is still not in good order, the method of speedy and determined enforcement of the law is useful in resolving the necessity of a number of pressing problems. When all is said and done, however, this is still the same old campaign style that was popular during the time of Mao Zedong--even though that style has historically been proven to be a poor method for governing the country. The style of governing in Western countries is far from perfect, but their rule of law indisputably provides a fertile source of reliable experience for Eastern countries, though they have no need to belabor their leaders and motivate the masses in a campaign so that, in response to the shameful news that a minister or a prime minister has taken a bribe, they can apply legal

sanctions that cause the malefactor to resign from office as a gesture of self-approach. Although recently there have been few appraisals by the Chinese of Western law, why would it be difficult for them to establish their own legal system?

It is a long story, but one other important cause is the mischievous point of view that "one who makes an empire should then rule the empire." Brought together under this point of view, in their "discussion of merits and demerits," are many men who have distinguished themselves in war and thus now are enjoying the privilege of that special leniency that results from "merit that can over-some guilt." In reality, they refuse to recognize the general principle that "all men are equal before the law." This writer believes that the Chinese Communist Party, under the reformist faction headed by Deng and Hu, has the determination to bring to an end permanently the tradition that "one who steals a country is made a lord, while one who steals a fishhook is executed"--which is to say in this instance that the various lords of the Southern Sea will all climb Jingyang hill and assume a posture of getting to the heart of the matter, even though this author knows that the way to resolve the causes of these unhealthy tendencies lies in the law. But the people's problems are worse than a fire, and it is necessary for the people to be given a forthright appreciation of the project of removing evil.

It appears that this instance of beating the tiger will be unable to resolve contemporary problems or to hope to overthrow the "imperial stars." Rumor has it that the only way they will be able to attack the vice ministers is by strictly preventing their promotions. We hope we can reach the level equal to the victories enjoyed by Liu Qingshan and Zhang Zishan, for then we would all be able to rejoice fully.

Yet to do this obstructs and frightens only to a degree; one would expect that the aged Wu Sung's would also want to subdue all layers of obstructionism and would not fear tearing apart people's sensitivities. This is a test of their boldness and prestige.

9504
CSO: 4005/740

END

JPRS 81208

6 July 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 314

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81208

6 July 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 314

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Commentary on Mideast
(XINHUA, various dates)..... 1

PLO's Quaddmi on U.S.
Egyptian Minister to Israel
Western Leaders Urge Halt
Egypt Condemns Israeli Attack
Jordan Urges Halt
Habib Arrives in Israel
Reagan's Visit to Britian
Guerrillas Resist Attacks
U.S., Italian Leaders Meet
Romania Condemns Israeli Invasion
Japan Voices Concern
U.S. Vetoes UN Resolution
Turkish Papers Hit Israel
Castro Urges Arab Unity
EEC Statement
Reagan 'Demands' Cease-Fire
Poland Hits Israel Aggression
Mitterrand Addresses Issues

UN Environmental Session Closes in Nairobi
(XINHUA, 1 Jun 82)..... 11

Commentary on the Falklands Crisis
(XINHUA, various dates)..... 12

U.S. Support for Britain
UN Secretary General Meets UK
U.S. Aid to UK

Argentine Hits U.S. Support
OAS Meeting
UK Aggression, U.S. Support Condemned
U.S. Press Criticizes Support
UK, Argentine Envoys Contacted
More Aid to Argentina
Qichen on Falkland U.S., Relations, Qian Qichen Interview
Thatcher Insists on Argentine Withdrawal
Cease-Fire Efforts Fail
Nonaligned Meeting
Naval Exercises Cancelled
Arms Purchase From Abroad Sought
U.S. Seeks Vote Change
Thatcher, Reagan, Mitterrand Discuss Falklands
Argentines Rap U.S. Veto
Nonaligned Nations Back Argentina
Royo Criticizes U.S. Stand
Surrender to UK Rejected
Proposal on Falklands Crisis
Trade Delegation to Argentina
Galtieri Rejects Cease-Fire Proposal
Government Releases, Paroles Prisoners

Commentary on the USSR and East Europe
(XINHUA, various dates)..... 32

Brezhnev Meets Libyan Leader
Yugoslav Leaders Talk With Greeks
Austrian President's USSR Visit
Ceausescu Addresses Romanian CP Meeting
Soviets Meet Iraqi Deputy Premier
Communique on Husak Visit
Official Visit to Romania
Zhivkov Concludes Austrian Visit

Commentary on Disarmament
(XINHUA, various dates)..... 40

'XINHUA' Cites Stockholm Study
U.S. Disarmament Proposal Denied
World Buddhist Conference

UN FAO Forecasts World Cereal Production
(XINHUA, 2 Jun 82)..... 43

Vietnam, Kampuchea Situation Noted
(XINHUA, various dates)..... 44

Troops Withdrawn From Several Strongholds
DK on Nonaligned Movement Exclusion
Special Envoy Returns to Kampuchea

Japan's Maneuvers, Visitors Noted
(XINHUA, various dates)..... 46

Military Maneuvers Begin
Press Coverage of Zhao Visit
Japanese Papers on Zhao Visit
Zhao's Successful Visit
Zhao Ziyang Visit

U.S., Morocco Reach Agreement on Use of Airfields
(XINHUA, 28 May 82)..... 52

Commentary on West
(XINHUA, various dates)..... 53

Spain's Formal Entry Into NATO
Spring Session Ends
Reagan, Mitterrand Confer
End NATO Air Force Exercise
Spain Admitted to NATO
Seven Nation Western Summit
Report Presented to Economic Summit
Trade, Finance Issues Discussed
States End Summit Meeting
Soviet Space Vehicle Launch

Commentary on Sino-West European Relations
(XINHUA, 6 May, 1 Jun 82)..... 61

Envoy in Iceland
Youth Group to Greece, Italy
Norwegian Chief Justice
Departure of Representative

Activities of Afghanistan Described
(XINHUA, 29, 30 May 82)..... 62

USSR, DRA Sign Agreement
Captives Transferred
Losses on USSR Forces

Briefs
Aggression Against Seychelles Condemned 64
Arms, Supplies to Iraq 64
Iran-Iraq War 64
Official Condemns ROK, U.S. 65
'No-War Pact' Talks 65
Ndjamena Controlled 65

PARTY AND STATE

Liu's 'On Inner Party Struggle' Praised
(Guan Qi; XUELILUN, No 2, 1982)..... 67

Regional Commentary on Administrative Reform
(LIAONING RIBAO, 6 Apr 82, XINHUA RIBAO, 12 Apr 82)..... 71

Shenyang Cadres Retire, by Zhang Yujie
Cadre Reform

Excerpts From Liaoning People's Congress Work Report
(Zhang Qingtai; LIAONING RIBAO, 14 Mar 82)..... 74

Excerpts From Liaoning PCC Standing Committee Wrok Report
(Lu Guangji; LIAONING RIBAO, 14 Mar 82)..... 80

Liaoning Provincial CCPPC Resolution Passed
(LIAONING RIBAO, 14 Mar 82)..... 86

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Activities of Jilin's Qiang Xiaochu Reported
(Jilin Provincial Service, 28, 31 May 82)..... 89

Visits Kindergarten
Attends Children's Day Party

Economist-Educator Ma Yinchu Dies in Beijing
(XINHUA, 14 May 82)..... 91

Briefs
Drive Against TV Antennas 93
Xizang Education 93
Shanghai Literature Society 94
Xiang Nan Visits Children's Bookstore 94
Establishment of Workers Universities 94

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON MIDEAST

PLO's Quaddmi On U.S.

OW291312 Beijing XINHUA in English 1252 GMT 29 May 82

[Text] Beirut, 28 May (XINHUA)--The head of the political department of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Faruq Qaddumi, said today the U.S. Middle East policy was a "failure," according to the Palestine News Agency.

The PLO leader was commenting on U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig's speech of 26 May in which Haig said the U.S. would make new peace efforts in the Middle East.

Haig disclosed in his speech in Chicago that the U.S. would put forward three new proposals for stabilizing peace in the Middle East, namely: to remove the danger of a border conflict between Lebanon and Israel, to end the Iran-Iraq war speedily and to resume the autonomy negotiations for Palestinians.

Qaddumi said that the U.S. pro-Israel Middle-East policy was unsuccessful for it had brought many disasters to the whole region, undermined the sovereignty of Lebanon and threatened the independence of many countries.

Qaddumi said, "it seems the U.S. begins to see the imperative necessity of taking certain actions to stop the worsening of the situation," because such situation "has obviously affected the U.S. interests and aroused the opposition from the people of all countries in the Middle East area."

He stressed that "the U.S. should know the key to the Middle East peace is the Palestine problem," and that "if the Palestinian people are denied their national right to return to their homeland, to self-determination and to set up an independent state on their own soil, peace is impossible and the situation in the whole region will remain tense."

Egyptian Minister To Israel

OW031554 Beijing XINHUA in English 1506 GMT 3 Jun 82

[Text] Cairo, 3 June (XINHUA)--Egyptian Deputy Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Kamal Hasan 'Ali flew to Israel Wednesday to deliver a message from the President Husni Mubarak to Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin.

'Ali had a two-hour meeting with Menahem Begin after talks with Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir. He told reporters that he discussed with Begin the

possibility of a meeting between Mubarak and Begin "in the near future to discuss ways to step up the momentum of the peace process." He said the venue and the date of the meeting were not discussed.

The resumption of the Palestinian autonomy talks was also discussed.

'Ali was accompanied by Osama El Baz, director of the president's office for political affairs. He was also joined by Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs, who was on a visit with a delegation of the Egyptian ruling national Democratic Party.

Western Leaders Urge Halt

OW061730 Beijing XINHUA in English 1653 GMT 6 Jun 82

[Text] Paris, 6 June (XINHUA)--The seven industrialised nations at the summit being held here today called for an immediate halt to the fighting in Lebanon.

In a joint statement, the United States, Britain, Canada, France, West Germany, Italy and Japan expressed firm support for a ceasefire call issued Saturday by UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar.

They appealed to Israel to end military actions in the interests of peace and security of the region. "Each of our governments will use all the means at its disposal to achieve this objective," the statement said.

Meanwhile, a U.S. presidential spokesman announced today that President Ronald Reagan sent a personal message Saturday to Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin asking him to end military actions against Palestinians in Lebanon.

He also announced the United States would reduce its embassy staff in Beirut by one-half and all family members of embassy staff would leave Lebanon within 48 hours.

Egypt Condemns Israeli Attack

OW061934 Beijing XINHUA in English 1905 GMT 6 Jun 82

[Text] Cairo, 6 June (XINHUA)--Egypt today denounced the Israeli aggression on Lebanon and called on Israel to respect the sovereignty and independence of Lebanon and abide by ceasefire resolutions.

A statement issued by the Egyptian ministerial council demanded that Israel withdraw immediately from Lebanon and abstain from any action which might lead to increasing tension. It pointed out that the attack on the Israeli ambassador in London is a crime which should be condemned but does not justify whatsoever Israeli assaults on Lebanon and the killing of innocent people.

Egypt asserts that the only way leading to genuine peace is dialogue and negotiations among the parties concerned including representatives of the Palestinians and not through acts of violence and bloodshed, the statement said.

Egypt today asked its ambassador to Israel said Murtada to notify the Israeli Foreign Ministry of Egypt's denunciation of the present Israeli attack on Lebanon.

Jordan Urges Halt

OW070722 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 7 Jun 82

[Text] Damascus, 6 June (XINHUA)--Jordanese Government today urged permenent member countries of the UN Security Council to stop the fresh Israeli aggression against Lebanon, according to a report of Jordanian TV monitored here this evening.

Jordan's acting Foreign Minister Hasan Ibrahim today summoned in Amman the ambassadors of Britain, China, France, the Soviet Union and the United States. He asked their governments to shoulder their responsibilities as permanent UN Security Council members by putting an end to the fresh Israeli aggression against Lebanon and forcing Israel to abide by international resolutions.

Hasan Ibrahim also asked the five ambassadors to convey to their governments Jordan's concern and condemnation of the Israeli air raids on Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon.

In another move, the Jordanian Government has ordered its delegation to the United Nations to contact Security Council members in a bid to stop the Israeli invasion and bring about the withdrawal of its troops from Lebanese territory.

It was reported that more than 20,000 Israeli troops had crossed the Lebanese border today under air and artillery cover in an all-out invasion of Southern Lebanon.

As the Israelis began their invasion, a PLO statement said that the joint Palestinian-Lebanese forces would fight to the end against the aggressors.

Habib Arrives in Israel

OW081226 Beijing XINHUA in English 1210 GMT 8 Jun 82

[Text] Beirut, 7 June (XINHUA)--U.S. presidential envoy Philip Habib arrived in Israel today in an attempt to arrange a ceasefire between the Israelis and Palestinians when Israel is escalating its war in South Lebanon.

It was reported that Habib carried with him a "private letter" to Prime Minister Menachem Begin from President Ronald Reagan, demanding an immediate Israeli ceasefire and withdrawal from South Lebanon.

Reagan had written to Begin following the Israeli bombing of Beirut on 4 June, asking him to take no action that would escalate the conflict, but the request was turned down by Begin.

Begin and Habib met at 5 p.m. (local time). The meeting lasted an hour and a half but no details were disclosed. The Israeli cabinet will hold an emergency meeting in the evening to put forward conditions for a ceasefire.

Habib had met with Reagan in Paris before he arrived in Israel.

Reagan's Visit To Britain

OW090036 Beijing XINHUA in English 0236 GMT 8 Jun 82

[Text] London, 7 June (XINHUA)--U.S. President Ronald Reagan arrived here this evening for a 2-day state visit to Britain as guest of Queen Elizabeth II. His talks with British Government leaders are expected to be dominated by the Falklands (Malvinas) crisis and the situation in the Middle East.

His visit was arranged before the Falklands crisis started 2 months ago, but his arrival happens to be at a time when the Angle-Argentine conflict has reached a critical stage. With thousands of British troops now poised for an attack on the besieged Argentine garrison at the islands capital, Port Stanley, government officials here have made it clear that Britain would not pause in its military action to retrieve the islands from Argentina during the 41 hours the U.S. president is in the country.

The British Government regards as significant the U.S. support for its effort to retake the disputed South Atlantic Islands, but it was disappointed at the mix-up over the U.S. vote on the UN Security Council resolution last Friday calling for an immediate ceasefire in the Falklands conflict. Though government officials tried hard to make light of the matter, British newspaper reports of differences between the two governments over the Falklands persisted today and this is likely to cast a shadow over the U.S. president's visit here.

President Reagan is due to address members of both houses of the British parliament tomorrow and the only talks between him and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher will take place on Wednesday morning shortly before he leaves for Bonn.

Guerrillas Resist Attacks

OW081248 Beijing XINHUA in English 1240 GMT 8 Jun 82

[Text] Beirut, 7 June (XINHUA)--The Palestinian guerrillas, in fierce battles in al-Nabatiyah, Sur and Saida of southern Lebanon today, destroyed at least 50 Israeli tanks and armored vehicles, brought down five Israeli planes and killed or wounded more than 400 enemy troops, reported the Palestine News Agency.

The Israeli aggressors have occupied al-Naratiyah and Shagif fort at great cost. The enemy troops were engaged in fierce fighting with the Palestinian guerrillas in Sur and Saida after ending air-drop in Saida at 4:00 p.m.

Syrian forces participated in today's fighting against the Israeli aggressors. A Syrian military spokesman declared today that they successfully intercepted and checked the advance of the Israeli forces at Jazzin and destroyed a number of enemy tanks when the latter tried to attack Syrian positions. In two dog-

fights this afternoon, two Israeli airplanes were shot down while the Syrians lost one plane.

It was reported that Syria had sent an armored division to reinforce its forces in southern Lebanon.

This afternoon Israeli aircraft bombed the Arab University and a stadium in Western Beirut. Most areas in the capital city were in darkness following the destruction of high tension electric power lines in Damor during the bombing.

The Lebanese Government today appealed to nations all over the world to impose pressure on Israel for an immediate ceasefire and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. The Lebanese secretary general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kesruan Labaki, met with the Chinese charge d'affaires ad interim in Lebanon, Yang Yihuai, this morning. On behalf of the Lebanese Government, he expressed thanks to China for its support at the UN Security Countil meeting.

U.S., Italian Leaders Meet

OW080724 Beijing XINHUA in English 0714 GMT 8 Jun 82

[Text] Rome, 7 June (XINHUA)--U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Italian Prime Minister Giovanni Spadolini today extensively examined the development of the serious Middle East crisis following Israel's invasion of Lebanon.

On their way from Paris to Rome this morning, Reagan and Spadolini held talks aboard the special plane. The American president was on his way for a five-hour visit to Rome.

Reagan informed Spadolini of the contacts made with the Israeli Government and the steps taken by the U.S. Government, said a communique issued by the Italian prime minister's office.

The Italian prime minister strongly protested against the Israeli action which gravely violated human rights and endangered peace prospects in the entire region, added the communique.

The two leaders examined the obligations derived from the decisions of the Versailles meeting on monetary stabilization and international trade, with special regard to East-West economic relations.

They also discussed such problems as North-South relations, relations with the Third World and energy. They agreed that in view of the developments of the South Atlantic situation a solution through negotiation is necessary.

They discussed political and military collaboration between the two countries within the framework of the Atlantic alliance defense structure. Spadolini stressed the importance of the present negotiations for the reduction and control of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe and the coming talks on strategic arms limitation.

Italian President Sandro Pertini hosted a luncheon for Reagan at Quirinale Palace this afternoon.

In their 30-minute conversation, the two presidents touched upon issues of international tension, including the Middle East, Afghanistan, Poland, Central and South America.

They expressed their common aspiration for an end to the hostility in the South Atlantic through an agreement based on UN resolution 502, and reiterated their interest in enhancing the relations with the Latin American countries, the communique said. They also discussed bilateral relations.

Reagan was reported to have told President Pertini that in order to save the peace in the Middle East he had decided to send his special envoy Philip Habib to Israel. He also thanked the Italian Government for rescuing General Dozier from terrorists.

Romania Condemns Israeli Invasion

OW080732 Beijing XINHUA in English 0725 GMT 8 Jun 82

[Text] Bucharest, 7 June (XINHUA)--The Romanian Government severely condemned Israel for its massive invasion of Lebanon and demanded an immediate and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from that country, said a statement released by the Romanian News Agency today.

No one should be allowed to find any excuse to violate the territorial integrity of an independent and sovereign state, the statement said.

It appealed to all sides in the conflict for restraint from any action that may further aggravate the tension. It called for the realization of a comprehensive, just and durable peace in the region through negotiations. However, it added, this should be based on an Israeli withdrawal from Arab territories it has occupied since 1967, the exercise of the right of self-determination by the Palestinians including the establishment of an independent state of their own, as well as the guarantee of independence and sovereignty for all the Middle-East countries.

Japan Voices Concern

OW090734 Beijing XINHUA in English 0721 GMT 9 Jun 82

[Text] Tokyo, 9 June (XINHUA)--Japan issued a warning to Israel yesterday over the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, according [to] a Kyodo report.

Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Ryozo Sunobe summoned Israeli Ambassador to Japan Amnon Ben-Yohanan to inform him that Japan is concerned about the situation in southern Lebanon and deplores continued Israeli military actions in violation of UN Security Council resolutions calling for an immediate withdrawal and cease-fire.

The Japanese deputy foreign minister said: "We can hardly maintain our former position, if Israel continues its present actions."

It was reported that during the debate at the United Nations, Japan has been opposing resolutions proposed by Arab nations calling for the expulsion of Israel from international organizations and the breaking off of diplomatic and economic relations with Israel because Japan had sought a political settlement through dialogue and contacts with Tel Aviv.

U.S. Vetoes UN Resolution

OW090802 Beijing XINHUA in English 0745 GMT 9 Jun 82

[Text] United Nations, 8 June (XINHUA)--The United States this evening vetoed a UN Security Council draft resolution which condemns Israel for refusing to pull out its troops from Lebanon.

The vetoed draft resolution demands that within six hours all hostilities must be stopped in Lebanon in compliance with Security Council resolution 508 (1982) and 509 (1982).

All Security Council member states, except the U.S., voted in favour of the draft resolution.

Addressing the council meeting, Zuhdi Habib al-Tarazi, permanent observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to the UN said that today's veto showed that the U.S. Government was determined to maintain Israel's aggression in Lebanon.

Clovis Maksud, permanent observer of the Arab League to the UN, also condemned the United States for its collusion with Israel.

Spanish representative Jaime de Pinies, who submitted the draft resolution, said that unfortunately, Israel had ignored the Security Council's appeal for a ceasefire and intensified its aggression against Lebanon.

Earlier today, UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar told the Security Council that General Callaghan, commander of the United Nations interim force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), had repeatedly and most strenuously protested the violation of Lebanese territory by Israeli troops.

Lebanese representative Ghassan Tuwayni today urged the Security Council to stop the Israeli aggression immediately.

Turkish Papers Hit Israel

OW091331 Beijing XINHUA in English 1259 GMT 9 Jun 82

[Text] Ankara, 8 June (XINHUA)--Editorials and commentaries published in Turkey denounced Israel's most recent large-scale invasion of southern Lebanon and complained of "U.S. double-faced policy."

The Turkish daily TERCUMAN said in a commentary today that "it is not because of the attempt at the life of the Israeli envoy in London that Israel has invaded southern Lebanon with some 21,000 troops. That was just an excuse. The operation was planned well ahead of time. What Israel intends to do is push the Palestinians as far north as possible in order to achieve a greater security belt."

In an editorial today, the Turkish daily CUMHURIYET said "after Sinai was returned to Egypt, Israel was expected to expand its territories in the direction of Lebanon."

"Aggression has become a standing policy with Tel-Aviv. What is worrying, however, is the possibility of a U.S. stamp of approval for this aggression," the editorial said.

A commentary published Monday by the Turkish daily HURRIYET said that "U.S. laws state that American military aid can only be used for defensive purposes. However, the United States does nothing against Israel, whose aggression has reached dimensions of savagery. This is sheer hypocrisy."

Castro Urges Arab Unity

OW091524 Beijing XINHUA in English 1515 GMT 9 Jun 82

[Text] Havana, 8 June (XINHUA)--The current chairman of the non-aligned movement Fidel Castro has sent a letter to heads of state or government of the movement, appealing to them to support the Palestine and other Arab peoples against Israeli aggression.

In a letter addressed to the non-aligned leaders, which was published in EL GRANMA today, Castro called for effort to halt Israeli aggression against Lebanon and press for immediate pullout of Israeli troops from the territories it has occupied.

He said that all forces of mankind should be mobilised to frustrate the Zionist plan in the Middle East which threatens the interests of the Arab countries, particularly the sacred right of the Palestine people and the territorial integrity of Lebanon.

He recalled that the ministerial meeting of the non-aligned movement's coordinating bureau just ended here had expressed solidarity with the Palestine people and condemned Israel for its aggression against Arab countries. The meeting also demanded that sancitons be taken against Israel by the UN Security Council, Castro said.

Meanwhile, Castro sent a message to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the executive committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, to express his support.

EEC Statement

OW100854 Beijing XINHUA in English 0754 GMT 10 Jun 82

[Text] Bonn, 10 June (XINHUA)--The foreign ministers of the ten member countries of the European economic community Wednesday denounced the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and demanded Israel's immediate withdrawal.

A statement issued after a special five-hour session pointed out that the invasion is a blatant violation of international law and the most elementary human rights. The Israeli action has compromised efforts to achieve a peaceful Middle East settlement and created the imminent danger of a general conflict, it added.

The statement said the foreign ministers held the special session in the hope that a wide-ranging, just and lasting peace would be established in the Middle East. The EEC will examine ways of assisting the victims of the Israeli invasion.

The ten EEC countries support the UN Secretary General's appeal for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Israeli troops from Lebanon so as to ensure the smooth execution of the UN interim forces' mission in Lebanon, the statement said.

It warned that if Israel refuses to comply with the demand for troop withdrawal, the ten EEC nations will discuss the possibility of adopting further actions.

Reagan 'Demands' Cease-Fire

OW101552 Beijing XINHUA in English 1543 GMT 10 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing, 10 June (XINHUA)--U.S. President Ronald Reagan sent an urgent message to Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin today demanding an immediate cease-fire but not demanding withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, according to reports reaching here.

Reagan sent the message from Bonn where he was conferring with NATO allies at an alliance summit.

According to radio Israel, the Reagan message was the result of urgent consultations between Washington and Moscow during the night.

The message was sent at a time when Israeli troops were at the very gates of Beirut. Israel launched two air raids on Western suburbs of Beirut, bombing the district known as the "UNESCO" quarter just after midday, and the district of the Arab university and the sports center half an hour later.

It was also disclosed that U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig was expected to arrive in Israel tomorrow to discuss the situation with Israeli leaders.

Poland Hits Israel Aggression

OW100740 Beijing XINHUA in English 0727 GMT 10 Jun 82

[Text] Warsaw, 9 June (XINHUA)--The Polish Foreign Ministry issued a statement today condemning the Israeli aggression against Lebanon.

The Israeli directing against the Arab countries against Lebanon's sovereignty and its inviolability and territorial integrity," the statement says.

The statement said that the Israeli action was backed by imperialists.

The Polish Government, it declares, "resolutely condemn Israel's new war against Lebanon and the Palestinian people." It "demands that Israel put an immediate end to such military actions and withdraw its troops from the Lebanese territory."

Mitterrand Addresses Issues

OW101854 Beijing XINHUA in English 1839 GMT 10 Jun 82

[Text] Paris, 9 June (XINHUA)--French President Francois Mitterrand said here today France condemns Israel's invasion of Lebanon "without reservation."

He also said, "any appeal of the legitimate government of Lebanon will be heard by France."

Speaking at the second conference [as received] since he was elected last year, Mitterrand said, if any problem arises between Israel and its surrounding countries and if Arab countries refuse to recognize Israel, the fault lies with these countries. But Israel has made a historic mistake for not recognizing the Palestinian reality and the Palestinians' right to have their own country, he said.

On the Malvinas (Falklands) conflict, Mitterrand said France supports Britain, even though it does not recognize Britain's sovereignty of the islands.

"But this war must not be transformed into a war of revenge," he said, "the conflict should have limits, and I will make them known when the moment has come."

Mitterrand said the reinforcement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and of France's weapons systems were key factors in the French foreign policy.

Referring to relations with the Atlantic Alliance, Mitterrand said "France never left the Atlantic military alliance, and it only withdrew from the integral military headquarters."

Stressing France's defensive capabilities, Mitterrand said France has achieved a defensive level that can "stand comparison to any other nation." This deterrent force is essential to national independence, he said.

Regarding the French policy toward the Soviet Union, Mitterrand said France has reduced export credits to the Soviet Union. But it has "rejected any form of embargo or blockade against the Soviet Union," he said.

He also expressed hope for an improvement of relations with the Soviet Union. But he said "we cannot forget Afghanistan, Poland and the SS-20 missiles."

"We also cannot simply overlook excess Soviet armament in Europe," he said. "We have done our utmost to ensure a balance of forces (between the East and the West)." Referring to the French economy, Mitterrand said France's economic growth rate this year is estimated at 2 percent, falling short of an anticipated 3.3 percent.

CSO: 4000/130

UN ENVIRONMENTAL SESSION CLOSES IN NAIROBI

OW012114 Beijing XINHUA in English 1639 GMT 1 Jun 82

[Text] Nairobi, 1 June (XINHUA)--The governing council of the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) ended its 10th regular session here Monday.

After detailed discussions since 20 May, the council adopted a UN Environmental Program for 1984-89 which covers a variety of environmental issues such as tropical forests, soil policy and desertification.

During the discussions many developing countries called for more attention to deforestation, soil erosion, desertification and other environmental problems.

Many African delegates requested more assistance to environmental education and training in Africa. Despite opposition from the United States and other Western countries, the council adopted a resolution on the impace of apartheid on the environment. The resolution pointed out that "apartheid is a crime against mankind."

Delegates from Japan, Sweden and some other developed countries advocated the creation of a special commission to study the environmental perspective to the year 2000 and beyond.

The Chinese delegate asked the developed countries to show better understanding and cooperation toward the urgent environmental problems and needs of developing countries.

CSO: 4000/138

COMMENTARY ON THE FALKLANDS CRISIS

U.S. Support For Britain

OW271512 Beijing XINHUA in English 1506 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Panama City, 26 May (XINHUA)--President of Panama Aristides Royo today condemned the United States for supporting Britain in the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands conflict and said the Panama Canal could not be used to oppose a Latin American country.

In a letter to U.S. President Ronald Reagan, published by local newspapers, Royo said that U.S. support for British invasion of Argentina makes Latin American people feel regret.

Moreover, Royo said the Monroe Doctrine has been undermined by the United States. "Consequently, conflict over interests occurred among countries in the two Americas because the United States sides with remnants of the European colonialism," he said.

Royo asked the U.S. Government to make a commitment that "U.S. installations and staff or the regions it uses will not directly or indirectly take part in actions detrimental to the interests of Argentina or any other Latin American countries."

"Colonialism, dominance over resources of other countries, and economic inequality and dependency are the reasons for repeated occurrence of conflicts," Royo said.

UN Secretary General Meets UK

OW280806 Beijing XINHUA in English 0718 GMT 28 May 82

[Text] United Nations, 27 May (XINHUA)--In his separate meetings with the British and Argentine representatives this afternoon, UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar heard replies from the British and Argentine Governments to "a couple of questions" he put to them yesterday in search of a peaceful solution to the Malvinas (Falkland) Island dispute.

After a 40-minute meeting with de Cuellar, British representative Anthony Parsons told reporters this afternoon that he had conveyed to the Secretary-General "a series of views" from his government. "I can say that we are still in business," Parsons said.

Arnold M. Listre, the Argentine Foreign Ministry's director-general for international organizations, who leads the Argentine team in the talks, said that "our attitudes are always positive."

The Secretary-General told reporters this morning that in yesterday's meetings, he just put a couple of questions to both sides and "they have to come back with their answers this afternoon." He declined to elaborate.

U.S. Aid To UK

OW280207 Beijing XINHUA in English 0104 GMT 28 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 27 May (XINHUA)--Argentine President Leopoldo Fortunato Galtieri today accused the United States of being self-contradictory in its policy toward Argentina.

In reply to U.S. President Ronald Reagan's congratulations on the Argentine National Day on 25 May, Galtieri pointed out that the U.S. attitude in the present Malvinas (Falklands) dispute contradicts Reagan's statements about the "vital importance" of the "common interests of the U.S. and Argentina" and about "cooperation between the two countries in this hemisphere and in the world as a whole." The U.S. president's statements are, therefore, "incomprehensible," he said.

President Galtieri went on to say that the Argentine people and government are not surprised at the U.S. attitude in the British-Argentine conflict, still less after they have read Reagan's message of congratulations.

At a press conference in New York yesterday, Argentine Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Mendez warned that it would be "a grave error" if the United States provides Britain with large-scale air and naval support in the war against Argentina.

Mendez said any direct U.S. military aid to Britain would signify a serious deterioration of the U.S. position in the organization of American states and there would be real danger that the war in the South Atlantic would expand abruptly.

U.S.-Argentine relations has been strained following the open U.S. support for Britain in the Malvinas (Falklands) dispute. The United States was preparing to recall more personnel from its embassy in Buenos Aires and Argentina is also planning steps to demote its relations with Washington.

Argentine Hits U.S. Support

OW281614 Beijing XINHUA in English 1607 GMT 28 May 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 27 May (XINHUA)--Argentine President Leopoldo Galtieri said today that Argentina was "surprised" by U.S. support of Britain in the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands conflict.

Responding to a congratulatory note sent by U.S. President Ronald Reagan to mark Argentina's National Day Tuesday, Galtieri said:

"The affirmation that 'it has never been more important to reaffirm the common interests and values that unite Argentina and the United States and reiterate our commitment to cooperation in this hemisphere and the entire world' is not coherent with the attitude of your government and the result is incomprehensible in the actual circumstances."

He stressed that "if our people and government were surprised by the never expected attitude of the United States in taking the part of Great Britain in its conflict with Argentina," they "cannot be any more amazed" upon receiving Reagan's "congratulations" on the occasion of Argentina's National Day.

Argentine Foreign Minister Costa Mendez said Wednesday at a news conference in New York that if the United States was going to assist Britain "it would be a very, very grievous fault and would create a very negative image in Latin America, and it even could create the risk of expanding and not reducing the conflict."

OAS Meeting

OW281224 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 28 May 82

[Text] Washington, 27 May (XINHUA)--Argentine Foreign Minister Costa Mendez denounced the United States today for siding with Britain in the Malvinas (Falklands) war and asked the Organization of American States for assistance in Argentina's dispute with Britain.

He also denounced Britain for its "brutal" and "irrational armed aggression" and for its attempt to resolve the conflict by force. Britain "has undoubtedly worsened the conflict," he said, adding that it's necessary for the United Kingdom to "review its attitude and make a genuine effort to achieve peace."

Speaking at a meeting of OAS foreign ministers which began here today, Costa Mendez pointed out that the U.S. sanctions against Argentina and materiel support for the British "encourage aggression and block the search for peace."

U.S. materiel support for the British is "illegal and repugnant" to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, and runs counter to the interests of the American people, he said.

The United States is reportedly providing the British with sidewinder air combat missiles and ammunition as part of its efforts to support Britain in the war. The sidewinder has been used to knock down some Argentine warplanes in air battles around the islands.

"The assistance of a superpower to a country that is itself powerful leads Argentina to a critical position," Argentine foreign minister said.

Costa Mendez urged the United States "not to provide weapons and assistance to the attacker, but instead to put all the weight of its power and prestige in favor of peace."

He called for a "clear change of the attitude of the United States" and said that the United States can still make its good contribution only by avoiding any action that could aggravate the conflict and by remaining in the judicial frame of the Inter-American Treaty of Defense.

He appealed to countries in the region to continue together the urgent task of "achieving peace with justice and dignity which our continent is demanding."

The meeting of OAS foreign ministers was convened at the request of Argentina to consider "additional measures" to be taken in accordance with the provisions of the Inter-American Treaty of reciprocal assistance known as the Rio Treaty.

Foreign ministers and representatives of many OAS member-states, speaking at the meeting this afternoon, accused Britain of "increasing its war undertaking," and the United States of "aggravating the situation" in the South Atlantic.

Venezuelan Foreign Minister Jose Zambarano Velazco noted the "tragic developments" that have taken place since the last OAS foreign ministers meeting in late April. He denounced the British for "escalating hostilities" in the South Atlantic and for its "brutal and implacable aggression" against Argentina.

Peruvian Foreign Minister Javier Arias Stella pointed out that U.S. materiel support for Britain and measures against Argentina "constitute violation in letter and spirit of the obligations" of the Inter-American Treaty of Defence. The U.S. attitude serves to aggravate the situation and affect the peaceful solution of the conflict, he said.

U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig emphasized U.S. belief that the Rio Treaty should not be applied to this conflict. He reiterated that the principles in UN Security Council Resolution 502 "must govern our search for peace." The meeting should "take no action and make no decision which increases tensions without enhancing the prospects for a negotiated settlement of the struggle in the South Atlantic," he said.

UK Aggression, U.S. Support Condemned

OW292134 Beijing XINHUA in English 1631 GMT 29 May 82

[Text] Washington, 29 May (XINHUA)--The Organization of American States today adopted a resolution condemning Britain for attacking Argentina and urging the United States to halt its aid to Britain in the Malvinas (Falklands) conflict.

The resolution was passed at the end of a 17-hour emergency meeting of the foreign ministers of 21 member nations which began Friday. The vote was 17 to 0 with the United States, Chile, Colombia, and Trinidad and Tobago abstaining.

The resolution supported Argentina's claim to sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands and called on its member states to provide all the support each thought most appropriate to help Argentina, and to refrain from any action that could damage this objective.

It condemned Britain for launching "the unjustified and disproportionate armed attack" on Argentina, declaring that the attack has affected the security of the entire Western Hemishpere. It also called for immediate return of the British fleet to its regular stations.

The resolution urged the United States to stop supplying military materials to Britain and immediately lift its sanctions against Argentina.

It called on EEC members and other countries to lift "coercive economic or political measures" against Argentina.

The resolution called for an honorable and peaceful settlement under UN auspices and voiced support for Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar in his task.

U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig, in a speech at the meeting, asked other OAS countries not to take any actions likely to intensify the crisis.

But Argentine Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Mendez said, at the meeting "the goal announced by Secretary of State Alexander Haig, of solving the conflict peacefully, could be achieved if just the United States would stop helping Britain with destructive weapons, which are used against Argentina."

According to diplomatic sources, representatives from Venezuela, Panama and Peru who spoke at the closed meeting firmly supported the Argentine position and criticized U.S. and British actions.

U.S. Press Criticizes Support

HK300238 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 May 82 p 6

[Unattributed report: "American Press Says the Administration's Support for Britain Is Not in U.S. Interests"]

[Text] Since the failure of its effort to mediate the Malvinas dispute, the United States has shifted to supporting Britain and has also joined in economic sanctions. The American press has published numerous articles on this issue, criticizing the U.S. Government's stand and holding that these moves are not in U.S. interests.

A 23 May New York TIMES article said the United States was "held to be looking down on the people of Latin America" because of its open support for Britain,

and as a result had "intensified hostility to the United States in the Western Hemisphere." This had "caused a setback" for the United States, and would "inevitably damage U.S. interests."

Another article in this paper on the same day pointed out that the U.S. stand would not only cause it to "pay a very high price" materially, but would also land it in a passive position politically; for if Britain attacked and occupied the Malvinas, this would further stir up nationalist fervor in Argentina and other Latin American countries, and at the same time, inevitably bring about "a new anti-U.S. wave" in the Western Hemisphere and even in the entire Third World. As a result, "the Soviet Union will be able to achieve its long-cherished ambitions."

The WALL STREET JOURNAL said that if the dispute between Britain and Argentina dragged on "serious problems" were bound to arise in relations between the United States and Latin America, on the other hand, the Soviet Union was presently penetrating Latin America "on the quiet," and would "gain advantage" from this.

A 23 May article in the Washington POST criticized the U.S. Government's decision to support Britain as "untimely, unstrategic and unnecessary." This decision, it said, would "cause losses in U.S. interests in Latin America that would take several years to recoup," and "its disastrous results have already gone far beyond anything envisaged by the White House and the State Department.

A 24 May article in U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT said people from Buenos Aires to Mexico City were agitatedly arguing: The Yankee stand in the Malvinas crisis is not only a "betrayal" of relations between the United States and Latin America, but has also given the United States itself "a slap in the face."

A 20 May article in the Los Angeles TIMES said the fact that the United States was taking Britain's side instead of the side of Argentina, a member of the OAS and a signatory to the Rio Treaty, would have far-reaching effects. The Latin American public were demanding that the OAS headquarters be moved away from Washington and saying that the Rio Pact should be signed anew. Apart from weakening U.S. influence in the Western Hemisphere, the U.S. stand had also "resulted in our losing (in the Western Hemisphere) the ability to influence the future situation and control future conflicts." The article also emphasized that what worried the U.S. Government still more was the fact that the development of the situation "will open the way for further Soviet penetration into the Western Hemisphere."

UK, Argentine Envoys Contacted

OW010412 Beijing XINHUA in English 0253 GMT 1 Jun 82

[Text] United Nations, 31 May (XINHUA)--UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar today had separate meetings with British Ambassador Anthony Parsons and Argentine Deputy Foreign Minister Enrique Ros, in a continued effort to seek an immediate cease-fire in the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands conflict.

After his meeting with the Secretary-General this afternoon, Sir Anthony Parsons told reporters that he gave Javier Perez de Cuellar the views of his government. The Secretary-General would value them.

Enrique Ross said that he had contact with the Secretary-General this afternoon and would make contact with him later.

After his talks with the representatives of Britain and Argentina, the Secretary-General phoned the president of the Security Council and permanent representative of China Ling Qing, asking him to postpone a scheduled consultation of the Security Council while the Secretary-General was waiting for the clarification of views on some problems from both sides. Ling Qing agreed to do so. The consultation of the Council was requested by the representative of Panama on the instructions of his government.

Observers here indicated that it was quite difficult for the Secretary-General to find a cease-fire agreement because Britain, the party with superior military strength, insisted on a tough stand.

More Aid To Argentina

OW011238 Beijing XINHUA in English 1224 GMT 1 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing, 1 June (XINHUA)--The Venezuelan Government decided Monday to provide more economic aid to Argentina through the Latin American economic system, according to news reports from Caracas.

The decision was made after President Luis Herrera met with ministers in charge of economic affairs. The meeting analysed the situation facing Argentina following the outbreak of the military conflict on the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands and the adoption of economic sanctions by the European economic community against Argentina.

As the first step of cooperation, the Venezuelan Government announced the purchase of 60,500 tons of sorghum from Argentina. Venezuela and Argentina will also form several commissions represented by governmental and private sectors to identify the fields of effective economic cooperation between the two countries.

Senior officers of the Venequelan armed forces declared Monday that the armed forces are fully prepared to provide military aid to Argentina at the request of Argentina and with the approval of President Luis Herrera.

Qichen on Falkland U.S., Relations

OW031119 Hamburg Stern in German 3 Jun 82 pp 161-163

[Interview with CPR Deputy Foreign Minister Qian Qichen by Editors Erich Follath Ans Klaus Liedtke in Beijing, date not given]

[Text] Stern: Mr Minister, you have accused the Americans of having plotted the Falkland Islands war by supporting the Birtish. The Soviet leaders say

exactly the same, after a long time you and the Kremlin agree again in assessing the world crisis. Is that the beginning of the end of your ideological hostility with Moscow?

Qichen: If we vote in the United Nations as the Soviet Union, it does not mean that our positions are identical. We support the right of the Argentine on the Malvinas, while we are favoring a peaceful agreement, however, the Soviet Union is interested in a continuation of the war. It can only profit from it.

Stern: What do you mean by that?

Qichen: Great Britain is a NATO state. Argentina is an OAS member. Both are connected with Washington. The conflict can, therefore, only weaken the U.S. Government. We would have wished the Americans to remain neutral mediators as in the beginning of the conflict. Their support of the British has not contributed to a solution of the problem. Maybe that will even give a pretext to the Soviets to become involved.

Stern: Militarily?

Qichen: Probably not at the moment. But they are already fishing in troubled waters.

Stern: The Soviets have offered arms to the Argentine. What do you offer?

Qichen: We support the Argentine cause just morally.

Stern: You are very critical of the Soviets. Does that also apply to direct relations between Beijing and Moscow? Do you reject Brezhnev's detente offer?

Qichen: We follow the old Chinese proverb: Pay attention to what the people say, but judge them by what they do. Suggesting negotiations is not all. In the past 20 years we had negotiations with Moscow on our border problems. There were 15 negotiation rounds with more than 200 meetings. It did not produce anything.

Stern: So normalization of relations is not in sight?

Qichen: Prior to entering serious negotiations we want to see action. Moscow must give us a sign that it wants to give up its hegemony, its foreign political expansion. We see Soviet troops everywhere at our borders, in Mongolia, in Afghanistan, in Vietnam, let alone the 7,000 kilometers of our border with the Soviet Union. Moscow can demonstrate its good will in all these places.

Stern: Do you feel encircled?

Qichen: I believe that Moscow wants to dominate the world, the whole world. You in Western Europe are maybe a closer aim than China. But the Soviets also want to advance to the Persian Gulf and to get hold of Iran and Pakistan.

Stern: Now you are talking like the extremely anticommunist outer rightists in America.

Qichen: I cannot rule it out that the extreme rightists in America could be right sometimes.

Stern: You yourself have received a high-ranking Soviet functionary for talks. Why do that if you say that negotiations produce nothing? Do you want to play the "Russian card" to exert pressure on the Americans?

Qichen: The functionary was in Beijing upon invitation of the Soviet ambassador and not ours. I have just briefly greeted him out of diplomatic courtesy. No, we [do] not play a card. But we will not admit it either that China will be played as a card.

Stern: Do you mean the United States in saying this? China has considered the Soviets for years as the world's villain number 1, and you have also maintained some distance with regard to the Americans in the past months. Do you consider the United States also as a threat to world peace in the meantime?

Qichen: The current aggravation of the world situation is a consequence of the race and the nuclear competition between both superpowers. China is the only nuclear force which is for the destruction of all nuclear arms, accepting the commitment never to be the first to use the atom bomb. We welcome also negotiations between the United States and the USSR on an armament stop and the reduction of arms systems. But I am not optimistic in this respect. History has shown that the more the two talk about disarmament, the more they increase their armament.

Stern: But you are also rearming. Your military expenditures are increasing for the first time since many years.

Qichen: Our military expenditures as a while are very low. It does not matter whether the defense budget is being slightly increased. Our military expenditures are not aimed at anybody.

Stern: Also not against Vietnam? You have taught your neighbor a military "lesson" in 1979.

Qichen: With the help of the Soviet Union Vietnam has fulfilled its great Indochina dream through military aggression in Laos and Kampuchea. In exchange the Vietnamese have made a naval base available to the Soviets in Cam Ranh Bay. Entire naval units have moved there from Vladivostok. Hanoi's Indochina policy of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. At any rate we are reserving the right for us [to] teach Vietnam a second "lesson."

Stern: In order to hit Vietnam, you are supporting the guerrilla leader Pol Pot in Kapuchea. Before the Vietnamese came, he had committed genocide of [his] own people with his Khmer Rouge.

Qichen: The mistakes of the Khmer Rouge could not be a pretext for the Vietnamese to invade Kampuchea.

Stern: Mistakes? You call hundreds of thousand or even millions of casualties mistakes?

Qichen: The Vietnamese say that the Khmer Rouge have killed three million people. This is certainly an extreme exaggeration. Now the Vietnamese aggressors are committing murders of innocent Kampucheans to exterminate the people.

Stern: The Vietnamese foreign minister said in a Stern interview last month that his troops will be withdrawn under the condition that Beijing will not support the Khmer Rouge any more with arms and conclude a nonaggression pact with Hanoi. Could you accept that?

Qichen: The Vietnamese are liars. Don't believe a word they say. They say that China is a threat for them. Why do they send their troops to Kampuchea and not to the Chinese border? They have even added an anti-Chinese clause to their new constitution. They agitate against us wherever they can.

Stern: Let us get back to Beijing-Washington relations. The Americans have agreed to supply arms worth millions of dollars to Taiwan. You don't want to accept that. U.S. Vice President Bush was visiting you to straighten matters out again. Was he successful?

Qichen: The problems have not been eliminated. The Americans have not done anything concrete so far to stop such arms supplies. These supplies, however, are a grave interference in China's domestic policy because Taiwan belongs to China. There is no leeway at all for negotiations.

Stern: What will happen if Washington does not stop the supplies?

Qichen: We would not like to see a deterioration of our relations with Washington, and even less a downgrading of our diplomatic relations. But it is quite possible that we might be forced to take such a step. Further developments are now up to the Americans.

Stern: But President Reagan has been very cooperative with regard to you. He had said in the 1980 election campaign that he absolutely wants to have official relations with Taiwan. Now he just talks of "unofficial relations."

Qichen: That did not surprise us. We have learned to live with it that American presidential candidates talks differently in election campaigns than they act later on. That belongs probably to the rules of the game in the United States.

Stern: You have made proposals on a peaceful reunification to the Taiwan Government, promising even that Taiwan can keep its capitalist economic system. The Taiwan leaders have nevertheless rejected your offer. What will be Beijing's next step? A new offer, or a military action some day?

Qichen: We did not expect the Taiwan leadership to accept our offer overnight. We want to solve this problem peacefully, but our patience will not last forever.

Stern: Can you make a more concrete statement?

Qichen: Taiwan is not a border problem for us, this is a matter of reunification.

Stern: Mr Minister, German industry which had expected enormous orders from China is disappointed by the cancellation of big projects. How can business with China be stimulated?

Qichen: Since 1972 when we established mutual diplomatic relations, our trade volume has increased sevenfold. You have capital and know-how, we have natural resources and an enormous labor potential. A lot of possibilities exist with regard to joint ventures with mutual capital investments, such as in coal production, energy supply and the metal industry. But we must think in realistic volumes and warn against exaggerated expectations.

Stern: German banks would be glad to give you credits running into billions, but you are very reserved with regard to accepting credits. Why?

Qichen: We are careful with great credits. To be honest: we are looking for credits with special interest rates and not the normal rates of the market.

Stern: And the Germans are not too good in this respect?

Qichen: We have credit offers which are better than yours. From the Japanese, for example.

Stern: Are you not afraid to suffer the same fate as Poland due to high foreign debts--namely economic problems which will then lead to domestic-political unrest?

Qichen: Our situation can really not be compared with that in Poland. We have reformed our economic system and the people are better and better off.

Stern: How about the millions of young people who find no jobs in your country.

Qichen: It is true that a great number of young people must wait for jobs. But once they have a job, they won't lose it.

Stern: Is there any opposition in the country against the course of your party?

Qichen: We have a populace of 1 billion people. There might be a small majority which thinks differently that the party. But we do not have an opposition worth mentioning.

Stern: How about the resistance group which according to a Hong Kong paper was responsible for a plane crash near Guilin this April?

Qichen: Well, the Hong Kong papers. They know everything before the investigations have been concluded. Believe me, we have not terrorists. This society is okay. We have strict arms laws. It is not like in America where everybody can buy a revolver.

Thatcher Insists on Argentine Withdrawal

OW030738 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 3 Jun 82

[Text] London, 2 June (XINHUA)--British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in television interviews today insisted on Argentine withdrawal from the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands as the only way to avoid a battle for the islands' capital, Port Stanley (Puerto Argentino).

As British and Argentine troops are now bracing themselves for the final showdown around the port city, today's message given by Mrs Thatcher is seen as a gesture intended to seek international and domestic support to her government if a battle was to be fought.

She repeatedly said that if the Argentines agreed to withdraw from the islands within the next 10 to 14 days, "then there would be no need for a battle." "It's a possibility totally linked to a timed withdrawal." But she indicated that she personally doubted that the Argentines would agree to do so.

She described a diplomatic solution as "just a possibility now," but said she did not rate it very highly.

Asked what her government would do after retaking the islands by force, she made it clear that there would be little place for Argentina in the islands' future, that is to say, Britain would no longer consider the need for negotiations with Argentina on the issue of sovereignty. When asked about any possibility of even "sharing sovereignty" with Argentina, she firmly replied: "No."

She mentioned "some kind of self-government" or "full independence" as among the options under her consideration after a period of "reconstruction and rehabilitation." She also said that in the long term Britain would have to ask other nations to help with the security of these islands in the form a multinational force.

Cease-Fire Efforts Fail

OW030732 Beijing XINHUA in English 0716 GMT 3 Jun 82

[Text] United Nations, 2 June (XINHUA)--UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said today that he had not been able to arrange a cease-fire for the Anglo-Argentine conflict on the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands.

He said this in a report to the Security Council after 7 days of intensive negotiations with the British and Argentine representatives.

At today's council meeting, Panama and Spain jointly put forward a draft resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire. The council postponed a vote on the draft until tomorrow. In his report to the Security Council, Perez de Cuellar said: "The positions of the two parties do not offer the possibility of developing at this time terms for a cease-fire which would be mutually acceptable."

Resolution 505 adopted at the Security Council on 26 May requested the Secretary-General to contact the parties to the conflict in order to find mutually acceptable terms for a cease-fire and asked him to submit an interim report to the council not later than 7 days after the adoption of the resolution.

Referring to the efforts he has made in the past 7 days, Perez de Cuellar said that he had extensive exchanges with both parties. "I explored various approaches in seeking the degree of agreement necessary for a cease-fire," he added.

He said that in accordance with the mandate given to him by resolution 505, he would maintain close contact with the parties in the event.

Enrique Ross, under-secretary for the Foreign Ministry of Argentina, declared in his statement that Argentina had proposed an immediate cease-fire simultaneous with the start of troops withdrawal by both sides. Once the parties accepted a cease-fire, a United Nations mission would be dispatched to observe its implementation. Zones of separation would be established on sea and on land.

Enrique Ross accused the United Kingdom of opposing a cease-fire and rejecting withdrawal of both forces. The objective of Britain, he said, was "to obtain unilateral Argentine withdrawal" and to repossess the islands. "The United Kingdom wants United States military forces to be present in the Malvinas following a cease-fire, in order to perpetuate the violation of the territorial integrity of Argentina," he added.

British representative Anthony Parsons stated that in the recent negotiations under Security Council resolution 505, the United Kingdom's position was to welcome a cease-fire, which must be inseparately linked to a withdrawal of Argentine forces and a completion of the withdrawal within a fixed period of time. Well-informed sources indicated that a fixed period of time the British would be 7-10 days.

Anthony Parsons declared the draft resolution submitted by Panama and Spain was unacceptable to Britain as it was not consistent with resolution 502, which demanded a withdrawal of Argentine forces. He held that the present draft would leave Argentine forces in position. He indicated that he would veto the draft resolution.

Nonaligned Meeting

OW041602 Beijing XINHUA in English 1506 GMT 4 Jun 82

[Text] Havana, 3 June (XINHUA)--Argentine Foreign Minister Costa Mendez speaking at the non-aligned ministerial meeting here today accused Britain of armed aggression on Argentina and urged non-aligned support for Argentina's stand.

The foreign minister said, "Britain used force 149 years ago to occupy the Malvinas (Falklands) and continues today to use force to try to recover them." Argentina's struggle for the Malvinas is therefore similar to the struggles of other non-aligned countries against colonial aggression, he said. "This is the struggle of all Latin American people for the defense of a continental territory," he added.

He thanked the non-aligned movement for its support to Argentina in this struggle and reiterated "with true passion our request for support at this very, very dangerous moment."

He criticized the United States for its open support to Britain in the Malvinas conflict.

Mendez arrived here last night to attend the non-aligned ministerial meeting which opened on the same day. The meeting, attended by 92 delegations, is in session to prepare for the holding of a non-aligned summit conference.

He was received by Fidel Castro, president of the Cuban State Council, and signed with the Cuban foreign minister a protocol on trade and scientific and technological cooperation between the two countries.

Naval Exercises Cancelled

OW050744 Beijing XINHUA in English 0716 GMT 5 Jun 82

[Text] Brasilia, 4 June (XINHUA)--The 1982 joint summer naval exercises of the United States and Latin American countries have been cancelled over a Latin American boycott, according to a report in the JORNAL DO BRASIL today.

The Brazilian Ministry of the Navy confirmed that the annual joint exercises were considered inopportune by some of the participating countries.

Western news agencies reported that Brazil, Ecuador and Venezuela had decided to boycott the exercises as a response to the U.S. attitude in the Malvinas (Falklands) conflict.

Arms Purchase From Abroad Sought

OW051930 Beijing XINHUA in English 1847 GMT 5 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing, 5 June (XINHUA)--Argentina's Presidential Secretary Hector Iglesias stated Friday that in case national defense and the supreme interests of the country need it, "we will buy arms from anyone who wants to sell arms to us," according to a report from Buenos Aires.

Asked during an interview with journalists about possible purchase of arms from the Soviet Union for use in the current conflict with Britain, Iglesias said, "any kind of weapons will be used."

Iglesias' words echo an earlier statement by Argentine President Leopoldo Galtieri. Asked whether his government will ask for aid from other countries including the Soviet Union, the president replied: "In case our country needs it, we will accept aid from those who want to provide it."

Galtieri added that "evidently, there should be a special reconsideration of our internal and external policy in all respects, since the repercussions of this historical (Malvinas Islands) incident are felt not only among the Argentine people but also in our international relations."

Earlier, however, Argentine Air Force Commander Lami Dozo had denied the allegation that Argentina was going to seek Soviet military aid, saying there was no such expression. He added that "if there is such an expression and the situation cries out for it, we will consider it." "If hostilities continue, we may possibly study the 'Soviet aid' which we think is another way out," he noted.

U.S. Seeks Vote Change

OW050344 Beijing XINHUA in English 0250 GMT 5 Jun 82

[Text] United Nations, 4 June (XINHUA)--Britain and the United States today vetoed a draft resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire between Britain and Argentina in the Malvinas (Falklands) war.

Besides the U.S. and British veto, the vote was nine in favor and four abstentions.

Speaking at the Security Council meeting before the vote, British representative Anthony Parsons said that because the draft resolution contained no direct and inseparable link between a cease-fire and Argentine withdrawal within a fixed time-limit, it was "totally unacceptable" to the United Kingdom.

Enrique Ros, under-secretary for foreign affairs of Argentina, said that the British veto would show history that Britain was "solely responsible" for any further deaths in this conflict.

After the voting, U.S. representative Jeane Kirkpatrick said she had been requested by her government to state that were it possible to change her delegation's vote, she would have changed it "from a veto--a no--to an abstention."

The vetoed draft resolution, co-sponsored by Panama and Spain, requests Britain and Argentina to initiate, simultaneously with the cease-fire, the implementation of resolutions 502 and 505 in their entirety.

Leonardo Kam, representative of Panama, declared that unfortunately, the sponsors had not been successful due to the veto of the United Kingdom. "His delegation intends to ask for further council consultations in order that the council might continue its consideration of the item," he noted.

Thatcher, Reagan, Mitterand Discuss Falklands

OW050720 Beijing XINHUA in English 0711 GMT 5 Jun 82

[Text] Paris, 4 June (XINHUA)--British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher held bilateral talks with U.S. President Reagan and French President Mitterrand this afternoon soon after her arrival here for the summit meeting of seven major industrial nations.

It was later disclosed that these meetings were dominated by Malvinas crisis.

There were reports that both President Reagan and President Mitterrand, out of concern for the West's relations with Latin America as a whole, had persuaded Mrs Thatcher "to be moderate" and agree to some sort of ceasefire.

After meeting with Reagan, Mrs Thatcher said: "The United States is firmly on our side and we are very grateful to them for being staunch allies."

At a press conference this afternoon, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig said that the U.S. and Britain had "parallel and convergent views" on the crisis. He said that both leaders had exchanged views on the crisis "both in the context of near term and longer term."

As of today, Haig said, "this depends fundamentally on the willingness of the Argentines to withdraw, to set a schedule, to fix a date certain for withdrawal." He denied that the U.S. had urged Britain to delay its final attack on Stanley to allow for last-minute negotiations. "It has not been in the U.S. lexicon to suggest such a pause," he said.

Speaking to reporters this morning, President Mitterrand reaffirmed France's support for Britain on the Malvinas conflict. But he expressed the worry that the conflict might be expanded, and hoped that Britain would act to facilitate the work of the UN Secretary General for a peaceful solution of the crisis.

Argentines Rap U.S. Veto

OW061732 Beijing XINHUA in English 1657 GMT 6 Jun 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 6 June (XINHUA)--Argentine Government officials criticized the United States Saturday for siding with Britain in vetoing a Security Council draft resolution calling for an immediate ceasefire on the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands.

"The new endorsement given by President (Ronald) Reagan and Secretary of State (Alexander) Haig to the inopportune colonialist adventure of (prime minister) Mrs (Margaret) Thatcher is something out of our depth, and we cannot accept it," a spokesman of the Argentine presidential house said.

"This attitude on the part of the United States has given rise to profound and apparent bitterness within the (Argentine) national government," the spokesman added.

He warned that "the rift between this northern neighbor and the Latin American nations is apparently widening, and the relations in this hemisphere will be in trouble for a long time to come," he said.

Argentine Foreign Minister Costa Mendez said it was "inconceivable" that the United States at first vetoed the draft resolution sponsored by Panama and Spain and then decided to abstain in the UN Security Council.

Major General Jose Miret, secretary of the presidential office now on a urgent mission to the UN headquarters, told Argentine television reporters after learn-

ing of the UN Security Council vote that he was regretful about the hesitation shown by the United States.

"It is intolerable for us that there is someone that would veto a ceasefire resolution in the UN Security Council that is responsible for world security," he said.

Non-aligned Nations Back Argentina

OW061556 Beijing XINHUA in English 1542 GMT 6 Jun 82

[Text] Havana, 6 June (XINHUA)--The ministerial conference of the non-aligned countries ended here today and issued a communique supporting Argentina's sovereignty of the Malvinas (Falklands) Islands and calling for an immediate end of Argentine-British hostilities.

The communique said conference supported Argentina in its fight to end the colonial presence in the Malvinas Islands. The communique said, the Malvinas Islands, the South Georgia Island and South Sanwich Island are an "integral part of the Latin American region."

"British military actions, as well as the overt or hidden actions and pressures of other advanced countries constitute a threat to the entire (Latin American) region," the communique said.

The communique also condemned Britain and another power for planning to set up military bases on the South Atlantic Islands "in violation of the sovereignty of the Republic of Argentina" and for enforcing their "will upon other countries."

The communique said the ministers demanded that the United States end its military support of Britain. The communique also called on developed nations "to refrain from abetting Britain's military actions in the Malvinas Islands. It asked European economic community countries to end "hostile measures against Argentina."

The communique said non-aligned nations support UN Secretary General Perez de Cuillar's efforts to bring a peaceful settlement to the Malvinas conflict. Argentina and Britain "should find through negotiations a just, peaceful and lasting settlement of the Malvinas problem," it said.

The ministerial conference opened on 2 June and was participated in by delegations from 92 countries. Besides adopting resolutions on political and economic issues and on disarmament, the conference made preparations for a summit of the non-aligned nations.

Royo Criticizes U.S. Stand

OW071244 Beijing XINHUA in English 1236 GMT 7 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing, 7 June (XINHUA)--Panamanian President Aristides Royo said in the capital of the Dominican Republic Santo Domingo Sunday that the United States has committed a "historical error" in supporting Britain in the Malvinas (Falklands) dispute, according to news reports from Santo Domingo.

Royo told reporters in Santo Domingo on his way to France that the Malvinas Islands totally belong to Argentina and that Argentina's claim (on the islands) must be recognized.

He also expressed regret over the United States support for Britain's act of colonialism. Washington's attitude may cause deterioration of relations between the United States and Latin American countries, he stressed.

Royo met with Cuban President of the State Council Fidel Castro in Havana before going to Santo Domingo. Leaders of the two countries focused their talks on the Malvinas issue and the situation in Central America and the Caribbean region, according to a Cuban official communique.

Surrender To UK Rejected

OW071220 Beijing XINHUA in English 1209 GMT 7 Jun 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 6 June (XINHUA)--Argentine Planning Secretary Jose Miret said here today that Argentina will approach any peace proposal for the South Atlantic dispute with an open mind but it will not surrender to Britain.

Jose Miret has just come back from New York where he was engaged in consultations with the United Nations for a peaceful settlement of the Malvinas issue.

Britain did not want peace, Miret said. He also regretted the U.S. veto on a ceasefire resolution at the UN Security Council.

Miret said Argentina is always prepared for a just and honorable settlement. The only thing unacceptable to Argentina is to humiliate itself before United Kingdom arrogance. Argentina cannot accept the British demand for the withdrawal of Argentine forces from the Malvinas Islands as a precondition for a ceasefire, he stressed.

Proposal On Falklands Crisis

OW070822 Beijing XINHUA in English 0814 GMT 7 Jun 82

[Text] London, 6 June (XINHUA)--The United States has presented Britain with a five-point plan on the interim future of the disputed Malvinas (Falkland) Islands which involves talks on the islands' sovereignty with Argentina.

According to today's TV programme "Weekend World," an outline of the plan was handed over to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher by President Reagan in Versailles shortly before the seven-nation economic summit opened.

The plan includes the withdrawal of the British task force from the Southern Hemisphere as soon as the recapture of the Falklands is completed; recognition by Britain that the islands have a special and unique status; the establishment of a multi-national supra-administration at the islands capital of Port Stanley; the participation of Brazil, Jamaica, the United States and Britain in an interim administration; and the re-opening of negotiations within three to six months'

time on the future of the islands, with Argentina allowed to participate, the weekend TV program said.

The plan, reportedly drawn up by Alexander Haig's special envoy General Vernon Walters, is evidently designed to minimise the long-term damage to American relations with Latin America that Washington feels the crisis has already caused.

Interviewed on the same programme, Cecil Parkinson, a member of the British Government's war cabinet and chairman of the Conservative Party, tacitly acknowledged that proposals on these lines had been made by the U.S., but he indicated that the reported U.S. plan would be hardly acceptable to the British Government.

Trade Delegation To Argentina

OW080818 Beijing XINHUA in English 0812 GMT 8 Jun 82

[Text] Caracas, 7 June (XINHUA)--Venezuela sent a big trade delegation today to seek closer commercial ties and in support for Argentina in the Malvinas (Falklands) crisis.

The delegation, led by Sebastian Alegrett, president of the Foreign Trade Institute, is composed of 50 executive leaders of some most important industrial and commercial firms.

This is the first action of support for Argentina ever taken by Venezuela since the Latin American Economic System (SELA) adopted a resolution supporting Argentina in coping with the situation caused by the economic sanctions imposed by Britain and other European countries.

Trade between Venezuela and Argentina was valued no more than 100 million U.S. dollars before the Malvinas conflict. As Argentina's quest for oil is mounting because of the conflict, Venezuela may become its ideal oil supplier.

Galtieri Rejects Cease-Fire Proposal

OW091300 Beijing XINHUA in English 1230 GMT 9 Jun 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 8 June (XINHUA)--President Galtieri has rejected a cease-fire proposal of the UN Secretary General, which he believed made no "reliable" guarantee on British withdrawal from the South Atlantic, according to a report in today's EL CLARIN.

Under the proposal of UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, Argentine troops are to withdraw unconditionally from the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands within 14 days, the report said.

The report, quoting reliable UN sources, said President Galtieri told the UN Secretary General that however, the paragraph in Security Council resolution 502 concerning the continued UN mediation in the conflict is still valid as far as Argentina is concerned.

Argentina's decision to reject the cease-fire proposal was made at a lengthy meeting of the junta on 6 June, the report said.

According to another report, Argentine Foreign Minister Costa Mendez said any further talks to stop the fighting would require "a true British desire to negotiate." So far "Great Britain has been an emissary of ultimatums, and we do not accept ultimatums," he said.

Government Releases, Paroles Prisoners

OW091220 Beijing XINHUA in English 1204 GMT 9 Jun 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 8 June (XINHUA)--The prisoners were released and 116 others set free on parole today, Argentine Minister of Interior Alfredo Oscar Saint Jean announced here today.

Speaking at a press conference, Saint Jean said that since 1974 a total of 8,737 persons had been detained according to martial law. Of this total, 6,912 detainees have been released. He explained that the number of released could increase in the future.

In recent years, demands have grown for clarification by the government of the whereabouts of those "detained and missing" whose families had demonstrated each week on Plaza de Mayo in the capital before the outbreak of the Malvinas crisis.

Observers here held that the government's decision to release the prisoners aimed at strengthening the unity of the people at this critical moment in the Malvinas war.

Saint Jean announced yesterday evening that as soon as the statute of political parties is approved, the state will lift the ban on the party activities and later on the activities of trade union. But he said it does not mean the lifting of the state of siege.

When the war with Britain ends, the country will have "a good political environment," Saint Jean said.

CSO: 4000/129

COMMENTARY ON THE USSR AND EAST EUROPE

Brezhnev Meets Libyan Leader

OW280802 Beijing XINHUA in English 0715 GMT 28 May 82

[Text] Moscow, 27 May (XINHUA)--President Leonid Brezhnev and other Soviet party, government and military leaders separately met 'Abd al-Salam Jallud, member of the Libyan revolutionary leadership, here today.

They discussed with Jalloud, now here for "a short business visit," the future development of Soviet-Libyan relations and exchanged views on international issues of mutual concern.

Jallud delivered a message to President Brezhnev from Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, "concerning questions of Soviet-Libyan relations and also a number of problems of the present international situation." The TASS report gives no details.

During his talks with Jallud, Nikolay Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, expressed solidarity with the Libyan people who are "courageously opposing gross political, economic and military pressure of imperialism and local reaction."

Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Ustinov met with the Libyan visitor in the presence of the Soviet Chief of Staff Nikolay Ogarkov and Air Force Chief Pavel Kutakhov.

Jallud's current visit to Moscow, second within 12 months has drawn public attention. Observers here believed that in addition to bilateral relations, he had probably discussed with the Soviet leaders certain crucial issues of the Middle East.

Yugoslav Leaders Talk With Greeks

OW280814 Beijing XINHUA in English 0732 GMT 28 May 82

[Text] Belgrade, 27 May (XINHUA)--President of the presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Dusan Dragosavac had talks here today with visiting President of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) and Greek Prime Minister Andreas George Papandreou.

A TANJUG report said they exchanged views in a frank, friendly and mutual-understanding atmosphere on their parties' activities, some urgent international issues as well as cooperation between the LCY and the PASOK.

They pointed to impermissibility of interference in other countries' internal affairs and pressed for solving outstanding problems in a peaceful way. It was emphasized that the LCY and the PASOK work for overcoming the policy of division into blocs, for halting the arms race and starting a real process of disarmament. They stressed the significance of developing friendly and good-neighborly relations and equal cooperation in the Balkan Peninsula.

On the Mediterranean situation, they stressed that all progressive and democratic forces must join in the struggle for turning this region into a zone of peace, security, international cooperation on equality and free from outside interference.

They also exchanged views on the situation and relations in the worker's and other progressive movements in the world.

Another Tanjug report said that Yugoslav Premier Milka Plantic and Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou had friendly and frank talks yesterday and today on bilateral relations and international issues of common concern, paying main attention to the Balkans, the atmosphere and relations among countries of this region.

All that is happening on the old continent and beyond it in the world, it was assessed, reflects also on relations among Balkan countries.

Milka Planinc and Anreas Papandreou have confirmed resolve of their governments to continue, together with all Balkan countries, to contribute to the strengthening and widening of bilateral and multi-lateral cooperation, to actively support and promote all initiatives and activities aimed at the strengthening of stability, peace and security in the Balkans and in South-East Europe.

Referring to the need for a peaceful solution of the Cyprus crisis, the two government leaders consider that a just solution of the Cyprus problem is possible only with withdrawal of foreign troops, observing of territorial integrity and sovereignty, independence and non-alignment of that island country.

On bilateral relations, they focused their talks on ways to further expand and develop economic relations between the two countries.

Prime Minister Papandreou arrived here yesterday afternoon for a three-day official visit at the invitation of Yugoslav Premier Milka Planinc.

Austrian President's USSR Visit

OW300714 Beijing XINHUA in English 0706 GMT 30 May 82

[Text] Moscow, 29 May (XINHUA)--Austrian President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger left here for home today after a visit to the Soviet Union.

Kirchschlaeger had held talks with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev on bilateral relations between the two countries and also on some pressing international issues. He toured Tashkent and Kiev.

Brezhnev gave a banquet on 26 May in honor of the visiting Austrian president.

Speaking at the banquet, Brezhnev said, "the current international situation is fraught with dangers. An arms race is going on unchecked. The accumulated military potential is suffice to reduce the earth to ashes."

He blamed as usual the West for trying to gain a military superiority over the Soviet Union, and expressed the "willingness" of the Soviet Union to enter into negotiations, including a summit meeting, on the issue of "limiting and curtailing" armaments.

In reply, Kirchschlaeger pointed out that the pressing task at the moment is to "remove the sources of crisis and check the arms race." To this, he said, the country with the greatest stockpile of arms should make the greatest contribution.

The Austrian leader also called for "strict observance of all principles laid down in international laws, including the renouncement of the use and threat of force," which he described as absolutely necessary.

The Austrian president arrived in the Soviet Union on 25 May.

Ceausescu Addresses Romanian CP Meeting

OW031950 Beijing XINHUA in English 1914 GMT 3 Jun 82

[Text] Bucharest, 2 June (XINHUA)--The Romanian Communist Party [RCP] held an enlarged plenary meeting of the Central Committee Tuesday and Wednesday to discuss the reform of economic management in Romania, theoretical and ideological work and the party's political and educational work.

General Secretary of the RCP Nicolae Ceausescu made a comprehensive exposition at the meeting.

Talking about the experience in the country's economic construction, Ceausescu said a large scale development of the country's socialist industry and a rational distribution of the country's productive forces are the basic elements of the success of socialism, From 1950 to 1980, Romania's fixed assets increased several folds. Agricultural output increased 350 percent, the per capita average national income increased 11 folds.

The real income of urban and rural workers quadrupled, commodity retail sales increased 15 folds and 70 percent of the people received new housing.

Ceausescu said in the past 15 years, one-third of the national income was used as development funds, helping to modernize the country. Romania's development has made the difference between it and developed countries smaller, he said.

Ceausescu said the basic orientation of Romania's economy should not be changed. He also pointed out that 30 percent of the national income would continue to be allocated to the development of productive forces.

"We must do our utmost to produce every more, ever better, at an ever more highly qualitative level, with ever fewer expenses, to steadily raise efficiency, net production, national income," Ceausescu said.

"In the long run, Romania's economy will have to be grounded on a modern, powerfully developed industry and on a modern, highly efficient agriculture," he said.

Ceausescu said that in order to foster the people's sense of responsibility as masters of their country and increase their concern for production and management, "we should perhaps consider the idea that about 70 percent of the fixed assets, of the basic assets of a unit be common property, entrusted to the administration, to the management of the respective collective of working people, while about 30 percent of the basic assets belong to the working people in the respective unit, on the basis of corresponding individual contributions."

"I think of the possibility that the working people contribute a sort of social participation sum which should not exceed, for instance, 40,000-50,000 lei but should not be lower than 10,000 lei," Ceausecu said. "This would enable those contributing to the development fund--who remain the owners of this sum--to receive annually for the sum advanced a profit of about 6 percent in addition to their general rights to remuneration and profit sharing while in the units in which activity yields good results, where revenues are higher than envisaged, this percentage can be even greater than 6."

"The cooperative ownership, the second form of social ownership, will also have to be continuously strengthened and consolidated," he said. "The conception that it would be an inferior form of socialist ownership should be definitively done away with."

Ceausescu stressed that socialist democracy should be improved continuously and that the administrative role of the state and the people's control of the state bodies should be strengthened. Furthermore, socialist law must be firmly implemented, and national defense consolidated, he said.

He also put forward for consideration the question whether the slogan "proletarian dictatorship" continues to fit the new stage of Romanian social development. He said the conception should be abandoned and be replaced with "workers' democratic state" or other name that suits the country's development.

Referring to theory and practice about socialism, Ceausescu said socialist construction must be conducted "in accordance with the general laws and the conditions in each country." A disregard of general laws and specific conditions by copying certain models or forms can create serious damage and difficulties to socialist construction, he said.

Ceausescu said the central tasks of ideological, political and cultural education and literature and art in the future are to increase love for Romania, for the people and for the cause of socialism. They also should build a spirit of friendship and cooperation throughout the country, and special emphasis should be given to the education of the younger generation, he said.

On the international situation, Ceausescu pointed out that in international relations, extremely serious tensions are increasing the liklihood of military conflicts and possibly even a world war. The old balance of forces established after World War II is no longer adequate under the present international realities. The balance grounded on military blocs no longer fits in the present historical realities. One way or another there keeps manifesting the contradiction between socialism and capitalism. At the same time, a new contradiction has developed and is more and more marked consequently on the division of the world into developed and developing countries, in rich and poor countries.

He proposed that special bodies be set up within the United Nations to settle problems between countries through negotiations.

The plenary meeting endorsed the exposition of Ceausescu and decided to refer it for discussion by the whole party and the entire people, so that concrete measures can be worked out to improve work in all fields before the party's national congress this year.

In his closing speech, Ceausescu emphatically pointed out the plenary meeting has demonstrated that the Romanian Communist Party is more closley united and stronger than ever before. All problems, Romania is facing will be solved by the Romanian party, state and people, and no one is allowed to interfere in Romania's affairs.

He stressed the importance of agriculture in the economic development as a base for raw materials and food. He called for efforts to bring about a fundamental change to this year's agricultural production.

On the recent government reshuffle, the Romanian president said it was not a matter of mere rotation. If a government had failed to carry out its mission, it should be changed. Something appeared that could no longer be tolerated. A number of cadres in the Foreign Trade Ministry were removed from their posts because there were cases of graft and embezzlement of the state fund in foreign trade and because of the poor management.

He stressed that supervision should be strengthened in the future to see that no one is permitted to violate the party's discipline and the law of the state under any pretext.

Soviets Meet Iraqi Deputy Premier

OW051928 Beijing XINHUA in English 1839 GMT 5 Jun 82

[Text] Moscow, 5 June (XINHUA)--Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq 'Aziz met with Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Boris Nikolayevich Ponomarev and First Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers Ivan Vasilyevich Arkhipov here Friday to "discuss issues of the Soviet-Iraqi relations."

According to reports here the Iraqi deputy prime minister arrived on Thursday and left here soon after his meeting with the Soviet leaders.

Observers here noted that 'Aziz came to Moscow at a time when a new situation has emerged in the war between Iran and Iraq. The two sides probably discussed issues concerning the war.

However, the Soviet mass media did not disclose details of the talks.

Iraq and the Soviet Union signed a 15-year friendship and cooperation treaty in 1972. The Soviets have actively continued economic cooperation with Iraq, and a standing Iraqi-Soviet committee met here as planned in April to discuss bilateral trade in oil, energy and agricultural fields.

Earlier at the end of May, Soviet First Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers Ivan Vasilyevich Arkhipov led a delegation to visit Syria.

A leading member of the Libyan revolution 'Abd al-Salam Jallud has also come to meet the Soviet party and government leaders in Moscow.

Earlier, M'hamed Hadj Yala, political bureau member of the Algerian National Liberation Front who is also minister of the interior had come to visit the Soviet Union.

At present the Middle East is facing a series of very acute and complicated problems. Observers here are closely following the possible new steps the Soviet Union will take.

Communique on Husak Visit

OW050410 Beijing XINHUA in English 0303 GMT 5 Jun 82

[Text] Moscow, 4 June (XINHUA)--Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak today ended his 4-day official visit to the Soviet Union and left here for home.

After arriving here on 1 June, Husak and his party and government delegation had talks with the Soviet delegation headed by Leonid Brezhnev on bilateral relations and international questions, particularly European issues.

A Soviet-Czechoslovak joint communique issued today says that the relations between the two countries "are based on the treaty of friendship, mutual aid and cooperation." The two sides expressed the wish to further strengthen their economic and technical cooperation.

The leaders of the two countries discussed the Polish question and pledged to give every support to Poland in overcoming its difficulties.

The two sides also attached great importance to the coming summit meeting of the council for mutual economic aid.

The communique says that they "cannot remain indifferent" to NATO's modernization of weapons and armed forces, a U.S.-West German agreement on reinforcing American troops in a crisis and Spain's planned entry into NATO.

The two sides also condemned Britain's military actions against Argentina, and noted that the situation in the Middle East is "fraught with the danger of new aggravations of the conflict."

Official Visit To Romania

OW050748 Beijing XINHUA in English 0723 GMT 5 Jun 82

[Text] Bucharest, 4 June (XINHUA)--Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and prime minister, paid a one-day official friendly visit to Romania today as head of a party and state delegation.

They were invited by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of Romania.

The leaders of the two countries held official talks on bilateral relations and the international situation.

A joint communique issued at the end of the visit says that the two sides have decided to further strengthen their bilateral economic relations on the basis of mutual benefit and by paying special attention to coordinating their production of raw materials, energy and machinery.

The two sides are determined to make the council for mutual economic assistance meet, to a greater extent, the needs of its member countries for raw materials, fuel, machinery, daily necessities and food and agricultural produce, the communique notes.

The communique says that the Romanian party and people understand the special measures taken by the Polish authorities at the end of last year for stabilizing the domestic situation, and they hold that the Polish question is an internal affair, which should be settled by the Polish people themselves without outside interference.

Both sides pointed out that the United States and other NATO countries should abandon all the economic and other measures that are meant to interfere in Poland's internal affairs.

The communique says that Poland supports Romania's proposal on turning the Balkans into a region of good-neighbourliness, cooperation, peace and free of nuclear weapons. Romania supports Poland's call to the EEC for increasing economic credibility and safety between various countries.

Both sides held that the use, production and testing of nuclear weapons, as well as chemical and radioactive weapons and neutron bombs should be banned, and the deployment of any weapons in the outer space should also be banned.

Zhivkov Concludes Austrian Visit

OW050758 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 5 Jun 82

[Text] Vienna, 4 June (XINHUA)--Bulgarian leader Todor Zhivkov today concluded a 2-day official visit to Austria, after signing an agreement on extended economic, industrial and scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries.

Zhivkov had held talks with Austrian President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger and Premier Bruno Kreisky on international affairs and bilateral relations, stressing on economic cooperation between the two countries.

Premier Kreisky told reporters after the talks that small countries could contribute to prolonging detente in the current complex and disturbing international situation, the local press reported.

Economic relations have developed rapidly between the two countries in recent years. Austria is now Bulgaria's third biggest trade partner of the West after West Germany and Japan.

CSO: 4000/136

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON DISARMAMENT

'XINHUA' Cites Stockholm Study

OW271658 Beijing XINHUA in English 1649 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Stockholm, 27 May (XINHUA)--World military spending continued to soar last year despite the declining economic trend in the world, according to a study published today by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).

During the past 4 years, world military spending increased 3 percent each year, a faster rate than in the previous 4 years, the study says.

The "world armaments and disarmament SIPRI yearbook" says the Soviet Union outproduces the United States in a number of standard, conventional weapons, but the United States is still leading in technology, particularly in microelectronics and computers.

The Soviet Union has more launchers, and its total inventory of bombers and missiles could deliver the equivalent of 4.5 billion tons of TNT, the yearbook says. However, the United States has more warheads than Moscow.

It also points out that the trade of arms continued to boom through the period of world recession. During the past decade when world trade in general increased just 70 percent, the volume of major weapon sales to the Third World rose by more than 300 percent.

In the period 1979-81, the Soviet Union replaced the United States as the leading exporter of major weapons, partly because there was restraint in U.S. exports initiated by President Jimmy Carter, the yearbook says.

During 1981, the Soviet Union had arms deals with 28 countries compared with 67 countries for the United States. The Soviet Union is using arms transfers to maintain and expand its influence in the Third World, the study adds.

It also notes that two disturbing trends in the world were the development of anti-satellite weapons and the growth of chemical warfare research.

U.S. Disarmament Proposal Denied

OW041300 Beijing XINHUA in English 1250 GMT 4 Jun 82

["PRAVDA criticizes U.S. President's Proposal on Reduction of Strategic Armaments"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Moscow, 4 June (XINHUA)--U.S. President Ronald Reagan's proposal on separate reduction of strategic armaments is in fact trying to give the U.S. a unilateral advantage at the expense of the Soviet Union, said the Soviet newspaper PRAVDA editorially today.

This is the latest of a series of commentaries issued by the Soviet propaganda media after the Soviet Union and the U.S. agreed to begin talks at the end of this month on limitation and reduction of strategic armaments.

The keynote of these commentaries is that Washington's willingness to hold such talks is "a step in the right direction," but its concrete proposals are unacceptable.

The PRAVDA editorial said that "the strategic potentials of the two sides are balanced" but the "structure" of the two countries' strategic armaments is different. "The development of land-based ICBM's was traditionally predominant in the Soviet Union, whereas sea-launched ballistic missiles and strategic aviation in the United States." Reagan "proposed to reduce at the first stage the overall number of their warheads by one third, provided that not more than half of this amount are mounted on the land-based ICBM's." Those "in Washington would like to reduce by more than a half the Soviet ICMB's while foregoing practically nothing themselves," PRAVDA pointed out.

PRAVDA warned: "The U.S. Government should know that it will not succeed in gaining superiority in the present-day conditions."

PRAVDA reiterated the Soviet proposal that "following the beginning of the talks strategic weapons be frozen in the quantitative respect" and that the cruising missile should be included in the accord.

On the eve of the Soviet-U.S. talks on limitation and reduction of strategic weapons, the publication of the PRAVDA editorial shows that the positions of the two sides are far different. Actually, both of them are trying to gain strategic superiority. A fierce bargaining is expected in the coming talks.

World Buddhist Conference

OW051536 Beijing XINHUA in English 1523 GMT 5 Jun 82

[Text] Colombo, 5 June (XINHUA)--The conference of world Buddhist leaders and scholars ended here today. Sri Lanka Prime Minister R. Premadasa addressed the concluding session of the conference.

The conference adopted a special message to the UN General Assembly's second special session on disarmament, wishing it all success and requesting that it

ask the governments of all nuclear powers to pledge themselves that each of them will not be the first to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons.

Earlier, Li Rongxi, vice-president of the Buddhist Association of China and leader of the Chinese Buddhist delegation, said the Chinese Government gives the fullest support for the propagation of the Buddha Dharma. He also said that the Dalai Lama has been invited to return to his people.

CSO: 4000/132

UN FAO FORECASTS WORLD CEREAL PRODUCTION

OW020720 Beijing XINHUA in English 0708 GMT 2 Jun 82

[Text] United Nations, 1 June (XINHUA)--The world's cereal production in 1982 is expected to range from 1,470 to 1,605 million metric tons, compared with 1,528 million tons in 1981.

The Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) has made this first forecast for total cereal output for the current crop year.

Wheat production was forecast at 450-500 million tons, compared with 461 million tons in 1981 and coarse grains output at 755-820 million tons as against 792 million tons previously.

In its first estimate for rice in 1982, the monthly report predicted milled rice output at 265-285 million tons compared with 275 million tons in 1981.

"Crop conditions for Northern Hemisphere wheat have continued to be generally satisfactory and climatic conditions are also favorable for spring planting," the report said.

In contrast, the report warned, the prospects for coarse grain production in southern Africa have "deteriorated sharply" because of a major drought.

World trade in all cereals in 1982/1983 was forecast at 196-212 million tons, compared with 209 million tons in 1981/1982.

The report noted that the Soviet Union, the world's biggest importer of grains, "may purchase large quantities again in 1982/1983 in order to provide larger quantities for feed and to replenish heavily depleted stocks." The Soviet cereal crop last year was estimated at a very low level of 170 million tons, even lower than the poor crops harvested in the two preceding years.

Global carryover stocks of cereals were predicted to rise substantially to 268 million tons at the end of the 1981/1982 crop season, mostly in coarse grains. This equals to 18 percent of projected world consumption, compared to 15 percent a year ago.

CSO: 4000/138

VIETNAM, KAMPUCHEA SITUATION NOTED

Troops Withdrawn From Several Strongholds

OW292200 Beijing XINHUA in English 1517 GMT 29 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 29 May (XINHUA)--The Vietnamese occupation troops have withdrawn from several strongholds in Kampuchea as a result of encirclement and attacks by the Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas, according to radio democratic Kampuchea.

On 1 May, the Vietnamese troops stationed in Stoeng Cheh of the Preah Vihear-Stoeng Treng area gave up five strongholds after all their transportation lines around the strongholds were cut off by the National Army and guerrillas.

On 12 May, a Vietnamese regiment forfeited its headquarters in Leach County, Pouthisat Province, under the fierce attacks of the Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas.

A Vietnamese battalion withdrew from the Veal Smach stronghold west of Leach County on 21 May owing to low morale caused by a lasting shortage of supplies.

Two Vietnamese platoons fled from their strongholds in Sre Skur and Pream of Samlot County, Batdambang Province, on 14 May after encirclement and attacks by the National Army and guerrillas for a long time.

Another report said the Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas wrecked 20 sections of an 800-meter-long railway in Moung County, Batdambang Province, on 15 May.

On 10 May, the National Army and guerrillas ambushed a Vietnamese motorcade, which consisted of 12 trucks, in Siemreab County, Siemreab Province, destroying four enemy trucks and killing or wounding 16 Vietnamese.

On 18 May, the National Army and guerrillas attacked a Vietnamese motorcade moving on the highway from Choam Khsant of Preah Vihear Province to Kampong Thum City of Kampong Thum Province, destroying six enemy trucks, killing and wounding 14 Vietnamese respectively.

DK On Nonaligned Movement Exclusion

OW310740 Beijing XINHUA in English 0705 GMT 31 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 31 May (XINHUA)--A Foreign Ministry spokesman of democratic Kampuchea in a statement last Friday exposed Vietnam of its recent diplomatic moves for a continued exclusion of democratic Kampuchea from the non-aligned movement, radio democratic Kampuchea reported today.

The statement appealed to all the non-aligned countries to make efforts for the return of democratic Kampuchea to the movement. It was widely known, it said, because of the abuse of power by the chairman of the 6th non-aligned summit in Cuba in September, 1979, democratic Kampuchea was arbitrarily deprived of its legitimate right to attend the summit, and its seat was left vacant.

The statement said with the backing of the Soviet Union, Vietnam is going all-out to oppose the demand of the majority of the non-aligned states for the return of democratic Kampuchea to the non-aligned movement, while helping its shadow, the Phnom Penh puppet regime, to squeeze into the movement.

Democratic Kampuchea is a genuine member of the non-aligned movement. All along it has adhered to the non-aligned principles and contributed to the development of the movement and the realization of the lofty ideal of independence, peace and not joining any bloc, the statement said.

Hence, the statement noted, the democratic Kampuchean Government appealed to the coordination bureau of the non-aligned countries and all the non-aligned states for their support for the restoration of democratic Kampuchea's legitimate seat at the next non-aligned summit.

Special Envoy Returns to Kampuchea

OW020742 Beijing XINHUA in English 0732 GMT 2 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing, 2 June (XINHUA)--Keat Chhon, special envoy of [the] president of the presidium of the state and prime minister of the government of democratic Kampuchea Khieu Samphan and minister of the prime minister's office, returned to Kampuchea on 27 May after his friendly visits to seven African countries, radio democratic Kampuchea reports today.

He visited Senegal, Mauritania, Niger, Togo, Gabon, Upper Volta and Central Africa. The heads of government of the seven countries told Keat Chhon that on the Kampuchean question, they would uphold the UN charter, international law, the norms governing relations between countries and the principle of non-alignment. They would oppose Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea and continue to support the just struggle of the Kampuchean people.

CSO: 4000/134

JAPAN'S MANEUVERS, VISITORS NOTED

Military Maneuvers Begin

OW241624 Beijing XINHUA in English 1605 GMT 24 May 82

[Text] Tokyo, 24 May (XINHUA)--A large-scale joint military maneuver of the Japanese Ground, Maritime and Air Self-Defence Forces began today in the Tohoku area in northern Honshu and Hokkaido, Sankei SHIMBUN has reported.

The maneuver began following a 5-day command post exercise at the Tokyo defense agency that ended Saturday.

It is reported that the maneuver was aimed at repelling ground, sea and air attacks on Hokkaido. The report said the maneuver was the largest of 12 joint military maneuvers Japan has held.

Some 13,000 troops participated in the maneuver. A record number of 260 vehicles, 14 warships and 140 war planes took part.

Press Coverage of Zhao Visit

OW302008 Beijing XINHUA in English 1519 GMT 30 May 82

[Text] Tokyo, 30 May (XINHUA)--On the eve of Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang's official visit to Japan, Japanese newspapers came out strongly to greet his historical visit, wishing Sino-Japanese friendship and cooperation further consolidated and developed.

NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN said editorially on 28 May that the Japan-China relations have so developed that they have reached the stage of solid cooperation. "That is why we heartily welcome Premier Zhao Ziyang's visit," the editorial said.

It pointed out that a full decade has passed since the ending of the state of war and the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The two countries have concluded trade and air agreements and, in particular, a treaty of peace and friendship. The treaty has as its centerpiece a clause against hegemony by the signatories or others and has helped expand the scope of Japan's diplomacy. The editorial noted that China, as a stable political

force, plays an important role in ensuring stability in the Asian-Pacific region, which has a direct bearing on world peace. It can be said with certainty that this kind of understanding has more or less taken root in Japan, the editorial stressed.

It added that the existence of China with a territory of 9.6 million square kilometers and a population of one billion is of significance to the crucial balance of power in international politics. It is only natural that the top leaders of the two countries decided to meet and exchange views on international issues in an extensive and deep-going manner, the editorial said.

ASAHI SHIMBUN published a commentary on 30 May saying "amid a turbulent international situation, the present Japan-China relations are more stable than ever before."

The commentary said: "We should turn the 10th anniversary of the normalization of Japan-China relations into an occasion to consider what to do in the coming 10 years with a forward-looking attitude rather than confine ourselves to a review of the past 10 years. This is because the two sides have established relations which permit a frank exchange of views. Therefore, we should make the best use of this favourable condition and consolidate and strengthen the foundation of the broad avenue of Japan-China friendship in the next decade."

INTERNATIONAL TRADE, the official journal of the Japan International Trade Promotion Association, carried an editorial on 25 May saying that "a most friendly and intimate cooperative relationship in the past hundred years has been established between China and Japan. This is neither a temporary atmosphere nor a man-made tactic. It is a great current born naturally of the 2,000-year--long contacts between China and Japan and sweeping through all official and non-government fields."

The editorial noted that in his interview with Japanese newsmen before his coming visit to Japan, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out that in the present turbulent situation of the world, China and Japan should make great efforts to establish and develop long-standing and stable relations of friendship and cooperation unaffected by international storms. "We totally appreciate this stand" it said.

The editorial said that the build-up and development of Sino-Japanese relations of friendship and cooperation is not only beneficial to the two countries but also contributes to peace and stability in Asia.

JAPAN AND CHINA, organ of the Japan-China Friendship Association, issued on 25 May a special supplement entitled "Warm Welcome to Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang's Visit to Japan." It carried, among others, interviews with Japanese Foreign Minister Yoshio Sakurauchi and chairman of the Japan-China Friendship Association Tokuma Utsunomiya.

Yoshio Sakurauchi said in his interview: "During the forthcoming visit of Premier Zhao Ziyang, the prime ministers of the two countries will meet and review the Japan-China relations which have developed in a down-to-earth manner in the past decade. They will also exchange views frankly on how to

develop durable relations between the two countries in the future. This will be an event of extraordinary and far-reaching significance."

Tokuma Utsunomiya said in his interview: "Friendship between Japan and China has made a great contribution to peace in Asia and the world. In spite of the changing international situation, it is necessary for us to turn the valuable friendly relations between the two countries into durable ones, independent of international storms."

He added, "It is my hope that the talks to be held between the leaders of the two countries will advance the relations of cooperation and make a great contribution to the friendship between the two countries and to Asian and world peace."

Chairman of the Japan Journalists League Shiguma Kai said in an article carried in the May issue of the league's bulletin that "history has witnessed that the desire of the Japanese and Chinese people for mutual friendship has formed a tremendous historical current which cannot be stemmed or turned back by any force." "The development of Japan-China friendship in the past decade demonstrates that it conforms with the fundamental interests of the two countries and is also conducive to Asian and world peace."

Yoshihiro Inayama, president of the Japanese Federation of Economic Organizations, said in an interview with NIKKAN KOGYO SHIMBUN that since the normalization of relations between Japan and China, economic cooperation between the two countries has developed smoothly. His statement appeared in the paper yesterday.

Japanese Papers On Zhao Visit

OW311222 Beijing XINHUA in English 1209 GMT 31 May 82

[Text] Tokyo, 31 May (XINHUA)--More Japanese newspapers carried editorials today, expressing welcome to Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang's visit to Japan.

YOMIURI SHIMBUN said in an editorial that the premiers of Japan and China would review, in their talks, the bilateral relations in the past 10 years and, at the same time, would continue to cement the unshakable ties between the two countries for the coming 10 years.

The editorial said that the talks of the two premiers would explore the prospects for the two countries' relations in the coming 10 years on the basis of summing up the experience in the 10 years since the normalization of the Japan-China diplomatic relations.

The editorial also pointed out, "the relations of friendship and cooperation between Japan and the United States, between Japan and China, and between China and the United States are important not only to these countries but also to peace and stability in Asia and in the world as a whole."

MAINICHI SHIMBUN said in an editorial that in the past 10 years, the two countries' relations had developed smoothly on the whole and there was no major

pending problem between the two countries. The paper hoped that the two premiers would be able to find ways to secure the stable relations between the two countries for the next 10 years or an even longer period.

TOKYO SHIMBUN said in an editorial that it is a matter of major significance that Premier Zhao Ziyang pays a visit to Japan shortly after simplifying the structure of China's State Council. The editorial expressed support for the realistic and sound policy China is pursuing today. The editorial hoped that real business links between the two countries would be further strengthened and developed by taking advantage of Premier Zhao's visit to Japan.

Zhao's Successful Visit

OW041630 Beijing XINHUA in English 1519 GMT 4 Jun 82

[Text] Tokyo, 4 June (XINHUA)--Newspapers here today hoped Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang's visit to Japan will serve as the beginning of the development of relations between Japan and China in accordance with the principles of peace and friendship, equality and mutual benefit, and long-standing stability.

The editorial of "Asahi Shimbun," entitled "Starting Point of Enduring (Friendly) Relations Between Japan and China," said that Premier Zhao Ziyang's visit to Japan "has enhanced mutual understanding between Japan and China, and offered bright prospects for the future cooperative relations between them." It said the visit serves as a "starting point" from which the relations between the two countries will develop into the next decade.

The editorial pointed out that it is a wise and welcome act to develop economic cooperation between Japan and China in accordance with the three-point principle--peace and friendship equality and mutual benefit, and long-standing stability. What is particularly significant is the decision made by the two sides to cooperate in exploiting China's natural resources.

"Yomiuri Shimbun" said in an editorial entitled "with mature relations between Japan and China as our target" that it deserves high commendation that the two prime ministers have agreed in their talks to develop the relations between the two countries according to the three-point principle of peace and friendship, equality and mutual benefit and long-standing stability which was proposed by Premier Zhao Ziyang.

The editorial said Prime Minister Suzuki promised to cooperate with China for the realization of modernizations in that country. It can be said that a pattern has taken shape between the two sides, which will ensure that the Japanese-Chinese relations will move toward maturity.

It said Premier Zhao Ziyang has stressed that China has shifted the focus of all its work onto the realization of modernizations. This has imbued people with a strong sense that China needs a peaceful international environment, it added. Premier Zhao and China which will not be affected by any changes in the international situation this can be understood to mean that the establishment of cooperative relations between the two countries is important to the

pursuance of modernizations in China. The editorial stressed that the establishment of a matured relationship between the two countries is indispensable for peace and stability in Asia.

"Mainichi Shimbun" pointed out editorially that the task of Japanese-Chinese friendship and cooperation in future is how to put a long-lasting and stable relationship into reality. To this end, it continued, the two countries should, proceeding from realistic conditions and through exchange of visits, straighten out problems existing between them.

A Tokyo SHIMBUN editorial today appealed for the promotion of mutually beneficial and long-standing economic cooperation between the two countries.

The editorial said that the relations between Japan and China have entered a pragmatical era when the two countries can hold dialogue calmly.

Nihon Keizai SHIMBUN said in an editorial today that it was of great significance that the Japanese-Chinese summit talks in Tokyo highly valued the development of relations between Japan and China in the past decade and foresaw new efforts to be made in the coming decade to strengthen further the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

Zhao Ziyang Visit

OW050414 Beijing XINHUA in English 0254 GMT 5 Jun 82

[Text] Paris, 4 June (XINHUA)--U.S. President Ronald Reagan today welcomed Japan's recent announcement on further liberalization of trade practices as well as the Japanese Government's decision to increase its defense spending in the coming year, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig told the press here this afternoon.

Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki called on Reagan this afternoon. A Japanese spokesman announced later that among the topics the two leaders had discussed were trade relations among the industrial nations, East-West relations and nuclear disarmament. The prime minister also briefed the president on the recent Tokyo visit by Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang.

The U.S. president described the Japanese trade liberalization move as "a positive step in the direction of greater liberalization," and the Japanese prime minister "pledged his support for further enhancement of free trade, which, of course, was welcomed by the U.S.," Haig said.

Reagan also "warmly endorsed" the Japanese decision to increase their military spending, Haig added.

President Reagan and Prime Minister Suzuki also discussed the relations with the Soviet Union, according to the Japanese spokesman. Reagan said that the problem of credits should be seen in the context of defense, and that the Soviets should match words with action.

While praising the U.S. initiatives on nuclear disarmament, Prime Minister Suzuki expressed his concern that the Soviet Union might shift its strategic weapons to the proximity of the Chinese frontier when an agreement on reducing armament of this type in Europe is reached, the Japanese spokesman said.

"There were some detailed discussions regarding the recent visit of the premier of the people's Republic of China to Tokyo and Prime Minister Suzuki's impression, important impression with respect to this visit," Haig said.

The Japanese prime minister stressed that cooperation between Japan and China "contributes to peace and stability in Asia," and he hoped "the U.S. appreciates this effort," the Japanese spokesman added.

CSO: 4000/133

U.S., MOROCCO REACH AGREEMENT ON USE OF AIRFIELDS

OW281244 Beijing XINHUA in English 1230 GMT 28 May 82

[Text] Washington, 27 May (XINHUA)--The United States and Morocco today reached an agreement on the use and transit by U.S. forces of Moroccan airfields "in emergencies," the State Department announced.

The agreement, which American officials said did not represent a U.S. security commitment to Morocco, was signed by U.S. Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig, Jr. and Moroccan Foreign Minister Mohamed Boucetta at the State Department today.

Details of the 6-year agreement were worked out during last week's Washington visit by King Hassan of Morocco following an agreement in principle reached during Haig's visit to Morocco last February.

The State Department spokesman Dean Fishcher said today the Moroccan bases would also be used for periodic training of U.S. servicemen. But he added, "the United States will not permanently station armed forces or establish United States military bases in Morocco in connection with carrying out this agreement."

Fischer said Washington would pay for upgrading of Moroccan facilities in return for having access to the bases.

The spokesman did not elaborate on the "emergencies" mentioned in the agreement, but he said last week during King Hassan's visit that the two countries were negotiating an agreement under which U.S. forces would have access to Moroccan facilities "in special contingencies of concern to both countries."

Concerned about the Soviet threat to the stability of the Gulf region and to the Western access to the region's oil fields in particular, the United States has sought access to Moroccan bases for some time.

Though Morocco agreed to U.S. access to its military facilities, it reportedly insisted that Moroccan bases must not be used against any other country in the region.

CSO: 4000/138

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON WEST

Spain's Formal Entry Into NATO

OW311246 Beijing XINHUA in English 1231 GMT 31 May 82

[Text] Madrid, 30 May (XINHUA)--Spain today became the 16th member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) when its formal instrument of ratification was deposited at the U.S. State Department in Washington.

The NATO Secretariat told the Spain Government yesterday its membership application, signed by NATO foreign ministers last December, had been processed by the pacts 15 members. It was reported that Spain would join NATO's political and military organs and take part in the upcoming NATO summit to be held in Bonn as a full member.

Spain's membership will materially, morally, and strategically strengthen the alliance, a Western observer commented.

Spanish Foreign Minister Jose Pedro Perez-llorca said, "I am convinced Spain, inside the Atlantic Alliance, will contribute efficiently in its natural role as a European nation."

Spain is the first nation to join NATO since 1956. The treaty organization was founded in 1949.

Spring Session Ends

OW011130 Beijing XINHUA in English 0836 GMT 1 Jun 82

[Text] Lisbon, 31 May (XINHUA)--The spring session of the North Atlantic Assembly closed today in Funchal, the capital of the Madeira Islands.

A draft resolution adopted at the meeting pointed out that the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan had trampled down the international agreements and deteriorated the relations between the East and the West.

The session opened on 27 May and was attended by 600 members of the assembly. Representatives of Spain were present for the first time as observers at the meeting.

The session focused discussions on disarmament, East-West relations, Poland and the Malvinas Islands crisis.

A draft resolution adopted at today's plenary session said political unity of the alliance was an important factor to ensure its collective security. The resolution will be submitted to NATO's 28th annual meeting of the assembly to be held in November in London.

Portuguese President of Assembly of the Republic Oliveira Dias and Premier Pinto Balsemao spoke at the meeting, asking for increased NATO military and economic assistance to Portugal.

The triangle formed by the Portuguese continent, the Madeira Islands and the Azores Islands was of great strategic importance, Pinto Balsemao said. "Without better equipment, the Portuguese armed forces will not be able to carry out their commitment to NATO."

Reagan, Mitterrand Confer

OW041854 Beijing XINHUA in English 1831 GMT 4 Jun 82

[Text] Paris, 3 June (XINHUA)--French President Francois Mitterrand and U.S. President Ronald Reagan held talks here today in the presidential Elysee Palace.

Reagan, on his first 2-day official visit to France since becoming president, talked to Mitterrand about the Falkland Islands, Central America and the Middle East.

Reagan arrived here Wednesday to attend the Versailles summit of seven industrialized nations.

Reagan told reporters after the talks that "we have renewed the dialog which we had held in Washington in March this year. We did not discuss thoroughly the issues which are scheduled for Versailles deliberations."

President Mitterrand told news reporters that the day was a "French-American Day," an occasion when the two sides exchanged their views.

Later at a news conference, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig characterized the first meeting between the two leaders as "one of mutual confidence" and "one of frankness."

"With respect to the Falklands (Malvinas Islands)," Haig said, "both leaders are concerned that bloodshed be terminated at the earliest possible date and that the conflict be resolved within the framework of UN resolution 502." They hoped, he added, "that Argentine troops would withdraw from the Falklands."

Concerning the Iran-Iraq war, Haig said the two leaders expressed concern that "this conflict will not expand." Everyone is "very sensitive and concerned" about the grave consequences of the outcome if the conflict spreads.

Haig stressed that both leaders expect that "the territorial integrity of the countries involved will be preserved and that international attention will be focused on efforts to bring this conflict to a peaceful conclusion."

Concerning economic issues, Haig said, "it is clear both leaders approach economic issues on different philosophical bases. Nevertheless, they are seeking a common objective: the reduction of inflation, a decrease in government spending levels, a reduction in the current high level of unemployment and a reciprocal prosperity."

Haig said Reagan stressed what he called the success of his anti-inflationary policies.

At a dinner Reagan gave at the U.S. Embassy for Mitterrand tonight, Reagan said he would work with the French leader to mkae the current economic summit a success.

Reagan told his guests that his administration had already brought inflation and government spending under control and at the same time had rebuilt U.S. defense measures to ensure peace through strength. Reagan predicted that U.S. interest rates would continue to fall this year.

Haig pointed out that "a strong United States and a united (NATO) alliance will be indispensible to the maintenance of peace."

It has been reported that France will oppose Reagan's attempt to include on the summit agenda a coordinated restriction of easy credit terms to the Soviet Union.

End NATO Air Force Exercise

OW051258 Beijing XINHUA in English 1245 GMT 5 Jun 82

[Text] Bonn, 4 June (XINHUA)--A 4-day air force exercise of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization ended in West Germany today.

About 1,000 airplanes from West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Britain, Canada and the United States participated in the exercise code-named "central enterprise."

The exercise was a simulated counter-attack of the NATO air force against a hypothetical air rain on a U.S. air base in Ramstein, West Germany, the site of the NATO air force command in central europe, and extended to the whole of West Germany.

This was the first air counter attack exercise by NATO's central European air force command, said Deputy Commander Lieutenant General Heimler. The former exercises were mainly defensive, or supportive operations for ground combat.

NATO's newly equipped air warning and control system (AWACS) was used for the first time in the exercise.

Spain Admitted to NATO

OW051950 Beijing XINHUA in English 1932 GMT 5 Jun 82

[Text] Brussels, 5 June (XINHUA)--A formal ceremony and a council meeting to welcome Spain's entry into NATO were held at the NATO headquarters were today.

NATO Secretary General J. Luns expressed his "cordial and hearty" congratulations to Spain. He stressed that Spain's entry would make the basis of NATO's south flank more solid than ever.

Foreign Minister of Spain Jose Pedro Perez-Uorca Rodrigo said at the meeting that the Spanish participation into NATO would contribute to the defence and security of his country. He stated that Spain, in view of her historical and cultural connections with the Mediterranean, Arabian as well as Latin-American countries, is bound to make specific efforts for the good of the alliance.

Spain applied for NATO membership last August and became a full member as of 30 May after a lengthy process of accession had been completed. It is regarded here that this event is of positive significance for the strengthening and cohesion of NATO.

Seven Nation Western Summit

OW051530 Beijing XINHUA in English 1512 GMT 5 Jun 82

[Text] Paris, 4 June (XINHUA)--The seven-nation Western summit began at the Versailles Palace on the outskirts of Paris this evening.

At the Grand Trianon Palace near the Versailles this afternoon, President Francois Mitterrand greeted U.S. President Ronald Reagan, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Italian Prime Minister Giovanni Spadolini, Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki, President of the European Community Commission Gaston Thorn, and Executive President of the European Council and Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens when they arrived by helicopter. These leaders are staying at the Grand Trianon during the summit.

At a dinner this evening, the leaders discussed and decided the agenda of the summit.

At a news conference today, spokesman of the French presidential office Michel Vautelle gave a briefing on the schedule of the summit. He said President Mitterrand will make an opening address at the Saturday morning session in which he will stress the importance of science and technology in promoting economic growth and employment. The Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning sessions will be devoted to discussions on international economy, monetary affairs, north-south relations and energy. The summit will wind up Sunday afternoon with the publication of a brief communique on guidelines and a joint news conference to be given by the seven heads of state or government.

The spokesman said these leaders will also discuss political problems, such as East-West relations, defense and security, when they have meals together.

The current summit, the eighth of its kind since 1975, is being held against the background of serious differences among the seven nations over the high U.S. interest rates, the "protectionist" trade policy pursued by some of the countries and economic relations with the Soviet Union.

Some of the participants had hoped before they came to the summit that some progress would be made at the summit in dealing with the serious economic crisis in the West, recovering the Western economy and readjusting the international monetary and trading relations. The United States stressed that it will seek understanding from the other countries and strengthen the unity with Western Europe. France indicated that it will strive to direct the summit toward long-term economic problems so that it will not be bogged down in wrangles over immediate issues. Japan announced a series of measures to make its domestic market more open to the world. It is predicted here that the 3-day meeting may yield some compromises and agreement on some of the issues but major differences will be hard to resolve because the fundamental interests of the participating countries are at stake.

Report Presented To Economic Summit

OW060224 Beijing XINHUA in English 0101 GMT 6 Jun 82

[Text] Paris, 5 June (XINHUA)--French President Francois Mitterrand today urged Western industrial nations "to organize balanced growth, reduce unemployment, stop protectionism, build a stable monetary system and provide the south with the means for its own development" so as to surmount the economic crisis in the West.

He made these remarks in his report entitled "technology, employment and growth" I presented at the opening session of an economic summit of seven industrial nations held at Versailles near here.

In his report, the French president proposed the launch of a concerted program for growth through new technology and expressed the hope that an 8-member working group be created after the summit to draw up priorities.

On the current economic situation in Western capitalist countries, he said, "the world is in a crisis and we can not escape it by sheer luck. There is not a turn for the better since the last summit held in Ottawa, 5 million men and women have lost their jobs in our seven nations. Production, investment and trade have been in stagnation, protectionism has become a menace, money in disorder and the interest rates have reached the level to hinder any growth of the creation of employment."

He also stressed the need to reduce technology imbalance between the north and the south.

Later today French Government spokesman Michel Vauzelle announced that the seven government heads had approved Mitterrand's report and decided to set up a work-

ing group. The working group will present its conclusions to the next summit to be held in the United States.

Trade, Finance Issues Discussed

OW061218 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 6 Jun 82

[Heated Debate on Trade and Finance at Versailles Summit"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Paris, 5 June (XINHUA)--The leaders of the seven nations participating in the Versailles summit meeting continued their work at a working luncheon and the afternoon session today. The discussions focused on international trade and finance, though political issues, such as East-West relations and the Malvinas (Falklands) crisis, were also taken up.

The West's credit policy toward the Soviet Union is considered one of the most controversial problems being handled by the leaders. A French spokesman disclosed this afternoon that in a heated debate the United States was opposed by its partners for insisting on a tighter control of credits to the Soviet Union. The U.S. sources claimed, however, that an agreement was reached on higher interest rates for Soviet loans from the West--from the current rate of 10.5 to 11.5 percent. When asked at a news briefing whether the United States was pleased with the result, U.S. Treasury Secretary Regan replied, "very much so."

On the issue of high U.S. interest rates, concern was expressed by the U.S. allies as anticipated. According to Secretary Regan, President Reagan could only offer a vague promise to ease their disquiet. The president reportedly asserted that "the (U.S. federal) deficits would be down over the next 3 years with a balanced budget in sight" and that "interest rates would come down as soon as the fear of those who are loaning money that we could have continually high federal deficits--those fears were allayed."

As for the West European countries' persistent demand that the United States intervene in the money market to assure a more balanced exchange rate between the U.S. dollar and other Western currencies, Regan denied an earlier report based on French sources that the United States had agreed to a joint intervention by the central banks of the five wealthiest countries (i.e., the United States, West Germany, France, Britain and Japan). He repeated what he had been saying for weeks that the United States had only agreed to "study intervention to see if it is worthwhile."

The summit meeting was greeted with an anti-U.S. demonstration in downtown Paris this afternoon. While most of the slogans of the nearly 20,000 demonstrators were directed against U.S. President Reagan and his interventionist policy, many demonstrators demanded disarmament, chanting: "for a nuclear-free Europe; neither Pershin, nor SS-20" and "no to bloc politics."

States End Summit Meeting

OW071908 Beijing XINHUA in English 1851 GMT 7 Jun 82

[Text] Paris, 6 June (XINHUA)--The summit meeting of seven Western industrialized nations ended in Versailles today with the adoption of a declaration.

At a news conference after the summit, French President Francois Mitterrand said the heads of state at the meeting "strongly condemned" the intrusion of Israeli troops into southern Lebanon, which "has the right to independence, from freedom, unification and sovereignty."

Referring to the Malvinas (Falklands) Islands crisis, Mitterrand said the seven nations "denounced" Argentina for "its resorting to violence first" and reiterated the unity of the nations "to see a ceasefire and armistice."

Referring to the nations' economic relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries, the declaration said, "we agree to pursue a prudent and diversified economic approach to the USSR and Eastern Europe consistent with our political and security interests."

This will include action in three key areas, the declaration said. First, the representatives of the nations "will work together to improve the international system for controlling exports of strategic goods to these countries and national arrangements for the enforcement of security controls."

Second, the nations "will exchange information in the OECD on all aspects of our economic commercial and financial relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe."

Third, the nations "have agreed to handle cautiously financial relations with the USSR and other Eastern European countries in such a way as to ensure that they are conducted on a sound economic basis, including also the need for commercial prudence in limiting export credits."

In addition, the declaration said the growth of developing countries and the improvement of constructive relationships with them are vital for the political and economic well-being of the world. Therefore, "a high level of financial flows and official assistance (from developed countries) should be maintained," it said.

The declaration said global negotiations should be a major political objective. It also said "the latest draft resolution circulated by the group of the 77 is helpful" and will "serve as a basis for consultations with the countries concerned."

The seven nations also are prepared to "continue and develop practical cooperation with the developing countries" through the World Bank and some regional development banks, the declaration said.

The declaration said that if the nations are successful in reducing inflation and stimulating economic growth and employment, interest rates could be lowered to more stable exchange rates."

The declaration said, the nations will work toward an evolution of the international monetary system by "closer cooperation" among the nations.

On international trade, the declaration said the nations reaffirm their commitment to strengthening an open trade system, to resisting protectionist pressures and to working toward further opening of markets.

The declaration also said that strengthened cooperation on energy among the nations could contribute to a "common energy security." The nations also will strengthen cooperation with oil-exporting and oil-importing developing countries, the declaration said.

The declaration said that the meeting decided to form a working group on technology, employment and economic growth, which will submit a report by 31 December 1982.

In a written statement issued at the conclusion of the summit meeting, U.S. President Ronald Reagan said the summit strengthened unity and cooperation among the nations.

Reagan also said the nations are concerned about the continued Soviet military buildup. However, he said, "we must maintain dialogue with the Soviet Union."

Mitterrand said at a news confernece today he is satisfied with the progress on monetary cooperation and relations with the Third World. But he also expressed his disappointment about U.S. high interest rates.

West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt told reporters the summit was "very helpful" and enabled the nations to resolve some disputes.

Soviet Space Vehicle Launch

)W101216 Beijing XINHUA in English 1210 GMT 10 Jun 82

[Text] Washington, 9 June (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union in a secret test has launched and recovered a space vehicle similar to America's space shuttle, the ABC TV news reported this evening quoting U.S. intelligence sources.

The report drew attention as the United States and the Soviet Union are engaged in a vigorous space race and are intensifying efforts to use space for military purposes.

The report said that the Soviet vehicle was launched last Friday and stayed in orbit for less than 2 hours. It splashed down in the Indian Ocean west of Australia where it was recovered by a small armada of Soviet ships.

An Australian reconnaissance plane observed the pick-up operation.

Like America's space shuttle, the Soviet spacecraft has wings and is reusable but smaller in overall dimension, the report said. It could accommodate a crew of three or four although the test was unmanned. American space experts say this is not the first time the Soviet Union launched their own version of the shuttle. But it is the first time a Western country watched it recovered.

CSO: 4000/137

COMMENTARY ON SINO-WEST EUROPEAN RELATIONS

Envoy in Iceland

OW100829 Beijing XINHUA in English 1226 GMT 6 May 82

[Text] Stockholm, 5 May (XINHUA)--Iceland President Vigdis Finnbogadottir this afternoon received outgoing Chinese Ambassador to Iceland Chen Feng and his wife at the presidential house, according to a report from REYKJAVIK. They had a cordial and friendly conversation and wished each other further development of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

Youth Group to Greece, Italy

OW100829 Beijing XINHUA in English 1216 GMT 6 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 6 May (XINHUA)--A Chinese delegation led by Liu Weiming, member of the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League of China, left here by air today for a friendly visit to Greece at the invitation of Greek communist youth "Rigas Fereos." The delegation will go to Italy to take part in the 22d national meeting of the Italian Communist Youth Federation after its visit to Greece.

Norwegian Chief Justice

OW06110 Beijing XINHUA in English 0747 GMT 6 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 6 May (XINHUA)--Wang Huaian, vice president of the Supreme People's Court, met with Rolv Ryssdal, chief justice of Norway, and Mrs Ryssdal here this morning. Wang Huaian welcomed the guests and exchanged experience on court work with them. Hao Deqing, president of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, attended the meeting. The Ryssdals arrived 3 May at the invitation of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs and were guests of honor at a banquet given by Hao Deqing.

Departure of Representative

OW012120 Beijing XINHUA in English 1643 GMT 1 Jun 82

[Text] Athens, 1 June (XINHUA)--Feng Xuan, member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, left here for home today after a visit to Greece. During the visit, Feng Xuan attended the Third Congress of the Greek Communist Party (Interior) on invitation as a representative of the CCP. He arrived here on 14 May.

CSO: 4000/135

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ACTIVITIES OF AFGHANISTAN DESCRIBED

USSR, DRA Sign Agreement

OW290730 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 29 May 82

[Text] Moscow, 28 May (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union and the Kabul regime today signed an interim agreement covering the terms of the transfer of cargoes and wagons at the border railroad pass Galabra-Khairaton, according to a TASS report.

The texts of agreements between the two sides on direct railroad freight traffic and the setting up of an Afghan-Soviet mixed joint stock society to tun the transshipment base and the Port of Khairation were also concerned at the talks between the two sides which came to a close in Moscow today.

Following the construction of the railway-highway bridge across the frontier river Amudaria between the two countries which opened to traffic about 2 weeks ago, these agreements are a series of new measures taken by Moscow to reinforce its transport facilities in support of Soviet troops stationing in Afghanistan.

Captives Transferred

OW290834 Beijing XINHUA in English 0754 GMT 29 May 82

[Text] Geneva, 28 May (XINHUA)--Three Soviet militarymen, who had been captured by the Afghan resistance fighters after the Soviet invasion of the country, were transferred to Switzerland this morning, according to a press communique issued by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) here today.

The communique says that the ICRC "has negotiated, organized and assured their transit through Pakistani territory and transfer to Switzerland." "It is on the request of the ICRC that the Swiss authorities have accepted to keep the Soviets temporarily under their responsibility, with all those concerned having given their agreement to this procedure," the press communique notes.

The Swiss News Agency ATS said today that the three Soviet militarymen will be kept in Switzerland for a maximum duration of 2 years. They could be freed earlier if a cease-fire could be concluded between the Soviet Union and the

Afghan resistance movement, the ATS report added. ATS quoted a spokesman of the Swiss Foreign Ministry as saying that some more Soviet prisoners of [the] war will be transferred to Switzerland in the near future. The spokesman made it clear that this transfer is not an eventual exchange of war prisoners between the Soviet Union and the Afghan resistance fighters. These three Soviets will be "guarded temporarily" in Switzerland, and they are not kept in a Swiss prison, he added. The whereabouts of the three Soviets are being kept secret.

Losses on USSR Forces

OW302146 Beijing XINHUA in English 1623 GMT 30 May 82

[Text] Islamabad, 30 May (XINHUA)--The Soviet-Karmal troops have launched their biggest offensive in the strategic Panjsher Valley on 20 May but have since sustained heavy losses in men and materials.

Burhanuddin Rabbani, chairman of the defense committee of an alliance of resistance forces, said yesterday that in their defense of the valley, Afghan guerrillas killed hundreds of Soviet-Afghan troops, shot down about 20 aircraft and destroyed dozens of tanks and military vehicles.

The agency Afghan press reported today that on 20 May large numbers of Soviet-Karmal infantry forces and tanks advanced towards the valley through Jabalos Saraj under the cover of helicopter gunships. The Karmal troops were commanded by Defense Minister General Abdul Qadir. Divided into three groups, they entered the Panjsher from Rukheh. Having received the information in advance, the guerrillas allowed the Soviet-Afghan forces to penetrate deep into the valley and then surprised them with powerful attacks. They exploded ammunition stocks in the mountains and killed enemies with huge boulders rolling down to the road from mountain slopes on both sides of the road. Many tanks were destroyed by mines laid by Muslim guerrillas in Rukheh and Bazarak.

Fierce fighting was continuing in a number of places, according to reports. The Mojahedin received numerous reinforcements from neighboring provinces during the clashes.

It was also reported that 300 Afghan Government troops surrendered to the guerrillas and some 300 freedom fighters and civilians were killed in bombings.

The Panjsher is a guerrilla stronghold of strategic importance with its southern tip situated about 80 kilometers north of the capital Kabul and its mouth close to the trunk supply route between Kabul and the Soviet Union. The Soviet and Afghan Government troops had made several attempts to gain control of this area but failed.

CSO: 4000/131

BRIEFS

AGGRESSION AGAINST SEYCHELLES CONDEMNED--United Nations, 28 May (XINHUA)--The Security Council in a resolution unanimously adopted this evening strongly condemns the South Africa-engineered mercenary aggression of 25 November last year against Seychelles and decides to establish a special fund for Seychelles. The resolution condmens all forms of external interference in the internal affairs of member states, including the use of mercenaries to destabilize states and/or to violate the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of states. The council appeals to all states and international organizations, including the United nations specialized agencies, to assist Seychelles to repair the damage caused by the aggression by making voluntary contributions to the special fund. Speaking to the Security Council, Chinese permanent representative Ling Qing strongly condemned the facist regime of South Africa for its heinous conduct. He reiterated that "the Chinese Government and people firmly support the just struggle of the African countries and peoples to defend their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity." [Text] [OW290732 Beijing XINHUA in English 0704 GMT 29 May 82]

ARMS, SUPPLIES TO IRAQ--Kuwait, 27 May (XINHUA)--Egyptian President Husni Mubarak said that Iran would not push its forces across the border into Iraq because then "the entire Arab situation will change." In an exclusive interview with the Kuwaiti paper Arab TIMES recently, Mubarak said: "Iran opposed the idea of Iraq of occupying its territory. Similarly, on our side, we reject the Iranian entry into Iraqi territory." He said no Egyptian troops had been sent to Iraq to fight the war, but "we have sent arms and supplies." He said that there was a substantial number of Egyptians working in Iraq and some of them may have volunteered there to join the army. But Egypt itself had not sent any troops, he added. Referring to the Iranian demand that the present leadership in Baghdad should be changed, Mubarak said that "it will not be in the interests of the area." Asked about the facilities granted by Egypt to the United States, Mubarak said: "Facilities granted by us to America are temporary and they fall within the framework of our national interests." [Text] [OW271654 Beijing XINHUA in English 1522 GMT 27 May 82]

IRAN-IRAQ WAR--Kuwait, 30 May (XINHUA)--Kuwait today expressed hope that peace would prevail in the Gulf region and continued to make contacts with the ambassadors of big powers here in an effort to find a solution to end the Iraqi-Iranian war. The minister of state for cabinet affairs 'Abd al-Aziz Husayn said Kuwait hopes that the situation in the Gulf region would be relaxed and

that peace and tranquility be restored so that the peoples of the region could devote their energies to development and cooperation. Talking to newsmen, the minister disclosed that the Gulf Cooperation Council has tried in the last 2 weeks to explore means for a settlement of the 21-month old war between Iraq and Iran and that a council emissary has been sent to Iraq, Syria and Algeria. Meanwhile, Foreign Ministry Under-Secretary Rashid al-Rashid today met the ambassadors of France and Britain and the Chinese charge d'affaires ad interim. He met the Soviet ambassador yesterday following another meeting with the Iranian ambassador. He had a similar meeting with the U.S. ambassador here last Thursday. [Text] [OW302154 Beijing XINHUA in English 1843 GMT 30 May 82]

OFFICIAL CONDEMNS ROK, U.S.--Pyongyang, 29 May (XINHUA)--New military provocations committed by U.S. and South Korean troops were exposed by Major General Han Chu-kyong at a Military Armistice Commission meeting held at Panmunjom Friday. The senior member of the Korean-Chiense side said at the meeting that the U.S. troops had repeatedly sent SR-71 high-speed high-altitude reconnaissance planes to violate the Eastern and Western territorial space of the northern part. On 12 May, a South Korean helicopter flew over the Military Demarcation Line for reconnaissance. On 15 May, two South Korean naval vessels invaded the Eastern Sea area of the northern part. Two days later, South Korean troops attacked patrolling police of the northern part and fired 12,000 gunshots and bombs. Han Chu-kyong noted that from 1 May to 24, the U.S. and South Korean troops committed 1,570 cases of violation against the armistice agreement. He stressed that these violations had increased the tension in Korea and created a dangerous situation which might lead to an armed conflict between the two sides. He demanded the U.S. and South Korean troops adopt practical measures against the recurrence of similar incidents. [Text] [OW291616 Beijing XINHUA in English 1522 GMT 29 May 82]

'NO-WAR PACT' TALKS--Islamabad, 1 June (XINHUA)--Pakistan and India will resume discussions on no-war pact on the basis of the understandings reached between the two foreign ministers in New Delhi in February last. This decision was made at a meeting held here today between Pakistan Secretary General of Foreign Affairs S. Shahnawaz and Indian Secretary of External Affairs Kanwar Natwar Singh, according to an official press release. During the meeting, they discussed a variety of subjects relating to bilateral and regional matters. The second round of talks on no-war pact between Pakistan and India was scheduled to be held in March. India, however, postponed the talks to show its dissatisfaction at the mention of the Kashmir issue by Pakistan at the human rights commission. Yesterday, Mr K. Natwar Singh delivered a letter from Indian Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi to Pakistan President Mohammad Ziaul Haq. It was reported that the letter is about resumption of talks between the two countries. [Text] [OW012130 Beijing XINHUA in English 1933 GMT 1 Jun 82]

NDJAMENA CONTROLLED--Beijing, 8 June (XINHUA)--The armed forces of the former Chadian Defense Minister Hissene Habre yesterday seized control of Ndjamena, capital of the country, according to Western news agencies. These armed forces, who eliminated the last obstacle in their march to Ndjamena on 5 June by capturing the town of Massaguet, moved in at dawn and had gained complete control of the capital by 8 A.M. yesterday. Forces of the Chadian President Goukouni

Oueddei whose whereabouts were unknown, offered little resistance. Under the mediation of the organization of African unity all factions in the country realized ceasefire and a transitional government of national unity was formed in 1979 with Goukouni as president and Habre as defense minister. But soon afterwards the government divided and fighting among factions broke out again.

CSO: 4000/138

LIU'S 'ON INNER PARTY STRUGGLE' PRAISED

Harbin XUELILUN [STUDY THEORY] in Chinese No 2, 1982 pp 10-11

[Article by Guan Qi [7070 3823]: "A Valuable Document for Strengthening Party Construction"]

[Text] Volume 1 of the recently published "Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi" is a summary of the party's rich struggle experiences as well as being an important theoretical resource for the CCP and the Chinese people.

"On Inner Party Struggle" is a very important article included in Volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi." It is a lecture delivered by Liu Shaoqi in July of 1941 at the Central Huazhong Bureau Party School. This lecture is regarded as a major document of the 1942 rectification just as are the articles "Reform Our Studies" and "Rectify Party Style" written by Comrade Mao Zedong. It radiates with the brilliance of Marxist thought and is a powerful ideological weapon for strengthening party construction. This article systematically analyzes the socio-historical conditions which produced our party and the erroneous tendencies which exist in inner party struggle, deeply exposes and criticizes the harm of extreme inner party struggle, and brings forth principles for correctly carrying out inner party struggle. The conscientious study of this document and correct development of inner party struggle has important significance for our present resolute implementation of the party's lines and general and specific policies since the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee, the conscientious carrying out of the "Criterion for Inner Party Political Life," the strengthening and improvement of party leadership, the handling well of party style, the overcoming of the tendencies of individualism and bourgeois liberalization, the improvement of the party's combat forces and the handling well of material and spiritual civilization construction.

We can only correctly develop inner party struggle if we recognize the nature and aims of inner party struggle. In his "On Inner Party Struggle," Liu Shaoqi clearly points out: "The aim of inner party struggle is to educate the party and to educate those comrades who have make mistakes. Therefore, inner party struggle itself is a type of indispensable inner party education; and inner party education is also a type of inner party struggle, a relatively mild struggle." On the nature of inner party struggle, he points out: "Its essence is still basically a type of ideological struggle..." and further points out that: "It is necessary

to achieve ideological consistency if we are going to uphold and strengthen consistency in inner party politics, organization and actions. Only after resolving problems in ideology and guiding principles can we resolve organizational and action problems." The lecture further says that the aim of inner party struggle "is to strengthen party organization and unity, to raise party discipline and prestige and promote the carrying out of party work," so that inner party struggle can become "a motivating force in promoting our party's progress." These statements coincide with the scientific discourses of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and are powerful weapons to guide us in correctly carrying out inner party struggle. However, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" made unwarranted charges against these correct discourses. They advocated that inner party struggle is a line struggle, that is, a life and death class struggle. To obstinately start a battle of one class overthrowing another class within the party and using fascist means to struggle against the enemy basically distorted the aims of inner party struggle and changed the nature of inner party struggle, causing the party to suffer severe losses during 10 years of chaos.

To correctly carry out inner party struggle, it is necessary to be adept at struggling against two types of deviations. Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out: "Inner party struggle must also be carried out in two areas and must be carried out on two fronts." This is because: "Non-proletarian ideology influences the party from two areas for it attacks the party from either the left or the right...."

"If we only struggle in a single area and if we neglect the warnings of any one area, non-proletarian ideology can and certainly will attack the party from the area which we neglected. Then we will not be able to preserve the purity and independence of the party nor be able to sgrengthen the party." These discourses by Comrade Liu Shaoqi are a scientific summary of the experiences of the anti-deviation struggle within the party. When related to the history of inner party struggle after the founding of the PRC, we feel that these discourses are extremely valuable. It is regrettable that after the three major reforms were basically completed, the anti-deviation struggle within the party deviated from this correct ideology. After 1957, inner party struggle only allowed anti-right but not anti-left deviations, tending to struggle in only one area. After the founding of the PRC, there were originally rightist mistakes as well as leftist mistakes in our leadership work. Yet, because we only opposed the right and not the left we often opposed correct things as being "rightist" to the extent that the more we opposed the more left we were. In this way, there was no regard for the truth and the results were in blind opposition to the right, or what Comrade Liu Shaoqi said will "cause the enemy to attack us from an area we neglected." Looking back on the inner party struggles during the 10 years of chaos, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" used our anti-deviation struggle tendencies to wantonly carry out their counter-revolutionary movement to usurp the party and seize power by our neglect of this one area. This shows that Comrade Liu Shaoqi's thought on combating these two types of deviations has great guiding significance on how to correctly carry out inner party struggle. With the convening of the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Committee, the party had completed the historical task of returning to the correct path in guiding ideology. Yet, we should also see that the present erroneous ideological influences and social ideological trends of bourgeois liberalization exist objectively and are harmful to our socialist endeavors. We

must carry out struggle on two fronts, and to adopt a policy of nonrecognition or a policy of noninterference for any one area is not acceptable. Moreover, as Comrade Liu Shaoqi said, struggles on two fronts complement each other.

To correctly develop inner party struggle, it is necessary to oppose "going too far" as well as "not going far enough." Comrade Liu Shaoqi considered that "appropriate criticism, appropriate behavior and style, and opposition to 'going too far' and 'not going far enough' are methods we should adopt in inner party struggle." Comrade Liu Shaoqi, beginning from an analysis of the special conditions and circumstances of the establishment period of our party, pointed out: "On the one hand, if we start to establish a Lenin-style Chinese Communist Party and subjectively and seriously follow Lenin's principles, as soon as this party is started there will be serious self-criticism and inner party struggle. This is the motivating force which pushes our party forward... Yet, on the other hand, if we cause our party's comrades to often go to another extreme and commit another mistake, this will cause our inner party struggle to be carried too far and the struggle will be too fierce..." "This is an especially serious tendency in China's party." The chaotic inner party struggles of 10 years were brutal and merciless phenomena which proved that the discourse by Comrade Liu Shaoqi [illegible] scientific and accurate.

In addition to analyzing the class origins and social origins of the excessive struggles so easily produced by our party, Comrade Liu Shaoqi also wrote a vivid and pointed summary of the various manifestations of the excessive struggles within the party. Here he pointed out that some comrades considered that the fiercer the inner party struggle the better. They considered that the more serious the questions raised the better, the more errors collected about others the better, the more hats we let others wear the better, the more biting the criticism the better, and the more stern and coarse the criticism and struggle the better--the louder the speaking voice, the fiercer the face and the longer the teeth that are exposed the better. These were considered the "most revolutionary." Comrade Liu Shaoqi considered that the disastrous effects of using this style of struggle against the enemy and the excessive struggle method of brutally punishing comrades "fostered the patriarchal system; fostered the development of extreme democracy and liberalism; affected the normal democratic life within the party; fostered the development of factionalism within the party; gave Trotskyite counter-revolutionary elements even greater opportunities to destroy the party...." "On Inner Party Struggle" is based on the conditions of the time and the discourse focuses on the reasons giving rise to mechanical, overzealous struggle, as well as the forms this will take and the harm that will result, etc. Yet, it also makes mention of overcoming the problems of liberalism and compromiseism within the party. Its basic thought is that both "going too far" and "not going far enough" are intolerable. This thought has important guiding significance for conscientiously developing criticism and self-criticism, overcoming various erroneous tendencies, and especially for correctly and forcefully criticizing and carrying out the necessary struggle against liberalization tendencies, according to the present demands of the Party Central Committee. In correcting the "leftist" tendencies in inner party struggle, we must pay attention to overcoming the tendencies to abhor criticism and struggle and not be willing, not be adept at and not daring to

develop criticism and struggle. Comrade Liu Shaoqi's discourse is very valuable for dealing with the problems of how to correctly develop criticism and self-criticism and how to normalize, make scientific and martialize criticism and self-criticism. Present points of emphasis in party work have shifted and the subject of national political life is the correct handling of contradictions among the people. The contents, styles and methods of inner party struggle are somewhat different from those of the period which took class struggle as primary. Therefore, Comrade Liu Shaoqi's discourse on how to develop good criticism and self-criticism has even greater significance for the present strengthening and improving of party leadership.

9480
CSO: 4005/715

REGIONAL COMMENTARY ON ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM

Shenyang Cadres Retire

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Apr 82 p 1

[Article by LIAONING RIBAO correspondent Zhang Yujie [1728 3768 3381]: "Over 700 Old Cadres in Shenyang Municipality Retire From Their Leading Posts"]

[Text] Recently, more than 700 old cadres in Shenyang Municipality voluntarily resigned one after another from their leading posts in bureaus, companies and large enterprises. Of these old cadres, some have retired or taken leave from office and others have withdrawn to the second or third line of duty as counselors. In an effort to make these old comrades happy upon their departure from their leading posts, the Shenyang Municipal CCP Committee has made proper arrangements for them to receive full costs of living benefits and to continue to enjoy full popular respect for their political status.

Most of these old comrades joined the revolution before the founding of the PRC. Because of old age and poor health, they can no longer carry on their regular official duty as usual. Nor can they do whatever they wish, because they lack professional knowledge. Mindful of the long-term national interest, and of the need to replace the old elements of their leading bodies as quickly as possible, they have given up their positions of their own volition, so that robust middle-aged and younger cadres with specific professional knowledge can be appointed to the leading posts. In October 1981, when seven deputy directors of the Shenyang Metallurgical Plant, including Liu Baoxiang [0491 1405 4382], were permitted to retire to the second or third line of duty, three younger cadres were selected and appointed to the leading posts in the plant. Tan Futao [6223 1381 3447] who was former director of the Zinc Metallurgical Workshop of the plant, graduated from college in 1963. After becoming one of its deputy directors, he has moved quickly to acquaint himself, and come to grips with his new assignment. In the course of resettling the retired old cadres, the Shenyang Municipal Party Committee has acted conscientiously according to the policy and persisted in doing a meticulous ideological work among them. The committee has formulated and put into effect relevant regulations and appointed special agencies and personnel for taking care of those old cadres who have difficulties in eking out a living, and for enabling them to spend the rest of their lives in a sense of security and to do whatever they wish.

Cadre Reform

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 12 Apr 82 p 1

[Article: "Task for the Implementation of the Cadre Policy in Jiangsu Produces Fruitful Results"]

[Text] Following 4 years of efforts to implement the cadre policy, remarkable successes have been scored by our province in rehabilitating and exonerating those who were unjustly and falsely charged and wrongly sentenced to prison terms during the "Great Cultural Revolution."

So far, party organizations at all levels throughout the province have completed a reinvestigation or review of cases involving nearly 100,000 nonproductive cadres and 200,000 basic level cadres and party members associated with production, who were investigated during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Basically, those who were unjustly and falsely charged and wrongly sentenced have been rehabilitated and exonerated. Cases misjudged as in the nature of contradictions between ourselves and the enemy have been corrected. Party membership and public service positions have been restored to those victims who were expelled from the party and dismissed from public office as a result of miscarriage of justice. Before the reinvestigation, jobs were not available to more than 7,000 cadres throughout the province. After the reinvestigation, the overwhelming majority of those who are capable of going to work have been reappointed to suitable positions. The victims who were persecuted and tortured to death during the "Cultural Revolution" have been posthumously rehabilitated and exonerated, and their good names restored. Various records on their investigation, accumulated during the "Cultural Revolution," have been sorted out and destroyed in accordance with the relevant regulations. Meanwhile, efforts have been made to solve remnant problems connected with the "struggle against the rightists," the "four-clean" campaign and other political movements.

The rehabilitation and exoneration of the victims of unjust and wrong verdicts and frame-up charges, and the implementation of the cadre policy have relieved hundreds of thousands of people throughout the province of their political burdens, and have freed a large number of their family members and relatives involved and implicated in such cases from worry and apprehension. Their present mood is one of excitement and indescribable jubilance. Some have written letters and composed poems extolling the wisdom and greatness of the party, and some have gathered their families together for a celebration. They are determined to work harder than ever for the party and the people with a cheerful spirit, to play an active role in enhancing the four modernizations program, and to respond to concern showered upon them by the party with practical action. The implementation of this cadre policy has proved extremely instrumental in bringing order out of chaos, and in eliminating the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the long standing "leftist" influence. It has also been instrumental in restoring and carrying forward the party's excellent tradition and workstyle, in raising its prestige, in improving and strengthening its leadership, and in stimulating the enthusiasm of the broad masses of cadres and people for

enhancing the building of our material civilization and spiritual civilization. An investigation conducted by 22 units in Suzhou Municipality shows that of over 4,000 cadres who were rehabilitated in accordance with a relevant policy, 589 have been named advanced workers (advanced producers) and model workers for their outstanding performances in various posts; 282 have become professors, associate professors, engineers and leading cadres at all levels as a result of promotion; 18 have been presented with awards for their achievements in science and technology.

The reason that there have been great successes in the implementation of the cadre policy by our province should be attributed mainly to party organizations at all levels, which, under the leadership of the Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee, have made conscientious efforts to implement the line, principles, and policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, as well as the guidelines of instructions issued by the provincial party committee. Credit for such successes should also go to leading bodies and all party members for taking the initiative to investigate the cases, and for proposing to enter the rehabilitation and exoneration of the victims of unjust and wrong verdicts and frame-up charges and the implementation of the cadre policy as an important item on their agenda. More than 10,000 comrades of strong party character who are capable of practicing decent workstyle and doing justice to all, and who know policy matters well, have been selected from all over the province to form cadre reinvestigation agencies at all levels so that they can conscientiously proceed with the work of investigation and rechecking. They have made extensive efforts to review and recheck several times those cases which have already been reinvestigated and have returned to investigators unsatisfactory work that needs additional efforts to straighten it out, in order to ensure that justice will be done. Provincial, prefectural, and municipal authorities have provided funds as a necessary material guarantee for the implementation of the cadre policy, and for units in charge of its implementation to move forward smoothly along sound lines.

Although the task for the implementation of the cadre policy aimed at rehabilitating and exonerating those who were unjustly and falsely charged and wrongly sentenced in our province during the "Cultural Revolution" has been remarkably successful, much more needs to be done in this direction. At present, in response to the demands of the Central Committee and the Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee, party committees at all other levels have taken effective measures and made vigorous efforts to overcome their own weaknesses in this respect so that they can get this work off to a good start and bring it to a successful conclusion. This means that effective measures must be taken to process and solve all cases of unjust and wrong verdicts and frame-up charges.

9574
CSO: 4005/849

EXCERPTS FROM LIAONING PEOPLE'S CONGRESS WORK REPORT

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 14 Mar 82 p 2

[Article by Zhang Qingtai [1728 1987 3141], vice director of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Representative Congress: "Work Report of the Standing Committee of the Liaoning People's Representative Congress (Excerpts)--From the Fourth Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Representative Congress, 7 March 1982"]

[Text] Representatives:

Since the third session of the Fifth Provincial People's Representative Congress, the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress has thoroughly carried out the party's principles of furthering economic readjustment and furthering political stability and, in accordance with the tasks laid down by the third session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress, has engaged in work which has had a positive effect in promoting and hastening the development of each of the tasks of our province.

I.

Legislation is an important task of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress. After the close of the third session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress, the Standing Committee, along with the provincial people's government, made plans to set up local economic regulations. Thereafter, several drafts of economic regulations were composed, some of which, after being repeatedly discussed and revised, have already been approved and have been put into effect.

1. On the Strengthening of River Management

For many years now, river management in certain areas of our province has been chaotic. Some units placed large obstructions in the main river channels without authorization, causing some dangerous sections of dikes and embankments to fail suddenly and leading to flooding, with serious results. In order to improve the situation, at the 10th session of the Standing Committee in July of last year, the "Liaoning Provisional River Management Regulations" were approved and widely publicized by means of newspapers, radio and the distribution and posting of printed announcements, thus strengthening the leadership of river management work.

The Water Conservance Department, public security and judicial agencies and other departments involved are working together closely to manage and renovate riverbeds and dikes in accordance with the law, to deal with certain cases of damage to river works, and to see to it that incidents of obstruction and sabotage of river management are reduced.

2. On the Strengthening of Land Management

Incidents of careless abuse and waste of land in our province are quite severe. In view of this situation, the Standing Committee and the departments concerned summarized their land management experiences, researched the new situation that has arisen and, on the foundation of past land management regulations, had the "Liaoning Provisional Land Management Regulations" examined and approved by the 12th session of the Standing Committee. These regulations take into consideration the interests of the state, the collective and the individual and further clarify matters such as the rights to the land and state commandeering of land for construction, land for rural commune and team construction and commune member housing construction, and related methods of punishment and reward.

3. On the Problem of Managing Prices

The 12th session of the Standing Committee examined and approved the "Liaoning Trial Regulations on Price Management." These regulations establish clearer rules governing the separation of price management jurisdictions and price setting and management principles for establishing and adjusting prices of goods and services. At the end of last year, after the state decided to raise the price of tobacco and wine, a small number of units took the opportunity to raise their prices, sometimes in disguised form. In order to stabilize market prices, the Standing Committee also passed a resolution calling on people's representatives in the province to participate in price inspections. After the resolution was announced, numerous representatives actively took part in price inspection work, discovering and correcting certain willful and disguised forms of price raising.

4. On the Management of Housing Property in Towns and Cities

The "Liaoning Provisional Regulations Concerning Housing Property Management in Towns and Cities," approved by the Standing Committee, has stipulations regarding the management of publicly and privately owned housing and the movement of housing. This has positive significance with regard to implementing the state policy on housing property, strengthening the management of housing property in the cities and towns of our province in accordance with the law, stabilizing property rights and promoting the construction of housing.

At the same time that legislation was strengthened, the Standing Committee also carried out an investigation of the situation regarding how well the previously established rules and regulations were being implemented. Going through this investigation and understanding the problems encountered in the course of carrying out regulations constituted the first step in summarizing our experiences. This will be of great benefit in more scientifically and thoroughly establishing local regulations in all areas in the future.

II.

For a year now, the Standing Committee of the People's Congress has heard and considered related reports by the provincial people's government and the provincial courts and procuratorates, and has made appropriate resolutions and decisions regarding certain work.

In order to maintain and develop a stable and unified political situation, to consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship, and to hasted a turn for the better in social customs and social order, the 10th session of the Standing Committee established and passed "Regulations for Strengthening Several Areas Concerning the Education of Youths" and "Regulations for Correcting Various Problems in Education Through Labor Work," and brought up requirements for the further strengthening of youth education and the work of juvenile delinquent reform. At present, the problem of juvenile crime in our province remains striking. In the past, a lot of crime was committed by the dregs of the old society. Now, most are cases of young workers, commune members and students who are following a mistaken path, always as a result of the pernicious influence of the "gang of four." Because of this, we continue to hurt others and to be hurt by others. We must "educate, reform and redeem" those youths who have stumbled. Reform by means of labor and education through labor units should seriously implement the principle of "reform first, production second"; they cannot onesidedly stress production and slight reform. We should strictly educate criminals and those being educated through labor, but we must exercise civilized control, and we absolutely cannot engage in violent behavior. In light of the "Decision on the Question of Time Limits for the Handling of Criminal Cases" passed by the 12th session of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the Standing Committee also examined the suggestions of the provincial people's procuratorate and the high-level people's courts concerning the time limits for handling criminal cases and made corresponding decisions, permitting extentions in the handling of certain cases in order to promote higher quality case management.

The Standing Committee also heard and considered reports on the provincial people's government's work on technology, its finance and budget situation, its situation with regard to implementing national economic plans, and its work on price control, energy conservation, child care, education and reform of youths who have stumbled, and support for the military and preferential treatment for the families of deceased servicemen. And it heard and considered a report by the provincial people's procuratorate concerning economic procuratorial work. Following serious discussions, it passed appropriate resolutions regarding related problems. The Standing Committee carried out research and surveys of problems that presently exist in society to one degree or another, such as interference with [the right to] free marriage, the extortion of property from in-laws, rash marriages, abuse of women, hasty divorces, and extravagant weddings, and in a timely fashion it drew up the "Resolution on Several Problems Concerning the Implementation of the 'Marriage Code'." The regulations established and the resolutions passed by the Standing Committee have played an active role in preserving social order, changing social customs, and hastening the construction of material civilization and spiritual civilization in our province.

III.

Strengthening the building of socialist democracy is an important task of the Standing Committee of the People's Congress. Direct elections at the county level are an important first step in constructing socialist democracy. The work of our province concerning direct elections at the county level was fully set in motion in 1980, and by the end of February last year, 89 county-level units throughout the province had already fully completed their work. At the same time, the election work of 1,843 communes and towns (markets) throughout the province was concluded. The successful completion of this item of work has taken our province a big step forward in its development of socialist democracy and perfection of the people's representative congressional system.

In the past year, in accordance with the law, the Standing Committee appointed or dismissed 6,413 employees of state organs. In appointing and dismissing personnel, it gave consideration to the requirement that cadres be revolutionary, youthful, knowledgeable and specialized. The 13th session of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress passed the "Liaoning People's Representative Congress Standing Committee Provisional Procedures for Appointing and Dismissing Personnel."

IV.

Inspection by organizational work committee personnel is an important part of the work of the Standing Committee. Last year, the Standing Committee organized organizational work committee members, representatives of the Provincial People's Representative Congress, and those in charge of related departments of the provincial people's government into groups led by responsible members of the Standing Committee to carry out a number of inspections of the major conditions of river management, education through labor units and market price controls in our province. For a year now, the Standing Committee has focused on establishing local regulations, discussing and deciding on problems, putting together standing committees for municipal and county people's congresses, and carrying out surveys and research on the conditions surrounding the implementation of industrial readjustment, mineral resource management, water resource management, price control, systems of responsibility in agricultural production, land management, universal elementary education, birth control, educational reform of juvenile offenders, the "Marriage Code," etc. Special reports were written on some of these problems. These surveys will not only serve the function of hastening and checking certain work, but will also help keep the Standing Committee abreast of conditions.

V.

After the last congress, in addition to approving a "Congressional Journal" and circulating notices to keep the representatives informed at all times of the resolutions passed, of the local regulations established, of the particulars of personnel appointments and dismissals that had been approved, and of the work reports that had been heard, the Standing Committee sent government personnel to interview representatives and solicit opinions. In the past year, the Standing Committee has received a total of 299 letters from representatives. It has already dealt individually with the problems expressed and the opinions raised and

has informed the representatives of the results by return mail. Many representatives, each from his own position, have combined their own duties with promoting the laws, regulations, and policies of the state, expressing the opinions and demands of the masses, assisting the government in its promotional work, and better fostering the model leader role of people's representatives. The Standing Committee has also handled 1,095 letters from the masses and received a number of visitors. During the third session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress, the representatives made a total of 367 motions. Up to the end of December last year, all of the proposals had been dealt with individually, and in each case the results were printed up and distributed to the representatives.

VI.

The Standing Committee complied with the demands of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and arranged for members of provincial, municipal and county judicial agencies and related departments, comrades in charge of institutes of higher learning, and experts, scholars and professional cadres to discuss the draft (the third) of the civil code and of the civil appellate code of the PRC, and solicited criticism. It also, together with related departments, held forums and discussion meetings to widely solicit criticisms of the economic contract code (trial draft) and the state-run plant laws (trial draft). And in a timely way it reported to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress the opinions and suggestions that had been raised concerning the respective codes during the discussions.

In May of last year, the Standing Committee held 10 municipal and 22 county (prefectural) forums involving responsible persons from the Standing Committee of the People's Congress and those in charge of two public administrative offices in order to exchange information and experiences, to discuss problems encountered in the course of work, and to suggest solutions. The Standing Committee also decided on a number of channels to use in circulating work information and experiences, such as publishing an "Information Exchange" and exchanging the "Congressional Journal" with municipalities and counties (prefectures).

All of these work situations make it clear that we must thoroughly implement the system of democratic centralism. The people's representative congresses and the standing committees must be good at repeatedly researching, embellishing and organizing the scattered and unsystematic opinions of the masses and seeint to it that they become organized, systematic ideas which, after being fixed in the form of laws, decrees, regulations, resolutions or decisions, are thoroughly implemented by the broad cadres, workers and masses on every front and in every department. Of course, in the course of implementation we must still meet the test of practice, listen to the opinions of the masses, carry out promotion and make explanations whenever necessary, and be prepared at all times to carry out needed supplemental revisions.

In the past year, the Standing Committee has worked on and achieved a number of things. But the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress is a new organ, and its work is still at the stage of feeling its way--a number of faults and problems still exist. In 2 years, 12 local regulations were passed. But there

has been a lack of timely inspection and supervised followup in the implementation of regulations. And there have not been enough forceful solutions of problems discovered during inspections. Although we have conducted surveys and research in the past year, some surveys have lacked depth--failing in particular to reach basic levels--and the work of directly interviewing representatives cannot yet be done well. We hope that every representative will offer constructive criticism of the shortcomings and mistakes in our work so that the work of the Standing Committee can be better performed.

The major work of the Standing Committee this year involved further implementing the resolutions of the Sixth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, implementing the spirit of the Fourth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress and of the important speech of Comrade Hu Yaobang during his inspection of Liaoning, the larger strides made in tightly focusing on further construction of a socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization in our province, and actively launching all items of work. After the draft of the revised constitution is released, we must do a good job of organizing study and discussion and eventually incorporate the opinions and suggestions from the discussion. We must further strengthen local legislative work and, along with related departments of the provincial people's government, focus on strengthening the construction of a material civilization and spiritual civilization, and we must firmly grasp the establishment of regulations on the preservation of resources, on environmental protection and on sanitation management. At present, we must pay attention to summarizing the experiences that the masses have had in adopting a self-instructional style of establishing rural regulations and people's agreements during the "five stresses and four points of beauty" campaign, seeing to it that such experiences are improved on and gradually expanded. We must hear and consider in a planned and focused way the reports of concerned departments of the provincial people's government. We must supervise and inspect the circumstances surrounding the implementation of the regulations promulgated by the state and the localities. We must supervise the strict handling of serious criminal cases--in the economic area and in other areas--by public security and judicial departments, with emphasis on inspecting the manner in which important cases are dealt with. We must go further in organizing inspections by committee members, realistically strengthen our ties with representatives and our ties with standing committees of municipal and county (prefectural) people's congresses, and see to it that the work of the standing committees of the local people's congresses this year develops further.

Representatives: In constructing the "two civilizations," the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress shoulders an important task, and the masses have high expectations of us. We must arouse our spirits, increase our confidence and, in common cause with all the people of our province, struggle hard to achieve even greater developments in the construction of a socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization in our province!

9705
CSO: 4005/719

PARTY AND STATE

EXCERPTS FROM LIAONING PCC STANDING COMMITTEE WORK REPORT

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 14 Mar 82 p 2

[Article by Lu Guangji [4151 1639 4921], vice chairman of the Provincial Political Consultative Conference: "Work Report of the Standing Committee of the Provincial Political Consultative Conference (Excerpts)--From the Fourth Session of the Fourth Provincial Political Consultative Conference, 3 March 1982"]

[Text] Committee Members:

For a year now, under the leadership of the Liaoning CCP Committee, the Liaoning Political Consultative Conference has made positive contributions in the areas of hastening stability and unity, construction of the four modernizations, and the return of Taiwan to the motherland. The work of each democratic party and association of industry and commerce is more and more showing positive results. The committee members of the Political Consultative Conference and patriots from all areas are full of patriotic enthusiasm and vigorous revolutionary spirit, and are fully confident of completing the three great tasks of the 1980's. The patriotic united front in our province has been further consolidated and developed, and appears to be flourishing.

Standing Committee Meetings Were Held, and Other Political Consultative Activities Were Carried Out.

In the past year, we have held five Standing Committee and (enlarged) Standing Committee sessions. The 15th session of the Standing Committee heard and discussed important matters such as social order, technology, and child care work. The 16th session of the Standing Committee sutdied the bulletin of the Sixth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," passing on the spirit of the fourth assembly session of the Fifth Liaoning CCP Committee. The 17th session of the (enlarged) Standing Committee studied the important speech delivered by Comrade Hu Yaobang during his inspection of work in our province and our province's work plans for this winter and next spring. The 18th session of the (enlarged) Standing Committee transmitted and implemented the spirit of the Fourth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress and the Fourth Session of the Fifth National Political Consultative Conference, heard and discussed reports on our province's economic readjustment and agricultural situations, and ended by writing

the "Resolution on Study of the Implementation of the Spirit of the Fourth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress and the Fourth Session of the Fifth National Political Consultative Conference." The 19th session of the Standing Committee discussed and decided matters concerning the convening of the fourth session of the Fourth Liaoning Political Consultative Conference. In the aforementioned sessions, everyone involved focused attention on consulting on and discussing important problems in our province and on offering pertinent criticisms and helpful suggestions concerning certain problems related to the construction of our four modernizations.

We also focused on matters such as problems connected with worker retirement and resignation, our province's fiscal income and expenditures situation and the question of issuing treasury bills, prices and the market supply situation, and the creation of employment opportunities and arrangements for unemployed youths. We invited the leaders of related departments to introduce their situations, carry out discussions, and make suggestions to the Shenyang Standing Committee and committee members.

Activities Commemorating the 70th Anniversary of the Xinhai Revolution of 1911 Were Solemnly Held.

In order to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Xinhai Revolution, under the leadership of the Liaoning CCP Committee se set up a preparatory committee to arrange a provincial commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the Xinhai Revolution and established plans for commemorative activities. We held a series of commemorative activities, including commemorative rallies, tea parties, lectures and symposiums. During this period we also organized departments and individuals concerned to write and publish articles, books, newspaper stories and radio and television materials to commemorate the Xinhai Revolution, carrying out widespread promotion and producing important political effects.

Activities To Realize the Great Task of Reunification by Returning Taiwan to the Motherland Were Actively Pursued.

The same afternoon that Committee Chairman Ye Jianying gave his talk on the nine-point policy for returning Taiwan to the motherland and realizing peaceful reunification, this committee held a study forum for vice chairmen of the party, that portion of the Standing Committee in Shenyang, and the leaders of every democratic party. Unanimously and enthusiastically supporting the nine-point suggestion of Committee Chairman Ye Jianying, we arranged on many occasions for Taiwan compatriots, the relatives of those who went to Taiwan and rebels to study the spirit of the talk by Committee Chairman Ye Jianying and the speech by Chairman Hu Yaobang; invited comrades who have returned from Taiwan and settled on the mainland to talk about some of the conditions on Taiwan; and further strengthened our propaganda work regarding Taiwan. In September of last year, the Provincial Political Consultative Conference held a tea party for Huang Zhicheng [7806 2784 6134], the former Kuomintang Air Force major and flight inspector who rebelled by flying his plane back to the mainland. Warm support for his patriotic actions was expressed, and it was hoped that reunification of the motherland would be realized soon. The

Provincial Political Consultative Conference and the united front unit of the Provincial CCP Committee jointly convened a forum for representatives of all workers from Taiwan throughout the province so that they could study the principles and policies concerning the Taiwan matter, discuss problems in realizing the policies and exchange typical experiences in serving the construction of the four modernizations.

Important Documents of the Central Committee of the CCP and the Spirit of the "Resolution" of the Sixth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee Were Seriously Studied.

The stress in the first half of 1981 was on studying the documents of the work conferences of the Central Committee of the CCP and then, after the Party Central Committee had held the Sixth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, on taking the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" to be the focus in combining study of Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party and his speech during his inspection of work in our province. Through study, everyone understood the far-reaching significance of the tremendous policy decisions made by the Party Central Committee with regard to further economic readjustment and further political stability. In regard to gaining a clearer understanding of the rights and wrongs and the great accomplishments in the 32 years since the founding of the nation, we further clarified the historic position of Comrade Mao Zedong and the guiding role of Mao Zedong Thought in the Chinese revolution. Everyone also became aware of the great need to get a handle on the problems on the ideological battlefront that have been raised by the Party Central Committee, to solve the weak and disorganized condition of ideological and political work, and to criticize tendencies toward bourgeois liberalization that depart from the leadership of the party.

By way of supplemental study, the study committee of the Provincial Political Consultative Conference also arranged more than 10 large-scale guidance lectures on economic theory, economic readjustment, construction of the four modernizations, market situations, international information, criticism of the mistaken tendencies in "Unrequited Love," and so forth. It also organized on-site inspection activities related to questions about systems of responsibility in agricultural production, and in a timely way it edited and printed "Study Materials."

Survey and Research Activities of Work Groups Were Further Developed.

In the past year, a total of 27 lectures, forums, commemorative meetings, and get-togethers were held; 8 on-site inspection and specialized survey activities were organized and 6 survey reports written up; and a forum commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birthday of Lu Xun was held. The Industry and Commerce Group of the Provincial Political Consultative Conference and the Industry and Commerce Group of the Shenyang Municipal Political Consultative Conference joined with people's construction and industry and commerce associations of the province and the city in deciding to hold forums, pay individual visits, and uncover materials while carrying out surveys in the three special areas of the adjustment of the electronics industry in Shenyang and the development and adjustment of the commerce

and the food and beverage industries, and to separately make written suggestions that would be given serious consideration by related municipal and provincial departments and leading comrades. The Cultural Group arranged for the vice chairmen of the Political Consultative Conference and the comrades in charge of provincial and municipal bureaus of culture to make on-site inspections of relics in Beizhen, Yixian, Xingcheng and other places, and worked up inspection reports which received the unanimous praise of the governments and the masses in those places. The Legal Group arranged for the vice chairmen of the Political Consultative Conference, the Standing Committee, and party committee members to make on-site inspections of such units as the Masanjia Education Through Labor Facility, the Haicheng Juvenile Delinquent Reformatory, the Dalian Municipal Education Through Labor Facility and work study schools, and offered ideas and suggestions in a report that the Provincial CCP Committee office has already distributed as reference materials for those in related areas throughout the province. The Nationalities Work Group took aim at birth control and culture and education in minority areas and at the problems of reeducation on minority policy, coming up with separate ideas and suggestions which received the serious attention of the leaders of the party and the governments of those areas, with the result that some of the problems were solved in a timely fashion.

Work on Cultural and Historical Materials Was Begun.

In the past year, a total of 160 cultural and historical writings--consisting of 296,000 words--was collected. Among these were 22 historical papers on the revolution, consisting of 102,000 words; also, Volume 6 of the "Collected Cultural and Historical Materials of Liaoning" was published. Work on cultural and historical materials throughout the province was restored or initiated.

Proposals and Letters and Visits from the Masses Have Been Treated Seriously.

In accordance with the ideas raised at the third session of the Fourth Provincial Political Consultative Conference concerning moving ahead with the work of handling proposals, a standing organ of the proposal investigation and management committee was established. In the past year, it has investigated and handled 248 proposals made since the third session of the Fourth Conference, and has individually sent them on to the proper departments to be researched and dealt with. To date, responses have been made to all of them, and they have all been wrapped up. In the past year the committee received 178 letters from people and enthusiastically hosted visits by committee members and the masses. We treated these letters and visits seriously, and some actual policy problems were solved.

Ties With Municipal and County Political Consultative Conferences Were Strengthened.

Last year the Provincial Political Consultative Conference formed two study and survey groups to separately carry out surveys and research in Jinzhou [Municipality] and Tieling Prefecture in order to make preparations for a provincial political consultative work experience exchange conference. We invited comrades in charge of the political consultative conferences of each city to go as nonvoting delegates to attend related conferences convened by the Provincial Political Consultative

Conference, and we entertained those persons from municipal and county political consultative conferences who came to Shenyang to participate in activities--thus further strengthening ties and exchanging experiences.

Committee members: In 1982, in accordance with calls by the CCP Central Committee and arrangements by the Liaoning CCP Committee, we shal forcefully achieve new developments in the construction of a socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization and make the contributions we should make toward achieving a decisive turn for the better in social order, social customs and party style. We must also work hard to develop and expand the patriotic united front and struggle hard to realize the construction of the socialist modernization of our nation, so as to complete the great task of unifying the motherland and to preserve world peace.

Several Ideas on Future Work

1. Further strengthen the roles of political consultation and democratic supervision of the political consultative conferences. We must further mobilize our social strength and closely unite the entire body of committee members with each democratic party, with people's groups, with individuals from every area, and with experts and scholars from all fields in order to consult on and discuss the important principles and policies of the nation and our province, the great problems of concern to the masses, and our united front problems--thus successfully carrying out the affairs of the nation together.

2. Raise high the banner of patriotism and make new contributions to the great task of completing peaceful reunification by returning Taiwan to the motherland. We must mobilize our strength in every area, fully develop the initiative of every democratic party and of individuals from all areas who have no party affiliation, and strengthen the work of propaganda and of forming ties with Taiwan. At the same time, we must assist related departments in implementing policies concerning the compatriots from Taiwan who are living on the mainland as well as policies concerning the relatives of those who went to Taiwan.

3. Strengthen the study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. We must combine study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought with study of the "Historical Resolution," foster the traditional study style of uniting theory and reality, continually draw from Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought the great strength to build a strong modernized nation, and resolutely resist and struggle against the mistaken ideologies which would depart from the socialist path and the leadership of the party, as well as against behavior in the economic realm which violates the law and disrupts discipline. Through study, we must raise our ideological and political awareness and the level of our Marxism-Leninism, and singlemindedly make concerted efforts to continue to forge ahead in the correct direction pointed out by the Party Central Committee.

4. Strengthen the study of the party's united front theory and policy, raise the awareness of the united front, publicize the importance and necessity of the united front in the new period, continue to eliminate the influence of the "left," and further develop united front work. We must study the writings of Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Liu Shaoqi concerning the united front, and [study] the

party's policies since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee. We must fully realize and understand that for a long period, starting now, the united front will possess great vitality and will remain an efficacious weapon of the party. We must pay attention to surveys and research and to matters in the areas of appropriately handling cooperative efforts and coordinating relations. We must resolutely and thoroughly implement the principle of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" between the CCP and the democratic parties, resolutely enforce the political freedom, organizational independence and legal equality of the democratic parties and people's groups that fall within the scope of the rights and duties granted them in the Constitution, and fully develop the initiative and creativity of the democratic parties and related people's groups. We must assist the party and the government in solidly realizing, in the spirit of seeking truth from facts, every item of the party's policy.

5. Continue to carry out survey research and on-site inspection activities--centering on the two great objectives of constructing a material civilization and a spiritual civilization--and actively offer ideas and suggestions to relevant quarters. We must strengthen our ties with municipal and county (prefectural) political people's conferences, exchange work information and experiences with them in all places, and work hard to raise their work standards.

The Political Consultative Conference still has a lot of important work to accomplish, such as the work of collecting and organizing cultural and historical materials, the work of investigating and handling proposals by committee members, the work of handling letters and visits from people, of doing a good job on the "Political Consultative Conference Journal," of strengthening ties with committee members, and so forth, and all of this must be undertaken weriously.

Committee members: The People's Consultative Conference shoulders glorious duties. We must hold high the banners of socialism and patriotism, unite more closely around the Central Committee of the Party, and make even greater contributions, under the leadership of the Liaoning CCP Committee, toward constructing a material civilization and spiritual civilization in Liaoning, and toward realizing the great task of reunifying the motherland by returning Taiwan to the motherland and preserving world peace.

9705
CSO: 4005/719

PARTY AND STATE

LIAONING PROVINCIAL CCPPC RESOLUTION PASSED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 14 Mar 82 p 3

[Article: "The Political Resolution of the Fourth Session of the Fourth Committee of the Liaoning Chinese People's Consultative Conference--Passed on 14 March 1982 by the Fourth Session of the Fourth Conference"]

[Text] The fourth session of the Fourth Committee of the Liaoning Chinese People's Consultative Conference heard and considered the report on the work of the Standing Committee by Vice Chairman Lu Guangji [4151 1639 4921]. The nonbinding fourth session of the Fifth Provincial People's Representative Congress heard and discussed the "Report on the Work of the Government" made by Provincial Governor Chen Puru [7115 3877 1172] and other work reports. The meetings also heard to special reports on united front problems and on the construction of a spiritual civilization, as well as the usual speeches. The meetings elected a chairman of the Provincial Political Consultative Conference and also elected vice chairmen and committee members. They heard the secretary of the Liaoning Provincial CCP Committee, Comrade Chen Puru, speak. Committee members at the sessions focused on the problems of constructing the two civilizations [material and spiritual], held intense discussions, and, with a high degree of political enthusiasm and with the sense of responsibility of being the masters of the state, fully fostered the excellent tradition of democratic consultation, pooled their collective wisdom, freely spoke their minds, and offered numerous constructive ideas and suggestions. They made positive suggestions about how to realize each task raised in the government work reports in order to construct the two civilizations, and they dynamically reflected the flourishing situation of the patriotic united front.

The meetings unanimously endorsed the "Report on the Work of the Government" by Provincial Governor Chen Puru, as well as other work reports. It was felt that for the past year, while taking economic construction to be the central focus, our province has achieved new developments in every construction task, that the national economy has continued to turn for the better, that the political situation has further stabilized, and that the entire situation has gotten better and better. This has been the result of resolutely carrying out the line, principles and policies of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee. At the meetings it was pointed out that although there remain some difficulties and problems in the economic readjustment of our province, it is firmly believed that under the leadership of the Provincial CCP Committee and the provincial people's government, and

with all the peoples of the entire province strengthening their unity, single-mindedly working hard to strengthen the nation, and seriously and thoroughly implementing the spirit of the Sixth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and the Fourth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, the work in Liaoning will certainly see a new breakthrough and there will be greater developments in every aspect of our work.

The meetings held that the tasks of our province in 1982 would be both glorious and arduous and that, in the work of readjusting the national economy, we would have to unswervingly carry out the 10 principles of economic construction--making improvement of economic results the basic point of departure, fully developing the dominance of heavy industry in our province, forcefully developing production in agriculture and light industry, and seeing to it that industrial and agricultural production in our province experiences solid rates of growth.

The meetings held that at the same time that we construct a high-level socialist material civilization, working hard to construct a high-level socialist spiritual civilization remains a basic task facing the entire party and the entire people now and into the future--and one with tremendous practical and far-reaching historical significance. We must actively respond to the calls of the Party Central Committee and the State Council and, becoming closely involved in carrying out the "five stresses and four points of beauty" and the "nationwide civilized manners month" campaigns, display the "three passions of acting as hosts, making new efforts, and cultivating new customs." Many of those at the People's Political Consultative Conference, those in democratic parties and people from all areas possess specialized knowledge, a lot of knowhow, and vast experience, and they understand both the old and the new China. They can play an active role in the construction of a spiritual civilization, using their personal experiences and awareness to conduct ideological education work among those with whom they come into contact--especially those of the younger generation. Political consultative organizations at every level must delve into real life, carry out surveys and research, and in a timely way express their experiences and related problems and assist the party and the government in doing a good job of constructing a spiritual civilization, struggling for clear improvement in social habits and social order, normalizing, systematizing and universalizing the "five stresses and four points of beauty" campaign--seeing to it that its objectives become an excellent custom--and using the construction of a spiritual civilization to promote the development of the construction of a material civilization. We must attack criminal activities in the economic domain. We must assist the party and the government in building new leadership and cadre systems that meet the needs of socialist modernization construction.

The meetings firmly responded to the call of the National People's Congress and actively endorsed the "Resolution on Seriously Carrying Out the Campaign Making It Everyone's Duty To Plant a Tree," as passed by the fourth session of the Fifth Provincial People's Representative Congress. Carrying out this campaign of making it the duty of everyone to plant a tree is a tremendous strategic measure for dealing with land problems, for making our nation green through afforestation, and for improving the ecological environment; it is a great task for building prosperity for our descendants and future generations; and it is an important policy

decision related to the realization of the four modernizations. The meetings requested that people's political consultative conferences, democratic parties and people's groups assist the party and the government in publicizing and promoting the development of this campaign to make the vast land of Liaoning green.

The meetings fervently hoped that Taiwan would soon return to the motherland, in realization of the great task of peaceful reunification. They called on all members of the Political Consultative Conference, each democratic party, every people's group, and patriots of all areas to strengthen their work of promoting and forming ties with Taiwan in light of their actual conditions. In order to seriously implement the nine-point policy proposed by Committee Chairman Ye Jianying concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland and peaceful reunification, and the suggestions made by Chairman Hu Yaobang for realizing the principles contained in this policy, we must make new contributions.

The meetings held that in the new historical period, a united front is still an important powerful weapon in our constructing a strong socialist state. The People's Political Consultative Conference is a united front organization with a wide representative character. Under the leadership of the Liaoning CCP Committee, we must strengthen unity and forge ahead in developing and strengthening a patriotic united front. In constructing the two civilizations and realizing the great task of uniting the motherland, we should move forward in fostering the roles of political consultation and democratic supervision, pay constant attention to assisting the party and the government in realizing every item of the united front policy, and struggle hard together to carry out the three great tasks of the new period.

9705
CSO: 4005/719

ACTIVITIES OF JILIN'S QIANG XIAOCHU REPORTED

Visits Kindergarten

SK290842 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 May 82

[Text] According to the Yitong County broadcasting station, Qiang Xiaochu, first secretary of the Jilin Provincial CCP Committee, (Huo Mingguang), first secretary of the Siping Prefectural CCP Committee, and other leading comrades inspected work at the Yitong high pressure oil pump plant and accessories plant on the morning of 26 May.

Upon learning that these two plants run attached kindergartens, Comrade Qiang Xiaochu said: I want to see the kids. Knowing that grandfathers were coming, the neatly dressed and vivacious children were overjoyed. They waved their little hands and said hello to the visitors.

Comrade Qiang Xiaochu said to the children: I wish you good health and progress. Comrade Qiang Xiaochu and other leading comrades sat on stools and watched entertainment programs presented by the children, such as the song and dance drama "I Found 1 Fen."

Before leaving, Comrade Qiang Xiaochu said to the teachers of the kindergartens: You have been working hard. He encouraged them to make contributions to cultivating the next generation.

Attends Children's Day Party

SK010605 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 31 May 82

[Excerpt] On the morning of 31 May, some 1,000 young pioneers and representatives of workers engaging in children's work hailed from all corners of the province to attend a party held by the provincial CCP Committee and the people's government. Leading comrades of the provincial CCP Committee, the People's Congress Standing Committee, the people's government and the provincial CPPCC Committee, including Qiang Xiaochu, He Youfa, Yu Lin, Song Jieban, (Liu Dingzhi), Mu Lin, Song Renyuan, Chen Hong, Liu Cikai, Wu Duo, Liu Yunzhao, Yan Zitao, Xiao Danfeng and Miao Zhuxian, kindly received some young pioneers and representatives of workers in charge of

children's work at the secretary's room of the provincial CCP Committee building. Amid lively music, 10 young pioneers presented red scrafs to leading comrades of the provincial CCP Committee, the People's Congress Standing Committee, the people's government and the CPPCC Committee.

(Wan Li) and two other students of the No 3 primary school in Jiutai County's Jiutai Town reported to leading comrades achievements in the fields of ideology, studies and physical training scored by themselves and other young pioneers of their school. Amid loud applause, Comrade Yu Lin spoke.

CSO: 4005/936

ECONOMIST-EDUCATOR MA YINCHU DIES IN BEIJING

OW141255 Beijing XINHUA in English 1237 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 14 May (XINHUA)--Ma Yincyu, the famous economist and educator died in Beijing on 10 May at the age of 101, it was announced here today.

Ma Yinchu was a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Standing Committee member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, honorary president of Beijing University, honorary president of the Chinese Population Science Society and standing member of the board of the Bank of China.

Ma Yinchu was born in Zhejiang Province. He received a doctorate in economics at Columbia University in New York City in 1914. After coming back to China in 1915, he was a professor of economics at Beijing University, Zhongshan University, Jiao Tong University, Chongqing University, and Zhejiang University.

During the anti-Japanese war, he spoke and wrote articles against bureaucratic capitalism and the Kuomintang government's betrayal of the national interests. For these activities he was put into a concentration camp for several years. After the victory of the anti-Japanese war, Ma Yinchu actively took part in the democratic movement against the civil war launched by the Kuomintang.

After liberation, he was a delegate to the first plenary session of the CPPCC, member of the Central People's Government Council, deputy director of the Committee of Financial and Economic Affairs of the Government Administration Council, vice-chairman of the East China Military and Administrative Commission, president of Zhejiang University and Beijing University, member of the Standing Committee of the first and second sessions of the National People's Congress, member of the first, second, third and fourth CPPCC National Committee and member of the Standing Committee of the second and fourth CPPCC National Committee, and member of the department of philosophy and social sciences under the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

In the mid-1950's, he advocated family planning and late marriage to control the growth of China's population.

He made contributions to the cultural, educational and economic fields in China.

According to the wish stated in Ma Yinchu's will and at the request of his family, the funeral arrangements will be very simple.

CSO: 4005/936

BRIEFS

DRIVE AGAINST TV ANTENNAS--The 5 June was the first day of Guangzhou Municipality's united drive, with the whole city mobilized, to dismantle fishbone television antennas. Responsible persons of the municipal CCP Committee, People's Congress Standing Committee, people's government and CPPCC Liang Lingguang, Fan Hua, Fang Shaoyi, Liang Ruochen, Fang Wenyu, Luo Peiyuan, Rao Weihua and Xie Chuang went to Haizhu and Huangpu districts and the city outskirts in the afternoon to check on the dismantling of these antennas by the cadres and masses. Action in Huangpu District was relatively fast. Over 2,000 out of 3,000 fishbone antennas have been dismantled. The 12 organs and units subordinate to the district and the great majority of central, provincial and municipal units in the district have dismantled their fishbone antennas. A number of large factories at Yuancun, such as the Guangzhou Sisal hemp textile mill, Guangdong cannery and Guangzhou glass factory have also dismantled all their fishbone antennas. Comrade Liang Lingguang and the other leaders held: In the course of building socialist spiritual civilization, it is necessary to carry out meticulous ideological work and mobilize the cadres and masses of Guangzhou to dismantle all fishbone antennas before the end of this month. [Text] [HK060352 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 5 Jun 82] Yesterday afternoon responsible comrades of the Guangzhou Municipal CCP Committee including Liang Lingguang, Xu Shijie and Huang Zhuangping visited workers' dormitory areas of a number of municipal units to check on the situation in dismantling fishbone antennas. They demanded that party members and cadres in the urban areas dismantle all fishbone antennas by the stipulated deadline, and also teach the masses to spontaneously dismantle theirs. Liang Lingguang and the other comrades visited the dormitory areas of the Municipal Catering Services Company, the Provincial Posts and Telecommunications Engineering Company, and the municipal organs, together with those of the Guangzhou municipal construction and housing management bureaus. They listened to reports there. The great majority of party members and cadres in these units have already dismantled their fishbone antennas. [Text] [HK090626 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 8 May 82]

XIZANG EDUCATION--The Xizang Education Department recently held a conference in Lhasa on enrollment of students of higher schools, secondary vocational schools and technical schools in 1982. The conference looked into and formulated the regulations on student enrollment. The conference held that, in the light of local conditions, the region must regard promotion

and training of professional people of minority nationalities, such as the Tibetan nationality, as the main work. Education departments in the region have seriously trained middle and primary school teachers of the Tibetan nationality. Over the past 3 years, some 8,000 middle and primary school teachers of the Tibetan nationality have been trained and their cultural level and teaching quality have been improved. At present, the region has some 14,000 teachers of the Tibetan nationality. [HK251419 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 20 May 82]

SHANGHAI LITERATURE SOCIETY--The Shanghai branch of the Society of Contemporary Chinese Literature was inaugurated in Shanghai on 24 May. The inauguration meeting centered on the study of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan forum on literature and art." Chen Yi, deputy secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee and director of the propaganda department, extended congratulations on the inauguration. He urged comrades of the literary and art circles to earnestly study Comrade Mao Zedong's 15 letters to personages of literary and art circles and Comrade Chen Yun's "On the question of two tendencies among the party's literary and art workers" which were recently published by the CCP Central Committee. He stressed that the study of contemporary Chinese literature must be guided by Mao Zedong Thought. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 24 May 82]

XIANG NAN VISITS CHILDREN'S BOOKSTORE--A children's bookstore was opened in Fuzhou Municipality on 30 May. Xiang Nan, first secretary of the Fujian Provincial CCP Committee; Zhang Gexin, provincial vice governor; You Dexin, mayor of Fuzhou Municipality; and other leading comrades visited the bookstore and met with the staff members. The bookstore was founded by the Fuzhou Municipal CYL Committee and the Fuzhou Municipal Youth Federation and is run by jobless youths. It is the first children's bookstore in Fuzhou Municipality. [Excerpts] [OW020415 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 31 May 82]

ESTABLISHMENT OF WORKERS UNIVERSITIES--The provincial people's government recently approved the establishment of three workers' universities. Sixteen workers' universities in the province will be reported to the Education Ministry for Records. In April 1982, the provincial educational department along with other school competent departments conducted a comprehensive reinvestigation on 19 workers' universities which had been approved to be established by the provincial people's government in 1980. Through reexaminations, 16 workers' universities were proved to be up to the stipulations of the Ministry of Education. The provincial people's government agreed to run these universities continuously. These universities will be reported to the Ministry of Education for Records. Other universities that are not up to the teaching requirements stipulated by the Ministry of Education must be consolidated. The provincial people's government, in light of the suggestion of the provincial education department, agreed to the establishment of the Jilin Provincial Foreign Science and Technological Language Institute, Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefectural Workers' University and Changchun Municipal Capital Construction Committee Sparetime University. These workers' universities plan to enroll 1,400 new students in 1982. [Excerpts] [SK270332 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 May 82]

CSO: 4005/936

END

JPRS 81246

9 July 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 315

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81246

9 July 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 315

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States National Debt, Foreign Aid Discussed
(BAN YUE TAN, 25 May 82) 1

U.S. House Passes Republican Budget Proposal
(XINHUA, 11 Jun 82) 3

UN Meeting on Urban Problems Ends in Japan
(XINHUA, 16 Jun 82) 4

'Beijing Radio' Examines Disarmament Talks
(Beijing Domestic Service, 14 Jun 82) 5

Commentary on Military Issues
(XINHUA, various dates) 6

NATO Summit Begins
Disarmament Urged
Nuclear Arms Resolution
Superpower Disarmament Urged
Session Enters 5th Day
Strengthening European Defense

Thirty-Sixth CEMA Session Ends; Communique Issued
(XINHUA, 12 Jun 82) 12

Kang Keqing Honors Zairian Women's Delegation
(XINHUA, 12 Jun 82) 14

Guyanese Officials Discuss USSR 'Aid' Proposals
(XINHUA, 14 Jun 82) 15

Zimbabwean President on Domestic Situation
(XINHUA, 15 Jun 82)..... 16

Japanese Prime Minister Stresses Role of Pacific Nations
(XINHUA, 17 Jun 82)..... 17

Bulgarians Mark Georgi Dimitrov's Centenary
(XINHUA, 19 Jun 82)..... 18

'RENMIN RIBAO' Reporter Discusses Tour of South Asia
(Jiang Yuanchun; RENMIN RIBAO, 9 Jun 82)..... 19

Commentary on Southeast Asia
(XINHUA, various dates)..... 22

Thai Official on Kampuchea
ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting
Singapore Official on Kampuchea
ASEAN, Developed Countries Meet
Australia, Canada Back ASEAN

Commentary on India
(XINHUA, 4, 9 Jun 82)..... 27

PRC, Indian Officials Meet
India-China Society

Commentary on East Europe
(XINHUA, various dates)..... 28

Students in Romania
Clashes in Poland
Poland to Lift Curfews

Commentary on Argentina
(XINHUA, various dates)..... 30

Ready to Negotiate
Atomic Energy Use
Argentine Forces Surrender
Cease-Fire Agreement
Galtieri Resigns

Commentary on the Mideast
(XINHUA, various dates)..... 33

Israel Incursion Into Lebanon
Italian CP Criticizes Israel
PLO Issues Lebanon Appeal
Syria, Israel on Ceasefire
Israel's Cease-fire 'Trick', by Zhong Dong

Saudi King's Death
Israeli Withdrawal Urged
PLO Official Criticizes U.S.
Mubarak in Saudi Arabia
PRC Donation to Lebanon
PRC Medicine to Palestinians
War Damage in Lebanon, by Zhang Jinglei
Habib, Lebanese Leaders Talk
U.S. Official in Saudi Arabia
Reagan, Egyptian Minister Meet
Israel in Lebanon
PLO Official Assassinated

Commentary on the Iraq-Iran War
(XINHUA, 10, 12 Jun 82)..... 46

Conditions for Withdrawal
Passage of Iranian Troops

Commentary on Italian Military Delegation
(XINHUA, various dates)..... 48

Delegation Visits PLA Academy
Delegation Visits Nanjing
Hangzhou Visited
Visit to Shanghai

Briefs
Swedish Territorial Waters 50
Huang Hua Trip 50
Saudi King Dies 50
EEC Commodities to Zimbabwe 50
EEC Official in Beijing 51
FRG Federal Assembly Group 51
Italian National Day Celebration 51
Sri Lankan Official Leaves 51
Romanian CP Delegation 51
Delegation to Romania, SFRY 51
Tianjin Delegation to Yugoslavia 51
American Jurists in Beijing 52

TAIWAN

Taiwanese Commentary on International Affairs
(TZU LI WAN PAO, 7 Jun 82, LIEN HO PAO, 9, 10 Jun 82).... 53

Taiwan-U.S. Relations
Senator Baker Interviewed, Howard Baker Interview
Reagan Speech Praised, Editorial

Taiwanese Commentary on Korea
(CNA, 12, 14 Jun 82)..... 57

ROK Construction Minister
Taiwan, ROK Economic Trade
Middle East Missions Meet

Taiwan Favors Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy
(Editorial; CHINA POST, 24 May 82)..... 60

Premier Sun Yun-Hsuan Inspects Defense Ministry
(CHUNG YANG JIH PAO, 9 Jun 82)..... 61

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UNITED STATES NATIONAL DEBT, FOREIGN AID DISCUSSED

HK100255 Beijing BAN YUE TAN in Chinese No 10, 25 May 82 p 61

[Reader's question and editor's answer: "The United States Has Incurred Heavy National Debts, but Why Does It Still Aid Other Countries?"]

[Text] Comrade Editor, very often I learn from reading newspapers and magazines that the United States has a financial deficit and that it has incurred heavy national debts exceeding $1,000 billion. Why does it still aid other countries? Where does it get the money?

Comrade He Ping, with regard to U.S. aid to other countries, I would like to express my views on this problem for your reference.

First of all, U.S. aid to other countries is motivated by political and strategic needs. In a certain period of time after World War II, aid was mainly granted to Western Europe and Japan. In recent years, due to the fact that the United States and the Soviet Union have doubled their efforts to contend for power in the Middle East, the United States continuously increases its aid to some Middle East countries. Among them, Israel has obtained the greatest amount of the aid. According to the foreign security and aid bill presented to congress by President Reagan, in fiscal year 1983 the amount of aid which Israel obtains will account for 28.6 percent of the total foreign aid provided by the United States.

Furthermore, U.S. foreign aid includes loans, technical facilities, military goods and other. Every year the amount of foreign aid accounts for only a very small percentage of the U.S. Gross National Product and the total expenditures of the federal government. Therefore, it does not greatly affect U.S. economic activities. For example, the U.S. Gross National Product in 1981 was $2,924.8 billion and total expenditure of the federal government was $686.4 billion. However, the total amount of foreign aid in that year was only $10.77 billion which only accounted for 0.37 percent of the U.S. Gross National Product and 1.57 percent of the federal government expenditures.

Finally, foreign aid includes aid given gratis and repayable aid. Due to the fact that this kind of aid usually has direct or indirect strings attached, it is always beneficial to the United States.

The United States has incurred heavy national debts. This is because all the previous U.S. governments since the world war have implemented a policy of financial deficit. Of course, such a huge amount of debt cannot be paid off within a year. At present, the U.S. Government has to repay capital with interest amounting to $100 billion every year. Actually, such expenses have been shifted on to the people through tax revenue. Even if the foreign aid is stopped, the burden on the U.S. Government as a result of national debts will not be lightened.

Li Chang

CSO: 4005/942

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. HOUSE PASSES REPUBLICAN BUDGET PROPOSAL

OW110856 Beijing XINHUA in English 0808 GMT 11 Jun 82

[Text] Washington, June 10 (XINHUA)--After a lot of arm-twisting, the Democratic-controlled U.S. House of Representatives today passed a revised Republican proposal for the 1983 federal budget with a 99.3 billion dollar deficit as against President Reagan's proposed 122.2 billion dollars.

The Republican plan proposed outlays of 765.2 billion dollars and revenues of 665.9 billion dollars. It contained reductions in defense expenditure and substantial cuts in domestic spending which includes various social programs such as Medicaid, food stamps and nutrition.

Shortly before the adoption of the Republican proposal, the House rejected a Democratic plan with a deficit of 107.4 billion dollars. It would make bigger reduction in defense and larger spending on social programs, and trim deficits with higher taxes.

Since the break-down of the negotiations on the budget between the White House and the congressional leaders at the end of April, both the Senate and the House have been separately conducting a tug-of-war over their own versions of the 1983 budget. On May 21, the Republican-controlled Senate passed a Republican proposal including a 115.9 billion dollar deficit. Last month, during the debate in the House, more than 60 amendments were considered and seven different budget plans were rejected.

Today's adoption of a budget plan by the House was regarded as a small step forward in the long budget struggle. The House plan will go to a conference of House-Senate negotiators to work out differences with the 784.3 billion dollar budget proposal passed by the Senate.

CSO: 4000/149

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UN MEETING ON URBAN PROBLEMS ENDS IN JAPAN

OW161712 Beijing XINHUA in English 1618 GMT 16 Jun 82

[Text] Tokyo, June 16 (XINHUA)--An eight-day U.N. conference on urban problems ended in Yokohama today calling for programs to combat the increasing populations of large cities.

A conference declaration said overpopulated, underfinanced cities must move toward decentralized authority and work to remove social and economic gaps which drew rural populations to the cities.

It stressed the need to start international cooperation and to exchange experiences on urban construction.

The conference also discussed such problems facing cities of the Asia-Pacific region as poor city planning, inadequate water and power supplies, traffic congestion, red tape, slums, unemployment and crime.

About 500 mayors and other participants from 16 cities attended the conference, which was sponsored by the U.N. Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, the U.N. Center for Human Settlements and the city of Yokohama.

At the conference, the first of the kind in Asia, the delegates also explained urban construction in their countries and the problems that exist in the field.

Shanghai deputy mayor Zhao Zhukang spoke of Shanghai's experiences in urban construction under the leadership of China's central government.

V. Ramachandron, an official of the U.N. Center for Human Settlements, said, "Urban population in the Asia-Pacific region will be doubled in 20 years. Now the number of cities with a population of over 4 million has reached 23 in the region, and the number will reach 60 in the 21st century."

The deputy mayor of Yokohama said, "It is most important to set a long-term target in urban construction and to comprehensively hear the opinions of citizens."

The conference included mayors and delegates from Sydney, Bombay, Jakarta, Colombo, Shanhai, Yokohama and other cities.

CSO: 4000/149

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'BEIJING RADIO' EXAMINES DISARMAMENT TALKS

OW150221 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Jun 82

[Commentary from the "International Current Events" program: "Some Important Current Talks on Disarmament"]

[Excerpt] Listeners, the second special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament is now in progress. In reports on international issues, references are often made to various forms of disarmament talks, which are rather confusing. In this program, let's review a few important current talks on disarmament.

In the past few years, mass movements against the nuclear arms race have mushroomed in West Europe and the United States. This indicates that arms control, particularly nuclear arms limitation, has become a universal concern.

Speaking of disarmament talks, they have a history of at least 100 years. People hope to maintain peace and think that reduction or limitation of armaments can prevent war. However, history has proved that (?disarmament talks) can never stop arms expansion. Two world wars finally broke out. Marxism-Leninism tells us that imperialism means war. As long as there are power politics and hegemonism, the arms race can hardly be stopped, and the danger of war is always present.

Because of the appearance of weapons of mass destruction hitherto unknown--atom bombs and hydrogen bombs--after World War II an unprecedented situation arose in disarmament talks. For more than 30 years, people have constantly talked about disarmament. There have been debates on disarmament in the United Nations year after year. In 1978 a UN special session was held to discuss disarmament issues. On 7 June this year the second UN special session on disarmament opened. Outside the United Nations, bilateral or multilateral disarmament talks are even more varied in form and name. There are countless disarmament agreements, documents and accords. However, despite the lively disarmament talks, the arms race between the two superpowers, like a ship rising with the tide, has only become more and more intensified, increasingly and seriously threatening world peace and the security of the people of all countries. Why has it been like this? The crux of the matter is that the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are each trying to weaken the other and increase their own strength in their contention for world hegemony, and they lack sincerity in arms control. They do talk about disarmament but only to create a favorable public impression in order to deceive the world's people.

CSO: 4005/942

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON MILITARY ISSUES

NATO Summit Begins

OW101926 Beijing XINHUA in English 1915 GMT 10 Jun 82

[Text] Bonn, June 10 (XINHUA)--The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) today began its summit conference, the sixth since the organisation was formed in 1949.

The heads of state and government from the 16-member nations including Spain, which joined the organisation recently attended the opening session in the Bundestag plenary hall.

West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Canadian Prime Minister and honorary president of the conference Pierre Trudeau, NATO secretary-general Joseph Luns, and Spanish Prime Minister Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo addressed the session.

West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, the summit's host, said that the alliance has maintained a balance of power with the Soviet bloc over the last 15 years through military strength, defense capabilities, political unity, and dialogue with the Soviet Union.

Schmidt said that the NATO should press ahead with its twin strategy of consolidating military strength balanced by a willingness to negotiate. He welcomed the recent proposal for disarmament made by U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

Without mentioning Israel by name, he criticized its recent incursions into Lebanon which had posed a threat to world peace.

Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau said that the continuing military buildup by Moscow and its allies seemed to require a reinforcement of NATO defenses. He also welcomed the fact that U.S.-Soviet talks on reducing strategic nuclear arms would soon begin.

Spanish Prime Minister Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo said that Spain, after becoming a member of NATO, would offer full cooperation within the alliance. He indirectly criticized Britain for resorting to force in settling its dispute with Argentina over the Malvinas Islands.

Two NATO young officers, carrying the national flag of Spain, walked into the meeting hall and planted it alongside the flags of other NATO members.

After the opening ceremony, the NATO leaders held the first of two confidential sessions in the Bonn chancellery.

It was revealed that the summit would issue a "Bonn declaration" stressing the political aims of the alliance and two other statements setting out disarmament goals and military targets.

While the summit participants were meeting on one side of the Rhine, tens of thousands of demonstrators gathering on the other side for a massive march of protest against the arms race.

Some 10,000 security personnel were on duty for the conference.

Disarmament Urged

OW100804 Beijing XINHUA in English 0747 GMT 10 Jun 82

[Text] United Nations, June 9 (XINHUA)--During general debate at the U.N. special session on disarmament today, many countries directed their spearhead at the two superpowers and urged them to earnestly commit to cutting their colossal nuclear and conventional arsenals.

Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki appealed to both the United States and the Soviet Union "to negotiate seriously to bring about significant reductions in their strategic nuclear forces, and to spare no effort to reach agreement."

He demanded that effective measures be taken as the utmost urgency of nuclear disarmament to ensure that nuclear weapons will never be used again. He also stressed that conventional weapons disarmament should advance in parallel with nuclear disarmament.

Minister for external relations of Mexico Jorge Castaneda said that the two nuclear superpowers had not yet eliminated a single nuclear weapon from their arsenals while asking the non-nuclear-weapon states to abide by the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. As a result distrust had grown among the non-nuclear-weapon states.

He urged all other nuclear states to follow the example of China and make a commitment never to be the first in the use of nuclear weapons.

Thai Foreign Minister Arun Phanuphong expressed his country's dissatisfaction over the arms race between the superpowers, saying that some countries diverted much of their needed resources for economic and social development to military efforts in order to impose their will on another country.

He stressed that the decisive factor in disarmament remained to be the necessary "political will" of states, particularly those which possessed the largest and most advanced nuclear arsenals, to respond positively to the concern of the international community.

Representative of Brazil Souza Silva said that the lack of political will of the superpowers was responsible for the lack of progress in disarmament in the past few years.

He called for a renewed expression by the superpowers of their determination to resume negotiations on nuclear arms and disarmament agreements.

During yesterday's debate, Iran and Sri Lanka demanded the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a peace zone. Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Velayati called for the withdrawal of foreign aggressive forces from the territories of countries like Afghanistan.

Nuclear Arms Resolution

OW132158 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1500 GMT 11 Jun 82

[Text] The U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee on 9 June voted 11-4 to approve a resolution backed by the Reagan administration on reduction of strategic nuclear arms by the United States and the Soviet Union. The resolution was initiated by Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman Percy, Republican.

The resolution primarily calls on the United States and the Soviet Union to negotiate an agreement for a verifiable, fair and militarily significant reduction of strategic weapons. It calls on both the United States and the Soviet Union to avoid taking actions to undermine the expired SALT I strategic arms limitation agreement and the SALT II strategic arms limitation treaty which has not yet been approved.

The original version of the resolution mentioned a freeze on strategic arms. However, because the Reagan administration dislikes the word freeze, the committee agreed to change it to reduction to make it conform to the Reagan administration's publicized policy. The resolution will be submitted to the Senate plenary session for discussion.

Superpower Disarmament Urged

OW110310 Beijing XINHUA in English 0218 GMT 11 Jun 82

["Speakers at U.N. Session Denounce Superpower Rivalry for Leading World to Brink of War"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] United Nations, June 10 (XINHUA)--The arms race and the two big powers' rivalry are leading the world to the brink of war, Petar Stambolic, president of Yugoslavia, warned at the general debate of the U.N. special session on disarmament here today.

The Yugoslav president saw the present international situation in a grave crisis. He said the right of the peoples to lead an independent life in peace and freedom, to decide freely on their socioeconomic development and foreign policy, is frequently threatened, and in many regions, there has been recourse to the threat or use of military force.

He said the threat of a nuclear war has increased as a result of doctrines asserting the possibility of a limited nuclear war, as well as of a build-up and sophistication of theater nuclear weapons intended for such a war.

A major race in conventional weapons is continuing and accelerating, he added. A particular threat comes from new chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction.

The states possessing the largest military arsenals should be obliged to halt the arms race and reduce their armed force and armaments, unconditionally and without delay, he stressed.

Foreign Minister of Pakistan Sahabzada Yaqub Ali Khan said, "The most urgent goal is to bring the nuclear menace under control." "The largest nuclear arsenals--that of the Soviet Union and the United States--should be reduced significantly and as speedily as possible," he declared. This session, he said, should "crystallize this consensus into specific objectives" to be achieved in a conscious process of nuclear disarmament.

He criticized the doctrine of "limited nuclear war," saying such a war could precipitate an escalation to a general nuclear exchange.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja also urged the nuclear powers to negotiate a cessation of the arms race, reduce their nuclear arsenals and finally eliminate their stockpiles.

Session Enters 5th Day

OW150721 Beijing XINHUA in English 0704 GMT 15 Jun 82

[Text] United Nations, June 14 (XINHUA)--In its fifth day of debate, the second special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament today heard more opposition to nuclear war and the arms race and strong demands for peace and security.

Panamanian President Aristides Royo Sanchez criticized the two superpowers for seeking supremacy over each other in the growing arms race. He said that people all over the world wanted peace, a firm and enduring peace based on a new economic order, not the kind of peace imposed upon them, or the kind based on the fallacy of a balance of armaments.

West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt said that his country was "directly affected by the predominance of the Soviet Union and its allies in the field of conventional weapons, and by the installation of hundreds of new intermediate-range nuclear weapons." He urged the nuclear-weapon states to pursue negotiations in good faith to stop the nuclear arms race.

Ugandan Prime Minister Otema Allimadi said that the production of new and more deadly weapons and the attempts to promote the concept of "limited" nuclear war were tragic omens for the future of the world. He also expressed great concern over the growing build-up of big power military presence in the Indian Ocean.

Danish Prime Minister Anker Jorgensen called on the two superpowers to completely dismantle their land-based medium-range missiles capable of hitting targets in Europe and substantially reduce their strategic arsenals. The development of new weapons of mass destruction including chemical weapons must be prevented, he said.

Zambian Foreign Minister Lameck Goma urged the Soviet Union and the United States to take the lead in the nuclear disarmament process. All nuclear-weapon states should subscribe to the concept of the non-first-use of nuclear weapons, he noted.

Representative of Madagascar Blaise Rabetafika also called for commitment by the nuclear-weapon states not to make first use of them. The nuclear-weapon states, he added, should also agree not to use or threaten to use such weapons against non-nuclear states, he stated.

Strengthening European Defense

OW151934 Beijing XINHUA in English 1521 GMT 15 Jun 82

[Text] Paris, June 14 (XINHUA)--The Western European Union [WEU] must make efforts to strengthen collective defense for the preservation of peace and security, Leo Tindemans, minister of foreign affairs of Belgium, said here today.

Tindemans, who is executive chairman of the WEU Ministerial Council, said at the opening session of the council that "the world today witnessed an increasing number of hotbeds of tension and instability of conflicts which are becoming more acute and dangerous." These situations affected the security of the WEU member nations.

He stressed that they must keep the balance of forces between the East and West. "We can strengthen our security by our efforts to reestablish balance of forces at the lowest possible level," he said.

"We cannot let ourselves be put in an inferior position from which we will be exposed to the danger of attack," he said.

The minister said, our policy of security should be pursued in full solidarity with our allies across the Atlantic.

The Western European Union comprises seven member countries--France, Britain, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. Its main task is to study the defense policy of West Europe. The current session will discuss the future of WEU, nuclear weapons in Europe, European-American cooperation and other issues.

CSO: 4000/142

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THIRTY-SIXTH CEMA SESSION ENDS; COMMUNIQUE ISSUED

OW120908 Beijing XINHUA in English 0746 GMT 12 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing, June 11 (XINHUA)--The 36th regular meeting of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA) was held in Budapest from June 8 to 10, according to reports received here.

Government heads of CEMA member-countries attended the meeting which reportedly discussed ways to strengthen "cohesion" and "cooperation" among council member states in the present world situation. The meeting endorsed a program for coordination of the CEMA countries' economic development plans covering the period between 1986 and 1990.

A communique issued at the end of the meeting said, "The development of the national economies and cooperation of the CEMA member-countries proceeded in the conditions of a worsened situation in the world markets and a complicated international situation." The communique accused the United States and a number of other NATO countries for "having gone to the length of imposing 'sanctions' against and curtailing trading and economic links with the CEMA member-countries." The communique said the recent seven-nation Versailles economic summit was "planning to make their trade, credit and other economic ties with CEMA countries even more complicated."

The communique demanded that the CEMA member-countries strengthen their cooperation, promote integration and develop trading, economic, scientific and technical links.

Speaking at the meeting, the heads of delegations of various countries put forward their views on future economic development.

Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers Nikolai Tikhonov said, "The whipping up of militaristic hysteria in the U.S.A. and in a number of NATO member-countries is accompanied with attempts at economic power pressure on the socialist countries," and they "are becoming unreliable trade partners for us." He asked CEMA member countries to "continue to advance with big strides on the road of increasing cooperation in production," and hoped that the member countries would adopt "an economic development strategy of relying on coordination among the countries in the community."

Polish Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski condemned the West for imposing economic sanctions on his country. But he added, "Poland is willing to develop constructive cooperation and trade with all countries, especially those that have a good tradition of cooperation with us." He suggested that "an international economic security system be worked out to prevent exercising economic pressure for political purposes." He said, "Jungle law should be shunned in international economic relations."

The host of the meeting, Hungarian Prime Minister Gyorgy Lazar spoke of cooperation within the CEMA. He said, "We should not be satisfied with the present situation." He criticized the "lack of respect for bilateral and multilateral commitments." He said, "Today, more than ever, it is necessary to make the economic system of the CEMA provide more assistance for the fulfilment of production and scientific and technical cooperation so as to enhance interests in cooperation and give further guarantee for the fulfilment of each other's commitments according to plan."

A TANJUG report said that the speeches at the meeting showed that the economic situation of the CEMA is now getting more complicated and grave.

CSO: 4000/149

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

KANG KEQING HONORS ZAIRIAN WOMEN'S DELEGATION

OW121820 Beijing XINHUA in English 1617 GMT 12 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing, June 12 (XINHUA)--Kang Keqing, president of the All-China Women's Federation, gave a banquet at the Great Hall of the People here this evening for a women's delegation from Zaire led by Bobi Ladawa, wife of the president of Zaire.

Luo Qiong, vice-president of the federation, and Ikila Liyonda, general secretary in charge of women's conditions of the executive committee of the Zairian People's Revolutionary Movement, proposed toasts respectively on behalf of Kang Keqing and Madame Mobutu. They said that the friendship and cooperation between women of the two nations would be developed constantly.

Noted Chinese artists entertained the guests with a programme of songs, dances and Beijing operas. The Zairian guests also sang Zairian songs.

Present were Lei Jieqiong, vice-president of the federation, and noted women figures from all walks of life in Beijing.

Also present were Li Shanyi, Chinese ambassador to Zaire, and his wife, and Tuma-Waku, wife of Tuma-Waku Dia Bazika, the Zairian ambassador to China.

CSO: 4000/149

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GUYANESE OFFICIALS DISCUSS USSR 'AID' PROPOSALS

OW140750 Beijing XINHUA in English 0740 GMT 14 Jun 82

[Text] Georgetown, June 13 (XINHUA)--Commenting on recent Soviet assertion that the Soviet Union had extended numerous offers of aid to Guyana under very easy conditions, a senior government official said in many cases the Soviets had failed to respond to Guyanese proposals, according to a recent report of the GUYANA CHRONICLE.

The report said despite the many agreements signed between the two countries, "there have been instances when attempts to satisfy these arrangements have been frustrating."

The senior official said a Soviet proposal last year on setting up a bauxite mine with an annual output of 5 million tonnes indicated the Soviets wanted 50 percent of production as payment for infrastructure. The Soviets wanted to have the Guyanese Government pay for feasibility study in American currency in advance, and at that point negotiations broke down.

He also pointed out the Guyanese Government had offered the Soviets an opportunity to seek bauxite anywhere in the country and a concession in Berbice was subsequently granted at their request. However, problems again developed when the Soviets insisted they were only interested in calcined bauxite.

Another official stated while the Soviets had made many purchases of alumina from Guyana, they had only purchased bauxite on one occasion and all purchases were made under strict business conditions and paid the same price as other buyers.

CSO: 4000/149

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ZIMBABWEAN PRESIDENT ON DOMESTIC SITUATION

OW152034 Beijing XINHUA in English 1903 GMT 15 Jun 82

[Text] Harare, June 15 (XINHUA)--The Zimbabwean Government will grapple with the crucial task of transforming the country's social-economic environment this year to fulfil the legitimate expectations and aspirations of the Zimbabwean people "in the direction of socialism and self-reliance," said President Canaan Banana today.

Speaking at the opening meeting of the third session of the first parliament, the president said that in the last two years, the Zimbabwean Government has concentrated its efforts on creating conditions for complete peace and restoration of normality in the country.

He disclosed that a three-year transitional plan of national development will soon be unveiled to set out the main social-economic objectives and targets to be achieved. The plan will lay foundations for the new society to be free of exploitation and to provide equality of opportunity and prosperity for all Zimbabweans, he added.

He stated that in the next three years, the Zimbabwean Government will attach the greatest importance to the development of rural areas and give special arrangement for development of secondary education, primary health care and house-building. Efforts will also be concentrated on the expanded resettlement programme and on bringing all available land into productive use, he added.

Reviewing the country's security situation, the president said that the Zimbabwean Government is determined to take measures to deal with anti-state activities.

CSO: 4000/149

JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER STRESSES ROLE OF PACIFIC NATIONS

OW171645 Beijing XINHUA in English 1634 GMT 17 Jun 82

[Text] Tokyo, June 17 (XINHUA)--Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki yesterday stressed that the unity among the countries in the Pacific region is of great importance to world economy and peace.

He said: "There are vast potentialities in the Pacific region. To turn these potentialities into reality is a matter of great importance not only to the development in the region, but also to the development in the world at large."

Suzuki made the speech at the end of a 15-day tour abroad which has taken him to the Versailles economic summit, the United Nations disarmament session, Peru and Brazil.

Speaking at the East-West center in Hawaii, an academic and political research center, he said that the cooperation among Japan, the United States, New Zealand, Australia and Canada, the strengthened solidarity of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the steady advance of China's foreign policy, all "have played a great role in promoting peace and prosperity of the region."

He called on the Pacific countries to endeavour to elevate the cooperative atmosphere to the level of unity. To achieve such a unity, he stressed, the Pacific should be made an "ocean of peace," an "ocean of mutual benefits and an "open ocean."

Criticizing the Soviet Union for creating tension in the Pacific region, Suzuki pointed out: "It is a matter of serious concern to us that the Soviet Union has continued to build up its military forces in Asia and the Far East in recent years. Soviet military build-up on the northern territories and Soviet activities in the waters around Japan have made Japan increasingly worried." "If the Soviets want to contribute to peace and economic stability," he stressed, "I would call upon the Soviet Union to demonstrate it by concrete actions."

Japanese KYODO News Service commented that Suzuki's speech demonstrates Japan's eagerness to play a "bridge role" by making the Pacific a mediator for solving the North-South issue.

CSO: 4000/149

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BULGARIANS MARK GEORGI DIMITROV'S CENTENARY

OW191526 Beijing XINHUA in English 1517 GMT 19 Jun 82

[Text] Sofia, 18 Jun (XINHUA)—People throughout Bulgaria today solemnly marked the centenary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov, the great leader of the Bulgarian people and well-known activist in the international communist movement.

In Pernik, where a miners' strike was once organized by Dimitrov, an inauguration ceremony for the statutes of G. Dimitrov and revolutionary miners of Pernik was held this morning. Some 10,000 Bulgarians and foreign guests attended the ceremony.

Dimitrov's hometown, Kovachevtsi, today was a scene of festivity. The 100-km-long road running from Sofia to Kovachevtsi was decorated with colour flags and portraits of Dimitrov. A continuous flow of people visited the former residence of Dimitrov. A display of fireworks and theatrical performances were also staged in Kovachevtsi.

Today, people came in an endless stream to pay their respects at the mausoleum of Dimitrov in Sofia.

An international theoretical symposium was held from June 15 to 17 in Sofia to mark the occasion. A solemn commemorative meeting was also held Friday evening. Todor Zhivkov and other Bulgarian leaders were present on both occasions and paid high tribute to the glorious life and achievements of Dimitrov.

CSO: 4000/150

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' REPORTER DISCUSSES TOUR OF SOUTH ASIA

HK120346 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jun 82 p 6

[Article by RENMIN RIBAO reporter Jiang Yuanchun [5592 0337 2797]: "Danger and Opportunity--First in a Series of Reports on a Tour of South Asia"]

[Text] /I was a member of the Chinese press delegation, which recently visited three South Asian countries--Pakistan, India and Bengal. In 1 month's time, we toured from the Khyber Pass in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east, and from the southern foot of the Himalayas to the big Deccan Plateau in the south. Since I was anxious to go on this trip, I only acquired a superficial understanding of these countries before departing. It would not be correct to say that I have any in-depth understanding of them. However, from what I have seen, I have an impression that the South Asian subcontinent is confronted with a serious menace, but it also has tremendous opportunities; it all depends on how the people handle this intricate situation./ [passage in slantlines in boldface]

Having passed the small towns of Jia Mu Luo De [6328 1191 5012 1795] which is 18 kilometers west of Peshawar, like a city wall that blocked our way, the Sulaiman Range rose from ground level and meandered northward and southward. Our car passed a small bleak and desolate plain, climbed up the mountain paths and entered the well-known Khyber Pass. After driving westward along the gorge closely flanked by mountains for about 50 kilometers on the zigzag path half way up the mountains on the north, we stopped our car at the Mi Qi Ni [4717 1148 1441] sentry post.

We were suddenly greeted with a panoramic view when we climbed to the sentry post. The surrounding hills seemed to have separated themselves in front of the sentry post and at the farthest end of the valley, there was a village which blocked the entrance. The name of the village was Tuo Er Ka Mu [2094 1422 0595 1191], half of it was in Pakistan while the other half in Afghanistan. To the west of the village, peaks rose one higher than another. Reportedly, this narrow mountain path extends some kilometers into Afghanistan. This is the natural barrier between Pakistan and Afghanistan--the Khyber Pass.

The Khyber Pass has a well-deserved reputation and it is indeed terrain of strategic importance. However, "idle boasts the strong pass which is a wall

of iron"; dangerous mountains and treacherous rivers cannot block invaders. Historically the Khyber Pass has been the west gate of the south Asian subcontinent. Over the past hundreds of years, invaders had entered South Asia through this pass on numerous occasions. They brought new religions and cultures and created new nations as well as endless disputes. The times and the situations have changed and the situation in South Asia today is very different from what it was before. The Khyber Pass is once again heavily guarded and the atmosphere is very tense. I think most people who have visited the Khyber Pass have a deep impression of the menace confronting Pakistan and other countries in the South Asian subcontinent. Hence, Pakistan has to strengthen its defense capabilities in order to safeguard its security. As a matter of fact, Pakistan is also guarding the gate for the other South Asian countries. It is hard to visualize what would happen if hegemonist forces crossed the Khyber Pass, transversed the Indus River with irresistable force and traveled the Ganges to reach the Bay of Bengal. It is obvious that Pakistan's efforts in safeguarding its national independence need the support of all peace-loving countries and people, in particular, the support of other South Asian countries which are as closely related as lips to teeth.

Owing to various historical reasons, some disputes exist between Pakistan and India. This has weakened the common force of the people of various South Asian countries to resist foreign aggression. If India and Pakistan can become reconciled, this would have a great impact on stabilizing the situation in the whole of South Asia. This is the very thing that those who covet after South Asia would hate to see.

Actually, it is easy for the Indians to realize where the real threat to them comes from. Standing on a wharf in Bombay which is washed by waves on the Arabian Sea, we could see the gas flames of the oil refineries on the nearby islands. Crude oil comes from the Bombay offshore oilfields which are far away from the wharf. A score of freighters were queued up at the sea in order to enter the port, because Bombay is one of India's largest sea ports; it is a link between the Middle East, Africa and Western Europe. Guests from Arab countries wearing robes were seen going in and out of luxurious hotels in Bombay and New Delhi. Oil from the Middle East and the petrodollars are of great significance to the Indian economy. However, the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean located to the south of it are no longer tranquil since the Afghan incident. At the picturesque seaside of Madras located at the east coast of India, there is a black statue called the "victory of labor"; it is of four laborers who are exerting their utmost efforts to pry a big stone with sticks and the background of the statue is the tranquil Bay of Bengal. However, this tranquillity is only one of appearance. Opposite to the Bay of Bengal is Thailand which is close to the Andaman Sea. Now this country is under the attack of Vietnamese artillery fire from Kampuchea; the Vietnamese are supported by Moscow. Thailand is a country where the two arrowheads of Moscow's strategies of moving southward towards Southeast Asia and stretching to West asia meet. Indian people will realize this once they take a look at the map.

Southeast Asia, the Middle East, East Africa and South Africa are India's important export markets and its oil supply bases. To maintain the balance of

its international income and expenditure, India is making great efforts to expand its export trade. Peace and stability in the areas around the Bay of Bengal are closely connected with India's economic development. Under such situation, to maintain its security, stability and development, India must not only implement a balanced policy toward the whole world, but also develop its more coordinative, friendly and cooperative relations with the neighboring countries in the region. It is obvious that India is marching toward this direction. There are indications that India has improved its relations with the neighboring countries. The proposal of cooperation for South Asia put forth by the Bangladesh and supporting by India, Pakistan and others is being carried out. This is a good thing. India is the economically more developed of the South Asian countries. If such [words indistinct] various countries in South Asia will open good prospects for their common prosperity.

However, if India, as the biggest country in South Asia, fails to pay careful attention to its actions, this will cause doubts and misgivings among its neighboring countries. While we were visiting Bangladesh, we heard some friends talk about water quantity of the Ganges River. Bangladesh is situated on the delta of the lower reaches of the Ganges River. The sluicing quantity of the Ganges River is a matter of life and death for the country. Due to the fact that India controls the sluicing quantity of the Ganges River, the northern areas of Bangladesh are already facing a danger of salinization. Due to the fact that the water of a number of rivers are affected by the sea tide of the Bay of Bengal, the water quality of the lower reaches of these rivers have deteriorated. A number of factories in Khulna have to transport water from the upper reaches which are a hundred miles away for their boilers. India and Bangladesh are holding talks on this matter and the results have yet to be announced.

On the eve before our departure from New Delhi, an Indian reporter invited us to dinner. After dinner, we chatted about India's relations with its neighboring countries. He said that India, the biggest country in South Asia, should alleviate any fears its neighboring countries may have. Only thus, can various countries in South Asia truly carry out friendly cooperation. What he said deserves commendation. It is obvious that statesmen of various countries in South Asia need wider breadth of political vision and greater tolerance to cope with the situation inside and outside South Asia. India, Pakistan and Bangladesh were originally a country. Due to historical, political, economic, religious and language reasons, the country was divided into two in the 1940's and split up into three in the 1970's. It is an important historical task that these three countries treat one another as family members and live in harmony although they have been split up. This will not only have an important bearing on peace, stability and development in South Asia and the surrounding areas but also produce inestimable influence on peace in Asia and the world. When talking with us, a senior official of the Indian Government stressed that India maintains vigilance against the imperialist policy of dividing and conquering. If South Asian countries unite on the basis of their common understanding and truly cooperate, the flowers that will blossom in this soil are not only jasmines and roses, but also flowers of peace and friendship. This is a great opportunity for the people of South Asia.

CSO: 4005/942

COMMENTARY ON SOUTHEAST ASIA

Thai Official on Kampuchea

OW141216 Beijing XINHUA in English 1209 GMT 14 Jun 82

[Text] Bangkok, June 14 (XINHUA)--Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila said today that Thailand still advocates a political solution to the Kampuchean problem in accordance with the resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly sessions and the international conference on Kampuchea.

He made the remarks this morning before leaving for Singapore to attend the forthcoming 15th meeting of foreign ministers of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

He described the formation of a coalition of the three resistance forces in Kampuchea as a domestic affair and a task of the Kampuchean people. He said that neither Thailand nor ASEAN has interfered in this affair. Now the three sides have not yet reached a coalition, Sitthi said, but this does not mean a failure to ASEAN. "We hope that they will unite soon," he added.

During the Singapore meeting, Sitthi said, the foreign ministers will discuss the Kampuchean problem so as to establish ASEAN's stance and policies toward it. They would sound out various sides on this problem, Sitthi said.

ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting

OW151312 Beijing XINHUA in English 1234 GMT 15 Jun 82

[Text] Singapore, June 14 (XINHUA)--High appraisal of the achievements scored by the Association for Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in the past fifteen years of its existence and the strengthening of solidarity among its members are expressed by all ASEAN foreign ministers in their statements at the opening session of the 15th ASEAN foreign ministers meeting here this afternoon.

It is of special significance that the 15th annual conference of the ASEAN foreign ministers is being held on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of ASEAN founded on August 8, 1967. All representatives at the meeting reviewed the past and sought ways to solve the difficult current problems, first of all, a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem and strengthening economic cooperation among the ASEAN members.

Addressing the opening session, Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew said: "Political and economic developments have brought us closer together."

Referring to the Kampuchean problem, he said, "The Soviet Union has underwritten Vietnam's designs in Indochina. In return, the Soviets have acquired access to bases in Vietnam and probably Kampuchea." "Vietnam's forcible occupation of Kampuchea created opportunities for the great powers to intervene in Southeast Asian Affairs," he noted.

Foreign Minister of Thailand Sitthi Sawetsila stressed: "In pursuing a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean problem, ASEAN is ever conscious of the inalienable right of the Kampuchean people to free their homeland from occupation and domination. For this reason, ASEAN supports the efforts of the Kampuchean nationalist factions to form a coalition government in order to unify their struggle for freedom and self-determination in accordance with the principles of the United Nations charter and other relevant resolutions. It is accepted that a viable coalition must be the result of efforts among the Kampucheans themselves, in their own good time and free from outside interference."

Foreign Minister of the Philippines Carlos P. Romulo said: "ASEAN continues to uphold the Kampuchean right to their sovereignty, territorial integrity, and national identity. To be free to exercise the right to self-determination and to choose one's government without coercion is a right just as basic as the right to be free from want and to be free from fear. The invasion and occupation of Kampuchea has brought Vietnamese forces to the Thai-Kampuchean border and into Thailand's backyard. The security of Thailand, encircled by the three Indochinese states, is of great concern to the other ASEAN members. We will continue to give that endangered country our full political and moral support. ASEAN hopes that Vietnam will realize that it is in its long-term interest to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea."

Foreign Minister of Singapore S. Dhanabalan noted: "We have been able to mobilise support to maintain the diplomatic, political and economic isolation of Vietnam. We shall continue in our principled stand until a political solution is found for Cambodia. We continue to hold the door open for Vietnam to come to the conference table and until Vietnam agrees to a political solution and to withdraw its troops from Cambodia, we shall continue to apply all-round pressure on Vietnam. We seek the establishment of an independent and neutral Cambodia in accordance with the resolution of the international conference on Kampuchea (ICK),"

Indonesian Foreign Minister Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja said: "Attempts at creating a coalition government comprising the three nationalist Kampuchean factions appear to be still bogged down although negotiations are continuing. ASEAN has expressed its belief that the early formation of such a coalition would be conducive to the achievement of the objectives of the ICK declaration and resolution. But we have made it equally clear that this matter is essentially for the Kampuchean people themselves to decide and implement."

Malaysian Foreign Minister Ghazali Shafie laid emphasis on the joint efforts of ASEAN to confront the worsening economic situation in the world in order to defend the national interests of ASEAN countries.

Singapore's foreign minister was elected chairman, and Thai foreign minister, vice-chairman, of the meeting.

Brunei and Papua New Guinea have sent observers to the meeting.

Singapore Official on Kampuchea

OW151948 Beijing XINHUA in English 1623 GMT 15 Jun 82

[Text] Singapore, June 15 (XINHUA)--ASEAN is optimistic that the three Kampuchean factions against Vietnamese aggression will end differences and unite.

The view was stated by Suppiah Dhanabalan, chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee and Singaporean foreign minister, at a news conference here today at the end of a session of the 15th ASEAN foreign ministerial meeting.

He said: "Of course, such a date is the sooner the better. We have made ourselves available in anyway in helping them to form a coalition."

"We have discussed mainly the further implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations on Kampuchea and of the international conference for Kampuchea" and the discussions were smooth, he added.

When questioned whether ASEAN will put forth new initiative to settle the Kampuchean problem, Dhanabalan replied: "Our position is that the resolutions adopted at the UN General Assembly and the international conference for Kampuchea are a good solution and we will not see the need to come out with new initiatives. Vietnam has not yet responded to the resolutions. This does not mean that they have gotten discarded. We think that ASEAN cannot but wait."

ASEAN, Developed Countries Meet

OW171234 Beijing XINHUA in English 1214 GMT 17 Jun 82

[Text] Singapore, June 17 (XINHUA)--A ministerial dialogue meeting between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and its six partners opened here this morning following the conclusion of the 15th ASEAN foreign ministerial meeting.

The six partners are Australia, Canada, the European Economic Community, Japan, New Zealand, and the United States.

This is the fourth dialogue meeting between the two sides since 1979.

Inaugurating the dialogue meeting, B. Dhanabalan, Singaporean foreign minister and chairman of the Standing Committee of the present dialogue meeting, briefed ASEAN's partners on the just-ended ASEAN ministerial meeting. He said ASEAN reaffirmed its opposition to the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnam with Soviet assistance.

He stressed, "We reiterated our commitment to the solution set out in the various U.N. resolutions and the declaration of the international conference on Kampuchea."

Referring to the present dialogue meeting, Dhanabalan stated: "In economic terms our meeting today is a meeting between a group of countries belonging to what is commonly referred to as 'the south' and a group of countries from 'the north.'" "ASEAN approached these meetings with its dialogue partners as equals and does not regard these meetings as a platform for asking the industrial north for handouts. The ASEAN countries are not basketcases. Nor do we regard the dialogue partners as countries with unlimited resources," he noted.

Dhanabalan expressed the hope that the developed countries would realize the growing role of the developing countries in the global economic system and adopt a new approach towards them. He said: "The recent world recession has eroded the confidence of the industrialised countries in the fundamental strength of the international economic system which they have fashioned. As a result, many developed countries find the temptation irresistible to fall back to the protectionist and nationalistic approaches of the pre-World War II days."

He expressed the conviction that the dialogue meeting would be useful and constructive in promoting and improving the economic relations between the two sides. But, he declared, "future dialogue would preferably be with groups of countries rather than individual countries."

Australia, Canada Back ASEAN

OW171620 Beijing XINHUA in English 1613 GMT 17 Jun 82

[Text] Singapore, June 17 (XINHUA)--Australia and Canada today expressed support for the Association of Southeast Asian Nations' stand for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

Speaking at a meeting between foreign ministers from Australia and the five member countries of ASEAN, Australian Foreign Minister Anthony Street said: "We share your concern about the threat to regional security posed by the Vietnamese military occupation of Cambodia and continue to support ASEAN's diplomatic strategy in the United Nations to secure a withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and a genuine act of self-determination by the Khmer people."

At today's ASEAN-Canada meeting, Mark MacGuigan, secretary of state for external affairs of Canada, said: "We shall continue to cooperate with ASEAN in search for a peaceful settlement in Cambodia which will remove foreign occupation troops from that tragic land, provide for the Khmer people to choose their own government free from external pressure and halt the flow of refugees. As long as Hanoi refuses to end its occupation of Cambodia, Canada for its part will not help subsidize Hanoi's military activities by extending development aid to Vietnam."

During the meetings, both Australia and Canada expressed the desire to seek a solution to the problems caused by refugees from Kampuchea.

CSO: 4000/148

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON INDIA

PRC, Indian Officials Meet

OW041632 Beijing XINHUA in English 1538 GMT 4 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing, June 4 (XINHUA)--State Councillor Ji Pengfei met today with Subramaniam Swamy, member of parliament (Lok Sabha) of India, and Mrs. Swamy for a talk.

Swamy told Councillor Ji that since his last visit to China in 1978 India-China relations have developed. He said the exchanges of visits and trade between the two countries have also increased. Swamy said he hoped that the two governments will continue contacts to explore ways for the settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

Ji said the peoples and governments of the two countries all want to see Sino-Indian relations develop. "Our two governments have worked for the growth of this relationship," Ji said. "On the whole, our relations have improved each day." He said he hoped that the two countries will settle the existing problem under the principle of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation.

Also present were Xie Li, secretary-general of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, and K. S. Bajpai, Indian ambassador to China.

India-China Society

OW101351 Beijing XINHUA in English 1543 GMT 9 Jun 82 OW

[Text] New Delhi, 9 Jun (XINHUA)--An India-China society has been established in New Delhi recently to promote friendly exchanges between the two countries. The president and vice president of the society, B. N. Pandey and Ram Niwas Mirdha, both members of the parliament, met with Chinese ambassador to India Shen Jian last night. Pandey said that the society, which was formed by personalities of various circles and will be inaugurated at an official ceremony some time later, is open to everyone who is friendly to China. Its purpose is to enhance friendly exchanges in every field and promote understanding between the two countries, he added. Welcoming the initiative, Shen Jian recalled the existence of more than 2,000 years of friendship between China and India. He said through interflow in various fields, the two countries would certainly increase their mutual understanding.

CSO: 4000/140

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON EAST EUROPE

Students in Romania

OW060412 Beijing XINHUA in English 0239 GMT 6 Jun 82

[Text] Bucharest, 5 Jun (XINHUA)--Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, today received and had a cordial conversation with the visiting Chinese students delegation.

The four-member Chinese delegation headed by Lin Yanzhi, chairman of the All-China Students Federation, arrived here on May 27. They visited a number of universities, colleges and some youth cultural and sports centers, as well as industrial and agricultural installations in Bucharest and other places. They had discussions and exchanged experience on student work with leaders of the National Council of the Union of Communist Students Association of Romania, local youth league organizations and students unions of some schools.

The Chinese delegation wound up its visit to the country and left for Yugoslavia today.

Clashes in Poland

OW150753 Beijing XINHUA in English 0733 GMT 15 Jun 82

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Jun (XINHUA)--Overnight curfew was reimposed, cultural and sports activities suspended and the sale of alcoholic drinks banned today in Wroclaw Province, Poland's southwestern electronic industrial center, according to an Interior Ministry bulletin released by the Polish Press Agency PAP.

This decision followed street clashes in the city of Wroclaw on June 13, which marked the half year of imposition of the state of siege in the country.

The governor of the province said that one important reason for the reimposition of the curfew was that the demonstrators and trouble-makers were "particularly militant."

It was reported that a group of Wroclaw citizens took to the street yesterday in an anti-government demonstration and clashed with the police. The demonstrators hurled stones and petrol bombs at the police who fired tear gas and water cannon to disperse the protestors. The clash ended with more than 120 demonstrators detained, 40 of whom were university and middle school students, and 23 policemen injured.

Another PAP report said that anti-martial law street demonstrations took place also in Nowa Huta, an industrial center of Krakow Province, and in Gdansk yesterday to mark the half year of the state of siege. The demonstrators in Nowa Huta destroyed a dozen or more police and private cars.

Poland to Lift Curfews

OW130716 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 13 Jun 82

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Jun (XINHUA)--Two hundred fifty-seven detainees will be released, curfew will be lifted in Warsaw and restrictions on local mass organizations will be relaxed, according to a communique released by the Polish Internal Affairs Ministry tonight.

The announcement was made in accordance with the instructions of chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation Wojciech Jaruzelski, on the eve of six-month imposition of martial law.

According to a PAP report, the Military Council of National Salvation reviewed at a meeting this evening the country's political, economic situation for the past six months and pointed out that the major tasks set on December 13, 1981 were being completed despite serious obstacles. The meeting listed the tasks to be fulfilled presently.

However, the meeting ordered the Internal Affairs Ministry to deal firmly with all those who jeopardize the interests of society and the nation and undermine broad national understanding.

It is disclosed that during the martial law period, more than 5,000 people were detained. They had been released in batches on bail in the last six months. On April 28, some 1,000 detainees were released or set free conditionally. The authorities had decided to lift the martial law on May 2, but as demonstrations and strikes broke out again in Warsaw, Gdansk and other parts of the country in early May, curfew was reimposed and one thousand and several hundred people were detained.

Curfew was lifted today in the second biggest port city, Szczecin, where workers and students held anti-government demonstrations and clashed with the police on May 3 and 4.

CSO: 4000/139

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON ARGENTINA

Ready to Negotiate

OW100816 Beijing XINHUA in English 0808 GMT 10 Jun 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, June 9 (XINHUA)--Argentine President Leopoldo Galtieri said today that Argentina will not surrender to Britain in the Malvinas Island. "This does not mean we will not negotiate. But only with dignity, honor and justice," he said.

Galtieri made the statement at a cabinet meeting.

He said, "The government will let our generation play its role so as not to pass the 149-year-old colonial problem to our children."

The Argentine president requested all government institutions to act in accordance with the Argentine people's will and spirit of sacrifice.

At the cabinet meeting, Minister of Foreign Affairs Costa Mendez made a report on the conference of the coordinating bureau of the non-aligned countries to which he attended and on his meeting with Venezuelan President Luis Herrera Campins. Minister of National Defense Amadeo Frugoli spoke about his recent tour of the war zone in the South Atlantic.

Atomic Energy Use

OW121238 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 12 Jun 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, June 12 (XINHUA)--Argentina announced yesterday that it enjoys the freedom to make a nuclear submarine in the future.

The announcement was made by Carlos Castro Madero, chairman of the Argentine Atomic Energy Commission, who is attending an international atomic conference in Vienna.

Talking to a radio station here by telephone fron Vienna, Castro Madero said, "In face of the use of Britain of atomic energy for military purposes, Argentina has the right to make a nuclear submarine in the future, without violating any of those commitments it undertook."

He said that Argentina has requested the International Atomic Energy Agency to clarify whether it would be considered legitimate for a nuclear power to use nuclear submarines against a non-nuclear country.

It was reported that Argentina raised a protest in early May against the sinking of the Argentine cruiser "General Belgrano" by a British nuclear submarine.

Argentina will reserve the right to use atomic energy for military purposes, the chairman said, but it does not mean that Argentina will make atom bombs or conduct nuclear explosions.

Argentine Forces Surrender

OW151936 Beijing XINHUA in English 1525 GMT 15 Jun 82

[Text] London, June 15 (XINHUA)--Argentine forces in the Falkland(Malvinas) Islands surrendered last night after three days of fierce fighting around the capital, Port Stanley, the British prime minister's office announced here this morning.

The surrender occurred at 9 p.m. Falkland time (0100 GMT today), the announcement said.

It quoted the commander of Britain's land forces in the islands as saying in a message sent to London: "In Port Stanley at 9 p.m. Falkland time tonight, June 14, Major General Menendez surrendered all Argentine armed forces in east and west Falklands, together with their impediments."

Arrangements are being made for the Argentine troops to return to Argentina, he said.

An hour after London's announcement, the Argentine high command confirmed in a statement that the commanders of both sides had met and agreed on the "conditions of a cease-fire and pullout of troops."

Cease-Fire Agreement

OW171308 Beijing XINHUA in English 1244 GMT 17 Jun 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, June 16 (XINHUA)--The cease-fire agreed to between Argentina and Britain Monday applies "exclusively" to fighting in the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands, an Argentine military high command communique said today.

The communique said that only Argentine troops under Argentina's military governor Mario Menendez were involved in the cease-fire agreement.

The fall of Puerto Argentino (Port Stanley) was due to Britain's superior technology and equipment, the communique said. It added that to avoid "unnecessary bloodshed," Argentina had decided to stop its resistance in the conflict.

The communique says that the Argentine garrison "has not only resisted Britain, one of the principal powers of the world backed by the United States, the European Economic Community and the acquiesing NATO, it has also dealt a heavy blow to it despite a wide gap in force and equipment."

The commanders of Argentina's three services were reported to have held separate meetings within their own services today to discuss at length whether to terminate or to continue the state of war with Britain, but no results emerged.

Galtieri Resigns

OW180215 Beijing XINHUA in English 1234 GMT 18 Jun 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, June 17 (XINHUA)--General Leopoldo Galtieri resigned this afternoon as president, leader of the military junta and commander in chief of the Argentine army, according to an announcement here.

Interior Minister General Alfredo Saint Jean will become interim president upon Galtieri's resignation.

Lami Dozo, commander of the air force, will become leader of the 3-man military junta; and Cristino Nicolaides, commander of the First Army Corps, will assume the post of commander in chief of the army.

The decision for these changes was made at a 7-hour meeting by active generals on Wednesday night.

Galtieri's resignation was connected with the informal cease-fire agreement reached between Britain and Argentina on June 14.

CSO: 4000/141

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON THE MIDEAST

Israel Incursion Into Lebanon

OW101535 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 10 Jun 82

["Round-up: Syria Enters War, Israel Meets Great Resistance"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beirut, June 9 (XINHUA)--Sixty-two Syrian fighter planes met in a fierce battle today with 96 Israeli warplanes that attacked the Syrian SAM-6 missile batteries in the Bekaa Valley of eastern Lebanon, making it "the biggest air battle in Middle East history," as Damascus Radio put it.

Israel claimed that it downed 15 Syrian fighters while Syria said it destroyed 10 Israeli planes in what some Western historians said may have been the costliest one-day air battle since the last days of World War II.

Syria's entering the war constituted a change in the military situation, in the Middle East and increased the danger of the war being expanded.

Israel's 85,000 aggressor troops, relying on their superior air, sea and ground strength, have swept across 2,500 square kilometers of land in southern Lebanon within 62 hours. They have taken the Palestinian Resistance Movement's strategic stronghold of Fort Shagif, and its major strongpoints of Nabitiyeh, Hasibiyeh and Sur. The Israeli invading troops have also encircled Saida and Damour, and are pressing toward the suburbs of Beirut.

Courageously resisting the Israeli invaders, the Palestine guerrillas fought hard for every street and building, and battled hand-to-hand with the intruding enemy. Israel sent 20,000 soldiers assisted by warplanes and warships to attack Saida, but failed to capture it so far.

In the four days of fighting, the Palestine guerrillas have destroyed more than 80 Israeli tanks and armored troop-carriers, brought down seven Israeli airplanes, and killed or wounded more than 600 Israeli soldiers. Even the Israeli chief of general staff Rafael Eytan had to admit the Israelis have met indomitable resistance.

The main strength of Israeli troops is now thrusting along two routes. One gropu is advancing northward along the coast, fiercely attacking Saida and Damour in an attempt to surround Beirut from the south. The other has reached Ain Zahleta, 5 kilometers from the Beirut-Damascus international highway, after crossing Beit ed Din, trying to forcibly seize the commanding point on that road. Both have met stubborn resistance from the Syrian forces.

The supply line to 30,000 Syrian troops in Lebanon would be cut and Beirut would be completely encircled if the Israeli troops should prevail.

U.S. special envoy Habib flew to Damascus today carrying with him Israel's conditions for ceasefire and withdrawal, which include the withdrawal of Syrian forces from Lebanon, the setting up of a 40-kilometer demilitarised zone in southern Syria and the assurance that P.L.O. guerrillas will not go back to southern Lebanon.

Observers here predicted that these conditions could hardly be accepted by Syria, Lebanon and P.L.O., and that the conflict in Lebanon would be in danger of escalation and the possibility of an attack on Beirut should not be ruled out.

Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the P.L.O., made an emergency appeal today to all heads of state, asking them to help stop Israel's attack on Beirut.

Radio Israel claimed that Damour, 20 kilometers from Beirut, had been captured and that the southern part of Beirut was thus exposed to Israeli troops.

Italian CP Criticizes Israel

OW110800 Beijing XINHUA in English 0733 GMT 11 Jun 82

[Text] Rome, June 10 (XINHUA)--The leading body of the Italian Communist Party, in a communique today, once again condemned Israel's "violation of all the basic principles of international peaceful coexistence as well as norms and principles of respect for the freedom and human rights of the peoples."

The communique said that all forces should be galvanized into action to force Israel to cease fire and withdraw its troops without any condition, and to support politically and economically the Palestinians and Lebanese, the victims of aggression.

The Italian Government must urge the European Common Market to carry out the Venice resolution of 1980 which recognizes the rights of the Palestinian Liberation Organization as the representative of the Palestinian people, the communique said.

The communique demands that the Italian Government recognize and support the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

The communique calls on all peace forces to go into action to put an end to the fighting and the practice of using force to solve international conflict so as to protect world peace which is endangered by increasing threats.

PLO Issues Lebanon Appeal

OW110302 Beijing XINHUA in English 0209 GMT 11 Jun 82

[Text] Geneva, June 10 (XINHUA)--The office of the permanent observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to the U.N. office at Geneva today appealed to all international organizations and world public opinion to condemn Israel for its "violation of all norms of international relations" by invading Lebanon.

The PLO appeal is contained in a press communique issued here today.

The communique says, "Many civilian residential areas have become the targets of Israeli attacks." "The number of civilian victims, dead or wounded, is estimated at 8,000 up to the present," it says.

It appeals for urgent measures to protect the wounded and calls for respect for the Geneva conventions which guarantee the protection of civilians and the wounded in time of war.

Syria, Israel on Ceasefire

OW111520 Beijing XINHUA in English 1512 GMT 11 Jun 82

[Text] Damascus, June 11 (XINHUA)--Syria and Israel agreed to a cease-fire in Lebanon today.

The agreement was reached through mediation efforts by U.S. special envoy Philip Habib.

Speaking on Syrian Government Radio, a government spokesman said Syria presented its conditions for a cease-fire in talks between Habib and President Hafiz al-Asad in Damascus. Al-Asad told Habib he would accept a cease-fire on the condition that Israel withdraws troops from Lebanon.

The Israeli cabinet announced Israel would begin observing a cease-fire at 10:00 GMT today and said Israeli troops would only fire if fired upon.

The announcement followed a personal message sent Thursday to Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin from U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

Israel's Cease-fire 'Trick'

OW122046 Beijing XINHUA in English 1942 GMT 12 Jun 82

["Commentary by Correspondent Zhong Dong: Sinister Intention Behind Cease-Fire"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, June 12 (XINHUA)--The Israeli authorities announced a cease-fire in Lebanon at noon Friday, the eighth day of their invasion of that country. However, they declared that they would not withdraw their troops from Lebanon before the harsh terms they had offered were accepted.

People should guard against Israel's trick of cease-fire without troop withdrawal.

First of all, the trick is nothing new. During the June 5 war in 1967, Israel planned this very trick to illegally occupy a vast tract of Arab land in the West Bank of the Jordan River, the Sinai Peninsula, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. Apart from Sinai, all these territories remain in its grip.

Secondly, Israel announced a cease-fire only with Syrian troops, but not with the Palestine Liberation Organization. Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon claimed that Israel's troops will continue their "mopping-up operations" against Palestinian forces in areas it had occupied. No problems of cease-fire has ever existed between Israel and Palestine, he added. This indicates that Israel has intended to make use of "cease-fire" to split the Arab ranks and prevent Arab states from supporting the Palestinian people so that the PLO will fight in isolation and Israel will be able to attain its goals of weakening and even eliminating the Palestinian guerrillas.

Thirdly, the conditions for withdrawal offered by Israel include not only a disarmament of the Palestinians in regions 60 km from its border but also a Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon. In this way, after the Syrian troops' retreat, Lebanon's national defence will undoubtedly be weakened. Then, Israel can do whatever it wishes there and finally place Lebanon, or at least Lebanon's southern part, under its control so as to consolidate and expand its position for further expansion.

Finally, whether the cease-fire between Israel and Syria can be completely realized still needs further observation.

In fact, one hour after the announcement of the cease-fire Israel's shooting at Syrian strongholds along the Beirut-Damascus highway occurred. Soon afterwards, Israeli artillery bombarded Syrian troops stationed in East Lebanon. By behaving recklessly, Israel has obviously obtained support and cooperation from the United States.

Please look at the facts. When Israeli planes bombed Beirut on June 4, Washington kept total silence on the matter. After Israeli troops began to launch a large-scale invasion of Lebanon, the U.S. Government hurriedly evacuated U.S. diplomats and their families from that country on the following day. Obviously, it knew in advance the subsequent expansion of the war. On June 8, the United States vetoed the U.N. security draft resolution calling for a cease-fire by Israel and its troops withdrawal from Lebanon. On the same day, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig told reporters in London that his country would not impose sanctions on Israel and had made no decision to delay the delivery of weapons to Israel. U.S. special envoy P. Habib's "mediation" efforts produced results only when Washington saw Israel's invasion reaching the expected depth and width.

Arab sources have pointed out that the United States has not been wronged when they say that Israeli artillery and U.S. diplomacy have played a mutually complementary role in the current massive Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Israel's invasion has aroused furious indignation among the peace-loving people in the world and nobody will be deceived by its cease-fire game.

Israel should know that it can never wipe a nation out of the earth by whatsoever it resorts to, armed force or dirty tricks. In the face of the struggle of the Palestinians and the Arab people as a whole, its policy of aggression and expansion is doomed to failure.

Saudi King's Death

OW131526 Beijing XINHUA in English 1501 GMT 13 Jun 82

[Text] Kuwait, June 13 (XINHUA)--King Khalid Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz of Saudi Arabia died of a heart attack today, according to Radio Riyadh.

A statement issued by the Saudi Royal Court announced that Crown Prince and deputy premier Fahd Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz was officially proclaimed king, replacing his deceased brother.

The late king was born in 1913 and sworn in as king of Saudi Arabia following the death of the late King Faysal in 1975.

The Royal Court statement said that Second Deputy Premier and Chief of the Saudi National Guard Prince 'Abdallah Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz was appointed crown prince.

Fahd Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz was born in 1922 and held a number of ministerial posts before becoming crown prince in 1975.

New Crown Prince 'Abdallah Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz was born in 1924 and held the post of the second deputy premier and chief of the Saudi National Guard in 1975.

Israeli Withdrawal Urged

OW140712 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 14 Jun 82

[Text] Washington, June 13 (XINHUA)--Senator Charles Percy stressed today, "There will be no peace in the Middle East until we resolve the Palestinian issue. By resolving it, I clearly mean establishing an entity, or homeland for the Palestinians."

Percy, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, appearing on a TV program here said he had told Secretary of State Alexander Haig about his disapproval of Israel's indications that it does not intend to withdraw from Lebanon immediately.

"We feel it is in the best interest of all parties, including Israel, for them not to appear in any way to be staying there and occupying that land, as they have the West Bank and Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights.

"It would be a disaster for the peace process for them to do that," he said.

Israel must comply with the withdrawal request of the world, of the United Nations and the United States of America, and not plan on administering that area, he said.

Asked what kind of leverage the United States can bring on Israel, Percy said, "I prefer calling it reason with Israel." "Israel knows that their survival depends entirely upon the United States," he said.

"We have determined that we must resolve this problem in order to stabilize the Middle East, in order to find peace for Israel," he said.

PLO Official Criticizes U.S.

OW140720 Beijing XINHUA in English 0706 GMT 14 Jun 82

[Text] Washington, June 13 (XINHUA)--A representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization said today that the United States "should be unbiased and treat the Palestinians fairly and justly."

Faruq Qaddumi, head of the political department of the PLO who is presently in the United States to represent the PLO in the United Nations, was speaking in a television program broadcast from New York.

He called on world public opinion to exert pressure on Israel and the United States to preserve peace. Israel should be stopped from its aggression against its neighbors and pressure be brought to bear on it to make it withdraw from the West Bank and Gaza so that the people of Palestine may return to their homeland, he said.

He criticized certain reports in the United States describing the Palestinian resistance in self-defense is a crime while absolving the Israelis from their crime of killing the Palestinian people.

He said that the United States should do so because this would serve peace and maintain its own interest in the Middle East. The U.S. administration is now "antagonizing the whole population of the Arab world," he said.

He strongly denounced the Israeli invasion of Lebanon as a "war of genocide against the Palestinians." It is clear that "Israel is an aggressive and expansionist state." By annexing the Golan Heights and Jerusalem, occupying the West Bank and claiming it as Israeli territory and by shelling villages and refugee camps in Lebanon, Israel "is destroying all the possibilities" of peace, he said.

The Israelis must "pull out completely and totally from Lebanese territory," he demanded.

Mubarak in Saudi Arabia

OW142002 Beijing XINHUA in English 1852 GMT 14 Jun 82

[Text] Kuwait, June 14 (XINHUA)--Egyptian President Husni Mubarak arrived in Saudi Arabia today to offer condolences on the death of King Khalid, according to a report from Riyadh.

King Fahd met Mubarak and other members of his delegation. Saudi Arabian Crown Prince 'Abdallah and Defense Minister Sultan were also present at the meeting.

Political observers in Riyadh believed that Mubarak's presence in Riyadh would provide an opportunity for a mini-summit at which the alarming situation in Lebanon and the possibility of Egypt's return to the Arab fold could be discussed.

However, Mubarak's arrival in Riyadh was considered as a confirmation of the fraternal relations between Saudi Arabia and Egypt. Egypt has declared two weeks of official mourning for the late King Khalid whom Mubarak described as a symbol of Arab and Islamic solidarity.

A condolence message cabled by Mubarak to the new King Fahd of Saudi Arabia was the first public contact between the two countries. Saudi Arabia, along with most Arab states, had broken diplomatic relations with Egypt following a separate peace treaty signed in 1979 between Cairo and Tel Aviv.

PRC Donation to Lebanon

OW151940 Beijing XINHUA in English 1548 GMT 15 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing, June 15 (XINHUA)--The Red Cross Society of China today sent a message to the Lebanese Red Cross Society and donated medicine and medical instruments to the Lebanese people who have suffered from the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

The full text of the message follows:

"The Chinese Red Cross Society has learned with extreme indignation that the Israeli armed forces are wantonly invading your country, causing tremendous losses of lives and properties of your people.

"The Chinese Red Cross Society wishes to express its deep sympathy and solicitude for the victims and has decided to donate 20 tons of medicine and medical instruments to support the just struggle of the Lebanese people for defending their state sovereingty and territorial integrity."

PRC Medicine to Palestinians

OW151942 Beijing XINHUA in English 1551 GMT 15 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing, June 15 (XINHUA)--The Red Cross Society of China today sent a message to the Palestinian Red Crescent Society and donated medicine and medical instruments to the Palestinians who have suffered from the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

The full text of the message follows:

"The Chinese Red Cross Society has learned with extreme indignation of the wanton invasion and indiscriminate bombing committed by the Israeli armed forces, causing tremendous losses of lives and properties of the Palestinian people.

"The Chinese Red Cross Society wishes to express its deep sympathy and solicitude for the victims and has decided to donate 20 tons of medicine and medical instruments to support the just struggle of the Palestinian people."

War Damage in Lebanon

OW151932 Beijing XINHUA in English 1510 GMT 15 Jun 82

["Feature: On the Damascus-Beirut Highway--by XINHUA correspondent Zhang Jinglei"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Damascus, June 15 (XINHUA)--Two days after the Syrian-Israeli cease-fire became effective, this correspondent made a trip along the Damascus-Beirut International Highway and was much grieved on seeing the damages done by Israeli invasion against Lebanon and the sufferings of the Lebanese and Palestinian people.

A strong war atmosphere still prevailed everywhere as I drove from Damascus westward on June 13. Syrian positions were seen here and there on the mountains, with fully-armed soldiers keeping watch from tanks and emplacements. Crowds of soldiers, just withdrawn from the frontline after days of fierce battle, were waiting for transport to Syria for rest and reorganization at home.

At the customhouse on the Syrian border, hundreds of Lebanese refugees were waiting for visa to Syria. Many were emaciated and in a fluster. One old man told me that he and his three children wanted to take refuge in a Gulf country.

The checkpoint on the Lebanese border had been blown up by Israeli warplanes. No one was there to check entry visas. Only a Lebanese policeman and a Syrian soldier were there to control the traffic.

The town of Chtaura in northern Bekaa Valley where the headquarters of the Syrian troops in Lebanon is located, is only several kilometers from the Syrian-Lebanese border. The town was subjected to heavy Israeli artillery bombardment only a few days ago. At the entrance to the town were two huge bomb craters. Shops nearby on both sides of the road were leveled to the ground. Deeper into the town, most of the stores remained closed and the streets were virtually deserted.

I was deeply depressed by the distressing scenes I saw in Beirut. The Lebanese capital, formerly a scene of hustle and bustle, is now almost a dead city. Israel's wanton and indiscriminate bombings have added terrible havoc to the city that had been ravaged by years of civil war. The stadium, a major target of Israeli bombing raids, has been reduced to heaps of debris. The many skyscrapers nearby have been badly damaged.

In front of a baker was a long queue of haggard looking persons. Beirut residents are reportedly already suffering from a week-long food shortage.

According to the International Red Cross, more than 10,000 Lebanese residents have been killed or wounded and some 60,000 people made homeless since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon on June 4. In the town of Saida of southern Lebanon alone, 1,500 civilians were killed and 3,000 others wounded. Thousands of refugees have swarmed into Beirut.

Despite the fact that Israel announced a cease-fire with the Palestine armed forces Saturday night, fierce fighting was raging and palls of smoke could be seen the following day around the airport in southern Beirut.

On our way back to Damascus in the afternoon, we met three Palestinian guerrillas who had fought the Israeli invaders for five days at Saida. They were going to Syria with instructions to bring more new recruits to the front. One of them said firmly "We Palestinians have no choice but to fight to the end."

Habib, Lebanese Leaders Talk

OW161714 Beijing XINHUA in English 1626 GMT 16 Jun 82

[Text] Beirut, June 16 (XINHUA)--U.S. special envoy Philip Habib Tuesday held a series of talks with Lebanese leaders on Israel's conditions for withdrawing from Lebanon.

The Beirut State Radio said Lebanese Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan insisted in the talks on Israel's prompt and unconditional withdrawal from the estimated one-fourth of Lebanon it has occupied in the past nine days.

Habib arrived here from Damascus on June 14.

According to Beirut newspapers, Israel wants a 40-kilometer security zone set up beyond its northern border under a multi-national police force, including a U.S. force, as a precondition for withdrawal.

Chief spokesman of the Palestine Liberation Organization Mahmoud Labadi told a news conference here the PLO would never accept Israel's conditions.

"Israel has no right to impose its will on any of its neighbors," he said. "We will resist until victory."

U.S. Official in Saudi Arabia

OW161930 Beijing XINHUA in English 1903 GMT 16 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing, June 16 (XINHUA)--A U.S. delegation led by Vice President George Bush left Riyadh for home today after visiting Saudi Arabia, according to a report from Riyadh.

Upon his arrival in Riyadh last night, Bush said: "We have come at a time of great danger and tragedy in the region which underscores the vital importance of the closest possible cooperation between the United States and Saudi Arabia."

Soon after his arrival, Bush had a long talk with Saudi King Fahd. At a press conference before his departure, Bush said he had discussed with the Saudi leader the necessity of cease-fire in Lebanon. He said Saudi Arabia had asked the United States to force Israel to withdraw troops from Lebanon and he would report to the U.S. President on the Saudi stand.

The U.S. delegation including Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and senior senators and congressmen had been in Riyadh to express condolences on the death of King Khalid.

Reagan, Egyptian Minister Meet

OW170824 Beijing XINHUA in English 0805 GMT 17 Jun 82

[Text] Washington, June 16 (XINHUA)--Egyptian Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali said here today, "The situation in Lebanon and especially around Beirut is unacceptable. The Israeli forces must withdraw from its vicinity."

He said, "This besieged Arab capital and its government must become free to handle its own destiny."

He was speaking to newsmen after meeting with President Ronald Reagan today.

He said he had given Reagan a message from Egyptian President Muhammed Husni Mubarak but did not reveal its content. The message reportedly called on the United States to get actively involved in seeking an end to the bloodshed in Lebanon and a solution to the Palestinian issue.

'Ali said Egypt was shocked when Israel invaded Lebanon, causing thousands of deaths.

"Now, above all, is the time for the United States to do everything possible so that the war comes to an end and peace could prevail," he said.

'Ali said Reagan has reassured him that the United States would continue "to play a full-partner role in the efforts to bring about a comprehensive peace in the Middle East."

Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who was present at the meeting, called afterwards for "an early withdrawal" of Israeli forces.

'Ali had met with Secretary Haig on Monday. They discussed and exchanged views on the situation following the massive invasion of Lebanon by Israel. They concentrated on the ceasefire and essential arrangements for the human facilities as well as withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon.

Haig indicated after the meeting that it is difficult to go on with the peace process now, the autonomy talks in particular, but he hoped that the solution of the Lebanese crisis will be "a catalyst" for facilitating progress in the peace process.

'Ali's 3-day working visit to Washington was planned before the Israeli invasion in a bid to restart the Palestinian "autonomy talks" which have been stalled by Israeli insistence on holding the next round in Jerusalem.

Israel in Lebanon

OW171717 Beijing XINHUA in English 1644 GMT 17 Jun 82

[Text] Kuwait, June 17 (XINHUA)--Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister Sa'ud al-Faisal warned Wednesday that his country might be compelled to take "the necessary measures" to force Israel out of Lebanon if the United States fails to do so.

Speaking at a news conference in Riyadh following the departure of a U.S. delegation headed by Vice President George Bush, al-Faisal called on the United States to respond positively and seek the implementation of U.N. resolutions on a ceasefire in Lebanon and the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon.

Al-Faisal also suggested a halt to U.S. arms supplies to Israel as a tactic to end the aggression on Lebanon.

He said that whether to link an Israeli withdrawal with the removal of all non-Lebanese troops from Lebanon or not was up to the Lebanese Government.

"Neither Israel, the United States nor any other country has the right to impose conditions on Lebanon," he said.

It has been reported that Bush conferred with new Saudi King Fahd for more than two hours Wednesday.

According to Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman Charles Percy, who was a member of the U.S. delegation, King Fahd was extremely concerned about the possible Soviet interference in the conflict through Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The U.S. delegation came to Riyadh to convey President Ronald Reagan's condolences at the death of King Khalid.

PLO Official Assassinated

OW180758 Beijing XINHUA in English 0710 GMT 18 Jun 82

[Text] Rome, June 17 (XINHUA)--A PLO official and a Palestinian reporter were assassinated here today.

The deputy director of the Palestine Liberation Organization's Rome office, Kamal Hussein, was killed in his car by a time bomb fixed inside. Last night Kamal joined in a demonstration here in support of the Lebanese and Palestinian people.

The reporter, Haziz Matter of the Palestinian newspaper AL AMBA, was killed by gunmen who ambushed him on his way home.

The PLO Rome office issued a statement today condemning the Israeli terrorists for killing political cadres of the Palestinian people. This signalled Israeli assassinations of PLO representatives abroad, the statement said.

Italian President Sandro Pertini and Premier Giovanni Spadolini were reported to have told the representatives of the Italy-Arab Association that the Italian Government would investigate and take actions against terrorist activities.

Parliamentarians from the Italian Communist Party, the Italian Socialist Party and the Italian Socialist Party of Proletariat Unity were reported to have urged the Italian Government to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legal representative of the Palestinian people.

CSO: 4000/147

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON THE IRAQ-IRAN WAR

Conditions for Withdrawal

OW101242 Beijing XINHUA in English 1224 GMT 10 Jun 82

[Text] Baghdad, June 19 (XINHUA)--The Iraqi revolution command council in a statement today said Iraqi troops are prepared to withdraw to the international border in two weeks on condition that Iran agrees to a ceasefire.

The statement said, according to Radio Baghdad, Iraq is ready for an immediate ceasefire and ending all forms of military action as soon as Iran agrees to a ceasefire.

The statement said if agreement could not be reached directly with Iran on the issues involved, "Iraq is prepared to accept a binding arbitration to be made by the Islamic conference at an emergency meeting to be held for this purpose."

It added that if Iran rejected arbitration by the Islamic conference organization, Iraq would accept a binding decision made by the non-aligned movement or the U.N. Security Council.

The statement said that these Iraqi decisions were made at a meeting last night in response to the ceasefire appeal made by the Islamic mediation committee. The meeting was attended by the national and regional leading members of the ruling Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, the high command of the armed forces and the Revolution Command Council.

According to Radio Baghdad yesterday, an Iraqi commentary denounced Iran for rejecting a new proposal of the Islamic mediation committee. The proposal had urged the presidents of Iran and Iraq to meet in Mecca in Saudi Arabia on June 8 to discuss ways to end the war.

The commentary revealed that Iraq had informed the Islamic mediation committee that President Saddam Husayn was prepared to go to Mecca. But, the proposal was rejected by Iran.

Passage of Iranian Troops

OW120828 Beijing XINHUA in English 0730 GMT 12 Jun 82

[Text] Baghdad, June 11 (XINHUA)--Iraq today officially expressed its consent to the passage of Iranian troops across Iraqi territory to fight Israeli aggressor troops Baghdad Radio reported today, quoting an official Iraqi spokesman.

"Iranian parliamentary speaker Hashemi-Rafsanjani said today that Iran hoped to send its forces to Syria and Lebanon through Iraqi territory. Iraq now announces that it allows Iranian troops, whatever their numbers and services, to cross its land to reach Syria and Lebanon," the spokesman said.

The spokesman added, "But the passage of foreign troops across the territories of a country requires the existence of a state of peace between the two countries concerned."

"Iraq announced on June 10 its readiness for a ceasefire, to withdraw its troops from Iranian territory and settle its dispute with Iran peacefully. It is hoped that the Iranian Government would make a clear and definite response to the statement of the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council," the spokesman said.

Iraq would discuss with Iranian officials, as soon as Iran announced its agreement to a ceasefire, to make arrangements for the passage of Iranian forces across Iraq, the spokesman said.

CSO: 4000/143

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON ITALIAN MILITARY DELEGATION

Delegation Visits PLA Academy

OW121240 Beijing XINHUA in English 1214 GMT 12 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing, June 12 (XINHUA)--An Italian military delegation led by Lieutenant General Vittorio Santini visited the military academy of the Chinese People's Liberation Army here today.

They were greeted at the entrance of the academy by Xiao Ke, vice-minister of national defense and commandant of the academy, and Wu Xiuquan, deputy chief of the P.L.A. general staff. General Santini inspected some teaching facilities and discussed with Xiao Ke and Wu Xiuquan on matters of common interest.

Accompanying the delegation on the visit were Yu Kezheng, military attache of the Chinese Embassy in Rome, and Lieutenant Colonel Renzo Romano, military, naval and air attache of the Italian Embassy in Beijing.

Delegation Visits Nanjing

OW141742 Beijing XINHUA in English 1557 GMT 14 Jun 82

[Text] Nanjing, June 14 (XINHUA)--An Italian military delegation led by Lieutenant General Vittorio Santini, defense chief of staff, visited a division of the Nanjing units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army here today.

Accompanied by Jin Ye, deputy chief of staff of the P.L.A. Nanjing units, and Zhang Bingyu, deputy director of the foreign affairs bureau of the Chinese Ministry of National Defense, the Italian guests viewed soldiers' basic training and tactical drills of an infantry squad. They also watched firing practice by small arms and scouts' close combat.

The delegation arrived here from Beijing by air this morning. In the evening, the Nanjing units gave a banquet in honor of the Italian guests. Guo Linxiang, first political commissar of the Nanjing units, and General Santini proposed toasts to the constant development of friendship between the Chinese and Italian Armed Forces.

Hangzhou Visited

OW151944 Beijing XINHUA in English 1553 GMT 15 Jun 82

[Text] Hangzhou, June 15 (XINHUA)--The Italian military delegation led by Lieutenant General Vittorio Santini, defense chief of staff, visited an air force unit of the Nanjing units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army here today.

After hearing an introduction to the unit, General Santini closely inspected the cockpit of a fighter. He also inquired about the property of the plane.

The delegation arrived here from Nanjing this morning.

They visited a silk mill and went boating on the West Lake.

In the evening, Kang Mingcai, commander of the Zhejiang provincial military area command of the Chinese P.L.A., gave a banquet in honor of the delegation.

Visit to Shanghai

OW161710 Beijing XINHUA in English 1615 GMT 16 Jun 82

[Text] Shanghai, June 16 (XINHUA)--The Italian military delegation led by Lieutenant General Vittorio Santini, defense chief of staff, today visited a unit in Shanghai of the East China Sea Fleet of the navy of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Accompanied by Yu Shanfu, political commissar of the unit, General Santini and his party boarded warships, including a guided missile escort vessel and a submarine. They acquainted themselves with the property and equipment of the vessels.

This evening, the Italian guests were entertained at an acrobatic show.

CSO: 4000/146

BRIEFS

SWEDISH TERRITORIAL WATERS--Stockholm, June 18 (XINHUA)--The Swedish Government decided yesterday that all foreign submarines intruding into its territorial waters will be forced to surface for identification and escorted to specified locations. The Swedish Navy will use force if necessary. The decision, disclosed by the Swedish Defense Ministry, applies to all foreign ships and aircraft intruding into Swedish territorial waters and air and will come into force on July 1, 1983. At present all foreign intruders are merely expelled and no tough action is taken against them. The decision was taken in the light of frequent intrusions into Sweden's territorial waters by unidentified ships in the past few years, including a Soviet submarine which ran aground near the Karlskrona Naval Base last October. [Text] [OW190951 Beijing XINHUA in English 0736 GMT 19 Jun 82]

HUANG HUA TRIP--United Nations, June 13 (XINHUA)--Chinese State Councillor and Foreign Minister Huang Hua left New York for a visit to Bonn this afternoon at the invitation of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany. After visiting the Federal Republic, he will visit Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain. Huang Hua was here to attend the second special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament which opened on June 7. [Text] [OW140151 Beijing XINHUA in English 0132 GMT 14 Jun 82]

SAUDI KING DIES--Beijing, June 13 (XINHUA)--King Khalid of Saudi Arabia died of a heart attack today, Western news reports quoted the Saudi Press Agency today. Khalid became king in 1975 following the assassination of his brother King Faysal. It is reported that Crown Prince Fahd was named to be the new king. [Text] [OW131208 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 13 Jun 82]

EEC COMMODITIES TO ZIMBABWE--Harare, June 12 (XINHUA)--Zimbabwe will get skimmed milk powder and butter worth 16 million Zimbabwean dollars as a grant from the European Economic Community (EEC). EEC representative in Zimbabwe Andre Vanhaeverbeke, in a statement issued yesterday, said this year 1,500 tons of skimmed milk powder worth about one million Zimbabwean dollars would be sent here, with another 2,500 tons of powder and 1,000 tons of butter pending the approval of the EEC Council of Ministers. It was also reported that Sweden has also granted Zimbabwe 13.7 million Zimbabwean dollars. [Text] [OW121810 Beijing XINHUA in English 1508 GMT 12 Jun 82]

EEC OFFICIAL IN BEIJING--Beijing, June 12 (XINHUA)--Etienne Davignon, vice-president of the Commission of the European Economic Community, and his party arrived here by air tonight for a week-long visit at the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade. The guests were greeted by Jia Shi, vice-minister of foreign economic relations and trade, and Roger Denorme, Belgian ambassador to China. [Text] [OW121816 Beijing XINHUA in English 1557 GMT 12 Jun 82]

FRG FEDERAL ASSEMBLY GROUP--Beijing, June 10 (XINHUA)--Hao Deqing, president of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, met this afternoon with a group of West German Federal Assembly members led by Otto Zink, vice-chairman of the Labor and Social Order Committee of the assembly. After the meeting, President Hao Deqing gave a dinner for the group. Present on both occasions was Wu Maosun, vice-president of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs. The group arrived this afternoon after a visit to Shanghai. [Text] [OW101558 Beijing XINHUA in English 1536 GMT 10 Jun 82]

ITALIAN NATIONAL DAY CELEBRATION--Beijing, 2 Jun (XINHUA)--Italian ambassador to China Giulio Tamagnini gave a reception here this afternoon in celebration of the National Day of the Republic of Italy. Among the guests were Qian Zhengying, minister of water conservancy and power, and Zhang Wenjin, vice minister of foreign affairs, and leading members of other departments concerned. Diplomatic envoys of various countries in China were also present. [Text] [OW041401 Beijing XINHUA in English 1519 GMT 2 Jun 82 OW]

SRI LANKAN OFFICIAL LEAVES--Air Vice Marshal D. H. Perera, commander of the Sri Lanka Air Force, and his party left Beijing by plane on the morning of 5 June for a visit to Xian and other cities. [Text] [OW062056 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1600 GMT 5 Jun 82]

ROMANIAN CP DELEGATION--On the evening of 23 May, Chen Yi, deputy secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee met and feted Romanian party workers delegation headed by Natalia Jipa, member of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and secretary of the Neamt County Party Committee. The host and the guests had a cordial and friendly conversation. [Text] [OW271207 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 23 May 82 OW]

DELEGATION TO ROMANIA, SFRY--Beijing, 27 May (XINHUA)--A four-member Chinese college students' work delegation led by Lin Yanzhi, chairman of the All-China Students' Federation, left here today for friendship visits to Romania and Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Union of Communist Students' Associations of Romania and the Union of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia. [Text] [Beijing Radio in English 0813 GMT 27 May 82 OW]

TIANJIN DELEGATION TO YUGOSLAVIA--The Tianjin friendship delegation headed by Huang Zhigang, second secretary of the municipal CCP committee, left Beijing on 26 May for Sarajevo, Yugoslavia. Mr. and Mrs. Ostojic, the Yugoslav ambassador and his wife, saw off the delegation at the airport. Sarajevo established friendly ties with Tianjin municipality 28 May 1981. After the friendly visit to Sarajevo, the Tianjin friendship delegation will visit Romania. [SK271158 Tianjin City [as printed] Mandarin 0030 GMT 27 May 82 SK]

AMERICAN JURISTS IN BEIJING--Beijing, 14 Jun (XINHUA)--The Sino-U.S. jurisprudence seminar, jointly sponsored by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the U.S. Ford Foundation, was held in Beijing from 8 to 13 June with more than 30 Chinese and American jurists attending. The Chinese and American jurists presented 15 theses at the seminar approaching, from different angles, the functions and influence of law in the political, economic and administrative fields in each other's countries. The attending scholars considered such a friendly exchange of experience useful. Huan Xiang, vice president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, presided over the opening ceremony and held a reception for the attending Chinese and American jurists, on 13 June congratulating them on the successful conclusion of the seminar. [Text] [OW161208 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1133 GMT 14 Jun 82]

CSO: 4005/942

TAIWANESE COMMENTARY ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Taiwan-U.S. Relations

OW110757 Taipei TZU LI WAN PAO in Chinese 7 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] The Executive Yuan said today: On the diplomatic front toward the United States, the [Taiwan] Government will make continued efforts to improve, step by step, ROC-U.S. relations, according to set policies and principles and President Chiang Ching-kuo's latest instructions. In addition, it will continue to heighten its vigilance and closely watch the development of the U.S.-bandits [Chinese Communists] relations at all times.

The Executive Yuan said this in written replies to the inquiries addressed to it by Legislative Yuan members Hsieh Sheng-fu and Chou Chi-shun.

The Executive Yuan stated: At present, the government is actively promoting overall and substantial diplomacy in accordance with the "plan for strengthening diplomatic functions." It has formulated work plans for nine regions and is implementing them, step by step in an planned way, and taking the initiative in actively creating new circumstances. Considerable achievements have been made in some areas.

The Executive Yuan said: On the diplomatic front towards the United States, we, of course, adhere to President Chiang Ching-kuo's 16 May instruction: "We always stand on the side of the democratic camp." We should not only make every effort to expose the fraud of the communist bandits' international united front work. We should also exert further efforts to make the U.S. Government and the American people know us better. In other words, we should further strengthen relations, where "both sides enjoy benefits if they cooperate with each other," long existing between the ROC and the United States.

The Executive Yuan pointed out: Recently, the communist bandits have used various means to step up their united front work towards the United States. The [Taiwan] Government attaches great importance to this situation. It has informed, through proper channels, the U.S. Government and people to clearly understand the communist bandits' scheme and emphasized our solemn and just stand on "reunification of China within the three principles of the people."

Senator Baker Interviewed

OW140552 Taipei LIEN HO PAO in Chinese 9 Jun 82 p 2

[Interview with U.S. Senator Howard Baker by Huang Tien-chung, publisher of the KUO SHI PING LUN (NATIONAL POLICY REVIEW) journal, in Hong Kong; date not given]

[Text] Question: Can you give us your impressions of your visit to mainland China?

Answer: I have been to many places this time. I was bored by the attitude of almost every Chinese (Communist) official and newsman. I was asked constantly about the issue of arms sales to Taiwan and whether the United States is playing the "two Chinas" trick. The Chinese Communists have strongly protested against arms sales to Taiwan and against the Taiwan Relations Act. Because of the Reagan policy, (Communist) China and the United States cannot fully communicate. Although the United States favors a "one China," policy, it has its own position.

Question: It was rumored recently that the American Institute in Taiwan will be abolished. Would you like to give us your opinion?

Answer: I have not heard about that and, in fact, it is quite impossible.

Question: It was rumored recently that the Chinese Communists have set a time limit for U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. Can you tell us about the time limit?

Answer: The Chinese Communists have attached great importance to this issue and they have, in fact, mentioned this issue on many occasions. Concerning the time limit, the United States will not consider the matter for the time being but will continue to sell weapons to Taiwan. I would venture to put the question this way: How long will the Chinese Communists tolerate our arms sales? I think the importance lies in what sort of weapons we are going to sell and other issues. I deeply believe that arms sales will not deal a deadly blow to Sino-U.S. relations. However, it does pose a problem and this problem has not been resolved.

Question: It has been said that Senator Barry Goldwater's visit to the Republic of China and your visit to mainland China were deliberate moves. What is your view?

Answer: These visits were entirely coincidental. I went to mainland China because of an official invitation and I flew there by a special military plane. Senator Goldwater went to the Republic of China on a private visit. I do not see any significance in the view that President Reagan deliberately made the arrangements in order to balance relations with both sides.

Question: After your visit to mainland China, what are your views on the development of relations between Communist China and the United States?

Answer: There is already a solid foundation for Sino-U.S. relations and on the basis of this foundation better relations can be built. I do not think that difficulties and differences caused by the Taiwan Relations Act and the arms sales issue will post a vital or permanent obstacle to bilateral relations. However, it will take time to remove the obstacle.

Question: Can you give us your views on the status of the Republic of China?

Answer: There are still many problems in Sino-U.S. relations. I am sure (Communist) China itself is troubled by the "Taiwan issue" in much the same way as we are. I deeply believe President Reagan will adhere to the "one China" policy and will make further efforts toward this end on the basis of the current progress achieved. I would like to disclose here that CCP Vice Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping expressed his wish to meet President Reagan. For future progress, I think, it merits a trial.

Question: President Reagan has, on more than one occasion, stressed his concern for the security of Taiwan. How can the people of the Republic of China be made to believe that?

Answer: I believe that after my return to the United States, I will be asked similar questions which have been asked from Senator Goldwater. But I must make clear to you that my focus now is on my China visit. Only after I have digested what I have seen in mainland China can I pay attention to other matters. However, I think the Taiwan Relations Act has already explicitly indicated the rational relations between us. The most appropriate time [to answer your question] is when I have thought about what I saw there. Then I can consider the security of Taiwan from a different angle.

Question: It was rumored recently that the Taiwan Relations Act will be amended or rescinded. What do you think?

Answer: I am very doubtful about that. But if your question is whether I would recommend or support such an amendment, I think I would not do so at this time. Right now I would not support a major amendment or any amendment to the Taiwan Relations Act. As regards the congress, I do not think it has an obligation to do so at this time.

Reagan Speech Praised

OW150031 Taipei LIEN HO PAO in Chinese 10 Jun 82 p 2

[Editorial: "Launch a Global Campaign for Democracy To Wipe Out Marxism-Leninism"]

[Excerpts] In his speech to the British Parliament on 8 June, U.S. President Reagan proposed launching a global "campaign for democracy" that would

"leave Marxism-Leninism on the ash-heap of history." President Reagan's proposal, put forward with a sense of justice, is a most powerful call for the post-war free world to resist communist expansion. It is of great immediate significance as well as of historical importance.

Since the end of World War II, the communists have expanded their forces not because communism is in keeping with people's aspirations but because shortcomings in the existing systems make people cherish a utopian illusion for communism. Since the war, communist forces have become rampant not because they are irresistible, but because the democratic camp lacks unity and, in particular, since it lacks a global anticommunist strategy. Since the war, the communist forces have spread not because they are stronger than democratic forces, but because democratic countries have been adopting an erroneous policy of appeasement towards communist expansion.

President Reagan's proposal on launching a global campaign for democracy is the most effective and correct proposal in view of the present situation of the struggle between the democratic forces and the communist forces. When the vigorous development of the campaign for democracy gives people a firmer assurance of well-being and security, communist lies will no longer be tempting. Then, the backwardness, poverty, terror and cruelty caused by communism will make people completely repudicate it.

We must frankly point out that President Reagan's proposal is essentially contradictory to the U.S. Government's current policy of uniting with the Chinese Communists to check the Soviet Union. Uniting with one communist to oppose another will not work. If the United States does not abandon the erroneous policy of uniting with the Chinese Communists, it will be unable to promote the global campaign for democracy and the governments and people of free nations will have misgivings and distrust the United States. The Chinese Communist regime is a vicious communist regime that even today adheres to Marxism-Leninism as it has openly announced. The U.S. policy of uniting with the Chinese Communist regime is basically wrong because it supports Marxism-Leninism even though it meets the need of opposing the Soviet Union. Pursuing this policy, how can the United States "leave Marxism-Leninism on the ash-heap of history" even if it defeats the Soviet Union?

President Reagan said: "Let us be shy no longer--let us go to our strength, let us offer hope. Let us tell the world that a new age is not only possible, but probable." These words are vivid, forceful and correct. However, we would like to add one more sentence to them: "The United States will make no more mistakes!"

CSO: 4005/940

TAIWANESE COMMENTARY ON KOREA

ROK Construction Minister

OW121351 Taipei CNA in English 1334 GMT 12 Jun 82

[Text] Taipei, 12 Jun (CNA)--Premier Sun Yun-hsuan Saturday received South Korean Construction Minister Kim Chong-ho at the Executive Yuan for exchange of views on the relations between the two nations.

Also present at the meeting was Interior Minister Lin Yang-kang.

Minister Kim arrived in Taipei June 11 for a five-day visit. While here, he will observe the construction development in this country.

Taiwan, ROK Economic Trade

OW121021 Taipei CNA in English 1000 GMT 12 Jun 82

[Text] Taipei, 12 Jun (CNA)--The Republic of China and the Republic of Korea Saturday signed a joint statement, pledging closer cooperation in trade and economic fields following the closing of the six-day 16th Sino-Korean ministerial-level economic cooperation conference at the Ministry of Economic Affairs.

The statement was jointly signed by Economic Affairs Minister William Y.T. Chao and Finance Minister Na Ung-pae on behalf of the respective countries.

Under the joint statement, both sides agreed that appropriate measures be taken for cooperation in selected industries, such as machinery, textile, small and medium industries and continued exchange of information on economic and monetary policies.

They also agreed to make concerted efforts for further expansion of trade between the two countries on a mutually beneficial and reciprocal basis. The two delegations agreed to remove trade barriers, reduce import duties and further strengthen cooperation and coordination in international markets.

In addition, both parties also agreed to enhance the scientific and technological cooperation in those fields, including agriculture, industry and telecommunications cooperation through bilateral workshops, institutional cooperation and exchange programs.

The ROC and ROK further agreed to make every possible effort to ensure effective and efficient implementation of these cooperation activities agreed upon during the six-day meeting in Taipei.

At the closing ceremony (?Finance) Minister Na of South Korea said the Taipei meeting is of great significance in maintaining a close friendship between his country and the Republic of China. He said the cooperation of the two countries in both economic and trade fields has laid a good foundation through bilateral efforts and friendship.

Speaking at the same occasion, Minister Chao of the ROC said the meeting did not only achieve quite a number of cooperation agreements but it has helped to expand the scope of cooperation. He cited the scientific and technological cooperation between the two countries as a great boost.

The next meeting will be held in Seoul in June next year.

Middle East Missions Meet

OW141115 Taipei CNA in English 1030 GMT 14 Jun 82

[Text] Jidda, 14 Jun (CNA)--The heads of the Chinese missions in the Middle East region began their two-day coordinating meeting here Monday under the chairmanship of ambassador Hsueh Yu-chi in his capacity as general coordinator.

Hsueh first read a written message from Premier Sun Yun-hsuan who urges the participants to maintain close consultation and coordination so as to achieve common views and unified approaches in a faithful implementation of the government's policy.

Hsueh expressed appreciation for the importance Premier Sun attaches to the meeting, adding that all the participants inspired by the premier's instructions will do their utmost to achieve their missions.

Citing remarks concerning diplomatic work made by President Chiang Ching-kuo in a speech delivered June 2 in his capacity as chairman of the Kuomintang, Hsueh urged the participants to work closely together to thoroughly implement the government's policy and achieve their country's highest interests.

Also speaking at the opening session was Hsiang Shih-kuei, director-general of the Western Asian affairs department at the Foreign Ministry, who also stressed the importance of the coordinating meeting and said its success is instrumental in the implementation of the government's policy in the region.

Hsueh later made a general review of the situation in the area which was followed by a discussion by the participants.

There will also be reports on the Republic of China's ties with various countries in the region, and discussions of various issues, including Chinese Communist activities in the region, services to the overseas Chinese and specific proposals regarding the strengthening of the Republic of China's ties with countries in the region.

The meeting is to conclude Tuesday afternoon.

CSO: 4000/145

TAIWAN FAVORS PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY

OW281311 Taipei CHINA POST in English 24 May 82 p 4

[Editorial: "The ROC and Nuclear Energy"]

[Text] Again the assertion has been made that the Republic of China is making atomic weapons. When will the gossip peddlers stop making such far-fetched claims?

This latest assertion is contained in a book, "Two Minutes Over Baghdad," which details Israel's bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor last year. The book says the ROC has pooled resources with South Africa and Israel to build a wide range of nuclear weapons.

Whoever wrote that has a fine imagination. But the fact is we're not about to turn out neutron bombs and cruise missiles, alone or in combination with Israel and South Africa.

We're into nuclear energy, yes, but not into nuclear weaponry. We're building nuclear plants, and they are definitely for peaceful uses.

Estimates say that by year 2000 we will have 12 nuclear power generating units with a combined installed capacity of 11.75 million kilowatts.

By the end of this century, nuclear power generation will account for 38 percent of total installed capacity of the Taiwan Power Co. (Tai-Power).

Right now, Taipower has blueprinted our seventh and eighth power plants, for completion in 1992. Both will cost a whopping U.S.$4.9 billion.

For that purpose, the U.S. Government's Export-Import Bank is expected to approve next month a U.S.$850 million credit.

We're going full blast into nuclear power plants. As for nuclear weapons and such, we neither have the time nor the inclination to bother with them. We believe in nuclear non-proliferation and, we repeat, in peaceful uses of nuclear energy, period.

CSO: 4000/144

PREMIER SUN YUN-HSUAN INSPECTS DEFENSE MINISTRY

OW131047 Taipei CHUNG YANG JIH PAO in Chinese 9 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] Sun Yun-hsuan, president of the Executive Yuan, inspected the Ministry of National Defense yesterday and urged all officers and men of the Ministry of National Defense to act in accordance with President Chiang Ching-kuo's latest instructions: maintain high military readiness at all times; to actively enhance our fighting capability; and to take prompt and effective measures to establish an independent, self-reliant and sophisticated scientific and technological system in order to beef up our own combat effectiveness. Accompanied by Chiu Chuang-huan, vice president of the Executive Yuan; Chu Shao-hua, secretary general of the Executive Yuan; Wu Chi-fang, deputy secretary general of the Executive Yuan; and Wei Yong, chairman of the Research and Examination Committee, Premier Sun went to inspect the Ministry of National Defense at 0830 on 8 June.

After hearing a brief by Chang Kuo-ying, vice minister of the Ministry of National Defense, Premier Sun expressed his deep appreciation for the achievements made by the Ministry of National Defense over the past year. He highly commended all members of the armed forces who, under the brilliant leadership of President Chiang Ching-kuo and constantly spurred on by the Ministry of National Defense, have come to realize the difficulties currently facing our nation, united with esprit de corps, worked hard to make the nation strong, ensured the security of our base for national restoration and promoted social prosperity and progress.

He was particularly impressed by the high spirit of teamwork displayed by the Ministry of National Defense in recent years in its effort to coordinate and cooperate with and provide support for the various ministries and departments under the Executive Yuan and for the Taiwan provincial and Taipei city governments.

Premier Sun also issued the following instructions to the Ministry of National Defense:

1. Act according to the president's latest instructions: maintain high military readiness at all times, actively enhance our combat capability and take prompt and effective measures to establish an independent, self-reliant and sophisticated scientific and technological system in order to beef up our own combat effectiveness.

2. Strengthen military education and troop training, particularly the training and promotion of basic-level cadres, so well-educated young people will be interested in joining the armed services. Also study and expand the scope of training draft-age graduates of the graduate schools to be reserve officers of the defense industry in order to stem the tide of the brain drain.

3. Diversify arms supply sources; beef up the armed forces' equipment; pool the resources of military, government and civilian enterprises in developing and producing sophisticated weapons; and strive to make foreign scientific and technological know-how take root in our country.

4. The Executive Yuan has always supported the defense buildup with all-out efforts. However, our nation's resources are limited. Therefore, we must act in accordance with the president's instruction to "build up our country and the armed forces through thrift and hard work" and make the most economical use of our limited financial resources in accomplishing our military build-up and combat readiness.

5. The communist bandits' ambition to plot against us becomes more urgent daily. They have employed various methods in trying to disrupt our social order and overthrow our government. The Ministry of National Defense must overcome difficulties and successfully fulfill the task of "maintaining social tranquillity."

6. The Ministry of Defense has achieved outstanding results over the past year in cherishing and serving the people. This has helped promote military-civilian unity. It is urged that ways to serve the people be reviewed from time to time with a view to promoting friendship between the armed services and the civilian population, thereby enhancing the nation's domestic unity.

CSO: 4005/941 END

JPRS 81253

12 July 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 316

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81253

12 July 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 316

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Policy Debate in West Germany Noted
(Jiang Jianguo; RENMIN RIBAO, 27 Apr 82) 1

PARTY AND STATE

Commentary Given on the Draft Constitution
(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 17 May 82) 4

Regional Commentary on Chinese History
(LIAONING RIBAO, 5, 12 May 82) 7

Li Zicheng, Ming Rebel
Zheng He, Famous Mariner, by Wan Hengxian

Struggle Against Economic Crimes Emphasized
(BAN YUE TAN, 25 Mar 82) 11

'Deceived,' 'Hooked' Said No Excuse for Criminal Acts
(Dan Chi; RENMIN RIBAO, 16 Apr 82) 13

Present Class Struggle Examined
(Lin Mu, Yang Caiyu; SHAANXI RIBAO, 21 Apr 82) 15

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Guidelines for Third Census Explained
(Li Chengrui; TONG JI, 17 Apr 82) 22

 [III - CC - 80]

Findings From Survey of Unemployed Youths Made Public
(Kiu Jiaonong, Fei Juiyu; LIAOWANG, 20 Mar 82)..... 30

Third Nationwide Census Regulations Promulgated
(TONG JI, 17 Apr 82) 36

HONG KONG MEDIA

Hungarian Incident Viewed in New Perspective
(Gu Feixia; CHENG MING, No 5, 1982) 45

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLICY DEBATE IN WEST GERMANY NOTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Apr 82 p 7

[Article by Jiang Jianguo [3068 1696 0948]: "A Round of Contention Inside West Germany's Social Democratic Party"]

[Text] The main agenda of the recently closed Congress of the Social Democratic Party, West Germany's main party in power, was to solve the problem of unemployment but, in reality, the question of supplementary armament became the question which was most vehemently debated. The Congress ultimately rejected the proposal by the party's "leftwing" concerning temporary delay of the deployment in Western Europe of U.S. nuclear missiles; this enabled the Schmidt administration to win some breathing space.

As far back as early March, about 70 leftwing delegates, including some members of the high-ranking leadership of the Social Democratic Party, had already convened a meeting and planned to write the proposal on a "nuclear-free zone in Europe" and the proposal to overthrow the NATO resolution to deploy missiles in Western Europe into the proposal to be submitted by the executive committee of the Social Democratic Party. Besides, among the more than 300 draft resolutions sponsored by basic organizations on foreign relations, peace and security policy, a large number of them expressed dissension with respect to the policies of the Schmidt administration. But, it was at the Congress of December 1979 in West Berlin that the Social Democratic Party of West Germany formally accepted the NATO resolution on supplementary armament; the Schmidt administration insisted on carrying out this resolution. Thus, this already suggested that a vehement contention at this Congress was inevitable.

The essence of the discrepancy between those within the Social Democratic Party who are opposed to the deployment of the nuclear missiles and the Schmidt administration is what, above all, is the effective means to maintain West Germany's peace and security.

Schmidt insists on the "balance of power theory," thinking that only by reaching a balance in nuclear arms in Europe between the two military camps through the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe will it be possible to force the Soviet Union to sit down and negotiate seriously and to reach any agreement on the reduction of nuclear arms between the two sides,

and thereby keep armament in Europe under control and carry out disarmament measures. The leftwing people do not necessarily have a consistent opinion among themselves; some suggest waiting for a while and refraining from discussing the issue until some results of the negotiations are seen; some think "unilateral disarmament is the only way to break the vicious circle of nuclear competition"; and some advocate the realization of a "nuclear-free zone in Europe" right now.

Schmidt's position on this question was at one time rather isolated. Blame cast from various circles greatly damaged the image of the Schmidt administration and at the same time caused dissatisfaction and apprehension on the part of the Free Democrats in coalition with the Social Democratic Party. In order to reverse this situation, Schmidt did his best to urge the United States to carry out talks with the Soviet Union on the question of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, and also persuaded the United States to participate in the hopeless follow-up session of the European Security Conference in Madrid in order to mollify feelings of intra-party confrontation on the one hand; on the other hand, Schmidt repeatedly indicated his readiness to stay with the NATO resolution on the deployment of nuclear missiles and criticized the peace movement which objectively helps the Soviet Union to preserve its military superiority.

Internal dissension in the Social Democratic Party of West Germany has attracted great interest on the part of Moscow. During the past year and more, the Soviet Union activated its propaganda machine to launch repeated attacks on Schmidt. Right after Schmidt issued his statement at this Congress, TASS hurriedly attacked his statement as "very contradictory," "rudely and ignominiously critical of the Soviet Union." On the other hand, the Soviet Union showed exceptional enthusiasm toward those in the leadership apparatus of the Social Democratic Party who disagreed with Schmidt. Last year, prominent figures among them were time and again invited to visit the Soviet Union in an attempt to drive a wedge inside the Social Democratic Party and influence the administration's policy. But, the upshot of this Congress amounts to pouring cold water over such an attempt on the part of the Soviet Union.

The Munich Congress of the Social Democratic Party has rejected the proposal to temporarily delay the deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles and postponed the question to 1983 before making any decision; this is a temporary compromise between the two factions within the party. But, this result more or less reflects the fact that the majority of people in West Germany are maintaining vigilance in the face of the Soviet Union's increasing military threat. In the meantime, during the most recent period, because such serious internal dissension within the Social Democratic Party had already seriously affected the position of the Social Democratic Party as the party in power, the various factions inside the party also began to attempt to find harmony and consistency in order to support the Schmidt administration. No doubt, the result of this Party Congress will have a positive influence on NATO's reinforcement of its military forces vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and the strengthening of the joint effort to cope with the Soviet Union by the various West European countries. Likewise, through this

Party Congress, internal contradictions within the Social Democratic Party are now mitigated; this, too, should serve to improve the position of the Schmidt coalition government and the stability of the political situation in West Germany.

Naturally, the "leftwing" people of the Social Democratic Party will not lightly abandon their original stand; the impact of the peace movement on the political situation in West Germany and the NATO resolution still cannot be overlooked. This contention inside the Social Democratic Party will still continue.

9255
CSO: 4005/839

PARTY AND STATE

COMMENTARY GIVEN ON THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 May 82 p 1

[Article: "Conscientious Discussion of the Draft Constitution in the Attitude of Masters of Our Own Affairs"]

[Text] Based on the resolution of the Standing Committee of the NPC, the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress drew up a "Resolution on the Conscientious Study and Discussion Throughout the Entire Province of the 'Draft of the Revised PRC Constitution,'" which shall stir all the people of the province into vigorous action in the exercise of their democratic rights as masters of their own affairs and have them conscientiously study and discuss the draft of the revised constitution in this attitude of masters and with great political enthusiasm.

The constitution is the great fundamental law of the country. It is an important event in the political life of the whole nation that the draft of the revised constitution is now being submitted to all the people for discussion. This act fully expresses the people's democracy under the socialist system, and is also a vivid manifestation of the entire nation exercising its rights as master of its own affairs. Since its publication, the draft of the revised constitution has been studied and discussed enthusiastically by the broad masses of cadres and people. Everyone aired his own views and spoke out frankly. It was a one-time lesson in the workings of socialist democracy and its legal system, stimulating one step further the socialist zeal and giving impetus to present production and work. However, there also still exist some muddled ideas that must be overcome.

Some comrades are of the opinion that drawing up the constitution is a matter to be handled by those high up, and a discussion of the draft of the revised constitution is "none of my business." As everyone knows, ours is a state led by the working class; it is a socialist state with a people's democratic dictatorship based on the worker-peasant alliance. The people are the masters of the country, and all powers belong to the people. "Every single common person has a share of responsibility for the fate of his country." Discussion of the draft of the revised constitution is indeed a sacred right bestowed on every single citizen. Through the discussion of the draft of the revised constitution the people involve themselves in a concrete way in the important affairs of the state, participate in the important affairs of the state and

exercise their rights as masters of their own affairs. We must cherish our democratic rights, and in reality as well as in name must assume the role of masters of the state. We must also realize that our participation in the discussion of the revision of the constitution will provide us with yet another practical and profound lesson in the workings of socialist democracy and its legal system. During the 10 years of turmoil, the great fundamental law of our country was wantonly trampled underfoot by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their followers, and the people were deprived of their basic rights. There were no guarantees for ordinary labor, work or study conditions or for life and property of the people, and the Chinese nation suffered an extremely serious calamity. We must keep this painful lesson of history firmly in our minds. If the laws are strict, the country is well governed, and only if the country is prosperous, will the people live in peace. By participating in the discussion on the great fundamental law, we can strengthen our sense of responsibility as masters of our own affairs, raise our awareness of being protectors and faithful observers of the constitution, gain further understanding of the basic spirit and content of the constitution, gain courage to struggle against all acts that violate the constitution, and ensure the thorough implementation of our constitution. This is not something that is "none of my business," but rather a matter where "everybody is bound together by the common cause."

There are still other comrades who believe that we cannot attend to the discussion of the draft for the revision of the constitution at the present time when we are taking strong measures against serious crimes in the economic field and are taking a general census of our population, in addition to attending to production and other work in industry and agriculture, all involving manifold duties and heavy tasks, truly a multitude of things to attend to. This idea is also erroneous. We contend that although it is true that our workload is heavy and our tasks manifold, the study and discussion of the draft for a revised constitution concerns the great undertaking of further perfecting the great fundamental law of the country. If we take this important task firmly in hand, we can arouse the revolutionary spirit of the people, mobilize the enthusiasm of the cadres and the masses and thereby promote all other kinds of work. The party committees and government organs at all levels must place this important matter on their agendas and must strengthen their guidance. In concrete arrangements, one must of course start out from the actual situation, suit measures to local conditions and make the most appropriate arrangements. Party and government organs, industrial and mining enterprises, schools, etc., must from now on concentrate a certain period of their time to organize studies and discussions in groups and stages. In the villages, the studies and discussions must be organized between the busy times of spring plowing and the summer harvest and summer sowing.

For effective guidance and an effective organization of the discussion of the draft for the revision of the constitution, the leading comrades in the party and government at all levels must take the lead in studying and in participating in discussions, make great efforts in studying more and to study better, and must set an example for the masses in studying and discussing. Party committees and government organs at all levels must actively train a core contingent, effectively organize contingents for propaganda and explanation work, and bring into full play the effectiveness of work by all propaganda and

lecturing personnel in the various organizations, so that the fundamental spirit and basic content of the revision of the constitution be known and understood by every single person. Propaganda tools of all kinds must be closely attuned to the present study and discussions of the entire people, and propaganda activities must be launched in a great variety of forms and in a vivid and vigorous manner. A vigorous and genuine mass campaign for the study and discussion of the draft for the revision of the constitution shall be unfolded throughout the entire province.

9808
CSO: 4005/881

REGIONAL COMMENTARY ON CHINESE HISTORY

Li Zicheng, Ming Rebel

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 5 May 82 p 4

[Article: "Late Ming Peasant Rebellion Leader, Li Zicheng"]

[Text] Li Zicheng [2621 5261 2052], originally named Li Hongji [2621 7703 1015] was from Mizhi in Shenxi. He was born in A.D. 1606 and died in A.D. 1645. While a child he tended sheep for his landlord; later he became a courier in Yinchuan. He was an outstanding peasant insurrection leader during the late Ming Dynasty.

At a time when the rule of the Ming court was becoming increasingly ruthless, natural and man-made disasters were constantly occurring, and the suffering of the people was becoming deeper and more severe by the day, Li Zicheng joined the uprising forces of Gao Yingxiang [7559 6601 4382] in 1629 and (the 2d years of the Ming Zong Zhen period), assuming the title of "the charging general."

In the year 1635 the Ming Dynasty dispatched troops to attack the insurrection forces from 2 sides. Leaders of the 13 homes and 72 camps from all routes of the army of justice met in Xingyang County, Henan to discuss among themselves policies to punish the enemy. During the meetings Li Zicheng suggested a plan to unite forces and launch separate attacks, and obtained support from all present. A year later Gao Yingziang was captured and put to death. Li Zicheng thereupon inherited the title "Charging King" and, leading the insurrection forces to battle in many areas, time and again established meritorious service.

Not only was Li Zicheng valiant and skillful in battle, but he was also very good at unifying the masses, and was courteous and judicious towards his subordinates and had the courage to do what he thought was right. In daily life he eschewed excess of wine and women, wore coarse clothing, ate simple foods, and shared the comforts and hardships with his followers, with the result that he enjoyed high prestige among the soldiers of justice.

In 1638, after encountering setbacks at Tongguan, Li Zicheng did not lose heart; leading 18 horsemen he broke through the encirclement. He entered Shanluo Mountain and, summing up the lessons, rallied his forces and continued to fight. In the 5th month of the following year, taking advantage of the

opportunity afforced when Zhang Xianzhong again raised the banner of justice, he dashed out of Shangluo, called together his old forces and launched a life-or-death struggle with the enemy. Because Li Zicheng adopted the correct military policies, the revolutionary forces overtook a series of important towns, attained successive victories, the ranks gradually grew in strength, and representative figures from various levels of life continuously joined the revolutionary tide contributing plans and policies to the army of justice. In 1640 Li Zicheng led his troops on a new campaign in Henan. He adopted the proposal of Li Yan [2621 1484] and others "to gain the world, scheme great deeds," formulated policies such as "land equalization," "tax exemption," and "fair trade" and instilled a strict and clear rule that "wherever the great army camps, there will not be the slightest offense committed against the civilians." For these reasons, he was able to win the hearts of the people. A folk song "Welcome to the Charging King; He Asks for No Grain" became popular among the populace, and the troops rapidly increased to several hundred thousand men. In 1643 Li Zicheng led the troops on a northern expedition from Xiangyang, Hubei and, routing the central forces of the Ming army, occupied Xian. Later he set up the Da Zun regime in Xian. By this time the insurrection army had grown to 1 million soliders and comprised the central force of the peasant rebellion army of all China. In the 3rd month of the Xia Li period, troops of the main force attacked and entered Beijing from Xhanxi. The Zong Zhen Emperor committed suicide and the Ming regime was overthrown. However, later the insurrection force leaders made the mistake of arrogance in victory, to which was added the collusion of the Ming General Wu Sangui with the nobles of the Qing tribes in their entering the city gate and launching a joint attack against the peasant troops. Charging King Li suffered defeat in countering the enemy, withdrew from Beijing and led his forces to Henan and Shenxi to resist attack. In 1645 Li Zicheng encountered an armed assault with the landlord forces in Jiuguan Mountain, Tongshan County, Hubei and unfortunately was killed.

Although the peasant rebellion led by Zi Zicheng failed, its great historical merits and achievements will be recorded forever in the history books. The peasant wars of the late Ming comprise an immortal chapter in the revolutionary struggle of our people.

Zheng He, Famous Mariner

Shengyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 12 May 82 p 4

[Article by Wan Hengxian [5502 1854 7359]: "A Famous Mariner of Our Country--Zheng He"]

[Text] Zheng He [6774 0735], originally surnamed Ma [7456], was given the nickname San Bao [0005 1405] ("Three Treasures"--one historian makes it "Triple Protector."). He was a Muslim from Kunyang County, Yunnan Province. He was born in A.D. 1371 (Ming, Hung Wu period, 4th year) and died in 1435. He was a famous mariner of ancient times in our country.

Zheng He was born into a poor family. His father died when Zheng He was a child. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty he entered court services as a Eunuch. Later, he followed the king of Yen into battle. The king of Yen

showed great favor to Zheng He and bestowed on him the surname Zheng and appointed him Supervisor of Eunuchs of the Inner Palace. In 1405 (Yong Le period, 3rd year) Emperor Zhu Di (former king of Yen) decided to dispatch Zheng He as ambassador to the Western World--"to construct a huge fleet and cross the seas and visit all the countries." Zheng He was appointed chief envoy and Wang Jinghong [3769 2529 1738] deputy envoy, to lead 27,800 men and take with them large quantities of gold and silver, silks and handicrafts such as procelain and iron utensils, even including translators, physicians and artisans. Sixty-two ocean-going ships were to make up an armada of the high seas. They set sail from Liu Jia Harbor in Suzhow (modern Jiangsu, Taicang County, East Liuhe Township) to begin the first voyage famous in history as "Zheng He sails to the Western World." In 2 years and 3 months, the countries he reached included Zhan Cheng (southern part of Vietnam) Jua Wa (Java island of Indonesia), Sumatra, Ceylon and the west coast of the Indian Ocean, etc. Later, he led six expeditions for the emperor. For 28 years, from 1405 to 1433, 7th month, Zheng He sailed on 7 voyages; south to Java, north to the Persian Gulf and Mecca on the Red Sea, east to Taiwan, west to the east coast of Africa. The countries he reached included Zhan Cheng (Vietname), Zhenla (Cambodia), Xianluo (Thailand), and the kingdoms of Sumatra, Jiugang, Java (Indonesia), Ceylon (Srilanka) of the South China Sea archipelago, and even kingdoms of the Indian Peninsula, Guli (India), Hulu Mosi (part of Iran), Adan (Aden) at the mouth of the Red Sea, Mugu Dulai of Africa (Mogadiscio of Somalia) etc., establishing friendly relations with 17 large and small countries.

As Zheng He reached each country in the West, besides declaring the correspondence of the Ming emperor, he also sent gifts and established friendly trade relations with the countries. The large quantities of goods that he brought along such as silks, porcelains, tea leaves, medicines and gold and silver and such things were exchanged for various kinds of unusual and exotic animals and things such as lions, leopards, western birds, unicorns etc. At the same time, he purchased from these countries spices, medicinal herbs, pearls and gems, and ivory and such treasures. He established extraordinary accomplishments in the history of communication between the East and the West.

Zheng He's sea expedition activities not only reveal the bravery and wisdom of the working people of ancient times in our country, but also make clear the advanced development of maritime navigation technology of the time. From the organization of the maritime navigation ranks to the training and utilization of various kinds of talents, from the grandness of scale, length of time, expansiveness of territories reached, to the great achievements obtained from each voyage, we find no precedent in the history of maritime navigation throughout the world. Zheng He discovered Africa's Cape of Good Hope 70 or 80 years earlier than the Portuguese [Bartolomeo] Diaz, and he was at least half a century ahead of the famous western mariner Columbus in the discovery of the New World and of [Vasco da] Gama in the search for a new navigational route [between Europe and the Far East]. Zheng He's voyages not only promoted exchange of friendly visits and economic and cultural interchange between China and the various countries of the Indonesian archipelago, Asia, and Africa, but also played an important role in developing Indonesia and promoting the development of Indonesian society and economy. Because of this, all of the

countries that Zheng He visited unceasingly dispatched envoys to China to arrange for friendly trading relations. For example, the kings of Borneo (modern Jiali Mandan), the Philippines, Malaysia and such countries even made personal friendly visits to China. These countries all showed their admiration for Zheng He by building San Bao pagodas and San Bao cities. Dr Jeseph Needham of the Royal Academy of Science in England praised Zheng He, saying he was a great forerunner in the history of world navigation.

9519
CSO: 4005/879

PARTY AND STATE

STRUGGLE AGAINST ECONOMIC CRIMES EMPHASIZED

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMIMONTHYL TALKS] in Chinese No 6, 25 Mar 82 pp 6-7

[Article by a commentator in the column "State and Personal Affairs": "Several Problems That Demand To Be Kept in Mind at All Times"]

[Text] At present, a struggle is waging in China against criminal activities in economic circles. This struggle is neither an isolated one nor a temporary one. This struggle is a protracted concern involving our party's and our nation's socialist endeavor as to whether it will succeed or fail, prosper or decline. Since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, under the unified leadership and planned guidance of the state, the open-door policy toward the world and the policy of stimulating the domestic economy are being carried out. This policy points to a correct direction manifested in its achievement. The present situation will not improve without these reforms. However, during the 10 years of internal strife, the movements of the time such as anarchism and extreme individualism stirred up by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary bloc have profoundly poisoned the thinking of some people. In addition, in recent years while the open-door policy and the stimulation of the domestic economy were carried out, our ideological political work and some essential administrative measures were not coordinated; there are mounting influences in China from the capitalist rotten ideology and the capitalist life style. In the economic circles, there are serious criminal activities, such as smuggling and selling goods, speculation and swindling, corruption, and acceptance of bribes to steal large amounts of state and collective properties for private gains. These activities are quite rampant in a few places. The occurrence of this serious phenomenon is an important manifestation of class struggle in China's new historical condition; this is the manifestation that the class enemies both domestic and abroad use the capitalist ideology to damage and corrupt our society.

Of course, this is only an adverse current in the incessant progress of our party and nation; therefore, this problem can be completely controlled by us. However, if the entire party and military forces do not pay serious attention to this current from now on, and if no resolute and serious struggle is waged against the adverse current with all our strength, this current will more seriously corrupt our cadre ranks and damage the body of our party, government and armed forces to poison the people's ideology, to pollute

social customs, to damage economic construction, and to effect stability and unity, severely damaging the prospects af China's socialist construction.

During the struggle of smashing criminal activities in the economic circles, we must clarify that the policy of an open door toward the world and the stimulation of the domestic economy is the firm policy that our party adopts according to the demands of the socialist modernization construction and the international developments. We should be courageous to utilize the current advantageous international conditions and to firmly support this correct policy. In addition, we should clearly acknowledge that in carrying out this policy, unavoidably the capitalist ideology will corrupt our ranks; therefore, we should wage a counter-corruption struggle. We should not neglect, loosen or lose our courage to wage the counter-corruption struggle because of the execution of the open-door policy and the stimulation of the domestic economy. Also, we should not wager against the party's economic policy, because the struggle has to be waged. Conversely, only with clearcut banners can a serious and firm struggle against the corrupting capitalist ideology be developed to correctly and wholesomely carry out the policy of open door to the world and the stimulation of the domestic economy.

Facing the current new situation and new mission, all our party members and revolutionary cadres should firmly remember two points: one is to firmly keep in mind that our basic aim is to serve the people with all our hearts; the other point is to firmly remember that our final goal is to carry out the far-reaching ideal of communism. We should struggle for carrying out communism in all our lives. All of our party members and revolutionary cadres should also insist on two points: one is to insist on the party's open-door policy to the world and the stimulation of the domestic economy in order to speed up China's socialist modernization construction; the other point is to insist on waging the struggle against the corrupting capitalist ideology to forever maintain our party's glorious revolutionary tradition. One who wavers from this basic standpoint is corrupted by the capitalist ideology. If such a person refused to repent, he is not qualified to be a party member and is not qualified to be a revolutionary cadre. Thus, he betrays the socialist line and should be severely punished by party discipline, military discipline and state laws.

A new situation and new mission bring with them a new and serious examination. We believe in our heart that most comrades will pass this examination and achieve victory in the anti-corruption struggle. Through this struggle, we will certainly greatly elevate class and political awareness to more correctly and actively execute the party's policy of open door to the world and the stimulation of the domestic economy to better achieve the socialist modernization construction.

10424
CSO: 4005/811

PARTY AND STATE

'DECEIVED,' 'HOOKED' SAID NO EXCUSE FOR CRIMINAL ACTS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Apr 82 p 8

[Article by Dan Chi [0030 6375]: "Deceived and Hooked"]

[Text] Being deceived is not the same as being hooked. Due to ideological or logical vagueness, one is swindled into acting or saying something wrong; this is called "deceiving someone." While seeking one's private interests, the person commits a wrong act from material inducement; this is called "hooking someone," just like a fish is hooked when it snaps a bait.

While dealing with different economic cases at present, often there are self-proclaimed or so-called deceived persons; many are party members and leadership cadres. Thus, the problem of deception deserves our analysis. It is true that in the past, with its violent class struggle and complex situation, some comrades were unavoidably deceived and swindled. However, in today's struggle in economic circles, what they face are "sugar-coated cannon shells." The so-called "sugar-coating" is a sweet composed of money and materials. Therefore, this is not ideological vagueness or logical blurring; a person will not be deceived if he is not selfish, covetous, gluttonous, or greedy. So the comrades or cadres hit by sugar-coated bullets are hooked, but not deceived.

Some of our cadres and party members are hit and damaged by new "hand-grena-grenades" (such as wine and cigarettes) and "bombs" (such as tape recorders); it is all very simple since this concerns their own interests. As mentioned in an old saying, "A housefly is not attracted by an uncracked egg."

We stress the difference between "deceived" and "hooked" for more equable dealing out of punishment for criminal activities in the economic circles. Why are some persons' criminal activities in the economic circles growing so rampant, from petty to big crimes? One important cause is that some persons in our ranks are induced with material interests and thus are hooked; these persons act as a "protective umbrella." Once provided with a "protective umbrella," different criminal elements become bolder and bolder to do what they wish with impunity. In a recently revealed bribery and swindling case investigated and solved by the Tiefa Mining Bureau in Liaoning Province, an individual named Ma Xiguang [7456 0823 0342] committed this kind of large-scale, astounding crime. This is because 33 cadres ranked section chief and

higher and 45 party members provided protection and acted as Ma Xiguang's vanguards. If every cadre Ma met had acted according to the party's Guiding Principles with checks and approvals at each level, Ma could have done nothing, notwithstanding his sky-high "ability." We are sorry to say that in the past, while dealing with this kind of case, cadres who were bribed and acted wrong were mostly considered as having been deceived, so as to minimize and eventually to overlook a big crime. It is apparent that this is the case of a protective umbrella covering up evil elements and wrong doings; when the matter is exposed, forgiving and lenient treatment are the order of the day in the name of "a case of deception and swindling." Thus, the cheater is regarded as someone who has been "deceived"; this distortion hinders the smashing of criminal activities in the economic circles.

Whether it is a case of being deceived or being hooked, it should be treated as the same; otherwise, from all this talk of deception, eventually the national interests will suffer and our citizens will be deceived.

10424
CSO: 4005/811

PARTY AND STATE

PRESENT CLASS STRUGGLE EXAMINED

Xi'an SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 21 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Lin Mu [2651 3668] and Yang Caiyu [2799 2088 3768]: "A Tentative Essay on Our Country's Present Class Struggle"]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" points out: in our country (not including Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao), "the exploitative classes as classes have already been eliminated," "class struggle is no longer our principal contradiction. Because of internal factors and external influences, class struggle will continue to exist in certain realms and, under certain conditions, may still become aggravated. We must oppose both the view about an expansion of this class struggle and the view that regards class struggle as having died out." This scientific dictum is the theoretical basis for us to correctly understand and handle class struggle under the new historical conditions.

(I) Class Struggle Will Exist for a Long Time in Certain Realms

We are opposed to any expansion of class struggle, do not recognize that there is any bourgeois class inside the party, nor recognize that in our country's interior, after the exploitative classes and conditions for exploitation are assuredly eliminated, there could still emerge a new bourgeoisie or some other exploitative class. But, class struggle has existed for a long time and will continue to exist in the future in certain realms. This is reflected: In the political realm, the authorities of some foreign countries and Taiwan are sending special agents to our interior to carry out spying activities; in our interior, too, there are some enemy and special elements who connive with foreign reactionary forces and Taiwan special affairs agencies in order to leak and sell secrets of the party and the state; some counter-revolutionary elements have written reactionary posters, distributed reactionary handbills, passed on reactionary letters, published anti-party and anti-socialist statements, and engaged in counter-revolutionary activities of sabotage. In the economic realm, some state working personnel, including certain responsible cadres, are hit by the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie; through various means, they resort to corruption and stealing, speculation and double-dealing, offering and taking of bribes, smuggling and trading in contraband goods, encroachment on state properties, and even become metamorphosed and degenerated elements and new exploitative elements and seriously sabotage the

socialist economy and damage the organic body of the party and the state. In the ideological and cultural realm, some reactionary yellow publications and audio and visual cassetes have begun to spread in society through various channels and corrode and poison the cadres and the masses, especially youths and children, and pollute social customs. In social order and security, various criminal elements are quite supercilious; they kill and burn, create explosions, rob and exude violence, rape and group-rape, hoodwink women and sell the, and hawk drugs, and hence seriously hamper social order. These hostile elements all have as their purpose the sabotaging of our political situation of unity and stability, the sabotaging of our political system of people's democratic dictatorship, and the sabotaging of the construction of our socialist modernization; the contradiction between them and the vast ranks of the people is a conflict of their fundamental interests and a remnant form of class struggle.

Why is class struggle still to exist for a long time in certain realms? This is because: First, after the exploitative class as a class is eliminated, their remnant forces and ideological influences still remain, and their ideological influences are going to exist even for a long time. Through various ways, these remnant forces and their ideological influences corrode our cadres and masses and pollute our social customs. Except for a few people who are but the residue of the old society, most of today's enemy and special elements, counter-revolutionary elements, criminal elements, metamorphosed and degenerated elements and new exploitative elements are differentiated from our workers, peasants, cadres, intellectuals and basic masses of the like; they have already reneged on their own classes and become the "new poisonous germs" emanating from the filth left by the old society. Second, although the exploitative class in our interior as a class is already eliminated, we still have Hong Kong and Macao, we still have Taiwan, the Pescadores, Quemoy and Matsu. There, exploitative classes and the exploitative system are still preserved intact; they have struck up all kinds of connections with our interior, and such connections are going to multiply even more and more from now on. Third, our domestic class struggle is not isolated by any means; it is always connected to the international class struggle. At present, in our north the social-imperialists of the Soviet Union are stationing 1 million soldiers whose covetous eyes are set upon us; in our south, the Vietnamese regional hegemonists have been madly engaged in their anti-China activities; there are also some other countries where certain reactionary forces remain hostile to socialist China even though these countries have developed economic and cultural relations and politically friendly ties. These situations illustrate that we are still surrounded by international class struggles.

What merits to be especially pointed out is that, because of the establishment of our socialist political system and economic system, because of the strengthening of our people's democratic dictatorship, and because of the deepening development of the construction of our modernization, the main effort exerted by the capitalist forces toward us is not to carry out open subversion and sabotage but to engage in infiltration and corrosion in the economic, political, ideological and cultural aspects. Without any doubt, the policy of opening to the outside world and internally enlivening our

economy implemented by our party since the Third Plenary Session of its 11th Party Central Committee is a correct strategic decision; we should clearly see that some capitalists are doing business with us by legitimate means, but some are using such illegal means as smuggling, offering of bribes, deception, and stealing in order to earn illegitimate profits. Under such circumstances, the rotten ideas of capitalism, corruption, smuggling, and bribing and other acts aimed at making profits at other people's expense and the bourgeois way of life are able to take advantage of the opportunity of our carrying out the policy of opening to the outside world and internally enlivening our economy and thereby to infiltrate our ranks and corrode us. Certain hostile elements deeply affected by the ideology of the exploitative classes in the country, in order to engage themselves in exploitative activities such as corruption and stealing, speculation and double-dealing, also make use of sugar-coated bullets such as dinner, money, and expensive articles to buy and corrode the few weak-minded in the ranks of our cadres. Under the attack of these sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisis, some people become partly or completely corrupted and degenerate; they relish carrying out economic criminal activities by means of conniving with those above and those below, with people inside and outside of an enterprise or agency, between the interior and Hong Kong and Taiwan, and between those inside and outside of the country. A serious struggle between capitalist ideological corrosion and socialist ideological anti-corrosion is a great matter relating to the conversion of party workstyle and social customs, the success or failure of the construction of our socialist modernization, and the rise of fall of the party and state.

Far back in the days prior to the nation's liberation, Comrade Mao Zedong already admonished the whole party that, while the enemy's weapons failed to conquer us, sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie would be able to conquer those weak-minded in our ranks. More than 30 years have elapsed, and the attack by sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie is still a real problem today. What we encountered in the past was the domestic bourgeoisie; our party is rich in the experience of both uniting with, and struggling against, the bourgeoisie. Today, what we encounter is the international capitalism with which we have never had any contact in the past; they are far more powerful and far richer in "experience" than the domestic bourgeoisie. During the past few years, some of our comrades--including a very small number of comrades who were neither conquered by the enemy's weapons nor deterred by the abusive power of Lin Biao and the "gang of four"--have become the captives of the bourgeoisie in their intercourse with the capitalists of Hong Kong and Macao and turned into renegades of the communist cause. Today, illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm are far more serious than those of the "three-anti" and "five-anti" period; in the ideological and cultural realm, the corrosion by the rotten ideas of capitalism and remnant ideas of feudalism is also rather serious. The cruel reality that under new historical conditions class struggle has developed somewhat tells us that with respect to our party and state and our socialist cause there is, apart from the danger of external aggression, also the danger of "peaceful evolution"; we must maintain a high degree of vigilance.

(II) This Class Struggle Is Not the Principal Contradiction of the Present Stage

We must guard both against the failure of not seeing the existence of class struggle under new historical conditions and thereby causing the mistake of believing in the theory of the dying out of class struggle, and also against becoming wavering with respect to the new dictum of our party on the question of class struggle just because class struggle has developed somewhat in certain realms at present and thereby falling victim anew to the mistake of expanding our class struggle.

Can we think that since the "tigers" are now rather fat and big the situation with class struggle may therefore be considered as having undergone a fundamental change? No. Indeed, criminal activities in the economic realm such as corruption and bribing, smuggling and trading in contraband goods, speculation and double-dealing have become rather supercilious; a case is easily perpetrated with 10,000 yuan, 100,000 yuan, several hundred thousand yuan, or even 1 million yuan involved. What a startling sight! Yet, the reason that these "tigers" have become so fat and so big is rather multifarious: In the first place, this naturally has to do with the fact that, after more than 30 years of efforts on socialist construction, our economic foundation has become far more solid than in the past; but what is even more important is that the 10 years of internal disturbance ruined our party workstyle and social customs, messed up our still not yet perfect financial and economic systems and other systems of work, and thereby provided the criminal elements with the environment and conditions which can be utilized. Secondly, for many years, we have failed to concentrate on cracking down on criminal activities in the economic realm; the loopholes and piled up cases in this regard have been numerous, and the appetite of some criminal elements has become bigger and bigger, and their guts have become further and further inflated. We must both see the serious harm of these "tigers" and yet not exaggerate our present class struggle because these "tigers" have become fatter and bigger.

At present, can remnant forces of the old exploitative classes and the new exploitative elements form a new exploitative class? Unlikely. An exploitative class is made up of course of exploitative elements; but there must be given conditions before exploitative elements can become an exploitative class. Engels pointed out: "A social class is at all times a product of production relations and exchange relations; in a word, it is always a product of economic relations of its own time" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 423). Lenin also said: "The basic indicator of class differences between people is their relative position in social production, and hence their relationship with the means of production" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 6. p 233). This expalins that the foundation of the formation of an exploitative class is the private ownership of the means of production. In our interior, the exploitative system has already been eliminated and the socialist public ownership of the means of production has already been established; this serves to cut the economic cord by which exploitative elements can become an exploitative class. The cause of the emergence and existence of hostile elements in our interior today is different; there is no common relationship of possession of the means of production which binds them

together. Take just the "new exploitative elements" for example: the greatest difference between them and the old exploitative elements is that they do not own the means of production; where there is no land to rent to others and no employees to exploit, they can only seek to encroach upon properties of the state and the people in the realms of distribution and circulation by turning public properties into private ones, by smuggling and trading in contraband goods, corruption and stealing, speculation and double-dealing and illegitimate methods of the like. While they have the characteristic of exploiting other people's labor, they are small in number and are situated in a state of being subject to division and in the process of becoming gradually eliminated, and they do not have any internal economic relations between them. They can form small "partnerships" and "cliques," but it would be impossible for them to form a new exploitative class.

From this, we can see that while class struggle in certain realms will exist for a long time and is developing somewhat at present, it is not the principal contradiction in the interior of our country. Just as the Resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee points out: "The principal contradiction we need to resolve is the contradiction between the people's increasing material and cultural needs and our backward social production. The focus of work of our party and state must be shifted to the construction of our socialist modernization centered on economic construction, so that we can greatly develop our social forces of production and gradually improve the people's material and cultural life on this basis." This dictum completely accords with the objective reality of our social development. One of the greatest lessons we have learned in the past is that, after socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production was basically completed and after exploitative classes as classes were eliminated, we failed to unswervingly shift the party's focus of work to the construction of our socialist modernization but, instead, erroneously took class struggle as the principal contradiction of the whole historical period of socialism. This profound historical lesson we must never forget.

(III) Understand Clearly the Characteristics of the Struggle and Adopt Correct Policies

Class struggle under new historical conditions is different both from the one in the war years, which was a struggle we carried out to seize power against the opposition of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, and from the one in the period of the three great transformations, which was a struggle in which we carried out reforms against the opposition by the whole bourgeoisie; it is class struggle of a special form which we are carrying out against domestic remnant forces of the exploitative classes and the corrosion and infiltration of the foreign bourgeoisie. We must fully understand the characteristics of this struggle and adopt correct policies to cope with it.

First, class struggle is currently reflected mainly in the economic realm. Complex and complicated struggles also exist in the political realm and ideological and cultural realms, but these struggles are nearly all carried

out around the struggle in the economic realm. Therefore, we must take the crackdown on criminal activities in the economic realm as the entry of our breakthrough, and then gradually launch an overall anti-corrosion struggle in the political, ideological and cultural realms.

Second, this class struggle exists only in certain realms. At present, myriad contradictions exist in our society; apart from some of these contradictions which are of the nature of a class struggle, most of them are contradictions of a non-class struggle nature. With respect to these contradictions, we should adopt methods different from those of class struggle to solve them, and cannot attach a "class struggle" label at random. With respect to illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm, we must both see the seriousness of the problem and at the same time not "mistake all grass and woods as soldiers" by trying to forcibly find problems of this kind in units where they are absent. We must adhere to the principle of proceeding from the actual situation in all cases by opposing whatever there is and however many there are.

Third, class struggle does not exist among the people, but there is also the reflection and influence of class struggle there. The concept of the people is a historical category. Before the realization of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of our means of production, the concept of the people included workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. At that time, in response to the condition that our national bourgeoisie was of a dual character, our party took the contradictions between the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie as a contradiction among the people. In that sense, Comrade Mao Zedong used the proposition of contradiction among the people. Today, the national bourgeoisie as a class has already been eliminated, the structure of the people in our interior is made of all socialist laborers and patriots. Although among the people there still exists class differences and this and that kind of contradictions, these class differences and contradictions are no longer a conflict of fundamental interests. Under such circumstances, if we should say that class struggle still exists among the people, that would not tally with the actual situation in our society on the one hand and easily confuse the distinction between the question of right and wrong among the people and the question of class struggle, and easily lead to expansion of class struggle on the other hand. But, because of domestic and international factors, such as extreme individualism, anarchism, bourgeois liberalization and remnant feudal ideas, etc. Such influence and reflection still partakes of the nature of class struggle, but is by no means equivalent to class struggle itself.

Fourth, because the relationship and relative strength between the classes have undergone a fundamental change, when we carry out a special form of class struggle we need not, nor should, adopt the mass movement approach in the manner of a strong gale and a torrential downpour as in the past, but should, as we bring into play socialist democracy, at the same time strengthen our socialist legal system, use our legal weapon, and carry out our struggle against the counter-revolutionary elements and various criminal elements. With respect to activities of sabotage by hostile elements, we must exercise

our dictatorship according to law; with respect to illegal and criminal activities in the economic realm, especially economic cases involving working personnel of the state, we must mete out punishments as strictly and as heavily as possible; with respect to general cases of violation of the law pertaining to contradictions among the people, we must both handle them solemnly on the basis of facts and the law as our norm and do a good job in carrying out education and remedies. With respect to contradictions arising within the party and among the people between proletarian ideas and workstyle and non-proletarian ideas and workstyle, we are limited even more to the adoption of democratic methods, methods of education and persuasion, and methods of criticism and self-criticism in solving them.

As for the infiltration and corrosion carried out against us by Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan, and foreign capitalist forces, we can use neither the method of "one class overthrowing another class" to solve them, nor the method we have employed in treating our domestic national bourgeoisie in the past to solve them. But we must adopt a correct policy while continuing to communicate with them. We must educate our party members, cadres, and all the people and maintain the purity of our proletariat and socialist system, and never become corroded by capitalist forces.

9255
CSO: 4005/844

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GUIDELINES FOR THIRD CENSUS EXPLAINED

Beijing TONG JI [STATISTICS] in Chinese No 2, 17 Apr 82 pp 7-9

[Talk by Li Chengrui [2621 2052 3843], deputy head of the Census Leading Group of the State Council and head of the Census Office, at the Third Nationwide Census Work Conference, 12 January 1982: "Explanation on the Guidelines for the Third Nationwide Census and Suggestions on How To Carry Out the Work on Census"

[Text] I fully agree with Vice Premier Chen Muhua's talk. I have been asked by the Census Leading Group of the State Council to make a few explanations on the Draft Guidelines for the Third Census (hereinafter referred to as Guidelines for the Third Census (hereinafter referred to as Guidelines) and to say a few words about the suggestions on how to carry out the work of the census.

Explanations on the Guidelines for the Third Census

The Guidelines have been formulated according to the principles issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council, and after conducting repeated experimental census taking and soliciting the views of people on all sides.

The Party Central Committee and the State Council direct us to carry out the third census with a view to ascertaining accurate figures of China's population, the geographical distribution and socioeconomic composition of the population, and other important conditions, so as to provide reliable data for planned socialist modernization, overall arrangements for the people's material and cultural life, and the formulation of population policies and plans. For this purpose the present census contains many more items than the two previous ones, and a large amount of data collected will be processed by computers.

Based on these instructions, the Census Leading Group of the State Council drafted the First Draft of the Guidelines for the Third Census in early 1980 and tried it out in Wuxi City and Wuxi County, Jiangsu Province, in an area containing 950,000 people. The experience of the Wuxi experiment was put to discussion by the conference of the heads of census offices of the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions in March 1981. The First Draft was revised and a Second Draft of the Guidelines of the Third Nationwide Census

was drawn up. During March-August 1981, 24 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions conducted experiments according to the Second Draft. The experiments covered urban, rural, pastoral, and national minority areas containing a total of some 2,200,000 people. In September 1981, the Census Leading Group of the State Council again called a conference of the heads of census offices of the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions. Then it revised the Second Draft and produced a Third draft of the Guidelines for the Third Nationwide Census. Apart from the three major revisions, the Guidelines have also been revised over a dozen times on a smaller scale. Each time, opinions were also solicited from the various departments of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, also from Chinese specialists and scholars and specialists from the United Nations. The Third Draft was examined by the State Council at its regular session on 8 Jan 1982 and was approved in principle.

The Guidelines contain 28 articles. Following are explanations on several major questions.

1. Leadership of the census. Article 2 of Guidelines provides that "the census work shall be carried out under the leadership of the State Council and the local people's governments at all levels." It is also provided that census agencies should be set up at the central, provincial, prefectural, country, commune (urban neighborhood), and brigade (urban residents' committee) levels to take charge of organizing and implementing census taking. Census taking is an important undertaking that concerns everyone, and must be carried out under the unified leadership of the State Council and the people's governments at all levels in order to organize the forces of all related departments and mobilize the masses to complete this undertaking with concerted efforts. This is the successful experience of the last two censuses; it is so provided this time.

2. Objects of the census. Article 3 of Guidelines provides that "people holding the citizenship of the People's Republic of China and residing within the People's Republic of China shall be the objects of the census." This census, as was the case in the last two censuses, will not include as its objects foreigners residing in China. Chinese who have gone abroad to work or study, though out of the country for the time being and having temporarily cancelled their residence registration, still have their permanent residence in China and are therefore still included as objects of the census.

3. Standard time of the census. The standard time of both the 1953 and the 1964 census was 24:00 hours 30 June. Article 7 of Guidelines provides that "the standard time of the nationwide census shall be 00:00 hours 1 July (i.e., 24:00 hours 30 June), 1982". This time has been selected mainly because it is a time when population movement is at a minimum, which makes it easier to take the census, and also because the data will provide a basis for historical comparisons. Although this is a rather busy time for farm work, it is not the busiest farming season for the greater part of the country. Judged from the experience of the first two censuses, choosing 24:00 hours 30 June as the standard time is appropriate and feasible.

4. "Spatial standard" of the census, i.e., who should be registered where. Article 5 of Guidelines provides that "the census shall practice the principle of registration at the place of permanent residence. Every person should register at his or her place of permanent residence. Each person must register only in one place." Based on this principle, it is also provided in Guidelines that those who have left their place of registered residence should have their census taken at their place of actual residence. This way, the census will reflect the actual situation of the local population, thus providing the people's governments at all levels with the necessary data to formulate plans for economic construction and the people's livelihood.

Based on the principle of registration at the place of permanent residence, Article 5 also makes specific provisions for population under five different circumstances. These provisions facilitate the verification of the population at the time of census-taking against the population in residence registrations, thus providing greater accuracy of the census.

5. Census items. Article 6 of Guidelines lists 19 items for the census, 13 to be filled by the individual and 6 to be filled by the household. It means 10 more items than the last census. They comprise items mainly in the following four categories.

(1) Resident registration at places of permanent residence. This helps prevent duplication and omission of registered population and provides more information on the reisdence and movement of the population.

(2) Economic characteristics. This includes the trades and occupations of the employed population (whether placed by labor departments, or working in collective organizations people formed themselves, or self-employed), the unemployed population (students in school, homemakers, people retired or resigned from work). There has never been a survey of the population's trades and occupations since the founding of the people's republic. The second census listed an item on occupation but no provision was made on classification standards and no itemized report was required. This is important in getting an overall picture of the country's labor power, utilizing our wealth of labor power as rationally as possible, and promoting planned and proportionate economic growth.

(3) Characteristics concerning child-bearing. These include the total number of children a woman has given birth to, the number of children who have survived, and the number of births each woman had in 1981. This is important for studying and formulating China's population policies and plans.

(4) An additional item is the number of births and deaths in the year before the census (1981). This is for the purpose of verifying China's birth and death rates and calculating the average life expectancy of the population.

I wish to point out here that the scope of the census survey and current policies are two different things. For example, the lower age limit (starting age) for marriage and child-bearing listed in the survey is age 15, much lower than the lower age limit of current policies. Marriage and child-bearing information should be recorded as they actually exist; no information on

marriages entered below legal age limit shall be withheld. This is the only way to ascertain actual situations and on that basis to examine, study, and formulate policies. To be sure, the scope of the census survey is solely for the purpose of obtaining data. It will not affect the implementation of current policies or any of the rights and duties of the masses.

6. Methods of census taking. As in the case of the two previous censuses, two methods will be used: setting up census-taking stations and conducting door-to-door registration. Article 10 of Guidelines provides that, according to the principle of convenience for the masses, a census area will be divided into districts, each to have a census station to which, in response to the call of grass-roots cadres, heads of households or informed members of households designated by the heads of households shall go and register. Or, information can be obtained through visits to households by census takers. This applies in particular to people who are elderly, weak, ill, or disabled, and in sparsely-populated areas. Whatever the method, census-takers should ask all the questions as listed in the form and obtain clear answers regarding each household and each person and fill out every item. Census-respondents should answer the questions truthfully. There must be no duplications and no omissions to ensure accuracy.

7. Census re-check and census quality sample check. A high degree of accuracy is the target of the current census. Thus Article 15 of Guidelines provides for a comprehensive re-check and methods to correct mistakes. Comprehensive re-check is important in reducing mistakes and improving census quality. This has been proved repeatedly by the two previous censuses and the recent experimental census taking. To inspect census quality after census registration, Article 16 of Guidelines provides for sample checks after form-filling and re-checking have been completed, evaluation of the quality of the census, and compilation reports to higher authorities. It also provides that sample checkers shall not take part in quality sample checks in units where they originally took the census.

8. Compilation and publication of data. The census data collected will be compiled by computers. As compilation involves a tremendous amount of work and statistical forms, it will take a long time. So some of the more important figures such as total number of households, population, males and females, and population of different nationalities will be computed manually first (Article 18) so that they can be published 3 months after the standard time of the census. Machine computation will be in two steps. The first step is to select a certain percentage of samples for compilation first, as reference to leading organizations in formulating policy. The second step is to compile all the data and submit them to the State Council for approval and publication (Article 22).

In a word, the Guidelines as we have formulated them this time have taken into consideration both the requirements of the four modernizations program and the financial, material and technical resources available in the country at present. The document is based on the successful experience of the previous two censuses as well as some good experience of other countries. It has been formulated by a common effort on the basis of proven experiments. One might say that

Guidelines are basically in conformity with the present realities of our country and are better and more carefully formulated than methods in the past.

Suggestions on How To Carry Out Census-Taking

We must make careful plans for implementing the Guidelines for the Third Nationwide Census. The census shall be conducted in three stages.

1. Preparation stage. Two and a half years, from the end of 1979 when the Census Leading Group of the State Council was formed to the beginning of census registration at the end of June 1982. This period can be divided into two phases. The first phase was from the beginning of preparation up to this conference. In the past 2 years, we have established census agencies at the central and provincial levels and in some of the prefectures, counties, and municipalities. We have conducted experimental census taking in selected areas, formulated and revised many times the Guidelines for census taking. We have reorganized residence registration in the majority of the parts of the country. We have purchased electronic computers and set up computing stations in some of the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, and put them into operation. The rest of the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions have also done a great deal of preparation for setting up their computing stations. All this has laid a good foundation for the third nationwide census.

The 6 months from this conference to the end of June 1982 will be the second phase of preparation. It will be a busy period. Twelve major tasks will be carried out in this phase under the unified leadership of the people's governments at different levels.

(1) Establish and strengthen census leading bodies and working bodies in the people's governments at different levels, and effectively strengthen the offices of census leading groups of the provincial, prefectural, and county people's governments.

(2) Do a comprehensive job of public information of census-taking. June 1982 will be made the Census Information Month to bring about an upsurge in publicity.

(3) Call conferences at every level to transmit the spirit of the Third Conference of Nationwide Census and implement specific requirements.

(4) Prepare and print census documents, forms, detailed rules, and training materials, and promptly issue them to every level down to the basic levels.

(5) Complete the reorganization of the residence registrations.

(6) Complete address coding at different levels.

(7) In accordance with the nationally uniform work rules for use in various stages of the census, and based on local conditions, training shall be given to core census workers in the provinces, prefectures, and counties, so that they will master the knowledge and methods of the entire process of census-taking.

(8) On the basis of the summing-up of the experimental census-taking at the provincial level, experiments will be conducted in prefectures and counties group by group and in stages.

(9) Do a good job of selecting and training census-takers, directors, coders, and coding directors.

(10) Prepare budgets, packaging materials, and other materials.

(11) Establish census data banks in the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions to be ready for us.

(12) Establish computing stations in provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, including installing and testing the machines, selecting and training software and hardware technicians, processing data collected from provincial experimental areas, and making other preparations, to ensure the proper use of the computers we bought ourselves and the computers supplied by the United Nations.

In short, we will enter the census registration stage only when the masses are informed and mobilized, the experiments have been successful in the provinces, prefectures, and counties, the address codes have been prepared, the 4 million census-takers, 100,000 coders, and thousands of computer software and hardware technicians have been organized and trained, and other support work has been completed.

2. Census registration, manual compilation and coding stage. In the 5 months between 1 July 1982 and the end of November, the following 7 tasks shall be carried out under the unified leadership of the people's governments at different levels:

(1) Census registration; (2) re-checking and verifying the registration; (3) sample checking of census quality; (4) manual compilation of the more important figures; (5) sampling work required by advance sample compilation and the coding of census forms selected as samples; (6) Coding the census forms; and (7) shipping the census forms from the grass-roots units to census data banks in provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions.

All seven tasks must be completed within required time limits.

Registration is the central task in the entire process of census-taking. Census-takers must use the "Model Questions in Census-Taking" and ask questions of the registrant item by item and fill out the form item by item. They must always ask the registrants to clarify doubtful information and must not copy the information from the residence registration booklets without asking questions. They must not hurry through the procedure work in a slapdash manner. The census directors' main duties are to guide the census-takers, check their work promptly and help solve problems as they arise, not to fill the forms for them. For half a month starting from the end of June, the people's governments at different levels are called upon to follow the directive of the State Council and making sure that production is not affected, make the census the central task and go all out to carry it out. The previous

two censuses were conducted in this way with good results. We will do it the same way this time.

It should be pointed out that we must not slack off after the registration. Although there will no longer be a need at this time to mobilize the masses to make the census a central task, the people's governments of the counties and municipalities should carry on by organizing special task forces to sample check census quality, code the census forms item by item, and compile the important figures manually. Among these tasks, coding is especially important. Coding is a general check of the information registered during census taking; it is the basis for computers to process the data. It involves a massive amount ot work and very strict requirements. The work must be concentrated in the counties and municipalities. Where possible, it can be concentrated in the provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions, or prefectures.

In short, starting from now, all county and municipal governments should concentrate their effort without stop for 11 months. The task is basically completed only when they have reported the manually compiled figures, sent the coded census forms (advanced samples first) to the census banks of the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, and fulfilled all other tasks according to quality requirements.

3. Computer compilation and reporting stage. In the 3 years from the beginning of December 1982 to the end of November 1985, 5 tasks need to be completed:

(1) Data processing by computers on advance samples; (2) Data processing by computers on all census data (including data entry, logical check, and formatting and printout of all data); (3) Sorting out and analyzing the data; (4) Summing up the work of the third nationwide census; and (5) printing of national, provincial, municipal, and autonomous region census data.

Selection, training and management of the 4,000 data entry staff is an important task. People's governments of the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions should carry it out well in accordance with the directives of the State Council. Census offices and computing stations must work in close cooperation, solving problems of data entries as they arise, and forming quality-control groups to complete the data processing.

In short, people's governments of the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions must take firm hold of this task all the way to 1985. The task is completed only when they have reported the manually-compiled figures, carried their part of the advance sample compilation, reported and printed all the compiled materials and distributed them to the users, and have proven by sample checks that all their work has measured up to standards.

These are the 24 main tasks for the 3 stages of the census. They show that the present census is broad in scope and complex in nature, that the methods used and the standards set must be uniform, and that all links of the task must beet stringent requirements. The census is a large-scale "system engineering" involving 1 billion people and several million staff workers, requiring many types of operations and multi-staged tasks. The various links of this task

are closely interrelated, mutually complementary and mutually restricting. A whole series of scientific methods is needed to avoid each going his own way. We must make careful plans and arrangements, work in an orderly manner, and complete our tasks according to time schedules and quality requirements. For this purpose, we have drawn up census work schedules, charts for overall arrangement, and the flow chart of the main work procedures (omitted), so as to facilitate work arrangements, control work schedules, enhance coordination, and facilitate inspection and supervision.

All our work should center on one thing, and that is: We must institute strict quality control, increasing the accuracy of census data and reducing mistakes to a minimum. The experiments in Wuxi and in the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions show that so long as we work carefully, it is entirely possible to achieve a high degree of accuracy. But we must not be complacent. We must be clearly aware that there are still many problems in our work, which is not solved, may result in major loopholes when the census begins nationwide. Every link and every item will have a direct or indirect bearing on the accuracy of the census. Only when we schedule our work carefully, giving due consideration to every link, especially the vital links, will we be able to achieve a high degree of accuracy.

The work load of this census is heavy and the requirements high. It will involve massive efforts and a long time period. But diligent work will bring fruitful results. So long as we complete the tasks according to schedule and quality requirements, we will be able to acquire materials as scheduled: first, the figure on total population and the sex and nationality composition of the population; then a great amount of the compiled sample materials on the sex, age, educational level, trade, occupation, marital status, and child-bearing status of the population; and finally all the materials collected from the census about the whole population and cross comparisons between different items, totaling several tens of thousands of pages. The materials will include detailed items for the country as a whole and for the provinces; rather detailed items for the counties and municipalities; and main items for the communes (urban neighborhoods). Much of these materials are incomplete or lacking in regular statistics. They will be very important information for a better understanding of our country as a whole, of the provinces, municipalities, and counties. We believe that with the strong leadership of the party and government at all levels and with the concerted effort of the masses of cadres and the support and cooperation of the broad masses, we will successfully complete the present census.

9924
CSO: 4005/846

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FINDINGS FROM SURVEY OF UNEMPLOYED YOUTHS MADE PUBLIC

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 3, 20 Mar 82 pp 18-19

[Article by Kiu Jiaonong [0491 7003 6593] and Fei Huiyu [6316 4482 1342]: "Strive To Turn Those Who Passively Wait for Jobs Into Active Participants in the Job Training Program"]

[Text] Since March 1981, the Youth Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences has organized forces to conduct a survey of problems resulting from placement of youths in jobs in Shanghai and Beijing as well as 11 other cities in Jiangsu, Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Gansu, and Shaanxi. In late Autust 1981, it invited responsible comrades on the staff of the State Labor Bureau, Ministry of Education, the CYL Central Committee, the National Federation of Women, and academies (institutes) of social sciences, CYL organizations, and institutions of higher learning in 19 provinces and municipalities to a planning conference on studying problems from placement of youths in jobs, held in Harbin, a conference designed to analyze and discuss the present status of youth employment and the contradictions that youths face.

An Important Problem in Placement of Youths in Jobs

During the investigation, we found that remarkable successes have been scored in placing youths in jobs in many cities through the implementation of the Party Central Committee's policy aimed at "broadening the prospect of employment through the development of the economy of collective ownership" and "coordinating labor departments' job placement service with voluntary and individual efforts to organize businesses and seek employment." Another finding is that more and more provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have claimed success in placing in jobs almost all the unemployed youths they registered before 1979; successful efforts have been made by some cities, counties and townships to basically solve their youth employment problem. It is particularly gratifying to note that we have watched a large number of youths strive to turn themselves into a dynamic force in our national economic life after they were employed.

Because ours is a populous country, new and young workers in large numbers will continue to stream into society daily. As the readjustment of the national economy is underway, the task of placing urban youths in jobs remains a

matter that commands our great attention. At present, apart from the failure of some localities to pay enough attention to the broadening of the prospect of employment because they are still preoccupied with placing youths with state-run enterprises and establishments, a tendency which has exacerbated the problem of structural overlapping in a number of units, another prominent problem is that many localities have regarded the placement of youths as merely an attempt to find jobs or positions for youths rather than a long-range plan for effective exploitation and utilization of the most valuable resource of labor force. In the end, they have ignored the fact that jobs can be created by training in a well-planned way.

A series of bad consequences have resulted from being contented only with perfunctory placement of jobs and ignorance of training:

(1) Before being placed in jobs, a large number of junior and senior middle school graduates have wasted their time at their homes, or kept looking for odd jobs everywhere. With a wide range of interests in things and with a strong desire to learn, these energetic youths should have spent such critical moments of their lives charting a correct course for themselves, acquiring work skills, and should have devoted time to arming themselves with a revolutionary world outlook and revolutionary philosophy of life. Of these youths, some are keeping a passive wait-and-see attitude toward the world, and lingering at crossroads with depressed hearts, because they lack an objective for which they can struggle. In a letter to the Taiyuan Municipal CYL Committee, a youth said: "I have spent springs and autumns depending on my old parents for a living, sometimes wandering to the east and sometimes to the west. When can I put an end to this wandering? Youth is dying, time is flying, years pass away just like the spring waters down the river. One can hardly make youth stay!" It is not difficult to imagine that under such circumstances, youths are apt to become unstable factors in society.

(2) Because we have spared no effort to place youths in jobs, the unreasonable years-old "replacement" regulations remain untouched. Recently added to this was a "contractual authorization" act, which has made jobs "hereditary positions," thus rendering the principle of "appointing the outstanding to appropriate positions" empty talk. Although the "replacement" regulations and the "contractual authorization" act have proved instrumental in alleviating unemployment, their negative effect on society has become more apparent than ever. Since work-skills are no longer counted as qualifications for employment, and since the untrained can also get jobs, an absurd phenomenon of allowing some parents "to fill vacancies with persons of poor quality" has appeared. Some of them have even relied on their authority, personal connections and backdoor dealings, and have done everything possible to make "iron rice bowls" available to their children in a practice of unhealthy workstyles. This has prompted some middle school students to contend that "competition for three good students is a waste of time; what does count is good parents." This contention has a serious dampening effect on their enthusiasm for study. The result is the resurgence of the "theory that book-reading is useless" which disappeared in the wake of the smashing of the "gang of four." This practice may end up cutting off the flow of qualified workers to all fronts and shaking our secondary education to its foundation.

(3) Because training is ignored, a large number of youths will enter labor markets without being armed with professional knowledge or work-skills. Under such circumstances, they will find themselves unable to meet the desired professional requirements. Once they have won hard-earned job opportunities, many youths have found themselves unprepared to get anything done, while viewing them as merely positions to earn bread. The result is the appearance of laxity of labor discipline, poor quality services performed by them, rising factory accidents, and a drop in the level of labor productivity. What is worse, it may adversely affect the quality of the new generation of the working class in our country.

For this reason, whether youths should be allowed to wait passively for placement, or plan and arrange their future through the launching of an active training program will have a bearing on the development of the four modernizations and the growth of youths in our country. To solve this problem, we must first make clear the following guiding ideology: Youths, which make up a large percentage of our population, cannot be viewed as merely a "population" to be fed; they should be regarded as "talents" capable of creating values, and the most valuable wealth that needs to be tapped for the benefit of the four modernizations program.

An Important Measure To Reform the Labor Hiring System

Each year, a large number of primary, junior and senior school graduates are seen streaming into society rather than going to colleges. A very urgent and important task that lies ahead is how to organize them to participate in the well-planned job training program. We must actively develop the training program for youths, work out plans to place them in jobs, and roundly exploit this intellectual resource. We must consider this an important measure to implement the "three-in-one" labor hiring policy and to reform the labor hiring system in our country. The practice of training in work-skills by some cities over the past several years has made this point very convincing to us.

First, a successful job training program is significant in that it can create a favorable condition for youths to acquire employable skills, and for us to implement the policy calling for "placement of jobs by labor departments, and for efforts by youths to organize their own businesses and to rely on their own efforts to look for jobs." Over a long period of time, as a result of sabotage by the "gang of four," the lack of coordination between the institution of secondary education and the requirements for economic development has become more serious than ever. It seems unlikely that this contradiction can be resolved on short notice. For this reason, a measure must be adopted to train unemployed middle school graduates in work-skills. Such measures are particularly significant in that they can help resolve current contradictions caused by a lack of coordination between education and labor, open up a channel for employment, and speed up the pace of placement. Since its establishment, the Sian Municipal Labor Training Center has spent the past year graduating more than 18,000 students. They have quickly put their newly acquired skills to good use after they were employed by enterprises, establishments and other units on the basis of merit, or joined one another in organizing their own businesses and/or undertook to engage in individual

farming. In the past, some youths often felt depressed due to their lac of skills and technical know-how on finding jobs. After undergoing training, the they are now in high spirits, and are determined to create some "gold rice bowls" and pool their wisdom and talent for the benefit of their motherland.

Second, the launching of the job training program is an effective measure for the realization of the employment plan. In the long run, there should be a step-by-step plan for utilization of the labor force in cities, which cannot be covered under any single labor contract. It should be evenly and properly distributed among many sectors of the eocnomy. The content and scope of the job training program, whose aim is to train qualified professionals and workers of relatively high quality, should be planned and arranged in a way that takes into account the requirements for the readjustment and development of the national economy and the people's growing material and cultural needs.

Third, in light of the needs of society, the launching of the training program can create a favorable condition for youths to choose their careers, and will lead them to become more enthusiastic than ever for socialism. The establishment of the socialist system of public ownership can serve as a basis for developing their intellectual resource. The consideration of giving youths chances to choose their own careers and allowing them to willingly put their talent to good use within the context of the needs and possibility of the state is indispensable to the reform of the labor hiring system in our country. The launching of the training program is also significant in that it can lead youths to develop interest and love for certain professional skills. If the recruiting units can employ them for their outstanding performances, and if youths with the same interest and similar skills are allowed to organize their own businesses, they will be able to bring their initiative and creative talent into full play.

The launching of the job training is not based on an expedient plan, but is a part of a strategic measure that will have a bearing on the development of our socialist economy and the growth of youths.

Ours is a country with multitudinous economic structure, a country where the advanced middle level and backward aspects of technology remain in use at the same time. The development of the national economy requires not only politically conscious, professionally competent, and high and middle level technicians, but also a large number of skilled workers with political consciousness. For this reason, we must attach importance to investment in intellectual terms, and must consider it important to reform the educational structure. This requires us to mobilize all positive factors to give youths necessary training in work-skills until they can master certain work-skills and become a practical and dynamic productive force.

We must take note of this trend from the current economic development of some capitalist countries. With the revolutionization of modern science and technology and the further socialization of production has come tremendous changes in the structure of productive labor and the labor force. If we say that during its early stage, capitalism needed only "illiterate-type" wage-slaves, what is vital to modern monopoly capitalism is "highly-educated"

wage workers. The labor force must undergo training. In many developed capitalist countries, this has become essential qualification for employment. Although our country differs in basic nature from capitalist countries, with science and technology continuing to develop, with the cycles of inventing and applying new technologies growing shorter and shorter, and with the gradual improvement of the technical structures of various sectors of the economy, our society will certainly place stricter demands for quality on youths looking for jobs. Such demands can be met only by job training aimed at putting the tremendous potential of millions of youths to wide use.

How To Take an Active Part in the Development of Job Training

First, we must fully understand the role of job training in the development of the national economy and the growth of youths, and must seek an answer to this question from the theoretical point of view and on the basis of our understanding of related policies and achievements in work. The training program should contain the following two aspects: 1) ideological education in employment; 2) training in work-skills. These two aspects of training are indispensable to each other. Not accompanied with correct ideological education, such job training is unlikely to move in the correct direction; ideological education not coupled with technical training will also end up losing its firm foundation.

Second, to make ideological education in employment a success, we must lead the entire society and especially youths to understand the significance of our new labor hiring policy, to change the idea of pinning our hopes for employment solely on the state, the idea of regarding government employment as "iron rice bowls," and to foster the socialist pioneering spirit of self-reliance.

Educating youths in the socialist pioneering spirit of self-reliance means encouraging them to break with the idea of solely relying on the "iron rice bowls" and eating out of one big communal pot of rice. This education is consistent with the reform of the economic structure and the labor hiring system. If a nation or country wants prosperity and development, it must display the pioneering spirit of self-reliance. Now is time for us to sow the seeds of self-reliance and hard struggle in the minds of the young generation.

Third, policies must be adopted in support of the job training program. The state must encourage and support all interested units and individuals to run training classes of all kinds for the benefit of society. Apart from funds earmarked by the state, sponsoring units should be authorized to spend part of their budgets on the training as a form of investment which will sooner or later yield economic returns. At the same time, they must try to tap their own potential and rely mainly on their efforts to solve the problems of classrooms and teaching staff. As a reward to their initiation of such training programs, the sponsoring units should be given first options to select and recruit the trained talents from among those who have graduated from the training classes.

Toward youths participating in training, we must uphold the policy of "encouraging voluntary participation in study at their own expense, certifying their credits upon graduation, and making no commitment to their placement." But prior consideration must be given to recommending those with outstanding academic records for possible employment by recruiting units. We also want to suggest that in the future, the recruiting units give candidates not only political and cultural tests, but also physical and technical examinations; the probational period of apprenticeship can be waived for those youths who graduated from training with good grades in technical fields, while their positions should be arranged in accordance with their actual technical performances, and their salary should be rated so as to be comparable to workers of the same rank. Although the training classes are not committed to offer trainees jobs, they must give them necessary employment guidance and assistance in enabling them to organize their own businesses or seek jobs.

Fourth, leadership over the organization of the training needs to be strengthened. Placing youths in jobs is a problem that involves many sectors of the economy. For this reason, an overall arrangement must be made by all concerned for this purpose. We also want to suggest that the departments of labor and education, enterprises, establishments, neighborhood organizations, trade unions, CYL organizations, and federations of women put themselves under the unified command of party committees and governments at all levels, so that they can coordinate and cooperate with each other in effecting changes in the current situation resulting from the "inability of neighborhoods, schools and parents to control unemployed youths," in some localities. Experiences of various localities show that labor service companies and CYL organizations should assume a larger role in the organization of education and training of youths. When conditions are ripe, some cities should set up municipal labor training centers coordinating and organizing their overall training programs.

The task of converting the negative program to place the unemployed in jobs into a positive job training program is an urgent measure of strategic significance, and an important aspect of the exploitation of the intellectual resource of the young generation. Under the centralized leadership of the party and government, we can certainly stimulate the enthusiasm of millions of youths and lead them to make a still greater contribution to the building of the grandiose edifice of the four modernizations as long as we can count on the support of our entire society in our continuing efforts to formulate and improve the related policies and put them into effect.

9574
CSO: 4005/851

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

THIRD NATIONWIDE CENSUS REGULATIONS PROMULGATED

Beijing TONG JI [STATISTICS] in Chinese No 2, 17 Apr 82 pp 3-6

["Regulations Governing the Taking of the Third Nationwide Census"]

[Text] The State Council promulgated "Regulations Governing the Taking of the Third Nationwide Census" on 19 February 1982. The text of the "Regulations" is as follows:

Article I. In order to accurately investigate the population figure of our country and find out the regional distribution of our population and the structural situation of our social economy so as to provide reliable data for us to carry out the construction of our socialist modernization in a planned manner, to make an overall arrangement of the people's material and cultural life, and to formulate our population policies and plans, it is decided that the third nationwide census shall be taken in 1982.

Article 2. Census-taking work shall proceed under the leadership of the State Council and people's governments at various local levels. The State Council and people's governments of the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the Central People's Government, people's governments of autonomous prefectures and administrative offices of regions (leagues), and people's governments of counties (banners), municipalities and districts under the jurisdiction of municipalities shall all establish their respective census-taking leading group and its office; people's communes, towns and city street offices shall establish their respective census-taking office; production brigades and residents committees shall establish their respective census-taking group in order to take charge of organizing and carrying out census-taking.

Article 3. Objects of census-taking are persons with PRC citizenship residing within PRC borders.

Article 4. When the census is being taken, the individual household shall be regarded as the unit for registration purposes.

1. Family Household: Persons related to each other as family members, or other persons residing and living with them, are taken as a Family Household; a person living by himself is also taken as a Family Household.

2. Collective Household: Persons not related to each other as family members but living as singles in the collective dormitories of government agencies, social organizations, schools, factories, mines, construction sites, people's communes, farms, companies, hospitals, nurseries, old folks' homes, temples, churches and units of the like, and persons living in prisons, labor reform and labor education centers are taken as a Collective Household by each unit. Persons living in the collective dormitories of branches of the above units, and persons living in collective dormitories away from the headquarters of those units are taken as another Collective Household apart from their respective unit.

Article 5. For census-taking purposes, the principle of regular residence individual registration shall be adopted. Every person shall register at his regular residence. Each person can register only at one place.

Persons who should register at their own county, municipality during the census are:

1. Persons who have always resided in the county, municipality and who have also registered at their county, municipality as regular household residents;

2. Persons who have already regularly resided in the county, municipality for over a year even though their regular household residence is registered elsewhere;

3. Persons who have not yet resided in the county, municipality for a full year but who have already left the place of their regular household registration more than a year;

4. Persons residing in the county, municipality at the time of the taking of the census whose place of regular residence household registration remains to be determined;

5. Persons who originally regularly resided in the county, municipality but who happen to be working or studying abroad at the time of the taking of the census and who therefore temporarily do not belong to any regular residence household.

In order to prevent repetition and omission, in the case of persons in the third category above, the household registration organ of the place of their temporary residence shall investigate them in the month of May 1982, and the census office of their respective commune, town, street shall notify by writing the census-taking group of the production brigade, residents committee of the place of their respective regular residence household registration by 31 May, so that they are exempted from the census there.

In the case of regular residents who have left their own county, municipality for more than a year, this fact shall be noted in the reference column of the census form, so that they shall not be counted in the population figure of their respective county, municipality.

Article 6. Census information is taken on 19 items.

Items to be individually filled out in the census form number 13:

1. Name
2. Relationship to Head of Household
3. Sex
4. Age
5. Nationality
6. State of Regular Residence Household Registration
7. Cultural Level
8. Profession
9. Occupation
10. State of Unemployment
11. Marital Status
12. Number of children borne by women in the household and number of living children.
13. Childbearing conditions of childbearing women in 1981

Items to be filled out by the household number 6:

1. Kind of Household (Family Household or Collective Household)
2. Household Number
3. Number of Persons Living in Household
4. Number of Deaths in the Household in 1981 (The names, sex and ages of the deceased at the time of death shall be registered by each production brigade and residents group)
5. Number of Births in the Household in 1981
6. Number of Regular Residents Who Have Been Away for More Than a Year

Article 7. Zero hour, 1 July 1982 (namely, 24:00, 30 June) shall be the standard hour for census registration for the whole nation.

Persons deceased during the period after zero hour, 1 July 1982 and until the time of actual registration shall still be subject to survey and registration, but persons born during the same period shall not. Persons having moved during this period shall be subject to survey and registration at their original places of household registration.

In order to avoid omitting the registration of persons on their way to moving away from their own county, municipality shall all be registered by the places from which they have moved, and not by the places to which they are moving.

Article 8. Dividing of census districts and consolidating of households.

In the countryside, the jurisdiction under the production brigade shall be regarded as the census district. In municipalities and towns, the jurisdiction under the residents committee shall be regarded as the census district.

Before census registration begins, census-taking organs at various levels shall assist household registration organs to conscientiously consolidate the households according to the prescriptions of the "Regulations Governing Household Registration." On the basis of doing a good job in household registration work, the boundaries of the various census districts shall be clearly determined according to the administrative divisions of the state and, on the basis of persons subject to census registration as prescribed by Article 5 of these Regulations, a bound copy of a list of the names of household heads of each census district shall be compiled.

Article 9. The census registration work shall be undertaken by canvassers, with census directors taking the responsibility of directing and inspecting their work and cadres at the basic level and activists among the masses assisting them.

The county, municipal people's government shall select and transfer personnel of a definite cultural level who are trusted by the masses, conscientious and responsible, and capable of undertaking the pertinent tasks to serve as canvassers and census directors; after a short period of training and qualification through tests, they shall be issued a certificate. Before the census-taking tasks are completed these personnel shall not be transferred to other than census-taking work.

Article 10. As to the approach to census registration, census-taking stations may be established in different areas within a census district on the basis of making things convenient to the masses and let cadres at the basic level organize household heads or persons familiar with the pertinent conditions appointed by the household heads to come to the stations to make their reports, or canvassers may go to the individual households to visit them and have them fill out the form. No matter which approach is adopted, a canvasser must always ask clear questions about each household and each individual according to items in the census form and fill out each of them, and the person making the report must always tell the truth in order to avoid repetition and omission and achieve total accuracy.

After a household finishes filling out the whole census form, the canvasser must recite the filled-out parts before the person of the household making the report and verify them with him.

Census-taking work for persons residing in Collective Households and Family Households at government agencies, social organizations, schools, enterprises and public agencies and units of the like shall be undertaken by the respective unit itself under the uniform arrangements of the local census-taking organ.

Article 11. Taking a census of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

1. In-service soldiers of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, wherever they may be stationed, shall be subject to census uniformly taken by leading organs of their respective units.

2. Staff members and workers other than in-service soldiers serving in military institutions, their family members and nurses residing in such institutions, shall be subject to census taken by the respective military institutions; the filled-out census forms derived therefrom shall be turned over to the locally appointed census-taking organs. Those who do not reside in the above institutions shall be subject to census taken by local census-taking organs.

3. All persons of factories, schools, and kindergartens attached to military institutions other than in-service soldiers who reside in these units shall be subject to census taken by these respective units, and the filled-out census forms derived therefrom shall be turned over to the locally appointed census-taking organs; those who do not reside in the above units shall be subject to census taken by local census-taking organs.

Article 12. Armed civilian police, frontier civilian police, and firefighting civilian police, whether in-service or not, shall be subject to census taken by local county, municipal public security bureaus, and the filled-out census forms derived therefrom shall be turned over to the county, municipal census-taking offices.

Article 13. Census-taking for personnel stationed abroad.

1. Those personnel of embassies and consulates abroad, those personnel of other units stationed abroad and staff members, workers, experts, personnel for advanced studies, and trainees sent abroad who are state workers shall be subject to registration undertaken by the units to which these personnel were originally attached, and those who are commune members shall be subject to report made by the respective families of these personnel, so that they are registered in their respective local census.

2. In the case of census-taking for students and graduate students studying abroad at public expense or at their own expense, they shall all be reported and registered by the families of these personnel.

Article 14. Persons subject to education through detention, education through labor, reform through labor and arrested persons shall be subject to census taken by local public security organs, and the filled-out census forms derived therefrom shall be turned over to their respective county, municipal census-taking offices.

Article 15. Census-taking rechecking work.

After census-taking in one or several census districts is completed, the census director(s) shall carry out an overall rechecking according to prescribed rechecking methods; if and when he (they) discovers (discover) discrepancies, he (they) shall correct them after verification.

Article 16. Random inspection of census-taking samples to achieve quality.

After the work of filling out the census forms and their rechecking is completed, census-taking offices of the various localities shall select random samples according to prescribed random samples selecting methods to carry out a new census and thereby make an appraisal of the quality of the census taken and gather all the reports and submit to the superior level.

Random examples selecting personnel shall not participate in this quality random rechecking work at the basic units where they originally participated in the taking of the census there.

Article 17. Time limits for the completion of work in census registration, rechecking, and random samples quality appraisal.

Work in census registration shall be completed by 10 July 1982.

Rechecking work, by 15 July 1982.

Random samples quality appraising work, by the end of August 1982.

Article 18. Manual overall concentration of census data.

Several census figures shall be first concentrated together manually. Units for overall concentration are divided into six levels:

Census-taking groups of production brigades in the countryside and residents committees of cities and towns shall constitute the first level; their summary charts shall be completed for submission to the superior level by the end of July 1982;

Census-taking offices of communes in the countryside and street offices in cities and towns shall constitute the second level; their summary charts shall be completed for submission to the superior level by 10 August 1982;

The offices of census-taking leading groups of the people's governments of counties, municipalities, and districts directly under the jurisdiction of municipalities shall constitute the third level, and their summary charts shall by completed for submission to the superior level by 20 August 1982;

The offices of census-taking leading groups of the people's governments of autonomous prefectures and regional (league) administrative offices shall constitute the fourth level, and their summary charts shall be completed for submission to the superior level by 31 August 1982;

The offices of census-taking leading groups of the people's governments of the provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the Central People's Government shall constitute the fifth level, and their summary charts shall be completed for submission to the superior level by 10 September 1982;

The office of the State Council census-taking leading group shall constitute the sixth level; it shall gather all the summary charts and submit them altogether to the State Council by the end of September 1982, and after they are examined and approved by the State Council, these charts shall be promulgated along with a communique.

Article 19. The task of numbering the census forms.

After the census forms have undergone rechecking and manual overall concentration, numbering clerks, under the guidance of numbering directors, shall attach serial numbers to the filled-out parts of these census forms by each household, each individual, and each item according to uniformly prescribed numbering criteria.

This numbering work must be done at concentration centers, at least in the counties, municipalities, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the provinces, by the end of October 1982. Numbers thus attached must be rechecked. And after the numbering work is completed, there should be random inspection to verify quality.

Article 20. Transfer and control of census forms.

Census forms shall be bound into volumes with the production brigade and the residents group as the basic unit, and after the offices of the census-taking leading groups and the people's governments of counties, municipalities, and districts directly under the jurisdiction of the municipalities have attached proper numbers to them, conveyed to the data centers of the provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the provinces.

In the process of this conveyance, the census forms must be properly packed and sent under the protection of specially assigned personnel to ensure that they are preserved without any damage. Both the dispatching units and the receiving units must handle the transfer procedure according to established rules.

Article 21. The population figures of Taiwan, Pescadores, Quemoy and Matsu shall be computed on the basis of data published by the Taiwan authorities.

Article 22. Mechanized overall concentration of census data.

1. Advance random samples concentration. On the basis of established random samples selection methods, a definite proportion of samples shall be selected for advance samples concentration. The office of the State Council census-taking leading group shall send results of such concentration to the State Council at the end of October 1983.

2. Overall concentration. The offices of census-taking leading groups of the people's governments of the various provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the provinces shall forward results of the overall concentration of all data to the office of the State Council census-taking leading group at the end of June 1984. The office of the State Council census-taking leading group shall concentrate all census data of the nation and forward them to the State Council at the end of 1984, and, after they are examined and approved, these data shall be promulgated.

As regards these concentrated census data from the various provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the provinces, the office of the State Council census-taking leading group shall, together with the offices of the census-taking leading groups of the people's governments of the various provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the provinces, take the responsibility of organizing and printing them.

Article 23. The compiling of the census report.

Both the office of the State Council census-taking leading group and the offices of the census-taking leading groups of the people's governments of the various provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the provinces must analyze and study the concentrated census data and compile census reports for the country's provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the provinces and forward them respectively to the people's governments of the provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the provinces.

Article 24. Funds needed by the census-taking operations shall, under the principles of assuring completion of the census-taking tasks and of strict practice of economy, be jointly shouldered by the Central and local financial departments; the paper, packing materials required and the construction of data centers shall be up to the planning, material supplies, and other concerned departments at various levels to include them in their respective materials production and distribution plans and capital construction plans as items for special use and to guarantee that they are supplied.

The census forms and summary charts shall be uniformly designed by the office of the State Council census-taking leading group; the provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the provinces shall make the arrangements for printing and distributing them. In printing such forms, charts, and instructions on how they should be filled out in the

minority nationality areas, they should, in addition, be printed in the language(s) in common use in the given localities.

Article 25. Census-taking leading groups and their respective offices in the people's governments at various levels must conscientiously carry out the practice of requesting instructions and submitting reports. After the census-taking work is completed, census-taking leading groups of county and municipal people's governments and above must conscientiously sum up their experiences and submit in reports to their respective superior levels.

Article 26. After the census-taking operations are completed, the statistical, public security, and other concerned departments must further seek to strengthen regular household registration and population statistics compiling work. People's Communes (where no police stations are established) and production brigades in the countryside must assign pertinent personnel to respectively handle, as a special duty or a concurrent duty, the household registration and population statistics compiling work at the commune and brigade levels. Urban rural household registration organs and civic administration, public health, birth control and other concerned departments must, on the basis of the census-taking operations this time and in accordance with the "Household Registration Regulations" and other relevant regulations, establish and perfect household registration and other relevant records and register in time the births, deaths, transfers, weddings and situations of the like among the population in order to provide at fixed intervals accurate population statistical data to the state.

Article 27. Detailed operational rules for implementing these "Regulations" shall be formulated by the office of the State Council census-taking leading group. Census-taking leading groups of the people's governments of the various provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the jurisdiction of the provinces may formulate supplemental rules.

Article 28. In the Tibetian Autonomous Region and other areas of concentrated minority nationality residents, where conditions are out of the ordinary, the census-taking regulations may be applied in an expedient manner. Concrete programs are to be submitted by the people's governments of the Tibetian Autonomous Region and other provinces, autonomous regions, where certain minority nationalities live in compact communities and registered with the State Council for reference.

9255
CSO: 4005/845

HUNGARIAN INCIDENT VIEWED IN NEW PERSPECTIVE

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese no 5, 1982 pp 77-78

[Article by Gu Feixia [6253 7378 0204]: "The Hungarian Incident and Mao's Two 'Whatevers'"]

[Text] Is the Hungarian Incident anti-revolutionary? Mr Wen Hui [3306 8748] gave a negative answer to this question in CHENG MING, No 54. In the article entitled "Reappraisal of the Hungarian Incident," Mr Weng Hui incisively analyzed the two reasons leading to Mao Zedong's erroneous judgment. First "the inadequacy of his theoretic knowledge of socialism and practical experience." Second, "fear that a single spark can start a prairie fire—the anti-dictatorship and anti-bureaucratic conflagration to break loose the Stalinist straitjacket started in Budapest would spread to Beijing. I believe that in addition to these two reasons there is another important reason, namely, his metaphysical theory of struggle formed during the long period of his political struggles. His famous quotation, which truly reflects his metaphysical theory of struggle, says "whatever the enemies oppose, we support; whatever the enemies support, we oppose." Mao Zedong, on the basis of these views that were rigid, inflexible and devoid of concrete analysis could not but commit mistakes when he made judgment of events; he could not but fall into grossly blind subjectivism or build invalid, false and wrong cases.

Everyone knows that the Hungarian Incident was essentially the result of the Hungarian people's discontent with Stalinist bureaucratic totalitarianism over a long period of time; it was the result of the discontent with various evils of this system and the conflict between the Hungarian people's desire for democratic and free reform on the one hand and the bureaucratic system on the other. It was another meaningful and valuable social movement after the example of Tito in Yugoslavia. It shows that the conflict of instinctive demand of human life and the developmental law of human society with the totalitarian bureaucratic system, regardless of the kind of group or regime is involved or the kind of beautiful banner or attractive label is attached. Now after more than 20 years it is not difficult for us to recognize the true nature and significance of this incident. Especially since the Chinese people also suffered from the Stalinist mode at that time and subsequently went through the pains of the Cultural Revolution, it should be easier for us to reflect on the incident and to draw on our own experience in making the

correct conclusion. Interestingly enough, however, our attitude towards the Hungarian Incident 20 years after its occurrance agrees with that maintained by western and some imperialist countries at that time. It was precisely the fact that at that time western countries and imperialist countries adopted a positive and supportive attitude toward the Hungarian Incident that deeply touched the nerves of Mao's two whatevers and his metaphysics, and he instinctively reacted to "oppose whatever the enemies support."

Of course, taking history into consideration, we should recognize that Mao Zedong's attitude of two whatevers and his metaphysics had their political background. From the end of the Russian October Revolution to the end of World War II, the development of world history, unaffected by human will, led to the formation of two opposing camps. The fact was recognized not only by political leaders of socialist countries but also by political leaders of western imperialist countries at that time, though under different names and categorizations. If we pay attention to the opinion of the political leaders of the western imperialist countries at that time, we find that they repeated the claim that after the second decade of the 20th century, the world had entered into the great struggle between totalitarianism and democratic freedom. But the concept of totalitarianism used by them was very broad, including socialist, military fascist, feudal monarchic countries and junta regimes. Therefore the aspirations expressed in the Hungarian Incident agree with the anti-totalitarianism that western countries championed. It was not adequate standard for us to measure truth and to adopt an attitude? Fact prove that without making concrete analysis, ignoring people's reasonable demands, or failing to observe rules of human society or development of history, treating problems rigidly and mechanically according to Mao Zedong's metaphysics of two whatevers, is bound to get us into gross blindness and completely fallacious conclusions, and consequently we are bound to commit serious mistakes in our actions. Isn't Mao Zedong's cruel attack of the Hungarian Incident a result of this false line of thinking?

The two whatevers of Moo Zedong's metaphysics are not occasional sparks, but a running theme in his thinking. As early as in the late 1940's, it was clearly revealed in his attitude towards Yugoslavia; so was it in the 1957 anti-rightist struggle. Greatly resenting the fact that some rightist views had won praise from the westerners, he indiscriminately declined them to be anti-revolutionary, regardless of whether the views were true or correct. Because "whatever the enemies support, we oppose." It seems without such actions, there wouldn't be a revolution.

Lu Xun once mercilessly attacked this weakness of the Chinese national character: westerners study science, we must give ourselves to superstition. Westerners pay attention to sanitation, we must eat flies. Otherwise it would diminish our status as a great country. The two whatevers not only reveal the metaphysical sense of his philosophy, but are also connected with the deep-rooted weakness of the Chinese national character. Thus Mao's views on the two whatevers were widely received within and without the party to the extent of becoming a very strong and stubborn psychological inclination and exerting a powerful influence on public opinion. Up to now, we still find conservative elements in the Chinese Communist Party, who use them as

the basis for making judgments and decisions. For example, in launching criticisms against the so-called "Wounded Literature" and the movie "Unrequited Love" in recent years, they produced the standard response, mentioning how the work is treated overseas, "Taiwan is going to produce this film," "foreign enemies praise this novel, therefore it is bad," etc. The fashion in which the verdict is passed is exactly the same as the way Mao branded the Hungarian Incident anti-revolutionary.

In sum, the two "whatevers" of Mao Zedong's metaphysics not only created great chaos in politics and led to many invalid, false and wrong cases, but also made people lose their judgment, their rationality and their normal observational power. I believe that if we want to sum up the experience and the lesson of the Hungarian Incident, as well as to avoid repeating our mistakes, we must resolutely reject the metaphysical concept of two whatevers and replace it with the analytical method based on science, rationality and people's reasonable demands.

9507
CSO: 4005/856

END

JPRS 81260

13 JULY 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 317

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81260

13 July 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 317

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Superpowers Pursuit of Disarmament Derided
(Xie Wenqing; LIAOWANG, No 4, 1982) 1

'XINHUA' Carries 'Text' of Coalition Agreement
(XINHUA, 22 Jun 82) 3

Thailand, U.S. Conduct Joint Naval Exercise
(XINHUA, 11 Jun 82) 6

Thailand's Prem Reiterates Stand on Kampuchea
(XINHUA, 8 Jun 82) 7

Sihanouk Treasures Relations With Thailand
(XINHUA, 25 Jun 82) 8

Sitthi Sawetsila Reiterates Kampuchean Solution
(XINHUA, 30 Jun 82) 9

'VODK' Reports 14-18 June Army, Guerrilla Activities
(XINHUA, 2 Jul 82) 10

'VODK' Stresses SRV Must Withdraw From Kampuchea
(XINHUA, 1 Jul 82) 11

'VODK' Commentary Hails Tripartites Coalition
(XINHUA, 29 Jun 82) 12

Khieu Samphan on Proposed Tripartite Coalition
(XINHUA, 12 Jun 82) 13

Malaysia's Musa Hitam on Tripartite Meeting, PRC
(XINHUA, 21 Jun 82) 14

Thailand's Sitthi Comments on Khmer Coalition
(XINHUA, 19 Jun 82) 15

'BAN YUE TAN' Lists 41 Major Chinese, Foreign Events
(ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE, 4 Jun 82) 16

Briefs
New PRC Diplomatic Personnel 19
Kampuchean Coalition Leaders Sign Agreement 19
Japan Urges Israel To Withdraw From Lebanon 19
Japanese Friendship Hospital Grant 20
Buddhists Sri Lankan Departure 20
Khieu Samphan Agrees to Tripartite Summit 20
Liao Chengzhi Meets JSP Delegation 20
Thai, Austrian Foreign Ministers View Kampuchea 21
Kampuchean Forces To Sign Coalition Accord 21
DK Radio Stresses United Resistance Effort 21
Khieu Samphan Leaves for Coalition Ceremony 21
'Ba Yi Radio' Notes Views on U.S. Forces in Korea 22

PARTY AND STATE

Dangers of 'Peaceful Evolution' Stressed
(Li Jiansheng; DAZHONG RIBAO, 1 Apr 82) 23

Confession of Economic Crimes Urged
(DAZHONG RIBAO, 4 Apr 82) 27

Second 'XINHUA' Article in Constitution Series
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 11 Jun 82) 29

Fourth Lecture on Draft Revised Constitution
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 25 Jun 82) 31

11th Talk on Draft Revised Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 9 Jun 82) 33

12th Talk on Draft Revised Constitution
(Xu Chongde; Beijing Domestic Service, 10 Jun 82)..... 36

13th Talk on Draft Revised Constitution
(Xu Chongde; Beijing Domestic Service, 11 Jun 82) 41

14th Talk on Draft Revised Constitution
(Xu Chongde; Beijing Domestic Service, 13 Jun 82) 45

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Photo Shows Compound of 2nd Artillery Corps Unit in Qinghai Plateau
(Zhang Jucheng, et al.; JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, No 6, 1982)... 51

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Vice Premier Discusses Work of Third National Census
(Chen Muhua; TONG JI, 17 Apr 82) 53

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

'CHENG MING' Reports Cabinet Wants Deng as State Chairman
(Lo Ping; CHENG MING, 1 Jun 82) 59

'CHENG MING' Reports on Guilin Air Crash
(Lo Ping; CHENG MING, 1 Jun 82) 66

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SUPERPOWERS PURSUIT OF DISARMAMENT DERIDED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 4, 1982 p 34

[Article by Xie Wenqing [6200 2429 3237]: "Same Dream, Different Beds"]

[Text] Since early February, TASS and certain periodicals have successively put out articles commemorating the 50th anniversary of the 1932 Vienna "Disarmament Conference" in order to show the sincerity and concern about "disarmament" of the Soviet authorities.

Since they want to "commemorate" the big event, as usual they cannot get along without listing the fruits of "disarmement." I originally planned to take advantage of this and copy some dependable material from the commemorative articles from TASS and the periodicals in order to lend impetus and strength to this "commemoration," but I was disappointed. These articles did not provide a single figure concerning several decades of disarmement. TASS said only: "The disarmement proposals made by the Soviet Union in the more than 30 years since the war have been too numerous to list." I might add that: Soviet diplomats have attended numerous "disarmement conferences" and given countless "disarmement speeches." Most recently, on 16 March Brezhnev put forth a new disarmament" proposal: the Soviet Union would "temporarily halt" deployment of SS-20 missiles in Europe on condition that the Western Europeans not deploy the Pershing II missiles. This is to say: We will maintain our superiority and your inferiority cannot change. This can be considered a form of "commemoration."

But just what disarming has the Soviet Union done in these "more than 30 years"? RASS said: the "mark" of the 50th anniversary of the disarmement conference is "the reconvening in Vienna of the disarmement talks to discuss important matters such as limiting arms and disarmament." And so the efforts of "50 years" come down to "reconvening talks," which is to say that the fruit of 50 years of disarmament has been to go from convening a conference to "reconvening a conference"!

But I did not give up hope and still thought to gather some "fruits" of disarmament from the periodicals. I went through the "disarmament talks" documents produced "in the more than 30 years since the war," and was still unable to find any concrete record of Soviet-American "arms reduction." On the contrary, I dug up material concerning the continuous arms race waged by eht two major powers.

Today, as "disarmement talks" are "reconvened," the military expenditures of the Soviet Union and the United States are setting new world records. According to present data, for the year 1981 and 1982, the military expenditures of the 2 superpowers reached $180 billion and will increase next year. The military spending of the United States could reach $260 billion, and that of the Soviets can only go up, even though they will not say so.

Originally, the Soviets were militarily weaker than the United States. But in the past 10 years, the Soviets have not only surpassed the United States in terms of conventional weapons, but they have overtaken America in the number of nuclear weapons. In terms of troops stationed on foreign soil, the Soviet Union is the present world champion, and in terms of arms sales, last year the Soviet Union leaped into the runner up spot, second only to France.

In early February of this year the United States announced the "restoration of production of biological weapons," the reason given was: the Soviets have such weapons and have used them during the last 2 years in countries such as Afghanistan, Kampuchee and Laos--the evidence coming from the results of blood tests given injured soldiers. This is to say that the scope of the arms race between the two superpowers has expanded from conventional and nuclear weapons into biological weapons. This can be considered a contribution to the 50 year commemoration of the "disarmament conference."

It looks as though the Soviet-American "two man comedy act" on disarmament is going to continue. Their "disarmement bit," or "disarmament routine" is: "talk, talk; build, biuld; talk, talk; build, build, build; talk, talk, build." In more common terms it is: "If you have something, I must have it": "I will have, however, much as you have"; or even, "I will have more than you"; "I will have what you don't have."

It has been this way for the Soviets and the Americans during the more than 30 years since the war--they dream a similar dream of military build up, although they sleep in different "beds," which is "same dream, different beds."

9705
CSO: 4005/866

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' CARRIES 'TEXT' OF COALITION AGREEMENT

OW221644 Beijing XINHUA in English 1619 GMT 22 Jun 82

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 22 Jun (XINHUA)--Leaders of the three Kampuchean resistance forces Samdech Norodor Sihanouk, Khieu Samphan and Son Sann signed in Kuala Lumpur today a joint declaration on the formation of a coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea. The full text of the declaration follows:

His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, His Excellency Mr Son Sann and His Excellency Mr Khieu Samphan, in pursuance of their joint statement made in Singapore on 4 September 1981, have agreed to form a coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea.

Purpose

The purpose of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea is:

1. To mobilise all efforts in the common struggle to liberate Kampuchea from the Vietnamese aggressors with the view to restoring the motherland as a sovereign and independent country.

2. To bring about the implementation of the declaration of the international conference on Kampuchea and other relevant United Nations General Assembly resolutions.

Operating Principles

1. The coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea is under the legitimacy and framework of the state of Democratic Kampuchea which is a member state of the United Nations. To this end, the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea will strive to defend the Democratic Kampuchea seat in the United Nations.

2. Each participating party in the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea shall retain its own organisation, political identity and freedom of action, including the right to receive and dispose of international aids specifically granted it. The coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea shall have no right to take any decision infringing or restricting this autonomy.

3. The workings of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea shall be guided by the principles of tripartism, equality and non-preponderance.

4. The operation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea shall be governed by the principle of consensus applicable to matters of importance and relating to:

(1) The settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

(2) International treaties or agreements.

(3) The appointment of important delegations such as those in charge of discussing the settlement of the problem of Kampuchea.

(4) The eventual modification of the struggle or composition of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea.

(5) The appointment of ambassadors or representatives of Democratic Kampuchea in diplomatic affairs. No question of change of ambassadors or representatives of Democratic Kampuchea currently in office should be raised in the period of six months following the formation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea.

5. Any decision or activity of any party in violation of the above provisions is null and void.

Composition and Operation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea

The coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea will be administered by a council of ministers, in accordance with the principles of tripartism, equality and non-preponderance. The council will comprise an inner cabinet and a number of coordination committees.

1. The inner cabinet consists of:

(1) President of Democratic Kampuchea: Samdech Norodom Sihanouk

(2) Vice president of Democratic Kampuchea in charge of foreign affairs: H. E. Mr Khieu Samphan

(3) Prime minister: H. E. Mr Son Sann

2. Coordination committees are established in the following areas:

(1) Finance and economy

(2) Defence

(3) Culture and education

(4) Health and social affairs

Each coordination committee will be charged by three appointees of ministerial rank representing the three participating parties. These ministerial posts in the coordination committees, however, do not constitute any part of the inner cabinet, and are subordinated to it.

The council of ministers of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea will convene regular meetings inside Kampuchea. Extraordinary meetings can also be convened when urgent problems present themselves. Meetings are convened by the president, vice president, or prime minister of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea, and presided over in the same order of precedence by the three members of the inner cabinet.

The inner cabinet of the council of ministers will be entrusted with the responsibility of preserving the existence of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea, which includes the discussion and settlement of differences arising over the interpretation and/or implementation of the operating principles governing the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea. In the event of failure, the presidents of the three participating parties will be requested to meet to work out a solution.

In accordance with the above-mentioned operating principles, each of the three participating parties reserves the right to its freedom of action so as to ensure its own continuity, in the event that an impasse has developed which renders the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea inoperative. In this case the current state of Democratic Kampuchea led by H. E. Mr Khieu Samphan will have the right to resume its activities as the sole legal and legitimate state of Kampuchea and as a member state of the United Nations to ensure the continuity of the state of Democratic Kampuchea.

In testimony whereof, H. R. H. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, H. E. Mr Son Sann, and H. E Mr Khieu Samphan have affixed their signatures at the end of this declaration formalising the formation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea.

CSO: 4000/152

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAILAND, U.S. CONDUCT JOINT NAVAL EXERCISE

OW111904 Beijing XINHUA in English 1856 GMT 11 Jun 82

[Text] Bangkok, 11 Jun (XINHUA)--An amphibious assault exercise of the Thai and U.S. navy and marine corps took place today at the Pha Beach in Songkhla Province of Thailand.

The assault is the climax of the combined U.S. and Thai naval exercise "Cobra Gold 82" which is the latest in a series of routine training exercises conducted regularly by Thai and U.S. military units. As with previous operations, Cobra Gold is aimed at enhancing cooperation and readiness of the naval forces of both countries.

The Cobra Gold exercise began 1 June and is scheduled to end 13 June. It involves 25 ships, many helicopters, military planes and 9,000 men from the U.S. 7th Fleet and Thai armed forces.

Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon and top-ranking Thai military officers inspected the exercise. U.S. 7th Fleet Commander Vice Admiral M. Staser Holcomb was also there for the inspection.

Before the amphibious assault, a four-day combined mine planting and sweeping exercise at sea in the Gulf of Thailand was conducted.

CSO: 4000/152

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAILAND'S PREM REITERATES STAND ON KAMPUCHEA

OW081324 Beijing XINHUA in English 1304 GMT 8 Jun 82

[Text] Bangkok, 8 Jun (XINHUA)--Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon of Thailand reiterated here today that his country sticks to the stand that the Kampuchea question be settled on the basis of the UN resolution.

Speaking at the second meeting of the Thai diplomatic envoys to countries in the Asian and Pacific region, the prime minister said that only when the Kampuchea question is settled, can the security and stability of this region be realized and Thailand concentrate all its efforts on improving the people's life and on domestic construction.

After talking about Thailand's home situation and foreign policy, the prime minister demanded that the Thai diplomats shoulder up six economic tasks, i.e., to promote foreign investments in Thailand, to expand markets for Thailand's foreign trade, to get foreign technical assistance, to bring more tourists to Thailand, to take care of Thai laborers abroad and to strengthen propaganda.

The prime minister also asked the diplomats to explain to the countries they are accredited to the heavy burden the refugees have brought to bear on Thailand and try to get their assistance to solve this international problem.

CSO: 4000/152

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SIHANOUK TREASURES RELATIONS WITH THAILAND

OW250754 Beijing XINHUA in English 0740 GMT 25 Jun 82

[Text] Bangkok, 25 Jun (XINHUA)--Prince Norodom Sihanouk said yesterday that he wanted to "establish a new relationship with Thailand, a relationship based on friendship and understanding."

The newly-named president of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea made this statement in an exclusive interview with a correspondent of the Thai paper NATION REVIEW in Penang, Malaysia, yesterday.

He said, "Thailand has done a great deal for Cambodia. We will always be grateful for Thailand's assistance."

He is expected to arrive in Thailand early next month after his visits to Singapore and other ASEAN countries.

Sihanouk disclosed that after his visit to Bangkok, he will proceed to Kampuchea to hold the first meeting of the new coalition government on Kampuchean soil. "Khieu Samphan and Son Sann (vice president and prime minister of the coalition government) have both officially asked me to go and preside over that important reunion," he said.

He asked other countries to help Kampuchea in the war against Vietnamese aggression. "In Cambodia, we say: War is fought with rice. I am anxious, what will a country like the United States do for my troops? I am afraid the answer is: nothing," he said, adding that "We need everything. We need food and medicine. Please, help us. We are the ones who will be fighting and dying for the dignity of our country."

CSO: 4000/152

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SITTHI SAWETSILA REITERATES KAMPUCHEAN SOLUTION

OW302027 Beijing XINHUA in English 1847 GMT 30 Jun 82

[Text] Bangkok, 30 Jun (XINHUA)--Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila reiterated today that the implementation of the UN resolution on Kampuchea is the only way to solve the problem of Kampuchea.

Sitthi made the announcement at the airport here when he came back from Austria. He went to Austria on 23 June to attend a forum of the ASEAN and west European countries.

Sitthi said that the problem of Kampuchea can only be resolved on the basis of the UN resolution concerning the matter.

This is the only solution and Viet Nam must also act in accordance with it, because this involves the permanent security of Thailand, he said.

He said that assistance to the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea is "mainly political and moral assistance." "They are the best assistance," he said.

He said that after its formation, the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea will receive full support from the ASEAN and European countries and also have the right to accept aid.

CSO: 4000/512

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'VODK' REPORTS 14-18 JUNE ARMY, GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES

OW020816 Beijing XINHUA in English 0711 GMT 2 Jul 82

[Text] Beijing, 2 Jul (XINHUA)--The Kampuchean national army units and local guerrillas recently destroyed railway tracks in over 100 places in Battambang and Kompong Som Provinces and killed dozens of Vietnamese troops, according to Radio Democratic Kampuchea.

On 16 June the Kampuchean resistance forces destroyed roadbed in 90 places between Svay Cheat and Teap Tei, in Mong District and Battambang Province, On 22 June they destroyed railway tracks in 13 places between Keo Saat and Thnol Bot Villages in the same district.

In Kompong Som Province, the railway near Roluos Station was blown up in 15 places by local guerrillas on 18 June. When the Vietnamese troops came to check the railway the next day, they were attacked by the guerrillas and suffered 15 casualties.

The radio also reported that two trucks of a Vietnamese military convoy hit mines on Highway No 10 between Battambang City and Pailin Town on 14 June. Twenty-five Vietnamese troops on board were killed and 21 others wounded.

The national army and guerrillas destroyed two Vietnamese trucks which were moving from Siem Reap City to Banteay Srel on 16 June, wiping out two Vietnamese soldiers. The military supplies aboard were burnt out. The same day national army units and local guerrillas destroyed two other Vietnamese trucks on Highway No 4 near Kompong Sela, east of Kompong Som Port, killing 20 Soviet personnel and three Vietnamese troops.

On 16 June local guerrillas sank a Vietnamese ship in Metuk River in Koh Kong Province, killing seven Vietnamese troops and destroying a number of weapons.

CSO: 4000/152

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'VODK' STRESSES SRV MUST WITHDRAW FROM KAMPUCHEA

OW010832 Beijing XINHUA in English 0710 GMT 1 Jul 82

[Text] Beijing, 1 Jul (XINHUA)--Radio Democratic Kampuchea broadcast a commentary today which says that the Kampuchean problem must be settled in a political way in accordance with the UN General Assembly resolutions and the declaration of the international conference on Kampuchea urging Viet Nam to withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea.

The Vietnamese authorities, it says, are the arch-criminals committing aggression against Kampuchea. Instead of implementing the principles of the UN resolutions and the declaration of the international conference on Kampuchea, they are trying their best to legalize and perpetuate their occupation of Kampuchea by diplomatic deceit.

Under such circumstances, the commentary says, the Kampuchean people and nation must be united as one to overcome all obstacles and hit the Vietnamese invaders more severely till they are entirely driven out of Kampuchea.

The commentary says in conclusion that only after the unconditional withdrawal of Viet Nam from Kampuchea can the Kampuchean people enjoy the right to be the master of their own destiny, genuine peace be restored in Kampuchea and peace and stability emerge in southeast Asia.

CSO: 4000/512

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'VODK' COMMENTARY HAILS TRIPARTITES COALITION

OW291248 Beijing XINHUA in English 1214 GMT 29 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing, 29 Jun (XINHUA)--The formation of a coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea is a heavy blow dealt both at Vietnam and the Soviet Union, said a commentary broadcast by Radio Democratic Kampuchea today.

The commentary said that after the three Kampuchean resistance forces jointly declared their decision to form a coalition government, Vietnam and the Soviet Union have come out with all kinds of slanders against the patriotic Kampuchean forces and the countries supporting their just struggle. Why all the fury? The very reason is that they have failed in their attempt to split the patriotic Kampuchean forces and prevent their coalition.

The commentary drew attention to the fact that after their joint declaration, the leaders of the three patriotic Kampuchean forces reaffirmed their resolve to unite in their common struggle to liberate the country from Vietnames Vietnamese aggression Khieu Samphan said, "The Democratic Kampuchean side will work for the implementation of the declaration of the formation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea, so that it will not remain on paper but will be translated into action for the strengthening of the resistance forces against the aggression of Vietnam and for the liberation of the Kampuchean nation, people and the motherland." Samdech Norodom Sihanouk said, "Whatever the future holds for us, you can be assured that the patriotic Kampucheans--descendents of a great people with a glorious past, will continuously reject a Vietnamese protectorate." His Excellency Son San said, "We wish to reaffirm that we are resolved to be united in the coalition government and liberate our country from the foreign occupation forces."

The commentary pointed out that though the Vietnamese aggressors have suffered a humiliating setback, they still want to work to annex Kampuchea into an "Indochina federation," Vietnam, and the Soviet Union too, will continue their efforts to split the unity of the patriotic Kampuchean forces. Therefore, all patriotic Kampuchean forces should keep high vigilance against such machinations, hold aloft the patriotic banner, cherish their national interests, abide by the declaration of the formation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea and unite to fight the Vietnamese aggressors so as to liberate the country, the commentary said.

CSO: 4000/152

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

KHIEU SAMPHAN ON PROPOSED TRIPARTITE COALITION

OW121252 Beijing XINHUA in English 1229 GMT 12 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing, 12 Jun (XINHUA)--Khieu Samphan, prime minister of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, recently declared that the proposed coalition of the anti-Vietnamese resistance forces should help strengthen and accelerate the struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors, Radio Democratic Kampuchea reported today.

Khieu Samphan, who is also president of the presidium of state of Democratic Kampuchea, made these remarks in a hessage dated 1 June to the European Conference for Solidarity with Kampuchea which was held in Paris on June 5 and 6. The conference was attended by more than 100 representatives of mass organizations and personages from Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Finland, Britain, Italy, Norway, Portugal, The Netherlands, West Germany and Sweden.

Khieu Samphan said: "Democratic Kampuchea hopes that the coalition should help strengthen and accelerate the anti-Vietnamese struggle in the battlefields and on other fronts in order to accomplish the cause of resistance against Vietnamese aggression and national salvation."

"The government of Democratic Kampuchea has made and is making all possible efforts to make the coalition conform to the wishes of the peoples and personages of the countries supporting the struggle of the Kampuchean people," he added.

A resolution adopted by the Paris conference strongly condemned the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea and urged the Vietnamese authorities to implement the UN resolution calling for the Vietnamese troops' withdrawal from Kampuchea. The resolution also appealed to the people of the world to express stronger support for and solidarity with the Kampuchean people in their struggle against the Vietnamese aggression.

In his message Khieu Samphan praised the conference as a great encouragement to the Kampuchean people. He said, "The Kampuchean people and the Democratic Kampuchean Government are eager to put an end, as soon as possible, to the war of aggression launched by the Vietnamese authorities against Kampuchea. To turn Kampuchea into an independent, sovereign, unified and neutral and nonaligned country, and to see peace restored in Kampuchea and southeast Asia.

CSO: 4000/152

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MALAYSIA'S MUSA HITAM ON TRIPARTITE MEETING, PRC

OW211724 Beijing XINHUA in English 1626 GMT 21 Jun 82

[Text] Bangkok, 21 Jun (XINHUA)--Visiting Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister Datuk Musa Hitam said here today that he hoped to see the success of the tripartite meeting of the three Kampuchean resistance forces to be held in Kuala Lumpur tomorrow.

Speaking at a luncheon given by the Foreign Correspondent Club of Thailand, Datok Musa Hitam said the meeting would "bring to fruition ASEAN's patient and consistent efforts to bring about a political solution to the Kampuchean problem" which is also the "wish of the international community."

The deputy prime minister, who arrived here yesterday for a two-day official visit, said Malaysia would like to see the coalition government installed in Kampuchea, and would then give "all-out economic assistance to Kampuchea."

He also said Malaysia and the other four ASEAN member countries believed that "the continued occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnamese forces poses the single largest threat to the peace and security of this region. This is why we have worked so hard to fina a political solution to the problem."

However, the deputy prime minister confused the Soviet Union's expansionist acts in the southeast Asian region with China's efforts to seek peace and stability in the region by saying that "their struggle for influence in the region is often at the expense of our well-being."

CSO: 4000/152

THAILAND'S SITHI COMMENTS ON KHMER COALITION

OW191705 Beijing XINHUA in English 1555 GMT 19 Jun 82

[Text] Bangkok, 19 Jun (XINHUA)--The ASEAN countries are pleased with the agreement reached between the three resisting forces in Kampuchea on the formation of a coalition government, said Thai Foreign Minister Sithi Sawetsila here today.

The Thai foreign minister, who has just become chairman of the standing committee of ASEAN, also said the ASEAN countries support the move of the three parties in Kampuchea.

He said it is a good thing for them to get united. It will enable the Democratic Kampuchean Government to gain wider recognition and support in the world, he added.

The Thai foreign minister was back here from the 15th meeting of ASEAN foreign ministers in Singapore.

He noted that great achievements have been made at the meeting which laid down the principle of cooperation among the ASEAN countries in all fields in the future.

He said the foreign ministers of the ASEAN countries also held dialogues with the foreign ministers of the United States, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and Canada and with the president of the commission of the European economic community on political and economic cooperation.

All these countries have expressed their readiness to continue to support Democratic Kampuchea in holding its seat in the United Nations, he stressed.

He said all these countries will continue their boycott of aid to Vietnam so long as Vietnam fails to carry out the UN resolution calling for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

CSO: 4000/152

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'BAN YUE TAN' LISTS 41 MAJOR CHINESE, FOREIGN EVENTS

HK050551 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 1033 GMT 4 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing, 4 Jun (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--The imminent issue No 11 of BAN YUE TAN lists 41 major events at home and abroad during the period May 1981 to May 1982. These are as follows:

--The 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee was held in Beijing.

--The 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee approved the "Resolution on a Number of Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the State."

--The NPC Standing Committee promulgated the draft of the revised constitution and handed it over to the whole people for discussion.

--NPC Standing Committee Chairman Ye Jianying put forward a nine-point policy for bringing Taiwan back to the motherland and accomplishing peaceful reunification.

--Premier Zhao Ziyang introduced the three basic points in China's policy of opening up to the world.

--Premier Zhao Ziyang visited 10 countries.

--Premier Zhao Ziyang proposed a 10-point guiding principle for China's economic construction.

--Chen Yun spoke on taking planned economy as the leading factor and regulation by planning mechanism as supplementary.

--The reorganization of the various State Council departments was completed.

--The CCP Central Committee and State Council issued a decision on hitting at serious crime in the economic field.

--The CCP Central Committee approved and circulated the "minutes of the national rural work conference."

--The CCP Central Committee Propaganda Department convened a national forum on ideological front problems.

--China launched the "All-People Civility and Courtesy Month" drive.

--China launched all-people obligatory tree-planting.

--The first volume of "Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi" was published.

--Honorary Chairman Soong Ching-ling passed away.

--The Beijing PLA units and the air force staged a military exercise.

--The centenary of the birth of Lu Xun was marked.

--The central authorities demanded further promotion of planned parenthood work.

--Huang Zhicheng flew his plane to the motherland's mainland.

--Former Kuomintang political and military personnel and agents who were in custody were leniently released.

--China used a carrier rocket to launch three satellites for the first time.

--China artificially synthesized yeast C ammonia acid into ribose nucleic acid for the first time.

--The Chinese women's volleyball team won the world championship for the first time.

--Chinese athletes won 295 gold medals.

--The Chinese Government protested against U.S. arms sales to Taiwan.

--A PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman made a statement on Brezhnev's speech.

--Britain and Argentina clashed over the Malvinas.

--The three Kampuchean parties opposed to Vietnam issued a joint statement.

--The Iran-Iraq war continued.

--Sadat was assassinated.

--Egypt recovered the Sinai Peninsula.

--The United Nations appointed a new secretary general.

--The "North-South dialogue" was held in Mexico.

--The "South-South Conference" was held in New Delhi.

--Military rule came into effect in Poland.

--Reagan proposed the "zero option" in European nuclear negotiations.

--Polemics occurred between the CPI and the CPSU.

--A large-scale peace movement broke out in Western countries.

--The American spacecraft made three test flights.

--The Soviet Union scored new success in probing Venus.

CSO: 4005/943

BRIEFS

NEW PRC DIPLOMATIC PERSONNEL--Beijing, 14 Jun (XINHUA)--The State Council on 28 May 1982 appointed the following 7 staff members to various Chinese embassies overseas: Lin Liande [2651 6647 1795] as commercial counselor of the embassy in Japan, Xue Zhanggao [5641 4545 6964] as commercial counselor of the embassy in the Republic of Cyprus, Wang Raojia [3769 0202 1367] as commercial counselor of the embassy in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Guo Zuochen [6753 0146 5256] as commercial counselor of the embassy in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Wang Shuyi [2885 5030 3076], as economic affairs counselor of the embassy in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Yu Letian [0060 2867 1131] as economic affairs counselor of the embassy in the Republic of Burundi and Liu Jiantang [0491 7003 1016] as economic affairs counselor of the embassy in the Republic of Equatorial Guinea. [Text] [OW181327 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0758 GMT 14 Jun 82 OW]

KAMPUCHEAN COALITION LEADERS SIGN AGREEMENT--Beijing, 22 Jun (XINHUA)--Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, former head of state of Kampuchea; Khieu Samphan, prime minister of Democratic Kampuchea; and Son Sann, former Kampuchean prime minister, signed a formal agreement setting up a coalition government in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, today, according to reports received here from Kuala Lumpur. It was reported under the agreement, Prince Sihanouk is to be president of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea; Khieu Samphan is to be vice president in charge of foreign affairs; and Son Sann is to be prime minister. Malaysian Foreign Minister Tan Sri Ghazali, host of the Kampuchean resistance summit in Kuala Lumpur, witnessed the signing ceremony along with observers from the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The leaders of the three Kampuchean resistance organizations held a meeting in Singapore last September and signed a four-point joint statement there on 4 September last year. [Text] [OW221223 Beijing XINHUA in English 1211 GMT 22 Jun 82]

JAPAN URGES ISRAEL TO WITHDRAW FROM LEBANON--Tokyo, 1 Jul (XINHUA)--Japanese Foreign Minister Yoshio Sakurauchi issued a statement last night strongly urging Israel to withdraw from Lebanon, KYODO reported today. Sakurauchi said, "Japan once again strongly demands Israel withdraw from Lebanon as early as possible in accordance with the UN resolutions." He said, "It is Japan's eager hope that measures will be adopted to ensure security and reestablish order in accordance with the will of the Lebanese Government." Sakurauchi reiterated Japan's stand for renunciation of the use of force and

a negotiated settlement of disputes by all parties concerned. He stressed that Japan holds that the current disaster shows it is now more important than ever to uphold the legitimate rights of Palestine. [Text] [OW011258 Beijing XINHUA in English 1241 GMT 1 Jul 82]

JAPANESE FRIENDSHIP HOSPITAL GRANT--Beijing, 14 Jun (XINHUA)--The exchange of notes for Japan's 1982 grant to China for the construction of the China-Japan Friendship Hospital was signed at the Great Hall of the People here this afternoon. According to the notes, the Japanese Government will extend to the Chinese Government a grant of up to 6,480 million yen between 14 June 1982 and 31 March 1983. Chinese Vice-Minister of Public Health Tan Yunhe and Japanese Ambassador to China Yasue Katori signed the notes on behalf of their respective governments. Qian Xinzhong, adviser to the ministry of public health, attended the signing ceremony. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1514 GMT 14 Jun 82 OW]

BUDDHISTS SRI LANKAN DEPARTURE--Colombo, 13 Jun (XINHUA)--The Chinese buddhist delegation led by Li Rongxi, vice-president of the Buddhist Association of China, left here for home this morning. The delegation arrived here on 29 May and attended a conference of world Buddhist leaders and scholars, before paying a friendly visit to the country. Sri Lanka Cultural Minister E. L. B. Hurulle met and had a cordial conversation with the Chinese delegation on 10 June. The Chinese guests presented the COMPLETE WORKS OF XUAN ZHUANG (an eminent mong in China's Tang Dynasty, 602-664 BC), consisting of 1335 volumes to the Sri Lanka cultural ministry, and also donated 1,000 U.S. dollars to the ministry in line with the resolution adopted at the conference of world Buddhist leaders and scholars. They toured some temples and places of historical interest, visited the Sri Lanka University of Pali, the Bikkhu Training Centre and the Buddhist Information Center, and discussed with Sri Lanka Buddhist friends the status of Buddhism in both countries. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0753 GMT 13 Jun 82 OW]

KHIEU SAMPHAN AGREES TO TRIPARTITE SUMMIT--Beijing, 4 Jun (XINHUA)--Khieu Samphan, president of the presidium of state of Democratic Kampuchea and government prime minister, has agreed to participate in the secret meeting of the three Kampuchean parties proposed by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. His agreement was contained in a 30 May message to Samdech Sihanouk, who made the message public here today. In the message, Khieu Samphan recalled Sihanouk's recent statement in which he expressed willingness to invite the presidents of the three parties to hold a secret summit in Geneva to renegotiate the problem of uniting all the national forces to counter the Vietnamese aggressors. He said Sihanouk's initiative corresponds with his desire, and he is "prepared to participate in the meeting." [Text] [OW041624 Beijing XINHUA in English 1617 GMT 4 Jun 82]

LIAO CHENGZHI MEETS JSP DELEGATION--Beijing, 17 Jun (XINHUA)--Liao Chengzhi, vice-chairman of the national people's congress standing committee, met here this morning with a friendship delegation from the Japan-China special committee of the Socialist Party of Japan [JSP], and socialist party member of the house of representatives Sanji Muto and his wife. The friendship delegation is led by member of the house of representatives Shoichi Shimodaira.

Liao Chengzhi, who is also president of the China-Japan Friendship Association, had a cordial conversation with the guests. Later, they had breakfast together. [Text] [OW170726 Beijing XINHUA in English 0707 GMT 17 Jun 82]

THAI, AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTERS VIEW KAMPUCHEA--Vienna, 26 Jun (XINHUA)--Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila told a press conference here Friday that Thailand wholly supports the recent formation of a coalition government by the three Kampuchean resistance forces. The move shows eloquently the Kampuchean people's determination to fight against occupation by foreign invaders, added Sitthi, who arrived here on 24 June. After talks yesterday with Austrian Foreign Minister Willibald Pahr on the latest development in Kampuchea, Sitthi said that the Thai Government hoped unity of the three Kampuchean resistance forces would be maintained long. Speaking at a banquet in honor of Sitthi the same day, Pahr said that he hoped that all Vietnamese troops would pull out of Kampuchea so that the Kampucheans could decide their future freely. [Text] [OW271238 Beijing XINHUA in English 1229 GMT 27 Jun 82]

KAMPUCHEAN FORCES TO SIGN COALITION ACCORD--Singapore, 18 Jun (XINHUA)--Malaysian Foreign Minister Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie announced here today that the three Kampuchean forces opposing Vietnam will soon meet in Kuala Lumpur to sign an agreement on the formation of a coalition government under the banner of Democratic Kampuchea. Ghazali made the ammouncement at a press conference here this afternoon following ASEAN foreign ministers' dialogue with their partners of the European economic community, Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand and the United States. ASEAN senior officials and press reports had disclosed earlier that the three Kampuchean resistance forces have recently reached agreement on the composition, aims and codes of conduct of the proposed Democratic Kampuchean coalition government. The official text of the agreement has not yet been made public. [Text] [OW190758 Beijing XINHUA in English 0744 GMT 19 Jun 82]

DK RADIO STRESSES UNITED RESISTANCE EFFORT--Beijing, 20 Jun (XINHUA)--Radio Democratic Kampuchea reiterated today the constant stand of the government of Democratic Kampuchea for united resistance against Vietnamese aggression. Democratic Kampuchea, the radio said, would always abide by its firm stand to seek unity among the patriotic forces and strengthen militarily, politically and diplomatically the forces that fight against Vietnamese aggressors. Only through united resistance could the Vietnamese aggressors be driven out of the country, it added. The radio recalled the persistant efforts of the government of Democratic Kampuchea since 1979 to seek such a unity, as shown in particular in the signing of the joint statement with the other two major resistance forces in Singapore, the tripartite talks in Bangkok and the conclusion of the three-point agreement with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk in Beijing. [Text] [OW200734 Beijing XINHUA in English 0702 GMT 20 Jun 82]

KHIEU SAMPHAN LEAVES FOR COALITION CEREMONY--Bangkok, 21 Jun (XINHUA)--Khieu Samphan, president of the Presidium of the state of Democratic Kampuchea and premier of the government, left his country for Kuala Lumpur this afternoon to sign the declaration on the founding of the coalition government of

Democratic Kampuchea, it was learned here today. The declaration will be signed by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, former Kampuchean head of state and leader of the Kampuchean National Liberation Movement; Son Sann, chairman of the Khmer People's National Liberation Front, and President Khieu Samphan in the Malaysian capital. Representatives of the five ASEAN nations will also attend the signing ceremony. [Text] [OW211532 Beijing XINHUA in English 1519 GMT 21 Jun 82]

'BA YI RADIO' NOTES VIEWS ON U.S. FORCES IN KOREA--Shortly before Comrade Geng Biao's visit to Korea, the military commission of the Party Central Committee held a special meeting. At the meeting, two diametrically opposed opinions were voiced regarding the stationing of U.S. forces in South Korea. A number of standing committee members of the military commission pointed out, without reservation, that Comrade Deng Xiaoping's pro-U.S. line is harmful to the friendly relations between China and its neighboring countries. Therefore, we must oppose the stationing of U.S. forces in Asia and firmly demand that all U.S. forces be withdrawn from this region. [Text] [OW300620 [clandestine] Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 28 Jun 82]

CSO: 4000/152

PARTY AND STATE

DANGERS OF 'PEACEFUL EVOLUTION' STRESSED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Li Jiansheng [2621 1696 3932]: "The Threat of 'Peaceful Evolution' Is Far From Being Eliminated"]

[Text] Following the smashing of the "gang of four," and more specifically since the party's Third Plenary Session, we have achieved tremendous successes in all areas of work due to the hard work of all the people throughout the country. Our party and the nation have already been extricated from disaster. We have once again set out upon the path of renewal. This is a historical fact that is obvious to all. However, we must soberly realize that during the decade of internal unrest, due to the anarchism incited by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, and the antirevolutionary clique and the poisonous effect on certain people of the trend of ultra-individualism, and due to the fact that, as we have been implementing policies to open up foreign trade and to revive the national economy, ideological and political work and some essential management systems and administrative measures have been unable to keep pace. Consequently, the influence of decadent capitalist ideology and of the bourgeois lifestyle within our nation has been great. A tendency toward bourgeois liberalization has emerged. In the economic sphere, illegal and criminal activities have not existed to such an extent since the founding of the nation. This grim fact clearly illustrates that in addition to the danger of imperialist aggression and subversion in China at the present time, there also exists the threat of "peaceful evolution." That is, the danger of the gradual deterioration of party and state institutions at a time when we are not at war. We must certainly recognize fully the danger of this "peaceful evolution" and act like clear-minded Marxists.

Our socialist society is an elementary phase of a communist society. In discussing a socialist society, Marx pointed out: "The communist society that we are talking about has not already developed on its own. On the contrary, it has just emerged from capitalist society. Consequently, there exist economic, moral, and spiritual vestiges of the old society which accompanied it as it emerged from the womb." ("Critique of the Gotha Program," separate volume, p 12). This explains how a socialist society is an immature communist society. As for China's current phase, economically the standard of productive forces is still relatively low and there are shortages of products. A commodity economy that has a currency base will exist for a long time. Ideologically, the ideas of the exploiting classes still exert an

influence, and labor is still merely a means for making a living. Politically, class struggle will continue to exist for quite a while within a certain framework. Although this class struggle does not take the form of large-scale, violent storms, nevertheless it is possible that under certain conditions it may intensify. At the same time, the system of a socialist society is still a gradual process of strengthening, perfecting, developing and consolidating. Thus, the development of a socialist society generally has two possibilities. First, following the continuous growth of productive forces, the unceasing victories of the struggle of the working class, and the constant growth of communist elements in a socialist society, the vestiges of the old society will continue to be eliminated and will die out. This causes the socialist system ultimately to develop to an advanced communist stage. This is an inevitable and general trend of history. Second, if we lack a sober understanding of class struggle under the new circumstances and let up on the necessary class struggle of the working class, then "peaceful evolution" will gradually occur under the corrosive influence of the decadent ideology of capitalism. Of course, the latter may only happen by coincidence, but if we are unsuccessful it may occur for a short time. We must not lower our guard against the danger of this kind of "peaceful evolution."

China's socialist modernized construction is proceeding during extremely complex international and national circumstances. In today's world, imperialism and bourgeois classes in various nations continue to exist. In mainland China, there still exist remnants of the exploiting classes. Class enemies within the country and abroad inevitably place their hopes on "peaceful evolution," as they are unable to conquer our nation by force of arms. They will certainly collaborate at home and abroad and adopt all sorts of methods to infiltrate politically, economically, ideologically and culturally. At present, we are implementing a policy of opening up foreign trade and reviving the national economy. We hope to absorb advanced foreign scientific technology and adopt economic forms that fit the level of our productive forces to effectively accelerate modernized construction. However, foreign and domestic class enemies can also make use of this opportunity to strive to propagate the decadent ideology and lifestyld of capitalism by disseminating certain books, periodicals and music that are reactionary, obscene and in poor taste. In the economic sphere they may engage in speculation, smuggling, bribery, fraud and other illegal and criminal activities. This situation clearly demonstrates the existence of the bourgeoisie abroad, the existence of the capitalist system in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan, and the existence of various vestiges of the exploiting classes in mainland China. This is the major source of the continued existence of the danger of "peaceful evolution" in China.

Our party is the ruling party of the proletariat. Provided that our party never changes political color and always keeps alive the fervor of youth, it can be guaranteed that "peaceful evolution" will not occur in our nation. In this sense, the primary source of danger of "peaceful evolution" is the deterioration of weak elements within the party. The crux of the problem rests with the party's middle and high-level cadres. It should be strongly affirmed that our vast numbers of party members and cadres are doing very well in the struggle against bourgeois decadence. It should also be noted, however, that there are certain party members, cadres and leading cadres in party and state organizations who have become morally

degenerate under the converging attack and lure of bourgeois ideology and materialism. There are certain units and departments that are socialist in name, but in reality they collectively engage in smuggling and speculation, thus undermining the state-owned economy. For example, a certain director of the Telecommunications Bureau in Guangdong was exposed. He was a CCP member and a leading cadre, yet he disregarded party discipline and the laws of the state by engaging in smuggling, reselling and speculating. This shocking fact shows that certain individuals and certain units have already become morally degenerate due to bourgeois decadence. The danger of "peaceful evolution" in China is really far from being eliminated.

We must be on guard against the threat of "peaceful evolution." This was the consistent ideology of Comrade Mao Zedong during his lifetime. As far back as the eve of national liberation, Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly admonished the party: "The armed strength of the enemy cannot conquer us. This has already been proven. However, the flattery of the bourgeoisie can win over the weak-willed in our ranks. There may be certain CCP members like this who have not been conquered by armed enemies, and they deserve to be called heroes in confronting these enemies. However, the cannot withstand an attack of sugar-coated bullets. They will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets. We must prevent such a situation." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1376) If we integrate the current struggle and review this exposition by Comrade Mao Zedong, we will be better able to comprehend its profound significance. In his later years, the mistake that Comrade Mao Zedong made in his guiding ideology was not due to his intention to guard against "peaceful evolution" but rather to his erroneous estimation of the class situation as well as the political state of the party and the nation at that time. He adopted erroneous principles and policies and launched the mistaken movement of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and the reactionary clique collectively took advantage of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistake. They stirred up trouble and created serious internal unrest in China that lasted as long as 10 years. This was an extremely bitter lesson. However, as we conscientiously bear firmly in mind the lesson of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistake, we must not go to the other extreme, negate the correct things in Comrade Mao Zedong's standpoint, and deny that the danger of "peaceful evolution" still exists in China. This does not correspond to the reality of China and it, too, is completely mistaken.

Our party is a politically mature party armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Basically, our party has the capability to resist corrosive bourgeois influences and is fully capable of preventing and overcoming the occurrence of "peaceful evolution." Therefore the objective fact of the danger of the existence of "peaceful evolution" in China is not frightening. What is frightening is that our party members and cadres lack clear heads. They turn a blind eye to the danger of "peaceful evolution," treat it lightly, and have not actively launched a resolute struggle against this corrosion. This "peaceful evolution" may grow and spread. From this it can be seen that the suggestion of the Party Central Committee to pay attention to the danger of "peaceful evolution" is very timely and necessary. At present, the launching of a severe attack on illegal and criminal activities in the economic sphere is an important measure for resisting the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology and for preventing "peaceful evolution."

We must act like sober, resolute and active Marxists. This requires that we fully understand the far-reaching significance of the present struggle. It has a bearing on the rise and fall of the party and the state. During this struggle, our party members and cadres at all levels must have a clear-cut stand and be steadfast. Given the historical condition of upholding the policies of opening up foreign trade and reviving the national economy, they must consistently preserve the purity of communism among CCP members. They must resist corrosive influences and avoid contamination. As long as our party is healthy rather than degenerate, and as long as it is strong rather than weak, then the bourgeois attempt at "peaceful evolution" will certainly come to naught.

9864
CSO: 4005/798

PARTY AND STATE

CONFESSION OF ECONOMIC CRIMES URGED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Apr 82 p 1

[Article by staff correspondent: "Turning Oneself In Is the Only Solution"]

[Text] In the past few days this paper has published the well-known letter of repentance which was sent here by "Dai Zuoren" [2071 1563 0088] (see 1 April issue, p 1) and the story of Liu so and so, the purchasing agent of the Lianjia production brigade in Beima Commune, Huang County. Liu, of his own accord, confessed to indulging in crimes of speculation and exposed the criminal activities of others (see 2 April issue, p 1). Today the paper is publishing the story of certain criminals involved in economic crimes in Yantai Prefecture who have turned themselves in. It is also publishing the story of the procuratorate in Zichuan District which encouraged Xun so and so to return his ill-gotten gains acquired through corrupt means in order to avoid prosecution. In accordance with the law, they also arrested the embezzler Zhang Guangli [1728 1684 3810] because of his refusal to confess to his crimes. This clearly shows that the "Decision To Severely Punish Criminals Who Seriously Undermine the Economy" made by the Standing Committee of the NPC has a great deterrent force and influence. As long as all those who have committed economic crimes fully confess their own crimes and return embezzled goods of their own accord, so that economic and political departments can ascertain the truth, then they will be dealt with leniently. This is the only way out for all those who have committed economic crimes.

The most important task at the present time is to fight crimes in the economic sphere. The broad masses and the leadership at all levels have become more aware of the major significance of this struggle, and their determination to launch this struggle has grown. At present, the struggle throughout our province to fight economic crime has just been extended. All those who have committed economic crimes and have been hiding in various nooks and crannies have either already been exposed or are in the process of being exposed. We believe that with their ceaseless and thorough struggle, all economic criminals will sooner or later be exposed. "The net of heaven has large meshes, but it lets nothing through." There are no fish that can slip through the net.

It should be noted that among those who have committed economic crimes, there are still some who try to slip through. Some of them believe that, if they evade this gust of wind, everything will be fine and there will be no problems. We should inform people who think this way that they are wrong. Fighting illegal and

criminal activities in the economic sphere is not simply a matter of a "gust of wind." Also there is no time limit on fighting economic crime according to the legal system. If you have committed a crime, you may be able to escape today but not tomorrow. You may be able to escape this year but not next year. There may be those who believe that if they do not talk about the crimes they have committed, others will not find out about them. Actually, this is an idealistic attitude of burying one's head in the sand. We have several sayings: "You can't wrap fire in paper," "There are no walls that don't let the wind through" and "If you don't want other people to know, you had better not do it." These sayings all contain real truths. We remind those people who still harbor this kind of illusion: How is it possible that some hint of their economic crimes has not leaked through to reveal some clues? This is not possible. By sticking their heads in the sand, they are only deceiving themselves as well as others [sic]. They must reap what they have sown. There also may be others who appreciate the seriousness of their crimes and want to confess but are fearful and have great misgivings. As a result they still have not made a decision. We remind these people to decide promptly. They must not be fearful. Has not an example already been set by numerous people who have willingly confessed their own crimes and received lenient treatment?

Our party's policy regarding the small group of criminals has always been one of leniency toward those who confess their crimes and severity toward those who refuse to do so. The "Decision" of the Standing Committee of the NPC similarly embodies this spirit of combining leniency with severity. Leniency or severity is based on whether or not a confession is made. Furthermore, there is a fixed time limit. That is, those who turn themselves in or those already arrested who truthfully confess and admit all crimes in addition to accurately informing against other offenders and criminal acts prior to 1 May will be uniformly dealt with according to relevant laws and regulations of the period prior to 1 April. Those who go beyond this time limit will be severely dealt with. At this point we remind all those who have committed crimes in the economic sphere to note that there are 20 or so days from now until "1 May." These 20 or so days will pass swiftly; they must not miss this opportunity. This is the only promising path for these people. If they ignore it, they will sink deeper and deeper and it will be too late to repent.

9864
CSO: 4005/798

PARTY AND STATE

SECOND 'XINHUA' ARTICLE IN CONSTITUTION SERIES

OW111411 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0217 GMT 11 Jun 82

[Article entitled: "The Four Basic Principles Are the Fundamental Guiding Thought of the Draft of the Revised Constitution--Lecture Series on the Draft Revised Constitution (2)]

[Text] Just as the building of an important project calls for a rational design and plan, the institution or revision of a constitution calls for guiding thought. The fundamental guiding thought of the revised constitution is what the draft has specifically stipulated: uphold the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist road, under the leadership of the CCP and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought. This is also the four basic principles familiar to everyone.

Upholding the four basic principles is the summarization of the historical experience of the Chinese people's long-term revolution and construction. For more than 100 years since 1840, the Chinese people have heroically struggled by advancing, wave on wave. As a result, a great, earth-shaking historical change has taken place in China. Ironclad historical facts clearly tell people that, until the founding of the CCP, the Chinese people's long-term struggles had failed, one after another. It was only after the birth of the CCP and under the correct leadership of the party and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought that the Chinese people's revolution and construction achieved real success. Therefore, the four basic principles also inevitably become the guiding thought of revising the constitution.

The "preamble" of the draft of the revised constitution not only completely elucidates the four basic principles but also fully affirms the great historical significance of upholding the four basic principles. It points out: the two victories, of China's new-democratic revolution and of the socialist cause, have been won by the Chinese people, led by the CCP and guided by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought. The draft of the revised constitution subsequently points out: the Chinese people will continue to uphold the four basic principles. In article 1 of its general principles, the draft also specifically states that our country is a socialist state of the people's democratic dictatorship and that the socialist system is the basic system of our country. Thus, upholding the four basic principles has been established by the draft of the revised constitution in the form of

fundamental law. It has become the fundamental principle of China's constitution and the fundamental criterion for the activities of the people throughout the country.

Regarding the upholding of the four basic principles, it is most important that we uphold party leadership and the socialist road. Only socialism can save China. This is the historical experience of the Chinese people who have launched long-term struggles for more than a century. This is also the most fundamental historical experience learned for more than 30 years since the founding of the republic. The stipulation in the draft of the revised constitution concerning the four basic principles will be of tremendous immediate significance and far-reaching historical importance to guaranteeing building China into a high democratic and civilized modern socialist power.

CSO: 4005/970

STATE AND PARTY

FOURTH LECTURE ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW2670524 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0712 GMT 25 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing 25 Jun (XINHUA)--Fourth Lecture on the Draft Revised Constitution: "The Socialist Legal Principles Prescribed in the Draft Revised Constitution."

Compared with the three previous constitutions, the draft revised constitution promulgated by the NPC standing committee contains relatively flawless stipulations on the socialist legal system. The socialist legal principles provided for by the draft are mainly as follows:

1. No laws, decrees or statutes shall contradict the constitution. The constitution is the fundamental law of the state. In addition to formulating the constitution, however, the state also needs to enact criminal, civil, economic, administrative and other laws. None of these laws, decrees and statutes should be enacted in a casual manner, and they must be based on the constitution and must not contradict it. Therefore, as far as a unified legal system is concerned, it can only be unified on the basis of the constitution.

2. All state organs, their functionaries and citizens must act according to the law and abide by the law. The draft revised constitution provides that all state organs and their functionaries shall act according to the law, abide by the constitution and the law. Violations of the law derelication of duty shall be investigated according to the law. People suffering from loss through infringement of their rights as citizens by state organs of functionaries therein shall be compensated according to the provisions of the law. The draft also stipulates that all citizens have the duty to abide by the constitution and the law. Each citizen enjoys the rights prescribed by the constitution and the law and at the same time must abide by them. These stipulations are also an important content of the socialist legal system.

3. The draft revised constitution stipulates that all citizens are equal before the law. The law of our country is enacted by the people throughout the country under the leadership of the working class, and it is a concentrated expression of their will and interests. It is a basic right of our country's citizens that everyone is equal before the law, and this is also a

fundamental socialist legal principle. In accordance with the draft revised constitution, all citizens in our country, no matter how high or low their positions, have the duty to abide by the law, and those who violate the law will be investigated according to it.

4. Judicial and procuratorial organs exercise judicial or procuratorial authority independently according to the law. The draft revised constitution stipulates that people's courts and people's procuratorates exercise judicial or procuratorial authority independently according to provisions of the law and are not subject to interference by administrative organs, organizations and individuals. It is absolutely necessary to exercise judicial and procuratorial authority independently in order to insure the fair and equal application of the law, to investigate criminal cases strictly and accurately and to effectively protect citizens' rights. This is an important content of the socialist legal system. These provisions of the draft revised constitution are of great significance for strengthening and perfecting the socialist legal system.

CSO: 4005/970

PARTY AND STATE

11TH TALK ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW101327 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 9 Jun 82

[Radio Talk by (Xu Chongde) of the Department of Law of the People's University of China: "Why Is it Necessary to Restore the Post of Chairman of the State"?--11th in a series on the draft revised constitution]

[Text] In chapter three of the draft revised constitution, the structure of the state, a new section II, the chairman of the People's Republic of China, is added. There is no such section in either the 1975 or the 1978 constitution. The present draft revised constitution restores the provision of the 1954 constitution on the post of chairman of the state.

Many comrades say with deep feeling: the restoration of the post of chairman of the states indicates our country's stability.

Why do they feel this way? As we know, we had our chairman of the state when new China was founded. At first, it was called the chairman of the Central People's Government. By 1954, our country enacted its first constitution and established the post of chairman of the People's Republic of China. According to the 1954 constitution, the chairman was elected by the National People's Congress and, in conjunction with the standing committee of the National People's Congress, exercised the functions and powers of head of state. Our country had a chairman of the state for a considerable period, creating a rather profound political impact among the masses of the people.

As to the constitution adopted in 1975, which did not provide for the post of chairman of the state, it was made that way under very abnormal political circumstances. It was a result of the political upheaval in our country. The post was not restored in the 1978 constitution.

The domestic situation has changed tremendously since the downfall of the gang of four, especially since the 3d and 6th Plenary Sessions of the 11th Party Central Committee. Now the draft revised constitution restores the post of chairman of the state. This fully indicates the normalization of national life and political stability and unity in our country today.

As we all know, the work and tasks of state organs and their leading personnel in a country are very arduous. It is necessary to establish suitable

positions and organizations to share duties according to the nature, tasks and arduousness of various kinds of work. In various countries of the world, the titles and functions and powers of heads of state are different. But, internally and externally, the head of state always exercises the functions and powers as the country's highest representative.

In today's world, contacts between countries are frequent. These international contacts can be divided into many levels. Foreign afairs activities of legislative organs, heads of government, foreign ministers and other ministers and foreign affairs activities of heads of state are different in content and political significance, and one cannot substitute for another. Our country is no exception, and needs a head of state to carry out these activities on behalf of our great country.

From the viewpoint of perfecting the state system, there are some important tasks in domestic political life which require a head of state. For example, the 1975 and 1978 constitutions, neither of which provides for the post of chairman of the state, stipulate that the National People's Congress decides on the choice of the premier of the state council, upon recommendation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, thus confusing the party's leading organ with state organs. Therefore, the draft revised constitution stipulates that the choice of the premier of the state council is decided by the National People's Congress on the recommendation of the chairman of the state and then appointed by the chairman of the state. As far as the state system is concerned, the change suggested in the draft revised constitution is more appropriate.

The draft revised constitution restores the post of the chairman of the state. However, it is somewhat different from either the chairman of the Central People's Government when the People's Republic was founded or the chairman of the state provided for in the 1954 constitution. According to the provisions of the draft revised constitution, the chairman of the state from now on has three new general characteristics:

1. The chairman of the state represents the state in its domestic affairs and its relations with foreign states.

In the early days following the founding of new China, the Central People's Government Committee represented the PRC. Although the 1954 constitution stipulates that the chairman of the state represents the state in its relations with foreign states, the stipulation is made only in the passage concerning the chairman's functions and powers in relations with foreign countries. The draft revised constitution is different. It contains a specific article at the beginning of section II stating that the chairman of the state represents the state in its domestic affairs and its relations with foreign states. This gives greater prominence to the position of the chairman as the representative of the state. China's chairman of the state exercises his functions and powers according to decisions of the NPC and its standing committee, not according to his personal decisions.

2. The chairman of the state does not participate in legislative or administrative work.

According to provisions of the draft revised constitution, the chairman of the state does not participate in the making of laws and decrees, but he is responsible for the promulgation of laws and decrees adopted by the NPC and its standing committee. This procedure is very important. Unless promulgated by the chairman of the state, laws and decrees cannot come into force.

The chairman of the state also has the functions and powers to appoint and remove members of the state council, grant special pardons, proclaim martial law, order mobilization, proclaim a state of war, appoint and recall diplomatic representatives stationed abroad, ratify treaties and important agreements and confer state orders, medals and titles of honor in pursuance of the decisions of the NPC and its standing committee. In addition, he also receives foreign diplomatic representatives and so forth.

According to provisions of the draft revised constitution, the chairman of the PRC is elected by the NPC. At the same time, the NPC has the power to recall or remove from office the chairman of the state. However, the chairman of the state has no administrative responsibilities and therefore is not administratively responsible to the NPC. The state council is the enforcement organ of the NPC. The state council is responsible for the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the NPC, and the chairman of the state has no part in it. Therefore, the state council is administratively responsible to the NPC.

3. The chairman of the state shall not serve more than two consecutive terms.

Although the 1954 constitution has a specific provision on the number of years in each term of office of the chairman of the state, it has no provision at all on the question of reelection and how many consecutive terms he may serve.

Based on our country's historical experience over the past more than 30 years, the draft revised constitution takes note that if a person holds a post of state leadership for too long a period, abuses of all kinds inevitably will result. Therefore, item 1 of article 80 [as heard] of the draft revised constitution clearly stipulates: the term of office of the chairman and vice-chairman of the PRC is 5 years. They may be reelected but shall not serve more than two consecutive terms.

This new provision is one of the measures in our country's effort to change the system of life tenure for positions of leading cadres.

CSO: 4005/970

PARTY AND STATE

12TH TALK ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW111157 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 10 Jun 82

[Radio Talk by (Xu Chongde) of the Department of Law of the People's University of China: "Organization of the State Council"--12th in series on the draft revised constitution]

[Text] Ours is a socialist nation, in which the people are the masters of the nation, the government is run by the people and the broad masses of people have the power to run government affairs. The state administration of our nation is of a socialist democratic nature. Therefore, a state administration of this type is greatly superior. However, we should also realize at the same time that the administrative system of our nation is not yet perfect. For example, our administrative organs are overstaffed and there are excessive administrative levels. The organs have more staff and workers than needed. There are many unnecessaryposts. All this breeds bureaucracy and affects work efficiency. Therefore, we need to establish a capable and efficient administrative system. The draft of the revised constitution also reflects the needs and results in reforming government structure, and makes clear-cut stipulations on the state administrative system. In this talk, we shall dwell upon the organization of the state council in the following issues:

1) The state council is the administrative organ of the highest state authority. 2) The state council applies the system of decision by the premier. 3) The draft of the revised constitution sums up and reflects the primary results in reforming the structure of the state council.

First of all, we shall dwell upon the first issue, that the state council is the administrative organ of the highest state authority. The state council of the Republic of China represents the Central People's Government. Ours is a socialist nation with a different political system than that of a capitalist nation. A capitalist nation talks a great deal about "three independent powers," saying that the parliament has the legislative power, while the government has the administrative power, and that the power of the government is parallel to that of the legislative organ. It is said that they serve to balance and contain each other. In essence, the majority of capitalist governments place themselves above parliament and often influence legislative actions of the latter.

Our nation is different. Our political system is one of democratic centralism. The state council is composed of functionaries elected by the highest organ of state power--the National People's Congress. The draft of the revised constitution stipulates: the state council is the highest organ of state power. Its task is to enforce the constitution, the law, decrees and resolutions specified by the highest organ of state power. Although the state council leads and manages the actual work of the state and many important motions are put to the highest organ of state power by the state council, it is unable to enforce any motion which is not passed by the National People's Congress. That is to say, the state council cannot do anything which contravenes the law and decrees.

The draft of the revised constitution stipulates: the state council is responsible and reports its work to the National People's Congress and its standing committee. The state council must accept supervision by the highest organ of state power. The highest organ of state power--the National People's Congress--not only has the power to decide on the choice of the premier of the state council and other personnel, but also has the power to remove them from their posts.

The draft of the revised constitution also stipulates: the state council is the highest organ of state administration. The term "executive organ" is similar to the term "administrative organ." However, they are also somewhat different. State administration means the control of state affairs, while execution means to enforce the laws and resolutions adopted by the highest organ of state power. The state council's administrative work is not limited to the enforcement of law. In order to enforce the law, it must also make administrative decisions, work out the necessary administrative measures, announce administrative rules and regulations as well as resolutions, and issue orders in the course of enforcing the law.

When some comrades see that the state counsil has issued administrative rules and regulations, they tend to believe that the state council has legislative power and is also a legislative organ. This is wrong. Administrative rules and regulations are different from the law in principle. The law is specified by the highest organ of state power. It is a concentrated expression of the will of every person in the country. All state organs, organizations and citizens in the country must observe the law. The administrative rules and regulations are administrative standards set by the state council in the course of enforcing the law so that it will be able to administer the law more smoothly. Administrative rules and regulations must be worked out on the basis of the law. They must not run counter to the law. If they contravene the law, the NPC standing committee can rescind such rules and regulations. Some of the administrative rules and regulations are instructions issued by the state council to its subordinate administrative organs on their work. They have no direct binding force over citizens. However, everyone must abide by the law. We must not confuse the two.

Now I shall move on to the second question--the system of decision by the premier of the state council.

The draft revised constitution stipulates that the state council applies the system of decision by the premier. This is a new and major change. What is known as the system of decision by the premier has a two-fold meaning:

1. Every time a new government is formed, the members of the state council are recommended by the premier. The choice of vice premiers, commissioners of state, ministers, chairmen of commissions, the chief auditor and the secretary general of the state council is decided on by the National People's Congress on the recommendation of the premier. When the National People's Congress is not in session, its standing committee decides on the appointment and removal of ministers, chairmen of commissions, the chief auditor and the secretary general, also on the recommendation of the premier of the state council.

2. In the state council, the premier holds the leading position. He directs the work of the state council and convenes and presides over its regular and plenary meetings. Major issues are discussed collectively, and on this basis the premier is personally responsible for all decisions.

The draft revised constitution clearly stipulates that the state council applies the system of decision by the premier and stresses his leading position. This is determined by the nature of the state council as the highest organ of state administration. The state council exercises unified leadership over the work of ministries, commissions and local people's government at various levels; comprehensively directs and administers the country's economic work, finance, monetary affairs, commerce, education, science, culture, public health, physical culture, civil affairs, public security work, foreign affairs, national defense, nationalities affairs, overseas Chinese affairs, and so forth; and undertakes the important tasks of organizing and carrying out the socialist modernization program. As the objective situation is fast changing, as the work and tasks are arduous and complicated and as all kinds of problems and contradictions are constantly cropping up, if individual responsibility is not emphasized on the basis of collective discussion, and if individuals are not entrusted with the authority to handle routine matters within certain limits, it is impossible for the state council to be highly effective and to increase administrative work efficiency. Therefore, it is entirely necessary to stipulate that the state council applies the system of decision by the premier.

On the other hand, however, we must also see that our state council's system of decision by the premier has its own characteristics:

1. The composition of the state council: it is collectively composed of the premier, vice premiers, commissioners of state, ministers, chaurmen of commissions, the chief auditor and the secretary general.

2. The way decisions are made on important issues by the state council: all such decisions must be discussed collectively by the regular meeting or plenary meetings of the state council.

3. The responsibility of the state council: the state council is responsible to the highest organ of state power. The draft revised constitution, like past constitutions, still tipulates that the state council, not the premier in his personal capacity, is responsible to the highest organ of state power.

4. The relationship between the state council and the local authorities: the draft revised constitution stipulates that local people's governments at various levels are all under the unified leadership of the state council and are all subordinated to the state council. This still means that it is the state council which exercises leadership over the local administrative organs at various levels throughout the country.

The above-mentioned characteristics show that the state council's system of decision by the premier is a system of individual responsibility based on bringing into play the role of the collective.

Next, I shall talk about the third question--the draft revised constitution sums up and reflects the initial results of the structural reform of the state council. The results are manifest mainly in the following five aspects:

1. Change in organizational form. The government administrative council of the early period after the founding of the People's Republic was a council composed of the premier, the vice premiers and council members. Some of the council members held concurrent posts as ministers, and others did not. Some of the ministers were council members, and others were not. The ministers who were not council members were not part of the government administrative council. Later, in 1954, the state council adopted a system of council of ministers but had no commissioners of state. Then, the premier, the vice premiers, the secretary general and the ministers were all members of the state council.

The draft revised constitution combines the two previous forms. The state council will have regular meetings attended by the commissioners of state and plenary meetings attended by all ministers. This is a more flexible system, which is conducive to bringing into play collective wisdom, under the premier's leadership, and also conducive to increasing the premier's personal responsibility and raising work efficiency.

2. Limiting the number of vice premiers. Our country's three constitutions since 1954 all had articles on the composition of the state council consisting of a number of vice premiers, but never specified a definite number. As the meaning of "a number" is too flexible, the actual number of vice premiers gradually increased. Now the draft revised constitution changes the provision of two to four vice premiers, setting a specific limit to the number of vice premiers. Unquestionably this is an important reform.

3. The state council has an auditing organ. The rational arrangement of state expenditures, strict discipline in the financial activities of all units, plugging of loopholes and prevention of malpractices are of extremely

great significance to the socialist modernization program. Because our country had to start from a very poor foundation, our economy is rather backward, and funds for the four modernizations program are by no means sufficient. Under these circumstances, strengthening financial supervision is all the more important to us.

The draft revised constitution stipulates that the state council has an auditing body which, under the leadership of the chief auditor, exercises its supervisory powers independently, auditing and supervising the financial work, the revenues and expenditures of the government at various levels and of the financial and monetary departments and enterprises and institutions under them. This is absolutely necessary.

4. Limiting the term of office of the premier, vice premiers and commissioners of state. The term of office of the state council is the same as that of the National People's Congress, that is, 5 years. Whether the premier, vice premiers and so forth may continue in their posts after expiration of their term is a question on which the past constitutions set no explicit limits.

According to the experience of various countries, if government leaders are changed too frequently, it is not in the interest of stability of policies and continuity of work. If they remain in their posts too long, they are likely to become conservative in work, abuse their powers and so forth.

The draft revised constitution stipulates that the premier, vice premiers and commissioners of state shall not serve more than two consecutive terms. This is more appropriate.

5. The ministries and commissions of the state council apply the system of decision by their respective ministers or chairmen. The ministers and chairmen of commissions direct the work of their respective departments, convene and preside over meetings of ministries or commissions and issue orders, directives and departmental administrative statutes within the jurisdiction of their respective departments and in accordance with laws and decrees and the administrative statutes, decisions and orders issued by the state council.

The above-mentioned five points are the main aspects of the draft revised constitution reflecting the restructuring and improvement of the state council.

The current structural reform takes place at a crucial juncture in the historical development of our country. The structural reform is aimed at overcoming bureaucracy and routinism, improving the work style and increasing work efficiency so that the superstructure will serve the economic base better.

CSO: 4005/970

13TH TALK ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW120536 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 11 Jun 82

[Radio talk by (Xu Chongde) of the Department of Law of the People's University of China: "The Local People's Congresses and the local People's Governments at Various Levels"--13th in a series on the draft revised constitution]

[Excerpts] Article 99, section 1 of the draft revised constitution stipulates: Local people's congresses at various levels are local organs of state power. This is to say that local people's congresses at various levels in our country are the organs in various administrative areas through which the people exercise their state powers. According to the draft revised constitution, local people's congresses at various levels, in their respective administrative areas, have the right to organize and elect people's governments, people's courts and people's procuratorates at the corresponding levels; and, within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law, they adopt and issue decisions, and examine and decide on plans for local economic and cultural development and for public utilities. Local people's congresses at and above the county level have the rights to examine and approve the national economic plans and the budgets of their respective administrative areas and examine their execution. In this way we can understand that local state organs in our country, under the guidance of the central authorities' unified principles, policies and state plans, enjoy the right to decide on important issues in each locality and, therefore, can bring into full play the creativity and enthusiasm of each locality. [passage omitted]

Article 108, section 1 of the draft revised constitution stipulates: local people's governments at various levels are the executive organs of state administration. As the executive organ, a local people's government must execute decisions adopted by the people's congress at the corresponding level, accept the supervision of the people's congress and its standing committee, and be responsible to and report its work to the people's congress and its standing committee. A local people's government must also execute the decisions and orders of people's governments at higher levels and the state council and accept the leadership of governments at higher levels and the unified leadership of the state council. As local administrative organs, local people's governments at various levels have the right, within the limits of their authoroties as prescribed by law, to appoint and remove

local administrative personnel and to administer the economy, education, science, culture, public healthy, physical culture, urban and rural construction, finance, public security, civil affairs and family planning in their respective administrative areas. All of the aforesaid proves that people's governments at various levels in our country are organized on the basis of democratic centralism and are capable of handling state affairs in a centralized manner.

Based on the 1978 constitution, the draft revised constitution has made the following seven revisions or supplements concerning local people's congresses and people's governments at various levels:

1. Election and Term of Office of People's Congresses

In electing deputies to local people's congresses at various levels before 1979, deputies to the people's congresses at the grassroots level were directly elected by the voters, and deputies at and above the county level were indirectly elected by the voters, i.e., by people's congresses at the next lower levels. The second session of the fifth NPC held in 1979 revised the election and organization laws expanding the scope of direct election to the county level. This is an important reform. In more than a year the practice has proved that the expansion of direct election to the county level is very useful in bringing socialist democracy into further play. Affirming this achievement, the draft revised construction explicitly stipulates in article 100 that deputies to the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central government, and cities divided into districts are elected by people's congresses at the next lower levels and that deputies to the people's congresses of counties, cities not divided into districts, municipal districts, townships, nationality townships, and towns are directly elected by the voters. As for the term of office of local people's congresses at various levels, the former constitution stipulated that the term of office for provinces and municipalities directly under the central government was five years; for counties, cities and districts directly under the city government, three years; and two years for other grassroots level people's congresses. Revising and supplementing the former constitution, Article 101 of the draft revised constitution stipulates that the term of office of the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central government and cities divided into districts if five years and of counties, cities not divided into districts, municipal districts, townships, nationality townships, and towns is three years. [passage omitted]

3. Establishment of People's Congress Standing Committees at and Above County Level

Since the convening of people's congresses at various levels in our country in 1954, a standing committee has only been established in the National People's Congress. [passage omitted] Through this practice in the past more than 20 years, especially along with the flourishing socialist construction, there has been more and more work for local authorities to handle. The development of the objective situation required local power organs at various levels to work constantly. Hence, since 1980, local people's congresses at and above the

county level in China have successively set up standing committees. Summing up the experience of standing committees in organization and activities in the past more than 2 years, the draft revised constitution stipulates in specific terms the nature, position, composition, term of office and functions and powers of the local people's congress standing committees at and above the county level. In accordance with the stipulation in the draft revised constitution, the local people's congress standing committees will be further strengthened.

3. Local Legislation

Article 103 of the draft revised constitution stipulates: the people's congresses of provinces and municipalities directly under the central government, and their standing committees, may formulate and promulgate local statutes on condition that these do not contravene the constitution, laws, decrees and general administrative statutes, and they shall report them to the NPC standing committee for record.

As everyone knows, the law is an expression of the will of the broad masses of people in our country and the NPC and its standing committee exercise legislative authority in the country. Our various provinces and municipalities directly under the central government have their own local characteristics which are quite different from one another. For this reason, they should implement the state's unified constitution, laws, decrees and general administrative statutes according to the prevailing local conditions. Therefore, giving appropriate, greater authority to the provinces and municipalities directly under the central government, including the authority to formulate and promulgate local statutes, is conducive to bringing into play the initiative of localities in building socialism.

4. Establishment of Auditing Bodies in Local People's Governments at and Above the County Level [passage omitted]

Local auditing bodies at various levels are financial supervision bodies which are specially responsible for examining the budgets and final accounts of local people's governments at and above the county level and for examining whether or not the spending of local enterprises and institutions are correct and legal. The stablishment of these new, special supervisory bodies can help people's governments improve their work, overcome malpractices and raise their work efficiency.

5. Reinstatement of the Organ of Township in the Countryside to Strengthen the Grassroots State Power Organs There [passage omitted]

In order to strengthen the grassroots state power organs in the countryside and to perfect the collective economic organizations, the draft revised constitution provides for establishing organs of township state power according to the principle of separating government administration from commune management, while retaining the people's communes as collective economic organizations. [passage omitted]

6. Reinstatement of the Organ of Nationality Township [passage omitted]

The draft revised constitution stipulates that the people's congresses of nationality townships may, within the limits of their authority as prescribed by the law, take specific measures suited to the characteristics of the nationalities concerned. This will satisfy the special interests and demands of minority nationalities. [passage omitted]

7. Establishment of the Neighborhood Committees and Villagers' Committees

The draft revised constitution stipulates that neighborhood committees and villagers' committees are established in urban and rural residential districts as mass organizations of self-government at the primary level. [passage omitted] The system of neighborhood and villagers' committees has existed in real life for a long time. Practical experience shows that this is an effective system. The fact that neighborhood and villagers' committees have been written into the constitution is of great significance for guaranteeing citizens' right to self-government in social life and for giving full scope to socialist democracy at the grassroots level.

CSO: 4005/970

PARTY AND STATE

14TH TALK ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW141001 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 13 Jun 82

[Radio talk by (Xu Chongde) of the department of law of the People's University of China: "On Regional National Autonomy"--14th and last in a series on the draft revised constitution]

[Text] Three points will be discussed in this talk.

1. The People's Republic of China is a unitary multinational country created jointly by the people of its various nationalities.

In addition to the Han nationality, there are more than 50 minority nationalities in our country. They count for about six percent of the country's total population and mainly live in the border regions of the motherland. Although small in numbers, the minority nationalities live in very large areas, constituting about 50-60 percent of the country's total area. Their areas are extensive, and special products are plentiful.

In our country's development through history, all nationalities have made their respective contributions. For thousands of years, the people of various nationalities have helped one another, labored and lived together on this Chinese land and created a long-lasting history and culture.

The preamble of the draft revised consistution says in the very beginning: "China is one of the countries of the world with the longest history. The Chinese people, comprising many nationalities, have jointly created a splendid culture and a glorious revolutionary tradition."

This is an accurate reflection of objective historical facts. Particularly in the last 100 years or so, the people of all our nationalities fought side by side through hard, prolonged and tortuous struggles and at last, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and founded new China in 1949. After that, the people of all our nationalities kept advancing and won brilliant victories in socialist transformation and socialist construction. All the achievements affirmed by the draft revised constitution are made by the people of all our nationalities working and fighting together. The draft

revised constitution gives concentrated expression to the common will of the people of all our nationalities.

2. Regional national autonomy is our country's consistent policy.

Regional national autonomy is a basic policy formulated by our party and Comrade Mao Zedong to solve our country's nationalities issue on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory on nationalities.

Regional national autonomy for the people in any area where a minority nationality lives together in a compact community means to be their own masters and to run the internal affairs of their own nationality under the unified leadership of the state.

Our country attaches great importance to guaranteeing, in the form of law, the minority nationalities' equality and right to self-government. As early as in 1949, at the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, representatives of various nationalities sat down together, jointly decided on founding a unified People's Republic of China and determined to make regional national autonomy in areas where minority nationalities live together in compact communities a national policy.

The chapter on general principles of the draft revised constitution, also clearly stipulates: "Regional autonomy applies to any area where a minority nationality lives together in a compact community; in each such area an organ of self-government shall be established for the exercise of national autonomy. All the national autonomous areas are inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China."

This is to say that our country's system of regional national autonomy is established within the united big family of the motherland. Consolidating the unitary multinational country and insisting that all national autonomous areas are inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China--this is the general principle and major premise of regional national autonomy.

The unification of the motherland and the unity of our nationalities are the result of long historical development. Strengthening unity of our nationalities, safeguarding the motherland's unification and jointly carrying out the motherland's construction--this is the desire of the people of all our nationalities.

In a unified big country, the various nationalities can help and communicate with one another, fill each other's needs, use human and natural resources under unified plans, accelerate the socialist modernization program and achieve common prosperity for all nationalities. Without a unified country and unity among the nationalities, it is absolutely impossible to achieve development and prosperity for all the nationalities.

Therefore, the unity and indivisibility of a multinational country are in the fundamental interest of all the nationalities. Any action undermining

national unity and the motherland's unification goes against the common desire and fundamental interest of all our nationalities.

In addition, it is also an unshakable important principle that in a minority nationality area where regional autonomy applies, organs of self-government are established for the exercise of national autonomy. It should be noted that for a long time in the past the ruling class exploited and oppressed minority nationalities for a long time. Sometimes taking such ruthless measures as armed suppression against them. Besides, economic and cultural development has been uneven among various nationalities because of historical factors. As a result, there still exist misunderstandings, especially differences, between various nationalities in our country. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to proceed from our country's actual conditions and to uphold regional national autonomy as the basic policy in solving the nationality question in our country. On the major premise of striving for a unified motherland and national unity, the various minority nationalities should enjoy the right to be their own masters and to run local affairs. Only thus can we gradually clear up misunderstandings and narrow differences between various nationalities, further strengthen national unity and achieve common development and prosperity while making concerted efforts to build socialism.

In our country, the people's congress of an autonomous region, an autonomous prefecture of an autonomous county consists of deputies of the nationality or nationalities exercising regional autonomy and those of other nationalities exercising regional autonomy and those of other nationalities inhabiting the same area, with the number of their deputies being in proportion to their populations. In an area where the people of a minority nationality or some minority nationalities constitute the majority, the deputies of the minority nationality or nationalities naturally constitute the majority in the people's congress. Since people of a minority nationality or some minority nationalities do not necessarily consitute the majority of the population in an area where regional autonomy is exercised, the law also provides for special consideration to be given to them in order to guarantee their rights. Take the Oroqen autonomous banner [in Heilongjiang] for example. This autonomous banner has a population of 280,000, a little more than 1,200 of which are people of Oroqen nationality. The people of Oroqen nationality can elect only two deputies to the autonomous banner people's congress according to the principles concerning general elections. However, to guarantee the right of people of minority nationalities to exercise regional autonomy and be their own masters, the people of Oroqen nationality have been allowed to elect 63 deputies to the autonomous banner people's congress in the general elections, accounting for one-third of the number of people's congress deputies.

The draft revised constitution stipulates: in addition to the deputies of the nationality or nationalities exercising regional autonomy in a given administrative area, the other nationalities inhabiting the same are are entitled to appropriate representation in the people's congress. The draft revised constitution also provides: the chairman of the autonomous region, the head of an autonomous prefecture or the head of an autonomous county

shall be a person of the nationality or nationalities exercising regional autonomy in the area. In an autonomous area inhabited by people of a single nationality, the local people's government naturally consists mainly of personnel of that nationality. In fact, however, very few autonomous areas in our country are inhabited only by people of a single nationality, and most autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties are inhabited by people of two or more nationalities. In those areas, people of Han nationality constitute a considerable proportion of the local population. In such a situation the fundamental law clearly stipulates that the chairman of an autonomous region, autonomous prefecture or autonomous country shall be a person of the nationality or nationalities exercising regional autonomy in the area. This is a very effective guarantee that the people of minority nationalities really enjoy the right to exercise regional national autonomy.

At the same time the draft revised constitution also stipulates that in performing their functions, the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas employ the spoken and written language or languages commonly used by the nationality or nationalities in the area. This is also an effective guarantee that the people of minority nationalities enjoy the right of self-government.

3. The draft revised constitution has broader and more specific stipulations concerning the right of national autonomy exercised by the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas compared with those in the 1978 constitution. They are mainly as follows:

First, they have the national autonomous right to formulate statutes governing the exercise of autonomy and to implement laws. Article 118 of the draft revised constitution stipulates that a people's congress of a national autonomous area has the power to draw up statutes governing the exercise of autonomy as well as separate regulations in the light of the political, economic and cultural characteristics of the nationality or nationalities in the area. This is an autonomous right of legislative nature enjoyed by organs of self-government of national autonomous areas. Strengthening legislative work by minority nationalities is also aimed at effectively guaranteeing the minority nationalities' rights of equality and national autonomy. However, the statutes governing the exercise of autonomy and the separate regulations must be submitted to higher authorities for approval before they become effective. According to the draft revised constitution, the statutes governing the exercise of autonomy and the separate regulations drawn up by autonomous regions should be submitted to the NPC standing committee for approval before they become effective, and those drawn up by autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties should be submitted to the standing committees of people's congresses of provinces or autonomous regions for approval before they become effective. In addition, the people's congresses of autonomous regions and their standing committees may formulate and promulgate local statutes on the condition that they do not contravene the constitution, laws, decrees and general administrative statutes; they should report them to the NPC standing committee to be put on record.

The areas inhabitated by minority nationalities in our country have many characteristics that are different from those of other areas in terms of economy, culture, customs and language. Therefore, policies should not be implemented in a rigid and uniform way. Thus, Article 123 [as heard] of the draft revised constitution stipulates that organs of self-government of national autonomous areas enjoy the national autonomous right to implement the laws and policies of the state according to actual local conditions. This national autonomous right is necessary; it should be safeguarded by the state and the organs of state power at higher levels.

Second, the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas have the national autonomous right to organize their local public security forces. Ours is a country of people's democratic dictatorship, and the military system is uniform throughout the country. In view of the special characteristics of national autonomous areas. The draft revised constitution stipulates: the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas may, in accordance with the state military system and actual local needs and with the approval of the state council, organize their local public security forces for the maintenance of public order.

In addition, they also have the national autonomous right to administer the finances and develop the economy of their areas. The organs of self-government of national autonomous areas have autonomous powers in administering the finances of their areas. This is necessary to enable national autonomous areas to carry out construction independently.

Since the reform of the financial system and of financial management practices at each level, localities have generally been given greater financial powers than before. As a result, the initiative of the various localities has been brought into full play. As for financial management in national autonomous areas, special consideration has been given to it. Summing up the practical experience gained in recent years, the draft revised constitution clearly stipulates that all revenues accruing to national autonomous areas under the state financial system shall be used according to the arrangements made independently by the organs of self-government of those areas. This stipulation is conducive to socialist construction in national autonomous areas.

Most of the regions inhabitated by minority nationalities are rich in natural resources and vast in area. Economic development in national autonomous areas is of great significance for the prosperity of minority nationalities and for the development of the country as a whole. The draft revised constitution provides that the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas independently administer economic construction in their areas under the guidance of the state plan. On the other hand, national autonomous areas urgently need state support and assistance for their development. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: We should earnestly and sincerely help minority nationalities vigorously develop their economic construction and cultures. The draft revised constitution stipulates: In developing natural resources and building enterprises in national autonomous areas, the state should give due consideration to the interests of those national autonomous areas. The state

helps national autonomous areas train large numbers of cadres, specialized personnel and skilled workers from among the nationality or nationalities in the area, and gives financial, material and technical assistance to minority nationalities to accelerate their economic and cultural development.

Economic development is inseparable from cultural development. The draft revised constitution stipulates that the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas independently administer education, science, culture, public health and physical culture in their respective areas, take charge of and protect the national cultural heritage, develop the good aspects of the cultures of the nationalities and help them flourish.

The above three [as heard] points show that the provisions of the draft revised constitution concerning the system of regional national autonomy effectively guarantee and strengthen the extensive right of self-government enjoyed by the people of minority nationalities in our country. In our multinational country, it is impossible for all our nationalities to fully develop themselves, to achieve common prosperity and to build our motherland into a modern, powerful socialist state without strengthening national unity and without bringing the initiative of all our nationalities into full play. The provisions of the draft revised constitution concerning regional national autonomy fully enbody the principles of equality, unity and mutual assistance among all our nationalities and accord with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism on the question of nationality.

The establishment and development of regional national autonomy are bound to further strengthen national unity, to consolidate the unification of the motherland and to promote the four modernizations.

CSO: 4000/152

PHOTO SHOWS COMPOUND OF 2ND ARTILLERY CORPS UNIT IN QINGHAI PLATEAU

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 6, 1982 p 15

[Article by Zhang Jucheng (1728 1565 2052), Li Shiming (2621 1102 2494) and Shen Rong (3947 2837): "Setting Up Home in the Remote Mountains"]

[Text] An unidentified unit of the Second Artillery Corps is carrying out war preparedness construction work in the Qinghai Plateu where conditions are extremely rough. The party committee of the unit called upon the fighters to take hardship as glory and the plateu as their home and to take action on their own to improve living conditions. They whitewashed both the interior and exterior of their living quarters and planted rows and rows of trees around the camp grounds. The fighters said, "The plateau has become a paradise and we are full of drive in our work."

/Photo on following page/

The barracks in the remote mountains are kept tidy and clean

CSO: 4005/974

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

VICE PREMIER DISCUSSES WORK OF THIRD NATIONAL CENSUS

Beijing TONG JI [STATISTICS] in Chinese No 2, 17 Apr 82 pp 10-14

[Synopsis of the speech by Vice Premier Chen Muhua at the Third National Conference on Census Work; 12 Jan 1982]

[Text] The Party Central Committee and the State Council have decided that, beginning at zero hour of 1 July this year, our country will undertake the work of the third national census. The scale of holding a census of as many as a billion people is unprecedented in the history of our country. It is also unprecedented in the history of the world.

The Party Central Committee and the State Council place a great deal of importance on the work of this census. In November 1979 the State Council established the Third National Census Leading Group and its working organizational structure. In June 1980 the Party Central Committee and the State Council made the decision to begin the third national census on 1 July 1982, and made the broad arrangements for this work. Based on that decision, during the past 2 years and more the various provincial, municipal and self-governing areas' people's governments have one after the other set up census leading groups and their working organizational structures and, moreover, have done a great deal of work in the areas of pilot census projects, reorganizing household registration, setting up computer stations, and training cadres. The United National Population Activities Foundation is also very concerned about China's population control work, is providing our country with financial assistance, and is also sending concerned experts to help us in our work. Over the past 2 years, through the strenuous, common efforts of the various departments and all the provinces, municipalities and self-governing areas taking part in this work, the previous segment of preparatory work has obtained excellent results.

There is less than half a year remaining between now and the formal beginning of the census on 1 July. We must do everything we possible can to ensure that the work of the greatest census in the history of our country is done well, and that this arduous and significant task given to us by the party and the nation is completed.

I would like to discuss three ideas:

1. The census is a large-scale social investigation, and will provide us with a basis for formulating all relevant policies and plans.

Ever since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our country's political and economic situation has been getting better and better, and every item of work has gradually gone onto the right track. The "Report on the Work of the Government" recently passed by the fourth session of the Fifth People's Congress proposed a 10-point program for economic construction. A series of correct policies of the Party Central Committee and the State Council encourage us to do an even better job of every item of work. At a time when every item of work is in intense progress and everyone is extremely busy, what, after all, is the necessity of carrying out a large-scale census?

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that we must seek truth from facts and in everything proceed from a basis of reality. This is an excellent tradition of our party. In formulating all of our guiding principles, policies and programs, we must first carry out an investigation and study of the actual situation, for only when we are clear in our knowledge of the actual situation can we have great resolve.

The leading comrades of the Central Committee also exhort us again and again to get a firm grasp of the fundamental situation in our country.

The situation in the country as a whole includes many aspects, such as social, political, economic, and also the national territory, resources, population, etc. Moreover, what makes up a society is mainly people; therefore, in researching the situation in the country as a whole, the first thing we must study is people.

Comrade Chen Yun [7115 0061] has requested that we understand that the fundamental situation of our country is that of having a population of 1 billion, 800 million of them peasants. From this one can see that the population situation is an important factor in social, political and economic development. The important tasks of the proletariat after obtaining political power are to unceasingly develop the economy, build material and spiritual civilizations, and unceasingly improve the standard of living and level of awareness of the people. In our country, we must have full understanding of this basic situation of our country's having a population of 1 billion, 800 million of them peasants. Only in this way will it be possible for our work to be established on a firm basis.

In the 32 years since the founding of the PRC, our country has carried out the work of two censuses, and though their scale was not as great as this one, nor the number of items investigated as large, nevertheless the results of the work of those two censuses did have the effect they should have had, at the time, on the formulation of our country's programs and policies, and on the development of our national economy.

Comrade [Deng] Xiaoping points out that by the year 2000 our country should reach a level where it will be well off. This level naturally comprises both human and material elements, and only by doing everything we possibly can to develop production, improve economic benefits, and control the population increase at the same time will it be possible for us to reach this level comparatively quickly.

In order to formulate a population policy for our country, it is necessary to get a grasp of the population situation. And in order to have a more accurate account of our country's population situation, the trends in population development in our country, as well as the influence of our country's population on the development of the national economy, it is necessary to go through census work, so as to reach accurate conclusions from the accurate data obtained.

The 19 items to be investigated that are stipulated in the method of this census are the most fundamental data needed to be grasped in order to understand our country's present population situation. Through these investigation, not only will we be required to gain a clearer idea of how many people there are in our country after all, but also a clearer idea of what qualities our vast population has.

How large a labor force is there in a population of 1 billion; in which areas are they distributed; and what is their occupational composition? What is the distribution of urban and rural populations? Once we have the investigative data, we can make specific adjustments to the organizational structure of our national economic departments, and bring our economic development more into line with the requirements of objective laws.

Ours is a country of many nationalities. Through a census, and gaining a clearer idea of the numbers, distribution and educational and occupational situation of the various minority nationalities, we can do a better job of formulating and implementing minorities policies and assisting in the economic and cultural development of minority areas.

The material that we obtain from the census will be an important basis, not only for the nation as a whole, but also for the various provinces, municipalities, and self-governing areas, as well as counties and communes, for tying in reality in the implementation of the various policies. From the point of view of research in the social sciences, the census will also be able to provide a great quantity of accurate, reliable data. And this will have very great significance with regard to directing our work.

In short, in a today when socialist economic construction is really getting underway, it will be really beneficial and have a far-reaching effect on our direction of the work in progress, and on our formulating of far-reaching plans for social and economic development, for us to expend a considerable amount of effort and conscientiously do a good job of the work of the census.

2. Fundamental requirements for launching census work.

The aim of census work is obtaining accurate population data. Only by relying on accurate data are we able to formulate correct policies that are appropriate to the actual situation of our country. For this reason, the first and foremost requirement for the work of this census is a high degree of accuracy for the census data, and this will be a key factor in our work. And the various stages and links in the census work will all proceed with this concept of accuracy in mind. Accuracy

includes the notion of accurate reporting that reflects the objective, actual situation and does not accept influence from outside factors. One is one; two is two; whatever the situation actually is at the time, then record that situation, with no tolerance for deceptive or false reporting. Dealing with numbers requires a high degree of accuracy.

In order to do a good job of the work of this census, obtain accuracy and achieve our aim of getting first-hand data, it is necessary to do a good job in the following several areas:

First, we must conscientiously do a good job of propaganda education work.

A census is a job of social investigation on a large scale affecting every household and individual; it is a great amount of work, and a really arduous task. In order to do a really good job of the preparatory work, we must expand our efforts in engaging in propaganda education.

A very important item of propaganda work is unifying people's understanding of the meaning of census work. Our objective in this propaganda work includes the various levels of leaders, the census workers themselves, and the broad masses. First of all we must explain clearly to the various levels of leaders why we must proceed with the work of this census; the important significance it has for formulating and studying our various programs and policies; and the important position that census work occupies in the whole of our work. Only after the various levels of leaders have understood this can the work proceed with vigor or can they assist us with the solution of the problems. We must also speak clearly to the broad masses who are the objective of the census, for only then will they be able to report to you accurately or achieve the requirement of accuracy.

Improving the training of census takers is an extremely important link in doing a good job of census work. Whether the work of the census takers is done well or not is the crux of whether or not this census of ours gets accurate results, because all the information about various situations is that which is recorded by the census takers. Census takers must be extremely conscientious, must be thoroughly familiar with the items to be recorded, and must combine the work of recording information with propaganda work and dispelling the masses' misgivings. We must do a good job of training the census takers, and have them place importance on the responsibility they are undertaking, study their professional knowledge well, and work conscientiously. The number of census workers who will be at work throughout the entire country will number in the millions, and the task of doing a good job of training all these millions of census workers in a short period of time is very arduous. For this reason, the various levels of leaders must immediately set about formulating training plans and get the work of training underway as soon as possible. Throughout the entire country there are several million people participating in the work of reorganizing the household registration, and we must fully utilize this force. All those who meet the requirements can serve as census takers or census political instructors. They have already accumulated precious experience; if they are then provided with the required professional census training, our work can be launched with comparative success.

This is the first thing we must take care of right away, and it is a very important preparatory task.

Second, we must arrange every item of work strictly according to plan and schedule.

From now until the beginning of recording for the census, less than half a year remains, and time is extremely pressing. This census is on a vast scale, there are many items being investigated, and it will be an arduous task; it requires close organization, and must be carried out conscientiously according to unified regulations and the requirements of the schedule. If one area, or one unit is slow in submitting the required information, it will serve to hold up the entire operation. It is hoped that the various areas will definitely, according to the requirements of the unified plan, formulate concrete, workable arrangements for the various areas.

Propaganda education, personnel training, material preparations--a whole series of tasks awaits our doing.

Personnel training includes the training of census takers, coders, recorders, and computer personnel. We must get a good grasp of the training of technical personnel in particular; otherwise, it would have a bad effect on the quality of our work.

In the same way, material preparations are very important. As for the task of the computer stations in the various areas, computer rooms must be set up according to schedule, and must be supplied with the proper equipment. Other items include: the amount of printing needed for the forms is very great, so we must make a vigorous effort to do a good job of the printing; prior arrangements must also be made for the storage and care of census data; there must be data storehouses, transportation equipment and management personnel. All of this requires the making of prior arrangements. We must, in strict accordance with the requirements of our plans, make proper arrangements for each item in turn. Only when these tasks are accomplished will we be able to guarantee the successful progress of the census work.

Third, we must be sparing in taking the census.

In advocating being sparing in taking the census, we require sparing any expense that can be spared and not spending any money the spending of which can be avoided, everywhere taking care to make very careful calculations and utilize everything that can be utilized. As for the census takers, the period of real work will be about 6 months, for coders 3 months, and for recording personnel 1 year. In some areas, on-the-job personnel can be mobilized to participate in the work, and that can be a comparatively economical method.

On the one hand we must be sparing; on the other hand, things that should be done must still be done, and money that should be spent must still be spent. If computer stations require air conditioning and constant temperatures, and if we must have data storage units, then these things cannot be economized on; otherwise, it will have an adverse effect on the transportation of facilities and the collecting of census data, in turn affecting the results of the census.

In short, we hope that comrades will think up some more methods, open up some new channels of communication, and do a better and more economical job of our census work.

3. Ask the various levels of party committee and people's governments to be conscientious in strengthening their leadership.

The significance of this census of our country is very great, and it is also very influential in the world. We must definitely do a good job of this census.

Due to the fact that the work of this census is already very pressed for time, covers so many areas, and since it is very difficult to take on this task while relying solely on the census office, it requires a great effort and full coordination and cooperation among all departments. It is hoped that the various levels of party committees and people's governments will definitely carry out conscientious and forceful leadership, and that the comrades personally in charge of this work in the people's governments of the various provinces, municipalities and self-governing areas will take personal charge of all the important links in the census work, while at the same time assisting in the solution of difficulties and problems that arise in the course of actual work.

After this conference, the census leading groups of the various provinces, municipalities, and self-governing areas were asked to carry out an overall investigation of every item of their preparatory work, and make overall arrangements for future work.

This census will be a long and difficult task. From 1979, when the decision to begin this work was made, to the completion of the national census in 1984 and publication of the results in 1985, covers a span of 6 or 7 years. The various levels of party committees and people's governments must definitely, from start to finish, do a good and thorough job of every item of work in each and every link of the census work.

The task placed before us is both extremely glorious and extremely arduous, and time is also very pressing. I am confident that under the leadership of the various levels of party committees and people's governments, if only we conscientiously implement the relevant directives of the Central Committee of the CCP, pluck up our spirits, study open-mindedly, continuously sum up our experience, rely on the broad masses, and in an orderly, well-prepared way are strict with ourselves in requiring the highest standards for each and every link in our work, then we will definitely be able to complete successfully the task of the Third National Census.

9634
CSO: 4005/847

'CHENG MING' REPORTS CABINET WANTS DENG AS STATE CHAIRMAN

HK070650 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 56, 1 Jun 82 pp 7-11

[Article by Lo Ping [5012 0393]: "New Cabinet Supports Deng as State Chairman--Composition of the Deng Cabinet and Chen Yun's Refusal To Become the Head of State"]

[Text] [Begin summary] Deng Xiaoping's logic is that eliminating corruption is beneficial to streamlining the administrative structure. Since a "public opinion poll" has been carried out and because of four other factors, problems regarding the streamlining of organization and the appointment of personnel of the State Council have been satisfactorily solved. The ministries and commissions under the State Council all support Deng as state chairman. Chen Yun is resolute in refusing to become state chairman. As for the problem of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee and the question of why Hua Guofeng suddenly appeared on May Day... [end summary]

Natural climate--unexpectedly abnormal.

Political atmosphere--unexpectedly normal to some people.

This is May in Beijing and Beijing in May.

A Maxim of 12 Characters

When Deng Xiaoping stretched out his hands to eliminate corrupt officials and streamline the administrative structure, many people were worried that there would be small disorder throughout China: Some even worried that there would be big upheaval throughout the country. Judging from the present situation, we cannot see any disorder in the political scene and in official circles. At least this is how it appears up to this day.

What excellent plans does Deng Xiaoping have and what is his key to achieving the present situation?

It seems that he has a maxim of 12 characters. This can be considered as the dialectical logic of Deng Xiaoping.

"Eliminating corruption is beneficial to streamlining the administrative structure and vice versa."

This is one way to look at the action taken by Deng Xiaoping and this is also the view of some cadres in Beijing.

The reason behind this is very simple.

Streamlining refers to better troops and simpler administration. In fact, this means better officials and simpler administration, because there is a large number of officials rather than soldiers. Actually, selecting good officials, especially senior officials, is a very difficult task, since all of them have a good resume and a good record of merits, as well as a powerful network of connections. In reducing the original 52 ministries and commissions under the State Council to 39 or 41, a large number of ministers and vice ministers will become "jobless." The remaining ministers and vice ministers will be sacked. However, many ministers and vice ministers are infatuated with the power they have and are resolute in adhering to it. What is to be done? Therefore, at the initial stage, people predicted that it would be very difficult for Deng Xiaoping to overcome the hurdles. They expected an upheaval in official circles. However, they did not know that many of the officials to be eliminated by Deng Xiaoping are like Xinjiang girls who have long pigtails [other people can seize on their mistakes]. They either had associations with Lin Biao and the gang of four in the past or are opponents of Deng who resisted the line of the third plenary session. They either morally degenerate and are economic criminals or had committed two "evils" and three "evils." It is estimated that more old cadres who have been screened were involved in advocating unhealthy trends over the past few years. Those whose children are involved in smuggling and speculation are everywhere. Thus, when the activity to "deal blows at criminals who seriously undermine the economy" is launched, the weak points of the ministers and vice ministers are exposed. What else can they do if the CCP Central Committee decides to streamline the administrative structure and order them to resign?

Thus, with one hand extended to eliminate corruption, the strength of the other hand in selecting the best officials is not weakened, rather it is enhanced.

Is this not a good tactic?

Problematic Cadres Were Either Dismissed From Office or Demoted

Let us give you an example. Ren Quansheng was a former vice minister of commerce. Due to the fact that his son Ren Qingsheng and the son of another vice minister were guilty of fraud and speculation, when the State Council streamlined its organizations, the name of Ren Quansheng was removed from the list of vice ministers.

There is another example. Two former vice premiers of the State Council have now become state councillors and have been removed from their concurrent posts of ministers. It was reported that they or their children had committed some economic mistakes. There is much hearsay in Beijing concerning Gu Mu and Kang Shien. Gu Mu's son has been arrested for committing economic crimes.

Let us cite another example. Yuan Baohua was formerly director of the State Economic Commission. After the State Council streamlined its organizations, the post was taken over by Zhang Jingfu, former first secretary of the provincial CCP committee and provincial governor of Anhui. Yuan Baohua was demoted to be deputy director of the State Economic Commission. His rank is lower than that of Lu Dong. There were several reasons for his demotion. His son obtained some "legitimate dividends" from the business run by the two main swindlers. Was this one of the reasons for the demotion of Yuan Baohua?

It is obvious that most of the ministers and vice ministers who committed economic mistakes have either been dismissed from office or demoted. Of course, those whose names have been removed from the name lists of the new officials of the State Council are not all problematic figures.

Now the ministries and commissions under the State Council have basically accomplished their task of streamlining organizations and new responsible members have also been properly appointed. Judging from the present leading bodies, we know that they are fairly powerful.

Ministers and Vice Ministers Support the Line of Deng Xiaoping

First, the two vice premiers (Wan Li and Yao Yilin), most state councillors (some of them are members of the petroleum faction who have lost power and influence) and all ministers belong to "Dengist faction"--people who support the line of the third plenary session.

Second, after "screening" and through the process of elimination, some old and weak cadres and those whose working ability has waned have retreated from the front line.

Third, the names of those who are morally degenerate and who have behaved abominably have already been excluded from the new name lists of officials.

Fourth, many of the new cadres are personnel in specific fields or graduates of universities and those who have acquired profound professional knowledge and experience in practice and work through actively engaging in advanced studies.

Fifth, the appointments of ministers and vice ministers this time underwent the "public opinion poll" process. Most of the new officials have stood the test of the "public opinion poll." Therefore, they have enjoyed popular support and displayed a better ability to command.

"Public Opinion Poll" and Its Role

"Public opinion poll" was a new method adopted by the State Council for streamlining its organizations.

The specific measure was that various departments printed questionnaires and distributed them to the cadres, staff members and workers of the departments

concerned. Some of the questions printed in the questionnaire were like the following:

Do you think that it is suitable to appoint so-and-so to be minister (or vice minister)?

What are his strong points? What are his weak points?

What kind of hope do you place on him?

Apart from appointing this person as minister or vice minister, who else is suitable for the post(s)?

In your opinion, who should be trained to become successors of ministers and vice ministers? What are their conditions?

If the candidates were unanimously opposed by the masses, it was difficult for them to be appointed to the posts. If they were trusted by the masses, people would listen to them.

For example, Zhang Chen (female), minister of nuclear industry, was formerly a director of the bureau under the Second Ministry of Machine Building. People recommended her in the "public opinion poll." Therefore, she has become the head of this important ministry.

People in Beijing believe that the steps taken by the State Council were more progressive than direct appointments from above. Of course, this only meant that there was a slight flavor of democracy. The CCP has not adopted the experience of the Paris Commune recommended by Marx and Engels in electing the "public servants" by the people.

Support Deng as the State Chairman or One of the Two State Chairmen

The "public opinion poll" and the above-mentioned four factors enable the State Council to take on a new look in the appointment of personnel. Thus, the new cabinet of Zhao Ziyang, to exaggerate, is a "clean cabinet." (Certainly it is not spotless, neither is it made up of faultless people. Moreover, it is difficult to guarantee that people will never commit any mistakes.) We can also make the overstatement that the new cabinet is a "cabinet of strong men." (Of course, it is not true that all of them are professionally trained and competent.) To put it in "essential" terms, we can call this new cabinet "a cabinet that follows Deng's line." Deng's line, of course, refers to Deng Xiaoping's line.

The composition of this cabinet is conducive to eliminating corruption in the organizations under the State Council and in all provinces and municipalities. This is the exact meaning of the second part of Deng Xiaoping's logic ("streamlining the administrative structure is beneficial to eliminating corruption").

Judging from the discussions in the State Council, we can see that most senior officials of the State Council are supporters of Deng Xiaoping's line.

The discussion is on who is the suitable person for the post of state chairman.

The promulgation of the new constitution has not aroused due attention of the ordinary people in Beijing municipality. They have not attached great importance to it. This is probably because the "crisis of three beliefs" has not been thoroughly eliminated and most people take a wait-and-see attitude. It is the same word: "wait-and-see."

However, there are discussions in official circles on the suitable person for the post of state chairman and chairman of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee. A cadre solemnly told me that most ministries and commissions of the State Council support Deng Xiaoping as state chairman. Some even suggest that Deng should take up the post of state chairman concurrently with that of chairman of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee. They hold that Deng is, among all, the most suitable person to take up the two chairmanships.

Now the problem is, what if Deng Xiaoping resolutely declines to be state chairman?

What He Overheard in Chen Yun's House

Henceforth, a list of name is being proposed inside and outside the State Council, which includes Peng Zhen, Deng Yingchao and Li Xiannian.

A certain foreign dispatch said that Chen Yun might become state chairman. Thus, I talked about this matter with an old cadre who has recently retired.

"What a coincidence! I have some firsthand information for you." He laughed heartily. The coincidence he mentioned was that the "former boss" of his former colleague recently met an old friend in Chen Yun's house in Zhongnanhai (Chen Yun was "advised" to move into an apartment in the building built by Wang Dongxing). The two old friends talked about the question of state chairman. The old comrade learned from his friend that Deng Xiaoping had recommended Chen Yun to be state chairman. However, Chen Yun "declined." Chen Yun is very old and is physically weak. He should not overwork. It seems that Chen Yun will not become state chairman.

In my opinion, judging from Chen Yun's character, he will not take up this post. Chen Yun is a person who likes to immerse himself in hard work and does not like to expose himself in public, neither will he enjoy playing a role that has nothing to do with concrete matters relating to work. Although Deng Xiaoping reiterated that he will not take up the post of state chairman, Chen Yun seems to be more resolute than Deng Xiaoping in this regard.

China Is Considering Eliminating the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee

Apart from state chairman, there is the question of chairman of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee.

Furthermore, there is the question of the relationship between the State Central Military Commission and the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee.

There is the following information: The CCP Central Committee is considering eliminating the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee. Instead, some standing committees of the Political Bureau will take up the work and the State Central Military Commission will be in command of the three armed services. In my opinion, we can compare the chairman of the State Central Military Commission to the commander-in-chief of the three armed services, and the standing committees of the CCP Political Bureau responsible for military work can be compared to the PLA political commissar.

In short, the party commands the army. This principle will not be changed.

In regard to the suitable person for the post of state chairman, we must not ignore Hu Yaobang's opinion. It is said that Hu Yaobang is inclined to support Deng Xiaoping as the state chairman.

Some People Mentioned Peng Zhen

It is true that Peng Zhen is being mentioned by some Chinese senior officials. However, some people do not agree.

Some ordinary people in Beijing also predict that Peng Zhen will be appointed state chairman.

Their prediction is based on a television shot on the evening of 12 May. The first to pay his last respects to the remains of Sha Qianli was Hu Yaobang, the second was Peng Zhen, the third, Deng Yingchao and the fourth, Zhao Ziyang.

However, the author holds that that shot did not have any implications. It is because Hu Yaobang is the party chairman, Peng Zhen and Deng Yingchao are vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the NPC and Zhao Ziyang is the premier. This order complies with the usual Chinese practice.

Therefore, it seems that nobody will oppose Deng Xiaoping taking up the posts of state chairman and chairman of the State Military Commission. Up till now, among the senior party and government officials, the voice supporting Deng in taking up the two posts concurrently has been louder than other voices.

Hua Guofeng Has Heart Disease

There was an episode in the discussion about the suitable person for the post of state chairman. During the May Day festivities this year, XINHUA news agency dispatched a news item on Hua Guofeng's activity along with his picture. The television station also broadcast how Hua Guofeng spent the "happy festival time" in the hospital. This is something unusual. Therefore, people suspected that Hua Guofeng might be appointed state chairman.

It is true that Hua Guofeng appeared "on the screen" on May Day. This is indeed unusual. After doing some research and acquiring an understanding of the actual situation, I cannot help saying to myself, "So that's how it is." Certainly, the suspicion that Hua Guofeng would be appointed as state chairman is illogical.

The story began on 29 June 1981. At the closing ceremony of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, XINHUA dispatched a set of pictures, one of which carried the caption "Comrades Hu Yaobang, Li Xiannian and Hua Guofeng at the sixth plenary session." Hua Guofeng appeared at the far left side of the picture and the image was blurred. The figure was small and the image was bad. Beijing newspapers asked XINHUA for some better pictures, but XINHUA said that they did not have any better ones. After the picture was published, some readers phoned the newspaper office to complain. They said, "Hua Guofeng is only demoted to be vice chairman. You should not treat him like this."

It is said that Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang recognized this and gave some instructions. XINHUA also recognized its own mistakes. In order to make up for the bad effect of the picture, XINHUA made special arrangements to introduce Hua's activities during May Day and dispatched his picture.

On the eve of May Day, XINHUA reported that "Hua Guofeng, vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee, celebrated the international labor day with the medical workers of Beijing hospital this afternoon. When Comrade Hua Guofeng arrived at the get-together, he shook hands with the medical workers." The report also said that Hua Guofeng extended his gratitude to the medical workers for their "serious treatment and care." XINHUA also dispatched a picture showing Hua Guofeng shaking hands with the medical workers of Beijing hospital.

What is Hua Guofeng's illness?

Allegedly he suffers from slight heart disease.

It is believed the purpose of the arrangements made by the Chinese decision-makers for the May Day press release was to remedy the fact that Hua Guofeng was neglected in the publications of the sixth plenary session. On the other hand, it can also be considered as a kind of "appeasement" to the extreme leftists--most of them are supporters of Hua. In other words, it is to strengthen the atmosphere of stability and unity.

CSO: 4005/944

'CHENG MING' REPORTS ON GUILIN AIR CRASH

HK021425 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 56, 1 Jun 82 pp 11-15

[Article by Lo Ping [5012 0393]: "The Truth About the Guilin Air Disaster"]

[Text] We Relied on the Three Magic Weapons To Reveal the Secrets

After the occurrence of the "26 April" air disaster, I originally planned to go to Guilin immediately to gather news. This was because plane crashes rarely occur in China. In addition, there were more than 50 passengers from Hong Kong. Such news was bound to cause a sensation both at home and abroad. How could we fail to provide our readers with some firsthand information? Therefore, how I wished I could fly to Guilin by Trident or a four-engined plane.

However, after further consideration, I realized that in the Gongcheng area of Guilin, who could obtain the rare firsthand information and spread it immediately except personnel of the official propaganda organs? Therefore, I changed my original intention and decided to cover the news in Beijing.

Was it not ridiculous to gather news in a city 10,000 li away from the scene?

It was lucky that my attempt has not become a standing joke in press circles.

When efforts were exerted to find the causes of the plane crash, Beijing became the first object of the press coverage.

This was because reporters could hardly find anything out about the two things which were closely connected with the air disaster in Guangzhou. In addition, there was one thing which they could see in Beijing only. These three magic weapons had been sent to the command center of the political, economic and cultural activities of the whole country.

In Guangzhou, reporters had a rare opportunity to hear a report by the Guangzhou Civil Aviation Bureau and watch a documentary produced by the reporters of the Guangzhou TV station at the scene of the plane crash. However, with regard to the black box which related to the flight record, people could hear it only in Beijing.

All these were naturally the most authoritative materials, the black box particularly so.

Therefore, a certain period of time after the occurrence of the air disaster, it was Beijing, rather than Guilin or Guangzhou, which was the best place for obtaining news.

Therefore, I did not leave the capital, and "stood by the stump to wait for more hares to come."

Was It Political Sabotage?

During that period, the plane crash of the Trident airliner No 266 gave rise to various kinds of conjectures and gossips.

--Did the plane explode on flying into a mountain?

--The wreckage of the plane and the corpses of the victims were spread over several kilometers of mountain and wilderness areas. Was this an indication of an explosion in the air?

--Was there any political background? Was it an evil deed done by bad elements who opposed the line of the third plenary session?

--Did the remaining confederates of Lin Biao and the gang of four secrete plastic explosives in the plane?

--Did the pilot commit suicide and purposely bring disaster to other passengers because he nursed a grievance?

The answer to the last question could be found in the minds of a number of Beijing residents.

This would not be at all surprising. In 1979, a pilot in Beijing who was full of resentment and felt aggrieved flew his Trident into a factory building in the suburbs of Beijing during a test flight. In 1980, an angry man committed suicide in Beijing railway station by exploding a bomb and a number of other people were also killed in the incident. In 1981, a female driver who was incensed at her leaders, deliberately drove her car into people in Tiananmen Square. Drawing inferences from the above facts, it was not difficult to jump to a conclusion that the pilot of No 266 airliner carried out sabotage because he nursed hatred in his heart.

Conjecture and gossip was, very often, the source of orators. Did these stories contain certain truths?

A sensational rumor was spread in Tokyo, a city more than a thousand li from Beijing. A Japanese newspaper YOMIURI SHIMBUN reported that it received a letter from "Comrade Jiang Qing's Rescue Action Committee," saying that the explosion of No 266 airliner was the result of their "revolutionary act." The news spread and was discussed in a small circle. Everybody asked about its reliability.

Did Civil Officials and Military Officers Quarrel With Each Other?

To reveal the secrets of the air disaster, it was imperative to seek help from the three magic weapons--the report of the Guangzhou Civil Aviation Bureau, documentary films taken at the site of disaster and the black box related to the flight record as well as other authoritative sources close to these three things.

In the process of getting in touch with these authoritative sources, I unexpectedly found out that the information provided by the leaders of the Guangzhou Civil Aviation Bureau was greatly different from that of the sources close to the air force.

This might have been "official double-talk." However, did this not mean that they quarrelled with each other?

The reason why this air disaster was connected with the air force was that the CAAC borrowed the Trident No 266 from the air force. The characters "Zhongguo Minhang" in Zhou Enlai's calligraphy, were not printed on the fuselage. In addition, there was no five-starred red flag—the sign of an ordinary airliner--on the tail of the plane. Instead, there was a big red star containing with the two characters "Ba Yi." The red star was flanked on either side by thick red stripes. The Trident was bought from the United Kingdom in 1974 at a special price.

In recent years, the number of plane passengers has greatly increased. However, due to a lack of foreign exchange, China has reduced the number of imported airliners. In addition, the giant airliner designed during the period of Lin Biao and trial-produced in Shanghai has not been put into production. As a result, the present 80 airliners of the CAAC are not sufficient to meet the present demands. To meet an urgent need, the CAAC has had to ask the air force for help. Therefore, military airplanes are often used as airliners. On the afternoon of 26 April, a military plane--Trident No 266--was a "guest performer" on the Guangzhou-Guilin route.

Such a thing was not abnormal at all. The crew of the airliner No 266 have a perfect mastery of the operational techniques. Chen Xilian's son was a copilot and the pilot was a deputy regimental commander of the air force and had rich flight experience. Why did a disaster occur then?

Information Harmful to the Air Force

A friend of mine who is close to the Guangzhou Civil Aviation Bureau provided me with the following information:

On 26 April, the military plane No 266 was involved in the passenger flight on this route for the first time.

At 4 p.m. that day, the weather conditions around the Guilin area were "unfavorable" (an aviation term).

Before the occurrence of the incident, radio contact between the plane and the ground was normal. However, due to the fact that the pilot was not familiar with geographical conditions of the area and acted on his own and refused to comply with the direction from the ground crew, the airliner went off course 9 kilometers before the accident. The control tower in Guangzhou had already demanded that the course be corrected.

When the plane was flying over the Gongcheng area, its flying altitude was a bit too low. The control tower in Guangzhou urged the pilot to increase the flying altitude to 1,700 meters. However, he thought that a flying altitude of 1,500 meters was all right.

As a result, when the plane was flying at the height of 1,500 meters, it struck a hilltop and its fuselage was damaged. However, there was another higher mountain in front of the plane and the pilot could see it very clearly. It was too late for him to increase the flying altitude. Therefore, the plane rammed into the mountain and exploded.

My friend told me that it was believed that the above situation was recounted in the report of the CAAC.

This showed that the cause for the plane crash was the pilot's refusal to comply with the direction from the ground. It was obvious that the information provided by the Guangzhou Civil Aviation Bureau was beneficial to the bureau itself. If the information proved true, the Guangzhou Civil Aviation Bureau would not be responsible for the accident.

There were some other arguments unfavorable to the air force: the work style of the children of senior cadres was no good, the air force had seized this opportunity to extort foreign exchange, and so forth.

The information provided by the Guangzhou Civil Aviation Bureau was authoritative. However, some people doubted its reliability and accuracy.

The Two Minutes Which Caused the Plane Crash and the Death of Passengers

A friend close to the air force told me the "truth about the air disaster" which was detrimental to the Guangzhou Civil Aviation Bureau.

--This was not the first time that a military plane was involved in the Guangzhou-Guilin route as the Guangzhou Civil Aviation Bureau had stated.

--On 26 April at about 4 p.m., the weather in the Guilin and Gongcheng areas was not "unfavorable" as the Guangzhou Civil Aviation Bureau insisted. It was instead "complicated weather" (aviation terminology) which was worse than "unfavorable weather." Things which were 10 meters away from the plane could not be clearly seen.

--When plane No 266 got to the Gongcheng area, the control tower in Guangzhou urged it to begin descending. This instruction was 2 minutes ahead of the appropriate time.

--This was the fatal 2 minutes! The underbelly of the plane struck a hilltop and its front part was separated from the fuselage. A tragedy with the death of 112 passengers followed.

My friend stressed that the cause for the air disaster was a wrong instruction given by the control tower. Therefore, the Guangzhou Civil Aviation Bureau should be wholly responsible for it.

After hearing information provided by the two sides, suspicion clouded my mind: Were the Civil Aviation Bureau and the air force at odds? Were both sides trying to shirk responsibility and shift the blame onto the other? Was the information provided by the Civil Aviation Bureau true? Did the arguments of the air force tally with facts?

Just at that time, I suddenly thought of the black box, the black box!

When the secrets of the black box which were related to the flight record were revealed, the truth about the air disaster would be clarified.

Before getting in touch with the "audience" of the black box (including the indirect audience), I interviewed some of the "audience" which watched the documentary, film, concerning the site of the air disaster, which was shown in restricted circles.

Secret Documentary Not Made Known to the Public

The documentary shot by the special team sent by the Guangzhou television station not long after the accident is of value as reference.

A part of this documentary was released by the Beijing television station. It is believed that the Hong Kong television viewers also saw the scene in which PLA troops hacked their way through brambles in their search for the wreckage of the plane and the corpses of the victims. But most of the highly interesting scenes of the documentary were cut out. For example, ordinary people were denied a peep at the six or seven hilltops over which plane No 266 dragged itself. Was there anything secret about the hilltops?

That which was "secret" had to do with the hilltop trees appearing as if they had been burned. This showed that the belly of the speeding aircraft with over 100 passengers aboard had almost kissed or touched the tops of the rocky hills overgrown with trees.

Why was this scene cut out as something "secret"?

It was said that this was to prevent people from making a wrong judgment.

It was also said that some people witnessed the plane coming apart in the air close to the hilltops. Its tail dropped first. The front part then shot up and plunged 1,000 meters down to a farawav place. (At that time, some greedy people showed up at the scene searching for valuables.)

This scene of the documentary and what the witnesses said showed that the accounts given by the Guangzhou Civil Aviation Bureau and the air force were identical in one place: "The body of the plane scraped against the hilltops causing an accident."

The Black Box Points to Something Wrong With Ground Control

The black box provides more authoritative information than the documentary.

This indestructible black box provided important flying data, including dialogue between the pilot and the control tower, the voices in the cabin, and so forth.

After the accident of plane No 266, people in all circles hoped for the discovery of this valuable device providing information about the flight.

When this much coveted thing was discovered, it was immediately taken away to the Guangzhou Civil Aviation Bureau.

It was said that a relevant unit wanted to check what the black box said, but the Guangzhou Civil Aviation Bureau did not agree to this. Later, the Central Military Commission ordered that the black box be sent to Beijing at once.

Beijing attached unusually great importance to this black box. The work group led by Wan Li, the Military Commission investigation group, the air force investigation group, and the CAAC investigation group all unveiled this "black lady."

It was said that the director of the Guangzhou Civil Aviation Bureau and the relevant personnel sweated profusely on hearing what the tape of the black box revealed. The tape recording showed that the cause of the No 266 plane accident was a mistake made by the Guangzhou Civil Aviation Bureau in its control of the aircraft.

Guangzhou Civil Aviation Bureau Must Be Held Responsible

Any discrepancy in the weather report was of course an error. But directing the passenger plane to descend 2 minutes early was a grave mistake.

If what a friend of mine said was correct and if he had not been subject to pressure from a certain quarter, then the truth of the "26 April" air accident has at last come out. All the guesses made by people at home and abroad have been proved wrong.

The claim about the plane crashing against the mountains is not accurate enough.

Saying that the plane was bombed by evildoers was nothing but a rumor.

Saying that the "leftists" started a "revolution" does not comply with reality.

Apart from this, saying that the pilot of the Guangzhou Civil Aviation Bureau made a mistake is also negated.

My friend held that the Guangzhou Civil Aviation Bureau should be wholly responsible for the "26 April" air disaster. "It has great problems," my friend said.

First, it gave wrong instructions and, as a result, the No 266 passenger plane crashed and people were killed.

Second, it has employed trickery to cheat the party organizations and the people. This will certainly make a very bad impression.

Third, it has defiled the pilot, who was unable to verify the facts, in order to shirk their own responsibility.

People Directly Responsible for the Accident Will Be Severely Punished

"This is an intolerable work style," my friend continued. "Some people of the Guangzhou Civil Aviation Bureau must shoulder the responsibility for this accident. It was said that the bureau head will resign and those directly responsible will be severely punished."

"I am sure that Shen Tu will not lose his post because of this accident," I said. "What do you think?"

"As the bureau head of the CAAC, Shen Tu cannot shirk his responsibility. However, I agree with what you said. The CAAC has done a good job in handling the accident. As a matter of fact, they planned to reorganize the Guangzhou Civil Aviation Bureau a long time ago. It is a pity that the reorganization comes a bit too late." My friend knows that I am a "fan of the Lijiang River." He thus asked me with a smile, "Will you dare to take a plane to Guilin again?"

"Why not?" I blurted out. "The accident rate of civil aviation, in particular, the CAAC, is very low. However, frankly speaking, it isn't too comfortable to ride in those small 'AN such-and-such' and 'IL such-and-such' planes. It is more comfortable to ride in big planes."

"How about Tridents?" He squinted his small crafty eyes. "Altogether three Tridents have been lost. The first was the private plane of Lin Biao--No 265."

Will You Dare To Take a Plane to Guilin Again?

"I think, in future, it will be safer to take a Trident than in the past." What I said were sincere words. "I have taken many domestic flights and I deeply feel that the CAAC has paid great attention to safety, to the extent

that it is overdone. There was a time when I took a big plane from Xian to Guangzhou. As it was said that there was heavy rain in Hunan, I was forced to wait in the Xian airport for 8 hours (the airport restaurant provided a delicious free lunch which I cannot forget up to this day). In another case, the plane was delayed for more than 1 and a half hours because it was raining in Guilin, even though it was not raining hard...."

"You are right. The CAAC is well-known for paying great attention to safety. Over the past 30 years or so, there have only been a few domestic flight accidents. In the international air lines, Chinese planes have never had any air disasters. According to statistics, in 1981, more than 10 air disasters, killing more than 150 passengers, occurred in various districts of the world; China was not on the list. Therefore, I can understand your high sense of security. After all, you are a reporter."

"I hope that the CAAC's Shen Tu will do a better job in tackling the work of the general bureau and other sub-bureaus."

"Is that what you wish?"

"One more," it was my turn to be humorous, "I hope the information you provided basically complies with reality."

We looked at each other with a smile.

CSO: 4005/944 END

JPRS 81310

19 July 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 318

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81310

19 July 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 318

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Commentary on Maltese Prime Minister Mintoff's Visit
(XINHUA, 25, 26, 27, 29 Jun 82) 1

Dalian Glassware Factory
Dalian Shipyard
Return to Beijing
Ties With Arab Nations

PARTY AND STATE

Defendants in Northeast Rail Incident Sentenced
(XINHUA, 2 Jul 82) 4

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Shanxi Military District Head Reports on Militia Work
(Geng Shuming; SHANXI RIBAO, 19 Jun 82) 5

Ningxia PLA Article Marks Militia Anniversary
(NINGXIA RIBAO, 18 Jun 82) 10

Air Force 1st Division Commended for Training
(Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service, 27 Jun 82) 14

Sichuan PLA Meeting on Care of Retired Cadres
(Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service; 12 Jun 82) 15

PLA Drama Troupe Visits Fakashan Mountains
(Gao Yang; GUANGMING RIBAO, 21 May 82) 17

Briefs
Military Budget Up 19
Deng Xiaoping Criticized 19
PLA Meetings 19
Urumqi Military Graduation 20

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'NANFANG RIBAO' Discusses Indiscriminate Temple Building
(Wu Ming; NANFANG RIBAO, 5 Jun 82) 21

'SHAANXI RIBAO' on Reforming Government Structure
(Cao Dunhui; SHAANXI RIBAO, 22 Jun 82) 23

Xizang Develops With Help of Central Government
(XINHUA, 7 Jun 82) 25

Xizang Monastery Preserves Lamaist Art Heritage
(XINHUA, 14 Jun 82) 26

Zang Kejia Surveys 60 Years of Poetry
(Zang Kejia; GUANGMING RIBAO, 22 Feb 82) 27

'YANGCHENG WANBAO' Urges Solving Education Problems
(YANGCHENG WANBAO, 16 Jun 82) 31

Problems in Education Discussed
(YANGCHENG WANBAO, 15 Jun 82) 33

Qing Official, Artist of Upbringing of Children
(Deng Sheng; BEIJING WANBAO, 29 May 92) 35

'NINGXIA RIBAO' on Spirit of Being Masters
(NINGXIA RIBAO, 27 May 82) 37

'NINGXIA RIBAO'on Spiritual Civilization Congress
(NINGXIA RIBAO, 20 Jun 82) 40

Nei Monggol's Zhou Hui Registers Residence
(Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service, 1 Jul 82) 43

Nei Monggol's Zhou Hui Tours Minority Banner
(Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service, 28 Jun 82) 44

Li Xuezhi Attends Ningxia Activists Congress
(NINGXIA RIBAO, 17 Jun 82) 45

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Mao, Literary Criticism
(Ding Zhenhai, Li Zhun; GUANGMING RIBAO, 26 May 82) 46

Briefs

Population Census Work 57
Art Performance 57
Xinjiang Translators 57
Urumqi Census Personnel 58
Nationalities Meeting 58
Guangzhou Dragon Boat Races 59
Xinjiang Postmen Greeted 59

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON MALTESE PRIME MINISTER MINTOFF'S VISIT

Dalian Glassware Factory

OW251742 Beijing XINHUA in English 1639 GMT 25 Jun 82

[Text] Dalian, June 25 (XINHUA)--Maltese Prime Minister Dominic Mintoff today visited a glassware factory in the city of Dalian, northeast China, and was welcomed there by workers.

The factory employs more than 2,600 workers and turns out 3,500 kinds of glassware. Products are sold in 80 countries and regions. The factory has 10 workers to Malta.

Mintoff toured the plant and spoke to Yin Jiuwei, its director. He thanked the workers for their assistance to Malta and wished the factory great success.

Accompanying the prime minister were Hu Yimin, vice-governor of Liaoning Province, Zhang Wenjin, vice-minister of foreign affairs, and Cui Ronghan, mayor of Dalian.

This evening, the guests watched a program of music and dance.

Dalian Shipyard

OW261802 Beijing XINHUA in English 1518 GMT 26 Jun 82

[Text] Dalian, June 26 (XINHUA)--Dominic Mintoff, prime minister of the Republic of Malta, visited a shipyard in northeast China's port city Dalian today.

Prime Minister Mintoff asked about shipbuilding technology and shipyard administration.

He said to shipyard Director Sun Wenxue "Malta's shipbuilding industry is just beginning. We can use your experience as a reference. Shipbuilding workers in Third-World countries will learn from each other. I hope the shipbuilding workers of China and Malta will have more technical exchanges and cooperation."

Sun Wenxue wished Malta's shipbuilding industry great development.

The guests today also visited the Dalian macine fisheries company and the port.

Return to Beijing

OW270730 Beijing XINHUA in English 0716 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing, June 27 (XINHUA)--Maltese Prime Minister Dominic Mintoff and his party, in the company of Chinese vice-minister of foreign affairs, returned to Beijing by special plane this morning after a visit to Dalian.

Upon their departure from Dalian, the distinguished Maltese guests were seen off at the airport by Hu Yimin, vice-governor of Liaoning Province, and Cui Ronghan, mayor of Dalian.

The Chinese Government will hold a formal welcoming ceremony tomorrow for the prime minister.

Ties With Arab Nations

OW290826 Beijing XINHUA in English 0739 GMT 29 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing, June 29 (XINHUA)--Malta has scored new achievements in its efforts to establish special ties with the Arab world and to become a bridge spanning the Mediterranean.

In February this year, Algerian Prime Minister Mohamed Ben Ahmed Abdelghani visited Malta and reaffirmed Algeria's support for Malta's neutrality.

Tunisia adopts a similar position towards Malta. A communique issued after Tunisian Foreign Ministry Secretary General Mahmoud Mestiri's visit to Malta in April says that Tunisia "will recognise, respect and support Malta's status of neutrality without reservation." It also says, "Tunisia is ready to go into consultation with all the states of the region, without exception, to explore ways of strengthening Malta's neutrality."

On this basis, Malta concluded information cooperation agreements with Algeria and Tunisia in May and June respectively, establishing exchanges of television and radio programs. Algeria has promised to help build a ground satellite station in Malta.

In March, Malta re-established normal relations with Libya, severed since 1980 over an off-shore oil exploration dispute. Through the mediations of Austria, the two countries agreed to bring the case to the Hague international court. Malta-Libya mixed committees will be set up to enhance ties in the fields of industry, trade, agriculture, tourism, culture and information.

Malta has also strengthened ties with other Arab countries. In May, Saudi Arabia agreed to provide 4.5 million Maltese pounds for the construction of two seawater desalination plants and another 7 million pounds for the improvement of telecommunications and shipyards in Malta.

In March, Sudan established an embassy in Valletta. It pledged to cooperate with Malta in textile industry, shipbuilding and tourism.

Malta has strengthened cooperation with Iraq, Syria, Morocco, Oman and Egypt in civilian aviation, trade and medical service.

CSO: 4000/153

PARTY AND STATE

DEFENDANTS IN NORTHEAST RAIL INCIDENT SENTENCED

OW020814 Beijing XINHUA in English 0730 GMT 2 Jul 82

[Text] Beijing, July 2 (XINHUA)--Two people directly involved in a recent northeast China railway accident were sentenced June 30 to seven and four year prison terms by the Jinzhou Railway Transportation Intermediate Court, for dereliction of duty and violation of operational regulations, according to today's "People's Daily."

The defendants are Sun Youyi, 44, a group leader at the Xinglongdian station rail maintenance section of the Jinzhou Railway Administration, and Jing Gui'en, 20, a rail maintenance worker, the paper says.

In addition, Wu Fengqi and Zhang Yucai, director and party secretary of the Jinzhou Sub-Railway Administration, and related personnel were removed from their posts, according to a decision of the Ministry of Railways.

The railway accident occurred on May 28 when the No 193 passenger express from Jinan, capital of Shandong Province, en route to Jiamusi in Heilongjiang Province, was derailed at Xinglongdian station near Shenyang, resulting in three deaths and 147 injuries.

Moreover, the paper notes, damage was done to two locomotives, nine passenger cars and other railway facilities involving a total estimated loss of around 1.7 million yuan. Traffic on the line was cut for almost 20 hours, the paper says.

CSO: 4000/159

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SHANXI MILITARY DISTRICT HEAD REPORTS ON MILITIA WORK

HK291025 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Geng Shuming, commander of Shanxi Military District: "Do a Good Job in Putting Militia Work on a Sound Basis in Three Aspects, Centering on the Building of the Civilizations"]

[Text] It has been 20 years to the day since the publication of Comrade Mao Zedong's instruction that "militia work must be put on a sound basis in three aspects--organizationally, politically and militarily." Practice in the past 20 years proves that this important instruction of Comrade Mao Zedong was a scientific summary of experiences in building our country's militia over the past scores of years, is a great program for strengthening the building of militia in an all-round way and is still a correct guide for us to do a good job of militia work in the new historical period. In strengthening the building of militia in the three aspects as Comrade Mao Zedong instructed, there is great and far-reaching significance in sticking to the correct orientation of militia work, penetratingly applying Comrade Mao Zedong's idea on people's warfare in action, stepping up the modernization of national defense, consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship, guarding against subversion and aggression by hegemonists, big and small, achieving complete victory in future wars of anti-aggression, in building up a powerful socialist modernized country with high degree of material and spiritual civilizations and in safeguarding the sacred territory of the great motherland.

In order to continue the implement Comrade Mao Zedong's instruction on militia work in the three aspects, to stick to the orientation of building militia and to do a good job of militia work under the new situation, it is necessary to review the militia work in our province. Over the past 20 years the militia work in our province has made great headway in accordance with Comrade Mao Zedong's instruction of putting militia work on a sound basis organizationally, politically and militarily. All militia play an important role in building and safeguarding the motherland. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, an encouraging situation has appeared in the militia work in our province thanks to the efforts made in bringing out of chaos and sweeping

away bad influences left over by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Particularly in the past 2 years, remarkable progress has been made in this area of work. It must be pointed out that with the shift in the focus of the party's work, the provincial CCP committee and government have shown great concern and paid great attention to militia work. In the light of some important instructions made by the party Central Committee and the Central Military Commission on restructuring the militia organizationally, strengthening political work in the militia and reforming militia military training, the provincial CCP committee time and again listened to reports from the provincial military district in order to solve concrete problems, and transfered forces from upper and lower departments concerned as reinforcements. This has provided most favorable conditions for doing a good job in militia work. Since 1980, the CCP committee of the provincial military district first adopted a "decision on concentrating main efforts on the building of people's armed forces departments and militia work." After that, it called a meeting of cadres of people's armed forces of the provincial military district in Yanbei military sub-district and a meeting of the first political commissars at all levels of the province. The two important meetings helped leading comrades and the cadres of people's armed forces departments at all levels mentally solve the problem of continuing to put militia work on a sound basis in three aspects according to Comrade Mao Zedong's instruction. Soon afterwards, two on-the-spot meetings were held in Xinxian County and Jinzhong Prefecture in order to sum up the work of restructuring the militia organizationally, carrying out political work and military training. More than 10,000 cadres were transferred from the provincial military district to go into the grassroots units to grasp militia work around the central tasks. Under the leadership of the CCP committees and governments at all levels of the province, thanks to the concerted efforts of propaganda departments, press, radio and the mass organizations of workers, youth and women, an unprecedentedly excellent situation has appeared in three aspects of our province's militia work. Organizationally, 89 percent of our province's militia companies are now at a qualified level. Their members have become more highly trained and capable so that they are active both in production work and in their own activities. Political work has been progressively strengthened by using various educational forms, and noticeable successes have been achieved. A system of political study has been established as a regular practice in more than 70 percent of militia companies. In the building of the two civilizations, the militia in the provincial military district are playing an excellent role as shock brigades and vanguards. Good people and good deeds are emerging one after another. Military training is now carried out more in keeping with the party's economic policy and from the needs of actual combat. Ninety-one percent of primary militia have become qualified in this field. At present, there are 6,887 militia units which are advanced organizationally, politically and militarily, together with a total of more than 76,000 advanced militiamen. From the practice in the past 20 years, especially from the work in the last 2 years, we profoundly understand: in implementing Comrade Mao Zedong's instruction on putting militia work on a sound basis organizationally,

politically and militarily, it is necessary to aim at the whole situation and at development and to base the implementation on war preparedness with close coordination of party, government, army and civilians so as to arrange and grasp the work around the central tasks. Otherwise, it will be difficult to put the work on a sound basis in the three aspects.

Since we have achieved marked success in militia work, what else should we do and how shall we push the work forward in our province? Apart from developing achievements, spreading experience and making up inadequacies, I think it is necessary to put the work on a more sound basis in the three aspects by centering on the building of the two civilizations. Under the new situation, strengthening militia work in an all-round way is a necessity for the building of the two civilizations and for consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship. The militia is a mass armed forces organization which is not divorced from production, and is also a builder and protector of the two civilizations. Only by taking an active part in the building of the two civilizations, can the militia heighten their awareness politically and ideologically and produce more and more material wealth so that they will lay a solid ideological foundation for doing a good job of militia work in the three aspects and can provide a reliable material guarantee. On the other hand, once the militia organization has been turned into a revolutionary contingent with vigor and strength, they will be able to play their major role in the building of the two civilizations, step up the pace of socialist modernization and shoulder the sacred task of safeguarding our great socialist motherland. For this reason, how the militia plays its role in the building of the two civilizations is an important means for measuring the three aspects of militia work. Centering on the major tasks of building the two civilizations and putting militia work on a solid basis in three aspects are the basic method and major guarantee for strengthening the militia under the new situation. In view of this, I think that if we want to promote militia work in our province under the new situation, we must grasp well the following points in the work:

1. With aims, plans, plans and measures, we must guide, organize and teach the militia to fulfill rush jobs in industrial and agricultural production, take part in public good labor and social activities, render service to the masses, study culture in their spare time, and build civilized villages, factories and mining districts. At the same time, we must link all these activities with the restructuring of militia organization, political education and military training so as to make these activities an integral part of work, a regular practice and an institution.

2. In leading and organizing the militia to take part in the activities such as the building of the two civilizations, restructuring organization and military training, we must vigorously strengthen political and ideological education and give full play to the powerful role of political and ideological work. We must educate the militia to consciously uphold the four basic principles, to love the party, the motherland, socialism and people's armed forces, to faithfully implement the party's line, principles and policies

and to adhere to what the party Central Committee requires politically. The militia must have their feet firmly planted in their own work, study hard expertise, science and culture, acquit themselves splendidly in industrial and agricultural production and score good success so as to make themselves shock workers in building the four modernizations. They must earnestly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, consciously remold their world outlook, gradually form a communist world outlook, foster noble ideals and mold their communist morality and values. They must set an example in abiding by social order and laws, carry forward the revolutionary spirit of being selfless, being pleasant in helping others and sacrificing ones own interests for the sake of others, take the initiative in doing away with old customs and introducing new ones so as to try to become glorious pacesetters with their deeds in building socialist spiritual civilization. They must deepen their understanding of their own important strategic position and role in future wars of anti-aggression, foster the glorious idea of one's duty is being a militiaman, correctly handle the common interests of the state and the individual and develop the spirit of patriotism and revolutionary heroism. Further, the militia must seriously carry out their own glorious duties, take the lead in developing production, take an active part in training courses, dare to fight against criminal activities in society, and strive to be good models in maintaining public security in peacetime and brave warriors in safeguarding the motherland in wartime.

3. We must closely link the militia military training with the building of the two civilizations and correctly handle the relationship between production and weapons practice. It is necessary to arrange time in a scientific way for both production and military training. Especially by taking advantage of the time which does not affect production, we must improve methods and exert great efforts to teach the militia basic military science and guerrilla warfare, incessantly raise their military qualities and fighting capability so as to create necessary good conditions and bring into play their active role in building the two civilizations.

4. In the course of building the two civilizations, we must carry out the activity of developing advanced militia units with good deeds in the three aspects. The role in the building of the two civilizations will be regarded as an important factor for selecting an advanced militia unit. This activity must also be consistent with the production responsibility system of the units in which the militia are working. When mapping out plans and carrying out an activity, we must act in line with the local conditions and according to our capability, and at the same time we must take care of interests of the masses and minimize the burden on the people. On the problem of developing and appraising advanced militia units, we must measure their deeds in the building of the two civilizations. But efforts must be made in developing these units, this is our primary work. When making appraisals of advanced militia units at the end of a year, we must combine the work with the local activities of making public appraisal of model workers or peasants and issuing awards.

I believe that under the leadership and with the support of the provincial CCP committee and government, if we can keep abreast of the situation, strengthen leadership, improve work style and methods, arrange our work around the central tasks of building the two civilizations and earnestly do a good job of putting militia work on a sound basis organizationally, politically and militarily, we will surely be able to build the militia in our province into a revolutionary contingent with a high degree of civilization, strict organizational principles and discipline and fighting capability, and all militia will be able to play greater role, score greater successes and make greater contributions in building and safeguarding the two civilizations.

CSO: 4005/967

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

NINGXIA PLA ARTICLE MARKS MILITIA ANNIVERSARY

HK280548 Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by political department of Ningxia Military District: "Militia Work Must Be Put on a Sound Basis Organizationally, Politically and Militarily and Strengthened in an All-Round Way Along This Orientation--Marking the 20th Anniversary of Comrade Mao Zedong's Instruction on Putting Militia Work on a Sound Basis in Three Aspects"]

[Text] Twenty years ago, Comrade Mao Zedong issued his important instruction, "put militia work on a sound basis organizationally, politically and militarily," thus pointing out the orientation for militia work during the period of socialist construction.

I

Putting militia work on a sound basis in three aspects represents Comrade Mao Zedong's scientific summation of the historical experiences of China's militia work, the specific embodiment of Comrade Mao Zedong's thought on people's war, and the correct orientation for militia building. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, the Central Committee and the Central Military Commission have attached great importance to militia work and revived the system of armed forces committees in the party committees at and above county-level and the system by which the first secretaries of the provincial, prefectural (municipal) and county CCP committees are concurrently the first political commissars of the provincial military districts, the military subdistricts and the county armed forces departments. This has organizationally guaranteed the party's absolute leadership over the people's armed forces. In addition people's armed forces departments have been set up in communes, factories and mines, and full-time people's armed forces have been assigned to them. This has strengthened the building of the force of people's armed forces cadres. The "resolution" adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session fully affirmed the achievements in militia building and stressed that "the building of the militia must be further strengthened" in the international situation in which the danger of war still exists. Last year, in accordance with the development of the situation, the Central Committee decided to readjust the militia organizations. As a result of this readjustment, China's militia system has been more consolidated, political education has gradually become regular and systematic, and there has been a notable improvement in the quality of military training. Thus militia work has been put on a sound basis organizationally, politically and militarily.

II

We are carrying out our four modernizations drive amid an international environment that is far from tranquil. So long as the danger of war has not been eliminated, we must make preparations for opposing a war of aggression. Ours is a socialist country, and in order to use our limited capital in the four modernizations drive and maintain a small army in peacetime but send many soldiers to fight in wartime, we must do a good job in militia work, promote the construction of our rear services forces, and ensure that the soldiers live among the people. During the counterattack in self-defense against Vietnam, the border defense militia displayed the spirit of patriotism and revolutionary heroism, actively joined the army and the fighting, bravely cooperated with the PLA units in killing the enemy, and played a major role. This tells us that no matter how weapons and equipment develop, the truth that "the militia are the source of victory" is eternal. In opposing a future war of aggression, the militia will have to join the army and the fighting and support the frontline, hence, it is necessary to have still tighter organization and still stricter dicscipline The militia must have brave and stubborn combat spirit, must be able to use the weapons in its hands, and must master tactics and techniques in modern conditions. Only by doing really well in putting militia work on a sound basis in peacetime can we ensure that, the moment war breaks out, there will be an endless source of militiamen replenishing and expanding the army and cooperating with the field armies to strike at the aggressors.

Militia work is also very important from the angle of promoting the building of the four modernizations. The milia are a backbone force in production and construction. An important task in militia work is to mobilize the militia by means of political education and organizational work to actively take part in the socialist modernization drive. The militia are both builders and defenders of the four modernizations. Due to domestic factors and international influences, the class struggle will continue to exist within a certain scope for a long time in the new historical conditions and it might also sharpen in certain conditions. The militia shoulder the heavy task of defending the four modernizations drive and preserving order in society and production. At present we must pay attention to overcoming two tendencies. One is to hold that now that we are concentrating efforts on economic construction, grasping militia work will affect production; and the other is to stress the difficulties in carrying out militia work in the new situation, and thus to lose confidence and become apathetic toward it. So long as classes are not eliminated and imperialism and hegemonism still exist, militia work cannot be relaxed for a single day.

III

In the new situation in which the focus of party work has shifted to economic construction, it is essential to get a serious grasp of putting militia work on a sound basis in three aspects.

We must put militia work on a sound organizational basis. We must regard the Central Committee's instructions on readjusting the militia organizations as the guiding principle in militia work for a time to come, and ensure that militia work is made regular and systematic. A current important task in carrying out the organizational building of the militia is to consolidate the fruits of the readjustment of the militia organizations and get a good grasp of checking on, accepting and, where necessary, making up for missed lessons in this readjustment work.

We must put militia work on a sound political basis. We must carry forward the fine tradition of party control of the armed forces and strengthen party leadership over militia work. At present we must continue to organize the militia to study the "resolution" and Mao Zedong's works and regularly give the militia education in the party's line, principles and policies and in patriotism. In this way the militia should spontaneously uphold the four basic principles, boycott corruption by capitalist ideology, correctly handle the relations between the interests of the state, the collective and the individual, continually enhance their collectivist ideology and spirit of being masters of the house, actively take part in building the four modernizations and do a good job in all work of preparedness against war. We must also get a good grasp of launching the drive to build socialist spiritual civilization among the militia and holding monthly political lessons for the primary militia; all units must persistently carry out these activities. In addition, we must conduct regular political education for the militia in connection with army recruitment, organizational readjustment, training, and the major national festivals, to ensure the fulfillment of all their tasks. In the second half of this year we must conduct education for the militia in love for the great motherland, the CCP, the socialist system and the people's armed forces. All units must get a good grasp of this education by proceeding from reality, and produce good results.

We must put militia work on a sound military basis. We must continue to implement the general staff department's "views on pilot projects" for readjusting and reforming the militia's military training and strive to fulfill the periodic training tasks. We must choose suitable opportunities for emphasizing training for the militia in guerrilla warfare and the training of various types of specialized detachments. In accordance with the demands of the upper levels, we must do a good job in building militia training bases. This must be done in a planned way and in groups and batches. It is necessary to strengthen the management of the militia's weapons and equipment, seriously carry out a full survey and rectification in this respect, set up rules and regulations and put them on a sound basis, and strictly guard against the theft of weapons and other accidents.

In order to implement Comrade Mao Zedong's instruction on putting militia work on a sound basis in three aspects, we must further and persistently launch the drive to create progressive units in putting militia work on a sound basis in three aspects. We must integrate this drive with the activity to assess progressive units and individuals in building socialist spiritual civilization, and launch extensive and deepgoing activities to compare ourselves with, learn from, catch up with and help others.

Militia work is extensive mass work involving all sectors, trades and fronts, hence it must be carried out under the unified leadership of the party committees with the close cooperation of the trade unions, CYL, women's federations and other mass organizations. Those engaged in militia work at all levels must strengthen their sense of honor and responsibility in doing a good job of their work and, under the leadership of the Central Committee and the Central Military Commission, make contributions to putting militia work on a sound basis in three aspects.

CSO: 4005/967

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

AIR FORCE 1ST DIVISION COMMENDED FOR TRAINING

SK280248 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Text] The party committee of the air force 1st division of the PLO air force has led the troops to work hard and made noticeable progress in promoting the modernization of the armed forces. All the flying battalions and regiments under the division have come up to the level of Class-A (jia ji) air force units. Some 52 percent of the pilots have become all-weather pilots and have accomplished important training tasks on many occasions with flying colors. The leading organization of the air force had designated it an advanced unit in implementing air force war preparedness systems.

Air force 1st division is a banner of the people's liberation army. As early as November 1977 the division's advanced deeds of arduous struggle were commended by the Central Military Commission. In recent years the party committee of the air force 1st division, with its staff reduced and replaced by some new members, has set strict demands on itself. It urges itself to march in the van in studies, work with all its might, not seek special privileges in livelihood and set the pace in resisting economic malpractices. Ten members of the party committee at the division level spend an average of 150 days annually with the troops. The year they spent the most time with the troops was an average 280 days. They make it a point of touring the troops and helping solve problems in a down-to-earth manner. A certain flying regiment lacked experience in conducting training on operating new aircraft. Division commander (Yue Guangrong) took personal charge in organizing the flight. To explore experience in the training on operating the new aircraft, he was the first one to mount the aircraft and make a solo flight. Under his leadership, the regiment successfully accomplished the training on operating the new aircraft ahead of schedule with flying colors. With the development of the modernization of the armed forces, members of the air force 1st division party committee have been paying attention to the new situation in the buildup of armed forces and to studying new problems. They "start up the machinery" and ceaselessly institute reforms and blaze new trials. To help a certain night flight battalion improve night-flight combat ability, the division party committee came up with a new, bold training plan based on research and studies. The party committee helped the battalion draw up a trial-flight outline and helped in successfully experimenting with the new training plan at selected points, opening up new horizons in night combat for the battalion.

CSO: 4005/967

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SICHUAN PLA MEETING ON CARE OF RETIRED CADRES

HK130338 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 12 Jun 82

[Text] In order to meet the needs of streamlining and reorganizing the PLA units and the gradual reduction in the average age of the cadres, several thousand old cadres of Sichuan military district have retired to the third line in recent years. How to look after the retired cadres in their daily life and continue to bring their role into play are becoming more and more outstanding and important issues.

For this reason, the military district held a conference on management of retired cadres from 7 to 11 June. During the meeting the experiences of Yaan military subdistrict in management of retired cadres were introduced. The subdistrict has no hostel for retired cadres, but the party committees attach importance to their work, the various departments coordinate their own efforts, and a good job is done in the dispersed management of retired cadres. The experiences of Xiushan County People's Armed Forces department were also introduced. The department makes active use of the role of retired cadres, who pass on their experience, [word indistinct] help and set an example. In addition the fine deeds of four retired cadres were introduced. They have retired without divorcing themselves from the great cause of revolution, actively made contributions to the building of the PLA units and of spiritual civilization, and enthusiastically cultivated the younger generation. The meeting also heard of the deeds of four cadre hostel workers who wholeheartedly serve retired cadres.

A responsible comrade of the political department of the military district pointed out when delivering a summation: the question of whether the management of retired cadres can be done well has a direct effect on stabilizing the thinking of the serving cadres and stimulating the modernization of the army. The party committees at all levels must attach importance to this work, strengthen leadership work, do a good job in resettling the retired cadres, and set up and perfect political study systems. In accordance with the policy provisions, they must strive to create conditions in supply

of materials for daily life, medical care and so on, for the old cadres to spend their last years in happiness. At the same time the old cadres should continue to carry forward the fine traditions of the party and army, maintain revolutionary integrity, support the work of the serving cadres, and enthusiastically pass on their experience, give help and set an example to the younger cadres, cultivating the young ones in revolutionary tradition. They should thus make new contributions to building socialist material and spiritual civilization.

Hu Yongchang, political commissar of the military district, spoke at the meeting. (Qin Zengjui), director of the political department, other responsible comrades, and leading comrades of the military subdistricts and some people's armed forces departments attended.

CSO: 4005/967

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA DRAMA TROUPE VISITS FAKASHAN MOUNTAINS

HK281251 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 21 May 82 p 2

[Article by Gao Yang [7559 2254] of the drama troupe of the PLA general department: "One Day at the Fakashan Mountains"]

[Text] The Fakashan Mountains, the heroic mountains upon which the people of the whole country focus their attention, has attracted us like a magnet. In the middle of March, our 29-member theatrical performing troupe ascended Fakashan Mountains in Guangxi to give special performances to the armymen stationed there as an expression of our appreciation.

We put on performances for the armymen assigned to guard the tunnel. At this time, how we wished we could sing a few more songs and perform a few more acts for them! We put on five performances that day. Making light of the fatigue and not heeding the possibility of having a hoarse throat, all of us only had one thought in mind, that was, to sing more songs and put on more performances for the armymen. The first performance had just started when an observation post reported that the Vietnamese positions opposite were being reinforced with four-truck loads of troops and four guns. Now that the enemy was ready to fight, should we go on with our performances? The comrades replied in unison: go on. We shall never be frightened by the enemy's guns! Thereupon, all of us accomplished the task of performing calmly. The armymen were greatly inspired. Some said: "I have not seen an opera since my childhood. I never would have imagined that I would see an opera after such a long time while being stationed in the Fakashan Mountains. I am very pleased." Some others said: "We see one another in the daytime and watch the stars at night. Your coming to the frontline to put on performances for the troops has taught us a great deal." We profoundly realized that the "talks at the Yanan forum on literature and art" has always been our guide in literary and art work and that serving the armymen was the lifelong task of the literary and art workers of our troops.

When we left, the armymen stood in front of the tunnel to see us off. Shaking our hands, the armymen said excitedly: "The CCP Central Committee and the people of the motherland may rest assured that we shall fight to the death in defense of our position!" We presented the armymen in the Fakashan Mountains with a "painting of pine tree and plum blossoms," a traditional

Chinese painting of our own creation, which bore the signatures of all the members of our theatrical troupe; and the armymen presented us with two pine seedlings wrapped with a piece of red paper, saying: "Please take these two pine trees of the Fakashan Mountains to Beijing and let them take root in the capital."

Cherishing the feelings of being reluctant to part, we bade farewell to the Fakashan Mountains. Driving along a zigzag mountain road, our truck passed through a cemetery for revolutionary martyrs. A huge monument towered aloft the mountain slope and row after row of the martyrs' tombs were permeated with a solemn silence, calling forth in us a feeling of profound respect. We took off our army caps in silence.... At this moment, the prologue to our suite of operas, "a paean of our border area," rang in our ears:

When you open up a map of the great motherland,
You will see the solemn boundary
Has been traced with a broad red line.
The reason that this line is so magnificently beautiful
Is because the hot blood of a great many heroes
Has been selflessly shed to form it.
This red line, which is linked with chests and arms
Is safeguarding the nursery of our four modernizations.

CSO: 4005/967

BRIEFS

MILITARY BUDGET UP--Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the military commission of the CCP Central Committee, told Li Shuiqing, commander of the PLA 2d Artillery Corps, Zhang Tingfa, commander of the PLA Air Force, and other comrades: this year's military budget has increased by about 1 billion yuan. Considering our country's present financial situation, this is, indeed, not easy. However, this money will be used for the restructuring of the military system and for the retirement of military cadres, which are the first steps in modernizing the PLA and are even more important than modernizing weapons. [Text] [OW300616 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 28 Jun 82]

DENG XIAOPING CRITICIZED--Many leaders of the Shenyang PLA units are very unhappy about certain measures introduced by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in restructuring state organs. At a recent meeting of cadres above the regimental level, the commander of the Shenyang PLA units said: I do not agree with the simplistic and crude way of doing things used by the central policy makers, such as confining Hua Guofeng to hospital and forcing Marshal Ye to retire. How can such a way convince people? He also pointed out: a split in the Central Committee will not make much difference, as long as our military region remain intact to withstand the winds and storms. [Text] [OW290542 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 26 Jun 82]

PLA MEETING--A Shaanxi military district meeting of representatives of progressive PLA and militia units and individuals in building socialist spiritual civilization concluded on 26 June. (Li Chong), deputy political commissar of the military district, delivered a report on continually pushing the drive to build socialist spiritual civilization in the PLA units and militia. (Tang Qing), director of the political department of the military district, read out an order on commending progressive units and individuals. (Zhang Rushan), deputy political commissar of the Lanzhou PLA units; Yu Mingtao, secretary of the Shaanxi Provincial CCP Committee and governor; and Cai Changyuan, second political commissar of Shaanxi military district, presented citations to the progressive units and individuals. The 570 representatives adopted a letter of proposal on launching a sustained drive

to build socialist spiritual civilization. (Zhang Rushan) and Yu Mingtao spoke at the closing ceremony. "They urged the commanders, fighters and militiamen to implement the spiritual civilization drive in production, training, duties, scientific research and so on, and raise the building of the two civilizations to a new level." Cai Changyuan delivered the closing speech. [HK280224 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 0500 GMT 27 Jun 82]

URUMQI MILITARY GRADUATION--The Urumqi Army School held the graduation ceremony of its second batch of graduates on 26 June. It also staged a parade and march-past. Wang Enmao, first secretary of the regional CCP committee and first political commissar of the Urumqi PLA units, and other leading comrades concerned of the units attended the event. These graduates had entered the school in September 1979. Comrade Wang Enmao made a speech. "He urged the graduates to inherit and carry forward the PLA's fine traditions at their new combat posts, strengthen the unity of nationalities and army-people and army-government unity, strive to make a success of their work, and make contributions to defending and building the border region and to the two transformations of the PLA." [HK300253 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 29 Jun 82]

CSO: 4005/967

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'NANFANG RIBAO' DISCUSSES INDISCRIMINATE TEMPLE BUILDING

HK071440 Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jun 82 p 2

["NANFANG Forum" column article by Wu Ming [0124 6900]: "The Indiscriminate Building of Temples in Rural Areas Should Be Curbed"]

[Text] Several days ago, I was on a business trip to other places and discovered smoke curling up from some newly built temples in rural communes and production brigades where men and women, young and old, come to worship. An old comrade who traveled with me observed that this practice was far more common than in the 1950's. As far as I know, the indiscriminate building of temples has increased the economic load of the masses and encouraged feudal superstitious activities in the rural areas. Many commune members strongly object to this. However, some cadres in these localities are indifferent to this phenomenon and say, "The state has built large temples and so the peasants have built small ones. Why should we bother about this?" It seems quite necessary to discuss the question of whether or not we should interfere in the indiscriminate building of temples in the rural areas.

What does "the state building large temples" actually mean? It seems that in the past few years, some famous temples which exert a great influence and are valuable cultural relics have been repaired in some localities. These famous temples are not only places of religious activities, but have always been places of historic interest and scenic beauty which the masses like to visit very much. They are being repaired in implementation of the party's religious policy by providing necessary places for normal religious activities and to preserve historical relics so that there may be more beautiful places to visit. However, we should make clear that when the state approves repairing some famous temples, it does not mean that the state encourages building temples and much less does it mean that the resources and funds of the state or collectives can be used to build temples.

Respecting and protecting the freedom of religious belief is the party's basic policy on religion. However, we oppose the indiscriminate building of temples. At present, many localities have engaged in large-scale construction of temples, wasting a lot of manpower, materials and funds. This is

very harmful. A commune in Haifeng County, for example, has recently built over 50 new temples. Some villages have built temples for the earth god, temples for Erlang, temples for the god of the southern heaven, temples for Guangong, temples for the holy mother and so on. The building of a new temple costs 2,000 to 3,000 yuan.

After a temple is built, the so-called celebration activities of giving theatrical performances again need thousands of yuan. The money is subscribed from the villagers. The commune members have to bear expenses for building the temple and for giving the performances. Besides, they also have to provide goods and lodgings for their relatives who come to see the performances. Consequently, some commune members have to sell rice and even borrow money for such purposes and they pour out endless grievances. How can we not interfere in these activities?

What is noteworthy is that after the temples are indiscriminately built in some localities, some wizzards and witches begin to make trouble. In the names of the gods, they blackmail those who do not subscribe money by putting up notices stating that "such and such persons will have no son." So the masses dare not disobey them. Under the pretext of restoring temples, some wizzards, witches and lawless elements wantonly occupy schools, medical centers and headquarters of production brigades and production teams and put up notices everywhere, spreading fallacies to deceive people. This has seriously impaired normal social order and production. What they are doing has greatly exceeded the range of religious activities. Their activities should be resolutely banned and offenders who have seriously violated the criminal law should be punished according to the law.

Implementing the religious policy and protecting the freedom of religious belief should never be interpreted as slackening the propaganda of atheism. We are dutybound to educate the peasants with Marxism and to strengthen the building of a spiritual civilization in the rural areas so that the peasants may shake off ignorance and superstition. We should properly work to curb the indiscriminate building of temples in the rural areas. It is wrong to remain indifferent and not to interfere.

CSO: 4000/151

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'SHAANXI RIBAO' ON REFORMING GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE

HK010552 Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jun 82 p 2

["Ideological Chat" column by Cao Dunhui [2347 2415 3549]: "It's No Tall Story--One Plus One Equals Less Than Two"]

[Text] In face of a situation in which government organizations are overstaffed and work with very low efficiency, people have one question: Why is it that, sometimes, one single department is more efficient than several departments working together on the same task? Why is it that, sometimes, four people are unable to complete a task usually done by two? Is it true that the number of people involved is inversely proportional to strength and that one plus one equals less than two? According to the fundamental laws of arithmetic, one plus one is never less than two. However, what we are talking about is not simple addition of whole numbers and positive numbers, but that in some of our organizations, when the actual number of workers exceeds the designated number, they are unable to give play to their normal roles or play the role of adding up all the "ones." It is based on this point that we say "one plus one equals less than two," and it is no tall story.

In view of the organizations and personnel, due to the fact that the number of some of our organizations and their personnel exceeds certain limits, the strength of each individual worker is unable to be formed into a compound force within rational limits, and in the course of integration, there is "friction" between all the "ones," which suppresses and needlessly nullifies their strength. For example, since the problem of overstaffing exists and responsibilities have not been made explicit, many departments are dependent on one another and shift responsibilities onto each other. People have noticed that our central decisionmaking organs are also overstaffed with a whole "group" or a "long list" of deputy positions. As a result, decisions are always delayed and much time is wasted. Because there are more personnel than work, a small number of idle workers will spend time at work chatting and even concentrate their energy on promoting "relations." Sometimes, they even envy and vilify those who work conscientiously. For this reason, many leading workers must take time to mediate contradictions between workers, thus hindering their normal work progress. All these will weaken the strengthen of all management personnel, making the competent "ones" incompetent. The sum of adding two incompetent "ones" will definitely be less than two. We can hardly say that all our personnel are competent "ones" who can competently perform management tasks due to a flaw in our cadre system and

judging our cadres in terms of their moral integrity, knowledge, ability and academic qualifications. Although some people are competent "ones" in terms of their moral integrity, knowledge, ability and academic qualifications, they are old and their physical conditions do not allow them to work in the frontline. Thus, it is not strange at all to get a sum of less than two by adding two incompetent "ones." In addition, irrational establishment of organs and personnel distribution will cause qualitative changes, resulting in a situation in which one plus one equals less than two.

We must admit that one plus one equals less than two and discover the reasons. In my opinion, we should thoroughly understand and wholeheartedly support the CCP Central Committee's great decision on reforming the government structure and be determined to do a good job of this. We must not only make one plus one "equal two" but also make it play a role that is far greater than two in order to ensure a prosperous and victorious development of our cause.

CSO: 4005/968

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XIZANG DEVELOPS WITH HELP OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

OW070514 Beijing XINHUA in English 0220 GMT 7 Jun 82

[Text] Lhasa, June 7 (XINHUA)--Tibet is the only area among 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of the country that provides free medical treatment and free film-showings to all peasants and herdsmen and free school education for all Tibetan children.

These measures were taken by the central government to help build a united, prosperous and well-cultured Tibet, the region's financial department said. All the expenditures in the programs are covered by subsidies from the central government.

Statistics show that in the past two years, the region has received more than 1.04 billion yuan in subsidies from the central government or 98 percent of the region's budget. The subsidies will increase 10 percent annually for the next few years.

Since the introduction in 1980 of the new economic policies in Tibet, including the exemption of agricultural and animal husbandry taxes and industrial and commercial taxes on collective and individual enterprises, more than one-third of the financial subsidies from the central government have gone to improving people's living standards or to lessening the burden of the peasants and herdsmen. The peasants and herdsmen have benefited 229 yuan each.

Yin Fatang, Tibet's top communist party leader once said, "The economic foundation in Tibet is weak, and its transport and communication facilities and other conditions are poor. Nothing can be done without the support of the central government and other parts of the country."

More than 95 percent of the commodities now on sale in the Tibet Autonomous Region are transported from inland provinces and municipalities.

Most of the cereals, edible oil and meat supplied to urban inhabitants in the region are carried in from thousands of miles away, according to the region's food department. All these commodities are sold at a discount.

A Tibetan who returned from abroad in June 1980 to settle in Tibet told XINHUA recently that despite economic difficulties during the present national economic readjustment, the state still offers large amounts of financial subsidies to Tibet. "Such great support to help develop the economy of national minorities is rarely seen in any other country of the world," he said.

CSO: 4000/151

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XIZANG MONASTERY PRESERVES LAMAIST ART HERITAGE

OW141226 Beijing XINHUA in English 1213 GMT 14 Jun 82

[Text] Xining, June 14 (XINHUA)--China's famous Taer Monastery is again training young Tibetans in time-honored arts and crafts.

Taer Monastery, built in 1577, is China's sacred place of Lamaism. The monastery is known for its scroll-painting, raised embroidery of Buddhist stories as well as the consummate skills in the moulding of figures with colored butt (ghee). Through years, the monastery has produced more than 20,000 painting and embroidery works of art.

During the 10 years of turmoil (1966-1976) in China, the artists of the monastery were forced to leave their trades. After the re-opening of the monastery in 1979, the artists resumed their creative activities and begun again to train apprentices.

Last year, departments in Qinghai Province sent 100 young Tibetans to the monastery to learn the traditional arts as well as woodcutting.

A recent exhibition on butter moulding in the monastery displayed the works of the young Tibetans and their masters. One work, "Princess Wencheng's Entry Into Tibet," which depicts the Tang Dynasty (618-907) royal woman of Han nationality married to a Tibetan king, won the acclaim of visitors including minority people from Tibet, Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia autonomous regions and Gansu Province. Other butter moulding works adapted from Chinese fairy tales and several pieces of embroidery by the novices also attracted the attention of vistors to the exhibition.

The 40 young Tibetans involved in woodcutting have produced 400 sets of classics on traditional Tibetan medicine and Buddhist history, which were given to institutes and colleges.

The monastery plans to establish a college on traditional Tibetan medicine and an institute for study of Tibetan astronomical calendar.

CSO: 4000/151

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ZANG KEJIA SURVEYS 60 YEARS OF POETRY

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Feb 82 p 3

[Article by Zang Kejia [5258 1344 1367]: "Looking Back on 60 Years of New Poetry--Preface to 'A History of Contemporary Chinese Poetry'"]

[Text] The history of new Chinese poetry dates back over 60 years if we trace its origin to the May 4 Movement. There has been a crying need for a history of the new poetry to sum up the experience. But that is an arduous task which requires personal resolve and intellectual insight.

The very first problem is to gather together the material. The new poetic creations over all these years are so voluminous that it is extremely difficult to review them all. To work out a comprehensive outline and seek out clues leading to its chronological development, it is necessary to go over and study carefully the collections of poems, the journals of poetry, the commentaries on poetry, and the material on the lives and experience of the poets of the past 60 years. In addition to the material on poetry proper, one has to have a good knowledge of the general background of the times and the development of literature since the May 4 new literary revolution. Failing that, it would be difficult to assess accurately the role, contribution and impact of poetry in each historical period.

Born of revolution, the new poetry grew up and matured in combat. The new poems of the May 4 period, a new force in the May 4 Movement, not only swept away the decadent substance of the classical poetry but also replaced its age-old format with a brand new form of vernacular poetry as it battled imperialism and feudalism and fought for freedom and democracy.

While the innovative spirit of the new poetry is attributable to the demand of the times and the need for the masses, its creations were due to two factors: The continuation and development of the best of two millennia of realism and romanticism on the one hand, and the embracing of nourishing inspirations from foreign poetry on the other. As these hastened the blooming of the new poetry during the May 4 period, Guo Moruo's "Nusheng" ("Goddess") imparted to it a revolutionary tradition.

Although it is hard to demarcate precisely the different stages of the history of the new poetry (1919-79), we may divide it roughly into these periods: the May 4 period, the 1930's, the period of the war against Japan (its initial and final stages; the different conditions in Yenan, in the liberated areas and in the White areas at the final stage of the war), the first 17 years after the liberation, the 10 years of disaster under the "gang of four," and the 3 years after the downfall of the "gang of four."

In spite of the political conditions and the trend of the times which distinguish one period from another, on the whole, the new poetry, fighting side by side with its fraternal kindred, including fiction, drama, prose and commentaries, has played a role in sounding the bugle call for battle.

Battling under the leadership and inspiration of communism and the Communist Party, the new poetry and all other literary creations have served for several decades as a vehicle to drum up the morale of the people. Its major theme during the May 4 period was to oppose imperialism and feudalism. Led by the Alliance of the Leftist Writers in 1930's, the new poetry fought so resolutely against the growth of decadent bourgeois sentimentalism and reactionary nationalism in poetic creations in its all-out struggle against imperialism (especially Japanese imperialsim) and dictatorship that its efforts were widely acclaimed. During the early years of the war against Japan, the poets, with their war songs, fought gallantly for the survival of the nation. To oppose the vicious reactionary regime of Chiang Kai-shek during the latter part of the war against Japan, the poets turned their burning wrath into poetic satire to do battle at the warfront.

After the liberation of the whole country, the poets were instrumental in enhancing the morale of the masses with their spirited and energetic songs praising the new socialist era and the new society. The wrath of the poets repressed during the 10 years of disaster, finally, on "5 April," erupted all at once like a volcano to brighten the history of the new poetry. The poetry arena after the downfall of the "gang of four" was all abloom with joyful songs by senior and middle-aged poets and outburst of young poetic talents, a scene of promise in full flourish.

The above is only a bird's eye view of the development of the new poetry, but it might lead to a meaningful analysis and assessment of the historical data. Although one could not write a history of the new poetry without historical data, historical insight is also needed to arrive at a scientific evaluation of every poet and his works, in terms of the historical setting of his times. Any evaluation, favorable or unfavorable, could not lead to a scientific conclusion unless it is measured against the background of the times.

Instead of a heap of historical data or a simple narration of the movement of poetry, a history of the new poetry should be a programmatic presentation of the movement as borne out by specific poetic creations. A historian should remain aloof and view the movement in its entirety and proceed scientifically to arrive at a fair evaluation of the movement and

development of the poetry, including its different schools and the individual poets and their works. There is no room for bias or favoritism based on specific personal relations because that would neither meet the approval of the masses nor earn lasting esteem.

How could we evaluate a poet? I have discussed this on many occasions with my friends and comrades who are interested in putting together a history of contemporary literature, and have explained to them my way of tackling the problem.

I believe we should pay close attention to the ideological commitment of the works of a poet and ascertain whether his poetic creations, at the time he published them, were progressive or reactionary, healthy or decadent, and whether their social impact was positive or negative. This is a vital line of demarcation to distinguish right from wrong.

Secondly, we should look for a poet's distinct way of artistic presentation and the crystallization of his own style.

As a poet expresses his ideologicial commitment and feelings through his poetic creations, his works can not gain top ranking if they are weak in artistic presentation even though they abound with ideological conviction and healthy feelings. On the other hand, a poet with consummate artistic skill should be accorded due recognition even if his works do embody pronounced ideological convicitions and the spirit of the times. Of course a first-class poet should have a combination of the two.

Thirdly, if the works of a poet which do not deserve a top ranking in artistic skill by today's standard and lack ideological strength, at the time of their publication are well received by the reading public for their unique substance and presentation and command considerable influence, they could be said to have earned a place in history and ought to be assessed historically rather than by today's criterion.

Finally, apart from quality, the question of quantity should be considered too. Given equal quality, the more poems a poet writes, the greater will be his contribution, because a greater quantity of poems stretches over a longer time span and represents a wider and more far-reaching impact. In recent years, I have read seven or eight versions of the history of modern literature. Although the comrades who had labored to compose them have achieved gratifying results in specific areas, they have left a lot to be desired. Some did not cover enough historical data, some lacked discipline in using the data, some simply rehashed what had been done, while others assessed unfairly some writers and poets. Of course we must not be too demanding, but we should look for gradual improvement in order to achieve accuracy.

Over 30 years ago when Comrade Chu Kuan [4376 1401] planned to write a history of modern Chinese poetry, he was so gracious as to seek my comments. But due to various reasons, the project was put off for many years. Now, having completed a book of several hundred thousand characters, he asked

me to write something on its behalf. To greet the publication of this monumental work, I have written an article of about 2,000 characters on my own observations which I should like to present to my friends and the reading public for comments.

5360
CSO: 4005/671

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'YANGCHENG WANBAO' URGES SOLVING EDUCATION PROBLEMS

HK170831 Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 16 Jun 82 p 1

[Report: "Solve the Problems, Try Hard To Catch Up--Part II of Impressions While Following the People's Deputies in Their Inspection of Higher Education"]

[Text] The many problems in Guangdong higher education cannot be solved all at once. However, many of the problems were originally not hard to solve; what has happened is that they have still not been solved even now on account of mutual haggling or procrastination. No wonder then that the people's deputies had a lot to say and made a lot of complaints.

An outstanding example of such problems is the allocation of gas stoves (or LPG stoves) to old teachers. Guangdong has more than 1,300 old teachers at and above the level of deputy professor in its institutes of higher education. In 1978 it was proposed to issue gas stoves to them. At the beginning of 1981, a provincial executive conference issued a decision on completely solving this problem within 1 year. The old teachers rejoiced when this news was published in the press, but so far only 270 gas stoves have been delivered, and large numbers of old teachers are still rushing about looking for firewood. One old teacher said, Is there no gas supply? Some ordinary administration personnel have gas stoves, how did they solve their problem?

There are also strong reactions when the question of market supplies in the cultural districts is raised. At the beginning of 1981, the teachers and students of Zhongshan University reported to Comrade Ren Zhongyi that it was difficult for them to buy vegetables, and they demanded that the government improve market supplies in the cultural districts. Comrade Ren Zhongyi attached great importance to this view and immediately passed it on to municipal CCP committee secretary Liang Lingguang. Comrade Liang Lingguang then passed it on to the departments concerned for action. Three days later, the departments concerned sent someone to Zhongshan University, and the first thing he said was: "Why did you complain about us to the provincial party committee secretary?" He went on: "You intellectuals set too high demands!" Up to now, the market supply situation there is just as it always was.

Market supplies are even worse at Wushan and Shipai. The provincial people's deputies and CPPCC members have put forward many views on this matter. The provincial and municipal leaders have also gone to the spot many times to investigate the situation, but the problem has dragged on for more than [figure indistinct] years with no solution. The intellectuals living there have to spend 3 or 4 hours a day queueing for vegetables and meat. There is not much list-price vegetables and meat, and the quality is poor, so they are forced to turn to the rural trade markets, where they have to pay high prices.

The deputies said, if we look at higher education in Guangdong by making comparisons behind closed doors, it seems that there is some progress each year, but the moment we open our eyes wider, we find that that is not the case at all. The fact that the problems put forward by the upper levels have not been solved for year after year naturally has an adverse effect on the education cause. Provincial people's congress Standing Committee vice chairman Ou Mingjue pointed out: "The institutes of higher education are mothers for cultivating high-grade talent, and they should be given importance and concern by all sectors of society. However, there are still many problems in the institutes due to the sabotage done by the 10 years of turmoil, and the fact that 'leftist' interference is still playing a role. Of course, some of the problems cannot be solved all at once, but it is completely possible to solve some, so long as the effort is made." She pledged to exercise her people's deputy powers well, fully reflect the views of the masses, and supervise and help the government in solving a number of problems that can be solved, so that Guangdong's higher education can try hard to catch up.

CSO: 4005/968

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PROBLEMS IN EDUCATION DISCUSSED

HK170649 Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 15 Jun 82 p 1

[Report: "Disquieting Figures--Part I of Impressions While Following the People's Deputies in Their Inspection of Higher Education"]

[Text] People say that higher education in Guangdong is backward, but they are not too clear about the real situation. In recent days we have profoundly realized the gravity of the situation while following the provincial people's deputies in their inspection of a number of institutes of higher education. We here present a few impressions for study by concerned readers.

From the angle of the number of students: in 1950 national statistics showed that there were 2.5 university students per 10,000 people. At that time the figure in Guangdong was 2.8, higher than the national average and ranking 5th in the nation. This figure has gradually declined since then. By 1980, there were 11.8 university students per 10,000 people nationwide, but in Guangdong the figure was only 7.6, which was 4.2 less than the national average. In 1981 the national average figure was 13, but in Guangdong it was 8.2, which was 4.8 below the national average, and the province ranked 22d among the 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. According to estimates of responsible persons of departments concerned, it is likely that this decline will continue.

From the angle of the number of engineers and technicians per 100 industry and communications staff and workers: in 1978, the national figure for this was 2.81, but in Guangdong the figure was only 1.99, which was 0.82 below the national average. In 1980 the national average was 2.8 (in industry) and in Guangdong the figure was 1.76 (in industry and communications), 1.04 below the national average. The province ranked 26th in this respect among the 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. The speed of the decline and the fall in ranking are cause for worry.

From the angle of the proportion of postgraduates to faculty students in the universities; the proportion of postgraduate students to faculty students in colleges and universities subordinate to Guangdong Province is only 1 percent, the national figure.

There are complex causes for the ever-deteriorating situation in Guangdong's culture and education compared with its progressive position in the past. The 10-year catastrophe, "leftist" interference, little investment in brains, failure to properly implement the policies on intellectuals and so on have all hampered the development of higher education in Guangdong. Serious lack of education funds facilities represent another important reason for the backwardness in higher education. According to statistics, colleges and universities subordinate to the province are short of 420,000 square meters of premises. Since this is the case, there is no way of increasing student enrollment. Moreover, there is a serious shortage of equipment for scientific experiment. The total amount of instruments, equipment and fixed assets in all the province's colleges and universities is less than that of Beijing University, so it is said. Since there is a lack of equipment, many experimental projects cannot be carried out. According to statistics of last September, old schools and specialities met only about 50 percent of demand, while new schools and new specialities met only about 30 percent of demand. In some specialities, it would be possible to enroll doctorate and master postgraduates, based on the qualifications of the teachers available, but it is not possible to enroll them because of the shortage of equipment.

CSO: 4005/968

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

QING OFFICIAL, ARTIST ON UPBRINGING OF CHILDREN

HK140617 Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 29 May 92 p 3

["Words of a Hundred Schools" column by Deng Sheng [1795 3932]: "Zheng Banqiao Educates His Children"]

[Text] Zheng Banqiao was not only a famous calligrapher, artist and poet, but was also very good at educating his children.

When Zheng Banqiao was an official in Wei County, his youngest son was just 6 years old. Banqiao copied out four poems in a letter to his family for his son to recite. The words were as follows: "We sell new silk in the second month of the year and grind new grain in the fifth month; although a boil was healed, a piece of flesh has been gouged from the heart. We do the ploughing and weeding at high noon and our sweat keeps dripping down onto the soil; who realizes how much hardship has gone into each grain of rice on the plate? I went to town yesterday and when I returned home, my scarf was set with tears; those who wear beautifully woven silk materials know nothing about the sericulturists. Nine times nine is eighty-one; those who suffer most are the poor. They are just relaxing in bed with their feet up, they are attacked by mosquitoes and fleas." He said: "Thus lends itself readily to recitation by children. Have my son recite and sing it." ("Third Letter to Younger Brother Mo From Wei County") The purpose was to teach his child to appreciate, from an early age, the hardships of laboring people, the arduousness of manual work and the amount of work that goes into clothing and food.

In his "Fourth Letter to Younger Brother Mo From Fan County in Mid-Summer," Zheng Banqiao said that if, when a person picks up a book, he thinks merely about becoming a successful candidate in provincial or imperial examinations or an official, or how to rake in money, build a big house, and buy up more agricultural land, his thinking is wrong from the outset. He will get worse as he goes along and the result will not be good." He repeatedly stressed that "the best people in the world are the peasants and, of the four types of people, scholars are the worst." He said: "Everyone in this world would starve to death if there were no peasants."

Zheng Banqiao asked that children and parents respect teachers. He also pointed out that parents should not, in front of their children, "snigger at their teacher's faults or point out his mistakes, for the teacher will be ill at ease and thus be unable to devote his utmost to his teaching. Children will have contempt for the teacher and will not devote their efforts to their studies. This is the worst part of it all." ("Third Letter to Younger Brother Mo From Wei County")

Banqiao was also of the opinion that, when educating our own children, we as parents should have the moral character of "letting our love for our children spread to other people's children. He repeatedly urged members of his family saying that: "It is only natural that we should love our children. However, we should refrain from going overboard with our love. Although children are playful, we must teach them to be loyal and to have feelings, and must not be harsh towards them.... We must not spoil them on the grounds that they are children." As for other people's children, "we would have an ordinary love for them and not allow our children to bully them. We should share all our food with them, so that we can all be happy." ("Second Letter to Younger Brother Mo From Wei County in Mid-Summer") He also said: "We should occasionally share our paper and brushes with others so as to help them in their studies."

Banqiao said to his family: "Although I am just a minor official, our children are sons of the nobility," and we should therefore strengthen our education so that they may know that "nobility breeds stupidity, while poverty breeds determination and far-sightedness." ("Third Letter to Younger Brother Mo From Wei County"]

Even today, there is still something to be learned from Zheng Banqiao's method of teaching his children.

CSO: 4005/968

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'NINGXIA RIBAO' ON SPIRIT OF BEING MASTERS

HK210945 Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 27 May 82 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Bring Into Play the Spirit of Being Masters of the House"]

[Text] Open up new prospects for the four modernizations requires a large number of vanguards with a high spirit of being masters of the house. Communist party member Jian Yulin is such a vanguard.

Jian Yulin is an ordinary staff member of a basic level party committee institution. He has not created astonishing miracles. But in his daily work and life, he has displayed the excellent moral character of a communist party member who has the whole situation in mind, who works selflessly for the interests of others, who is honest in performing his official duties, who can remain uncontaminated amidst all kinds of temptations, who works hard and is not upset by criticism and who can quietly immerse himself in hard work. He is permeated with the touching spirit of being a master of the house. We can absorb rich spiritual nourishment from his ordinary deeds.

Perhaps some people question whether there are persons so utterly selfless as Jian Yulin. The answer is yes. In the past, during the revolutionary war years and in the long period after the founding of the People's Republic of China, there were innumerable such persons. Now, they continue to emerge in various places in our country, even though our country suffered the tribulation of 10 years of internal disorder. Following the constant change for the better of the party style and the mood of society, more such persons will emerge in large numbers in the future. The Chinese Communist Party is a political party whose purpose is to work wholeheartedly for the interests of the people. In a country under the leadership of such a party, healthy trends, like a clear sky, always occupy a dominant position. Unhealthy trends are only fleeting clouds that will never become the macroclimate. Communist party members must have high ideals and a firm faith in what they do. Jian Yulin is such a communist party member. He conscientiously receives the party's education, and does not believe in the ideology of the exploiting class of "everyone for himself and the devil take the hindmost."

He puts the public's interests above everything else at all times and in all circumstances. He combines the raising of consciousness with enthusiasm in practice and pays attention to deeds. When dealing with matters, he always considers the interests of the party, the people and the country. He does not waver in the storm and stress of struggle and never worries about becoming a high official. He has high aspirations and practices what he advocates. It is natural that he is trustworthy and respectable. Why should we feel doubt about him? Such a healthy trend of a communist will certainly prevail powerfully throughout the country.

Due to the perverse acts of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the 10 years of internal disorder, the demarcation line between right and wrong has been confused, and the pernicious influence has not been eliminated. For instance, anarchism and egoism are corrupting the people's minds. Those who have serious egoistic ideology adopt the attitude of "being pleased only when getting profits" and always think of "reaping profits whenever possible." They are absolutely like Philistines. Of course, they regard Jian Yulin as a fool. Look, he is not willing to accept a salary increase or rewards. He retreats from having a new house. He is not willing to take a rest.... He does not know how to think of himself at all. Is he not a fool? In fact, Jian Yulin is not a fool at all. He stands high and is farsighted. He measures personal interests from the high plane of considering the interests of the party and people. Firmly following the party's instructions, he shows more concern for the party, the masses and other people than for himself. Viewed from the angle of personal gains and losses, he seems to be "at a disadvantage," but his so-called "disadvantage" enables others to feel further the warmth of the party and to increase their love for socialism. Many people have received an education on socialist spiritual civilization from his deeds. Such a person is noble-minded and most respectable. But egoists are held in contempt and cast aside by the people who have socialist consciousness.

Of course, by praising Jian Yulin's deeds, we do not mean that we negate personal interests. The problem is that we must place personal interests in a correct position in socialist society. One important principle in socialist construction is that "first we must eat, second we must carry out construction." If we only pay attention to accumulation and construction but ignore the problem of eating, this "leftist" way of thinking and doing things will violate the purpose of socialist construction and cannot be accepted by the people. However, if we only eat all and use everything in disregard of necessary accumulation and the development of the four modernizations, this is also against the objective law of socialist construction and will be opposed by all reasonable people. The daily increasing needs can only be met gradually. They cannot be met fully and immediately. Here it is necessary to handle correctly the problem of personal interests in the spirit of being masters of the house. Jian Yulin is a fine example in this respect. He is not at all an ascetic. He has lofty aspirations, but is quite practical. The attitude he adopts with regard to personal interests is just as he describes: "sensible and reasonable." But what he has in mind

is the "sensibility" that concerns the overall situation, and the "reason" that all communist party members should have. Concretely speaking, when certain material benefits provided by the state cannot meet everyone's needs for the time being, he understands the difficulties of the country, cares for the needs of other people and is willing to give out the material benefits he should receive. Such a fine character of selfless and wholehearted devotion to the interests of the majority is highly commendable!

In his work "in memory of Norman Bethune," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "We must learn from him his spirit of absolute selflessness. Starting from this point, we can be of great use to the people. A man's ability may be great or small, but if he has this spirit, he is a noble-minded man, a pure man, a moral man, a man who is free from vulgar tastes and a man who is useful to the people." The spirit of absolute selflessness is based on the spirit of being masters of the house. For communist party members, it is an important manifestation of upholding party spirit. Some people think that selflessness and party spirit are all outdated! This is a fallacy. On the contrary, egoism and extreme individualism are dregs left over from the old society. They are outdated. Now when we build socialist material civilization, we must also build socialist spiritual civilization. We must advocate the spirit of selflessness and uphold party spirit. This is the inevitability in our historical progress. All communist party members and cadres must act in accordance with their words, bring into play the spirit of being masters of the house by setting good examples of themselves, firmly resist and oppose all unhealthy trends and effectively open up a new prospect for the four modernizations in full cooperation with the broad masses.

CSO: 4005/968

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'NINGXIA RIBAO' ON SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION CONGRESS

HK010813 Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jun 82 p 1

[Report: "Regional Congress of Advanced Units and Activists in Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization Victoriously Concludes"]

[Text] The 4-day-long regional congress of advanced units and activists in building socialist spiritual civilization victoriously concluded at Yinchuan's Hongqi Theater on the afternoon of 19 June.

Regional CCP committee deputy secretary Li Yunhe presided over the closing ceremony at which he read out the "decision of the CCP committee of the Ningxia Hui Autonomous region on commending the advanced units and activists in building socialist spiritual civilization." After the name list of the advanced units and activists commended was read out, the leading comrades of the regional CCP committee, including Li Xuezhi, Ma Xin, Hei Boli, Shen Xiaozeng, Li Yunhe, Ma Qingnian and Wang Jinzhang awarded certificates of merit, medals and souvenirs to the advanced units and activists amid gay music and thunderous applause.

After that, the meeting unanimously approved a written proposal from all the delegates to the people of all nationalities throughout the region and all commanders and fighters of the Ningxia Military District and the PLA units stationed in Ningxia.

Regional CCP committee secretary Comrade Ma Xin delivered a closing speech amid warm applause. He said that the 4-day-long regional congress of advanced units and activists in building socialist spiritual civilization, after satisfactorily accomplishing its scheduled tasks, is now coming to a victorious end. On behalf of the regional CCP committee, people's congress Standing Committee and people's government, I extend greetings to the comrades who have been awarded the honorable titles of advanced units and activists; and express my high respects for the deeply cherished memory of comrades Yang Fuzhen, Li Rui, Li Youcai, Ji Mingfei and Ha Wanlu who have gloriously laid down their lives in the struggles against evildoers in the course of strengthening and preserving social order.

Comrade Ma Xin said that the current congress has reviewed the great achievements scored in various prefectures and on various fronts in building socialist spiritual civilization. In the course of the congress, the delegates have studied the relevant documents of the CCP Central Committee, listened to and discussed Comrade Li Xuezhi's report, summed up and exchanged experiences, commended the advanced and approved the written proposal of the congress. The participants were engaged in conscientious studies and active discussions and thus the congress has been held in a warm atmosphere characterized by unity and determined efforts to forge ahead.

Comrade Ma Xin said that the advanced units and activists commended at the current congress are good examples from which the armymen and people throughout the region can learn. Their advanced ideas and exemplary deeds reflect their high socialist consciousness, lofty patriotic ideas, tough spirit of being masters of the country and lofty communist morality and features. We can see in them a tremendous power for vigorously developing the Chinese nation and achieving the four modernizations latent in the people of all nationalities throughout our region. Our party and government consistently attach great importance to the role played by the advanced figures and models. In every historical period of the Chinese revolution and construction, our party and government have trained and cultivated a large number of exemplary advanced figures and models and, with their advanced ideas and exemplary deeds, encouraged and inspired the broad masses of people to fight valiantly for the cause of revolution and construction. He said that recently, the secretariat of the CCP Central Committee once again emphatically pointed out: "The advanced and exemplary figures on various fronts are glorious fighters advancing in the forefront of the times and their advanced ideas and exemplary deeds are the motive force that propels the continuous development of the socialist modernization drive of our country." It is necessary for us to fully understand and bring into play the leading role of the exemplary figures and advanced models in building material and spiritual civilization, which can also serve both as a mainstay and a link.

Comrade Ma Xin pointed out: After this congress, it is necessary for us to extensively, thoroughly and protractedly launch throughout the region the activity of learning from and catching up with the advanced and the "five stresses and four beautifuls" activity. We should educate the people, particularly party members, cadres and youths, in communist ideas and morality in order to turn them into people who have ideals, morality and culture and who observe discipline. This is an important task of decisive significance in building socialist material and spiritual civilization. He emphatically pointed out that the party committees and government at various levels and the mass organizations should attach great importance to this task, strengthen leadership over it and perseveringly grasp it well to enable more and more people to join the ranks of the advanced. In the activity to learn from and catch up with the advanced, it is imperative to correctly treat, enthusiastically care for, actively support and cultivate the advanced models. In dealing with

the advanced, we should be realistic and make no demands for perfection. With respect to erroneous ideas that are jealous of the advanced and prohibit others from making progress despite their lack of desire to do better, it is necessary to conduct education through criticism; with respect to a small number of people who bear resentment, retaliate against and frame the advanced, it is necessary to seriously deal with them; and with respect to cases of a particularly serious nature, it is necessary to investigate and fix the legal responsibility. He said that we fervently hope that the advanced units and activists will correctly understand and have a correct attitude toward themselves, uphold the concept of one dividing into two, stand up to the test in the face of difficulties and in the wake of honor, be modest and prudent, be on guard against arrogance and rashness, be good at learning from the masses and at learning from others' strong points to offset their weaknesses and make progress constantly in order to always preserve the true qualities of being advanced.

Comrade Ma Xin said in conclusion that the first half of this year will soon be over. The tasks for the second half of this year will be arduous. The representatives of the advanced units and activists should return to their respective units with the guidelines of the congress and put them into practice. It is necessary for them to bring along the people of various nationalities in our region and, taking advantage of the driving force of this congress, to unite in struggle, advance in unison and make great contributions in building a new Ningxia which is fraternally united, prosperous and flourishing.

The congress came to a victorious end amid the majestic strains of "socialism is good."

CSO: 4005/968

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NEI MONGGOL'S ZHOU HUI REGISTERS RESIDENCE

SK020552 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Jul 82

[Excerpts] According to our reporters (Wu Xinmin) and (Chen Fei), the third national census started in formal and all-round way on 1 July. Some 1.5 million people of various nationalities in the region registered their residence at various census registration stations.

On the morning of 1 July, some 102,000 census registration stations in urban, pastoral and rural areas throughout the region were bustling with noise and excitement and with Red Flags fluttering over the stations. Some 100,000 enumerators warmly received the people who came to register their residence.

With residence booklets in their hands and in the capacity of ordinary people, Zhou Hui, first secretary; Wang Duo, permanent secretary; Yun Shiyang, secretary, and Bu He and (Shi Shengrong), deputy secretaries of the regional CCP Committee, joyfully registered residence at 0830 at the No 4 census registration station of the residents' committee under the Nei Monggol CCP Committee in (Jincheng) District in Hohhot Municipality--where their residence registration is filed. During the registration Comrade Zhou Hui and others accurately answered the questions of enumerators. After the registration, Zhou Hui and Wang Duo shook hands with enumerators (Zhang Xiaoying) and (Mao Shuyun) and happily said: "Thank you, comrades."

Together with the masses, some leading comrades of the regional people's congress Standing Committee, the people's government and the CPPCC committee, including Gao Zengpei, (Xu Jinshan), Zhou Beifeng, Ba-tu-ba-gen, Peng Sike and Wu Daping, registered residence with their residence booklets in their hands at the No 1 census registration station of the Seventh (Xinhua) Street residents' committee in the (Zhongshan) east road in Hohhot Municipality.

The regional census work started on 1 July and will be completed within 10 days. According to incomplete statistics, some 1.5 million people of various nationalities registered residence on the first day of the census registration activity.

CSO: 4005/968

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NEI MONGGOL'S ZHOU HUI TOURS MINORITY BANNER

SK290114 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Jun 82

[Excerpts] Zhou Hui, first secretary of the autonomous regional CCP committee; and (Fu-te-ge-qi), secretary of the Hulun Buir League CCP Committee, recently toured Morlin Dawa Daur Autonomous Banner. They visited household after household to acquaint themselves with the situation of the masses' livelihood and production. They urged cadres and the masses of all nationalities to continue strengthening unity among nationalities and ceaselessly promote production to improve livelihood.

Situated in the southeastern part of the greater Xingan Mountains, Morlin Dawa Daur Autonomous Banner is blessed with good conditions for developing forestry, livestock breeding, agriculture and a diversified economy. Following the third plenary session, things which had been thrown into disorder were set aright and many policy restraints have been removed. Consequently, forestry, livestock breeding and other undertakings of the banner are beginning to pick up.

Prior to their arrival at the banner government, Zhou Hui and (Fu-te-ge-qi) visited (A-er-la) commune where people of Daur nationality live in a compact community. They called on a commune member's house and had cordial conversations with an old man of Daur nationality. They asked him about the changes in their livelihood and production in recent years, the present situation and their difficulties. The old man said that livelihood has been improving greatly in recent years. Comrade Zhou Hui said these past few years are for rest and building up strength. Livelihood will improve year after year. Hearing that the old man's family is raising two or three milk cows, Comrade Zhou Hui said: This is a good place for raising milk cows. Traditionally this has been a milk cow producing area. We should encourage commune members and give them a free hand in raising cows.

While having conversations with cadres and the masses and holding a forum with responsible comrades of the banner CCP committee and government, Zhou Hui and (Fu-te-ge-qi) stressed on more than one occasion that continued efforts must be made to firmly implement the important directives of the central authorities on Nei Monggol's work, uphold the policy of regional autonomy of minority nationalities, continuously strengthen the unity among nationalities and develop the excellent situation.

CSO: 4005/968

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LI XUEZHI ATTENDS NINGXIA ACTIVISTS CONGRESS

HK260614 Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jun 82 p 1

[Report: "Regional Congress of Progressive Collectives and Activists in Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization Solemnly Opens"]

[Excerpts] The Ningxia Regional Congress of progressive collectives and activists in building socialist spiritual civilization solemnly opened in Yinchuan on the morning of 16 June.

Leading comrades of the party, government and army in the autonomous region attended the gathering. Ma Xin, secretary of the regional CCP committee and chairman of the people's government, presided at the opening ceremony, which began with the solemn strains of the national anthem. Hei Boli [7815 0130 3810], secretary of the regional CCP committee, delivered the opening speech.

Shen Xiaozeng, deputy secretary of the regional CCP committee, conveyed to the gathering CCP Central Committee documents on carrying out a deepgoing and sustained "five stresses and four beautifuls" drive.

Regional CCP committee first secretary Li Xuezhi spoke at the gathering. He first explained the region's fine situation and achievements in building socialist material and spiritual civilization. In order to promote the building of socialist spiritual civilization in Ningxia, Comrade Li Xuezhi stressed that the following tasks must be done well: seriously rectify the party ranks, improve the party work style and strengthen and enhance party leadership; ceaselessly conduct education in patriotism, collectivism and communist ideology and launch a deepgoing and sustained "five stresses and four beautifuls" drive; launch in depth the struggle to oppose corruption by capitalist ideology and hit at serious economic crime; strengthen the building of the legal system and promote social order; strengthen the unity of nationalities, further develop socialist relations between nationalities, and vigorously promote science, culture, the arts, education and public health in the region. Comrade Li Xuezhi pointed out in conclusion, building a high degree of socialist materials and spiritual civilization is the great historic task assigned us by the new socialist era. Let us unite and work hard to build Ningxia into a nationality autonomous region of fraternal unity and flourishing prosperity!

In the afternoon the delegates held group discussions on the central documents and Comrade Li Xuezhi's speech.

CSO: 4005/968

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON MAO, LITERARY CRITICISM

HK041258 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 May 82 p 3

[Article by Ding Zhenhai [0002 2182 3189] and Li Zhun [2621 0402]: "The Basic Principle of Working for the Masses of the Peoples Is Also a Basic Criterion for Literary and Art Criticism—An Inquiry Into Mao Zedong's Thinking on Literature and Art"]

[Text] The question of the criterion for literary and art criticism occupies an important position in Marxist thinking on literary and art and is a major question in the working of literature and art.

In the past few years, the literary and art circles in our country have been carrying on an animated discussion of the criterion for proletarian literary and art criticism. Undoubtedly, this is very necessary for the thorough study of Marxist thinking on literature and art and for bringing about more flourishing socialist literature and art. We would like to talk about some of our tentative views in the light of studying Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art.

I

The criterion for the proletarian literary and art criticism is not something that fell from heaven. Nor is it something fabricated by theorists of literature and art. It should be something abstracted and defined on the basis of the characteristics inherent in literature and art and of the basic demands on it of the masses of the people with the proletariat as their core.

Comrade Mao Zedong's greatest contribution to Marxist thinking on literature and art was precisely that he, on the basis of the basic principles of historical materialism that the masses of the people are creators of history and of the outlook on proletarian revolutionary utilitarianism, established and expounded the basic orientation of literature and art for the masses of the people in theory, principles and policies. This is the center of Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art and is the basic gist of Comrade Mao Zedong's exposition on questions in literature and art. It was precisely by proceeding from this most basic standpoint and observation point that he put forth in a clear-cut manner and settled the question of the criterion for proletarian literary and art criticism.

In "Talks at the Yanan forum on literature and art," Comrade Mao Zedong said, "The question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle." Once this question is settled, "many other questions will also be settled." The question of the criterion for literary and art criticism was, of course, included in the so-called "many other questions." If we carefully read the "talks" and other relevant works of Comrade Mao Zedong, we will easily discover that in assessing various questions of literary and art works and phenomena, he really regarded "the basic principle of working for the masses of the people" as the basic criterion for criticism.

In expounding the proletariat's general requirement for literature and art, he said, "we are proletarian revolutionary utilitarians and take as our point of departure the unity of the present and future interests of the broadest masses, who constitute over 90 percent of the population; hence we are revolutionary utilitarians aiming for the broadest and the most long-range objectives..." The revolutionary utilitarian point of view which proceeds from the basic interests of the proletariat and the masses of the people is precisely a basic theoretical basis for the proletariat to establish the criterion for literary and art criticism.

Regarding the question of how to assess the social and historical value of a work, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote, "Anything which is good must be able to bring real benefit to the people." This means that the basic criterion for judging whether a work of literature or art is good or not is to see if it "brings real benefit to the people." He also wrote, "Revolutionary literature and art should create a variety of characters out of real life and help the masses to propel history forward," and "to fire them with enthusiasm and impel them to unite and struggle to transform their environment."

Regarding the question of popularization and raising of standards in literature and art, Comrade Mao Zedong said, "only by starting from the workers, peasants and soldiers (that is, the main body of the masses of people--author's note) can we have a correct understanding of popularization and of the raising of standards and find the proper relationship between the two." In addition, Comrade Mao Zedong also said explicitly, "As they are not clear on the problem of 'for whom?', they have no correct criteria for the raising of standards and the popularization they speak of and are naturally less able to find the correct relationship between the two." He also said, "Departing from the fundamental principle of serving the masses of the people," "our work of raising standards will be like shooting at random."

Regarding the question of eulogy and exposure in literature and art, Comrade Mao Zedong put forth: "All the dark forces harming the masses of the people must be exposed and all the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the people must be extolled."

Regarding the attitude toward literary and art legacy, Comrade Mao Zedong said, "The proletariat must distinguish among the literary and art works of past ages and determine its attitude toward them only after examining their attitude toward the people and whether or not they had any progressive significance historically." He also said, "We should take over the rich legacy and the good traditions in literature and art that have been handed down from past ages in China and foreign countries, but the aim must still be to serve the masses of the people."

Regarding the form of expression in revolutionary literature and art, Comrade Mao Zedong put forth the national and popular criterion "A fresh and lively national Chinese style which is loved by the common Chinese people" and the criterion "creating something new and original which is welcomed by the ordinary Chinese people" for literary and art creativity.

Regarding the question of assessing the thinking and work of revolutionary literary and art workers, Comrade Mao Zedong said: In examining the subjective intention of a writer or artist and the achievements of his work, "we do not judge by his declarations but by the effort of his actions (mainly his works) on the masses in society." He stressed the integration of the "subjective intention of working for the people" and "the effect which is welcomed by the masses and is beneficial to them." Here, Comrade Mao Zedong integrated directly the criterion of practice for testing ideology with the proletarian revolutionary utilitarian outlook.

In short, "the basic principle of working for the masses of the people" is a general criterion commanding the overall situation and running through all aspects. This is a fundamental criterion of universal significance. In putting forth and expounding this criterion, Comrade Mao Zedong concentrated and reflected the basic demand of the proletariat and the masses of the people. This is alao a lively application of the theory of cognition of dialectic materialism and the basic principles of historical materialism to literary and art criticism. This can be considered a creation in the history of literary and art criticism.

II

Here we have to talk about the question of a "political criterion." While expounding on literary and art criticism in the "talks," Comrade Mao Zedong specially talked about the "political criterion." In the past few years, with the discussion of the relationship between literature and art and politics, people have expressed different views on the "political criterion" pur forth by Comrade Mao Zedong. We think that if we are clear that "the basic principle of working for the people" is the basic criterion for literary and art criticism put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong, we will be able to carry out realistic historical study and an assessment of the "political criterion" put forth by him.

In the "[word indistinct]," immediately after saying that "here I shall concentrate only on the basic problem of criteria in criticism," Comrade Mao Zedong wrote:

"In literary and art criticism there are two criteria, the political and the artistic. According to the political criterion, everything is good that is helpful to unity and resistance to Japan, that encourages the masses to be of one heart and one mind, that opposes retrogression and promotes progress; on the other hand, everything is bad that is detrimental to unity and resistance to Japan, foments dissension and discord among the masses and opposes progress and drags people back."

In 1957, in the article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Comrade Mao Zedong again talked about the question of the "political criterion." After expounding on the six famous criteria for distinguishing fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds, he wrote:

"Of these six criteria, the most important are the socialist path and the leadership of the party...these are political criteria. Naturally, in judging the validity of scientific theories or assessing the aesthetic value of works of art, additional pertinent criteria are needed. But these six political criteria are applicable to all activities in the arts and sciences. In a socialist country like ours, can there possibly be any useful scientific or artistic activity which runs counter to these political criteria?"

We think that there are several points in these two passages of famous exposition which need special attention:

First, it is clear that the connotation of the "political criterion" mentioned by Comrade Mao Zedong in these two passages is specific. During the war of resistance against Japan, it meant the general principle and target of "unity and resistance to Japan" and during the historical period of socialism, it means the basic principles of adhering to the socialist road and upholding the party's leadership. Therefore, what the "political criterion" mentioned by Comrade Mao Zedong implies is not as narrow as some people understand and explain which is reducing it to only class struggle, central tasks, political movements, concrete principles and policies and even the instructions of a certain leader.

Besides, it is obvious here that Comrade Mao Zedong stated these general principles and the criterion for literature and art as two aspects of the proletarian "basic criterion for criticism" of literature and art. As Comrade Mao Zedong said, These general principles--unity and resistance to Japan and adhering to the socialist road and upholding the party's leadership--as a reflection of "the will of the overwhelming majority of the people in our country," are not only basic political principles but are also basic principles for judging the rights or wrongs of all our thinking, words and deeds in their respective historical period. Consequently, they are also basic criteria for assessing the general ideological content of each literary and art work. This means that Comrade Mao Zedong put forth the basic criterion for the general ideological content of literary and art work with the concept of a "political criterion." In other words, according to its original meaning, the formulation of "political criterion" put forth by Mao Zedong as something corresponding

to the artistic criterion under the "basic criterion for criticism" is actually reflecting the requirement of the "basic principle of working for the masses of the people" for the general ideological contents of literary and art works. As mentioned above, the requirement of this basic principle for artistic criterion is "to be warmly welcomed by the ordinary Chinese people."

Based on this analysis, we think that when Comrade Mao Zedong put forth the "political criterion" in the "talk" and in "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," he meant to put into effect the proletarian general criterion of "working for the masses of the people" for literary and art criticism in assessing the ideological content of a work, and his departure point was good. Under specific historical conditions, such as during the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation, class struggle and national struggle were principal social contradictions. Political activities were the center of people's life. The basic principle for judging rights and wrongs politically was more or less the same as the basic principle for judging the rights and wrongs of people's entire thinking, words and deeds. Putting forth and using this "political criterion" was of a certain positive significance in overcoming the practice of neglecting or ignoring the political tendency and effect of a work in literary and art criticism. Therefore, we should give a proper place in history to Comrade Mao Zedong's exposition on the "political criterion" and should not negate it in an oversimplified manner.

III

However, as a scientific theoretical term and as a term for putting into effect the "basic principle of working for the masses of the people" in the requirement for the general ideological content of a literary or art work, the term "political criterion" obviously has its drawbacks.

First, generally speaking, the ideological content of a literary or art work includes various factors. Besides political views and tendencies, it also includes social views, philosophical views, historical views, moral views and aesthetic views. Therefore, strictly speaking, the criterion which is corresponding to the artistic criterion and forms an organic entity with it to reflect the basic criterion for criticism of "working for the masses of the people" should be a criterion for ideological content and not a "political criterion."

Second, although both of the two "political criteria"--"unity and resistance to Japan" and adhering to the socialist road and upholding the party's leadership--mean the basic criterion for judging the rights and wrongs of people's entire thinking, words and deeds in their respective historical periods, the concept of "politics" itself is a polysemant. Even in the classical works of Marxism, the word "politics" implies different meanings in different periods and on different occasions. Besides the extensive and general meaning of "economy expressed in a concentrated form" (by Lenin)

and "expression in a concentrated form" of the needs of the class and the masses ("talks"), "politics" sometimes means the "struggle among classes," sometimes means guidance and management of the state and sometimes means central tasks and work. The earliest common explanation of "politics" in Marxism is class struggle. Likewise, Comrade Mao Zedong himself also used the concept "politics" in its different shades of meaning. The understanding and interpretations of "politics" by ordinary people are even more varied. Therefore, since there is no unified, explicit definition for the term "political criterion," theoretical and ideological differences may easily arise, resulting in unnecessary disputes.

Third, because of the two reasons mentioned above, using the term "political criterion" in literary and art criticism and regarding it as the "first" criterion corresponding to the artistic criterion will give rise to limitations and onesidedness. In particular, when class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in our country, if the "political criterion" in its narrow sense is mechanically applied to various kinds of literary and art works and phenomena, the tendencies of oversimplification and vulgarization in literary and art criticism are bound to arise. This has already been proved by the experiences and lessons in literary and art criticism in the past years.

In "questions on the ideological front," Comrade Hu Qiaomu said, "In today's socialist society, the CCP Central Committee has put forth the principle that literature and art should serve the people and socialism. This is the application and development of Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art under socialist conditions." "Serving the people and socialism is the 'mass politics' mentioned in 'talks at the Yanan forum on literature and art.' Compared with the formulation of serving politics, serving socialism is defined more clearly. This is first because in the final analysis, our politics as a means of benefiting the majority of people and politics itself is not the objective (with the exception, perhaps, of ensuring the freedom and personal dignity entitled to those who do not oppose socialism). We cannot say politics serving politics and similarly we cannot say literature and art serving politics and so on. Even if we sometimes say so, we actually mean to say literature and art serving the people and so on. Second, serving politics can be and has been understood to mean serving a certain current policy, an interim political task, a political event or even the 'arbitrary order' given by a political leader." "In China today, serving socialism is serving the people." Since we have now realized the drawbacks of the formulation of "political criterion" and the disadvantages it brings in practice and have realized that viewed from the objective of socialist spiritual production, it is not "literature and art serving politics" but "literature and serving the people" and that viewed from the orientation of socialist literature and art, the formulation of "serving the people and socialism" is "more accurately and more clearly" worded than the formulation "serving politics," we should more clearly and directly stipulate serving the basic interests and needs of the masses of the people as the basic

criterion for socialist literary and art criticism and use it in assessing the integration between the ideological content and artistic form of a literary or art work and it is inadvisable to again use the formulation of "political criterion" in assessing the general ideological content of a literary or art work. Much less should we again give prominence to the "political criterion" to weaken or even replace the basic criterion of the "principle of working for the masses of the people."

This change in the formulation of the criterion for literary and art criticism is historical progress. It not only can make the basic criterion for criticism clearer and avoid confusion and disadvantages caused by giving prominence to the "political criterion" and neglecting the basic criterion but also can greatly broaden the path of literary and art criticism. This is because the basic interests and needs of the masses of the people include things in various aspects. The basic criterion of serving the masses of the people can be used irrespective of judging the ideological contents or artistic forms of literature and art, the cognition, educational or aesthetic function of literature and art and socialist literary and art works of any theme, form or style. Moreover, viewed only from the assessment of the ideological content of works, not only works with strong political colors and distinctive ideological tendencies can be tested in accordance with the basic interests of the masses of the people, but even works without apparent political or ideological color or tendency such as landscape paintings and poems and instrumental music can also be assessed in accordance with the needs of the masses of the people.

IV

Of course, when the "basic principle of working for the masses of the people" is used as the basic criterion for socialist literary and art criticism, it is only a general measure for assessing various works and phenomena in literature and art. In concrete activities of criticism, some concrete criteria for criticism are needed. Various factors in the ideological contents and artistic forms of literature and art and their various social functions determine the variety of concrete criteria for criticism. People can put forth concrete ideological criteria (with explicit explanations and limitations, the "political criterion" can also be used as one of the concrete criteria within the range of ideological content), concrete criteria for artistic forms and concrete criteria for criticism of the organic integration aspects of the two. Viewed from the social functions of literature and art, people can put forth concrete cognitive and educational criteria for criticism and concrete ethical and aesthetic criteria for criticism. As we all know, a true literary and art work should be an organic entity of an ideological content and artistic form and its social functions cannot be separated one from the other. But this does not prevent us from putting forth various concrete criteria for criticism. In regard to concrete criteria for criticism of truthfulness, typicalness and national style, they are obviously common requirements for a certain aspect of the organic integration of ideological contents and artistic forms and are directly related to the cognition function and closely related to the aesthetic function.

The general criterion can only include but cannot substitute for the whole set of specific criteria. However, within the category of socialist literary and art criticism, various specific criteria of criticism must also be guided, conditioned and regulated by this basic criterion of "working for the masses of the people"; otherwise they cannot become the specific criterion for socialist literary and art criticism. What must be explained is that this kind of conditioning and regulation is not a purely subjective thing. Because, as the makers of history, the demands of the proletariat and the masses are completely identical with those of the law of social development, including the law of literary and art development. Therefore, the conditioning and regulation of the basic criterion of "working for the masses of the people" are at the same time also the conditioning and regulation of the objective law. The subjective demand of any exploiting class and non-proletariat and any criterion for criticism contrary to "working for the masses of the people" are to varying degrees a departure from the demand of the objective law. For example "truthfuless" is extensively used as a criterion for criticism. No doubt, according to the standpoint of dialectical materialism, there can only be one kind of genuine artistic truth, and that is the portrayal of the correct reflection of the essence of social life and the revelation of its law of development. However, only the proletariat can practice materialism to the end, and only the proletariat requires works of literature and art to completely bring to light the law of development and the trend of social life and point out the way and future for the masses. Among the bourgeoisie, "truth" is often the "truth" of naturalism which at most can only reflect the essence of certain specific things but cannot basically bring to light the law of development of social life. Their "truth" is a discounted version of the truth or even not the basic truth. Therefore, if we deviate from the conditioning of this basic criterion of "working for the masses of the people," we will also be deviating from the guidance of dialectical materialism, the truthfulness of the criterion may become blurred and indistinct or even interpreted at will by the people, and it will be difficult for us to use this criterion to achieve the purpose of socialist literary and art criticism. "Innovation" in art is also one of the specific criteria for criticism the people are fond of using. However, if this kind of "innovation" is not in the service of enriching and improving the power of appreciation of the masses (we must at the same time also bear in mind the healthy development of the power of expression of literature and art themselves) but strives for the strange and unusual and regards the unusual as new and foreign things as beautiful, it is obviously deviating from the path of socialist literature and art and does not belong with the innovation of socialist literature and art. In other words, in the use of various specific criteria in socialist literary and art criticism, this basic criterion of "working for the masses of the people" is not a nonessential decoration. It cannot be replaced and is a general yardstick we must clearly insist on. Precisely for this reason, we do not agree with the method of adding certain specific criteria together as the basic criterion to replace this basic criterion of "working for the masses of the people."

In recent years, there is a prevailing advocation of using the true, the good and the beautiful as the basic criterion for literary and art criticism. We do not agree with this advocation. Naturally, some works of literature and art can be analyzed and appraised according to the requirement of these three interwoven and yet different angles of the true, the good and the beautiful. However, we should see that the true, the good and the beautiful are an extremely ancient formulation in the history of Chinese and foreign aesthetics. Therefore as mentioned above, different classes have different understandings and interpretations of "the true," and this also applies to the good and the evil as well as the beautiful and the ugly. Only the true, the good and the beautiful advocated by the proletariat and the masses can fully accord with the demand of objective laws and can really be the true, the good and the beautiful. If we deviate from the guidance of this general criterion basically required by the proletariat and the masses, we will also be deviating from the demand of objective laws, and perhaps will let this general criterion of serving the people and serving society melt into the specific criterion of the true, the good and the beautiful and will not give it special emphasis. In this case, our literary and art criticism will lose its vivid proletarian class character and correct socialist orientation (the confusion which exists in the formulation of using the true, the good and the beautiful in literary and art criticism has proved this point). On the other hand, if everybody correctly uses this specific criterion of the true, the good and the beautiful under the guidance of the general criterion of working for the masses of the people, not only will the people have a common understanding of the true, the good and the beautiful, but this general principle or general criterion of "working for the masses of the people" will also be enriched and deepened. For example, in the criticism of "unrequited love," while measuring it with this general yardstick of serving the people and serving society, we naturally can and also should at the same time, from the aspect of authenticity and artistic expression, point out its hypocrisy and the flaws in its plot.

Some of the comrades have proposed that we should take an "aesthetic standpoint and historical standpoint" as the basic criterion for literary and art criticism. We think that this formulation is better than "political criterion is primary and artistic criterion is secondary" for it takes into consideration the whole ideological content of literature and art and puts the emphasis on the aesthetic features of art. However, to take it as the general criterion for literary and art criticism is also open to discussion, because different periods and different classes have their own different or even completely opposing aesthetic standpoints and historical standpoints. Therefore, we should not discuss aesthetic standpoint and historical standpoint in general terms and it is also inadvisable to sweepingly take aesthetic standpoint and historical standpoint as the basic criteria for proletarian literary and art criticism. The "aesthetic standpoint and historical standpoint" Engels advocated in "German Socialism in Poems and Essays" referred to the aesthetic standpoint and historical standpoint of the proletariat. However, the basic criterion of "working for the masses of the people" we talked about not only

does not contradict this in any way, but it also is precisely the essential point of the proletarian aesthetic standpoint and historical standpoint. If we deviate from "the basic principle of working for the masses of people," we would be in no position to talk about aesthetic standpoint and historical standpoint. As a general criterion for criticism, "the basic principle of working for the masses of the people" is obviously more correct than the formulation of "aesthetic standpoint and historical standpoint" and more convenient for people to understand.

Apart from this, some of the comrades have also put forward truthfulness, ideological content and artistic quality as the basic criterion for literary and art criticism. Actually, compared with the basic criterion of working for the masses of the people, this kind of criterion is still the relationship between specific criterion and general criterion, because in terms of socialist literary and art criticism, the content and application of this kind of criterion must be subjected to the guidance and conditioning of the general criterion of working for the masses of the people. The reason is obvious and needs no further elaboration.

The correct understanding and handling of the relationship between the general criterion for proletarian literary and art criticism and specific criterion will contribute to preventing and overcoming two tendencies. The first tendency is that of being satisfied merely with the proposal and formulation of a general criterion and general yardstick and not understanding that the thorough implementation and application of this general criterion of "serving the people and serving socialism" must be integrated with the application of a set of specific criteria for criticism under the guidance and standard of this general criterion before it can be realized. The use of the general criterion in place of all specific criteria will avoid the former defect of indiscriminately sticking on political labels and then falling into a new kind of oversimplicity. The other tendency steams from detesting and rejecting the former leftist method which existed for a long time in literary and art criticism. In negating this formulation of "political criterion," we either intentionally or unintentionally also neglected "the basic principle of working for the masses of the people" and erroneously advocated "literature and art serving literature and art," "art for art's sake" and "why must we serve a certain kind of people." We even thought that literary and art criticism can have only an artistic or aesthetic criterion and that we can use this specific criterion in any manner according to what we like or dislike. Consequently, this resulted in confusion and errors. Ideologically speaking, as long as we really understand the relationship between "the basic principle of working for the masses of the people" and various specific criteria for criticism, these two tendencies are not difficult to overcome.

Literary and art criticism is a branch of science with a rather rich content. What the article has discussed is only the importance of "the basic principle of working for the masses of the people" put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong as the basic criterion for proletarian literary and art criticism and its general relationship with various specific criteria for criticism. We have not been able to discuss various other problems. However, we believe that after defining this basic criterion of "working for the masses of the people," there will be a solid foundation as well as a correct orientation for the discussion of various other problems.

CSO: 4005/968

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

POPULATION CENSUS WORK--On 17 June, the Shaanxi provincial population census leadership group held a forum for comrades in charge of the census work in the central units in Shaanxi and in provincial departments and bureaus to discuss how to work together and cooperate with local authorities in the census work. Most of the central units in Shaanxi and the provincial organs have been doing a good job in cooperating with local authorities in this respect, but a small number of them have not. They did not receive local census staff when the latter visited them, did not allow the transfer of their staff to the census office, did not attend meetings on census work and did not do well in the census preparatory work. In view of this, the forum made the following decision: all central units in Shaanxi and all provincial organs must act in strict accordance with the arrangements of the local people's governments, set a good example in carrying out local decisions and actively coordinate with local authorities in census work. They must abide by relevant regulations and select census staff to engage in the local census work and, at the same time, carry out meticulous political and ideological work among the staff and workers as well as their family members, so that they will all take an active part in the census work and truly report to the authorities all required items. It is necessary to cooperate with the units concerned and do a good job so that no repeats, mistakes and omissions in registration will occur. At the forum, the provincial census leadership group also praised some central units in Shaanxi and provincial organs which have done well in cooperating with local authorities in census work and criticized some units which have not done it well. [Text] [HK210740 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 0500 GMT 20 Jun 82]

ART PERFORMANCE--The China Song and Dance Troupe gave its premiere in Xining on the evening of 24 June and was well received by the audience. After the performance, Liang Buting, Zhao Haifeng and Ma Wanli and other leading comrades received all the performers. [Excerpts] [SK260634 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Jun 82]

XINJIANG TRANSLATORS--According to XINJIANG RIBAO, leading comrades of the autonomous region including Wang Enmao, Ismail Amat, Tomur Dawamat, Huang Luobin, and Li Jiayu recently met translators of all nationalities attending

the fourth academic meeting held by the regional translators' association. They urged them to work hard to improve translation standards and make still greater contributions to publicizing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the party's line, principles and policies, strengthening the unity and cultural and technical exchanges of people of all nationalities and speeding up the four modernizations. Wang Enmao said: "Translation work is extremely important in minority-nationality areas. It must not be neglected. We must also promote mutual learning of languages and scripts among the nationalities. The Han cadres and masses should learn the minority-nationality languages and scripts, and the minority-nationality cadres and masses should also learn Han language and script, thus strengthening the unity of nationality of nationalities and promoting the mutual exchange of culture, science, technology and other experience." Ismail Amat and Tomur Dawamat praised the work of the translators and thanked them for their efforts. [HK280140 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 27 Jun 82]

URUMQI CENSUS PERSONNEL--The third national population census work was unfolded in an all-round way in Urumqi Municipality today. Urumqi Municipality has sent out census personnel, census instructors and personnel of census offices at all levels, totalling some 5,200 people, who have been divided into some 2,300 census groups. These groups will conduct an all-round registration of persons in 606 census districts throughout the municipality. All districts, a county, all streets and many residents' committees have set up registration centers to facilitate the masses' registration. The municipal population census office has organized four inspection groups and a mobile inspection group to conduct inspection and give guidance in all districts and the county. Leading comrades of the party and the government in Xinjiang region, including Wang Enmao, Gu Jingsheng and Tomur Dawamat, received population census personnel at their residences. In accordance with the requirements of the registration form of the national population census, they seriously filled in the forms. [Text] [HK020920 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 1 Jul 82]

NATIONALITIES MEETING--The nationalities committee of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region recently held its second enlarged meeting in Urumqi. During the meeting, members of the nationalities committee and other representatives to the meeting studied the central directives and documents, and heard a report on the guidelines of the second enlarged meeting of the national nationalities committee. The meeting also discussed a work report delivered by (Mai-mai-ming-tuo-fu-ti), chairman of the Xinjiang regional nationalities committee. Wang Enmao, first secretary of the regional CCP committee, and other leading comrades attended the closing session of the meeting held on the afternoon of 14 June. They congratulated the success of the meeting. [Text] [OW160939 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 14 Jun 82]

GUANGZHOU DRAGON BOAT RACES--Dragon boat races were held in many parts of the Guangzhou area on 25 June. Responsible comrades of the province and municipality including Ren Zhongyi, Liang Lingguang and Wu Nansheng watched the races in the city outskirts. Also invited were officials from the Japanese and U.S. consulates-general and experts from various countries. [HK260159 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 25 Jun 82]

XINJIANG POSTMEN GREETED--The Xinjiang regional posts and telecommunications administrative bureau and the regional posts and telecommunications trade union jointly held a rally to commend 17 outstanding postmen in Urumqi on 18 June. Regional party and government leaders Wang Enmao, Ismail Amat, Tomur Dawamat, Huang Luobin, Qi Guo and Li Jiayu attended the rally. [HK190259 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 18 Jun 92]

CSO: 4005/968

END

JPRS 81328

21 July 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 319

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81328

21 July 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 319

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UN Session Continues To Urge Peace, Arms Censure
(XINHUA, 19 Jun 82)..... 1

Iran to Boycott Geneva Talks on Afghanistan
(XINHUA, 19 Jun 82)..... 2

'KYODO' Reports Air Intrusion by Soviet Aircraft
(XINHUA, 24 Jun 82)..... 3

USSR'S Tikhonov, Gromyko Meet Jordanian King
(XINHUA, 26 Jun 82)..... 4

Commentary on Israel's Invasion of Lebanon
(XINHUA, various dates)..... 5

PLO's UN Observer's Comments
Invasion Condemned in U.S.
Castro's Letter to UN
Lebanese Primer Minister's Resignation
PLO Agrees to Withdraw

Commentaries on Kampuchean Coalition Government
(Beijing Domestic Service, 24 Jun 82)..... 9

Beijin Radio Introduces Coalition
Beijing Commentary Views Government

Commentary on Argentina
(AFP, 8 Jun 82; XINHUA,18, 23 Jun 82)..... 12

PRC Condemns Britain
Political Parties Resume Activities
New President Named

Commentary on East Europe
(XINHUA, various dates)..... 15

12th Congress of LCY
Energy Saving Measures
Hungarian PCC Session
SFRY Party Congress' Resolution
SFRY Central Presidency
Curfew Lifted in Warsaw

Commentary on West Europe
(XINHUA, various dates)..... 19

Envoy to Iceland's Departure
EEC Lifts Ban on Imports
Negotiations Postponed
UK to Strengthen Defense
Thatcher Speaks at UN
NATO Holds Naval Exercise
UK Claims Falklands
Thatcher Speaks on Disarmament
NATO Commander Visits Turkey
France's Mauroy on Nuclear Force
EEC Commission President to Austria
EEC Summit Discussions Open

Briefs
Liaoning Delegation to DPRK 27
Japanese Delegation in Liaoning 27
International Health Forum 27

PARTY AND STATE

Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Seminar Held in Beijing
(Li Gengqi, Xiao Wu; GUANGMING RIBAO, 7 Jun 82)..... 28

First Talk on Ruling Party's Work Style
(Liu Binghai; Beijing Domestic Service, 27 Jun 82)..... 30

Second Talk on Ruling Party's Work Style
(Wei Jianmin; Beijing Domestic Service, 28 Jun 82)..... 35

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Kang Youwei's Memorials
(Kong Xiangji; RENMIN RIBAO, 15 Jun 82)..... 39

National CPPCC Panel Discusses Draft Constitution
(XINHUA, 17 Jun 82)..... 43

'Ba Yi Radio' Views Deng's Open Door Policy
(Ba Yi Radio, 10 Jun 82)..... 45

'BI YI' Criticizes PRC Draft Revised Constitution
(Ba Yi Radio, 12 Jun 82)..... 47

Briefs
Hongqi Chief Editor Criticized 49
Newly Promoted Cadres Ecouraged 49
Train Explosion 49
Diaoyudas, Baoshan Steel 50
Class Struggle 50
Replacing Army Leaders Opposed 50
Youths Reluctant To Join Party 50
Peng Dehuai 50

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UN SESSION CONTINUES TO URGE PEACE, ARMS CENSURE

OW191237 Beijing XINHUA in English 1213 GMT 19 Jun 82

[Text] United Nations, June 18 (XINHUA)--Calls for peace and censure of the arms race continued to dominate the special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament in the past two days.

Addressing the session today, Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau said, "The real problem before us is how to break the arms spiral." "A particularly heavy responsibility rests with the two superpowers," he noted.

"An attempt by one side to make strategic gains at the expense of the other will not, in the end, work. Only measures that increase mutual security are likely to offer a way out of the present paralysis," he added.

Foreign Minister of Greece Ioannis Haralambopoulos said today that his country opposes the division of the world into antagonistic blocs.

He said the failure to enforce repeated U.N. resolutions has led to situations such as the present tragic one in Lebanon.

Hussain Mohammad Ershad, head of government and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bangladesh, said at yesterday's meeting that disarmament could not be achieved when there are serious threats to peace and stability.

Disarmament and the reduction of world tension are interlinked, he added. "We must devote all our energies to the creation of a world order where international disputes must be settled by peaceful means and not by force, without which disarmament will remain a distant and vague dream," he noted.

Representative of Ecuador Miguel Albornoz said yesterday that the arms race is an instrument of domination. Security based on an arms build-up is precarious even in the best of cases, he added.

He called for peaceful settlement of international disputes, saying that occupation forces must be withdrawn and the occupied territories given back to the original owners.

CSO: 4000/157

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

IRAN TO BOYCOTT GENEVA TALKS ON AFGHANISTAN

OW190132 Beijing XINHUA in English 0101 GMT 19 Jun 82

[Text] Geneva, June 18 (XINHUA)--Iran today declared that it will not participate in the U.N.-sponsored Geneva talks on Afghanistan.

It refuted allegations in a recent U.N. press communique that the Iranian foreign minister has designated an interlocutor with Diego Cordovez, the personal representative of the U.N. secretary-general, during the Geneva talks.

A statement issued here today by the permanent mission of Iran to the U.N. office at Geneva pointed out that the aforesaid allegations are not true. The statement reaffirmed Iran's position as declared earlier that Iran will not participate in the Geneva talks because "no negotiation can yield any results and be acceptable" "without the withdrawal of foreign armed forces occupying the territory of Afghanistan, without the return of millions of Afghan refugees to their own country, without the guarantee of the right to self-determination for the Moslem people of Afghanistan, and without the participation of the real representative of these people."

The United Nations made it clear in two recent press communiques that the representatives of the Kabul regime, Pakistan and Iran will participate in the U.N.-sponsored indirect talks on Afghanistan. But the fact is that Diego Cordovez has been talking only with the foreign ministers of Pakistan and the Kabul regime alternately since June 16 without the participation of Iran. But the U.N. officials alleged that they had kept Iran informed about the talks. Meanwhile, the Pakistan officials participating in the talks have carefully avoided meeting the officials of the Kabul regime at the Palais des Nations because Pakistan does not recognize the Kabul regime.

Speaking at a regular U.N. press briefing this morning, Cordovez said that his talks with the foreign ministers of Pakistan and the Kabul regime during the last two days had touched exclusively upon the originally agreed four items on the agenda, namely, withdrawal of foreign troops, non-interference in internal affairs of states, international guarantees of non-interference, and voluntary return of refugees. He considered the talks as "a continuing process" and "a part of a series of consultations" designed to achieve "a comprehensive settlement" of the Afghan question. However, he admitted, "there are wide differences between the parties concerned."

CSO: 4000/157

'KYODO' REPORTS AIR INTRUSION BY SOVIET AIRCRAFT

OW241650 Beijing XINHUA in English 1637 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Text] Tokyo, June 24 (XINHUA)--Two Soviet reconnaissance planes were discovered over the Tsushima Strait around 9 a.m. Thursday, KYODO reported today.

The Japanese news agency quoted the Defense Agency as saying in a report that two Soviet long-distance electronic reconnaissance planes, TU-95 Bears, flew south over the Tsushima Strait, conducted reconnaissance 350 kilometers to the northwest of the Okinawa Island and turned north afterwards. 10 fighter planes of the Japanese air self-defense force scrambled to guard against the Soviet aircraft.

According to the Defense Agency, this was the third time this year that Soviet reconnaissance aircraft operated over the area.

The Defense Agency said two Soviet reconnaissance planes of the same type had passed over the Tsushima Strait last year.

A report from the Japanese maritime self-defense force said that three Soviet warships, a missile-loaded destroyer, a frigate and a patrol vessel, were spotted moving south in the strait around 7 a.m. Thursday.

CSO: 4000/157

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

USSR'S TIKHONOV, GROMYKO MEET JORDANIAN KING

OW261818 Beijing XINHUA in English 1647 GMT 26 Jun 82

[Text] Moscow, June 26 (XINHUA)--Soviet Premier Nikolay Tikhonov and Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko exchanged views with King Husayn Ibn Talal of Jordan here today on the critical situation in the Middle East and the Soviet-Jordanian relations.

The king reportedly arrived here Wednesday to take a rest and acquaint himself with this country.

According to a TASS report, the two sides "strongly criticized the Israeli aggression in Lebanon" and "demanded an immediate end to the Israeli aggression in Lebanon and the withdrawal of Israeli troops from its territory on the basis of the corresponding resolutions of the United Nations Security Council."

The report said the two sides favored "the ensurance of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and the creation of a state of their own."

They also expressed the desire to develop further their bilateral relations, according to the report.

It was reported Husayn's talks with Soviet leaders were focusing on Jordan's desire to enhance its air defense system.

CSO: 4000/157

COMMENTARY ON ISRAEL'S INVASION OF LEBANON

PLO's UN Observer's Comments

OW190749 Beijing XINHUA in English 0723 GMT 19 Jun 82

[Text] United Nations, June 18 (XINHUA)--Zuhdi At-Tarazi, permanent observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to the United Nations, today sternly condemned Israel for its invasion of Lebanon and brutal massacre of Lebanese and Palestinian peoples.

Addressing the special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament, At-Tarazi said, "Israel's latest in the series of acts of aggression had an unashamedly declared aim--to eradicate the Palestinians--a genocide."

He charged that "the Department of State in Washington made no secret of its knowledge that Israel had such a plan."

Denouncing the U.S. for lavishly providing weapons to Israel and signing with it an agreement of so-called mutual understanding, he said, all this encouragement was made at a time when "the administration in Washington knew about the Israeli plan and preparations for the invasion." However, he added, "the Assembly was told that the Washington administration in Washington was faithful to its commitment to the charter of the United Nations."

In a harsh attack on Israel, he declared, "The world has rarely seen the likes of such a horrifying state which resembles more and more Nazi Germany. The zionist state aims not only to violate human rights, but to actually eliminate in its entirety a people of the world."

Reiterating the Palestinian people's determination for liberation, At-Tarazi stated, the Palestinian people will resist any and all attempts to eradicate our people. "We shall fight by all means to guarantee our survival," he declared.

Invasion Condemned in U.S.

OW221302 Beijing XINHUA in English 1239 GMT 22 Jun 82

[Text] Washington, June 21 (XINHUA)--Well-known columnist Mary McGrory in an article in the "WASHINGTON POST" today asked Israeli Prime Minister M. Begin to "go home."

Her article entitled "Slaughter" reflected the feelings of many Americans who marched near the White House to protest against the Israeli outrageous acts in Lebanon during Begin's visit here to have talks with U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

A Jewish organization, "New Jewish Agenda," distributed a statement today, calling for the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, recognition of each other's sovereign rights by Israel and the PLO, and negotiation for "a peace treaty which may result in the creation of a Palestinian state alongside Israel." It expressed concern about growing political influence in the Middle East by both the United States and the Soviet Union.

In an article in the "NEW YORK TIMES" today, Fuad Ajami of the Johns Hopkins University said: "The invading army that came into Lebanon with such devastating force came with a great delusion: that if you could pound men and women hard enough, if you could bring them to their knees, you could make peace with them." "This will not work, for it underestimates men's capacity for rebellion and renewal," the article said. The Arab world "cannot bid this conflict farewell on Mr Begin's terms," it added.

An article in the June 17th issue of the "NEW YORK TIMES" said Israel's war aims in Lebanon are clear: Wiping the PLO out of artillery range of Israel's border, destroying it as an organized force, a Lebanese Government becoming strong enough to prevent any reconstituted PLO presence and to oust the Syrian forces if possible. "These are the veiled elements behind Prime Minister Menachem Begin's request for the United States to organize and join a new multilateral force in southern Lebanon. That might serve the short-term goal of arranging Israel's withdrawal, but by itself it would create greater dangers for the U.S. as well as for the ultimate cause of peace," the article said. "It will only add another factor to the conflict, further involving the United States and probably Moscow," it added.

Castro's Letter to UN

OW240342 Beijing XINHUA in English 0154 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Text] United Nations, June 23 (XINHUA)--Cuban President Fidel Castro Ruz, in his capacity as chairman of the movement of nonaligned countries, urged the United Nations "to take firm, decisive and immediate action to put an end to Israeli barbarous aggression and restore peace" in Lebanon, according to the documents of the General Assembly and the Security Council issued here today.

Fidel Castro recently wrote to the president of the General Assembly and the U.N. secretary-general appealing to them to do everything in their power to end the criminal operation of Israel against the peoples of Palestine and Lebanon and to bring about an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops.

In his message to the president of the General Assembly, Fidel Castro pointed out that "while the Assembly is discussing measures that might be taken to prevent war, halt the arms race and promote disarmament, the Israeli troops are carrying out a most ferocious and repugnant aggression against the Palestine resistance and the Lebanese people."

In his message to the secretary-general, the Cuban president stressed that "mankind cannot watch impassively as the noble and heroic Palestinian people are being exterminated. The Security Council must ensure that its resolutions are complied with. The General Assembly must raise its voice to defend the peoples that are victims of aggression and restrain the aggressors."

Lebanese Prime Minister's Resignation

OW261252 Beijing XINHUA in English 1227 GMT 26 Jun 82

[Text] Beirut, June 25 (XINHUA)--Lebanese Prime Minister Shafiq Al-Wazzan at noon today tendered his resignation to President Ilyas Sarkis saying he could no longer work effectively under the Israeli military escalation and blackmail.

Al-Wazzan told reporters that he handed in his resignation in protest against an international conspiracy against Lebanon and its people.

Lebanese Government sources said President Sarkis had not decided yet whether to accept Al-Wazzan's letter of resignation.

Al-Wazzan, in the capacity of prime minister, was one of the members of the seven-man national salvation committee which was trying to arrange for an Israeli withdrawal from Beirut by negotiating an agreement on the status of Palestinian guerrillas in Lebanon.

Al-Wazzan's decision followed in the wake of the resignation of leftist Moslem leader Walid Jumblatt from the committee.

It was also reported that the ministers of tourism, and economy and commerce as well as other four Moslem ministers backed the prime minister's resignation earlier today and considered themselves as also having resigned.

The wave of resignations clouded hopes for any immediate settlement in Lebanon.

PLO Agrees to Withdraw

OW011306 Beijing XINHUA in English 1252 GMT 1 Jul 82

[Text] Beijing, July 1 (XINHUA)--The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) agreed yesterday to withdraw its armed forces from Beirut, according to reports from that city.

Lebanese ex-premier Saeb Salam announced the PLO's agreement after a 45-minute closed-door meeting with PLO's military commander Abu Jihad. He said that the most intricate problem at present was where and when the PLO would evacuate. The procedure was still under consultation, he added.

It was reported that on June 28 the PLO asked Lebanese President Elias Sarkis and Prime Minister Chafik Wazzan to convey its three conditions for withdrawal to Israel through U.S. special envoy Philip Habib. The conditions include a five-kilometer pull-back of Israeli forces from the southern suburb of Beirut, a token PLO military presence under the Lebanese army's command and a PLO political office to function in Beirut after the withdrawal.

The Israeli Knesset rejected these conditions on the following day. Instead, it put forward a five-point proposal: The Lebanese army must take up positions in West Beirut; groups associated with the PLO must surrender arms to the Lebanese army; all PLO members must leave Beirut and Lebanon; the Israeli army will allow Palestinians safe passage out of Lebanon by land or sea; negotiations must be started to get all foreign forces withdrawn from Lebanon.

Lebanese Government sources revealed that the PLO, though no longer insistent on its demand for a five-kilometer roll-back of Israeli troops, has adhered to its demand that the PLO guerrillas take away all their weapons with them when retreating and the Israeli troops should pull out simultaneously. As to the issue of a token PLO military presence in Lebanon which is opposed by Israel, the Lebanese Government and the PLO are working on a compromise. The Lebanese Government has indicated that it would not oppose a PLO political presence in Lebanon.

Lebanese Prime Minister Al-Wazzan, in successive meetings with army and police commanders on June 28 and 29, has demanded a rapid deployment of Lebanese troops in West Beirut to supervise the pull-out of most PLO guerrillas and their return to their camps on the capital's southern edge.

The PLO press agency reported today that unless an acceptable settlement is achieved, the PLO guerrillas will not leave Beirut and will be prepared for continued fighting.

CSO: 4000/154

COMMENTARIES ON KAMPUCHEAN COALITION GOVERNMENT

Beijing Radio Introduces Coalition

OW250543 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Commentary from the "International Current Events" program: "Unite and Fight Through to the End for the Liberation of Kampuchean Nation"]

[Text] The leaders of the three Kampuchean patriotic resistance forces, Norodom Sihanouk, Khieu Samphan and Son Sann, on 22 June formally signed the "declaration on the formation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea" in Kuala Lumpur, the capital of Malaysia. They will hold the posts of president [zhu xi], vice president [fu zhu xi] in charge of foreign affairs and prime minister of the new coalition government, respectively.

The "declaration on the formation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea" stipulates the purpose, operating principles, and composition and operation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea. The declaration points out: The purpose of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea is to mobilize all efforts in the common struggle to liberate Kampuchea from the Vietnamese aggressors with a view to restoring the motherland as a sovereign and independent country and to bring about the implementation of the declaration of the international conference on Kampuchea and other relevant UN General Assembly resolutions.

The operating principles stipulate:

1. The coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea is under the legitimacy and framework of the state of Democratic Kampuchea, which is a member state of the United Nations. To this end, the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea will strive to defend Democratic Kampuchea's seat in the United Nations.

2. Each participating party in the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea shall retain its own organization, political identity and freedom of action.

3. The workings of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea shall be guided by the principles of tripartism, equality and nonpreponderance.

4. The operation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea shall be governed by the principle of consensus applicable to matters of importance.

The leaders of the three Kampuchean parties delivered speeches after signing the "declaration on the formation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea."

Prince Norodom Sihanouk said: Whatever the future holds for us, you can be assured that the patriotic Cambodians--descendents of a great people with a glorious past--will continuously reject a Vietnamese protectorate, and will continue to fight, as do the Afghan and Palestinian people, to one day recover our sacred right to self-determination and dignity.

Khieu Samphan stated: The formation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea reflects the deep wishes of the Kampuchean people. Now our task is to make this government operate in a good way, in conformity with the spirit and letter of this declaration, to achieve the objective of rapidly driving all the Vietnamese aggressors out of Kampuchea and ending the immense sufferings of the Kampuchean people brought about by the Vietnamese aggressors in order to reconstruct the independent, neutral and nonaligned Kampuchea.

He told a XINHUA reporter in an interview: The establishment of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea has dealt the Vietnamese invaders a direct blow and encouraged all the Kampuchean people.

Son Sann said: On this historic occasion, I wish to reiterate that we are resolute in our determination to liberate our homeland from the foreign military occupation as soon as possible, and that all Cambodians of all political tendencies are united on this point.

He told a XINHUA reporter in an interview: The patriotic forces of Kampuchea should unite to force out the Vietnamese aggressors.

Beijing Commentary Views Government

OW250227 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Station commentary: "A New Development in the Kampuchean People's Struggle Against Vietnam for National Salvation"]

[Text] The leaders of the three Kampuchean anti-Vietnamese patriotic forces formally signed on 22 June a declaration on the formation of a coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea. This constituted a major step forward in their joint resistance against Vietnamese aggression. The Vietnamese authorities, with the support of Soviet hegemonists, invaded Kampuchea in 1979, bringing untold suffering to the Kampuchean nation. In the face of Vietnamese aggression, the Kampuchean people have put up

a heroic and tenacious struggle against aggression in order to safeguard national independence and national survival.

Attaching importance to the national interests and seeking common grounds on major issues while reserving differences on minor ones, the three anti-Vietnamese patriotic forces finally formed the coalition on the basis of equality after much consultation. This tripartite coalition is suited to the development of the anti-Vietnamese struggle, reflecting the aspirations and demands of the Kampuchean people. It will become an inspiration and a motive force in rallying and mobilizing the patriotic strata and the broad masses of people in Kampuchea to support and participate in the struggle against Vietnamese aggression and for national salvation and in enhancing the anti-Vietnamese forces. It will also help enlarge diplomatic activities to win more sympathy and support in the world. This is a telling blow at the greater and lesser hegemonists and is conducive to promoting peace and stability in Southeast Asia and Asia. The tripartite coalition of Kampuchea will certainly be welcomed and supported by countries and people in the world that uphold justice.

The Chinese people have always resolutely supported the Kampuchean people's struggle for national independence and against Vietnamese aggression. The Chinese people have always supported the coalition of the three Kampuchean anti-Vietnamese patriotic forces. This coalition has finally materialized following joint efforts. This is a good thing and we welcome and support it. We also hope that the three Kampuchean forces will continue to make efforts on this basis, strengthen unity, abide by the agreement signed and continue to develop the excellent situation in their joint resistance against Vietnamese aggression so as to drive the Vietnamese aggressors out of Kampuchean territory and win final victory in the struggle against Vietnamese aggression and for national salvation.

CSO: 4005/972

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON ARGENTINA

PRC Condemns Britain

OW180442 Hong Kong AFP in English 0428 GMT 18 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing, June 18 (AFP)--China today condemned the British move to retake the Falklands from Argentina and reaffirmed its backing for Buenos Aires' claim to sovereignty over the South Atlantic islands.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry added in a statement, however, that it was convinced the dispute over the Falklands would eventually be resolved "justly and reasonably."

Beijing first hesitated to take a position in the dispute triggered by the Argentine military action in early April to capture the islands they claim under the name of the Malvinas. But as the conflict escalated into war, China came down clearly on the side of Buenos Aires.

China maintains good relations with both countries. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is expected to visit here in September.

"We maintain that the military measures resorted to by Britain cannot possibly solve the dispute between Argentina and Britain over the Malvinas Islands," said the statement by the Foreign Ministry's information department. "Argentina's claim to sovereignty over the Malvinas should be respected." The statement continued: "We believe that the dispute over the Malvinas, a historic question left over by colonialism, will eventually be justly and reasonably solved."

China hopes to keep up close relations with Argentina and other Latin American countries as a hedge against any possible growth in the Soviet Union's influence in South America.

In its statements and commentaries during the Falklands crisis, Beijing condemned the United States for risking its relations with Latin American states by backing Britain. It also accused Moscow of trying to use the conflict to further its own interests in the region.

Political Parties Resume Activities

OW181621 Beijing XINHUA in English 1604 GMT 18 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing, June 18 (XINHUA)--Argentina's new military junta chairman Lami Dozo Thursday announced that political parties will be allowed to resume free activities in July.

According to the official Telam News Agency, Lami Dozo said a statute will be announced in July allowing "a process of reorganization of the institutions of the republic."

Activities of political parties and trade unions have been banned in Argentina since the military junta came to power in 1976.

Lami Dozo, who also is commander of the air force, reportedly made the announcement after a discussion with senior air force officers about the situation on the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands in the wake of a ceasefire with British forces and measures to deal with the worsening domestic economic problems.

Lami Dozo became chairman of the junta after General Leopoldo Galtieri resigned Thursday.

Referring to the country's future, Lami Dozo said, "If a military fact must signal a point of change, then the period of change must start here and now."

"If we want to build a better country," he said, "it is imperative to eradicate certain bad habits which have long affected Argentine society."

Lami Dozo also said Argentina should not remain "a lab for transplanted economic patterns." Argentina should design its own economic pattern, he said.

New President Named

OW231622 Beijing XINHUA in English 1607 GMT 23 Jun 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, June 22 (XINHUA)--The Argentine army today named retired Army General Reynaldo Bignone president of Argentina.

A communique signed by commander-in-chief of the army Cristino Nicolaides said the army alone has responsibility for the government's political leadership. "The army suggested General Bignone be appointed the new president of Argentina," it said. "He has agreed to assume the office to accomplish the limited term of a transition government."

The communique said Bignone would be sworn in on July 1.

The air force said in a communique that it suggested a civilian be named president. The suggestion failed to be accepted, the communique said, resulting in the decision of the air force to "withdraw from the political leading body in the process of national reorganization."

However, the commander-in-chief of the air force will continue to be a junta member. Commander-in-chief of the air force Lami Dozo said he would attend the military junta's meetings when questions of security, defense and of the highest interests of the nation are discussed.

The communique issued by the navy said the navy proposed that the president should be a civilian or a retired officer, "but the decision was postponed because of divergence of opinions." The communique said the navy also will stop taking part in the political leadership of the country's reforming process but will continue to exercise "its rights and to carry out its responsibilities."

High-ranking officers of the air force and navy today resigned their services from the junta government. Among them were Minister of Social Action Vice Admiral Carlos Alberto Lacoste, and Minister of Labour Brigadier General Julio Cesar Porcille.

CSO: 4000/156

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON EAST EUROPE

12th Congress of LCY

OW221654 Beijing XINHUA in English 1544 GMT 22 Jun 82

[Text] Belgrade, June 21 (XINHUA correspondent)--The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) is ready for its 12th congress which is scheduled to open on June 26.

The congress, the first since the death of Josip Tito in 1980, is to take place in a difficult and complicated situation both at home and abroad. It has drawn the attention of the league's organizations at all levels.

As early as January last year, the LCY set up three committees to draft the main documents for the congress--a report on the league's work since the 11th congress, a resolution and a revision of the league's constitution. After repeated discussions and revisions by the whole party, the three draft documents were approved at a plenary session of the LCY Central Committee recently.

The first two documents make a systematic summary of Tito's theory and practice of socialist self-management and give credit for his tremendous contribution to the development of the system of socialist self-management in Yugoslavia. The preface of the draft constitution points out that Tito's theory and practice is the guiding ideology under which the LCY will continue to develop socialist self-management.

In the course of preparations for the congress, the LCY leaders stressed that the congress will continue to follow Tito's path, strengthen the league's role, seek unity of thinking and action and take practical measures to overcome economic difficulties. The 12th congress will take the stabilization of economy as a strategic task for the period to come.

The LCY organizations in the six socialist republics, the two autonomous provinces and the armed forces held their congresses recently to sum up their work and elect new leading bodies and more than 1,500 deputies to the national congress.

Energy Saving Measures

OW231320 Beijing XINHUA in English 1242 GMT 23 Jun 82

[Text] Bucharest, June 22 (XINHUA)--At a meeting today, the political executive committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party decided on a number of new measures for saving energy, according to an AGERPRES report.

These measures are aimed at guaranteeing the development of the national economy and reducing the impact of the world energy crisis on Romania.

In order to guarantee profits for all production units, the meeting resolved to raise the production prices of natural gas, petroleum, other fuels, electricity and heating and at the same time readjust the consumer prices for fuels and rates for electricity and heating as of July 1.

The meeting studied and approved a report on further reduction of the supply of oil-consuming heating in the second half of this year and in the last three years of the current five-year plan. The political executive committee demanded that all the government ministries, production units and scientific research institutes do accordingly forthwith.

The meeting also decided to hold elections at the city (district) and village levels this November as scheduled.

Hungarian PCC Session

OW261810 Beijing XINHUA in English 1607 GMT 26 Jun 82

[Text] Budapest, June 26 (XINHUA)--The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party issued a communique strongly condemning Israel's recent aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian people, "NEPSZABADSAG" reported today.

The communique issued after the plenary session of the Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee held on June 23 demanded that Israel stop its armed attacks on Lebanon at once, that Israeli troops withdraw from the area immediately and without any preconditions and that the sovereignty of Lebanon be respected.

On internal issues, the communique said there was a disequilibrium in economic growth in various sectors in the first five months of the year. The volume of foreign trade dropped compared with the corresponding period of last year. The feasibility of export and the financial condition were more unfavourable.

The communique pointed out that the cardinal requirement for economic development in Hungary was to ensure the quality of products. Therefore, economic policy should serve more effectively than ever the purpose of improving the competitiveness of Hungarian products in world markets.

SFRY Party Congress' Resolution

OW291744 Beijing XINHUA in English 1558 GMT 29 Jun 82

[Text] Belgrade, June 29 (XINHUA)--A special resolution adopted by the 12th congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia today expressed the determination to achieve economic stabilization through self-reliance and the mobilization of all workers and factors in society.

The resolution, reported by TANJUG today, outlines the strategic commitments in this field: "The bringing of all forms of consumption and of the country's balance-of-payments possibilities into realistic frameworks, the implementation of the anti-inflation program, expanded export of goods and services and, above all, improvement of the country's balance-of-payments position."

"An increase in exports, especially those to the convertible currency area, and the joining on a broader basis in the international division of labor is one of the basic strategic questions of our further social and economic development," says the resolution. In this context, it defines as an economic imperative the objective of reaching the production level of developed countries.

The resolution sets as a long-term task the achievement of the dinar's convertibility.

It gives priority to a faster growth of energy, raw materials and food production.

With a much lower growth of the social product, the resolution says, "The consequences of the country's excessive foreign indebtedness must be overcome, a turn taken in the quality of economic activity, the balance-of-payments deficit eliminated and a solution in depth of the problem of unemployment inaugurated."

The resolution places special emphasis on the further development of self-management and the guarantee of direct workers' control over the entirety of income and expanded reproduction.

The resolution stresses that the ideological and action unity of the League of Communists is of essential importance for the realization of this major social undertaking. For this reason, it says, concrete and well-programmed actions will be taken immediately after the congress.

SFRY Central Presidency

OW291932 Beijing XINHUA in English 1913 GMT 29 Jun 82

[Text] Belgrade, June 29 (XINHUA)--The 12th Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia held its first plenary session this afternoon and elected a LCY central presidency.

During the first session of the new central presidency, Mitja Ribicic was elected president of the central presidency, whose tenure of office is one year.

Nikola Stojanovic was elected secretary of the central presidency, whose tenure of office is two years.

Trpe Jakovlevski, Vlado Janzic and Marko Lolic were elected executive secretaries of the central presidency, whose tenure of office is four years.

The central presidency will hold sessions in the future to decide on the number of the executive secretaries and then hold additional elections and divide up the work among the executive secretaries.

Curfew Lifted in Warsaw

OW010310 Beijing XINHUA in English 0252 GMT 1 Jul 82

[Text] Warsaw, June 30 (XINHUA)--The municipal authorities of Warsaw today decided to lift the night curfew imposed here since May 4 together with the ban on student clubs, discotheques and other forms of public entertainment, according to a PAP report.

This was announced by General Mieczyslaw Debicki, who is the mayor of Warsaw, as suggested by the provincial defense committee which held that "public order has seen an obvious improvement recently" in the capital.

Curfew was first enforced in Warsaw with the announcement of the state of siege on last December 13 but was lifted on May 2. It was reimposed two days later because of the demonstrations organized by the Solidarity trade union.

After the removal of the bans in Warsaw, curfew now remains in force only in Wroclaw and several other cities.

Earlier on June 25, the mayor of Warsaw also lifted the ban on the activities of the Association of Polish Theatre and Film Actors.

CSO: 4000/155

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON WEST EUROPE

Envoy to Iceland's Departure

OW250157 Beijing XINHUA in English 1224 GMT 22 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 21 May (XINHUA)--The Chinese ambassador to Iceland, Chen Feng, left Reykjavik for home today upon completion of his ambassadorial mission there, according to a report from Reykjavik. He was seen off at the airport by Olafur Egilsson, director of the protocol department of the Iceland Foreign Ministry.

Prior to his departure, Chen Feng was received by Iceland Prime Minister Gunnar Thoroddssen and Foreign Minister Olafur Johannesson. He attended a banquet given in his honour by the foreign minister.

On 18 May, the Chinese ambassador hosted a cocktail party in the Chinese Embassy. Among the 150 guests present at the party were former Iceland President Kristjan Eidjarn; Madame Olafur Johannesson and the secretary general of the premier's office as well as diplomatic envoys of various countries.

EEC Lifts Ban on Imports

OW211538 Beijing XINHUA in English 1516 GMT 21 Jun 82

[Text] Brussels, June 21 (XINHUA)--The European Economic Community countries decided to lift their ban of imports from Argentina as from today, according to a report from Luxembourg.

This decision was taken by the foreign ministers of the EEC countries at their council meeting held in Luxembourg on June 18. But the foreign ministers of the EEC countries reached this agreement of their ban of imports from Argentina on condition that there is no resumption of hostilities between Britain and Argentina.

At the same time, the EEC countries will continue to ban arms sales to Argentina. Britain made it clear that it will maintain all its sanctions against Argentina until that country guarantees a complete end to hostilities.

Prior to this, several EEC countries including West Germany, the Netherlands and France had hoped to end the sanctions because they were anxious to begin repairing the EEC's relations with Latin America as swiftly as possible.

Negotiations Postponed

OW220344 Beijing XINHUA in English 0251 GMT 22 Jun 82

[Text] London, June 21 (XINHUA)--Britain and Spain have agreed to postpone their negotiations over the future of Gibraltar at Spain's request, it was reported here today.

The postponement means that Spain's frontier with this tiny British colony will not be reopened next Friday as originally planned.

The announcement came after a meeting between British Foreign Secretary Francis Pym and his Spanish counterpart Jose Pedro Perez Llorca in Luxembourg where both were attending a European community foreign ministers' meeting.

In a joint statement issued there today, the two foreign ministers said that the Spanish Government had asked for postponement of the talks scheduled for June 25 and 26 in Sintra, Portugal. A new date would be fixed in due course, they added.

The Spanish foreign minister, Perez Llorca, told reporters in Luxembourg that Britain was clearly not in the right mood to negotiate another colonial sovereignty dispute so soon after its conflict with Argentina over the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands.

Meanwhile, British Foreign Secretary Francis Pym told a press conference today that events of the past two to three months had obviously affected the Spanish view and it was only realistic to take that into account.

However, both foreign ministers made it clear that the two countries were still committed to keeping alive the negotiation process started in April, 1980, aimed at defining Gibraltar's future.

Spain has a long-standing territorial claim on Gibraltar which was seized by Britain in 1704 and then ceded to it by a treaty in 1713. The strategically important British rock colony at the mouth of the Mediterranean covers 6.5 square kilometres and has a population of about 30,000.

UK to Strengthen Defense

OW230320 Beijing XINHUA in English 0155 GMT 23 Jun 82

[Text] London, June 22 (XINHUA)--The British Government today pledged to strengthen its nuclear and conventional forces to meet "the main threat" from the Soviet Union.

The pledge was made by British Defence Secretary John Nott at a press conference in conjunction with the publication today of the government's annual White Paper on Defence. The long-awaited White Paper had been delayed for over two months because of the recent events in the South Atlantic.

Nott said in a prepared statement that the main threat to the United Kingdom is from the nuclear and conventional forces of the Soviet Union and her allies. "For more than 30 years NATO has been the prime concern of successive British Governments," he indicated.

Nott said the Defence Ministry would publish another White Defence Paper towards the end of this year when lessons from the Falklands (Malvinas) conflict were further studied.

He reiterated the British Government's commitment to proceeding with renewing and expanding its nuclear deterrent by purchasing the Trident submarine ballistic missile system from the United States at a cost of 5 billion pounds.

The White Paper, submitted to Parliament for debate today, said that "the last year has brought no easing of tension between East and West." It pointed out, "the Soviet Union has again displayed its readiness to make use of military power both directly and indirectly in pursuit of political objectives. Soviet forces in Afghanistan are brutally suppressing popular resistance with complete disregard for international opinion and law...above all, the rapid build-up of Soviet nuclear and conventional forces has continued unabated."

"In the face of all this," it said, "Western governments have had no choice but to take further steps to strengthen their collective defences." Britain's response to this main threat "remains the overriding priority," it added.

Thatcher Speaks at UN

OW240144 Beijing XINHUA in English 0105 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Text] United Nations, June 23 (XINHUA)--British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said here today that the future of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands would be determined by the inhabitants of the islands through consultation with the government of the United Kingdom in the light of the principle of "self-determination."

Speaking at a press conference at the U.N. headquarters this afternoon, the prime minister completely excluded Argentina in any talks on the sovereignty of these islands. That is a matter only between her government and the people on the islands, she said.

Asked about the possibility of positioning a U.N. peace-keeping force on the islands, she said a U.N. peace-keeping force is not "appropriate" to be put on the islands. In the short term, she added, the armed forces of the United Kingdom would defend the islands and help bring normalty back to the islands, and in the long term, her government would like to consider a multinational force to keep peace there.

On the situation in Lebanon, she criticized Israel for its invasion of Lebanon. She said the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon should be respected, and Israel should withdraw its forces from Lebanon.

NATO Holds Naval Exercise

OW240744 Beijing XINHUA in English 0732 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Text] Brussels, June 23 (XINHUA)--NATO began a week-long naval exercise yesterday in the southern region of Belgium to test its ability to reinforce carrier battle groups in the Mediterranean and to project power ashore in support of land battles.

The exercise, code-named "Daily Double 1-82," is conducted by Vice Admiral William H. Rowden, commander of NATO's naval striking and support forces in southern Europe, an announcement from NATO's supreme allied powers headquarters said.

The exercise involves naval units and land-based air forces from Greece, Italy, Turkey, Britain and the United States.

Greece's participation has attracted attention here because it withdrew its destroyer from the recent "Deterrent Force 1/82" exercise in protest of violation of Greek air space by Turkish air force.

UK Claims Falklands

OW240820 Beijing XINHUA in English 0805 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Text] Washington, June 23 (XINHUA)--British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher reaffirmed today that Britain would not discuss the issue of sovereignty of the Falklands (Malvinas) Islands with Argentina. "Falklands are British," she claimed.

After addressing the United Nations special session on disarmament in New York this morning, Mrs Thatcher was invited to hold talks with U.S. President Ronald Reagan in the White House admist reports that the U.S., anxious to begin healing its relations with Latin America, urged reconciliation between Britain and Argentina.

But, the British prime minister showed no mood of compromise when she repeated the claim at a press conference later that "there is no sovereignty issue to discuss" with Argentina.

On the issue of the U.S. participation in a multi-national force to keep peace in the islands, Mrs Thatcher merely said "it is premature" to discuss this question.

At a press briefing later this evening, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig evaded the issue of peace-keeping force at all.

A "WASHINGTON POST" report said "American relations and interests in this hemisphere have already been sufficiently damaged by the Falklands affair. The damage can only be compounded and the American conflict of interest prolonged by even the appearance of U.S. support for a stand-pat British position on the sovereignty."

Haig told the press that Reagan and Thatcher also discussed the situation in the Middle East and the East-West relations, including Poland and Afghanistan. But he did not elaborate.

Thatcher Speaks on Disarmament

OW241242 Beijing XINHUA in English 1229 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Text] United Nations, June 23 (XINHUA)--"The fundamental risk to peace is not the existence of weapons of particular types. It is the disposition on the part of some states to impose changes on others by resorting to force," announced British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at the second special session of the U.N. General Assembly this morning.

"Our key need is not for promises against first use of this or that kind of military weapon--such promises can never be dependable amid the stresses of war. We need a credible assurance," she added.

The British prime minister said, the U.S. and the Soviet Union "have by far the largest arsenals. These could be greatly reduced in a way which would not endanger security. Decisive action is needed, not just declarations or freezes."

"I welcome," she went on, "the radical proposals made by the United States for substantially cutting strategic weapons, and for eliminating a whole class of intermediate-range systems (the zero option)."

On the question of conventional forces, she said: "The biggest concentration and confrontation of such forces anywhere in the world lies in Europe. But it is heavily weighted on the side of the Warsaw Pact. This situation is in itself a cause for concern. But there is the more fundamental question whether the Warsaw Pact can or wishes to sustain a stable relationship with the rest of the world."

She said: "Mere words, speeches and resolutions will not prevent them. The security of our country and its friends can be ensured only by deterrence and by adequate strength--adequate when compared with that of a potential aggressor."

"The need to secure a better balance in conventional arms becomes even more imperative," she stressed.

NATO Commander Visits Turkey

OW241252 Beijing XINHUA in English 1237 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Text] Ankara, June 23, (XINHUA)--Bernard Rogers, supreme commander of the allied powers in Europe of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) paid an official visit to Turkey from June 21 to 23.

Kenan Evren, Turkish head of state, held talks with Rogers on the modernization of the Turkish armed forces' equipment and the implementation of the "Rogers Plan."

In 1980, Rogers shuttled between Turkey and Greece. As a result the two countries accepted the "Rogers Plan" which led to Greece's return to NATO. This has strengthened the unity of NATO member countries and is of importance in beefing up the defences of NATO's southeast flank and the Mediterrannean.

It was reported that during the visit Rogers mainly studied the defence of Turkey's eastern border areas adjoining the Soviet Union and the newly emerged issues on the country's eastern defence front arising from the Iran-Iraq war and Israel's invasion of Lebanon.

Rogers will leave Turkey tomorrow for Brussels.

France's Mauroy on Nuclear Force

OW241842 Beijing XINHUA in English 1820 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Text] Paris, June 23 (XINHUA)--France's strategic nuclear force should be independent and "true disarmament negotiations" should be conducted, French Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy said today in Cherbourg at the launching of France's sixth nuclear submarine, the "Inflexible."

He said that the two superpowers possessed more than 2,000 multi-warhead missiles and at least 300 Soviet-deployed SS-20 missiles were threatening the security of Europe and China. "This situation, especially the growing imbalance in conventional and nuclear weapons in Europe in favor of one of the superpowers are making people more anxious," he said.

Mauroy stressed that the French nuclear strategic force "aims only at guarding France and its interests against any aggression," and therefore, "as long as the superpowers do not change the nature of their atomic armament, as long as there is a conventional imbalance in Europe, our force can not be negotiated nor counted with the megatons of one or the other power."

"France's strategic force is and will remain independent," he said.

"Inflexible" is reportedly a second-generation nuclear missile submarine. It is equipped with six 150,000-ton M-4 multi-warhead missiles. Its nuclear combat capability equals one-third of the total of the other five nuclear submarines built by France earlier. The submarine will be commissioned in 1985.

EEC Commission President to Austria

OW260750 Beijing XINHUA in English 0737 GMT 26 Jun 82

[Text] Vienna, June 25 (XINHUA)--EEC Commission President Gaston Thorn told a press conference here today that the forthcoming EEC summit conference in Brussels would discuss possible economic sanctions against Israel, if Israel refused to withdraw its troops from Lebanon.

Thorn, now on an official visit here, yesterday attended a banquet held in his honor by Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky. His host also called on EEC, together with the United States and the Soviet Union, to take measures to bring about Israel's immediate withdrawal. Sanctions against Israel were necessary as stipulated in the charter of the United Nations, the Austrian chancellor said. He also called for efforts to end the fighting in Lebanon and safeguard the rights of the Palestinians.

At his press conference today, Gaston Thorn expressed dissatisfaction with the recent U.S. decision to levy taxes on EEC steel products and to lay more embargoes on the Soviet Union.

EEC Summit Discussions Open

OW290716 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 29 Jun 82

[Text] Brussels, June 28 (XINHUA)--Leaders of the ten European Economic Community (EEC) countries opened their summit here today with the Middle-East crisis resulting from Israel's invasion of Lebanon and European-U.S. relations dominating their discussions.

Presiding over today's discussion, Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens demanded "most vigorously" an immediate and complete cease-fire in Lebanon in order to seek a solution to the tragic situation.

He said, "Without an equitable settlement of the Palestinian problem through the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, no profound and lasting solution is possible."

The summit participants heard a message from Egyptian President Mubarak which requested the European countries to play an important part to ensure that Israeli's aggression would not be rewarded.

President Mubarak urged the European leaders to "do their utmost in the political, diplomatic as well as humanitarian fields to help contain the crisis and ease the untold sufferings of the Lebanese and Palestinian civilian population."

On the European-U.S. relations, the European leaders were preoccupied by the U.S. decision of preventing the supply of U.S. licensed parts needed for the Soviet-Western Europe gas pipeline project. They accused the U.S. of breaching the principles of international law and described the U.S. position as unacceptable.

U.S.-European relationship has been in deep trouble for some years and has never been so strained in the postwar years at least. But the European leaders emphasized the importance of the partnership and called for global dialogue with the U.S.

There is growing concern in the EEC that its future economic recovery will be damaged by Washington's economic and monetary policies which involve trade disputes on steel, agricultural products, textiles and credit problems.

CSO: 4000/158

BRIEFS

LIAONING DELEGATION TO DPRK--At the invitation of the People's Committee of the DPRK's North Pyongan Province, a 19-member Liaoning provincial study-visit delegation led by (Wen Naiwu), deputy director of the general office of the provincial government, left Dandong for the DPRK 17 June. [SK181006 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Jun 82]

JAPANESE DELEGATION IN LIAONING--A seven-member goodwill delegation from Iki City, Japan, arrived at Anshan Municipality, Liaoning Province, on 9 June to attend the inaugural ceremony establishing sistership between the two cities. On the morning of 10 June the ceremony was held in Anshan Municipality, at which mayors of the two cities delivered speeches highly praising successful development of friendship between the two countries' people and pledging to make further efforts to display harmonious cooperation. On the same day the delegation made a sight-seeing tour of the city and then left for Shenyang. [SK121208 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Jun 82]

INTERNATIONAL HEALTH FORUM--Fifteen developing countries, including Barbados, Yemen, Jamaica, Gambia Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, the Sudan, Thailand, Tanzania, Vanuatu, Yugoslavia, Zimbabwe and China, will meet in Ye County, Shandong Province, 13-26 June to attend a forum on health care. The forum is to promote health care for all by 2000. This forum is sponsored by the World Health Organization, the International Development Organization, the UN Children's Fund Assembly and the World Bank with the support of China's Ministry of Public Health. Attending the forum will be public health ministers and officials of these countries and representatives of international organizations concerned. Participants, through inspections, will study China's grassroots health care work and probe into the possibility of whether a developing country can develop health care through self-reliance. [SK112215 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 8 Jun 82]

CSO: 4005/972

PARTY AND STATE

TAIPING HEAVENLY KINGDOM SEMINAR HELD IN BEIJING

HK150253 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jun 82 p 3

[Report by Li Gengqi [2621 1649 Q366] and Xiao Wu [5135 0702]: "Beijing Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Historical Research Society Holds Seminar"]

[Text] The Beijing Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Historical Research Society has held a seminar. About 50 research personnel and comrades concerned attended the seminar. The contents of the theses received included the fields of politics, economics, military affairs, religion and the change in social structure in the Taiping heavenly kingdom. Among all the theses, Wang Qingcheng's "the large family and small family of the god of the Taiping heavenly kingdom" made a textual research on the theory and facts of the two "god families" of the Taiping heavenly kingdom, analyzed the relations between the large family, which considers everyone as god's son or daughter and the universe as an entity, and the little family centered on the heavenly father, heavenly brother, heavenly king and junior heavenly king. It also analyzed the positive and negative effects of such a religious and ideological system, and conducted comprehensive research into the politics, ideology, religion and ethics of the Taiping heavenly kingdom. Zhen Rucheng's "gain and loss in financial revenue work in the Taiping heavenly kingdom," starting with the economic income of the Taiping heavenly kingdom and the evolution process of its relevant policies, testified to the corresponding changes of the class nature in the political power of the Taiping heavenly kingdom. He contends that after 1860, the Taiping heavenly kingdom tilted to gradually depending on the feudal exploiting class instead of dealing powerful blows at them. Meanwhile, the Taiping heavenly kingdom went against the interests of the broad masses, thus isolating itself from the basic masses and losing their support. Mistakes in fiscal and revenue policy constituted an important internal reason for the failure of the Taiping heavenly kingdom. Guo Yisheng's "comment on the system of enforcing tenants to deliver tax grain," on the basis of textual research and investigation, pointed out two situations existed at the same time in the policy of the Taiping heavenly kingdom, that is, "enforcing the tenants to deliver tax grain," and "landlords" and analyzed three reasons for the emergence of the former situation, thus proving the subject of "there would be no system of enforcing the tenants to deliver tax grain without the political power of the Taiping heavenly kingdom." By quoting material on Wujiang and Changshu, the author explained that after the soldiers of the Taiping heavenly kingdom assigned deeds of land to the tenants, a partial qualitative change

appeared in landlord ownership which was objectively conducive to the development of capitalism. Jia Shucun's "Feudal Clans During the Period of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom" and Yin Futing's "Tentative Discussion on the Disappearance and Influence of Central and Local Power of the Qing Government during the period of the Taiping heavenly kingdom." The analysis on the reason for the failure of the Taiping heavenly kingdom and the historical influence of the Taiping heavenly kingdom revolution were made much deeper than previous ones.

During the seminar, discussions were held on the existing problems in the research work of the Taiping heavenly kingdom and the future direction. All the participants agreed that great achievements have been made in the depth and breadth of research in the Taiping heavenly kingdom history since liberation. Nevertheless, it is far from perfect. There is still great room for development. For instance, there are links between the research of history of the Taiping heavenly kingdom and the history of certain areas, history of religion, history of the world and history of nationalities. Plenty of material has to be discovered and arranged in this field. New fields have to be opened. There is a need to strengthen research on the social, political and economic background to the period of the Taiping heavenly kingdom. Many subjects have to be dealt with, such as the Taiping heavenly kingdom's influence on the Westernization movement, the pioneers of reformism, the reform movement of 1898 and the revolution of 1911, the inevitability and fortuity and the internal and external reasons for the failure of the Taiping heavenly kingdom, the relations between the Taiping heavenly kingdom and national struggle, the national policy of the Qing Government during that period, the evaluation of figures of the Taiping heavenly kingdom, Hong Xiuchuan's role in the internal contradictions within the Taiping heavenly kingdom and his outlook on the universe, and the status and position of "Zi Zheng Xin Pian" in ideological history and the history of the Taiping heavenly kingdom. All this research has to be carried out deeply and widely. The participating comrades also held that the Taiping heavenly kingdom was the last and greatest peasant revolution of our country. There were indeed many creative achievements in it. Nevertheless, we cannot neglect its dual nature, especially the influence of the feudal system and ideological tradition on it.

As far as the economic problems of the Taiping heavenly kingdom are concerned, some comrades have, during the course of discussion, contended that the open policy of the Taiping heavenly kingdom on foreign trade was useful to the development of the economy. The leaders of the Taiping heavenly kingdom had a great passion for the science and technology of the West. They adopted a positive attitude towards it. The development of commerce in the area of the Taiping heavenly kingdom stimulated Chinese capitalism; it did not cause it to retrogress.

The seminar did not last long. However, there were enthusiastic and vivid speeches, and a harmonious atmosphere prevailed during the whole course of the seminar. This not only reflected the situation of academic contention of a hundred schools, but also stimulated unity. All the participants felt that such an academic mood should be initiated.

CSO: 4005/971

PARTY AND STATE

FIRST TALK ON RULING PARTY'S WORK STYLE

OW300112 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Radio talk by (Liu Binghai): "New Problems Faced by the Party After it Assumed the Leading Position in the Country"--first in a series of lectures on the ruling party's work style]

[Text] After 28 years of revolutionary struggles and war, the Communist Party of China led the people of all nationalities in China in overthrowing reactionary rule by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and established the people's republic of China. Beginning from that time, the party assumed the leading position in all activities throughout the country. Under the leadership of the party since the founding of the nation, the people of all nationalities throughout the country have, step by step, realized the transition from new democracy to socialism, promptly revitalized the national economy and developed economic construction in a planned manner. In most areas of the country, the socialist transformation in the ownership system of the means of production has been basically completed. Particularly since the convocation of the Eighth National CCP Congress in 1956, China has carried out socialist construction on a large scale, and won tremendous achievements in this respect. Due to its lack of experience in leading the socialist cause, the party has made subjective mistakes in analyzing the situation and understanding the state of our country. Even prior to the "great cultural revolution," it had committed mistakes of rashness and impatience in developing economic constitution and intensifying the class struggle. Later, the "great cultural revolution" took place. During that period, overall and serious errors were committed over a long period. All this has prevented us from scoring the kind of achievements which we should have attained.

After the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, the party reaffirmed the major strategic policy of decision at the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee on shifting the emphasis of work in the whole party. From that time, China entered a new period of historical development. The party's general task for this new period is to unite with the people of all nationalities, display the work style of self-reliance and arduous struggle, gradually realize the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology and build China into a highly civilized and democratic socialist nation.

Our party is the pioneer of the working class and the leader in developing the people's liberation cause. This statement is true either for the period of revolutionary wars, in which we had to wage struggles to serize political power, or in the period of socialist construction. However, due to the differences in time and conditions, as well as the social environment under which the party carries out its activities, the task and work methods of the party's will also differ. At the same time, following the consolidation and continuous improvement of the socialist system, the demands which the party imposes on each party member will also differ from those in the past. The third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee called for efforts to study the new situation and tackle new problems. This pointed out a correct path for the work of the whole party and party building and helped all party members incessantly raise the level of their awareness and improve their capabilities.

After the party assumed the leading position in the whole country, particularly after the vigorous development of the socialist modernization program, with what kind of problems would the party be faced in party building?

1. The problem of strengthening and improving party leadership. The "resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the people's Republic of China," adopted by the sixth plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, pointed out: "Without the Chinese Communist Party, there would have been no new China. Likewise, without the Chinese Communist Party, there would be no modern socialist China." To develop the socialist cause is an arduous and complex task calling for struggle over a protracted period. This task requires leadership, particularly the strong leadership of the party. Whether the party's leadership is strong or weak can be determined by checking whether this leadership follows the socialist path. After the party assumed the leading positions in all fields, to strengthen and improve party leadership has become an extremely important issue to which we must pay full attention.

Since the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we have already scored tremendous achievements under the strong leadership of the party. These achievements have attracted worldwide attention. The party's leadership has been incessantly strengthened in the course of improving itself. However, the party leadership in some departments, units and localities remains weak and lax. For example, some people dare not enforce measures which are conducive to the socialist cause. Those responsible for action dare not shoulder their responsibilities, and those who should be commended are not commended. Some people dare not criticize those measures which are harmful to the socialist cause. Also, some people dare not implement, in close connection with their own departments, area or unit, those guidelines and policies laid down by the central authorities and carry them through to the end.

The people have pinned great hope on our party and entrusted it with the historical mission of developing socialist modernization. But some of our comrades are always timid and worried. In this way, how can they possibly win the full confidence of the people?

In strengthening and improving the party's leadership, the CCP Central Committee has already adopted many effective measures. For example, it has worked out the "guiding principles for inner-party political life," abolished the

system of maintaining life-long tenure for cadres, practiced division of work between the party and the government, and promoted to leading posts those outstanding middle-aged and young cadres who are younger, more educated and professionally more competent, through the restructuring of government organs. It has also done away with some bureaucratic practices, one after another, and steadily raised work efficiency. The key to strengthening and improving the party's leadership lies in the firm implementation of democratic centralism within the party in order to turn it into an organization in which there is perfect democratic life and strict discipline. After the convocation of the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central committee, the party has done a great deal of work in practicing the principle of democratic centralism. Naturally, this principle of democratic centralism will have to be further improved and developed in the course of promoting the modernization program.

2. The problem of preventing and overcoming bureaucracy and guarding against the trend of divorcing ourselves from the masses.

In summing up the experience of the Paris commune, Engles pointed out: After having a good grasp of policy, the working class must guard against any trend to turn their status as servants of the people into that of masters of the people. Comrade Mao Zedong's views regarding this were even more specific in conforming with the actual situation in China. At the second plenary session of the Seventh National CCP Congress, he said: When the center of gravity of the party's work has shifted from the village to the city, we must guard against certain moods which may grow within the party--arrogance, the airs of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living. He also called for efforts to guard against attacks from "sugar-coated bullets."

The Eighth National CCP Congress also pointed out: The party's assumption of the leading position in various activities throughout the country has made our comrades tainted with bureaucratic habits. Compared with the past, the party organizations and party members have shown even greater tendencies to divorce from reality and from the masses. Later, our party and Comrade Mao Zedong once again pointed out that it is necessary to gurad against, and continuously overcome, the bureaucratic tendencies of divorcing from the broad masses and remaining aloof from all the people. We had committed the error of overestimating the seriousness of the situation and adopting the "leftist" policy of waging class struggle. We must not commit the same error again.

As far as the party of the working class is concerned, it is always important to pay full attention and effectively solve the problem of divorcing ourselves from the masses and the issue of bureaucracy. The party's line, guidelines and policies must proceed from the interests of the people and they must be worked out on the basis of such interests. The party always represents the common desire of the people. At the same time, the party has also educated all its members to work diligently, carefully and loyally to serve the people and learn from them, placing the people's interests above all. This is a necessary requirement for our party of the working class. This also constitutes the basic reason why our party is able to lead the Chinese people in winning continual victories and enjoying a high prestige among the people.

When the party is in a position to lead the country, party organizations at all levels and all its members are particularly required to keep firmly in mind the purpose of serving the people and to pay great attention to maintaining the closest ties with the masses of people. Under no circumstances is anyone allowed to take advantage of the power entrusted him by the people to satisfy his selfish desires or to seek to achieve his personal ends.

3. It is necessary to regularly educate party members in communist ideology and to consolidate the ranks of party members in a guided and systematic way. To successfully lead the cause of socialist modernization and increase its fighting capability, the party in a position to lead the country should also correctly use the method of making criticism and self-criticism to continually overcome and correct various shortcomings, mistakes and undesirable practices among the ranks of its members and, when necessary, to consolidate its members ideologically and organizationally. This is what is usually called party consolidation.

After the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques were smashed, the ferreting out of their factionalist followers fell under the category of party consolidation. The current struggle against serious criminal activities in the economic field involves party members and party member-cadres. Thus, some aspects of the struggle also fall under the category of party consolidation. Drawing a lesson from past experience, we no longer launch any tempestuous political movements but stress ideological education, practice criticism and self-criticism among comrades, have great respect for facts and solve problems in accordance with party rules and regulations as well as state laws and decrees. Since the party is now engaged in the communist movement in the initial stage of communism, that is, the stage of socialism, it is therefore urgently necessary to further step up communist education throughout the party, an education in communist ideology, communist ideals and conviction, the basic principles of Marxism and the party's principles and policies.

Our party has always attached great importance to communist education. However, anarchism and ultra-individualism, which were mainly whipped up by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, still have a market among some people and are continuing to pollute the general mood of our society. In the course of implementing the policies of opening to the world and revitalizing the domestic economy, some Communist Party members, party member-cadres and even a very small number of cadres in leading positions have been corrosively influenced in varying degrees by the ideologies of exploiting classes and have thus engaged in criminal activities in the economic field. Some young party members of a few years' standing lack a systematic knowledge of communism, and the communist spirit of some individual party members, who withstood tests for a long time, has more or less flagged. This is why it is urgent to persistently conduct extensive communist education throughout the party.

Communist education is the most fundamental and important aspect of ideological and political work as well as of ideological consolidation. The principle of effecting a division of work between the party and the government calls for party organizations at all levels, especially the primary party organizations, to free themselves from day-to-day administrative and vocational work and, in-

stead of running things all by themselves without consulting others, concentrate their energies on performing ideological and political work well and doing a good job in the supervision of party members, mainly in communism.

As far as the party organization is concerned, the ranks of party members are increasing with each passing day, because of the party's position of leading the country and its high prestige. With the admission to the party of thousands upon thousands of new members, the party has become ever more vigorous. Our party members, who can be found all over the motherland, are playing a tremendous role at various posts on the various fronts of socialist modernization.

At the same time, we should note that when people joined the party in the war years, they were ready at all times to sacrifice themselves. At that time, even though individual undesirable elements sneaked into the party, it was fairly eady to see through and expose them. Generally speaking, however, when one joins the party now, one does not have to take any risks like those of the war years. Thus, a situation is now apt to occur in which people join the party to seek an official position, fame and gain. In the course of conducting extensive ideological education, it is necessary to take necessary organizational measures against unqualified party members. Progress can hardly be made in the party's cause without serious organizational consolidation and without solving the problem of organizational impurity.

As to what problems party organizations at various levels and every party member are confronted with in party building when the party is a position to lead the country, we can only outline the main ones. Fundamentally speaking, in the course of historic socialist modernization, the party must always pay close attention to practical experience, draw strength from the broad masses of people, uphold the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought and, at the same time, continue to enrich them so that they will develop in practice. Only thus will the party be able to correctly identify new problems and properly solve them one by one. Only thus will the party be able to effectively lead the cause of socialist modernization to success.

CSO: 4005/971

PARTY AND STATE

SECOND TALK ON RULING PARTY'S WORK STYLE

OW010600 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 28 Jun 82

[Radio talk by (Wei Jianmin): "An Important Task of Party Leadership is to Organize and Support the People's Role as Masters of Their Own Affairs"--second in a series of lectures on the ruling party's work style]

[Text] Since its founding the Chinese Communist Party has regarded as its objective to strive to support the complete liberation of the Proletariat and the working people and to defend and develop the people's interests. As the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" has pointed out: "The Proletarian movement is the self-conscious independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority." The Chinese Communist Party opposes all deeds that infringe on the people's interests. It did so in the past, it is still doing so now and it will continue to do so in the future. The 28-year revolutionary war led by the party was waged precisely to overthrow the reactionary ruling class of old China and make the people of various nationalities the masters of the country. With the socialist system firmly established and socialist modernization in full swing, the people's role as masters of the country's affairs has been more and more consolidated and enhanced.

The people's role as masters is a basic characteristic of the socialist system, but this does not mean that the question concerning the people's role as masters can be solved once for all merely by overthrowing the old ruling class, establishing socialist public ownership of the means of production and practicing the system of to each according to his work. It was 17 years after the founding of the people's Republic of China and 10 years after completing in the main the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production that a 10-year civil strife took place in our country. The Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique seized some party and state power, cruelly attacked and persecuted the broad masses of people, including revolutionaries of the older generation, cadres, intellectuals, workers and peasants, and trampled under foot the people's democratic rights. This shows that the people will lose their democratic rights if the political power of the party and the state is usurped by careerists and conspirators.

The establishment of the socialist system put an end to the period of rule by the exploiting classes and proclaimed the beginning of an era when the people had become the masters. However, we must constantly develop and perfect the socialist system in order to safeguard and enhance the people's role as masters. This question has been explicitly expounded in the "resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the people's Republic of China" adopted by the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central

Committee. It pointed out: "A fundamental task of the socialist revolution is gradually to establish a highly democratic socialist political system." It also pointed out: "It is necessary to strengthen the building of state organs at all levels in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, make the people's congresses at all levels and their permanent organs authoritative organs of the people's political power, gradually realize direct popular participation in the democratic process at the grassroots level of political power and community life and, in particular, stress democratic management by the working masses in urban and rural enterprises over the affairs of their establishments."

The people's role in dealing with the country's affairs is a question closely related to the state system. Our state system is a system of people's democratic dictatorship. Recently the standing committee of the national people's congress promulgated the draft of the revised constitution of the people's Republic of China for the people of all nationalities in China to discuss. In Article 2, it specifically stipulates: "All power in the people's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise state power are the national people's congress and the local people's congresses at various levels. The people have the right to administer the affairs of the country and its economic, culturaland social affairs, according to provisions of the law through various channels and in various forms." Article 3 stipulates: "The national people's congress an the local people's congresses at various levels are elected democratically, are responsible to the people and subject to their supervision. All organs of state administration and all judicial and procuratorial organs are originated by the organs of state power to which they are responsible and to the supervision of which they are subject."

One of the remarkable features of the draft revised constitution is the enlargement of the functions and powers of the standing committee of the national people's congress and the standing committees of provincial and county people's congresses. The draft revised constitution has also contained specific stipulations regarding such questions as the fundamental rights and duties of citizens, the direct exercise of democratic rights by citizens at various enterprises, institutions and grassroots organizations and units, and the prohibition of any infringement upon these democartic rights. We have already held direct elections below the county level and prepared provisional regulations concerning the workers' congresses at state industrial enterprises. All these are focused at one objective--to insure that the people can directly exercise their democratic rights and truly play the role of the masters in state affairs.

We all know that the socialist cause is the people's own cause. Soon after the victory of the October revolution in Russia, Lenin pointed out: "Socialism is not created according to higher authorities' orders. It is absolutely incompatible with bureaucratic (opportunism) in the official circles. The vigorous and creative socialism is created by the people. Only by having the tens of millions of people participate in socialist practice, can we guarantee the victory of the socialist cause." Only if the people take direct part in managing state affairs, can they know their won strength, widen their field of vision and enhance their own ability, all of which they should do in order to be the masters of the country.

The party is the force at the core leading all our causes and the people are the masters of the country. Then, what is the relationship between the party leadership and the people's status as the masters? Comrade Hu Yaobang made a brilliant exposition on this question in his report at the meeting in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party. He said: "To organize and support the people as the masters of the country is the very essence of the party's leadership over affairs of state." In order to organize and support the people as the masters of the country, we should first know that our party members and cadres, particularly those who hold certain leading positions, are the backbone force in socialist construction as well as the people's public servants. All their work should be designed to wholeheartedly serve the people and help the people organize themselves to struggle for their own interest and will.

In order to organize and support the people as the masters of the country, we should publicize the viewpoint of historical materialism among the people and make the people know the orientation of historical development, their own historical mission and their own fundamental interests. We should make the people know the relationship between long-term interests and immediate interests, the principle for correctly handling the relationship and where their strength lies. When the people know the truth and have a common objective, they will enhance their own sense of responsibility as the masters of the country and work with one heart and one mind.

To organize and support the people in being the masters of the country, it is necessary to organize and urge them to study so that in the course of practice they will gradually know how to correctly use their power in managing their own affairs. This requires us to constantly and tirelessly publicize socialist democracy and socialist legality among the people in an effort to enable them to correctly and effectively use their democratic rights and use the law as a weapon to safeguard their legitimate interests and the socialist system. It is also necessary to insure that they are good at wielding socialist democracy and legality to fun the country and promote material and spiritual civilization and that they are good at being the masters of the country.

Our systems should guarantee that the people can act as the masters of the country. To guarantee the people's rights to manage their own affairs, our party has led them to constantly sum up experiences in the course of practice since the founding of the country. Attempts have been carried out to institute reform of the management system. In order to insure the development of socialist democracy in our political system, an experiment has been conducted in recent years in establishing commune members' congresses in some collective economic units. Moreover, the electoral law stipulates that deputies to the people's congress of a municipality not divided into districts, districts under the jurisdiction of a municipality, country, autonomous county, people's commune and town shall be elected directly by the voters.

The draft of the revised constitution of the country recently published for discussion by the people throughout the nation further sums up the creative achievements of the people over the past more than 30 years and the fresh experiences they gained in the course of practice. New stipulations are contained

in the draft of the revised constitution with regard to improving the country's socialist democratic systems, especially to perfecting the people's congresses at all levels. With the perfection of the political, economic, cultural and social systems, the people's rights to manage their own affairs will be increasingly and effectively enhanced.

Basically speaking, the fact that the people become the masters of their own affairs means they take the destiny of the entire country and the whole nation directly into their hands. It calls for the full development of the national economy and a great furtherance of our cultural, scientific, technological and managerial levels as well as of our ideological and moral levels. It requires that our country have perfect legal and political systems. To attain these goals, it is imperative to uphold and strengthen the party leadership.

It is not possible for the people to spontaneously know what their fundamental interests are. To enable the working class and other laboring people to understand where their fundamental interests lie and to struggle for their interests and to attain the goal of liberating themselves, it is imperative to give them leadership of their vanguard which is the Communist Party. The party cannot leave the people for a single moment. To safeguard their own interests, the people cannot divorce themselves from party leadership. Any attempt to split the party from the people is completely wrong. Our party is powerful, correct and invincible because it always stands together with the people, concentratedly represents their interests and is the force among the working class that is farsighted and open-minded and most powerful in fighting.

Under the socialist system, any attempt to split the party from the people is not only wrong but harmful. Without the leadership of our party, there would be no socialist system. During the 10 years of domestic chaos, the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique trumpted the slogan of "make revolution by kicking out the party committee." The results were just like what the resolution of the sixth plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee says: "It decidedly could not come up with any constructive program, but could only bring grave disorder, damage and retrogression in its train." In any sense, it does not mean progress or revolution but a great damage done to the people's rights.

With the development of socialist modernization and the prefection on socialist democracy and socialist legality. One of our party's long-term and important tasks is to organize and support the people to use their power of being the masters of the country in an expanding scope and in an increasingly effective manner.

CSO: 4005/971

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON KANG YOUWEI'S MEMORIALS

HK250402 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jun 82 p 5

[Article by Kong Xiangji [1313 4382 0679]: "Kang Youwei's Distortion of the Wuxu Memorials to the Throne and the reasons for It"]

[Text] Kang Youwei's Wuxu memorials to the throne represent firsthand data for the study of the 100-day history of the constitutional reform and modernization of 1898. In May in the Xinhai year of Emperor Xuantong (1911), Kang's follower Mai Zhonghua who "spent years collecting data," edited and published the "Wuxu Memorials to the Throne" (hereinafter briefly called the "memorials"). For many years, students of history have taken this work as a basis for the study of the reform movement of 1898 and Kang Youwei's thinking. In the early 1970's, based on the "historical data on the reform movement of 1898" edited by the office of archives on the Ming and Qing dynasties of the state archives bureau (published by the Zhonghua Book Company in 1958), and other data, Taiwan scholar Huang Zhangjian took issue with "memorials" by pointing out its distortions. The "bona fide versions of Kang Youwei's Wuxu memorials to the throne" written by him is of great value. Later, the "contents of the Wuxu memorials to the throne" prepared by Comrade Tang Zhijun correctly pointed out that "the work by Mr Mai not only made distortions but was also incomplete in its table of contents." But due to his limited exposure to relevant archives, Tang was inevitably wrong in some of his conclusions.

In recent years, with the increasingly penetrating study of the Qing palace document archives, we have discovered the original works hand written by Kang Youwei, such as "a collection of petitions by heroes," "a study of the reformation of Japan," "the fall of Poland," "a comparative list of important personages of various countries," and so forth, and many memorials to the throne drafted by him for others. The work "a collection of petitions by heroes" in particular included every word of the 18 memorials sent by Kang Youwei to Emperor Guang Xu from the first month of the year of Wuxu to 13 July. This has not only provided highly cherished fresh historical data for our study of the history of the reform movement of 1898 but also enabled us to clarify many questions.

In the "guide" to the use of the book "Memorials," Mai Zhonghua pointed out: "Over several months in the year of Wuxu, Mr Kang Youwei wrote 63 memorials. They represent the general program for the reform movement of 1898. They are

also typical of the writer." On the basis of the records of the military secrets department in the first historical records office of China for the 24th of Guangxu and on the basis of "a collection of petitions by heroes" and other data, the figure mentioned by Mai Zhonghua is on the whole credible. In the "Memorials," there are only a total of not more than 25 memorials, including 17 which were collected at one time, 5 which were prefaces to books and 3 which were collected later. These represent one-third of the memorials submitted to the throne by Kang Youwei during the period of the year of Wuxu. If we refer to records and study the discrepancies, we can easily see that in many places in the "Memorials" there are distortions in principle--which cannot reflect the political views of the advocates of reform in the period of the reform movement of 1898, these serious distortions can be chiefly found in the following three respects.

1. In the "Memorials," Kang Youwei inserted such words as "formulating a constitution and immediately setting up a constitutional government."

The promulgation of a constitution and the establishment of constitutional monarchy--this was not Kang Youwei's political viewpoint in the period of the 100-day reformation movement. Instead, this was the political slogan raised by them in the several years they sought refugee in Japan after the failure of the reform movement. Such lines in "Memorials" as "discussing a new government and formulating a constitution," "following the good practices of foreign countries and seeking a mass discussion of the constitution," and so forth were not mentioned at all in the original memorials to the throne. Obviously, they were inserted later.

2. In "Memorials," Kang Youwei changed the political program of the advocates of reform from the establishment of required systems bureau to the establishment of a parliament.

Large amounts of data from the Qing document archives show that the political program of Kang Youwei and others during the reform movement of 1898 called for exerting every effort to establish a required systems bureau in the palace and for "selecting versatile persons to meet the needs of the moment" ("The Fall of Poland," vol 7) in repeated petitions to the Qing Government, Kang Youwei urged Guang Xu to "set up such a bureau as soon as possible," he said, "if the bureau for required systems is not set up, everything will be left in a topsy-turvy state." ("Autobiography by Kang Nanhai") as early as on the eighth day of the second month of the year of Wuxu, Kang, on behalf of Song Bailu, drafted a petition for the establishment of an office for the discussion of policies. Later, he again drafted for others petitions for the establishment of a maoqin [diligence] royal office. Though the name of the organ to be set up had been repeatedly changed, the main goal had never changed. The goal was to let so-called "versatile persons" like Kang and Liang take charge of the new government. In all the records of the year of Wuxu, Kang Youwei did not say anything about the establishment of a parliament. On the contrary, he said: "As China has not caught up with the outside world, decisive and dogmatic measures must be taken and monarchical power must be exercised in their enforcement. But versatile persons must be recruited, so that they can play the role of advisers" ("A Study of the Reformation of Japan," vol 1) this was the real idea advocated by Kang.

3. In "Memorials," Kang Youwei tried hard to cover up his idea of respecting monarchical power. The reform movement of 1898 proceeded under circumstances where all kinds of obstacles were encountered from diehards. In the second public appeal initiated in the leap third month of the year of Wuxu, Kang, Liang and others clearly expressed their support for monarchical power. They stressed "making the people in the world understand the rules requiring a subject to obey the ruler and a son to obey his father and making every household know the virtue of being respectful to parents and to elder brothers." In "a 'public appeal' by over 800 successful provincial examination candidates, including Liang Qichao, and so forth" in the "A Collection of Petitions by Heroes," Kang Youwei said many times that monarchical power "packs the force of a thunderbolt. There is nothing to resist it and nothing can stand in its way. It is like a shepherd driving a herd of sheep and directing them to go in whichever direction he chooses, with a whip in hand. The emperor judges things by himself." These naked words of praise for monarchical power were entirely deleted in "Memorials." In their place were inserted such words as "though the people are humble, they are the sons of the ruler," "freedom of religious belief is an essential part of the constitution," and so forth. The changes made are obvious.

Why should Kang Youwei have wanted to make major changes in the memorials to the throne in the period of the reform movement of 1898? This was closely related to the then prevailing situation of domestic political struggle.

After the Sino-French war in the 1880's, given the increasing bankruptcy of the Westernization movement and the vigorous development of national capitalism, certain advanced thinkers realized that while learning from the Western capitalist economic system, we had to effect reforms in the feudalist superstructure of China. Zheng Guanying and other directly put forth the demand for the realization of constitutional monarchy. The devastating defeat in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895 brought the national crisis to an unprecedentedly serious stage. The calls for reforming the feudal dictatorial government became increasingly strong. In the "public appeal" and the "third petition to the Qing emperor," Kang Youwei repeatedly demanded that the Qing Government "be divided into provinces and counties. A person should be elected for every 100,000 households. Any person, whether already appointed as an official or not, can stand for election. A person so elected is to be given the title of 'Yi-Lang' [6231 6745] according to the Han system." When there is an important matter, "a conference is to be called, any decision to be approved by two-thirds of the participants." The holders of the title of "Yi-Lang" can "directly send appeals to the throne and pass on the wishes of the people." ("Correspondence of Kang Nanhai," vol 1). The kind of organ similar to a parliament that Kang wanted to set up had the power of a legislative organ. Of course, such a political view was put forth on the basis of the thinking of Zhang Guangying and others and was carried a step further.

But when the 100-day reform movement reached an upsurge, Kang Youwei's position drastically changed from a person of no consequence to one that counted in the new government. Guang Xu's departure from custom in granting him an interview convinced him of the emperior's determination to make a reform. Guang Xu's response to the advice of the advocates of reform especially made Kang Youwei

and others an all their hopes for political reform on the emperor. This, coupled with the existence of a large number of conservative high-ranking officials opposing a reform, forced Kang to give up his original political view. He made a switch from the original call for civil rights to a call for "resolutely practicing monarchy" and from the call for "establishing a parliament to reflect the views from the lower levels" ("the fifth petition to the Qing emperor") to a call for establishing a systems bureau in the palace to "participate in discussing new policies." (A Collection of Petitions from Heroes")

This switchover on the part of Kang Youwei, objectively speaking, was also dictated by the fact that the diehards enjoyed overwhelming superiority politically. To reduce obstacles that stood in the way of reform, Kang Youwei was compelled to act in the way he did, as far as the strategy of struggle was concerned. For example, Liang Qichao said: "By calling for the implementation of policies, he meant paying attention to monarchical power. Given the customs of China of several thousand years.... We may happen to have a good ruler. His power should therefore be upheld resolutely," (Liang Qichao: "Biography of Kang Youwei") which could mean winning half the battle. Liang believed that Kang wanted "to use the laws of the ruler to carry out the wishes of a people who enjoy civil rights." This, in Liang's opinion, was justifiable in a way. Subjectively speaking, Kang, Liang and others at that time still could not rid themselves completely of the shackles of traditional ideas. They lacked the courage to "act contrary to the wishes of the majority, thus inviting trouble." Therefore, they gave up their original political views.

After the reform movement of 1898, Kang and Liang escaped abroad. At that time, there was an unusually strong agitation for reform. Kang Youwei and others stubbornly maintained the stand of the emperor and were put in an increasingly difficult plight. On the one hand, they had to fight with the muddleheaded and decadent diehards in the Qing Government, urging the ruler to establish a constitutional government at an early date. On the other hand, they had to struggle against the revolutionary group represented by Dr Sun Yat-sen, in an attempt to replace the revolution with a constitutional government. After an upsurge in the revolution quickly appeared, the contradictions between the revolutionaries and the advocates of a constitutional government became especially more serious. The war of words became more heated. Dr Sun Yat-sen successively published such important articles as "refuting arguments for supporting the emperor," "notification to fellow countrymen," and other important articles fully exposing the true colors of Kang and Liang as supporters of the emperor and leaving them in a state of great passivity politically. The revolutionaries especially touched Kang and Liang on a weak spot when they charged that at the time of the reform movement, the latter had begun to oppose civil rights and did not favor the establishment of a parliament. Therefore, when "Memorials" was published in 1911, things like establishment of a parliament, immediate establishment of a constitutional government and restricting monarchical power were inserted. On the one hand, this could repulse the attack of the revolutionaries and lift themselves out of their political plight. On the other, this could have the effect of urging the Qing Government as soon as possible. Therefore, what many memorials in "Memorials" reflected represented mostly the political views of Kang and Liang during their exile in Japan.

CSO: 4005/971

NATIONAL CPPCC PANEL DISCUSSES DRAFT CONSTITUTION

OW180103 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1600 GMT 17 Jun 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 17 Jun (XINHUA)--At the second panel discussion on the draft of the revised constitution held by the National CPPCC Committee, some personages pointed out that the draft's stipulations on China's economic system and socialist modernization completely conform with China's actual situation and will certainly guide China's modernization program on to further successes.

Rong Yiren and Qian Changzhao, vice chairmen of the National CPPCC Committee, presided over the discussion meeting held at the CPPCC auditorium today. The participating members of the National CPPCC Committee concentrated their discussion on the stipulations in the draft of the revised constitution that concern China's socialist economic system and modernization.

Zhang Jingli, member of the standing committee of the National CPPCC Committee and vice chairman of the all-China federation of industry and commerce, talked about the stipulation in the draft of the revised constitution concerning the implementation of the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" in China. He said that the stipulation was correct and important. He said: Problems such as "eating from the same big pot" and "the iron rice bowl" in China's economic life are not brought about by the socialist system. There are historical factors that caused these problems, but the main reason for their emergence is the lack of experience in socialist economic construction and the unreasonable aspects of the economic system. These problems can be solved if the whole nation makes concerted efforts to promote what is beneficial and abolish what is harmful.

Huang Liangchen, member of the National CPPCC Committee and secretary general of the China Democratic National Construction Association Central Committee and adviser of the Ministry of Commerce, talked about his understanding of the stipulation in the draft of the revised constitution regarding the question of the ownership system from the commercial angle. He said: Article 7 states that the state sector of the economy is the dominant force in the national economy and that the state ensures the consolidation and development of the state sector of the economy. This is absolutely correct. Firstly, the commerce of a socialist state should have the state-run commerce as its main structure in order to guarantee that the principle of relying mainly on economic planning

with market regulation as the supplement is implemented. Secondly, the socialist market is multifactorial, but there must be a distinction between the primary and the secondary. The state-run commerce is responsible for making a unified arrangement of urban and rural markets and coordinating the commercial activities of different economic sectors. Thirdly, the socialist market is unitary and indivisible. There must be a unified policy. All business operations should be conducted according to the unified policy and subjected to unified management so that commodities will flow in an organized and sound manner.

Su Xing, member of the National CPPCC Committee and director of the economic department of Hongqi, said: The draft of the revised constitution states that the basis of the socialist economic system of the PRC is socialist public ownership of the means of production, that is, ownership by the whole people, and collective ownership by working people. In this way, the CCP Central Committee's principle that China's agriculture should follow the path of socialist collectivization is given a solid foundation in the constitution. This stipulation reflects the aspiration of the 800 million peasants.

CSO: 4005/971

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI RADIO' VIEWS DENG'S OPEN DOOR POLICY

OW120422 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 10 Jun 82

[Text] In recent years Comrade Deng Xiaoping has been anxiously soliciting American, Japanese and West European capitalists to undertake mining and industrial projects or engage in shipping or tourist business in our country. More and more areas have been opened as special economic zones [Jingji Te Qu 4842 3444 3676 0575] so that foreign monopoly capital groups and Hong Kong and Macao capitalists may freely establish enterprises there to earn large amounts of profits. However, what is most serious is that the enjoyment of privileges in our country by foreign capitalists, particularly U.S. imperialist and Japanese militarist capitalist, has been made permanent by writing it into the law. The consequence of this will be very harmful whether from the military, political or economic point of view.

From the military viewpoint, the policy of opening to Japan and the United States is tantamount to inviting wolves into the house, as the saying goes. Take Japan as an example. In the past Japan grew strong by committing aggression against our country. Today, striving for living space is still the prime task for the Japanese nation. Most of the influential persons now in Japan are militarists who previously took part in invading China. Now they are making every effort to revive militarism with the spearhead directed mainly at our country. Of course, they do not represent the Japanese people at large, but it is none other than these Japanese militarists that are making frequent contacts with our party and state leaders and are keen about an economic infiltration into our country. Now let us see the United States. The ultimate goal of the U.S. authorities in maintaining Taiwan's defense capability is to prevent the realization of China's reunification and to use Taiwan as a permanent anti-China fortress. Many key personnel of the U.S. Government have said unreservedly that the United States would be at a grave risk if it lost Taiwan, an unsinkable aircraft carrier in the Pacific, and that China is an old enemy of the United States. In addition, the United States has recently made positive efforts to strengthen its armed forces in South Korea, intensify its strategic position in southeast Asia and expand its lark irbase and Subic Naval Base in the Philippines. The U.S. military aid to the Asean countries has increased to more than $630 million. All these actions, of course, are directed against our country.

From the political viewpoint, since the unprincipled open door policy was put into effect, people have begun to doubt the superiority of the socialist sys-

tem, while the virus of crimes and corruption inherent in capitalist nations has spread here and there in our country. The situation is just like what (Ci Beiou) described in his recent poem: "Vulgar things have become a peril. Vulgar things have become a peril. Why are there so many spiritual poisons? Almost all of them are from abroad. Vulgar songs are corrosive. Pornographic photos show the nude. Pornographic books depict sexual activities. And pronographic films show sexual intercourse. What a serious outcome if these highly corrosive things are allowed to spread unchecked."

Finally, from the economic viewpoint, the United States, Britain and Japan thus far have never provided us with any high technology. The project of the Baoshan Iron and Steel complex built by Japan is actually a case of swindle whereby that country has gained a large sum of money from us. As for investment projects by foreign capitalists, the purpose is also to make unreasonable gains within a short period. What is more, by importing machinery and equipment of different specifications from different companies of different countries, we will have to rely on them forever. Once the situation changes and these companies no longer supply us with spare parts, the machinery and equipment will become nothing but scrap metal.

In view of the above, it is necessary to amend appropriately article 12 of the draft constitution by taking into consideration valuable suggestions from all sources.

CSO: 4005/971

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI' CRITICIZES PRC DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW131952 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 12 Jun 82

[Text] In the current discussion of the revised draft constitution by all units and organizations of the entire army, attention is focused on articles 28, 89 and 94. This is appropriately so because first, these articles directly concern the armed forces, and second, whoever controls the army also decides--to a very great extent--the fate of the party, state and people. History shows that inner party power struggles have always centered around the issue of authority over the army.

Article 28 of the revised draft constitution stipulates that the armed forces of the people's Republic of China belong to the people and that their tasks are to consolidate the national defense, resist aggression, defend the motherland and safeguard the people's peaceful labor. Article 89 stipulates that the state council exercises leadership over the buildup of the armed forces. Article 94 stipulates that the central military commission leads the armed forces of the country.

On the surface, these articles have clearly defined the army's nature and purpose; the amry's multilevel leadership is designed to prevent any individual from using the armed forces for selfish ends and to prevent careerists and conspirators from employing the army as a tool to usurp party leadership and state power and suppress the people. But the experience of our party, army and state over the past several decades shows that the better the contents of articles in the constitution, the more difficult it is to implement them. The current revised draft constitution is no exception to this rule.

Since the founding of the republic, our country has had four constitutions. The 1954 constitution was the best one. In it, the army's structure had more levels of leadership than under the present constitution. For instance, under the 1954 constitution, the army was put under the dual leadership of the military commission of the CCP Central Committee and the National Defense Commission of the PRC; the Ministry of National Defense commanded the army; army units stationed the various localities were subject to the leadership of local party committees; and the first secretary of local provincial party committees also held the post of first political commissar of the local military region or district.

What happened after the 1954 constitution is known to everyone. The army was turned into a tool to serve an individual dictatorship. What really happened was that the people's armed forces were turned into a private army of the chairman of the military commission; its mission of obeying the party leadership and safeguarding the people's peaceful labor was changed to serving the chairman of the military commission and safeguarding the supreme power of the chairman of the military commission; and the army was required to be loyal to the leader alone and not to the people.

This was true in the past. It is still true today. It is precisely for this reason that some people of the central authorities have criticized Comrade Deng Xiaoping for asserting that he can afford to give up the chairmanship of the CCP Central Committee but never the supreme power of the chairman of the military commission.

To prevent situations like those mentioned above from happening again in the future and to truly implement the related articles of the constitution, it is necessary--beginning today--to educate all commanders and fighters to be loyal to the state and the people. It is necessary to make the whole army from top to bottom realize that no individual is worthy of its worship and loyalty. The scandals involving leaders in the central organs exposed during the cultural revolution and the disastrous affects brought about by past personal cults should serve as living examples in this regard. It is necessary to teach both commanders and fighters that blind worship--be it of the gods, ghosts or persons--is foolishness.

Unfortunately, while the pernicious influence of past personal cults has not yet been entirely eradicated, a new cult of worshiping Comrade Deng Xiaoping is already running wild. This is truly unfortunate.

CSO: 4005/971

BRIEFS

HONGQI CHIEF EDITOR CRITICIZED--Xiong Fu, chief editor of Hongqi JOURNAL was scathingly condemned by Deng Xiaoping. He was criticized for attacking Deng Xiaoping, by inuendo, in an article published in the No 9 issue of Hongqi. The article praised Zhou Yu, a military commander during the period of the three kingdoms, by saying that Zhu Yu correctly handled veteran General Cheng Pu who disobeyed him. Our forefathers could do it this way, the article said, we communists should do it better. Flying into a rage, Deng Xiaoping replied to Xiong Fu: I don't have to learn any so-called correct ways from our forefathers to cope with Ye Jianying's opposition! [Text] [OW290520 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 18 Jun 82]

NEWLY PROMOTED CADRES ENCOURAGED--On the eve of 1 July, Chen Weida, first secretary of the Tianjin municipal CCP Committee, held a forum of cadres on the capital construction front, encouraging them to study hard, enhance their spirit and make a new start in their work after assuming new posts. Attending the forum were cadres selected during the recent regional organizational reform in accordance with the demand of selecting revolutionarized, young, professional and knowledgeable cadres. During the forum, Comrade Chen Weida cordially inquired about everybody's state of affairs and exchanged views with them on urban construction and the people's livelihood. All participants freely aired their views. Comrade Chen Weida stressed in his speech: "The current organizational reform has great significance in making the party's revolutionary cause prosper. I hope that all cadres who are ready to assume leading posts will study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought and scientific and technological knowledge. As long as leading cadres improve theoretical, professional and cultural standards, they can lead the masses to carry out the drive for the four modernizations in a better way." In doing work, cadres must follow the mass line, respect the collective leadership and work honestly and selfessly. [Summary from poor reception] [SK020819 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 2 Jul 82]

TRAIN EXPLOSION--An investigation has revealed that the accident of the Jinan-Jiamusi nonstop express train run No 193, in which more than 200 persons were killed or wounded, was caused by bomb explositions. The investigation group has received a letter signed by an "action committee for rescuing Comrade Jiang Qing." The letter said that the Jinan-Jiamusi nonstop express train explosions and the downing of the passenger airliner nearby Guilin on 26 April were revolutionary actions against Deng Xiaoping's totalitarian dictatorship. [Text] [OW191103 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 18 Jun 82]

DIAOYUDAS, BAOSHAN STEEL--During his talks with Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki, Premier Zhao Ziyang told his host that he was asked by Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping to tell the prime minister: China will not bring up the Diaoyudao Islands issue again and the Baoshan Iron and Steel Company, which has involved Japan, is not a serious problem. The tremendous amount of funds wasted for that project will not effect Sino-Japanese friendship and cooperation. China will forever open its door to Japan. [Text] [OW191115 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 18 Jun 82]

CLASS STRUGGLE, WASTE--While discussing the draft of the revised constitution, an NPC deputy in Sichuan proposed that the provision that there shall be no more political movements be included in the construction. The constitutional revision committee received a total of more than 54,000 letters regarding this issue. But the draft of the revised constitution still insists that "class struggle will continue to exist for a long time to come, and the Chinese people must struggle." In other words, certain people among the central authorities still insist on carrying out political movements. A cadre of the state statistical bureau, while discussing the draft of the revised constitution, said that although the previous constitution also stipulated that it was necessary to strictly practice economy and oppose waste this provision was ineffective. Over the past 4 years over 10 billion yuan has been wasted as a result of unrealistically importing equipment from abroad, construction of the Baoshan steel complex and disposing of scrapped products in conducting inventories. He said that nobody has been punished by law because of such waste. [Text] [OW121241 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 11 June 82]

REPLACING ARMY LEADERS OPPOSED--At a recent enlarged meeting of the party Central Committee's military commission, Comrade Zhang Aiping said: I do not quite agree with Comrade Xiaoping's idea of replacing a large number of leading cadres in the army. According to legend, in the later period of the warring states, the king of the state of Zhao replaced his famous General Lian Po with a younger General Zhao Kuo. As a result, the army of the state of Zhao was defeated by the army of the state of Qin and 400,000 troops of Zhao were killed. [Text] [OW121245 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 11 Jun 82]

YOUTHS RELUCTANT TO JOIN PARTY--At a meeting of the party Central Committee's secretariat, Comrade Hu Yaobang criticized the CYL Central Committee for failing to do a good job in ideological education among young people. He said: Now most young people are reluctant to join the party. As a result, there are too few party members under the age of 25. The CYL should actively help in party building. [Text] [OW121247 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 11 Jun 82]

PENG DEHUAI--(Liu Hanru), a rebel ringleader, personally tormented and humiliated Comrade Peng Dehuai. According to records on the former's trial, in the summer of 1974 Huang Kecheng, Zhang Aiping and other comrades in arms and friends of Commander in Chief Peng asked Comrade Deng Xiaoping to help the then seriously sick Comrade Peng Dehuai by allowing him to receive medical treatment. At that time, Comrade Deng Xiaoping had some power in the party Central Committee, but he ignored this request. (Liu Hanru) also admitted that beginning from the autumn of 1974, Comrade Peng Dehuai was secretly given doses of slow poison to take. He finally died of poisoning on 29 November 1974. [Text] [OW121243 (Clandestine) Ba Yi in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 11 Jun 82]

CSO: 4005/971

END

JPRS 81393

29 July 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 321

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81393

29 July 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 321

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

PARTY AND STATE

Ideological Attitudes in Socialist State Studied
(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 14 Jun 82, LIAONING RIBAO, 16 Jun 82)..... 1

'Yielding When Right', by Li Rongzan
Necessity of Regular Training, by Qi Lin

'XINWEN ZHANXIAN' Stresses Truthful Journalism
(XINWEN ZHANXIAN, No 5, 1982)..... 5

PLA Party Membership Rules' Revision Criticized
(Ba Yi Radio, 5 Jul 82)..... 8

'GONGREN RIBAO' on Promoting Ideopolitical Work
(GONGREN RIBAO, 22 Jun 82)..... 10

Sixth Lecture on Draft Revised Constitution
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 3 Jul 82)..... 12

'RENMIN RIBAO' on KMT Revolutionary Shao Lizi
(Liu Fei, Qu Wu; RENMIN RIBAO, 26 Jun 82)..... 14

Report on Ruling Party Work Style
(Beijing Domestic Service, various dates)..... 20

Third Talk
Fourth Talk
Fifth Talk
Sixth Talk
Seventh Talk
Eighth Talk

 [III - CC - 80]

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Helicopters Used To Drop Antitank Mines
(Tan Shaoji; JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, No 6, 1982)..... 38

New Ideas on Antitank Training Introduced
(JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, No 6, 1982)..... 39

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Population Control Seen as Vital for Economic Progress
(Chen Xuguang; SIXIANG ZHANXIAN, 20 Feb 82)..... 41

PARTY AND STATE

IDEOLOGICAL ATTITUDES IN SOCIALIST STATE STUDIED

'Yielding When Right'

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Li Rongzan [2621 2837 6363]: "Foster the New Habit of 'Yielding Even When Right'"]

[Text] In daily life, conflicts and disputes often occur between comrades, between neighbors and in the family. In handling the conflicts and disputes, most comrades are able to place the revolutionary interest first, demand strictly of themselves and establish the new habit of "yielding even when right." By so doing, they preserve unity and educate others, making those who are wrong feel embarrassed and wake up to their errors. Nevertheless, there are also some few people who, regardless of whether they are "right" or "wrong," will always "argue." Sometimes, over some trivialities, they will injure others with vicious words, raise their fists, cause a disaster and wind up with a tragedy. Such unprincipled disputes disrupt the unity within the people and endanger the social order. Therefore, our advocacy of "yielding even when right" is not only for the purpose of improving the social mood, but also an issue of adapting our words and acts to the demands of the four modernizations.

In terms of its meaning, the word "yield" contains the elements of courtesy, modesty and forbearance. The ancients explained it thus: "To yield is to be generous to others and disparaging of oneself." Evidently, the word "yield" stresses civilization, courtesy, unity and ethics and is a traditional virtue of the Chinese nation. It has been developed and enhanced among the Chinese communists. With the magnanimity of a proletarian revolutionary, our revered and beloved Premier Zhou exercised strict self-discipline and always "yielded to others." Riding in a car to go out, he "gave precedence" to others; in case of fame and position, he was "modest;" encountering misunderstanding, he exercised "forbearance." The lofty thinking established by the revolutionaries of the older generation will always serve as a model of our studying.

"Yielding even when right" requires the revolutionary spirit of "suffering a disadvantage" gladly. With this spirit, in case of conflicts and

disputes, even when one is "right," one will be able to consciously and voluntarily yield to others, thereby solving the issues satisfactorily, bringing closer the relations among comrades and consolidating and enhancing stability and unity. On the other hand, if one is afraid to suffer a disadvantage, haggles over personal gains and losses, refuses to give ground, gives tit for tat and stands firm with one's fists, it will often aggravate the argument and disrupt stability and unity.

To be sure, by advocating "yielding," we are not asking everyone to keep on good terms with others at the expense of principles. We have always believed that we must "argue over major matters and yield in trivialities." By major matters, we refer to such issues as upholding the four basic principles, implementing the party's lines, principles and policies and rectifying the party style. In face of major matters, we must take a firm standpoint and shoulder our responsibilities, upholding and supporting the correct and opposing and resisting the incorrect. Nevertheless, in terms of the insignificant trivialities among the people, we must develop our style and yield to others. By so doing, we are not abandoning principles, but are manifesting a high awareness and a strong party quality. Even when it comes to "disputes" over matters of principle, while the words used may be sharp, they must not injure others. One must start from the desire for unity and solve the issues with the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. Sunzi once said: "Honest but not cutting; debating without arguing." These words contain dialectics.

The new habit of "yielding even when right" is not only an urgent issue posed to us by real life, but a major matter of a profound significance linked with the building of a great socialist state. If the virtue of "yielding even when right" becomes a habit in each and every household, school, plant, store, organ and neighborhood, the situation of refusing to give ground among comrades will greatly decrease, the senseless disputes among neighbors will become rare and the discord in families will vanish. In short, if everyone can "yield even when right," the relations among people will become more intimate and united and produce a favorable impact on the production, work and living orders.

Necessity of Regular Training

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Qi Lin [7871 2651]: "Studying Is Creditable"]

[Text] Hearing that a friend would go to study in the party school, we went to his house to congratulate him. To our surprise, we found him depressed. Upon inquiry, we learned that he was depressed precisely because he was going to school. "I did not make any mistake. Why am I ordered to study?" His thinking is naturally incorrect. Nevertheless, the social view that "studying is dishonorable" is indeed fairly widespread and deserves looking into.

Our cadres have mainly been trained in the practice of revolutionary struggles. However, with practice as the foundation, regular training is a crucial means to improve their level. In this aspect, our party once had a good tradition. In the revolutionary war years and the early days after the founding of the nation, regardless of the busy work schedule and heavy tasks, the party organization always sent the superior key cadres to party and cadre schools for advanced studies. By this means, the party trained innumerable superior leading cadres. In those days, all the cadres considered it an honor to be given the opportunity to study. Subsequently, under the influence of "leftwing" guiding ideology, the good practice deteriorated, as if all those required to study were "cadres with problems" or "surplus personnel," and some even considered going to school as a "prelude" to transfer or retirement. Especially during the time of the 10-year upheaval, "studying" became a synonym for being criticized, struggled against and punished. The "study class" became a detention station in disguise, and the "cadre school" was where the cadres were punished. A force of habit and a customary view were inevitably formed. However, if we still regard the regular training of cadres with the old view today, it will be completely wrong.

Actually, the party's regular training of cadres, enabling them to acquire the proper academic qualifications for their particular levels of duties, is its care for the cadres. If a cadre possesses only practical experience, without systematic studying which raises his perceptual understanding to rational understanding, then his knowledge will be incomplete and he will find it difficult to perform his duties. Once a conflict occurs between his duties and his capacity, not only the party's work will suffer, but the cadre himself will feel distressed. Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong said that one of the methods to cherish the cadres is to "improve them, giving them the opportunity to study and educating them, so that they will improve in theory and ability." Today, when we are vigorously improving the party's leadership and making the cadre ranks more revolutionary, youthful and knowledgeable, this point is of particular importance.

Sending the cadres making mistakes or having problems to school is not improper, but we absolutely must not feel that all those ordered to undergo rotational training have made mistakes or have problems. On the contrary, we must change people's view in system and in social opinion and create the good mood that studying is creditable. The cadres must be treated thus: We must create conditions for all those below the required academic qualifications to reach the standard. Only by regular rotational training will it be possible to determine whether they can be promoted and given important posts on the basis of their diligence and achievements. If we only render lip service to the fact that regular training is for the purpose of improving the cadres, while in practice, we keep the key cadres at their work posts, as if they were indispensable, it will be using them only, without training them, and it will not be true care for the key cadres. Whether a leader can and is willing to send the truly competent cadres to study, enabling them to improve even more

through regular training and undertake more important work, is a test of his strategic vision and overall concept. If a leader thinks only of the partial and immediate needs and deprives the comrades with a great future the valuable opportunity to study, it will be an act of irresponsibility toward the party and the cadres.

Rotational cadre training is in the course of becoming a system. Many comrades, after working for a number of years, will be able to undergo regular training in school for a certain length of time, learning political theories, their particular fields, culture and certain necessary technical knowledge. After structural reform, more comrades will have the opportunity to study. All those having the opportunity must feel their own tremendous responsibilities, the urgency of studying, and the honor of being trusted by the party and the people, study diligently and assiduously, and turn themselves into competent cadres adapted to the demands of the era.

6080
CSO: 4005/956

'XINWEN ZHANXIAN' STRESSES TRUTHFUL JOURNALISM

HK020414 Beijing XINWEN ZHANXIAN in Chinese No 5, 1982 pp 2, 3

[XINWEN ZHANXIAN Commentator's article: "Reports Inconsistent With Facts May Entail Untold Troubles"]

[Text] Recently, this journal's editorial department received some letters from readers on the question of news reports being inconsistent with facts. Two types of reports will be discussed here. Our purpose is to bring to the attention of journalists and comrades engaged in propaganda work the need to do a good job of writing truthful news reports. They must make fewer mistakes and more contributions to propaganda and journalism in the new period.

News reports must be absolutely truthful. This is a fundamental principles of journalism and is also our party's fine tradition in journalism. The party's actual practice in journalism over the past years has proved that whenever we faithfully and solemnly uphold this principle and tradition, we can obtain distinctive results in our work and our cause will develop healthily; otherwise, we will suffer setbacks. We will not elaborate here since such kinds of setbacks remain fresh in our memory and we do not have to look far for a lesson. Today, while stepping up journalism and propaganda on the building of the two civilizations, we must set stricter demands on ourselves on the question of ensuring truthful news reports. We must be more cautious at work and must not slacken our efforts.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," we have criticized the reactionary journalism of writing "lies, exaggerations and empty words." As a result, our journalism has undergone fundamental changes, once again gaining the acceptance and faith of the broad masses of people. However, we must also see that some unreliable reports have not yet vanished. The situation of "mouse droppings spoil the whole pot of broth" is sometimes found in journalism. Although what is reflected in an untruthful report may not be very important, it can be very dangerous. These reports can easily confuse the readers' minds, disturb normal work progress, bring unexpected calamity to persons involved, infringe upon the reputation of the party's journalism and disseminate errors, entailing untold troubles. The incidents contained in these two reports fully illustrate similar questions and show how horrifying and hateful false reports are.

There are many complicated factors accounting for reports which are inconsistent with facts. However, in view of the subjective factors, it always has something to do with the ideology and work style of the reporters. Making a comprehensive survey of recent untruthful reports, some are accounted for by the reporters' ideological deviation or slackened work style. But reports which are severely inconsistent with facts are mainly accounted for by the reporters' intention to deviate from facts and to try to please the public with claptrap. Many of these reporters have extremely impure ideology. There was such an example not long ago; someone fabricated a sham model which was then vigorously propagated. When the truth was discovered, not only did he not sincerely accept criticism, but he justified himself by saying: "Although the model was a sham one, it had good social effects." Certainly, the fallacious exposition of "sham models can bring good results" is not worth refuting and can only be treated as a joke. However, what merits our attention is that there are still many people deeply indulged in doing this by adopting various forms. This is totally intolerable.

Some comrades' misunderstanding of the form of "reportage" is one of the outstanding factors accounting for reports inconsistent with facts. Many people usually, either consciously or unconsciously, use "literary nature" as a pretext to disturb the truthfulness of the reports. Some people claim that they are writing "reportage" and fabricate stories as they please. It seems that it is necessary to make a further explanation on the form of "reportage." In our opinion, reports on real people and events which are to be published in the press or to be broadcast should not be fabricated. Expecting reality to correspond to the name, "reportage" as a form of report should primarily play its role of "reporting" and secondly, display its "literary nature." In the field of journalism, all literature and art expressed in the form of a report should be truthful and serve the purpose of strengthening the sense of reality of the reports. The value of a reportage writing should primarily be whether or not the content it carries is true. Reports without a literary value certainly cannot be called "reportage," but on the other hand, reports which are unfaithful to the objective facts and are wilfully fabricated also cannot be included in the category of "reportage" despite their great "literary value." We very much admire the great social effect brought about by good reportage writings; and simultaneously, we are also very concerned about the serious confusion brought about by that "reportage" which is inconsistent with facts. We sincerely hope that comrades engaged in "reportage" work in all press units will understand well the dialectical relationship between "report" and "literature" before they write and attach primary importance to truthfulness. Journalism is a kind of social activity. Once reports are released they create social public opinion. They must be responsible to the society. That is to say, they must be responsible to the party and the people. Irresponsible journalists, be they professional or amateur, are not competent journalists.

Establishing progressive models to advance various kinds of work is an important work method of journalism. We should vigorously develop this method in the course of launching propaganda on building spiritual and material civilization.

When the deeds of a progressive figure are published in the press or broadcast on radio or television, they become the whole society's spiritual wealth, thus inspiring the people to create more spiritual and material wealth. Therefore, all journalists find pleasure in discovering a progressive personality and popularizing his progressive deeds. We must uphold the principle of maintaining absolute truth in popularizing progressive deeds because progressive examples have inexhaustible power. The good hope of establishing progressive models can only be realized by truthful reports. False reports not only cannot set up progressive examples, but on the contrary will only pointlessly bring difficulties to the personalities commended. When reports on progressive deeds have been found to be false, the reporters should actively correct the situation. It is wrong to "leave a mistake uncorrected and make the best of it," "insist on establishing" false models and treat those who expose the fact as "nosy" people who have "hurt" the progressive models. Actually, it is only the reporters who fabricate stories who hurt the progressive models. The deeper they promote progressive deeds in this way, the more seriously the progressive models are hurt. The masses absolutely cannot be subjected to the temporary "good social effect" until the truth is verified. We must bear in mind that the more influential the untruthful reports are, greater will be the adverse results after they are proved false. We have learned numerous similar lessons in the past and such a practice can never be repeated.

In the propaganda of building the two civilizations, particularly spiritual civilization, journalists and all comrades engaged in propaganda work must set good examples. "Always be true in word" is the primary guideline for journalism; that is to say, all reports must be truthful. It is immoral to deceive readers with false reports. Only by popularizing the building of the "two civilizations" with a high degree of our own spiritual civilization, can we feel no hesitation about the heavy tasks entrusted by the party and the people or apprehension toward this great era of ours.

CSO: 4005/1063

PARTY AND STATE

PLA PARTY MEMBERSHIP RULES' REVISION CRITICIZED

OW070610 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 5 Jul 82

[Text] Since Comrade Deng Xiaoping has persistently revised the regulation concerning party membership in the army, the number of PLA commanders and fighters joining the party has dropped drastically. According to statistics compiled by the General Political Department, the number of commanders and fighters who joined the party in 1981 was 40 percent less than the number in 1980. The number of commanders and fighters who joined the party in the first half of 1982 was 60 percent less than for the same period in 1981.

Although some people said that the decision to revise the regulation is aimed at controlling the number of party members and improving their quality, this decision is actually aimed at weakening the PLA party organizations, reducing the total number of party members in the army, preventing the army from playing an active role in the party's various political activities, and relegating the army to a secondary position in the political life of the society.

Apparently, this practice runs counter to the historical traditions of our party and army. Since its founding our army has always been an armed group in carrying out revolutionary political missions. During certain periods of the Chinese revolution, the party groups in the army were the only party organizations in some areas. The party members in the army extensively carried out political propaganda work, organized and armed the masses in actively developing revolutionary power, and implemented the party's various policies. For many years the revolutionary PLA blast furnace has tempered thousands of outstanding cadres in running the party, the country and the army.

Since the founding of the army, our party has always concerned itself with the growth of the party organizations in the army and inspired the commanders and fighters to wholeheartedly serve the cause of the party and the people. Therefore, the percentage of party members in the army has always been very high and every commander and fighter regards their party membership as a matchless glory. However, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has made a decision against this trend. The decision stipulates: The percentage of party members in a company should not exceed 20 percent of the total number of armymen in the company. One must not demand that each squad has a party member as in the past. The number of party members in military organizations should be strictly controlled.

Needless to say, the so-called consolidation of the contingent of party members in the army is actually aimed at dampening the enthusiasm of the party organizations in the army and preventing outstanding commanders and fighters from joining the party. As a result, the percentage of party members has dropped in the army, as well as active role of the party member armymen in the political life of the state and the society.

Comrade Hu Yaobang clearly pointed out: China's future will be determined by the role of the 20 million cadres, 38 million party members and millions of PLA commanders and fighters in the political arena. From this we can realize that only by stopping the unprincipled reduction of the number of party organizations in the army and ceasing to undermine the prestige of party members cadres in the army will it be possible for the broad masses of commanders and fighters to play their active role in China's political arena.

CSO: 4005/1063

PARTY AND STATE

'GONGREN RIBAO' ON PROMOTING IDEOPOLITICAL WORK

HK061528 Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jun 82 p 1

[GONGREN RIBAO commentator's article: "Ideological and Political Work Must Be Convincing"]

[Text] It gives people much pleasure to read the special report "Using Knowledge To Prompt the Mental Development of Young People" which is carried in today's issue of GONGREN RIBAO. After studying Li Yanjie's method of ideological work, 26-year-old Wang Xinqiao has made friends with young people and used knowledge to promote the mental development of young people. He has been warmly welcomed by young workers. The road he has taken shows that even a young man who is lacking in knowledge and experience can gradually promote ideological work as long as he is willing to study intensively.

At present, one of the existing problems in our ideological work is the lack of convincingness. Our lectures, reports and talks are always not very persuasive, are always unable to present any convincing argument and always fail to touch the people's hearts. Why is it that the masses are not willing to listen to us? We should find out the reasons for this unwillingness on the part of both listeners and speakers. Is it not true that Wang Xinqiao twice failed to carry out ideological work. While speaking on stage for the first time, he got red in the face from excitement, was nervous and spoke incoherently, thus bungling his work. The second time, he asked a brilliant speaker to speak on his behalf. Although this speaker spoke in a loud voice on the stage, the whole meeting place was in an uproar. As a result, his work was bungled once again. The reasons for his failures are: the two speeches were not convincing and failed to grasp the characteristics of young workers; Wang Xingiao and the other speakers failed to understand the thinking of young workers. Without a sharp contrast, there is nothing appealing or convincing. If the "key" is not the right one, it will not open the "locks" within young people's hearts.

Our ideological and political work is directly aimed at arousing and heightening the revolutionary consciousness of our staff and workers. The work is also directly aimed at enabling them to have faith in communism and to become politically conscious fighters for communism. While working and in daily life,

our staff and workers always encounter all kinds of ideas. Of course, the major ideas they encounter are always correct and communist ideas. However, they are also always tainted with all kinds of nonproletarian ideas such as capitalist ideas, ideas of remnants of feudalism and petty bourgeois ideas. These things obstruct us from changing the objective world and also obstruct us from remolding our subjective world. Without eliminating these things, our socialist cause cannot progress. Our ideological work is precisely aimed at eliminating these things. In order to do so, it is imperative to eliminate them in the proper way. The most important method for eliminating them is integrating theory with practice. To integrate theory with practice, we must first make investigations and studies, discover the real ideological situation of staff and workers, and see both their main ideological trend and their existing ideological problems. Only by doing so can we have a definite object in view, "suit the remedy to the case," overcome negative factors and kindle the torch of socialist enthusiasm within the innermost world of the people. If you regard the masses as "backward elements," obsessively criticize and reprimand them, only tell them about some general principles and fail to maintain close ideological links with the masses, you can hardly blame the masses for not listening to you.

Since our ideological and political work is aimed at educating and convincing the people and is also aimed at heightening the revolutionary consciousness and the cognitive ability of staff and workers, those who are engaged in ideological work should surpass others in revolutionary consciousness, knowledge, the ability to understand objective things and in making progress. How are we to achieve all these things? One method is to learn from Wang Xinqiao who has immersed himself among the masses, strengthened investigations and studies, understood the characteristics and conditions of the objects of his work, made great efforts to study politics, culture, science, technology and other branches of knowledge, and gradually mastered the laws and basic ways and means of ideological and political work. By so doing we can enable our ideological and political work to gradually become appealing and convincing.

CSO: 4005/1063

PARTY AND STATE

SIXTH LECTURE ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW070230 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0019 GMT 3 Jul 82

[Text] Beijing, 3 Jul (XINHUA)--Sixth lecture on the draft revised constitution: "The position of the urban and rural collective economy as stipulated in the draft revised constitution."

There are important stipulations in the draft revised constitution on the economic system of our country which have fixed the position of the urban and rural collective economy in law form and have given certain rights to urban and rural collective economic units. These stipulations in the draft revised constitution are of great significance for pushing forward our country's socialist construction.

According to provisions of the draft revised constitution, our country's urban and rural collective economy, namely, the socialist sector of the economy collectively owned by the working people, mainly consists of two parts. One part includes rural people's communes, agricultural producers' cooperatives and other forms of the cooperative economy; the other part includes the various forms of the cooperative economy in the cities and towns, such as those in the handicraft, industrial, building, transport, commercial and service trades. The socialist sector of the economy collectively owned by the working people is a product of basic Marxist principles combined with China's concrete practice, an indispensable form of economic organization in our country's socialist public ownership system. However, we have for some time ignored the role of the urban and rural collective economy in understanding and certain provisions, and failed to give it the position it deserves. Now, the draft revised constitution has summarized the experience in this area and, on the basis of affirming collective ownership by the working masses as socialist public ownership, specifically ruled on what economic units in urban and rural areas belong to the socialist sector of the economy collectively owned by the working people. Thus, the various forms of the collective economy in our country are guaranteed by the constitution and the various activities they are engaged in are surely protected by law.

The draft revised constitution also contains clear-cut stipulations on the decision powers of collective economic units. On the one hand it allows the collective economic units to enjoy powers of decision in conducting independent economic activities, while on the other it sets a condition for

the exercise of such powers of decision—they must accept the guidance of the state plans and abide by relevant state laws. It is quite necessary to affirm the decision powers of collective economic units in their own management in the constitution. First, it is necessary for the protection of the collective ownership of the working people. The substance of collective ownership of the working people is that collective economic units have the right to use, possess and dispose of their properties. The decision powers in conducting independent economic activities are a concrete manifestation of the right of collective economic units to use and dispose of their properties. If collective economic units do not have independent management powers, collective ownership of the working people will become empty words. Second, the stipulation that collective economic units enjoy independent management powers is also required by socialist economic construction. Collective economic units take part in economic activities, are responsible for their own profits and losses and have their own material interests. Therefore, they should be managed according to their own business characteristics and give play to their own advantages in order to promote economic development.

On the management of collective economic units, the draft revised constitution stipulates: "Units of the collective economy practice democratic management according to provisions of the law, their managerial personnel shall be elected and removed and decisions on major issues concerning enterprise management shall be taken by the entire body of their workers and staff members." This stipulation embodies the principle of socialist democracy. Economic democracy is also an important part of socialist democracy. On the other hand workers in collective economic units participate in the units' various productive activities as producers, and, on the other, manage the units and make decisions on major enterprise issues as collective owners of properties. This is very helpful to the development of the collective economy. When these workers, who are familiar with various production problems, participate in economic management, they will assuredly increase the labor productivity of the collective economic units.

In addition, the draft revised constitution has also made clear-cut stipulations on land owned by the collective economy in rural areas. At the same time, it also stipulates that working people who are members of organizations of the rural collective economy have the right, within limits prescribed by law, to farm plots of agricultural and hilly land, engage in household sideline production, keep livestock for their own needs, and so forth. These stipulations have a positive bearing on enlivening the rural economy.

CSO: 4005/1063

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON KMT REVOLUTIONARY SHAO LIZI

HK070817 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jun 82 p 5

[Article by Liu Fei [0491 2431] and Qu Wu [1448 2976], vice chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese KWT: "Promote Peaceful Reunification, Make China Strong and Prosperous--Commemorating the Birth Centenary of Shao Lizi"]

[Text] Comrade Shao Lizi was born in 1882 in Zhejiang Province, Shaoxing County. This year is the centenary of his birth. In his life, he lived through the Qing Dynasty, the Nationalist Republic and the PRC. He lived through the national, democratic and socialist revolutions. He followed the path of the wheel of history and adapted himself to the needs of the development of the times. He studied and progressed continuously. He made contributions to the independence, democracy and peaceful reunification of China and the interests of its people.

A Soldier of Democracy Opposed to Feudal Dictatorship

As a child, Comrade Shao Lizi studied at a private school. At the age of 21, he was a successful candidate in the imperial examinations at the provincial level. However, he did not continue along the path of "one who excels in scholastic study and embarks upon a career as an official." In pursuit of the new times, new ideology, new culture and truth, he marched on bravely. From 1905, he studied at the College Aurore, Fudan College and Nanyang College in Shanghai, where his patriotism was aroused. In 1907, he went to Japan to study journalism and there founded the SHENZHOU DAILY with Yu Youren and others to spur on the democratic revolution and oppose the feudal emperor system. On returning to China, he obtained a teaching post in 1910 at an institute of higher education in Shanxi through the introduction of Yu Youren. Due to his spreading of new ideology and culture, he was persecuted by the Shanxi authorities and expelled from the province. In 1912, he founded the MINLI BAO, against with Yu Youren and others, on which he worked as editor. He also worked as a journalist with the MINSHENG BAO. He devoted major efforts to spreading democracy and opposing the feudal warlords. In 1915, due to his exposition of Yuan Shikai's restorationist and traitorous crimes, the MINLI BAO was shut down. He made persistent efforts and, amid anti-Yuan

sentiment, founded the SHENGHUO DAILY. Soon afterwards, together with Chen Yingshi, Ye Chucang and others, changed the name of the SHENGHUO DAILY to the REPUBLICAN DAILY NEWS. He himself worked as editor-in-chief for as long as 10 years and also compiled a supplement to it, CONSCIOUSNESS. Comrade Shao Lizi himself wrote quite a few articles and thus played a positive part in the antiimperialist, antifeudal revolutionary struggle.

Before the "30 May" movement, CONSCIOUSNESS had published works by many communists, including Yun Daiying, Deng Zhongxia, Xiao Chunu, Yang Xianjiang and Jiang Guoci. It carried quite a few articles commemorating Lenin and the October Revolution and introduced the reader to translations of classics of Marxism. Apart from this, it also enlightened intellectuals into recognizing, through the strikes that took place at the time, the revolutionary ideology of the working class and their noble qualities, cleared away prejudices against workers and launched discussions on how intellectuals should liaise with workers to carry out labor movement. Chairman Mao thought very highly of this. In "On New Democracy," he said: "Using the communist WEEKLY GUIDE, the KMT's REPUBLICAN DAILY NEWS of Shanghai and other newspapers in various localities as their bases of operations, the two parties jointly advocated anti-imperialism, jointly combated feudal education based on the worship of Confucius and on the study of the Confucian canon and jointly opposed feudal literature and the classical language and promoted the new literature and the cernacular style of writing with an antiimperialist and antifeudal content." Thus, they created public opinion and made ideological preparations for the "May 4" movement and the subsequent northern expedition.

During the "May 4" movement, Comrade Shao Lizi was both editor-in-chief of REPUBLICAN DAILY NEWS and a lecturer at Fudan University. Early on the morning of 5 May 1919, he received in his newspaper office a cable from Beijing. On hearing that the "May 4" movement had erupted, he immediately rushed back to Fudan University, where he personally rang the bell to summon all the lecturers and students of the university to an emergency meeting. He immediately reported on the situation, exposed the various traitorous activities of the northern warlords and greatly aroused his audience. After the meeting, the Fudan students soon ran through the whole city, giving actual support to the "May 4" movement. Shao Lizi constantly helped students to analyze the situation, pointed out policies, indefatigably answered students' questions and was trusted and respected by them.

The 'Old Peacemaker' Who Persisted in CCP-KMT Cooperation

In 1908, Comrade Shao Lizi joined the China Revolutionary League in Japan. Thereafter, he joined the KMT and actively supported Dr Sun Yat-sen's three great policies of alliance with Russia, alliance with the communists and support for peasants and workers. As an important member of the KMT, in the course of all his work, whether it involved responsibility for local administration or serving as a high-ranking assistant to an official, or whether it involved taking part in talks between the CCP and KMT or engaging

in various activities with foreign countries, he always abided by the teachings of Dr Sun Yat-sen and upheld the principle of peace and unity. For 20-odd years, he held high posts in the KMT leading clique and it was by no means easy to remain uncorrupted considering the opportunities that presented themselves.

In old China, Comrade Shao Lizi was nicknamed "the old peacemaker." This nickname was given in praise of his consistent advocation of sincere cooperation between the CCP and the KMT and the use of peaceful methods to solve all discord.

In the many talks there were held between the CCP and KMT, Comrade Shao Lizi was an active instigator or direct participant. During the first period of cooperation between the CCP and the KMT, although he was not capable of direct participation, he did give his sincere support and gave much assistance in the form of actual deeds. In the summer of 1925, when he was driven out by the authorities in the French concession in Shanghai, he resolutely fled to Guangzhou, where he took part in Whampao Military Academy work and played a beneficial role in the maintenance of CCP-KMT cooperation and the preparation of the Northern Expedition. After the Xian incident, when the CCP and KMT started to hold serious talks on the second CCP-KMT cooperation, he was one of the KMT's representatives. In the middle of July 1937, during the Lushan talks, he, together with Zhang Chong and other KMT representatives, held talks with CCP representatives, comrades Zhou Enlai, Bo Gu and Lin Boqu, on relationships between the two parties, including the question of issuing a joint CCP-KMT manifesto, the question of reorganizing the Red Army, the question of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region and so forth. After some setbacks, the foundation was eventually laid for the second CCP-KMT cooperation.

Between 1943 and 1946, when Comrade Shao Lizi was secretary of the People's Political Council, he speeded up further talks on CCP-KMT cooperation. Especially after the Japanese surrender in 1945, when Chairman Mao personally came to Chongqing, he, together with Zhang Qun, Wang Shijie and other KMT representatives, held talks with Zhou Enlai, Wang Ruofei and other comrades and the two parties signed the minutes of the talks and reached the "10 October Agreement." In January 1946, he was one of the representatives at the political consultative conference in Chongqing, where he participated in the passing of the resolution.

In June 1946, the KMT authorities flagrantly scrapped the "10 October Agreement" and the resolution of the political conference. In one big sweep, they attacked the liberated areas in central China and launched all round attacks on the entire liberated area. Thus a civil war broke out once again. In the middle of November, the KMT authorities even convened a one-party "national congress" which was violently opposed by the broad masses of the people. It also infuriated Comrade Shao Lizi. Consequently, he refused to participate in it. For a leading member of the KMT, this was indeed a rare thing.

After a civil war of 2 1/2 years and by the end of 1948, the principle military force of the KMT and the majority of their crack companies and regiments had already been annihilated and they were on the verge of total collapse as a

result of mass desertion so on 1 January 1949, Chiang Kai-shek made a new year's plea for peace. On 14 January, Chairman Mao Zedong issued a statement on the current situation. Fighting blow-for-blow, he put forth an eight-point peace proposal to the effect that the CCP were willing to hold peace talks with the Nanjing KMT government and any other local KMT government or military clique on the basis of the eight-point plan. On the 21st, Chiang Kai-shek was forced to declare a "retreat." Representing the "president" of the Nanjing government, Li Zongren agreed to adopt the eight-point proposal put forth by Chairman Mao as the basis for peace talks. In this way, the "old peacemaker," Comrade Shao Lizi, was once again sent specially by the KMT government as a peace talks representative, as their chief representative in fact. At the time, he said to journalists: "I sense that this is an extremely difficult mission. However, we really do need peace. In order to maintain the well-being of the country and to reduce the hardship suffered by the people, everyone is desperately hoping for peace. Both the CCP and the KMT are of this opinion. Therefore, I think that my mission can be achieved and the success of peace can be speeded up." Therefore, through liaisons and exchanges of ideas between the CCP and KMT, it was confirmed that the Shanghai people's peace delegation should first go to Beiping to hold talks on questions such as the time and place for peace talks and the restoration of postal links and transport services. The delegation chose Yan Huiqing, Zhang Shizhao and Jiang Yong. Comrade Shao Lizi went to exchange views in a personal capacity. They flew into Beiping on 14 February and were welcomed by Ye Jianying, Xu Bing and other comrades. During the negotiations, they talked sincerely about peace and ardently hoped for true peace. Comrade Shao Lizi yearned more than ever for the realization of hopes for peace. He said at a banquet: "It is regrettable that peace did not come early. However, peace is like a prairie fire which, not having burnt itself out, is rekindled by the spring wind.' I hope the obstacles to peace can be swept away.... As I am, I cannot represent either side. However, people in the south eagerly yearn for peace and they would prefer Beiping-style peace to Tianjin-style peace." After 2 weeks of negotiations, the Shanghai people's peace delegation, full of hope, returned to Nanjing on 27 February, thus completing its task. This constituted a blow to the warmongers in the KMT Nanjing government and encouragement for the advocates of peace.

On 24 March, the KMT authorties decided to organize a Nanjing government peace talks delegation and once again sent Comrade Shao Lizi as a peace talks representative. On 1 April, with Zhang Zhizhong as their chief representative, Shao Lizi, Zhang Shizhao, Huang Shaohong, Liu Fei and Li Zheng as representatives, and Qu Wu and others as advisers, the delegation reached Beiping and held official talks with the CCP delegation with Zhou Enlai as chief representative and Ye Jianying, Bin Boqu, Li Weihan and Nei Rongzhen and others as representatives. They discussed the draft of the "domestic peace agreement" which contained 8 articles and 24 sections. However, the KMT government refused to sign, causing the talks to fail. On 21 April, Chairman Mao Zedong and Commander in Chief Zhu De gave the order to advance on the whole country. That evening, the PLA forced its way across the Yangtze River, thoroughly destroying the defenses on the Yangtze River that

the KMT authorities had erected with so much effort and causing disorder within the Nanjing government. When the Nanjing government sent an emergency cable asking about the delegation's date of return and the delegation discussed the question of whether or not to return to the south, Comrade Shao Lizi was the first to resolutely speak out against returning south. In fact, prior to this, he had already brought his wife, Comrade Fu Xuewen, to Beiping, having at an early stage made concrete preparations to stay in Beiping. In the battle that was to decide the fate of China, he resolutely crossed over onto the side of the people's revolution under the leadership of the CCP. From that moment on, he embarked upon a new path in his career.

A True Friend of the CCP

In 1949, when the whole country was liberated, Comrade Shao Lizi was already 67 years of age. He was relaxed and healthy despite his old age. He took an active part in state politics, foreign affairs and talks on major affairs of state. He worked hard for socialism. His thinking progressed continuously with the times and his reverence for Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou increased day by day.

In 1949, Comrade Shoa Lizi attended the first CPPCC and took part in the founding of the PRC. With the establishment of the Central People's Government, he became a member of the government administrative council and a member of the Standing Committee of the first, second, third and fourth CPPCC's and a deputy to and Standing Committee member of the first, second and third NPC. At the same time, he held various important posts in the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, the China-Soviet Friendship Association and the World Peace Council.

Comrade Shao Lizi was extremely fond of learning and always had a book in his hand. In his later years, he devoted even greater efforts to the study of Marxism-Leninism and [as published] Mao Zedong Thought, as well as the principles and policies of the CCP. He was frank and broadminded, open and aboveboard. He had the courage to do things and to speak out. He mentioned without reserve everything which he knew to be beneficial to the state and the people. By as early as 1954, at the first session of the First NPC, proceeding from the point of view of the socialist planned economy, he had put forth the need for the planned control of population growth. In the course of his inspection tours with NPC and CPPCC organizations, he made contact with the masses, understood the situation, delved deep into reality and carried out investigations and research. Furthermore, he reported situations accurately and actively expressed ideas. Many ideas were correct and feasible and were accepted by the party and government. Comrade Shao Lizi's love for the CCP and the people and his frank and unreserved political style are especially worthy of our praise and study.

Comrade Shao Lizi was a famous KMT democrat. In 1949, he took part in a meeting of KMT democratic representatives in Beijing and was elected a member of the Standing Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT. He assumed the

posts of chairman of the Social Liaison Work Committee and vice chairman of the Work Committee for the Peaceful Liberation of Taiwan. He was one of the leading members of the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT. He was always enthusiastic about the work of the committee organizations. He was concerned about the great task of the return of Taiwan and reunifying the motherland. In view of his historical ties with members of the KMT army and government in Taiwan, through broadcasts, news reports, speeches and articles, he called upon those who had gone to Taiwan to clearly recognize the road ahead and to grasp their own fate. At the same time, he spoke to them about the situation and about policies, so that they would devote efforts to the peaceful reunification of the motherland. From beginning to end, Comrade Shao Lizi adhered to his belief in peaceful struggle. He was unrelenting in his struggle for the peaceful reunification of the motherland.

At present, the face of the nation is changing every day and the situation is good. The conditions are even more favorable for adopting peaceful means for solving disputes and putting into effect the desire for the peaceful reunification of the motherland. We fervently hope that KMT army and government personnel in Taiwan and abroad will take Comrade Shao Lizi as their model and strive for the early achievement of a peaceful reunification in order to console the "old peacemaker's" soul.

From the time of his participation in the national and democratic revolutions, Comrade Shao Lizi, having lived and worked for a long time under the KMT regime, trod an intricate path. Eventually, in the twilight of his life, he accepted the leadership of the CCP and devoted his wisdom and strength to the cause of the people. History is not without feelings. The people will never forget those who have done good deeds for them.

CSO: 4005/1063

PARTY AND STATE

REPORT ON RULING PARTY WORK STYLE

Third Talk

OW031401 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 29 Jun 82

[Radio talk by (Zhang Shuling) and(Liu Fuzhen): "Correctly Use One's Power To Work for the Interests of the People"--third in a series of lectures on the ruling party's work style]

[Text] The Chinese Communist Party is a ruling party with 39 million party members. Many cadres who are party members have been entrusted by the party, the state and the people to assume certain leading posts. Therefore, whether or not a cadre who is a party member can correctly use his power to work for the interests of the people has become an extremely important issue which directly affects the enthusiasm of the people, the rise or decline of our cause and even the life or death of the party.

Here we wish to express our views on how one can correctly use one's power to serve the interests of the people:

1. To work for the interests of the people is the basic purpose of our party and the fundamental stand of all communist party members. In "Manifesto of the Communist Party" Marx and Engels solemnly declared: All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or ones that served the interests of minorities. The proletarian movement is a self-conscious, independent movement of a vast majority, one that serves the interests of the vast majority."

Adhering to Marxist principle, our party has, since its founding, defined its fundamental purpose as that of wholeheartedly serving the people. This purpose is determined by the party's class nature and its historical mission. The proletariat represents the most advanced productive force in the history of social development of mankind. It is also the last of the suppressed and exploited classes. Ultimately, only by emancipating entire mankind can the proletariat emancipate itself. The party is the vanguard of the proletariat, and its maximum objective and final goal are the realization of communism. This shows that the interests of the party are compatible with those of the proletariat and the people. Aside from those interests, the party works for no other.

Those party members who run counter to the interests of the people and work for their own particular interests are not true communist party members. To fight all one's life for the cause of communism and wholeheartedly serve the people represents the basic stand of all communist party members. Comrade Mao Zedong said: This contingent of ours works for the entire purpose of emancipating the people and for the interests of the people. Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out: All the sacrifices, efforts and struggles of our party members are made for nothing but for the well-being and emancipation of the masses of people. Under the socialist conditions today and with our party ruling the country, our cadres who are party members, particularly those who assume responsible posts, have a grave responsibility. However, one must not change one's stand, no matter what position one holds or what job one undertakes.

Where does our power come from? Our power can only come from the people. In their effort to emancipate themselves, the people have delegated power to those who can represent them and truly work for them--the members of the communist party. This power also means responsibility and obligation to serve the people. It should not be regarded as a means to seek one's personal interests.

If our cadres who are party members regard their power as a sign to stand over the masses and use their power to lord it over the people and engage in malpractices for selfish ends, they will consciously or unconsciously set themselves against the masses.

In our country, differences in positions only reflect a division of labor. They have nothing to do with the degree of one's respectability or social status. All party members have the obligation to wholeheartedly serve the people. They have no right to seek private interests and enjoy special privileges politically or [word indistinct] of livelihood. This is the kind of fundamental stand that our party members, particularly leading cadres, should adopt towars the masses.

2. It is necessary to correctly use one's power to work for the interests of the people. As we mentioned before, only by tackling the issue of how to deal with the masses and deciding one's fundamental stand in this regard can one correctly use the power in one's hand to work for the interests of the masses.

Now, let us further discuss how to correctly use our power to serve the interests of the people. We believe that the most fundamental thing in serving the interests of the people is to lead the masses in persistently following the socialist road.

The victories won by socialism in China are victories for Marxism and also the result of the valiant struggles waged by CCP members and the people of all nationalities in China. We have already eliminated the exploiting classes and established a socialist political, economic and cultural system. Although this newly established system still needs improvement, it has nevertheless taken root in China, withstood many rigorous tests and shown its conclusion drawn by

the Chinese people after scores of years of hard work under the leadership of the party. Only by continuously marching forward along this broad avenue can we achieve our final goal of realizing communism.

At present, on one hand we must carry out propaganda and educational work among the masses to help them strengthen their belief that socialism will definitely win victory, join their efforts in developing socialist material and spiritual civilization and bring into full play the superiority of the socialist system. On the other hand, we must give full play to the spirit of being responsible to the people, proceed from the basic interests of the broad masses of people and keep in mind the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. We must closely link the individual interests of the masses with their overall interests and their immediate interests with their long-term interests; and we must combat the erroneous practices of undermining socialism and sabotaging the socialist economy under the pretext of working for the interests of the people.

At present there are some signs of seeking private gain at public expense in some units such as by indiscriminately issuing bonuses and privately dividing state property among themselves. On the surface, they are doing something good for the masses, but in essence these actions undermine socialism and harm the basic interests of the people.

We have said: First, we need to feed ourselves; second, we need construction. This means that we must link the long-term interests of the people with their immediate interests. Generally, these immediate interests are entirely compatible with the long-term interests. We must also solve problems within our capability and tackle problems that the masses want to solve very badly. To listen to the people's views and to concern ourselves with the weal and woe of the people is a specific act of serving the people's interests.

We must do our best to perform some good deeds for the masses in the course of continuously developing production. Particular attention must be paid to solving those problems that the masses want to solve very badly. We must let the people enjoy some benefits that they can see with their own eyes so that they will realize that we are really working on their behalf and for their interests.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party Central Committee has paid full attention to the livelihood of the masses. It has done a great deal of work in tackling problems of the people's immediate concern such as problems concerning wages, commodity prices and housing shortage, problems concerning youth employment and concerning peasants who have become well-to-do and problems concerning improving the party's style of work.

Over the past 3 years the state has given jobs to more than 20 million people, and built houses for the people with a total floor space of 220 million square meters. The wages of staff members and workers and the income of

peasants have also been increasing in varying degrees. The state has subsidized the production of people's daily necessities and basically insured the stability of commodity prices. Some party and government leading organs have made strenuous efforts to tackle prominent problems in their respective fields.

Practice has proven that so long as we sincerely work for the people, they will certainly support our work. For example, the Tianjin Municipal CCP Committee and municipal people's government have tackled three major problems concerning the people's welfare under the leadership of the central authorities in the past 2 years. First, they tackled the problem of building houses, making housing assignments and dismantling earthquake shelters. During the past 2 years they have built new houses with a total floor space of 7.5 million square meters. During the second half of 1981 more than 100,000 armymen and civilians moved into new houses from their earthquake shelters.

Second, they insured an ample supply of nonstaple foodstuffs for the people during the Spring Festival. In the past most of such foodstuffs were sold through the back door. During this year's Spring Festival the municipal people's government took interest in the matter itself. It adopted effective measures to insure that the people could buy whatever they wanted when doing their Spring Festival shopping.

Third, for many years the city's masses had been drinking salty water. Now they have seen an initial improvement in the situation. In the future this situation will further improve when the project of diverting water from the Luan River into Tianjin's water supply system is completed.

The solution of these three problems has not only won support and praise from the masses, but also played a significant role in correcting unhealthy practices among the cadres and improving relations between the party and the masses.

Because our present production development still cannot keep pace with the demands of the people's material and cultural life, some problems concerning the people's vital interests still cannot be rapidly solved. In this situation, we should tell the truth to the people who are reasonable and understanding. In order to truly serve the people's interests, the communists and the cadres of the state organs should set an example in being honest and unselfish in performing their official duties and in resolutely struggling against the unhealthy tendency of abusing power to seek personal gains.

The party has consistently educated its members that their personal interests should be subordinate to the interests of the nation and the people and that under no circumstances should they place their personal interests first. Therefore, selfishness, slackness in work, corruption and ostentatiousness are the most despicable things while unselfishness, wholehearted devotion to public duties and hard work are respectable deeds. These good deeds are precisely what the broad masses of our party members have done in the past several decades. In order to wipe out class oppression and exploitation, innumerable communists did not hesitate to sacrifice themselves, and they

stepped into the breach as others fell and wrote with their lives and blood one deeply touching communist song of victory after another in the years of war. Before their deaths, they were honest in performing their official duties in the interests of the people. After their deaths, the people forever respected and cherished their memory.

Since our party assumed power, the broad masses of communists have not forgotten that it is their bounden duty to serve the people. They work diligently, cautiously and conscientiously at their posts. Many veterans of the revolution exert their utmost efforts and work selflessly day and night in the interests of the people. During the last streamlining of the government organization, many veteran comrades again showed their lofty virtue of unselfishness. Some voluntarily stepped back to the second or third line to yield important positions to young people. Others have retired, but they have not changed their desire to work for the interests of the people. What they think of is not a comfortable retired life, but how to do what they can to serve the people again. Facing the corruption of capitalist thinking, many party members and cadres repudiate embezzlement and bribery and dare to impartially enforce the law. They always regard themselves as public servants and their duties as a social division of labor. In their minds, to hold power means fulfillment of duties in working diligently and conscientiously to implement the party's policies and complete the tasks assigned by the party and the people. Therefore, they never seek self-interests although they wield power. Some comrades never violate the principle of showing preference for their relatives and friends, although they hold personnel administrative power. Some comrades are handling large amounts of money, but they are honest and never take a penny. These show the essential and main aspect of our party.

The other aspect is that unhealthy tendencies in the party so far have not taken a fundamental turn for the better due to the ideological influence of the exploiting classes and the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Some persons under the influence of ultraindividualism are taking advantage of their powers of office or their relations with other powerful persons to seek personal gain. Some of them abuse their powers of office to wantonly transfer their sons, daughters and other relatives to better jobs or to change the peasant status of their relatives back home and thus move them to urban areas. Some persons occupy large residences while there is a critical housing shortage among the people. Some of them even use public funds and material to build houses for their own use. Others take advantage of their powers of office to interfere with college student enrollment and college graduates' job assignments. Still others abuse government foreign exchanges in order to buy things for personal use. Some persons take advantage of their powers of office to protect their sons and daughters from punishment by law after they commit crimes. Some use public funds and material to hold extravagant banquets for guests or use them as gifts to others in order to establish under-the-table relationships. They do not share the people's cares and burdens and they grab gains at the expense of the country and the people. They contend with the people for interests rather than seek interests for the people. In the last 2 or 3 years, there has been a remarkable increase of serious crimes

such as smuggling, dealing in smuggled goods, embezzlement, taking bribes, speculation, fraud and theft involving state and collective properties. This is because a very small number of communists and cadres of state organs have forgotten their bounden duty to serve the people's interests and lost the virtue of being honest and unselfish in performing official duties. This is because they have been hit by the sugar-coated bullet and become the captives of the bourgeoisie.

A fundamental criterion for qualifying or disqualifying a communist is to see whether he works for the public interest or personal interests, whether he works for the interests of the people or for the interests of a certain faction or himself. All communists should take this criterion as an important content of their cultivation of party spirit.

Fourth Talk

OW052333 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 30 Jun 82

[Radio talk by (Li Tao): "Represent the People and Be Responsible to the People"--fourth in a series of lectures on the ruling party's work style]

[Text] The Chinese Communist Party is a proletarian political party working for the interests of all the Chinese people. Whether one, as a communist party member, always speaks and acts in the interests of the party and the people and is responsible to the party and the people, is the basic indicator of whether one's party spirit is pure. Represent the people and be responsible to them--this is the highest principle of proletarian party spirit.

Marx and Engels long ago pointed out in the "Communist Manifesto": "All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interests of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority."

The communist party is the vanguard of the proletariat. Other than working for the interest of the broadest masses of the people, it has no special interest of its own. The party represents the fundamental interest of the proletariat and that of the masses of the people. The party's sole purpose is to serve the people wholeheartedly.

To serve the people, the party must be responsible to the people. This means that the people should benefit from our services. Hence, the supreme test of all the party's words and deeds is whether they are in the best interests and enjoy the support of the broadest masses of the people.

The communist cause pursued by the party is the common cause of millions of people. The proletarian party is only small part of the people. Separated from the people, not only will all the struggles and ideals of the party come to nothing, but they will all become meaningless. Therefore, we say, the

party's interest means the people's interest, and to be responsible to the party means to be responsible to the people. The two are essentially identical. Viewpoints separating the party's interest from the people's responsibility to the party from responsibility to the people and regard the two as in opposition are all wrong.

Every communist party member must fully understand the identity of the party's and people's interests and the identity of responsibility to the party and to the people, closely integrate himself with the masses, share weal and woe with the masses of the people and never for a moment be divorced from them. This is what we call party spirit or strong party spirit.

Represent the people and be responsible to the people--this is the starting point from which the party proceeds in all its work. Proceeding from this fundamental point, our party in different historical periods formulated its programs, lines, principles and policies which represent the people's interests and enjoy the people's support; formed the three fine work styles of integrating theory with practice, forging close ties with the masses and making self-criticism; and trained a great number of communist fighters who advanced wave upon wave and gave their all for the interests of the people. Because of this, our party enjoys the boundless love and esteem of the people.

In decades of revolution and construction, our party has led the people in achieving brilliant successes. However, we have also made mistakes of one kind or another in work and guidance. Nevertheless, whether a party is responsible to the people is not judged by whether it has made mistakes but by its attitude towards mistakes.

Out of its boundless loyalty to the people's interest and its keen sense of responsibility to the people's cause, our party resolutely does everything beneficial for the people. If our party has done something wrong and hurt the people's interests, it will resolutely correct its mistakes. Upholding truth and correcting mistakes--this shows exactly that our party represents the people and is responsible to them. As Lenin said, the attitude of a party towards its own mistakes is the most important and most reliable yardstick to judge whether it is serious and whether it is truly fulfilling its obligations to its own class and the laboring masses.

Openly admitting mistakes, revealing their causes, analyzing the circumstances in which they are made and carefully discussing ways to correct them--this is the mark of a serious party. Words and deeds doubting and negating the party as the faithful representative of the people's interest, because the party has made mistakes, are extremely wrong.

Representing the people and holding ourselves responsible to them--these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause. Only by representing the people and being responsible to them can we win their support and trust. Chiang Kai-shek represented the interests of the big landlords and the big

bourgeoisie, firmly opposed the people and ultimately ended in failure. By contrast, in leading the revolutionary and construction cause, our party stands completely in line with the will of the people and is responsible to them. Therefore, we have enjoyed the people's wholehearted support and won a series of great victories.

Comrade Hu Yaobang incisively pointed out: "Historical experience shows us that whoever goes against the will of the people will end up in failure. Our party should constantly educate party members and cadres not to go against the will of the people. As long as we follow the will of the people, our cause is bound to triumph." This is a summing up of our party's experience in protracted revolutionary struggles.

How, then, can our party organizations at various levels and every communist party member represent the people and be responsible to them?

First, they must identify politically with the party Central Committee. This means that they must consciously implement the party's correct line, because it is a concentrated reflection of the interest of the people of the whole country.

If party organizations at various levels and every party member were to implement the party's correct line 100 percent, they would not only insure the realization of the interests of the party and people but would also help the masses gain a concrete understanding that the party is the true representative of their interests.

If they each go their own way and feign compliance while actually going against the party's correct line, the party's tasks would not be fulfilled, the fundamental interest of the masses of the people would suffer, and close relations between the party and the masses of the people would be undermined.

Therefore, the party's most important organizational principle and political discipline is that the whole party must obey the Central Committee and politically remain identical with it.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, it has made the timely strategic decision to shift work emphasis to socialist modernization, reaffirmed a Marxist ideological, political and organizational line, comprehensively carried out the historical task of straightening out the guiding principles and blazed a way for socialist modernization suited to China's conditions.

This great significant change in the party's leadership embodies the will and desire of the whole party and the people of the whole country and is in line with the common aspirations of the party and the people. Therefore, identifying ourselves with the party Central Committee and conscientiously implementing the line, principles and policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee is the basic expression for representing the people's interests and being responsible to them.

To implement the party's principles and policies, we must proceed from actual conditions. This is also an expression of being responsible to the people. Some comrades seem to have a strong sense of responsibility to their superiors. When they receive the party's instructions, they always copy and blindly forward them word for word. They do not implement the instructions in light of actual local conditions. Nor do they pay attention to whether the masses are for or against these instructions. They practice commandism and carry out instructions forcibly. Other comrades one-sidedly stress their responsibility to the people, resist the party's instructions and do not report to their superiors. Still others who know that the policy and measures decided upon by higher levels are not in keeping with actual conditions, fail to proceed from the interests of the party and the people and actively present corrective proposals, but act perfunctorily, go through the motions, or even obsequiously comply with the whims of their superiors. The above-mentioned attitudes are being responsible neither to the party nor to the people. The result inevitably will be harmful to the party's leadership, adversely affecting the party's work, hurting the people and endangering the people's cause.

Second, all party members must place the interests of the whole nation and the masses above everything, at all times and everywhere. The cause led by the party in revolution and construction is a cause of overall importance. The interests of the party represent our overall interests. That means the common interests of the whole nation and the entire working class. In order to represent the people and hold ourselves responsible to them, we must correctly handle relations between whole and partial interests and between long-term and immediate interests, and to correctly handle relations between the interests of the state, collectives and individuals.

A current issue meriting attention is the growth of departmentalism, decentralism and liberalism. Some people refuse to follow the unified state plan and stop production of certain products no longer marketable in the course of making economic readjustments. They do not turn out products to meet the needs of society and the people. They turn out more products bringing big profits, while manufacturing fewer less profitable products. They refuse to manufacture anything bringing no profit at all. Some of them violate discipline in the financial and economic sphere, concoct various pretexts for arbitrarily holding back state funds, and try to evade taxes. They benefit themselves at the expense of the public interest, wilfully issue bonuses and material rewards and privately divide state properties among themselves. Some of them fail to understand the state's difficulties, use the pretext of showing concern for the well-being of the masses to ask for money from the state, and fight for higher pay or greater benefits. Some violate the commodity price policy, wilfully raise or reduce prices, inflate them in some disguised way, and wantonly buy or sell at a negotiated price in order to benefit their own unit. Such acts, which actually harm the fundamental interests of the party and the people under the pretext of working for the interests of the masses, only represent a very few people among the masses. They do not really represent

the masses. Nor do they hold themselves responsible for the people. Actually, it manifests selfishness and individualism. Representing the masses and holding itself responsible to the people, our party will naturally concern itself with the sufferings of the people, listen to their views and create conditions to perform good deeds for the people whenever possible. However, to truly represent the interests of the masses, we must not only concern ourselves with their immediate, but also with their long-term, interests. We must never promote the immediate interests of the masses at the expense of their long-term interests, because, without overall and long-term interests, we will have little foundation to work for our partial and immediate interests. Therefore, party organizations and member cadres at all levels must foster an overall point of view. In tackling problems, they must closely link the interests of their own department and unit with the party's overall interests and take into consideration immediate, as well as the long-term, interests. If one's partial interests run counter to overall interests and if one's immediate interests run counter to long-term interests, we must uphold the principle of placing the party's interests above all and unconditionally subordinate partial to overall interests and subordinate immediate to long-term interests.

Third, representing the people and holding themselves responsible to them, the broad masses of party members, particularly the party's leading cadres at all levels, must drop pretenious airs, go amid the masses to size up the people's situation and listen to their views, and help the masses solve some problems which need immediate solution as well as problems involving thousands and thousands of households. Representing the people and holding themselves responsible to the people, party members at all levels must clearly dare to wage struggle and tackle problems. In some units, good people and deeds are not being commended, and nobody dares to expose and repudiate bad people and evil deeds. Some leading cadres pursue the philosophy that doing less is better than doing more, turning a blind eye to everything in order to protect themselves. As a result, the spirit of uprightness is suppressed, while unhealthy tendencies prevail. All this has directly harmed the interests of the people. To represent the people and hold oneself responsible to them is the primary task of every party member in strengthening party spirit and improving party style. As long as we truly represent the interests of the people and hold ourselves responsible to them in everything, the people will wholeheartedly support and unswervingly follow the party, and our party will definitely flourish and win one victory after another.

Fifth Talk

OW062327 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 1 Jul 82

[Radio talk by (Zhang Youyi): "The Party Should Make the Constitution and the Law Its Norm of Conduct"--fifth in a series of lectures on the ruling party's work style]

[Excerpts] In discussing the question of our party's work style, we have to deal with the relationship between the party's work style on the one hand and the constitution and the law on the other. As a matter of fact, whether to abide by the constitution and the law or not, is also a question of the party's work style--and an important one.

First of all, our party's work style is related to its rules and regulations. Whether or not the party's work style is good is more often than not determined by how the party's rules and regulations are implemented. The party's rules and regulations provide not only for its nature, program, tasks, organization and the principles guiding its activities, but also for the law which must be observed and its associated requirements to be met in the new historical period. The party's rules and regulations are its norm of conduct, which party organizations at all levels and every party member must strictly abide by and implement.

Why should our party make the constitution and the law its norm of conduct, in addition to its rules and regulations? After coming to power, the party must make the constitution and the law its norm of conduct, which is determined by its position and role in the life of the state. Since the founding of the PRC, we have successively formulated a number of laws. The first constitution was formulated in 1954. Now the draft revised constitution has been made public. The party leads the people in formulating the constitution, and it must take the lead in implementing it. The party is in the leading position in our country. If the party carried out its activities in violation of the law, how could it require the masses of people to abide by the law?

It is necessary to improve the party's work style in order to carry out socialist construction. Abiding by the constitution and the law is a guarantee for rectifying the party's work style and carrying out its tasks. Only when the constitution and the law are effectively implemented will it be possible to usefully consolidate the socialist economic base, to prevent and deal blows at sabotage activities by the enemy, to give full scope and protect socialist democracy and to enable the people throughout the country to effectively engage in production, work and study and to live an orderly life. If communist party members fail to take the lead in abiding by the constitution and the law, how can the above aims be achieved?

Now there are indeed some party members who think that it will be all right as long as they observe party discipline, and that it does not matter at all whether or not they abide by the law. They think nothing of the law of the state, and their sense of the legal system has been blunted. This makes it impossible to rectify the party's work style and is not conducive to strengthening and improving party leadership. The masses of people are used to observing the party from the work style of party cadres and members. Only when our party cadres and members really uphold and carry forward the party's find tradition, exemplarily implement its line, principles and policies, observe the law and discipline and work hard, will the broad masses rally round and wholeheartedly follow the party. Only thus will our party be able to overcome all difficulties and dangers and accomplish its historic mission. It is in this sense that our party makes the constitution and the law its norm of conduct and leads the masses of peoples forward.

Second, it is necessary for the party to make the constitution and the law its norm of conduct in order to carry out the party's program, line, principles and policies. The constitution and the law are the unity of the party's propositions and the people's will, and the state takes compulsory measures to

ensure their implementation. Since its publication, our draft revised constitution has received nationwide, wholehearted support. This is because it accords with the basic interests and demands of the people throughout the country and fully embodies the party's propositions.

However, as far as the whole party is concerned, there are still some unhealthy phenomena in the party's way of thinking and work style. Communist party members have violated the law and discipline. If we fail to rectify the party's work style and strictly require party members, especially leading party cadres, to make the constitution and the law their norm of conduct, how can we uphold the four fundamental principles and ensure the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies? In that case, how can we unite the broad masses of people to effectively perform their work in various fields and carry out socialist construction?

Third, our party's rules and regulations stipulate that all communist party members must abide by the law. It is one of the communist party members' duties to do so. Any party members who have violated the law must, without exception, be punished according to the law of the state. As far as those communist party members who neglect their duties and defy the law of the state are concerned, they cannot be disciplined by party discipline alone. Considering themselves to be special party members, they seem to think that rectifying the party's work style and abiding by the law of the state have nothing to do with them. Therefore, the party requires all its organizations and members to make its rules and regulations as well as the constitution and the law their norm of conduct.

Since the downfall of the "gang of four," a new situation has occurred in building the socialist legal system in our country. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee issued the great call for strengthening the socialist legal system.

At an enlarged meeting of the CCP Central Committee's Political Bureau in 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphatically pointed out: All citizens are equal before the law and the system. Whoever violates the law should be investigated by a public security organ and dealt with by a judicial organ according to law. No one is allowed to interfere with this or to remain at large.

The resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee points out: It is essential to improve our constitution and laws and ensure their strict observance and inviolability.

Party organizations at all levels, like all other social organizations, must carry out their activities within the scope permitted by the constitution and the law. All party organizations and members, especially leading party cadres, must constantly keep this firmly in mind. In addition to observing party discipline, they must make the constitution and the law their basic norm of conduct. At no time must they violate or undermine the constitution and the law. They must take the lead in guarding the sanctity of the constitution and the law.

Sixth Talk

OW070051 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 2 Jul 82

[Radio talk by (Li Lian): "The Ruling Party Must Pay Special Attention To Keeping Close to the Masses of the People"--sixth in a series of lectures on the ruling party's work style]

[Excerpts] Forging close ties with the masses of the people and following the mass line in all our work--this is a glorious tradition of our party formed through repeated practice in the protracted course of revolution and construction. In the revolutionary war years, it was our magic weapon to vanquish the enemy. In the new historical period, carrying forward the fine work style of forging close ties with the masses is still of very great practical significance for uniting and leading the masses of the people to win victories in socialist modernization.

On the one hand, the Chinese people understand from their personal experience that, without the party's leadership, it is impossible for them to carry out the revolutionary struggle, win their own liberation, become masters and build a prosperous and happy country. On the other hand, to exercise its leadership, the communist party must forge close ties with the masses of the people. If the party were divorced from the masses, there would be no one to lead. Party leadership would become irrelevant, and revolution and construction will fail.

Our party is a party which knows how to forge close ties with the masses. From the day of its foundation, the party made forging close ties with the masses an important part of strengthening party-building. Our party's consistent and basic purpose is to serve the people wholeheartedly, never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses and proceed in all cases with the interests of the people in mind.

To further improve the party's work style and forge close ties between the party and the masses, it is still necessary to persist in the following:

1. It is necessary to properly solve the question of our basic attitude towards the masses of the people. We must deal with the masses as equals and as their servants.

2. It is necessary to firmly trust and rely on the masses and correctly lead them onward.

3. It is necessary to adhere to the working method of "from the masses, to the masses."

4. It is necessary to be concerned with the well-being of the masses and consciously share weal and woe with them.

To increase the party's fighting capacity, make its cause prosper, accelerate the building of a powerful socialist country with a high level of material and cultural development and ultimately realize the great communist ideal, every communist party member and cadre must forge close ties with the masses and never for a moment be divorced from them. This should be the lifelong motto of every comrade.

Seventh Talk

OW070514 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 4 Jul 82

[Radio talk by (Liao Zuchu): "Uphold Collective Leadership, Oppose Arbitrary Actions"--seventh in a series of lectures on the ruling party's work style]

[Excerpts] Uphold collective leadership and oppose arbitrary actions--this is an important content of the guiding principles for inner-party political life. Seriously implementing this guiding principle is of great significance to improving and strengthening party leadership. We shall discuss our understanding of this question from the following three aspects:

1. Collective leadership is an important principle of party leadership. Collective leadership demands that decisions on all major issues should be made collectively at the party committee after discussion and should not be made by an individual arbitrarily. In accordance with this principle, our party establishes the system of combining collective leadership with the division of labor and individual responsibility. Upholding collective leadership is the concrete expression and application of the mass line in the party's leadership. The mass line is the basic line of our party in all work. Because every member of the party committee assumes responsibility for work in a certain field and maintains links with a number of the masses, it is not only necessary for leading cadres to listen extensively to the views of the masses regarding their work and integrate themselves with the masses, but it is also necessary for secretaries and deputies of a party committee to seriously listen to the views of the committee members. Collective leadership will be able to summarize the views and demands of the masses in all fields as reflected by members of the committee and fully bring into play their collective wisdom. This will avoid subjectivism and partiality and help arrive at correct decisions conforming to the objective circumstances.

Collective leadership is dictated by our party's important principle of democratic centralism. Democratic centralism is our party's basic organizational line. Collective leadership is of extreme importance to the strict adherence to democratic centralism. To ensure successful leadership, the party committee must first achieve a unity of thinking and action among its members on the basis of democratic centralism. Within the party committee, the principle of the minority subordinate to the majority shall apply with regard to the relationship between the secretary and members of the committee. A patriarchal style and arbitrary actions all violate this principle.

Collective leadership is our party's glorious tradition and constitutes one of the conditions for the triumphant advance of China's socialist revolution and construction.

2. Personal arbirary actions are harmful. During the 10-year turmoil, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" decked themselves out as the incarnation of the party and placed themselves above the party's Central Committee. They used their gang to replace the party and tried to usurp party, government and army leadership. As a result, the principle of democratic centralism and collective leadership was completely undermined.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, with efforts geared to eliminating chaos and restore order, the party's glorious traditions have been revived and further developed, the inner-party democratic life has gradually returned to normal and the party's collective leadership has been strengthened. However, personal arbitrary actions, the what-I-say-goes practice, patriarchal manners and other phenomena detrimental to collective leadership still exist in some party committees. Personal arbitrary actions are manifestations of unhealthy party style. They are very harmful to the party because they violate the principle of collective leadership requiring that the minority is subordinate to the majority and because they disrupt sound inner-party life.

3. Achieve unity in understanding, perfect the system and uphold the party's collective leadership. In his article "On Strengthening the Party Committee System," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: The party committee system is an important party institution for ensuring collective leadership and preventing any individual from monopolizing the conduct of affairs. Party committees at all levels are the highest organ of power of the party organizations at the respective level when the party congress is not in session. Therefore, the plenary session of the party committee should be held regularly.

Under no circumstances should the party committee or its Standing Committee be replaced by other forms of organization. An organization set up for the study or handling of a specific problem should function under the leadership of the party committee and should not replace the party committee or function above it.

To ensure collective leadership in the party committee, all major issues involving the party's line, principles and policies, major work plans, appointments, removals, transfers and other actions concerning important cadres, major issues affecting the masses and other matters requiring collective party committee decisions as instructed by a superior party organ should all be sent to the party committee, its Standing Committee, its secretariat or party organization for collective discussion and decision. They should not be decided arbitrarily by an individual.

Perfecting the party committee system provides an organizational guarantee for collective leadership. However, it also relies on the party committee members, especially principal leading members, to adopt a correct attitude toward

collective leadership in order to prevent the party committee meeting from becoming a mere ritual. China has several thousands years of feudal history. Feudal autocracy and patriarchal manner still survive in a number of units and departments. To ensure collective leadership and oppose personal arbitrary action, our party's leading cadres should consciously withstand the influence of feudal autocracy and patriarchalism and correctly handle the relations between the individual and the collective.

Collective leadership must be combined with the division of labor and individual responsibility. In his article "On Strengthening the Party Committee System," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: We must take care that neither collective leadership nor personal responsibility is overemphasized to the neglect of the other. Without collective leadership, we will be unable to pool collective wisdom and will tend to commit errors of subjectivism and partiality. Therefore, it will be difficult to exercise correct leadership. Moreover, without the division of labor and individual responsibility, there wiol be no one to take responsibility and collective leadership will become a mere empty form.

Eighth Talk

OW070629 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 5 Jul 82

[Radio talk by (Liu Hanqing): "Correctly Handle Criticism by the Masses, Strictly Forbid Retaliation"--eighth in a series of lectures on the ruling party's work style]

[Excerpts] Correctly handling criticism by the masses is a fundamental guarantee for maintaining close ties with them, as is correct implementation of the party's line, principles and policies by leading cadres at all levels in our party. It is an important condition for enlivening the socialist democratic life and upholding democratic centralism. It is a powerful weapon for combating the bourgeois political micro-organism eroding our party mechanism, for correcting shortcomings and mistakes in our work in a timely manner and for strengthening the party's fighting capacity. The "Guilding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" stipulated that leading cadres must accept criticism and views voiced by any party member found to be correct. We now talk about the following three questions:

I. Adopting a correct attitude toward criticism by the masses is of great significance to a ruling party. The CCP is a political party wholeheartedly striving for the people's interests. All words and deeds of a communist therefore must be in keeping with the maximum interests of the people, setting the highest standard for winning the support of the masses. To this end, it is necessary to have a viewpoint of trusting the masses, relying on them and learning from them. We must pay attention to their criticism and aspirations at all times. To lead the revolution and win victories, the party must uphold the principle and method of "from the masses and to the masses." An individual wanting to become wiser must heed the opinion of the masses with

humility, as only in so doing will he come closer to truth in the course of continuously rectifying mistakes. During the period of democratic revolution, we found that a correct attitude towards criticism by the masses had a direct bearing on the outcome of war and the people could easily be aroused to keep this in mind. The same thing, however, was often neglected by some comrades in time of peace and after the party became a ruling party. This is because [passage omitted]

1. Large numbers of leading cadres, transferring from the grassroots level to leading organs, did not maintain their previous close ties with the masses and consequently could not readily accept the criticism voiced by them.

2. Under socialism, the masses are the real masters of the state and society. Cadres, especially leading cadres at all levels, are public servants of the people, who must employ the power bestowed on them to promote the interests of the people. However, because our present society was born out of a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society, ideas of the exploiting class and class ideas are still influencing and corrupting people's minds. Some people, once becoming officials, loved flattery and sweet words, loathed criticism and behaved like a tiger whose backside no one dared to touch. A handful of people even used the power in their hands to suppress dissenting opinion and resorted to retaliation. The party organs and cadres will deviate from the masses if this situation is not rectified and heeded. Furthermore, the cause of the party and the people will also suffer tremendously. Correctly handling criticism by the masses therefore is a matter to which members of a ruling party should give special attention.

II. The second question is: The attitude toward criticism by the masses is in fact a question "for whom?" The correct handling of criticism by the masses, a fine party work style, was seriously undermined by the "gang of four" during the 10-year chaos. After the downfall of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the CCP Central Committee, setting to right things which had been thrown into disorder, laid down the correct line, principles and policies, vigorously restored and carried forward the fine party tradition and work style and led the whole party and the state to move again along the path of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in giant strides. But, influenced by feudal and autocratic ideas, some cadres today still cannot correctly handle criticism by the masses they use high-handed method, prohibiting others from criticizing them, and at the same time refuse to make self-criticism. More seriously, individual leading members do their best to cover up their own mistakes by suppressing criticism. These comrades have either completely forgotten or ignore the question of correct handling of criticism by the masses is in fact a question "for whom?" It is a question of serving the people wholeheartedly or of serving themselves wholeheartedly. To correctly handle criticism by the masses, it is necessary to straighten out our own stand and attitude.

III. The third question is to strengthen education and strictly uphold party discipline and the law of the country and to forbid retaliation. Some individual leading cadres in our party could not accept dissenting views and often resorted to retaliation against those who voiced criticism. In the meantime, some remnants of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," holding leading positions, still boycott and openly or secretly undermine the line, principles and policies laid down by the CCP Central Committee and support those breaking the law in the economic and other fields.

They also collude with the remnant forces to establish ties and retaliate and persecute cadres and people criticizing them. This seriously undermines the relations between the party and the masses. It should be noted that retaliation against those who voice criticism is an act that undermines the party's guiding principles and violates the law of the state.

To ensure that the democratic rights of the masses to voice criticism are protected against retaliation, the following three things must be done:

1. Individual leading cadres at all levels must study diligently in order to raise their understanding and to set right their attitude toward themselves and the masses. They must correctly handle criticism by the masses as an important link in strengthening the party spirit and improving party work style.

2. Steps must be taken to speed up the building of party and state organs and systems so as to further enhance democratic centralism in the party as well as in party life and to strengthen socialist democracy and the legal system. On the other hand, party organs must carry out regular and in-depth inspection to check on the implementation of the party constitution and the guiding principles by party members and cadres.

3. The handful of cadres persisting in retaliating against the people who voice criticism against them and behaving badly must be dealt with strictly according to party discipline and the law of the state.

Only by so doing can we uphold justice and consolidate and develop a political situation of stability and unity, mobilize the socialist enthusiasm of the masses and advance courageously with one heart and one mind in developing a socialist spiritual and material civilization.

CSO: 4005/1063

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

HELICOPTERS USED TO DROP ANTITANK MINES

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 6, 1982 p 9]

[Article by Tan Shaoji [6223 4801 4949] et al.: "Using Aicraft To Lay Mines"]

[Text] In the air in front of the invading "enemy" tanks, a number of our helicopters loaded with antitank mines swiftly and accurately dropped thousands of land mines on an area where the "enemy" tanks must pass through to slow their advancement so that favorable conditions would be created for our ground units to attack them.

The use of aircraft to lay mines provides a great deal of mobility, can cover a large area and could avoid being restricted by the terrain features. In modern warfare, whether deploying defensive moves or carrying out an offensive attack, this could play an important role. The set of photographs shows an aircraft mine-laying exercise organized by a corps of engineer unit of an unidentified unit and an air transport regiment.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. Dropping mines on a predetermined area.

2. Conscientiously doing a good job in preparation work before liftoff.

3. Engineers folding the parachutes and packing the mines.

4. Following orders, the hatch is opened.

5. The advancement of the tanks is slowed down by the mine field.

CSO: 4005/977

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

NEW IDEAS ON ANTITANK TRAINING INTRODUCED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 6, 1982 pp 10-11

[Article: "Zhang Bailin Puts Forth New Teaching Ideas"]

[Text] The Formulation of Ideas Must Be Based on "Actual" Situations

In the formulation of teaching ideas, the ideas must as far as possible be based on the actual situation existing between the enemy and ourselves and not on "one-sided wish." In teaching, attention must always be paid to soliciting views and the continuous revision of teaching plans so that the teaching contents not only would focus on the characteristics of antitank warfare but would also be in line with the capabilities of our army's antitank weapons and equipment and with the study of ways to beat a superior force with an inferior force and to conquer the enemy.

PHOTO CAPTIONS [photos not reproduced]

1. Zhang Bailin [1728 2672 2651], tactics instructor of the Dalian Army School, simultaneously gives a lecture and demonstration based on the requirements of actual warfare.

2. Zhang issues a training item, explains the time and place of the actual situation and asks the students to check and measure themselves against "actual warfare requirements."

"Strictness" Must Be Adhered To in Organizing Teaching

In organizing teaching, it is necessary to adhere to strict training, strict requirements, step by step and detailed drills, the establishment of a firm foundation and not to engage in formalism. Moreover, it is necessary to follow the principles of going from the simple to the complex and of proceeding in an orderly fashion and step by step, to first train in one type of situation with one type of weapon to attack tanks and then train in numerous types of situations with different types of weapons, and to carry out separate individual drills and then a combined exercise in order for the students to acquire true skills.

PHOTO CAPTIONS [photos not reproduced]

1. Zhang Bailin, in a strict and meticulous fashion, explains to the students the main points of blowing up a tank while it is crossing a trench.

2. Zhang takes immediate action to correct the students' overconfidence and explains how to hurl explosives from a concealed position.

Strive To Set Up a "Real" Situation

In setting up a situation it is necessary to strive to make things appear as realistic and as similar to actual warfare as possible and to set up conditions which reflect the characteristics of tank warfare. Numerous things such as real equipment, real vehicles, simulation, sound, signal and remote control can be used to show battlefield situations and to simulate "enemy" action so that the students can see, hear and feel to increase their sense perceptions and avoid images of fake action.

PHOTO CAPTIONS [photos not reproduced]

1. Zhang Bailin uses a sound explosive device he had made himself to make his instructions more realistic.

2. Zhang strives to conform to the requirements of actual warfare by teaching right in front of a tank.

Teaching Methods Must Be "Flexible"

Under modern conditions, the situation in the battlefield is intricate and volatile, and in order for the students to learn how to correctly judge a situation, it is necessary to do a good job in teaching them, carry out flexible training and change the old teaching methods in which rigid principles and mechanical memorizing were applied. Moreover, it is necessary to conscientiously study the problems that could be encountered in antitank warfare and to set up more flexible situations and use more flexible methods to cultivate courage and resourcefulness in the students.

PHOTO CAPTIONS [photos not reproduced]

1. Zhang Bailin shows the students how to maneuver flexibly after firing a rocket launcher.

2. The students are encouraged to maneuver flexibly into an attack against a tank approaching the front line.

CSO: 4005/977

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POPULATION CONTROL SEEN AS VITAL FOR ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Kunming SIXIANG ZHANXIAN [JOURNAL OF YUNNAN UNIVERSITY] in Chinese No 1, 1982, 20 Feb 82 pp 1-7

[Article by Chen Xuguang [7115 2485 0342]: "Population Control and the Modernization Drive"]

[Excerpts] Control of population growth and speedy completion of our modernization drive are the two fundamental measures in advancing our country's social development.

This article intends to analyze the interrelationship between population control and modernization drive in order to elucidate the thesis that the control of population and the raising of population quality are objective demands made by our modernization drive and demands made in the interest of achieving the goals of our modernization. At the same time the realization of our modernization drive and the achieving of economic development and prosperity are the fundamental ways for solving our country's population problem.

Survey of the Contradiction Between Our Country's Population and Its Economy

Bringing human production of offspring, i.e., human reproduction, into the framework of social production, social production (in its broad sense) comprises two aspects: the production of material goods and the production of offspring (human reproduction). Both occur simultaneously. Production of offspring is always restricted by and correlated with the production of material goods. In other words, a balance must be maintained between the state of the population and the means of production and of subsistence. This is the fundamental viewpoint of the "two kinds of production" theory of Marxism. It is particularly the requirement of this balance between the state of the population and the means of production and subsistence which constitutes an important law of social development. From a demographic angle, because of our ignorance of this objective law and under the guidance of the "leftist" ideology, we have for a long time not only not effectively instituted birth control but rather irrationally advocated: "The more people the better, because with more people more can be accomplished," so that we actually advocated a policy of population growth, which then resulted in a large-scale increase in our population. This sharp increase in our population by far exceeded the tolerable limits of our country's economic strength, and the

aggravated manmade "population crisis" brought with it a whole series of serious social problems, such as the education problem, employment problem, a decline in the standard of living, qualitative defects in the population, etc.

According to statistics, as of the end of 1980, our population was 882.55 million, or about 22 percent of the world's population. In the preceding 31 years, the birth rate for the country's population was for a long time maintained at the annual average of somewhat over 29 per 1,000, and the natural population growth rate reached an annual average of as high as 19 per 1,000. In the 31 years from 1949 to 1980, 680 million births occurred in our country, and even deducting from this figure the number of deaths, the net figure would still be over 440 million, or an annual net increase of 14 million (cf. SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO [WORLD ECONOMIC GUIDE] of 18 May 1981). Although the natural growth rate of our population has now been reduced to around 10 per 1,000, owing to the large base figure of our population, our net population growth will, for a considerable period of time, continue to increase at a rate of about 10 million. On the one hand, the population sharply expanded, while on the other hand, owing to the mistaken macroscopic economic policy, our country's national economy experienced several severe setbacks. The 3-year "Great Leap Forward" which began in 1958, and the later 10 years of calamity caused a loss of over 600 billion yuan to our national economy, and especially the 10 years of large-scale destruction wrought by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques brought the national economy to the brink of collapse and caused a serious imbalance in the ratio of population to economy. The present population problem in our country is evident in the contradiction between the excessive population figure and the excessive growth rate (the absolute value of each percent of increase) as against the poor economic foundation at the start coupled with a slow development of the economy which lags behind the population increase.

The principle factors in the contradictions between our population and our modernization drive are as follows:

1. There is an incongruity between the population growth and the increase in the means of subsistence, with the former outpacing the latter. In the 25 years from 1953 to 1978, the consumption funds in expenditure from the national income increased 2.9 times, an average annual increase of 5.4 percent. During the same period the population increased 66.7 percent, so that per capita the consumption funds increased only 1.3 times. Owing to the excessive increase in population, 58 percent of the annual increase in consumption funds was used to satisfy the needs of the newly added population; the balance used to raise the consumption level of the original population was only 42 percent. In 1978, our country's total grain production was 34.75 million tons, second only to the United States in world production, but, calculated on an average per capita basis, we fell far behind all other countries.

In 1980 the average amount of grain for each person throughout the country was 648 jin, an increase of 230 jin compared with that of 1949, while the population increased by 81 percent, but the 1980 figure was still below the world

average (800 jin). Owing to the population growth exceeding what expanding agriculture could provide, our country changed from an exporter to an importer of agricultural products (of course the population growth was not the only reason for this). The excessive population also created a tight supply situation in the light industry market. Even though there was an increase of several tens of times in certain light industry products, their quantity was still insufficient to satisfy the demands of the urban and rural population. Housing construction was even less able to catch up with population growth. Owing to the annually increasing number of employees and workers, about 30 to 40 percent of the total future increase in salaries and wages in cities must go to new employees and workers. This shows that the consumption level of our people is far below that of the developed countries of the world, and one important reason for this is the rapid growth of our population. In order to achieve, more or less, a balance between population growth and increase in our means of subsistence, we must on the one hand vigorously develop our national economy and increase the production of means of subsistence, and on the other hand keep a tight rein on population growth and gradually slow it. Otherwise, the shortages in our means of subsistence will worsen and the increased in population will retard any improvement in the people's livelihood.

2. The production and reproduction of population is the foundation for the reproduction of the labor force. In ordinary circumstances there is a direct ratio between the labor force and the total population. If the total population increases fast, the composition of the population will be younger and the population of working age will also rapidly increase. One of the outstanding manifestations of our country's population problem is that people of working age have increased faster than the increase of the means of production, which results in pressure on employment and creates a large population of people awaiting employment. According to statistics, in the seventies and eighties about 20 to 26 million persons reached working age every year. During the First 5-Year Plan only less than 1 million members of the labor force in cities and towns required work assignments. From 1966 on, almost 2 million awaited work assignments every year, and in 1976 that figure shot up to 3 million. Many youngsters awaiting work assignments were left over from the "Cultural Revolution," and in the 3 years from 1979 to 1981, there were 25 million awaiting work assignments. In our country each worker accounts for an average of 10,000 yuan of fixed assets (technological equipment). To assign work to 3 million people a year, the fixed assets would have to be increased by 30 billion yuan. Since the speedy increase in the population of working age exceeds the limits of possible increases in the means of production, the labor force cannot be fully employed, and this results in a series of socio-economic problems.

Besides, in the wake of advances in our socialist modernization, the technological structure of production and production efficiency will be continuously improved, and this will tend to reduce correspondingly the size of the labor force directly engaged in the production of material goods. We must also realize that there are limits to the available land as the main means of agricultural production. In view of the continuous increase in the rural population and the gradual reduction of arable land owing to the development

of industrial and communications enterprises, the expansion of towns, the tremendous upsurge of housing construction in the rural areas, and also the continuous soil erosion and soil deterioration and similar reasons, the contradiction posed by the large population as against the limited area of arable land will become more and more pronounced.

3. The level of economic development limits the cultural, scientific and technological levels, and these two factors are again being restricted by population factor. As conditions are now in our country, not only is the level of economic development being depressed by the population growth, but cultural and scientific development is also bound to suffer correspondingly owing to the population growth. According to statistics, there are now over 400 million youths under the age of 25 requiring education, and in the 17 to 20 age group there are 62.8 million who require higher education, but owing to the low level of our economic development, the funds for education from the income created by our national economy are very small. This is because the rapid population growth in our country adversely affects the state's accumulation of funds, and as a result makes it impossible to allocate further funds for educational purposes. This will certainly have a serious effect on efforts to raise the quality of our population. In the last few years the expenditure for education has been increased year by year in the course of the development of our socialist construction, and this has had a corresponding effect on the quality of our population.

The incongruities between population growth and increase of means of subsistence, between the increase of the labor force and the increase in the means of production, between the population increase and the development of cultural and educational undertakings, are aggravating the contradiction between the population factor and the fundamental elements of the four modernizations. This kind of contradiction creates great difficulties for the four modernizations drive. It is a completely different matter whether modern material civilization is to be spread and distributed in a country with a huge territory and a huge population of 1 billion people, or whether modernization is to be carried out in a medium-sized country and modern material civilization is to be spread among a population of only several tens of millions; the difficulties in the former case are undoubtedly much greater. The speed and extent of modernization is determined by the extent of capital accumulation and the strength of a country's technology. Rapid population growth hampers our capital accumulation, and this accumulation constitutes the major source for expanded reproduction. Since liberation, our national economy has been great developed. The growth rate of the gross industrial and agricultural output value and of the national income exceeded the growth rate in some developed capitalist countries. During the period from 1949 to 1979, the average annual industrial and agricultural output value increased at the rapid rate of 9.4 percent; 13.3 percent for industry and 4.5 percent for agriculture. Not only old China could not compare with this rate, but it was even faster than in such economically developed countries as the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, Great Britain, France and Germany. In the same period of time our country's average annual national income rose at the rate of 7.3 percent, and the fixed assets of state-operated industries amounted to somewhat over 410 billion yuan in 1980, which is over 26 times what it

was in 1952 (cf. "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History Of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC"), and 32 times that of the approximately 12.8 billions of industrial fixed assets accumulated over about 100 years in old China. The wealth of our society today is considerably greater than in the early years after liberation, but our population growth was too rapid and the increases in production, output and national income, figured on an average per capita basis, were very slow. Although the rate of development in the developed capitalist countries was lower than ours, their rate of average per capita increases in production, output and national income was much faster than ours, the major reason being that the numerical value of the denominator "population" was so much smaller than ours. Acceleration of our productivity was hampered by the too rapid growth of our population, the too large increase in the number of employees and workers, and the low level of technological equipment used in our work. The continuous raising of productivity is the major way to increase production, to lower the cost of production and to increase accumulation, as it is also the major path to a continuous raising of the people's standard of living. There are many factors that influence the improvement of productivity, the key factor being to arm the broad masses of workers with modern technological equipment. Owing to our large population, the deficiencies of our technological equipment, the particularly low productivity in industry and agriculture, and furthermore owing to the large numbers of people joining our labor force, our efforts to increase productivity have been alowed. The average rate of increase in productivity for all workers was 11.5 percent at the time of restoration of our national economy, 8.7 percent during the First 5-Year Plan, 5.4 percent during the Second 5-Year Plan, 2.5 percent during the Third 5-Year Plan and 1.3 percent during the Fourth 5-Year Plan.

The above-mentioned situation clearly indicates that the actual state of our population has already tied down our economic development to a very large degree and retarded the progress of our modernization.

Control One Step Further the Growth of Our Population

Promote Our Country's Modernization Projects

Our population problem is, in the final analysis, an economic problem; it is the unavoidable result of economic backwardness over a long period of time. "Poverty generates population." This is a statement full of deep economic and philosophical meaning. From a strategic viewpoint, in the relationships between population and economy and between population and modernization, the economy is the principal aspect of the contradiction. To pursue our modernization drive and realize the four modernizations is the fundamental method of resolving our country's population problem. However, when carrying out our modernization drive, we must also, in view of the existing state of our population, pay close attention to population control, effectively control the quantity of our population, as well as pay attention to the question of population quality, in order to speed up the progress of modernization. Ever since the seventies we have achieved outstanding results in controlling population growth. In all the seventies, 56 million less babies were born, saving over 120 million yuan that would have to be spent on their upbringing. This is an invisible boost for our modernization drive.

The control of population growth will first have to start with efforts to greatly reduce the birth rate, thus reducing the natural growth rate of the population. The birth rate of our population has already dropped conspicuously during the last 10 years. In 1970 it was 33.59 per 1,000 and by 1980 it had dropped to about 16 per 1,000, i.e., below the world average (28 per 1,00). However, compared with the rate in the developed countries, it is still somewhat high. Examining further the conditions of our present population development, we find the proportion of three or more multiple births is still considerable. In 1978 the total number of births in our country was 17.4 million, of which over 5 million were multiple births, and thus the proportion of multiple births was about 30 percent. In 1979 the number of births was 17.27 million, with still somewhat over 4 million multiple births, their proportion thus being about 23 percent. In 1980 the number of births was about 14.88 million, with about 19 percent multiple births. If it were possible to speedily stop multiple births, there would be 5 million less per year, the birth rate would drop to around 13 per 1,000 and the growth rate of the population could drop to around 7 per 1,000. At present the birth rate in the vast rural areas is still far above that of the urban areas, being estimated at about 19 per 1,000, the average general growth rate is over 12 per 1,000, and the proportion of multiple births is between 35 to 40 percent. To stop multiple births would therefore be a feasible first step to bring down the natural growth rate. However, in view of the large base figure of our population and the preponderance of youth in the age structure, "those below 30 years of age constituting about 65 percent of the total population and an average of 20 million becoming of marrigeable and child-bearing age in every coming year, if no further limitations are instituted and we base our calculations on the present rate of 2.2 children per couple, our total population will reach 1.3 billion after 20 years, and after 40 years it will exceed 1.5 billion. This would enormously aggravate the difficulties for the realization of the four modernizations and create impossible conditions for an improvement of the people's living standard" (cf. "Open Letter by the CCP Central Committee to All Members of the CCP and CYL on the Question of Controlling Our Country's Population Growth"). That means that if the average couple of child-bearing age will have only 2 children, i.e., carry out the "2-child system" as from 1980, our population will still increase for 72 years and reach its maximum in the year 2052, when the increase will stop at a total of 1.54 billion people. Obviously this kind of population development would be quite incompatible with our modernization drive. According to the present state of our population and the level of knowlege among the masses, we could gradually reduce the average birth rate from 2.2 to 1.7 by 1985 and maintain this rate until the year 2000; we would then be able to keep the total population figure at 1.2 billion. Controlling population growth would mean a rise in the gross national output value per capita, which would in turn mean an increase in material goods and a higher level of economic development. At the same time that we put a stop to multiple births for a period of 20 years, we will energetically institute a "one child per couple" system. This is the key measure to achieve the aims of our country's population development. Planned control of our population and simultaneously raising the quality of our population is the inexorable trend of our socialist population development. The term population quality refers to the state of every citizen's moral character, intelligence and physical fitness. The quantity and the quality

of a population are two interrelated aspects that condition each other. Population control is the prerequisite and foundation for improving population quality. The reduction of the number of offspring from an average 3.4 to 1.2 per family would create an excellent precondition for improving population quality. Improving population quality would also be helpful in controling population and maintaining the population within reasonable limits. Improving population quality is also a question of "tackling two aspects at the same time," viz, handling prenatal and postnatal problems. The prenatal aspect is mainly popularizing marriages between close relatives and prohibiting marriages between close relatives and prohibiting persons with hereditary illnesses to have children, it also means setting up appropriate health services and sanitation departments, opening clincs for consultations and outpatient services, etc. According to statistical data, there are about 5 million mentally deficient people in this country (feeble-minded, insane, and congenitally mentally deficient) and several million mentally ill persons, who constitute an additional burden on society and their families. In future we will strive to have whoever is born, to be born to good health and good strength, and we will aim for fewer but eugenically perfect babies, well born and well raised. To take the postnatal tasks well in hand, we must develop our scientific, cultural and educational undertakings, including the development of preschool education, vocational schools, institutions of higher learning, etc. When allotting funds, we must correct the traditional viewpoint that expenditure for the development of scientific, cultural, educational and public health undertakings, which are connected with our intellectual investment, is regarded as consumption funds. In many countries expenditure for educational undertakings is now part of the production funds and regarded as a long-term intellectual investment. It may well be worth our while to take a lesson from this procedure. Qian Xuesen [6929 1331 2773] suggested separating enterprises that create spiritual wealth, such as science, education, culture, public health, publishing, etc., from service enterprises and naming them the quarternary industry, as he believed that separating them in this way will make clearer the position of science, technology, culture and education within the overall modernization drive. This makes good sense. If we rely on uneducated and scientifically untrained people, it will be impossible for us to realize the four modernizations.

Our Modernization Drive Must Help Solve the Population Problem

During the four modernizations we will never be able to lose sight of the special basic condition of our country--its huge population--and the realization of our modernization drive will of necessity entail a basic solution for our population problem at the present stage. What are the special questions which are introduced into the modernization drive by this basic national condition of having a huge population? How is the population problem to be solved in the course of our modernization drive? These are questions that must be answered.

As the modernization drive develops, the various departments of the national economy are extensively employing new technolgies, which result in higher forms of production techniques and a saving in living labor in the production process. This is a general rule of technical progress. However, as modernization progresses, there will of necessity be a trend in the departments

engaged in material production to free an increasing amount of labor force. Coupled with the fact that our country has a huge population as well as a backward economy, a series of new problems is bound to arise: Modernization demands that all branches of the national economy carry out technological reforms, employ advanced technology on a broad scale, greatly promote labor productivity and reduce the number of workers; on the other hand, we have a large population and a large number of persons of working age requiring work assignments. Modernization demands large accumulation, but, having a poor foundation to start with, the rate of our accumulation cannot be very high; otherwise, it will adversely affect the improvement of the people's livelihood. Modernization requires a large number of well trained workers of a certain technological level, while on the other hand our economy and education is backward, higher and middle education are not well developed and cannot meet the needs of the modernization drive, etc. Among all these contradictions, there is none more conspicuous than that between having on the one hand a huge population and a surplus labor force, and on the other hand the drive for all-out modernizations, a contradiction that directly affects the possibility of realizing our economic targets before the end of the century. Faced with the problem of how to modernize, we imagined we could take the experiences of Japan and some West European countries after World War II as our models and effect the speedy importation of a large amount of advanced technology, thus bringing about the four modernizations in a short time and thus in a spurt of hard work catching up with the world's advanced level of development. Practical experience has proved that this method overlooks the national characteristics of our country, because the more advanced the imported technology, the larger the investment needed, while our capital resources are limited, and foreign exchange in particular is short. The more advanced the technologies we employ, the fewer the jobs that can be provided by the units that made the investments. For instance, some enterprises that were set up with imported advanced technological equipment require equipment costing several tens of thousands, hundred thousand or even several hundreds of thousands of yuan to absorb one unit of labor force, that is, they require ten times or several tens of times more capital per unit of labor force compared with labor-intensive enterprises. Developing capital-intensive enterprises can raise labor productivity, but it comes into sharp conflict with the demand for full employment. Modernization under the conditions prevailing in our country must, therefore, on the one hand employ as far as possible the world's most advanced technologies, but on the other hand ensure reasonable use of the labor force and full employment, in a word, we must fully and reasonably utilize the abundant resource of labor force in our country. Our four modernizations cannot ignore solving the population problem and finding solutions beneficial to the population problem; they must not aggrevate the population problem or impede the solution of the population problem. Therefore:

First, in its industrial modernization our country takes the path of simultaneous development of large, medium-sized small enterprises, of simultaneous development of automation, mechanization and manual work, and of simultaneous support of state ownership and collective ownership. In order to speedily and thoroughly end the backwardness of our country's economy and technology, we must set up a series of large-scale modern enterprises in the key departments related to our national economy and the people's livelihood, and have these enterprises work at the advanced level of the world, in order to provide

the material base for an all-out fundamental technological reform in our national economy and defense production and thus fundamentally increase our country's economic strength and defensive might to ensure our economic independence and invincibility. However, in view of our present economic strength and our population's employment requirement, these enterprises must take only a minor share of our overall industrial setup, and the majority must still be the semiautomated and semimechanized medium-sized and small enterprises, and also a section of the large enterprises, all modernized to a fairly low degree. Compared with the former type of large modernized enterprises, the latter will have rather backward equipment, limited output, poor product quality, higher production costs and lower labor productivity, but they will require less investment--in general only 10,000 yuan or a few times that amount for one unit of labor force. As a consequence, they will avoid the phenomenon seen in various developed countries, in which highly raised industrial productivity was the cause of a huge surplus of labor force. At the same time we will have to pay attention to the development of some labor-intensive industries to meet the need for job assignments. Industrial enterprises under collective ownership that use semimechanized or manual methods of operation will still maintain a very large share of the whole industrial system for a considerable length of time. As there is at present a work force of around 3 million seeking employment in our cities and towns every year, such a large a work force cannot possibily be absorbed by mere reliance on large enterprises and fairly modernized medium-sized and small enterprises. We must, therefore, rely on the masses to make do with whatever is available and energetically set up enterprises owned collectively by cities and towns and operating with not too high technological demands being made on them. The role of developing collective-owned enterprises in our effort to solve the employment problem in cities and towns, and also in the process of modernization, must not be overlooked.

Second, agricultural modernization must start from the realities of our large population, limited arable land and latent surplus (or excess) labor force, and the focal point of our agricultural modernization must, for a certain period of time, not be on a mechanization that reduces employment of agricultural labor force, but must principally be on intensive farming with scientific cultivation, popularizing of superior seed strains and soil improvement, in order to raise the crop yield per unit area. The focus of agricultural mechanization must be directed toward vast and thinly populated areas, large acreages suitable for tractor-plowing, where the state should invest in setting up large modernized agricultural enterprises, gradually employing the most advanced technical equipment, using scientific production and administrative methods, building up bases for the production of commodity grain at high labor productivity and to high commodity standards, and also bases for economic crops, animal husbandry, fishery and foresty. In the other areas of our country mechanized and semimechanized agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery will be instituted step by step, in line with local conditions, as also will be electrification, irrigation and extensive use of chemicals in agriculture. In the process of agricultural mechanization and modernization, top priority must be given to raising the rate of soil utilization and raising the crop yield per unit area, in order to realistically guarantee increased production and larger harvests and the rational employment of the agricultural labor force.

We must fully utilize the existing abundant resources of agricultural labor and in line with local conditions carry out capital construction on farmland, complete and perfect the production responsibility system, devise improved defenses against natural calamities and prepare fields with high, stable yields. At the same time we must also carry out intensive and meticulous farming, so out in a big way for scientific cultivation, and devote much time and energy to seed selection, use of fertilizers, plant protection and the reform of the cropping system. We must particularly study how to apply modern science and technology to agriculture, and by every possible means raise the crop yield per unit area and effectively reduce the agricultural production cost. To bring into full play our advantage of having a large population, we must further develop agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery in all all-round way and thereby open up new sources of production for our large agricultural labor force, in order to increase the wealth of society and the income of commune members.

In the process of agricultural mechanization and modernization in various developed countries, the rural population greatly decreased and 70 to 80 percent of the population concentrated in the cities. We cannot operate in this way. We want to absorb right inside the rural areas our large surplus of labor force and take the path of a comprehensive development of agriculture industry and commerce. We will vigorously develop in the villages a processing industry for agricultural products and will make agriculture, sideline production, industry and commerce into one coordinated system, where production, processing and marketing will form one entity, a system that will promote the development of production and increase the income of peasents, and that will furthermore bring a part of the production of industrial products of a very low degree of technology into the villages. If village industry processes parts for the large industry of cities and produces products for export trade as well as articles of everyday use required by people, this would provide a basis for building up in the villages in a planned way many small townships all over the country, and also a basis for developing scientific, cultural and educational enterprises and various service trades, all of which will help to absorb the large agricultural labor force and speed up the process of urbanizing villages.

Third, we must devote major efforts to developing social division of labor, adjust the composition of employed people, and open up new trades and industries. On the basis of a developing industrial and agricultural production and raising labor productivity, we must give attention to the development of various social service undertakings, serving the material production and serving the material and cultural livelihood. That means to develop such communal undertakings as trade, tourism, entertainment, communications, telecommunications, etc., as well as the tertiary industry, viz, science, education, public health, banking and insurance. Development of the tertiary industry will bring about great changes in the composition of employed people. In the latter part of the seventies, the tertiary industry of some capitalist countries swiftly and frantically developed. In these countries, the national income of the tertiary industry and the number of people employed by it almost exceeded, or indeed exceeded, the totals of primary and secondary industries. The tertiary industry has been comparatively weak in our country for many

years. According to preliminary statistics, an examination of the composition of our work force from 1978 shows that primary industry took up 82.2 percent, secondary industry 10.1 percent and tertiary industry only 7.9 percent. In the composition of the national income we see that preimary industry took up 36.5 percent, secondary industry 50.3 percent and tertiary industry 14.1 percent.

This reflects the backwardness of our country's economic development and of its level of consumption. Many departments of the tertiary industry, especially trades serving livelihood, such as tourism and service-oriented trades in cities, are highly labor-intensive, can accommodate a lot of labor force, and make limited demands on the educational and technological level of their employees. Under the present conditions in our country, the expansion of certain departments of tertiary industry is, therefore, also of benefit in absorbing unskilled labor that is being squeezed out of material production departments. This is an essential function for the social division of labor, for the assignment of work and for the increase in national income.

Fourth, in line with the developmental conditions in our country at the present stage, viz, having a stratified production force, and in line with our ownership system, viz, the socialist public ownership occupying the absolutely dominant position, to advocate a diversified economy, allowing different economic systems to exist side by side and permitting a certain development of the individual economy, while at the same time absorbing to an appropriate extent foreign capital and promoting state-capitalist enterprises operating jointly with foreign capital--all these are also suitable methods to speed up our modernization and to find employment for our labor force.

When taking the Chinese road to modernization, we cannot but give consideration to the basic characteristic of our country, viz, a population of 1 billion people of whom over 800 million are peasants. If we start from this fact, we must not only consider our present-day, but also our long-term interests, not only the advanced nature of our technology, but also what is reasonable economically, not only the demand for higher labor productivity, but also the problem of providing more jobs. At the same time we must also fully meet the objective demands posed by the international division of labor and give full play to the superiority of our country's resource of an abundant labor force. In competition on the international market, let us develop the export of "labor-intensive" products in exchange for the import of "technology-intensive" products. In addition, certain labor services can be organized for export to reduce the domestic employment pressure and alleviate the population problem we are now facing.

Summing up: In the past we had a rapid growth in our population simultaneously with a slow development of our productive forces. In future we must find an outlet for our population and also an outlet for our productive forces. The only way open to us is an unrelenting and effective control of our population growth, so as to achieve a continuous and substantial reduction in the natural growth rate, improve population quality, and achieve a general development of moral character, intelligence and physical fitness in our people. This is the only way to achieve the uplift that will benefit the modernization drive

and the people's livelihood. At the same time we must speed up the process of the four modernizations and raise the level of the people's material and cultural livelihood, as the only way that we can effectively control the growth of our population. Control of population growth is closely related with the effective modernization of the national economy. Only when both promote each other can we take big strides in advancing the socialist cause in our country.

9808
CSO: 4005/850

END

JPRS 81432

3 August 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 322

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81432

3 August 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 322

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Sihanouk on Coalition Government at Thai Banquet
(XINHUA, 4 Jul 82) 1

Sihanouk Holds Manila Press Conference 3 July
(XINHUA, 3 Jul 82) 3

Prince Sihanouk Ends Visit to Thailand 5 July
(XINHUA, 5 Jul 82) 4

Thai Prime Minister Meets Samdech Sihanouk
(XINHUA, 4 Jul 82) 5

Nepal Foreign Minister Stressed Nonalignment
(XINHUA, 3 Jul 82) 6

Mexico Elects Miguel de la Madrid President
(XINHUA, 5 Jul 82) 7

British Foreign Secretary Pym Visits Yugoslavia
(XINHUA, 8 Jul 82) 8

Jenkins Elected UK Social Democratic Leader
(XINHUA, 3 Jul 82) 9

'XINHUA' Notes End of EDU Conference in Paris
(XINHUA, 4 Jul 82) 10

Polish Parliament Ends Twenty-Third Session 6 July
(XINHUA, 7 Jul 82) 11

Briefs
Envoy to Zambia 12
Nigerian Economic Delegation 12
Kuwaiti Loan 12
Rwandan Farm Projects 12
Women's Delegation to Colombia 13
Foreign Machinery Exhibit 13
Kim Il-song Meets Delegation 13
Good Will Delegation Returns 13

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA Simulates Use of Tactical Nuclear Weapons in War Exercise
(NINGXIA RIBAO, 29 Jun 82) 14

PRC Journal on Military Themes in Stage Plays
(Hu Ke; KUNLUN, Mar 82) 17

PARTY AND STATE

Cadres Urged To Set Example in Rectifying Party Style
(Ma Shibao; RENMIN RIBAO, 30 Apr 82) 28

Uphill Struggle for Accomplishing Four Modernizations Stressed
(Xin Ren; RENMIN RIBAO, 22 Apr 82) 30

Problems Relating to Drafting Civil Law Discussed
(Tao Xijin; MINZHU YU FAZHI, 25 Sep 81) 32

PRC Collects More CCP Historical Data, Documents
(XINHUA, 5 Jul 82) 41

Turkish Journalist's Impression of China
(Metin Toker; RENMIN RIBAO, 27 Jun 82) 42

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Education Develops Among Minority People
(XINHUA, 5 Jul 82) 44

Work Teams Assist Nationalities Areas
(Yunnan Provincial Service, 5 Jun 82) 45

Beijing Language Students Improve Mental Outlook
(Song Yiping; BEIJING RIBAO, 11 Jun 82) 47

'YUNNAN RIBAO' Discusses University Graduates Work
(YUNNAN RIBAO, 30 May 82) 49

Briefs

Hubei Cultural Academic Meeting 50
Guangzhou on Fishbone Antennas 50
Henan Census Phone Conference 50
Heilongjiang CYL Congress 50
Heilongjiang Water Pollution 51
Hainan County Social Order 51
Guangxi Constitution Explanation Meeting 51
Guangdong Book Control Regulations 52
Sichuan Leaders Meet Athletes 52
Henan Militia Education Symposium 52
Qinghai Nationalities Affairs Commission 52
Jilin Youth Education Campaign 53
Xinjiang Minority Nationality Workers 53
Guizhou Personnel Work Meeting 53
Xinjiang Kirgiz Broadcasts 54
Shandong Commends Birth-Control Models 54
Liaoning Secondary Vocational Education 54
Jiangsu College Graduates' Assignments 54
Jiangxi College Admissions 55
Shanghai Air Force Meeting 55
Gansu Universities Approved 55
Yunnan Minority Nationality Work 55
Xizang Educational Grants 56

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Foreigners in Beijing Protest U.S.-USSR Arms Race
(AFP, 7 Jul 82) 57

TAIWAN

Freedom Fighters Urge Deng To Abandon Communism
(CNA, 3 Jul 82) 58

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SIHANOUK ON COALITION GOVERNMENT AT THAI BANQUET

OW040124 Beijing XINHUA in English 0101 GMT 4 Jul 82

[Text] Bangkok, 3 Jul (XINHUA)--Prince Norodom Sihanouk, president designate of Democratic Kampuchea, said here this evening that "My country and its people will succeed in defeating the forces of evil, the forces of injustice, and in recovering their full sovereignty, national independence and territorial integrity."

Speaking at a dinner given in his honour by Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila, the prince said, "The sacred union of all Khmer patriots and of their movements has now been realized and their coalition government has been formed, mostly due to the support, assistance and incomparable encouragement that have been given by Thailand and ASEAN."

He said, "If the patriotic Kampuchean factions took a long time to unite themselves and to form a coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea, it was because we wanted that our union and our solidarity in the struggle for national liberation, once achieved, would not subsequently crumble and fall apart. It must always endure, even after the country's liberation."

He said, "We are not waging war for the sake of war but war for peace, a just peace for Kampuchea. In other words, a fair solution to the 'Kampuchean problem' in accordance with United Nations resolutions on the Kampuchean question, and with the resolutions of the last international converence on Kampuchea in New York."

In his speech, Foreign Minister Sitthi said the declaration of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea is "an affirmation of the inalienable right of the Kampuchean people to continue the struggle to achieve their self-determination. It represented the strengthening of the resolve among the Kampuchean nationalists to persevere in their difficult search for peace, dignity and justice."

"ASEAN has consistently supported this noble endeavour and was naturally pleased that it finally come to fruition, largely through the collective effort of the three concerned Kampuchean groups," he noted.

He said he hoped that the newly-formed coalition will surpass the challenges, overcome the doubts and accomplish the sacred duty it now undertakes.

Present on the occasion were Son Sann, prime minister of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea, representatives from the three Kampuchea resistance forces, Thai officials and ambassadors of foreign countries including Chinese Ambassador Shen Ping.

CSO: 4000/161

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SIHANOUK HOLDS MANILA PRESS CONFERENCE 3 JULY

OW031257 Beijing XINHUA in English 1245 GMT 3 Jul 82

[Text] Manila, 3 Jul (XINHUA)--Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, president-designate of the Kampuchean Coalition Government, today said the Vietnamese proposal of partial troop withdrawal from Kampuchea is "just deceiving people, deceiving the world. There is no meaning, there is not significance in it."

He made these remarks at a press conference here this morning.

He said: "We have to fight and strengthen our military capability to do harm to the enemy and to persuade the enemy to abide by the United Nations resolutions."

Sihanouk said he had separate meetings with President Marcos and Foreign Minister Carlos Romulo. They had exchanged views on the Kampuchean issue and the Southeast Asian situation, and their views were similar.

Sihanouk said the Philippines would extend to Democratic Kampuchea "all out support in the international arena, particularly in the United Nations."

On the aim of his current ASEAN tour, he said it was to seek support for his coalition government and to thank the various ASEAN leaders for their political and diplomatic support. He was not seeking military aid from members of ASEAN. But, he added, "It is up to ASEAN to decide one day if it could provide such aid or not."

Referring to the future of the coalition government, Sihanouk said: "Our coalition government will last." "We have to be united in the future. If not, we'll be finished."

Sihanouk and his wife left here this afternoon for Bangkok, the last leg of his ASEAN tour.

CSO: 4000/161

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRINCE SIHANOUK ENDS VISIT TO THAILAND 5 JUL Y

OW051844 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 5 Jul 82

[Text] Bangkok, 5 Jul (XINHUA)--H. M. King Phumiphon Abunyadet and H. M. Queen Sirikit Kittiyakara of Thailand met this afternoon with Samdech Korodom Sihanouk, president of Democratic Kampuchea, and his wife.

Present on the occasion were also Princess Maha Chakri Siridhorn and Princess Chulabhorn.

Leader of the Social Action Party of Thailand Kukrit Pramoj gave a luncheon in honor of Norodom Sihanouk and his wife.

Present at the luncheon was also Sitthi Sawetsila, minister of foreign affairs of Thailand.

Norodom Sihanouk ended his three-day visit to Thailand today.

CSO: 4000/161

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAI PRIME MINISTER MEETS SAMDECH SIHANOUK

OW041754 Beijing XINHUA in English 1635 GMT 4 Jul 82

[Text] Bangkok, 4 Jul (XINHUA)--Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon met with Samdech Sihanouk, president designate of Democratic Kampuchea, at the prime minister's office this morning. They had a working breakfast together.

Thai Foreign Minister Air Chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila was present on the occasion.

According to a press release issued by the prime minister's office at noon today, in the meeting Samdech Sihanouk expressed thanks to Prime Minister Prem for the warm welcome accorded him by the Thai Government and people, and particularly for the aid to the Kampuchean refugees at a time when the Kampuchean people are suffering hardships.

Samdech Sihanouk stated that the three Kampuchean forces would announce formally the setting up of their coalition government in Kampuchea as soon as possible after consultations so as to fight the outside domination unitedly and effectively, the release said.

The release quoted the Thai prime minister as saying that "The Thai Government will do its utmost to provide humanitarian assistance to the Kampuchean refugee." Prem noted with pleasure the formation of a Kampuchean tripartite coalition government. He said, "The formation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea is a good thing to the broad masses of the Kampuchean people, including the refugees residing in Thailand who will eventually return to their motherland, and it is also conducive to peace and stability in this region."

CSO: 4000/161

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NEPAL FOREIGN MINISTER STRESSED NONALIGNMENT

OW030830 Beijing XINHUA in English 0812 GMT 3 Jul 82

[Text] Katmandu, 2 Jul (XINHUA)--Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa reaffirmed yesterday that the principles of non-alignment are the bedrock of Nepal's foreign policy.

He made the remarks in a message to the two-day seminar on Nepal and non-alignment that concluded today.

Expressing his strong faith in the ideals and principles of non-alignment, Thapa said that the non-aligned movement is perceived today by a large number of nations as "a means of promoting and consolidating their hard-won national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity for social and economic upliftment of their peoples and for the consolidation of world peace."

He said the non-aligned countries possess vast resources which offer immense opportunities for development. "A collective self-reliance through mutual cooperation is not only a viable objective but would also strengthen the position of the south in the north-south dialogue for realisation of the goal of a new international economic order," he added.

Thapa also stressed unity among the non-aligned countries.

CSO: 4000/161

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MEXICO ELECTS MIGUEL DE LA MADRID PRESIDENT

OW051730 Beijing XINHUA in English 1632 GMT 5 Jul 82

[Text] Mexico City, 4 Jul (XINHUA)--Miguel de la Madrid, presidential candidate of Mexico's ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), has won Sunday's election, announced the Federal Electoral Commission (FEC) today.

Enrique Olivares Santana, president of FEC and secretary of the interior, said that according to the available poll results, it was certain that "Miguel de la Madrid took an overwhelming lead over the other candidates in the voting" and "obtained a majority by a wide margin."

Meanwhile, Miguel de la Madrid declared before reporters the landslide victory of his party. He said that when he took office, he would continue the work of consolidating national independence, promoting democratization, firmly developing economy, creating jobs and controling inflation and living costs.

It was unprecedented in Mexican history that seven candidates from nine political parties were contesting in the election. According to statistics released by FEC, some 3-5 million Mexicans cast their votes on Sunday, among whom over nine million young voters went to polling boxes for the first time.

PRI has been a ruling party ever since its founding in 1929. Miguel de la Madrid, 47, is one of the youngest presidents from the party. He will be sworn in on December 1 to start serving his term of six years.

Today, the congress also elected 64 senators and 400 deputies.

CSO: 4000/161

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY PYM VISITS YUGOSLAVIA

OW071021 Beijing XINHUA in English 0709 GMT 8 Jul 82

[Text] Belgrade, 6 July (XINHUA)--President of the federal presidency of Yugoslavia Petar Stambolic today received British Foreign Secretary Francis Pym who arrived here yesterday on a two-day official, friendly visit to the country.

They discussed bilateral relations and topical international problems.

Yesterday Pym had an open and frank exchange of views with Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Lazar Mojsov on the development of economic relations between the two countries. The pressing world situation, European security, the Middle East, north-south dialogue and disarmament. During the talks, Pym expressed his country's respect for the important role of Yugoslavia in the non-aligned movement. Both sides expressed willingness to further their relations and cooperation.

At a press conference today, Pym said that the Malvinas question was not mentioned directly during the talks, but the Yugoslav side expressed opposition to any use of force in international relations.

At the dinner yesterday evening given by Mojsov in his honor, Pym condemned the Israeli aggression against Lebanon and said "there could be no justification for Israel's invasion of Lebanon."

Mojsov stressed that a tense international situation is brought about by tense relations between the big powers, by certain countries' trying to impose their policies and aims on others, by the intensified arms race between the big powers, and the use of force and armed intervention in international affairs. As a result, the independence of many countries and stability of certain regions are endangered.

He said that apprehension is caused by the use of force, exertion of pressure and conflicts in the Middle East, southwest and southeast Asia. Southern Africa and some areas in Latin America. There is the danger, he warned, that hotbeds of crisis may extend to other countries and develop into military conflicts beyond control. Pym left here today.

CSO: 4000/163

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JENKINS ELECTED UK SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEADER

OW030800 Beijing XINHUA in English 0723 GMT 3 Jul 82

[Text] London, 2 July (XINHUA)--Britain's social democratic party today elected Roy Jenkins, a former senior government minister and former president of the European commission, as its first leader.

The election was conducted on a "one member one vote" basis and the party's 65,000 members voted by postal ballot--the first time a British party leader has been chosen this way.

Jenkins, 61, who had been home secretary and chancellor of the Exchequer in previous labour governments and served as president of the common market's executive commission in Brussels between 1977 and early 1981, returned to parliament through a by-election 3 months ago.

SDP was launched in March of last year by Jenkins and three other former cabinet ministers leaving the Labour Party, with the declared aim of breaking the long standing two party mould of British politics. As it was not until recently that the new party adopted its constitution, the party had been led by the four founding members collectively.

Jenkins' victory today is observed here as one that has almost secured his chance of leading the alliance of formed SDP and the Liberal Party last October.

By taking advantage of the prevailing economic difficulties and the internal struggle within the Labour Party, the alliance had won a number of victories in parliamentary by-elections, with SDP now holding 31 seats and the Liberal Party 12 seats in the House of Commons. But recent opinion polls showed that it has gradually lost its popularity and fallen behind the two traditional parties.

CSO: 4000/163

'XINHUA' NOTES END OF EDU CONFERENCE IN PARIS

OW041958 Beijing XINHUA in English 1854 GMT 4 Jul 82

[Text] Paris, 3 July (XINHUA)--Conservative, Christian democratic and liberal leaders or more than ten Western European countries ended 2 days of discussions on politics, economy and European defense and security here today at the fifth conference of the European Democratic Union (EDU).

A final communique said that the leaders held identical views on European defense. They demanded that the balance of forces between East and West be restored and urged that the policy of deterrence be carried out and the arms race brought under control. They also stressed the importance of alliance between Western Europe and the United States.

The leaders condemned the Soviets for their continued occupation of Afghanistan. They said that the Soviet attitude towards the Polish crisis shows that the Soviet policies are offensive and aggressive in nature.

Referring to the Lebanese problem, the communique said the EDU regretted Israel's invasion of Lebanon and appealed to all the parties concerned to end the confrontation and find a political solution on the basis of withdrawal of all foreign troops and non-Lebanese armed groups.

The communique said that EDU felt uneasy about increasing unemployment and inflation in Western Europe. It held that "to free the market force" is the only way to develop economy.

The speakers said that the Soviet superiority in nuclear and conventional weapons is the main threat to Western Europe. They demanded the United States maintain an appropriate amount of nuclear and conventional weapons in Europe to confront the Soviet threat.

The speakers urged for strengthened defense ties among EDU nations. A French leader suggested "the creation of a real European arms industry" to shore up European defense.

EDU President and Austrial Populist Party Chairman Alois Mock said that a balance of forces between East and West is the best way to safeguard world peace and security.

Mock was reelected president of the EDU for another 2-year term.

The EDU was created in Austria in 1978 by major European conservative, Christian Democratic and Liberal Parties.

CSO: 4000/163

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLISH PARLIAMENT ENDS TWENTY-THIRD SESSION 6 JULY

OW071254 Beijing XINHUA in English 1233 GMT 7 Jul 82

[Text] Warsaw, 6 July (XINHUA)--The Polish parliament ended its 2-day 23d plenary session here today after ratifying the reports on draft budget law for 1982 and on government reports on the implementation of the 1981 national economic plan and state budget and a draft law on foreign investment in small-scale industry.

According to the government reports, Poland's national income in 1981 dropped about 13 per cent, and the average living standard 22 per cent lower than the preceding year because of higher prices. The continued social disturbances in Poland last year brought about worsened economic situation such as "monetary crisis," "food crisis" and "payment crisis."

In the first 6 months of this year, there were signs of "halting the decline of production" in industry and even "certain increases" in some sectors, but the decreasing tendency "still continued" in the processing industry. There were "uneasy numbers of sick leaves" and productivity was "low." The report estimates that the industrial production in the first half of the year may be six per cent lower than that of the corresponding period of last year and 14 percent lower than the same period of 1979.

In order to improve the economic situation, the Polish Government will take it as a general principle to "reform the economic structure and make the new economic system coincide with this economic structure." Resolute measures will be taken to increase the proportion of the industrial sectors that serve agriculture, the food industry, the market and the export trade.

CSO: 4000/163

BRIEFS

ENVOY TO ZAMBIA--Lusaka, 7 Jul (XINHUA)--Zhang Junhua, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to Zambia presented credentials to President Kenneth David Kauda at the presidency here today. After the presentation, the president said, "we people in Zambia appreciate greatly China's stand on issues affecting mankind involving East and West, North and South." Zambian Foreign Minister L.H.K. Goma was present on the occasion. [Text] [OW080815 Beijing XINHUA in English 1627 GMT 7 Jul 82]

NIGERIAN ECONOMIC DELEGATION--Beijing, 6 Jul (XINHUA)--Qian Zhengying, Chinese minister of water conservancy and power, gave a dinner at the Great Hall of the people this evening for a Nigerian economic and technical delegation. The group is led by Mrs A. E. Oyagbola, federal minister of national planning. Present were Jia Shi, Chinese vice minister of foreign economic relations and trade, and S. S. Salifu, Nigerian ambassador to China. This afternoon, talks between the two ministers were held. The delegation arrived 5 July to attend a meeting of the Joint Economic and Technical Commission of China and Nigeria. [Text] [OW080815 Beijing XINHUA in English 1623 GMT 6 Jul 82]

KUWAITI LOAN--Kuwait, 5 Jul (XINHUA)--The Kuwaiti fund for Arab economic development will provide a loan of 14.3 million dinars (50 million U.S. dollars) to help finance the Nigguo Cement Plant in Anhui Province, China. The loan agreement was signed here today by 'Abd al-Latif Yusuf al-Hamad, board chariman of the Kuwaiti fund and minister of finance and planning, and Cao Liren, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy here. The plant, designed to produce 1.5 million tons of cement a year, will be one of the biggest cement plants in China. The total cost of the project is estimated at 36.35 million dinars. This is the first loan provided by the Kuwaiti fund to China. Under the agreement, Kuwait will give preferential treatment to China in purchases in the light of China's specific needs. [Text] [OW080815 Beijing XINHUA in English 1233 GMT 6 Jul 82]

RWANDAN FARM PROJECTS--Kigali, 6 Jul (XINHUA)--The China-aided Rubindi paddy-growing farm in Kibungo Province was turned over to Rwanda today. A certificate to this effect was signed by Chinese vice minister of agriculture, animal husbandry and fishery Xiao Peng and Rwandan minister of agriculture and livestock Federic Nzamurambaho on behalf of their own governments. At the same time, a foundation stone was laid fro the Rwamagana paddy-growing farm, another project aided by the Chinese Government. In a speech at the ceremony, Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana expressed satisfaction with the development of freindly

relations and cooperation between Rwanda and China. He praised these projects in Rwanda. The Chinese ambassador to Rwanda, Zhao Jin, was also present on the occasion. [OW080815 Beijing XINHUA in English 1219 GMT 7 Jul 82]

WOMEN'S DELEGATION TO COLOMBIA--Bogota, 5 Jul (XINHUA)--The Chinese women's delegation left here today for Suriname after a 2-week friendly visit to Colombia. The delegation of the all-China women's federation is led by Xu Xuehai, vice director of the federation's international activities committee. During its stay in Colombia, the delegation had met with Colombia's women's organizations and exchanged experience with them on the protection of women's and children's rights. It had also visited the institute of family welfare, factories and sites of historical interests. The delegation arrived here from Venezuela on 19 June. Its visit was the first of its kind to this country. [Text] [OW080815 Beijing XINHUA in English 1217 GMT 6 Jul 82]

FOREIGN MACHINERY EXHIBIT--Guangzhou, 7 Jul (XINHUA)--An 8-day foreign foodstuff processing and packing machinery exhibition opened 7 July at Guangzhou's foreign trade center, in the capital of Guangdong Province. Exhibitors are 20 firms from Denmark, West Germany, Italy, Japan, Singapore, Sweden, Britain, the United States and Hong Kong. Most are showing their products in China for the first time. On display are technical data and 45 types of equipment, including can-making equipment, conveyer belts for paper boxes, crushing, filling, meat-processing and sealing machines and sterlizing equipment. The exhibition is sponsored by the canners exposition group for the United States and the Guangdong branch of the China council for the promotion of international trade. [OW080815 Beijing XINHUA in English 1509 GMT 7 Jul 82]

KIM IL-SONG MEETS DELEGATION--Pyongyang, 20 Jun (XINHUA)--Kim Il-song, president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, today held talks with a delegation from Shanghai led by Mayor Wang Daohan. The delegation traveled to Korea to sign an agreement on 18 June making Hamhung and Shanghai friendship cities. During today's meeting, Kim Il-song said the forming of friendship cities is good for relations between Korea and China. He expressed his appreciation to the people of Shanghai for their support of the Korean people during the Korean war. Also present at the meeting were Korean party and government leaders Chong Chun-ki, Kim Chae-suk and O Mun-han and He Zangming, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy to Korea. [Text] [OW201528 Beijing XINHUA in English 1516 GMT 20 Jun 82]

GOOD WILL DELEGATION RETURNS--The Shanghai Municipal Friendship Delegation headed by Mayor Wang Daohan returned to Shanghai by plane on the afternoon of 24 June after attending activities connected with the establishment of friendly cities relations between Shanghai and Hamhung and concluding a good will visit to the DPRK. [Text] [OW270102 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 24 Jun 82]

CSO: 4000/161

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA SIMULATES USE OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN WAR EXERCISE

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "The Might of Helan Shan Shakes"]

[Text] Shortly before "1 July," from the northern border of the motherland came the heartening news of a great success--the commanders and fighters of the PLA ground and air force units in Ningxia, with the majestic appearance and heroic spirit of the prowess at Helan Shan, held a military exercise and demonstrated to the party and the people their achievements in speeding up the building of a modern, revolutionary and regularized army.

At the site of the exercise, the wind was gentle and the sun was radiant. At 09:00 hours, red signal flares shot into the air, and fighter planes soared into the sky, artillery fire opened up, armored vehicles roared, tanks rolled out and a "nuclear bomb" displayed its power. With X forces representing our side and X forces being designated as the "enemy" side, the two sides engaged to fight for position and the exciting fierce battle scene brought praises again and again from spectators in the viewing stand.

A Full Reflection of Modern Warfare Characteristics

The "enemy's" fighter planes, attack planes, bombers and armed helicopters suddenly swooped in above the position, wheeled around in the air one after another and attacked in waves in a vain attempt to gain air superiority. On the ground the "enemy's" long-range artillery guns zeroed in on our defensive positions and used powerful firepower to open up a passage. His tanks and motorized units launched an attack at our troops and the "enemy troops" also instantaneously deployed their "nuclear weapons."

Confronted with an aggressive attack by the "enemy forces," our artillery units opened interdiction fire at just the right moment to slow down the speed of their advancing attack. However, the "enemy" tanks and motorized units, under the cover of air and artillery support, pushed on toward our defensive position.

This was not to boost the "enemy's" morale, but rather to simulate the "enemy forces," and to make the combat characteristics and nature of a war against enemy aggression come alive. This is precisely our army's new task in organizing training under modern conditions. The PLA units in Ningxia are using "enemy troops" as a "grindstone" to undergo rigorous training to meet the needs of a

future war against aggression. During the exercise, tank riders wearing combat gears traveled across the desert in a temperature of 45 degrees centigrade, and despite sweat soaking through their clothes and dirt all over their bodies, they put their full energy into hard and strict efforts.

Give Scope to Our Troops' Special Skills

Although the "enemy forces" managed to occupy a part of our troops' position, they had suffered heavy losses and was anxiously awaiting support. Our commanders judged the hour and sized up the situation, and took advantage of this favorable opportunity to issue decisive orders. A soul-stirring and fierce battle for key defensive strongholds broke out. From their defense works our troops launched repeated attacks against the "enemy forces" and inflicted heavy casualties on any effective strength. This was not a war of attrition nor positional warfare in which we fought fire with fire but rather an entrenched defensive warfare in which we fought fire with fire but rather an entrenched defensive warfare inwhich we used our strong points to attack the "enemy's" weak points. What our army relied on were strong political work and flexible fighting methods. Inside the tunnels and defense works we saw that the units holding the key strongpoints were like nails that have been "nailed" in to the position. Party members and CYL members proudly said, "The time for our motherland to test us has arrived, and as long as there is a breath of air left in us the "enemy" will never seize an inch of our northern border territory!" This kind of fearing neither hardship nor death revolutionary spirit is the epitome of our army's heroic spirit and also the result of our educational efforts on "giving deep love for motherland, for the great northwest and for Helan Shan."

The cadres and fighters of the 1st Company of an unidentified PLA unit in Ningxia have closely integrated their love for the mountains with the building up and the defense of the mountains during the education on the "three ardent loves," have trained hard in combat skills and have achieved marked improvements in military and political qualities. As a result, a large number of marksmen and crack artillerymen have emerged, the skills to fight tanks with "force, accuracy, fierceness, speed and flexibility" have been summed up and a new way for the entire unit to conduct tactical training has been introduced. During this exercise, they skillfully foiled the advance of the "enemy forces" with courageous spirit and exquisite fighting art.

Border Guards Subdue the "Enemy"

In a counterattack operation, our troops' reserve units, with the momentum of an avalanche, made a clean sweep of the "enemy troops" and launched an awesome and fierce firepower attack against the those who were charging into our position. With close coordination from infantry and tank units, we penetrated right into the "enemy's" position, cut him off at the middle into countless pieces so that he had difficulty watching his front and rear. Our troops nuclear strike capability zeroed in on the targets, took the enemy by surprise and dealt his artillery positions and reserve forces a crushing blow. Like a sharpened sword, our airborne fenduis cut into the "enemy's" rear and launched an attack with amazing speed, thereby surrounding the "enemy forces" with frontal and pincer attacks. Our artillery units used their tempered skills honed on the training

ground during ordinary times to support the infantry units in their counter-attack operation and put into action their tremendous power.

How was this skill perfected in training? Comrades of a team in charge of training in the exercise told us that it was the result of hard training during ordinary times by the broad masses of commanders and fighters, the result of the coordinated training of various arms of the services and the result of correct guidance. This year, in training reform various units have focused attention on the characteristics of modern warfare, unified combat thinking, studied counterattack measures and brought into play the overall strength of various service arms. As a result, the broad masses of commanders and fighters of the units in Ningxia have all unified their thinking, put their strength together and trained hard and strict.

When the exercise reached a period of decisive fighting, our troops' counter-attack forces employed various combat methods to swiftly surround and annihilate the "enemy forces" and pushed the training exercise to a climax. Spectators in the viewing stand looked down at the site of the exercise and broke into continuous and unending applauds. With the success of education and training at hand, the people's army sang an inspirational song of their deep love for the great northwest and their defense of Helan Shan. Should the enemy dare to invade us, our army will certainly ride on galloping "steeds" alongside the people of various nationalities in Ningxia to engulf him in the boundless ocean of people's war.

CSO: 4005/1072

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PRC JOURNAL ON MILITARY THEMES IN STAGE PLAYS

HK021327 Beijing KUNLUN in Chinese No 1, Mar 82 pp 206-212

[Article by Hu Ke [5170 0668]: "A Little Talk on Military Themes in Stage Plays"]

[Text] Many of the stage plays in our country take military struggles as the theme. Not to mention the enormous number of traditional plays which protray war, the stage plays on military themes have become an important category due to our country's revolutionary characteristics. Certainly, compared with the historical facts of the armed struggles of our country's revolution, only a limited part has been reflected in the plays. An enormous amount of military themes are waiting to be reflected in the plays.

What do we mean by military themes? It can be explained, in a narrow sense, as portrayal of war; and in a broader sense, it means description of war preparations during peace time and the building of the whole modern and regular army. It is difficult to clearly separate military themes from other themes. Some of the activities of the militia should be included as military themes, whereas the arrest of criminals by public security personnel has never been included in the category of military themes despite violent actions involving guns and swords. In order to facilitate discussions, let us agree to treat wars and events directly related to wars as military themes.

In this article, the writer would like to give some immature and personal opinions on several questions in the writing of stage plays on military themes.

Education on Patriotism and Revolutionary Heroism

We hope to see more plays which portray and revolutionary wars and which reflect the life of our army in actual struggles. This is not only because the history of our country's revolutionary wars is of educational significance and our army's actual struggle directly inspires the masses, but also because plays on revolutionary and military themes can readily, and in a centralized way, reflect our masses' lofty patriotic and revolutionary heroic feeling. Such spirits are of great importance to building socialist spiritual civilization, and establishing socialist and communist ideology, morality and customs. Regarding our PLA units and the broad masses of young people, carrying out lively and vivid education on patriotism and revolutionary heroism by means of litera-

ture and art on military themes is of direct significance in making war preparations.

Since war appeared in human society as a form to solve contradictions among classes, nationalities, countries and political groups, literature and art which reflected war appeared. Through the ages, each class, each nationality, each country and each political group, for the sake of safeguarding its own interests, has been using all possible means including literature and art, to propagate the historical achievements and war heroes of its own class, nation, country or group. The reason for this is to educate and encourage its own people. They also propagate the brave spirit of being loyal to the country and the nation and fighting against foreign aggressors, deriving wisdom and drawing strength from it. They cultivate among the people the moral qualities and mental power which is conducive to the lifelong existence of the nation, which help people to resist foreign aggression and undergo the test of war. This kind of mental quality is called patriotism. Education in patriotism is important in all countries. In a class society, the kind of patriotism propagated by the ruling group is always related to safeguarding the interests of its own class. The reactionary ruling class even makes use of the people's patriotic feelings to instigate national hatred, advocate aggression and hegemonism, and beautify unjust wars in order to serve its own interests. Patriotism as advocated by communists, is fundamentally different from all other kinds of nationalism and narrow patriotism in that it is related to the interests of the Proletariat and the broad masses of people and the interests of oppressed nations and people all over the world. Our patriotism is identical with the spirit of serving the people, the spirit of contributing to the socialist and communist cause and the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

We encourage works on military themes and encourage works which protray the armed struggles led by the Chinese Communist Party over the past several decades since the founding of the country including the struggle of building national defense carried out for the sake of safeguarding the motherland and the struggle for safeguarding the frontiers. We also encourage works on ancient wars and encourage observing the historical military struggles by applying historical materialistic views. We must draw experience and learn lessons from them so as to serve the current cause of safeguarding the socialist motherland. However, what is more urgent is that we must take the opportunity that many of the actual participants are still alive, to strive to reflect great military struggles that this generation of ours has undergone for the sake of building and safeguarding our socialist motherland. From the Nanchang uprising to the long march of 25,000 li, from the war of resistance against Japan to the liberation war, from the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea to the various wars of self-defense to safeguard the frontiers, there are so many glorious historical relics, so many heroic figures and so much valuable experience awaiting our discovery and study! Today, our army is no longer in the past situation of millet plus rifles. How many new figures and new struggles await our observation, study and reflection!

A High Plane of the Times and History

The conception of the themes of the plays is tough and meticulous creative labor. It not only requires that the playwright be familiar with the process,

the details and the figures of the struggle that he is going to portray and the look of the society at that time, but also that he stands on the high plane of our times today to observe and handle the historical facts and make a more profound summation. It is necessary, in the course of relating the historical story, to give prominence to the historical and educational significance and abandon things which are meaningless today although they seemed to be significant in the past. Thus, it will better serve our struggle today. Our plays should on the one hand, reproduct history and on the other hand, has a strong sense of the times. Then, this demands that our playwrights have a correct stand and views, a strong sense of responsibility toward actual struggles, and thoughts which are related to history.

War is a continuation of politics and military sturggles always serve some particular political ends. Therefore, military struggles in the plays are always linked with political struggles. In the course of waging military struggles, it is necessary to adopt political means to consolidate one's own position and win over allies, and make use of plots to split up the enemy army to ensure a victory in war. In addition, military struggles themselves are a result of the intensification of various complicated contradictions among different political forces. All successful works on military themes, modern or anceint in China or elsewhere, deeply exposed the acute contradiction between various social classes and various political forces at that time, and none of them were purely on military actions. In handling works on military themes, experienced writers usually have their eyes on the political situation of a certain historical period and on the relationship between various social classes and various political forces at that time, and the historical background that caused the war. If we portray the Nanchang uprising by deviating from the grim situation after Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei betrayed the revolution, portray the long march by deviating from Japanese imperialist aggression, Chiang Kai-shek's anti-communist and traitorous principles, and the CCP's correction of its own mistakes, portray the war of resistance against Japan by deviating from the building of the united front of nations resisting Japan and the base areas behind the enemy lines, portray the liberation war and deviating from the modernization of the army and the great agrarian reform, these themes will definitely be less educational to us. Playwrights who write on military themes should reflect the historical facts by means of the plays and expose the nature of war, enabling the audience to see from the play the growth and decline of the relative strength of the two sides, the law governing the growth and decline of such strength, the sanguine historical experiences and the real motive force which pushed history forward.

We are not engaged in determining the themes. While protraying wars, due to different stands and attitudes and different emphasis in the course of handling the theme, we may have different or completely opposite effects. Our objective in advocating stage plays on military themes is to enable the masses to correctly understand the war, correctly understand our history and correctly understand the tasks of struggle which confront us today. Our advocation of military themes in stage plays is aimed at the fact that we are carrying out the four modernization drive under the threat of war and that we must be enlightened and encouraged and make good preparations for a war of anti-aggression. We love peace. We must make war preparations including ideological preparation,

for the sake of maintaining world peace. No writers on military themes who have a sense of responsibility toward the society should adopt the kind of pacifist concepts which indiscriminately imprecate all wars, be they just or unjust, or engage in the practice of setting "humanity" against just wars, spreading perplexisty and defeatist sentiments.

Characters During the War

Many of the stage plays on military themes portray a certain war or a certain struggle in the history of our revolution. Many of our writers are sometimes attracted by the complicated changes in the course of the war and battle and do not pay much attention to the active figures during the war. As a result, the character of the figures is drowned in the incidents. This phenomenon is commonly found in plays written by less experienced playwrights who have experiences in wars. We all know the inseparable relationship between the characters and the incidents in the plays and we do not deny the fact that the famous wars in history can be taken as the background of themes or the basic sketch of the story. However, what a play on military theme should bring to the audience is not the course of a certain war or battle. A playwright who writes on military themes must, from the moment he starts to work out the plot, aim at the destiny of each character in the play and the relationships between the characters so that the characters can be active in the background of a concrete war or battle. When we say that a certain play is describing a certain war or battle, we mean a story and some characters ina certain war or battle. The appearance of a war or a battle should be clearly or vaguely seen in perspective by means of the concrete experiences of the characters.

The plays on military themes should not content themselves with telling the audience how the war was fought. Certainly, in our country's traditional plays, many war plays show fighting scenes in ancient wars and some of them show the course of a certain battle. However, these plays rely on the actors' perfect skill in Chinese acrobatics and unique skills, the beautiful posture of the dancers and the expressions of the characters to win the masses' applause. By just reading the script, we will not find them very interesting. The stage plays are different, the script of the play must use different characters to compose an interesting story, and use the actors' lines to sketch the characters. When thinking of putting great military facts in the plays, if we neglect the characters, if we fail to firmly grasp the personality of the characters and the contradictions among them, if we are content with the common occurrences in daily life and if we are content with superficial and ordinary human relationships such as relationships between staff members and relationships between relatives and old friends which are inadequately arranged to provide a break from the relationships between staff members, the "human relationships" portrayed will lack substantial contents and will look very similar to each other. Despite different incidents and the fighting strategy, the human relationships are more or less the same. We have seen more than once this situation while reading scripts on military themes.

I recall once, when I discussed such a regretable phenomenon with some friends, we casually gave some examples of orginary human relationship and scenes of stage plays on military themes. Common examples were: A junior fighter asks

for a battle assignment and his request is turned down by the higher levels after considering the overall situation, however, the toughest task is assigned to him at the most critical moment; a certain junior fighter is the old bodyguard of a certain senior official; the old landlord's son is the main character's subordinate and the landlord's daughter is the certain of the guerrillas, with whom the main character has fallen in love; the fighters misunderstand and they complain about the senior officer's intentions until the battle is won; the commander of the enemy army is opinionated and the deputy commander is a wily old fox, and there are contradictions between them; a sophisticated and attractive female secretary who smokes cigarettes is active in the command headquarters; there are various kinds of the wine in the enemy's command headquarters to be drunk at any time; the PLA fighters all say brave and proud words when the masses come to comfort them; and so forth. The above-mentioned examples can sometimes be found in actual life and can naturally be reflected in literature and art. However, why does the exciting war life to the writers and also the things reflected in their works, look so alike? Why are human relationships between the characters so similar in different wars and battles? Where does the moral lie? It seems we can say that the sudden changes in the wars and battles are different from the plots of the plays. If our writers, in the course of planning the plot, can clearly see this point and make more efforts in the portrayal of characters, they can discover from actual life more realistic and touching human relationships.

Revolutionary wars are severe tests for all people. During the wars, the most concealed qualities of people are revealed. Sometimes, during a war, the usually quiet fighters radiate their brilliant qualities and those who usually speak highly of themselves in front of others become mediocre and incompetent. During the revolutionary war, the spirit of sacrificing one's own life for the just cause, the friendship between the comrade fighters and the spirit of being united and cooperative, the spontaneous and strict organizational discipline and the spirit of revolutionary optimism and other good qualities of human beings spread and develop like flames and yeast in the big group. They purify the people's minds, trivializing all selfish ideas and personal considerations. During the revolutionary war, high morale and meticulous planning are integrated and so are the revolutionary spirit of adventurism and the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts, any kind of fear, subjectivity and blindness and any kind of carelessness and paralysis may possibly bring losses which will have to be compensated for the blood. It is necessary for writers of plays on military themes to carry out research and study the historical materials of the wars. However, the most valuable and fundamental course for writers who write on military themes is having a change to go deep into the PLA fighting units and the PLA units which shoulder great tasks, undergo the test of war and arduous struggles, experience the high spirit of revolutionary heroism and observe different kinds of characters in that big furnace.

Performing War Plays in a Civil Way

There are traditional war plays, which are performed with "acrobatic skills of the Chinese opera," and there are "war films." However, there are no corresponding "war stage plays" or "fighting stage plays." Various skills such as singing, choral speaking, acting and fighting are demonstrated in the traditional plays and audiences mainly see dancing, posture and acrobatic skills in the

war plays. None of these exist in state plays. However, the fighting scenes of modern drama, in which rifles are used to replace ancient spears, make the audiences feel uncomfortable. They expose the contraditions between the fighting method in ancient wars and the modern wars and modern weapons. It is now possible for rifles, which are fixed with bayonets, to be brandished, but not machine guns or cannons. This would be impossible in stage plays. In light of this, many comrades express their regret that military themes can only be used in writing film scripts but not in stage plays. The logic for this is, "can the cannons and tanks be moved up the stage?"

I have pondered this question. I think that if the conditions on the stage are greatly improved in the future, not only can cannons and tanks be moved up onto the stage but also aircraft, warships, launching of missiles and radar tracking. Would this really mean a glimmer of hope in stage plays on military themes? If stage plays mean a reproduction of realistic fighting scenes, they will be like military rehearsals. Are these the stage plays on military themes which we have been pursuing? The answer is no. No matter how improved the conditions on the stage are in the future, stage plays can only rely on its unique form--words--to depict war. As playwrights make generalizations, the plays can only "describe the wars," they can never fight them on the stage. The problem lies in how to "describe." "Description" is the special skill on stage plays.

The action of war, in modern or ancient times, is not solely in the actual fighting between two armies on the battle front. In most cases, fighting direct is transient, while the course of the fermenting of, preparation for and organization for a war is much longer. There is no doubt that the trials of war which men have to undergo take place on the battle field. However, actually they also take place long before the outbreak of the war and outside the battle field. Meticulous reconnaissances and judgments, repeated discussions and deliberations, frequent maneuvers and experiments, arranging large quantities of military stores, and heavy logistic support and political and ideological work, all these mixed together, give rise to extremely complicated contradictions which have already been conscientiously dealt with before the war is actually launched. And our enemey is doing the same things as we are doing. They are also bent on solving their own contradictions, making reconnaissances and carrying out studies on us. They try every means to eliminate us, and make use of every opportunity to undermine our plan, interfere with our combat deployment and lay obstacles before us. For a commander, the fighting to survive and to eliminate the enemy is begun as soon as the army enters combat readiness; or more strictly speaking, it has begun in ordinary times. The preparation for a war and the arduous struggle to create the conditions for victory must be started long before the outbreak of the war. How well the parties to hostilities have solved their own contradictions, what material and spiritual conditions they have created on their own, how accurate their judgments are, how strong their determination is , and whether their combat deployment is correct, the degree of mobilization of all the above-mentioned objective conditions and the subjective initiative of the parties to hostilities has determined the future scale and trend of this war. Certainly, accidental factors also work upon the process of the war. But, the general trend of the war is to solve the contradiction between the parties to hostilities, therefore people engaged in a war have to undergo the trial of the struggle between them-

selves and the enemy. And subsequently, the relationship between the main characters in a stage play with a military theme should be developed along the contradiction between themeselves and the enemy. However, in most cases, the main issues involving the main characters in a play are not directly presented in the relationship between the characters of the parties to hostilities. Similar to our country's operas, scenes of talks between the commanders of two opposing armies on the battle front are seldom seen in most of stage plays with a military theme which we have read. Scenes of negotiations, interrogation of prisoners of war and bayonet fighting are common. In many stage plays, the representative characters of the two parties to a life-and-death struggle do not see each other; and in some plays, the enemy does not even directly appear on the stage. It is in fact the different characters of those people in one camp that account for the relationships and the entaglements between the different roles in a play. In the general background to a campaign, they are related to each other in fulfilling the common task of struggling against the enemy and creating the conditions for victory in face of the oppression of, interference of and destruction by the enemy. They constantly have to solve various contradictions between themselves, which may turn out to be rather acute, while overcoming those difficulties provided by the enemy and the natural environment. We can see such cases not only in those stage plays with military themes which mainly depict internal contradictions but also in those plays which mainly depict the struggle between ourselves and the enemy; whereas the scene of battle always serves as a justification of the solution of the main contradiction, or even becomes a dispensable epilogue.

We still remember that, at a forum, late Comrade Lao She made the comment of "performing a war play in a civil way" about the modern drama "the prelude to the eastern expedition." This theatrical terminology called to my mind many things at the time, for modern dramas with military themes, presenting the scene of fighting on the stage as it really seems not to be wise stagecraft. Modern drama is inferior to the movies in terms of the sense of reality in the fighting scenes; and is inferior to opera in terms of the amusement in stylized combat. Above all, the solution of contradictions and the protrayal of the characters roles are usually accomplished in those justifying fighting scenes. Therefore, I think, our playwrights had better keep their attention on the characters involved in the wary than attempt to present lifelike scenes of fighting; and should extend their vision from the war itself to the prewar stage, so as to include all the social conditions which cultivate the characters roles and all the trails which the latter have to bear in handling various relationships. If such an idea is all right, the road of "performing war plays in a civil way," I think, can be transplanted to plays other than "the prelude to the eastern expedition."

Leading Figures in Revolutionary Wars

The modern drams reflecting important military themes in history have been blooming since the smashing of the "gang of four." This is because, of the one hand, the restriction imposed by the "gang of four" against writing about real people and real events has been eliminated and on the other, as the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation passed away one after another, the vast number of spectators long to recall in plays, the images of the re-

volutionary leaders whom they deeply love. The history of our country's revolutionary sturggle is closely related to outstanding military struggles. In addition, many old comrades who have gone through battles are still alive today. All these factors have facilitated and pushed ahead the creation of a large number of plays with military themes in which the revolutionaries of the older generation are the main characters.

Since it is now possible to directly portray in plays the policymakers of a certain military sturggle, we cannot only smoothly handle those important military themes which were once considered very difficult to handle, but can also greatly expand the field of plays' themes, and place many important military themes on the agenda of play creation. It is not an exaggeration to call this change a liberation of plays with military themes, as for the performance level of actors and the stage effect produced by the gathering of leaders, since they are beyond the scope of discussion of this article, we will put them aside for now.

In the last few years, stage plays with historical military themes having undergone a transition from the general appearance of leading figures on the stage to the portrayal of their characters, are making attempts to integrate the dramatic nature of history itself into the plays with the development of the leading figures' characters, and to represent the true course of historical struggles in a concentrated way through the description of leading figures' character. This important development would have been unimaginable several years ago.

Some people may say that this problem was solved long ago in the Chinese and foreign classic dramas; and what we have just done is nothing more than remove a restriction which we ourselves imposed on the creation of a play. This is true. But after all, our plays with military themes are different from the Chinese and foreign classical drams. The difference lies in the fact that we have not followed the latter's old road in the method of creation. In our country's traditional dramas, history is integrated with the stories of some outstanding and conflicts between Zhu Geliang, Zhou Yu and Cao Cao, and the destiny of each one, are the history itself which the playwright wanted to present. But in our plays, what we pursue is to profoundly reflect, through leading figures' personal experience in historical events, the historical course determined by various social contradictions, and the force of the people who make history. In presenting the tremendous contributions which leading figures made to history, we try to penetratingly reveal how leading figures absorbed strength and wisdom from the masses they depended on, how they overcame difficulties and defeated the enemy by relying on the masses of people who are the source of the great force supporting the war, and how they transformed their subjective world as well as their objective world.

In the past, when handling important military themes, we always had to avoid the description of the activities of commanding headquarters, and instead embody our themes on the activities of grassroots commanders and fighters. At that time, the question of how to reflect historical events with a historical materialist attitude was not an [words indistinct] as we can now directly reflect important historical events through the activities of leading figures.

As viewed from a long-term viewpoint, the creation of stage plays with important military themes has just begun. Our work still needs to be polished up in those aspects such as the degree of truthfulness in reflecting historical environment, the degree of profoundness in summarizing the times, and in particular, the skill of depicting the intrinsic brilliant characters of leaders with an accurate and vivid language. How to reflect the influence of the whole ear and the whole history upon leading figures, and to replay the glamorous images of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation who took their roots in the land of China, and possessed Chinese style, Chinese charm and strong characters, through the presentation of the communications between leaders, between them and their subordinates, and between them and other masses; and thus have tremendous influence on the broad masses of the people will still be a long-term task. Those shortcomings such as having a stilted writing style, duplications, undeveloped themes, and so on in reflecting the relationship between leaders and the masses still need to be overcome. However, it cannot be denied that our work is different from our predecessors' work in the fundamental attitude of observing and reflecting history.

The Image of Contemporary Revolutionary Soldiers

The portrayal of socialist new men and pioneers of the four modernizations construction is one of the important tasks of our play writing today. It is the unshirkable responsibility of our army playwrights to try their best to create lifelike images of contemporary revolutionary soldiers with characteristics of the time by describing the current fiery struggles of guarding the border of our homeland and constructuring a modern and regular revolutionary army. All stage plays which reflect the history of our army cannot accomplish this task.

Some comrades realize that there are few incidents of army life during peacetime worthy of depiction. They probably mean that in peacetime, army life is less turbulent, the contradictions are less explicit and the struggle is less acute than in wartime. They are right to a certain extent. But anyway, this only implies that our playwrights have to devote more efforts to observing army life in peacetime, and should not conclude that nothing deserves being depicted. Furthermore, even during wartime, there is a difference between the front and the rear; and relatively speaking, there is a difference between a combat period and an ordinary period; there are different fighting tasks; and various contradictions and conflicts in army life are not equally acute and explicit at all times. We often feel that army life is monotonous although we are living among complicated and actue struggles. We always realize its value a few years later when we look back to our past life. Failing to conscientiously observe life, lacking the consciousness to produce works for the purpose of struggling, and refusing to assiduously study drama, we would find nothing worthy of depiction even if we were living in that period. Today, in the days of peace, quite a few units of our army and many fighting posts are actually under a state of war; a lot of arduous tasks need to be accomplished at the expense of blood and lives and the degree of arduousness to achieve them is comparable to wartime conditions. Thanks to the work of journalists and television workers, the heroic and sacrificing spirit of the Chinese women's volleyball team was represented to the 1 billion Chinese people and thus has

aroused their patriotic fervor. This is exactly an example of nonmilitary themes in peacetime. We must say that, among those military themes in peacetime, characters and deeds as moving as the story of the Chinese women's volleyball team are numerous and need to be explored. There is a bright prospect for writing plays with the real life of our army as themes.

A large number of heroic figures emerged in the self-defensive counteroffensive against Vietnam in 1979. In presenting these heroes, our writers always called them the heroes of "the Huang Jiguang type," "the Dong Cunrui type," "the Yang Gensi type," or "the Wang Cheng type," according to their major deeds. By linking them to their predecessors with a "type," they have inadvertently neglected the mark of time on these heroic people and their own personal styles. To classify them in this way is all right in news reports; but such a classification into "types" must absolutely be avoided in play writing. While noticing the tremendous influence of our army's fine traditions upon the character of contemporary soldiers, our playwrights should also be aware of the trails presented to our heroes by various contradictions of the time, the relationship between the characters of people and the whole social life, and the mark of time on people's character. Our army, for example, has equipment and a technical level at present that is much higher than in the past; the tasks laid before our army, and the thinking, experience and intellectual levels of the army members have also greatly changed. The extraordinary social change in the last 30-odd years since the founding of the PRC, and the influence of the 10 years of turbulence have given rise to many new circumstances and contradictions in the army. And our people are just now facing these new tasks, new circumstances and new contradictions in their life. In order to protray contemporary soldiers, we are required to study these new tasks, new circumstances and new contradictions; and we must try to get acquainted with the whole environment of struggle from which our plays' characters emerge. And, in order to thoroughly observe and understand these complicated phenomena of life, we must in turn study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought [as published], study the relevant resolutions and documents concerning principles and policies of the party, and thus obtain the key to understanding life.

In the course of protraying our contemporary soldiers, we will meet the problem of how to understand and reflect the contradictions and conflicts in our life. Without contradiction, there would be no drama. Contradictions and struggles in life cannot and should not be avoided. When portraying the founders of the four modernizations, we should also resolutely expose those wrongdoings and wrong thinking which may obstruct the four modernizations. In fact, those founders of the four modernizations will emerge from the arduous struggles they are engaged in, including the struggles against all wrongdoings and wrong thinking.

Of course, we are not exposing for the sake of exposure, or describing contradictions for the sake of a description of contradictions. We have firm faith that those decaying matters and the degenerative influence of bourgeois thinking are bound to be defeated by the socialist and communist ideology and moral values; and glorious things will prevail daily. Our plays must describe the nature of these contradictions and conflicts, and clearly point out the inevitable trend that the glorious will triumph over the enemy. In the description

of the army, we should pay even more attention to this point so that our plays will educate the people and give them faith and strength.

What deserves mentioning here is that we also possess a sizeable force for accomplishing the task of portraying contemporary soldiers: The contingent of amateur playwrights who are working on various posts throughout the country. A number of short and pithy one act plays portraying our contemporary soldiers have emerged from amateur performances in the army and won spectators' praise with their lucid and lively army style and rich flavor of life. Some of them have even surpassed the level of professional writers. We wish that our army playwrights will uphold the principle of starting from real life and trying hard to portray new men, and expand their vision, so as to more profoundly summarize real life and more successfully portray typical contemporary soldiers in short plays. It is absolutely possible to achieve this if our professional and amateur playwrights are industrious in studying and courageous in pursuing their goal.

CSO: 4005/1073

PARTY AND STATE

CADRES URGED TO SET EXAMPLE IN RECTIFYING PARTY STYLE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Apr 82 p 8

[Article by Ma Shibao [7456 0013 6283]: "Peaches and Plums Speak Not, But Paths Are Worn Beneath the Trees"]

[Text] Cao Xiaoyu [2580 2400 4416] of the standing committee of the Tai Yuan Municipal CCP Committee has resolutely supported his daughter's becoming a sanitation worker and has received the praise of the broad masses. They say: Comrade Cao Xiaoyu has authority but does not seek special privilege, acting as a model in the correction of party style. If leading comrades would all set examples the way he does, many matters could be handled easily.

That the people link together the correction of party style and the guiding role of leading cadres should give us pause for thought.

In the "Historical Records" there is a chapter called "Biographies of General Li" which tells of the life of the "flying general of Han," Li Guang. Li Guang was a "sincerely humble, uncultured" and "inarticulate" man who nonetheless was able to lead his troops in common cause and achieve victory wherever he went. How could this be? According to records, "Guang would forego things that his soldiers lacked. When there was water, Guang would not drink until the troops had had their fill; had the troops not satisfied their hunger, Guang would not eat. His soldiers were willing to do his bidding because he was tolerant and not cruel." In more modern terms, because Li Guang himself set an example, he won the support of the soldiers and was able to unite them around him and make them follow his directions. And not only this, when Li Guang died, all the troops and the people nearby could not speak because of their griefstricken weeping. Sima Qian praised Li Guang this way: "'Peaches and plums speak not, but paths are worn beneath the trees.' These words are few, but they say a lot." He meant that although peaches and plums do not speak of how good they are, small paths are worn on the ground beneath the trees because the people know they taste good and contend to pick them. Although this refers to a trivial matter, it nonetheless makes clear a larger principle.

How grand was Sima Qian's appraisal of Li Guang! To this day, it still inspires us. In this great task of correcting party style, oh how we need a little of the "peaches and plums speak not" spirit! We often say" "Raising a din is not as good as setting an example," and this is really so. Now, our party style is not correct,

but we have great difficulty correcting it, and one important reason for this is that the actions and words of some comrades do not accord. In speaking of correcting party style, they are emotionally aroused and never at a loss for words, but their actions are another story, and this does great damage to the prestige of the party, blunting the revolutionary spirit of the broad party members and the masses. If all the leading comrades of the party would be like Comrade Cao Xiaoyu, strictly disciplining themselves first and setting an example for the broad party members and the masses with their own true actions, then the correction of our party style would basically be at hand.

9705
CSO: 4005/829

PARTY AND STATE

UPHILL STRUGGLE FOR ACCOMPLISHING FOUR MODERNIZATIONS STRESSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Apr 82 p 8

[Article by Xin Ren [2946 0088]: "What Does the Long March Prove?"]

[Text] Some people do not agree with the idea that "changing residences is not a way out of trouble," believing instead that changing residences can be a very good way out. They counter with the question: Was not the world renowned 25,000 li Long March of the Chinese worker and peasant army a brilliant change of residence? I am afraid that the matter is really not so simple.

Due to the extremely bitter struggle of the broad Red Army warriors and the resourceful decisiveness of the brilliant directors, this Long March turned defeat into victory and danger into safety, and became "historically the first" outstandingly successful change of residence in our nation. The Long March also brought into play the revolution's "written manifesto," "propaganda teams" and "seeding machines." It is completely worthy of being praised as "an immortal heroic epic." But, in spite of this, it cannot be considered historical proof that "it is good to change residences."

First, this move was brought about by the seriously mistaken opportunistic line of Wang Ming which made it unsafe to stay at the original location and made this "extraordinary movement" imperative--it was actually punishment for a mistake. Therefore, this change of residence must be categorized as one pressed on us by force of arms.

Second, in form, this move was over thousands of miles of rivers and mountains from the central Soviet area to northern Shaanxi; but, in essence, it was a bitter struggle through rough terrain and great difficulties to open a road for China's revolutionary cause. Moreover, the revolutionary spirit fostered on the Long March was the spirit of the "Foolish old man who removed the mountains," which, through the summarizing and elucidation of Comrade Mao Zedong, became an endless spiritual resource for us.

Third, this move was not made to escape bitter struggle--a move to the home of another with easy access and prior communication in order to peacefully enjoy what has been prepared--but rather was a move to a different base area in one's own home to rally one's forces and carry out bitter struggle as before.

Fourth, the price in blood of this change of residence was extremely high; moreover, it was only a move and did not solve the problem. After reaching a safe home, it was still necessary to "dig away ceaselessly at the mountain" until we touched the heart of our own "God" who only then helped us to level the "two great mountains."

Therefore, what the great Long March proves is not that changing residences can solve problems, but that only "digging away at the mountain" can solve problems. From it we better recognize how extremely precious is the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountains, and we strengthen out resolve to continue fostering this spirit.

The "digging away at the mountain" and "changing of residences" that we speak of are not literal methods, but are a matter of two opposing principles and attitudes. On the road to realizing socialist modernization there are many difficulties, and we use the analogy of the "mountain" to represent these difficulties; are we to dig away at it and open a path or to leave it and go to a place that others have already developed? This is the essence of our debate. In regard to this question, Lenin made a statement from which we can learn. He said: "When, in a certain field of work, we run across a task or difficulty with which we are 'not pleased' and we avoid it, we are extremely mistaken. Moreover, there will be a definite price to pay in the future because of doing so. We should study everything without exception and learn how to get a hold on all fields of work and all areas of activity, and on all occasions and in every place overcome whatever difficulties and bourgeois practices, traditions and customs exist. Other approaches are simply frivolous and very infantile." ("The 'Left Wing' Infantile Disorder in the Communist Movement")

In order to complete the great task of socialist modernization of the motherland which history has given us, all we can do is what Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong instructed us to do, overcome all difficulties and all "practices, traditions and customs" of the sly opportunists and cowardly idlers--the kind of wavering, irresolute practices when the grass is always greener somewhere else, the kind of "when a man moves, he thrives, but move a tree and it dies" traditions, the kind of customs when "having begged for 3 years, one would not trade places with a county magistrate, etc.--and continue to develop the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountains.

In short, although "changing residences" is a possible measure, it is only a measure of last resort, and cannot solve problems. There is only one true way out of difficulties: "Dig away ceaselessly at the mountain." Other approaches are basically "frivolous and very infantile."

9705
CSO: 4005/829

PARTY AND STATE

PROBLEMS RELATING TO DRAFTING CIVIL LAW DISCUSSED

Shanghai MINZHU YU FAZHI in Chinese No 9, 25 Sep 81 pp 2-7

[Article by Tao Xijin [7118 1585 2516]: "Problems Relating to Drafting a Civil Law"]

[Text] 1. The Need for a Civil Law

We have not enacted a civil law and a law of civil procedure for the more than 30 years since the founding of the PRC. Comrade Mao Zedong had proposed long ago the enacting of a civil law, especially in 1962 when he spoke out about the need for drawing up a civil law. Has a civil law been drawn up? Yes. Has it been enacted? No. So we have lived for that many years without a civil law. The legal nihilists, especially the "gang of four," were basically opposed to civil law. Our legislative workers have not worked hard enough for it, and many people still do not know what civil law is. There are even more people who have no idea what a civil law must cover and what it is used for. We can not blame them because we have not educated them on the subject. I believe no matter when our first socialist civil law takes effect, we should immediately launch an extensive propaganda-education drive to make the whole country realize why it is important to speed up the enactment of a civil law and a law of civil procedure.

The state has intensified its efforts to improve the legal system since the downfall of the "gang of four," especially since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Central Party Committee. The promulgation of the criminal law and the law of civil procedure has brought us a step closer to the establishment of our socialist legal system. The fact that the establishment of a legal system has been on the agenda of both central and local organs signifies a nationwide call for speedy construction of a legal system. The 10 years of disaster have made us realize the misery brought on by the "gang of four" who had ruined the legal system and our lack of an adequate system of law.

Our immediate legislative priorities are the revision of the constitution, a top priority, and the enactment of new laws, including a civil law, a law of civil procedure, and various essential economic regulations. Civil law is an important basic law of the state. Being a basic law, it reflects the will of the people of

the whole country, the general line and overall policy of the party and the state for a given period at a given stage, and specific measures for specific areas or specific problems. It is the basis of all specific rules of civil matters and economic regulations. The civil law, therefore, is a fundamental law next only to the constitution.

What falls within the purview of the civil law? Stated simply, it regulates the relations among the citizens, the state and the collective entities (including specific property relations and personal relations). It covers the affirmation, acquisition, exercise and protection of various forms of property ownership in the economic operations of the state; the contractual relations in the transfer of property; as well as marriage, family, domestic relations, inheritance, copyrights, inventions, discoveries, rational opinions, etc. In fact, it covers such matters as the clothing, food, shelter, mobility, life, aging, sickness and death of every individual. In a word, it touches upon all civil matters in the day-to-day life of our entire population of 1 billion people. If we say the criminal law deals with the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy as well as criminal offenses, we may say the civil law deals mainly with the internal contradictions of the people and the maintenance of economic order. Thus, the civil law covers much more ground than the criminal law does.

Perhaps people will say the civil law is indeed very important, but have we not gotten by without it for more than 30 years? It is just because we have not had a civil law for more than 30 years, nor an adequate criminal law for that matter, that the legal positions of our citizens, enterprises, business units, government organs and civic bodies have remained undetermined and their lawful rights are hardly protected. This has left our society in a state of uncertainty, compounded by the tyrannical measures of the "gang of four" who capitalized on this state of legal void. Since there was no law to go by, many problems were disposed of by administrative decrees which were inadequate for the task. In those countries which have comparatively flawless legal systems, practically all civil matters are covered by their civil law. But we leave them to the mercy of administrative whims. This ties down the head of every agency to endless requests from his subordinates for instructions and picking the options recommended to him. The inadequacy of our law gave the "gang of four" an opportunity to run amok without any legal restraint. They destroyed not only the few fragments of civil law that existed but also our best traditional moral principles and values. Their drive "to criticize Confucius and to oppose the Confucianists" was actually a drive to destroy the excellent Chinese moral principles and traditions. It is said that the "Book of Rites" was our oldest civil law. Naturally it was not for the working people, nor was it a socialist or capitalist system of law. It was a product of the feudal or even the latter part of the slave society. However, it represented a framework of the customs and practices of the populace and their rules of conduct, including domestic harmony, orderly relations of the sexes, courtesy and humility toward one's fellow men. Some are the unique traditions of our nation. It is a pity that most of these excellent traditions were destroyed by the "gang of four" during those 10 disastrous years.

There is another matter which still puzzles some people. We all know the crime rate went down considerably after the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Central Party Committee, especially after we had redressed those cases of injustice. But the crime rate has begun to fluctuate in the past year or two, especially juvenile delinquency. What accounts for the increase in crime? Although there are many contributing factors, one of these is that we do not have a civil law. Many criminal offenses arose from from aggravated economic or ordinary civil disputes which had been mishandled. This, of course, was not the cause of all the crimes; but it was the cause of many criminal offenses. In reality, many offenses were the internal contradictions of the people, i.e., civil disputes, which had become crimes due to lack of timely adjudication. This demonstrates the importance of civil law. Moreover, many localities do not take civil matters seriously. The judges of the civil divisions are often assigned other duties. Backlogs build up as the divisions become depleted of judges. One comrade, a judge, was actually moved to tears when he saw the first draft of the civil law last year. People asked him: "Why do you cry?" He said: "I have been handling civil cases for more than 30 years. When there is no law to fall back on, my job becomes as frustrating as it is difficult. Now, we have a draft civil law. Although not yet complete, it will be promulgated after a few revisions. Then we will have something to look forward to." That was why he was moved to tears.

We can see how badly the judges need a civil code. In fact, the feeling is shared by the comrades of the economic sector as well as those in industry, agriculture, commerce, education and even the army. The economic sector is especially anxious to have a civil code. We will discuss their need later.

2. The Enactment of a Civil Law, an Historical Mission

We all know our party and our country are in a crucial historical period dedicated to "bringing order out of chaos and carrying forward the revolutionary cause into the future." This means, as Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "To uproot the negative impact of 'the Great Cultural Revolution' and to carry forward the great revolutionary cause undertaken by our party under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong and other senior proletarian revolutionaries so as to open further the glorious way of socialism-communism for the Chinese people." To this end, the work priorities of the whole country have switched since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Central Party Committee to socialist modernization. The major objective of thie new era is to carry out the socialist modernizations designed to build a highly democratic and highly cultured strong socialist state. To accomplish this mission, we must restructure our economy and its management by substituting a system of management which relies on economic organizations to manage the economy by economic means for the old system which relies on administrative agencies to manage the economy by administrative means. Consequently, we must do away with the old system which kept the enterprises powerless by stifling state control over their operations, including production, supply, shipping, marketing and funding. We should like to ask how could such an old system generate enthusiasm for production and make good use of the economic law? That economic system must be changed to give the enterprises a greater degree of autonomy and to extend the scope of legal relations in socialist circulation of commodities. To carry this new method of economic management

effectively and consolidate the new system of management, we must sum up our experience and reduce our useful experience to a framework of law--principally the civil law, a basic law charged with the historical mission.

Since the abusive measures of the "gang of four" in those 10 disastrous years bred confusion in the fabric of our social life, especially social values and practices, our readjustment and restructuring efforts should reach beyond the economic sector to the area of social life and social values where the rules of the civil law could be applied to bring order out of chaos in social customs, personal rights and the relations between the individuals. This is the only way to uproot the pernicious influence of the "gang of four."

Consequently, the historical mission of the civil law should include the following:

1. To consolidate the socialist system of ownership and develop the socialist commodity economy;

2. To put into a legal framework the results of restructuring the economic system and the new economic relations brought about by the new economic measures, such as the affirmation of the system of legal persons and contracts, the principles concerning the nature and functions of joint ventures and partnerships, and the rights and obligations pertaining thereto, which is the only way to make the system work;

3. To protect the lawful property and personal rights of the citizens; and

4. To bring into play the new socialist custom and practices as well as our healthy traditional values to counter the disruptive social impact of the "gang of four."

These four tasks, based on reality, are designed to meet our urgent practical needs. Now, the ownership of property is still in a state of confusion, full of puzzling claims and counterclaims. Joint ventures and partnerships also pose many problems. Worse still is the lack of protection of the lawful property and personal rights of the citizens. In a word, the civil law is charged with the historical mission to help realize the "four modernizations," to "bring order out of chaos and carry forward the revolutionary cause into the future.

3. The Structure and Salient Features of the Draft Civil Law

The draft civil law contains eight parts: Part 1, tasks and fundamental principles; Part 2, the subjects of civil matters; Part 3, ownership of property; Part 4, contracts; Part 5, "intellectual achievements"; Part 6, domestic relations and inheritance; Part 7, civil liabilities and Part 8, unspecified matters. These 8 parts are broken down into 43 sections and 510 articles. Of course, there are bound to be changes before it is formally promulgated.

The subjects of civil matters, or parties to any legal relations, are first, the citizens; second, the legal persons; and third, the state. Unlike the civil laws of other countries which do not consider the state a subject of civil matters, we treat the state as a subject of civil matters when it is a party to any legal relations under the civil law, equal in rights and obligations like the citizens

and legal persons. The emphasis on the subjects of civil matters makes the structure of the civil law more logical and much easier to understand by the people. The longest of the eight parts is Part 4, on contracts, which covers the transfer of property--the central theme of the civil law. Contractual relations have been the principal vehicle for carrying out the economic plans of our country. Contracts which link together the production, supply, marketing and shipping operations in a socialist commodity economy are made legally binding as a means of implementing state plans and establishing, in accordance with equitable and remunerative principles, the rights and obligations arising from the transfer of property. Contracts therefore are an important legally binding economic measure. The part on contracts consists of 17 sections, but the provisions touch only general principles. Because contracts cover an extensive area, we find it unwise to bog down the business departments with minute details. We want to allow them enough leeway to introduce necessary supplementary regulations. It also contains a number of prohibitions and moral provisions, but they are only general principles.

Another part deals with "intellectual achievements." The problems of the remuneration of labor, such as wages, division of work and bonuses, are not covered here. They will be regulated by a separate labor law. The problem of marriage and family is left out because our Marriage Law was revised and promulgated only a year ago. As we have already drafted special trademark and patent laws, they are not covered in the civil law.

The structure of the civil law is a crucial matter. Differing somewhat from the civil law of other countries, we structured our civil law to agree with the conditions and actual needs of our country. We have substituted "citizens," "legal persons," "ownership," "contracts," etc., for the traditional headings of "persons," "natural persons," "property rights" and "obligations." The subjects of civil matters, including citizens and legal persons, are covered by a distinct separate part instead of coming under the traditional heading of principles of civil law. This is unique in our civil law structure.

4. Problems Concerning the Drafting of the Civil Law

What should the civil law provide for, how should it be drafted, and what kind of civil law do we want to draft? That is to say, what characteristics should it have? These were the problems which haunted our drafting unit right from the beginning. The instructions given us by the responsible comrade of the Central Committee were "to create our own new socialist civil law." This means to proceed from reality to draft our own civil law free from the influence of the world's traditional civil law. Although everybody accepted this general principle, we still found it difficult to break away from the confines of the traditional civil law when we ran into specific instances. After continued study and emancipation of our minds, we decided to blaze our own trail because we could not rely on either the law of the capitalist countries or that of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. That was how we reached a consensus on the following points.

1. Principles of Socialism--Our civil law must adhere to principles of socialism. As pointed out in "The Resolution of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Concerning a Number of Problems Since the Founding of the PRC": "Only socialism

could save China. This is an irrefutable conclusion based on more than 100 years of the personal experience of all the nationalities of our country and the most importang historical experience since the founding of the PRC 32 years ago." The civil law, a superstructure, should work to consolidate and develop our socialist system. We, as a drafting unit, have made a point of observing the principles of socialism no matter what we do, whether investigating and studying problems, looking for reference materials, or drafting the text of the law.

The draft explicitly stated that "the socialist system shall be the basis of all civil law relations, and no civil law action shall infringe upon the basic socialist interests." In dealing with the ownership of property, we extended protection to the lawful property rights of the individuals, even though our major concern is to protect the socialist system of public ownership. The part on contracts tells us that the circulation of commodities in the socialist economy differs from that in the capitalist economy. The latter is disorderly and helps the capitalists make money. All our economic operations are for the benefit of the people and therefore must be guided by instead of working against the economic plans of the state. Take the contracts of sales, supply, and the requisition of farm produce and by-products, for example. The draft civil law requires these contracts to comply with the plans of the state, and prohibits speculative and smuggling activities. The purchase and sale of the means of production owned by the state or collectively owned are forbidden, and so are unauthorized exploitation of surface and underground minerals. Direct or indirect sale of land, and exploitation of employees shall be held civilly liable. These provisions are needed to consolidate and develop the socialist economy, to maintain normal social economic order, to protect the basic interests of the people and to resist the corrosive influence of capitalism.

2. Principles of Democracy--The principles of democracy are important in our legislative work, especially the enactment of the civil law which is based on the theory of law found in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. We knew from the beginning of our work that the civil law is concerned mainly with the readjustment of property relations, but we were not sure what position a citizen should have in the civil law. Then it gradually dawned on us that in a socialist state the citizens are its masters, and therefore should be accorded an especially important position in its civil law.

Consequently, the draft provides expressly that, first, the legal positions of all the parties toward any relations under the civil law are equal, and so are their rights and obligations; and secondly, the citizens rank above the legal persons as the subjects of rights and obligations. Every citizen shall enjoy in accordance with the law the right to own property, the right to use publicly owned property, the right to receive remunerations for his labor, the right to inherit property, and the right ot enjoy other property rights. It is also provided that the law shall protect the life, health and personal freedom of every citizen, his right of personal name, reputation, portraiture, marriage, his copy rights, his rights of inventions and discoveries, his right to make rational suggestions, and other personal rights.

Legal and natural persons are regarded by the capitalist civil law as the subjects of rights and obligations. However, the system of private ownership has kept the working people powerless, even though there is nominal equality in the relationship between individuals in all activities under the civil law. The democratic principle that the citizens are the masters of the state and that their rights are equal under the civil law is incorporated in every part of our civil law, ruling out all forms of special privileges. In a word, the civil law is charged with a mission to protect the right of every citizen to engage in any activities under the civil law and to enjoy his lawful rights and interests.

The property under the ownership of the whole people or under collective ownership is managed democratically. This differs from the system of economic management of the capitalist countries where the law is not necessarily based on principles of democracy.

It must be pointed out that some areas of our economic life are still plagued by unrestrained use of administrative measures, paternalistic and autocratic methods contrary to the objective economic law, and wanton infringement on the personal rights of the citizens. In upholding the principles of democracy, our civil law has to prevent the spread of the corrosive influence of capitalist liberalism on the one hand and weed out the pernicious influence of feudalism on the other. Take the conclusion of contracts, for example. Our civil law emphasizes the principle of negotiation by the parties on equal footing without coercion or interference by any agency or individual. We are as opposed to the capitalist "freedom of contract" as we are opposed to "dictated contracts" based on special privileges. As for domestic relations, we do not condone failure to provide for one's parents and children, and abusive exercise of parental authority to the detriment of one's children.

3. Our Civil Law, A Public Law--Those of us in the drafting unit were seriously concerned at first whether our civil law should be a private or public law. This is a crucial point. We studied Lenin's view of civil law. A socialist civil law, according to Lenin, ought to be public law and not private law. He stated quite emphatically: "We don't recognize anything 'privately owned.' As far as we are concerned, everything in the economic sector should be under public law, and not something privately owned. We only recognize state capitalism, and as stated above, we are the state." ("Lenin's Manuscripts," Vol 4 pp 222-223) Lenin's position is precise and unequivocal. When we studied his teachings, we did not absorb the essence, and kept forgetting them when we ran into specific problems or in drafting the specific provisions of the civil law. We thought we emphasized rightfully one's free will, reciprocity, exchange at equal value, remunerations and the use of economic means to administer the economy. However, we found them incompatible with certain problems we had in drafting the provisions relating to contracts. How could we reconcile the principles of exchange at equal value, remuneration and equality with the directions over economic activities laid down in the plans of the state? Where did the state plans originate? Of course they were formulated by the state. Should the state direct and interfere with economic work? We were puzzled by these questions. Going over Lenin's teachings again, we realized we had equated the socialist state with the capitalist state, and had not understood the true nature of the traditional civil law, i.e., the civil law

of the capitalist states founded exclusively on private ownership and designed to protect the economic order of private ownership. In spite of its emphasis on equality and quid pro quo, the capitalist civil law stands in reality for "private ownership of property and freedom of contract." That differs completely from our system. Our means of production are under socialist public ownership, all economic activities must be guided by state plans, and the state has the authority to intervene in all civil law matters which contravene the plans and law of the state. Moreover, the capitalist civil law seeks "restoration of status quo ante, restitution of the original object, abatement of obstructions, and payment of damages" in tort actions and other civil disputes. These are based on private concepts for the protection of private ownership, and they are applicable only in actual litigations. This is known as "voluntary law," and all the remedies revolve around the "payment of damages." Is emphasis on payment of damages compatible with the actual conditions in our country? It does not agree with our socialist civil law, a public law, which imposes penalties in addition to payment of damages for a breach of the law. Having summed up the experiences of our old base in the adjudication of civil disputes, our civil law provides for more than 10 different measures, including apology, repentance, reprimand, mandatory removal, etc., for dealing with civil responsibilities which are not covered either by criminal or administrative law. These are flexible enough to allow the judges to use them at their discretion for the protection of the socialist system of public ownership and the lawful rights and interests of the citizens. Unlike the criminal law, the civil law is not bound by the rules of strict statutory law.

4. The Question of Morality--Morality and law are two different matters, two different concepts. The former is a social ideology derived gradually from custom and public opinion, while the latter, which represents the will of the state, is formed and enacted through the legislative process of the state. The validity of the former rests on popularly accepted customs and practices while that of the latter rests on the written law passed by state authorities. We can say people observe the former because of public opinion and personal conviction, but the latter is mandatorily enforced by state authorities.

Reflecting the social life and economic foundation of people, both morality and law are rules of the relations between individuals and those between individuals and society. They are superstructures acting on and representing their foundations. Morality and law therefore are closely related and supplement one another. The promotion of morality enhances the rule of law just as the promotion of the rule of law raises the level of morality.

Consequently, those of us engaged in legislative work were puzzled by the question whether matters of civil law should comply with socialist moral rules. That is to say, should moral rules be incorporated in legal rules? Some comrades believe the two should not merge and that legal provisions based on moral rules are difficult to enforce. We think the solution of the problem should be based on reality. For instance, a finder who does not keep what he has picked up is involved with the question of ownership. Why could it not be made a rule in civil law? Although it is not done in some countries, we could include it in our civil law. The matter is covered in the civil law of some countries where the finder is entitled to a reward as a matter of reciprocal right. Should we do that? We often read about

finders who have not kept what they have found. They deserve commendation, but how could they be entitled to claim rewards? Not to keep what one picks up is an age-old moral tradition of our country, admired even by foreigners. Why could we not reduce it to a rule of law? There is also another matter known as the failure to rescue a dying person. No civil law of any foreign country requires a person to rescue a dying person he runs into. Some comrades think it is difficult to make it a rule of civil law. However, an answer to the question is found in many incidents of judicial administration. Consequently, we have decided to require a person to rescue, under certain circumstances, a dying person he runs into, and to hold him legally responsible for failure to do so. Many problems would be difficult to resolve if they were not viewed in the light of actual experience. Of course, there is no need to crowd the civil law with rules which are practically impossible to enforce, such as a ban on indiscriminate spitting and cigarette smoking by youngsters. Instead of incorporating them in the civil law, we have to defer them to propaganda, education and public opinion.

5. Guiding Principles and Stability--The civil law is next only to the constitution as a fundamental law, and the question is whether it should contain minute details. Extensive in scope, a civil law containing minute provisions is bound to be too lengthy. For instance, the French Civil Code contains 2,283 articles with minute provisions on such matters as marriage, family, property, obligations and even gambling. It provides the losing party at gambling can not have any recourse against the winning party who did not cheat. A judge would be liable for failure to administer justice if he refused to adjudicate a case not covered by specific provisions of the law. Instead of bogging it down with minute provisions, our civil law should contain the guiding principles in broad terms. To this end, we have limited our draft civil law to a total of about 500 articles. Even though it contains mostly guiding principles, there are still provisions which embody enforcible basic experiences derived from reality and practice. All specifics are to be supplemented by special statutes. Premature and unenforcible experiences are left out for the time being. Matters concerning economic organizations and various systems of responsibilities will be covered by administrative and economic enactments.

Our business departments and units of specific work are anxious to have a civil law full of minute details to make their job easier. That is understandable. But things develop and change, and a civil law with rigid provisions would stifle the development of our enterprises. What we have been doing is drafting a civil which provides guiding principles and a key to stability, but leaves enough room for supplementary legislation. Instead of providing the details of special statutes for the departments, the civil law should lay down only the general principles of a legal system. On the other hand, special statutes worked out by the various departments are often so replete with the special needs of each that they lead to contradictions. A civil law for the whole country would eliminate these contradictions and make them more compatible with each other. If we had a basic civil law supplemented by various special statutes, our legal system would be adequate enough to provide our socialist modernizations with legal protection.

(The author of this article is the deputy chief of the Judicial Committee, Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and the responsible head of the Civil Law Drafting Unit. This article is a revised version of his speech delivered at the Central Political and Legal Cadre School, 20 July.)

PARTY AND STATE

PRC COLLECTS MORE CCP HISTORICAL DATA, DOCUMENTS

OW051226 Beijing XINHUA in English 1214 GMT 5 Jul 82

[Text] Beijing, 5 Jul (XINHUA)--More than 10,000 pieces of historical data and documents about the Chinese Communist Party have been collected by the CPC Central Committee Commission in charge of this work and the central archives since the nationwide effort began two years ago.

In the collection are 2,000 letters, manuscripts and diaries of Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De.

A letter written on 30 January 1921 by Zhou Enlai when he was living in Paris to a cousin in China is regarded as an invaluable find for information on the founding of the Chinese Communist Party. In it, Zhou Enlai explicitly states that China must follow the road of Russia's October Revolution.

Other valuable documents include a letter from Mao Zedong to Dr Sun Yat-sen in 1923, during a period of cooperation between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang. Also found is the original of the "Central Committee's Directive on Opposing Liberalism" drafted by Mao Zedong for the Party Central Committee in December 1942. A letter from Zhou Enlai to Yan Xishan, a northern China warlord, urges Yan to stick to the cooperation between the two parties and join in the efforts to resist Japanese aggression. Two notebooks belonging to Xu Teli, i proletarian educator and Chairman Mao's teacher in a school in Changsha, will help in the study of the formation of Mao Zedong thought.

Manuscripts and letters of Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun are also in the collection.

The work of collecting the material has been aided by veteran revolutionaries in central and local departments. Many of them offered manuscripts and letters which they had saved at the risk of their lives. Deng Yingchao, widow of Zhou Enlai, sent the central archives more than 100 of Zhou Enlai's manuscripts.

These priceless historical records of the party and the country will be carefully preserved. Copies will be used for study and for compiling party history.

CSO: 4000/162

PARTY AND STATE

TURKISH JOURNALIST'S IMPRESSION OF CHINA

HK010915 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jun 82 p 6

[Article by Turkish journalist Metin Toker: "My Diaries of China"]

[Text] Editor's note--This is the diary written by Metin Toker, noted Turkish journalist, chief editor of HUI SHENG [0937 5119] magazine and columnist of MILLIYET, during his recent visit to China. The original title was "Turkey and Turkish Value." This article appeared in the Turkish MILLIYET on 20 June. In the article, the author discussed his impressions of China, excerpts of which are now translated and published below [end editor's note].

I never thought that I would be able to watch the world cup soccer matches between Argentine and Belgium and between the Soviet Union and Brazil on color TV in Beijing.

One evening in the same week, at a banquet held by the Turkish Embassy, some Chinese and Turkish friends were talking about the points of similarity between the Anatolian people and the Chinese people. A matter which surprised everyone is the phenomenon of the high bride-price paid by the bridegroom to the bride's family that still exists in certain rural areas of Turkey and China. After studying the matter, we are of the opinion that this kind of situation is not caused by economic problems, regardless of whether in Turkey or in China. The village people have for centuries treated people as things. In Turkey, some of the people have used the bride-price to buy themselves a concubine. We laughed and asked ourselves: Is the "bride-price" after all of any help to the new family? The common answer we obtained was that it would not help one bit.

The views of the Chinese people regarding international issues and the responsibility of their commitments have deeply impressed me. Like Turkey, many accidents and misfortunes have occurred in China in the past. The Chinese people have absorbed experiences from them and therefore they have a clearer understanding of international issues. The Chinese people believe that the outbreak of a world war will be caused by the two superpowers. Therefore, for the sake of preventing the outbreak of a world war, the Chinese people hope that, with the exception of the two superpowers, all countries will unite to prevent the outbreak of the world war. [Sentence as published] China has all along opposed the hegemonism of the two superpowers and has also all along not forgotten that the United States is a hegemonist country. However, China knows

that the greatest peril the world today is posed by the Soviet Union. What the Chinese people do not understand is, why have some of the countries turned a blind eye and a deaf ear to this point? China does not like some of the gestures made by the United States. Some of these gestures have helped its adversaries and offended China. The issue of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan is a new obstacle to the development of Sino-U.S. relations.

The Chinese people hold that the situation in the Middle East is like a powder keg. The fuse is running short and soon there will be an explosion. Because of shortsightedness, the United States has not taken any steps in the Middle East. China thinks that the United States lacks insight on this point. The Chinese people hope that there will be a strong and stable Turkey to balance the situation in this region and to prevent the state of affairs from expanding and breaking out. Because of the insight of the Chinese people, I feel that countries which used to be very far apart in the world are no longer so far apart. Some of the countries which lack insight have failed to notice the danger underfoot and regarded the danger in distant lands as a thing of the future. The Turkish people know better than other people how they can have a "stable Turkey." As in the case of Norway, China's hope for a stable Turkey will also have certain advantages for themselves. Like us, these two countries border the same country.

Today, a highly discerning and powerful China hopes for the appearance of a stable Turkey in the most perilous region of the world.

China's strength and stability is its own affair, but it will help to balance various forces in the world.

No matter how far apart the two countries may be, this common standpoint is the basis of the friendship between our countries.

Due to this reason, the road uniting China and Turkey has already become smooth and unimpeded.

CSO: 4005/1065

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

EDUCATION DEVELOPS AMONG MINORITY PEOPLE

OW060707 Beijing XINHUA in English 0706 GMT 5 Jul 82

[Text] Beijing, 5 Jul (XINHUA)--More than 450,000 Chinese school teachers are working in regions inhabited by minority nationalities, according to Ministry of Education sources.

Education has been developed in a greater speed than ever in the minority areas following the heavy demand to train large numbers of competent people for local development programs.

Some 1,500 teachers in Inner Mongolia have completed advanced courses or are upgrading themselves at institutes of education and 4,126 primary and secondary school teachers have been taking correspondence courses or attending spare-time classes.

The Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region now has four teachers colleges, 22 teachers schools and 266 refresher schools for teachers.

Hundreds of experienced teachers have volunteered to teach in Tibet, Xinjiang and other minority areas for periods of one to three years. The country's leading universities open special classes to train minority teachers.

In many provinces and autonomous regions, including Qinghai and Inner Mongolia, one-third of the state subsidy appropriated for the development of minority areas is being spend on education.

Consequently, the number of nationality schools in minority areas has gone up. There are now 459 nationality secondary schools in Inner Mongolia, compared with 308 in 1976, and the number of nationality primary schools rose from 3,000 to 3,790. Korean nationality primary schools in Liaoning Province increased from 175 to 271 and secondary schools from 13 to 30. At these schools, instruction is conducted whenever possible in the minority languages.

In places where the minority nationalities lead a nomadic life and where the population is scattered, boarding schools have been built. A preliminary survey showed there are now 1,129 boarding schools in such minority areas.

CSO: 4000/164

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WORK TEAMS ASSIST NATIONALITIES AREAS

HK071143 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 5 Jun 82

[Text] According to a YUNNAN RIBAO report, 67 nationalities work teams, which were organized according to a decision of the provincial CCP committee, have in the past 6 months gone deep into the inland mountainous areas and selected points in border nationalities areas, to propagate the party's nationalities and various other policies, conduct investigations and studies, humbly listen to the opinions of various nationalities and help them solve urgent problems concerning production, daily needs, culture, education, sanitation, and so forth. They have further cemented the ties between the party and various nationalities and promoted feelings of national affection.

Through visiting the masses and taking note of their plight, they have helped the masses to solve urgent problems encountered in production and everyday life. Those problems confronting the masses that can be solved immediately are taken care of accordingly. Those that cannot be solved are referred to upper-level party and government organs. Thus, many problems that have long remained unsolved are being solved in a relatively satisfactory way.

The Gujin, Fumin, Longchuan and Luquan work teams have helped 17 production teams to solve the problem of drinking water. Some work teams have also helped production teams to establish grain-processing points. Some have provided fine strains for the masses to help prevent diseases affecting pigs and chickens. In a short period of time, 19 nationalities work teams of the Wenshan autonomous prefecture did over 800 good things for people of various nationalities, helping with the development of education for nationalities and the carrying out of cultural activities. Various nationalities work teams have universally conducted education for nationalities and have proceeded to solve certain existing problems.

In accordance with the demand of the people of Miao nationality, the provincial nationalities work team stationed at Kuanzhuang commune, Fumin County, set up a primary school. The provincial nationalities work team stationed at Luquan set up a training class for primary school teachers of mountainous areas. Various nationalities work teams have universally helped communes and brigades to establish and improve the "cultural fighters'" system. They have also set up anti-illiteracy spare-time night schools and cultural and art propaganda teams.

The medical teams of various nationalities work teams have made rounds of villages to provide medicine and medical care for the masses of various nationalities. According to statistics compiled up to the end of March, the seven medical teams sent by the province alone provided medical care on over 10,000 occasions. Many of the cases handled were serious. The medical teams also trained medical personnel for communes and brigades and helped to establish rural medical organizations and launch mass activities to prevent and cure diseases. Some people had been ill for lack of medicine and had invoked the help of gods and spirits. With the help of the medical teams, they were cured. They have become more receptive to what the communist party says [and] believe in science and technology.

The work teams have energetically publicized among the masses the party's nationalities policy, religious policy and various rural economic policies. With such policies actually practiced among the masses, some cadres have rid themselves of their wrong ideas and doubts about the publicized policies. They have become aroused in their political fervor and enthusiasm for production. Due to lack of understanding about policies, only four teams in No 11 production brigade of Bangwa commune had introduced the responsibility system. After the work teams conducted publicity, the masses of the Jingpo nationality happily said that they could introduce the system with peace of mind.

The work teams have made extensive investigations and studies concerning the natural superior features of various selected points. They have helped one production team after another to firmly carry out the production guideline and to find ways to develop a diversified economy and produce commodities. They have also helped the masses to solve technical problems about planting, thus allowing the development of economic crops. Kachang commune of the Jingpo nationality autonomous prefecture this year has already planted over 15,000 mu of land in tung tree seeds. The Mengdong commune, which is suited for the planting of anise, originally planned to grow 25,000 such plants but failed to meet its plan. This year, with the help of the work teams, it planted over 30,000 of these plants.

Thanks to the sincere help rendered by the work teams in developing economic and cultural activities, over 60 selected points in border and mountainous areas and cadres and people of various nationalities now have hope. They say that the nationalities work teams of the period shortly after liberation once again have returned. The communist party and the people's government have led us in building a rich cultural life. Recently, work team members left to receive training on a rotating basis. Some people thought that the work teams wanted to leave. They wrote to demand that they stay on a permanent basis.

Recently, the nationalities work leadership group of the Yunnan Provincial CCP Committee called a forum on mountainous areas and points inhabited by various nationalities. The five provincial nationalities work teams and the comrades of areas and municipalities exchanged experiences and discussed future work.

CSO: 4005/1088

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BEIJING LANGUAGE STUDENTS IMPROVE MENTAL OUTLOOK

HK170920 Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jun 82 p 1

[Report by Song Yiping [1345 2011 1627]: "Welcome Transformation of Mental Outlook of Foreign Languages College Students"]

[Text] Every Sunday we can see college students wearing the badges of the "Beijing Foreign Language Institute," at the zoo bus stop, helping the old and the young on and off bus No 332, keeping order and performing various good services for passengers. This has been of the heartening changes in the mental outlook of the broad ranks of students since the foreign language institute strengthened ideological and political work. [sentence as printed]

The "Feng Daxing case" that occurred last April has produced great repercussions in the minds of all the teachers, staff, workers and students in the institute. The CCP committee of the institute has used this case as an alarm signal and has called an ideological and political work conference to strengthen the building up of the ranks of political workers. It has carried out deep and meticulous ideological and political education among the students throughout the institute by focusing on satisfactorily studying the "resolution on certain questions in the history of the party since the founding of the PRC."

In watering a tree, we should water its roots; in educating people, we should touch their hearts. In the course of studying the "resolution," the CCP committee collected nearly 200 questions from the students. Then each major leading comrade of the CCP committee was assigned a special topic on which to prepare lectures in response to the questions of some of the students who had muddled ideas about the four basic principles. These comrades gave lectures in all the departments and by so doing propagated the "resolution" in a relative manner. Gradually, these lectures widened the students' field of view and heightened their understanding. Some students began to consciously read Marx' and Lenin's classics and quite a few students have earnestly handed in their application for party membership. Over the past year, party lesson study groups have been set up throughout the institute and more than one-fifth of the students have been attending party lessons. Applications have been received from 158 students for party membership and 11 students have been admitted into the party.

To fight a battle, we need good troops. Under the guidance of the CCP committee of the institute many political work cadres have heightened their initiative in doing their work well. The Japanese language department held a meeting of parents of the students from Beijing. Moreover, the political work cadres there have also used the opportunities of traveling on business to visit the parents of the students from other cities. They have carried out education in various forms including illustrating typical cases to strengthen their ideological and political work, thus they have improved the students' abilities in consciously resisting the corruption of bourgeois ideology. During last summer's vacation, the department sent a student to serve as a guide for a tourist group. When this student fulfilled the task and returned to Beijing by air, a Hong Kong businessman willfully boasted to her about the good livelihood abroad and tried to lure her to leave the country. She sternly rejected his suggestion. At present, the general mood throughout the institute has undergone a remarkable change. As a result, more students want to make progress and are concerned about the major events of the state; more students have returned money they have found its owner; [as printed] more students treat serving others as a pleasure and students who wear long hair or dress in a strange manner can hardly be seen anymore.

CSO: 4005/1088

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'YUNNAN RIBAO' DISCUSSES UNIVERSITY GRADUATES WORK

HK100931 Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 30 May 82 p 3

[Short commentary: "A Force That Cannot Be Neglected"]

[Text] What is the correct attitude toward the university and college graduates who graduated during the period of the "Cultural Revolution?" As there are several different views, the attitudes toward them also differ greatly.

There are quite a number of such university graduates and they are a force that cannot be neglected. Just as the fact cannot be denied that they did not have a chance to receive a regular university education during the 10 years of internal disorder and they do not have sound basic knowledge, the fact cannot be denied either that these young people, though in their thirties, are energetic, and quite a few of them are promising with their unremitting and determined efforts in study. However, with a one-sided view, some comrades, especially some leading cadres in some units, have regarded them as good-for-nothings and paid no attention to them. This is not correct. On the other hand, having a good understanding of the importance of seeking talented people, the leaders in a number of units, especially in scientific research units, are taking a correct attitude. While paying attention to the shortcomings of these graduates, they are also paying attention to their positive factors. They have thus spared no efforts in creating conditions for them to improve their skills. They are leaders with foresight. The practice in some units, in which this attitude has been adopted, shows that most young people have made great progress and some of them have even become outstanding.

Conditions are extremely important for the growth of people, though of course, the decisive factor is internal causes. Without aspiration and ambition and without the spirit of persistent and assiduous study, however good the objective conditions may be, the young people still can make no progress. But if they work very hard, which is of course commendable, without the support and cultivation of the party organizations and without the necessary conditions for further studies and practice, their growth will inevitably be affected.

Time waits for no one. We hope that there will be more leaders in more units, who will earnestly learn from the experience of the provincial scientific and technological information and research institute, create more favorable conditions for the university graduates and boldly promote those of them who are outstanding to important posts, so that their role can be brought into better play in the construction of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005/1088

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

HUBEI CULTURAL ACADEMIC MEETING--The first Hubei provincial mass cultural academic discussion meeting was held in Wuchang from 25-30 June. Conducting academic study of mass culture as a subject of the social sciences is the first step in building a mass cultural theory force and a scientific system in the province in the future. Some 100 mass cultural workers of all prefectures and counties and responsible persons of relevant departments attended the discussion meeting. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Jul 82 HK]

GUANGZHOU ON FISHBONE ANTENNAS--The 12 June was the second day of Guangzhou Municipality's concerted drive to dismantle fishbone antennas. In the afternoon responsible comrades of the municipal CCP committee, people's congress Standing Committee, government and CPPCC visited the urban and suburban areas and Panyu County to inspect the progress of this work. According to statistics, by 12 June, the municipality had dismantled a further 4,500 fishbone antennas. On Chu and other responsible comrades stressed: The leaders at all levels must summon up great resolve to seriously tackle the work of dismantling fishbone antennas. It is necessary to mobilize and teach the cadres, workers and masses to totally dismantle the fishbone antennas and their supporting bamboo poles. [Excerpts] [HK130237 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 12 Jun 82]

HENAN CENSUS PHONE CONFERENCE--On the evening of 16 June, the Henan Provincial CCP Committee and the provincial government held a phone conference on population census work. The conference summed up the province's preparatory work for population census and made all-round arrangements for future population census work. He Zhukang, vice governor and head of the provincial population census leadership group, presided over the phone conference. Dai Suli, secretary of the provincial CCP committee and governor, delivered a speech, entitled "CCP Committees and Governments at All Levels Must Immediately Go Into Action, Further Strengthen Specific Leadership Over Population Census Work and Guarantee the Successful Fulfillment of the Population Census Tasks in Our Province." [HK230243 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 17 Jun 82 HK]

HEILONGJIANG CYL CONGRESS--The seventh Heilongjiang Provincial CYL Congress successfully concluded 20 June. During the congress, delegates heard and discussed the important report given by Comrade Chen Junsheng, secretary of the provincial CCP committee and the work report given by Comrade (Liu Haiyun)

on behalf of the Sixth Provincial CYL Committee. In exercising their rights, delegates elected the 7th provincial CYL committee and representatives to the 11th National CYL Congress. [SK210755 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Jun 82 SK]

HEILONGJIANG WATER POLLUTION--Harbin Municipality, Heilongjiang Province, has adopted measures to combat water pollution along the Songhuajiang River to improve sanitation at summer resorts. The city organized departments concerned, enterprises and units which process oil and use oil in production to conduct a joint inspection. Over 28 units throughout the city were discovered to cause great oil leakage in the process of production and oil storage. The Harbin municipal environment protection bureau has warned them to take measures and strengthen management to prevent further pollution; otherwise, they will be punished according to law. [Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Jun 82 SK]

HAINAN COUNTY SOCIAL ORDER--Qionhai County has mobilized the masses to tidy up social order. This county has now become one of the advanced counties in the rural areas throughout Guangdong Province in tidying up social order and was commended by leading comrades of the Ministry of Public Security. The county has taken the following measures to tidy up social order: the county CCP committee has established a general office to tidy up social order. The county has mobilized all forces to conduct education for young people and juveniles. The county has done well in patrolling and establishing village codes and conventions and the public security system. [Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 5 Jun 82 HK]

GUANGXI CONSTITUTION EXPLANATION MEETING--From 2 to 4 June, the propaganda department of the Guangxi Regional CCP Committee held a meeting in Nanning on publicity and explanation of the draft of the revised constitution. Attending were leading comrades of all prefectural administrative commissioner's offices and all prefectural, municipal and county propaganda departments; responsible comrades of municipal and county people's congress Standing Committees; and backbone elements of all units at the regional level and all Nanning municipal and prefectural subordinate units, some 1,300 people altogether. Responsible comrades of the regional investigation and study office, the general office of the regional CCP committee, the general office of the regional people's congress Standing Committee, the general office of the regional people's government, the propaganda department of the regional CCP committee, the regional institute of social sciences, the regional united front work department, the regional judicial bureau and the organization department of the regional CCP committee publicized and explained the draft of the revised constitution respectively at the meeting. After publicity and explanation, regional CCP committee secretary Xiao Han and Liang Huaxin, regional CCP committee Standing Committee member and regional people's congress Standing Committee vice chairman, spoke, urging all people to study, publicize and discuss the draft of the revised constitution. Others attending were (Long Yisheng), regional CCP committee Standing Committee member; and (Zheng Shaodong), (Zhang Bin) and (Zhong Jimin), deputy directors of the propaganda department of the regional CCP committee. [HK100825 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 5 Jun 82 HK]

GUANGDONG BOOK CONTROL REGULATIONS--To strengthen the management of the collective and individually-run bookshops, guarantee the circulation of healthy and salutary books, journals and pictures and prohibit the dissemination of books, journals and pictures whose contents are reactionary, pornographic, blood-thirsty and absurd, the Guangdong Provincial Culture Bureau, the Provincial Publication bureau, the Provincial Industry and Commerce Administrative Bureau and the Provincial Public Security Department recently formulated and promulgated the relevant provisional regulations on control of publications. The regulations provide that the books, journals and pictures which collective and individually-run bookshops and stalls sell must be published by the state publishing houses of our country, distributed by the XINHUA bookshop or post offices, approved by relevant departments for distribution to the public and compiled and printed by state enterprises and units. The regulations strictly prohibit the sale of books, journals and pictures which run counter to the state laws and order or which the government explicitly prohibits. The regulations also strictly prohibit the open or secret sale of books, journals and pictures whose contents are reactionary, pornographic and absurd or publicize feudalism and superstition. The regulations prohibit the importing of books, journals, pictures, photos, records, tapes and books of songs from abroad, Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan which violate laws. [HK161430 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 13 Jun 82 HK]

SICHUAN LEADERS MEET ATHLETES--On 10 June, responsible comrades of the Sichuan Provincial CCP Committee and government, the Chengdu PLA units and the Chengdu Municipal CCP Committee and government including Tan Qilong, You Taizhong, Lu Dadong, Zhong Hanhua, Yang Rudai, Xu Mengxia, He Haoju, and Mi Jianshu received all the participants in the national women's basketball tournament, which concluded in Chengdu the same day. [Text] [HK110157 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 11 Jun 82]

HENAN MILITIA EDUCATION SYMPOSIUM--The Henan Provincial Military District recently held an on-the-spot symposium in Zhumadian Prefecture on political education of the militia. The symposium summed up and exchanged experiences in doing a good job of political education of the militia in the new situation and made arrangements for the tasks of future militia political education. Leading comrades of all military subdistricts and county and municipal people's armed forces departments attended. Ren Rong, deputy political commissar of the Wuhan PLA units; (Liu Ziqi), advisor of the political department; Hu Shangli, political commissar of Henan provincial district, also attended. He Shangli and Ren Rong spoke at the symposium. [HK041400 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 3 Jun 82 HK]

QINGHAI NATIONALITIES AFFAIRS COMMISSION--The Qinghai Provincial Nationalities Affairs Commission has been officially established. It held its first enlarged meeting of members from 11 to 16 June in Xining. The meeting called for propaganda and education on the nationalities policy and implementation of the policy. In view of the poor economic foundation and low production level in minority areas, the meeting noted that the principle to relax policy restrictions

to allow the areas to recuperate should be continued. Mineral and forest resources in minority areas should be exploited in such a way that the national economy as a whole and the economy of the areas benefit. Provincial party and government leaders, including Zha-xi-wang-xu and Xi-hou-ba, attended the meeting. [SK181044 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 17 Jun 82 SK]

JILIN YOUTH EDUCATION CAMPAIGN--The Jilin Provincial CCP Committee recently issued a circular urging localities to initiate a juvenile education campaign in June. The circular urges intensifying education on eliminating pollution and opposing corrosive influences and fostering lofty ideals among juveniles. Efforts should be made to upgrade moral character and enhance their understanding of the legal system. In implementing the campaign, it is necessary to combine school education with social and family education, properly run work-study schools and strengthen groups helping and educating backward students. Cultural and publishing units should recommend good books and music to juveniles. The circular also calls for attention to youths' problems such as unemployment, love and marriage. [SK310901 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 May 82 SK]

XINJIANG MINORITY NATIONALITY WORKERS--The force of minority nationality workers in Xinjiang region has constantly and quickly grown strong. Minority nationality workers and specialists in science and technology have now become an important force on all fronts in the region. Shortly after liberation, the region had only some 17,000 minority nationality workers and 460 specialized technicians. By 1978, the region had 410,000 minority nationality workers and some 16,000 specialists in science and technology. By 1981, the region had some 600,000 minority nationality workers and some 22,000 specialists in science and technology. The region now has some 5,300 minority nationality middle and primary schools. The number of university minority nationality students increased from 185 shortly after liberation to some 7,900 in 1981. The number of middle school minority nationality students increased from some 3,100 shortly after liberation to 290,000 in 1981. The number of primary school minority nationality pupils is some 990,000. [HK141401 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1650 GMT 11 Jun 82 HK]

GUIZHOU PERSONNEL WORK MEETING--From 25 to 31 May, the Guizhou Provincial Personnel Bureau held a meeting of the directors of the personnel bureaus of all prefectures, autonomous prefectures and municipalities and some counties and districts. The meeting laid stress on summing up and exchanging experiences in assessing the titles of specialized social science cadres in the province. The meeting put forth specific demands in respect of future work. In accordance with the provisional regulations promulgated by the State Council on the titles of personnel who are engaged in economics, statistics, accounting and translation of foreign languages; and on the titles of editors, journalists and personnel who engage in the management of libraries and archives, since February last year, the province has formulated detailed rules and regulations on assessing the titles of these personnel. Moreover, the province has also set up a leadership group for assessing the titles of specialized social science cadres with an office under the leadership

group. All prefectures, autonomous prefectures and municipalities and relevant departments and bureaus at the provincial level have also set up leadership groups and offices. [Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 2 Jun 82 HK]

XINJIANG KIRGIZ BROADCASTS--Beginning from 28 June, the Xinjiang broadcasting station will run a program in the Kirgiz language. This embodies the party policy on nationalities. The region has some 100,000 people of Kirgiz nationality, the majority of whom live in Kizilsu Kirgiz Autonomous Prefecture. The four counties in the autonomous prefecture have set up wired broadcasting stations and 37 communes in the autonomous prefecture have set up broadcast amplifying stations. All county broadcasting stations have run programs in the Kirgiz language to publicize the party's central work. [HK010233 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 25 Jun 82 HK]

SHANDONG COMMENDS BIRTH-CONTROL MODELS--On 22-26 June the Jinan PLA units, Shandong Province, sponsored a commendation meeting of advanced units and individuals who had emerged in family planning work. Attending the meeting were leading comrades of the Jinan PLA units, including Xiong Zuofang, (Zhang Feng), Zheng Sansheng, Zhao Bingan, Chen Renhong, (Zhang Zheng), (Ouyang Ping), Chen Meizao, Fu Jiaxuan, Zuo Qi, [name indistinct] Shiquan, Zeng Shaoshan, (Kuang Haitian) and He Zhiyuan. Comrade Chen Renhong addressed the meeting. During the meeting, participants summed up and exchanged work experiences gained in the past 2 years and offered work opinions. At the meeting, 3 units were appraised as provincial red-flag pacesetters, 90 units as advanced ones and 39 persons as advanced individuals. [SK270512 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 26 Jun 82 SK]

LIAONING SECONDARY VOCATIONAL EDUCATION--The Liaoning Provincial People's Government sponsored an experience-exchange meeting in early June in Anshan city on reforming the secondary educational structure to develop vocational middle schools. The meeting disclosed that since 1979 the province had established over 300 vocational schools in urban areas throughout the province which had recruited over 50,000 students. In 1981, over 3,000 graduates were placed in jobs. There will be over 20,000 graduates this year. The meeting noted: the annual student quota for urban vocational schools is 20,000 to 30,000 persons. Localities throughout the province should pay attention to opening more production avenues to arrange jobs for these graduates and do a good job in training the teacher contingent and compiling teaching materials. [SK140438 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Jun 82 SK]

JIANGSU COLLEGE GRADUATES' ASSIGNMENTS--Jiangsu Provincial Planning Commission and Personnel Bureau jointly held a meeting on 10-14 June on job assignments for graduates of higher institutions. The meeting noted that this year's assignments should be made mainly in the sectors of agriculture, energy source, transport, light and textile industries and building materials departments, with greater emphasis on meeting the needs of the rural areas, at the grassroots units and on the production front. Graduates should be encouraged to work in the frontier regions or in areas where economic and cultural development is slow. The meeting also approved that a certain number of this year's graduates should be assigned to the units of collective ownership. Jiangsu Province this year has 381 people finishing postgraduate studies, 18,159 university and college graduates and another 9,636 graduates of secondary vocational schools. [OW191059 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 14 Jun 82 OW]

JIANGXI COLLEGE ADMISSIONS--The commission for inspecting discipline of the Jiangxi Provincial CCP Committee and the provincial committee in charge of college admissions recently issued a joint circular calling for resolutely opposing and boycotting unhealthy trends in recruiting new students for institutes of higher learning. The circular noted: all leading comrades and cadres must set a good example. They must not exercise their functions and powers to seek special care for their relatives, friends, sons or daughters so they can be admitted to college. They must not interfere with enrollment work. [Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Jun 82 OW]

SHANGHAI AIR FORCE MEETING--The PLA Air Force units stationed in Shanghai held an ideological work discussion meeting from 8 to 12 June. The meeting summed up and exchanged fresh experiences in solving ideological problems. Comrade Hu Yaobang recently affirmed the scientific value of this fresh political work experience created by the PLA Air Force. The vast number of political work cadres in air force units stationed in Shanghai have achieved very good results in ideological work by using this fresh experience, which includes discovering ideological problems in good time, clearly understanding them and correctly solving them. (Song Chaozhi), political commissar of the air force units in Shanghai, attended the meeting. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 13 Jun 82 OW]

GANSU UNIVERSITIES APPROVED--After being examined by the Ministry of Education, nine workers' universities in our province have been put on the records officially and will enroll students in a unified manner beginning this year. These nine workers' universities are: the Workers' Construction Engineering Institute of the Gansu Electrical Engineering Bureau; the Workers' University of the Gansu Changcheng Electrical Engineering Company; the Workers' University of the Lanzhou Petrochemical Machinery Plant; the Workers' University of the Lanzhou Chemical Industrial Company; the Workers' University of the Lanzhou Oil Refinery; the Workers' Engineering Institute of the First Survey and Design Institute of the Ministry of Railways; the Workers' University of the State-run No 404 Plant; and the Workers' University of the State-run No 504 Plant. The establishment of these nine universities has been approved one after another by the provincial people's government and the pertinent departments of the party Central Committee since 1980. Through a set examination, the students will receive graduation certificates and enjoy the wages and benefits stipulated by the state. [Text] [SK292353 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 28 Jun 82]

YUNNAN MINORITY NATIONALITY WORK--The second group of the Yunnan provincial teams in charge of nationality affairs and medical work left Yunnan on the morning of 11 June for border regions to serve the minority nationalities. In order to bring about a speedy change in the living standard of the minority nationalities, the provincial CCP committee and people's government allocated some 230 people to form five nationality work teams and 2 medical work teams for Fumin, Wuding, Yongchuan, Yinjiang and Fugong counties. In half a year, these nationality work teams and medical work teams have done a great deal of work to help the minority nationalities. Thus, a second group is now being sent to the border areas. There are some 170 people in the second group, and 89 percent of them are middle-aged and young cadres. [HK140501 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Jun 82 HK]

XIZANG EDUCATIONAL GRANTS--Lhasa, 24 Jun (XINHUA)--Xizang will increase its educational fund from last year's 1.8 million yuan to 8.8 million yuan this year in order to provide grants-in-aid for more pupils and middle school students, according to a recent decision of the region's people's government. Since the peaceful liberation of 1951, Xizang has been the only area mong 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of the country that enjoys free school education through primary school to middle school for all Tibetan students from herdsmen and peasant families. Since 1972, 60 percent of the pupils and 40 percent of the middle school students, whose families are poor, have received grants-in-aid given by the state. Xizang now has 100,000 students. The increase of educational fund aims at letting more minority students have access to schooling. [OW271235 Beijing XINHUA in English 0731 GMT 25 Jun 82 OW]

CSO: 4000/164

FOREIGNERS IN BEIJING PROTEST U.S.-USSR ARMS RACE

OW071642 Hong Kong AFP in English 1612 GMT 7 Jul 82

[Text] Beijing, 7 Jul (AFP)--A group of 24 foreign experts and students from six countries peacefully demonstrated here today against the Soviet-American arms race.

The first such peace march of its kind ever organised in China, passed off without mishap as the demonstrators, under the watchful eye of police, went to the Soviet and U.S. embassies to hand in a petition calling on the two superpowers to use their influence for international disarmament.

"Foreign experts and students say no nukes. USA and USSR arms race--we are all losers," said a large banner carried by the demonstrators, one of whom said that the Chinese authorities had been very cooperative in giving them the go-ahead for the demonstrations and providing a vehicle for transport.

He noted the Chinese authorities, who themselves regularly speak out against the arms race, had given the go ahead for today's demonstration last week and some of the experts were given a half day off to participate in the march.

A curious crowd gathered to watch the procession march to the two embassies both of which had chained their entrances. Nevertheless, they were able to hand in their petition to U.S. Ambassador Arthur Hummel and obtain from him an assurance that he would see a number of their representatives in coming days.

CSO: 4000/162

FREEDOM FIGHTERS URGE DENG TO ABANDON COMMUNISM

OW030606 Taipei CNA in English 0258 GMT 3 Jul 82

[Text] Taipei, 3 Jul (CNA)--Freedom-loving Chinese at home and abroad egard the request made in the open letter by 18 freedom-fighters urging Chinese communist leader Geng Hsiao-ping to abandon communism as fair, just and timely.

According to information reaching here from the domestic and foreign sources, free Chinese people everywhere consider that unless Teng makes as objective review and comparison in terms of time (the Chinese history of the last 100 or so years as compared with the 30-year rule of the Chinese communists) and space (comparing the different conditions among the nations of the world), and unless he can find the root cause of the problems and take correct remedial steps, what he has done in trying to rescue the Peiping regime will be in vain.

The freedom-fighters who jointly wrote the letter are Tuan Ke-wen, Wang Ping-yi, Yuan Mou-ju, Chao Wen-Hsiang, Yu Fu-shiang, Chiang Yu-lu, Shao Hsi-yen, Kao Yu-tsung, Chang Wei-kuo, Fan Yuan-yen, Li Hsien-ping, Yang Su-yung, Liu Cheng-su, Yeh Ying, Lao Cheng-wu.

In the letter, they define their background as, "some of us were college students exposed to Chinese communist indoctrination since childhood; some were senior technological personnel especially cultivated by the Chinese communists; some were musicians and outstanding athletes who carried out propaganda on a large scale for the Chinese communists; some were pilots in the air force of the Chinese communist regime. On the mainland, we were not the most oppressed classes of people."

"The Chinese people have a strong attachment to their native land and are unwilling to leave it. Unless the worst happens, who will steel his heart to abandon the homeland? But we came over to the Republic of China on Taiwan without any hesitation. If we had not been disillusioned with communism, we would not have done this. However, as Chinese intellectuals we must not only seek freedom and happiness for ourselves but also shoulder active responsibility. We hope that we can contribute to the future of China," the letter says.

They pointed out the inborn instability and power struggle in the ideology of communism.

"You still insist on the importance of Mao thought. Even if by some chance your policy could be carried out for 20 years, how can you control such 'side effects' as the corruption of cadres, dissatisfaction of young people and materialism during this period? Even if you had the ability to solve these problems, 20 years later your living standard will be even farther behind, because the Republic of China and other free countries will not stop progressing. By that time, the per capita income of the people on Taiwan will be U.S. 10,000. We therefore think your new economic policy is a dead end. This is a scientific and objective analysis and not an emotional criticism."

They said, "As for the rule of law, after the fall of the 'gang of four' you amended that 'constitution' and promulgated a 'criminal code,' a 'code of criminal procedure' and a 'statute for foreign investment.' We believe you may have really intended to march toward a lengthy and peaceful reign. But we are certain this hope cannot be realized. Only through probing the mutual exclusiveness of law and communism can we fully understand this question."

The freedom-fighters then made the following important points in their letter:

"You and your comrades mistakenly introduced communism to China and have neglected not only the brighter side of traditional Chinese culture but also Dr Sun Yat-sen's three principles of the people, a blueprint for national reconstruction. Your irrational pursuit of 'ideals' has contributed to an unprecedented tragedy in Chinese history. How unfortunate this is but one thing conforms us. After suffering for more than 100 years, the Chinese people have successfully created a 'Taiwan model.' Based on Dr Sun Yat-sen's blueprint for national reconstruction, a model combining the good qualities of both Chinese and western [words indistinct] free, democratic, (?meaningful), happy, prosperous and strong society. We are sure you will understand that we have expressed ourselves from the bottoms of our hearts. After thinking this over calmly and objectively, you may become anxious, agitated and confused. You will question yourselves: should you continue to struggle down hopeless roads, ignoring your conscience, or should you determine to effect a thorough reform for the bright future of China?"

"Mr Teng! In a Chinese communist society characterized by cruel struggle, you have overthrown the 'gang of four' and become the major powerholder in the Chinese communist regime. This is because of your ability and luck, but, you are already 78 years old. To you, honor and wealth are no longer important. What matters is your responsibility for what you have done all your life, to the Chinese people and for Chinese history. You are in a key position and able to change history. Any step of yours may decide whether you will succeed or fail, gain a good or a bad reputation, do good deeds to benefit all, or do evil things that will bring more trouble. The Chinese have an old saying: 'If you refuse what heaven gives you, you will suffer losses. If you do not act when opportunity arrives, you will suffer misfortune.' Time and tide wait for no man. There will be no more chances. We hope you will make a wise final decision. We wish you the happiness of doing so."

CSO: 4000/160 END

JPRS 81460

5 August 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 323

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81460

5 August 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 323

CONTENTS

PARTY AND STATE

Interviews With New Ministers of State Council
(Zhang Mengyi, Cehn Baolian; LIAOWANG, No 4, 1982).... 1

Hopes for Draft Constitution Outlined
(Zhong Dai; FAXUE ZAZHI, No 2, 1982) 8

Revision of Constitution Discussed
(Li Zhengping; SHANXI RIBAO, 10 May 82) 13

Regional Commentary on Draft Constitution
(Various sources, various dates) 15

View From Shanghai
People's Congress Standing Committee
Propaganda Material
View From Harbin, by Ren Da
Four Basic Principles, Constitution, by Guo Fan
View From Shenyang, by Cui Liwen
View From Jinan

Attention to Protecting 'People of Talent' Deemed Necessary
(Gan Feng; RENMIN RIBAO, 23 May 82) 38

Reasons Given for Changes in Sanming City
(RENMIN RIBAO, 16 Jun 82) 41

Scrupulous Behavior in Official Conduct Stressed
(Guo Chang; RENMIN RIBAO, 18 Jun 82) 43

Need for Leaders To Lead Underscored
(Zhang Yuwen; RENMIN RIBAO, 21 Jun 82) 45

Complaints Made Against Too Many Chiefs, Too Few Indians
(Mu Fu; RENMIN RIBAO, 14 May 82)..... 47

'Old' Relationships, 'New' Relationships Discussed
(Li Mingtian; RENMIN RIBAO, 18 May 82) 49

Chuansha County Educates Party Members With 'Three Comparisons'
(Zheng Zilin, Bao Quanjin; JIEFANG RIBAO, 13 May 82).. 51

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Brief Critique of 'Fairytales in Spring'
(Wu Xingren; WEN HUI BAO, 17 May 82) 54

New Exploration Into Nationality Issue Viewed
(Xiong Xiyuan; SIXIANG ZHANXIAN, 20 Feb 82) 60

Implementation on Policies Related to Intellectuals Reported
(Ke Jaiowen, Ma Zhihui; GANSU RIBAO, 29 Apr 82)..... 72

Some Perceptions on Minority Population Development
(Zhou Qing, Xiong Yu; RENKOU YANJIU, No 3, 1982)..... 75

PARTY AND STATE

INTERVIEWS WITH NEW MINISTERS OF STATE COUNCIL

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 4, 1982 pp 5-7

[Article by Zhang Mengyi [1728 1322 0308] and Chen Baolian [7115 0202 1670]

[Text] The structural reform of the State Council attracted attention at home and abroad. On 8 March, the 22d meeting of the standing committee of the National People's Congress deliberated and approved in principle Premier Zhao Ziyang's "Report on the Structural Reform of the State Council." Qian Zhengying [6929 2973 5391], Liu Yi [0491 3015], Chen Muhua [7115 1970 5478] and Qin Zhongda [4440 0112 6671], the first group of new ministers appointed by the standing committee, have become the focus of attention. Thereupon, we decided to interview them.

Nevertheless, it was difficult to get to see them. We telephoned and called on their secretaries in person for appointments. The secretaries readily promised: "We will help to arrange an appointment." But they immediately lamented: "The minister is terribly busy these days."

It was the truth. We approached the comrades of the four ministries and discovered the tremendous amount of work involved in the structural reform! Take the Ministry of Foreign Economics and Trade for instance: The original four units, viz., State Import and Export Commission, Ministry of Foreign Trade, Ministry of Economic Relations with Foreign Countries and Foreign Investment Control Commission, are now combined into one ministry. They were scattered in the vicinities of either Baitasi in West City, Dongdan in East City or Andingmen. With the merger, just to move them to one location was complicated. Then, how should the former departments, bureaus, offices and sections be combined? How should the new units be established? Who would be appointed chiefs of the units? How should proper arrangements be made for the retired and severed old comrades?.... All these needed the ministers to make decisions and carry them out. Soliciting opinions, discussing the lists of names, repeated considerations... all involved "detailed work." Meanwhile, the regular business work of the various departments had to be performed as usual!

Unable to see the ministers for the time being, we could only "gather peripheral information" first. We inquired from the comrades of these ministries the experiences, special skills, abilities and hobbies of the new ministers and gained much "background information" on them. Our one general impression is that they can all be considered experts in their particular ministries. When we finally interviewed them, the "background information" helped us understand them.

She Was an Engineer

Qian Zhengying is 59 years old. Her experiences are near legendary, enough to write a book. However, she seldom discusses them, and was reluctant to reveal them to the reporters.

Her father, an expert in flood control of the older generation, had a Master's degree from Cornell University in America. Under his influence, Qian Zhengying, ever since her childhood, was determined to become a woman engineer. In the late 1930's, she passed the entrance examinations for the Department of Civil Engineering of Shanghai's Datong University. She was a superior student.

When the underground party organization was devastated in 1942, Qian Zhengying, already a party branch secretary, had to end her college life and move from Shanghai to the Huaibei liberated area. She was in a group of six, who were all schoolmates. To avoid questioning en route by the Guomindang, she and a male student pretended to be cousins. This student was Huang Xinbai [7806 6580 4101] who subsequently became her lifelong companion.

In the second summer after arrival in the liberated area, the Huai River rose suddenly and the large dyke broke. The New 4th Army organized and led the masses to rush repair the dike. A rare civil engineering student in the army, Qian Zhengying became the emergency engineer. From then on, she launched on her career in hydraulic engineering. In 1950, Qian Zhengying, known as "the yellow-hair girl," became the vice minister of the Huadong Ministry of Water Conservancy.

In 1954, 29-year old Qian Zhengying was appointed vice minister of Water Conservancy. Through the years since then, she has been known for her expertise in water conservancy and electric power and for her decisiveness. She personally handled and investigated and studied many things, especially the major engineering and technical problems. Between the end of 2 years ago and the beginning of last year, including New Year's Day and the Spring Festival, she spent 50 to 60 days at the Gezhouba construction site. She indicated to the leading comrades of the State Council that she would take full responsibility if the dam project failed. After a thorough investigation and study, she and the leading construction personnel, selecting the best moment, promptly issued the order to build the dam, achieving instant success.

"Truly sorry to have kept you waiting so long. I am somewhat in utter confusion!" These were her first words upon seeing us. It was a weekend evening. The closing bell of the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Electric Power had sounded more than an hour ago, and there was no one in the hallway, yet she was still in the room, serving both as an office and a lounge, working with Comrade Wang Lin [3769 2651], the adviser.

The Ministries of Water Conservancy and Electric Power, the two closely related agencies, had been separated and merged in the past, and now they are merged again. In that case, is it like the opening lines of the famous classic novel "Three Kingdoms" which read, "in terms of the situation of the world, after a long separation, there is combination; after a long combination, there is separation?" Qian Zhengying replied: "Separation and combination each have its reasons. There are advantages in separation, and there are also advantages in combination, while at the same time, each has its contradictions. The issue is to summarize the experiences of the separations and combinations of the past, developing the superiority of combination and avoiding its contradictions. The merger this time is not a simple repetition of history, but the pursuit of a new level on a new foundation."

Immediately, she pointed out emphatically: "Structural simplification is only the first step. The key is reform--reforming both the system and the method and work style. It is a crucial task. Not just myself, but our entire leading team feels that it is not easily accomplished." After a moment's reflection, she said: "Our country is at the time of continuing the past to forge ahead. Structural reform is also a task of continuing the past to forge ahead. In this sense, I am only a transitional figure. I have the task of selecting young comrades to the leadership posts as well as making the old comrades withdrawn to the second line feel settled and develop their effect. I should transit to the stage of letting Comrade Li Peng [2621 7720] take over, and let more young comrades take over." Fifty-four-year old Li Peng is the first vice minister of Water Conservancy and Electric Power. Qian Zhengying brought the subject up the moment she assumed office. Her foresight and breadth of mind are truly admirable.

What Is His "Administrative Program?"

When we arrived at the office of Comrade Qin Zhongda, minister of Chemical Industry, it was half past 12 in the afternoon. This simple office serves both as a conference room and a temporary bedroom. Along the wall is a single bed where he takes a rest at noon.

While inviting us to sit down, he apologized: "In the morning we discussed organ simplification work, in the afternoon I have to attend the memorial meeting of an old comrade, and in the evening there will be foreign affairs activities. So, I have to interfere with your noon rest."

We wanted him to discuss his "administrative program" after assuming office. He said with a smile: "As reporters, it is right for you to

acquaint yourselves with the new plans of the new minister. However, I do not have any new stuff. If we are to discuss new plans, then the first thing is to be a good successor--continuing the achievements and good traditions and the good work style of the previous ministers, and bringing them to a greater light."

He informed us that China's chemical industry has grown from small to big, and now it has become a large field with more than 6,000 enterprises and more than 2.8 million staff and workers. The output value and profit of the entire industry each constitute 10 percent of the national totals. More than 20,000 chemical industrial products are linked with industry and agriculture and the people's living. He remarked with a sigh: "The burden on us is not light! When the standing committee of the National People's Congress appointed me the minister of Chemical Industry, I felt that, whether in ideological level, work ability, or knowledge and experience, I am far below the requirements of the post. Therefore, I will study vigorously, studying the party's principles and policies, economic management and all useful knowledge, rely on collective leadership, relying on the old comrades who have withdrawn from the front line and the broad cadres, experts and masses, and firmly complete the assignments of the party and the government."

Comrade Qin Zhongda is a "veteran chemical industrial expert" with an insatiable desire for knowledge. During the war to resist Japan, he did research in military production in Jiaodong region, and subsequently took part in building military production bases in the Northeast. In the early post-liberation days, he served as the chief of the Dalian chemical plant. After 1956, he always performed leadership work in chemical industry in the aspects of capital construction, equipment, technical supply and production management and planning. He learned English, Japanese and Russian by himself. His rich practical experience and expert knowledge have given him a fairly comprehensive understanding of the chemical industry.

As an advance unit of structural simplification, the replacement work of the ministerial level of the Chemical Industry Ministry has now been completed. The 19 organs of department and bureau levels will be merged into 15. The plan has been discussed twice at the higher level and twice at the lower level, and the personnel will be reduced by one-third.

"When the structure is simplified and the personnel reduced, will the tasks be completed?" As if he had guessed our question, Comrade Qin Zhongda said with confidence: The overstaffed structure, the numerous levels, the wrangling and procrastination, and the low efficiency--these were all problems of the system itself. The present merging of organs and reduction of levels have indeed hit the crucial spot. After structural simplification, first we must establish the personal responsibility system, clarifying the functions and duties. Each level must have its responsibilities, and problems must not be passed on to the higher level. We must act according to principles and, in handling problems, give

priority to the work. There must be no recourse to "relationships." Therefore, while making the leadership teams of the various levels knowledgeable, professional and youthful, we must properly revolutionize ideology.

"Help Them Shorten the Process"

The merger work of the Ministry of Foreign Economics and Trade, created by combining four foreign economic units, has been performed smoothly. Comrade Chen Muhua informed us that, in line with the principle of rationally dividing the labor, clarifying the functions and duties, reducing the levels and raising the efficiency, the newly organized ministry has 20 units of department and bureau levels, reducing the organs of the original 4 units by 1/2 and the number of cadres by 1/3. Some 65 percent of the cadres of bureau level and above are of university level.

Comrade Chen Muhua began talking with us the moment we came to her office. Her tone is calm and steady, and she analyzes issues in a systematic manner. Though the 61-year old Comrade Chen Muhua has long been well-known, people may not all be familiar with her experiences, which cover many aspects. She went to Yanan to perform revolutionary work in 1938. After the founding of the nation, she did specialized work in coal mining, railway and planning. In the late 1950's, she went to Vietnam as an expert to help with its construction. After returning to China, beginning in the sixties, she has always performed foreign economic liaison work and visited many Third World nations. To the people in those nation, she is not a stranger.

She said: Combining the four foreign economic units into one is merely the beginning, and arduous tasks will follow. The merger is not to make an "assorted dish," but to form an organic whole. Thereafter, she discussed the link between foreign economic work and the four modernization construction and the significance of the merger. She said: The open-door economic policy followed by us now is a great transformation from the closed-door situation of the past. To adapt to the transformation and change the incompatible present conditions, structural reform is a crucial measure. She illustrated: In the past, the unified foreign economic work was separately handled by four units, which were of the same level and had to be coordinated by the State Council. Now that they are merged, we only need internal coordination to perform the work, thereby raising the efficiency. Naturally, there are still many things which cannot be solved by our ministry alone. To raise our efficiency, there is still much to be done--work attitude, work style, the quality of the cadres, and the economic system. Nevertheless, structural reform is doubtlessly an extremely crucial aspect. It is a revolution of the system.

She feels that, in this revolution, the reactions of many old cadres are good. She said that we must recognize the following point: In terms of many old comrades, leaving their work posts is a great change in their thinking and work and in their life and habits. They must continue to

produce an effect--passing on the good traditions and experiences and bringing forth the good ideas and work styles. Nevertheless, they will feel unaccustomed to be away from the front line, and the change requires a process. We must help them rearrange their lives and shorten the process. We must create a set of experiences: In this country of ours, how do we make the proper arrangements for the retired and severed old cadres? How do we develop their effect?--Figuratively speaking, how do we develop their "remaining heat?" We must find a way.

Do More and Say Less

Among the ministers interviewed, we can frankly say that we felt unfamiliar with Liu Yi, the new minister of Commerce, even though he had served as a vice minister of the old Ministry of Commerce for 4 1/2 years. For this very reason, we wanted to find out more about him.

Is the minister, who grew up on the shores of the Yellow Sea, a worker-peasant cadre or an intellectual? We asked his secretary Comrade Li before we saw him. The secretary said with a smile: When he joined the work in 1948, our minister was only 18 years old. What kind of cadre do you think he is? We were speechless. According to the comrades of the ministry, the bespectacled minister only went to middle school and worked as a teacher. Though without an impressive academic background, he paid serious attention to learning in practical work and was rich in experience, thereby becoming an able man with professional knowledge. He is straightforward and neat in his work. Whatever he can do himself, he will always do it personally. He drafts as many of his speeches as possible. The manuscripts concerning the reform of the Ministry of Commerce were all revised by him.

However, we went through a lot trouble to interview him. After the merger of the three units, he was almost "inundated" in the series of tasks in the merger work. After his appointment as minister by the standing committee of the National People's Congress, reporters in the press circles of the capital wanting to interview him numbered by the dozens. It was not surprising as he is the youngest among the four new ministers and performed leadership work in local finance and trade for many years; therefore, reporters were all anxious to find out about him. However, the requests for interview were almost all courteously refused by the personnel around him.

Is Minister Liu Yi reluctant to receive the reporters because of his work load, or modesty, or some other consideration? It became a puzzle. Nevertheless, as reporters, interviewing the new ministers was our responsibility, and we finally got to see him. Seeing us, he told us his true feelings. He said: Do not think that I am stuck-up. The three units had barely been combined, and we had not done much work. So, there was little to discuss. At present, besides implementing the spirit of the Party Central Committee and the State Council in combining the two ministries and one agency, the leading team of this ministry is busy with the

merger of the bureau (company) level and the solution of some urgent problems. In regard to the commerce work this year, we are considering it, but have not had time to make detailed special studies. Commerce work is closely linked with the production and living of the people of the whole country. How to perform the work properly, how to raise efficiency and overcome bureaucracy, and how to make arrangements for the many old comrades after the merger and simplification require conscientious discussions, decisions and implementations step by step. Comrade Liu Yi feels that the work is fairly arduous and needs the leadership of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, collective wisdom and strength, and their own diligence and effort. His words have enabled us to understand that his true feeling is that, shouldering a heavy burden and in charge of ministerial affairs, he should do more and say less, do first and say later. Is this not the work style of modesty and prudence and seeking the truth from the facts which deserves recommendation in the four modernization construction?

6080
CSO: 4005/855

HOPES FOR DRAFT CONSTITUTION OUTLINED

Beijing FAXUE ZAZHI in Chinese No 2, 1982 pp 12-14

[Article by Zhong Dai [6988 1486]: "Certain Hopes Regarding Our Country's Draft Constitution"]

[Text] It is now 1 year, 4 months since the Commission for Revision of the Constitution, at its first meeting on 15 September 1980, began a systematic revision of the constitution based on the proposals of the CCP Central Committee and the resolution passed at the third session of the Fifth NPC. In order to do the best possible revision of the constitution, the fourth session of the Fifth NPC postponed completion of the work of revising the constitution until the fifth session of the Fifth NPC in 1982. We can be confident that the draft constitution, drawn up by the Commission for Revision of the Constitution through such a long and laborious process and based on such a large amount of investigation and research, is bound to be in accord with the feelings of the people and will meet their expectations. This article is intended to present a few hopes in connection with the draft constitution at this time when it is about to be published and submitted to the whole nation for discussion.

I. The Four Basic Principles Must Be Justly and Forcefully Written Into the Constitution

The four basic principles constitute the practical summing up of the Chinese people's protracted revolutionary struggle; they are the fundamental principles which guide all our actions. Any book on modern Chinese history shows us that starting with the Opium War of 1840 and through the bloody sacrifices that continued for several generations, the masses of our hundreds of millions of people have never been able to escape tragic misfortunes. The famous Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Movement, the 100-day Modernization and Constitutional Reform Movement, the Yihetuan Movement, etc, all failed to bring salvation to China. The Revolution of 1911, led by Sun Yat-sen, overthrew the Qing Dynasty, ended several thousands of years of feudal autocracy and set up a republican system. The achievements of the Revolution of 1911 were indeed great, but it did not change China's semifeudal and semicolonial status. It was only in 1949 that the Chinese people overthrew their three big enemies and established the people's democratic dictatorship of new China through a protracted, arduous, tortuous struggle, led by the CCP, which having found

Marxism, this most advanced ideological weapon of mankind, and also having integrated Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution, used the armed forces of the people and formed a united front. After establishment of the PRC, our path has still not been smooth, but generally speaking tremendous achievements have been made. The system of exploitation has been abolished, socialism has been firmly established, the people's political power has become increasingly consolidated, the socialist industrial system and the national economic system have already basically taken shape, science and culture have experienced very great developments, and the international standing of our country has been raised to an unprecedented height. Following the smashing of the "gang of four," an even closer unity has been established between the various nationalities throughout our country. Millions of people, with one heart and one mind, pooling the wisdom and efforts of everyone, are now struggling to gradually build up our country into one with modernized agriculture, industry, defense, science and technology, and into a highly democratic, highly cultured strong socialist state. Historical experience and the victories gained by the Chinese people testify to the truth that if we firmly take the socialist path, firmly uphold the people's democratic dictatorship, firmly uphold the leadership of the CCP, firmly uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we will always be invincible, but when we stray from these four basic principles, we will suffer defeat or commit serious mistakes.

The constitution is the fundamental law; it is the chief statute of the country. The constitution must give full expression to the four basic principles and set them up as the highest norm for everyone to observe. There are at present a small number of people who do not understand, who doubt, or who even oppose the four basic principles. This is a mistake. Because of this, it is even more necessary to justly and forcefully write the four basic principles into the constitution.

II. The Basic Rights of Citizens Must Be Expanded and Guaranteed as Far as Possible

Mankind is advancing and democracy is developing. We hope that the new constitution will surpass the original constitution with respect to such questions as democratic rights, freedoms, etc.

1. The PRC is a socialist state. The economic foundation of a socialist state is public ownership--a state in which the people themselves control the means of production. The political system of the socialist state is the people's democratic dictatorship with all powers devolving to the people and the people themselves controlling the state. The fundamental character of this social and governmental system is the determining factor for the fact that our people are bound to enjoy far more and broader democratic rights and freedoms than people in the capitalist countries. They are also bound to enjoy far more reliable and substantial legal and material guarantees than people in the capitalist countries.

2. Compared with the conditions in 1954, when the first constitution was adopted, conditions today offer a much greater possibility to broaden and

heighten the various democratic rights and freedoms enjoyed by the citizens, whether we look at the political conditions or the economic and cultural conditions. As for class relations, by 1954 the landlord class and the bureaucrat-capitalist class had just been overthrown, but because members of these classes survived and remained inflexible, they vainly schemed all along to recover their lost paradise. Although the national bourgeoisie was dealt with as an internal contradiction among the people, there were at that time extremely intense struggles concerning restrictions and transformation. Today, the drastic change in the balance of class forces is very obvious. Although class struggle still exists, the remnants of the reactionary classes are close to complete annihilation. The national bourgeoisie per se is extinct. The members of the former exploiting classes have either died or are incapacitated; essentially, they have already been transformed into workers who support themselves by their own labor. Looking again at economic conditions, in 1954 there still existed the five elements in the social economy, and the system of ownership of the means of production by capitalists had not yet undergone a complete transformation. The annual production of steel was only a little more than 2 million tons, and the annual production of grain only more than 330 billion jin. However, today exploitation has long been eliminated and the socialist public ownership has for a long time been the only economic foundation of our society. In 1980, steel production reached 37 million tons and grain production over 630 billion jin. The modernization of our industry, agriculture, defense, and science and technology by far surpasses that of 1954. There had been fairly substantial objective restrictions on the basic rights of citizens in the 1954 constitution, but today there are far fewer restrictions.

3. Reviewing the general tendency in the constitutions of various countries of the world, there is a trend toward enhancing the citizens' basic rights. Before the last century, the constitutions of such countries as America, Germany, Italy, Spain, Switzerland and Austria originally had no special sections or provisions of this kind, but most of them later added such provisions or added special sections on the rights of citizens, and in most of the countries the rights of citizens were placed at the beginning of the constitutions to show that they were considered important. For instance, the Yugoslav constitution of 1946 put citizens' rights in its fifth section, but the 1974 Constitution moved them ahead to its third section. The Romanian constitution of 1948 put citizens' rights in its third section; but in 1975 they were moved to the second section. In their constitutional revisions of the seventies, Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, West Germany, Italy, Mexico, Portugal and Spain all listed the rights of citizens in their first section. At the same time there were also fairly important developments in the scope of and guarantees for these rights in the constitutions of various countries. For instance, the Yugoslav constitution has over 70 paragraphs providing for such items as the economic position of workers, work income, individual benefits, life insurance, old-age insurance, disability insurance, housing construction, etc. In their formal provisions for citizens' rights, the constitutions of capitalist countries also show these developments to a varying degree, but of course as a result of the struggle of working people. We must not be an exception to this world trend.

4. The history of our country is a history of man exploiting man; the broad masses of people had been in a protracted state of suppression and enslavement. Now that liberation has been achieved by the Chinese people under the leadership of the party, the people should highly treasure these rights and freedoms that were paid for in blood and lives and that affirm the people as masters of their own affairs. However, it cannot be denied that in the various political movements since 1954, the basic rights and freedoms of a section of our people have, to varying degrees, suffered encroachments. Especially during the 10 years of calamity, a large number of innocent sufferers lost even their minimum human rights. These painful experiences taught the people the great value of democratic rights and freedoms! They fervently hope that the future constitution will fully acknowledge and genuinely guarantee the basic rights and freedoms of citizens.

Our hopes must, of course, be based on the present situation; they must be realistic and feasible. We reject methods divorced from reality which are nothing but empty verbiage, and reject even more giving a green light to bourgeois liberalization.

III. Our Political System Requires Reforms

Our political system is a socialist democratic system, which in essence is incomparably superior to the capitalist political system. However, certain sectors of our political system have defects such as bureaucracy, personal privileges, low efficiency, structural overlapping, excessive appointments of deputies or nominal appointments, lack of coordination between various government organs, disputes over trifles, etc. Reform and improvements are, therefore, urgently needed.

The key to reforming our political system is the strengthening of democratic centralism.

Our democracy is a system of representative government, that is, the sovereign people run the state through representatives. This democratic system must solve three crucial problems: 1) the people and its representatives must not be two different types of people without very close connections with each other; 2) the people's representatives must not be met who attempt nothing and accomplish nothing; and 3) the people's congresses must actually play effective roles as organs of power. These three items must be major themes in the draft of the new constitution. In another respect, our country's democracy must also show itself to be a direct democracy. The constitution must as far as possible create conditions which will fully enable the people to govern the country, administer the society, and administer all economic and cultural affairs; in addition, all governmental departments must be placed under the direct supervision of the people.

On the foundation of democracy, government at all levels must improve its capacity to handle the affairs of state in a concentrated way. The constitution must define with greater clarity the powers of office as between the various systems of state organs of all types, between the central and the

local authorities, and between the higher level and the lower level authorities. If responsibilities are not clear and division of labor is not defined, some work will be duplicated and some work not done at all, with very adverse effects on general efficiency. The constitution should lay down strict procedures to restrict the establishment of additional government departments, and also prescribe a definite number of deputy appointments and stipulate that government personnel in responsible positions may serve no more than two consecutive terms.

IV. Concrete Measures Are Necessary to Supervise Implementation of the Constitution

Our past three constitutions had one common weakness, namely, the failure to provide concrete measures that would effectively guarantee and supervise the implementation of the constitution itself. It happened, therefore, that at its promulgation the constitution was propagated with great enthusiasm, but soon thereafter was laid aside and neglected. The 1954 constitution could be considered a good constitution as regards its essential spirit as well as in its various paragraphs, but because our country had not set up an effective system of supervising the implementation of the constitution, whenever a violation of the constitution occurred, there was no special organization and no special official charged with the responsibility of protecting the sanctity of the constitution and strictly investigating the violation. For this reason the prestige and effectiveness of the constitution declined precipitously until at the time of the 10 years of turmoil the constitution was completely trampled underfoot. This extremely grievous lesson of history must be turned to benefit in drafting the new constitution. It is hoped that the draft constitution will overcome the weakness of the previous three constitutions and stipulate in concrete terms certain measures of supervision so that our future constitution will truly become the highest norm guiding all our country's activities.

9808
CSO: 4005/880

POLITICAL

REVISION OF CONSTITUTION DISCUSSED

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 10 May 82 p 3

[Article by Li Zhengping [2621 2973 1627]: "Systemize and Legalize Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] The constitution is the fundamental law of the nation. The present turning over of revision drafts of the constitution to the people for discussion has systematized and legalized socialist democracy in the building of the people's democracy. This marks a great advancement over previous constitutions.

The original significance of the term democracy indicated the rule of the majority of people which was the people's political power. Lenin pointed out that: "Democracy is a national form, a national pattern." The national form of the democratic dictatorship of the people reveals that democracy and dictatorship are inseparable and have a mutually integrated dialectically unified relationship. Democracy is people enjoying the democratic rights of the nation. The general principles of the revision draft of the constitution stipulate that: "All rights belong to the people." This is a focused expression of the will and interests of all of the people and fully reflects the nature and characteristics of socialist democracy. In human history only socialist democracy is true people's democracy. The people as masters of the nation enjoy participation in the administration of the state and other democratic rights. It is the most extensive democracy which no capitalist nation could possibly have. At present, the draft of the constitution has been given to the various nationalities of the nation for discussion so as to allow everyone to express their views. This in itself reflects the sacred democratic rights of each citizen. We must use this sense of responsibility of the proletariat to improve this discussion.

When we conscientiously study and discuss the revision draft of the constitution, we cannot but turn and think of the disaster brought to the nation and people by Lin Biao and the group of Jiang Qing. During the 10 years of chaos, why were they able to place themselves above the party and people, run wild outside party discipline and national law, brazenly destroy socialist democracy, and perversely trample on the socialist legal system? This is strongly related to why China's socialist democracy has still not been legalized and systematized. This painful historical lesson is worth

remembering forever. Since the Party's Third Pleaary Session there have been a series of actions whereby order has been brought out of chaos. Thus, when the people enjoy deserved democratic rights and are able to wholeheartedly build the four modernizations we deeply realize the importance of legalizing and systematizing socialist democracy. The present revision draft of the constitution sums up the positive and negative experiences since the establishment of the PRC and makes detailed stipulations on how to strengthen and promote socialist democracy so as to fix the fundamental law. This fully reflects the aspirations and needs of all the people. It is also a new milestone in the history of China's legal system signifying China's tremendous progress in legalizing and systematizing its socialist democracy. Naturally, while citizens enjoy full democratic rights they must also fulfil obligations, and abide by the constitution and laws. Because no absolute has ever existed in the world wherein there are no restrictions on freedom and rights, the rights and obligations of citizens are inseparable.

The masses are the makers of history. This is the fundamental principle of dialectical materialism and it also embodies the main line in the revision draft of the constitution. The famous literary master Guo Moruo wrote in a poem: "How many peoples blood, have been exchanged for this glory When I think of it I am on the verge of tears, I laugh heartily and do not make a sound." We not only wrote the constitution to acclaim the people's victorious achievements but even more so for their hard-earned prize and to safeguard their dignity.

9480
CSO: 4005/918

REGIONAL COMMENTARY ON DRAFT CONSTITUTION

View From Shanghai

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Apr 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Actively and Conscientiously Discuss the Draft of the Revised Constitution"]

[Text] On the basis of a resolution by the NPC Standing Committee, the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China" has now been promulgated and turned over to the people of the various nationalities for discussion. Explanation of the Draft of the Revised Constitution by Vice Chairman of the Committee for the Revision of the Constitution Peng Zhen has also been published at the same time. The people of various nationalities of the whole country are about to join the debate over the Draft of the Revised Constitution enthusiastically in the period from May to August this year. This is a big event in the political life of our country. The people of the entire Shanghai Municipality should likewise take action immediately and actively and conscientiously participate in this discussion by the whole nation of the Draft of the Revised Constitution. This shall be of great significance to our energetic efforts aiming at giving scope to socialist democracy, strengthening our socialist legal system, and promoting the building of our socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The Constitution is a general charter, a fundamental law." Since the founding of our state, we have formulated three constitutions. Of these the Constitution of 1954 was relatively well done, whereas the two Constitutions of 1975 and 1978 were, because of limitation by historical conditions at the time, both rather imperfect. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our political life, economic life and cultural life have all undergone great changes and development. The focus of the work of the party and state has been shifted to the construction of socialist modernization; the CCP Central Committee has provided a new scientific analysis of the domestic class situation; the democratization of the state has gained important development and is still in need of further perfection; the leadership system and economic system of the state are undergoing, and will continue to carry out, important reforms, etc. In the face of these new situations, the current 1978 Constitution is obviously inadequate for present needs. For this reason, at the Third Session of the 5th NPC, the people's deputies fully discussed the proposal by the

CCP Central Committee and passed a resolution to revise the Constitution and establish a Committee for the Revision of the Constitution. The Draft of the Revised Constitution promulgated this time was formulated by the Committee for the Revision of the Constitution after an effort of 1 and a half years and after conscientious, careful debates by various circles. After discussion, revision, and formal passage by the whole nation, this Constitutional Draft shall become the fundamental law of our country in the new historical period, the behavioral norm of the people of various nationalities, all state organs and people's armed forces, various political parties and social organizations as well as various public agencies and entrepreneurial units across the country, and the foundation for building our socialist democracy and social legal system. Hence, the promulgation of this Draft of the Revised Constitution naturally has aroused the people's utmost attention throughout the country.

The revision of the Constitution this time was carried out on the basis of summing up our experiences in socialist revolution and construction since the founding of our state. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee is the guiding ideology of the revision of the Constitution this time. This Draft of the Revised Constitution now clearly reaffirms our adherence to the four basic principles, especially adherence to the two most important principles of party leadership and the socialist path; it prescribes the form of our state as "a socialist state of people's democratic dictatorship based on an alliance between the workers and peasants, led by the working class," pointing out that "in our country, after the exploitative classes as classes are eliminated, class struggle will still remain for a long time in certain realms": it prescribes the socialist system as our fundamental system; it provides' that "the basic task of the Chinese people in the coming years is to concentrate their effort on socialist modernization" and, through self-reliance and hard struggle, to gradually build our country into a socialist state with modern industry, modern agriculture, modern national defense and modern science and technology and with a high level of democracy and culture; it provides that, along with the building of an advanced material civilization, we must at the same time build an advanced spiritual civilization, elevate the cultural, scientific, technological, ideological and moral level of all the people; it earnestly provides a series of fundamental rights enjoyed by our citizens which are broader and more genuine than those under the capitalist system; it clearly prescribes the form of our government as one which "practices the principle of democratic centralism," along with which the strengthening of the people's congress system, and fully embodied the interests and wishes of the people af the country's various nationalities in our new historical period of development.

Broadly mobilizing and organizing the people of various nationalities to discuss the Draft of the Revised Constitution demonstrates the superiority of our socialist democracy and socialist legal system. Ours is the Constitution must fully represent the people's will and interests. Only by organizing all the people to discuss the Constitution and ultimately carry out revisions and formally promulgate it on the basis of opinions aired in

the course of the discussion by all the people can the Constitution become the concentrated reflection of the people's will and be implemented thoroughly under the supervision of the masses of the people. The Draft of the Revised Constitution provides: "The people have the right, according to provisions of the law and through various channels and forms, to manage state affairs, economic and cultural affairs, as well as social affairs." Discussing the Draft of the Revised Constitution is no other than a channel and form by which the people exercise this right. This once more illustrates how our people really enjoy democratic rights, and affords at the same time a very good opportunity to administer an education and training in socialist democracy and the legal system to all our people. Through discussion by all the people, we are bound to be able to enhance the people's perception as to the importance of formulating the Constitution and the necessity of abiding by the Constitution, strengthen their conception of our socialist democracy and legal system, and assuredly heighten to a great extent the consciousness of the vast ranks of the cadres and masses of the people in maintaining the dignity of the Constitution and ensuring the implementation of the Constitution.

The people of our entire municipality must immediately take action, follow the request made by the NPC Standing Committee, and carry out serious discussion on the Draft of the Revised Constituiion. First of all, we must conscientiously study and read the Draft of the Revised Constitution by going over each chapter, each section, each article and each sentence repeatedly so as to clearly understand its meaning. We should emphatically carry out study and achieve understanding as to the necessity of revising the Constitution this time, the basis for such revision, the basic spirit and basic content of the Draft of the Revised Constitution, its guiding ideology and important provisions on citizens' fundamental rights and duties and the state's political and economic systems, etc. Then, we should use our brains and actively express our opinions as to the revision and possible supplement in the course of the discussion. We must participate in such discussion with the spirit of the master and treasure this sacred right conferred on every citizen by law, speak all we like, so as to pool the wisdom of all. The state organs in our municipality, the armed forces stationed in Shanghai, various party and government organization, people's groups and schools, entrepreneurial units and public agencies, streets, communes and production brigades in the countryside and basic-level units of the like must all attach great importance to and put this work in their respective major agendas. Four months have been arranged for this entire discussion; all units must proceed from the actual situation, organize propaganda and explanation well, do a good job in arranging study and discussion sessions, and do a good job in collecting and summing up opinions. At present, we are very busy with tasks of production and we are also carrying out the struggle against serious criminal activities in the economic realm; leaders at various levels must make proper arrangements. We believe that through this discussion by all the people we are bound to be able to accomplish smoothly our task in revising the Constitution and stimulate a sense of responsibility on the part of the vast ranks of the masses of the people as masters and their swelling political enthusiasm, so as to push a great step forward our various work at present.

People's Congress Standing Committee

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 May 82 p 1

[Report: "The Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee Resolution on Discussing the Draft of the Revised Constitution in Shanghai"]

[Text] The full text of the resolution passed by the 21st Session of the Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee on the discussion in the entire city of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China" is as follows:

The 21st Session of the 7th Shanghai Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee, having preliminarily discussed the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China, and having studied the question of organizing the people of the entire municipality to discuss the Draft of the Revised Constitution according to the spirit of the NPC Standing Committee's "Resolution on Promulgating the 'Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China,'" hereby passes the following resolution:

1. The Constitution is the fundamental law of the state. Guided by the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China" sums up our experiences in socialist revolution and construction during the past 30 years and more, prescribes the fundamental systems and fundamental tasks of the state, and reflects in a concentrated way the will and interests of the people of the country's various nationalities. After extensive and penetrating discussion by the people of the various nationalities, and after submission to the Fifth session of the Fifth National People's Congress for examination and passage, this Draft of the Revised Constitution will become the fundamental law of our state in the new historical period, the behavioral norm of the people of various nationalities across the country, all state organs and people's armed forces, all political parties and social organizations, and all entrepreneurial units and public agencies, and the foundation for realizing the institutionalization of our socialist democracy and carrying out of the construction of our socialist legal system. The NPC Standing Committee has decided to turn over this Draft of the Revised Constitution to the people of the country's various nationalities for discussion; this is a big event in the political life of our people; this is a vivid demonstration of our people exercising their right as masters of the house, and is of very great significance. The people of the entire municipality must take action immediately and actively and conscientiously participate in the activity of discussing the Draft of the Revised Constitution.

2. On the basis of the NPC Standing Committee Resolution, state organs of various levels in our municipality, military units, party organizations, people's groups and schools, entrepreneurial units and public agencies and streets, communes and production brigades and basic-level units of the like must all arrange necessary periods of time from May to August this year on

the premise of broad propagation and ideological mobilization, in order to organize the masses of the people to conscientiously discuss the Draft of the Revised Constitution. Press agencies, broadcasting stations, television stations and propaganda departments of the like shall carry colloquial and easily understandable explanations and introductions as to the necessity and importance of the revision of the Constitution this time, the basic spirit and basic content of the Draft of the Revised Constitution, its guiding ideology, its provisions concerning the state's fundamental systems and fundamental tasks, concerning citizens' basic rights and duties, concerning state organs, etc., so as to further heighten the people's understanding of the important meaning of the discussion on the Draft of the Revised Constitution. Such discussion must bring democracy into full play, let the masses express their respective views and say whatever they wish to say, and let them suggest ideas for revision.

3. This discussion of the Draft of the Revised Constitution shall be organized and carried out by the various systems. All systems, departments, and units must strengthen their leadership over the discussion of the Draft of the Revised Constitution, must appoint a responsible person to preside over this work and designate a definite organ to take concrete responsibility, to seek to understand the situation of the discussion, to gather together the ideas for revision, and thereby report upward level by level within their respective systems, so that, after gathering all of them, the Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee can submit them to the Committee for the Revision of the Constitution.

The people of the entire municipality must conscientiously participate in this discussion and actively submit ideas for revision, in order to make contributions to the further perfection of the Draft of the Revised Constitution. The session believes that, through such discussion by all the people, the consciousness of the people of the whole municipality is bound to be further heightened in respect to their adherence to the four basic principles, their exercise of citizens' rights and duties, and their development of their spirit as masters, and the development of the construction of the city's socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization is bound to be also further promoted.

Propaganda Material

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 28 May 82 p 3

[Article: "Propaganda Material on Discussion of the Draft of the Revised Constitution by All the People--For the Reference of Basic-level Units"]

[Text] The "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China" was passed and promulgated by the 23rd Session of the Fifth NPC Standing Committee on 26 April this year and turned over to the people of various nationalities for discussion. This is a big event in the political life of our people.

Apart from "The Preamble," the Draft of the Revised Constitution includes the four chapters of "General Principles," "Fundamental Rights and Duties of

Citizens," "Structure of the State" and "National Flag, National Emblem and Capital" in 140 articles. It was formulated under the direct leadership of the Party Central Committee after an effort of 1 and a half years was made by the Committee for the Revision of the Constitution to gather extensively the views of various localities, departments, and circles and after serious, careful discussion and repeated revisions; it is a rather well done draft of a socialist constitution suited to China's national conditions. After discussion and modification by the whole nation, and after examination and passage by the National People's Congress, this constitutional draft shall become the fundamental law of the state in our new historical period. The masses of the people in our entire municipality must fully recognize the great significance in discussing the Draft of the Revised Constitution and actively participate in the activity of discussing the constitutional draft.

I. The Significance of the Whole Nation Discussing the Constitutional Draft

From May to August this year, the country's state organs, armed forces, party organizations, people's groups and schools, entrepreneurial units and public agencies and streets, communes and production brigades in the countryside and basic-level organizations of the like must all organize the masses of the people to carry out serious and full discussion of the constitutional draft. Such a large-scale, massive discussion can be undertaken only when our people who have become the masters of their house come to formulate their socialist constitution. The formulation of a constitution in capitalist countries is invariably monopolized by a few people. The formulation of the first written constitution in history, the 1787 Constitution of the United States, was worked out by 55 representatives of exploitative classes in precisely such an exclusive manner (they included 24 bankers, 11 shipowners, and 15 slave owners). They neither needed to, nor could, organize the masses to carry out any discussion, because what it protexts is the fundamental interests of the bourgeoisie. Our socialist state is entirely different; ours is a state in which the people wield power; ours is a constitution of the people's own, as it embodies the people's basic wishes. The masses of the people actively participating in the discussion of the constitutional draft is a vivid demonstration of our people being masters in their own house, and a fine tradition of our constitutions being formulated in this manner. Our 1954 Constitution was formulated under the personal leadership of Chairman Mao Zedong; at the time, the people of the whole country were organized to carry out a discussion that lasted 3 whole months; more than 739,000 reporters, propagandists, and activists of the masses made reports at hundreds of report meetings and various gatherings on the constitutional draft to the urban and rural people. In many localities, the number of people listening to such reports and participating in such discussions often amounted to 70 percent of all the adults in the local community, and in some cities and localities, this number amounted to more than 90 percent. The ideas and questions for revision and supplement submitted by the people of the whole country numbered more than 1,180,000. As we come to revise our Constitution today, we still need to adopt the method we adopted at the time our first Constitution was formulated by mobilizing extensively the masses of the people to participate in the discussion, so that they can express their respective views, say all they wish to say, and there submit ideas for revision.

The meaning of the masses of the people extensively participating in the discussion of the constitutional draft may be summarized in the following points:

/First, the whole nation discussing the constitutional draft is a reflection that our people really enjoy democratic rights, are masters in their own house, and do manage their state affairs./ All our state power belongs to the people; the people are the masters of the country. The formulation and revision of the Constitution are big events in the political life of the country; they cannot be well accomplished apart from active participation by the masses of the people. The fact that the Draft of the Revised Constitution is turned over to the whole nation for discussion and that further revision will be undertaken on the basis of opinions expressed by various circles is itself a vivid illustration that, in our country, the vast ranks of the people genuinely enjoy the right to manage state affairs. Insofar as each element of the people is concerned, active participation in the discussion of the constitutional draft constitutes precisely the exercise of one's own right as a master of the state.

/Second, the whole nation engaging in discussing the constitutional draft is a prerequisite to having the Constitution reflect the will of the people and making its content more complete and refined./ Our Constitution is the concentrated reflection of the will of the whole nation led by the working class; it is necessary to adopt the method of combining the views of the leading organs with the views of the vast ranks of the masses in order to assure its complete and refined character. The process of the whole nation discussing the constitutional draft is the process of consulting with the people of the entire country as to what kind of general charter for managing the state should be formulated and the process of unifying the will of the whole nation. Among the three Constitutions we have formulated in the past, the 1954 Constitution was relatively complete and refined, and even today many of its articles and provisions are still absorbed by the Draft of the Revised Constitution; one important reason for this is that it underwent discussion by the whole nation and succeeded in pooling our collective wisdom. Limited by historical conditions at the time, neither the 1975 Constitution nor the 1978 Constitution was so complete or refined. Viewed from our own historical experience, discussion by the whole nation is indispensable and very necessary in order to have this Constitution more completely and more refinedly formulated.

/Third, the whole nation engaging in discussing the constitutional draft also constitutes a nationwide popular education on our socialist legal system, which will have a profound and far-reaching influence on the establishment of law-abiding habits and the strengthening of our socialist legal system./ In our country every citizen enjoys the rights provided in the Constitution and by law, but at the same time also has the duty to abide by the Constitution and the law. However, because of the evil consequences of the 10 years of internal turmoil, the concept of respecting the Constitution, abiding by the law, and observing discipline has become diluted among not a few people. Making clear the necessity of respecting the Constitution, abiding by the Constitution, the law, and discipline through discussion of the Draft of the Revised Constitution by the whole nation is bound to greatly heighten the consciousness of the vast ranks of the cadres and masses of the people with respect to maintaining the dignity of the Constitution and guaranteeing

the implementation of the Constitution, to promote a further change in our party workstyle and the people's habits, and to have the practice of observing discipline and abiding by the law prevail throughout the territory of the motherland.

II. What Are the Main Contents of the Draft of the Revised Constitution?

The present Draft of the Revised Constitution was put forward at the end of 1978 under conditions where the country's political and economic situation had undergone tremendous changes pursuant to the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and when the existing Constitution could no longer meet the needs of the prevailing situation. Guided by the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, it sums up more than 100 years of the Chinese people's experience in revolutionary struggle, especially the experience in socialist revolution and socialist construction during the past 30 years and more since the founding of our state, and, on the basis of the four basic principles, provides our fundamental systems and the Chinese people's fundamental tasks today. It is a constitutional draft which is suited to our actual situation today on the one hand, and which looks after our future development, directs the people of the whole country to concentrate their energy on carrying out the construction of our socialist modernization, and thereby guarantees the country's increasing prosperity on the other hand.

The contents of the Draft of the Revised Constitution are very rich, and they are related to the country's politics, economy, science and technology, culture and education, people's livelihood, and foreign policy, etc., etc. When we discuss the constitutional draft, we may propose all kinds of ideas and suggestions for revision, and even questions of semantics can be raised; but we must grasp the principal questions in conducting our penetrating discussions in order to elevate our understanding. Once the principal questions, the fundamental questions, are grasped and clearly understood, other questions would be easier to solve. Which questions are the principal questions we should grasp in our discussion this time?

/(1) Adherence to socialism, adherence to the people's democratic dictatorship, adherence to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and adherence to CCP leadership: these four basic principles are the overall guiding ideology of the present Draft of the Revised Constitution./

After 1840, our country fell to the status of a semicolonial and semifeudal state; our people became subject to all kinds of oppression and abuse. In more than 100 years of their antiimperialist and antifeudal struggle, all kinds of programs for national salvation proposed by our people ultimately suffered defeat. The 1911 Revolution led by Dr Sun Yat-sen succeeded in repealing the monarchical system and was therefore of great historical significance. But China still failed to cast off its semicolonial and semifeudal state of existence. The CCP with Comrade Mao Zedong as its leader rose to create the People's Republic of China precisely by summing up such historical experience and lessons, leading the people of the whole country to

carry out a great revolution, and overthrowing the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism. The birth and development of the New China and the important achievements scored in the undertakings of socialist construction serve to illustrate an irrefutable truth: only socialism can save China. The Preamble of the Constitution reaffirms this fundamental historical experience and stresses that the victories of our revolution and undertakings of construction are all achieved by the CCP while leading the Chinese people forward under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. In order to achieve still greater development, our state must continue to insist on taking the four basic principles as our guidance. On this fundamental question, we can absolutely not waver in any way. All expressions and actions in violation of the four basic principles are unconstitutional behavior, and must be resolutely opposed.

Among the four basic principles, the most important ones are adherence to CCP leadership and adherence to the socialist path. Without the CCP, there can be no New China, and it would be impossible to adhere to the socialist path in China; this is a fact known to everybody. Although our party has also made many big and small mistakes, including such a serious mistake as the "cultural revolution," these mistakes made by our party have also been corrected by the party itself. In the meantime, the result of these mistakes being corrected is that the revolutionary cause invariably gains new and greater developments. This indicates that our party deserves to be regarded as a mature Marxist party and deserves to be regarded as a party serving the greatest interests of the greatest majority. Building socialism being such an unprecedentedly great undertaking, it is hardly avoidable that in our march forward along the way we should make this or that kind of mistake. In our practice from now onwards, our party will, together with the Chinese people, continue to adhere to truth, correct its mistakes, and continue to improve and strengthen the party leadership in order to push our socialist cause incessantly forward. Some comrades ask, since party leadership is so important, why is it not included by the Draft in its concrete provisions? This is because party leadership, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought do not belong to the concrete content of the system of state and therefore they are not provided in specific articles but are clearly provided in the Preamble, with the strengthening of the party's leadership role over the state embodied in the articles.

/(2) A socialist state of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants is the form of state of the People's Republic of China./

The so-called form of state refers to the character of the state and the status of the various classes in the state. Our country has a population of 1 billion, of which 100 million are workers and 800 million are peasants. The working class is the country's leading class and the principal force in the construction of the four modernizations. The alliance of workers and peasants is the foundation of our people's democratic dictatorship; without a consolidated alliance of workers and peasants, there would be no broad united front led by the working class, no consolidated People's Republic of China, and it would be impossible to build socialism. The intellectuals are not an independent class; the overwhelming majority of our intellectuals

have already become a part of the working class; there are not a few intellectuals also among the peasants. Therefore, in class relations there is no need to single out the intellectuals; the alliance of workers and peasants itself includes the intellectuals. Under the leadership of the CCP, our country has already formed a broad united front with the participation of various democratic parties and groups and people's organizations, including all socialist laborers, patriots who uphold socialism and patriots who uphold the reunification of the motherland.

Our people's democratic dictatorship is no other than proletarian dictatorship; the two are not different in principle. The people's democratic dictatorship is but a concrete form of the proletarian dictatorship. But this concept of people's democratic dictatorship has been used by us for many years, and hence possesses its Chinese characteristic. Proceeding from our national situation and class conditions, it is more appropriate to state the character of our state as "a socialist state of people's democratic dictatorship"; this serves to deprive those who tend to abuse the concept of proletarian dictatorship of an opportunity to take advantage of it. Although, today, the exploitative classes as a class are already eliminated and our people's democratic dictatorship has become further strengthened, because of domestic factors and external influences, class struggle will remain for a long time in certain realms; we must maintain the functions of our people's democratic dictatorship, resolutely suppress traitorous and counterrevolutionary activities, crack down on criminal activities endangering our social order and security, sabotaging our socialist economy, and the like, and punish and reform elements of criminal offense.

/(3) The socialist system is our fundamental system./

In our country, socialist public ownership of the means of production is the foundation of our socialist economy. The socialist economy based on ownership of the whole people in our country is the dominant force in our national economy. In the countryside, the economy based on collective ownership is the principal form of our economy. Among the trades such as urban handicrafts, repair industries, and service industries, a part of them also belongs to the socialist collective ownership by the toiling masses; it is suited to the level of the development of productive forces in our present stage; it is superior and it is progressive. The individual economies of laborers which exist in our cities and countryside within the legally prescribed categories are a supplement to our economy based on socialist public ownership; in a rather long period of time, they cannot be replaced. A basic principle of Marxism is that the form of ownership of the means of production must be adapted to the level of the development of productive forces, and not necessarily the larger and the more collective, the better. These three forms of economy have their respective kinds of superiority in their specific respective realms; we cannot say that ownership by the whole people is necessarily better than collective ownership, but must carry out concrete analysis in respect to each concrete problem. Today, most of our 800 million peasants still use manual instruments; if their economy is changed into one based on ownership by the whole people, with all of them

given an individual wage, can the state still manage? Similarly, it is also naturally impossible to change the joint enterprises in the case of the railroad and steel industries into a system of collective ownership. Under present circumstances in our country, it will still not be enough to solve the ownership problem for all our 1 billion people if we merely succeed in running our economy well based on ownership by the whole people and our economy based on collective ownership. We must not look down on individual economies, as they are indispensable in enriching our social products and facilitationg our people's livelihood in certain realms. By reaffirming the system that accommodates the simultaneous existence of all three forms of economy, the constitutional draft succeeds in eliminating the future aftermath of having to cut the tail of capitalism again. The Draft also provides that our country allow legitimate foreign investment in China and Chinese-foreign economic cooperation. On the basis of self-reliance, and according to the principle of equality and mutual benefit, our effort to utilize foreign capital, import advanced technology, and accelerate the construction of our modernization will prove beneficial.

/(4) Concentrating their effort on carrying out the construction of socialist modernization, creating highly developed productive forces and developing socialist material civilization are the fundamental tasks of our people./

Earnestly handling our production and construction well and improving the level of our scientific and technological development as well as our economic strength are questions with which the people of the whole country are very much concerned. When our economy is not handled well, we can hardly speak of anything else. Ours is a socialist country; it should improve its economic results and produce increasingly varied products so as to satisfy the people's increasing needs in their material and cultural life. After the socialist transformation of the private ownership of our means of production, the party's Eighth Congress immediately decided on the policy to shift the focus the party's work to economic construction; but, because of interference by "Leftist" ideas, this shift was not rellized. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee once more decided on this strategic principle. Today, the Draft of the Revised Constitution again prescribes this strategic principle into the law of the state by clearly providing: "The basic task of the Chinese people in the coming years is to concentrate their effort on carrying out the construction of socialist modernization"; through various approaches the state shall "continue to improve labor productivity and economic results and develop social productive forces." This will have a profound and far-reaching influence on mobilizing the people of the whole country to do a good job in handling the construction of our socialist modernization with one mind and one heart, giving scope to the superiority of the socialist system, and making a go of our national economy. Whosoever interferes with the construction of our socialist modernization for whatever reason would be violating our Constitution and running counter to the interests and wishes of the people of the whole country.

/(5) Creating an advanced socialist spiritual civilization is a longterm task for guaranteeing the building of our material civilization in the socialist direction./

In attempting to carry out the construction of our socialist modernization, we must not only build an advanced material civilization, but also build an advanced spiritual civilization. These two links are closely linked to each other and inseparable; we must grasp both. The realm of socialist spiritual civilization is very broad; apart from the general development of educational, scientific and cultural enterprises and energetic tapping of our intellectual, resources, another aspect that cannot be overlooked is to carry out ideological and moral education in order to enable members of our society to establish increasingly extensively their socialist and communist ideology, moral customs and laboring attitude, to establish lofty ideas and sentiments, lifestyle, and esthetic concepts, to establish a conscious law-abiding spirit and an advanced sense of organization and discipline, to insist that our individual interests and partial interests must be subordinate to our overall interests, and our immediate interests must be subordinate to our long-range interests, and to give scope to our lofty spirit of collectivism, patriotism and internationalism. The Draft of the Revised Constitution provides that the state shall promote the five "loves," that is, love for the motherland, the people, labor, science, and socialist public ethics, and require the people of all nationalities, be they male, female, old or young, to become persons of ideals, moral integrity, discipline, and culture. This will be a great stimulus to the solving of our present problems relating to bad social habits because of spiritual pollution. Our task in carrying out ideological education in socialism and communism is going to be longlasting; we must therefore make assiduous efforts in this regard; everybody, whatever his profession or his position, should be both an educator and a person being educated. Everybody must abide by the provisions of the Constitution by making the maximum contribution possible to the building of our socialist spiritual civilization by our own exemplary conduct.

/(6) Energetically elevate the cultural, scientific and technological level of the whole people and promote the realization of the building of our socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization./

The building of our socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization tion is the undertaking of hundreds and thousands of the masses of the people; we must organize a vast, powerful army to accomplish it. This should be an army with cultural cultivation and mastery of scientific and technological knowledge. For the sake of realizing the four modernizations, not only will our various trades and professions need large contingents of experts with a cultural level and professional knowledge, but the vast ranks of our working and farming masses must likewise be cultured, conversant with technology, and equipped with the capability to engage in modern production and construction. Therefore, the Draft Constitution provides that the state, while administering a good education in regular schools and training youths and children to engage in the full range of their moral, intellectual and physical development, must at the same time endeavor to develop various cultural and educational measures to carry out political, cultural, scientific, technological, and professional education among workers and peasants, and promote adults to follow the path af acquiring capabilities through self-education. In order to elevate the cultural level of our whole nation, we

must cultivate the habit of carrying out study and adhering to it so that in our country there will be created a good habit of everyone studying to acquire the capabilities for the construction of our four modernizations.

/(7) Insist on the Unity of Citizen's Rights and Duties/

Citizens of our socialist state not only enjoy democratic rights broader and more genuine than those under the capitalist system, but also have broken down the separation of bourgeois rights and duties and achieved the unity of such rights and duties. In capitalist countries, monopolist capitalists enjoy all kinds and forms of rights but perform no or few duties, whereas the vast ranks of the workers, peasants and toiling masses enjoy, or can actually enjoy, no democratic rights, but must shoulder heavy duties. Such separation of rights and duties is a contradiction which the capitalist system cannot solve. In our socialist country, we have, on the other hand, succeeded in putting all citizens on an equal footing before the law, with neither those who only enjoy rights but shoulder no duties, nor those who only shoulder duties but enjoy no rights. The Draft of the Revised Constitution prescribes that citizens' rights and duties are inseparable. Our citizens enjoy the right to equal application of the law, the right to elect and be elected, freedom of expression, the press, assembly, association, procession, and demonstration, freedom of religious beliefs, freedom from encroachment upon the person, freedom from encroachment upon personal dignity, freedom from encroachment upon the residence, freedom of correspondence, the right to criticize and submit proposals, the right to appeal, complain, and expose, the right to labor, the laborers' right to rest, the right to material guarantee by society, the right to education, the right to freely engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural activities, women's right to equality with men, and other fundamental rights of the like. Meanwhile, they are also charged with various duties toward the state and society which they must fulfill. Every citizen enjoys the rights provided by the Constitution and the law on the one hand, and is obliged to perform the duty of abiding by the Constitution and the law on the other hand. Every citizen has the duty to maintain the unity of the state and the unity of the country's various nationalities, to keep state secrets, to protect public property, to abide by labor discipline and public order and to respect civic criteria of society and its fine customs and habits; every citizen must protect the security, honor and interests of the motherland; every citizen has the sacred duty to defend the motherland and resist aggression; every citizen has the duty to perform military service and pay taxes according to law, etc., etc. This unity of rights and duties reflects the unity of the individual interests of the people and state interests as well as the unity of the people's immediate interests and long-range interests.

Adherence to the unity of citizens' fundamental rights and duties is a characteristic and strong point of socialist democracy. Neither grabbing only rights without performing any duties nor damaging public interests and hampering other people's freedoms and rights because of one's own freedoms and rights can be said to be fair. Actually, there have never been any

freedoms and rights in the world which were absolutely not subject to any limitations. Our socialist state guarantees citizens' legitimate freedoms and rights and allows no organization or individual to encroach upon citizens' rights; but whosoever should vainly attempt to take advantage of such freedoms and rights in order to carry out counter-revolutionary activities and other criminal activities encroaching upon social order, production order and work order is absolutely not permitted.

/(8) Organize our state institutions according to the principle of democratic centralism in order to enable the form of our government to become increasingly complete and refined./

The form of government refers to the model according to which various classes choose to organize their own respective organs of political power. Our organs of political power are under the control of the people; they are organized according to the principle of a high degree of centralism on the basis of a high degree of democracy. The many new provisions of the Draft of the Revised Constitution concerning the organs of political power reflect the many new, important developments in the reform of our institutions. Expansion of the power of the NPC Standing Committee and strengthening of its organization serve to facilitate the strengthening of the country's people's congress system and enable it to better exercise the power of combining deliberation with action. The restoration of the installation of a chairman of the People's Republic of China serves to better strengthen our state institutions. Streamlining the organs of the State Council and effecting a premier responsibility system is beneficial to enhancing efficiency in our administrative work. The state being provided with a Central Military Commission further clearly fixes the position of the military units in our state system, and facilitates the strengthening of the building of our armed forces. Putting into practice the appropriate division of power between the central government and local governments helps various localities to adapt to indigenous conditions in order to develop both central and local activisms and thereby accelerate the country's construction. Establishing anew the district political power and effecting a separation between the district government and the commune are beneficial both to our work in strengthening the basic-level political power and to the development of our collective economic organizations. Expanding the autonomy of our nationality autonomous regions and prescribing that nationality personnel who carry out regional autonomy should serve as the heads of political power of our nationality autonomous regions are beneficial to strengthening such nationality regional autonomy and protecting the common prosperity of the whole country and the various nationalities themselves. In a word, all of these provisions help make our fundamenaal system--the people's congress system--more strengthened and developed. The perfection of the state system, the rational division and efficient exercise of state power will enable our state to lead our socialist cause in its development forward in a more resolute and energetic way than before.

III. Take Action, Actively Participate in the Discussion of the Draft of the Revised Constitution

After the Draft of the Revised Constitution is passed, it will become the fundamental norm of activity for the people of the country's various nationalities, all state organs and people's armed forces, various political parties and social groups, and various entrepreneurial units and public agencies; it will become the foundation for realizing the institutionalization of our socialist democracy and implementing the building of our socialist legal system. Every article in the Draft of the Revised Constitution is closely related to every one of our citizens. On 10 May, the 21st Session of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee passed a resolution to ask the people of the entire municipality to immediately take action and actively and seriously participate in the discussion of the Draft of the Revised Constitution. Every one of our citizens should exercise his democratic rights to actively and seriously participate in the activity of discussing the Draft of the Revised Constitution. Through such discussion, he must not only submit ideas for revision but also understand clearly the meaning of, and the guiding ideology for, revising the Constitution, perceive the fundamental spirit and principal content of the constitutional draft, consolidate his confidence in the socialist cause, strengthen the unity among the people, and generate development in the work of his own department. Meanwhile, through this discussion of the constitutional draft, every citizen must understand what democratic rights he himself has and how to exercise those democratic rights, and also understand what duties he has and how to fulfill those duties, so as to correctly exercise his rights, actively perform his duties, and thereby become a good citizen in name and in deed.

View From Harbin

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Apr 82 p 1

[Report by staff reporter Ren Da [0117 6671]: "The 14th Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee Decides To Conscientiously Organize the People of the Whole Province To Discuss the Draft of the Revised Constitution: the Session at the Same Time Discusses Close Involvement in the Launching of the Crackdown on Serious Criminal Activities in the Economic Realm and Questions of the Like"]

[Text] The 14th Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, which lasted 7 days, finally came to a close in the afternoon of the 28th after studying and discussing the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China."

After study and discussion, this session passed a "Resolution on Conscientious Organization of Discussion on the 'Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China'"; after examination and deliberation, it passed a "Resolution on Implementing the Decision by the CCP Central Committee to Crack Down on Serious Criminal Activities in the Economic Realm," and it also passed the "Regulations Governing the Protection of the Breeding of Water Resources in the Province of Heilongjiang," and decided to begin implementing it on 1 June. The session also gave consent to the report made by the provincial people's government on the situation surrounding the launching

in our province of an "All-Province Civilized Courtesy Month" and views on the next step, and passed certain instances of appointment and dismissal.

Zhao Dezun [6392 1795 1415], chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, presided over the session and gave a speech. He said, the NPS Standing Committee decided to turn the Draft of the Revised Constitution over to the whole nation for discussion and revision; this is a big event in the political life of the people of the various nationalities which indicates that the building of our socialist democracy and socialist legal system has not made further, down-to-earth progress. Through discussion by the whole nation of the Draft of the Revised Constitution, the healthy development of the building of our material civilization and the building of our spiritual civilization is bound to be promoted. While organizing the people of the whole province to hold such discussion, we must adopt various effective measures to keep open all avenues of expression and to let the masses of the people fully express their own views, and thereby fulfill our responsibility and endeavor for the formulation of a scientific, stable, and perfect Constitution.

During the session, the participating committee members and other personnel in attendance also went to the provincial forest and botanical garden to participate in voluntary tree-planting activities.

Deputy chairmen of the provincial people's congress standing committee Lu Guang [7627 0342], Zhang Ruilin [1728 3843 7673], Liu Qian [0491 3383], Wang Peinian [3769 0012 1628], Wang Zhaozhi [3769 5128 3112], Wu Cheng [0702 6134], Sun Ziyuan [1327 1311 3293], and Bo Qing [2672 7230] all attended the session. The deputy governors of the province Jie Yunqing [6043 0061 7230] and Li Rui [2621 3834], president of the provincial superior court Zhao Yunpeng [6392 0061 7720], acting procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate Yu Jian [0060 2256] and responsible comrades of concerned departments of the provincial people's congress and provincial government as well as the standing committees of county people's congresses also present at the session.

Resolution by the Fifth People's Congress Standing Committee of the Province of Heilongjiang on Conscientiously Organizing the Discussion of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China (Passes by the 14th Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee on 28 April 1982)

The 23rd Session of the NPC Standing Committee passed a resolution on the promulgation of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China" and decided to turn the Draft of the Revised Constitution over to the people of the country's various nationalities for discussion; this is a big event in our people's political life, and also an important propagandist and educational activity in our democracy and legal system. In order to organize well this study and discussion, a special resolution is hereby passed as follows:

1. The province's state organs at various levels, military units, party organizations, people's groups and schools, entrepreneurial units and public

agencies, and streets, communes and production brigades in the countryside, and basic-level units of the like must all comply with the requirement of the resolution of the NPC standing Committee by properly arranging necessary time according to their own respective working and production situations in order to organize the discussion by the people of various nationalities of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China." While organizing the masses to generally discuss the revision, various localities must at the same time select representative key units and organize forums that are attended by concerned departments and concerned personalities in order to carry out penetrating and careful study and discussion, and suggest ideas for revision.

2. Proposed ideas for the revision of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China" shall be gathered together by municipal and county people's congress standing committees and commissions and offices under the direct jurisdiction of the province, various party organizations and people's groups, and submitted to the provincial people's congress standing committee. In order that such ideas of the whole province can be gathered for submission to the State Committee for the Revision of the Constitution before the end of August, various localities and departments must make a report before the end of July and another report before the end of August.

Four Basic Principles, Constitution

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 12 May 82 p 3

[Article by Guo Fan [0948 5400]: "The Four Basic Principles Are the General Guiding Ideology for the Revision of the Constitution"]

[Text] The NPC Standing Committee has promulgated the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China" and turned it over to the people of the country's various nationalities for discussion; this is a big event in the political life of our state. This Draft, after study and discussion by the whole nation and after formal passage by the National People's Congress, will become a solemn, stable fundamental law of the people of our country, with supreme legal effect in the new historical period, the behavioral norm of the people of the country's various nationalities, all state organs and the people's armed forces, all political parties and social groups, and all entrepreneurial units and public agencies, and the foundation of our socialist democracy and socialist legal system. Therefore, we must, under the leadership of the party, actively participate in the discussion of the Draft of the Revised Constitution in order to jointly do a good job in revising and formulating this fundamental law of our state.

Then, what is the guiding ideology that the revision of our Constitution should follow? It can only be the four basic principles. Taking the four basic principles as the guiding ideology for revising the Constitution is not something suggested at random here but, rather, a summing up of our historical experience in the past 100 years or so. In the 20th century, our country has undergone the greatest changes in our history. Four most important events are listed in the Preamble of the Draft of the Revised Constitution. One is the revolution of 1911 led by Dr Sun Yat-sen; the

second is the overthrow of the three big mountains and the establishment of the People's Republic of China; the third is our elimination of the exploitative system that had lasted for several thousand years and establishment of the socialist system; and the fourth is that after the hard struggles in the 30 years since the founding of our state, our economic construction has achieved important successes and basically formed an independent, relatively complete industrial system and a national economic system. Of these four events, only the revolution of 1911 was led by Dr Sun Yat-sen, and the results of the revolution were unfortunately usurped by reactionary forces. The other three events were all accomplished under the leadership of the CCP and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Party leadership, guidance by Marxism -Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, are thus the magic weapons by which the Chinese people achieved their turn-over and liberation, and the Chinese socialist revolution and enterprises of construction have continued to march toward new victories. This is a truth proved by repeated tests of our practice in prolonged revolutionary struggle. Similarly, our historical experience has also proved that only socialism can save China and guarantee that our country will continue to march toward prosperity and strength, and only by adherence to people's democratic dictatorship can we build a socialist power with advanced democracy and an advanced civilization and an indispensable path leading to the high stage of communism. The Draft of the Revised Constitution affirms in its Preamble all these fundamental historical experiences, and clearly provides that the Chinese people will continue, under the leadership of the CCP and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, to adhere to people's democratic dictatorship and adhere to the socialist path; this serves to point out the direction of our work from now onwards.

In adhering to the four basic principles, the most important is to adhere to party leadership and the socialist path. In order to adhere to the socialist path, we must adhere to party leadership, and whether or not we can adhere to party leadership depends mainly on whether or not we can adhere to the socialist path.

Experience of many years proves that in order to adhere to the socialist path we must not only establish an advanced socialist political system, but also continue to perfect a socialist economic system; we must not only build an advanced spiritual civilization, but also build an advanced material civilization. Proceeding precisely from this point of view, Article 1 of the Draft of the Revised Constitution prescribes: "The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. The socialist system is the basic system of the People's Republic of China. Sabotage of the socialist system by anyone in any form is prohibited." Because the socialist system and the people's democratic dictatorship are our basic systems, they permeate throughout the text of the Draft and become the foundation of all other systems. The Draft affords concrete prescriptions as to how our country is to adhere to the socialist path in the political, economic, and cultural realms and in various aspects of our social life. In order to build an advanced socialist spiritual civilization, the Draft adds

not a few articles about how to carry out ideological and moral education and develop educational, scientific and cultural enterprises. The Draft states that "the basis of the economic system of the People's Republic of China is socialist public ownership of the means of production, that is, ownership by the whole people, and collective ownership by the working masses"; it provides that "the state sector of the economy, that is, the socialist sector owned by the whole people, is the dominant force in the national economy," "the state carries out a planned economy on the basis of socialist public ownership." In respect to state organs and reform of the state structure, the provisions of the Draft also all adhere to the socialist principle of democratic centralism, and embody the socialist character of our country's social system and state system. Because socialism takes highly developed productive forces as its material foundation, the Draft provides that the basic task of the Chinese people in the coming years is to concentrate their effort on socialist modernization, whereas the state through various approaches "continues to improve labor productivity and economic results and develop social productive forces."

Adherence to party leadership is the core of adherence to the four basic principles. The CCP is the vanguard of the working class armed by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and the organizer and leader of the enterprises of the Chinese people's revolution and construction. The purpose of our party is to wholeheartedly serve the people; the party's interests and the people's interests are entirely consistent with each other; all power belonging to the people and adhering to party leadership are also entirely consistent with each other. Because party leadership, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are not part of the concrete content of the state system, they are therefore not prescribed in the articles, but are nonetheless clearly provided in the Preamble. In doing so, the Draft of the Revised Constitution by no means ignores the party's leadership role, but demonstrates precisely the way the party leads the state. Party leadership is exercised mainly in guiding the major principles, policies and ideology of the state; the Draft of the Revised Constitution proceeds from the actual situation of our country and takes as its guide the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, pays full attention to the basic experience in our socialist revolution and construction in the past 30 years and more, and thereby prescribes the basic system of our state and various fundamental questions in our social life; it also adds not a few new contents in various aspects, and thereby reflects the party's policies. This serves precisely to uphold the party's leadership. In exercising leadership over the life of the state, the party by no means does so through administrative edicts; rather, it does so through the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, through the correct principles and policies it itself suggests, through the role of its own members and cadres in state organs and other organizations, and through ideological and political education among the vast ranks of the masses, close links with the masses, and such avenues. Our Constitution and laws are the unity of the party's policies and the will of the people; abiding by the Constitution and laws formulated by the people under the leadership of the party constitutes precisely a form of adhering to the realization of party leadership.

View From Shenyang

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 5 May 82 p 4

[Article by Cui Liwen [1508 4539 2429]: "The Format of the Constitution"]

[Text] Although the contents of constitutions are generally similar, because the historical characteristics and cultural traditions of various countries as well as the degrees of cultivation on the part of the drafters in various aspects are different, the formats of constitutions are considerably different.

The great difference in terms of format is that some constitutions have written codes while others have no such codes. The former are called written constitutions while the latter are called unwritten constitutions. A written constitution generally consists of a single constitutional document; some individual cases also consist of several constitutional documents together. The 1787 Constitution of the United States and the 1791 Constitution of France are the earliest written constitutions consisting of single constitutional documents respectively. The Constitution of the Third Republic of France, on the other hand, is a written constitution that consists of three constitutional documents. These three constitutional documents are: "Organic Law of the Senate," "Organic Law of the Regime of the State," and "Law on the Interrelationship Between the Organs of State Power." Unwritten constitutions are often made up of general laws and precedents. The British Constitution is a typical example of unwritten constitution; it consists of the 1628 "Petition for Rights," the 1679 "Bill of Habeas Corpus," the 1701 "Law on Succession to the Throne," and other such legal documents passed during various periods and precedents of courts and the Parliament. Among the world's more than 100 constitutions today, more than 90 percent of them are written constitutions; unwritten ones are rare.

The structures of written constitutions also differ from each other. This is mainly reflected in: 1) The constitutions of some countries have a preamble, while those of others do not. The content of such a preamble usually records the history of struggle of the given country and the achievements it has already obtained, establishes the purpose of founding the state, points out the goals the state seeks to strive for, determines the basic principles for state activities and the purpose of formulating the constitution, etc., etc. Contents of this sort are usually hard to embody in the specific articles of the constitution; it is more convenient to express them in the preamble. Of course, whether or not a constitution has a preamble is not something that follows any fixed rule; it is usually based on the needs of the state formulating it, and it is usually determined after referring to foreign experiences and balancing between pros and cons. 2) The order and sequence of the constituent parts of a constitution are also different. The constitutions of most countries arrange "citizens' fundamental rights and duties ahead of "state structure"; but those of a few countries also arrange "citizens' fundamental rights and duties" behind "state structure." Among those countries whose constitutions arrange "citizens' fundamental rights and duties" behind "state structure" are: in Asia, China, Burma, and

Mongolia; in Africa, Guinea, Kenya; in Europe, Poland, Hungary, Norway and Ireland. 3) The constitutions of some countries include amendment, while those of others do not. An amendment section means that the constitutions of some countries seek to revise their constitutions by adopting the method of partial revision; that is, the original constitutions are preserved but only part of their contents are revised or new contents are added and attached at the end of these constitutions; these contents through revision or addition are called amendments (or modifications). The current Constitution of the United States has 26 amendments; the current Constitution of Algeria has 14 articles of amendment. Countries whose constitutions incorporate such amendments are in the minority. Most countries revise their constitutions by adopting the method of total revision; that is, the original constitutions are discarded and new constitutions are formulated. Hence, the constitutions of thes countries usually do not have any amendments.

Besides, in the case of written constitutions, the degrees of brevity or complexity are also different. The constitutions of some countries have more numerous articles, and their texts are rather long; those of others have rather few articles and their texts are rather short.

View From Jinan

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 13 May 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Conscientiously Study and Discuss Our Fundamental Law for the New Era"]

[Text] The "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China," through a resolution by the 23rd Session of the Fifth National People's Congress Standing Committee, has been turned over to the people of the various nationalities for discussion. This is a big event in the political life of our people. Party and government leaders at various levels throughout the province should mobilize and organize all the people to conscientiously study and discuss this fundamental law of our new era.

This Draft of the Revised Constitution has been formulated by the Committee for the Revision of the Constitution on the basis of the resolution of the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress on revising the Constitution and the establishment of the Committee for the Revision of the Constitution after extensively soliciting the views of various regions, departments, and circles for a long period under the guidance of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State," passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and summing up our experience of socialist revolution and construction during the past 30 years and more. The contents of this Draft of the Revised Constitution are very rich; its significance is also very great. It summarizes to a great extent the history of the assiduous and great struggles of our people, fully embodies the new, important achievements scored in our various work in returning to order from disorder since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and reaffirms the direction of our continued reforms; it clearly prescribes the socialist system as the

basis system of our state, reaffirms our adherence to the four basic principles, especially adherence to party leadership and adherence to the socialist path; it reiterates the form of our state as "a socialist state of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants," explicates the present situation that "in our country, after the exploitative classes as classes are eliminated, class struggle will continue to exist for a long time in certain realms," provides that "the basic task of the Chinese people in the coming years is to concentrate their effort on socialist modernization," and embodies the strategic principle of shifting the focus of our work to the construction of our socialist modernization; it emphasizes that while building an advanced material civilization, we must at the same time build an advanced spiritual civilization and take it as a long-range historical task; it continues to reaffirm the practice of the principle of democratic centralism as the form of our government, and provides clear perscriptions concerning citizens' basic rights and duties. After extensive and penetrating discussion and submission to the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress for examination and passage, this Draft of the Revised Constitution will become our fundamental law in the new historical period, the basic behavioral norm of the people of the country's various nationalities, all state organs and the people's armed forces, all parties and social groups, all entrepreneurial units and public agencies, and the foundation of the institutionalization of our socialist democracy and the building of our socialist legal system; therefore, it is bound to forcefully promote the building of our material civilization and spiritual civilization.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The Constitution is a general charter, a fundamental law." The reason it is a fundamental law is because it not only guides and restrains the thinking and behavior of the people of the whole country and becomes the behavioral norm and program of the people of the whole country, but is also the foundation of all concrete laws. In our country, the people are the masters of the state; all power belongs to the people. Ours is the Constitution of 1 billion people. Every article of this Constitution fully reflects the will of the people and represents the interests of the people. Our mobilization of all the people to conscientiously study and discuss the Draft of the Revised Constitution not only reflects the superiority of our socialist democracy and socialist legal system, but is also the most practical enforcement of every citizen's rights and duties. The Draft of the Revised Constitution provides: "The people have the right to manage state affairs, manage its economic and cultural enterprises, and manage social affairs through various means and forms according to provisions of the law." Discussing the Draft of the Revised Constitution is the best way and form for the people to exercise this right, and it also indicates how our people really enjoy democratic rights. Through our study and discussion, the Constitution will be made more solid and complete and refined on the one hand, on the other hand all the people are also given an education in our socialist democracy and legal system, and everybody's concept of such socialist democracy and legal system becomes further strengthened so that all the people really are turned into citizens with ideals and moral integrity who abide by discipline and consciously protect our Constitution.

All the people in the province must take strong action and engage themselves in the discussion of the Draft of the Revised Constitution chapter by chapter, section by section, and article by article. With respect to the necessity and basis for this revision of the Constitution, the basic content and spirit of the Draft of the Revision, its guiding ideology and important provisions on citizens' basic rights and duties, the political and economic systems of the state, etc., we must get every household well informed and everybody clearly apprised. In the course of the discussion, we must demonstrate our spirit as masters, treasure the sacred right the law confers on every citizen of ours, be serious and responsible, say all we wish to say, and fully air our respective views. Party committees at various levels should take the organization of all the people to discuss the Draft of the Revised Constitution as a major current political task and list it in their important agenda and earnestly strengthen their leadership pertaining thereto. All organs, groups, schools, entrepreneurial units and public agencies should proceed from their actual situation, organize well their time schedule and methods for propagation, study and discussion, and do a good job in gathering together the different opinions. In conducting such discussions, we must pay attention to practical results and never just pursue formalities; we must neither do them with excessive fanfare, nor throw up our hands and pay no attention to them. At present, the industrial and agricultural tasks in our province are tremendous; the resistance against drought and "two guarantees" in the countryside cannot be delayed for even a single moment, whereas the struggle to crack down on serious criminal activities in the economic realm is just being launched in a deepening way, and hence there are many things to do and our tasks are heavy. Leaders at various levels must properly and rhythmically arrange their various work and not "singlemindedly concentrate on just one thing." They should be good at combining the constitutional discussion with other work in an organic way. Through such discussion, they should provoke a high degree of political enthusiasm and sense of responsibility on the part of the vast ranks of the party members, cadres, and masses of the people, and promote the smooth development of various work.

9255
CSO: 4005/877

PARTY AND STATE

ATTENTION TO PROTECTING 'PEOPLE OF TALENT' DEEMED NECESSARY

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 May 82 p 4

[Article by Gan Feng [2413 6912]: "Pay Special Attention to Protecting People of Talent"]

[Text] People of talent are the most precious wealth of a country. The question of protecting people of talent is worth the attention of the entire society and attaching great importance to it.

"Tall trees in the woods will be destroyed by the wind; the mounds stretching beyond the bank of a river will be washed out by rush currents; and men of sterling character will be wronged by others." Is not this a law in the course of the growth of people of talent? I dare not say that, but undoubtedly it is quite commonplace. Ours is a socialist country under the leadership of the Communist Party which has opened up an unlimited vast world to cultivate people of talent. However, still we can see from time to time there are circumstances under which people of talent are "destroyed" or "wronged."

A person of mediocre abilities can happily enjoy eating out of the common pot. However, one who is resolved to have some accomplishments will be faced with criticisms of one kind or another. Especially propaganda and reports made for a particular person of talent may sometimes simply result in stirring up a hornet's nest. When referring to such a situation, some comrades often become vehement with bitter hatred.

A poem written by Du Fu reads: "Can we have thousands and thousands of mansions to house the poverty-stricken people all over the world in order to please them and make them feel as secure as mountains which never waver in the storm!" It would be very nice if we could utilize the influential public opinion of society and the laws of the state to build thousands and thousands of "mansions" to protect people of talent!

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, many people with lofty ideals and breadth of vision, in order to implement the lines, principles and policies of the party, have been marching in the vanguard of the times under the leadership of the party. As they are determined to carry out reforms, they have achieved encouraging successes.

Yet, historical experience proves that it is inevitable that those who are resolved to carry out reforms will offend some people. However, due to given conditions of one kind or another, it is impossible to make reforms perfect in a short period of time; and in view of the fact that new situations are emerging continuously, certain shortcomings and mistakes can hardly be avoided. These are the facts which often give certain people opportunities to exploit and it is the reason why criticisms of one kind or another emerge in endless streams. Deliberate obstructions and envy, like an invisible net, encircle us from all directions. In addition, almost everything is complex all over the world. In the current of the times, people of all descriptions have flocked to join in, therefore, it is inevitable that the waters have become muddied and the bad mixed with the good. Under the banner of "reform," of course, there are people who are sinful (undoubtedly toward these people we must heighten our vigilance and severely punish them). Under such circumstances, some people may attempt to obscure the eyes of others and splash the slops on comrades who have resolved to reform, at a time when some of the leading bodies in this complicated situation cannot distinguish clearly between right and wrong. At present, this is the reason why many outstanding middle-aged and young people of talent feel confined.

How to distinguish clearly between right and wrong, support and protect the good comrades who are determined to reform under the leadership of the party, and to guard vigilantly against and punish the evildoers under the banner of "reform" is a question of extreme importance confronting us.

To maintain close ties between the party and the masses and to expose evildoers and evil deeds through letters criticizing mistakes in our work is an important measure to improve our work and to solidify people's democratic dictatorship. At the same time, we must soberly remember that some people want to utilize this channel to lodge a false accusation against another to give vent to personal spite. If the comrades of our leading bodies are biased, they can be taken in. As a result, they dare not trust and support, nor boldly make use of nor select those who deserve it. Delay after delay, when facts have been cleared, it will be too late to make up for lost time and the work that would otherwise have been done! Some comrades may even be made a "scapegoat" for this reason.

Is it possible to work out some measures to deal with those who lodge false accusations? I feel that there are at least three possible ways:

First, we should not be bothered by letters of complaint. Problems do not exist as to things that have not yet been investigated or verified, therefore, we should trust and support those who deserve it, boldly make use of those who are entitled to it, and select those who are qualified. After a case has been cleared, we should handle a question as it is and not invert the process of handling problems.

Second, it is necessary to adopt proper means whenever possible; to meet with the one in person if his name is mentioned in a letter of complaint in order to hear the appeal of the accused.

Third, those who have been proved to be guilty of spreading false accusations should serve a sentence corresponding to their crimes. In a word, it is necessary to integrate letters protecting the masses and reject retaliations with false accusations which harbor ulterior motives.

"It takes 10 years to grow trees, but a hundred to rear people." For the purpose of protecting forests, we have the forest protection law; for protecting people of talent, it seems necessary for the state to consider formulating a law to protect them. The organization and personnel departments as well as the discipline inspection and political and legal departments should all take up the work of protecting people of talent as an important task of their own. We must do our very best to heighten our vigilance against those who are hidden in order to block the way to strike a "staggering blow."

People of talent can be found everywhere and heroes rise from rapids. Once we can find reasonable measures of one kind or another for selecting and protecting people of talent, large numbers of middle-aged and young people of talent will definitely rally together in our beautiful land.

9560
CSO: 4005/892

REASONS GIVEN FOR CHANGES IN SANMING CITY

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jun 82 p 3

[Article: "What Has the Transformation in Sanming City Shown?"]

[Text] Bureaucracy and the work style of a yamen exist to a serious degree in some organizations and have been termed a "stubborn illness that is difficult to cure." The series of reports on Sanming City carried in today's paper convincingly show that even though it is a "stubborn illness," all one needs is a good "prescription" and it can be healed.

Sanming City is a new city built following liberation, which sustained serious damage during the 10 years of turmoil. Under the guidance of the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, after several years of renovation great changes have taken place on the face of this city. The main reasons lie in the Sanming City leadership team adherence to the purpose of serving the people, opposing a bureaucratic work style, reviving the fine traditions of the party, strictly observing discipline, overcoming unhealthy phenomena, and improving work efficiency, with the result that many things that should have been done and could have been done were done quite well.

The difficulty in the "stubborn illness that is difficult to cure" lies in some leadership cadres shrinking at the sight of difficulties, wanting only to stand pat, not daring to perform surgery, looking here and looking there, shilly-shallying, and lacking revolutionary vigor and courage. An attitude of no waves on "stagnant water," as though all is serene and well, results in many "urgent, difficult, and new" problems that might have been solved at the outset continuing to drag on without solution, many very good opportunities being wasted. In industrial and agricultural production it is necessary to pay attention to economic benefits, so why should not government organizations pay attention to improved work efficiency? Why is it that in some government organizations "passing the buck" and "arguing about trifles" flourish so much? And why do situations of "many people doing nothing" and "much thunder but little rain" drag on and on, and be so hard to change? Admittedly, this situation relates to the system of organization not being all it should be, but affliction with the chronic disease of bureaucratism cannot be other than a very important reason as well.

In our building of a material civilization and a spiritual civilization, the tasks are onerous and a hundred and one things have to be done. By being like the comrades in Sanming City with ideals, work zeal, doing jobs speedily and vigorously, giving attention to work methods, and absorbing other people's good experiences, we will be fully able to create great and glorious achievements such as have never before been seen.

9432
CSO: 4005/966

SCRUPULOUS BEHAVIOR IN OFFICIAL CONDUCT STRESSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Guo Chang (0948 2490): "Feeling Good After Disgorging Ill-Gotten Gains"]

[Text] During the past several months some people have mailed their own ill-gotten gains to newspapers or to a party discipline inspection organization. In their letters they criticize their own error and ask that the cash or the deposit book "be turned over to the country," and "be returned to the people." Statistics show that during the past year the Shanghai MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND THE LEGAL SYSTEM] has received more than 23,000 yuan, and that Guangzhou's YANGCHENG WANBAO [YANGCHENG EVENING NEWS] has received more than 10,000 yuan in only 4 months.

The ways in which people took these ill-gotten gains were not entirely the same in character. In some cases it was corruption and the taking of bribes; other cases involved so-called "bonuses for promoting sales," or "fees for handling procedures." In the cases of bribe taking and corruption, realizing one's errors and correcting errors through real actions was the right thing to do. Acceptance of "bonuses for promoting sales," or "fees for handling procedures," cannot be considered criminal conduct but rather an unhealthy tendency. Some comrades learned a lesson as a result of the campaign to attack economic criminals. They realized that these were also ill-gotten gains and consciously turned them over, which is particularly praiseworthy.

In some people's view, "bonuses for sales promotion," and "fees for handling procedures" were given at the initiative of other units, so if someone else has such a "custom," which seems perfectly justifiable, taking a little something is all right. Actually, such is not the case. "A single hole can lead to the collapse of a 1,000 li dike," and "smoke from a little crack" can burn down a "100 chi building." Acceptance of some ill-gotten gains also opens a gap in one's ideology, which if not closed, may become bigger and bigger. Unhealthy economic tendencies, though different from economic crimes, are not separated by an unbridgeable chasm. Some of today's criminal elements did not dare criminal activities at the outset. It was simply that as a result of their intention to make some private gain that their ideology became lax and they came to view ill-gotten gains as gains they deserved. They supposed that "taking a little was all right," but the amount gradually

mounted and their courage became increasingly great until finally they degenerated into criminals in society. This was the case involving corruption by Xie Jinyu [6200 6930 7411] that was recently tried in Shanghai. In the course of signing agreements with a production team, he got a "wage" and "expenses for materials." Having tasted the "sweetness," his appetite grew larger. Finally he became corrupt, swindling more than 43,000 yuan. During the Tang dynasty, Lu Zhi said, "A little benefit can cause great damage." Every person who vows to keep himself free from taint must watch little places; he positively cannot allow any bit of ill-gotten gains to open a gap in his ideology or moral fiber.

The handing over of ill-gotten gains by these comrades was the result of their having launched active ideological struggle. A "stalwart" young member of the CCP in Hangzhou said in his letter that he originally supposed that to take "sales promotion bonuses" was a "legal compensation for services rendered." Subsequently as a result of ideological study, he realized that to accept such "bonuses," "revealed his own selfish and confused thoughts, forgetting that he was a member of the CCP." As a result he "hated himself." He thereupon made up his mind to turn over to the national treasury the more than 1,000 yuan that he had received from time to time by way of showing his own "contriteness." Such conscientious disection of self, and spirit of daring to correct mistakes is very precious. Some people do not place severe enough demands upon themselves and float along with the waves for a time. However, if everyone dared to change as this "stalwart" comrade did, they would be good comrades. Even those who have taken the road of economic criminals can, if their actions show genuine contrition, be welcomed by the party and the people.

Once ill-gotten gains have been disgorged, one feels good. Once these comrades had turned over their ill-gotten gains, they certainly felt relieved of a heavy burden and were eased in mind. What they turned over was a sum of money, but what they received was an uplift in their realm of thought, which is more precious than money. This is like getting an innoculation; henceforth their ability to deal with capitalist ideological corrosion and unhealthy tendencies will be stronger.

9432
CSO: 4005/966

PARTY AND STATE

NEED FOR LEADERS TO LEAD UNDERSCORED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Zhang Yuwen [17285124 3306]: "Leaders Taking the Lead"]

[Text] Recently newspapers have carried accounts of how some advanced persons have dared to take the lead in protecting national property and have dared to struggle against bad people and misconduct, the reading of which have been inspiring. They have also made people think of a matter worth discussing, namely the matter of leadership by leadership cadres at all levels.

Admittedly it is important that people in general dare to come forward to lead, but leadership by leadership cadres is particularly important. This is because of the positions they occupy. Though a position of leadership does not confer wisdom on people; it has a fairly great influence on people. For better or for worse, every action can produce tremendous consequences. A distant example was during the Yan'an period when Comrade Mao Zedong personally cleared land, when Comrade Zhu De personally carried manure, and when comrades Zhou Enlai and Ren Bi personally spun thread, which promoted, to an extremely great extent, the development of a great production movement. A recent example is leadership cadres from top to bottom taking the lead in planting trees and in cleaning up environmental sanitation, which have had the effect of arousing the entire country. These are influences for the better. In the case of those for the worse, the change from such a good social atmosphere during the 1950's to a social atmosphere that is so poor today, with the entertainment of guests and the sending of gifts in return for official favors, using connections for backdoor deals, making much ado about weddings and funerals, and even corruption and embezzlement, offering and receiving bribes, opportunism and fraud, smuggling and illicit deals etc, which have become common occurrences, are also very much related to people who occupy leadership positions not having provided good leadership or having provided bad leadership. The leadership of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" destroyed the fine work style of our party. Granted that it is not necessary to say that this was because they were enemies; nevertheless, the "gang of four" were pulverized only to have yet some other unconscientious leadership cadres who failed to live up to expectations also play a destructive role. Among the big and important criminal cases in the economic field that have been exposed, were there any in which leaders were not involved? People say,

"If the upper beam is not straight, the lower beam will go aslant," and there is a certain amount of truth in this.

Leadership by leaders has yet another characteristic that is different from that of the masses, namely that once a person is in a position of leadership there is no way to evade the consequences of leadership. It goes without saying that whether good or bad one's words and deeds play a leadership role. Even if one says and does nothing, an effect will be produced and a definite leadership role played. For example, withdrawal in the face of conflicts and saying neither yea nor nay in any expression of attitude, winking at bad people and misdeeds, failure to support or give praise to good people and good deeds, being equivocal about everything and landing on one's feet no matter how things turn out, and though not doing anything bad neither being willing to do anything good: do not such actions produce certain adverse effects? Whenever such people are in positions of leadership, organization will be loose, ideology lax, liberalism rampant, and bad people and misdeeds sprouting everywhere. In short, when one is in a leadership position, one should take up a leadership role. Whether providing good leadership, bad leadership, or liberalist leadership, whether one desires it or not, there are always effects produced by such leadership on the part of leaders, and this is also termed transfer without human will.

Leadership by leaders has yet a third feature that differs from that of the masses. Struggles against unhealthy tendencies, bad persons and misdeeds is a matter, as far as the general run of the masses is concerned, of really "daring or not daring" inasmuch as one must face the pressures of satire and ridicule or suffer attacks and revenge seeking. For leadership cadres, though it is also a matter (as above) of "daring or not daring," mostly it is a matter of "willingness or unwillingness." That is because leadership cadres are people who possess a certain amount of authority, and furthermore, all they need do is rely on the masses and they will be able to gain the support of a great number of people. In other words, if you practice strict self-control, behave as a model and carry forward the party's fine work style, what is there to fear? If you take the lead in carrying out the "regulations," occupy an official post untainted by corruption, and stand off attacks by sugar-coated bullets, what is there to fear? So the essence of the problem is "willingness or unwillingness:" willingness or unwillingness to live up to the oath one took when entering the party, willingness or unwillingness to sacrifice individual interest, and willingness or unwillingness to pay attention to the mutterings, requests, entreaties and pleas of one's wife, children, or close friends. For some old comrades it is also a question of willingness or unwillingness to uphold integrity in their later years. Every comrade in position of leadership should dare to face squarely the unavoidable fact that leaders lead. They sould conscientiously and bravely provide good leadership in every realm. They should realize that when leaders give good leadership, the masses have zeal and our efforts have hope!

9432
CSO: 4005/966

PARTY AND STATE

COMPLAINTS MADE AGAINST TOO MANY CHIEFS, TOO FEW INDIANS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 May 82 p 8

[Article by Mu Fu [4476 1133]: "Let the Monks Carry Water"]

[Text] A unit's leadership team can be as few as 3 or 5 people or as many as 10 or more. One measure of strength plus one measure of strength equals two measures of strength. Even a child can figure that. But when it comes to a unit's leadership team, the answer you get to this calculation may be a negative number.

Among the 3 or 5, or 10 or more leadership cadres, there must be one who takes charge and the other deputies each have their share of the work. But in some units, in fact, there are no big and small deputies, no one can take charge, and yet all want the one in charge to have the final say. The one in charge often has very little contact with various aspects of actuality, isn't an expert, nor can he say, "I will sign for it, you take the responsibility." They can't have a squabble, so they have a meeting. A question the size of a sesame seed cannot be resolved in 10 days or 2 weeks.

Below the level of the ting or ju leadership team there is also the chu and the shi leadership team, and that's another crowd. How can the work get done? This is the situation: some deputy ting chief cannot go to a deputy chu chief through his speciality, but can only go through the ting chief. The ting chief also can only work through the general chu chief. If you don't do things according to "organizational procedure" you are said to be "exceeding your authority" and this is bad for "unity." Below the chu chief there are section chiefs and deputy section chiefs and that's yet another crowd, and they do things the same way. In addition, there is layer upon layer of meetings. Everyone is really very busy, so busy they only have time to read documents, but not time to study and resarch them; they only have time to listen to reports, but not time to research the situation or problems reflected in the reports. Here the formula 1+1=2 does not fit; the appropriate formula is 1+1=-2.

What's the problem? Too many monks. You only see monks quibbling, you don't see monks carrying water. If you're handing out theater tickets or going to a banquet, hands reach out from all sides, they really go right into action. But as soon as you ask who is going to resolve a problem, the hands all disappear.

The problem is clearly that there are too many monks. If you can really divide up the responsibility, there will be jobs and responsibilities: the monks who are supposed to carry water will carry water, and if there's no water you hit their butts; the monks who are supposed to cook rice cook rice, and if the rice isn't done, you hit their butts. Moreover, the chief monk who is in charge of carrying water and directs and mobilizes all the little novices who carry water and the chief monk in charge of cooking rice directs and mobilizes all the little novices who cook rice; it's not complicated at all. But according to "organizational procedure," the monk in charge of carrying water should mobilize the monks who carry water but must also go through the monks who manage the membership rolls. The monks in charge of carrying water do not have the right to manage the novices who carry water, otherwise they are "exceeding their authority," the monks who manage the membership rolls will not agree to it. As a result, all you see are monks quibbling and not monks carrying water. Regardless of the size of the temple, wherever there is low efficiency, no water and much quibbling, it is all because of this problem.

Cadres always have those they want to promote, and their rate is much higher than cadre retirement and natural attrition. Thus sections, chiefs, chu chiefs, ting chiefs...chiefs and deputy chiefs increase in numbers daily. More people do not necessarily do things better. Once you become a "chief," you are always busy making circles and attending meetings. Those who used to be good at carrying water do not carry water any more; their jobs now are to tell others to carry water. So those who do not do actual work become more numerous and those who quibble become more numerous, too.

It seems that streamlining a structure is not purely a matter of reducing personnel and layers of administration. There is also the matter of being able to get everyone moving, have each fulfill his responsibility and each attend to his own duties, and not a matter of only drinking water but not carrying it. This isn't anything new, but it's worth reconsidering.

(Reprinted from YANGCHENG WANGBAO, 4 Feb 82)

8226
CSO: 4005/890

PARTY AND STATE

'OLD' RELATIONSHIPS, 'NEW' RELATIONSHIPS DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 8

[Article by Li Mingtian [2621 2494 1131]: "Old and New Ideas of Relationships"]

[Text] Establishing a relationship and making deals are views of relationship. Someone rushes here today, there tomorrow, "greasing the yamen" to seek some private gain. If you want to "establish," you've got to invest a little capital. But to "send with peaches" to someone, it's so that they will "send with plums." To tell the truth, the "sending" is bait, it is the law of Laozi.

No "gift," no seeing; no "gift," no hearing, no "gift," no speaking, no "gift," no acting: this is an idea of relationship, too. The hands of this kind of person reach out especially long: "Do you want something done? Bring a gift!" Give, and it's done; don't give, and things are hard to do. "Those who look to themselves, treat themselves, those who look to others treat others."

The two approaches seem different, but actually they are of the same kind, it's just that one is with "hands clasped" and one is with "hands stretched out." This "reciprocity" is an old custom from the relationships between people in the old society, where you contend and I snatch, you cheat and I swindle, and a borrowing from the naked mercenary relations between people in capitalism. Thus we call it the old idea of relationship.

The reverse of this old relationship is the new relationship. For example, the young worker Liu Weian [0491 5898 1344], from Tong County in Beijing, the child of revolutionary martyrs who has lost the sight of both eyes, "established" a relationship with Chenggu County in Shaanxi, and took the money he had saved from his labor little by little to pay to have his eyes cured and gave it to the people of the disaster area. The Communist Youth League members and the young people of Qidong County in Hunan "established" a relationship with Wubachu, organized over 100 concerned groups and carried out "four protects" for Wubachu. The Shandong Province girl, Bian Tingmin [0593 1694 2404] "established" a relationship with Zhang Xiangling [1728 7449 3781], the member of a revolutionary martyr's family who was a complete stranger to her, and "flew" over 1000 li to Hebei Province to find

her mother and settle down. The Mongolian Lagai [2139 5556] "established" a relationship with two old Chinese and for 6 years cared for the two paralyzed people like their own children. These new relationships are filled with comradely love, close feelings and are entirely without the dust of profit and loss that infects the relationships between people and reflects the profound changes that have taken place in the relationships between people, revealing the flower of socialist spiritual culture. In the words of Engels, this is the "most beautiful flower" produced by the material world in the process of change. And in Lenin's words, this is the great beginning of communism.

When we judge a person's character and spiritual culture, the important thing is to see the spiritual appearances, moral sentiments and wordview which are expressed in the person's handling of relationships between people. Is he self-centered? Altruistic? Mercenary? Comradely? Does he establish relationships with "grease the yamen" people, or are they pure people? Is it like a highly sensitive touchstone measuring each person? Is it pure gold? Or is it brass?

Under socialist conditions, basically speaking, the relationships between people become a relationship between server and served. A person, whether an official or a civilian, regardless of which of the "myriad professions," is one who serves and is one who is served; he is both master of society and servant of the people. So we say the idea of the new relationship reflects the nature and mainstream of our society. However, we must note that the old idea of relationship, which deals in flattery and favors to establish a "relationship," is corrupting the body of our party and state like a pestilence, corrupting our spiritual world, hindering the four modernizations, and we cannot just sit and watch it. The old idea of relationship must be eliminated and the new idea of relationship must be promoted. Our society certainly can become a society with a high degree of socialist spiritual culture.

8226
CSO: 4005/890

PARTY AND STATE

CHUANSHA COUNTY EDUCATES PARTY MEMBERS WITH 'THREE COMPARISONS'

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinse 13 May 82 p 1

[Article by Correspondents Zheng Zilin [6774 6932 7792] and Bao Quanjin [7637 3123 6855]: "Carrying Out the 'Three Comparisons' and Strengthening the Sense of Responsibility--Chuansha Launches Education in Party Spirit, Work Style, and Discipline"]

[Text] Since the latter part of March, the party committee of Chuansha County has been using the method of "three comparisons" (compare your actions with your pledge on joining the party, compare yourself with the revolutionaries of the older generation, and compare yourself with advanced models) to educate rural party members and cadres in party spirit, work style, and discipline, in order to raise basic consciousness, enhance revolutionary spirit and strengthen their dedication and sense of responsibility with respect to the work of effectively building up the two civilizations [material and spiritual].

As soon as the Spring Festival was over, the party committee of Chuansha Country organized a force to investigate and analyze conditions among the 332 rural party branches at the basic level throughout the country. The investigation and analysis revealed that the majority of cadres and party members in the basic-level rural party organizations had a very good understanding of the party's general and specific policies and carried them out very well, and that they also gave a very good account of themselves in the work of building up the material and spiritual civilizations in the rural areas. However, a section of the party members showed signs of low morale, a lack of true party spirit, a decline in their devotion to our undertakings and in their sense of responsibility, all of which attitudes adversely affect the fighting power of the party and damage the prestige of the party among the masses. The county party committee felt that if the rural party organizations at the basic level are to fully play their role as a fighting force in the new situation, it is necessary to integrate ideology with practice and to use the method of "three comparisons" in educating the broad masses of party members and cadres in the party spirit, work style, and discipline. Since inception of this work in various party organizations at the basic level in the latter part of March, very good results have been achieved:

Comparing one's spiritiual attitude with one's pledge on joining the party strengthened proletarian party spirit and consciousness. A certain party branch secretary at the Gonglu Commune, who had joined the party in the fifties, was vigorously advancing politically and exerting great efforts and forging ahead in his work for a certain period of time after having joined the party. He would do whatever the party demanded that he do without giving throught to personal gain or loss. However, after he suffered to some extent during the "Cultural Revolution," he became like one who "having once been bitten by a snake is afraid of a straw rope for the next 10 years" and could never regain his former energy and zeal. When he reexamined this time the pledge he had made when he joined the party and looked back on how his spiritual attitude had changed, he was deeply moved and vowed that from now on he would always bear in mind the aim and purpose of the party, bestir himself, work fearlessly and with determination, and perform all the functions that a member of the Communist Party is supposed to fulfill. At the Wanggang Commune, when reexamining his party pledge, a certain party secretary in a leading position said: If I compare myself now with myself when I joined the party, it seems that I have become a different person. In those days I was loyal and devoted in all matters of party concern. At work I felt that "the day was regretfully short and at night I feared running out of lamp oil," always giving priority to the interests of the party and the masses over everything else. However, now I dread hardship and toil, seek ease and comfort, am full of selfish ideas and personal considerations, and show great displeasure if I can't have my rest on Sundays. In my pledge on joining the party, I said I wanted to "endeavor all my life to serve the cause of communism," while in actual fact I "endeavored" for only a short spell of time. The more I thought about it, the more I blushed with shame and was troubled with a bad conscience. Now I have determined to bestir myself, set high standards for myself and be strict in making demands upon myself, steel myself in party spirit, exert myself in fulfilling the tasks entrusted to me by the party organization, and become a truly qualified member of the CCP.

Comparison with the revolutionaries of the older generation and observation of one's own mentality lead to strengthening one's political consciousness of the correct party work style. A certain secretary of the party branch at one of the units in an enterprise of the Liutuan Commune was criticized in 1979 for certain unhealthy practices. This left a hang-up in his thinking and he became dispirited in his work. He then compared himself with the revolutionaries of the older generation and became very ashamed. In a sincere self-criticism, he said: "Under adverse material conditions and in difficult circumstances, the revolutionaries of the older generation were willing to defy the greatest hazards. They worked hard, were not upset by criticism and exerted themselves in their struggles, unafraid to gladly shed their blood and sacrifice their lives, and they willingly served the people like beasts of burden. However, what I am showing now is a lack of public mindedness and much selfishness. I have become contaminated by improper habits and yet cannot bear being criticized. Come to think of it, this is really very, very wrong." He decided to keep the example of the older generation in mind at all times to rid himself of the burden on his conscience, bestir himself, exert himself in his work and strive to make new contributions. A certain member of the party branch committee at the shoe factory in Tangzhen Commune compared himself with the revolutionaries of the older generation and their excellent work style, and of his own free will criticized himself for such unhealthy

practices as buying up at cheap prices lumber and cement left over from construction of the factory, buying shoes at a discount and taking asphalt felt belonging to the factory. He expressed his determination to be honest henceforth in performing his official duties, to work heart and soul for the party, and to exert himself for the collective enterprise in the same way as the revolutionaries of the older generation had done.

Comparison with advanced models and examination of one's own achievements lead to strengthening the sense of responsibility toward party undertakings. The county party committee summed up and praised the work of six rural party branches at the basic level, including the Tangzijing Production Brigade of Yangsi Commune and the Zhaoxing Production Brigade of Huanglou Commune, for effectively acting as a fighting force for the party organization and for playing the role of model vanguards, by doing a good job of advancing the work of building the two civilizations. Everyone compared himself with the advanced models and became aware of places where he lagged behind. Determination was expressed to bestir oneself, and, starting from one's own personal attitudes, to strengthen the sense of responsibility toward party undertakings and to exert oneself in accomplishing the tasks entrusted to one by the party. A certain secretary of the party branch committee of a production brigade at the Huamu Commune said: "formerly I always one-sidedly stressed the material civilization and believed that all that was necessary was to improve the agricultural and collective economy, and that it would not matter whether spiritual civilization was given any attention. As a result, in the work of the party branch only work at hand was taken into account and emphasis was placed on production, while little attention was paid to political and ideological work, and the education of party members in party spirit, work style and discipline was relaxed. The reason why work of every kind excelled in the progressive units was because both materials civilization and spiritual civilization were stressed. This is also an important indicator of the strength of dedication within the party." He said that we must continuously strengthen the revolutionary sense of responsibility and excel as leaders in building the two civilizations.

9808
CSO: 4005/883

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEF CRITIQUE OF 'FAIRYTALES IN SPRING'

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 17 May 82 p 3

[Article by Wu Xingren [0702 5281 0086]: "A Spurious, Spiritually Contaminating Work--A Brief Critique of 'Fairytales in Spring'"]

[Text] In 1982, Volume One of HUACHENG, the semi-monthly literary magazine published "Chuntiande Tonghua--Fairytales in Spring," a novel by Comrade Yu Luojin [6657 5012 6930]. Upon reading this work I concluded that it has serious ideological errors and is of questionable taste. In 1925, Lu Xun said: "Art and literature are the fires of our national spirit and at the same time are a beacon showing our national spirit the path ahead." We are now strengthening construction of our socialist spiritual culture and must place greater demands on the spiritual beacon of art and literature to shine even brighter and light up the spirits of the multitudinous masses and readers. However, this feature is entirely missing from "Fairytales in Spring" and, on the contrary, what we see is nothing but a literary work corrupted by dirty bourgeois consciousness which pollutes the reader's spirit. Therefore, it is mandatory to eliminate this pollution.

A Cold and Gloomy "Spring"

The title of this work is "Fairytales in Spring." However, in this novel we do not at all feel the warmth of spring, nor do we see the blooming of spring flowers. Under this writer's pen Yu Shan's environment is dark, cold and gloomy. The old cadre He Jing is a corrupt, sanctimonious hypocrite, Shu Ming is a shameless petty urban bourgeoisie, Guo Jie, the presiding judge of the intermediate people's court is a mentally ossified, "exessively officious" character, the news reporter is a rumor-mongering troublemaker, the heroine's ex-husband always beat her, Yu Shan's father, mother and younger brother all are ignorant, manipulative egoists. In such an environment as this the author introduces us to the "fairytale" of "demonstrations of love" between Yu Shan and He Jing. We might well ask whether or not this is a fairytale which takes place in "springtime"? It this a true picture of "springtime"? If the author had written a "fairytale in winter"

in which the heroine tragically encountered, exposed and denounced crimes of the "gang of four" the work would then have value. After spring returns to the land this writer then endeavors to pollute it, a girl who has suffered through the cruel winter still is unable to enjoy the warmth of spring and go towards a rewarding life, this indeed is a fairy tale.

In this novel the author has Yu Shan pose the question: "Are the times really changing? Have we who are at the bottom of society really made any gains?" How does this novel answer these important questions? When the intermediate people's court announces the decision to return the case to the prefectural court for investigation, clarification of the facts and re-judge the matter, thus temporarily denying a divorce to Yu Shan and Shu Ming, the author has Yu shan say: "I stared blankly at the court decision and the "Daily News," and experienced a seemingly familiar feeling--I suddenly remembered that elder brother had been sentenced to death by the intermediate people's court...." The author has mixed together two entirely unrelated matters of a different nature in an astonishing fashion. Yu Shan's elder brother Yu Ling had been sentenced to death by the "gang of four," and this intermediate people's court is now upholding socialist laws in deciding that the divorce case between Yu Shan and Shu Ming should be re-investigated and re-tried by the lower courts. This actually is a sharp condemnation of Yu Shan's mistake of fickleness and irresolution. Yu Shan not only rejects the court's actions within the legal system, she also has "a seemingly familiar feeling" about her case and the persecution of her elder brother by the "gang of four." Her thoughts remain unspoken, but the meaning is all too clear. How can such a stance and viewpoint be permitted by the people?

Of even more importance is that the novel unites the "banner" of ideological liberation with the ugly soul of a hypocrite in the character He Jing, the assistant editor-in-chief of the "Times." Unquestionably, people with such ugly souls as that of He Jing deserve to be whipped. However, the author combines just such a person with ideological liberation, and to what purpose? Consider these matters: In theory, He Jing spoke out to exonerate Yu Shan's brother, was the first to publish a discussion on the issue of applying true standards, "became a banner of ideological liberation," and brought the "fires of spring" to Yu Shan. However, the novel then informs us that all of this was but He Jing's political opportunism and he used these devices to gain the position of assistant editor-in-chief. The 'fires of spring" were quickly extinguished. This hints to the readers that the strongest voices of ideological liberation came from such sanctimonious hypocrits and that the restoration of order out of chaos and the redressing of mishandled cases was but a farce directed by such people as He Jing. The one who truly was harmed was none other than Yu Shan, whostruggled through a winter of severe suffering. Everyone knows that after the "gang of four"

was smashed an ideological liberation movement took place in China. This was an epoch-making Marxist educational movement led by the party, which smashed the spiritual cangue forced upon the Chinese people by the "gang of four," broke the long-time bonds of the two "whatevers," restored the ideological foundation for the true path of Marxism ever since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Congress and enabled the party and the nation to achieve a new historical turning point. This great historical tide is not something that just anyone can call forth. To give the hypocrite He Jing the honor of carrying the "banner of ideological liberation" is to demean this movement and it also sullies the bright new China following the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Congress. The political errors of "Fairytales in Spring" turn a bright spring into a dark and gloomy winter.

A Spiritually Polluting "Fairytale"

Let us see what view of life and love are written into this novel.

Yu Shan is a thoroughgoing egoist. Her standard for distinguishing between good and bad people is whether or not they can benefit her. People whom she can profit by or gain from are good people and worthy of her love while those who can be of no advantage or are critical of her are bad and not worthy of her love. When Yu Shan was without food and clothing she then needed Erbao, when she had to declare her residence and housing was available she was then willing to marry Shu Ming. When all of this had transpired and more fictional development was needed, she then "fell in love" with He Jing, 25 years her senior, "I must bow before him, confess everything, and love him with a new soul and new spirit." Yet, such thoroughly egotistical and vulgar thoughts as these are further developed by the additional comment, "I am the sunlight." With this her vulgarity is portrayed as superiority and her shamelessness is described as glory.

However, false beauty and true beauty cannot be transposed. Even though the author has skilfully gilded Yu Shan the discerning eye easily sees the reality--no matter what, she is unable to gloss over Yu Shan's ugly soul. In this 8th decade of the 20th century, the "ideology of the most healthy people" is one which awakens China and implements the four modernizations, is a collective spirit which is concerned about others and overcomes self-interest and is an unselfish, moral communist concept. To madly seek love for gratification of the "self" and to use all possible tricks to revenge "oneself" is no expression of "love of life" but rather is to reveal one's taste for common vulgarity. No person possessing even a modest sense of justice could condone Yu Shan's behavior. Yu Shan is certainly not fit to be an "Apollo." Tolstoy has a famous saying: "A life of pure egoism is an unreasoning, animalistic life." ("Last Diary" p 161) We have

now lived for 32 years in a socialist society and is our awareness of egoism not equal to that of Tolstoy? Does the "life of pure egoism" seem so attractive?

Yu Shan also spoke of having a "wealth of love." She repeatedly boasted, "to love means to love someone with all one's heart and mind, to be out of love should mean to break all marriage ties and find another love. This is the act of an enlightened, just person." Wrong! Yu Shan's so-called "enlightened, just person" is just another expression of non-commital love. Love is not simply taking a drink of water, how can marriage and divorce be treated so lightly by Yu Shan? To be fickle and inconstant are ugly acts in a love relationship and certainly are not the acts of an "enlightened, just person." In the eyes of Yu Shan love is sometimes named money, sometimes named housing and sometimes named power. Yu Shan's so-called "wealth of love" is blasphemy against love. To gain such a "wealth of love" one must undergo a "moral transformation," i.e., become immoral. Concerning the issue of a view on love, Yu Shan should heed the warning by Marx: "Marriage is not subject to the willfulness of those already married, on the contrary, the will of those already married is subject to the nature of marriage itself." ("The Complete Works of Marx," Vol 1, p 183) The nature of marriage is true, mutual love between a man and a woman. True love must keep a great distance from any abnormal or licentious feelings. Yu Shan has reversed the willfulness of those already married and cannot evade becoming a pauper in both love and morals.

At this point it is convenient to discuss the issue of opposing feudal consciousness. In the novel, Yu Shan takes up the "anti-feudal" banner: "If feudal thought is at all lessened because of my case, even if others condemn me to death, I will have accomplished a worthwhile, valuable deed." Feudal consciousness, feudal morality and feudal thought must of course be opposed. Remnant feudal ghosts still create tragedies in love and marriage. We certainly are opposed to the feudal morality of being faithful to a husband until death. It also is immoral to force people to remain in a truly loveless marriage. However, anti-feudal people take various stances. Communist morals can be used to oppose feudalism and bourgeois ideology also can be used to oppose feudalism. John Christopher, Anna Karenina, Nora, Miss Sophie, Lin Daiyu and Jia Baoyu all opposed feudalism. As for the latter two, one must admit to their progressive role in the context of their times, but they definitely are not to be emulated by people today. The people's disapproval of Yu Shan's behavior does not spring from her anti-feudal ideology, but comes first of all from her mistaken target of anti-feudalism, i.e., she viewed the communist view of unchanging true love as the feudal moral precept of being faithful to a husband until death. Second, in her "brave struggle" to oppose "feudal morality" she added the "willfulness of those already married" to her extreme egoism and used this as her ideological weapon. In this she is both ridiculous and sad.

Truth and Beauty in "Truthful Literature"

The author claims that this is "truthful literature.""Beauty does not lie in facts themselves but in the courage to tell the truth." The question whether or not all "truth" is beautiful must of course be answered in the negative. A object of beauty must be matched in quality to the truth of life, however, not all true objects are beautiful. This is because beauty itself has no objective standards but rather is a manifestation of the use of objective laws to show the life practices of people through artistic creativity. The regularity of the objective world and the objects of scientific knowledge take on the significance of beauty only when people have become aware of their objective laws and after the creativity of artistic practices has been applied. Lu Xun said: "There really are people who cannot be written into fiction. To write about them and also attempt to be true to life would ruin the story." "For example, artists paint snakes, crocodiles, dragons and fruit...but none paint caterpillars, leprosy, mucus or feces. This is logic of the matter." In "Fairytales in Spring" there is no lack of such "truth" as "painting mucus." However, this certainly does not permit people to enjoy beauty, it only besmirches one's own writing and pollutes the reader's view."

Actually, in this author's works "truthful literature" becomes "personal literature." In a courtroom when a case touches upon "shameful personal matters" the proceedings are closed to the public. In "Fairytales in Spring," however, the author uses a literary work to share with the public the "personal" relations between married people in order to vent her personal anger and take revenge. The change from "truthful literature" to "personal literature" is harmful. The more "realistic" the details the worse the social consequences. If the exposure of "shameful personal matters" is considered to be "literature" this then is literary decline and there ought to be no place for such things in the garden of socialist art and literature.

Editorial Responsibility

What is astonishing is that such an erroneous and vulgar work of over ten thousand words could be published in the semi-monthly literary journal "Huacheng." At the end of the story there is an "editorial note" which reads: "Volume One of 1981 announced that Volume Two would publish 'A Fairytale of Today,' but this was temporarily withdrawn so the author could make some revisions. This is the fifth draft, renamed 'A Fairytale in Spring'." To say that "A Fairytale of Today" was temporarily withdrawn for no other reason than the stated one is a coverup. Actually, after this work was announced for publication in 1981, it was criticised by concerned quarters. However, this journal disregarded the criticism and demonstrated a lack of the spirit of self-criticism by publishing this story. At this time the Party Central held

conferences on the ideological line clearly stating that concurrent with the continual rectification of leftist errors attention should be paid to opposing any tendencies toward bourgeois liberalization. Later, they expressed the ardent hope that the world of art and literature and all comrades in ideological work would "help the party to more perfectly realize the great historical mission of constructing a high level of socialist spiritual civilization." It is no wonder that people say that the publication of such fiction is a matter of trying to please the public with rot in a single-minded effort to increase sales.

Magazine publishing is a sort of ideological battleground. Literary works have an undeniable role in molding a beautiful spirit in people. Socialist magazines have a sacred mission in the effort to give the masses a superior education in communism. If some of us editors forget this basic principle and publish such works as "Fairytales in Spring" this will harm construction of socialist spiritual civilization and the people will have good reason to wonder what has happened to the sense of responsibility of the editors of "Huacheng." It appears to be necessary to sum up the lessons learned from the publication of "Fairytales in Spring" and effectively improve our editorial and publishing work.

11582
CSO: 4005/885

NEW EXPLORATION INTO NATIONALITY ISSUE VIEWED

Kunming SIXIANG ZHANXIAN [IDEOLOGICAL FRONT] (JOURNAL OF YUNNAN UNIVERSITY) in Chinese No 1, 20 Feb 82 pp 55-62, 43

[Article by Xiong Xiyuan [3574 6932 0337]]

[Excerpts] How Do We Interpret the Theory that "the Nationality Issue Is a Part of the Revolution Issue?"

On the one hand, Marxism-Leninism opposes absolutizing and idolizing the nationality issue (such as the bourgeois view of "the transcendence of the nationality issue," etc.), and advocates its close link with the class issue, social system and revolution issue. On the other hand, it also opposes the many forms of national nihilism and all kinds of theories scorning, overlooking and obliterating the nationality issue. Marxism-Leninism has always paid serious attention to it. That Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, at different times, wrote many special treatises discussing it in conjunction with the social revolution is the best illustration. In the process from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, the Russian Bolshevik Party and the Chinese Communist Party both placed it in an important position and proposed their own nationality programs and policies.

I feel that, while in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist theory, "the nationality issue is a part of the revolution issue," it possesses a relative independence. When we maintain that the nationality issue must not be isolated from the general issue of the social revolution, it does not mean that it has no particularities in its contradictions, i.e., its relative independence. Equating the nationality issue with the issue of the class struggle, or including it in the class issue, turning it into a subordinate issue, is extremely incorrect. Besides the internal class opposition and the relations of oppression and exploitation between nationalities, the issue also includes national languages, common psychological diatheses, customs and habits, national forms and characteristics, religious beliefs, lack of development in economy and culture and de facto inequality, and nationality relations, issues which involve the

entire people. Therefore, the nationality issue is more wide-ranging and complex than the class issue, and nationalities and the nationality issue will remain with us longer. In this very sense, while we maintain that the nationality issue is a part of the revolution issue, we stress its relative independence.

Take China for instance: The fact that the various nationalities have long achieved production means public ownership, the exploiting system and the exploiting classes have long vanished, and the classes are no longer the main contradiction in our society, yet the nationality issue remains very much in existence, persuasively indicates its relative independence. From the end of the fifties to the 10-year calamity of the "Great Cultural Revolution," one important reason for the many mistakes in the nationality policies and nationality work was casting aside the relative independence of the issue and equating it with the class issue, believing that, like the class struggle, the moment it was tackled, there would be instantaneous result, and magnifying the class struggle. Actually, it was casting aside nationality work. It was a tragic and profound lesson.

Without correct theory, there can be no correct action. Today, we must fully recognize the relative independence of the nationality issue and realize that, besides its close link with the general issue of the revolution, it has its own particularities in its contradictions. Only by so doing will we place nationality work constantly on the daily agenda and tackle it vigorously and successfully; only thus will the solution of the nationality issue be kept from turning into an empty phrase. Only when the entire revolutionary work is properly performed will nationality work be properly performed. By the same token, the success or failure of nationality work will also influence the entire revolutionary work. It is the objectively existing dialectic relationship between them.

What Is the Essence of the Nationality Issue in the Socialist Period?

Discussions of the relations between the nationality and class issues in recent years have involved the essence of the nationality issue in different societies and under different historical conditions. Does the nationality issue in the socialist period have its particularities? Is the theory that its essence is the elimination of the de facto historical inequities among the nationalities tenable? Our answers are in the affirmative, and we also feel that the elimination of the de facto inequities includes the correct handling of the relations among the nationalities.

In a multinationality state, the relatively developed economy and culture of some nationalities and the very backward economy and culture of others form a gap in the economic and cultural life, making it impossible for the backward nationalities to enjoy the various rights. Marxism-Leninism very accurately calls this phenomenon "de facto inequality," and points out that de facto inequality entails the danger of making political and

legal equality meaningless and formal. It is inconceivable for a nationality which has little or no modern industry and science and technology and no industrial workers and intellectuals, whose level of agriculture is low, whose culture and education and public health are almost nonexistent, which has lived for generations in remote areas in isolation, and which still retains many primitive and backward customs and habits, to truly take part in modern political, economic and cultural life or even to enjoy the most basic equal rights. Thus, not only will national equality remain incomplete, but the thorough elimination of national misunderstanding and the psychology of distrust will be blocked, and the relations of unity and cooperation among the nationalities affected.

The importance of the issue indicates that its essence in the socialist period can be summed up as achieving the de facto equality among the nationalities. As long as the essence is not turned into "the whole" or "equal to," the theory is tenable. It is because the de facto inequality is a main contradiction, and once it is tackled, other contradictions will be easily solved. Meanwhile, the thorough solution of the nationality issue, from true rapprochement to fusion, can only be gradually achieved on the basis of de facto equality.

Regarding eliminating the de facto inequality as the essence of the nationality issue in the socialist period will give us a clear understanding of nationality work and a direction and goal of our endeavor. In other words, under the condition of improving and strengthening national regional autonomy, safeguarding national equality and reinforcing national unity, we must continuously develop the economic and cultural constructions of the various nationalities, promote their prosperity, and enable all nationalities in our country to have adequate capacity, i.e., full political, economic and cultural means, to build and enjoy modern material and spiritual lives.

On this issue, there is also one point of distinction: De facto inequality and disequilibrium in development are two different things which must not be lumped together. Disequilibrium is an absolute law. Even under the socialist condition, disequilibrium in the economic and cultural developments of the various nationalities cannot be avoided. Even in different areas and among different parts of the same nationality (such as the Han people), disequilibrium due to differences in historical foundations, production conditions and natural environments exists. De facto inequality among the nationalities must be vigorously eliminated, but absolute equilibrium in development, making the levels identical, is difficult to achieve. The matter can only be thus: The different economic and cultural developments in the various nationality regions and among the nationalities, due to the differences in various conditions, will approach equilibrium from disequilibrium, and new disequilibriums will be overcome. Such cycles and repetitions are compatible with the objective law of development. Therefore, no nationality should lump together de facto inequality and developmental disequilibrium, two issues of different essences, and fail to see the objective fact that our country will soon

place the issue of de facto equality on the daily agenda and that de facto inequality has begun to dwindle.

The issue of de facto inequality among the nationalities is a phenomenon left down by the exploiting class society, closely linked with class oppression. But in a socialist society where the exploiting classes and the exploiting system have been eliminated, it is no longer a class issue, but a nationality issue, and mainly one which influences the relations among the people of the various nationalities. Marxism-Leninism finds that vigorously eliminating the de facto inequality is precisely by firmly upholding the class viewpoint and the class analysis method on the nationality issue, by seeking the interest of the overwhelming majority among the various nationalities, and by placing their relations of equality and unity on a firm foundation, to last through the generations.

What Are the Conditions for the Formation of Socialist Nationalities?

What is a socialist nationality? How is it formed? What are its conditions or signs? In spite of the fact that we constantly use this term, our answers to these questions are not unanimous.

In China, in regard to the formation of the socialist nationality and its implication, we generally follow the exposition of Stalin in his book "the Nationality Issue and Leninism" (1929): After the establishment of the socialist system, the old bourgeois nationality also develops and forms into a new socialist nationality; the proletarian political party is the leading force of this new nationality; a worker-peasant alliance is created within the various nationalities; for equal rights, free development and internationalism, national oppression and nationalist remnants are eliminated; irreconcilable class contradictions within the nationalities no longer exist; etc. Stalin said that all these constitute the "mental attitude and sociopolitical outlook" of a socialist nationality. (See "Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 11, pp 291-292).

What Stalin said is doubtlessly correct and necessary, but there are flaws. One may say that explaining the formation and implication of a socialist nationality according to his exposition is abstract and inadequate.

In his exposition, Stalin listed many political factors, but almost completely omitted the economic factor, except for a general reference to the establishment of the socialist system. His exposition also includes the idea that, after the socialist system has replaced the capitalist system and become established, the bourgeois nationality will automatically transform into a socialist nationality. It seems to be too easy. From the practical conditions after the creation of the Soviet Union and the founding of the new China, transforming the old nationality into a new socialist nationality is not something which can be accomplished by one stroke, but involves the long process of the new replacing the old, filled with contradictions, resistance and conflicts. We can only say

that, after socialism has replaced capitalism, the premise for the formation new nationalities begins to take shape, and the factors and conditions of socialist nationalities are germinating. Or, we may say that we have entered a new stage where the old nationalities are transforming into socialist nationalities. The socialist society cannot be established within a short period. Likewise, the complete formation of socialist nationalities also requires a fairly long process.

Comrade Li Weihan's [2621 4850 3352] speech in Xinjiang in 1961 listed the five major common grounds already possessed by the various nationalities of China: The party's unified guidance; the socialist political power; the preliminary socialist economic system; the socialist political-ideological outlook among the majority of the nationalities; the dominance of the socialist culture. According to him, these common grounds indicate that the overwhelming majority of China's nationalities "has begun to become socialist nationalities." ("Issues on the Nationality Theory and Nationality Policy," p 88). Closely linked with China's reality and clearly mentioning the economic base, his exposition is basically scientific, especially when he immediately followed by pointing out the problems. He said that, among the five grounds, besides the party's leadership and the people's democratic political power which produce a decisive effect, the remaining grounds "are still in their infancy" and the material foundation (modern industry and modern agriculture) is far from adequate, and that it indicates that "the transition of China's various nationalities to socialist nationalities has not been completed, the levels reached by them are not identical, and each needs a fairly long period of time to achieve the transition." (Ibid., p 89). Such analysis and assessment by seeking the truth from the facts are most enlightening.

At this late date, with the development and improvement of understanding, the question of just what is a socialist nationality may be further explored, so that it will become clearer, more scientific, and more compatible with the true features of things and the objective laws of development in meaning and in the conditions or signs of its formation. On the issue of the socialist economy, for instance, we must realize that, though production means public ownership has been generally established among the various nationalities in our country, it is still very imperfect and undeveloped. In some areas, it has only been roughly shaped or accepted, but still far from the requirements of true socialism. Most minorities have little or no modern industry and agriculture. In the years of disaster caused by the ultra-leftwing ideological trend and the "gang of four," some minorities found themselves in the predicament of suffering from hunger and cold. How, then, could they be called socialist nationalities? One condition for a socialist nationality is an internationalist nationality concept and an advanced spiritual civilization, which cannot be achieved in one day, but is restricted by political, economic and cultural conditions, and requires the effort of two to three generations. Today, we can at most say that the various nationalities in our country have acquired a preliminary internationalist ideology, while there remain a strong remnant of the old nationality concept and consciousness and many

non-internationalist things in nationality relations. In addition, the lingering religious concept cannot but influence the political and ideological outlook of the socialist nationalities.

In short, similar to the fact that we cannot lower the standard of socialism as a whole, we cannot lower the proper requirements of a socialist nationality; instead, we must raise it to the height of science in our understanding and demands. There is, however, one advantage, and it is to impel us to exert ourselves in all aspects to reach the standard. According to the conditions of China, may we say that the various nationalities today are still in the transitional stage toward becoming new-type nationalities and that only when the four modernization construction is preliminarily achieved will the socialist nationalities be considered basically formed?

Furthermore, the developmental law of a socialist nationality is also an issue deserving exploration. Though the developmental law and prospect of socialist nationalities and national fusion are not one and the same, their close connection is self-evident. In regard to the prospect of national fusion, we can only point out the inevitability or tendency of the development, and it is not necessary, nor possible, to form more concrete conceptions. Nevertheless, one point can be confirmed: For socialist nationalities in their complete sense or when fully developed, though the fusion of the various nationalities signifies the maximum reduction of the differences and the maximum growth of the commonalities, it does not mean the disappearance of all national differences, but only the major ones. We can say with certainty that the various socialist nationalities will retain certain healthy, meaningful and valuable characteristics, thereby bringing splendor and color to national life and the life of mankind.

Common Psuchological Diathesis Is the Most Active and Most Vital Enduring Factor among the National Characteristics.

A nationality has a common region, a common language, a common economic life and a common psychological diathesis, the four characteristics. To a nationality, all four are important, especially in the course of its formation. Generally speaking, only a community of men possessing all four characteristics can be called a nationality, and only comprehensively examining them will we gain a complete, not fragmented, understanding of a nationality.

Nevertheless, in the course of survival and development after the formation of a nationality, differences in the importance and role of the various characteristics of different nationalities under different historical conditions may emerge. We only have to observe the matter thoroughly to discover that the common psychological diathesis is always the most active and most vital enduring factor among the characteristics. Therefore, it is an issue deserving study.

Why is it so?

First, the common psychological diathesis is a crucial sign to identify and distinguish a nationality.

The national language is an important basis to identify a nationality, and so is the common psychological diathesis. We must first clarify what the common national psychological diathesis is. In the article "a Preliminary Exploration into the Issue of the Common National Psychological Diathesis," this writer discussed its concept: The common psychological diathesis is the reflection of the social economy, historical development, living pattern and geological environmental features of a nationality on its mental outlook. By means of its language, literature and art (including all forms of expression, architectual style, handicraft, etc.), social custom, living habits (e.g., clothing and ornaments, festivals, sports activities, etc.), religious belief, devotion to its motherland and its people, and attachment to its native soil, a nationality expresses its preferences, interests, capacities, temperament, disposition, sentiment and national pride, thereby forming the characteristics of the common psychological diathesis of the particular nationality. As these characteristics distinguish the particular nationality from others in its mental outlook, they constitute a crucial sign in national identification. Furthermore, once the common psychological diathesis has gradually formed, it will turn into the most active and most vital factor in the future development and entire activities of the nationality. It can be seen in the three aspects discussed below.

Second, the national psychological diathesis is known for its resistance to assimilation; therefore, it plays an extremely crucial role in national survival and development.

We know that the national language has a strong resistance to assimilation. Nevertheless, in the developmental history of mankind, there were indeed some nationalities which, in the course of natural assimilation, lost their original common languages. Though it is difficult to assimilate a national language, it is not absolutely impossible. Yet the common psychological diathesis is somewhat different; it has a stronger resistance to assimilation and is most difficult to assimilate.

Besides certain national characteristics of different degrees, China's Hui, Man and Bai people are nationalities with marked manifestations of the common psychological diathesis. Whether they have changed their citizenship or not, the millions of overseas Chinese have not, basically have not, or mostly have not, been assimilated by the subject nationalities of the countries of their residence, basically or largely retaining the ingredients of the common psychological diathesis of the Chinese nationality (mainly the Han people).

Even the various Europeans who have long merged into the American nationality still more or less retain the psychological diatheses and temperamental characteristics of their former nationalities.

Third, the common psychological diathesis is a great spiritual force of patriotism (including devotion to the nationality).

When a nation encounters foreign aggression, the people rally to its defense; trampled by external forces, a nation demonstrates an indomitable spirit; residing in foreign land, the people of a nationality feel attached to their native soil, are concerned for the prosperity or decline, honor or disgrace, of their mother nation, support its righteous causes and struggles, breathe the same air and share the same destiny with it.... Besides other factors and conditions, the motive force for the birth of the noble patriotic spirit and the formation of the national sentiment has its root in the common psychological disthesis. The entire modern history of China is a struggle history manifesting the firm and tenacious character of the Chinese nation and its indomitable resistance of colonial and capitalist-imperialist aggression. The entire history of overseas Chinese is a history of devotion to the motherland, manifesting the common psychological diathesis of the Chinese nation and the sense of national pride. It was precisely the sense of national pride and patriotism which closely linked the works of the great 19th century Polish composer Chopin, residing in foreign land, with the destiny of his motherland. Patriotism, the sense of national pride and the common national psychological diathesis are not one and the same, but there is an extremely close inherent link among them. The sense of national pride is a crucial manifestation and the essence of the common national psychological diathesis and the important spiritual pillar creating and forming patriotism.

Fourth, the time when the main characteristics of the common psychological diathesis vanish is the day when a nationality heads for fusion.

From the discussion of the foregoing three points, especially the fact that the common psychological diathesis is the last fence of the national boundary, it will be easy to understand that the common psychological diathesis is the most enduring factor among the national characteristics. According to Marxism-Leninism, in the future world communist society, the various nationalities will finally move toward fusion. In terms of the four national characteristics, what is the course of national fusion? Perhaps we can look at it this way: Common region and common economic life will grow more and more insignificant in national survival and easily vanish; the fusion of national languages will one day become reality; only the survival of the common psychological diathesis willl be of the longest duration, not easily obliterated, and the slowest in dissipation. Therefore, we have reason to say that the time when the main characteristics of the common national psychological diathesis vanish is the day when a nationality heads for fusion. Take the conditions of China for instance: The common regions of the various minorities are naturally extremely important for regional autonomy. But with the development of the socialist construction cause and the changes in people's concepts, and with the mobility of the people of the various nationalities, making their homes wherever they are and finding the location of residence unimportant, the regional concept will grow ever more dim. The economic life of the

various nationalities will, throughout the country, merge more and more into an indivisible whole. As for the fusion of national languages and the dissipation of the common psycholcgical diatheses, both are things of the far future, but relatively speaking, the latter will take longer. I feel that this point is basically compatible with the developmental law of objective things.

The above four aspects indicate that the common psychological diathesis is the most active and most vital enduring factor among the characteristics. The purpose for exploring this issue is that, in our multinational socialist state, we must give serious attention to the study of the common national psychological diathesis, in order to better implement the nationality policies of the party and the state and properly perform the nationality work in the new period.

How Do We Interpret China's Historical Nationality Relations?

For a long time, China has been a large country composed of many nationalities with the Han people as the main body. Like the Han people, the various minorities have made their contributions to the creation of our great motherland. The vast territory, long history and superior and rich cultural heritage are the common achievements of all the nationalities. The Chinese people are known as one of the great peoples in the world, and all nationalities in China have a share in the greatness.

Nevertheless, in the long feudal society and the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society of more than a century, the relations among China's nationalities were not all equal, happy and smooth. There were two contradictory aspects.

In one aspect, a relation of friendly cooperation existed among China's nationalities through close economic and cultural interchanges and the long common revolutionary struggles. Since the dynasties of Qin and Han, China had a multinational centralized feudal state. The relatively long unified phase and relatively short divided phase contributed to the economic contact and cultural interchange among the nationalities. Especially with the different nationalities living together, thereby influencing one another and learning one another's strong points to offset their weaknesses, a relationship of interdependence and common interest grew. What was even more valuable was that, in the long course of historical development, the various nationalities, in addition to their close economic and cultural contact and interchange, created an even stronger link, viz., the friendship borne in the common revolutionary struggles. The common struggles of the various nationalities against national oppression and against feudal control and class oppression in history were continuous. They never capitulated to Western colonialist and imperialist aggressions and, in the protracted indomitable struggles, they frustrated time and again the conspiracies and ambitions of capitalist-imperialism, drove away the foreign aggressors one by one and preserved the glorious history of the motherland. Especially with the spread of new modern culture and

Marxism-Leninism in China and the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, the revolutionary struggles of the various nationalities entered a new phase. The democratic revolutionary movement led by the party and its program for the solution of the nationality issue truly tied together the destinies of all the nationalities in China. The nationality regional confines broke down more and more, the revolutionary struggles grew into a whole, and an inseparable flesh-and-blood tie formed among all the nationalities. In spite of the internal and external reactionary obstructions, sabotage and infringement, this friendly cooperative relationship, formed and developed among China's nationalities in the production and class struggles, has turned into an irresistible historical tendency.

In the other aspect, the nationality disputes and nationality oppression in history created a deep estrangement and a psychology of distrust. The Han people long occupied a dominant position and oppressed the minorities. Some minorities also created national political regimes or relatively extensive regional regimes, lasting at times one to three centuries, also enforcing the system of nationality oppression. Due to the instigations of the ruling class and nationality prejudices, armed confrontations and wars among the nationalities frequently occurred. The feudal dynasties of past ages, the control by the Beiyang warlords and the Guomindang reactionaries in modern and contemporary times, and the malicious propaganda of Western capitalist-imperialism created among China's nationalities, especially between the minorities and the Han people, deep nationality prejudices, discriminations, estrangement and distrust. A countercurrent in history, it influenced all along the nationality relations after the victory of the democratic revolution.

In the past, we had the habit of calling the friendly cooperative relation the main current, while deliberately avoiding or barely skimming over the oppression and inequality and the estrangement and distrust. This point calls for consideration. Since the friendly cooperative relation among the nationalities was considered the main current, the implication was that it was in the ruling position and of overwhelming dominance, and constituted the main aspect of the contradiction. It is incompatible with the historical truth. The writer feels that calling the aspect of friendly cooperation an irresistible historical tendency is more appropriate. It is a basically different theory from calling it the main current. Why is it more appropriate and tenable to call it an irresistible historical tendency? Because it is compatible with the demands of social development and the desires of the people of all the nationalities. Always it continuously breaks through obstacles and seeks to open the way for itself, and has indeed become a great motive force in creating the history of our motherland. Nevertheless, it cannot, at all times and in all circumstances, develop smoothly into the main current, but advances on a winding course, ascends in a spiral, and at times even comes to a standstill or takes a turn for the worse. As for the aspect of nationality oppression and estrangement, calling it a countercurrent is basically tenable, but, at the same time, two points must be clarified. One is that the theory is the view held by us today, and the second is that we must not flatly

call the countercurrent a tributary. The following situation was often found in China's history: In certain periods or stages, or in certain nationality areas, the countercurrent occupied the dominant position or became the principal manifestation. Under this situation, like the sun covered by the cloud, the friendly cooperative relation among the nationalities occupied an inferior position.

It is very inappropriate to stress the aspect of friendly cooperation in nationality relations in history while ignoring the oppression, discrimination and estrangement and the coercive assimilation which once existed in history. These phenomena in nationality relations existed objectively. The matter could only be so, since in the feudal and the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China, political power was in the hands of the reactionaries, the thinking of the ruling class was that of those in the ruling position, and the balance of class strengths was long unfavorable to the laboring people. Furthermore, the system of nationality oppression enforced by the reactionary ruling class and the nationality disputes and estrangement created by it long occupied the position of the main aspect of the contradiction, producing a deep and wide influence. These very conditions determined the nature of the nationality issue of the old China. It was an antagonistic social contradiction. Only by overthrowing internal and external reactionary control would the system of nationality oppression be eliminated and the premise for the solution of the nationality issue created. As indicated by practice in the socialist period, there should be full understanding and adequate assessment of the historical nationality estrangement and psychology of distrust; eliminating nationality estrangement and distrust should always occupy a crucial position in the course of solving the nationality issue; only after a protracted effort will the historical phenomena be thoroughly wiped out.

Stressing the friendly cooperative aspect of nationality relations in history and claiming that it constituted, in the past, the main aspect of the contradiction are not only incompatible with the nature of the society of the old China and the historical facts, but will, in fact, easily lead to the following result: downgrading the decisive role of the revolution of the people of the various nationalities led by the Chinese Communist Party and diminishing the revolutionary significance of the party's nationality program and nationality policy. Changes in the two contradictory aspects of nationality relations in history only began to occur after the Chinese Communist Party came to power. Under the leadership of the party and after a protracted, tortuous and complex struggle, the people of the various nationalities gradually grew in strength and finally won the victory of the national democratic revolution, thereby causing the mutual conversion of the positions of the two contradictory aspects. With the abolition of the nationality oppression system, the realization of nationality equality, and the incipient elimination of nationality estrangement, the relations of friendly cooperation and of unity and mutual aid among the nationalities have begun to become the main aspect of the contradiction and a force producing a dominant effect (determining the nature of things), and the nature and tasks of the nationality issue

in the new China have become completely different from the old China. When solving the domestic nationality issue, especially when formulating the policy on regional autonomy of the nationalities, the Chinese Communist Party gave consideration to the two aspects of nationality relations and fully assessed the historical nationality estrangement and the protracted nature of its elimination, while paying serious attention to the friendly relation among the nationalities, considering it an important basis for unity and cooperation, and enabling it to develop and heighten under the new historical conditions.

6080
CSO: 4005/869

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURAL

IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICIES RELATED TO INTELLECTUALS REPORTED

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 29 Apr 82 p 1

[Article by Ke Jaiowen [2688 2403 2429] and Ma Zhihui @7456 0037 8396]: "Gansu Carries on an Overall Inspection on the Implementation of Policies on Intellectuals"]

[Text] The Gansu Provincial CCP Committee, provincial departments directly concerned and the inspection groups of the area, perfectural and city CCP committees all over the province are carrying on conscientious inspection on the implementation of policies on intellectuals.

In mid-March, the provincial CCP Committee sent out circulars specifically for this purpose. The Organization Department of provincial CCP committee convened a conference attended by responsible comrades of concerned departments. Comrade Guo Hongchao [6753 3163 6389], deputy secretary of the provincial CCP committee, specifically called for making a good job of inspection on intellectuals. The provincial CCP committee also set up a temporary staff office to carry out the work of inspection on intellectuals. The provincial CCP committee has decided that the stress of inspection this time is concentrated on three areas: the situation of the implementation of policies from the political point of view, the arrangement of work for intellectuals in order to make use of them and the major issues that exist in their daily life. The focal point of inspection is on both the high-level intellectuals and the middle-aged professional backbone with positions equivalent to lecturers, assistant research fellows and engineers. Investigation and study on issues concerning intellectuals in general must also be made and outstanding issues be inspected and resolved. The purpose and demand of the inspection work this time are: to find out the real situations and problems, to propose measures for resolving the problems, and conscientiously to implement the policies of the CCP Central Committee concerning intellectuals in order to arouse their enthusiasm so that they can play their role fully in national life and in various kinds of work.

Individual units, under the leadership of the provincial CCP committee, have actively transferred manpower to organize inspection groups and temporary working bodies for carrying out inspection work. The 6 inspection groups concerned with scientific research, propaganda and culture, education, health and sanitation, industry and communications, and agriculture respectively, organized

jointly by the provincial CCP committee and a total of 8 units, committees, staff offices, departments and bureaus of the provincial government have gotten a total of more than 50 cadres including 10 leading cadres transferred from various departments and bureaus. The overwhelming majority of provincial departments and bureaus as well as all of the areas, prefectures and municipalities of the province have set up inspection groups in their own organizations and localities. It is understood that the various inspection groups of the provincial CCP committee, units where intellectuals are comparatively more concentrated, and some prefectures and municipalities have already selected more than 30 inspections units as the key points where inspection is being thoroughly carried out. At the same time, many units are now carrying out over-all inspections in their own organizations.

At the time when inspection is being carried out, all inspection groups, on the basis of the spirit of resolving problems while inspecting, are trying to speed up settlement of problems which can be solved. For instance, the inspection group of the provincial Health and Sanitation Department found that the archives of some medical personnel of the Lanzhou Medical College had not been put in order, they immediately helped the college CCP committee sort out the files in question in accordance with regulations promulgated by the CCP Central Committee. The same inspection group in coordination with the leading group of the provincial antiepidemic station also decided that new houses must first be provided for the eight physicians in charge and their deputies. The Lanzhou Normal Junior College, with the help of the inspection group of the provincial Department of Education, earnestly handled the legacy left over by implementing the policies on intellectuals and accommodated 12 rooms for teachers of specialized courses of mathematics, physics and chemistry to prepare lessons and handle school affairs. Simply constructed single-story houses also are under construction in order to resolve problems of daytime rest of teachers who reside in urban districts. Both the Lanzhou Railway College and the Gansu Industrial University have provided better houses for some professors, assistant professors and lecturers during the course of inspection. Comrades of the inspection group of the provincial CCP committee concerned with propaganda, education and population, after having visited Prof Chi-Dan-Xia-Rong's [2088 2481 1115 5422] home and talked in depth with him, found that the professor of the Northwest Nationalities College, whi is an expert in Tibetan language and over 70 years old, has no assistant with him and that he himself is a single and needs his nephew to take care of him. The comrade who visited him promptly reported his situation to the provincial CCP committee. As instructed by the comrade in charge of the provincial CCP committee, departments concerned including the Provincial Public Security Department and the Personnel Bureau have promptly cleared his nephew's residence registration problem.

Recently, the Organization Department of the provincial CCP committee has convened a conference to hear reports from various inspection groups. Deputy Secretary Comrade Liu Bing [0491 0393] attended and spoke at the conference. The conference felt that although much work had previously been accomplished, yet the progress made is awfully uneven. It is requested that party organizations at all leve-s, personnel departments and comrades who participate in the

inspection work conscientiously study the relative documents of the CCP Central Committee and the instructions of the leading comrades of the CCP Central Committee, thoroughly approach and understand the significance of doing a good job in implementing policies on intellectuals, make themselves clear about the purpose and demand of the inspection work of this time, eliminate the "leftist" influence on the question of intellectuals, and seek unity of ideological understanding in pursuance of the party line. It is necessary to achieve the purpose that politically intellectuals should be treated equal, without discrimination, that they should be given a free hand in their work, and that their needs should be taken care of. It is also necessary to educate and correct the erroneous concepts on the question of intellectuals. From now on, the results achieved in the work related to intellectuals will be counted as one of the important marks for judging the merits of the leadership of an area or a unit.

9560
CSO: 4005/903

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SOME PERCEPTIONS ON MINORITY POPULATION DEVELOPMENT

Beijing RENKOU YANJIU [POPULATION RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 1982
29 May 82, pp 33-37

[Article by Zhou Qing [0719 3237] of the Population Theory Institute, China People's University, Beijing and Xiong Yu [3574 6735] of the Population Research Center of the Chinese Social Sciences Academy: "Some Perceptions Concerning Minority Population Developments in China"]

[Text] China is a unified socialist state of many nationalities. In addition to the Han people there are 55 minority nationalities which constitute approximately 6 percent of a total population of nearly 1 billion people. In the 30 years since Liberation, all nationalities have worked under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party to carry out democratic reforms and socialist transformation, develop the national economy and culture, improve the livelihood and increase the population in order to make their own contributions toward national prosperity and toward constructing and protecting the border areas. As for the future, how minority nationality populations should develop is a major issue which is related to developments in national strength and in the prosperity of all nationalities. I will now present some of my views on conditions and trends in population development of China's minority nationalities.

(1)

Prior to Liberation, minority nationalities were exploited and repressed internally by their tribal chiefs or by the herd owners and were destroyed externally by policies of ethnic prejudice and ethnic repression carried out by reactionary governments. Production strength was almost nil, population development was extremely slow, a portion of the minority nationalities tended toward population decline and several nationalities appeared to be on the brink of extinction.

After liberation, the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the superiority of the socialist system as well as the implementation of various nationality policies paved the way for

the development of prosperity among all nationalities. Political liberation and social progress permitted the minority nationalities to attain their rightful status as nationalities and the broad people won the right to a livelihood. There was economic reform, restoration and development. Considerable developments also were made in culture, education, medical care and sanitation. All of this made progress in promoting prosperity for the nationalities and in promoting population development. Generally speaking, population increases among minority nationalities are relatively rapid and their speed of development is consistent with development in overall national population. (See Table No 1)

Table No 1: Population Development Figures for Major Nationality Groups. Unit: 10,000 people.

Nationality	1953年	1964年	1978年	1978比1953年增长% (1)
Total Population	58796	70477	95809	63
Han	55244	66500	90229	63.3
Minorities	3552	3999	5580	57
Zhuang	696.0	840.2	1209.0	73.7
Moslems	356.0	448.8	619.0	82.3
Uighurs	364.0	400.0	518.0	50.5
Yi	325.0	338.9	485.0	49.2
Miao	251.0	278.9	392.0	56.2
Tibeteans	277.0	250.5	345.0	21.5
Mongols	146.0	197.3	266.0	82.2
Manchus	242.0	270.1	265.0	9.5
Buyi	125.0	135.2	172.0	37.6

Nationality	1953年	1964年	1978年	1978比1953年增长% (1)
Koreans	112.0	134.9	168.0	50
Yao	67.0	85.8	124.0	85
Tong	71.0	83.8	111.0	56.3
Bai	57.0	71.0	105.0	84.2
Ha'ni	48.0	63.0	96.0	100
Kazakhs	50.9	49.2	80.0	57.2
Tujia	59.0	52.5	77.0	30.5
Tai	47.0	53.6	76.0	61.7
Li	36.0	44.0	68.0	88.9
Lisu	31.7	27.1	47.0	48.3
She/Yu	21.9	23.4	33.0	50.7
Lahu	13.9	19.1	27.0	94.2
Wa	28.6	20.0	26.0	-9

(1) Percentage of increase from 1953 to 1978.

This table shows that in 1953 the minority nationality population stood at only 35.52 million people and that by 1978 it had increased to 55.80 million people, a 57 percent increase over 25 years and an average annual increase of 18.2 people per thousand. During this same period, the total national population increased from 5.9 hundred million to 9.6 hundred million, a 63 percent increase and a yearly average increase of 19.7 people per thousand. A look at the individual nationality groups shows that except for population declines in certain nationalities which resulted from actual physical movements and other objective factors, the remaining 46 minority nationalities showed varying degrees of population increases between 1953 and 1978. (See Table No 2)

Table No 2: Percentile Increases of Minority Nationality Populations.

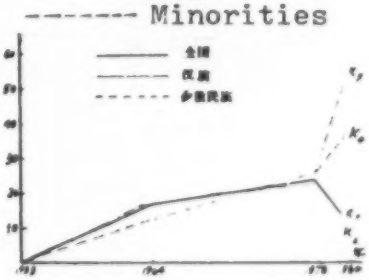
Percentile Increase	Group Number	Nationality Group
100 plus	7	Ha'ni, Monguors, Qiang, Xibe(Sibo), Benglong, Yugu
80-99	8	Moslems, Mongols, Yao, Li, Lahu, Bai, Pumi, Salars
60-79	10	Zhuang, Miao, Tai, Mulao, Maonan, Kelao, Shui, Daghors, Dulong, Hezhe
40-59	12	Uighurs, Kazakhs, Yi, Yu/She, Tong, Koreans, Lisu, Naxi, Tajiks, Nu, Bulang, Oronchon,
20-39	7	Tibeteans, Jing, Buyi, Baoan, Tujia, Dongxiang, Kirghiz
1-19	2	Manchus, Achang
-0-	5	Jingbo, Uzbeks, Tatar, Russians, Wa

Among these various nationalities which increased at different rates it is worthy of note that in 27 years the number of minority nationalities with populations of over 1 million people increased from 10 to 15, with the total population of these nationalities increasing from 31.96 million to 55.475 million. What is more, except for the Manchus, they now all have average annual population increases exceeding 20 per thousand. Intermarriage between the Han and Manchu nationalities has been common for a long time and when the nationality of the offspring of such marriages is chosen the majority of them choose Han nationality, so the Manchus show an average annual increase of 7.9 per thousand.

The graph at the right shows the comparative rate of population growth of the whole nation, the Han nationality and the minority nationalities.

Average Annual Increase Per Thousand

Total
Han
Minorities



The graph shows that from 1953 to 1964 minority nationality population development was relatively slow and increased only 12.58 percent in 11 years, an average annual increase of 10.83 per thousand, lower than the rate of growth for the overall national population. During this period, the total national population rose at an annual average rate of 16.6 per thousand. Between 1964 and 1978 the rate of minority nationality population development overtook the rate of population increase for the entire nation and reached an average annual increase of 24 per thousand. During this period, the total national population had an annual average increase of 22.2 per thousand. In the two years from 1978 to 1980 the minority nationality population grew at an average annual rate of 53 per thousand(K_3 on the diagram), this

jump from 55.80 million people to 61.88 million people greatly exceeded the rate of increase for the entire population. This includes nationality population figures which increased because of reclassification. The most prominent of these is the Tujia nationality which increased from 0.77 million people in 1978 to 2.55 million people in 1980, a net increase of 1.7 million people. By eliminating such factors, the average annual rate of increase between 1978 and 1980 is reduced to 38 per thousand (K4 on the diagram). During this same period the Han nationality areas strongly encouraged family planning and population control, which brought the overall annual national rate of population increase down to 10 per thousand. From this we can see that in China the speed of population growth for each nationality in each historical period is closely related to party policy and socio-economic factors. Ever since the Third Party Plenum, for example, progress in implementing minority policies and progress in developing nationality classification work have provided various sorts of beneficial conditions for the growth of minority nationality populations.

(2)

As for present conditions in minority population development, we not only must observe the rapid pace but also must take note of the youthful age structure, early marriage and early childbirth. In relation to population increases we also must give serious consideration to unsuitable features in the economy, culture, education and health and sanitation as well as other real problems facing the minority nationalities.

1. The youthful age structure. According to incomplete statistics, the current median age for some minority nationality populations is under 20 years of age (See Table No 3), which definitely will result in an increase in the proportion of women of childbearing age.

Table No 3: Age Structure of Some Minority Area Populations (Percents)

Area	(1) 15岁以下	(2) 30岁以下	(3) 65岁以上
Nei Monggol Chenbaerhu Banner (Mongols)	39.9	62.7	2.4
Xiguitu Banner (Mongols)	40	69.3	2.2
Guangxi Debao County (Zhuang)	37.2	63.7	6.8
Locheng County (Mulao)	43	68	5.5
Hunan Xiangxi Tujia-Miao auto prefect	36.7	62.4	5.4
Guangdong Hainan Li-Miao Baisha cty	49.3	72.9	2.5
Guangdong Hainan Li-Miao Baoxiang cty	46.9	71.1	4.2
Guangdong Hainan Chaoan cty (Yu/She)	39.7	72.3	4.9
Qinghai Xining City 7 pastoral areas	39.8	(4)51.2(21岁以下)	3.1

(1) Under age 15. (2) Under age 30. (3) Over age 65. (4) Under age 21

2. Relatively common early marriage and early childbirth. Accord- to investigations conducted in some counties of Yili prefecture, Xinjiang province, early marriage is relatively common in the countryside, generally at age 15 or 16, and marriage at age 18 is considered to be late. After marriage the women continually give birth and a 30 year old mother generally will have had over 10 pregnancies. Most families have from 5 or 6 to 8 or 9 children. In the Guangxi Zhuang, Jing and Mulao nationalities, several 10s of every hundred women marry before age 17. In the Yunnan Dehong Dai nationality and Jingpo nationality autonomous prefectures a great many people marry at age 14 or 15, some even as early as 12 or 13, and bear children at age 15, with a great many having as many as 17 pregnancies. In the Jingpo nationality it is more common to have 6 or 7 children. In the Gansu Zhangjiachuan Mongol autonomous county, because of the influence of religious and other factors, prior to Liberation marriages were generally between 13 to 14 year old males and 9 to 10 year old females. After Liberation these age levels gradually rose, but at present early marriages still total 51 percent of all yearly marriages. In the Sichuan Liangshan Yi nationality autonomous prefecture there still are marriages at age 12. Merely in terms of quantity, the customs of early marriage, early childbirth, and many closely spaced births not only extends the childbearing period, it moreover shortens the generation gap between mother and daughter and greatly speeds up the birth cycle, causing even more rapid population increases.

3. A low level of economic development. Some areas experienced excessively rapid population increases which generally resulted in highly increased population density and a continual decline in the amount of arable land, pastures, foodgrains and livestock per person. (See Table No 4 on the following page)

In areas inhabited by minority nationalities where the natural conditions are somewhat better the population density is continually increasing, there is a general decrease in the amount of pastureland and arrable land per person and there are severe obstacles to the development of the agricultural and animal husbandry economies. For example, Table No 4 shows that Qinghai province which is primarly engaged in animal husbandry has a population density of only 5.2 people per square kilometer, but the great majority of prefectures throughout the whole province are far above sea level, quite cold, have thin air and are arid so they are not suitable for habitation. This is especially true of the Kekexili area which is contiguous with Tibet and which to this date remains uninhabited. Consequently, 73 percent of the population of the entire province is concentrated in an eastern agricultural region which constitutes 4 percent of the area of Qinghai province. In this region the population density reached as high as 90 people per square kilometer, the per person amount of land and foodgrains is lower than the 1949 level, in 1949 there was 1,429 mu of pastureland per person and this has declined to

only 500 mu, which severely influences the ability of the land to support animals. The Southwest China Guangxi Zhuang autonomous region is primarily agricultural and the population density rose from 79 people per square kilometer in 1950 to 151 people per square kilometer in 1979, yet the amount of available arable land per person declined from 1.39 mu to 0.7 mu. In Guizhou province in the Qiandongnan Miao-Dong autonomous prefecture in 1979, there were 7 counties with per person amounts of foodgrains lower than the 1949 level. In short, this phenomenon of excessively rapid population increase together with the current situation of declining production levels is extemely unsuitable. This certainly will result in a sharp contradiction between population increases and declining amounts of arable land and pastureland per person which will produce a series of socio-economic consequences. They are the main factors underlying slow agricultural and animal husbandry development, the low commodity ratio and the slow rate of livelihood improvement for the agricultural and herding people, they also are the main reasons why some of the far off mountain regions and herding areas to this day have not been able to escape their poverty and backwardness. Of course, those minority nationalities living in the desert, freezing and arid regions of Tibet, Qinghai, Xinjiang and Nei Monggol as well as the relatively remote mountain regions of the Yunnan-Guizhou plateau face very difficult natural conditions and their methods of production are basically still those of the "slash and burn" type, so the process of economic development still requires an increase in the population and the labor force.

Table No 4: A Comparison of Population and Economic Conditions in Certain Minority Nationality Areas

Factor / Area	(1) 年代	(2) 人口密度 (人)	(3) 人均耕地 (亩)	(4) 人均粮食 (斤)	(5) 人均牲畜 (头)
Nei Monggol Autonomous Region	1949 1978	5 15	10.7 4.4	699 544	1.3 (1947年) 2.1
Qinghai Province	1949 1979	2 5.2	4.6 2.3	469 441	
Gansu Zhangjiachuan Moslem Auto County	1953 1980	139.7 182.1	4.59 2.78	(6) 503(口粮) 297(口粮)	0.22 0.13
Xiangjiang Uighur Autonomous Region	1949 1978	(7) 3(53年) 7.7	4.18 3.87	393 583	2.4 2.0
Tibet Autonomous Region	1952 1978	1.0 1.6	3.1 3.0	270 574	8.5 13.1
Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region	1950 1979	79 151	1.39 0.7	461 676	
Debao County (in Guangxi)	1952 1980	83.7 124	1.8 1.18	456 452	
Yunan Dehong Dai-Jingpo auto pref.	1952 1978	30 63.6	2 1	757 752	

(1)Years (2)Population Density (People) (3) Arable Land (Mu)
(4) Foodgrains Per Person (Jin) (5) Animals Per Person (Head)
(6) Grain Ration (7) 1953

4. The great discrepancy between the level of development and the actual needs in culture, education, health and sanitation. Except for those minority nationalities, such as the Koreans who have a somewhat higher cultural level, the other nationalities all have much lower ratios of students entering school, universal education and attainment of educational qualifications than in the Han nationality regions. For example, in 1979 in the Qinghai animal husbandry regions, of the approximately 25 percent of those enrolled in schools, primary school education was available only to 3-6 percent of the students of that age group, and of the post-Liberation population 75-80 percent were illiterate or semi-literate. During this same period, elementary school graduates in Tibet reached nearly 10 percent. In the Guangxi Zhuang countryside 60 percent of the people are illiterate. Even in the somewhat more developed minority nationality areas of Hunan the illiteracy rate is still 33.4 percent. Because of low levels of culture and ecucation, a lack of human talent and a relatively low level of population quality quite a few rural production brigades can't find any bookkeepers and must "keep accounts by counting beans and record wages by knotting ropes." A low cultural level not only directly influences the use of scientific methods to bring about agricultural developments, resolve contradictions of people and farm animals with grasslands in the herding areas, change the weather-dependent animal husbandry conditions of "working through the summer, living well in the fall, growing lean in the winter and starving in the spring," it moreover easily falls prey to backwards religious superstitions, which then leads to thoughtless childbearing.

In the area of health and sanitation, the minority nationality regions are faced with the problem of few doctors and a lack of medicines. Moreover, feudal superstitions and habits abound in many places so that some minority nationality areas are still beleaguered with a high birth and death rate. According to an investigation by the Sichuan Nationality Research Institute and Sichuan University, 105 women of the Liangshan Yi autonomous prefecture altogether gave birth to 530 babies, of which 363 survived and 31.5 percent died. Moreover, there are more marriages between relatives among the minority nationalities and some of them even today still prefer marriages between cousins, so there are a great variety of heredity illnesses, which seriously influences their population quality. For example, in 1949 the Qinghai Huzhu Tu autonomous county had a total of 290,000 people, 6.9 per thousand of who suffered from dementia, mental illness and who are deaf and dumb or blind. In the Guizhou Qiannan Boyi-Miao autonomous prefecture with a total population of 270,000 people, 6.3 per thousand are deaf, dumb or have sub-normal intelligence. In Gansu province Zhangjiachuan Mongol autonomous county, 7.2 percent of the people have a low I.Q. An investigation of the Sichuan Liangshan Yi nationality showed that of 100 families 7 were found to have marriage between close relatives.

It is worth noting that the above-mentioned conditions continue to occur as the population increases. For the rest, because health and sanitation conditions do not keep up with the speed of population growth so in some areas the people's health is threatened by disease. For example, a spot check in Guizhou of 5.23 million people in 48 counties revealed 733,500 sick people, 14 percent of the total population. Of these, in Duyun county, Kayou Commune (Buyi nationality) has a illness rate reaching 53.12 percent, and 22,500 suffer from keting [0344 3060], 4.3 percent of the entire population.

At present, population growth conditions among the minority nationalities are locked into habitual reproduction, and not only might exceed the present speed of population growth within a brief period and reach an even higher peak of births, moreover, all of this will be quite harmful to minority nationality economics and cultural development and nationality prosperity.

(3)

The objective features of minority population development concretely prove that the minority nationality population is a part of the total national population. They not only share the same problems with the overall national population but also have a great many different problems limited to the minority nationalities. If there is a serious imbalance between population and economic growth the livelihood conditions of the minority nationalities in most prefectures will remain poor and difficult; the proportion of illiterates will remain high and the number of people entering middle school and university especially will be very low; there will be a continual decline and worsening of the conditions of people depending on farmland, herds depending on grazing lands and there will be ecological imbalance. Other factors such as the religious beliefs, customs and habits of the minority nationalities are reflected in their population development. Regarding these problems, many minorities have begun to consider their own prosperity and development in light of the needs of construction of the four modernizations, with the realization that developing their superiorities, implementing policies and making progress in social and cultural development should be concurrent with the implementation of family planning. According to a 1980 investigation, in a commune of the Nei Monggol Chen Baerhu Banner the contraception rate is 47.3 percent, in the Guangxi Zhuang autonomous prefecture 84.9 percent, in the Gansu Zhangjiachuan Mongol autonomous county 85.5 percent, and in the Hunan Tong autonomous county 79.7 percent. In Guangzhou province, no level of government decreed that the Li nationality practice birth control but they themselves expressed the desire to do so. In 1980, the Hainan Autonomous Prefecture Birth Control Office made 25 awards to progressive communes and towns for family planning and the Li nationality won 13 of the awards, having 52 percent

of the progressive units. Of course, there are problems of understanding as well as other concrete problems in promoting family planning among the minority nationalities. There are some who believe that there are too few people of minority nationality and that family planning and controls on population increases will further reduce their already small numbers. Therefore, they reject family planning and advocate unrestricted population increases for minority nationalities. There are those who advocate more births for minority nationalities because they mostly live in far off mountainous regions with inferior health care and sanitation and very difficult natural conditions. Because the amount of work performed is a major factor in their life and livelihood they therefore need more births. How the minority nationalities will conduct family planning and how they will determine their population development goals still are very complex issues. They must proceed from their own objective conditions and must also consider the goals of the entire nation in terms of population conditions and population development. Comrade Zhao Ziyang gave a government work report at the 4th Session of the 5th National People's Congress saying: "In order to guarantee the steady improvement of the people's livelihood we must continue our steadfast, effective control over population increases." He also said, "We ask all people of the nation to make an unremitting effort to work for the well-being of the people and the future of the people by implementing the goal of limiting our population increases to 1.2 billion by the end of this century." Of course, this directive must also be carried out among the minority nationalities. However, family planning work in these areas must change according to the region and suitable allowances must be made where necessary, but we also must promote family planning and formulate workable methods.

Population development among the minority nationalities is a major issue requiring extensive and deep research. Although we lack sufficient understanding and grasp of the origins, environment and socio-economic conditions of the various nationalities as well as their population reproduction features, we nonetheless have arrived at the above understandings from our current materials in the hope of eliciting valuable comments, bringing this matter to people's attention and actively undertaking investigation, research and discussion. (February, 1982)

Author's note: The information for this article was primarily taken from ZHONGGUO RENDOUXUEHUI TONGXUN [BULLETIN OF THE CHINA POPULATION INSTITUTE] 1981, No 5.

11582
CSO: 4005/928

END

JPRS 81484

9 August 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 324

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81484

9 August 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 324

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

PARTY AND STATE

Applying Western Learning, Upholding Chinese Learning Discussed
(Tang Qixue; FUDAN XUEBAO, No 1, 1982) 1

'Chinese Fundamentals, Western Applications' Discussed
(Tao Ren; GUANGMING RIBAO, 2 Mar 82) 14

Four Principles, Draft Constitution Discussed
(Ji Qun, Song Mengrong; LIAONING RIBAO, 19 May 82) 16

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

History, Development of PLA Navy Described
(Lu Qiming; HAI YANG, No 5, 1982) 19

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Work in Literature, Art Theoretical Training Classes Urged
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 9 May 82) 23

Importance of Accurate Census Registration Stressed
(Cai Wenmei; RENKOU YANJIU, 29 May 82) 24

Workers From Outside Guangzhou Must Register for Temporary Residence
(GUANGZHOU RIBAO, 11 Apr 82) 28

First Open University Established in Beijing
(RENMIN RIBAO, 29 Apr 82) 29

Several Academic Institutions Added, Abolished, Merged
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 9 May 82) 30

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Bai Hua Said To Be Dispirited After Making Self-Criticism
(Fang Hsing; CHENG MING, No 5, 1982) 31

Imperfections in Draft Constitution Described
(Editorial; CHENG MING, No 6, 1982) 35

Merits, Demerits of Westernization Movement Reviewed
(CHENG MING, No 6, 1982) 38

APPLYING WESTERN LEARNING, UPHOLDING CHINESE LEARNING DISCUSSED

Shanghai FUDAN XUEBAO [FUDAN JOURNAL] in Chinese No 1, 1982 pp 67-74

[Article by Tang Qixue [3282 1142 1331], a History Department graduate student]

[Text] "Chinese learning for fundamentals and Western learning for applications," a popular Chinese slogan in the late 19th century, was not coined by Zhang Zhidong, as widely claimed by historians. At that time there were people who used theories and tools, essentials and nonessentials, or principals and subordinates to stand for "fundamentals and applications," or else traditional learning and new learning, or sacred learning and foreign learning for "Chinese learning" and "Western learning" respectively. The slogan became an elaborate ideology from its casual beginnings.

(1) The power of new technology and new equipment demonstrated by the British forces in the Opium War drew the attention of some Chinese to the advanced technology of the West. Wei Yuan, an eminent thinker who advanced the theory of "learning the best skills from the foreigners to control the foreigners," called for the study of Western mechanical equipment, including the sextant, steamship, steam engine and automatic positioning device, especially Western battleships, firearms, and "the method of troop training." Wei Yuan's views were the forerunner of the movement to learn from the West. Due to his limited knowledge of the West, he said the strong point of the West was their "skills" which he believed "could be learned in 1 year and thoroughly mastered in a couple of years" by the elite troops and talented craftsmen of Fujian and Guangdong provinces. He was convinced that the Western aggressors were good at naval warfare but weak in land warfare. To him, the acquisition of Western learning was only a matter of strategy.

If we say the First Opium War humbled the Chinese rulers and the Second Opium War scared them, then the Taiping Revolution made them tremble with fear. In 1861, Feng Guifeng, a native of Wuxian, Jiangsu, who was Lin Zexu's favorite student, "wrote 40 protests on the crises," setting forth a framework of the concept of "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." He believed China trailed behind the West in four different areas: "trailing behind the foreigners in tapping human talent, trailing behind the foreigners in exploiting natural resources, trailing behind the foreigners in bridging the gap between the ruler and his subjects, and trailing behind the foreigners in

making theory agree with practice." In addition to acquiring the best skills of the West, he recommended "absorption of Western learning," and called for the establishment of Tongwen Institutes [foreign language schools] and translation offices at Shanghai and Guangzhou to train specialists, to translate foreign books, and to study the Western skill of "manufacturing equipments." He also recommended that imperial examination degrees be granted to those who learned well. Feng Guifeng's political reforms called for revival of the ancient system of folksong collection "to bring about mutual understanding between the government and the governed," respect for "public opinions" on government personnel selection, and allowing the educated to express political views. While advocating learning from the West, Feng Guifeng also stressed Chinese learning, and favored a combination of the two so as to supplement the Chinese ethical teachings with foreign technology to achieve prosperity and strength.

(2) After its inception, the theory of "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" evolved along two different lines, the development of the views of the Westernizationists on the one hand and that of those intellectuals leaning toward capitalist reforms and the capitalist reformers on the other.

The Westernizationists, a unique faction of the landlord reformists, had emerged after the Second Opium War, at first led by Yixin, Zeng Guofan, Zuo Zongtang, and Li Hongzhang, and then by Zhang Zhidong after 1894. They also wanted to learn from the West how to rescue the feudalist regime. As prominent members of the feudalist ruling camp, they did not want to abandon their feudalist stand in spite of their craving for Western learning. Their guiding ideology was "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." In 1862, Zeng Guofan said: "Self-strengthening rests primarily on better government and the appointment of virtuous people, and secondarily on learning to manufacture such equipment as cannons and steamships." A similar theme was repeated by Zuo Zongtang in 1865. In the same year, Li Hongzhang said: "The Chinese culture and institutions which differ from the barbarian custom of the foreign countries are what account for the peace, security and stability of the empire. I do not subscribe to the view that the only way to bring peace out of turmoil and to turn weakness into strength is to learn to manufacture machines. Both basic policies and piecemeal measures are needed to run a government. An acute illness requires immediate cure, but that does not necessarily lead to total convalescence and recovery." In 1872 when the government was about to send students to America, Li Hongzhang ruled that while abroad they must take up both Chinese learning and Western learning simultaneously, so as not to become "captivated by unorthodox learning." That is to say, the Western learning is unorthodox learning good only for temporary cure. It takes Chinese learning to build up the real vitality of the country.

The theory of "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" entertained by the Westernizationists did not have any definitive interpretations because "Western learning" had been a subject of many different interpretations. Its flexibility helped enrich Feng Guifeng's notion of "adopting Western learning" and "manufacturing foreign machines." In the 1860's, the Westernizationists who were suppressing the peasant uprisings and resisting foreign

aggressions took upon themselves to build a modern military industry. In so doing, they discovered that China had to learn to manufacture machine tools to make its military industry independent. In 1864 Li Hongzhang recommended: "The way to make China strong is to learn to manufacture foreign weapons; the way to learn to manufacture foreign weapons is to procure weapon-making tools, copying their method without hiring their people." Gradually the Westernizationists realized what was involved in the manufacture of weapons and machines. Li Hongzhang noticed: "The Western countries which rely on mathematics and exhaustive planning to manufacture their weapons are able to make continuous improvement and turn out better products all the time." Yi Xin pointed out in 1866: "The foreigners depend on astronomy and mathematics to manufacture machines and firearms, as well as to run their shipping and military operations." As a result, the Shanghai Arsenal and the Fuzhou Shipyard each added a technical school. In 1867, the Tongwen Institute in Beijing offered courses in astronomy and mathematics, while the Shanghai Arsenal set up a new translation office.

In the 1870's, the Americans and Europeans came to China to operate steamships, telegraphic services and to build railroads as China sent students and diplomatic representatives abroad. These people wrote voluminous travel accounts, diaries and letters which helped the Westernizationists understand the West much more realistically. What surprised them the most was the rise of Japan, which hitherto had been victimized like China by foreign aggression and unequal treaties. It began in the mid-1850's to learn from the West and developed very rapidly following the Meiji Reform in 1868. In the following year, 1869, Emperior Meiji declared proudly "to explore the expanse of the oceans to make the presence of Japan felt all over the globe." The rise of Japan, China's next door neighbor, alarmed the Westernizationists who were shocked by the Japanese invasion of Taiwan in 1874. Li Hongzhang warned that Japan, which had been learning from the West, "has become more powerful and more ambitious every day. Convinced of its dominant position in the East, it looked down on China and invaded Taiwan. The Western countries, though powerful, are 70,000 li away. Japan, which spies on us just a door away, poses a constant threat to China." Li Hongzhang and others like him were anxious to follow Japan's example to learn from the West. But they found China not only trailing behind the West but also short of capital and qualified people. To "raise huge capital," Li Hongzhang proposed to learn the Western method of accumulating wealth. "To accumulate wealth" therefore became one of the top priorities of the Westernizationists in the 1870's and 1880's, their major theme of Western learning in the next couple of decades. They worked out five ways to accumulate wealth, namely, mining; steamships, railroads and telegraph; textile; commerce; and opium production. As for the training of personnel, Li Hongzhang said: "Calligraphy and essay writing are too superficial to educated people." He proposed that "the examination system be modified to include Westernization as a course for earning degrees." He even recommended that each coastal province should have a "bureau for foreign learning" and should send people abroad to study science and technology.

Even though the activities of the Westernizationists before 1894 had broadened the horizon, their suppression of the peasant uprisings and the creeping influence of their bureaucratic abuses in the new political programs actually

arrested the progress of the Chinese society. The theory of "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" they espoused was in fact reactionary in nature.

Another school of intellectuals who favored capitalist reforms, on the other hand, went all out to expound the new thought of Feng Guifeng and their own projects. Wang Tao may be considered their representative in the years prior to the Sino-French War.

Wang Tao, a primary degree graduate who had assumed a pseudonym "Huang Yuan" to work for the Taiping Army, fled to Hong Kong when the Qing Government ordered his arrest. Later, he went to Europe to pursue his education. After returning to Hong Kong, he edited in 1874 the XUNHUAN RIBAO and published many articles on reforms and self-strengthening. Having lived abroad and in Hong Kong, he knew the European countries quite well. The backwardness of China, the humiliation sustained by his fatherland, and the failure of the Westernizationists to learn from the West drove him to reach out for something better. Writing for publication in Hong Kong, he attacked the abuses in China very bluntly and pushed very vigorously for reforms. He agreed with Feng Guifeng that "while we learn about equipment from the West, we must rely on our own fundamental principles, because Confucianism is the infallible way of the learned." Unlike Feng Guifeng, Wang Tao was in favor of political reforms which he regarded as the "basis" of China's self-strengthening. In commending the parliamentary system of the West which he admired, Wang Tao said: [in the Western countries] "the ruler and his subjects work harmoniously. All political matters, big or small, are carefully deliberated and agreed upon before put into practice. Consequently, there is no misgovernment at home, and the whole country is united in defense against outside aggressions. They devote their efforts to domestic development in time of peace, and sacrifice their personal interests to fight for justice in time of emergency. They work so harmoniously that the whole country acts as if coordinated by one nerve center. Keeping the prosperity of their country above the personal concern of the ruler and his subjects, they have been doing well at home and abroad, as attested by their ability to penetrate the expanse of China in recent decades." The opposite was true in China where, as Wang Tao had observed, the emperor was revered at the expense of his subjects, and rigid official ranks kept the government and the governed far apart. He believed the best way to make China prosperous and strong was "to bring the government and the governed close together." In discussing the problem of making the people prosperous, Wang Tao said: "The people will not observe the rules of propriety unless their granaries are full. The best way 'to govern' is to make them 'prosperous.'" Consequently, "those who want to govern and yet do not make the country prosperous and strong simply do not know the art of government." To acquire wealth for the people or to acquire wealth for the officials was the issue which distinguished the intellectuals interested in capitalist reforms from the Westernizationists. Wang Tao also proposed abolishing the eight-legged essay of the old examination system and establishing civilian and military schools in all the cities and towns to teach useful Chinese and Western knowledge in order to bring up qualified people versed in both "basic principles and practical applications." He accused the Westernizationists for the first time of being "unimaginative, easygoing,

whitewashing, and complacent," failing to bring up qualified personnel and not knowing that all these were part and parcel of an "overall reform program."

China's defeat in the Sino-French War, which it did not really lose, made it even more vulnerable to further British and Russian aggressions. The threat of imminent foreign aggression was compounded on the one hand by mounting abuses in the new reform programs run by the Westernizationists, and on the other by the gradual rise of private capitalism as a social force in China since the 1880's. This was accompanied by the rise of a group of intellectuals who favored capitalist reforms. Having lived abroad or in Hong Kong, most of them had a better grasp of Western learning, even though they were in favor of reforms based on Chinese learning. For instance, Zheng Guanying believed: "Chinese learning is fundamental, while Western learning is supplemental. With Chinese learning supplemented by Western learning, one should be able to know the order of priorities, weigh the necessary changes, and exercise discretion in handling politics." Zhen Zhi said the Chinese "way" and the Western "tools" should be combined for mutual emulation and refinement. Tang Zheng proposed to "seek physical means to safeguard metaphysical principles." The specifics of these recommendations were at least unique and novel. Their remedies for the economy were "mercantilism" and "commercial wars." To protect China's national industry and commerce, Zheng Guanying and his friends called for protective tariff, higher import duties and lower export duties, and the removal of the foreigners in the Customs Administration to prevent favoritism. They asked for the abolition of the likin system to encourage the flow of Chinese commodities, modification of government policies which "plague commerce," and the establishment of a ministry of commerce to protect the Chinese merchants. They were anxious to introduce a system of new education to China. Zheng Guanying said anyone well versed in Western learning should be granted an official ranking even though his eight-legged essay was not so good. On the other hand, he should be "disqualified" if he did not know Western learning, no matter how good his eight-legged essay was.

Speaking for private capitalism, these intellectuals interested in capitalist reforms demanded the right to express their political views. They wanted "extensive right" to publish newspapers which would help promote new technology, develop trade, and report on conditions in foreign countries. They wanted the newspapers "run by the people" but "headed by eminent gentry." They were also interested in parliamentary government. Zheng Guanying accused those who alleged that "parliaments are good for the West but not for China, and that they had worked in the past but won't work now" of being ignorant and unable to see how they could benefit both China and the foreign countries. However, they wanted to limit the membership of a parliament to government officials and the gentry, even though the government officials and the gentry at that time were diehards. They also wanted to limit its authority to "deliberations" on important matters and "the exchange of the views of the government and the governed," and let the ruler decide what to implement. This kind of parliament was obviously meant to be a consultative rather than a decision-making body. Zheng Guanying, however, wanted the deliberative body to "control the overall policy of government" while the emperor reigns but does not rule."

These intellectuals also gave Chinese learning a new interpretation. They found that "the governments of the West are excellent except that they fell behind China in upholding the three cardinal relationships." That is to say, by identifying Chinese learning with the three cardinal relationships and five established virtues, they kept such matters as political and legal institutions out of the realm of Chinese learning. They had inadvertently used Western capitalist ideology to blast the decadent Chinese dogmas. Song Yuren said: "The political plight" of today was due to thousands of years of "emperor-worship at the expense of his subjects." Zhen Qiu approved of "anyone working to make the country prosper" but would not want to have "the whole country waiting on one person," which he thought "is not the intent of the Creator." To them, kings and emperors were not sacred. They favored equality of the sexes. Zhen Zhi said: "According to the 'Book of Changes,' the way of heaven brings forth the male and the way of the earth brings forth the female, each leading a life to preserve universal harmony. So the ancients did not favor either sex, but taught equality of male and female." They asked the government "to ban feet binding" and establish schools for women. This marked the beginning of the emancipation of women in China.

These intellectuals, worthy to be called the most progressive people in China at that time, represented, however, a duality of both the old and the new. They wanted to copy the parliamentary system of the West but in form only; they wanted to establish schools for women and "loosen the female feet," but only to enable them to play the role of "virtuous housewives and good mothers"; and they wanted to develop private capitalism and criticized the Westernizationists, but still relied on the latter to a certain degree. In a word, these people who had espoused the "fundamentals" of the capitalist countries were losing faith in the Chinese traditional "fundamentals." In spite of their leaning toward the capitalist reforms, they still could not shake off the feudalist ideological and political constraints. Limited in numerical strength, each waging his own campaign without any defined area of action and organization, they were unable to make their influence felt until after 1894.

(3) The seizure of Taiwan by Japan in 1895 prompted the imperialist Western powers to converge on China to seek their own spheres of influence as if to dismember the Chinese empire. "Mounting national peril," the threat of foreign aggression, forced the Chinese people to fight for self-preservation. The Sino-Japanese War of 1894 upset them the most. Having spent decades to learn from the West, "Japan, a petty state," had finally triumphed over the Chinese navy and army in the war of 1894. This deadly blow shook up many Chinese. Confronted with this devastating defeat and damaging internal contradictions, the Qing Government began to relax its ideological control. This ushered in a sudden outburst of ideological activities. It became a fad for the intellectuals and enlightened officials to discuss politics openly. Between 1895 and 1898 there were over 300 civic bodies, newspapers and schools engaged in promoting Western learning. The advocates of reforms were vocal not only in the coastal regions but also in inland provinces. As books and publications on modernization and reforms multiplied, earlier works on reforms, such as "Xiaobinlu Kangyi" and "Shengshi Weiyan," reappeared in reprint after reprint. There were also collections of sets of books on Western learning, such as Liang Qichao's "Xizheng Congshu" and Zhang Zhidong's "Xixue

Ziqiang Congshu." Within those few years, "Xiaobinlu Kangyi" appeared in 7 different editions and "Shengshi Weiyan" in more than 10 different editions. According to Guangxuehui's accounts, the proceeds from its sale of books rose from 800 yuan in 1893 to over 2,000 yuan in 1895, over 6,000 yuan in 1896, 12,000 yuan in 1897, and 18,000 yuan in 1898. The sale increased 20 times within a few years.

"Chinese fundamentals and Western applications," a popular slogan at that time, was used not only by the neo-Westernizationists and the Guangxuehui, but also by the diehards and the capitalist reformers. But they differed a great deal in substance.

1. The "Chinese Fundamentals and Western Applications" of the Neo-Westernizationists

As reforms had made Japan strong and as "China's sovereignty and territory had been clipped," a considerable number of bureaucrats, including Li Hongzao and Rong Lu, both grand secretaries, Weng Tonghe and Sun Jianai, both secretaries of state, left the diehard camp to support reforms. Even Emperor Guangxu was in favor of reforms. "The whole country is discussing Westernization," as the description goes. These bureaucrats and top provincial commanders, such as Zhang Zhidong, might be called neo-Westernizationists as distinguished from the old Westernizationists headed by Zeng Guofan, Zuo Zongtang and Li Hongzhang. Their reform program was still "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." Speaking in August 1896 on the policy of the Jingshi Daxuetang (Beijing University under the Qing Regime), Sun Jianai said very emphatically: "The establishment of the university of the capital is based on Chinese learning, supplemented by Western learning. Since Chinese learning is for fundamentals and Western learning for applications, Western learning may be used to supplement what the Chinese learning lacks or misses. This is the intent of the founder of the university." In 1898, Emperor Guangxu asked "officials of all ranks, including nobilities and commoners, to exert themselves and make a determined effort to strengthen the country by relying on the judicious teachings of the sages as a basis, while studying intensively all applicable Western learning to remedy the shortcomings and pedantic errors, ...to make themselves sagacious and all-round."

"The "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" subscribed to by the neo-Westernizationists differed substantially from that of the old Westernizationists. Most of the neo-Westernizationists regarded "changing the established methods"--educational reform, reform of the examination system, and bringing up qualified people--as the fundamentals to learn from the West. They were fond of Fenf Guifeng's "Xiaobinlu Kangyi" but criticized Zhen Zhi and Weng Tonghe as "dedicated to making China prosperous and strong but aiming too high."

2. The "Chinese Fundamentals and Western Applications" Envisaged by Guangxuehui

Guangxuehui was organized by foreign residents in China, mostly missionaries, who had close relations with the Chinese political circles. Dissatisfied with

China's outmoded method of production, inefficient administration, and mounting anti-foreign religion movement, they urged China to inaugurate reforms to help the imperialist aggressors. Young John Allen, an American missionary, suggested that "the way to keep pace with the West is to blend together the Chinese traditions and Japanese power." His Chinese secretary, Cai Erkang, proposed using the sacred learning for fundamentals and foreign learning for applications. Timothy Richard, a British missionary, said: "The teachings of Emperor Yao, Emperor Shun, Duke Zhou and Confucius are applicable all over the world, and Chinese scholars are respected in Europe. But China is ineffective in supporting her people." His idea of supporting the people was "to trade with all countries." According to him, "the top priority of reform is to build railroads before training troops." He also said China ought to hire foreign personnel. They all wanted to control the Chinese government.

In 1896, Shen Shoukang, chief editor, 1889-1894, of "Wanguo Kongbao" published by Guangxuehui, wrote an article on "Kuangshice" [A Program for Meeting the Emergency] in which he proposed that China should learn useful science and technology from the West, but should not abandon its traditions for complete Westernization. He said: "Both Chinese learning and Western learning have their strong points and weak points. What the Chinese should do is to use Chinese learning for fundamentals and Western learning for applications. Even though Western learning is urgently needed now in the wake of negotiations with the foreign powers, any Chinese who specializes exclusively in Western learning is likely to change his mind the moment he sees anything new, acquire foreign lifestyle, abandon the Chinese fundamentals and finally end up as rejects to the world of scholars. Both young and old should keep this in mind. They should extract the essence of Western learning, master its strong points, and avoid superficialities. Otherwise, they would be despised by us Chinese and ridiculed by the Westerners." The records I have examined so far indicate that Shen Shoukang was the first person to coin the slogan "Chinese learning is for fundamentals and Western learning is for applications."

The "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" espoused by the Guangxuehui group, though somewhat religiously oriented, agreed substantially with that of the Westernizationists.

3. The "Chinese Fundamentals and Western Applications" of the Diehards

At the height of the reform movement, even the diehards showed some interest in "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." Huaidabu, secretary of state for the Board of Rites, a well-known diehard, said: "There is a lot to learn about the Western political system, but such a study should be based on the fundamental Chinese teachings of the cardinal human relationships." Wang Xianqian, a diehard of Hunan, accused Liang Qichao and others of preaching democracy and equality at the Shiwu School of Hunan against the policy of the school which called for "concentration on Chinese learning with allowance for the best of Western learning." The diehards were known for their veiled opposition to reforms. It was not until the 1898 Coup which dismantled the new political reform that the insincerity of the diehards in the pursuit of Western learning was finally brought to light.

4. The "Chinese Fundamentals and Western Applications" of the Capitalist Reformers

Prior to the 1898 Coup, there were many capitalist reformers interested in "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." The Qiangxuehui organized by Kang Youwei in Shanghai pledged that the pursuit of both Chinese and Western learning "should be based on Confucian classics." Liang Qichao was one of the reformers who loved to talk about "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." He said: "No matter what kind of school one goes to, either in the East or the West, one must master the learning of his own country before he could master the learning of other countries. If he did not master the learning of his own country, he would not be able to master the learning of another country. The trouble with Chinese scholars is that those who major in Chinese learning simply refuse to have anything to do with Western learning, while those who major in Western learning refuse to have anything to do with Chinese learning. Consequently, the two became polarized rather than coordinated. Since Chinese learning is for fundamentals and Western learning for applications, the two are complementary and interdependent. One must have both the fundamentals and the applications to be all round. Indiscriminate pursuit of Western learning not founded on the fundamentals is not only futile but also conducive to unworthy practices. That is why our schools have not been able to turn out all-round talents." The reform faction headed by Kang (Youwei) and Liang (Qichao) inherited and expanded in three unique areas the "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" entertained by the intellectuals of the pre-1894 era:

First, they asked for a full-scale reform modeled on that of Japan. Before 1894, most progressive Chinese agreed that Japan's allout effort to copy the West had been fruitful, but they thought Japan's full-scale Westernization was a "mere craving for frills" (according to Wang Tao). In 1898, Kang Youwei wanted "to take Japan as the guide and the blueprint" of a complete reform, and submitted to Emperor Guangxu "A Study of the Reform in Japan."

Secondly, Kang Youwei and his associates advocated democratic rights and demanded the right to participate in government. The Western theory of natural rights and the separation of powers had appeared in "Wangua Kongbao" as early as 1875, but it had little impact on the Chinese. In the spring of 1895, Yan Fu took the lead to advocate democratic rights. He said: "All the emperors since Qin Shihuang were but marauders who robbed the country. How did they rob the country? They did it by robbing the people... The people are the true masters of the land..." He found support in the reformers, the proponents of "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." While in the capital for imperial examination, Kang Youwei petitioned the throne "to govern with the people." Wang Kangnian said: "Only by restoring the democratic rights and upholding justice could it be possible to weed out abuses and achieve self-strengthening." Liang Qichao frequently lectured on democratic rights, especially during his lecture tenure at the Hunan Shiwu School where he "talked about nothing but the theory of democracy."

Thirdly, Kang Youwei transformed the teachings of Confucius to serve the cause of modernization and reform. He said Confucius was for equality and

democracy, and the Confucian theory that "all men are similar in natural disposition" stood for equality... So there is no distinction between a great man and a smaller man." He went on to say that when Confucius "referred to the people, he meant democracy. I know the Confucian concept of people means democracy." In his book "On Confucius as a Reformer," Kang Youwei described Confucius as a great teacher who inaugurated reforms in the name of antiquity. "Emperor Yao, Emperor Shun, and King Wen described in the Six Classics were Confucian legends for democracy and monarchy,... not necessarily the real Emperor Yao, Emperor Shun, and King Wen." Kang Youwei called for a constitutional monarchy to replace the absolute monarchy, and projected a utopian world of harmony and equality which he alleged was the Confucian master strategy as revealed in the "Spring and Autumn Annals." Kang Youwei's presentation, diametrically opposed to the conventional Confucian teachings which exalted the ancient ways and the imperial and patriarchal rules of human relations, was well received by the reformers and influenced the public profoundly. In reality, Kang and Liang were exploiting the cult of Confucius and Mencius as a vehicle to promote the capitalist form of democracy, even though they paid lip service to "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." Other reformers, including Yan Fu, He Qi and Hu Lihuan, were either uninterested or opposed to "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications."

The fall of 1897 saw the neo-Westernizationists and reformers working together in running learned societies, schools and newspapers, and fighting for reforms. The former were anxious to win over Kang, Liang and their associates who were counting on the neo-Westernizationists to support their drive for reform. However, the contradictions between these two factions intensified as they could not agree on the question of democracy and the issue of Confucian reforms in the name of antiquity.

After the German occupation of the Bay of Jiaozhou in the winter of 1897, other powers also moved in. The national crises alarmed and infuriated the reformers, who had become disillusioned with the government where the literati and officialdom "were still indulging in wining and dining." Writing to Chen Baozhen on 14 December 1897, Liang Qichao said in his letter: "Alas! Today, there is no way other than reform to preserve the existence of the nation. Yet political reform would be more difficult to realize than to remove mountains and empty the seas if it were left to the distinguished gentlemen of the government. But we must not despair." Disappointment soon led them to radicalism. Before Liang Qichao left to lecture at the Hunan Shiwu School, he met with his comrades to map out their program of action. They came up with four options: "1) gradual approach; 2) radical approach; 3) concentrating on a constitutional government; and 4) full-scale reform, making the people aware of the problem, and working primarily for racial revolution. Liang Qichao preferred 2 and 4, with which Kang Youwei agreed after careful consideration.

On his way to Hunan, Liang Qichao traveled through Hubei where Zhang Zhidong "invited him for a long talk and found his views conducive to abuses." In the following spring, Zhang Zhidong wrote a book "On Exhortation of Learning" or "Quanxuepian" which turned cooperation to hostility between the neo-Westernizationists and the reformers.

(4) "Quanxuepian" is a pamphlet written from the viewpoint of the Westernizationists by Zhang Zhidong to provide a systematic exposition of the concept of "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." It contains two sections: the internal section and the external section. The internal section was meant "to rectify public feeling," while the external section was supposed "to broaden the horizon."

"To rectify public feeling" was to oppose "those who express perverse, dangerous and unorthodox views to corrupt public feeling." That is to say, Zhang Zhidong was opposed to the capitalist reformers headed by Kang Youwei, especially their views on two particular issues: 1) Kang Youwei's theoretical justification of political reforms--the Gongyang Version of the Spring and Autumn Annals, and 2) the democratic theories of the reformers. According to Kang Youwei, "Zuochuan" (Zuo Qiuming's Version of the Spring and Autumn Annals), fabricated by Liu Xin, was not reliable; "Gongyang Chuan" (Gongyang Gao's Version of the Spring and Autumn Annals) was the true Confucian version. According to "Quanxuepian," however, the "Gongyang Chuan" was not reliable. It was the work of the classicists of the Qin and Han Dynasties and not that of the 70 Disciples. Zhang Zhidong said in "Quanxuepian" that Kang Youwei's dissertation on the works of Gongyang Gao was like a contraband drug which could kill people. As for democratic rights, Zhang Zhidong said: "Nowadays there are people who quote works of the West to assert the right of every individual to decide for himself. That is outrageous. They got that idea from the Western religious books which allege that God endows every individual with enough intelligence for him to get established. Unfortunately, the translation made it to mean that every person has the right to decide for himself. That is a gross mistake." That is to say, there are no such things as natural rights. The translator had made a mistake. Zhang Zhidong was of the opinion that if everyone were to decide for himself, it would lead to lawlessness, utter disorder throughout the realm, invasion by the Western powers, and finally the destruction of the Chinese nation. Consequently, "the theory of democratic rights is absolutely harmful" and "that is what our enemies would love to see us get into." (Quanxuepian)

As a defender of feudalism, Zhang Zhidong spelled out in "Quanxuepian" that "the basic fundamentals are the three bonds and four virtues, to love one's parents, to honor one's superiors, to respect one's elders, and to observe the segregation of the sexes. These are not subject to negotiations with the people for changes."

The external section of the book deals with reform measures. For economy, Zhang Zhidong was in favor of copying the Western method of production. To underscore the role of the government as a protector, Zhang Zhidong asked the merchants to rely honestly on the government instead of seeking power for themselves. Obviously he wanted to follow Li Hongzhang's line of government supervision of privately operated business. He was immensely interested in education. As laid down in "Quanxuepian," he favored the establishment of schools, sending students to study abroad, especially Japan, and translation of books. As a matter of fact, "Quanxuepian" contributed considerably to the development of modern education in China. It also spoke in favor of newspapers and even a consultative parliament "once there are more schools and

more educationally qualified people." The book covered a wide range of subjects concerning both Chinese and Western learning, parts of which are pretty close to the views of the intellectuals of the pre-1894 era. The focus of "Quanxuepian" is its internal section which singled out the capitalist reformers for attack, pointing out that the threat posed by the reform faction outweighed the imperialist aggressions. In its "Preface," Zhang Zhidong said: "I am afraid the misfortune of China lies within its borders rather than from abroad."

In July 1898, Huang Shaoqi, a Hanlin Academy scholar-in-waiting, presented "Quanxuepian" to Emperor Guangxu who approved of its exposition and commented: "It contains judicious and reasonable views which benefit the academic world and the general public." He ordered the Privy Council to provide copies to the provincial governors and directors of studies for extensive publication in order to reinstate the sagacious teachings and put an end to all unorthodox views." Since "Quanxuepian" represented the developing views on a majority of landlords and bureaucrats, it was reprinted by all the localities in 200 different editions. Thus, "Chinese learning for fundamentals and Western learning for applications" became a nationwide axiom of the day. Actually, it was patronized at that time only by the Westernizationists.

(5) Chinese learning and Western learning in reality represented diametrically opposed feudalist culture on the one hand and capitalist culture on the other. The fact that the two were blended together to form "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" by the late 19th century Chinese reformers is not at all surprising. According to Engels: "Premature theories are for premature class relations. As long as solutions to social problems are hidden in underdeveloped economic relations, people have to resort to imagination and creativity." ("The Development of Socialism From Imagination to Science") The emergence of the concept of "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" is indicative of an endangered feudalist Chinese society turned into a semi-colonial and semi-feudalist society. Since Chinese learning was unable to keep the feudalist Chinese society intact, the Chinese society had no need to keep the feudalist Chinese learning intact. Even though nobody questioned the fact that the Western countries were more powerful than China and that Western learning stood for prosperity and strength, the feudalist traditions still dominated all areas of the Chinese social life. Consequently, Western learning was not in a position to replace Chinese learning, and capitalism in China was still too weak to be recognized. As a result, these hybrid Siamese twins finally emerged to haunt the late 19th century Chinese society.

Of course each reform group had its own axe to grind. The Westernizationists, treating Western learning as a means to a particular end, did not want it to uproot the foundation of the Chinese feudalist society--the preservation of the small farm economy and the essentials of the superstructure. The "Chinese fundamentals" were the life line they shared with the Qing imperial regime. The fact that the intellectuals leaning toward capitalist reforms and the reformists both upheld the "fundamentals" of Chinese learning was that private capitalism which they represented was too weak to fall back on and that they themselves did not understand very well the true nature of Western institutions. Very few of them had read any authoritative Western books on politics,

economics and philosophy. They were affected by feudalism to such an extent that they were unable to differentiate patriotism, loyalty to the emperor and belief in Confucianism. They did not want to abandon the traditional Chinese institutions and moral values, nor did they believe that Western learning could ever outweigh Chinese learning. As a matter of strategy, they tried "to work out new interpretations" of the teachings of the ancient sages to shelter their efforts "to broaden the horizon" and "adopt new methods."

The "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" pursued by the Westernizationists on the one hand and by the progressive intellectuals on the other had evolved, as expected, in two different directions because they represented different socio-economic foundations. The Westernizationists who represented the interests of the big bureaucrats and big landlords drifted toward bureaucratic compradorean capitalism in the wake of imperialist aggression and popular awakening, though still clinging to "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." Alarmed by the national crisis, the progressive intellectuals, encouraged by the growth of private capitalism, abandoned in substance if not in name the "Chinese fundamentals," because "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" based on Chinese feudalist ideology was basically reactionary. In fact, Feng Guifeng, Zheng Guanying, let alone Kang Youwei, were primarily interested in promoting Western learning, using Chinese learning only as a ploy. For instance, they claimed that Western learning had originated in China and that Western science and technology and parliaments were "the legacies of the antiquities" of China. Therefore they proposed to restore the old ways of the Three Dynasties to bring back "the legacies of the antiquities" which had drifted to the West.

In the 19th century, the Westernizationists sprang to power for having put down a peasant uprising, but fell into oblivion by opposing the capitalist reformers. The bureaucratic abuses and corruption which crowded their new reform projects actually arrested the normal growth of capitalism. However, they had imported new production technology, brought up a batch of qualified people, and won back certain rights from the hands of foreign merchants. Their prestigious position had helped positively to broaden the horizon of the Chinese society. Before the publication of "Quanxuepian," the Westernizationists, who espoused "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" and opposed the conservative diehards were able to cooperate up to the end of 1897 with the progressive intellectuals. The publication of "Quanxuepian" which exalted Chinese learning to attack the reform faction forced the capitalist reformers to abandon the "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" to groom themselves for outright promotion of capitalist reforms. The "new reforms" in keeping with "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications" inaugurated by the Qing Government at the beginning of the 20th century were too late and too little to draw the attention of the Chinese capitalist revolutionaries.

5360
CSO: 4005/681

'CHINESE FUNDAMENTALS, WESTERN APPLICATIONS' DISCUSSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 2 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Tao Ren [3447 0088]]

[Text] The "Chinese learning for fundamentals and Western learning for applications" was a popular Chinese slogan in the late 19th century. In his article on "The Development of the Concept of 'Chinese Learning for Fundamentals and Western Learning for Applications'" (FUDAN JOURNAL No 1, 1982), Tang Qizue says the slogan was not coined by Zhang Zhidong, but had evolved from casual beginnings to a systematized ideology.

As explained in the article, the Chinese learning and Western learning which represented two extremes, the Chinese feudalist culture on the one hand and the capitalist culture on the other, were arbitrarily brought together to form the "Chinese fundamentals and Western Applications" in the latter part of the 19th century by those Chinese who sought to reform China. The emergence of the slogan symbolized the gradual transformation of the endangered feudalist Chinese society into a semi-colonial and semi-feudalist society. To them, since the Western countries were more powerful than China, Western learning therefore represented prosperity and power. However, as the feudalist traditions then still dominated all areas of Chinese social life, the Western learning could not possibly replace the Chinese learning. The fact that capitalism was then too weak in China explains why these monstrous hybrid twins had come into being in the late 19th century Chinese society.

The article goes on to say that the Westernizationists took the Western learning as a serviceable tool which would not rock the foundation of the feudalist Chinese society--the small farm economy and the essentials of the superstructure. Having thrown in their lot with the Qing imperial regime, they valued the feudalist "Chinese fundamentals" as their life line. The intellectuals leaning toward capitalist reform and the capitalist reformers also valued the Chinese learning as "fundamental" because they did not have a strong national capitalism to fall back on and because they themselves knew so little about the nature of the Western learning that they could not shake off the deep-rooted influence of feudalism. Still emotionally attached to the Chinese traditional institutions and moral values, they did not believe Western learning could outstrip Chinese learning. But they were anxious

to find a rationale for acquiring the Western learning from the teachings of the ancient sages to help them "uncover new principles" to "turn the tide in favor of new methods" under the nose of stifling control. Representing two different socio-economic foundations, the Westernizationists and the progressive intellectuals reacted in their separate ways toward the "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." The Westernizationists who represented the interests of top bureaucrats and landlords drifted toward bureaucratic compradorean capitalism in the wake of imperialist aggression and popular awakening, while still clinging to "Chinese fundamentals and Western applications." The progressive intellectuals, prompted by worsening national crises and the growth of national capitalism, gradually walked away from the substance but not the facade of the "Chinese fundamentals." In reality, Feng Guifeng, Zheng Guanying and Kang Youwei had been advocating Western learning rather than Chinese learning, which they kept merely to accentuate the former. These intellectuals wanted "to give priority to commerce," and "to wage commercial wars." Zheng Guanying and his friends were seeking protective tariff, lower import levies, and the removal of foreigners from the Chinese customs administration to eliminate favoritism." They also asked for the abolition of domestic shipping tax (likin) to facilitate the circulation of Chinese commodities, and the establishment of a ministry of commerce to protect Chinese merchants and do away with the policy which "plagues commerce."

5360
CSO: 4005/681

PARTY AND STATE

FOUR PRINCIPLES, DRAFT CONSTITUTION DISCUSSED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 19 May 82 p 3

[Article by Ji Qun [4764 5028] and Song Mengrong [1345 5492 2837]: "Strictly Observe the Four Basic Principles: On a Basic Spirit of the Draft Constitution"]

[Text] The "Revised Draft of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China" has been made public and handed over to the peoples of the country for discussion. This is an important event in our nation's political life. The outstanding feature of this draft revision is that is affirms that it is necessary to uphold the four basic principles, i.e., that it is necessary to uphold socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. In its Preample," the revised draft of the constitution says: The victory of the new democratic socialist revolution of China and the victory of socialism have both been won under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; in future, "under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the Chinese people will continue to uphold the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist path." The spirit of the four basic principles runs through the entire draft constitution.

The revised draft of the constitution fully affirms the four basic principles and makes them the highest standard for people and the fundamental principle for guiding all areas of China's social life. This has very important and profound significance for our building a strong socialist nation with a high degree of material and spiritual culture. This is a summary of the basic experience of China's recent history, as well as a summary of the basic experience of the Chinese people's socialist revolution and construction over the past 30 years and more, the historical choice of the bloody struggle of the Chinese people and a truth observed through experience. It reflects the basic interests and collective demands of all the country's people and reflects the law of our historical development.

The most important thing in upholding the four basic principles is upholding the leadership of the party and socialism. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly emphasized the centrality of the four upholds to upholding party leadership. The party's leadership of socialism is something which took shape during the

history of struggle in the 1960's: the party cannot do without the people and the people cannot do without the party. This is something which nothing can change. Guided by the "Resolution" of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the draft constitution summarizes the experience and lessons of our party as a political party since the founding of the PRC and the leadership position and role of the party in the life of the nation, makes scientific provisions which fully embody the great successes we have won in upholding and improving party leadership since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

The most fundamental thing in the party's leadership is to rely on the correctness of the party's ideological and political leadership and the correctness of the party's line, principles and policies; and to rely on organizing and supporting the people as masters of the state to build a new socialist life. The party's leadership must uphold the principle of the collectiveleadership of the party committee and forbid any form of personality cult. Based on just this understanding, the draft constitution thoroughly eliminates wording which promotes personality cult. But party leadership cannot run everything. When discussing the relationship between party and state organs, Lenin said: "The party's mission is to carry out leadership of the work of all state organs, and is not the present excessively, abnormal, and frequently particularistic interference." (Lenin's Complete Works," Vol 33, p 211) In the past, for such reasons as our insufficient experience and the weaknesses of excessive concentration of authority and no definition of scope of responsibility in the present systems of party and state, the development of the superiority of the socialist system has been hindered. In addition to affirming the party's general leadership of national life in the "Preamble", the draft constitution generally abandons the specific articles and clauses regarding the emphasis on party leadership in past constitutions, and embodies the positive results of strengthening party leadership and improving the party leadership system since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

Upholding party leadership and strengthening the socialist legal system go hand in hand. The draft constitution records the achievements of the CCP's leadership of the Chinese people's long struggle. The party leads the people to formulate a constitution and laws, and the party also leads the people to observe the constitution and the laws. In China, the constitution and the laws are the unity of the party's ideas and the people's will. In view of the wanton destruction of the socialist legal system by the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, regarding the open trampling of the constitution, the draft constitution clearly stipulates that the constitution "has the force of the highest law," all government and party organizations and social organizations "must make the constitution the basic norm of activity and have the responsibility to uphold the observance of the constitution and guarantee the implementation of the constitution," "no organization or individual has special rights which supersede the constitution and the laws." This means that the leadership and activity of the CCP in the life of the nation also falls within the scope of the constitution and the laws.

Upholding the leadership of the party does not mean that the party cannot make mistakes. The party's leadership is formed in practice and does not exist in some mystic concept of "wisdom." No organization or person in the world can think that he cannot commit the slightest error, so how much less so in leading such a large country as China in such an unprecedentedly enormous socialist enterprise! Historically, our party has committed this or that kind of error more than once, but it was our party itself and not someone else who corrected it. The draft constitution was written by seeking truth from facts and the party's leadership of the Chinese people won victory in the process of upholding truth and correcting mistakes. The CCP is a party which thinks that looking after the interests of the majority of the people of China is its highest aim, and in the future, in socialist practice, it will certainly constantly improve its own leadership and strengthen its own fighting strength.

8226
CSO: 4005/912

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

HISTORY, DEVELOPMENT OF PLA NAVY DESCRIBED

Beijing HAI YANG [OCEANS] in Chinese No 5, 1982 pp 1-2

[Article by Lu Qiming [7120 0366 2494]: "A Brand-New Battle Array--A Visit to the People's Navy"]

[Text] My visit began with observing at sea a live landing operation exercise.

Early one morning I boarded a guided missile destroyer, which then sailed out to the surging deep sea. I used this interval while we were crossing the sea to ask the destroyer commander to let me look around this new-type warship. Reflected by the rising sun, the silver grey guided missile destroyer glistened with dazzling white rays. It was like a pagoda towering above the sea surface. This ship well deserves its reputation as a "seaborne scientific city." It is fitted out with a lot of advanced equipment and instruments. Its "ears" are able to hear the electric waves from satellites in the upper sky and the sounds of submarines in the deep sea; its "eyes" are able to spy out and seize upon moving targets in the air, on the sea, and under the sea; its main engine can propel the warship through the waves of a stormy sea; the amount of electricity put out by its auxiliary engine could supply the electricity used by a medium-sized city; its radar and control instruments provide all the firing data for aiming its various type of guns; and with a light push on a button, an enormously powerful guided missile will rise from its launching pad and fly toward its target. This destroyer reflects in a concentrated way one aspect of our country's modernization drive.

The guided missile destroyer swiftly arrived at its designated sea area. Other ships of the composite sea formation also took up their own positions on schedule. The exercise then began. The posture of the "enemy" and us at this time was: the "enemy" had invaded and occupied a certain island of ours, and a force of our marines, under the protection of our ships, had bravely landed on a beachhead and launched a counterattack against the enemy. At this critical juncture, an "enemy" sea reinforcement formation, tried to reinforce by sea the "enemy" troops who had landed and to wipe out our marines on the beachhead, in order to consolidate the "enemy's" position on the island. The mission of our composite sea formation was: to destroy the "enemy's" sea reinforcement formation and to coordinate with the marines in recapturing the island. The commander of the composite sea formation ordered

the formation to rapidly approach the reinforcement formation. When our formation had approached to the best distance for attack, the commander again checked the "enemy's" position with the radarmen, after which he issued his first order: "Targets--the 'enemy's' formation's control vessel and air arm--attack!" In an instant there came a rumble in the sky as a group of torpedo planes, covered by fighter planes, headed straight toward the "enemy" formation. Just as the group of torpedo planes returned to base, a formation of torpedo boats, churning up high waves, suddenly appeared in front of the "enemy." Following closely on this, in obedience to the order given by the commander of our formation, guided missiles were launched from destroyers, frigates and fast attack craft, from different angles and distances, and the missiles flew in unison toward the "enemy" formation. Immediately on the sea and in the air there was a sound like rolling thunder, the rumble lingering in the ear. After several minutes, the formation staff officer went up to its commander: "Reporting to commanding officer: The control vessel of the enemy's sea reinforcement formation has been hit and his formation has fled in disorder. Our marines are now pursuing and wiping out the 'enemy' remnants on the island." Just as the formation staff officer completed his report, the confidential staff officer also delivered a report to headquarters: "Our submarines have sunk an 'enemy' warship!"

The exercise ended. On the control platform I had a chat with the commander of the composite sea formation. The commander's gaze swept the brand-new battle array, but first he talked about the First Opium War of 1840. He said: "At that time, the worthy sons and duaghters of our Chinese nation could only resist the imperialist power's seaborne invasion with broadswords, spears, homemade rifles, and homemade cannons. Today, we have the People's Navy, equipped with guided missiles, rockets, and electronic technology, to defend the motherland's sea border. This is a great change!" "If, in the future, imperialism again invades our country by sea," the commander waved his large hand in the air and said with determination, "imagine what their fate will be!"

This commanding officer of the composite sea formation recalled with excitement the circumstances in the period when the People's Navy was first being built up. In the early 1950's, he was transferred from the army to the navy. In the army he had been an expert in the use of the bayonet and was once awarded the honorable title of "combat model." In the navy, he commanded many sea battles. At that time, all the formations he led were composed of "grandfather" warships. As a matter of fact, not only were the warships he led of this type but so were all the vessels of the People's Navy during the initial stage of building up the navy. There were at that time four sources of ships: 1) ships captured from the Kuomintang Navy during the River-Crossing Campaign; 2) ships obtained when personnel of the Kuomintang Navy mutinied; 3) ships allocated to the navy by transfer from local sea transportation bureaus; and 4) ships bought from Hong Kong. The characteristics of the ships and their equipment were: 1) old--the majority of the ships had been built before World War II; 2) dilapidated--all of the ships "lacked an arm or a leg"; 3) complicated--the ships had been built in about a dozen different countries; and 4) small--most of them were small boats or small ships of several tons or several hundreds of tons. On this kind of structure, we built the People's Navy. "But now," the commander said excitedly, "The past cannot be compared to the present!"

The real facts are this. In the past several years, each fleet of the navy has staged a defensive exercise like this one, and some of the exercises have been on a bigger scale than this one. However, every exercise has only reflected a small aspect in the buildup of the Navy. What is the complete picture of the People's Navy? With this question in mind, I visited some units and was greatly encouraged by what I saw and heard.

Some of the comrades who briefed me said that the navy has already been built up on a considerable scale. The navy is a branch of the armed forces composed of many service arms. In the air, there is the naval air arm composed of various types of aircraft; on the surface of the sea, there are various types of surface vessels; under the sea there are various types of submarines; on the coast there are guided missile units and large artillery pieces of various calibers; and there are also the naval marines, skillful in attack and defense, as well as various specialized units. With regard to vessels, we have combat vessels such as destroyers, frigates, submarines, minesweepers, minelayers, landing ships, landing boats, guided missile craft, submarine chasers, and corvettes. There are also auxiliary vessels such as supply ships, repair ships, salvage ships, tugboats, cold storage ships, icebreakers, survey ships, degaussing vessels, and rescue and lifesaving vessels. Besides bombers, attack planes, and fighter planes, the naval arm has some special aircraft suited for the sea, such as torpedo planes, antisubmarine planes, sea reconnaissance planes, ambulance planes, etc. Because the navy is a branch of the armed forces that is composed of various service arms, it can both coordinate military operations with the army and the air force and also conduct independent operations under the sea, on the sea, and in the air.

These comrades said that in the past the navy's combat vessels were mainly armed with cannons, but now the navy has guided missile destroyers, guided missile frigates, guided missile fast attack craft, as well as coastal guided missile units. There are many kinds of guided missiles, like shore-to-ship, ship-to-ship, ship-to-air, air-to-ship, air-to-air, etc. This indicates that the striking force of the People's Navy is swift and strong. The navy's equipment is also constantly being modernized and developed. For example, in the past the communications equipment could only insure offshore communications, but now there has been set up a communications network of many long and short wave bands that can insure unimpeded communications for a distance of over 10,000 li. For sea navigation equipment, the compass and sextant have developed into equipment for many ways of navigating such as by satellite. Furthermore, in the past the Navy's supply ships could only operate offshore, but now ocean-going supply ships, ocean-going salvage ships, and ocean-going tugboats have been built. They have given wings to the combat vessels and can support the combat vessels in carrying out missions in the deep sea and ocean.

"The development of the navy's equipment is comparatively fast." Briefing me, these comrades said: "One important reason for this is that we have persisted in taking the path of acting independently with the intiative in our own hands and of relying on ourselves." History proves that this is the correct path for building a powerful navy. Because the People's Navy is taking this path, it will be able to smash all sorts of aggressive and

destructive activities by imperialism and also advance amid struggle. Of course, in taking the path of independent action and initiative and of self-reliance, we will encounter all sorts and kinds of difficulties. However, it only takes a hard and bitter struggle to overcome big difficulties. In 1951, Shanghai's Jiangnan Shipyard built our country's first 50-ton gunboat. Owing to a design fault, it capsized when launched. Everybody summed up the lessons of this unfortunate incident and again opened up a battlefield on the banks of the Huangpu River. In the end they created our country's first generation of gunboats. Following this, submarine chasers, fast attack craft, and submarines. In the late 1950's, the People's Navy was equipped with first batch of Chinese-built new-type vessels. Now, in the early stage of the buildup of the People's Navy, the old, dilapidated, complicated, and small vessels have for a long time fallen into disuse and have been replaced by equipment made by our country itself. The People's Navy depends on this equipment to time and again deliver blows to invading enemies, protecting our 10,000-li sea border; depends on this equipment to fulfill the various missions handed down by the party Central Committee and its Military Commission, such as protecting fishing and escorting ships, patrolling and alerting, dealing with emergencies and saving lives, carrying out combined arms training, and conducting scientific experiments. The first Chinese-built guided missile destroyer has sailed safely for over a dozen years, ranging over several tens of thousands of nautical miles; guided missile destroyers of its class have participated in long voyages on the Pacific Ocean, standing up to the test of strong winds and big waves. The comrades, full of confidence, said: "Our country's national economy has already been developed to a considerable extent, and there will be a navy with even newer types of vessels and equipment. If only we, with one heart and one mind, summon up our spirits and work in a down-to-earth fashion, there is great hope that a powerful navy will be built."

9727
CSO: 4005/948

WORK IN LITERATURE, ART THEORETICAL TRAINING CLASSES URGED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 9 May 82 p 1

[Article: "Zhou Yang Suggests Focusing on Literature and Art Theoretical Training Classes for Cadres and Establishing Ranks of Writers and Artists"]

[Text] Zhou Yang, advisor to the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee, pointed out in his talk to the literature and art theoretical training class at the Department of Culture: We must concentrate on the theoretical studies of literary and art cadres. This is of great significance to the establishment of ranks of writers and artists. We must truly master the essence of Comrade Mao Zedong's works on literature and art. In order to master them, we must integrate real life, which is extremely varied and complex. If we fail to do so and fail to study new questions and new conditions then there will be no new creations or developments.

The Department of Culture's training class on literary and art theory lasted one and a half months and concluded on 6 May. The training class integrated the practices of the literary and art sphere. They primarily studied Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art." At the same time they studied relevant expositions by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Comrade Mao Zedong as well as the major relevant talks given by the leadership of the Party Central Committee in recent years concerning work in the literary and art sphere.

On the morning of 5 May, Zhou Yang joined the training class and held a discussion with the students. Zhou Yang said in reference to the "Talks" that in the past we mainly did propaganda work and provided explanations. We related past and present conditions. We did very little work in genuine and penetrating research. One could say that academic works of scientific value are even rarer. Some explanation is an essential part of work done by the Propaganda Department, and we must continue to do such work. This is because Marxism itself is a science that is continuously developing. If we want to master it we must uphold and apply concepts of development. By development we don't mean developing according to one's own subjective wishes and doing as one wishes. Rather, we are referring to following the path of objective development of reality and history. Creativity and development should follow the laws of the development of the history of art itself. Zhou Weizhi [0719 1550 1492], vice minister of the Department of Culture, Lin Mohan [2651 7817 3211] and Chen Huangmei [7115 5435 3561], advisors to the Department of Culture, all presented reports to the literature and art theoretical training class on special topics.

9864
CSO: 4005/889

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

IMPORTANCE OF ACCURATE CENSUS REGISTRATION STRESSED

Beijing RENKOU YANJIU [POPULATION RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 29 May 82 pp 6-7

[Article by Cai Wenmei [5591 2429 4168], State Council Population Census Office: "Registration and Rechecking of Population Census"]

[Text] The whole process of the third national population census from preparation, registration, manual collection, coding, recording, computer application to publication of the census report will take about 4 or 5 years. Registration and rechecking are only a link in the whole chain, generally taking about 1 month. Through about 2 weeks of registration and 2 weeks of rechecking, the original records registered in the census forms will become the basis for studying the population data and the foundation for further analysis.

How then can we acquire accurate demographic data? At present, the whole party and people of the whole country are striving with one heart for achieving the four modernizations and for continuously raising people's material and cultural levels. The national population census is the first large-scale social survey and research work led by the party to determine the condition and strength of our country. Given the identical fundamental interests of the state and the people, the census will have the enthusiastic support and cooperation of the people, who will report truthfully, which is precisely a strong point beyond the reach of many countries. At the same time, we will proceed with all-round and strict rechecking so as to ensure the quality of registration.

The accuracy of registration rests on three main links:

1. Correct demarcation of census-taking areas;

2. Scientific method of registration;

3. Strict rechecking system.

These are related below: First, whether repetition and omission can be prevented in registration will depend, to a considerable degree, on whether the census-taking areas are properly demarcated. At present, world countries generally adopt cartography to make geographical area maps of the census-taking

areas at the most basic level, and then find out along the optimum lines the housing units in each census-taking area. In popular language, it means "making maps, pinpointing housing units, checking permanent residences, asking questions about the census items." In recent years, several European and American countries have come up with earth coding to determine the positions of census-taking areas, that is, taking longitude and latitude as coordinates, drawing large squares of equivalent area on accurate maps, dividing a large square into several small squares, determining the position by cutting apart, determining the area by positioning the squares, linking the longitude of the square to the code of latitude, thereby determining the position of the area in question. Its merit is that whatever changes occur on the earth surface, the codes of census-taking areas will never change. However, this method requires high technical conditions and entails heavy outlays at the present stage, so it remains to be studied further. The third method is to determine census-taking areas according to division of large and small administrative areas. It is the method we adopt to divide provinces (municipalities and autonomous regions), counties, communes, production brigades or neighborhood committees, production teams, and residents' groups into census-taking areas. Although no maps have been made, the geographical demarcation lines of their census-taking areas are perfectly clear to the census-taking organizations. Cadres of these organizations have images of census-taking areas in their minds and have housing, people and even births, deaths, moving-in, moving-away at their fingertips. To be sure, as time moves on and urban and rural areas develop, population census will be integrated with housing survey. Considering this tendency, we shall be able to make census-taking maps in combination with the making of maps of urban (rural) construction.

Second, concrete conditions vary with different countries and zones in the world, and the traditional survey and statistical methods are not the same. It is entirely possible to determine our method of census registration according to our traditional and practical experience. In general, the method of direct visit is often used in the case of a population that includes more illiterates. That is, census workers will make visits house-by-house and person-by-person, conduct surveys item-by-item, and fill in the results in the census forms. This method requires large numbers of census workers who have trained hard and strictly, and entails huge outlays. In the case of a population whose cultural level is fairly high, the method of self-filling is adopted, that is, census workers will deliver registration forms to each household, whose head will be responsible for filling in the forms, and will collect the forms at an appointed time. Upon discovery of errors when checking, they will be corrected on the spot. Since 1970, the United States has tried the method of delivering and collecting registration forms by post: the census organs mail registration forms to various households according to the latest directory of household heads' addresses, and the responsible persons of the households will mail the forms back through the post office after filling them out. The advantage of the self-filling method is that those who are to fill in the forms will have ample time to consider how to answer the questions and that only a small number of census workers are required and outlays can be greatly saved. Since the census items are becoming more and more complex in many countries, the self-filling method often cannot ensure quality of filling out, and some East European countries are still in favor of the method of direct visit.

In our country, registration at the census registration stations is the main form, supplemented with direct visit to households. Under the premise of suiting the convenience of the masses, our country will set up registration stations among the masses. For example, registration stations are set up in courtyards, on one floor of a building and at centers where inhabitants of several households live in compact communities. Mobil registration stations may be set up in factory shops, on edges of fields and field borders, among boat brigades, and on docks. This method will suit the convenience of the masses, save time, and make it easy for census workers to make arrangements and control progress of registration. As for the aged, weak, sick and disabled, who cannot move about easily, census workers will visit them at their homes.

From the above methods of census registration it will be seen that all countries in the world are taking the approach with the masses reamaining passive and the census workers making the move, while in our country we take the approach with both the masses and the census workers making the move in registration. Inasmuch as both sides are on the move, will there be more repetitions and omissions in registration? In 1981, 88 experiments were carried out in 28 provinces and municipalities when more than 60,000 census workers combined station registration with direct visit to households among a population of 3.43 million, and the results were fairly good in terms of registration quality. In our organized society, good coordination of movement between census workers and the masses can ensure accuracy of registration.

Third, close-knit rechecking system. The original data registered by the census workers may have errors, making it necessary to recheck so that errors can be corrected at the basic level. Three forms may be adopted: self-rechecking, mutual rechecking, and mass rechecking through discussion.

The "rules of manual logical checking" drawn up for census workers to carry out self-rechecking and mutual rechecking are practical weapons for helping census workers discover errors. The keypoints of rechecking are:

1. Accuracy of registration. Are the number of households and number of persons registered correctly? Are there repetitions and omissions? Are the data in accord with realities? It is demanded that the total number of households, the total number of persons, and the item on sexual distinction are free of errors.

2. Completeness of registration. Are there any items that are not marked with a circle, not filled in, are re-marked with a circle and refilled?

3. Rationality of registration. Is the relationship logical between the persons registered in the census forms and the relationship between various items? Upon discovery of contradictions, the data should be rechecked, while special situations should be noted in the "remark" column.

Some time should be set aside each day by census workers to carry out self-checking. The forms filled the same day are still fresh in their minds, and it is easy for them to think back and discover problems. "Fulfill three-day

tasks in one day"--such a frame of mind marked by impatience must be guarded against. It is often the very cause of doing the same work over again.

Mutual rechecking means rechecking of special items by census workers under the leadership of a census supervisor after the census workers have concluded self-rechecking. For example:

1. Number of households, number of persons, sexual distinction, relation with household head, state of housing;

2. Occupation, profession, state of unemployed persons.

3. Marital status of females over 15 years of age, number of children and number of their living children, their birth state in 1981.

4. Nationality, age, cultural standard. Knotty problems among the items on the number of households and number of persons may also be rechecked through mass deliberation and checking, and studied and resolved with the cooperation of residents' groups and those in production teams who are familiar with conditions.

Rechecking was always given importance during the first census and the second census. Moreover, the scope of rechecking was fairly broad. As a result, the percentage of errors was comparatively low and the census data finally provided were fairly accurate.

To sum up, as long as we bring our strong point into full play and guard the pass, our census registration and rechecking can definitely provide data of high quality and lay a reliable foundation for follow-up working procedures.

9780
CSO: 4005/926

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WORKERS FROM OUTSIDE GUANGZHOU MUST REGISTER FOR TEMPORARY RESIDENCE

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 11 Apr 82 p 1

[Article: "Workers Engaged in Public Projects, Temporary Workers and Migratory Workers Who Come From Outside Guangzhou Must Register for Temporary Residence Certificates"]

[Text] The "Notice on Verifying and Issuing Temporary Resident Certificates for Workers Engaged in Public Projects, Temporary Workers and Migratory Workers From Outside Guangzhou" which was issued by the Public Safety Bureau and approved by the Guangzhou Municipal People's Government, goes into effect on 15 April, and violators will be punished.

The "Notice" stipulates the following to persons who come to Guangzhou from other places: Workers on public projects (including from suburban counties to the city and from the city to suburban counties) who come from outside Guangzhou to work on capital construction, supply and marketing personnel from outside Guangzhou who live here for long periods in hotels or residences, personnel engaged in sideline production, temporary workers and migratory workers in the hire of mines, enterprises, schools, organs, units and individual households, and personnel from outside of Guangzhou who work for firms with offices in Guangzhou, work groups, liaison offices and all subordinate agencies, within 3 days of arrival should bring evidence of labor section, hiring unit, original unit or district and apply for a temporary residence certificate either individually or by unit, from the police station in their residential area (or brigade public security committee in rural areas).

The "Notice" also stipulates that workers on public projects, temporary workers hired without the approval of the labor section, personnel engaged in sideline production which affects the city's appearance, public order, communications and public health management and personnel who have left their production posts and been illegally hired by a grassroots level unit or household, will not be issued temporary residence permits and should quickly return to their original area.

The "Notice" stresses in particular, that all those who do not apply for, falsely apply for or apply under another's name, and those household heads and responsible persons of units who do not carry out the stipulations of this notice to supervise and urge persons who are living here temporarily to apply for residency will be punished in accordance with "Regulations on Punishment of the People's Republic of China" and the regulations on residency registration.

8226
CSO: 4005/902

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FIRST OPEN UNIVERSITY ESTABLISHED IN BEIJING

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Apr 82 p 1

[Article: "Collectively-Owned, People-Operated University, China Society University Established in Beijing"]

[Text] China's first new-type socialist open university--China Society University--was formally established in Beijing recently with the approval of relevant government departments.

This is a people-operated, collectively-owned university sponsored by the All-China Scientific Socialism Society (Planning Committee) and the Beijing Scientific Socialism Society. At present, the school has 15 departments all together, including literature, physics, engineering, medicine and art. Each department has three sections: a work-study section, a correspondence section and a scientific research section. The work-study length of schooling is 2 to 4 years, and now has 30 fields. There is a day school. Students enrolled are mainly unemployed young people who are upper middle school graduates or equivalent, and are chosen by examination. After the students matriculate, they participate in work and study. After completing the period of study, those who qualify through examination are given a certificate of graduation and are recommended to appropriate departments by the school, but are not assigned employment. After branch campuses are established in the provinces in the future the recruitment scale will become national.

The correspondence section recruits students from throughout the country. Matriculating students do not have to take entrance examinations, and there are no restrictions on educational background, age, sex or occupation, as long as the student can remit a small fee he can become a student at the school. The school is responsible for supplying instructional materials, and uses periodicals, videotape and tape recorders for lectures and coaching and to answer difficult questions. The students participate in local self-study examinations, and those whose achievements meet the qualifications are awarded diplomas, but they are not assigned employment.

The school's art department's work study speciality will begin accepting students immediately, and the other specialties in the section and the correspondence section will admit students in other fields this fall.

8226
CSO: 4005/902

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SEVERAL ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS ADDED, ABOLISHED, MERGED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 9 May 82 p 1

[Article: "Approval Given by State Council To Add, Abolish and Merge a Number of Institutions of Higher Learning."]

[Text] Recently the State Council approved of adding, abolishing and merging a number of institutions of higher learning.

The five institutions of higher learning to be added are: Nanjing College of Physical Education, Ji'an Normal Technical School, Fuzhou Normal Technical School, Foshan Technical School and Jiaying Normal Technical School. These five institutions have been set up in Nanjing, Jiangsu; Ji'an, Jiangxi; Foshan, Guangdong; and Jiaying, Guangdong respectively. They are under the control of the three provinces of Jiangsu, Jiangxi and Guangdong. The program at Nanjing College of Physical Education takes 4 years, and two special courses of study are offered in physical training and sports. The programs at the other four schools take 3 years, with special courses in Chinese literature, language, mathematics, physics, chemistry and physical training.

The institutions of higher learning to be abolished or merged are as follows. The three institutions of Guangxi Light Industrial College, Guangxi Mechanical College and Guangxi Petrochemical College are to be merged to form Guangxi Industrial College. Also to be merged are Nei Menggu Nationalities Normal College and Tongliao Normal College. The institution will retain the name of Nei Menggu Nationalities Normal College. The Nei Menggu Nationalities Medical College will merge with the Zhelimu Medical College and retain the name of Nei Menggu Nationalities Medical College. The Jilin College of Agricultural Machinery will be abolished, and the original Jilin Provincial School of Agricultural Machinery, Guangxi Industrial College, Nei Menggu Nationalities Normal College and Nei Menggu Nationalities Medical College will be controlled by the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region and the Nei Menggu Autonomous Region. The length of study will be 4 or 5 years.

The Department of Education has already issued a notice concerning the addition, abolition and merging of the above mentioned institutions of higher learning. The notice calls on the provinces and autonomous regions concerned to strengthen their leadership. As regards the addition of institutions of higher learning, they must further improve their management of schools and gradually upgrade the quality of education. They must conscientiously do a good job in ideological instruction and in organizational work for personnel in units that have been abolished or merged.

9864

CSO: 4005/889

BAI HUA SAID TO BE DISPIRITED AFTER MAKING SELF-CRITICISM

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 5, 1982 pp 33-34

[Article by Fang Hsing [2455 6821]: "Bai Hua After His Self-Criticism"]

[Text] One day when I opened Shanghai's WEN HUI BAO of 1 April, the following passage from a narrative poem entitled "Clouds of Yunnan" (free prose style) written by Bai Hua in Yunnan in February 1982, and published in the newspaper's "Literature" section, drew my attention:

> In your eyes, how ashamed I appear;
> In my eyes, how strong and dynamic you all appear;
> I was once proud of myself, being a man optimistic
> and strong;
> But now, in contrast to you, how dispirited I am.

From this passage one can see that Bai Hua, contrary to what was reported in local newspapers, was not in a cheerful mood. Is there any secret in this respect? This secret will remain a secret until we go over both this poem and his "newsletter to the editorial departments of JIEFANGJUN BAO and WENYI BAO," a self-criticism published in issue No 1, 1982, of WENYI BAO. Let us look at his self-criticism in that newsletter: First, he regards his "Unrequited Love" as a fundamental mistake because it prominently reflected an erroneous trend of thought advanced by some people who are trying to break away from the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist road. Second, because "Unrequited Love" fails to draw a clear-cut line between the "gang of four" on the one hand and the socialist motherland, the party and the people on the other, ultimately it transforms the unrequited love of intellectuals for their homeland into personal grievances against it. This has led the people to conclude that both the Communist Party and socialism are no good. As a matter of fact, during the 10 years of catastrophe, the party did love and care for the intellectuals. Such love is a source of strength for them to carry on tenacious struggle with firm confidence. Third, using the personality cult as a metaphor, his work has mistakenly pinpointed encouraging people to worship Mao Zedong as the root cause of trouble during the 10 years of turmoil. This conclusion is tantamount to ridiculing Mao Zedong or to simply negating his personality. Doing so

obviously has a dampening effect on the enthusiasm of the "broad masses of people for showing their profound affection for their revolutionary leader." Meanwhile, it is unfair to point the finger of blame for the growth of the personality cult at uneducated people. Fourth, the entire process of criticizing "Unrequited Love" symbolizes the Chinese communists' willingness to "put the practice of criticism and self-criticism in literature and art on the right track." Such criticism is not an attack on, but an expression of wholehearted support for him to continue to make progress. For this reason, he should express his gratitude to the editorial departments of JIEFANGJUN BAO and WENYI BAO, and pledge to them that in the future he will keep in close touch with life, uphold the four basic principles and produce works eulogizing the bright side of society.

This statement by Bai Hua is certainly incompatible with what he really wants to say from the bottom of his heart. I can disprove it point by point as follows: First, among the works recently targeted for criticism are "Unrequited Love," "A Specter Haunts the Chinese Land," "General, You'd Better Wash Up," and "On the Enlightened Administration of Literature and Art." The authors are all Communist Party members who have spent a long time educating themselves in Marxism-Leninism. For that reason, they naturally consider the socialist system the world's best system. More than anyone else, they hope that the Communist Party will continue to dominate China for countless generations to come. Their aim in exposing the dark side of Communist China and its socialist system is nothing but an expression of the hope that their efforts will sweep away the dark clouds. For their failure to "speak out on issues," sometimes they pound the table vehemently and jump up from their chairs. What Bai Hua has said is out of tune with the reality of literature and art and the current literary and artistic trend in Communist China. Second, it is clear that "Unrequited Love" is a work aimed at denouncing the rule by the "gang of four" rather than the motherland where the author was born and brought up (this point can be proved by the fact that in the story Ling Chengguang, after his return from abroad, never thought of leaving his homeland again). It is true that during their heyday of power, the "gang of four" turned the Communist Party into a fascist party responsible for murdering thousands upon thousands of outstanding Chinese sons and daughters (a rerun of the list of names of dead writers announced by the Fourth "Cultural Congress" held in 1979 proves this point). Describing it as a party caring for writers at that time is really incredible. I can imagine that Bai Hua blushed when he produced that poem. It is also fair to say that the personality cult was an unhealthy practice which led the nation to produce fools such as those described in "Unrequited Love." Third, did Bai Hua really think that his "Unrequited Love" dampened the "enthusiasm of the broad masses for showing profound affection for their revolutionary leader?" To adapt their statements to the political needs, the Chinese communist politicians can still defend Mao Zedong as someone they call the "greatest national hero" whose "contributions to the nation are primary and whose shortcomings are secondary." Despite that, the people will never harbor any profound affection for Mao Zedong. Can anyone forget the untold sufferings and misery he brought to the Chinese people since 1957? A reading of the poem by Sun Jingxuan [1327 7234 6513] entitled "A Spector Haunts the Chinese Land" and of another poem by Ye Wenfu [5509 2429 4395], which says:

"Prayer has been said several times from the bottom of my heart. But it still cannot make you remain in this world. You have spent too much time in the air. You should come down to kiss the earth" will lead us to believe that people really want that "esteemed God" to come to kiss the earth as soon as possible. A poet should be a barometer of national sentiment. The sentiment of this kind as described in the "Unrequited Love" is decent and, therefore, should not be subjected to any criticism; fourth, the criticism of the "Unrequited Love" was a well-orchestrated attack in every sense, and was conducted in a way that seemed unfair to the author. The commentator's article carried by JIEFANGJUN BAO on 20 April was clearly a repeat of the cruel struggle in which the accused were stamped with various political labels. It was so outrageous that even Zhang Guangnian [1728 0342 1628] and Zhou Yang [0719 2254] could not agree. This is why they decided to present the prize for the best modern poem to Bai Hua for his poem "Spring Tide Is in View" as an indication of their opposition to the harsh criticism by the JIEFANGJUN BAO commentator, when the national conference for presentation of prizes for the best medium-length novel, best reportage, and the best modern poem was held in Beijing on 25 May. Waves of agitation against this approach have also swept the institutions of higher learning throughout the country. At that time, Bai Hua was deluged with letters of support. In reply, he wrote and published the work "I Am Overwhelmed by the Love of Spring" and other similar articles expressing his boundless appreciation of the support he received. But now, contrary to that expression, he has turned around to thank the JIEFANGJUN BAO commentator. Does this sound embarrass his former supporters? Does this mean that they supported the wrong man?

So far, the Chinese communist leaders have singled out for criticism four writers, namely, Bai Hua, Sun Jingxuan, Ye Wenfu and Wang Ruowang [3769 5387 2598]. In the course of criticizing themselves, Bai Hua's remarks seemed more impressive than Sun Jingxuan's. Up to now, the other two writers have not published articles criticizing themselves. It has been reported that they decided not to criticize themselves on the grounds that they had done nothing wrong. In the present political situation, this spirit of resistance to the call for self-criticism represents a daring and indomitable spirit to uphold principles and, therefore, deserves support from people who cherish justice as well as love the spring. After undergoing self-criticism, Bai Hua could be expected to receive letters of reproach from many of his former "admirers." Upon seeing such letters, Bai Hua could not just brush them aside without a guilty conscience. Rather, he would feel sorry and remorseful. Then the time came for him to revisit Yunnan, a place to which he bade farewell over 20 years ago (a place which also survived the 10 years of traumatic turmoil). While there, he still watched the same scenes of over 20 years ago in which "azaleas still appear like flames, blazing in cold rain; snow-white flowers on pear trees still wave in the gentle breeze." When he linked such scenes to his present state of mind and behavior, he had no choice but to produce the poem that appeared at the head of this article.

In that four-stanza poem, the poet immersed himself in a sense of remorse when he watched the flowers grow sturdily. He was a poet who suffered nearly 20 years of torture (after he was condemned as a rightist element in 1957).

Despite this torture, he continued to produce works with a cheerful spirit, which proved instrumental in removing obstacles to the modernization of China. (These were works aimed at exposing the dark side of Communist China.) But after being subjected to the recent criticism, under political pressure he has failed to take a stand for what is right. His agreement to criticize himself has clearly disappointed the "spring" and "mother" from whom he has received so much love. (In his work "I Am Overwhelmed by the Love of Spring," Bai Hua compared himself to a tiny blade of grass, and the masses of his admirers to the spring breeze and rain, saying that "no one can repay his debt to his motherland, no matter how hard he tries to serve it.") He has also made clear that he has lost his fighting will, has become both physically and mentally exhausted, and has been extremely "dispirited!"

The poem also contains a passage on rosy clouds, exuding a sense of guilt as follows:

> You are happy, because you dare to make sacrifices;
> To make flowers flourish and grass grow,
> You have devoted yourself to watering them
> with tears!

Does this passage indicate a criticism of himself for hesitation to sacrifice himself in order to bring happiness to the people? His poem is so veiled but sincere that it profoundly moved me.

"A poet should keep reminding himself of what he can do for the nation in the future rather than his own miserable past." Poet, please do not give up!

9574
CSO: 4005/858

IMPERFECTIONS IN DRAFT CONSTITUTION DESCRIBED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 6, 1982 p 3

[Editorial: "The Big Loophole in the Draft Constitution"]

[Text] The new draft constitution is an improvement over the old constitution (as we have mentioned in our previous editorial). But we still see a big loophole in the new draft constitution, as we have detected in the previous three old constitutions, a loophole that needs to be eliminated!

The Chapter 1: The General Principle, Article 1 of the Draft Constitution states: "The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants."

The so-called "the dictatorship led by the working class" is actually led by the Communist Party. In reaffirming the "four basic principles," the preamble in the draft constitution emphasizes the exercise of leadership by the Communist Party over the country. This is where the big loophole lies in the draft constitution. "Leadership" is a general term that defies explanation even in our dictionary. Certainly, the same is true of the ambiguous term "leadership of the Communist Party." Although the relationships between the state organs and people, and the functions of the people's congresses, are explicitly stipulated in legal terms in the draft constitution, there is no elaboration on the "leadership of the party."

What is wrong with that?

A big hole up there!

If the "leadership of the party" emphasizes only the provision of ideological and political guidance or guidance in the area of political line, which proves correct or consistent with the people's interests, such leadership should deserve endorsement by all. But if the "leadership of the party" means dictatorship putting everything under its command, or a form of interference in all aspects of life, and if it means putting the party in the place of the government, or the "exercise of dictatorship by a single party" which may become "one-man dictatorship" or "dictatorship under one supreme leader," such "leadership of the party" may probably "lead" the people on the road

toward tragedy and "steer" the country to the abyss of danger. Is it possible to remove the memory of the catastrophic events of 1957, 1958 and 1966 connected with the "leadership of the party" when they made suggestions to the party. Peng Dehuai was falsely accused of forging an "anti-party clique" because he frankly advised Mao on matters of his interest, while the then head of state Liu Shaoqi was jailed by party chairman Mao Zedong for the same reason. There are prominent marks left by the "leadership of the party" of the Mao Zedong era. Although at that time the constitution was in force, taking advantage of its ambiguous provision on the exercise of leadership by the party over the country, dictators and autocrats were able to push their political foes and other people around as they wished under the cloak of the fundamental law of the land. "Leadership," and "leadership," how many wicked men have had their way in your name!

Over the past several years, it appears that the shadow of dictatorship over the heads of the people has begun to fade away under the slogans "uphold the leadership of the party" and "separate the party from the government" emphasized and proposed by the high-ranking members of the CCP Central Committee. Despite this, these senior officials still continue to publicize the Communist Party as the "party in power," while the facts of life in the country also prove that the "leadership of the party" remains widespread everywhere. For example, the Hangzhou Municipal Party Committee recently hurriedly removed a big corrupt official Sun Xiaoquan [1327 2556 3123], director of the Hangzhou Municipal Cultural Bureau, from office after he was found guilty of stealing a large quantity of paintings and cultural relics from the public treasure-house. Handling the Sun case in such a light-hearted manner has infuriated the people. The harm done by the Hangzhou Municipal Party Committee does not stop here! What the committee wanted the people to accept in this case is nothing but an idea that the party can take the place of the government and the court. In the final analysis, can we call this the "leadership of the Communist Party" as indicated in the new draft constitution or the "leadership of the Communist Party" found guilty of violating the constitution?

All intelligent Chinese people can no longer accept the concept of placing the party above the state, the people and the court, and giving it power to trample under foot the democratic rights. This approach to allow the party to take the place of the government, to put everything under its command, and to interfere in all aspects of life will certainly result in further alienating the masses from the party. The Communist Party must draw experiences and lessons from history and make a breakthrough in seeking an answer to the question about the "leadership of the party" in order to solve "its credibility crisis" and enforce rule by law in a true sense.

We believe that the Chinese Communist Party must emphasize the exercise of moral leadership and give up leadership armed with a power baton. What does the moral leadership mean? It means that it must demonstrate extraordinary and unusual firmness, enthusiasm, and exemplary spirit in the implementation of the correct political line, principles and policies it has adopted in consultation with the people (but not behind closed doors) and in the service of public interest, the country and the people. Meanwhile, it must strive to

influence and lead the people through the demonstration of such firm, energetic and exemplary spirit. In a pledge to demonstrate this spirit, the Communist Party must make itself part of the masses (instead of placing itself above the masses), draw lessons and strength from them, and accept their suggestions and supervision. It must return that power baton to the people or the organs of state power.

As seen from the surface, the new draft constitution is devoted to strengthening democracy and rule by law, and working against the tradition of concentrating all powers on the party. But only after the relationships between the party and the government and between the party and the masses are clearly reflected in the constitution along with the belief that the people and the state are more valuable than the party can the constitution be protected from becoming a camouflage of autocracy and be converted into a driving force for promoting the development of the people's cause!

We hope that the Chinese Communist Party and its advisers will consider our proposal to eliminate that loophole in the draft constitution receptive.

9574
CSO: 4005/919

MERITS, DEMERITS OF WESTERNIZATION MOVEMENT REVIEWED

Hong Kong CHENG MING/CONTENDING/ in Chinese No 6, 1982 p 82

[Article: "What Is the Standard for Evaluation of the Westernization Movement?"]

[Text] What is the standard for evaluation of the Westernization movement? In his article entitled "Social Practice Must Be Used as a Yardstick for Evaluating the Westernization Movement" published in the issue No 1 of TIANJIN SHEHUI KEXUE [TIANJIN SOCIAL SCIENCES] of 1982, Qi Qizhang [2058 0366 4545] believes that there is but one yardstick in this case, that is, social practice.

The article points out: In evaluating the Westernization movement, some people have paid attention only to its subjective motives or original objective instead of the outcome of this practice, contending that its main objective was to preserve the feudal rule of the Qing Dynasty through the enforcement of a high-handed policy on the home front, and that even if it had a progressive role to play, it "never materialized." In disputing this view, the article says:

1. The Westernization movement was instrumental in enhancing the development of the social productive forces in China at that time. Under the slogans "strive for self-renewal" and "strive to make our country rich," and through the adoption of the Western capitalist production technology, the Westernization group provided the Chinese society with new things never seen before--modern industry employing machines in production. After military industry came mining, metallurgical, textile, communications and transportation enterprises, which were the first to introduce the capitalist productive forces to China. Although feudal character was predominant in their management system, the mode of production was capitalist in nature. These enterprises also trained a number of personnel in modern science and technology. Experiences they accumulated in this field provided conditions essential to the growth and development of the national capital in China.

2. Although not totally uncompromising, the Westernization group's attitude toward imperialist aggression was mainly one of resistance and counterattack, a departure from the Manchu government's basic policy of concession and capitulation. The Shipbuilding Administration set up by Zuo Zongtang in

Fuzhou was devoted to strengthening coastal defense against the West, while the modern navy built by Li Hongzhang was aimed at protecting the nation from foreign aggression. A review of one of their prominent achievements--the North China Sea Fleet--reveals that it was built and gained strength through a struggle against imperialist domination, including three sea battles in which it left an impressive mark in the history of war against imperialist aggression. Another of their achievements was the development of civilian industry as a bulwark in countering imperialist economic offensives, which, lately, did score some success in "curtailing the flow of profits from China to foreign firms," in "undersutting foreign encroachment on China and in preserving its sovereignty."

3. Historically, the Westernization movement was a wave of the future. The fact that the Westernization movement was strongly opposed by diehard conservatives who never stopped dreaming the dream of "their kingdom of heaven as a superior country" proved this point. Although the Westernization movement was committed to preserving the old foundation and to reforms within the framework of that foundation, it was instrumental in fostering a tendency to learn from the West, in developing a movement to enable people to broaden their vision of the world, and in convincing them that the "gunboats" were not the only factor that made the Western countries rich and strong, and that they now had no alternative but to change the "old conventions handed down by their remote ancestors."

The article says: The Westernization movement was the first modernization movement in Chinese history, and a new development. Although it failed, it sowed the seed of future success.

9574
CSO: 4005/919 END

JPRS 81560

17 August 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 326

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81560

17 August 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 326

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Soviet Merchant Marine, Expansionism Discussed
(Fang Shu; ZHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE], 1982)..... 1

PARTY AND STATE

People's Congress System and the Draft Constitution
(Chen Yunsheng; ZHEIJIANG RIBAO, 9 Jun 82)..... 4

Earnest Implementation of Party Policy Stressed
(Du Xianzhong; FENDOU [STRUGGLE], 1982)..... 7

Mao's Theory of Social Contradictions Outlined
(LIAONING DAXUE XUEBAO, 1982)..... 12

Attention Given to Cadre Reform
(LIAONING RIBAO, 2 Jun 82; DAZHONG RIBAO, 20 May 82)..... 23

Constitutional Reforms, by Li Li
Managing, Serving Retired Cadres, by Chen Chunpu and Gu Zhongcheng

Provincial Propaganda Meeting on Ideological Work
(Chen Weiye; ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 7 Jun 82)..... 27

Commentary Warns Against Retaliation
(Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service, 19 Jul 82)..... 30

Survey of Intellectuals' Work Situations Attention to Problems
(RENMIN RIBAO, 15 Jun 82)..... 31

Stagnation Among Research Personnel Examined
(RENMIN RIBAO, 15 Jun 82)..... 32

Getting Rich Through Labor
(FUJIAN RIBAO, 20 Jun 82)..... 35

Money From Raising Chickens, by Wu Bizhen and Zhu Cangwu
Joint But Not Simultaneous Prosperity

Zhejiang Government's Rewards and Punishments System
(Zhai Ren; ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 6 Jun 82)..... 38

Briefs
CPPCC Delegation Arrives in Heilongjiang 40
Liaoning Punishes Fabricators 40

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'RENMIN RIBAO' Praises Zhu De Military Feats
(Xiao Ke; RENMIN RIBAO, 2 Aug 82)..... 41

Shenyang PLA Cadres Rap Deng's Army Building Line
(Ba Yi Radio, 17 Jul 82)..... 45

Deputy PLA Commander Comments on His Retirement
(Ou Zhifu; Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service,
14 Jul 82)..... 47

Briefs
Hainan Army Day Groups 49
Hainan Militia 49
Hainan Gambling 49
Henan Overseas Chinese Meeting 49
Shandong Army Day Anniversary 49
Shandong Army Day Activities 50
Nei Monggol Comforts Soldiers 50
Fujian Sea Patrol Group 50
Shanghai Militia Training 50
Shanghai Air Defense Committee 51

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Yunnan Party Committee Urges Strengthening of Cadre Training
(YUNNAN RIBAO, 12 May 82)..... 52

Strengthening of Cadre Education Urged
(YUNNAN RIBAO, 12 May 82)..... 54

Yunnan Border Units Train, Promote Minority Cadres
(YUNNAN RIBAO, 11 May 82)..... 56

'YANGCHENG WANBAO' Presents 'Inside Story of CIA'
(Sun He; YANGCHENG WANBAO, 15 Jul 82)..... 57

'YANGCHENG WANBAO' on CIA During, After Watergate
(Sun He; YANGCHENG WANBAO, 16 Jul 82)..... 59

More from 'YANGCHENG WANBAO' on CIA Reorganization
(Sun He; YANGCHENG WANBAO, 17 Jul 82)..... 61

Method of Controlling Quality of Population Census Discussed
(Yang Rishang; RENKOU YANJIU [POPULATION RESEARCH], May 82)..... 63

Writers Urged to Discover Image of New Socialist Man
(Wang Xianpei, Chen Xiangsheng; WENYIBAO [LITERATURE AND ART JOURNAL], 1982, 7 Mar)..... 66

Editor Urges Sustained Revolutionary Belief
(Lo Zhijun; ZHONGGUO QUINGNIAN BAO, 18 May 82)..... 72

Tampering With Facts in News Reporting Criticized
(De Kun; NINGXIA RIBAO, 26 May 82)..... 74

Performance of Local Public Security Station Commended
(Fan Xuezhong; GANSU RIBAO, 18 May 82)..... 76

University Strives to Help Intellectuals
(GANSU RIBAO, 18 May 82)..... 78

Beijing Teachers' College Improves Intellectuals Conditions
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 7 Jun 82)..... 80

Self Study Students Take Higher Education Examination
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 7 Jun 82)..... 81

Tibetan Veterinarian in Japan for Advanced Training
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 7 Jun 82)..... 82

Child Beaten for Father's Actions; Justice Demanded
(ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO, 18 May 82)..... 83

Briefs
Jilin School-Run Enterprises 86
Guangdong Literature Symposium 86
Qinghai Minority Visiting Group 86
Jilin Mathematics Work Conference 86
Jilin Census Registration Work 86
Jilin Birth-Control Achievements 87
Writers Association Membership 87
Enrolled Graduate Students 87
Students Receive Degrees 87
No Religious Activities 88

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Slogan 'Literature and Art Serve Politics' Criticized
(Xu Xing; CHENG MING [CONTENDING], 1982)..... 89

Literary Trend After 'Antiliberalization' Discussed
(Lu Feng; CHENG MING [CONTENDING], 1982)..... 94

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOVIET MERCHANT MARINE, EXPANSIONISM DISCUSSED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 5, 1982 pp 20-21

[Article by Fang Shu [2455 3990]: "The Tool of Soviet Expansion--the Merchant Marine"]

[Text] After Brezhnev came to power, while the USSR was continuing to expand their naval forces, they also rapidly built up their Merchant Marine fleet. This was not only due to needs in foreign trade, there were also other strategic objectives. The Soviet naval commander in chief, Gorshkov, publicly announced: "Our marine transport fleet serves many functions and should be regarded as an integral part of our national naval power. It plays an extremely important role during times of war and peace." At present, this huge Merchant Marine, which ranks 6th in the world, is already a significant force of the USSR in fighting for control of the seas and in carrying out Soviet expansion.

Its Four Characteristics

The development of the Merchant Marine has been rapid. In 1964 the USSR had a Merchant Marine of 1,674 ships with a gross tonnage of 6.95 million tons. (1 gross ton is equivalent to 1.14 in deadweight tonnage.) By 1979 it had already increased to 8,120 ships with a gross tonnage of 22.9 million tons. The USSR claims that the annual rate of increase of their Merchant Marine fleet is approximately 1 million gross tons.

The Merchant Marine has a high degree of self-sufficiency. In the past the Soviet ship building industry consistently gave priority to building naval vessels. The Merchant Marine primarily relied upon imports. In recent years and self-sufficiency of the Merchant Marine has steadily grown, so that at present 40 percent of the Merchant Marine is built in the USSR, 50 percent comes from East European nations and 10 percent is imported from the West.

The ships are fairly new. The average age of Merchant Marine transport ships is approximately 11 years, and the average age of oil tankers is approximately 12 years. Eighty-nine percent of the total number of ships are less than 20 years old, while in the United States only 40 percent are under 20 years old.

The Merchant Marine fleet is highly specialized. The Soviet Merchant Marine is mainly comprised of high tonnage cargo ships, barges, container ships and heavy duty transport ships. At present, about one-half of the ships have

special equipment installed. In April of last year, the USSR minister of maritime transport said that within the next 5 years the USSR Merchant Marine will have substantial growth, with emphasis on quality and on the further modernization of special ships. The deadweight tonnage of container ships has increased by 238 percent, and the deadweight tonnage of freighters has increased by 175 percent.

The Three Major Functions of the Merchant Marine

The Merchant Marine serves Soviet foreign expansion. At present, the USSR has become the second largest munitions merchant in the world, second only to the United States. Its Merchant Marine fleet is responsible for transporting munitions and strategic materials. They are called the "shadow fleet" by the West. During the African Ogaden War of 1979 and the current war between Iran and Iraq, the USSR made use of its Merchant Marine fleet to conduct large-scale maritime transport. Within a short period of time they transported as much as 10,000 tons of weaponry to recipient countries. They made a sizable profit and gained political and military advantages. The USSR still regards the Merchant Marine fleet as their signboard. They have signed all sorts of agreements with Third World countries for the use of ports and base areas. They have also acquired service rights. They have covertly sought overseas base areas and control of major international sea channels. In January of last year, after many setbacks, the USSR finally concluded two maritime transport agreements with Malta. They acquired the right for the Soviet Merchant Marine to anchor and refuel in this port. In order to find a foothold in the Strait of Malacca, which links the Pacific and Indian Oceans, the Soviet Merchant Marine frequently entered the strategic Singapore harbor, the eastern port of the Strait of Malacca. At present, every year about 1,000 Merchant Marine ships anchor and get serviced in this port. Flaunting the banners of "friendship," "trade" and "aid" the Soviet Merchant Marine has entered over 1,140 harbors in more than 120 countries. They work in close coordination with the Soviet navy in the major oceans of the world.

The Merchant Marine functions as a major naval reserve force. THe USSR strongly emphasizes the role of the Merchant Marine as its navy's "immediate reserve force" during times of war and peace. They believe that in contemporary warfare their seagoing transport corps will undertake the mission of transporting principal military forces, heavy duty equipment, troop provisions and strategic materials to overseas war zones. They can then directly enter into the war by supplying water and electricity, blockading channels and ports, destroying harbor installations and sea transportation. During times of peace they can gather information for the navy and provide supplies to rear services. It is said that the oil tankers of the Soviet Merchant Marine are responsible for 75 percent of oil supplies to the Soviet navy. For example, providing oil supplies to the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean Sea is the responsibility of Merchant Marine tankers in the Black Sea and Soviet barges anchored in Syrian ports. In addition, the Soviet Merchant Marine is paramilitary in nature. The Soviet commander in chief of the navy has the authority to command the Merchant Marine. Personnel in the Merchant Marine must receive military training, so that whenever necessary, they can change into naval uniform.

Many naval officers and men are also on active service in the Merchant Marine. In the Merchant Marine much of the design and equipment of cargo ships have characteristics similar to those of naval auxiliary vessels, so it is easy to rapidly convert them for military use. Take for example the giant oceangoing container ships and the long-hold freighters which the USSR is striving to develop. Their external form and structure is similar to landing ships. They are fit for commercial use and can transport airplanes, artillery, tanks and even guided missiles. This large military shipment slips directly into the ship's hold. Upon arrival at their destination, they can immediately pull out of the freighter and go on land. It is said that not long ago the USSR provided Cuba with 17 MIG-21 fighter planes and 2 ships with guided missile patrol boats. They were transported by these cargo ships.

They have strategic maritime transport capability. Since the 1970's, as regards the trend of the development of the Soviet Merchant Marine, the most rapid growth can be seen in freighters and oil tankers with a gross tonnage of over 10,000 tons. They are adapted for European and Asian strategic and military sea transportation. In 1979 there were 410 oil tankers and freighters with a gross tonnage of 7.27 million tons, about 10.17 million in deadweight tonnage. It is predicted that by 1985 it may reach 492 ships with a gross tonnage of 8.98 million tons, about 12.57 million in deadweight tonnage. At present the Soviet's main shipping routes from Europe to the Far East are the southern route, the central route and the northern route. The southern shipping route goes from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean Sea, the Cape of Good Hope, the Strait of Malacca to Vladivostok, in all a trip of 16,000 nautical miles. According to Soviet calculations, present seagoing vessels sail 320 nautical miles every 24 hours. Therefore a one-way voyage would take 50 days. Every year they can make the round trip voyage 3-1/2 times, and they can transport over 17.8 million tons in deadweight tonnage. The central shipping route goes from the Black Sea to the Suez Canal, the Red Sea to Vladivostok, a journey of 9,200 nautical miles. A one-way trip takes 29 days. Each year they could make the round-trip voyage 6 times and transport 30 million tons in deadweight tonnage. The northern shipping route goes from Murmansk to the Arctic Ocean, the Bering Straits and then to Vladivostok. The journey is over 5,000 nautical miles, and a round-trip voyage can be made once a year, transporting over 2.7 million tons in deadweight tonnage. It is apparent that the USSR Merchant Marine has a strategic marine transport capability.

9864
CSO; 4005/884

PEOPLE'S CONGRESS SYSTEM AND THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Chen Yunsheng [7115 0061 3932], "Consolidate and Perfect the People's Congress System"]

[Text] The people's congress system is the fundamental political system of our country; it is the organizational form of our country's regime of people's democratic dictatorship. When we speak of the people's congress system we mean that according to the principle of democratic centralism the people of our country elect representatives who form the people's congresses and that the people exercise state power through these congresses. Article 2 of the Draft of the Revised Constitution clearly stipulates: "All political power of the PRC belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise the political power of the state are the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at all levels." All other state organs throughout the country are created on the foundation of the people's congresses and are responsible to these congresses that all other state organs administer the affairs of the state. The people's congress system is therefore a system that combines a high degree of democracy and a high degree of centralism. It has infinite advantages and is a political system most suited to allow our people to exercise the right of being masters of their own affairs.

To further consolidate and perfect the people's congress system of our country, the Draft of the Revised Constitution introduces a number of new provisions which may be summarized as follows:

1. The organization and build-up of the NPC has been strengthened. This shows mainly in the following respects: The draft clearly fixes the term of office of the NPC. At least 2 months before the conclusion of the term of office of the NPC, the standing committee of the NPC must fix the election of the next NPC. The draft also changes the extremely lax provision of the 1978 Constitution that the term of office of the NPC can be extended or shortened, and instead prescribes that the term of office can only be extended under strict conditions, namely in extraordinary situations when elections have become impossible and subject to the approval of two-thirds of all members of the NPC Standing Committee, the extension to last until the first session of the subsequent NPC. The draft also clearly fixes the times of the NPC's sessions and abolishes the provision of the 1978 Constitution that the NPC "convene once every year," also that "in

case of necessity sessions may be moved up in date or deferred," as this is too indefinite a provision which is apt to harm the prestige of the NPC. Along with the reform of the state system, the powers of the NPC were broadened correspondingly, for instance, regarding the election of the state chairman and deputy chairman, the chairman of the Central Military Commission, etc. The draft also expands the powers of the NPC to enact laws and issue decrees, and prescribes that resolutions and decisions shall be issued in the form of laws and decrees, thus ensuring their authoritative nature. To enhance the work and increase efficiency, the draft establishes a number of additional special committees, such as the committee on financial and economic affairs, a committee on educational and scientific affairs, a committee on foreign affairs, etc. To enhance legislative work by the NPC, the draft also provides the right of legislative proposals for the NPC and its standing committee. The draft furthermore introduces new provisions governing the rights and duties of the NPC delegates. The delegates are to enjoy immunity and the right of inquiry, and on the other hand shall have the duty to maintain close contact with the unit from which they had originally been elected and with the people, so as to listen to, and reflect, the opinions and demands of the people. They shall also be duty-bound to give assistance to the implementation and enforcement of the constitution and all laws.

Furthermore, the organization and build-up of the NPC Standing Committee has been strengthened. To enable it to function most effectively, the draft constitution stipulates that members of the NPC Standing Committee may not hold positions in executive, judicial or procuratorial organs of the state. The committee chairman and the vice chairmen must not hold the office for more than 2 consecutive terms. Most importantly, the draft provides that the committee chairman, the vice chairmen and the secretary general form a chairman's conference which shall handle the important day-to-day work of the NPC Standing Committee. The draft also expands the authority of the NPC Standing Committee in having it exercise a part of the functions originally performed by the NPC. For instance, the standing committee will have legislative powers, the right of supervising the implementation of the constitution, the right to revoke administrative laws and regulations, resolutions and orders of the State Council, if they conflict with the constitution or other laws and decrees, as well as to revoke laws and regulations of local character and resolutions issued by provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central authorities, etc. In view of the fact that the NPC Standing Committee is the permanent agency of the highest organ of the state and acts as its important working organization, strengthening the Standing Committee's organization and build-up and broadening its authority [illegible] amounts to a strengthening of the position and authority of the NPC.

2. The organization and build-up of local people's congresses and their standing committees at all levels has been strengthened. The draft constitution stipulates that delegates to the people's congresses in the counties, municipalities without wards, municipal-controlled wards, townships, minority townships and towns shall be elected directly by the people. The draft also stipulates that local people's congresses in counties and any other higher administrative units shall establish standing committees. The draft also broadens the powers of office of the local state organizations. It stipulates that the people's congresses and standing committees of provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central authorities may enact regulations of a local

nature, as long as they do not conflict with the constitution, other laws, decrees, administrative laws and regulations. To strengthen the build-up of political power at the basic level, the draft constitution furthermore provides the reestablishment of a political power base in the villages and carries out a separation of government administration and commune management. The draft constitution also prescribes the establishment in the cities and villages, according to residential areas, of residents' committees or village committees as a basic self-government organization of mass character to assist the political powers at the basic level in effectively carrying out their work.

All the above-mentioned provisions of the Draft of the Revised Constitution are extremely meaningful. They will further consolidate and perfect our people's congress system, enhance our people's democracy and guarantee that our country's political power will be firmly in the hands of the people. They will guarantee that the people, "in various ways and forms, will administer the affairs of the state, administer economic and cultural undertakings and administer all social affairs." They will guarantee an improved exercise of power by the people as masters in their own house and will guarantee true control by the people of their state's destiny, of the destiny of their nation and of their own lives. The provisions will also bring into full play the important function of the state's organs of political power in our undertaking of the socialist modernization. Because of the above-mentioned concrete stipulations, the draft gives full expression of the position of replete power in the country's political life occupied by the people's congresses of all levels. The entire power of the state is firmly in the hands of the NPC. The NPC bestows all powers of office to all state organs, be they executive, judicial or procuratorial, and all these state organs must furthermore hold themselves responsible to the NPC and must accept the supervision by the NPC. In this manner the people's congresses at all levels and their standing committees will certainly be able to become extremely powerful forces of organization and mobilization and thus lead the people of the whole country in the triumphant realization of the magnificent goal of socialist modernization.

9808
CSO: 4005/986

PARTY AND STATE

EARNEST IMPLEMENTATION OF PARTY POLICY STRESSED

Harbin FENDOU [STRUGGLE] in Chinese No 5, 1982 pp 2-3

[Article by Du Xianzhong [2629 7359 1813]: "Boost Morale, Vigorously Promote the Solid Style of Work"]

[Text] The call for boosting morale and vigorously promoting the solid style of work issued this year by the provincial party committee to party organizations at all levels and cadres throughout the province is an important guarantee for successful implementation of various plans in 1982.

Although our grand and brand-new program to build China into a modern socialist power remains in an exploratory stage, the Party Central Committee has clearly made available to us the basic guiding principles or major political guidelines for this program. At present, instead of waiting for any new directives on this matter, we must devote ourselves to implementing the Party Central Committee's line, principles and policies as quickly as possible, and must do so in a way that takes into consideration the actual local conditions so that we can make them produce results. Otherwise, no policy, however good it sounds, can escape the fate of becoming a piece of scrap paper. Stalin once explicitly pointed out: "Of course, our primary task is to formulate a correct policy. But what useful purpose could it serve, if it is shelved or distorted in the course of its implementation?" This statement further reminds us that our current primary task is to make vigorous efforts to promote the solid style of work.

Take our province for example. As a result of the readjustment of the national economy over the past 3 years, and on the basis of investigations and study, we have gained a further insight into advantages the national economy in our province enjoys, and have initially blazed a new trail in the direction of accelerating the tempo of socialist construction. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that the provincial party committee has made clear the ideology guiding work in our province, major tasks to be fulfilled, and chief objectives to be achieved this year, and has laid out the "trunk line" and made necessary arrangements for all sectors of the economy. It can be said that right now all preparations have been made for the "east wind" to come. The term "east wind" here means action. This emphasis on the need to promote the solid style of work vigorously is suggested in response to our current actual attitude toward work. Although during the past several years party organizations at all levels and cadres throughout the province have made efforts to restore and carry forward the party's excellent

tradition and to improve their styles of leadership and work tremendously, they have spent more time talking than doing. This bureaucratic style of work which emphasizes talking rather than action has reached alarming proportions in some localities. Many tasks remain to be fulfilled even though meetings have been held, documents have been circulated and years have been spent on discussion. There are still some people who love only pomposity, vainglory and fame, and do not care about efficiency or the consequences that their behavior might bring; people who are interested only in meaningless debates, and have no intention of resolving the contradictions they face; people who confine their work to giving guiding principles, and never want to pay attention to efficiency of work. Another example is that although some people really want to get some work done, they cannot persistently concentrate on doing it, being under the influence of the dilatory bureaucratic style of work. With the passage of time, they have ended up getting nothing definitely done. If no efforts are made to change this situation, all beautiful dreams will remain dreams.

How can we concentrate on promoting the solid style of work? In light of the special characteristics of our current work, I would like to suggest that the following points command our attention:

First, the solid style of work can be promoted through organizational consolidation. Whether or not a task can be carried out depends on many factors. For example, if the leading body of a unit is not united and is in a state of disarray and weakness, no work is likely to be done on a solid basis; if the party cannot provide a sound style of work, and cadres cannot concentrate their energy on work, the work cannot be effectively done; the lack of a firm foundation for work, and of perfect relevant regulations can also cause a delay in its implementation. For this reason, in order to get our work solidly done, we must overcome and remove those unfavorable factors that stand in the way of its implementation. In other words, we must concentrate on organizational consolidation. The provincial party committee has named 1982 the year of organizational consolidation, which is essential to the simultaneous development of spiritual civilization and material civilization. The aim is to enhance the implementation of all work through organizational consolidation. At present, plans have been worked out and steps have been taken by our province to get the work of organizational consolidation off the ground. Particularly noteworthy is the rapid, dynamic and healthy development of a struggle against unlawful and criminal activities in the economic field throughout the province, which has been listed as one of our central tasks for this year in response to the unified plan of the Central Committee. Although organizational consolidation is a multipurpose measure to solve problems, its ultimate political aim is to bring about noticeable improvements, as quickly as possible, in the party's workstyle, social climate and social order, and its ultimate economic aim is to raise the level of return on investment. This is a very lofty goal to be reached. To attain this goal, we must effectively do a good job of organizational consolidation. Experiences drawn from various localities testify that leading bodies must be made the key targets of organizational consolidation. In the course of organizational consolidation, we must reshape and rebuild the leading bodies, ideologically and organizationally, and in terms of the style of work, rectify the party's workstyle, boost the morale of cadres, concentrate on promoting work on a solid basis. Only in this way can we provide a basis and guarantee for thorough implementation of work.

Second, we must come to grips with every work. We must devote ourselves to coming to grips with every work until it is truly and thoroughly implemented and produces results. We must have a strong sense of time in coming to grips with work. Time means speed, achievement and wealth. Something achieved in a matter of 1 day is clearly different from that achieved in a matter of 10 days. This is particularly true of the work of great urgency whose realization one day earlier than scheduled spells a big difference from its realization one day behind schedule. Its realization one day earlier is probably a boon and one day later a "disaster." For this reason, we must do everything as "early" as possible, and must never cease to move forward. Coming to grips with every work means carrying it through to the end. We must never stop moving forward and never feel satisfied until we reach our goal or destination. In coming to grips with work, we must constantly study the new situation and new problems that may come to our attention in the course of carrying out work, and we must take prompt and effective measures to solve them. If we fail to overcome the difficulties we may face from time to time, we may be forced to give it up when it is halfway through. In coming to grips with work, we must learn to play piano. In other words, we must be good at planning our work in a scientific way that takes into account the general needs when we focus our attention on a particular point. We can neither split and overstretch our strength nor lose sight of other points while focusing our attention on one point. Only in this way can we effectively carry out every task.

Third, it is necessary to establish the responsibility system at all levels. In additon to giving cadres ideological education and helping them strengthen their sense of commitment to the party's cause, we must institute a system designed to insure the thorough implementation of work. Establishing the departmental responsibility system at all levels is a good idea. In the past, an important reason that some tasks were left undone stems from our failure to define the responsibility for every individual and to commend those who did a good job and punish those whose performances were poor. With the departmental responsibility system in force, and with the responsibility clearly defined for every cadre, he can strengthen his sense of responsibility and contribute to the thorough implementation of work. Following the establishment of the responsibility system at all levels, every department and every individual will be given clearly defined responsibilities, and will feel dutybound, will be delegated power and will be held responsible for carrying out work. Particularly necessary is the establishment of the responsibility system for leading cadres who are in a position to take care of the overall situation or certain aspects of work. Only after the clearly defined responsibility system is established can their units effectively carry out their work and help those at lower levels perpetually consolidate similar systems. Only after government organizations and cadres at all levels have made clear their responsibility systems, holding every unit responsible for supervising those at lower levels, can they effectively carry out their work.

Fourth, examination and supervision are always necessary. Examination and supervision constitute an important measure for promoting the thorough implementation of work. Lenin once described the "examination and supervision of the implementation of work" as the "central task" of the people's committee, advocating that those found guilty of practicing the dilatory style of work deserved to be "lashed three times" on a regular basis. Just as Lenin once pointed.

out, an important reason that some work was left undone in the past stems from emphasis on planning and inattention to examination and supervision, and from our inability to understand what was really going on, what problems needed to be solved, and what was the outcome of our efforts. Last year, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that investigation, study, examination and supervision deserve first consideration by personnel on the staff of the leading organs in the execution of their work. This is another emphasis on the importance of examination and supervision which must be conducted under a well-defined system. As soon as a project is planned, it must be regularly or periodically checked under the supervision of an appropriate authority; it must be carried out at a controlled pace; efforts must be made to discover and solve problems that may arise from its implementation; its effectiveness must be inspected; at the end of its implementation, those who did a good job must be commended and those who performed poorly must be punished. Only by doing so can we insure a successful implementation of this project.

Fifth, we must change our style of work and keep in close touch with the basic level units. Whether a project can be thoroughly implemented depends largely on basic level performances, and depends on whether the leading organs have shifted the focus of their work to the basic level performances. In the course of carrying out a project, a lot of organizational work must be done. This is a very complicated process involving technical details. Leading organs and leading cadres must devote no more than 10 percent of their time and work force to planning, and more than 90 percent of their time and work force to conducting investigations and study, and to keeping watch over and guiding the thorough implementation of the party's principles and policies. Doing so calls for cutting down the number of meetings and circulation of documents, and for cadres to spend more time with the basic level units so that they can keep in touch with reality, and discover and solve problems. At present, a large number of leading comrades on the Party Central Committee, in the State Council and in other departments have done just that. Leading comrades in our province have also spent time on the forefront of production conducting investigations and study, summing up typical experiences, giving personal attention to all matters of public concern and directing organizations at all levels to implement work. This approach has produced very good results and therefore, is worthy of our emulation.

Sixth, while concentrating on implementing work, we must skillfully analyze the actual situation of every specific locality, department and unit, and we must proceed with our work from the realistic point of view. In implementing the instructions, resolutions and policies of the higher authorities from the realistic point of view, one must work energetically and intelligently to analyze the real situation in one's locality. Lenin once said: "One must be armed with a brain in order to enable one to analyze and evaluate different situations." If one just parrots what others say, and follows them blindly, and if one fails to put one's brain to work in the course of analyzing the complicated situation, one is apt to hit a snag, and is bound to commit mistakes and end up delaying the implementation of one's project. At present, the Party Central Committee has asked cadres at all levels to line up behind its political stand and to demonstrate flexibility in the execution of their work. Only by combining principle with flexibility can we carry out work in a better way.

Promoting the solid style of work is a matter of action. It is not only a matter of action but also a matter of fundamental importance to our cause and the cultivation of party character with a sense of responsibility. Only a man with a sense of dedication and commitment to our party's cause can exhibit a high sense of responsibility, of concern for the implementation of work and achieve good results in this field. Only a man with a sense of dedication and commitment to his work can bring his initiative and active and creative role into play, seek truth from facts, do everything on a solid basis, and make our work truly reap fruit.

9574
CSO: 4005/915

MAO'S THEORY OF SOCIAL CONTRADICTIONS OUTLINED

Shenyang LIAONING DAXUE XUEBAO in Chinese No 3, 1982 p 3-8

[Text] The theory of basic social contradictions is the cornerstone of historical materialism. It revealed the motive force behind the social development of mankind. Comrade Mao Zedong used this theory in China's revolution and construction. When solving the theoretical and practical problems brought out in China's revolution and construction, he enriched and developed the theory of basic social contradictions.

1

Comrade Mao Zedong Brought Up the Scientific Concept of Basic Social Contradictions

The theory of basic social contradictions was first established by Marx and Engels. When carrying out research on the historical course of capitalist society, they saw the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production and the contradiction between the economic base and the superstructure that it produces. In his "Preface to 'Critique of Political Economics'" Marx made a classic exposition of these contradictions. This led to the establishment of his theory of basic social contradictions.

Lenin defended this theory of Marx's. He divided social relationships into material relationships and ideological cultural relationships, and scientifically explained the formation of society. Moreover, he further pointed out that only on the level of explaining social relationships as part of the relations of production which in turn are considered in terms of productive forces could we obtain reliable evidence to enable us to view social development as a natural historical process; and could we overturn "the notion that society can be arbitrarily changed in response to the will of officials, that production and changing and inflexible individuals combine by chance."[1]

Mao Zedong recognized, as did Marx and Lenin, that the laws of social development must be sought in social production itself and in society's internal contradictions. In "On Contradictions," he pointed out that: according to the concepts of materialist dialectics, social change is primarily due to the development of internal social contradictions, that is the contradictions between

---

[1] "Selected Works of Lenin," vol. 1, p 10

the productive forces and the relations of production, between the classes and between the old and the new. The development of these contradictions prompts the advance of society. Comrade Mao Zedong began with China--this semi-colonial, semi-feudal society--and penetratingly studied the internal contradictions in Chinese society, that is the contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the masses and imperialist, feudal power, and he developed the unique laws of the Chinese revolution. Moreover, under historical conditions, he fostered Marx's theory of basic social contradictions. In his work, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," he characterized the contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the economic base and the superstructure as basic social contradictions and clearly indicated that it was the basic social contradictions that fueled our progressive social development, and in this he revealed that basic social contradictions are the general source of all social contradictions.

The contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the economic base and the superstructure are the basic social contradictions. This is determined by the unique characteristics in which the society of mankind differs from the natural world. Man participates in all social activities. The process of the development of social history is formed in the activities of man. Productive forces are the abilities by which men conquer and alter nature. Comrade Mao Zedong said: there are two elements to productive forces. One is tools and the other is the people who use the tools to carry out production. All production is carried out under specific relations of production. "In a classless society, every individual as a member of society joins forces with other members of society to form specific relations of production and carry out production activities in order to solve mankind's problems in material life. In a class society, the social members of each class, each with its own different style, form specific relations of production and carry out production activities in order to solve mankind's problems in material life."[1] The relations of production are the form of social production and are determined by the productive forces. Certain kinds of productive forces lead to certain kinds of relations of production, and the development of productive forces will always bring about a change in the relations of production; of course, the relations of production also have a reactive influence on the productive forces. Relations of production that are suited to the condition of productive forces will hasten the development of the productive forces, while relations of production which are ill suited to productive forces will hinder the development of those productive forces. Therefore, in carrying out production of material goods, there exists an inevitable internal basic connection between the productive forces and the relations of production; and this inevitable connection cannot be wilfully altered. But social activities are numerous and complex and social relations come in many forms. In addition to production activities, people also engage in political and cultural activities. And people in their own lives always consciously carry out activities in accordance with their own goals while guided by a specific ideology. Therefore, a specific ideological-cultural relationship is formed. This relationship is formed on the foundation of relations between people. This is the superstructure. Comrade Mao Zedong said:

---

1 "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," (single volume) p 260

"The superstructure is a kind of social relationship. The superstructure is built on the economic foundation"[1] of society's ideological-cultural relationships. Without these relationships--with only material social relations between people--society cannot be formed. Because of this, in addition to the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, there is the contradiction between the economic base and the superstructure. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The so-called economic base is the relations of production--primarily the system of ownership."[2] The superstructure is the political and legal systems and social ideology built on the economic base. Because the superstructure is always the reflection of the economic base of a specific society, it in turn serves this base; a change in the economic base will result in a definite corresponding change, which may come about quickly or slowly, in the superstructure. Therefore, this basic, inevitable connection between the economic base and the superstructure cannot be arbitrarily altered. Comrade Mao Zedong based his ideas on the special characteristics of human society that differ from the natural world, summarized the contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the economic base and the superstructure which run through all society as the basic social contradictions, and indicated that these basic contradictions determine and restrict all aspects, processes and developments of each stage of society, regulate and influence the existence and development of other social contradictions and determine the social nature and the direction of each stage of development. This is true of socialist society, it was true of its forerunner societies, and it will even be true of future communist society.

But the contradiction between productive forces and the relations of production and the contradiction between the economic base and the superstructure are not really parallel, and determining their interrelated functions requires some precise calculation. We absolutely cannot place these two contradictions on the same level, and even less can consider the contradiction between the economic base and the superstructure to be more basic than that between the productive forces and the relations of production. If we view them as equal, or view the contradiction between the economic base and the superstructure as more basic than that between the productive forces and the relations of production, then we cannot help but make mistakes in practice.

2

Comrade Mao Zedong Especially Emphasized the Tremendous Interaction Between the Superstructure and the Economic Base and Between the Relations of Production and the Productive Forces, and Brought Up Its Primary Decisive Role Under Specific Conditions

When establishing the theory of basic social contradictions, the primary task before Marx and Engels was to oppose idealism, especially historical idealism. In order to refute the idealist conception of history, they still had to stress the major historical materialist principles of the productive forces determining the relations of production and the economic base determining the superstructure,

---

1 "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol. 5, p 310

2 "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol. 5, p 310

principles which were denied by historical idealism. They said: "In the final analysis, the decisive element in the course of history is production and reproduction in actual life."[1] It leads to social development and is the ultimate cause of class struggle and the change of social systems. Later, some people attacked Marx's theory as being "a doctrine of economic determinism." In refuting such attacks, Engels said: "If a person twists this around and says that economic factors are the sole determining factors, then he renders the proposition meaningless, abstract and preposterous."[2] Moreover, they spoke of the reaction of the superstructure on the economic base and especially of the "mutual interaction" of the two. They said: "Economic activity opens roads for a person, but it also must feel the reaction of the reaction of the correspondingly independent political activity that it itself creates, that is the reaction of the power of the state and the actions of the opposition factions that are produced when the activity begins."[3] They also asked: "If political authority is powerless economically, then why should we fight for the political dictatorship of the proletariat?"[4] And they further pointed out that: "The entire great development process is carried out in the form of interrelated functions (although the strength of the interrelated functions is quite unbalanced: economic functions are the strongest by far, are the most primitive and are the most decisive). In this there are no absolutes. Everything is relative."

Lenin also pointed out that: "Politics is a concentrated expression of economics," and "politics must occupy the first position in comparison with economics."[5] Moreover, he clearly indicated that: "an heroic pioneering spirit" "frequently plays the decisive role."[6] The heroic pioneering spirit of which Lenin spoke is the spirit of bitter struggle and heroic sacrifice on the part of communist party members and progressive elements, a laboring spirit of working selflessly for the good of all without thought of reward. After the October Revolution, Soviet Russia faced this sort of cyclical dilemma: wanting to raise labor productivity, they needed to eliminate hunger, but eliminating hunger required raising labor productivity. How, in the end, can one solve this sort of contradiction? Lenin said: "In practice, this sort of contradiction must be solved by relying on a break in the cycle, a change in the mood of the masses, and the heroic pioneering spirit of individual groups, and the pioneering spirit in this kind of turn about frequently plays a decisive role."[7] This is to say that this pioneering spirit, under the special conditions of Soviet Russia at that time, played a decisive role in turning around that dangerous situation.

---

1 "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol. 4, p 477, 482

2 ibid.

3 ibid.

4 ibid.

5 "Selected Works of Lenin," vol. 4, p 441

6 ibid., p 15

7 "Selected Works of Lenin," vol. 4, p 15

On the foundation of the discourses of Marx and Lenin, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out the principles in which, under specific conditions, the primary decisive role is played by the superstructure over the economic base and the relations of production over the productive forces. In "On Contradiction," he pointed out that: the forces of production and the economic base ordinarily play the major decisive role, and anyone who fails to admit this is not a materialist. But, the relations of production and the superstructure, "under specific conditions," can change and play the major decisive roles, and this must be admitted. "When productive forces cannot develop without a change in the relations of production, then the relations of production play the major decisive role." "When the politics and culture of the superstructure obstruct the development of the economic base, then political and cultural reform becomes the decisive thing."[1]

The principle of Comrade Mao Zedong that, under specific conditions, the superstructure and the relations of production can play the decisive roles refers--under the premise of admitting that the productive forces determine the relations of production and the economic base determines the superstructure--to the reactive influence of the relations of production and the superstructure. He said: "We admit that in general historical development material things determine spiritual things, that the existence of society determines the consciousness of society; but at the same time, we also recognize and must admit the reactive influence of spiritual things, the reaction of social consciousness on the existence of society and of the superstructure on the economic base."[2] Therefore, we feel that this principle of Comrade Mao Zedong is not promoting idealism, but rather is fostering the idea of Marx and Lenin concerning the interactive effects between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base, and is especially fostering Lenin's idea that the heroic pioneering spirit "frequently plays a decisive role." It is an important contribution to historical materialism.

The "superstructure determinist doctrine" of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" flew under the banner of "dialectics," and using the excuse of stressing reaction, these people took the idea of the reaction of the superstructure on the economic base and of the relations of production on the productive forces to an extreme, believing that people could do as they wished in carrying out so-called reform and improvement of the superstructure and the relations of production. And they expanded the notion "under specific conditions" into "the entire historical stage of socialism," believing the relations of production and the superstructure play the major decisive roles from beginning to end in their interaction with the productive forces and the economic base, and basically denying that the productive forces determine the relations of production and that the economic base determines the superstructure.

This fallacy of theirs and what Comrade Mao Zedong spoke of concerning situations in which the productive forces cannot develop without a change in the relations of production and the economic base is obstructed in its development when there is no change in the superstructure so that change in the relations of production and reform of the superstructure play the decisive roles in bringing about development of the productive forces and the economic base are not the same.

---

[1] "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," (single volume) pp 300-301

[2] ibid.

Comrade Mao Zedong Systematically Summarized the Historical Experience of the International Communist Movement and Brought Up the Theory of Basic Contradictions in Socialist Society

When Marx was investigating the coming collapse of capitalism and the future development of communism, he clearly indicated that: socialist society "has not developed on a foundation of itself, but, just the contrary, was produced out of capitalist society. Because of this, in all its aspects, in its economic, moral and spiritual aspects, it retains the vestiges of the old society that were present at its birth."[1] In essence, this points out the problem of internal contradictions in socialist society. But, because at that time there was no proletarian revolutionary victory in practice, the problem of basic contradictions in socialist society was not concretely and realistically before them, Marx and Engels could only expound on them in principle.

In accordance with this idea of Marx's, Lenin pointed out that "under the socialist system, resistance is destroyed, but contradictions still exist."[2] He also discussed in detail the two features of economic structure that exist concurrently during the transition period from capitalism to communism. But, because Lenin died too soon, he didn't personally see the victory of socialist reform of the private ownership of the means of production, and therefore he couldn't make a concrete examination of the basic contradictions in socialist society.

Stalin carried on Lenin's task, leading the Soviet people to realize socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization, but because he did not admit in theory that contradictions would exist in the Soviet Union after agricultural collectivization took place, for quite a long period of time he onesidedly believed that the productive forces and the relations of production, as well as the economic base and the superstructure, were already "completely compatible" and free of contradictions. Even though, in the year prior to his death, he had already spoken of contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces under the socialist system, he "still did not speak of the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base as comprehensive problems, and he still did not consider these contradictions to be basic contradictions that fueled progressive development in socialist society."[3] This notion of Stalin's not only affected the Soviet Union, but also influenced the international communist movement.

In accordance with Lenin's discourses, Comrade Mao Zedong systematically summarized the historical experience of the international communist movement, profoundly analyzed the contradictions in socialist society, and pointed out that: "Some people say that contradictions can be 'found' in socialist society, but I see this as incorrect. It is not a matter of finding or not finding contradictions--it is full of contradictions."[4] This is a basic denial of the metaphysical notion that socialist society has no contradictions. Moreover, he

---

[1] "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol. 3, p 10

[2] "Lenin: "Critique of Bukharin's Book, 'The Economy of the Transition Period'," People's Publishers, 1958, p 13

[3] "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol. 5, p 356

[4] ibid., p 498

clearly indicated: "In socialist society, the basic contradictions remain those between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. However, these contradictions in socialist society are basically different in nature and condition from the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base in the old society."[1]

Comrade Mao Zedong first expounded on the situation of the two aspects of the basic contradictions of socialist society being both mutually suited to one another and mutually contradictory. He pointed out that: the contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces in socialist society and that between the economic base and the superstructure are such that the two aspects of each are both mutually suitable and mutually contradictory, and this basic contradiction is very complex. The victory of the socialist reform of the system of private ownership of the means of production established the economic base of socialism. But, the relations of production of the old capitalism were not completely destroyed. The remnants of the capitalist economic base have continued to exist for quite a long period of time. Therefore, in socialist society, in addition to socialist relations of production which occupy the dominant position, there remain the remnants of the old capitalist relations of production, which is to say also that in addition to the socialist economic base, there remain the remnants (or fragments) of the capitalist economic base. They are all things that exist in socialist society and all necessarily involve contradictions with the productive forces of society.

The political and legal systems of a state that is a people's democratic dictatorship is established after the proletariat seizes political power. But the state of bourgeois consciousness that comprises the capitalist superstructure, because of its relative independence, does not immediately undergo complete transformation in line with the change in the economic base. Therefore, in socialist society, in addition to the socialist superstructure which occupies the dominant position, there are remnants of the capitalist superstructure, and there remain in our nation the remnants of feudalist superstructure. These two superstructures, that is the socialist superstructure and the remnants of the capitalist superstructure (and in our nation the remaining feudal consciousness), both exist in socialist society and both are in contradiction with the socialist economic base. And exactly because of this, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The existence of a bourgeois consciousness, the existence of certain bureaucratic workstyles in state organs and the existence of flaws in certain sectors of the state system are also in contradiction with the socialist economic base."[2]

In our nation, a striking expression of the basic contradictions in socialist society is the contradiction between the low level of the productive forces and the needs of the state and the people. This contradiction became more pronounced after the basic completion of the socialist reform of the system of private

---

1 "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol. 5, p 373

2 "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol. 5, p 374

ownership of the means of production. Comrade Mao Zedong said that the backwardness of China's economy and the weakness of its material base have kept us in a passive state and that spiritually we feel constrained, and that, in that respect, we are not yet liberated. Especially as the socialist system of our nation remains in its period of infancy and the present socialist relations of production are still imperfect, these imperfect aspects are in contradiction with the development of the productive forces. There exist problems of incompatibility with the development of the productive forces of society in our dealing with the problem of handling relations between every sector of the national economy in a proportionate way, in the relations between accumulation and consumption, in management and administration, and in certain sections of the distribution system. Because of this, it is necessary that our party and state frequently adjust certain links in the relations of production that are ill-suited to the development of the productive forces in order to hasten such development. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Central Committee of the Party, beginning with the many different levels of the productive forces of our nation at present, adopted a series of relaxed economic policies, corrected the past mistakes of ignoring national conditions and one-sidedly stressing "larger in size and more collective in nature, of believing that the higher the level of public ownership the better, and of being "anxious to move toward communism" by continually changing the relations of production, made some necessary adjustments in the relations of agricultural production--respecting the right of self direction of production teams and implementing various systems of production responsibility--and raised the production initiative of the vast peasants so that the productive forces of agriculture were again liberated. At the same time, it changed the erroneous tendencies of the past toward unrealistically high production rates and targets and toward forcing development of productive forces because of being "anxious to obtain results." These adjustments have hastened the development of the present productive forces of our nation. In the area of the political system, the striking problems are the lack of complete socialist democracy and a complete legal system. Both democratic forms and the extension of the depth and breadth of democracy have been greatly limited, and this has greatly influenced the development of the initiative of the broad masses. The socialist system of our nation is still in its infancy and the political system still has many imperfections--this is especially true of the socialist legal system--and this affects the development of the initiative of the people in exercising their democratic rights. The cadre system of our nation requires urgent reform. In order to prevent party and state workers from changing from public "servants" into the "masters" of the masses and to guarantee the democratic rights of the masses, we must systematize and codify democracy and properly handle the relations between democracy and centralism and between freedom and discipline. In terms of states of consciousness, among a large number of party members and leading state cadres, there remain serious bourgeois and even feudal ideological influences and notions of bureaucratism, special privilege, adherence to old ways and daring nothing, which seriously obstruct the consolidation of the socialist economic base and the development of the productive forces; among a portion of the people, there exists the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization--an anarchist tide is especially prevalent among the youths in this group--which seriously threatens the consolidation of the socialist system. Along with the expansion of international contacts and the situation in which our nation has opened up and broken out of its long standing "isolation," the influence and subversive effects of bourgeois consciousness will develop and increase, and we must pay due attention to this.

Secondly, in accordance with the discourses of Marx and Lenin, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the basic contradictions in socialist society are different in nature and character from the contradictions in the old society.

Old China was a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society. The bureaucratic capitalist class and the landlord class "represented the most backward and reactionary relations of production in China and hindered the development of China's productive forces."[1] This antagonistic contradiction between the rotten relations of production and the productive forces was manifested in the life and death struggle between the masses led by the working class and the three great enemies [imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism]. The reactionary superstructure also exerted great pressure in supporting these rotten relations of production, and, because of this, in wanting to solve the basic social contradictions of old China, it was necessary to use violence to overthrow the reactionary political forces in order to change the rotten relations of production. In order to solve the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base in old China, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the CCP, struggled bravely for 28 years and finally obtained victory in 1949. After new China was established, on the one hand, in the cities, we seized bureaucratic capital and turned it into a state run economy, and on the other hand, in rural areas we carried out land reform, taking the land from the landowners who had it and distributing it to the peasants who had little or no land. This brought about a basic change in the relations of production and greatly liberated productive forces. In 1956, our nation achieved victory in the socialist reform of the system of private ownership of the means of production and established socialist relations of production. This marked the complete establishment of the socialist economic base of our nation. Because of the establishment of state ownership of the means of production, the carrying out of distribution according to labor and elimination of exploitation, the nature of the basic contradictions in society underwent a basic change. Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The contradictions in socialist society are basically different from those in the old society, such as the contradictions in capitalist society."[2] They are no longer antagonistic, but rather belong to the category of non-antagonistic contradictions among the masses which rest on the foundation of common basic interests. These contradictions between the socialist relations of production and the productive forces and between the socialist superstructure and the socialist economic base which occupy the dominant positions are the main body of the basic social contradictions in socialist society, the laboring masses in industry and agriculture are an important element of the productive forces and are also the main body of the relations of production and the superstructure which is established on this base and is guided by Marxism-Leninism protects the people, and therefore, the compatibility of the basic contradictions is basic and primary and their contradiction is secondary. These contradictions can be continually resolved by the socialist system itself. Because of this, the basic economic and political systems in socialist society are conducive to the development of the productive forces and are of unmatched superiority. That which hinders the consolidation of the socialist economic base and the development of the productive forces does

---

1 "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," (single volume) p 4

2 "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol. 5, p 372

not originate in the socialist system, but is created by incomplete links in certain of the concrete or fundamental systems and by the remnants of the old societies. These features of the basic contradictions in socialist society are a central expression of the superiority of the socialist system. From this it can be seen that saying that the socialist system is superior is not to say that these basic contradictions that universally exist in the societies of mankind have been eliminated, but rather is to say that these basic contradictions in socialist society are different in nature from those of the old societies and that they can be continually and actively solved by the socialist system itself. The socialist system is being consolidated in the midst of continually solving these basic contradictions, and socialist nations are advancing in situations in which both compatibility and contradiction exist between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the economic base and the superstructure. And it was just for this reason that Comrade Mao Zedong reached the scientific conclusion that "only socialism can save China."

4

Comrade Mao Zedong's Fostering of Revolution Was the Ideology of Liberating Productive Forces and Moreover He Used the Question of Whether or Not Something Hastened the Development of the Productive Forces to Be the Basic Measure of the Value of All Government and Party Activities

Marx said: "Production, in the final analysis, is the decisive thing."[1] Comrade Mao Zedong promoted this idea of Marx's and pointed out that production is the most basic practical activity of mankind and is that which determines everything else. As early as the democratic revolutionary period of our nation, he stressed the development of productive forces, saying: "The revolutionary task of the new democracy...is to change the comprador, feudal relations of production and to liberate the constrained productive forces."[2] And we must take the matter of whether or not something hastens the development of the productive forces to be the basic measure of the value and importance of all government and party actions. He said: "The value and importance of all China's governmental and party policies and their outcomes in practice among the Chinese people, in the final analysis, are determined by seeing how and to what extent they aid the development of the productive forces of the Chinese people, by seeing whether they constrain or liberate productive forces."[3] After the proletariat seized political power, and especially after the socialist reform of the system of private ownership of the means of production, he also said: "Our basic task has already switched from liberating the productive forces to protecting and developing the productive forces under the new relations of production."[4] This is because the development of the productive forces in this period is not purely an economic matter, but relates to the important political question of whether or not the dictatorship of the proletariat can be consolidated. Lenin said that: after the proletariat seizes political power, the matters of the development of the productive forces and of economic construction are not merely economic

---

1 "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol. 4, p 481

2 "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," (single volume) p 1150

3 ibid., p 980

4 "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol. 5, p 377

matters, but more importantly are related to the important political question of whether or not the dictatorship of the proletariat can be consolidated. Therefore, after the establishment of the nation, Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly emphasized the development of the productive forces. He pointed out that, after the proletariat seized political power, only through "the relatively complete development of society's productive forces could we consider our socialist economic and political systems to have achieved their own relatively complete material base (at present this material base is far from complete), and could our nation (the superstructure) be considered fully consolidated."[1] After the socialist reform of the system of private ownership of the means of production in our nation was completed, he immediately brought out the strategic idea that the focal point of the work of the entire party had changed. In order to realize the protection and development of the productive forces under the new relations of production, he felt that we must correctly handle the contradictions within the ranks of the people to make it easier to unite the peoples of the entire nation in carrying out a new war--a war against the natural world--struggling to develop our economy and culture and to build our nation, as quickly as possible, into a great socialist state with modern industry, agriculture, science and culture. But he did not maintain this correct notion to the end. In his later years he suggested that the major contradictions in our society remained those between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and he centered our attention on class struggle and on revolution in the realm of the superstructure and committed the error of expanding class struggle. In particular, in accordance with his erroneous theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, he developed the "Great Cultural Revolution" which kept the focus of the work of the entire party away from economic construction for a long period. And we must add to this the interference and sabotage of the Lin Biao, Jiang Qing cliques which seriously affected the development of the superiority of the socialist system of our nation and slowed the development of our productive forces. This lesson is worth remembering forever.

---

[1] "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol. 5, p 462

9705
CSO: 4005/906

PARTY AND STATE

ATTENTION GIVEN TO CADRE REFORM

Constitutional Reforms

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Li Li [2621 6091]: "Legal Guarantee for Reforming the Cadre System"]

[Text] The draft of the revised constitution clearly provides that "continuation in office shall not exceed two terms" in the case of the chairman and vice chairman of the state, chairman and vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, chairman of the Military Commission, president of the Supreme People's Court, the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, premier and vice permier of the State Council and commissioners of state and other similar state leaders. This is something the three past constitutions did not have. It provides a solemn legal guarantee for reforming and perfecting our state leadership system and repealing the life tenure of leadership roles that actually have existed in the past.

The fact that life tenure of leadership roles took shape in such a socialist state as ours is due to multifarious causes. During the early period after the founding of our state, that large contingent of party, government, and military core cadres who were trained through hard and dented revolutionary struggle were mostly in their able and vigorous years. It was only natural that they should shoulder the leadership tasks at the various central and local levels, and they were also deeply trusted and supported by the masses of the people. The problem is that, along with the development of our socialist enterprises of construction, we failed to establish and perfect in time a cadre system suited to the socialist form of state and government, we failed to formulate and perfect laws and regulations such as those concerning election, supervision, reward and punishment, retirement, etc. During the mid-1950's, our party acquired some understanding in respect to this problem and also began to consider the question of repealing the life tenure system of our party and state leadership offices. But changes took place in the situation later on, and this consideration became pigeonholed indefinitely. On the other hand, even though our people's democratic dictatorship carried out in principle very extensive democracy, but because our social productive forces were not developed and our cultural level was backward, we lacked the material foundation for the masses direct supervision and management of the

state by the people; especially because of the influence of remnant feudalist ideas, all this served to provide a historical possibility for the emergence of the life tenure of leadership roles.

This life tenure leadership system is fraught with serious flaws. First of all, when the state's supreme office of leadership is not limited in its term of service, the individual occupant's power is liable to escape the supervision and control by the masses of the people and the collective leadership, leading to a situation in which the individual's power reigns above the will of the people as well as the party in power itself. Once the system of democratic centralism is spoiled, individual misconduct can hardly be corrected; this often brings about long-term, overall damage. Such is the experience and lesson which we have gained at a very great price after the founding of our state. Secondly, the life tenure of the supreme leadership office has led to life tenure in the entire ranks of the leading cadres; this has resulted in the ranks of the leading cadres only admitting new members and not letting anybody out so that no possibility for normal replacement of the old by the new or exchanges exists. This has in turn resulted in the progressive aging of all the cadres, thereby suppressing the growth of young and able talents and affecting measures to place more revolutionary, professional, knowledgeable and younger cadres. Thirdly, the aforesaid situations tend also to result in institutions becoming overstaffed, with personnel outnumbering offices, mutual wrangling, and low administrative efficiency. Meanwhile, it is also easier for bureaucratism and the bad work style of deviation from the masses to grow, which in turn affects the prestige of the party and the government among the masses of the people. Marxism holds that all the power of a socialist state belongs to the people. The most fundamental content of socialist democracy is that the masses of the people enjoy the right to manage state affairs. Although at the beginning of the founding of our state, because of limitation by existing conditions, we were unable to implement the practice of letting the masses of the people manage state affairs directly and could only have part of the advanced segment of the proletariat exercise such a state-managing function on their behalf, we should clearly realize that this is the power conferred upon us by the people and we should make use of this power in the process of building socialism; actively to create conditions so as to "systematically attract more and more citizens, ultimately all citizens, to directly and regularly shoulder the heavy tasks of state management" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 27 pp 142-143). But the life tenure of the leadership offices deviates from the state theory of Marxism precisely on this point. For this reason, the 4th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee put forward the question of repealing the life tenure of the offices of the leading cadres. After that, the party Central Committee took this as the primary task in our fundamental reform ot the cadre system and the leadership system and carried out a series of hard and careful tasks. This draft of the revised constitution explicitly provides the limitation and number of terms the state's supreme leader can serve and remain in office and repeals the life tenure of the supreme leader in office; this in essence also declares the repeal of the life tenure of all leadership offices and therefore tallies completely with the fundamental principles of Marxism and the will of the people. It has provided us with a reliable guarantee as we endeavor from

now on to follow the authority of the Constitution and its supreme legality in carrying out the reform of our state leadership system in a guided, step-by-step, and orderly manner, and in strengthening and perfecting our state system of people's democratic dictatorship.

Managing, Serving Retired Cadres

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 20 May 82 p 1

[Article by Chen Chunpu [7115 2504 2528] and Gu Zhongcheng [6253 1813 6134]: "Yanggu County Party Committee Pays Attention to the Task of Managing and Serving Separated and Retired Cadres; More Than 1,900 Separated and Retired Cadres Enjoy Pleasant State of Mind and Continue To Make Contributions to the Four Modernizations"]

[Text] Yanggu County party committee has earnestly strengthened its work in managing and serving separated and retired cadres and enabled the county's more than 1,900 separated and retired cadres to enjoy a pleasant state of mind and happily spend their latter years in peace.

In order to do a good job in managing and serving separated and retired cadres, the county party committee first of all adopted certain measures organizationally so as to guarantee that separated and retired cadres enjoy the kind of political treatment they deserve. An old cadres management leading group was established, and the organization department also especially set up an old cadres section to take the concrete responsibility of the separated and retired cadres' study and ideological work. In the county's 19 communes and units directly under the county's jurisdiction were also established corresponding management organs. They have had the county's separated and retired cadres all organized, creating 20 party branches, 104 party cells or study groups and establishing their normal organizational life and daily study system so as to enable separated and retired cadres to understand in time the party Central Committee's various principles and policies and catch up with the continuously developing situation.

Yanggu County party committee has also sought by all means to provide separated and retired cadres with amenities in their life and help them solve difficulties surrounding housing, securing of medical facilities, livelihood, arrangements for their children, etc. In respect to housing, all separated and retired cadres who return to their old homes to live are entrusted to the communes and production brigades of their native areas to arrange homesteads for them on a priority basis; those who live in cities and towns along with their children are given priority as to housing over in-service cadres of the same level. In respect to going to medical clinics to get treatment, the county has also taken out 40,000 yuan from local financial resources to plan the building of 15 additional patient rooms for old cadres in the hospital. With respect to the eight separated and retired old cadres who cannot handle their own daily chores in life, the county issues to them a given sum for nursing fees each month. The county's public health departments have also established roving medical service groups for old cadres to bring medical personnel to the doors of separated and retired old cadres at fixed intervals. In the recruitment of workers, conscription, and employment, where conditions are

equal, priority is given to their children when arrangements are made. With respect to certain commodities short or lacking in supply, the county's commercial and supply separtments have issued priority supply certificates to the separated and retired old cadres; at New Year and other festive occasions, these departments simply go to their doors to supply them with such provisions.

Because the Yanggu party committee's management work has been carried out in a very careful way and its services are competently provided, this contingent of separated and retired old cadres are enabled to continue to play their roles in the construction of the four modernizations: (1) in carrying out education among the vast ranks of the cadres and masses with their personal experience on the party's fine traditions and work styles. They regularly visit government organs and shools and administer to youths and children lessons in loving the motherland, loving socialism, and loving the collective and hard struggle, thereby passing on the party's fine traditions to the younger generation. (2) In actively assisting local party organizations to handle the people's letters and visits and mediate civil desputes. All of the county's 19 communes have established retired cadres letter-writing and visiting groups to handle large batches of piled up files. (3) In taking the initiative to help party organizations at various levels to manage well party work style and party discipline. Certain separated and retired cadres with much prestige regularly get themselves closely involved with investigations so as to achieve understanding and put forward in time concrete measures and suggestions for party organizations to improve party work style. (4) In suggesting ideas and serving as advisers to local cadres and masses with full enthusiasm, or doing whatever work they still can.

9255
CSO: 4005/937

PROVINCIAL PROPAGANDA MEETING ON IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by Chen Weiye [7115 0251 2814], "The Symposium of Heads of Prefectural and Municipal Propaganda Departments and Secretaries of Youth Leagues and CCP Committees Throughout the Province Emphatically Called for the Launching of a Sustained and Penetrating 'Five Stresses and Four Points of Beauty' Movement and for the Use of Communist Ideology and Morality in the Education of the People"]

[Text] Educating the people with communist ideology and morality is the major substance in our drive to build a socialist spiritual civilization, and it is the key link in launching penetrating "Five Stresses and Four Points of Beauty" activities. This was the important subject of discussion at the symposium of heads of prefectural and municipal propaganda departments and secretaries of youth leagues and CCP committees of the entire province held 20-29 May.

During the meetings, important speeches by leading comrades of the central authorities on such problems as building up our spiritual civilization, and a summing-up of the spirit prevailing at the symposium of the central authorities on the activities during the "Culture and Courtesy Month," were communicated to the participants.

The meeting was of the opinion that the symposium called by the central authorities provided not only a summing-up of the results and experiences of the "Culture and Courtesy Month" activities and a clarification of the significance of hereafter launching sustained and penetrating "Five Stresses and Four Points of Beauty" activities, but more importantly brought a clear understanding of the entire disposition of the central authorities regarding the whole party's work, in that they were giving their guidance and help in the overall outline and directing our efforts in the right direction, so that propaganda work will be even more closely integrated with the entire work of building up our spiritual civilization, and also more closely integrated with the future long-term historical tasks of the whole party. The party committees at all levels must conscientiously study these matters, gain a thorough understanding of them and furthermore earnestly implement these decisions. Comrades on the propaganda front must particularly gain clarity on the theoretical plane and clear up all kinds of muddled ideologies. Only then will they be able to conduct among the cadres at all levels and among the masses a meaningful propaganda which is to be clear, authentic and free from error, and only then will they be able to put political and ideological work on the right track.

The meeting emphasized that building up our socialist spiritual civilization is not only an important guarantee for the construction of our material civilization, but also a powerful stimulating force for the construction of this material civilization. To be effective in building up our socialist spiritual civilization, as it is also necessary to be effective in the construction of our material civilization, the task must be firmly pursued over a long period and pursued time after time. Building up our spiritual civilization is a fundamental task of our propaganda work. The "Five Stresses and Four Points of Beauty" activities and the "Culture and Courtesy Month" activities are important forms of mass character of our endeavor to build up our socialist spiritual civilization. We shall create an even greater variety of such excellent forms, giving due attention to the effective use of advanced models, showing ourselves apt at grasping the demands of the masses, correctly selecting the break-through points and guiding the enthusiasm of the masses in the various facets of our endeavor to build up our socialist spiritual civilization. In order to build up a spiritual civilization of a high degree of excellence we must not only develop all educational and cultural undertakings, but also pay particular attention to conduct communist ideological and moral education among the masses. In conducting communist ideological education two aspects must be stressed: first, the principle of collectivism, and second, the attitude of being masters of our own affairs. The principle of collectivism demands that everyone serve the people wholeheartedly, it demands complete unselfishness and demands an ability to adopt the correct attitude toward the relationship of the state, the collective and the individual. It demands that in case of conflict of interests between the state, the collective and the individual, individual interests must be subordinated to the interests of the collective, the interests of the part subordinated to the interests of the whole, the immediate interests subordinated to the long-term interests. It also demands in every type of work, and in our lives, an ability to unite as one, to cooperate closely and to rely on the collective wisdom and strength in our endeavors to overcome our obstacles on the road of our advance. The attitude of being masters of our own affairs demands that the people act conscientiously as masters of the society, fully bringing into play their initiative, activism and creativity, without fear of making sacrifices for the benefit of the society as a whole. It demands that the people struggle arduously and overcome any mentality of being hirelings, the mentality of being interested in nothing but profits, of profiting at the state's expense and fleezing the state, and demands that they overcome any mistaken mentalities and attitudes of this nature. Conducting communist moral education is educating according to the spirit and the principles of communism and conducting education in social morality, in occupational morality and marriage and family morality, so that the people will conduct themselves in their communal lives within the society consciously according to the rules generally acknowledged by society, that they will accept the responsibilities and duties that they rightfully must accept, that they be strengthened to resist the mental corrosion by bourgeois ideology and the vestiges of feudal ideology, and that a spirit be nurtured in the people of acting not for fame and profit, but for the benefit of the people and for the revolution, and so that all the people of the whole province will gradually become persons with ideals, morality, discipline and culture.

The meeting was of the opinion that there must be a concrete target whenever "Four Stresses and Five Points of Beauty" activities are launched. Activities must be concentrated and unified, but at the same time they must also be dispersed activities that link up with the realities. A plan must be drawn up, concrete

measures must be carried out and regular check-ups must take place. We must still continue hereafter to wipe out effectively "uncleanliness, disorderliness, inadequacies," and several times every year large-scale crash activities shall be organized. Activities on a large scale shall be organized in all localities of the province several times per year around July 1, National Day and New Year's Day. More than before, activities must start out from the real conditions of the various units. Whatever problems they may have, these problems must be resolved. The "Five Stresses and Four Points of Beauty" activities must be integrated with work, study and production, and great efforts must be exerted to raise productivity, to enhance results that benefit the economy and to improve the quality of education.

9808
CSO: 4005/986

PARTY AND STATE

COMMENTARY WARNS AGAINST RETALIATION

SK201017 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 19 Jul 82

[Station commentary: "Retaliation Should Never Be Tolerated"]

[Text] In the course of dealing blows at serious economic crimes, a serious case of retaliation occurred at the Fuxin Municipal Urban Construction Bureau such as is seldom seen in other places. Being devoted to his duty as an accountant, Comrade (Yuan Shulan) has waged a struggle against (Zhang Jingbo), who engaged in graft and appropriated state property. Such a just practice should be supported and encouraged by the people. However, with the protection and connivance of Comrade (Ma Xingquan) and others, (Zhang Jingbo) was promoted as members of the bureau CCP Committee instead of receiving disciplinary sanction. On the contrary, Comrade (Yuan Shulan) was persecuted and attacked with such means as suspension from his duties and salary and detention and release on two occasions, driving him to distraction. What a serious case of retaliation it is!

At present, many economic crimes involve individuals and cadres inside and outside the party. Some even involve a few leading cadres. Many criminal activities are mingled with party malpractices and, therefore, are complicated and difficult to deal with. For this reason, those who struggle against such malpractices will meet with obstructions from all quarters and even will be attacked and persecuted.

Discipline inspection departments and political and legal departments at all levels should resolutely protect politically, organizationally, and legally the financial and accounting personnel who dare to struggle against legal and disciplinary violations and those who fair-mindedly expose and denounce criminals. Those who retaliate against others by exercising their powers or authority must be conscientiously investigated and seriously dealt with.

We hope that the comrades who dare to struggle against criminal offences and unhealthy practices will continue to carry forward the dauntless revolutionary spirit and fight to the end for the interests of the party and the people. You should believe that the party and government support you and the large numbers of the masses also support you. Under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee and the guidance of correct lines, so long as we hold firmly to the truth and dare to struggle, healthy tendencies will certainly overwhelm unhealthy ones and those who engage in retaliation will certainly be punished.

CSO: 4005/1142

SURVEY OF INTELLECTUALS' WORK SITUATIONS ATTENTION TO PROBLEMS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jun 82 p 1

[Article Prepared from Organization Department Draft: "CCP Central Committee Organization Department, Propaganda Department, United Front Work Department, State Science Commission, and Labor Personnel Department Dispatch Investigation Teams to Gain Understanding of the Survey by All Jurisdictions of the Work Situation of Intellectual Small Number of Units in Danger of Slipping Into Formalistic Going Through the Motions and Should Be Given Attention"]

[Text] Recently the CCP Central Committee Organization Department, Propaganda Department, United Front Work Department, State Science Commission, and Labor Personnel Department sent five survey teams to some provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions to gain an understanding of the survey by all jurisdictions of the work situation of intellectuals. These investigation teams left at the end of May and in early June.

In accordance with the notice from the CCP Central Committee, beginning in March this year every jurisdiction throughout the country launched a survey of the work of intellectuals. CCP committees at all levels attach a great amount of importance to this important matter, and in many provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, leadership comrades have personally taken part. Some also led survey teams into the grassroots levels to have heart to heart talks and information discussion meetings with intellectuals in order to understand at first hand the status of the work of intellectuals and any existing problems. At the present time, all departments in all jurisdications are in the stage of concentrated study and diligent solution to problems with regard to survey of the work of intellectuals. Many places and units are collating problems discovered in the course of the survey, categorizing situations, and trying to solve those problems that they can solve themselves. In cases where problems are difficult of solution for the time being, they are making genuinely workable suggestions and doing ideological work with the personnel concerned. However, there are also a small number of units that are in danger of slipping into formalistic going through the motions.

The investigation teams sent out on this occasion by the Central Committee Organization Department and other departments has prepared to gain an understanding of an exchange good experiences everywhere, and to study some problems of general applicability.

9432
CSO: 4005/965

STAGNATION AMONG RESEARCH PERSONNEL EXAMINED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Reporter Xiao Guangen [5135 7070 2700]: "Give Middle Age Intellectuals 'Ample Scope for Their Abilities.' The Views of Some Teachers, Scientists, and Technicians in Shanghai"]

[Text] Most of China's middle-aged intellectuals are now in the frontlines of teaching, research, and production. They are in the prime of life, are shouldering heavy duties, and they play a role as connecting links between the past and the future. How can concern be shown them and help given to them in solving their difficulties in work, in study, and in daily life so that they will have "ample scope for their abilities" is yet another important aspect to further implementation of party policies toward intellectuals. The reporter visited several teachers, scientists, and technicians in Shanghai to ask them to discuss their views on the foregoing question.

Most Important Is That People Perform to the Full Extent of Their Abilities

Zhu Yaxian [4281 7161 6513], deputy chancellor of Shanghai Communications University, is 47 years old and has been deputy chancellor for more than 2 years. He said that in the current implementation of policies, as far as middle-aged intellectuals are concern, most important is opportunity to put their talents to good use by providing them a "stage" for their activities. During the past several years the party and government have attached extreme importance to bringing into play the role of intellectuals, but in institutions of higher learning, in research units, and in some heavy industry units, there still exists a general situation of insufficient work for intellectuals to do. The consequences of overstaffing have not only stifled talented persons but may engender a negligent and sluggish work style. This is not in the interest of the country or of the intellectuals themselves. In Shanghai Communications University, for example, were an amount of work system to be instituted, somewhat more than 800 professors would be able to discharge the entire university's teaching duties (with the exception of scientific research and teaching support) However, in our univerity, lecturers alone number more than 1,000 and there are another more than 300 full and assistant professors. Inevitably this must mean that some professors have nothing to do. China's intellectuals are distributed very unevenly. In Shanghai quite a few units are completely lacking scientific and technical personnel. Their "stages" have been empty for a

long time. Were there to be an organized movement of skilled people, quite a few professors would find "ample scope for their abilities." During the past 2 years we have sent out several hundred skilled people many of whom are playing active roles in their new positions.

Both a Free Hand Should Be Given For Use and Training Talen Firmly in Hand

Yu Chengbao [5713 2052 0202], Mo Shulin [5459 2579 2651], and Wang Weirong [3769 4850 2837], three professors in the electrical equipment and research group of Staff and Workers College of the Shanghai Municipal Handicrafts Administration were transferred from Shanghai Communications University in 1980. They said that after arriving at Staff and Workers College the quantity of work was much greater than at Communications University. Though busy, they felt very happy because they had a place to exert themselves. What makes people happy is that there the relationship between teaching and production is a very close one. One has to not only lecture but also to do a job in earnest to solve genuine problems in production. Nevertheless, we do have one concern, and that is that for the past 2 years teaching duties have been consistently heavy and we have had no time to engage in advanced studies to improve ourselves. It is hoped that the leaders will provide opportunities for professional improvement. This would not only help improve teaching standards but would also help further develop exchanges between trained people.

Making Use of Intellectuals Who Have Returned From Study Abroad

Teacher He Jifeng [0491 4480 6265] of the Computer Department at East China Teacher's College said that during the past several years institutions of higher learning and research units had sent quite a few people abroad to study, but after they had returned things that a considerable number of people had learned abroad had not been used in their parent units or in their present jobs. In future assignments of personnel to go abroad, investigation should be intensified for proper selection of a research orientation. Attention should be given those personnel who have returned to China to make use of their role. Institutions of higher learning and research units concerned should organize cooperative teams on the basis of their specialities or the problems they are working on to concentrate knowledgeable persons and laboratory equipment in each unit for joint research efforts. In this way, some personnel who have not been able to find a place in their parent units can put their skills to use. Furthermore, societies and academic groups concerned can operate various kinds of public lectures and short training courses to which they can invite comrades who have returned from study abroad to give academic reports or lectures so that those who have not gone abroad may also directly learn some advanced science and technology.

Selection of Talented People in the Same Way That Athletes Are Selected

The deputy director of the Shanghai Insects Institute, Yin Wenying [1438 2429 5391] said that I believe that the way in which athletes are selected is a good way of selecting talented people. However, this has not been done in research units. Some people who have no future in research may become advanced workers when transferred to some other position. Right now the situation is that those not suited for research work cannot get out while those truly suited

for research cannot get in. This problem must be solved through the system of organization. As far as intermediate level and high level scientific and technical personnel are concerned, an upgrading of their professional position might often do more to inspire them than an increase in wages. But many difficulties exist in doing this. In our Academy of Sciences there are some research personnel who have made achievements in their work and have produced almost 20 treaties that have been well evaluated by those in the same line of work, but they have yet to be promoted to deputy researcher.

Huang Weiheng [7806 4850 1854], deputy director of the Shanghai Organic Chemistry Institute said that it is presently difficult for scientific and technical personnel to move. In some research institutes, between 60 and 70 percent of the researchers are above middle age, and many have worked continuously for more than 20 years; they have rich practical experience, yet they are still assistant researchers while new blood cannot enter. This restricts development of people of talent.

9432
CSO: 4005/965

GETTING RICH THROUGH LABOR

Money From Raising Chickens

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by Wu Bizhen [0702 4310 3791], Womens Federation, and Zhu Cangwu [2612 5547 2745], County News Unit]

[Text] Skilled chicken hatcher Lin Yuefen [2651 2588 5358], resident of Chengguan Town, Jianou County, with the encouragement of Provincial CCP Committee leadership comrades and the support of units concerned, built, at her own expense, a two storey steel reinforced concrete chicken house. The first storey of the chicken house was recently completed, and 600 chicks are now being fed.

This new chicken house cost about 10,000 yuan to build and, following completion, it will provide an area of 2.2 million square meters. It will have a total of eight rooms upstairs and downstairs, each of which will have heat ducts and a sundeck. When it is in full operation, 5,000 eating chicken can be fed and 20,000 chickens hatached each year.

The 50 year old Lin Yuefen began to seriously study chicken raising techniques in 1966, and she used a 9 square meter loft to hatch chicks. Formerly she annually hatched 9,000 chicks, but with the implementation of the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, Lin Yuefen went all out to develop a household chicken hatching industry. During the past 3 years she has annually hatched more than 12,000 and last year she had a net income of 2,100 yuan. Lin Yuefen has rendered a contribution to society and has also won deserved praise. The country has selected her as an advanced representative of getting rich through labor, and the Prefecture Women's Federation has aksed her to give briefings on her experiences in getting rich. Last fall when Provincial CCP Committee leadership comrades went to northern Fujian prefectures to conduct an inspection, they went to her house where they encouraged her to make a greater contribution to society. During November last year, she made a report to the county and asked for a loan to build a new chicken house. The country very rapidly approved a 6,000 yuan capital construction loan and a loan of 3,500 yuan for production expenses from low interest agricultural loan funds. Within only slightly more than 2 months after having obtained the loan, Lin Yuefen finished the crash building of the

first storey of the new chicken house. She said I am already 50 years old and do not have much working time left. I have to use every minute of the time to hatch more chickens and raise more chickens, and contribute a little more strength to society.

Joint But Not Simultaneous Prosperity

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jun 82 p 2

[Text] It was very gladdening to read the series of reports titled, "It is a Glorious Thing to Get Rich Through Labor." After casting off the shackles of "leftism," these most ordinary peasants relied on their own two hands and their intelligence to labor arduously and become rich. Some of them raised chickens; some raised rabbits, some raised cattle, and some created woodlands or grew fruit. Basing themselves in production, they worked to become rich, and everybody should congratulate them.

We should give great support and encouragement to households that become rich through labor. Some people say, "We support everyone getting rich in common, but we cannot support just some people getting rich." This is an erroneous perception. Guiding peasants along the road of everyone becoming rich is the point of departure and the goal of our party's policies, and one that cannot be shaken at any time. However, everybody getting rich cannot be misinterpreted as meaning everybody getting rich at the same time with no distinction in the time when "everyone is rich." In rural villages there are myriad distinctions in the circumstances of individual families and households, and great imbalances have existed in the past and exist today in conditions of labor, techniques, funds, and such production conditions. Such imbalances will continue to exist in future as well, and consequently in working to become rich, that some will do so before others is a normal situation. To onesidedly stress "everyone getting rich together," denies those with strong workforces and good conditions from relying on their labor to get rich first, and that goes against objective laws. The former "great leveling" way of doing things greatly stifled the initiative of some people, and practice has shown that "stiding along together" cannot attain the goal of "everyone becoming rich at the same time." The result is no advantage for development of productivity, and no advantage for the country, the collective, and the individual.

Some people say that "to permit some people to get rich first will mean that those who engage in dishonest practices will become even bolder." This is also an erroenous perception. Getting rich by working, and engaging in dishonest practices are two different matters. The party's policies encourage and support getting rich by working, and they have never supported engaging in dishonest pratices, Those economic criminals who engage in dishonest practices are to be disciplined according to law. The problem today is that some people have a muddled idea about the limits of policies; they regard getting rich by working as "criminal economic activities." This is wrong. We suggest that all jurisdictions conscientiously check on whether such a problem exists. If it does, good work should be done to correct it.

A popular saying has it that "Treasures lie everywhere waiting to be found." Fujian Province has vast mountains and boundless seas, and the avenues for getting rich by working are broad. Everywhere groups of peasants have become rich through their own arduous labor. Today's report attests once again the possibilities of becoming rich by taking the right road. Just because some people have engaged in dishonest practices is no reason for us not to have a policy of getting rich by working.

It is a glorious thing to get rich by working, and we should boldly and courageously support it.

9432
CSO: 4005/973

ZHEJIANG GOVERNMENT'S REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS SYSTEM

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by Zhai Ren [5049 7282], "Provincial Symposium on Rewards and Punishments Demands Clear Demarcations in the Rewards and Punishments for Personnel in Government Organs"]

[Text] "The personnel departments at all levels of the provincial government shall actively and firmly initiate a system of rewards and punishments for personnel in government organs." This was the demand put forward at the recent provincial symposium on the reward and punishment system.

Comrades from the personnel departments of the various prefectural, municipal and county governments who participated in the present symposium restudied the "Provisional Regulations on Rewards and Punishments in Government Organs," issued by the State Council and approved by the NPC Standing Committee in 1957. The participants also exchanged experiences in the initiation of the rewards and punishments system, studied actual methods of implementing the "Provisional Regulations on Rewards and Punishments" and formulated the immediate tasks and the tasks for the future regarding work to be done in connection with the rewards and punishments system. The experiences of comparing work performances and assessing rewards and of initiating rewards and punishments systems for personnel in government organs presented by Lishui district and the counties of Xiaoshan, Fuyang, Lishui and Dongyang, as well as the experiences in establishing, operating and perfecting the personal responsibility system at the general office of the provincial party committee and the provincial bureau of policy research, were a great stimulus to all participants. The meeting believed that the work in connection with the rewards and punishments system for workers in our provincial organs has already had a good beginning. As to awarding rewards, there are 1 district and 7 counties that carried out appraisals for awards, and 5 prefectures and municipalities and 29 counties (municipalities) that have launched activities for the comparison of work performances and appraisal of advanced workers. As to punishing and penalizing, there are 2 districts and municipalities and 45 counties (municipalities) where the personnel departments have carried out investigations and trials in cases of violations of discipline by personnel in government organs. However, in many localities to work concerning rewards and punishments for personnel in government organs is not yet being carried out. The meeting asked all districts and departments to make this work

an important part of their efforts to restore and promote the excellent traditions of our party and part of our great efforts to build up our spiritual civilization. Let us implement the "Provisional Regulations on Rewards and Punishments," carry out the principle of rewarding those who have done meritorious work and punishing those who have done anything wrong. Our rewards must not be sometimes meaningless and sometimes substantial; our punishments must not be sometimes below and sometimes above what is due. Merit and fault must be distinctly established, and rewards and punishments must be just and equal. Healthy tendencies must be promoted and unhealthy trends and evil practices must be fought. Through experiments we must accumulate experiences so that gradually the system of personal responsibility for government personnel at all levels will be established, strengthened and perfected. The comrade in charge of the organizational department of the provincial CCP Committee personally addressed the meeting.

9808
CSO: 4005/986

BRIEFS

CPPCC DELEGATION ARRIVES IN HEILONGJIANG--A 32-member visiting and inspection group of the National CPPCC Committee headed by (Lei Xieqiong) arrive Din Harbin, Heilongjiang Province, by plane on 22 July. Leading comrades of the provincial CCP Committee, the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, the Provincial People's Government and the Provincial CPPCC Committee including Wang Yilun, Wang Zhao, Zhang Ruiling, Lu Guang, Wang Zhaozhi, Wang Caoli, Wang Minggui, Tang Liandi, Jin Langbai, Wang Huacheng, (Zhang Ping), (Wang Long), (Ma Kaiyu), (Shen Chonglong) and others welcomed the group at airport. Li Lian, second secretary of the Provincial CCP Committee, and Chen Junsheng, secretary of the Provincial CCP Committee, went to the (Beifang) building to meet the group on the evening of 22 July. [Harbin Heilongjiang Province Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Jul 82 SK]

LIAONING PUNISHES FABRICATORS--Two commune members, (Liu Guxin) and (Jiang Yune) of (Diaoyutai) brigade in Jin County, Liaoning Province, illegally distributed big-character posters to slander their brigade cadres because they were dissatisfied with the work assignments and settlement of dependents by the cadres. In dealing with the case, the county people's court sentenced them to 3 months imprisonment. [SK240437 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 22 Jul 82]

CSO: 4005/1144

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'RENMIN RIBAO' PRAISES ZHU DE MILITARY FEATS

HK041001 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Xiao Ke [5618 0344]: "Real Gold Stands the Test of Strong Fire--Reading Comrade Zhu De's 'From the Nanchang Uprising to Going Up Jinggang Mountain'"]

[Text] Fifty-five years have quickly passed since the 1 August uprising! On the occasion of this red-letter day, the army day, reading Comrade Zhu De's article "From the Nanchang Uprising to Going up Jinggang Mountain" reminds me of some past events. During that period of time, Comrade Zhu De really showed the airs of being capable of "stemming the flow of all rivers and diverting it to the east, and saving the general situation from worsening." I deeply cherish the memory of him.

Only a chaotic situation will reveal one's heroism. Comrade Zhu De took a specific course of development from an old-type armyman to a member of our party during the initial period and was a principal leader of the Nanchang uprising. He was born into a peasant family and deeply exploited and oppressed by feudalism. During his youth, he established the will to save the country and the people. He took the path of "saving the country through education." Later, he renounced the pen and joined the army. During the revolution of 1911, the war of protecting the republic and the war of defending the constitution, he charged to the fore and fought bravely. He rendered outstanding meritorius services, thus being quickly promoted from a junior officer to a major general in command of a brigade. He was burdened with pressing military duties, but he discovered that his prospects were bleak. So, he felt frustrated. The roar of guns of the October Revolution brought new hope to Comrade Zhu De Wo was groping his way in depression and hesitation. He cherished the ideal of Marxism. He read and studied the Marxist works which were available at that time. He resolutely gave up his high position and handsome salary and went abroad to Germany, Marx's hometown, to seek the truth. In November 1922, recommended by Comrade Zhou Enlai, he joined the CCP in Berlin. Afterward, he fought bravely for the great cause of communism. Seeing the important position of military work in the Chinese Revolution, he was determined to "serve the party and engage in military work all his life." He first studied military science in Germany and then went to the Soviet Union to study the experience of the Red Army. He was one of the few party members at that time who attached such great importance to military work and made such arduous efforts to study military theories.

In modern Chinese history, many Communist Party members strenuously studied to find the true way of saving the country and the people. Comrade Zhu De exerted great efforts to achieve this end. In the course of turning from an old-type democrat to a staunch communist, he proceeded with every step according to the demands of the times. In 1925, he wrote this in a letter: "He who does not see my true features will never know that I am a faithful party member." Amid the waves of revolution, he proved himself a "swimmer" good at tiding over the waves instead of drafting with the tide. The Nanchang uprising was precisely one of the revolutionary waves whipped up by him together with Comrades Zhou Enlai, He Long, Ye Ting and Liu Bocheng.

"Be capable of standing the test of defeat, be a hero in time of defeat." Comrade Zhu De who firmly believed in the party was such a hero. The main force of the army which waged the Nanchang uprising was defeated after it parted with other forces at Sanheba. Led by Comrade Zhu De, the 25th division and the training regiment also withdrew from the battle after fighting for 3 days and nights with three enemy divisions at Sanheba. Under his leadership, this contingent of about 2,000 men went from Dapu to Jiaoling and then advanced to Fengshi and Wuping, fighting all the way in the mountains on the Fujian-Jiangxi-Guangdong borders and being chased by an enemy division and harassed by the landlords' armed forces. Fighting in isolation and lacking supplies, the contingent was rather confused ideologically and was in a grave situation. Many people who could not stand the test deserted. Its organizational system was shattered and the number of its men gradually reduced to less than 1,000. Hunger, cold and disease tortured the fighters. The prospects of the contingent were disheartening. Showing a proletarian revolutionary's boldness of vision, Comrade Zhu De led the contingent in tiding over the hardships. He called an armymen's general meeting at Tianxinxu. He educated and persuaded the comrades by telling them the Marxist principle: the Chinese revolution in 1927, like the Russian revolution in 1905, looks gloomy for the time being. The revolution will find a way out as long as we preserve our combat effectiveness. He raised his arm and shouted: "Those who want to make revolution, follow me!" All were heartened at once. Answering his call, the contingent was united again. Immediately after that, he and Comrades Chen Yi and Wang Erzhuo reorganized the contingent and set up a party branch, which called a meeting of party members and cadres to strengthen ideological and political work. A series of measures were adopted to train and consolidate the troops afterward. "The forces became more united, displayed a greater sense of discipline and raised their combat effectiveness." Thus, the spark of the Nanchang uprising and the essence of the people's army were preserved.

Comrade Zhu De firmly believed in the revolution and paid close attention to the art of political struggle. At that time, the contingent began to stabilize, but it needed to be replenished with ammunition and food and also needed a peaceful environment for carrying out training and consolidation. For this reason, he discussed the problem with Comrades Chen Yi and Wang Erzhuo and decided to "make friends" with Fan Shisheng in order to stage a comeback.

Fan Shisheng had long established a relationship in terms of the united front with our party and in his troops there were our party's organizations. His troops belonged to the Yunnan faction of the Kuomintang troops and was stationed

in the remote border areas between Guangdong and Hunan. He was in conflict with Chiang Kai-shek and the warlords of Guangdong and Guangxi and he wanted to utilize our troops to preserve his own strength. Fan Shisheng and Zhu De were classmates when they studied at the Jiangwu military school in Yunnan and they joined the 1911 revolution together, therefore, there was a kind of personal bond of friendship between Fan and Zhu. After making an analysis of the situation, Comrade Zhu De thought that it was very possible that Fan would cooperate with us. Indeed, Fan took the initiative and sent some people to contact us, expressing his hope to cooperate with us. However the cooperation had to be conditional, during the negotiations, Zhu De clearly told them that ours were CCP troops and had to enjoy freedom of action, that the material supplies Fan gave us had to be completely under our control and that the work related to internal organization and training of our troops could not be interfered with by anyone. During the time when Zhu De cooperated with Fan Shisheng, Zhu adhered to principle, gave us the initiative and made this cooperation very favorable for us. As a result, our troops not only got a good rest, but also material supplies. This was a good example of successfully developing the united front in the history of our army.

Comrade Zhu De mastered the art of commanding battles. When his troops were marching to the south, he heard the news about the defeat of the Guangzhou uprising. He immediately ordered his troops to change direction and go north to northern Hunan where he launched the northern Hunan revolt. When Xu Kexiang, the chief culprit of the 21st May incident, led his troops to march through Lechuang and Pingshi in northern Guangdong in order to attack us at Yizhang in Huna, his troops were much stronger than ours. Comrade Zhu De made a careful study of the situation and decided to "avoid engaging the enemy when they were in high spirits and wait till they were weary and wanted to go home." He took the initiative, withdrew his troops from Yizhang beforehand and stationed the troops to wait for a chance in the mountainous areas of Balibao and Shenggongtan some 80 li to the south of Yizhang City where there was a relatively fine mass foundation. Xu Kexiang's troops drove straight in the formation of a long line. Comrade Zhu De directed his troops' movement when chances emerged and launched sudden attacks. In 2 days, three battles were fought against separate parts of the enemy troops. Our troops dashed straight into Pingshi and destroyed the divisional headquarters of the enemy troops there, wiping out more than 1,000 enemy troops. Then he led our troops to the north to Liantian and routed one of Tang Shengzhi's regiments. It was in this manner that he launched the dynamic Hunan revolt. The second siege of Yongxin City that he directed after his troops went up into the Jinggang mountains was another magnificane exemplary battle. When a large number of the enemy troops in Jiangxi approached Yongxin from the East, he led his troops to attack Gaolong and gave the enemy the false impression that our troops were moving into Hunan. Then he led the main force of the Red Army suddenly back from Gaolong, making a rapid march of 130 li in 1 day. At Caoshiao, his troops wiped out an enemy regiment and then took Yongxin City. The enemy troops in Yongxin were utterly routed and their commander was wounded and made a narrow escape by jumping over the city wall. In this battle, Comrade Zhu De wonderfully used the tactics of "making a feint to the east and attacking in the west." During the prolonged revolutionary war, Comrade Zhu De directed many vivid and stirring living dramas of fighting. I can say that the fighting before and after our troops moved up into the Jinggang mountains was merely the prelude to these dramas.

From the Nanchang uprising to the period of the Jinggang guerrilla war, in order to find a correct path for the Chinese Revolution, Comrade Zhu De conducted many beneficial tests and scored tremendous achievements. It was an inevitable historical development that he joined his troops up with Comrade Mao Zedong's in the Jinggang mountains. The force of the wind tests the strength of the grass and fire tests real gold. Comrade Zhu De's excellent deeds and words of that period constitute an immortal chapter of the history of the revolution of the Chinese people.

CSO: 4005/1145

SHENYANG PLA CADRES RAP DENG'S ARMY BUILDING LINE

OW181956 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 17 Jul 82

[Excerpt] In a joint letter to Comrade Song Requiong, former political commissar of the Shenyang PLA units and now director of the organization department of the CCP Central Committee, 17 veteran cadres of the Shenyang PLA units pointed out: In streamlining the army, decisions are made for veteran cadres to be demobilized, retired or transferred to civilian jobs not on the basis of one's health, age or competence in work but on how one behaved during the cultural revolution. Many cadres who are loyal to the cause of the party have been accused of committing serious mistakes during the 10 chaotic years and have been weeded out of the army under this pretext. If this goes on, all veteran PLA cadres with rich combat experience will be weeded out in a few years. This will directly affect the army's combat strength.

What these 17 veteran cadres said in their letter to Comrade Song Renqion is absolutely correct and timely. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's instruction that all those who participated in "three supports and two militaries" activities during the cultural revolution must be weeded out of the army within the next 2 to 3 years is completely wrong. Such an instruction also harms army building. Some people with ulterior motives, by willfully accusing veteran army cadres of committing so-called mistakes during the 10 chaotic years, have dealt blows at many of them. [passage omitted]

When Comrade Hu Yaobang inspected the Shenyang PLA units last fall, he affirmed the achievements made by the commanders and fighters of these units during the 10 chaotic years. He pointed out: History has proven that our party, state and people have full confidence in their army, including in the commanders and fighters of the Shenyang PLA units.

Not long afterward Comrade Deng Xiaoping criticized Comrade Hu Yaobang at a military commission meeting. He said: One should not make a positive appraisal of anything in this world, particularly not of the Shenyang PLA units where the gang of four built its base and where the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the gang of four still has not been eliminated.

Several years have passed since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee adopted a resolution aimed at achieving stability and unity. However, Comrade Deng Xiaoping is still directing his spearhead at the cadres

of the Shenyang PLA units and at all leading comrades of the army. This is indeed to be regretted.

The views expressed by the 17 veteran cadres of the Shenyang PLA units in their letter to Comrade Song Renqiong actually reflect those of the broad masses of cadres throughout the army. The leading comrades concerned at the central level should earnestly study these views and take appropriate measures.

CSO: 4005/1135

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

DEPUTY PLA COMMANDER COMMENTS ON HIS RETIREMENT

HK161005 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 14 Jul 82

[Station's report: "A General's Breadth of Vision"--An interview with Ou Zhifu, deputy commander of the Guangzhou PLA units]

[Text] On an early summer's evening, we paid a visit to Comrade Ou Zhifu, deputy commander of the Guangzhou PLA units. In the face of the important policy decision put forth by the Party Central Committee for solving the problem of aging cadre ranks and promoting middle-aged and young cadres. Not long ago, our general, who has worked hard for the revolution for more than half a century, submitted his application for retirement to the party organization. The topic of our conversation started with his request to withdraw from his leading post. Comrade Ou Zhifu, 67 years old, is still glowing with health and radiating vigor. He is a man with a sanguine disposition. As soon as we were seated, he came straight to the point, saying: "The Party Central Committee is categorically resolved to start with the reform of the state system, to streamline administration and solve the problem of aging cadres. This is a wise decision which enjoys full support from the whole party and falls in with the wishes of the people as well as gives voice to the old comrades' innermost feelings." Then he gave a brief history of his own experiences. Comrade Ou Zhifu comes from a poor family of Zhuang nationality in Guangxi Province. In 1929 when he was just 15 years old, he joined the peasant red guards. Before long, he became a warrior of the Seventh Red Army. In the fiery days of the war years he was wounded three times. Until today there is still a small piece of shrapnel left in his body. Since liberation, Comrade Ou Zhifu has been working conscientiously with the vigor he showed during the war years. At the time of counterattack in self-defense in Vietnam, old and weak as he was, he still went to the forefront to direct fighting for 30 nights and days consecutively. Sometimes he would rush here and there in an armored car. And at times he would, with a stick in hand, climb hills and wade across rivers.

On hearing of his emotional reminiscences of the war years, feelings were called forth in us of profound respect, and we could not help but say: "You, a veteran fighter, are still as valiant as before." But he immediately shook his head and uttered: "My health can hardly be compared with that in the good old times. I am old now." Pointing at the greying at his temples, he said with humor: "Hey, look! My head is almost hoary. I am too old to be a brave

"warrior again." After that, Ou Zhifu came back to the subject again and pointed out: "Replacing the aging cadres with younger ones is a problem calling for immediate solution. There are still a number of old comrades like me who are holding leading positions. We must consciously hand over our work and let strong and capable young men take over." He continued confidently: "Birth, aging, illness and death are biological phenomena. The supersession of the old by the new is a natural and inviolable law. Striving for the realization of communism is like a relay race. It needs continuous efforts by people of many generations. If the new cannot replace the old in time and they cannot cooperate well with each other, our revolutionary cause might be suspended. On such an important matter, there should not even slight misunderstanding or wavering."

After that, when we changed our topic to the younger generation, Comrade Ou Zhifu talked on and on excitedly. Citing his own experience in which he became regimental commander at the age of 23, and dividional commander at 29, he pointed out: "Some people still do not quite trust the younger cadres by alleging that carrying a pole of new bambo is not safe. This is a common prejudice. In fact, the young of our time are more capable than we were then. Only when we fearlessly hand over our work to them, and bring up and cultivate a large number of young cadres, will our army units be bursting with youthful vigor forever."

From his tensely emotional talk, we saw the loyalty of an old warrior and an old party member to the revolution. Thereupon, we asked Comrade Ou Zhifu to tell us what he was going to do for the revolution after his retirement. At this moment, he handed to us two of his diaries and a big envelope. We found in his diaries he had written all his experience since he joined the revolution, totaling more than 30,000 characters. In the envelop, there were 10 draft articles of his reminiscences which he had written in his spare time in recent years. Some of the reminiscences have already been published, while others are being modified. Comrade Ou Zhufu indicated: "Old comrades like me who have spent most of their lifetime in the army should all have their own experiences and lessons drawn in the course of fighting. If these experiences and lessons can be summed up for the reference of the younger generation, isn't it a contribution to the revolution?" Finally, Comrade Ou Zhifu expressed his determination that he would, as a significant contribution to the younger generation, finish his reminiscences as soon as possible after his retirement and would write something about his feelings on how to build army units.

CSO: 4005/1135

BRIEFS

HAINAN ARMY DAY GROUPS--The three subgroups of the Hainan regional army day groups comprise responsible comrades of the region and Haikou Municipality including Luo Tian, Xiao Huanhui, (Zhao Guangju) and (Yu Qingli). They set out to visit PLA units in the island on 26 July. On the evening of the same day regional CCP Committee First Secretary Luo Tian led one of the subgroups to the Hainan military district organs to pay a comfort visit. They were welcomed by leading comrades of the military district Jiang Hai, Li Peng, (Yang Songlin), (Song Fengzhang), (Fu Zhiluo), (Liu Jinghua) and (Jiang Limin). Luo Tian and Hainan military district political Commissar Li Peng made speeches extending mutual appreciation and regards. [HK290921 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 27 Jul 82]

HAINAN MILITIA--Hainan made good progress in military training for the militia in the first half of the year. By the end of June, training for the full-time armed forces cadres and primary militia had been 92 percent completed. The primary militia got good results in firing infantry weapons with live ammunition. [HK290921 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 27 Jul 82]

HAINAN GAMBLING--Yai County Public Security Bureau's Sanya subbureau destroyed 120 gambling sites, arrested 560 gamblers and confiscated 1,400 yuan in stakes in the first half of this year. The subbureau has also fined or detained those involved. [HK290921 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 27 Jul 82]

HENAN OVERSEAS CHINESE MEETING--A Henan Provincial meeting to commend progressive representatives of returned overseas Chinese and dependents of overseas Chinese who are living abroad and progressive units in overseas Chinese affairs work concluded on 28 July after 4 days in session. Responsible comrades of the provincial CCP Committee, people's congress standing committee, government and CPPCC including Dai Suli, Zhao Wenfu, Zhang Chixia, Shao Wenjie, Ye Renshou and Yue Xiaoxia attended the closing ceremony. Provincial CCP Committee Secretary Zhao Wenfu made a speech. [HK290921 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Jul 82]

SHANDONG ARMY DAY ANNIVERSARY--On 30 July the Jinan PLA units sponsored a meeting in Jinan to mark the 55th anniversary of the PLA's founding. Attending the meeting were leading comrades of the Jinan PLA units including Rao Shoukun, Xiong Zuofang, Zhao Bingan, Fang Zheng, Chen Renhong, Chen Meizao, Sun Jixian,

Li Bo, Zuo Qi, Bao Xianzhi, (Kuang Kaitian), Xu Hongyun and (Jin Zhaoxi); leading personnel of the air force units under the Jinan PLA units including (Wang Zixiang) and (Zhang Yong); responsible comrades from the leading organs under the Jinan PLA units and from the major PLA units stationed in Jinan; and cadres and fighters--over 2,000 persons in all. Comrade Rao Shoukun addressed the meeting. In his speech, he urged the broad masses of PLA cadres and fighters to make still greater contribution to military training and spiritual civilization construction. [SK312240 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 30 Jul 82]

SHANDONG ARMY DAY ACTIVITIES--To mark the 55th anniversary of the PLA's founding, the political, propaganda and cultural departments under the Jinan PLA units will sponsor a joint photographic exhibition at the Bayi auditorium in Jinan on 1 August. Prior to the opening, leading comrades of the Jinan PLA units including Rao Shoukun, commander of the Jinan PLA units, viewed the exhibit which includes 223 pictures, some of which are sourvenir photos of inspection tours and military parade attended by leading comrades of the central authorities. Some depict military training, and some are of achievements scored by PLA cadres and fighters in building a socialist spiritual civilization and supporting the government and cherishing the people. [SK312240 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 30 Jul 82]

NEI MONGGOL COMFORTS SOLDIERS--The Nei Monggol autonomous regional and Hohhot Municipal People's Government and people's congress standing committees organized 2 groups to extend regards to soldiers at army hospitals and sanatoriums 20-21 July. The first group was led by Zhou Beifeng, vice chairman of the autonomous regional people's government, and the second groups by Wang Yilun, vice chairman of the autonomous regional people's congress standing committee. [SK212240 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Jul 82]

FUJIAN SEA PATROL GROUP--Fujian's sea public security patrol group was officially established at a meeting in Fuzhou on 30 June. The group has been formed by the province's public security departments to combat smuggling. Provincial CCP Committee and government leaders Jin Zhaodian and Wen Fushan, as well as 500 cadres and fighters of various military and public security units attended the inauguration. Speaking at the meeting, Jin Zhaodian called on the patrol group of the navy to outstandingly carry out its duties of combating smuggling, insuring security on the sea, protecting people's lives and property and defending the country's territorial sovereignty. [OW231729 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 1 Jul 82]

SHANGHAI MILITIA TRAINING--A meeting on militia training called by the organs under the Nanjing PLA units opened in Shanghai on 25 June. The meeting was held to summarize and exchange experiences in military training and in the reform of training for militiamen and to arrange militia work for the next two years. Under the leadership of the party committee of the Nanjing PLA units and of the party committees of Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Anhui Provinces and Shanghai municipality, the organs have made new achievements in promoting military training for militiamen in the past two years. Zhou Zijiang, adviser to the Nanjing PLA units, attended the meeting. (Ji Wei), deputy chief of staff of the organs, made a report. Shanghai Vice Mayor Han Zheyi attended the meeting to extent his greetings. [Text] [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 25 Jun 82 OW]

SHANGHAI AIR DEFENSE COMMITTEE--The Shanghai Municipal People's Air Defense Committee held an enlarged meeting on the afternoon of 25 June. Chai Shulin, director of the municipal people's air defense office, reported on the city's people's air defense work in the past 6 months and pointed out major tasks for the second half of 1982. The meeting called on the people's air defense departments at all levels to do a good job in the construction of people's air defense projects. Yang Di, vice chairman of the municipal people's air defense committee, presided over and addressed the meeting. Huang Jingkun, vice chairman of the municipal people's air defense committee, also spoke at the meeting. [Text] [OW161140 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 25 Jun 82]

CSO: 4005/1135

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

YUNNAN PARTY COMMITTEE URGES STRENGTHENING OF CADRE TRAINING

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 12 May 82 p 1

[Article: "Strengthen Cadre Training, Improve Quality of Political Work; Provincial Committee Organization Department and Other Sections Draft Cadre Training Measures"]

[Text] On the basis of surveys and opinions from relevant sections and universities and colleges, the provincial committee's organizational, propaganda, and science and education departments and the provincial education and personnel bureaus together studied and discussed and drafted four measures to improve cadre training in our province:

Beginning in the second half of this year, provincial party committee schools will offer year and a half to 2 year training classes for young and middle-aged cadres responsible for training 200 young and middle-aged leadership cadres from above country bureau level, who are under 45 years of age, have lower middle school education or equivalent, and have a certain degree of professional knowledge. In school, the students will systematically study Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism, history of the Chinese Communist Party and party building and at the same time will study scientific and cultural knowledge. In addition, the provincial party school's present cadre training class and leadership study classes will rotate in the second half of the year as originally planned.

Higher schools will be relied on to offer special cadres classes mainly to train management mainstays who have a certain amount of specialized knowledge, cultural knowledge and professional ability and are both red and expert to be able to firmly carry out the party's line, principles and policies. Beginning in the second half of this year, Yunnan University will offer politics and law cadre classes, Kunming Industrial College will offer industrial and enterprise management cadre classes and mine management cadre classes, Kunming Normal College will offer secretary and writing cadre classes, Yunnan Financial and Trade College will offer enterprise financial management cadre classes, Yunnan Nationality College will offer cultural study cadre classes. Each offering of these 6 classes will enroll 40 students who will study for 2 years. Recruiting methods will be by recommendation by organization, application for examination by the individual and acceptance of those with the best records. Students must be cadres with good political thinking, correct work style,

dedication and a certain amount of practical experience, be under 40 years of age, have upper middle school education or equivalent (culture class should have junior middle school education or equivalent) and be in good health. Field of examination should be the same as the cadre's present work or be suited to his strengths. While in school, students will continue to hold job seniority; when schooling is complete all who qualify through examination will receive treatment equivalent to graduates of colleges for professional training and in principle will return to their original jobs.

Party organizations at all levels should pay higher regard to and strenghen leadership of study by cadres on the job and conscientiously organize cadres to study politics, professions and culture and actively support cadres to participate in correspondence university, after work university, television university and employee university study. In addition, to promptly seek out gifted people, encourage cadres to study independently and improve themselves, a Yunnan Higher Education Self-study Examination Preparatory Committee has already been established and has begun work.

We should continue to operate cadre schools and party schools at all levels. In the second half of this year, existing cadre schools of committee, offices, departments, and bureaus at the provincial level should continue rotational training of cadres as orginally planned and according to original scale; cadre schools and training classes of various levels and kinds and party schools at various levels throughout the province should strive to train more cadres in rotation this year.

8226
CSO: 4005/898

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

STRENGTHENING OF CADRE EDUCATION URGED

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 12 May 82 p 1

[Article by a commenator for YUNNAN RIBAO: "Stress the Important Task of Cadre Education"]

[Text] Recently, in the spirit of the directives of the Central Committee of the CCP and the provincial committee, the Yunnan province committee's organization department, propaganda department, science and education department and the provincial education bureau and personnel bureau researched and drafted some ideas and methods of strengthening the education of cadres on the job and decided to begin to take specific steps this year. This is a positive measure to improve the cadres' political quality and their professional ability and better suit them to the needs of socialist modernization.

The demand to build a revolutionized, young, knowledgeable and professional cadre corps includes not only attracting young and middle-aged cadres with both ability and political integrity, but at the same time includes training and improving present cadres. Using the favorable opportunity of economic readjustment to gradually establish a regularized cadre educational system to select qualified cadres from party and government organs and from business and enterprise units for full-time study and training by rotation in groups is a task for establishing a solid foundation for building a cadre corps and a need for adapting to present economic readjustment and the four modernizations.

Most of our cadres grew up and took shape in the long period of revolutionary struggle and are a mainstay force on which socialist construction can rely, but there is still the problem of the level of cadres not being appropriate to the present situation. In particular, compared with the interior, our province's border areas where minority nationalities and numerous, fall somewhat short in terms of economic and cultural development. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, party committees at all levels have gradually come to recognize the importance of stressing cadre education work and utilizing the existing variety of conditions and adopting a variety of instructional forms, have trained a great many cadres from the minorities and sections with good results. But in earlier training, there was a lot of short-term rotational training and little systematic training; although many cadres thirsted for study and improvement, due to time limitations they could not

systematically study and master professional knowledge. Practice proves that this kind of short-term rotational training is necessary, but relying only on short-term rotational training is still not suited to the demands of present economic readjustment, and in terms of the demands of socialist modernization overall and long-range building of a cadre corps it is even less suitable. This is not to mention that in the advance of our enterprise, the daily and monthly developments in science and technology, new things and new problems appear in an endless stream, and all these things require that we study, research and resolve. Now, in establishing a regular cadre educational system and in a planned and gradual way organizing cadre study away from production, in addition to studying political theory, it is mainly to study professional, cultural and scientific knowledge. Through 1, 2 or 3 years of study, they can raise their level of political theory and their level of culture, science and technology and economic management, and increase the political quality and work ability of the cadre corps.

The systemization of cadre education work is an important strategic matter which we must stress in carrying out the socialist modernizations, and is an important direction in reforming the cadre system. Party committees at all levels should fully understand the important significance of stressing this work, make a great resolution and spend great effort to stress this work on a long-term basis so that it will become systematized and regularized. Now, provinces, districts (cities), counties and sections already have a number of educational bases, a cadre education corps, and have accumulated some experience, and this is a favorable condition for building a regularized educational system. If only party committees at all levels will pay sufficient attention, strengthen leadership, plan comprehensively, launch a movement to coordinate forces from all aspects and work together, it will be possible to give cadres training work a good grounding and to produce results.

Of course, when stressing the training of cadres through various kinds of schools, we cannot overlook study and improvement of cadres on the job. In this regard, sections and units should conscientiously organize cadres to study politics, professional work and culture, support cadres who participate in after-work univeristy study and actively encourage cadres to study independently and improve themselves.

8226
CSO: 4005/898

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

YUNNAN BORDER UNITS TRAIN, PROMOTE MINORITY CADRES

Kuming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 11 May 82 p 2

[Article: "Yunnan Border Unit Trains Large Number of Minority Nationality Cadres; Over 30 Nationality Cadres To Become Leaders in Division and Regimental Posts."]

[Text] A Yunnan border unit of the PLA has over 30 minority nationality cadres who will become division and regimental leaders. There are also almost 600 cadres from minority nationalities, including Bais, Dais, Was, Zhuangs, Achangs, Jingpos and Buyis who are undergoing advanced training at the unit military college.

This unit is made up of cadres and soldiers who come from the more than 30 nationalities throughout the motherland. The unit party committee places great importance on training minority nationality cadres, and sends specialists to help them study scientific culture and military knowledge, and every year sends a group of superior minority nationality cadres to unit colleges and leadership training units for advanced training. Sha Dongkui [3097 2639 7608] the deputy political commissar of a division, who is of the Hui nationality, was promoted to regimental political commissar. So that he could learn his new job as quickly as possible, the unit party committee promptly sent him to the PLA Political College for study. Battalion Commander Yang Changkui [2799 2490 1145], who is from the Yi nationality, is an excellent minority nationality cadre. After the unit party committee promoted him to regimental chief of staff, they sent him to a higher level military college for study, too.

Leadership at all levels in this unit pays careful attention to furthering the specialization, assistance and leadership of minority cadres currently on station. After Staff Officer Yu Guoan [0358 0948 1344], who is from the Zang nationality, was promoted to regimental chief of staff, Regimental Commander Chen Hanrong [7115 3352 2837] and the other leadership comrades passed on their experience and taught him their methods, so that Yu Guoan's command ability and managerial level were raised very quickly.

Now the minority nationality cadres of this unit have already become a mainstay force for unit construction and resisting the enemy and defending the border.

8226
CSO: 4005/898

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'YANGCHENG WANBAO' PRESENTS 'INSIDE STORY OF CIA'

HK160838 Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 15 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Sun He [1327 6320]: "Inside Story of the CIA, Part I: Advertising for Recruits"]

[Text] Langley, in the State of Virginia, is only about 12 kilometers from Washington. In the setting of luxuriant trees stands a modern building by the bank of the Potomac River. It is surrounded by a 10-foot barbed wire fence and the whole compound occupies more than 1,300 mu. The atmosphere is extremely tranquil and gives people the impression that it is perhaps a seculded private sanatorium. Only on approaching the guarded entrance of the building can people see the words "Central Intelligence Agency" engraved on the marble of the vestibule and the eagle head logo in the center. People are not unfamiliar with the CIA, for it is the headquarters of the U.S. intelligence and espionage mechanism which for years has been conducting espionage activities on a large scale in all parts of the world.

The CIA has a history of less than 35 years from its inception to the present, but it has already been through the stages of initial growth, development, ascendency and decline. In the last 10 years, the CIA has slipped from an unexcelled height to the bottom of the gorge. At present, it is rallying its forces and preparing for a comeback.

In order to understand the internal situation of the CIA, let us first study this advertisement.

In early March this year, a dulcet voice made an announcement over an Atlanta radio station in America: "We are the CIA and we are looking for people with expertise. After necessary training you can work in our organization." In quite seductive language the announcer declared: Anyone with "initiative, enterprise and an independent spirit willing to live abroad" can qualify for the work. In conclusion, the announcer said: "If you think you have the expertise and are equal to working for the CIA, please contact us." This was a recruitment advertisement made by the CIA. A similar advertisement was also broadcast in Salt Lake City.

The employees of the CIA are divided into "white personnel" and "black personnel." The former are the intelligence analysts, technicians and other

employees known to the public. The latter are the espionage agents. In the past, the CIA usually recruited "qualified people" from various sectors as well as expanded its organization by means of a variety of contacts. For example, it had used some of the people who formerly worked in intelligence organizations but presently are teaching in universities to extensively select, seek out or buy over the teachers and students. But the use of radio broadcasts to advertise for recruits is still a first in CIA history. The radio listeners were quite taken by surprise. However, some young people who do not know the details have actually happily sent in their applications. Little do they know that anyone who joins the CIA cannot get out and will always be under its extremely tight control. In the past, cases of CIA workers who committed suicide because their request for transfer to another line of work had been turned down were nothing new.

CSO: 4005/1133

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'YANGCHENG WANBAO' ON CIA DURING, AFTER WATERGATE

HK190738 Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 16 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Sun He [1327 6320]: "Inside Story of the CIA, Part II: Notorious Through Giving Themselves Away"]

[Text] The CIA flourished mightily at the end of the 1950's and the beginning of the 1960's, when it would stop at nothing and was omnipotent, its personnel knew lots of small tricks and included all kinds of strange people. Why then has it got to its present state whereby it has to advertise for recruits over radio and in the press? Actually, this has a lot to do with the revelations of the "Watergate incident."

The year 1972 was election year in America. On the evening of 17 June, just as the campaign was getting into full swing, five people were caught red-handed stealing secret documents in the Watergate Building in Washington. In fact, these five had quietly unlocked the basement door of the building, gone up to the sixth floor where they forced open the door of the Democratic Party's Campaign Headquarters, surreptitiously photographed Democratic Party files and secret documents, and also installed a bugging device in order to monitor Democratic Party leaders' conversations on campaign strategy. Four of these five people had been CIA agents. Although they were nimble-fingered, they left traces, and were eventually arrested on the spot.

After the incident, the Republican Party destroyed incriminating evidence and did everything possible to clamp the lid down. However, after more than 2 years of investigations, the truth of the Watergate incident and the involvement of the White House was finally uncovered. This caused a public uproar, President Nixon was left with no alternative but to resign over this incident in 1974. For some time afterwards there were press and magazine revelations and attacks on the CIA's malpractices, focusing on two aspects: carrying out so-called counterespionage activities at home; and carrying out so-called covert operations abroad.

At home, under the pretext of counterespionage, the CIA resorted to all kinds of methods to watch the activities of political dissidents and their groups; it arbitrarily broke into the homes of certain U.S. citizens, including its own former and current employees, to collect information on them; it eavesdropped on U.S. citizens' phone conversations, stole and inspected their mail

and engaged in other activities that violated the rights of the individual, and even carried out medical experiments on citizens, and so on.

Abroad, the CIA's covert activities seemed to embrace the entire glove, they included buying over newspapers and periodicals, providing funds for supporting opposition parties, inciting revolts and staging coups, and so on and so forth. Outstanding examples were the overthrow of the Guatemalan Nationalist Government in 1954, the overthrow of the Congo (Kinshasa) Lumumba Government in 1960 and 1961 and the assassination of Lumumba, the invasion organized against Cuba in 1961, the scheme to overthrow the Royal Government of Cambodia, headed by Prince Sihanouk, in 1970, and support for the military coup in Chile in September 1973, which overthrew the Allende Government; President Allende died in the fighting.

The revelation to the world of these criminal CIA activities evoked still fiercer public censure and criticism, and congress was forced to set up a number of committees to "investigate" them. The CIA became even more notorious from then on.

CSO: 4005/1133

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

MORE FROM 'YANGCHENG WANBAO' ON CIA REORGANIZATION

HK200210 Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 17 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Sun He [1327 6320]: "Inside Story of the CIA, Part III: Big Reorganization Produces No Results"]

[Text] Under the pressure of powerful public opinion, President Carter issued an administrative decree on 24 January 1978 on conducting a reorganization of the U.S. intelligence agencies. This was the biggest reshuffle since the establishment of the CIA. Carter's decree, on the one hand, greatly upgraded the power of the director of CIA, who was entitled to control the nine intelligence departments directly or indirectly, to exercise his functions in the planning of all U.S. intelligence agencies, to be responsible in setting up and coordinating the tasks and activities of various intelligence agencies and to collect and analyze all foreign intelligence. On the other hand, the decree stipulated in detail the functions of all intelligence agencies and the restrictions on their activities, especially on surveillance activities infringing on individual rights. It also explicitly prohibited all the secret activities conducted by the CIA within U.S. territory.

Carter pruposely issued this decree to restrict the CIA a little, so that it could continue existing. However, the CIA was sapped by such a serious setback and many consequences followed.

First, morale was low. There was a prevailing idea of quitting in the minds of intelligence personnel. Many veterans with much experience were leaving one after another. It was disclosed that in the 4 years when Carter was in office, nearly 2,800 intelligence officers, including those who had not yet reached retirement age, retired from their work. In the past 10 years, the number of intelligence analysts and overseas special agents were reduced by 25 percent. A veteran special agent sighed with feeling: "Almost the whole generation of professional personnel brought up in the past 40 years has left the intelligence agencies." Even those who still remain in the CIA are also distracted and listless. Casey, the present CIA director, admits that: "The CIA is suffering from a self-doubt disease which is characteristic of this profession."

Second, the so-called "intellectual industry" in the United States, such as many journalistic organizations, universities and large enterprises, refused or reduced their "cooperation" with the CIA and covering up for it. This makes

it difficult for the CIA to recruit intelligence personnel from these units or to carry out special agent activities in the names of these units. For years, the CIA was always very keen on recruiting journalists to collect intelligence, develop organizations and create public opinion for it. Recently, under public pressure, journalistic organizations have on the surface refused to cooperate with the CIA.

Third, the disclosure of the "Watergate incident" has made foreign intelligence personnel, who cooperated with the CIA previously, to doubt whether it is able to keep secrets. As a result, they are not willing to provide intelligence any more. The source of intelligence is thus limited.

It was reported that for quite some time, the so-called secret overseas activities of the CIA were almost at a standstill. Capacity to collect and analyze intelligence was greatly weakened. The quality of intelligence was taking a drastic turn downward. When Iran was politically in chaos in 1978, there was only one analyst who understood Persian but he had not been there for a long time. Therefore, when the Pahlavi Monarchy collapsed in 1978, it was impossible to provide President Carter with accurate intelligence. Even now, some Americans still regret that they could not predict the complete collapse of the Pahlavi Monarchy and save it from doom.

CSO: 4005/1133

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

METHOD OF CONTROLLING QUALITY OF POPULATION CENSUS DISCUSSED

Beijing RENKOU YANJIU [POPULATION RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 1982 May 82 pp 8, 5

[Article by Yang Rizhang [2799 2480 4545]: "Random Sampling of Quality After the Population Census"]

[Text] The party Central Committee and the State Council have made midnight of 1 July of this year the standard time for the third national population census. The registration form for the population census will be completed by census takers after talking to interviewees or the reporting persons. In general, the accuracy will be relatively high. For the 1 billion people in our country, more than 4 million census takers are needed. The fact that they come from various units, with different cultural levels learning abilities and social experiences, and that the great majority are engaged in census taking for the first time, in addition to many other factors, make mistakes in registration inevitable. In order to raise the quality of registration, there will be a comprehensive recheck after the census. But after the recheck there will still be mistakes in the population census forms. To control the quality of registration, it is necessary to do a random sampling.

Since it will be done after the registration, it is called a postcensus random sampling of quality. After registration is completed, there will be encoding, recording and numerical processing. Mistakes are likely to happen at each stage, affecting the quality of conclusion. But registration is the basis for all the ensuing tasks, thus the quality of registration has to be controlled.

In the first population census of our country, systemic sampling method was used in 23 provinces, 5 municipalities and 1 autonomous region to select 343 counties (municipalites) in which 52.95 million people, about 9 percent of the total registration, were rechecked for only 1 indicator of the total population. According to the result of the rechecking, repeated entry was 1.39 percent of the total rechecked population, missing 2.55 percent of the net population missing was 1.16 percent. During the second population census, 36.88 million or 5.31 percent of the census population were sampled. The sampling result indicated that repeated entry was 0.377 percent missing was 0.391 percent. In these two population censues, there was no unified method in checking the quality; the scale of rechecking was relatively large, calling for greater manpower.

There are two purposes of quality rechecks. One is to evaluate the margin of error in national census taking and to alert statisticians of population census. The other is to analyze the reason leading to errors so as to seek methods for improvement.

In the third population census, a random sampling method will be used to recheck the quality. Therefore, in the July 1980 population census of Wuxi Municipality 1 percent of the resident units (production brigades) were included in the random sampling. Altogether Wuxi Municipality, 33 resident units, 12 production brigades and 1 boat brigade were sampled, totaling 5,907 people, which was 0.78 percent of the census population. The results of the random sampling were: for population number, error of 1 person, error rate of 0.17 percent; for number of housholds, no error; for sex, error of 2 persons, error rate 0.34 percent; for age, error of 42 persons, error rate 7.11 percent; for number of births, no error; for number of deaths, a deficiency of 3 persons, accounting for 9.091 percent of the number of deaths recorded in the census. The sampling result of Wuxi indicated that the quality of registration in our country was fairly high in relation to many countries in the world. In addition, from the sampling result of 28 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions (because sampling size is smaller and in some provinces and municipalities sample capacity is small, the error is greater). The margin of error of the population figure is mostly less than 0.2 percent, age less than 10 percent, sex less than 5 percent. On the basis of local sampling results and the quality recheck of population census in foreign countries, we drafted a plan for the random sampling of quality. Major contents are:

A quality recheck sampling group is set up in the population census office in each province, municipality and autonomous region, responsible for sample selection and supervising random sampling of quality in countries, and municipalities. According to the random sampling method, each province or municipality under direct control of the central government selects 10 districts (municipalities, wards of municipalities under direct control of the central government), each autonomous region selects 5 counties (municipalities) from which each country (municipality) selects 4 communes (streets) in which one production brigade (resident group) will be randomly selected. The sample size will be 200,000 people, about 0.02 percent of the total population census. Each production brigade (resident group) is assigned four sampling census takers (of which one from the county or municipality will be the leader, one from the commune and street, one from the brigade and resident group). There will be more than 4,000 sample census takers in the country. It is planned to train the sample census takers from top to bottom. That is to say, the census office in the State Council trains the backbone of provincial sample census takers, who in turn train the county (municipality) cadres, who in turn train the 16 sample census takers for the district.

Sampling is done in the district where the chosen brigade or resident group is located, only single households are sampled; collective households are few and their situation very a great deal, therefore will not be sample.

Items to be sampled based on households are: the number of people in the household, births in 1981 and deaths in 1981. Those to be sampled based on individuals are: relation to the head of the household, sex, age and the household registration of people continually living in the household. The random sampling of quality will take place approximately from 25 July to 5 August.

Sampling census takers will be selected from the population census takers who display a higher level of competence. The work must be detailed, done household to household. The household registartion can only serve as reference, not as the sole basis (of information). If a mistake is discovered, the census-taking leader, the sample census taker and the original census taker must work together to verify it and enter the result of the investigation in the quality sampling comparison table. (Under each sampling census item, there are population census, sampling and verification.)

The margin of error must be computed, such as the error of over-reporting, under-reporting, in the quality of the population figure, net difference of the population figure, sex difference, age difference, births and deaths, etc.

When the sample statistics are forwarded to higher levels, local census takers are required to analyze reasons for error. Finally, the population census office in the State Council will evaluate the quality of the task of the third national population census which will be published by the State Council.

9507
CSO: 4005/927

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WRITERS URGED TO DISCOVER IMAGE OF NEW SOCIALIST MAN

Beijing WENYIBAO [LITERATURE AND ART JOURNAL] in Chinese No 3, 1982, 7 Mar, pp 28-31

[Article by Wang Xianpei [3769 0341 7198] and Chen Xiangsheng [7115 3276 3932]: "The Key to Building the Image of a New Socialist Man Lies in Discovery"]

[Text] The times call for literature to depict the image of the new socialist man. How can we successfully portray the image of the new socialist man? Should we design and create it according to socialist principles? No. Should we pull it directly from life? Also unacceptable. The key to portraying the image of the new man lies in discovery. Only when writers make unique discoveries in life with historical and artistic vision can a new, artistically vital image of the new man be conceived, carried and brought to term. Comrade Du Pengcheng [2629 7720 4453] said that from ancient times until today great writers "have all been tremendously talented inventors." ("Speaking of Life and Creative Works," Huacheng Publishers, "Writers Speak of the Creative Act," p 67). This line shows great insight. But, more accurately, we should say that all great writers are discoverers with profound vision who are good at discovering beauty among the ordinary, the common, and the dirty and dusty phenomena of daily life, the soul of beauty and the beautiful people who give rise to or encapsulate the spirit of the times. Life continually produces new men, a fact that superior writers can acutely and promptly discover in "Hehua Dian" [Lotus Lake"] by Sun Li [1327 3680], which is merely a description of several women at a certain time and place. But, through the eroding currents of several decades, this work has not only held its place, but has even grown in stature. What was the reason for this? It is because the author was able to observe the ordinary speech and behavior of young women everywhere in the revolutionary base areas of that time and from this discover their great spirit of optimism and dedication. Many works have reflected the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. "Who Is the Most Lovable Person?" made an especially profound impression on readers. What was the reason for this? It is because, majestically present in the persons of ordinary "simple" "soldiers," the author discovered in the [words illegible] of the mathematical genius Chen Jingrun a selfless quality and soaring vigor. In the reserved middle-aged intellectual Qin Guanshu, Huang Zongying [7806 1350 5391] discovered a passion for the people and the cause. Every successful artistic image of the new man has been a fresh discovery which the author has contributed to society.

Why are some of the images of the new man in literary works so stiff and lacking in charm? It is because writers have not discovered new men in their own lives, and can only parrot others and fill lines with a character's accomplishments in accordance with the conceptions and standards of social science. Why do the thinking and sentiments of the "new men" in certain works remind us of the personalities of fashionable Western youths? Because writers imitate and copy in place of discovering and creating. The social life of China in contemporary times has not been at all stingy toward writers seeking artistic material with which to portray a new man. We are all familiar with the words spoken by Comrade Mao Zedong in 1955: "Here there is another Chen Xuemeng. In China there are thousands of such heroes. It is too bad that writers have not gone about finding them." Unfortunately, the "finding" he spoke of cannot be explained as having contact with or interviewing, but involves discovering. There have been many writers who have gone to the countryside and who have understood the course of the mutual aid and cooperation movements and the achievements of progressive figures, but not all of them could sense and recognize the new character possessed by these figures and not all of them could discover the beautiful qualities in these figures that were suited to artistic expression. Rodin of France said it best: Beauty is everywhere. Our eyes do not lack beauty to see. They lack discovery. If there is to be gain, there must be loss. Discovery is the process of sifting, of refining. It is the first stage in the thought formation of an artist. If the image or appearance of a thing is one with its basic nature, then all scientific research is meaningless. Similarly, if a record of the behavior of the progressive people in life constituted the artistic image of the new man, then the difficult labor of the creative thinking of the artist would be extraneous.

Writers should not be satisfied to be explainers, but should also be educators. Literary works should become the textbooks of life. To do this, they must offer readers that which they have not directly seen in their lives. "What Is To Be Done?" by Chernyshevskiy fostered several generations of revolutionaries, primarily because of the image of the new man portrayed in it--the "ordinary new man," (Ropov) and (Weila), and especially the "outstanding new man," Rakhmetov --embodied the social ideals of the author. These social ideals were the highest standards reached by the people in searching for truth before Marxism appeared.

Discovery is required to create any artistic image, and this is especially true in creating the socialist image of the new man. One of the remarkable characteristics of life in the new historical period we are now in is its great diversity on a more solid foundation revolutionary tradition has achieved glory and the new ideological tide has been more widely understood and adopted; the older generation, which suffered setbacks and hardships, has carried out a more complete review of history, and the younger generation, which produced chaos and confusion, now pursues ideals even more persistently; new buds bursting forth cannot help but be mixed with sediment floating to the surface--between the elation of two victories there is always the intertwining of disappointment and doubt. What is obstruction? What is motivation? What is restoration? What is reform? These things cannot be distinguished clearly at a glance... Single shades of color and fixed focal points fall far short of reflecting the colorful variety of life, and bustling noise and mixed medodies cannot express the aspirations

of a deep-thinking nation. If we say that the light of fires and the haze of smoke on the battlefields of the past make it easy for today's writers to distinguish the new men of the past, then today the discovery of new men requires that writers separate the wheat from the chaff. The image of Liu Maomei in "Xi Xian Yishi" ["Anecdote of the Western Line"] has been praised by people, and not simply because this character was described as a warrior who sacrificed to protect the motherland, and even less because the author wrote of the wound in the soul of this warrior, but because in displaying the heroic behavior of this warrior with a wounded soul, the author hit on the yearning for ideals and glory and the devotion to responsibility and mission of young people. This image leads readers to believe that deep within our youth lie precious qualities and that they will wash away the dirt in their souls and touch off a magnificent explosion. Of course, Liu Maomei does not represent all contemporary youth, but the author's unique discovery and creation induces readers to look at this generation from a fresh perspective. Comrade Xu Huaizhong [1776 2037 0022], when speaking of understanding creative work, said: "One who does it must first be an intelligent explorer." "Without searching, without finding sustenance, one cannot come in contact with one's own true feelings, and one's work will be only a kite in the wind, floating wherever the wind blows. This is sad." ("Three Items in Creative Work Preparation," Huacheng Publishers, "Writers Speak of the Creative Act," p 102) If a writer has not carried out an arduous, deep search into life, how can he produce a character with such depth? How can he incorporate within his characters the brand new elements of the times? If he does not pay attention to this basic point and summarizes the "Xi Xian Yishi" experience into a "hero with a wound" formula to suit the conventions of the times and obtain a box office success, it will be hard for him not to miss the mark by being superficial.

In society, the incidents that most people consider to be beautiful and the figures that most people admire and praise are, of course, the important subjects that writers should extol. In their expression of these subjects writers must add their own unique understanding to the foundation of understanding that the masses have generally already reached, and unearth the beautiful qualities that the people have not yet noticed and whose value they have not yet recognized. But, discovering and describing the new men who have yet to receive the universal acknowledgement of society or who are still covered with sand is even more difficult. The ideological and artistic significance of images created in this way will always be greater and can awaken and startle us, touching the reader's soul and opening up new horizons. For example, the characters (Baower) and his mother, Nirovna, created by Gorkiy are such images. For a long time now, in contemporary Chinese literature we have paid too little attention to the ordinary figures who bend their backs and pull the towlines of life, and we must call this a flaw. In recent years, the people have more and more clearly sensed the existence of a prominent social problem, viz, that in every field and enterprise the burden on middle-aged workers has been too heavy and their remuneration too little. Comrade Chen Rong [6186 1369] did not really use material in this area in writing "Wenti Xiaoshuo" ["Problem Stories"]. She concentrated her efforts on depicting Lu Wenting, a type of new man that is common in life and yet has found insufficient expression in art. Lu Wenting is like a piece of uncarved jade, as common as light, which, after being delicately polished by a talented artisan, radiates dazzling splendor. Anyone who has read in "Ren Dao Zhongnian"

["People Reaching Middle-Age"] of the physically weak Chao Fuhe, who went through great hardships and turned herself into a middle-aged doctor while exhausting her physique nearly to the breaking point would recognize the significance of this model. Only by entering her inner world with the author can one avoid stopping at merely sympathizing and feeling dissatisfied because she was treated unfairly and be moved deeply by her virtue in burning the oil of her life in order to give warmth to others, by her attitude of living with unbending determination in humble tranquility and by her steadfastness in believing in life. Lu Wenting's image is a true depiction of socialist life, for there are numerous Lu Wenting's at every reader's side; the image of Lu Wenting is another outstanding creation by Chen Rong, and it is the first time we have recognized the reverence and preciousness of this type of personality. She is probably not the ideal heroic figure, but she allows people to see more accurately the reality of their own lives and makes them willing, along with the Lu Wenting's, to perform meaningful work earnestly in order to change the face of backward poverty.

No outstanding writer of any period overlooks the appearance in this life of new men, but some do, somewhat unconsciously, rely on their inherent talent as realist artists to capture images, some of which are almost inevitably a little fuzzy and unrealistic. Balzac, "in the only place at the time where one could find real people of the future, saw such a person"--a Communist Party hero of St. Mary's Convent, but he himself never accepted the political beliefs of the hero. Turgenev bravely praised people who were pushing for democracy, but nevertheless allowed their literary image, Bazurov, to die accidently of disease because the writer did not have a deeper understanding of the new men of Russian society. Our writers are far more fortunate in that no other period has even had so many new men surging onto the scene as we have today, nor could the progressive figures of history have reached the lofty realm of the new men of today.

And previous societies were not able to offer the advantageous conditions enjoyed by writers today that allows them to make the acquaintance of and understand the new men that are continually being produced. Looking at the actual situation over the last few years, we still cannot say that our attention to and efforts toward creating the image of the new man have been sufficient. There are still some factors hindering our writers from reaching the vortex of life, discovering new men and creating images of the new man. For example, the traditional strength of custom is one obstacle. No doubt the source of sensitivity to new figures in the course of history lies in enthusiasm for the progressive cause and in the correct social viewpoint, but, in addition to these primary conditions, when writers observe life and analyze material, the far-reaching influence of traditional methods of thinking and writing cannot be ignored. Gorkiy said, "For thousands of years the 'great' moralists, religious leaders and writers who considered themselves men of foresight all enthusiastically devoted themselves to exposing the shortcomings of the working masses and the flawed work of the people, and said nothing about the primary causes of the shortcomings, of the virtues of the laboring people or of the significance of their honest labor." He also said, "We have learned from the bourgeoisie the evil habit of first searching for a man's faults, leaving us unable to estimate accurately the exuberance of the creative might of the Soviet Union." ("On 'Insignificant' People and Their Great Work," "Selected Essays On Literature," 1959,

pp 72-71) A part of bourgeois literature is a precious cultural resource of mankind, e.g., the critical realist literature. The major component and primary value of critical realist literature lies in its uncovering of the abuses and chronic sickness of capitalism. Critical realist writers in their works "first look for men's faults." The principles adhered to and the methods and techniques utilized in their writing all revolve around the axis of "looking for faults," which is not surprising. They have created dazzling masterpieces, and the principles, methods and techniques used in their writings have been transmitted to later writers through their works, with the result that "first looking for a man's faults" becomes, along with much useful artistic knowhow, a habit of those who do literary work--an "evil habit," hindering writers in the socialist age from carrying out their historic responsibility to discover and portray new men. This "evil habit" is not limited only to certain aspects of writing. Once we could not understand why some works describe the contemporary Chinese peasantry as uncivilized or semicivilized heathens, with no needs beyond biological requirements, with no spiritual life to speak of, and even with flawed expression and deportment, and whose external appearance is quite ugly. Perhaps the writers intended to expose the severity of the calamity caused by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques; perhaps the writers intended to arouse the people's enthusiasm so that they would rapidly change the face of rural life; perhaps the appearance of these characters is helpful in creating a diversity of artistic images...regardless, we still feel that at the very least such writing lacks originality and requires no great effort. It is much more difficult to discover hidden beauty in a backward area, a noble soul beneath a crude and awkward appearance and the persistent, flourishing vitality of the socialist system amid setbacks and countercurrents and to describe these vividly for readers and create rich, novel character images such as Pan Laowu in "Meiyou Hangbiaodi Heliu" ["Rivers Without Navigation Markers"], Chen Huansheng [7115 0346 3932] in "Chen Huansheng Zhuanye" ["Chen Huansheng Enters Civilian Life"], and Lao Huanong in "Diaohua Yandou" ["The Carved Pipe"].

People notice that in our literary it seems to be easier for us to impart vitality to villains, backward figures and characters undergoing transformation. In such cases we are clearly technically more proficient, and the flow of the writing is much smoother. Similarly, when the same writers portray the new men, their pens become sluggish and their writing childish. This is not hard to explain. In a very real sense, portraying the image of the new socialist man requires accumulating artistic experiences from scratch, because the experience of previous writers is insufficient. Bourgeois literature stumbled through several hundred years of writing in describing the characters of its own class, and only reached maturity in the latter part of the 19th century. Proletarian literature still cannot claim to have completed this process. Gorkiy, in "A Talk With the Youthful Members of an Assault Team Who Are Entering the Literary World," told of wanting to write of "the dramatic process of growth of the new man" in Soviet life because early on he perceived the elements of that life; he said, "I tried to write of it 10 times, but I could write nothing." ("Selected Essays on Literature," 1959, p 129) Great writers are always at the same time great thinkers, but the discoveries of writers in their formation of thought is different from the research in life of the thinkers. Writers, in discovering the beauty of new men, cannot depart from their form of expression, including the details of their

manners, manner of speech and actions, and, in describing them, they can even less depart from specific techniques and methods. Previously, we emphasized drawing a line between us and the two personalities into which the bourgeoisie is split, highlighting the bright era and class characteristics of the new socialist man, and of course, this is correct. The problem is that, when doing so, our theory, commentary and writing becomes monotonous. In recent years there has been a change and our writers have created a series of images of the new man, not only uncovering many aspects of society, but also exhibiting various unique personalities and using every kind of technique and method. For example, Jiang Zilong [5592 1311 7893] is good at getting a bird's eye view of real life and at sorting out the main threads from among intricate complicated contradictions. In blending together contradictions, he portrayed a steadfast, rugged pioneer and hacked out what seems to be a rough and jagged stone carving of Qiao Guangpu. Lu Wenting seems to be a meticulously wrought, exquisite jade carving. The writer described at great length the details of her life, drawing the readers deep into the thoughts and feelings of her characters. Wang Meng [3769 5536] always purposely describes the appearance of characters, abandoning the continuity of the plot and the completeness of the story. He uses the lively psychological life of the characters to dissect social conditions and reaches his goals of reflecting the style of the times and depicting the personalities of the characters. His works are vast in scope and have strong appeal. In "Bu Li," the absolute Bolshevik sincerity of Zhong Yicheng touched the heartstrings of many readers.

In portraying the new socialist man, we must on the one hand overcome the harmful influence of bourgeois habits, and on the other hand eliminate the fetters of leftist ideology. When leftist ideology was spreading, the call for portraying the new man was heard loud and clear. But the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques were promoting the leftist line that fostered the most hateful form of expression--the bourgeois habit of "first looking for a man's faults." They smothered anything new and destroyed the noble sentiments and pure character of the laborers and revolutionaries. And even today the existence of residual leftist tendencies remains an important reason for our dulled awareness of new developments in life. For many writers, the discovery of new men and the creation of the image of the new man have actually been products of their artistically courageous split with and struggle against the tide of leftist tendencies. Qiao Guangpu and Ding Meng are fearless heroes who dared to attack the poison deposited in the body of society by the leftist line. "Xiangchang Shang" ["In the Countryside"] reflects the nightmare of peasants attempting to escape the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the process of growth from feelings of inferiority to a spirit of confidence and self-respect. When some works describing the excellence of new men came out, they met with accusations and reproach, making it even clearer that expressing the rich and complex inner world of the people of the new era, describing the formation of their new moral conceptions and sentiments, and extolling the new figures on the new Long March require that writers move forward in throwing off the fetters of leftist prejudice.

9705
CSO: 4005/852

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

EDITOR URGES SUSTAINED REVOLUTIONARY BELIEF

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 3

[Commentary by Lo Zhijun [5012 1807 6511] in response to letter from reader Xing Quan [6717 2938] of Hebei: "Can People Be Forced To Join the League?"]

[Text] Comrade Editor:

I am a nonmember of the League; I do not wish to join the League organization. Because, as I can see, among the League members with whom I have had contact some can never play a model role nor are they even as good as the common youths. Yet, recently my teacher criticized me, saying that I failed to make progress and lacked a firm belief. I cannot understand this; can it be that whether or not a person joins the League can be forced?

Xing Quan, Hebei

Fellow Student Xing Quan:

Whether or not a youth joins the League depends entirely on his own free will; how can it be "forced" upon him? However, I discover that the reason you do not wish to join the League is because you see that some League members have failed to play a model role nor are they as good as the common youths; so that you have lost faith. This, then, is by no means a question of your not having a basic belief consistent with that of the League; it is only one of your lacking an overall comprehension of the unwholesome situations that have appeared in the country.

The fact that there exists in our actual life a situation in which "League members are not as good as the common youths" is both strange and yet not so strange. If we say that it is strange, it is because the Communist Youth League is an organization of advanced youths and all its members therefore should play a model role and become examples to all youths and should not adopt a careless and casual outlook and fall behind other youths, and thereby damage the image of the League. If we say it is not so strange, it is because our CYL members are not alone on an isolated island; among them are some weak-minded ones who are unable to withstand corrosion by the fiends of the exploitative classes and thereby lose their advanced character or even are led astray. This is by no means avoidable. There are some who are liable to turn into "deserters" at any time, and in addition there has been a historical background of the 10-year internal disturbance which is still with us.

When we observe things, we must be good at grasping their essence and refrain from being misled by partial and individual phenomena. Just as from a single drop of water we can see the sea, yet that drop of water itself is nonetheless not the whole sea; those "stragglers" in the country, indeed, reflect the question of the impurity of the ranks of the League, but they by no means represent the entire organization of the League. Since its birth, the CYL has acquired a glorious history of 60 years; as an intimate assistant of the party and a school for youths to study communism during these years, the CYL has trained for, and transferred to, the party hundreds and thousands of fine talents. In our enterprises of revolution and construction, the vast ranks of our League members have won the trust of youths of the whole country with their vanguard and model roles. In uniting together, educating, and leading millions of youths and children to shoulder their historical mission, they have played an especially important part. While during the 10-year internal disturbance the organization of the League suffered serious destruction, its organic body as a whole has remained healthy. A factory League committee once conducted a public opinion poll to let youths vote for "the persons you most admire"; the poll, it turned out, invariably had League members as those chosen. They likewise asked their teachers to select "the youths you feel most satisfied with"; in the end these selections were almost entirely League members. This shows that when we think about a question or look at things, we must always do so in an overall manner and not mistake the part as the whole. If, because of temporarily existing phenomena we should become easily shaken in our pursuit of membership in the League, that would be hardly advisable.

In the course of our life, a firm revolutionary belief is extremely important. I don't know whether you have thought about why, during the period of the "4 May" Movement, many revolutionary youths refused to bend before difficulties or bow before bayonets and ultimately became the core and pillars of the Chinese revolution? Why, while some performed well at the time, they later went astray and ultimately were discarded by their times? This is because the former not only were fired by a patriotic zeal and a just thrust for national salvation, but they also had a firm revolutionary belief. This belief guided them to seek the truth of Marxism as if they were thirsty and hungry for it, and they "never regretted evey as they grew older and older." But in the case of the latter, while they were at first duly agitated and also took action, because they lost their revolutionary belief when the revolution encountered setbacks, they eventually turned into renegades. Such a historical experience and lesson remains precious to our youths of today.

Fellow student Xing Quan, this is a rudimentary view on my part; if it falls short of your expectation, I welcome your correction.

Lo Zhijun

19255
CSO: 4005/935

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

TAMPERING WITH FACTS IN NEWS REPORTING CRITICIZED

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 26 May 82 p 1

[Article by De Kun [1795 0981]: "News Reporting Must be Fully Authentic"]

[Text] It is decided that due to the nature of proletarian journalism and in the spirit of the party newspapers, news reporting must be authentic. News is to publicize the lines, principles and policies of the party through reporting facts. The masses believe merely in facts and truth. Only authentic news can play a role in educating and encouraging the people. News inconsistent with the facts not only will become combat-worthless, but will also cause party newspapers to deviate from the masses and thereby damage the revolutionary cause.

The authenticity of news reporting means that all the facts covered in a case, including the name of a person or a place, time, figure, story, introduction, and so forth must be accurate and correct, without fabrications or mistakes. At the same time, analysis and interpretation of the facts must be scientific and in keeping with the true features of the objective things. Statistical figures concerned with auto-prefectures, counties and individual units quoted in news dispatches must first be checked by the statistical departments of these auto-prefectures and counties.

In order to make news reporting authentic, it is necessary in the first place to adhere to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts. That is to say, news must be reported in earnest by facts on the basis of objective reality. It has to be reported in accordance with the actual facts exactly as it has happened. It is not allowed to embellish a story, not to mention writing fictitious ones. A small number of correspondents have not been conscientiously approaching this matter of principle, therefore, news covered by them usually appears to be inconsistent with the facts. For instance, a news release regarding the situation of production of a hardware factory in Pingluo County covered by a correspondent has been proved to be untrue, because the output value of this factory in January this year was 20,000 yuan less than that of the same period of last year. In spite of the fact, he abruptly reported that its output value in January this year was a more than 6,000 yuan gain compared with that of the corresponding period of last year. As soon as this kind of news appears in the newspapers, people immediately recognize that it is but a deception, which creates a serious impact on the prestige of news reporting.

In order to make news reporting authentic, it is also necessary to conscientiously do a good job in investigation and research, to actively understand the objective reality in a correct way and to appropriately reflect it. Many unauthentic news reportings are a result of lack of investigation or making an inaccurate investigation report. This is usually associated with the fact that some people are habituated to adopting such illusive attitudes as slapdash, hearsay and making reports without a solid ground. In order to put an end to mistakes, we advocate a "three-fold checking," which means that a news release written by a correspondent must be brought to the party concerned, to the leadership of the unit, and to the masses for checking the facts, so that the writer can draw on collective wisdom and absorb all useful ideas.

We must insist on the principle that the source of news reporting must be a fact, that news is a report of the fact and that fact comes before news. In our news report, we must not take an estimate as a fact, nor regard anything being planned as having already been done. It is not allowed to transpose the order of fact and news, otherwise news reporting will become inconsistent with the fact.

Besides, from the viewpoint of writing, it is necessary to make a clear distinction between news reporting and literary works. Literary and artistic works may have a summation, a concentration, or an enhancement of facts in life. However, news reporting must be fully authentic, without adding imagination. Some correspondents have adopted the method of literary and artistic creation in writing news reports. This is not permissible. For instance, a correspondent of a factory in Yinchuan Municipality who was influenced by a piece of fiction appearing in the RENMINWENXUE describing how a factory director promoted the sale of his products, fabricated a piece of news describing how hard the director of his factory tried to market his products. He sent it to a newspaper. The editor of the newspaper, after going through the story, felt that it was a lively one and was ready to use it. Fortunately, a factfinding process helped to discover that it was a fabrication. A false news reporting was thus avoided.

It is hoped that every correspondent of the party newspapers can conscientiously adhere to the principle that news reporting must be authentic, so that we can improve the quality of the party newspapers.

9560
CSO: 4005/933

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PERFORMANCE OF LOCAL PUBLIC SECURITY STATION COMMENDED

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 4

[Article by Fan Xuezhong [5400 1331 1813], internee, Journalism Department, People's University: "Public Security Station at Bikou, Wen Xian, Actively Demonstrates Its Functional Role--Let Us Strengthen Our Basic Work and Rectify Our Social Order"]

[Text] The Bikou public security station under the Public Security Bureau of Wen Xian has earnestly strengthened its basic work, conscientiously rectified the local social order, given scope to forthrightness and gotten rid of unhealthy practices, so that there has been a conspicuous turn for the better in local security. In the first quarter of this year, the rate of occurrence of criminal cases has been reduced by 59 percent compared to that of the corresponding period last year.

Most recently, this reporter came to understand while in the Bikou area that the local masses have generally acquired a sense of security, and their production and life in general are now in good order. In the market places, people went about their affairs in a hustling and bustling but highly joyous atmosphere; there was seldom any disruption of orderly activity in evidence. Said the masses: With the party and the government backing us and with people's police as our guards, we are certainly not afraid of criminal elements making trouble.

The Bikou public security station has jurisdiction over 5 communes and Bikou itself in southeastern Wen Xian; its total population amounts to more than 67,000 and it accommodates 42 units under the direct jurisdiction of the province. This station is situated in the joint border district of the three provinces of Shenxi, Gansu and Sichuan, with the Sichuan-Gansu highway running directly through it; the turnover rate of its personnel is considerable, and the place has thus become one where criminal elements feel free to make their presence felt. Since 1979, because of various reasons the local social security question has been very salient; at one time, cases such as robbery on the highway, burglary and swindling, gathering a crowd to make trouble, etc., continued to occur, resulting in a situation in which everybody felt threatened. The masses complained a great deal. "When they are engaged in production, they are not calm; when they go out, they can hardly relax; and they often find things not going their way"; such a situation seriously affected the order of their life as well as industrial and agricultural production.

In order to reverse such an unwholesome situation in the local social security and social order, this station, through a great deal of work, seized relevant opportunities, looked into sample cases, and inspected criminal activities by legal means in its effort to deter the criminal elements. Beginning from January of last year, they have fought sustained battles to ferret out at various points four robbery and burglary syndicates that had been threatening the security of the local district. Assisting the superior level, they arrested according to law the culprits among their members who had aroused great popular indignation and severely punished them accordingly. Criminal Bo Jinge [2672 6855 7704] was the ringleader of one of those syndicates; had become a habitual burglar and often resorted to open robbery, molesting women, and he even gathered his cohorts together to besiege cadres on guard duties. He was most severely punished.

Since the beginning of this year, the Bikou station, for the sake of establishing further stability in the local social security and social order, has placed emphasis on four aspects of basic work.

--Grasping closely the work of education and the rescue of fallen youths and children. Through analysis of sample cases, they discovered that criminal offenses by youths and children were very high in proportion to others and this had constituted an important reason why the situation in social security had been so bad. Hence, on the basis of the characteristics and psychology of such youths and children they proceeded with their work in educating and pursuading them, thus giving them an opportunity to establish concepts about the legal system, about honor and dishonor, and about beauty and ugliness. They ran five consecutive study classes altogether and sought out several dozen persons for individual chats. During this process of ideological education, the cadres and policemen themselves took great care to note the impact of their own words and deeds, in each case, on the fallen youths and children; they refrained from discriminating against them and from preaching to them, but, instead, sought to enlighten them with reason, point out a clear path to them, treat them with sincerity, and influence them with enthusiasm.

--Actively doing a good job in household registration management and in learning about the activity patterns of the population. They looked over a great deal of relevant data, consulted together, paid visits to the masses, convened 12 background-study meetings, and thereby achieved a general awareness as to what was going on. They also strengthened their links with the defense departments of concerned units in order to exchange information and carry out joint defense.

--Making firstline defense outposts out of theaters, hotels and public places of the like, they adopted effective measures to stand guard at the right spots.

--Strengthening the political and professional training of the cadres and policemen themselves. Most of the nine cadres and policemen of the Bikou station are new comrades transferred there during the past 2 years; they are still unfamiliar with their jobs. On the basis of this situation, they formulated a political and professional training system to enable them to study while they worked and to help each other. They also formulated an individual station responsibility system, inspected performances at fixed intervals, and aired criticisms as well as commendations. Today, the political and professional level of the cadres and policemen here has been generally elevated.

9255
CSO: 4005/935

UNIVERSITY STRIVES TO HELP INTELLECTUALS

Gansu GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 4

[Article: "Lanzhou University Actively Improves Its Policy on Helping Intellectuals"]

[Text] While investigating the implementation of the policy of helping intellectuals the Lanzhou University party committee held many conferences of intellectuals to hear a broad range of viewpoints in order to improve the policy on intellectuals. The university's democratic groups also held several conferences and actively joined in these efforts.

Beginning in the last 10 days of March, the Lanzhou University party committee acted in accordance with the spirit of the provincial party committee and initiated an overall investigation into the implementation of the policy on intellectuals. The party committee decided to organize under an assistant party committee secretary to recruit the proper responsible comrades in each unit to conduct the investigation, In the process of conducting this investigation the party committee first held four broad conferences to review and analyze the policy on intellectuals over the past several years and study actions for the future. The university party committee, party committees from all university departments and the university's democratic groups altogether held 30 conferences of people from the decocratic groups, middle-aged educators and intellectual cadres performing political work. There was a total of over 20,000 person-time participations, and a broad range of views from all sectors was heard. It was generally felt in the conferences that since smashing the "gang of four" and especially since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Congress that the Lanzhou University party committee performed a great amount of work and achieved great success in implementing the policy on intellectuals. During the "Cultural Revolution" cases were opened against 219 educators, but all have been concluded and at present the overturned, false and mistaken cases have basically been all wrapped up. Since 1978, 51 intellectuals (including 9 assistant professors and 31 lecturers) have been accepted for party

membership. The university elected 74 seasoned, vigorous intellectuals to assume the university and departmental leadership tasks. During the last 4 years, the university has promoted, appointed and restored a total of 147 assistant and full professorships; promoted 422 lecturers and appointed 19 engineers and technicians. The university requires a complement of assistants for 33 full and assistant professors and so far 30 of them have the requisite assistants or have established scientific reserach collectives. In recent years, 67 teachers have been provided with housing and 42 intellectuals of lecturer level and above were able to resolve the problem of husbands and wives living apart.

At the same time, everyone pointed out that at present, middle-aged intellectuals especially still are faced with some political and concrete problems. At Lanzhou University the middle-aged faculty, ranging from 36-55 years old, occupies 66.6 percent of the entire faculty. There are many of these people, they have heavy responsibilities, and for the most part are core teachers or reseachers, amd many of them have made great contributions. However, their salaries are low, many of them live in cramped quarters, their work conditions are inferior and some wives and husbands must live apart. Intellectuals who engage in party political work also are faced with concrete problems which must be solved. Such problems have become matters of concern for many middle-aged intellectuals and have to a certain degree affected their teaching, scientific research and other work. Therefore, the policy on intellectuals at Lanzhou University has focused on middle-aged intellectuals with the goal of helping them alleviate their concerns and permit them to concentrate their energies on teaching and on scientific work. The university will quickly resolve whatever problems it can and those problems it cannot resolve quickly will be divided into separate categories and cases will be opened for actions to take place at the appropriate pace. This will make progress in correctly carrying out the policy on intellectuals.

11582
CSO: 4005/934

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BEIJING TEACHERS' COLLEGE IMPROVES INTELLECTUALS' CONDITIONS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] According to the reporter Li Wei [2621 5588], this June the Beijing Teachers' College will initiate a program of physical checkups for middle-aged teaching staff and workers as well as other workers and will conduct gynaecology examinations of female staff and workers. These college checkups for the intellectuals are actions which result from mass opinion on policy improvements.

The college's work on the policy regarding intellectuals began on April 12. The following problems are completely or partially resolved: teachers above the 3rd rank who leave campus on business will have college cars both ways. Construction funds totaling 150,000 yuan will be used to strengthen child care facilities and take care of an additional 55 children. Public telephones will be provided for off-campus teaching staff and worker living areas. Ten people have already expressed some views regarding the results of these policy implementations and preparations for re-investigation have already begun. For full and assistant professors above the 6th rank who have many years of service, are in ill health and have trouble getting around as well as others of comparable status who have retired or resigned, four experienced medical personnel will go to their homes at arranged times to give physical exams. Adjustments will be made in some dependent housing to provide middle-aged core educators with necessary housing. During the 10 years of chaos the private homes of 53 teaching staff and workers were occupied. Steps are being taken to solve the problem of those houses which have been converted into offices.

The Beijing Teacher's College is one of the units which began this work the earliest and has performed it with the most care. The policy investigation work focuses on cadres at lecturer and engineer level and above, and over 1,300 people fall into the scope of the project. During this process counselors will hold conferences with the participants to gather their opinions.

11582
CSO: 4005/934

SELF STUDY STUDENTS TAKE HIGHER EDUCATION EXAMINATION

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] On June 6, the Beijing Municipal Higher Education Self-Study Examination Committee held its first professional examination. The subject was Chinese literature and the course under examination was the outline of Chinese literature. In accordance with registration requirements the 604 registrants had already qualified by sitting for the university humanities and science public language course examination.

The participants in this examination came from 68 districts and counties throughout the city and included workers, teachers and administrative cadres as well as unemployed and crippled youths. At 8:30 am on June 6, Zang Boping [5258 0130 1627] the Vice Minister of the All China Staff and Workers Education Management Committee and Bai Jiefu [4101 0094 1133] vice mayor of Beijing and Chairman of the Beijing Higher Education Self-Study Examination Committee arrived at the examination site to observe the participants.

It is reported that in the latterhalf of this year Beijing will hold examinations in 6 subjects in 3 professions. The registration will take place on September 1-10 and the examination will take place October 17. The areas to be tested are as follows: in Chinese language and literature--modern language, logic and composition; in law--basic legal theory and the history of the Chinese legal system; in industrial economics--introductory management of industrial economics.

11582
CSO: 4005/934

TIBETAN VETERINARIAN IN JAPAN FOR ADVANCED TRAINING

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jun 82, p 1

[Text] The recent news that Ma Zhijun [7802 1807 6511], a young Tibetan veterinarian from Qinghai province went to Japan for advanced training became common knowledge in every tent in the Xianmi pasturelands beneath the Qilian mountains.

Ma Zhijun is 25 years old and has been a sheep herder since his youth. At age 15 he finished elementary school and was sent to the Qinghai provincial Huangyuan Animal Husbandry School for study. After graduation he returned home to become a veterinarian in the Xianmi Commune in the Menyuan Moslem autonomous county of Haibei Tibetan autonomous prefecture.

To avail himself of advanced technology published in foreign languages and transform conditions in his homeland, Ma Zhijun purchased Japanese language radio course materials and set the goal of foreign language self-study. Before long he joined the provincial intensive Japanese language course.

He began with mimicry, then memorized single words and practiced conversation, and in the evenings he practiced writing. He usually carried a pocket transistor radio with him and never missed an opportunity to practice speaking or to improve his listening comprehension. After taking a proficiency examination he finally obtained the level of skill set by the Foreign Study Institute and became the first minority nationality cadre from Qinghai province to be selected for study abroad.

11582
CSO: 4005/934

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CHILD BEATEN FOR FATHER'S ACTIONS; JUSTICE DEMANDED

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 1

[Article: "Retaliation by Doing Violence to a Youth Is Not Allowed by the Law"]

[Text] My Dear and Respectful Uncles and Aunts:

My name is Yang Huabin [2799 5478 1758], a 13-year-old student in the 5th grade in primary school. As soon as I awoke, I am now tearfully writing to you to relate my misfortunes.

My father wrote to his superior departments concerned in October, 1981 to expose the crimes committed by Deputy Secretary Xu Baoyou [6079 0202 0645] of the brigade party branch, who has, in partnership with others, grafted grain funds originally provided for disaster relief, secretly run underground factories, practiced usury in society and engaged in speculation and profiteering. Since then, Xu Baoyou has frequently been sending someone to my school beating and dressing me down. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon of 19 April this year, while I was playing on the school playground, Xu Biao [6079 1753], the younger brother of Xu Baoyou, came to me and beat me up. After regaining consciousness from a faint, I was again intercepted by Xu Baoyou on my way home. He fiercely slapped my face and I once again fell unconscious. Thanks to Grandpa Huang Mengcai [7806 1322 2088] and many others who came to my help, I narrowly escaped from being killed. When I was in the hospital, I was told that the assailant who had fiercely beaten me up was put under detention only for 15 days. Both my teachers and schoolmates felt that it is too indiscreet to handle this matter that way.

My dear and respectful uncles and aunts, all my family members were fiercely beaten up because of my father's action to expose evildoers and evil deeds. What was this for? Will you please speak out for me?

[Signed] Yang Huabin
A 5th Grade Student
Yangchai Primary School
Zhongtuan Commune
Lixin County, Anhui Province

Investigation Report:

The event reflected in the letter from Yang Huabin, a 5th grade student in the Yangchai Primary School of Zhongtuan Commune, Lixin County, Anhui Province that he had been fiercely beaten up by Xu Baoyou, the deputy secretary of the brigade party committee, has been proved to be absolutely true through investigation.

Yang Huabin is the son of a locally selected teacher Yang Simin [2799 1835 3046]. In 1976, soon after retiring from active service, Yang Simin witnessed that Xu Baoyou, the deputy secretary of the brigade party branch, who had built himself up by relying on "cutting the tails of capitalists" in his party line education work, and been admitted to the party and selected to be a party cadre on the same day, has frequently been beating people up without any reason, using funds generated from remitting commune members' agricultural tax or from relief funds for practicing extravagant eating and drinking, lending money at usury by taking advantage of others' predicaments, and practicing speculation and profiteering. In the second half of 1978, he [Yang Simin] started to expose the problems of Xu Baoyou and others to departments concerned in Lixin County and Anhui Province, and to the Central Discipline Inspection Commission. Over the past 4 years, Yang Simin mailed more than 180 letters to bring facts to light. Since we started cracking down on criminal activities in the economic field, the leadership of the prefecture and the county have taken the matter seriously. In mid-April 1982, the Lixin County Party Committee sent out a special investigation group to investigate the problems of Zhongtuan Commune.

For this reason, Xu Baoyou and others have taken a stronger dislike towards Yang Simin.

Sometime after 3 o'clock in the afternoon of 19 April, when Xu Baoyou and another fellow passed by Huang-Pai-Fang-Cun [7806 3654 0972 2625] on their way to a wedding party, they picked a quarrel with two grain bin peddlers on the sidewalk. Li Yuxi [2621 3768 0823], a youth who happened to be visiting his relatives in Huang-Pai-Fang, was badly beaten up because he wanted to be fair. Yang Huabin, who was among the more than 100 students of Yangchai Primary School who crowded around when they heard of the accident after class, chanced to be met by Xu Biao [6079 1753] who came to assist in the fighting. Consequently, it was followed by the incident of Yang Huabin's being beaten up.

The action of Xu Baoyou to retaliate by doing violence to a youth roused the masses on the scene to great indignation. They criticized Xu Baoyou one after another and protected the injured Yan Huabin. In the evening, when Yang Simin returned home and heard of his son's being beaten up, he went to see Xu Baoyou to reason things out, and he was also beaten up.

The events of both Yang Simin and his son's being beaten because of exposing evildoers and evil deeds has roused great indignation among the local people. On the other hand, some of the leading members of the Zhongtuan Commune Party Committee paid no heed to it. Yang Simin had no money for his son to see a doctor. When he came to the commune party committee for help, not only did they treat him with indifference, but individual leaders even criticized comrades in the special investigation group for giving 5 yuan to Yang Simin. They also made known to the public that they would immediately release Yang Simin from his present job as a locally selected teacher.

The case of Yang Huabin's being beaten by both Xu Baoyou and Xu Biao is purely a case of retaliation. The case is a very serious and vicious one. The masses in the locality are discontented with the punishment of only 15 days of detention (actually, one has been put under detention for only 12 days, and the other only 9 days) imposed on both Xu Baoyou and Xu Biao as a disciplinary sanction by the public security bureau based on the fact that they have beaten others up. For the purpose of protecting the physical and mental health of children and guaranteeing the safety of those who have exposed evildoers and evil deeds, and in order to ensure that activities for cracking down economic crimes can be carried out smoothly, the masses strongly demand that the public security organ reconsider this case.

[Signed] Chang Tao [1728 3447]
The Reporter

9560
CSO: 4005/933

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

JILIN SCHOOL-RUN ENTERPRISES--School-run enterprises in Changchun, Jilin Province, netted an average 18 million yuan annually in the past 3 years. This accounts for 47 percent of the outlay for education appropriated by the state. According to statistics made available at the national forum on the work-study program of primary and secondary schools sponsored by the ministry of education, Changchun leads the province when this percentage is considered. There are over 1,200 schoolprun workshops and 1,900 small farms in Changchun. [Text] [Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 12 Jul 82 SK]

GUANGDONG LITERATURE SYMPOSIUM--A symposium to discuss literary works of Taiwan and Hong Kong was held from 10 to 16 June in Guangzhou, Guangdong. The symposium, the first of its kind, was attended by some 60 scholars, experts and researchers on Taiwan and Hong Kong literature. Noted writer (Qin Mu) addressed the symposium, stressing that Chinese literature should include the literature of Taiwan and Hong Kong and pointing out the significance of the study of literary works written by Taiwan and Hong Kong writers and of academic exchanges with them. [Text] [OW271221 Beijing Domestic service in Mandarin 0900 GMT 21 Jun 82]

QINGHAI MINORITY VISITING GROUP--A visiting group made up of 20 students of a minority cadre training class at Qinghai Postal and Telecommunications School recently went to Beijing for a visit and study. Bainqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyaincian, vice chairman of the NPC standing committee, and Wen Minsheng, minister of posts and telecommunications, received them on separate occasions. [Text] [SK132238 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Jul 82]

JILIN MATHEMATICS WORK CONFERENCE--A work conference on compiling experimental teaching materials for middle schools' mathematics course held by the ministry of education in Changchun, Jilin Province, concluded on 17 July. Attending the conference were 38 responsible persons in charge of this work and representatives of experimental schools from 22 provinces and municipalities in China. At present, 90 classes from 45 middle schools in 22 provinces and municipalities have adopted these experimental teaching materials. [Text] [SK190017 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Jul 82]

JILIN CENSUS REGISTRATION WORK--Jilin Province has completed the registration work in the national census. According to preliminary statistics, there are

22.48 million people throughout the province who have registered in the provincial census. The province is engaging in the registration work of floating population. [Text] [SK190006 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 17 Jul 82]

JILIN BIRTH-CONTROL ACHIEVEMENTS--Jilin Municipality in Jilin Province has scored achievements in family planning work after the enforcement of production responsibility systems in rural areas. In 1981 the municipality declined its population growth rate to 8.24 per thousand and won the top-grade title in the work throughout the province. Great contributions to this achievement were made by the party and CYL members. According to incomplete statistics, 94.6 percent of party and CYL members in the municipality have pledged to have one child in their life. [Text] [SK190006 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 17 Jul 82]

WRITERS ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP--Beijing 6 Jul (XINHUA)--The Chinese Writers Association admitted 176 new members in the past 6 months to bring the total membership to 1,717, according to association sources. They include winners of national prizes for short stories and novelettes in the past few years. Twenty-three of them are from minority nationalities. The association's various branches in the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions are a large reserve force from which the national association draws its members. A survey conducted 2 years ago showed that they had about 7,000 members. The fast expanding branches maintain close contact with large numbers of promising young people who are writing and publishing in sparetime. The national association has doubled its membership since it resumed activities in 1978. [Text] [OW080835 Beijing XINHUA in English 1213 GMT 6 Jul 82]

ENROLLED GRADUATE STUDENTS--Beijing, 9 Jul (XINHUA)--The Chinese Academy of Sciences has enrolled 1,345 graduate students to study for masters of science degrees starting in the autumn semester. Most of the enrollees are graduates of major universities in the country and are under the age of 25, the youngest is 15. They will study mathematics, physics, chemistry, earth science, biology, technology and other specialities in 110 research institutes under the academy. This is the fifth group of graduate students to enroll in the academy since the graduate program was reintroduced in 1978. [Text] [OW080835 Beijing XINHUA in English 1223 GMT 9 Jul 82]

STUDENTS RECEIVE DEGREES--The Nei Monggol University and the Nei Monggol Teachers' College recently held strict proficiency tests for 12 master's degree candidates in the humanities and science departments. They were the first group from the Nei Monggol autonomous region to receive the master's degree. Most of them used their minority nationality language for study and research. Under the industrious counseling of their academic advisors they wrote rather valuable research papers in various subject areas, producing some new viewpoints and filling in information gaps. Their efforts were approved by both experts and academics. [Text] [Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jun 82 p 1] 11582

NO RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES--Communists are atheists; those who believe in religions are theists: these are two opposite world views. Communists can only believe in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and are definitely not allowed to believe in religions or to participate in religious activities. Our policy of freedom of religious beliefs is formulated on the basis of historical conditions and the level of ideological consciousness on the part of the masses. In respect to the religious activities of the masses, communists must follow the party's policy of not interfering with them. The participation in religious activities by individual party members is mainly a question of ideological perception; but it plays a corrosive role in the purity of our party organization and therefore must be looked at seriously. Among them we must carry out materialist and atheist education and education on the Marxist view of religion in order to elevate their political consciousness, enable them to cast off religious concepts and strive to contribute their strength to the construction of the four modernizations, struggle for the realization of communism. With respect to party members who, after patient education and persuasion, still insist on believing in religions and participating in religious activities, we may advise them to withdraw from the party in order to preserve the advanced character and purity of our party organization. [Text] [Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 21 May 82 p 4] 9255

CSO: 4005/935

SLOGAN 'LITERATURE AND ART SERVE POLITICS' CRITICIZED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 6, 1982 pp 55, 56

[Article by Xu Xing [6079 5887]: "Wang Ruoshui Criticizes the Slogan 'Literature and Art Serve Politics'"]

[Text] On 28 April this year, RENMIN RIBAO published a speech given by Wang Ruoshui at the National Symposium on the Theory of Literature and Art for Higher Learning Institutes that was held at Lushan in August 1980. The topic of the speech was "Literature and Art, Politics, People." Wang Ruoshui is deputy editor in chief of RENMIN RIBAO and also one of the important theoreticians of the reformist faction within the CCP. In the sixties (before the "cultural revolution") he did research on Marx' and Engle's theories of alienation, and in recent years he has maintained that, on the issue of criteria for truth, a new problem of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is needed and that practice must be relied on in order to add new knowledge of capitalism and socialism. This speech at the Lushan conference was especially aimed at the question of literature and art, and its central idea was the repudiation of the slogan "literature and art serve politics."

Attending the Lushan symposium on the theory of literature and art were teachers from 126 colleges and universities throughout the nation and over 40 writers, critics, and editors from publishing organizations and the media. The conference was presided over by Chen Huangmei [7115 5435 3561], and talks were given by Ding Ling [0002 3781], Wang Xiyan [3769 6007 1750], Bai Hua [4101 2901] and others. What is odd, however, is that this symposium took place in August 1980, 20 months ago. Why was the publication of Wang Ruoshui's speech delayed until now? It is alleged that the present publication is only a part, certainly not all, of Wang's speech, and that it was revised and amended by the author himself. In any case, this is an important and weighty work that deserves our attention.

The Damage of "Literature and Art Serve Politics"

Within the literary and art realm of the CCP, the slogan "literature and art serve politics" has long been popularized. Who after all came up with the slogan? The source can be traced back to Mao Zedong's talk at the Yenan forum of literature and art held in 1942. In that famous speech Mao held

that "In the world at present, all culture or literature and art belong to a particular class and to a particular political line.... Art that parallels politics or is independent of politics is actually nonexistent." From this, he affirmed that "literature and art are a part of politics." This, then, is the theoretical foundation of the slogan "literature and art serve politics."

In my view, the theory put forth by Mao Zedong, "literature and art serve politics," mainly proceeds from political utilitarianism but is not a correct application or elaboration of Marxism and the materialist conception of history. In the Yenan period a group of intellectuals who were inclined toward revolution surged from the White area. They constituted the ranks of writers and artists of the CCP's Red area, and they also added to the trouble of the CCP's thought control work. The Yenan forum on literature and art was convened for this kind of situation, and Mao's speech was also given for this kind of situation. The reason he proclaimed "literature and art are subordinate to politics" was because he wanted to put in correct order the relationship between the party and the intellectuals. Everyone knows that the CCP controlled political affairs (at that time in the Red area, and at the same time had control of political power). If "literature and art are subordinate to politics," then the intellectuals who engaged in literary and art work certainly had to be subordinate to the party and party leaders. If literature and art "belong to a particular political line," then the intellectuals who engaged in literary and art work certainly had to be subordinate to the party's political line.

In order to further define the relationship between the party and the intellectuals, Mao Zedong particularly quoted Lenin, pointing out that literature and art were only a part of the whole of the revolutionary cause and only gears and nails in the whole of the revolutionary machine. He believed that this would resolve the issue of the place of literature and art in the whole of the party's revolutionary work.

This was the beginning where literature and art were subjected to political pressure in the revolutionary base area. Beginning at that time, creative freedom thereafter became even more forfeit, and literature and art thereafter became appendages of political propaganda. The purge of Wang Shiwei [3761 1395 0724] and the criticism of Ding Ling and Xiao Jun [5618 6511] were omens of a literary inquisition. Because in the Yenan period the flames of revolution were blazing, all those who joined the ranks of the revolution were immersed in the tasks of the struggle and did not have much time to probe earnestly into the party's policy on literature and art and the evil consequences that could occur.

After the founding of the PRC, political pressure on literature and art not only did not abate but increased. Hu Feng [5170 7364] summed up this kind of pressure in "Wuba Daozi" [Five Knives], and he submitted a written statement directly to Mao. Mao personally annotated the statement and treated it as a counterrevolutionary case, which resulted in Hu suffering grievous attacks.

Overthrowing Hu Feng and his "clique" proved that the CCP's relationship with literature and art was not one of political leadership but one of coercion by force. Power politics caused many authors to be beset with fear, to the point that literature and art were not only subordinate to politics but were subordinate to every word and deed of the CCP and its leading cadres. Under these conditions artists strove to make their own works conform to the specifications of the leaders, and from then on literature and art were reduced to being diagrams for policy. Artists did not reflect society's truths from real life, but twisted real life into a mold that corroborated policy. Society's true contradictions did not exist in literature and art because the leaders opposed the exposure of the dark side of society by literature and art. They formulated some set patterns and demanded that the artists describe the beauty of the new society and portray positive, heroic characters, and they forced artists to become cheering squads to sing praises. This universally produced formalistic, generalized dogmas similar to those refuted by Qin Beiyang [4440 0554 7122] and others in the late fifties.

In regard to the damage done to literature and art, this long-standing slogan, "literature and art serve politics," caused Ding Ling, Chen Qixia [7115 0120 7209], Feng Xuefeng [7458 7185 1496], Qin Beiyang, Liu Shaotang [0491 4801 2768], Shao Quanlin [6730 5425 7792], Kang Zhuo [1660 3451], Ba Ren [1572 0086] and others to be purged 17 years before the "cultural revolution." At the beginning of the "cultural revolution" this slogan was further developed into "develop and broaden." It refuted worship of the individual and became "literature and art must serve the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao." Thereupon, the literary and art bureaucracies that had purged others in the past, along with major and minor artists throughout the nation, suffered purges at the hands of Mao Zedong and the "gang of four," which ultimately brought about the situation of "model literature" where thousands of voices were muted. It was a mistaken slogan whose harm actually developed so thoroughly that it reached unprecedented peaks.

The ideological inertia in this great nation of China was terribly severe. Only after experiencing the miserable, bitter lesson of the cultural revolution were people compelled to begin to consider anew the slogan "literature and art serve politics."

Wang Ruoshui Asks the Question Well!

In recent years, especially in 1979 and 1980, literary and art circles within the nation have universally conducted extensive discussions on the relationship between politics and literature and art. In these discussions, people from the literary and art world have almost unanimously opposed the viewpoint of literature and art being a part of politics and the slogan "literature and art serve politics." With nearly one voice they have expressed the view that the relationship between literature and art is not a subordinate relationship but one of mutual effect. Literature and art have political tendencies, but they are not sermons for politics and certainly not slaves of politics. Although in the course of all the discussions no one openly

criticized those policies set forth by Mao at the Yenan forum, nevertheless, they have in fact repudiated those anti-Marxist and counterhistorical materialistic points of view.

As far as is known, however, among the mulititudinous opposing views there was not one person who spoke as incisively as Wang Ruoshui.

In order to repudiate this theory of literature and art serving politics, Wang Ruoshui put forth an extremely interesting question. He said: "If literature and art serve politics, then what does politics serve?" This was indeed a piercing question. Does it mean to ask whether in literature and art serving politics, in education serving politics, in physical education serving politics, politics is thus paramount and nothing else can be substituted that would be served?

In thoroughly explaining points and on the occasions when people discuss anything as serving politics, they should change the word "politics" into "party," because the real meaning is equivalent to saying that, all in all, everything must serve the party. The party was paramount in the Mao era and it ultimately secured further supremacy for Mao, the party's leader, who became the sun god of the 20th century.

Nevertheless, in this case Wang Ruoshui took this disordered relationship and reversed it again, deeming that politics should serve the economy and, in the final analysis, serve the people. This is no different from producing another kind of association for the people: politics and the party are the same, not a relationship where one is supreme. In the end the party must be subordinate to the people and must serve the people. A party that does not serve the people in fact is already an alienated party, a party that has degenerated.

Although these associations are only extensions made after my reading of Wang's speech, he nevertheless did indeed speak so, saying that there is a time when politics does not serve its economic base and does not serve the people. He stated: "Since the founding of the PRC there have indeed been instances in which political power was indifferent toward its economic base, so much so that it did not hesitate to do great damage to that base. This political movement, the 'cultural revolution,' moved in the direction of going against the laws of economic development. In a political struggle that attacks everything, its own foundation is included. The power entrusted to the people was taken from their control and in turn much suffering was brought upon them." (emphasis added)

In this quotation of Wang's where he speaks of "political power" being indifferent toward its economic base to the point of severely damaging that base, it seems that he is not referring to the CCP or the CCP where Mao held power. What is he referring to? He is actually referring to the political power of Mao Zedong, the power that launched the "great leap forward" and the "three red banners," only to be "indifferent to the economic base" and "severely damage the economic base," the power that brought about the great famine in which for 3 years people all over the country ate white clay

powder. Later, it was also Mao's "political power" that launched the "cultural revolution," with its widespread indignation and discontent, and which brought China's economy to the brink of collapse.

Wang Ruoshui siad it very well: "The 'cultural revolution' was not the problem of a few people. It was a problem of the party, a mistake made by the party." He also stated that despite there being resentment among some people at the time, at least in the very beginning, the "cultural revolution" emerged in the form of a mass movement on a grand scale, so everyone followed in its wake and made the mistakes. These kinds of views are much more realistic than those that merely push all the blame onto the "gang of four."

9926
CSO: 4005/920

LITERARY TREND AFTER 'ANTILIBERALIZATION' DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CHENG MING (CONTENDING) in Chinese No 6, 1982, pp 23-24

[Article by Lu Feng [6424 7364]: "The Literary Trend After 'Antiliberalization'"]

[Text] Two of the goals of this political movement were to warn writers that from now on they can no longer express views different from those in power in the CCP and to make those who would dare to tell the truth and dare to plead for the people cower in fear and hold their tongues. But what were the results? With this question in mind, this author took advantage of a return trip to Beijing to visit relatives and interviewed some old friends in the literary and art world in order to get an understanding of some trends there following the "antiliberalization" movement.

The CCP's "antiliberalization" movement was called off as early as the end of last year. Did this movement achieve the anticipated goals? The writers maintain that it did not. After the JIEFANGJUNBAO [LIBERATION ARMY DAILY] published an article critical of "Ku Lian" ["Bitter Love"], cries of rebuke arose from inside and outside the nation, so in August of last year a reevaluation of "Ku Lian" was used as the juncture for setting off the "antiliberalization" movement. One of its immediate goals was the hope that writers would engage in self-criticism and thus enable those in power to save face. However, many writers who were criticized by name, such as Ye Wenfu [5509 2429 4395], Ding Yishi [0002 0001 4258], Wang Ruowang [3769 4627 2598], etc, had yet to engage in self-criticism. RENMIN RIBAO [PEOPLE'S DAILY] and Shanghai's WENXUE BAO [LITERARY GAZETTE] published reports of many authors from each province and city supporting the spirit of the Conference on the Question of Ideological Struggle and engaging in written self-criticism, but they did not publish reports concerning the status of the Shanghai writers' studies. This indicates that the Shanghai writers did not make a "show" that satisfied those in power.

Ba Jin [1572 6855] Fires a Blast

From 17 to 22 December last year, the second session of the third Chinese Writers Union was convened in Beijing. This was the first get-together of well-known writers from various localities since after the "antiliberalization" movement. On the last day of the conference, Hu Qiaomu [5170 0829 2606] and Zhou Yang [0719 2254] met with all the members. After listening to everyone's views, Ba Jin was elected chairman of the Chinese Writers Union. In his speech

he mentioned that he approved of the slogan "govern by inaction" and said there is no fault in this slogan. What writers write and how they write cannot add to "leadership." It is common knowledge that the term "governing by inaction" was long ago established by the famous article in the party organ, HONGQI [RED FLAG], and by the Shanghai party newspaper, JIEFANG RIBAO [LIBERATION DAILY], as being synonymous with "not wanting party leadership." Wang Ruowang, the Shanghai writer, was criticized by name for vigorously defending this slogan, and Ba Jin's public approval of this slogan undoubtedly embarrassed Hu Qiaomu and Zhou Yang. However, out of deference to Ba Jin's prestige, it was inappropriate for them to publicly "put on a rival show."

So Hu Qiaomu could only speak rather strangely, saying that "governing by inaction" is always better than "not governing by inaction" and "disorder by inaction," stressing either "govern" or party leadership. Zhou Yang followed, tactfully expressing a different view, stating that "I consider that, as a slogan, it is better than the one put forth by Comrade Xiaoping, 'don't cause interference.'" Nevertheless, even though Hu and Zhou were dissatisfied with this slogan, because of Ba Jin's position it was inconvenient for them to show explicitly opposing views. Thus, it was more difficult to criticize this slogan. Many authors mentioned in secret that they wished "governing by inaction" would be rehabilitated in the future. In published reports of related conferences, this view of Ba Jin's is closely guarded as a secret. In his speech at the conference Ba Jin mentioned the issue that must cause "young and middle-aged writers to have peace of mind when they create." This was obviously a hidden reference to the tense atmosphere brought about by the "antiliberalization" movement.

The methods of the CCP leaders concerned in their treatment of Ba Jin are very contradictory. On public occasions, the evaluation of Ba Jin is quite high. At this writers council meeting, Zhou Yang stated: "For many years Comrade Ba Jin has consistently been a true friend of the CCP, a nonparty communist. In his works he often warmly and sincerely reveals himself, but he never exaggerates that self. His self is closely linked with the people. The writings are like the man, and his works and his characters are respected and trusted by people. He stands as a model for authors." Nevertheless, even though the bulletin WENXUE SHU SHU [WINDOW ON LITERARY BOOKS], put out by the People's Publishing House, announced at the beginning of the year that volume 2 of Ba Jin's "Suixiang Lu" [Random Thoughts] was about to be published, to this day no trace of it can be found in big or small bookstores in any province or city throughout the country. This shows that it has yet to be offered for sale to the public within the nation. Originally, Ba Jin's views on some issues in volume 2 of "Random Thoughts" were poles apart from those of the CCP members in power. And Ba Jin prominently supported the stage play "Jiaru Wo Shi Zhende" [Suppose That I Am Real].

Ceng Yenxiu's [2582 1750 0208] Letter and Hu Yaobang's 7579 [5069 6721] Comments

On 12 July 1980, Shanghai's LIBERATION DAILY published an essay by essayist Feng Yingzi [7458 5391 1311] (deputy editor in chief of Shanghai's XINMIN WANBAO [NEW DEMOCRACY EVENING NEWS] entitled "I Want Some Spirit of Moving Mountains." What this essay criticized was the phenomenon of factionalism within the party. Since Feng Yingzi frequently publishes essays that remonstrate against the

ills of the times, this essay naturally touched the nerve of the ultraleftists. At the beginning of the "antiliberalization" movement, on 13 September, LIBERATION DAILY printed an essay signed by Zhen Qian [2182 0578] (deputy editor in chief of LIBERATION DAILY), entitled "I Also Want Movement." Without mentioning names, he stated that Feng Yingzi had the "bad habits of the old literati," only referring to the "Revolution of 1911" but not mentioning the "liberation of the entire nation in 1949," and he used to the utmost the weapons of labeling and bludgeoning. This affair aroused the anger of the literary and art world, and in particular it enraged Ceng Yenxiu, editor in chief of the People's Publishing House, who immediately sent a letter to Zhou Yang. The letter stated:

"Shanghai's LIBERATION DAILY published a short work by Feng Yingzi and recently it also published a severely critical work. I was dismayed. I read both pieces over and over, and from beginning to end I could find no fault with Feng's essay. However, the article criticizing him was really lamentable; there was no need to read further. If you're out to get someone, you can always trump up a charge. Its not that the higher plane of principle is too high, but rather that this is purely fictitious and is a trumped-up charge.

"So, this spirit of 'implementation' from the Central Committee forum indeed deserves attention.

"Since his youth, Mr Feng has followed, and been loyal to, the party for over 40 years. There has been conference after conference, people who have come and gone; he is one of the old innocents. His work is steady and he is not concerned with fame and fortune. How can slander and false charges be brought against such a dependable old friend of the party who is steadfast in his protection and who holds it so dear. . .?"

After reading over the letter, Hu Yaobang made some comments, stating that "Shanghai is a focus of attention inside and outside the country. Ideological literary and art criticism must be particularly cautious." From this affair it can be seen that if the ultraleftists attempted to start a flood with the dregs of the "antiliberalization" style, it would be very difficult. Those in the literary and art world who dare to speak are numerous, and authors certainly would not be reticent out of fear of suffering criticism. If the pressure of public opinion were great, then even those in power could not but reconsider.

Wang Ruowang Argues Strongly for Countercriticism Rights

Do mainland authors have countercriticism rights at present? This is an issue that concerns everyone. On this trip to Beijing this author also heard small tales about even Wang Ruowang's countercriticism articles meeting with adversity. On the basis of 30 years of experience, after any author is once publicly criticized by name by high-level leadership and party organs, his voice is stilled. As a rule, party organs will not permit publication of his countercriticism. However, in the public speeches of CCP leaders or in editorials in party organs, they invariably profess they want to permit countercriticism and counter-countercriticism. What are the facts?

On 1 April last year that is, before the LIBERATION ARMY DAILY published an article criticizing Bai Hua [4101 2901], RENMIN RIBAO ran an article by Liu Mou [0491 2673], assistant manager of the literature and art office of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee's Propaganda Department, which was entitled "Objection to the Kinds of Hired Help," and in "The Kinds...of Help," which was published in ANHUI WENXUE [ANHUI LITERATURE], criticism of Wang Ruowang was carried out on the higher plane of principle and the two-line struggle. Wang's writings called the ultraleftists in literary circles "hack" writers, and the Liu article claimed that this was spearheading "in the party's direction." Afterward, Wang wrote an article of countercriticism and mailed it to RENMIN RIBAO, but it was not published.

In the "antiliberalization" movement the criticism of Wang Ruowang by RENMIN RIBAO and WENHUI BAO, was led by a leading cadre from LIBERATION DAILY. In the Study Society of the Leading Party Group of the Literary Alliance in Shanghai, Wang Ruowang put forth his views of the criticism of the LIBERATION DAILY and defended the theory of "governing by inaction." When Yi Mu [0076 2606] heard this news he immediately wrote an essay entitled "'Current Events' and 'Face'," continuing the criticism of Wang. Thereupon, Wang wrote a countercriticism entitled "face and Literary Style" and mailed it to the LIBERATION DAILY. The LIBERATION DAILY not only would not print it, but on the day before returning the manuscript it published a long article jointly written by Yi Mu and another editor, Wan Shui [5502 3055], that criticized by name Wang Ruowang and "governing by inaction."

Not to be outdone, Wang added a preface and postscript to "Face and Literary Style," continuing the refutation of the Yi and Wan article, and he again sent it to the LIBERATION DAILY. It is alleged that before the manuscript was returned this time, Wang Wei [3769 4850], editor in chief of this paper, called Wang Ruowang and stated that the relevant upper levels of the leadership would not permit publication of his article.

In January of this year SHIYUE [OCTOBER], Beijing's large-circulation periodical, published an article by the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee in which Wang Ruowang was criticized. Its title was "Analysis of 'Fortify Successive Writings at Every Step'." Wang again wrote a countercriticism article and sent it to OCTOBER. The editor concerned actually became unpleasant, saying "publish it, and the Municipal CCP Committee won't let it go through. If it's not published, then what goes in the rejection letter?"

The "Contending" Column in ANHUI LITERATURE

After the "antiliberalization" movement, were even literary and art publications unwilling to publish countercriticism articles by authors who were criticized by name or articles in support of those who were criticized? Not so. ANHUI LITERATURE upheld the practice of supporting both sides and did not voluntarily wave in the "wind." In July of last year it published two articles of differing opinions toward Yi's and Hu's criticism of Wang Ruowang, and in November it also published Liu Jin's [0491 6855] self-defense article. This January it published articles with different views of both sides. In March of this year it carried Wang Ruowang's countercriticism article entitled "Answers and Explanations,"

which systematically answered and refuted the viewpoints of Yi Mu, Liu Jin, and the others who criticized him, and it particularly defended the theory of "governing by inaction." This was the first countercriticism article by Wang Ruowang published after he was criticized. What gives food for thought is that these kinds of articles are not given a speck of space in party organs, yet in ANHUI LITERATURE they are presented to the world. All things considered, this is a little like "let a hundred schools of thought contend."

9926
CSO: 4005/921

END

JPRS 81578

19 August 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 327

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81578

19 August 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 327

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'BA YI' Raps Deng Xiaoping's Attitude Toward U.S.
(BA YI Radio, 2 Aug 82)..... 1

Briefs
Taiwan To Ease Imports Ban 2

PARTY AND STATE

Yichun City Cadre Criminal Case Noted
(HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 17 Jun 82)..... 3

'Shocking' Bribery, by Yang Desan
'RIBAO Commentary on Case

Keeping Revolutionary Cause Young Forever Stressed
(Cui Yongsheng; RENMIN RIBAO, 19 Apr 82)..... 8

Minority Cadres in Xinjiang Take Up Leading Posts
(Huang Wenfu; RENMIN RIBAO, 13 Apr 82)..... 10

Jilin Provincial CCP Committee To Launch Education on Party Style
(Zhang Kaixin; RENMIN RIBAO, 15 Apr 82)..... 12

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Lenin's View of State Organs
(Shen Baoxiang; RENMIN RIBAO, 19 Jul 82)..... 14

'BA YI' on PLA's Anniversary, Character Preservation
(BA YI Radio, 31 Jul 82)..... 20

Yang Xiufeng Addresses Law Society 22 July
(Yang Xiufeng; RENMIN RIBAO, 24 Jul 82)..... 22

Lectures on Draft Revised Constitution
(XINHUA Domestic Service, various dates)..... 29

Twelfth Lecture
Thirteenth Lecture
Fourteenth Lecture
Fifteenth Lecture
Sixteenth Lecture
Seventeenth Lecture
Eighteenth Lecture

Briefs
Reduced Sentence for Jiang Qing 36

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

On Struggle Against Bourgeois Liberalism
(Huai Ping; CHENG MING, No 6, 1982)..... 37

'BA YI' RAPS DENG XIAOPING'S ATTITUDE TOWARD U.S.

OW040903 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 2 Aug 82

[Text] The U.S. Government leaders' recent actions have fully exposed the ugly faces of these imperialists and the essence of their policy of opposition and hostility to China. However, somebody in the party Central Committee is attempting to confuse public opinion by saying that only a small handful of diehards in the United States are harboring hostility toward our country and that only some powerless and uninfluential superconservatives in that country are making trouble. The apologist turns a blind eye to the Reagan administration's open two-China policy obviously to absolve himself from the responsibility for the erroneous policy of associating China with the United States.

However, facts speak louder than words. U.S. President Reagan has bluntly announced that he will personally take up the matter of Taiwan's security. He also has agreed that the U.S. departments concerned should continue cooperation with the Kuomintang in manufacturing F-5E planes and other modern weapons. Newly appointed U.S. Secretary of State Shultz has openly declared that no matter how Beijing will protest, the United States will continue to provide Taiwan with arms. U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger has overbearingly clamored that if Taiwan's security is threatened, the U.S. 7th fleet will immediately sail into the Taiwan Strait to carry out its mission. They could not have spoken more clearly. Obviously, the persons in power in the United States are more forcefully pursuing a two-China policy.

But regretfully, despite these circumstances Comrade Deng Xiaoping chooses not to openly, formally and severely denounce the U.S. Government's anti-China policy and merely talks about the provocative actions of a few anti-China elements in the United States. We cannot help ask: Are persons such as Reagan, Shultz and Weinberger a small handful of persons not in power? Of course, they are not. It is precisely these imperialists and hegemonists who are holding the real power in the U.S. Government. It is precisely these persons who are openly implementing a two-China policy. Formally, they maintain diplomatic relations with our country; in reality, they are executing an anti-China policy.

We can, therefore, say that Comrade Deng Xiaoping is apologizing for U.S. leaders in order to cover up his mistakes in foreign policy, in particular, in seeking association with the United States. He is multiplying his mistakes by misleading public opinion and poisoning people's minds. Only by exposing and resolutely opposing the U.S. chieftains' anti-China policy can we effectively defend our sovereignty and the national dignity of our people.

BRIEFS

TAIWAN TO EASE IMPORTS BAN--Taipei, 23 Jul (KYODO)--Taiwanese Premier Sun Yun-Hsuan has said Taiwan will begin soon lifting a ban on imports of more than 1,500 Japanese consumer goods stage by stage. Sun gave the pledge Thursday when he conferred with Masumi Esaki, former Japanese minister of international trade and industry, for the second time since his arrival here last Monday at the head of a trade mission from the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party. He told Esaki, chairman of the LDP's Special Committee on External Economic Relations, Taiwan would gradually lift the ban in the near future, based on the principle of free international trade. The Taipei government imposed restrictions on 1,533 consumer goods, including video tape recorders, cosmetics and food, last February in retaliation for Japan's failure to respond favorably to Taiwan's repeated calls for effective measures to narrow its swelling trade deficit. Informed sources said the lifting of the ban will begin next month. The Esaki mission was scheduled to leave here for home Friday. [Text] [OW230049 Tokyo KYODO in English 0021 GMT 23 Jul 82]

CSO: 4000/170

YICHUN CITY CADRE CRIMINAL CASE NOTED

'Shocking' Bribery

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by Yang Desan [2799 1795 0005], staff reporter: "Zhang Jiwei's [1728 4949 0251] Serious Bribery and Corruption Case Implicates Leading Cadres; Provincial Party Committee Places Assistant Secretary Zhang Mingxuan [1728 2494 6513] of Yichun Municipal Party Committee and Vice Mayor Zhang Chengguo [1728 2052 0948] of Yichun City on Suspension for Investigation"]

[Text] 16 Jun--Today, Xinhua Press published, with an editorial note, a report on the arrest of Zhang Jiwei and the suspension and investigation of Zhang Mingxuan and Zhang Chengguo. The following is the full text of the editorial note:

The bribery case of Zhang Jiwei, former assistant chief of Reception Section, Harbin office of Yichun city people's government, Heilongjiang province, is most shocking. Zhang Jiwei utilized lumber allocation and transfer orders to wantonly demand and accept bribes, and the orders were issued by his father and granduncle serving in leadership positions of the municipal party committee and the municipal government. The three of them acted in collusion, utilizing their power for private gain. Such conduct in violation of party and government discipline and state law has seriously disrupted the socialist economy and damaged the prestige of the party and the people's government.

The case has again demonstrated the necessity and urgency of cracking down on the serious criminal activities in the economic realm. Incidents of this type and other serious criminal economic activities which are detrimental to the state must be earnestly handled, absolutely not to be left unchecked. Otherwise, our cadre ranks and our socialist economy will suffer even heavier losses.

The serious case of bribery and corruption with Zhang Jiwei as the principal uncovered last March in Yichun city implicates Zhang Mingxuan,

assistant secretary of the municipal party committee and vice mayor, and Zhang Chengguo, standing committee member of the municipal party committee and vice mayor. The provincial party committee has decided to place them on suspension for investigation.

According to investigation by the organ concerned, since June 1979, Zhang Jiwei successively used 12 lumber allocation and transfer orders issued by his father Zhang Mingxuan and granduncle Zhang Chengguo to obtain 1,710 cubic meters of lumber and, after reselling it in collusion with other criminals, demanded and accepted bribes amounting to more than 40,000 yuan. In addition, under the pretext of repairing his own residence, he illegally obtained 3,000 plus yuan by all kinds of means; under the pretext of buying a house and by going through the back door, he obtained by trickery 3,000 yuan of public funds, secretly transferred it to the bank account in his father-in-law's unit and took the whole sum in cash for his personal use.

Two of the lumber orders used by Zhang Jiwei to obtain bribes, totaling 170 cubic meters, were personally made out and handed to him by his father Zhang Mingxuan.

The people's reports of Zhang Jiwei's extravagance were heard by Zhang Mingxuan; the expensive articles displayed in Zhang Jiwei's house were seen by Zhang Mingxuan. Some old comrades also warned Zhang Mingxuan about the way Zhang Jiwei "spent money like water." Nevertheless, all these failed to arouse Zhang Mingxuan's serious attention.

Zhang Jiwei confessed that, in the past 2 years, he gave Zhang Mingxuan's family money and goods totaling 1,000 plus yuan.

Three days prior to the arrest of Zhang Jiwei, Zhang Mingxuan, passing through Harbin on a business trip, went to Zhang Jiwei's residence and had a secret conversation with his son. According to Zhang Jiwei's account, his father suggested that he refuse to admit any wrongdoing and that he transfer the 8,000 yuan of bribes; his father also endorsed the idea of shifting the blame on his accomplices.

That evening, Zhang Jiwei transferred a large amount of cash from his aunt's house and sent his wife to Yichun city to form a pact with an accomplice to shield each other.

According to Zhang Mingxuan, he was aware of the fact that Zhang Jiwei, through his father-in-law, once obtained by trickery 33,000 yuan in cash in Yichun city and that, in another instance, accepted 8,000 yuan in bribe.

However, this leading cadre of the municipal level who had worked for the revolution for more than three decades failed to report such serious matters to the organization before Zhang Jiwei's arrest.

When the principal leading comrades of the Yichun municipal party committee, on behalf of the provincial party committee, interviewed him, Zhang Mingxuan actually claimed that he "always struggled arduously" and "raised his children strictly."

After his suspension for investigation, Zhang Mingxuan refused to admit that he covered up for his son and that he concealed the facts. Only after repeated critical education by the leading comrades of the Yichun municipal party committee did he preliminarily admit giving the lumber orders to his son and the gist of their secret conversation.

According to investigation, 9 of the lumber orders used by Zhang Jiwei to obtain bribes, totaling 1,540 cubic meters, were made out by Zhang Chengguo. All the lumber in question was for the use of the enterprise itself.

According to the responsible person in charge of the lumber allocation and transfer of the city, the lumber for the use of the enterprise itself, as a rule, is not permitted to be sold to outside areas; any sale must go through the proper bureau by order of the vice mayor in charge, and thereafter is handled according to the proper procedure.

Nevertheless, Zhang Chengguo who joined the revolution in 1945 and worked successively in forest areas for more than a decade claimed that he "did not know that lumber for the use of the enterprise itself was not permitted to be shipped out." Without going through the proper vice mayor and bureau and section chiefs, he directly sent the orders to a staff member who then issued the allocation and transfer orders to Zhang Jiwei. It was highly irregular.

The sale of lumber for the use of the enterprise itself followed the unified pricing of lumber allocation and transfer in the state plan, which was 130 yuan per cubic meter (now abolished) cheaper than the stipulated price under negotiated sale and of superior quality. Therefore, it was hard to obtain and coveted by those engaged in reselling. With one of the allocation and transfer orders issued by Zhang Chengguo, involving 200 cubic meters of lumber for the use of the enterprise itself, Zhang Jiwei demanded a bribe of [illegible],000 yuan for the one order alone. Computed according to the average income per capita of staff-worker families in Yichun city, the amount is equivalent to the 1981 annual income of 32 persons.

Reportedly, the units concerned are continuing their investigations of Zhang Mingxuan and Zhang Chengguo.

Six other accomplices in the serious criminal case disrupting the economy have been arrested by local organs concerned according to law.

'RIBAO' Commentary on Case

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Continue to Intensify the Struggle"]

[Text] Last April, this paper published a report on the serious bribery and corruption case of Zhang Jiwei [1728 4949 0251] uncovered in Yichun city. It has now been discovered that the case implicates Zhang Mingxuan [1728 2494 6513], assistant secretary of the municipal party committee and vice mayor of Yichun city, and Zhang Chengguo [1728 2052 0948], standing committee member of the municipal party committee and vice mayor. The provincial party committee promptly took action and placed them under suspension for investigation, creating the condition for the thorough investigation and earnest handling of the case. It was another momentous breakthrough in the effort of Yichun city to crack down on serious criminal economic activities and a great encouragement to the broad cadres and masses taking part in the struggle.

The struggle against the degeneration and deterioration of Communist Party members and government personnel centering on serious criminal activities in the economic realm has been underway for more than 3 months throughout the province and great achievements have been made. However, in terms of the goal of struggle and the actual conditions in the various areas and various units of our province, the tasks hereafter remain long-term and arduous, calling for our relentless effort to make the struggle more thorough.

Judging from the Zhang Jiwei case investigated and handled by Yichun city, we feel that, to intensify the struggle, the key is in strictly investigating and handling, in accordance with the "Decision" of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, cases involving the personnel of government organs, especially the leading cadres. That the criminal activities of the insignificant Zhang Jiwei could be so serious and outrageous was mainly because those like Zhang Mingxuan and Zhang Chengguo served as his "behind-the-scene backers" and turned on the "green light." The large numbers of economic crimes uncovered in other areas and units have also proved that many major criminal economic cases often involve government personnel and some few party members who have "signaled their assent, given the word and rendered a hand." To thoroughly investigate the essentials of the major cases, issues involving government personnel must be clarified. It is so in terms of the needs of case handling, and it is even more so in terms of safeguarding the socialist economy and combating capitalist corruption. The economic lifeline and large assets of the state are in the hands of its personnel. Once some among them, hit by the bourgeois sugarcoated bullet, degenerate and deteriorate, and follow the road of crime, it will not only cause serious economic losses to the state and the people and disrupt the socialist economic order, but also damage the prestige of the party and the government among the masses and corrupt the party style and social mores. Therefore, the earnest investigation and handling of the criminals constitute a key link in making the struggle more thorough.

When continuing to intensify the struggle, the various areas and various units must examine and summarize the struggle of the previous period and solve the existing problems with a goal in mind. Some areas and units, for instance, have uncovered certain major cases, but the progress of their handling is very slow; in other areas, having encountered some resistance and difficulties in the process of case handling, the personnel feel discouraged, thereby affecting the progress of the work; still other areas have not launched the struggle even now, and the cadre masses lack confidence in the struggle; etc. Meanwhile, all areas should make full use of the uncovered cases as negative lessons and educate the party members and cadres against corruption. They must also examine and summarize the problems found in economic management, take prompt measures, strengthen and improve the operation and management systems and stop the loopholes. In short, all areas and all units must examine the deployment of the struggle in the previous period and clarify what items of work have been performed, what have not been performed, and how to perform the work earnestly and properly in the future.

The system whereby the leading cadres take sole responsibility for case handling introduced in many areas in our province is an important measure to promote the intensification of the struggle. Those areas which have not introduced it should do so, and those which have should continue to perfect it and clarify the requirements on the leading cadres. Some areas, for instance, have proposed that taking sole responsibility of the cases includes investigation and verification, recovery of money and goods, conclusion and disposal of the cases, etc. With clear requirements, the system will be concretized, thereby assuring the intensive and earnest deployment of the struggle.

6080
CSO: 4005/975

PARTY AND STATE

KEEPING REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE YOUNG FOREVER STRESSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Apr 82 p 8

[Article by Cui Yongsheng [1508 3057 3932]: "Let the Revolutionary Task Be Young Forever"]

[Text] When I was young, I read poems written by William Shakespeare on praising true friendship and love. I remember one of the poems saying that the merging of beautiful youth and pure love can maintain youth forever. Even when one is old, he can see his youth in his offspring. Recently, I read a column "Make the Revolutionary Cause Forever Young" (RENMIN RIBAO, 18 March 1982 p 4); the author Yang Zhilin [2799 2784 7207] wrote, "Everybody will be old one day. We are old but we cannot let the revolutionary cause age and deteriorate. We should have young comrades be in the leadership posts so the revolutionary cause will be young forever." I sensed that history has already passed by the old comrades. If one is not selfish, one's world is wide. Without the broadmindedness and farsightedness of the proletarian revolutionary, it is impossible to think of "Make the Revolutionary Cause Forever Young" and doing all one can to promote the cause. "Old Yang does not want an official post in the first place. Secondly, Yang does not seek his personal interests. Thirdly, Yang does not confine his interests to his immediate family. What he thinks about is always the people." Therefore, he thinks of not letting the revolutionary cause age like our biological age. With his actions, Yang exerts his efforts to further nurture and invigorate the cause, "Make the Revolutionary Cause Forever Young." Conversely, if "selfishness" covers his eyes, if he knows naught of the "Mt Tai" of the revolutionary cause, and if he changes the "three no's" into the "three do's" and always thinks of himself, then not only will he not act, it is likely that the very words "revolutionary cause" will not be granted access to his mind.

There is a song, "A Revolutionary Is Young Forever." This is true of the mental appearance of a real revolutionary. The old horse in the stable still has plenty of spirit left, with ambitions in the faraway lands [of the ambitions of the aged]. However, although morals and achievements are imperishable, how can an old man tirelessly travel over land and water? Anyway, bowing to the pressure of time, an elder's mental appearance is no match for youthful vigor. It is natural to incessantly seek talents to inherit the challenge of the national task. This is also the rule of development of revolutionary endeavor.

It is not wise for the elderly to disregard their advanced ages, but just simply handing down the power fails to achieve the goal of "Make the Revolutionary Cause Forever Young." The Party Central Committee demands that on-duty comrades consider the selection and training of younger replacements as their most important mission. Concerning this problem, the selected replacements must be trained, and the old comrades should assume the position of trainers to instruct their replacements. There are many teaching principles: First is the teaching of attitude, viewpoint, approach, work and style as Marxist-Leninist. In addition, the trainer should be selfless, with consistency of words and deeds, before he can train a good replacement. There are many approaches in teaching, but the most important is for the trainer to teach by personal example. Comrade Yang Zhilin is selfless, and considers the public interests as his first priority; he is ashamed that the peasants' standard of living has not been really enhanced. Notwithstanding his advanced age and multiple chronic illnesses, he visited the lowest level among the masses for investigation and study by presenting plans and programs. Yang is really a model of an old comrade.

"Make the Revolutionary Cause Forever Young" is not merely a task of one generation; this is an endeavor to be carried out by generations and generations. The state's working personnel should be revolutionized, intellectualized, and professionalized with timely training of younger replacements. This should be the firm concept of all the party, the armed forces and the nation; this should be prescribed in a system of regulations and rules. A journey of a thousand leagues begins with a single step. Now, old comrades, including Comrade Yang Zhilin, began their first step against the system of life-term posts. Yang is a model, since he gives people hope and strength. I praise Yang by paying respect to him as a member of the masses and by wishing to propagate Yang's ideal of letting the revolutionary cause be perpetually young in spirit.

10424
CSO: 4005/810

PARTY AND STATE

MINORITY CADRES IN XINJIANG TAKE UP LEADING POSTS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Apr 82 p 1

[Article by reporter Huang Wenfu [7806 2429 4395]: "A Number of Minority Cadres in Xinjiang Province Take Up Leading Posts--Most of Them Are Middle Aged and Youths and Some of Them Received Higher and Secondary Vocational Education"]

[Text] Since last year, 589 minority cadres were promoted in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region to leading posts in the levels of the autonomous region, prefecture, autonomous prefecture, municipality, county and departments (or bureaus). Among the minority cadres, 4 will occupy posts in the standing committee of the autonomous region party committee, while 110 move into the party and political leading posts of the prefecture, autonomous prefecture, municipality and county. The number of minority cadres promoted accounts for 68.75 percent of all leading posts in the party and political organs of the prefectures, autonomous prefectures, municipalities and counties. Most of these minority cadres are middle aged or youths in the prime of life. Some received higher education or secondary professional education.

In order to select and train minority cadres, during more than a year the Organization Department of the autonomous region party committee repeatedly dispatched work teams to listen to the views of the local population in order to understand the situation in various localities of the region. The standard of excellence both in morality and ability is stressed. According to the requirements of revolutionary spirit, youth and intellectual and professional ability, a group of minority cadres with ability, authority, ideological belief and firm support and strengthening of unity among the nationalities has been promoted to the leading posts. Now in 14 prefectures, autonomous prefectures and municipalities of the autonomous region, 2 nationality cadres move into the posts of secretary of the prefecture and autonomous prefecture party committees, and 13 minority cadres enter into the posts of commissioner, prefecture administrator and mayor. In 85 counties, 14 minority cadres are now in the posts of county party committee secretary; 76 nationality cadres are to serve as county administrators. In addition, 28 nationality cadres are going into the posts of department (or bureau) chiefs of the autonomous region.

The various levels of party committees of the autonomous region pay close attention to training minority cadres; their ideological level and work ability in Marxism are being elevated. Among the recently promoted minority cadres, some were sent

to study in various vocational schools. The various levels of party schools in the autonomous region also regard training of minority cadres as their main mission. After these minority cadres enter leading posts, they work actively to seriously carry out the party's minority policy to make positive efforts to promote Xinjiang's stability and unity, as well as strengthening the organization of various levels of leading posts. At the same time, among various levels of leading posts, the Chinese cadres also enthusiastically support the work of minority cadres.

10424
CSO: 4005/810

PARTY AND STATE

JILIN PROVINCIAL CCP COMMITTEE TO LAUNCH EDUCATION ON PARTY STYLE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Apr 82 p 5

[Article by reporter Zhang Kaixin [1728 7030 2946]: "Jilin Provincial Party Committee Decides To Launch Education on Party Character, Party Style and Party Discipline To Further and Thoroughly Carry Out the 'Guiding Principle' for a Significant, Better Turn of Party Style"]

[Text] Recently, the Jilin Provincial Party Committee decided to launch this year an educational movement on party character, party style and party discipline among all party members in the province.

Recently, the standing committee of the Jilin Provincial Party Committee convened an extended session to analyze the situations in various levels of party organs in the province and the ideological state of its mass party members. The participants in the session concluded that the various levels of party organs throughout the province and the mass party members had seriously carried out the party's line, direction and policy since the convening of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, as the party's excellent tradition and style were recovering. However, basically the party style has not changed for the better; in some places and departments the problem of incorrect party style is quite serious. The party character of some party members and cadres is not strong; they doubt the party's line, direction and policy. Some of them have contracted individualism in acting selfishly when doing anything. Some of them are not responsible during work, because they shy away from demanding tasks. Some of them do not rely on party organizations and disregard the stated principle; they only rely on personal relationships in dealing under the table. Some of them seek their private interests by using their authority and exploiting public interests for private gain. In addition, they have smuggled and sold products, corrupted others and accepted bribes, stole public property and engaged in other criminal activities. In order to significantly improve the party style, the Jilin Provincial Party Committee decided to launch an educational campaign on party character, party style and party discipline directed at all party members, and in addition formulated specific measures.

The provincial party committee demanded, first of all, thoroughly carrying out the Guiding Principle, and lecturing on the party's glorious tradition and excellent style to instill the good custom of considering the exploitation of the party's

excellent tradition as glorious and the evil style as shameful. At the same time, the party members and cadres are organized to focus on studying documents of "Decisions To Stress Party Character," Chairman Mao's "On Problems of Leadership Methods" and "Anti-liberalism."

The provincial committee demanded that the various departments and units should refer to the practice of seeking out reasons for the actions leading to the evil style in its manifestations and damage, by studying the party documents and raising ideological awareness. Starting by examining the evil style in the economic circles, problems of selfishness by using authority, exploitation of public interests for private gains, smuggling and selling products, corruption and acceptance of bribes have to be realistically solved. In addition, the influence of the capitalist style in the political ideology and the style of bureaucratic mentality and extreme individualism should be examined and corrected. The big cases that cause considerable damage and, in particular, involve responsible cadres should be seriously dealt with in order to learn from experience so that practical reform measures with appropriate rules, regulations and systems can be prescribed.

The Jilin Provincial Party Committee suggested that this time the educational activities and examination of evil style should start from leadership cadres and organizations. The provincial committee, the provincial government and the provincial departments should act as models to conduct, level by level, the inculcation of the party style. The various levels of party committees should stress the leadership of this work to combine the education of party style, correction of evil style and stressing of production.

10424
CSO: 4005/810

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON LENIN'S VIEW OF STATE ORGANS

HK310600 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jul 82 p 5

[Article by Shen Baoxiang [3088 1405 4382]: "We Must Properly Study the Question of State Organs--Reading Notes"]

[Text] In his last essay, Lenin pointed out that "we should work in real earnest to study the question of state organs." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 701) In pointing out this question, Lenin has greatly enlightened us. We are at present carrying out streamlining work. In order to do this great task well, from the point of view of ideology and knowledge, we cannot treat streamlining as an isolated matter, but must treat the construction of state organs as an important subject to be studied conscientiously.

On the question of state organs, Marx and Engels made major expositions in certain of their works. In quite a few of his essays, especially in the last few years of his life, Lenin profoundly studied this question and put forth a series of important principles and measures for streamlining and reforming Soviet state organs. It is doubtless of great significance to take another look at these expositions of the revolutionary teacher.

A New Problem Requiring Continuous Study

State organs are formed following the emergence of a state. They continuously change their nature and organizational format in accordance with changes in the nature of the state and the development of society, economics and culture.

In his work "Origins of the Family, Private Ownership System and the State," Engels, on expounding the process of the birth of a state, spoke on the formation of state organs. He pointed out that, compared with the clan system of primitive societies, one important characteristic of the state is its special creation of public power. In order to grasp and exercise this public power, specialist officials are needed. State organs are organs of public power made up of such officials. Engels further pointed out that, in primitive societies, man used simple work assignment methods and established certain bodies to protect his own interests. These organs were the servants of society at the time. After the emergence of the state, these

organs changed from being the tools for implementing the will of the people to being organs which ruled and oppressed the people, from being originally servants of society to being masters of society.

The first state organs were relatively simple. With the development of society and the escalation of class contradictions, state organs grew increasingly larger and more complicated day by day. In works such as "The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" and "The Civil War in France," Marx, taking France as an example, carried out a profound analysis of developments and changes in state organs. He pointed out that regimes, where state power was centralized and its organs spread all over the country, originated following periods of monarchical dictatorship and, after the bourgeoisie had been in power, they were made even more complete.

Political tools used to oppress the working class could not be used like political tools to liberate them. "The working class, once in power, could not go on managing with the old state machine." ("The Civil War In France," p 11) That is to say, they had to destroy the bourgeois military and bureaucratic machinery and replace it with a state machinery and management organizations of a proletarian, socialist republic.

In his book, "The State and Revolution," Lenin criticized the fantasy of utopians who thought that immediately after the proletarian revolution, it was possible to dispense with all management organs. He pointed out that new organizations had to be set up to give directions and perform management work. After the October revolution, the newly born Soviet regime set up its own state organs. However, due to the influence of old habits, its preoccupation with the civil war at the time and other objective reasons, it was unable to promptly study and solve the question of the setting up of state organs. Consequently, organizations were overstaffed, management fell into disorder and bureaucratism was rampant. These constituted serious obstacles to its restoring and developing the economy and doing a good job of various items of work.

In October 1922, in a speech given at the Fourth Standing Committee of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, ninth convocation, Lenin sternly pointed out that, as far as the question of state organs was concerned, "it is of special concern to me," "you should all be similarly concerned," and "it is an old question, but it is also always a new one." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 355) Lenin went to great lengths to point out that the question of reforming and improving state organs is not one which can be solved once and for all, but will always be a current one. Why? This is because state organs, being the political superstructure, apart from having to make corresponding changes in accordance with the development of class struggle and the political situation, are also restricted and influenced by economic conditions and the development level of culture. With the development of the economy and the enlargement of state functions, state organs must undergo a corresponding reform and readjustment. On the other hand, with the gradual raising of the people's cultural level, the masses will take greater and greater part in state management day by day. In order to adapt themselves to this situation, state organs must undergo

corresponding changes. Lenin said: "Every step forward and upward that we take in developing our productive forces and our culture must be accompanied by the work of finishing and altering our Soviet system." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 577) Without doubt, this includes reforming and improving state organs.

Since the founding of the PRC, our state organs have, following developments and changes in the situation and tasks, undergone many changes. In order to adapt to the needs of modernization, and in order to develop a socialist democratic system, we should continuously study the question of state organs and promptly carry out the necessary readjustments and reforms.

Basic Guiding Principles for Building Socialist State Organs

Certain important expositions of the revolutionary teachers should be understood by us to be basic guiding principles and demands for building state organs. Summed up, there are three main expositions in this area:

1. The state organs of socialist countries should be the "servants of society."

This is one of the most important principles. It makes clear the essential difference between socialist state organs and the state organs of all exploiting classes.

From a slave state to a feudal state and then to a bourgeois state, state organs have always held themselves to be masters of society. This has been a major characteristic of past states.

The Paris commune established truly democratic organs of state power. These organs were made up of workers or workers' representatives. They did not enjoy any privileges whatsoever, but devotedly served the people who were organized into the commune. Such organs were basically different from all state organs of the past. They were the "responsible servants of society." Engels was of the opinion that this was the major characteristic of state power in socialist republics.

Marx and Engels pointed out that we must prevent state organs from changing from being servants of society to being masters of society and that the crux lies in adopting effective measures and reliably preventing state functionaries from "seeking power and [passage garbled].
From the point of view of the state organs themselves, we must first do away with all privileges and secondly eliminate the various types of business expenditures incurred as a result of "work needs" but which in fact constitute special treatment. Lenin pointed out that "it must be made impossible for 'honorable' though profitless posts in the public service to be used as a springboard to highly lucrative posts in banks or joint-stock companies, as constantly happens in all the freest capitalist countries." ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 3 p 238) Experience has shown that opposing the use of power for private gain by state functionaries, opposing corrupt practices such as bribery and graft and preserving the

basic nature as servants of the people are major questions in the building of state organs in a socialist country and also constitute a long-term task.

2. State organs of a socialist state should truly be a "low-expenditure government."

Marx greatly praised the expenditure-saving measures of the Paris commune. He said: "The commune made the catchword of bourgeois revolutions--low-expenditure government--a reality, by destroying the two greatest sources of expenditures—the standing army and state functionarism." ("The Civil War in France," p 58) During the revolution, the bourgeoisie poignantly attacked the extravagance and wastage by feudal rulers and put forth the catchword of setting up a low-expenditure government. However, their government organs were not in fact second to the feudal, bureaucratic organs in expenditures and abundance, but vastly exceeded them. Marx profoundly pointed out: "It is precisely with the maintenance of that extensive state machine in its numerous ramifications that the material interests of the French bourgeoisie are interwoven in the closest fashion. Here it finds posts for its surplus population and makes up in the form of state salaries for what it cannot pocket in the form of profit, interest, rents, and honorariums." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, pp 641-642) This kind of government organ is in fact "a means of adding to the direct economic exploitation a second exploitation of the people." ("The Civil War in France" p 137) Today, this situation is even more prominent. Recently, a short holiday taken by U.S. President Reagan, which lasted only a few days, cost over U.S.$5 million. Even certain members of the bourgeoisie find such vast administrative expenditure quite intolerable. The "low-expenditure" government is a mere empty catchword with which to beguile the people. Lenin pointed out that "only the proletariat is capable of complying with this demand." ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 3, p 208)

Judging by the situation today, socialist countries must have a standing army and a considerable number of professional cadres. Expenditures in these two areas are inevitable. However, making great efforts to economize and to cut down on expenditures should become a guiding principle in the building of socialist state organs. Our government should be a truly honest government.

In studying the question of Soviet state organs, Lenin pointed out that "we must reduce our state organs to the utmost degree of economy. We must remove from them all traces of extravagance, of which so much has been left over from czarist Russia, from its bureaucratic capitalist organs." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 711) Among our state organs, traces of the extravagance of the old society's bureaucratic organs are also discernible everywhere. Some are quite serious. This is another major problem which we should conscientiously consider and solve when carrying out reforms on state organs.

3. The state organs of a socialist state should constitute a scientific and efficient organization.

On no account may a socialist state have state organs resembling bourgeois halls for idle talk. All administrative departments should be truly responsible organs. They are required to conscientiously study the questions of a system and organizational setup.

Lenin once conceived the idea of setting up, after the proletariat had seized political power, "management organs of a social nature," like the post office in capitalist states. The essential nature of this was to require the setting up of a work organ that was rational, scientific, and could guarantee high efficiency. After the October revolution, in the course of studying the question of the setting up of Soviet state organs, Lenin pointed out that socialism is the product of large-scale mechanized industry and that if state organs cannot "work in the way that large-scale mechanized industry should work, then there can be no question of introducing socialism." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 194) Therefore, he stressed the need to "streamline our organizations and improve our setup." Lenin referred to the overstaffing and low efficiency of the organizations. He pointed out that it was necessary to "do away with all organizations which are playthings of a semiaristocratic type" and "all organizations which we can do without for a long time to come and which we should do without." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 419)

State organs are like a complicated machine. How to set them up rationally, how to make them work properly and how to achieve high work efficiency constitute a scientific problem requiring conscientious study.

In short, servants of society, low-expenditure government and scientific efficiency are the principles we should abide by when setting up state organs.

State Organs Should Set Up Several Work Systems

Apart from streamlining our organizations, improving our setup, reducing the number of staff and cutting down on the number of personnel, Lenin paid much attention to the working systems of organs. He pointed out that it is necessary to closely consider the question of working systems. The working systems for organs put forth by Lenin consist mainly of the following:

1. Individual responsibility system. This is an important system. Lenin was of the opinion that "at the same time as carrying out collective discussions and decisions, we should resolutely implement an individual responsibility system." In order to clearly define the responsibilities that every person assuming Soviet duties had in relation to the performance of specific tasks and practical work, it was necessary not only to clearly delineate the work and responsibilities of every committee member and responsible person, but also to clearly lay down the responsibilities of personnel carrying out certain entrusted matters. Through this system,

they could thoroughly change the obscure nature of the responsibilities of work personnel in all organs, strengthen their sense of responsibility and initiative and eliminate any tendency to be dilatory and to shirk responsibility.

2. A system for handling official documents. In view of the fact that certain responsible cadres had reached the stage where they were issuing documents at random, talking abstractly about decrees and writing directives in any old fashion, thus drowning invigorating work in a voluminous sea of documents, and some smart idle elements deliberately created a "quagmire of documents," and some high-ranking officials were unconsciously "slipping their head into a hangman's noose," Lenin clearly pointed out that it was necessary to lay down norms for document work, to provide for the best method of handling documents, to enable leading cadres to extricate themselves from the confusion and from the web of discussions and document drafting and, at the same time, to avoid hastily formulated directives.

3. Inspection and supervision of the system. Lenin emphasized that the "inspection of the implementation situation and inspection of the actual effects of work" should become the focal point of the leaders' work. He pointed out that the two vice chairmen of the people's commissariat had to spend at least 2 hours a week "personally inspecting those various parts constituting the upper, medium and grassroots levels of the organizations which were multiformed and which one would have least expected to be inspected." In addition to inspections, "strict supervision" is also necessary. Lenin pointed out that the main task of the minor people's commissariats was to supervise the various people's commissariat ministries, so that they would abide by the law, not shirk their responsibilities, and to check whether their orders and actions were legal, suitable and prompt. The document drafted by Lenin concerning the management work of Soviet organs provided that every Soviet organ had to have a system of accommodating the masses on visits and to provide the masses with all convenient conditions, so as to more effectively expose evil people and evil deeds.

4. A system of reward and punishment. Lenin advocated that, among the Soviet organs, it was necessary to resolutely implement a system of reward and punishment. It was necessary to reward outstanding personnel who worked quickly and who had scored achievements in their work. On the other hand, it was necessary to deal sternly with those who were irresponsible, negligent or committed crimes. Communist Party members who failed to conscientiously study management work were to be dismissed and responsibility for neglect of duty had to be traced and such people punished regardless of rank. As for lawless elements, it was necessary to hand them over to the law courts for trial and severe punishment.

5. Examination system. While studying the reorganization of the workers and peasants inspection council, Lenin went to pains to point out this question. He called for the selection of those with a truly modern standard for work in the organs. Besides checking up on those accepted, it was also necessary, by having them submit to examinations, to see if they understood the basic theory of state organs, if they knew the principles for scientifically organizing labor in general and if they had basic knowledge of such things as administration and the handling of documents.

In considering what work systems should, in fact, be set up for state organs, we must proceed from our country's concrete conditions. However, all these systems put forth by Lenin are undoubtedly important and we should study and refer to them.

CSO: 4005/1146

'BA YI' ON PLA'S ANNIVERSARY, CHARACTER PRESERVATION

OW021120 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 31 Jul 82

[Text] The 1 August Army Day is at hand. On the 55th anniversary of the founding of the People's Revolutionary Armed Force, we salute the heroic PLA commanders and fighters, the older generation of revolutionary fighters who dedicated their youthful years to the people during the revolutionary wars, and the new generation of revolutionary fighters who dedicate their youthful years to the people for the modernization of the army.

From the day of its founding, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has maintained flesh-and-blood ties with the masses of the people. In the past 55 years, the PLA has made great contributions to the people's liberation and happiness, safeguarding the country's security and independence, and winning the people's love and respect.

Of course, we must also see that in order to usurp military power, undermine the PLA's prestige and discredit its leaders during the cultural revolution, Kang Sheng, the gang of four and company created the so-called Lin-Huang counterrevolutionary clique case. After the downfall of the gang of four, a certain person at the central level further exaggerated the false case created by Kang Sheng and the gang of four and organized a massive attack against principal PLA leaders. In the past few years, tens of thousands more PLA cadres have been purged under the pretext that the PLA participated in the "three support's and two military's" tasks. All this naturally has had a negative impact on the PLA and, to a certain extent, damaged the PLA's image and seriously weakened the unity between the army and the government and between the army and the people.

However, no one can deny the fact that, after all, our army has not been destroyed by a handful of conspirators and careerists. It has preserved its character as a people's army. At crucial junctures, it has always stood firmly on the side of the party and the people and defended the interests of the state and the people. This is obvious to all.

However, if it were not for the action of our PLA leading comrades who, supported by all PLA commanders and fighters, bravely stepped forward, took resolute measures and crushed the gang of four at one blow, nothing would have been the same today. It would have been impossible for the tens

of thousands of veteran party comrades, including Comrade Deng Xiaoping, to return and regain political power. Many of them would have met with the same fate as Comrades Liu Shaoqi, Peng Dehuai, He Long, Tao Zhu and so on.

It is regrettable that some persons at the central level have tried for a long time and in every possible way to prevent the PLA and its leading comrades from participating in the political activities of the party and state in an attempt to confine the army within the narrow circle of military camps and barracks. On the eve of the convocation of the 12th National CCP Congress, they are anxious to make the most of highly placed and prestigious veteran army comrades, particularly those who are currently members of the CCP Central Committee, the Political Bureau or the Standing Committee of the Military Commission, move to the second or third line, or simply retire so that the proportion of military representatives in the CCP Central Committee and the local party organizations can be reduced to a minimum. In doing so, they not only run counter to the revolutionary tradition of our party and army but also undermine our great national cause.

Since its founding, the PLA has been at once a fighting force, a working force and a propaganda force. Any attempt to change our army's character will be met with the resolute opposition of all PLA commanders and fighters.

On the army's founding anniversary, all PLA commanders and fighters are filled with the confidence to make outstanding contributions as did the older generation of revolutionary comrades and add new glory to the PLA tradition.

CSO: 4005/1146

PARTY AND STATE

YANG XIUFENG ADDRESSES LAW SOCIETY 22 JULY

HK280844 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jul 82 p 4

[Speech by Yang Xiufeng [2799 4423 1496] given 22 July at the inauguration meeting of the China Society of the Science of Law]

[Text] Precis: The China Society of the Science of Law is a national mass organization devoted to the study of law. The tasks of the society are: Uniting, under the leadership of the party, all jurists of the country to uphold the four basic principles, adhere to the party's guiding principles and policies, actively carry out juristic research activities, actively conduct domestic and international academic exchanges, contribute to the development of Marxist, socialist theories of law and of socialist democracy in China, and contribute to the perfection of the socialist legal system and to the building of socialist material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization. In carrying out juristic research activities, we must pay attention to conscientiously upholding the four basic principles, maintaining political unanimity with the party Central Committee, integrating theory with practice and strengthening investigations and studies. We must also implement the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend. [End of precis]

The inauguration meeting of the China Society of the Science of Law is held at a time when a new PRC constitution will soon be drawn up and when the building of our legal system has entered a new stage of development. The establishment of the China Society of the Science of Law is a great event on our country's political and legal front. The party Central Committee has shown great concern for this. Peng Zhen and Peng Chong, leading comrades of the central authorities; and other leading comrades of the political and legal front have spoken to us at this meeting. We are greatly inspired by these things. As an old soldier on the political and legal front, I am also very glad about these things.

According to the agenda of the inauguration meeting, the meeting will adopt the constitution of the China Society of the Science of Law, elect members of the council of the society, elect an honorary president of the society and proclaim the founding of the society. Following the founding of the Society of Law, the society will extensively unite all jurists of the country, actively carry out juristic research work, actively conduct domestic and international academic exchanges and certainly make due contributions

to the building of the socialist legal system and the study of socialist theories of law in our country.

The course of making preparations and arrangements for establishing the China Society of the Science of Law has already been reported by Comrade Wang Yifu [3769 0001 1133] at the preparatory meeting for the inauguration meeting. I am going to express my views on the work of the Society of the Science of Law.

If we review the history, we can see that the development of the socialist law in our country has advanced along a tortuous road.

Following the founding of the PRC, under the leadership of the party, we abolished the KMT's reactionary legitimacy, regarded Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as our guide, criticized the old legal viewpoint of the exploiting class, acted in close connection with our country's reality, initially established the socialist law of our country, organized a team devoted to the study of law and trained a group of qualified legal personnel. All these things played active roles in strengthening the socialist legal system, consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship and guaranteeing a successful building of our socialist revolution and construction. However, due to the erroneous "leftist" influence since the late 1950's, we failed to carry out normal development of the study of law. In particular, during the 10 years of civil strife, due to the sabotage activities carried out by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, the legal system was smashed, the science of law was trampled down, and the rights and wrongs concerning a series of important theories of law and the party's policy on political and legal work were confused.

The third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee was a great turning point of profound significance in the history of our party and our country. The third plenary session reestablished the Marxist ideological, political and organizational lines, formulated the strategic decision on shifting the focus of work to socialist modernization and put forward the historical tasks of developing socialist democracy and perfecting the socialist legal system. The "resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC" adopted by the sixth plenary session summed up historical experiences gained since the founding of PRC and completed the courses of setting to rights things concerning the party's guiding ideology which were thrown into disorder. Under the guidance of the party's lines, guiding principles and policies adopted since the third plenary session, some distorted and confused theories of law and some distorted and confused principles of the legal system have been gradually clarified, miscarriages of justice, trumped-up cases and misjudged cases concerning jurists have been redressed, and some problems left over by history have been equitably solved. On the basis of historical experience, the whole party and people throughout the country have become increasingly aware of the importance of strengthening the socialist legal system. With the strengthening of the building of the legal system in our country over the past 3 years and more, the study of law has been resumed and developed; many former jurists have returned to the profession they were trained for

and departments for the study of law have been given new [?impetus]; the colleges of political science disrupted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have resumed classes; many universities have established departments of law; many provinces and municipalities have established part-time colleges of law; preparations are being made for setting up the China University of Political Science and Law; there have been marked increases in the number of newspapers, periodicals, and books on the science of law and the legal system and there have also been marked increases in the number of translations of the work on the science of law and the legal system; jurists have actively participated in legislative and judicial work and have also actively participated in publicizing the legal system; some provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have respectively established societies of law and carried out juristic research activities; international academic exchanges regarding the study of law have been gradually promoted; and an unprecedented new atmosphere has emerged among the jurists of our country. However, we must admit that the current state of the legal system of our country is far from meeting the needs of the party and the people, and that the current state of the study of theories of law is far from meeting the needs of the building of the legal system. Compared with the requirements for building a powerful, modern socialist country with a high level of material civilization and a high level of spiritual civilization, our study of law has a long way to go.

The China Society of the Science of Law is a national mass organization devoted to the study of law. The tasks of the society are: Uniting, under the leadership of the party, all jurists throughout the country to uphold the four basic principles, adhere to the party's guiding principles and policies, actively carry out juristic research activities, actively conduct domestic and international academic exchanges, contribute to the development of Marxist, socialist theories of law and the development of socialist democracy in China, and contribute to the perfection of the socialist legal system and to the building of socialist material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization.

In accordance with the aforesaid tasks, I would like to make the following suggestions on activities of the Society of the Science of Law which can be discussed by all participants in this meeting.

1. Actively promoting our juristic research work through the integration of theory and practice should be the central task of this society. We must mobilize all forces within the juristic circles to carry out various forms of juristic research work actively, on our own initiative, in a planned way and in close connection with the actual conditions of the propaganda and educational work concerning legislation, administration of justice and the legal system in our country. The orientations of our research are: 1) Studying major theoretical and actual problems in the current building of the legal system and in the current judicial practice which require immediate solution. The "resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC" noted: "It is essential to consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship, improve the constitution and laws of our country and ensure their strict observance and

inviolability. We must turn the socialist legal system into a powerful instrument for protecting the rights of the people, ensuring order in production, work and life, punishing criminals and cracking down on the disruptive activities of class enemies. The kind of chaotic situation that surfaced in the 'cultural revolution' must never be allowed to happen again in any sphere." Our research work must first of all revolve around the tasks for the building of our socialist legal system. At present, people throughout the country are currently discussing the "draft of the revised constitution;" the civil law is currently being drawn up; and quite a few economic laws and regulations are also currently being drafted. With regard to those laws which have been promulgated and put into practice, we must sum up experiences in putting them into practice so as to perfect them. All these things demand that we play positive roles. 2) Studying the practical experiences in building our revolutionary legal system and making a theoretical summation of the experiences. Our party and country have gained a wealth of both positive and negative experiences in carrying out political and legal work. Quite a few of our practices in the legal system are imbued with successful creative experiences such as combining democracy with doctatorship, combining democracy with the legal system, combining punishment with leniency, carrying out the masses line under the leadership of the party committee, combining the work of special organs with reliance on the masses, reforming criminals into new people through labor and education, having the circuit courts conduct trials, handling cases on the spot, and settling disputes among the people through mediation. All these practices tally with our national conditions, have their own characteristics, and are very effective in real work. Moreover, international juristic circles are attaching greater importance to these good experiences. Our jurists are duty-bound to make a summation of these experiences with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and to systematize and theorize them in order to use them for guiding practical work. 3) Carrying out research on Marxist theories of law is the very important and indispensable capital construction for raising the theoretical level of our study of law and for perfecting the building of our legal system. Because our law researchers were suspended during the 10 years of upheaval, our law research is still a weak link and we must redouble our efforts to strengthen this weak link. 4) Studying historical theories and practices of law in China and foreign countries. We must not shut our eyes and stop up our ears. We must use the beneficial historical and foreign experiences for reference. In studying historical theories and practices of law in China and foreign countries, we must regard Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as a guide for our study, base ourselves on the current situation of our country, select the essence and discard the dross, "make the past serve the present" and "make foreign things serve China." We must not worship foreign things, restore ancient ways and copy mechanically in disregard of specific conditions.

2. Carrying out academic exchanges and exchange of friendly visits with juristic circles of other countries. There has been a gradual increase over the past few years in our contacts with juristic circles of other countries. The establishment of the China Society of the Science of Law will provide a new channel for our juristic circles to carry out academic exchanges and exchange of friendly visits with foreign juristic circles. In our contacts with international juristic circles, we must conscientiously

implement our country's line and policies on foreign relations, keep abreast of and study foreign legal systems and the situations of and developments in law research in foreign countries in close connection with the needs of the building of the legal system and the study of law in our country, and learn what is useful to our country. In our contacts with international juristic circles, we must also brief them actively and in a truth-seeking way on the socialist legal system, the situation of socialist law research in our country and our practical experiences in order to promote mutual understanding and friendship and our study of law. We must unite with jurists of all countries to jointly fight against imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism and racism, to safeguard world peace and to support the just struggles waged by the people of Third World countries and the progressive cause of mankind.

3. Promoting the work concerning editing, publishing and compiling juristic books and reference materials. At present, our country has made a good beginning in editing and publishing juristic works. However, the juristic periodicals, newspapers, professional journals and books we have published fall far short of meeting the needs of our juristic circles. We must make joint efforts to further carry out work in this field. Collecting and collating books and reference materials are the basis for conducting research work and must be urgently strengthened. We hope that through our joint efforts, we can gradually establish an organization with a rich collection of specialized books to serve our juristic circles.

4. Strengthening contacts and coordination between different juristic organizations. At present, more than half of all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in our country have respectively established their societies of the science of law, and some other areas are currently actively making preparations for establishing their societies of law. We have a common task: Strengthening work contacts and coordination among our organizations and strengthening our regular contacts with our members in meeting the common needs of our undertakings. After this inauguration meeting, we hope that we all can exchange information frequently about work plans and research activities and carry out academic exchanges and coordination in various forms. We always warmly welcome any proposals concerning work of this society and any support given to this society.

Of course, the aforesaid tasks do not comprise all the tasks of the Society of Law. I am not going to list other tasks of the society here.

In order to develop and promote our country's socialist jurisprudence, I would also like to talk about some issues which we should pay attention to during our juristic research activities. Please think them over.

First, conscientiously upholding the four basic principles and maintaining political unanimity with the party Central Committee. The four basic principles are the common political basis of the unity between the whole party and people throughout the country, the fundamental guarantee of our success in the cause of socialist modernization, and the fundamental guide for conducting juristic research work. There are all kinds of juristic

theories and schools of thought in this world. Our country is a socialist country under the people's democratic dictatorship, and the jurisprudence we want to establish and develop can only be a socialist jurisprudence. Therefore, our juristic research work must regard the four basic principles as their fundamental guide. This will be the fundamental guarantee of achieving a healthy development of our research work along the correct road. Otherwise, mistakes will be made. We must oppose and prevent any trends which deviate from the four basic principles, the political and economic situations and the party's tasks; we must oppose and prevent any trends which set laws against the party's guiding principles and policies, and set handling affairs according to law against the leadership of the party. We must not only continue eliminating the influence of the erroneous "leftist" ideas but must also pay attention to opposing ideas of bourgeois liberalization. Both the ideas of bourgeois liberalization and the erroneous "leftist" ideas endanger our socialist cause. We must wage a struggle on the two fronts, oppose "leftist" and rightest ideas when there are such ideas, seek truth from facts and enable our juristic research work to develop victoriously along the correct orientation.

Second, it is imperative to combine theory with practice and to strengthen investigations and studies. Combining theory with practice is a Marxist style of study and is our inviolable principle for the study of law. Any research on jurisprudence which loses contact with reality does not have vitality. Such research will be detrimental to the building of a powerful socialist modern country. We must face reality, make investigations and studies, closely integrate our research on jurisprudence with the legislative and judicial practices, and closely integrate our research on jurisprudence with the building of our socialist modernization. Comrades engaged in theoretical research work and comrades engaged in practical work must work in close coordination so as to learn from each other and to mutually make up their deficiencies. By doing so our research work will certainly achieve remarkable successes.

Third, implementing the policy on letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend. With regard to academic research, there should be free contention among different schools of thought so that comparisons and appraisals can be made. By doing so we can draw on collective wisdom, absorb all useful ideas and pool the efforts of everyone. We must conscientiously implement the "double hundred" policy so as to further enliven the atmosphere of our research and exploration. Of course, the implementation of the "double hundred" policy must not be set against upholding the four basic principles and must regard the upholding of the four basic principles as its prerequisite. The implementation of the "double hundred" policy is also in line with the correct criticism and self-criticism within academic circles. The theories of law are closely related with the party's policies and the state'slegal system. With regard to those policies and laws which have been decided by the party and the state, if a person holds differing views, he may continue to hold his differing views but must take action to resolutely implement the policies and laws. No one is allowed to publicly state his views or publish his articles which contradict the party's policies and the state laws. Debating about academic issues and issues that are being discussed in the course of the legislation is allowed and encouraged. However, in conducting such a

debate, one must present the facts and reason things out; convince people by reasoning, uphold practice as the only criterion for testing truth, hold firmly to the truth and correct mistakes. Only by doing so can we avoid discussing academic issues in an oversimplified and blind way and can we benefit from the development and promotion of our socialist jurisprudence. Comrades. Building the socialist material and spiritual civilizations is a very great cause of the people of our country. Our juristic front undertakes arduous and glorious tasks. I hope that after working hard for a period of time, more outstanding Marxist jurists will emerge in our country and a powerful juristic theoretical team will be established. Of course, we old people will continue to do what we can during our remaining years. However, the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak. Our middle-aged comrades are the main force of our ranks and are charged with the important task of carrying forward the cause and forging ahead into the future; our young comrades are our future. I hope that our middle-aged and young comrades will have lofty ambitions, cherish high aspirations, rally closely around the party Central Committee, work with one heart and one mind, inspire enthusiasm, and exert themselves in the struggle for scoring achievements in developing our socialist jurisprudence, which will be commended by later generations.

CSO: 4005/1146

LECTURES ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

Twelfth Lecture

OW240212 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0037 GMT 21 Jul 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 21 Jul (XINHUA)--Twelfth lecture on the draft revised constitution: "The Position and Role of the Individual Economy of Urban and Rural Workers as Stipulated in the Draft Revised Constitution."

The draft has made some new stipulations on the position and role of the individual economy of urban and rural workers and pointed out that the individual economy is a complement to the socialist sector of the economy owned by the public. These new stipulations are in complete accord with the present actual conditions of our country.

Judging from the present status of China's economic development, the existence and development of the individual economy of the working people is very beneficial. The individual economy is conducive to production development. It will increase the wealth of society and individual workers' income, activate the urban and rural economy, promote rural trade fairs and markets, provide a convenience for the masses, create job opportunities for the people and further stability and unity in the society. It will help restore the manufacturing of traditional handicraft art products and food products with local characteristics. It will make the people's life richer and more colorful.

For a considerably long period, the individual economy of the working people cannot be replaced by the economy of the system of ownership by the whole people or the system of ownership by the collectives. The individual economy will continue to exist and develop.

The draft of the revised constitution affirmed that the individual economy is a complement to the socialist sector of the economy owned by the public and that the state will protect its legitimate rights and interests.

Because of the influence of "leftist" erroneous ideology in the past, various places considered the economy of individual workers as a capitalist economy and used the method of "cutting off the vestiges of capitalism" to limit and eliminate the individual economy of the working people. This ran counter to the level of productivity of our society and our country's actual situation. It was totally wrong.

Thirteenth Lecture

OW271323 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0215 GMT 23 Jul 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 23 Jul (XINHUA)--Thirteenth lecture on the draft revised constitution: "The Stipulations Contained in the Draft Revised Constitution on Protection of Public Property and Individuals' Lawful Property."

Socialist public property denotes the property owned by the whole people and the property collectively owned by the masses of working people. It is the material source which constantly prospers our socialist state and raises the standard of the people's material and cultural life. It provides a material guarantee for the privileges and freedom enjoyed by the Chinese people. Therefore, the protection of socialist public property is an important question concerning the consolidation and development of the system of socialist public ownership, the safeguarding of socialist achievements and the upholding of the socialist road. It is precisely proceeding from this viewpoint that the draft revised constitution contains an article which explicitly stipulates that socialist public property shall be sacred and inviolable.

In order to emphasize the protection of public property, the draft revised constitution contains the following stipulations: "Ensures the rational use of land, forests, waters and other natural resources," and "all organizations and individuals are prohibited from seizing or damaging, by any method, any state or collective property or any mineral resources, waters, forests, grasslands or other natural resources, at sea and on land."

These stipulations are formulated because the chaos in those 10 years caused serious damage to public property, particularly to land, forests, grasslands and water resources, and created great losses for the country and the people.

While stipulating the protection of socialist public property, the draft revised constitution also stipulates the protection of the right of citizens to own lawful property. The lawful property owned by individual citizens primarily denotes the rewards received by the citizens of China for their participation in social labor. The rewards include the wages for workers and cadres, the income received by peasants based on the workpoints they have earned in the collective, the income received by urban collective workers for their work, the income from private plots of agricultural and hilly land farmed by peasants for personal needs, the income from peasants' family sideline undertakings, the income from livestock kept by peasants for personal needs, the income of individual working people [individual craftsmen and traders], the peasants' tools and farm implements for their own use and the bamboo, trees and fruit trees grown by peasants around their houses.

The article which states that "the state protects the right of citizens to own lawfully-earned income, savings, houses and other lawful property" contained in the draft revised constitution is different from Article 9 of the 1978 constitution, which stipulates "the state protects the right

of citizens to own lawfully earned income, savings, houses and other means of livelihood." The term "lawful property" used in the draft revised constitution includes both the means of livelihood and the means of production. In other words, the state protects whatever is lawfully obtained. Therefore, this stipulation is in consideration of the reality, particularly considering the fact that a small quantity of means of production is possessed by the peasants.

The draft revised constitution has restored the article on the right to inherit contained in the 1954 constitution. The article stipulates: "The state protects, according to provisions of the law, the right of citizens to inherit private property." Citizens have the right to use, possess and dispose of their property according to law because the state protects the right of citizens to own lawful property. Therefore, the right to own property and the right to inherit property are closely related. It is entirely necessary to restore this article in the draft revised constitution.

Fourteenth Lecture

OW291121 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0730 GMT 25 Jul 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 25 Jul (XINHUA)--Fourteenth lecture on the draft revised constitution: "How Does the Draft Revised Constitution Define the Relationship Between Planned Economy and Market Regulation?"

Article 17 of the draft revised constitution defines the relationship between planned economy and market regulation. This is a new stipulation contained in the draft revised constitution concerning China's economic system and is a development of the 1978 constitution.

China is a socialist nation. Its means of production are controlled by a system of socialist public ownership. Its production is aimed at gradually improving the people's material and cultural standards and at building socialism. China must develop socialist economy that is planned, and it is possible for China to do so. This is a basic feature showing that socialist economy differs from capitalist economy. To develop planned economy, it is necessary to formulate a plan for the national economy and for social development. Only with such a plan can we mobilize and organize all the people in the country to work hard to fulfill the targets specified by this plan and gradually develop productive forces and build socialism. Article 17 of the draft revised constitution stipulates: "The state plans the national economy on the basis of socialist public ownership." This serves to reaffirm the special feature and superiority of China's socialist economy.

While developing planned economy, it is necessary to correctly understand and handle the relationship between planned economy and market regulation so as to give full play to the supplementary role of market regulation. In formulating plans for the national economy and social development, the state must take into consideration and make use of the law of value.

Efforts must be made to combine the centralized and unified leadership of the state with the enthusiasm of enterprises and bring into full play the role of planned economy and the supplementary role of market regulation so as to further enliven and develop China's economy.

As mentioned before, planned economy is a special feature of socialist economy. In its economic activity, the state must give full play to the superiority of socialist planned economy. It must implement the policy of making unified plans by giving due consideration for all concerned and taking the whole country into account. At the same time, it is necessary to make proper arrangements to correctly handle the relationship between planned economy and market regulation while persistently promoting planned economy. Doing a good job in handling this relationship is aimed at developing the national economy in a proportionate and well coordinated manner. Planned economy should be given top priority. This guideline is unshakable. It is precisely for this reason that Article 17 of the draft revised constitution again stipulates: "All organizations and individuals are prohibited from disrupting, by any means whatsoever, the orderly functioning of the socialist economy or of the economic plans of the state."

Fifteenth Lecture

OW291051 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0051 GMT 28 Jul 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 28 Jul (XINHUA)--Fifteenth lecture on the draft revised constitution: "The Position and Role of Intellectuals as Defined by the Draft Revised Constitution."

Article 21 of the draft revised constitution deals specifically with the question of intellectuals, pointing out that the state, in a planned way, trains intellectuals who service socialism, increases their number and gives full scope to their role in socialist modernization. This provision of the draft revised constitution marks a tremendous improvement in the corresponding provisions in past constitutions, and is of very great significance.

In his explanations on the draft revised constitution, Comrade Peng Zhen pointed out: "Because the overwhelming majority of our intellectuals have become a part of the working class and there are many intellectuals among the peasants, the alliance of workers and peasants includes intellectuals."

What can we see in Article 21 of the draft revised constitution: First, our country is now engaged in socialist modernization and needs to train intellectuals in a planned way. This means that the state attaches importance to the training of intellectuals. Second, it is necessary to increase the number of intellectuals. Third, it is necessary to give full scope to the role of intellectuals in socialist modernization. For a long time, due to the influence of "left" thinking, intellectuals had a low social status. Their work was not given the attention it deserved. Therefore, their role was not given full play. Since the third plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the influence of "left" thinking, which looked

down on intellectuals, has been gradually eliminated, and the position and role of intellectuals have been greatly elevated. However, the problem has not been completely solved. Therefore, we may say that the draft revised constitution is right to put special stress on training intellectuals, increasing their number and giving full scope to the role of existing intellectuals.

Sixteenth Lecture

OW021152 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0035 GMT 30 Jul 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 30 Jul (XINHUA)--Sixteenth lecture on the draft revised constitution: "All Citizens Are Equal Before the Law."

The draft revised constitution has restored a number of articles on the rights and duties of citizens in the 1954 constitution, stipulating that "all citizens of the People's Republic of China are equal before the law." This stipulation of the draft revised constitution is extremely important. It means that every citizen in our country equally enjoys the rights prescribed by the constitution and the law, and, at the same time, has the equal duty of abiding by the constitution and the law.

China's first constitution in 1954 explicitly stipulated that citizens of the People's Republic of China are equal before the law.

The fact that all citizens are equal before the law is also an important socialist democratic principle. The constitution of the bourgeoisie has also flaunted the banner that all the people are equal before the law; however, as far as the entire capitalist exploitation system and the bourgeois state political power are concerned, what it seeks to protect are the special privileges of a few capitalists. The broad masses of working people actually have no right to enjoy this privilege. Under the socialist system, the broad masses of people in China have extricated themselves from exploitation and oppression, and enjoyed extensive socialist democratic rights and freedom in all spheres of political, personal, economic, cultural, social and domestic life. At the same time, following the continuous development of the socialist cause, the people in China will be able to better enjoy such rights. Therefore, this stipulation of the draft revised constitution will be of great significance in giving full play to socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist legal system.

Article 73 of the draft revised constitution stipulates: "No deputy to the National People's Congress may be arrested or placed on trial without the consent of the Presidium of the current session of the National People's Congress or, when the National People's Congress is not in session, the consent of its Standing Committee." A contradiction does not exist between this immunity given to NPC deputies by the draft revised constitution and the principle that all citizens are equal before the law.

The draft revised constitution has provided NPC deputies with such an immunity because it seeks to ensure that they will play their role as

deputies to the National People's Congress even better. At the same time, it has spelled out the duties of the NPC deputies. They should maintain close contact with the units which elect them and with the people, listen to and report the opinions and demands of the people and help enforce the constitution and the law. Therefore, we must correctly understand the meaning of the stipulation that all citizens are equal before the law.

Seventeenth Lecture

OW030530 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0125 GMT 1 Aug 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 1 Aug (XINHUA)--Seventeenth lecture on the draft revised constitution: "The Rights of Citizens Are Inseparable From Their Duties."

An important part of the stipulations of the draft revised constitution on the fundamental rights and duties of citizens is that it is clearly stated that "the rights of citizens are inseparable from their duties" and that this provision is made a constitutional principle running through the chapter of "The Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens."

Firstly, it is stipulated that citizens' rights are protected by the constitution and law, and that at the same time citizens have the duty not to abuse their rights. For example, the draft revised constitution on the one hand stipulates that citizens have the right to make criticisms of and proposals to any state organ and any functionary therein, that the personal rights of citizens are to be effectively protected and that the personal dignity of citizens is inviolable. On the other hand, it stipulates that when exercising their freedoms and rights, citizens must not infringe upon the interests of the state, of society and of the collective, or upon the lawful freedoms and rights of other citizens.

Citizens enjoy the rights prescribed by the constitution and law and at the same time must fulfill their duties as prescribed by the constitution and law. This is another important stipulation. In our country, citizens' rights are in keeping with their duties. No one will only fulfill duties but enjoy no rights; and no one will only enjoy rights but fulfill no duties.

The draft revised constitution has also changed the past constitutions' provision that "citizens have the right to work" into "citizens have the right and obligation to work," and "citizens have the right to receive education" into "citizens have the right and obligation to receive education." These stipulations are absolutely necessary for safeguarding citizens' right to work and to receive education, raising the working people's scientific and cultural level and insuring success in achieving a high level of material and cultural development under socialism.

In short, the stipulation in the draft revised constitution that the rights of citizens are inseparable from their duties embodies the integration of socialist democracy with the socialist legal system and embodies the superiority of socialism. It is of very great significance for arousing the socialist enthusiasm of the masses of the people and safeguarding and accelerating the successful development of socialist modernization.

Eighteenth Lecture

OW030609 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0105 GMT 3 Aug 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 3 Aug (XINHUA)--Eighteenth lecture on the draft revised constitution: "Political Rights and Freedoms of Citizens."

The citizens' political rights and freedoms are an important part of their fundamental rights and are the prerequisites to their participation in political life and bringing into play their initiative and creativeness. Therefore, the constitution of a country must seriously consider how to stipulate citizens' political rights and freedoms.

The citizens' political rights and freedoms stipulated in the draft revised constitution fall primarily into two categories. One is the right to vote and stand for election. The other is the freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, procession and demonstration. According to the statistics of the 1981 general election, the voters accounted for more than 99.9 percent of citizens above the age of 18. This shows the comprehensiveness of socialist democracy in China.

The constitution guarantees the freedom of speech, assembly and association for the citizens and enables the broad masses of people to exercise freedom to express their views on important state affairs, their concern about the political situation and their appeals and asprations. This is a concrete manifestation of true democracy in our country's political life, as well as a concrete expression of the superiority of the socialist system. However, when we exercise political rights and freedoms, we should know that the rights of citizens are inseparable from their duties. Every citizen enjoys the rights prescribed by the constitution and the law and at the same time has the duty to abide by the constitution and the law. It is precisely for this reason that the draft revised constitution stipulates that "when exercising their freedoms and rights, citizens of the People's Republic of China must not infringe upon the interests of the state, of society and of the collective, or upon the lawful freedoms and rights of other citizens."

The draft revised constitution does not stipulate citizens' freedom to strike. The omission is in conformity with China's actual situation. To strike is a means employed by the proletariat to struggle against the bourgeoisie. Our country is a socialist country, of which the working people are the masters. To deal with state personnel's bureaucracy or violations of law, the working people, as the masters of the country, may take normal actions through close connections of various forms between the government organizations at various levels and the broad masses of people. It is unnecessary for them to strike.

CSO: 4005/1146

BRIEFS

REDUCED SENTENCE FOR JIANG QING--At a recent meeting of the CCP Central Committee's Political Bureau, Comrade Deng Xiaoping asked the supreme court to reduce the death sentence on Jiang Qing to 14 years in prison counting from the day when she was arrested. He gave the reasons as following: First, Jiang Qing is wife of Chairman Mao. Second, a poisonous snake with its teeth extracted is harmless. Third, execution of Jiang Qing under the present political situation could cause unnecessary commotion. [Text] [OW251251 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 24 Jul 82]

CSO: 4005/1146

ON STRUGGLE AGAINST BOURGEOIS LIBERALISM

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 6, 1982 pp 71-73

[Article by Huai Ping [2037 0393]: "On Hu Qiaomu's [5170 0829 2606] 'Some Problems on the Current Ideological Front'"]

[Text] In the spring of 1981, after the CCP Central Committee published Document Number 7, namely, "Decision on Current Policy on News Broadcast and Propaganda by Newspapers and Periodicals," and announced the necessity to criticize and combat the bourgeois liberal tendency, CCP leaders Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang made statements on the subject. The most complete and most concise was the speech entitled "Some Problems on the Current Ideological Front" (hereinafter referred to as "Some Problems") given by the secretary of the CCP Central Secretariat on 8 August 1981 at the forum on issues on the ideological front called by the Central Propaganda Department. The full text, appearing in HONGQI, Number 23, 1 December 1981, and its supplements and revisions, appearing under the title "On Bourgeois Liberalism and Others" in HONGQI, Number 8, 16 April 1982, together serve as the political study material of China's mainland populace. In the study movement, the literary and artistic workers are naturally the first to bear the brunt. To demonstrate the point, the most recent issue (Number 5) of WENYI BAO published the author's latest revision. (Actually, it combines the two Hu articles in HONGQI mentioned above). The author wrote the following foreword: "This speech has been published several times. Before each publication, the author made certain revisions and supplements. Now, when it is again to be published by WENYI BAO and as a monograph by the People's Publishing House, the author has made some additional revisions and supplements. Therefore, there are many differences between the present version and the first published text."

According to information from Beijing, the publication of the article "possesses a crucial guiding significance in people's further understanding and study of the present situation on the ideological front." That the CCP still propagandizes the republication of the article so vigorously 9 months after the speech was given indicates that the movement against

bourgeois liberalism will continue. Therefore, there is the necessity to explore the article. The following are my comments after reading it.

Is "Rightism" the Main Current Today?

What is Hu's interpretation of today's ideological reality? He declares: "Indeed, from the Third Plenary Session to the Sixth, the Party Central Committee stressed the rectification of the 'leftwing' guiding ideology. The bulletin of the Sixth Plenary Session pointed out that the meeting this time had completed the historical task of bringing order out of chaos in the party's guiding ideology, i.e., it had completed the task of rectifying the 'leftwing' mistakes in the party's guiding ideology." Therefore, the main issue today is "the bourgeois liberal tendency in society (and in the party to a certain extent) in violation of the four basic principles." In addition, "many comrades and many organizations fail to exert themselves in combating the erroneous tendency, and a state of laxity and weakness exists."

This view is completely incompatible with the reality within the CCP and in society. I feel that, in the past few years, the CCP has been fairly thorough in rectifying the leftwing mistakes in the economic aspect, but in ideology, especially in literature, the "leftwing" poison is very deep, and has the tendency of aggravating. After the Third Plenary Session in late 1978, a large number of works exposing the dark aspect in China's social reality emerged. It was only after a tremendous effort and much prompting on the part of the CCP authorities after the downfall of the "gang of four" that the writers, scared out of their wits by the many movements in some 30 years, became bold enough to tell the truth and voice the grievances of millions. In face of this situation, the CCP leaders, suffering from "leftwing phobia," began to dish out "the theory of social effect" early in 1980, completely reneging Deng Xiaoping's promise at the Fourth Congress of Literary and Artistic Delegates in November 1979. Deng Xiaoping said at the congress: "The complex mental labor of literature requires that the writer develop his individual creative spirit. When to write and how to write can only be explored and gradually solved by the writer in his artistic practice. In this respect, there should be no flagrant interference." After 1981, the CCP pressed even harder to denounce and combat bourgeois liberalism, and criticized a large number of works, including "Ardent Love," "General, Cleanse Yourself Thoroughly," "A Ghost Wanders the Great Land of China," "Ah, Man!" and "Miaoqing." If the situation develops, it appears that the works which were once praised for consolidating the pragmatist regime will run into misfortune. There were the following instances: "General, You Must Not Do This" and "the Legend of Tianyunshan" were denounced by certain individuals (see WENYI BAO, No 4, 1982); those like Huang Gang [7806 6921], on the occasion of commemorating the Tiananmen incident, attacked scar literature in SHIDAI DI BAOGAO [REPORT ON THE TIMES], Number 1, 1982; in Number 2 of the same periodical, he wrote in "Statement of This Publication" concerning a collection of articles under the topic of restudying "Talk at the Yanan Literature Forum:" "In the 16 years since the 'Great Cultural Revolution,' the 'Talk' also encountered distortion or tampering

from the 'left' or the right. By ultra-leftwing means, the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques turned the people's literature serving the workers, peasants and soldiers into a literature furthering their conspiracy to usurp the party and seize power. After the downfall of the 'gang of four,' some people considered the 'Talk' restrictions to be broken down. As a result, they could not but fall into the quagmire of bourgeois liberalism." We can thus see that the ultra-leftwing remnants equate the literature since the Third Plenary Session exposing the dark side of society with the "gang of four's" conspiracy literature. Actually, their denunciation of the "gang of four" is merely a pretext, for the purpose of attacking scar literature. If these hatchet men triumph, we can predict the fate of the writers who have a sense of justice and appeal for the people!

On China's mainland, the ultra-leftwing influence, from the central to the local government, has not been eradicated. The campaign against bourgeois liberalism is actually the result of its pressure. If my readers are not convinced, please take a look at Hu's statement in "Some Problems:" "Failing to combat the bourgeois liberal ideological trend is equivalent to providing ammunition to the diehards stubbornly adhering to the 'leftwing' guiding ideology. 'Look, anything and everything has emerged. They are all the good deeds of the Third Plenary Session!' They will thereby incite people to oppose the Party Central Committee since the Third Plenary Session." Actually, there has been no incidents in Communist China's literary circles in recent years, and everything is extremely normal. If not criticized, few would have paid attention to "Ardent Love." That the ultra-leftists criticized it was for the purpose of demonstrating against the "pragmatists." Why should Deng and Hu permit them to pull the strings? Is it proper for the open and aboveboard politicians to let the writers (with the many supporters behind each writer of this type) who once enthusiastically endorsed them to be attacked?

In fact, the campaign against bourgeois liberalism has encouraged the ultra-leftwing influence in its outrages. The WENYI BAO article criticizing "the Legend of Tianyunshan" was actually written under Deng Xiaoping's indirect encouragement. At the forum on the issues on the ideological front, Deng said: "The convener of the Wulumuqi literature association meeting in Xinjiang was Ding Yishi [0002 0001 4258]. A while ago he freely aired his views, and many of his words far surpassed the 1957 rightwing level.... Let us recapitulate our historical experiences: The 1957 anti-rightist movement was magnified. The magnification was wrong, but there was a necessity to combat rightism at that time. We all remember the arrogance of rightism at that time. Today, some people are arrogant." Yuan Kang's [5913 1660] and Xiao Wen's [2556 2429] "a Film in Violation of Truthfulness--Criticism of 'the Legend of Tianyunshan'" proceeds precisely from this standpoint, denouncing it for slandering the anti-rightist struggle of the CCP, and charging that the exposure of the despicable act of Wu Yao, a leading party cadre (to marry Song Wei, he condemned her boyfriend Luo Qun as a rightist), is a total negation of the party's work since 1957, and that it converts people's hatred for Wu

Yao into dissatisfaction with the party organization. They and certain individuals likewise believe the "anti-rightist" struggle absolutely necessary. I feel that this view is a brazen falsehood. We only have to see the rehabilitation of more than 95 percent of the rightists in the various units of the CCP to be convinced of this point. It is contemptible for the politicians, instead of repenting, to cover up and explain away the crimes committed by them.

Is the Policy on Literature Consistent?

When making the speech, Hu must have sensed the contradiction between anti-bourgeois liberalism and the anti-"leftwing" guiding ideology of the Third Plenary Session. Therefore, he dished out the so-called consistency of the CCP policy on literature to defend himself. "Since the Third Plenary Session," he declared, "the party's guiding principle has been consistent, and its policies on literature, culture, learning and intellectuals are also consistent."

How should the issue be regarded? In terms of the published words of the CCP leaders, their views have always been consistent, because, steady and well organized, they resort to dialectics, discussing the "left" and discussing the "right;" therefore, one cannot find any flaw from whichever angle. In terms of the literature policy of "a hundred flowers blossoming and a hundred schools of thought contending," Mao Zedong, on the one hand, said: "The different forms and styles in art may develop freely; the different schools in science may argue freely.... The issues of right and wrong in art and science should be solved by free discussion in the artistic and scientific circles and through artistic and scientific practices, not by oversimplified methods." Yet, on the other hand, he declared: "We should criticize all kinds and types of incorrect ideas. Failing to criticize them, watching them spread everywhere and permitting them to take over the market are naturally out of the question. Mistakes must be criticized; poison weeds must be combated." (See "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, pp 388, 392 for above citations). These words should be just as consistent as the views in "Several Problems," but Mao's thinking on the necessity to combat poison weeds subsequently became the club against the "monsters and demons" during the Great Cultural Revolution. As a result, the "free argument," "free discussion" and "solution through practice" became meaningless. Therefore, the determination of whether the CCP leaders' words and their literature policy are consistent is not by their words, but by their acts.

"Several Problems" cites the views of the CCP leaders since the Third Plenary Session in 1979, with the intention of proving that they have never forgotten to combat rightism. Actually, after the downfall of the "gang of four" until the Third Plenary Session and a little thereafter, they always struggled against "leftism," for otherwise the victory of the "lack of virtue" faction in the dispute between "extolling virtue" and "lack of virtue" in March and April 1979 would have become incomprehensible. The current struggle against "rightism," i.e., bourgeois liberalism,

violates the spirit of the Third Plenary Session; it is an act of eating one's own bitter fruit. I find the following interpretation rather more rational: In the past, the CCP needed people to struggle against "leftism" to consolidate its own power. Now that its power has been fairly consolidated, it feels that the demand for "freedom" and "democracy" and the dissatisfaction with bureaucratic privileges may possibly rock its throne of power and are more terrifying than "leftism;" therefore, it must use "leftism" to counter "rightism," the democratic influence. It is determined by the essence of the CCP. If one should hold any wild hopes, one would be absolutely mistaken. Certain writers in China such as Wang X, etc. have been able to master this principle, both exposing and extolling appropriately (stressing extolling), thereby gaining advantages from both sides, resulting in promotions and continuous trips abroad. Others such as Liu Binyan [0491 6333 7159] who feel that honor permits no turning back in exposing and assailing the dark side of Communist China have been blocked time and again from their trips abroad, unable to proceed. As for Ye Wenfu [5509 2429 4395] and Wang Ruowang [3769 5387 2598] who have absolutely refused to make self-criticisms, one may assume their future forfeit. Thus, Zhao Xun's [6392 1416] article on "the Consistency of the Party's Principle and Policy on Literature" in WENYI BAO, Number 1, 1982, echoing Hu Qiaomu, can only illustrate the wretchedness of faddish writers!

An Act Most Disappointing to the People

In the more than 3 decades since the founding of the Communist Chinese nation, the basic tune of the innumerable storms, from "Criticism of the 'Biography of Wuxun'" to the current "anti-bourgeois liberalism," has always been "anti-rightism." People have become very bored with it, a fact which can be illustrated by the lack of response in the criticism process. But one may assume that there are many opposing it. According to the editorial note to "on Bourgeois Liberalism and Others," "after the publication of this article (referring to 'Several Problems'), we have received some useful opinions and suggestions from the readers in the discussions. Based on them, Comrade Hu Qiaomu has made some revisions and supplements." The opinions and suggestions are bound to include many dissents. If they can be published, it will be a great help to understanding the essence of Hu's speech. I hope that the CCP will, in the future, publish the dissenting views as well as the articles of the supporters. But then, will it be encouraging bourgeois liberalism, since the speech was written in accordance with the view of the highest level of the CCP and since there can only be approval, but no freedom of opposition?

6080
CSO: 4005/983 END

JPRS 81600

20 August 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 328

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81600

20 August 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 328

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Moscow's Proposal To Halt Weapon Deployment Discussed
(Zhang Gengchen; SHIJIE ZHISHI, No 8, 1982) 1

Recent Soviet-Iranian Relations Reviewed
(Yuan Jizhi; SHIJIE ZHISHI, No 8, 1982) 4

New Situation, Impact of Iranian-Iraqi War Noted
(Chen Jichang; RENMIN RIBAO, 4 Jun 82) 8

Israeli Actions in Lebanon Condemned
(Yu Kaiyuan; RENMIN RIBAO, 10 Jun 82) 10

Report, Comment on Israeli Activities on West Bank
(Yuan Yin; SHIJIE ZHISHI, No 10, 1982) 12

Article Reviews Dutch Cabinet Crisis
(Ma Weimin; RENMIN RIBAO, 5 Jun 82) 15

Socialist, Social Democratic Movement in Europe Discussed
(Xu Zongshi, Zhuang Jianming; GUOJI WENTI YANJIU, Apr 82) ... 18

PARTY AND STATE

Striving To Improve Party Work Style
(LIAONING RIBAO, 19 May 82; ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 18, 20 May 82) .. 26

'Remain Untainted'
Retaliation Against Informers, by Dai Shanliang, Ma Shubao
Opposition to Acts of Vengeance
Contradicting, Obeying Superiors, by Zhu Qian

Need To Purify Party Ranks Emphasized
(Hou Zhikui; HEBEI RIBAO, 18 Jun 82) 33

Corruption, Principles of 'Taking Class Struggle as Key Link'
(Sun Xinhua, Lei Yun; ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 18 May 82) 35

Soviet Experience in Struggle Against Bureaucratism Spotlighted
(Liu Zhi; SHAANXI SHIDA XUEBAO, No 2, Spring 82) 38

Class Struggle in Economic Field Described
(Liu Jie, He Wenzhuang; SHANXI RIBAO, 16 Jun 82) 48

Model Workers Awards Meeting Held in Jiangsu
(XINHUA RIBAO, 12, 16 Jun 82) 51

Meeting Opens, by Zhang Xun
Editorial Comment
Meeting Closes
Governor Hui Yuyu's Speech

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

On Plunging Into the Thick of Life
(Zheng Bonong; RENMIN RIBAO, 23 May 82) 61

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MOSCOW'S PROPOSAL TO HALT WEAPON DEPLOYMENT DISCUSSED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI (WORLD KNOWLEDGE) in Chinese No 8, 1982 pp 2-3

[Article by Zhang Gengchen [1728 1649 5691]: "Moscow's New Proposal"]

[Text] Not long ago, at the 17th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions, Brezhnev proclaimed that the Soviet Union would unilaterally put a temporary halt to the deployment of medium-range nuclear weaponry in Europe. The Soviet Union's propaganda machine was immediately set into motion and boasted that this proposal was "an excellent example of disarmament" and was "an important contribution to the peace movement." Actually, if we thoroughly analyze the substance of the present situation and the Soviet Union's proposal it is not difficult to see that it is a Soviet peace offensive wherein they make concessions to gain advantage: at the same time, it is a reflection of the weak nature of Soviet hegemonism.

Prior to the mid-1970's, the Soviet Union stressed that their conventional force superiority in Europe was offset by the nuclear force superiority of the United States in Europe and that NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization formed a certain balance of power. However, the western territories of the Soviet Union are under the threat of the United States' "advance base system" which it cannot accept. Therefore, the Soviet Union has stepped up its development of strategic weapons and will quickly overtake the United States. In 1977, the Soviet Union began to deploy the new SS-20 medium-range guided missiles in its European territories toward Western Europe. This type of guided missile has three separately guided nuclear warheads, it has a long range, its percentage of hits is high and thus it places the United States' nuclear system as well as the British and French nuclear force in immediate danger. At present, the Soviet Union has already deployed 300 SS-20 guided missiles which when fired just once can destroy nearly all of the NATO military targets. Thus, in the strategic nuclear balance between the United States and the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union is in the strategically key region of Europe has gained nuclear superiority. This fundamentally shakes NATO's "flexible reaction" stretegy because this strategy is built on the basis of Western nuclear superiority and the mutual deterrent to the first use of nuclear weapons. While NATO was criticizing the Soviet Union for destroying parity in Europe, in December of 1979, they decided to deploy 572 American medium-range ballistic missiles in Europe. Although the United States claimed time and again that even though NATO deployed more than 500 guided missiles they could still not recover

"parity" because the Soviet Union had a 6:1 superiority in medium-range nuclear weapons. Yet, in reality, if the NATO resolution was completely implemented the United States would obtain nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union. This is because Soviet medium-range guided missiles cannot reach the United States but the American medium-range guided missiles can reach the Soviet Union. In this way, when the United States and the Soviet Union have an approximately equal number of intercontinental nuclear weapons, this is tantamount to the United States adding nearly 600 "strategic weapons." This is the reason why the United States insists on the deployment of medium-range guided missiles in Europe and why the Soviet Union desperately opposes it. Since 1979, the fight for nuclear superiority between the United States and the Soviet Union has become progressively tense in Europe. Moreover, the use of the peace offensive to split American-European relations was a very deliberate move by the Kremlin to destroy NATO's guided missile plans.

It is well known that within the Atlantic Alliance there is a divergence between Europe and the United States on the question of the deployment of medium-range guided missiles. Simply put, the United States places the deployment of the guided missiles before everything else, while Europe takes negotiations with the Soviet Union on limiting medium-range guided missiles in Europe by both sides as the most pressing matter. In addition, with the antiwar peace movement in Western European nations on the rise it is still not certain whether or not NATO's guided missile plans will be implemented. Given these circumstances, the Soviet Union's declaration of a temporary halt to deployment was without a doubt a resolute challenge to the United States. If Washington follows the example of the Soviet Union this is tantamount to freezing the situation with the Soviet Union having superiority; if Washington refuses this can cause greater dissatisfaction and opposition from its Western allies as well as the peace movement thus making NATO's deployment plans even more difficult to realize. Therefore, from the strategic point of view and its intrinsic qualities, Moscow's new proposal is not "an excellent example of establishing disarmament" but is a peace offensive wherein they make concessions in order to gain advantage.

However, from another angle, the struggle for nuclear superiority between the Soviet Union and the United States is not smooth sailing. Aside from the Europeans and people from nations throughout the world recognizing more clearly the Soviet Union's false disarmament and actual military expansion, there also exists serious difficulties and tremendous hazards before them. Moscow's new attitude is a reflection of its weak position.

Firstly, the future of the arms race is bumpy and the outcome is difficult to predict. The deadline is the end of 1983 and if the negotiations now being held in Geneva regarding disarmament in the central part of Europe are not able to reach an agreement, the United States will want to deploy Pershing II guided missiles and cruise missiles with a guarantee by Prime Minister Schmidt that West Germany will take the major burden for the deployment. As soon as the American medium-range guided missiles are deployed, the Soviet Union will

then be placed in a difficult position: either accept it or strike back. If the Soviet Union deploys SS-20 guided missiles to a region close to the United States (for example, in the Cuba region), this will very possibly touch off an international crisis. Therefore, the best plan for the Soviet Union is to consider all means which would cause NATO's plans for deployment to fall through. To attain this goal, it is also worthwhile to make small concessions. Moscow's new proposal reflects precisely the Kremlin's concern and anxiety.

Secondly, the enormous military spending has become a heavy burden on the economy of the Soviet Union. According to Western statistics, military spending takes up 13-15 percent of the Soviet Union's gross national product. Such a high proportion is rarely seen in peacetime. Brezhnev also recognizes that military spending "naturally demands an expenditure which cannot be reduced and which causes our plans for building peace to be lost." Recently, there have been repeatedly poor harvests in the Soviet Union and carrying the heavy burden of Afghanistan, Poland, Vietnam and Cuba, it has already reached a level in the deployment of guided missiles where the Soviet economy requires a temporary halt in the arms race.

Finally, various contradictions and differences within the Soviet Union's leading circles are also reflected in questions concerning nuclear arms policies. When we carefully read Brezhnev's remarks on the relation between military spending and the building of the economy we find that they are quite like a summary of an internal debate. The focus of the debate is how to handle the relation of the arms race and the building of the economy. According to foreign telegrams, Brezhnev's plan of "wanting guided missiles and also wanting butter" can actually not be realized with the result of "wanting guided missiles and not wanting butter." This has caused unrest within the leadership and dissatisfaction among the Soviet people so that the general secretary himself has to carry out appeasement. Moscow's new proposal was produced upon this type of domestic background.

Even though this be the case, if the Soviet Union does not change its hegemonistic policies it will still vie with the United States for nuclear superiority. It will also be unable to wake up and escape disaster at the last moment in the arms race.

9480
CSO: 4005/960

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

RECENT SOVIET-IRANIAN RELATIONS REVIEWED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI (WORLD KNOWLEDGE) in Chinese No 8, 1982 pp 3-4

[Article by Yuan Jizhi [0337 0679 0037]: "New Developments in Soviet-Iranian Relations"]

[Text] Recently, foreign newspapers and periodicals have successively reported new changes in Soviet-Iranian relations in recent peace talks. What changes have there actually been in these relations?

Firstly, the political and diplomatic climate between these two nations has relaxed. In the past, while the leaders of Iran's Government denounced the United States they also denounced the Soviet Union calling both nations "Satans" and "demonic superpowers." After the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, the Iranian Government even mentioned that "the peril from the north" is "the most dangerous." Recently, however, criticism of the Soviet Union by the Iranian Government has decreased and friendly speeches have increased. The present prime minister, Musavi-Khamen-i, has said: "We do not see any hostility from the Soviet Union." The minister of foreign affairs, Velayati, indicated that the development of Soviet-Iranian relations "will have no limitations." At the same time, there has been an increase in the number of Iranian Government officials and delegations which have visited the Soviet Union. The number of Soviet diplomatic personnel in Iran has also continually increased and they have become the largest foreign embassy in Iran.

In 1979, when Iran declared the abolishment of the American-Iranian mutual defense agreement, they also abolished articles 5 and 6 of the 1921 Iranian-Soviet treaty (to mutually agree not to allow organizational or individual activity in one's own territory with the aim of opposing the other side. The Soviet Union had the right to send troops into Iranian territory when it felt there was a danger). After this, when the Soviet Union mentioned that the Iranian-Soviet treaty was still effective, the Iranian Government made repeated refutations. Now, Iran is no longer making rebukes as it had done in the past.

Secondly, Iran's economy and trade relations are gradually picking up. Around the time of the Iranian revolution, most of the items of aid from the Soviet Union to Iran were cut off. Afterwards, they were successively restored. In

February of this year, these two nations signed a new agreement for economic cooperation with new items added. There are now over 150 items of aid. There were originally only about 700 Soviet technicians remaining in Iran but now this number has increased to more than 2,000. Foreign publications report that "Russians are beginning to occupy administrative and technical positions in Iran's power stations, ports, railroads, iron and steel industry and oil refineries. The Soviet-Iranian volume of trade has risen from $900 million in 1978 to $1.1 billion last year. Iran's export of oil to the Soviet Union has also been restored and last year the volume was 2.2 million tons of crude oil. Negotiations between Iran and the Soviet Union on the question of resuming exports of natural gas to the Soviet Union are being held. The quantity of goods transported from the Soviet Union to Iran has also increased and it is estimated that last year this quantity accounted for one-third of Iran's total commodity imports.

Third, the military relations between the two nations have been strengthened without official disclosure. Speaker of the Majlis Rafsanjani of Iran indicated that Iran plans to gradually replace American-made weapons with Soviet-made weapons. Foreign telegrams report: the Soviet Union has continuously supplied weapons to both sides of the Iranian-Iraqi war; military advisors from the Soviet Union have infiltrated Iran's Army and the Islamic Revolutionary Guard. TASS has also reported that "nearly 1,000 military advisors have visited Iran." Foreign telegrams have also reported that the Soviet Union has already sent KGB personnel to help set up an intelligence mechanism to train secret police and secret service personnel.

Why is it that these changes can occur in Soviet-Iranian relations?

From the Iranian side, although its foreign policy boasts of "not wanting the East or the West," yet due to historical and practical reasons, Iran actually views the United States as the archenemy and main object of attack. This anti-Americanism has given a political basis to the development of relations between the Soviet Union and Iran. Furthermore, the relations between other Western nations and Iran are in a state of indifference and stagnation and the relations between many Arab and Islamic nations and Iran are also poor. Therefore, Iran is relatively isolated diplomatically and it very much desires to change this situation.

Economically, there is an embargo by the West toward Iran. The heavy burden of the Iranian-Iraqi war, the drop in production and financial difficulties have forced Iran to seek a way out by turning to the Soviet Union. Originally, 80 percent of Iran's industrial raw materials and parts depended on Western supplies. Because of the embargo and the fact that a large number of foreign and Iranian experts left Iran, factory utilization is one one-third. Iran must seek these supplies from the Soviet Union and East European nations. After the Iranian-Iraqi war caused Iran's southern ports to close, Iran increased its use of land transportation from the Soviet Union for foreign trade. Iran has a shortage of foreign currency and they have been forced to develop barter trade. Iran's trade with the Soviet Union and East Europe of bartering oil for goods has also quickly developed.

From the Soviet Union's side, because of Iran's strategic location and the advantageous conditions of the proximity of the Soviet Union and Iran, Iran has always been one of the set objectives of the Soviet Union's southern strategy. According to foreign analyses, the Soviet Union thinks that "gradual takeover is more advantegeous to the Soviet Union than a direct military occupation." Therefore, since the Iranian revolution, the Soviet Union has been quietly waiting for an opportunity to arrive. Now they think the opportunity has arrived. In March of this year, PRAVDA said with a complacent tone that "the tremendous objective possibility of developing Soviet-Iranian relations should be realized at this time."

Due to mutual need, Soviet-Iranian relations will possibly further develop in the future. However, relations between these two nations are restrained by a series of factors and its development will also have certain limitations.

First, the Soviet Union is deploying 24 divisions of troops on the Soviet-Iranian border and Iran has always been vigilant about the danger of Soviet subversion.

Foreign opinions consider that the Soviet Union is doubtful as to the stability of the present Iranian regime. They have fixed their eyes on the future. "They maintain official channels between governments," "think of ways to obtain the most obtainable maximum benefit at present," "but do not abandon other means whether direct or indirect, whether open or secret." "They maintain relations with the various forces and groups which are of possible future use." Aside from the accomplishments of the ruling power (the Islamic Republican Party), the Soviet Union maintains a prudent attitude or "avoids criticizing" or "suggests sympathy" toward antigovernment organizations such as the [People's Holy Fighters] and the Kurdistan Democratic Party. The Soviet Union maintains a contradiction between Iran's minorities such as the Kurds, Azerbaijani, Turkmen, Baluchis and the Khuzistan Arabs, and the central government. The Soviets wait for opportunities to use them and also secretly provide weapons and aid to antigovernment organizations among these minorities. The Soviet Union intensifies, fosters and expands the power of the Iranian [People's Party] which is close to the Soviet Union and uses them to infiltrate the government mechanism and to support inner party and antigovernment organizations. To sum up, the Soviet Union "maintains various choices."

The Khomeini government cannot but be on guard in regard to all of this. Although they have now improved relations with the Soviet Union, they still stress maintaining Iranian independence and sovereignty as well as "not becoming a dependency of a superpower." Iran's minister of foreign affairs said: "We (with the Soviet Union) have built economic and commercial relations yet this does not signify that we endorse the Soviet Union's policies throughout the world." Historically, Russia has invaded Iran many times and has carved out spheres of influence in Iran. The Iranian people are not well disposed toward a new tsar. These are all obstacles to Soviet ambitions.

Second, there is a great contradiction between the Soviet Union and Iran on the Afghanistan problem. After the Soviet Union sent troops to Afghanistan, Iran was deeply concerned about the danger to itself and denounced the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan as an imperialist action. Iran did not recognize the puppet government of Karmal and supported Afghanistan's resistance movement.

Third, to date, Iran still maintains a great deal of economic connections with the West. This is something the Soviet Union cannot completely replace. According to materials published by the Iranian Government, before the revolution Iran imported 81 percent of its total imports from the West, now 66 percent, and trade with the Soviet Union and East European nations does not count for 9.5 percent of Iran's total trade. Economically, Iran cannot lean toward the Soviet Union.

Furthermore, according to reports, there are varying views within Iran's ruling clique concerning the problem of developing relations with the Soviet Union. Some people see the development of relations with the Soviet Union as an expedient plan for relieving present difficulties; some think that this is a tact to strengthen Iran's position when dealing with the West; some think that even if the Iranians stress the principle of "separating politics and economics," the present development of Sino-Iranian relations will make it advantageous for the Soviet Union to make further infiltrations which will cause future trouble and anxiety, and thus Iran should be careful in handling matters.

To sum up, Soviet-Iranian relations are delicate and even though there are areas of mutual benefit there are also contradictions which are not easily eliminated. Iran's tendency will directly affect the Middle East situation and the global struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union. This cannot but draw international attention.

9480
CSO: 4005/961

NEW SITUATION, IMPACT OF IRANIAN-IRAQI WAR NOTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jun 82 p 7

[Article by Chen Jichang (7115 4480 2490): "The New Situation in the Iranian-Iraqi War and Its Impact"]

[Text] On 24 May, the Iranian armed forces recaptured the strategic city of Khorramshahr in Khuzistan Province with the result that the war between Iran and Iraq, which has continued for one year and eight months, has entered a "crucial" stage.

At present, except for a narrow zone along the western border, Iran has basically recaptured all of the land that it lost and has restored its borders to their state before the war. How will the war develop? Will Iran be able to cross the border and take the war into Iraq's territory? Is there any possibility that there will be a turn for the better in their conduct and that the two sides can cease fighting and make peace? These are questions to which everyone is giving close attention at present.

Recently, the leaders of Iran and the official media have clearly stated that Iran wants the present Iraq regime to step out of power as the condition for bringing the war between Iran and Iraq to a conclusion. On 27 May, the Supreme State Committee of Iran held a meeting, after which the speaker of the Majlis, Rafsanjani, said at a meeting at Tehran that Iran "can never stop on this side of the border and not merely ask that the other side make compensation for the war." Shirazi, the chief of staff of the Iranian Army, said in a speech: "Iran will soon put into effect its plans for stopping the Iraqi army from shelling Iranian cities from within Iraq territory." At the same time, several Iranian newspapers openly advocated that Iran send troops to Iraq. On the basis of this, a number of Western observers believe that Iranian propaganda "implies" that the Iranian army may cross the border and invade Iraq. However, there is a number of other Western observers who believe that Iran has considered the fact that sending troops into Iraq would have serious consequences at the international level and that Iran may be willing to accept mediation starting from the present favorable situation.

The expansion of the battlefield situation has led to great repercussion among the Arab states. The gulf states feel particularly worried and anxious. They are

worried that the westward shift in the battlefront may further affect the stability and safety of the gulf region. If Iran takes advantage of their military victory to export her Islamic revolution, this will bring about even greater stress and anxiety within these nations. Therefore, the gulf states hope that there will be an early conclusion to the war between Iran and Iraq. On 15 May, the foreign ministers of the six gulf states held an emergency meeting. Following the meeting, Foreign Minister al-Faysal of Saudi Arabia visited Syria and Algeria. According to a report, Al-Faysal asked Syria and Algeria, which maintain friendly relations with Iran, to persuade Iran to "adopt an attitude of restraint" and to enter into negotiations to resolve the dispute between the two countries. On 30 and 31 May, the foreign ministers of the six gulf states held another emergency meeting to discuss the current situation in the war between Iran and Iraq, to coordinate the positions of their six nations and to appeal to Iran to accept a cease-fire proposal. According to a most recent report by a Western news agency, the gulf states, which have already provided Iraq with about $US 20 billion in aid and loans, are willing to give Iran $US 25 billion as an encouragement to Iran to bring the war to an end.

The situation in the gulf and the need for safetv have prompted the gulf states to again seek to establish friendly relations with Egypt. However, the unaligned Arab states oppose reconciliation with Egypt at the present time. On 24 May, the foreign ministers of the unaligned states held a conference in Algeria which they stated that they would support Iran's "friendly revolution," that they wanted to "frustrate the aim of the attempt to restore relations with Egypt" and they opposed intervention in the Iran-Iraq war by the Arab states. However, according to the report, the unaligned states do not advocate that Iran cross their border with Iraq. At an interview with Western reporters, the vice minister of foreign affairs of Syria stated that if Iran invaded Iraq Syria might discontinue its support of Iran.

The new situation in the Iran-Iraq war also drew the close attention of the two superpowers. An official spokesman for the United States stated that the United States would not allow the conflict between Iran and Iraq or any great nation threaten the safety of the gulf and the interests of the United States in the gulf. The Soviet Union, for its part, has a "treaty of friendly relations" with Iraq and has expanded its trade cooperation with Iran during the course of the Iran-Iraq war. The Soviet Union has continuously engaged in quiet behind-the-scenes activities in the attempt to have both sides come to it and thus to cause the situation to develop in a way that would facilitate intervention on the part of the Soviet Union.

At present, the United Nations Organization of Islamic States and the Organization of Nonaligned States have stated that they will resume their activities in mediating in the Iran-Iraq war. The Chairman of the Islamic Good Offices Committee, Ahmad Sekou Toure, has written letters to the leaders of Iran and Iraq stating that he is willing to renew his efforts to mediate the conflict between the two countries. The secretary general of the Organization of Islamic Conferences, Chatti, has also conducted a series of shuttle visits between the two countries. How the Iran-Iraq war will develop is a question worthy of our further observation.

10019
CSO: 4005/953

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ISRAELI ACTIONS IN LEBANON CONDEMNED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jun 82 p 7

[Article by Yu Kaiyuan (0827 7030 0337): "Israel Thoroughly Reveals Its Expansionist Ambition"]

[Text] On 4 June, the government authorities of Israel conducted a savage bombing of Beirut, wounding or killing more than 600 innocent citizens. Two days later, the Israel government conducted a massive sea, land and air invasion of southern Lebanon. The Begin government on the one hand claimed that the objective of this action was to see to it that the northern border of Israel "would be far beyond the range of Palestinian arterillery fire" and to drive the Palestinian armed forces "40 kilometers" beyond the border of Israel. On the other hand, it also stated that it "does not have any expansionist ambitions" against Lebanon and that Israel "respects" the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

At present, the invading Israeli army has not only trampled the entire southern part of Lebanon underfoot but it has also approached the suburbs of Beirut, which is at a distance of more than 80 kilometers from the northern border of Israel. In addition, they have continued in their advance toward the northern region of Lebanon. It can be seen that the statements by the Israeli government of so-called "limited action" and "respect" for sovereignty are nothing but lies for the purpose of covering up their aggressive and expansionist actions.

What then are the intentions of the Israeli government? According to a statement by a leading Israeli quoted by Radio Israel, Israel cannot accept the resolution of the Security Council and that the invading army would "remain" in Lebanon until the "political solution" that Israel wants has been realized. The essence of Israel's so-called "political solution" is that the Syrian army leave Lebanon, that the Palestinian armed forces not return to southern Lebanon and that a "free zone" under the control of United Nations troops be established within an area 40 kilometers to the north of Israel's border. This is in actuality an attempt to extend the territory of Israel into southern Lebanon by means of long-term occupation.

It is Begin's calculation that, by using up the effective strength of the Palestinian forces in a massive amounts, he can force the Palestinians to "reside as

guests" in northern Lebanon and to accept negotiations for Palestinian autonomy. As the result, the Palestinian revolution would be eliminated. This would pave the way for future formal annexation of the West Bank of the Jordan River and of the Gaza Strip by Israel.

It is not by chance that Israel chose this time to launch a large-scale invasion of Lebanon. After Egypt had completely recovered the Sinai, the Arab states and international public opinion wanted a formal solution of the Middle East problem and the call for restoration of the legal rights of the Palestinian people grew louder day by day. However, there are still differences of opinion among the Arab states on such problems as dealing with the Iran-Iraq war and restoration of relations with Egypt. Israel knew that there was an opportunity of which it could take advantage and launched this large-scale military invasion in the hope of creating a new fait accompli and of forcing the Arab states to give in.

However, history has its own laws of development. The Palestinian revolution will never be stamped out by Israel's military force and the Palestinians will never accept loss of their "sovereignty" over half of their country. Prime Minister al-Wazzani of Lebanon has justly refuted the logic of Israel's invasion and has stated that he has resolved to mobilize all of his forces to attack the invaders. If the Israeli Government stubbornly maintains its position of expansionism and invasion, this can only lead to even more intense opposition by the peoples of the entire world.

10019
CSO: 4005/953

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REPORT, COMMENT ON ISRAELI ACTIVITIES ON WEST BANK

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 10 pp 5-6

[Article by Yuan Yin [5913 0995]: "Israel's Annexation of Jordan's West Bank"]

[Text] Under domestic and foreign coercion, Israel finally gave back the Sinai Peninsula. In contrast to this are Israel's actions on Jordan's West Bank. When they were still signing the Camp David accords, Israel expansionists determined not to allow the West Bank to be part of the agrument on Sinai. From that time on, the Israeli authorities deliberately intensified their plans to annex the West Bank. This past winter and spring continued incidents occurred resulting in frequent unrest on the West Bank. The unrest climaxed during the last 10 days of March of this year. To oppose Israel's colonial and annexation policies the inhabitants of the cities and towns on the West Bank held strikes, shopkeepers' strikes and demonstrations. The Israeli authorities dispatched military police and brutally put down the strikes and demonstrations. In the last half of March alone, seven Palestinians were killed and many people were injured. The Israeli atrocities were strongly condemned by the entire world.

There has been continual unrest on the West Bank which indicates the struggle against oppression and annexation by the inhabitants of the West Bank. It is also the inevitable result brought on by Israeli's reactionary policies.

The West Bank is an area of 5,900 square kilometers with a population of about 800,000. It was originally part of Jordan. After World War I it was mandated to Great Britain. In 1947, the United Nations proposed the "Resolution for the Separate Rule of Palestine" and set up the West Bank as an Arab nation. In 1948, after the first Middle East war, it was controlled by Jordan. For almost 15 years, since the third Middle East war in 1967, the West Bank has been occupied by Israel. The Israeli authorities have consistently pursued a colonial policy there. They have made preparations to formally annex territory, determined to make the West Bank a component part of "Greater Israel." What are the major measures they have adopted?

1. While having a large number of people migrate to the West Bank they have also wantonly driven the Arabs out of the area trying their best to make the West Bank Jewish. When former Israeli Prime Minister Meir was in power, she had said that "Jewish people must occupy the West Bank and settle there

forever. This can be an area with only a minimum of Arabs." All previous Israeli governments have carried out this policy. Early immigrant settlements which were set up in the Jordan River valley wilderness and high mountain areas were paramilitary outposts. After Begin assumed power migration was accelerated. Settlements were established around the Arab cities and towns; this was actually designed to split up and encircle the Arab regions. Before Begin was in office there were only 32 immigrant settlements but now this has increased to more than 80. There are already over 20,000 immigrants and there are also plans to establish 46 more immigrant settlements on the West Bank, partly with Israeli is who withdrew from the Sinai. The Begin Government has also constructed roads and set up public water and electric facilities in the settlements so that these locations will be joined to Israel itself. When Sharon was minister of agriculture he said: In order to preclude the establishment of a Palestinian state on the West Bank it is only necessary to build settlements there."

On the other hand, the Israeli authorities have used various means to drive the Arabs out. For example, requisition and confiscation of land, destruction of houses, destruction of crops and forced removal. According to statistics, 17,000 Palestinians are driven out of their West Bank homes annually. The Palestinians who remain in the West Bank suffer political and economic oppression.

2. Military rule has been changed to "civil administration" and this has further intensified the persecution of Palestinian leaders on the West Bank. For more than 10 years, Israel has implemented military rule on the West Bank. Last August, Minister of Defense Sharon proposed a "new policy,' to replace the military authorities with a "civil government." the goal of changing the means of rule is to lure a portion of the Palestinian into participating in the "self-rule" mechanism worked out by Israel so as to divide the Palestinian ranks. The leader of the "civil government" is a military official without military dress. In the past Meyerson, the first commanding officer of the "civil government" was an advisor to the military yet he also had the titles of "professor of Arab literature" and "expert on Arab problems." He took office last November. As the saying goes "when a new official takes office three fires are started" and so he immediately set about purging and reorganizing the city and town committees of the West Bank which were popularly elected in 1967. There were originally 30 cities and towns on the West Bank and about half of their major leaders supported the PLO politically, while a small number had close ties with Jordan. All of them refused to cooperate with the "civil government." There were very few who were willing to cooperate with the "civil government." The "civil government" implemented an "iron hand" policy. On 18 March of this year, Meyerson ordered that the municipal committee of Bilei on the West Bank be dissolved and reappointed military officials to take over. Further, the mayoral positions of Shak'ah, [Natshah] and [the mayor of Ramallah] were rescinded and also possibly 20 mayors were recalled. This large dissolving of municipal committees was the first of its kind in 15 years. Minister of Defense Sharon said: "This is the first major battle since establishing Israel in 1948."

3. They organized "village alliances" to draw in the farmers so that they would cooperate with the "civil government" as well as to resist and weaken the influence of the PLO. Sixty-five percent of the population on the West

Bank are farmers. To counter the influence of the PLO and Jordan on the farmers, the Israeli authorities decided to establish the "village alliances" in 1979. To try to win support the Israeli authorities gave the farmers petty favors such as providing payments for goods, improving communications and transportation conditions and starting irrigation facilties. To date, 5 "village alliances" have been set up and the largest is allegedly supported by 74 villages. After Meyerson took office he not only provided the Jewish settlements with money and guns but also actively promoted the "village alliances," organized farmer self-defense forces and enlarged the power of the "village alliances."

The series of measures for the West Bank by the Begin government were enacted to gradually annex the West Bank. According to the Camp David accords, the West Bank should implement full self-rule and after 5 years its future should be decided by its inhabitants. This agreement did not explicitly mention "self-determination" and this caused dissatisfaction among the inhabitants of the West Bank. Yet, the Begin government has also not granted the "self-rule" stipulated in the accords. He has consistently regarded the West Bank as Israeli's "liberated territory." Last August at the second forming of his cabinet, he explicitly stated: Israel will regain sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza." It is therefore obvious that the Begin government's participation in the Palestinian autonomy talks are perfunctory and without the slightest bit of sincerity. According to foreign new analyses, if the Israeli and Egyptian talks on Palestinian self-rule break down, the Begin government will possibly declare that it will not accept the restraints of the Camp David accords and publicly proclaim the annexation of the West Bank.

The annexation policies of the Begin government are not only opposed and condemned internationally but have also met with opposition within Israel by Arab citizens and Jewish antiwar organizations. They can only bring new unrest to the West Bank and the entire Middle East.

9480
CSO: 4005/963

ARTICLE REVIEWS DUTCH CABINET CRISIS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jun 82 p 6

[Article by Ma Weimin (7456 3634 3046): "A Perspective on the Dutch Cabinet Crisis"]

[Text] After more than two weeks of tense consultations, the prime minister of the Netherlands, Mr van Agt, completed reorganization of the cabinet on 28 May. On the following day, five new ministers took their oaths of office and the crisis in the Dutch government was brought to a close. However, the Christian Democratic Appeal [CDA] and the Democratic Party (66) which constitute the new cabinet account for 65 of the 150 seats in the parliament, thus occupying a minority position. Thus, they can only rely temporarily on the support of the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy [VVD], which is the opposition party, in maintaining the situation for a short time and the date for the general election has been moved up to September of this year.

The direct cause that led to this government crisis was that six ministers of the Labor Party, which was one of the principal parties in power, on 12 May rejected the plan proposed by the two other parties in power, and the CDA and the Democratic Party (66) on reducing budget expenditures. Thereupon, they resigned as a group. This incident is a concrete reflection of the severe economic difficulties in which the Netherlands now finds itself and of the profound differences that exist in regard to economic policy among the three ruling parties.

The economic recession that envelops the entire Western world has also plagued the Netherlands. At present, the number of unemployed persons in the nation as a whole exceeds 500 thousand. This is a record postwar high and accounts for 11% of the total labor force, an increase of 50% within a year. At the same time, because of the economic recession, the government's tax revenues have decreased and there is a large financial deficit. In 1973, the financial deficit amounted to 1.5% of the value of the gross national product, whereas at present it accounts for up to 10% of the value. In the face of this situation, the CDA and the Labor Party proposed two totally different "prescriptions." The former advocated cutting government expenditures in order to decrease the financial deficit, while the latter requested an increase in government expenditures in order to create new opportunities for employment and to alleviate

the severe unemployment problem. The dispute between the two sides was concentrated on and reflected in plans to formulate the annual budget for 1982-1983. For a year, controversy has been developing within the government around this problem. Some people believe, in accordance with the position of the CDA, that cutting expenditures this year and next year by close to $US 5 billion would only be able to make up for one-fifth of the accumulated deficit of last year and that it goes without saying there would be a new deficit. If precedence is given to solving the unemployment problem following the plan of the Labor Party, only an in inadequate number of 20 thousand opportunities for employment would be opened up under present conditions. This is clearly utterly inadequate in the face of the large army of 500 thousand unemployed. Thus, it can be seen that whatever the prescription, it will be difficult to save the Dutch economy from the stubborn illness of recession.

Because the economic policies of the CDA and the Labor Party are diametrically opposed to each other, the coalition government has been for the past year with the internal contradiction of a "cabinet crisis," a specter that has been hovering over the Dutch political scene. After the general election in May of last year, in order to organize a coalition government consisting of the CDA, the Labor Party and the Democratic Party (66), bargaining went on among the three parties for over three months. After a number of twists and turns, a coalition government under Prime Minister van Agt was finally formed by September. No sooner had the new government been sworn in than it presented its resignation to the Queen in October because of the dispute over the question of the budget. After more than 20 days of tense consultation and of using every means to close the rift, they finally managed with effort to keep the government together. However, after somewhat over three months, a dispute again arose within the government over the long-standing major problem of the budget. By April, it was thought that a compromise had been reached. Then, in mid-May, the collective resignation of the six Labor Party ministers occurred, an incident that finally brought about the collapse of the capbinet. Serious dissension within the government and instability of position have been marked characteristics of the political situation of the Netherlands for the past year.

Another factor that has affected changes in the political situation in the Netherlands has been changes in the strengths of the major political parties over the past year. The most obvious of these has been the power of the Labor Party. The Labor Party was originally the leading major party in the parliament. However, after the general election of May last year, it fell behind the CDA into second place. In March of this year, provincial parliamentary elections were held in which the Labor Party further lost ground and the VVD enjoyed an increase to the point where it surpassed the Labor Party. This was the first time that this has happened in the postwar history of the Netherlands. In order to safeguard unity within the party and its own position, the Labor Party, under pressure from the CDA, had no choice but to resign collectively and withdraw from the cabinet confrontation.

At present, a cabinet consisting of the minority factions of the CDA and the Democratic Party (66) has already been formed. Prime Minister Van Agt of the CDA basically advocates joint execution of power together with the opposition VVD. The decision by the VVD to support a government

of minority factions in the parliament may be a prelude to its entry into the cabinet. Public opinion polls indicate that the former structure of 1977-1981 of the Netherlands government may be restored as the result of the general election with the CDA and the VVD once again holding joint power and with a so-called center-right- regime appearing. When the time comes, there may be a number of new changes in the domestic and foreign policies of the Netherlands.

10019
CSO: 4005/953

SOCIALIST, SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT IN EUROPE DISCUSSED

Tianjin GUOJI WENTI YANJIU (JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES) in Chinese No 2, April 1982 pp 50-54

[Article by Xu Zongshi [1776 1350 1102] and Zhuang Jianming [8369 1696 2494]: "About the Socialist International and Social Democratic Parties in Europe"]

[Text] The Socialist International is an international organization of social democratic parties, socialist parties, and labor parties. It is an important political force in the contemporary world, particularly in Western Europe.

1. Organization of the Socialist International

The Second International, formed in 1899 in Paris, is regarded as the earliest international organization of socialist parties. In its initial period, the International played a positive role in the workers movements. Later, with the rapid rise of opportunism within the organization, it was gradually divided into three factions, with the rightists and the "centrist" revisionists occupying positions of leadership. With the outbreak of World War I, most of the social democratic parties of the Second International backed their own bourgeois governments in the imperialist war and thus were reduced to social chauvinist parties. Eventually the Second International became totally discredited and ceased to exist. In 1923 the Labor and Socialist International was founded in Hamburg; its activities ended with the outbreak of World War II. In 1944 the British Labor Party took the initiative to reinstitute the international organization of Socialist parties. In 1947, socialist parties met in Antwerp, Belgium, and formed a "Committee for the International Conference of Socialist Parties" to prepare for the conference. On 30 June 1951, at the International Socialist Congress held in Frankfurt, West Germany, the Socialist International was formally established. A manifesto -- "The Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism" -- was adopted at the congress, and the Socialist International was hailed as the successor to the Second International and the Labor and Socialist International, as the international organization of social democratic parties, socialist parties and labor parties of the world.

The supreme body of the Socialist International is the Congress, which convenes every 2 years. Up to 1980, 15 congresses had been held. The Congress' main functions are to proclaim the International's principles, determine its statutes, elect its president, vice presidents, and secretary-general, vote by a two-thirds

majority on the admission and expulsion of members, and decide on their places in the International. When the Congress is not in session, the everyday business is handled by the Council, the Executive Board, and the secretariat. The present president is Willy Brandt, chairman of the West German Social Democratic Party. Under the president there are 10 vice presidents. The present general secretary is B. Carlson. The International is headquartered in London. Important figures of the International include Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt of West Germany, Francois Mitterrand of France, Bruno Kreisky of Austria, and Olof Palme of Sweden.

The International has four kinds of members: formal member parties, advisory parties, fraternal organizations and corresponding organizations. There are 15 million members.

1. Of the 43 formal member parties, 22 are in Europe -- the Austrian Socialist Party, the Belgian Socialist Party, the Danish Social Democratic Party, the Finnish Social Democratic Party, the French Socialist Party, the West German Social Democatic Party, the British Labor Party, the Icelandic Social Democratic Party, the Irish Labor Party, the Italian Social Democratic Party, the Italian Socialist Party, the Luxembourg Socialist Workers Party, the Maltese Labor Party, the Netherlands Labor Party, the North Ireland Labor Party, the North Ireland Social Democratic Party, the Norwegian Labor Party, the Portuguese Socialist Party, the San Marino United Socialist Party, the Spanish Socialist Labor Party, the Swedish Social Democratic Workers Party, and the Swiss Social Democratic Party. The 11 formal member parties in Latin America include the Argentine People's Socialist Party, the Chilean Radical Party, the Costa Rican National Liberation Party, the Dominican Revolutionary Party and the Jamaican People's National Party. The two African member parties are the Mauritius Labor Party and the Senegalese Socialist Party. The two member parties in Oceania are the Australian Labor Party and the New Zealand Labor Party. The two members in North America are the Canadian New Democratic Party and the U.S. Committee of Socialist Organizations. The four members in Asia are the Japanese Socialist Party, the Japanese Social Democratic Party, the Israeli Labor Party, and the South Korean United Socialist Party.

2. The 10 advisory parties include the Cypriot United Democratic Central Alliance, the Paraguayan Revolutionary Party, the Venezuelan Democratic Action Party and some parties in exile.

3. The five corresponding organizations include the Workers Zionist Movement, the Jewish Workers Alliance, and the Central Eastern European Socialist Alliance.

4. The two fraternal organizations are the International Council of Socialist Women and the International Alliance of Socialist Youth.

II. Policy Concepts of the Socialist International

The policy concepts of the Socialist International are contained in its main programmatic documents -- the manifesto "The Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism" adopted at the founding Congress in July 1951 and the manifesto "Today's World: the Future of Socialism" adopted in the summer of 1962. Basically its policy concepts are as follows:

1. Advocating the "democratic socialist" path. As stated by Uris Brawendal, theorist and former secretary of the Socialist Internation, "Marxism was the dominant ideology of the Second International before World War II," but in the post war era "reformism has become the dominant ideology of the Socialist International. The ideology that guides the post war policies of all the parties of the Socialist International is based on reformism." Since the 1950's the International has adopted "democratic socialism" as its ideology, advocating "the expansion of personal freedoms under economic prosperity and a growing system of social insurance, liberating people from their dependence on the few who own or control the means of production," "giving economic power to all the people," creating a society "in which free people can work together as equals." The common objective of social democratic parties is to "establish a free new society with democratic means." Only this free, democratic society can really guarantee that (1) every person has a right to private life, inviolable by the state; (2) political freedoms such as freedom of thought, speech, education, association and religious belief are protected; (3) people have the universal, equal and secret right to vote and to freely elect their own representatives; (4) government is organized by the majority party, and the rights of the minority parties are respected; and (5) all citizens regardless of their class origin, sex, language, faith or color are equal before law. Such socialism will be "democracy of the highest order." And to realize such socialism, one needs only to "reform" and "improve" the existing capitalist system, "legitimizing the existing form of political power in a democratic way" and linking it with "gradual reforms: and "the democratization of society."

2. Advocating a universal welfare system, adopting a mixed system of private enterprise, free competition and the nationalization of the main branches of industry.

In countries where the social democratic parties are in power, the Keynesian economic theories are much in vogue, with emphasis on welfarism, "nationalization," and expanding state intervention in economic activities. During economic recessions, measures such as increasing government expenditures, reducing taxes and lowering the banks' interest rates are used to stimulate demand and promote production and prosperity. To counter inflation, measures such as cutting back on government expenditures, increasing taxes and raising interest rates are used. The welfare policies consist mainly of the following:

(1) Expanding the system of state ownership, establishing state management over cert ain production sectors and service industries;

(2) Using a variety of means to regulate the private economy, reducing unemployment and preventing economic crises;

(3) Regulating the national income through progressive taxation and broader welfare coverage, making welfare "universal";

(4) Making state organs responsible for providing the citizens with occupational, intellectual and moral education and for providing cultural and educational facilities;

These policy measures have produced certain results in certain periods, but they have also created problems. The huge welfare expenditures, for example, account for a greater part of the annual industrial output of welfare states, so that some socialist governments are compelled to borrow heavily from abroad to support their massive welfare programs.

3. Adopting a foreign policy line of "detente," "coexistence" and "disarmament" and of European integration. In the initial postwar period, the United States was Europe's main source of competition and conflict. Hence the Common Market of the six Western European countries to counter the United States. But when Soviet expansionism became the main threat to the world, the aims of Western European integration changed. Many social democratic parties have called for building up an independent national defense, consolidating the unity of the NATO countries, strengthening Western European defenses, and expanding the European Community. But not all social democratic parties have acted the same, due to their different positions and interests, especially since higher defense expenditures run counter to economic welfare. Thus in East-West relations, political "detente" and economic benefits have often become important factors which the social democratic parties must consider in making policy. Since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Western European socialist party leaders, while unanimously condemning the Soviet aggression, have advocated "establishing peaceful coexistence between the powers," believing this is the only way to remove the "cold-war atmosphere" between them.

III. Role of Social Democratic Parties in European Politics

There are three main political forces on the European political stage today, competing with each other for influence. They are: 1) New Conservatism; 2) European Social Democracy; 3) Eurocommunism. In recent years New Conservatism has been on the rise and Eurocommunism has been attracting public attention, but Social Democracy is still playing an important role.

1. Parties which hold government power alone: the Austrian Socialist Party, the Maltese Labor Party, the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement, and the Danish Social Democratic Party.

2. Parties at the head of a coalition government: the West German Social Democratic Party, the French Socialist Party, and the Finnish Social Democratic Party.

3. Parties as members of a coalition government: the Belgian Socialist Party, the Italian Socialist Party, the Italian Social Democratic Party, the San Marino United Socialist Party and the Swiss Socialist Party.

The strength of the Socialist International lies mainly in Europe. Almost all countries in Northern Europe were once under the control of social democratic parties. The Swedish Social Democratic Workers Party and the Norwegian Labor Party were in power for almost half a century. Though they are out of power now, their strength cannot be ignored. The socialist parties in other countries such as Britain, Portugal, Spain and the Netherlands, though not in power, carry a great deal of political weight in their countries.

The social democratic parties in Europe have gone through a process of historical development. Most of them were founded toward the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, a period when universal suffrage was being expanded in the West. Prior to World War I, they were confined to playing the role of the opposition. After the conclusion of World War I the socialists for the first time acquired the experience of forming or joining the government. During World War II, under Fascist dictatorial rule, the European social democratic parties were at a low tide. With the conclusion of the war, social democrats rallied their forces and revived their movement with the help of the influence they had gained by taking part in the resistance during the war. Until the mid-1970's the social democratic doctrine was very popular in Northern and Central Eruope. The social democratic parties in Sweden, Norway, West Germany, Britain, and Austria came to power, carried out the Keynesian economic theories, introduced the welfare state, effected compromises between capitalists and workers, and promoted economic and social development to a certain degree. But beset by the serious economic recessions in the seventies, people in the West began to be dissatisfied with the socialist parties that had been in power for many years and wanted a change. In these circumstances, a number of social democratic governments fell successively. The Swedish Social Democratic Workers Party, after staying in power for 44 consecutive years, lost the elections in September 1976. The Conservative Party of Britain won a landslide victory in the general elections of May 1979. There are also signs that the political pendulum has started to swing to the right in other countries, such as Luxembourg, Iceland, Ireland, Denmark, and Norway.

In 1981, socialist parties came to power in France and Greece, both on the Mediterranean, and such a party was on the rise in Spain, a development that has come to be called the "rise of social democratic thought in Southern Europe." In Southern Europe, the bourgeois rightists had consistently held power. But as the economy developed and the social structure started to change, the middle classes in the Southern European countries, especially salaried employees and teachers, have quickly grown in strength, forming the social basis of the social democratic ideology. Since economic recessions tend to make people want to change, and as the socialists, to a certain extent, represent society's desire for change, they have been able to win elections and assume the reins of government. This shows that Western capitalism is trying to seek a way out of its socioeconomic crisis by adopting a new form of reformism.

IV. Class Background of the European Social Democratic Parties

Originally the European Socialist parties (including labor parties and social democratic parties) consisted mainly of blue-collar workers. Later some white-collar workers, students, professionals and other middle-class and petty intellectuals also joined. After World War II, the middle strata formed by white-collar workers and petty-bourgeois intellectuals greatly expanded, becoming the main social basis of the socialist parties.

The socialist parties of Europe have close relations with the trade unions. In Britain, for example, the Labor Party has nearly 6.5 million members; apart from 670,000 individual members and some 20,000 members from "socialist organizations,"

5.6 million members are also members of trade unions. The Labor Party and the trade unions used to have offices in the same Transportation Workers Union building. The Labor Party's funds come from the trade unions; its policies cannot but be influenced by the trade unions. It is true that not all the Labor Party leaders come from worker families, but they cannot ignore the material interests and social welfare of the trade union members. At times when the workers' movement in Britain reaches a high tide or when the economy is in serious recession, the monopoly capitalist class often puts the Labor Party in power, using labor's influence among the people to maintain political stability. Some of the other Western European social democratic parties also have the support of large segments of the membership of trade unions, such as the French Socialist Party, which leads the General Confederation of Labor and the French Democratic Workers Alliance, and the Italian Socialist Party, which leads the Italian Workers Alliance. Thus in our research on the socialist parties of Western Europe, we must also study these trade unions, their membership strength and their demands, and the relationship between the socialist parties and the trade unions.

Within the Socialist International there are two major factions, headed respectively by the most important and influencial West German Social Democratic Party and the French Socialist Party. One is the Northern European faction centered around the West German, British, Swedish and Austrian social democratic parties; the other is the Southern European faction centered around the French, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese socialist parties. Their difference lies mainly in the attitude toward the communist parties. The Southern European faction is against relying totally on the bourgeoisie, advocates contacts with the communists in the democratic struggle, and seeks to win power by allying with and using the strength of the communists. The Northern European faction is strongly against this stand, and "refuses absolutely" to form a coalition government with the communists. While there are different opinions within the Socialist International about whether to approach the communists or cooperate with them, the overall attitude on the matter is one of refusal. When the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party proposed cooperation between the communist parties and socialist parties, the Council and Executive Board of the Socialist International held a series of meetings in March-April 1956 and passed a resolution refusing to form any united front or effect any other form of political cooperation with the communists. In April 1956 the meeting of the Executive Board in London issued a statement that there is "nothing in common between socialism and communism." Many countries held steadfastly to an anticommunist stand at the Congress of the Socialist International held in July 1959 in Hamburg. In November 1976, the Socialist International, in session in Geneva, received a letter from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of the German Democratic Republic, inviting the attention of the International to the document "For European Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress" passed by the summit conference of European communist parties held in June 1976 in Berlin, reiterating the communists' "readiness to cooperate with the socialist parties and social democratic parties" and willingness to send officials to contact the Socialist International. At the conclusion of the meeting in Geneva, the new president, Willy Brandt, when asked by a Soviet reporter, said that the Executive Board had received the letter and that all the members had taken note of its content, but he made no further comments.

Since the appearance of "Eurocommunism", almost every issue of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS, organ of the Socialist International, has carried individually signed articles commenting on Eurocommunism, but there has been no official statement on the issue. The social democrats of Western Europe seem to doubt the Eurocommunists' elimination of the terms proletarian dictatorship and Leninism and their advocacy of so-called democracy, independence, "national color" and polycentrism. While agreeing that Eurocommunism is developing in the direction of social democracy, the social democrats of Western Europe wonder whether the Eurocommunists are sincere in talking about "a new look for communism", whether they are not just "a Trojan horse" in the words of David Owen, member of the British Labor Party and former British foreign secretary. What are the basic differences in theory and practice, if any, between the Western European social democratic parties and the Eurocommunists, and what are their similarities, if any? Can they cooperate with each other or must they compete or contend with each other? If they cooperate, how far can they go? These questions all need to be answered.

V. Socialist International's Infiltration into Asia, Africa and Latin America

The Socialist International, while originating in Europe and centering its activities in Western Europe, is also involved in other regions of the world. In the fifties, the International tried to extend into Latin America and the Far East; for this purpose it established the Liaison Bureau for Latin America and held an Asian Socialist Party Conference. But for a variety of reasons the attempt has not been very successful.

In December 1977, the Socialist International held a summit conference in Tokyo where it announced its policy to "shake off Europe-centrism and orient toward the political currents of the world." The conference marked the beginning of the International's attempt to go beyond Europe into other parts of the world. After the conference, an office was set up in Tokyo to promote cooperation among members from the Asian and Pacific regions.

In Africa, an "African Socialist International" was set up in 1975 by the Senegalese Socialist Party and the Tunisian Socialist Party to facilitate direct or indirect contacts between the Socialist International and the African parties having social democracy as their action program. A coordinating committee was also established. On 14 July 1980, a preparatory conference for the African Socialist International was held in Tunis, where it was announced that a conference to establish the African Socialist International would be held in February 1981. The preparatory committee decided that the future African Socialist International would be "open to other parties in Africa" and that it would become an African arm of the Socialist International.

In Latin America, a meeting was held in San Jose, Costa Rica, in April 1976 to prepare for a conference of the International's Latin American member parties. The meeting was attended by representatives of the Venezuelan Democratic Action Party, the Mexican Institutional Revolutionary Party, and certain parties in Central America and the Caribbean. Seeking to formulate a program of united action with the Latin American socialist parties, the Socialist International held a meeting in Caracas in May 1976, attended by representatives from 13 European social democratic parties and 16 Latin American reformist parties, for

exploratory dialogues in preparation for an organizational link-up. The International's 13 Congress held in Geneva in the same year also passed a special resolution on Latin America and elected two Latin American delegates to be International vice presidents. In October 1977, at the meeting of the International's Executive Board held in Madrid, a special Latin American Committee was set up which was later replaced by the formal Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, whose present chairman is Dominican Revolutionary Party leader Jose Francisco Pena Gomez. Today the International has 11 formal member parties in 10 Latin American countries and 14 informal corresponding parties in 11 Latin American countries.

To infiltrate into Asia, Africa and Latin America, the Socialist International has made necessary compromises, such as permitting developing countries to use nonparliamentary democratic means and establish radical political organizations, recognizing that under extraordinary circumstances violent revolutions are rational and unavoidable, and agreeing that the armed forces can become the pillar of social progress as well as the guarantor for irreversible changes. As for the methods used in carrying out progressive reforms, the Socialist International has revised its traditional doctrine on the consistency between democratic development and the nonviolent methods used to achieve it. These changes in the policy concepts of the Socialist International represent a new trend worth noting.

9856
CSO: 4005/865

PARTY AND STATE

STRIVING TO IMPROVE PARTY WORK STYLE

'Remain Untainted'

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 19 May 82 p 3

[Article by Jiang Ke [5637 2688]: "The Important Thing Is To Remain Untainted"]

[Text] When the party Central Committee proposed overcoming unsound tendencies, opposing the corrosive influence of capitalist ideology and upholding the purity of CCP members and revolutionary cadres, everyone was very supportive. They all clapped and cheered. However, there were also those who appeared to be reluctant. They said: "At present our social practices are such that if one does not have connections or if one does not get in by the back door then it is impossible to move a single step and nothing will get done. How difficult it is to remain untainted!"

There is no need to deny that there still exist many unhealthy trends and evil practices within our party and in society. For example, in the economic sphere illegal activities such as smuggling, graft, larceny, speculation and bribery still exist. These are the disastrous consequences of unsound practices. Given such practices, it is very difficult for one to withstand all sorts of tests while truly remaining uncorrupted and untainted. However, in the same way it cannot be denied that when confronted with the corrosive influence of this fragrant breeze and poisonous fog, there are those who are weak willed and have succumbed to the attack of "sugar-coated bullets" as well as those who have been blinded by greed like Cheng Zhanbiao [4453 0594 1753]. There are also degenerate elements who urge and encourage girls to become the wives of Hong Kong capitalists. In spite of this, there are still many CCP members and revolutionary cadres who have resisted corruption, remained untainted and who are honest in performing their duties. Closer to home, there is the case of the young factory director Zhang Fugui [1728 4395 6311] who wrote in an article published in this newspaper that "We don't want one fen unless it is earned through labor." There are those who offered him bribes of 4,500 yuan as his cut, in order to win a contract to expand the factory and to promote the sales of asbestos tiles. They all met with his stern refusal.

The facts show that although these unsound trends have had a strong influence, there are ways to resist them. In a similar environment an individual may drift with the current or he may remain untainted. He may become a reed that bends

with the wind or he may become a strong tree that stands alone in the cold. A saying puts it well: Supporting what is correct while driving out evil and resisting corruption while guarding against deterioration--it's not that this can't be done, it's that it is not done. During the difficult years of the revolution, many revolutionaries were able to "have dealings with the devil" in the enemy's lair and yet remained untainted. The true qualities of the communists did not change because of the adversity of the circumstances. Thus, today when the people are the masters and the socialist system is steadily being consolidated, what reason do we have for yielding to pressures from our objective environment, for rashly tarnishing the honor of communists and for willingly going along with unsound practices in society?!

Whether or not we can resist the corrosive influence of capitalist ideology, guard against the contamination of unsound practices and truly act as the masters and not the slaves of our environment depends on whether or not we can maintain a high ideological standard. At present, there are certain party members and cadres who place very low demands on themselves. Their standards are: as long as we don't exceed "what is proper" (that is, not violating the law and committing crimes), what does it matter if we engage in a few petty and unsound practices. Because they have set this kind of standard they always have an easy conscience and are carefree about food and drink, exchanging favors and receiving and sending gifts. They seem to have forgotten that enough quantitative change can lead to qualitative change. When tiny ant holes grow in number, they may cause the collapse of 1,000 li of embankment. They have probably also forfotten that CCP members differ from the common people in that they are bound by national law and the demands of party regulations and party discipline. Advanced proletarian elements and state workers must not be satisfied with merely not violating the law. They should regard being honest in performing their official duties and remaining untainted as their ultimate goals and stick to this principle. If they fail to do so, once they disregard this goal they will exceed "what is proper." This will not only undermine and destroy the purity of CCP members, it will also open up new channels for major criminal activity. In fact, certain people, including some veteran party members and cadres who have long been involved in the revolution, have been unable to resist the corrosive influence of capitalist ideology and ended up by violating the law. It was their "petty dealings" involving a few packs of cigarettes, a few bottles of wine, a few plates of food and several dollars that created this breach. Consequently, when faced with an attack of "sugar-coated bullets," we must remain invincible. We must support "remaining untainted" and, no matter where or when, we must not back away from this standard!

We propose that CCP members and revolutionary cadres support "remaining untainted." The significance of this is that it will preserve their purity and guarantee that they do not commit mistakes. More importantly, we must treat it as a spiritual weapon and use it to transform, motivate and influence all of society. It is the same as when an individual engages in unsound practices. He not only may harm himself, he may also harm society. Conversely, if someone is able to "remain untainted" this will purify society and other people.

Retaliation Against Informers

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 1

[Article by Dai Shanliang [2071 0810 5328] and Ma Shubao [7456 2885 1405]: "Yuyao County CCP Committee Deals With an Incident of Retaliation"]

[Text] Lou Fugui [2869 4395 2710], former party committee secretary of the Fengbei Commune in Yuyao County and Mao Xiujiong [3029 0208 3518], party branch committee member of the Hexin Brigade abused their power by taking retaliatory action against commune members who exposed Mao Xiujiong's use of bribery and other illegal acts. Recently, the county Commission for the Inspection of Discipline dealt strictly with this incident. The county CCP committee issued a notice on this matter calling on party organizations at all levels throughout the county to take warning. They were also asked to firmly support and protect informants and to ensure that the current struggle to attack economic crimes proceeds smoothly.

At the end of 1980 and in March of 1981, party branch committee member of the Hexin Brigade Mao Yuren [3029 5940 0088] and commune members Mao Shiding [3029 1102 0002] and Mao Yinao [3029 6892 2407] (also known as Mao Shouyi [3029 1343 5030], Mao Yongfa [3029 2340 3127] and Mao Chang Ting [3029 7022 1656]) on numerous occasions wrote letters to concerned departments in the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee's Commission for the Inspection of Discipline. They reported that Mao Xiujiong, branch committee member of that brigade and the person in charge of the plant run by the brigade, offered and accepted bribes and sent gifts of food and drink during business transactions with personnel from the Shanghai Clothing Industry Company. In March of last year, the People's Procuratorate of Huangpu Ward in Shanghai sent someone to investigate the situation in Yuyao. Lou Fugui, the party committee secretary of Fengbei Commune at that time violated the principle for handling letters from the people. He made this matter known to the public at the Hexin Brigade party branch committee meeting which the informants were attending. Once Mao Xiujiong found out that someone had exposed his dealings he deliberately set about retaliating. He sought everywhere the names of the people who wrote the letters and wantonly tried to incite others saying that since someone wrote a letter to lodge a complaint, operations in the plant must cease and the plant must close down. Staff and workers must return to work in the brigades. At the meeting of cadres he also proposed that they announce a "shutdown." In this way he caused ideological confusion among the masses and provoked commune members who did not really understand the true facts to reprimand the letter writers. Some even threatened to destroy the homes of the letter writers. After Mao Xiujiong found out that the letter writer was the commune member Mao Shiding, he seized on him to make him the "first target of attack" and to find his "behind the scenes supporters." He also took advantage of his authority to stop Mao Shiding's wife and daughter from working in the plant run by the brigade. Mao Shiding was forced under strong intimidation to say that party branch committee member Mao Yuren and commune member Mao Yinao assisted him in writing the letter.

The commune party committee secretary at that time, Lou Fugui, not only did not put a halt to this illegal and disruptive behavior of Mao Xiujiong, instead he was supportive of it. At the end of last June, when Lou Fugui retired, he told the newly appointed commune party committee secretary that Mao Yuren's letter of accusation was written as a result of "personal motives" and "internal contradictions." The new commune secretary listened to this side of the story and together with Lou sought out Mao Yuren for a "chat." They demanded that he admit his mistakes and required him to write a self-criticism. Next, at the conference of all party memebers, commune brigade chiefs and other leading figures, the informant Mao Yuren was treated as the "accused." They said he was "like a pea shooter." They explained his motives and the circumstances involved in writing the letter and conducted several criticism sessions. The new commune secretary made public the contents of the letter while the informant was present and maligned Mao Yuren for writing the letter, saying that it was due to "an incompetent official trying to make a name for himself." They urged that "organizational measures" be taken against Mao Yuren and that the commune party committee be convened to make the erroneous decision to relieve Mao Yuren from his duties as party branch committee member.

With the support of the Ningpo Local CCP Committee's Commission for the Inspection of Discipline, the Yuyao County Commission for the Inspection of Discipline went through a penetrating investigation to sort out the true facts of the situation. Mao Xiujiong not only sent presents of food and drink and offered and accepted bribes in his business transactions, he also took advantage of his power to use the trick of self-criticism and self-incrimination making fraudulant applications and claims to embezzle funds. Between July and December of 1981 he embezzled 870 yuan. In order to mete out strict party discipline, the Yuyao Commission for the Inspection of Discipline decided to expel Mao Xiujiong from party membership, to recommend that he be dismissed from administrative duties and to recover all the stolen money. Lou Fugui's attack on the informant and his sheltering of the people who were exposed provided serious disciplinary warning within the party. The newly appointed commune secretary had not been in office long, therefore in his handling of this case he failed to carry out investigations and was biased. He also spoke and acted incorrectly. However, he was good at acknowledging his mistakes and was able to make a thorough self-criticism. He circulated a notice of criticism. At the same time he commended Mao Yuren's revolutionary spirit of daring to struggle against unsound practices and illegal activities in the economic sphere.

Opposition to Acts of Vengeance

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 1

[Article: "Retaliatory Acts Are Not Permitted"]

[Text] Mao Yuren, party branch committee member of the Hexin Brigade in Yuyao County had the courage to wage a struggle against unsound practices in the economic sphere. He displayed the selflessness, fearlessness and awe inspiring righteousness that is the noble character of CCP members.

Carrying out retaliatory actions against those who expose the mistakes of others is not allowed by party discipline and state laws. The "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" clearly stipulate that it is necessary to "protect the inviolability of the rights of party members" and that retaliation against those who make accusations is not permitted. Recently the revised draft of the constitution which has been discussed by all the people reaffirmed that "appeals, complaints and accusations involving citizens must be thoroughly investigated by concerned state agencies which are also responsible for meting out punishment." It emphasized that anyone who lodges complaints "must in no way be subject to suppression and retaliation." In our nation and within our party each citizen and party member is responsible for fighting against evil people and acts, exposing and reporting criminal activities, protecting the interests of the people and ensuring that the establishment of the four modernizations proceeds smoothly. Party organizations at all levels and political departments should protect the legitimate rights of citizens and party members and under no circumstances should they take retaliatory actions against informants. The strict handling of this instance of retaliation by the Yuyao Commission for the Inspection of Discipline is a manifestation of our strict party discipline and it provides further support for informants. All areas must make serious inquiries and speedily investigate and sentence those who engage in retaliatory activities.

At present we are launching a struggle to combat serious economic crimes. This has a bearing on the rise and fall of our party and nation. This struggle is also a very practical move to consolidate the party. As for CCP members, this is a rigorous test to see whether or not they can take a firm stand to expose serious crimes. When exposing this kind of criminal activity or when temporarily being subjected to suppression and retaliation, it is particularly necessary to reaffirm our confidence. We must have faith that righteousness will surely prevail over evil. CCP members regard wholeheartedly serving the people as their objective. We must always keep the interests of the party and the nation in mind. We must also display the spirit of the "five unafraids" and strive for total victory in this struggle.

Contradicting, Obeying Superiors

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 May 82 p 4

[Article by Zhu Qian [6175 0241]: "To Contradict or To Obey"]

[Text] Although the characters for "ding"--to contradict, and "shun"--to obey, have a component in common, their meanings are vastly different. "Ding" means to contradict one's superior, to resist and to oppose. "Shun" is the exact opposite, it means to comply with, to conform and to follow. When the people are confronted with unsound trends, they frequently make different choices between contradicting and obeying their superiors. In general there are three positions they may take.

The first is resolutely to oppose rather than obey their superiors. These people are in the majority. They are honest in performing their official duties and do not seek personal gain. Their practices are sound and there is strict

enforcement of orders and prohibitions. They are not motivated by the desire for gain. Regardless of whether those who engage in unsound practices are their seniors, colleagues, subordinates or old friends and acquaintances, they continue to uphold principles and do not give them the green light. Even if they are fully aware that they may be hurting themselves they still fearlessly hold out against them. They dare to stroke the backside of the tiger and take a clear-cut stand to drive out evil. If their own power is insufficient they report to the unit leadership or to higher authorities. They rely on the party organization to oppose those involved in unsound practices. They may also appeal to periodicals and newspapers to call on public opinion to join together in opposition. This is the noble character and the principle of party spirit that CCP members and revolutionary cadres must all possess. This is the fine tradition of the party. We should energetically encourage and urge the display of this fine tradition.

Second, there are those who do not contradict nor obey their superiors. There are also quite a number of comrades in this group. Their philosophy of life is to preserve their purity and play it safe. They believe each person should sweep away the snow in front of his door and not pay any attention to snow on someone else's roof. They themselves do not engage in dishonest practices and either pretend not to see or turn a deaf ear to the unsound practices of others. Generally speaking, not engaging in unsound practices themselves, they are much better than those who take advantage of their authority, seek personal gain, drift with the tide and wallow in the mire. However, it takes much more than this to be a CCP member and a revolutionary cadre. If one sees the interests of the people and the establishment of the four modernizations being undermined yet remains indifferent, if one does not put an end to it or oppose it but rather lets it continue and spread, this is objectively equivalent to covering up and condoning such actions. This is a mistake.

Third, there are those who obey without resisting. This type of person is in the minority yet they are very dangerous. Whenever something crops up they always disregard the interests of the party and the people and give primary consideration to their own gains and losses. They may find it difficult to refuse because of friendship or loss of face. They want to form connections. One more friend may mean more options. They may seek a promotion by flattering and currying favor with their superiors. They may ingratiate themselves with subordinates so as not to lose their votes. This is what is called making things convenient for others and for oneself. In this way they naturally do not think of opposing unsound practices nor are they willing to or dare to contradict them. Thus, as long as higher leading bodies, old friends and relatives and subordinates know who to go to, they can get what they want. They get to use opportunities to gain their own ends by sending gifts. Those who can help, do their utmost to do so, and give them the green light. They have bartered away our principles. What is worse, when they see others engaging in unsound practices and seeking personal gain they not only do not oppose them, on the contrary, they become jealous. They forget what is right in the face of profit. They build boats to sail with the favorable wind, they take a share of things they are not entitled to and they go along with evil deeds. Some people began by engaging in unsound practices and progressed to economic graft and corruption and to leading a dissolute life which finally resulted in political degeneration. They have become incorrigible criminals. This is not alarmist talk but rather the grim reality of life.

In sum, each CCP member and the revolutionary cadres should adopt the first attitude and try to avoid the second attitude. They must also resolutely oppose the third attitude. Regardless of where or when, they should regard the interests of the revolution as being their most vital concern. Their personal interests must become subordinate to the interests of the revolution. They must uphold principles and staunchly struggle against evil practices. We must give full play to the exemplary and leading role of party members and cadres in all respects and in all we do.

9864
CSO: 4005/909

PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO PURIFY PARTY RANKS EMPHASIZED

Shijianzhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Hou Zhikui [0186 1807 1145]: "Party Members Must Strive To Preserve Their True Image of Public Servants Free From Corruption"]

[Text] During the current struggle against serious criminal activities in the economic field, we have exposed some cases involving party cadres, alarming cases of a grave nature, which have inspired us to seek a solution for the serious problem of how to persuade Communist Party members to keep their true image of dedicated public servants free from corruption and intact.

Ours is a Communist Party which serve as the vanguard of the working class. Outside of serving the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people, it has no interests of its own. For this reason, we Communist Party members must strive to preserve our true image of dedicated public servants, free from corruption. During the past several decades, whether in the difficult years of revolution or in the period of socialist construction, the overwhelming majority of our party cadres have at all times distinguished themselves by successfully resisting temptation for corruption, and by consciously foiling the invasion of the bourgeois ideology. In this way, they have succeeded in preserving their noble moral image of dedicated public servants, free from corruption. But it is also true that as the scenes of struggle and the stature of our party undergo change, and particularly as a result of the 10-year turmoil, many party members have, under the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology, discarded our party's excellent tradition. Some have even capitulated to this bourgeois ideology. Key examples of this kind can be cited as follows:

1. Some people who care only about their own "small domains of interest" have spent days and nights thinking only of their wives, children and housing and money. Some have even resorted to underhanded tactics to make profits through the establishment of personal relationships and backdoor dealings.

2. To satisfy their selfish desires, some have given parties and practiced bribery and favoritism in violation of the laws and in betrayal of principles. This indicates that they have given approval to speculation and other unlawful and criminal activities.

3. Lusting for profits, some have engaged in embezzling, specualting, smuggling and trading in contraband goods; by this means they have turned a large amount of collective and state property into private ownership.

Although so far only a few party members are under the influence of such unhealthy tendencies, the organization, fighting power and prestige of our party have suffered a serious damage. If this is allowed to grow unchecked, our party will be in danger of changing its color.

At present, we are pursuing a policy of opening our door to foreigners and revitalizing the economy at home. Under the influence of factors at home and abroad, the class struggle will continue in some specific localities for a long time to come. But, with the implementation of the open door policy will come the capitalist ways of thinking and living, this in turn will affect and corrupt some wavering elements in our ranks. Therefore, against this new historical background, it is particularly and vitally significant for us Communists to preserve our true image of dedicated public servants free from corruption.

First, to preserve the true image of dedicated public servants, free from corruption, we must study harder than ever Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the constitution of the party, and the "Resolution on Certain Question of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" so that we can spend the rest of our lives serving the people wholeheartedly and dedicating ourselves to communism.

Second, we must start everything from scratch. An ancient proverb says: "Ant caved-ins can cause a 1,000-li dike to collapse." Countless facts prove that the transformation of many people into those who capitulate to the bourgeoisie is by means of gradual evolution. It comes bit by bit. Under no circumstances should our comrades view "small offers of food and drink, and small embezzlements" as "something insignificant." One must understand that behind "such insignificant offers" lurk grave dangers against which we must keep a vigilant guard and of which we must constantly remind ourselves.

Third, in order to perfect our organizational life, we must tighten our party discipline. A very important reason that some party cadres have committed mistakes or even serious crimes stems from a lack of effectively organized supervision. If they are allowed to seek profits for themselves and practice birbery day after day without being subjected to criticism, and if this situation is allowed to develop, the problem will become more serious than ever, leading them to commit crimes. This is why we Communist Party members must consciously place ourselves under the supervision of party organizations. Party organizations at all levels must play an active role in developing criticism and self-criticism, and solemnly and earnestly help comrades who have committed ordinary mistakes correct them. They must launch a merciless struggle against elements found guilty of crimes or breaking laws. Only in this way can we eliminate impure elements that are harmful to the organization of the party and pledge ot make it crusade advance triumphantly.

9574
CSO: 4005/1008

PARTY AND STATE

CORRUPTION, PRINCIPLES OF 'TAKING CLASS STRUGGLE AS KEY LINK'

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 4

[Commentary by Sun Xinhua [1327 0207 5478] and Lei Yun [7191 0061]: "The Distribution Between Seriously Attacking Activities of Economic Crimes and 'Taking Class Struggle as the Key Link'"]

[Text] Under the guidance of the "Resolution" of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council issued on 13 April, a struggle against serious economic crimes is being waged in earnest. This is an important manifestation of class struggle in the economic realm [under new historical conditions]. This struggle is linked to the success and failure of the construction of socialist modernization in our country as well as to the well-being of our party and state; we must be determined to wage this struggle to the end.

Now some comrades are worried that this struggle will lead to retreading the old road of "taking the class struggle as the key link." Some comrades believe that the existence of serious crimes in the economic realm proves that "taking class struggle as the key link" is still correct and necessary. These two views fail to distinguish the principal difference between attacking activities of economic crimes and "taking class struggle as the key link" due to partial comprehension and acceptance of the party's historical experience on the question of class struggle.

Born in the storm of class struggle, our party grew and prospered and came to full maturity also in class struggle. Aside from earlier experiences, from Liberation to 1956 the party led the people in conducting land reform, suppressing counterrevolutionaries, the three antis and five antis, in reforming capitalists; it scored a series of great achievements which not only eliminated feudal land ownership and solved the contradiction between the peasant class and the landlord class, but also eliminated the capitalist exploitative system and fundamentally solved the contradiction between the proletariat and capitalist class, making it possible for our country to enter a period of peaceful socialist development. In practicing class struggle, our party accumulated extremely rich and valuable experiences which are important contributions to the treasure of Marxist theory of class struggle.

During that time, one of the reasons that our party handled class struggle so successfully was the correct leadership and direction of the party and Comrade Mao Zedong. The theory and policy made by Comrade Mao Zedong for that period

have been affirmed by historical development, becoming an important part of Mao Zedong's thought as scientific theories. Moreover, even after the socialist reform, Mao Zedong had many incisive views on the question of class struggle. For example, his idea that class struggle in the socialist period could be long, tortuous and even violent; his thought on the possible danger of a qualitative deterioration of our party in power, his thought that although large-scale and stormy mass class struggles had basically ended, class struggle was not completely finished; his thought on correctly distinguishing two kinds of socialist contradiction and correctly handling people's internal contradiction as the central theme of national political life, etc. are thought-provoking and farsighted. The problem arose when we did not perpetuate these correct thoughts or use materialist perception and dialectic methods to analyze the phenomenon of partial class struggle after socialist reform, leading to a series of "leftist" stuff and becoming worse as time went on. Important manifestations were: First, in an idealistic judgment of the political situation of the party central to local levels and the capitalist revival had become a real danger; a great number of antirevolutionary revisionists had infiltrated the rank of the party, government, military, cultural, educational and media circles to the extent that a capitalist class had been formed inside the party. Second, an erroneous judgment was made on the major contradictions in our society, i.e., regarding the contradiction between the proletariat and capitalists as a major contradiction in the entire historical span of socialism, so that "continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship" had to be insisted upon and class struggle had to be used as the guideline for all actions. Third, an incorrect stipulation was made on the principle and policy of struggle, i.e. that orderly reform and struggle from top to bottom could not solve problems, that a large-scale stormy mass movement from the bottom up involving one class overthrowing another in a political revolution was needed. Under this leftist thought, a general ideological cognitive problem was identified as a political problem, which in turn was identified as an "enemy vs ourselves" problem, a series of aggravated mistakes which were taken advantage of by the counterrevolutionary group of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and led to serious consequences.

Therefore, the question is not that in the past we recognized the existence of class struggle in the socialist period, nor that the party grasped class struggle, nor that the party seriously grasped class struggle in a particular historical juncture, but that an unrealistic and inaccurate estimate was made the class situation and of class struggle, that within a certain limit class struggle was expanded and made absolute, and that "leftist" thought and principles were used to guide class struggle. We must adopt a factual and analytical approach towards our party's historical experience in class struggle and Comrade Mao Zedong's thought and writing on class struggle in which the correct and the scientific, instead of being denied, must be affirmed, and in which the erroneous and unscientific must be discarded and never repeated.

The "resolutions" on certain historical questions made in the 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee indicated that: "After the elimination of the exploitative class, class struggle is no longer the major contradiction. However, due to domestic factors and international influence, class struggle will continue to exist for a long time within certain limits and can even intensify under certain conditions. Both the view that class struggle should be expanded and

the view that class struggle has been eliminated must be opposed." This alone is the correct Marxist statement made by our party after rectifying ideological and political mistakes. It is not only the scientific summation of the party's historical experience of handling two sides of class struggle, but also the party's long-term basic stance on the question of class struggle for the present and for the future. The struggle against economic crime conforms perfectly to the basic spirit of the "resolution"; it opposes the theory that class struggle has ended but shares none of the common ground with "taking class struggle as the key link."

(1) We reiterate that after the elimination of the exploitative class, class struggle will continue to exist because its roots extend deep in our country and abroad. The present serious criminal activities in the economic realm are an important and conspicuous manifestation of this kind of class struggle. Denying that attacking serious economic crimes is a class struggle and denying the inevitability and necessity of waging the struggle or maintaining a skeptical or even antagonistic attitude are entirely wrong.

(2) We emphasize that after the elimination of exploitative classes, class struggle exists only within a certain limit, because it is no longer class struggle in the original sense. At present in the economic realm criminal activities are serious, causing great harm to the party and the state. It is, however, not in the mainstream of our country's present situation, but a countercurrent. True, in the party and in the rank of cadres, there are corrupt renegades, but the great majority of party members and cadres are still good or rather good. At present the serious problems appearing in the economic realm are, after all, partial problems in the entire social realm. The major contradiction of our society is still in the growing need for material culture on the one hand and the backward social production on the other. Engaging in attacking serious economic crime is not an important task for this year, but will be an important task for the party in the future for a long time to come. The goal is to advance the construction of four modernizations and to eliminate obstacles by solving this major contradiction.

(3) The struggle to attack serious economic crimes need not and should not be waged in the form of a stormy mass political movement. It should use the legal system as a weapon, on the basis of the constitution and procedures stipulated by law, proceed through prosecution.

It can be seen that at present the struggle to attack serious economic crimes is a class struggle waged under the guidance of the Marxist line, unlike the class struggle under the guidance of the "leftist" thought. The "leftist" slogan of "taking class struggle as the key link" must be discarded. But it must not lead to the theory that class struggle has been eliminated so as to deny the importance and necessity of attacking serious economic crime. The objective existence of class struggle and the importance and necessity of attacking activities of economic crimes at present cannot be denied, but should not lead to a renewed affirmation of using the leftist slogan of "taking class struggle as the key link" so as to affirm the "leftist" actions of expanding class struggle. In sum, on the question of class struggle, and in the struggle against serious economic crime, one must simultaneously oppose the right and guard against the "left," seeking truth from facts, eliminating interference and ensuring the healthy development of the struggle.

9507
CSO: 4005/908

SOVIET EXPERIENCE IN STRUGGLE AGAINST BUREAUCRATISM SPOTLIGHTED

Xi'an SHAANXI SHIDA XUEBAO [SHAANXI TEACHES UNIVERSITY JOURNAL] in Chinese No 2 Spring 82 pp 3-13

[Article by Liu Zhi [2692 2784]: "Soviet Democracy and Bureaucratism -- A Study of Lenin's Thought"]

[Excerpts] In the pamphlet on "On Food Tax" Lenin wrote on 21 April 1921 to explain the New Economic Policy passed by the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, there is the following passage:

> ...On 5 May 1918, bureaucratism still did not attract our attention. The October Revolution had taken place only half a year earlier and our effort from top to bottom to destroy bureaucratic institutions had also lasted for just half a year; we still did not feel this calamity.
>
> Another year elapsed. At the session of the 8th Congress of the Russian Communist Party held on 18-23 March 1919, our new party program was passed. In this party program we spoke very frankly; we were not afraid of this calamity but willing to expose it, unmask it, make everybody despise it, and arouse the idea, will, tenacity and action to struggle against it. Said we: "Bureaucratism has partly revived within the Soviet system."
>
> Another 2 years elapsed. In the spring of 1921, that is, after the 8th Congress of the Soviets had discussed (December 1920) the question of bureaucratism, and when the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party had summed up the debate closely related to bureaucratism, we took this calamity even more clearly, plainly, and seriously.

From this passage uttered by Lenin, we can clearly see that, first, shortly after the establishment of the soviet regime, bureaucratism immediately revived within it; second, Lenin and the Russian Communist Party recognized the bureaucratism within the soviet system in practice and did so with gradual depth; and third, even though Lenin and the Russian Communist Party wrote the question of bureaucratism into their party program as early as March 1919 with a view

to calling upon people to struggle against it, by early 1921 the calamity of bureaucratism had become even more serious. This shows that struggle against the bureaucratism within the soviet system was an extremely important and yet difficult matter.

The soviet system was the newest type of state system established anew on the foundation of the destroyed military bureaucratic apparatus; Lenin repeatedly called the Soviet Republic the most complete and the loftiest type of democratic regime. Why within such a political regime could there emerge so soon the calamity of bureaucratism? And how did Lenin analyze the relationship between the soviet system and bureaucratism? What ideological wealth did Lenin provide us in the process of leading the Russian proletariat and peasants to struggle against bureaucratism? This article intends to investigate Lenin's works precisely over these questions; this may perhaps be of some benefit to the institutional reforms and antibureaucratic struggle we are carrying out today.

The Soviet Is the Loftiest and Incomparable Type of Democratic State Regime

The soviet was a political organization of the masses, created by the Russian proletariat in the revolutionary struggles of 1905 and 1907; it was the workers congress that organized the armed uprisings. Lenin opportunely discovered and highly praised this organizational form first created by the masses, thinking that it was the germination of a future proletarian revolutionary regime and the best form of proletarian regime of the Paris Commune type.

The reason why Lenin highly praised the soviet and took it as the best form of a proletarian regime was because the soviet succeeded in organically combining the proletariat's struggle for democracy and its struggle for socialism. We all know that in the "Communist Manifesto" Marx and Engels had already taken "struggle for democracy" along with struggle for rule by the proletariat as consistent goals of the workers' revolution. Actually, these two tasks are preconditions of each other. In an article he wrote in 1919 Lenin pointed out: "If we think that the struggle for democracy would make the proletariat deviate from the socialist revolution or stand in the way of the socialist revolution, etc., that would be fundamentally erroneous. On the contrary, just as not practicing complete democracy, socialism would not be able to win victory, not carrying out a comprehensive and thorough revolutionary struggle for democracy, would also not be preparing the proletariat for victory over the bourgeoisie."

After the February revolution, Lenin provided a clear formulation of the form of the future proletarian state regime in his "April Outline." He pointed out: "We must explain to the masses: the workers' representative soviet is the only feasible form for the revolutionary government." "We do not want a parliamentary republic but a republic composed of the representative soviets of the country's workers, hired farmhands and peasants from top to bottom." Let us eliminate the police, the army, and officials." "All officials must be elected and may be replaced at any time: their salaries must not exceed the average wage of a skilled worker." In the ensuing months, Lenin provided plenty of exposition and discussion in respect to this political program.

At the time, there existed fundamental differences between Marxists and anarchists and the opportunists of the Second International over the question of how to treat the power of the state. Anarchists advocated the removal of all state regimes; Plekhanov and Kautsky and their ilk, on the other hand, exalted to heaven the bourgeois parliamentary republic, taking it as the only good form of proletarian regime. In his article "A Critique of the Two Regimes," Lenin suggested his famous dictum: "The fundamental question of all revolutions is the question of state power. Failing to perceive this, one can hardly speak of joining the revolution, let alone leading the revolution." Lenin held that, unlike anarchists, Marxism acknowledges that during the period of the general revolution, especially during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, there must be a state and state power. Unlike Plekhanov and Kautsky and their ilk, Marxism holds that what is needed in the aforesaid period is not a common bourgeois parliamentary republic but a state like the Paris Commune.

Lenin repeatedly compared the fundamental difference between the bourgeois parliamentary republic and the soviet republic of the Paris Commune type. He said: "The most perfect and most advanced bourgeois state is the parliamentary democratic republic: power belongs to the parliament; the state apparatus and management institutions are, as is generally the case, equipped with a standing army, police, and officials who are in fact never replaced, who enjoy prerogatives, and who stand on the heads of the people." But the basic indicators of state power of the Paris Commune type are: "(1) The source of political power is not the law the parliament has discussed and passed in advance but the direct action initiated by the masses of the people from various localities below; put in current expressions, that means direct 'seizure'; (2) It substitutes directly armed people of the whole state for the police and army that are separated from, and confront, the people themselves; under such a regime, the order of the state is maintained by the armed workers and peasants, that is, the armed people, themselves; (3) Its officials are probably also replaced by the people's direct political power or are at least under the special supervision of the people, so that they become representatives elected by the people and, once demanded by the people, can be immediately dismissed and replaced; this turns them from the privileged stratum with 'status' drawing a high salary from the bourgeoisie into workers using special 'instruments,' and their compensation must not exceed that of the general wage of a skilled worker." Lenin held that the essence of the proletarian state lies precisely here.

During August-September 1918, that is, on the eve of the seizure of power by the Russian proletariat from the hands of the bourgeoisie, Lenin wrote an important theoretical work, "State and Revolution." In this work Lenin fully discussed the great significance of why the proletariat must destroy the old military, bureaucratic apparatus and establish a proletarian dictatorship. At the same time, he also carried out further theoretical discussion as to the form of the proletariat's future state power. Citing the principles of the Paris Commune summed up by Marx in his book "The French Civil War," Lenin discoursed: "This shows that the Commune replacement for the destroyed state apparatus seems to be a 'merely' more complete democracy which actually implies a more radical substitution, that is, substituting certain entirely different institutions for other institutions. Here is seen an actual example of 'quantity turning into quality': a very complete and very thorough democracy practiced in a way that can be generally imagined, a bourgeois democracy turning into proletarian

democracy." "All office expenses and all monetary privileges granted to officials are eliminated, and the salaries of all public personnel of the state are reduced to the level of 'wages for the workers.' Here is demonstrated a most conspicuous change: a change from the bourgeois democracy to the proletarian democracy, from the democracy of the oppressors to the democracy of the oppressed, from the state, a 'special force' carrying out suppression against specific classes, to a common force of the majority of the people--workers and peasants suppressing the oppressors." Besides, Lenin also discussed and expounded the view broached by Marx that a proletarian regime should handle both legislative and executive functions.

In a word, from "April Outline" to "State and Revolution," Lenin invariably took the elimination of the standing army and police, the election and supervision of officials by the people, and the removal of the officials' high salaries and privileges as the basic indicators of proletarian state power and proletarian democracy.

The Change of the Soviet System in Practice After the Victory of the October Revolution

A revolution is the practice of hundreds and thousands of people. The reason why the theory of Marxism-Leninism is the science of revolution is because it is rooted in practice, tested by practice, and continues to develop in practice. The Soviet regime established during the October Revolution of 1917 still accorded with the principles stated by Marx and Lenin in its early days. Since the February revolution, it began to replace Tsarist police and gendarmerie with workers and Red guards and other such people's armed forces; the old governmental apparatus of the bourgeoise was destroyed and substituted with new people's committees. Indeed, as Lenin said in March 1918: "The soviet regime is a new type of state without bureaucrats, without police, without a standing army in which a new democracy has replaced the bourgeois democracy." However, this state form in its rudimentary shape was to undergo continuous changes in practice afterwards.

First, it was the standing army and police. When the soviet regime had just been set up on the ruins of backward old Russia, it faced vehement resistance and frequent revolts of domestic counterrevolutionaries and it faced the combined armed intervention of international imperialists. In the face of such a stern situation, it would be obviously very difficult to protect the soviet regime from being toppled if only workers, Red guards, peasant guerillas were relied upon....

Then, it was the evolution of state apparatus. According to the declaration issued by the Second Congress of All-Russia Worker-Peasant-Soldier Soviets and the Constitution passed in 1918, the All-Russia Worker-Peasant-Soldier Soviet Congress was the supreme organ of power of the state. During the period the Congress was out of session, its standing organ -- the All-Russia Central Executive Committee would exercise its power. According to the principles Lenin originally expounded and according to the idea of combined legislation and administration, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee elected by the All-Russia Soviet Congress should be a governmental organ with both legislative and administrative functions. But, at the Second All-Russia Soviet Congress there

was established somehow a People's Commissariat which was to take special charge of exercising executive power (later on many laws and edicts were also promulgated). This People's Commissariat was by no means elected; it was instead, organized by members nominated by the Bolshevik party which made up the majority at the Second All-Russia Soviet Congress. Thus, it was the People's Commissariat that turned out to be the organ of supreme power exercising both legislative and executive power whereas its supervision and replacement by the All-Russia Worker-Peasant-Soldier Soviet Congress and its Central Executive Committee became merely formalistic. The reason Lenin and the Bolsheviks did so was entirely for the purpose of assuring the leadership of the vanguard of the proletariat -- the party over the new regime. Under the circumstances at the time, if the electoral system were entirely adhered to, opportunities would have been created for certain petty bourgeois factions waving the socialist signboard to legitimately overthrow the proletarian regime.

With respect to officials' wages, Lenin said while explaining the question in "State and Revolution" as to why only the average wage of a worker should be given them: "The capitalist culture has created large-scale production, the factory, the railroad, postal administration, the telephone, etc; on this basis most of the functions of the old 'state regime' have already become very simple and can be reduced to registration, filling out of forms, inspection and simple procedures of the like, so that every literate person is entirely able to exercise these functions." But, because Russia was backward both economically and culturally, and practice proved that management of the state turned out not as simple as had been imagined; it would still not do apart from relying on experts with scientific and technological knowledge and given management experience. Hence, after the October Revolution, excerpt for the Foreign Affairs Ministry and the courts, most government management organs, especially departments of economic work, were forced to absorb large contingents of old officials, old functionaries, and old experts, Precisely because of this, after a period of equal wage system was practiced with respect to the officials' wages (the highest wage for a single working person was 500 rubles), a higher wage for the experts began to be administered. By April 1919, the provision that officials' wages must not exceed a worker's average wage was partly discarded.

After this series of changes taking place in practice in the soviet system, could it still be said that it was the most democratic form of regime? How should its democratic nature be viewed now? In order to answer this type of question, Lenin repeatedly pointed out that the soviet "is a way of managing the state under the condition of eliminating the bourgeoisie and opposition to the bourgeoisie. Here, democracy for the first time serves the toilers; it is no longer the rich people's democracy: but "the poor people's democracy," no longer sham democracy but genuine democracy. According to Lenin, this alone was the essence of Soviet democracy. Even so, because the soviet system itself underwent this series of changes, it was bound to incur also many new problems.

Bureaucratism Partly Revived Within the Soviet System

...Lenin was of the opinion that the reason why bureaucratism revived within the soviet system was because Russian culture was not well developed and it resulted from the soviet organs absorbing old officials and old functionaries. Said Lenin analytically, we could not find any other people, so we retained the

old officials; it was "this backwardness of the culture" that "demoted the soviet regime and enabled bureaucratism to revive." How to struggle against this bureaucratism? The main measures Lenin suggested and wrote into his party program at the time were to absorb soviet representatives to shoulder given state management tasks and absorb toilers to participate in state management. In his report at the 8th Congress of the CPSU, Lenin emphatically pointed out, only when all the residents participated in management work could the struggle against bureaucratism be thoroughly carried out and the task of overcoming bureaucratism be completed.

Social phenomena are always complex and complicated. At the same time when the calamity of bureaucratism was discovered by Lenin, two other important problems appearing in state management, especially in the tasks of economic management, were also discovered: one was the absence of people taking charge of concrete tasks that resulted from the collective management system put into practice after the October Revolution; the other was the stupid tendency of opposing experts incurred by the collective management system.

Hence, almost simultaneously with the grasping of the antibureaucratism struggle Lenin also grasped the single-chief system which represented a transition from the collective management system to individual responsibility as well as the task of absorbing experts to participate in management. Even though Lenin repeatedly talked about carrying out the single-chief system and absorbing experts and opposing bureaucratism between 1919 and 1920, saying that "there is no contradiction between our dictatorship and the single-chief system and socialist democracy," because such a single-chief system and appointment system were put in general practice, the people participating in management and the masses of the people supervising officials, etc., all this made it a problem that could hardly be implemented. For the sake of solving this problem, in February 1920, at Lenin's suggestion, the People's Commissariat changed the State Supervisory Department into the Worker-Peasant Procuratorate (also called People's Department of Procurators). Lenin indicated that the task of the Worker-Peasant Procuratorate was to inspect the work of various organs, expose mistakes, correct mistakes, struggle against bureaucratism, and through this organization at the same time strengthen the ability of the worker and peasant masses to participate in management work. The Worker-Peasant Procuratorate aimed mainly at absorbing nonparty worker and peasant masses to participate, letting nonparty worker-peasant congresses recommend the members who were to participate in this organization. Later practice proved that the Worker-Peasant Procuratorate by no means completed the aforesaid tasks.

Further Deepening of the Perception of Bureaucratism as a Calamity

In the Spring of 1921, that is, after the 8th Soviet Congress discussed bureaucratism and the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party summed up the debate closely related to the analysis of bureaucratism; with respect to this calamity, bureaucratism, Lenin "took it even more clearly, plainly, and seriously."

1. The bureaucratism within the soviet system was mainly a reflection on communists and concentrated in Moscow and the central organs. Two years earlier, Lenin still thought that the bureaucratism within the soviet system mainly came from the old functionaries employed by the new regime; by November 1920, Lenin's

view advanced further: the bureaucratism which had revived in the soviet organs could not but produce harmful effects in the party organizations. Now he saw that bureaucratism was mainly reflected in communists being "vainly self-aggrandizing, placing themselves above their genuine cause," treating practical work "with an arrogant, bureaucratic, indifferent attitude," exuding pride on the basis of ignorance, exerting their willfulness at the exclusion of relevant suggestions, and following the habits of officialdom. And it was mainly reflected in Communists undertaking leadership tasks...

2. The root source of bureaucratism within the soviet system was: "the dispersed and loose state of small producers, their poverty and crudeness, their stemmed routes of communication, the prevalence of their illiteracy, the lack of circulation, contact and coordination between industry and agriculture. All this is to a great extent the result of civil wars." Soviet Russia has always been a country with a peasant majority; under the soviet regime, it should ordinarily have rapidly developed its industry and supported its small peasants with the commodity exchange between industry and agriculture to enable them to embark gradually upon the path of socialist large-scale production. But, right after the revolution, civil wars broke out. Although the policy of "wartime communism" as a forced practice secured the victory in the civil war, circulation between industry and agriculture became artifically stemmed; small production became even more bankrupt. Bureaucratism took shape precisely on the basis of such a loose and debilitated state as that of the small producers. In addition, the cultural level of the masses was low; despite the fact that Lenin repeatedly called upon them to struggle against bureaucratism, and the soviet regime also passed a series of laws for carrying out such struggle against it, practically none took advantage of these laws. "Not only did peasants not know how to take advantage of them, even most Communists did not know how to take advantage of soviet laws: in order to struggle against bureaucratism. Consequently, not only was bureaucratism not overcome but it even became increasing more serious.

3. Even though the existence of bureaucratism had its deep economic sources, Lenin by no means neglected subjective reasons. Lenin was of the opinion that the bureaucratic sins committed by most communists wielding political power were mainly due to a lack of culture, ignorance in management, and indulgence in administrative means. When Lenin made a report at the 11th Congress of the Russian Communist Party on 27 March 1923, he cited two typical examples; one was that Moscow lacked meat supplies at the time and needed to buy canned substitutes... Communists in charge of the work lacked sufficient capability to handle management work; hence they often became lulled by others and turned into bureaucrats themselves. Consequently, Lenin maintained that, insofar as communist leaders were concerned, the key was in being good at study; they must learn to do management work and overcome the ill practice of resorting to administrative means at random.

Through such an analysis of bureaucratism with the soviet system like the above, Lenin pointed out: while bureaucratism was serious, one must not become disheartened and but seek to overcome it by adopting multifarious practical measures. In summary, the measures proposed by Lenin were:

First, promoting circulation between industry and agriculture by the New Economic Policy, developing small economies, restoring large-scale industry, and gradually establishing the economic foundation of socialism. Lenin pointed out, "circulation constitutes freedom in trade," "it is capable to a certain extent to help us struggle against the looseness of small producers and to a certain extent also help us struggle against bureaucratism."

Second, carrying out a cultural revolution, eliminating illiterates, running various schools, training the younger generation, enabling them to become the soviet system's reserves with culture, so that they could replace large contingents of old personnel. But this would not take place until several years later; the immediate task of communists was to learn from all experts of scientific knowledge and management experience so as to quickly turn themselves into civilized managers.

Third, communists undertaking responsible work in soviet organs must closely link with the masses, "paying extraordinary attention to the needs of workers and peasants," "treating the masses with a comradely manner" in order to win unlimited trust of the masses. Said Lenin: "to a communist party whose membership is limited, to a vanguard of the working class leading a big country advancing toward socialism, one of the greatest dangers is separation from the masses." "The basis of our policies and administrative means is to have the entire vanguard linked to all proletarians and linked to the masses of all peasants."

Fourth, it is necessary to continue to improve the soviet organs and reform the soviet system. In this regard, methods to be adopted may include institutional streamlining, reduction in staff structure, cutdown of personnel, economy in expenditures, change in operational systems, turning bureaucrats over to the courts for trial, etc.; but the key lies in selecting relevant talents and inspecting conditions of execution. In respect to selecting talents, Lenin repeatedly pointed out: We must absorb all fine nonparty workers and peasants to participate in management work in the various departments; we must absorb experts. In order to strengthen inspection work, Lenin instructed the two vice chairmen of the People's Commissariat and the Labor and Defense Commissariat mainly to place the focus of their work on inspection; he at the same time adopted measures to reorganize the Worker-Peasant Procuratorate which failed to carry out the function of inspection.

Final Thoughts

...Lenin carried out sharp criticism of the Soviet State organs. Apart from the cases mentioned above, he also repeatedly called the state organs "messiest organs," "inherited from the Tsarist regime but glossed over with some slight soviet color," "chaotic stuff of the bourgeoisie and the Tsar," "even if not loathesome, at least lamentable." In a word, from Lenin's point of view, this state system simply had to be reformed.

Meanwhile, Lenin frankly criticized the ideas and work style of Trotsky, Stalin, and party and state leaders of the like. Lenin especially criticized the party's general secretary, Stalin. In his letter to the Congress, he said: "As general secretary, Comrade Stalin wields boundless power; whether or not he can forever

cautiously exercise this power, I am not too sure." He also criticized Stalin by saying that when he led the Worker-Peasant Procuratorate, he failed to accomplish the task entrusted to him by the party Central Committee; "there is no organ more mishandled than our Worker-peasant Procuratorate." In his letter "Concerning Nationality or Question of 'Autonomous Development'" Lenin criticized Stalin for continuing pan-Russianism, for being "a Russianized alien," and he likewise criticized him for his impetuosity, his crudeness, intolerance, and unscrupulousness, etc.

It was on the basis of this series of analyses that Lenin finally directly proposed in his letter to the party Congress: "I would very much like to suggest the implementation at this Congress a series of changes to our political system." Lenin made two suggestions: one was to increase the number of the party's Central Committee members to 50-100 by encouraging more workers and peasants to join Central Committee; these persons should not be those who had long undertaken soviet work and thus already formed certain traditions and certain fixed views but those promoted to soviet personnel in less than the past 5 years, namely those closer to the common worker and peasant masses. Lenin held that adopting this measure would serve to achieve a twofold or even threefold goal: to enable more people to gain training by work at the central headquarters, to enhance the party's stability, and to reform the messiest organs. Another suggestion was to confer upon the state Planning Committee the legislative function. The purpose of this suggestion was to enable those experts of good scientific background who were equipped with broad experience in, and the capability of, recruiting relevant talent's to have both office and power in state organs, especially in the state Planning Committee, in order to preclude administrative interference.

Beside writing a letter to the Congress, Lenin also wrote two articles for open publication in the press: "How To Reorganize the Worker-Peasant Procuratorate" and "Fewer. But Better." These articles took reorganization of the Worker-Peasant Procuratorate as their theme and broadly discussed the question of reforming state organs and party organs. They emphatically pointed out that it was necessary to increase the number of members of the Central Control Commission, to enhance the supervisory function of these commissioners, to merge the reorganized Worker-Peasant Procuratorate with the Central Control Commission in order practically to strengthen the supervision over the party's leading organs.

From Lenin's final thoughts, we can see that he linked the improvement of the soviet organs and antibureaucratism struggle together with the reform of the soviet political system, and he concentrated his attention entirely on the party's supreme leading organ--the Central Committee and the party's principal leaders. This was quite reasonable. We all know that there is an important central point in Lenin's theory about the proletarian dictatorship, which is that the proletarian dictatorship is realized through the Communist Party and the leaders of the party are in turn the embodiment of party will. If the party's Central Committee is not well adjusted in the first place, would not the improvement of the system of proletarian dictatorship itself be entirely amiss?!

Within a few short years, the great Lenin, in order to establish the soviet type of proletarian dictatorship and carry out the struggle against bureaucratism within the soviet system, succeeded in considerably enriching and developing the

Marxist theory on proletarian dictatorship in practice. The practical experience accumulated by Lenin in this regard, the series of theoretical viewpoints he put forward, and the methods of analyzing and solving problems he exemplified are all extremely precious spiritual gifts to posterity; his thoroughly revolutionary spirit of daring to practice, respecting practice, and continuously forging forward in practice, in particular, even more gloriously stand as a brilliant example to posterity.

In his article "On the Role of Gold at Present and After the Complete Victory of Socialism" written in November 1921, Lenin said: "The establishment of the soviet system as the form for realizing proletarian dictatorship, this change of world significance, is already accomplished. The era of the parliamentary system of bourgeois democracy has come to a close. A new chapter in world history, namely the era of proletarian dictatorship, has now begun. But it will still take many countries to improve and complete the soviet system and various forms of proletarian dictatorship. In this regard, we still have many, many things to do. If we fail to see this, that would be inexcusable." While affirming fully the worldwide historical significance of the soviet system, Lenin at the same time refrained from concretizing the forms of the system he had established and that of the proletarian dictatorship; on the contrary, he asked that numerous countries seek to continue to improve and develop them.

The revolutionary pioneer of the German proletariat, well known Marxist, Rosa Luxenbourg, wrote a pamphlet "The Russian Revolution" in January 1918 while in the enemy's prison. He praised highly the Bolsheviks' firm revolutionary stand and internationalist spirit; at the same time, he also criticized the Bolsheviks for despising intraparty democracy and warned that the increasing dictatorial factors within the party might gradually lead to the rise of a new bureaucratic politics. Because Luxenbourg's criticism just happened to pander to the Trotskyite trend of opposing the soviet system with "pure democracy," Lenin in turn criticized Luxenbourg. But, linking together the series of changes the soviet system underwent after the death of Lenin and looking back again while reviewing the ideas in the "April Outline" and "State and Revolution" cited in the first section of this article, people again would discover that Luxenbourg's words were by no means said in the manner of shooting an arrow without a relevant target; on the contrary, they were reasonable.

Since proletarian dictatorship is dictatorship by the workers, it should of course let the masses of the people act as masters of their own house and the workers must necessarily enjoy full democratic rights; only thus can leaders of the government of the country be put under the supervision of the masses of the people. Since proletarian dictatorship is realized through the communist party, then the party, as one organized by advanced elements of the proletariat should of course give full scope to intraparty democracy, mobilize the revolutionary enthusiasm of all its vanguards, and bring into full play the party's role as a fighting citadel. Only thus can a proletarian dictatorship be prevented from metamorphosing into bureaucratic politics.

Note: Lenin's original words cited in this article are respectively from "Selected Works of Lenin," Vols 2, 3, 4; and "Complete Works of Lenin," Vols 28, 32, 33, 35, 36.

9255
CSO: 4005/939

PARTY AND STATE

CLASS STRUGGLE IN ECONOMIC FIELD DESCRIBED

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Liu Jie [0491 2638] and He Wenzhuang [0149 2429 8369]: "Take a Clear-Cut Stand in the Frontline of Struggle"]

[Text] Under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee, the people throughout the country have dealt telling blows to the unlawful and criminal activities in the economic field and have scored gratifying success in this field. But as this struggle develops, some people have failed to keep themselves well informed about it. As soon as they were told that this struggle was in the nature of a class struggle against the invasion of the corrosive capitalist ideology, they would speculate that "the days of taking class struggle as the key link are around the corner again"; as soon as they were informed that "the main danger comes from the wavering, rotten and corrupt elements within the ranks of our party rather than from any other directions," they would assume that "the bourgeoisie is right here in the party." This proves that it is absolutely necessary for us to eliminate the pernicious "leftist" influence which has prevented us from gaining a correct understanding of the current situation of class struggle. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party Central Committee has conducted a scientific analysis of the present stage of class struggle in our country. It has stated that as long as we can study the analysis by the party Central Committee of the current class struggle in our country's economic field in conjunction with the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," and as long as we can conscientiously make a comparative analysis of the document of the party Central Committee and speeches by leaders at central levels on the struggle against the unlawful and criminal activities in the economic field, and of the erroneous viewpoint included in the so-called "theory of continuing revolution;" we will find it not too difficult to recognize that there are two forms of class struggle that differ in nature from each other.

First, the two theories of class struggle begin with different premises. Using the inaccurate assessment of the overall class situation and the political stature of the party and the state in our country, as a point of departure, the so-called theory of "continuing revolution" represents a fundamental tendency to deny the basic fact that after the socialist transformation was basically completed in our republic, the exploiters as a class disappeared.

There is tendency to misinterpret the continuation of the residual form of class struggle as a full-fledged class struggle and to uphold the class struggle as the key link. Then tendency is neither in line with Marxism nor does it conform to the Chinese reality. At present, the statements on the current class struggle in the economic fields in our country issued by the party Central Committee are based on the scientific analysis of the class situation and class struggle included in the "Historical Resolution" which explicitly states that with the disappearance of exploiters as a class, the class struggle can no longer be considered the principal contradiction despite the fact that under the influence of certain factors at home and abroad, the class struggle may still exist in specific localities and may become acute under certain conditions. Using this theory that class struggle may take place in "specific localities" and "under certain conditions" as a basic point of departure, the party Central Committee has come to regard the criminal economic activities as an important manifestation of class struggle under the new historical condition and has called on all party members to be on the alert against the grave danger and threat of the unlawful and criminal activities in the economic field and the extremely great threat of the corrosive capitalist ideology to the socialist construction program in our country, and never to slacken their efforts in this struggle. This scientific Marxist analysis is entirely correct and conforms to the Chinese conditions. It also reflects a specific tendency to uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The assumption that "the days of taking class struggle as the key link are around the corner again" is entirely wrong.

Second, the two schools of persuasion have assessed the gravity of class struggle in different ways. At the heart of the theory of "continuing revolution" is a completely erroneous assessment of the gravity of class struggle in our country. An assessment which is based on the assumption that "a large number of representatives of the bourgeoisie, and counterrevolutionary revisionists have inflitrated into the organizations of the party, government and army and all aspects of cultrual life, and have captured the leadership of a large number of units from the hands of Marxists and the masses of people," thus overstating the gravity of class struggle. At present, in order to achieve a clear understanding of the origins of the main danger, the party Central Committee has applied the tenets of dialectical materialsim as a scientific method to analyze the interaction of various factors at home and abroad, inside and outside the party, and at higher and lower levels from the leadership position of the party in power. The aim is to remind the public of the main danger from within the party, and its causes. This main danger from within the party refers to danger in a "certain sense" but not in a sense that will affect all aspects of life; a danger posed by wavering, corrupt and rotten elements within the party ranks rather than resulting from the development of any counterrevolutionary revisionist line; a danger that comes from some party cadres who have slackened their guard against the "sugar-coated bullets" rather than from the existence of the bourgeoisie within the party. Therefore, the party Central Committee's emphasis on the gravity of class struggle in the economic field is basically different from the viewpoint included in the so-called theory of "continuing revolution."

Third, they define the nature of class struggle in different ways. The proponents of the theory of "continuing revolution" have viewed the "Cultural Revolution" as a "power struggle in which one class will be overthrown by another" while the party Central Committee has unequivocally declared that the current battle against the unlawful and criminal activities in the economic field is a struggle against the erosion of the bourgeois liberalization tendency and the capitalist ideology rather than a power struggle in which "one class will be overthrown by another," and under attack are only a few lawbreakers and criminals rather than a full-fledged class force.

Fourth, they have adopted different policies and methods for the development of class struggle. The theory of "continuing revolution" holds that out by carrying out the "Great Cultural Revolution" and by developing the turbulent mass movements and struggles can we solve problems. This approach will certainly lead to the escalation of class struggle, causing serious damage to the party and the country. As the current struggle against the criminal activities in the economic field develops, the party Central Committee has explicitly pointed out: Although the mass line must be upheld, the tactics of the mass movement should no longer be used, nor should the masses be sidely mobilized to check up on everyone as a matter of formality. Persistent efforts must be made to uphold the provisions of party discipline and state laws, and to make the public security organs, the people's procuratorates and the people's courts play a full role in prosecuting every case according to the due process of the law. Only in this way can a correct policy take shape as a vehicle for moving the struggle in the correct direction. From an assessment of such basic divergencies, we can come up with a clear conclusion that the party Central Committee's major policy decision on dealing blows to the unlawful and criminal activities in the economic field is in every sense a product resulting from the correct summation of the historical lessons concerning the "Great Cultural Revolution" through the application of the tenets of Marxism-Leninism. We must consciously rally ourselves behind the political line of the party Central Committee and act as vanguards in this struggle. This is a problem that needs to be straightened out.

9574
CSO: 4005/1007

PARTY AND STATE

MODEL WORKERS AWARDS MEETING HELD IN JIANGSU

Meeting Opens

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by Zhang Xun [1728 6737], Rong Jie [2837 2234], and Cui Hua [4733 5478].

[Text] The 1981 Jiangsu Provincial Model Worker and Advanced Collective Awards Meeting was solemnly opened on the morning of 11 June at the Nanjing Great Hall of the People.

This awards meeting was a continuation in Jiangsu Province of another distinguished gathering of heroes subsequent to the 1980 awards meeting. The 515 labor heroes and representatives of 227 advanced collectives attending this meeting ware labor models and outstanding representatives of advanced collectives on the battlefronts of the province's industry, communications, capital construction, finance and trade, sceince and technology, education, culture, health, news, publishing and sports. They included both models building socialist material civilization and models in building socialist spiritual civilization. They ranged in age from 85 to 19. The delegates included engineers, experts, medical doctors, performers, and teachers, the proportion of intellectuals increasing from the 16 percent at the last awards meeting to 29 percent at this one, which was unprecedented in previous labor model conferences. Most encouraging was that the ratio of young labor models under 30 years of age increased from the nine percent of the last previous awards conference to 17 percent. Those attenting this awards meeting also included advanced model personnages from national minorities, staff and workers of Taiwan origin, and overseas Chinese who have returned to China. Comrades Zhou Ze [0719 3419], Ding Keze [0002 0668 0463], Jin Xun [6855 6676], Xu Fangheng [1776 2455 1854], Zhou Yifeng [0719 0001 1496], Liu Hekeng [0491 0735 6342], Hong Peilin [3163 3099 7207], Lo Yunlai [5012 6663 0171], Peng Bo [1756 0514], He Yonghao [0149 0393 4110], Ye Xuchao [0673 5171 2600], Li Zhizhong [2621 1013 0022], Feng Yongyi [6265 3057 5030], Hua Chengyi [5478 6134 0001], Gao Juefu [7559 6030 2421], Ouyang Huilin [2962 7122 1920 2651], Xu Fang [1776 2397], and Liu Zhicheng [0491 1807 6134] attended the awards meeting opening ceremonies. Comrades in charge at the Provincial CCP Committee and from Provincial People's Government commissions, offices, departments, bureaus, and mass organizations concerned also attended the meeting.

Comrade Zhou Yifeng, deputy provincial governor, presided over the meeting.

Deputy provincial governor, Comrade Zhou Ze made the opening speech. He said that in recent years, CCP Central Committee and central leadership cadres had launched a deepgoing socialist labor competition among persons who were advanced in study and who played an advanced role, and they had also issued a series of important instructions. Some time ago, the Central Secretariat had emphatically pointed out that the advanced model persons on all battle fronts were glorious warriors in the forefront of the times. Their advanced ideology and model actions were a driving force for giving impetus to the steady development of China's modern socialist endeavors, and they both guided and impelled an increasing number of people to respect and emulate advanced models, broadly, deeply and steadfastly to launch mass campaigns to study the advanced and catch up with the advanced, and were a major important element in the building of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization."

Our task at this conference is to diligently study, understand, and manifest this guiding spirit of the CCP Central Committee. We must do as Comrade Hu Yao bang instructed, "compare the gap between oneself and the advanced, and respect the advanced as teachers," conscientiously learning from the advanced, and honestly seeking instruction from the advanced, summarizing and promoting advanced experiences in a seeking for truth in facts. Through the vehicle of this conference, we must make the selection of models, the setting of good examples, regular summarization, assessment and comparison, awarding of advanced units and advanced persons a regular task so that labor competitions of mass comparison, learning from, catching up with, helping, and in turn surpassing, and rational suggestion campaigns will develop more broadly and deeply.

Comrade Zhou Ze said that the Provincial People's Government would give individual awards to the 742 delegates to this awards conference. This included the conferring of the glorious title of "labor model" on 515 advanced individuals, and conferring of the glorious title of "advanced collective" on 227 collectives. In addition, on the basis of their special achievements, individual titles of honor were conferred on 11 of the individual model workers and representatives of advanced collectives, and their advanced achievements and experiences would be made a matter of record and would be exchanged. Through this meeting Zhou Ze said, we want to disseminate to all staff and workers and to the broad masses of people the advanced ideology, fine qualities and valuable experiences of advanced collectives and model workers and give impetus to development in depth of socialist labor competition.

Comrade Zhou Ze said that the political and economic situations in Jiangsu Province are currently very good. However, our duties are very arduous, and we are still facing numerous difficulties. We earnestly hope that all advanced model persons on the battlelines throughout the province will continue to carry forward a spirit of deep love for the motherland, deep love for the party, and deep love for socialism, that they will strive to improve their own political quality, will play a full leading role, a role as mainstay cadres a role as a bridge to unite and stir the broad masses of staff and workers to persevere in carrying out the party's line and each of its programs and policies, will adhere to the four fundamental principles, will carry on and carry forward the revolu-

tionary traditions and fine qualities of China's proletariat, will firmly implant a sense of responsibility of the proletariat being the master of its own affairs, will not flinch from hardships, will struggle arduously, and will devote stringent efforts in accordance with the 10 point program for economic construction to improving economic benefits using the minimum amount of manpower, material, and financial resources to produce more and better products suitable to meet needs, will strive to fulfill the agricultural and industrial production and commodity procurement quotas, the communications and transportation quotas, and the public finance and banking quotas for the province this year, will actively join in attacks on serious crimes in the economic field, and win new victories in the building of the "two civilizations" [material and spiritual civilization].

Editorial Comment

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] The 1981 Jiangsu Provincial Labor Model and Advanced Collective Awards Meeting has opened! We extend high respect and express enthusiastic congratulations to labor models and advanced collectives that stand in the forefront of the building of the "two civilizations."

The advanced model personages from all battlefronts in the province attending this meeting are the vanguard in the province's building of "two civilizations. Their spiritual mien is representative of the socialist moral ethic of the people of Jiangsu Province. The accomplishments they have made are representative of the advanced levels of all constructive endeavors in Jiangsu Province today. Their advanced ideology and advanced experiences are a precious wealth of the people throughout the province. We realize with happiness that those attending this meeting include both a large number of new excellers, who have emerged during recent years, as well as old labor models who have again made new contributions. In particular the large ratio of engineers, experts, medical doctors, performers, teachers, and such intellectual labor models, as well as young labor models under the age of 30 has been unparalleled in previous labor model meetings. This reflects the distinctive features of China's new historical development period, and demonstrates the correctness of the programs, policies and line that have followed from the Third Plenary Session [of the 11th Party Central Committee], the vigorous development of our undertakings, and that there is no lack of successors.

Guiding and giving impetus to the broad masses of people to learn from the advanced and to launch a wideranging, deepgoing, and lasting mass campaign to study the advanced and to catch up with the advanced is an important ingredient in the building of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. Advanced model personnages on all battle fronts are glorious warrious in the forefront of the times whose advanced ideology and model actions are a driving force that promotes steady development of China's socialist modern endeavors. Inculcating and carrying forward among the masses of the people of an atmosphere of learning from the advanced and catching up with the advanced are powerful means of indoctrinating cadres and the masses in boycotting capitalistic ideological corrosion, and are major indicators of the vigorous progress and steady advance of the nation and the people. Our party and people's government have always attached extremely great importance to the role of advanced person and advanced collectives, and have attached importance to their advanced

ideology and model achievements in encouraging and stimulating the broad masses of people to struggle heroically for the victory of the revolution and construction endeavors. Today's opening of the meeting to honor labor models and advanced collectives is a practical measure on the part of the party and government to support and encourage the advanced. In encouraging advanced models, this meeting gives full play to their roles in building the "two civilizations." For the mobilization of staff and workers and the broad masses of people in the province to take advanced models as an example to be followed, it starts an upsurge for the study of the advanced and for catching up with the advanced, and has extremely important significance for assuring fulfillment of this year's production and various construction tasks.

In our learning from advanced models, most important is to learn their sense of responsibility as masters of our own affairs and the leading cadre spirit. The building of the four modernizations that we are currently carrying out places all sorts of arduous new tasks on all battle fronts, and new situations and new problems emerge in an endless stream requiring our study and solution. Consequently, we particularly must learn from and carry forward the advanced models' concern for the motherland while having their feet firmly planted in their own work in order to realize our common ideals and spirit of devotion. We must learn from and carry forward their revolutionary spirit of daring to defy hardships, of having their feet planted solidly on the ground, and daring to do, exerting themselves with all their heart and might in their individual work positions to make a greater contribution! The various specific advanced experiences of the advanced models have often represented the orientation of development of the trades and industries in which they work or the work they do! We must link our own actual circumstances, diligently study, and promote their advanced experiences in similar trades and industries or similar kinds of jobs, making them become the common property of society. If we just really spread the advanced experiences of advanced persons we will be able to raise our production and work to a new level, and we will be able to greatly advance all of our endeavors.

All party and government leadership organs, trade unions, the Communist Youth League, the Women's Federation, the Literary Federation, the Science Society and such mass groups should use a high degree of political responsibility and take a clear-cut stand to publicize the advanced and support the advanced to inculcate and carry forward among the broad masses of people a fine atmosphere of learning from and catching up with the advanced. All grassroots level units should proceed from their own realities to prominently publicize advanced representative examples in their own units. By publicizing the advanced and educating the broad masses of people to deeply love the party, deeply love socialism, deeply love the motherland, deeply love their own unit, and deeply love the work of their own position, they should correctly handle the relationship among the country, the collective, and individuals, intensify a sense of responsibility at being masters, ingrain an attitude of socialist labor, and carry forward socialist morality and ethics. They should particularly inspire and indoctrinate the broad masses of youth to look up to advanced models and strive to make of themselves people with ideals, virtue, and culture who observe discipline. All levels of leaders are to boldly and assuredly support the advanced, encourage healthy trends, and criticize unhealthy trends and evil

practices of all kinds. As regards those who envy the worthy and are jealous of the able, who themselves do not try to get ahead but do not let others advance, cordial help should be given them to correct their mistaken ideas, and they should be guided to enter the ranks of those who learn from the advanced and catch up with the advanced. Where there is conclusive evidence of a small minority that bears resentment and retaliates, frames, or attacks the advanced, they should be sternly dealt with and in particularly severe instances, responsibility should be fixed under the law. To determine whether leaders do this, it is necessary to see whether advanced persons are accorded respect, whether learning from the advanced has become a common practice, and whether or not there exists a situation of "being an advanced person is no joy and being a labor model is hard to bear." If such problems have been rather well resolved, this shows that the leaders there have not only given lip service but have genuinely supported the advanced.

Learning from the advanced, respecting the advanced, and cherishing the advanced are matters to which we should all give attention. We cannot require advanced people to do things that they feel will bring them hardships or things that are beyond their power to do. Much less can be placed imporper or unreasonable requirements on them out of selfish needs. Leaders, for their part, should give serious attention to the training and education of advanced models. They should educate advanced models to adhere to a firm and correct political orientation, handle themselves as one dividing into two, study assiduously, steadily advance themselves, be able to bear the tests of hardships and glory, maintaining an advanced attitude in all environments. They should be taught to unite closely with the masses, be modest and prudent, guard against conceit and impetuosity, be adept at learning from the masses, and be able to progress steadily. They should diligently help advanced models solve thier problems of having too many concurrent positions, too many meetings, too many social activities, and too long work hours. They should actively create conditions to help advanced persons improve their political level, their scientific and cultural levels, and their technical and professional abilities, thereby the better to steadily bring into play their role as leaders, their role as mainstay cadres, and their role as bridges.

We must ride the east wind of this meeting to create throughout the province a powerful public opinion and a fine atmosphere for learning from the advanced, catching up and overtaking the advanced, supporting the advanced, and cherishing the advanced, so that the corps of our advanced will steadily expand and the building of our socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization will steadily move ahead.

Meeting Closes

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] The historic 5 day Provincial Model Worker and Advanced Collective Awards Meeting concluded on the afternoon of 15 June at the Nanjing Great Hall of the People. The provincial government awarded 515 comrades with outstanding accomplishments on various battle fronts the title of 1981 labor model, issued decorations and certificates, and awarded individual honorable titles and certificates of honor to 31 of the labor models. It awarded the title of 1981 advanced collective to 227 units and issued them certificates of merit.

Hui Yuyu [1980 3188 1342], Han Peixin [7281 1014 0207], Zhou Ze, Ding Keze, Xin Shaobo [6580 1421 3134], Wang Bingshi [3076 0393 4258], Jin Xun, Liu Lin [2692 2651], Xu Fangheng, Zhou Yifeng, Lo Yunlai, Yang Ting bao [2799 1694 1405], Xie Kedong [6200 0460 2639], Liu Shuxun [0419 2885 8113], Wei Yongyi [7279 3057 5030], Gao Juefu, Xu Fang, and Liu Zhicheng attended the award ceremonies and the closing ceremonies. Officers in charge in all departments, commissions, offices, and mass organizations of the provincial government also attended the meeting.

Deputy Provincial Governor Zhou Yifeng presided over yesterday's meeting.

Deputy Governor Wang Bingshi read "Jiangsu Provincial People's Government Decisions on the Awarding of Titles as 1981 Model Workers and Advanced Collectives."

To the strains of majestic martial music, Provincial Governor Hu Yuyu and individual deputy governors issued, on behalf of the provincial government, awards to 515 model workers and to 227 advanced collectives.

Provincial Governor Hui Yuyu made a speech at the close of the conference.

Hui Yuyu said that since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, under the guidance of the CCP Central Committee's correct line, programs, and policies, all aspects of work in Jiangsu Province during 1981, and particularly the work of economic stabilization and readjustment, had made outstanding achievements, and all undertakings had shown fairly great progress. The winning of these achievements was admittedly the result of the unity of the broad masses of people throughout the province and their joint efforts, but it was also inseparable from the leadership role, the mainstay cadre role, and the role as bridges of advanced collectives and model workers on all fronts and in all realms. In their individual and various positions, comrades had conscientiously and earnestly worked willingly and without being upset by criticisms, devoted to duty and working mindless of self to make important contributions to the country and to the people. That the comrades received government commendations and awards and were given the respect and praise of the party and the masses was entirely as it should be. In this connection, I express hearty congratulations to the representatives of advanced collectives and to all model workers who have received commendations!

After emphasizing the important significance of the launching of a campaign to learn from and catch up with the advanced, Hui Yuyu pointed out that all trades and industries, all battle fronts, and all units should proceed on the basis of their different circumstances and characteristics to organize learning from and catching up with the advanced. The form and content of the campaign should proceed from realities, be flexible and diversified, and lively and vigorous in a seeking after real effectiveness. Attention and emphasis should be given to good organization of intramural comparison and assessment campaigns within trades and industries. For example, industrial enterprises might launch a "six goods" (namely good concurrent concern for country, collective, and individual, good quality goods, good economic benefits, good labor discipline, good civilization production, and good political work) campaign of comparison and assess-

ment for the creation of more "six good enterprises." All trades and industries should summarize and spread existing effective experiences in learning from the advanced and launching competition. Examples are the textile system's linking of antithetical phrases to help learn, 10,000 meters of cloth without flaws competitions, and operating performance campaigns; the machinery system's performances by skilled operators for the purpose of discussion and emulation; the business system's selection of the finest business personnel; and the health system's selection of outstanding nurses campaigns, etc. All require continued summarization, perfection, and improvement, and further efforts at popularization.

At the end, Hui Yuyu expressed hope that advanced collectives and model workers would carry on the fine tradition of being modest and prudent, and guarding against conceit and impetuosity to make new contributions on the basis of existing accomplishments.

The meeting passed a letter that delegates had given to staff and workers throughout the province. (The full text will be published separately.)

Governor Hui Yuyu's Speech

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] In the wake of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, under the guidance of the CCP Central Committee's correct line, programs, and policies, Jiangsu Province in 1981 scored outstanding achievements in work in all fields, particularly in the work of economic stabilization and readjustment, making comparatively great progress in all endeavors. The winning of these achievements was admittedly the result of the unity and common efforts of the broad masses of people throughout the province, but it was also inseparable from the leadership role, the mainstay cadre role, and the role as bridges that advanced collectives and model workers played on all fronts and in all realms. In their individual and various positions, comrades had conscientiously and earnestly worked willingly and without being upset by criticism, devoted to duty and working mindless of self to make important contributions to the country and to the people. That the comrades received government commendations and awards and were given the respect and praise of the party and the masses was entirely as it should be. In this connection, I express hearty congratulations to the representatives of advanced collectives and to all model workers who have received commendations!

Our party and government have always respected advanced models and have attached serious importance to the role played by advanced representative examples. The work emphasis of the entire party has shifted to the building of socialist modernization. Under these new circumstances the role played by advanced collectives and advanced models assumes greater importance. This is because the advanced people who have emerged in socio-economic activities, scientific research activities, and in other social life are outstanding representatives of the masses of people. Their common characteristics are adherence to the four basic principles, fervent love for the party, fervent love for the motherland, and fervent love for socialism; they regard the four modernizations as their bounden duty and place the welfare of the country and the people in first

place; they are concerned about the overall situation, cooperate and give mutal assistance, and possess a highly developed spirit of organizational discipline and collectivism; they do not fear hardships, bravely shoulder heavy responsibilities, revere science, assiduously train, diligently study, and seek truth. All these things are concrete manifestations of the revolutionary spirit and outstanding quality of the proletariat; they are all concrete manifestations of socialist spiritual civilization. Consequently, in the course of our building socialist modernity, it is necessary to carry forward throughout society the good experiences, good ideology, good work style, and good moral character of advanced collectives and model persons so that they will become a great driving force that gives impetus to the building of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. We believe that under the leadership of the party and government advanced collectives and model persons will certainly be able to rely on and unite with the broad masses of workers, and strive to master advanced science and technology, to increase labor productivity rates, actively create socialist material wealth, and gradually improve the people's living standards.

In accordance with the spirit the CCP Central Committee directives for deepgoing development of a movement to learn from the advanced and catch up with the advanced, it is necessary, first of all, to give widespread publicity to the advanced experiences of advanced collectives and models to create in society at large a powerful atmosphere of honor at being advanced and honor in learning from the advanced. Since the Third Plenary Session, as the party's style and the social atmosphere have gradually taken turns for the better, an atmosphere of learning from and catching up with the advanced is building. Nevertheless, in the treatment accorded advanced persons, there are still some unhealthy trends and evil practices. Examples include reproach of those who create advanced norms, ridicule of those who find pleasure in helping others, envy of those who receive commendations, and attacks on those who adhere to principles. The appearance of these kinds of odd phnomena results largely from failure to thoroughly eradicate the pernicious effects of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique. The narrowly selfish and backward ideology of small producers in the old society still exists, and we must resolutely halt and correct this. All levels of party organization, the people's government, and mass organizations are to strengthen ideological and political work, and educate the broad masses of cadres to respect, cherish, support, and emulate the advanced ideology and model actions of advanced models, boldly and assuredly promote healthy tendencies, propagandize the advanced and support the advanced, painstakingly and carefully educate the backward, and help the backward. With regard to the extremely small number of people for whom conclusive evidence exists of holding resentments and retaliating, slandering, and attacking others, strict disposition must be made on the basis of individual circumstances, and responsibility fixed before the law. All levels of leaders should also be adept at training and helping advanced units and model workers, be routinely concerned about model worker ideology and work, organize them to study, and help them steadily increase their ideological and political consciousness, and their technical vocational levels. Care should also be exercised so that model workers do not serve concurrently in too many positions and so they do not become mired in social movements and meetings that they find it difficult to deal with, and so that they have ample time and bountiful energy to do the work of the positions they are in and constantly improve.

In launching a deepgoing movement to learn from the advanced and to catch up with the advanced, all battle fronts, all trades and industries, and all units should organize to study and catch up with the advanced on the basis of different circumstances and characteristics. Both form and content of the campaign should proceed from realities, be flexible and varied, and vigorous and lively with concern for real effectiveness.

In launching a deepgoing campaign to learn from the advanced and to catch up with the advanced, advanced collectives and advanced models will also be required to play a better leading role. It is necessary to adhere to the "concept of one dividing into two and going up to a higher plane." The advanced and the backward are relatively so, and the backward frequently have some strengths meriting study by the advanced. Everything in the world is always steadily developing and changing. "On the Chang Jiang, the waves behind drive those forces;" "indigo blue is extracted from the indigo plant but is bluer than the plant it comes from;" and "latecomrers surpass the oldtimers." These are phenomena that accord with the laws of development of things. For this reason, advanced collectives and model workers should always maintain the fine traditions of humility and prudence, guarding against arrogance and impetuosity, correctly handling themselves, and carrying forward a spirit of "no self-satisfaction in the face of honor, and looking for shortcomings in the face of one's accomplishments." going on from existing accomplishments to make new contributions. In addition, it is necessary to be adept at unifying and motivating comrades all around, helping everybody to make progress together in ideology, techniques, management, and vocationally, and, in the course of helping and spuring on, to use strengths to compensate for weaknesses for mutual advancement and common improvement. Still another requirement of advanced collectives, labor models, and advanced workers is the hope that everyone will further study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, that they will study the party's line, programs and policies, and will steadily improve their own political consciousness and correct their own direction of advance. They should also strive to study culture, to study technology, to study science, and to study management to improve their ability to build the four modernizations and to scale the peaks of science and technology.

Comrades, the first half of 1982 will soon be over. During this year, under the correct leadership of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council, throughout the province all levels of party organization, the people's government, and the people have continued diligent implementation of the line, programs, and policies that have followed from the Third Plenary Session. They have carried out the directive from the CCP Central Committee to take in one hand the building of a material civilization and in the other hand the building of a spiritual civilization. They have carried out Comrade Zhao Ziyang's 10 point program for economic construction, have solidly done a large amount of work, and have made new advances in many directions. In agriculture a good summer crop has been harvested and it is estimated that output of wheat, barley, and naked barley will total more than 15 billion jin, about six percent more than last year. Rapeseed output will total 9 million dan, about 30 percent more than last year. In industrial production, serious attention has begun to be given to improving economic

effectiveness. Between January and May, gross output value of the province's industry was more than 19.9 billion yuan, a 23.2 percent increase over the same period last year. As regards the situation of economic benefits, a look at the report published by the State Economic and Statistical Bureau shows improvements have begun. The fiscal revenue situation for the province for the first 5 months of the year has been comparatively good showing a 15.3 percent increase over the same period last year. New achievements have also been won in cultural, educational, health, science and technology, and athletics work. The fight against serious criminal activities in the economic field has also been launched throughout the province and has received the support of the broad masses of people. The "five concerns and four beautification" campaign is in process of gradually deepening from a foundation of the "All the People Civilization and Courtesy Month" campaign. Both party style and social ethics have further improved. Nevertheless, looked at in terms of the year as a whole, the bulk of serious work to be done will come during the last half of the year; tasks are rather arduous, and difficulties numerous. Of particular importance is the energy shortage and the very great difficulties in meeting requirements of all places and all activities. We positively cannot be satisfied with the achievements we have already won, but rather must redouble efforts, doing a better job during the last half of the year than during the first half of the year.

We hope that advanced cooperatives and model workers on all frontlines throughout the province will carry home the spirit of this meeting, that they will take home the advanced ideology and advanced experiences they have learned, and that they will disseminate them widely among the broad masses of the people to start an upsurge of learning from the advanced and surpassing the advanced on every frontline. We hope that the broad masses of staff and workers throughout the province will respect the request of Comrade Hu Yaobang to "compare one's shortcomings with the advanced and to respect the advanced as teachers," will diligently study and promote advanced experiences, will work ceaselessly and unremittingly from the foundation of achievements made during the first half of the year, will unite and struggle to fulfill at a high level and with high quality this year's various tasks for the year as a whole, and will take a "new road," and develop new situations.

9432
CSO: 4005/969

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ON PLUNGING INTO THE THICK OF LIFE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 May 82 p 5

[Article by Zheng Bonong [6774 0130 6593]: "On Plunging into the Thick of Life"]

[Text] Comrade Mao Zedong said that the artist should integrate with the masses of the new era. This is an important contribution to the concept of materialist literature and art made by Comrade Mao Zedong in applying the viewpoint of practice in the realm of literature and art. According to Comrade Mao Zedong's theory, the artist should throw himself into the torrent of the life of the masses, observe, learn and study life from the standpoint of the masses of the people and the proletariat and on this foundation, through the method of typicalness, create works of art which draw on life and are higher than life. These works are the concentrated reflection of the thoughts and feelings of the masses and conversely they also play a role in people's spiritual world encouraging the masses to move history forward. The above explication of Comrade Mao Zedong's, scientifically explained the correct path for the artist to use dynamically in understanding and expressing life.

Recently there has been some controversy in the literary and art world concerning the slogan "plunge into life." I think that in the past there was some bias in our specific interpretation and practice of this slogan. All revolutionaries should plunge into the life of the masses but is there some particularity about an artist plunging into this life? Of course, we should not exaggerate this particularity. The artist should be a part of life as a member of the masses and not as a special "observer". First of all, he should be concerned with the suffering of the masses and not primarily with his own work. Plunging into life solely to collect material, frequently results in being unable to write a convincing work. But it should be understood also that the writer plunges into life ultimately to make sure he does a good job of his work. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Our writers and artists must do their own tasks, but for these to understand and be familiar with people is their first job." He called attention to the special characteristics of literature and art. When the artist plunges into life he should strive to become familiar with people, to understand people, to understand their nature, fate, thoughts and feelings, and the complex and subtle relations between them. He should not stand outside as an observer but through sharing the fate and the lives of the masses should further understand the soul of man and his inner world. If he does not make a concerted effort to understand people and become familiar with them, how can he create outstanding

works? In the past we often did not take this feature into consideration. Another defect was taking a lockstep approach to plunging into life, as though plunging into life was just staying in one place for a long time. Staying in one place for a long period of time may be a way to get in touch with life, but one cannot demand that all people use this method to get in touch with life. The writer needs a point of understanding, and an area of understanding; he needs to become familiar with the grassroots level, but he also needs to understand the leadership level. Social life is a unified entity and a complete process and it is hard to avoid having a narrow view if one is limited to one point. The above biases, I think, are biases of the specific interpretation and specific practice under the influence of leftist thinking in the past and are not biases inherent in the slogan itself. This slogan is scientific. In sum, over the past several decades this slogan has promoted the flourishing of literature and art and it has played an enormously positive role.

Plunging into the thick of life must include the following two ideas: first, the artist should constantly throw himself into the mainstream of the masses' life of struggle and always be the masses' loyal spokesman; second, the artist should achieve a depth of understanding of society and a depth of artistic representation through participating in the social reality of the masses. Being thorough requires a certain amount of time, but increasing the amount of time does not necessarily lead to deeper insight. What is considered insight? Insight is achieving unity of the subjective and the objective, it is achieving unity with the thoughts and feelings of the masses. Insight in theoretical thinking is grasping the inner associations of things and mastering the nature of things, but this alone is not enough. Nature is hidden within things. Theoretical thinking can strip away the external form of things and directly generalize the nature of things. Artistic thinking embodies the complex associations of things through the particulars of actual life. Therefore, for the artist to master life thoroughly, he should master both the richness and variety of life, and the lively and subtle variety of forms of life; as well as mastering the inner associations of life which are hidden in things and which cannot be seen. We cannot simply see plunging into life in terms only of form, as if adopting a rather difficult form is considered plunging. Nor can we look on plunging into life cheaply, as if once one had gone among the masses that was considered plunging. Plunging into life is not easy. Some people live an entire generation among the masses, but never achieve the stage of plunging. In addition to having an intimate understanding of his subject, the artist must also meet other conditions if he is to achieve a thorough understanding of life. For example, the guidance of a correct world view, a certain theoretical accomplishment, rich life experience, the necessary social background, etc. And in terms of literary and artistic creation, correctly to achieve thoroughness is to have an independently arrived at new discovery of life. Art is a creative work and each work of art should be a unique new work. How can a work which cannot provide people something new in understanding and appreciation of beauty be considered to have vitality?

Some comrades raise this question: People all have a certain amount of life experience, so why is it necessary to make a special issue of plunging into life? True, each person has his own life. However, first, for the writer, social life is the raw material of his creativity, and it is his job to help people understand life correctly through artistic images. It is no wonder that he should

have to understand life more and more thoroughly than the ordinary person! He should not only understand the things around him, but he should also understand his entire time, and master even broader and richer life materials. Second, the plunging into life of which we are speaking refers to plunging into the struggling life of the masses of the people. The writer can depict various people and events in society and he can depict history, but whatever the subject, he must plunge into the masses. This is not only a matter of drawing creative materials, but also a matter of becoming one with the masses in thought and feeling and drawing spiritual strength from the masses. Even if he writes about a historical subject he should write from the viewpoint of the people and express the spirit of the time reflecting the concept of right and wrong from the perspective of the people and suited to the needs of the masses.

Plunging into the thick of life this question must be considered: How does one understand and express the clash of contradictions in life? In recent times, some works avoid reality and avoid contradiction and show a tendency toward no conflict. Either they make life flat or they are simply removed from reality and focus on romantic subjects and historical stories. This is not to say that romantic and historical topics should not be written about, but that these subjects should not be described to avoid reflecting reality. The above phenomenon I think really merits some attention. We should strive vigorously to give expression to the new people and new atmosphere in life, and use artistic forms to encourage people to rouse themselves and forge ahead. But we also should not strip away its reflection of the contradictions of life and even less we should not oppose the description of these contradictions. It is impossible to reflect life correctly if you do not reflect contradictions; it is impossible to reflect the times correctly if you do not reflect the contradictions in life. The people do not approve of avoiding contradictions and covering up contradictions. Our party has also repeatedly called on writers to be courageous in disclosing the contradictions in life. In his speech to the Forum on Drama Creation, Comrade Hua Yaobang said: "I approve of you exposing ruthlessly the mistaken behavior and thinking which obstructs the advance of the four modernizations when writing about the advance of the four modernizations." Recently Comrade Hu Qiaomu also said: "I hope writers will emphasize even more showing the struggle of the people in building a new life today. This is definitely not advocating that you put on a song and dance act and even less that you write about the traditional sentimental subjects of the past. The road to building a new life, past, present and future, is always bumpy, it is on an enormous scale and lengthy in time; and it involves the extraordinarily complex and hugh struggle of the process of life of every person in the nation and can advance only by overcoming the difficulties and dangers of the human and natural worlds." I think we should encourage writers to face reality, be loyal to reality, and conscientiously and thoroughly describe the clash of contradictions in life, and use artistic form to help people understand correctly and resolve actively the contradictions in life. In our country, revolutionary and progressive things are the mainstream. Only if the writer is truly loyal to life can he write about it. Creation requires correct theoretical guidance, but correct theory cannot take the place of the writer's own life experience. For the writer to understand life and the times he must rely on theoretical study but first of all he should rely on his own experience. Let writers plunge into life and observe, experience, think! Only if they truly plunge into life can they correctly and incisively reflect the new times.

8226
CSO: 4005/891

END

JPRS 81608

23 August 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 329

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81608

23 August 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 329

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Reagan's Economic Recovery Plan Analyzed
(Liu Chuanyan; JININ DAXUE SHEHUI KEYUE XUEBAO, No 3, 1982) 1

PARTY AND STATE

Regional Commentary on Revised Constitution
(Various sources, various dates) 8

View From Fuzhou, by Lo Shirun
View From Hangzhou, by Wang Xiangu

Drive Against Ideological Corrosion by Capitalism Spotlighted
(FUJIAN RIBAO, 14 Jun 82) 13

Commending Exemplary Conduct
Editorial on Ideological Implications, Editorial

Vigilance Against Ideological Corrosion by Capitalism Urged
(NANFANG RIBAO, 14 Jun 82) 19

Study of Zhou Enlai's United Front Views Urged
(Zheng Xie; XINHUA RIBAO, 7 Jun 82) 22

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Party Spirit of Artists, Writers Viewed
(Xi Yan; WENYI BAO, 7 Jul 82) 25

Xiao Wangdong Talks to Youths on Ideals
(Xiao Wangdong; DAZHONG RIBAO, 19 Jul 82) 30

Xizang Resettles Personnel Imprisoned in 1959
(Xizang Regional Service, 30 Jul 82) 37

Improvement in Family Planning Urged
(LIAONING RIBAO, 9 Jul 82) 39

Briefs
Guangdong Social Order 41
Nei Monggol Democratic League 41

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

New Start of Taiwan's Extraparty Elements
(Ch'en Jo-hsi; CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI, Jun 82) 42

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REAGAN'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY PLAN ANALYZED

Changchun JININ DAXUE SHEHUI KEXUE XUEBAO [JININ UNIVERSITY JOURNAL SOCIAL SCIENCES EDITION] in Chinese No 3, 1982 pp 51-57

[Article by Liu Chuanyan [0491 0278 3508]: "On the Reagan Government's Economic Recovery Plan"]

[Excerpted from a 5600-word article] In February of last year, not long after Reagan became President, he presented to Congress an economic recovery plan which evoked fierce reverberations. Many newspapers and magazines dubbed this plan "Reaganomics," "supply-side economics in action," and "the new economics." Some periodicals ridiculed this plan and its theoretical basis--supply side economics--as "voodoo economics." From proposal of the plan to discussion and revision by both houses of Congress to final implementation has taken already a year, and the contradictions in the plan have begun to be revealed. This article is an attempt to conduct a preliminary analysis and critique of the essence and actual results of this plan.

In terms of theory, Reagan's economic recovery plan is based on supply-side economics and monetarism, with the emphasis on the former. Supply-side economics advocates the analysis and adjustment of an economy from the perspective of supply rather than the perspective of demand; it holds that the driving force and source of economic development is the initiative of the single individual and opposes state intervention in the economy, particularly high progressive taxation; it emphasizes the importance of saving, investment, production and supply, and opposes welfare policies of stimulating consumer demand and redistribution of national income; it advocates using long-term economic strategy to raise labor productivity and latent production ability instead of short-term managerial policies to counter cyclical waves. Monetarism advocates adopting a monetary policy centered on stable monetary growth rate and opposes Keynesian monetary policy which is centered around stable interest rates. The Reagan government's economic recovery plan is the concretization of the economic viewpoint of supply-side economics and monetarism.

The four points of Reagan's economic recovery plan are actually four pillars of his promotion of the U.S. economy, and we will analyze them one by one below.

The First Pillar of Reagan's Economic Recovery Plan--Reduce Taxes, This Is the Heart of Reagan's Economic Recovery Plan.

First of all, it is not the reduction of the absolute level of taxes, but reducing the proportion of taxes as a part of the GNP. In terms of the burden on the taxpayer, it has increased year after year.

Second, the focus of this tax cut is the capitalist and the wealthy. According to the theory of supply-side economics, the aim of tax reduction is not to increase consumption, but to increase investment. Poor people have low incomes, so the extra income they receive from tax reduction will be used for consumption; the wealthy have large incomes, so the extra income they receive from tax reduction will be used for savings and investment. This is why they advocate reducing taxes for the wealthy.
Reagan's tax reduction proposal is based on just this theory and stipulates tax reductions mainly for households with incomes of over $50,000. According to statistics of the Census Bureau of the U.S. Department of Commerce, in 1978 households with incomes of over $50,000 per year made up 3.6 percent of all the households in the United States, thus 96.4 percent of the households are not the main object of the tax reduction. After this proposal was approved, Democratic House Leader O'Neill said angrily that Reagan's tax cut proposal was "a disguised proposal to transfer wealth from the poor to the rich." Early last year in his State of the Nation address to Congress, Reagan said that government taxation "cannot be used to regulate the economy or provoke a social revolution." The sense of this is the same as the supply-side economics' contention that taxes cannot be used as a means to redistribute national income. Actually, Reagan's tax cut proposal is an out-and-out redistribution method which is favorable to the rich and unfavorable to the poor.

The Second Pillar of Reagan's Economic Recovery Plan--Reducing Government Expenditures

First of all, it is not a reduction in the absolute value of government expenditures, but a reduction in government expenditures as a proportion of the GNP, i.e., dropping from 23.4 percent in 1981 to 19.3 percent in 1984, but as far as the absolute value of government expenditures is concerned it will increase year by year: to total increase from 1982 to 1985 will be $1893 billion.

In the midst of the clamor over large-scale reductions in government expenditures, the Reagan government is continuing to increase government expenditures on a large scale.

Second, the Reagan government originally planned to achieve a balanced budget by 1984. However, the United States entered a new economic recession in August of last year, and according to official figures that 1982 budget deficit will be $98.2 billion and for 1983 will be $91.5 billion, for a 2-year total of $189.7 billion, or more than the total deficit of $181 billion of the 4-year period when Carter was in office. With regard to this point, although the fiscal policies promoted by Reagan carry the supply-side label, in actuality they are Keynesian debit (deficit) expenditure policies.

Third, the Reagan government originally planned to reduce budget expenditures by $49.1 billion, $68.5 and $85.9 billion in 1982, 1983, and 1984 respectively for a total reduction of $203.5 billion. Where will Reagan's budget reduction axe fall?

It struck first of all in expenditures for the "Comprehensive Employment and Training Act." This act was implemented in 1974 with an annual expenditure of $4 billion. The Reagan government said that this act had to be greatly reduced on the grounds that it lowered labor productivity and was a form of income redistribution. They planned to retain expenditures for labor education, but lopped off expenditures for directly creating jobs. Thus although it saved $3 billion a year, it added 300,000 unemployed to the public service sector.

Fourth, large-scale and continued increases in defense expenditures. Defense expenditures are the highest priority item in the Reagan government's budget expenditures. According to U.S. Defense Department figures, at an annual growth rate of 7 percent, in 1982-1987 defense expenditures will reach $1,560,000,000. This is the largest peace-time military expenditure, equal to 3.2 times the $699.256 billion in direct military expenditures of the U.S. intervention in Vietnam (1961-1971) and equal to 7.1 times the $253.8 billion in direct military expenditures of the period of World War II (1939-1945).

The Reagan government is on the one hand slashing social welfare expenditures, creating enormous difficulties for the people, and on the other is greatly increasing military outlays, creating monopolist profits for the armament industry, and provoking violent dissatisfaction among the people. When testifying before Congress, [Wayne] Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, the United States' largest labor organization, pointed out sharply that Reagan's economic recovery plan was "unequal, unfair and short-sighted," "transferring income from the poor to the rich." Edward Gelan [2706 5695] the responsible person of a United Auto Worker's local in New Jersey, attacked the Reagan economic policy as not a war on poverty, but "a war on the poor."

At the same time, we also see that on the one hand the Reagan government is vocally opposed to big government and wants to restore economic freedom, but on the other hand with its expansion of military expenditures on an unprecedentedly large scale it has intensified state interference in capitalist production, circulation and distribution and promoted the development of the military-industrial complex and state monopolistic capitalism.

The Third Pillar of the Reagan Government's Economic Recovery Plan--Eliminate State Controls on the Economy

Supply side economics believes in the 19th century laissez-faire theory that under conditions of free competition, the goods needed by the consumer can be efficiently produced and distributed. They also think that at present the U.S. Government's controls on the eocnomy are too many and this restricts the initiative for capitalist investment and savings, and that this is an important reason for high prices, high unemployment and low rate of labor productivity in the United States. The Reagan government's proposals to reform and eliminate government controls on the economy which are unnecessary and even counter-productive are based on supply-side economics. The main points are:

First, eliminating voluntary restrictions on wages and prices, particularly lifting controls on gasoline and natural gas, which was moved up by 8 months, causing a rise in prices. Natural gas prices increased by at least 35 percent, so that natural gas cost for each household increased $667 and workers' actual wages gradually decreased.

Next, the head of the Department of Justice took personal charge, whipping up public opinion that "big isn't really bad," relaxing anti-trust enforcement, giving tacit approval to alliances and amalgamations, giving the green light to frenzied annexation by monopoly capital. According to statistics, the gross value of annexations in the first half of last year was $71.4 billion, $44.3 billion more than the year before last, or an increase of 60 percent, a new high tide of take-overs is on the rise.

Third, relax enforcement of regulations on labor, environmental and transportation safety. For example, to rescue the automobile industry which had fallen on hard times, 34 regulations on pollution and vehicle safety were relaxed or abolished, lowering the cost of each automobile by $150 and saving the automobile industry and customers $9.3 billion. However, on the other hand it increased air pollution and traffic accidents.

Also, because federal textile industry dust standards were relaxed, 500,000 textile workers were forced to work in dust-polluted environments and according to estimates, 50,000 textile workers will contract brown lung disease.

Fourth, the Reagan government has criticized Conrail for losses year after year and plans to sell it to a profit-making privately-owned railroad company. If these plans are realized, the privately-owned railroad company will reduce service lines, not only creating difficulties for 500,000 commuters who go to New York and Philadelphia daily but also will cause great unemployment among railway workers, and railway workers who are still employed will be forced to yield $1 billion in wages and benefits in the next 5 years.

Fifth, because they feel that the minimum wage is blocking employment for minority young people, the Reagan government plans to set an even lower minimum wage for young people. The present minimum wage is $3.35 an hour, so that even if the head of a family of four works full time his annual income is only $6,432, which is $1,918 less than the officially set poverty level of $8,450. There are now 5.6 million workers who are paid at the minimum wage level, and if a lower minimum wage is set for young people, capitalists will hire young people to take the place of mature people, not only creating widespread unemployment among mature workers, but also causing a further decline in wage levels, and thus encountering the violent opposition of the workers.

Sixth, the Reagan government has criticized the Equal Employment [Opportunity] Act as a kind of "reverse discrimination" (i.e., discrimination against whites) and has called for revision of the act. If this is realized, then blacks and other minorities will be in danger of losing the equal employment rights which they fought so hard to gain, and racial discrimination in employment will intensify.

The above analysis shows the true nature of the Reagan government's policies to eliminate government controls and restore economic freedom. What they eliminate and abolish are the limited economic rights and interests won by the masses through long struggle, and what is being restored is but the freedom for monopoly capital to depress wages, raise prices, lower working conditions, pollute the environment, swallow up other enterprises and discriminate against minorities.

The Fourth Pillar of the Reagan Government's Economic Recovery Plan--Uphold a Stable Monetary Policy

According to the monetarist viewpoint, in order to bring inflation under control it is necessary to go through a difficult period of 1 or 2 years, during which unemployment will be high, and growth will be rather slow. Then, in 3 or 4 years, with the dropping of the inflation rate, there will be rapid economic growth. To realize this goal, the federal government has adopted a monetary policy which will make the monetary growth rate steadily decline. Reagan's economic plan's monetary policy is based on the formulations of monetarist theory.

Based on the theory of Reagan's economic recovery plan and the practice of the past year, Reagan's strategy to revive the U.S. economy seems to be that in the first and second years to rely mainly on a tight money policy, using a lowering of the growth rate of money and high interest rates to create artificial economic stagnation and high unemployment to force wages and prices down; then in the next few years to rely mainly on the supply-side economic policies of large-scale tax cuts, elimination of state controls on the economy and developing market mechanisms and on the Keynesian expansionist fiscal and monetary policies of large-scale military outlays and deficit financing and low interest rates to give impetus to the revival, and thus eliminate economic stagflation and realize the strategic goal of stable growth with low inflation.

Can this strategic goal of the Reagan government be realized? We think there are many difficulties:

First, the actual conditions of U.S. economic stagflation make it very difficult for the Reagan government's strategy to get rid of stagflation to be realized. Early last year, Reagan adopted a tight money policy in an attempt to make the inflation rate drop from double-digits to single-digits. The inflation rate dropped only to 9.5 percent (inflation rate of consumer goods in the first half of 1981) and under the pressure of high interest rates, the U.S. economy sank into a new economic crisis starting in August of last year. To guard against a worsening of the crisis and increasing unemployment, it was necessary to adopt a policy of lowering interest rates. It can be said categorically that if the economy is not allowed to begin to upsurge [after lowering interest rates], the inflation rate can rapidly increase to an even higher level. Thus stagflation is better than the seesaw: reduce stagnation (large-scale unemployment) and inflation (rising prices) increases, reduce inflation and stagnation increases. What is worse is that putting pressure on inflation does not decrease it, but stagnation does, creating an interrelation of high rate of inflation and high rate of unemployment. This is the history of failure of adopting the Keynesian prescription for stagflation and the effectiveness of the Reagan government's adoption of the dual prescription of supply-side economics and monetarism will not be much better.

Second, the contradiction of the Reagan government's fiscal policy and monetary policy has made the problem of "stagflation" even harder to resolve. The fiscal policies of large-scale tax cuts and military expenditures must lead to deficits and thus cause and intensify inflation; and a monetary policy of lowering the rate of growth of money must lead to an increase in interest rates, thus causing

a slowdown and stagnation of economic growth. It is obvious that the Reagan government's mutually contradictory fiscal policies and monetary policies are factors intensifying stagflation.

This is not all. The large deficits caused by Reagan's fiscal policies and the high interest rates caused by his monetary policies are mutually aggravating. High interest rates increase the national debt, state revenues are reduced due to the recession caused by high interest rates, expenditures grow due to growth in unemployment, and all this gives rise to an increase in the deficit; on the other side, large deficits often give rise to increases in the demand for money and increase in interest rates. This creates a vicious cycle between high interest rates and high deficits, and will make the interaction of economic stagnation and rising prices even worse.

Third, the internal contradictions of Reagan's economic recovery plan have created difficulties which cannot be overcome. Reagan's plan, on the one hand, tries its best, through large-scale tax cuts and increasing military outlays, to expand investment, raise labor productivity, increase production and the supply of goods, to make productive ability expand as much as possible, and on the other hand, through reducing taxes for the rich, accelerating depreciation, reducing social welfare benefits for the poor, and artificially creating unemployment and lowering wages and benefits for workers with jobs, tries to reduce the demand of the masses with the ability to pay. This must intensify the contradiction between the two and create the conditions for an even more serious economic crisis.

And this is not all. The policies in the Reagan economic recovery plan of large-scale reductions of civil outlays and the expansion of military outlays on an unprecedented scale over several years must cause serious imbalance between the two areas and lead to a drop in labor productivity and economic growth rate, a rise in inflation which will further aggravate economic stagflation and economic crisis.

Through the above analysis we have the following conclusions:

First, theoretically speaking, the Reagan government's economic recovery plan is based on supply-side economics and monetarism, with supply-side economics being the more important. However, in practice, up to now it seems to be the monetarist policies which have played the important role, and the role of supply-side economics has not been evident, though Keynesian deficit financing has been employed on a large scale under the guise of supply-side economics. It is clear that Reagan has not let himself be bound by certain abstract theories, using whatever is available: he is a pragmatist.

Second, the Reagan government has emphasized removing state controls on the economy, and preached economic freedom, but this does not mean that the Reagan government has adopted policies which will turn the country's monopoly capital economy into a 19th century capitalist economy of free competition. He has not reduced state intervention in the economy, but has changed the emphasis, styles and methods of economic intervention. For example, using government intervention in the demand side of the economy; using long-range economic development policies which focus on raising labor productivity in place of short-range economic

policies focused on countering cyclical activity; using more intervention in the economy by state and local governments and the development of the military-industrial complex and the intensifying of the militarization of the national economy stimulated by large-scale military outlays over successive years, etc., with the result that it has not weakened, but promoted the development of state monopoly capitalism.

Third, Keynesianism which is characterized by regulating demand to a certain degree saw the contradiction between capitalist production and consumption and advocated adopting a series of policies to limit the tendency for unlimited expansion of production and contraction of the ability to pay and to a certain degree mitigated the contradiction between production and consumption and between the first and the second categories. The postwar United States has not had an economic crisis as serious as the great crisis of 1929-1932, and it cannot be said that the promotion of these policies has not been related to this. Reagan's economic recovery plan, which is characterized by regulating supply, ignores the contradiction between production and consumption and is attempting to adopt a series of policies which will further aggravate the contradiction between unlimited expansion of production and the necessary relative contraction of the ability to pay, with the result that it intensifies the contradiction between the first and second categories, so that economic stagflation and economic crisis become more serious.

Fourth, the essence of the Reagan government's economic recovery plan is a counterattack on the limited economic benefits which the U.S. people have won through long struggle in the past 50 years since Roosevelt's New Deal and an ultraconservative line which is unabashedly close to monopoly capital and antilabor, thus the violent opposition from the U.S. people, particularly minorities. Class and racial contradictions in U.S. society are intensifying. Last 19 September, 200,000 angry Americans marched on Washington to protest Reagan's economic policies, and this is only a prelude to the struggle of contradictions.

8226
CSO: 4005/955

PARTY AND STATE

REGIONAL COMMENTARY ON REVISED CONSTITUTION

View From Fuzhou

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Lo Shirun [5012 2514 3387]: "Why Must the Current Constitution Be Revised?"]

[Text] Since the founding of New China, we have formulated three constitutions. The third of these, namely the current one, was revised in 1978. Does not a law require stability? Why, after only such a short interval, is an effort again being made to revise this fundamental law?

Our current Constitution was passed by the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress in March 1978. That was only slightly more than a year after the smashing of the "gang of four" and, because of a limitation by historical conditions at that time, there was no time to sum up in an overall manner the experience and lessons of our socialist revolution and construction since the founding of our state, nor was there time to sort out thoroughly and cleanse away the influence of certain "leftist" ideas on the constitutional provisions during the 10 years of turmoil; the result was that provisions based on certain out-dated political and theoretical views and situations no longer corresponding to reality still remain in this Constitution. More importantly, since the 1st Session of the 5th NPC, and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our political life, economic life and cultural life have all undergone tremendous changes and development; in many aspects our current Constitution can no longer adapt to the needs of our realistic situation and the construction of our socialist construction. In addition, its many textual provisions are in complete, and not strict, concrete, or clear enough. We all know that a constitution is the concentrated reflection of the proportionate relationship between class forces in class struggle which mirrors the status and mutual relationship of the various classes in society. And the number of objects of our dictatorship is in an inverse ratio to the breadth of the foundation of our democracy. After the completion of our three great transformations, the exploitative system was eliminated, and exploitative classes of the past became gradually transformed into laborers living on their own labor. Ordinarily, the number of objectives of our dictatorship should have progressively diminished. But in the past, political movements were frequent and every time "a small handful" [of such objectives] would be seized; and such "handfuls"

together eventually became a large contingent. As the number of these objectives of our dictatorship increased, the foundation of our democracy shrank; this was very abnormal. During the past few years, through the process of returning to order from disorder, the implementation of the party Central Committee's series of correct principles and policies, the rectification of unjust, false and erroneous cases of litigation, and the removal of labels from transformed landlords, rich peasants and counterrevolutionaries, people with the right to vote, according to statistics during the last year's general election, now make up 99.9 percent of all citizens over 18 years of age, the foundation of our democracy has thus expanded in an unprecedented manner. Such important change in the relationship between classes inside the country and the tremendous changes our political and economic situation has undergond make it all the more necessary for us to carry out an overall revision of the current Constitution.

Next, giving scope to socialist democracy and strengthening our socialist legal system have constituted an unswerving principle for a long period to come determined by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. During these past few years, we have achieved considerable results in the implementation of this principle. But certain important principles of our socialist democracy and legal system have not yet been realized in the provisions of our Constitution. For instance, "all citizens are equal before the law," this was provided in the 1954 constitution but later branded as a "bourgeois legal principle" and subject to roughshod criticism. Provisions on independent trials and independent prosecution were also regarded as "claiming independence from the party" and "resisting the party by way of the law" and thereby thrown into the cold storage. This served to eradicate the difference and link between the principles of proletarian democracy and legal system and bourgeois democracy and legal system. Consequently, acknowledging anew these principles in our new constitution is a prerequisite for further strengthening our socialist democracy and legal system.

Furthermore, our current Constitution merely provides ownership by all the people and collective ownership insofar as our economic system is concerned. For a long time, individual economy was regarded as an intolerable hotbed of capitalism which, like a superfluous tail, had to be cut without reservation. This was by no means beneficial to the consolidation and development of our socialist economy or to the rapid improvement and elevation of the living standards of our people. As for cooperation with foreign capitalism, no one even dared to think about this. After returning to order from disorder, there is no doubt of the need to affirm the status and function of this individual economy in our fundamental law. The "draft of the revised constitution" clearly provides that 'the individual economies of urban and rural workers within the limits of the law are a supplement to our economy of socialist public ownership"; it also restores the provision of the 1954 constitution in protecting citizens rights to ownership of private property as well as inheritance of such property. Thus people have started to feel calm in their mind. On absorbing foreign capital and carrying out cooperation, there is also need to have clear provisions in the constitution.

Besides, our state leadership system and national economic system are both undergoing, and will undergo, important reforms; clear provisions on regional

autonomy for the various nationalities, etc., also need to be explicitly specified in the new constitution. After an effort of 1-1/2 years, the draft of the revised constitution has already been promulgated and turned over to the whole nation for discussion; this is a big event in the political life of our people and also an important indicator that our socialist democracy and legal system are developing forward.

View From Hangzhou

Hangzhou ZH JIANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 May 82 p 4

[Article by Wang Xiangu [3769 6343 6253]: "All Power Belongs to the People"]

[Text] Whether or not a constitution really represents the fundamental interests of the vast ranks of the people, the will of the vast ranks of the people, or accords with the wishes of the vast ranks of the people, a very important aspect in this regard is whether or not it confers all power to the people and lets the people become really masters of the state. The draft of the revised constitution turned over to the whole nation for discussion this time clearly provides: "All power of the People's Republic of China belongs to the people." This fully indicates that the constitution adheres to the socialist principle that the people are masters in their own house; it demonstrates the superiority of the socialist system, and it is a very popular fundamental law.

If we leaf through history, we can see that in a slave society the slaves were regarded as draft animals who could talk and they did not even enjoy the elementary right to life. In a feudal society, one word of the ruler determines all things under heaven, while levies and services demanded of the common people are endless." Through such vicissitudes and earth-shaking changes, through the flames of war, the masses of the people battled in blood, time and again, in their struggle for liberation and for the establishment of their own political power, but each time they ended up with nothing. In China's modern history, the bourgeois revolution led by Sun Zhongshan followed the three people's principles of nationalism, democracy and people's livelihood; but, apart from driving away a feudal emperor, where was democracy? Power remained a mirage and edifice in the air to the people. The dark rule of the Jiang family dynasty put the vast ranks of the Chinese people even further in the inferno of exploitation, oppression, and devastation; where could the people speak of their power?

History has already clearly told us, in a society of private ownership, the vast ranks of the people always remained in a powerless position and subject to cruel oppression by a minority of rulers and exploiters. This has been an extremely savage historical phenomenon.

Not until the five-star red flag slowly rose atop the tower of the Gate of Heavenly Peace upon the proclamation of the People's Republic of China did this phenomena come to an end. The Chinese people for the first time won their status as masters and began to act as such in their own house by exercising their own power. During the 30-odd years since then, the party and the state have endeavored to protect the people's status as masters and also led the people to struggle resolutely against various illegal conduct in violation of

this fundamental interest on the part of the people. From the 1954 constitution to this draft of the revised constitution, this provision that "All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people" has always been incorporated in an imporant article.

All power belonging to the people is in our socialist China, led by our party, no longer is empty talk or merely a good natured wish; it has become a right which the people can really exercise. The draft clearly provides that "The people have the right to administer the affairs of the country and its economic, cultural and social affairs, according to provisions of the law, through various channels and in various forms." This provision, insofar as the relationship between state organs and the people is concerned, constitutes a guarantee to the right of the people to administer state affairs. In order to assure the realization of the people's rights, the draft further clearly determines that the state chairman and chairman of the military commission must be installed through election by the National People's Congress; the premier of the State Council must be nominated by the state chairman and decided by the National People's Congress. These offices not only can be recalled, but a strict term is also provided for them. The combination of this election, appointment, limited term, and supervision enables the people to enjoy real power. Meanwhile, the draft of the revised constitution guarantees that the people enjoy extensive democratic freedoms and rights. For instance, it restores the article, first included in the 1954 constitution, that all citizens are equal before the law. In response to the serious lessons learned during the "Cultural Revolution," it also adds the provision that "The personal dignity of citizens of the People's Republic of China is inviolable. Insult or slander against citizens in any form is prohibited." Instances like these illustrate that this constitution is unmatched by any bourgeois constitution in the world today, nor has any other country's constitution provided such careful protection for citizens' rights and interests.

Some people feel that they cannot understand why the constitution firmly eliminates those provisions which accord with neither our state interests nor with the people's interests, such as "freedom to strike," and they thereby think that the constitution by no means provides the people with "substantive power." This view is obviously wrong. Strike, as a means by the workers to carry out struggle against capitalists, is of course plaudable. In the early period after the liberation of the country and in a situation where years of turmoil had not yet long been over, permission for workers to struggle against the bureaucrats in management organs in such a form is also above reproach. But today, the work on various fronts has already embarked gradually upon a normal course, various management systems have also become considerably improved, forms like trade unions, staff and workers congreses, and democratic elections are likewise far more extensively employed, and the relationship between leaders and the masses of the workers has also become increasingly close. Measures and demands for improvement in respect to management can generally be solved also through multifarious channels. There is no longer the necessity to adopt such a means as strikes, whose degree of confrontation is serious, for their solution. Furthermore, practice has likewise enabled us to see that a strike causes the interests of the state to suffer damage, which is equivalent to causing every citizen's interests to suffer damage. Why should we long for such an approach, which benefits neither the state nor ourselves? Many worker comrades have put it well: "We of the working class have no need to be hard on ourselves."

All power belonging to the people by no means denies party leadership. Historical facts tell us, in our country it would have been impossible to have won revolutionary victory without the leadership of a CCP armed by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, nor could we have adhered to socialism. The leadership activities of the Communist Party in our state life are all carried out within the limits of the Constitution and the law. The party leads the people in the formulation of the Constitution and the law; the party also leads the people in abiding by the Constitution and the law. In our country, the Constitution and the law represent the unity of the party's policies and the people's will. Adherence to party leadership and the people exercising all power also constitute a unity.

9255
CSO: 4005/938

PARTY AND STATE

DRIVE AGAINST IDEOLOGICAL CORROSION BY CAPITALISM SPOTLIGHTED

Commending Exemplary Conduct

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jun 82 p 1

["CCP Fujian Provincial Committee Circular on the Commendation of the Party Branches (General Branches) of the Four Advanced Production Brigades of Meilin, Dongsheng, Xinghai, and Shima"]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party's fine traditions and work style, under the leadership of party committees at various levels and through the process of returning to order from disorder, have gradually been restored and given scope. In the building of the "two civilizations," there have emerged a contingent of advanced party branches and fine communists. The Jinjiang County Meilin Production Brigade party branch, Lianjiang County Dongsheng Production Brigade party branch, Changle County Xinghai Production Brigade party branch, and Youhai County Shima Production Brigade party branch on the fishery front are precisely some of the outstanding representatives of our province's advanced party organizations. The provincial party committee has decided to issue this circular to commend them.

During the past few years, the reason the Meilin, Dongsheng, Xinghai and Shima production brigades were able to score conspicuous results in production, construction, and antismuggling and struggle against corrosion was basically because they have had a firm leadership core. They united together, conscientiously carried out the party's line, principles and policies, adhered to the basic principles, and consciously maintained consistency in politics with the party Central Committee. When the unhealthy practice of smuggling and trading in contraband goods along the seacoast prevailed, they kept their clear thinking at all times, and led the masses to fight smuggling, resist corrosion, and adhere to the socialist path. They were good at proceeding from reality; they penetratingly and persistently carried out patriotic, collectivist, and communist education among the party members and masses, continued to elevate the political consciousness of the party members and masses, clearly delineated the boundary between acquiring wealth through labor and profiteering through smuggling, firmly established the concept of fulfilling the state plans, correctly handled the relationship between the state, the collective and individuals, and thereby ideologically built a "great wall of steel" against smuggling and corrosion. They set examples by their personal conduct in maintaining good party work style; while they had power in their hands, they refrained from

seeking private gains, placed emphasis on principles, and handled matters impartially. With respect to the undisciplined conduct of individual party members, they played no favoritism but launched necessary criticism and struggle always in time, in order to dispose the cases solemnly and seriously and thereby give scope to the vanguard and model roles of the vast ranks of the party members. They were good at uniting the vast ranks of the masses and correctly handling the relationship between the "two civilizations" being built. While closely involved in launching the crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic sphere, they at the same time insisted on our policy of enlivening the economy, seriously implemented the production responsibility system in fishery undertakings, mobilized enthusiasm in production on the part of the vast ranks of the masses, which resulted in the rapid development of production in these fishery undertakings, the state plans were fulfilled year after year, collective accumulations expanded time and again, and living standards of the commune members greatly improved. They regularly engaged themselves in the propagation and education on our principles and policies toward Taiwan and in promoting with practical action the kinship feelings between the brethren on either shore of the Strait. All of this makes the vast ranks of the masses feel deeply the superiority of the socialist system and see the great motherland's boundless bright prospects and thereby consciously unite themselves and fight under the radiant banner of the party.

The provincial party committee is of the opinion that launching at this time at various levels of the province's party organizations pertinent activities to learn from the advanced stories of the party branches (general branches) of the Meilin, Dongsheng, Xinghai, and Shima production brigades will be of great, realistic significance in doing a good job in handling our party's ideological and organizational construction, unswervingly implementing our policies of opening to the outside world and enlivening our domestic economy, pushing forward our present crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic sphere, promoting the building of the "two civilizations," and bringing to fruition the great cause of the motherland's reunification.

The province's party organizations and all communists at various levels should learn the lofty ideas in maintaining the purity of communism and steadfast faith in the cause of socialism and communism, learn from their revolutionary spirit of daring to struggle, being good at struggle, dauntless, and with forwardlooking drive; learn from the noble qualities of singleminded devotion to public interests, disinclination toward making private gains, resistance to corrosion, and immunity from contamination; and learn from their experience in uniting to fight together, setting personal examples, strengthening the building of their party branches, conscientiously implementing the "Guiding Principles," and unswervingly carrying out political and ideological education among the party members and masses. We should take them as our examples, closely ally with reality, and examine whether or not our own party branch leadership core is firm and strong, united together, and conscientiously implementing the party's line, principles and policies. In our present struggle against serious criminal activities in the economic sphere, is it able to adhere to principles, not play favoritism, and take up the struggle? We should think whether every party member has maintained communist purity? Can he demonstrate the vanguard and model roles in the building of the "two civilizations?" We

should, through matching the advanced units, finding out the gaps, formulating relevant measures, and practically solving certain existing problems, stimulate the party members' revolutionary spirit and build every basic-level organization in our province into a strong fighting stronghold.

Things always follow the rule of one dividing into two; no advanced model can be perfect. The provincial party committee hopes that the party branches (general branches) of the Meilin, Dongsheng, Xinghai, and Shima production brigades would, in the face of achievements and honor, continue to maintain their humble, prudent, nonarrogant and nonimpetuous work style, adhere to the one-dividing-into-two method, advance still a step further, and make even greater contributions in the building of our material civilization and spiritual civilization.

12 June 1982

Editorial on Ideological Implications

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jun 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Fighting Stronghold Against Ideological Corrosion by Capitalism--Learn From the Party Branches (General Branches) of the Four Advanced Production Brigades of Meilin, Dongsheng, Xinghai, and Shima"]

[Text] In our province's struggle against smuggling and corrosion, the radiant names of four production brigades are passed long in praise: Meilin, Dongsheng, Xinghai and Shima.

Under the new historical conditions of implementing our policies of opening to the outside world and enlivening our domestic economy, these four old advanced units have withstood new tests and achieved new results. When the vicious storm of smuggling and trading in contraband goods invaded us, they stood their grounds; when the bourgeois "sugar-coated bullets" exploded toward us, they successfully shielded against them. Seeing "a windfall," they did not show avarice; encountering unhealthy practices, they dared to struggle by resolutely opposing illegal and criminal activities in the economic sphere and consciously resisting ideological corrosion by capitalism. They are the examples in maintaining communist purity, the vanguards in building the "two civilizations." The party organizations and several hundred party members of these four production brigades have led the masses to overcome ideological corrosion by capitalism, and won double rich harvests in opposing smuggling and in fishery production. Their experience merits popularization in various localities in the province.

The principal experience of these four production brigades of Meilin, Dongsheng, etc., is that they have successfully adhered to the following four points:

One is adherence to the firm faith in socialism. These four production brigades are situated along our provincial coast and engaged in fishing on the high seas all year around. When the vicious wind of smuggling and trading in contraband goods started to blow and the socialist economy encountered a serious challenge, were the fishing fleets that had grown strong and big by

following the socialist path to serve further the development of socialist production or to be used in smuggling and trading in contraband goods, speculation and double-dealing? Were the fish loads caught from the sea to be sold to the state or to be exchanged for contraband goods and sold to second-hand merchants? Realistic questions like these were sharply laid before the party branches of these four production brigades. Their stand proved to be firm and unshakable; they adhered to the four basic principles, and proceeded to launch a struggle against the unhealthy trend of smuggling and trading in contraband goods in a clear-cut manner. Time and again the smuggling elements, with big money wanted to rent their boats to transport those contraband goods, but they were sternly declined. Second-hand merchants also time and again wanted to buy their fish loads at a high price, but they likewise obtained nothing each time. Despite the fact that smuggling activities had become quite rampant, they continued to bring the fishing district's glorious tradition into full play, did their usual good job in production, adhered to the "three simultaneous attentions" to all state, collective and individual interests, sold more fish to the state, and year after year overfulfilled the state's assigned purchasing tasks in support of the construction of the four modernizations. They remained people of socialism; their boats remained boats devoted to socialism; the various tools and televisions, electric fans, etc., in their fishing boats were all products of the state. Their honor as an advanced collective continued to shine brilliantly. Amidst the singing of "Socialism Is Fine," they continued vigorously to advance along the broad path to socialism.

The second is unswerving strengthening of ideological and political work. During the past few years, our province has been implementing special policies and flexible measures and expanded our intercourse with the outside world; this inevitably tended to bring in the influence of bourgeois ideas and the capitalist lifestyle. Hence, it was extremely important to continue to strengthen our ideological and political education among the vast ranks of our party members, cadres, and masses in order to build an antismuggling and anticorrosion "great wall of steel" ideologically. During the past year or two, serious economic criminal activities have taken place in some localities; subjectively speaking, one important reason was that, while those localities and units were implementing our policies of opening to the outside world and enlivening our domestic economy, the ideological and political work of our party failed to catch up with them, and what is precious about the party organizations of the four production brigades of Meilin, Dongsheng, etc., lies in their ability on the basis of the needs in the new situation to put ideological and political work in an important place. Through chatting in the boats, paying visits to households, running social education exhibition centers, inviting old fishermen to give lectures especially on family histories, village histories, brigade histories, and pioneering histories and similar approaches, they connected these to the current illegal and criminal activities in the economic sphere and thereby carried out vivid, flexible socialist and patriotic education among the vast ranks of the cadres, masses, and especially young fishermen, in order to heighten everybody's consciousness, dissipate everybody's doubts, eliminate "pollution," resist corrosion, and strengthen beliefs. On this basis, they further mobilized everybody to discuss and formulate district rule and civic covenants for common compliance and mutual surveillance; this made it possible not only for everybody to refrain from smuggling and trading in contraband goods

by resisting the attack of bourgeois "sugar-coated bullets," themselves, but also to resolutely struggle against various other unhealthy practices.

The third is the insistence that "the squad" of the party branch itself do a good job in serving as leaders. This was the key to a party branch being able to demonstrate its role as a fighting stronghold. Leading members of the party branches of the production brigades of Meilin, Dongsheng, etc., strictly demanded of themselves according to communist criteria, consistently maintained clear thinking, guarded against the "sugar-coated bullets" at all times, stayed away from smuggling, and also took the initiative in struggling against illegal and criminal activities in the economic sphere. They steadfastly kept in mind the party's purpose and adhered to working for the interests of the greatest majority; with power in their hands, they refrained from making private gains but, instead, stressed principles, ran things impartially, refrained from establishing "connections, and dared to break "the sentimental passes." Whether by their own children or uncles or other relatives by blood or by marriage, whenever criminal conduct was involved, their impartial attitude was the same as they handled them solemnly without playing any favoritism at the expense of the law of placating or appeasing anyone. They refrained from seeking privileges. For the sake of developing the collective economy, some took the initiatives in undertaking the heavier tasks in production and making greater contributions while willingly accepting lesser rewards. In doing so, they succeeded in establishing examples for the vast ranks of the party members, cadres and masses.

The fourth is adherence to acquiring wealth through labor and through the collective. These four production brigades are the ones where the collective economy has always done fairly well and where the cadres and masses have already tasted the sweetness of acquiring wealth by relying on collective labor. But, when the vicious wind of smuggling and trading in contraband goods blew hard, some cadres and commune members also "caught cold." In response to this situation, the brigade party branches undertook repeatedly to explain relevant directives and policies from the party Central Committee to the cadres and masses and also make use of typical cases to illustrate how smuggling and trading in contraband goods was a devious path detrimental to the state, the people and to oneself which must not be followed, and how acquiring wealth first must follow a forthright path, how the principle of acquiring wealth through labor must be followed,and how the main entity of collective economy must be maintained. In the meantime, they also actively guided them from various angles, opened up multiple avenues of production, resorted to both fishing and raising fish resources, and also ran some processing industries in accordance with local conditions, followed the path of comprehensively developing fishing, industry, and auxiliary enterprises, and thereby made it possible for the collective and commune members to increase their income year after year. With the eloquent fact of their own brigades and commune members having acquired wealth first, they demonstrated to others: only insistence on acquiring wealth through labor and through the collective by not following any devious path and not coveting any "windfall" can make one really rich and justifiably and honorably so; this is a bright, broad path, the broader it becomes, the more one follows it.

Let us wholeheartedly respond to the call of the provincial party committee, extensively develop activities in party organizations at various levels and mass groups in the province to learn from the advanced stories of the party branches (general branches) of the four production brigades of Meilin, Dongsheng, Xinghai and Shima, look at ourselves in their "mirrors," find out the gaps, formulate measures, further do a good job in the party's ideological construction and organizational construction, consciously protect our communist purity, strive to be the vanguards in the building of the "two civilizations," and strive for the appearance of still more advanced party branches.

9255
CSO: 4005/945

PARTY AND STATE

VIGILANCE AGAINST IDEOLOGICAL CORROSION BY CAPITALISM URGED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "In the Ideological and Cultural Realm We Must Guard Against Ideological Corrosion by Capitalism"]

[Text] The struggle to crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic sphere is now being penetratingly launched across the province; this is a serious struggle against corruption and change in our character. The practice of this struggle tells us: while resolutely cracking down on economic criminal activities, we must at the same time grasp well the struggle against corrosion in the ideological and cultural sphere and administer the education among the cadres and masses on vigilance against the attack of the spiritual sugar-coated bullets of capitalism.

Since the 3D Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, along with the continued advance of economic construction in our province, the situation in the ideological and cultural sphere has also become better and better as the "five points of emphasis and four points of beauty" activities unfolded progressively. The socialist culture has developed exuberantly, the literary and artistic garden has become gradually prosperous, and the cultural life of the masses has continued to improve. During these past few years, our province has been implementing special policies and flexible measures; in the importation of science and technology from the capitalist advanced countries and carrying out of cultural exchanges with the people of those countries, we have already achieved considerable results. This is a fact not subject to skepticism. But, we also need not avoid saying that some corrupt ideas of capitalism have also been imported, and some comrades on our ideological and cultural front, because of the influence of the anarchist trend instigated by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique to which they were subjected during the 10 years of internal turmoil, have failed to distinguish what is fragrant and what is foul. They have taken the attack of the spiritual sugar-coated bullets of capitalism lightly, not only being unable to resist consciously the encroachment of the corrupt ideology and culture of capitalism but even wavering in their proletarian stand and consciously or unconsciously becoming voluntary propagandists. This is mainly manifested in the following aspects:

One is the tendency of bourgeois liberalization. Since our effort to study and implement the relevant central directives last year, we have already

achieved some results in opposing the tendency of bourgeois liberalization in our province. Some units have strengthened party leadership, adhered to the four basic principles, achieved pleasing results, and earned the praise of the masses. But our estimate in this regard cannot be very high. Some units have hardly gained any improvement even to this day, and the tendency of bourgeois liberalization there continues to exist. For instance, some journals publish works of a conspicuously corrosive character pertaining to the capitalist ideology; some small newspapers during an earlier period violated central and provincial regulations by publishing in a series of picture stories adapted from foreign movies, and these movies were never inspected by the concerned departments nor publicly exhibited in the country. The theatrical groups in some localities have ignored directives from their superior level by continuing to stage plays that propagate feudalism and sex; etc.

A second is blind worship of foreign things. Insofar as the good things in the cultures of the capitalist countries are concerned, we have always advocated borrowing; this is beneficial to the development of our socialist culture. But, today there are some people who make no concrete analysis of the novels, songs, movies, television programs, etc., from Hong Kong and the capitalist countries, pay no attention to their quality, but proceed to imitate them from content to form. Some have extensively "imported" adventure, detective and romance novels that embellish violence, horror and explicit love, making filth as novelty and thereby spreading the poison.

A third is the commercialization tendency of capitalism. The production of spiritual products in a socialist society must have as its fundamental goal the satisfaction of the spiritual needs of all the people. Hence, our own departments of spiritual production must stress product quality and endeavor to see that every product has its patriotic, revolutionary, healthy ideological content so that it can really provide the people with spiritually esthetic enjoyment and uplifting, inspiring strength. Even though most spiritual products also need to be issued and distributed through the circulation channels, they must not be commercialized and "all looking out for money." Yet, today some comrades have somehow become contaminated by the idea of all for profit as pertaining to capitalism; in order to make more money or win a greater prize, they would extensively publish in the press, adventure, detective novels, and introduce the lives and trivial news about domestic and foreign stars to fool readers, or broadcast yellow, base music and songs at musical tea shops and dance halls in order to lure customers.

All of these have created a bad impact, polluted our social customs, poisoned our cadres and masses, especially youths and children, and affected the building of our socialist spiritual civilization.

There are too kinds of bourgeois sugar-coated bullets: one is material sugar-coated bullets, which seek to induce people to follow the capitalist road with money and objects and thereby bog them down in the pit of corruption, degeneration and character change. The other is spiritual sugar-bullets, which promulgate through the corrupt ideas and culture of capitalism

the corrupt and obsolete world view, philosphy of life, and lifestyle of capitalism in order to loosen our fighting will, disturb our thinking, shake our political stand and belief, and thereby spiritually proceed to infiltrate, corrupt, and disintegrate our ranks. We must remain clearheaded, fully recognize the seriousness of the corrosiveness of capitalist ideas prevailing in the ideological and cultural sphere of our province, and thereby assiduously and purposefully carry out an educational vigilance against the attack of sugar-coated bullets from the bourgeoisie among the cadres and masses. Undertaking to do this will benefit both the promotion of the penetrating development of our struggle against corruption and character change in the economic sphere and the strengthening of the building of our socialist spiritual vicilzation.

For this reason, we must reinforce our ideological education on patriotism and communism on the ideological and cultural front, especially such an education among the party members and cadres. We must organize everybody to study anew the relevant works of Marx, Lenin and Comrdde Mao Zedong, study the "CCP Central Committee and State Council Resolution on Cracking Down on Serious Criminal Activities in the Economic Sphere," in order to heighten our socialist consciousness, strengthen our ability to distinguish, resist the corrupt ideological influence of capitalism. Communists must reinforce their party character, maintain their Communist purity, and be clearheaded revolutionaries.

We must sum up the experience since the 3D Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, especially since the central forum on questions of the ideological front last year, inspect the condition of our implementation of the spirit of the central directives, link with reality in summing up our experience and lessons, explore and accumulate our experience in doing a good job in handling our ideological and cultural work in the new era, earnestly adhere to the orientation of serving the people, serving socialism, further implement the double-hundred principle, adhere to the four basic principles, so as to make our ideological and cultural work serve the four modernizations even better.

We must strengthen and improve party leadership at various levels on the ideological and cultural front. Party leadership is the fundamental guarantee to doing a good job in our ideological and cultural work in the new era; we must earnestly strengthen and improve it. In our work, we must oppose both simplistic approaches and crudeness and laissez-faire approaches and self-abandonment; we must promote the fine work style of getting closely involved with the masses, penetrating reality, and solving problems in a down-to-earth manner. We must strengthen our ideological and political work, commend the good people, good things and good ideas in our own units, and dare to look into and handle bad ideas and tendencies correspondingly. We must reinforce our control over the importation, manufacture, broadcast, and sale of audio and visual recording products and newspapers, journals, books, pictures, movies, and television programs and reinforce our control over the repertoires and advertisement of theatrical groups. In our control work, we must oppose both the tendency of liberalization and simplification; it would be wrong to let all go or prohibit all, irrespective of their quality. We must treat them with discrimination according to different situations. We should know that our purpose in strengthening our control is to make our ideological and cultural work more healthy, more prosperous, and more lively, not to render it lifeless.

9255
CSO: 4005/046

PARTY AND STATE

STUDY OF ZHOU ENLAI'S UNITED FRONT VIEWS URGED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Zheng Xie [6774 6168]: "Learn From Comrade Zhou Enlai, Work Hard On the United Front"]

[Text] The problem of the united front concerns how the proletariat and the party in power is to organize to lead the allied forces. It is one of the primary weapons of revolution and construction and is an important science. Comrade Mao Zedong and others of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, including Comrades Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, and Ju De, all made important contributions toward the establishment and practice of united front policies. Especially Comrade Zhou Enlai, from the time the party was established, was an outstanding model in working on the united front. He contributed tremendously to the development of united front work and was the person in our party with the most united front work experience. Studying Comrade Zhou Enlai's contributions to united front theory can have tremendous significance in our united front work in the new period.

It is very important in studying Comrade Zhou Enlai's theories about the united front to study the great vision and broad revolutionary spirit of his firm belief that the proletariat would eventually liberate all mankind and to eliminate the pernicious influence of the "left."

The "Communist Manifesto" points out that the proletarians have only their chains to lose in the revolution, while they will gain the entire world. Marx pointed out that only by liberating all of mankind can the proletariat at last liberate itself. Comrade Zhou Enlai was truly a revolutionary possessing this great Marxist vision and broad Marxist spirit. He applied this great depth of vision and breadth of revolutionary spirit to all practical work he undertook, which, of course, included united front work. Therefore, he didn't draw "small circles," enclosing himself within, but rather he "drew the largest possible circle, uniting the billions of the masses," "causing the comrades of the entire party to unite in a single struggle in the Bolshevik spirit." He adamantly opposed using the "various despicable, foul political bureacratic methods of the bourgeoisie" that would cause insoluble personal animosities to appear within the party, creating endless disputes. This type of behavior is "absolutely incompatible with a proletarian party." At the time, he said that "the Chinese proletariat numbers only several millions, less than 1 percent of China's entire population.

How can a communist party representing this one class achieve revolutionary victory: Chairman Mao's focus is on applying proletarian Marxist thought in China to unite the broadest range of the masses within the bounds of the proletariat in order to obtain victory in revolution, and is not on contracting ourselves into the smallest possible circle to merely talk of revolution." And this truly hit the nail on the head. The previous victory of the democratic revolution was not achieved by relying on empty talk within "a small circle," and empty talk within "a small circle" is even less acceptable in today's task of the "four modernizations." No comrade who works earnestly at the "four modernizations" should draw a "small circle," nor can he neglect united front work.

But the main tendency in united front work at present is not to the right, but to the "left"--the pernicious influence of the "left" still runs deep Some of our comrades are accustomed to a "leftist" framework, their thinking having become ossified or semiossified; organizationally, they like "uniformity"; in work, they are used to running the whole show; in interpreting policies, they tend to be cautious and literal, not daring to seek the truth in facts; in workstyle, they cannot treat people equally and tend not to respect those outside of the party; and in life, they do not of their own accord concern themselves with or try to be considerate of those outside the party. These various "leftist" matters are serious obstacles to our achieving breakthroughs in our united front work. In order to achieve breakthroughs in our united front work and to thoroughly eliminate the obstruction of the "left," it is absolutely necessary that we emulate the breadth of vision and the vast tolerance of Comrade Zhou Enlai. From the Guangzhou Conference in 1962 to the Hangzhou Conference of 1963, Comrade Zhou Enlai made several important speeches, the central thrust of which was to correct "leftist" tendencies. His closing address to the Political Consultative Congress in 1962 dealt with the "leftist" influences on the united front situation, based on the reflections of persons both inside and outside the party during the congress. This speech is excellent medication for curing "leftism" and is an important historical document dealing with the united front. In order to eliminate the pernicious influence of the "left," it would not hurt to review this important document, because it would not hurt to review this important document, because it will help us sweep away serious obstacles we are facing, providing a new breakthrough in united front work and arming us with potent ideological weapons.

Studying Comrade Zhou Enlai's ideas on strengthening party leadership in united front work and actually strengthening party leadership is the key to united front work.

The condition of our united front work is very much related to the leadership of the party committees at every level. "The numerous historical successes of our party through several periods have all been possible because of carrying out the ideas and the line of Comrade Mao Zedong concerning the matter of leadership." In 1982, united front work must see decisive development, the key being the strengthening of the leadership in united front work by party committees at every level. United front work has historically been the work of the entire party and an important component of party committee work

at every level. Doing well in united front work is an important responsibility of party committees at every level, especially those above the county level. United front work has historically relied on partywide effort and especially, in certain important matters, has required the personal attention of those in charge of party committees at every level. Of course, this has not reduced the burden on united front departments, which must serve as assistant and advisory units to the party committees.

The united front requires that we work with "all corners of the land." "Members" of party committees must take the lead in fostering democracy and be good at cooperating with friends outside the party. "Uniformity," closed-doorism and the mentality of attacking the isolated in the world are destined to fail. At present the scope of the united front is even more extensive. The components of the united front at present include: all democratic parties, well-known figures with no party affiliation, intellectual nonparty cadres, former KMT military and political personnel who have seen the light, former industrialists and businessmen, upper level minority figures, patriotic religious leaders, relatives and friends of those who fled to Taiwan, friends from Hong Kong and Macao, overseas Chinese who have returned to the motherland and Chinese still living abroad. Their primary characteristics include being relatively knowledgeable, having relatively wide social contacts, and having an intense desire to work for the motherland. These are the major aspects. We must estimate their political progress and patriotic enthusiasm and fully foster their initiative.

In order to meet the breakthrough in united front work that is coming, we should take Comrade Zhou Enali as our model, extensively unite all friends inside and outside the party, mobilize all forces, form vast, mightly troops, and struggle together to achieve the four modernizations and the unification of the motherland and to oppose international hegemonism.

9705
CSO: 4005/981

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PARTY SPIRIT OF ARTISTS, WRITERS VIEWED

HK041016 Beijing WENYI BAO in Chinese No. 7, 7 Jul 82

[Article by Xi Yan [3305 3533]: "On the Party Spirit of Communist Party-Member Writers"]

[Text] In the recent study of the letters of Comrade Mao Zedong addressed to literary and art circles, and the speech made by Comrade Chen Yun concerning the problems in literature and art, the literary and art circles put forward the question of enhancing the party spirit and strengthening the party nature of party-member writers. This is a very important question.

This reminds the party members in literary and art circles not to forget their own responsibility, not to lose or have a muddled understanding of their own party nature, and not to forget or abandon their own communist faith or goal. This is in fact self-evident and unalterable. Party members engaged in the cause of literature and art possess a double status, that is, as writers or artists, they should fulfill their social responsibility as a writer or artist. As members of the communist party, they should fulfill their responsibility and duty as a member of a proletarian vanguard organization. They voluntarily and unconditionally promised this when submitting their application form for party membership and they vowed the same during the party admittance ceremony. Participation in the party organization means that every party member has decided to devote everything, without reservation, including their own lives, to the grand and noble proletarian cause. It means that he should carry out his social activity as a party member, and adhere to party decisions as well as to party discipline. It signifies that he should not pursue personal interests but serve the people wholeheartedly. As a party member engaged in literary and art work, he, first of all, is a party member, a communist fighter, and finally he can be a writer or artist. For writers and artists, the work of literature and art constitutes a concrete fighting post in the communist cause in which they are engaged. The literary and art profession in which they are engaged is a specific division of labor. Their status as a writer or artist and their party member status should be unified, not separated, on this basis.

The 10 years of internal strife caused damage to the political, economic and cultural life of the country and left a serious remnant influence. It also caused serious damage to the party and harmed the lofty image of the party and its members among the masses of people. The basic party organizations ceased activity and were destroyed. The party's basic theory of Marxism-Leninism was distorted and altered. Many party members only knew about "factions" and not about party. Apart from a cruel struggle and suffering merciless blows, the usual ideological and political work of the party was paralyzed. In this extremely unusual situation, the bad style of anarchism, ultraindividualism and other gravely bad styles which were actively encouraged and used by the "gang of four," inevitably attacked and corroded the party members, including party members in literary and art circles. Naturally, and overall, in this acute and complicated struggle the majority of the party members showed their dissatisfaction with and opposition to the perversity of the "gang of four," who went against the historical trend, and displayed their ability to make political distinctions and their firm faith in communism. However, the undeniable fact was that after this chaos, it was certain that there were some party members in the literary and art circles who did not have firm faith in communism. Their communist faith became blunt. And some of them even reached the serious point where they "knew nothing of the proletarian ideology, communism and the party."

Therefore, to raise now the question and emphasize the party spirit and nature of party members in the literary and art circles is the logical continuation and deepening development of bringing order out of chaos, initiated by the 3rd plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and of healing the after-effects in the party body caused by the 10 years of internal strife.

That is not the end of the question.

The country has entered a new historical era, and it is at the crucial point of bringing order out of chaos. The CCP Central Committee has set a great target of building a powerful socialist modern state with high levels of democracy and civilization. In order to realize this objective, the CCP Central Committee has set forth the foresightful policy of emancipating the mind, letting a hundred flowers bloom and opening up to the world on the basis of persisting in the four principles. This marks the end of the closed, confined and ossified historical period and represents the healthy and progressive ideology and historical trend. The remarkable characteristics of this historical period are: order and disorder, the new and the old, transformation and conservation, awakening and perplexity, ideological activity and confusion, development of revolutionary spirit so as to work with a will to make the country strong and to rouse oneself for vigorous efforts to make the country prosperous, the ideological remnant influence caused by the 10 years of internal strife, the great development of Marxism-Leninism and the attacks and

proliferation of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideological fashionable trends....all these aspects exist simultaneously. They fight agianst each other and are mingled, and either one perishes or the other survives. A complicated situation has appeared. Marxism can only develop through the struggle against non-Marxism and anti-Marxism. Socialist spiritual civilization can be created only through struggle against feudal, bourgeois and petty bourgeois spiritual pollution. This struggle is inevitably reflected in literary and art creation and movement, the most sensitive of ideological fields. This has posed a new problem to party members engaged in literary and art work.

While setting forth the policy of emancipating the mind, letting a hundred flowers bloom and opening to the world, the CCP Central Committee has made a clearheaded appraisal of the possibility that all erroneous things will seize the chance to appear, including in the CCP Central Committee itself. By proposing the above slogan, the CCP Central Committee reiterates the four basic principles. When some bourgeois corrosion has emerged in the political, economic and literary and art fields, the CCP Central Committee has duly reminded the whole party to launch a correct struggle against it. This is good proof. It is absolutely wrong to ignore the historical characteristics and demand of the new era or fundamentally doubt the policy of emancipating the mind, letting a hundred flowers bloom and opening up to the world due to the presence of erroneous things. Similarly, under the new situation, if a party member forgets his own responsibility and the demarcation line between Marxism and non-Marxism, and between proletarian and non-proletarian, is muddleheaded, drifts with the tide and chimes in with others, he will probably be defeated by the bourgeois fashionable ideological trend which is rising like waves and will be washed away and drowned. The most dangerous thing is not that certain negative things have appeared but that party members cannot keep clear heads on Marxism, cannot clearly distinguish the communist flag and lose political judgment and party nature. Under these circumstances, to put forward the demand that a party member should maintain his own party spirit and keep a clear Marxist mind is particularly important.

Writers have the liberty to write. However, should a communist writer or artist set against each other the liberty to write and the responsibility and duty of a party member? A party member fully enjoys democracy in the party. The party has given its members the full right to express their will in the party organizations, even up to the central committee. Hence, communist writers or artists have no right to remain outside the party organization, or to make public declarations against party principles, line, policy and guiding principles.

Communist writers or artists should carry out the policy of "let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend," but he should not forget their responsibility to propagate, safeguard and develop Marxism and to extend the ideological field of Marxism through the

above-mentioned policy. Any intention or step taken to set strengthening party spirit and party nature of the party members in literary and art circles against the "double hundred" policy is wrong. A real communist will never regard maintaining political unity with the central committee and adhering to party discipline as a restriction to the liberty of his own creative work and as a tie onto the "double hundred" policy, because he joined the party voluntarily to uphold Marxism, and communism is the firm faith which he has chosen of his free will.

Communist writers and artists make up a large proportion in the literature and art front. Their political and ideological nature greatly affects the healthy development of the socialist literary and art movement. Many of them have acquired rich experiences in literary and art work as well as in literary and art creation. They have made important contributions to the socialist literary and art development of the country. They have maintained good relations with non-communist writers and artists. Although most of the communist writers or artists are good or relatively good, there indeed exists a weak spirit and an impure party nature among the party members in the literary and art circles and some cannot even clearly distinguish the communist flag. Some party members have forgotten that they are working for communism, not for their own interest, that they are serving the people, not themselves, and that they are working for Marxism-Leninism, not for capitalism. Decadent and philistine ways such as bourgeois individualism, anarchism, looking for money and reputation, boasting and toadying have developed among some of the communist literary and art workers. Some of these actions have been going on openly.

It is worthy of note that a few party members in literary and art circles cannot properly arrange their relations with the party, in particular, with the CCP Central Committee. This kind of person opposes the "savior" by definition, but actually, they consider themselves a "savior." They only like to hear praise and dislike any criticism, including criticism and advice from the CCP Central Committee. They recognize that they should keep political unity with the CCP Central Committee but actually they do not do so when writing articles or making declarations. They do not study, investigate and propagate the important proposals concerning literature and art put forward by the CCP Central Committee but consider themselves always in the right and stubbornly propagate their erroneous stands. Comrade Chen Yun criticizes the "particular" and "self-important" tendencies reflected in some persons in the literary and art circles. Although this occurred 40 years ago, does it not have realistic and important significance today?

In order to strengthen party spirit and character, it is necessary to wage struggle between two lines. "Left" is not in line with the central committee and right is also not in line with the central committee. Both "left" and right are signs of an impure party spirit. Bourgeois individualism and anarchism always adopt left or right forms of manifestation. We must not lower our guard against the damage they caused to the party's literary and art work.

Under the new historical conditions, we must again study Marxism, study society, be clear about the new situation, study new problems and make criticism and self-criticism, strengthen party character and abandon evil practice. As party members, we must also begin to learn the ABC's of Marxism. New situations in the new era of literature and art, new problems and other complicated and confused arguments, and the complicated problems of the ideological front must in the final analysis be resolved by Marxism-Leninism, not by bourgeois ideology and theory (no matter how fashionable it might be). Our socialist literary and art work will smoothly develop whenever party members in the literary and art circles strengthen their party nature, adopt correct style and maintain good relations with non-communist literary and art workers.

CSO: 4005/1164

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XIAO WANGDONG TALKS TO YOUTHS ON IDEALS

HK281105 Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Xiao Wangdong [5135 2598 2639]: "A Talk to Young Comrades on the Question of Ideals"]

[Text] Youths are like the spring in our motherland and like the sun at 8 to 9 o'clock in the morning. They are the people on whom the hope for achieving the party's cause lies. The main task of building up our army relies ultimately on our youths. What is the most important thing for our youths? It is the establishment of the lofty revolutionary ideal in their minds. The establishment of this ideal is the key task in building spiritual civilization. This ideal is a revolutionary's political soul and spiritual support and is the goal toward which a revolutionary is marching forward.

Ideals and Social Existence

Social existence determines people's social consciousness. Ideals originate from people's dissatisfaction with social reality and are what people yearn for and seek to obtain in the future. In the final analysis, it is the outcome of social contradictions. After the human race developed to the stage of civilized society, every class or stratum and every person in any historical period have their respective ideals. Annexing more land and leading a life "with an excessive amount of meat and wine in a magnificent house:" This is the ideal of the feudal landlord class. "Living in luxury and dissipation and earning money quickly:" This is the ideal of the bourgeoisie. Slaves yearn for personal freedom and peasants have a thirst for owning the land they till. Whatever ideal a person entertains in his mind, it bears the brand of his times and class and is restricted by the level of development of the social productive force and the level of civilization of his times.

The ideal that we mean is the most progressive, the noblest and the most beautiful ideal of human society--communism. This ideal is not something that has come out of a void and it is impossible for it to take shape unless there is development of large-scale industry and a mature proletariat. Communism is the inevitable highest stage of the development of human society according to the inexorable law. For a youth of noble aspirations in our times, his correct ideal can only be fighting for communism all his life.

At the mere mentioning of the communist ideal, some youths may say that it is the repetition of "old stuff." Do they know that it was after more than a decade of arduous groping and bloody fighting that the Chinese people and a large number of people with lofty aspirations at last found this ideal? Do they know that it was only when this ideal was found that they began to embark on a route to prosperity. After the Opium War, China gradually became a semifeudal and semicolonial country and meat to be cut into pieces at the mercy of other people. In order to rescue the country and the people from tremendous disasters, people ranging from Hong Xiuquan to Sun Yat-sen time and again carried out extremely hard struggle and tried to find various schemes to save the country, but all their efforts resulted in defeat. What prospects did China have and what was the way out for China? What was the key to the solution of the social problems in China? The roaring of the guns of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism, which pointed out to the Chinese Revolution a bright path. At that time, there were three kinds of people who became communists and accepted, propagated and practiced the communist ideal: First, the revolutionary intellectuals represented by Li Dazhao, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and other comrades who had had the aspiration to reform China since their youth and who were the first to believe in communism; second, comrades like Zhu De, Peng Dehuai, He Long and Peng Pai who, under the influence of Marxism-Leninism, gave away their official posts or betrayed their feudal families and thus chose the revolutionary path in order to seek truth; and third and most numerous, old comrades like me, most of whom came from poor families, were always short of food and clothes and had nothing to depend on for their living or had suffered wrongs and could not find ways to take revenge and who joined the revolutionary ranks in order to find a way out. After the education of the party, these people accepted Marxism, began to have a firm confidence in the communist ideal and fought for this ideal continuously and some of them even sacrificed their lives. It is impossible to calculate how many people have died and how much has been paid in achieving the victory of the Chinese Revolution. For example, at the end of the 1920's when I joined the revolution, my home village in Jian, Jiangxi, was a big village of 200 to 300 households, but after the upsurge of peasants and the repeated revolutionary struggles, only 104 households were left in 1953 when I returned there for a visit. It is because millions of revolutionary martyrs have shed their blood and given their lives that we have won the present state of our motherland. Now, many of the old generation of revolutionaries like Comrade Mao Zedong have already died and comrades like me are all nearly 70 years old, the task of realizing the communist ideal should be handed down to you, the younger generation. Taking over the task of the revolution and continuing the struggle for the revolution is the unshirkable historical duty of our youths and is also where the old comrades' greatest expectation lies. We should realize that the general goal of communism cannot be achieved at a single stroke and can only be achieved through the combined efforts of several generations. However, each specific goal of communism should be achieved by the generation concerned. Only by the sustained efforts of generation after

generation of people and by the realization of one specific after another can our society finally develop to the lofty realm of communism. When we were fighting arduously in the dark during the 1920's and the 1930's, we regarded communism as the light house that pointed out our route, and forged ahead with full confidence. Today, we have already entered the initial stage of communism--socialist society--the bright future of communism is waiting for us and is in sight. Therefore, we should forge ahead even more arduously.

Ideal and Personal Aspiration and Interest

A prominent characteristic of our youths is their diversified personal aspirations and interests. To a certain degree, what kind of aspirations and interests a man has reflects what ideal he seeks and cherishes, and has a direct or indirect impact on the orientation and speed of his progress. All people are members of the society and are closely related with the development of the society. Some of our youths yearn to learn some skills, to become college students or to achieve merits in building up the army and in the future battles in defense of our motherland. Others want to develop in the political field. Still others love drawing, calligraphy, literature, art or sports and wish to become some kind of professionals such as painters, writers, and so on. We should regard it as a positive factor and encourage him if a youth wishes to work hard and achieve some merits and is not willing to remain ordinary. At the same time, we should also point out that personal aspiration and interest is not equivalent to ideal and we should raise the personal aspiration and interest to a higher plane and make it conform to the reality and to the interests and needs of the whole situation.

A clearly defined aspiration and a strong interest is what motivates people to carry out exploration, investigation and study. However, if a person's aspiration and interest is divorced from reality or from the general goal of the revolution, he will be disappointed and full of pessimism as soon as he runs into some obstacles or is held back by others. On the other hand, he will feel satisfied and will not wish to make any further progress as soon as his personal wish is realized. This proves that if a person's aspiration and interest is not combined with the revolutionary ideal, it often can only play a positive role for an interim period and in doing a certain thing, but in some cases, it may even lead the person astray. On the other hand, the revolutionary ideal is the most fundamental motive force that stimulates our youths and plays a decisive role throughout the lives of our youths. Of course, we can find some positive factors for realizing social ideals in the aspirations and interests of individuals and can utilize these aspirations and interests to knock open the door of ideals. The assembled strength of the healthy aspirations and interests of millions of people is precisely the tremendous motive force for realizing the social ideal. For many people at home and abroad and in the past and at present who have greatly contributed to society, the establishment of their lofty ideals

often could not be separated from their lofty aspirations and interests. Around 1938, a large number of young students and cultural personalities came to Yanan because of their indignation against the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang Government and because of their enthusiasm in resisting Japan and saving the motherland. Quite a large number of these people came to Yanan in order to find a way to develop their personal aspirations and interests. In the practice of struggle, most of them have not only become firm revolutionaries and the backbone cadres of our party in various fields, but quite a few of them have become talented writers and artists. Now we are building and defending our socialist motherland and need millions of statesmen, generals, economists, writers, artists and other professionals who have real knowledge and deep insight and who are really competent at their jobs. Therefore, it is good that our youths have diversified aspirations and interests. The problem is that we should not stop at merely having the aspirations and interests and should moreover raise these aspirations and interests and combine and fuse them closely with the revolutionary ideal. Only by so doing can we lead the personal aspirations and interests onto a correct path and make them fuller and nobler.

By subordinating personal aspirations and interests to serve the ideal, we mean the problem of training and developing them in accordance with the needs of the revolution. Aspirations and interests are not innate and they take shape in people's postnatal practice. The fact that the great communist fighter Lu Xun gave up medicine and took up literature and shifted from being an evolutionist to being a materialist is very good evidence. Many of our old generation of revolutionaries were originally men of letters, but because of the needs of the revolution they gave up literature and joined the armed struggle and have become general. Some of them were originally without any education, but because of the needs of the revolution, they have become economists and writers. During the past few years, our infantry institutions recruited a few batches of students from various areas. At first, quite a few of the students were full of disappointment and remorse but they were learning things they were not interested in, but after receiving education and undergone practice, they not only have a strong interest in military affairs, but also have a deep love of life in an army barracks and have achieved good results in their study.

Ideals and Morality and Sentiments

All the people who cherish great aspirations and lofty ideals, whether in the past or at present, are people of noble morality and sentiments. Compared with those in the past, our proletarian revolutionaries have even nobler virtues and sentiments. The fine virtues that our forefathers praised in the past, such as the virtue that "wealth and honor cannot corrupt, poverty and humility cannot change and force cannot bend," and the virtue of "planning and worrying ahead of the people and enjoying the fruits after the people," have not only been concentratedly embodied in

the revolutionary practice of our communists, but have also been greatly developed and imbued with new content.

"The force of the wind tests the strength of the grass and crises and disasters test the loyalty of officials." Because of the specific social conditions in China, the revolutionary struggle under the leadership of our party underwent several low tides, run into many obstacles and sometimes suffered heavy losses which caused the revolution to be on the verge of total collapse. The more dangerous the situation, the more many of our old generation of proletarian revolutionaries showed their loyalty to communism. In 1927, Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the revolution and carried out the bloody policy of "better killing 1,000 wrong persons rather than letting 1 communist escape." In this way, he attempted to kill all revolutionaries. In the cruel white terror, a large number of communists were killed. At that time, a small number of people in the revolutionary ranks waivered and flinched or even betrayed the revolution. However, a much larger number of people buried the bodies of their comrades, wiped the bloodstains off their own bodies and continued to fight for their ideal. What was especially commendable was that some comrades even joined the revolutionary ranks at that time. Comrade Xu Teli, one of the five comrades who were respectfully called the "elders," joined the party precisely at the time when the great revolution was lost. At that time, he was already 51 years old. When he recalled the history of that period, he said, "Joining the communist party means devoting oneself to the revolution unconditionally and without reserve. It is not an act that is aimed at achieving some personal ends or seeking personal position, remuneration or pleasure. If one comes when the revolution succeeds and leaves when it fails, if one comes when it is profitable to take part in the revolution and leaves when it is unprofitable and if one is only willing to share joys and is not willing to share hardships, how can one be called a revolutionary." In 1941, the Kuomintang created the southern Anhui incident that shocked people both at home and abroad, Ye Ting, commander of the new fourth army was captured when the army was making a break-out. In order to buy him over, Chiang Kai-shek organized a solemn ceremony to welcome him and had made a set of general's uniform for him, but Comrade Ye Ting disdained even to look at the uniform. He always wore the uniform of the new fourth army during the 4 years when he was in prison. Moreover, he wrote a poem called "A Song in Prison" to express his lofty aspiration. When he was released in 1946, the first thing he did was to send a cable to the CCP Central Committee applying for party membership. The victory of the Chinese revolution would have been impossible, if our party had not had a large number of resolute fighters who were loyal to the communist ideal. Recently, a book called "An Account in Peng Dehuai's Own Words" was published and I suggest that our young comrades carefully read this book. Comrade Peng Dehuai took part in hundreds of battles and achieved brilliant merits. He was a man who made magnificent contributions to the Chinese revolution. After 1959, and especially during the decade of turmoil, in spite of the persecution and imprisonment he suffered, he did not say anything against

the party and the people and was always concerned about the destiny of the party and the state. He acted in the same manner as Liu Shaoqi, He Long, Chen Yi, Tao Zhu and other comrades, adhered to the principles and persisted in carrying out the struggle under the despotic rule of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." This showed his noble virtues as a proletarian revolutionary.

The practice of the old generation of revolutionaries has shown us that noble morality and sentiments are very important in achieving the victory of revolution and realizing the communist ideal. In order to continue the revolutionary cause of the old generations, a youth with ideals should pay attention to cultivating his morality and sentiments in the practice of struggle. At present, although we do not have to undergo the danger of death or imprisonment or the hardship of travelling in the grassland or on the snow-covered mountains, the new long march for realizing the four modernization program is also a great revolutionary practice and it needs loyal confidence and indomitable fighting spirit just the same.

Ideals and Concrete Practice

Turning the lofty communist ideal into social reality demands the concrete revolutionary practice of generation after generation of people. If we treat the ideal as a mere potted landscape and only admire and praise it, but do not carefully water and look after it or are not willing to do the hard labor in taking care of it, the flower of the ideal will fade away. Some youths say that fruit is delicious but fruit trees are hard to cultivate and that the beautiful future of the four modernizations will not come on its own and it has to be brought about by our hands. These words are well said.

Since its third plenary session, the CCP Central Committee has put forth the magnificent goal of realizing the four modernizations and formulated a set of correct line, principles and policies, thus opening up a broad path for us to realize the lofty ideal. The problem now is to carry out concrete practice and activities. For our youths, the first thing they should do is to study hard and master knowledge. As Lenin said, "A man can become a communist only by enriching his mind with all the wealth of knowledge that has been created by the human race." We will never achieve this, if we do not have a hardworking spirit. Some youths think that since they wasted their time and neglected their study because of the decade of turmoil and have failed to build up a sound foundation for their study, it is too late for them to study now. Here an old saying is useful. It goes, "It is not too late to mend the fold when some sheep have been lost." In history, there were, or course, people who achieved academic merits when they were young, but there were also quite a few people who achieved academic merits later on in life. Moreover, do not forget you are at life's full flowering! Have there not been many youths over the past years who have not been utterly disheartened

by the waste of time caused by the decade of turmoil, but who, with a strong desire to study and the spirit to make days and nights count, have intensively and arduously studied and achieved fine results in their study? When a man is young, he has a keen mind, great energy and a strong memory. This is the best time in a man's life for study. If we lose it, it will never come back again. We should seize the opportunity and "study, study and again study."

"A journey of a thousand li begins from where one stands." The way that leads to the ideal is very long, but it begins from where we stand and, from our ordinary posts. If a youth only has the ambition to make a thousand-li journey, but does not have the spirit to begin from where he stands, and if he is only willing to be the one who receives benefits, but is not willing to be the one who works hard to bring about the benefits; however fine his ideal is, it is only a castle built of playing cards. Therefore, a youth who cherishes a lofty ideal should at the same time be a pragmatist who does his own job well. Recently, people have been moved by the report about the deeds of the young geographer Yang Liankang. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Yang was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. After he was rehabilitated and released, in order to gain first-hand materials about the Huanghe River he traveled on foot in the open along the Huanghe River at his own expense and made an investigation of the river. He traveled 10,000 li on foot and spent 1 year and thus walked the whole length of the Huanghe River for the first time in the history of our country. During the past few years, many combat heroes, model workers, spiritual civilization pacesetters and crackerjacks at technical renovation have emerged in our troops and in various areas. They have set good examples in combining their ideals with practice. The socialist epoch is an epoch when a large number of heroes are emerging one by one. In this epoch, if only a person works soundly, steadily and hard, they will be able to become a model worker, become a "paragon" and make contributions no matter what their job is. In a fragrant forest, the new leaves promote the growth of the old ones and in the Changjiang River, the waves push one another forward. I am confident that our young comrades will surely be able to grow up and become a generation of new people who cherish the revolutionary ideal, are moral and educated and observe discipline.

CSO: 4005/1164

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XIZANG RESETTLES PERSONNEL IMPRISONED IN 1959

HK300933 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 0000 GMT 30 Jul 82

[Text] According to a XIZANG RIBAO report, in accordance with the spirit of the directive of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council on releasing and resettling former KMT party, government and military personnel at and below county and regimental levels, the Xizang Regional People's Government made a decision in June this year on resettling and transferring 182 former Xizang local government personnel at and above (Genbu) level, military personnel at and above (Dingban) level and other personnel who were imprisoned in 1959 for committing rebellious and historical crimes and who remained and worked in the labor reform units after being released.

In November 1978 and March 1979, with the approval of the CCP Central Committee, Xizang region released two batches of rebellious back-bone elements and criminals who were convicted in 1959 by the former Xizang Regional Government. Also, military personnel of the former Xizang Regional Government who were sentenced according to law in 1959 for rebellions and historical crimes have also been released and resettled.

After being released, it was arranged that most of these personnel stay and work at the labor reform units. The region supported the livelihood of those personnel who had lost their working capacity. Some of these personnel have returned home or depended on their relatives and friends. It was arranged for some to work in the mass and collective units. This has fully demonstrated the party's and the government's leniency toward personnel who have reformed themselves and has exerted good influences in various areas throughout the country.

Currently, the region is arranging resettlement for former Xizang Regional Government and military personnel who stayed and worked in the labor reform units. This is conducive to further consolidating and developing the situation of stability and unity in the region, mobilizing all positive factors, accelerating work of enriching the poor and building a united, rich and civilized new Xizang.

Regarding resettlement of personnel, the decision of the regional people's government pointed out: Those who request to return home or depend on

their relatives and friends will be allowed to do so, and the local government, communes and brigades and relatives and friends should welcome them and do a good job of receiving them. According to labor reform and production demands, those who want to stay and work in the original unit and who have production skills and labor capacity can change into official workers or peasant workers. Those old, weak, ill and handicapped personnel who have lost thier production capacity and have nowhere to go, can stay in the labor reform units and their livelihoods will be looked after by the relevant units. A small number of people who have religious beliefs, specific skills or who have certain influence in the society can go back to the monasteries and it can be arranged for them to work in appropriate units, thus ensuring that they have a role to play and that their strong points will be brought into play.

The decision also pointed out that it is forbidden to politically discriminate against these personnel who have been resettled and it is necessary to ensure that they are paid at an equal rate for work. Those who only have ragged clothes and are unable to buy new ones will be given a clothing allowance. Sufficient travel allowance and grain coupons will be issued to those who have decided to return home or depend on their relatives and friends. They will also be given living allowances and family allowances in accordance with the stipulated standard. This again fully demonstrates the party's and the government's concern for personnel who have been resettled.

In order to implement the regional people's government's decision, the regional public security department and other departments concerned are currently making preparations for resettling personnel and are determined to do a good job of this. Various labor reform units have begun to carry out education on the situation and the policies among the personnel involved in resettlement, sought their opinions on this and have contacted various units and communes and brigades in order to make proper arrangements. Personnel involved in resettlement expressed their wish to participate in the work of building a united, rich and civilized new Xizang as the masters of the society and to contribute to the four modernizations drive of the motherland.

CSO: 4005/1164

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

IMPROVEMENT IN FAMILY PLANNING URGED

HK150759 Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 82 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Areas Where Planned Parenthood Work Is Weak Must Catch Up"]

[Text] Liaoning made new progress in planned parenthood work from January to May this year. The percentage of people practicing planned parenthood and of couples having only one child increased over the same period last year, while the percentage of couples having more than one child declined. However, 70,000 more babies were born in the province than in the same period last year. If this growth is maintained, the plan to keep population growth below 15 percent in the province this year will be in danger of failing. Although this situation reflects the reality of the continual increase in numbers of people reaching the age of marriage and child-bearing, the crux of the problem actually lies in the subjective, not in the objective. According to statistics compiled in investigations by departments concerned, from January to May, 39,000 babies in the province were born outside the plan, and one third of these births were concentrated in counties where planned parenthood work is weak. The percentage of people practicing planned parenthood is very low in certain places. Whether or not these areas can rapidly catch up with the rest will have a very great bearing on whether or not the province's population plan for this year can be fulfilled.

There are many reasons why planned parenthood work has not been done well in certain places, but the most fundamental one is that the leading comrades there lack a sense of urgency over population control. We must realize the serious consequences that will ensue for the country's four modernizations drive and the happiness of posterity if population control is lost. Areas and units where planned parenthood work is temporarily backward must not feel discouraged, nor should they be afraid of difficulties. They must face reality and uphold the concept of one dividing into two. On the one hand they must see the deficiencies in their work and work hard to catch up with others; on the other they must boost their confidence and see that the backward can turn progressive, under certain conditions. The decisive factor is the thinking, attitude and resolve of the leading comrades. A few years ago Yingkou County's planned parenthood work was consistently backward, but having got a sound grasp of

things for 3 years, they have now taken 3 great strides and joined the ranks of the province's progressive units. Evidently, it all depends on human effort, and the key lies in the leadership.

The present is a favorable moment for getting a further grasp on planned parenthood work. We hope that all municipalities and counties will do well in this work and grasp it unwearyingly. Areas that are temporarily backward must all the more go deep into reality, carry out investigations and studies and adopt practical and effective measures to promote planned parenthood work. We must hurry to carry out work on those whose pregnancies are not covered by the plan and do everything possible to reduce such pregnancies to the minimum; the birth rate and the population growth rate will then be able to decline.

CSO: 4005/1164

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

GUANGDONG SOCIAL ORDER--Social order in the urban and rural areas of Guangdong turned for the better in the first half of the year, and July has shown further improvement. The incidence of crime has declined by 22.3 percent compared with the same period last year, and there has been a notable fall in major crimes such as murder, theft and thuggery. The crime detection rate in the first half of the year was 10 percent higher than in the same period last year. Some 1,100 criminals turned themselves in during the period. [HK260711 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 22 Jul 82 HK]

NEI MONGGOL DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE--The 6-day meeting of the members of the China Democratic League in Nei Monggol successfully concluded in Hohhot on 1 August. The meeting approved a report on the work of the preparatory committee for the Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional Democratic League. The meeting stressed that its major task in 1982 was to help the party and the government implement the policies on intellectuals. Bu He, deputy secretary of the regional CCP Committee, addressed the meeting. [SK030630 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Aug 82 SK]

CSO: 4005/1164

NEW START OF TAIWAN'S EXTRAPARTY ELEMENTS

Hong Kong CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 6, Jun 82 pp 70-71

[Article by Ch'en Jo-hsi [7115 5387 2569]]

[Text] Upon my return to Taiwan in March, what gladdened me most was the confidence and vitality of the extraparty figures, like the azaleas in full bloom on the treasure island, imparting a sense of "the boundless beauty of springtime."

I recall my first return to Taiwan in early 1980. A large group of brilliant extraparty elements was lost in the Kao-hsiung incident, while those lucky enough to survive were fearful and apprehensive, not knowing in the morning what might happen in the evening and finding the situation hopeless. When I returned again in July after the military trial in May, there were some changes. By then, the right and wrong were roughly clarified, and the hearts of the people again had their inclinations. The extraparty elements began to lick the wounds and recuperate their spirit, preparing for a comeback. The three elections have indeed proved that there are successors to the continuation of democracy. The extraparty elements who prepared themselves for a new start have indeed lived up to the trust of the voters.

Legislative member Huang Huang-hsiung [7806 3552 7160] said: "The extraparty group making a new start can only take a moderate stroll. Like a patient recovering from surgery, he first needs sunshine, and moderate strolls." Indeed, one's impression of the New Age representatives of the popular will, as a whole, is moderation and reason, and sincerity in serving the people. After practice, the moderate and steady line firmly followed by K'ang Ning-hsiang [1660 1380 4382] has proved that Taiwan's political environment today is relatively realistic, and it has become the guiding line of the extraparty elements at the present stage.

A Galaxy of Extraparty Talents

When the Kao-hsiung incident first occurred, the people were extremely distressed over the loss of extraparty political commentator Chang Chun-hung [1728 0193 1347] and constitution lawyers Lin I-hsiung [2651 5030 7160] and Yao Chia-wen [1202 0857 2429]. Nevertheless, their imprisonment has propelled more scholars and lawyers into democratic politics. Currently, there is a galaxy of extraparty talents. Though there is a great disparity in number compared with Kuomintang, the party in power, the quality is far superior.

Just the determination and courage of those like Ch'en Shui-pien [7115 3055 2078], Hsieh Ch'ang-t'ing [6200 7022 1694] and Chang Te-ming [1728 1795 6900], who gave up the opportunities to pursue advanced studies abroad and to engage in profitable enterprises to serve as representatives of the popular will with the low pay and difficult prospect, inspire one with a new respect. Yu Ch'ing's [1429 3237] outstanding eloquence and selflessness have made him the unprecedented first extraparty Control member to be elected without spending a penny. His manifestations in the Control Yuan in the past year or more are commendable. Just by the number of the people's petitions received daily, constituting 45 percent of those on file in the entire Yuan, one can see the people's trust in him. After the resignation of T'ao Pai-chuan [7118 4102 1557], he has become the "just magistrate" of Control Yuan.

What particularly impressed this writer is Yu Ch'ing's idea on organizing a party. Everyone knows that, in former years, Lei Chen [7191 7201] spent the second half of his life in jail because of his idea to organize a party, and that MEI-LI TAO [BEAUTIFUL ISLAND] periodical was vigorously suppressed because of its embryonic form as a political party. Yet Yu Ch'ing openly declared that, "today, there is no legal obstacle to organizing a party!" "One day," he said, "when the political and social conditions are ripe, we should be able to openly organize a political party outside the [Kuomintang] party. We are not afraid of any cracking down." Such spirit of fearlessness, stepping into the breach as others fall, is a continual extraparty strength.

Huang Huang-hsiung is the representative of extraparty scholars and theoreticians. Known in the academic circle for his work on the history of the governing of Taiwan, he once devoted himself to the rehabilitation of anti-Japanese leader Chiang Wei-shui [5592 3262 3055], and he thoroughly overhauled the concept of "Taiwanese." Now he advocates the "extraparty edition" of the Three People's Principles--the extraparty elements possess the natural qualifications to fulfill the Three People's Principles. The impression he gives one is total composure and pure reason.

Not just the extraparty representatives of the popular will in office who cite authoritative works at every turn, but even Huang Shun-hsing [7806 7311 5281], unemployed and raising hogs at home, always gives attention to the facts when discussing current politics. In addition, he studies

behind closed doors, fulfilling an intellectual's duty of envisioning the world while working in the hog pen. Today the extraparty elements have completely wiped out the primitive style of their initial period 30 years ago.

I made special trips to interview Magistrate Huang Shih-ch'eng [7806 4258 1004] of Chang-hua county and Magistrate Ch'iu Lien-hui [6726 6647 6540] of P'ing-tung county who had not been long in office. The impression they gave was busy, busy, busy! Huang Shih-ch'eng set up the "Center for Immediate Handling," and the country people are no longer afraid of the phenomenon of "I don't know" to every question. The staff of the P'ing-tung county office informed this writer that, ever since Ch'iu Lien-hui came to office, "everyone has been very busy."

The staff are busy, and the magistrates are even more so. I stayed in the Huang residence while in Chang-hua county. When I got up at 7 the next morning for breakfast, the magistrate was nowhere to be seen. I discovered that he had left for the office at 6:30 am. The day I visited Ch'iu Lien-hui happened to be his wedding anniversary of several decades. Busy with official affairs all day long, he does not eat any of his meals home. When in the evening Mrs Ch'iu could not help mentioning the occasion, everyone toasted the couple with a cup of wine, which was considered a celebration.

The magistrates serve the people with their whole hearts. Though only 6 months in office, good comments are often heard. Throughout my trip, I frequently heard people mention how Ch'iu Lien-hui and others unconditionally voted for Yu Ch'ing, indicating that the people's eyes are discerning.

Dressing the Wounds with Willpower

The extraparty elements in Taiwan, according to my observation, have emerged from the wounds of the Kao-hsiung incident and cast off the image of the politically persecuted. They aim to be political activists and a political counterbalance. The families of the two torture victims are the best illustrations.

As everyone knows, one major reason for the elections of Hsu Jung-shu [6079 2837 3219] and Chou Ch'ing-yu [0719 3237 3768] by wide margins was the people's sympathy for Chang Chun-hung and Yao Chia-wen. Hsu Jung-shu's and Chou Ch'ing-yu's growths and manifestations in the past year or more have not only given confidence to the voters, but also made the voters proud.

I still remember that, during my second return to Taiwan in the summer of 1980, I met the families of the torture victims of the Kao-hsiung incident. Among them, Chou Ch'ing-yu was the most heartbreaking. The mere mention of Yao Chia-wen would redden her eyes and choke her voice. When she heard my remark that "a special pardon doesn't appear likely in the

next few years," her tears flowed like a spring, as if the earth would stop revolving if Yao Chia-wen did not return home. I was extremely distressed, worrying about how she would spend the 12 long years.

At the moment, Hsu Jung-shu only nodded slightly, appearing to accept my view. I saw no tears, nor heard sighs.

The facts as they turned out have proved my worries superfluous. When I saw Chou Ch'ing-yu again this time, she was a completely different person. She appears to be strong and steady, having long emerged from the family and walked into society and showing her concern for the current situation and national affairs with the breadth of vision of a social worker. Though the post of a representative to the National People's Congress is undemanding, she refuses to live a life of leisure, and has created KUAN-HUAI [CONCERN], the first social welfare periodical in Taiwan. She writes articles, edits, takes pictures.... All these were firsts for her, yet she has been successful. During local elections last year, she shuttled back and forth between the north and the south, untiringly campaigning for the extraparty elements, and her work was very outstanding.

We took a 2-day trip to the south. Several times she said: "I am afraid, afraid to make mistakes, afraid to fail to live up to the voters."

With representatives of the popular will of such modesty, the people of Taiwan can set their minds at ease.

The person I admire most is Hsu Jung-shu. Of slight built but inexhaustible energy, she is warm and brave and never feels discouraged. "Not that I am not discouraged," she said, "but I do not become discouraged in vain. I have many tears, but they are all swallowed inside."

I have not seen a representative of the popular will busier than her. Besides mothering her four children, she prepares for hearings in the Legislative Yuan. (Every session is exciting. Whenever hearings of extraparty elements are scheduled, the public gallery always overflows. People from far away charter sight-seeing vehicles to attend, knowing that the round trip fare is well spent.) Every week she visits Chang Chun-hung in jail (making preparations to report on major domestic and foreign affairs before the trip), goes to Nan-t'ou to comfort her parents-in-law and sees the voters in the electoral district and solves their problems and disputes. The pay of a Legislative member is very low, and she has to worry about the seven things when opening the door everyday.

According to her, the most difficult to overcome is the complications brought by the political terror. Around the time after the arrest of her husband until her election as a Legislative member, she was unable to hire a servant to help with household chores for a whole years, as people were afraid to associate with the families of political prisoners. That she has been able to persevere in her long single-handed struggle is because of her confidence in democracy and the support of the populace.

She recalled the days of campaigning, sleeping only 2 or 3 hours a day, or even staying up all night. "Sometimes I slept standing up, and my complexion was terribly pale. I couldn't bear to let the voters see me the way I was, and had to learn to use powder and paint."

She always greets people with a smile and is ready at all times to render a helping hand to her friends and the voters.

Hsu Jung-shu's complexion, glowing with health with cosmetics, made me see the embodiment of the extraparty group. Long in an adverse environment beset with difficulties and getting no serious attention from the people, the extraparty group, in its present stage, is like a patient recovering from a major illness. Nevertheless, feeling no self-pity, it dresses its wounds with reason and willpower, hoping to meet the challenges with a smile. It is tenacious, and it will be victorious.

New Image of the New Age

One may say that today's extraparty group belongs mostly to the young. Many college students and new graduates resolutely join its camp, turning it into a place where the intellectuals congregate. It is unprecedented in the history of Taiwan's democracy movement.

The young intellectuals' interest in politics is a trend which started in the sixties. By the eighties, it has truly developed to the stage where "no prairie fire can destroy the grass; it grows again when the spring breeze blows," not only flourishing, but gaining in vitality. During the elections, they charged and destroyed the enemy lines; afterward, their many political periodicals serve as the garden to store and cultivate talents. They inject new blood into the extraparty group and raise its ideological and theoretical levels. The vitality of the New Age is a characteristic of Taiwan's democracy movement today.

What impresses me most in my contact with the young extraparty figures is their sober enthusiasm in politics. I said "sober" because they go into politics with an ideal, free of any personal ambitions, without fear of the possible consequences. They entrust their political ideal, namely, democracy and the rule of law, to the campaign and installation of the extraparty representatives of the popular will. During the campaign, they gladly served as the "laborers;" after the representatives have taken office, they are happy to work as aides. That hearings of the extraparty representatives are exciting is because they symbolize the convergence of their painstaking labor.

Another new image of the New Age is the transcendance over family politics. They advocate love for Taiwan and the native soil above the family. Kao-hsiung's Yu [0151] family is a rare survival, while Yun-lin's Su [5685] family has vaulted clear of the confinement. Su Chih-fen [5685 3112 5358], instead of soliciting votes for her own sister, campaigned for Chou Ch'ing-yu in 1980.

The New Age has also broken down the provincial boundaries for the extraparty group. In other words, the extraparty group belongs not just to the native Taiwan people, but to all those seeking democracy and the rule of law. Lin Cheng-chieh's [2651 2973 2638] election to the T'ai-pei municipal congress is the best illustration.

"The extra-party group stresses the native soil concept of treasuring Taiwan and settling one's roots here," said Lin Cheng-chieh, "not the narrow regional concept which excludes those from the interior."

As shown by the facts, the populace makes no distinction of the provincial origins of the extraparty elements. When the periodical SHEN-KENG [DEEP PLOWING] jointly run by Lin Cheng-chieh and Hsu Jung-shu opened its branch in Kao-hsiung in late March, the reception was packed, and people from all areas coming for the occasion were so crowded that not even a needle could be pushed through. One can thus see the popular support of the two persons.

When I went with Hsu Jung-shu to T'ai-chung to visit Chang Chun-hung's parents, an old veteran rushed up to present a horizontal inscription to Hsu Jung-shu. Getting nowhere in his appeal to redress a wrong after several tries, this old man of mainland origin finally came to Hsu Jung-shu. After trying everywhere, Hsu Jung-shu eventually solved his problem. Grateful, he presented her a horizontal inscription to show his appreciation. The extraparty group makes no distinction of provincial origins when serving the populace.

The word extraparty has not only broken down the provincial boundaries, but also transcended party origins. Those like Fei Hsi-p'ing [6316 1585 1627] and Chi Cheng [4764 2398], Legislative members of Kuomintang membership, speak out from a sense of justice and truly represent the common people. I heard with my own ears people's praises of them: "Their manifestations are truly extraparty!"

To be sure, only when the promising Kuomintang figures and the idealistic extraparty figures can cooperate hand in hand and strive together for democracy will there be hope for Taiwan's further reform. It is my impression and hope from my visit to Taiwan.

6080
CSO: 4005/985

END

JPRS 81619

24 August 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 330

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81619

24 August 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 330

CONTENTS

PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

India's Gandhi Leaves for U.S. Visit
(XINHUA, 27 Jul 82) 1

Thai Papers on Nguyen Co Thach's ASEAN Tour
(XINHUA, 30 Jul 82) 2

Japan Adopts 1983-97 Defense Fiscal Plan
(XINHUA, 23 Jul 82) 4

Japanese Dietmen Hit History Distortion
(XINHUA, 5 Aug 82) 5

Japanese Scholars Criticize Education Ministry
(XINHUA, 30 Jul 82) 7

Japanese Critical of Textbook Revision
(XINHUA, 30 Jul 82) 8

Japan Cultural Exchange Figures Condemn Revision
(XINHUA, 4 Aug 82) 10

Japanese Professors Repudiate History Distortion
(XINHUA, 8 Aug 82) 12

History Revision Still Under Fire in Japan
(XINHUA, 7 Aug 82) 14

S. Korea Critical of Japan's Textbook Rewrite
(XINHUA, 4 Aug 82) 16

[III - CC - 80]

Indonesian Paper Fears Japanese Militarism
(XINHUA, 10 Aug 82)..... 17

Japanese Scholars Comment on Textbook Revision
(XINHUA, 3 Aug 82)..... 18

Textbooks Compiled According to 'Directives'
(XINHUA, 31 Jul 82)..... 19

Asian Press Condemn Japan's History Rewrite
(XINHUA, 30 Jul 82)..... 20

Briefs
Opposition Parties Hit History Rewrite 22
Textbook Rewrite Protested 22
History Distortion Deplored 22
Paper Criticizes Distortion 23
Opposition to Textbook Rewrite 23
Rewrite Aims To Revive Militarism 23
Japan's History Distortion Protested 24
SRV Foreign Minister in Malaysia 24
Indian Pilgrims to Tibet 25
SRV-USSR Military Bases 25
Australia's Fraser to Malaysia 25
SRV Border Reinforcements 25

PARTY AND STATE

Mao, Peng Roles in Northwest Battle Recounted
(Yang Dezhi, Li Zhimin; SHIDAI DE BAOGAO, Jul 82)..... 26

19th Lecture on Draft Revised Constitution
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 5 Aug 82)..... 49

20th Lecture on Draft Revised Constitution
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 7 Aug 82)..... 51

21st Lecture on Draft Revised Constitution
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 9 Aug 82)..... 53

'XINHUA' Lecture 22 on PRC Draft Revised Constitution
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 10 Aug 82)..... 54

Tianjin Professor Hails Convocation of Party Congress
(Tianjin City Service, 9 Aug 82)..... 56

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

INDIA'S GANDHI LEAVES FOR U.S. VISIT

OW270944 Beijing XINHUA in English 0834 GMT 27 Jul 82

[Text] New Delhi, 27 Jul (XINHUA)--Indian Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi left here for New York today for a 9-day visit to the United States. A PTI report said that according to official sources, the visit is mainly aimed at achieving better understanding between the two countries.

She told newsmen before her departure that she would not discuss any defence matters during her talks in the United States. That is for the defence department to consider, she said.

Some days earlier, Mrs Gandhi said in an interview with an American journalist, that she disagrees with many U.S. policies but hopes her visit will ease long-standing tensions and suspicions. She said her goal is to be friends with the U.S. and the Soviet Union as well as China. "What I want to achieve is a better understanding," she said.

As known to all, India and the United States have disagreed on some international problems.

However, there have been noticeable changes in the attitudes of the two countries towards each other, although they continue to adhere to their respective positions on some important issues, as was pointed out by the Indian press. The Indian criticism of the U.S. weapon sales to Pakistan, for instance, has slackened and India itself is talking about buying weapons from the U.S.

The fluctuation in the political relations and different views on world issues between the two countries have not altered the basic fact that the United States and India have close economic ties. Indo-U.S. trade accounts for 13 per cent of this country's total. In regard to foreign investment, the share of the U.S. is the biggest. More recently, cooperation in trade, technology and other fields between the two countries has increased.

CSO: 4000/171

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAI PAPERS ON NGUYEN CO THACH'S ASEAN TOUR

OW302229 Beijing XINHUA in English 1850 GMT 30 Jul 82

[Text] Bangkok, 30 Jul (XINHUA)--Thai newspapers pointed out today that the changing attitudes of Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach displayed in his recent ASEAN-nations tour show that he is playing tricks. If Vietnam is genuinely sincere to improve relations with ASEAN, it should pull out its troops from Kampuchea.

MATUPHUM DAILY says in a commentary that whatever tricks Nguyen Co Thach may play in Thailand, either intimidation of consolation, Thailand's attitude is the same as that of other ASEAN nations--Vietnam must withdraw its troops from Kampuchea and let the Kampuchean people, instead of Vietnam decide their own destiny with their own wisdom.

The commentary says ASEAN leaders did not attach much importance to Thach's visit.

No matter how brilliant Nguyen Co Thach's diplomatic genius might be, the pursuance of erroneous and unjustified policy would only lead him into a blind alley, the commentary notes.

THE NATION REVIEW says editorially that Nguyen Co Tach is "playing his hand as a superb poker player." "He knew the cards he was holding and played them not for what they were worth but for how much bluffing mileage he could get."

It points out that "a diplomacy based on fallacy is quite evident when he said that Hanoi appreciates Thai concern about Vietnamese troops along her border and so Vietnam will make the goodwill gesture of withdrawing troops away from the Thai border.

"But across our eastern border, there are no Vietnamese troops but only those of the Khmer coalition government. Practically it may be impossible to pull back non-existent troops, but we will credit Thach with a goodwill gesture because of the very fact that he did say it," it notes.

SING SIAN YIT PAO says in an editorial that Vietnam has no sincerity at all to seek a solution to the Kampuchean problem. As a result, talks remain talks while the problem remains unsolved.

The editorial says Nguyen Co Thach, through his visit to Southeast Asian nations, is trying to induce ASEAN nations into his trap of coercion and inveiglement.

"The aim of the Vietnamese scheme is to place the whole of Indochina ultimately under Hanoi's control so as to suit its expansionist policy," the editorial stresses.

CSO: 4000/171

JAPAN ADOPTS 1983-97 DEFENSE FISCAL PLAN

OW231631 Beijing XINHUA in English 1616 GMT 23 Jul 82

[Text] Tokyo, 23 Jul (XINHUA)--Japan will increase sharply the number of its tanks, warships and fighter aircraft in view of the "volatile international situation."

This comes in a National Defense Agency plan for fiscal 1983-87 approved today by the National Defense Council, under which the overall military expenditure for the five-year period will be between 61,600 and 64,700 million U.S. dollars. If the plan is carried out, Japan's self-defense capacity will meet the "general defense outline" drawn up in 1976, which called for enhancing the country's capacity to resist a "limited and small-scale aggression."

The plan stressed air and anti-submarine protectionas well as the defense of the coastlines. It also underlined the importance of improving Japan's logistics, training installations and knowledge of electronic warfare.

Under the plan, the ground force will acquire more tanks, trucks, armored trucks, anti-tank or anti-warship missile launchers. Forty-nine warships totalling 97,000 tons will be built in the period. The air force will receive up-to-date F-15 figher plans.

Under the latest plan, Japan's military expenditure could exceed in 1984 one percent of the country's Gross National Product (GNP), the ceiling set by the Japanese Government in recent years. The military budget this year rose to 10,200 million U.S. dollars, or 0.93 percent of the GNP. Director General of the Defense Agency Soichiro Ito said that with an annual economic growth rate of 5.1 percent during the five years, Japan's military expenditure will be between 0.97 and 1.02 percent of the GNP in the period.

CSO: 4000/171

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JAPANESE DIETMEN HIT HISTORY DISTORTION

OW050118 Beijing XINHUA in English 0105 GMT 5 Aug 82

[Text] Tokyo, 4 August (XINHUA)--Japanese dietmen have pointed out that distorting historical facts in textbooks by the Japanese Education Ministry Ran Counter to the basic spirit of the Japan-China joint statement.

Shoichi Shimodaira, member of the House of Representative and vice-chairman of the Japan Socialist Party, told XINHUA today that the essence of the distortion of historical facts by the Japanese Education Ministry is to whitewash the war of aggression against China and to justify that aggression. This is a new reactionary and conservative trend in Japan and a manifestation of Japanese militarism.

He said that by substituting "aggression" against China with "advance" to China in textbooks, the Japanese Education Ministry has committed perfidy and trampled upon the spirit of the Japan-China joint statement. Domestically, it is a manifestation of revival of militarism. Whether Japan is to take the road of peace or militarism is a grave political struggle, he said. The Japan Socialist Party will launch a great campaign against this erroneous trend in Japan, he added.

Referring to the Japanese Education Ministrys view that a lucid explanation would make the Chinese side understand, he said Jpaanese militarism committed aggression against China is a historical fact and needs no explanation. [Sentence as received] China will never make any concessions on a matter of principle.

Representative Susumu Kobayashi told XINHUA today that Japanese militarism had brought enormous loss to the Chinese people and the Japanese people were also victims. Moreover, he said, China has never demanded any reparation, nor did it occupy a single inch of Japanese territory.

He went on to say that most of the Japanese people have worked tirelessly for Japan-China friendship in the 37 years after the war. But the Japanese Ministry of Education now tries to write off the results of their efforts by whitewashing the aggression against China. The Japanese people cannot but express their profound indignation and will never allow this to happen, he stressed.

He refuted the lies fabricated by the Ministry of Education to absolve itself of the responsibility in distorting history. "Japan will find itself isolated in the world if it does not correct its mistake," Kobayashi said.

Representative Izumi Inoue told XINHUA yesterday that "we who are engaged in promoting friendship between militarism is the touchstone by which to distinguish between genuine desire for Sino-Japanese friendship," he added [sentence as received].

CSO: 4000/172

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JAPANESE SCHOLARS CRITICIZE EDUCATION MINISTRY

OW310057 Beijing XINHUA in English 1836 GMT 30 Jul 82

[Text] Tokyo, 30 July (XINHUA)--A number of Japanese dietmen and scholars who met here today were critical of the Education Ministry for prettifying the aggressive wars launched by the Japanese militarists when it screened school textbooks.

Professor Rokuro Hidaka said at the meeting: "In compiling textbooks in 1955, I used the word invation to describe the 18 September 1931 incident. At that time, the Education Ministry made the suggestion that the word invasion be changed to advance, because it said the word invasion was confusing. This attitude of the Education Ministry has become even more obvious in the past 2 or 3 years."

Ichio Asukata, chairman of the Japan Socialist Party, said that by tampering with history in school textbooks, the Education Ministry has tried to play down the Japanese aggression against Asian countries, and even to write it off from history, it is a matter of course that thishas aroused strong indignation among the Asian people, victims to the Japanese aggression.

Recalling the enormous sufferings brought to the Chinese people by the Japanese militarists in the war of aggression, Hideo Den, representative of the United Social Democratic Party who visited China in 1971, said: "We should tell the later generations of the historical facts about the war of aggression waged by Japanese warlords. We should defend democratic education. The Education Ministry should restore the history it has tampered with."

Professor Keiji Nagawara said, "in compiling the history textbooks for secondary schools in 1978, I added a subtitle, the invasion of China, to passage on the 7 July 1937 incident. But the Education Ministry made a "suggestion for improvement" that the word invasion be changed to advance. I have no way out but to change the subtitle to the Japan-China war."

CSO: 4000/172

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JAPANESE CRITICAL OF TEXTBOOK REVISION

OW310059 Beijing XINHUA in English 1857 GMT 30 Jul 82

[Text] Tokyo, 30 July (XINHUA)--Japanese people of various circles this morning demanded that the Japanese authorities reproach themselves deeply for the past war of aggression and colonial rule.

This demand was contained in a petition signed by 25 prominent figures of the cultural and educational circles. Secretary general of the citizens association for considering the textbook problem and professor of Tokyo Metropolitan University Masatomo Yamsumi presented the petition to Chief Cabinet Secretary Kiichi Miyazawa this morning.

The petition says: "We are deeply concerned over the recent textbook problem. Especially, the narration of Japanese aggression against Asian countries was revised in recent screening of social science textbooks for secondary schools. We hold that this is a serious problem."

The association, it says, is concerned about the criticism of Japan by regions and countries in Asia which were victims of Japans aggression. In a strong appeal to Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki, the petition says, "the fundamental cause which triggered off the incident is that the authorities including those authorized to censor textbooks did not reproach themselves deeply for the past war of aggression and colonial rule. They should show the attitude of reproaching themselves to the public both at home and abroad."

Now, it points out, "the narration which distorted the historical facts should be corrected according to the results of historical study."

Some readers letters published in todays papers also condemned the Japanese Education Ministry for whitewashing the militarist aggression in recent vetting of textbooks.

A letter from Hiroshi Takeichi printed in todays MAINICHI SHIMBUN says: "The policy of aggression and expansion of Japanese militarists in the past had caused enormous sacrifices not only to the people of China and southeast Asia but also to the people of Japan themselves. This is an irrefutable fact. It is of great importance to recognize the history in this period. It must not be forgotten that the Japanese diplomacy will be a fruitful and friendly diplomacy only if it is based on reproaching and regretfulness."

A letter of Junji Nasu from Kyoto says, "China's protest with Japanese Education Ministry's behaviour provided an opportunity for the Japanese people to understand the sufferings they imposed on the Chinese people in the past, and consider the present life from the root cause.

A letter of Rokunosuke Arri from metropolitan Tokyo says, in answering China's protest, the Education Ministry decided not to revise the screened textbooks. By so doing, the ministry will not only further deepen the disharmony between Japan and the countries and regions concerned, but also mislead the students.

Tsuneo Watabe from metropolitan Tokyo said in his letter printed in todays ASAHI SHIMBUN: "No matter how the Japanese side sophisticate, it will not gain forgiveness if it does not take an attitude of correcting an error when being aware of it."

CSO: 4000/172

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JAPAN CULTURAL EXCHANGE FIGURES CONDEMN REVISION

OW042006 Beijing XINHUA in English 1840 GMT 4 Aug 82

[Text] Tokyo, 4 August (XINHUA)--Namio Enomi, president of the Pan-Asian Cultural Exchange Center, told XINHUA recently that Japanese militarists had waged a war on aggression against China and other Asian countries and that is a fact acknowledged by the Japanese people and the whole world. The revision of textbooks by the Japanese Education Ministry is aimed at denying this historical fact.

Namio Enomi, a famous Japanese archaeologist and historian, pointed out that it is very dangerous to compile textbooks with strong national chauvinist colour.

He said that if the change of the word aggression into "advance" is described as "objective and just" as the Education Ministry said, then the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan which has been opposed by the Japanese Government should also be regarded as a just act.

The revision of textbooks was carried out under the direction of the Education Ministry and the ministry of course has to be responsible for this.

He criticized some Japanese politicians for going against the tide of history, not knowing how to draw lessons from past history.

The distorting of history by the Education Ministry has aroused objections in China, Korea and other Asian countries. Therefore, it is not at all an internal affair. He urged the Education Ministry to admit its mistake and correct the wrong statements in the revised textbooks.

The Pan-Asian cultural exchange centre is now making preparations for the "Japanese-Chinese peoples friendly get-together in celebration of the 10th anniversary of normalization of relations between Japan and China" to be held in Beijing on 25 August. The centre is to organize more than 160 Japanese people from various strata in different parts of Japan to go to China to take part in the get-together. Its General Director Kazuhiro Morizumi said in a written statement.

"In censoring school textbooks, the Japanese Education Ministry has repudiated the historical facts of Japanese militarists' aggression against China and shifted the responsibility for the heinous rape of Nanjing onto the Chinese people. This is against the tide of Japan-China friendship and hurts the feelings of the people to take part in the Japanese-Chinese peoples get-together."

He said that friendship should be based on mutual understanding. Distortion of historical facts could in no way lead to mutual understanding, nor to friendship.

The people to take part in the get-together are all ordinary people from various parts of Japan. They are also victims of the wars in the past. They will not allow the glorification of the aggression and inhuman doings of the Japanese militarists and the re-embarking on the old militarist road, he said.

CSO: 4000/172

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JAPANESE PROFESSORS REPUDIATE HISTORY DISTORTION

OW081539 Beijing XINHUA in English 1510 GMT 8 Aug 82

[Text] Tokyo, 8 August (XINHUA)--Emeritus Professor Kiyoshi Inoue and Professor Masaaki Ueda of Kyoto University, both well known historians, in their recent interviews with XINHUA charged the Japanese Education Ministry with distortion of the history of Japanese aggression.

Inoue said that no Japanese historian with a conscience would deny the Japanese aggression against China.

He said Japanese militarists had launched an aggression war against China and executed the notorious massacre in Nanjing. How to narrate the facts in textbooks is a major problem concerning the Japan-China relations. The Japanese Education Ministry has refused to recognize the facts and tried by all means to cover them up. This behaviour cannot but arouse indignation from China and other Asian countries.

He pointed out that the Education Ministrys distortion of the history of Japanese aggression against China showed that some elements were attempting to revive militarism in Japan. They were trying to obliterate the history of the militarist war of aggression so as to inculcate the younger generation with militaristic ideas.

By distorting the history of aggression, Inoue said, the Japanese Education Ministry has exposed itself to denunciation by Japanese public opinion.

Ueda pointed out that the distortion of history by the Japanese Education Ministry has been strongly opposed not only in China and other Asian countries but also in Japan itself.

He said that only when the history of Japanese aggression is correctly described can it play a role in promoting peace and friendship. Japan should develop its friendly ties with Asian countries in the course of criticizing its own mistake of practising militarism in the past. Should Japan distort and conceal its history of militarist aggression, a healthy development of its friendly relations with other Asian countries would be impossible. The distortion of Japan's history of aggression against China by the Education Ministry is an act in violation of the spirit of the Japan-China joint statement and has created a great obstacle to the promotion of freindly relations between the two countries. It is therefore absolutely impermissible.

He said that to study history, one should have a correct understanding of the past and the present by drawing lessons from history so as to create a better future. It is a most elementary principle that textbooks should be based strictly on historical facts.

CSO: 4000/172

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HISTORY REVISION STILL UNDER FIRE IN JAPAN

OW072022 Beijing XINHUA in English 1955 GMT 7 Aug 82

[Text] Tokyo, 7 August (XINHUA)--Japanese prominent figures and newspapers continued to repudiate the distortion of history by the Japanese Education Ministry.

Chairman of the Japan Socialist Party Ichio Asukada told newsmen on 6 August that the Japanese Government should correct the erroneous description in textbooks by clarifying responsibilities. His statement was printed in todays ASHI SHIMBUN.

He said, "both the government and the people should not forget to carry out serious self-examination with regard to Japanese militarism and historical facts of aggression against Asian countries." If the mistakes in textbooks are not corrected, "the distrust of Japan by the people in China and other Asian countries will be further deepened."

Professor Kojima Yoshio, who is in charge of the compilation of the Asian chapters of the high school textbook "world history," was quoted by MAINICHI SHIMBUN today as saying that in the 19th chapter of the textbook, the original subtitle was "Japans aggression against China." But the Education Ministry strongly insisted on "rewording it more objectively." Accordingly, the subtitle was rewritten as "Manzhou Incident, Shanghai Incident." The original caption to a sketch map, "Japans aggression against China," was rewritten as "Japans intrusion into China."

Yoshio said, "I hope that this will be corrected immediately. I am going to talk over this with the publishing house."

"HOKKAIDO SHIMBUN in an editorial on 4 August said: "The censorship of textbook contents by the Education Ministry has aroused stern denunciation from China, the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, Singapore and other neighboring Asian countries." It said, "The problem could not be solved by diplomatic tricks."

The editorial pointed out that the distortion not only is an important problem in the field of education but also runs counter to the basic principles of the peace constitution.

"To the Asian countries, Japanese militarism is not simply a nightmare in history. Its revival is, to them, a constant concern, it said.

It was reported that speeches were made and leaflets distributed by students of various universities in Tokyo today calling on the citizens and students to oppose the distortion of history by the Education Ministry.

CSO: 4000/172

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

S. KOREA CRITICAL OF JAPAN'S TEXTBOOK REWRITE

OW041402 Beijing XINHUA in English 1212 GMT 4 Aug 82

[Text] Pyongyang, 3 August (XINHUA)--South Korean political parties and leaders of social organizations in their recent statements denounced Japanese Education Ministry for attempting to legalize its aggression of Korea by distorting Japans militarist invasion history in its new textbooks.

The Democratic Korea Party, the biggest opposition party of South Korea, in a recent statement stressed that it cannot ignore the distortion of history of Japans invasion of Korea by the Japanese Education Ministry. The statement expressed strong dissatisfaction over the sophistry of the officials in the Education Ministry.

Choe Chang-kyu, president of the Association of Martyrs Families of South Korea, in a recent statement said: "The Japanese Government must correct its distortion of history and throw away its old evil nature of militarist aggression."

The democratic Korea Party, the Korea National Party and other political parties held respective meetings yesterday to study counter-measures and demanded an early revision of the textbooks, some organizations also sent protesting letters or messages to Japans departments concerned.

On 2 August, about 1,500 elderly Koreans demonstrated in Seoul to protest against Japans revised account of its colonization of Korea in school textbooks and urged the Japanese Government to correct repeated distortion of history about Korea.

Five hundred members of the Korea Old Peoples Association rallied in Kwangju on 31 July. They exposed by their own experiences Japanese imperialist atrocities committed in its colonial rule period in Korea. They also urged the Japanese authorities to revise the content of the textbooks which distort history.

CSO: 4000/172

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

INDONESIAN PAPER FEARS JAPANESE MILITARISM

OW102024 Beijing XINHUA in English 1929 GMT 10 Aug 82

[Text] Beijing, 10 August (XINHUA)--A recent article in the INDONESIAN OBSERVER pointed out that the distortion of Japans aggression history makes "outsiders suspect the reemergence of militarism seeds in Japans community."

The article written by Ibrahim Noori was entitled "New Historiography in Japan." It said, "this militarism requires a narrow nationalism, chauvinism and jingoism."

It said, "there have since long been complaints from the industrialists and big capitalists that the Japanese young generation is not as militant as those in the past. And the scapegoats are the Japanese teachers united in the Japan Teachers Union."

"Not only do they blame the teachers, but also history textbooks," it said, adding, "that's why old history books should be replaced by new ones. In the new books the evil of militarism in the Pacific War should be obliterated and chauvinism should be re-encouraged."

It noted that the revision of Japanese aggression history "are not only found in the history textbooks but also in the films already circulated." The film "grand fleet," for example, does not describe the Pearl Harbor attack as a sly aggression but as a "legitimate act of self-defense." The film "Southern Cross" justifies the assassination of 5,000 Chinese in Singapore by the Japanese occupation army. Other cruelties are no longer shown in the film, as if there never were. The film "Greater Japanese Empire" describes the then Prime Minister Tojo as a sympathetic person who always loved peace, while in fact Tojo was sentenced to death by the allied force court in 1948 as a "war criminal."

CSO: 4000/172

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JAPANESE SCHOLARS COMMENT ON TEXTBOOK REVISION

OW031608 Beijing XINHUA in English 1538 GMT 3 Aug 82

[Text] Beijing, 3 August (XINHUA)--Members of the Waseda University delegation said here today that the revision of textbooks by the Japanese Ministry of Education is aimed at whitewashing Japanese militarists aggression of China during World War Two.

In an interview iwth Chinese reporters, the scholars pointed out that the revision is not a mere question of changing a few words or phrases, but an indication that fascism is gaining ground in Japan.

Professor Hikotaro Ando said, "I have been studying the history of Sino-Japanese relations. My opinion is that in studying history, one must respect history and stick to the facts. I object to imbuing the younger generation with something that is not true to the historic facts," he added.

"When I visited Beijing University this morning," he said "a member of the delegation recalled his own experience in the war of Japanese aggression in China. He was then a Japanese soldier. He saw the Japanese troops burn Chinese houses, reducing a large number of villages and towns to ruins." Hikotaro Ando asked, "isn't that an act of aggression by the Japanese troops?"

Professor Takeshi Kurahashi, a drama theoretician, said," the revision of historical facts in the textbooks is a sign of revival of Japanese fascism." He said that he was indignant at what the Japanese Ministry of Education had done, and felt worried about it.

Law Professor Yasuhiro Tsutsumiguchi said, "distortion of history by officials of the Ministry of Education is a shame to the Japanese people."

Taizo Hamada, professor of the department of literature and art, said, "I am a teacher, in my contact with the young students, I shall tell them the true story about the aggression by Japanese militarism abroad."

He pointed out that some officials in the Ministry of Education had intended to revise the textbooks a few years ago, but it was criticized from the very beginning. Now the matter has become such a mess, it will touch off a mass movement against revival of militarism." [Quotation mark as received]

CSO: 4000/172

TEXTBOOKS COMPILED ACCORDING TO 'DIRECTIVES'

OW311740 Beijing XINHUA in English 1526 GMT 31 Jul 82

[Text] Tokyo, 31 July (XINHUA)—Japanese textbook compilers and publishers said the work to screen textbooks had been carried out under the strict "directives" of the Education Ministry officials, reported ASAHI SHIMBUN today.

If they failed to make revisions according to opinions of the officials, the censors wouldn't let it pass, they pointed out. They refuted the arguments advanced by officials of the Education Ministry at a DIET debate that "instructions on screening school textbooks are opinions for improvement which are not compulsory."

"This is a distortion of facts in regard to the screening of textbooks." "It amounts to a lie rather than sophistry," they added.

Reports said last October a university professor brought with him the "History of Japan," a textbook for senior middle schools he compiled, to the Education Ministry for censorship. After a 15-hour debate in two days he had to take the instructions.

His original version about the Nanjing massacre said: "When the Japanese troops occupied Nanjing, they did raping, plundering, burning and killing. Numerous Chinese armymen and civilians were murdered. Therefore, Japan has been condemned internationally for the rape of Nanjing. Some said over 200,000 Chinese were killed at that time."

But censors said: "The incident occurred in a turmoil and couldn't be separated from war operations. The number of victims was not clear." They insisted that the professor revise his version. As a result, the professor had to rewrite this way: "In the turmoil of occupation of Nanjing, many Chinese armymen and civilians were killed by the Japanese army which has received international condemnation for the Nanjing massacre."

Gakashi Takagi member of the editorial board of MAINICHI SHIMBUN said in an article today that the Education Ministry attempted to shirk the responsibility of distorting history onto compilers of the textbooks by saying the alteration of wording in textbooks was done by non-governmental publishers. It is "incomprehensible" for one to deal with historical facts by restorting to little tricks, he said.

CSO: 4000/172

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ASIAN PRESS CONDEMN JAPAN'S HISTORY REWRITE

OW310053 Beijing XINHUA in English 1504 GMT 30 Jul 82

[Text] Tokyo, 30 July (XINHUA)--Mass media in southeast Asian countries have accused the Japanese Education Ministry of distorting history to beautify aggression in censoring school textbooks.

YOMIURI SHIMBUN of 28 July carried reports by its correspondents in southeast Asian countries on the ever greater impact of Japans textbook affair on those countries.

The reports indicated that the southeast Asian countries, once victims of Japanese occuption and massacres, are very sensitive to the issue.

The Singapore paper NANYANG SIANG PAO was quoted as saying editorially on 26 July: "Japans aggression against China and the southeast Asian countries and its atrocities in China, the Korean Peninsula and southeast Asia were facts which cannot be covered up."

One of the reports gave the background that during the period of Japanese occupation, Singapore became another Japanese slaughter-house. People in Singapore can find in their current school textbook of history the conclusion that "the Japanese army's occupation brought great sufferings to our people." The textbook describes Japanese actions in southeast Asia during the second world war as "aggression," "invasion" and "southward invasion" to remind the people of the Japanese aggression.

The editor of the Philippine paper DAILY EXPRESS was quoted as saying in an interview that the Filipinos are indignant at Japan's attempt to describe the aggression against their country in other terms. The grown-ups in Japan should not deceive their children, he said.

The chief of the world news desk of the Indonesian TIME magazine was quoted as saying in an interview that the facts of Japanese aggression cannot be covered up. What Japan is doing now is ridiculous, he said.

Titled "Will Japan Slip Back Into the Old Rut?", an editorial in the Singapore paper SIN CHEW JIT POH said that the present Japanese attitude towards the history of the Japanese militarist aggression against other Asian countries,

especially the history of the Pacific war launched by Japan, cannot but arouse vigilance agianst it. The Asian peoples still have apprehensions about the Japanese militarists sincerity in turning over a new leaf, it added.

The editorial pointed out that following the Meiji reform in 1868, Japan colonized Korea, committed aggression against China, and trampled upon southeast Asia under the name of the "greater East Asia-coprosperity sphere." However, Japan has never resolutely and sincerely repented its misdeeds.

The editorial said the Japanese Government's recent screening of the revised textbooks, which changed the wording of Japanese "aggression" against China, Korea and southeast Asia into "advance," has made people worry about the path Japan is going to take.

CSO: 4000/172

BRIEFS

OPPOSITION PARTIES HIT HISTORY REWRITE--Tokyo, 30 July (XINHUA)--The Japan Socialist Party and other opposition parties demanded that the word "advance" be changed to "aggression" in the forthcoming issue of textbooks relating to the Japanese war of aggression against China. According to todays ASAHI SHIMBUN, the Japan Socialist Party and other opposition parties called special meetings yesterday to discuss the censorship of textbooks by the Education Ministry. They all opposed "censorship behind closed doors." The Japan Socialist Party considered such practice of the Education Ministry a right deviationist act. It called for changing the word "advance" to "aggression" in the revised school textbooks. [Text] [OW301352 Beijing XINHUA in English 1232 GMT 30 Jul 82]

TEXTBOOK REWRITE PROTESTED--Tokyo, 1 August (XINHUA)--The Japanese Education Ministry's scheme to cover up Japanese militarists atrocities in Okinawa in the last world war has touched off strong public protests in Okinawa, ASAHI SHIMBUN reported today. A compiler of a screened history textbook for secondary schools said that in the original manuscript there was an account of the killing of about 800 Okinawa residents by Japanese troops under the pretext of "obstruction of the operations" at the end of the second world war. However, the record of this incident was deleted under pressure and coercion from the Education Ministry. The Okinawa prefectural council for democratic education, which is formed by members of the Okinawa prefectural teachers union, the prefectural federation of trade unions and other mass organizations, issued a statement of protest which says, "The people of Okinawa prefecture, who had been victims of the war calamities, cannot tolerate a total deletion of the important historical facts about the killing of the local people by the then Japanese troops." The council started a drive for collection of "100,000 signatures" in August to urge the Education Ministry to compile history textbooks based on correct historical records. Village councils of the Okinawa Island in a protest said, "It is absolutely intolerable for the Education Ministry to suppress historical facts." [Text] [OW011316 Beijing XINHUA in English 1257 GMT 1 Aug 82]

HISTORY DISTORTION DEPLORED--Tokyo, 4 August (XINHUA)--With the approaching of the 10th anniversary of normalization of Japanese-Chinese relations in the coming fall, the history of friendship between the two countries must not be tarnished. This was stated by Japan's lower house Vice-Speaker Haruo Okada in reference to the distortion of historical facts in textbooks by the Education

Ministry. In an article entitled "Mistakes, If Any, Must Be Corrected in Order to Promote Genuine Friendship" which was published in the August issue of JAPANESE-CHINESE MONTHLY, Okada said that the focal point of recent press comments is "the basic attitude behind the revision of the textbooks, a matter of national morality as regards historical truth." Citing relevent articles in the Sino-Japanese joint statement, Okada stressed: "Mistakes, if any, must be corrected. The (Japanese) Government should not try to absolve itself of responsibility by resorting to rhetoric, but take prompt action to have historical facts truthfully reflected in textbooks." [Japan's Lower House Vice-Speaker Criticizes Distortion of History"--XINHUA headline] [Text] [OW050150 Beijing XINHUA in English 0116 GMT 5 Aug 82]

PAPER CRITICIZES DISTORTION--New Delhi, 9 August (XINHUA)--Indian newspaper THE HINDU today criticized the distortion of history by the Japanese Ministry of Education, terming it "an attempt to whitewash a black period in the recent history of that nation." The newspaper said in an editorial that when China and Japan formally terminated the state of war and established diplomatic relations in 1972, the then prime minister of Japan, Mr Kakuei Tanaka, publicly declared in Beijing that "it is regrettable that for several decades in the past the relations between Japan and China have been unfortunate" and that "during that time our country caused great troubles to the Chinese people, for which I once again make profound self-examination." The Sino-Japanese communique included the formulation that "the Japanese side is keenly aware of Japans responsibility for causing enormous damage in the past to the Chinese people through war and deeply reproaches itself." In turn, China renounced its demand for war indemnities "in the interest of friendship between the peoples of China and Japan." Analysing the reason of the distortion, the editorial said, the event "makes little sense, unless it is interpreted as an expression of something going on deep beneath the surface of Japan's complex political-ideological development." [Text] [OW092032 Beijing XINHUA in English 1858 GMT 9 Aug 82]

OPPOSITION TO TEXTBOOK REWRITE--Tokyo, 2 August (XINHUA)--Doi Takako, Socialist Party member of the House of Representatives, told reporters here today that it was groundless for the Japanese Education Ministry to distort the history of the Japanese aggression against China through the censorship of the newly revised history textbooks, according to a Kyodo report. She held that any attempt to shift the responsibility of the distortion on to compilers of the textbook would not be allowed. She added that distortion of history is an attempt to deceive the Japanese children. The 34th National Congress of the Association of Japanese History Educationists, a national organization of history and social-science teachers in primary and middle schools and universities, today adopted a statement calling for measures to stop the distortion of history. Takahashi Shinichi, chairman of the association, pointed out that the association was formed to make known the truth of history including the historical facts about the aggression against other countries, launched by Japanese militarists. He stressed that the Japanese Governments action in screeing the revised textbooks, can not be overlooked. [Text] [OW030850 Beijing XINHUA in English 0824 GMT 3 Aug 82]

REWRITE AIMS TO REVIVE MILITARISM--Bangkok, 1 August (XINHUA)--The distortion of historical facts by the Japanese Education Ministry in connection with the

Japanese militarist aggression is aimed to prepare public opinion for a revival of militarism by a handful of persons, said the Thai press today. TONG HUA YID PAO said that the Japanese Education Ministry tampered with historical facts in school textbooks in connection with the Japanese aggression against China and Korea. "If the Japanese rulers do not reproach themselves in earnest, their relations with the countries in the Asian-Pacific region would inevitably be impaired," the paper added. The NEW CHINESE DAILY NEWS wrote that the sole purpose of the Japanese Education Ministry in distorting historical facts is to make the younger generation in Japan forget Japan's historical lesson and their forefather's crimes of aggression against China and southeast Asia. "Those who favor the tampering with history would make a blunder if they still want to renew the fond dream of militarism. Today's China is not the one 40 years ago. Whoever wants to invade China will end in complete failure," the paper said. SING SIAM YIT PAO pointed out in an article on 29 July that the textbook affair proves that a handful of Japanese rightists really want to revive militarism. [Text] [OW011854 Beijing XINHUA in English 1840 GMT 1 Aug 82]

JAPAN'S HISTORY DISTORTION PROTESTED--Newspapers in the capital today continue to publish commentaries, articles and photos to express the Chinese people's solemn and just stand regarding the falsification of history by the Japanese Education Ministry through examining and approving history textbooks. The JIEFANGJUN BAO carries a commentator's article prominently on its front page, pointing out: The Japanese Education Ministry has forced the delegation of the world "aggression" against China and (?changed it to "entrance"). This is not minor question. It is an important signal of the attempt to revive Japanese militarism. The GUANGMING RIBAO carries an article by Ye Shengtao, vice chairman of the Central Committee of the China Association for Promoting Democracy and well-known educator, entitled "The Truth and Facts Must Be Told to Posterity." The RENMIN RIBAO publishes on page 4, under the headline "How Can History be Falsified?" five photos of the massacre committed by Japanese troops in Nanjing 45 years ago to remind people to consider what the real purpose is behind the Japanese Education Ministry's falsification of the history of Japanese aggression against China. [Text] [OW030230 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 1 Aug 82]

SRV FOREIGN MINISTER IN MALAYSIA--According to a XINHUA report from Kuala Lumpur, a Malaysian Government spokesman said yesterday: Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach, currently visiting Malaysia, again refused to withdraw all Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea. Vietnam and Malaysia have failed to reduce their wide differences on the Kampuchean issue. The spokesman said: The Malaysian side will study the explanations made by Nguyen Co Thach at the talks. However, the Malaysian side remains firm in its demand that all Vietnamese troops be withdrawn from Kampuchea and that the Kampuchea issue be resolved in accordance with the declaration of the international conference on the Kampuchean question. But Vietnam remains opposed to the declaration. According to a REUTER report, Nguyen Co Thach holds that the Kampuchean issue is related to the so-called Chinese threat. However, the ASEAN countries are mainly concerned with Vietnam's military occupation of Kampuchea and the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces. Malaysia also rejected a Vietnamese proposal to hold an international conference on Southeast Asian issues. Prime Minister Mahathir pointed out during the talks that the Heng Samrin regime does not qualify as a legal government elected by the people. [Text] [OW291437 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 28 Jul 82]

INDIAN PILGRIMS TO TIBET--New Delhi, 12 Jul (XINHUA)--A group of 200 Indian pilgrims will visit the Gangdise range and Lake Matam Yumco in China's Tibet this year, according to an agreement reached between China and India. The offer for the Hindu people to visit the two holy places was made by Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua when he visited India June last year. Fifty-eight pilgrims made the pilgrimage last year. The first group of this year's pilgrims has recently come back. [Text] OW121602 Beijing XINHUA in English 1504 GMT 12 Jul 82]

SRV-USSR MILITARY BASES--Beijing, 4 Aug (XINHUA)--Malaysian Foreign Minister Ghazali Bin Shafie has expressed regret over Vietnamese foreign minister's statement that his country would leave its door open to Soviet military bases, according to reports from Kuala Lumpur. In a statement issued yesterday, Ghazali said that such a move only meant that "Vietnam had no qualms about turning Southeast Asia into a theatre for war or nuclear conflict which was contrary to Vietnamese professed policy of promoting peace and stability in the region." The minister was commenting on a report from Bangkok which quoted the Vietnamese foreign minister as saying that his country had left its door open to Soviet military bases. "It is most regrettable that Vietnam maintains such an attitude," Ghazali said. "As a member of the non-aligned group, it is highly inconsistent and dangerous for Vietnam to be keeping its doors open to Soviet military or strategic bases," he said. "I hope that Vietnam would not shed its self-respect and betray the sense of nationalism of its people," he added. [Text] [OW041746 Beijing XINHUA In English 1632 GMT 4 Aug 82]

AUSTRALIA'S FRASER TO MALAYSIA--Beijing, 3 Aug (XINHUA)--Australian Prime Minister Malcom Fraser expressed the hope yesterday that the recent formation of a tripartite coalition of anti-Vietnamese resistance groups would "contribute positively to a settlement" of the Kampuchean issue, according to a report from Kuala Lumpur. Speaking at a dinner given in his honor by Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Bin Mohamed, Fraser said that Australia supports the U.N. resolutions on Kampuchea. Fraser, who arrived in Kuala Lumpur on August 1 for a three-day official visit to Malaysia, held three-hour talks with Mahathir earlier yesterday in which he accused the Soviet Union of intensifying the world tension by pursuing an expansionist policy. [Text] [OW031347 Beijing XINHUA in English 1231 GMT 3 Aug 82]

SRV BORDER REINFORCEMENTS--Bangkok, 31 Jul (XINHUA)--The recent reinforcement of Vietnamese troops near the Thai-Kampuchean border ran counter to Hanoi's much publicized partial withdrawal from Kampuchea, said the information office of the Supreme Command of the Thai Armed Forces in a statement yesterday, according to MATUPHUM DAILY here today. The statement said that the Vietnamese authorities have increased troops along the Kampuchean border opposite to Thailand's Trat Province. Fighting takes place occasionally in Kampuchea and Vietnamese-Heng Samrin troops have received blows from time to time from Democratic Kampuchean troops. [Text] [OW311209 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 31 Jul 82]

CSO: 4005/1184

PARTY AND STATE

MAO, PENG ROLES IN NORTHWEST BATTLE RECOUNTED

HK180655 Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO in Chinese No 7, Jul 82 pp 4-16

[Article by Yang Dezhi [2799 1779 1807] and Li Zhimin [2621 1807 3046]: "Another Masterpiece by Chairman Mao and Marshal Peng--Decisive Battle in the Northwest Battlefield"; article "based on the manuscript provided by the Office for the Collection of Data on Party History of the Lanzhou Army Units and the Office for Editing Revolutionary Memoirs of the Gansu People's Publishing House"]

[Text] Editor's note: How were the five northwest provinces liberated? How was the Hu Zhongnan, Ma Bufang and Ma Hongkui military group, one of Chiang's main forces, annihilated? Few people know the details about it and our young readers know especially little about it. In this issue, we publish, in particular the reminiscences written jointly by Yang Dezhi, PLA chief of general staff, and Li Zhimin, an adviser to the Central Military Commission. This article gives a faithful narration of how the PLA fought under the command of Comrade Mao Zedong and in accordance with Comrade Peng Dehuai's elaborate planning and paid the lowest price for victory in the decisive battle in the northwest battlefield by making use of contradictions among the enemy and destroying the enemy separately, one by one, and thus thoroughly defeated the Chiang Reign's attempt to hold on to the northwest area as its last counter-revolutionary base. The article is full of profound strategic and tactical thinking and military dialectics. It describes the great foresight of the commanders of our army, the mutual confidence of our generals and their close cooperation. These deeds were stirring and are worth reading. [end of editor's note]

In June 1949, our No 19 Corp and No 18 Corp together marched toward Taiyuan together, with more than 200,000 troops. After an arduous march of over 1,000 li in hot weather and across the Huanghe River, the two corps joined friendly northwest troops. Immediately afterward, they began the decisive battle against the bandit troops led by Hu Zhongnan, Ma Bufang and Ma Hongkui.

This was a major strategic situation, which was decided on by Chairman Mao and the Central Military Commission as early as March that year while the second plenary session of the seventh CPC Central Committee was being held. After this session was finished, at the order of Chairman Mao, Commander Peng went to the front at Taiyuan to temporarily take over Comrade Xu Xiangqian's work in

commanding the troops because Comrade Xu, who had commanded the Taiyuan battle, was seriously ill. At that time Xu's troops had been victorious in wiping out enemy troops at their outer defensive line and were preparing to launch a general offensive against Taiyuan. At a meeting attended by the commanders of all the corps, Commander Peng said, "I have come to the Taiyuan front for the following two reasons: First, I am to participate in the general offensive against Taiyuan. The enemy's defense of the Taiyuan City is very strong and my primary aim in joining this battle is to gain experience in the storming of heavily fortified positions. Second, I have come here to command the army. After we take Taiyuan, the No 18 and No 19 Corps will move to the northwest battlefield and join the decisive battle against Hu Zongnan, Ma Bufang and Ma Hongku's troops. We will strive to liberate the large area of northwest China in about 1 year's time." Commander Peng called on us to pay attention to finding out ways and summing up experiences in storming heavily fortified positions in seiging Taiyuan and thus make preparations for the tough fighting in the decisive battle in the northwest battlefield. When we heard what Marshal Peng said, we were very excited. We recalled the countless crimes that Ma Bufang committed in the past in cooperating with Chiang Kai-shek in attacking our Red Army and killing a large number of our revolutionary comrades when the Red Army was marching north to resist the invasion of the Japanese Army. We also recalled how Hu Zongnan had for a long time been Chiang Kai-shek's most aggressive henchman in fighting against the CPC and had committed his full share of crimes. The broad ranks of our commanders and fighters had long hated Ma and Hu to the very marrow of their bones. How they have longed to join the fraternal troops in northwest to thoroughly wipe out Hu and Ma bandit troops as soon as possible.

During the month-long training and reorganization after the Taiyuan battle, our troops summed up the experiences of the battle for Taiyuan and carried out in depth education in the idea of "carrying out the revolution to the end." By so doing, we fully mobilized our troops and prepared them for marching to the northwest. Our troops set out according to the schedule, but because of the hot weather, we decided to cover 50 li a day and march for only 5 days a week. However, after our troops had just set out, we unexpectedly received a telegram from Commander Peng pointing out that the wheat harvest would soon begin in the northwest and the rainy season would begin in August. If we did not start the battle around the end of June and the beginning of July, we would have to fight the battle during the rainy season, when marching and fighting would be difficult. Moreover, the summer wheat reaped would be plundered by the enemy and this would aggravate difficultues in our troops' food supply. Commander Peng asked us to cover at least 70 li every day. As soon as our troops crossed the Huanghe River, Marshal Peng told our corp to finish concentrating our troops in the designated positions by the end of June and make preparations for swiftly plunging into the battle. This was an arrangement that Marshal Peng had planned beforehand. Therefore, the speed of this 1,000 li of march continued to increase and in the end the march became a day-and-night forced march. After overcoming many difficulties, the troops arrived at the designated place in time.

At that time, our corp formally became a part of the northwest field army and began to fight shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal northwest troops. From the beginning of the civil war launched by the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique, the fraternal northwest troops, though greatly outnumbered, had repeated-

ly defeated the enemy under very difficult material conditions. They not only wiped out more than 200,000 of the enemy's effective troops, but also pinned down hundreds of thousands of the enemy troops and vigorously cooperated with the fighting in other battlefields. The courage and skill of the northwest troops and their many wonderful military achievements had long won the admiration of all the commanders and fighters in our corp. We all regarded the northwest fraternal troops' sagacity, indomitable fighting style and revolutionary spirit of hard struggle as an example for us to learn from. All the commanders and fighters in our corp felt infinitely honored when they joined the northwest fraternal troops in fighting the decisive battle in the northwest battlefield.

Bitterly Wiping Out the Main Force of Hu Bandit Troops and Sowing Discord Between Hu's and Ma's Troops

Four days after Taiyuan was liberated, on 28 April 1949, Chairman Mao summoned Commander Peng back from the Taiyuan front to Beijing and discussed with him how to further solve problems related to the northwest area. In accordance with the rapid development of the domestic revolutionary situation, Chairman Mao pointed out the possibility of solving the problems by peaceful means. At the same time, he emphatically pointed out that in order to solve the problems peacefully, we first of all had to wipe out Hu's and Ma's main forces militarily in a decisive battle.

At that time, through the Liaoning-Shenyang, the Huaihai, and the Beijing-Tianjin campaign's, the enemy lost nearly all its main forces and the Kuchmintang reactionary clique was militarily, politically and economically in a hopeless situation.

On 21 April, Chairman Mao and Commander in Chief Zhu issued an order for the PLA to march everywhere in our country. After crossing the Changjiang River, our 1 million of PLA troops routed the enemy troops on the other side of the Changjiang River as easily as if they were crushing dry weeds and smashing rotten wood. As a result, they liberated Nanjing, Shanghai and other cities and areas one by one. Then, they marched to southeast, central-south and southwest China. The Kuomintang reactionary government officials vied with one another to flee to Taiwan, Guangzhou and Chongqing in a frightened manner like stray mongrels. In the face of certain defeat, the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique completely lost its confidence on the battlefields in southeast and south China and placed its final hope on Hu's and Ma's bandit troops in the northwest and on Bai Chongxi's bandit troops who were retreating into southwest China as its last counterrevolutionary base where it would strive to win the support of the imperialists and gain time to reorganize its forces and wait for the opportunity to stage a comeback.

The area of the five northwest provinces is very big, constituting one-fourth of the total area of the country. Hu Zhongnan's bandit troops, entrenched in the northwest, were one of the well-armed main forces under Chiang Kai-shek's direct control. Although these troops had suffered successive losses under the heavy attack of our troops and their combat effectiveness had been greatly reduced, they still had 17 armies consisting of 41 divisions with 200,000 troops. The troops of the Ma's in Qinghai and Ningxia had 7 armies consisting of 27 divisions (or battalions) with 150,000 troops and had not suffered any annihilative blow from our troops. For a long time, Hu Zongnan, Ma Bufang and Ma Hongkui had been scrambling for power and profit and intriguing against one

another. In order to retain northwest China as a place for it to linger on, the Kuomintang reactionary clique made great efforts to draw the two Ma's over ot its side. On 24 May 1949, the Kuomintang central authorities appointed Ma Bufang chief military and administrative official of northwest China as a special favor, and promised Ma Hongkui that he would not only continue to hold the post of deputy chief military and administrative official of northwest China, but would also be appointed governor of Gansu. By so doing, the Kuomintang central authorities tried every possible means to pursuade the two Ma's to lead their troops into Shaanxi and join Hu Zhongnan in fighting against our troops. Carried away by the obtainment of the military and administrative power in northwest China, Ma Bufang became so swollen with ambition and arrogance that he called himself "a pillar in the northwest." In order to defend his old nest, he attempted to take Shaanxi with his troops. With the help of Ma Hongkui, he organized three corps, put them under the command of his son Ma Jiyuan and sent them east along three routes into Shaanxi to cooperate with Hu Zongnan's bandit troops in an attempt to attack at and take Xianyan and then seige Xian. Our 1st field army was ready in full battle array to face the enemy's attack. After 1st luring the enemy deep behind our frontlines, the 1st field army dealt bitter blows at the enemy and took the edge off the enemy's spirit. Thus, it protected the PLA corps that were then entering Shaanxi from north China and enabled them to safely concentrate their troops.

After the two corps from north China came to northwest China, the military strength of the 1st field army increased to 12 armies with 35 divisions and 340,000 commanders and fighters. This was roughly equal to the 26 armies of Ma and Hu, which consisted of 68 divisions and 350,000 commanders and fighters. However, our troops could be deployed concentratively while the enemy troops had to garrison vast areas in northwest China. As a result, in order to counter our attack, the enemy could only deploy a little more than 150,000 troops of its main force, of which more than 70,000 belonged to Hu Zongnan and more than 80,000 belonged to the two Ma's. Therefore, conditions were ripe for a decisive battle. As our troops had only a relative advantage in the northwest battlefield, it was difficult to wipe out Hu and Ma's main force once and for all in one battle. We had to divide into separate forces and concentrate our strength on annihilating it piecemeal. There had been deeprooted contradictions between the two Ma's and Hu Zhongnan for a long time. Although at that time the two Ma's and Hu Zongnan were forced to unite with one another because they were faced with the common danger of being wiped out, they kept a wary eye on one another, appearing in harmony, but actually at variance. In their joint fighting, each of them tried to exploit the strength of the other to preserve his own strength at the expense of the other. Therefore, in the course of their joint military actionism this, along with their intrigues against one another provided us with favorable conditions to take advantage of contradictions among the enemy and to wipe them out piecemeal.

After the enemy was defeated in their attack at Xianyang and Xian, Hu Zongnan concentrated his main force on the banks of the Weihe River and the two Ma's concentrated their main force around Qianxian and Liquan counties. At that time, our troops were faced with a decision. Which of the enemy troops should be attacked first? Should we attack Ma while encircling Hu or should we attack Hu while encircling Ma? This was the first problem we had to solve before beginning the decisive battle; this was also the key problem that had a bearing

on the smooth development of the decisive battle. We had to make a resolute decision after making a correct analysis of both our situation and that of the enemy. In doing so, Commander Peng time and again reported on the situation at the front to Chairman Mao and put forth a number of battle plans; Chairman Mao time and again gave his directives. Judging by the whole situation in the northwest battlefield at that time, both Chairman Mao and Commander Peng were of the opinion that although Hu Zongnan's bandit troops were one of the main forces udner Chiang Kai-shek's direct control, they had been greatly weakened by the repeated heavy attacks of our troops; therefore, the two Ma's, especially Ma Bufang's troops, was the strongest enemy force and the key problem related to the decisive battle in the northwest battlefield was to annihilate the main force of troops belonging to the two Ma's. If only this main force was annihilated, the northwest problem in the main would be solved. In wiping out Ma's troops while encircling Hu's troops, our favorable conditions were that the main force of the two Ma's was a long distance away from its old nest and not familiar with the geographic conditions and the people in the battlefield and its supply line was very long. On the other hand, our troops were fighting in an area that was in the vicinity of the Guanzhong basin which abounded in material and was densely populated and was also near to the old liberated areas; therefore, we could easily get supplies of materials and manpower. Moreover, it was far more favorable for us to wipe out the main force of the two Ma's in Shaanxi than in their old nest. What was unfavorable for us was that the main force of the two Ma's was more difficult to wipe out than Hu's. We had to make adequate material and spiritual preparations and plan a perfect fighting strategy and tactics. As Chairman Mao said, "we had to be prepared to lose tens of thousands of our troops." Moreover, there had been too much haste in the timing of the battle because the two corps from north China had marched 1,000 li and were very tired. These two corps needed time to rest and recover their strength, especially the No 19 Corp which had just arrived. While Chiarman Mao and Commander Peng were considering the problem of how to attack the enemy, the enemy heard about the entry into Shaanxi of the two corps from north China and the main force of the two M's quickly retreated from Qianxian and Liquan to the Linyou mountainous area from where it could maneuver into the Guanzhong area to support Hu's troops when the situation was favorable and easily retreat to Pingliang when the situation took a turn for the worse. The two Ma's dispersed their main force along a long line in front of us in order to avoid being suddenly encircled and wiped out. At that time, Hu Zongnan's main force remained on the banks of the Weihe River and its five armies were stationed close to one another. They deployed in this manner in order to give them a favorable position both for launching an attack and defending themselves. The troops of both Hu and the two Ma's were deployed in positions which were favorable both for joint fighting and defense. However, the troops of the two Ma's were dispersed along a long line in front of us. This made it indeed very difficult for us to encircle them. On the other hand, Hu Zhongnan's main force was concentrated in Fufeng and Meixian and its defensive lines were few and weak. Although there were a few troops in the Qinglin mountain these troops could only play a pincer role in coordination with troops of the two Ma's and there was a vast area in between for our troops to move behind Hu's main force. This provided our troops with a good chance to encircle Hu's main force and wipe it out. In the face of this situation, Commander Peng resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's directive on encircling the two Ma's and wiping out Hu's main force and decided

to send No 19 Corp to clamp down the two Ma's and deploy the No 1, 2 and 18 corps to wipe out Hu Zongnan's main force in the area of Fufeng and Meixian counties.

On 6 July, we went to Xian to attend a front committee meeting. As soon as Commander Peng saw us, he said: "You must be very tired after a long march. It would be better to give you a month for rest and reorganization. However, we shall go to war very soon and we have little time for preparations. Although adequate preparations are a key to victory, failure to grasp a good opportunity to engage the enemy makes it impossible to wipe out the enemy even if there are adequate preparations. Fortunately the main attack force has already made preparations. In dealing with the two Ma's, you should never take the enemy lightly. It is necessary to take strict precautions against the enemy attacking us from the rear. This is a habitual practice of the enemey. So long as we are not subjected to a surprise attack by the enemy, we shall be in an impregnable position. This is also what Chairman Mao wanted me to tell you." As he said this he handed us a telegram which Chairman Mao sent on 26 June. The telegram read: "The army group led by Yang Dezhi should immediately head west and, after closing in on the two Ma's, build fortifications there. It is responsible for the task of containing the two Na's and for guarding against their counterattack. It is necessary to strictly tell Yang Dezhi this point: never take the two Ma's lightly or else he will suffer losses. Yang Dezhi and company have no experience in dealing with the two Ma's."

After the meeting ended, we returned to the army group and relayed the instructions of Chairman Mao and Commander Peng from one level to another. We carefully studied, in light of our assignments, the special features of Ma Bufang and Ma Hongkui and their habitual strategies as well as the methods of dealing with them. In light of the enemy's special features, we made the best use of our time in tactical and technical training, particularly in fighting mounted troops and fighting it out with the enemy with bayonets. By conducting an extensive ideological mobilization in a deepgoing way, all commanders and fighters further overcame the tendency of taking the enemy lightly and took precautions against self-satisfaction brought about by success.

At the start of the Fufeng-mei County campaign, our army group went into immediate action to an operational plan. On 10 July, we marched into the highlands to the north of Qian County and Liquan opposite the Ma bandits, built fortifications and threatened to attack them. On the other hand, the 61st Xian garrison army made a feint attack against the enemy in the Nanshan and Qinling mountains in an attempt to give the enemy a false impression, confuse them and shield the movement of the main force, contain the Ma bandits as well as the Hu bandits at the Qinling mountains and ensure the safety of the main force's flank. On 11 July, the main force started an offensive agianst the Hu bandits before dawn. The 2d army group which took oover and gathered at a predetermined place made a concealed rapid march to the rear of the enemy's flank through the gap between the Hu and Ma bandits. The 18th army group carried out a deep interdiction of the enemy from east to west along the Longhai railway and the Xianyang-Fengxiang highway. The 1st army group made a two-pronged offensive against the enemy in the west from the southern bank of the Weihe River along Changan-yimen highway and the northern foot of the Qinling mountains. Hu Zongnan

had originally reckoned that it would take the north China army group a least a month to rest and reorganize before they could conduct operations. He also considered that with his five army groups being equipped as they were, our forces would not dare to swallow them at one gulp. Moreover, he vainly hoped to take advantage of our offensive against the Ma bandits to make an all-out attack at our flank in an attempt to achieve the victory of a joint operation between the Hu's and Ma's troops. With the suddenness of a thunderbolt, our troops launched a vigorous offensive against the Hu bandits so that, taken by surprise, they were surrounded ring upon ring by our troops in one day. After a fierce battle of 2 days and nights, we succeeded in wiping out, with the exception of the remnants of the enemy forces who fled helter-skelter by crossing over the Qinling mountains, 4 enemy armies with a total of more than 43,000 persons and liberating eight county seats.

The victory of Fufeng-mei County campaign brought about a fundamental change in the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves in the northwest theater. From a relative superiority our forces succeeded in achieving an absolute superiority and the war initiative was completely in the hands of our forces. While the Hu bandits were being annihilated by our forces, the two Ma bandits assumed the posture of supporting Hu by concentrating their forces. However, they dared not hit out but sat back and watched the destruction of the Hu bandits. After the main force of Hu Zongnan's troops was annihilated, the remnant forces retreated to the Qinling mountains. By this time they were like a clay idol forging a river--hardly able to save themselves, let alone come to the aid of the two Ma's troops. Seeing that the game was as good as lost for Hu Zongnan, both Ma Bufang and Ma Hongkui immediately beat a hasty retreat to the north in order to conserve their strength and escape being annihilated. The operational alliance between Hu Zongnan on the one hand and Ma Bufang and Ma Hongkuo on the other was finally smashed by our forces and the two Ma's were completely isolated.

Prior to the start of the Fufeng-mei County campaign, Chairman Mao instructed Commander Peng on 26 June: "The Kuomintang central government is preparing to move from Guangzhou to Chongqing. In order that the puppet regime could move to Chongqing with an easy mind instead of moving to Taiwan and to prevent the Hu bandits from going into Sichuan at an early date, it seems inadvisable for you to occupy Hanzhong for the time being. It seems more advantageous for Hanzhong to be in the hands of the Hu bandits for a few months." In accordance with this instruciton of Chairman Mao, our forces after wiping out the main force of the Hu bandits, did not occupy Hanzhong for the time being but followed up the victory with hot pursuit of the Ma bandits. At this time, Chairman Mao sent a telegram to Commander Peng, saying: "I am greatly relieved to learn that you have achieved an extremely great victory over Hu Zhongnan. It is very good that despite the hot weather you should follow up the victory with campaign against the two Ma's."

Pursue and Attack the Enemy for 1,000 Li over Eastern Gansu, Carve Up the Troops of Ma Bufang and Ma Hongkuo

After the Fufeng-mei County campaign in which the main force of Hu Zhongnan was wiped out, the Kuomintang reactionary clique placed even greater hopes on Ma

Bufang and Ma Hongkui to have a trial of strength with our forces. By this time the Ma bandits had not been dealt a crushing blow. The Kuomintang reactionary clique which was in a desperate state again overestimated the strength of the two Ma's, vainly attempting to rely on them to reverse the war situation in the northwest. They actively instigated the two Ma's to engage our troops in a decisive battle in the Pingliang area. They held that controlling both Gansu and Ningxia, Pingliang was a strategic place which our troops would certainly fight for when advancing to the northwest. In Pingling there were lots of deep gullies and clifts and the mountain passes were strategically located and difficult of access. Moreover, Ma Bufang and Ma Hongkui had both Lanzhou and Yinchuan in their rear. This made it relatively easier for them to procure supplies. Our troops, on the other hand, were far from the rear and it would be very difficult to procure supplies. If Hu Zhongnan took advantage of this opportunity and coordinated their attack with an attack from the Qinling mountains, our troops would certainly be placed in a difficult position of being cut off from both the vanguard and the rear. They also attempted to stir up national contradictions after we entered the minority nationality regions so that we could not gain a foothold there and then wipe out our forces in the mountains of Gansu.

On 19 July 1949, at a meeting of ranking cadres at and above army level, held at Wenguang Village near Guozhen, Commander Peng summed up the Fumei campaign. He called this campaign the first round in our decisive battle with the Hu and Ma bandit troops. He also set forth an operational plan for the second round--the Pingliang campaign. When analyzing the enemy's situation, Commander Peng pointed out; "after the Fumei campaign, Hu Zhongnan still has more than 100,000 troops but they are scattered over the Qinling mountains' Dongjiangkou and Fuping in the east, Hui, Cheng, Liangdang and Wudu area in the West, Ankang, Hanzhong as well as the area to the south. They have become badly frightened people who are constantly afraid that we will attack them. They have lost the ability to launch an offensive against us in Guangzhong in the near future. After retreating to eastern Gansu, Ma Bufang and Ma Hongkui will lose Pingliang--the passage to Gansu and Ningxia--if they continue retreating. This will inevitably create a condition in which our forces can drive straight to Lanzhou and Yinchuan. It is estimated that unless they are dealt a crushing blow by us, the two Ma's will not resign themselves to defeat. They will certainly put up resistance by relying on natural barriers in Pingliang." Therefore, Commander Peng decided to contain the Hu bandits with two armies from the 18th army group to ensure the security of our rear. He also decided to concentrate the 1st, 2d and 19th army groups as well as the 62d army from the 18th army group, making up 10 armies, in hot pursuit of the two Ma's and strive to wipe out their main force in the Pingliang area. The 19th army group, with the help of the 2d cavalry brigade, will serve as the right flank and advance along the Xilan highway and both sides of the highway. The 1st and 2d army groups will serve as the left flank and advance to the north along three routes. They should first occupy long county, drive straight to the west of Pingliang in order to cut off the enemy's retreat and strike at enemy reinforcements that may come from Lanzhou and Guyuan. Commander Peng also pointed out: the rainy season is approaching in the northwest region. In the south and north of Long County, the mountains are high and the mountain paths are dangerous. It is sparcely populated. We should strive to move up the operation to an early date because delay will result in more difficulties.

Chairman Mao completely agreed with the operational plan of Commander Peng and gladly concluded: so long as we can wipe out the main force of the two Ma's in the Pingliang campaign, the war situation in the northwest can be basically solved. Hereafter, occupying Gansu, Ningxia, Qinghai and Xinjiang will be basically a problem of walking and taking over control. Meanwhile, Chairman Mao repeatedly instructed us: the fight against the two Ma's is a fairly serious campaign. We must be prepared to pay a relatively high price. Under no circumstances must we lower our guard, become careless and take the enemy lightly.

After a few days of rest and reorganization, our forces carried out a political mobilization from top to bottom. On the basis of "the three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention," specific stipulations were made on uniting compatriots of the Hui nationality. The troops were requested to give full play to their role of "being a combat force as well as a work team" and while fighting, do a good job of mass work in the newly-liberated areas. To counter the deceitful propaganda carried out among the troops of the Ma family by Ma Bufang and Ma Hongkui, we drew up the "regulations on giving lenient treatment to prisoners of war of the Hui nationality." Set free prisoners of war of the Hui nationality and gave each of them three silver dollars as travelling expenses. In order to ensure supplies for the troops, Commander Peng also personally made arrangements for vehicles and organized communications and transport in the rear. The various units also organized work teams, which would follow the troops, raise grain and borrow grain from the masses locally in order to make up for the deficiency of supply from the rear.

On 21 July, our army groups started off from Qian County and Liquan and pursued the enemy along the Xilan highway and on both sides of the highway. We organized scores of tanks and armoured cars into a motorcade which opened a way for the troops. These tanks and armored cars had been seized from the enemy when our army groups fought in the north China theater. They now served as a powerful weapon in our hands for dealing with the enemy cavalrymen and for frightening the enemy. The 1st and 2d army groups also set out on 23 and 24 July, respectively in accordance with the schedule.

At this time, the two Ma's whose troops retreated in haste were in an awkward situation. It was difficult for them to decide whether to fight or to retreat. They wanted to fight but they felt that it was difficult to withstand our mighty troops, 300,000 strong. They were very much afraid that they would be surrounded and annihilated by our troops. They wanted to retreat but they were afraid that they would lose the strategic passage to Gansu and Ningxia, which would result in an unfavorable situation in which our forces could drive straight into Lanzhou and Yinchuan. Therefore, it was not until 24 July that a military meeting was held which was attended by commanders at the divisional commander level or above and presided over by Liu Zhiyuan, deputy commanding officer of the enemy's northwest commissioner's office of military and political officers. The meeting drew up what they called the "reconsidered plan for guiding the mass campaign in Guanshan" and made arrangements for a decisive battle in Pingliang as follows: it was decided that the six divisions, as well as a cavalry regiment and two artillery battalions from the 128th and 11th armies of Ma Hongkui's troops should stand in defence to the east and south of Pingliang

and form an arch-shaped defence zone from the northeast to the southwest stretching from Sishilipu, Ankouyao and Huating area with Pingliang as the center, in an attempt to wear down the main force of our troops by active resistance. Ma Bufang's troops would move west from the Ankouyao area to Liupanshan where they would await an opportunity to advance by a roundabout route and make a surprise counterattack on our right flank from the direction of Huating and Ankouyao--the right flank of their arc-shaped defence zone. They would also rely on Hu Zhongnan to launch an attack on our rear from the Qinling mountains and "destroy the enemy forces one by one with concerted actions."

As soon as the so-called "reconsidered plan for guiding the mass campaign in Guanshan," drawn up under the direction of Ma Bufang was dished out, Ma Hongkui, who was on his guard against Ma Bufang, immediately perceived that Ma Bufang was attempting to conserve his own strength in the decisive battle at Pingliang by letting Ma Hongkui fight in the van. According to the plan, even if Ma Hongkui was victorious in the decisive battle, his main force would also be worn down while Ma Bufang would get the benefit. If the decisive battle was lost, Ma Bufang's troops which would retreat west to Liupanshan to wait for an opportunity to advance by a roundabout route would certainly take advantage of this opportunity to flee at the expense of Ma Hungkui's troops. Particularly when Ma Hongkui saw that we had placed massive forces on his right flank, he was on tenterhooks and profoundly felt that it would be difficult to escape the misfortune of being annihilated. Ma Hongkui, who felt discontented with Ma Bufang long before, nursed bitter hatred for him because the post of chairman of the Gansu provincial government promised him by the Kuomintang central authorities was taken away by Ma Bufang. When he learned that Ma Bufang was to deploy troops for a decisive battle in Pingliang in such a manner, he immediately sent a telegram to Lu Zhongliang, provisional commander in chief of his own troops, instructing him to conserve his strength by retreating to, and guarding, Ningxia. Thereby, the enemy's plan for a decisive battle in Pingliang was discarded before it was put into effect.

Our troops drove straight into east Gansu along various routes pursuing and attacking the Ma's bandit troops. By 27 July, Ma Hongkui's main force had withdrawn to the west of Pingliang and Ma Bufang's main force had withdrawn to the Jinning area. This state of affairs made Commander Peng come to the conclusion that the enemy had already given up its original attempt to fight a decisive battle with us in Pingliang and had shifted to adopting the strategy of defending their home area by means of resisting our troops line by line in order to delay their progress. Therefore, on 27 July, he issued an order for the implementation of the original plan, directing the No 19 Corps to continue to pursue and attack Ma Hongkui and the No 1 and 2 Corps to pursue and attack Ma Bufang along two routes. He ordered them to wipe out all the enemy they caught. On 28 July, the No 1 corps caught Ma Bufang's No 4 cavalry brigade at Guguan path, one of the important paths on the Lorgshan mountains, when the brigade was covering the retreat of Ma Bufang's main force. After 1 hour of fighting, our No 1 army quickly took the highland on both sides of the enemy's stronghold. Having found that it was impossible to retain the stronghold, the enemy fled in panic to the west of Guguan path. However the No 20 division of our No 7 army had already gone round the Guguan path to the back of the enemy and cut off the enemy's avenue of retreat. As a result, the enemy birgade was

completely wiped out by us and the only one to escape was the wounded brigade Commander Ma Chengxian. This was the first time a whole brigade of Ma Bufang's was wiped out by us and Ma Bufang was greatly shocked. He quickened his speed in fleeing to Lanzhou. Ma Hongkui fled even quicker. Our No 19 Corps pursued hard for more than 10 days, but could not catch up with it to fight a battle. It was not until 1 August that we fought a battle with Ma Hongkui on the bank of the Renshan River to the south of Guyuan. After 6 hours of fierce fighting, our No 64 army wiped out five regiments of the enemy's No 11 army, killing and capturing all the 5,000-odd troops. At the same time, Ma Hongkui ordered his No 128 army to guard the three paths on the east side of the Liupan mountains in an attempt to check the advance of our troops at that section of the highway which had steep cliffs on either side. The No 193 division of our No 65 army bravely stormed and took the enemy's position, seized the three paths and opened up the way. On 2 August, the No 195 division of the No 65 army took the strategically important Liupan mountains. By that time, our main forces had already gone deep into Gansu by various routes. Although we failed to wipe out two Ma's main force in Pingliang, we achieved the aim of separating Ma Bufang from Ma Hongkui and thus had created favorable conditions for later wiping out the enemy piecemeal. Having lost the favorable position for a decisive battle in Pingliang, the enemy was in an unprecedently unfavorable predicament because the loss of Pingliang made Lanzhou and Yinchuan directly vulnerable to our troops' attack.

Our separation of the two Ma's and the emergency reports from Lanzhou and Yinchuan put the Kuomintang reactionary government, that had fled to Guangzhou, in a great panic. This dealt against heavy blow at the enemy and destroyed its dream of vainly attempting to preserve northwest and southwest China as its last counterrevolutionary base. At that time, Nian Xishan, the then president of the executive yuan of the Kuomintang Government hurriedly summoned Ma Bufang, Ma Hongkui and Hu Zongnan to Guangzhou to attend a "meeting on the united defense of the northwest." At this meeting, they drew up a plan to fight a decisive battle with us at Lanzhou. It was planned that Ma Bufang would withdraw to Lanzhou, intermittently fighting our troops on his way and thus attracting the main force of our troops to Lanzhou and pinning it down there. Then the plan directed that Ma Hongkui move his force to Lanzhou after he withdrew from Guyuan. On the other hand, Hu Zongnan was to march into the south of Gansu to encircle our main force and cooperate with the two Ma's in attacking our main force. Nian Xishan promised to send the central airforce to vigorously support fortifications in Lanzhou, the natural barrier of the Huanghe River, its concentrated force and sufficient munition and material supplies, to hold up our troops. Moreover, by means of strengthening the defense, clearing the field and cutting of our troops' avenue of retreat, it would result in our troops lacking supplies and then they would be able to wipe out our troops at the outskirts of Lanzhou. At the meeting, Nian Xishan made every effort to reconcile the contradictions between Ma Bufang and Ma Hongkui. He appointed Ma Jiyuan as deputy chief military and administrative official of northwest China and approved the appointment of Ma Hongkui as governor of Gansu. After the meeting, Ma Bufang time and again tried to persuade Ma Hongkui to go to Lanzhou and take his office as governor of Gansu. This was in fact aimed at keeping Ma Hongkui as a hostage in Lanzhou in order to obtain his support. The two Ma's time and again cried bitterly together and they swore to share weal and woe

and decided to return to Lanzhou together. Unexpectedly, when the plane took off, Ma Hongkui suddenly changed his mind and decided that he would return to Yinchuan on the excuse that he had to personally arrange the dispatching of troops to support Lanzhou. Thus, the two Ma's returned to the northwest separately.

As far back as on 6 July 1949 before the Fufeng-Meixian battle, Chairman Mao pointed out in his "directive on conquering the enemy troops in the northwest" that we had to adopt different attitude in dealing with the two Ma's. We had to hit at Ma Bufang first because Ma Hongkui was Fu Zuoyi's sworn brother and had sent people to express through Fu Zuoyi his desire for a peaceful solution. Chairman Mao thought that after we had wiped out Ma Bufang's troops, we would, in coordination with military attacks, do our best to strive to obtain a political solution with Ma Hongkui. On the other hand, because Ma Bufang held the ruling political position and was militarily stronger than Ma Hongkui, if we wiped out Ma Bufang, we would in the main have solved the northwest problem. That was why Commander Peng decided to first concentrate our troops on wiping out Ma Bufang. At that time, we envisaged two possibilities for Ma Bufang's further movement. First, he might fight a decisive battle with us at Lanzhou and second, he might withdraw to his old nest in Qinghai. If the enemy withdrew into Qinghai, our troops would encounter serious difficulties in marching and fighting in Qinghai and the liberation of the whole northwest would be delayed. Moreover, Lanzhou was a key city that linked Gansu, Ningxia, Qinghai and Xinjiang Provinces. Though it was an arduous task to storm the fortified city of Lanzhou, the battle conditions were more favorable than those in Qinghai. Therefore, our troops had to do our best to strive to fight a decisive battle with the enemy at Lanzhou and strictly prevent the enemy from fleeing to Qinchai.

On 4 August, Commander Peng issued the combat order for advancing to Lanzhou to annihilate Ma Bufang of Qinghai, making the following battle deployment: Three armies of the second corps and two armies of the 19th corps would attack Lanzhou in a pincer-like encirclement. The first corps together with the 62d army would penetrate into the right wing of the enemy and then outflank Ma Bufang's den--Qinghai--with a view to shaking the morale of the enemy troops, and blocking and wiping out the enemy which would run away from Lanzhou. Then our troops would cross the Huanghe River from the west side and head directly to Xining. In addition, the 64th army of the 19th corps would make a feint towards Ma Hongkui in the Guyuan area, ready to check their reinforcement forces. The main force of the 18th corps (except the 62d army) and the 7th army, altogether three armies would forge ahead along the Sichuan-Shaanxi highway to clamp down on the bandit troops of Hu Zongnan. Like this, Ma Bufang would be tightly encircled to meet his doom.

On 8 August, the main force of our troop formations set out directly forward the west of Lanzhou. Advancing along the Zigzag roads, we climbed up to the top of the towering Mount Liupan. Looking into the distance of the boundless motherland, we saw an enormous and powerful liberation army marching west like waves of molten iron. Recalling a poem which Chairman Mao composed 14 years previously when the Chinese workers' and peasnats' Red Army was passing Mount Liupan, I remembered the magnificent verse: "High on the crest of Mount Liupan,

red banners wave freely in the west wind. Today we hold the long cord in our hands; when shall we bind fast the grey dragon?" At this moment, all sorts of feeling welled up in my heart. With tears flowing, we were seeking the footprints left by the Chinese workers' and peasants' Red Army 14 years before and cherishing the memory of the images of the deceased revolutionary comarde-in-arms who were massacred by the bandit troops of Ma Bufang. At that time, the Red Army soldiers vowed to return by fighting. Now, at long last we had come back. Not only should we make Ma Bufang pay his blood debt, but also it would not take long before we would overthrow Chinag Kai-shek and liberate the whole of China. The revolutionary martyrs, then, would smile in their graves.

In the course of pursuit and attack by our troops, the enemy, being afraid of being encircled and surpressed, engaged our troops only with the dispersed cavalrymen. They ran away as soon as they engaged us. The enemy infantrymen fled pell-mell, 1 or 2 days journey away from our troops. Wherever our troops went, the local armed forces of the enemy one after another revolted and crossed over. Some enemy troops took to their heels with the regular army and some were defeated and went back home. People's regimes were immediately set up and social order was maintained in vast areas that had been freed from the reactionary domination of bandit Ma. Compatriots of Hui and Han nationalities who had suffered the cruel oppression of bandit Ma indignantly condemned the bandit's outrageous behavior. Many youths of Hui and Han nationalities asked to join the liberation army to wipe out bandit Ma. Our troops, being highly disciplined, did not commit the slightest offence against the civilians. They did mass work in the intervals between marching and fighting and helped the masses in productive labor. The masses of Hui and Han nationalities treated our troops as members of their families, vacating their own houses, boiling water, presenting firewood and grain, cooking, acting as guides and giving active and warm support to our troops in fighting. In addition, our field army units were backed in operation by 150,000 laborers who had come from the new or old liberated areas together with thousands of trucks and carts, giving first-aid to the wounded and delivering war materials. Our officers and men were greatly inspired by the full support of the masses of Hui and Han natioanliites. On the other hand, they were filled with rage and hatred witnessing the tyrannical rule of bandit Ma.

Our large troop formations had continuously marched forward over a long period of time. This brought about numerous difficulties to our troops. The whole way was like no man's land and there were no transport facilities. Roads became muddy and miry in the rainy seasons. Provisions such as grain, shoes, ammunition and funds were not able to be supplied in time. Wheat was often cooked for eating without being ground to flour due to there being no time to grind captured grain or cereals borrowed from the people. After arriving in the west of Pingliang and Guguan, the weather suddenly became very cold. Due to the few houses in villages, our soldiers had to sleep in the open. As a result, many of them fell ill contracting flue, dysentery and malaria because they were not accustomed to the climate of the northwest plateau. Facing numerous difficulties, our troops all along maintained high morale, thanks to the strong leadership of the party, the might of political work and the great inspiration of the coming nation-wide triumph. Officers and men of our troops, closely uniting and mutually helping, surmounted difficulties one after another as they marched, with indomitable combat will, toward Lanzhou to pursue and attack the enemy.

Fight a Decisive Battle in Lanzhou to Greet the Liberation of the Whole Region

On 20 August 1949 our corps joined forces with the 2d corps led by Comrade Xu Guangda in the outskirts of Lanzhou in order to surround the city from east, west and south. Upon arrival at the assembly place, we immediately surveyed the terrain. Lanzhou, facing the Huanghe River to the north and nestling among hills from three sides, is strategically located and difficult of access. The Gaolan mountains with towering ridges and peaks which embraces Lanzhou, provides a natural defence for the city. On the mountain there wesstrong defence [words indistinct] built by the Kuomintang troops during the anti-Japanese war, which were further cemented during the liberation war. A great mass of block-houses were built in important positions. A belt highway in the mountain which led to the city was linked with all such positions. At the front side, there were one or two rows of cliff with a height of 6 to 12 meters. In the middle of the cliffs were fortified with covered machine guns. In front of the cliff were several lines of trenches with depths of 3 to 5 meters. There were hidden fortresses and field warfare fortifications between the trenches which were cuztbdected by ditches and hidden paths. The front part of the positions was heavily laid with barbed wire entanglement and were densely covered with mines. It was rare to see such fortified defence work. So, it was not [words indistinct] "an invulnerable iron city." With the strong fortifications, not only could the enemy make full use of their firepower, but they also could launch a counteroffensive to retrieve lost ground. However, our troops had to surmount ditches and trenches and mount steep cliff while climbing upward to make an attack on the enemy. In this way it was hard for our troops to move and stretch. Looking to the north, we saw the torrent of the Huanghe River surging forward to the east along the mountain. The water current became more swift and waves ran high in the rainy season. The enemy were entrench on both sides of the river, so it was extremely difficult for our troops to cross the river to surround the enemy. The [word indistinct] to wiping out all the enemy was first to capture Mount Nanshan, a major natural defence for Lanzhou and command the Huanghe River bridge, the only [word indistinct] enemy. According to the battle plan made by Commander Peng, the tasks for the 2d corps were to attack Yingpan Ridge, Shenjia Ridge and the Qilihe area and then to storm the western and southern gates of Lanzhou City. Part of the forces would forge ahead eastward along the south of the Huanghe River to seize the Huanghe River [sentence indistinct] an opportunity to cross the Huanghe River from the north to wipe out the enemy there. The tasks of our corps were to attack and occupy Mount Majiashan, Gucheng Ridge and Mount Doujiashn on the southern side of the Xilan highway as well as Mount Shilishan on the northern side, and then make an assault on the eastern gate of Lanzhou City. Having inspected the terrain, we decided to take Zhuju [words indistinct] and post. From here, the enemy's positions were all in our sight.

In order to carry out its plan of retaining a counterrevolutionary base through the decisive battle in Lanzhou, the Kuomintang reactionary government did not have any scruples about resorting to a stopgap measure detrimental to long-term interests by continuously airlifting war materials to Lanzhou. In order to stake all at a single throw, Hu Zhongnan concentrated four corps of troops at Hui, Cheng, Liangdang and the Sichuan-Shaanxi highway preparing to storm the rear of our troops in coordination with Ma Bufang. Being aware that the Lanzhou cam-

paign would determine his fate, Ma Hongkui also assembled his main forces and assumed a posture of supporting Ma Bufang in an attempt to make a flank attack on our troops from the rear if the occasion demanded. Ma Bufang reckoned, too, the decisive battle in Lanzhou to be a matter of life and death. After attending the northwest joint defence conference called by the Kuomintang central government, bandit chieftan Ma Bufang hurried back to Lanzhou by air from Guangzhou on 19 August in order to make arrangements. The enemy dispatched 50,000 crack troops of the 82d army and the 129th army to guard Lanzhou. On the left wing, about 20,000 troops of the 91st army, the 120th army and the 81st army were entrenched in Jingyuan and Jingtai along the Huanghe River and the Dalachi area for defensive purpose. On the right wing, about 20,000 newly-recruited cavalrymen were commanding the Lingtao and Taosha areas. With the strong fortifications around Lanzhou, Ma Bufang vainly attempted to first blunt the edge of our troops' advance, and then Ma Hongkui and bandit Hu Zhongnan would launch a two-pronged offensive from the rear of our troops. The enemy vainly hoped to annihilate our troops at one stroke at the periphery of Lanzhou with the tactics of frontal resistance and double envelopemnt. At the same time, Ma Bufang hastily moved troops stationed in Xinjiang to Lanzhou as reinforcements, and repeatedly sent messages to the Kuomintang central government asking for the air force to join in the impending decisive battle by dispatching a powerful air armada every day.

Of course, all the above was made clear to us when the battle was over. At that time, our troops had already penetrated into the hinterland of the enemy. However, our party's foundation in this area was very weak and there was no insider. Moreover, bandit Ma was wilely and as crafty as a fox. So it was very difficult for us to find out about enemy troop movements and to make correct judgements. Drawing near to Lanzhou, our troops obtained contradictory information from two sources: One source said the 91st and 120th corps of the enemy had pulled out to the north from Lanzhou and would retreat to Jiuquan, and together with the Gansu provincial government, large quantities of war materials were being transferred from Lanzhou to Xining, the enemy in Lanzhou were about to blast factories, cut electric wires and destroy the Huanghe River bridge; the other source said the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique was airlifting ammunition to Lanzhou every day, Ma Bufang of Qinghai was rushing grain and millstones into the city, its 82d corps were busy strengthening strongholds around Lanzhou, and Ma Hongkui of Ningxia was preparing to dispatch 6 divisions to support Lanzhou. Based on such contradictory information, two completely different conclusions might be drawn. Through detailed analysis, Commander Peng held that the enemy's situation in Lanzhou was different from that in Pingliang. The enemy's plan for a decisive enegagement in Lanzhou would not be discarded as they were in Pingliang. Our troops should have done their utmost to force the enemy into a decisive engagement in Lanzhou. At the same time, we should have considered the conditions more serious and difficult than what they were. Taking this as a foothold, we should have become fully prepared in all fields.

When Lanzhou was besieged by our troops, Commander Peng immediately sent a cable to Comrade Wang Zhen who was leading the 1st troop formation to outflank Qinghai on the left. In the cable, he pointed out: The bandit troops of Ma Bufang are now resolved to tenaciously defend Lanzhou. After our troops on the left occupy

Linxia, the enemy probably will decide not to defend Lanzhou. But it is also possible that they will remain firmly entrenched in Lanzhou at all costs by abandoning Xining, pulling out from the eastern side of the Datonghe River and from Xiangtang, Xincheng and the north of the Huangshui River in order to protect their retreat route toward Hexi. If our troops fail to attack and occupy Lanzhou within 6-7 days, the main force of Ma Hongkuo of Ningxia will probably reinforce Lanzhou. The two Ma's of Qinghai and Ningxia have more than 2,000 trucks. We must fully estimate the possibility that the main force of Ma Hongkuo will be transported to Lanzhou. If this happens, the 2d troop formation will move and outflank Lanzhou in the north. Thus our side will concentrate three troop formations to join the decisive engagement in Lanzhou. On the same day, in the name of the headquarters of the first field army, Commander Peng issued directives concerning the tactics of launching an offensive on Lanzhou. The directives emphatically pointed out: the bandit troops of Ma Bufang are now the most militant forces of the enemy. They are the most stubborn enemy known in the country. We must fully estimate the strength of the enemy and be mentally prepared, and avoid being proud, hasty and ignorant of the enemy. The directives requires that various army units must "make careful reconnaissance, precise plans and complete preparations before launching an attack" and "must concentrate superior forces, fire and techniques on one target so as to wipe out the enemy by taking over its mountain strongholds, houses and positions one after another. Once an attack is launched, it should be a successful one." "While launching an attack, we must also be ready at all times to annihilate the enemy's countercharge forces, destroy its countercharge fire and build our own defense works." "Both artillery and infantry troops must more closely coordinate with each other. In order to prevent blind firing, the artillery troops must make repeated and careful reconnaissances of the enemy forces and fires and make excellent field observations. We must realize that a superior artillery fire is not omnipotent before the stubborn enemy." "As the front trenches and precipitous cliffs on the enemy's side, they must be approached by means of approach-trench operations and by changing the topographical features, and then be destroyed by explosives. Since transporting ammunition is difficult, artillery bombardments can be used only as a supplementary means."

Meanwhile, since the enemy were besieged by our army on only three sides, and the iron bridge across the Huanghe River on the north exit was under their control, there was still the possibility for a sudden escape by the enemy when our army pressed onward. So Commander Peng decided on 21 August to launch a trial offensive with nine regiments on the enemy positions. Five regiments of the 65th and 63d army in our corps were ordered to attack Doujiashan, Guchengling and Shilidi. However no sufficient preparations were made and the offensive was launched in haste. Moreover, in this thousand-li pursuit and attack, since the enemy always fled without fighting, a new tendency among the commanders and fighters to take the enemy lightly soon grew. For fear that the enemy would run away, some commanders led the soldiers to make a fierce assault on the enemy without investigating the topographical features and the disposition of the enemy forces and fire. They did not even bring with them the necessary explosives and other blasting equipment and did not order artillery and infantry troops take concerted actions. One company even made a hasty assault before knowing what the target was. Not knowing the enemy's situaiton, a regiment commander said: "Give me 2 hours and I am sure to fulfill the tasks!" After 2 days' offensive, on 21 and 22 August, although the soldiers fought

bravely and indomitably, and although several bayonet clashes occurred which caused casualties on the enemy side, no enemy positions were taken, and our side also suffered serious casualties. The other four regiments of the second corps did not succeed in the trial offensive either. In view of this, Commander Peng resolutely decided to stop the offensive and immediately make field summaries, so that the general offensive could be launched with good preparations made in line with the directives of 21 August. Although this trial attack was not a success, it made us more aware of the enemy's deployment and resolution. We learned that the three main divisions of the enemy's 82d army were deployed in Majiashan, Yingpanling and Shenjialing to defend these three main positions of the enemy's defensive line. We also learned that the enemy's 129th army and other troops were deployed at the east and west wings as well as on the north bank of the Huanghe River so that they could control the Nanshan Hill and, with the help of the river as a natural barrier, divide forces to guard the city, and we also learned that there were no reserve forces in the city. What was more important was that by drawing lessons written in blood, the commanders and fighters recognized the harm of the tendency to take the enemy lightly and, being more clear-headed, began to make preparations for the general offensive.

On 23 August, Marshal Peng came to the army corps headquarters. Because we did not fight well 2 days ago, we were in low spirits. We said to Marshal Peng in a reproving tone: "The 19th corps has never in its history witnessed such a situation: In storming several of the enemy's positions, we have not captured a single one in 2 days. Cadres at the army, divisional and regimental levels feel very bad about it. They just couldn't wait to keep fighting to prove their worth. Chairman Mao has once and again taught us: Never make light of the enemy: otherwise we will surely suffer. Now we have really suffered because we have thought little of the enemy. We have often reminded ourselves of this. We have also once and again educated the army units, urging them to overcome the idea of underestimating the enemy. But there has recently been relaxation in our education of army units. The idea of making light of the enemy has again reared its head. The responsibility for not fighting this battle well rests chiefly with the leadership of our corps." Marshal Peng said: "The army unit has tried to storm the enemy positions without success. The primary reason is because the enemy has a strong defense and is tough. The decision to attempt this trial attack was made by me. I was then pressed for time and the army unit did not have adequate preparation. But after this trial attack, we have achieved our aim of learning about the enemy. You must tell the cadres to be patient. They must sum up experiences and lessons, keep a close watch over the enemy, make proper preparations in a down-to-earth manner and wait for the orders to launch a general offensive against the enemy."

Marshal Peng told us: The first corps of the left wing of our army led by Comrade Wang Zhen was advancing at a very quick pace. It occupied Linxia on the 22d. Now it had temporarily stopped advancing. It was sending some of its troops to occupy Yongqing to control the Huanghe River and to cut off the links between Lanzhou and Xining, and as a result be poised to intercept the enemy at any time. Marshal Peng analyzed the several possible situations likely to arise after our army's occupation of Linxia, and suggested appropriate countermeasures by our army. The first situation likely to arise was that the enemy

defending Lanzhou would pay more attention to its old nest of Xining and divert some of its forces to defend it, while continuing to put the major emphasis on Lanzhou. This would help us to capture Lanzhou and would divert some of our forces to join the first corps in attacking Xining after the capture of Lanzhou. The second possible situation was that the enemy would give up Xining to concentrate all its forces on consolidating its defense of Lanzhou. This possibility was very slim. Or the enemy might send the new 6th cavalry army and the guards unit (one division) stationed at Xining to defend Xining. This possibility was very great. Given such a situation, it was temporarily not possible for our first corps to attack Xining alone. If our army suffered setbacks in simultaneously attacking Lanzhou and Xining, Ma Hongkui's main forces in Ningxia would take advantage of our exhaustion from our expedition to attack our flank. Now, with the weather gradually getting cold, our army would be put in a due situation if it was not provided with winter clothing in time. Even given the capture of Xining by our army, we had yet to capture Lanzhou. With our forces dispersed, we would still have such fears. The third possible situation was that if Ma Bufang's troops in Qinghai gave up Lanzhou and retreated to Xining, the second corps would pursue and attack them, while the first corps would seize the chance to intercept the enemy, annihilating Ma's main forces in an area 100 li east and west of Xiangtang, and then capturing Xining. The fourth possible situation was that if our army unsuccessfully attacked Lanzhou and if Ma Hongkui's main forces in Ningxia were sent to Lanzhou to reinforce the enemy, making it difficult for us to attack Lanzhou again, we could wait temporarily for another chance to attack Lanzhou and Xining. We could spend 1 or 2 months concentrating on the proper handling of local work in newly liberated areas and establishing regional work bases. We could gain time reorganizing the whole army, solving the food problem, hauling and concentrating adequate ammunition supplies, launching a political offensive against the enemy and actively creating conditions for the attack on Lanzhou. Of course, everything possible was to be done to avoid such a situation. Therefore, it was decided to transfer five regiments from the local forces in three areas to reinforce the 64th corps. The 64th corps were to cotcentrate all its forces on intercepting Ma Hongkui's troops in Ningxia, so that the latter could not come to Lanzhou's aid. After listening to Marshal Peng's analysis of the situation, we felt that he had given overall consideration to the problems and had taken all difficulties into full consideration. His approach was entirely in line with the spirit of Chairman Mao's cable. We felt greatly enlightened. We immediately made it known to Marshal Peng that all levels of the 64th corps was ready to fight. It had seized more than 400,000 rounds of bullets from the enemy in Guyuan and Haiyuan and had a 2 month grain supply. It was fully stocked with both grain and bullets. Its military works were continuously being strengthened. The corps members had every confidence that they could accomplish the assignment of intercepting Ma Hongkui's troops in Ningxia. Given the support of five regiments, things would be made all the easier. Regarding the attack on Lanzhou, a clear idea had been obtained of all of the enemy positions and its military dispositions. Given 1 or 2 days of preparations, everyone was confident that the enemy's positions could be captured.

In the 12 days or so before and after the Lanzhou battle Marshal Peng briefed the military committee and Chairman Mao on the conditions along the front almost every day. He also received instructions from Chairman Mao on many

occasions. On 23 August, Chairman Mao said: Since Ma Bufang resolved to defend Lanzhou, this helped our army's efforts to annihilate Ma's troops. To annihilate his troops, we must concentrate three corps on the attack of Lanzhou. After Wang Zhen's corps crossed the river in the upper reaches, it seemed better for the corps to make a detour to the rear of Lanzhou, or to cut off the road leading from Lanzhou to Qinghai and to Xinjiang and join in the attack. The most important thing was for the corps to cut off the road leading to Xinjiang. In addition, Ma Bufang must be prevented from retreating to Xinjiang to cause more trouble. Before the attack, it seemed that we needed 1 week or more at our disposal. Thus, we could let the army units freshen up, make a close observation of the enemy and the relevant terrain, seek to boost the soldiers' morale and make full preparations for fighting. We also needed to be prepared to launch the second and third attacks if the first should fail. The aim was to annihilate Ma Bufang's troops and occupy Lanzhou. Acting upon Chairman Mao's instructions, Marshal Peng immediately reorganized his military dispositions in anticipation of the most difficult situation. He submitted a report to Chairman Mao on the 24th, pointing out that he had decided to send three corps to attack Lanzhou. Wang Zhen's corps would make a detour back to north Lanzhou from the upper reaches of Lanzhou. The possibility that Ma Hongkui would send three corps from Ningxia to reinforce Lanzhou from the left side of the Huanghe River was very great. If both Ma Bufang and Ma Hongkui amassed troops on Lanzhou, there would be 130,000 people defending the city, given two additional units under Zhou Jiabin and Huang Zuxun, respectively. Even if our army concentrated three corps, it could hardly succeed in the attack in a short period of time. Meanwhile, there were such factors as the difficulty of obtaining food supplies, the great length of the supply route, and the scarcity of any transportation. An adequate supply of ammunition could not be maintained. Transportation of grain would be all the more difficult. So it was decided to encircle Lanzhou before the arrival of Ma Hongkui's troops. The aim was to get rid of Ma Bufang's main forces first. Now the second corps and the 19th corps had completed their preparations for the attack on the city. But they had not yet fully recovered from their exhausitng maneuvers. They had an inadequate supply of grain, and their edible oil and vegetable problems were all the more difficult to solve. Bandit Ma Bufang continued launching a counterattack. This made it difficult for them to rest. As far as preparatory work at its current stage was concerned, chances of success in the attack on the city were 70 or 80 percent. So it was decided to start the attack on the morning of the 25th. If Ma Bufang's troops were not annihilated and Ma Hongkui's troops pressed close, four corps would be mobilized to encircle Lanzhou, and five corps would be concentrated on fighting Ma Hongkui's troops. After receiving Marshal Peng's report, Chairman Mao replied to him by cable on the 26th, pointing out that if he succeeded in capturing Lanzhou on the 25th, there would be a change in the situation. If he failed, then the whole thing would be written off as a tentative operation. The whole army would then receive a wholesome lesson from this tentative operation. The whole army would then receive a wholesome lesson from this tentative operation involving bloodshed, and would lay a basis for victory in fighting again. If on the 25th, he did not make it and Ma Hongkui came to Lanzhou's help, then he might as well act according to the decision mentioned in Marshall Peng's cable of the 24th. He might first fight the reinforcements and then attack the city.

In the 2 days of preparations on the 23d and the 24th, the army units extensively mobilized people for politcial education, seriously reviewed experiences and lessons, carefully studied the terrain, repeatedly groped their way in the dark, staged sand table exercises, promoted military democracy, aroused the masses to study the tactics of attacking the enemy, organized forces to dig tunnels to improve the terrain, and mobilized all manpower and animal power and means of transportation to haul materials and equipment. This preparatory work was completed by overcoming many difficulties. It was a race against time. It rained all day on the 24th. The whole area was shrouded in mist as it drizzled. This helped our army conduct its preparatory work. But everyone hoped that such drizzly weather would not last long, as this would interfere with our army's general offensive. Late at night, the rain stopped. The sky cleared up. It was really a blessing from the ruler of heaven. Such fine weather was bestowed on us. Everyone joked: "Ma Bufang has been up to every mischief. He has aroused the anger of both heaven and men. Heaven has taken our side in annihilating bandits like Ma."

In the early dawn of the 25th, our army started a general offensive against Lanzhou. Under cover of heavy gunfire, our infantrymen bravely charged the enemy's position. After fierce fighting, the 4th army of the second corps captured the middle and lower parts of the Gouwa Mountains, representing the enemy's main position in Shenjialing. At 5 p.m., the 6th army attacked Sanyingzi, or the Yingpanling position on the highest peak of the Nanshan Mountains. Within our corps, the 189th division of the 63d army captured the enemy's main position of Majiashan at 4 p.m. The 193d division of the 65th army captured Guchengling that night. During the fighting, the enemy commanders directed the operations with machine guns and bayonets, launching a series of counterattacks against our army. Only after hardfighting and repeated struggles and after ahnd-to-hand fighting with bayonets did our army capture one after another a one tunnel, a precipice or a position from the enemy.

Upon learning the news about our first corps' occupation of Linzia, Ma Bufang, keeping watch over Lanzhou, showed great panic, as he was caught totally unprepared. He was convinced the rear was insecure and that the old nest of Xining was being jeopardized. He immediately ordered the 8th cavalry brigade and the 14th cavalry brigade to return to Qinghai to strengthen the defenses of Xining. Meanwhile, he was greatly dissatisfied with the fact that Ma Hongkui and Hu Zongnan had not ordered their troops into battle. His army was allowed to defend Lanzhou alone. On 23d August, he specially sent cavalry men to rush to Ningxia to seek help. On 24 August, he again sent a cable to the central government of the Kuomintang, which reads as follows: "The communist first and second armies that have invaded the neighborhood of Linxia on the West Bank of the Tao River are intruding into Yongqing and Xunhua. It is a direct threat to our position! The situation is extremely serious! If our troops and the air force in Shaanshu and Ningxia do not immediately join in to annihilate the enemy, it is feared that Lanzhou and Xining will be put in jeopardy. The situation is critical. Time is running! Please take immediate action. There should be no more delay." The same day, Ma Bufang slipped back to Xining from Lanzhou by plane. Ma Bufang left a message for his son Ma Jiyuan: If Ma Hongkui, Hu Zongnan and the air force do not come to our aid, then you should maintain our strength and defend Qinghai to the last. On the 25th, after our army launched a general offensive against Lanzhou, Ma Jiyuan, general commander in charge of the enemy troops in Lanzhou, still dreamed of

defending the city to the last and repulsing our attack. He wanted to gain time by waiting for help from Ma Hongkui and bandit Hu and for the mobilization of the air force. By the afternoon the same day, Ma Jiyuan had suffered heavy casualties in his main forces defending the suburban and urban areas of Lanzhou. His positions were captured one after another. There was still no sign of help from Ma Hongkui, bandit Hu and the air force. In view of this situation, Ma Jiyuan lost all his confidence. He was also afraid that our army might seize the opportunity to attack Xining, capturing his old nest and cutting off his retreat. Therefore, he decided in a panic to withdraw from Lanzhou to the northern bank of the Huanghe River and to reorganize his troops. At 4 p.m., the military and government offices of the enemy in the northwest and its various military units began withdrawing to the northern bank of the Huanghe River. Ma Bufang's main forces were mostly in the battlefield. For fear of being discovered by our army, they had to secretly slip away under cover of the darkness of night. Because the enemy was forced to make a hurried evacuation in a critical situation, things were in chaos at the very outset.

That night, when our army continued our attack on the enemy, we discovered that the enemy troops were running away. We immediately gave pursuit. The 3d army of the second corps first moved into the city and fought with the enemy at close quarters. One of our units made straight for the iron bridge of the Huanghe River and seized it after annihilating the enemy troops, which put up stiff resistance. The only path of retreat for the enemy was thus cut off. The main enemy forces that had withdrawn from the Nanshan Mountains were massing in the city. They were immediately annihilated by our army. At that time, the 6th army also entered the city. The 63d and 65th armies of our corps pursued the enemy troops for over 20 li until they reached Dongshaomen and annihilated the remnants of the enemy. At noon on the 26th, our army occupied various important points inside and outside the city and annihilated all the enemy troops. We also crossed the Huanghe River iron bridge and occupied Beitashan. The liberation of Lanzhou was announced.

The enemy troops that escaped over the Huanghe River iron bridge ran for their lives, each concerned only with his own safety. Mounted troops and infantrymen mingled, as people, horses and cars fought their way through. Countless people were killed in the confusion and some also fell off the bridge and drowned. After our army gained control of the Huanghe River iron bridge, bandit Ma's commanding officers ordered their soldiers to swim across the Huanghe River without regard to their safety. A countless number of them were mangled and killed by sharks. Those enemy troops fortunate enough to make it across blindly ran in the direction of Qinghai. Officers of low rank and their soldiers went their separate ways, bringing with them their horses and rifles. Those few officers who made it back to Qinghai had lost all their soldiers.

In the decisive battle of Lanzhou, Ma Hongkui and Hu Zongnan had anxiously waited, so that Ma Bufang could deal a crushing blow to our army. This would give them a chance to attack our flank. They wildly hoped for a victory in the decisive battle. By 24 August, Ma HOngkui was still concentrating his main forces, poised for action. Ma Bufang's main forces were annihilated in the battle of Lanzhou, dashing all their hopes. Lest they be annihilated, Ma Hongkui's main forces immediately slipped back to their old nests in Zhongning and Zhongwei in Ningxia.

After the annihilation of Ma Bufang's main forces, bandit Hu sent troops to Baoji and Longnan as a gesture of support. They were intercepted by our 18th corps. They suffered a crushing defeat and ran away pell-mell. The fifth day after the liberation of Lanzhou--30 August--when our army was observing a solemn enter-the-city ceremony and the people of the whole city of Lanzhou were jubilantly celebrating its liberation, the Kuomintang air force at last sent two airplanes to fly over Lanzhou. Under the fierce attack of our anti-aircraft guns, they flew away in panic after circling twice. This was the only response to the help repeatedly sought by Ma Bufang.

With Lanzhou liberated, Ma Bufang's main forces, representing the strongest force of the enemy fighting in the northwest region, were annihilated. A victory in the decisive battle in the northwest was declared. After that, the enemy in the northwest region lost its ability to organize any battle. Our army for its part could move around freely, annihilating the remnants of the enemy. Just as Chairman Mao had expected, there was no more serious fighting in the northwest battlefield. For our army to complete the task of liberating the whole of northwest China was basically a matter of walking in and taking over. The first corps soon advanced on Qinghai. On 5 September, Xining, the capital of Qinghai, was liberated. The first and second corps, following different routes, advanced upon the Hexi corridor of Gansu and converged in Zhangye, annihilating most of the troops of two enemy army corps. They availed themselves of the victory to head west, heading straight for the Xinjiang border. On the way, they annihilated more than 30,000 of Ma Bufang's troops. Our corps entered Ningxia and quickly annihilated the enemy troops that dared to resist. Under the military threat of our powerful army, Ma Hongkui's 81st army offered to be reorganized by our army on 19 September. The 128th army, the 11th army and the remnants of the Helan army sent representatives on 23 September to sign peace treaties in Zhongning. That night, our army moved into Yinchuan. In less than 1 month, beginning with the start of the advance, all of Ningxia was liberated. In the second half of September, our first and second corps pressed close to Xinjiang. The Kuomintang army defending Xinjiang, led by General Tao Shiyue, sent a cable offering to stage an uprising. The Xinjiang provincial government, led by Bao Erhan, also sent a cable offering to accept the leadership and establishment of the central people's government of Beijing. On 20 October, our army moved into Urumqi. The peaceful liberation of Xinjiang was announced. The Kuomintang reactionary group's plan to preserve the northwest region as the last counterrevolutioanry base on the mainland was completely bankrupt.

In the northwest battlefield, our army took less than 2 months to win victory in the decisive battle. Then it pressed on to swiftly wipe out the remnants of the enemy, liberating all parts of the five provinces in the northwest. At a minimum cost, our army scored the greatest and swiftest victory, creating a great miracle in military history. This victory was a victory for Mao Zedong's military thinking. This decisive battle has, operationally speaking, given full expression to Chiarman Mao's idea, "strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously"; has given full expression to the principle, "exploit the enemy's contradictions and wipe out the enemy forces one by one"; and has given full expression to a high degree of flexibility in working out the fighting methods based on changes in the features

and conditions of the enemy. Chairman Mao's farsightedness and keen sense of perception, Marshal Peng's conscientious devotion to research and his resourcefulness and decisiveness, and the close ties and mutual trust between the marshal and generals--all these will always be worth our stydy and imitation.

CSO: 4005/1195

PARTY AND STATE

19TH LECTURE ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW051305 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0155 GMT 5 Aug 82

[Text] Beijing, 5 Aug (XINHUA)--Nineteenth lecture on the draft revised constitution: "Protection of Citizens' Freedom of Religious Belief."

Freedom of religious belief is a consistent policy of our country. The draft revised constitution embodies this policy in its stipulation that organs of state, public organizations or individuals shall not compel citizens to believe in religion or disbelieve in religion, and that they shall not discriminate against citizens who believe, or do not believe, in religion.

Fundamentally speaking, feudal and idealistic religious ideas are opposed to our guiding ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The draft revised constitution's stipulation on this question of protecting citizens' freedom of religious belief springs mainly from consideration of the following factores.

1. Religion is a reversed world outlook originating from an early period of human society when oppression in nature and human society were beyond man's comprehension. Its birth and survival have their social and historical origins as well as class roots. So long as these origins and roots are not eliminated, religion cannot be done away with. Therefore, the historical task of the proletariat should be to pay attention to the social and historical origins of religions, and not to "prohibit" religion by coercive methods or legal means.

2. The question of religious belief is mainly one of thinking and ideas. Any question of thinking and understanding can be solved only by methods of persuasion, education and raising consciousness. Prohibition by any form of administrative order or any coercive means is wrong and even harmful.

3. In our country, religious issues are often closely related to nationality issues, and religious policies often have a bearing on nationality policies and relations. On the one hand, we must not confuse nationality issues with religious issues, and on the other hand, we should realize the close relationship between nationalities and religions. Correct implementation of the policy of freedom of religious belief is conducive to enhancing the unity of all our nationalities.

The implementation of the policy of freedom of religious belief does not mean the practice of bourgeois "liberalization." The draft revised constitution stipulates: The state protects legitimate religious activities. No one may use religion to carry out counterrevolutionary activities or activities that disrupt public order, harm the citizens' health or obstruct the state educational system. No religious matters shall be dominated by any foreign country.

The policy to protect the freedom of religious belief does not contradict the prohibition of feudal superstitious activities. Religious activities are organized activities with historical origins. Generally speaking, every religion has its own name, a written system of canons, specific procedures for joining and so forth. Feudal superstitious activities are not religious activities. In the past we banned all reactionary superstitious sects and secret societies and all witches and sorcerers according to law. From now on, none of these activities may be resumed.

CSO: 4005/1183

20TH LECTURE ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW080931 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0215 GMT 7 Aug 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 7 Aug (XINHUA)--Lecture (20) on the draft revised constitution: "The Freedom of Person of Citizens Is Inviolable."

The inviolable freedom of person is one of the most fundamental rights of our country's citizens. Freedom of person means that the person of a citizen and his personal activities are protected by the constitution and laws and must not be willfully restricted, denied or violated by anyone else. It is for this purpose that the draft revised constitution explicitly stipulates that the person of a citizen shall not be illegally arrested, his personal freedom shall not be illegally violated, and so on and so forth.

For every citizen of our country, the right of person is very important because it involves the exercise of such basic rights as the protection of a citizens' personal safety. Only when their freedom of person is protected will it be possible for citizens to engage in normal studies and work and lead a normal life, to participate in administering the affairs of the country under the leadership of the party and the government, and to enjoy democratic and other rights.

How can citizens' freedom of person be protected? The draft revised constitution stipulates: 1) No citizen may be arrested except with the sanction of a people's procuratorate or by the decision of a people's court; 2) Extralegal detention of citizens, or extralegal deprivation or restriction of citizens' freedom of person by other means if prohibited; and 3) Extralegal search of the person of citizens is prohibited. Arrest is a restriction of a citizen's freedom of person, a coercive measure to detain him by a public security or judicial organ in accordance with specified procedures. The detention or arrest of a citizen by any organ, except by a public security or judicial organ, is a violation of his freedom of person and is illegal.

On citizens' right to their homes, the draft revised constitution stipulates: "The homes of citizens of the People's Republic of China are inviolable. Searches of, or intrusions into, citizens' domiciles, in contravention of the law, are prohibited." Citizens' right to their homes is a part of their rights. Thus, this stipulation is of great significance for protecting citizens' rights.

Article 39 of the draft revised constituion provides: "The freedom and privacy of correspondence of citizens of the PRC are protected by the law." Correspondence refers to various forms of normal correspondence, such as letters, telephones and telegrams. Citizens' correspondence involves a wide range of content, such as their personal lives, thoughts, personal contacts and friendly connections. All these are important components of citizens' freedoms and rights. Therefore, this stipulation is also of great significance.

CSO: 4005/1183

PARTY AND STATE

21ST LECTURE ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW090849 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0134 GMT 9 Aug 82

["Lecture (21) on the draft revised constitution: 'The Personal Dignity of Citizens Is Inviolable!"--XINHUA headline]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 9 Aug (XINHUA)--The draft revised constitution stipulates: "The personal dignity of citizens of the People's Republic of China is inviolable. Insult or slander against citizens in any form is prohibited." This stipulation of the draft revised constitution carries important significance for maintaining comradely relations between man and man under the socialist system and for protecting citizens' right of person.

Article 145 of the criminal law enacted in 1979 stipulates: "Whoever seriously insults another person by force of other means, including the use of 'big-character posters' or 'small-character posters,' or fabricates facts to libel him will be sentenced to detention, deprivation of political rights or imprisonment for not more than 3 years." The purpose of the stipulation in the criminal law is to protect the personal dignity of citizens by means of the law.

To protect a citizen's personal dignity from violation is favorable to maintaining the comradely relations between the members of society while engaging in productive social activities. It is also favorable to correctly conduct criticism and self-criticism in social life, in addition to promoting social morality, fostering fine social values and establishing new types of socialist relations among citizens basing on equality, friendship, mutual respect and mutual cooperation. Besides, personal dignity is closely related to national dignity. In our contacts with people of other countries, to protect our personal dignity, in a certain sense, is to protect our national dignity.

CSO: 4005/1183

'XINHUA' LECTURE 22 ON PRC DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW102116 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0048 GMT 10 Aug 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 10 Aug (XINHUA)--XINHUA lecture (22) on the draft revised constitution: "Citizens of the People's Republic of China Have the Right and Obligation To Work and Receive Education."

The right to work means that citizens who are able to work are entitled to work and to be paid according to the amount and quality of work they have done.

In accordance with the stipulations of the draft revised constitution, our country guarantees citizens' right to work mainly in two aspects: 1. The state creates conditions for employment through various channels; and 2. On the basis of increased production, the state gradually improves working conditions, strengthens labor protection and raises remuneration for work. An important aspect in guaranteeing citizens' right to work is to solve the employment problem. Judging from the practical experiences gained in this regard since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, this problem cannot be solved by the state alone; to solve this problem, we must implement the principle of combining employment on the recommendation of state labor departments with employment through collective self-organization and the individual search for jobs.

In view of the fact that our country is economically rather backward and the level of its productive forces is rather low, the draft revised constitution, with respect to working conditions, labor protection and remuneration for work, stipulates that the state shall, "on the basis of increased production, gradually improve working conditions, strengthen labor protection and raise remuneration for work." In addition, it also, provides that "the state provides necessary vocational training to citizens who have not yet been assigned work." These stipulations give profound expression to the superiority of our country's socialist system and form a striking contrast with those of bourgeois constitutions which provide for the right to work but do not guarantee the exercise of this right.

The stipulations of the draft revised constitution on citizens' right and obligation to receive education are extremely important. In accordance with the stipulations of the draft revised constitution, there are four main guarantees

for citizens' right to receive education: 1. The state promotes the planned, socialist development of education, science, public health and sports, culture and art, publishing and distribution of publications, and of the press, television and broadcasting, libraries, museums and cultural centers and other cultural undertakings. 2. The state operates, and encourages nongovernmental bodies to operate, various types of schools in order to wipe out illiteracy, universalize primary education and develop secondary, vocational and higher education. 3. The state increases various types of cultural and educational facilities and promotes political, cultural, scientific, technical and professional education among the workers, peasants and other working people. 4. The state promotes the spoken Han language's wide use throughout the country to facilitate the development of the cultural and educational work.

The hope of the motherland is placed on young people and children who are a vital new force or reserve force in realizing the four modernizations. Hence, the draft revised constitution especially stipulates that "the state promotes the all-round development--moral, intellectual and physcial--of young people and children."

CSO: 4005/1183

PARTY AND STATE

TIANJIN PROFESSOR HAILS CONVOCATION OF PARTY CONGRESS

SK100720 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 1430 GMT 9 Aug 82

[Radio talk by (Wu Daren), professor and vice president of Nankai University: "The Decision To Hold the 12th Party Congress Reflects the Common Desire of All Party Members and the People of Various Nationalities Throughout the Country"--read by announcer]

[Text] After studying the communique of the 7th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, I was deeply inspired. The important resolution adopted at the session to convene the 12th party congress on 1 September totally conforms to the requirements of the party's work and the national program to achieve socialist modernization and reflects the common desire of all party members and the people throughout the country.

Over the past few years, practice has shown that the party's line, principles and policies set forth since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee are correct. Our country has scored marked achievements and made remarkable progress in various fields under the guidance of these lines, principles and policies. The party and the people of various nationalities across the country have sensed that they have a bright future.

There is no doubt that the 12th party congress, which will be held under a new situation, will certainly carry forward the revolutionary cause and forge ahead into the future and make a new breakthrough in achieving socialist modernization. The letters adopted at the session on extending the cordial regards and respect of the party membership to comrades Liu Bocheng and Cai Chang fully demonstrate the respect and concern shown by the CCP Central Committee for elderly revolutionaries and leaders, as well as the love and esteem held by the people across the country. This attaches great significance to education for all party members and the people throughout the country. In effect, these letters also urge us to learn from elderly revolutionaries and to value the fine revolutionary character and their lofty spirit displayed in exerting themselves to the utmost to the party and the people and fighting all their life for the revolutionary cause. I am convinced that all elderly revolutionaries who are unable to work ordinarily due to their age will be greatly comforted by these letters and that as long as they have made contributions to the party and the people and have not given up, all elderly revolutionaries will be respected by the party and the people.

CSO: 4005/1183

END

JPRS 81629

25 August 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 331

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81629

25 August 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 331

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Harbin Paper Comments on International Topics
(HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, various dates) 1

Gulf Cooperation Committee, by Liang Guodong
Vietnamese 'Scheming', by Ma Gongxi
Shortages in Vietnam, by Xia Jun

Recent Changes in Situation in Chad Discussed
(Xu Dewen; RENMIN RIBAO, 11 Jun 82) 5

Current Situation in Iran-Iraq War Discussed
(Yuan Yin; SHIJIE ZHISHI, No 9, 1982) 7

PARTY AND STATE

Political Motives, Results Analyzed
(Xiao Zhe; FENDOU, No 2, 1982) 11

Book Reviewed on Peng Dehuai's Revolutionary Qualities
(Huang Yiyong; HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 6 Jun 82) 15

Greater Use of Chinese-Made Goods Urged
(RENMIN RIBAO, 5 Jun 82) 18

Party Work in Chencun Brigade, Dingxing County Praised
(Zhang Bingzhong, Zhen Dengshan; HEBEI RIBAO, 24 Jun 82) 20

Model Workers Conference Held in Liaoning
(LIAONING RIBAO, 11 Jun 82) 25

Speech by Li Huang
Editorial on Conference

Cadres Urged To Maintain Ideological Purity
(HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 9 Jun 82) 31

Communist Ideological Education, by Yun Tai
Training of Cadres, by Du Chuanyou

Support of Peaceful Unification Attributed to Overseas Chinese
(FUJIAN ZIQOXIANG BAO, Ocr 81) 35

Revolutionary Legacy of Overseas Chinese Glorified
(Chen Ling; FUJIAN QIAOXIANG BAO, 8 Oct 82) 37

Need To Emulate Advanced Collectives, Individuals Emphasized
(Editorial; SHANXI RIBAO, 24 Jun 82) 39

Excellent Experiences in Building Socialist Civilization Praised
(Editorial; SHANXI RIBAO, 25 Jun 82) 41

Attitude of Pride in Being Laggard Criticized
(Han Tianyu; RENMIN RIBAO, 8 Jun 82) 43

People Craving To Go Abroad Criticized
(RENMIN RIBAO, 9 Jun 82) 45

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Methods for Building Up Militia Discussed
(Li Yizhong, Qu Youjin; GUANGZHOU RIBAO, 21 Jun 82) 46

Review of Mao Zedong Thought Encouraged
(Ni Chengfan, Zhou Nanyou; YUNNAN RIBAO, 28 May 82) 48

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Jilin Comment Calls for More Vocational Schools
(Jilin Provincial Service, 17 Jul 82) 50

Briefs
Hunan Troublemakers Punished 51
Kunming Scientists, Technicians Meeting 51
Guizhou Cadres Strengthen Study 52
Guizhou Inspects Plane Passengers 52
Hunan Planned Parenthood Conference 52
Xizang Youth Summer Camp 52

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HARBIN PAPER COMMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL TOPICS

Gulf Cooperation Committee

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Liang Guodong [2733 0948 2767]: "The Formation of the Gulf Cooperation Committee and Its Strategy"]

[Text] The Gulf region is attracting worldwide attention both as an important strategic region bridging the European, Asian and African Continents and for its rich oil resources. The Gulf states, excluding the warring Iraq and Iran, today produce 60 percent of the total oil production of the OPEC countries. Most of the Western countries as well as Japan and the United States rely on oil imports from the Gulf states. The Gulf region, therefore, has always been a focal point of strategic contention between the superpowers and hegemonists.

The aggressive threat of the Soviet Union, which invaded Afghanistan and stands poised to force its way south into the Gulf region and the Indian Ocean, causes the Gulf states to fear superpower intervention, bringing disaster on the Gulf states. Faced with this situation, the Gulf states realize that unless they band together, they cannot safeguard their security, and the superpowers may well take advantage of the intensifying war between Iraq and Iran to enter the region.

Therefore, right after the Islamic summit meeting, when the Iranian-Iraqi war reached its fifth month, six Gulf states--Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman held a meeting of foreign secretaries (ministers) in Riyadh and on 4 February 1981 decided to form a Gulf Cooperation Committee. On 25 May, the six members of the Gulf Cooperation Committee held their first summit meeting in Abu Dhabi, capital of the United Arab Emirates, adopted the statutes of the committee, and formally announced the formation of the Gulf Cooperation Committee, the first regional organization of the Gulf region.

Unity and strength are the starting point of the common strategy of the six Gulf states. On the issue of regional security for the Gulf, the six nations have repeatedly declared their opposition to all outside intervention and all foreign military presence in the Gulf region. They believe that "it is the

"responsibility of the Gulf states to safeguard the security of the Gulf region" and have decided they will not rely on any superpower but on their own unity and strength.

The Gulf states are opposed to both Soviet military threats and the U.S. policy of siding with Israel in the Israeli-Arab conflict. They are opposed to the United States stationing rapid deployment forces and establishing military bases in the Gulf region. They only want to buy weapons from the United States; they do not want a U.S. military presence. They trade with the United States and Western Europe primarily to exchange oil for industrial goods and weapons with which to develop the economies and safeguard regional security.

The Gulf Cooperation Committee regards Arab unity as the basis of the six nations' common strategy. These six Gulf states are recognized as moderate Arab countries. They have many times actively mediated differences and disputes among Arab countries, serving as a link in Arab unity. They regard the Palestinian cause as an Arab national cause, and firmly support the struggle of the Palestinian people to restore their legal rights and establish an independent country.

Developing friendly cooperation with other Third World countries is another important component of the common strategy of the six Gulf states. They actively support the North-South dialogue. At the Cancun North-South Conference, Saudi Arabia actively supported the establishment of a new international economic order, expressing the stand of the Third World countries. Most of the six Gulf states have been using their surplus oil dollars to invest in cooperative projects with Asian and African developing countries or have extended low-interest or interest-free loans and financial assistance to Asian and African countries.

Vietnamese 'Scheming'

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Ma Gongxi [7456 1362 3305]: "Faring Worse and Worse for All Their Scheming"]

[Text] Authorities in Hanoi these days are publicizing their sincerity regarding "peace" by putting on a smiling face, folding their hands and bowing low wherever they go. They have many times extended the olive branch to the ASEAN countries, "sincerely" expressing their wish to "join ASEAN if ASEAN agrees."

Ha! Hasn't Vietnam been accusing ASEAN of being a "tool of neocolonialism"? Why has it suddenly turned around and regarded it an honor to join ASEAN and tried so hard to get in? The abnormal behavior cannot but arouse suspicion.

Thanks are due to Le May, head of the Information Department in the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry, because he came out with some high-sounding remarks which dispelled the clouds of suspicion. Asked by a Japanese reporter why Vietnam

had sent troops to invade Kampuchea when Vietnam's own economy was in such bad shape, he replied: "We did it, first, because the Heng Samrin regime requested it, and, second, to safeguard our own motherland," and "it was necessary."

Wonderful! Vietnam sent 200,000 troops to kill and plunder the Kampuchean people because "it was necessary" for Vietnam to "defend Vietnam." The spokesman of the Hanoi regime thought these words could cover up Vietnam's crimes of aggression. but they only lead people to conclude that if Vietnam regards it as "necessary" to send troops into Thailand or attack the other members of ASEAN, it will feel free to do so.

Judging a country is like judging a person: by looking at its past you can tell its present; by looking at its past and present you can tell its future. Vietnam has given an ugly enough performance on the international political stage in recent years. This regional despot which harbors murderous intentions but uses honeyed words will no longer find it easy to cheat its way around with such signboards as "peace" and "sincerity." Recently the spokesman of the Thai Foreign Ministry pointed out bluntly that Vietnam's announcement about joining ASEAN "is designed more for publicity purposes." Of course, after hearing the witty remarks of the head of the Information Department of Vietnam's Foreign Ministry, people have very likely gained a new understanding of their tricks.

Shortages in Vietnam

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Xia Jun [1115 8823]: "Vietnamese Humor"]

[Text] Maybe because the word "humor" in Chinese is transliterated from the English word "humor," some people thought only people in the West have a sense of humor and that people in the East do not. This is not true. We don't have to go far to look for proof--the Vietnamese, for example, are quite humorous.

On some walls in Hanoi there used to be written these famous words of President Ho Chi Minh's: "There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom." But later someone erased the latter part of the phrase, leaving only "There is nothing." A truly ingenious stroke of humor! Since real "independence" and "freedom" no longer exist in Vietnam, these words should certainly be erased. And the other part of the phrase, "There is nothing," left standing so glaringly, indeed gives one much food for thought.

It has been 7 years since the entire country was liberated, but the people's lives are more impoverished and more unbearable today than in the days under U.S. bombing. Even Le Duan admits that "the laboring people are living in dire hardship." Practically "there is nothing" left on the market in Vietnam; even small items like matches are snapped up as soon as they appear on the counters. Are the Vietnamese hoarding matches? No. The daily wage of an ordinary worker is only enough to buy four or five boxes of matches. "There is

"nothing"--a truncated yet complete phrase--is a scathing exposure of the ills of the Vietnamese economy, leaving no room for the Vietnamese authorities to save face, a vivid example of the "dark humor" of the people of the East.

The Vietnamese sense of humor is not at all inferior to the Western sense of humor. While Western humor may be wittier, Vietnamese humor is more profound, more thought-provoking. It is mixed with a great deal of dissatisfaction, a touch of silent anger, a shade of revolt. It is laughter mixed with tears, even blood.

One drop of water can reveal the entire universe. Can we not, through Vietnamese humor, get a glimpse of Vietnamese politics and economy and the whole society?

9924
CSO: 4005/949

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

RECENT CHANGES IN SITUATION IN CHAD DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jun 82 p 7

[Article by Xu Dewen [1776 1795 2429]: "Drastic Changes in the Current Situation in Chad"]

[Text] The unstable situation in Chad has taken a new turn. The northern armed units led by former Defense Minister Habre seized the capital N'Djamena on 7 June and the head of the provisional government, Goukoumi, fled the country. The new Chad government which had just been set up on 2 June did not even have time to issue its administrative program before it was out of power. People are watching closely the political situation in Chad to see how it develops.

Since Chad became independent in 1960, due to complexities of the contradictions between tribal, religious and regional factions, there has been constant civil war and the political situation has never stabilized.

After Chad became independent, Tombalbaye, who became president, implemented oppressive policies towards the northern tribes which provoked an armed insurrection and civil war has not stopped since then. In April 1975 there was a military coup in N'Djamena and Tombalbaye's government was overthrown. Malloum, commander of the armed forces took over the government. Then Malloum reached an agreement with Hambre, the leader of the northern armed forces and formed a unified nationalities provisional government. Soon, a conflict developed between Malloum and Habre. Through the mediation of the Organization of African Unity and neighboring countries, 11 factions in Chad signed an agreement in Lagos, Nigeria in August, 1979, calling for an immediate cease-fire between both sides setting up a unified nationalities transitional government made up of the factions. On 10 November 1979, the unified nationalities government of Chad was formally established with Goukouni as president and Habre as Minister for National Defense, but the contradictions between the factions still had not been eliminated. Soon a large scale conflict developed between the two most powerful factions in the government, the people's armed forces headed by Goukouni and the northern armed forces headed by Habre, so that once again the country sank into warfare. In the fall of 1980, Goukouni asked Libya for help and a large group of Libyan troops entered Chad, Habre's forces fled the capital and continued the fighting in the mountainous region in the east. Early last year, Libya

and Goukouni announced the merger of the two countries which further confused the situation in Chad.

The opposition of African nations towards Libya's entry into the civil war in Chad is very fierce. In June of last year the 18th summit of OAU heads of government called on foreign troops to quit Chad and decided to send a Pan-African Peace Keeping Force to garrison Chad and maintain the defense and security. Soon, Libyan troops left and a pan-African peace-keeping force organized from 6 African countries garrisoned Chad. However, Goukouni asked that the peacekeeping force help him get rid of Habre's forces and encountered the refusal of the OAU. The OAU felt that the struggle between Goukouni and Habre was an internal Chad matter and that the peacekeeping force was mainly to guard against intervention from outside and maintain absolute neutrality with regard to matters internal to Chad. Goukouni was very dissatisfied with this and again asked Libyan troops to return to Chad, but he met with refusal from the Libyans.

To seek a way to reach a political solution acceptable to all factions in Chad and to eliminate foreign intervention in Chad, in February of this year, the Standing Committee of Heads of Government of the OAU convened a meeting in Nairobi to discuss the Chad question. The meeting passed a resolution to demand that the unified nationalities provisional government hold talks with Habre, the leader of the northern armed forces before 30 June and that national legislative and presidential elections be held, new governmental organs be established and restated that the pan-African peacekeeping force was not to be partial to any particular faction in Chad. However, Goukouni and his people refused to talk with Habre, but Habre, who had superiority on the battlefield, indicated that he was willing to accept the resolution of the OAU and was willing to hold peace talks with Goukouni and the other factions to resolve the Chad question.

In the last two months, the northern armed forces commanded by Habre have taken many areas and towns in succession. In mid-May, after discussion of Goukouni and Vice President Qiamuge [0595 4476 2706] and the factions, a National Affairs Committee headed by Qiamuge was set up and then, on 2 June the new government was organized. At the time, according to reports, establishing a new government could eliminate all obstacles to carrying out the OAU resolution. Yet, before the new government had a chance to get to work, there was a drastic change in the battlefield situation.

On 8 June, Moi, President of Kenya and presiding chairman of the OAU issued a statement on the situation in Chad, calling on all factions in Chad to avoid further bloodshed and avoid military resistance to the peacekeeping force.

It is still not clear what will happen in the situation in Chad. However, the countries of central Africa and the people of Chad yearn for peace and stability and people hope that the efforts of the OAU and the people of Chad will lead to an early achievement of peace and unity for Chad.

8226
CSO: 4005/952

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CURRENT SITUATION IN IRAN-IRAQ WAR DISCUSSED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 9, 1982 pp 4-5

[Article by Yuan Yin [5373 0995]: "New Situation in the War Between Iran and Iraq"]

[Text] In late March, Iran transferred a large number of troops to the central stretch of the front in the Iran-Iraq war, in the area north of Bositan [0590 2448 0952] and west of Dizful and Shushi [5289 0087] and in a ten-day period launched repeated attacks against Iraqi forces. People think this is the fiercest engagement since the Iran-Iraq War began. According to Iranian announcements, 25,000 Iraqi soldiers were killed or wounded, 15,000 were taken prisoner and 2,000 sq km of territory were regained and the front was pushed westward 40-50 km, breaking contact between Iraqi troops on the northern and southern sections of the front. Iraq also announced that 19,000 Iranian soldiers were killed and a large number captured. On 29 March, the commander-in-chief of the Iraqi armed forces decided to pull back the front and redeploy their troops "to ensure a better military situation."

The Iran-Iraq War has been going on for 19 months. The battlefield situation has changed several times. In the early stages of the war Iraqi troops attacked all along the front and quickly occupied a large amount of land from 10-90 km deep from Xilinbao [1598 2651 1027] in the north to Abadan in the south. Iranian troops panicked and were forced to retreat and held the important bases Sayipulezhahabu [5646, 0122 2528 0519A 2089 0761 0592], Dizful, Susangird and Abadan from north to south. Soon the Iraqi army met resistance and shifted from frontal assault to attacks on key points. After this the war became stalemated. Between May and November last year, Iran launched many local counterattacks and broke out of the 3-sided encirclement of Abadan and drove a wedge between Iraqi forces north and south of Susangird. A new situation began to appear on the battlefield. In this year's March engagement, the situation changed greatly. Some foreign military observers think that the Iraqi troops are now in a rather passive position in terms of strategic position and that the Iranians can choose favorable points for attack and have the initiative.

Be that as it may, according to foreign military observers' analyses, in terms of the overall situation, it cannot yet be said that the battle

situation has changed fundamentally. The actual strength of both sides is about the same. And both sides have both favorable and unfavorable conditions.

In terms of troop strength, Iran is stronger than Iraq. Iran has 350,000 men while Iraq has only 250,000. Iran's population is larger and the soldiers are well trained, and Iraq's manpower resources are smaller. However, Iran's forces have gone through several purges and there is a shortage of experienced commanders and technicians and there are difficulties with replenishment of spare parts and ammunition. In addition, according to foreign dispatches, Iran is not Iraq's equal in armor, artillery or fighter planes.

In terms of morale, it is generally observed, that Iran's is higher than Iraq's. It is felt that one factor is that the war is taking place on Iranian territory. The Iranians claim that "This war is to resist the invaders." With the addition of the religious sentiment of the Islamic Revolution, clearly "morale is high." On the Iraqi side, according to foreign dispatches, war-weariness has increased due to the fact that the soldiers are tired by the long campaign. Furthermore, many of the soldiers are Shiite Moslems but many of the officers are Sunnite Moslems and the divergences between the sects has created contradictions between the officers and men and had an impact on battle strength. International opinion thinks that morale also played a part in this engagement.

In terms of the economy, Iraq hold the advantage. Before the war it had US$35 billion in foreign exchange reserves, and even though oil facilities were destroyed after the war broke out, two oil pipelines ship about 13 million barrels a day for an annual income of approximately US$10 billion. Its foreign aid is also greater. Since the beginning of the war the Saudis and other Gulf countries have provided US$14-20 billion in aid and loans. Although the war has been enormously expensive, it still has US$16 billion in reserves and with the addition of the foreign assistance, it has all together over US$30 billion in foreign exchange. Economic construction is basically going on as usual. Iran's foreign exchange reserves were US$12 billion in 1979 and this has already dropped to US$500-600 million. Petroleum exports are about 10 million barrels a day. Other industrial sectors are operating under capacity, and they rely on imports for food, so the economy is in difficulty.

In the general view, Iran and Iraq have the strength to go on fighting. Though there have been changes in the battlefield situation, Iraq still occupies several thousand sq km of territory. It is still difficult to say who will gain the upper hand. But if the fighting continues, it is certain that both sides will lose.

It seems that war has its difficulties, and peace has its, too.

In the past year and more, the UN, the nonaligned nations and the Islamic nations have many times sent representatives hurrying to mediate between Baghdad and Teheran but this has not yet been successful because the differences between the two sides are great. Iran insists on three conditions:

unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi troops, determining who is the aggressor, and compensation by the aggressor for losses. Unless she suffers a defeat, Iraq will not accept all these conditions. Iraq demands a ceasefire, then negotiations before withdrawal of troops. Iraq hopes that this September's meeting of the heads of state of the nonaligned nations in Baghdad will not be disturbed and in consideration of the domestic and foreign situation has expressed a willingness to an early ceasefire. According to disclosures by special UN envoy Paermei [1584 1422 2734] and reports in the English DAILY POST Iraq is willing to withdraw troops by sections and to compensate Iran for losses but demands only that Iran agree to talks on the question of sovereign rights of the Shatt al Arab channel after the troops have been withdrawn. The question of who should bear responsibility for the war can be investigated by a committee. Saddam said recently that if Iran would guarantee a conclusion to the war, Iraq was ready to withdraw its troops immediately. Iran feels that the question of the Shatt al Arab channels is a matter which was resolved by the Aerjier [7093 1422 0644 1422] Accord in 1975 and that there is nothing to talk about. If they agree to the talks then it is no different than admitting defeat in the war. According to reports, because of the recent gains in the counterattack, "Iran is ignoring even more, calls for peace and making up."

Since the two sides cannot make peace but can continue to fight, it seems that the situation in fugure will be one of fighting while delaying in hopes of a change. Both sides hope that there will be a change in their opponent's political situation. How the war will end does not depend entirely on the battlefield situation, but probably to a significant degree must depend on developments in the political situation in each country.

The most recent changes in the Iran-Iraq War have had a not to be ignored influence on the Middle East situation and on the struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union in this region.

Iran's President Khameni feels that Iran's "new victory" in the war is advantageous for exporting the Islamic Revolution and said "after the war the Islamic Revolution will begin to spread throughout this area." The Gulf states of Jordan, North Yemen, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have long been worried of Iran holding sway in the Gulf and hope that Iran will be weakened in the war and thus are supporting Iraq. Some have even sent volunteer forces to join in the fighting. The day after Iraqi troops retreated Jordan's King Hussein hurried to Baghdad to consult; the King of Saudi Arabia telephoned Saddam and then sent his Minister of Defense to visit Iraq; North Yemen's special envoy also visited Iraq; the small countries of the Gulf also generally all strengthened their defense measures. Egypt is also worried that domestic Moslem conservative forces will intensify their activity because of this. Egypt's Defense Minister said "If Iraq's territorial integrity and safety is in jeopardy." Egypt will take Iraq's side and intervene. Syria has supported Iran all along. On 8 April it announced that it was closing its pipeline and border with Iraq. People are concerned that if Syrian-Iraqi relations further deteriorate a front and rear attack on Iraq will take shape and at such time Jordan may enter the Iraqi-Syrian conflict. This will "add new unrest to the already confused Middle East."

The United States and the Soviet Union are watching the changes in the situation of the Iran-Iraq War. The United States ic concerned that if Iran wins a decisive victory the situation in the Persian Gulf will become more unstable. If more Arab countries enter the conflict the Iran-Iraq War will become an international conflict and this will be favorable for expansion and infiltration by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has played a double game through with regard to the Iran-Iraq War so that the war will continue and it can attempt to achieve its aim to make both Iran and Iraq look to it for help. According to reports, in the last six months the Soviet Union has increased its "aid" to Iran. The Soviet Union has also provided weapons and trained personnel in the use of Soviet weapons to Iran through Libya and Syria.

With the changes in the situation in the Iran-Iraq War, it will be worth watching closely the actions of the United States and the Soviet Union in this area.

8226
CSO: 4005/962

PARTY AND STATE

POLITICAL MOTIVES, RESULTS ANALYZED

Harbin FENDOU [STRUGGLE] in Chinese No 2, 1982 pp 20-21

[Article by Xiao Zhe [5135 0772]: "The Unity of Motives and Results Is Not a Law But a Demand"]

[Text] In the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," when it comes to say that the chief responsibility for the error of the "Great Cultural Revolution" lies with Comrade Mao Zedong, it points out: "The errors made by Comrade Mao Zedong were, after all, the errors of a great proletarian revolutionary." This is a very important inference which is absolutely correct. It is of two different meanings: First, it seems to be something like an overall appraisal. Comrade Mao Zedong was a great proletarian revolutionary. It is true that he made gross mistakes in his later years, but his merits are primary and his errors secondary. Second, as far as Comrade Mao Zedong's errors themselves are concerned, we can say that he was good in his motives, but not in the results of practice. Therefore, it is necessary for us to thrash out the question of the relationship between motives and results so that we can have a thorough understanding of this inference.

On the question of the relationship between motives and results, some of our comrades have for many years misunderstood the meaning of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" (hereafter referred to as the "Talks"). They simply interpret the statement "the criterion for judging subjective intention or motive is social practice and its result" which Comrade Mao Zedong delivered at the Forum as meaning that good results come from good motives and bad motives bring about bad results. They assume that "the theory of unity of motives and results of dialectical materialism" is a law. Bearing this erroneous understanding in mind, some comrades feel that it is hard to understand the inference in the "Resolution" mentioned above: Since the practical results of the "Great Cultural Revolution" were as bad as that, how can we say that the motive for initiating the "Great Cultural Revolution" was good?

In fact, such a comprehension is a complete misunderstanding of the "Talks." The unity of motives and results mentioned therein was not put forward as a law, but merely a demand which we, the dialectical materialists, the communists and the revolutionary people, set on ourselves.

Why is it said that the unity of motives and results is not a law?

It is because there is no absolute inexorable inner link between motives and results. In social life, there are cases where motives and results are identical, but more often there are situations where they deviate. There are motives for thinking of doing a good job, but the results of practice are not as good as desired. Instances like this are extremely common. The following are some casual examples:

Thousands upon thousands of wars have taken place since the beginning of human history. Judging the subjective desires of the two belligerent parties, both of them wanted to be the winner. However, except for a few cases where the two belligerent parties broke even, one of the parties had to suffer a defeat. Can we infer from here that the original motives of those who were defeated were thoughts of being defeated? Obviously we cannot.

All parents love their children and expect them to grow up and become mature. However, the result of "taking good care of children" by some parents is nothing but cultivating bad habits of their children and, in some cases, may even lead their children to the road of degeneration and crime in later days. Can we make a conclusion on these grounds that the original motives of these parents were set to ruin their children? Obviously, we also cannot.

Speaking of our work, it is not unusual to see that we at first intended to do a good job for the masses, but the outcome of practice turned out to be not as good as expected, even a mess and harmful to the interests of the masses.

With regard to this situation, Engels said: "Men's wishes are seldom fulfilled as expected," and "the results of many individual wishes of the past were in most cases totally different from what had been expected and often turned out to be the exact opposite. Therefore, their motives were, in the same way, only subordinate to the results as a whole." ("Feuerbach and Origin of German Philosophy")

Why are motives and results sometimes not identical? The reason is not difficult to understand. It is because motives are men's subjective wishes initiating people to engage in certain activities. However, the development of things has its own law which is innate in things themselves and independent of men's will. Therefore, only at the time when plans and programs motivated by people are implemented in accordance with the law of the development of things can they succeed in practice and obtain the desired results. On the other hand, if the implementation of plans and programs does not conform to the objective law, they would not be able to achieve their goals and motives, and results will thus deviate.

From the above-mentioned, we can understand that there is really no absolute inexorable inner linke between motives and results. Therefore, we must not regard the wording of the "theory of unity of motives and results of dialectical materialism" as a law nor judge the goodness of a motive only on the basis of the result of practice. Of course, motives are something in men's minds and belong to the subjective realm. However, all subjective things must be subject to the test of

practice. It is impossible to judge motives only in the light of one's declaration, but his activities must also be observed. We must listen to his words and watch his deeds. Yet, we must notice that there is a difference here: Judging whether a motive is good and honest is not completely identical with judging the correctness of an understanding. The former belongs to the realm of ethics, and the latter belongs to that of epistemology. The result of practice is the only criterion for testing the correctness of plans and programs for realizing motives. However, it is not possible to judge the goodness of one's motive only on the basis of one or several practices--one's activities as a whole must be observed. In not doing so but judging a motive merely on the basis of the result of one practice, it is in fact equivalent to denying motives. This is just the viewpoint of the mechanical materialists which Comrade Mao Zedong criticized in his "Talks." This viewpoint was the theoretical basis of inflating class struggles in the past. It was under the guidance of this viewpoint that many comrades, with the best of intentions, made mistakes or wrong statements and were criticized and handled as if they were evildoers. This led to the confusing of the people and the enemy and thereby brought catastrophe to us.

The words "we are the theorists of the unity of dialectical materialist motives and results" which Comrade Mao Zedong stated in his "Talks" can only be interpreted as demands set on ourselves. It is understandable so long as we can conscientiously grasp its essence. We, the dialectical materialists, not only observe motives, but attach particular importance to results. When we intend to do anything, we must at first have a good motive and a correct starting point. This is very important. However, we must not remain at this point, for results still have to be taken into account. This is even more important. We must not stress motives and disregard results. Ill motives, of course, will bring about harmful results. However, if motives are good but results are harmful, bringing about disaster but not well being to the people, they are worthless to the people no matter how good the motives are. We, the communists, by taking the interests of the people as our prime purpose, must integrate motives with results.

Integrating motives with results is a high demand. In order to achieve this goal, not only should we have a high degree of understanding of party spirit, but we also must have a correct line of thinking as well. We must proceed from reality, seek truth from facts and combine theory with practice in formulating our plans and programs. In the course of implementing these plans and programs, necessary amendments and supplements must be made in accordance with the actual conditions in order to perfect them. To set this demand on oneself and to make an effort to implement it is exactly the manifestation of adhering to the Marxist principle of combining revolutionary spirit with scientific methodology. It also demonstrates why we, the communists, are superior to the revolutionaries, statesmen and artists of other classes in history.

Due to various subjective and objective reasons, a great revolutionary may also commit gross mistakes and thereby cause a historical tragedy. Things like this are not seldom seen in history--even a great proletarian revolutionary was unable to avoid them. Immediately after it is pointed out in the "Resolution" that the errors

committed by Comrade Mao Zedong were the errors of a great proletarian revolutionary, it follows by pointing out that he "paid constant attention to overcoming shortcomings in the life of the party and state," and that "while making serious mistakes, he repeatedly urged the whole party to study the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin conscientiously and imagined that his theory and practice were Marxist and that they were essential for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat." All of these have proved that the motives of this old granddad were good and proceeded from the interests of the people. The very harmful social results were only due to the errors made in subjective understanding. Conscientiously summing up the profound lesson left to us by history will enable us to become more mature so that we can overcome any subjectivism and combine motives with results in order to do a better job in implementing the modernization construction.

9560
CSO: 4005/710

PARTY AND STATE

BOOK REVIEWED ON PENG DEHUAI'S REVOLUTIONARY QUALITIES

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jun 82 p 3

[Book review by Huang Yiyong [7806 4135 1661]: "The True Nature of a Proletarian Revolutionary--An Appreciation of 'A Self-Account of Peng Dehuai'"]

[Text] Many fine revolutionaries memoirs have been published since the founding of the People's Republic, but rarely has there been an account of one's life that is done as simply and sincerely and in such a deeply moving was as "A Self-Account of Peng Dehuai." This is a unique revolutionary memoir which the editors compiled from the autobiographical materials Peng Dehuai wrote during the long period when he was being deeply wronged, "investigated as a special case," cruelly persecuted, and deprived of personal income. And yet, the book is filled with deep love for the party, the people and the country, a boundless passion for the revolutionary cause and communist ideals, fully revealing the true nature of a proletarian revolutionary. I believe that we should not only preserve it as valuable revolutionary history but should read it as a textbook on life. Its wealth of revolutionary content cannot all be set forth in this short piece. I will only discuss briefly my appreciation of Comrade Peng Dehuai's fine qualities as revealed in the memoir.

First, a revolutionary spirit that ever forges ahead. Traveling on the rough, tortuous road of the revolution, Comrade Peng Dehuai rose from an unknown soldier to become a general and a marshal commanding tens of thousands of troops in the revolutionary ranks. In times of success, he was never arrogant, never content with temporary ease and comfort, and never rested on his record of merits. In times of adversity, he was never pessimistic, never tried to take the easy way out, never cringed, and never stooped to compromise. His consideration from first to last was the people's interests and not personal fortune or misfortune, personal safety or danger. He was not bowed by hardship and difficulty, or scared by raging gunfire. He could not be bought by high posts and handsome salaries or bowed by ruthless persecution. He roared on along the revolutionary track like a locomotive. This spirit of a true man, uncorrupted by wealth and high ranks, unmoved by poverty and lowliness, unsubdued by force, fully expressed the ever forward-moving revolutionary spirit of an outstanding proletarian revolutionary. The source of this spirit was a fervent dedication to the people's revolutionary cause and communist ideals. Nor was this a spontaneous and inborn spirit. In his

"Self-Account," Comrade Peng Dehuai spoke feelingly of the enlightening education he received from Comrade Duan Dechang, who recommended him for party membership, about how Comrade Mao Zedong lent him Marxist-Leninist books to read and helped him understand and apply revolutionary theories. He was able to persist in the correct political direction at crucial moments precisely because he combined the study of Marxism-Leninism with revolutionary practice and never ceased improving his theoretical understanding.

Second, a class feeling of clear-cut love and hate. Born to a poor family, Comrade Peng Dehuai spent his childhood and young adult days in cold and hunger, as a buffalo boy, a child laborer, and a dike worker, ruthlessly exploited by rich peasants and capitalists. The experience instilled in him a simple class feeling. As a low-ranking officer in the Hunan army, out of a clear-cut class love and hate, he secretly ordered one of his men to execute a despotic landlord who savagely oppressed the people, ridding the people of an evil. Later he came to understand that "killing one or two persons was not of much help in solving the problem." He never resorted to assassination again. But his class feeling of clear-cut love and hate ran through his whole life.

He was stern as steel toward the enemy and all reactionaries, always giving tit for tat. He had great love for the people, never forgetting to work in their interest. Providing political education to the rank and file in the army in the early days, he put forth the slogan: "We eat what the peasants grow and wear what the workers make. The workers and peasants provide us with food and clothing, so we must serve the workers and peasants." During the Great Leap Forward, out of deep concern for the people's suffering, he criticized the tendencies of "boasting" and "prematurely calling for communism." Comrade Peng Dehuai showed even greater love and care for his comrades and comrades-in-arms, closely linking himself with their fate. He was magnanimous and understanding even when unjustly accused and injured. A vivid example is his attitude toward Comrade Mao Zedong. As the resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee pointed out, during the latter part of the Lushan meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong launched an incorrect criticism and repudiation of Comrade Peng Dehuai, and at the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee, he initiated an erroneous resolution concerning "the antiparty clique of Peng Dehuai, Huang Kecheng, Zhang Wentian and Zhou Xiaozhou." As a result, for a long time Peng suffered injustice, even ruthless persectuion, under such labels as "antiparty" and "Right opportunist." In his 1962 "80,000-word letter," and materials written later, Comrade Peng Dehuai appealed his case, but he harbored no grudge against Comrade Mao Zedong and had only love and esteem for him. He fully affirmed Comrade Mao Zedong's singular contribution to the Chinese revolution. Such largeness of mind and noble sentiment is indeed most commendable.

Fifth [as published], a scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts. In his "Self-Account," Comrade Peng Dehuai persists in a viewpoint of "one divides into two," discussing both achievements and shortcomings, neither exaggerating nor belittling, not ignoring minor aspects while stressing the mainstream, neither boasting about himself nor underestimating his own

capabilities. For example, when summing up the experience of the "campaign of the 100 regiments," he points out that the campaign was a great victory which annihilated and disintegrated large numbers of Japanese and puppet troops, disrupted enemy transport and communications, destroyed many enemy and puppet forts in communist-held bases, recaptured many county towns, and captured huge quantities of materiel, thereby greatly boosting the reputation of the communist-led anti-Japanese army, further inspring the people's confidence in final victory, striking blows at the Japanese invaders' scheme to lure their opponents into surrender and at the capitulationists' rumor-mongering and vilification of the Communist Party and the Eighth Route Army.... While fully affirming the achievements of the campaign, Comrade Peng Dehuai also points out two important mistakes in the campaign--a wrong estimate of the direction of attack of the Japanese troops and some recklessness in the latter part of the campaign--and assumed leadership responsibility for the negative effects resulting from the mistakes.

Comrade Peng Dehuai's scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts with regard to both achievements and mistakes shows not only a communist's high sense of responsibility toward the party and the revolutionary cause, but also fully shows the proletarian revolutionary's spirit of persisting in truth, correcting mistakes, being open and aboveboard, completely selfless and impartial.

We will always remember and learn from Comrade Peng Dehuai, not only because he rendered meritorious service to our party, state and army, but also because he was a model in upholding the four basic principles, a great fighter who gave his all until his dying day.

We will always remember and learn from Comrade Peng Dehuai not because he was a saintly "perfect person" but because he was "a noble person, a pure person, a moral person, a person free of vulgar tastes, a person who was of value to the people"!

9924
CSO: 4005/951

PARTY AND STATE

GREATER USE OF CHINESE-MADE GOODS URGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jun 82 p 5

[Reader's Forum: Article by Ding Fucun [0002 4395 2625] of the Political Department of the Wuhan Air Force: "Use More Chinese Goods"]

[Text] A recent newspaper item reports that in a deal closed in Beijing on high-pressure polyethylene, the importer was a Chinese enterprise, the exporter was also a Chinese enterprise, and a foreign firm acted as an agent for this transaction and reaped a profit without lifting a finger. The report gives much food for thought.

To speed up the progress of the four modernizations program, it is necessary to import needed new technologies, new equipment, and a certain amount of consumer goods in order to be able to learn from the strong points of others to make up for our own shortcomings. But in this process, certain weak-minded people let their blind worship of things foreign get the better of them. They effectively helped dump foreign goods in China. They put up big advertisements for foreign firms, and import a great deal of goods which China can produce but which are slow-selling abroad. Some people believe that anything foreign is good, making no distinctions whatsoever. They worship foreign goods, scramble for imported goods, go crazy at the sight of foreign goods, pride themselves on possessing foreign goods, and, to get hold of foreign goods, would sacrifice national and personal dignity, caring nothing about national pride or dignity.

For Chinese to dispise Chinese goods is to destroy our own morale and boost other people's arrogance. It pollutes and poisons the Chinese national spirit. Lu Xun once criticized sharply the blind worship of everything foreign of a certain person who said that "even the moon is fuller abroad." These days this type of thinking is again rearing its head. We should give it full attention. To say that our economy is lagging behind others does not mean that everything in our country is backward. There are plenty of Chinese-made goods that are high in quality and low in price. To say that some foreign products are advanced does not mean that everything abroad is advanced. Witness this figure from a store in Shenyang: Only 1.6 percent of the 500 Shanghai-made TV sets sold by the store were returned for repairs, a rate much lower than is the case with imported TV sets. There are many similar examples.

In the history of the Chinese nation, there were many proud and noble-minded people who loved their country, who were unbowed by poverty, who preferred native things to foreign things. In the ranks of the proletarian revolutionaries, it is a proud tradition to work hard, live plainly, and use more Chinese-made products. Our esteemed and beloved Premier Zhou Enlai wore a Chinese-made wristwatch all his life. Martyr Fang Zhimin, who lived frugally and simply all his life, said that for the success of the party's cause, he would rather swallow coarse grain husks and plant roots than eat a sumptuous Western meal. We should carry forward this patriotic spirit and the spirit of hard work and arduous struggle. We should put national interest first, regard Chinese-made goods correctly, and use more of them.

9924
CSO: 4005/949

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY WORK IN CHENCUN BRIGADE, DINGXING COUNTY PRAISED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Zhang Bingzhong [1728 0014 0022] and Zhen Dengshan [3914 4098 1472]: "'Because We Are All of the Party'--The Achievements of the Party Branch of the Chencun Brigade of Dingxing County, Uniting as One for the Good of the People"]

[Text] Every Communist Party member and party cadre must remember at all times the slogan "we are all of the party." Being of the party, we must uphold party character and party principles, correct the party style and wholeheartedly work for the glory of the party and for the good of the people. The "members" of the party branch of the Chencun Brigade of Dingxing County are doing just this.

"Being of the Party, We Must Make Concerted Efforts To Unify"

There are five members of the party branch of the Chencun Brigade. For several years now they have cherished unity as one loves and protects one's eyes. Whenever they find themselves at odds, and it is easy for contradictions to arise, whenever any branch member criticize the party branch and it would be easy to raise mutual complaints, the "members" of the party branch will always sit down together, study the sections of the "party constitution" and the "Guiding Principles" that deal with strengthening party unity. They will discuss the importance of unity and the harm of not being well unified from the perspective of the four modernizations, examine the factors causing disunity and solve those problems which create it as they arise.

In order to strengthen unity, the "members" of the party branch, in their work, seriously avoid "one person laying down the law" and instead uphold collective leadership; do not make the mistake of liberalism, but uphold the face to face exchange of opinions; and do not distinguish those on the inside from those on the outside, but uphold mutual aid and support in work. Liu Zhendong [0491 2182 2639], the secretary of the party branch, is very cognizant of respecting the collective leadership of the party branch committee--when they research problems, he dares to uphold correct viewpoints, but is also courageous in abandoning his own mistaken ideas. He seriously listens to the opinions of all party branch members and allows everyone to have his full say. Last year after the summer harvest, in discussing what sort of system of production responsibility to implement, Liu Zhendong felt that a system of complete job responsibility [responsibility for a task until it is completed] was best. The majority

of branch members agreed with him while a minority held a different opinion. In this situation, the majority suggested that they: "Decide between the two views by a show of hands." Liu Zhendong said: "Whichever form can better mobilize the initiative of the masses should be implemented. Let's hear waht the masses have to say, then decide!" They went among the masses and listened extensively to their ideas, and held several mass meetings, brigade cadres' conferences. At the end, based on the majority's opinion, the party branch decided to implement a [ji [0415]] unified responsibility system that links planned output with remuneration. Liu Zhendong gladly abandoned his idea and went along with the resolution of the party branch. He and the others worked together in researching [ji [0415]] unified concrete measures to see that the systems of responsibility are continually improved. The members of the party branch have clearly delineated jobs, but divided labor does not mean a divided family, and they support one another. During spring planting of this year, Brigade Chief Liu Chunsheng [0491 2504 3932] who was given responsibility for production was extremely pressed in his work, having to handle both grain irrigation and preparation for planning and sowing the cottonfields. Realizing the situation, the other branch committee members all took it upon themselves to do their own work in their spare time and to work from dawn to dusk helping the production teams handle their production and solving concrete problems so that in only 10 days time all 1,570 mu of wheat was irrigated.

The "members" of the party branch maintain mutual support and understanding in work and also work at showing mutual concern and consideration in life. When Liu Zhendong's wife contracted hepatitis, undergoing a long period of treatment entailing quite a lot of medical costs, the commune decided to issue him 30 yuan in relief funds. Upon receiving the money, Liu Zhendong did not go to his own home, but to the home of Deputy Secretary Liu Baolin [0491 0202 2651] saying, "You have many children in your family and few laborers, so the commune decided to give you 30 yuan in relief funds." Having spoken, he laughingly gave the money to Liu Baolin. In the evening, Liu Baolin could not sleep, thinking: The secretary's wife is sick and they have spent a lot of money. He is having more difficulty than I. I should give him the money. The next day, he took the 30 yuan to Liu Zhendong. The two pushed the money back and forth, but Liu Zhendong was adament in giving it to Baolin. When Baolin learned that these funds were originally given to Liu Zhendong, he said with great feeling: "Our party secretary never gives a thought to his own difficulties, but those of others he remembers very clearly."

"Being of the Party, We Must Consciously Resist Unhealthy Tendencies"

Members of the party branch often say: "Accepting bribes and favoring friends and relatives are not part of the Communist Party work style. Being of the party, we must have correct party style."

In the past, although the party branch of the brigade stipulated that improper tendencies be resisted, some comrades continued to feel that accepting a meal or a pack of cigarettes was a matter of common social intercourse, a matter of uniting with the masses and strengthening emotional bonds, and could not be considered a violation of party regulations. Because of this, resisting the practice of accepting what is offered was not undertaken conscientiously enough.

Party Secretary Liu Zhendong felt that if this continued, it would cause bad feelings among the masses, damaging the party work style and weakening the fighting capacity of the party. Prior to the Spring Festival this year, he called the branch committeemen together to study and carry out criticism and self-criticism. These "members" have an excellent tradition of mutually criticizing, speaking directly, with no one haggling and everyone feeling that this is done to "cure the sickness and save the patient." This time, everyone centered on the problem of accepting gifts, speaking out face to face, bringing up examples, discussing dangers, seeking origins and establishing measures to put a stop to things. Following this, a mass meeting was convened where Liu Zhendong represented the branch committee in investigating cases in which resistence to the tendency to accept gifts had not been thorough enough, made serious self-criticism and publicly announced that on New Year's Day and other festivals or when commune members have weddings or funerals, or build houses or apply a residential lot no one is permitted to invite cadres to join festivities, and if they are invited, they will not attend.

Changing an old custom or habit is not an easy thing to do--it requires determination and willpower. When applying for a residential lot, commune members Liu Fengqi [0491 7364 2978] gave Liu Zhendong and two other brigade cadres 8 feet of cloth each. The three of them each returned the cloth and told him: Matters that should be done will be done without gifts being sent; matters that should not be done will not be done even if a doll of gold is given. We have established a regulation and it is only right that you help supervise and see that we obey it. How can you continue to do things which violate the regulation? Liu Fengqi admitted his error and hapily said: "I have complete faith in the way the party branch handles matters." The party branch also raised this example at the commune meeting and repeated its request that everyone work together to observe regulations, cooperating and supervising the party branch in correcting party style.

The offering of gifts has been put to a stop and, similarly, the party branch does not show favor to friends and relatives. This brigade has a brick kiln and sells thousands of bricks outside the brigade. One day the brother-in-law of Brigade Chief Liu Chunsheng thought he could buy a few bricks at a bargain rate. Liu Chunsheng told him, "If you want to buy bricks, then you go and do so. Discuss the price based on the quality and pay what it costs. I can't save you a penny." His brother-in-law replied; "It is no wonder that the people of the neighboring villages say you are unbending. It is completely true." Liu Chunsheng said: "Because we are party members, we must be impartial in dealing with everyone. Operating through back doors, showing favoritism and profiting ourselves at public expense are things we do not do."

"Being of the Party, We Must Wholeheartedly Serve the People"

Members of the party branch often say: "The people allow us to be cadres, and therefore we should work for the good of the people. If we do not do some good things for the masses and do not acquire some property for the brigade, then we feel uneasy. Because we are of the party!" Owing to just this lofty sense of responsibility, they have done many good things for the masses in recent years.

In recent years, along with the implementation of the party's policies, production has greatly developed, the standard of living of commune members has clearly improved and more and more new houses have been constructed. In order to reduce the burdens on the people, the party branch, in accordance with the views of the masses, organized all of the brigade's masons and carpenters into a "For the People Capital Construction Team." This capital construction team took charge of the construction of buildings for every household and commune member in the entire brigade, with the brigade keeping unified track of work points. When houses are being built, first, no meals need be provided and, secondly, no cigarettes need be prepared. One need only pay construciton costs and meet the stipulations of the system which none are allowed to violate. In this way, the burdens on commune members have been greatly reduced. In the past, in building a 3 room house, a person would spend 300 yuan just on food, wine wine and cigarettes. Now, a person need only pay 70 yuan in construction costs to have the home built.

They are carrying out a low cost medical care system. When a commune member of this village receives medical treatment, he only pays for the wholesale price of medicines. Remuneration for medical personnel, purchase and depreciation costs of medical equipment and other costs are all born by the brigade. Commune members have small ills treated easily and large ills treated promptly. They all say: "The brigade has built us a village of safety and long life."

They are developing brigade sideline industries. The brigade has built a brick kiln, an orchard, a rug factory, and a knitting mill, and the net income from sideline productions last year was 20,000 yuan. Now, they are actively preparing to build a chicken farm, creating even more benefits for the people.

They show concern for commune members and reduce their worries. "Members" of the party branch are concerned with every household. Liu Laozhi [0491 5071 4160], an elderly commune member with no family, is weak and frail. The brigade arranged for him to work in the orchard doing the light tasks he is up to, allowing him to receive standard labor remuneration. When he falls sick, the "members" of the party branch take turns seeing to his needs and watching over him. Brigade Chief Liu Chunsheng has several times used his own money to buy apples and canned goods for him. Before he died, the old man repeatedly said something along the lines of: "The people in our party are just so good." Liu Fang [0491 5364], an ex-serviceman, is old and weak, and his household includes his mother who is more than 80 years old, a widowed daughter-in-law who has emotional problems and 3 nephews and nieces who are still very young. They have difficulty with their material life. The party branch saw to it that the Communist Youth League branch organized the young league members to fetch water, sweep the yard, remove and clean bedding and take responsibility for the farm work of the family. There was one youth who was not sufficiently respectful to the mother, and Brigade Chief Liu Chunsheng instructed this youth on several occassions, patiently teaching him the principle of respecting elders and teaching him the principle of respecting elders and teaching him to "change his bad habits and establish new practices." This youth made a fast turnabout and now is respectful of the elderly at home and respectful and considerate of the elderly and of children outside the home. Upon meeting people, the youth's mother says: "The party branch has given me a good son."

Because "members" of the party branch hold in mind the noble idea, "we are of the party," their ideological work style is firm and they bring forth a good village style and social style among the people. In recent years, none of the more than 400 households in the brigade have engaged in gambling or in speculation without following a proper occupation, have taken over land for building, or have damaged the collective's trees or public property. Neighbors are friendly and the cadres and the masses are united. Production continues to increase and the collective economy grows stronger daily, with an average per capita income last year of 178 yuan.

9705
CSO: 4005/1009

PARTY AND STATE

MODEL WORKERS CONFERENCE HELD IN LIAONING

Speech by Li Huang

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jun 82 p 1

[Speech by Comrade Li Huang [2621 5435], secretary of the Liaoning Provincial CCP Committee, at model workers conference in Liaoning on 10 June 1982]

[Text] Comrades:

This conference of outstanding workers of the entire province is about to be concluded. On behalf of the provincial CCP committee and the provincial government I offer congratulations and respects to our comrades who have attained the glorious title of model worker, advanced producer, advanced worker and advanced collective! Congratulations on the complete success of the conference!

This conference reviewed the high level of socialist consciousness and the selfless enthusiasm for work displayed by the vast ranks of cadres and the masses on every battlefront throughout the province in struggling for ever greater advances in the construction of the socialist material and spiritual civilizations of our province and also the rich fruits that have been reaped. At this conference, we not only exchanged experiences, but also appealed to the people throughout the province to study and catch up with the advanced and to make more contributions to the task of socialist modernization construction. After this conference, in every locality and on every battlefront there will be more widespread and penetrating enthusiasm for comparing, studying, catching up with, helping and surpassing the advanced, which will inevitably give tremendous impetus to all kinds of work throughout the province.

Our party and government have historically placed great emphasis on the role of advanced figures and advanced models. In the early years of nation building, Comrade Mao Zedong praised the model workers in industry, agriculture and the military for being models for all Chinese peoples, the advanced core promoting victory in all aspects of the people's enterprises, the reliable support pillar of the people's government, and the bridge connecting the people's government and the vast masses. Recently, the party Central Committee forwarded the "Report on Fostering the Movement for Using Advanced Figures To Promote Studying and Catching Up With the Advanced" of the All

China Federation of Labor Unions, the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League and the All China Women's Federation, and emphasized: "The advanced model figures on every battlefront are the glorious warriors advancing at the forefront of the times. Their advanced thinking and model behavior is a force promoting the continuous development of the socialist modernization of our nation." The advanced model figures commended at this conference are the glorious warriors advancing at the forefront of the times. Their advanced thinking and model achievements are full of the characteristics of the times: they all possess a high level of socialist consciousness, noble patriotic thoughts, an intense sense of responsibility as masters of the nation and a spirit of selfless labor and devotion regarding the four modernizations and the revitalization of China, and in every construction task they fulfill their roles by taking the lead, being mainstays and acting as bridges. In ordinary positions they make extraordinary contributions. They are models in the construction of socialist material and spiritual civilizations and are examples worthy of study for the people of the entire province.

Widespread, penetrating and prolonged development of a mass movement to study and catch up with the advanced, guiding and promoting more and more people to respect and emulate advanced model figures, and utilization of the advanced thinking and communist spirit of advanced figures and collectives to teach people--especially youths--to be idealistic, moral, cultured and disciplined are important elements in the construction of socialist material and spiritual civilizations and are long-term tasks and important links in ideological political work. Party committees, governments and mass organizations at every level must include these tasks on their agendas and firmly and persistently take hold of them. Following this conference, throughout the province, we must use every form of propaganda to publicize widely and in depth the achievements of advanced model figures so that every household and every individual is aware of them, creating a strong public opinion of respect and support for the advanced and a social practice of working for the glory of the advanced, contributing gloriously to the four modernizations, and reversing the erroneous tendencies in some areas of being jealous of the talented and able and of isolating and attacking advanced figures. We must regularly compare, assess and commend work and forcefully spread advanced experiences by extending the advanced techniques and experiences achieved by the small number of advanced figures to the large number of personnel in similar enterprises and industries, seeing to it that the movement to study the advanced is grounded in reality and has a real effect.

The provincial CCP committee and the provincial government hopes that every labor model, advanced producer, advanced worker and representative of advanced agricultural collectives will move forward while upholding the principle that one divides into two--that is, seeing both his own strong points and his own weak points and realizing that there are other mountains, other men. The advanced and the backward stand relative to one another and can mutually transform each other. If the advanced are self-satisfied and relax their efforts, then, without advance, they will backslide and become backward; if the backward are dissatisfied in their backwardness and give straightforward pursuit, then they will eventually be in front. We hope that the advanced model

figures and the advanced units can pass the tests of acclaim as well as of difficulty and continue to work hard, advance even further, and constantly make new contributions. At the same time, we hope that those comrades who are presently in the middle or downstream areas will take the advanced figures as models and move straight ahead in rapid pursuit. We hope that even more labor models, advanced producers, advanced workers, guerrillas on the New Long March and Three Eight Red Banner carriers, and even more advanced units surge forward from every battlefront throughout our province and that more and more people join the glorious ranks of the advanced elements.

Comrades, our task in the latter half of this year is an arduous one. At the beginning of the year, the enlarged meeting of the entire committee of the provincial CCP committee and the Fourth Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress put forward the struggle goals for the entire province. Agriculture should strive for abundant overall harvests and industry should achieve a down-to-earth, unexaggerated rate of growth. All means must be used to increase production construction and economic results in the area of commercial circulation. Each task must see new development, and party style, social practices and social order must see an obvious turn for the better. Whether or not these demands can be realized depends on the effort we put forth in the latter half of the year. Work in the latter half of the year should be peformed better than in the first half. Every area, every department and every unit must seriously inspect and summarize the work of the first half of the year, add to their achievements, overcome shortcomings, research new conditions, solve new problems and get a firm hold on the realistic implementation of measures. In order to do well in the adjustment of enterprises and improve economic results, the provincial CCP committee and the provincial government feel the need to arouse the masses to firmly combat waste. Shenyang, Fuxun and other cities, and the Anshan Iron and Steel Works and units in other enterprises have done so with good results. At present, in the areas of production construction and circulation and in other areas waste is widespread and serious. In some places it is startling. Because of this, the potential for and significance of resolutely combating waste is very great; first, we can reduce damage to the nation's property, increase resources and improve economic results; second, we can fill holes, perfect systems and hasten the improvement of enterprise management; third, we can teach the vast number of workers to build and raise their sense of responsibility as masters of the nation, to uphold the excellent tradition of arduous struggle, and to cultivate the excellent habit of being hard working and frugal. In combating waste, we should further promote the development of activities that increase thrift and increase income while reducing expenditures. Each labor model, advanced producer and advanced worker must play a great role in this area. We hope that the comrades who have attended this conference will take the spirit of the conference with them when they return home and lead the vast masses in arousing an enthusiastic tide of socialist competion in comparing, studying, catching up with, helping and surpassing the advanced, one which takes improving economic results to be the focus, and will struggle hard to complete each 1982 task, make a breakthrough in our work in Liaoning, and promote the construction of the two civilizations!

Editorial on Conference

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jun 82 p 2

[Text] The Liaoning Provincial Conference On Advanced Collectives, Labor Models and Advanced Producers (Workers) has concluded. This was a distinguished gathering of outstanding workers on the largest scale and with the widest representation in recent years and was a tremendous event in the political life of the people of the entire province. We offer our most lofty respects and enthusiastic congratulations to the advanced model figures and advanced collectives on every battlefront throughout our province!

Social development is a continuous process of the advanced leading the backward and the advanced replacing the backward. At every stage of social development, there is a group of advanced elements who reflect the spirit of the times and move at the forefront of the times. Labor models and advanced producers (workers) are just such advanced elements. They are the excellent representatives of the advanced production forces, and models of the socialist spirit. Since the establishment of the nation, numerous advanced model figures, such as Meng Tai [1322 3141], Wang Chonglun [3769 1504 0243], Wu Jiazhu [0702 1367 2691], Hu Yuxi [5170 3768 3886], Tong Yulan [0157 3768 5695], and Han Xiufen [7281 4423 5358], have surged from the battlefronts of our province--heroes abounding, sparkling as the stars above. These comrades receive the respect of society and become objects of study for the masses. Following the lead of these people, the activities of measuring against the advanced, studying the advanced and catching up with the advanced have continuously penetrated throughout the province, forcefully promoting the development of the task of socialist construction.

During the 10 year period of unrest, the excellent social practice of studying and catching up with the advanced met with serious sabotage. In recent years, although we have quelled chaos and restored order, we still cannot say that the evil effects and negative influences that this sabotage created have been cleanly eliminated. At present, in certain areas and departments, a situation exists in which right and wrong and merit and demerit are not clear, in which advanced model figures have not received the recognition and support they deserve, in which the atmosphere among the masses of studying and struggling to become advanced has been rarefied and in which, among a portion of the masses, it is considered neither glorious to be advanced nor shameful to be backward. Some people who are influenced by old thinking and old habits or who have ulterior motives "take aim at the lead birds" and use every means to isolate, mock and take satirical stabs at advanced figures in order to make things difficult for them. This sort of thing is extremely improper and should be given attention. The leading comrades at every level must, with a high sense of political responsibility, proudly uphold the advanced and, with heartfelt enthusiasm, show total concern for the advanced figures politically, ideologically, in their work and in their lives, and protect them. We must patiently teach the masses to treat advanced figures correctly and to struggle against all attacks against advanced figures, creating a custom of glorifying the advanced, of everyone respecting and studying the advanced and of struggling to become advanced. In regard to those who do not seek to advance

themselves jealousy and flagrant zealous criticism of the advanced, we must forthrightly carry out criticism and education; individual instances of willful slander and attacks on advanced figures must be dealt with seriously. Once correct tendencies have been established, then the move to study and catch up with the advanced and to make new contributions toward the four modernizations can be penetratingly and persistently developed.

The advanced thinking and experiences of advanced figures are precious social resources. Commending and publicizing the advanced is just for the purpose of promoting everyone to study, catch up with and struggle to become advanced, and of making the advanced thinking and experiences of advanced figures the thinking and behavior of even more people. It is a general launching on every battlefront of the "three passions--be a master, build new merit, establish new customs" movement, quickening the pace of construction of the material and spiritual civilizations. We must study the vigorous, forge-ahead spirit of the advanced figures with which, in the construction of the two civilizations, they selflessly labor with lofty patriotic sentiments and an intense sense of responsibility as masters of the nation, their hearts untainted by desire for money, their wills unbent in poverty and their actions unobstructed by difficulties; study their spirit of ceaselessly scaling the heights, transforming their limitless passion for the party and the motherhood and resolute belief in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought into hot-blooded enthusiasm brought about reserve to the arduous struggle, fierce study and bold creation in the four modernizations construction; study their ideological character of being mindful of the overall situation in production and work, of thinking of others before themselves and foregoing private desires, of deriving joy from helping others, of rushing to bear the greater burdens and of wholeheartedly serving the people; and study their excellent workstyle of studying the advanced and aiding the backward where they find them, of intimately living with the masses and of becoming the models and understanding friends of the masses. We must be like them in "comparing ourselves with the advanced and imploring the advanced to be our teachers," forming an excellent political atmosphere of comparing, studying, catching up with, helping and surpassing the advanced and allowing the brilliant communist ideology, workstyle and experiences that shine in the persons of the advanced figures to bring forth blossoms throughout the province, seeing to it that our people become idealistic, moral, cultured and disciplined.

This conference was one at which we reviewed our achievements, commended the advanced and exchanged experiences; a mobilization and pledge-taking conference convened to penetratingly launch the movement to study and catch up with the advanced and to establish new merit in the four modernizations. After this conference, we must move ahead in urging the people of the entire province to arouse their revolutionary spirit and, taking the advanced figures as models, to launch a widespread, penetrating and prolonged mass movement to study and catch up with the advanced and to establish new merit in the four modernizations. We hope that the labor models and the advanced producers (workers) move forward while upholding the principle that one divides into two, enduring through tests of both acclaim and difficulty, humbly studying and developing their functions of taking the lead, being mainstays and acting as bridges, uniting and leading the comrades around them,

pressing everyone to move forward and progress together, developing a new situation in the work of Liaoning in order to seize new victories in every item of work in 1982 and making even greater contributions toward the construction of high-level socialist material and spiritual civilizations.

9705
CSO: 4005/980

PARTY AND STATE

CADRES URGED TO MAINTAIN IDEOLOGICAL PURITY

Communist Ideological Education

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Yun Tai [6663 3141]: "Persist in Communist Ideological Education"]

[Text] An important task in the building of a socialist spiritual civilization is to educate our people to become a people who have ideals, morality, culture and discipline. Many things have to be done to accomplish this task, but an important one is to persist in educating people in communist ideology. Owing to the 10-year upheaval, the people's political beliefs, moral concepts, ideological sentiments, and social mores have been seriously disrupted. Since we adopted the open door policy and the policy of enlivening the economy, a number of people have been corrupted by the capitalist ideology and fostered such unhealthy tendencies as individualism, benefiting oneself at the expense of the public, and the pursuit of money. Therefore, it has become especially important and urgent to persist in educating the people in communist ideology.

Some comrades argue that since our country is a socialist society, at the present time we can only talk about socialist principles, and should not advocate communist ideologies and morals. This is wrong. To be sure, in the socialist period we must carry out socialist policies; especially in the matter of distribution, we must practice the socialist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," or we would be seriously disrupting the development of the forces of production. But it we do not educate the people in communist ideology and morality, but only guide people to be content with living a comfortable life themselves, "working as much as one is paid," then how is this kind of socialism different from capitalism, and how do we expect to move on to the communist period? Actually our party began propaganda on communism way back during the democratic revolutionary period and used communist ideology to educate and bring up thousands of people. Many revolutionary martyrs and older-generation revolutionaries joined the revolution because they had a lofty ideal of communism in their hearts. They fought hard and courageously, carrying on the tasks of their fallen comrades, ready to give up everything they had, even their precious lives. Today, we have many Communist Party members and many advanced model workers who are engaged in communist labor every day, every month and

every year. Why shouldn't we praise and publicize their largeness of mind, their noble character, and their advanced thinking so that the masses of the people will be able to share this precious spiritual wealth?

Some other comrades argue that since our economy is still relatively undeveloped, we lack the material foundation for publicizing communist ideology. They say that when production has developed in the future, people's spiritual outlook will naturally change. This way of reasoning is also one-sided. Marxism has always held that advanced thinking does not emerge spontaneously, and only through propaganda and education will communist ideology and morality be understood and accepted. Production in the capitalist world today is quite developed, but it has not brought a spontaneous development of communist ideology and morality. On the contrary, the people there can only center their ideology around egoism, and human relations are openly money relations. Here in our country, although our economy is still relatively backward, the spiritual outlook of the great masses of the cadres and people is much better than that in the capitalist world, because we have a superior economic and political system and because we persist in educating the people in communist ideology. This was especially true during the period between the founding of the People's Republic and the "cultural revolution," when our people exhibited firm political faith, high ideological consciousness, fine moral sentiment, and harmonious human relations. It was a state of affairs admired by people all over the world.

Still other comrades think that persisting in communist ideological education is to practice "Leftist" ideas, to believe in the "omnipotence of the spirit." This is muddled thinking. We are advocating communist ideology while implementing socialist policies. There is not a shadow of "Leftism" or "omnipotence of the spirit" in it. The demarcation line should be drawn not at whether to persist in communist ideological education, but at not adopting policies that go beyond the present stage of historical development and the level of ideological consciousness of the majority of the people.

Training of Cadres

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Du Chuanyou [2629 0278 0645]: "Cadres Must Be Convinced First in Ideological and Political Work"]

[Text] Who should be convinced first in ideological and political work? This is a very important question. For a long time there has been a misconception among a substantial number of our comrades who think that ideological and political work is aimed only at the masses. This is a one-sided idea. To be sure, ideological and political work includes the education of the masses, but this is not the primary task. The first thing to do in ideological and political work is to convince the cadres.

Throughout the history of our party, ideological and political work has always been aimed first at convincing the cadres. This was especially true during historical turning points. On the even of the nationwide anti-Japanese

war, our party set up the Anti-Japanese Military and Political University to train cadres and lay the ideological and political foundation for the anti-Japanese war. The 1942 rectification campaign in Yanan was first launched among the high-level cadres and aimed first of all at convincing the cadres. During the transition period from new democracy to socialism, in arming the whole party with Mao Zedong's thinking on revolutionary change, the first thing we did was to convince the cadres. It can thus be seen that convincing the cadres first has always been a fine tradition in ideological and political work. We are now at a historical turning point. The Party Central Committee has completed the historical task of setting the guiding ideology back on the right track, but in the political, economic and cultural fields, not every unit has completed its task of setting things right again. We must work to bring the people's thinking further in line with the party's line, principles and policies formulated since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. So it is even more important to do a good job of educating the cadres first.

The positions cadres occupy determine the need to educate them first in ideological and political work. Our party is a ruling party, and the cadres are all in positions of leadership. They are responsible for organizing the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies. They are the ones who will answer the people's questions and solve their problems. Therefore, the level of their ideological understanding has a direct effect on how well the people's ideological problems are solved. People often say: "One village follows another village; one household follows another household; commune members follow the cadres." "Snipping the wick of an oil lamp lights up a whole area." As a general rule, once the ideological problem of the leadership in a locality or a unit has been solved, then the ideological work among the masses in that place or unit will be easy. The actual implementation of the party's important policy decisions since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee proves this. Wherever the cadres have thought through and accepted the principles of the Central Committee, the work there will be smooth, creative and developing; wherever the cadres themselves resist the principles of the Central Committee, it will be hard to implement the party's policies there and a lot of problems will arise. Therefore, only by educating and convincing the cadres first will there be leaders and organizers to implement the party's policies, and bridges for doing ideological and political work among the masses.

The present state of mind of the cadres also requires that we educate and convince the cadres first in ideological and political work. Our country has succeeded in shifting its strategic priorities. The great majority of our cadres endorse and support the party's line, principles and policies formulated since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and they enjoy prestige among the masses. But there are also a number of cadres who question these in varying degrees. Politically, some cadres have not yet freed themselves from the shackles of the "Left" ideology; they cannot understand or are against the present open door policy and the policy of enlivening the economy. Other cadres have developed a tendency of bourgeois liberalism. In ideological style, some cadres have been seriously affected by anarchism and bourgeois individualism. Their common characteristic is:

their deeds do not match their words. They are poor at uniting with other comrades, yet they demand that the masses unite well. They practice deception themselves, yet they demand that the masses seek truth from facts. They secretly work for private gains, yet they exhort the masses to work in the spirit of masters of the country. They play favoritism and do things "through the back door," enjoying various kinds of special privileges, yet they tell the people under them to improve their party style and people style. They admire the bourgeois way of life, yet they lecture the masses on resisting corruption by bourgeois ideology. In so doing, they undermine the party's work style, harm the party's image, and impede the progress of the four modernizations program. That these problems exist among a small number of cadres is an important reason why the same problems exist and develop among the masses. It is also a major stumbling block to the implementation of the party's line, principles, policies, and to a basic change for the better of party style and people style. Therefore, to convince the cadres is a prerequisite and condition to convincing the masses. When we have done a good job of ideological and political work with the cadres, our success will be assured.

9924
CSO: 4005/950

PARTY AND STATE

SUPPORT OF PEACEFUL UNIFICATION ATTRIBUTED TO OVERSEAS CHINESE

Fuzhou FUJIAN ZIQOXIANG BAO in Chinese Oct 81 p 1

[Article: "Develop the Role of Bridge-Building in Order to Contribute to National Unification: Guo Ruiren, Vice Chairman of the All-China Overseas Chinese Federation and Vice Chairman of the Provincial Overseas Chinese Federation, Makes Statement to Our Reported; Returned Overseas Chinese in Fujian Province and Their Relatives Ardently Support Chairman Ye's Clarification of Our Guiding Policy"]

[Text] On 1 October Guo Ruiren, Vice Chairman of the All-China Overseas Chinese Federation and Vice Chairman of the Provincial Overseas Chinese Federation, made a statement to one of our reporters. He said that the great majority of the returned overseas Chinese in our province fully support Chairman Ye Jianying's statement, fully support his initiative in clarifying our guiding policy toward Taiwan's return to the homeland and the achievement of peaceful unification, and fully approve of the four proposals by comrade Xiang Nan regarding the governments of the provinces of Fujian and Taiwan promptly establishing contact, exchanging opinions, etc.

He said that during the past several decades our overseas Chinese and their relatives have had their fill of the agony of our people's division. Because the homeland has not been united, the overseas Chinese community has long been divided and has been unable to unite as one, practice assistance and mutual love, and work together in the struggle for its legitimate interests. Because the homeland has not been united, for a long time compatriots who are blood relatives have been unable to hold reunions, and in some cases have even been worried about maintaining communications with their relatives. Ending the division of the Chinese people at the earliest possible date and unifying the homeland are in the common interest of all our countrymen, and especially are pressing desires of the overseas Chinese and their relatives. We certainly must continue to make efforts to do a better job of bringing into play the role of bridge-building in order to contribute to unifying the homeland.

Finally, he stated: It is hoped that the Guomindang authorities on Taiwan will, for the sake of the righteous cause of the nation, respond positively to the speech of Chairman Ye Jianying, promptly appoint a delegation to establish contact and negotiate the question of national unification, and strive

for the unification of the homeland at an early date, to win honor for our ancestors and benefit future generations.

All over our provinces, returned overseas Chinese and their relatives ardently support Chairman Ye Jianying's statement. Sun Songqiao, Vice Chairman of the Huian County Overseas Chinese Federation and a member of the standing committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, said that "Chairman Ye's important statement represented the inner aspirations of our compatriots on Taiwan as Chinese. I hope that the Taiwan authorities will, for the sake of the righteous cause of the nation, sincerely cooperate with the Communist Party and implement the great undertaking of national unification." Wang Jiachun, head of the liaison group of the Qingliu County Returned Overseas Chinese Federation, said, "We have many relatives abroad and in Taiwan. Our urgent desire is to facilitate a mutual flow of information and travel to and from Taiwan. Once Taiwan returns to the homeland and peaceful unification is achieved, the status of our overseas relatives all over the world will be enhanced. I hope that the authorities on Taiwan will, for the sake of the righteous cause of the nation, come to terms with the people of the entire country." Weng Aiju, a compatriot from Jinmen, said: "I still have relatives on Jinmen Island. For a long time now there has been no way to send and receive letters or to hold reunions. Chairman Ye expressed words that are in the hearts of our compatriots on Jinmen. I hope that the Guomindang on Taiwan will share the sincerity and straightforwardness of the Communist Party." She added that when Taiwan returns to the homeland she will invite her relatives to return to the mainland for a visit, and that she herself will make a trip to her old home on Jinmen.

The great majority of returned overseas Chinese and their relatives everywhere have indicated that they would respond to Chairman Ye's appeal and, along with their relatives abroad, continue to endeavor and to bring into play the role of bridge-building in order to contribute to the return of Taiwan to the homeland and the achievement of peaceful unification.

5616
CSO: 4005/991

PARTY AND STATE

REVOLUTIONARY LEGACY OF OVERSEAS CHINESE GLORIFIED

Fuzhou FUJIAN QIAOXIANG BAO in Chinese 8 Oct 81 p 2

[Article by Chen Ling: "Develop the Patriotic Spirit of the 1911 Revolution"]

[Text] "The overseas Chinese were the mothers of the revolution." That was a saying passed down by Sun Yat-sen, the great forerunner of the Chinese revolution, regarding the support of Chinese living abroad for the revolutionary cause. Today, we will review the glorious historical legacy of the overseas Chinese during the 1911 Revolution, to help encourage overseas Chinese and their relatives to carry on and develop their revolutionary spirit and make new contributions toward the development of China.

Our country's overseas nationals have always been linked by blood ties to the homeland, been concerned with the homeland's revolutionary movement, and hope that the homeland will become prosperous and strong, and become a strong source of support for them. However, following the Opium War the Qing Dynasty became increasingly decadent and impotent. Because of aggression by the big powers it was in a precarious condition and could not defend itself, and essentially was unable to safeguard the interests of the overseas Chinese. The men of insight among the overseas Chinese without exception keenly felt the necessity to overthrow the dark rule of the Qing Dynasty and set up a government capable of ensuring their legitimate rights and interests. The strong sense of national self-respect and patriotic spirit that gradually emerged from the special experience of those overseas Chinese are most valuable and are truly worthy of cherishing and developing.

Patriotism is not an abstract, empty slogan but encourages the overseas Chinese to struggle with enormous spirit and strength to develop China. During the period of the 1911 Revolution, when Sun Yat-sen was in Southeast Asia, America, Japan, Europe, and other places, he everywhere was ardently welcomed by the overseas Chinese. They formed revolutionary organizations, nurtured revolutionary activists, built up public opinion, contributed money and raised funds, and even threw themselves into the struggle, gave their precious lives, and displayed revolutionary zeal. The contributions by overseas Chinese from Fujian were outstanding. The contributions of the overseas Chinese Yang Quyen, Huang Naichang, Chen Chunan, Chen Jiageng, and others, live vividly in the annals of the 1911 Revolution.

During the period of the new democratic revolution, led by the Party and Chairman Mao, the overseas Chinese from Fujian also contributed their support and participation. The old patriot Chen Jiageng was exemplary of the ardent, admirable patriotism they displayed during the anti-Japanese resistance war. There were also many who resolutely returned to China and devoted themselves to all tasks of the anti-Japanese resistance. The illustrious names of Lu Fei, an overseas Chinese from Jinjiang County, the martyr Shen Erqi, and others, will always be engraved in the hearts of the people of their home area. When the homeland entered the period of the construction of a socialist society, the overseas Chinese demonstrated limitless ardor toward the "four modernizations" construction and the unification of the homeland. With regard to many respects--manpower, material resources, financial resources, etc.--they performed many beneficial tasks for the cause of the construction and unification of the homeland.

Millions of overseas Chinese from our province have helped our province's economy and the process of "four modernizations" construction with strength that cannot be ignored. Today, in commemorating the 70th anniversary of the 1911 Revolution, we should hold the banner of patriotism even higher and unite the broad masses of overseas Chinese and their relatives to serve the construction of the homeland's modernized socialist society. We are confident that following the elimination of the influence of leftist deviation and the implementation of the Party's policy toward overseas Chinese, millions upon millions of newborn overseas Chinese will certainly increasingly side with the homeland.

On the eve of National Day, Chairman Ye took the initiative of clarifying our guiding policy toward the return of Taiwan to the homeland and the implementation of peaceful unification. At home and abroad there has been a uniformly favorable response. At this time we cherish even more the memory of the overseas Chinese martyrs such as Luo Fuxing, who for the sake of the return of Taiwan to the homeland sacrificed his life under the butcher's knife of the Japanese imperialists during the 1911 Revolution. Seventy years ago the overseas Chinese made many contributions for the sake of national unification. Today, Chairman Ye's speech expressed the desires of the broad masses of overseas Chinese. They are certainly capable of carrying on and developing the patriotic spirit of the 1911 Revolution and, for the great cause of unifying the homeland, of making new contributions.

5616
CSO: 4005/991

PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO EMULATE ADVANCED COLLECTIVES, INDIVIDUALS EMPHASIZED

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jun 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Support, Learn From and Vie To Emulate the Advanced"]

[Text] Effectively strengthening our leadership over the effort to further broaden or deepen the thorough development of the campaign to learn from, catch up with and vie to emulate the advanced constitutes an important aspect of building socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. It is also an effective and correct measure to raise economic returns and to brighten the prospect for the development of the four modernizations program.

Under the guidance of the correct political line, principles and policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, a large number of advanced collectives and advanced individuals have come to the fore on all fronts. According to initial statistics, the province now has more than 30,000 advanced collectives of different grades and some 300,000 advanced model workers, averaging 1 in every 8 workers. Among them are mining iron-man Fu Changwang [0265 2490 2489] on the industrial, communications, financial and trade fronts; nationally known skilled textile machine operator Wang Xiaoni [3768 1420 1200]; engineer Zhang Guangjian [1728 0342 7003], a trouble-shooter on the scientific and technological front; public servant Li Shuzhen [2621 3219 6293] known for her civil courtesy, warm and thoughtful services to the people; best retail store operator Li Li [2621 7787] known for her courage to challenge the unhealthy tendencies. They cherish the party and socialism, and are concerned with the operations of mines, factories, and commercial stores in which they work. Willing to do their respective jobs well as contributions to the four modernizations program, they are not only men of action capable of creating material wealth but also vanguards in building a spiritual civilization. Under their influence and leadership, the socialist labor emulation campaign for the less advanced to compete and catch up with and learn from the advanced, and for the advanced to help the less advanced overtake them is gaining momentum on industrial, communications, financial and trade fronts, vividly and graphically indicating that the "two civilizations" can be built simultaneously.

To leading bodies at all levels, the process of supporting, learning from and vying to emulate the advanced during the socialist labor emulation campaign

is a process of being from the masses to the masses and of upholding the mass line. The development of things in the world is not well-balanced. This means that there will always be differences between the advanced, the intermediate and the less advanced in every department, enterprise and group in the sectors of industry, communications, finance and trade. The situation we desire to know is clear to us. In other words, we must understand such differences that exist objectively. We must realize that differences mean contradictions, and that the advanced and the less advanced are two contradictory aspects which are not equals and whose relationship is one of primary contradiction to secondary contradiction. In a socialist enterprise, its advanded aspect is normally the principal aspect of a contradiction which plays a dominant role in work. This is why, in the course of leading and organizing the socialist labor emulation campaign, the departments of industry, communications, finance and trade, and their enterprises must wholeheartedly and sincerely support the advanced. But they must know that the best and most effective way of supporting the advanced is a proposal for leading comrades to take the lead in learning from the advanced collectives and individuals. An important reason that the advanced collectives and individuals in the Sishan Mining Bureau can gain respect and reputation as fragrant flowers and can quickly make their advanced experiences widely known stems from the ability of its principal responsible cadres at bureau and mining operation levels to take the lead in learning from the advanced, including Fu Changwang. In the course of deepening the development of the socialist labor emulation campaign to support, learn from and vie to emulate the advanced, administrative units, CYL organizations, and women's federations, under the centralized leadership of the party, must actively support and coordinate with one another in giving full play to the organizational role of trade unions as communist schools. Trade union organizations, especially those at basic levels, must do a good job of evaluating, comparing and fostering the advanced, and must sum up and promote advanced experiences through the holding of joint trade union congresses. During the campaign to learn from and catch up with the advanced, they must concentrate their efforts on teaching the advanced to disseminate their advanced technology, to strive for greater success in advancing their prominant status, and to help the less advanced with enthusiasm and initiative so that a favorable condition can be created for the less advanced to catch up with the advanced. In the course of helping the less advanced, they must concentrate special attention on giving the less advanced assistance in the ideological field so that they can be encouraged to raise their awareness of the need for the less advanced to catch up with the advanced. Meanwhile, they must pay attention to the well-being of workers and their safety in production. Trade union cadres must first resolutely do their work well before asking the masses of workers to do the same. While supporting, learning from and vying to emulate the advanced, they must set an example for others to follow. In the course of thoroughly carrying out regular organizational and ideological work, as part of the socialist labor emulation campaign, they must do a good job of building trade union organizations along sound lines.

9574
CSO: 3004/1011

PARTY AND STATE

EXCELLENT EXPERIENCES IN BUILDING SOCIALIST CIVILIZATION PRAISED

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jun 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Good Experiences in Building Spiritual Civilization Regularly and Systematically"]

[Text] Under the centralized leadership of its party branch, Qingshuihe brigade in Huairen County has used party members and CYL members as the mainstay and militiamen and CYL members as the main force, and has secured the cooperation of the local CYL organization, the women's federation, the people's armed forces department and other mass organizations in operating a joint school designed to integrate education with diverse cultural activities so that our socialist spiritual civilization can be built regularly and systematically. This invaluable experience is expected to become a subject of extensive discussion by participants in the provincial conference on exchanging experiences in militia political education scheduled to open today.

Following the conclusion of the nationwide month of civil courtesy campaign, the work of building a socialist spiritual civilization with five stresses and four points of beauty as its central theme has continued to gain momentum in our province. The communist ideology of encouraging workers to make factories their homes and themselves masters of mining enterprises, spread by Fu Changwang [0265 2490 2489] and Pu Guanxi [0592 1351 0823] on the industrial front, has given a tremendous impetus to the efforts of many factories and mines to "convert human consciousness into material wealth." The spirit in the name of "four don'ts" spread by Wang Shuying [3768 6615 5391] on the educational front as a demonstration of her love for the motherland, the party and the socialist system, is now inspiring more and more people to seek ways to glorify their souls. In pursuit of the communist moral principles, Li Li [2621 7767] on the commercial front has upheld a self-proposed code of occupational ethics and has made it flourish and reap fruits throughout the province. This fact proves that it is unjustified to view the future of the development of our spiritual civilization with a pessimistic attitude. But we must clearly understand that to eliminate the bitter fruit of the prolonged destruction by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," to attain the aim of rectifying the party's workstyle and cultivating a healthy social climate, and to make the flower of our socialist spiritual civilization flourish throughout the province constitute a task that cannot be fulfilled by short-lived zeal on efforts. In this connection, strong determination, tenacious

efforts and meticulous planning are needed in order to discover and foster typical examples and to promote exemplary experiences from the realistic point of view. Only by doing so day in and day out as a long-term effort can we acehive the grandiose objective of rectifying the party's workstyle and social lifestyle in a fundamental way.

The Qingshuhe joint school is the result of a common effort by the local party branch and commune members. Under the impact of the new situation, it is the continuation and development of the party's rural propaganda program of the 1950's. Following the extensive implementation of the agricultural production responsibility system in all forms in the countryside, it can provide a basis for success in strengthening rural ideological and political work, in making justice prevail over evil forces, in helping peasants enliven their cultural life, and in popularizing agricultural science and technology. The Qingshuihe experience not only provides an answer to the difficult problem resulting from our "inability to fund the political education of militiamen in a given place and given time," but more important, it has proved instrumental in eliminating such unhealthy tendencies as gambling, superstitions, and excessive eating and drinking, and solving the problem of how to build a spiritual civilization regularly and systematically for the countryside. The Qingshuihe experience proves that peasants will readily welcome socialist education as long as the party branch can respond promptly to their new demand for becoming gradually rich as well as their urgent desires to get acquainted with the party's principles and policies and to study culture, science and technology with the adoption of a method of education which emphasizes persuasion, and efforts to uphold the principles of voluntary participation and democratic management and of diverse cultural activities catering to different tastes, activities which will take place in television rooms, libraries, recreation rooms, classrooms and rooms reserved for disabled soldiers. A village is a community whose members may have the same as well as different interests. In light of this situation, the joint school has adopted a method of education which permits a great deal of flexibility in the design of programs catering to students of diverse interests, a method which deserves to be called an innovation. The joint school has provided programs from which peasants have benefited both spiritually and materially. This is why it has been called an institution full of vitality.

Ours is a vast country with 1 billion population including 800 million peasants whose level of socialist consciousness will have a decisive effect on the develcpment of the four modernizations program. Although the implementation of the party's policies to revitalize the economy has cheered up the peasants, it is true that they still face problems of how to handle properly relationships between the state, collectives and individuals, between centralization and decentralization, and between commune members, and many other new problems. We must count on the implementation of the party's policies and the regular and meticulous implementation of ideoligical and political work to resolve new contradictions. In that sense, the Qingshuihe experience is of universal significance as a guide to the development of a spiritual civilization in rural Shanxi. For this reason, it is worth studying by comrades devoted to rural work. It can be expected that the wide promotion of the Qingshuihe experience will lead to an improvement in militia political education and will brighten the prospect for the development of the socialist spiritual civilization in rural Shanxi.

9574
CSO: 4005/1011

PARTY AND STATE

ATTITUDE OF PRIDE IN BEING LAGGARD CRITICIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jun 82 p 8

[Article by Han Tianyu [7281 1131 7183]: "Don't Take Pride in Being a Laggard"]

[Text] These days there are actually people who are proud, not ashamed, of being laggards. They say: "So I'm a laggard. What's the use of being advanced? Whoever wants to be advanced can go ahead and do so." They are ready to "let others be advanced and stag laggards themselves."

If such talk is mere joking, we can let it go. But the truth of the matter is there are actually people who take pride in being laggards. They show no interest in anything. They are not only uninterested in important affairs of state but they are often cynical about them. They don't believe in anything and are unmoved by the progress in our cause; they would say that this is "bragging" and that is "lying." Not only are the content to remain laggards, they sneer at others for being advanced and ridicule them as "trying to be another Lei Feng" or "being one of the orthodox faction." Such cynicism has gone beyond the limits of being content to stay laggards; they are trying to drag others downhill with them.

There was a time in the past when most people did not want to be regarded as "laggards." While not everyone was attracted by the word "advanced," even those who were not advanced did not want to be called "laggards." One often heard people quarreling, saying: "All right, so you think you're advanced and I'm backward. You think I'm not as good as you"? What he was actually saying was, "I'm no more a laggard than you are." It certainly is not good for one not to admit that he lags behind others in some aspects when it is obviously so. But I consider there is at least something positive in that; it shows that these people still want to go forward and refuse to lag behind others. Now there are people who actually flaunt their backwardness. It seems to me these people have lost their ability to feel and their self-respect.

People who take pride in remaining laggards are spiritually barren. Withered plants would let themselves be battered by wind and rain, seared by the hot sun and numbed by bitter cold. When a person has lost his ideals and convictions, when he is no longer interested in the pursuit of a bright and

progressive future, he naturally feels no shame in having fallen behind. No wonder there are people who moan and groan without being ill so that they can stay away from work, or bicker and quarrel over trifles. There is nothing noble left in their spiritual world, only their "ego," and so they can only console themselves with the excuse that "I'm a laggard."

"I believe man should take action in order to elevate and develop himself. It doesn't matter that he makes mistakes in his actions. The man who drags out an ignoble existence like a half-dead person is completely wrong, because he is masquerading as a living person while actually guiding others to the path of death"! (Lu Xun: "Hua Gai Ji--Beijing Correspondence") Reconciling oneself, or even taking pride, in being a laggard is, as Lu Xun described it, "dragging out an ignoble existence like a half-dead person." One must never be like that, for it will lead people to the path of death!

9924
CSO: 4005/954

PARTY AND STATE

PEOPLE CRAVING TO GO ABROAD CRITICIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jun 82 p 4

[Commentary: "The Ignominious 'Man Who Craves to Go Abroad'"]

[Text] Wu Zengqian, as deputy director of a research institute, should devote his heart and mind to developing research. But he yearned day and night and worked tirelessly to go abroad, go abroad, go abroad. He became " a man who craves to go abroad"!

To get a chance to go abroad, he forgot national dignity and tried every way he could to have the other side "invite" him for a visit. When his supervisory department would not approve his request, he vented his resentment on senior engineer Shang Shanzui, who had been invited to attend an academic conference, using his power to block Shang from going. All right, if I can't go, you won't either! Did he really want to go abroad to learn something or engage in scientific exchange? No. He just wanted to take a tour at the government's expense.

"This is a strange thing that has not happened in the past 30 years," people commented in surprise. It is indeed rare to see a "man who craves to go abroad" like Wu Zengqian, so intent on getting a chance to go abroad that he went about it by hook or by crook, flouting regulations and discipline. Yet in recent years there does exist an unhealthy tendency about going abroad, and it is not an isolated phenomenon. There have been many foreign study missions for which professional people should have been sent, yet a small number of leaders who knew little of the subject of the missions insisted on being included, even going so far as to squeeze out the professionals. What kind of results can one expect when people like these are allowed to go on missions, using up a great deal of the government's foreign exchange?

It is time to check this unhealthy trend regarding visits abroad. The supervisory departments concerned were entirely right in upholding principles and refusing to approve the plan for visits abroad submitted by Wu Zengqian and others. It was entirely necessary for the party committee of the Shanghai No 1 Bureau of Electrical Machinery to instruct the party committee of the Research Institute of Automation to make a comprehensive self-examination, conduct criticism and self-criticism, heighten their awareness and draw a lesson from the incident. But readers will ask: Is it enough merely to criticize the trouble maker in such a despicable and notorious incident?

9924
CSO: 4005/954

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

METHODS FOR BUILDING UP MILITIA DISCUSSED

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by Li Yizhong [2621 0001 0022] and Qu Youjin [3255 2589 6651]: "Zengcheng CCP Committee Builds Up Militia in 10 Ways"]

[Text] In order to truly strengthen the leadership in the party in militia work under new circumstances, the Zengcheng County CCP Committee resolved to tackle the following 10 matters to build up the militia.

(1) It is necessary to implement a contract system for compensation of militia activities. After the widespread implementation of various forms of the system of responsibility in production in the countryside, the outstanding problem in the militia was the difficulty of compensation. The preceding county CCP committee had ruled that every year each able-bodied person should do 20 to 30 compulsory tasks. In order to solve this problem, the county CCP committee decided to put them to work repairing bridges and roads, constructing irrigation and drainage systems and other undertakings for the common good. Militia training during compulsory tasks would decrease with every passing day. This would basically solve the problem of compensation for militia activities under new circumstances.

(2) The county CCP committee party school also serves as the militia basic military and political training center. In the past, the county militia organized the military and political training of full-time armed cadres and key members of the militia. They temporarily made use of citizens' homes, but because communications were difficult and living facilities were inferior, the quality of training was frequently affected. This year the county CCP committee decided to make enhancing the military and political quality of full-time armed cadres and key members of the militia part of the training plans of the party school. They arranged for armed cadres and key members of the militia to study there.

(3) It is necessary to reorganize the ranks of militia battalion commander cadres. Among the more than 290 militia battalion commanders in Zengcheng County, there exists the widespread phenomenon of holding too many posts at the same time and of improperly holding several jobs concurrently. It is presently clearly stipulated that in all units made up of over 5 dadui cadres, militia battalion commanders must be full-time. In all units with

less than 4 dadui cadres, militia battalion commanders must not hold several posts at one time. This will ensure that the main energy of militia battalion commanders is applied to militia work.

(4) It is necessary to strengthen the buildup of ranks of full-time armed cadres. It is essential to fill the 12 vacancies and to fulfill the quotas in communes, farms and plants for militia chiefs.

(5) It is necessary to build up militia weapons and ammunition supplies, increase the control over weapons and ammunition and take strict precautions against mishaps.

(6) It is necessary to carry out the system of militia political studies. Every month the county complies and issues study materials, and communes hold monthly conferences of militia battalion commanders or study coaches to train key workers in militia political instruction.

(7) It is necessary to establish the system of responsibility in the commune militia and in militia battalion commander positions.

(8) It is necessary to revise the make-up of the militia committee.

(9) It is necessary to increase the allocation of funds for militia activities by 20,000 yuan.

(10) It is necessary to strengthen the leadership of the party. The county CCP committee resolved to eliminate conscription, to reorganize the organization and training of the militia as well as other essential areas of militia work. The county CCP committee and the commune party committee must promptly hold study meetings, and they must make biannual studies of militia work. The commune party committee must also hold a quarterly review of militia work.

9864
CSO: 4005/978

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

REVIEW OF MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT ENCOURAGED

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 28 May 82 p 4

[Article by Ni Chengfan [0242 2110 0416] and Zhou Nanyou [6650 0589 0645]: "Only if We Know Theory Well, Have Definite Views and Remain Clear-headed Can We Be Steadfast"]

[Text] Recently the Kunming unit held a study class on Mao Zedong's philosophical writings for cadres at the division level and above. They systematically studied Mao Zedong's philosophical thought. Comrades said: When theory takes root we become clear-headed and have definite views so that when encountering stormy waves we are not tossed about but rather we unflinchingly wage the revolution.

The cadres at division level and above who participated in the study group all had quite extensive practical experiences and had read several of Comrade Mao Zedong's works. However, their study was not sufficiently systematic nor penetrating. During the decade of unrest, certain comrades were influenced in varying degrees by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who seriously undermined the study of Marxist theory. They simply memorized a few words here and there in the writings of leaders or indiscriminately mimicked particular Marxist conclusions. They even simplistically understood Mao Zedong's philosophical thought as the "philosophy of struggle." In view of this actual state of affairs, the study group conducted a course on the basic principles of Marxist philosophy. They presented representative examples of battles during the Second Revolutionary Civil War and lead everyone to concentrate their efforts on systematically and accurately understanding Mao Zedong's philosophical thought. In a little over a month everyone had conscientiously read the original works. They did not devote themselves to studying phrases nor did they memorize each clause, rather they focused on understanding the basic principles and chracteristics as well as the heart and spiritual core of Mao Zedong's philosophical thought. They studied the great practical experience of how Comrade Mao Zedong used Marxist philosophy to concretely analyze and resolve problems of the Chinese revolution. Many comrades realized that in the past the study of Mao Zedong's philosophical writings was often half-baked and fragmented. This time however, they truly mastered its spirit--they sought truth from facts and acquired fresh ideas. The outstanding characteristic of Mao Zedong's philosophical thought is to integrate the universal principles of Marxism with the concrete experiences

of the Chinese revolution, to attain unity between subjective and objective history and between theoretical and practical history. If we study Mao Zedong's philosophical thought purely based on deductions from concepts, propositions and principles in his philosophical writings, then we would be unable to grasp the spiritual core.

Comrades in the study group applied philosophical concepts to study supporting Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and resolutely implementing party line, principles and policies and their relationship to not merely writings and the authorities but to practical reality. Everyone believes that book theory and higher level resolutions and directives derive from practice. They reflect the interests and aspirations of the masses. This is a correct view. When returning to practical reality there emerges the problems of concrete unity between universality and particularity. It is necessary for selections and creative solutions to be reached according to the practical reality of the given region or department. Since the Third Plenary Session, the political, ideological and organizational line of the Party Central Committee has been correct, and thus it is in the interests of the party and the people to resolutely carry them out. Not relying solely on writings does not mean that we should not study, and not relying solely on higher levels does not mean we should not implement directives from higher levels, but rather that we should uphold Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and higher level resolutions and directives while integrating them with the reality of that region and that department. We must concretely analyze specific problems. Furthermore, we must not follow and copy blindly nor must we go against the four fundamental principles.

9864
CSO: 4005/978

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

JILIN COMMENT CALLS FOR MORE VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

SK180720 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Jul 82

[Radio commentary: "The Reform of the Secondary Educational Structure Should Be Listed in the Overall Plan for Economic Development"]

[Excerpts] Our province has achieved new development in recent years in the structural reform of secondary education. At present, there are 218 newly established or reestablished vocational technical schools of all kinds with an enrollment of 33,000 students, or 8.7 percent of the total number of senior middle school students. The main reason for our province's quick development in reforming the secondary educational structure is that we have listed this work in the agenda of the party committees at all levels and in the overall economic development plan. Judging from the situation in the province, localities which have done a good job in the reform of the secondary educational structure have the following characteristics.

First, the party committees and governments of these localities have attached importance to this work and have realistically strengthened leadership over the work.

Second, they have proceeded from the needs of the local economic development and have meted out overall plans and rational arrangements.

Third, they have adhered to the principle of walking on two legs and have run various kinds of schools. [passage omitted]

Four, they have practiced the work-study farm-study systems.

As has been learned, our province's structural reform of secondary education is uneven. At present, we still have 17 counties and cities whose proportion of students studying in vocational technical schools is less than 5 percent of the total number of students studying in the senior middle schools. Some countries even have no vocational classes. Some units have done a bad job in this field because their local leaders have a poor understanding of the reform of the secondary educational structure. [passage omitted]

Comrades of these counties and cities must learn from those more advanced, enhance understanding, find the gap and realistically list the reform of the secondary educational structure in the overall economic development plan.

CSO: 4005/1196

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

HUNAN TROUBLEMAKERS PUNISHED--On the afternoon of 14 July, some 60 commune members in Huarong County led by the production team leader (Shi Qiangguan) rushed to the residential area of the staff and workers of a supply and marketing cooperative. They forcibly demolished some 40 meters of walls in the residential area. Afterwards, the commune members forced their way into the kitchen to create trouble. As a result, cooking utensils and a water pond were sabotaged. The supply and marketing cooperative suffered a loss of some 1,600 yuan. (Shi Qiangguan) claimed that the walls of the supply and marketing cooperative's residential area occupied land belonging to the production team. Actually, the supply and marketing cooperative had only occupied a very small piece of land, and the matter should have been settled through consultation. The Huarong County CCP Committee and People's Government have attached great importance to the case and the troublemakers were severely punished. [Text] [Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Aug 82 HK]

KUNMING SCIENTISTS, TECHNICIANS MEETING--More than 300 scientific and technical workers in Kunming held a meeting on 7 August, calling on the scientists and technicians throughout the province to observe the "moral standards for scientific and technical workers in Yunnan Province" that they have worked out to foster revolutionary ideals and resist corrosion by capitalism. This is an action in response to the call of the meeting of scientific and technical workers in Beijing. The "moral standards for scientific and technical workers in Yunnan Province" provides the following seven regulations: 1. The scientific and technical workers in the province should love the country and contribute to the development of the motherland; 2. They should study and work hard and be devoted to their work; 3. They should seek truth from facts and be strictly honest in doing their research work; 4. They should willingly settle down in this border province and contribute to the prosperity here; 5. They should develop academic democracy and encourage the others to catch up with them; 6. They should cooperate with each other and take account of the interests of the whole situation; and 7. They should handle the relationships between various nationalities satisfactorily and modestly learn from the science and technology of foreign countries, but they should not improperly belittle themselves. [Text] [Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Aug 82 HK]

GUIZHOU CADRES STRENGTHEN STUDY--The propaganda department of the Guizhou Provincial CPC Committee and the CPC committee of the organs at the provincial level have demanded that before the 12th Party Congress is held, cadres of units at and above the county level seriously study five important speeches and articles, namely: the 1 July RENMIN RIBAO editorial, "A Mountain Towers High But No Higher Than a Man"; Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech on problems concerning ideological and political work; Comrade Deng Liqun's speech, "Our Flag Is Communism"; Comrade Wang Renzhong's article, "Communist Party Members Must Adhere to Communism and Overcome Individualism"; and Comrade Wang Zhen's article, "Strengthen Training Cadres in Rotation and Enhance the Quality of the Cadre Force." To do well in study, the propaganda department of the provincial CPC Committee and the CPC committee of the organs at the provincial level held a report meeting on study on the afternoon of 3 August. (Qi Yujiang), provincial CPC committee standing committee member and propaganda department director, spoke at the report meeting, demanding that through education in communism, cadres' ideological understanding be enhanced. [Text] [HK101459 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 4 Aug 82]

GUIZHOU INSPECTS PLANE PASSENGERS--Since last October, with the support of the Provincial Public Security Department, the Guizhou Provincial Civil Aviation Administrative Bureau has stepped up the inspection of plane passengers and their luggage. Relatively good results have been achieved. By the end of July this year, passengers on 300 flights have been inspected before their departures. The safety of passengers and planes has thus been ensured. [Text] [HK101459 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 5 Aug 28]

HUNAN PLANNED PARENTHOOD CONFERENCE--On the evening of 3 August, the Hunan Provincial CPC Committee and the Provincial People's Government held a phone conference on planned parenthood. The conference demanded that all places take effective measures to do well in planned parenthood. The conference demanded that all places take effective measures to do well in planned parenthood in the last 5 months of this year. Wang Zhiguo, provincial CCP committee secretary and vice governor, spoke at the conference, pointing out that 80 percent of the couples of child-bearing age have carried out planned parenthood. However, judging from the birthrate in the first half of this year, the number of births in the province in the first half of this year was some 57,800 more than in the first half of last year. It is estimated that the number of births in 1982 will increase to 2.1 percent of the entire provincial population. [Text] [Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 4 Aug 82 HK]

XIZANG YOUTH SUMMER CAMP--The Xizang Branch of the 1982 National Youth and Juvenile Summer Camp opened in Norbu Lingga [People's Park] in Lhasa on the morning of 2 August. This is the first youth and juvenile summer camp situated in Xizang since liberation. Regional People's Government Vice Chairman Yangling Duoji personally presented the camp flag to a representative of the camp and spoke at the opening ceremony. Xia Chuan attended the opening ceremony. Forty-three representatives of three-good students from Qamdo,

Xigaze, Golmud, Shannan and Lhasa, six teachers, workers who are engaged in history and responsible comrades of relevant departments are taking part in the camp's activities. [Text] [HK100940 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 0000 GMT 4 Aug 82]

CSO: 4005/1196

END

JPRS 81672

31 August 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 332

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81672

31 August 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 332

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

PARTY AND STATE

Policy of Easing Intellectuals' Difficulties Urged
(NANFANG RIBAO, 29 Jun 82) 1

Article Suggests Ways To Reduce 'Generation Gap'
(Shi Qiao; RENMIN RIBAO, 9 Jul 82) 3

Failure To Uphold Party Policy Toward Intellectuals Blamed for Brutal Beating
(RENMIN RIBAO, 9 Jul 82) 5

Minority Nationalities Receive Theoretical, Political, and Vocational Training
(RENMIN RIBAO, 12 Jul 82) 7

Measures Suggested To Improve Party Workstyle in Liaoning
(LIAONING RIBAO, various dates) 9

Shenyang Review of Discipline
Adherence to Party Principle
Four Basic Thoughts

Revised Constitution Draft Expands Minority Areas' Autonomy
(Ma Qingnian; NINGXIA RIBAO, 28 May 82) 14

Briefs
Nei Monggol CPPCC Meeting 18
Fujian CPPCC Session 18
Hunan Manuel for Cadres 18

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Ningxia Military District Holds Military Review
(NINGXIA RIBAO, 5 Jun 82) 19

Liu Huaqing on Liu Bocheng's Military Skills
(Liu Huaqing; RENMIN RIBAO, 22 Jul 82) 21

Briefs
Yunnan Armed Police Meeting 30
New Steel Helmet 30
New Deputy Naval Commander 30

PARTY AND STATE

POLICY OF EASING INTELLECTUALS' DIFFICULTIES URGED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "Implement the Policy in Intellectuals, We Cannot Merely Go Through the Motions--Provincial CCP Committee Secretary Wang De [3769 1795] Pointed Out That We Must Further Eliminate the Ideological Influence of the 'Left,' Overcome Various Historical Biases and Solve the Inherited Problems Surrounding Implementation of Policies"]

[Text] According to indications from the Central Committee of the party, the work of checking on intellectuals is already fully underway in our province. Numerous prefectures and units are solving problems while doing the checking, and have achieved initial results. But, there are some prefectures and units where they are dealing only with forms and merely going through the motions. Recently, the Provincial Work Group for Checking on Intellectuals convened a report-back meeting and requested that every area engage seriously in this work.

Judging from the reports from every municipality, every department committee and consultative unit under provincial direction and every institution of higher learning in the Guangzhou area, since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, our province has done a tremendous amount of work in implementing intellectual policy, such as redressing cases of injustice, sorting out file materials, returning professionals to the ranks, giving titular promotions, giving job promotions and improving conditions in work and life, and has achieved obvious results. But, there remain many problems. Because of the ideological influence of the "Left," there still occur bad instances of discrimination against, and even exclusion of, intellectuals on the part of the leadership in some prefectures and units. Many matters facing some older, upper level intellectuals, such as providing them with assistants, getting them books and reference materials, supplying them with equipment, and problems in the areas of medical treatment, supply and communications have yet to be satisfactorily worked out; and especially the striking problems of deficient work conditions of the middle-aged core of professional workers, their low standards of living, and their small and uncomfortable housing have not been given enough attention. Many people "with the title of lecturer, do the work of a professor and receive the wages of a teaching assistant." Because their burdens are heavy and their compensation is small, their health gets progressively worse.

The work of checking has proceeded in a very unbalanced manner. Most areas have adopted a relatively serious attitude and established special agencies. On some battlefronts and in some localities and counties, they even printed survey forms and allowed upper and middle level intellectuals to list the problems they have had in implementing policies, in work and in life. Many prefectures and units have carried out actively the principle of "solving problems while doing their checking," have begun to solve certain actual problems and have had excellent results. But, because there exist a fairly large number of problems which, in conjunction with the fact that the leadership of certain prefectures and units do not place great emphasis on this work and so do not make a special effort and do not give prominence to the focus of the inspection work, the work is not moving along well. Some units even go so far as to write inspection reports hurriedly without having checked matters clearly, purely in order to meet the requirement of reporting on completed work. There exists, in these prefectures and units, the danger of merely going through the motions.

Wang De [3769 1795], the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee secretary, took part in the report-back meeting and made a speech. He said that if we want to get through this work of checking on intellectuals and solve certain problems earnestly, then the key is for leadership at every level to further eliminate the ideological influence of the "Left," raising their consciousness, correcting their attitudes and overcoming various historical biases. We must truly consider intellectuals to be a part of us, relying on them, trusting them, and seriously solving the inherited problems of implementing intellectual policy. We must make every effort to solve the various difficulties that exist in their work and in their lives. All prefectures and units that are working only on form and are merely going through the motions must start from the beginning and, with the goal of solving actual problems, solidly go about the work of checking on intellectuals. We should not be hasty about disbanding inspection agencies at every level, and we must do thorough work even when we lack the strength. The problems faced by the subjects of the checking must be understood clearly, one matter at a time and one person at a time, and handled in order of their importance while singling out special matters, making plans, suggesting measures and assigning units and individuals to solve the problems within set time limits. If a unit truly cannot solve a problem, it must accurately write a report and explain its work in the manner of seeking the truth from facts.

Comrade Wang De emphasized that the focal point of this work of checking on the intellectuals is the problem of the upper and middle level intellectuals, especially those of the middle-aged core of professionals. They are in the position of linking the past and the future, having born the heaviest burdens, having achieved the greatest results and having been saddled with the most striking difficulties in their work and in their lives. The leadership at every level must do all it can to care for them, reducing their fear of troubles overtaking them.

9705
CSO: 4005/1001

PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE SUGGESTS WAYS TO REDUCE 'GENERATION GAP'

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 82 p 8

[Article by Shi Qiao (0670 5606): "An Analysis of the 'Generation Gap'"]

[Text] A new term, "generation gap," is now often heard among young people. This indicates an unbridgeable gap between the older generation and the new generation.

A phenomenon of the following kind definitely exists in actual life: There are some young people who shake their heads at the ideas, feelings, qualities and interests of the elder generation, considering them to be "behind the time, ridiculous and not keeping up with the times." There are some among the older generation who sigh deeply at the ideas, feelings, qualities and likes of the young people, feeling that "one generation is not as good as another." For this reason, it is inevitable that there will be people who will sigh with emotion and say: The chasm between the older generation and the new generation will always exist and is unbridgeable.

Is this truly the case? In our new society is it ordained that this will be the case between the revolutionary older generation and the new generation? This is indeed a question deserving of deep thought.

It must be acknowledged that the experiences of the new and old generations are different. Members of the older generation over 60 years of age have generally gone through a long period of revolutionary struggle in which they experienced suffering and hardship. In hardship and distress, they engaged in a selfless struggle to create a new China out of the ashes of the old China. Thus, it is very natural that they should have the feelings of steadfast persons of lofty ideals who care concerned for their country and people. The new generation under 30 years of age is very different from this. They all were born and grew up in the new China and what they have seen for the most part are the accomplishments of the new society and the setbacks that it has suffered. Thus, it is perfectly understandable that they have the characteristics of being persons who have a high degree of enthusiasm and of being hard-thinking probers into things.

The different experiences of the new and old generations will be reflected in their ideas, feelings, qualities and likes. Moreover, most people older in years have a rich store of experience, are comparatively stable and seasoned and work steadily

making solid progress. Young people are generally full of vigor and vitality and like newborn calves dare to think and act and are courageous in making inovations. These differences cannot be considered unusual.

Even so, in our new society, there are many points of similarity between the revolutionary older generation and the new generation. We live together is a socialist society that, although not yet perfect, has been established. We have the common ideal of realizing the great ideal of mankind -- a communist society. We have a common desire to improve the material civilization and the spiritual civilization of one billion people. We have a common believe in truth overcoming falseness, goodness overcoming evil and beauthy overcoming ugliness and we have the common goal of building a strong, modernized socialist nation..... . These points in common are the basic characteristics of our present older and new generations and also have an objective existence. We cannot allow this to be denied and there is no way that it can be denied.

Thus, in our new society, there are dissimilarities and differences between the revolutionary older generation and the new generation. However, there is certainly not an essential, permanent and unbridgeable chasm between them. The members of our revolutionary younger and older generations are like relay race runners holding high their torches as they race along the course of human evolution. The road that the older generation took was more rugged, more precipitous and more dangerous, whereas the road that the younger generation is taking broader, more remote and more tortuous. However, the torch that they hold on high is the same and the direction they are running in is the same. The torch is being passed from generation to generation with no chasm between them. Each generation has its strong points. All they have to do is learn from each other, adopting the good points and making up for shortcomings. The older people should not take advantage of their seniority and should support the feelings of the those born after them. The young people should not blindly assume self-importance and should respect the spirit of their elders in liking to study. In this way, a greater feeling of sympathy can be built up between the young and the old and they can advance together just as the rear waves of the Yangtze River push the front waves on.

10019
CSO: 4005/1051

PARTY AND STATE

FAILURE TO UPHOLD PARTY POLICY TOWARD INTELLECTUALS BLAMED FOR BRUTAL BEATING

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 82 p 4

[Article: "Protect the High Social Position of Teachers"]

[Text] Three women teachers in Huairou County of Beijing were for no reason surrounded and subjected to savage beatings. We express our deep sympathy to our teacher comrades who were injured and express our indignation and concerning the illegal behavior of Wang Xingkuan and the others.

Respect for teachers is one of our national traditions. Our Party has always advocated giving the people's teachers who are engaged in the noble calling of cultivating and teaching others their due honor and social position. However, why do incidents of this sort of insulting and beating up teachers occur continually in a number of places and even in the capital? People say that this is a deleterious effect brought about by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" having destroyed education and and having attacked the intellectuals. This kind of analysis is not sufficient to explain the actual cause. The problem lies in the fact there are teachers in some places who are still in the abnormal position of not being accorded the respect that is due them and of not receiving conscientious protection even though the ten-year period of disorder has been over for five years and the period in which the intellectuals were falsely accused of being "rotten old nines" is gone and will not return. The cause of this is one that we must search for in practice and in work. A great deal of practice demonstrates that the basic cause in places in which this type of situation has occurred, in addition to teaching work not being respected, was that the policy toward intellectuals was not being genuinely implemented.

The Party policy toward intellectuals, including the people's teachers, is a comprehensive system including a high degree of political trust, giving them a free hand in their work, giving them suitable allowances for their livelihood and protection and one of their rights. If in any place someone is still being discriminated against politically, is still being looked down on because of his work, is still being neglected in terms of livelihood and is still being treated with indifference in respect to his rights, how can we say that the policy toward intellectuals has been implemented in that place? It is not by chance that an incident such as the beating of teachers occurs in such a place.

In implementing the Party policy toward intellectuals, we must rely on Party and government leadership departments in each region to solve problems one by one and to deal with each matter one by one. As the result of the disclosure of the teacher beatings in Huairou County, will Party committees in other regions in which similar incidents are still occurring be able to link this with their own circumstances and strike at and manage these matters in a realistic way in terms of systems and policies? If policy is carried out well and cadres at all levels take the lead in implementing it, the broad masses will comply with it. We believe that the prevailing custom of respecting teachers can be greatly developed in our country.

10019
CSO: 4005/1051

MINORITY NATIONALITIES RECEIVE THEORETICAL, POLITICAL, AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Xinjiang Trains Large Group of Cadres Among Minority Nationalities -- More Than 16,000 Cadres From Among the Nationalities Were Released From Production To Study Theory, Politics and Vocational Specialties:]

[Text] The Party committees and Party organizations at all levels in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region are doing a conscientious job of training cadres from among the minority nationalities. As the result of releasing large numbers of cadres from our brother nationalities from production for study, they have raised their level of theory and policy and their capacity for professional work to varying degrees.

With the implementation over the past 2 years of the Party's policy of autonomy for the nationality regions, more and more minority nationality cadres in Xinjiang have assumed the responsibilities of important leadership work on various fronts. Under these new circumstances, the Party committees and Party organizations at various levels in the autonomous region have trained cadres at all levels on a planned way, and, at the same time, they have intensified training of cadres from among the minority nationalities. According to statistics, last year alone more than 16,000 minority nationality cadres (including the Han nationality) in the region as a whole were sent to central and autonomous region Party schools and to institutions of higher learning, being released from production to study theory, politics and various specialized cadre training courses.

In order to see to it that cadre training work could be done on a regularized, day-to-day and systematized basis, the Party committee of the autonomous region in 1980 convened a Party school work conference for the entire region at which studies were made of strengthening cadres at all levels and particularly of educating and training minority nationality cadres. In May of last year, the Party committee of the autonomuous region again formulated the cadre training program for the entire region for 1981 to 1985. Under the guidance of the Party committee of the autonomous region, Party organizations at all levels individually formulated concrete programs and measures of the training of minority nationality cadres in their own regions, their own units and their own departments.

The Party committee of the autonomous region and Party organizations at all levels also intensified establishment of Party schools, cadre schools and a corps of minority nationality teachers of theory. At present, 97 Party schools in the region as a whole have been renovated and expanded with the result that there are 125,000 square meters of school buildings that can accommodate more than 6200 students who live at the schools for study.

10019
CSO: 4005/1051

PARTY AND STATE

MEASURES SUGGESTED TO IMPROVE PARTY WORKSTYLE IN LIAONING

Shenyang Review of Discipline

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] Beginning this June, in agencies under municipal control and in the county area, the city of Shenyang has been carrying out a large-scale review of party character, style and discipline in a continuing effort to solve the problems of impure ideology, incorrect party style and muddled economics in leadership circles and of confused unit organization. This was brought out by the leading comrade of the Shenyang Municipal CCP Committee when announcing plans recently at the conference of leading party cadres throughout the city and county levels and at or above the regimental level.

The Shenyang Municipal CCP Committee decided that this large-scale review of party character, style and discipline would focus on self-examination, to be supplemented with spot checks. The primary elements of the review are: (1) Has awareness in leadership circles of the tremendous significance of correcting party style and attacking serious criminal activities in the economic realm been increased and have actions taken along these lines been clearly effective? (2) Have the ideological and workstyle problems in leadership circles regarding weakness and disorganization; lack of unity; lack of spirit; isolation from the masses and bureaucratism; violation of regulations by making arrangements for relatives to work, study or enter the army, to shift from agricultural to nonagricultural work, to move from the countryside to the city, to change from a collective to a state-run enterprise, or to change from being a worker to a cadre; problems of occupying more housing than warranted; of taking over state funds or property; of building on farmland; and of obtaining merchandise through the back door, as well as other problems of muddled economics and confused organization, been reviewed and corrected? (3) Have feasible reform measures been established to deal with the problems that exist in leadership circles and among the primary members of leadership circles? (4) Has rectification undertaken in these circles forcefully promoted the struggle to combat corruption and attack economic crimes and has it hastened new developments in the construction of the "two civilizations?"

At the recently convened Fuxun conference held to review party style and discipline and to exchange experiences, the leading comrades of the Fuxun

Municipal CCP Committee emphasized grasping the rectification work involved in the large-scale review of party style and discipline and requested that we basically finish solving the exposed problems of incorrect tendencies prior to "seven one" [the 1 July anniversary of the founding of the CCP]; units which have not carried out a review of party style and discipline must do so--they cannot merely drag their tails past the square. If party style throughout the city is not as it should be, it is the responsibility of the municipal CCP committee. If the party style of a particular unit is not appropriate, then it is the responsibility of both the party committee of that unit and its primary leadership and of the leadership of the party committee at the level immediately above. Responsibility must be assigned for problems that occur in production; problems of party style should be viewed as political errors and responsibility should also be assigned for them. These matters cannot be handled carelessly.

In the process of solving problems, the municipal CCP committee should pay special attention to the following: (1) There must be individual investigation of those who followed the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques and gained a reputation for "rebelling"; those who have severe factional attitudes; elements who took part in beating, smashing and looting; and those who have persistently resisted and opposed the line, principles and policies of the party since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, who, politically, have seriously sabotaged the party guidelines for political life and, economically, have seriously violated laws and regulations. They definitely cannot be promoted, and those that presently remain in leadership circles or occupy positions of leadership must be firmly removed. (2) Criminal activities that seriously damage the economy must be strongly attacked. Efforts must be concentrated on the big, important cases, without regard for which unit is involved or how high the positions of those involved. All cases must be handled impartially, giving full weight to the law, without allowing anyone to show favor to, plead for or shield criminals. When the law is violated, we must pursue those responsible without exception. (3) We must criticize and instruct those who "shift from agricultural to nonagricultural work" in violation of regulations, and in principle we must return all of them to their original work. Some must bear legal responsibility. We cannot allow people to be let off with a warning "not to let it happen again." (4) We must deal seriously with those who use their positions and authority to occupy land and build private homes and ensure that they make economic restitution within a limited period. Illegal income from the sale of illegal private homes must be seized by the state. (5) In all instances where policy regulations have not been followed, such as collective workers shifting to state-run jobs, workers becoming cadres, and peasants entering the cities and registering in state-run or collective enterprises, the original situation shall be restored. (6) Any cadres who act improperly in regard to housing and who incur the intense displeasure of the masses must be thoroughly investigated and made to consciously reform.

Adherence to Party Principle

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] If we say that the 10 years of unrest left a number of "sequelae" in the minds of cadres, then "watching which way the wind blows" is one of the more common of them. Although this malady has been controlled to a great extent through several years of quelling chaos and restoring order, some cadres still have recurrent outbreaks at times, especially when a new principle or policy is brought out.

One expression of this is: when a document from the party Central Committee arrives, they do not seriously study it first, repeatedly researching in an effort to understand deeply the true spirit behind it, but rather earnestly set about checking into the "backing" it has and its "background," or read between the lines to guess whether the atmosphere above is "implement" or "withdraw," "antileft" or "antiright."

A second expression of this is: when deciding on concrete measures for realizing policies, they do not devote their primary energy to surveying the actual conditions and the desires of the masses in the local area, but rather to "clarifying" the tendency, temper and mood of those at a higher level and then acting in accordance with their likes and dislikes, without regard to what is correct.

A third expression of this is: they have no interest in what is written in documents, printed in newspapers and broadcast over the airwaves, nor do they read, listen to or believe it, while they relish insubstantial rumors, not only believing them completely, but also spreading them widely as though they were evidence of policy.

This sort of "watching the wind" which replaces scientific analysis with subjective conjecture inevitably misinterprets and distorts party policy, or, to put it in colloquial terms, misreads the scriptures. For example, the public issuance of the "Summary of the National Conference on Rural Work" by the party Central Committee was clearly intended to further the penetrating implementation of rural policies adopted since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, but some overzealous people took it to be a signal to "withdraw" and were eager to "make corrections." The party Central Committee pointed out that agriculturally we must be resolute in placing primary emphasis on the planned economy, with market adjustments being supplementary, and this was clearly intended to hasten the development of the rural economy in a healthy direction, but some people thought it meant to restore "taking food grain to be the key" [placing primary emphasis on the production of foodstuffs], and they would not even dare to speak of promoting diversification. When the party Central Committee launched the idea of attacking serious criminal activities in the economic realm, the object of struggle was originally very clear, but some people nonetheless believed that this suggested seizing wealth, equating peasants who earned through diligent labor with economic criminal elements. Examples of this kind are numerous. Watching the winds tends to stir up the winds. In the previous period, in

implementing policies, instances of deviating from the spirit of the party Central Committee and vacillating between left and right appeared in individual areas, and we cannot but admit that this was related to the fact that some cadres incorrectly read the direction of the wind. Even though such conditions were corrected relatively promptly, they still should teach us a profound lesson.

The malady of "watching which way the wind blows," of course, has deep historical and social origins, but why has it continued until now to persistently befall certain comrades? There can only be two reasons: One is that their ideological lines are incorrect. They are accustomed to using a "leftist" or rightist perspective in dealing with party policies and always hope that the policies will change in the direction they desire. As a result, when they see the treetops quiver, they suspect that a strong wind is coming. The second is that selfish ideas and personal considerations cause problems. Sometimes, the comrades are not really confused but are merely afraid that they cannot keep up with "circumstances," afraid that they might offend their superiors, afraid to face dangerous winds, and so they toss the principle of seeking truth from facts to one side and go wherever the wind blows.

Since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party Central Committee has established a set of rural policies which the people have taken to heart. Bringing these excellent policies to fruition is the serious political task of the rural cadres at every level. This not only requires a firm and unwavering political standpoint, but also an honest scientific attitude, allowing for no self-serving trickery. We must truly concentrate efforts on studying and comprehending the spirit of the party Central Committee and on penetrating reality, penetrating the masses and carrying out research. By getting a firm hold on these two items, we can feel assured, knowing the road to follow and the methods to use in our work. Under any conditions, we can begin with reality and "sit securely in our fishing boat, despite rising winds and waves." Otherwise, we will be glancing about all day long, constantly watching the winds and trimming our sails, until one day we finally lose our way.

"Watching to see which way the wind blows" harms issues, harms the people and harms the nation. We cannot continue to support ourselves by "watching the winds."

Four Basic Thoughts

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] The provincial basic-level party organization construction experience exchange conference for those carrying out capital construction on the industry and communications battlefront which concluded on 20 June requested that party organizations at every level move ahead in getting a proper hold on the reorganization and construction of basic-level party organizations, seeing to it that our party members truly become qualified party members and that cadres are qualified to do their work and ensuring that the party

committees and branches in enterprises truly become the leading nuclei and battle fortresses in revolution and construction.

The conference stressed that being a qualified Communist Party member or cadre requires establishing four basic thoughts: firmly establish communist thought, always remembering the large communist goals and upholding the use of the system of communist ideology to examine and handle problems; firmly establish the idea of maintaining political unanimity with the party Central Committee, resolutely and thoroughly implementing the line, principles and policies established since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and daring to firmly struggle against all actions that violate the four fundamental principles; firmly establish the concept of wholeheartedly serving the people, correctly balancing the interests of the state, the collective and the individual, overcoming every form of individualist thinking and consciously supporting the interests of the party and the state; and firmly establish the concept that class struggle continues to exist under the new situation, profoundly recognizing the seriousness, harmfulness and criticalness of crime in the economic realm and the necessity and importance of developing this struggle and being a firm, clear-thinking, active Marxist.

This conference commended the 147 advanced party branches, 70 advanced party groups and 276 excellent party members that have surged forth in the construction of the two civilizations. The conference requested that those doing capital construction on the industry and communications battlefront seriously study, publicize and spread their advanced achievements and experiences.

9705
CSO: 4005/979

PARTY AND STATE

REVISED CONSTITUTION DRAFT EXPANDS MINORITY AREAS' AUTONOMY

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 28 May 82 p 2

[Article by Ma Qingnian [7456 7230 1628]: "The Revised Constitution Draft Has Expanded the Right of Autonomy of Minority Nationality Regions"]

[Text] The "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China" strengthens the regional autonomy of minority nationalities and expands the right of autonomy of the minority autonomous areas. This provides a legal guarantee for speeding up the development of the economy and culture of our country's minority nationality areas, and fills the people of all nationalities in our area with confidence and strength.

Our country is a unified nation of many nationalities; aside from the Han nationality, there are over 50 minority nationalities spread over the vast area of our motherland. Putting the regional autonomy of minorities into effect in places where there are concentrations of minority nationalities has been the policy of our party all along; it is a basic guiding policy of our party and state in solving the nationality question. At the same time, in the concrete circumstances existing in our country, it is also most in accord with the common aspirations and advantage of the various nationalities. The past more than 30 years of history have clearly proven that only by resolutely implementing this great political guiding policy and conscientiously putting this system into effect will we be able to mobilize the enthusiasm of the people of the various nationalities, take the national and local characteristics of minority areas into consideration, guarantee the minorities' right of equality to be the true masters of their own fate and manage their own minority areas' affairs, and further consolidate and develop unity among the nationalities and the unification of the nation.

The revised draft of the constitution has strengthened the regional autonomy of minorities and expanded the right of autonomy of the minority autonomous areas. In our 1954 constitution there were altogether six articles dealing with the regional autonomy of minorities; in the 1975 constitution there remained only one article; this was increased to three in the constitution of 1978; it is increased to 11 articles in the revised draft of the constitution that has now been promulgated. Not only has the number of provisions increased, but the content has also been filled out. The draft first of all restores the right of autonomy of minority areas that was

stipulated in the 1954 constitution, i.e., the right of autonomy to manage the finances of their own area within the limits stipulated in the law; the right of autonomy to formulate regulations regarding autonomy and other specific regulations in accordance with the political, economic, and cultural characteristics of the local nationality; and, in accordance with the state's military system and the local area's actual needs, and with the approval of the State Council, public security troops can be organized in the local areas to protect social order. On this basis, the revised draft of the constitution also expands the right of autonomy of the minority autonomous areas; stipulates that the posts of chairman of minority areas, head of prefecture of autonomous prefectures, and county magistrate of autonomous counties will be filled by minority personnel in the implementation of regional autonomy; stipulates the right of autonomy to have the autonomous organizations of the various minority autonomous areas implement the nation's laws and policies on the basis of the local areas' actual circumstances; stipulates the right of the autonomous organizations of the minority autonomous areas, under the direction of state planning, to manage economic construction enterprises of a local nature in an autonomous manner; and stipulates the right of the minority autonomous areas' autonomous organizations to manage the enterprises of their own areas' education, science, culture, hygiene, and physical education; protect and set in order the minority's cultural heritage; and develop and cause to flourish the excellent aspects of the minority cultures. The revised draft of the constitution at the same time also makes detailed stipulations regarding the training of minority cadres and all kinds of professional talent and technical workers to help the minority areas to speed up the development of their economic and cultural construction. This strengthening and expansion of the right of autonomy in minority areas embodies the complete confidence and respect of the party and the state for the peoples of all the minority nationalities; fully manifests the great interest and concern of the party and the state in the enterprise of economic and cultural construction in minority areas; is completely in line with the common aspirations and advantages of the peoples of all the minorities; and is a symbol of the strength and development of our country's system of autonomy for minority regions. This possesses great and far-reaching significance for mobilizing the people of various nationalities to carry out the building of the four modernizations together and for promoting the greater unity of the people of all the nationalities on the basis of socialism. As Marx said: "If we would cause all the nationalities to unite truly, it must be to their common advantage." The revised constitution draft's strengthening and expansion of the right of autonomy of regional areas precisely reflects and represents the common aspirations and advantage of all the minorities.

But during the period of the 10 years of internal turmoil, the nation's great basic law became an empty document. And the party's and the state's consistent policy of autonomy for minority areas also became empty words. The minority question was completely made into a matter of class struggle. The freedom of religious worship was expropriated and normal religious activities were surpressed, and certain healthy customs and practices among the minority nationalities were trampled on. The united front that is one of the "three magic weapons" of our party was also denounced as being a line

of surrender that "only unified, without combating." The people of all nationalities were made to suffer unprecedented insult and calamity. In order for the minority areas' right of autonomy to be exercised correctly, we must clearly recognize that our regional autonomy for minority areas is an autonomy within the great united family of the motherland, under the premise of maintaining the four basic principles, and particularly under the unified leadership of the party Central Committee, and is not an independent-type "league of nationalities" or "right of national autonomy" that departs from basic principles and the party's programs and policies. Our autonomy for minorities is a regional autonomy based in areas where minority nationalities dwell in concentrated settlements, and not simply "minority autonomy" separate from any definite area. Also, if we want the right of autonomy of minority areas to be exercised correctly, then we must do a good job of building unity among the nationalities; since we want to do a good job of uniting minority nationalities with the Han nationality, we must also do a good job of building internal unity among the minority nationalities.

If we want the right of autonomy of minority areas to be exercised correctly, then the crux of the matter will be to stress, and spare no effort in training, a contingent of minority cadres, gradually creating the numbers appropriate to the populations of the various nationalities; it will not do merely to create a few representatives. On the one hand we must step up the training of presently existing minority cadres and give them an opportunity to deepen their education both with regard to the study of theory and professional knowledge. On the other hand, it is even more important to stress the training of those minority cadres who are resolute in implementing the party's programs and policies, intimately connected with the masses, good at studying problems, good at investigating, researching, and solving problems, and have considerable cultural and scientific knowledge and professional expertise. We must also promote those among them who have considerable organizational ability, have both high moral character and talent, and are supported by the people, i.e., outstanding middle-aged and younger minority cadres who conform to our ideal of being revoultionary, youthful, knowledgeable, and professional, to various levels of leadership position; we must create the proper conditions for them, and enable them, while at their posts, to work out good policies for us. "We should not merely pick up the key without knowing how to open the door." We must educate them to be able to be both an "official" and one of the common people--to be able, "as an official," to be in charge of the people and, as common people, to share the burden of the state. Only in this way will we be able not to violate the great trust and expectations of the party and the people, enable the minority nationalities to be the real masters of their fate, and truly cause the right of autonomy of minority areas to be exercised. If we want the right of autonomy of minority areas to be exercised correctly, then our focus of attention must be to make a great effort to develop economic and cultural construction in minority areas. Due to generation after generation of rule by reactionary classes, the exploitation and oppression suffered by our minority nationalities was especially serious, and for this reason their economy and culture is particularly backward. Added to this were the 10 years of internal turmoil and the interference and ruin wrought by the error of "leftism," which caused the development of the

minorities' economy and culture, then in progress, to slow down. In addition, the politics, economy, and culture of the minority nationality areas all have their own characteristics. The revised draft of the constitution takes these characteristics into account and clearly stipulates the financial, material, and technological assistance necessary to enable the various minority nationalities to speed up their economic and cultural construction. As for our own Hui Nationality Autonomous Area here in Ningxia, since its foundation in 1958 the amount of financial subsidies the state has given to our area has represented a very large proportion of the autonomous area's total income, and if the state had not offered such great assistance and support, then the development of all kinds of construction enterprises in our autonomous area would not be as great or as rapid as it is now. However, our minority nationality areas absolutely cannot rest on the body of the state; we definitely must go all out to make the country strong, combine state assistance with the ability to regenerate ourselves through self-reliance, do a good job of managing our own affairs, and get on with our area's economic construction as quickly as possible. We must display a spirit of struggling in the face of difficulties; pay attention to the economy and make a great effort to accumulate construction capital; and do our utmost to diminish the burden of the state. In addition, the culture, education, science, hygiene, and physical education are still very backward in the majority of minority nationality areas. The party and the state are extremely concerned about this problem, but comrades in our minority nationality areas have tended not to give the matter enough attention. From now on we must definitely adopt some particular measures, and get on with the enterprise of culture and education for the entire area, particularly the southern mountainous area where there is a concentration of the Hui nationality. At present we must place emphasis on getting a good hold on making primary education universal and doing a good job of our higher school education.

I firmly believe that if the revised draft of the constitution is subjected to a discussion by all of the people, and particularly by the people of the various minority nationalities, those portions relating to the autonomy of minority areas will be revised even more perfectly. Then, after the National People's Congress has formally deliberated over it and passed it, it will not only possess important actual significance, but deep and far-reaching historical significance for protecting the rights of equality of the various nationalities; promoting greater unity among all the nationalities; and promoting the political advancement, economic prosperity, cultural flourishing, and popular wellbeing of the minority nationality autonomous areas.

9634
CSO: 4005/932

BRIEFS

NEI MONGGOL CPPCC MEETING--The fourth Nei Monggol Regional CPPCC Committee held its 17th standing committee meeting from 26 to 30 July. The meeting listened to the guidelines of the 19th session of the fifth National CPPCC Committee Standing Committee relayed by Wang Zaitian, vice chairman of the Regional CPPCC Committee. The meeting also discussed the draft of the revised CPPCC regulations and rules. Participants in the meeting unanimously held that the draft of the revised CPPCC regulations and rules have summed up the experiences on the work of China's united front and the CPPCC committee gained in the past 30 years and are more explicit, substantial and better than the former ones. Attending the meeting were Kui Bi, chairman of the Regional CPPCC Committee; and Peng Sike, Sun Lanfeng, Zhou Beifeng, Wu Daping, Zhao Zhanshan, Yang Lingde, Na-qin Shuang-He-er, Liang Yiming and Wang Haishan, vice chairmen of the Regional CPPCC Committee. [SK312230 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 Jul 82 SK]

FUJIAN CPPCC SESSION--The 15th session of the standing committee of the Fujian Provincial CPPCC Committee concluded on 6 August in Fuzhou. The session discussed the draft revised charter of the CPPCC and heard a report on the work of the provincial CPPCC committee for the first half of this year. It was decided to set up, under the provincial CPPCC committee, three subcommittees for economic, science and technology and education work respectively. Wu Hongxiang, chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee, presided over the session. [Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 6 Aug 82 OW]

HUNAN MANUAL FOR CADRES--The theoretical education division of the propaganda department of the Hunan Provincial CCP Committee has recently completed the compilation of a manual for rural cadres. This manual, which is going to be published soon, was compiled according to the spirit of the party's documents and directives concerning rural work issued since the third plenary session. It covers those fields such as principles and guidelines for rural work, economic policies, common knowledge of law, management and administration, production techniques, organizational construction, building of spiritual civilization, population control, and so on. [HK090857 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Aug 82 HK]

CSO: 4005/1200

NINGXIA MILITARY DISTRICT HOLDS MILITARY REVIEW

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jun 82 pp 1-2

[Article by staff correspondent and staff reporter: "Pushing Forward Our Army's Drive Toward Revolutionization, Modernization, and Regularization"]

[Text] In order to thoroughly implement the directive of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee, to report to the party and people the results of the revolutionary armed forces' drive to swiftly modernize and regularize, and to push forward the drive of our army toward revolutionization, modernization, and regularization, there was held yesterday morning in the Ningxia Military District a grand military review and marchpast. Senior officers of the Langzhou Units and party and government leaders of the autonomous region and Yinchuan reviewed the Liberation Army units stationed in Ningxia. Du Yide, commander of the Langzhou Units, and Li Xuezhi, first secretary of the autonomous region party committee and first political commissar of Ningxia Military District, reviewed the units from an open car. Du Yide made a speech when reviewing the troops.

The newly decorated reviewing ground was imposing and solemn. Hanging from the middle of the reviewing stand was a "1 August" ["Army Day," anniversary of the founding of the PLA] army flag, and on the two sides of the stand 30 resplendent red flags fluttered in the breeze. On the east, south, and north sides huge posters read "Struggle hard to build a powerful modernized, regularized revolutionary armed forces," "Strict training, strict demands," and "Be idealistic, moral, cultured, disciplined revolutionary fighters." Standing at the eastern quarter and the southern, northern, western sides of the reviewing stand were the officers and men, wearing blackish green steel helmets, who were to be reviewed.

At precisely 0900 hours, the solemn military review began. Du Yide and Li Xuezhi boarded the open reviewing car and circled the reviewing ground once, inspecting 23 square formations composed of infantrymen, artillerymen, and armored force men. Du Yide made a speech to the soldiers being reviewed. He said that at present our country's situation is excellent and that the party's line, principles, and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee are guiding the entire party, the entire army, and the people of the entire country to continuously win new victories on each front. In his speech, he emphatically pointed out that Mount Jialan is

located on the antihegemonist frontline and is a natural defensive barrier in the northern part of Ningxia. He said that its strategic position is extremely important and that we certainly must cherish, build up, and protect Mount Jialan, turning it into an invincible, impregnable powerful fortress, so that if the enemy dares to commit aggression, he will be engulfed in the boundless ocean of people's war by the united resolve of the Ningxia people. He said the whole body of officers and men must uphold the four basic principles, closely unite around the Party Central Committee, and be models in thoroughly implementing the party's line, principles, and policies; must strengthen their study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, oppose the corrosion of capitalist ideology, and be honored pacesetters in building a socialist spiritual civilization; must strengthen strategic work, conduct good education and training, conscientiously and thoroughly implement the system of ordinances, rules, and regulations, foster an excellent combat style and strict organizational discipline, and continuously improve the combat effectiveness of the units; must further display the glorious traditions of the people's armed forces, tighten the army-government, army-people relations, strengthen national unity, do good militia building, and further consolidate and strengthen the great wall of steel against aggressive war; and must do all jobs in a down-to-earth fashion, continuously sum up experiences, work hard to improve work efficiency, and accelerate the preparations against aggressive war in order to make great contributions to building our army into a modernized, regularized revolutionary armed force for defending the great socialist motherland and the construction of the four modernizations.

At 0916 hours, to the strains of majestic martial music, the marchpast began. With a "1 August" military flag in front, the square formations being reviewed, to the resonant strains of martial music, passed the reviewing stand in parade step. In heroic posture and with high morale, they shouted slogans as they marched forward with big strides. Following them, artillery pieces, armored cars, and tanks drove slowly, one by one, past the reviewing stand. In the twinkling of an eye, three echelon formations of planes of the air unit flew, one echelon after another, across the sky above the reviewing ground. Up in the sky and on the ground below, the mighty heroic posture and the energetic pace showed the steel-like fighting spirit of the units in making big strides toward modernization and regularization, and unfolded a brand-new scene of the units, under the party's leadership, carrying on and displaying the glorious revolutionary traditions, strengthening education and training, and continuously enhancing their military and political quality and their fighting ability.

Also taking part in the review were the following leading comrades of the party, government, and army of the Lanzhou Units, the autonomous region, and Yinchuan Municipality: Chen Hong [7115 1347], Wu Shengrong, Ma Xin, Hei Boli [7815 0130 3810], Liu Guangfu [0491 0342 3940], Lin Jigui [2651 1015 6311], Shen Xiaoceng [3747 2400 2582], Li Yunhe [2621 1926 0735], Ma Qingnian, Wang Jinzhang [3769 6855 3864], Ping Mao [7458 5399], and others.

Also watching the military review and marchpast were responsible persons of the units concerned of the autonomous region and Yinchuan Municipality as well as over 10,500 people of various nationalities in Yinchuan Municipality.

9727
CSO: 4005/998

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

LIU HUAQING ON LIU BOCHENG'S MILITARY SKILLS

HK281151 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 82 p 5

[Article by Liu Huaqing [0491 5478 3237]: "Reading 'How Liu Bocheng Directed Military Operations'"]

[Text] In order to help the vast numbers of commanders and fighters and particularly the young commanders and fighters study the military thinking of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, inherit and carry forward the glorious traditions of our army and study and draw from the successful experiences of the history of operations of our army, thoroughly explore the new art of military operations which is suited to the needs of a modern war and accelerate the revolutionization, modernization and standardization program of our army, the Figher Publishing House has recently published the book "How Liu Bocheng Directed Military Operations" which was edited by Comrade Liu Huaqing and Chen Feiqin.

Over more than half a century, our army has grown out of nothing, from being small to large and being weak to strong and at long last achieved victory in the people's war and founded new China. All this was achieved under the guidance of Mao Zedong's military thinking. Mao Zedong's military thinking is an advanced military scientific system which combines the military theory of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolutionary wars. It contains the wisdom and assiduous creation of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. During the protracted revolutionary wars, Comrade Liu Bocheng profoundly studied the theories of famous ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign military scientists, organized and directed the army to fight many large-scale and victorious battles and created many famous battles, accumulated countless experiences in directing military operations and thus made extremely great contributions in enriching Mao Zedong's military thinking. The veteran proletarian revolutionaries, such as Chairman Mao and Commander in Chief Zhu, had great confidence in and admiration for Comrade Liu Bocheng. The CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao highly regarded and praised the achievements which Comrade Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping made in leading the 129th division in opening up the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan anti-Japanese base area and in developing and expanding our army during the initial stage of the war of resistance against Japan. They particularly praised the Shangdang, Pinghan, Longhai and Dingtao campaigns which they directed and a series of military operations which they directed in leading the large contingents of our army in boldly driving into

the Dabie Mountains and successively fighting in different parts of the Central Plains during the early days of the liberation war. Comrade Zhu De praised Comrade Liu Bocheng, saying: "He is not only brave and skillful as well as wise and full of strategems but also of great attainments in military theory and has achieved numerous creative feats. He possesses the qualities of an armyman, such as humanity, trustworthiness, resourcefulness, courage and strictness and also the styles of ancient famous generals. He is a rare talent among the general in our country." Recently Comrade Xu Xiangjian further pointed out: "Comrade Liu Bocheng is a famous military scientist and also a military theoretician. He has written a number of military works which mirror the experiences of our army and with their own incisive originality, they similarly constitute the precious wealth of our army. They should be systematized, studied and mastered by us all."

"How Liu Bocheng Directed Military Operations" is a good book for summing up and studying Liu Bocheng's art of military operation. It records the process and experiences of Comrade Liu Bocheng in directing military operations during the revolutionary war. The book is a collection of 30 articles. The first half of the book are articles which mainly record and narrate the mobile warfare and guerrilla warfare and its second half are mainly theoretically expository articles. The whole book represents in great detail more than 30 major campaigns and battles which were personally directed by Comrade Liu Bocheng during the stages of the war of resistance against Japan and the liberation war. The authors of the articles are all commanders and staff personnel who fought north and south on many [word indistinct] in those years under the command of Liu [Bocheng] and Deng [Xiaoping]. Having a better and more profound understanding of Comrade Liu Bocheng's art of war and astuteness and resourcefulness, they discuss Comrade Liu Bocheng's art of military operation and his characteristics in directing military operations from different angles in the form of memoirs or study notes.

Comrade Liu Bocheng worked with Comrade Deng Xiaoping for a long period in jointly leading and directing the military operations of the 129th Division and later the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan field army. Therefore, the experiences of Comrade Liu Bocheng in directing military operations in this historical stage naturally embodies Comrade Deng Xiaoping's military thinking. In fact, many strategic principles for campaigns, operational plans and operational actions were jointly formulated and directed by the two of them. Comrade Deng Xiaoping very often singly and personally went to the front and commanded the operations. For example, during February and March 1940, in the first anti-communist upsurge started by the KMT, Chiang Kai-shek ordered his 97th Army commanded by Zhu Huaibin and other troops, by advancing along three routes, to attack the Daihang areas which were under our control. At that time, Comrade Deng Xiaoping personally went to the forward positions and directed the troops in striking relentless blows at the stubborn invading enemy army and annihilated three enemy divisions of the troops of Zhu Huaibin and others. As a result, the base areas were consolidated and developed. Sometimes, they separately led an army and fought in different battles to jointly fulfill the campaign plan. In the struggle to reestablish

the base areas in the Dabie Mountains, there emerged a situation like this: at the end of November 1947, the enemy concentrated 33 brigades and launched attacks and mopping-up operations against key sectors of the Dabie Mountains. In order to thoroughly smash the enemy's plans for mopping-up operations, on the one hand, political commissar Deng Xiaoping led the small-sized front headquarters and directed the main force of the Central Plain Field Army to stay in the interior lines to carry out guerrilla warfare. On the other hand, Commander Liu Bocheng led the rear headquarters and some of the troops in moving to the areas south of the Huaihe River and directed the various brigades on exterior lines to attack the enemy and forced the enemy, which has been attacking the Dabie Mountains, to withdraw its forces to take care of its rear. At that time many operational directives which were made by comrades Deng Xiaoping, were all signed and issued in the name of Liu and Deng. So, we can fully regard the experiences in the military operations in the various campaigns which were jointly conducted by senior officers Liu and Deng as a crystallization of their collective wisdom. Of course, Comrade Liu Bocheng is a military commander. The experiences included in the book "How Liu Bocheng Directed Military Operations" still mainly reflect his military thinking.

After reading the book, which of his commanding techniques can we learn from Comrade Liu Bocheng?

The art of military operation of Comrade Liu Bocheng first of all is manifested in his overall conduct of battles and highly competent leadership. He had made a serious and earnest study of the strategic principles and the operational plans for campaigns formulated by the CCP Central Committee and the military commission of the CCP Central Committee, the whole situation of war and his part and the strategic situation of both the enemy and ourselves, knew like the back of his hand the strategic attempts, orientation and plans of both the enemy and ourselves. He could objectively foresee the course of the development of the war and firmly keep the initiative in war. When our army launched each campaign, he not only gave consideration to the aim which should be attained in this campaign but also took into account the campaign which should be carried out next and the question of how to make concerted efforts to coordinate with the operations of the friendly forces in other regions throughout the country. The several articles, such as "Storming Handan at Night Three Times, Launching Attacks Against the Longhai Trunk Railway Three Times" written by Comrade Li Da, "A Good Move in the Overall Situation" by Comrade Li Desheng as well as "A Chronicle of the Shandang Campaign" and "On Making a Resolution" conspicuously mirror this artistic characteristic of military operation of Comrade Liu Bocheng. The article written by Comrade Li Da especially makes a detailed introduction on the course of struggle of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan field army during October 1945 to July 1947. In a short period of no more than 2 years, under the command of Comrades Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping, our army succeeded in launching the Pinghan, Linghai, Dingtao, Juye, Juannan, Hua County, Hu (Ye)-Jin(Xiang)-Yu(Tai) campaigns, the Henan-Anhui border campaign as well as the northern Henan counterattack operation and the southwest Shandong campaign. From these campaigns, we can clearly see how Comrade Liu Bocheng directed the military operations in an overall manner. Tearing up the "ceasefire

agreement" and launching a civil war, in June 1946 Chiang Kai-shek besieged our liberated areas in the Central Plains with massive forces and at the same time, stepped up attacks against our liberated areas in northern Jiangsu Province. In order to support, by coordinated action, the Central Plain troops in making a breakthrough and the operations in northern Jiangsu Province, senior officers Liu and Deng received orders to lead the main force of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan field army in launching an attack against the enemy stationed along the Kaifeng-Xuzhou line of the Longhai Trunk Railway, thus attacking Longhai for the first time. During January and February 1947, in order to coordinate with the Laiwu campaign launched by our East China Field Army, to pin down the enemy and check the enemy's relief forces going to the east to take part in the operation, Comrade Liu Bocheng led the first, second and third brigades as the operational group army north of the Longhai Trunk Railway and Comrade Deng Xiaoping led the sixth and seventh brigades as well as the armed forces of the Henan-Anhui-Jingsu command as the operational group army south of the trunk railway. They separately launched military operations and annihilated the enemy in Dingtao, Dan and Cao counties, Minquan, Shangqiu and Zhecheng, Taikang, Luyu and Qi and Hao counties, thus attacking Longhai for the second time. Judged the situation as a whole from a strategic point of view, the aim of the two attacks against the Longhai Trunk Railway was to cooperate with the operations launched by our friendly forces and to pin down the enemy. With great foresight, senior officers Liu and Deng clearly saw the inevitable trend of our army shifting to a strategic counteroffensive. Before the implementation of the strategic counteroffensive, they ascertained beforehand the topography, the enemy's situation and the condition of the people of the areas of the Longhai Trunk Railway and the new areas east of and north of the Huaihe River and made preparations for strengthening the work of the new areas east of the Huaihe River, later to be called the Henan-Anhui-Jiangsu command, and for establishing positions for future advance. According to Comrade Deng Xiaoping's words at that time, it was called "exploring the way," that is ascertaining the way for the future shift to a strategic counteroffensive and diverting the war into the Chiang Kai-shek-controlled areas. At that time, the people only focused their attention on the results on the battlefield and the immediate strategic role of the Longhai and Henan-Anhui border campaigns and few people saw their great significance of our army shifting to a strategic counteroffensive. In July 1947, our army shifted to a counteroffensive. The CCP Central Committee chose the Dabie Mountains area as the key sectors of its strategic offensive and ordered the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan field army to make a breakthrough in the center of the areas, attack Longhai for the third time and directly thrust into the Dabie Mountains. With the experiences of the previous two attacks against Longhai, senior officers Liu and Deng had a complete grasp of the enemy's strategic plans and operational characteristics and launched drive-straight-in and leaping forward operations, thus enabling our army to achieve a great victory. This fully demonstrates that senior officers Liu and Deng were strategically farsighted in directing military operations. While marching into the great southwest, with the overall situation at heart, senior officers Liu and Deng saw that the Hu Zongnan troops and large numbers of the routed KMT troops which beat a precipitated retreat to Sichuan and

Guizhou provinces would retreat to Yunnan and then flee to other countries. They boldly directed the 4th Army of our second field army to make a direct thrust into Yunnan Province from Guangxi Province and ordered the 3d and 5th Army groups of the second field army to directly thrust into Guizhou Province and the southwestern Sichuan Province through Hunan Province. They engaged in an operation of massive outflanking and encirclement and cut off the enemy's retreat and encircled several hundred thousand enemy troops in coordination with the contingents of our army advancing south from Shaanxi and Gansu provinces and with those advancing west from Hubei Province and completely wiped out the enemy in the Chengdu areas of western Sichuan Province. As a result, we achieved the final victory in the campaign and fulfilled the task of liberating the great southwest.

Flexibly annihilating the enemy is another aspect of the art of military operation of Comrade Liu Bocheng. Many articles in the book "How Liu Bocheng Directed Military Operations," such as "Storming Handan at Night Three Times, Launching Attacks Against the Longhai Trunk Railway Three Times," "Giving the Enemy a Back Thrust in the Juannan campaign," "Flexible Tactical Thinking Shines With Dazzling Splendor," "Seek, Create and Strike the Enemy's Weaknesses," "A Successful Battle of Concentrating a Superior Force to Destroy the Enemy One by One" discuss in great detail this characteristic of the art of military operation of Comrade Liu Bocheng. Comrade Liu Bocheng clearly pointed out: "Chairman Mao's science of the people's army is characterized by the fact that those who have nothing at the start will triumph over those who have everything; the few will triumph over the many and the inferior will triumph over the superior. Therefore, flexibility is particularly needed." He maintained that by "flexibility," we mean "seeking the enemy's weaknesses; if it does not have any, we must create weaknesses in the enemy and then concentrate a superior force to assault these weaknesses of theirs and in an appropriate time and under appropriate conditions, we must fulfill the task of launching a flexible attack so that the enemy will not be able to cover up its weaknesses which have been assaulted." That is to say, we must carry out broad flexibility, advance and retreat in great strides, change the situation of both the enemy and ourselves, and in campaigns and tactics, assault the enemy's weaknesses and concentrate a superior force to destroy the enemy one by one. In October 1946, senior officers Liu and Deng summed up the main experiences and lessons of the Juye campaign in good time. Of the experiences, they included "in campaigns, our main force should advance and retreat in great strides. Only thus can it take the enemy by surprise and strike where or when the enemy is unprepared, and thus easily eliminate the enemy one by one"; "the victory in the Longhai operation was the result of the fact that we penetrated the enemy's positions in length and breadth and in great strides and thus yielded results in the surprise attack. In line with these lessons, we are preparing to carry out broad flexibility and to launch attacks where there is opportunities." Following this principle, our army launched the Juannan campaign. At that time, the large contingents of the enemy troops were attacking the areas north of the Huanghe River along three routes. Our army adopted the tactic of attacking the weak while avoiding the strong and making a fein to the east and attacking in the west, and used a small section of troops to confuse and

pin down the enemy troops commanded by Wang Jingjiu which spread in the areas east of the Hongshawo-Jinxiang line. Furthermore, the main force of the second, third and sixth brigades of our army suddenly and secretly marched into the Puyang areas from the areas west of Yuncheng and Juye and were ready to look for an opportunity to wipe out the enemy army group commanded by Sun Zhen which had intruded into the west front of Puyang. When our troops came to the areas northwest of Juancheng, they found that one brigade and another regiment accompanied by a Howitzer battalion and mountain artillery battalion of the enemy central route army under the command by Liu Ruming had rashly advanced to Juancheng from Heze. Senior officers Liu and Deng made a prompt decision to change the original operation plan, seized this favorable opportunity and the right moment to annihilate this weary and isolated enemy. Such outstanding battles of flexibly annihilating the enemy are beyond counting.

Seeking and creating the enemy's weaknesses meant putting an end to the situation in which the enemy was strong and we were weak and turning it into a situation in which the enemy was weak and we were strong. Comrade Liu Bocheng advocated: "If the strong attacks the weak, the former will also become weak. If the weak attacks the strong, the former will also become strong." "Pit the weak against the strong in order to wipe out the weak with the strong. Pit the decentralized against the centralized in order to annihilate the decentralized with the centralized. That is to say, we use our weak forces to wear down the enemy's strong troops so that we can use our strong forces to wipe out the enemy's weak troops. We use our decentralized forces to wear down the enemy's centralized troops so that we can use our centralized forces to wipe out the enemy's decentralized troops." In the practice of war, both in strategy and tactics, he already found a good solution to the question concerning the transformation of the strong and the weak. The Xiangfan campaign recorded and narrated by the article "a good move in the overall situation" was a vivid example. At that time, the defending enemy troops of Xiangfan were located in an area jointly defended by the enemy's troops of Gu Zhutong's group, Bai Zongxi's group and Zhang Zhizhong's group. This state of affairs had its own weak points (as the juncture point of the enemy) but also had its own strong points (could be reinforced in three ways). In order to coordinate our east China field army in its operations in eastern Henan Province, senior officers Liu and Deng resolved to start a powerful offensive in the Hanshui River Valley and launch a campaign against the enemy in Laohekou and Xiangfan to force the Zhang Zhen corps and the whole enemy 18th Army, under the command of Hu Lian, to go westwards to rescue the troops there and, thus, to wear down the enemy's decentralized troops with our centralized forces and isolated the enemy in eastern Henan Province and to ensure that the east China field army could use its centralized forces to wipe out the enemy's decentralized troops. While senior officers Liu and Deng were working out the plan for the campaign, the enemy ordered the whole 18th Army to advance to the north to reinforce its army there. Thus, they decided to put off launching the Xiangfan operation and personally led the main force of the Central Plain Field Army to check, along the Peiping-Hankou Railway, the enemy's Hu Liao Corps and Wu Shaozhou Corps which were going to the north as reinforcements and drew the enemy's 10th Corps which was stationed in the Nanyang areas. In this way, the Xiangfan defending enemy troops fell into an isolated and helpless position and lost their strong points and our army become relatively superior in some areas. Thus our army

captured Xiangfan by surprise and annihilated the defending enemy troops. While [words indistinct] up the experience of the Xiangfan campaign, Comrade Liu Bocheng said: The victory of the Xiangfan campaign "lay in the fact that as the enemy and ourselves were engaged in eastern Henan Province and along the Peiping-Hankou Trunk Railway, the main force of the enemy troops was drawn away and Xiangfan was left isolated as a result. The initial calculation by Chiang (Kai-shek) and Bai (Zongxi) was that our army had no main force left for attacking Xiangfan and Xiangfan could be tenaciously defended. So they dispatched their reinforcements late. Once we captured it, it was already too late for the enemy reinforcements to rescue it." "This is very like the method of playing basketball: while the two parties are interlocked, one player seizes the opportunity to shoot by exploiting an advantage." It can thus be seen that flexibly annihilating the enemy, seeking and creating the enemy's weaknesses and concentrating a superior force to assault the enemy's weaknesses constitute an important reason why Comrade Liu Bocheng was able to be in an invincible position in directing military operations.

The art of military operation of Comrade Liu Bocheng is also manifested in the fact that in light of the actual conditions in which our army was carrying a people's war, he made use of and developed the ancient art of war of our country and created a large number of new commanding techniques. Comrade Liu Bocheng is well-read and has a good command of the works of ancient military strategists. In his practical operations, he could make the past serve the present and has created numerous new commanding techniques. More than 20 examples are enumerated in the book "How Liu Bocheng Directed Military Operations" alone, such as "Absorbing and Annihilating the Enemy Relief Force," "Making a Back Thrust," "A Delaying Tactics," "A Tiger Pulling the Heart Out of a Prey," "Taking Away the Firewood From Under a Cauldron," "Attacking the Enemy for a Single Fault To Absorb Its Relief Force and Gnawing One Side of the Enemy in Order To Destroy It One by One," "Encircling the Three Sides and Leaving One Side Open, So That One Side of the Net Is Open, Leaving a Spurious Way Out and Secretly Having a Pocket," "Attacking Where the Enemy Must Necessarily Come To Rescue In Order To Wipe Out the Enemy Relief Force and Attacking the Enemy Which Will Certainly Retreat While Being Attacked in Order to Annihilate the Enemy Which is Retreating" and the "Snake-beating Tactic" of "Pressing the Head From Both Sides, Pulling At the Tail, Cutting the Waist and Contenting Oneself With Nothing Less Than the Snake's Destruction." At the same time, in accordance with the characteristics of our army, he flexibly utilized and developed the traditional operational methods of our army's guerrilla warfare and mobile warfare and summed up new tactics, such as the "sparrow tactic," "wasp tactic," "wolf's tactic," "laying repeated ambushes," "using a butcher knife to kill a fowl" and "massive outflanking and encirclement." During the war years, while working out the tasks for operations, Comrade Liu Bocheng would talk about tactics, the art of war, and some examples of actual combat to help the commanders at the various levels enhance their wisdom and arouse them to enthusiastically create various new operational methods. Whenever a campaign ended, he would earnestly organize all his subordinates to summarize

the campaign and raw both positive and negative experiences. These tactics and commanding techniques created by Comrade Liu Bocheng are the valuable wealth of our army and will play their proper role in future wars of antiaggression.

In order to closely and scientifically exercise leadership over military affairs, Comrade Liu Bocheng also attached great importance to the headquarters building of our army, so that it could adapt itself to the needs of war. This idea of Comrade Liu Bocheng are suited to war, "on time and space" and "on reconnaissance." Comrade Liu Bocheng maintained: "The headquarters are a commanding organ in which a senior officer exercises leadership over the army. The senior officer must make the headquarters automatically and widely operate under his determination. Meanwhile, the headquarters must attach importance to the powers of the senior officer to make a decision, support him from behind and organize military operations and even supervise their implementation according to the determination of the senior officer." In the early days of the founding of our army, he had defined, both in theory and practice, the correct relationship between the commander and the headquarters. Along with the growth and expansion of our army, Comrade Liu Bocheng keenly felt that the relationship between the staff personnel and the commanders is like the relationship between clouds and rain. He pointed out: "A staff officer is like the clouds and a valiant general is like the rain. Without a cloud, there will be no rain." For this reason, he showed great solicitude for the training of the staff personnel, gave them verbal directions and taught them by his example and expended a great amount of his energies on this purpose. He called being clear about tasks, the enemy's situation, our situation, topography and time "five professional skills" and asked the staff personnel to learn to use these "five professional skills." He specially stressed that the headquarters should first do a good job in such fields of work as reconnaissance, operation, and confidential communications so as to ensure victory in military operations. Today, with the extensive application of new weapons and technology, the unpredictability and complexity of war have become more conspicuous. Operational actions may possibly be carried out simultaneously on the land, on the sea and in the air. This requires the commanding organs to make prompt responses and sets new higher demands on the farsightedness, planning, scientific nature, flexibility and stability of the headquarters work. Without a headquarters organ which is suited to the characteristics of a modern war, at ordinary times, we will be unable to manage, educate and train the troops and make war preparations in a fairly satisfactory way in the light of the needs of a modern war; at war times, we will be unable to exercise timely, accurate and constant leadership and ensure victory in the war. Therefore, accelerating the modernization and standardization program of the headquarters is a major task of our army building. We must earnestly study and apply the expositions of Comrade Liu Bocheng concerning the building of the headquarters work of our army and do a good job in the building of the headquarters at the various levels ideologically, organizationally, professionally and in work style and improve our work efficiency.

The art of military operation of Comrade Liu Bocheng is quite superb. However, he is fully aware that in winning victory in a war, it is not possible to solely depend on individual abilities. Instead we must depend on and give play to the strength of all personnel, because the war is a large-scale armed struggle between different political groups of mankind, rather than an individual action. Therefore, he held: "To ensure victory in a war, we must have two factors: one is morale and the other is the art of war"; "fighting will and methods of struggle (tactics) are the handles for directing military operations. We must be good at implementing and using them. Without fighting will, everything else will be out of the question. Furthermore, we will possibly be in danger of being completely routed. "That is to say, if our troops do not have any morale or their morale is not high or in other words, their political zeal is low, they will inevitably be defeated. Therefore, he not only paid attention to raising the military qualities of the troops but also paid more attention to boosting the morale of the troops. At all times, he always stressed the strengthening of ideological and political work and aroused the revolutionary zeal of the troops through thoroughgoing, painstaking and powerful ideological and political work so that the troops would maintain high morale and indomitable fighting will. Particularly in the war years, when the armed strength of both the enemy and ourselves was greatly weakened, fighting will and morale contest became more important: the party whose morale was low would be finally defeated and the party whose morale was high would achieve the final victory. Therefore, he believed that "the success or failure of war depends on the combination of political strength and technical force." While studying Comrade Liu Bocheng's art of military operation and his experience in directing military operations, we must pay particular attention to this idea of his.

Comrade Li Bocheng is a highly honored veteran proletarian revolutionary. Studying and mastering the military thinking of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation is a task of great significance.

The book "How Liu Bocheng Directed Military Operations" has reached the vast numbers of readers. We must thank the authors of the articles for reviewing and discussing Comrade Liu Bocheng's brilliant idea about military operations, from which we will be able to gain considerable benefits. I hope you comrades will write more and better articles which will sum up the experiences of our army in its operations and leave priceless treasure for our coming generations.

CSO: 4005/1182

BRIEFS

YUNNAN ARMED POLICE MEETING--On the afternoon of 28 July, the Yunnan Provincial People's Armed Police Force held a gathering in the hall of the provincial public security department to mark the 55th anniversary of the founding of the PLA. The meeting was presided over by (Le Ningchao), political commissar of the general brigade. Comrade (Kang Hongdi), head of the general brigade gave a report on carrying forward the glorious traditions of the people's armed forces and accelerating the building of the people's armed police force. In his report, Comrade (Kang) reviewed the glorious history of the founding of the people's armed forces and pointed out that it is necessary to take the PLA as an example in building the people's armed police force. It is necessary to inherit and carry forward the glorious traditions of the people's armed forces, incessantly strengthen the ties between the army and the police and between the police and the masses, and turn the people's armed police force into an armed force which is faithful to the party and the people, which observes strict discipline, which is well trained, loved by the masses and held in awe by the enemy and on which the party and the state can rely. [Text] [HK300923 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Jul 82]

NEW STEEL HELMET--Special dispatch from Beijing--Research departments of the Chinese communists' armed forces have designed and successfully trial-manufactured a new type of steel helmet which will be put into overall production and issued to the troops. The performance of this steel helmet is much better than that of the old-type steel helmet formerly provided for the troops. The Headquarters of the General Logistics Department [of the PLA] and the Military Projects Office [6511 1562 6586 0361 1358] of the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry under the State Council recently jointly held an appraisal meeting at which this new-type steel helmet was appraised. The technical performance of the helmet is stable, its bulletproof properties are good, and its external shape is strong and pleasing to the eye. The departments concerned are about to organize its production and issuance to the troops. [Text] [Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 30 Jun 82 p 6] 9727

NEW DEPUTY NAVAL COMMANDER--Beijing, 14 Jun, XINHUA--Ping Hongda [7458 3163 6671], the youngest son of General Ping Yuxiang [7458 3768 4382], was recently promoted to be deputy commander of the Maritime Navigation Protection Department [5300 0202 6752] of the Chinese PLA Navy Headquarters. Ping Hongda was also promoted to be deputy commander of the Maritime Navigation Protection Section [5300 0202 5710] of the North Sea Fleet Headquarters. Ping Hongdu, 52 years old this year, studied naval matters in the Soviet Union and graduated from the Caspian Sea Naval Command School. After returning to China in 1953, he has continuously worked in the People's Navy, successfully holding the posts of chief navigator, deputy captain of a warship, chief professional navigator, and commander of the Maritime Navigation Protection Section of the headquarters of a certain naval base. [Text] [Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 15 Jun 82 p 6] 9727

CSO: 4005/998 END

JPRS 81679

1 September 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 333

ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILE WEAPONS

By

Liu Shaoqui and Li Xianlin

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81679

1 September 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 333

ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILE WEAPONS

Beijing FANDAODAN WUQI [ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILE WEAPONS] in Chinese Aug 81 unnumbered introduction, table of contents, pp 4-75

[Introduction, table of contents and chapters 2-8 of book "Antiballistic Missile Weapons" by Liu Shaoqui [0491 4801 3808] and Li Xianlin [2621 7341 7207] published by National Defense Industries Press, 100 pages]

[Text] Introduction

It is an objective law of development that every form of attack has its corresponding defense.

The appearance of every new advanced weapon inevitably results in the development of a weapon to defend against it. Antiballistic missiles, which are intended for defense against nuclear ballistic missiles, are still under development.

The antiballistic missile is an extremely large, complex, costly weapon system involving a wide range of technologies. The United States took 20 years and spent a total of more than US $10 billion to produce the Safeguard system, which nonetheless had low effectiveness and was taken out of service in February, 1976.

This book presents a systematic introduction to antiballistic missile systems. It is divided into ten chapters. The first eight describe the organization, capabilities, interception process and guidance principles of the systems, penetration and antipenetration techniques, and the design and characteristics of the antiballistic missiles themselves. Chapter 9 describes other approaches to ballistic missile defense such as laser weapons, particle beam weapons and the like. Chapter 10 describes the status of certain foreign antiballistic missile systems and discusses trends in the development of such systems.

Prof Shi Chaoli [0670 6389 4409] and Comrade Shen Zhongfang [3088 1813 5364] read the manuscript carefully and many valuable comments, Comrade Chen Mingdi [7115 2494 1717] did much work associated with the writing of the book, and Comrades Chang Bozhi [1728 0590 2535] and Lu Zheng [7120 6154] drew the diagrams and the cover illustration for the book; we take this opportunity to express our gratitude to them.

Because antiballistic missile systems involve an extremely wide range of technologies and our own abilities are limited, the book may contain errors; readers' corrections and criticisms are earnestly solicited.

Data on US and Soviet antiballistic missile systems presented in the text are drawn from open foreign publications; since difference publications sometimes present conflicting figures, the data presented here should be used for reference only.

[Translation of] Table of Contents

Chapter 1.	An Overview of Antiballistic Missile Systems	1
Chapter 2.	The Organization and Capabilities of Antiballistic Missile Systems	4
	Warning Systems	5
	Target Recognition Systems	6
	Ground-Based Guidance Systems	7
	The Antiballistic Missile: The Interceptor Component of the System	8
	Command and Control Systems	9
Chapter 3.	The Missile Intercept Process	12
	Simplified Description of the Target Interception Process	12
	Time Allocation in the Engagement Process	14
	Six minutes, and 6.5 Seconds	16
Chapter 4.	Guidance Principles	19
	The Intercept Path	20
	Guidance Principles	24
Chapter 5.	Design and Characteristics of the Antiballistic Missile	29
	General Design	29
	Characteristics of the Antiballistic Missile	29
	Some Foreign Antiballistic Missiles	36
Chapter 6.	The Command Center: The "Brain" of the Antiballistic Missile System	40
	The Functions of the Command Center	41
	Capabilities of Electronic Computers	44
Chapter 7.	Warning Systems and the "Far-Seeing Eye" of Radars	49
	Warning Satellites	50
	Radar, the "Far-Seeing Eye"	53
	Over the Horizon Radar	55
	Phased Array Radars	58
	Monopulse Radars	60
Chapter 8.	Penetration and Antipenetration Techniques	66
	A Survey of Penetration and Antipenetration Techniques	66
	Several Penetration Techniques	68
	Recognition Techniques	72

Chapter 9. Other Ways of Intercepting Missiles 76

Brief Descripticns of Interception Methods 76
Laser Weapons 77
Particle Beam Weapons 84

Chapter 10. Current Status and Development Prospects of Foreign Antiballistic Missile Systems 90

The Status of US Antiballistic Missile Research 90
Soviet Antiballistic Missile Weapons 95
Future Prospects of Antimissile Systems 97

Tables

Table 1. Ballistic Characteristics of Ballistic Missiles 99
Table 2. Subdivisions of the Radio-Frequency Spectrum 100
Table 3. Characteristics of US Antiballistic Missile Weapons 100

Map

Chapter 2. Organization and Capabilities of Antiballistic Missile Systems

Antiballistic missile systems are assigned the mission of destroying attacking ballistic missiles (intermediate range, long range and intercontinental ballistic missiles) and other attack weapons and protecting military objectives, important industrial cities, missile silos and other targets from enemy attack. In addition, their warning systems may take on some of the air defense warning mission.

Specifically, antiballistic missile systems have the following tasks.

1. Detecting incoming targets as early as possible, accurately computing their trajectories and furnishing the antiballistic missiles with sufficient warning time. If incoming enemy aircraft are detected as soon as they take off, our own squadrons have more time to prepare to intercept them, and the probability of destroying them is increased. This is even more true of high-speed attacking missiles: the longer the warning time, the greater the probability of destroying them.

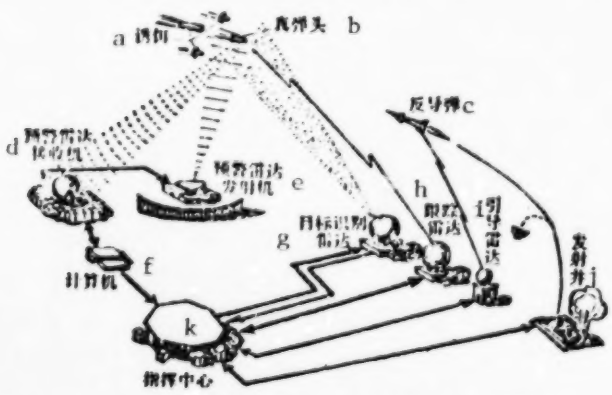
2. After target acquisition, they must use the data obtained by the warning system to recognize and discriminate targets and determine whether they are missiles, satellites or false targets. False targets may be ignored, while no missile warheads or other attackers must be allowed through.

3. The antiballistic missile must be guided to intercept of the target and must destroy all attacking "enemies."

4. All commands must be rapidly transmitted and all target information that has been obtained (including target characteristics, trajectory data and the like) must be processed rapidly.

5. The intercept results must be evaluated so as to determine whether more firepower should be organized for an intercept.

Antiballistic missile systems generally consist of a warning system, a target recognition system, a ground-based guidance system, a command and control system and antiballistic missiles, as shown in Figure 2.1.



Key:
a. Decoys
b. Warhead
c. Antiballistic missile
d. Warning radar receiver
e. Warning radar transmitter
f. Computer
g. Target recognition radar
h. Tracking radar
i. Guidance radar
j. Launcher
k. Command center

Fig. 2.1. Antiballistic missile system

What are the functions of the main components of antiballistic missile systems? Must they be this complex? To answer these questions requires some understanding of the functions of the components or systems.

Warning Systems

Antiballistic missile systems have highly capable, sensitive "eyes" which constantly monitor enemy ICBM launch sites. Even the launch of a wily "enemy" (a missile) 10,000 kilometers away cannot escape detection by these "eyes." The "eyes" are called warning systems. They are a prerequisite for interception of targets by antiballistic missile systems.

Warning systems have the mission of detecting, providing warning of locking onto and tracking targets. In the immensity of the skies, warning systems constantly monitor possible sudden enemy attacks, detect missiles and other attack weapons in flight or at launch, make a rough determination of the targets' trajectories and the areas that are threatened, and furnish the antiballistic missile system with as much time as possible to prepare.

Warning systems generally include warning satellites, over-the-horizon radars, long-range surveillance and tracking radars and the like.

A warning system consists of several stations (tracking or monitoring stations) which may be distributed over an entire country or several regions in a weblike network; the warning systems are accordingly also called warning networks.

The question of how warning systems detect incoming targets is left for discussion in Chapter 7.

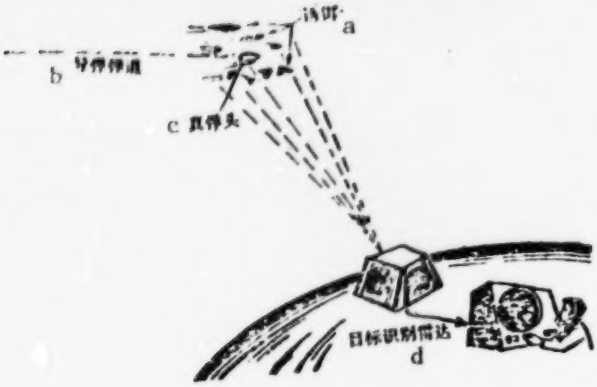
Target Recognition Systems

"One day the warning system suddenly discovered an incoming enemy warhead, and all of the country's missiles, antimissile systems and aircraft were on a hair-trigger alert. It seemed that a major war was inevitable; many persons were terrified and looked for shelter."

This situation actually occurred many years ago in the United States because its warning system malfunctioned, mistaking an aurora display for incoming warheads and giving a false alarm.

We can see from this instance that in addition to being absolutely reliable, a warning system must also be capable of recognizing targets.

In order to avoid detection and tracking by the warning system, incoming targets may resort to certain tricks such as releasing dummy targets (also called decoys or chaff, e.g. balloons, metal wire, metal foil and the like) and concealing themselves within this crowd of targets (Fig. 2.2). This obviously makes it difficult for the warning system to carry out its mission and "confuses its vision." Under these circumstances the important thing is target recognition.



Key:
a. Decoys and chaff
b. Missile trajectory
c. Warhead
d. Target recognition radar

Fig. 2.2. "Enemy" hidden in a target cluster

Target recognition requires that false targets be distinguished from missile warheads. The system with this task is called the target recognition system.

Target recognition can be carried out by separate target recognition equipment such as radars or laser systems or can be performed by the target tracking radars themselves.

Correct target recognition requires that the recognition equipment have very high resolution so that auroras or satellites will not be mistaken for incoming warheads and so that warheads will not be mistaken for false targets.

There are many recognition techniques; the two most common are described in Chapter 8.

Ground-Based Guidance Systems

Before a rifle is fired it must be aimed, as everyone knows. A rifle is sighted by means of the front and rear sights.

The system which guides an antiballistic missile to its target is called the guidance system. The function of the guidance system is equivalent to the function of sights on a rifle. Because the guidance system is rather complex and is located on the ground or underground, it is also called the ground-based guidance system.

The ground-based guidance system's main tasks are to track and vector the antiballistic missile, guiding it directly to its target. Accordingly it is a fast, precise system. It consists of the ground-based launching equipment, the target tracking radar and the antiballistic missile guidance radar.

In simplified terms, the operation of the ground-based guidance system is as follows. Using the target information supplied by the warning system, the

target tracking radar continuously monitors the precise position, velocity and other ballistic parameters of the target, transmits them sufficiently in advance to the command and control center and the ground-based guidance system, controls the launching of the antiballistic missile, and then tracks the relative position and speed of the antiballistic missile and its target, formulates control instructions by means of a fast computer, transmits these instructions to the automatic pilot device of the antiballistic missile, and accurately guides and controls the antiballistic missile so that it flies to and intercepts the target. More simply, it tracks the target, launches the antiballistic missile, and guides it to interception of the target.

The antiballistic missile guidance radar (i.e. the ground-based guidance radar) has the main task of guiding the antiballistic missile to an accurate intercept of the target. It uses the target trajectory information furnished by the target tracking radar to track designated targets and also guides high-altitude or low-altitude antiballistic missiles to their targets. In the case of low-altitude interceptor missiles, target data must be received 20 seconds before launch, when the target is about 100 kilometers from the guidance radar station, so that control commands can be formulated.

The Antiballistic Missile: The Interceptor Component of the System

The term "fandaodan" [0646 1418 1734] is an abbreviation of "fandandao daodan" [4606 1734 6670 1418 1734], "antiballistic missile." This is the interceptor component of the antiballistic missile system and constitutes one measure for intercepting incoming targets; others are described in Chapter 9. Like the projectiles of an antiaircraft gun, it directly destroys the target. Antiballistic missiles are usually divided into high-altitude and low-altitude types, which are used against high-altitude and low-altitude targets respectively. The former type is called a high-altitude interceptor and the latter type a low-altitude interceptor. The high-altitude interceptor destroys groups of targets at altitudes greater than 100 km (including true and false targets) to protect an entire area (which includes military installations, important cities, industrial centers and ICBM bases) and constitutes the first line of antimissile defense. The US Spartan (intercept altitude 160-480 km) and the Soviet Galosh missiles are high-altitude interceptors.

Low-altitude interceptors intercept all targets which have penetrated the high-altitude intercept area (the first line of defense) and have descended to low altitudes. They constitute the second, and currently the most important, line of defense. The US Sprint antiballistic missile (intercept altitude 32-48 km) is a low altitude antiballistic missile.

What are the characteristics of high-altitude and low-altitude interceptors (ABM's)? Of what do they consist? These questions are answered in Chapter 5.

Comand and Control Center

Since the beginning of military history, command and control have always been an important part of warfare.

Like the human brain, the command and control system of an antiballistic missile system controls all components of the system and coordinates their operation so that they are knit together into unified whole and constitute an effective weapon for destroying incoming targets.

For example, when the warning system furnishes target information and recognition is carried out by the target recognition system, the command and control center must rapidly make a correct engagement decision. The commander uses the command and control system to order the launching of missiles (high-altitude missiles first, then low-altitude missiles) to engage the target. The ground-based guidance system uses target information (ballistic data) to make continuous corrections in the missile's trajectory and guide it unerringly to the target.

Today, when advanced modern weapons are available, their great attack speeds and destructive capabilities compel the belligerents to make rapid decisions and to react quickly, which requires that antiballistic missile command and control systems be highly reliable, fast, accurate, flexible and survivable.

Command and control systems generally include command components (the command center), communications components (communications stations), and data processing components.

The command center (command post) is the brain of the antimissile system, the decisionmaking organ, which is in charge of issuing orders and messages and commanding and allocating the activity of the various systems.

In the movies we have seen communications troops carrying messages on horseback: this is a common communications technique of great antiquity.

Communications systems constitute the "nerves" along which information is sent between the various subsystems of an antiballistic missile system. All information is rapidly exchanged between communications stations in order to assure free and uninterrupted communications between all systems.

The communications system must be fast, accurate, reliable and secure; it is a completely automated system. An example from World War II makes clear the importance of security and reliability. On 18 April 1943, the telegraphic code of the Japanese High Command was broken by US intelligence, with the result that Japanese Admiral Yamamoto was shot down and killed by US pilots over Bougainville. This was an outstanding air victory of the war.

The term "data processing" refers primarily to the processing of various types of measurement information. From the target data obtained by the warning radar to the target intercept, all measurement data are rapidly computed and processed (e.g. by data smoothing and the like) in order to determine the correct positions and speeds of various targets and to assign the priorities for destruction of targets within a group.

The aim of data processing is to assure that target data obtained by the radars are completely reliable. Because the data from the radars include various kinds

of errors, mathematical methods of processing must be employed to remove them. If the data are smoothed or filtered, the errors can be removed, assuring that they will be reliable.

The tools of data processing are electronic computers which are fast, have large capacity and permit no errors, because a computer malfunction or computation error could produce a disaster. Accordingly, data processing systems have automatic diagnostic capabilities to eliminate any possible malfunctions and to assure that the computation results will be correct.

This has been a brief description of the main components of antiballistic missile systems.

Chapter 3. The Missile Intercept Process

An ICMB is a sophisticated modern weapon consisting of tens of millions of components; an antiballistic missile is also a modern, complex, sophisticated system and consists of even more components.

For these complicated antiballistic missile systems to destroy incoming ballistic missiles, they must carry out warning, recognition, tracking and interception. If these four system components are controlled and coordinated, and their firepower used effectively, they can destroy the "enemy" and intercept all incoming targets.

Simplified Description of the Process of Target Interception

How does an antimissile system intercept a target?

Warning. The warning system (such as warning satellites, over-the-horizon radars and the like) unceasingly searches and maintains surveillance over the immensity of space and monitors enemy missiles (missiles launched from silos, from flying aircraft and from submarines).

If a warning satellite or over-the-horizon radar detects a target, the warning system immediately sends out an alarm and the long-range radar beings the process of target acquisition and tracking, makes a rough calculation of the target's trajectory and point of impact, and estimates the degree of danger and the size of the endangered area. If the incoming warhead will fall in the defended area, the warning radar transmits the target ballistic data to the air defense command center, thus completing its warning task.

Target Recognition. The target recognition system uses the target data supplied by the warning system to track and recognize the target. The target recognition system performs a target characteristics analysis on the information obtained for all targets (e.g. target motion characteristics, shape and so on), distinguishes the individual targets within a group, eliminates false targets such as satellites, meteors and auroras, recognizes incoming warheads, calculates their numbers and trajectories, assigns priorities to real targets (warheads) and transmits the information in timely fashion to the command center.

Tracking. The long-range precision tracking radars continuously track the targets, determine their trajectories accurately and process such monitoring data as target range, bearing, elevation and rate of change of distance (i.e. velocity) to eliminate measurement error (generally caused "measurement noise" by engineers), determine accurately the target trajectories, and estimate the intercept point and point of ground impact.

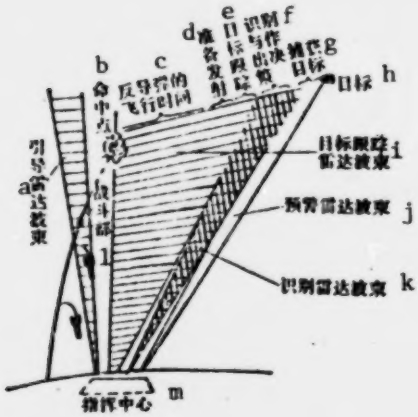
Interception. The command center makes decisions on the basis of the information on all targets, and when it has determined that the incoming warheads will fall in its defended area, it immediately issues the command to compare for combat, and all systems and personnel in the defended area are placed in the highest alert status.

The command center uses the target information provided by the radars for firepower allocation, and first commands the high-altitude interceptors to go into action. When the high-altitude interceptor units receive the order, they immediately make launch preparations and carry out bearing determinations so that the interceptor's flight trajectory passes through the predetermined intercept point.

When the launch command is received, the high-altitude interceptors are immediately launched. Their flight control systems (including guidance systems and attitude stabilization systems) direct them toward the intercept point. The correction commands for the interceptor's trajectory are continuously issued during its flight on the basis of the real position and speed of flight of the target so that the interceptor will intercept it. When the target enters the lethal radius of the interceptor warhead it detonates, destroying the target.

The command and control system analyze and evaluate the results of the high-altitude intercept. If some targets slip through without being destroyed, they will continue toward the defended area, so that the tracking radars may not relax their tracking activity; when the targets enter the atmosphere (generally defined as an altitude of about 80 km), the target tracking radars again carry out tracking and recognition of the targets. Because light chaff such as foil is burned up and falls behind the warhead in the atmosphere (and thus is only usable outside the atmosphere), the opportunity for recognition is good. If a small number of heavy decoys survive, they too will fall behind the warhead as a result of air resistance; thus the target recognition radars can recognize the various targets entering the atmosphere. On the basis of the direction of approach of the targets, the command and control center again allocates firepower and orders the launch of the low-altitude interceptors. The ground-based guidance system guides the antiballistic missiles toward their targets according to a specific pattern. This is a simplified description of the interception process.

The antiballistic missile target intercept process is shown in Fig. 3.1.



Key:

a. Guidance radar beam
b. Intercept point
c. Time during which antiballistic missile is in flight
d. Launch preparation period
e. Tracking period
f. Recognition and decision period
g. Lock-on to target
h. Target
i. Target tracking radar beam
j. Warning radar beam
k. Recognition radar beam
l. Warhead
m. Command center

Fig. 3.1. Antiballistic missile intercept process

Time Allocation of Engagement Process

Now, using an ICBM with a 10,000-km flight path as an example, we describe the process by which the antiballistic missile intercepts the target.

The entire flight of the ICBM lasts about 33 minutes, the antiballistic missile intercept process and its timing are as follows.

1. 26 minutes [from ground impact]. The warning system detects the targets and provides 26 minutes warning time (from detection of the target to ground impact); the antiballistic missile units enter the highest alert status.

2. 17-23 minutes. The target tracking radar tracks the targets, calculates their trajectories and estimates the intercept points and ground impact points.

3. 7 minutes. The target recognition system carries out target recognition, distinguishes real and false targets, calculates the target trajectories and expected intercept points (the real intercept point is difficult to determine, and an intercept point can only be calculated on the basis of radar measurements: this calculated value is called the expected intercept point). At this point the target distance (from the center of the defended area to the target) is about 3,000 km.

4. 3 minutes. Launch preparation. The high-altitude interceptors receive the expected intercept point data and carry out azimuthal sighting; on order from the command and control center the combat units launch the high-altitude interceptors. At this point the distance to the target is about 1300 km.

5. 90 seconds. Interception of targets. The ground-based guidance system guides the high-altitude interceptors to the targets. At this point the distance to the targets is about 700 km.

6. 60 seconds. The high-altitude interceptor's warheads explode, destroying the targets. At this point the distance to the targets is about 450 km.

7. 30 seconds. Target recognition. The antiballistic missile system determines the results of the high-altitude intercept, and if all of the targets have been destroyed it prepares for the next engagement. If targets still have not been destroyed, the target recognition system uses atmospheric filtering and other methods to recognize targets which have passed through into the atmosphere, separating warheads from decoys and chaff and tracking the warheads. It calculates the target trajectories and preliminary intercept points and the low-altitude interceptors are readied for launch. At this point the distance to the targets is about 200 km.

8. 20 seconds. Second intercept. At the command from the command and control center, the low-altitude interceptors are launched. The ground-based guidance system guides them to the targets. At this point the distance to the targets is about 100 km.

9. 13 seconds. Destruction of targets. When the targets enter the lethal radius of the low-altitude interceptors, the warheads explode and destroy the targets. At this point the distance to the targets is about 50 km and the targets are at an altitude of 15-20 km.

Six minutes, and 6.5 Seconds

Below we use the US Safeguard system's high-altitude Spartan interceptor and low-altitude Sprint interceptor to give a simple account of the antiballistic missile engagement process.

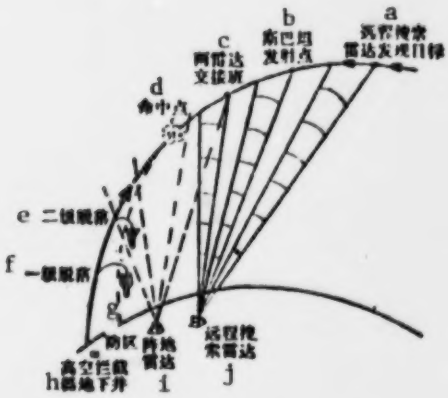
First we consider the 6-minute flight of the Spartan.

Before launch, the high-altitude Spartan interceptor is stored in a reinforced concrete silo 2.7 meters square and 21.9 meters deep.

Warning satellites are monitoring enemy missile launches abroad; if they detect the launch of a missile they immediately issue a warning and all components of the antiballistic missile system make combat preparations. The long-range tracking radars detect the target at a distance of about 4300 km and furnish 10 minutes' warning. When the target is 3360 km distant (8 minutes before impact) the command to launch the ABM is issued and the Spartan's engine is ignited in the silo. When the one-dimensional thrust exceeds 204 tons the Spartan is launched vertically from the silo, departs from the surface of the earth and begins a programmed turn. When it is 1280 km (2 minutes) from the target, the target tracking radars (site radars) begin to track the target. When the Spartan has been in flight for about 4-5 seconds, the first stage is jettisoned and the main engine begins operation. After 60-65 seconds the Spartan completes the planned turn and has acquired the necessary speed (about 2.2 km/sec). At this time the main rocket engine is shut off and the second stage separates; the Spartan is in free flight outside the atmosphere. The third stage motor is turned on and off in response to the position and velocity of the target so that the ABM maneuvers in flight and moves toward the target.

If the target enters the lethal radius of the Spartan, the ground-based control system issues the order and the warhead detonates, destroying the target with powerful X-rays. The Spartan's intercept altitude is approximately 650 km and the time approximately 90 seconds before the ground impact time.

The entire engagement time for the Spartan is about 6 minutes; the engagement process is shown in Fig. 3.2.



Key:
a. Long-range surveillance radar detects target
b. Point at which Spartan is launched
c. Changeover point for two radars
d. Intercept point
e. Second stage jettisoned
f. First stage jettisoned
g. Defended area
h. High-altitude interceptor silo
i. Site radars
j. Long-range surveillance radars

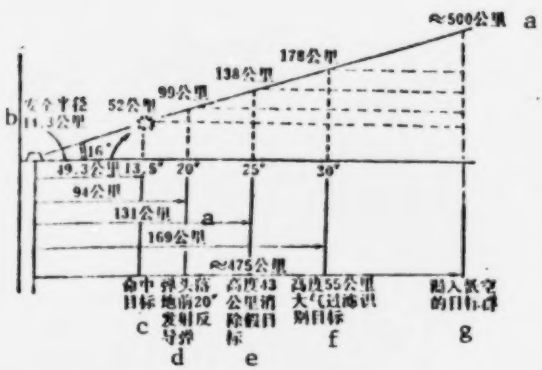
Fig. 3.2. The Spartan engagement process

Now let us consider the 6.5-second flight of the low-altitude Sprint.

Before launch, the Sprint is stored in an underground silo. When the target is approximately 100 km from the defended area (20 seconds to impact) the command to launch the Sprint is issued and a gas generator immediately ignites. The high-pressure gas ejects the Sprint from the silo, after which the booster rockets ignite. After about 2 seconds of flight the first stage booster is jettisoned and the main rocket engine ignites. On the basis of the ballistic characteristics of the target and Sprint determined by the radar, the computer formulates commands for corrections in the Sprint's trajectory. When the target enters the Sprint's lethal area (at which point the target is at an altitude of about 52 km and the time to impact is 13.5 seconds), a command is issued from the ground and the warhead explodes, destroying the target.

The entire interception flight of the Sprint lasts approximately 6.5 seconds.

Fig. 3.3 shows the engagement process for the Sprint



Key:
a. [distance in km]
b. Safety radius 14.3 km
c. Target intercepted
d. ABM launched 20 seconds before target's impact with ground
e. False targets eliminated at altitude of 43 km
f. Atmospheric filtering and recognition of targets at altitude of 55 km
g. Target cluster penetrates into lower atmosphere

Fig. 3.3. Engagement process for the Sprint

Chapter 4. Guidance Principles

An ABM must use the optimal path in order to intercept an incoming target in space.

In general, it is harder for a weapon (e.g. a rifle) to attack a moving target than a fixed one. Because of the high speed of incoming targets, i.e. warheads (the speed of an ICBM is about 7km/sec, about 2 times the speed of sound), and the short interception time (the entire intercept process lasts from several seconds to several minutes), it is much more difficult to intercept a high-speed warhead than a target flying at slow speed.

Everything is dual in nature. Intercepting a fast-moving warhead has its difficult aspect, but also its favorable side. The latter is the fact that the flight of the warhead follows a specific pattern (the ballistic trajectory). This path can be calculated with great precision using information obtained by radars such as target range, bearing, elevation angle and rate of change of distance (speed).

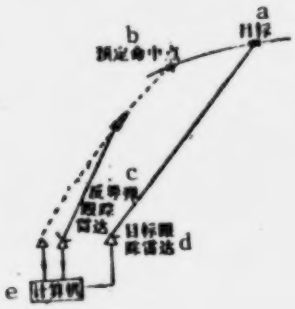
If the favorable conditions are thoroughly utilized, the optimal intercept method can be determined and a good intercept trajectory chosen.

The Intercept Trajectory

There is a wide variety of ABM intercept paths, but the trajectory of a warhead without the ability to maneuver (i.e. without motive power and control systems) is determinate, so that the intercept path is not chosen at random, but generally belongs to one of the following two types:

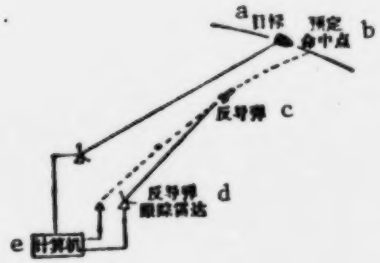
1. head-on, in which the ABM intercept the target head-on, as shown in Fig. 4.1;
2. rear attack, in which the target is intercepted from the rear, as shown in Fig. 4.2.

Fig. 4.1. Head-on intercept



Key:
a. Target
b. Designated intercept point
c. ABM tracking radar
d. Target tracking radar
e. Computer

Fig. 4.2. Rear intercept



Key:
a. Target
b. Designated intercept point
c. ABM
d. ABM tracking radar
e. Computer

Head-on attack is most commonly used.

How is the head-on intercept path determined?

The reasons for choosing this path are that it takes less time, saves energy (uses less propellant) and allows an effective target kill. But how is it carried out in practice?

The target tracking radar and the ground-based guidance radar measure the ballistic data for the target and the missile respectively and use mathematical methods to compute the target's trajectory and the intercept point (i.e. the point at which the target and the missile will meet); if the missile accurately flies its course to the intercept point it will meet the target.

It may be asked why, since a rifle can be aimed at either a fixed or a moving target on the battlefield, and the ABM is aimed at the intercept point rather than the target itself.

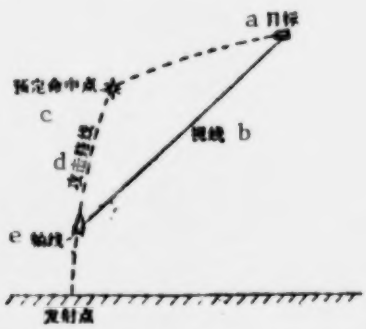
If you watch an experienced hunter hunting rabbits, the riddle is explained. Experienced hunters always aim at a point ahead of the rabbit because a certain amount of time elapses between aiming and firing, and during this time the rabbit will already have moved forward a certain amount, with the result that the bullet so aimed will strike it. Otherwise the shot would go behind the rabbit.

The ABM intercept process is similar to a hunter's shooting at a rabbit.

Because the target and the missile are both flying at high speed, if a line between the target and the ABM were taken as the intercept path, the intercept

would be unsuccessful and the target would not be hit: by the time the missile had flown to the position which the target had occupied at a certain time, the target would already have moved to another position at a speed of about 7 km/sec (in the case of an ICBM). Accordingly, the ABM must be aimed at the intercept point. This is the way in which selection of an ABM intercept path is similar to a hunter's shooting at a rabbit.

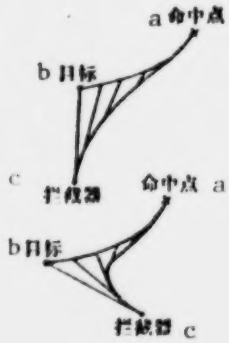
The ABM's trajectory toward the intercept point (which is not a straight line connecting the two) is called the reference path. When we fall into formation, whether or not our position and direction in the formation is correct generally depends on the position of the parade guide and the direction in which he is facing. If the position and direction of an ABM at a given moment are incorrect, what sort of a "guide" does it have? The guide is the "reference path." The reference path is determined from the target's motion characteristics and the flight capabilities of the ABM's motor (see Fig. 4.3). With the reference path it is possible to determine the correct position and direction of flight of the ABM (Fig. 4.3).



Key:
a. Target
b. Line of sight
c. Intercept point
d. Attack trajectory axial line
e. Launch point

Fig. 4.3. Intercept path

The pattern which controls the ABM's reference path is called the "guidance pattern." Thus we can say that the guidance pattern actually determines how to compute the reference path, and the problem is to find an optimal guidance pattern which will bring the ABM successfully to its target. Some attack trajectories are shown in Fig. 4.4.



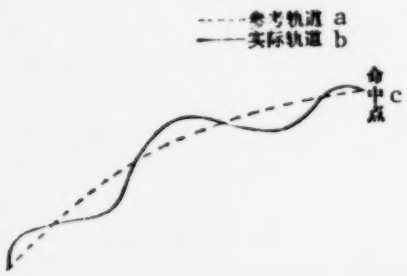
Key:
a. Intercept point
b. Target
c. Interceptor missile

Fig. 4.4. Attack trajectories

In actual flight, the ABM may be subject to interference from various factors (produced by measurement error, errors in missile manufacture and the like) which make its actual flight path deviate from the reference path so that it does not fly towards the intercept point and is unable to intercept the target. This is one factor which would prevent destruction of an incoming target.

Another factor which would prevent destruction of the target would be rather large errors in the target's trajectory as measured by the radars: if these erroneous data were used to calculate the designated intercept point, the result would be "drift" of the point (i.e. it would depart from the real intercept point) so that the target would not be destroyed.

Therefore, if the designated intercept point drifts, i.e. slowly shifts from the real intercept point, the ground-based guidance system sends out a command for the ABM to return to the reference path. In this way the missile will be made to fly along the reference path at high speed and destroy the target (see Fig. 4.5.).



Key:
a. Reference path
b. Actual path
c. Intercept path

Fig. 4.5. Deviation from path

The system which directs the missile to follow the reference path is the ABM guidance system, part of the ABM flight control system. The guidance system controls the missile's flight in accordance with the guidance program: it continuously issues control instructions which cause the missile to fly towards the designated intercept point in accordance with the guidance program and destroy the incoming target.

More specifically, the basic task of the guidance system is to determine the missile's position and velocity and produce control commands to alter its path in accordance with the trajectory of the target, so that it will destroy the target.

The guidance system consists of a variety of devices which assure that the missile will be guided to its target. The principal ones are as follows.

1. Measuring equipment, used to measure the missile's actual flight path, including determination of its speed and attitude.

2. Missile onboard computer, which continuously calculates the divergence of the missile's actual flight path from the reference path and formulates control

commands so that the control devices perform the proper operations. The main requirements regarding the onboard computer are that it be small and light, consume little power, be reliable and have good capabilities. The computer can receive control instructions directly from the ground-based guidance system and convert them into instructions which keep the missile on the required path. Particularly since the advent of the microprocessor, computers have come into extensive use in flight control systems and have become one of their most important components.

3. The onboard receivers, which receive the target trajectory data measured by the radars and the various control commands from the ground.

4. The control equipment, which changes the positions of the actuating devices on the basis of commands from the computer. The rotation of actuating equipment (such as the exhaust nozzles, swiveling engine and the like) can adjust or control the magnitude and direction of engine thrust and thus change the velocity and direction of the missile so that it follows the required path or returns to the reference path.

While the missile is in flight the control system must determine the required magnitude and direction of the thrust in accordance with commands from the control system; the magnitude and direction of the thrust are controlled in terms of the angular error sensed by the autopilot equipment. Outside the atmosphere the small nozzles or swiveled engine are moved in response to the size of the angular error signals so that the missile attains the proper attitude (Figs. 4.6, 4.7).

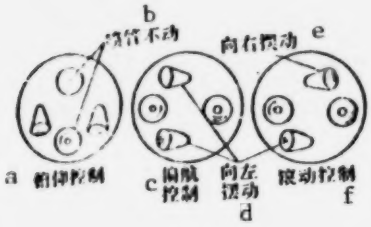


Fig. 4.6. Use of movable exhaust nozzles to control motion of the missile

Key:
a. Pitch control
b. Nozzles not moved
c. Yaw control
d. Moved toward left
e. Turned toward right
f. Roll control

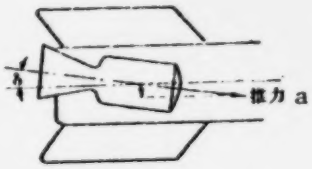


Fig. 4.7. Swiveled engine

Key:
a. Thrust

Thus the missile's flight control system includes not only the guidance system but the flight stabilization system (attitude stabilization system). The flight stabilization system must assure that the missile has good stability, must maintain stable flight (without rolling or pitching) under any type of interference and must respond rapidly to all control signals by using the attitude control system to correct the attitude of the missile, so that it follows its path with the proper attitude until it destroys the target.

Guidance Principles

Before we introduce ABM guidance principles let us consider a tragedy that occurred when a passenger aircraft lost its way.

On 20 April, 1978, Flight 902 left Paris for Seoul carrying 97 passengers. The distance was 13,500 km.

Initially everything went well. En route, in the vicinity of Canada's warning station at Alaite [phonetic] the aircraft inexplicably made a turn far off its correct course, towards the Kola peninsula in the Soviet Union (see map [not reproduced]). At this time it was slightly over 4 hours out of Paris.

The aircraft flew on for 2 hours, entering Soviet airspace at Murmansk.

At this time the Sovet Air Force Command gave the order: "Attention: attacking aircraft."

As soon as the order was given, six supersonic Su-15 fighters immediately took off and intercepted the airliner.

The Air Force Command gave the order: "Fire."

One of the fighters launched two air-to-air missiles at the aircraft. One of them struck it, tearing off a piece of the wing tip, while fragments of the warhead passed through the center of the fuselage, killing 2 persons and injuring 13.

The stricken aircraft rapidly descended, looking for a place to land.

When the Soviet pilot lost sight of the target (the stricken aircraft) he reported to the command that it had been shot down.

It was already dark. The aircraft, with its brave passengers, made a dangerous landing on a frozen lake in the dark.

This is a simplified account of how a Boeing 707-320C lost its bearings, strayed over Soviet airspace and was nearly shot down by the Soviet Air Force.

How could this aircraft have lost its bearings? One reason was that the guidance system malfunctioned and was unable to indicate its correct course.

If it had been an unmanned aircraft or a missile whose guidance system went out of commission, who knows what might have happened?

What kind of guidance does an antiballistic missile use?

The guidance which an antiballistic missile uses to intercept its target generally is radio command guidance. In command guidance, the commands which control the flight of the missile are issued by the ground-based guidance system and transmitted to the missile by radio.

Command guidance requires that the guidance system be extremely precise, that it have high immunity to interference and that the onboard equipment be reliable. The command guidance system consists of the ground-based guidance system and the onboard equipment. The commands are transmitted by the ground-based guidance radar. Fig. 4.8. is a diagram of a common type of command guidance system.

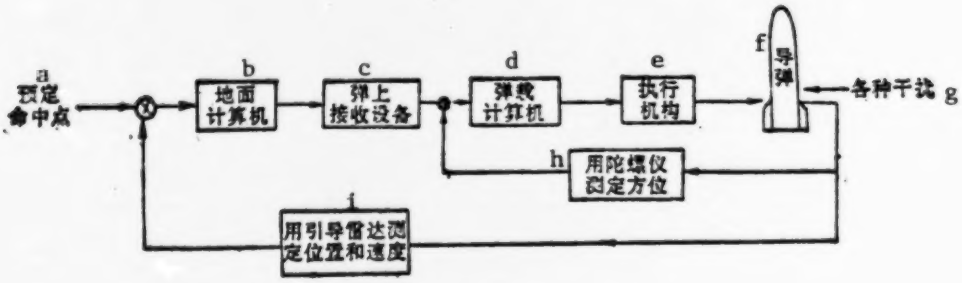


Fig. 4.8. Operation of command guidance system

Key:
a. Designated intercept point
b. Ground-based computer
c. Onboard receiver
d. Onboard computer
e. Actuating devices
f. Missile
g. Interference
h. Position determined by gyroscope
i. Position and velocity determined by guidance radar

When the missile is subjected to interference, the ground-based guidance system uses radar measurement data to calculate the changes in the missile's trajectory data (position and speed), then by computation and comparison it forms control commands for the missile and transmits them to it, enabling it to intercept its target.

The main components used in radio command guidance are as follows.

1. The ground-based guidance radar, which can accurately determine the position and velocity of the missile and relay this information quickly to the computer.

2. The ground-based computer system, which consists of one or more large-sized computers and which can make rapid and precise calculations of target or missile ballistic data and quickly compare them with the data for the designated intercept point, form control commands and transmit them to the missile's guidance system in coded form.

3. The automatic pilot, which receives control commands from the ground-based guidance system, compares them with the data from the onboard position sensor, operates the actuating devices to control the missile's thrust and direction, and thus corrects the missile's course.

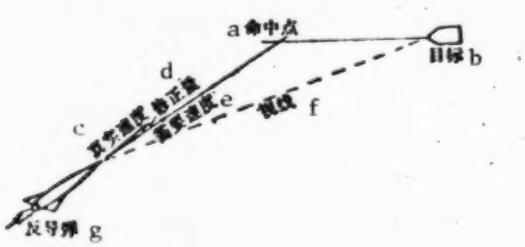
Command guidance also includes the following types: radio command guidance, beam guidance and guidance by two radar tracking stations.

Now we discuss the characteristics and basic principles of command guidance as exemplified by radio command guidance (also called radio line-of-sight guidance).

When radio command guidance is used, the line-of-sight axis must point in the required direction, i.e. toward the designated intercept point. Because the missile and the target are moving, only if the line-of-sight axis continuously points toward the expected intercept point can the target be intercepted (see Fig. 4.3). Obviously, when the missile and the target meet, the line-of-sight axis will be pointing toward the target.

In simplified form the principles of command guidance are as follows.

After the missile is launched, the ground-based guidance radars lock on to it (i.e. the missile is in the radar beam). The radar measurement data are used to calculate the trajectories of the target and the missile, and control commands are formulated by the ground-based guidance station (or the onboard computer) and relayed in code to the missile's control system in order to keep it in the beam. The missile's deviation from the "line of sight" (angular deviation or distance from the line-of-sight) determines the system's error signal (Fig. 4.9). Accordingly, in this type of guidance, the guidance radar does not track the real position of the missile but tries to establish a "line of sight," and when the missile is tracked by the radar it attempts to determine the missile's deviation from the radar line-of-sight, enabling it to formulate control commands to guide the missile to its target.



Key:
a. Intercept point
b. Target
c. Real velocity
d. Correction amount
e. Required velocity
f. Line of sight
g. Antiballistic missile

Fig. 4.9. Command guidance

Radio command guidance can be used throughout the missile flight stage, or only in the final stage of flight; or it can be used first during flight, followed by automatic homing guidance. If both types of guidance are used, the result is a compound guidance system. Combined guidance generally results in greatly increased accuracy.

In a command guidance system, the missile's flight pattern generally is decided upon by the ground-based guidance system (it can, of course, also be decided in the air or on shipboard).

Chapter 5. Design and Characteristics of Antiballistic Missiles

Conventional weapons such as rifles and guns can easily be seen, while interceptor missiles such as ABM's rarely on display. What is an antiballistic missile like? What are its characteristics?

During spring festival, young people enjoy firing off skyrockets. On the night of the festival we see many rockets launched into the sky, trailing a multicolored tail of fire behind them. Although these skyrockets are toys, they can help us to understand the design of antiballistic missiles.

The antiballistic missile is a type of ballistic missile. In crude terms, it resembles a skyrocket in that it is a solid-fueled rocket.

General Design

The antiballistic missile consists of the warhead, propulsion system, flight control system and missile body (see Fig. 5.1).

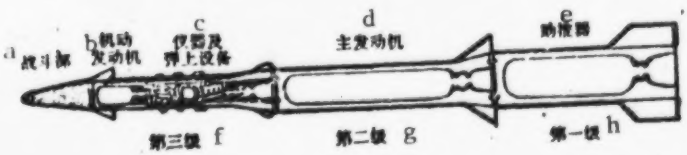


Fig. 5.1. Design of antiballistic missile

Key:
a. Warhead
b. Maneuvering engine
c. Instrumentation and onboard equipment
d. Main engine
e. Booster
f. Third state
g. Second state
h. First stage

The capabilities of the various components of the antiballistic missile can be simply described as follows: without the propulsion section the missile could not fly; without the flight control system it could not fly on a path specified by people or proceed to the point at which it intercepts the target; without the warhead, even if it met the target it could not destroy it. Are these components enough? No. Also required is the component which combines all of these parts into a whole, namely the missile body.

The warhead is similar to a grenade or bomb and is the part of the ABM which destroys the target. The main part task of the ABM is to carry the warhead to the vicinity of the target and use it to destroy the target.

A grenade generally consists of the explosive, a fuse and a safety device (on a handle-type grenade the handle cover is the safety device).

The warhead of an antiballistic missile also consists of the explosive, fuse and safety device.

The explosive is the main part of the warhead: it stores large amounts of energy which it uses to destroy the target.

The fuse causes the warhead to detonate. At the moment when the warhead will have the greatest effectiveness the fuse immediately "ignites" the charge and causes it to explode.

The safety device is what its name indicates: it automatically releases when the missile reaches the intercept area so that the fuse is ready to act; before the missile is launched it assures that the warhead cannot explode, but when the missile misses its target it can also make the missile self-destruct. Thus it is a device which not only can preserve the safety of our side but also can ready the warhead. It acts similarly to the safety cover of a grenade.

The warhead can be divided into the nuclear warheads and nonnuclear warheads (i.e. conventional warheads). Most ABM's use nuclear warheads.

In the past there have been accidents in which a hole was made in a properly functioning aircraft during takeoff, damaging it.

If the airfield was not under attack, how could the aircraft have been damaged? It turned out that when the airplane was taking off, a small sparrow flew head-on into it, causing the accident. The first collision of a bird with a plane occurred in 1912 when the famous cross-country flier Luodejieer [phonetic] was flying over California and a seagull collided with his aircraft, causing it to crash and killing him.

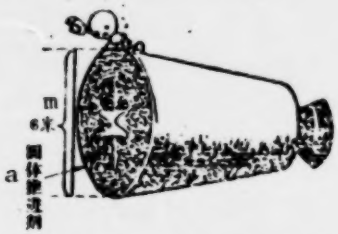
But how can a small sparrow damage an airplane? The secret is their relative velocity.

Consider a bird weighing 100 grams. If it collides with an airplane flying at a speed of 80 km/hr, their relative speeds produce a collision force of about 30 kilograms, equivalent to about 300 times the weight of the bird--a considerable force.

When a missile intercepts a target head-on, there is an extremely large relative velocity between the two (over 8 km/sec), so that pellets or shrapnel from the explosion of a conventional warhead would have a relatively great lethal power. If they struck the warhead moving at high speed, they would seriously damage the charge. If they entered the charge they could disable the fuse or cause the charge to explode early or damage its casing, which would destroy it or make it burn up when it reentered the dense atmosphere.

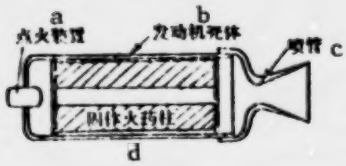
The propulsion system is also a motive system, the thrust which it produces pushes the antiballistic missile toward the target.

Antiballistic missiles generally use solid propellant. Why? The skyrocket uses a solid propellant, which is the "fuel" burned in its engine (see Fig. 5.2). Figs. 5.2 and 5.3 show solid fuel rocket engines. There are various types of solid propellants; the US Sprint ABM uses a modified double base propellant in its first and second stages.



Key:
a. Solid propellant

Fig. 5.2. Large solid-fueled rocket engine with cast compound propellant



Key:
a. Igniter
b. Engine casting
c. Nozzle
d. Solid propellant column

Fig. 5.3. Design of solid-propellant engine

The operating principles of a solid-fueled rocket engine are simpler than those of a liquid-fueled engine. To start the engine, an electrical igniter is used to produce a flame which ignites the propellant column in the combustion chamber; when the propellant burns, its produces high-temperature, high-pressure combustion gases which expand in the nozzle of the engine and are ejected at high speed, producing thrust.

The solid-fueled engine has many advantages over the liquid-fueled engine, such as a simpler propulsion system which does not require a complicated propellant feed system, simpler, more reliable engine design, higher fuel density, advance loading of the solid fuel into the engine, resulting in a short combat preparation period, and decreased logistical and maintenance work. These advantages mandate the use of solid-fueled engines.

The flight control system guarantees that the missile will not roll or pitch uncontrollably during flight and keeps it flying on the required path (trajectory) toward the target. It functions as we do when riding a bicycle, holding the handlebars in our hands and keeping the bicycle moving in a specific direction. In figurative terms, the flight control system is the "pilot." The system includes sections for control of the movement of the center of mass and control of movement around the center of mass. If the missile cannot maintain a specified direction in space but turns this way and that, there is no control, and it will not even be able to maintain itself in flight, but will either tumble uncontrollably and crash or break up in midair. Accordingly, the missile must have attitude control. The system which exercises this control is called the attitude stabilization system (or attitude control system). In other words, the attitude stabilization system's function is to control the

direction of thrust so that the missile turns about its center of mass and flies stably. The stabilization system functions by adjusting the magnitude and direction of the thrust of nozzles or a swiveled engine. The nozzles or swiveled engine are moveable like small "hands," and can control the missile and keep it in the prescribed attitude (orientation in space) so that it flies steadily toward the target.

The system which controls the motion of the missile's center of mass is called the guidance system. This system is used to control the movement of the missile's center of mass and to insure that the missile can intercept the target, i.e. it directs the missile toward the target according to the guidance program. For this purpose it is necessary to eliminate deviations from the reference path and keep the position and speed of the missile on the reference path. The way in which this is carried out is by taking continuous measurements of the ballistic characteristics (position and velocity) of the target and the missile during flight and using a computer to compare these characteristics and formulate control commands for guidance, so as to control the motion of the missile's center of mass until it intercepts the target.

The missile body combines all of the components and systems into a single unit, the antiballistic missile, so that it can carry out its task of destroying incoming targets. Fig. 5.1 shows the designs of a three-stage antiballistic missile. The missile's skin generally is made of aluminum alloy with a steel reinforcing framework.

Characteristics of Antiballistic Missiles

If the antiballistic missile is used specifically against offensive warheads (MRBM's, LRBM's and ICBM's, launched from the ground surface or from submarines), what characteristics must it have? Before specifying its characteristics, we must have a general understanding of the characteristics of offensive ballistic missiles.

An intercontinental ballistic missile flies at high speed, up to 25,000 km/hr (more than 700 times as fast as a bicycle traveling 15 km/hr; it would take a bicycle nearly half an hour to cover the distance which an ICBM covers in a second), and the entire flight path is covered in a short time (about 30 seconds). If an ICBM with a range of 10,000 km is detected and acquired by radar at 4,000 km, only 10 minutes will elapse before ground impact. It is clearly difficult to shoot down the warhead in this short a time.

The main difficulty of target interception by means of an ABM is the shortness of the warning time (a maximum of only about 25 minutes for an ICBM). In order to resolve this contradiction, special demands were imposed on the ABM. For example, if tracking of an ICBM warhead begins at a distance of 2,500 km, the period between the beginning of tracking and ground impact is only about 6 minutes. Accordingly, speed has become the key to ICBM interception. The ABM must accelerate rapidly and fly rapidly.

It must rapidly meet the target head-on. If it is slow in doing so it may itself be "hit" and destroyed by the incoming missile.

Quickness requires fast ignition of the missile's engine, rapid burning of the propellant, and rapid ejection of the combustion gases. To use rocketry terminology, the solid-fuel engine (or booster) must have high thrust, high specific impulse, high combustion speed and a high mass ratio.*

Only in this way is it possible to assure that the missile can be accelerated to a speed of several km/sec in a few seconds, which means an acceleration of several tens to more than a hundred times that of gravity ($g = 9.8$ m/sec^2), equivalent to several tens of times or more than a hundred times the weight of the missile. Only in this way can the missile meet the incoming target at top speed.

The missile must be readily maneuverable. It must be able to turn rapidly toward the target. This requires that the magnitude and direction of engine thrust be variable so that the missile will be easy to operate and can be controlled flexibly. Accordingly, the missile must be equipped with a maneuverable engine which allows maneuver in flight.

It must be resistant to high temperatures. When the missile (particularly a low-altitude interceptor) is flying in the atmosphere, the friction between it and the air may raise its skin temperature to more than 1000°. If the missile is not resistant to high temperatures, it may burn up before it completes its mission of intercepting the target. As a result, high-temperature paints or high-temperature structural materials are used for the body of the missile.

In general, ABM engines must be solid-fueled, have high thrust, high acceleration and a short startup time (fast ignition), be easy to start, require little preparation time, and be easy to maintain and reliable.

When an antiballistic missile possesses these characteristics it has some of what it needs to "catch" the target; but these characteristics are not sufficient. How is the missile made to be maneuverable in flight so that it can intercept the target?

For maneuverability in flight, the antiballistic missile uses movable rocket nozzles which can vary the magnitude and direction of engine thrust, or exhaust gas control nozzle assemblies or secondary exhaust jets (in which the hot gases coming directly from the combustion chamber can be passed through secondary nozzles and interact with the main gas flow, thus altering the control force (see Figs. 5.4 and 5.5).

Fig. 5.4 Secondary exhaust nozzle in solid-fueled engine

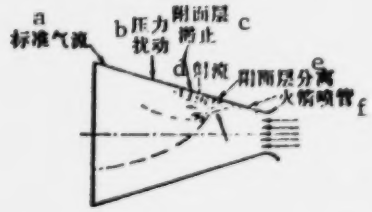


Fig. 5.5. Secondary nozzle thrust vector control

(Keys for Figs. 5.4 and 5.5 are on the following page).

*Specific impulse is the ratio of the engine thrust to the mass consumption per second; the mass ratio is the ratio of the total mass to mass at burnout; mass consumption per second is the mass of propellant consumed each second.

(Keys for Figs. 5.4 and 5.5 are continued from the previous page).

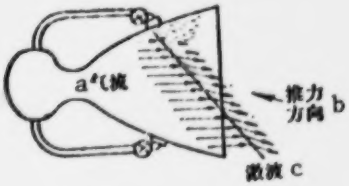
Fig. 5.4
Key:
a. Shock wave front

Fig. 5.5
Key:
a. Standard gas flow
b. Pressure disturbance
c. Boundary layer stagnation
d. Efflux
e. Surface layer separation
f. Rocket nozzle

Why does the secondary nozzle vector control work?

The surging Yangtze River flows for a thousand li. It is formed by the water from innumerable tributaries. If you were standing at the mouth of the Han River at Wuhan and looking at the Yangtze River, you would see that the turbulent waters of the Yangtze "made way" for the Han River, then slowly swallowed up its waters.

A secondary jet can be said to make use of the dynamic principle involved in this type of "making way." The secondary jet injects a fluid (liquid or gas) into the engine nozzle, just as the Han River flows into the Yangtze. This produces a kind of aerodynamic barrier in the main flow from the engine nozzle (as in the Yangtze River) and there is a positive-pressure area on the nozzle wall in the vicinity of the injection hole, as a result of which the magnitude of the thrust is altered and its direction may be changed. Fig. 5.6 illustrates the secondary injection principle.



Key:
a. Gas flow
b. Direction of thrust
c. Shock wave

Fig. 5.6. Production of a shock wave to alter jet direction

Use of secondary injection thrust vector control increases the lateral force, which achieves the goal of variable thrust direction and magnitude.

Some Examples of Foreign Antiballistic Missiles

To provide further understanding of antiballistic missiles, we discuss the design and characteristics of some specific foreign models.

1. The Spartan High-Altitude Interceptor

The Spartan is a high-altitude long-range interceptor with an average speed of 2.2 km/sec and an interception altitude of 160-480 km.

The Spartan is a finned three-stage solid-fuel missile. The first stage is the accelerator (booster) and is about 5.4 meters long and 1.1 meters in diameter. The second stage is the main engine, which carries out acceleration and maneuver. Accordingly, the Spartan has some maneuverability and can "catch" its target by using guidance commands. The third stage contains a spherical engine and the nuclear warhead, power source, electric power unit, control instrumentation, automatic pilot, stabilized platform and onboard computer. The Spartan's design and external shape are shown in Fig. 5.7.

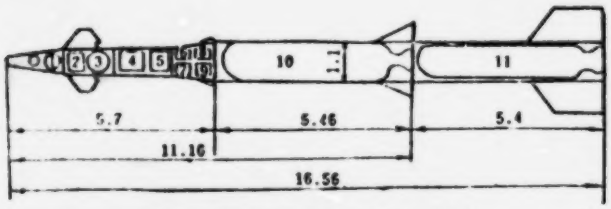


图5-7 "斯巴坦"的外形与结构示意图

1—战斗部，2—舵机，3—发动机，4—能源，5—电源，6—控制系统，7—自动驾驶仪，8—稳定平台，9—计算机，10—主发动机，11—加速器。

Key:
1. Warhead section
2. Gyroscope
3. Engine
4. Power source
5. Electric power unit
6. Control system
7. Automatic pilot
8. Stabilized platform
9. Computer
10. Main engine
11. Booster

Fig. 5.7. Shape and design of the Spartan

The Spartan carries a several-megaton thermonuclear charge. When the charge explodes at a high altitude, 70 to 80 percent of the energy is released within a tenth of a microsecond in the form of invisible X-rays which destroy the heat-protective layer of the explosive charge so that the material inside is vaporized and the charge is burned up. The Spartan warhead's kill radius is about 8 km.

Although the Spartan has some ability to maneuver and "catch" its target, it is not able to "catch" a high-speed target in a large area of decoys and chaff. Because the incoming warhead is in a group of false targets, the problem is like that of finding a bad man in a crowd of several hundred: it is difficult to distinguish the true from the false quickly. Hence until the problem of distinguishing true from false targets at high altitudes is solved it is difficult for the Spartan to catch the true target. But can it annihilate both true and false targets? The guidance accuracy of the Spartan is limited and the warhead cannot be exploded in a target cluster, in addition to which its lethal capacity is limited, so that the Spartan cannot destroy a group of true and false targets scattered over a "channel" several kilometers wide (see Fig. 5.8).

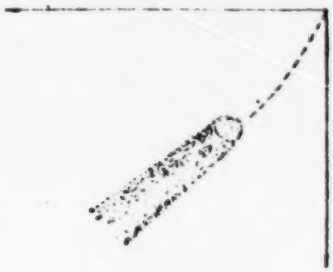


Fig. 5.8. A target cluster

2. The Sprint Low-Altitude Interceptor

The Sprint interceptor has an average velocity of approximately 3.2 km/sec and an acceleration of more than 100 g's.

The Sprint is a two-stage solid-fuel missile of conical shape with a base radius of 1.37 meters and skirts (tail sections) consisting of 9.5-mm-thick aluminum honeycomb. It consists of two conical frustums of different tapers. The outer wall is the shiny circular outer surface, while the inner wall is the extended skirt of the first-stage engine. Between the inner and outer surface of the skirt is installed the first stage engine's thrust control system.

Thrust control consists of liquid secondary injection in the first stage, which gives the missile a certain degree of maneuverability. The second stage uses four small control surfaces at its base. The guidance and stabilization equipment are installed between the second stage engine and the warhead.

After the Sprint reaches maximum velocity, its surface temperature is higher than the temperature inside the engine; accordingly, heat protection measures such as the use of ablative material (silicone phenolics and the like) are used to protect the guidance and stabilization systems.

In order to approach the target head-on and "catch" it, the Sprint uses a rapid-combustion, rather high-energy solid propellant, a modified double-base propellant. After the first stage burns out and is jettisoned, the Sprint uses its basic aerodynamic shape to carry out limited maneuver in order to intercept the target.

Fig. 5.9 illustrates the Sprint.

图5-9 反弹道导弹对照

a—斯巴坦，b—斯普林特。

Key:
a. Spartan
b. Sprint

Fig. 5.9. Antiballistic missiles

The Sprint is still not a highly maneuverable missile, and its ability to intercept its target is rather poor; this is because it "runs" slowly, its acceleration is rather low, it is not very maneuverable and its guidance precision is not very high.

Chapter 6. The Command and Control Center: The "Brain" of the Antiballistic Missile System

Consider what a disaster chaotic command can produce.

An accident took place at Santa Cruz airport in the Canary Islands. On 27 March 1977, a Sunday, traffic at the airport was extremely heavy. At 1440 GMT a Royal Dutch Airlines Boeing 747 jumbo jet was making its takeoff run.

This aircraft weighed 350 tons, its wingspan was nearly 60 meters, and it was 70 meters long. Propelled by four turbofan engines, it produced an earsplitting roar as it picked up speed along the runway; its speed had already reached 300 km/hr and it was about to take off.

Suddenly, from an intersecting runway, another jumbo passenger jet appeared in front of it. The captain of the Dutch plane suddenly saw the immense aircraft in front of him, but he had no chance to stop or turn. The 300-ton aircraft rushed furiously ahead at 300 km/hr.

In less time than it takes to tell, there was a roar and the Dutch aircraft crashed into the other plane. The fuel from the two aircraft produced a series of explosions and the planes flew apart, with some of the fragments being thrown 400 to 500 meters. The Dutch jet was the first to catch fire. Even the asphalt on the runway was burned by the fierce flames.

The other craft was a US Pan American Airways jet, also a Boeing 747. It had arrived from Los Angeles and had made a brief stop in Santa Cruz.

This was the worst crash in history, leaving 576 persons dead.

The crash was clearly the result of confusion in the airport's traffic control system. This makes clear the size of the responsibility imposed on command and control systems.

Command and control has always been an important part of warfare. The command center within the command and control system has an important role in the antiballistic missile system, equivalent to the function of the brain in the body. It commands and guides the coordination of all parts of the weapon system as it moves flexibly to intercept its target. If the command system malfunctions, the defensive system may be defeated.

The Functions of the Command Center

The command center is the decision-making organ of the antiballistic missile system which must analyze and synthesize all available information, decide how to deal with all incoming targets and report information on the air situation

to the higher-level staff so that the orders to counterattack, to intercept and destroy the targets, can be issued. It is a completely automated system which can centralize and effectively command and allocate all systems, personnel and antiballistic missile weapons so as to make full use of their combat capabilities and destroy all incoming enemy missiles.

The mission of the command center, simply stated, is to provide the state command organs (the brain, or the general staff) with correct, timely information and to exercise command over the work of its subordinate departments (or systems). For example, 1) it keeps aware of developments, including the actions of friendly and enemy missile units; 2) it evaluates attack warnings and the threats posed by incoming targets; 3) it mobilizes ABM units for preparations to repel an attack; 4) it counterattacks against incoming targets, orders the launching of high and low-altitude interceptors and evaluates intercept results; 5) it reorganizes ABM units and commands their preparations to repel attacks or to make a second counterattack; 6) it issues the order to disengage.

In order to make rapid decisions, the command center must automatically synthesize information on the air situation and target information; it must automatically process target information and carry out recognition; it must automatically process data on ABM combat preparations and combat actions; it must select intercept paths and order the launching of the missiles; and it must display ABM and target information on a screen or indicator.

The computer is the principal equipment for decision-making. The command center's computers have the task of making correct decisions on the basis of information on incoming targets and friendly ABM's, and using large screen displays and other display equipment to provide the commander with immediately-intelligible information and optimal combat plans. Accordingly the computer is the "thinking" organ of the command and control center; some call this "thinking" machine an "electronic brain." All commands issued by the command center must be formulated by a high-speed computer before they are issued; in order to increase reliability, multicomputer arrays, fault-tolerant technologies and diagnostic and self-testing equipment are used. If the computer makes an error, a disaster may result. In the United States, computer malfunctions resulted in an erroneous nuclear alert, causing needless alarm.

This incident happened one morning in early winter, on 9 November, when the compiler program in a computer in the NORAD building in Colorado malfunctioned so that the (false) signal for "Enemy Air Attack" appeared on the warning system radar, with the result that the command center also issued an alert and the aircraft at many air bases took off to intercept the attack, although they encountered nothing aloft. This computer malfunction resulted in an alert lasting 6 minutes.

The command center generally includes the combat, reconnaissance, communications, and meteorological sections.

The combat system is equipped with several computers and information display devices. The information display devices include large fluorescent screens, automated work display terminals and large-screen displays (such as the commonly

used 10-square-foot screens). The status of enemy air activity, the state of ABM readiness and information on other aspects of system operation are all continuously transmitted to the combat system. Various combat orders, intelligence information and combat results can be displayed in easily-grasped fashion on the combat system's display equipment so that the command personnel can manage the entire situation and exercise command over the counterattack against incoming targets in smooth fashion. To summarize, the entire process from detection of targets to their destruction can be displayed on the command center's display equipment. The personnel on duty in the command center can see these displayed results from their work stations. The diagrams, lines and figures on the screen are all under computer control.

Weather forecasting aims at providing the command center with weather predictions. It can provide information on clouds, the ionosphere, temperature, snow, rain, fog and the like as well as earth phenomena. Weather satellites, weather radars, weather balloons and other sensing methods can be used to obtain meteorological information.

The communications system is the "nerve-center" which links together all components. Since antiquity, communications and liaison have been a concern to which attention must be devoted in every aspect of combat. Modern combat requires that the command system have uninterrupted, reliable, error-free communications and that all systems be coordinated. There are many lessons of success or failure in history; the Pearl Harbor attack and the Mideast Crisis are examples.

One day during World War II, a radar system belonging to the US forces guarding the northern coast of Oahu picked up incoming Japanese aircraft, but because of communications system factors (the slowness of the military communications equipment), this important warning information could not be relayed to the air defense headquarters before the enemy planes attacked, so that the US fleet came under Japanese attack and was seriously damaged: this was the famous Pearl Harbor attack. But during the 1973 Mideast crisis, when the US national military command center issued an alert to all headquarters via its Worldwide Military Command and Control System, all service staffs and special forces staffs received this order within 3 minutes.

In the case of an antiballistic missile system, erroneous decisions or plans made by the command center, blockages or malfunctions in the command system or lack of coordination between systems can cause the defense to come under attack or may even result in the destruction of the defensive system. Accordingly, assuring reliable, highly efficient operation of the automated command center is extremely important.

In an ICBM attack the defense system will have only 10 to 20 minutes' warning, while in the case of an MRBM's the warning time will be even shorter (several minutes to 10-odd minutes; see Table 3 in appendix). Time is of the essence in attacking the targets. Using telegraph or telephone to command the counterattack amounts to forfeiting the initiative and inviting defeat, and there is a danger that the defensive system will be destroyed. Especially since the missiles must be guided to the target intercept with extremely high precision, the command system must be extremely fast-acting, precise, reliable and secure. And what is used to operate this automated system? The electronic "brain" which we mentioned above, a high-speed computer, is the best "operator."

It should be made clear that current command and control system still have weak points, such as large antenna arrays, which are vulnerable to nuclear weapons effects which could result in the command and control system's losing its source of information or its contact with other systems, thus paralyzing or partially paralyzing it. Use of a small-sized communications net could eliminate this defect; a small communications network is easy and flexible to use and could decrease the danger of damage by nuclear weapons.

Functions of Electronic Computers

The command and control system must have a complete computer network. This network must have a large modern computer, which may be a hybrid parallel processor structure. This large computer may be connected to small processors, remote terminals and display devices, forming an effective command and control system.

Fast computers are computation, data-processing or automatic operating devices which can perform computations in accordance with a preexisting program, process conditions arising during a process and automatically organize a logical procedure, or apply an automatic control procedure to the ABM system, such as issuing a command, evaluating results or the like.

The computer must make decisions and allocate the components of the ABM system to deal with a target cluster, compute missile intercept trajectories and formulate missile control instructions to guide the missile to its target.

The computer is a device with many capabilities. In addition to carrying out all information processing and automatic control during the intercept process, it also performs a number of other tasks.

1. The computer controls the radar beam, making several successive observations of incoming targets, analyzing and determining the target type (missile, meteor, satellite and the like) on the basis of the information in the reflected waves, identifying warheads or false targets in the target cluster, and assuring that no warhead will be allowed to get through. If the number of warheads in the target cluster is large, so that the radar tracking system is saturated, the computer must select the most important targets and assure that they will not be allowed through.

2. The computer continuously computes the position of the next radar scan cycle on the basis of target motion parameters. It automatically adjusts the radar receiver and transmitter operating states to the optimal values. When radar operation requires that a target's correct coordinates be determined, the computer can rapidly change from a fast scan broad antenna to a narrow pencil beam for tracking. Of course it can also compress pulse width, thus increasing tracking resolution.

3. The computer assures that the radar uses the optimum beam width and pulse width so that it can distinguish missile warheads in the target cluster, determine the targets' position and characteristics (such as shape, size, attitude, surface material and surface structure) and compare these with holographic signals (prerecorded standard signals for various targets) to carry out target recognition.

4. If the target is maneuvering from one trajectory to another, on orders from the computer radar observes the target at a higher frequency, making it possible to calculate the maneuver trajectories and forecast the target's movements for the ABM system.

5. The computer rapidly relays the various radar measurement signals. It monitors, classifies and processes all measurement data. It oversees and tests the status of the ABM system to determine whether it is functioning normally.

The command center's computer has the complex task of rapidly processing all types of information in the ABM system. Accordingly, the computer is subject to the following requirements.

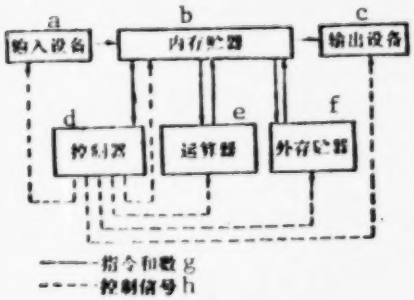
1. It must have high computation speed. The computer must carry out several million to several hundred million operations per second reliably and accurately. It must be able to rapidly process and relay all types of information, rapidly forecast target trajectories and calculate expected intercept points.

2. It must have memory. It must "memorize" (or store) separately large quantities of target information, ABM information and other data as well as various engagement plans.

3. It must be able to make logical decisions. It must be capable of helping the command personnel analyze and make decisions on all types of situations.

The computer of the US NIKE-X ABM system was a large-scale computer specially developed by Univac Corporation which was capable of 100 million operations per second and consisted of 25 parallel processors. In addition to performing flight trajectories and guidance command computations for the high-altitude Spartan and low-altitude Sprint missiles, the computer also had to perform other tasks such as radar control.

A computer consists of five main components: the arithmetic and logic unit (ALU), the control unit, the memory, the input-output equipment and the power supply as shown in Figs. 6.1 and 6.2.



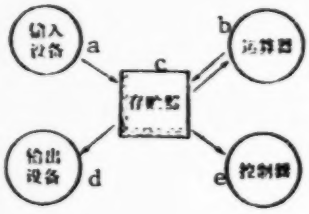


Fig. 6.1. General design of a computer Fig. 6.2. Main components of a computer (Keys to Figs. 6.1 and 6.2 are on the following page)

(Keys are continued from previous page for Figs. 6.1 and 6.2).

Fig. 6.1. General design of a computer
Key:
a. Input
b. Internal storage
c. Output
d. Control unit
e. Arithmetic-logic unit
f. External memory
g. Commands and data
h. Control signals

Fig. 6.2. Main components of a computer
Key:
a. Input
b. Arithmetic-logic unit
c. Storage
d. Output
e. Control unit

The computer's input device enters the raw data and computation steps on which computations are to be performed, e.g. computer programs written by people (currently the FORTRAN and ALGOL languages are widely used to write programs) into the computer's memory via preperforated paper tape or cards. The usual type of input device is an optoelectronic device, which can convert the mechanical signals on the paper tape into an electrical signal and enter it into the computer. An optoelectronic input device can read more than 1,000 characters or numbers into the computer every second.

The memory is the place in which the computer stores raw data, computation steps and computation results. It is capable of "remembering" the information required for computation and rapidly making it available. Memories are usually divided into internal memory (internal storage) and external memory (external storage). The internal memory reads the data for immediate calculations in and out and usually can store tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands of digits. External memory stores data which has been used in computation but is not currently needed and generally can store more than 10 million digits. The computer uses the binary number system, whose main characteristic is that only the numerals 0 and 1 are used: a result of 2 means carrying a 1. For example, decimal 5 is expressed in binary notation as 101 (see Table 1).

表一 十二进制表

十进制 a	二进制 b
0	0
1	1
2	10
3	11
4	100
5	101
6	110
7	111
8	1000
9	1001
10	1010

Key:
a. Decimal
b. Binary

Table 1. The binary and decimal numbers

The arithmetic-logic unit (ALU) is the computer component which carries out all operations; it consists of registers (circuits which temporarily store operation codes, operands and computation results) and adders. It main characteristics

are that the operations of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division, in addition to logical operations. The ALU performs operations on data at high speed; its operating speed, particularly in performing the four arithmetical operations, is one of the main factors determining the speed of the computer. The shorter the operation time the faster the computer.

The output equipment reads out the final computation results in a specific form (by printing characters or plotting curves or diagrams). There are many types of output devices, such as ordinary wide-line printers, displays and the like.

The control unit's function is to command and control all components of the computer. The control unit controls all functional processes and assures that the operation of the entire computer is automatic; in addition, when it receives an external signal it can transfer the computer to temporary external control. The control unit is one of the more complex components of the computer.

The power supply system provides electrical power to all components of the computer. Because of the computer's characteristics, the power supply must be highly stable and reliable. The operation of the various computer components is shown in Fig. 6.3.

Key:
a. Paper (storage function)
b. Computer (computational function)
c. Operator (control function)

Fig. 6.3. Operation of a computer

At present, the trend in ABM system computers is away from special-purpose computers and toward general purpose computers. In a nuclear war, the important thing is to protect the computer against damage from nuclear effects such as gamma rays, X-rays, neutron flux and electromagnetic pulses so as to assure that the command and control system operates normally.

In combat, the operation of the computer can be summarized as follows.

When the radar detects an enemy missile attack, the computers (several large computers or a jumbo computer) quickly process the measurements, recognize true and false targets in the target cluster, compute the trajectories and impact points of the targets, compute the expected intercept points and times, warhead capabilities, degree of threat and the like, display this information on the displays in the command center, and offer counterattack plans to the person in charge at the command center. Once a combat plan is chosen the command center issues combat orders, the ground-based guidance system uses the computer to formulate control commands on the basis of data on the ABM's and targets, and to control the intercept process.

Chapter 7. Warning Systems and Their "Far-Seeing Eyes"

The sky is limitless: how is it possible to know whether an enemy is attacking in this endless expanse? When an ABM is launched at a target, how is it possible to know whether it hits or not?

People call radar the "far-seeing eye": it is the eye which protects a nation's airspace. Many such "eyes" in various locations, such as long-range radars, over-the-horizon radars and warning satellites, make up the national or regional warning network, the warning system. This is an immense, complex system, which is completely automated. Its task is to detect, provide warning of, acquire and track targets.

The operation of a warning system is similar to the detection and tracking of aircraft as seen in the movies. Warning satellites or over-the-horizon radars constantly maintain surveillance for attacking enemy missiles. If they detect an incoming target (in flight or at launch) they issue a warning, track it, and relay the target information which they determine to the long-range target tracking radar, which tracks the target. The computer calculates the number of targets and assigns target priorities, correctly determines the number of targets, the threatened areas and the degree of danger, and computes the target trajectories, estimates, the intercept point and ground impact point, and provides an all data to the antiballistic missiles. The warning system constantly reports on the air situation to the command center and quickly transmits the information to all elements of the ABM system.

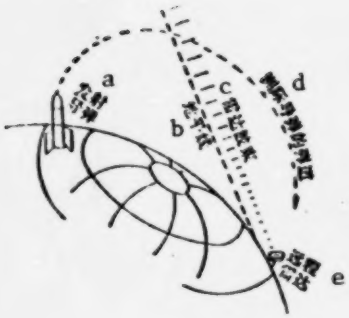
The warning system uses warning satellites, over-the-horizon radars and long-range target tracking radars to detect targets.

Why are such huge warning systems needed?

First, it is not known from what direction they enemy will attack, and second, incoming missiles travel at high speed in high trajectories over long ranges. have great destructive power and use various kinds of penetration measures. Accordingly, only by organizing a nationwide or regional warning network is it possible to deal with missile attacks from all directions and provide the maximum warning time to the defensive systems.

From the ballistic characteristics of offensive missiles given in Table 2 of the appendix [not reproduced] it is clear that an ICBM with a range of 10,000 km takes approximately 30 minutes from launch to ground impact.

Because of the spherical shape of the earth (the ground surface is curved), a long-range warning radar with an operating range of 5,000 km can detect an ICBM only after it has covered half its path, i.e. it is "seen" only after 15 minutes (Fig. 7.1).



Key:
a. Missile launch
b. Horizon
c. Radar beam
d. ICBM trajectory
e. Long-range radar

Fig. 7.1. Detection of target by long-range radar

In order to detect targets as early as possible, warning satellites and over-the-horizon radars must be used. Why can warning satellites or over-the-horizon radar "see" around the globe to a target and detect a missile that has just been launched?

Warning Satellites

There is a proverb that "the higher you stand, the farther you see."

Satellites are high in the sky. They "stand" several hundred to several tens of thousands of kilometers up, and naturally they can see extremely far. They can indeed "see and hear in all directions." Accordingly, they are very well suited for monitoring missile launches.

Why are they called warning satellites? In simple terms, they are satellites whose task is to give warning of targets, hence the name.

Warning satellites are one of the important surveillance means in the warning system. They can effectively detect and give warning of missile launches, not only providing longer warning time but monitoring a wider area as well (several thousand to several tens of thousands of square kilometers) and are unaffected by weather conditions, enemy radio transmissions and other interference (see Fig. 7.2).

Key:
a. Satellite

Fig. 7.2. Warning satellite

Warning satellites generally are placed in synchronous orbit (at an altitude of approximately 35,800 km). At this height the satellite circles the globe once a day. Accordingly, its angular velocity is the same as that of the earth, and seen from the surface it is stationary; accordingly, such satellites are also called stationary satellites.

The launching and entry into orbit of a warning satellite and its movement into a synchronous orbit are described in the book "Satellites and Manned Aircraft."

Warning satellites are equipped with a variety of remote sensing equipment.

1. Infrared sensors are used for remote sensing of the characteristics of a distant object. They can detect infrared radiation; when a missile is launched, its exhaust gases emit large amounts of infrared radiation which can be detected by the sensors, allowing detection of missile launches.

2. Visible radiation sensors such as television cameras record the motion of a missile when it is launched and flies upward, and relay the picture to the air defense command center.

These two types of sensing equipment can be used together to eliminate false alarms. In general, when the satellite's infrared sensors send a warning signal, the air defense command center must analyze the television picture which is relayed and use it to verify the warning signal so as to eliminate false signals.

We now give a brief description of a warning satellite and its operating principles; the example chosen is an early-model foreign warning satellite. This satellite is about 3 meters high and 2.7 meters in diameter. At one end it is equipped with a 3.6-meter-long, 1-meter diameter infrared telescope, so that the total height of the satellite is 6.7 meters. It weighs 900 kg (see Fig. 7.3).

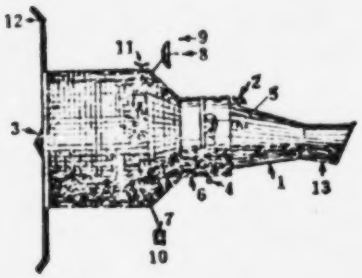


Fig. 7.3. A warning satellite

The satellite is equipped with 13 main types of equipment: 1. Infrared telescope; 2. Visible radiation sensor (television camera); 3. Nuclear blast radiation sensor; 4. Star sensor of attitude control system; 5. Sensor of orientation system; 6. Onboard electrical equipment; 7. Antenna for transmitting infrared sensor signals to ground; 8. Antenna for transmitting television picture to ground; 9. Antenna for receiving commands; 10. Auxiliary nuclear blast detection sensor; 11. Nozzle of triaxial attitude control system thrusters; 12. Solar battery panels; 13. Solar screen to protect telescope and infrared sensor.

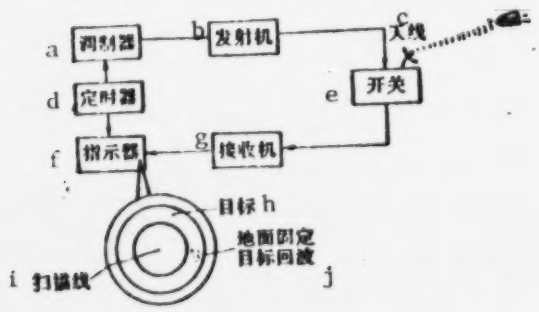
It can be seen from the figure that the warning satellite's direction and stability in space are maintained by thrust nozzles, that it obtains electric power from the solar battery panels, that the solar sensor aligns the battery panels toward the sun, and that the nuclear radiation sensor detects nuclear explosions, so that the satellite detects not only missiles but nuclear explosions as well.

The infrared sensor on board the warning satellite is an array-type sensor consisting of 2,000 lead sulfide sensor cells, each of which covers an area of 13.7 square kilometers, so that the total area covered at one time is 27,400 square kilometers. When the satellite is in operation, the sensors are pointed toward the ground surface below and carry out a regular scan. The electrical signal from the infrared sensors is fed through a modulator, amplifier and digitizer for transmission to the ground. The visible radiation sensor is a television camera. When the infrared sensor detects a missile launch, the visible radiation sensor is automatically turned toward the missile and the satellite automatically transmits a television image to the ground. The warning satellite detects missiles very quickly, generally within one minute of launch. But the warning satellite has a weak point, namely that the sensitivity of the infrared sensor decreases with length of service, in addition to the problem of false alarms (false reports, false target data and the like). Accordingly, warning satellites must be used together with the over-the-horizon radar and long-distance tracking radar or onboard radar in the early warning system.

Radar, the Far-Seeing Eye

Radar is also called the radio location equipment. It is electronic equipment which emits electromagnetic waves that are reflected by distant objects and received again, thus making it possible to detect and locate targets. By using radar, flying targets such as ICBM's can be detected at distances of several thousand kilometers and their range, bearing and speed can be determined; accordingly, radar is an important component of the air defense system. Targets which can be identified bv radar include those in the air, on water and on land.

Radar systems generally consist of a timer, a transmitter, a receiver, and an antenna, a display and a computer, as shown in Fig. 7.4.

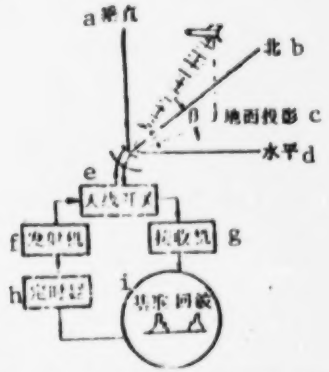


Key:
a. Modulator
b. Transmitter
c. Antenna
d. Timer
e. Switch
f. Indicator
g. Receiver
h. Target
i. Sweep indicator
j. Reflections from fixed surface objects

Fig. 7.4. Main components of a radar system

Because radar can enable us to "see" or detect targets and identify their position at distances far exceeding the range of the human eye, even in dark, fog, clouds, smoke or other conditions unsuited to visual observation, people call radar the "far-seeing eye." Some people even say that radar is the sentinel and searchlight of the modern battlefield, the commander's eyes and ears, and the "eagle's eye in the sky." In 1938 England was the first to set up a short-wave coastal warning radar.

The operating principle of radar can be summarized as follows. The transmitter emits a very strong radio signal which, when it encounters an object, is reflected from it to the radar receiver; the characteristics of this reflected signal are used to form an image of the target or to locate it, as shown in Fig. 7.5.



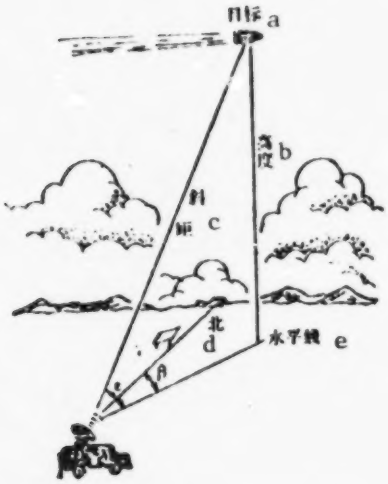
Key:
a. Vertical
b. North
c. Surface projection
d. Horizontal
e. Antenna switch
f. Transmitter
g. Receiver
h. Timer
i. Reference, reflected wave

Fig. 7.5. Radar operating principles

Radars for different uses are subject to different design requirements. For example, ballistic missile warning radars are used against small, high-speed maneuverable targets which employ various penetration techniques, and accordingly they must have the following characteristics.

1. Long range. They must detect and track incoming targets at distances of several thousand kilometers. If they provide early target information, the antiballistic missile preparation time will be sufficient; accordingly it is best that they be able to detect missiles at or shortly after launch.

2. They must determine precisely the trajectories of incoming missiles. They must quickly and correctly determine the ballistic characteristics of the targets, and estimate the intercept point and ground impact point. The target trajectory data can be given in terms of the range R (from the radar station to the target), the bearing B (the angle between true north and a line from the radar station to the target, the elevation angle E (the angle between a line from the radar station to the target and the projection of the line on the ground surface), and the rate of change or range (Fig. 7.6). With these four parameters (or the first three)mathematical methods can be used to compute the target's trajectory, intercept point and ground impact point.



Key:
a. Target
b. Altitude
c. Slant distance
d. North
e. Horizontal

Fig. 7.6. Radar measurement

3. It must be able to recognize targets effectively. It must have the ability to recognize true and false targets in a target cluster and analyze and determine target types from their characteristics.

4. It must be able to track many targets and maneuvering targets. It must be able to lock on to individual targets in a target cluster and to maneuvering targets.

5. It must have high reliability and fast, reliable data processing ability.

The radars in the warning network generally include over-the-horizon radars, large phased array radars and long-range surveillance and tracking radars.

Because electromagnetic waves propagate only in straight lines, most radar waves (very short waves or microwaves; see Table 2 in appendix, "Subdivisions of the Radio Spectrum") propagate only in straight lines, so that they are limited by the shape of the earth and can detect only targets in line-of-sight range, not targets below the horizon (Fig. 7.7).

Key:
a. Target
b. Radar antenna

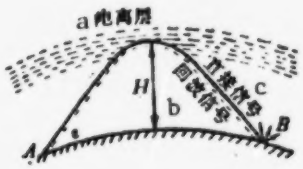
Fig. 7.7. Radar location

If a missile launched by the enemy is below the radar's horizon, how can it "see" the missile?

Over-the-horizon radar must be used.

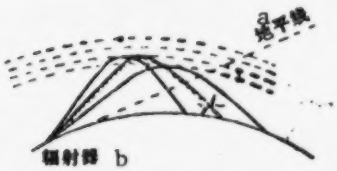
Over-the-Horizon Radar

The radio waves emitted by over-the-horizon radars are "bent" at a certain angle when they reach the ionosphere, thus passing over the horizon, so that they can detect objects below the horizon as shown in Fig. 7.8.



Key:
a. Ionosphere
b. Reflected signal
c. Directly emitted signal

Fig. 7.8. Reflection of a signal sent from the ground



Key:
a. Horizon
b. Radiator

Fig. 7.9. Reflection of signal from object

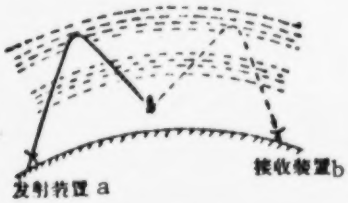
The concept upon which over-the-horizon radar is based was proposed in 1946, and subsequently the United States began development of this type of radar in an attempt to solve the problem of early detection of aircraft and missiles.

Because short wave electromagnetic radiation reflected from the ionosphere, and returning to the earth's surface can be scattered in all directions by the atmosphere, some of the scattered energy is scattered in the reverse direction and propagates along the same path as the original signal, returning to the initial transmission point. If there is some body (such as a missile or aircraft) on the electromagnetic propagation path between the earth's surface and the ionosphere, the radiation reflected from it will return and be recorded at the point of transmission (see Fig. 7.9). This is the basic principle of over-the-horizon radar.

When this principle is used, the operating distance is determined by the skip interval, which in turn depends on the elevation angle E and the altitude H of the reflective layer in the ionosphere (which is variable). It is generally thought that the operating range of a single-skip over-the-horizon radar is 3,800 km.

On the basis of the type of propagation, over-the-horizon radars can be classified as forward-scatter and backscatter types.

The transmitter and receiver of forward-scatter over-the-horizon radar are generally located far apart, as shown in Fig. 7.10. After the electromagnetic radiation is emitted by the transmitter, it propagates by ionospheric skip and is received by a receiver in a different location. When a missile is launched at a location in the path of the wave and creates an atmospheric disturbance, a change will appear in the received signal, making possible to detect the target. The advantage of this type of radar is that it is rather simple, but in general it can indicate only the existence of a target and its general direction, but cannot be used to determine the range of the target or other data on it.



Key:
a. Transmitter
b. Receiver

Fig. 7.10. Over-the-horizon forward-scatter radar

In over-the-horizon backscatter radar the transmitter and receiver are located at the same place (see Fig. 7.9). The transmitter emits a short-wave signal whose sky wave is reflected one or more times between the ionosphere and the surface of the earth, allowing it to reach locations below the horizon. When the wave reaches the target, it again propagates as a sky wave and is received by the receiver; following signal processing, objects below the horizon can be displayed.

This type of radar not only can indicate the existence and direction of targets but can be used to determine the range R of the target in terms of the signal delya time (the difference Δt in time between emission and reception of the signal) using the formula $R=1/2C \times \Delta t$ (where $C \approx 3 \cdot 10^8$ m/sec is the speed of light), as well as to find the target's velocity using the Doppler effect.

Because over-the-horizon radar operates in the short-wave ragion, the problem of interference (from ionospheric changes, thunderstorm noise and the like), arises, along with other problems, and accordingly to resolve the main contradictions involved in over-the-horizon radar requires development of high-powered transmitters and larger antennas, increased noise immunity, and improved signal processing techniques.

The main advantage of over-the-horizon radar is that it can detect targets below the horizon and at very long ranges (about 3,800 km for single reflection and 7,600 km for double reflection), its detection range is long, and it can provide antiballistic missile systems with about 30 minutes' warning, while ordinary radar provides only 3 to 15 minutes' warning. But its measurement precision is poor, and in particular it is difficult for it to provide accurate ballistic data for the middle part of a missile's trajectory. One US over-the-horizon radar has a locating precision of approximately 16 km and a bearing angle precision within a few degrees. In addition, its capabilities are poor, the

antennas are large and long (the US Ji Mao [phonetic] IV radar is 400 m long and 60 m wide) and are exposed on the ground surface, where they are vulnerable, and nuclear blasts produce atmospheric interference, preventing this radar from working normally. In order to improve over-the-horizon radars and overcome the current weak points, it will be necessary to intensify technical research, including basic research in short wave radio propagation, in order to master techniques for real-time monitoring of ionospheric changes so as to allow real-time selection and control of optimal operating frequencies and suitable emission angles in terms of ionospheric changes; there is also a need to develop frequency-agile high-power transmitters and signal processing techniques and to deal with the problem of extracting weak signals from reflected waves and interference. Accordingly, this radar must be used in combination with long range surveillance and tracking radars, which will complement it.

Long-range or superlong-range surveillance radars (also called long-range warning radars) are another type of component of warning systems. Currently some of them are monopulse radars while others are phased array radars; the latter type is widely used abroad.

Phase Array Radars

What are phased array radars?

"Phased" means that the phase of the radio waves emitted by the antenna can be controlled, and "array" means that the antenna consists of thousands or tens of thousands or radiators (radiators are classified as active or passive: active radiators are small antennas which can emit a radio wave, while passive radiators cannot emit radio waves) which are arranged in regular rows and columns to form an "array." Accordingly, phased array radars are array antennas using elements in which the direction of the beam can be altered by controlling the phase of the excitation signal applied to each element. It is an electronic scanning radar whose antenna does not need to be moved mechanically. Accordingly, it can constantly track targets coming from any direction.

The difference in construction between phased array radars and ordinary radars is primarily that phased array radars have thousands or tens of thousands of radiator elements, phase shifters and their exciters. The key to the phased array is its phase shifting capability. The phase shifters shift phase quickly under computer control. In addition, the radars have highly automated control systems, and the beam control and alteration of operating characteristics are carried out automatically.

Because the phases of the signals emitted by the various radiators are controlled by computer, reaction speed is high and they are precise and reliable. The advantages of phased array radars are as follows.

1. The beam sweep is inertialess and the beam direction can be changed within a microsecond, several mission times faster than with mechanical sweep motion, achieving extremely high data speeds, which is what is required for dealing with high-speed missiles; in addition, a single beam can carry out various different functions, such as surveillance, target acquisition and tracking, almost simultaneously.

2. It has multiple capabilities, and by controlling the various radiators' phases it is possible to form multiple independently-operating beams (the power and gain of each beam is adjustable), and multiple targets can be simultaneously searched for and tracked. In addition, a single high-power, high-gain beam can be produced to search extremely distant sky areas, in which case the beam shape also may be broadened for rapid seach of the entire sky area. Furthermore, by using multiple beams, multiple functions such as search, acquisition, recognition and tracking can be performed simultaneously, and antiballistic missiles can be guided toward their targets, so that a phased array radar can replace several radars of different types.

All operations of phased array radars is controlled and automatically performed by high-speed computers; the computer programs can adapt to a changing environment by means of self-adaptive methods, i.e. they can quickly determine the optimal operating mode for a rapidly changing target movement situation and flexibly control the beam and efficiently allocate power in order to meet various complex requirements, in other words, this type of radar has a self-adaptive capability.

4. In large-size phased array radars, the power of the radiators can be varied from several high-power signal sources to hundreds or thousands of low-power signal sources, so that the total radiated power can be very high and the operating range very great.

5. Phased array radars can be viewed as consisting of a number of smaller radars, and accordingly the malfunction of some of the small radars, e.g. malfunctions in a few radiators or a small number of low-power sources has little effect on normal operation of the phased array; in other words, reliability is rather high.

6. The antenna array is fixed and can be made very strong, which is helpful in withstanding shock waves from nuclear blasts.

From this it is clear that the antenna beams of phased array radars are highly flexible, and when operated by a high-speed computer they can perform rapid scanning and a wide range of other functions, including search, tracking recognition and prioritizing of objects flying in earth orbit or incoming missiles; accordingly they are rather well suited to the requirements of ballistic missile defense.

Monopulse Radars

Monopulse radars can be used for precise target tracking and recognition.

But what are monopulse radars?

Monopulse radars can provide all information on target angular position from a single pulse, hence the name. Because they use only a single pulse to determine direction, the amplitude of the reflected signal cannot affect the precision of angular coordinate measurement and the radar has the advantages of high measurement precision and good noise immunity.

There are two basic methods of direction finding in monopulse radar, the amplitude method and the phase method. In amplitude comparison monopulse radars the antenna generally sends out four slightly overlapping beams, above, below, left and right, as in Fig. 7.11. The amplitudes of the left and right beams are compared to determine the directional angle and the amplitudes of the upper and lower beams are compared to determine the elevation angle; direction and elevation are determined in the same manner. Here we will describe only the determination of elevation.

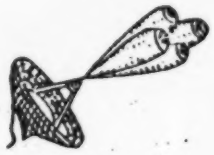
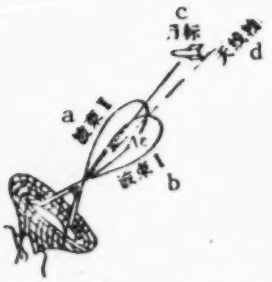


Fig. 7.11. Amplitude comparison monopulse radar emitting four slightly overlapping beams



Key:
a. Beam 2
b. Beam 1
c. Target
d. Antenna axis

Fig. 7.12. Principle of signal comparison method

The amplitude comparison monopulse radar uses the signal comparison method shown in Fig. 7.12. When the target is off the antenna axis, for example above it, the reflected signal from beam 1 which is received will be much stronger than that from beam 2, and by comparing the strengths of the two signals it is possible to determine the vertical elevation angle deviation ΔE. Because monopulse radars emit two beams simultaneously, while ordinary conical-scan radars (ordinary tracking radars now used primarily in tracking aircraft, gun direction and surface-to-air missile guidance, see Fig. 7.13) emit only one beam and cannot carry out immediate comparison, they use repeated reception of reflected waves for the purpose of comparison. In order to obtain angular information on the target, conical-scan radars generally must perform one conical-scan cycle, i.e. must emit and receive several dozen pulses. This is the respect in which they differ from monopulse radars.

Key:
a. Motion of target

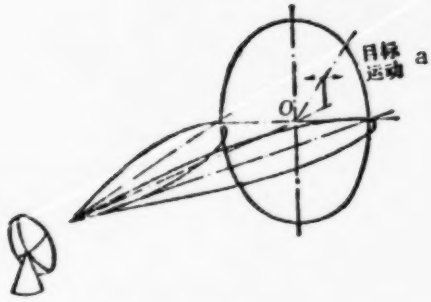


Fig. 7.13. Conical-scan radar

Because of the complexity of the external shape of incoming missiles, vibration during flight and frequent changes in attitude, the reflected radar wave flickers (because of the variation of the reflected signal and random fluctuation of the reflected signal). Conical-scan radars emit many pulses over a relatively long time interval and are subject to reflection flicker, so that the angular detection precision is only 1 or 2 mils (1 mil = 0.06°), while monopulse radars are not subject to reflection flicker, and their angular measurement precision may be as high as 0.01 mils. This is one of their advantages.

Some common monopulse radar types are: amplitude comparison monopulse radars, pseudo-monopulse radars, phase comparison monopulse radars and the like.

Their operating principles are briefly described below.

1. Amplitude comparison monopulse radars.

The operating principle of amplitude comparison monopulse radars can be seen in Fig. 7.14. The emitter sends out beams to measure the elevation; if their phases are the same, they are both indicated by a "+" (Fig. 7.15). The two beams strike the target and are reflected and received by the antenna. They are then compared by a high frequency comparator which puts out a sum signal and a difference signal. The sum signal is equivalent to the addition of the overlap directions of the two beams show in Fig. 7.15a; they add in every direction, producing the directional pattern shown in Fig. 7.15b. The difference signal is equivalent to subtraction of beam 2 from beam 1 in every direction, producing the pattern shown in Fig. 7.15c. The sum and difference signals are separately analyzed and processed in the receiver, then compared in the phase comparator, which outputs an antenna displacement control signal. If the difference signal is zero, the control signal is also zero, in which case the antenna axis is already aligned on the target; if the difference signal is not equal to zero, a control is emitted and the phases of the sum and difference signals are compared to determine in which direction the antenna axis should be moved. The sum signal is used not only to determine the phase reference signal but also as the distance measurement signal, since as the sum of two beams it has twice the power and is best suited for distance measurement. This is a simplified description of the principle by which the elevation angle is measured.

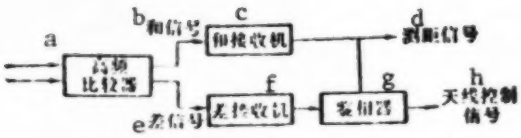


Fig. 7.14. Operating principle of amplitude comparison monopulse radar

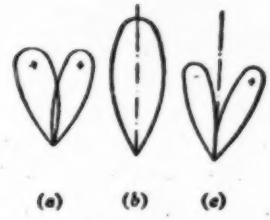


图 7-15

a—两个交叉波束的方向图，
b—两个波束和的方向图，
c—两个波束差的方向图。

Fig. 7.15.

Key:
a. High frequency comparator
b. Sum signal
c. Sim signal receiver
d. Distance determination signal
e. difference signal
f. Difference signal receiver
g. Phase comparator
h. Antenna control signal

Key:
a. Direction pattern of two overlapping beams
b. Direction pattern of sum of two beams
c. Direction pattern of difference to two beams

If the bearing is determined at the same time as the elevation, the right and left beams are subjected to high frequency comparison, after which the sum receiver, the bearing-determination difference receiver and the phase comparator used to produce the bearing control signal. In reality, the monopulse radar has only one sum receiver and two difference receivers. The sum signal actually combines the upper, lower, left and right beams; the elevation difference signal is obtained by comparing upper left plus upper right with lower left plus lower right, and the bearing difference signal is determined by comparing upper left plus lower left with upper right plus lower right.

2. Phased monopulse radars. Phased monopulse radars make use of the phase difference between received signals to determined target direction; the amplitude of the received signal generally is unrelated to the target direction. The antenna emits four beams, generally parallel, as shown in Fig. 7.17a. The actual antenna structure is shown in Fig. 7.16b. The four beam antennas are separate and distinct.

(Fig. 7.16 and 7.17 and their keys are continued on the following page).

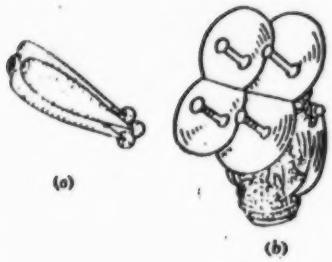


图7.16 相位单脉冲雷达的发射天线
a—四个平行波束，b—天线结构示意图。

Fig. 7.16. Phase comparison monopulse radar transmitting antenna

Key:
a. Four parallel beams
b. Structure of antenna

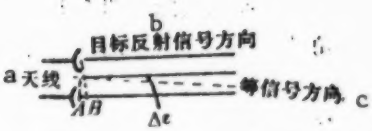


Fig. 7.17. Principle of direction finding from phase

Key:
a. Antenna
b. Direction of signal reflected from target
c. Direction of signal equivalence

As shown in Fig. 7.17, the operating principle of phase comparison monopulse radar is similar to that used in phase direction finding. Because the antenna is linearly arranged, the radar beams are parallel, and the equal-signal direction of the antenna beam is directly ahead of the antenna radiators. When the target is very far from the antenna, the signals reflected from it are nearly parallel and have equal amplitudes, but their phases differ. The signal shown at the bottom in Fig. 7.17 must travel a distance longer than that traveled by the top signal by a distance AB. AB is very short and does not affect the strength of the signals, but it has a great effect on phase. Because the radar operates in the microwave region, the wavelength is usually several centimeters. If AB is equal to the wavelength, the phase difference will be equal to one wavelength or 360°. If AB is half a wavelength, the phase difference will be 180°. The length of AB is related to the target deviation angle ΔE and accordingly the phase difference measured by the antenna can be used to determine the direction in which the target is off the antenna axis. Phase monopulse radar is basically similar to amplitude comparison monopulse radar, but there are some differences in the appearance of the antenna and the phase comparator. Currently most monopulse radars are of the amplitude comparison type, but a considerable number are of the phase comparison type.

3. Pseudo-Monopulse Radar

Because monopulse radar requires three receivers and is rathern complex in design, a simplified monopulse radar called pseudo-monopulse radar has been developed. In this type, the sum and difference signals, three in all, are combined, so that only one receiver is needed. When the two difference signals are mixed, the pulse signal amplitude is modulated in a fashion similar to that used in

conical-scan radar, in addition to which a reference signal similar to that used in conical-scan radar is created, so that after amplification in the receiver, the two difference signals can again be separated. Accordingly, this type of pseudo-monopulse radar is also called "hidden conical-scan radar", since the radiator operates as in monopulse radar but reception somewhat resembles that used in conical scanning. Monopulse radar is less vulnerable than conical-scan radar to destruction by antiradar missiles and to inverted-phase jamming, but like conical-scan radar it is affected by target reflection flicker, and it is difficult to achieve angular measurement precision: the usual precision is slightly more than 1 mil. There are certain other methods for combining the three receivers into one, and in some approaches they are combined into two. Because of its simplicity of design, pseudo-monopulse radar is now in rather extensive use.

Chapter 8. Penetration and Antipenetration Techniques

In antiquity, warriors wore armor and fought hand to hand with swords and spears, arrows against arrows and steel against steel. The weapons used in peasant uprisings also were arrows, swords, daggers, spears and the like.

Use of armor to protect the body was a defensive measure.

Piercing through the armor to kill or injure the adversary was a kind of "penetration."

Striking away the weapon with which an enemy tried to pierce one's armor was a form of "antipenetration."

The above are examples of defense, penetration and antipenetration in antiquity. But what form do these take today? Naturally, ancient armor cannot provide defense against attack by nuclear missiles, but research on defensive weapons has never ceased. What techniques are used today to defend against nuclear weapons? One such technique is antiballistic missiles.

But is it possible to penetrate an antiballistic missile defense?

This is the technical question, increasingly studied today, of penetration and antipenetration.

An Overview of Penetration and Antipenetration Techniques

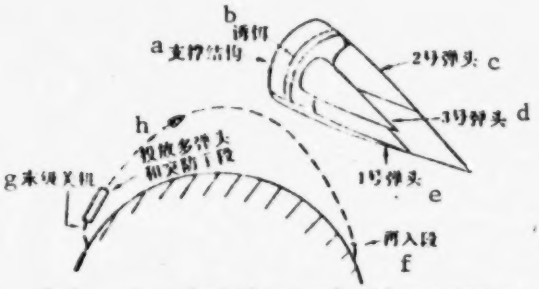
When ICBM's appeared, so did the problem of dealing with them. Every offensive has its corresponding defense: this is a historical necessity. Penetration and antipenetration techniques developed in response to the development of ICBM's and ABM's.

Penetration means breaking through the enemy's defenses against offensive weapons, paralyzing or partially paralyzing all or part of the defensive system so that it (e.g. ABM's and the like) becomes ineffective.

Antipenetration refers primarily to the defeating of the various measures by which the enemy attempts to attack with missiles, so that the offensive missiles are destroyed by the defensive system before they reach their objectives.

Because of rapid improvement of the warning and interception capabilities of strategic air defense systems, in order to break through the enemy's defenses, development of strategic nuclear weapons has included not only increases in numbers, expansion of range, improvement of accuracy and survivability, but also the use of various penetration techniques such as the use of multiple warheads and maneuvering warheads.

The term "multiple warheads" refers to the use of several warheads carried in the same ICBM to attack one or several targets, as shown in Fig. 8.1.



Key:
a. Supporting structure
b. Decoys and chaff
c. Warhead No 2
d. Warhead No 3
e. Warhead No 1
f. Reentry stage
g. Last stage of delivery rocket
h. Release of multiple warheads or penetration aids

Fig. 8.1. A multiple-warhead reentry vehicle

Maneuverability refers to a warhead's ability to change its trajectory while in flight in order to attack its target. There are now two techniques for changing trajectory, namely full-course maneuver and terminal maneuver. Full-course maneuver means, that after the warhead separates from the missile it continues to climb for several tens or more than a hundred kilometers, then follows a planned trajectory or again climbs to a higher altitude, gradually descends, gliding for some distance, and finally falls to its predetermined target along a planned trajectory. Terminal maneuver means that the warhead first follows a normal trajectory (an elliptical orbit) without maneuvering as it reenters the atmosphere, as if to make an attack, then suddenly starts its maneuver engines and changes trajectory, attacking a preplanned target by a different trajectory. It is reported abroad that maximum terminal-stage maneuver capability can enable a missile to attack targets several hundred kilometers to one side or in front of its false target. Multiple warheads and maneuvering warheads are now gradually coming into use.

The penetration-antipenetration struggle is developing in many areas of the missile field. Take radar as an example: in order to deal with multiple warheads and other penetration techniques, US ABM system radars have been converted from mechanical scanning monopulse radars to electronically scanned phased arrays. The Nike-Zeus system used four independent mechanically-scanned radars for acquisition, tracking, recognition and ABM guidance. The Nike-X system no longer used the mechanically scanned radars, which could not deal with multiple warheads and had poor resistance to nuclear blast, but changed over to phased array radars. In order to improve reliability and survivability, the radars were made small

and decentralized instead of large and concentrated; simple, cheap, multiple-capability small (tactical) multipurpose phased array radars were developed. To summarize, in order to adapt to penetration, the US and Soviet Union have expended much effort on radar improvemtns.

Several Penetration Aids

Penetration techniques have developed rapidly, so that there is now a considerable number of them (see Fig. 8.2), including simple penetration of ABM systems and active methods for destruction or jamming of defensive radars and other electronic equipment. The aim of the former technique is to render enemy ABM's incapable of intercepting the attacking warheads, while the aim of the latter technique is to destroy the detection capabilities of the enemy radars so that they cannot determine the range and direction bearing and elevation of the attacking missiles.

How is it possible to break through enemy ABM interceptors? There are several techniques that are under development or have been proposed.

1. The use of multiple independently-targeted warheads [MIRV]. A "bus" is equipped with a main engine and several attitude control engines which are used to correct flight error and adjust its speed and direction. While in flight, the bus ejects the warheads singly or at the same time. Each of the warheads may attack a different target, or they may attack the same target by different trajectories. The warheads in a multiple-warhead reentry vehicle generally lack motive power and control equipment and cannot maneuver after being released, but fly to their targets by inertial trajectories. Warhead release techniques now in use include release of the warheads along the bus's trajectory (see Fig. 8.3) or perpendicular to it (Fig. 8.4). This allows a cross-fire attack on one target or staggered attacks on it.

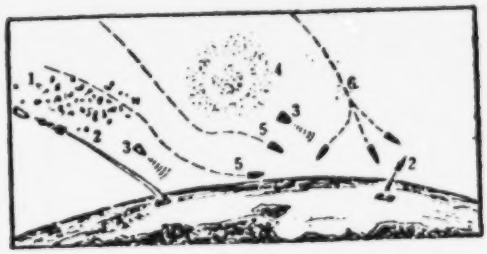


图8-2 各种突防手段示意图

1—假目标，2—反导弹，3—带无线电干扰的弹头，4—空中核爆炸，5—机动弹头，6—多弹头分导。

Fig. 8.2. Penetration aids

Key:

1. Decoy
2. Antiballistic missile
3. Electronic countermeasures warhead
4. Nuclear explosion in space
5. Maneuvering warhead
6. Multiple independently-targeted warheads

Fig. 8.3. One technique of multiple warhead release

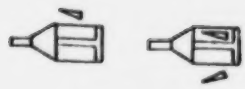


Fig. 8.4. Another type of multiple warhead release

Key:
a. Warhead

2. The use of maneuverable warheads [MARV]. Because there are limitations on the penetration capabilities of MIRV's, each warhead may be provided with motive power and control devices so that it can maneuver, change its trajectory and automatically home on and hit a target using onboard homing devices; this penetration technique is called maneuvering multiple warhead penetration. Because each of the individual warheads can maneuver, it is difficult for the defensive system's radars to acquire and track them, and thus the warheads avoid interception.

3. Hardening the warheads enables them to pass through and withstand ABM nuclear blasts and radiation areas as they carry out their missions. This technique requires new radiation-proof protective materials, improvement of guidance systems, and nuclear blast-resistant electronic equipment.

4. Use of unusual (high or low) trajectories to avoid detection and tracking by defensive radars, making sudden attacks on key objectives, missile silos or defended areas.

5. Simultaneous launching of large numbers of missiles to create very large target clusters in order to saturate the enemy's defensive systems and render them unable to track the real targets.

In addition to the interception-avoidance techniques described above, active destruction and jamming of enemy defensive systems is another important penetration technique which will be used in future nuclear warfare. For example, in order to interrupt the enemy's command processes, blind his radars and disrupt his weapons control requires the use of various methods to destroy or jam his radars and other electronic equipment. As described above, radars emit electromagnetic radiation, which strikes the target and is reflected, and the radar uses the reflected radiation to determine the target's position and speed at a given moment and determine the proper "lead," making it possible to guide ABM's to intercept the targets. Using these characteristics of radar it is possible to jam it. Releasing chaff or decoys is one penetration technique used by ICBM's which can confuse ABM warning systems. Types of interfering materials include metal, metallized materials and semiconductors. False targets made with these materials resemble real warheads, making it possible to track enemy radars into mistaking them for real targets.

The chaff may be released when the warhead separates from the missile, producing an interference cloud accompanying the warhead. This chaff drifts along the missile's trajectory, turning over and over and moving at approximately the same speed as the warhead in the rarefied part of the atmosphere. This chaff cloud renders moving target indication radars unable to distinguish warheads from chaff (see Fig. 8.5).

Key:
a. Chaff

Fig. 8.5. Deceptive interference

Interference with radar and other electronic equipment can involve either the production of interference clouds or the release of countermeasures devices. For example, a rocket or missile may be used first to disperse countermeasures devices (see Fig. 8.6), which carry frequency-adaptive transponders capable of creating many false targets. If a transponder is illuminated by enemy radar it can emit an intensified pulse signal very similar to that from a real warhead, so that the enemy warhead will mistake it for a real target.

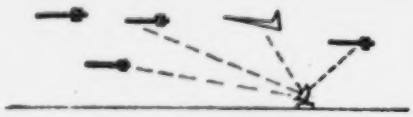


Fig. 8.6. Spoofing interference (countermeasures devices)

It is also possible to take preemptive action with penetration techniques: if a nuclear weapon is detonated in the air above the defended area it can put enemy electronic devices out of commission so that the missile attack cannot be detected; or antiradar missiles may first be launched, directly attacking the enemy air defense radars and killing or wounding their operating personnel, so that the air defense system loses its "eyes." Warheads of this type generally are equipped with a small radar unit with a flat extension at the forward end and four spiral antennas; these do not emit signals, but only receive signals from ground-based radars and automatically adjust the direction of flight in terms of the equality or inequality of the signals received by the four arms, thus guiding the warhead to the radar. When the radar is within its lethal radius, the warhead explodes, thus attacking the defensive radars.

Decreasing the effective radar cross section of warheads and thus decreasing the probability (i.e. likelihood) of detection by enemy radars, or coating the warhead with radiation-absorbing paint so that the enemy radars can obtain no information from reflected signals, as are other penetration techniques.

Recognition Techniques

Recognition techniques are the basis of antipenetration measures.

Recognition techniques must be able to distinguish true and false targets within a large cluster, i.e. to pick out the signals reflected from attacking missiles among those coming from the cluster, thus recognizing the real warheads. Recognition is a very important problem of ABM systems. Below we briefly describe the basic principles of two recognition methods.

The first method is atmospheric filtering. Sand in grain (such as rice or wheat) can be sieved out. True and false targets in a target cluster can also be "sieved out" by the atmosphere, as a result of the difference in the atmosphere's effects on true and false targets (objects of different shape), and thus distinguished. Since different objects are subject to different atmospheric resistance in the dense atmosphere, there will be obvious differences in their speeds of movement. When the target cluster enters the atmosphere, as a result of atmospheric resistance (related to the density of the atmosphere, the shape of the object, its cross section, speed of movement and the like), the light targets and those of irregular shape (such as fragments of the final stage of the missile) will begin to slow and will fall behind the earheads. The use of filtering by the atmosphere to recognize true and false targets is called "atmospheric filtering."

The atmospheric "sieve" can only recognize true and false targets entering the dense atmosphere. It is ineffective against targets outside the atmosphere, and accordingly other methods must be used there; these include radar techniques.

Radar recognition uses special radars. The recognition radar tracks the signal returning from the target, which include information on the target's position and speed and the frequency of changes in the target's reflective surface. These "target characteristic" signals can be compared with known holographic target characteristic signals based on large numbers of measurements, using a high-speed computer, to distinguish true and false targets.

There are many types of radar recognition methods. Here we describe the use of radar wave polarization recognition. When the radar illuminates the target the target produces various effects on the radar wave, one of which is to change its polarization (direction of change of the electromagnetic field). The polarization of the returning wave received by the radar (i.e. the direction of the magnetic lines of force) is not the same as that of the emitted wave, and accordingly the target can be viewed as a "polarization converter."

Analysis of the reflected wave polarization provides recognition data. For convenience, we express it in terms of the scattering coefficient matrix, which consists of the polarization components of the reflected wave and indicates the relation of the target's scattering (reflection) characteristics to radar beam polarization and the relationship between emitted and reflected power for the target. It has been found in practice that the characteristics of a given object can be described in terms of its shape, size, attitude, surface material and surface structure. The scattering coefficient matrix can also be expressed in

terms of these five characteristics. In other words, a given type of target corresponds to a certain type of scattering coefficient matrix. Accordingly, the matrix can be used for recognition of the target.

The target scattering coefficient matrix can be determined in many ways, such as direct determination, by sending out two orthogonally polarized waves in succession and receiving the two polarization components from each. When the object's attitude changes, the radar determines a "picture matrix" (numerical matrix) on the shape, size, attitude, surface material and structure from each viewing angle. The different attitudes of a given object can produce many "picture" matrices. Each picture matrix can be viewed as a curve traced in a 5-dimensional space by the five factors. A multitude of picture matrices for various types of known objects in different attitudes can be stored in a computer. When the radar is tracking an unknown object, the data on its five characteristics can be compared one by one with images of the many known objects stored in the computer, and the unknown object can be recognized by its coincidence with the "picture" of one of the known objects.

Target recognition techniques have still not been perfected, and accordingly other methods are being explored. Certain crude target recognition methods are usually used for preliminary target recognition. For example, objects in space can be classified in terms of their different motion characteristics. Experience indicates that a target's dynamic characteristics, energy reflection and radiation characteristics, and interaction with the surrounding medium provide data for preliminary classification (distinguishing warheads from satellites, meteors, aircraft and the like). Laser devices, doppler optical locators and high-resolution optical locators for identifying an object's shape can be used to determine the ways in which the reflection and radiation characteristics of warheads and false targets differ, making it possible to distinguish them.

The shock waves produced in front of flying objects and the high-heat-energy trails behind them are also dynamic characteristics which can be used to distinguish true and false targets. Their energy reflection and radiation are also dependent on the particular stages of the trajectory. In the middle stage of the trajectory the majority of the radiation emitted is infrared. In the reentry stage the radiation around the warhead consists of heat radiation (high temperature) and infrared radiation. When the target is slowed by atmospheric resistance, the quantity of energy produced is related to the mass of the target and its velocity, and the nature of the relationship between energy and altitude also depends on the ballistic parameters, thus providing data for determining the radiation emitted by a given target and making possible to determine its weight, shape and surface characteristics in terms of the radiation it emits. The intensity of the radiation is a measure indicator of the target's mass, the frequency distribution describes the shape of the target, and spectral analysis can be used to determine the chemical composition of its surface. All of these factors provide target analysis information and lay the groundwork for target recognition.

In order to solve difficult target recognition problems and recognize true and false targets more effectively, all countries involved are doing energetic work on new recognition techniques such as infrared sensing techniques, ABM onboard

recognition radars, television recognition and the like. It is reported that long-wave infrared sensing systems now under development can be used for radiation determination during the reentry and middle stage of target trajectories. In this technique, different optical wavelengths are used to determine target characteristics and recognize targets.

A typical target cluster generally includes decoys, chaff, remnants of the booster rocket and reentry vehicle. Long-wave infrared sensors are used to make measurements on the entire target cluster and determine its "brightness" in different infrared spectral regions, making it possible to calculate the target's temperature and relevant parameters. The change in brightness over time can be used to indicate target temperature variation during the reentry stage. Because decoys, chaff, remnants of the booster rocket and the reentry vehicle differ in size and shape, their temperature change will show clear differences, and by comparing them with measurements for known objects it is possible to recognize unknown objects (true and false targets).

8480
CSO: 4005/802

END

JPRS 81722

8 September 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 335

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81722

8 September 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 335

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Discord In U.S.-Soviet Nuclear Disarmament Talks
(Zhang Zhiping; WEN HUI BAO, 5 Jun 82) 1

PARTY AND STATE

Relations With Western European Communist Parties
(Chen Weibin; LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST], No 4, 1982) .. 4

Beijing Review: People's War Concept Not Outdated
(BEIJING REVIEW, 2 Aug 82) 8

Regional Commentary on Administrative Reform
(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 7 May 82; HARBIN RIBAO, 12 May 82) 10

Restructuring of Leading Groups
Search for Qualified Leaders
Responsibilities of Local Cadres, by Zu Zhichu
Party Rectification Through Education, by Qian Xingmen

Strengthening Shandong Party Organization
(DAZHONG RIBAO, 1 Jul 82) 19

Organizational Reconstruction
Strengthen Discipline

Commune Experience in Strengthening Basic-Level Party Organization Reported
(Li Zunli, et. al.; DAZHONG RIBAO, 2 Jul 82) 25

Anti-Intellectual Feeling in a Factory Deplored
(Tao Hongguang; WEN HUI BAO, 19 Jun 82) 32

Commentary Urges Proper Treatment of Intellectuals
(WEN HUI BAO, 19 Jun 82) 34

Shanghai Intellectuals Given Priority Attention
(WEN HUI BAO, 25 Jun 82) 37

Use of Intellectuals Investigated, Promoted
(WEN HUI BAO, 18 Jun 82) 39

Party Members Cautioned Against Bribery
(SHANXI RIBAO, 13 Jun 82) 41

Class Struggle Reflection Among Masses Noted
(Fan Jiyu; SHEHUI KEXUE (SOCIAL SCIENCES), No 6, 1982).. 43

A Reappraisal of Pattern of Qualitative Changes
(Jin Guantao and Hua Guofan; ZHONGGUO SHENHUI KEXUE
[SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CHINA], No 1, 1982) 50

TAIWAN

Briefs
Chiang Message to Uruguayan President 75

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DISCORD IN U.S.-SOVIET NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT TALKS

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 5 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Zhang Zhiping [1728 3112 1627]: "Window on the World, No 64: International Affairs Roundup"]

[Text] Ever since the United States and the Soviet Union signed the SALT I agreement in 1972, the two superpowers have greatly expanded their nuclear weapon stores and the number of nuclear weapons has grown beyond count. At the same time, both sides have made alarming developments in strategic and tactical nuclear weapons. Some have already been deployed (such as the Soviet Union's SS-20 missile) and some will soon be deployed in Europe (such as the U.S. cruise missile and the Pershing I missile), which greatly increase the possibility of "limited nuclear war" and threaten the people of all nations, expecially the people of Europe, who have experienced two world wars and who live with the nightmare of "nuclear horror."

Pressures

For the past year, all European nations have continually had large-scale anti-nuclear weapon mass demonstrations. This movement has now spread to the United States. According to reports, over 100 mass organizations with over 500,000 members will hold a large-scale anti-nuclear weapon march in New York on June 20th during the United Nations Second Disarmament Conference. It is worth noting that the US Congress and world of public opinion both have some people who express agreement with the Soviet Union's stance of "a freeze on nuclear weapons" and "no first use of nuclear weapons." Moreover, they promote a fresh congressional debate and another vote on the SALT II agreement, which Reagan has already vetoed. All of this puts pressure on Reagan. The Soviet Union now has taken the peace initiative, there are congressional elections this year and US--European relations daily grow more tense, so prior to ths trip to four European capitals, Reagan must consider the new conditions in re-thinking US-Soviet Union relations, especially in terms of the issue of limitations on military preparations.

"Reductions"

On May 9th, Reagan spoke at his alma mater Eureka College and made some new and interesting remarks concerning foreign policy. He advocated immediate US-Soviet Union talks on strategic weapons reductions and moreover hoped that he could arrange a meeting with Brezhnev "as soon as possible." Western publications felt that the tone of Reagan's remarks was surprisingly "warm," he no longer mentioned Soviet Union international "restraint and withdrawls" as pre-conditions for meetings between heads of state and he also did not say that talks with the Soviet Union must be conducted from a position of strength.

Reagan's speech also had another change which caught people's attention--he changed the phrase "limitation" of strategic nuclear weapons to "reductions" of strategic nuclear weapons. Although this is only a change of one word the meaning differs greatly. Washington believes that the SALT II agreement "limited" only the US and favored the Soviet Union. So, what Carter approved of Reagan then rejected.

Reagan's case for reductions consisted of two sections and the goal is to reduce Soviet Union nuclear superiority to a level of general equality with that of the US. In the first stage both sides will reduce their land-based and sea-based ICBMs (the Soviet Union has 2,400 and the US has 1,700) to a level of 850, which is to say that the Soviet Union will reduce their number by 1,550 and the US by only 850. In warheads for land-based missiles, the Soviet Union has 5,500 and the US has 2,150. According to Reagan, both sides should reduce their missile warheads by one-third, which would retain about 5,000 of them. Moreover, the number of missile warheads could not exceed the number of land-based missiles by more than one-half, which would be 2,500. In this case, the Soviet Union would reduce its numbers by 3,000, while the US would have no reductions. In the second stage, the throw-weight of the missiles would be reduced to comparable levels. Because the Soviet Union has larger land-based missiles than the US, each missile can carry from 4 to 10 warheads, so there is a 3 to 1 superiority in throw-weight over the US. This would require the Soviet Union to make huge reductions.

Reagan of course would be unwilling to forgo US superiority in cruise missiles, strategic bombers and submarine-launched missiles.

"A Freeze"

On May 18th, Brezhnev made his response to Reagan's suggestions. On the one hand he criticized Reagan for plotting to achieve "one-sided superiority" and on the other hand he expressed a willingness to reopen strategic arms limitations talks. He moreover pointed out that when the talks started both sides should "freeze" their nuclear weapons stores.

No one was surprised at this Soviet Union manuver regarding the talks. Last year in October, prior to the Geneva talks on limiting mid-range nuclear weapons, Brezhnev made a suggestion to "temporarily halt" the deployment of mid-range nuclear missiles in Europe. It was later revealed that the so-called "temporary halt" allowed the Soviet Union to leagalize the deployment of 300 SS-20 missiles (carrying altogether 900 warheads), and at the same time prevented the NATO nations from starting the 1983 deployment in Western Europe of 572 US cruise missiles and (Panxing) I missiles, thus tying the hands of the NATO nations when they are faced with the threat of powerful Soviet Union nuclear weapons in the battle zone. This time, before the talks on reducing strategic nuclear weapons had started Brezhnev quickly played his old tune, and with the same goal: the Soviet Union already has nuclear superiority in land-based missiles, so they can only "freeze" and cannot reduce their number.

Because of requirements in the domestic politics and foreign relations of both the US and the Soviet Union, the new round of talks on limiting nuclear weapons starts in Geneva on June 29th. However, these will be long and difficult talks and the outcome of these talks will be no better than the ongoing ones on limiting mid-range nuclear weapons. Perhaps the talks will not be as prolonged as the disarmament talks between China and Europe (over eight years already), but the barganing on both sides will probable be fiercer than in any previous arms limitations talks. Western observers correctly pointed out that both sides are battling for nuclear superiority and the contest will not be limited to the conference table. The nuclear arms race between the two superpowers can only be accelerated by the discordant accompanyment of the nuclear arms talks.

11582
CSO: 4005/1013

PARTY AND STATE

RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 4, 1982 p 36

[Article by Chen Weibin [7115 4850 2430]: "Reestablishment and Development of Relations between China and Several Western European Communist Parties"]

[Text] During the last 2 years, the successive resumption and improvements of party relations between the CPC and the communist parties of several Western European countries have attracted the attention and interest of the international community. Of course this has also discomforted those who vaunt themselves as the "leading party" and as the "center of the communist movement."

Here is a brief summary of the most important events.

--April 1980: Berlinguer, the general secretary of the Italian Communist Party, led an Italian Communist Party delegation on a visit to China, and restored relations between the Italian and the Chinese Parties.

In November 1980, Carrillo, general secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, led a Communist Party of Spain delegation on a visit to China, and restored relations between the Spanish and the Chinese Parties.

In November 1980, Dhrakopoulos, secretary general of the Communist Party of Greece-Interior [KKE (int)] led a delegation on a visit to China, restoring relations between the two parties.

In July 1981, Peng Zhen, member of the Politburo and of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, led a CPC delegation in return visits to both the Italian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Spain.

In March 1982, Gremetz, member of the Politiburo and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, led a delegation of the French Communist Party on a visit to China. Preparations were made for a formal restoration of relations between the French and Chinese Parties. The CPC Central Committee invited George Marchais, general secretary of the French Communist Party, to visit China at a time convenient to him.

In March 1982, Joop Wolff, member of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Netherlands, visited China and had an exchange of views with leading comrades of the CPC concerning the question of

further advancing the relations between the Dutch and Chinese Parties. The CPC Central Committee invited Henk Hoekstra, chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Netherlands, to visit China at a time convenient to him.

It can be seen from this summary list that the trend is developing further.

During the 60's there were disagreements and quarrels between the CPC and the communist parties of several Western European countries concerning various problems. Party relations were broken off for a time. What approach should be taken towards this unpleasant period of history?

Deng Xiaoping, vice-chairman of the Central Committee of the CPC, has said, "In the past CPC has quarreled with the Italian Communist Party. It looks as though the Chinese comrades had some erroneous views, but the Italian comrades can't be said to have been entirely correct either. Let's let these bygone quarrels be bygones."

Shortly, before his visit to China, Carrillo, general secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, said: "Normal relations were disturbed because both parties made mistakes. The Chinese party made mistakens, and the Spanish party also made mistakes." Now, neither we nor the communist parties of these Western European countries are going to get tangled up in things that happened in the past. We now stand together again, facing the future.

What are the common grounds that enable the Chinese party to shake hands anew with parties with which we had quarrels in the past? Here let us again cite a few comments.

Deng Xiaoping: "Relations between parties should be equal, comradily relations; they should not be 'father and son' relations. The affairs of any country can only be assessed by the Marxist-Leninists, the communists, of that country. They themselves should correct the mistakes which they make. No one should regard his own views and experiences as a 'model' to be imposed on others."

Hu Yaobang: The Chinese and Italian parties "are determined to strictly and scrupulously abide by the fundamental principles of absolute equality, independence and self-government, and mutual respect, in relations between the two parties. "

Berlinguer: "The basis for the reestablishment of relations between the parties (of Italy and China) is respect for the self-governance and independence of both parties, and respect for the respective standpoints of both parties: frank discussion of differences of opinion and disagreements between the two parties, and the search for even better understanding, and for all possibilities of cooperation." The Italian Communist Party "rejects the kind of viewpoint that claims that there can only be one universally applicable model for the transition to socialism."

Carrillo: "Each party should walk on its own two legs, use its own brain to think problems, and oppose the imposition by any party of its own viewpoint on other parties. " "There are more points of agreement then disagreement between

our Spanish and Chinese parties. Our two parties must restore and develop our traditionally friendly relations on the basis of fraternal frankness and mutual respect."

Marchais: "There is no 'model' for building socialism, nor is there a 'model' for policies from one party to another. At the present time there is no world 'center' for the international communist movement, nor are there any regional 'centers'. The communist parties of all nations determine (their own) policies independently.

The Communist Party of Greece-Interior [KKE (int)] after the formal restoration of relations with the CCP, made a statement: "The Communist Party of Greece-Interior [KKE (int)] and the CCP have restored relations between the two parties in accordance with the principles of equality and autonomy, mutual respect, non-interference in internal affairs, and opposition to leading parties. These principles are the only possible basis for the development of friendly cooperation among communist parties and workers' parties in the present era."

If we sum up the above comments, we can in general describe the common basis for the restoration and development of relations between the CPC and the Western European communist parties as follows: relations between the CPC and the Western European communist parties as follows: relations between parties must adhere to the principles of independence and self-governance, absolute equality, and mutual respect. The existence of "leading parties" or "centers" in the international communist movement is resolutely opposed. Interference in the internal affairs of the parties of other countries is opposed. The imposition by any part of its will upon others is opposed. In the combining of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete situation in each country, it is maintained that the party of each country ought to be permitted to seek its own road to the goal of socialism in accordance with its own concrete situation, while the imposition of the model of any country as the sole model upon others is opposed. Since the concrete situation in each country is different, and the experiences and environment in which the party of each country finds itself are different, it is normal that they should have different views on some issues, and adopt different measures, and it is through the exchange of views, rather than libeling and putting labels on others, that inquiry and consultation can take place, while leaving judgement to history and practice.

The common ground between China and the communist parties of the Western European countries is not limited to these points. However, on this common basis we can look forward to a healthy development of inter-party relations. Of course, this does not imply that all problems will be viewed and understood in the same way, but this need not interfere with the normal development of inter-party relations. As Comrade Hu Yaobang has said, "When there are divergences and differences in our understanding of certain problems, this can only stimulate us to enlighten one another, to inquire of one another, and to seek mutual progress and improvement on the basis of Marxism, through continuous praxis and testing.

The CPC and the communist parties of the Western European countries are working together to further the resumption and development of party relations, on the basis of the principles of independence and self-governance, mutual respect, and seeking common ground while reserving differences. This is in accordance with the interests of the Chinese people and the peoples of Western Europe, and it also accords with the interests of the international communist movement.

12187
CSO: 4005/1031

PARTY AND STATE

BEIJING REVIEW: PEOPLE'S WAR CONCEPT NOT OUTDATED

HK061054 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW in English No 31, 2 Aug 82 p 3

["Notes from the Editors" by Special Editor Guo Fang]

[Text] China is striving to modernize its national defence to cope with a possible modern war in the future. Can we say that the concept of people's war is outdated?

In my opinion, any modern war that could confront China in the future would be the same in some fundamental respects as the anti-aggression wars or revolutionary civil wars China fought in the past. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that the concept of people's war is outdated.

For a long time to come, our weapons may remain inferior to the enemy's in a future war. China is modernizing its national defence in order to defend itself against foreign invaders and safeguard world peace. But no matter how sophisticated our armaments become, the Chinese Army will never seize a single square inch of foreign territory. What we will face is a war of aggression by the hegemonists, in which our army will fight a better equipped enemy. But it will be fought under China's actual conditions. The strategies and tactics of using a weaker force to overcome a stronger force, which we have created for a people's war in the last half century, are for the most part still suitable today. It is still fundamentally true that it is men, not materials, that decide the outcome of a war. If a war breaks out, we will mobilize the masses of people to swamp the enemy in the ocean of a people's war. It goes without saying, though, that the concept of people's war should be enriched under modern conditions and that many new issues different from a people's war in the past should be earnestly studied and new ways and means to tackle them should be probed.

Our army was and still is a people's army. In China, the building of a modernized military force and the implementation of the people's war concept complement each other. Having switched the emphasis of work on to the modernization drive, the Chinese People's Liberation Army still attaches great importance to carrying forward its fine traditions and to serving the people wholeheartedly. The army loves the people and the people trust the army. This factor and the close unity between the army and the government remain the fundamental conditions for defeating the enemy under modern conditions.

The three-in-one military system that combines the field armies, local forces and the militia, which was so effective in past wars, will be adhered to in the future. For example, the weak points of an enemy fighting an unjust war will inevitably manifest themselves no matter how powerful and well-equipped it is. We will carry out various forms of guerrilla warfare and attack the enemy's rear areas, destroying its communications and transportation facilities (including oil pipelines), cut off its supplies, harass its forces, tie them down and wear the enemy out, thereby coordinating with the actions of our main forces.

Certain military principles, which proved effective in the past, will not entirely meet the needs of a modern war. These include the principles that "our army's main sources of manpower and material are at the front" and that the army is at the same time a fighting force, a work force and a production force.

All in all, Mao Zedong's military thinking, including the concept of people's war, will remain the guideline for the PLA in its future construction and combats. The fundamental theories and most of the principles he set forth will be upheld and will at the same time be enriched and developed in accordance with the needs of a modern war. Mao Zedong's military thinking will thus be developed.

CSO: 4000/178

PARTY AND STATE

REGIONAL COMMENTARY ON ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM

Restructuring of Leading Groups

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 7 May 82 p 1

[Article "Cadre Expertise"]

[Text] Sheng County has successfully established leasing groups in industrial and communications enterprises based on the criteria of having revolutionary, younger, better educated and more specialized cadres. They have upheld following the mass line and have boldly promoted middle aged and young cadres who have solid political character and specialized knowledge. They have taken preliminary steps toward restructuring leading groups that have older cadres with low levels of education and too few specialized personnel. In just over a year, 35 county enterprises under the County Economic Commission have rearranged 100 plant level leading members. Of these, 45 percent are newly promoted middle aged and young cadres with specialized knowledge.

This country's industrial and communications enterprises restructured and established leading groups on the basis of what information was revealed, on criticisms that have been made and on investigations. The majority were found to be from fair to excellent. However, commonly existing problems such as averaged and undereducated cadres plus the lack of specialized personnel caused these groups to be unable to meet the needs of the establishment of the four modernizations. In order to ensure that the leading groups in industrial and mining enterprises gradually become more revolutionary, younger, better educated and more specialized, the county first of all adopted the methods of presenting the facts and reasoning things out. They eradicated the three "Incantations of the Golden Hoop," that is that "young cadres are ill at ease, technical cadres are not content and nonparty personnel have no faith." They established correct standpoints for choosing people for jobs and opened up the way for seeking qualified people.

While launching work in restructuring and establishing leading groups, Sheng County ran into the problem of the cadre management system. The

industrial department responsible for production had no control over cadres, and the Organization Department that supervised cadres had no control over production. Although the Office for Industry and Communications and the Industry Bureau both have personnel cadres, the Industry Bureau only supervises staff and workers, not cadres. The Office of Industry and Communications supervises cadres but it does not have the authority to appoint and dismiss cadres, rendering them largely ineffectual. Sometimes, because of the differing views of the Industrial Management Department and the Organization Department, basic level plants and mines report to one cadre so that it can take from 6 months to a year to receive comments. The lack of coordination of rights and responsibilities in this cadre management system has seriously affected the establishment of leading groups in industrial and communications enterprises. In confronting this situation, Sheng County clearly set down that decentralized management be implemented for cadres. In addition to the secretaries in the party committee system in major plants and certain key enterprises run by county plants and mines and factory directors appointed and supervised by the county CCP committee, the Economic Commission has the right to investigate, reassign and dismiss other cadres. Once their duties were defined, the Economic Commission worked closely with the Organization Department and faithfully improved their work in investigating and reassigning basic level leading groups. All cadres supervised and appointed by the county CCP committee put the Organization Department of the country CCP committee first and worked with the Economic Commission to conduct investigations. All cadres supervised by the Economic Commission put the Economic Commission first and worked with the Organization Department to conduct investigations. This kind of coordination and concerted effort has facilitated unity of thinking and accelerated progress in work. At present, among the 35 enterprises run by the Economic Commission, there are 19 units in which leading groups are basically well put together and for the most part are able to meet the demands of production. They constitute 54.26 percent of the total number of enterprises. The major key core of personnel was well chosen but understaffed. Eight enterprises, or 22.86 percent, are still incomplete. At the same time, the county also handed over the management of level one cadres in plants, mines, workshops and classrooms who were originally under the uniform administration of the county to enterprises. In the last year or so, 9 enterprises in the party committee system run by the Economic Commission appointed 162 mid-level cadres. This has played a significant role in arousing the enthusiasm of enterprises and strengthening the establishment of the basic level.

As for cadres' origins, Sheng County upheld having one's eyes looking inward and following the mass line. They have promoted cadres with both ability and political integrity to leading positions. In the past, the restructuring of leading groups often only involved shuttling and transferring certain familiar veteran cadres, or reassigning from upper levels to external units. The result was that no qualified personnel were discovered and problems could not

be resolved. They broke with tradition and supported developing a democratic style. They turned over the requirements for selecting cadres to the masses and mobilized the masses to select the worthy and appoint the capable. They combined the recommendations of the masses, the investigations of organizations and the examination and approval of the party committee. Furthermore, they adopted different methods in accordance with the differing circumstances in each enterprise. They strengthened unity in leading groups and in units in which there was a fairly solid base of staff and workers. They also implemented democratic leadership elections. Among the enterprises run by the Economic Commission, there were 19 units in which leading members of the party committee and the party branch were elected through the democratic process. In some plants, plant level leaders were democratically recommended by the congress of delegates of staff and workers. The conference of key leaders, the staff and workers congress and the all-plant staff and workers congress conducted a public opinion poll of units in which work was relatively normal and in which there was little factionalism among the staff and workers. At present 12 units have already adopted this method and have discovered and elected 14 cadres of whom 11 are middle aged and young cadres. Leading groups that were in poor shape and units in which there were great obstacles to electing personnel were each visited, discussed and investigated. All sides were listened to and comparisons made. Afterward, they carefully considered what decisions should be made. As for the election of cadres, most gave primary consideration to their own units and picked out outstanding middle aged and young cadres who had solid mass support, integrity and political ability as well as certain specialized knowledge to assume positions of leadership. Among newly promoted plant level leading members, there were only 11 who were provincial or county level advanced production workers. In restructuring groups, the county also broke through the cadre's problem of restrictions of the system of ownership. For example, enterprises in the Second Light Industries System originally had a poor base. They reassigned 11 cadres from units of all the people to assume leading positions.

Sheng County still pays much attention to the training and discipline of new cadres as well as going all out to employ them so that they can enhance their abilities through actual experience. They place those who are being trained in specific posts and train them through actual work. Those who do well are further entrusted with important tasks.

Search for Qualified Leaders

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 7 May 82 p 1

[Article: "Commentary on Cadre Expertise"]

[Text] Establishing leading groups in industrial and mining enterprises according to the demand for revolutionary, younger, better educated and more

specialized members is an important task in successfully carrying out the establishment of the four modernizations. It is also an objective requirement for changing the circumstances of leading groups that have overaged, under-educated members and too few specialized personnel. How can progress in this job be accelerated? The experiences of Sheng County indicate that only if we cultivate new views on choosing people for jobs can we open up the way for seeking qualified people.

At present, the progress on establishing leading groups in industrial and mining enterprises based on the requirements of the four modernizations for cadres has not been very rapid. One important reason for this is that some comrades under the ideological influence of the "Left" have many mistaken ideas about selecting cadres. In a nutshell, it is simply that young cadres are ill at ease, technical cadres are not content and nonparty personnel have no faith. If these views are not eradicated, the establishment of fine leading groups will remain idle talk. At present we are in a new period of rapidly changing scientific technology. We are also engaged in modernized construction, and enterprises are once again in the forefront of production. Under such circumstances, if we don't place capable men who are in their prime and have certain levels of scientific and technical skills in leading groups it will be very difficult to follow the requirements of modernized construction and set up enterprises with fairly high standards of administration, technology and production. In our enterprises there are many cadres who are young, vigorous and skilled and who combine both ability and political integrity. We also have many skilled technicians. Among them there are those who are fully qualified to be selected for leading groups. The facts show that all enterprises that have established leading groups according to the demands of the four modernizations of cadres have the following several characteristics in common. The groups are united as one, full of vigor and vitality, they dare to act and manage and they have high combat effectiveness. The cadre management system is as it should be, and problems in production, technology and administration have been correctly assessed and can be resolved. There has been a change in the spirit of staff and workers. They now have confidence in well-run enterprises, and they are more enthusiastic about the four modernizations of cadres. Production has developed fairly rapidly, and there have been good economic benefits. Consequently, anxieties, worries and doubts concerning problems in selecting cadres are groundless.

In order to successfully establish groups according to the requirements of the four modernizations of cadres, it is necessary to follow the mass line. In the past, restructuring groups primarily involved shuttling and transferring a few familiar veteran cadres. In this way it was impossible to discover qualified people. We must break through this old tradition, adopt democratic methods, hand over requirements for selecting cadres to the masses and encourage the people to select and appoint those who are qualified. This method of the mass line is the correct way to seek capable people. While selecting

qualified people, it is necessary to uphold the principle of seeking those with ability and political integrity. First of all we should look at their political character and investigate their behavior during the "Great Cultural Revolution," particularly their behavior since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Those people who followed Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and became prominent through "rebelling," those who have factionalist ideas and those who robbed and looted as well as those who have serious economic problems are all ineligible to enter leading groups. While stressing ability we must also stress political integrity. They must have abundant specialized knowledge, practical experience and leadership ability. Only by upholding the principle of seeking both ability and political integrity can we correctly select cadres.

Responsibilities of Local Cadres

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 May 82 p 4

[Article by Zu Zhichu [4371 0037 0443]: "The Party Branch Is the Core of Leadership in Basic Units"]

[Text] According to provisions in the party constitution, basic level party branches are the link from the party to the broad masses. They are the political leadership in basic units and the core for uniting the masses. The party branch is the fighting bastion for implementing party lines, principles and policies, for fulfilling production tasks and for all work in other areas.

The basic task of the party branch is defined in article 8 of the draft of the party constitution. (For details see the Central Committee [1980] 29th document, p 28.) The basic spirit of the duties set forth in article 8 are: to uphold the four fundamental principles, to firmly focus on the establishment of a material civilization and a spiritual civilization, to successfully carry out ideological and political work among staff and workers, to engage in the establishment of party organizations, to implement party line, principles and policies, to continuously improve levels of production, technology and economic management in enterprises, to improve economic benefits and to ensure and supervise production construction and the completion of all tasks.

Provisions in the party constitution concerning the duties of basic level party organizations were proposed in accordance with the requirements and developments of history. They are not rigid and inflexible. The duties outlined in article 8 differ on many points from all previous provisions in the party constitution and they also have some new characteristics. One is that they are very direct. The serious consequences created by the "gang of four's" undermining the establishment of the party made clear the need for having strict party organization life, launching criticism, following the

four obediences, guaranteeing the inviolable rights of party members and other provisions. Second, it has the new characteristics of the new period. In the duties in article 3, in addition to stipulating that organization party members study Marxism, Mao Zedong Thought and basic party knowledge, it is also stipulated that organization party members study science, culture, labor technology and professional knowledge. Furthermore, it is set forth in the duties in article 4 that we "give full play to the initiative and creativity of party members and the masses, encourage and support professional and technological innovations and creations and strive to catch up to and surpass domestic and foreign advanced levels." Third, it stresses the fighting spirit of the party. It is also clearly set forth in the duties in article 8 that we "instruct party members and the people to heighten their revolutionary vigilance, resolutely do battle with the sabotage of class enemies and other criminal elements." What should we be on guard against? On the one hand we must guard against the sabotage and aggression of class enemies from abroad. On the other hand we must guard against the sabotage, disorder and the attack of "sugar-coated bullets" during times of peace by class enemies within China and other criminal elements. The struggle that we are currently engaged in to oppose the trend of bourgeois liberalization and to attack major crimes in the economic sphere is an important part of the class struggle being waged by our socialist society under new historical conditions in the economic sphere. This struggle has a bearing on the success or failure of China's modernized construction as well as on the rise and fall of our party and nation. This is the central task of the entire party for this year, and it is the central task of basic party organizations. We must guide party members and the masses to carry out this struggle through to the end.

Party Rectification Through Education

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 May 82 p 4

[Article by Qian Xingmen [6929 5281 7024] "CCP Members Must Preserve the Purity of Communism"]

[Text] At present, the task of rectifying the party by rectifying test units in our city has gradually shifted from the phase of launching ideas to the phase of carrying out systematic instruction of party members. Based on pilot experiences in consolidating the party we must ensure that the instruction of party members penetrates the entire process of consolidating the party, and we must successfully carry out the systematic instruction of party members within a concentrated period of time.

The understanding of the leadership must be clarified. On the one hand it is necessary to recognize that systematic instruction involves the majority of people, it is long-term and it will get to the root of the problem. It is a significant phase in rectifying the party. We must not do a superficial job

and just go through the motions, nor must we carelessly call off the battle or be impatient to move onto the next phase. While analyzing all aspects of the situation among the ranks of party members, we see that there are a certain number of party members who are not qualified or who do not have a suitable base. Even the political quality of party members who are qualified and whose base is up to standard shows a marked decline compared to before the "Great Cultural Revolution." Party rectification must start with study, paying attention to the fundamentals and upgrading the political quality of party members. On the other hand, it is necessary to clarify that other political instruction cannot replace instruction on the basic theories and basic knowledge of the party. The belief that "systematic instruction is the same old stuff, even without study we know it all" is incorrect. Certain party members who are not up to standard have discarded the fine traditions of the party. Each leading comrade must focus on this key phase and concentrate their efforts on the systematic instruction of party members.

The content matter of instruction must be systematic. Recently the provincial CCP committee instructed that regardless of whether we are engaged in rectification of one particular aspect or in overall rectification, it must still be based on instruction. It is necessary to broadly launch three educational movements. One is to begin with study of modern history and the history of the party. It includes instruction on the "three loves," that is, love of country, love of socialism and love of party. The second is to use the comparative method of settling accounts and to conduct instruction on the economic situation. The third is to thoroughly study the "Party Constitution (revised version)," "Guiding Principles," the "Historical Resolution" and the "Decision." We must contrast, examine, compare and assess them. It also includes giving instruction on party character, party style and party discipline. Those involved in rectifying test units should take the lead in arranging their time to conscientiously engage in these three areas of instruction according to the demands of the provincial CCP committee. At the same time, in light of the widespread nature of problems among party members it is also necessary to carry out instruction of the ideals of communism among party members in a planned and organized manner. We must all strive to do this job well. We must carry out instruction on the aims of the party and consciously act as the public servants of the masses by serving the people wholeheartedly. We must carry out instruction on the principles of party organization, uphold the "four obediences" and strengthen organizational discipline. In addition, it is necessary to give instruction on standards for party members, to resolve the problems of relaxed requirements and of mixing with the ordinary people and to support advanced elements in the working class. It is necessary to give instruction on party policies and to consciously implement party line, principles and policies to preserve political unity with the Party Central Committee.

Instruction methods must be flexible. Qualified units may adopt the method of releasing members from work to train in rotation. During concentrated periods of time they may go to class and hold discussions together and then divide up to engage in systematic study. In units where it is difficult to train released workers in rotation, the method of studying for half a day may be adopted. Within a fairly concentrated period of time they may go to class and have discussions, while systematically studying basic theories and basic knowledge of the party. In units where party members are relatively dispersed, the method of splitting up into groups and suiting instruction to the individual may be used. They must guarantee teaching and learning and teach and learn from each other. They must start with instruction in basic knowledge to upgrade the political quality of party members. Whatever method of instruction is employed, sufficient time must be set aside. Based on the pilot experiences of various areas in party rectification, the phase of systematic instruction of party members should take up one-half or one-third of the total time spent on party rectification. At the same time, it is also necessary to adopt various flexible methods such as visiting the hall of revolutionary martyrs, dissecting major examples, explaining the pros and cons of typical cases by using one's own experiences, launching discussions on special topics, setting up spare time study groups, etc. This will create a good atmosphere for learning. In particular, it is necessary to promote self-study among party members. In addition to focusing their studies and discussing the "Party Constitution (revised version)," "Guiding Principles," the "Historical Resolution," the "Decision" and other basic teaching materials, it is also necessary to organize party members to study on their own Chairman Mao's theory on the establishment of the party, Comrade Liu Shaoqi's "On the Cultivation of a Communist," Comrade Deng Xiaoping's "On Party Style," Comrade Chen Yun's "Stress Truth, Not Face" and other articles. While engaging in study and discussion it is necessary to stress saying what is on one's mind, discussing views, clearly defining problems and guiding party members to solve their problems on their own. We must give necessary guidance, integrate ideology and practice while responding to questions posed by party members. The leadership must take the initiative and they must lead the others to follow in their footsteps. We must understand policies, support the doctrine of the "three don'ts" and give full play to democracy within the party while consciously launching criticism and self-criticism.

At present the struggle to attack serious crimes in the economic sphere is one of the major tasks of our party for this year and in the long run. The Central Committee calls on us to "concentrate on dealing with major important cases and to emphasize rectifying party organizations and the work style of cadres in addition to tightening up all areas of administrative systems." This struggle to oppose corruption and degeneration is the most practical and effective way to rectify the party. Consequently, when rectifying pilot units, we must take advantage of this opportune moment to use the "Decision" of the Central Committee of the CCP as one of the significant teaching materials for

instructing party members. We must truly include the struggle to attack serious crimes in the economic sphere among the major tasks in rectifying the party. Furthermore, we must also give thorough and widespread instruction to CCP members on preserving the purity of communism and opposing corruption and deterioration. The basic aim of our party is to instruct each party member to faithfully fulfill his solemn oath taken upon admission to the party and to always remember to serve the people wholeheartedly. Our party's ultimate objective is to always remember to practice the lofty ideals of communism and to fight a lifelong battle for communism.

9864
CSO: 4005/876

STRENGTHENING SHANDONG PARTY ORGANIZATION

Organizational Reconstruction

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jul 82 p 1

[Text] Under the spiritual encouragement of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, party organizations at all levels in our province are steadily strengthening their ideology, organization and work style. The party's fine tradition and work style are reassuring themselves and expanding, and the combat strength of its organization is being intensified further, energetically spurring into action the smooth implication of the four modernizations.

During the past year, party organizations at all levels in our province, based on arrangements of the central and provincial committees, and using the party's Sixth Plenary Session's "Resolution" as basic teaching material, have adopted various forms in carrying out the education and training in rotation to the great masses of party members, including enrollment in a party school, setting up of a training class for party members and "three meetings make one class." According to statistics, this province has trained more than 2.5 million party members, representing more than 80 percent of the entire party membership. Through this training, the great masses of party members and cadres have understood a further step in the direction of their advance, intensified their self-awareness in implementing the party's line, principles and policies. Through this training, party members and cadres in the rural areas have overcome all kinds of muddled views on the system of fixed responsibility in agricultural production, understood the socialist nature of the system of fixed responsibility in production, drawn a clear line between certain rights and wrongs, understood that the system of responsibility is not a matter of expediency; that members' undertaking of an obligation field is not "land in repayment of home"; that doing business by separate households is not "going it alone in land distribution"; that encouraging some people to become rich does not mean we do not want common prosperity; that livening up economy does not mean we do not want national uniform plans; that relaxing our policy does not mean tolerating evil gangs and noxious paths; and that doing things according to economic laws must not slacken ideological political work. We must do a better job at handling the relationship between state purchasing and distribution, and the relationship among national, collective and individual interests in order to steadily improve the system of responsibility and promote the development of agricultural production.

Party committees (organizations) at all levels are paying serious attention to their own reconstruction, and the overwhelming majority of the units can convene meetings on party committee (organization) life according to schedule. During such meetings, most of them can combine the various local actual conditions, earnestly sum up their experiences and lessons, launch criticism and self-criticism, thoroughly examine and carry out the party's line, principles and policies, overcome their loose and weak conditions, rectify bad discipline, safeguard the party's unity and solve other problems.

The Huimin Prefecture party committee, while implementing the party's agricultural policy concerning the readjustment of the ratio between foodstuff and cotton, has summed it up belatedly and decided to learn from the adjacent regions, concentrated on policy implementation and taken a big stride forward in readjusting the agricultural internal structure. The Juye County party committee, in its livelihood meeting, has set up four correctional measures to deal with existing problems: (1) to strengthen learning and enliven revolutionary spirit; (2) firmly to maintain principles, daring to uphold righteousness and dispel noxiousness; (3) firmly to uphold collective leadership which shall discuss and decide on major problems; and (4) to crisscross ideas and exchange views, strengthen solidarity, thereby improving the party committee's fighting power.

Fully to play up the role of a combat stronghold of basic-level party organizations and of a pioneering model of party members, the entire province continues in an extensive way to launch activities which would create progressive party branches and model party committees, and it has produced a large batch of progressive units and individuals. After evaluation and selection, the county committees and corresponding committees above the county level have granted the honorary name of "progressiv branches" to 8,689 units and "model party members" to 46,497 individuals. Recipients of these honorary titles have been given due recognition in many forms by the party committees at all levels, which has been effective in encouraging the great masses of party members to brace up their spirit, work harder, set a pioneering example in constructing "two civilizations," improve the party-masses relationship and enhance the party's prestige.

Since last winter, prefectural, municipal and county party committees have combined their respective year-end work summing-up reports and, in the spirit of rectification, launched a general educational adjustment to basic-level party organizations. Since this spring, all prefectural and municipal party committees again, on the basis of the party Central Committee's relevant documents, have combined and improved the system of responsibility in agricultural production, overhauled industries, denounced serious criminal acts in the economic field, concentrated on a batch of readjustment experiments made at basic-level party organizations--all getting clear results. As regards educational readjustment, effort was stressed on instilling into the minds of party members and cadres the major objectives of communism, the aids and purposes of the party, wholehearted service to the people, rejection of the corrosive ideology of capitalism and lifestyle of the bourgeoisie; party spirit, work style and discipline. In this manner, basic-level leading groups

and the great masses of party members have improved their party outlook, strengthened their party discipline, tightened their solidarity; rectified their work style and intensified their contacts with the masses. On the basis of readjustment, elections have been held in more than 61,700 party branches. The results of these elections were that the party members' average jobs dropped by 2 to 3 in number, their average ages dropped by 3 to 4 years, their cultural level was clearly improved, making the leading groups more revolutionized, rejuvenated, professional and knowledgeable, a joyous step in the right direction.

During the past year, through repeated learning and practice of the "Guiding Principles for Intraparty Political Life," the great masses of party members and cadres understood one step further that the problem of party work style indeed has a bearing on the big problem of life and death of a ruling party, and that they were determined to strive toward a better turn for the party's work style. Proceeding from reality, most of the party organizations at all levels have drawn up concrete measures to put the "Guiding Principles" and the improvement of work style into practice. Many leading cadres have penetrated basic levels, investigated and studied, and helped solve their practical problems, paid attention to conquering bureaucratic work style, so that the party's practical and realistic style and its close connection with the populace could assert themselves and expand further. The great masses of party members and cadres have strengthened their capability to combat the corrosive ideology of capitalism by keeping firmly in mind their "serve the people" objective, holding on to principles, doing things in a businesslike manner, shunning "connectionology" and daring to break "improper empathy." A batch of good party members and good cadres have emerged in various places who reject playing elitism, selfishness, dinner parties, gifts, temptations, setting a good example for the population and receiving the latter's praise and trust in return.

Party organizations at all levels have concentrated work in the party's development in a systematic manner and based on priority, in line with the party's programs and membership standards. Since last year, more than 45,000 party members have been cultivated, the overwhelming majority of whom were administrative and professional backbones manning the 1st battlefront in all types of business and professions. Progress has also been made in development work among the intellectuals. More than 9,410 professional and technical workers have joined the party, representing 21 percent of the total number involved in the development of party members work. The quality of new party members has been generally improved, of these the backbone are those holding the position of production unit leader, and above shift-and-team leader as well as cadres occupied 36.6 percent. Progressive producers and progressive workers occupied 24.2 percent.

While commemorating the 61st founding anniversary of our party, the great masses of Communist Party members, who are fighting on various battlefronts throughout our province, are determined to perpetuate and develop the party's fine tradition, do a better job at ideological construction, work style construction and organizational construction and struggle correctly and energetically for a greater and more glorious reconstruction of our party.

Strengthen Discipline

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Strengthening the Shandong Party Organization"]

[Text] The problem of style in a party's internal and external relations is a matter of life and death for a ruling party. Strengthening party spirit, correcting party discipline and striving this year for a further turn for the better in the party's work style--all this constitutes the battle call of the party's Central Committee. While celebrating the 61st founding anniversary of the CCP, each member must go into action more positively in struggling to win a better turn concerning work style.

Our party has gloriously run through a course of struggle for 61 years. Its history has proved that good party work style serves as an important guarantee to thoroughly realize the party's line, principles and policies, as well as carry out the party's central task. Since the party's Third Plenary Session, its Central Committee has adopted a series of measures and energetically carried out rectifications which resulted in a great improvement of its work style. The self-awareness of the great masses of party members and cadres in carrying out the party's line, principles and policies has been enhanced. The excellent style of the party's conscientious work, mass line, and criticism and self-criticism has asserted itself and is expanding; the political life within the party is gradually running on the right track; the leading cadres' mental conditions and work style have undergone a change for the better; the great masses of party members' organizational discipline and party outlook, have been improved further. All over the province on all battlefronts a large number of progressive party branches and model party members have emerged who are strong in party spirit, correct in work style and dedicated to serving the people.

However, we must also know that an abnormal situation still exists widely within the party. At present the main problem is that certain ranks are disorganized and weak in fighting spirit; a number of party members and cadres are nurturing a bureaucratic style, sapping revolutionary spirit and lacking in work dedication and sense of responsibility which is expected of them. In the economic realm, a serious game of playing connections is still rampant, such as going through the back door, throwing dinner parties and offering gifts, as well as showing off extravagance and being wasteful. A small number of party members are disorganized and ill-disciplined, estrange themselves from the masses, indulge in elitism; certain individual party members and cadres even go as far as committing such crimes as embezzlement and theft, speculation and fraud, bribery, smuggling and selling of smuggled goods. These problems have told us that to realize a fundamental turn for the better of our party's work style, we must still make a strenuous effort in our firm struggle against all kinds of ill wind and noxious influence.

To achieve a better result this year in our effort on this matter, we must first of all adopt a practicable measure of systematically instilling party

spirit, party work style and party discipline into the minds of the great masses of party members. Recently, the provincial party committee put forward a request to all party organizations to the effect that by about "1 July" they implement an educational policy aimed principally at opposing the corrosive capitalistic ideology. Party organizations at all levels must do a good job in this education, through which all party members will clearly form certain basic outlooks: first, a firm conviction in communism and a firm determination to devote themselves to a lifelong struggle toward the realization of communism; second, a determination to put into practice the CCP Central Committee's line, principles and policies; third, an outlook fully dedicated to serving the people, sacrificing personal interests for the sake of party interests; fourth, an outlook that class struggle still exists under new circumstances, by intensifying their ability to combat the corrosive influence of capitalism.

Next, to improve intraparty democratic life, we must exercise strict control over our way of life. Every party member must place himself under party supervision. Through intraparty democratic life and closely relating ideology in practical work, we must examine our own circumstances in strengthening party spirit and rectifying party work style. We must make self-examination whether or not we are unrelentingly implementing party line, principles and policies, adhering to the party life's criteria and national laws and policies in an exemplary manner, boldly waging an active struggle against all kinds of bad tendencies which are detrimental to the interests of the party and the people, etc. Through such examination and the unfolding of criticism and self-criticism, we can rectify all existing problems. Leading cadres at all levels should aptly lead a dual organizational life as ordinary party members, take the lead in comparing investigations and strive to become paragons in the eye of ordinary members.

Thirdly, we must relentlessly strengthen the party's organization. Units riddled with numerous problems and improper work style must have their outstanding problems singled out and earnestly resolved through education. We must do a good job in dealing blows to serious criminal acts in the economic field, regarding it as a principal task for the transformation of the party's work style. If we discover party members and cadres engaged in smuggling and selling smuggled goods, bribery, speculation, cheating, theft of government and collectives' property, we must firmly tackle the problems until they are solved. By putting things in order, we can improve further the party's battle strength.

Furthermore, we must persistently expand our work in an extensive way in creating progressive party branches and striving to become model party members. We must publicly commend good models of the party's excellent work style in many ways, widely publicize good people and good deeds for their courage in suppressing an ill wind and bad influence, and establish a dynamic, new direction that can change existing habits and customs. At the same time, we must strengthen our ideological and political work directed at those party members who have violated the party's traditional style and we must stringently take disciplinary action against those who have seriously and repeatedly

violated party discipline, until right and wrong, merit and fault, and reward and punishment are clearly discerned one from the other.

We believe that under the correct leadership of the CCP's Central Committee, and as long as party committees pay serious attention and all comrades in the entire party strive together, we can do a good job in strengthening the party's work style this year.

9300
CSO: 4005/1035

COMMUNE EXPERIENCE IN STRENGTHENING BASIC-LEVEL PARTY ORGANIZATION REPORTED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jul 82 p 1

[Report by Li Zunli [2621 6690 4539], Tong Zhiyou [4547 1807 0645], and Wu Xiamoeng [0702 2556 1125]: "Change the Lax and Feeble State, Earnestly Strengthen Party Leadership--The Experience of Yandian Commune in Xinxian County in Strengthening Basic-level Party Organization"]

> [Text] Editorial Note: Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the vast countryside of our province, through the implementation of the party's policies, has carried out the production responsibility system in its various forms; our production rapidly developed, the living standards of our commune members became generally improved, and the situation has been fine as a whole. But, because of various reasons, the thinking, work and workstyle of part of our basic-level party organizations and basic-level cadres could not adapt to the changed new situation, and this has hence affected the demonstration of the fighting power of our basic-level party organizations. This problem must be earnestly solved. The Yandian Commune in Xinxian County has provided us with a rather fine experience in educating and strengthening these basic-level organizations, which may be of referential value to our various localities.

From late February to the end of May, the Yandian Commune in Xinxian County, with the help of the investigation teams of the provincial; regional and local party committees, proceeded to educate and strengthen the basic-level party organizations. During the process of this education and strengthening, emphasis was placed on solving the problem of the basic-level party organizations being lax and feeble and effort was made closely around issues such as the perfecting of the production responsibility system in agriculture while the Commune carried out education on party character, party workstyle, and party discipline among the party members, strengthened its leading group, heightened the ideological consciousness of its party members, and enhanced its party branches' fighting strength. This has resulted in its various aspects of work undergoing pleasant changes.

Correctly Analyzing the State of Basic-level Organizations in the Countryside

The Yandian Commune has 43 basic-level party branches; of these 34 are countryside party branches. It has 1,041 party members, and among them 859 are countryside members. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Commune party committee has conscientously implemented the party's line, principles and policies: the whole Commune has set up an agricultural production responsibility system in the "overall task-completion" form, readjusted the ratio between grain and cotton production, and promoted the development of agricultural production; as a result, the living standards of all Commune members underwent conspicuous improvement, and a happy atmosphere prevailed everywhere.

However, under this generally favorable situation, many new problems and situations appeared in the party's basic-level work. They are manifested mainly in four areas: (1) It slackened the party's ideological construction and organizational construction, and inner-party life therefore became abnormal. During the past few years, no effort was made to carry out systematic education and training among the party members; many party branches lacked the "three meetings and one lecture" system; some units held no party membership meetings at all during the past 2 or 3 years; and some party branches failed to turn in party membership dues as prescribed. (2) It failed to grasp clearly the nature of the agricultural production responsibility system and hence slackened its leadership effort. Some party members and cadres mistook "overall task-completion" to mean "dividing the fields to work on them individually" and the practice of a responsibility system as "retrogression." Hence, what they should have unified they failed to unify, and what they should have managed they failed to manage. (3) Unhealthy practices spread within the party and thereby ruined the party's prestige. A wining and dining tendency, and lavish entertainment prevailed in many branches with no work being accomplished. Some cadres also resorted to corruption and private division of spoils; they borrowed and misappropriated funds and hence their financial affairs turned out to be in quite a mess. (4) Its ideological and political work has been flabby and it failed or dared not to deal with unhealthy practices and tendencies. Some thought that, since the economy was being managed by economic means, there would be no more need for ideological and political work; some were afraid of offending people and hence simply dared not do anything; some worried about their own interests being affected and hence were unwilling to act; whereas some felt that "the old methods they know are inapplicable, but they haven't yet learned the new methods." Because such ideological work could not catch up, various unwholesome phenomena began to multiply and spread. These causes leading to problems have been numerous, but the principal cause was that there was insufficient education of the party members and a lack of necessary work. Practice proves that so long as the leadership pays attention and carry out their work actively, such problems are by no means too hard to solve.

Placing Ideological Strengthening in Position of First Importance

In its educating and strengthening work, this Commune placed in the position of first importance the carrying out education on party character, party work-style, and party discipline among the party members and stuck to that position throughout. Adopting the approaches of positive education and self-education, they carried out at various points education among the party members in seven

aspects: one was the study of the "Resolution" of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the unification of thinking and unification of action, so that all could become united together; the second was the study of "Proceedings of the All-China Conference on Countryside Work," serious implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies; the third was adherence to the socialist path and correct handling of the relationship between the three [state-collective-individual] interests; the fourth was the strenghtening of one's party character, the rectification of the party's workstyle; the fifth was adherence to the principle of democratic centralism, maintenance of the party's coherence and unity; the sixth was accentuation of the mass concept, practice of the mass line, and the seventh was the establishment of lofty ideals so that everyone could become a qualified Communist. Through such education, party members clarified their thinking on a series of important problems and unified their perception; their vanguard consciousness underwent a conspicuous elevation.

During a certain period, many party members and cadres in this Commune failed to perceive clearly the nature of the responsibility system. Therefore the Commune party committee proceed to take the "REsolution" as an important component of education among the party members and organize the party members and cadres to study it seriously and launch extensive discussions. Following the methods of linking to reality, analysis, and comparison, the vast ranks of the party members clarified their thinking on the basis of uniting theory with practice; everybody proceeded to carry out a comparison between the responsibility system in the form of overall task-completion with the individual work of the past and thereby perceived that there is an essential difference between the responsibility system and the individual work approach; the path of orientation is different, the ownership of basic means of production is different, the principle of distribution is different, and the management mode is different. In the past, the production and management of an individual economy placed emphasis mainly on self-sufficiency, being entirely subject to the constraint of the law of value; today's individual-household management must plant according to state plans and simultaneously look after state, collective and individual interests. In thus comparing today's responsibility system with the past lumping-everything-together and leveling-everything-down, they came to realize clearly that in the past people resorted to principle of equalization, "reciting the sutra of poverty, following the path of poverty, and randomly criticizing and struggling against others in blind confusion." In carrying out a comparison in respect to the relationship between the individual and the collective, [they realized that] the individual management of the past pertained to the type of single-family or single-household small-peasant economy, whereas the case of today is one in which commune members and the collective maintain a relationship of contracted completion of tasks, and the production brigade and the production team maintain a necessary uniformity between them and peasant households must follow the unified leadership of the production brigade and production team by submitting the portion of their retained produce, completing the contracted tasks, and at the same time fixing such proceedings in the form of a contract. After such analysis and comparison, it was made clear that the various forms of this production responsibility system were all socialist in nature; they represent "not the path of retrogression, nor the path of individual work, but the socialist path toward enrichment."

In the process of this eduction among the party members, they also organized the party members and cadres to study basic knowledge about the party and educate the party members to strengthen their concept about the party. In response to the question of the party members' concept about the party being vague, they took the Party Constitution (Draft) and the "Guiding Principles" as components and compiled teaching materials for lectures on the party and organized party members to study them. In the process of this study, they recalled traditions, examined everybody's fithing will, reminisced the past, looked at the present, launched criticism and self-criticism in conjunction with reality, and thereby heightened everybody's Communist ideological consciousness. In order to better develop the role of party members, the party brances generally set up the systems of "three meetings and a lecture" and the branch committee taking charge of a production team, the designation liaison households for party members; they thereby restored the activities of party cells and made the party's organizational life strict.

Linking Education and Strengthening to the Perfecting of the Production Responsibility System

At present, the salient reflection of the laxisty and feebleness of basic-level party organizations in the countryside is their slackening of leadership over the implementation of the production responsibility system or outright forsaking of their responsibility in this regard which affect the exercise by the basic-level organizations of their suzerain functions and economic functions. Therefore, the education and strengthening of basic-level party organizations in the countryside must be linked to the perfecting of the production responsibility system. Otherwise, strengthening would lose its significance and lack its practical, concrete content; correspondingly, if the strengthening of basic-level party organizations is not grasped, the perfecting of the production responsibility system would also not have any organizational guarantee. With regard to the perfecting of the responsibility system, they emphatically grasped the following four points: One was the correct handling of the relationship between unified production and assigning production by contract. We must base ourselves on the principles of a positive attitude, steady steps, willing masses, and flexible application according to conditions of each individual production team in order to be able to unify where unification is called for, to assign by contract where such assigning seems appropriate, so as to overcome the problems in certain units of assigning such production projects too loosely and failing to enforce sufficient unification. In production teams where foundations are better, more unification projects may be undertaken; in production teams where conditions leave much to be desired, fewer unification projects may be comtemplated, so that there is no arbitrary change, nor forced promotion of the practice. Thus, through work, production teams in the whole Commune which implemented a unified planting plan, a unified watering procedure, and a unified proportion of retained produce increased from 27 percent to 73 percent; some of them readjusted their excessively loosely assigned responsibility field, improved their methods of maintaining and using large agricultural machines and tools, and thereby further mobilized the enthusiasms of both the collective and the individual. The second was the sorting out of their financial affairs and strengthening of their financial system. In response to the fact that the accounts of most units are rather confused, they generally proceeded to sort

out various accounts of the past 2 years and strengthen their financial management system and thereby improved relations between the cadres and the masses. The third was the strengthening of the leading groups of the production brigades and production teams. In the case of production teams without cadres relevant ones were assigned; in the case of cadres who failed to play their role, relevant strengthening and readjustment were made. In the meantime, the "Ten Duties of Production Brigade and Production Team Cadres" was formulated which provided methods of reward and punishment and mobilized the cadres' enthusiasm. The fourth was untiy between the leaders and the masses in the signing of production contracts. The relationship between the state, the collective and the individual was reflected in the form of a contract, and the tendency of looking merely after one party in the past was therefore overcome. Through the aforesaid work, they not only perfected the production responsibility system and mobilized the labor enthusiasm of the Commune members, but also enabled the basic-level party organizations to undergo training in practical work and effectively improve the fighting strength of the branches.

Strategically Strengthening the Leading Groups of Party Branches

In carrying out this education and strengthening operations, this Commune consistently grasped the strengthening of the leading groups of the branches as the center of gravity. Every special subject of study served to gather branch committee members to the commune so that leading comrades of the investigation team or commune party committee could directly give them assistance and guidance. Sometimes they were also gathered to the commune by way of short-term study classes in order to do the study; more energy and more time spent on them so that they could learn more and better than the ordinary party members.

(1) Clarifying the tasks and duties of the branches and improving the methods of work. They organized everybody to relate the actual situation at each other's unit and study relevant documents and experience of the advanced branches, analyze the new situation and new characteristics of their present work, so that everybody could clearly understand that, after the responsibility system was put into practice, a branch's tasks and duties were by no means reduced. Assigning undertakings and appraising work, and urging cultivation and urging planting, such as in the past, are now rare, but the tasks of building the two civilizations are becoming even heavier. The party's policies rely on the brances of their implementation; ideological and political work awaits the branches to be carried out; difficulties of the mass in their production and in their life all depend on the assistance of the branches for pertinent solution, basic-level power organizations and mass organizations await the branches for leadership, and the party's own construction need likewise to be strengthened. Many comrades indicate that we must think what the masses think and be eager to meet the needs of the masses; whatever the masses wish to, but cannot, handle or wish to, but cannot, manage, the branches must actively take over such handling and such management. In the case of certain branches of the past, "whose backbones were soft, whose grouping was loose, and whose various projects of work were left unattended, "once their tasks are thus made clear, they tend immediately to dare to handle and dare to manage, and to earnestly strengthen their ideological and

political work; this makes it possible for them to have their production responsibility system strengthened and improved, and all their projects of work are thus taking on a new outlook.

(2) Launching criticism and self-criticism and strengthening the unity of the leading groups. Disunity of the leading groups have constituted an important reason why the branches are lax and feeble. Principal members of the leadership of certain branches do not have a democratic style of work; in the case of some, remnant elements of clan affiliation and factionalism continue to harass them, the new cadres and old cadres of some branches refuse to give in to each other; some calculate meticubusly their personal gains and losses and thereby fail to demonstrate well their branches' strength as a fighting castle. In response to such conditions, they carried out education on intra-party unity, guided party members and cadres to discuss the manifestations of disunity, examine their harm, investigate their cause, so as to heighten their consciousness to enhance their unity. With respect to units where problems have become salient, personnel would be dispatched to strike up a relationship with them in order to do the relevant work there by encouraging them to do more self-criticizing respectively, to take the initiative to tear down barriers, fill up ditches, and untie knots. The original 13 not very well united branches all strenghtened their unity.

(3) Rectifying unhealthy practices and making relations between leaders and the mass close. The subject on which the masses of commune members have most frequently expressed their opinions is our devious party workstyle. For this reason, they handled the rectification of the party workstyle as a key point for enhancing the fighting strength of the branches, organized the party members to study relevant discourses of Chairman Mao and the central leading comrades, and educated the party members to restore and give scope to the party's fine traditions. At the same time, in conjunction with typical cases of criminal activities in the economic realm, they carried out education on the resistance against corrosion and metamorphosis among the party members and cadres and thus enabled the party members and cadres to clearly understand the importance and urgency of rectifying our party workstyle and thereby profusely indicate their readiness to make strict demands upon themselves in order to become examples in the observation of party discipline and state laws. The various production brigades generally formulated their "miniature legislations" which basically halted the wining and dining trend; some took the initiative to pay back the public funds they had borrowed or misallocated and return the things they had appropriated from the collective; some turned over excessive the homestead space and responsibility fields they had occupied; some proceeded to distribute the pesticides and chemical fertilizers in tight supply to the masses on a priority basis. Thus, they made relations between leaders and the masses closer and enhanced the party's prestige. There are already more than 200 in the Commune who have recently applied for admission to party membership.

(4) Doing a good job in re-electing members of the branches according to the needs of the "four modernizations." Original committee members of these branches generally held too many offices and were too old, and their cultural level was usually too low; they could hardly adapt to the needs of the

construction of the four modernizations. In order to change this situation, they consistently took the equipment of good leading groups, especially the undaunted selection and training of fine middle-aged and young cadres, as a big matter in their handling. They sought to enlighten old cadres to proceed from the interests of the revolution in recommending the virtuous and the talented and in doing a good job in selecting their successors; they educated young cadres to treat old cadres correctly; they put emphasis on correctly treating cadres with zeal and talent, but also with certain defects and mistakes. On the basis of providing a general ideological education, they generally re-elected members of the branches. The average number of their concurrent offices was thus reduced from the original 6.2 now to 4.5, and their average age is now also reduced from the original 47 to the present 41; Those with a senior or junior middle school cultural level have increased from the original proportion of 16.9 percent to the present 30 percent. After the new branches were established, they generally have set up a branch working system, studied and formulated plans for building a new countryside, visited the "five-guarantee households," relatives of martyrs, and households in difficutly, and actively sought to manage things well for the masses. Thus a new atmosphere of exuberance has begun to prevail.

9255
CSO: 4005/1034

PARTY AND STATE

ANTI-INTELLECTUAL FEELING IN A FACTORY DEPLORED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 19 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by Tao Hongguang [7118 3163 0342]: "An Engineer's Distress. Personnel Considered as Department Property, Stale Bias Inhibiting"]

[Text] While recently gathering material at a research institute of a certain factory affiliated with the municipal bureau of meters, this reporter found out about a situation where engineer Chen Xiangzhen [7115 4382 4394] was being suppressed by his factory director and a few others, making it difficult for Chen to put his talents to use.

This engineer is now 47 years old. He graduated from Zhejiang University in 1958 in the field of optical instrumentation. In 1959, supported by relevant units, he and other comrades spent around half a year in joint research, and they developed our nation's successful first generation electron microscope with 20,000 times magnification. In the second year, under the guidance of Gu Yuquan [7357 3022 8832], advisor to the Shanghai municipal textile industry bureau, and Guo Jingyi [6665 7234 1355], chief engineer of the Shanghai Optical Instrument Factory, Chen was assigned as chief designer, which led to the development of our nation's first electron beam processor for the textile industry. In 1977 he used new methods in trial-producing a particle board testing device that was badly needed by a microscope factory. This filled in a gap within our country. He also successively translated, edited, and published 22 Japanese, Russian, British, and German documents in cooperation with other comrades. After the smashing of the "gang of four" Chen, alone or in cooperation with other comrades, published five papers in national academic publications, some of which have already been quoted in foreign physics journals.

How is it that Chen, an expert in the science and technology of optical instruments, can be held back by the factory director and others? In the factory this engineer is responsible for biomicroscopic and electron microscopic testing work. Frequently, he must inspect optical instruments throughout the nation, and these aforementioned research projects that he is engaged in also serve the national microscope industry. They have little to do with his factory.

In addition, he also tests his own factory's products in accordance with requirements, and can spare no one's feelings. So, the factory director and others criticize him for "not doing honest work" and say that he "lives off one person while secretely helping another." Refusing to take this, Chen reported his condition to the relevant department at a higher level. From then on, he was further resented by the factory director and the others.

Here are a few examples of his being held back. Last October, the Primary State Bureau of Meters twice telegrammed this factory and this engineer requesting that he visit Beijing at the end of the month to test microscopes imported from abroad, but the telegrams were withheld within the factory. When the state bureau did not see him arrive in Beijing, they again sent a cable urging him to go, but because of meddling by upper levels of the telegraph company, it was 10 days before the factory gave him the cable.

Last September, the General Encyclopedia Publishing House of China sent a letter to the factory inviting Chen to write the relevant meter and instrument entries for the Zhongguo Da Baike Quanshu-Jijie Gongcheng [General Encyclopedia of China-Mechanical Engineering] volume. When he inquired as to whether or not this assignment would be approved, the relevant leader did not answer but instead berated him, saying: "Where did this assignment come from?"

Being depressed and feeling that it was quite difficult to be of use in the factory, Chen on many occasions requested that he be transferred. The Shanghai Communications University had been connected with this factory in the past and now wanted him transferred so he could take charge of research work. However, the factory maintained the attitude of "not using and not transferring." Wang Zhijiang [3769 0037 3068], deputy director of the Optical Apparatus Institute, Academia Sinica, and deputy to the N.P.C., was prepared to ask Chen to take charge of overall design for an important task at this institute, but when Chen asked, the answer was: "you can't be borrowed, you'd have to be transferred." Wang Zhijian fully sympathized with Chen's plight and in March of this year sent a letter to a city leader reporting Chen's being held back by the factory. When Chen requested to be transferred to another post, the director criticized him, saying: "Who do you think you are? What you have to say is incredible." He also said: "I can tell you outright that we're not going to let you go. Hereafter, you won't be getting out of here."

It can be seen from the bitter experience of this engineer that to this day leaders of some units are still biased towards intellectuals. This is because the "leftist" influences have not been fully cleaned out. These leaders do not earnestly implement the party's policy for intellectuals and they dampen the intellectuals' enthusiasm. Intellectuals are a part of the working class and are a vital force for the four modernizations construction. Those comrades who are still biased towards intellectuals must correct their thinking, get a deeper understanding, and earnestly implement the party's policy for intellectuals. They must arrange well their work, studies, and lives, and truly should let people perform to the best of their abilities.

9926
CSO: 4005/994

PARTY AND STATE

COMMENTARY URGES PROPER TREATMENT OF INTELLECTUALS

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 19 Jun 82 p 1

[Commentary: "Where the Ideological Resistance Lies"]

[Text] The Party Central Committee repeatedly emphasizes that intellectuals must be given free reign in the four modernizations construction. However, there are leaders of some units who let this Central Committee directive go in one ear and out the other. They not only do not take intellectuals seriously, they suppress them, which severely dampens the enthusiasm of those intellectuals. Today, this paper is printing the facts of engineer Chen Xiangzhen's [7115 4382 4393] being suppressed by a certain director and others at a factory affiliated with the municipal bureau of meters. This is one example, and in dissecting this "sparrow," people can see where actually lies the present ideological resistance to implementing the party's policy for intellectuals.

Engineer Chen Xiangzhen is a middle-aged intellectual who grew up and was educated under a socialist system after the founding of the PRC. He is an expert in this field, is conscientious, has achieved truly remarkable success, and is a much-needed talent for the four modernizations construction. At present, we have a large group of intellectuals such as this, and they should be respected and valued.

What does it mean to do what is called respecting and valuing intellectuals? There is no other meaning than that we must respect and value their knowledge and labors, for they use that knowledge and labor in striving to serve the great cause of our nation's socialist modernization, and they give precious riches to the state and the people. It is especially so today, where science and technology advance by leaps and bounds. More and more the development of the forces of production rely on advances made in science and technology, so the labors of the intellectuals must be even more valued and respected. Speaking of Chen Xiangzhen, he is the developer of our nation's first generation electron beam processor for the textile industry, and he also is the one who filled in the gap with his particle board testing device for microscopes. How can it be said that such an intellectual, who makes valuable contributions to

the cause of the nation's modernization construction, does not deserve to be respected and valued?

Yet how did this factory director treat Chen? He berated him, saying: "Who do you think you are? What you have to say is incredible." We can count on our fingers that it has already been 6 years since the "gang of four" was smashed and 4 odd years since the Party Central Committee declared that intellectuals are a part of the working class, but in the eyes of this director they still have the audacity to be "something." Does this mean that "thinking lags behind reality" can merely be used as an explanation? To say that the pernicious influence of the "left" has yet to be let out of his mind and soul would not be an overstatement! At present, each district, system, department, and unit is investigating the use of intellectuals in accordance with the directive of the Party Central Committee. Doesn't it seem that they should investigate as to whether or not the pernicious influence of the "left" is still spreading? If this kind of factory director harbors stale bias toward that kind of intellectual, then how can we speak of "equality in politics, having a free hand in work, and showing concern for our lives?" And how can we speak of fully arousing the enthusiasm of the intellectuals? Obviously, cleaning out the ideological influence of the "left" is still a problem that needs to be solved in the work of implementing the party's policy for intellectuals.

An argument for this factory director's and the others' discrimination against Chen Xiangzhen is called "not doing honest work." This is also a specious point of view. Without doubt, comrades at every front, including intellectuals in all trades and professions, must be loyal to their work, stand fast at their posts, and make great efforts in using their knowledge and labor to make contributions to those trades and professions in accordance with the needs of the state. However, we cannot be too narrow in our understanding of the concept of "honest work." Referring to Chen Xiangzhen, he originally studied the field of optical instruments. While simultaneously doing his work at his job, he used his own special talents to serve the national microscope industry. Moreover, he repeatedly made breakthroughs and constantly came up with new ideas, so how can it be said that he "does not do honest work"? The Primary State Bureau of Meters, the General Encyclopedia Publishing House of China, the Shanghai Communications University, the Optical Apparatus Institute of the Academia Sinica, and other units and departments have repeatedly asked him to do testing, research, designing, and compilation work, work that precisely brings into play his special skills that will make even more contributions to the great cause of the four modernizations. So, how can it be said that this is not "doing honest work"? Ours is a socialist country. Whatever the needs of the state and whatever the causes that benefit the national construction, all units should regard them as their own causes and support them with all their strength. If there are qualifications and intelligence problems, such as the

practices of departmentalism and department ownership, not applying oneself, and not letting people be put to good use, then this not only suppresses the enthusiasm of the intellectuals, but can also bring harm to the socialist modernization construction. At present, these cases are certainly not isolated. We howl that we are lacking qualified personnel, while there is an overbundance of them. Admittedly, there are many causes, but undoubtedly one major cause is this kind of factory director regarding that kind of qualified personnel as department property and maintaining the attitude of "not using and not transferring." We can no longer ignore irrational phenomena such as this. We propose that departments at higher levels take it upon themselves to intervene and let the intelligence and wisdom of intellectuals such as Chen Xiangzhen be given free play on the stage of the socialist modernization construction.

9926
CSO: 4005/994

PARTY AND STATE

SHANGHAI INTELLECTUALS GIVEN PRIORITY ATTENTION

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 25 June 82 p 1

[Article: "Vast Intellectuals Incouraged. Shanghai Party Committee at All Levels Has Placed Investigation of Use of Intellectuals on Important Agenda"]

[Text] In accordance with the directives of the Party Central Committee and the unified arrangements of the municipal CCP committee, this city's party committee at all levels has listed on the important order of the day the investigation into the implementation of the policy for intellectuals. It has set up special work teams to both investigate and solve some problems.

Shanghai is a city where intellectuals amass. There are 350,000 of them here, and these intellectuals play a vital role in the four modernizations construction. Because the influence of the "left" has not yet been cleaned out, however, some departments and units do not pay enough attention to implementing the policy for intellectuals, and they also lack powerful specific measures. In this understanding and investigating the use of intellectuals, the party committee at all levels has conscientiously organized everyone to study the spirit of Central Committee documents, which will enable many comrades to understand the difficulties of the intellectuals' mental labors and the value of their creative efforts. This will show as well that from the bottoms of their hearts they truly must regard the intellectuals as a part of the working class and regard them as a vital force to be depended upon.

In order to listen directly to the complaints and demands of the intellectuals, leading comrades of the municipal CCP committee held five forums successively on intellectuals and the organizational department of the municipal CCP committee, the united front department, the Shanghai branch, Academia Sinica, and the municipal health and education office, and leading cadres from various bureaus also attended the forums concerned with intellectuals in order to become aware of the policy implementation situation. Many leading cadres from the party committee at the grass-roots level also had heart-to-heart talks with intellectuals to foster closer relationships.

The municipal CPPCC and eight democratic parties and groups also promoted activities. They conducted extensive home visits and convened forums to learn of instances where members of respective organizations and their units have been devoted to the party committee and also to learn of certain instances where some units have not valued the work of intellectuals and where there was political unrest, no free hand in their work, and no concern for their lives. Reports were made to the parties concerned to spur on the resolution of these problems.

The party committee at all levels, municipal scientific associations, and other units have investigated the status of intellectuals in order to find out whether or not their studies are for the purpose of application, whether or not they are trusted, as well as the redressing of misjudged cases from the "cultural revolution," what historical problems that were passed down need to be resolved, whether or not confidential policies are being implemented, if confiscated property has been returned, the present housing problem, and so on.

In keeping with the spirit of investigating and solving problems, many units have made factual checks of the problem of "tails" in records. For example, there was a comrade at the Electromechanical Design Institute who objected to the improper original verdict in his records and demanded that it be amended. The party committee believes that regardless of whether or not someone complains, all non-factual wording in verdicts must be corrected. Within a few days this institute corrected 11 verdicts, and those concerned were thankful for the party committee's solicitude. The Shanghai branch, Academia Sinica, and the Shanghai Science Academy have rechecked hundreds of files and have made suggestions for revision for 13 verdicts. The party committee of the No 3 Navigational Engineering Bureau has in its investigation allotted new housing for three high-level engineers and two other engineers (relatives of nationals living abroad). In regard to the housing and other problems that temporarily cannot be solved, many units have made plans and arrangements and are striving to create the conditions for their gradual resolution, and they have made explanations to the comrades concerned. Some units have worked out education plans aimed at the former situation where the middle-aged mainstay of science and technology were overused and undertrained. The logistics department of the Shanghai No 1 Hospital has set up a sewing team to ease intellectuals' household duties and is making preparations for a laundry room.

The investigation of the use of intellectuals has generally encouraged this group. They have said: "The Party Central Committee's appreciation of us is putting the finger on the right spot. Even more so now, we want to make contributions that will make China prosper."

9926
CSO: 4005/994

PARTY AND STATE

USE OF INTELLECTUALS INVESTIGATED, PROMOTED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 18 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "Assist the Party in Its Investigation of the Use of Intellectuals. Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee of the Democratic League Thoroughly Investigates Membership. Undergo Investigation and Actively Make Suggestions To Promote Policy Implementation"]

[Text] The Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee of the China Democratic League has actively assisted CCP party organizations at all levels in launching an investigation into the implementation of the policy for intellectuals. It has done thorough and painstaking work, has already become basically aware of the situations of the intellectuals among the league membership, and has enthusiastically reported and made suggestions to the relevant units of the party organizations.

Most of the league members are high- and mid-level intellectuals. In March of this year the league's Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee set up research groups to investigate the use of intellectuals, and launched an investigation into the implementation of the policy for intellectuals in accordance with the circular of the league's central committee. They extensively convened conferences, held individual interviews, filled out forms, etc., while also suing the league organizations at Huadong Normal University, the Dictionary Publishing House, and the Shanghai branch, Academia Sinica, as a rallying point in conducting this thorough investigation. The university party branch of the league conducted individual interviews with 30 league members and convened 6 small-scale forums. Group members of the league's Shanghai Literature and Art Publishing House are rather scattered, so the team leader braved the rain and went to interview them to become familiar with their ideological, work, and life situations.

League members have generally been encouraged, but there are also some members lacking in conviction with regard to implementing the policy for intellectuals, and there are still some comrades who are unwilling to speak their minds

because of lingering fear. In regard to this, league organizations at all levels, in their work investigating policy implementation, have at first carried out ideological mobilization by organizing everyone to read the relevant commentaries in the PEOPLE'S DAILY that make clear the major significance of this investigation. In order to dispel misgivings of league members and build their confidence, they have simultaneously listed the huge amount of work done by the party since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in the areas of correcting past mistakes and implementing the party policy for intellectuals. When many units and systems held forums, the high attendance rate was unprecedented. There were some members who had not partaken in regular league activities for some time, but who on this occasion did fill out questionnaires.

The investigation work of the league organizations at all levels was conducted under the guidance and support of all levels of the CCP. Many united front departments of party committee units have held joint discussions with league organizations about investigation plans and together have done analysis and research. While reporting to the party committee about its investigation, the entire standing committee of the party branch of the league's Aquatic Products Institute was in attendance, and the departmental organization leader said: "I will set about solving immediately all problems in regard to implementing the policy for intellectuals that are within my power to solve." A professor at Huadong Normal University was mistakenly labeled as being a rightist. Although the problem was corrected, on the amended verdict was written: "cannot be labeled a rightist." The implication was that he "can still be labeled a rightist." He objected to this method of leaving a "tail," so after reporting to the university's party committee, the committee displayed a realistic attitude and immediately changed the conclusion to "must not be labeled a rightist." The changing of one word lifted a burden from the old professor's mind. There were also some comrades who were investigated during past movements. After their files were corrected, they were still concerned as to whether or not the file material had been thoroughly put in order. At once, the relevant party organizations looked up the files and notified these comrades, much to their relief, that their file data had indeed already been put in order.

The municipal CCP committee of the league believes that various existing problems in regard to implementing the policy for intellectuals can and should be solved at once. Matters of overall importance or problems that should but cannot be solved due to a temporary lack of proper conditions must be actively reported to higher levels, and suggestions should be made for creating the conditions for their resolution. All should actively make appropriate explanations for some of the problems that have much higher demands or that policies have clearly determined that they cannot be resolved.

9926
CSO: 4005/994

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY MEMBERS CAUTIONED AGAINST BRIBERY

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jun 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "All the Time Guard Against Bribery"]

[Text] At present, the unfolding struggle against economic crimes in an important struggle of the proletariats against corrupt capitalist thoughts. This struggle has an objective existence, unaffected by people's subjective will, that is not at all unusual. The thought-provoking question is why some communist party members and state cadres can withstand the severe test of this struggle, succeed in resisting corruption and remain untainted, while some succumb to the temptation of capitalist briberies. In today's paper, there are two reports on the party committee members of Yangjian coal mine at Shuo County resisting corruption and the party committee members of Erpu coal mine of Pingly county succumbing to corruption respectively. As a positive lesson and a negative lesson in striking contrast, these two cases correctly and meaningfully answered the question and give us three remainders.

First, keep the integrity of communist party members; never forsake principle for personal gains. The party committee members of the Yangjian coal mine, facing the bribery temptation, could resist corruption and remain untainted because they kept in mind that "I am a communist party cadre" and that the party is an important enterprise. Members of the party committee at Erpu coal mine, because of their eagerness for gains, forsook principle for profit and consequently slipped and fell into the abyss. Stern reality constantly reminds us that the office-holders who easily succumb to temptations are the major target for bribery. The "Zuo Commentary" [of the "Annual of Spring and Autumn"] records such a story. Someone from the kingdom of Song presented Zihan, the minister of the kingdom of Qi, a piece of precious jade, which was turned down. The man from Song said, "This piece of precious jade is specially presented to you." Zihan answered, "My treasure is uncovetousness and integrity. In accepting your treasure, I lose my treasure." Zihan kept his integrity through his incorruptibility. For us communist party members, our great principle is our life-long dedication to the struggle for the communist enterprise. As long as we keep in mind this great principle, we will remain loyal to the party and to the purity of communism. Therefore, every party member must strengthen his sense of party discipline, strive to conform his conduct to party principle, resolutely struggle against all the evil trends and conduct himself as a real communist party member.

Second, beware of the evil intent disguised in "great courtesy." Do not fall captive to capitalist favors. The fall of the party committee members of Erpu coal mine began with the acceptance of 30 catties of rice which were presented in the name of "trying a new crop" and with irresistible courtesy by the head contractor. Although 30 catties of rice were a pittance, they were used by the head contractor top open up a crack on the party members of Erpu coal mine and eventually succeeded in bribing for power. According to Marxism, in the class society "courtesy" always carries the stamp mark of class. Today, although the exploitative class is eliminated in our country, the ideology, including the capitalist idea of human relationship, is still plaguing people's souls like germs. Seen from recently exposed facts, some economic criminals, in implicating others and in passing briberies, always used "human relationship" as a disguise to corrupt and to draw close. Some evoked native ties, some clan sentiment. Even without any relations, some conjured up brotherliness to the extent of elaborating on the common surname, such as "Your name is Chen, so is mine; we have been in the same family since the ancient time." "Human relations" became a smoke screen for the unlawful elements in besieging us. Some comrades could not hold on to themselves precisely on this point; ideologically disarmed, they unwittingly became supporter or accomplice of the criminals.

Third, cultivate "self-discipline." Never let one's controlslide. "Self-discipline" means being incorruptible and not trespassing the limit even when no one is watching. This is a test under a special circumstance. Some communist party members perhaps could behave "dignified in exalted position" in public, but once by themselves, they would allow their greed to run wild and accept the proffered "bait." The party committee member of Erpu coal mine in the beginning felt somewhat uneasy in accepting the bribe. But when the head contractor presented gifts to his door "with no eye-witness" and told him "Only heaven above and earth below, you and I have knowledge of this event; be assured that there is absolutely no problem," the gifts were gladly accepted. "Needles stick out like shoots, vapor pours out in basketsfull." The giver and receiver of a bribe will not remain unexposed. Comrade Liu Shaoqi said, "Even in performing an independent task, unsupervised and free to backslide, one must be able to impose a self-discipline without giving oneself to wantonness." This is a motto for every communist party member to know by heart.

The experience of the party committee member of Yangqian coal mine and the lesson of the party committee member of Erpu are very instructive. It is hoped that everyone will read these two reports to learn the experience and lessons to strengthen our immunity and to become a real tough person in the present struggle against corruption.

9507
CSO: 4005/1005

CLASS STRUGGLE REFLECTION AMONG MASSES NOTED

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE (SOCIAL SCIENCES) in Chinese No 6, 1982 pp 20-22

[Article by Fan Jiyu [5400 0679 7183], Party School of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee: "The Class Struggle and Its Reflection Among the Masses"]

[Text] Two viewpoints regarding the problem of unlawful and criminal acts in the economic sector call for discussion at the present time. One viewpoint has it that our struggle against the various criminal elements who do serious damage to the socialist economy has nothing to do with the class struggle. The other viewpoint holds that all the unlawful and criminal acts in the economic sector are part and parcel of the class struggle and that there does exist a class struggle among the people themselves. It is my opinion that the situation regarding unlawful and criminal acts in the economic sector is a most complicated one. It is replete with elements of a class struggle between the enemy and ourselves and one in which the class struggle is reflected on the people. Although the phenomena bear certain similarities, they are different in nature. The achievement of an understanding of the nature and the differentiation of the two, serves to clarify "the limited scope" of the class struggle within the economic sector, correctly to identify and deal with the contradictions which have to do with the classes and those which have nothing to do with the classes, to prevent the enlargement of the scope of the class struggle. To avoid treating the class struggle as a dead issue so that we may unite the people and deal a blow against the enemy in order to safeguard the open door policy, to ensure the progress of our economic construction, and to establish a material civilization.

1

Some comrades hold the view that the class struggle according to Marxism-Leninism is a contradiction and a struggle among opposing classes. Since the exploiting class as a class has long ceased to exist in our country, why is there still a class struggle? Our answer is that the struggle presently waged against serious criminal elements in the economic sector is not within the scope of the class struggle.

It is our view that the class struggle in its original sense refers to the contradictions and struggle resulting from the basic conflict of interests between opposing classes as represented by the exploiters and the exploited. However,

what some comrades seem to have overlooked is that the class struggle presently waged in our country, aside from being a struggle against the infiltration and corruption of the capitalist class in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan, is also a struggle between the legitimate and illegitimate classes and that, to a certain extent, there still exists on the mainland a class struggle of a special kind. This struggle is one between the people and the masses on the one hand and the various antagonistic elements who are opposed to and who seek to sabotage the socialist system on the other. In other words, it is a class struggle waged by socialist workers, peasants, the intellectuals and other patriots against counterrevolutionaries, enemy agents, degenerate and backsliding elements, the new exploiting elements, the "gang of four," certain remnants of the exploiting class, and criminal elements who do serious damage to the socialist system. The present offensive waged against serious smugglers and dealers in smuggled goods, those who are guilty of corruption and the accpetance of bribes, speculators and swindlers represents a course of action against activities which do serious damage to the socialist economy. For this reason, the struggle against criminal activities which do serious damage to the economy is in a way a class struggle in the economic sector under the new historical setting.

In our socialist society, all those who are antagonistic to, who oppose and who sabotage the socialist system represent the vested interests of the exploiting class which has been brought to heel, destroyed and basically decimated. Their basic conflict of interest with the people in a socialist state is a class struggle in that it is a conflict between antagonistic classes. There is a basic similarity between this conflict and struggle and that waged by the people and the masses under the leaderhsip of the proletariat against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism in that they are both class struggles in different forms. At one time, the exploiting class oppressed, exploited and waged war against the people who in turn rebelled agianst oppression and exploitation and finally resorted to force in wresting power from members of the exploiting class and confiscated their properties. Since the exploiters have been completely routed and what is left of the exploiting class has been rendered incapable of exercising oppression and exploitation, they have no recourse but to adopt various unlawful means to create havoc in the political, economic and cultural fields. That is why such serious criminal activities as smuggling, bribery, swindling, speculating and stealing represent efforts on their part to undermine the socialist economy and to wage a class struggle in the economic sector.

Those comrades who do not share the view that the struggle against serious criminal elements in the economic sector is a class struggle question the propriety of classifying it as such in view of the fact that such economic crimes as corruption, the acceptance of bribes, speculation, unscrupulous practices and the stealing of public property occur not only in socialist societies, but in capitalist and feudalistic societies as well. It is true that such economic crimes are prevalent in class societies. However, it is also true that in such societies, many of the economic crimes are not related to the class struggle. For instance, such criminal activities as the offering and acceptance of bribes, speculation and swindling induleged in by members of the capitalist class against other members of the same class obviously have nothing to do with the class struggle. However, that does not rule out the fact that our struggle

against the criminal elements who cause serious damage to the economy is in fact a class struggle because there are, among the criminal elements who cause serious damage to the economy, remnants of the "gang of four," sybaritic parasites who have an aversion to work, reincarnations of elements of the exploiting class and degenerate and backsliding elements from alien classes who turn their backs on the people. It is these people who represent the interests of the remnants of the exploiting caste of the capitalist class in our country and who are antagonistic to and seriously damage the socialist system. It is for this reason that the struggle between the people and the masses on one hand and such elements on the other should be viewed as a clear manifestation of the ongoing class struggle in the economic sector in our country. This struggle is in essence a struggle between corruption-ridden capitalism and anticorruption socialism and a struggle between the proletariat class and the capitalist class. More important to bear in mind is the fact that such acts of sabotage cannot be divorced from international monopolistic capitalism. It is this link which enables the unlawful elements to hang on to the coattail of the international capitalist class and to serve as very tangible troops under its banner. Socialism in our country was established while it was hemmed in by imperialism and capitalism. Conflicts and struggles will continue to exist between the two systems over a long period of time. In the process of doing business with us, the foreign capitalists were able not only to wage a struggle with us while making legitimate profits and extorting from us all that they could lay their hands on, but also a struggle to corrupt us by resorting to such illegitimate means as bribery, smuggling and swindling. Members of the capitalist class in our province of Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao are also waging a struggle with us by resorting to the legitimate channel of normal trade. Many of them are also waging a struggle with us by using such illegitimate means as bribery, smuggling and swindling. Smitten by capitalists' sugar-coated bullets, some of the criminal elements who are responsible for causing great damage to the economy have become degenerates and backsliders and have set themselves up as enemies of socialism. This type of struggle is nothing short of a class struggle.

It can be seen, therefore, that it would be theoretically erroneous not to regard our struggle against the various types of criminal elements who do great damage to the economy as a class struggle. It would also be damaging to use the theory that this sturggle is not a class struggle, as a guide for our action. It is imperative that we should recognize the serious, dangerous and long-term nature of criminal activities which cause serious damage to the economy not only sabotage socialist modernization construction in the economic field, but, in the ideological and political fields; they also corrupt our rank-and-file cadres, damage the body politic of the party, the government and the armed forces, poison the people's minds, pollute the social climate and undermine social stability. If allowed to continue to flourish, these elements are certain to prove extremely prejudicial to our socialist enterprises in the days to come.

2

The classs struggle waged between the Chinese people on the one hand, and the hostile forces and elements in and out of the country who oppose and sabotage the socialist system on the other, would obviously be reflected among the

people. The class struggle waged by the people and the masses against criminal elements who cause serious damage to the socialist economy would also be reflected among the people. In principle, however, the reflection of this type of class struggle differs from the class struggle itself. The former is a manifestation of the conflict among the people while the latter is a manifestation of the conflict among opposing classes. Some comrades tend to lump the two together as a class struggle, failing to appreciate the fact that the former is a class struggle among the people themselves while the latter is a class struggle arising out of the conflict between the enemy and ourselves. They even use quotations from Marx and Lenin to support the correctness of their view that a class struggle exists among the people.

As a matter of fact, nothing that was said by Marx or Lenin serves to prove that a class struggle continues to exist among the people in our country at the present time. True enough, in citing what was said by Marx, the word "people" used by Lenin in his "Two Strategies of the Socialist Democratic Party in the Democratic Revolution" referred to "people" engaged in the democratic revolution against the feudalistic aristocratic class, including "people" from the proletarian and capitalist classes. "Marx had always been resolutely opposed to the illusion entertained by the petite bourgeoisie that the 'people' are as one and that there is no such thing as a class struggle among the people themselves. When using the term 'people,' Marx used it not to deny the existence of differences among the various classes, but merely as an entity which could be counted on to pursue the revolution to its conclusion." ("Selected Works of Lenin, Vol I, pp 620-621). What was said by Lenin and Marx not only does not support the view that a class struggle continues to exist among the people in our country today, but, on the contrary, lends support to the view that a class struggle no longer exists among the people. The reason is that we have wiped out the exploiting class as a class and the capitalist class therefore no longer exists. The working class, too, which used to be exploited by the capitalist class, has long ceased to exist as a class. Since there are no longer the exploiters and the exploited among our people, the contradictions among the people can no longer be regarded as a class struggle.

Why is it possible for the class struggle to reflect among the people? The reason is that among the rank-and-file, there are still some remnants of those who favor private ownership and who hold on to the ideas espoused by the petite bourgeoisie. Influenced and eroded by the corrupt capitalists and lingering feudalistic ideas, these people would stray from the socialist line and the line of the working people and commit economic offenses by engaging in petty criminal activities and unscrupulous practices. Their contradictions and struggle with the entire people are a reflection of the class struggle among the people. Their actions represent an encroachment on what rightfully belongs to the state and the people collectively and individually. Because of the petty nature of and the limited damage done by such actions, they may not be classified as crimes. Some people, for instance, would take for themselves what belongs to the public, profit themselves at the expense of others, and take small advantages whenever the opportunity presents itself, while the commune and production brigade enterprises in the rural areas are not above engaging in unscrupulous practices in their business dealings. That is the bad side of the picture. The good side is that they have done creditable service to the cause of social-

ism. Although influenced in their thinking by the exploiting class, they are mainly attuned to the thinking of the socialist working people. The predominant features of the contradictions between the thinking of the working people and those who work for the socialist cause substantiates the fact that the contradictions are of an internal nature and that they are not class contradictions. These people are, in other words, members of the rank-and-file of the masses and not dissident members of a different class. Although these contradictions in thought and action bear the stamp of a class struggle, their dominant features are not those of a class struggle. That is why the class struggle as reflected among the people cannot be considered a class struggle.

Some comrades are of the view that a class struggle does exist among the people since the serious criminal, degenerate and backsliding elements who turn their backs on the people were at one time part of the people. This view is obviously incorrect, because the status of the criminal elements before the commission of crimes is not the same as that after they have committed serious crimes. Just because Zhang Guodao [1728 0948 3614], Wang Ming [3769 2494] and Lin Biao were party members before their rebellion and escape, it cannot be said that the contradictions and the struggle against them are contradictions and a struggle within the party. The reason is clear and simple. After engaging in serious criminal activities, they have degenerated into hostile antisocialist elements and can no longer to be considered as belonging to the masses. The struggle against them waged by the people is therefore not a class struggle among the people, but a class struggle arising out of contradictions between hostile elements and ourselves.

Once we have made a distinction between the class struggle and the reflection of the class struggle among the people in the economic sector, we would be able to deal a sure, well-aimed and merciless blow against the criminal elements who do serious damage to the economy, to rescue those who have fallen on evil ways, to put an end to unscrupulous practices and to avoid repeating the error of widening the scope of the class struggle.

3

The line between the class struggle and the class struggle as it is reflected among the people may be said to be well-defined as well as ill-defined. It can be said to be well-defined because the class struggle and the class struggle as it is reflected among the people have their own definitions and reflections of social contradictions. That being the case, at certain times and places and under certain circumstances, the class struggle is a class struggle and the reflection of the class struggle among the people is a reflection and the two cannot be lumped together.

However, it can also be said that the line between the class struggle and its reflection among the people is ill-defined. Under certain conditions, each is capable of taking the form of the other. This transformation is accompanied by a process of change in their character.

First, contradictions among the people can be transformed into contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and the reflection of a class struggle among

the people can also be transformed into a class struggle. This transformation is predicated upon the transformation that takes place in the criminal elements themselves. Certain people among the masses, eroded by the decadent thinking of the exploiting class, may commit an error or even launch into a career of crime. If they are criticized, educated or disciplined in time, so that they may learn their lesson, mend their ways and desist from criminal activities; they may still be considered as members of the masses and the contradictions and struggle between them and the people may still be considered a reflection of the class struggle among the people. However, if they should resist criticism and education and continue in their criminal activities, or if their criminal activities went undetected during the transition period, they would get so deeply involved in crimes that they would eventually undergo a change in character and become hostile elements opposed to the cause of socialism. When that comes to pass, the struggle between them and the people may well turn into a class struggle.

Furthermore, the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves may change into contradictions among the people and the class struggle may change into a reflection of the class struggle among the people. The key to the change rests with the conditions. Most of the criminal elements who do serious damage to the economy are those who have embezzled large amounts of public funds or who are ringleaders of criminal gangs. All these are hostile elements who constitute the key targets of our attack. If, however, they were to give themselves up, admit their crimes and take the initiative in returning their stolen money and goods under the threat of legal reprisals, they would be entitled to be treated with leniency or even spared criminal proceedings. This magnanimous dispensation is conditional upon the candid confession of their crimes, the surrender of their stolen property and their determination to desist from further criminal activities. That is the basis and the conditions for changing the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves into contradictions among the people and for changing the class struggle into contradictions among the people as a result of the class struggle. On this subject, there are people who hold different views. Would this dialectic line, they ask, not be tantamount to a slight of hand? How can they accept the idea that the day before their confession, the acts of the criminal elements are considered a contradiction between the enemy and ourselves and that the day after their confession, the contradictions are considered contradictions among the people? This is a one-sided point of view. The fact should be obvious that, subjected to the awesome power of the policies and the laws of the party and the nation and following an intensive period of ideological struggle or with the help of their relatives and friends, they are able to decide to give themselves up, to surrender their stolen goods and to repent, is a signal that a change has taken place in the hostile relationship between themselves and the people. The moment they have made a clean breast of their criminal activities, they have completed the transformation process of the character of their relationship with the people. Actually, this phenomenon is not of recent vintage. In the battlefields in the past, the contradictions between enemy military officers and the people were contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. However, once the enemy military officers have decided to surrender themselves and to renounce their past wrong doings, the bygones are considered bygones and they have earned themselves the right to be treated with leniency. The contradictions are resolved the moment the enemy military officers have forsaken their ill-guided cause. They can

even become leaders and eventually military officers in the people's army. If reactionary military officers on the battlefield can turn over a new leaf, so can criminal elements who cause serious damage to the economy. It is important to appreciate the significance of this cahnge. Once we have a firm grasp of this line of reasoning, it will be possible for us to make conscious use of the law and policies to divide and break up the enemy and to deal a merciless blow against the major criminals who, with their backs against the wall, continue to offer stubborn resistance. The laws and policies formulated by the party and the state against criminal elements who cause serious damage to the economy have already created a powerful impact. According to incomplete statistics furnished by 20 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, over 2,900 people have, of their own accord, given themselves up the concerned departments, confessed their crimes and surrendered their stolen money and goods from 9 March when the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress announced its decision to deal severely with criminals who have caused serious damage to the economy to 16 April. Although many of them are petty criminals, there must be more than a few who belong to the category of serious criminals. This goes to support the view regarding the possible transformation of contradictions.

9621
CSO: 4005/1057

A REAPPRAISAL OF PATTERN OF QUALITATIVE CHANGES

Beijing ZHONGGUO SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CHINA] in Chinese, No 1, 1982, Jan 82, pp 59-78

[Article by Jin Guantao [6855 6034 3447] and Hua Guofan [5478 0948 0416]: "Reappraisal of the Pattern of Qualitative Change"]

[Text] Must qualitative change be accomplished by a jump? This article proposes a new view regarding the pattern of qualitative change by reviewing the progress in natural sciences and in the study of catastrophe theory recently developed by foreign mathematical circles. It is believed that qualitative change can be realized by jumps and it can also be realized through gradual change. This article proposes a principle for use in deciding whether a natural phenomenon is a jump or a gradual change. It also studies the regularity of control points and the phenomena of overcorrection and the coexistence of extremes during the course of qualitative change.

Author Jin Guangtao, born in 1947 and graduated from the Department of Chemistry of Beijing University in 1970, is currently assistant researcher for the magazine NEWSLETTER ON NATURAL DIALECTICS of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. Hua Guofan, born 1946 and graduated from the Department of Chemistry of Beijing University in 1969, is currently instructor in the Department of Philosophy at Hangzhou University.

I. Difficulties in Studying the Patterns of Qualitative Change

For a long time, the study of qualitative change has focused on one point: How is qualitative change realized? There are many answers to this question, but they can be basically summarized into three main views.

The first can be called "the jump theory." They believe the conversion from one qualitative state to another qualitative state must be a jump. The course of gradual progression of quantitative change must discontinue and a control point that separates the two types of qualitative states emerges. The transition from the old qualitative state towards the new qualitative state is accomplished in a discontinuous way. The most frequently cited examples are violent

revolution, the breaking of materials, nuclear reaction beyond critical mass, the outbreak of economic crisis and boiling of water under constant pressure, etc.

The second can be called "the theory of gradual change." They believe that absolutely clear-cut, fixed and unchanging boundaries do not exist between any two qualitative states. The absolute efficiency of "either this or that" does not exist. All opposites and all differences merge in the intermediate stages. Therefore, the conversion between different qualitative states, is basically gradual and continuous. Their arguments include economic recovery, gradual oxidation of fuel, evaporation of water, social reform, changing social customs and biological evolution, etc. In these types of changes, it is very difficult to find a control point that clearly separates two qualitative states. Things gradually and continuously accomplish the transition from the old qualitative state to the new qualitative state. Darwin who held this view even inclined towards supporting the old saying that "there are no jumps in nature." Some metaphysical philosophers even denied qualitative change on this basis and believed that all changes in the world are quantitative changes.

For a very long time, the jump theory was explained as the only correct viewpoint on dialectic conversion. But when the great debate on linguistic questions broke out in the Soviet academic circles, the jump theory represented by K.R. Meyer's school of thought exposed its weaknesses. The evolution of language and violent revolution are completely different. Language has not evolved in sudden jumps. It has not evolved by a sudden disappearance of the current language and the sudden creation of a new language. It has evolved through the gradual accumulation of new qualitative elements and the gradual loss of the old qualitative elements. Thus, a conflict emerges in the theory. On the one hand, it cannot abandon the principle that qualitative change is a jump, and on the other hand it has to recognize that objectively, qualitative change progresses in different ways. To make up for this loophole in the theory, Soviet academic circles, while criticizing Meyer's school of thought, proposed a theory of "an explosive jump and a nonexplosive jump." This theory continues to recognize that qualitative change is a jump on the one hand, and on the other hand, divides jumps into an explosive type and a nonexplosive type. They classify the pattern of qualitative change like violent revolution cited by the theory of jumps as an explosive jump, and they classify the pattern of qualitative change like the evolution of language cited by the theory of gradual change as a nonexplosive jump.

The theory of "explosive jumps and nonexplosive jumps" represented the third view on the pattern of conversion in qualitative change. We can call it "the theory of two types of jumps." This theory has greatly influenced our nation's philosophical circles. It seems to have solved the question concerning the paths of qualitative change. But actually things are not so simple.

We believe that the "theory of two types of jumps" faces two difficulties. First, theoretically, we must clearly understand whether a jump is a qualitative change or a method of qualitative change? The theory of two types of jumps believes: "A jump is the conversion from one type of quality to another type of quality."[1] This means, a jump and a qualitative change are equivalent concepts.

Then what significance is there in discussing whether a qualitative change has to be realized by a jump? Since qualitative change is defined as a jump, the subsequent discussion would be equivalent to proving whether a jump must be carried out by a jump. Therefore, if a jump is not defined as the method of qualitative change, and if qualitative change and the method of qualitative change are not clearly separated, then in logic, this would amount to a tautology, and this will bring about confusion and difficulties in theory and thought.

Second, the "theory of two types of jumps" insists that all qualitative changes are jumps, the difference is only in the different methods of accomplishing jumps. Although it has explained the multiplicity of qualitative change from a certain angle, there are still many processes of qualitative change in nature that cannot be explained by the methods of jumps summarized by them. By definition,[2,3] a jump should be "the discontinuity of gradual accumulation of quantitative changes in the process of development." This means, whether they are explosive jumps or nonexplosive jumps, qualitative changes are all jumps. Since they are jumps, there will be a discontinuation of the process of accumulation of quantitative changes, and by necessity, a critical point can be found. But as natural sciences develop and as man's understanding of qualitative changes become more profound, it has been discovered that discontinuation of quantitative changes does not occur in many processes of qualitative change. A critical point that clearly separates the old and the new qualitative states does not exist. Even in some changes in qualitative states that people have long become familiar with (such as the vaporization of water), as long as the condition of qualitative change is changed (for example, under high pressure, at critical temperature), entirely different ways of qualitative change can emerge. Under certain conditions, the accumulation of quantitative changes discontinues, and under certain other conditions, accumulation of quantitative changes does not discontinue. Quantitative change and qualitative change in things progress gradually and continuously. Under certain conditions, a critical point can be found in qualitative change while under a given condition, critical points cannot be found (for example, water can vaporize under critical conditions). This also shows that the question of methods of qualitative change is much more complex than originally believed. On the one hand, qualitative change was denied in the past. The criticism of the metaphysical viewpoint regarding all changes as quantitative changes was entirely correct. On the other hand, as science develops, more and more facts show that this is a wealth of methods of qualitative change that is far from being exhausted by the "jump theory" and the "theory of two types of jumps" alone. Studying the method of qualitative change, especially, studying how the methods of qualitative change vary according to the different conditions of qualitative change, is still a difficult problem in philosophy that awaits continued discussion.

We have discovered that as science develops, people have gained a richer and more profound understanding of the methods and conditions of qualitative change. Especially after the 1960's, a new branch of mathematics called "catastrophe theory" has emerged. Catastrophe theory uses mathematical models to grasp the various processes of jumps in nature and studies conditions of catastrophes and gradual change. It has been a beneficial inspiration in exploring the methods of qualitative change.

This article attempts to further explore the question of the methods of qualitative change starting out from certain scientific facts and utilizing the mathematical achievements of catastrophe theory to elevate the fundamental ideas of catastrophe theory in mathematics to the realm of philosophy. This attempt will help develop the theory of multiple methods of qualitative change in materialist dialectics. We have formed a fourth opinion concerning the methods of qualitative change on the basis of studying catastrophe theory in mathematics. We believe a jump is not equal to qualitative change. It is only a method of qualitative change. Qualitative change can be accomplished by a jump (or catastrophe[4]), and it can be accomplished by gradual change. The key to the different methods of qualitative change is determined by the conditions under which qualitative change is realized. These conditions can be strictly and clearly grasped by analysis using catastrophe theory. Catastrophe theory can clearly show that under certain conditions, discontinuation of the accumulation of quantitative change will occur in the course of qualitative change and control points will emerge. Under some other conditions, discontinuation of quantitative changes will not occur in the course of qualitative change and critical points will not emerge. We shall expound on this in the following.

II. Qualitative Change Can Be Realized in Two Ways, By Jumps and By Gradual Change

First let us analyze an example. Phase change of materials is more familiar to everyone. Since ancient times, the phenomena of boiling and condensation have always attracted people's interest. Many philosophers like to use these as examples when discussing the question of qualitative change. Hegel cited the example of water becoming ice when he explained the patterns of qualitative and quantitative changes. He believed, "water does not become hard gradually through cooling, it does not first become colloidal and then gradually harden to the hardness of ice, rather, it hardens immediately."[5] He also said: "When the temperature of water changes, not only does the amount of heat drop, water also changes through the solid, liquid and vapor states. These different states do not occur gradually. Rather, they are at the points of intersection. The simple progress of change in temperature suddenly discontinues and terminates, and water jumps into another state. The emergence of another state is a jump. All life and death cannot progress gradually and continuously. They are the discontinuation of gradual progress. They are jumps from quantitative changes to a qualitative change."[6] It can be seen from this example cited by Hegel that what he called a jump was actually the way in which qualitative change occurred. Water that "suddenly hardens" at the freezing point is indeed a very good example. It shows that qualitative change of matter can be accomplished by jumps. This was a very forceful rebuttal of the popular view of the time that "jumps do not occur in nature."

But the fact that qualitative change can be accomplished by jumps does not equal to the saying that qualitative change must be accomplished by jumps. Hegel cited only the example of water at the freezing point. In fact, there are many noncrystalline materials in nature, such as glass, paraffin wax, asphalt and such materials that gradually harden from a liquid state during the cooling process. They first become colloids and then gradually harden until a definite hardness is reached. A jump of sudden hardening does not exist.

We can conveniently use the phase change of water as an example. We frequently say that the boiling of water is a jump, but the occurrence of boiling is conditioned. Boiling, condensation, and the boiling point are only valid under ordinary conditions of one atmospheric pressure. In particular, the phenomenon of water jumping to a vapor state through boiling occurs only under certain temperature and pressure conditions. Under other temperature and pressure conditions, the boiling phenomenon no longer exists, and water undergoes a series of continuous intermediate states to reach a vapor state.

According to catastrophe theory in mathematics, the course of change between the vapor and liquid phases of water can be represented by the curved surface shown in Figure 1. This curved surface has been called the cusp catastrophe model. Every point on the curved surface represents the density state of water under particular temperature and pressure conditions. The general trend of the curved surface is to slide from the high point to the low point indicating that as the temperature rises and the pressure drops, water changes from a high density liquid state to a low density vapor state. The unique point on this curved surface is that it has a smooth fold. The fold becomes narrower towards the back and finally disappears at the point Q where the three layers meet. Q represents the density corresponding to the critical point. With the exception of the center sheet of the fold, the entire curved surface represents states of density stable. The center sheet of the fold is the unstable states of density.[7]

What philosophical insights can we obtain from this catastrophe model? We discover that from the viewpoint of the method of qualitative change, this model shows that the course of change of water from a liquid state to a vapor state can be accomplished in two entirely different ways according to the different ways of change in temperature and pressure. The first is when the conditions of temperature and pressure change in the AFB direction and before water is heated to 100°C under constant pressure. Although the density drops, water still maintains a liquid state. But when the edge of the fold is reached, the upper sheet of the curved surface that reflects the stable dropping process suddenly discontinues, and the density suddenly drops to the area of the vapor state represented by the lower sheet of the curved surface, and a drastic and discontinuous change occurs. This is equivalent to the phenomenon of boiling that occurs when water is heated to 100°C under constant pressure. It is a jump.

Besides the jump in boiling, water can change gradually from a liquid state to a vapor state via a second method. This situation occurs when the conditions change in the CD direction, i.e., the temperature and pressure are strictly controlled, and pressure is added according to the numerical values indicated on line CD while raising the temperature at the same time. It can be seen from Figure 1 that when the temperature and pressure pass the critical point along the direction of CD and change along the slope in the back of the fold of the curved surface, the change in water density is continuous and smooth. The density of water gradually drops and undergoes an intermediate and smooth change from being like water but not water and being vapor but not vapor to becoming a vapor. Jumps do not occur throughout the entire process of conversion from liquid to vapor and boiling does not occur. Under these conditions a critical point which intersects the path on the surface, that can be called a boiling point, and which separates the liquid state and vapor states of water, cannot be found.

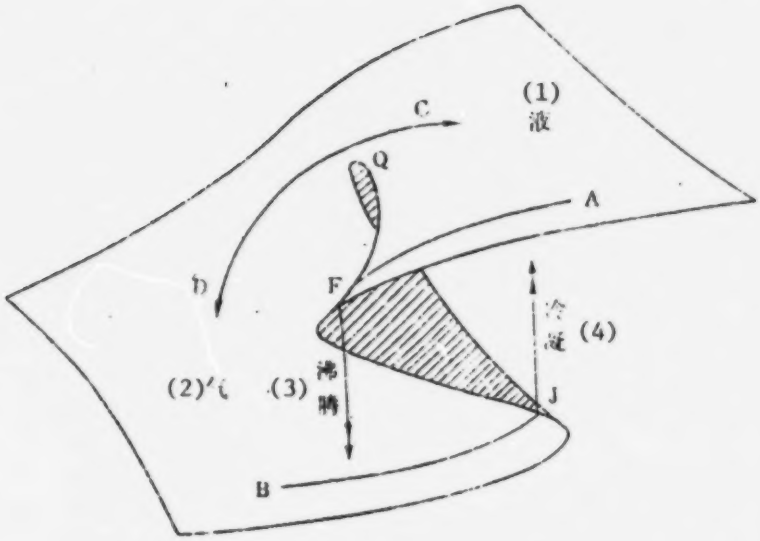


Figure 1. Phase Change of Water

Key:

(1)	Liquid	(3)	Boiling
(2)	Vapor	(4)	Condensation

The same two methods can be suitably used to describe the process of change from a vapor state to a liquid state. It can be seen from Figure 1 that the change of the vapor state to the liquid state can be accomplished separately by passing through the jump indicated by BJA or by a gradual change indicated by DC. But, when changing via the jump, the control point is not F but J. The density suddenly rises from J in the region of the vapor state to the region of the liquid state. This is the phenomenon of condensation.

The angle from which catastrophe theory in mathematics considers a problem is different from some theories of the past. It not only takes into consideration the method of qualitative change of the subject matter under certain specific conditions, it also emphasizes the study of the changes in the ways of qualitative change of matter when conditions change. It can be said that the nature of catastrophe theory is to uncover how the way of qualitative change of matter depends on changes in conditions.

Theoretically speaking, the course of qualitative change of all things that possess two mutually reversible stable states can all be described by the cusp model. Zeeman used the cusp model to describe the behavior of a dog.[8] A dog has two reactions towards an external stimulus, attack and escape. They are two stable states in the dog's behavior equivalent to the liquid state and the vapor state in the example of phase change. These two behaviors of the dog are controlled by the two variables of anger and fear. When the element of anger grows and the element of fear weakens, the escape behavior of the dog will change to attack. When the element of anger weakens and fear increases, the

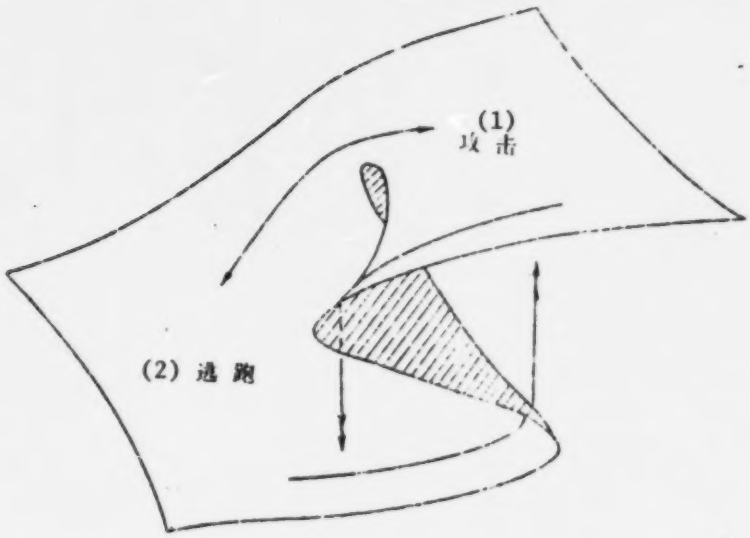


Figure 2. The Behavior of a Dog

Key: (1) Attack (2) Escape

dog will change its behavior from attack to escape. As the conditions change in different ways, the mutual qualitative change between the two behaviors of attack and escape by the dog in two different ways, a jump or gradual change. (Figure 2) The dog can gradually change its attack behavior to escape, and it can also suddenly change from attack to escape.

We have proposed that qualitative change can be accomplished via two ways, a jump or gradual change. Of course, this does not mean every concrete process of qualitative change can be realized in these two ways. Because of the limitations of the types of qualitative change (we will discuss this point in section 4) and the control conditions, a specific process of qualitative change may be accomplished in only one way. But it must be pointed out that in the past when people analyzed the process of qualitative change, they frequently considered only the changes that occurred under a specific condition and neglected the possibility of other changes that occurred when the conditions changed, thus hindering people's understanding of the multiplicity of the methods of qualitative change. People have a fuller understanding of accomplishing qualitative change via jumps but frequently neglect the fact that qualitative changes can also be accomplished by gradual change. Let us cite an example that is familiar to everyone:

Comrade Ai Siqi [5337 1835 1142] once cited an example of the collapse of Leifeng Tower in "Popular Philosophy" to explain in layman's terms the law of mutual change between quality and quantity. He said, the collapse of the tower undergoes two stages. In the first stage, the peasants steal one brick at a time. The supporting strength of the tower gradually weakens but the tower remains a tower and superficially no change can be seen. This is a

period of quantitative change and gradual change. In the second stage is the change at the time of collapse. The removal of the bricks has reached the ultimate limit, the tower cannot support its original shape and thus it collapes in one big thunderous roar. The change at this time is visible. Therefore, the change at this time is qualitative change and is a jump. This example cited by Comrade Ai Siqi represents a typical viewpoint of conversion between quality and quantity. It symbolically explains how the Leifeng Tower "collapses with a thunderous roar" in the stage of qualitative change and jumps to become a pile of ruins. But, besides this method of qualitative change of a jump, are there no other methods? If we imagine those peasants taking away the bricks one by one every day not from the bottom of the tower but beginning from the top of the tower, (we will temporarily assume that they have overcome the various technical difficulties), what would happen? Obviously, by removing the bricks one by one and layer by layer from the top of the tower until all bricks have been stolen, a jump of a "collapse in one thunderous roar" will not occur. The whole tower can be gradually destroyed and quality change is accomplished by gradual progress.

Some people may ask, since you say that quality change can be accomplished by gradual change, then it is the same as partial quality changes in the course of complete quantitative change? This question is a good one and it is necessary to make differentiations. The view of partial qualitative change (abbreviated partial qualitative change in the following) in the course of complete quantitative change is a supplementary viewpoint of the "theory of two types of jumps." It means that changes in matter can be divided into two types, gradual quantitative change and qualitative change in a jump. But, the course of quantitative change includes partial qualitative change. A partial qualitative change may manifest itself as a change occurring in secondary properties while the basic property has not changed, or it may manifest itself as a property change of individual parts while the overall property has not changed. This kind of partial qualitative change is a jump of a small scope or a small scale[9] in the overall qualitative change of matter. Obviously, the viewpoint of partial qualitative change is different from our view that qualitative change can be accomplished by gradual change. The difference is manifested in the following two aspects:

First, a partial qualitative change refers to the change in secondary properties and partial properties of matter in the course of complete quantitative change. It is the preparatory stage for complete qualitative change, but to the partial qualitative change itself and to local properties, it is still a jump. For example, an example of partial qualitative change frequently cited is water being heated from 0°C to 100°C under constant pressure. Before the temperature reaches 100°C, water is in the stage of general quantitative change, but a part of the water has already vaporized. This is a partial qualitative change in the stage of general quantitative change. The fundamental qualitative change of water occurs at boiling at 100°C. At this time, water converts to steam en masse, rapidly and completely. Very obviously, partial qualitative changes are actually equivalent to a qualitative change via a jump observed statistically. When we view the entire body of water as consisting of individual parts, a part of the water first vaporizes before other parts of water become steam. The overall body of water does not undergo a qualitative change but to partially vaporized water, the change is a jump. The total qualitative change is

accomplished via partial qualitative changes. Actually, this is the same as regarding the total qualitative change as composing of small jumps of individual parts. But regardless of how partial qualitative changes occur, they are still accomplished via jumps. This is completely different from the qualitative change accomplished via gradual change that we have discussed. Scientific experiments have already proven that when the control temperature and pressure surpass the critical point, water vaporizes through the critical state and does not undergo partial vaporization that decomposes the change into small jumps. At this time, the entire body of water simultaneously passes through a series of intermediate states of not being water nor vapor and changes to steam continuously and smoothly. It is not a process of some water molecules changing first and not a process of change of certain secondary properties of water. This type of qualitative change by gradual progression is a new method of qualitative change. Actually, as long as conditions are strictly controlled, the condensation of liquid steel, melting of glass and paraffin wax is a process of qualitative change of the whole smoothly through a colloidal state and nonsolid and nonliquid states. It is not a process of a certain part hardening first to complete the transition of the qualitative stages.

Second, although partial qualitative changes occur in the stage of quantitative change, locally they are still jumps, therefore they are still defined by critical points. As for jumps of partial qualitative change, we can always find a critical point. The catastrophe theory in mathematics has proven that vaporization of water before boiling under constant pressure also has a corresponding critical point as regards the vaporized portion. This critical point is similarly located in the fold shown in Figure 1. On the other hand, the critical point of total qualitative change of the system is the statistical average of the critical points of such partial qualitative changes. But in the course of gradual qualitative change as we mentioned, critical points absolutely do not exist. Take the collapse of Leifeng Tower as an example, when the peasants begin stealing bricks from the bottom of the tower, the collapse of the tower is a critical point. Before collapsing, the peasants had stolen the bricks one by one. This is quantitative change. If we say that at this time, partial qualitative changes are present in overall quantitative change, then this partial change is also limited by the critical points, and a critical point must exist in the course of total qualitative change. But, qualitative change accomplished by gradual change is not so. The peasants begin stealing bricks from the top of the tower. The whole conversion of the qualitative states from being a tower to not being a tower starting from stealing the first brick to the end when all bricks have been stolen is accomplished continuously and via gradual change. What degree of destruction due to stealing bricks from Leifeng Tower should be the mark of its disappearance? Should it be when the top of the tower has been stolen or should it be when the body of the tower has disappeared? Should it be when the base of the tower has been completely stolen? Or should it be the time when all of the bricks have been stolen with nothing left? It is difficult to say. At this time, a critical point that can clearly differentiate between being a tower and not being a tower does not exist in the course of qualitative change. We can only say that the tower progresses one step further towards not being a tower for each brick that is stolen. The entire process of this qualitative change accomplished via gradual change is continuous and smooth and there are no critical points. Readers may disagree by saying that we can always establish a definition to differentiate a tower from not

being a tower and regard this as the critical point to differentiate between the two qualitative states. Obviously, such an artificially established critical point to differentiate between the two quality states is not the critical point that emerges when a jump occurs in matter as we have discussed above. The critical point in material phase changes (such as the boiling point and freezing point) and the critical point in the collapse of Leifeng Tower are not established when we define the differences between the qualitative states but exist objectively in matter during the course of qualitative change and they are points of demarcation that clearly differentiate between the two qualitative states. Therefore, the critical point discussed in this article has a clear meaning. It does not refer to the boundary limits between two types of qualities artificially defined by man when we establish the difference between two qualitative states. In gradual qualitative change, the critical point that we have already clearly defined does not exist.

Therefore, a gradual qualitative change is accomplished by the gradual accumulation of the elements of new qualities and the gradual dying out of the elements of old qualities. In the course of qualitative change, a critical point that separates the old quality and the new quality cannot be found. Then readers will naturally have another question, that is: is the idea of gradual qualitative change confusing qualitative change and quantitative change and are there no differences between quality and quantity? If so, is it not providing an argument for the metaphysical philosophers to negate qualitative change and to conclude that qualitative change is quantitative change? Actually, the reason that this question has been mentioned is because qualitative change and the method of qualitative change have not been strictly separated. Matter possesses a qualitative regularity and a quantitative regularity. Quality and quantity cannot be equated. The qualitative change accomplished by gradual change we are talking about refers to the change in the regularity of quality, therefore it will not be confused with quantitative change. Take the phase change of water as an example. Here, the regularity representing the quality of water is the physical state of water such as density while the regularities of quantity are temperature and pressure. The phase change accomplished by gradual change refers only to the continuous transition of the physical state of water (condensed state) from the liquid phase to the vapor phase. It refers to the change in the regularity of quality itself, not quantitative change. Perhaps readers still have a further question: isn't density the regularity of quantity? Actually, dialectics has already pointed out, the difference between quality and quantity is not absolute. Both mass without quantity and quantity without mass cannot be imagined. Abstractly considering whether "density" is mass or quantity is meaningless. In the study of the phase changes of water, "density" represents the state of the physical phase and it is a regularity of quality. In some other studies (such as cosmology, geotectonics), material density can be entirely a regularity of quantity. But to any concrete process, the regularity of quality and the regularity of quantity are different and there is a strict difference. This is demonstrated outstandingly in the mathematical models of catastrophe theory. The regularity of quality is generally expressed by variables of states of matter while the regularity of quantity is expressed by controlled variables (or conditional variables). They must be clearly stated and they cannot be confused at the outset when proposing a catastrophe model.

III. How Do We Distinguish Between a Jump and Gradual Change

Advocates of "the theory of gradual change" believe that absolutely clear-cut, fixed and unchanged boundary limits do not exist between any two kinds of qualitative states, and the absolute result of "either this or that" does not exist. All opposites and all differences merge in the intermediate states. A series of intermediate states that connect the two can always be found between any two types of quality states. These intermediate states have to be passed through in any conversion process. Therefore, they believe that regardless of how fast or slow the conversion is, qualitative change is always continuous and gradual. For example, water boils at 100°C under constant pressure to become steam. We say water changes suddenly from a density of a liquid state to a density of a vapor state, this is a jump process. But to advocates of "the theory of gradual change," the change in water density must also pass through those intermediate densities between the density of the liquid state and the density of the vapor state, the only difference is that the time is very short. Therefore they believe that one cannot say that a discontinuous jump occurs. Also, for example, a rectangular piece of wood that is standing on one end will topple and lie horizontally under external force. At the beginning, the block of wood gradually reclines under force until the inclination reaches a certain angle and the wooden block suddenly falls. The angle suddenly becomes 90°. We say this is a jump. But advocates of "the theory of gradual change" believe that regardless of the speed of fall of the block of wood, it must continuously pass through all angles between 0° and 90°, therefore one cannot say that there is any discontinuous stage of jumping in between. This viewpoint is particularly easily accepted by biologists. This is because when studying biological evolution, as massive amounts of fossils of ancient creatures of intermediate characteristics are discovered, the gaps between animal species are gradually filled, and evolution, in most cases, can only be understood as a process of gradual change over a thousand million years.

This viewpoint does not recognize the traditional distinction between a jump and gradual change based on the speed of development in the progress of qualitative change. In fact, this viewpoint has proposed that differentiation should be based on the continuity or discontinuity of the process of qualitative change. But it also believes that all processes of qualitative change are continuous, thus it concludes that jumps are gradual changes, and it fundamentally denies the existence of the phenomenon of jumps. This shows that further studies are needed to find out how one can distinguish whether a certain method of qualitative change is a jump or gradual change.

We believe that judgment based on the continuity or discontinuity of the process of qualitative change is not valid. This is because every process of qualitative change, whether it is a jump or gradual change, is a transition between two types of quality states. When one quality state passes to another quality state, in principle, it must go through all of the intermediate states. The fundamental difference between a jump and gradual change is in the method of qualitative change. It is related to how matter passes through these intermediate states, not whether matter has passed through the entire course of intermediate states.

The traditional judgment for differentiation based on the speed of change also has its superficiality and onesidedness. Of course, jumps usually occur suddenly while gradual change usually occurs gradually. These two concepts were proposed originally according to a differentiation based on the meaning of speed.

But this is only an external difference. The speed of development of the processes of gradual change of some matter is not slow. We will cite the example of acidic and alkaline titration in the following. The speed of development of jumps in some things and events is not fast, for example, social revolution can last for several years and several dozen years.

How are jumps distinguished? We have discovered in studying catastrophe theory in mathematics that they can be distinguished by observing whether the stability of the progress of qualitative change of things has been destroyed. If things always develop smoothly and stably throughout the course of qualitative change, if all the intermediate states between the two types of qualitative states are stable states, then such a change would be a gradual change. If the internal stability of things is destroyed during the course of qualitative change, if unstable states exist among the intermediate states between two types of qualitative states, then the smooth and continuous course of change will be discontinued, and a jump will occur.

According to this principle of judgment we have proposed, boiling of water at 100°C under constant pressure is a jump because under this condition, all of the intermediate density states between the density of the liquid state and the density of the vapor state are unstable states. The nature of boiling water is a transition from the stable liquid state to the stable vapor state. Water cannot remain in the unstable intermediate density state. Conversely, if we control the conditions according to the CD curve in Figure 1 and surpass the critical point, then, all intermediate density states between the liquid state and the vapor state are stable, and water density can gradually become thin without boiling and water can become a series of stable intermediate states of being like water but not water and being like vapor but not vapor until it reaches the vapor state via gradual change. In the course of change of the block of wood from standing to lying down, we recognize that the block of wood passes through all angles between 0° and 90°, but beginning from a certain angle, the center of gravity of the block of wood surpasses a supporting point, and it goes through an unstable transient stage and topples, therefore it is a jump.

In analytical chemistry, the behavior of pH near the equivalent singularities in the titration of strong acids and strong alkalines has always been regarded by many people as a jump. The titration curve in Figure 3 shows the precipitous change near the equivalent singularity. It shows that when the titration reaches the vicinity of the equivalent singularity, the pH changes rapidly. Actually, the solution under the control of the titrating agent is stable throughout the titration process. Even near the equivalent singularity, the pH value is still controlled by strict titration conditions, i.e., as long as the amount of alkaline added is very small, the change in pH of the solution can always be made sufficiently small, and the curve can always be differentiated. If there is an unstable area in the pH, then it cannot be used for quantitative analysis. Therefore, this is a process of gradual change.

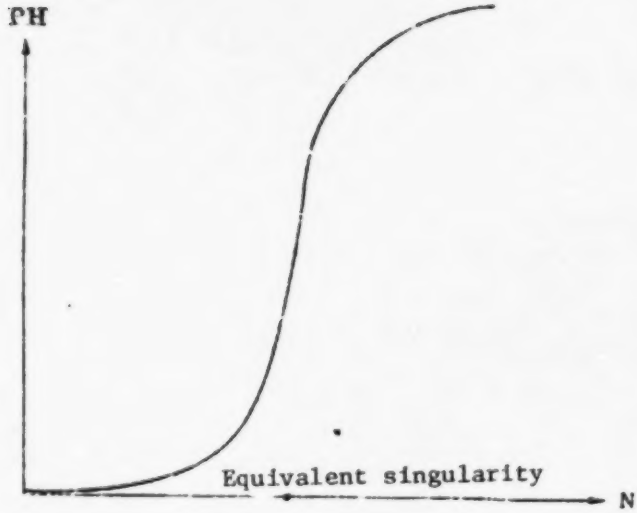


Figure 3. Acidic and Alkaline Titration Curve

The use of stability to distinguish jumps has special meaning in those systems that have complex feedback connections, self-propagating systems and self-organizing systems. Frequently there are many factors that affect these types of systems. Usually, we cannot find a simple catastrophe model to describe them. Their change is not only determined by other controlling conditions, it is also determined by the changes of the system itself. It is very interesting to study the qualitative changes of these types of systems. We know that fuel can release heat via natural oxidation and it can also release heat by explosion. Why is there such a difference? This is because in an explosion, the heat released after a part of the fuel oxidizes cannot be diffused in time and the surrounding temperature rapidly rises. This hastens the oxidation of the surrounding fuel and further raises the temperature. In this way, a positive and negative feedback system is formed. Lighting only a small part of the fuel will cause the whole fuel to immediately enter an unstable state and all of the fuel oxidizes suddenly in an explosion. This is a course of qualitative change accomplished by a jump. Under natural oxidation, the thermal energy can diffuse in time and the oxidation of a part of the fuel will not affect the stability of the whole fuel. The fuel can undergo stable reaction in the course of oxidation and a positive and negative feedback system is not formed. Therefore, this is a process of gradual qualitative change. For the same reason, we can understand without much difficulty that an avalanche is a jump and snowballing is gradual change. The pile of snow in the two situations has a different stability. In his "Science of Logic," Hegel once asked whether pulling out a strand of hair from the head would make a person bald and whether a pile of grain would still remain after removing one grain to explain how quantitative change leads to qualitative change. In order for us to determine whether a qualitative change is accomplished by a jump or by gradual change, we must not only study quantitative change, we must also study the stability of matter when qualitative change occurs. Obviously, the hair remaining after pulling out one strand will

still grow stably on the head. The remaining pile of grain after we have removed one grain still retains its stability. Therefore, the formation of a bald head and the course of removing the entire pile of grains are all realized by gradual change. If we use a set of dominoes, then the situation would be very different. The falling of one piece will affect the stabilty of the remaining dominoes and they will fall one after the other. This is a jump. Therefore, the question is not how fast the change is but stability. No matter how we hasten the speed of removing the grains or reduce the speed of falling dominoes, we cannot change the nature of being a gradual change or being a jump.

We can also analyze the collapse of Leifeng Tower from this. The peasants steal the bricks one by one from the bottom of the tower and fundamentally disrupt the stability of Leifeng Tower. When a definite control point is reached, the stability of Leifeng Tower is destroyed, and the tower collapses in a thunderous roar. The tower undergoes an unstable stage. Therefore it has been judged to be a jump. If the peasants steal the bricks one by one from the top of the tower until Leifeng Tower is completely dismantled, the transition has always remained stable, and no unstable stages emerge in between. This method of qualitative change is gradual. Therefore, the question is not the speed of stealing the bricks by the peasants nor the speed of collapse of the tower but the method of stealing the bricks because stealing the bricks from the bottom of the tower and stealing bricks from the top of the tower produce different effects upon the stability of the entire tower.

Compared to certain physical and chemical processes, the situation in the biological realm is much more complex. Whether the process of evolution of animal species is gradual change or a jump has been a major debate over the years. The catastrophe theory in mathematics reminds us that if we want to determine whether the evolution among animal species is a gradual change or a jump, we must not only prove whether various transient species and intermediate species exist, we must also study whether the characteristics of these transient species and intermediate species are stable. We cannot conclude from the existence of transient species and intermediate species alone that the process of evolution is gradual change. In addition, the situation of living beings is more complex. There may be many characteristics that mark evolution. Variables of multidimensional states are needed to describe them. According to the above theory, it is possible that certain characteristics have stable intermediate states while certain other characteristics do not possess stability. Take the evolution of the ape to man as an example, the transient characteristics between crawling on four legs and walking upright are unstable in the view of mechanics, but manufacturing tools, language, mobility, etc. can all have stable intermediate states. When we consider the relationship between the various characteristics (related change), it may be very complicated to use mathematical methods to establish a model for evolution with variables of multidimensional states. But this is a new starting point. Developing work in this regard may lead us to a more profound understanding of the nature of evolution.

The use of stability in the course of conversion between qualitative stages of matter to distinguish jumps is similarly suitable for studying problems in social sciences. In the past, we labeled all social change as jumps. This seemingly needs further deliberation. When we analyze a social change to find

out what method it uses to unfold itself, on the one hand, we must see whether this change occurs suddenly, whether the speed of the change is rapid and whether violent means are used, etc. More importantly, we must also see whether society remains basically in a stable state during the course of change, whether politics, economy, military affairs, people's lives of the entire society have experienced an unstable period of massive destruction and big upheavals. Although they were similar transitions from a feudalist society towards capitalism, the French Revolution and Japan's Meiji transformation were visibly different. During the Meiji transformation, although the anti-imperialists and the imperialists did clash violently, the series of reforms implemented by the Meiji government was carried out when the whole society and life were basically stable. When the French Revolution developed, the whole society and life underwent violent upheavals.

IV. Conditions To Realize Jumps and Gradual Change

Catastrophe theory in mathematics tells us through models that conversion of qualitative states can be realized by jumps and by gradual change. Even more importantly, it has pointed out under which control conditions is qualitative change a gradual process. It is not difficult to use the language of mathematics to describe the conditions of jumps and gradual change. We already know from Figure 1 and Figure 2 that the control of qualitative change either by a jump or by gradual change is entirely determined by how the control conditions vary. Even though the starting point of change is the same and the results are the same, the change in the direction of AB undergoes a jump while the change in the direction of CD undergoes a gradual change.

Then can we make some general conclusions from the models provided by catastrophe theory in mathematics? According to the catastrophe theory in mathematics, we discover that a rather rough but interesting conclusion can be obtained. During the course of mutual conversion between two qualitative states, there are always two basic elements that are related to the changes in conditions, i.e., the element of maintaining the stability of the old qualitative state and the element of establishing the stability of the new qualitative state. If the new qualitative element strengthens but the old qualitative element does not visibly weaken, qualitative change will either not occur or when it does it will surely be realized in a jump. Conversely, if the new qualitative element strengthens while the old qualitative element visibly weakens, qualitative change will be accomplished in a gradual manner.

People commonly undergo such an experience. When the force that stimulates the occurrence of qualitative change and the force that stops the occurrence of qualitative change are both strong, both sides form a violent opposition and qualitative changes in matter either do not occur or else they will occur as jumps. If the strength of one side gradually increases and the strength of the other side weakens, the opposition will ease and qualitative change, when it occurs, will be gradual. Some materials such as pig iron and rocks will not easily deform but when they are subjected to deformation under a strong force, they will very possibly break suddenly. Some materials like rubber and plastics deform very easily under external force and even if deformation occurs they will not suddenly break. Zeeman used the catastrophe theory in mathematics to study the occurrence of economic crises. The occurrence of an

economic crisis can be seen as a qualitative change of economic behavior from prosperity towards recession. When an economic crisis erupts, generally, the force that leads to recession and the force that stops recession are both strong. The two elements will push economic behavior towards the front of the folded area of the cusp model. Therefore, the crisis always occurs as a jump. Economic behaviors all have an unstable explosive stage. After a period of recession, the prosperity element will begin to gradually strengthen while the recession element will become relatively weak, therefore the course of recovery of qualitative change of the economy from recession towards prosperity always proceeds behind the folded area in a gradual manner, and economic behavior undergoes a stable climbing stage. The process of illness in people is also the same. When illness occurs, many symptoms suddenly deviate from the normal state. During recovery, the patient has to recuperate slowly. In general, when illness is about to occur, pathogenic factors are stronger but resistance of the body is also strong. When illness occurs, the body is in an unstable state and a jump occurs. After illness, the pathogenic factors are gradually weakened by man's resistance and the body undergoes a stage of gradual recovery. A popular saying states that "illness comes like the collapse of a mountain, illness goes away like drawing silk." Catastrophe theory suggests to us that there is a folded area in the model corresponding to the pathological model. During an illness, the various control factors push the symptoms into this folded area. During recovery, the various factors cause such symptoms to go around the folded area and climb along the continuous part of the curved surface.

After studying the dependence of the method of qualitative change upon conditions, it is not difficult for us to understand why jumps can be converted to gradual change and gradual change can be converted to jumps by changing the controlling conditions in certain situations. Zeeman and J. Hevesi used the butterfly catastrophe model to establish a mathematical model for anorexia nervosa.[10] The patients of this disease alternately fast and gorge and their behavior jumps between two extremes. To convert the jumps into the normal state of gradual change in the patients, Zeeman and Hevesi used hypnosis to introduce a controlling variable to calm the patients. The patient's state which is a catastrophic state in which fasting and gorging coexist is guided into a pocket shaped three-value region in the hypnotic state and then smoothly from the center sheet into the normal area of gradual change behind the pocket.

In the catastrophe models of the cusp and butterfly and such catastrophe models of even order functions, the stable states can interchange in a reversible manner, i.e., one qualitative state can change into another qualitative state and the other qualitative state can change back to the first qualitative state. The catastrophe theory in mathematics points out that the method of qualitative change, as a jump or as a gradual change, can be selected in principle by changes in the controlling conditions. In the catastrophe models of the fold, the swallowtail and such catastrophe models of odd order functions, there are some irreversible stable states. Catastrophe theory points out that these types of qualitative changes are not necessarily selectable by changing conditions. This is worth noting.

V. Critical Points

Do qualitative changes in matter always occur at critical points? Can critical points be found for all different qualitative states of matter to distinguish them from each other? Does the position of the critical points vary as conditions change, and how do they vary?

We believe the catastrophe theory in mathematics has strictly and generally studied the dependence of critical points on changes in conditions. Therefore it can more scientifically describe the existence and nature of critical points. According to catastrophe theory in mathematics, we discover that the critical point between two mutually convertible qualitative states is not a fixed point but a region that is spread out in a definite pattern according to changes in conditions. This distribution pattern is illustrated in Figure 4. In the figure, the two variables u and v separately represent two conditions that control the changes in the qualitative states of matter. In the two examples we cited previously, they represent the two basic variables of temperature and pressure, anger and fear, factors causing economic prosperity and recession respectively. Region a and region b respectively represent the range of existence of the two qualitative states a and b. In the examples we have discussed, they respectively represent the liquid state and the vapor state of water, the attack and escape behavior of the dog, economic prosperity and recession. The shaded region in the figure is the range of distribution of control points. Its vertex Q is a cusp, therefore this catastrophe model is called the cusp model. As the control variables increase, the shaded area continues to expand forward. Careful readers may have already realized that Figure 4 is actually the projection of Figure 1 and Figure 2 on the bottom plane. The shaded area of the cusp is actually the projection of the folded regions of Figure 1 and Figure 2.

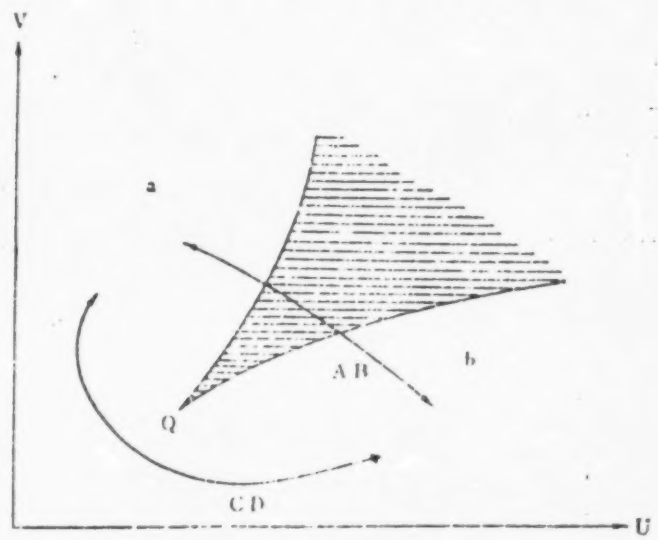


Figure 4. The Area of Distribution of Control Points of the Cusp Model

It can be seen from Figure 4 that the qualitative state a and the qualitative state b can change into each other via many paths but generally speaking, there are only two situations. One is to pass through the shaded area and line AB represents a jump. The other is not passing through the shaded area and line CD represents gradual change.

During the course of conversion from the qualitative states a to b along AB, whenever the change in condition enters the shaded area (folded area), the possibility that the qualitative state a will jump to become the qualitative state b is indicated. Every point inside the shaded area can become a critical point for the jump. Therefore we say that the critical point is not a fixed point but a region that follows a pattern in distribution and that changes with conditions. This region must necessarily be a cusp like the shaded area in Figure 4 when two qualitative states mutually convert into each other. According to catastrophe theory in mathematics, at which concrete point does a jump occur during qualitative change is determined by the size of external interference. The greater the interference, the sooner the occurrence of the jump. The critical point on line AB enters the shaded area. The smaller the interference, the later the occurrence of the jump and the critical point on line AB leaves the shaded area.

If the critical point goes around line CD and passes the vertex, the transition between qualitative state a and qualitative state b will be accomplished by gradual change. We can see from Figure 4 that at the lower left of the shaded area, there is no clear boundary between region a and region b. The corresponding behavior of the curved surface is continuous and stable. Line CD passes through a series of stable intermediate states that are like a but not a and like b but not b. Because the line does not pass through the shaded region, therefore, in such processes of qualitative change, a point that clearly separates state a and state b cannot be found, a point that marks the "conversion from quantity to quality" cannot be found, and a point where a jump will occur cannot be found. In one sentence, the process of this type of qualitative change does not have a critical point. When matter passes from a to b, the proportion of state a gradually lessens and the proportion of state b gradually increases. Every step approaches closer to state b and finally the matter changes completely to state b.

We find that in different catastrophe models, the critical points have different dependent relations with changes in conditions. They each have their own range of distribution. Actually, experts in catastrophe theory in mathematics all use the figures of distribution of critical points in the space composed of conditional variables to express the catastrophe models. We have introduced the cusp catastrophe model previously. It is a relatively simple and basic model. It describes the situation of mutual conversion of two qualitative states. If a matter has three qualitative states, and if they can all be mutually convertible, then the butterfly model catastrophe has to be used to describe it. For example, water actually has three different physical states as a solid, a liquid and a vapor. They are all mutually convertible. The corresponding catastrophe model is the butterfly model. The cusp catastrophe is only a special case of the butterfly model. Figure 5 represents the region of distribution of the critical points of the butterfly catastrophe and a, b and c respectively represent three qualitatively different types of state. This figure is like a flying

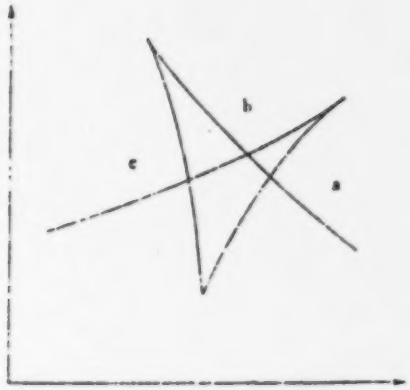


Figure 5. Butterfly

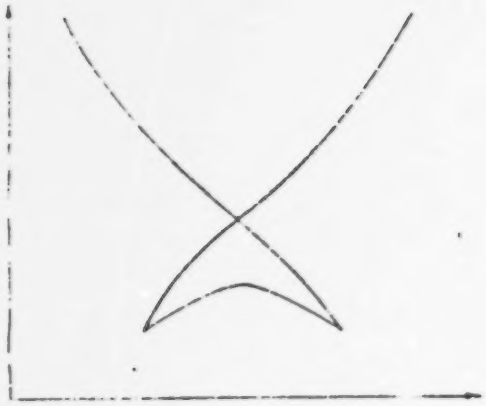


Figure 6. Swallowtail

[Note: Diagram is misleading. Because it represents a multilayered folded surface it is not clear that a, b, and c lie on different regions of this surface.]

butterfly therefore the model is called a butterfly model. Besides using it to explain phase changes of matter, the butterfly model has also been used to study the acidity and alkalinity[11] of hydroxides of the various elements in the periodic table, stability of ships,[12] etc.

The cusp and butterfly models are models for matter that can undergo reversible conversions between several qualitative states. Some processes in nature are irreversible. For example, death is a type of qualitative change. The living state of a person qualitatively changes to the state of a dead person but the reverse is not possible. These processes can be described by the fold and the swallowtail models and such models with potential functions of an odd order as the highest. Figure 6 is the distribution diagram of the control points in the swallowtail catastrophe. It looks like a tail of a flying swallow. The swallowtail, cusp, fold and other catastrophes have been used to explain several optical phenomena.

If the number of stable qualitative states is increased to four, the models that describe the changes among them are called the wigwam model (Figure 7) and the star model (Figure 8).[13] As the number of stable qualitative states of matter increases, the conditional variables also increase, and the distribution of critical points in the catastrophe model becomes more and more complex. It has been proven mathematically that when the control variables that influence qualitative change number more than 5, there will be an infinite number of catastrophe models. We believe this profoundly explains the richness of the forms of qualitative change in nature.

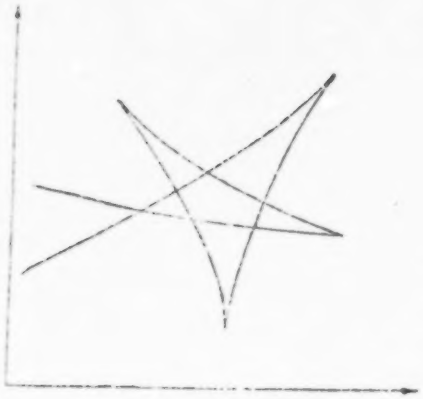


Figure 7. Wigwam

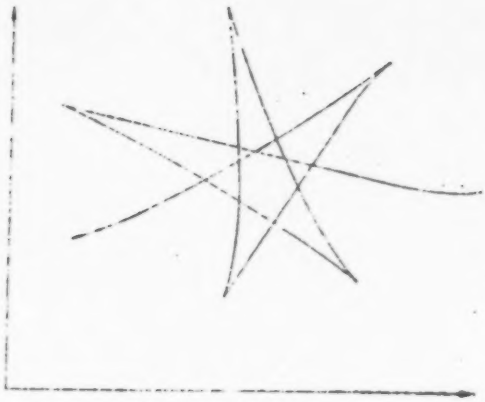


Figure 8. Star

VI. Is Overcorrection Necessary?

"Overcorrection is necessary. Without overcorrection, deviation cannot be corrected." This means that some things produce definite results under definite conditions, but when these conditions disappear, the results do not disappear, and things cannot immediately return to their original shape. We must wait until the conditions change in the opposite direction to a definite degree and a very large reaction emerges before things can return to their original shape. In scientific terms, this phenomenon of overcorrection is called delay. For example, we apply a definite force to a piece of iron wire, and the iron wire will bend. If we remove the force, the iron wire will not immediately straighten. It frequently requires us to apply a counter force to a fair degree before it will straighten again. Whether in natural sciences or in social sciences, this delay phenomenon can be encountered frequently.

Then, is overcorrection a common regularity? Must there be overcorrection in any situation? We believe this is like the regularity of the emergence of critical points. In the past, people could only obtain some ambiguous and general understanding based on experience and they could not use scientific methods to explore it profoundly. Even over a period of time, some people blindly regarded overcorrection as absolute and in actual work, things were overcorrected, creating a lot of unnecessary loss.

We have discovered in our study of catastrophe theory in mathematics that the phenomenon of overcorrection has strict conditions. It occurs only when qualitative change is accomplished by a jump. In the course of phase change of water between the vapor and liquid states, overcorrection frequently occurs, i.e., the phenomenon of overheating of water and the phenomenon of overcooling of steam. The boiling point under constant pressure is 100°C, but everyone knows that if we use pure water for experiment, and if we fully eliminate vibration and such interferences, water often will not boil when heated to 100°C. It will boil and become steam only when heated beyond 100°C. Conversely, steam should theoretically condense under constant pressure at 100°C, but often it

will condense and become water slightly below 100°C. Thus an area of overheating of water and an area of overcondensation of steam are formed near 100°C. This means, the critical point for water to become vapor and the critical point for vapor to become water are not identical and may occur under different conditions. The qualitative change in both must be "overcorrected" before the other condition can occur. We can use Figure 9 to represent this phenomenon. Figure 9 is actually a section of the cusp model. The water density curve in the figure is a double fold. The boiling point at 100°C under constant pressure we usually talk about is only a statistical number under conditions of interference. If changes in temperature and pressure conditions avoid the folded area, water and vapor will not undergo qualitative changes via boiling and condensation, instead, qualitative changes will be accomplished gradually. A control point will not exist and overcorrection will not occur.

The bistable elements widely used in electronics technology store processed information via the mutual conversion between two qualitative states. In their operating principle, the relationship between jumps and overcorrection is very important. For example, the type of bistable element like the magnetic core operates by overcorrection. Therefore it must realize a qualitative change between two stable states by jumps. Figure 10 shows the working principle of the magnetic core. It shows that when the current reaches a definite value, the negative residual magnetic state returns to the negative residual magnetic state, the current in the opposite direction must be increased to near another value. If the magnetic core is not operating in a jump region, a phenomenon of overcorrection will not exist, and a series of intermediate and transitional states that do not have clear differences will emerge between the two qualitative states of the magnetic core, and the magnetic core will not be able to operate normally.

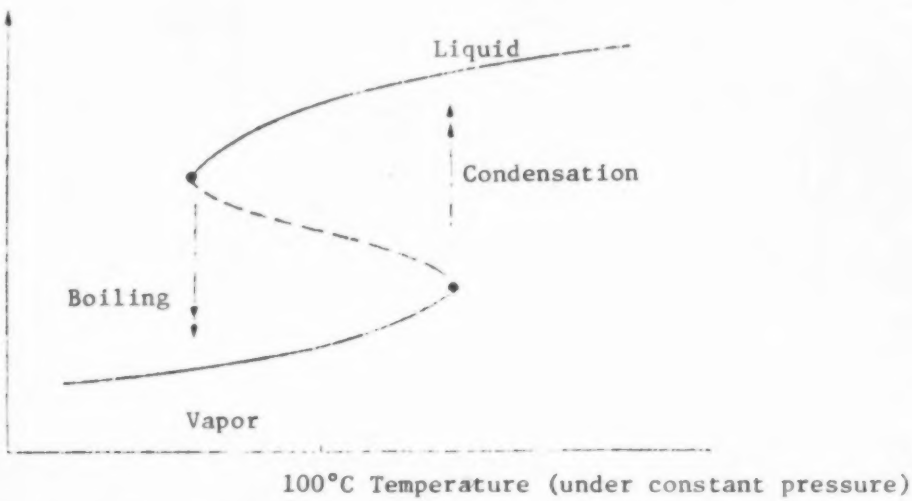


Figure 9. Overcorrection in the Phase Change of Water

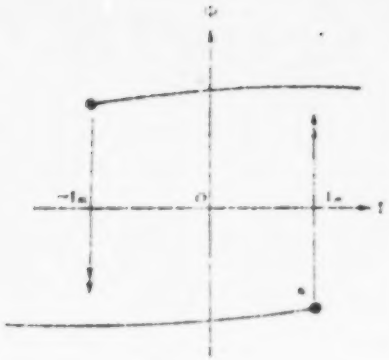


Figure 10. Overcorrection in the Operation of the Magnetic Core

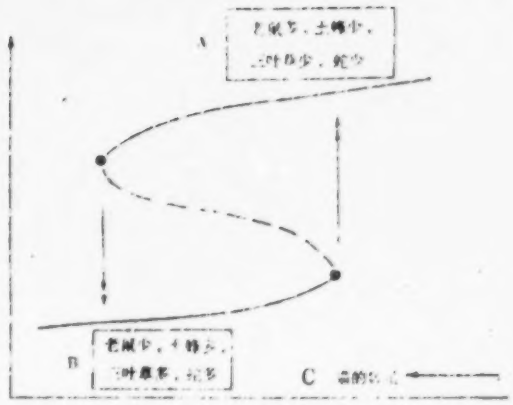


Figure 11. Overcorrection in the Ecological System

Key:

A. More rats, less discolia fascinata, less trifolium, less snakes
B. Less rats, more discolia fascinata, more trifolium, more snakes
C. Number of cats

The phenomenon of overcorrection in ecology was noticed by people only in recent years. An ecological system consisting of rats, discolia fascinata, trifolium and snakes has the following relationships: The rates destroy the hives of the discolia fascinata. The discolia fascinata propagate the pollen of the trifolium. The trifolium nurtures the snakes and the snakes eat the rats. This ecological system has two stable states. The first stable state is: more rats, less discolia fascinata, less trifolium, less snakes. The second stable state is exactly the opposite: less rats, more discolia fascinata, more trifolium, and more snakes. If this ecological system is in the first stable state at the beginning, the residents near the field will gradually acquire the habit of keeping cats and the number of cats will increase. What effect will this externally added condition have on the ecological system? There will not be any change at the beginning, but when the number of cats reach a certain level, the original ecological balance will be broken, and the system will suddenly jump to the second stable state with less rats, more discolia fascinata, more trifolium and more snakes (see Figure 11). At this time, if the number of cats is reduced, will the ecological system quickly return to the first stable state? Obviously, it will not because when there are more snakes, the snakes will effectively limit the population of rats. The number of cats must be reduced to much less than the original number before the opposite jump will occur and the phenomenon of overcorrection is very obvious. In ecology, change in conditions will lead to the extinction of a certain life form and the delay is infinite. Such qualitative changes are irreversible.

The phenomenon of overcorrection we are talking about will occur only when qualitative change proceeds in jumps. Then conversely, do all situations in which jumps occur require overcorrection? Not necessarily so. According to catastrophe theory in mathematics, even in situations in which jumps occur, overcorrection may not be necessary. This is because when qualitative changes proceed, there are always various kinds of interference and when the effect of interference is fairly great, things can often return to their original qualitative state without necessarily applying an overdose of opposite effects. Catastrophe theory points out that the phenomenon of overcorrection can only exist within the area of distribution of critical points given by the catastrophe model. Outside of the areas of distribution of critical points, overcorrection is not needed.

VII. Coexistence of Extremes

Another important phenomenon related to qualitative change is coexistence of extremes. It has also been more thoroughly studied for the first time by catastrophe theory in mathematics.

This type of phenomenon generally occurs in large systems consisting of a large number of subsystems. Under definite conditions, each of the subsystems of the large system may simultaneously be in completely different qualitative states. In layman's terms, certain parts of one thing may exist in one type of qualitative state while at the same time another part of the thing exists in another qualitative state. For example, water is composed of many water molecules. Under ordinary conditions, water will exist entirely as a solid or entirely as a liquid or a vapor. But under definite conditions, an area of coexistence of two states may appear, for example, in the area of coexistence of vapor and liquid. A part of the water exists as vapor and another part of water exists in a liquid state and both coexist simultaneously. Water also has an area of coexistence of three states, i.e., the three states of water as a solid, liquid and vapor can coexist simultaneously. The famous triple phase point of water is the area of coexistence of the three states. Also, for example, in laser resonance, as long as definite conditions are controlled, part of the gas molecules are in a high energy state while the gas molecules of another part are in a low energy state. The high energy molecules can change to a low energy state by emitting light and the molecules in the low energy state can be excited to a high energy state. The numbers of both form a definite balance and coexist.

People have called this phenomenon the coexistence of extremes because under the conditions given in the area of coexistence, the different coexisting qualitative states are not continuous. For example, water in the area of coexistence of vapor and liquid can only be of two different qualitative states, vapor or liquid, and it cannot be in those transient states between the two phases of vapor or liquid. Darwin was the first to discover the phenomenon of coexistence of extremes in the biological world. When he traveled around the world, he discovered that the insects on some groups of islands in the Pacific were very peculiar. These insects either had almost no wings or else they had very strong wings while there were no insects of the continental types which possess medium strength wings that are not strong and not weak. Darwin discovered after research that this was the result of environmental selection by strong winds and torrential rains on the islands. Under conditions of strong

winds and torrential rains, there were only two ways for insects to survive: The wings degenerate completely, and the insect does not fly but hides itself in the grass to avoid the winds. Or the insect grows very strong wings so that it can fly in the strong winds and torrential rain. Insects of the continental type with intermediate characteristics that can fly but are not strong fliers will be blown into the sea and will be eliminated. This means, under such conditions, the two extreme qualitative states are both stable while the intermediate state is unstable.

According to research in catastrophe theory in mathematics, we have discovered that coexistence of extremes has strict conditions. Like overcorrection, the phenomenon of coexistence of extremes can only occur within the region of distribution of control points. Actually, the regions of distribution of control points represented by the catastrophe models are composed of regions of coexistence of two states, regions of coexistence of three states, etc. Extreme states can only coexist in these regions of coexistence. Outside of the regions of coexistence, only single qualitative states can exist or else only intermediate states between these extremes can exist. For example, the contents of carbon and silicon in cast iron are both high and it can form grey pig iron of better graphitization. When the content of both carbon and silicon is low, a lot of Fe_3C appears to form white iron. If grey pig iron and white iron both exist simultaneously, they form tinplate which is a mixture of the two types of composition. According to catastrophe theory, the region of coexistence in which these two types of qualities emerge in a mixture should be distributed as a cusp in the control plane. A lot of experiments prove that the region of emergence of tinplate is consistent with the conclusions of catastrophe theory (Figure 12). We can find many phenomena of coexistence of two types of extreme states of things in nature. Catastrophe theory has provided a forceful tool to explore the regularity of these phenomena.

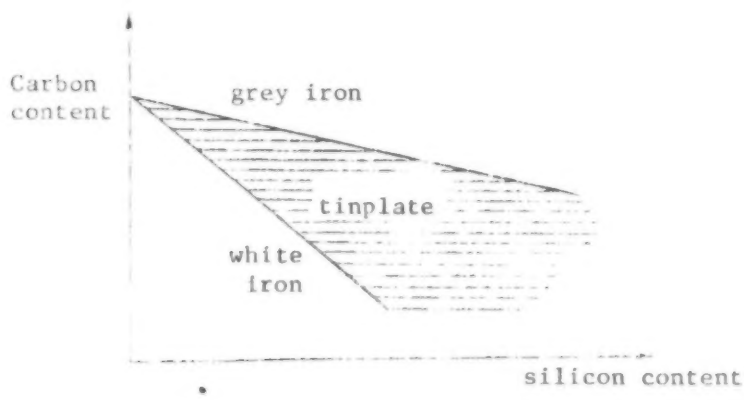


Figure 12. Distribution of the Region of Coexistence of Different Compositions in the Structure of Cast Iron

VIII. Common Task

This complex and kaleidoscopic topic of jumps and gradual change has been noticed in ancient times by philosophers. Recently, along with the rise of the industrial revolution, the continued discovery of various types of substances and new phenomena of changes in energy and continued emergence of various types of new social phenomena require man to theoretically answer the question of the general patterns of conversion of qualitative states. Hegel was the first to dialectically express the conversion of quantity to quality and the conversion of quality to quantity as rules of thought. Engels commented highly on this and raised it to the level of being a common rule of nature and human society and provided a materialistic explanation.

What is the situation today a hundred years later? Science and technology are developing rapidly. The macrocosmic world and the microcosmic world are being more profoundly studied by man. A series of major breakthroughs and development have emerged in the whole of natural sciences including those academic disciplines that study man himself. People urgently need to introduce the ever newer achievements of modern science to enrich and develop materialist dialectics.

In addition, renewing the understanding of the question concerning the method of qualitative change is also a theoretical topic that possesses practical significance and that is important to our philosophy workers. Today, after 10 years of upheaval, there are indeed many problems that are worth our conscientious deliberation and review. After we have obtained political power and under the new historical condition, which method should we use to carry out social reform. Is it still necessary for the reformation of the political system, the economic structure, the cultural form of our entire society to be carried out in jumps like before when earth-shaking movements were launched almost continuously and even violent means were used to carry them out? Why must we emphasize the stable transition of the entire society during this new period of realizing the four modernizations, why can we not unilaterally emphasize overcorrection? How can we understand local and regional coexistence of social structures and social forms of different natures over a long period of history? All of these await our in-depth study and theoretical exploration.

The creation of catastrophe theory in mathematics inspires us to explore in depth those yet to be explored realms in the patterns of qualitative changes and quantitative changes. Of course, it is still in its infantile period and it is developing. It needs further testing in practice. A relationship between mathematical models and the complex and variable social life has yet to be established. In these aspects, science and philosophy both have their own missions.

[Responsible editor of this article: He Zuorong [0149 4373 2827]]

9296
CSO: 8311/1494

BRIEFS

CHIANG MESSAGE TO URUGUAYAN PRESIDENT--Taipei, 24 Aug (CNA)--President Chiang Ching-kuo Tuesday cabled his felicitations to President Gregorio Alvarez of the Republic of Uruguay on the occasion of its national independence day 25 Aug. Foreign Minister Chu Fu-sung also sent a congratulatory message to his counterpart, Minister Estanislao Valdes Otero, of that South American country during the day. [Text] [OW241419 Taipei CNA in English 1334 GMT 24 Aug 82]

CSO: 4000/179

END

JPRS 81755

13 September 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 336

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81755

13 September 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 336

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Israeli Expansionism Alleged
(Yuan Yin; SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE], No 11, 1982) 1

Soviet Talk About Disarmament At Variance With Actions
(HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 26 Jun 82) 6

U.S. Said To Collude With Israel In Invasion Of Lebanon
(Sun Yingkang; HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 26 Jun 82) 7

U.S.-Soviet Arms Cut Talks Seen As Masking Contention
(Jiang Ren; HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 29 May 82) 9

PARTY AND STATE

Counterrevolutionary Remnant 'Must Not Stage Comeback'
(MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM], No 4, 1982) 11

Struggle Stressed In Party Rectification
(Gong Chan Dang Yuan; ZHEIJIANG RIBAO, 24 Jun 82) 14

Commentary on Leadership Attitude Toward Talents
(XINHUA RIBAO, 24 Jun 82) 17

Party Work Rectification Conference Held in Heilongjiang
(Liu Wenbin; HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 29 Jun 82) 20

'Outline' For Extensive Rebuilding of Shanghai Approved
(WEN HUI BAO, 18 Jun 82) 23

Lenin's Views on Benefits Of International Trade Discussed
(Wang Zhaozheng; JIEFANG RIBAO, 3 Jun 82) 25

Cultivation of Communist Moral Tradition Emphasized
(Bao Ping; HEBEI RIBAO, 3 Jul 82) 29

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Improvement of Conditions for Intellectuals Urged
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 14 Aug 82) 33

Investigation Report
Study Group Meeting

Way To Treat Cultural Revolution Period Graduates Discussed
(YUNNAN RIBAO, 30 May 82) 37

Yunnan Center Training Cultural Revolution Period Graduates
(Sun Cuifang; YUNNAN RIBAO, 30 May 82) 39

Marxism as Form of Humanitarianism Discussed
(Wang Fusan; WEN SHI ZHE [LITERATURE, HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY], No 3, 1982) 41

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ISRAELI EXPANSIONISM ALLEGED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 11, 1982 pp 4-5

[Article by Yuan Yin [5373 0995]: "Such a 'Greater Israel' Plan"]

[Text] Goal and Realistic Demands of the Plan

On the triangular lintel over the door of the Israeli Knesset is written a passage from The Five Books of Moses (the Jews' appellation for the "Old Testament"); it indicates the Israeli expansionists' never forgotten dream of wanting to realize the establishment of a "Greater Israel" from Palestine "to the Nile and the Euphrates." This implies that the Israeli expansionists are by no means satisfied with the fait accompli but still think of partitioning a part of the territories of Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq. Everyone knows how preposterous it is to take the Bible which mixes myths with religious legends as the basis for defining national territory; yet Israel glaringly honors it as the infallible law for deciding on its national policy. They seem to think that if their expansionist ambition is put on a "divine" cloak, it would then have a legitimate basis.

The Zionists, basing themselves on religious legends, call themselves "God's chosen people" and the ancient Palestine, "God's promised land." They at first wanted to find a "national homestead" for the Jews. After the Jewish state, namely Israel, was established in 1948, they immediately sought to expand. After the first Middle Eastern war, the territory of Israel expanded from the 14,500 square kilometers prescribed by the United Nations "Resolution on the Separation of Palestine" to 20,700 square kilometers. During the third Middle Eastern war, Israel again occupied the West Bank of the Jordan River, Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem, the Sinai Peninsula of Egypt, and the Golan Heights of Syria. Apart from the Sinai Peninsula which has already been returned to Egypt, all the rest occupied territories are, in some cases, annexed and, in others, being annexed. In continuing thus to persue expansion, Israel's blueprint is no other than its "Greater Israel" plan.

While Palestine was still a mandate under British administration and the Zionists were engaged in founding their Jewish state, the Jewish underground army and freedom movement already put forward this slogan: "The shores of the Jordan River, whether this side or the other side, are both ours." After the founding of Israel, the "national anthem" of the Zionist extremists

repeats this slogan in refrain. After its victory in the 1967 Middle Eastern war, Israel under the stimulation of military triumph was fraught with chauvinistic sentiments. At this juncture, the Zionist extremists started the "movement to establish a Greater Israel." In 1977, the leader of the erstwhile freedom movement Begin acceded to power; the "Greater Israel movement" developed further. Begin never acknowledged any Arab "occupied territories"; he holds that those are "liberated territories." He calls the West Bank of the Jordan River Judea, Sumeria, according to the Biblical usage. He takes Israel's occupation of the West Bank as "the Jews returning to their own land." In 1979, Israeli extremists established a new party called "Organization of Believers in Israel." That party's purpose is to expand the national territory of the Jewish state to the borders of the Israel in the Bible, to oppose withdrawal from the occupied territories, and even to oppose the Peace Treaty with Egypt and oppose returning the Sinai.

Although the Begin Government is anxious to ultimately extend Israel's boundaries to the territories of the Jews in Biblical times, because of the prevailing situation it has been forced to temporarily suppress its avarice; for the sake of tranquility on the western front and of avoiding fighting a two-front war, it withdrew from the Sinai. Some asked Begin's foreign minister Shamir, "How are you going to draw Israel's boundaries?" Shamir answered: "In different times we have had different boundaries. But today's Israel denotes a very small concept...it is but the western half of the Palestine administered by Britain in the past." Even according to this "very strict" interpretation of Shamir, it obviously still encompasses the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip in the territory of today's Israel." Shamir added: "If it were up to me, we should have power even over the land of today's Jordan! But we have discarded that demand."

The ultimate goal of the "Greater Israel" plan is not going to be abandoned, otherwise no Biblical quotations would have been hung over the door of the Knesset; but its realistic steps do change because of circumstances.

Murderous Strategy

When the Israeli Knesset made the decision to annex the Golan Heights, Defense Minister Sharon distributed to its members his research report on "The Question of Israel's Strategy in the 1980's." This was a formal document nakedly revealing the "Greater Israel" plan as a whole. The report united Israel's series of annexations with its long-range strategy; it indicated that, in order to realize the "Greater Israel" plan, Israel's strategy from its founding to 1967 was to expand its territorial area and, thereafter, to consolidate the fruits of its aggression; by the 1980's, it would turn to expanding its realm of frontier security so as to change Israel into a big country endowed with the freedom of action in an extensive realm of politico-geographical area. According to a report in the Lebanese "Future" weekly, this area "starts from the Arab countries around Israel and proceeds eastwards to Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, northward to Turkey, and westward to join force with racist South Africa!"

From the analysis of Israel's strategy in Sharon's report, people can clearly see how the Israeli expansionists have deliberately launched repeated wars of aggression to seize Arab territories and how they have in orderly steps and in a planned way annexed Jerusalem and the Golan Heights and are intensifying their activities for the annexation of the West Bank of the Jordan River. Will the Israeli Knesset stop here? No. Geographical expansion can no longer satisfy Israel's demands. Said Sharon: "The strategic interest of Israel in the 1980's demands to depart from the traditional limits of conflict to enter into two new geographical areas." One is "countries not facing Israel but the development of whose military forces constitutes a direct threat to Israel," and the other is "other countries whose political policies or strategy constitute a danger to the security of Israel." Under such circumstances, the extent to which Israel wishes to encroach upon others most certainly goes beyond its neighboring countries. For 30 years, Israel has always committed aggression and expansion under the pretext of "its own national security." It insists that the nationalism of the Arabs (including the Palestinians) is a threat to its security. Sharon's report repeats this slander; the only difference is that it includes the threat of the Soviet Union. Because the United States has unrestrictedly shown its partiality to Israel's expansionist activities under the banner of "strategic consensus" against the Soviet threat. Naturally, the Soviet threat to the Middle East does exist; but the relentless fact is that the way Israel repeatedly invaded the Arab areas and created turmoils in the Middle East provided precisely convenient conditions for Soviet infiltration into the Middle East. Under whatever pretext, the actual victims of Israel's expansion are the Arab people.

Under the pretext of maintaining its security, Israel has made the following so-called strategic demands:

1. It is impossible to tolerate "any sabotage against the military balance between the Arab countries and Israel," including the ratio in the quality of weapons and in the technological aspects, especially "impossible to tolerate the introduction of nuclear weapons into the areas of conflict." This is to maintain Israel's military deterrent position vis-a-vis the Arab countries.

2. "Any approach to change the geographical and military situation in the areas of confrontation" must be stopped and "the balance between various forces in the southern part of Lebanon must be maintained."

While putting forward all kinds of restrictions against others, what about Israel itself? It is itself nonetheless entitled to "develop the production of advanced weapons in order to establish its own military powers." It "should increase the rate of its weapons export so as to make it one of the world's principal exporters of weapons." It may also launch large-scale military action against Lebanon "to destroy as much as possible the military and political establishments of the PLO so as to spare Israel from all raids originating from southern Lebanon." It is entitled to "destroy the missiles deployed in the territories of Lebanon and Syria" because these missiles "restrict Israel's reconnaisance space" and "constitute a direct threat to Israel's security."

Sharon puts it this way in summing up his report on Israel's strategy: "From now on, the world should not be puzzled because of the action Israel shall take under the slogan of maintaining its own national security. Nothing can prevent Israel from bombing Baghdad's nuclear reactor or attacking Beirut if it discovers that its own security requires it to do so."

How impudent! How murderous! People may conclude: the "Greater Israel" plan and its strategy constitute a great threat to the peace in the Middle East and to the security of the Arab countries and an important source of turmoil in the Middle East, and the United States must shoulder the responsibility of having abetted them.

There is a view which alleges that Israel's territory is very small, there being 600 miles of land borders and 150 miles of coastal frontiers around 8,000 square miles of territory; its east-west width measures at its narrowest section only 8 miles and at its broadest section not more than 69 miles; hence it is most susceptible to attack and it therefore tends to be extremely calculating about its territory and most sensitive about its security. Such a view actually apologizes for Israel's expansionism, as if its expansionism is somehow excusable. After it has occupied many Arab territories, has Israel felt secure enough? No. Sharon said: "Because there are some new weapons in the armory of the Arab troops, including missiles and advanced weapons, therefore the Arabs can encircle and attack Israel's entire territory." Then, where can ultimately be Israel's secure boundaries? The many facts listed above tell people that Israel's so-called security borders are determined by the appetite of its aggression and expansion.

It Won't Work

Although the Israeli expansionists are enthusiastic about realizing their "Greater Israel" plan and have gotten away with things in the past 30 years, it ultimately won't work and could possibly draw fatal disasters upon itself.

Israel's unjust cause finds little support, and the Arabs' just cause finds plenty of support: this calls for no elaboration.

In terms of the ratio of their forces, time is of advantage to the Arabs. Speaking of manpower, the Arabs number more than 100 million whereas Israel's Jews number only slightly more than 3 million. Speaking of material power, Arab resources, financial sources and economic potential far exceed those of Israel. Speaking of military power, Israel enjoys some temporary superiority, but that cannot be maintained for very long. The developing situation is becoming less and less advantageous to Israel.

In occupying Arab territories Israel is like putting heavy burdens on its back. Israeli occupation more than any other factor powerfully promotes the national unity of the Palestinians and provokes the Palestinians' fighting will against oppression and for liberation. Just take a look at the recent anti-Israeli struggle of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, etc., one can readily realize this.

The "Greater Israel" plan also gradually runs into conflict with America's world strategy and Middle Eastern strategy. Along with the enhancement of the power of the Arab countries, the United States, in order to prevent the southern thrust of the Soviet Union and protect the security of its sources of oil supplies, needs urgently to improve its relations with the Arab countries, whereas Israel's long confrontation with the Arabs seriously hampers America's anti-Soviet deployments. Although the United States remains partial to Israel even today, it has exhibited uneasiness to a series of actions on the part of Israel such as the annexation of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, the increasing of settlements in the occupied zones, the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear establishment, and the bombing of Beirut, etc. Among America's ruling clique there are already those who hold that "forceful measures should be undertaken to liberate Israel from the desperate situation of its own making and thereby prevent a tragic war."

9255
CSO: 4005/1083

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOVIET TALK ABOUT DISARMAMENT AT VARIANCE WITH ACTIONS

Habin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jun 82 p 4

["Notes" by Zai Li [0961 4539]: "Words and Deeds"]

[Text] Gromyko, on deplaning to take part in the UN General Assembly's second special session on disarmament, in all seriousness said: "At present it is not enough to talk about peace. It is necessary to do some concrete work suited to actual circumstances."

People know clearly that what the Soviet hegemonists say is one thing and what they do is another.

Moscow once publicly declared: "The Soviet Union does not threaten any country on any continent." But the facts are: Soviet-made tanks trampled upon Afghanistan's land, Soviet supersonic jets fighters danced wildly in the skies over Afghanistan, and the Afghan people were driven by the aggressors into wandering about as refugees; the Soviet Union instigated Vietnam to invade Kampuchea, and in the last 4 years the conventional and chemical weapons it supplied have killed and wounded hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans.

Day after day, the Soviet Union shouts about "disarmament" and "freeze," but the fact is: its "armament" far exceeds its "dis" and its powder magazine is more bloated than "frozen." Today it possesses 2,400 long-range guided missiles, an increase of 11 times as compared with the number in the early 1960's; with regard to intermediate-range nuclear weapons, in the past several years there have been overall replacements, and in Europe alone the Soviet Union has deployed 300 SS-20 guided missiles: it possesses 45,000 tanks, a fourth of which were produced in the 4 years since the UN General Assembly's first disarmament session; and its war machine and number of chemical weapons stands above the world in first place....

What it says are the words of men of honor, but the business it is engaged in is killing people and creating disturbances! Truly, the "words" of the Soviet hegemonists are up in the sky while their "deeds" are down on the ground.

9727
CSO: 4005/997

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. SAID TO COLLUDE WITH ISRAEL IN INVASION OF LEBANON

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Sun Yingkang [1327 2503 1660]: "Patching Up a Quarrel and Reconciling the Parties Concerned or Helping a Tyrant To Do Evil?"]

[Text] Israel's savage act in mounting a large-scale invasion of Lebanon out of a desire to put the Palestinian armed forces in a death trap has filled the world with righteous indignation and has been vehemently condemned.

U.S. special envoy Habib once again travelled afar across the ocean to the Middle East and rushed about in Jerusalem, Damascus, and Beirut, mediating and seeking a "cease-fire." Did Habib come as a "peacemaker"? From the start, people were puzzled about this.

On 4 June, Israeli U.S.-made aircraft wantonly bombed Beirut and southern Lebanon, but the U.S. authorities pretended to be deaf and dumb. Two days later, several tens of thousands of Israeli soldiers, covered by several hundreds of tanks and armored vehicles, crossed the border and poured into Lebanese territory, wantonly slaughtering as they went and causing thousands of innocent civilians to die violently, but the Reagan government still did not say a word. How could they have not had the least inkling beforehand of this aggressive expansion of Israel's?

It does not seem likely because Begin, on the very day, 6 June, that his troops marched into Lebanon, sent a telegram to Reagan, notifying him: the Israeli armed forces have been ordered to drive the Palestinians out of southern Lebanon. The next day the U.S. Government hurriedly withdrew 25 diplomatic officers and their dependents from its diplomatic mission in Lebanon. Obviously, the U.S. Government had obtained this information: Israel would expand its aggressive war to the Beirut area. Not until after Israel had occupied a large slice of Lebanon's territory and had attacked and occupied the important bases of the Palestinian armed forces in southern Lebanon and had basically realized its military goals did Habib rush to Jerusalem and conspire and consult with the Israeli authorities, after which he took a letter of Begin's to Damascus and met with President Al-Asad. According to an Israeli radio broadcast, in this letter Begin put forward the following conditions for the withdrawal of his troops: the withdrawal of the Syrian armed forces stationed in Lebanon, the establishment of a 40-km

demilitarized zone in southern Lebanon, and the Palestinian Liberation Organization not being allowed to return to the southern area of Lebanon. On this mission, Habib assumed the posture of a man patching up a quarrel and reconciling the parties concerned, put up a "signboard," and announced he was seeking a "cease-fire," but it was hard to conceal his partiality and connivance with Israel's consistent policy of aggressive expansion. Foreign news agencies think this large-scale action by Israel was agreed to and supported by America. International public opinion holds that this view is not without truth.

How could the U.S. Government side with this aggressive and savage act by Israel?! After Israel invaded Lebanon, the Reagan government was unwilling to postpone delivery of weapons originally meant for Israel and also refused to impose "sanctions" on Israel. When the UN Security Council drew up a resolution demanding that Israel withdraw its troops, the Reagan government vetoed it. Afterward, the so-called cease-fire agreement that Habib helped to bring about through his shuttle activities made the continued stay in Lebanon of Israeli soldiers a fait accompli. It not only does not restrict the aggressive activities of the Begin authorities but also binds hand and foot the side suffering aggression. In the final analysis, isn't it clear at a glance whom this kind of cease-fire benefits?

In short, no matter how well the U.S. special envoy might argue and how skillful his diplomatic strategy is, the Reagan government wants to attain, through Habib's shuttle "mediation," its goal of closely coordinating with the Israeli actions and giving them effective support. The Reagan government cannot cover up its true features of helping a tyrant to do evil, and there is no way it can evade the condemnation of the Arab world and of people throughout the world who uphold justice.

9727
CSO: 4005/997

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S.-SOVIET ARMS CUT TALKS SEEN AS MASKING CONTENTION

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 May 82 p 4

[Article by Jiang Ren [3068 0086]: "Another Round of Acrimonious Words in the Debate"]

[Text] Recently, America and the Soviet Union again, amid wild beating of drums and gongs, prepared to put on the stage an act in the farce about negotiations concerning strategic nuclear weapons. On 4 May, Reagan threw out a two-stage plan for the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons and urged the Soviet-U.S. talks begin before the end of June. On 16 May, although Brezhnev refused to accept the U.S. plan, he indicated that the Soviet Union would be willing to talk with America. He also elaborated on a proposal that, with regard to Soviet standpoints in the negotiations, there be an immediate freeze on existing strategic nuclear weapons.

America wants to "reduce," the Soviet Union wants to "freeze." All the words spoken with absorbing interest cannot cover up the wild ambition of America and the Soviet Union to contend for nuclear hegemony.

As everybody knows, with regard to warheads and throw-weight of guided missiles and land-based guided missiles, the Soviet Union has a fairly big superiority over the United States.

The main goal of the Reagan proposal is the reduction of land-based guided missiles. He proposed that in the first stage the two sides reduce the number of guided missiles to 850 and that they reduce the number of warheads by a third; and stipulate that the number of warheads on land-based guided missiles must not exceed half of the total number of warheads after the reduction. The second stage would bring the throw-force of the two sides to the same level. Based on this proposal, the Soviet Union would make a larger reduction than America. Obviously, the goal of the Reagan proposal is to lessen the Soviet Union's nuclear superiority in this respect.

Brezhnev criticized Reagan's plan as "not being geared to actual circumstances" and as "being harmful to the security of the Soviet Union." He asserted that he would not permit the "breaking of the already formed equity." He would not permit the undermining of the Soviet Union's superiority in land-based guided missiles. He put forward the proposal that America and the Soviet

Union, at the beginning of their negotiations, immediately freeze the existing nuclear weapons in order to ingratiate himself with the current vigorous nuclear weapon freeze movement launched in the United States, and was obviously in order to attain his goal of fixing the Soviet Union's superiority in land-based guided missiles.

As for Reagan, his proposal put forward for the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons did not say a word about the question of America's superiority in long-range bombers, and even the number of nuclear warheads carried by the bombers were not reckoned in the total number of warheads. In his speech, he also stressed that America's objective was to strengthen its deterrent force and to maintain a nuclear force sufficient to contain conflicts, insure the country's security, and fulfill its obligations to its allies and friends. All of this shows that Reagan, on the one hand, talks about reducing nuclear weapons and, on the other hand, wants to expand nuclear weapons.

No matter how necessary it is for Brezhnev and Reagan to shout about reduction of strategic nuclear weapons, they certainly will not change their consistent trick of "talk, talk, expand, expand." Even if America and the Soviet Union hold talks before long at a certain place on reducing strategic nuclear weapons, it will merely be opening up a battlefield for carrying out their contention with acrimonious words.

9727
CSO: 4005/997

PARTY AND STATE

COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY REMNANT 'MUST NOT STAGE COMEBACK'

Shanghai MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM] in Chinese No 4, 82 pp 3-4

[Text] Comrade Peng Dehuai had performed signal feats for the Chinese people. Chief Peng was such a courageous and competent commander that no enemy, whether domestic or foreign, had ever been able to hurt him in the life-and-death struggles at the battlefront. Yet he died by ruthless persecution in the 10 years of turmoil after the revolution had triumphed. Every fair-minded Chinese still feels indignant with Lin Biao and Jiang Qing over the tragedy. Now, reality reminds us that indignation alone is useless. We must be clearheaded, and completely sobered up.

According to RENMIN RIBAO, 26 March 1982, Liu Hanru, the ringleader of the "Beihang Hongqi" rebels, who had denounced, beaten, and led Chief Peng to mass struggles, and whose despicable and outrageous conduct had aroused public indignation has been recruited as an alternate member of the Chinese Communist Party and appointed a deputy chief of the scientific research institute of a certain plant in 1980, 4 years after the down fall of Jiang Qing's counterrevolutionary camp. One can imagine this unique adept political animal would win more promotions step by step if his identity were not disclosed. Isn't it time that the people watch out for incidents like this?

Is the case of Liu Hanru an isolated incident? According to RENMIN RIBAO, 29 March, the Municipal Aquatic Products Bureau of Tianjin is still in the hands of those who rose to power through "rebellion," including the secretary and deputy secretary of its party organization, and its bureau director and deputy director. With the bureau under their control, these bunch of people, acting against the organizational line of the party, called for redressing the injustice inflicted upon those who were forced out of office by the "exposure, criticism, and investigation" drive, and reappointed them to important posts. Their usurpation of power has led to ideological confusion and disruption of work and production. For instance, the amount of fish caught by the Tianjin Municipal Maritime Fishing Company falls far below that caught by a single production brigade at Yantai, Shandong. When the Tianjin Municipal Party Committee became aware of the situation, it dispatched agents on several occasions to investigate the case. But those who conducted the investigations filed false reports to cover up the matter. The people involved include a former director of the organization department of the municipal party committee, a deputy director of the finance, trade and political department of its committee on finance, and so on. The incident took place 5 years after the "downfall"

of the gang of four. Can anyone believe that similar cases like that of Tianjin Aquatic Products Bureau have never occurred anywhere else? This shows how important it is for us to be clearheaded. The case of Liu Hanru and the Rianjin Aquatic Products Bureau affair are indeed very good sobering agents. But what do they tell us to watch for?

--These people who gained power through "rebellion" during the 10 years of turmoil have demonstrated a unique skill. They have "a keen political sense" who see clearly which way the political wind blows, and pose "as being persistently upright." They are good at flattery, ganging up, and trickery, as well as phrase-mongering and high-sounding eloquence. They could often appear admirably "Left," but have no qualms about capitalizing on the emotional depression of people to create confusion. Knowing which way the wind blows and being slick, these people could win the confidence of others and get themselves promoted to positions of leadership.

--While pushing for construction and consolidation, the leadership at all levels should begin constructing and consolidating the organization departments. The organization department at every level must be clean and honest, resolved to implement the organizational line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, and have a firm organizational commitment to act fairly and justly to use virtuous and capable people. The leadership at all levels must do away with bureaucratism, and work painstakingly and thoroughly to understand the true condition, know the feelings of the masses and listen to their demands. Otherwise, the above-mentioned slick exploiters would take advantage of the loopholes.

--Due to lack of thoroughgoing exposure and criticism of the "gang of four," organizational and ideological impurity still exists in certain localities and units. We must not assume that we could now focus on "stability and solidarity" and "look to the future" as if all our problems ahve evaporated with the "downfall" of the gang of four so many years ago. Of course we need stability and solidarity to pursue modernization, and should look to the future instead of dwelling on old grievances. We should be lenient toward past criminal offenders under certain conditions, and we must not overlook the overall situation and the interests of the people and the party when we handle any problem that occurred in the past. However, we must not lower our guard and become careless. It would be extremely dangerous if we let the followers of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing who gained power through rebellion, those who have firm factional convictions, the plunderers, and those who oppose the line, program and policy of the party since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee to work their way to positions of power where they could look for opportunities to attack. The "time bombs" must be removed. That is the only way to achieve lasting stability and solidarity.

The fact that the ringleaders of the rebel faction can still have their own way in certain localities is because the line and program laid down by the Third Plenary Session have run into varying degrees of overt or covert resistance, and have not been fully implemented in those localities. The crucial problem confronting many localities is attributable to lack of adequate liberation of the mind, lack of democracy, and lack of thoroughgoing criticism of the pernicious

"leftist" influence. There are different groups of people in certain localities who offer varying degrees of overt or covert resistance to the line and program of the Third Plenary Session. They include some comrades who have not yet shaken off the leftist ideology, and three groups of people mentioned above who do not favor the Marxist principle of seeking truth from facts, the liberation of the mind, the promotion of democracy, and the right of the people to express their views. Haven't you heard people gnashing their teeth? Haven't you noticed people carrying concealed weapons? We must take a close look at those localities where there is serious resistance to the line and program of the Third Plenary Session, and do some investigations down there. Some of the offenders identified in the latest drive against economic crimes are the former plunderers who are still in positions of power. We must watch this very closely.

The party Central Committee has stated many times that the leadership cells must be consolidated and restructured. The three groups mentioned above and those who oppose the lines, programs and policies of the party since the Third Plenary Session of its 11th Central Committee should never be promoted to leadership positions, none at all. Those already in leadership positions must be jettisoned. This is a vital issue which affects the prevention of a repetition of the tragic 10 years of turmoil, the success of our great socialist undertakings, and the future of our fatherland and its people. There is no room for hesitation and carelessness.

Fellows, watch out! The remnants of the counterrevolutionary camp of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing must never be allowed to stage a comeback. The decadent reactionary forces will no doubt die out by the law of historical development. But history might turn backward for a time if we are complacent and do not do a good job. We must never forget the lesson of those 10 years of internal turmoil!

5360
CSO: 4005/1030

PARTY AND STATE

STRUGGLE STRESSED IN PARTY RECTIFICATION

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by GONG CHAN DANG YUAN [THE COMMUNIST] commentator: "Rectifying Party Style Through Struggle"]

[Text] "The Resolution on Cracking Down On Serious Criminal Activities in the Economic Field" issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council points out: "Cracking down on the serious criminal activities in the economic field is one of the most practical and effective measures to rectify the party and its style of conduct in the present situation." Party organizations at all levels in our province are following the instructions of the party-member cadres to actively throw themselves into the struggle, using both positive and negative examples to carry out lively education to rectify party style. We are convinced that as long as all places and units do the same, our party style will take on a new look, the communist purity of the party ranks will be further improved.

Some of our comrades, however, lack sufficient understanding of this matter. They think that this struggle is only to deal with a few big and important cases, and do not regard the struggle as a long-term overall struggle that has a bearing on the flourishing or decline, success or failure of the party's cause and socialism. We say that the current struggle to crack down on the serious crimes in the economic field will be carried out mainly in the form of dealing with cases, but at the same time, we will also, through this struggle, conduct a universal ideological education in the party, in order to strengthen the party members' and cadres' ability to resist corruption and prevent degeneration. Only in this way can the party organizations improve their fighting capacity.

Our party has the heavy responsibility of leading the people of the whole country to realize the four modernizations. After the overthrow of the "gang of four," through investigations and discussions of the criteria of truth, the party ranks have undergone great changes and made great improvements in ideology, work style and organization. But there is no denying the fact that in recent years there have indeed been weak-willed persons within the party who failed to stand the test in the new situation. They sought ease and pleasure, were blinded by the lust for gain, and gradually degenerated. Even though they constitute only a very small number, they seriously disrupted

party style, damaged the party's image among the people, and impeded the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization. This situation set a new task in the building of the party: To adopt practical measures to preserve and improve the communist purity of the party. One of the most practical and effective measures is to crack down on the illegal and criminal activities in the economic field.

Why do we say this struggle is one of the most practical and effective measures in the present situation? This is because through handling the cases, on the basis of investigation, we will be able to accurately and unmistakenly purge the corrupt and degenerated elements, dismiss from the leading posts the leading cadres who cover up, abet and even participate in economic crimes, thereby effectively preserve and improve the communist purity of the party organizations. Obviously, if we allow the corrupt and degenerated elements to continue to corrode the party, if we allow the irresolute elements to continue to wield power, then not only will the fighting capacity of party organizations be weakened, but the enthusiasm of the great numbers of fine cadres will be dampened as well. The grave consequences are obvious. This measure is the fundamental guarantee to the successful implementation of the party's line, principles and policies. We must understand this fully.

On the other hand, this struggle is not just a matter of dealing with a few cases. Through the analysis of big, important and typical cases, we will sum up experience and draw lessons, so that the masses of party members will experience a vivid and concrete education in party style and discipline. Why is it that under the same new historical conditions, the broad masses of our party members are throwing themselves into the effort to achieve the four modernizations with great enthusiasm and high morale, while some irresolute elements in the party have degenerated into economic criminals? Why is it that "sugared bullets" and "gift guns" have absolutely no effect on the great majority of the party members while others were affected by the first shot? Why is it that some of those who could not be conquered by enemy force in years gone by, who could not be subdued by the tyrannical power of Lin Biao and "gang of four," today became captives of money? This calls for deep thought by all party members. We should be able to draw beneficial lessons from it so that we can heighten our vigilance, keep a clear head, and consciously resist the corrosion of capitalist thinking and the bourgeois style of life, strengthen our ability to struggle resolutely against all unhealthy trends and evil practices. Those party members who have made mistakes should learn their lessons and quickly and completely wake up to their errors.

This struggle to crack down on illegal and crimimal activities has a direct bearing on the success or failure of the party's cause. Whether we are able to persist in the struggle hinges on the determination of party organizations at all levels. We must fully recognize the seriousness and long-term nature of the struggle. We must not be apathetic and perform our duties in a perfunctory manner. Still less must we develop the idea that the work is more or less done and we can relax our efforts. As for concrete methods and steps, we must be careful and prudent. In rectifying the party and its

of conduct through struggle, we must not make each and everyone subject to self-examinations and must not conduct exaggerated criticisms. We must resolutely carry out this struggle and through struggle successfully rectify the party and its style of conduct.

9924
CSO: 4005/1014

COMMENTARY ON LEADERSHIP ATTITUDE TOWARD TALENTS

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jun 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Leaders Must Have an Attitude of Treasuring Talents"]

[Text] Not long ago, our province convened the 1981 labor models and advanced collectives awards-conferring meeting; at this meeting we saw that in various localities in our province, including the Yangzhou region, a large continent of advanced personalities once again surged forth. It was really a sense of teeming talents and unprecedented exuberance. But we must also see that there are still some units where our leading comrades fail to stress the training of talents and do not seem to treasure talents. Today's report on worker Lu Jian's (7120 1017] development into a talent through self-study and his encounter with suppression is an example.

Reviving China and developing our four modernizations require large contingents of talents. How to discover and select talents as speedily as possible? One leading comrade has said four things, and they are: we must have an attitude of treasuring talents; we must have the ability to recognize talents; we must have the capacity to accommodate talents; and we must shoulder the responsibility of training talents. The first thing is the key. Only with an attitude of treasuring talents can we sum up our experience, strengthen our study and improve our ability to recognize talents; only with an attitude of treasuring talents can we refrain from suspecting or feeling jealous about others, select the virtuous and the talented, and exhibit the magnanimous capacity to accommodate talents; and only with an attitude of treasuring talents can we guide others with skill and patience, help others with enthusiasm, and earnestly fulfill our responsibility in training talents. Contrariwise, without an attitude of treasuring talents, even if a talent stands right in front of you, you would look at him but not see him, or even take a shining personality as something else. The basic reason why the individual leaders of Yangzhou's municipal bureau of industries, municipal chemical fertilizers plant, and chemical engineering plant No 5 were so indifferent and fault-finding toward Lu Jian and even resorted to the spreading of rumors and slanders to hurt him lies in that they lack such an attitude of treasuring talents, they are incapable of understanding how precious are talents to the construction of our four modernizations, and they also fail to understand how difficult it is for a talent to develop into maturity.

Speaking of treasuring talents, many people would be able to cite a series of reasons. But, in our actual work some treasure only products but not talents. When speaking of their factories' relatively good products, they often become enraptured and cite with relish; but when asked about their factories' talents, they begin to find fault with one after another and find satisfaction in none. Such comrades in reality still fail to understand the importance of talents. They need to know that the socialist emulation between enterprises is of course reflected in various aspects, but when concentrated on one point it is no other than emulation over products; yet emulation over products, in the final analysis, is nothing but one between talents. However high a level of talents you have at your place would also ensure however high a level of products to be designed and produced, including whether or not their endurance is good, their appearance is appealing, their packing is elaborate, and their usefulness is great. Hence, those who are interested in running their enterprises well should also be people who treasure talents. If this not being the case, and their eyes are set only on products and they fail to treasure talents, and if when products are being test-produced they put on a cordial face toward people, but once such products are successfully test-produced, they then turn on a cold face toward people, they are really adopting a utilitarian attitude which neither benefits the growth of talented people nor preclude the possibility of eventually hindering the development of production. In this regard, is there also any lesson to absorb from the Yangzhou municipal chemical fertilizers plant?

When we stress treasuring the talented, we by no means ignore virtue; a good talent should himself be a unity of both talent and virtue who has both the special skills for the construction of our four modernizations and a sincere heart adhering to the four basic principles and dedicated to the four modernizations. Worthy of note is that today some leaders often take those who tend to speak frankly and refuse to follow orders blindly as lacking in virtue and, on that pretext, suppress such talented people. This is highly erroneous. Yangxhou's Lu Jian has been a good worker who matured through self-study in the first place, and he made new contributions in the research on luminous materials. But, just because of the prejudice of the individual leaders of the bureau and the plants toward him, an enormous label was attached to him, alleging that "this man does not think in the same way as the leadership does," that "the aim of his experimentation is not very clear as to whether it is intended for himself or for the state," and that "this is a technological swindler." Just listen, how vicious these words can be! Many people should still be able to remember, under the guidance of an erroneous ideology during the 10 years of internal disturbance, these words were involved groundlessly to persecute people; if today some people should continue to do things in this manner, while they may not play such havoc as they did then, it is still possible for them to woodwink some people. Were not because the responsible comrade of the provincial bureau of scientific and technical cadres personally went to Yangzhou to investigate this time, this man Lu Jian could well have been overlooked. In saying so we do not mean that as a talent one cannot have any defects or make any mistakes; actually, a person who has no defects and who makes no mistakes does not exist. The question lies in how a leader treats a person with defects and mistakes--to help him with enthusiasm or to rudely discriminate against him? The correct attitude can only be the former.

The Party Central Committee time and again stresses active discovery and training of talents and encouragement to middle-aged and young people for their own development through self-study. Yet, even today leaders of some units still fail to keep this matter in mind, and the practices of wasting or even suppressing talents still are not eliminated. We hope that this report about Lu Jian can attract everybody's attention so as to absorb lessons from it, do the necessary work, and thereby select and train more talents for the construction of the four modernizations.

9255
CSO: 4005/1086

PARTY WORK RECTIFICATION CONFERENCE HELD IN HEILONGJIANG

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jun 82 pp 1, 4

[Article by Liu Wenbin [0491 2429 1755]: "Provincial CCP Committee Convenes Provincewide Work Rectification Conference; Deepen Understanding; Strengthen Leadership; Take Work Rectification Deep in People's Minds"]

[Text] The 8-day, provincewide work rectification conference convened by the provincial CCP committee concluded on the 25th. The conference summarized the progress of the previous stages of our province's work rectification, exchanged experiences, and made plans for future work rectification. At the conference it was emphasized that the work rectification must adhere to using party rectification as its core, use the crackdown on severe crime in the economic realm as the guiding theme, use ideological education as the key link, and have as a goal a fixed rate and moderately good results in the economy and on the political front the achievement of decisive improvements in party practices, the attitude of society, and public order.

Attending the conference were secretaries of each prefectural and municipal CCP committee, leading figures of the rectification staff offices, secretaries of the discipline committee, and department heads and leading comrades of sections of the county CCP committee. Also in attendance were leading cadres of departments, staff offices, and committees directly under provincial jurisdiction.

Yang Yichen [2799 2496 6591] and other leading comrades of the provincial CCP committee gave talks at the conference.

At the conference it was acknowledged that the more than 5 months of work rectification launched at the beginning of the year has unified understanding regarding the major significance of overall rectification. The struggle to crack down on severe crime in the economic realm was quite successful and increased economic benefits. The spring plowing production rate was accelerated throughout the province and quality was good. The total industrial output value of the first 5 months increased 7.5 percent over that of the corresponding period of last year, and revenue increased 14.6 percent. The rectification helped to improve party practice, the public attitude, and public order. The work rectification of the entire province has already made breakthroughs in its initial stage.

It was pointed out at the conference that the overall rectification must adhere to using party rectification as the core and that the quality of party rectification must be improved. In this rectification it is required that the party committees at all levels, in the guiding ideology, must truly place party rectification at the core and must give free rein to the central function of party organizations and the leading role of party members. The rectification of the party and the reorganization of enterprise must be merged into an organic whole, standards maintained and quality insured. In this rectification, leading groups of the party committees must take the lead in solving their own problems.

At the conference it was recognized that we must adhere to using the attack on severe crime in the economic realm as the guiding theme of the rectification. Regarding this crackdown as the major task for the entire year is one of the most realistic and most effective measures of party rectification and the rectification of workstyles in the present conditions. Inasmuch as a direct goal of this struggle is to attack severe economic offenders, the far-reaching significance is that undertaking this struggle will educate the vast ranks of party members and cadres in anticorruption practices and will enhance their ability to oppose corruption and preserve the purity of communism. Thus, notorious cases must be dealt with firmly and strong measures must be taken. If there are no notorious cases, then there will still be less severe and minor cases. Although they are not the focal point of the attack, still they must be resolved. And if there are no minor cases, there will still be unhealthy tendencies, and here we must unite in this struggle and earnestly dispose of them. What particularly needs to be pointed out is that whether or not notorious cases exist in units, everyone without exception must get a good grasp on anticorruption education. Whether it be specifics or generalities, everyone without exception must regard the attack on severe crime in the economic realm as the guiding theme of the rectification. How can we take this struggle deep into people's minds? First, firmly grasp the weak links and analyze and classify the instruction of each unit one by one, never stopping at a single call for action. Second, definitely investigate and get to the bottom of already discovered notorious cases and guard against starting out well but finishing poorly. Third, give further wide publicity to policies and continue to provide the impetus for confession and voluntary surrender.

It was pointed out at the conference that to handle the rectification well, we must take hold of this key link of ideological education. The experiences of the previous stages of work rectification proved that any unit that achieved remarkable success regarded ideological education as the key link of work rectification and this ran through its entire course. For every step forward in work rectification, we must at first carry out ideological education in the party spirit, party practices, and party discipline, the "one history and three loves," economic situations, and democracy and legal systems. We must place particular emphasis on specific work plans on the basis of different units and different targets. Nevertheless, we must regard strengthened party spirit, correct party practices, enforcement of discipline, and countercorruption as prominent factors of the rectification. We must pay close attention to uniting theory with ideological practice and to studying and comparing the dissection and analysis of the concrete instances of positive and negative aspects to enhance the ability of party members and the masses to fight corruption.

At the conference it was emphasized that we must adhere to using as a goal of the rectification the achievement of a fixed rate and good results and the attainment of "three decisive improvements." To do this, we must take firm hold of the following items of work. First, we must convert simple production-type enterprises into production-management enterprises so that they will be suitable to the needs of a developing commodity economy. Second, we must carry out the reorganization of labor; organize production according to quotas and fixed staffs; solve the problems of excessive personnel and groups, overstaffing, and overlapping organizations; and strive to increase labor productivity and economic benefits. Owned enterprises must pay full attention to training every kind of person with professional skills. They must adopt training, readjustment, job vacancy notices, joint tackling of key problems, and other measures. They must give free rein to scientific and technological personnel and cadres with special skills, assign them important status, and solve their problems of living and working conditions. Third, we must restructure the internal leadership system in enterprise. Fourth, we must implement the "four rules" issued by the Central Committee and improve and strengthen party leadership in enterprise. Fifth, we must further reorganize and set up leading groups in enterprises, and eliminate laxity, feebleness, overstaffing, the problem of aging members, bureaucratism, and other phenomena that exist in some leading groups.

We must continue to do a good job of using party practice as the core of the work rectification with regard to the attitude of society and public order. We must thoroughly carry out the study of Lei Feng [7191 6912] and foster new practices that will cause the "five stresses and four points of beauty" to become regular practices, become institutionalized and standardized, and be practiced for some time.

At the conference it was demanded that the party committees at all levels must make unified plans and strengthen leadership. They must unite specifics with generalities and help each move forward. While undertaking the rectification of specifics, a great deal of effort must still be expended to undertake the rectification of generalities. We must proceed from reality and not engage in "arbitrary uniformity." However, we surely must formulate individual rectification plans and clarify for ourselves just what individual problems we want to solve this year. We must increase the level where leaders stay in selected basic units, observe, and fully play their advisory role. We must use rectification as the "master switch," do a good job of making unified plans for each item of work, even more thoroughly carry out work rectification throughout the province, and spur on each work project.

9926
CSO: 4005/1053

PARTY AND STATE

'OUTLINE' FOR EXTENSIVE REBUILDING OF SHANGHAI APPROVED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 18 Jun 82 p 1

[Local dispatch: "What Will Shanghai Be Like in the Year 2000? Municipal Government Approves in Principle 'Outline of Master Planning of Shanghai'"]

[Text] "The Outline of Master Planning of Shanghai" has recently been examined and approved in principle by the municipal people's government and will serve as the basis of a master plan to build up and manage the city.

"Outline" proposes that planning and building of Shanghai will proceed from the present and look ahead and implement the policies of integrating rational distribution of industries with rational layouts of municipal communications, integrating technical reform with urban reconstruction, and integrating the improvement of production with the improvement of living conditions. It proposes making overall planning, looking for both temporary and permanent solutions, and gradually achieving the goal of a modern city and modern management, with better conditions for production and greater convenience for everyday living. In actual implementation, 1981 to 1985 will be the short-term stage, the goal being to initially ease the most outstanding contradictions; the intermediate stage will be reached by 1990, the goal being to attain marked improvements; the long-term stage will be reached by 2000, the goal being to realize the modernization of the city.

According to the plan of the "Outline," by 2000 Shanghai will become an urban complex with metropolitan area as the main body, the outlying towns relatively independent but interconnected with one another and with the metropolis. The plan includes the development of the region south of the Yangtze River estuary (including the industrial points of such towns as Wusong, Baoshan, Yuepu, Shengjiao and Luojing) and the region north of Hangzhou Bay (including the indsutrial points of such towns as Jinshanwei, Caojing and Zhelin, and Xinghuo State Farm), at the same time consolidating and developing the satellite towns, and stepping up the construction of small outlying county towns. Land for use in the metropolis will be expanded suitably in a controlled way, so that population density per square kilometer will be 40 percent lower than at present.

In order to readjust the industrial distribution of Shanghai, gradual readjustment will be made regarding unplanned and redundant factories, which

will be shut down, suspended, amalgamated with others, or shifted to other products. New plants or large-scale expansion projects will be generally located in satellite towns. Factories creating serious pollution problems which cannot be solved locally and factories which produce inflammable and explosive products will either shift to other products or be moved out of the metropolitan area. No plants with serious pollution problems will be located in towns situated upstream of the Huangpu River or windward of the metropolis.

In addition to clearly stating the nature, scope, and direction of development of the city, "Outline" sets forth projected plans for the development of the city's industry, communications and transport, post and telecommunications, science and education, health care, sports, housing, greening of gardens and parks, tourist facilities, treatment of wastes, and non-staple food bases in outlying counties.

9924
CSO: 4005/1014

PARTY AND STATE

LENIN'S VIEWS ON BENEFITS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE DISCUSSED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Wang Zhaozheng [3769 0340 6927]: "Strategic Foresight and Practical Measures--A Study of Lenin's Exposition on External Economic Relations"]

[Text] Socialist countries should be good at using foreign capital to serve their own interests. It was Lenin who first advanced this idea.

Lenin raised this question not only because Soviet Russia at the time was ravaged by war with all business in a state of languish. He was viewing things with a broad strategic foresight. He held that socialized mass production was an indispensable economic requisite to achieving socialism. Socialized production broke through the barriers of national boundaries and fused the whole world into one entity. Socialist Soviet Russia at the time had just freed itself from the fetters of imperialist rule, its economy and culture were extremely backward. In order to develop socialized production, it had to and was likely to have economic contacts with capitalist countries. On the one hand, Soviet Russia must have dealings with foreign capital through foreign trade and leasing in order to obtain equipment and raw materials. On the other hand, foreign capital, looking for capital outlets and sources of raw materials and trying to sell its products also needed to have contacts with Soviet Russia. This fits with the requirements of the law of development of socialized mass production. They were the confrontations, contacts, competition and struggles that appeared when neither socialism nor capitalism, within the worldwide scope, was yet able to overcome the other side. "This is also a special kind of war, a warring competition between the two ways, two forms, and two economies of communism and capitalism."

"Give Up Secondary Interests To Preserve Basic Interests"

Are there risks in taking such steps? At the time, some people were afraid of being cheated and getting the worst, and worried that this would bring in decadent ideology and ways of life, and so were for closing the doors. Certainly such worries were not entirely unfounded. Just as Lenin said, "Once the capitalists we let in through one door or several doors (some of which we were unaware of and were opened without our consent or even against our will)...get organized, they would try and drive off the communists."

We must not forget, however, that we have in our hands great numbers of factories and railroads and a party in a leading position. A socialist country with its dominant position can rely on its political power, its people and its law to make foreign capital, in keeping with our demands, "law-abiding" capitalism, capitalism that does not go beyond the orbit of state capitalism. Of course, foreign capital, whose aim is to make profit, will not work with us if there is no profit for them. Lenin had said that it was necessary to pay a certain amount of tribute and taxes, but the proletariat absolutely should and can "carry out this work widely, persistently, ingeniously, and cautiously," "being good at safeguarding our own interests in this war," "winning all benefits that can be won," and "finally standing up and defeating capitalism economically." In Lenin's view, the general guiding principle to cautious, ingenious, persistent, and practical steps is to "give up secondary interests to preserve basic interests."

Politically, national sovereignty and the basic fruits of victory of socialist revolution must not be touched. Lenin criticized the narrow viewpoint which believed it would be a pity to lease some of the oil fields and forests, and stressed the point that new technology and equipment cannot be obtained without a price. But he consistently made it clear that such leasing would be made under agreement and would have a time limit, that it was not cession, much less a compensation for confiscated capital. Lenin had instructed the delegates of the Supreme National Economic Committee supervising the negotiations with the Swedish Bearings Plant Stock Company: "We will never make concessions on the following principles: We are the owners of all the enterprises and warehouses which we have nationalized. They can transfer the possession of these enterprises and warehouses to them only through formal purchasing procedures. In some cases we can make concessions and transfer the possession these enterprises and warehouses to them at low prices. But at no time will we make concessions regarding our rights of ownership." Territorial sovereignty must not be infringed upon; leased enterprises must not become states within a state; there must be no interference or attempt to influence Soviet Russia's policies; trying to use the opportunity to engage in spying activities will be properly punished."

Economically, we must learn to "have the ability to do business and the ability to make money," to be able to really safeguard interests that can be won by socialism in negotiations and agreements. For example, while getting oil, coal, timber and ores and other resources and profit from Soviet Russia, foreign capitalists must at the same time build for Soviet Russia a good number of plants equipped with advanced technology and equipment and scientific management. That is to say, a price must be paid in order to obtain advanced technology and equipment and management experience. At the same time, there must be supervision in the execution of the agreements, making sure that capitalists will get the profit due them, while steps are also taken to "restrict, prohibit, supervise and uncover criminal offenses, and severely punish any capitalism that goes beyond state capitalism."

The Key Is To Maintain Communist Party

Lenin's attention to developing external economic relations certainly does not mean taking in everything. He fully foresaw that dealing with foreign capital would "bring in capitalist practices that corrupt the peasants." Lenin held that "there should be supervision and everywhere we should resist with our own communist influence." Socialism has the power to play an exemplary role. The communist party has the strength to transform itself and the world. "We should demand that communist party members learn to do business and obtain profit for the state...On the one hand, the most active of the party members should wholeheartedly throw themselves into the work of the economic and commercial departments that currently deal with capitalist relations. On the other hand, these same most active party members must also carry out the most tenacious struggle with capitalist relations, pointing out for the masses the practical road to socialism and setting examples of working selflessly in the effort to achieve socialism." The key is preserving the purity of the Communist Party member and communist ideology and strengthening the propaganda of communist ideology within the party. Guided by Lenin's thinking, the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party adopted a series of measures, such as the publication of Marxist literature, the formation of a network of party school education from the central to the local levels, appointing able party-member cadres to work in Marxist education, requiring that all communist party members master rudimentary political knowledge, and establishing a system of checking. To enable all the party members to have a basic knowledge of Marxism, the Bolshevik party put forth the slogan of wiping out "political illiterates" among the party members.

It is inevitable that a number of weak and degenerated elements would appear in dealings with capitalism. Some of the errant ones can be saved and their immunity increased through education by the party, yet it is inevitable that would defy the law. Therefore, to deal with this phenomenon and safeguard the purity and fighting power of the party, Lenin advocated periodical purges of the party, "purging the party of un-communist elements, mainly those who sneaked into the party because the party has gained a ruling position, and those who make use of the title of party members for personal purposes." At Lenin's suggestion, the "Ninth Congress" in 1920 set up a supervisory committee that paralleled the party committee to take charge of struggles against all kinds of degenerated elements.

Once the proletariat of a socialist country controls the state machine, it can exercise its political power to realize its aims. Lenin repeatedly urged the judiciary people's committee to compile a code of civil law and a code of criminal law, and asked the committee to carry out the work with an earnest and down-to-earth style. In order to fully demonstrate the role of the bureaucarcy in the administrative organs, believing that bureaucratic practices would turn the vigorous cause of socialism into stagnant and muddled water, so that the people's political power would have no strength to promote the strong points and eliminate the malpractices in external economic relations. In Lenin's view, it is nothing terrible to let in some capitalists, but instead doing so, may be useful. The question is how the party will handle it. If the communist party abandons its responsibility, then the problem is serious. That is why Lenin from his later years to the time of

his death when he proposed to the party congress, repeatedly called people's attention to the importance of reforming the state organs.

Lenin's strategic foresight on the question of external economic relations and practical steps in implementation showed that he was good at applying the dialectic method. It was a pity his ideas were never fully implemented during the Stalin period. On the eve of the Chinese people's revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong announced, "We must first of all do business with socialist countries and the people's democratic countries. We must at the same time also do business with capitalist countries." In 1956, in his "On the Ten Relationships," he further expounded this thinking. Later, under the influence of "left" thinking, China's efforts to open up to the outside world met with many obstructions. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the decision was made to open up to the outside world at the same time that steps were taken to enliven domestic economy. In the past few years a series of specific policies have been gradually implemented. The current struggle against capitalist corruption is precisely to "widely, persistently, ingeniously and cautiously carry out work in this respect." Therefore, it is of enlightening significance to reveiw Lenin's relevant ideas today.

9924
CSO: 4005/1014

PARTY AND STATE

CULTIVATION OF COMMUNIST MORAL TRADITION EMPHASIZED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Bao Ping [7637 1626]: "Be a Man of Noble Moral Quality"]

[Text] In real life when we see a Lei Feng-type person appear in our midst, we may hear widespread applause occasionally disrupted by an absurd remark: "No one is interested in this these days. They are really fools!" Although such words are voiced by a minority, they are bound to have a tremendous corrosive effect on the thinking and conduct of people. Isn't it true that under the effect of such sarcastic remarks, some advanced individuals are now approaching the study of the communist code of conduct with disdain? Such words echo the moral concept of the exploiting classes which emphasizes that "the day man stops thinking of himself being a selfish creature, the heavens will fall and the earth will tumble." Originally, this was an idea for which few wanted to act as spokesmen. Even the phony doctrinarians of the exploiting classes were ashamed to mention it publicly, although they tacitly agreed with it. The fact that today some people dare to promote it publicly proves that the disruptive influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on the moral fiber of our society has reached alarming proportions.

At a common code of conduct governing the daily activities of human society, morality is as old as the existence of human society itself. It is devoted to preserving the social economic base. The moral beliefs are as diverse as social systems and classes. In society dominated by the exploiting classes, their moral beliefs are devoted to preserving their system. In the eyes of the exploiting classes, obedience displayed by the exploited reflects a noble moral act, while resistance to being exploited and to knuckling under to the pressure of the exploiters reflects a traitorous tendency. As a matter of course, we have no alternative but to eradicate this form of morality. But the moral force in the hands of the exploiting classes is not only a tool to preserve their system but a vehicle for resolving their internal contradictions--contradictions between the exploiters and the exploited, and the internal contradictions of the exploited. This can be called the common code of ethics in society. Without it, the social life of the exploiting classes would be disrupted and their rule would be in danger. In view of this, in lieu of an explicit statement of the true nature of their morality, the scholars of the exploiting classes usually implicitly declare that "we must extend to others the same care we give to our own parents and children," and that "we must be

concerned about the affairs of the state before others and enjoy comforts after others." Of course, we have also seen people in the society of the exploiting classes driven by selfish desires to destroy the common code of conduct of their own making. This is why those phony doctrinarians of the exploiting classes are viewed by the public as merely hypocrites who often say one thing and mean another and whose works are often in conflict with their deeds.

Only since the proletariat committed to the emancipation of all mankind, captured political power have we been able to consider it possible to achieve unity between words and deeds with regard to the enforcement of the common code of conduct in society, to exert our utmost to carry forward the excellent moral tradition of the Chinese nation, and to enliven the new practice of communist morality. Frugal-minded Hu Asu [5170 7093 4790] donated all his savings to the state before his death.

Du Yunyun [2629 5366 5366] donated to the state some 100,000 yuan worth of property she was to receive from her deceased parents, as a demonstration of determination to wrest a living with her two hands. Bian Tingmin [0593 1694 2404], a girl of Shandong, left her parents and travelled to Hebei in order to take care of some widowed old men she never met before. One day young female worker Chen Yanfei [7115 3601 7378] valiantly plunged into the river to rescue a man from drowning, despite the fact that she was 5 months pregnant. Such heart-stirring deeds, imbued with the communist moral spirit, are too numerous to mention in our socialist motherland. This proves that our Chinese nation deserves to be called a nation with an excellent moral tradition, and that despite attempts by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to corrupt the minds of some people and to demoralize our society, the communist moral tradition, which is built on the basis of the socialist system of public ownership and which has taken root in the hearts of the socialist system of public ownership and which has taken root in the hearts of the proletariat vowing to liberate all mankind, is unconquerable, like "green grass which will grow again in the spring breeze in the wake of a wildfire." We must exhibit full confidence in the restoration and development of our communist morality.

"We are still in the stage of socialist society. Promoting communist morality at this stage seems out of tune with our current policy." This idea of pitting communist morality against our current policy needs to be purified. It must be understood that both soicalism and communism are built on the basis of the system of public ownership of the means of production, and the collectivism-oriented communist moral belief, devoted to preserving its economic base, is desirable not only in the stage of communism but also in the stage of socialism, despite the fact that the characteristics of the moral beliefs of these two stages differ. For example, the lofty noble quality of donating property to the state displayed by Hu Asu and Du Yunyun should be highly praised. Although at the present stage no one can be asked to follow this example as a universal code of ethics, the communist spirit reflected in their behavior is worthy of emulation by all. Without this spirit, people may try to make profits at the expense of others, may feel free to fatten their private coffers at the expense of the public interest, and may become a stumbling block to the implementation

of our current policy. Meanwhile, Chen Yanfei's heroic and self-sacrificing spirit should be publicly declared a universal code of ethics to be observed by all our citizens. Is it not true that even in the society of the exploiting classes, not to mention the socialist society, knowingly failing to save someone from drowning is denounced as a sign of moral decay? Those who acrimoniously ridiculed and scolded Chen Yanfei when she dived into the river to rescue a man in distress should be tried by a moral court. Although Hu Asu's and Du Yunyun's donations of property to the state fit only the moral conduct of advanced individuals, those who tried to grab the property by all means at their disposal, and even tried to kick and beat Du Yunyun into submission--an exhibition of selfish and crafty bourgeois conduct which is in sharp contrast to the communist moral practice--should also be tried by a moral court of justice. It is true that the socialist economy is a multitiered system in which the level of political consciousness varies from person to person. The same is true of the moral aspect of the superstructure which is attached to the economic base. Although it is impossible for everyone to reach the moral standard of heroes and models, everyone must be encouraged to learn from their moral practice. We must consider observing the common social code of ethics essential to the preservation of the socialist system.

The moral standard of a nation is conditioned by the level of its people's political consciousness. As far as the cultivation of communist morality is concerned, we cannot merely confine the discussion to the matter at issue; we must take a step forward to educating people in Marxism-Leninism with the aim of raising their communist awareness. At present, it seems that face-to-face reasoning is hardly enough to convert those who wrongly view Lei Feng-type persons as fools and people capable of immoral tricks to make a profit at the expense of the public interest as geniuses. This is why we must arm people with the theory of scientific socialism so that they will be able to understand the laws governing the development of society and the historical mission they must assume. Only by enlightening people about the fact that socialism represents the fundamental interests of the people and that their individual interests can be secured only by the development of the socialist cause, can we convert them into men and women of noble moral quality, of determination to make contributions to the development of the socialist cause and to make sacrifices if necessary. Among those known for their noble moral quality are revolutionary martyrs who laid down their lives in the people's interests and heroes who died in action against Vietnamese invasion. To those who are well aware of the historical mission they must assume, personal gains or losses mean nothing at all.

In the course of fostering communist morality, we must make clear to people from all walks of life the universally abiding code of conduct governing occupations, scientific activities, family affairs, and marriage, or the specific code of ethics which will have a binding effect on people in the conduct of their social activities. Those in factories, mines, and enterprises must be encouraged to make the greatest contributions to work, to spare no effort to expose bad elements, to do everything on a solid basis, and to produce goods of high quality. Those in the countryside must be encouraged to pay equal attention to the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. Those in a service trade must be encouraged to serve their cusomters wholeheartedly. Only

in this way can we extend our common moral beliefs in cherishing the motherland, the people, manual labor, public property, and socialism to all aspects of social life, and make clear to the public the commonly abiding code of ethics and code of conduct. Although generally speaking, there is no effective way to bring those violators of the common code of ethics into compliance with the provisions of the law, it must be understood that they cannot be allowed to do whatever they wish. Otherwise, our social life will be in danger of disruption. We must react to immoral behavior by organizing the mass media in society to bring it into line with the commonly abiding code of ethics. This means that we must count on the organization of the mass media in society to foster communist morality and to make justice prevail over evil. We must be good at commending decent moral conduct and discrediting indecent conduct. The ruling classes have proved themselves quite capable of using the mass media in society to impose their code of ethics on people. They can impose the feudal code of ethics on women through the erection of monuments to chastity and the dissemination of superstitions. They can use the mass media in society to pressure those women guilty of violating the feudal code of ethics into launching self-criticism. Can we say that sister-in-law Xianglin, a female character in Lu Xun's novel, was crucified by the mass media in society in the name of the fuedal code of ethics? Unlike the fuedal code of ethics, which is harmful to the people's fundamental interests, our common code of ethics in society is compatible with the fundamental interests of the people, including those who temporarily cannot promise to obey it. If we can candidly and scientifically explain to the people why they should abide by the communist code of ethics, we can certainly lead those unwilling to obey it to launch sincere self-criticism, and increasingly improve the moral practice in our society. As a result of the development of the five stresses and four points of beauty, and especially the "nationwide month of civil courtesy campaign," we have washed away dirty trash from the souls of people resulting from the 10 years of turmoil, revived the collectivism that once lay dormant in their hearts, and produced new people and new things that personify communist morality and that can inspire us to carry forward the excellent morality of the Chinese tradition. If we can do a good job of cultivating communist morality, we can certainly score success in sweeping away the moral trash of the exploiting classes which came to life during the 10 years of turmoil.

9574
CSO: 4005/1059

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

IMPROVEMENT OF CONDITIONS FOR INTELLECTUALS URGED

Investigation Report

Beijin GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Sakongliao Reports On CPPCC Fact-Finding Team's Investigation Into Implementation of Policy for Intellectuals in One City and Four Provinces, Says Special Attention Must Be Given to the Difficulties Encountered by Middle-Aged Intellectuals at the Present Time. Vice Chairmen Attending Report-Back Conference Believe That We Must Continue To Overcome 'Leftist' Influence in Treating Intellectuals and Solve Their Problems as Integral Part of Capital Construction"]

[Text] On the 12th, Sakongliao [5646 4500 0055], Deputy Secretary General and concurrent member of the standing committee of the CPPCC, delivered to the vice chairman's work committee of the CPPCC his report concerning the investigation into the situations of middle-aged intellectuals in which he stated that the policy for intellectuals has gradually been implemented since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. However, a serious problem at present is the poor living and working conditions of middle-aged intellectuals. If this siutation is not changed, it will inevitably have an adverse affect on our cause.

In order to become acquainted with the policy implementation situation, the CPPCC sent a fact-finding team on visits to Shanghai, Zhejiang, Jiangsu, and Shandong in the mid 10-day period of this May. The team was composed of standing committee members Sakongliao, Wu Liangping [0702 0081 1627], Yang Fangzhi [2799 2397 0037], Shen Qizhen [3088 0366 7201], Qian Weichang [6929 0251 7022], committee members Shan Shiyuan [0830 1102 0337], and Zheng Xiaoxie [6774 1321 3610], and urban construction deputy group leader Tong Zheng [0157 6927].

Sakongliao stated in his report that the overall impression from the investigation of three provinces and one city was that the policy for intellectuals had gradually been put into effect since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and that in general the problems of older intellectuals have been satisfactorily solved. However, the living and working conditions of middle-aged intellectuals are still poor. At present, there are four rather striking problems. One is low wages.

Middle-aged intellectuals on the whole are 40-50 years of age and their salaries 60-70 yuan. The older ones are at the upper level and the younger are at the lower level. Their economic burdens are heavy, and the average family income for most of the middle-aged intellectuals in many places is lower than metropolitan and other residential average incomes. In Shanghai, board and pocket money for many college students is 30-40 yuan per month, but many middle-aged teachers have not reached this level. Second, is poor housing conditions. Housing is quite cramped for many middle-aged intellectuals at some institutes of higher learning and scientific research units in Shanghai, Nanjing, and Hangzhou. Most of them share one desk with a wife and child and many must wait for the family to sleep before beginning to prepare lessons. Some evenings they return to their offices and work overtime, which affects their health and work. Third, is generally poor health; and fourth, is lack of opportunities for pursuing advances studies, which makes it difficult for them to advance in their professions. In general, the middle-aged intellectuals graduated at the end of the 1950's and beginning of the 1960's. Since they all work full time at their posts and lack the opportunities to study and pursue advanced training, they generally rely on the practice of their student days, eating their "capital."

Sakongliao stated that there are now 350,000 intellectuals at their posts in Shanghai, among which 230,000 middle-aged people account for 70 percent. The proportion in other provinces and cities is for the most part the same. Most of these people welcomed liberation at the age when they wore the Red scarves, grew up under the Red flag, and along with ourselves were nurtured and educated in the best era of party practices. They are full of affection for the CPC and socialism. Their study of vocational work and technology has been rather systematic and sound, and the vast majority of them are already the mainstay of every front. Sakongliao cited as an example the statistics of a few Shanghai universities which indicate that middle-aged teachers are responsible for over 70 percent of the teaching and scientific research at all institutes. About 80 percent of the major achievements in scientific research were a result of their work. Ninety percent of them are assigned to party and government leadership posts at departmental and educational research offices. In the past 3 years the Shanghai Pharmeceutical Institute has won 37 major scientific research achievement awards, 90 percent of which were dependent upon the work of middle-aged scientific and technical personnel. In 1981 the Shanghai Diesel Engine Plant [2693 3111 2623 0617] developed 67 vaireties of new products and its total output value increased 2-fold. Technical personnel made significant contributions, but of the entire plant's 536 engineers and technicians more than 90 percent were middle-aged.

Sakongliao believes that we must further implement the policy for intellectuals and especially resolve the difficulties of middle-aged intellectuals. It is essential that we overcome the "leftist" influence in the problems of treating intellectuals, and we must appropriately improve their living and working conditions. We must also appropriately change the cadres "unit system of ownership" and accelerate the flow of qualified personnel.

Additional speeches were given at the conference by fact-finding team members Wu Liangping, Yang Fangzhi, and Qian Weichang.

Vice chairmen attending the conference were Liu Lantao [0491 3482 3447], Lu Dingyi [7120 1353 0001], Xu Deheng [6079 1795 3801], Kang Keqing [1660 0460 3237], Ji Fang [1323 2455], Zhou Jianren [6650 1696 0086], Hu Ziang [7579 1311 2491], Xiao Ke [5135 0344], Qian Changzhao [6929 2490 3564], and Dong Qiwu [5516 0366 2976]. In their discussions they acknowledged the important role the intellectuals have played in the cause of our nation's enduring revolution and construction and they recognized that so many more of them are needed for the cause of our future socialist modernization construction. There are too few intellectuals in our nation. At present, our middle-aged intellectuals are faced with the situation of "three heavies and one low." Education and scientific research tasks are heavy, grass-roots party and government workloads are heavy, economic burdens and housework are heavy, but wages and income and standards of living are low. The vice chairmen believe that not solving the difficult problems that now exist for middle-aged intellectuals will affect the development of our present and future causes. Some say that middle-aged intellectuals are our precious riches and that solving their problems is the most pressing investment of talent and is an integral part of capital construction. Even though our country is now poor, we must strive to resolve gradually some problems of middle-aged intellectuals where conditions permit.

Study Group Meeting

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Study Groups of Democratic League Central Committee That Investigated the Use of Intellectuals Hold Conference, Recognize That Pressing Obligation Is To Improve Living and Working Conditions of the Middle-Aged Intellectuals"]

[Text] The study groups of the central committee of the China Democratic League that investigated the use of intellectuals met in full session in Beijing from 6 to 13 July and debated and discussed how to best assist the CPC in its work in implementing the policy for intellectuals. Attending the conference were the following vice chairmen of the league central committee: Hu Yuzhi [7579 1937 0037], Chu Tunan [2806 0956 0589], Hua Luogeng [5478 5012 1649], Sa kongliao [5646 4500 0055], Li Wenyi [2621 2429 1355], Fei Xiaotong [6316 1321 6639], and Wen Jiasi [5113 1367 7475].

Before this conference was convened, the league central committee and local organizations at all levels spent over 3 months in surveying and interviewing close to 20,000 intellectuals in education, science and technology, literature and art, and all fields. Viewing the survey data from all localities, the work in implementing the policy for intellectuals since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Committee has been quite successful and has received the wholehearted support of the intellectuals.

Because the pernicious influence of the "Left" has not yet been fully liquidated, however, the progress of the work is uneven and there are some comrades, inlcuding some leading cadres, whose understanding of the importance of implementing the policy for intellectuals is insufficient. As a result many problems still exist. At present, the overall situation is as follows: implementation at upper levels and by public figures is good, but is rather poor at mid- and lower levels; rather good by the elderly but rather poor by the middle-aged. In the large cities implementation is good but rather poor in mid- and small cities. At the conference it was recognized that the cadres and masses should be further educated in the policy for intellectuals so that they will have a clear understanding of the status and function of intellectuals in the new historical period and will go a step further in successfully completing the policy implementation work.

The problems of middle-aged intellectuals were also thoroughly reviewed at the conference. They are regarded as the backbone of every department in undertaking a lasting mission in the socialist construction. However, at present, their general situation is one of heavy workloads and household duties, low pay, and poor health. Thus, the improvement of the living and working conditions of the middle-aged intellectuals, particularly in regard to wages, already has become a pressing obligation. Everyone should also recommend the active resolution of the problems of some of the intellectuals where planning and utilization of them is improper and where their occupations have nothing to do with their training or specialties. We must permit the equitable flow of qualified personnel and spiritually and materially encourage personnel in specific fields to go to the most needed places, the countryside and remote locations. At the conference some suggestions were also made in regard to the leadership and management systems currently in effect, and it was recognized that what must now be changed are those kinds of irregular situations where some vocational work leaders and personnel in specific fields are unable to exercise their powers and who face difficulties in playing their proper role.

Although most of the misjudged cases from all previous political movements have already been redressed and corrected, nevertheless, everyone hopes that remaining problems will be properly solved in this investigation into the implementation of the policy for intellectuals.

At the conclusion of the conference Chu Tunan, vice chairman of the league central committee, delivered a speech in which he hoped that all of society will develop the good regular practice of respecting knowledge and valuing intellectuals and will change the bad practice that exists in some people's minds in which knowledge is scorned and intellectuals are discriminated against. This will enable the vast intellectuals to give free rein to their intelligence and wisdom so they can devote their strength to building a powerful socialist nation.

9926
CSO: 4005/1060

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WAY TO TREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION PERIOD GRADUATES DISCUSSED

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 30 May 82 p 3

[Article: "A Force Not To Be Ignored"]

[Text] How should we treat graduates who graduated during the "cultural revolution?" Because of differing views, there is a great divergence in the attitudes on how to treat them.

These graduates are large in number and are a force not to be ignored. In the 10 years of upheaval they did not have the opportunity to get a standard college education. Their poor elementary and professional knowledge is an undeniable fact. These young people are already over 30, but they are energetic and full of vigor. Among them is a group who are now studying energetically and unremittingly and for whom success is within sight. This is also an undeniable fact. Some of our comrades, particularly the leading cadres of some units, only see one thing and ignore the other, so much so that they regard these graduates as altogether useless material. They throw them aside and take no interest in them at all. This is not a comprehensive understanding. There are also many units, particularly the leaders of scientific research units, who understand the importance of exploiting talent. These leaders both face up to the graduates' deficiencies and value their positive factors. They are willing to invest in them and are doing what they can to create conditions for improving the graduates' learning. It can be said that this kind of leader has foresight. The practice of some units has already proven that whatever methods were adopted, most of the young people have improved notably and already have remarkably come to the fore.

For talented people to mature, the conditions are of the utmost importance. To be sure, internal factors are still a determinant. If young people do not have ambitions and aspirations, if they do not have a tenacious and diligent spirit, and if they do not have good objective conditions, then it will be difficult to bring about major change. Conversely, there are some who are diligent and fiercely determined, which is of course commendable, but if they lack organizational support and training and do not have the conditions for improving upon advanced studies as well as practices, then this will inevitably affect the rate at which their abilities develop.

Time and people are not the same. It is desired that the leaders of many more units study and draw on the experiences of the Yunnan Provincial Scientific and Technical Information Center and other units in order to create conditions for this group of graduates. Those who excel should be utilized boldly. Let the power of this group of young people play an active role in the four modernizations construction.

9926
CSO: 4005/1041

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

YUNNAN CENTER TRAINING CULTURAL REVOLUTION PERIOD GRADUATES

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 30 May 82 p 3

[Article by Sun Cuifang [1327 5050 5364]: "Pay Attention to Training and Utilization of Graduates Who Graduated During 'Cultural Revolution'--Young Scientific and Technical Personnel of Yunnan Provincial Scientific and Technical Information Center Rapidly Maturing"]

[Text] The leaders of the Yunnan Provincial Scientific and Technical Information Center have devoted a great deal of attention to the training of young and middle-aged scientific and technical personnel. These personnel have been boldly utilized, and a group of young scientific and technical personnel are maturing rapidly.

The Yunnan Provincial Scientific and Technical Information Center was established in 1971. At present, the vast majority of the entire center's 73 scientific and technical personnel are young and middle-aged, among whom graduates of the 1966-1976 period account for over half. Because these young people were harmed by the "gang of four," their rudimentary knowledge is lacking, and for them work is rather strenuous. This is a disadvantageous aspect. However, they are enthusiastic and responsible regarding scientific and technical information work, and they want to progress and make the most of themselves. This is a beneficial aspect. In analyzing this situation, the center's leaders have come to believe that they must create conditions for improving the young people's learning in order to help them gradually become suited to the needs of the work.

The leaders have based the center on the foundation of this knowledge and have organized various vocational studies to train this group of young people. Beginning in 1978, the center successively offered 4 to 5 hours instruction in English- and Japanese-language courses per week. Thirty-four people have completed these two classes and now, with the aid of dictionaries, can translate scientific and general articles and English and Japanese materials in their specialties. In addition to offering these training classes, beginning in 1977 the center organized the scientific and technical personnel to keep up 1 hour of foreign language study per day, a practice that continues to this day. The center's leaders also adopted the method of rotating personnel to raise the level of the scientific and technical personnel. Since 1978, 19 people have successively been sent to various universities inside and outside the province

to pursue advanced studies. The center organized a series of academic lectures in cooperation with Sichuan, Guangxi, and Guizhou Provinces, and invited domestic scientific and technical information experts to give lectures probing into problems on the scientific and technical information front. Up to the end of last year, 30 of the personnel throughout the center had participated. This broadened their horizons and raised their theoretical levels. For the young people who graduated during the "cultural revolution," the leaders have assigned training on the basis of their own foundations in addition to having them participate in joint study at the center. For example, they are allowed to take courses independently, attend outside vocational conferences, and so on. At the same time, attention is being given to strengthening ideological and political work, with frequent instruction given to the scientific and technical personnel in the circumstances and basic knowledge of the party. This will strengthen their sense of responsibility toward the party and will make them resolute in taking the red and expert road. In these few years the center's party organizations have admitted six new party members, among whom five are the middle-aged mainstay of vocational work. Eighty percent of the scientific and technical personnel have submitted applications for the admission to the party.

Because training measures were sound, the young people have rapidly matured in just a few years. There have been over 60 people throughout the center who have successively obtained technical personnel titles, 92 percent of whom are young and middle-aged. Of the 14 newly promoted directors and deputy directors of technical offices, 12 are young and middle-aged mainstays of vocational work. Since coming to the center, Du Kaitan [2629 7030 0982], Zeng Delu [2582 1795 4389], Li Yigan [2621 5030 2413], Lin Dechang [2651 1795 2490], and others who graduated in 1967-68 have actively gained professional proficiency and possess definite organizational capabilities. They have already been respectively promoted to become deputy directors of the scientific and technical information editing and compilation offices and the industrial information office. Zhao Xinzhi [6392 2450 2535], who graduated during the "cultural revolution," has a firm vocational foundation. He was sent to Nanjing University to pursue advanced studies for 1 year and now has already mastered scientific and technical information study and computer research vocations.

The leaders of the center are quite concerned about the lives of these young and middle-aged scientific and technical personnel. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, they have already solved a problem involving a middle-aged husband and wife who lived apart. The center constructed 3,000 square meters of housing and in allocation has given consideration to midlevel scientific and technical personnel. The requirements for elementary level personnel are calculated on a prior 10-year length of service (namely, those who have taken part in work since 1966 and administrative cadres who have worked since 1977 enjoy equal housing criteria). The leaders of the center are concerned with every aspect of the lives and work of the intellectuals and have helped them in resolving difficulties. This enables the scientific and technical personnel to keep their minds on, and do their best at, their work. Only last year over 150 various materials were compiled and edited and more than 70 information service and information survey and research projects were launched.

9926
CSO: 4005/1041

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

MARXISM AS FORM OF HUMANITARIANISM DISCUSSED

Jinan WEN SHI ZHE [LITERATURE, HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY] in Chinese No 3, 1982
20 May 82 pp 87-92

[Article by Wang Fusan [3769 1788 0005]: "Our Scientific Belief and Humanitarianism"]

[Text] Not long ago I came across in a volume of philosophical translation the view that ours is an era in which various humanitarianisms jostle against one another. According to this view Marxism can only be regarded as a form of expression of humanitarianism, even though it is the most "thorough" form of expression among all. Taken together with the prevalent proposition in our philosophical circles in recent years that "Marxism embodies the principle of humanitarianism in itself," or simply called the proposition of "Marxist humanitarianism," I feel that it merits some serious effort on our part to study it.

I.

I wish to begin by discussing people's pursuit of beliefs.

History follows a zigzag path. So does the perception of people who are good at reflecting on the movement of history. As for the people's pursuit of certain theories and certain beliefs, there have been different manifestations under different historical conditions. During the Renaissance of the 15th and 16th centuries in Europe, some of the bourgeoisie, in an attempt to break the constraints of the spiritual fetters of the medieval institutions of feudalism and autocracy, discovered humanitarianism which had as its theme the praise of the liberation of man's individualistic character; this was quickly welcomed by the entire bourgeoisie and became the spirit of the era eagerly pursued by them. Precisely because of this, the names of those few philosophers who invented humanitarianism were permanently recorded in the history of human civilization. Not only so, all ideologies and theories which thereafter sought to break feudal and ideological shackles somehow derived the title of humanitarianism in one way or another and took it as an honor. In the Germany of the 1840's, when many young Hegelian elements were just finding themselves ensnared in, and incapable of escaping from, their teacher's "coercive structure," Feuerbach's "On the Essence of Religion" came off the press. Feuerbach's work played a great enlightening role in

"blowing up" Hegel's system, dispelling Hegel's "magic," and directly restoring the throne to materialism. Even though Feuerbach's philosophy itself harbored a certain aesthetic tone, a worship of abstract love, and similar defects, because his philosophy did play an epoch-making role in liberating people from the ideological fetters of Hegel's "pure thought," Feuerbach felt that it was far more glorious to call his own philosophy "empirical humanitarianism" rather than materialism. More than 100 years passed when, in the wake of World War II, there appeared in Europe the theory of existentialism. Existentialism reflects the psychology of the petit bourgeois who attempt to liberate themselves from pain in the midst of hard, exhausting struggle. Precisely on this account, existentialism becomes in some countries the lofty belief of certain petit bourgeois and intellectuals; many youths take this master of existentialism Sartre as the northern star of their mind and lay prostrate in front of it in full submission.

In the China of the late 1970's and early 1980's, there has appeared also a situation in which people ran after certain beliefs. This had resulted from the 10-year turmoil. As people trudged through those tumultuous 10 years in difficult steps, and after a period of reminiscence of their painful experience in the wake of recovery, they were bound to turn on their brain, this machine which specializes in thinking, in order to sum up the causation and development of this past disaster. The responsibility of philosophers is to elevate the problems people think about to a rational plane and provide them with possible philosophical enlightenment.

It is necessary to point out that the behavior of believing is determined by people themselves by proceeding from their own experience; it is therefore impossible to force people to accept a belief, or abandon another belief, by means of an administrative order. In our country, those who believe in Marxism are bound to become more and more numerous; but we must not force people definitively to accept Marxism. Living in a socialist state, socialism as a new-born thing is of course incomparably superior to capitalism, but socialism, too, develops in the midst of contradictions. If we lack a correct attitude in treating contradictions in the socialist period, that would affect people's scientific belief in Marxism. The 10-year turmoil was doubtless a disaster. There are evidently two attitudes in treating this turmoil: One is that, in the face of the serious damage that has resulted from it, people seek, not to complain negatively, but to establish a point of departure for continued advance in the struggle of actively correcting mistakes; the other is that, in the face of calamities resulting from the turmoil, people become downcast and lose heart, or they may even make further mistakes on the basis of past ones, forfeiting their confidence in the future of socialism. The latter situation was the very ideological root which grew at one time into a "crisis of confidence."

But belief has always been needed by man throughout history. Therefore, the result somehow came to this: in connection with this "crisis of confidence," the pursuit of another belief rose in its wake. Consequently, some people began to think of fatalism, others thought of individual struggle, still others thought of existentialism, whereas some finally embraced the idea of humanitarianism as a result. Closing their eyes, some people thought of the

scenes of the dark world of the 10 years of turmoil, and felt that they could not understand them. Hence they said to themselves: in a country in which Marxism has become widespread, a 10-year catastrophe had actually resulted, whereby some actually had perpetrated the prank of refusing to stress the value of man or even of administering beastly abuses upon man; how could this compare with the humanitarianism in history? Thus, people thereby elevated the attacking of the beastly way and the developing of the humane way to the plane of spiritual civilization.

This is precisely the idea and psychology of people in our country who pursue existentialism and humanitarianism today. This idea and psychology, in the case of philosophers, is naturally not so simply manifested. A philosopher's special talent is his deliberate consideration. People realize that our perceptions about Marx in the past seem to have been rather narrow and in our present-day real life they seem to require supplement by something else. Under such circumstances, the proposition of "Marxist humanitarianism" begins to melt into this ideological soil like a powerfully effective catalyst. Meanwhile, people discover from Marx's early works such statements and terms as "man is man's highest essence," "humanitarianism," etc. According to a philosopher's process of re-creation, this leads further to the following proposition: "Marxism should embody the principle of humanitarianism in itself." This proposition hangs high in the space of philosophy and brightens up the souls of certain people in pursuit of a new belief.

II.

The exploration of this question saliently touches upon different perceptions of the early works of Marx. Our examination discovers that Marx's scientific conviction, that is, Marx's new world view, was gradually shaped and perfected in the process of liquidating old philosophies, including the liquidation of humanitarianism. This process roughly went through three stages.

(1) Marx Changing From a Democrat Into a Communist

Everything in the world is defective in the formative period of its growth. The development of a theory or the growth of a man is no exception. Marx was a great revolutionary and a master of science; but Marx was only a man and not a god. When Marx had not yet become a communist, he said something that was already truly Marxist: "All developing things are imperfect, and development comes to a close only upon death."[1] He also said: "Man must learn how to walk, and also learn how to fall; and only after he has learned how to fall will he learn how to walk."[2] In his processes of changing from a democrat to a communist and from an idealist into a materialist, Marx himself also went through many "falls."

In the spring of 1842, Marx began to take up the work of editing the RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG [RHINE JOURNAL]. The Marx of the early days of the RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG neither knew what communism was nor could analyze social phenomena by the materialist viewpoint. During this period, Marx was still a revolutionary democrat in politics. Indeed, for someone of the democratic standpoint, the view by which he observed and explained social phenomena

could not possibly go beyond the limits of the bourgeois world view, including the limits of the humanitarianist world view. For instance, at that time Marx still appreciated the bourgeois view of freedom, thinking that freedom was "man's spiritual privilege" and "the essence of the species in his entire spiritual existence." Obviously, at that time Marx regarded the bourgeois view of freedom as the best theoretical weapon possible. Later on, Marx gradually came to understand that various unreasonable social phenomena all result from private ownership, and all abuses from private ownership cannot possibly be solved in existing society. This idea indicates that in Marx' thoughts there already sparked the ember of communism. This preliminary establishment of the communist standpoint enabled Marx' method of observing problems to begin to cast off the bad trait of the bourgeois world view. Like a scientist hitting upon a major discovery, Marx' theoretical thinking began to touch on the social roots and class roots of humanitarianism. Although this perception was still rather shallow and lacked careful, scientific proof, Marx was already able to separate his own theory from the humanitarianism in history; this was a precious fact. In September 1843, Marx mentioned in his letter to Ruge, Arnold that the communism he was advocating was not only distinct from "certain imagined and possibly existing communism" but also different in principle from the actually existing communism trumpeted by Qia-bei-de-sa-mi and Weitling, Wilhelm and others." From his point of view, such communism "is but a special reflection of its opposite, namely, the existence of private ownership. Therefore, the elimination of private ownership and this kind of communism are definitely not the same thing."[3]

Humanitarianism is the theoretical reflection of private ownership; it is a radically different world view from the Marxist communism which has as its core the elimination of private ownership. This important watershed had already made its preliminary appearance at the time when Marx just indicated his readiness to rupture with private ownership.

This was the Marx who was changing from a democrat into a communist and his attitude toward humanitarianism. This attitude, primarily determined by his political viewpoint, did not seem to show, as yet, any brand new spirit of the time.

(2) Marx in Preliminary Exploration of the Principle of Communism

The period from early 1844 to the spring of 1845 was one in which Marx actively explored the principle of communism and paved the way for the shaping of his new world view. During this period, while Marx provided a discourse on the theoretical ideas of communism to the extent of his ability at the time, he still could not establish these ideas on the philosophical basis of the materialist view of history, and his new world view still did not take a scientific theoretical form. Later, Marx and Engels called their world view of this period "a really critical world view."[4] In his works of this period, Marx really had some humanitarianist expositions; the appearance of these expositions indicates that, in his transition toward the materialist view of history, Marx still evinced the ideological tinge of a certain old philosophy, and that that was altogether inevitable.

Since Marx' "1844 Manuscript on Economic Philosophy" was made public in 1932, it aroused the interest of certain researchers. Some surprisingly discovered that the Marx who authored the "Manuscript" was after all the "real Marx," claiming that "young Marx is a discovery of our time." This kind of moving song of praise appears to be especially appealing, but the problem is, is Marx' "Manuscript" really, like some say, a song of praise for humanitarianism? On this question, our examination has reached a different conclusion. Indeed, in his "Manuscript" Marx said certain things which look very humanitarianist. At first glance, the Marx writing his "Manuscript" seemed to be a philosopher in humanitarianist clothing; but, examined carefully, he may be discovered to be something entirely different.

First, by early 1844, along with the completion of Marx' change toward communism, he began to establish his theoretical activities entirely on the basis of building a new-type revolutionary theory of communism. In writing the "Manuscript," Marx' purpose was to expose the essence of private ownership and he did so not because of an incitement of humanitarianism. The principal goal of the "Manuscript" was to expose the real relationship between labor and capital and, proceeding from this point, explore the theory and strategy for the liberation of the proletariat. It was in this "Manuscript" that Marx demonstrated this theory on "alienated labor." The point of departure of this theory was to provide a basis of philosophical methodology for the real relationship between labor and capital, even though this methodology was still in a stage of preliminary exploration. Marx' "alienation" theory indicated that only by using the form of political struggle and discarding private ownership could the working class relieve workers from the suffering resulting from capitalist alienation and thereby establish the communist system. This shows that Marx' theoretical activities at the time he wrote "Manuscript" indicated that he did not confuse his own theory with the special manifestation of humanitarianism but aimed at creating a brand new theoretical system. The establishment of this viewpoint fully reveals the main character of Marx in this period of his ideological development.

Second, in his "Manuscript" Marx inherited certain humanitarianist expositions; this illustrates his inevitable ideological limitations prior to the discovery of the materialist view of history. The establishment of a correct view of departure in his theoretical activities naturally was of decisive significance in the establishment of a correct theoretical viewpoint. Yet, the presence of merely a correct point of departure is not yet equivalent to the creation of a scientific theoretical form. Things are not only not so simple but they are in a given period liable to manifest many vestiges of the old world view. The Marx at the time when he wrote "Manuscript" was situated precisely in such a state. At that time, Marx was politically obviously situated higher than Feuerbach, but philosophically he still had not discovered Feuerbach's mistakes. Marx even heaped incorrect praise on Feuerbach's religious philosophy. While discussing the three great merits of Feuerbach's philosophy, Marx said: Feuerbach turned "the social relationship 'between man and man' into a fundamental principle of theory."[5] This is to say, Marx took Feuerbach's humanist view of history as a scientific view of history. This shows that the Marx at the time of his writing of the "Manuscript," because he could not clearly distinguish Feuerbach's materialist view of nature from

his religious and ethical view of history, was naturally unable to replace Feuerbach's expositions entirely with the scientific expositions of the materialist view of history; rather, he had to continue to follow Feuerbach's expositions in certain aspects. On this point, we should not expect too much of a Marx who had just established his "really critical world view."

In their "Divine Family," Marx and Engels obviously took another big stride forward in the application of the materialist viewpoint in the explanation of social phenomena compared to the success achieved in the "Manuscript." But, comprehensively speaking, this work continued to maintain an inseparable relationship with Feuerbach's humanist view of history. While writing this work, they still followed Feuerbach's view by calling their own theory "realistic humanitarianism" or "real humanitarianism." The very first sentence of their book states: "In Germany, there is no enemy more dangerous to real humanitarianism than inspirationalism, namely, epistemological idealism."[6] During the period they wrote the book "Divine Family," Marx and Engels, in order to struggle against the school of epistemological idealism in Germany, clearly took materialist thinker Feuerbach as a representative of their own school of the new world view and therefore accorded high praise to Feuerbach; this praise included their inadventent affirmation of Feuerbach's humanist view of history. On 10 August 1844, Marx said in his letter to Feuerbach: "Although the lengths of your two works, 'Future Philosophy' and 'The Essence of Belief,' are limited, their significance in any case exceeds that of all works in Germany today." Also: "In these works, you have (I am not sure knowingly or not) provided socialism with a philosophical basis, and communists thus also immediately understand your works."[7]

This shows that by the end of 1844 Marx still did not discover the materialist view of history. The influence of Feuerbach's humanist view of history still duly remained in his head awaiting for further, decisive liquidation. Under such circumstances, it was small wonder that Marx still followed in his works certain expositions of Feuerbach concerning humanitarianism.

(3)

Marx' dissolution of humanitarianism happened after he discovered the materialist view of history. In the process of criticizing the school of epistemological idealism in Germany as represented by [Bruno] Bauer, Marx and Engels discovered a secret of the "real socialism" then prevailing in Germany. They took Feuerbach's ethical socialism and humanitarianism as the point of departure of their theory; their purpose in this regard was to purify Marx' theory of communism centered on the elimination of private ownership with Feuerbach's humanitarianist preaching predicated on the theme of "love." After Marx and Engels sensed this secret, they began to realize that, if they failed to draw a clear line from Feuerbach's humanist view of history, that would be equivalent to tolerating German epistemological idealism. In early 1845, when Marx and Engels again met in Brussels and planned their new theoretical activities, they decided to put this task on their urgent agenda. Forty-three years later, that is, in 1888, Engels said when he recalled this stage of history: "Worshiping the abstract man is the core of Feuerbach's new religion; this must be replaced by the science of the

realistic man and his historical development."[8] In April 1845, Marx mentioned preliminarily his own view of history in his "Outline on Feuerbach" and criticized Feuerbach's erroneous view of man's essence. Subsequently, he extended this task of criticizing Feuerbach's humanism to the criticism of the entirety of humanitarianism. This task was ultimately accomplished in an outstanding way in the book he coauthored with Engels, "German Ideologies."

Concerning the situation about the liquidation of humanitarianism by Marx and Engels, I have already mentioned this in my article "Humanitarianism Is Not a Principle of Marxism." The present article stresses the criticism of the humanitarianist slogan by Marx and Engels.

The slogan advanced by advocates of the "real socialism" in Germany was: "We are all men." This slogan was in reality the common slogan of humanitarianism. Advancing this slogan by the advocates of "real socialism" was a means by which they opposed communism. They cockily said to communists: you need no longer quarrel about what is communism and socialism; only in humanitarianism can "the supreme unity of the two" be reached. In addition, as you reach this "supreme unity," you are also entering the real plane of "man." Advocates of "real socialism" sang loudly: Since "all quarrels about names are solved in humanitarianism, then why should we still make any distinction about who are communists and who are socialists? We are all men."[9]

In the "real socialism" of Germany, people saw the socialist model with "man" as its point of departure. According to the proposition of "real socialism," so long as people are led onto the plane of "man," socialism and communism will be on earth with us. This was the socialism invented by certain starry-eyed theoretical heroes in Germany 140 years ago.

But, the slogan "We are all men" is after all a preposterous slogan. While criticizing "real socialism," Marx and Engels profoundly exposed this slogan. Marx and Engels pointed out, if we should speculate from this logic of "We are all men," then there would be no need even to "differentiate between men, animals, plants, and stones because we are all material entities."[10] This way, only by classifying all men in the category of "material entities" can it be said that they have reached the plane of "man" as stipulated by "real socialism."

From this, we can see that communism with the so-called "man" as its point of departure is definitely not Marx' communism. As to which school of communism it belongs to, that is not important here. Attaching this kind of "communism" to Marx and taking it as "Marxist humanitarianism" is not in accord with historical fact.

III.

Let us continue to explore this question from the plane of the spiritual civilization of our time.

"Any real philosophy must be the quintessence of the spirit of its time,"[11] this was a famous statement made by young Marx who had not yet changed into a communist. All communists later regarded this statement as a classic.

In Europe, the 15th and 16th centuries began to enter the era of bourgeois revolution. The quintessence of the spiritual civilizations of this era was humanitarianism and liberty, equality, love, etc. At that time, the revolutionary bourgeoisie, with humanitarianism as its weapon, mobilized all revolutionary forces to break the fetters of the rule of feudal autocracy and theology. The sound waves hailing liberation of man's individualistic character and freedom occupied the rational platform of judgment. Along with the accomplishment of the revolutionary tasks of the bourgeoisie, history itself slowly advanced toward a new era. By the last stage of capitalism, the world as a whole entered the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. We are today still situated in such an era.

The quintessence of the spiritual civilization of our era is no longer the humanitarianist philosophical enlightenment of the 16th century, nor the 18th century French materialists' view of liberty, equality and love, but the proletarian world view and methodology created by the communist warriors Marx and Engels; and the essential past of this quintessence is the materialist view of history and revolutionary dialectics. The establishment of the Marxist philosophy represented the most positive and brightest side of the spirit of the era; it enabled the proletariat to gain the best spiritual weapon for changing the world and thereby to become extremely encouraged. Just as Lenin said, the Marxist philosophy "gave a great perceptual tool to man, especially the working class."[12] Marx' ideology of revolutionary dialectics became the proletariat's "best tool of labor" and weapon of struggle; this therefore aroused the fear of the bourgeoisie and its spokesmen. With its powerful theoretical strength and logical strength, Marx' materialist view of history stipulates human society as a natural historical process and provides a doubtless philosophical basis for illustrating that the capitalist system is bound to disappear. By endless plots and approaches, the bourgeoisie and its spokesmen in the ranks of the workers have attempted to blunt the revolutionary sharp edge of the criticism of this Marxist philosophy with a view to modify Marxist revolutionary dialectics into something they can accept. But historical facts have come more and more to prove that the Marxist philosophical world view is invincible. Lenin said with profoundness: "The reason why the theory of Marx is omnipotent is because it is correct, very comprehensive and compact; it gives people a complete world view which appeases no superstition, no reactionary force, no argument for capitalist oppression whatsoever."[13] On the basis of the practical experience of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong likewise clearly pointed out, "the communist view of the universe and theory of social revolution"[14] alone are the invincible weapons of the proletariat.

All the above is the truth proved by history, whether people acknowledge it or not. In the case of the question currently under discussion, people do not seem to deny the above fact, and everybody seems to stand on the affirmative side of the spiritual civilization of our time. But nothing is absolute; the important thing is to conduct concrete analysis.

In the past few years, along with the progressive expansion of our relations with foreign areas economically and culturally, there have also been introduced

to us in the academic journals many Western views about Marxism; this is highly beneficial to our understanding of things over the world. However, our country has our own national conditions. On economical questions, we have clearly prognosticated the danger of capitalist corrosion; we must maintain our Marxist clear-headedness under all circumstances. Similarly, on the questioning as to what is the quintessence of the spiritual civilizations of our time, we must also maintain our steadfast Marxist stand and become striving Marxists. With respect to certain ideologies from the West, we can neither close our doors and negate all of them nor leave all our doors widely open and affirm all of them; the important thing is to adopt an analytical attitude. For instance, in treating the trend of existentialism prevailing abroad, we must first of all see the social causes for the rise of this trend and affirm its positive meaning to opposition to the horrors of war, and at the same time we must also see its social limitations and class limitations. In our country, people seem to have the trouble of absolutely affirming Sartre insofar as his existentialism view is concerned. Some say, Sartre's existentialism is not "pessimistic humanitarianism" but "optimistic humanitarianism." Of course, if this is really the nature of the matter, that would be beyond reproach; but, as I see it, certain philosophical categories prescribed by Sartre, such as "anxiety," "isolation," "desperation," etc., can hardly be said to contain any spirit of optimism; on the contrary, they are full of pessimism. Even though what Sartre defines as "anxiety" means a person's feeling at the time when he makes a meaningful decision on life, such as when a hard-pressed youth makes a decision on not to commit suicide, what he defines as "isolation" means the inevitable consequence man must accept if God is absent, as if man can exist independently irrespective of God. There is really an unbridgeable gap when categories such as these are compared to the categories of revolutionary dialectics and materialist view of history in Marxism. Here, a question itself: Why should we not encourage the masses of the people with the revolutionary optimistic spirit of Marxist dialectics but, instead, put a premium on Sartre's "optimism" which partakes of but a little humanitarian spirit? Therefore, the point is clear: "supplementing" Marxism with humanitarianism, would be like diluting a martial, solemn march with a chokingly downcast requiem.

Furthermore, even if we follow the view of certain people by supposing that Sartre's humanitarianism is a kind of "optimism," can we therefore say that Sartre's philosophy is a scientific world view? It certainly looks as if we would be unable to arrive at such a conclusion. What is called optimistic is not necessarily scientific or revolutionary. As everybody knows, religious teachings, to their believers, are also a kind of optimism. Because religious believers can seek salvation and consolation in religious fantasies, thinking that their souls can escape from their dead bodies and float to the beautiful happy heavenly kingdom and thereby enjoy in their future life the happiness which they have not enjoyed on earth. This is of course optimism. But this kind of optimism is equivalent to spiritual emptiness. Although Sartre's optimism is opposed to religious optimism and, therefore, one above the latter, Sartre never intends to change unreasonable social systems by revolutionary means. What he can do is limited to advising his believers to return to the paradise on earth from the religious paradise, and to find self-consolation in "isolation" and "anxiety" and find their "happiness." Apart from this, nothing else can be added.

From the class viewpoint of Marxism, Sartre's humanitarianism reflects the appeal of the petit bourgeois who since the war have been seeking to relieve themselves from material and spiritual pains in a struggle for their own preservation. Such a spiritual pursuit is in essence the appeal for rescue on the part of those who are disappointed or even desperate. Therefore, this kind of humanitarianism is not optimism but pessimism. Or, as Lenin said, it is optimism in form but pessimism in substance.

From this, we can see that it cannot be said that all that which is pursued by people is necessarily quintessential, just as it cannot be said that all that glitters is gold. Whether or not a philosopher is great depends not on how much suffering of the oppressed he has cited, nor on how many promises he has made to the oppressed, but on that degree to which he has revealed the laws of nature and of the development of human society and thereby provide man with the most correct world view in his confrontation with the future. Marx put it well: "The growth of philosophers is not like bamboo shoots after a spring rain; they are the products of their own times and their own people; all the people's most exquisite, most precious and invisible quintessence is concentrated in their philosophical thought."[15]

It should be acknowledged that there is a social reason why, in our current life, questions of man's value and humanitarianism are elevated anew to the plane of theoretical questions, and that is also understandable. In the past period, because of the influence of the "leftist" guiding ideology, people mostly did not dare to touch the questions of human nature and humanitarianism, and the discussion of these questions even led to an aftermath which made people turn pale at the mention of them. This was rather abnormal. Especially serious was that, during the 10-year catastrophe, the tyranny of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" resulted in unspeakable sufferings and calamities for no one knows how many people; on the questions of whipping the fascist behavior of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," it is understandable that people should criticize fascism of the "gang of four" with humanitarianism and the teory of the nature of beasts on the part of the "gang of four" with the theory of the nature of man. In this sense, there is a social cause for people to come up with thought of historical humanitarianism. Similarily, this stands to reason that wherever savage aggression and tyrannical rule are administered to the masses of the people in a beastly manner, the progressive nature of humanitarianism should always be upheld. Under such circumstances, it is a requirement of historical progress that Marxist should support humanitarianists in thier opposition to all reactionary people.

But, this is only one side of the question, even though a side that should not be taken lightly. On another side of the question, that is, where the question of the fundamental theory of Marxism is touched upon, where the question of the purity of the Marxist world view is touched upon, the boundary between Marxism and humanitarianism is clearly demarcated. In those days, when Marx criticized the school of epistemological philosophy in Germany, he held high the banner of Feuerbach's humanism and humanitarianism; but on the questions of man's essence and the whole view of history, Marx clearly declared that he was no longer a follower of Feuerbach. Today, in the midst of the struggle for the liquidation of the perverse acts of Lin Biao and the

"gang of four," people have exposed the diverse criminal acts of these scabs trampling on the dignity of man; this may be said to be a case of historical progress remedying historical calamities. However, as we build our socialist spiritual civilization as a whole on a new basis, we should not halt ourselves on the level of humanitarianism. Because the individualistic liberation advocated by humanitarianism is bound to run counter to the principle of our socialist spiritual civilization. Obviously, in a country in which the proletariat exercises dictatorship and a democracy under centralist guidance is practiced, it is impossible to permit that kind of unrestrained "individualistic liberation" to develop randomly. Similarly, on the ideological front of Marxist ethics centered on the principle of communist morality, it is impossible to permit the ethical thinking of a bourgeoisie and petite bourgeoisie which orally flaunt the virtue of being "subjectively for themselves, objectively for others" but who actually engage in extreme egotism spreading it everywhere. Furthermore, in a university of socialism where the needs of the state and the needs of the people are held up as its first preference, can it be permissible to instigate the kind of conduct that would stress only one's own future and values while ignoring the needs of the state and the people?

Anybody with the slightest socialist spirit would recognize that all this would simply not do, and is becoming less and less so. Those who did their best in advocating "subjectively for themselves" a year ago have, after the year's discussion, become less steadfast in their stand. Even those who have invented this view have come to understand that it deviates far, far from our spiritual civilization, and only people of low interest can possibly need such a spirit. People will educate themselves in the practice of their life. People have come more and more to understand that the moral concepts of humanitarianism are more shallow than those of communism to a degree not worth mentioning. It is not a spiritual weapon which mobilizes hundreds and thousands of people to continue to forge ahead; it only makes people waver and hesitate in the midst of anxious, isolated, disappointing and negative pursuits, or even bog down in feelings of emptiness and desperation because of failures in such pursuits and thereby embark upon a path of self-destruction. Such things are commonplace in countries where humanitarianism prevails. In our country, at a time when Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought are today educating people anew, we cannot overlook such kinds of unhealthy ideological conditions. In our era, only the Marxist world view is forever a vigorous spiritual force and a sharp weapon for eliminating various political dust and ideological dust. If our state wishes really to become strong, if our Chinese nation wishes to prosper, and if our people wish to exert themselves, the only thing to do is to arm themselves with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 60.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., Vol 1, p 416.

4. Ibid., Vol 3, p 261.

5. Ibid., Vol 42, p 158.

6. Ibid., Vol 2, p 7.

7. Ibid., Vol 27, p 450.

8. Ibid., Vol 4, p 237.

9. Ibid., Vol 3, p 550.

10. Ibid., Vol 3, p 551.

11. Ibid., Vol 1, p 121.

12. "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 19, p 5.

13. Ibid., Vol 2, p 447.

14. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, 1952 edition, p 690.

15. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 120.

CSO: 4005/1067

END

JPRS 81777

15 September 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 337

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81777

15 September 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 337

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Briefs
Ji Pengfei Meets Portuguese Delegation 1

PARTY AND STATE

First Lecture on Upcoming 12th CPC Congress
(Zhu Yuanshi; Beijing Domestic Service, 22 Aug 82) 2

Third Article Greeting 12th CPC Congress
(Wang Zhaohua; Beijing Domestic Service, 24 Aug 82) 6

Fourth Article Greeting 12th CPC Congress
(Liu Fuzhi; Beijing Domestic Service, 25 Aug 82) 9

Sixth Article Greeting 12th CPC Congress
(Li Qing; Beijing Domestic Service, 29 Aug 82) 13

Seventh Article Greeting 12th CPC Congress
(Huang Zhu; Beijing Domestic Service, 30 Aug 82) 17

Ideological, Political Work Improvement Among Youth Stressed
(BEIJING RIBAO, 17 Jun 82) 20

Revision of People's Congress System Spotlighted
(Wang Shuwen and Zhou Yanrui; FAXUE YANJIU [LEGAL RESEARCH], No 3, 1982) 23

Banner of Communism Must Never Be Furled
(Shu Ping; RENMIN RIBAO, 5 Jul 82) 33

Beware of Bourgeois Sugarcoated Bullets
(Xin Ren; RENMIN RIBAO, 6 Jul 82) 35

'HEBEI RIBAO' Criticizes False Accusers
(Xia Ming; HEBEI RIBAO, 21 Aug 82) 38

Former County Deputy Chief Procurator Arrested
(Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service, 21 Aug 82) 40

'BEIJING REVIEW' On China's Class Struggle
(Zhou Yan; BEIJING REVIEW, 16 Aug 82) 41

'GUANGMING RIBAO' On Resultant Forces' Influence
(Kong Li and Li Qiang; GUANGMING RIBAO, 16 Aug 82) 46

'RENMIN RIBAO' On Separation of Powers
(Zhao Zhenjiang; RENMIN RIBAO, 17 Aug 82) 57

'Correct Attitude' Necessary In Regard To Intellectuals' Labor
(Miao Baosheng; SHAANXI RIBAO, 7 Jul 82) 62

Guard Against Foreign Elements' Insidious 'Peaceful Evolution'
(SHAANXI RIBAO, 7 Jul 82) 64

'Correct Party Style' To Prevent Damage, Loss of Prestige
(SHAANXI RIBAO, 7 Jul 82) 65

Summary Of Nationwide Press Comments On Draft Constitution
(SHIHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCES], No 6, 1982) 67

Twenty-Ninth Lecture On Draft Revised
(XINHUA, 26 Aug 82) 72

Thirtieth Lecture On Draft Revised Constitution
(XINHUA, 27 Aug 82) 74

Thirty-First Lecture On Draft Revised Constitution
(XINHUA, 28 Aug 82) 76

Thirty-Second Lecture On Draft Revised Constitution
(XINHUA, 29 Aug 82) 78

Thirty-Third Lecture On Draft Revised Constitution
(XINHUA, 29 Aug 82) 80

Article Surveys Continued Existence Of Class Struggle
(Li Baoping; HEBEI RIBAO, 23 Jun 82) 82

County Level Standing Committees Share Work Experience
(Zhu Chunnian and Ma Wancheng; SHANXI RIBAO,
20 Jun 82) 85

Attention To Education Campaigns Remains Top Priority
(SHANXI RIBAO, 27 June 82) 88

Party Committee Sets 10 Rules For Leading Cadres
(RENMIN RIBAO, 28 Jun 82) 90

Study, Conclusions On Existentialism Examined
(SHAANXI RIBAO, 7 Jul 82; YUNNAN RIBAO, 25 Jun 82) 92

Symposium Convened
Western Existentialism by Wang Yongkang

Briefs
Chen Weida Receives Sportsmen 95
Strengthening Party Discipline 95

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Role Of Self-Expression in Literature Discussed
(WEN HUI BAO, 22 Jun 82) 96

Entering New Era, by Liang Yongan
Differing Opinions
Defense of Self-Expression, by Sun Naixiu

Literature, Art Should Support Socialism
(Xin Xiangrong; BEIJING REVIEW, 23 Aug 82) 101

Hebei Eighth CYL Congress Opens 23 Aug
(Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service, 24 Aug 82) 103

Briefs
Islamic Institute 105

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Comments On Draft Revision of Constitution
(Editorial; CHENG MING [CONTENDING], No 5, 1982) 106

Imperfections In Draft Constitution Described
(Editorial; CHENG MING [CONTENDING], No 6, 1982) 109

Article Compares Revised, Past Constitutions
(P'an Chia-hua: CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES], No 6, 1982) 112

Right To Strike Omitted in New Constitution
(I Ting; CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES], No 6, 1982) 122

Revised Constitution Studied
(Shih Pu-k'o; CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES], No 6, 1982) 125

People's Rights Limited In Revised Constitution
(P'eng Wen-i; CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES[, No 7, 1982) ... 128

Commentary On Features of 'Draft Revision of Constitution'
(Liao Kuang-sheng; MING PAO YUEH-K'AN [MING PAO MONTHLY],
No 6, 1982) 131

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

JI PENGFEI MEETS PORTUGUESE DELEGATION--Beijing, 23 Aug (XINHUA)--State Councillor Ji Pengfei met here this afternoon with the Portuguese youth delegation led by Rui Garcia de Oliveira, standing committee member of the political bureau of the Portuguese Center Social Democratic Party and member of Parliament. They exchanged views on further strengthening friendly exchanges between the youth of China and Portugal. Attending the meeting were Zhu Shanqing, vice-president of the All-China Youth Federation, and Portuguese ambassador to China Antonio Leal da Costa Lobo. [Text] [OW240221 Beijing XINHUA in English 1637 GMT 23 Aug 82]

CSO: 4000/181

PARTY AND STATE

FIRST LECTURE ON UPCOMING 12TH CPC CONGRESS

OW241045 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 22 Aug 82

[Special article by (Zhu Yuanshi) to greet the 12th CPC Congress: "A Great Victory of the Ideological Line of Seeking Truth From Facts"--first of 12]

[Excerpts] It has been nearly 4 years since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. During this short 4-year period we have achieved a great historic change and steered the revolutionary ship of China to a correct course from an erroneous one and fulfilled the party's arduous task of replacing an erroneous ideological line with a correct line. This has brought about great achievements in various kinds of work on all fronts. It is the victory of the party's practical Marxist ideological line that has made this great historic change possible.

The victory won in October 1976 in cruising the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique brought our country into a new historical era of development. With extremely great zeal the broad masses of cadres and people inside and outside the party threw themselves into the revolution and construction and earnestly demanded that the errors of the Great Cultural Revolution and the leftist guiding ideology be rectified. It was not easy to achieve this. The presentation of the principle of "two whatevers" seriously obstructed the task of eliminating chaos and restoring order on all fronts in accordance with the principle of seeking truth from facts. Although the party's 11th national congress pronounced the conclusion of the Cultural Revolution and played a positive role in exposing and criticizing Lin Biao and the gang of four and in mobilizing the whole party to build a socialist modern power, the congress, however, still approved the Cultural Revolution's erroneous theories, policies and slogans. That was why there was a 2-year wavering period following the crushing of the gang of four. Apparently whether or not our party could reinstate the practical Marxist ideological line became the fundamental issue concerning whether we could eliminate chaos and restore order and whether we could continue to advance forward.

Seeking truth from facts means proceeding from reality, integrating theory with practice, integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and applying Marxist dialectical and historical materialism to solve practical problems in the

Chinese revolution and construction. This is the Marxist world outlook and methodology as well as the basic starting point of Mao Zedong thought. This is the ideological basis on which our party formulates its correct lines, principles and policies. It is the only correct way of thinking and the only correct work method with which we carry out revolution and construction. After our nation was founded, we once took the tortuous course in socialist construction. One important reason was our failure to seek truth from facts, to proceed from reality and to combine theory with practice under the guidance of leftist ideology. That caused losses in our revolution and construction and finally led to so serious a mistake as the Cultural Revolution, which entailed the most serious frustrations and losses in our party, state and people after the founding of the nation.

Thus, the historic responsibility of thoroughly correcting the mistakes of the Great Cultural Revolution and the long-standing leftist guiding ideology fell on the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The great achievements of the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee lie in setting the ideological line of seeking truth from facts. It stressed that everything must proceed from reality, and that theory must be integrated with practice. It reinstated the true features of Marxism and approved the Marxist principle that practice is the criterion for examining truth. It also denounced the erroneous principle of "two whatevers" and stressed that the scientific system of Mao Zedong thought must be grasped completely and accurately. This has fundamentally corrected the leftist mistakes in the party's guiding ideology, enabled us to control the initiative to eliminate chaos and restore order, thus spurring on the smooth development in our country's socialist modernization and bringing about a vigorous and gratifying situation on all fronts throughout the country. Now let us review the great victories of the ideological line of seeking truth from facts by examining the actual changes that have happened in the political, economic and cultural spheres since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

First, the political changes: Thanks to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, a gratifying situation of stability and unity has appeared across the country. As everyone knows, one of the important reasons that caused the chaotic decade was the impractical and totally erroneous estimation of the class situation as well as the political situation of the party and state in those days, and the whole series of erroneous principles, policies and measures formulated on that basis. Owing to the confusion between foes and friends and between right and wrong, serious turmoils, ravages and retrogression were created. Under the call issued by the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee of emancipating minds and seeking truth from facts, the broad masses of cadres and people have been emancipated from the mental yoke of the personality cult and dogmatism which had once prevailed, and a lively situation of working hard to study the new situation and resolve new issues has appeared. The party also made a timely, objective and scientific analysis and estimation of our country's class situation and

political situation, rectified the previous abnormal situation of wilfully exaggerating--or even artificially creating--class struggle and struggle between the two lines, and decisively stopped the use of the slogan of taking class struggle as the key link. It stressed that the two types of contradictions must be strictly distinguished and correctly handled and it formulated the strategic policy decision on shifting the emphasis of work to socialist construction. On this basis, the party central committee also adopted a whole series of powerful measures to earnestly and thoroughly rectify the mistakes of the Great Cultural Revolution and its consequences. With extremely great determination and out of a high sense of responsibility to the people as well as in the spirit of seeking truth from facts, the party also implemented various policies and corrected a great number of frame-ups and fake and erroneous cases created during and before the Great Cultural Revolution, restored the honor of the framed party and state leaders and the leading figures of all nationalities and from all walks of life, and reaffirmed their contributions to the party and the people. This has greatly promoted the great ideological and political unity of the people of all nationalities throughout the country.

Second, let us deal with the economic changes. In economic work, by implementing the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, we corrected the leftist guiding ideology in economic construction, which was characterized by being overly anxious for quick results. At the same time, we set about solving the problem of the serious disproportions between various major economic sectors. In view of our country's conditions and proceeding from reality, we implemented the policy of readjustment, restructuring, reorganization and upgrading, with the stress on readjustment. In addition, we adopted practical measures calling for acting according to our capability, proceeding step by step and in an orderly way, paying attention to practical results and improving the people's livelihood by developing production.

In organizing socialist economic activities under the guidance of the principle of planned economy being the leading factor and regulation by the market being a supplementary one, democratic management has developed in production. The economic responsibility system in industry, including the system of personal responsibility, has also been instituted, developed and improved. The intiative of localities, enterprises, workers and staff members has been mobilized by adopting such measures as giving greater decisionmaking power to enterprises and instituting the reward system in enterprises and institutions. This has yielded remarkable results in enlivening the economy.

Agriculture is the most successful and gratifying sector of the economy. Agriculture has developed quite rapidly and on a rather large scale over the past few years. There are many reasons for this, but the main ones are: We have emancipated our minds and sought truth from facts; the party has firmly supported and led a great change taking place among the peasants; and we have instituted various forms of the production management and responsibility systems that are suited to our country's level of agricultural production.

We have also taken an analytical attitude toward capitalist countries. We should learn from and make use of such countries' experiences in enterprise management and their advanced science and technology. We should resist and criticize decadent capitalist ideas and the decadent capitalist way of life. With this realistic understanding based on facts and on the basis of independence and self-reliance, we have changed the past policy of closing the country to international intercourse and adopted the policy of opening to the outside world. Thus, we have absorbed some foreign capital useful to us and imported some advanced technologies suited to our country's conditions, thus further increasing our capacity for self-reliance. At the same time, our foreign trade has developed on a large scale.

In view of the above gratifying phenomena, it can be said with certainty that we will be able to open a new era of economic prosperity through 10 years' effort. Our country's total industrial and agricultural output value will greatly increase and our people will be comparatively well-off by the end of this century.

Third, let us deal with changes in science, education and culture. As a result of firmly implementing the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, intellectuals, whose status has been raised, are now respected as they should be. Under the supervision of the party central committee and the State Council, the policy toward intellectuals is being implemented effectively. Many outstanding intellectuals have joined the communist party. Such correct measures of the party have greatly aroused the initiative of large numbers of intellectuals in contributing to the drive for the four modernizations. They have thus made tremendous achievements in science, education and culture.

Remarkable developments have been made in education. Take this year's college graduates and college enrollment for example. Institutions of higher learning graduated more than 310,000 undergraduate and graduate students and enrolled 300,000 students this year. The number of students enrolled this year increased 12 percent over last year.

Under the guidance of the correct lines laid down since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and holding high the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought, the great ship of socialist China is cleaving through the waves. Let us make persistent efforts, guard against arrogance and rashness, strengthen our revolutionary spirit and win ever greater victories by surmounting difficulties!

CSO: 4005/1262

PARTY AND STATE

THIRD ARTICLE GREETING 12TH CPC CONGRESS

OW271403 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 24 Aug 82

[Special article by (Wang Zhaohua) to greet the 12th CPC National Congress: "Redress Frame-ups and False and Wrong Cases, Consolidate Stability and Unity"--3d in a series of 12]

[Excerpts] Under the correct leadership of the party central committee and through the efforts of party organizations at various levels, order has been restored out of chaos, a large number of frame-ups and false and wrong cases have been reexamined and redressed and a large number of historical questions have been properly solved since the downfall of the gang of four, especially since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. This has produced far-reaching influence and given a tremendous stimulus to mobilizing positive factors in all quarters, consolidating the political situation of stability and unity and reviving and carrying forward the party's fine tradition of seeking truth from facts.

The resolution of the 6th plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee pointed out: The Cultural Revolution, initiated by a leader laboring under a misapprehension and capitalized on by counterrevolutionary cliques, led to domestic turmoil and brought catastrophe to the party, the state and the entire people.

In this domestic turmoil, the Lin Biao and Jian Qing counterrevolutionary cliques put forward the reactionary slogan: "Suspect all and overthrow all!" They waged a ruthless struggle against large numbers of cadres, especially proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, dealing them merciless blows. With the portion of power they had usurped in the party and the government, they instigated and supported some hoodwinked people to catch what were called renegades, enemy agents and capitalist roaders everywhere. They used all means to obtain confessions by compulsion and gave them credence. As a result, large numbers of cadres and people, especially veteran cadres, were wronged. Many comrades were persecuted to death.

Such an unprecedentedly large number of frame-ups and false and wrong cases seriously damaged the ranks of party cadres and the party's cadre

policy as well as extremely serious damage to the party's prestige and its fine style of seeking truth from facts.

After the downfall of the gang of four, the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, in the face of numerous frame-ups and false and wrong cases in the country, called on the whole to emancipate the mind and to bring order out of chaos. Resolutely overcoming the viewpoint of the "two whatevers" and factionalist interference, the party central committee took a series of effective measures to redress frame-ups and false and wrong cases in a planned and systematic way. Cases which had occurred during the Cultural Revolution were reexamined consecutively. After reexamination, all frame-ups and false and wrong cases were to be redressed according to the facts concerning such cases, no matter when and how they had occurred and no matter who had approved them. Through the persistent efforts of party organizations at various levels and hard work by hundreds of thousands of comrades charged with this task, tremendous achievements have been made in redressing frame-ups and false and wrong cases which occurred during the Cultural Revolution.

Now most frame-ups and false and wrong cases have been redressed, many comrades, who are able to work have resumed work, and fair appraisals have also been made of comrades who are dead. The problems of comrades who were implicated in such cases have also been properly solved. By now, the work of redressing frame-ups and false and wrong cases has nearly been completed in all localities. At the same time, a large number of historical questions and questions of merits and demerits, right and wrong, concerning some leaders have been realistically solved from the central down to the local level.

A very small number of elements who following the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques in seriously violating the law and discipline and engaging in beating, smashing and looting have been dealt with severely. As for cadres who made mistakes during the Cultural Revolution, the party central committee, considering the special historical conditions at that time, has stressed helping them sum up their experiences and lessons, raise their political consciousness and correct their mistakes in accordance with the principle of treating them with leniency and putting them on probation. The party central committee has also educated all party comrades to take the situation as a whole into consideration, to look forward, not to get tangled in settling old scores and to devote their energies to the four modernizations.

Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party, acting on the principle of correcting mistakes whenever discovered, has resolutely brought order out of chaos, vigorously redressed frame-ups and false and wrong cases, conscientiously implemented its cadre policy, firmly corrected mistakes in leadership work and determinedly overcome the evil consequences caused by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. These facts have once again incontrovertibly proven

that our party has exposed its own mistakes on its own initiative and resolutely corrected them instead of turning a blind eye. This is not an indication of fear but an indication of strength.

The practice of redressing frame-ups and false and wrong cases shows that realistically correcting past mistakes and responsibly solving questions left over from history have not damaged the party's image or affected its prestige; on the contrary, this has greatly increased the party's prestige. Comrades of the whole party have also received a profound education from their painful experiences and lessons. Thus, they have increased their ability to tell right from wrong, not to commit leftist mistakes again and enhanced their consciousness in correctly implementing the party's policies. This is of extremely great significance for achieving unity in the party's thinking, strengthening the party's unity and increasing its fighting capability.

Now, the work of redressing frame-ups and false and wrong cases that occurred in the Cultural Revolution, of handling questions left over from history and of implementing the party's cadre policy have not yet been entirely completed. The whole party should make continuous efforts to fulfill these tasks well.

We must further eliminate the influence of erroneous leftist ideas, conscientiously overcome the slack mood and take effective measures to step up implementation of the party's cadres policy. We must carry out these major tasks thoroughly. We must greet the successful convening of the 12th National CPC Congress with actual deeds and contribute to making it possible for the whole party to concentrate its energy on the drive for the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005/1262

PARTY AND STATE

FOURTH ARTICLE GREETING 12TH CPC CONGRESS

OW201151 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Special article by (Liu Fuzhi) to greet the 12th CPC National Congress: "Bring Order Out of Chaos, Build Up the Socialist Legal System"--fourth in a series of 12]

[Excerpts] The 10 years of internal disorder of the Cultural Revolution caused the most serious setbacks and losses to our party, country and people since the founding of the people's republic. The public security and judicial departments are vital departments of the people's democratic dictatorship. They were one of the main targets of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques in their attempt to usurp party and state leadership; they suffered particularly grave damages.

Since the downfall of the gang of four, especially since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party has summed up experiences and lessons and clearly set forth the historical task of developing socialist democracy and building up the socialist legal system. Under the guidance of the party's line, principles and policies formulated since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the public security and judicial front has done a great deal of work in bringing order out of chaos and achieved gratifying successes in building up the legal system.

1. The organizational structure of public security and judicial departments has been strengthened. First of all, through exposing and criticizing Lin Biao and the gang of four, we have uncovered and cleaned out their factional setup in the public security and judicial departments, consolidated the leading bodies at various levels and placed the public security and judicial power back in the hands of the people.

The party and state attach very great importance to public security and judicial work. Central leading comrades have repeatedly stressed that in the new historical period the people's democratic dictatorship must be strengthened and not weakened, and that the ranks of public security and judicial workers need to be strengthened and expanded.

In 1978, the Fifth National People's Congress decided to restore the people's procuratorates. Subsequently justice and vicial affairs departments were reestablished. Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the ranks of public security and judicial workers have expanded by one-third. The Party Central Committee has set up a central public security and judicial committee [zhong yang zheng fa wei yuan hui 0022 1135 2398 3127 1201 0765 2585] with Comrade Peng Zhen as its secretary to strengthen party leadership over public security and judicial work.

2. We have accomplished the task of bringing order out of chaos in the basic guiding ideology for public security and judicial work and defined the tasks and functions of public security and judicial work in the new historical period.

Under the leadership of party committees and with the cooperation of fraternal departments, the public security and judicial departments have done a great deal of work; rehabilitated comrades who were persecuted and wronged; basically completed the task of redressing cases left over from the past in which people were framed up, falsely charged and wrongly sentenced; corrected the mistake of broadening the scope of struggle against rightists; and removed the designations of those landlords, rich peasants and rightists who had remolded themselves.

Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee, along with the strategic shift of the emphasis of the work of the whole party, the public security and judicial front has also gradually shifted its work to serving the four modernizations. The recently held national judicial work conference further clarified that in the new historical period the basic task of public and security and judicial work is to more consciously and clearly serve socialist construction.

In serving the economic base, public security and judicial work has two functions, that is, to protect the people and to deal blows at the enemies. On the one hand, it is necessary to protect the people's democratic rights and uphold the socialist legal system. On the other hand, it is necessary to deal blows at the enemies and punish the criminals. The two functions are two-in-one and inseparable.

3. We have carried out vigorous legislative work, and the work in various fields is gradually taking the course of conforming to law. Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the legislative organs have worked very hard to enact laws. In just 4 years, more than 30 laws and decrees have been enacted, including the "Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China," the "Criminal Procedure Law of the People's Republic of China," the "Economic Contract Law of the People's Republic of China," the "Civil Procedure Law of the People's Republic of China," and so forth.

Especially in May this year, the draft revised constitution of the People's Republic of China was published for discussion by the people of the whole country. We believe that after discussion and revision by the people of the whole country, a new constitution which is suited to the historical tasks in the new period, in keeping with China's conditions and relatively perfect will surely come into being. It certainly will have a profound influence on further improving the country's socialist legal system.

4. We have used the legal weapon to fight law violations and crimes and strengthen social order.

In 1980, under the direct leadership of the Party Central Committee, public security organs, procuratorial organs and courts closely cooperated and carried out according to law the historical trials of the 10 principal culprits of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques that had brought calamity to the country and the people. The trials were enthusiastically supported by the people throughout the country and received favorable comments from the world public. The trials also provided a large-scale, vivid and profound education on the legal system for the people throughout the country and greatly enhanced the authority of law.

In the past few years the public security and judicial departments have concentrated their main forces on strengthening social order. On the basis of the characteristics of the current state of social order, the Party Central Committee has formulated a series of correct principles and policies including the principles that under the leadership of party committees, the whole party should act to bring social order under comprehensive control; that crimes seriously endangering society such as murder, arson, robbery, rape, the discharging of explosives and so forth should be punished severely and promptly according to law; that young people who have committed minor criminal offenses should be helped, educated and reformed by giving full play to the role of society; that juvenile delinquents should be saved; and so forth.

Through the joint efforts of the whole party, the whole army, the people of the whole country and all public security and judicial personnel, social order, especially in cities, has gradually but obviously been improving. The crime rate has dropped, and a greater percentage of criminal cases are being broken.

5. We have inherited and carried forward the fine traditions of public security and judicial work of our country. In the course of our protracted revolutionary struggles, our public security and judicial work accumulated rich experiences, both positive and negative, and created many successful practices which were characteristic of our own conditions and proven effective. Among them the most fundamental are: Leadership by party committees; combining professional work with the mass line; conducting investigation and study; and seeking truth from facts. These are fine traditions of our country's public security and judicial work and constitute a valuable wealth of proletarian legal ideas.

These fine traditions, however, were wantonly destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, and right and wrong were confused. Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee, through our efforts to bring order out of chaos, these fine traditions have been restored and developed in practice.

In the new historical period, we must uphold and promote the fine tradition of leadership by party committees. Only by relying on party leadership can we really develop socialist democracy and perfect the socialist legal system. Party leadership is mainly political and ideological leadership and leadership in principle and policy to insure and supervise the public security and judicial organs to act strictly according to law. In serious and difficult cases, the party committees still have to actually intervene and give guidance. Those who think that independent exercise of procuratorial and judicial powers by the procuratorial and judicial organs and leadership by party committees contradict one another, and that the law of the state and the party's principles and policies are opposed to one another, are very wrong.

CSO: 4005/1262

PARTY AND STATE

SIXTH ARTICLE GREETING 12TH CPC CONGRESS

OW010048 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 29 Aug 82

[Special article by (Li Qing) to greet the 12th National CPC Congress: "The Consolidation and Development of the United Front in the New Period"--6th in a series of 12]

[Excerpts] After the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC National Congress, our country has entered into a new historical period in which socialist modernization is the central task. Our country's united front has also entered into a new historical development period. Like other fronts, a vigorous and gratifying situation has appeared on the united front which, over the past several years, has been gradually recovered, further consolidated and developed under the new historical situation, thanks to the restoration of order amid chaos and full implementation of the party's various policies.

In his opening speech at the 2d meeting of the 5th CPPCC National Committee in June of 1979, Comrade Deng Xiaoping profoundly set forth the fundamental changes that have taken place in the class situation and within the united front in our country, with the exception of Taiwan and some other areas. He pointed out: The means of production formerly owned by the capitalist class in our country were turned over to the state long ago and the payment of fixed interest also ended. The overwhelming majority of the capitalists who can work have transformed themselves into working people earning their own living in the socialist society. Chinese intellectuals, including the overwhelming majority of those elderly ones who experienced the old society, have become a sector of the working class. China's democratic parties have now become political allies of those socialist workers and patriots who support socialism and with whom they keep in touch. On the basis of having identical interests, China's 50 or so fraternal nationalities have developed into a new type of socialist national relationship marked by unity, fraternity, mutual assistance and cooperation. This is to say that workers, peasants, intellectuals and all patriots of all nationalities have now become masters of their country.

With such fundamental changes in our country's class situation and with the development of the situation at home and abroad, the National Conference

on United Front Work was held in August of 1979 under the direct leadership of the Party Central Committee. In view of the guidelines set by the 3d plenary session of the 11th National CPC Congress, the session discussed and defined the nature, tasks and fundamental policies of the united front work in the new period. The united front in the past was a political alliance which comprised the national bourgeoisie; now it has become a political alliance of all socialist workers, patriots who support socialism and patriots who support national reunification. The scope of this alliance is very broad: It comprises the socialist workers, socialist peasants, socialist intellectuals and all patriots; it comprises the broad masses of Taiwan compatriots, compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao and overseas Chinese; and it also comprises all those who ardently love their motherland. Therefore, we must unite those who support national reunification, including those who do not support socialism. During the new historical period, the fundamental task of united front work is to unite with all forces that can be united, bring every positive factor into play so that they will work hard together to build China into a modernized socialist power, accomplish the cause of national reunification with the return of Taiwan to the motherland, develop the international antihegemonist struggle and safeguard world peace.

Under the central authorities' correct leadership, a great deal of work has been done over the past 3 years in implementing the party's united front policies and in enlivening united front activities.

First, a great deal of painstaking and meticulous work has been done in implementing various united front policies, nationality policies and religious policies. A large number of frame-ups, fake and erroneous verdicts have been reinvestigated and redressed throughout the country; cases concerning those who were mislabelled as rightists have been corrected and proper arrangements have been made for their livelihood and work. On the other hand, various policies for the former industrialists and businessmen have been implemented and proper arrangements have also been made for the use of those who have business and administrative experience. Fruitful results have also been accomplished in implementing the policies for former Kuomintang personnel who revolted and crossed over.

Second, various people's political consultative conferences, various democratic parties and other people's organizations are playing a positive role in our country's political life in all respects as their work has resumed and they have become increasingly active.

Leaders of the central authorities have pointed out: Multiparty cooperation, under CPC leadership, is a special and fine feature of our country's political system. Long-standing coexistence and mutual supervision between the CPC and various democratic parties is a policy which will remain unchanged for a long time to come.

Third, a great deal of work has been carried out for the return of Taiwan to the motherland and for the accomplishment of the great cause of national reunification. The NPC Standing Committee's 1979 new year message to compatriots in Taiwan solemnly declared the policy of peaceful national reunification. It put forward such policies as respecting the status quo on Taiwan so as not to cause the people of Taiwan any loss, and as establishing commercial, transportation and postal services between the two sides. In his 9-point proposal on peaceful reunification of the motherland, issued on the eve of the 1981 national day, NPC Standing Committee chairman Ye Jianying urged the Taiwan authorities to accept the proposal that talks be held between the CPC and the KMT on a reciprocal basis so that the two parties would cooperate for the third time. On 24 July last, Comrade Liao Chengzhi also sent a letter to Mr Chiang Ching-kuo, earnestly admonishing him: "If you take part in peace talks to accomplish national reunification as required by time and historical tide, the two parties will be able to coexist for a long time to come, supervising each other while joining in the glorious cause of revitalizing China."

The reversion of Taiwan to the motherland is an inevitable trend in historical development. The various principles and policies on peaceful reunification of the motherland put forward by the CPC are fair and reasonable. National reunification is an undertaking that will have significant effects for centuries. It conforms to the people's aspirations and will benefit the whole nation. Over the past few years, various departments concerned have firmly implemented the policies for those who revolted and crossed over, who were formerly KMT military and political personnel, who have family members in Taiwan and who are compatriots from Taiwan. Patriots who have returned from Taiwan to settle in China have also been properly settled.

Compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and overseas Chinese residing abroad are important members of the patriotic united front. In recent years, the patriots among them have had increasingly close contact with their motherland and have contributed positively to their motherland's construction and to the great cause of national reunification.

Fourth, a great deal of work has also been accomplished in promoting friendly exchanges and people-to-people diplomatic activities. Since the beginning of 1980, the CPPCC National Committee has on many occasions sent delegations to Yugoslavia, Romania, the United States and Japan on friendly visits.

Generally speaking, remarkable accomplishments have been achieved in our nation's united front work. This is the main trend in the development of the situation. However, many problems still exist. This lies mainly in the failure of a considerable number of comrades within the CPC, including some leading comrades, to understand the importance, extensive scope and protracted nature of the united front work in the new period. This shows that, to carry out united front work successfully, it is still a task that demands immediately attention to continue to eradicate the leftist influence.

We must clearly understand that, to accomplish the three major historical tasks--the four modernizations, national reunification and the international antihegemonist struggle--we must mobilize all forces to form the broadest alliance and organize the broadest united front on the basis of having a close alliance of workers, peasants and intellectuals. By no means should we think that we can accomplish the magnificent tasks before us by relying on our party's efforts alone. Such ideas as closed-doorism, acting as a lone wolf and doing everything single-handedly are wrong and must be avoided and combated.

The whole party must have a deep understanding that, for a very long historical period to come, the united front will continue to have great vitality. Until classes are eliminated, and while the communist party remains, it is necessary to uphold cooperation between party and nonparty people and uphold the party's united front.

In the present stage, the main objects of united front work are: the democratic parties, well-known personages without party affiliations, nonparty intellectuals working as cadres, former Kuomintang military and government personnel who revolted and crossed over, former industrialists and businessmen, upper class personages of minority nationalities, patriotic religious leaders, family members, relatives and friends of people who have gone to Taiwan, friends in Hong Kong and Macao, returned overseas Chinese and Chinese nationals abroad. Their numbers are very large.

To do a good job in united front work in the new period, specifically we should pay attention to the following four major tasks:

1. The united front, propaganda and culture and education departments should make concerted efforts to integrate the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought with concrete practice in the new period and conduct reeducation on the theories and policies of the united front within the party. It is necessary to restudy the works of Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and others on the united front to draw new wisdom and strength from them.

2. It is necessary to let the democratic parties and mass organizations, such as the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, work freely and independently, giving full play to their initiative and creativeness.

3. It is necessary to see to it that the various united front policies are implemented.

4. It is necessary to take good care of nonparty personages. Representative nonparty personages, who have cooperated with our party for a long time, should retain their jobs as long as they are still living and in good health. For those who hold too many concurrent posts, a suitable solution should be found through consultation.

Under the leadership of the central committee and party committees at various levels, we believe that, in the new period, the united front surely will become further consolidated and developed and will make still larger contributions to the great cause of accomplishing the three great historical tasks.

CSO: 4005/1262

PARTY AND STATE

SEVENTH ARTICLE GREETING 12TH CPC CONGRESS

OW010629 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 30 Aug 82

[Special article by (Huang Zhu) to greet the 12th CPC National Congress: "New Development in Socialist Nationality Relations"--7th in a series of 12]

[Excerpts] Ours is a multinational country. The people of various nationalities have joined their efforts in opening up the territory of the motherland, upholding the magnificent culture of ancient times and establishing close ties in the political, economic and cultural fields.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, our party, guided by Marxism-Leninism and proceeding from China's actual conditions, has formulated and implemented a series of correct nationality policies; namely, the policies on national equality, national unity, regional national autonomy, and national development and prosperity.

After overall completion of socialist transformation, owing to leftist interference and in particular the serious disruption of the party's nationality policies and work toward nationalities by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques during the 10 years of internal disorder, mistakes were made in expanding the scope of class struggle, hurting many minority nationality cadres and masses in disrespect of the minority nationalities' right to autonomy. We must keep these lessons in mind.

Since the downfall of the gang of four, especially since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee has paid serious attention to the nationality question, reaffirmed the party's nationality policies, convened a series of conferences on nationality affairs and issued a series of important directives on nationality questions.

In general, the overall principle of the party's nationality work is to firmly and steadfastly care for and help the minority nationalities develop in an all-round way politically, economically and culturally, enable them to advance continuously along the socialist road and achieve step by step real equality among all nationalities.

Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party has done much work in accordance with the party's general principle on nationality work and the Party Central Committee's series of directives on nationality work, mainly in the following areas:

1. Cases in which people have been framed, falsely accused or wrongly sentenced have been basically redressed. For example, major cases such as the case of the "Inner Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party" and so forth have been redressed, and the persons wronged have been rehabilitated.

2. The policy of regional national autonomy has been implemented step by step. Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party has vigorously upheld and implemented the policy of national equality, has opposed all words and actions undermining national equality and national unity and has done much work in consolidating and developing a new kind of socialist nationality relations.

The crux of regional national autonomy is to train a contingent of minority nationality cadres who can uphold the four fundamental principles, faithfully implement the party's principles and policies, forge close ties with the masses, possess scientific and cultural knowledge and are professionally competent. At present, the number of minority nationality cadres in the whole country has increased from 800,000 to 1 million. Through general elections, national minorities now generally hold responsible administrative positions in autonomous organs. Party committee secretaries of 16 autonomous prefectures, 50 autonomous counties and some counties and cities under the jurisdiction of autonomous regions are also of minority nationality. Thus, the party's policy on regional national autonomy has been further implemented.

3. The economy in minority nationality areas has been developed. Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party and the state have adopted many important policies and measures to help the minority nationality areas develop their economy and advance from poverty to prosperity.

In short, the policies and measures implemented since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee have motivated the minority nationality areas and people. For example, Xizang has achieved good harvests the past 2 years since the implementation of the central instructions. Last year, the per capita income of the Xizang Autonomous region was 200 yuan. Last year, Nei Monggol's grain, edible oil and beet output reached an all-time high, and the survival rate of young animals and the number of mature and marketable animals surpassed all past records. Diversified undertakings and household sideline occupations have also developed rapidly. The average income of the peasants and herdsmen in Nei Monggol could reach about 230 yuan in 1981. Minority nationality living standards in Ningxia, Guangxi, Yunnan and so forth have also been markedly improved.

4. Education, culture, public health and physical culture have developed in various minority nationality areas. Many minority nationality colleges and middle and primary schools have been restored and developed. To help minority nationalities raise their cultural and technical levels, seven institutions of higher education including Beijing University, Qinghua University, Beijing Normal University, and the Dalian Engineering College have opened special classes for minority students. At present, minority students enrolled in various institutions of higher learning total more than 42,900. Each year, some 50,000 minority students graduate from colleges and middle schools.

5. The party's policy on religious freedom has been implemented. This is an important aspect in the implementation of the party's nationality policies. The implementation of the party's policy on religion has enhanced national unity and promoted socialist construction in minority nationality areas.

"The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities--these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause." [Mao quote]

CSO: 4005/1262

PARTY AND STATE

IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK IMPROVEMENT AMONG YOUTH STRESSED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jun 82 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Further Improve Ideological and Political Work Among Young People"]

[Text] The 17th Congress of the Beijing Communist Youth League ended yesterday. The congress resoundingly issued a battle cry "be a courageous shock brigade to build a socialist modernized capital." We warmly congratulate the city's Communist Youth League members and the city's youth. We believe that after this congress of the city's Communist Youth league, the city's Communist Youth League organizations can surely rally youth around the party so that in the process of realizing the fighting mission pointed out by the party, young people will mature more acceptably.

Young people are our heirs. Taking youth work seriously is a party tradition. In the four modernizations young people should be the vanguard and the communist banner should be carried by young people to the end. This generation of young people has great prospects. But among young people there are still many problems ideologically which urgently demand that party organizations at all levels strengthen and improve ideological and political work among young people.

Ideological and political work is a science and must be done according to the rules of ideological and political work to be effective. Ideological and political work with youth should be suited to the characteristics of youth. Ideological and political work with present-day youth should be suited to the characteristics of present-day youth. If the characteristics are not stressed and the rules not followed ideological work cannot be done well. Some people may complain that young people are "backward" and that "neither persuasion or force" work on young people. Actually, some units have some successful experience and this experience makes us wonder: How can we further improve ideological and political work among young people?

Sixty-three years ago, the May 4 Movement, which was the ideological and organizational preparation for building the party, was made up mainly of young people. Since that time, the party and young people have been of one flesh and blood. Our party has accumulated a wealth of experience in doing ideological and political work among young people and has formed a correct guiding ideology. Party organizations at all levels should help youth work cadres learn this valuable treasure and learn how to use and develop the experience of the past under present circumstances to raise ideological and political work among young people to a new high.

Help Young People To Improve Understanding and Ability To Change the World

The fundamental aim of ideological and political work is to use revolutionary ideology and spirit, that is, using communist ideology and the basic theory of Marxism to educate the cadres and masses, to educate young people, to arouse and heighten people's revolutionary consciousness and through repeated practice to raise people's understanding and ability to transform the objective world.

This point is especially important in youth work. The fundamental weakness of young people is lack of knowledge. This is partly because they have not been in the world very long and lack life experience and social experience and partly because in the decade of chaos many young people lost the opportunity to study. Because of these weaknesses it is often easy for young people to make mistaken judgements on the basis of scanty knowledge or one-sided hearsay materials. But at the same time, one of the superior points of young people is the thirst for knowledge. Thus, study is a particularly prominent task for young people. We should fully cherish young people's enthusiasm for learning and satisfy this thirst for knowledge in all possible ways. If they know more, young people will cast aside ignorant prejudice and resist more easily the fallacies of the bourgeoisie and their corrupt life-style. What is particularly essential now is to help young people to learn modern and contemporary history and the history of social development. If young people understand the laws of social development they will acquire the ability to reorganize the prospects of social development and thus be better able to establish correct ideals and determine their own life aims.

Helping young people improve their ability to understand the world includes such things as improving their ability to observe, analyze and discriminate. Improving these abilities is inseparable from knowledge and even more so from a correct world view and ideological method. Resolving these questions is a need of young people and a question of great interest to young people. The great demand for well-written popular philosophy books proves this point. Making the best use of the situation and taking advantage of this opportunity to popularize basic knowledge of dialectical materialism among young people is an important mission in our ideological work among young people.

Organize and Guide Young People to Take the Lead in the Search for Truth

Everyone knows that the truths of Marxism can only be inculcated from without, but this inculcation should also be combined with the young people's own search for truth in order for it to be readily accepted by young people. Enthusiasm of young people's search for truth should be supported and guided but should not be restrained or set back. In the search for truth there may be some detours, but this is not important. Marxism is truth, the only truth which can guide the Chinese people to follow the socialist road to wealth and power, the truth which conforms interests of people, including young people, and it can be understood and mastered by young people in the final analysis. Since 1840 the Chinese have sought a truth which could save the country and the people and after about 80 years they found Marxism. Because they had tried everything else and none of it worked, the truth of Marxism was even clearer. In today's young people's search for truth we should consciously help them compare the strengths and weaknesses of different viewpoints and thus strengthen their faith in Marxism.

Guiding young people's own search for truth does not mean letting things drift along, but demands that we do ideological and political work more carefully and in greater depth. Young people can often ask questions for which our cadres do not have the ideological preparation, have not researched, do not understand and cannot supply answers. Only if we adopt the honest attitude of "knowing what we really understand and admitting what we do not know" and are not satisfied with not knowing but study and analyze the application of the Marxist viewpoint together with young people, then we will certainly win the confidence of young people and guide them to overcome the influence of the mistaken viewpoints of the bourgeoisie. Many units have adopted such activities as essays, speech competitions and social surveys as good ways to develop the spirit of initiative in young people's search for truth. We hope that these experiences will be further summarized and extended.

Organize Young People To Participate in Practical Activity of Building Material Civilization and Spiritual Civilization

Knowledge originates in practice. Education of communist ideology and morality cannot stop at hearing reports, reading relevant books and oral discussions. Only in the practice of working and struggling for the public good can young people be trained to be communists. On the one hand we should adopt a variety of methods to help young people understand the relationship between their labor and the interests of the nation and people, strengthen their feeling of pride in their occupation and establish socialist occupational morality. On the other hand we should continue to launch activity for the public good on a broad scale. We have already launched activity to study Lei Feng and set a new style, for the five stresses and four points of beauty, civil politeness month, young people's service corps, and voluntary tree planting with enormous and subtly influential success. We should not look down on "little things" and think that they are "just for form" and "just for fun." It is just through such specific activities that young people come to embody the strength of communist ideology and morality and use it to strengthen their own habits and feelings. Of course, the organizational and ideological level of these activities should be further improved so that young people will learn more from them.

There are still a great many other questions which must be noted in doing ideological and political work among young people. For example, the questions of looking after the personal interests of young people, organizing cultural entertainment and physical activity for young people, guiding love and marriage among young people, encouraging young people to advance, supporting and protecting the advanced elements among young people, etc. As ideological and political work among young people is done more in depth we hope everyone will more generously summarize their experience. The Communist Youth League is the central organization for the party to rally and educate young people. The education of young people is not only the business of the Communist Youth League but of the entire party. The whole party should be concerned about young people, love and protect young people, educate young people and strengthen the organization building and ideology building of the Communist Youth League so that our youth work will certainly be better and better. Youth of our capital with its glorious tradition in building socialist material culture and spiritual culture can certainly become the courageous shock brigade to make a new great contribution to the ancestral land.

8226
CSO: 4005/1006

PARTY AND STATE

REVISION OF PEOPLE'S CONGRESS SYSTEM SPOTLIGHTED

Beijing FAXUE YANJIU [LEGAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 1982 pp 9-14

[Article by Wang Shuwen [3769 0647 2429] and Zhou Yanrui [0719 1696 3843]: "New Development of the People's Congress System"]

[Text] The "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China," focus of world attention, is now before the whole nation for discussion. This is a big event in our political life. The draft provides in its preamble that the basic task of the Chinese people in the coming years is to concentrate their effort on socialist modernization. In order to ensure the realization of this great goal, we must build an advanced democratic socialist political system. Without advanced democracy in politics, failing to mobilize fully the socialist enthusiasm and creativity of hundreds and thousands of the people on the basis of such advanced democracy, and at the same time practice advanced centralism on that basis, it would be impossible for us to proceed triumphantly with our four modernizations. This being precisely the case, the resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee pointed out, according to our historical experience in building our political power and the needs of our socialist modernization, that "It is necessary to strengthen the building of our state organs at various levels on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism in order to make people's congresses and their standing organs at various levels authoritative organs of the people's power, and to realize the people's direct democracy gradually at the basic level of our state power and in their social life at the basic level, with special emphasis on an earnest development of the democratic management of enterprise business by toiling masses in various urban and rural enterprises." On the basis of this fundamental spirit of the "Resolution," the draft has put great emphasis on the strengthening and development of the people's congress system and has provided many new and important prescriptions.

I

The general principles chapter of the Draft of the Revised Constitution provides: "All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise state power are the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at various levels. It also provides: "The state institutions of the People's Republic of China

apply the principle of democratic centralism." These provisions indicate that in prescribing our political system, the draft upholds the people's congress ayatem as our fundamental political system. At the same time, the draft also has strengthened and perfected the people's congress system and provided many important prescriptions; it is not only a major revision of the 1978 constitution but also a great improvement compared to the 1954 constitution; it embodies a new development of our people's congress system.

A country's political system, namely, its form of government, means the organizational form of its state power. A ruling class, in order to maintain its class rule, must have organs of state power in a relevant form. To any form of state, there must be a corresponding form of government; without organs of state power in a relevant form, the state cannot be adequately represented. The socialist political system, in essence, is in fundamental opposition to the political systems of all states of the exploitative classes. The political systems of all states of the exploitative classes make sure that state power is held in the hands of a minority of exploiters so that they can exericse dictatorship over the proletariat and the vast ranks of the toiling people. The political system of socialism makes sure that state power is held in the hands of the vast ranks of the people led by the working class so that they can exercise dictatorship over a handful of class enemies. In treating the question of the political system of socialism, Marxism-Leninism repeatedly stresses that we must pay attention to the following two aspects. First, after the proletariat has destroyed the old state apparatus, it must replace the old organizational form of state power with a brand new organizational form of state power. Second, in countries where the proletariat has seized political power, because national characteristics are different, there may be, under the rubric of adhering to the principle of democratic centralism, different political forms. After summarizing the experience of the Paris Commune, Marx pointed out that the proper political form of the state power of a proletarian country should be the organization of the Paris Commune. At the same time, he also discussed the fundamental principle carried out by the Paris Commune and pointed out: "The Paris Commune was composed of urban representatives elected during general elections in the various districts of Paris. These representatives were responsible to their electors and could be replaced at any time; among them most were of course workers or those publicly acknowledged to be representatives of the working class. A commune should not follow the parliamentary mode but should be a working organ simultaneously in charge of both administration and legislation."[1] After summarizing the proletarian revolutionary experience in Russia, Lenin pointed out that "the Soviets of worker and soldier representatives recreated the Paris Commune type of state."[2] The people's congress system is our fundamental political system; it suits the organizational form of state power under our people's democratic dictatorship.

The people's congress system was created by our people from their experience in the building of political regimes in the revolutionary bases under the leadership of the CPC led by Comrade Mao Zedong. After summarizing the long experience in building political regimes in our revolutionary bases, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: China today may adopt the system of a National People's Congress, provincial people's congresses, county people's congresses,

district people's congresses and all the way down to township people's congresses, and let these congresses at the various levels elect their respective governments." At the same time, he also pointed out that "only a government of democratic centralism can give full scope to the will of all the revolutionary people and most effectively oppose the enemies of the revolution."[3]

In the "Common Program," which served as a temporary constitution at the beginning of the founding of our state, it was already established that the people's congress system is the fundamental political system of our state. The 1954 constitution summed up the experience in the structuring of political power both in our revolutionary bases and since the founding of our state and thereby incorporated more systematic provisions on our people's congress system. This indicated that our people's congress system had entered into a new stage of development, and that served to play an important role in ensuring the smooth progress of our undertakings in socialist transformation and socialist construction. But, in subsequent practice, this fundamental political system, the people's congress system, failed to get sufficient attention; hence the superiority of the people's congress system was not fully demonstrated. Especially during the "Cultural Revolution," because of the evil doings of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques bringing calamaties upon the state and the people, elections could not be held for a long time: Occasionally some elections of people's deputies were held but, they turned out often to be rather formalistic. People's congresses at various levels were not convened at the prescribed intervals, nor did they play their role as organs of state power as they should. All this resulted in great damage to our people's congress system. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our state, basing itself on the spirit of the directive of the plenary session on the strengthening of our socialist democracy and socialist legal system, adopted a series of important measures, energetically strengthened the work of the people's congresses at the county level and above. The people's congresses at the county level put into effect direct elections by the electors; under the unified leadership of the central authorities, this expanded the functions of the local organs of state power.

The Draft of the Revised Constitution has summed up our long experience in the structuring of state power, especially experience in the past few years; it has also summed up the lessons of the "Cultural Revolution." On the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, it has incorporated a series of important provisions; these provisions have greatly developed the people's congress system. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out not long ago in his article "On Coalition Government" "The organization of state power under New Democracy should adopt democratic centralism, with people's congresses at various levels deciding on major principles of policy and electing their respective governments. It is both democratic and centralist; that is to say, it is centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralist guidance."[4] In Article 3, the draft singles out the principle of democratic centralism to be practiced by the organs of state in a special article, and provides an exposition of the principle of democratic centralism in the following three aspects: (1) The National People's Congress and the local people's congresses

at various levels are elected democratically, responsible to the people and subject to their supervision; (2) all organs of state administration and all judicial and procuratorial organs are originated by the organs of state power to which they are responsible and to whose supervision they are subject; (3) the division of functions and powers between the central and local state institutions shall conform to the principle of giving full play to the initiative and enthusiasm of the local authorities under the unified leadership of the central authorities. The above three aspects summarize the basic content of the principle of democratic centralism.

In its various concrete provisions on our people's congress system, the draft fully demonstrates the principle of democratic centralism. First, the draft provides that all citizens who have reached the age of 18, with the exception of persons deprived of political rights by law, have the right to vote and stand for election. According to statistics of the 1981 general election, electors made up more than 99.9 percent of the total number of citizens 18 and older. People's congresses elected on the basis of such broad democracy can truly exercise state power in behalf of the people. The draft also provides that deputies to the National People's Congress and to local people's congresses at various levels are all subject to supervision by electors of their respective original electoral units; the original electoral units and electors have the right to replace at any time the deputies they have elected according to legally prescribed procedures in order to ensure that the deputies can abide by the Constitution and the law in an exemplary manner and run things in behalf of the interests and will of the vast ranks of the people. These provisions indicate fully that our people's congresses at various levels are highly democratic people's representative organs. Next, the draft provides that the National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power; the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is its standing organ: they exercise the state's legislative power, discuss and decide on major questions of a national nature. Local people's congresses at various levels are local organs of state power; the standing committees of people's congresses are their standing organs; they have the right to decide on major questions of their respective administrative areas. The administrative organs, people's courts, people's procuratorates of the state at various levels are all originated by people's congresses at various levels, subject to their supervision, and responsible to them. All this indicates that the people's congresses are the organs that really exercise the power of the state; the people, through this people's congress system, exercise this power of the state in a centralized and unified manner and thereby practice advanced centralism on the basis of advanced democracy. Finally, the draft provides that under the centralized and unified leadership of the central authorities the functions and powers of local organs of state shall be expanded so as to benefit the demonstration of both central and local enthusiasm. Hence, the draft's various provisions on the people's congress system are beneficial to our correctly combining advanced democracy with advanced centralism.

For the sake of strengthening and developing the people's congress system, the Draft of the Revised Constitution puts great emphasis on the building of the highest organs of state power as well as local organs of state power at various levels, and it also expands the functions and powers of the local organs of state power. These measures are respectively discussed below.

II

The Draft of the Revised Constitution puts great emphasis on the building of the central organs of state. The draft first of all strengthens the building of the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee. It also provides for the restoration of the state chairman; it stipulates that the State Council will implement the responsibility system of the premier with the number of vice premiers prescribed at two to four and state councilors will be appointed. The state establishes a Central Military Commission; etc. These new, important provisions embody important reforms and a new development of our state system. They are of great significance to the strengthening of the building of our central organs of state on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism and to the prefecting of our people's congress system. The draft's new provisions on the strengthening of the National People's Congress and its standing organ are seen in the following aspects:

First, the building of the National People's Congress is strengthened. The NPC is the highest organ of our state power. The draft pays great attention to the strengthening of the building of the NPC, as can be seen mainly in the following new provisions: (1) It is provided that the NPC has the power to amend the Constitution, to make and amend basic laws concerning criminal offenses, civil affairs, the structure of the state and other matters; these mainly include criminal law, the law of criminal procedure, civil law, the law of civil procedure, the organic law of the NPC, the organic law of the State Council, the organic laws of local people's congresses and local governments at various levels, the organic law of the people's courts, the organic law of the people's procuratorates, electoral law and the law on regional autonomy for the nationalities, etc. (2) It provides that the NPC also has the power to formulate edicts, that is, decisions and resolutions apart from the law; this is necessary in respect to the strengthening of the solemnity of such decisions and resolutions passed by the NPC. (3) It revives the provision of the 1954 constitution that "Amendments to the Constitution require a two-thirds majority vote of all the deputies to the National People's Congress. Laws and other bills require a majority vote of all the deputies to the National People's Congress." It also adds the provision that amendments to the Constitution should be proposed by the Standing Committee of the NPC or by more than one-fifth of the deputies to the NPC. This is very important to maintaining the status of the Constitution as our fundamental law and to the strengthening of our socialist legal system. (4) In respect to the term of office of the NPC, the draft revives the provision of the 1954 constitution that 2 months before the term of office of the NPC expires, its Standing Committee must carry to completion the election of deputies to the next NPC; it also changes the imprecise provision of the 1978 constitution that the term of office of the NPC may be extended or shortened and provides, instead, that "should exceptional circumstances prevent such an election, the term of office of the sitting National People's Congress may be prolonged until the first session of the succeeding National People's Congress; such prolongation must be approved by a majority vote of more than two-thirds of all the members of its Standing Committee." This is to say that only under strict conditions can its term of office be prolonged.

Second, the functions and powers of the Standing Committee of the NPC are expanded, and its organization is strengthened. Because the deputies to the NPC are rather numerous, and an individual NPC session is rather short, it is not very convenient for them to carry out their regular work and exercise their functions and powers; they can only concentrate their energy on solving problems of the state of a fundamental nature. Hence, it is utterly necessary to strengthen the work of the NPC Standing Committee. The draft expands the functions and powers of the NPC Standing Committee, especially its legislative power, by turning over part of the original functions and powers of the NPC as a whole to the NPC Standing Committee. These newly added functions and powers mainly include: first, an expansion of the legislative power of the NPC Standing Committee, so that, except the laws mentioned above that should be made and amended by the NPC as a whole, it can also enact and amend other laws, and, when the NPC is not in session, it has the power to partially amend and supplement the basic laws enacted by the NPC. This expansion of the legislative power of the NPC Standing Committee is required by our work to strengthen our socialist legal system. Second, the power to supervise the implementation of the Constitution is conferred. Both the 1954 constitution and the 1978 constitution conferred this power on the NPC; but practice has proved that because an individual NPC session is rather short, it can hardly supervise the implementation of the Constitution. Therefore, the draft changes the provision to turn over the power to supervise the implementation of the Constitution to the NPC Standing Committee; this facilitates the reinforcement of such supervision over the implementation of the Constitution. Furthermore, the NPC Standing Committee has power when the NPC is not in session to examine and approve partial adjustments that are deemed necessary to plans of national economic and social development and to the state budget in the course of their implementation, to decide on the appointment and removal of ministers, chairmen of commissions, the chief auditor and the secretary-general of the State Council upon the recommendation of the premier, etc. Besides, the draft also provides that, when the NPC Standing Committee is in session, it has the right to put forward bills of inquiry, according to procedures prescribed by law, to the State Council, the Supreme People's Court, the Supreme People's Procuratorate and the ministries and commissions under the State Council, which are all under obligation to answer. This is beneficial to strengthening its exercise of regular supervision over other state organs and is of great significance to the perfecting of the people's congress system.

In order to ensure that the NPC Standing Committee can better exercise its functions and powers, the draft has incorporated certain new, important provisions in respect to its organization. These provisions mainly include: Members of the NPC Standing Committee shall not hold posts in organs of state administration and the judicial and procuratorial organs, so that the NPC Standing Committee can concentrate its energy and time on exercising its own functions and powers; the chairman, vice-chairman and secretary-general are the participants in the chairmanship conference to attend to the important routine work of the NPC Standing Committee; the chairman or a vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the People's Congress of each province, autonomous region and municipality directly under the central government attends the sessions of the NPC Standing Committee in order to strengthen the liaison

between the NPC Standing Committee and local masses and make decisions of the former more attuned to the actual situations and needs of the national realm. All these provisions are of importance to the strengthening of the organization and work of the NPC Standing Committee. Because the NPC Standing Committee includes representatives of various circles, and their number is rather appropriate, it is more convenient for them to hold regular meetings; in addition, the draft has incorporated a series of provisions to strengthen its organization. Hence, it is entirely capable of exercising the various functions and powers conferred upon it by the Constitution, including the legislative power of the state.

Third, certain special committees are added. The draft clearly provides the establishment of a nationalities committee, a law committee, a financial and economic affairs committee, and education and science committee, a foreign affairs committee and other necessary special committees. The addition of these necessary special committees is beneficial to the strengthening of the work of the NPC and the NPC Standing Committee. These special committees operate under the direction of the NPC and the NPC Standing Committee; their main tasks are to investigate and study, solicit views, examine, discuss and draw up relevant bills; they are operational organs required by the NPC and the NPC Standing Committee. In the meantime, the draft has also revived the provision of the 1954 constitution on the appointment of commissions of inquiry for the investigation of specific questions. Thus, this task of strengthening the work of the special committees is an indispensable link in the strengthening of the building of the NPC and the NPC Standing Committee.

Fourth, provisions on the rights and duties of deputies to the NPC are strengthened. In respect to the rights of deputies, the draft provides that deputies to the NPC have the right to submit legislative bills. The purpose of incorporating such a provision is to protect the deputies' right to submit legislative bills and also to make an appropriate distinction between legislative bills and common opinions and suggestions. In the case of common opinions and suggestions, there is no need for the NPC to take the responsibility of reporting on the results of handling them; this serves to reduce the NPC's unnecessary, trivial tasks and thereby strengthen its legislative work. The draft also has restored the provision of the 1954 constitution on the NPC deputies' right to exemption; that is, no deputy to the NPC may be arrested or placed on trial without the consent of the presidium of the current session of the NPC or if it is not in session, the consent of the Standing Committee of the NPC; this assures the deputies normal engagement in their work. The draft has also added the provision that deputies to the NPC shall not be subjected to legal investigation for speeches or votes at its meetings; this also constitutes a strong guarantee that the deputies can better exercise their functions and powers. Meanwhile, the draft adds certain provision on the deputies' duties: deputies of the NPC should maintain close contact with the units which elect them and with the people, listen to and report the opinions and demands of the people and, in their own production and other work and public activities, assist in the enforcement of the Constitution and the law. These provisions help the deputies better accomplish the functions and responsibilities the people confer upon them and also help strengthen the work of the NPC.

III

While strengthening the building of the central organs of state, the draft of the revised constitution at the same time follows the provision in the general principles section that "The division of functions and powers between the central and local state institutions shall conform to the principle of giving full play to the initiative and enthusiasm of the local authorities under the unified leadership of the central authorities" and appropriately expands the functions and powers of the local state institutions as well as strengthens the building of local state institutions. This is of great signficance to give full play to local enthusiasm, to discuss in time and solve flexibly, local problems according to local conditions, and to promote our four modernizations. New, important provisions in the draft in this regard may be summarized in the following aspects:

First, functions and powers of local state organs at the provincial level are expanded. The draft provides that the people's congresses of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government and their standing committees may formulate and promulgate local statutes on condition that these do not contravene the constitution, laws decrees and general administrative statutes, and they shall report them to the Standing Committee of the NPC for record. This expansion of the functions and powers of state organs of the provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government is very important to mobilizing local enthusiasm.

Second, the autonomy of nationality autonomous organs and local autonomous organs is expanded. The draft provides that the chairmen of autonomous regions, heads of autonomous prefectures and heads of autonomous counties shall be persons of the nationality or nationalities exercising regional autonomy in those areas; under the guidance of the state plans, autonomous organs independently administer local economic construction and education, science, culture, public health, and physical culture; in developing natural resources and building enterprises in the national autonomous areas, the state should give due consideration to the interests of those autonomous areas. These provisions help strengthen the autonomous rights of the minority nationalities and the common unity of all the country's nationalities, so that they can exert their common efforts for the triumphant construction of our socialist modernization.

Third, local people's congresses at the county levels and above all establish standing committees. According to the provisions of the 1954 constitution, local people's councils at various levels were the executive organs of local people's congresses at their corresponding levels and at the same time exercised the functions and powers of the standing committees of those people's congresses; also, because these people's congresses lacked standing organs, this resulted in local organs of state administration escaping the regular supervision of local organs of state power. The draft provides that local people's congresses at the county level and above shall establish their respective standing committees; it also incorporates clear provisions on the

organization and functions and powers of those standing committees of people's congresses. The functions and powers of the standing committees of people's congresses include: conducting the election of deputies to people's congresses at corresponding levels, and in the case of standing committees of people's congresses in municipalities and counties with the establishment of districts below, also the conducting of the election of deputies to people's congresses at the lower level; discussing and deciding on major issues concerning the different kinds of work in their respective administrative areas; supervising the work of people's governments, people's courts, and people's procuratorates at the corresponding levels; annulling inappropriate decisions and orders of people's governments at the corresponding levels and of people's governments at the next lower levels; annulling inappropriate decisions of people's congresses at the next lower level; deciding on the appointment and removal of the state personnel within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law; and, when the people's congresses at the corresponding levels are not in session, holding by-elections for deputies to the people's congresses at the next higher levels and recalling individual deputies to the people's congresses at the next higher levels.

Fourth, deputies to people's congresses at the county level are directly elected by the electors. The practice of direct election at the county level helps county-level organs of state power to accept direct supervision by the masses, brings their relationship with the masses closer, improves their work efficiency, so as to enable them to organize the people of their respective counties to do a good job in the construction of the four modernizations. The practice of direct elections at the county level also lays a good foundation for the election of the NPC and provincial people's congresses. Hence, direct election is very important to giving scope to socialist democracy and assuring that the people become the masters of their own house.

Fifth, township administration and commune management are separated. The draft revives the establishment of the township level of state power, with the people's commune left only as a simple collective economic organization. After this separation of township administration and commune management, the township no longer directly manages production; it can therefore concentrate its energy on improving and strengthening the building of the township level of state power, on bringing its relationship with the masses closer, on doing a good job in managing the economy and culture and such administrative work as civic administration, public security, and birth control, and thereby assure the implementation of the policies of the party and the laws of the state. At the same time, this also helps the people's commune change its approach of managing the economy by administrative means in the past and begin to pay attention to managing the economy by economic levers, economic laws, and according to objective laws of the economy; it likewise helps to assure the enforcement of the provisions of the draft on the expansion of the autonomy of economic organizations and on members exercising democratic management of people's communes. Therefore, the separation of township administration and commune management is very beneficial whether in respect to strengthening basic-level state power in the countryside or regarding the perfecting of our economic organizations in the countryside and promoting the development of our socialist economy in the countryside. Of course, this is

a great matter concerning hundreds and thousands of peasants; it must be carried out with leadership and in a planned way.

Sixth, neighborhood committees and village committees are established. The draft provides that neighborhood committees and village committees are established in urban and rural residential districts as mass organizations of self-government at the primary level, and under them are established committees for people's mediation, security and defense, public health and sanitation, etc. Urban neighborhood committees and people's mediation committees have been important organizational forms in our endeavor to organize the vast ranks of the people to manage the affairs of the state and society; under the direction of basic-level people's governments, they had played an important role in running well the public affairs and public welfare properties and enterprises in their respective residential areas, in mediating civic disputes, in enhancing the people's unity and in helping to maintain social order and security. These have provided good organizational forms for the strengthening of our basic-level state power and the gradual realization of the people's direct democracy.

To sum up the above, the draft of the revised constitution, under the guidance of the resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and according to the principle of democratic centralism, has incorporated many new, important provisions on the strengthening of the building of our state organs at various levels. These provisions demonstrate important reforms of our state system and indicate a new development of our people's congress system; they are of great significance to giving full play to the role of people's congresses at various levels and their standing committees, to gradually building our socialist political system of advanced democracy, and to protecting and promoting the triumphant progress of the construction of our socialist modernization.

9255
CSO: 4005/1074

PARTY AND STATE

BANNER OF COMMUNISM MUST NEVER BE FURLED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jul 82 p 8

[Article by Shu Ping [5289 1627]]

[Text] Communism is not a banner made of ordinary cloth. Cloth banners are folded or furled from time to time, but communism is the banner in the hearts of our party members and must never be furled at any time.

On this banner appear the words "workers of all nations, unite!," reverberates the sound that "the Internationale will come true," permeates the blood of innumerable pioneers....

Nevertheless, there are those today who feel that, since this banner "can neither serve as food, nor as clothes, why should it be treated so earnestly?" It naturally reminds one of (Molaixiaote) and others, the group of German mediocrities more than a century ago. They called all glorious faiths of mankind "idealism," as if only the frustrated life of eating, drinking and making merry were most "materialist."

There are also some who feel that, since we are not promoting communism today anyway, we might as well roll up this banner for the time being. That our Communist Party members are different from any other political parties is because we have always in our hearts this bright and clear banner. In the democratic revolution and the socialist reform of the fifties, it was by relying on it that we advanced step by step and won great victories. Today, when we pursue the four modernizations, "opening up" to the outside and "enlivening the economy" at home, whoever becoming blurred in his conviction and rolling up the banner will be engulfed by "the other side." Marxism gives attention to historical conditions. We understand clearly that we must never transcend the historical conditions and introduce the communist programs and policies to today's reality. However, we must realize even more clearly that all our past and present endeavors are steps taken by us toward communism. Communism, this conviction, this banner, is the lighthouse on the ocean and the road sign before the vehicle.

Historical experiences tell us that the blurring of conviction and the furling of the banner easily occur under two situations. One is when we take a tumble. There is a valley between two mountains, and conviction is like the morning sun. Standing on the peak of a high mountain, one can see it easily, but when one takes a tumble and falls down to the bottom of the valley, one will not see it by direct perception alone. One must have scientific insight before one can see the morning sun in one's heart. The second situation occurs when dealing with the bourgeoisie and capitalism. The gusts of fragrant wind, the successive sugarcoated bullets and the dazzling world of myriad temptations are intoxicating. Those who are not firm to start with will abandon their convictions, roll up the banner and tumble to the other side. Only the steadfast communists will be like the lotus, emerging out of the mud uncontaminated and manifesting its purity. Today, after bringing order out of chaos, when we pursue the four modernizations with one heart and one mind and are on the verge of doing business with capitalist countries, how could we forget the banner in our hearts?!

Giant waves wash the sand. The communists want to create civilization and happiness for all mankind. The burden is heavy and the road long. We must not be washed away by the stormy waves. The conviction in our minds must never become blurred even for one moment; the banner in our hearts must never be furled. In the roaring historical current, we will always stand on the crest of the waves and remain indomitable!

6080
CSO: 4005/1027

PARTY AND STATE

BEWARE OF BOURGEOIS SUGARCOATED BULLETS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jul 82 p 8

[Article by Xin 'en [2946 0088]: "The Sugarcoated Bullet and Its Various Tactics"]

[Text] To remain invincible in the "special warfare" between corruption and anti-corruption, we must "know the enemy and ourselves" as expounded in Sunzi's "Art of War."

The "enemy" is attacking, and its main weapon is the sugarcoated bullet.

Some people feel that the battlefront of this war of sugarcoated bullets is indistinct, complicated and confusing, and therefore impossible to defend.

Actually it is not exactly so. Indeed there are the various phenomena mentioned above, reflecting the many complexities in the struggle under the current conditions. However, it is merely the image in the eyes of the ignorant. One only has to explore a little to recognize clearly the sugarcoated bullet and its various tactics. With knowledge and preparation, one will no longer find it impossible to defend. Furthermore, the sugarcoated bullet has the characteristic of "the God of Thunder striking the beancurd" [picking on the soft and weak]. Precisely as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out long ago, it can only strike the weak-minded in our ranks, but is ineffective against the strong-willed revolutionaries. Why are there some who can "resist corruption, never becoming contaminated?" Mainly because they have a strong will and always maintain the noble sentiments of a revolutionary. Why are there others who are knocked down? Primarily because they have dismantled their mental defense line. Therefore, as long as one has confidence and determination, a firm standpoint and a strong will, the sugarcoated bullet is not terrifying.

Nevertheless, a strong will requires a sober mind. The Party Central Committee's appeal for us to be firm, sober and positive Marxists includes a clear recognition of the sugarcoated bullet.

Sugarcoated bullets generally consist of two large categories, and each has many varieties. One category is spiritual, viz., the decadent bourgeois ideas and viewpoints and life styles, and the culture and art advocating and spreading them. It is used to corrupt the mind, soften the willpower, open cracks and infiltrate the defense. The other category is material, from elegant jewelry to all kinds of modern articles, from money to beautiful women, from material objects to bad checks, multifarious and variegated, which can all serve as bribes and inducements to recruit deserters and traitors. The "enemy" often resorts to both, applying them alternately, i.e., softening before attacking and baiting before fettering, and winning easy victories. On the other hand, if the first category is not used, the second often has no crack to enter (except the weak-minded); if the first category is not followed with the second, practical results are hard to obtain. The "defense" is somewhat different. As long as one can defend against the first category, it becomes fairly easy to withstand the second category. If one is softened by the first category, one will lose the capacity to withstand the second. In addition, highly penetrating and permeating, exerting a subtle influence, the spiritual sugarcoated bullet is comparatively more difficult to resist. Therefore, a greater effort is needed to combat it.

The basic tactic of the sugarcoated bullet war is nothing more than watching for opportunities and searching for loopholes, selecting the weak to attack, pleasing each according to his preferences and resorting to different means according to the circumstances. As stated in the proverbs, "the fly stings the cracked egg;" "it lays maggots at the crack." In case of someone greedy for private gain, for instance, the enemy will use "money as the horse and wine as the weapon," driving straight in; in case of someone who wishes to "eat the sugarcoat and spit out the bullet," he will ask him to swallow it first and see what happens later; in case of someone who vocally supports the public while secretly making personal gains, he will help him use the public for the private, convert the public into the private, and conceal the private with the public; in case of someone who likes to make connections and cater to human sympathy, he will recruit contacts and launch attacks through the channels of connections. If one enjoys flattery, he will praise one profusely, and when one is flattered into the clouds, he will respectfully request the chief to sign; if one is blindly enthusiastic and follows the vogue, he will, according to the principle that "there are ways to hoodwink men of noble character," vociferously advocate "launching projects," "promoting science,"... and, when one accedes after such deceptions, he will respectfully ask for one's support.

Though the "enemy" tactics are many, they can only prevail through our weaknesses. As long as we clearly recognize the treachery and wage a pinpointed struggle, it will not be difficult for us to win. The basic method is to reinforce our defense capacity and eliminate our various loopholes. Mengzi said: "I am good at cultivating my noble spirit." In regard to us today, the noble spirit is the vital energy of the revolutionary and the party quality of the communist. Thus, we must conscientiously "cultivate ourselves skillfully," including studying and tempering.

Once we are tempered, we will emerge from mud uncontaminated. Why should we be afeaid of "constantly standing along the river?" If we do not steal meat to eat, we will not have oil on our mouths.

6080
CSO: 4005/1027

PARTY AND STATE

'HEBEI RIBAO' CRITICIZES FALSE ACCUSERS

HK270704 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 21 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Xia Ming [1115 2494]: "On False Accusation"]

[Text] False accusations are always condemned by just public opinion and are forbidden by law. However, during the "Cultural Revolution" "the rebels" boldly and publicly lodged false accusations to expose, denounce, accuse and criticize "the capitalist roaders," "revisionists," "renegades" or "antiparty elements" by means of big-character posters, small-character posters, criticism meetings or interrogation meetings. Six years have elapsed since the end of the "Cultural Revolution," but the evil practice has not yet died out in Hebei. Some diehard factionalists are still framing up cases as their trump card to sow discord ideologically and organizationally so that they will be able to fish in troubled waters.

The present intention of bringing a false charge against someone is different from that which existed during the "Cultural Revolution." It is aimed at driving through a coach-and-four. Some false accusations pass off the sham as the genuine by taking advantage of the time when people are safeguarding their own democratic rights, exposing evildoers and evil deeds and denouncing bad cadres. For a time, it is difficult to distinguish between false accusers who are anonymous or have pseudonyms, and those who are unwilling to name themselves for fear of retaliation in exposing, denouncing or accusing evildoers and evil deeds. Under such circumstances, leading organs might hold back from taking action against false accusers for fear of involving good people. But an anonymous letter with only an "8-cent stamp" from a false accuser will often keep leading organs busy in carrying out an investigation for "half a year." As a result, the practice of making false accusations has grown into a general trend. This has affected unity within the party, broadened factionalist differences, slackened the fighting will of cadres and hindered the daily work of the party and government organizations. Many cadres possessing a sense of justice have long been seeing and worrying about such an evil trend and are thinking of how to check and eliminate the trend.

We hesitate to pelt a rat for fear of smashing the dishes beside it. If we can make the rat keep clear of the dishes, then everyone will chase and yell "kill it!" Therefore, we believe that the best ways to counter

false accusations are 1) trumped-up cases having a motive of revenge, should be sternly dealt with so that those who expose, denounce or accuse evildoers and evil doings will have less misgivings. 2) We must arouse and educate the people to sign their real names in order to express their desire to assume political responsibility when exposing, denouncing and accusing evildoers and evil doings. 3) Leading organs must seriously analyze anonymous letters and letters written under pseudonyms in order to make a correct judgement. According to conditions, such letters can be ignored or transferred to the accused's superior organizations for further investigation, if necessary. If the above can be done seriously, we presume that "big fish will not escape" and we should not spend "half a year" to conduct investigations. Then, letters from false accusers will come to naught.

The present trend of making false accusations has been fostered by some people acting as rats squeaking in holes. All who look forward to improving the social mood should make concerted efforts to bring these false accusers to light so that everyone can see and realize that they are nothing but rats.

CSO: 4005/1264

PARTY AND STATE

FORMER COUNTY DEPUTY CHIEF PROCURATOR ARRESTED

HK270147 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 21 Aug 82

[Text] (Liu Wensheng), former deputy chief procurator of Renxian County, knowingly violated the law, framed up and lodged a false charge against (Xin Renzhi), former chief procurator of Renxian County. Now, he has been arrested according to the law.

The criminal, (Liu Wensheng), seriously influenced by bourgeois thinking, had a strong desire for personal fame and gain. In order that he might be promoted to chief procurator, he deliberately framed up and lodged a false charge against (Xin Renzhi). During 4 months prior to the election in Renxian County last October, he successively wrote eight letters to central leading comrades, the higher people's procuratorate, the principal leading comrades of the provincial CPC committee and RENMIN RIBAO similar in content in which he created false stories and distorted facts, accusing Renxian County chief procurator (Xin Renzhi) of bending the law for the benefit of relatives and friends and of having shielded nearly 30 criminals.

In February this year, the highest people's procuratorate, the Hebei provincial people's procuratorate, the political and judicial commission of the Xingtai prefectural CPC committee, the Hebei provincial subprocuratorate in Xingtai prefecture and the Renxian County CPC committee formed a joint investigation group which conducted an investigation for 50 days. The results of the investigation showed that the so-called case of (Xin Renzhi) shielding criminals was actually pure fiction, and the charge by (Liu Wensheng) was completely false.

Having placed the case on file and after carrying out its investigation, the Hebei provincial people's subprocuratorate in Xingtai Prefecture concluded that (Liu Wensheng), in framing up and lodging a false charge against another, had seriously infringed upon a citizen's human rights and had committed a trumped-up crime. Therefore, the subprocuratorate arrested him according to Article 138 of the criminal law.

CSO: 4005/1264

'BEIJING REVIEW' ON CHINA'S CLASS STRUGGLE

HK260737 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW in English No. 33, 16 Aug 82 pp 17-19

[Article by staff writer Zhou Yan: "On China's Current Class Struggle"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] [Editor's note] Class struggle has continued in China even though the exploiting classes have been eliminated. The current class struggle differs from both the class struggle before the elimination of the exploiting classes and from the excessive struggle waged in compliance with the erroneous slogan, "Take class struggle as the key link," which was put forward under the guidance of the "left" thinking. The current class struggle, which is a special form of struggle under socialism, is the legacy of the historical class struggle.

The current campaign against the serious criminal activities in the economic sphere is a major manifestation of class struggle. Some people have asked: Since the exploiting classes no longer exist in China, how can there still be class struggle? Some worry that China will again take up the slogan "Take class struggle as the key link" raised shortly before the "Cultural Revolution" and that the country will regress. Some have even expressed this misunderstanding: You ceased talking about class struggle years ago, but now you give much publicity to it. This seems to mean that your policies have been changed.

To answer these questions, our political editor set forth his views in an article entitled "Currect Class Struggle" in issue No. 17, this year. At the requests of our readers, here is a further examination of this question. [End editor's note]

It is not true that we gave up talking about class struggle years ago. The Communist Party's viewpoint that class struggle still exists in the present stage has been consistent since the third plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee held at the end of 1978. The party corrected the erroneous slogan, "Take class struggle as the key link," which is inappropriate to socialist society; but at the same time it reaffirmed that class struggle continued to exist, as testified by the following facts:

While deciding to shift the emphasis of the party's work to socialist modernization, the third plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee pointed out clearly: "There is still in our country today a small handful of counterrevolutionary elements and criminals who hate our socialist modernization and try to undermine it. We must not relax our class struggle against them, nor can we weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Comrade Ye Jianying's speech at the meeting in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China (adopted by the fourth plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee held in September 1979) pointed out: "Class struggle still exists to a certain extent after the exploiters in our country no longer exist as classes."

The resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People's Republic of China adopted by the sixth plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee held in June 1981 makes a comprehensive, scientific exposition of China's domestic class struggle. It stresses: "Class struggle no longer constitutes the principal contradiction after the exploiters have been eliminated as classes. However, owing to certain domestic factors and influences from abroad, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come and may even grow acute under certain conditions. It is necessary to oppose both the view that the scope of class struggle must be enlarged and the view that it has died out. It is imperative to maintain a high level of vigilance and conduct effective struggle against all those who are hostile to socialism and try to sabotage it in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields and in community life."

Causes

Why is it that there is still class struggle after the exploiting classes have been eliminated as classes? Just as our political editor explained in his article in issue No. 17, reality both at home and abroad tells us:

Although the exploiting classes have been eliminated as classes, their remnants and other hostile elements are still around and they will lose no chance to make trouble.

The ideology of the exploiting classes will retain its influence for a long time and will have the potential to corrupt some of our people. Some of today's exploiters, degenerates and criminals are waverers in the ranks of workers, peasants, intellectuals and cadres who have succumbed to the corrosion of the exploiting classes' ideology.

In places like Taiwan, Penghu, Jinmen and Mazu, the system of exploitation still exists and the exploiting classes are still intact. The reactionary elements of the exploiting classes will exert their corrosive influence on the mainland through all means.

Internationally, the imperialists and hegemonists are making every attempt to infiltrate, disrupt and subvert our country politically, economically, ideologically and culturally.

With the development of economic contacts with foreign countries, decadent Western bourgeois ideology and bourgeois life styles will make their way into China through various channels.

As a result, class struggle does exist to a certain extent after the exploiting classes have been eliminated as classes, and due to the particular historical situation, this struggle will inevitably be prolonged, persistent and may grow acute under certain conditions.

Preliminary investigations of the criminal cases in the economic field reveal that smuggling, embezzlement and bribery, speculation and swindling, and stealing state and collective property are rampant in some places and units. The struggle against economic criminals has a bearing on the success or failure of our socialist modernization and the prosperity or decline of our party and state. This is an acute struggle waged by the proletariat and the broad masses of people who uphold socialism against elements who are hostile to and try to undermine it. It is also a clash of diametrically opposed interests, and therefore it cannot be ignored. It is the major manifestation of class struggle in the economic sphere.

"Take Class Struggle As the Key Link" Discarded

Will we repeat past mistakes of "Taking class struggle as the key link" and thus magnifying class struggle? No.

"Take class struggle as the key link" was a slogan put forward shortly before the "Cultural Revolution" started in 1966. It deviated from the correct analysis of class struggle in our socialist society. After the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production was basically completed in 1956, class struggle was still mistakenly regarded as the principal contradiction in our society. It was said to exist at all times, in everything and everywhere in our society. The theory also held that in the party, government, army and various cultural circles there were a large number of bourgeois representatives, known as the capitalist-roaders in power. The slogan "Take class struggle as the key link" was promoted on the basis of this subjective conjecture which led to the fatal error of initiating the "Cultural Revolution." Practice has fully proved the slogan to be entirely wrong.

Since the third plenary session, the Party Central Committee has summed up the historical experiences of our party on the question of class struggle and has made a sober analysis of the current class struggle in China. It has pointed out that in China the exploiting classes have been eliminated as classes. The current class struggle is the class struggle under the new historical conditions of socialist society. It

is a class struggle in a special form, or a special form of legacy of the historical class struggle under socialism. It is of great importance to have a correct understanding of the basic characteristics of the current class struggle. This will help distinguish the present struggle from the class struggle as it occurred before the elimination of the exploiting classes and differentiate class-struggle society from the future society in which classes and class struggle will be thoroughly eliminated. This analysis can also help overcome both the view that class struggle has died out and the view that magnifies class struggle.

Clear Demarcation Line

The characteristics of the current class struggle are clearly distinct from the "left" guiding thought epitomized in the slogan "Take class struggle as the key link." The line of demarcation is clear on a number of issues.

//First, the targets of class struggle are different.// Before the exploiting classes were eliminated as classes, the targets of class struggle were all exploiting classes. After the elimination of the exploiting classes, the targets of the struggle shifted to counter-revolutionaries and enemy agents, all kinds of criminals that seriously jeopardize socialist order, new exploiters who embezzle, steal, speculate and profiteer, certain remnants of the gang of four, a handful of unreformed landlords, rich peasants and some remnants of other exploiting classes. The chief targets of the current struggle are serious economic criminals.

//Second, the position of class struggle in our society has changed.// Before the elimination of the exploiting classes, class struggle was the principal contradiction of our society. Today, class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction. Instead, the contradiction between the people's increasing demands for material and cultural well-being and the backward social productive forces has become the principal contradiction. Thus accordingly, the party and state have shifted the emphasis of their work to developing social productive forces and gradually improving the people's material and cultural well-being. Class struggle, including the current campaign against the serious criminal activities in the economic field, is subordinate to and serves the central task of economic construction.

//Third, our analysis of the nature of class struggle is different.// In the past, class struggle was considered to exist at all times and in all places. As a result, a great number of social contradictions, not pertaining to class struggle were dealt with as if they were class struggle. Now, it is held that class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come. Moreover, the resolution adopted by the sixth plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee pointed out "We must correctly understand that there are diverse social contradictions in Chinese society which do not fall within the scope of class struggle and that methods other than class struggle must be used for their appropriate

resolution." This kind of contradictions are struggle against the exploiting classes' influence reflected among the people. They are non-antagonistic contradictions. Non-antagonistic contradictions can be transformed into antagonistic contradictions under certain conditions. For instance, if minor economic offences are ignored, they can develop into serious economic crimes. This represents a process from quantitative change to qualitative change. But, before the qualitative change occurs, such problems do not fall within the scope of class struggle. In addition, there are numerous contradictions of a non-class nature among the people, such as those between right and wrong and between advanced and backward thinking. Class struggle is conducted within a certain limit as it exists.

//Fourth, the methods of carrying out class struggle are different.// Since class struggle is no longer the principal social contradiction, we do not need nor should we launch tempestuous mass movements as those in the past. We can make full use of our state machine to solve the limited class struggle that still exists. No mass movement will be carried out in the present struggle against economic criminals. Instead, we will rely on legal procedures. Actions will be taken on the basis of facts, and punishment will be meted out according to law.

Thus, our country's class struggle under the new historical condition is fundamentally different from the so-called "Taking class struggle as the key link" guided by "left" thinking. Some people assert that we are regressing. They are entirely wrong.

CSO: 4000/180

PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON RESULTANT FORCES' INFLUENCE

HK271020 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Kong Li [1313 4539] and Li Qiang [2621 1730]: "Li Zicheng, Dorgen, Zheng Chenggong--An Example of 'The Resultant Forces' in History"]

[Text] Li Zicheng (1606-1645) was the leader of a peasant army.

Dorgen (1612-1651) was the actual leader of the Manchu Noble's.

Zheng Chenggong (1624-1662) was one of the major generals of the South Ming Dynasty who resisted the Ching Army.

These three persons represented three forces in China at the end of the Ming Dynasty and the beginning of the Ching Dynasty. All three were outstanding personalities and all died when they were 39--this, of course, was a mere casual coincidence. The time of their debut on the historical stage differed, but the 1640's was the decade in which they were all acting on the historical stage. In 1644, Li Zicheng took Beijing, overthrew the Ming Dynasty and established the Dashun reign. In 1644, the Ching Army crossed the path and Dorgen was granted the title "Uncle Regent" and thus became the actual ruler of the Ching Court. In 1646, Zheng Chenggong led an armed upsurge on the sea against the Ching Dynasty. During that decade, these three persons, like the stars Rigel, Betelgeuse and Bellatrix together shone brightly over China.

In his letter to Yue Bu-luo-he [4766 1580 3157 6378], Engels put forth the following thesis: History is the result of the conflicts of the interacting wills of many individuals. "There are many interacting forces which form many parallelograms of forces." Their mutual conflicts and their interaction bring about an overall result, which differs from the will of any single individual and is the "general resultant of the forces" of the will of all individuals.[1]

This thesis was put forth by Engels when he expounded the relations between the economic foundation and the superstructure. It was aimed at expounding the relationships between the wills of individuals and the laws of historical development. Obviously, this thesis is based on historical materialism.

In light of this thesis, we have selected from the countless parallelograms of forces at the end of the Ming Dynasty and the beginning of the Ching Dynasty the parallelograms of the three social forces represented by Li Zicheng, Dorgen and Zheng Chenggong as an object of our investigation and enquired into how the "resultant of these forces" emerged along the diagonal line of a resultant parallelogram and how these forces played their roles in the historical development at the beginning of the Ching Dynasty.

The Respective Wills of the Three Political Forces

During the first half of the 17th century, the colonialists had already come to the east, their tentacles had already reached China's Macao, the Penhu islands and Taiwan, and they continuously molested our coastal areas. On the other hand, the ancient Chinese empire was still under the fetters of the feudal system, was full of contradictions and was declining. By the 1940's, the insurrectionary army of the peasants led by Li Zicheng achieved great victories, took Beijing and established the Dashun reign, thus the extremely corruptive Ming Dynasty collapsed and was finally overthrown under the attack of the uprising peasants. At the same time, the strength of the Manchu nationality rose quickly. The Manchu Army defeated the Ming Army, and crossed the Shanhai Path. With the collusion of the Manchu and Han landlord classes, the Manchu Army overthrew the peasant reign and established the Ching Dynasty, taking Yanjing as the capital of their empire.

At that time, in the Chinese society, there were the following contradictions: The contradiction between the Chinese nation and foreign colonialists, the contradiction between the peasant class and the landlord class, the contradiction between the Manchu aristocrats and the people of all nationalities throughout the country and the contradiction between the sections in the landlord class of the Han nationality that upheld resistance against Manchu Army and the section that supported the Manchu rule. Class contradictions interacted with national contradictions and all the contradictions were very sharp.

Inside China at that time, there were the following political forces: The peasant insurrectionary army which represented the interests of the peasants, the China reign which represented the interests of Manchu aristocrats and a part of the landlord class of the Han nationality and the south Ming reign which represented the interests of the landlord class of the Han nationality.

At that time, the problems facing China were, internally, the question of which of the three forces would defeat the other two and win the ruling power over China and externally, the question of whether we would be able to resist the aggressions of colonialists and defend the independence and the territorial integrity of our motherland.

Where would China go? To this question each of the three forces gave their respective answer.

The Han landlord class attempted to reestablish its rule over the whole country. At first it did not regard the Ching reign to jointly wipe out the peasant insurrectionary army. In his letter to Dorgen, Shi Kefa said, "I humbly emplore your highness to resolutely maintain our friendship in fighting against our common enemy, make your virtue consummate and bring your force into our country to join us in striving to cut off the heads of the enemy and to avenge the death of our emperor." In his "Memorial to the Throne on Sending an Envoy to the North," he pointed out, "The most urgent thing now is to deal with the rebels" and advocated "borrowing the strong troops (of the Ching reign) in order to wipe out all the rebels."[2] In their eyes, the peasant army was still their most serious danger. Later, when the Ching Army came south and was attempting to conquer the whole country, the contradictions between nationalities became unprecedently sharp. In such a situation, the weak Longwu reign of the south Ming Dynasty began to fly the banner of resisting the Ching Army. In his mandate, Zhu Yujian, prince of Tang, said, "I grievously worry for the tombs of my ancesters and for my subjects. The barbarous Manchu army tarnished our ancesters' tombs and killed, raped and robbed my subjects who were thus in an abyss of suffering. Therefore, he announced that he "will personally lead the main force to fight against the Manchu Army."[3] Rallying around the last state power of the south Ming Dynasty--the Yongli reign--a number of Han bureaucratic landlords also flew the banner of resisting the Ching army. He Tengjiao, Qu Shisi, Tu Yinxi, Zhang Huangyan, Huang Daozhou, Zheng Chenggong and others represented the section of the landlord class that upheld resistance against the Ching Army.

Judging by their original desire, the Manchu aristocrats only attempted to utilize the internal class contradictions of the Han nationality to invade and loot the main part of China. At first, they did not plan to seize the area to the south of the Changjiang River and unify all of China. The mandate that was issued when the Manchu army had just come to the south of the Shanhai path pointed out that, "It is a matter of course that those who do not forget the Ming court would help us--a loyal army of the minority nationality. I will not blame them if they united their force to defend the area on the lefthand side of the Changjiang River." This meant that at that time they allowed the officials and gentlemen to maintain their rule in the area to the south of the Changjiang River. However, over 1 month later, Dorgen changed his attitude and in his letter to Shi Kefa, he said, that "he would send his army to the east and take the area to the south of the Changjiang River" and he warned the emperor and officials of the south Ming court that the "result of a war between the force of a small area to the south of the Changjiang River and the force of a great state can be definitely foretold without using any means of divination." This showed that the Manchu aristocrats had already decided to seize the ruling power over the whole country and did not allow the south Ming court to maintain its rule in the south any longer.

As for the peasant army, when the army took Beijing, some people in the army thought that "the area to the south of the Changjiang River can be taken immediately by sending an envoy there." When the Ching Army crossed the Shanhai Path, the peasant army was faced with two enemies--the Han and the Manchu landlord classes. When Li Zicheng was forced to give up Beijing, he still planned to take Hanzhong in the south and Gansu in the east and use these areas as bases to resist the Ching Army. This showed that the peasant army still hoped to defend and develop what they had achieved in its uprising.

The above were the desires of the three political forces and we can treat these desires as the will of these classes.

The Three Personalities' Personal Will and the Conflicts Between Them

The will of a class is often embodied in the thoughts and actions of the leaders of the class and in the thoughts of the persons who represent the class. The will of an outstanding personality reflected not only his own will as an individual but also the will of the class he belongs to. This personal will basically identifies with the will of his class. However, an outstanding personality is often more far-sighted and wise than ordinary people, and therefore, sometimes he will possibly act out of the consideration of the long-term interests and will not proceed from immediate interests. But he may also commit mistakes because he misjudges the situation and he may do things that run counter to the will of his class. Moreover, because he is in a leading position, his personal will may bring about relatively great influence and he may play a greater role in the progress of history. Therefore, it is necessary to take into account the personal will of outstanding personalities.

As an outstanding leader of the peasant army. Li Zicheng's will represented the demand of the broad masses of peasants. During the progress of the uprising, the insurrectionary army put forth the slogans such as "Divide up the land equally between the nobles and the lowly," "Exempt all grain and money levies," "Exempt all corvees" and "Exempt the peasants from grain levies." All these slogans reflected the desire of the peasant class for equal division of land and for the abolishment of the cruel exploitation of the government and the landlord class. Li Zicheng punished senior government officials and big landlords and divided up their land among the peasants. He called this "taking from the rich to help the poor." He paid attention to enforcing the discipline on his army and announced that "when our tremendous army enters a city, our armymen should not offend anyone. If anyone in our army loots, he will be put to death immediately."[4] Under his leadership, the peasant army finally took Beijing, established the Dashun reign and dealt heavy blows at the feudal ruling class. After the Ching army crossed the Shanhai Path, Li Zicheng led his peasant army to fight against the Ching Army. In spite of repeated defeats, he persisted in fighting until he died. Obviously, Li Zicheng's subjective will was still to safeguard the interests of the peasant class.

He did not allow the emergence of a state power of Manchu aristocrats to rule over the peasants after the overthrow of one feudal state power. Later, the remnant of the peasant army persisted in fighting against the Ching Army for over a decade and this was an act that was aimed at fulfilling the task left by Li Zicheng. Li Zicheng's will embodied the highest level of awareness of the peasant class in his time and his activities constituted a magnificent chapter of the history of anti-feudal struggle. However, as he could not free himself from his class and historical restriction, he could not achieve a thorough victory in his anti-feudal struggle.

Dorgen represented the interests of Manchu aristocrats, but he was wiser than ordinary Manchu aristocrats. When they had just crossed the Shanhai Path, the ordinary Manchu aristocrats only attempted to kill and capture the Han people and loot. Then their main force would retreat through the Shanhai Path. They did not plan to establish their rule over central China. According to "eyewitness record of Li's reign," "the eighth prince said to the ninth prince (Dorgen), 'When we had just taken Liaodong, we did not kill Han people. As a result, many of our Ching people were killed by the Han people there.' Now we should take the advantage of the victory of our army and kill Han people on a large scale. Then we will leave a few princes to garrison Yanjing and our main force will withdraw to garrison Shengyang or the Shanhai Path, thus we will have no trouble in the future." However, Dorgen had a long-term plan in his mind and he insisted on moving the capital to Yanjing for the purpose of further invasion. He utilized the internal class contradictions among the Han people and attempted, on the one hand, to unite with the peasant army to fight the remnant forces of the Ming reign. He wrote, in the name of the "Emperor of the Great Ching Empire," to the generals who occupied the western part of the Ming empire and said that he "wants to combine the wisdom and strength of your excellencies to attack and take the central plains together. If we succeed in taking the whole country, we will enjoy wealth and power together." On the other hand, he attempted to disintegrate the peasant army. He personally wrote to Tang Tong, a former Ming general who had surrendered to the peasant army, and told Tang to "take the lead to bring his (Tang's) troops to come over and pledge obedience to" him and strive with one heart and mind with him to conquer the whole country."[5] At the same time, Dorgen also attempted to unite with the force of the south Ming reign to suppress the peasant army. In his letter to Shi Kefa, he pointed out that he "wishes that your highnesses will cooperate with me (Dorgen) in fighting against the rebels" so that "you might avenge your emperor's death and help me to develop the virtuous deeds of my court." However, these measures failed to achieve any results in disintegrating the anti-Ching forces of the Han nationality. It was mainly through a long period of military contention that the Ching army obtained the power to rule over the whole country.

Although Dorgen was wiser than ordinary Manchu nobles in having adopted a few measures to lure and win over Han landlords and officials, generally

speaking, what he implemented was in the main the national oppressive policy which safeguarded the interests of Manchu aristocrats. Despite the resistance of all the strata of hhe Han people, he enforced the implementation of this policy. In the 3d year of the Shunzhi reign, Dorgen issued an order stating that "if anyone sends me a memoral in which he says anything against the enforcement of the Manchu style of hair, the enforcement of the Manchu style of dress, the policy of taking private land as the emperor's or the aristocrats' property, the policy of forcing people to be serfs or the practice of punishing the relatives and neighbors of the those who fled, he should be punished without exception and his memoral should not be passed to me." Therefore, according to Dorgen's personal will, the Manchu aristocrats, as the conquerors, had to become the only rulers in China, the Han landlord class was not allowed to share the power to rule, the Manchu aristocrats had to be allowed to exploit and enslave the people of all nationalities and no one was allowed to oppose exploitation and slavery.

Zheng Chenggong, though not the only representative of the anti-Ching force in the south Ming court, was one of the outstanding representatives. Many people in the court of the south Ming Dynasty flaunted the banner of "recovering central China" and vainly attempted to suppress the peasant insurrectionary army, drive away Manchu aristocrats and restore the rule of the Ming imperial court was extremely corrupt and in a desparate situation and it was even very difficult for them to maintain their rule over the area on the lefthand side of the Changjiang River. Therefore, what they called their "urgent desire to recover the cultural plains" could only be empty brave words because, in fact, few people could take any vigorous actions to promote the great cause of recovering central China. Shi Kefa, the top loyal official of Emperor Hongguang, vainly attempted to use the Ching force to suppress the peasant army, but his real intention was to share the rule over the country with the Ching court, and he did not intend to recover the central plains. Deng Zhilong, the number one general of Emperor Longwu, despite the favor that he received in being granted the title of "Marquis Pinglu," surrendered to the Ching Army before his troops engaged in any battle with the Ching Army. As for the officials of the prince of Lu, no one did anything to resist the Ching Army except Zhang Huangyan and Zhang Mingzhen, who fought a few battles against the Ching Army. He Tengjiao and Qu Shisi, who supported Emperor Yongli, indeed persisted in resisting the Ching Army, and moreover, they united with the peasant army in their military actions. However, as they could only fight in a small area in the southwest, it was all along hopeless for them to "recover the empire."

The reason why Zheng Chenggong was regarded as one of the outstanding persons in resisting the Ching Army during the south Ming Dynasty was because he not only treated the task of recovering the empire as his own duty but had also personally led troops to fight south and north for the fulfillment of this task. His troops even marched as far as near the

Changjiang River to seize Jiangning. In resisting the Ching Army, most of the officials in the south Ming court acted passively in response to the enemy's attack. Military activities in taking the initiative to launch attack like Zheng Chenggong's were indeed some extremely few exceptions. This was where Zheng Chenggong was better than the others. Certainly, those officials and emperors of the south Ming Dynasty who only vainly seeked to maintain their rule over the small area on the lefthand side of the Changjiang River were by far inferior when compared with him. Second, Zheng Chenggong was able to unite other anti-Ching forces to develop the struggle in a planned manner. According to his plan, he would first cooperate with the peasant army in Fujian and other areas to consolidate his base at the coastal area and accumulate and develop his military strength. Second, he would unite and cooperate with Li Dingguo's Daxi Army and thus they would form a pincer in attacking the enemy in order to join their forces. Third, he planned to "wipe out the enemy who had occupied the palace of the Ming court and to form a sworn union with the allies at the outskirts of the capital" in order to fulfill the "great task of recovering the Ming empire." Finally, after his military operation to recover the area to the south of the Changjiang River failed, he did not withdraw his troops to Xiamen and Jinmen islands to passively accept his defeat. On the contrary, he was able to have prevailed over all dissenting views and made the policy decision of launching the east expedition. As a result, he finally succeeded in driving away the Dutch colonialists and recovering our territory Taiwan. By so doing, he scored a great historic achievement which was certainly something his contemporaries could not have attempted. His subjective aim in recovering Taiwan was still to resist the Ching Army. He said, "If we take this island as a temporary shelter, we will be able to reorganize and develop our troops in order to recover our empire."[6] Finally, we should point out that because of Zheng Chenggong's class stand, he would certainly have had the desire to develop trade on the sea in order to promote the interests of the marine trade group that he represented. Both his actions in fighting the Ching Army and in recovering Taiwan reflect, to a certain degree, his will in these aspects.

All Three Contributed to the Progress of History

What were the "overall results" of the struggle between the three forces that were respectively represented by Li Zicheng, Dorgen and Zheng Chenggong? Judging by the relatively important "historical events" then, there were the following results: In 1662, the Ching Army captured Emperor Yongli and the last state power of the south Ming Dynasty was overthrown; in 1662, Zheng Chenggong recovered Taiwan; in 1664, the rulers of the Ching court finally wiped out the remnant troops of the peasant insurrectionary army; and in 1683, Emperor Kongxi unified Taiwan with the mainland and the Zheng family group surrendered. As for the overall result, a unified feudal state ruled over by the Manchu and Han landlord classes emerged. This was the result of the operation of the resultant force of the forces in the history.

However, this overall result did not emerge in accordance with the will of any individual and it was "a result that no one had ever wished."

It was not a development that conformed to Li Zicheng's will. Li Zicheng attempted to overthrow the feudal reign and establish a state power of the peasants. This attempt was realized for a time, but in the end Li Zicheng was defeated. Later, because of the change in the situation, his remnant forces united with his original enemy--the remnant force of the Ming court to resist the Ching Army. This was a development that he had never dreamed about.

This result also differed from what Dorgen wished to happen. As the Manchu aristocrats could not realize their desire in ruling over central plains alone, they could not help but unite the Han landlord class to jointly rule China. As early as during the period when Dorgen was in power, he began to make quite a few concessions to the Han bureaucratic landlords in order to ease the national contradictions. For example, he permitted the continual employment of the government officials of the previous government of the Ming court, even including those who had surrendered to the insurrectionary army if they expressed their "submission" to the Ching court. He also used the official examination to win over the intellectuals of the landlord class and adopted some policies to reduce taxation in order to benefit Han landlords. Moreover, he gave permission to marriages between Manchu and Han people. When Emperor Shunzhi took over the state power, he continued the implementation of Dorgen's policies, assigned Han people to important official posts and advocated Han culture. During the reign of Emperor Kongxi, in order to further appease the anti-Ching feelings among the Han officials and gentlemen, an additional examination began to be regularly held to select learned people as officials, in order to winning over talented people. Emperor Kongxi raised the position of Han officials and gave all the prefectural and county official posts to Han official candidates in order to give the Han landlords more opportunities for official jobs and better prospects. Moreover, he issued an order to ban the practices of forcefully seizing private land as the emperor's or the artistocrats' and of compelling people to be serfs, and he gradually substituted the feudal tenancy system for serfdom in the farms of Manchu aristocrats. As a result he eased the contradictions between the Manchu aristocrats and the Han landlords. Furthermore, the Manchu aristocrats could not help but adopt some policies to reduce the burden of levies and corvees on the peasant class. Faced with the situation whereby a large amount of land had been turned into waste land because the prolonged war caused many peasants to run away, and faced with the reality of the poverty of the people, Dorgan was forced to temporarily reduce the exploitation of the peasants in order to recover the production. He said, "In order to rule the people satisfactorily, nothing is more important than the reduction of the severity of legal punishment and the tax burden." Therefore, he announced the abolishment of the additional taxation that the Ming court enforced on the people in order to fund the war at the end of the

Ming Dynasty. At the same time, he called on the wandering peasants to return to their production and ordered the various local governments to solicit the wandering peasants on a large scale and to give wasteland to them as their permanent property.[7] He also ordered that "if local despots and influential people lend money at a high interest rate to force people to go bankrupt," the government must punish these despots and influential people. Of course, it was under the pressure of the situation that they adopted the above-mentioned policies and therefore, they had not achieved any substantial results by adopting these policies. However, after all, these were measures that were favorable to the recovery of production. Emperor Kongxi continued to adopt the policies of reducing taxation and levies and encouraging opening up wasteland. He stipulated that "in exempting taxation in the future, a proportional exemption should be carried out so that the landlords could enjoy 70 percent and the peasants could enjoy 30 percent of the benefits that will be brought about by the exemption." Obviously, this exemption was more favorable for the landlords, but anyhow, the burden on the peasants were to some extent reduced. Moreover, he ordered that the land of the princes of the Ming court be divided and granted to those who had been tilling it as their personal property.[8] This was what was called the "land of which the name of owners have been changed." By so doing, the Ching court recognized the peasants' title over the land they had got after the peasant war. In short, the development of history was the "outcome of the operation of a force that acted as the overall resultant forces and that unconsciously and spontaneously played its role." The Manchu aristocrats could not help but make some concession to the Han landlord class and the Han peasant class and force themselves to gradually adapt to the relatively advanced economic, political and cultural conditions on central plains. This was also something Dorgen and his contemporaries could not have imagined.

It was just the same for Zheng Chenggong; the result of the historical development did not conform to his will. Zheng Chenggong's desire in resisting the Ching court and recovering the Ming empire was not realized. Taiwan did not become a base for resisting the China army. By the time when Zheng Jing ruled Taiwan, it was in the main impossible for him to persist in fighting against the Ching court and the banner of anti-Ching struggle gradually lost its power to attract the people. By the time when Zheng Keshuang ruled Taiwan, the Zheng family group had to give up its cause of resisting the Ching court and decided to let Taiwan be a part of the territory of the Ching empire and thus the whole country was reunified. Obviously, this conclusion did not conform to Zheng Chenggong's personal will.

The course of history has proved that the wills of various people interact and the realization of each person's will is restricted by the various wills of the other people and therefore cannot be achieved or cannot be completely achieved. However, as Engels said, "From this fact, we should by no means draw the conclusion that all the wills are equivalent to nothing. On the contrary, each of the wills contribute to and are included in the resultant force."

Now, let us look into how these various wills contribute to the resultant force.

We are of the opinion that by the word "contribute" we mean that these wills played their roles in bringing about the outcome of the struggle and had their impact on the development of this outcome. In this sense, the most important role that these wills played were on the change of social contradictions and the later development. To be more specific, the major contributions of these three persons were:

Li Zicheng: He overthrew the corrupt Ming court, dealt a heavy blow at the rule of the feudal landlord class and forced the rulers of the Ching court to adopt measures to reduce taxation and levies, restrict local despots, readjust social relationships and promote the recovery and development of production. The peasant army's slogan for "dividing up land equally and exempting grain levies" had a bearing on the peasants' struggle during the Ching Dynasty.

Dorgen: He commanded the Ching Army and led it to march to the south. Moreover, he promoted the formation of the union between the Manchu and the Han landlord classes, laid the foundation for the reunification of the whole country and prepared conditions for the recovery and development of production and the readjustment of the class relations and national relations during the early Ching Dynasty.

Zheng Chenggong: He carried out the struggle against the Ching court and forced the authorities of the Ching court to readjust their relationships with the Han landlord class and ease up the national contradiction, and thus promoted the reunification of the country. He led the east expedition, drove away the Dutch colonialists, recovered and developed Taiwan, safeguarded the motherland's sovereignty over its territory and thus prepared conditions for the realization of the reunification of the whole country.

These were the contributions of the wills of Li Zicheng, Dorgen and Zheng Chenggong to the emergence of the resultant force. As for how great the contribution of each was, it was hard for us to describe it in accurate figures. Of course, the wills of a very large number of people contributed to bringing about the outcome of the emergence of a unified feudal country that was jointly ruled by Manchu and the Han landlord classes. However, we have selected only three representatives from the complicated course of history to make a study of. In the Chinese society at the end of the Ming Dynasty and the beginning of the Ching Dynasty, the economic foundation of the feudal system was still rather strong and there were not economic prerequisites and conditions for the society to progress into capitalist society. Therefore, the laws of historical development determined the direction of the resultant force and the society of the Ching Dynasty could only move forward along the orbit of feudal society. Nobody's will could have brought the Chinese society away from this orbit.

Li Zicheng was unable to lead the peasant insurrection to its complete victory, Zheng Chenggong was unable to make the sea trade develop without any impediments, and Dorgen was unable to transplant the Manchu nationality's backward relation of production to the central plains. However, Li Zicheng's demand for the reduction of the peasants' burden, Zheng Chenggong's demand for the recovery of the rule of the Han landlord class and Dorgen's demand for the seisure of the ruling power over the whole country could be partly and more or less realized under the premise of their conforming then to the social and historical conditions. Therefore, in a sense, among the "countless interacting forces," the most powerful forces are the established social and historical conditions. As Marx said, "People themselves created their history, but they do not create at will or under conditions they choose. On the contrary, they create under the conditions that they can directly feel that are already established and that are inherited from the past."[9]

FOOTNOTES

1. "Letters of Marx and Engels."

2. "Collected Works of Shi Kefa."

3. "Detailed History About Emperor Siwen's Reign."

4. "A Checkered History of the Ming Dynasty," Vol 100.

5. "A Collection of Historical Files of the Ching Dynasty," Vol 7.

6. "Unofficial History of Taiwan."

7. "Draft of China History," "Biography of Dorgen."

8. "History of the Official System of the Ching Dynasty."

9. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 603.

CSO: 4005/1266

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON SEPARATION OF POWERS

HK201556 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Aug 82 p 5

[Article by Zhao Zhenjiang [6392 7201 3068]: "On the Prin iple Governing the Division of Powers of the Central the Local State Organs"]

[Text] Article 3 of the general principles of the "draft of the revised PRC constitution" which is now before the people of all nationalities throughout the country for discussion states that "the division of powers of the central and local state organs must adhere to the principle of observing the unified leadership of the central authorities and bringing the initiative and enthusiasm of the localities into full play." This stipulation has provided a guiding principle and a legal basis for a rational division of powers of the central and local state organs.

I

Basically, there are two kinds of state structures: the unitary system and the federal system. The unitary system is a structure made up of several administrative regions under the unitary sovereignty of the state. Countries adopting this system have only one central government and one constitution. Most modern countries follow this system. The federal system is a united country made up of several member-states (such as republics, states and prefectures). The federation has the highest legislative and administrative bodies and a unified constitution and law. In accordance with the federal constitution, the member-states establish their own legislative bodies and constitutions. No matter whether the unitary or federal system is followed, all states are confronted with the problem of dividing powers between the central authorities and the localities.

The preamble of the draft of the revised PRC constitution clearly stipulates that the PRC is a multination state founded by all nationalities of the country. In other words, our country is adopting the unitary state form. The division of powers of the central and local state organs must, first of all, guarantee the unified leadership of the central authorities. This tallies with the common aspiration of the people of all nationalities, the basic interests, the historical traditions and our country's actual situation. In dividing the powers of the central and local state organs,

We must adhere to the principle of the unified leadership of the central authorities. This is the requirement and manifestation of the principle for implementing the democratic centralized system in state organs of our country. In a socialist state, the most essential and principal content of democracy is that the broad masses of the people are the master and they have the extensive right to administer state and social affairs. On a democratic basis, they can create and organize state organs at all levels; stipulate unified laws, decrees, policies, principles and plans to guide and instruct the acts of the people throughout the country; mobilize and organize the people of the country to strive to realize their aspirations and interests. In dividing the powers of the central and local state organs, we must guarantee the unified leadership of the central authorities. This is another requirement of the socialist cause of our country. Comrade Mao Zedong once pointed out: "In order to build a powerful socialist state, we must have a unified and powerful central leadership and a unified plan and discipline for the whole country." In particular, regarding the relevant internal affairs, foreign affairs, national defense and principal policies that affect the national economy and the people's livelihood, we must have a unified leadership in the central state organs so as to guarantee and safeguard the completeness of state activities and the unity of sovereignty in our country.

In order to strengthen the unified leadership of the central state organs, the draft of the revised constitution has amended and filled out the existing constitution: 1) It strengthens the role of the NPC as the highest organ of state power and emphatically stipulates that the Standing Committee of the NPC can also make laws, so that the NPC Standing Committee can promptly and effectively decide on the major problems of the state when the NPC is not in session. 2) It stipulates that the State Council should implement the premier responsibility system and that the State Council has the right to stipulate and criticize the administrative laws and regulations in accordance with the constitution, laws and decrees. It has the right to "change or annul unsuitable decisions and orders of the state administrative organs at all levels," and "to exercise unified leadership over the local state administrative organs throughout the country and to specify the division of power of the central, provincial and autonomous prefectural administrative organs and that of municipalities directly under the central government. 3) It stipulates that "the State Council should establish an auditing organ and audit and supervise the people's governments at all levels and their subordinate financial organs, and audit and supervise the finances of enterprises and institutional organizations and the financial revenues and expenditures." Apart from this, the draft of the revised constitution also stipulates that the state chairmanship system should be restored and a central military commission should be introduced and so on. The above-mentioned stipulations make the system of the central state organs more complete so that the relationship between the central and local state organs will become more harmonious and the efficiency of the central state organs will be greatly enhanced. This ensures a unified leadership of the central state organs over local state organs.

II

Ours is a country with a vast territory and a big population. The political, economic and cultural development of all localities is unbalanced and the situation differs in thousands of ways. However, the state constitution, laws and decrees and the policies, principles and plans of the central government are based on the general situation in the country. It is impossible to make specific stipulations for all issues for all localities and units. Because of this, the central authorities should give the local state organs ample initiative and flexibility so that they can deal with the problems in line with local conditions. The theme of the draft of the revised constitution on the principle of dividing powers between the central and local state organs is to bring the initiative and enthusiasm of local state organs into full play under the premise of adhering to the unified leadership of the central authorities. The party's policies, principles and line; the state's constitution, laws and decrees; and the central government's decisions, orders and plans must be implemented through activities launched by local state organs. Since the local state organs, in particular the grassroots political powers, understand the opinions and demands of the masses best, they are responsible for mobilizing and organizing the mass of people to realize the various state projects and administer the various institutions of the local district. Therefore, whether or not we can mobilize their initiative and enthusiasm is related to the success and failure of the four modernizations of our country.

To bring the initiative and enthusiasm of local state organs into full play, we must grant them responsibilities and authority, clearly state their authority of office and grant them legal protection to exercise their functions and authority. Because of this, the draft of the revised constitution stipulates that the local people's congresses at all levels are entitled to pass and issue resolutions and to examine and decide on plans for local economic, cultural and public affairs undertakings in accordance with the limits of their authority, as prescribed by law, within the local administrative district. The people's congresses of provinces and municipalities directly under the central government and their standing committees can stipulate and issue local laws and regulations under the premise that they do not contravene the constitution, laws, decrees and administrative laws and regulations, and report to the NPC Standing Committee for the record. In accordance with the limits of authority as prescribed by law, the local people's governments at all levels should take care of the administrative work of the economic, educational, cultural, public health and physical cultural work as well as the construction of towns and cities and the financial, public security, civil administration and planned parenthood work. The draft also stipulates that the people's congresses of the nationality autonomous prefectures are entitled to stipulate autonomous and specific regulations on the management of local finances. They can organize a local public security unit to safeguard social order. "Under the guidance of the state plan, they can take the initiative to manage local economic and construction affairs" and "take the initiative to manage local educational, scientific,

cultural, public health and physical cultural work; safeguard and reorganize the cultural relics of the nation; develop and promote our fine national culture."

III

At present, how to correctly integrate the unified leadership of the central authorities with bringing the initiative and enthusiasm of the localities into full play is an important task for building political power and reforming the government system in our country. In this respect, the draft of the revised constitution is more advanced than the past constitutions. By dividing the powers of the state organs at all levels, the internal relations between the central authorities and the localities is getting closer.

On the one hand, the draft stipulates that when bringing their initiative and enthusiasm into full play and when exercising their authority and carrying out various activities, the local state organs should implement the principle that the lower level be subordinate to the higher level and the localities to the central authorities. For example, the draft stipulates that "the local people's congresses at all levels should guarantee the observation and execution of the constitution, laws, decrees and administrative laws and regulations within the local administrative district" and "the local people's governments at all levels must be responsible to the next higher level and should submit their reports to it. The local people's government at all levels throughout the country are state administrative organs under the unified leadership of the State Council. They must be subordinate to the State Council." On the other hand, the draft demands that the central authorities not impose strict restrictions on the localities, not exploit the decision-making power of the localities and the autonomy of national autonomous organs. It also stipulates that the central authorities are responsible for helping the localities and for safeguarding their interests. For example, the draft stipulates that "the state should protect the autonomy of the government organs in the nationality autonomous areas to implement state laws and policies in accordance with local conditions. Furthermore, it should help the minority nationalities to speed up the development of economic and cultural construction with regard to finances, materials and technology." "When the state exploits the natural resources and constructs enterprises in the nationality autonomous areas, it must take the interests of the nationality autonomous areas into consideration."

Early in 1956, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "What we should pay attention to at the present moment is that we must expand the local powers under the premise of consolidating the unified leadership of the central authorities, and give the localities more independence so that they can do more things. This is relatively advantageous to building a powerful socialist country. Since our territory is so vast, our population so big and the situation so complicated, it is much better if we mobilize the

enthusiasm of both the localities and the central authorities." The idea of Comrade Mao Zedong is absolutely correct. This idea runs through the draft of the revised constitution, which stipulates the division of powers in the central and local state organs. It adopts the "method of enumeration": The powers of the central authorities and the localities are listed in different chapters and sections. Since the authorities of office are clearly stated, it is more convenient for the officials to attend to their own duties. As a matter of fact, in the wake of the changes of the objective situations, the division of powers of the central authorities and the localities must be readjusted accordingly. However, the readjustment must be carried out according to legislative procedure and must tally with the principle and spirit of the constitution.

CSO: 4005/1266

PARTY AND STATE

'CORRECT ATTITUDE' NECESSARY IN REGARD TO INTELLECTUALS' LABOR

Xi'an SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by Miao Baosheng (5379 0202 3932): "How To Regard Correctly the Labor of Intellectuals"]

[Text] Because of "leftist" ideological troublemaking in the present implementation of policies on intellectuals, there are still a number of people who even now consider intellectuals to be unproductive persons. For this reason, they regard the legitimate requests of intellectuals in their work and study as being "special." This has not only created estrangement between the workers and peasants on the one hand and scientific and technical personnel on the other but it has also dampened the enthusiasm of the scientific and technical personnel. If we are to thoroughly eliminate this limited and narrow prejudice, we must handle the labor of intellectuals with a correct attitude.

Historically, intellectuals have for the most part played a progressive role and have fallen within the sphere of laborers. So-called intellectuals are a group of people who are at a definite level of science and culture and who are engaged in mental work. Mental work is a product that is produced and developed to a fixed stage and is manifested in great advances in the society. The division of labor into physical labor and mental labor occurred in slave societies after the division of labor between agriculture and animal husbandry and between cities and rural villages. As agriculture, animal husbandry, commerce and handicraft industries developed, such industries as spinning, weaving, smelting, pottery-making and navigation appeared. "Once the rise and development of science had begun, it was determined by production" ("Selected Works of Marx," Vol 3, p 523). Further development of production forces made new demands on science, technology, culture and art. For example, animal husbandry, agriculture, irrigation, construction and production and circulation of goods require specialized knowledge. Thus, there were some people who became separated from physical labor and who specialized in doing cultural, scientific or technical work, becoming mental laborers, i.e., intellectuals. Thereupon, there developed the division of labor between physical labor and mental labor. At the present stage, physical laborers and mental laborers are forces upon which we are relying to establish the four modernizations. Both are indispensable. If we do not have revolutionary theory and advanced science and technology as our guides, all of our practical activities will be accomplished blindly. However, if we do not have practical

forces consisting primarily of workers and peasants, then good theory and science and technology will be empty and useless. Thus, both play important roles in establishing the four modernizations. However, we must also realize that science and technology are in a leading position in the process of uniting physical laborers with science and technology in production. Speaking specifically, without mental laborers, we cannot have a modern civilization. "A rapidly advancing civilization is entirely owing to the mind and is owing to the development and activity of the brain" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3 p 515). If we had relied solely on our hands, we would never have created the steam engine.

Marx said, "When we compare the product of an hour of complex labor with the product of an hour of simple labor, we find that the former product has a value two or three times that of the former" ("Collected Works of Marx," Vol. 3, p 237). The labor in which intellectuals engage is for the most part complex labor. This type of labor is much more difficult and much more complex than simple labor with the result that the value created is also much greater. Moreover, with the development of modern science and technology, the role of mental labor in building the national economy has become more and more important. Just as Marx pointed out, "In order to accomplish the tasks of production, the laborer can no longer rely solely on the knowledge and skills that he has acquired directed from productive labor. Production as a whole does not depend directly on the skills of the laborer. Rather, it is the application of science to skills" ("Outline of a Critique of Political Economy," Vol. 3, p 349). The application of intelligence to productive processes not only requires that mental laborers take part directly in productive processes but also that they play an even greater role in transforming productive forces in the form of knowledge into direct productive forces and in engaging in reproduction of knowledge and production of new knowledge. Therefore, it would not do to lack a large corps of intellectuals. From this it can be seen that the labor of intellectuals is an important aspect of social practice and that it is much more complex and much more difficult than simple physical labor. Thus, it can be acknowledged that the views that intellectuals "have it easy" and that they "do not create value: are incorrect.

10019
CSO: 4005/1062

PARTY AND STATE

GUARD AGAINST FOREIGN ELEMENTS' INSIDIOUS 'PEACEFUL EVOLUTION'

Xi'an SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jul 82 p 2

[Article: "Why Is It Said That the Danger of Peaceful Evolution Is Far From Elimination?"]

[Text] We know that, in order to accelerate the establishment of modernization in our nation, we must put the policy of correct and thorough implementation of opening up to the outside and the development of economic relations with the outside world in an important strategic position. This has caused us to become confronted with a new and extremely complex situation. First, foreign reactionary forces are increasing their channels of "peaceful evolution" toward us. Second, hostile foreign elements are employing a much more varied content of "peaceful evolution" against us. Third, the means whereby foreign reactionary forces are employing "peaceful evolution" against us are even more insidious. On the one hand, they use the opportunities provided by mutual exchange of overseas students and scholarly exchanges to attempt to make a "permanent investment" in some of our personnel that go abroad and particularly in leading cadres and their sons and daughters in order to cultivate their forces in China. In addition, by means of such means as broadcasts, television and books and periodicals they are putting the focal point of "peaceful penetration" on shaking the faith of our younger generation in the leadership of the Party and in the socialist system. The effects of the decadent ideology of capitalism on some persons in our Party, its ideological poisoning of the people and its contamination of social practices will be greater and more severe than at any time in the past. In the economic sphere, such illegal and criminal activities as smuggling and peddling, profiteering and cheating and corruption and bribery are more severe and more rampant than in the period of the movement against the three evils [Sanfan]. In the sphere of ideology and culture, such phenomena as worship of and fascination with foreign things and loss of national standards and personal moral standards are also more prominent than at any time since the founding of the nation. Some of those in our ranks with weak wills, including even a very small number of middle-level and high-level cadres, have become prisoners of the capitalist class.

To prevent "peaceful evolution" today, we do no need to repeat past political movements nor do we need to launch another "great cultural revolution." Rather, we must proceed with leadership in a gradual and orderly manner through the socialist system itself. The policy of pushing "peaceful evolution" on socialist countries is an established policy of imperialism. However, this is definitely not to say that the occurrence of "peaceful evolution" is unavoidable in socialist countries. As long as our Party itself is healthy it can resist the attacks of all kinds of "germs" and "peaceful evolution" cannot prevail in our nation.

10019
CSO: 4005/1062

PARTY AND STATE

'CORRECT PARTY STYLE' TO PREVENT DAMAGE, LOSS OF PRESTIGE

Xi'an SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jul 82 p 2

[Article: "What Is the Difference Between the Thesis on Major Danger and the Formulation of 'Bourgeois Within the Party'?"]

[Text] Everyone knows that the principal arguments and practices of the "Great Cultural Revolution" were incorrect. Under conditions in which the socialist transformation of the means of production had basically been completed and in which the exploiting class no longer existed as an intact class, its premises were that the contradictions between the proletariat and the capitalist class were still the major contradictions in society, that a capitalist class could be formed within the Party and even that a confusion between right and wrong had been brought about. The "capitalist roaders" that were overthrown in the "Great Cultural Revolution" were actually leading cadres of the Party and in organizations at all levels in the nation who supported Marxism. The basic difference between the thesis that the "major danger" comes from the corruption and degeneration of wavering elements within the Party and the formulation that the "focal point should be on rectifying the capitalist roaders in the Party" lies first in a difference in appraisal of the situation. The former is a scientific conclusion derived on the basis of objective reality and is correct, whereas the latter has no objective basis.

Second, the targets of the first formulation are the small numbers of proven serious economic criminal elements and corrupt and degenerate elements that have now appeared within the Party and among the cadres. However, the broad ranks of Party members and Party cadres are good and comparatively good. These serious economic criminal elements have not necessarily been generated from our economic and political system. Their activities are destroying our economic and political system and are illegal. As soon as they are discovered, they are punished according to the law. They can become new exploiting elements but they definitely cannot develop into an exploiting class nor can they form a so-called bourgeoisie within the Party. On the other hand, the latter formulation points to the broad rank and file of Party members and Party cadres and particularly to the leading cadres at all levels. Not only does it advance the ideas of "capitalist roaders" and of a "bourgeosie within the Party" that in actuality do not exist but it also has enlarged on these ideas in an unlimited way as if our entire corps of cadre and our entire Party have "degenerated," not only creating con-

fusion among themselves but also giving scoundrels opportunites that they can exploit.

Third, in attacking serious criminal elements and other corrupt and degenerate elements in the economic sphere, we must mobilize the masses and rely on the masses. However, we must not adopt the method of engaging in political movements that we took in the past. Moreover, we must be rigorous about taking reality as our basis and law as our criterion. In this way, we can further correct Party style and increase the prestige of the Party without bringing about great damage to the Party style and without causing great decrease in Party prestige as in the "Great Cultural Revolution."

Fourth, the struggle that we are now resolutely conducting against the corrosive influence of capitalist ideology is cleaning corrupt and degenerate elements out of the Party and has as its purpose even better progress in establishing socialist modernization. By contrast to this, the rectification of the so-called "capitalist roaders" and "bourgeoisie within the Party" succeeded only in sabotaging socialist reconstruction. In view of this, the former is essential to socialist reconstruction, whereas the latter endless, so-called intraparty struggle which lacks an objective basis obstructs and even destroys socialist reconstruction.

10019
CSO: 4005/1062

PARTY AND STATE

SUMMARY OF NATIONWIDE PRESS COMMENTS ON DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Shanghai SHIHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCES] in Chinese No 6, 82 pp 10-11

[Article by SHEHUI KEXUE Information Office: "The Draft Constitution Conforms to the Chinese Reality--a Summary of Press Commentaries on the Draft of the Revised Constitution"]

[Text] Since the founding of the PRC, our Republic has produced three constitutions, namely, the constitutions of 1954, 1975 and 1978. The present "Draft of the Revised Constitution" which has been made available for discussion by people of all nationalities throughout the country will become the fourth constitution of our republic following nationwide discussion and approval by the National People's Congress. The following is a summary of issues and proposals initially discussed in various newspapers and journals.

First, the "Draft of the Revised Constitution" conforms to the Chinese reality and is an improvement over the previous constitutions.

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee marked the great turning point of profound significance and remarkable changes in the development of the situation on the homefront. To enable it to meet the current needs, the constitution of 1978 needs to be greatly revised. The present "Draft of the Revised Constitution" that has been made available for discussion took shape after consultation with the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and drawing on over 30 years of experience in socialist revolution and construction. In the course of discussion, the consensus is that the "Draft of the Revised Constitution" is the fundamental law of our socialist country which conforms to the Chinese reality and the need for the development of socialist modernization. Upholding the four basic principles as the guiding ideology, it reflects fully the basic interests and common aspirations of 1 billion Chinese people. Some people have called this "Draft of the Revised Constitution" the relatively perfect fundamental law of the land which absorbs and develops the merits of the constitution of 1954 and discards the leftist mistakes and the erroneous leftist influence evident in the constitutions of 1975 and 1978. A jurisprudent said that one of the more prominent features of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution" is an unequivocal reaffirmation of the need to strengthen socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, reflecting fully the aspirations of the people and the demands of the superstructure for the development of the economic base in our country. The

decision to make the draft of the revised constitution available for nationwide discussion is a step forward in bringing into full play the superiority of the socialist system and in upholding the socialist principle of making the people masters of their own country. The decision to make the draft available for nationwide discussion also provides a forum for the people to manage the affairs of state. As a result of a 3-month nationwide discussion on the draft constitution of 1954, the people throughout the country came up with more than 1.18 million suggestions on its modification and improvement along with queries. By pooling opinions in this way, we produced a relatively perfect constitution in 1954. Even to date, many of its articles and stipulations can be abosrbed into the present draft of the revised constitution. Commenting on why the constitution of 1954 won popular support, Comrade Mao Zedong cited the adoption of the method of integrating the ideas of the leading body with those of the masses in the course of its drafting as one of the reasons. The decision to make the draft constitution available for nationwide discussion can also be called an extensive form of education in the social legal system. Through discussion, it is certain that the masses of people will be able to raise their awareness of the need to abide by the provisions of the constitution, and all citizens will be able to strengthen their sense of responsibility as masters of their own country, feeling dutybound to take an active part in the struggle against all unconstitutional activities and to play an effective role in the enforcement of this fundamental law of the land.

Second, in its preamble, the draft of the revised constitution reaffirms the need to uphold the four basic principles, namely, socialism, the people's democratic dictatorship, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. In the course of discussion, the consensus i that these four basic principles constitute the quintessence of the fundamental law of our Republic, and our guiding ideology. With this point in mind, we can move our country in the correct direction. In the course of upholding the four basic principles, a primary task is to uphold the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and socialism. Historical facts tell us that without the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the revolution in our country would not have triumphed. Nor would socialism have stood any chance of survival. Of course, by upholding the leadership of the party, it does not mean that the party will never commit mistakes. Although our party made mistakes of all kinds in the past, it has proved itself capable of correcting them, and leading the revolutionary cause to develop anew in the wake of success in correcting its mistakes. Building socialism is a great and brandnew undertaking. As the party and people are groping and moving ahead toward the goal of building socialism, no one can say that it will not commit mistakes of this or that kind again on the road of advancement in the days ahead. But one thing is certain that in fulfilling its pledge to serve the greatest interests of the overwhelming majority of the people, the Chinese Communist Party, in the course of using practice as criterion for testing truth, can work together with the people to sum up experiences, uphold the truth, correct mistakes, constantly improve its leadership and strengthen its fighting power, and push our cause forward.

At present, our country is embarking on a campaign to reform its administrative structure and political and economic systems as a whole in order to overcome the bureaucratic style of work, and increase efficiency, along with three other

campaigns to deal blows to the criminal activities in the economic field as a step in the direction of implementing a sound open-door policy, revitalizing the domestic economy, and building a material civilization; to build a spiritual civilization; to rectify the party's work style. These four interconnected campaigns make up an important guarantee for upholding the four basic principles. We must conscientiously discuss the draft constitution in conjunction with historical experiences and our current practice, so that we can further raise our awareness of the need to uphold the four basic principles.

Third, stipulations on rights and obligations of citizens. A lot of changes have been made in the chapter on the fundamental rights and obligations of citizens as shown in the present draft of the revised constitution. The fact that this chapter has been moved from the rear as has been the case in the previous three constitutions, to the front portion of the draft constitution next to the chapter on the general principle, and that many new articles have been added to it, underscores the great importance the draft constitution attaches to the rights and obligations of citizens. Commenting on the stipulations on the personal freedom of citizens and the inviolability of their human dignity, some people have called this a matter of practical significance at present, saying that the tendencies of destroying a family without any reason, arresting people without warrants, and framing false charges against the innocent must be eliminated once and for all. Although, during the past several years, socialist democracy has prevailed, the socialist legal system has been improved, the party's work style has been rectified and laws have been enacted to guarantee the personal freedom of citizens, many existing problems still need to be resolved. On the other hand, the existence of the fact that such rights have been abused has prompted the drafters of the presently revised constitution to stipulate that the rights of citizens are inseparable from their obligations to the nation, and "in the exercise of his rights to enjoy freedom, no citizen of the PRC is allowed to jeopardize the interests of the state, society and collectives. Nor is he allowed to infringe upon the rights of other citizens to enjoy freedom." In other words, in the exercise of his rights, every citizen must honor his commitment to the society; in enjoying his freedom, no one is allowed to infringe on the right of others to enjoy the same freedom. From the very beginning, freedom is a relative rather than absolute term; no country has ever allowed its citizens to transcend the laws in the name of exercising their right to enjoy freedom. Furthermore, theory cannot be kept out of touch with reality due to the fact that a solution to problems may be theoretically sound in one case but not necessarily valid in another. Take the freedom to strike for example. It appears illogical that workers in our country are not permitted to strike while the freedom to strike is granted in capitalist countries. Actually, it is logical if this theory is explained in conjunction with reality. In the capitalist countries, the means of production are owned by the bourgeoisie or by individual capitalists to be more specific. If workers want to struggle against the capitalists, and hit where it hurts most, they have to strike or suspend production. As a matter of fact, a strike is the most effective method for workers to struggle against the capitalists in countries where the profits from production usually go to the bourgeoisie. But this tactic cannot be applied in our socialist country where the state-operated economy belongs to the state and all its citizens, and the collective economy is owned by a specific group of citizens. In short, they are all property of society. If production is sabotaged, our national economy as a whole will be jeopardized. When the national

economy is jeopardized, every citizen in our country will suffer. Therefore, if any strike materializes, the entire country or nation including striking workers themselves will end up being the biggest losers. For this reason, the argument that workers in socialist countries should be granted freedom to strike is not theoretically sound. If workers in our country want to oppose the bureaucratic practice and protect their rights, they can resort to many effective tactics except for the approach to strike which will have a harmful effect not only on the nation but also on strikers themselves. This is why the original constitutional stipulation granting workers "freedom to strike" has been deleted from the present draft of the revised constitution.

Fourth, the problem concerning the relationship between state organs and people. This is the basic problem that must be resolved through the enaction of the constitution. How this problem will be resolved is bound to have a far-reaching effect on our nation. This problem can be presented in this way: If the leaders who hold the real power are not elected by the people, and if they are allowed to hold such power for a lifetime, the people would find it very difficult to exercise their democratic power. An important improvement in the handling of the relationship between state organs and people is noted in the present draft of the revised constitution, which stipulates that the head of state and chairman of the Military Commission shall be nominated by the National People's Congress, and the premier of the State Council shall be appointed by the head of state and approved by the National People's Congress. These are officials who can be dismissed from office if necessary, and whose tenure is limited to specific terms. In this way, the election system, the appointment system and the tenure system have been amalgamated into a single political responsibility system. In the history of our socialist country, this change in the highest office from the de facto life-tenure system to the limited tenure system is a matter of historical significance and is expected to have a profound effect on the political, economic and cultural life of our socialist country as a whole. In Chinese history, many disasters were closely tied to the life-tenure system of the highest office. Its annulment is significant in two ways: First, it means the imposition of "the retirement system" on permanent office holders whose tour of duty is indefinite; second, it means the imposition of "the limited tenure system" on the elected officials and their appointees. To the second category of office holders, on whom the election regulations or system impose no age limits, the annulment of the life tenure system does not mean forcing them to retire but imposing restriction on their terms. Although the draft of the revised constitution stipulates that the head of state and the premier and other high office holders are not allowed to "hold office for more than two consecutive terms," some people still consider this restriction not rigid enough, suggesting that the term "consecutive" be deleted to read that the head of state, the premier of the State Council and other high office holders "are not allowed to hold office beyond two terms."

Fifth, all citizens should consider as their common virtue cherishing socialism. Article 22 in the draft of the revised constitution stipulates: "The state shall encourage everyone to cherish the motherland, the people, labor, science and socialism." This stipulation in the fundamental law of the land encouraging citizens of the PRC to cherish socialism as a common virtue is a matter of vital significance. Earlier, some people contended that citizenship obligates

them to cherish the motherland, the people and labor but not necessarily socialism while others argued that the common code of ethics may exhort citizens throughout the country to refuse to seek personal gains at the expense of public or collective interests but should not impose any demands that are beyond their reach. Although these opinions are worthy of discussion, we must be aware that in its preamble, the draft of the revised constitution reaffirms the need to uphold the four basic principles plus the requirement for upholding socialism. This is emphasized in the hope that all citizens will abide by the four basic principles as the code of conduct of the highest order and will cherish socialism as a matter of importance. Only in this way can we cherish socialism as a spontaneous desire from the "bottom of our hearts" in response to the demands as provided for in the fundamental law of the land, and further popularize the campaign to cherish socialism and bring it into full play. Although the "observation of the common code of conduct" was mentioned in the three previous constitutions, the important aspect of "cherishing socialism" was missing. The unequivocal stipulation that the state shall encourage everyone to cherish five important virtues including "socialism" as an important aspect of the preamble of the draft of the revised constitution reflects a new and stricter demand on morality at the present new stage of history. To emphasize the importance of "cherishing socialism," some people have suggested that the statement that "the state shall encourage everyone to cherish the motherland, people, labor, science and socialism as common virtues" as contained in Article 22 of the draft constitution be reworded "the state shall encourage everyone to cherish the motherland, people, socialism, labor, and science as common virtues."

9574
CSO: 4005/1058

PARTY AND STATE

TWENTY-NINTH LECTURE ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW310152 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0033 GMT 26 Aug 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 26 Aug (XINHUA)--Twenty-ninth lecture on the draft revised constitution: "The Rights and Duties of the Deputies to the National People's Congress."

The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power and the deputies to the National People's Congress are the glorious emissaries sent to this highest organ of state power by the people to discuss and decide on important state affairs. Therefore, the draft revised constitution particularly accords the deputies to the National People's Congress comprehensive rights to protect their exercise of sublime functions and powers. At the same time, the draft revised constitution also stipulated their bounded duties.

According to the draft revised constitution, the people's deputies primarily enjoy the following rights:

1. The right to submit bills: Deputies to the National People's Congress have the right to submit, according to procedures prescribed by law, legislative bills within the scope of the functions and power of the National People's Congress.

2. The right to address inquiries: During its sessions, deputies to the National People's Congress have the right to put forward bills of inquiry, according to procedures prescribed by law, to the State Council, the Supreme People's Court, the Supreme People's Procuratorate and the ministries and commissions under the State Council which are all under obligation to answer.

This is one way for the organ of power to supervise the administrative and judicial organs.

3. The right to special protection of freedom of person: No deputy to the National People's Congress may be arrested of placed on trial without the consent of the presidium of the current session of the National People's Congress, or when the National People's Congress is not in session, the consent of its Standing Committee; deputies to the National People's Congress shall not be subjected to legal investigation for speeches or votes at its meetings.

The draft revised constitution stipulates the following duties for the deputies to the National People's Congress: They must maintain contact with the masses, listen to and report the opinions and demands of the masses, and, in their own production and other work and public activities, assist in the enforcement of the constitution and the law; they must maintain close contact with the units which elect them and with the people, and are subject to the supervision of the units which elect them.

The draft revised constitution stipulates that the electoral units have the power to replace the deputies they elect at any time through procedures prescribed by law. This stipulation is designed to ensure that the people are the masters and that the highest organ of power is truly an organ representing the people's interests and aspirations.

CSO: 4005/1263

PARTY AND STATE

THIRTIETH LECTURE ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW010449 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0258 GMT 27 Aug 82

[Text] Beijing, 27 Aug (XINHUA)--Thirtieth lecture on draft revised constitution: "The State Council's Nature, Functions, Powers and Leadership System."

The State Council of the People's Republic of China is our country's central government. According to the stipulations of the draft revised constitution, the State Council's nature should be understood from two aspects.

First, it is the executive organ of the highest organ of state power. This is to say that the many laws, decrees and other decisions formulated and adopted by the National People's Congress and its permanent organ--the NPC Standing Committee--are all to be implemented by the State Council which assumes unified responsibility, and that the administrative measures the State Council prescribes, the administrative statutes it formulates and adopts and the decisions and orders it issues must be based on the constitution and laws and decrees adopted by the NPC and the NPC Standing Committee. The NPC and its Standing Committee have the power to annul State Council administrative statutes, decisions and orders that contravene the constitution, laws or decrees. From this it can be seen that the State Council exercises what is known as executive power, or administrative power, and works under the leadership and supervision of and is responsible to the highest organ of state power.

Second, it is the highest organ of state administration. In our country, besides the State Council, organs of state administration include the ministries and commissions of the State Council; other organizations directly under the State Council; the people's governments of provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities directly under the central government, autonomous prefectures, cities, counties, autonomous counties, municipal districts, towns and people's communes (or townships and nationality townships after institution of the system under which government administration and commune management will be separated); and the work departments of people's governments at various levels. The various ministries, commissions and organizations directly under the State Council as well as the local people's governments at various levels and their work departments are

all responsible for administrative work within limits under the unified leadership of the State Council. All local people's governments at various levels are organs of state administration under the unified leadership of the State Council and are subordinate to the State Council.

According to stipulations of Article 86 of the draft revised constitution, the State Council is composed of the premier, two to four vice premiers, a number of commissioners of state, the ministers, the chairmen of commissions, the chief auditor and the secretary general. The number of vice premiers has been reduced to a minimum making the State Council's leadership more centralized, capable and strong.

On the State Council's functions and powers, the draft revised constitution on the one hand restores the reasonable, relevant provisions of the 1954 constitution and on the other hand, makes certain additions based on the needs of the new period, thus expanding the State Council's functions and powers. For example, the leadership and administration in science, physical culture, family planning, civil affairs, judicial administration, public security and procuratorial work; the formulation and approval of administrative statutes based on the constitution, laws and decrees; the stipulations concerning duties, rewards and punishment; the stipulations concerning the enforcement of martial law; and so forth are all added anew. The expansion of the State Council's functions and powers is aimed at improving the administrative system.

The State Council applies the system of decision by the premier. The ministries and commissions apply the system of decision by their respective ministers or chairmen. This is an important stipulation in the draft revised constitution which is different from past constitutions. Judging from the actual conditions of our organs of state administration, for many years government organizations have been characterized by overlapping and overstaffed offices, a dilatory attitude toward work and low efficiency. In a sense, this reform in the State Council leadership system is also a part of the revolution to restructure the administration, and it is aimed at strengthening the leading capacity and work efficiency of the State Council and its ministries and commissions. In short, the institution of the system of decision by the premier and decision by the ministers and chairmen is to meet the requirements of the four modernizations. It is an important reform in the country's highest administrative leadership system and will surely have a positive effect on future work.

CSO: 4005/1263

PARTY AND STATE

THIRTY-FIRST LECTURE ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW010451 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0056 GMT 28 Aug 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 28 Aug (XINHUA)--Thirty-first lecture on draft revised constitution: "The Organization, Functions and Powers of Local People's Congresses at Various Levels."

In order to strengthen local people's congresses at various levels, the draft revised constitution has included some important new stipulations, pointing out that people's congresses and people's governments are established in provinces, municipalities directly under the central government, counties, cities, municipal districts, townships, nationality townships and towns. This stipulation indicates that China's local state power is basically exercised at provincial, county and township level.

According to the stipulations of the draft revised constitution, the local people's congresses at various levels are local organs of state power, composed of deputies elected by the electoral units or electorates. Deputies to the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central government, and cities divided into districts are elected by people's congresses at the next lower level; deputies to the people's congresses of counties, cities not divided into districts, municipal districts, townships, nationality townships and towns are directly elected by the voters. The draft revised constitution has reaffirmed the provision of the electoral law that the deputies to the county-level people's congress are directly elected by the voters. This is a reform of great significance. It shows that the broad masses of voters at county level in China can personally elect those with whom they are satisfied to become their deputies to manage state affairs and exercise their right to become masters of their own destiny. It has further improved China's election system and indicated that the broad masses of voters at the county level can directly and effectively supervise the county-level state organs and their functionaries, so that the state organs at the county level can do a still better job in maintaining close ties with the masses, overcoming bureaucracy and raising work efficiency.

As seen from the stipulations of the draft revised constitution, the local people's congresses at various levels have the following functions and powers:

1. In their respective administrative areas, they insure the observance and implementation of the constitution, laws, decrees and general administrative statutes.

2. Within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law, they adopt and issue decisions, and examine and decide on plans for local economic and cultural development and for public utilities.

3. They elect, and have the power to recall, provincial governors and deputy provincial governors, mayors and deputy mayors, county heads and deputy county heads, district heads and deputy district heads, township heads and deputy township heads, and town heads and deputy town heads, according to their corresponding level.

All these stipulations are conducive to bringing into full play the initiative from both central and local levels and to quickening the pace in developing the cause of socialism.

In order to meet the needs of developing the current four modernizations program, the draft revised constitution stipulates that standing committees are established in the local people's congresses at and above county level. They are each composed of a chairman, vice-chairmen and other members elected by the people's congress at the corresponding level, and are responsible and accountable to people's congresses at such levels.

The practice, within a short period of a few years, can prove that this stipulation is quite necessary. Such an organ will help make timely decisions to handle routine, but comparatively vital, major issues. At the same time, such an organ will also be conducive to strengthening local state powers at and above county level.

CSO: 4005/1263

PARTY AND STATE

THIRTY-SECOND LECTURE ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW010452 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0110 GMT 29 Aug 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 29 Aug (XINHUA)--Thirty-second lecture on the draft revised constitution: "The Position, Composition, Functions and Powers of the Organs of Self-Government of National Autonomous Areas."

The draft revised constitution stipulates that regional national autonomy shall be implemented in areas where persons of minority nationalities live in compact communities and that the organs of self-government shall be established to exercise the right of national autonomy. This provision, reflecting our country's consistent nationality policy, shall further mobilize the enthusiasm of various minority nationalities in taking part in the political life of the state, as well as in socialist construction, thereby promoting unity among nationalities and the prosperity and unity of the country.

The organization of the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas in our country at present is in the form of people's congresses and people's governments. To strengthen the personnel of nationalities, the draft revised constitution especially stipulates that the chairman of autonomous regions, heads of autonomous prefectures and heads of autonomous counties shall be persons of the nationality or nationalities exercising regional autonomy in those areas. The state shall help the national autonomous areas train large number of cadres from among local nationalities at all levels and various types of specialized personnel and technical workers.

According to the draft revised constitution, the powers of national autonomy of the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas shall primarily cover the following aspects:

1. The power to draw up statutes governing the exercise of autonomy as well as separate regulations.

2. The power to administer the finances of their areas.

3. The power to administer the economic construction of their areas.

4. The power to administer public welfare projects--education, science, culture, public health and physical culture--in their respective areas and the power to take charge of and protect the national cultural heritage, develop good cultures of the nationalities and help them to flourish.

5. The power to organize their public security forces.

CSO: 4005/1263

PARTY AND STATE

THIRTY-THIRD LECTURE ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW010455 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0740 GMT 29 Aug 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 29 Aug (XINHUA)--Thirty-third lecture on the draft revised constitution: "The Reinstatement of Grassroots State Power Organs in the Countryside and Its Significance."

Grassroots state power organs in the countryside are the fundamental organization of state power of the people's democratic dictatorship in our country. Strengthening grassroots state power in the countryside is of importance in consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship, in promoting higher socialist democracy and in enforcing closer ties between these state organs and the masses. It is precisely due to this need in our country that the draft revised constitution provides for the reinstatement of township state power, the establishment of the township people's congress and the people's government and the separation of grassroots state power from the people's communes.

Practice shows that the establishment of grassroots state power should be in keeping with the principle that the masses could easily exercise it and make it an instrument, with a broad mass basis, which could enforce closer ties with the masses and reflect, expeditiously and correctly, grassroots opinion and aspirations.

While providing for the establishment of township state power, the draft revised constitution stipulates that the people's communes should be retained as collective economic organizations. The people's communes, as collective economic organizations in the countryside, have been playing an important role in organizing and developing production since 1958. By separating government administration from commune management, thus making the people's commune purely collective economic organizations, we shall be able to concentrate our energies on organizing and developing production and, at the same time, overcome the shortcomings of directing and interfering with production administratively, thereby giving full scope to mass enthusiasm for production. Some people also said that the separation of government administration from commune management would help to break down administrative barriers and set up and develop cooperative economy in many forms to guide production towards socialization and specialization.

According to the stipulation in the draft revised constitution, the separation of government administration from commune management only takes out the commune's functions and powers as state power organs. The ownership of communes', production brigades and production teams enterprises, and property, remains unchanged.

CSO: 4005/1263

PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE SURVEYS CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF CLASS STRUGGLE

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Li Baoping [2621 0202 1627]: "Why Class Struggle Still Exists Under the New Historical Condition"]

[Text] The party Central Committee and the State Council explicitly pointed out in the "Resolution on Cracking Down on Serious Economic Criminal Activities" that: "cracking down on serious economic criminal activities is an important manifestation of class struggle in the economic domain under the new historical condition in our socialist society." Why is there still class struggle under the new historical condition?

First, in our country, although the exploiting class as a class has been abolished, it does not mean that under the new historical condition there is no longer anyone who adopts a hostile attitude toward socialism. On the contrary, elements of one kind or another who are hostile to socialism still exist. It is still possible that they engage in various kinds of destructive activities in political, economic, ideological as well as in cultural fields. This is an important reason why it is still possible for class struggle to exist to a certain extent for a long period of time under the new historical condition. The practice of struggle since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee proves that elements of one kind or another who are hostile to socialism are really in existence. Among them, there are not only the dregs of society such as hooligans, swindlers, profiteers and speculators and those who have been released after serving their terms but persistently engage in criminal activities; but also there are active counterrevolutionaries like Wei Jingsheng [7614 0079 3932] who maintain illicit relations with foreign countries and betray the top secrets of the state, and still other "moths in society" like Wang Shouxin [3769 1343 0207] who unscrupulously engage in activities of graft and embezzlement by relying on their power and position. Under no circumstances can we underestimate the destructiveness of these people who are hostile to socialism, nor can we lose our vigilance.

Second, in our country, although the exploiting class as a class has been abolished, it does not mean that the ideology of the exploiting class has disappeared at the same time. Our revolutionary teacher, Lenin, explicitly pointed out long ago that it is impossible to put the ideology of the exploiting class into a coffin and to bury it together with the exploiting class itself. In view of

the relative independence of ideology, it may require the unswerving struggle of several generations to abolish the influence of the ideology of the exploiting class. This is another rea on why class struggle can still exist to a certain extent for a long period of time.

Third, when we say that the exploiting class as a class has been abolished in our country, it is under the prerequisite that the province of Taiwan is not included. At present, Taiwan has not yet been restored to the motherland, therefore, different international social systems are in coexistence. This is still another reason why class struggle may continue to exist for a long period of time under the new historical condition in our country.

As early as the eve of liberation of the entire nation, Comrade Mao Zedong exhorted the whole party to guard against the corrosion by the ideology of the capitalist class and to prevent a surprise attack by the "sugar-coated bullets." During the initial postliberation period, the movement "against the three evils" and "against the five evils" was a major counterattack we launched against corrosion by the ideology of the capitalist class. However, anticorrosion is a protracted struggle which cannot be accomplished by one or two campaigns. At a later time, owing to the fact that the guiding ideology deviated to the "Left" especially during the "Great Cultural Revolution," the demarcation line was obscured and the struggle against corrosion was unable to be continuously carried out along a right path. Since the time when we have adopted an open-door policy to foreign countries and engaged in reactivating the economic policy in our country, the influence of the decadent Western capitalist ideology and the way of life of the capitalist class has increased in our country because our ideological work and some of our administrative measures failed to keep abreast of the situation. As a result, the remaining influence of the ideology of the exploiting class seized the opportunity to spread, therefore, struggles for and against corrosion have become increasingly conspicuous. Over a certain period of time, criminal activities in the economic domain have obviously increased. Serious criminal activities including large-scale smuggling and traffic in smuggled goods, graft and bribery, speculation and swindling, and stealing of state and collective properties shocked people. The case of a means of production service company in the Handan Prefecture in our province is a typical example of speculation and profiteering.

Practice proves that struggles which are either for or against corrosion are important manifestations of class struggle under the new historical condition. The decadent ideology and the way of life of the capitalist class are now corroding our contingents of cadres, damaging the body of our party, poisoning the thought of the people, and contaminating the mood of society. If we fail to catch sight of such an acute class struggle and treat it with indifference, or do not adopt effective measures to crack down resolutely and forcefully on serious economic criminals and to eliminate conscientiously certain corrupt phenomena within our party, but allow it to spread unchecked, the result will be dreadful to contemplate. This is a major issue which has a bearing on the success and failure of the cause of the construction of the socialist modernizations in our country and on the prosperity and decline and the rise and fall of our party and our country.

Our party has grown up in struggles both for and against corrosion. In the past, we have more than once resisted the surprise attacks of the "sugar-coated bullets," smashed the furious attacks of the capitalist class and thus preserved the purity of our party. The practice of struggle tells us that the corrosion of and attack from the capitalist ideology are not fearful and the key lies in the fact that we must have a sober mind, keep up the firm stand of Marxism, and preserve the communist purity of a communist party member. Only when we can achieve this goal can we stand up to any trials in the intricate struggles and strive for victories in this anticorrosion struggle.

9560
CSO: 4005/1010

PARTY AND STATE

COUNTY LEVEL STANDING COMMITTEES SHARE WORK EXPERIENCE

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jun 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by Zhu Chunnian [4376 2504 1628] and Ma Wancheng [7456 8001 4453]: "County Level Standing Committees of Shanxi Exchange Work Experience"]

[Text] The standing committee of the provincial people's congress held a symposium from 15 to 19 June in Taiyuan to sum up and exchange work experience of all county (municipal, prefectural) standing committees since they have been set up one after another over the past 2 years in order to give better play to county standing committees which are considered organs of power of the local people.

A total of more than 150 people were present at the symposium, including chairmen or vice chairmen of all county (municipal, prefectural) standing committees including Datong Municipality, leading cadres of all prefectural party committees and party committees of 3 municipalities including Taiyuan and 3 counties (prefectures) including Linfeng where standing committees have not yet been set up. Persons in charge of units directly under the provincial government also attended the meeting.

Chairman Ruan Bosheng [7086 3124 3932] and Vice Chairman Jiao Guonai [3542 0948 7845], Feng Sutao [7458 4790 7118], Ren Yinglun [0117 2503 0178] and Chen Sigong [7115 1835 1872] attended and presided over the meeting.

Principal leading cadres of the provincial party committee and the provincial government including Huo Shilian [7202 1102 1670], Luo Guibo [5012 6311 3134], Li Ligong [2621 4539 0501], Ruan Bosheng, Wang Tingdong [3469 1694 2767], Wang Kewen [3769 0344 2429], Zhao Yuting [6392 7183 0080], Guo Qinan [6753 2953 1344], Wang Xiujin [3769 4836 6930], Yue Weifan [1471 4850 5672] and Wang Xi [3769 6007] were present and met with all comrades at the meeting. Comrade Huo Shilian pointed out to the comrades that over the past 2 years, the standing committees of people's congresses at all levels have successfully accomplished tremendous work. It is necessary at this symposium to sum up and exchange experience. We must fully understand the importance of the work of the standing committees of people's congresses and work still harder. Governor Luo Guibo said, the standing committees of people's congresses ahve played a very good role in supervising the work of the government. It is hoped that the supervision can further be strengthened from now on. Comrade Li Ligong in his speech asked party committees at all levels to strengthen their leadership in the work of the standing committees of people's congress, conscientiously to help solve

such practical problems as personnel arrangement, operational funds and office space, and so forth in accordance with relevant directives of the party Central Committee and related stipulations provided for by laws of the state in order to support the standing committees of people's congress to go a step further to do a good job.

The meeting has adopted the method of making typical speeches at the plenary session and holding panel discussions to sum up and exchange experience. Comrade Ruan Bosheng finally made a summing up speech. He made an overall analysis and a summation of these experiences which mainly are:

1. We should realize fully that the standing committees of people's congresses are authoritative organs of power of the people and organizations where people work. To improve continuously the work of standing committees of people's congresses is a key link in building a high level democratic socialist political system progressively. This task is glorious and arduous, but it is absolutely not an organization as what is considered a place for carrying out "idle talk" or for "providing for the aged." Whether we can find a good answer to this question of understanding has become the key to whether we can continue making progress.

2. We should be responsible to convene, at least once a year, a people's congress and make it a success in order to guarantee the exercise of the authority of the organ of state power at the county level. We also must maintain the system of holding successful regular meetings of standing committees in accordance with the stipulations provided for by the law to discuss and decide important matters of each administrative area and to support and supervise the work of the people's government, people's court and people's procuratorate at the same level. It is in this way that the role of the county level standing committees can be brought into full play.

3. The personnel of the government, the court and the procuratorate who should be appointed or removed by the standing committee of the people's congress should be so decided in accordance with the law.

4. Committee members should be organized to carry out inspection work, to strengthen research and study, and to establish the system of keeping in contact with representatives of the people in order to understand fully and reflect the opinions and demands of the masses. Proposals put forward by the representatives as well as letters and visits of the masses must be conscientiously handled. Matters of common concern of the people which are urgently in need of a solution should be settled in time. Maintaining close links with the masses is the basis and foundation for the standing committees of people's congress to work out correct decisions and exercise its authority.

5. We must adhere to the leadership of the party committee. All major activities which the standing committee is going to carry out and important decisions which the standing committee is going to make, or an important situation which has been found through investigation should be promptly reported to the party committee for instruction.

All problems encountered in the work of the standing committee which cannot be solved by the committee itself should be reported to the party committee in time for settlement. In this way, we can integrate handling matters according to law with submitting ourselves to the leadership of the party committee which is the fundamental guarantee of doing a good job in the standing committees of people's congress.

Comrades who participated in the meeting, after a few days of discussions, unanimously felt that they had deepened their understanding of the nature, status and role of the standing committees of people's congresses, learned the method of further improving their work and strengthened their confidence in doing a good job. They have, on this basis, worked out a "Summary of the Symposium on the Work of County Level Standing Committees of Shanxi Province" through pooling the wisdom of the masses and making it a guiding document to carry out our work throughout the province for a certain period of time from now on.

9560
CSO: 4005/1012

PARTY AND STATE

ATTENTION TO EDUCATION CAMPAIGNS REMAINS TOP PRIORITY

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 27 June 82 p 1

[Article: "Communist Education Is the Top Priority"]

[Text] There is a common saying that the first step in anything is always difficult, but it is more difficult to keep it up. The campaign of "five stresses and four points of beauty" is no exception. Recently, there appeared to be low spirits in many places and units where problems of "dirtiness, disorder and poor services" have apparently resurged. Although this is only a minor and local problem, it calls for our attention.

The reason which has caused this phenomenon is related to the fact that some comrades are accustomed to carrying on "a blast of wind" and they do not have the style of working arduously over a long period of time in a down-to-earth manner. They are satisfied with just minor success which leads to a feeling of complacency, and so forth. But the most important reason which has led to this phenomenon is that when the campaign "five stresses and four points of beauty" was being carried out in these places, the political-ideological work was not considered top priority because they saw only material factors without caring for human ones. During "socialist ethics and courtesy month," it seemed in these places and units that it was outwardly on a grand and spectacular scale, but inwardly the part of the kingdom of the old way of thinking remained in the people's minds and was only hit slightly. As time goes on, old things are bound to manifest themselves.

The basic goal of launching the campaign "five stresses and four points of beauty" is to use communist ideology and ethics to educate people, to use communist ideology to triumph over the corrosion and influence of capitalist ideas, to completely reform the general mood of society, to cultivate new ideas, new ethics and new habits, and to build a socialist spiritual civilization. It is impossible to practice socialism without spiritual civilization. Only by raising the level of political awareness and moral apprehension of the people can we guarantee that the building of a socialist civilization will not deviate from the right path. However, the force of the advanced ideology and morality can, in turn, be transformed into material force in practice and thereby go one step further to promote the building of a material civilization.

In launching the campaign "five stresses and four points of beauty," party committees at all levels must unswervingly and firmly grasp the point of using communist ideology and ethics to educate the broad masses of party members, cadres and the people and put the stress on educating the people ideologically, and on the reform of ideology and world outlook. Through organizing the broad masses of the people to launch such practical activities as the campaign for "five stresses and four points of beauty," learning from the example of Lui Feng, doing good turns for people, and engaging in voluntary labor, and so forth, we can educate them in lively patriotism, collectivism and communism.

At present, the "five stresses and four points of beauty" campaign has achieved initial victory, but this is only a beginning and heavy responsibilities remain on our shoulders. We must not be disheartened or slackened. We are confident that so long as our party can try hard to strengthen its leadership in turning the "five stresses and four points of beauty" campaign into a regular practice and having it institutionalized so that it can last for a long period of time, our people are bound to be educated with ideals, morality, civilization and the habit of observing discipline and thereby open up a new prospect for building the two civilizations.

9560
CSO: 4005/1004

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY COMMITTEE SETS 10 RULES FOR LEADING CADRES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jun 82 p 3

[Article: "Liaoning Party Committee Sets 10 Rules for Leading Cadres:]

[Text] The Liaoning Provincial Party Committee, for the purpose of carrying forward the party's fine tradition, maintaining close links with the masses and further implementing the "guiding principles," has recently set 10 new rules for leading cadres of the party and government to observe. These new rules are:

Newspapers, radio stations and TV stations do not carry out special propaganda reporting activities of provincial, municipal or prefectural party or government leaders. Activities such as leaders going out to inspect performance of basic level units and visiting the masses should be promoted but usually these activities are not to be made known to the public. Matters which are necessary to publicize must be covered in a practical and realistic way.

No rostrums will be provided for meetings convened within the party. Except the chairman and the speakers, leaders at all levels who are present at a meeting must sit together with comrades who attend the meeting.

Party and government leaders in charge at all levels may participate in some important meetings convened by various departments or people's organizations if necessary, but ordinarily other leading comrades are not advisable to participate.

The term "comrade" should be the common address between upper and lower levels as well as among cadres themselves without exception.

When government or party leading comrades are going out to check up on work, they should not bother organizations to make arrangements for receiving and seeing them off.

When party or government leading comrades are going to participate in mass meetings, they should arrive on time without keeping people waiting.

When party or government leading comrades are going to the basic level units to check up on work, they should not ask units at all levels to assign anyone to accompany them.

When party or government leaders at all levels are riding in a car, they should educate the driver to pay attention to socialist ethics and courtesy.

Arrangement should be made in advance for party or government leaders at all levels to stay at guest houses or hostels when they are away from home. It is not advisable to bother other guests to vacate rooms for them at the last moment.

When party or government leading cadres take meals outside, they should surrender their food coupons and pay for board expenses according to regulations. Under ordinary conditions, local responsible comrades are not to accompany them to meals. Special entertainments are not advisable. Public funds are not allowed to be used for entertainment.

9560
CSO: 4005/1004

PARTY AND STATE

STUDY, CONCLUSIONS ON EXISTENTIALISM EXAMINED

Symposium Convened

Xi'an SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jul 82 p 2

[Article: "Symposium Held by Shaanxi Province Foreign Philosophy Study Group Points Out That Existentialism Can Only Lead People Astray"]

[Text] On 14 June the foreign philosophy study group of the Shaanxi Philosophical Society convened a symposium on existentialist philosophy and thoroughly probed into what is called existentialism, its basic tenets, the socio-historical origins of its rise to prominence, how to evaluate it, the practical significance of present research on existentialism, and other issues.

Comrades who attended the conference pointed out that existentialism is a bourgeois ideology of the imperialist age. It is the outcome of the crisis in capitalist societies that reached its peak after World War II. The unemployment, bankruptcy, homicides, terror, wars, and upheaval in capitalist societies make people feel that it is impossible to ascertain the course of history and the fate of the individual is uncertain. People live in pain, are worried and uneasy, and often feel the threat of doom. They feel that society, other people, and rationality cannot be relied on, so they turn to the individual, turn to denial, and resort to the irrationality of existentialism. Even though to a certain extent existentialism exposes the evils of capitalist society and expresses the discontent and protests of people, and even though some leading proponents have progressive political tendencies, nevertheless, in its theoretical form existentialism is wrong, unscientific, and typically metaphysical. Existentialism's irrationality, subjective idealism, and metaphysics predetermine that it cannot scientifically delineate the essence, worth, and dignity of the individual. It cannot point out the correct way to the liberation of humanity; it can only lead people astray. This, then, requires that we increase our study of existentialism, draw a clear line between Marxism and existentialism, help our youth to eliminate existentialism's negative influence, and foster a communist world view and outlook on life.

Western Existentialism

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Wang Yongkang [3076 3057 1660]: "How Should the Existentialism of the West Be Regarded?"]

[Text] The various clashing contradictions, fierce competition, capitalist system make many people feel that life is vexing and that it is difficult to control their destinies. What universlaly concerns people are the problems of individual existence. How should life and society be regarded? How should people live? How can they change the status quo? Existentialism emerged and developed under these circumstances. It is a bourgeois philosophy of life in the waning phase of capitalism. This philosophy emerged in Germany after World War I, spread to France during the time of World War II, and after the war spread to the entire Western world. It has different factions and trends, and the most influential proponent of the modern age was Jean Paul Sartre (1905-1980). Since existentialism discusses problems that people are universally affected by and concerned with, its philosophical viewpoints are often expressed by using fiction, the theater, film, and other popular forms, so those viewpoints are spread extensively and have rather large influence.

Marxism regards the social existence of the individual as the essence of the individual and evaluates the thinking and action of the individual in accordance with the laws of social history to point out the way for the transformation of society. Existentialism is the opposite, wherein it is believed that only by proceeding from the viewpoint of individual existence can all things in the world have meaning. The individual and society conflict with subjectivity and reality, and existentialism advocates the evaluation of social realities by proceeding from the subjective intentions of the individual to seek the way for the transformation of society. Sartre clearly stated that "our starting point in fact is individual subjectivity." So, viewed intrinsically, existentialism is a philosophy of life designed by those people who are only concerned about individual existence and who think that everything around them will submit to their own individual intentions.

What are the characteristics of individual existence? All of the existentialists answer: freedom, absolute freedom. They state that the essence of the individual is not determined and individual lives should not be ordered. Whatever life presents, he, the individual, is only existing and acts in accordance with his own intentions. The self creates a life for the self and it acquires its own essence. The individual alone determines and orders the self. This is the fundamental principle of individual existence. Sartre expressed this principle of individual existence. Sartre expressed this principle as "existence precedes essence" or "the individual is free," and he equated freedom with individual subjectivity.

The huge quantities of works on existentialism strive to portray the individual as not being free in his present life, but just letting various external forces lead him along, passively giving in to life and doing some useless and insignificant things. People feel lonely and worried, life is absurd, the world is an

absurd world, and so on. On the one hand, these works expose and assail the abnormalities, morbidities, and various oppressions of people in present capitalist societies, while on the other hand, they exaggerate the negative outlook on life of the petite bourgeoisie. Those who maintain this outlook view life and society from the point of view of the individual's subjective intentions. Once they feel things are not what they expected and when everything opposes the self, then that state of mind described by existentialism can come into being.

Some existentialists emphasize that the individual must act on his own and must liberate the oppressed human nature and establish a humanistic society. They say that the social environment admittedly has many controlling forces, but in the end all actions of the individual will ultimately be determined by the self. Life lies in the choice, and each individual earnestly and responsibly chooses his own actions not only to create a life where the self conforms to humanity, but also to create a starting point for transforming reality and propelling society forward. This is what Sartre called the "truly revolutionary foundation." Existentialists do not recognize the state of individual existence as being determined by social and economic systems, so they do not analyze class conflicts and oppression brought about by a capitalist system to point the way to socialist revolution. They proceed from individual subjectivity and indiscriminately protest against all external forces that oppress the individual. If something opposes you break away from it, confront and challenge it to show the intention of the self. In short, the self must control the self on its own. This proposition of free choice is a so-called protest against social reality. It leads people to their respective wars and personal struggles, but cannot form the integrated force to attack the crucial points of the capitalist system. It certainly cannot make individual lives free, happy, and dear, and most certainly cannot improve society's status quo to any extent. The existentialism that stresses individual freedom is basically such that it arouses to action people's hopes and pursuits in life. However, it is also disappointed and pessimistic about the plight and future of mankind and thus falls into a vicious circle from which it cannot escape. From this it can be seen that the existentialism that deviates from socio-historical conditions and ponders the individual abstractly and in isolation, even in Western capitalist societies, cannot correctly answer the fundamental questions of those concerned with finding a realistic path to the liberation of the individual, and it certainly cannot talk about a scientific world outlook, philosophy of life, and sense of worth. In a socialist state such as ours it can only play a negative role, which is, namely, that in our world outlook it can lash out at Marxism, in political attitudes can foster dissension within the party, and in morals and ethics can cultivate individualism. Can the truth of life be here?

9926
CSO: 4005/1061

BRIEFS

CHEN WEIDA RECEIVES SPORTSMEN--On the occasion of the fifth Tianjin municipal sports meet, yesterday afternoon Chen Weida, first secretary of the municipal CPC committee, and Bai Hua, standing committee member of the municipal CPC committee and municipal deputy mayor, received some of the fine sportsmen and representatives of sportsmen returning triumphantly from the first national sports meet for college students. [Text] [SK250858 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 25 Aug 82]

STRENGTHENING PARTY DISCIPLINE--In the ideological field, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes is endless. If we slacken our efforts in reforming our world outlook, the decadent ideology of the exploiting classes will seize the opportunity to infiltrate. (Wu Deyou's) degeneration from being a veteran cadre and CPC committee secretary of a neighborhood committee to an economic criminal is a serious lesson. Since the third plenary session, we have adopted a policy of opening up to the world and enlivening domestic markets to accelerate socialist modernization. However, the ban of party workstyle and discipline must not be lifted. On the contrary, it should be strengthened greatly. Communist party members and revolutionaries who devote all their life to the communist cause should all the more uphold the four basic principles, resist the corrosive influence of the capitalist decadent ideology and be clear-headed Marxists. There is no impassable chasm between a revolutionary and a criminal and between a hero and a sinner. We hope those who still indulge in the capitalist debauchery and cannot distinguish right from wrong will draw a lesson from (Wu Deyou's) case, wake up immediately and keep in step with the changing times. [Text] [SK300959 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Aug 82]

CSO: 4005/1266

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ROLE OF SELF-EXPRESSION IN LITERATURE DISCUSSED

Entering New Era

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 22 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Liang Yongan [2733 3057 1344]: "Let 'Me' Enter a New Era--On 'Self-expression' in Literature"]

[Text] In the last year, discussion of the question of "self-expression" in literary works has spread from poetry circles to the entire literary world. The essence of this matter lies not in whether or not the self should be expressed in literary works, but rather relates to whether or not, after all, literary works need to express profound social issues, whether or not they need to reflect forcefully on our new era.

A literary work does not exist in a "selfless environment," but is a specific reflection of social life. Differences in the ideologies, dispositions and artistic cultivation of writers bring forth different creative personalities. Because of this, literary works cannot depart from the author's "me," but this "me" includes vast social and historical elements. However, in recent years, some comrades have nonetheless felt that literary works can express a kind of "naked self." In this view, writers do not need to enlarge life, the social historical component of literary works is at best a form of expression of the author's feelings, and the author's pure subjective feelings are the true object of artisitc expression. In line with this idea, works that advocate so-called "self-expression" have appeared among literary creations. For example, beyond a fragmented hallucinating, some poems and songs fail to reach the basic sentiments of things; some novels satisfactorily express the confused morality of the authors, but do not and can not reveal a persuasive philosophy of life in their portrayal of it. Some authors even say: "A blue handkerchief falling from a rooftop has similar deep significance, lending a splendid radiance to ordinary glass objects." And some critics even heap praise on authors who do not reflect life in the new era and who fail to portray the courageous struggle of the people and their selfless labors. This actually encourages authors to drown in their own small worlds, continually to make empty cries, offer perplexity and sigh wearily in their own subjective circles. Many comrades have criticized this, indicating that the importance of allowing the "self" to return to a broader life lies in its positive practical significance.

The problem of "self-expression" in literary works is not solely based in the literary creation of years, but has specific historical causes. In the 10 years of unrest, the people spiritually endured great hardships; their understanding gained through experience consistently increased and their reflections on society and life gained depth daily. But, at that time the "class stuggle" which placed distance between people made people afraid to expose themselves, let alone express themselves in literary works. Only in a period of renewal could a group of youths, embracing a passionate desire to link the hearts of people, march into literary circles and sing of the secret of dissolving life within the heart. But, some comrades one sidedly explain this historical phenomenon by extending it to suggest that the author's subjective sensations are the only thematic conclusions in literary works. They take "self-expression" to an extreme, and we must be alert to this.

In our period of historical twists and turns through violent change, there appeared in the literary realm a variety of complicated phenomena. This is common in the literary history of all times and places. For example, after the October Revolution in Russia, a similar thing happened in their literary world. The "self-expression" concept presently appearing in the literary circles of our nation is an echo of an anguished past and is a probing of the future. It has its dispirited dark shadows and displays the courage of pursuit--it is full of intense internal contradictions. Because of this, only by encouraging authors to enter into the new era with its rising difficulties can we turn the dispirited into startled awakening and make their pursuit more realistic. If we forget this, and fail to move ahead into open country, then our literary creations will be weak and pale.

Perhaps some people are worried that encouraging authors to face the times will cause some works to become "simple bullhorns of the times." But this is an unnecessary worry. Tolstoy once used the fact of whether or not one could write "fresh things" about life as the important criterion in evaluating a work. These "fresh things," seen from the perspective of objective reality, are new revelations of the beauty of life; seen from the perspective of the expression of the spirit, they are a new feeling about life. Neither of the two can depart from the soil of life. Some comrades look on "self-expression" as being free expression unfettered by life's realities. Doing so would appear, on the surface, to be concentrating the expression of "me," but the objective result is always to blot out "one's own" personality, leading to generalizing and duplication. For example, in one novel, the author describes things such as war, history, religion and romance in order forcefully to express his own understanding and ideas of life and society, and he even fabricates an old Taoist priest on Mount Tai who resides in a modern temple, discoursing on the unity of philosophy, science and religion, so that a person seems to be reading a vague philosophy textbook. I'm afraid we must attribute the reason for this to the author's having departed from the life that he has actually experienced and taken some philosophical ideas that he did not fully understand to be part of "himself," which he then went about expressing.

Not long ago, the elderly author Ba Jin in speaking of his creative preparation said: "I did not prepare to be a writer and then go and read various books and start writing. I gained actual understanding in life and then gave expression

to it." This is very revealing in terms of our literary creation. Life is the objective world which actually exists, while feeling is the spiritual world of the individual. One is concrete, the other abstract, the two being interdependent. We only need our writers to penetrate consciously into life in the new era. Writers who are good at drawing scenes of reality can transform the abstract into the concrete, using their own sensitive vision to search for the new faces and the new contradictions in life; writers who are good at expressing their inner worlds can similarly transform the concrete into the abstract, experiencing new sensations that others have never known and revealing a new spiritual world. Literary creation has a vast arena in real life. Writers should delve into the new era and use their works to make the new age literary creation flourish and to open unprecedented prospects in the realm of literary creation.

Differing Opinions

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 22 JUN 82 P 3

[Article: "Different Opinions on 'Self-expression'"

[Text] At present, the literary world is carrying out an intense debate focusing on the matter of "self-expression" in art.

Comrades holding a positive opinion of "self-expression" feel: a new aesthetic principle is rising. This new aesthetic principle has an intractable attitude toward our traditional aesthetic concepts. It refuses to be the bullhorn for the spirit of the times, or to express great achievements beyond the world of personal emotions. This new aesthetic principle avoids writing "tales of the experiences of heroic figures, of courageous struggle and of selfless labor to which we are so accustomed."

The majority of comrades do not agree with this and feel:

1. "Self-expression" is an idealist notion of artistic creation. The advocation of "self-expression" appeared long ago in Western aesthetic and literary theory, the most striking point of which is the taking of "self-expression" to be the theoretical cornerstone of artistic creation. This denies the reality of the objective world, believing instead that the only reality is that of the writer's subjective world. The foundation of this thinking is a subjective idealism which views art as the product of a pure individual spirit. This is the crucial point of "self-expression."

2. "Self-expression" runs directly counter to the needs of the people. This opinion holds that artistic creation is not purely a matter of expressing the "self." In art, the value and role of the "self" does not simply lie in distinguishing the unique feelings, understanding and expression of others. Rather, of more decisive significance is the matter of whether or not the expression of the writers own feelings includes a historical component with universal social significance, whether or not it strikes a chord with the thoughts, feelings and desires of the people. If the products of art cannot satisfy this need of the people, and purely give expression to "one's own emotions," and if these emotions are incompatible or totally at odds with the desires and the likes and dislikes of the people, then what value and vitality can this art of "self-expression" have?

3. "Self-expression" is a reflection in art of the tendency toward liberalization. Some people feel that "self-expression" is a complete theory of subjective creation replete with its utopina coloring. The special characteristic of this theory of "self-expression" is its indifference to society and to the masses and its rejection of revolution and social obligation. Therefore, advocacy of "self-expression" is actually advocacy of the separation of the individual from society and the people.

In addition, a small number of comrades do not really completely reject the advocacy of "self-expression." They feel that it is basically wrong to take "self-expression" to be our creative banner, but without expression of the self, there can be no truly moving art. Only when the artist's expression of self is in perfect harmony with the demands of the masses and with historical development, and at the same time is a profound reflection of the times, can the artist create a work of true value.

Defense of Self-Expression

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 22 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Sun Naixiu [1327 0035 0208]: "'Self-expression' Should Not Rashly Be Denied"]

[Text] Recently, some comrades have presented their ideas concerning the matter of literary "self-expression," and expressed negative attitudes while looking at the matter from different angles. This is an important question of literary theory and creation and should be handled carefully.

The expression of "self" in literature and the commonly understood expression of "self" in daily life are two separate notions. In literature, expression of self, or expression of individuality, indicates the expression in his work of the writer's thoughts, feelings and creative personality. This is a matter of aesthetics. For example, the poem "Tian Gou" ["Dog of Heaven"] by Guo Morou touchingly expressed the author himself; in works like "Kuangren Riji" ["Dairy of a Madman"] by Lu Xun and "Jia" ["Home"] by Ba Jin, the personalities and emotions of the writers themselves seeped into the works to differing extents--images of individuality were used to express with depth the authors' resentment of and resistance to life.

We can see that literature can and should express individuality and self. But, we should question more deeply: does this artistic form reflect the depth and breadth of society; and, after all, how much of the times does it connote and how much depth of life does it possess? The question is really not whether or not the self or individuality should be expressed, but is how the self or one's personality should be expressed, how one should endow the individual form of self with deeper social significance and relevance to life, seeing that it has depth and richness and is now shallow and anemic. The "I" in "Kuangren Riji" displays the historical course of a Chinese youth on the eve of the May 4 Movement as he moves from a seeming state of near psychological collapse to a spiritual awakening; and the "I" in "Tian Gou" intensely expresses the blazing spirit of the time found in a generation of youths that had awakened. These forms of self are individual and yet are of a type; are social and yet are artistic. Because of this, they achieve a unity of socially historic significance and artistically aesthetic qualities and have become images of success in literary history.

Some comrades contemptuously reject the literary tide of "self-expression" in Western literary history and, moreover, negate modern literature in one fell swoop. This shows a lack of the historical materialist depth of vision. Expressing individuality and the self is a historical tide in the history of the development of Western literature. This literary development and the development of European society--and with it the continued liberation of man and the continued development of his individuality--are two sides of the same coin, intimately connected. We know that, under the 1,000 years of feudal rule by divine right in the Europe of the Middle Ages, in reality man had no position. Therefore, it was impossible for this form of expressing the self and one's individuality to hold any sway. Only at the end of the Middle Ages was man's self-consciousness, as if awakening from a long dream, able to discover "man," to discover self. This was a glorious dawning in the history of mankind; it was a great beginning to the cultural renaissance and historical progress; and it was absolutely not, as some comrades sum it up, the product of a negative tide of romanticism. Man's feelings of alienation which are part of modern and contemporary capitalist society and two world wars have left the people with spiritual wounds and have led to the appearance of modern literature. How should mankind achieve the development of individual personality and self? In what way can mankind achieve its own freedom and prosperity? This is the profound meaning contained in the bizarre and motley array of modern literature. The current of this literature is certainly not, as some comrades suggest, an ultra individualist literary phenomenon. In short, the expression of self in Western literature, the literary current of expressing individuality and the progressive social and ideological tides that have opposed feudalism, dictatorship and capitalism have always been as two sides of a single coin, a flesh and blood relationship. This literary tide reflects the historical course of mankind's march toward freedom and liberation. To write off or disregard the literary value and social significance of this literary tide is inappropriate.

Literary "self-expression" has yet another layer of important significance, namely that it requires a writer to have his own creative personality. An author should express the spirit of the time and also display artistic innovation. Regardless of whether it is in ideological understanding, in mood and feeling or in artistic techniques, he should present his own fresh approaches. The originality of his work is merely a reflection of the independence in his personality. Writers must stand in a forward position in social life and, through their own original thinking, sentiments and writing style, express the ideological tides, psychology and styles of society. Some people interpret "self-expression: very superficially. They feel that an ordinary self can sing the profound and involved melody of the times, and because of this, they separate the self from the times and the people. And, while being bent on singing their own tunes to their own miniscule souls, they produce a few mediocre and inferior works. This sort of thing has been common throughout the long history of literary development. We certainly cannot reject "self-expression" because of this. Of course, a writer should have his own lofty character and should endow his literary individuality and self with deep social significance and rich artistic and aesthetic values. Only this kind of writing can win a realistic and historic position and can display an aesthetic value.

9705
CSO: 4005/1039

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LITERATURE, ART SHOULD SUPPORT SOCIALISM

HK271244 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW in English No. 34, 23 Aug 82 p 3

["Notes From the Editors" column by cultural editor Xin Xiangrong: "Literature and Art and Politics"]

[Text] Why have you changed the slogan "Literature and art serve Politics"? [Sentence published in boldface]

From the 1920's to the beginning of the 1950's, China was constantly engaged in revolutionary wars. During that period, people focused all their attention on politics (war is the continuation of politics). In that context, it was natural to subordinate literature and art to politics, as was expressed in the slogan "Literature and art serve politics." This had been the catchword until the end of 1978 when the Chinese Communist Party suggested that the period for launching nationwide mass movements was over and the focus of work should be shifted to socialist modernization. The great changes in the domestic situation made it possible for us to reexamine this slogan.

In the spring of 1979, the Party Central Committee pooled the opinions of the literary and art workers and put forward a new slogan, "Literature and art serve the people and socialism," to replace the old. A consensus has been reached after repeated discussions over the past few years that the new slogan not only tallies more with the current situation, but literature and art.

The reasons are:

(1) One question raised concerning the first slogan was: If literature and art serve politics, what does politics serve? Politics is not something that stands above everything else, such as philosophy, education, science and literature and art. This is because politics is not the aim but a means, and a very important one, to achieve the aim. Our aim is to serve the interests of the people. Politics will remain on the right track only when it subordinates itself to the interests of the people by meeting their material and intellectual demands. Socialism represents the fundamental interests of the people, therefore, serving socialism is also serving the people. Thus, the new slogan indicates the ultimate goal of literature and art in the socialist period.

(2) Literature and art are a kind of mental creative work. Their products are aimed at satisfying the intellectual needs of the people--the needs for enlightenment, inspiration and education. But people also need art and literature for aesthetic appreciation, recreation and relaxation. It is ridiculous to demand that all landscape paintings, lyric music or dance have a political content. Obviously, the slogan "serving politics" cannot include literary and art works that enrich people's life in many other ways. On the other hand, the saying "Serving the people and socialism" implies a much wider scope.

(3) The slogan "Literature and art serve politics" tends to simply restrict literary and artistic endeavours to the constantly changeable limitations of politics and policies, and leads to inappropriate political interference in literature and art. For many years, this slogan was exaggerated and considered absolute. Writers were asked to serve political movements or political tasks unconditionally. The result was a lack of variety in the theme for literary creations and abstract and formalistic expressions in art forms.

(4) There might be mistakes in politics. No political party or individual is immune from mistakes. In fact, there has never been such a thing as one hundred percent correct proletarian politics. If political errors occur, they should be corrected according to the interests of the people. And the people have the right to lodge their criticisms.

The drawbacks of the slogan "Literature and art serve politics" become even more obvious when literature and art are asked to serve incorrect politics. Under such circumstances, writers find it hard to be faithful to reality. They have to use their works to prove the correctness of such politics. Indeed, such things happened in literary and art creations after the founding of new China.

We advocate that the main trend of literary and art works should support socialism and the people's interests and should present the spirit of the times. But we agree that there are also other literary and art works which are needed by the people.

CSO: 4000/182

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HEBEI EIGHTH CYL CONGRESS OPENS 23 AUG

HK010933 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 24 Aug 82

[Summary] The eighth Hebei Provincial CYL Congress opened in Shijiazhuang Municipality on the morning of 23 August. "The main tasks of the congress are to mobilize the CYL members and young people to strive to serve as a brave shock brigade in creating socialist modernization, to bravely stand in the forefront of the times and to struggle hard to achieve the lofty objective of the party."

Some 1,000 delegates, representing 2.3 million CYL members throughout the province, are attending the congress. Gao Yang, Liu Bingyan, (Zhang Xingguang), Wang Zheng, Guo Zhi, Yin She, Zhao Yimin, Liu Ying, (Ye Zhongtai), (Xie Feng), Wang Dongning, Lan Kaimin, Li Feng, (Li Yongjin), Hu Yi, (Xu Peijin), (He Chi), Quan Zhemin, Ding Tingxin, Ma Zhuozhou, Zhang Xiaodong, (Pei Jiling) and Bai Yun, responsible comrades of the provincial CPC committee, the provincial people's congress standing committee, the provincial government and the provincial CPPCC committee; and responsible persons of relevant departments at the provincial level are also attending the congress. (Feng Wenhai), executive chairman of the presidium of the eighth provincial CYL congress, presided over the opening ceremony. (Wu Zhenhua), a member of the presidium, delivered the opening speech, saying that since the seventh provincial CYL congress in 1978, the provincial had achieved outstanding results in CYL work and many advanced models had emerged. On behalf of the provincial CPC committee, Zhao Yimin, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, extended warm greetings to the congress and gave earnest regards to all delegates and the CYL cadres, CYL members and young people who are fighting on all fronts. He said: "The tasks which are now confronting us are to implement the line, principles and policies of the party in an all-round way, to concentrate our forces to do well in building material and spiritual civilization and to create a new work situation in Hebei as quickly as possible. The provincial CPC committee hopes that CYL organizations at all levels and all young people will strive to serve as a brave shock brigade in creating a new situation, bravely stand in the forefront of the times and struggle hard to achieve the lofty objective of the party."

In conclusion, Zhao Yimin said: "Our party will soon hold its 12th national congress. The major task of the CYL is to lead the CYL members and young people to struggle hard to fulfill all combat tasks put forth by the 12th party congress."

After Zhao Yimin spoke, entrusted by the seventh provincial CYL committee, (Tong Enhai) made a work report, entitled "Lead the CYL Members and Young People Throughout the Province to Struggle Hard to Create a New Situation of Socialist Modernization in an All-Round Way."

At the opening ceremony, responsible comrades of the provincial federation of trade unions, the provincial women's federation, the provincial federation of literary and art circles, the provincial science and technology association and the provincial military district delivered the speeches of congratulation.

CSO: 4000/182

BRIEFS

ISLAMIC INSTITUTE--Beijing, 18 Aug (XINHUA)--The Institute of Islamic Theology of China was reopened recently and 40 students have been enrolled after examination. Lectures will begin next month. The reopening of the institute was announced at the second plenary session of the fourth national committee of the China Islamic Association being held here. The institute, an Islamic higher learning institution, was founded in 1955 and had trained a large group of Islamic professionals during the 10 years before 1966. It was forced to close during the "Cultural Revolution." Since the downfall of the "gang of four" in 1976, China's policy of freedom in religious belief has been implemented. To train young religious professionals, the China Islamic Association at the end of 1980 ran a training course for 31 imams while making preparations for the restoration of the institute. In March this year, 10 Chinese students went to Egypt to study Islamism at Azhar University in Cairo. The group of students was the first sent abroad to study by the China Islamic Association since liberation in 1949. The China Islamic Association has printed 160,000 volumes of the Koran and published Chinese-Arabic bilingual selections of the Koran in the past two years for China's 13 million Moslems. A picture album, "Religious Activities of the Chinese Moslems," has been published and the periodical "Moslems in China" has resumed publication, according to the association. [Excerpt] [OW210147 Beijing XINHUA in English 0708 GMT 18 Aug 82 OW]

CSO: 4000/182

COMMENTS ON DRAFT REVISION OF CONSTITUTION

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 5, 1982 p 3

[Editorial: "An Initial View of the New Constitution"]

[Text] A new "Constitution of the People's Republic of China" has been drafted. The next steps are popular discussion, passage by the National People's Congress and implementation.

The propaganda machine of the CCP claims that the new constitution is more perfect than the previous three constitutions. Of this, we have no doubt.

In the early days after the founding of the nation, the lines and policies of the CCP were relatively accurate and relatively practical. It was reflected in the first constitution (1954). Establishing the chairmanship of the state, for instance, had a touch of the division of labor between the party and the government, instead of power concentration in the party chairman.

Thereafter, the lines and policies grew ever more "leftwing," and the phenomenon of one-party dictatorship, one-man dictatoeship, became ever more marked. It was reflected in the second constitution (1975). Mao Zedong himself did not want to serve as the chairman of the state, yet feared the emergence of another Liu Shaoqi. Thereupon, the state chairmanship was abolished, thereby leaving no trace of the division of labor between the party and the government.

In the days immediately after the downfall of the "gang of four," the Red Flag brand of the CCP still followed the "leftwing" path, but at a slightly reduced speed. The third constitution in 1978 indicated that the CCP still trod the beaten path and did not abandon "leftism" completely.

Beginning with the Third Plenary Session of the CCP, the lines, principles and policies became more correct and more practical. The new constitution may be called a product of the new lines. Just restoring the state chairmanship and creating the Central Military Commission are

sufficient to illustrate that the new excels the old and the present the past. The constitutional history of 3 plus decades, going through the cycle of affirmation--negation--negation of negation, reflects the vicissitudes of the nation, the weal and woe of the people and the tortuosities of history; it also indicates that the overall situation today is the best since the founding of the nation.

By "best," it is to compare today with yesterday, and with yesterday's yesterday. If measured by the standard of socialist countries, perhaps it can only be said that the current situation is slightly good, not middling good, and far from very good.

Just by looking at the political life, without mentioning other things, the common people, compared with any period in the past, are more "free" in openly discussing national affairs and have no excessive worries about "rightist" and "counterrevolutionary" labels dropping down out of the blue on their heads. However, is this the all of the people's democratic life? No. The reality of the political life in the past several years still falls far short of the goal of the people's democracy and fails to match the name of a socialist state. Here is an example: In the past several years, had the masses enjoyed the full right to supervise the party cadres and had they been able to effectively inform against and impeach the corrupt elements, would so many corrupt officials have emerged among the cadre ranks of the CCP?

The struggle against the phenomenon of corruption and bribery /can only succeed with the help of the masses themselves./ Perhaps the personages who consider themselves true leftists and true Marxist-Leninists will say: "It will be distrusting the party's leadership!" Please calm down, for these were Lenin's words, in "Complete Works of Lenin," Volume 33, page 56. Before he had time to build a mature socialist democracy, Lenin departed forever the world's first socialist state where corruption was still found. However, the experiences summarized by him are still excellent nutrients for his natural disciples and the CCP members. The struggle against corruption and bribery can only succeed with the help of the masses themselves. This should be a truth. It should become the action compass of the CCP.

In the present revised constitution, there are some deletions in the article on the "basic rights of citizens." Like the "four great democracies" which were cut out in 1980, we do not have much opinion on it. We feel that, though the constitution has its importance and necessity, it is, after all, merely something on paper. Compared with something on paper, the things in reality deserve a greater attention. "Citizens have the freedoms of speech, communication, publication, assembly, association, marching, demonstration...." These words were clearly written in the three previous constitutions, yet the people knew that they were only dream flowers. The veiled poems written in Tiananmen Square on 5 April 1976 to express the people's dissatisfaction with tyranny brought a bloody

suppression. Does it mean that the word "freedom" in the constitution is merely a pearl on the royal crown?

Why are the "socialist state" and the socialist democracy actually worlds apart? We feel that one main reason is that certain communists do not trust, or do not much trust, the masses. They are most afraid that the masses will rebel against the bureaucrats and special privileges. Therefore, the people as the masters of the state on paper easily turns into acting as masters over the people, or even tyrannizing the people, in reality.

The new constitution defines the nature of the state as "the people's democratic dictatorship," which is better than "the proletarian dictatorship," and also proves that the suggestion made by this periodical to rename the state system from "the proletarian dictatorship" to "the people's democracy" or "people's democratic dictatorship" was not excessive. We believe that the new constitution contains a greater democratic spirit, but we always feel that:

Practical actions carry much more weight than a 1,000-lb new constitution and its repeated revisions.

6080
CSO: 4005/1149

IMPERFECTIONS IN DRAFT CONSTITUTION DESCRIBED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 6, 1982 p 3

[Editorial: "The Big Loophole in the Draft Constitution"]

[Text] The new draft constitution is an improvement over the old constitution (as we have mentioned in our previous editorial). But we still see a big loophole in the new draft constitution, as we have detected in the previous three old constitutions, a loophole that needs to be eliminated!

The Chapter 1: The General Principle, Article 1 of the Draft Constitution states: "The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants."

The so-called "the dictatorship led by the working class" is actually led by the Communist Party. In reaffirming the "four basic principles," the preamble in the draft constitution emphasizes the exercise of leadership by the Communist Party over the country. This is where the big loophole lies in the draft constitution. "Leadership" is a general term that defies explanation even in our dictionary. Certainly, the same is true of the ambiguous term "leadership of the Communist Party." Although the relationships between the state organs and people, and the functions of the people's congresses, are explicitly stipulated in legal terms in the draft constitution, there is no elaboration on the "leadership of the party."

What is wrong with that?

A big hole up there!

If the "leadership of the party" emphasizes only the provision of ideological and political guidance or guidance in the area of political line, which proves correct or consistent with the people's interests, such leadership should deserve endorsement by all. But if the "leadership of the party" means dictatorship putting everything under its command, or a form of interference in all aspects of life, and if it means putting the party in the place of the government, or the "exercise of dictatorship by a single party" which may become "one-man dictatorship" or "dictatorship under one supreme leader," such "leadership of the party" may probably "lead" the people on the road

toward tragedy and "steer" the country to the abyss of danger. Is it possible to remove the memory of the catastrophic events of 1957, 1958 and 1966 connected with the "leadership of the party" when they made suggestions to the party. Peng Dehuai was falsely accused of forging an "anti-party clique" because he frankly advised Mao on matters of his interest, while the then head of state Liu Shaoqi was jailed by party chairman Mao Zedong for the same reason. There are prominent marks left by the "leadership of the party" of the Mao Zedong era. Although at that time the constitution was in force, taking advantage of its ambiguous provision on the exercise of leadership by the party over the country, dictators and autocrats were able to push their political foes and other people around as they wished under the cloak of the fundamental law of the land. "Leadership," and "leadership," how many wicked men have had their way in your name!

Over the past several years, it appears that the shadow of dictatorship over the heads of the people has begun to fade away under the slogans "uphold the leadership of the party" and "separate the party from the government" emphasized and proposed by the high-ranking members of the CCP Central Committee. Despite this, these senior officials still continue to publicize the Communist Party as the "party in power," while the facts of life in the country also prove that the "leadership of the party" remains widespread everywhere. For example, the Hangzhou Municipal Party Committee recently hurriedly removed a big corrupt official Sun Xiaoquan [1327 2556 3123], director of the Hangzhou Municipal Cultural Bureau, from office after he was found guilty of stealing a large quantity of paintings and cultural relics from the public treasure-house. Handling the Sun case in such a light-hearted manner has infuriated the people. The harm done by the Hangzhou Municipal Party Committee does not stop here! What the committee wanted the people to accept in this case is nothing but an idea that the party can take the place of the government and the court. In the final analysis, can we call this the "leadership of the Communist Party" as indicated in the new draft constitution or the "leadership of the Communist Party" found guilty of violating the constitution?

All intelligent Chinese people can no longer accept the concept of placing the party above the state, the people and the court, and giving it power to trample under foot the democratic rights. This approach to allow the party to take the place of the government, to put everything under its command, and to interfere in all aspects of life will certainly result in further alienating the masses from the party. The Communist Party must draw experiences and lessons from history and make a breakthrough in seeking an answer to the question about the "leadership of the party" in order to solve "its credibility crisis" and enforce rule by law in a true sense.

We believe that the Chinese Communist Party must emphasize the exercise of moral leadership and give up leadership armed with a power baton. What does the moral leadership mean? It means that it must demonstrate extraordinary and unusual firmness, enthusiasm, and exemplary spirit in the implementation of the correct political line, principles and policies it has adopted in consultation with the people (but not behind closed doors) and in the service of public interest, the country and the people. Meanwhile, it must strive to

influence and lead the people through the demonstration of such firm, energetic and exemplary spirit. In a pledge to demonstrate this spirit, the Communist Party must make itself part of the masses (instead of placing itself above the masses), draw lessons and strength from them, and accept their suggestions and supervision. It must return that power baton to the people or the organs of state power.

As seen from the surface, the new draft constitution is devoted to strengthening democracy and rule by law, and working against the tradition of concentrating all powers on the party. But only after the relationships between the party and the government and between the party and the masses are clearly reflected in the constitution along with the belief that the people and the state are more valuable than the party can the constitution be protected from becoming a camouflage of autocracy and be converted into a driving force for promoting the development of the people's cause!

We hope that the Chinese Communist Party and its advisers will consider our proposal to eliminate that loophole in the draft constitution receptive.

9574
CSO: 4005/919

ARTICLE COMPARES REVISED, PAST CONSTITUTIONS

Hong Kong CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 6, 1982 pp 58-61

[Article by P'an Chia-hua [3382 1367 5478]: "Which Is Supreme, the State or the Party?"]

[Text] On 27 April, the CCP published the "Draft Revision of the Constitution," and Peng Zhen [1756 4176] and Hu Sheng [5170 4939] each gave a speech to explain the draft. Hong Kong's press all pointed out that the value of the constitution entirely rests in its implementation.

After earnestly creating the first constitution in 1954, the CCP immediately followed it with the campaign against Hu Feng [5170 7364] in 1955, a serious case of civil rights violation, and a large-scale suppression of the freedom of speech and the anti-rightist struggle in 1957. The 1958 great leap forward and the people's commune were also in total violation of the constitutional provisions on the economic system. By the time of the lawless 10-year Cultural Revolution, the constitution, a mere scrap of paper, was shredded almost completely. Therefore, people's attitude of doubting, or even negating, the value of the constitution in China is not completely groundless.

Nevertheless, the development of history cannot, after all, be manipulated by any one personage or political party. Before we forecast the future of China's democratization, it is necessary for us to study the revised constitution, though in this country which has no democratic tradition, there are even now many things which are inexplicable.

The Absurd 1970 Constitution

In his report on the revision of the constitution, Peng Zhen said that China had formulated three constitutions in the past, viz., the constitutions of 1954, 1975 and 1978. However, there was also the aborted 1970 constitution.

The Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Party Central Committee "basically passed" in September 1970 a draft revision of the constitution and immediately distributed it, in form of "No 56 Central Issue (1970), CCP Central Committee Documents" to all basic units throughout the country for nationwide discussion. It was not passed by the National People's Congress because, after the Lushan Meeting, a violent quarrel broke out between Mao and Lin and the proposed Fourth National People's Congress could not be convened. A year later, Lin Biao died while fleeing the country, and the Party Central Committee ordered the recall of the "Draft Revision of the Constitution" and the "documents of the Ninth Party Congress." The 1970 constitution was one of the focal points of the struggle between Mao and Lin. Mao wanted to abolish the "state chairman" in the revised constitution, but Lin opposed him, declaring: "If Liu Shaoqi could be chairman, why can't I?" Subsequently, in the campaign against Lin, "establishing a state chairman" became Lin Biao's "anti-party program of usurpation and power seizure." Therefore, whether to establish a state chairman became a major issue of principle in the internal strife of the CCP for many years, and there was no breakthrough from the deadlock in the constitutions of 1975 and 1978. In the report on the 1975 constitutional revision, Zhang Chunqiao [1728 2504 2890] gave the reason for not establishing a state chairman as "an advantage to the party's centralized leadership of the state structure." The inference was Mao Zedong's absolute leadership.

Among the successive constitutions of the CCP, the 1970 constitution was the most absurd. Without the definition and completeness required of a legal document, it was filled with a propaganda and agitative vocabulary, vague and coarse, directly and extensively citing Mao Zedong's quotations and piecing together almost all the then prevailing political slogans. The content was a total reflection of the incredible yet fanatic period. Basically not a constitution protecting the interest of the state and the people, it was a monarchal law serving the ultra-leftwing group. In just the "Preamble" alone, Mao Zedong was mentioned eight times. Article 2 of the "General Program"particularly stressed: "Chairman Mao is the head of China's proletarian dictatorship and the supreme commander of the entire army throughout the nation. Vice Chairman Lin is Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms and successor and the assistant commander of the entire army throughout the nation." Article 26, which dealt with the rights and duties of citizens, demanded "support of Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice Chairman Lin."

This constitution was the greatest mockery of the people's democracy and socialism. No constitution in the modern histories of China and foreign countries manifested such an undisguised "private law" quality. It was basically not an issue of "incompleteness."

The 1975 constitution deleted the absolutely preposterous words and phrases discussed above, and only mentioned Mao Zedong Thought twice while avoiding any reference to Mao himself. Nevertheless, it was still a sample left by the ultra-leftwing policy, in the same vein as the 1970 constitution, leaving the structure, substance and most of the provisions

unchanged, marked with an obvious imprint of the Cultural Revolution and manifesting a touch of a perfunctory routine official document. It was in keeping with the hollow and depressed atmosphere of the political life throughout the country in 1975.

The environment of the 1978 constitutional revision was completely different. The founding members of the Mao and Zhou generation had passed on, the "gang of four" had been ousted, and the people entertained great hopes of the new regime. Nevertheless, Hua Guofeng, the successor handpicked by Mao Zedong, had no political vision and vigorously promoted the "two whatevers" and "grasping the key link to rule the country." Thus, though some political slogans were deleted and some formulations revised, the 1978 constitution still contained marked ultra-leftwing ingredients, such as "raising high Chairman Mao's great banner," stressing the class struggle and affirming "the victory of the Cultural Revolution." In principle and substance, it was still following the same vein as the 1975 constitution. In the Preamble, it mentioned the greatness of Mao six times, elevating him above the party and the state.

From the three constitutions of the seventies, we can see that the CCP's drafting and revision of the constitutions conformed to the Marxist definition, i.e., the constitution "is the expression of the will of the ruling class and an important tool to achieve class dictatorship" and "reflects the balance of class strengths." However, we must add that the "ruling class" mentioned here was not the worker class or the laboring people and dictatorship was not the "proletarian dictatorship" stressed in all three constitutions, while the balance of strengths was the balance of factional strengths within the CCP. It was precisely the fierce and repetitious struggles among them which determined the nature of each constitutional revision, and the completed document always represented and upheld the concepts and interests of the dominating faction.

The Exemplary 1954 Constitution

Though the 1954 constitution still retained the limitations of the early days after the founding of the nation and could only be considered, in Peng Zhen's words, "relatively perfect," its merits are still of substantial value today. First, it was drafted with an earnestness appropriate for the occasion. Let us leave aside the enthusiasm of those inside and outside the party for the founding constitution at that time, but just in form, it was untainted by ultra-leftwing dogmatism, and its provisions possessed the requisite definition and relative permanence of a written constitution. Next, it possessed the objectivity of a state constitution, taking the state and the people as the bases, imparting a feeling of impartiality, and free of suspicion of factional interest. Referring to neither "Chairman Mao Zedong," nor "Mao Zedong Thought," and not even the leadership of the CCP, it only mentioned the "leadership of the worker class. This objectivity was fully embodied in Article 4:

"The People's Republic of China, relying on the structure of the state and the strengths of society and by means of socialist industrialization and socialist reform, pledges the gradual elimination of the exploiting system and the creation of a socialist society."

In addition, it stipulated that "the armed forces belong to the people" and were commanded by the chairman of the state, not such things as "the party commanding the gun."

Thirdly, in stipulating the rights and duties of citizens, the 1954 constitution showed a sincere concern and respect for the people's rights and welfare in much of its writing.

Therefore, the 1954 constitution was relatively compatible with the pursuit of a lasting peace and enduring stability. Today, the CCP claims that the 1982 constitution is a development of the 1954 constitution. It is the good fortune of the state and the nation.

The present published draft constitution indeed has some improvements and greater details. This writer's general impression is that, compared with the 1954 constitution, there are some relaxations and developments in the economy and the system. Mainly they consist of permitting legitimate foreign investments in China and Chinese-foreign economic cooperation and affirming the individual economy as a supplement to the socialist economy, and, in addition, giving greater protection to the legitimate rights of returned and families of overseas Chinese. In system reorganization, the main items consist of abolishing the life tenure of the leading cadres, limiting the chairman, premier, etc. to two consecutive terms, enlarging the power of the standing committee of the National People's Congress and creating an auditing organ to supervise fiscal receipts and expenditures. The rest basically follows the form of the 1954 constitution.

In terms of politics and civil rights, the draft constitution is not satisfactory. Though it has added such provisions as affirming the 1911 Revolution and the position of the CPPCC and exempting the delegates to the National People's Congress from legal investigation for their statements and made its provisions on civil rights more thorough, compared with the 1954 constitution, it has injected a stronger and greater party political consciousness, colored with a "transitional quality" of serving the policies of the CCP. (It was a major lesson of the constitutional revisions of the seventies which should have been avoided, yet JENMIN RIBAO extolled it as "a strong epochal spirit"). Meanwhile, in terms of civil rights, it indicates a tendency to tighten control, with limited enlargement of democracy and excessive stress on centralism.

The Superfluous "Four Upholds"

After the lessons of nearly 3 decades, people abroad had hoped that, in the constitutional revision this time, the CCP would take a more enlightened political attitude. That its politics prior to 1956 won approval

at home and abroad cannot be said to be unrelated to the 1954 constitution. The 1954 constitution praised the merits of the CCP, resolved to "build a socialist society along a peaceful path" and affirmed China as a state of "the people's democratic dictatorship." It was undoubtedly logical for these provisions to be welcomed. In the new constitution, since "a socialist state of the people's democratic dictatorship" is affirmed, why must the "four upholds" ["four basic principles"] be stressed? The "four upholds," directed at "liberalism," were principles of a policy nature limited in time and space proposed by the CCP in 1980. How can they be included in the basic law of the land? Furthermore, changing the "proletarian dictatorship" which has always been upheld to "the people's democratic dictatorship" is not a trivial matter. Peng Zhen's explanation is that "it reflects precisely our national condition and class situation, and will also forestall any distortion and abuse of the proletarian dictatorship." Since "the people's democratic dictatorship is the proletarian dictatorship and a concrete form of the proletarian dictatorship," and since the dictatorship must be exercised through the leadership of the worker class, where is the distortion and abuse? Peng Zhen declares that the national condition is "the 800 million peasants," as if the peasants had no share in the "proletarian dictatorship," or could even be subjected to dictatorship. One should like to ask, in regard to the abuses in the past, who were the abusers and who the abused? Therefore, this revision is confusing in logic, and also indicates that the word "uphold" may be revised or changed to the negative.

The phrase "under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought" actually appears twice in the Preamble, which this writer feels is quite unnecessary. If the "socialist victory" of the past 3 decades is indeed true, then it is precisely the outcome of the struggle of the CCP and the people against Mao Zedong's mistakes. To include in the constitution the name of the individual who should be responsible for the catastrophes to the state is an injury to the people's feelings. The 1954 constitution did not extol the merits and praise the virtues of Mao, nor contain the "four upholds," yet there was great order in the nation. Subsequently, the revised constitutions lauded Mao to the skies, and there was great chaos in the country. Playing the same old trick today is a disrespect to history. Furthermore, including the name of an individual in the constitution is basically an irregular practice which should have been discarded long ago.

Listing "Chairman Mao Zedong's" merits in founding the nation also seems incompatible with the subsequent passage stating that "the People's Republic of China was jointly created by all nationalities in the nation;" it should be omitted.

It should be pointed out that this writer's focus of consideration is the earnestness appropriate for China's constitution, not the right or wrong of the CCP's politics. Another reason for this writer's objection to the word "uphold" is because, in China, there is no political party which poses a threat to the dictatorial leadership power of the CCP. As proved

by history, regardless of whether the leadership is good or bad, the CCP will "hold up." So, what is the necessity of creating in the constitution the illusion that the CCP is under threat?

The Illogical "Class Struggle"

A special passage in the "Preamble" to the new constitution is devoted to the class struggle. It admits the "extinction" of "the exploiting class as a class," yet declares that "the class struggle will remain within a certain sphere for a long time to come" and that "a struggle must be waged" against hostile elements at home and abroad.

As early as 1956, in Liu Shaoqi's political report which was passed unanimously by the Eighth Congress of the CCP, it was unequivocally pointed out that China's exploiting class had become extinct. Nevertheless, in violation of the party resolution, Mao Zedong emphasized in 1957 the struggle to "foster the proletarian and eliminate the bourgeois." In 1962, he went further by making the class struggle the party's basic line and artificially created a series of massive "class struggles," causing tremendous losses to the party and the state. Now the CCP formally censures Mao for "magnifying and absolutizing the class struggle."

The 1954 constitution made no mention of the class struggle at all. While not infallible, it was correct. Contradictions obviously exist in the draft constitution. Class struggle refers to the contention between hostile classes. Since the exploiting class is extinct, then, who is struggling against whom in the class struggle which will remain for a long time to come? Enemy agents, spies, and the reactionary and undesirable elements are the objectives in the crackdown of crimes. How can they constitute a class? When such clear issues are made complicated, one can only come to the following conclusion: The CCP leadership has not learned the lessons in the tragic history and still wishes to use such theoretically incorrect and practically detrimental class struggle concept to build its own "revolutionary" image. Wasn't the 1954 constitution very good? After carrying on for almost 30 years and paying such a high price, can turning around to stress the class struggle be considered to be in line with the requirements of shifting the emphasis to the modernization construction? We have no right to comment on the intraparty strifes of the CCP, but to impose the views of one party on the whole country is something to which we have to express our objections if we want to forestall future troubles. Any Chinese with conscience will not wish to see his elders and brethren living under the red flag subjected again to life-and-death struggles for the sake of one phrase.

The Nominal "State Chairman"

The restoration of the state chairmanship in the new constitution, "compatible with the custom and desire of the Chinese people," is well received. We only hope that it is the symbol of the end of "I am the

state," the Mao Zedong-type dictatorship. We only hope that, from now on, the separation of the party and the government will be truly realized, but as for the supremacy of the state over the party, this writer still cannot feel optimistic. Today, we can tell that it cannot be accomplished even in concept, let alone reality. Whenever it came to the relations between the party and the state, Peng Zhen and Hu Sheng, in their speeches, both declared that the party must lead the state. At best, Hu Sheng only said that "the activities of any political party must not overstep the principles of the constitution." They did not dare say that "the interest of the state takes precedence over the party," or even mention the "identity of interest of the party and the state." What is interesting is that Peng Zhen explained that, "though the party made major and minor mistakes," the reason that "the party's leadership must still be upheld" is that "every time there was a mistake, the party itself rectified it." Naturally the enemy will only oppose the party, not correcting its mistakes for it. The people? The led have no qualification and capacity to correct the party's mistakes. Who would have the nerve to help Chairman Mao correct his mistakes? Was the Tiananmen incident a help? Was there any result? Naturally, only the Third Plenary Session, the Sixth Plenary Session, could correct the party's mistakes.

In terms of the power of the state chairman, the draft revision indicates the CCP's reservations on the supremacy of the state over the party. The provision of the 1954 constitution that the state chairman commanded all the armed forces was logical. Yet the draft constitution, while restoring the state chairmanship, creates a "Central Military Commission" "to command the armed forces of the whole country." Taking the command away from the chairman of the Party Central Committee is indeed a big improvement, but what deserves attention is that Peng Zhen and Hu Sheng, in their authoritative speeches, failed to explain why the state chairman cannot command the armed forces. One can only assume that the CCP feels uneasy for the state chairman to control the military power. Coming from a political party which pays an extremely serious attention to military force, such uneasiness is not at all surprising, but it is rather superfluous. If the state chairman is one of the party leaders, the party will be able to control him. As for abusing the military power, will it not apply just the same to the Military Commission chairman? Hu Sheng said that the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee may be abolished in the future. It comes to one's mind that very possibly the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee will be transferred to the state, except changing its name to the "Central Military Commission" of the state. It will still be "the party commanding the gun." Thus, the importance of the state chairman is greatly diminished.

Another point is the abolition of the Supreme State Conference convened by the chairman. According to Hu Sheng, experience has proved that it "does not have any necessity." It is a rather rash conclusion. The reason that no conference had any necessity when the ultra-leftwing was in power is known to all, but it does not mean that the State Conference has

no significance. It is an effective form of democratic politics, and many countries have similar organizations. Currently, China's State Council also has the councilor system. In short, restricting the power of the state chairman, this writer feels, is incompatible with the principles of the legal system. If the post is established, the substance must correspond to the name, not just a mere figure head. The state chairman endowed with the appropriate powers is a symbol of the supremacy of the state, and a sound legal system will not lead to personal dictatorship.

The Restricted "Civil Rights"

In terms of the basic rights and duties of citizens, all the provisions of the 1954 constitution are more or less restored, and the additional concrete provision on the freedom of person attracts one's attention. However, there is still a number of obvious flaws. One should rather say that the rights are predicated on an excessive number of restrictions.

1. Speech, publication, assembly, association, marching and demonstration, the six freedoms in "Article 34,"have all appeared in the successive constitutions. Compared with the 1954 constitution, the deletion of the clause that "the state will provide the necessary material facilities to ensure the citizens' enjoyment of these freedoms" makes this extremely crucial provision more vague, imparting the feeling that there is no intention to honor it.

2. The "indivisibility of rights and duties" is not found in previous constitutions. It is a totally superfluous formulation of an educational nature, and its implication and logic are both very vague, obscuring the legal distinction between rights and duties. The three things have no direct link in behavior. The revision reserves a ground for civil rights violators. Similar problems are found in "Article 48."

3. The necessity of "communication censorship" should not have been included in the constitution. It is a "legitimate" infringement of the freedom of communication under special circumstances, which are not limited to just communication alone. One should like to ask, is there any "necessity" to restrict the freedoms of speech, publication and association? Actually they can be more serious, but why are not similar provisions found in "Article 3?" The constitution is the basic law which determines the fundamental principles; it is a quality of the constitution which should be respected. Meanwhile, we are unwilling to see the reactivation of the once extremely serious "mail censorship" in China under a legitimate excuse behind the shield of the new constitution.

4. "Article 40" stipulates the right of citizens to criticize and accuse the cadres of the state, but it is qualified with the clause that "no one may fabricate or distort the facts and deliberately make false accusations and fraudulent charges." This qualification is not found in any of the previous constitutions. Since "Article 37" prohibits "insult and slander"

and since the right of freedom from false accusations and fraudulent charges should apply to both the bureaucrats and the common people, this qualifying clause, objectively at least, serves to safeguard the interest of the privileged class from infringement. If there is a determination to eradicate the abuse of special privileges, this qualifying clause must be deleted.

5. The provision on the right to work and to rest does not indicate the right to organize labor unions and, meanwhile, "Article 34" abolishes the right to strike. It is an issue which should not be ignored in a modern society and worker state. To be sure, striking may not be the best way to solve conflicts and disputes, and anyone may object to strikes. Nevertheless, striking is after all an effective way used for several hundred years for the worker class to defend its own interest. Under the socialist conditions, the worker class should be trusted for its awareness and intelligence and, when no other way proves effective, have the right to strike to deal with the bureaucrats. How can it be categorically asserted that "achieving the goal by methods other than strikes is entirely feasible?" (Hu Sheng's words). However, this writer actually believes that, in regard to certain bureaucrats, strikes will indeed produce no effect on them. China's invisible "strikes" have long been public knowledge, possibly causing inestimable "losses." Rather than overtly observing but covertly opposing, it is better to recognize the practice. The open and aboveboard solution of the problems will only prove more beneficial.

6. This point concerns the issue of religion. Since there is a series of provisions banning the use of religion "to carry out counterrevolution" and sabotage, then, the provision prohibiting "foreign control of religion" is inappropriate. Religion is an international phenomenon. Like science, culture and many other activities, it has an extensive international link. Within the sphere of the church, the relation of superior and subordinate and other relations are matters of the freedom of belief, just like the fact that a country which joins a certain international organization must observe its constitution. The state should not interfere in such religious activities which are not detrimental to its interest.

Words and Deeds

The foregoing can perhaps be considered the views of a Chinese taking part in the discussion of the constitutional revisions. Even though this writer feels that there are still many improprieties in the draft constitution, it can yet be regarded as an achievement made on the path of China's democratization and an embodiment of the determination of China's leaders of the new generation to end the "lawless" situation and build a society ruled by law. However, the national calamities of 3 decades (including the losses suffered by the CCP) are too bitter. Not that the authorities represented by Mao Zedong did not utter fine words or formulate laws, nor that the personages of integrity inside and outside the party did not discharge their duty to speak out, but mistakes and evils,

instead of being checked, were aggravated. "Constitutions and plans do not equal the words of the leader." Thus, in face of China's autocracy and dictatorship of several thousand years, several decades, many people do not dare to entertain excessive hopes in the establishment of the legal system. In terms of the present draft constitution, no matter how we assess it, nor how it finally turns out after the revisions, the important thing is still whether it can be implemented; otherwise, regardless of how perfect, it will only be a fraudulent piece of scrap paper.

6080
CSO: 4005/1152

RIGHT TO STRIKE OMITTED IN NEW CONSTITUTION

Hong Kong CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 6, 1982 p 62

[Article by I Ting [0001 0002]: "Commenting on One Point Only, Not the Rest"]

[Text] The draft revision of the fourth constitution has been published, reportedly for discussion by the people. I now wish to "comment on one point only, not the rest."

The constitution opens with these words: "The People's Republic of China is a socialist state under the people's democratic dictatorship led by the worker class and founded on the worker-peasant alliance."

In terms of the rights of citizens, Article 34 stipulates: "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the freedoms of speech, publication, assembly, association, marching and demonstration."

No need to repeat, but from 1949 to date, have the Chinese people actually had the right to enjoy the freedoms? Among the provisions, the right of workers to strike, which was found in the 1975 constitution in the "gang of four" era, has been conspicuously omitted.

Though nominally they have long become the "dictatorship" class, China's workers (the proletariat) have never exercised the right to strike. In 1956, Mao Zedong, in "On the Correct Handling of the Contradictions among the People," declared: "In individual areas, incidents of striking by small numbers of workers and students occurred." As for the actual conditions, we have not been able to ascertain even now. Mao Zedong considered the strikes as "small numbers of people making trouble." Making trouble was a violation of the public security law, and was handled by arrests and labor reform. Though such trouble making aroused Mao Zedong's grave concern, the workers' right to strike was not deleted from the constitution.

The constitution is an accurate reflection of the political outlook of those in power. There was the 1978 constitution which reflected Hua Guofeng's political outlook after the downfall of the "gang of four," and the present constitution fully expresses Deng Xiaoping's political outlook. After suppressing the democracy movement, only the right to "strike" is deleted among the democratic rights. It is the outcome after the failure of the Solidarity movement in Poland, and China's bureaucratic rulers are sealing off the workers' political struggles in advance.

In all socialist countries, workers are finding bureaucratic control ever more intolerable. The struggle of the Polish workers by striking has a long history, and the endeavor of Solidarity has evolved from an economic to a political struggle and, under military control, has not failed completely. Solidarity is an independent organization of workers, completely different government organized labor unions. (China's labor unions are also governmental, and cannot represent the workers). Striking is Solidarity's means of struggle and the most crucial weapon of workers. It has set an example for the workers of all socialist countries, creating an extremely far-reaching influence. The CCP outwardly sympathizes with Solidarity because of its anti-Soviet sentiments, but actually, it deeply fears the exemplary effect on China's workers, because the "foreign leap forward" several years ago was identical with (Gailaike's) import of foreign capital 10 years ago in Poland. Now, taking Poland as an object lesson, China must, in the economic aspect, hurriedly discontinue what should be discontinued, retrench what should be retrenched and make prompt remedies. Nevertheless, whether the mollification of workers (bonuses, wage readjustments) will prove effective is still unknown.

The meaningless provisions on democratic rights can be manipulated by either soft or hard tactics. But when the workers exercise in earnest the right to strike, it will indicate the near eruption point of the social contradictions.

After the failure of China's revolution in 1927, the CCP acquired the conditions for its regeneration in the rural areas. In the several decades hence, China's proletariat has never rallied its ranks and pursued independent political activities. In 1949, the CCP led the peasant army into the cities, and the proletariat became the liberated. Politically it had no freedom of speech, only assuming the nominal throne of the "proletarian dictatorship" and serving as the cloak of the one-party dictatorship of the CCP. Today the proletariat has merged into the "people's democratic dictatorship," viz., the "popular political power" of Stalin's 1936 constitution. Stalin indicated at that time that, "since there are no capitalists, there is no proletariat, and the state has changed from a proletarian state to that of all the people." Today, the "Preamble" to the constitution also declares: "The exploiting class as a class has vanished." Then, isn't "striking" by workers under the "people's democratic dictatorship" "hostile to and disruptive of" the socialist system and counter to the people's interest? Might as well delete the right to

strike from the constitution. By so doing, striking becomes a "counter-revolutionary" behavior and must be suppressed by means of "dictatorship." Such is indeed the reality of today's China, stamped with Deng Xiaoping's political outlook!

6080
CSO: 4005/1150

REVISED CONSTITUTION STUDIED

Hong Kong CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 6, 1982 p 63

[Article by Shih Pu-k'o [1102 0008 0668]: "The Creation of the Central Military Commission Is Puzzling"]

[Text] After I read the full text of the draft revision of the constitution and Peng Zhen's [1756 4176] and Hu Sheng's [5170 4939] speeches in the North America airmail edition of TA-KUNG PAO, my general impression is the CCP's desire to be realistic.--At least, it is willing to make the constitution feasible, unlike the two previous constitution (1975 and 1978) which were mere scraps of paper, because, in form, they were impracticable.

The abolition of the right to strike is a marked manifestation of the CCP's realistic approach. The 1954 constitution did not permit strikes. The 1975 constitution should have been passed around 1970. There was a draft of it. At that time, a "supreme directive" suddenly came down, and the gist of it was that, since the constitutions of all nations in the world had a provision on strikes, we must also do the same, but that, as the Chinese people had a high awareness, they would not strike. The "supreme directive" vividly expressed Mao Zedong's attitude on the constitution--a signboard for propaganda to the external world. Since the CCP has now canceled this promise which is impossible to fulfill in reality, it should treat the other freedoms with the same attitude, especially the freedoms of speech, publication and association. If they cannot be honored at the present stage, they should not be included in the constitution; if included, they must be honored. One can see from the Preamble to the constitution that this constitution will be revised from time to time alongside the changes in the situation.

Article 1 of the General Program of the draft states explicitly that the state system of the People's Republic of China is a socialist state under the people's democratic dictatorship. This writer feels that, aside from divergence in ideology, the word socialism is ambiguous and vague. Socialism in the world today is multifarious. The Soviet Union and East

Europe all follow socialism. Therefore, the constitution should give a clear definition of socialism, for otherwise the last sentence of Article 1, viz., "undermining the socialist system by anyone in any form is prohibited," will have no meaning. Is importing foreign capital, for instance, undermining the socialist system? Is the proposal to exercise joint leadership with Guomindang undermining the socialist system?

The provision of Article 30 that "the system followed in special administrative areas will, according to concrete conditions, be stipulated by law" conflicts with Article 1. If the special administrative areas (currently Shenzhen, possibly including Hong Kong, Macao and even Taiwan in the future) do not follow the socialist system, doubtlessly it will be one form of undermining the socialist system and the "four basic principles."

The provision that "undermining the socialist system by anyone in any form is prohibited," in its literal sense, appears to restrict the freedom of speech. In other words, the freedom of speech does not include resisting socialism. Nevertheless, as the word socialism has no definition, the article in RENMIN RIBAO on whether fish farmers may hire one or two helpers may be accused of undermining socialism in the form of commenting. It obviously is detrimental to economic reform and economic exploration.

The most puzzling thing in the constitution is the simultaneous establishment of the chairman of the state and that of the Central Military Commission. As there is no stipulation that the state chairman will also serve as the Military Commission chairman, theoretically, there may be two chairmen. Then, in case of war, the chief of state will not be able to direct the troops, and the responsibility rests with the Military Commission chairman who has no other administrative power. Should the two chairmen disagree, the state will become helpless. Such a provision is perhaps unprecedented in history.

Not only making it impossible to conduct a foreign war, but the provision plants two potential dangers in internal affairs. The first is that the Military Commission chairman will be able to rely on his military power to make himself important and turn the state chairmanship into a nominal post. According to Mao Zedong, the army is the pillar of the dictatorship, and it is impossible for it to be restricted simply to military tasks without getting involved in politics. The second danger is that it is equivalent to abolishing the system of the chairman's tenure. A dictator will be able to serve two consecutive terms as the state chairman and shift over to the chairmanship of the Military Commission while propping up a nominal state chairman for two terms and replacing him later. Such repetitions will give him life tenure, because the constitution only limits consecutive terms, not nonconsecutive terms.

This writer's conjecture is that the chairmanship of the Central Military Commission is created to accommodate someone. That is to say, it is

created for Deng Xiaoping. At the present stage, if it is stipulated that the state chairman serves as the commander-in-chief of all armed forces in the nation, and Deng will not accept the post, then there is no way to engender a state chairman; on the other hand, if the Central Military Commission [party] chairman remains in command of the armed forces, then, the fact that there will be no distinction between the party and the government and that the position of the armed forces in the state structure will become ambiguous (Hu Sheng's words) are secondary, but the fact that it will be impossible to achieve the economic reforms and that the laymen will continue to lead the experts are major. With the creation of the post as a compromise and with Deng Xiaoping setting a precedent, China will become virtually a country ruled by the Military Commission. Once Deng passes on, there will be no peace in the nation. This writer feels that such expediency is most undesirable.

6080
CSO: 4005/1151

PEOPLE'S RIGHTS LIMITED IN REVISED CONSTITUTION

Hong Kong CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 7, 1982 pp 17-18

[Article by P'eng Wen-i [1756 2429 6654]: "On the Revised Constitution"]

[Text] Finding nothing very unexpected in the "Draft Revision of the Constitution," I am extremely disappointed. It turns out that Deng Xiaoping and Peng Zhen who suffered injuries in the Cultural Revolution have no intention to basically change China's system.

As China's system is not based on the constitution, its revision is not necessarily the starting point of changing the system. Nevertheless, if the CCP has any sincerity in changing the system, it is bound to be reflected in the constitution. Therefore, my disappointment in the "Draft" is not any naive trust in the magic power of the 139 articles of provisions. I wish to make this point clear before proceeding with the discussion.

From the draft revision one can see that the motive force of the revision comes from two practical needs: forestalling the emergence of another Mao Zedong; developing the economy. For the first need, the "Draft" stipulates the tenure system, increases the deck of cards under the principle of prohibiting others from taking turns as bankers, adds the chairman of the state and the chairman of the Central Military Commission to the power center and enlarges the authority of the chairman of the standing committee of the National People's Congress. For the second need, the "Draft" permits foreign enterprises to invest in China and affirms the cooperative form of economic organization and the individual economy. These changes cannot be said to be without a practical significance, but they also clearly indicate that the pragmatists only consider the present and are not ready to conscientiously discuss the long-range plans of China's political system.

Then, how should China's constitution be revised before it can be considered a revision of long-range importance? Furthermore, what are the criteria for us to make such a judgment?

Since what we are discussing is the constitution, I feel that we should at least respect the basic spirit of constitutional revision! Ever since the French Revolution and America's War of Independence, besides the countries enveloped under the Soviet system, the overwhelming majority of the constitutional countries recognize in principle that the raison d'etre of the constitution is to restrict the power of the government and safeguard the rights of each and every citizen. Precisely for the purpose of safeguarding the rights of the citizens that the constitution must explicitly stipulate the systems restricting the powers of the government and balancing the relations among the various departments of the state, such as the general election system, the representation system, the division of the three powers and the division of power between the central and local governments. The Ninth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution stipulates:

> "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

The 10th Amendment stipulates:

> "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

In other words, all powers not granted by the Constitution to the government belong to the people.

If one only looks at the provision in Article 2 of the General Program of the "Draft Revision," namely, "all powers of the People's Republic of China belong to the people," one may think that China's constitution also conforms to the basic spirit. The facts are naturally otherwise. The General Program, from Articles 5 to 19, all deals with the practical powers and assets belonging to the state. To put it more concretely, the concept that the people should retain the powers not specified in the constitution has never occurred to those drafting the constitution. The present draft does not mention the right to strike, and the consensus at home and abroad is that the PRC has abolished the right of workers to strike. In regard to the deletion of the "four great democracies" in the "Draft," the people, under the leadership of the foresighted Party Central Committee, have long stopped publishing large-letter posters; as the constitution does not mention the freedom of choosing and changing dwellings, the people are not permitted to look for dwellings themselves or change them. In short, aside from the limited rights granted to the people in Chapter 2 of the "Draft" (naturally, these rights cannot actually count, but it will be discussed later), the people have no other rights. Therefore, in China, the constitution has become the law to restrict the people's rights and safeguard the powers of the government and the leaders, thereby fundamentally distorting the basic spirit of the constitution.

The most fundamental point of the revised constitution which we had hoped to see was to right the things turned upside down and reaffirm the basic spirit of the constitution.

Under this basic spirit, the task of the constitution is to restrict the powers of the state and delineate the powers of the various government organs. Therefore, if the constitution has any practical significance, the organs which should exercise certain powers according to its provisions must be able to exercise them, and those which have not been granted the powers should not exercise them. If any financial group, military group or political party, under the cover of the official organization of the government, gains actual control of the proper administrative, legislative and judicial powers of the government and forms a shadow government beyond the control of the constitution, the balancing relations stipulated in the constitution will become null and void, and the constitution will completely lose its power to protect the rights of citizens.

The supremacy of party power above all else, which is the principle of the CCP in ruling the nation through the years, is the basic reason for the constitution to be merely a formality. The present draft does not unduly stress the leading position of the CCP and only mentions in the Introduction that "the people of China will continue, under the leadership of the CCP...." In addition, it stipulates in Article 5 that "all state organs... all political parties... shall obey the constitution and the laws," thereby recognizing the principle of the supremacy of the constitution over political parties. It can be considered a great improvement. Nevertheless, until the CCP dismantles the large and small party organs attached to the government organs of the various levels, this shadow government will remain the basic obstacle to the introduction of a constitutional government.

One school of American jurists feels that, when interpreting the constitution, we must understand the true intent of the legislators at the time when the provisions are drafted, and that we must not rely only on the literal meaning of the law as the basis of interpretation. The view of this school of thought seems to be most appropriate to China's current "Draft Revision." The CCP holds the power. If it has the sincerity to introduce a constitutional government, then, in spite of the many flaws in the "Draft," the constitution may possibly, after four more revisions, gradually embody the constitutional spirit. But if it only wants to use the constitution as an ornament to start with, then, as far as the people are concerned, whether to revise the constitution or not is entirely of no concern to them.

6080
CSO: 4005/1148

COMMENTARY ON FEATURES OF 'DRAFT REVISION OF CONSTITUTION'

Hong Kong MING PAO YUEH-K'AN [MING PAO MONTHLY] in Chinese No 6, 1982 pp 25-28

[Article by Liao Kuang-sheng [1675 0342 3932]: "Comment on the 1982 Draft Revision of China's Constitution"]

[Text] After the collapse of the feudal monarchal system, religious superstition and feudal tradition lost their political binding force. The people have become participants in the politics of the state and taken the initiative to pursue the ideal political system. Freedom, democracy and equality have turned into the greatest political impetus of modern human society. Whether in China or abroad, almost all constitutions parade the people's rights and duties, freedom, equality and democracy. On the surface, the communist countries, like the West, also pursue such ideals. Actually, the democracy and freedom, the people's rights and duties advocated by the communist countries are totally different from the Western countries. (See Gu Chunde [6253 2504 1795, "A Brief Discussion of the Theory of Natural Rights," HONGQI, 1 April 1982).

This article is an attempt to present, in terms of constitutional law, the characteristics of the state constitution of China, the features of the "Draft Revision of the Constitution" [hereinafter referred to as "Draft Revision"] and the composition of the state structure, and to discuss, in terms of the reasons for the failure of the "1954 constitution," the feasibility of the "Draft Revision."

I. Characteristics of China's State Constitution

China's state constitution, on the surface, is the same as those of Western countries, but actually it is totally different. The constitution of Western countries is the fundamental law of the land. The people compete openly and freely to organize the government. As categorical open and free competitions in China and other communist countries are bound to lead to a "bourgeois monopoly," it is necessary for the communist party

to enforce "dictatorship" on behalf of the proletariat. The state structure, the army and all other organs serve as the tools of the party's "dictatorship." The Preamble to the "Draft Revision" states explicitly: "The people of China will, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, continue to uphold the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist path and perfect the various socialist systems...." Thus, the state must remain under the leadership of the "party," and the state constitution is formulated under its leadership.

In its broad sense, China's constitution may be divided into three parts. The first part is the "party's" constitution. It has many provisions on the "party's" ideological lines and policies, which constitute the basis of China's constitution. China's political evolution of more than 3 decades has all been determined by the "party." The "party" is the source of power and the defender of "dictatorship." In other words, China's constitution cannot be discussed in terms of its published "state constitution" alone. The "party" and its constitution exert a crucial influence. In terms of the political operation, the "party" constitution is an integral part of the state constitution. The second part is unwritten, viz., the "party's" control over state organs. Ordinarily the "party's leadership" of state organs may be classified into three kinds: ideological, organizational and personnel. Ideological control is the incessant inculcation and propaganda of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. All "party" members and individuals must study and accept them, and no dissent is permitted. In organizational control, the "party" installs a "party organization" in each and every state organ to watch over and supervise its administration. The "party" also sets up many departments in its secretariat, directing level by level their counterpart state organs and forming a tight-knit organizational control. The third kind is personnel control. The Party Central Committee, for instance, decides on the nomination of the "premier" and the heads of other departments, and it also nominates the heads of administrative organs of the provincial level. Obviously, the leading posts of all state organs are nominated by the party. Though the relations between the "party" and the state are unwritten, the exercise of power and personnel arrangement, and even the exercise of other high-level power, of the state organs are all based on the unwritten practice. The "Draft Revision," for instance, stipulates that the state chairman and the Military Commission chairman are both elected by the National People's Congress, yet there is no provision on who will nominate them; naturally, they are nominated by the "party." Whomever nominated will be elected by the National People's Congress. Though the "Draft Revision" stipulates that the premier of the State Council is nominated by the state chairman, actually the latter must seek instructions from the Party Central Committee. Consequently, the premier is still nominated by the "party." Obviously, the exercise of many powers is not stipulated in the written "state" and "party" constitutions. However, the unwritten "laws" are more important than the written provisions. Therefore, to discuss only the written constitution

while overlooking the crucial unwritten constitution is attending to trifles rather than the essentials and missing the mark.

The third part is what is called the "state constitution." People generally think that China's "state constitution" has a weak restraining power and a low stability. Since 1949, China published three "constitutions." Many people feel that the contents of the "1954 constitution" are relatively concrete and complete. Emerging under special political environments as required by the times, the constitutions of 1975 and 1978 are oversimplified and vague in substance, not comparable to the "1954 constitution." Nevertheless, unable to withstand the onslaught of the anti-rightist movement, the "1954 constitution" lost practically all its prestige. Hence, many people are very doubtful of the "feasibility" of the "Draft Revision."

II. Features of the "Draft Revision"

One paper in Hong Kong listed 18 new features in the "Draft Revision." In terms of its provisions, it is more detailed than the three previous constitutions, particularly when compared with the "1975 constitution" and the "1978 constitution." It is much longer, containing more than twice the provisions in those two previous ones. Summarizing the contents, we find four most crucial features.

The first is stressing the "socialist legal system." Besides the Preamble, Article 5 of the draft stipulates: "The state upholds the unity and dignity of the socialist legal system. All laws, decrees and regulations shall not conflict with the constitution; all state organs and people's armed forces, all political parties and social organizations, and all enterprise and business organizations shall obey the constitution and the laws. No organization or individual may have the prerogative to transcend the constitution and the laws." This provision is obviously directed at the "legal nihilism" and "constitutional formalism" and the "lawless" mentality of many cadres in the past. Actually, after the 1957 anti-rightist movement, the constitution and the laws were replaced by "policies" and orders. The "1954 constitution," for instance, explicitly stipulated the "freedom of religious belief" and the "freedom to choose and change dwellings," but the provision was nullified because it conflicted with policies. Instances of this type are innumerable. Stressing the socialist legal system is affirming the current legal system.

The second feature is recognizing the modernization policy. The Preamble points out: "The basic task hereafter is to concentrate strengths in pursuit of the socialist modernization construction." The previous three constitutions never mentioned economic organizations, enterprises, Chinese-foreign joint ventures, etc. Article 12 of the "Draft Revision" stipulates: "The People's Republic of China permits foreign enterprises and other economic organizations or individuals, in accordance with the provisions of the laws of the People's Republic of China, to make investments in China and to pursue economic cooperation of various forms with

Chinese enterprises or other economic organizations. Foreign enterprises and other economic organizations and Chinese-foreign joint-capital enterprises found within the boundaries of China shall obey the laws of the People's Republic of China. Their legitimate rights and interests shall be protected by the laws of the People's Republic of China." Section 2 of Article 17 stipulates: "No organization or individual may utilize any means to disturb the economic order of society or disrupt the economic plans of the state." Articles 18 and 19 recognize the current self-governing power of state enterprises and collective economic organizations within the range of legal provisions. These provisions embody the introduction of a limited "open-door" policy in answer to the need of the "four modernizations."

The third feature is the trisection of the administrative power. The "Draft Revision" establishes the chairman and vice chairman of the state who will perform some nominal functions, such as representing the state, promulgating laws, appointing the premier and important leaders of the State Council according to the decisions of the National People's Congress, receiving foreign envoys and sending envoys abroad. These functions formerly belonged to the chairman of the National People's Congress under the "1978 constitution." The newly established "state chairman" has no military or important administrative power; therefore, his authority is far below the state chairman under the "1954 constitution."

The "State Council," same as before, is "the executive organ of the power organs of the state and the supreme administrative organ of the state," and its functions are similar to the past. The "Draft Revision" creates a new "Central Military Commission" to command the troops of the nation. It revises the provision of the "1978 constitution" which placed the troops under the command of the "party" chairman. On the surface, it transfers the military power from the "party" chairman to the "Central Military Commission," seemingly implying the transfer of the troops to the state. Actually, the "party" itself also has its "Central Military Commission;" therefore, the creation of a new Central Military Commission has no great significance. (See "Should the Party's Military Commission Remain in Existence?," Hong Kong TA-KUNG PAO, 29 April 1982). Controlling the troops level by level, the party will never loosen its hold. Obviously, under "the people's democratic dictatorship," it is inconceivable to separate the troops from the party.

The establishment of the "state chairman" and "Military Commission" in the "Draft Revision" appears to stress the power of state organs. Actually, the purpose is to divide the administrative power among three organs, so that none can compete with the "party." While restoring the "state chairmanship" of "1954," the "Draft Revision" avoids the situation created by the "1954 constitution" where the excessive power of the "state chairman" made the "party chairman" a mere figurehead. One may well say that it is killing two birds with one stone. Actually, the arrangement undermines the concentration of administrative power and facilitates the "party's" control over state organs.

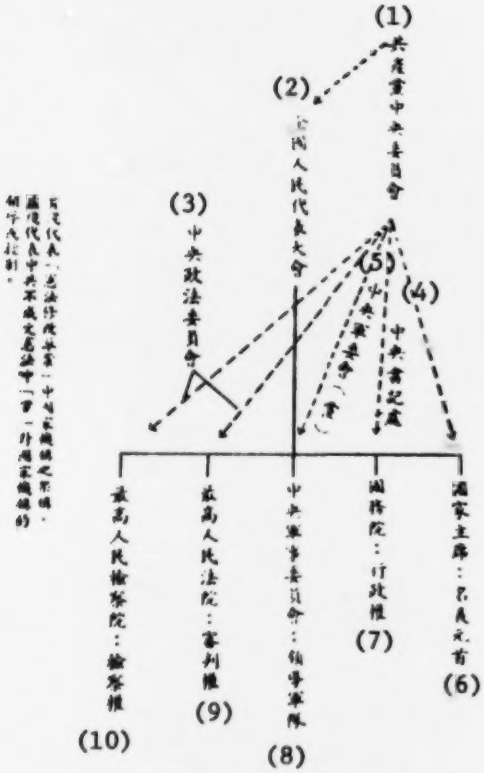
The fourth feature is preventing "life tenure" and introducing the "responsibility system." Article 79 of the "Draft Revision" stipulates: "The terms of office of the chairman and vice chairman of the People's Republic of China shall be 5 years each, and may be renewed upon reelection, but they may not serve more than two consecutive terms." Article 86 stipulates: "The State Council follows the premier responsibility system; the various ministries and commissions follow the minister and minister-in-charge responsibility system." Article 87 stipulates: "The premier, vice premiers and councilors may not serve more than two consecutive terms." There are also provisions limiting the National People's Congress, the chairman and the Central Military Commission to two consecutive terms. Abolishing "life tenure" and introducing the "responsibility system" should prove beneficial to administration. The measures tend to prevent the administrative personnel from acquiring excessive power, forestall dictatorship and enhance the sense of responsibility on the part of the leaders. Nevertheless, as previous "state constitutions" were unable to maintain their own efficacy, the power of state organs was very fragile. Thus, when the Cultural Revolution cropped up, Mao Zedong smashed it with one large-letter poster. The power of state organs is limited to start with, and now, with the restriction to two consecutive terms and the "responsibility system" on top thereof, it becomes even weaker than before. Unless also applicable to important "party" posts, the "two-term system" and "responsibility system" will most likely undermine the state organs, instead of strengthening them.

Besides the four crucial features discussed above, some people find that the "Draft Revision" enlarges the power of the standing committee of the National People's Congress; others feel that the new provisions in the draft on personal protection and freedom possess an important significance. Actually, these were long stipulated in the "1954 constitution." The "1954 constitution" long ago empowered the National People's Congress to exercise many functions. However, excessively hamstrung by the party, the congress has turned into a nominal organ. In spite of the provision on the protection of the person, even the persons of founding cadres can be violated, let alone ordinary people. As such provisions were in existence before but not fully implemented, their significance can only be determined by their implementation in the future.

III. The New Framework of the State Structure and Its Significance

The "Draft Revision" builds a new framework for the state structure (see Diagram 1). It stipulates that the "National People's Congress" is the supreme power organ of the state. The congress elects the chairman of the state and that of the Central Military Commission, decides on the choice of the premier of the State Council, and elects the president of the Supreme People's Court, the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate and the leaders of other important posts (see Article 60). Obviously, the National People's Congress is the power center of the state. Whether the "Draft Revision" can be implemented hinges on whether the "National People's Congress" can faithfully perform these crucial functions.

Diagram 1. New Framework of the State Structure



Key:

1. CCP Central Committee
2. National People's Congress
3. Central Political and Judicial Group
4. Central Secretariat
5. Central Military Commission (party)
6. State Chairman--nominal head
7. State Council--administrative power
8. Central Military Commission--command of troops
9. Supreme People's Court--judicial power
10. Supreme People's Procuratorate--procuratorial power

Legend:

1. Solid line indicates new framework of the state structure.
2. Dotted line indicates "party's" leadership or control over state organs in the unwritten constitution of the CCP.

The National People's Congress has only been a nominal organ, its agenda and important issues all determined by the Central Committee of the "party." Like the "1954 constitution," the current "Draft Revision" does not establish a chairman, but only the standing committee. The standing committee "supervises the work of the State Council, the Central Military Commission, the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate" (see Section 6, Article 65). Like the "1954 constitution," it may organize investigative committees to investigate special issues (Article 70), and its members are not subject to arrest or trial without its permission or the permission of its standing committee (Article 73). These provisions were found in the past to be merely formal. Article 74 of the "Draft Revision" stipulates: "The statements and votes of the delegates to the National People's Congress at the various meetings of the congress are not subject to legal investigation." This provision merely strengthens personal safety. At present, we see no sign that "the National People's Congress will reinforce its power and faithfully perform its functions," because the National People's Congress in the "Draft Revision," same as before, cannot avoid the remote control and manipulation of the "party's" Central Committee.

The newly established state chairman has no real power. He performs some nominal internal and external functions on behalf of the state. Therefore, the establishment of the state chairmanship fails to increase the power of state organs. The State Council is "the supreme administrative organ of the state." It is the actual executive organ and leads the people's governments of the various levels and economic and cultural constructions. Same as before, the "Draft Revision" stipulates that the State Council is responsible to the National People's Congress and its standing committee. Actually, it has, since 1954, always been responsible to the party's Central Secretariat and is subject to its close supervision, while its responsibility and reports to the National People's Congress are mere formalities. The practice has become a part of the unwritten constitution. Unless the "party" itself changes, the personnel and policies of the State Council will remain under its jurisdiction.

Though the Central Military Commission is a new organ, most likely it will only serve as a megaphone of the "party's" Central Military Commission, without any important role. Under the principle of "the people's democratic dictatorship," the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate must, same as before, accept the "party's" leadership. Obviously, the "Draft Revision" has not made any tangible effort in the division of labor between the party and the government and in the enhancement of the power of state organs. In short, the "party's" power remains unlimited, and the state organs enjoy their powers by leave of the "party." In view thereof, there is no major breakthrough in the framework of the state structure, nor any major significance.

IV. Feasibility of the "Draft Revision" in Terms of the "1954 Constitution"

We have discussed above the serious doubts in the minds of many people about the feasibility of the "Draft Revision." The issue may be explored in terms of the reasons for the failure of the "1954 constitution."

People in general find the "1954 constitution" relatively perfect. Nevertheless, after promulgation in 1954, it was unable to lead or regulate the major political evolutions. What were its flaws? Exploring the issue will help us understand the feasibility of the "Draft Revision." After studying the politics of the CCP from 1954 to 1976 and the provisions in the "1954 constitution" itself, we can at least list four reasons for its failure:

The first was the unlimited party power. Following the theory of dictatorship, the CCP believes that the "party" must lead the state organs. Therefore, its power may expand without limit, while the state organs have become totally powerless, let alone independent. The state organs are the "party's" tools. By means of ideological, organizational and personnel means, the party already could control the state organs. Utilizing the "party" to launch class struggles and anti-rightist political movements incessantly, Mao Zedong lifted "party power" beyond the boundaries of the "party" constitution and "state constitution." "Party power" expanded without limit, and the state organs had no way to defend themselves.

The second reason was the failure of the leading stratum to pay serious attention to the constitution and the laws. As the leading stratum of the CCP lacked legal training, the majority of the high-level cadres treated the constitution and laws with indifference. After the 1957 anti-rightist movement, many people advocated that "policies are the bases of laws and possess the same effect." They attacked those who advocated that "policies cannot replace laws" as bourgeois rightists. Many figures in the legal field were condemned as major rightists. Thereafter, the constitution and the laws both turned into mere scraps of paper, resulting in the lawless "rule of man."

The third reason was the absence of measures to safeguard the efficacy of the "state constitution." According to the provision in the "1954 constitution," the National People's Congress "supervises the implementation of the constitution." However, due to its large membership and short sessions, plus the "Party" Central Committee's directives to its members and on issues of discussion at meetings, it turned into a nominal organ and had no way to perform its functions faithfully. Its failure to hold elections according schedule or to call meetings after 1959 virtually paralyzed it, let alone supervising the implementation of the constitution.

Finally, the lack of independence of the judiciary was also a crucial reason for the "1954 constitution" to turn into a scrap of paper. Following the "dictatorship" theory, the "party" exercised a firm control over the People's Procuratorate and the People's Court. After 1957, the theory that policies transcended the law was the mentality of those in the legal field in general. The party firmly advocated that "the People's Procuratorate and the People's Court exercise their powers independently under the 'party's' leadership." Thus gradually formed the practice of the party committee rendering judgments on cases. As the People's Procuratorate and the People's Court were under the "party's" leadership, the personal freedom and protection provided in the constitution became subjected to the influence of the political movements and the policies. Many people repeatedly suffered infringements and attacks in the political movements. The People's Procuratorate was abolished and the People's Court basically had no means to protect personal freedom. During the Cultural Revolution, the most glaring instance was Liu Shaoqi's death from illness in jail following his arrest in 1967. The People's Court was well aware of the illegality of the arrest, but could do nothing.

Naturally, there were many other reasons than those discussed above. Generally speaking, the four reasons were the fatal wounds of the "1954 constitution." Now we will explore how the "Draft Revision" handles the four issues. On the "unlimited party power," the "Draft Revision" still stresses the "four basic principles," viz., socialism, "the people's democratic dictatorship," Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and the leadership of the CCP. Under these principles, "division of labor between the party and the government" is impossible. Unless the party revises its constitution and restricts its own power, a strong party chairman will easily expand party power and relegate the state organs to subservience. The second issue involves the problem of ignoring the constitution and the laws. The provision in Article 5 of the "Draft Revision" that "all state organs and people's armed forces, all political parties and social organizations, and all enterprise and business organizations shall obey the constitution and the laws" apparently reinforces the constitution and the laws. When observed from past experiences, just the provision alone is inadequate, and compulsory measures are required before its implementation can be guaranteed. The third issue is safeguarding the efficacy of the constitution. The "Draft Revision," same as the "1954 constitution," lacks effective measures to defend the constitution. The final issue concerns the independence of the judiciary. The "Draft Revision" copies verbatim the section on the "People's Court" and "People's Procuratorate" from the "1954 constitution." Except for lengthening the terms of office of the president of the Supreme People's Court and the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate to 5 years each and limiting the consecutive terms to two, the rest is almost completely identical. Naturally, according to the "dictatorship" principle, the People's Court and the People's Procuratorate in the "Draft Revision" also "exercise their powers independently under the party's leadership." (See "Comrade Peng Zhen's [1756 4176] Important Speech at the Nationwide Procuratorial Work Forum held by the Supreme People's

Procuratorate," XINHUA YUEBAO [NEW CHINA MONTHLY], No 48, 1979). In short, judged from the four issues discussed above, the feasibility of the "Draft Revision" is not greater than the "1954 Constitution."

Conclusion

Some people believe that the current "Draft Revision" represents the effort of the CCP leadership stratum to implement "division of labor between the party and the state" and to build a stable state structure. From the above analysis, we clearly see that it is impossible, under the "dictatorship" principle, to separate the party from the government and the army, and the party will retain many powers to control them. The "Draft Revision" fails to eliminate all factors which undermine the state organs. If another strong leader should emerge again and start another "just rebellion against the reactionaries," the state structure will undoubtedly collapse.

Therefore, to stabilize the state structure, the "party" organization must first be stabilized. Only when the "party's" leadership power is systematized and the unlimited expansion of the party leader's personal power forestalled will the stability of the state structure be ensured. The establishment of the state chairmanship and the Central Military Commission serves no purpose. The suggestion of a "constitutional court" to ensure the implementation of the state constitution made by some CCP jurists a while ago can be regarded as an apt remedy. (See Wu Xieying [0702 2355 5391] and Luo Haucai [5012 6275 2088], "the Constitution and the System of Investigating Unconstitutional Acts," BAIKE ZHISHI [ENCYCLOPEDIC KNOWLEDGE], No 12, 1980). Naturally to be able to ensure the implementation of the "state constitution," the "constitutional court" must play a unique role, free from "party" control, before it can discharge its functions. Therefore, the creation of an independent constitutional court should be the goal of the endeavor of the Constitutional Revision Committee from now on.

In short, the "Draft Revision," in developing a modern society and state, appears to lack foresight and imagination. It should refer more to the knowledge of the constitutional experts who have visited Europe. The "Draft Revision" strongly reflects the inclination to restore the "1954 constitution." As a matter of fact, the "1954 constitution" was only in force for 2 or 3 years. How many storms will the new constitution be able to weather?

4 May 1982
Hong Kong Chinese University

6080
CSO: 4005/1153

END

JPRS 81788

16 September 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 338

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81788

16 September 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 338

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'GUOJI WENTI YANJIU' On West Germany's Ostpolitik
(Jiang Jianqing; GUOJI WENTI YANJIU, Jul 82) 1

Japan's Nagasaki Delegation Visits Fujian
(Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service, 17 Jul 82) 19

Briefs
Gansu Delegation To Japan 20
Gansu-Akita Friendly Ties 20
Shanghai Delegation To Yokohama 20
Shandong Governor Leaves For Japan 20
Jilin Delegation From DPRK 21
Djibouti Delegation In Gansu 21

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' On Model Party Member Pan Zili
(Ma Wenrui and Yang Chengwu; RENIMIN RIBAO, 19 Aug 82) ... 22

Hunan Municipality Rectifies Work Style
(Changsha Hunan Provincial Service, 26 Aug 82) 31

Guangdong Holds Political, Legal Work Meeting
(Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service, 26 Aug 82) 32

26th Lecture On Draft Reviewed Constitution
(XINHUA, 19 Aug 82) 33

 [III - CC - 80]

27th Lecture On Draft Revised Constitution
(XINHUA, 21 Aug 82) 34

28th Lecture On Draft Revised Constitution
(XINHUA, 23 Aug 82) 36

'RENMIN RIBAO' Writes On Japanese Germ War Book
(Dong Ming; RENMIN RIBAO, 15 Aug 82) 38

'RENMIN RIBAO' On Ideological, Moral Education
(Sha Ying; RENMIN RIBAO, 17 Aug 82) 41

PRC Philosophy Journal Discusses Morality
(Li Qi; ZHEXUE YANJIU, 25 Jul 82) 46

'DAZHONG RIBAO' On Class Struggle In New Situation
(Zhao Mingyi and Cheng Shaochen; DAZHONG RIBAO,
19 Aug 82) 56

'LIAONING RIBAO' On Reorganizing Leadership Groups
(LIAONING RIBAO, 17 Aug 82) 60

Northeast Provinces Party History Conference
(Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service, 20 Aug 82) 62

Liaoning Holds Meeting On Study Of Mao's Works
(Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service, 30 Aug 82) 64

Heilongjiang Urges Attention To Workstyle Rectification
(Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service, 26 Aug 82) 65

Liaoning Commentary On Remnants Of Gang of Four
(Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service, 26 Aug 82) 66

Briefs
Northeast Conference On Party History 68
Jilin Birth Control 68
Jilin Minority Education 68
Jilin Honey Harvest 68
Jilin Crime Rate 69
Jilin Commendation Rally 69
Shandong Criminal Cases 69
Fujian Delegates Attend Congress 69
Guangdong Overseas Chinese Policies 70

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'DAZHONG RIBAO' On Armed Forces, Militia Relations
(Zhao Feng; DAZHONG RIBAO, 16 Aug 82) 71

Beijing PLA Utilizes Democratic Life Meetings
(RENMIN RIBAO, 24 Aug 82) 76

'GUANGMING RIBAO' Describes U.S.-USSR Space Race
(Liao Chunfa; GUANGMING RIBAO, 14 Aug 82) 78

Briefs
Qinghai Militia Rally 81

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Gansu Holds Political, Judicial Work Conference
(Gansu Provincial Service, 28 Aug 82) 82

Liaoning Holds Conference To Examine Intellectual Work
(Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service, 29 Aug 82) 84

Hebei Holds Forum On Literature, Art Development
(Hebei Provincial Service, 19 Aug 82) 86

'SICHUAN RIBAO' Holds 30th Anniversary Rally
(Sichuan Provincial Service, 30 Aug 82) 88

Shandong Radio Urges Reflecting Communist Ideals in Literary Works
(Shandong Provincial Service, 30 Aug 82) 89

Guangdong Party School Trains 6,812 Cadres
(NANFANG RIBAO, 30 Aug 82) 91

Guangxi Meeting On Grassroots Rectification
(Guangxi Regional Service, 28 Aug 82) 92

Shanghai To Raise Office Cadres' Education Level
(Shanghai City Service, 23 Aug 82) 93

Xizang's Yin Fatang To Attend CPC Congress
(Beijing Domestic Service, 31 Aug 82) 94

Guangdong Takes Measures On Intellectuals
(NANFANG RIBAO, 20 Aug 82) 95

Tianjin Article Urges Correct Attitude Toward Intellectuals
(Tianjin City Service, 23 Aug 82) 99

Achievements In Policy Toward Intellectuals
(Yunnan Provincial Service, 28 Aug 82) 101

Hebei Meeting Reviews Work On Intellectuals
(Hebei Provincial Service, 25 Aug 82) 102

'XINHUA' On Need for More Friends of Youth
(XINHUA, 25 Aug 82) 103

Li Chang Letter On Education In Discipline
(XINHUA, 29 Aug 82) 105

Urumqi Mayor On Training Minority Cadres
(XINHUA, 28 Aug 82) 107

Regulations On Work For Intellectuals Approved
(Hainan Island Service, 27 Aug 82) 108

Xinjiang Conference On Political, Legal Work
(Xinjiang Regional Service, 26 Aug 82) 110

'SHAANXI RIBAO' Calls For Ideological Change
(Song Zhengmin; SHAANXI RIBAO, 18 Aug 82) 111

Heilongjiang Vocational School Structural Reform
(Heilongjiang Provincial Service, 29 Aug 82) 113

Middle Schools Asked To Treat Boys, Girls Equally
(Zhang Yang; GUANGMING RIBAO, 11 Aug 82) 114

Party Education Reviewed At Taiyuan Steel Firm
(SHANXI RIBAO, 23 Aug 82) 115

Briefs
Qinghai Party Recruits Intellectuals 118
Human Education For Workers 118
Shaanxi Ideological Education 118
Tianjin Graduate Students 119
Shaanxi Policy Toward Intellectuals 119
Xinjiang Intellectuals' Promotion 119
Xinjiang Sports Meet Concludes 119

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Veteran Cadres, 'Three Types Of Undesirables'
(MING PAO, 3 Jul 82) 120

Rotational Training To Improve Cadre Quality
Meng Ju; MING PAO, 6 Jul 82) 122

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'GUOJI WENTI YANJIU' ON WEST GERMANY'S OSTPOLITIK

HK101303 Beijing GUOJI WENTI YANJIU in Chinese No 3, Jul 82 pp 20-28, 33

[Article by Jiang Jianqing [5592 1696 3237]: "Initial Reflection on West Germany's Ostpolitik"]

[Text] In the current turbulent and tense European situation, West Germany's Ostpolitik and its movements have attracted people's attention. Confronted with the tense east-West relations, a few upper-class elements in the West German ruling circle move between Moscow and Western capitals in an attempt to act as what they claim to be "messengers" between the United States and the Soviet Union. In August last year, Bonn received Leonid Brezhnev and subsequently the leaders of the German Democratic Republic [GDR] and the West German Government met in December. There are various indications that the contradictions between West Germany and the United States on policy toward the Soviet Union are becoming more acute day by day and the Soviet Union is taking advantage of the internal contradictions in the West to maneuver among the various countries and stir up trouble. West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt recently stated that although his foreign policy "is embarking on a rough and bumpy journey," "we shall never give up our policy on dialogue with the east, detente and cooperation." (Helmut Schmidt's speech at the Full Session of the West German Federal Diet on 5 February 1982).

West Germany's current Ostpolitik originated from the 1969 coalition government between the Social Democratic Party led by Willy Brandt and the Free Democratic Party. In the past dozen years, it has undergone two stages in its development. The first stage was from 1969 to 1975. West Germany signed a series of treaties with the Soviet Union and East European countries and, on the basis of recognizing the status quo, made some temporary compromises on the questions of territorial borders and the two Germanies left over from World War II. The "Berlin agreement" signed by the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France in September 1971 and the final documents of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1975 substantiated and affirmed some of the principles in the treaties stated above. The second stage began after the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe until the end of the 1970's. On the basis of the treaties, relations between West Germany on the one hand and the Soviet Union and East European countries on the other substantially developed in various aspects, whether politically, economically or in personnel exchanges. However, owing to the

fact that the Soviet Union wantonly pursued an "offensive strategy," east-West "detente" suffered setbacks. West Germany heightened its vigilance against the Soviet Union to some extent and stressed its intention to pursue a "realistic Ostpolitik." Since the beginning of the 1980's, as a result of the Afghan and Polish incidents, West Germany's Ostpolitik has been best with difficulties.

With respect to this policy of West Germany, international opinion as well as the West German Government and public have been talking about it from the start. Some praise it while others censure it. Some people consider that it signifies the emergence of a "German power base" in Western Europe and that it symbolizes that West Germany is moving toward the path of acting independently and taking the initiative. Others, however, consider that this constitutes the "self-neutrality" of West Germany. How should be look at this policy? What is the intention of the West German ruling circle in upholding this policy? How should we judge this tendency? In this article we shall try to make an initial reflection on these questions.

I

There was a historical background for the emergence of West Germany's Ostpolitik toward the end of the 1960's.

In postwar Europe, the German issue has always been an important one which affects the situation as a whole. Toward the end of World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union had already drawn the outline of a blueprint for the postwar order in Europe. This was what they called the "Yalta pattern." According to this pattern, Europe was divided into different spheres of influence. This resulted in the division of Eastern and Western Europe after the war. According to the "Yalta statement" and the "Potsdam agreement" signed by the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain in 1945, parts of the territory east of the Oder and Neisse rivers were incorporated into the Soviet Union and others were put under Polish jurisdiction; the rest of German territory as well as the whole of Berlin were occupied by the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France. It was stipulated in principle in the "Potsdam agreement" that it was necessary to rehabilitate Germany" on the basis of democracy and peace." However, in the early postwar period and even throughout the 1950's, the issue was brought into the orbit in which the United States and the Soviet Union contended for spheres of influence in Europe. The result was that Germany evolved from occupation by four countries into a split of East and West Germany and East and West Berlin. The Federal Republic of Germany [FRG] (West Germany) and the GDR were set up one after another and, following the participation of the two Germanies militarily in NATO and the Warsaw Pact and economically in the EEC and Comecon, the split of Germany deepened steadily.

During the Adenauer period (1949-1964), West Germany pursued an external policy of following the United States and siding with the West. Under the background of "cold war," the relations between West Germany on the one hand and the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe on the other were in a state of serious antagonism. The West German authorities declared that it was the only legal representative of Germany and that it did not recognize the GDR as a state

and neither did it accept the Oder and Neisse rivers as a border between the GDR and Poland. Although West Germany established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in 1955, it soon announced "Hallsteinism," claiming that with the exception of the Soviet Union, all other countries which established diplomatic relations with the GDR would cause West Germany to break off diplomatic relations with them. There were various causes which accounted for the implementation of this foreign policy by West Germany at that time. During the early postwar period, West German status was weak. Militarily it had to rely on U.S. protection; economically it had to look to the United States for support; politically it was handicapped in various respects because of its status as a vanquished country. It had to come under the strick control of the United States because its right to self-determination in foreign affairs was limited. This was the principal reason. On the other hand, the West German ruling circle also had its own scheme. Through concluding an alliance with the West, they managed to get a seat for themselves and laid a foundation for their future development. Relying on the United States, they energetically carried out a policy of isolation, infiltration and subversion against the GDR in an attempt to annex the GDR when the time was ripe.

However, great changes began to take place in the European situation during the 1960's, making it more and more difficult for the West German policy toward the Soviet Union and East European countries during the Adenauer period to adapt itself to the new situation.

First of all, changes occurred in a situation characterized by Soviet-American contention in Europe. The United States speedily fell from its peak hegemonist position in the early postwar period. It gradually lost its overwhelming military and economic superiority and was sinking deeper and deeper into the quagmire of its aggressive war in Vietnam, which seriously pinned down its strength. The Soviet Union, however, was catching up rapidly, particularly in the military field, and a "balance in nuclear terror" began to emerge. The change in the balance of forces ushered in a new period in the Soviet-American contention. The special feature of this period was that while intensively contending with each other, they also sought to achieve some compromise in order to avoid a head-on conflict; while desperately carrying out sabotage activities in the spheres of influence of other parties, they also vigorously safeguarded, and asked the other party to respect, their own spheres of influence. This feature was all the more obvious in Europe where the two great military blocs of the East and West seriously confronted each other. Likewise, with respect to the German issue, the United States sought to achieve a compromise with the Soviet Union while maintaining a split in Germany. As far back as in the mid-1950's, the Soviet Union had already practiced a two-German policy. During the 1960's, it proceeded to take advantage of the desire of the United States and other Western countries to seek a compromise and vigorously urged the West to recognize the status quo of two Germanies. During the Berlin Wall crisis in 1961, the United States was in a state of inertia. The "partial nuclear test ban treaty" signed by the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain in 1963 again revealed the intention of the United States and the Soviet Union to control the world. It also prohibited West Germany from taking a share in nuclear weapons. All these provoked West Germany to a very great extent and caused it to feel that it was no longer possible to depend on the United States to break the deadlock on the

German issue. In his memoir "Meetings and Reflections," Willy Brandt implicitly pointed out: "No force, or rather, no power politics was willing to help us to achieve the reunification of the country within a certain time limit." His conclusion was that "in order to promote a change in the present political situation, it was imperative for us to accept the present territorial conditions." (Willy Brandt: "Meetings and Reflections," pp 231-232)

Second, the tendency of European countries registered great advances both economically and politically. The establishment of the West European Common Market in 1956 signified a new step forward in the West European alliance. In order to counter the situation characterized by America-Soviet "domination of the world," they further sought their own way out during the 1960's. In 1965 Charles de Gaulle took the lead in raising the banner of acting independently and taking the initiative by raising the slogans of "detente, reconciliation and cooperation," advocating the idea of "Europe for the Europeans" "from the Atlantic to the Urals" and withdrawing from the NATO military organization. Other West European countries broke away from the domination of the United States in varying degrees by developing political and economic relations with the Soviet Union and East European countries one after another. At the same time, the emergence of "Prague's Spring" in Eastern Europe reverberated through the whole world. The Czechoslovak incident in 1968 was suppressed by Soviet military force but it served as a serious challenge to the Soviet hegemony by the East European countries. Various indications such as turbulence, division and realignment emerged within the East and West European countries and "the whole of Europe was generally prepared to adopt a flexible policy in the mid-1960's." (Helmut Schmidt: "Strategy of Balance of Power," p 48) It was an important subject for West Germany to adapt itself to the situation in its foreign policy. If it stubbornly clung to its rigid policy, it would face the danger of being isolated. Moreover, the changes in the European situation also objectively provided West Germany with an opportunity to seek its own developing so that it could take advantage of this opportunity to establish relations with the Soviet Union and East European countries and expand its room for maneuver in foreign affairs.

Third, the existence and gradual consolidation of the GDR was an objective fact and "Hallsteinism" became increasingly unworkable. After more than 20 years of development, the economic strength of the GDR was second only to that of the Soviet Union in COMECON while its per capita national income ranked first. It ranked 10th among the industrial powers in the world. Militarily it had established a considerably powerful "National People's Army." In external affairs it had also won increasingly great international recognition. From 1949 to 1963 it had established diplomatic relations with 13 countries and had developed economic and cultural contacts with a considerable number of countries. Numerous Third World countries were deliberating on establishing diplomatic relations with it. The policy of West Germany to isolate the GDR internationally ran into snags and was foiled everywhere. When Yugoslavia recognized the GDR in 1956, West Germany broke off diplomatic relations with it. In 1965, West Germany tried its utmost to prevent Walter Ulbricht, prime minister of the GDR from visiting Egypt (in addition to that, West Germany supported Israel). The result was that the Arab countries broke off diplomatic relations with West Germany one after another. When Iran, Syria and other Third World countries recognized the GDR in 1969, the West German

Government only referred to this as an "unfriendly act" and did not break off diplomatic relations with them. The situation showed that international recognition of the GDR has become an irresistible trend. If West Germany continued upholding "Hallsteinism," it would fall into a passive position and so the readjustment of its policy had become inevitable.

With the changes in the international situation, the changes in West Germany itself had also made the readjustment of its foreign policy not only necessary but also possible. In the 1960's, West Germany had already extricated itself from the difficult economic conditions originating from the early postwar period and had once again emerged in the Western world as an economic power. Take the year 1970 for example. The West German GNP ranked third in the West, second only to the United States and Japan while its industrial production ranked second. The proportion of its foreign trade volume in the capitalist world exceeded the prewar level of the whole of Germany and was almost on a par with the United States. It surpassed the other capitalist countries by a great margin. Its gold and foreign exchange reserves ranked first in the West surpassing the United States. The expansion of West German economic strength promoted it to look for new markets and both the Soviet Union and East European countries had a particular appeal to it. The expansion of the West German economic strength also prompted it to strive for a political status corresponding to its economic strength and to change the humiliating situation in which West Germany was likened to an "economic giant and a political pygmy."

Toward the end of the 1960's, after sizing up the situation, the West German ruling circle finally opened a new chapter in the West German postwar diplomacy by carrying out a "new Ostpolitik."

II

West Germany's Ostpolitik was deliberated on and formed over a certain period of time.

In order to conform to changes in the situation, Konrad Adenauer proposed to the Soviet Union in 1963 a "plan of solution by little steps" and expressed his readiness to improve relations with the Soviet Union by temporarily laying aside the German issue but this proposal was rejected by the Soviet Union. Later, West German Foreign Minister Gerhard Schroder again proposed a "flexible policy" in an attempt to bypass the Soviet Union and improve relations with the East European countries. However, it did not have much success. In 1969, the coalition government of the West German Christian Democratic Union [CDU], Christian Social Union [CSU] and Social Democratic Party [SDP] issued a "peace note" to the various governments in the world, in which it proposed the simultaneous declaration by West Germany on the one hand and the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia on the other on the renunciation of the use of arms. This also failed to produce any results. To counter this tendency in West Germany, the Soviet Union and some East European countries set forth definite terms for improving their relations with West Germany. In a statement issued by the "Conference of European Communist Parties and Workers' Parties" on 6 April 1967, they demanded that West Germany recognize the borders along the Oder and Neisse rivers, recognize the GDR, affirm the invalidity of the Munich

agreement from the start, renounce nuclear weapons, recognize West Berlin as an independent political entity and sign a treaty of security and cooperation in Europe. (West Germany: "A Handbook of German Foreign Policy," Munich (Pei Po) [6792 3380] Publishing House, 1975 Edition, p 610)

Under these circumstances, some political forces represented by the West German SDP started exploring new channels. Egon Bahr, known as a "designer" of the Ostpolitik, proposed in 1963 the idea of "seeking change through rapprochement," the chief content of which was to recognize the prevailing conditions in the postwar period in order to exchange for an improved relationship between West Germany and the eastern countries and to gradually promote changes in the present conditions through rapprochement in order to seek a final solution to the German issue. Later, this idea became the guiding ideology in formulating the Ostpolitik. At the SDP Congress held in Dortmund in 1966 Willy Brandt proposed that coexistence between the two Germanies would be arranged without recognizing international law and that West Germany was prepared to "make sacrifices on the borders." In 1967, the SDP sought the help of the Italian Communist Party [PCI] in linking up the relations between West Germany on the one hand the the Soviet Union and East European countries on the other. In 1968, at the SDP Congress in Nuremberg, Willy Brandt explicitly declared respect and recognition of the existing borders in Europe, particularly the existing Polish Western borders, until a peace treaty was signed ultimately determining the borders of Germany. He also declared mutual renunciation of the use of force between East and West Germany. However, the two parts of Germany were not foreign countries in the sense of international law. The future of Germany would be determined by all the German people freely and through self-determination. (Ibid., p 611) This view of Willy Brandt was the Ostpolitik in its embryonic form. In the same year, he again wrote an article in the U.S. Quarterly FOREIGN AFFAIRS, claiming that "West Germany is ready to proceed from reality" and rectify its previous foreign policy. (United States: FOREIGN AFFAIRS, QUARTERLY, no 4, 1968) Following the needs of the development of the situation, this policy of the SDP was gradually shaped into a concrete plan. It was disclosed that when Egon Bahr was head of the planning department of the ministry of foreign affairs in 1968, he supplied the West German government with a report on "Germany's future position in the world," in which he set forth three plans for the solution of the European security problem. He considered that "the best concrete means" to achieve the reunification of Germany was through the methods of establishing a "European security system," disbanding the existing Warsaw Pact and NATO blocs and providing the system with a guarantee by both the Soviet Union and the United States which were not members of the system. (West Germany: QUICK PICTORIAL, "Supplement" to the no 4 issue published on 27 September 1973 entitled "How Egon Bahr Plans to Neutralize Germany.") In June 1968, Egon Bahr again summed up the plans stated above into four concrete steps: First, recognition of the GDR; second, renunciation of the use of force and establishment of diplomatic relations with East European countries; third, reduction of the U.S. and Soviet military personnel stationed in Germany and their equipment; fourth, establishment of European security system. (U.S. QUARTERLY ON WORLD AFFAIRS, Globe No 4, 1973, pp 869-871) During this period, the various political forces in West German society and the big monopoly capital strongly demanded a change in the policy toward the Soviet Union and East European countries. In the West German

general election held in 1969, the CDU and the CSU which had been in power for 20 years were forced to relinquish power. The SDP and the Free Democratic Party [FDP] formed a coalition government. Great changes in the political situation paved the way for the implementation of the Ostpolitik.

A decisive step taken by West Germany in the vigorous implementation of the Ostpolitik was the signing of treaties with the Soviet Union and East European countries. The main content of these treaties was as follows:

1. On the question of territory and borders in the postwar period, it was clearly stated in the "Moscow Treaty" (August 1970) between West Germany and the Soviet Union and the "Warsaw Treaty" (November 1970) between West Germany and Poland that: both signatories to the treaty "strictly respect the territorial integrity and the existing borders of the various countries in Europe," neither party "has any territorial claim over the other and they will never raise any territorial claims in the future." It was also stated in the "Moscow Treaty" that the present and future borders of all European countries are inviolable and this includes the Western borders of the Polish People's Republic, namely boundary line along the Oder and Neisse rivers, as well as the boundary between the FRG and the GDR." ("The Relations Between the FRG and the GDR Arranged in the Basic Treaty," (Ka Hai-man-si) [0595 3189 2581 2448] Publishing House, Second Edition, 1975, p 236) The "Warsaw Treaty" reaffirmed Poland's western borders defined in the 1945 "Potsdam Agreement." The "Treaty on Mutual Relations" (June 1973) between West Germany and Czechoslovakia announced the invalidity of the 1938 "Munich Agreement."

2. On the two Germanies issue, it was stipulated in the "Basic Treaty" (November 1972) between East and West Germany that: Both countries "develop normal neighborly relations on the basis of equality;" that both parties "completely respect the territorial integrity of each country and, at present and in the future, respect the inviolability of the borders of both parties;" that "neither party will represent the other party in international affairs or be permitted to act in the name of the other party;" and that both parties set up permanent delegations in the government seat of the other party. The two countries also issued statements on the memorandum claue of the treaty. West Germany indicated that "the treaty does not solve the attribute of the state;" the GDR, however, declared that "the treaty contributes to the solution of the attribute of the state." (Ibid., p 49)

3. On the Berlin issue, while reaffirming their rights over Berlin, the four countries also stipulated in the "Berlin agreement" corresponding measures on various questions, such as guaranteeing the passage between West Germany and West Berlin and personnel exchanges between West and East Berlin as well as the GDR. They also allowed West Germany to represent West Berlin in international organizations and international conferences. (Ibid., pp 154-169)

4. They announced the renunciation of the use of force and the threat of force.

5. The realization of normalized relations between West Germany on the one hand and the Soviet Union and East European countries on the other and the development of economic scientific, technological, cultural and personnel exchanges.

It can thus be seen from the content stated above that this was the result of mutual compromise between West Germany on the one hand and the Soviet Union and East European countries on the other. This compromise was based on recognition of the status quo; however, it did not and could not fundamentally solve the German issue. In November 1972, just before East and West Germany signed the "Basic treaty," the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France issued a joint statement. Beside supporting the two Germanies joining the United Nations, they reaffirmed their "rights and obligations" toward the German issue. (Ibid., p 49) The West German Government also repeatedly claimed its reservation over the reunification of Germany. For example, when the "Moscow Treaty" was signed, West Germany unilaterally issued a statement, claiming that the treaty "is not in conflict with the political objective of West Germany, that is, that under the conditions of peace in Europe, the German people achieve their reunification freely and through self-determination." In May 1972, the Federal Diet approved a resolution as follows: The treaties signed with the eastern countries cannot replace the German Peace Treaty; the existing borders contained in the treaties are not the legal borders; the rights of the German people to self-determination should not be infringed upon and the German issue has not been solved. In 1972, the federal court announced "the legal validity of Germany's 1937 borders." In spite of this, West Germany succeeded in opening up a new way in its relations with the Soviet Union and East European countries through Ostpolitik and the deadlock in their mutual relations was finally broken.

III

How shall we evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of the Ostpolitik? Viewed from its practical results so far, the policy has both its advantages and disadvantages. The profits West Germany has gained can be summed up as follows:

1. It has improved West Germany's political status. This is precisely an important intention of the West German ruling circle in implementing the Ostpolitik. Willy Brandt has said without reservation: "An important content of our Ostpolitik is that we are more intensely concerned about our own affairs than we were before. We do not simply rely on other people to speak out for us.... By doing so we shall be able to enhance the importance the people in Western Europe, the Atlantic and the international working bodies attach to us. The Federal Republic has become more independent and, we should say, more awakened." (Willy Brandt: "Meetings and Reflections," pp 210-211) The changes brought about in West Germany's international status by the Ostpolitik were: First, as a result of establishing relations with the Soviet Union and East European countries, West Germany has managed to get the right to speak directly in reference to East-West relations. On major issues that have a direct bearing on its vital interests, West Germany can directly come into contact with the Soviet Union and East European countries without the necessity of relyong on the United States for everything. This can also allay its misgivings over the transactions concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union behind its back. Second, the solution of the problems left over from the war has improved the image of West Germany. This has also greatly reduced its diplomatic involvements and expanded its room for maneuver.

The result is that the Ostpolitik has transformed West German economic strength accumulated over the years into a powerful political momentum. In international organizations, in conferences of the North Atlantic Alliance, in the Third World and in the east, people are increasingly aware of the existence of Germany. The role of Germany is increasing everywhere." (Common Market Research No 3, 1981, entitled "France, Germany and Europe" by (Li-ge Xi-meng-ni-en) [6849 2706 6007 5536 1441 1869] of Saint Anthony's College, Exford) At present, in the Western alliance, West Germany has replaced Britain and France and become the principal ally of the United States. In the EC, West Germany has formed an axis with France, which has become a decisive force in promoting the unity of Europe. In East-West relations, West Germany has become a major target in Western Europe for the Soviet Union to win over. Naturally, these changes in West Germany's status are primarily due to its increased strength. However, the improvement of its international status brought about by the Ostpolitik and the expansion of its room for diplomatic maneuver also serve as an important factor.

2. It has improved the relations between East and West Germany and relatively stabilized the situation in West Berlin. The signing of the "Basic Treaty" has resulted in the emergence of what is called a "German-type coexistence" which is "normal in abnormal circumstances." The personnel exchanges which were stopped for a time after the construction of the Berlin Wall have markedly increased. The number of people who went to the GDR from West Germany and Berlin to visit their relatives and friends sharply increased from 2.5 million person times in 1970 to 8 million person times in 1978. During this period, the pensioners in the GDR who went to West Germany and West Berlin also totalled 1.38 million person times, an increase of one-third. Henceforward, personnel exchanges still remained at a relatively high level. It was only after the GDR raised last year the minimum amount of exchange for Western people in transit that the figures dropped to some extent. In the economic field, the volume of trade between East and West Germany increased by about 300 percent over 1968 or by 500 percent over 1960. The volume of trade between the GDR and West Germany accounted for about 10 percent of the former's volume of foreign trade, second only to its trade with the Soviet Union. At the insistence of West Germany, the GDR also enjoys favorable treatment with the EC in its trade with West Germany. During this period, in order to promote the economic relations between the two countries, West Germany has adopted various measures such as relaxing trade restrictions, increasing credits (providing 800 million DM of interest-free trade credits annually) and jointly building a number of big projects.

There are also marked changes in the West Berlin situation. The Berlin issue has always been a sensitive one in the postwar East-West relations. After the split of two Germanies, West Berlin became an "enclave" of the West in the Soviet sphere of influence. As far as the West is concerned, it is a sign that the four great powers are safeguarding their rights over the German issue. It also serves as a forward position of West Germany in its efforts to link up the relations between East and West Germany and to exert its influence over the GDR. Since the end of World War II, the Berlin issue has provoked major international crises on many occasions, such as the Berlin crisis in 1948-49, Khrushchev's ultimatum in 1958 and the Berlin Wall incident in 1961. Disturbances having a strong bearing on the situation as a whole have occurred

repeatedly. Although the 1971 "Berlin Treaty" failed to fundamentally solve the status of West Berlin, the Soviet Union had withdrawn from its stand of demanding that West Berlin become an "independent political entity" and had recognized the links between West Germany and West Berlin. In order to rope in West Germany, the Soviet Union no longer makes use of the Berlin issue to precipitate crises. That is why the situation in West Berlin has been basically stable in the past dozen years.

In light of the relations between East and West Germany and the situation in Berlin, we see that the West German ruling group's attempting to use the method of felling great oaks by little strokes to ultimately solve the question of Germany. There have been obvious changes in Western public opinion on this issue. While the United States and some Western European countries supported West Germany's Ostpolitik in the first place, one of their major considerations was the hope of freezing the question of Germany by this and relatively stabilizing the situation in Europe. The outcome of the Helsinki Conference on "Security and Cooperation in Europe" even made several Western public opinions think that German reunification is "dying a natural death." However, the width and depth of the exchanges between East and West Germany over the past decade has forced Western public opinion to look at this issue with new eyes. The "Question of Germany" has become outstanding again in the European situation during recent years. (Raymond Allon), a French writer, has written an article on this which was entitled "The Question of German Reunification Has Been Placed on the Agenda Again." However, this kind of change in Western public opinion did not imply that the objective conditions for for the reunification of Germany exist at present. The Western countries are giving enormous publicity to this because, first, they are afraid that such a development will ultimately open up a channel for German reunification and consequently disturb the situation in Europe; second, they feel that it is difficult to ascertain the stand and trends of the rising West Germany and thus, intend to place restrictions in advance. The West German ruling group has been cautiously responding to this in public. On the one hand, they have tried their best to maintain and promote relations between East and West Germany, and on the other hand, they tried to keep this secret. Over the last few years, they have repeatedly stressed that they must maintain the "continuity" and "predictability" of their diplomacy. Apparently, this is meant to pacify the allied countries.

3. The expansion of influence in Eastern Europe. One of West Germany's strategic demands is to win over Eastern Europe. Eastern Europe neighbors West Germany and has traditional historical relations with West Germany. Before the war, the Eastern European countries were an important market for German goods. Taking 1937 (or 1938), a period shortly before the war, as an example, trade with Germany accounted for 17.8 percent of the total foreign trade volume of Poland, one-third of that of Czechoslovakia, 25 percent of that of Hungary, 40.1 percent of that of Romania, 55.2 percent of that of Bulgaria and 30 percent of that of Yugoslavia. Trade with Germany occupied the first position in the foreign trade of all these countries. (Trade with the Soviet Union was less important, comparatively speaking, to Germany. In 1938, trade with the Soviet Union only accounted for 0.8 percent of Germany's total foreign trade, and trade with Germany only accounted for 4.1 percent of the Soviet Union's foreign trade.) (West Germany's "Trade With the East Is at a Crisis", published by Munich's (Gunther Wolzocker 1976). For some time after the war,

the economic relations between West Germany and this region were almost totally suspended. One of the significant intentions of the West German ruling group of implementing Ostpolitik is, by means of long-term penetration, to turn Eastern Europe into a political and military "buffer zone" between West Germany and the Soviet Union in order to reduce the Soviet threat and create conditions for German reunification. Economically speaking, this will also help to rebuild its sphere of influence. Over the past 10 years, West Germany has "normalized" political relations with the various Eastern European countries. In addition, the temporary settlement of the question of territorial boundaries has improved others impression of West Germany and the spirit of "German revanchism" is not as threatening at it was during the "dold war period." All this has greatly eliminated the obstacles to the development of relations. West Germany is most concerned about winning Poland, of all the East European countries, over. When Willy Brandt visited Poland in 1970, he surprised others by kneeling down in Warsaw in front of the monument to the Jews who sacrificed themselves, trying to win popularity among the Eastern European people by "atoning for" the crimes committed. In 1975, three agreements were signed between West Germany and Poland on the following: West Germany will give Poland 1.3 billion Marks as "subsidies for the aged who were wounded in the war," and a financial loan of 1 billion Marks while Poland agreed to let 120,000 German people emigrate to West Germany. During recent years, Poland has obtained huge loans from Western countries. Of these loans, West Germany is the major creditor. West German Press said that "this encourages Poland to strive for more independence and freedom." During the recent "Poland incident," West Germany tried very hard to maintain a rather aloof attitude among the Western countries. It still maintains close official contact with Poland with intent to retain and expand its influence.

4. Great economic returns. West Germany's trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe grew rapidly in the 1970's. Of this, trade between West Germany and the Soviet Union increased by 680 percent (West Germany's total foreign trade increased by 160 percent during this time and the Soviet Union's trade with Western countries increased by 450 percent). West Germany's trade with Eastern European countries increased by more than 200 percent (roughly accounting for one-tenth of Eastern Europe's total trade with Western countries), and in this respect West Germany occupied the most dominant position among the Western countries. As viewed from the structure of trade, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe mainly imported equipment and technology from West Germany. This accounted for more than 50 percent of the total imported goods. The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe were the major markets for certain West German industrial products such as steel tubing, machine tools and so forth. On the other hand, West Germany mainly imported raw materials and semiprocessed products from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. According to statistics, the proportions of imported raw materials from the Soviet Union in the total raw material imports of West Germany are: enriched uranium 55 percent; natural gas, 18 percent; petroleum, 4 percent; asbestos, 30 percent; chromium, 28 percent; cotton, 18 percent; and processed timber, 11 percent. In light of this, we see that the Soviet Union has already become an important supplying country of fuel and raw materials to West Germany. In addition to Western Europe and North America, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are important places for export of West Germany's capital. According to information provided by West Germany, among the Western creditors of the Soviet Union and the Eastern

European countries, West Germany is the principal creditor. As of 1980, the proportion of loans extended by West Germany in the total foreign debts of the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia is respectively 19 percent, 17 percent, 100 percent, 12 percent, 17 percent and 4 percent. (West Germany's DER SPIEGEL No 29, 23d February, 1981, p 109) During this time, another great development in the economic relations between West Germany and the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe was the joint construction of a group of large-scale and long-term projects. There were several hundred such projects in the Soviet Union, among which there was one of the world's largest iron and steel joint enterprises, the (Oskar) Electrometallurgical Corporation. The business of the natural gas pipeline recently agreed between the Soviet Union and certain Western European countries including West Germany and France is of a larger scale and is considered as the biggest deal in history between the East and the West. In short, West Germany is now the greatest Western business partner "production partner," and creditor country of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Such economic relations not only obviously show the political significance but also show the mutual economic reliance between these countries. As far as West Germany is concerned, such economic relations look more attractive because it is now enveloped by the Western economic crisis, and the acute trade war and currency war.

However, the negative side of Ostpolitik is also very obvious and cannot be neglected.

Objectively speaking, this policy is subject to Soviet strategic demands. At present, the main strategic goals of the Soviet Union in the European continent are: 1) Consolidating its sphere of influence in Eastern Europe with a strong military backing, and maintaining the post-war split situation in Europe, and particularly, the split between East and West Germany; 2) By means of the "detente offensive," relax the vigilance of the West, sow seeds of discord between Europe and the United States and among the Western European countries, disintegrate NATO, and create certain advantageous "neutral situations" in Western Europe; 3) Strengthen its efforts in outflanking Europe on its fringes, seize and occupy strategic natural resources, strategic points and channels, and trap Western Europe into a situation in which it will be unable to fight even if it wants to and thus to gradually control the whole of Europe. Undoubtedly, the above-mentioned Soviet strategic goals and the basic intentions of West Germany's Ostpolitik are fundamentally antagonistic. However, in view of the practical effect today, they have some similar points. In the "(Ostvertrag)" and the last documents of the "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe," West Germany acknowledged the post-war territorial boundaries and the current situation of two Germanies, thus enabling the Soviet Union to temporarily realize its hope of maintaining a split situation in Europe and maintaining its sphere of influence in Eastern Europe. The "detente" with the east brings great benefits to West Germany and thus causes contradictions to varying degrees among its American and European allies. This gives the Soviet Union a chance to practice its policy of blackmail and disintegration. Over the last few years, on the question of deployment of neutron bombs and medium-range nuclear weapons in the West, and in the Afghanistan and Poland incidents, the Soviet Union has made use of the above-mentioned contradictions to manoeuvre among various groups, take various provocative measures and try to win West Germany over, and it has been quite

successful in all this. The economic relations between West Germany and the Soviet Union make up for the deficit of Soviet capital and technology, and are conducive to easing its internal contradictions and accelerating arms expansion and war preparations. In a tone of taking pleasure in others' misfortune, the Soviet press recently said that, "the example of West Germany discloses the profoundness of the contradictions in the policy of the Western European countries, and in particular, the NATO member countries." ("The United States and Western Europe in a Tense International Situation" written by (Wolonzov), carried in the Soviet magazine MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, No 11, 1981)

Certain Western figures called the "detente policy" a knife which is pointed at both ends, bringing various difficulties and complicated consequences to both the Soviet Union and the West. Certainly, West Germany's Ostpolitik is also like this. Fundamentally speaking, this is a rivalry between the West German ruling group and the Soviet hegemonists who are engaging in mutual infiltration and acute contention. West Germany has both its strong points and weak points in this position. However, generally speaking, West Germany is in a more sentitive and fragile position than the Soviet Union and is thus subject to greater perils.

IV

What is the present situation and the trend of development of West Germany's Ostpolitik?

This policy has encountered various difficulties since stepping into the 1980's.

One of the difficulties is, West Germany finds itself in an embarrassing situation in the wake of the intensified contradictions between the East and the West. While implementing the "detente offensive" in the 1970's, the Soviet Union also strived for arms expansion and war preparations. It has achieved a parallel situation with the United States as far as strategic nuclear weapons are concerned, developed a superior position to NATO on conventional armaments on the European continent, and has greatly surpassed the European countries as far as the medium-range nuclear weapons are concerned. This gives rise to a trend unfavorable to the West in the balance of military power between the east and the West, and makes U.S. military protection of Western Europe, which is not very reliable in the first place, become more shaky. During this time, the Soviet Union even initiated an armed invasion of Afghanistan and wantonly interfered with the situation in Poland, bringing about a crisis in the "detente" between the east and the West. In a situation like this, West Germany finds itself in an embarrassing situation and sandwiched between certain groups. West Germany cannot remain mute to Soviet threats of expansion because, after all, the Soviet Union is its principal opponent. The West German strategic principle of "defence plus detente equals security" remains unchanged, and NATO's military strength is its support in pushing forward the "detente policy." Thus, West Germany called on the West in 1977 to be alert to Soviet deployment of SS-20 missiles, it urged and supported and promised to undertake in 1979 NATO's "dual resolution" on deploying U.S. medium-range nuclear weapons. However, West Germany also worries that the

intensification of the East-West relations will lead to a blockage in the "detente" channel, destroying in one moment the achievements that Ostpolitik has brought in the past several years. West Germany also worries about the Reagan administration's "new policy of control," fearing that the United States will strengthen control with this and engage in direct business transactions with the Soviet Union bypassing the Western European countries. Regarding the U.S. demand that the Western countries take joint action in imposing economic sanctions on the Soviet Union, the West German authorities feign compliance; they also strongly resist the pressure exerted by the United States which forces them to abandon the natural gas pipeline business with the Soviet Union. However, the difficulties that West Germany encounters in the actual situation are: How, on the one hand, to resist the Soviet threat of expansion and on the other hand, to maintain economic and political exchanges with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; how, on the one hand, to resist U.S. intentions and strengthening control and on the other hand, maintain a certain unity between Western countries against the Soviet Union. Western public opinion have figuratively described Schmidt's situation as wirewalking between the east and the West and that, with even a little bias, he will readily lose his balance.

The second difficulty is, how should West Germany deal with the turbulent situation in Eastern Europe? The turbulent situation in Eastern Europe, symbolized by the Poland incident, is an acute question which affects the overall situation in Europe. The wishful thinking of the West German ruling group is to wait for an orderly development of the situation in Eastern Europe so as to avoid great hazards. However, due to various reasons, the struggle within Eastern Europe for internal reforms and to get rid of external Soviet control is growing tenser. The actual danger to West Germany is that, once there is Soviet armed interference when the situation deteriorates, the originally weak "detente" between the East and the West will possibly die a premature death. It would be difficult for West Germany to stand aloof in such a situation. Thus, in the development of the Poland incident, the West German government withstood pressure exerted by both the Soviet Union and the United States, trying to appear meek and subservient, avoiding fierce responses and waiting for the situation to calm down. However, there are certain objective laws governing the development of the situation in Eastern Europe. The question of how West Germany should conform to the situation and consequently properly handle it, is still waiting solution.

The third difficulty is the internal controversy of the West German ruling group. There is no fundamental divergence on the basic goals that they pursue including improving relations with Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The CDU and the CSU the powerful opposition parties in West Germany, have explicitly declared their stand that they will follow the "(Ostvertrag)" after assuming power. The divergence lies in how to implement Ostpolitik. The "left-wing force" inside the SDP represented by Willy Brandt, Herbert Wehner and Egon Bahr, is not content with the status quo. They hold that the targets pursued by Ostpolitik dovetail one another and need to be pushed forward step by step. They worry that the end-product of the Helsinki "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe" will lead to a permanent divided situation of Germany.

Thus, they advocate stepping up West German relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, not accepting U.S. interference and not excessively responding to the global scramble of the United States and the Soviet Union. This party gained the support of the "young SDP members" inside the SDP, whereas in the West German society, it was responded to by peace campaigns which shouted anti-U.S., antiwar and antinuclear slogans. This was quite strong for some time. On the other hand, the "conservative force" represented by Strauss, hold that it is necessary to "maintain exchanges" and make "reciprocal concessions" to the Soviet Union, not weakening the situation of defence because of "detente" and not providing conditions for "a split in Europe or in the Pacific areas." (Strauss' talk to the French L'EXPRESS reporter on 24 September 1979; Strauss' talk to the West German DER SPIEGEL reporter on 29 September 1980) They advocate improving German-U.S. relations and more strongly responding to Soviet expansion. The West German Government is already in a difficult situation in the current economic depression, and the diplomatic controversy has further restrained its operating capacity.

The current party in power in West Germany seeks to take the advocations of various parties into consideration. In the face of the above-mentioned difficulties, they attempt to maintain relatively stable international relations. They resolutely uphold NATO's "dual resolution." Being confronted with opposition inside the country, Schmidt and Genscher threatened to resign in order to support this resolution within their respective parties. They have paid frequent visits to the United States and Europe in order to coordinate the stand among the Western countries. In actual practice, they have tried to keep pace with France and other Western European countries in order to prevent reckless action and eliminate the doubts of the West. As far as the relations with the east are concerned, they stress "slow advancement with small steps" and a "cautious attitude." Nevertheless, they still have difficulty making progress in the actual situation.

The future of United States's Ostpolitik depends on various factors. It depends on the development of East-West relations and whether or not the upheaval in Eastern Europe is kept under control., it depends on whether the internal contradictions of Europe and the United States can remain in a state of "grand alliance and petty disputes," whether or not unity of Western Europe can be steadily pushed forward, and depends on the degree of stability of the West German political situation. In view of the various above-mentioned factors, there are roughly three possible prospects of Ostpolitik:

1. Ostpolitik will die a premature death. This possibility cannot be ruled out if East-West relations deteriorate (such as the Soviet Union's sending troops into Poland and Soviet armed occupation of the Persian Gulf). However, since the current military strength of the United States and the Soviet Union parallels each other and the two big camps, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization are in an antagonistic position in Europe, both parties will seek to make a compromise and East-West relations will not be endlessly intensified. West Germany can still make changes in the current international situation.

2. West Germany will be "neutralized." Although there is much contention on this in the West, their meaning of the contention varies to a certain extent. The so-called "neutrality" in certain public opinion means that West Germany

takes a relatively independent stand between the United States and the Soviet Union and will not endlessly follow the United States. Most of such public opinion has come from the United States. Viewed from this angle, such a "neutral" trend is a manifestation of the hard efforts of West Germany and the Western European union in giving play to more independent roles in the international situation. It not only exists objectively but will be continuously developed. The "neutrality" meant by other Western public opinion is a fear that Germany will achieve its reunification at the expense of breaking away from the Western alliance. The possibility of this is not great regardless of from what sources it has been deduced. Although West Germany is stronger than before, its power is still limited. It does not have nuclear weapons (the international powers forbid it from doing so), and cannot do without U.S. military protection. West Germany gets economic benefits mainly from Western Europe and North America, 63 percent of its total exports are exported to these areas and most of its foreign investment is also in these areas. West Germany must weigh the advantages and disadvantages of these areas before taking any important political action. Although the Soviet Union has a "German card" on hand, but in most predictable situations it is nothing but a bait to trap West Germany into its scope of hegemonism and lure it from NATO. The West German ruling group will not easily fall into this trap.

3. Following the track of the current policy and in the wake of the changes in the situation, watching for an opportunity to promote relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. As viewed from the current situation, this is a more practical possibility.

In view of the overall situation, Europe is in troubled times. The scramble for power between the United States and the Soviet Union in this area is still the fundamental cause of the turbulent situation. However, the situation-controlling ability of both of them is declining. Whether it is in Western or Eastern Europe, the trend of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in one's own hands is developing. Western Europe, in particular, is seeking an international status which accords with its strength. However, Western Europe encounters complicated problems. The dark clouds of war as a result of the deployment of large-scale nuclear weapons and regulr weapons and the current economic crisis paint an ominous picture of the impending storm. West Germany, which is situated along the front borders of NATO, is a gathering place of all kinds of contradictions and is in a sensitive position. It has decisive influence over the situation in Europe. Studying the possible changes of West Germany is still an important topic in viewing the situation of Europe.

From a strategic point of view, Germany and the United States are dependent on each other and neither can do without the other. West Germany is the most important U.S. ally in Western Europe because of its strategic position, great economic and technical strength and powerful military potential. U.S. regular armed forces of some 230,000 soldiers are stationed in West Germany and some 6,000 strategic nuclear warheads are stored there. According to NATO's resolution on supplementing armament, 572 medium-range missiles will be developed in Western Europe from 1983, the majority of which will be deployed in West Germany. These will include 108 Pershing II missiles and 98 cruise missiles. The United States takes West Germany as its outpost base in countering the

Soviet Union. On the other hand, West Germany has provided NATO will well-equipped ground forces of 500,000 men and considerable naval and air forces, forming a hard core of NATO in Europe. Some people say that the United States and West Germany are the two columns of NATO. This is not at all exaggerated. In a certain sense, if the United States loses West Germany, it means losing the whole of Western Europe and if it loses Western Europe, the whole U.S. strategic position will fundamentally change--therefore, the United States will definitely not abandon West Germany now will it allow West Germany to become "neutral." On the other hand, the United States is also indispensable, in certain senses, to West Germany. West Germany relies on U.S. nuclear protection and stationed armed forces to guarantee security. In addition, the United States is also "responsible" for achieving German reunification and is one of the masters of West Berlin. For the sake of withstanding Soviet pressure on the question of Germany and West Berlin, West Germany cannot do without U.S. support. Apart from all this, it is under the premise of "balancing" East-West power that West Germany pushes forward the detente policy. It is impossible to maintain a "balanced" position divorced from U.S. military support. Otherwise West Germany will easily fall into the hands of the Soviet Union and will be unable to talk about implementing the detente policy.

As viewed from the economic relations, German and U.S. capital infiltrate into each other. According to the figures published in the August 1981 Edition of SURVEY OF CURRENT BUSINESS by the Bureau of Economic Analysis of the Department of Commerce, as of the end of 1980, U.S. investment in West Germany amounted to $15.39 billion, accounting for 7.2 percent of total U.S. overseas investment ($213.4 billion). This proportion's tending to rise. About half of West Germany's electronics industry is under the control of U.S. capital. On the other hand, German investment in the United States amounted to $5.29 billion, accounting for 8 percent of total foreign investment in the United States ($65.48 billion). Such a situation of mutual independence enables the two countries to share weal and woe and go through thick and thin together.

As viewed from the people's feelings, in the face of pressing Soviet threats, the majority of the West Germans support NATO and favor forming an alliance with the United States. According to a opinion poll conducted in 1981 by the U.S. International Communications Agency in five Western European countries, 64 percent of those questioned in West Germany supported NATO, exceeding the relevant percentage in England (59 percent), the Netherlands (56 percent) and Italy (50 percent) which are famous for their support of the United States. According to a U.S. Gallop Poll at the beginning of 1982, the percentage of people in West Germany who had "very good" and "good" impressions of the United States was the highest among European allies. The most important thing is that among the major political parties in West Germany, apart for the "left" wings of the SDP the Free Democratic Party, the right wing leaders of the SDP and the Free Democratic Party and the in-power CDU-CSU all advocate being based on NATO and maintaining an alliance with the United States.

As a matter of fact, proceeding from the overall situation of uniting to fight against the Soviet Union, despite fierce wrangling, the two countries must make concessions and reach certain compromises. For instance, on the question of the talks on medium-range nuclear weapons, the United States has in fact abandoned the principle of "linkage," and West Germany has reassured that if the talks still fail to bring results by the end of 1983, it will agree to deploy medium-range missiles in West Germany; on the question of Poland, the United States approved West Germany's withdrawal from imposing economic sanctions on the Soviet Union and West Germany also accepted the stand that the Soviet Union was "responsible" for the Poland incident; on the question of the natural gas pipeline deal, although the United States still objects to this, it has no other alternative but to let West Germany carry on with its deal. In this sense, it will be hard for the Soviet Union to fulfill its plot of winning West Germany over and dismantling the German-U.S. alliance. However, German-U.S. contradictions will undergo a development of ups and downs in between the such a development will give the Soviet Union a chance to fulfill its intentions, intensifying the scramble for West Germany between the Soviet Union and the United States.

CSO: 4005/1225

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JAPAN'S NAGASAKI DELEGATION VISITS FUJIAN

OW060931 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 17 Jul 82 OW

[Text] A six-member delegation for the promotion of friendly ties between Nagasaki Prefecture and Fujian Province, headed by (Shibasaki Yoshibumi), chief disbursing officer [Chu Na Zhang 0427 4780 7022] of Nagasaki Prefecture, Japan, arrived in our province yesterday at the invitation of the Provincial People's Government to discuss matters concerning the establishment of friendly province-prefecture ties. The delegation was greeted at the airport by responsible comrades of the general office of the Provincial Government and the Provincial Foreign Affairs Office.

Vice Governor Wen Fushan and responsible persons of departments concerned yesterday afternoon met with and gave a banquet for all the members of the Nagasaki Prefectural delegation.

Responsible comrades of the general office of the Provincial Government, the Provincial Import and Export Office and the Provincial Foreign Affairs Office today had a cordial and friendly talk with the Japanese guests on the establishment of friendly relations between Fujian Province and Nagasaki Prefecture. At the meeting, the two sides reached agreement on all relevant questions and decided to establish formal friendly province-prefecture relations at an appropriate time later this year.

China and Japan are close neighbors separated only by a strip of water. Fujian Province and Nagasaki Prefecture have a long history of friendly association. With the normalization of relations between China and Japan, the Association and Friendship between Fujian and Nagasaki have again grown tremendously. In October 1980, Fuzhou City, of Fujian Province, and Angasaki City, of Nagasaki Prefecture, became friendly cities. Now Fujian Province and Nagasaki Prefecture are soon to become friendly province and prefecture. This will enhance understanding and friendship between the people of Fujian and Nagasaki and promote economic and cultural exchanges between them.

While in Fuzhou, the Japanese guests visited Gushan. They will go to Quanzhou and Xiamen tomorrow.

CSO: 4005/1225

BRIEFS

GANSU DELEGATION TO JAPAN--The Gansu provincial people's government friendship delegation headed by Li Dengying, governor of the province, left Lanzhou for Japan's Akita on 29 July. Friendly ties will soon be formed between Gansu Province and Japan's Akita. A goodwill delegation organized by the Lanzhou people's government and headed by (Wu Xiuliang), mayor of Lanzhou Municipality, also left for Akita. [SK312238 Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 30 Jul 82 SK]

GANSU-AKITA FRIENDLY TIES--The signing ceremony for the protocol of forming friendship ties between Gansu Province and Akita Prefecture, Japan, and between Lanzhou Municipality and Akita City was held on 5 August at the Great Auditorium of the Akita City Cultural Palace. Li Dengying, governor of Gansu Province, (Wu Xiuliang, mayor of Lanzhou Municipality, the governor of Akita Prefecture and the mayor of Akita City affixed their signatures on the protocol. Song Zhiguang, China's ambassador to Japan, attended the ceremony. Two governors and mayors spoke at the ceremony, acclaiming the establishment of friendly relations between Gansu and Akita and wishing to further develop cooperations and exchanges between both sides. In addition, an exhibition on China's Dunhuang Prescoes was opened in Akita on 5 August. [SK080054 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 6 Aug 82 SK]

SHANGHAI DELEGATION TO YOKOHAMA--A six-member delegation of the Shanghai Municipal People's Government, headed by Vice Mayor Zhao Xingzhi, left Shanghai on 2 July for Yokohama, Japan. The delegation will talk with the authorities concerned in Yokohama on exchanges between the two cities during 1982-1983. On departure, the delegation was seen off at the airport by Vice Mayor Han Zheyi and other comrades. [OW020256 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 2 Jul 82 OW]

SHANDONG GOVERNOR LEAVES FOR JAPAN--A Shandong delegation left for Japan via Beijing on 6 August. The delegation was joined by Governor Su Yiran, who was in Beijing, and is to leave Beijing for Yamaguchi Prefecture, Japan. The delegation will sign a friendship pact between Shandong Province and the prefecture on 12 August. [SK080058 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 6 Aug 82 SK]

JILIN DELEGATION FROM DPRK--Having concluded its visit to Chagang Province in the DPRK, the Jilin provincial friendly visiting delegation headed by (Li Zhenjiang) returned to Changchun on 11 August. Luo Yuejia, deputy governor of Jilin Province, met them at the station. During its visit to Chagang Province, the delegation was warmly welcomed by the People's Committee of Chagang Province. [SK121040 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Aug 82 SK]

DJIBOUTI DELEGATION IN GANSU--A delegation from the Republic of Djibouti headed by the chairman of the Permanent Committee of the Republic's Parliament visited Lanzhou, Gansu Province, 18 and 19 August. Liu Haishan, vice chairman of the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, met with the delegation. The delegation was the first group of guests from Djibouti the province has ever received. [SK212238 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 20 Aug 82 SK]

CSO: 4005/1225

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON MODEL PARTY MEMBER PAN ZILI

HK261431 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Aug 82 p 5

[Article by Ma Wenrui [7456 2429 3843] and Yang Chengwu [2799 2052 2976]: "A Model Party Member, An Ordinary Soldier--In Memory of Comrade Pan Zili"]

[Text] It is a decade since Comrade Pan Zili passed away. We deeply cherish the memory of this veteran cadre and party member who commanded great respect among cadres and people.

Comrade Pan Zili was a native of Hua County, Shaanxi. Born in 1904, he joined the Socialist Youth League in 1923. At Zhongshan University in Moscow, he became a Communist Party member in 1926. After his return to the country, he successively acted as secretary of the Shaanxi Provincial CYL Committee, the party's special envoy to east Shaanxi and concurrently secretary of the party committee of Weinan County, and secretary of the Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee. He led the well-known Weihua uprising. In 1931, he went to study in France. From the summer of 1934 to October 1936, Comrade Zili worked with the front army of the Red 4th Army and participated in the long march. In December 1936, Comrade Zili participated in seeking a peaceful solution to the Xian incident. After the incident, he acted as director of the propaganda department of the Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee. From January 1938 to 1949, he successively acted in north China as head of the propaganda department of the Shanxi-Chaha-Hebei military region and head of the propaganda department of the political department of the field army; deputy director and director of the political department of the 19th corps. After national liberation, he successively served as secretary of the Ningxia CPC Provincial Committee and chairman of the provincial government; secretary of the Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee and vice chairman of the provincial government; and our ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Korea, to India (and concurrently Nepal) and to the Soviet Union. At the eighth national party congress, he was elected an alternate member of the CPC Central Committee.

During his life, Comrade Pan Zili was on many occasions cited as a model party member and model cadre. He was worthy of being called a model for everyone. This was because he always maintained the features of an ordinary party member, an ordinary fighter and an ordinary worker. In terms of

seniority, he was a veteran comrade who participated in the revolution when the party was first founded. In terms of academic attainments, he was a returned student from the Soviet Union and from France. When it came to the matter of jobs, he acted as a provincial party committee secretary as [words indistinct] conceited and self-complacent. He always acted in the role of an ordinary soldier, faithfully following the party's orders, carring out the party's policy, and trying to unite those comrades inside and outside the party. He always maintained the revolutionary style of living a simple and hard life and honestly serving the public.

Obeying the Party's Orders in All Matters

In 1934, the party central committee sent Comrade Zili to work with the front army of the Red 4th Army. Zhang Guotao did not trust him and refused to give him a proper job. Later, Zhang Guotao assigned him to the communications team of an organ of the army and the propaganda department of the political department. This was supposedly to let him "help with the work." Actually, Comrade Zili was being subjected to "house arrest." With an open mind, he subjected himself to an investigation by the army organizations and energetically performed such duties as should be carried out. Without showing the least hesitation, he twice made it across snowbound mountains and through rolling grasslands, displaying infinite loyalty to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

In the early stage of the anti-Japanese war, Comrade Zili acted as head of the propaganda department of the political department of Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei military region. At that time, the director of the security department had doubts about him. In a move to prevent a "mopping-up operation," the director even inspected the satchel carried by a guard of Zili's. Zili did not get angry at this. Nor was he discouraged. He kept on working as before. To make a success of the "FRATERNAL SOLDIERS' PAPER," an organ of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei military region, he seriously checked everything from the selection of material, editing, the writing of comments and the review of illustrations to lithographic printing. He never overlooked the slightest error, or even a single punctuation mark. To run the "Anti-Enemy Drama Society" well, he aroused and organized the comrades of the society to "join the army" and "go to the countryside," so that they could get acquainted with the fighters and with the peasants. He also guided writers in writing scripts. He directed the rehearsal and presentation of plays. He organized forums and solicited the spectators' opinions after a performance. On one occasion, the Japanese aggressor troops launched a rabid "mopping-up" operation against the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei military region. At that time, it was not Comrade Zili's duty to direct military operations. But he brought a correspondent to the front and joined the comrades of the Jingxing detachment in fighting for 3 months.

In working for the party, Comrade Zili never thought of personal fame or gain. During the anti-Japanese war, a certain comrade worked under Comrade Zili. But this comrade became his superior during the war of liberation. Comrade Zili sincerely and consciously showed him respect and support in his work. After the liberation of Ningxia, the party wanted to have Comrade Zili transferred from the army to a local government organ. He was to remain working in Ningxia, which involved relatively great hardships. Uncomplainingly, he at once acted as ordered. Later, the party appointed Comrade Zili as ambassador to Korea just after the conclusion of the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea and as ambassador to the Soviet Union when the Soviet leaders had begun an anti-China campaign. He unhesitatingly and gladly accepted these appointments. During "the Great Cultural Revolution," 65-year-old Comrade Zili never absented himself when subjected to a period of labor with the "May 7 Cadres School." Sometimes, he even worked in the paddyfields.

In 1944, in its historical conclusions about Comrade Zili, the party central organs pointed out: "Comrade Pan Zili never committed any improper act in the whole period from his arrest in 1928 until his release from prison in 1930." "His accepting help from Yang Hucheng to go to study abroad involved nothing harmful to the party. Previous doubts about Comrade Pan Zili were unfounded. Given lack of complete trust from the party after his return to the country, he consistently worked for the party without uttering a word of complaint. This showed his loyalty to the party. Therefore, it has been decided to reinstate Comrade Pan Zili as a party member and to put complete trust in him politically." In a conclusion after a reinvestigation of Comrade Pan Zili, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs again reaffirmed the above conclusion. This conclusion was entirely in line with the historical background of Comrade Zili and was the party central committee's correct assessment of Comrade Zili politically.

Implementing the Party's Policy in an Exemplary Way

In the later stage of the anti-Japanese war, when the "three check-ups" and "three improvements" were under way in the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei area, Comrade Zili said: Where there are historical problems, a check-up must be made. Where there are drawbacks, a criticism must be made. But we must act according to policy and can not do things in an over-simplified way. He helped Nie Rongzhen and other leading comrades in launching this campaign, so that it proceeded in a relatively satisfactory and healthy way. In 1945, when the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei military region called a democratic meeting, some comrades of the "Anti-Enemy Drama Society" put forth very wrong views to the leaders of the military region. At that time, some comrades considered that this was "opposing the leadership." They urged looking for people of "Wang Shiwei's" type in the drama society. Comrade Zili did not do so. Instead, he started a criticism and self-criticism campaign which was not only solemn and serious but also moderate and gentle. This aroused many errant comrades to consciously realize and correct their mistakes. Comrade Zili never suspected a person for no reason. In his approach to cadres involved with historical problems,

he tried by every means to look for witnesses. So long as the historical problems involving a person had been clarified, he trusted and employed him. In his 10-odd years in the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei area, he never wrongly treated a cadre. Nor did he ever employ a bad person. Those cadres who worked directly under him had deep affection for him. Even now, at the very mention of Comrade Zili, some comrades cannot keep their tears from spilling over.

From October 1949 to October 1951, Comrade Zili took charge of leadership work in Ningxia. He took into full consideration Ningxia's basic feature--a community chiefly consisted of Hui and Mongolian people. He strictly carried out the party's nationalities policy.

In the land reform movement, Comrade Zili led a work group to conduct an experiment in a village of Ningshuo County. He drew on the experience from the experiment to solve a series of concrete policy problems in the land reform in Ningxia. Those landlords among people of minority nationalities, who assumed a relatively good attitude toward our party and the laboring people before liberation and who revolted and crossed over at the time of liberation were not subjected to struggle and arrest. They were persuaded by every means to hand over the land and "movable property" that should be seized. Concerning those landlords who were subjected to struggle and arrest, attention was paid to respecting the customs and habits of minority nationalities when they were being subjected to struggle and handled according to the law. In the movement to wipe out bandits, to fight tyrants and to suppress counterrevolutionaries, those people who revolted and crossed over were protected and assigned proper work. Those people who had committed towering crimes and who had to be executed or arrested to mollify the indignation of the people were also executed or arrested according to the law after full discussion by the masses and democrats in upper circles. For example, Ma Degui, who was Ma Hongkui's "Hedong militia commander," was a top local tyrant who committed all manner of crimes. In dealing with this person, the Ningxia Provincial Party Committee and Comrade Zili first summoned democrats of all nationalities for a discussion. Everyone of them called for his execution. Then the people of all nationalities were called to a meeting. The masses were aroused to make accusations and to hold a public trial. A death sentence was finally passed. The masses of people and democrats in upper circles all expressed satisfaction with such an approach. They said: "The Communist Party pays attention to both principle and comradeship."

From September 1952 to November 1954, Comrade Zili took charge of the work of the Shaanxi Provincial Party Committee. The agricultural cooperation movement was then gradually developing. Comrade Zili guided this movement and put stress on the following several points: 1) We must not only fully take into account and energetically support the peasants' enthusiasm for joining groups and cooperatives but also pay attention to the task of stabilizing the peasants' production morale. For example, we must repeatedly publicize the principle that calls for joining groups

and cooperatives on a voluntary basis, but not coercion from anyone being allowed. We must publicize the point that it is a glorious task to strive to increased production and to get rich through hard work. We must make it known that after the fulfillment of the grain purchase quotas, peasants are allowed to sell surplus grain on the national market. 2) In the overall implementation of the party's rural class policy in the countryside, we must not only firmly rely upon poor peasants but also ally with the middle peasants in a consolidated manner. 3) We must take a correct approach toward individual peasants. We must not treat peasants who do not show immediate willingness to join cooperatives as "capitalist" forces, discriminating against them. Instead, we must give them patient education politically, and the necessary help economically and technically. Because the Shaanxi Provincial Party Committee and Comrade Pan Zili at that time correctly carried out policy, the agricultural cooperation movement in Shaanxi developed in a relatively healthy manner. Economic construction also showed marked results. Compared with 1949, total industrial output in 1954 was up about 200 percent; total agricultural output, 61 percent; total grain output, 52.4 percent; total cotton output, more than 100 percent; the number of large animals, up 74.1 percent; and social purchasing power, up 179 percent, or which purchasing power based on residents' consumption was up 163 percent. The power to purchase agricultural means of production rose nearly 700 percent.

After January 1955, Comrade Zili was transferred to work on the diplomatic front. He seriously studied the party central committee's foreign policy and tried to acquaint himself with the party central committee's instructions on foreign affairs, word by word. He took the lead in studying the language, history, policy, laws and actual conditions of a country where he was assigned. He had at his fingertips details of relevant important historical events, treaties and regulations. He recorded data that he had to keep handy for reference. On major problems, he always first turned to the party central committee for instructions. He then submitted reports to it. He never took things into his own hands. Before a diplomatic talk, he always looked up a large amount of data. He held repeated consultations with the ambassadorial staff. He reckoned with every contingency and put forth alternative countermeasures. Where there was no compromise between two different schools of thought at the embassy, he not only put forth his own view but also referred the dissenting views of other comrades to the party central committee, requesting a decision by the committee. He proved himself capable of carrying out the party's foreign policy, with the different features of different states and different persons in mind. In Korea, he always warned, through education, the embassy officials to be humble and modest and to treat others on an equal footing, resolutely guarding against the influence of great-nation chauvinism. He personally participated in all important events to which the embassy was invited by the party and government of Korea, and showed up ahead of time. Those Korean delegations that had visited our country were always invited to the embassy and given a warm reception. He had cordial talks with their members and solicited their opinions. He

seriously tried to fulfill all demands, important and less important, put forth by the Korean comrades. In the Soviet Union, he, on the one hand, doggedly carried out friendly activities among the masses, paying attention to maintaining and developing friendship between the people of China and the Soviet Union. On the other hand, he waged a tit-for-tat struggle with good reason and with restraint, demonstrating the heroic spirit of our party and our people undaunted by violence in upholding the Marxist principles and stand.

Being Good at Uniting With Party and Non-Party Comrades

Comrade Zili merged himself with the masses as an ordinary soldier in all places and at all times. In times of war, he often slept together with clerical workers and fighters in the same bed. At meals, he did not eat dishes specially cooked for cadres but ate those for ordinary soldiers. He took part in study, labor, morning exercises and basketball games together with everybody. After he went abroad, he still kept this fine tradition up. He was an ambassador for more than a dozen years, but he never lived in the official ambassador's residence. He lived in the embassy and ate at the canteen there. He never asked for food specially cooked for him. Together with other comrades, he participated in the activities of his party group and study group. If he was busy and could not come, he would ask his group leaders for leave. If everyone was asked to speak about a topic at a group discussion, he would also make careful preparation of the topic assigned him. His clerk or bodyguard was usually the group leader of the party group to which he belonged. However, he often reported to his group leader his ideological state and accepted criticism by comrades of his group. He was often the first in the embassy to do morning exercises and he often woke others to join him. If heavy snowfall prevented them from doing morning exercises, he would take the lead in sweeping snow. On Sundays, he often led the staff members of the embassy in voluntary labor. At weekends, he would always participate in the recreational activities of staff members of the embassy.

Comrade Zili was sincere and frank with his comrades. He thought and acted in one and the same way. He was imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and was able to promote democracy and listen to different views. At the first standing committee meeting after the Ningxia Provincial CPC Committee was established, he made known to all who were present, details of his past life, including how he had been exmmined on several occasions. Once, Comrade Liang Dajun, director of the propaganda department of the provincial CPC committee, said to him: "Some leading members of the 19th army corps have become arrogant because they have achieved victories." He replied: "You are wrong in saying so." A few days later, he said to Comrade Liang Dajun again: "I am now

If the same thing happens again, please point it out to me at once." When Comrade Zili was in charge of the work in Ningxia, meetings of the

provincial CPC committee and the provincial government were lively and animated. Very often different views were put forth and even quarrels occurred. However, as soon as these meetings were over, they would dismiss what had happened with a smile and gave no thought to incorrect attitudes which any of them might have taken. It was precisely because of this that everybody had ease of mind, the organizations operated smoothly and work efficiency was very high. Democratic figures of Ningxia, including Comrades Ma Tengai, Huang Zhizhong and Xu Zongru, said: "We Ningxia people are lucky to have such a good leader!" After Comrade Zili left Ningxia, party and non-party comrades of Ningxia often thought about him.

Comrade Zili cared more for others than for himself. In times of war, he often let wounded and sick soldiers ride the horse which was allocated to him and sometimes he let his little messenger ride it. When he worked late at night, he used a piece of board to shade his light for fear that other comrades might be disturbed. Sometimes he worked all through the night, but the next morning, as soon as he had washed his face, he would join other comrades in doing morning exercises or continue his work. He often spent his meagre subsidies on buying food, clothes or books for comrades who had financial difficulties. During the war of liberation, a comrade's legs had been injured by the cold because he had crossed rivers in the severe cold on several occasions. After Comrade Zili learned about this, he gave his woolen trousers to him. Till now, this comrade is still wearing this precious souvenir. Comrade Zili and his bodyguard and chauffeur were as intimate as members of the same family. He tried his best to create conditions for them to study politics and culture. He usually did not ask them to do anything when it was time for them to study. When these comrades' families had difficulties, he often helped them with his own money. When he was abroad, he would try his best to send off and welcome ordinary embassy workers who returned to or came from China. There was a translator in the embassy in the Soviet Union who wished to see his relatives at home but it was not allowable for his travelling expenses to be reimbursed. Comrade Zili paid for his trip with his own money. On festivals, he would hold forums and tea parties for bodyguards and service workers of the host country to convey cordial greetings to them and to solicit their opinions.

It was precisely because Comrade Zili had these noble moral qualities that all the comrades who had worked under him respected and loved him and looked upon him as an "old mother" and a tireless teacher. All were willing to be united around him and strived to do their work well.

Working Hard, Living a Plain Life and Being Honest in Performing Official Duties

After his home village was liberated in 1949, letters from his relatives and friends asking him to help them solve personal problems came in great number. However, he never bypassed the organization to solve any of their problems. On the contrary, he educated his relatives and friends to abide

by the government's laws and statutes, work hard, earn their own living and not to ask for special treatment or add difficulties to local governments.

When wage-grades were discussed and determined in 1953, the comrades in the Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee tried to place him in the sixth grade, which was the wage-grade of a provincial CPC committee secretary. However, he said: I am concurrently vice chairman of provincial people's government and the wage-grade of a vice chairman is the seventh. Since there are two alternatives, I should choose the lower one. Let me be in the seventh grade. (Later, it was approved by the Northwest Bureau that he be in the sixth grade.) No matter whether he was in China or abroad, he never violated rules or regulations in giving dinner parties or giving gifts at public expense. Sometimes he even used his own money for such purposes. He never used his authority to his own advantage. He did not allow his family members to use public cars for private affairs. In cases where they used them, they paid voluntarily. In order to reduce state expenditure, he never went to see doctors at expensive hospitals when he worked abroad. He did not buy air-conditioned cars. Very often, he did not apply for reimbursement for expensive medicine which he needed for himself. When he was an ambassador abroad, he still used the army quilt which he had used in war time.

He set strict demands on his children. When he was working in the Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee, his eldest son once suffered from gastroenteritis. His bodyguard got a hot-water bag from the administrative department for his son to warm his abdomen. When he learned about this, he severely criticized his bodyguard and asked him to return the hot-water bag immediately. Later, when this son of his got married in Lanzhou, he only sent him 20 yuan from abroad. On the contrary, when the child of one of his old comrades-in-arms who had financial difficulty got married, he sent him 100 yuan. He sent his younger son to study in Beijing. After studying in Yueying Primary School for half a year, his son asked his family for many things. Later, he had his son transferred to a neighbourhood primary school where he could study together with children of workers, city residents and ordinary intellectuals. When his son saw that all his schoolmates lead a plain life, he no longer asked his family to send things to him. With these strict demands, his son behaved very well. In the army, his son was elected as a "five-good pointer," and when he was sent to study abroad, he took part time jobs!

During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Comrade Pan Zili was ruthlessly persecuted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." He suffered a great deal spiritually and bodily. He had heart disease he was sent to labor in a "May 7th cadres school" in 1969. In 1971, he was again forced to go to Xihuo County and to retire. Comrade Zili took a firm stand and persisted in struggling against the criminal acts of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." He always had full faith in the future of the party and the motherland. When he was seriously ill, his family members wanted

to send him back to Beijing for medical treatment. They drafted a telegram to Premier Zhou with their request in it and let Comrade Pan Zili read it. However, knowing that this would place the premier in a difficult position, he did not wish to trouble him and prevented them from sending the telegram. His state of illness became worse with each passing day. He at last left this world in a place where medical service was very poor.

The life of Pan Zili was a life of heroic struggle and a life of being open and aboveboard. For half a century, in the face of the whiter terror of the KMT reactionaries, on the long march, in battles in north China and the northwest during the war of resistance against Japanese aggression and during the war of liberation, in building socialism and in international struggle, he had always been loyal and devoted and suffered untold hardships. He made great contributions to the liberation of the Chinese people, the victory of the Chinese revolution, the defense and construction of the socialist motherland and our country's foreign affairs. His death was a great loss of our party and country.

Comrade Pan Zili is our good example. We must learn from him his strong party character of placing his whole life at the disposal of the party, strictly implementing the party's policy and enthusiastically doing the party's work well. We must learn from him his fine moral qualities of being sincere and frank, acting and thinking in one and the
[words indistinct]
promoting democracy and putting the interests of others before his own. We must learn from him his revolutionary style of living plainly and struggling hard and being honest in performing official duties. In particular, we must learn from him his noble style of always preserving the character of a common party member, fighter and laborer.

CSO: 4005/1265

PARTY AND STATE

HUNAN MUNICIPALITY RECTIFIES WORK STYLE

HK270732 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Aug 82

[Text] Recently, some members of the standing committee of the Chenzhou Municipal CPC Committee carried out internal rectification. They have seriously studied the relevant documents of the CPC Central Committee and the decision of the Hunan Provincial CPC Committee on punishing (Liu Xingxi) and (Yan Jialong), unfolded criticism and self-criticism in close connection with the actual situation, spontaneously examined the past mistake of taking economic advantage and enhanced revolutionary vigor. During this rectification meeting, the members of the standing committee of the Chenzhou Municipal CPC Committee seriously examined their past mistakes of impure ideology and work style, focusing on the question of taking economic advantage. All of them have disclosed the phenomenon of taking economic advantage. In accordance with the ideological roots of this question, they have unfolded criticism and self-criticism. All of the members of the standing committee unanimously held: Taking advantage is a question of world outlook. The party's aim is serving the people, and the idea of taking advantage is diametrically opposed to the party's aim. We cannot infringe upon the glorious image of the party because we are party members. We can only be fighters who spontaneously fight for safeguarding the party's prestige and interest.

While carrying out rectification, the members of the standing committee have also corrected their mistakes. (Li Zhongri), deputy secretary of the Municipal CPC Committee and mayor, has examined, on his own accord, the past mistake of dealing with his children's education through the back door. Deputy Secretary (Huang Dangui) has bought a television set at a cheap price. During the recent campaign of striking blows at economic crimes, he, on his accord, inquired into the origin of the television set and found that a grassroots unit usually brought in television sets at higher prices and sold them at lower prices so as to look after the interests of the leaders. His television set was sold to him in this manner. (Huang) only paid some 220 yuan for his television set. During this rectification meeting, (Huang Danggui) raised this question at the high plane of impure party spirit and carried out self-criticism.

CSO: 4005/1270

PARTY AND STATE

GUANGDONG HOLDS POLITICAL, LEGAL WORK MEETING

HK270327 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 26 Aug 82

[Excerpts] A provincial political and legal work conference convened by the Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee concluded on the afternoon of 26 August after 9 days in session. Responsible comrades of the Provincial CPC Committee Ren Zhongyi, Liu Tianfu, and Liang Lingguang were present at the closing session. Comrades Ren Zhongyi and Liu Tianfu spoke.

The meeting held: The province's political and economic situation has changed profoundly since the third plenary session, and political and legal work has also gradually embarked on the path of performing according to the law. There has been a notable improvement in social order. Social stability and the masses' sense of security have increased. However, Guangdong borders Hong Kong and Macao, and the struggle has always been sharp and complex. Political and legal work has faced many complicated new situations and problems since the province instituted its special policies and flexible measures. In view of this new situation, the outstanding tasks in the province's political and legal work for a time to come are as follows:

1. Deal resolute blows to serious economic crime. It is particularly necessary to investigate and handle major and important cases. We must deal severely and swiftly, in accordance with law, with criminals who do serious economic sabotage. Capital punishment must be meted out in the worst cases. We must unswervingly practice the policy of opening up to the world and enlivening the domestic economy, and deal blows to economic crime. We must resolutely correct the phenomenon of substituting fines for punishment.

The meeting also held: The whole party should get to work, get a good grasp of solving the problems in a comprehensive way and continue to tidy up social order in the urban and rural areas. This is also an important current task in political and legal work. The focus in this comprehensive treatment is to promote education for young people and juveniles.

CSO: 4005/1270

PARTY AND STATE

26TH LECTURE ON DRAFT REVIEWED CONSTITUTION

OW210825 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0238 GMT 19 Aug 82

[Text] Beijing, 19 Aug (XINHUA)--Twenty-Sixth XINHUA lecture on the draft revised constitution: "Citizens Must Safeguard the Security, Honor and Interests of the Motherland."

The draft revised constitution stipulates: "Citizens of the People's Republic of China are dutybound to safeguard the security, honor and interests of the motherland; acts damaging to the security, honor and interests of the motherland are prohibited." This stipulation requires us to ardently love our motherland as we do our mothers, and to protect the security, honor and interests of the motherland as we do our eyes.

The Chinese nation has a patriotic tradition. In Chinese history there are many national heroes and noble-minded patriots who defended the honor of the motherland and the dignity of the nation. In our country's modern history in particular, national heroes and noble-minded patriots are as numerous as the stars in the sky. Since the founding of the CPC in 1921, we have inherited and further developed the Chinese people's patriotic tradition. Since the country is the people's country, the people must love and defend it--this should become the concerted action of the people.

In the past 30-odd years since the founding of the PRC, we have made great achievements in socialist revolution and construction. The central task now facing the people of all nationalities throughout the country is to build China step by step into a highly democratic and highly cultured socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture, modern national defense and modern science and technology. To carry out this great task requires not only stability and unity at home but a stable international environment as well. The danger of war still exists in the present-day world, and aggression and the war against aggression will not disappear by themselves. Therefore, each of our citizens must heighten his vigilance and be ready at all times to participate in the fight to safeguard the security of the motherland. It is also necessary to conscientiously grasp the essence of the stipulations of the draft revised constitution, to step up ideological and political education, to carry forward the fine patriotic and internationalist tradition, to conscientiously fulfill the glorious duty of safeguarding the security, honor and interests of the motherland and to struggle against any acts damaging the security, honor and interests of the motherland.

CSO: 4005/1226

PARTY AND STATE

27TH LECTURE ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW220450 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0038 GMT 21 Aug 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 21 Aug (XINHUA)--The 27th lecture on draft revised constitution: "The National People's Congress is the Highest Organ of State Power."

In our country's state structure, the highest organ of state power is the National People's Congress.

The parliamentarism of bourgeois countries follows the principle of "three separate powers," that is, the mutual checks and balances between the legislative, administrative and judicial branches. They appear to be equal in status, but actually the executive branch often controls the legislative and judicial branches. We practice democratic centralism, that is, the concentration of the highest state power in the National People's Congress. All other high state organs are subordinate to the National People's Congress. The constitution, laws and decrees and resolutions adopted by the National People's Congress must be followed and implemented by all other state organs.

According to the stipulations of the draft revised constitution, the powers and functions of the National People's Congress mainly consist of the following:

--Amending the constitution; to enact laws and decrees.

--Organizing and supervise other high state organs. The National People's Congress elects the chairman and the vice chairman of the People's Republic of China; decides on the choice of the premier of the State Council upon the recommendation of the chairman of the People's Republic of China; decides on the choice of the vice premiers, commissioners of state, ministers, chairmen of commissions, chief auditor and secretary general of the State Council upon the recommendation of the premier; elects the chairman of the Central Military Commission; decides on the choice of other members of the Central Military Commission upon the recommendation of the chairman of the commission; elects the president of the Supreme People's Court; and elects the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate. The National People's Congress has the power to recall or remove from office the above-mentioned persons.

The National People's Congress, when deemed necessary, appoints commissions of inquiry for the investigation of specific questions and makes relevant decisions in the light of the reports of these commissions.

Deputies to the National People's Congress, during its sessions, have the right to forward bills of inquiry, according the procedures prescribed by law, to the State Council, the Supreme People's Court, the Supreme People's Procuratorate and the ministries and commissions under the State Council, which are all under obligation to respond.

--Deciding on major questions of the state. The National People's Congress examines and approves plans of national economic and social development and the reports on their implementation; examines and approves the state budget and the report on its implementation; approves the establishment of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government; decides on the establishment of special administrative regions and their rules and regulations; and decides on questions of war and peace.

From the above, it can be seen that the powers of the National People's Congress are extensive. The position of the National People's Congress in our country enables it to exercise the highest state power under the party's leadership.

CSO: 4005/1226

PARTY AND STATE

28TH LECTURE ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW251105 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0111 GMT 23 Aug 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 23 Aug (XINHUA)--Twenty-Eighth XINHUA lecture on the draft revised constitution: "Legislative Authority and Procedures in Our Country."

According to the provisions of our country's previous constitutions, the NPC exercises legislative authority in the country. However, the draft revised constitution explicitly stipulates that both the NPC and its standing committee exercise legislative authority in the country. This is a very important stipulation.

With the development of socialist revolution and construction, the state urgently needs to issue various types of laws in order to meet needs. However, the NPC meets in session only once a year, and it cannot have too many items on its agenda because each session cannot last too long. Therefore, some laws must be revised or enacted by the NPC standing committee so that they can be enforced.

The draft revised constitution clearly points out in its articles that the NPC and its standing committee jointly exercise legislative authority in the country. On the other hand, it also stipulates that the authority to amend the constitution and to issue and amend basic laws concerning criminal offenses, civil affairs, the structure of the state and other matters continues to belong to the NPC. The NPC standing committee is authorized to enact and amend laws except for those that must be enacted by the NPC, and to partially amend and supplement basic laws enacted by the NPC when the latter is not in session. One important reason for this stipulation in the draft revised constitution is that the NPC is the highest organ of state power.

Our country's laws must be enacted according to the following democratic procedures prescribed by law:

1. Submission of legislative bills: The draft revised constitution stipulates that deputies to the NPC and members of its standing committee have the right to submit, according to procedures prescribed by law, legislative bills within the scope of the functins and powers of the NPC and its standing committee.

2. Examination of bills: Bills submitted to the NPC or its standing committee are referred by the presidium of the NPC or its standing committee to one or more special committees for examination. However, not all legislative bills are to be referred to special committees for examination; some legislative bills submitted may be referred by the presidium of the NPC to the NPC or its standing committee for consideration.

3. Discussion of bills: The NPC and its standing committee give full scope to democracy in discussing legislative bills. Deputies to the NPC and members of its standing committee may express various opinions while discussing bills.

4. Voting on bills: Amendments to the constitution require, for their adoption, a majority vote of more than two-thirds of all the deputies to the NPC. Laws, decrees and other bills require, for their adoption, a simple majority vote of all the deputies to the NPC.

5. Promulgation of laws: When the constitution is adopted, the presidium of the NPC will issue a proclamation for its promulgation. Laws and decrees will be promulgated by the chairman of the state.

CSO: 4005/1226

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' WRITES ON JAPANESE GERM WAR BOOK

HK160807 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Aug 82 p 7

[Article by Dong Ming [5516 3494]: "Fascist Devils' Criminal Record--introducing the Japanese Best-Seller 'The Devils' Banquet'"]

[Text] The new book by the modern Japanese writer Seiichi Morimura "The Devils' Banquet" (its Japanese name is "The Devils' Surfeit"] is the best-seller in Japan this year. Without any sham embellishments or exaggerations, the novel records the shocking facts in exposing the brutality of the Japanese imperialist "731 germ war unit of the Guandong Army" in carrying out germ war weapon experiments on Chinese people's bodies in the 1930's and 1940's.

The infamous 731 (Ishii) germ warfare unit was exposed by the Chinese people long ago. However, all those people who unhappily fell into its monster den were killed, and the members of 731 destroyed all the installations and practically all the experimental materials and large amounts of written material. Afterwards, Ishii and others used the experimental data to bargain with the U.S. Army Command and gained an amnesty guarantee that "731 are not to be treated as war criminals;" while the surviving unit members kept their mouths tight shut under the threat of a strict order to "take everything with them to the grave." Because of all these factors, the internal circumstances of the unit were wrapped in mystery for a long time. In May last year, when Morimura published in the press a serialized version of his long novel "Killing Machine," which described the background to unit 731, certain members of the team, presumably conscience-stricken after 37 years, started to blow the gaff. Morimura and others finally found "the road for tracing 731."

Recalling things, Morimura said that when writing this book, "several times he found it difficult to continue," and "wept uncontrollably" over the tragic slaughter of innocent people. Morimura said, in order to "stir the people's conscience," "a reporter responsible for exposing a criminal society must publicly tell the unvarnished truth about how Japanese savagely slaughtered other peoples."

The Japanese Unit 731 was established in 1933 and disbanded in 1945. Its full title was "731st Anti-Epidemic and Water Supply Unit of the Japanese Guandong Army in Manchuria." The unit was located in a single-storey building about 22 kilometers south of Harbin. Within a 6-kilometer radius around this building, there were a prison, an airfield, a power plant and various germ research

institutes, together with barracks for 3,000 Japanese troops. By 1938 this unit had become "the largest germ warfare unit in the world." This gang of devils, under the command of the bloodthirsty germ warfare chief Ishii and others, carried out for a long time the most barbaric and cruel germ warfare experiments in the world.

Here, germs such as plague, cholera, typhoid, tuberculosis, anthrax, and tetanus... were "manufactured" in a never-ending stream from the "germ factories." According to testimony given by members of 731, there were as many as 4,500 "devices for cultivating lice" for spreading plague alone, which had the capacity to produce "several dozen kilograms" of lice in something over 2 months. Countless of our compatriots (there were also some Koreans and Russians) were dissected alive like "logs." According to the records of the Far East International Tribunal alone, over 3,000 people were killed at this place between 1939 and 1945. Former members of 731 have confirmed that the true figure is much higher. The books says that there were usually 200 to 300 people in the prison, and every day 2 or 3 or even 8 were killed on the dissection table. In order to create still more savage lethal weapons, these devils carried out almost unimaginable experiments on a large scale at this place: They injected all kinds of germs into people's bodies "to observe the pathological changes:" they used a separator to carry out blood sampling; they experimented with blood exchanges between humans, horses and monkeys, and also with reversing stomach and intestines, intravenous injections of air, freezing people, and forcing poison gas and smoke into the stomach and lungs... These devils also shut the victims into a vacuum room for so-called vacuum experiments, and took photographs when the victim's internal organs were forced out through the mouth, anus, eyes and ears.

The book quotes the words of members of 731:

"Sometimes we had more than 10 'logs' just expose their buttocks, in order to carry out an experiment in forced infection by poison gas gangrene." A canister containing the germs was exploded very close the victim, upon which "countless canister fragments were embedded in the buttocks of the 'log.' Amid the screams of pain from the 'log,' the unit members ran across to 'take a look' and determine whether or not the gas gangrene germs had infected the 'log.' Afterwards the 'log' was pushed into a special prison for detailed observation, where a record was kept of events from the time of contracting the disease until death." The devils also treated the victims as "material" for experiments in resistance to flame-throwing weapons and in the lethal qualities of those weapons. At an "experimental site" located at Anda, the Japanese fascists divided the victims into squads of 10, wearing either padded cotton clothes, ordinary army uniforms, or nothing at all. The members of 731 aimed at them with type-38 rifles, and recorders noted down the clothing penetration performance of these rifles.

According to the recollections of members of 731, there were large numbers of human specimens inside the "exhibition room" of this monster den, such as heads, thighs, internal organs, and fetuses.... Some heads stared angrily, some were a mess of flesh and blood, some had turned black, and some were exposing brain matter... In order to destroy the evidence of the crimes, on the night of 10 August 1945 alone over 1,000 specimens were thrown into the

Songhua River. In order to get hold of healthy and fresh specimens, in 1943 they caught a youth only 12 years old and dissected him alive. "The internal organs such as the intestines, pancreas, liver, kidneys and stomach were removed in proper order from the young person, who was in an attitude of repose, analyzed and weighed one by one and then thrown into a bucket. They were then immediately placed in a large glass vessel containing formalin and sealed tight." "Some of the extracted organs were still in a state of spasm in the formalin."

These bloody facts form only a part of the criminal activities of the inhuman devils of 731. How could a normal person reading this avoid being filled with grief and indignation and find the recital unbearable! Even some former members of 731 could not be aloof and indifferent when thinking on these past events! A former member of 731 said with bitter regret, as he recalled how he had held a stop-watch watching mother and daughter dying of poison gas, with himself recording the event: "No matter how much I regret it now, no matter how much I pray, I can never comfort the dead souls of that mother and daughter, nor can I forgive my own crimes."

It should be pointed out that, as confirmed by former members of 731, many victims in this monster den "remained faithful and unyielding under the cruel punishments of the Kempetai, and they stayed loyal to their own people right unto death." Among these patriots" there were Qiu Side, a Communist Party member from Shandong; Sun Chaoshan, a railway worker, Wu Dianxing, a carpenter, and Zhu Zhimin, a repairman, from Mudanjiang; and Wang Ying, a patriot from Shenyang," and so on. On 10 August 1945, when the devils were destroying the prison, the words "Down with Japanese imperialism!" and "Long live the CPC" were found written in blood in characters 20 mm high on a cement wall. Morimura wrote, this "represented the will of the Chinese people and was an accusation against the evils of fascism and of 731, although the CPC member who wrote this died, he encouraged the prisoners who were coming in all the time, and constantly told of eventual national liberation and the dignity of man."

It was precisely to uphold the dignity of man and to prevent a resurgence of the germ of fascism that the writer offered this book to the people after his painstaking efforts in writing it. Readers go through this book with profound emotion. It is of particularly profound practical significance that it should become the best-seller in Japan this year. The famous Japanese writer Inoue said, after finishing this book, "I ordered myself, 'put it in front of your eyes!' I intend to treat it as a teacher by negative example, so that people will never again descend to be accomplices of the devil." The Japanese Daiei Film Company decided to put the book's contents on the screen. The well-known director Satsuo Yamamoto, who is directing it, said: "The education ministry recently proposed changing 'Aggression Against China' into 'Marching Into China.' This means they do not want to tell the younger generation, who did not know war, about the history of Japan's aggression against China. War turns people into a collection of devils. That is why I have decided to make a film of this book."

The words of Inoue and Satsuo Yamamoto represent the true aspirations of the Japanese people. We wonder how certain officials in the Japanese education ministry will feel after reading this book?!

CSO: 4005/1226

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON IDEOLOGICAL, MORAL EDUCATION

HK200850 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Aug 82 p 5

[Article by Sha Ying [3097 5391]: "Strengthen Communist Ideological and Moral Education"--passages within slantlines denote boldface as published]

[Text] At present, the basic task facing all the people of country and in our party is to build the socialist material and spiritual civilizations. The basic characteristics, or, by other names, the core or soul, of socialist spiritual civilization is communist ideology. The ideological system of communism--Marxism--is the most revolutionary and most scientific theory in the history of the human race. We should educate our party members, cadres and the people all over the country in Marxism, fix in their minds of increasingly more people the communist ideal, faith and world outlook and make them resolute in to strive forever for the communist cause of the motherland. Communist morality means that under the guidance of the communist ideological system the new moral concepts are taught to the people in order to fix in their minds some norms governing their actions in their common life, thus each person will consciously handle the relationships between himself and others and between himself and the community and shoulder his due responsibility and duty in accordance with these norms. The basic characteristic of communist morality is proletarian collectivism, of which the main content is the labor attitude of serving the people wholeheartedly and working for the benefits of the community, and a patriotism that is not in conflict with internationalism. In building our socialist spiritual civilization, neither education, science and culture nor ideology and morality should be overemphasized at the expense of the others, but we should not fail to see that the construction of communist ideology determines the nature of our spiritual civilization. At the same time, owing to some historical and practical reasons, at present, we should pay particular attention to building up the ideological and moral aspects of our socialist spiritual civilization. This is of great significance in consolidating our socialist system, establishing new-type social relationships, stirring up our national spirit and ensuring that all our economic and cultural undertakings develop along correct paths.

What, then, are the problems that are worth discussing in strengthening communist ideological and moral education?

//First, in order to build up the socialist spiritual civilization, we should pay attention to what is of basic importance. We should attach importance to carrying out communist ideological and moral education among the broad mass

of people and among the younger generation.// Now some of our youths lack basic theoretical knowledge about Marxism and have no lofty revolutionary ideal. They urgently need to intensify their study of Marxism and arm their minds with a communist world outlook, outlook on life and scientific method. Along all our party members, especially party cadres, it is also necessary to carry out a reeducation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in the manner of combining theory with practice since the founding of our country (particularly the practice during the present historical turning point) in order to enable them to firmly foster communist ideology. It is even necessary to restudy Marxism for our old cadres. In the course of intensifying moral education among the party members, cadres and masses of people, we should concretely apply the communist moral principles in the fields of social public morality, professional morality and the morality related to marriage and family. At present we should especially intensify education on morality and virtues among our youngsters.

It is not only necessary but also feasible to carry out communist ideological and moral education among the masses of the people. This is because our socialist society is at a lower stage of communism, where the public ownership of the means of production and the system of distribution according to labor have already been established. One aspect in which this system is fundamentally different from the capitalist system and other exploitation systems is that this system unifies the social, collective and individual interests of the people, and thus the people have common interests. The socialist system can ensure that on the basis of the coinciding basic interests among our people, a common ideal, a common faith, a common moral standard and a common discipline will take shape. The "Resolution" of the 6th plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee points out that "we must strengthen and improve ideological and political work and educate the people and youths in the Marxist world outlook and communist morality; we must persistently carry out the educational policy which calls for an all-round development, morally, intellectually and physically, for being both Red and expert, for the integration of intellectuals with the workers and peasants and the combination of mental and physical labor; and we must counter the influence of decadent feudal ideology, overcome the influence of petty-bourgeois ideology and foster the patriotism which puts the interests of the motherland above everything else and the pioneer spirit of selfless devotion to modernization."

//Second, we should distinguish between communist ideological and moral education and socialist policies.// In "On New Democracy," Chairman Mao says, "Beyond all doubt, now is the time to more widely spread communist ideas and put more energy into the study of Marxism-Leninism, or else we shall not only be unable to lead the Chinese revolution forward to the future stage of socialism, but shall also be unable to guide the present democratic revolution to victory. However, we must keep the spreading of communist ideas and propaganda about the communist social system distinct from the practical application of the new-democratic program of action; we must also keep the communist theory and method of investigating problems, undertaking research, handling work and training cadres distinct from the new-democratic line for national culture as a whole. It is undoubtedly inappropriate to mix the two up." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 2) By studying the communist ideological system and encouraging communist morality we do not mean that we want to prematurely

carry out the policies that should be carried out at a higher stage of communism. We are now at the lower stage of communism and we can only carry out the policies of a socialist system and act according to the objective law of social development. We should distinguish between the ideological system and the current policies and never confuse them. Now there are a small number of people who think that since we are carrying out the policy of distribution according to labor at the present stage, we should not strengthen communist ideological and moral education or encourage the communist attitude toward labor and unselfishness; for by so doing we will be "transcending the historical stage." This is a kind of muddled idea. In our work, we should resolutely implement the policy of distribution according to labor and should not advocate that "revolutionary spirit is omnipotent" or practice the asceticism related to material enjoyment and egalitarianism. However, at the same time we should also teach the people that they must foster a lofty ideal, unify their personal interests with the collective ones and put the interests of the society and of the collective first. Since we educated people in communist ideology as far back as during the period of the new democratic revolution, why should we not encourage communist ideology and morality now when we have entered socialism and have carried out decades of construction and have created much better conditions than those in the past? We should highly praise the communist work style and properly carry out some voluntary labor without remuneration, vigorously learn from Le Feng's spirit and loudly praise those "March 8th Red-Banner Pacesetters," "Young Shock Workers," model workers, three-good students and the advanced individuals and collectives that have emerged on various fronts, in order to spread the communist spirit that is shining bright in these people.

//Third, we should strive to propagate communist ideology and morality and at the same time we should continuously enrich and develop communist ideology and morality.// We must propagate communist ideology and morality, expand the area they cover, increase their impact and strengthen their guiding position in the ideological field. Some people have willfully or unwittingly weakened the education of Marxist theory, have looked down on or neglected ideological and political work and have attached no importance to the propaganda and education of communist morality. This is an erroneous view. During the prolonged process of the revolutionary struggle, our party has taken on a full set of fine traditions and work styles, such as linking theory with practice, mass line, criticism and self-criticism, a strong sense of organization and discipline and the spirit of hard struggle and not being apprehensive of giving away lives. While carrying out ideological and moral education among the masses of people, we should pay attention to carrying out education about the revolutionary tradition and work style. In carrying out communist ideological and moral education, we should correctly explain the meaning of the communist ideology and morality and should not distort them. At the same time, we should do this in combination with the practice and we should not mechanically teach what is said in books but should explain and develop the tenet and essences of this ideology and morality. Marxist theory and communist morality are not stereotyped things and they will continue to be enriched and developed. Along with the progress of the times and the development of the socialist revolution and construction in our country, new situations and problems will continuously crop up and new experiences will continuously be gained. We

should analyse the new situation, problems and experiences, solve the new problems and sum up the new experiences. We should enrich and develop Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought by adding to it new conclusions and new theses. The development of the communist ideology in China depends on how it is combined with China's practice and history. If it is satisfactorily combined with them and can meet the needs of the society and the people, it will develop quickly. Hasn't the 6th plenary session's resolution on certain historical questions since the founding of the PRC enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought? Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has formulated a correct ideological, political and organizational line, scored many new achievements and acquired many new experiences. Are these experiences not worth our summing up in order to continue to enrich and develop Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

//Fourth, propaganda of and education about the communist ideology and morality must be carried out in close combination with the development of education, science and culture.// The two aspects of the spiritual civilization do differ from one another in nature, but they are not isolated from one another. On the contrary, they penetrate into and influence one another and promote each other's development. The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques upheld that "the more knowledge people had, the more reactionary they will become," implemented an obdurate policy and discriminated against intellectuals. This was extremely absurd. Of course, viewed individually, people cannot be regarded as necessarily being more politically conscious and more moral if they acquire more knowledge. However, viewed as a whole, scientific and cultural knowledge is closely related to political ideology and ethical virtues. Take the relationships between knowledge and morality for example; a certain extent of scientific and cultural knowledge is the prerequisite and basis for understanding and practicing morality. The acquisition of a certain extent of scientific and cultural knowledge facilitates the distinction between rights and wrongs, truth and falsehood, good and evil and beauty and ugliness, and thus enables people to make a correct choice. The raising of the level of education, science and culture will vigorously promote the development of people's political consciousness and moral standard. At the same time, the acquisition of the communist ideological consciousness and noble moral quality will inevitably stimulate the development of people's abilities and wisdom. Therefore, in the process of building up socialist spiritual civilization, neither aspect should be overemphasized at the expense of the other. We should strive to fix the communist ideal, faith and world outlook in a widespread manner among all members of the community, make them foster noble moral concepts and work styles and heighten their sense of organization and discipline as well as raise the scientific, cultural and health standards of the whole nations. For example, in carrying out our educational work, we should avoid the following two erroneous tendencies: The first is putting one-sided emphasis on education in cultural and scientific knowledge (intellectual education) while neglecting education in politics, ideology and morality (moral education), thus confusing the demarcation line in the socialist spiritual civilization; the second is turning moral education into empty preachings that are divorced from scientific knowledge and paying no attention to permeating moral education into the processes of teaching various kinds of cultural and scientific knowledge. We thought that only by permeating the two aspects one into another, closely combining them and making

them promote one another could we successfully coordinate the two aspects and achieve twice the result with half the effort. In all the various educational work, cultural and propaganda activities, we should strengthen the guidance of the communist ideology and the propaganda of communist ideology and morality. In carrying out the education and propaganda of communist ideology and morality, we should also pay attention to raising the masses of people's scientific, cultural and health standards, developing a diversified cultural life, creating clean and beautiful surroundings and cultivating good hygiene habits.

//Fifth, communist ideological and moral education is a long-term arduous task and we should bring into play the strength of the whole party and the whole community in carrying out this education.// The content of these two aspects of spiritual education is very wide-ranging and rich. Ours is a country with a population of 1 billion people, of whom 800 million are peasants. We should educate our cadres and our broad masses of people in communist ideology and morality, and at the same time, we should climb the peaks of ideological theory, science, technology, literature, art.... Viewed in this way, we see that we still have to study quite a large number of complicated problems in exploring the depth, width and heighth of the socialist spiritual civilization and in finding the ways to popularize and improve it. In the course of study, exploration and practice, we should act according to the objective law and our national conditions and continuously sum up experience. Only by so doing can we smoothly develop the socialist spiritual civilization and avoid undergoing great twists and turns. The construction of socialist spiritual civilization is a very arduous task. Taking the strengthening of the party's ideological and political work as a mere example, it demands educating the broad rank of cadres and the broad masses of people in revolutionary ideology, spirit and morality. This is a major task that all areas, all departments and all units must fulfill. However, it is also a very difficult task to fulfill. That is why we should bring the strength of the whole party and the whole community in building up spiritual civilization. Under the leadership of the party, all the trades and professions at all the frontlines should vigorously take part in fulfilling this task, make efforts to find the law governing their work and vigorously develop wide-ranging activities among the masses (for example, the "five stresses" and "four beauties" activities, the "all-people civility and courtesy month" activities and the formulation of "agreed regulations for the behavior of village people"). The educational, ideological, theoretical and cultural departments have especially important tasks to fulfill. We should use our newspapers, journals, broadcasts, TV, publications... to vigorously and constantly prepare public opinion. We should steadfastly praise fine people and fine deeds, propagate fine thoughts and fine practices, rectify the party work style, cultivate the healthy trend and encourage people to vigorously progress. At the same time we should also expose and criticize erroneous ideological tendencies and unhealthy trends and practices.

CSO: 4005/1226

PARTY AND STATE

PRC PHILOSOPHY JOURNAL DISCUSSES MORALITY

HK190859 Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU No 7 in Chinese 25 Jul 82 pp 3-9

[Article by Li Qi [2621 1142]: "Moral Requirements"]

[Text] At present, some comrades believe that we should apply moral requirements on members of the CPC and CYL. But they also think that it will be too harsh if we set such demands on people of the whole country. To a certain extent, such a view is understandable. However, it does not completely conform with present reality. The reason why they have such an idea is mainly that during the 10 chaotic years, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" sabotaged communist moral principles and confused people's moral concepts so that some people yield to certain unhealthy moral phenomena. Apart from that, the fact that the communist moral system is not sufficiently specific and complete is another reason giving rise to this idea. Some people are not clear about the specific contents of communist morality. They talk about lofty moral paragons of Communist Party members, and they think that it is a harsh requirement to be applied to them and that it is difficult for them to attain such an objective. Actually, this is a misunderstanding. Communist morality as a kind of social ethics objectively reflects socioeconomic relations of the public ownership system (including the system of collective ownership by laborers). Communist moral principles and standards are a kind of principled and objective requirement. However, when they turn into an individuals' moral practice, they will, in light of the individuals' political consciousness and moral awareness, manifest the most rudimentary and the highest moral requirements and different kinds of moral state and styles. The reason why we should apply high moral requirements on Communist Party members is that since they are conscientious vanguard fighters of the proletariat, their communist moral principles, that is, political and moral requirements stipulated in the party's programs and constitution, should be higher than citizens in general. Communist moral principles stipulated in the party constitution reflect both the objective requirements of the proletarian revolution and the subjective requirements of Communist Party members as proletarian vanguard fighters. When a Communist Party member joins the party, he takes the oath that he will adopt the highest standard of communist morality, consciously and voluntarily strive for the interets of the people with the spirit of self-sacrifice and consciously observe the strict discipline of the party. Of course, we should not ask citizens in general to comply with the moral requirements put forth by the party organizations. However, a common member of the socialist society can also apply the highest moral requirements to himself and demonstrate his

loftiest moral characteristics in the environment of social life and moral practice due to his high political consciousness. Chan Yanfei, an ordinary female worker in Shanghai, is a person of this type. Although she was 5 months pregnant, she was brave enough to jump into a river to rescue a drowning man. When people asked her why she did so, she replied: "Since there was still a gleam of hope for the drowning man, and because he was in mortal danger, it would have been wrong for me not to rescue him. This is the fundamental morality of a person in the society." The "fundamental morality of a person in the society" which she mentioned here is the rudimentary requirement and fundamental standard of communist morality. We have recently heard from time to time of deeds of sacrificing one's life for the sake of others; deeds characterized by lofty morals. This shows that the problem of higher or lower moral requirements is determined by the consciousness of the individuals concerned and the demands they set on themselves. Judged from the angle of ethics, it is a question of the moral system the ideological level and the moral style.

I

Various social forms have their own moral systems. The so-called moral systems means the ideology of morality composed of moral ideals, criterion, principles, standards, characteristics and so forth which are determined by particular economic relationships and the social system. Moral ideals and criterion run through all moral principles, standards and characteristics. These factors are methodocially arranged and governed by certain logical relations. They can manifest a certain social nature and the spirit of the times. Therefore, we should say that the moral system is a reflection of certain social forms and objective demands set by a certain socioeconomic basis and social system on the members of the society and that a moral system is not established by people indiscriminately. Therefore, different social forms have different moral systems. For instance, the moral system of the capitalist society is the moral system of individualism with selfishness as its kernel, whereas the moral system of the socialist society is the communist moral system, with serving the people wholeheartedly and the collective spirit as its kernel. The communist moral system is composed of various factors in a systematic and organized way. The highest level of the communist moral system is the moral ideal of serving the people selflessly and wholeheartedly. It is an ideal characteristic of communist morality which is both abstract and specific. It is an ideal which should be realized in practical life bit by bit. However, it is difficult for us to realize such an ideal perfectly well. The activities of "serving the people" are limitless and boundless. However, this ideal should be gradually realized by the people's limited acts in their practical life. The second level is collectivism's moral criteria, that is, individual interests should be subordinated to the collective interests of the society and state. This is objectively demanded by the relationship between the socialist society based on public ownership and its individual members. Collectivism and the spirit of serving the people manifest themselves in various important ways. They are the fundamental moral principles--the social ethics of loving the motherland, people, labor, science and socialism. This is the third level of the communist moral system. The criteria of serving the people and collectivism and the moral principles of five loves should be implemented in the various social activities of all members of the society. These specific moral

standards--political and vocational morals, regulation and social public life and marital and family morality--are the fourth and lowest level of the communist moral system. The so-called lowest level means specific moral standards or requirements which directly guide people's various social actions. For example, cadres should show concern for the masses, maintain close links with the masses, be honest in performing their official duties, set good examples and be good public servants of the people. Workers should love labor, have the sense of being the masters of their own affairs to do their work well, endeavor to master techniques, be hardworking and thrifty, take the factories as their own families, respect masters workers and take good care of apprentices, unite as one and help each other, observe labor discipline, accomplish work tasks and guarantee both quality and quantity. Peasants should love the collectives, get rich through labor, unite as one and help each other, support peasant households with material difficulties, study cultural and scientific knowledge and change prevailing habits and customs. Soldiers should love the people, defend the motherland, obey orders, comply with orders in all their actions, fear neither hardship nor death, be brave and indomitable and promote fraternal unity to fight against the enemy. Commercial workers should take the needs of customers into consideration, provide people with convenience and work enthusiastically and patiently. Scientific and literary as well as art workers should be responsible for their achievements in scientific research and literary and art creation and pay attention to social effects. All these moral requirements are a work discipline which all trades and services should observe and are also their work style and the embodiment of communist morality. They are imbued with the spirit of serving the people and collectivism and are also feasible guidance for practical life. Besides, there are other kinds of moral factors described as moral characteristics, such as honesty, bravery, uprightness, modesty and so forth. To achieve some of these moral characters, children should be strictly and carefully nurtured and trained. However, moral characteristics are always related to moral principles and standards. They are achieved through continuous training and cultivation in a life of social practice. Therefore, they are not independent parts, but indispensable factors in the structure of the moral system. Moral characteristics are a manifestation of personal qualities and factors contributing to the formation of the characteristics of the moral style.

Our purpose in dividing the moral system into several levels is to understand more clearly the moral requirements and define moral concepts more accurately so that we can arrange the logistical relations between abstractness and concreteness in a more proper rather than an absolute way. For instance, serving the people wholeheartedly is both a moral ideal and a moral standard. Lei Feng and those who learn from him find it a pleasure to help others. When people thank them for their help, they always say: "This is what we should do." They put the moral ideal of serving the people into practice. The point of "serving the people" has been included in regulations and pledges of a number of service trades. However, the moral standard of "serving the people" under all circumstances cannot fully reflect the implications of moral ideals. The moral standard of "serving the people" can only be a part of the moral ideals which have been realized. However, the moral ideal of serving the people wholeheartedly is the kernel of all principles and standards of communist morality. This is also the case with the moral criteria of collectivism. The moral criteria of collectivism is the criteria of all moral standards and

principles. They can also be regarded as moral standards. For instance, we should uphold the principle of "putting public interests before self-interests," "putting others before oneself," "working selflessly" and so forth. However, a collective spirit is the principle of communist morality and the guiding principle of moral standards. It should permeate all moral spheres. For instance, the problems of marriage and family are private matters which seem to be irrelevant to the interests of the society and state. In previous ethical works, they were called "private morals." Actually, marital and family morals are closely related with the interests of the society and the state. The marital and family morals have had very important influence on the general mood of society, social order and the building of socialist spiritual civilization. Their influence on the healthy growth of the new generations should not be ignored. Therefore, the marital and family morals are not merely ethical relationships between individual persons. Family members should fulfill their duty to the society and families as small collective units should also do the same. Therefore, the collective spirit should permeate marital and family morals and love should be based on the endeavor of a common cause. While handling the problems of marriage, we should take their influence on the society into consideration. People are not allowed to marry or divorce hastily and regard this as a private matter. We should establish family relations based on unity, democracy, harmony and happiness and all families should fulfill their duty to the society.

With regard to the development of morals, the system of communist morality is the most up-to-date, advanced and supreme. For the exploiting classes, the communist morality of selflessness, serving the people wholeheartedly and collectivism is too high to reach and abide by. For the proletariat and members of socialist society, communist morality is the highest moral ideal and principle and is a feasible moral standard. It is an objective demand set on members of the society by the economic foundation of socialist society. However, no matter how specific moral standards are, they are not as detailed and specific as laws. They are only a principle which can readjust various relations. All these objective moral requirements can be made specific only in people's moral practice. Therefore, the subjective moral requirements in practice always exceed specific moral standards (such as "regulations" and "pledges"). We should create a moral style which manifests communist moral ideals.

II

Some comrades call moral style the moral realm. Actually, "style" and "realm" are borrowed words which manifest people's moral level and spiritual traits. They are interchangeable. However, I believe that "style" has broader implications. Apart from the moral level and ideological state, it can demonstrate an individuals' moral conduct and special characteristics. Moral style, in the situation of the individuals concerned having a certain understanding of the communist moral system, is a manifestation of subjective moral demands on individual. Different moral levels and various kinds of moral styles can be manifested due to individuals' different living conditions, political consciousness, working environment, hobbies, education, characteristics, moral consciousness (demands on oneself) and so forth. The forms of moral style includes moral understanding, moral feelings, moral practice and moral will, therefore, moral style is influenced by an individuals' world outlook, outlook on life, political

beliefs and political consciousness. People with a communist world outlook, communist outlook on life and communist beliefs are determined to strive for the realization of communist ideals and they will never hesitate to sacrifice their lives. Therefore, people with a higher consciousness of communist morality will set upon themselves higher moral requirements. When Comrade Mao Zedong talked about the lofty communist morality and style of Comrade Bethune, he said: "Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his great sense of responsibility in his work and his warm-heartedness toward all comrades and the people." He added: "He was a doctor, the art of healing was his profession and he was constantly perfecting his skill, which stood very high in the Eighth Route Army's Medical Service. His example is an excellent lesson to those people who wish to change their work the moment they see something different and for those who despise technical work as being of no consequence or as promising no future." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 2, pp 337-338) This showed the lofty communist morality and moral style of an international communist. His lofty moral style was demonstrated in his "great sense of responsibility" and "warm-heartedness." Due to the fact that he had high proletarian political consciousness and firm communist beliefs, he showed warm-heartedness toward all comrades and people and great sense of responsibility in his work. Lenin said: "Striving for the consolidation and accomplishment of the communist cause is the basis of communist morality." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 4, p 355) In other words, a high level of communist morality is built on the basis of a high consciousness of the moral principles of communism and collective moral principles. Doing one's work well should be regarded as the minimum requirement of communist morality. When one fully realizes the importance of his work to the communist cause and socialist construction, he will enhance his sense of responsibility for his work and set moral demands on himself, do everything possible to bring his wisdom and ability into full play and make outstanding contributions to the society. Therefore, he will develop a high level of communist morality. Comrade Zhou Enlai described the spirit of Lei Feng as a "communist style which puts public interests at the fore without taking private interest into account." Comrade Tao Zhu said: "I believe that communist style should be a style which asks less from others and gives more to people. The so-called communist style should be a style which fears no sacrifice in striving for the interests of the people." They talked of a lofty style. The communist moral system includes the spirit of self-sacrifice which is the highest moral system of the contemporary period. Lofty style does not refer to an individuals' ability and contributions. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong said: "We must learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spirit everyone can be very useful to the people. A man's ability may be great or small, but if he has this spirit, he is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value to the people." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 2, p 621) He explained the matter very clearly. People's high-level of communist morality is not determined by whether they have great or small ability, but by whether they can proceed from the spirit of absolute selflessness to contribute all to communist cause. In so doing, such people will attain fairly high communist moral levels.

What are the minimum requirements of communist morality? How should the lower requirements be upgraded to the higher ones? While talking about the sense of

responsibility, Comrade Xie Zuezai divided it into high-level and low-level sense of responsibility. I believe such a view might help us understand moral style. He said: "'To be willing to work' means having a sense of responsibility. There are two kinds of sense of responsibility: 1) I am responsible for the work assigned to me, but I will not bother about things which do not concern me. 2) I am responsible for the revolution. Therefore, I should manage to accomplish the tasks even if they are not assigned to me. The former sense of responsibility is a low-level one whereas the latter is a high-level one. Only by having a high-level sense of responsibility, will we be always "willing to work," do our job well and constantly enhance our ability." "Sense of responsibility" is the minimum requirement of communist morality. If one can fulfill the tasks assigned to him, it means he has attained the minimum moral requirement. However, if he is indifferent to work which is not assigned to him, it means he has not fully or clearly understood to whom he is responsible or why he should be responsible. In other words, he still lacks the sense of responsibility as a master of the socialist society. Therefore, this sense of responsibility will not last long unless the low-level is developed to a high-level. If one is responsible for the revolution and cultivates a sense of responsibility of being the master of socialist society, does his own job devotedly, conscientiously endeavors to gain professional proficiency, constantly enhances his efficiency in work and continuously accomplishes his tasks outstandingly, he will attain the high level of communist morality. The crux of this matter lies in whether one has fully understood the social significance of his work. Only after realizing his social responsibility can he cultivate a great sense of responsibility to strive for the realization of lofty social ideals.

A sense of responsibility reflects one's attitude toward social collectives. This is also a kind of moral standard in the bourgeois moral system. However, the lower level of the sense of "responsibility" in the communist moral system is much loftier than high moral level in the bourgeois moral system, because they are completely different in nature. For example, a matter-of-fact attitude is a lofty national tradition of the Americans. Being responsible for one's work and attaching importance to efficiency is an indispensable attitude in life for the bourgeois individuals who are striving for personal success. This can also be called a high moral level in the individualist moral system. However, this particular character is determined by free competition under the private ownership system of capital, because work efficiency of an enterprise is connected with profits and the success or failure of capitalist competition. Whether one is responsible for one's work is a matter of vital importance, and a matter which will determine whether one will retain one's job. Therefore, although being responsible for one's work is a point of moral excellence of the capitalist society, its starting point and aim are based on personal interests. It is only a high moral level in the individualist moral system. The sense of responsibility for one's own job in the communist moral system is based on the collective interests and the collective moral principles of "putting public interests before self-interest," "putting public interests to the fore without taking self-interest into consideration" or "selflessness." Therefore, personal interests can be sacrificed. Of course, not all people with a communist moral style are completely free from the influence of the remnants of the individualistic moral system. However, their main ideas and

deeds belong to the communist moral system. Therefore, one's communist style is connected with the influence on one's mind of the remnants of the moral ideas of the exploiting class. When one is strongly influenced by the individualistic moral ideas of the exploiting class, one's understanding and consciousness of communist morality may be weakened and the level of one's moral conduct may be lowered. On the contrary, if a person is not strongly influenced by individualistic moral ideas, his level of understanding and consciousness of communist morality may be high and his moral style as demonstrated in moral practice may be lofty. Therefore, we now know the way to develop the lower level of communist moral style to the higher one. In other words, with education by the party and the support of the public opinion of the society, we should consciously fight against the influence of the individualistic moral system, do our best to overcome bourgeois individualistic ideology and raise our communist ideological consciousness. We should foster a strong will of striving for the communist cause in our practical life and start with small things in adhering to the practice of doing good turns for the people and for socialist construction. By so doing, we will gradually enhance the level of our communist ideological realm and moral style. Therefore, we should explicitly point out, in looking at opinions on morality, that selfish outlook and conduct are the kernel of the bourgeois individualist moral system and they cannot be tolerated even at the lowest level of communist morality.

III

There are higher and lower levels of moral style and the moral system is also divided into advanced and backward. The relationships between various factors in the moral style and moral system are a question of how an individual's subjective demands conform with the objective requirements the social moral principles and standards. In other words, this is also a question of how to turn the objective requirements of the social moral principles and standards into the individual moral subjective demands and practice of the members of the society. Moral principles and standards are fundamental stipulations whereas a moral style is a moral principle and a standard of individual moral conduct (practice) reflected in the specific ideological realm and state of mind. Such a state of mind reflects the fact that this particular individual has considerable understanding and cherishes affection for the objective requirements of the moral principles and standards. Therefore, with the raising of the individual's political consciousness, his understanding and affection for morals and the level of his moral style will also be enhanced. This particular individual might also achieve the greatest deeds and the loftiest human characteristics in fulfilling the ideals of morality.

The formation of the communist moral style is a complicated epistemological process and also a process of arduous struggle. In particular, as our country is now going through a new period, we should especially recognize this, through the 10 chaotic years, the principles of communist morality, were severely damaged and people's concept of communist morality was thrown into confusion. Apart from this, to carry out our socialist modernization more effectively, we must implement an open-door policy and pursue the practice of reforming the domestic economy and this will inevitably usher in the influence of the moral systems of bourgeois individualism and egoism. Therefore, a process is

needed to popularize the masses' understanding of the inevitability and necessity of communist ideology. We have previously mentioned that the communist moral system is an inevitable reflection of the economic relationships of the socialist public ownership system (including the system of collective ownership by the laborers. While sticking to the open-door policy toward foreign countries, we should carry out propaganda and education on communist morality and stress the necessity of applying moral requirements to people of various nationalities throughout the country. Communist ideas and morality are an ideological guarantee for the socialist orientation of the modernization program, and the main contents of the socialist spiritual civilization and the spiritual force which resists the corrosion of bourgeois ideology. Therefore, in the process of implementing various social policies and carrying out education, we should integrate our efforts with education on communist morality to enhance the understanding of the broad masses of people in this respect. At the same time, we should advocate the practice of working out specific moral standards in various fields of social life so that people will realize that the objective requirements of communist morality are both feasible and necessary. To enhance people's understanding of communist morality, we should carry out extensive propaganda work to let people know of some examples and models who have a deep understanding and have practiced the principles of communist morality. For example, deeds recounted in the book "People Who Compose Songs of Communist Triumph" are beneficial to deepening people's understanding of communist morality. From now on, we should continuously edit and publish various materials and books which recount moral deeds. This will not only help people enhance their understanding of communist morality and arouse their affection for morals, but also substantiate and amplify the objective requirements of the communist moral system. As long as people enhance and deepen their understanding of the moral principles and standards, they will set higher moral demands on themselves. It is obvious that a dialectical relationship between the objective requirements of the society and an individual's subjective requirements exists between the moral system and the moral style. The process of motion of such a dialectical relationship is precisely the process of extensively developing and enhancing communist morality.

It is not difficult for a person to do something good. It is more praiseworthy if he can persist in doing so for a long time and do good things all his life. We should persist in doing good things, no matter how common and petty they are. By so doing, we will cultivate a lofty communist morality and moral style. However, it is not easy for us to protractedly stick to the communist moral principles under all circumstances. We will inevitably encounter various kinds of obstructions and struggles. This is because moral conduct is always connected with a number of complicated personnel relationships and matters of right and wrong. When we are doing something, people with a sense of social responsibility and communist morality might support and encourage us. Some people with individualistic ideas and those who oppose communist morality might obstruct, oppose, mock and retaliate against us. Did some people not make some sarcastic comments on Chen Yanfei's lofty moral conduct of rescuing others at the risk of her life? Therefore, in the present historical stage socialism, the practice of communist morality will encounter various kinds of struggles. In particular, one needs courage for struggle and a strong will and the spirit of selflessness and self-sacrifice in order to pursue moral conduct of producting the public property of the socialist

society and exposing bad people and bad deeds in the interest of the socialist construction. It is obvious that the process of turning the objective requirements of the principles and standards of communist morality into individuals' moral conduct and moral style is a very acute and complicated process of struggle. Take the TV play "The Girl Who Sells Large Flat Bread" as an example. The leading character in the play goes through a number of struggles in order to fulfill moral requirements of doing her own job well and serving the people at her ordinary post. Her colleagues make sarcastic comments, customers criticize her, her boy friend misunderstands her and her mother despises the service trade. All these make her nearly break off amiable relations with her friends. However, she never becomes dejected. She pursues the spirit of fraternal unity, and takes active measures to enlighten and educate young staff members in the shop so that they keep their minds on their work and improve their labor and work style. To satisfy the needs of the masses, the shop increases the variety of food, expands its scope of services and delivers food to the doorstep in order to make things convenient for the masses. Such an act has been praised by the broad masses of people. At the same time, this changes some people's exploiting class ideas of looking down upon service trades. However, she never adopts methods of struggle of rebuking and blaming these people. Instead she sets an example with her own conduct and adopts methods of persuasion and education to help staff members and workers as well as the masses solve practical difficulties. She is praised by the masses because she educates those people with backward ideas so that they enhance their understanding of the social significance of service trades. This shows that moral practice and the formation of people's moral style have to undergo a complete process of struggle. Hence, the style of communist morality is characterized by staunch militancy. In the process of struggle to pursue moral practice, people reform both the subjective and objective world. The minimum requirements of the communist moral system will be gradually enhanced in people's constant practice and the ideals of communist morality will be continuously realized in people's practice. Therefore, the process of moral practice is the process of turning moral ideals into reality. Moral ideals are a moral orientation which guides and encourages people to make process. Specific moral standards permeated with moral ideals are also practical and feasible moral requirements. Therefore, communist morality as morals of a socialist society is completely in accord with the economic foundation of socialist society. This, just as Engels pointed out in his "Anti-Duhring," is the "morality which contains the most elements promising permanence, which, in the present, represents the overthrow of the present, represents the future, and therefore the proletarian morality." ("Anti-Duhring," p 99) Proletarian morality is social morality which is devoid of private property (means of production) and the exploiting system. To the capitalist society, this represents the future morality. Therefore, the objective requirements of such a moral system cannot be lowered. Actually, the level of moral practice of those who have sufficient understanding of communist morality always exceeds the requirements of specific moral standards.

At present, our country has entered a new historical period. A new situation has occurred and our economic policies have also changed. All these are determined by the development of socialist society in our country. However, our economic relations based on public ownership of the socialist society or economic foundation have not changed at all. In his report on the work of the

government delivered at the fourth session of the Fifth NPC held in 1981, Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out: "Socialist agriculture was established in China long ago, and it has since been consolidated. The broad masses of peasants have an immense reservoir of enthusiasm for socialism. On the one hand, they want to stick to the path of socialist collectivization of agriculture, to public ownership of land and other basic means of production. On the other hand, they demand an end to the overconcentration of power in the managerial system and arbitrary directions in the sphere of production, and an end to egalitarianism and a number of irrational burdens in the sphere of distribution." He added: "We must earnestly study and review the new conditions and problems that have emerged in the course of practice, adhere unwaveringly to the path of socialist collectivization and public ownership of land and other basic means of production, adhere unswervingly to the system of production responsibility in agriculture, and strive to improve the different types of responsibility system and our other rural economic policies." He explicitly pointed out that the guiding principle of the socialist agricultural economy, that is, the public ownership of agricultural farmland and basic means of production, remains unchanged and so does the path of agricultural collectivization. What are the new reforms and changes of our economic policies? This only refers to the problem of irrational structure of the previous management system, direction in the sphere of production and burdens in the sphere of distribution. However, public ownership by the socialist society as our basic economic relationship remains unchanged. We reiterate this in the draft of the revised constitution and in its general principles. Article 6 of the draft of the revised constitution says: "The basis of the socialist economic system of the PRC is socialist public ownership of the means of production, that, ownership by the whole people, and collective ownership by the working people. The socialist economic system has abolished the system of exploitation of man by man; it applies the principle 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work.'" Article 17 points out: "The state plans the national economy on the basis of socialist public ownership. It ensures the proportionate and coordinated development of the national economy through the comprehensive balancing of economic plans, with regulation by market mechanism as a subsidiary." "Public ownership system," "collectivization of agriculture" and "planned economy" are the material bases of the communist moral system of the socialist society. The collective principle of communist morality is fully in accord with the basic requirements of the socialist economic foundation. At present, the problem facing us is how to specifically implement the principles of communist morality in various fields so that the communist moral system will be improved. In the process of strengthening education on communist ideals and morals, we should see to it that the principles and standards of communist morality can easily be turned into the moral requirements on the part of the broad masses of people so that they will play a better role in the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

CSO: 4005/1226

PARTY AND STATE

'DAZHONG RIBAO' ON CLASS STRUGGLE IN NEW SITUATION

HK271122 Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Zhao Mingyi [6392 2494 5030] and Cheng Shaochen [4453 4801 5256]: "Correctly Understand the Class Struggle in the New Situation"]

[Text] This was pointed out in the "Resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC": "Class struggle no longer constitutes the principal contradiction after the exploiters have been eliminated as classes. However, owing to certain domestic factors and influences from abroad, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come and may even grow acute under certain conditions. It is necessary to oppose both the view that the scope of class struggle must be enlarged and the view that it has died out. It is imperative to maintain a high level of vigilance and conduct effective struggle against all those who are hostile to socialism and try to sabotage it in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields and in community life." Practice shows that the above basic assessment of the class struggle during a period of development in our country's socialist society and the basic policy for dealing with the class struggle as mentioned in the "resolution" were entirely correct. Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the focus of the party's work has been gradually shifted to socialist modernization and the party has decided to carry out the policies of opening the door externally and enlivening the economy internally. Under this new historical development, many new, specific conditions have appeared in class struggle. We must take the "resolution" as our guide in correctly understanding and handling the class struggle in the new situation.

This was pointed out in the "Decision on hitting at serious criminal activities in the economic sphere" promulgated by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council: What is particularly appalling is that in the past few years, there has been a marked increase in serious criminal activities such as smuggling, trade in smuggled goods, corruption, profiteering, deception and the stealing of property belonging to the state and the collective, and such activities were rampant among a few functionaries in some localities. These activities seriously damaged the economy and were often carried out by a few functionaries of state organs. Enterprises and establishments in collaboration with some lawless persons in society. Sometimes they were carried out in the name of the state or collective and were even supported by some leading cadres. The

situation is much more serious than that during the movements against the three evils and against the five evils launched in 1952. If allowed to spread unchecked, it will seriously jeopardize the future of our country's socialist cause. The serious criminal activities in the economic field are a salient feature of the class struggle in the current new situation. Some specific historical conditions have determined that this struggle will invariably be underway on a long-term basis, take a tortuous path and be complicated in nature. We must attach great importance to it.

In the current new situation, class struggle is an equally salient feature in the political, ideological and cultural spheres. While hitting at the criminal activities in the economic field, we must fight against corrosion in the political, ideological and cultural spheres. Spiritual pollution and poisoning are closely related to economic crimes. The bourgeoisie will first make a breakthrough in the ideological sphere and destroy the spiritual line of defense in order to disintegrate the ranks of our cadres and people. The obscene literary and artistic works and the bourgeois decadent way of life are precisely the major media of bourgeois decadent thinking. Numerous facts show that the criminals who had been corrupted by the bourgeoisie were the first to be corroded ideologically and were confused by the capitalist decadent thinking, became extreme individualists bent solely on profit and were self-centered, so that they suffered a crushing defeat in the face of the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie. For this reason, it is imperative to fight against corrosion in the political, ideological and cultural spheres in order to carry out class struggle in the economic fields through to the end.

Class struggle in the new situation absolutely does not occur by change. It has deep roots socially, historically and ideologically. There are both internal and external causes. The conditions of the Chinese mainland show that: First, the exploiters have been eliminated as classes, but their remnants have not been completely wiped out. There still are counterrevolutionaries, enemy spies, criminals disrupting social order, degenerates, offenders guilty of graft, embezzlement and profiteering, remnants of the "gang of four" and remnants of the old exploiting classes. Second, the ideological influence of exploiters will continue to exist for a long time and will be reflected in varying degrees as a force of habit among the people and the party members and cadres. The conditions outside the Chinese mainland show that: First, our socialist country is still encircled by imperialism and capitalism. The struggle between socialism and capitalism will continue to exist. The foreign bourgeoisie tries to infiltrate our country economically, politically, ideologically, culturally and in life style through various channels, in an attempt to make our country go through "peaceful evolution." Second, in the parts of our country which have not yet been liberated, the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes occupy a dominant position and come into contact with us in one way or another every day, so that struggle goes on in different forms. This determines that the class struggle in our country will still be carried out on a long-term basis, take a tortuous path and be complicated in nature. For this reason, we must heighten our vigilance and avoid being bogged down consciously or unconsciously in the theory that class struggle has died out; however, we should not be frightened out of our wits and get nervous, otherwise we will make mistakes of broadening the scope of

class struggle. We should bear in mind the lessons learned in these two aspects.

If so, what is the difference between the class struggle in the current new situation and the former practice of "taking class struggle as the key link"? This is a real problem about which many people are concerned. First, in the past, class struggle was taken as the principal contradiction and the elimination of exploiters as classes was not recognized. Now, our party has openly announced that the exploiters have been eliminated as classes, that class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction and that the principal contradiction in our country is the contradiction between the people's ever-growing demand for better material and cultural lives and the weak productive forces in society. Second, in the past, class struggle was regarded as being present everywhere, at all times, throughout the historical period of socialism and in all aspects of community life and that everything is related to class struggle. At present, the "Resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC" has solemnly pointed out that class struggle will continue to exist only within certain limits for a long time. These limits refer to the class struggle against the various kinds of activities carried out by the above-mentioned five kinds of elements and two kinds of remnants against the socialist cause, and the struggle of the proletarian ideology against the feudalist and capitalist ideas among the people. Furthermore, during the "great cultural revolution," the concept of "peaceful evolution" had been discriminately used and linked with "taking class struggle as the key link," and the danger of "peaceful evolution" was described as imminent nationwide restoration of capitalism. Now, we have acquired an accurate understanding of the danger of "peaceful evolution": We must confirm the existence of the danger of "peaceful evolution" and must neither let it go unchecked nor lower our guard against it. We must also see clearly that the phenomena of corruption leading to "peaceful evolution" are only an adverse current and that it is entirely possible for us to repulse all kinds of attacks of the class enemies at home and abroad and to win victories in our fight against capitalist corrosion. Lastly, in the past, when the danger inside the party was mentioned, it was said that the key was with the leadership. This meant that it was necessary to ferret out and struggle against the "capitalist roaders" at all levels. But, the meaning of "capitalist roader" was not clearly defined and the label of "capitalist roader" was indiscriminately put on some people, thereby resulting in a great number of cases in which people were wronged, misjudged or framed. At present, we say that the danger of "peaceful evolution" comes from the party and the key lies with the leaders at the intermediate and top levels of the party. We do so for the purpose of increasing the party's fighting capacity, enabling the party's leading cadres to withstand training and tests in the new situation where the policies of opening the door externally and enlivening the economy internally have been adopted, so that they can shoulder the heavy task of leading the people in carrying out the four modernizations during the new historical period. We have defined very clearly the limits within which we hit at criminal activities in the economic sphere. The spearhead of struggle is aimed right at the small number of criminals and degenerates, and the socialist laws are applied in struggling against them. At the same time, emphasis is laid on strictly distinguishing between offenses against law and faults in work. In this way, it is possible to avoid the method of hitting at many and

the mistake of broadening the scope of attack. A comparison between the class struggle in the current new situation and the so-called class struggle conducted in the past in the form of "taking class struggle as the key link" and seizing hold of the "capitalist roaders" shows that there is a principled distinction between them in form and content and in the guiding ideology and specific policy and that they cannot be confused. This effectively guarantees the healthy development of the fight against corrosion and vigorously quickens the progress of the four modernizations in our country. Let us rally around the CPC Central Committee, work concertedly, take an active part in the fight against the corrosion of capitalist ideas and strive to build our country into a great, powerful, modern socialist country with highly developed democracy and civilization.

CSO: 4005/1267

PARTY AND STATE

'LIAONING RIBAO' ON REORGANIZING LEADERSHIP GROUPS

HK261302 Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 17 Aug 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Properly Straighten Out the Leadership Groups"]

[Text] At present, the overall reorganization of enterprises has encountered a prominent problem, and that is: How to reorganize and build well the leadership groups of enterprises.

As a result of restorative rectification in the past few years, the majority of leadership groups of the industrial and communication enterprises in our province are good or fairly good. But in light of the requirements of the four modernization and of taking a new way in economic construction, there widely exist the problems of overstaffing, overage, under-education and low effectiveness, and weak physique in the leadership groups. In some of the leadership groups there exist to a certain extent weakness, laxity and impurity of organization. This has affected the transformation and reorganization of enterprises, has influenced the progress of production, management and administration in the enterprises, and has affected further upgrading of the economic returns of the enterprises. Therefore, to be determined to reorganize and build the leadership groups of enterprises well is the key to overall reorganization, and is a task that brooks no delay in building well the four modernizations.

In reorganizing and building the leadership groups of enterprises, first of all we need to select to the leadership groups middle-aged and young cadres who support the party line, who have enthusiasm, who have the spirit to blaze new trails and who can open up new aspects, and in particular select them to be directors and managers. Facts have proved that, provided there are a few of these "understanding persons" managing affairs, production is sure to develop. But when selecting young cadres, there are some people who, bound by "leftist" ideology, want to arrange positions according to seniority and try to nitpick. Some worry that young cadres have insufficient qualifications and lack experience, and fear that they cannot shoulder heavy tasks and control the situation; some others hold that young cadres are arrogant and seek to put others down, and are too lively to be steady; some even consider that professional personnel are good at special techniques, but may not be good at leadership work, and so on and so forth. All these notions are incorrect. There is no pure gold, neither is there perfect man, and this is a constant truth. Were not many of our veteran cadres young when they were holding

leadership posts during those early years? Today if we compare the middle-aged and young cadres with the veterans when they were young, their professional knowledge, practical experience and capability in organizational leadership are by no means inferior to the veterans from earlier years, so what is it that keeps us from resting assured? So long as we correct our understanding and emancipate our minds, the cadres will appear before us. So long as we follow the mass line and persist in the principle of combining organizational exmaination with mass recommendation, we can establish capable and forceful leadership groups that are more revolutionary, more knowledgeable, more professional and of a lower age, and form a command center that can lead the masses in building the four modernizations with high effect.

In the course of rectifying enterprise leadership groups, some of our veteran comrades are bound to withdraw from the leadership groups. The veteran comrades in the central organs have set an example in this respect. In light of the needs of building the four modernizations, the rectification and building of leadership groups in the enterprises concerns the overall situation and the fundamental interest of the party also. There are many veteran comrades who put this general interest first and value the interests of the party's cause above everything else. They insist on subordinating personal interests to party interests. With lofty political responsibility and enthusiasm, they are selecting and recommending worthy and capable persons and taking the initiative in withdrawing themselves from leading posts. They have made new contributions to the building of leadership groups in the enterprises. This is a task bestowed on veteran comrades by history. While reorganizing the leadership groups, we must firmly and conscientiously implement the requirements and regulations of the CPC Central Committee on the aspects of age, number of persons, educational level, specialization and so on. We can by no means fall short of the requirements. As for the veteran cadres who have withdrawn to the second and third lines, we must appropriately arrange their work in line with the principle of maintaining their political life and giving them good living conditions. We must immediately help them solve their difficulties which may arise at any time.

The rectification and building of leadership groups in the enterprises is not only a problem of replacing personnel; it mainly consists of rectification and building of ideology and work style. We msut persist in setting high standards and strict demands, persevere in the principle of ideology taking the lead, conscientiously implement the "guiding principles," earnestly unfold criticism and self-criticism and resolutely check all unhealthy tendencies with the rectification spirit. Through the rectification of ideology and work style we must form the leadership groups into headquarters which have fighting spirit, can take the lead, have prestige among the masses and have good ideology and work style.

The higher level departments in charge of the enterprises at all levels should prevent and overcome the ideology of hesitation, fear of offending people, weakness and passivity and failure to advance in rectification work. So long as the leading organs and cadres strictly adhere to the standard, dare to tackle tough problems, personally investigate and grasp the real situation and do ideological work, the rectification and building of leadership groups can be conducted well.

CSO: 4005/1268

PARTY AND STATE

NORTHEAST PROVINCES PARTY HISTORY CONFERENCE

SK210426 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Aug 82

[Text] According to our reporters, the work conference sponsored by three northeastern provinces on collecting the party's historical data opened in Shenyang this morning. Attending the conference were the three provinces' delegations headed by Li Huang, permanent secretary of the Liaoning Provincial CPC Committee; Yu Lin, secretary of the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee; and Li Jianbai, secretary of the Heilongjiang Provincial CPC Committee. Comrades Tong Xiaopeng and (Xie Xiaonai), vice chairmen of the party history compilation committee under the CPC Central Committee, attended the conference as councilors. Also attending the conference were veteran comrades who had worked or fought in Liaoning Province or northeastern areas, including Wang Shoudao, (Wu Baohe), Mao Cheng, Wang Yizhi, Wang Minggui, (Li Lican), (Li Zhanyu), (Li Yingfu), Li Weizhong, Song Li, Su Zhewen, Xiao Danfeng, (Yang Guanghua), Zhang Ying, Zhang Zhiling, Zhang Ruilin, (Ji Qing), (Zhou Ziyun), (Yan Ruiyuan), (Xia Shangzhi), Han Yijun, Han Guang, (Han Shuisheng), Jiang Zemin, (Teng Siru) and (Xin Wen). Others attending the conference were comrades in charge of collecting the party's historical data from units concerned under the CPC Central Committee; the PLA; various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions; and the Shenyang PLA units.

Comrade Li Huang addressed the opening ceremony. In his speech, on behalf of the Liaoning Provincial CPC Committee and Provincial People's Government, he first extended a warm welcome and hearty appreciation to all participants. Then he stated: Our party bravely waged long revolutionary struggles by arousing the people throughout Liaoning and wrote illustrious chapters in the party's annals. The party has amassed many precious experiences in these struggle activities in which all documents and deeds will, of course, become the party's revolutionary history. However, owing to the harsh reality of struggles in that period, only a few of these documents and records were kept. This requires us to make all-out efforts to recover them. All materials concerned still kept by some comrades should be collected and reorganized in a systematic manner. We are determined to take advantage of this conference to earnestly solicit elderly revolutionaries' offers in this regard and to modestly learn from the experience gained by them in those struggles. We are convinced that the work to collect the party's historical data in our province will succeed in a down-to-earth manner.

Comrades Wang Shoudao, Zhang Zhiling, (Yan Ruiyuan), (Xie Xiaonai) and (Han Shuisheng) also addressed the opening ceremony. In their speeches, they noted: The northeastern area is one of the places in China where the establishment of the CPC and CYL organizations occurred early on. The region has a long history of revolutionary struggles. The area also is a treasure house with abundant party data. This requires us to make efforts to recover them. They hoped that the three provinces would make concerted efforts to mobilize and organize retired veteran comrades to make contributions to collecting the party's historical data to greet the convocation of the 12th Party Congress.

CSO: 4005/1268

PARTY AND STATE

LIAONING HOLDS MEETING ON STUDY OF MAO'S WORKS

SK310350 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 Aug 82

[Text] On the eve of the convocation of the 12th National Party Congress, the Shenyang PLA units held a meeting to sum up and exchange experience of indepth study and Mao Zedong's works since the third plenary session and to talk freely about the gratifying situation in enhancing the communist consciousness of cadres and fighters. During the meeting, some 20 units and individuals introduced their experience.

Zhang Wu, deputy political commissar of the Shenyang PLA units, pointed out in his summing-up report: We must fully understand the important significance of studying Mao Zedong Thought under the new situation and realistically pay due attention to this work. In light of the demand for a thorough and correct understanding of Mao Zedong's works, efforts must be made to systematically organize the PLA units to study Mao Zedong Thought. We must correctly implement the principle of integrating theory with practice, strive to improve the ability of cadres and fighters to understand the world and to change it and strive to explore all kinds of study methods to suit the ability of cadres and fighters. In the course of studying and implementing the documents and resolutions of the 12th Party Congress, efforts must be made to launch activities with a communist ideology and spirit to study Mao Zedong Thought in a down-to-earth and more effective way.

CSO: 4005/1268

HEILONGJIANG URGES ATTENTION TO WORKSTYLE RECTIFICATION

SK271026 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Aug 82

[Station commentator's article: "CPC Committees Must Assume Responsibility for Improving Party Workstyle in an Earnest Manner"]

[Excerpts] Since the third plenary session, the CPC Central Committee has adopted a series of important measures to improve party workstyle. The provincial CPC Committee and CPC Committees at various levels, in line with the CPC Central Committee's plans, have also regarded party workstyle rectification as an important issue, placed it high on their agenda and made sustained efforts to attend to it.

Following 3 years of efforts, party workstyle has improved markedly throughout the province. The party's fine traditions and workstyle are being revived and developed, the political quality of party members has improved and a great number of party members with strong party spirit who take the lead in improving party workstyle and party organizations with great fighting capacity have emerged. Improved party workstyle has facilitated the improvement of the general mood of society and public security. This achievement is gratifying and inspiring.

The basic experience in improving party workstyle we have gained over the past few years of practice is that CPC Committees exert earnest efforts to assume the responsibility and are bold to rectify it. If CPC Committees make earnest efforts, party workstyle will certainly improve. Facts have shown that as long as CPC Committees enhance their understanding, strengthen leadership and grasp party workstyle rectification as firmly as they do the important matters concerning the life of the party, party workstyle will surely improve.

We should help in every way the CPC Committees which have conducted party workstyle rectification poorly, so that they can catch up with others as quickly as possible. Some party organizations in some areas have not effectively dealt with party members who violated law and discipline, thus damaging the party's prestige among the masses. This is a matter we should pay great attention to. In the future, we should strictly enforce party discipline. We should severely deal with those who violate law and discipline so that their ill influence can be overcome and the masses of party members and people will be educated and inspired to adhere to principles and be bold in struggling against unhealthy trends.

CSO: 4005/1268

PARTY AND STATE

LIAONING COMMENTARY ON REMNANTS OF GANG OF FOUR

SK271124 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Aug 82

[Station commentary: "We Must Not Underestimate Remaining Forces of the Gang of Four"]

[Text] The Jinzhou Municipal Intermediate People's Court's decision to retry (Jing Decun), a surviving element of the gang of four who is guilty of serious crimes, is a just action for safeguarding the sanctity of the law. The twists and turns involved in handling this case pose a provocative question. Following the smashing of the gang of four, and particularly after the third plenary session, we have effectively dealt with and eliminated a number of surviving elements of the gang of four through constant investigation and struggle, thus splitting and disintegrating their forces.

However, one fact ought to draw our attention: The surviving elements of the gang of four cherish some illusions. Many of them are spying the political trend and bide their time for a counteroffensive. Some still nurse a grievance against the party and the people to this day. They stir up trouble, ask for an audience with the higher authorities and lodge complaints in a vain attempt to reverse verdicts. Others establish secret ties and spread reactionary opinions to viciously attack and oppose the party's line, principles and policies and voice grievances for the gang of four. This is particularly true of those whc slipped through the net of investigation as well as those who were ferreted out but escaped punishment by currying favor with people in authority or even were reinstituted and promoted by cashing in on factional influence and the paralytic thinking of some comrades. They abuse their power to organize factions and resist the line, principles and policies adopted since the third plenary session.

All this shows that we must not underestimate the remaining forces of the gang of four. It should be pointed out there is nothing unusual for those surviving elements of the gang of four, with their evil intent alive, to make a vain effort to reverse verdicts. There is also nothing to be afraid of. With the great strength of the party and the people and with the formidable might of the people's democratic dictatorship behind us, their dreams are doomed to fail.

The key to the problem is that many of our comrades lack an adequate understanding of the seriousness and the protracted nature of this struggle. Their

sense of struggle is gradually weakening, and they are beginning to lower their guard. This will provide an opportunity for people like (Jing Decun) to launch a counteroffensive to reverse verdicts. The reality of class struggle shows us that we must wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the remaining elements of the gang of four, who are still active in counterrevolutionary sabotage activities. Those who violate the criminal code must not be excessively accommodated. They must be punished in accordance with the law. Supervision must be enhanced over those who do not violate the criminal code but adhere to their reactionary stand. Attention should be paid to checking on their behavior on a regular basis and waging a necessary struggle against them to make them shed their reactionary stand and adopt a new stand. Those who slipped through the net of investigation and those who were reinstated must be seriously rescreened and resolutely dealt with. Only by so doing can we consolidate the fruits we have gained and develop the excellent situation characterized by stability and unity.

CSO: 4005/1268

BRIEFS

NORTHEAST CONFERENCE ON PARTY HISTORY--The conference of three Northeast Provinces on Collecting Party History Data concluded today in Shenyang, Liaoning Province, after a 5-day session. Commissions of the three provinces for the collection of party history data submitted reports on their work. Nine comrades donated precious party history data such as pictures and diaries. Li Huang, permanent secretary of the Liaoning Provincial CPC Committee, presided at the closing ceremony. Yu Lin, secretary of the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee, delivered the closing speech. [SK252329 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Aug 82 SK]

JILIN BIRTH CONTROL--Through the efforts of the people from all levels, the planned birth rate in Jilin Province in 1981 reached 78.41 percent, only-birth rate 75.65 percent and only-child certificate application rate 76.64 percent. The rate of multiple births declined to 6.86 percent and natural population growth rate to 9.79 per thousand, which is a record. [Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Aug 82 SK]

JILIN MINORITY EDUCATION--Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, Jilin Province, has vigorously developed minority education. This prefecture now has 593 nurseries and the rate of children entering nurseries has reached 67.5 percent. Yanbian Prefecture now has 12 secondary vocational schools and technical schools for workers and about 1,900 students are of Korean nationality, an increase of 114.1 percent over that of the early period of the prefecture's founding. In institutions of higher learning, including the Yanbian University, the Yanbian Medical College and the Yanbian Agricultural College, 2,400 students are of Korean nationality. In addition, this prefecture has 3 workers' universities and 156 workers' schools in factories and mines. A minority educational system has taken shape in Yanbian Autonomous Prefecture. [Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Aug 82 SK]

JILIN HONEY HARVEST--Antu County, Jilin Province, has reaped a bumper harvest in honey and royal jelly in 1982. So far, the supply and marketing cooperatives have procured some 1.3 million jin of honey, an increase of 680,000 jin over the corresponding 1981 period, and 7,000 jin of royal jelly, an increase of 5,520 jin over 1981. Thanks to sufficient rainfall in this county, the quality and quantity of honey were better than the previous year. [Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Aug 82 SK]

JILIN CRIME RATE--Cadres and policemen on the political and judicial fronts in Jilin Province have done a good job in struggling against criminals since the third plenary session. The crime rate in the first half of 1982 declined by 29 percent compared to that of the corresponding period in 1979. The rate of solved cases rose by 12.1 percent. Cadres of judicial departments have also helped many misguided youths turn over a new leaf and enterprises and establishments maintain good order. [Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Aug 82 SK]

JILIN COMMENDATION RALLY--The Jilin Provincial People's Government held a rally to commend model workers in Changchun on 26 August. A large number of advanced individuals and collectives that sprang up in 1979 were named special-class model workers, model workers and model collectives of the province. Leading comrades of the Provincial CPC Committee, the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress, the Provincial Government and the Provincial CPPCC Committee, including (Zhao Xiu), Chen Hong, Zhao Tianye, Dong Xin, Wang Jiping and Guan Mengjue, attended the rally. (Zhao Xiu), secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee and vice governor, read the decision of the Provincial People's Government on conferring the titles of special-class model workers, model workers and model collectives of the province. Vice Governor Dong Xin spoke. [SK271015 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Aug 82 SK]

SHANDONG CRIMINAL CASES--Thanks to the consolidation of social order and public security, the social mood in Shandong Province has improved remarkably since the beginning of 1982. In the January-July period, the incidence of criminal cases dropped by 21 percent from the corresponding 1981 period. The incidence of serious criminal cases dropped by 5.6 percent. The rate of solved serious cases reached 92.9 percent. Since the second half of the year, some 4,700 criminals and law violators have surrendered themselves to public security departments. More than 7,300 delinquents have stopped their law violating activities through others' education and assistance. Over the past few years, the masses exposed law violations on 21,000 occasions and 6,900 criminals were arrested in light of people's exposure. [SK200458 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 19 Aug 82 SK]

FUJIAN DELEGATES ATTEND CONGRESS--According to FUJIAN RIBAO, party delegates from our province arrived in Beijing by plane on 27 August to attend the 12th CPC National Congress scheduled to open on 1 September. There are 27 delegates from our province to the 12th CPC National Congress, 3 alternate delegates and 4 observers. The delegates are: Xiang Nan, (Chen Bi), Li Zhengting, (Shen Hui) (female), (Ma Zhongheng), Wu Hongxiang, (Chen Mali) (female), (Mei Changlu) (female), (Lai Aiguang), (Sun Jiuxun), You Dexin, (Ma Jinren), Liao Zhigao, (Long Yuan), (Li Lianhuang), (Liu Bingren), (Zhang Hejin), (Liu Jinmei) (female), (Gao Hu), (Gao Erjin), (Pan Rumao), (Lu Dongming), (Zheng Chengliang), (Lin Huitang), Hu Ping, Zuo Fengmei and (Xiao Jie). The alternate delegates are: (Chen Yuantao), (Chen Zaiji) and (Jiang Fuguan). The observers are: (Hu Hong), Wei Jinshui, (Jin Zhongdian) and (Zhang Chuandong). [Excerpts] [OW311315 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 29 Aug 82]

GUANGDONG OVERSEAS CHINESE POLICIES--Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Guangdong Province has seriously implemented all policies on overseas Chinese affairs and achieved outstanding results. According to statistics, by the end of 1981, the whole province had reviewed and reversed 5,814 verdicts on grievances, trumped-up cases and miscarriages of justice in which 10,604 returned overseas Chinese and the dependents of overseas Chinese were implicated because of the so-called overseas relations. The whole province removed the labels of landlords and rich peasants from 4,910 overseas Chinese households and the labels of landlords and rich peasants from 10,667 households of overseas Chinese and Hong Kong and Macao compatriots, whose labels should have been removed ahead of schedule but had not been removed in accordance with the decision of the CPC Central Committee in 1956. All overseas Chinese households whose labels had been removed were issued in the name of county and municipal governments with the certificates of the removal of the labels. By the end of 1981, 71.8 percent of overseas Chinese houses which were rented and over which control was taken during the 10 years of turmoil had been returned to their owners for their control or use, and 62 percent of overseas Chinese houses which were occupied had been returned to their owners. The government has made proper arrangements for some 3,400 overseas Chinese who returned home to settle down. [HK261320 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 20 Aug 82 HK]

CSO: 4005/1270

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'DAZHONG RIBAO' ON ARMED FORCES, MILITIA RELATIONS

HK311501 Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Zhao Feng [6392 1496]: "A Talk on the Work of Commune Armed Forces Departments"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, profound changes have occurred in the work of the commune armed forces departments. In the course of mobilizing the militia to fulfill all tasks, we have scored outstanding results and accumulated rich experiences and are well received by cadres and the masses. In the wake of implementing the party's line, policies and principles and the gradual popularization of the production responsibility system, new situations and new problems have emerged in the work of the commune armed forces departments. As regards how to adapt to the new situation and further promote the work of the commune armed forces, all units have tried out some new experiences. However, regarding this issue that is related to the overall situation of militia work, the CPC Committees and the people's armed forces departments at all levels must work very hard, conduct research and make summaries. Here, I would like to put forth some of my personal views.

(1) What Are the Tasks and Responsibilities of the Commune Armed Forces Department?

The work of commune armed forces departments must be based on the instructions of the higher level CPC Committees on militia work and military service and on the arrangements of the commune CPC Committees concerning the task of building the militia. This was defined by the CPC Central Committee a long time ago. To be specific, they are the 10 tasks of the trial "duties of cadres working full-time for the people's armed forces" stipulated at the Provincial Militia Work Conference. In conclusion, there are five major tasks: 1. Educate and mobilize the militia cadres and the broad masses of the militia to implement the party's line, policies and principles and to conscientiously observe government laws and decrees. 2. Mobilize and organize the militia to actively participate in industrial and agricultural production and play an exemplary role in building the "two civilizations." 3. Organize the militia to promote political education. the building of organizations, military training, combat readiness and management over weapons and to do a good job of the "three implementations" of militia work in a down-to-earth manner. 4. Do a good job of military service and reserve duty; undertake the task of recruiting and promoting the militia and settling the retired armymen; be responsible for

management over mobilization of the militia and the registration and statistics of the reserve duty. 5. Guide the militia to join the army and take part in war during wartime; be responsible for some fighting tasks; adhere to carrying out on-the-spot struggles and safeguarding local political power. In the course of fulfilling these tasks and carrying out these duties, the commune armed forces department is the bridge and link for integrating the military departments of higher levels with the commune CPC Committees and with the broad masses of the militia. This is a very important intermediate link. Thus, we can see that the status of and the role played by the commune armed forces departments is very important and the tasks are arduous. Some people hold: The commune armed forces departments only rectify the organization, organize a training course once every year and political classes once every month and nothing else. Such views underestimate the role played by the commune armed forces departments; they do not conform to the reality.

Therefore, we must attach appropriate importance to the commune armed forces departments and carry out the work in accordance with the principle of division of labor for the party, government and army. In assigning work, the commune CPC Committees must take the characteristics of the work of full-time cadres in charge of the armed forces into consideration. They must not assign all sorts of tasks to them and exhaust their energy to promote militia work. It is obviously unsuitable for the "professional" cadres in charge of the armed forces to become "part-time" armed forces cadres. Furthermore, full-time cadres in charge of the armed forces must not hold that "it is better to rely on the commune CPC Committees than the party committee of the county armed forces departments." It is equally irrational to set economic work against military work and to ignore and slacken militia work. The correct method is: Full-time cadres in charge of the armed forces should carry out their specific duties and the commune armed forces departments should concentrate on militia work.

(2) Fully Understand the Relations Between the Commune CPC Committees and the Commune Armed Forces Departments, Between Central Tasks of the Party and Tasks of the Armed Forces and Between Peacetime and Wartime

In my opinion, it is very important for us to probe into the above relations, correctly handle them in practical work and suitably solve the various problems so as to do a good job in the work of the armed forces departments in an all-round way.

//The relations between the commune CPC Committee and the commune armed forces departments.// The commune armed forces departments are under the dual leadership of the CPC Committees of the county armed forces departments and the commune CPC Committees. This dual leadership incorporates the relations between the commune CPC Committees and the commune armed forces departments. The implication is that: 1. Since the commune armed forces departments are special organs that are engaged in militia work and military service and are the grassroots organizations of the armed forces system, naturally, the commune armed forces departments are subordinate to the CPC Committees of the county armed forces departments under the dual leadership relations. 2. Since the commune armed forces departments are the military departments of the commune CPC Committees, naturally they are under

the leadership of the commune CPC Committees. However, the leadership of the commune CPC Committees over the commune armed forces departments is to ensure that the commune armed forces departments implement the instructions of the CPC Committees of higher levels on militia work. 3. While accepting the leadership of the county CPC Committees, the commune CPC Committees must also accept the leadership of the CPC Committees of the county armed forces departments on militia work. In accordance with the actual situation of the local communes, they should make overall plans, take all factors into consideration and make specific arrangements to implement the instructions of the higher levels. 4. The commune armed forces departments must be good at integrating the intructions of the CPC Committees of the county armed forces departments with the actual situation of the local communes, in accordance with the arrangement of the commune CPC Committees. They must actively carry out their work. They must implement the instructions of the CPC Committees of the county armed forces departments while carrying out the work under the unified leadership of the commune CPC Committees. Furthermore, they must operate under the unified leadership of the commune CPC Committees; neither should be overemphasized at the expense of the other. In handling the relations between the commune CPC Committees and the commune armed forces departments, we must note that the commune CPC Committee must not treat the commune armed forces departments as ordinary vocational departments, and allow full-time armed forces cadres to become divorced from militia work for a long period of time, and become secretaries, section heads or chairmen of an administrative region thus changing the nature of their work. Apart from this, the commune armed forces departments must not forget their proper position, just because they are under dual leadership; still less should they refuse to modestly accept the leadership of the commune CPC Committees. Only if we clearly state the relations between the two will we be able to better bring the fine tradition, that the armed forces is under the party, into full play and do a good job of militia work under the leadership of the party.

//The relations between the party's central tasks and the tasks of the armed forces departments.// This is also related to doing a good job of industrial and agricultural production and to militia and military service work. This is significant in the following 3 points: 1. Since production is the most important task and social practice of the militia and since mobilizing and organizing the militia to do a good job of production is an important duty of the armed forces, therefore, one of the objectives of militia and military service work is to promote economic construction. 2. The CPC Central authorities' decisions on militia and military service work have considered the actual needs of future wars and the actual capability for national economic construction. Therefore, militia and military service work must be coordinated with economic construction. 3. Carry out militia and military service work, and pay attention to concentrating on industrial and agricultural production, being subordinate to it and serving it. For example: When promoting political education, we must consider how to mobilize the production enthusiasm of the militia; when choosing the time for training, we must consider the busy and slack farming seasons and organize the militia to protect farms and slopes so as to ensure a bumper harvest. In short, the relations between the two are identical and complementary. We must note that we must not indiscriminately treat everything as the party's central task and rely on full-time armed forces cadres to promote the work. The commune armed forces departments should also take the initiative to promote cooperation with other departments.

//The relations between peacetime and wartime.// On the one hand, the militia work and military service is related to peacetime and wartime. In other words, militia work during peace is preparation work for war. Only if we do a good job in building the militia front during peacetime can we perfect the reserve duty system and only then will the enemies be swamped in the vast ocean of a people's war during war and will we ensure the security of the great motherland. On the other hand, peacetime and wartime also are related to national defense construction and economic construction. First of all, the objective of modernizing national defense is to win a future war of antiaggression. Furthermore, strengthening economic construction will lay a firm material foundation for wartime. In this respect, the two are identical. Moreover, national defense construction is restricted by economic construction while national defense construction safeguards economic construction. The two must compliment each other and develop in coordination. In view of the above two points, we must base our efforts on peacetime, prepare for wartime and do a good job of militia and military service work in a down-to-earth manner while speeding up economic construction.

3) What Work Methods Will Meet With the Characteristics of Militia Work?

In accordance with the experiences of some advanced units over the past years, the method of "having three starting points" is appropriate and scientific. It meets with the characteristics of militia work.

//1. Start with ideological work and lay a firm foundation for militia work.// Ideological and political work is the lifeline of militia work. Especially now that the cadres are active in their thinking and their thoughts are very complicated, we must adhere to the principle of "giving priority to ideology," practically grasp ideological work and the building of spiritual civilization, and lay a firm political foundation for militia work. In this respect, we must make the commune armed forces departments into ideological and political work departments of the militia, and carry out regular ideological work. The armed forces cadres must be good at making friends with the militia, thoroughly understand their trend of thought and carry out appropriate work concerning the militia in accordance with their changes of thinking. They must use the party's line, policies and principles to unify the thought of the militia so that they will meet the demands of the times and maintain their revolutionary enthusiasm. We must pay attention to the actual situation of the militia when carrying out education on patriotism, internationalism and revolutionary heroism and education on the party's four basic principles and on current policies and basic knowledge for the militia and launch activities to learn from Lei Feng, foster a new work style and fight corruption. In carrying out education on communist ideals and moral character, we must pay attention to improving the results of ideological and political work. The work must be specific, scientific and knowledgeable. Full-time militia cadres must learn from Li Yanjie, lecturer of Beijing Teachers University, and Comrade Zhang Jishan, "model militia commander," and be good at enlightening the militia and strive to become ideological workers who are observant and conscientious.

//2. Start with building the cadre rank and establish a backbone rank for militia work that is particularly good at fighting.// Since the militia rank is rather large, there are many key points and it has an extensive scope of

work. To do a good job in building this rank, we must have a backbone team that is particularly good at fighting. Thus, we must start with promoting the cadre rank. In dealing with the cadres, first of all, the militia cadres must maintain vigorous and selfless revolutionary spirit. If the militia cadres are only concerned about their own families, lead an easy life, and carry out superficial work without really understanding the actual situation, not only will they fail to do a good job of militia work, but they will create harmful effects among the militia. Therefore, the militia cadres must depart from a narrow egoistic circle; they must work assiduously rather than seeking personal fame and gain. They must also pay attention to studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and learning the party's line, principles and policies and the relevant instructions of the higher levels on militia work, and incessantly launch education on party work style and party discipline, patriotism and internationalism, adhere to dealing blows at economic criminals and fighting corruption, launch criticism and self-criticism, promote spiritual civilization and maintain ideological purity from start to finish. This is the basic guarantee for doing a good job of the work. Apart from this, while promoting their own construction, we must promote the building of the militia cadre rank. The higher levels must set good examples for the lower levels and the cadres must set good examples for the militia and establish a powerful cadre rank that is particularly good at fighting so as to mobilize and promote the building of the whole militia rank.

//3. Start with promoting production and incessantly open up new aspects for militia work.// Participating in production is one of the three major tasks for the militia. Since the members militia are young and strong, they are the backbone force of production. Therefore, starting with production is the correct way to promote militia work and it is a scientific method determined by the nature and tasks of the militia. How are we to start with production? This demands that the militia cadres foster an overall understanding, be concerned about the situation of production, understand the progress of production, probe into the law of production, learn something about production and promptly put forth some proposals to the CPC Committee to promote production and try every means to mobilize and organize the militia to play an exemplary role in production. For example, education militia should take the lead to implement the production responsibility system, take the initiative to shoulder all urgent, difficult and dangerous tasks, organize the militia "helpers teams" and mobilize the militia to study agrotechnology, and so on. In the course of promoting production, if we promote militia work, we are sure also to promote production. Viewed from the situation of all localities, we must note that we must not allow full-time militia cadres to use all their time in production. If they become section heads, they will not have the energy to organize and mobilize the militia of the whole commune to promote production. If we do so, we will distort the meaning of starting with production.

The basic objective of adhering to "having three starting points" is to strengthen the building of the militia in an overall manner. We must unswervingly put the emphasis on the "three implementations" of militia work. "Starting with three points" is both a working method and an important matter of principle for militia work. Therefore, we must adhere to this working method and turn the armed forces into a military affairs department in charge of militia and military service work, and into ideological and political working departments of the militia.

CSO: 4005/1269

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BEIJING PLA UTILIZES DEOMOCRATIC LIFE MEETINGS

HK261442 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Aug 82 p 4

[Report: "Straighten Out the Way of Thinking and Strengthen Organizational Building -- Party Committees at Various Levels Above Regimental Level in Beijing PLA Units Institutionalize Democratic Life Meetings"]

[Text] Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, party committees at various levels above regimental level in the Beijing PLA units have persisted in implementing the system of democratic life meetings and have continuously straightened out the way of thinking and strengthened the revolution of the party committees. This has been praised by leading comrades of the CPC Central Committee and military commission of the CPC Central Committee.

Over the past 4 years, the CPC standing committee of the Beijing PLA units has unswervingly done well in convening democratic life meetings and has set a good example for the CPC Committees of various armies, divisions and regiments. At the democratic life meetings, executive members of the standing committee stick to principle, pursue the practice of seeking truth from facts and actively carry out criticism and self-criticism. The meetings are convened in a serious, conscientious and vivid way. This has strengthened unity and improved work style. During the spring of this year, when the education of resisting corrosion was just started in the army units, executive members of the standing committee took the lead in straightening out their thinking and examined the problems concerned. After that, they separately held family meetings to conscientiously examine the work of educating their children and reported the situation to the party organizations according to the facts. Those who made mistakes in this respect took the initiative to make self-criticism and accepted criticism without exception.

Inspired by the CPC Committee of the Beijing PLA units, members of the CPC Committees of various armies, divisions and regiments set strict demands on themselves and a vivid situation occurred with one unit helping another. Some cadres of a certain army abused their power to take advantage of the state or got in by the back door so that their children would be admitted into the party, promoted to be cadres or recruited by universities and colleges. In the spring of this year, the army CPC Committee held democratic life meetings to seriously criticize a staff officer of the army, who engaged in a backdoor deal so that his daughter would be promoted to be a cadre, and to

annual the order of promoting his daughter. Some cadres of various divisions and regiments also examined their mistakes. Some of them paid back money or goods they took and some others recalled their children who had been sent to schools or training classes through illegal means. The key topic of democratic life meetings of the party committees at various levels above regimental level in the Beijing PLA units was to continuously solve problems arising in the process of implementing the line, guiding principles and policies of the party. In 1979, they exerted their main efforts to solve the problem of eliminating the influence of the 10 chaotic years and to strengthen the unity of the "members of the squad." In 1980, they conscientiously studied and implemented the "guiding principle for inner-party political life" to improve and strengthen the collective leadership of party committees. Last year, they devoted their main efforts to help some comrades understand the state's open-door policy toward foreign countries and the practice of enlivening the domestic economy. During the first half of this year, they firmly grasped the education of resisting corrosion, overcoming individualism and sticking to communist ideals. While solving these problems, party committees at all levels paid attention to integrating theories with practice, consciously eliminating "leftist" or rightist influence and straightening out their way of thinking.

To promote self-criticism, a number of party committees followed the methods of "appraisal by the masses and comment by the party committee." The party committees held democratic life meetings after extensively soliciting opinions from the masses inside and outside the party. They actively carried out criticism and self-criticism to overcome their own mistakes. Members of the party committee of a certain division failed to carry out ideological struggle for fear that such an act would harm their unity. As a result, the errors of some comrades of seeking privileges were not efficiently corrected. This adversely affected the prestige of the party. In the spring of this year, party committee Secretary Zhou Xibo and some other members went down to various fighting units to solicit more than 100 opinions for the division's party committee through such activities as forums and heart-to-heart talks. After that, they held democratic life meetings to examine their mistakes one by one and to conscientiously carry out criticism and self-criticism. In so doing, they attained the objective of clarity in ideology and unity among cadres. All comrades were profoundly educated.

CSO: 4005/1269

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'GUANGMING RIBAO' DESCRIBES U.S.-USSR SPACE RACE

HK231238 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 14 Aug 82 p 4

[Article by Liao Chunfa [1675 2504 4099]: "U.S.-Soviet Military Contention in Outer Space"]

[Text] According to reports by the WASHINGTON POST published on 21 June, the Soviet Union not long ago carried out a "rare" missile test-launch maneuver on an "unprecedented scale" and according to the order of events in a nuclear war. Antisatellite weapons were first launched. These were followed by various kinds of guided missiles and finally the antiballistic missiles. This is the first time such a maneuver has been conducted, and it has shocked the U.S. Government and public! According to how the Soviet Union envisions a nuclear war, future three-dimensional warfare will undoubtedly start in space.

On the same day the United States announced that a new military space headquarters would be established in Colorado Springs, Colo. on 1 September to have 2 unified command sites for all military space activities. The U.S. Defense Department claimed that this was a strategic decision made to deal with antisatellite weapons which the Soviet Union used in the recent large-scale missile test-launch maneuver. According to dispatches from foreign news agencies, this is the inevitable product of the U.S.-USSR fierce contention for military superiority in space.

These two items of unusual news are seriously followed by people. The whole world feels disturbed watching this fierce contention for domination which is quietly being carried out by the two superpowers in outer space, a newly-exploited field.

Mankind entered the space age in 1957, when the first artificial satellite was put into orbit round the earth. Within this short period of a quarter century, rapid development has been made in space science and technology. Men have landed on the moon. Some 110 astronauts have traveled in space. A world record of 185 days for continuous flight in space has been set. Various kinds of detection devices have been sent to Venus, Mars, Saturn and Jupiter and several mysteries about some major planets in the solar system, which have lasted for millions of years, have been solved. Space shuttle test flights have been successfully carried out and space technology has entered an entirely new era. In particular, various artificial satellites have brought remarkable

economic benefits to human society. The prospects of using outer space for peaceful purposes are very tempting.

However, on the other hand, military space activities carried out by the United States and the Soviet Union in the past 25 years have also been numerous. By the end of 1981, a total of 2,772 space devices of various kinds had been put into orbit by different countries, and among them were 1,868 military space devices launched by the United States and the Soviet Union. There were 661 U.S. military satellites, accounting for 68.5 percent of its total number of satellites launched, and there were 1,207 Soviet military satellites, accounting for more than 70 percent of its total number of satellites launched. In 1981, for example, the world's total number of space devices launched was 156, of which Soviet military satellites accounted for as many as 93. These figures show that space is not calm and tranquil and that the USSR-U.S. arms race has extended to outer space.

Artificial satellites were first used for military reconnaissance by the superpowers. During the Berlin crisis in 1961, Khrushchev attempted to make use of false nuclear superiority and force with an ultimatum to the four Western countries to sign a peace agreement with Germany. It was precisely at that time that the U.S. reconnaissance satellites secretly photographed in detail the whole country of the Soviet Union and discovered that the number of continental missiles deployed by the Soviet Union at that time was only 14 instead of the estimate by the U.S. CIA of 120. Consequently, the situation took a sudden turn for the better for the United States.

After that, various kinds of military satellites appeared one after another. With developments in the past 20 years or so, both the United States and the Soviet Union have basically set up complete military satellite systems whose performances are being perfected day by day. Reconnaissance satellites which take photographs are carrying out strategic and tactical reconnaissance in space every day and discovering the position, number and deployment of troops of various strategic targets and data about their movements. Ocean surveillance satellites are surveying the warships and submarines of the opposite side day and night. Electronic reconnaisance satellites are secretly monitoring the enemy's radar and telecommunications signals and intercepting and receiving telemetered data on missile tests. Missile forewarning satellites are keeping watch day and night on missiles launched in the world. A few minutes after a missile is launched, these satellites will be able to give warning to the supreme command organizations. Various military telecommunications satellites are shouldering the busy task of global telecommunications and are providing quick and secret telecommunications to strategic nuclear armed forces, command organs at various levels and even individual soldiers. Navigation missiles are providing highly accurate navigation signals to warships and submarines in oceans all over the world. It is estimated that in the near future, the global position system of the U.S. navigation satellites will provide precision three-dimensional position data over a 10-meter area on missiles, satellites, airplanes, land vehicles, combat troops and even individual soldiers. Survey satellites are precisely determining positions of the earth's gravitational field and various targets for strategic attacks in order to increase the target accuracy of strategic weapons. Weather

satellites are providing accurate weather forecast material for various Soviet or U.S. military sectors. Besides, both the United States and the Soviet Union are spending a lot of money on developing antisatellite satellites, space shuttles and laser weapons, and they are engaged in a fierce competition in these aspects. Both superpowers have regarded the militarization of space as an important means for world domination. This ominous tendency has seriously threatened the peaceful use of outer space. The people of the whole world will anxiously and closely follow any future developments.

In the past few days, the second United Nations meeting to discuss the exploration and peaceful use of outer space was held in Vienna. People appealed: We must put an end to the superpowers' arms race in outer space so that outer space, which belongs to all mankind, can really be used for peaceful purposes and space science and technology can be used to benefit mankind.

CSO: 4005/1269

BRIEFS

QINGHAI MILITIA RALLY--From 25 to 27 August, the Xining Municipal Garrison District sponsored a rally to commend advanced units and individuals who had emerged in building militia armed forces and a socialist spiritual civilization. During the rally, 26 advanced militia units and 280 individuals as well as 20 PLA advanced individuals who had made contributions to militia training were awarded. Attending the rally were Wu Shengrong, commander of the Provincial Military District; (Qiao Jianhua), first secretary of the Xining Municipal CPC Committee and first political commissar of the Municipal Garrison Distrct; (Yang Yeshan), commander of the Municipal Garrison District; and (Zhong Baode), political commissar of the Municipal Garrison District. [SK300822 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 28 Aug 82 SK]

CSO: 4005/1269

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GANSU HOLDS POLITICAL, JUDICIAL WORK CONFERENCE

SK290504 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 28 Aug 82

[Text] According to GANSU RIBAO, the Provincial CPC Committee held a Provincial Conference on Political and Judicial Work from 20 to 27 August. The conference pointed out that political and judicial work should serve the four modernizations building with better efficiency. The conference maintained that in conjunction with the gradual improvement of the political and economic situation, political and judicial departments at all levels throughout the province have conscientiously implemented a whole set of policies, principles and instructions issued by the CPC Central Committee and scored achievements in setting right things which were thrown into disorder, eliminating the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the gang of four, reexamining cases, implementing policies, enforcing laws and decrees, strengthening construction of legal systems, consolidating public security, dealing blows at serious economic crimes and reorganizing and building the political and judicial contingent.

The conference stressed: The basic task of political and judicial work is to serve the building of the four modernizations and the economic construction under the guidance of the four fundamental principles. Comrades on the political and judicial front should conscientiously concentrate their efforts on protecting and promoting the construction of socialist modernization, with stress on economic construction. Political and judicial departments at all levels must organize the broad masses of cadres and policemen to vigorously study the guidelines of the national conference on political and judicial work to enable them to gain a deeper understanding of the basic task of political and judicial work in the new stage.

The conference urged political and judicial departments at all levels to pay attention to the following tasks:

1. Strictly and promptly punish according to law criminals who caused serious damage to the economy.

2. Continually consolidate public security.

3. Adopt effective measures to speed up the construction of the political and judicial contingent in line with the requirements of the proletarian vanguard

so as to develop many political and judicial teams which are loyal to the party and people and have a high level of political consciousness and professional skills.

4. Strengthen the party leadership over the political and judicial work. The most important tasks are upholding the four basic principles and maintaining political unanimity with the CPC Central Committee.

CSO: 4005/1272

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LIAONING HOLDS CONFERENCE TO EXAMINE INTELLECTUAL WORK

SK300628 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Aug 82

[Text] The Provincial CPC Committee held a provincial conference to sum up achievements in examining work on intellectuals 23-25 August.

In a speech delivered by Comrade Xu Shaofu, secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee, he pointed out: On the basis of this inspection on the work of intellectuals, we must realistically solve problems in carrying out intellectual work and strive to make achievements in a short period of time. We must continue to eliminate the influence of the leftist ideology, correct the people's understanding toward intellectuals, attend to the role played by middle-aged intellectuals and help solve their difficulties. Efforts must be made to strengthen the party leadership over intellectual work.

Comrade Xu Shaofu said: Our province conducted a survey on intellectual work in March 1982 and basically finished it at the end of June. During this survey, many problems were solved and remarkable achievements were reported. According to statistics, the province as a whole has solved the housing problems of some 2,492 intellectual households. Municipalities, prefectures and counties have allocated 14 million yuan for intellectuals working in medium and small units such as cultural, educational and public health units to build houses totalling 31,500 square meters in floor space, solved the issue of reuniting separated couples of 585 high and middle ranking intellectuals, and on giving special reduction of medical charges to 753 high ranking intellectuals. Shenyang, Benxi, Liaoyang, Chaoyang and Dandong have allocated 2.68 million yuan to expand and build scientific activity centers and places for running refresher courses.

Comrade Xu Shaofu pointed out: We must continue to resolve the issue of correcting the people's understanding toward intellectuals. A small number of cadres are still affected by the leftist ideology and have certain prejudice against intellectuals. They have refused to acknowledge that intellectuals are an important force to carry out the four modernizations program and that scientific techniques are productive forces. Some persons have held that too much attention has been paid to intellectuals and that their role has been overemphasized. Some cadres, in carrying out intellectual work, have been satisfied that some of the intellectuals have politically regained their reputation and have failed to note that there are still some problems in implementing the policy on intellectuals in their own localities and units. To do

a good job in solving the problems on the people's understanding, all localities must conduct a reeducation on the policy toward intellectuals among cadres.

Comrade Xu Shaofu said: An important way to judge whether a locality or a unit has done a good job in leadership work is to see whether such a locality or unit has aroused the enthusiasm of the broad masses of intellectuals and has brought into full play their talent and ability and to see whether it has made achievements in this regard. Efforts must be made to give full play to the role of middle-aged intellectuals and help solve their problems. Middle-aged intellectuals are a core and backbone force on all fronts at present and in the days to come. They are undertaking heavy tasks of various construction causes. However, they have many practical difficult problems. We must be determined to help them solve these problems. Middle-aged intellectuals must also make allowances for the difficulties of the country, work hard and strive to support themselves and make more contributions for the four modernizations. Party committees at all levels must strengthen leadership over intellectual work and consider it an important affair. We must do this work at our own initiative, have the courage to manage it independently, to study and solve problems and do more work in accordance with the party policies.

CSO: 4005/1272

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HEBEI HOLDS FORUM ON LITERATURE, ART DEVELOPMENT

HK261232 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 19 Aug 82

[Text] The first stage of the Provincial Forum on Literature and Art, which opened on 11 August, closed yesterday after 8 days of study and discussion.

Yesterday morning, Comrade Lu Yi, deputy director of the propaganda department of the Provincial CPC Committee, gave a speech on the progress of the first stage of the forum. The main achievement of this forum, he said, is that by studying the speeches of central leading comrades and other documents concerned, our comrades have had a more profound and more definite understanding of such fundamental problems as the relationship between politics and literature and art, the purpose of literature and art to serve the people and to serve socialism, and so on. Forum participants held that the speeches of central leading comrades have developed Chairman Mao's literature and art thought in the new historical era. By correctly handling the relationship between politics and literature and art, and orienting literature and art to serve the people and serve socialism, we do not merely mean a change in slogan. The new orientation has laid before us a more broad and bright prospect for the prosperous development of literature and art in our country.

During the forum, the participants presented their valuable opinions on many problems, such as the importance of promoting the writing of works with military themes; the strengthening of ideological and political work in professional art performance units; vigorously promoting socialist music to counteract and eliminate the evil influence of decadent songs; the strengthening of cultural work at various levels by amplifying organization and improving the economic conditions of cultural cadres at the grassroots level; the collating, readjustment, improvement and enrichment of operas; the strengthening of literary and art criticism; and so on.

Comrade Yin Zhe, Provincial CPC Committee secretary, attended the forum and delivered a speech. In his speech he emphasized that we must cultivate the habit of studying hard--conscientiously studying the speeches and reports made by central leading comrades. And, he said, we must also vigorously carry out the propaganda work of the 12th CPC Congress through every literary and artistic form. We must pay attention to the effect of propaganda work, improve the artistic appeal of literary and artistic works and make theoretical arguments more convincing.

Comrade Yin Zhe put forth four requirements for the participants at the forum: 1) Strengthening the ideological and political work to literary and art units and literary and art workers; 2) Effective promoting literary and artistic creativity and criticism; 3) Concentrating our force to run the existing literary and artistic publications well; and 4) Cultivating and setting up typical examples.

CSO: 4005/1272

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'SICHUAN RIBAO' HOLDS 30TH ANNIVERSARY RALLY

HK300547 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 30 Aug 82

[Summary] The 1 September this year marks the 30th anniversary of the publication of SICHUAN RIBAO. The paper's office held a rally on 28 August to celebrate the occasion. PLA Deputy Chief of Staff Zhang Aiping and Provincial CPC Committee First Secretary Tan Qilong sent messages of congratulation.

Comrade Du Winyuan, secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee and former director of the SICHUAN RIBAO office, spoke at the gathering. He stressed: "We must run the paper in accordance with Mao Zedong Thought, seriously sum up experiences and make the paper still more accurate, clear-spoken and lively so as to attract readers."

Shen Yizhi, acting director of the Provincial CPC Committee's Propaganda Department, also spoke. He said: "For 30 years, under the correct leadership of the Provincial CPC Committee, SICHUAN RIBAO has unswervingly implemented the party's principles and policies, maintained political unity with the Central Committee and strictly acted in accordance with the decisions and instructions of the Provincial CPC Committee. It has attached relatively great importance to direct contacts with the masses." He expressed the hope that the paper would make still greater contributions in conducting propaganda on implementing the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization and the idea of serving the people's welfare."

(Li Wanli), director of the SICHUAN RIBAO office, also spoke at the gathering.

The SICHUAN RIBAO convened a forum of responsible comrades concerned on 29 August to discuss how to run the paper well. Among those present were Nie Ronggui, deputy secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee, and Chen Mingyi, deputy commander of the Chengdu PLA units. Old leaders and staffers of the paper were also present.

CSO: 4005/1272

SHANDONG RADIO URGES REFLECTING COMMUNIST IDEALS IN LITERARY WORKS

SK010233 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 30 Aug 82

[Station commentary: "Compose More Paeans on the Spirit of Communism"]

[Text] The second enlarged meeting of the Fourth Committee of the Provincial Federation of Literary and Art Circles is a grand meeting of our province's literary and art circles. Convened on the eve of the opening of the historically significant 12th Congress of the party, the meeting represents a mobilization rally of the province's literary and art circles for greetings, studying, publicizing and implementing the guidelines of the 12th Congress.

The party's 12th Congress will formulate a program and set forth strategic goals for us to strive for, and a new breakthrough will certainly be made in socialist modernization. Literature and art has on its shoulders the heavy task of promoting socialist spiritual civilization. The kernel of socialist spiritual civilization is communist ideology. Therefore, it is the historical mission of socialist literature and art to compose more paeans to the communist spirit, portray new men who have attained the realm of communist ideology, educate the masses in communist ideology and enhance their ideology and consciousness.

Composing paeans to communist spirit does not mean inserting influential slogans into literary and art works. It calls for reflecting communist ideology in the plots and characters of literary works and in the artistic images of the new socialist men. Such new men should be portrayed as people with lofty communist ideals, ethics and values who work hard and selflessly and are willing to make every sacrifice for the realization of communism. There are many such persons in real life. The life and work on the various front of socialism, pushing--together with the masses--the communist movement forward. Their ideology and actions are radiant with communist spirit. We literary and art workers should approach them, understand them, make ourselves familiar with them and do well in portraying their images with our pens.

Composing paeans to the communist spirit and portraying well socialist new men require literary and art work to foster communist ideology first. They should observe and reflect life from the high plane of communist ideology, else they will not be able to produce good works. For this reason, we literary and art workers must make a serious effort to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, foster a firm communist world outlook and plunge into the thick of

the struggle of life to study and transform our ideology. Meanwhile, we should successfully solve the problem of familiarizing ourselves with the new life of socialist modernization. This is a question confronting all writers and artists, young and old.

The party's 12th Congress will guide us to open up a new vista for promoting socialist modernization. The vast number of literary and art workers in our province should enhance their spirit, do solid work and contribute to promoting socialist spiritual civilization.

CSO: 4005/1272

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GUANGDONG PARTY SCHOOL TRAINS 6,812 CADRES

HK310613 Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Aug 82 p 1

[Report: "Provincial CPC Committee Party School Has Trained Over 6,000 Cadres in Past Few Years"]

[Text] In the past 5 years, especially since the 3rd plenary session of the CPC Central Committee, the Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee Party School, in accordance with the directives of the Central Committee and the Provincial CPC Committee, has seriously grasped the task of cadre training. From 1978 to the first half of 1982, they trained 6,812 cadres. This has played a positive role in the upgrading of the cadres' level of understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Following the demands imposed by the "decision of the CPC Central Committee on managing well party schools at all levels" and the "minutes of the National Seminar on the Work of Party Schools", the Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee has in the past 5 years provided 9 classes for training cadres at and above the grade of county CPC committee deputy secretary, 9 classes for training propaganda and theory cadres, 10 classes for training political and legal secretaries at and above county level, directors of organization, propaganda, united front, departments and offices and 5 study classes for bureau director; they have also created a 3 year course for the training of theory teachers. In addition, the school cooperated with the Provincial CPC Committee and government organs to provide two extramural classes for the rotational training of cadres. Most of the students in the party school managed to emancipate their minds and to link Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with reality on the basis of mastering the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, so that they could link the learning of Marxism with the concrete practice of the four modernizations, and could link the summarizing of historical experiences with solving existing problems. As a result, the students' understanding of theory, business ability, party spirit and style of thinking have been improved to varying degrees.

While training cadres on a large scale, the theory research personnel of the Provincial CPC Committee party have continued to develop theoretical research in depth, creating conditions for the normalization, institutionalization and systematization of theoretical education for cadres.

CSO: 4005/1272

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GUANGXI MEETING ON GRASSROOTS RECTIFICATION

HK290311 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 28 Aug 82

[Summary] The organization department of the Guangxi Regional CPC Committee recently held a forum on rectifying grassroots party organizations. The meeting stressed: "The party committees at all levels must seriously do a good job in rectifying grassroots party organizations in industrial enterprises, the rural areas and all other fronts, so as to strengthen the combat effectiveness of the party organizations and bring into full play the vanguard and model role of party members."

Zhao Macxun and Xiao Han, secretaries of the Regional CPC Committee, listened to the reports delivered at the meeting, and spoke at its conclusion. Zhang Shengzhen, member of the standing committee of the Regional CPC Committee and director of the organization department, delivered a summation speech.

The meeting pointed out: The great majority of the region's grassroots party organizations are good or relatively good. "However, in all districts and fronts, there are a small number of grassroots party organizations with serious problems. The existence of these problems has seriously damaged the party's prestige. Unless they are solved by rectification. These problems will directly affect the smooth progress of the four modernizations drive."

The forum held: "In industrial enterprises, rectifying the grassroots party organizations must be regarded as an important part of the thorough straightening out of the enterprises. In the rural areas, the work must be carried out in connection with summing up and perfecting the agricultural production responsibility systems. Other fronts must also get a good grasp of rectifying grassroots party organizations where there are many serious problems."

The meeting stressed: "Ideological rectification must be stressed in rectifying the grassroots party organizations. We must focus on education and raising standards. In the course of rectification, we must, in connection with reality, carry out deep-going and extensive education for party members in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, communist ideals, and the party's line, principles and policies. We must conduct education in opposing corruption by capitalist ideology and in basic knowledge about the party, so that every party member will be able to firmly establish firm faith in communism, wholeheartedly serve the people, uphold the four basic principles, and work ceaselessly to attain the party's ultimate objective. We must also carry out the necessary organizational measures. However, a prudent attitude must be adopted. We must make an all-round appraisal of comrades who have made mistakes in light of the nature and gravity of the mistakes, their attitude toward them, and their consistent performance, and deal with them in a discriminating way."

CSO: 4005/1272

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHANGHAI TO RAISE OFFICE CADRES' EDUCATION LEVEL

OW260235 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 23 Aug 82

[Text] The Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee's Organization Department and the Shanghai Municipal Personnel and Education Bureaus have recently issued a joint circular stating that beginning this September, junior middle school remedial study performance records will be kept for all Shanghai office cadres.

The circular says: Office cadres 45 years old or below with an educational level lower than junior middle school graduate must undergo remedial education. Those under the age of 35 will be given priority. The educational level of those who hold junior middle school diplomas of any kind dated before 1967 will be accepted. Those holding junior middle school diplomas dated after 1968 whose educational level is substandard must under remedial education.

The circular says: Cadres under the age of 35 must complete our junior middle school courses; namely, language, mathematics, physics and chemistry. According to their work, physics and chemistry courses may be changed to history and geography courses. Cadres between the ages of 35 and 45 must complete the two main courses of language and mathematics.

It is understood that the central authorities have stipulated that the educational level of state office cadres must be at least that of senior middle school or secondary technical school level within the next 5 years.

About half of Shanghai's office cadres are below the junior middle school level. A few of them have now reached or exceeded this level after remedial study. However, a considerable number are still below this level.

CSO: 4005/1272

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XIZANG'S YIN FATANG TO ATTEND CPC CONGRESS

OW311145 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 0900 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Text] On the eve of the convocation of the 12th CPC National Congress, our station reporter interviewed Comrade Yin Fatang, first secretary of the Xizang Autonomous Regional CPC Committee and delegate to the 12th CPC National Congress.

Comrade Yin Fatang is a veteran fighter who was among the first group of people entering Xizang in the 1950's. He returned to work in Xizang in 1980. In the past 2 years, he has toured agricultural and pastoral areas and gone deep among the masses; he has visited various places in Xizang and accumulated much experience while observing the changes there. He told the reporter: Significant changes have taken place in the Xizang highlands in the past 2 years since the implementation of the central authorities' instruction on the work in Xizang. The task put forth by Comrade Hu Yaobang in 1980 to solve the problem of food and clothing for the Tibetan people within 3 to 5 years has been prefulfilled. Last year the per capita income of peasants and herdsmen in the autonomous region reached 300 yuan, a record figure. We may say that the present period is one of the best times in Xizang since its peaceful liberation.

Comrade Yin Fatang said: The 12th CPC National Congress will be convened soon. We must continue to strengthen national unity, reinforce regional autonomy of minority nationalities and formulate and perfect various measures and policies suited to the development of Xizang. We must also conduct extensive education on patriotism, socialism and collectivism in rural and pastoral areas. After the 12th CPC National Congress, we must exert greater efforts to promote agricultural and animal husbandry production and pay special attention to the distribution of agricultural and animal husbandry production and the improvement of production conditions in order to achieve a bumper agricultural and animal husbandry harvest. We must adopt effective measures to solve energy and transportation problems and develop culture and education in Xizang.

CSO: 4005/1272

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GUANGDONG TAKES MEASURES ON INTELLECTUALS

HK270314 Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 82 p 1

[Report: "Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee and Government Decide To Take Six Measures to Clear Away 'Leftist' Ideological Influence and Improve Work Concerning Intellectuals"]

[Text] The Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee and government made a decision on 13 August and notified all the localities to conscientiously implement and put it into practice: Adopt six concrete measures to clear away 'leftist' ideological influence and improve the work concerning intellectuals.

I. Further Raise Our Understanding of the Status and Role of Intellectuals and Strengthen Party and Government Leadership Work on Intellectuals

As the "leftist" ideological influence of the past has not been thoroughly eliminated, there are still a few comrades who shoulder responsibility but lack understanding of the status and role of intellectuals in the new historical period; they have still not liberated themselves from the prejudice of ignoring or even discriminating against intellectuals. Therefore, it is imperative that education be strengthened through publicity of the party's policy toward intellectuals and that the traditional stance of looking down on intellectuals be surmounted. In the current check on work concerning intellectuals, we must place stress on firmly grasping and solving problems. Leading cadres at all levels should make friends with intellectuals. We must select cadres who understand policy, have professional knowledge and are honest and upright, to perform the leadership work in the departments and units where intellectuals are concentrated. We must readjust those leading and personnel cadres who have a prejudice against intellectuals, who do not understand professional work and who are simple and rude. Comrades engaged in administrative work should make great efforts in doing logistical work well and enthusiastically serve teaching, research and production work. The organizing departments of party committees at all levels should serve as assistants and advisors to the party committee.

II. Continue to Solve the Remaining Problems in Implementing Policy Politically

All intellectuals who have been persecuted by unjust, false or misjudged cases and who are still not rehabilitated should be thoroughly rehabilitated without

and "taint" remaining. As for those who made mistakes and were wrongly handled during the "cultural revolution," we must reexamine the wrongly handled case, taking into consideration the special historical condition at that time, and draw new conclusions. Those who said or did wrong things must be educated, and we should require them to sum up their own experiences and lessons. All slanders and libels against them should be repudiated. We must organize forces to check and search for materials confiscated during the "cultural revolution." If they still exist, whether in the hands of a person or unit, the original materials should be returned. Private homes that were seized must be returned. The pay deducted or salaries suspended during the "cultural revolution" should be paid retroactively in accordance with the relevant regulations of the CPC Central Committee. As for those who were screened during the "cultural revolution" for their historical problems, the conclusions and handling of them should be lenient and not strict, if indeed they were in question. We must conscientiously sort out the pre-"cultural revolution" materials, including the materials on family background, social relations and "overseas relations." We must treat equally all who apply for admission to the party, and admit without delay those who conform to the party conditions.

III. Rationally Employ Intellectuals to Exert Their Talents and Give Full Play to Their Role

We must change the phenomena of neglect and waste of real talent and continue to make readjustments for those misemployed. We must create conditions for those engaged in specialized technical work to fully bring into play their wisdom and intelligence. Necessary regulations should be established to give them the right to handle professional and technical problems under their control. We must select intellectuals who have both ability and integrity and who are in the prime of life for various leading posts and enable them to have title, power and responsibility. Party cadres should respect non-party intellectuals who are working in the leading groups and unite with them in order to work together. We must conscientiously listen to the opinions of specialists in important policymaking for economic construction. We must ensure that intellectuals can spend five-sixths of their time on professional work. As for idle intellectuals, the departments concerned at various levels must adopt all kinds of methods to bring their speciality into play. We must actively transfer into the province those intellectuals who apply for work here. We must perfect the system of examination and promotion for professional and technical titles.

IV. Make Great Efforts to Improve the Work and Study Conditions of Intellectuals

From now on, the proportion in financial expenditures of education and scientific research expenditures should be gradually increased. All departments concerned should tap potentials and supply the necessary equipment, instruments, apparatuses, books, information and data and auxiliary staff members. With regard to key scientific and technical items, the departments responsible and leaders of the units should take up the matter personally and provide the necessary conditions. The provincial, prefectural and municipal levels should all actively create conditions to establish bases for training scientific and

technical items, the departments responsible and leaders of the units should take up the matter personally and provide the necessary conditions. The provincial, prefectural and municipal levels should all actively create conditions to establish bases for training scientific and technical cadres. Party schools at all levels should offer scientific and technical courses. As to the veteran experts who need assistants but have not yet gotten them, the various units should solve the problem as soon as possible. With regard to the use of cars and gasoline by senior intellectuals, the temporary provisions are: According to the needs of work, professors, associate professors at and above grade four, associate professors at and above grade six who exceed 60 years of age, and professional personnel of various categories with relevant titles should be supplied with cars or minibuses and each vehicle supplied with 100 kg of gasoline per month.

V. Earnestly Improve the Living Standard of Intellectuals, Particularly Middle-Aged Intellectuals

Middle-aged intellectuals are, at present, the backbone forces on the various fronts; they are shouldering the heavy task of inheriting the past and ushering in the future. Leaders at various levels should try by every means to improve their living conditions so that they can do better in playing their role. In addition to readjusting salaries and giving special consideration to the backbone forces of middle-aged intellectuals, the Provincial CPC Committee and government have decided to allocate the sum of 850,000 yuan in the third quarter of the year to provide a provisional allowance to lectures, assistant researchers, engineers, agronomists, physicians-in-charge, accountants, statisticians, economists, editors, journalists, professional writers and intellectuals at and above medium-level with relevant titles who, based on their salaries, have less than 30 yuan in living expenses per family member per month. A few of them who have a monthly average of over 30 yuan in living expenses but have special difficulties, should also be provided with the allowance. Allowances in Guangzhou, Shenzhen and Zhuhai must be arranged by the local financial and administration organizations; the question of supplementary subsidy funds of enterprises should be solved by deducting the funds and [as published] profits of the enterprises themselves. The specific subsidy method will be worked out by the organization department of the Provincial CPC Committee and the provincial department of finance. Regarding the housing difficulties of middle-aged intellectuals, all the units concerned should make plans and actively solve the problem in the order of priority and urgency. In distributing houses to people having the same situations, priority should be given to the backbone forces of middle-aged intellectuals. As for intellectual couples at or above middle level who live apart, the departments of organization, personnel, labor and public security should actively seek methods to solve the problem for them so as to free their minds of apprehension. The hospitalization of senior intellectuals is to be solved by adding beds to the Provincial People's Hospital, the hospital attached to Zhongshan Medical College, the Hospital of Traditional Chinese Medicine and the Conghua Spring Sanatorium for Cadres. This has been put in the plan for capital construction. The labor departments at various levels should give preferential treatment, in accordance with overall considerations, to the employment problem of the children of intellectuals.

The party committees and governments at all levels should show concern for the supply of nonstaple foodstuffs, water and electricity and the establishment of communications, cultural and other installations.

VI. Make Great Efforts To Do Our Work Well in Order To Stabilize the Rank of Intellectuals

The party committees at various levels should strengthen political and ideological work and conscientiously implement the party's policy on intellectuals and the policy on overseas Chinese affairs. The departments of organization, personnel, management of scientific and technical cadres and overseas Chinese affairs at various levels should adopt all kinds of methods to understand the weal and woe of overseas Chinese intellectuals and their relatives, listen attentively to their voices and immediately solve the problems that may occur at any time. As for higher and medium professional backbone forces who apply to go abroad, the leaders of the units concerned should personally persuade them to stay. We must give as much consideration as possible to their reasonable demands regarding work and life. We must warmly welcome and make appropriate arrangements for intellectuals who return home from abroad, especially those who have professional specialities.

CSO: 4005/1272

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

TIANJIN ARTICLE URGES CORRECT ATTITUDE TOWARD INTELLECTUALS

SK231010 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 23 Aug 82

[Report on 23 August TIANJIN RIBAO Commentator's Article: "Bear in Mind the Great Cause and Harbor a Far-Reaching Outlook"]

[Text] The article states: Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party central authorities have formulated a series of policies and adopted various measures in an effort to successfully conduct scientific and technological work and to resolutely implement the policy on intellectuals. In a few years Tianjin Municipality has done in particular 10 deeds in favor of the broad masses of intellectuals. This has been unprecedented since the PRC's founding and has fully demonstrated that party organizations at all levels have attached great importance to scientific and technological work and shown solicitude for intellectuals. Intellectuals themselves should sense the warmth of this and conscientiously bring their working enthusiasm into full play.

The TIANJIN RIBAO commentator's article states: Have we done well in the 10 deeds in favor of intellectuals? Are there still problems? The answer to these questions is naturally, "no." At present, most intellectuals, particularly young intellectuals, have many problems and difficulties in their work and livelihood. As to these problems and difficulties, needless to say all of us wish to deal with them as soon as possible. However, we must face reality. Our country has just extricated herself from the difficult position caused by the gang of four, still remains in a period of readjustment and reorganization and has a lot of work to do. In particular, there are more problems to be solved in scientific and technological work and in developing specialized technicians. Therefore, it is impossible to solve all problems within a short period.

As a matter of fact, the CPC Central Committee constantly pays attention to intellectuals in the country. Recently, leading personnel of the state and party organs repeatedly point out that problems arising among intellectuals, particularly among middle-aged intellectuals, should be handled as soon as possible. Meanwhile, efforts have been made to solve these problems step by step. Under these circumstances, our intellectuals should trust the party and state, bear in mind the great cause and harbor a far-reaching outlook to overcome their difficulties and to concentrate on the program of achieving the four modernizations.

In conclusion, thq TIANJIN RIBAO commentator's article states: The words of bearing in mind the great cause and harboring a far-reaching outlook deserve to draw the earnest attention of leading comrades. According to facts exposed in some fields, some persons, up till now, have not had a good understanding of issues concerning implementation of the CPC Central Committee's policy on intellectuals. They think that the authorities have paid excess attention to intellectuals so that they have not carried out instructions to the letter or have been dilatory in carrying them out. Such an attitude toward intellectuals is wrong. To deal with some of the difficulties in the lives of intellectuals is by no means to make exceptional allowances or to go too far. To carry out the task is totally in conformity with the actual situation and with the needs of work. It is not to be denied that mental labor has its own particular nature. In conducting scientific research, designing a new product and writing an article, scientific and technological personnel's meditation should not be restricted by place and time and has a continuity and protracted nature. A large number of personnel continue their work at home or after official hours. This is arduous and complicated labor. Therefore, in addition to requiring some reference books and materials and scientific instruments, they require an environment and condition suitable to them, such as a specious house which also meets the special need of their work. Otherwise, the fact that intellectuals, who are not numerous at present, are tied down by household chores and spend their precious time in living trivialities will result in great waste. Proceeding from the fundamental interest of the country and the people, can't we give appropriate preferential treatment? Only by bearing in mind the great cause and harboring a far-reaching outlook will our undertakings flourish.

CSO: 4005/1272

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ACHIEVEMENTS IN POLICY TOWARD INTELLECTUALS

HK300636 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Aug 82

[Text] Since the 3d plenary session of the party's 11th National Congress, our province has attached great importance to implementing the policy on intellectuals and has achieved encouraging results. In order to resolve the problem of implementing the policy on intellectuals, the Yunnan Provincial CPC Committee has held many meetings and discussions since the 3d plenary session. A 9-point suggestion and a 10-point list of measures on strengthening the scientific and technical work have been raised on the basis of investigation and research.

Through the efforts made by the party organizations at various levels, 6,089 intellectuals have joined the CPC in our province over the past few years. Among them, 1,284 are senior and middle-level intellectuals, and 6,141 have been promoted to higher positions.

As a result of incessantly eliminating the influence of leftist ideology, the vast majority of the leaders at various levels have adopted the practice of treating intellectuals equally without political discrimination, giving a free hand to intellectuals in their work and taking care of their daily life. The broad masses of intellectuals have peace of mind and work hard for the four modernizations with the passion of revitalizing China. Since 1978, achievements have been made in scientific research on 427 items in the whole province. Most of these achievements are being popularized and utilized. At present, party committees at various levels in our province are seriously studying the problems which still exist in implementing the policy on intellectuals and are attempting to resolve them gradually.

CSO: 4005/1272

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HEBEI MEETING REVIEWS WORK ON INTELLECTUALS

HK020617 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Summary] From 21 to 24 August, Hebei Province held a meeting to review the implementation of policies concerning intellectuals, to exchange experiences and strive for new breakthroughs. Zhang Shuguang, executive secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee, and Xie Feng, deputy secretary of the committee and organization department director, listened to the reports delivered.

The meeting held: "Hebei has scored great success in work concerning intellectuals since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Central Committee. However, it must be pointed out that the development of this work is very uneven. Many intellectuals still have many problems in political treatment and work and daily life conditions. The main problem is that erroneous leftist influence still exists. Certain comrades, especially some leading comrades, lack sufficient understanding of the status and role of intellectuals in the new period. They also lack profound comprehension of party policy on intellectuals. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that, at a time when the province faces a heavy task in implementing the policies on intellectuals, certain comrades erroneously hold that implementation of these policies has gone too far and that the intellectuals have been raised too high. Certain units and departments lack sufficient understanding of the important strategic policy decision on doing a good job in work concerning intellectuals. In reviewing the work concerning intellectuals, they have not made efforts to get to know the situation or to seriously study and solve the problems. Even now, certain units have not checked on the work concerning intellectuals."

In view of these problems, the meeting stressed that the following tasks must be done well: 1) Vigorously publicize the status and role of intellectuals in building the four modernizations, and also the party's policy on intellectuals; 2) Get a good grasp on implementing the policies on intellectuals, and pay particular attention to solving the problems of middle-aged intellectuals; 3) Party committees must strengthen leadership over work concerning intellectuals and set up administrative organs or assign responsible persons to take charge of it; 4) Strengthen ideological and political work for the intellectuals. "We certainly cannot hold that, as they form a party of the working class, it is unnecessary to carry out political and ideological work for them, nor should we hold that the moment political and ideological work is mentioned, the intellectuals become targets for remolding. We should enable the intellectuals to understand that only by continually enhancing their ideological awareness can they fulfill the historic tasks assigned them by the era."

CSO: 4005/1272

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'XINHUA' ON NEED FOR MORE FRIENDS OF YOUTH

OW260643 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0803 GMT 25 Aug 82

[XINHUA commentator's article: "More 'Friends of Young People's Are Needed'"]

[Text] Beijing, 25 Aug (XINHUA)--Enthusiastic in carrying out ideological education among young people, Li Yanjie has been praised by young people as their "good teacher and helpful friend" because he has enlightened young people's minds with his vast knowledge and flaming passion. This shows that young people who are growing up welcome invaluable help and guidance. Indeed, we need more such "Friends of the Young People."

While receiving leading cadres of the CYL Central Committee last October, a leading comrade of the party Central Committee said: "There are now 220 million young people and 160 million children in our country. Together, they number 360 million or one-third of our population. Our youth work is indeed heavy." To successfully carry out this work, we need more friends of the young people.

Young people of this generation have experienced 10 years of domestic chaos and are now growing up under the condition that our country is open to the outside. The big problem facing us is how to cultivate them into a new generation of young people with firm and correct political orientation, with a will to wholeheartedly serve the people and with communist moral qualities who are willing to work hard for the socialist modernization and the realization of the sublime ideal of communism, who are able to resist the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie and who can withstand the onslaught of all sorts of erroneous ideas and stand the test of all kinds of hardships and difficulties. To solve this problem, we need a large number of ideological educators who can command the young people's admiration and trust. They should be good at making friends with young people and be able to help them solve problems in their thinking, work, study and daily life so as to prompt them to seek the truth, the good and the beautiful, to exert themselves in the correct direction and to take part in the motherland's grand modernization project under the party's leadership. This is the need of the era. This is the need of the young people.

There are comrades in all areas and departments and on all fronts who are enthusiastic about doing youth work and are good at uniting and educating

young people. Among them are well-experienced old men, very energetic middle-aged men as well as high-spirited young men. There are many people doing ideological education work. The problem now is how to give full play to the enthusiasm of these comrades, how to organize them to sum up and exchange their experience and how to gradually expand their ability so as to form a large and capable contingent. In this respect, the CYL, a mass organization of advanced young people, can play a still greater role.

How can people with lofty ideals on ideological education among young people become friends of the young people? The experiences of Li Yanjie and many other comrades who have been doing such work tell us that the foremost problem is not an issue of methods but one of correct attitudes and viewpoints. These are:

Ardent love for the party and the socialist motherland;

Firm belief in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought;

Boundless confidence in our motherland's bright and splendid future; and

Correct understanding and full trust of contemporary young people.

Correct attitudes and viewpoints produce scientific methods to enlighten young people. With correct attitudes and viewpoints as a guide and with full ardor and sincerity to do ideological work among young people, we will certainly achieve results and become the young people's welcome friends who will give forthright admonition.

Young people are the future of the country and the hope of the nation. By molding young people, we mold the future of the motherland. We hope that more comrades will become friends of the young people and help them grow healthily.

CSO: 4005/1272

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LI CHANG LETTER ON EDUCATION IN DISCIPLINE

OW260738 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0709 GMT 29 Aug 82

[Excerpts] 25 Aug (XINHUA)--The 16th issue of BAN YUE TAN Journal published today carries a letter written by Li Chang, advisor to the Academy of Sciences of China, to the leading comrades at the central level, entitled: "Carry Out Education Among All the People to Observe Discipline." It also appends an editor's note.

The editor's note says: Comrade Li Chang wrote a letter to the leading comrades at the central level on 18 June, suggesting the carrying out of education among the broad masses throughout the country, particularly the young people, in observing discipline. Indeed, it involves an issue of general nature. In the past, our magic wand to defeat strong enemies and overcome difficulties was revolutionary discipline. Today, revolutionary discipline remains our important weapon in achieving unity among the people and developing the 4-modernization program. Ranks without discipline have no fighting power.

In his letter to the leading comrades at the central level, Comrade Li Chang said: The news about the major accident concerning the overturn of the passenger train No. 193 carried by the newspaper on 16 June has really shocked the people. Simply because the railway maintenance workers left their jobs without authorization to eat some popsicles, a passenger train that passed by the section of the railway under maintenance overturned, causing 3 deaths and 147 injured passengers, and disrupting railway traffic. This has brought about tremendous economic and political losses. This is an accident of a serious nature. We must strictly deal with this accident and pin down the responsibility.

A note of the State Council in this connection pointed out: Due to the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four" during the chaotic decade and the large increases in the number of new workers during the past few years, and owing to poor training and management work and incompetent leadership, the fine traditions and workstyle of the past in strictly observing rules and discipline have not been restored or brought into full play. Some unhealthy trends have even grown instead of being corrected. These trends exist not only in the Xinglongtian railway maintenance section or in the whole railway department, but also in many undertakings, enterprises, factories and mines throughout the country. Therefore, we must turn bad fortune into good fortune

and losses into gains. The railway department and the Xinglongdian railway maintenance section as well as all the enterprises, undertakings, departments, factories and mines in the country should learn a lesson from this unfortunate accident and intensify education among all the workers and staff to reaffirm rules and regulations, strictly enforce labor discipline and guard against accidents to insure maximum safety.

CSO: 4005/1272

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

URUMQI MAYOR ON TRAINING MINORITY CADRES

OW280412 Beijing XINHUA in English 0240 GMT 28 Aug 82

[Text] Urumqi, 28 Aug (XINHUA)--City Mayor Obul Heyra Ismail today praised the Communist Party for its enlightened leadership and its forward-thinking policies in appointment of nearly 4,000 minority cadres in the city.

The city, capital of Xinjiang Uygur autonomous region, has officials of Uygur, Kazak, Uzbek, Mongolian. Xibo and Tartar nationalities, four times more than 1965. A full 40 percent of city government leaders are minority people, the mayor, himself a Uygur, said.

Fifty-six-year-old Heyra, has worked for 30 years in county and prefectural government. He was elected mayor in August 1981 at the city's Eighth Peoples Congress.

The nations new draft constitution says chairmen of autonomous regions, heads of autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties shall belong to the nationality or nationalities exercising regional autonomy in those areas, and the state will help these autonomous areas train cadres, specialized personnel and skilled workers from among the nationality or nationalities in the given areas.

These stipulations, he said, show the concern of the party and government for all national minority cadres, guaranteeing the rights and interests of minority people.

He said his own progress and achievements were due to the help of the party and the government as well as Han cadres. He thanked the party and the government for allowing him twice to study in the party school of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Beijing.

He said 300 cadres of various nationalities in Urumqi have been sent to the party school, the Youth League School, the Central Institute for Nationalities and other training courses.

Heyra said he was confident of the city's future as modern and prosperous, citing its 600 industrial and mining enterprises, 400 public health institutions, six institutes of higher learning, 167 middle schools and secondary technical schools and 216 primary schools with a total of 270,000 students.

CSO: 4005/1272

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

REGULATIONS ON WORK FOR INTELLECTUALS APPROVED

HK271147 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 27 Aug 82

[Text] According to HAINAN RIBAO, certain regulations on the political treatment of and on work, pay and living conditions for intellectuals, which were formulated through discussions at the conference on intellectuals' work as held by the Hainan Regional CPC Committee, have been approved by the Regional CPC Committee and the Regional Administrative Commissioner's office. All areas have been informed of the regulations and have been urged to conscientiously implement them. The regulations comprise the following 11 points:

1. Strengthen and improve the party's leadership over the work concerning intellectuals. Party committees and governments at all levels must fully understand the important position of intellectuals and the important roles played by intellectuals, regard the work concerning intellectuals as an important task of the four modernizations, and place the work on the agenda. We must further eliminate the leftist influence on the work concerning intellectuals, correct the prejudice of looking down on intellectuals, and show more concern for our intellectuals in how they are treated politically and in their work, study and living conditions.

2. Be concerned with our intellectuals' political progress and growth. We must further implement the party's policies on intellectuals. In particular, we must pay close attention to solving a few people's problems left over by history which have not yet been successfully solved. Party committees at all levels and departments concerned must organize intellectuals to make great efforts to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the party's line, guiding principles and policies so as to enable them to conscientiously uphold the four basic principles, to carry forward the patriotic spirit, to strengthen their sense of proper national pride and to be both Red and expert. We must do well in actively recruiting new party members among intellectuals. We must admit into the party in a timely manner those intellectuals who already possess qualifications for party membership.

3. Have full confidence in intellectuals and be bold in promoting those cadres who are intellectuals. We must actively select and promote those comrades who resolutely implement the party's line, uphold the road of socialism and have professional knowledge and talents for organization and leadership, send such comrades into leading groups at all levels to participate in leadership work, and enable such comrades to be truly entrusted with the responsibilities,

authorities and duties that should go with their posts. We must strive to fulfill the following tasks before the end of 1985: Cadres who are intellectuals should account for more than one-third of the total number of standing committee members of party committees at and above county and municipal levels; cadres who are intellectuals should account for more than half of the total number of cadres in governments at and above county and municipal levels, in economic departments directly under governments at and above the regional and prefectural levels and in all large factories, mines and enterprises; and a relatively large proportion of cadres in scientific research, cultural, educational, public health and sports units should be intellectuals.

4. Make rational use of talented people and give full play to the specialized roles of scientific and technical cadres. Leading organizations and departments at all levels must continue to do well in assisting those professional technical personnel who are engaged in occupations not related to their training or having nothing to do with their specialities in rejoining their former units or in finding jobs suited to their special training. Organizational and personnel departments at a higher level have the power to directly transfer such professional technical personnel, and units and departments concerned must not make things difficult for the organizational and personnel departments. This will prevent talented people from lying idle and will also prevent the waste of talented people. With regard to graduates of universities and polytechnic schools, we must do well in assigning them jobs that are suited to their special training. Units which are ordered to accept such graduates must not bargain. All specialized technical departments and all large factories, mines and enterprises must establish and perfect various types of scientific research societies and specialized research units within this year. They must actively carry out academic exchanges and scientific research activities.

CSO: 4005/1272

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XINJIANG CONFERENCE ON POLITICAL, LEGAL WORK

HK270225 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 26 Aug 82

[Excerpts] The Regional CPC Committee held a regional political and legal work conference in Changji 19-25 August. Regional CPC Committee Secretary Tomur Dawamat spoke at the meeting. Hou Liang, member of the Regional CPC Committee Standing Committee and director of the Regional Public Security Department, spoke, conveying the spirit of the national-political and legal work conference.

The meeting pointed out: Continuing to deal blows to criminals and to tidy up social order is the central task of the political and legal departments, which they must do thoroughly and well. In tidying up social order, it is necessary to tackle problems in a comprehensive way. We must adopt various means to conduct education in observing law and discipline for the masses of all nationalities. We must regard stepping up education for youths and juveniles as the focal point in tackling problems in a comprehensive way. We must strengthen basic work regarding the grassroots security committees, mediation organizations and police stations.

The meeting stressed: We must carry through to the end the struggle against serious economic crime. The political and legal departments at all levels and the cadres and policemen must continue to enhance their understanding of the importance of this struggle and concentrate forces to tackle major and important cases.

The meeting demanded that party committees at all levels strengthen leadership over political and legal work and put public order work on their agenda. They must regard this as an important political task and strive for a further turn for the better in social order.

CSO: 4005/1272

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'SHAANXI RIBAO' CALLS FOR IDEOLOGICAL CHANGE

HK251241 Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 18 Aug 82 p 3

["Ideological commentary" by Song Zhengmin [1345 2973 3046]: "Ideology Must Change During the Turning-Point Period"]

[Text] The period since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has seen another turning point in the history of our party. The fundamental guarantee for achieving this turn in history is that our party has reaffirmed the ideological line of seeking truth from facts. By taking a series of measures aimed at bringing order out of chaos, the party has rectified the "leftist" errors in the party's guiding ideology and restored the party's ideological, political and organizational line to the correct track of Marxism. In various aspects and spheres of revolution and construction, the party has formulated correct policies that conform to reality and the interests of the people.

It should be noted, however, that accomplishment of the historic task of bringing order out of chaos in the party's guiding ideology does not mean that all party members and cadres have accomplished the transformation of ideology. In fact, in practical work and in the words and deeds of quite a few party members and cadres, we can still note "leftist" manifestations in different conditions and degrees. The correct line, principles and policies laid down since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee are still being constantly obstructed by the "left." Particularly when new developments and new issues emerge in the course of the four modernizations drive, some "leftist" sentiments, ideas and viewpoints often very conspicuously manifest themselves in acute forms. Facts show that it is very difficult to completely eliminate in a short time the "leftist" ideological load accumulated over a long time. Some people do not necessarily like the "leftist" element; however, due to various reasons, they often unconsciously manifest a "leftist" tendency in practical work and in dealing with and viewing concrete problems. It is necessary for us to soberly understand that we must constantly and conscientiously eliminate the pernicious influence and effect of the "leftist" ideas in our ideology and work.

While continuously eliminating the "leftist" influence, it is also imperative to pay particular attention to the rise and spread of the rightist tendency. Some of our comrades do not like the rightist tendency but they set elimination

of the "leftist" influence against prevention of the rightist tendency. This is quite erroneous and harmful. The decade of upheaval has seriously poisoned people's ideology and the entire social mood. On the one hand, the "leftist" ideas and methods of doing things have developed to an extremely serious level; on the other hand, declining and decadent elements such as anarchism, out-and-out egoism and feudalism have malignantly swelled and spread unchecked. Since the third plenary session, we have paid particular attention to rectifying the problems related to the party's guiding ideology and exposed and repudiated anarchism, out-and-out egoism and feudalism. However, with the increase in international contacts and the implementation of the open-door policy, the influence of capitalism has also greatly increased in the country. In the ideological and economic fields, bourgeois liberalism and serious criminal activities have emerged. In a certain scope, the class struggle has also been provided with some new features. Under such circumstances, an extremely small number of people fail to see the bright prospects of the socialist motherland. They forfeit the communist ideal and take a skeptical and vacillating attitude toward the four fundamental principles. On the other hand, they highly treasure some decadent ideas and obsolete theories of the bourgeoisie discarded by Marxists and history long ago. Some people have completely degenerated under capitalist corrosion and temptation. They are ungrateful, put profit-making first, secure other people's belongings by force or trickery and appropriate collective and state property. They even work hand in glove with some hostile elements and lawless persons and frenziedly undermine the socialist modernization program by engaging in grafting, swindling, profiteering and smuggling activities. The masses are talking about these serious problems and express their strong dissatisfaction with them. However, some party members and cadres, including some leading cadres, turn a blind eye to, and are insensitive toward, these problems. They are weak and feeble and take an accommodating or tolerant attitude toward them. They do not dare to boldly and resolutely oppose and struggle against them. If we fail to conscientiously overcome this rightist sentiment and allow it to develop, it will bring about a dreadful situation. During the great turning-point periods, Comrade Mao Zedong made a point of stressing the importance of intensive study to ideological transformation. Therefore, only by constantly arming ourselves with dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and by being good at summing up historical experiences will it be possible for us to constantly reduce and overcome ideological one-sidedness and blindness and the tendency of thinking in terms of absolutes and usher in the 12th CPC National Congress by opening up a new situation.

CSO: 4005/1272

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HEILONGJIANG VOCATIONAL SCHOOL STRUCTURAL REFORM

SK301018 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Aug 82

[Text] The Provincial CPC Committee and government recently approved and transmitted the summary of a provincial meeting on urban and rural vocational school work and set forth stipulations on further consolidating and developing the vocational schools of our province.

The summary notes: In carrying out secondary education structural reform, we should put into effect the principle of developing both general education and vocational education, both the whole-day school and the work-study school, the farming-study school and the spare-time school and both the state-run school and the schools run by establishments, industrial and mining enterprises and people's communes. Urban vocational schools should offer selected courses on vocational technology. They should open selected courses on labor technology for students at junior middle school level. The development of urban and rural vocational schools should suit the local economy and social development to cultivate qualified laborers to meet social demands.

The summary stresses: The reform of secondary educational structure should integrate with that of the labor employment system. Concerning vocational school graduates, we should carry out the principle of employing the best instead of assigning jobs to all of them. Regarding the ways to seek employment, we should implement the principle of having labor departments recommend jobs, allowing people to organize themselves to run collective economic units and allowing people to find jobs by themselves. Labor departments should give priority to graduates of secondary vocational schools while making job arrangements. Agricultural middle school graduates who pass graduation examinations and examinations on specialized courses given by professional departments will be conferred the title of probationary agrotechnician. Those who engage in technical work will have proper allowances. Production brigades, production teams and commune- and brigade-run enterprises should employ the best among the graduates of agricultural middle schools.

The Provincial CPC Committee and government made explicit stipulations on the construction of the teachers' contingent and education expenses of the vocational middle schools and agricultural middle schools and other specific policies, while approving and transmitting the summary of the provincial meeting on urban and rural vocational school work.

CSO: 4005/1272

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

MIDDLE SCHOOLS ASKED TO TREAT BOYS, GIRLS EQUALLY

HK190939 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Aug 82 p 2

[Letter to the Editor from Zhang Yang [1728 2254] of Tianjin: "Major Middle Schools Should Not Give Preference to Boys Over Girls in Enrolling Students"]

[Text] Comrade Editor:

A few years ago, in enrolling students, major middle schools in Tianjin generally observed a written or unwritten rule that girl students to be admitted should score a few marks higher than boy students. This method has been adopted again this year and seems to have become a customary "law." For example, in Heping District, it is stipulated in explicit terms that, this year, the minimum marks for boys to be promoted from primary schools to junior middle schools is 201 and that for girls is 203.

Allegedly, there are two reasons for doing this: First, girl students usually score higher marks than boys. If boys and girls are treated equally, there will not be a proper ratio between the numbers of boys and girls in major middle schools. Second, due to physiological causes, girls will not do so well in senior middle schools and will lag behind boys. If the major middle schools admit too many girls, the proportion of their graduates entering colleges and universities will be adversely affected. These two reasons mean the same thing, that is, the fear of a drop in the percentage of graduates entering colleges and universities.

In my opinion, this way of considering the problem is quite extreme. First, girls are absolutely not inferior to boys in intellectual quality. Second, even if girls are inferior to boys, the active way is to educate the girls well in light of their characteristics, and the passive method of limiting their enrollment in major middle schools should not be adopted.

This method will produce poor social results. First, it will produce the harmful effect of giving preference to boys over girls and impede family planning. Second, it will hurt the feelings of girls and easily give them an inferiority complex.

In my opinion, this method of giving preference to boys over girls as adopted by major middle schools in enrolling students is not proper and should be abolished.

CSO: 4005/1272

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PARTY EDUCATION REVIEWED AT TAIYUAN STEEL FIRM

HK020302 Tiayuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 23 Aug 82 p 1

[Report: "Taiyuan Iron and Steel Company Party Committee Steps Up Education in Party Spirit for Party Members"]

[Text] The party committee of the Taiyuan Iron and Steel Company, when carrying out the education in party spirit, party style and party discipline and ideological and political education for party members, has achieved good results in party building and has strengthened the fighting capacity of party organizations, hence intensifying the party spirit, rectifying the party style and enforcing party discipline. Wang Jingsheng, the secretary of the party committee, said: "If a party secretary does not handle party building, he will be neglecting his duty."

Last February, the party committee of this company held two meetings to discuss the implementation of the spirit of the party education forum held in Yanbei Prefecture by the provincial authorities. Considering the actual conditions in their company, members of the committee deeply felt that doing a good job in party building and strengthening education for party members was a matter of primary importance. A few years ago, some party members were involved in the disturbances created by a few people. This caused confusion among the workers for a time and impaired production. At that time, the party committee of this company, under the direct leadership of and backed by the provincial and municipal party committees, justly and forcefully unfolded the discussion on the criteria of truth, propagated the four basic principles, educated the cadres and party members and asked them to lead the worker masses to implement the line, principles and policies formulated after the 3rd plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Hence the disturbance was rapidly overcome and output, product quality and profits gradually picked up. In the last 4 years, they have jumped "four stages." Now, in order to keep the momentum, they know they must effectively implement economic responsibility systems and in the course of promoting production, do a good job in building a crack contigent of 50,000 workers. For this purpose, the building, especially the ideological building, of the party rank of over 10,000 members is of primary importance. Based on party members' actual thinking, the present task is to conduct education in party spirit, party style and party discipline. The education drive should be linked with the struggle against criminal activities in the economic field and the struggle against erosion by bourgeois

ideology. The fundamental purpose is to strengthen party spirit and to emphasize ideologically strengthening party leading groups.

In conducting education in party spirit and party discipline, the party committee of the Taiyuan Iron and Steel Company has emphatically handled the work in the following three aspects: First, giving party lectures. Since mid-February, the company party committee and its subordinate party committees have thoroughly conducted widespread investigation and study. They found that the problems of impure party spirit, incorrect party style and slackness in party discipline existed in different degrees among some party members. These problems were expressed mainly in the following aspects: Politically, they did not take the stand of the Central Committee; ideologically, they indulged in bourgeois liberalization and extreme individualism; organizationally, they formed small factions and persisted in bourgeois factionalism; in work style, they practiced bureaucracy and seriously divorced themselves from the masses; economically, they recklessly issued bonuses and subsidies, gave dinners or sent gifts, used public funds for private gain, and even practiced graft, embezzlement, speculation and bribery; in their work, they did not study technology and professional knowledge and shirked responsibility and neglected their duty. In view of these problems, the party committee organized people to write party lectures on six topics and issued them to grassroots party branches. The secretary and deputy secretaries of this company party committee personally gave party lectures to leading cadres with party membership at or above the level of deputy section leader. The No. 1 or No. 2 heads of all 49 subordinate committees and directly subordinate general branches also gave lectures on party spirit, party style and party discipline in connection with the actual conditions of their own units. They talked on one topic each month. People said that, with leaders personally giving lectures which could properly link theory with actual conditions and directly discussing the problems, they had received good education.

Second, holding regular meetings of party organizations, effectively resolving actual problems. After each party lecture, party committees and branches at all levels would always hold meetings to carry out criticism and self-criticism in connection with personal problems or problems in their units, then take steps to overcome these problems. In early June, Wang Jingsheng, secretary of the party committee, gave a special lecture on strengthening party spirit to all cadres with party membership at or above the level of deputy section head. After that, the company and subordinate units respectively held meetings to review, in the light of the demands of strengthening party spirit raised in the lecture, their attitude toward the situation after the 3rd plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, toward the campaign of cracking down on criminal activities in the economic field, and toward the implementation of economic responsibility systems, and then worked out measures for making improvements. The results of these meetings were reported in written form to the company. The company then sent people to inspect the implementation.

Third, grasping typical examples. In order to make party members receive the education in party spirit, party style and party discipline in a vivid and lively manner and enhance their ability in resisting erosion, the party committee of the Taiyuan Iron and Steel Company chose three typical examples.

The first was Guo Ruilin, a cadre with party membership in the technology section of the power mill and the party branch of supply section in the No. 1 Capital Construction Company. His deeds of resisting erosion became a good example for everyone. The second example was a party member in the processing factory who had corrected his mistakes. This example taught those party members who had made mistakes to recognize and correct their mistakes and strive to be a qualified party member. The third was a leading cadre with party membership in the transport department who had been eroded by bourgeois ideology and had committed serious economic crimes. This serves as a negative example and helped people draw lessons and see the grave in erosion by bourgeois ideology, so as to spur them to conscientiously transform their world outlook. The company party committee gave extensive publicity to these examples through the radio and press and through meetings. The whole company was greatly shocked by the examples. In early May, for 20 days, an inspection group led by Lang Jun, deputy secretary of the company party committee, inspected the education in party spirit, party style and party discipline in every grassroots party committee or general branch. They affirmed the achievements, pointed out the existing problems and encouraged leaders at all levels to carry this education for party members forward in a more thorough degree. The party committee of the Taiyuan Iron and Steel Company has made up its mind to devote great efforts to do a further good job in carrying out education in party spirit, party style and party discipline and carry the struggle against the erosion by bourgeois ideology through to the end.

CSO: 4005/1272

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

QINGHAI PARTY RECRUITS INTELLECTUALS--Party organizations at all levels have actively recruited party members among intellectuals. During the period from the third plenum to the end of 1981, 2,795 intellectuals were granted party membership. The proportion of intellectuals among the party membership increased to 7.9 percent in 1981 from 5.6 percent in 1978. [SK261256 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 25 Aug 82 SK]

HUMAN EDUCATION FOR WORKERS--Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Hunan Province has developed education for workers to a relatively great extent. The province now has 29 universities for workers. Some 50 percent of the enterprises throughout the province have set up about 20,000 schools and courses for workers. Some 1.4 million young and juvenile workers have received cultural and technical education and account for 35 percent of the total number of workers throughout the province. In June this year, the province held an on-the-spot meeting in Yiyang Prefecture on education for workers. Since then, all prefectures and municipalities have been assigned with 11 additional special cadres to conduct education for workers and about 95 percent of the counties have set up worker education organs. Chenzhou, Shaoyang and Lianyuan prefectures, Xiangxi Tujia-Miao autonomous prefecture and Shoyang Municipality have appropriated 12,000 yuan as worker education funds. [HK230152 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Aug 82 HK]

SHAANXI IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION--Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, party organizations at all levels in Shaanxi Province have universally strengthened ideological education for party members. According to the statistics of 10 prefectures and municipalities, some 994,700 party members--78 percent of the total number of party members throughout the province--were trained in rotation from the first half of last year to the first half of this year. The training emphasized education in far-reaching communist ideals; the line, principles and policies of the party; opposing the corruption by capitalist ideology; and party's basic knowledge. Since last year, units at and above the county level throughout the province have assessed some 18,600 party members as outstanding party members. [HK261348 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 0500 GMT 21 Aug 82 HK]

TIANJIN GRADUATE STUDENTS--Tianjin Municipality has achieved good results in training graduate students since the third plenary session. So far the municipality has recruited 1,300 graduate students since 1978 when graduate school enrollment was restored. Of these students, 296 have graduated. For the first time since 1978, Tianjin gave master's degrees to 249 students and recruited 12 graduate students studying for doctor's degree this year. [Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 28 Aug 82 SK]

SHAANXI POLICY TOWARD INTELLECTUALS--Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Shaanxi Province has achieved outstanding results in implementing the party's policy toward intellectuals. According to statistics, by the end of June this year, verdicts on 99 percent of grievances, trumped-up cases and miscarriages of justice involving intellectuals throughout the province had been reversed and corrected. Some 11,000 specialized technical cadres had been recruited into the party, 40,000 specialized technical cadres had been promoted to leadership posts, some 4,000 specialized technical cadres who were engaged in work in which they were not well versed had been readjusted and some 123,000 specialized technical cadres and their technical titles had been assessed and promoted. The province had approved that the dependents of some 3,700 specialized technical backbone elements at and above the middle grade be moved back to urban areas. The province had solved the problems of some 15,000 specialized technical cadres who lived apart from this spouses. The housing problems of some 32,000 specialized technical cadres had also been solved. [HK240439 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 0500 GMT 23 Aug 82 HK]

XINJIANG INTELLECTUALS' PROMOTION--Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, some 8,900 intellectuals in Xinjiang region have been promoted to leadership posts at all levels. Over recent years, a large number of professional and technical cadres in Hotan Prefecture have been promoted to leadership posts at the county level. Last year, the region promoted a large number of senior and middle-grade intellectuals to the leadership groups at the university and college level. The majority of these comrades were graduates of universities and colleges in the 1950's and at the beginning of the 1960's. [HK310515 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 30 Aug 82 HK]

XINJIANG SPORTS MEET CONCLUDES--The Third Xinjiang Regional Sports Meet concluded in the Nanmen Gymnasium in Urumqi this afternoon. At the closing ceremony, leading comrades of the party and the government in the region and Urumqi PLA units, including Zhang Shigong, Huang Luobin, Bai Chengming, (Fu Wen), Liu Zimo, Wei Youzhu, (He Linzhao) and Aizezuofu Hasifu, awarded cups and citations to the first six winning teams at the team competitions and bonuses to the Urumqi, Altay and Tacheng sports groups which had won the most gold medals. During the Third Regional Sports Meet, a symposium of advanced units and advanced workers in the mass physical culture was held. At the closing ceremony, prizes and citations were awarded to 66 advanced units, 41 advanced workers and 24 veteran physical culture workers with some 30 years' experiences throughout the region. [Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 30 Aug 82 HK]

CSO: 4005/1272

VETERAN CADRES, 'THREE TYPES OF UNDESIRABLES'

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 3 Jul 82 p 4

[Text] In commemoration of the 61st anniversary of the founding of the CCP on 1 July, Beijing held an evening reception, attended by more than 10,000 veteran cadres, including retirees and those approaching retirement.

Retirement means "leaving the post to rest," same as the term habitually used in Hong Kong. The establishment of the "retirement system" was to solve the issues of the "aging of the leadership teams" and "the cadres' lack of professional knowledge." These issues are fairly serious in the party and government structures of the various levels. The achievements of the vigorous structural implification carried out by the State Council in the first half of the year were fairly impressive, but it seems that there has not been any large-scale simplification of the party structure. The general inference is that major readjustments of the party structure of the various levels may possibly take place after the "12th National Congress of the CCP" in the coming winter.

One of the readjustments probably will be the "advisory commission," to be created in the Central Committee of the CCP for the aged and senior cadres. From what Vice Premier Wan Li of the State Council said to foreign visitors, Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping will also join the future advisory commission. According to common sense, the veteran cadres withdrawing to the advisory position will probably, according to individual conditions, continue to make contributions to different degrees. Some may completely "ignore everything;" others may be "called upon in spite of their indifference." It is believed that the "withdrawal to the second line" as "advisers" will be widely used in the party and government structures of the various levels, in order to pacify the old cadres and enable them to enjoy retirement with pleasure.

The most troublesome as well as the most crucial problem in the reorganization of the CCP at the present stage is not in the stratum of the old cadres, but in the intermediate and basic levels. The CCP has close to

40 million members, severally belonging to more than 2 million basic level party organizations. The Central Committee of the CCP has long issued the order to purge the "three types of undesirables," viz., those who followed Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and "rose by rebellion;" those seriously influenced by the factional thinking of the Cultural Revolution; those committing beating, smashing and looting and those resisting the resolutions of the Third Plenary Session. Purging the undesirables is the policy of the CCP leaders, the desire of the majority of its members and the general hope of the common people. However, how to verify the three types of people is obviously not an easy matter. The work has been launched for a year, but there does not seem to have been any important progress. On the eve of "1 July," the CCP Central Committee held a "Forum on the Work to Reorganize the Party's Basic Level Organizations," reiterating the determination, clarifying the instructions and stressing the necessity to distinguish between "those who made mistakes during the Cultural Revolution" and the "three types of people." In other words, the focus is on eradicating the key ultra-leftists, but the followers of the ultra-leftwing faction will not be investigated, in view of their large number which makes investigation impossible.

Among the 40 million membership, approximately 40 percent joined the party during the Cultural Revolution. These 10 plus million are the current group of those "in their prime and middle-aged," the age when they advance from backbone elements to the leadership stratum. Among this age group, those coming under the "three types" obviously constitute a considerable portion. When their turn comes to take over the leadership power of the various levels a few years hence, what kind of changes will occur in the CCP? Therefore, actively eradicating the remnant ultra-leftwing poison at present has a crucial significance to the state, the people and the party itself. While the improper arrangement for the withdrawal or retirement of the aging cadres will greatly affect the work efficiency, it will merely be a question of being "slow," but the improper eradication of the "leftwing poison" involves the issue of the restoration of the ultra-leftwing Cultural Revolution line.

6080
CSO: 4005/1021

ROTATIONAL TRAINING TO IMPROVE CADRE QUALITY

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 6 Jul 82 p 11

[Article by Meng Ju [1322 1172]: "Beijing Decides on Full-Scale Cadre Rotational Training"]

[Text] Aging Party Central Committee Politburo member Wang Zhen [3769 7201], currently in charge of the Central Party School, gives fairly serious attention to the rotational training of cadres. He published an article in JENMIN RIBAO on 1 July entitled "Strengthen Cadre Rotational Education; Improve the Quality of Cadre Ranks."

Training Cadres to Acquire the Four Qualifications

Wang Zhen's article states:

"To raise the ideological level and professional competency of the middle-aged and young cadres in order to adjust to the need of the modernization construction, the Party Central Committee has asked us to immediately start on education, train the cadres, and make the work regular, systematic and standardized, so that the cadres will relatively rapidly and successfully master the theoretical weapon of Marxism-Leninism and the knowledge of modern science and technology. After doing so for a few years, we will see obvious results in fulfilling the hopes of the party and the people to make the cadre ranks revolutionary, youthful, knowledgeable and professional."

The "four qualifications" mentioned by Wang Zhen can only be achieved by such means as rotational training. He revealed that, in the 5 years hereafter, cadres working in central party and government organs must at least be improved to the senior middle school cultural and intermediate vocational levels.

Habitual Failure to Promote Intellectuals

In employing and promoting cadres, the CCP has always followed the principle of "politics in command." Family origin, parents' political

background and the degree of enthusiasm in "manifesting loyalty" to the CCP have become the main, or even only, criteria. As a result, the overwhelming majority of the cadres is only red but not expert. "Red" is merely skill in shouting slogans, bragging and catering to the wishes of the higher level.

Since the Great Cultural Revolution, those of low cultural and educational level and inferior ethical cultivation have flooded the CCP regime, lowering even further the quality of the cadres.

Currently, the assignment of the cadres by the CCP to party schools of all levels and short-term training classes has produced some impact on improving the standard of the cadres, but the result may not necessarily be impressive.

The CCP has all along failed to give serious attention to or trusted the intellectuals, and it hesitates to promote large numbers of cadres among them. It prefers to promote "worker-peasant cadres" without much knowledge or professional competence. Actually, it should start with recruiting intellectuals to make the cadre ranks professional and knowledgeable.

6080
CSO: 4005/1021 END

JPRS 81811

21 September 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 339

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81811

21 September 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 339

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Colombia Foreign Policy To Stress Independence
(XINHUA, 28 Aug 82) 1

Delegate Addresses UN Space Conference
(Chen Yunqi; Beijing Domestic Service, 25 Aug 82) 2

'RENMIN RIBAO' Lauds 'Heroic' Palestinian Fighters
(Editorial; RENMIN RIBAO, 27 Aug 82) 4

Briefs
Visiting Swedish Writer 6
S. African Troops To Angola 6

PARTY AND STATE

Judicial Arguments Must Show Evidence, Just Grounds, Restraint
(Shi Rengyi; FAXUE YANJIU, No 2, 1982) 7

Campaigns of Taiping Army
(Shen Weibin; LISHI YANJIU, 15 Jun 82) 11

Heilongjiang Issues Circular on Intensifying Intellectual Work
(Heilongjiang Provincial Service, 5 Sep 82) 30

Wang Kunlun Praises He Xiangning
(Wang Kunlun; RENMIN RIBAO, 26 Aug 82) 32

Jilin Strengthens Party Construction
(Jilin Provincial Service, 6 Sep 82) 37

Liaoning Official on Historic Changes in Modern China
(Tang Hongguang; Liaoning Provincial Service, 8 Sep 82). 39

'DAZHONG RIBAO' on Propagating Communist Ideology
(Editorial; DAZHONG RIBAO, 25 Aug 82) 41

'DAZHONG RIBAO' Urges Having Faith in Communism
(DAZHONG RIBAO, 27 Aug 82) 45

'LIAONING RIBAO' on Communists, Communism
(Qi Yu; LIAONING RIBAO, 29 Aug 82) 49

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on People's Congress System
(Zhang Shangzhuo; GUANGMING RIBAO, 11 Aug 82) 51

Danger of 'Peaceful Evolution' Emphasized
(Ding Shi; SHIDAI DE BAOGAO, No 5, 1982) 54

PRC Paper Reviews Changes Since 3d Plenary Session
(Sun Ruiyuan; QINGNIAN BAO, 24 Aug 82) 56

PRC Paper Sees Stabilizing Situation, Unity
(Gao Zhiyu; ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO, 26 Aug 82) 61

'Liaowang' on CPC Policy Toward Intellectuals
(Xu Minhe, Yang Ruimin; LIAOWANG, 20 Jul 82) 64

34th Lecture on Draft Revised Constitution
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 30 Aug 82) 70

35th Lecture on Draft Revised Constitution
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 31 Aug 82) 71

Briefs
Danger of Sugarcoated Bullets 73
Ideological-Political Work 73
Assignment of Retired Cadres 73
Communist Ideological Education 74

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Health Services Credited for Improving Health in Beijing
(Chen Enjia; JIAN KANG BAO, 1 Jul 82) 75

Improving Marxism-Leninism Class at Higher Schools Discussed
(Zheng Da; JIAOXUE YU YANJIU, No 2, 1982) 77

Tasks Undertaken To Clean, Beautify Harbin
([UNKNOWN], 5 Aug 82) 83

Present State of Schools of Higher Learning Discussed
(LIAOWANG, 20 May 82) 89

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Mao Zedong's Constitution Thought Reviewed
(Jin Sikai; MING PAO YUE KAN, No 5, 1982) 91

Journal on Hong Kong Editor's Disappearance in PRC
(Shih Hua; CHISHIH NIENTAI, Sep 82) 97

'CHENG MING's' Version of 'HSIN WAN PAO' Hijack Report
(Lo Bing; CHENG MING, 1 Sep 82) 100

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COLOMBIA FOREIGN POLICY TO STRESS INDEPENDENCE

OW280852 Beijing XINHUA in English 0813 GMT 28 Aug 82

[Text] Bogota, 27 Aug (XINHUA)--Colombian Foreign Minister Rodrigo Lloreda has declared that the new government will follow a foreign policy of greater independence in order that the country will not be regarded as a satellite of big powers, the paper EL TIEMPO reported today.

In an interview with the paper, the first public statement Lloreda made after he took office, he said that in dealing with big powers, Colombia will make her own decisions in accordance with the "interest of the country, the Andean region, the Latin American group and the international community."

It is beneficial for Colombia to join the non-aligned group, because this will enable her to have dialogues with most of the Third World countries, he stated.

But Colombia's participation in the Non-Aligned Movement does not mean "estrangement from or confrontation with the United States," he added.

Lloreda made it clear that Colombia has decided to join the action committee to support Argentina, which comprises the member states of the Latin American Eo-Economic System (SELA). Colombia is shifting from the previous government's position of passive support for Argentina to the present one of active support.

He said that there is little possibility of restoring Colombian-Cuban relations, but Colombia will try to strengthen relations with her neighbors and other countries in the hemisphere.

CSO: 4000/183

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DELEGATE ADDRESSES UN SPACE CONFERENCE

OW310331 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Report by (Chen Yunqi) of U.S. Broadcasting Department entitled: "Second UN Conference on Outer Space"]

[Excerpts] The second UN conference on the exploration and peaceful use of outer space held in Vienna, the capital of Austria, from 9 to 21 August was an important grand conference in the history of outer space activities in the world. The representatives from various governments and international organizations of various countries, renowned scientists and experts in space science and technology and journalists from all parts of the world jubilantly gathered together to discuss how to make the tremendous achievements in the rapid development of space science and technology in the past 25 years serve the peace and interests of the world's peoples.

Zhang Wenjin, chief of the Chinese delegation to the conference and vice foreign minister, said: While devoting itself to developing its economy, China has also exerted certain efforts in the past few years in the exploration and use of outer space. He said: [Begin recording] China has successfully launched 10 satellites since it successfully launched its first Earth satellite into orbit in 1970. It has also successfully retrieved two satellites and launched three satellites with a single carrier rocket. In order to meet the needs in economic construction, we have developed year-by-year satellites for the development of communications, broadcasting, meteorology, natural resources and scientific experiments in a planned manner. [end recording]

Despite these facts, the developed countries have still played a dominant role in the field of space science and technology.

At the second conference on the exploration and peaceful use of outer space, the representatives of many developing countries called for effective measures to break the monopoly of outer space by the "space powers" and change the unreasonable situation in outer space.

If the achievements in the development of space science and technology are used in spurring economic developments in various countries, improving people's living conditions and promoting social progress, they will undoubtedly open a bright future for world peace and for the friendship and progress of the people. However, to achieve this magnificent goal, it is necessary to

adhere to some principles. The speech by Zhang Wenjin, chief of the Chinese delegation, reflected the views of many developing nations. He said: [begin recording] The exploration and use of outer space must serve peace. It must be conductive to developing the economy, science and culture of various nations and to enhancing friendship and cooperation among all countries. In exploring and using outer space, we must take into consideration the interests of various countries, particularly those of the developing countries. In exploring and using outer space, we must take into consideration the interests of various countries, particularly those of the developing countries. We deeply believe that the abovementioned principles are conductive to the peaceful use of outer space. [End recording]

CSO: 4005/1296

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' LAUDS 'HEROIC' PALESTINIAN FIGHTERS

HK271144 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Salute to the Heroic Palestinian Fighters"]

[Text] The Chinese people extend their sincere regards and respects to the heroic and unyielding PLO fighters!

In order to resist the Israeli aggression and defend the national rights of the Palestinian people, the PLO has kept on fighting in Lebanon for 11 years and has expanded its forces in the battles. On 4 June this year, encouraged and supported by the United States, Israel launched a large-scale sudden attack on Lebanon. Despite the great disparity in numbers, the PLO fought a life-or-death battle against the brutal invading Israeli army. The fighting will and the spirit of devotion which the PLO leaders and fighers displayed in the battles, lasting for 11 weeks, command the admiration of the people throughout the world.

Now, in order to save Beirut from destruction, the PLO fighters are pulling out of this city for other Arab countries in accordance with the agreement reached by all parties concerned. This action, taken in the interest of the overall situation, contributes to the peaceful solution of the Lebanon crisis caused by Israel's large-scale invasion.

The PLO has withstood another severe test. By fighting heroically, the PLO fighters have smashed the scheme of the Israeli expansionists to write off the national rights of the Palestinian people by wiping out the PLO armed forces. Despite heavy losses, the PLO has preserved its effective strength and gained valuable experience. The road of revolution has never been a straight one. On the road to strive for liberation, the oppressed nations and oppressed people are bound to meet various setbacks. So long as they conscientiously sum up their experiences, both positive and negative, draw the necessary lessons, strengthen their unity and persist in struggle, they are sure to achieve final victory. Now the PLO and its armed forces are pulling out of the bases, where they have insisted on fighting for a long time, for other Arab countries. At this critical juncture, PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yaser 'Arafat has called on the fighters to continue their resistance and struggle, and solemnly declared that the Palestinian people would go on

fighting for their national rights. The high morale and strict discipline displayed by the Palestinian fighters during their withdrawal from Beirut fully indicate the invincibility of their revolutionary cause.

The Palestine problem remains the core of the Middle East issue. Failing a reasonable solution to this problem, there could be no peace and stability in the region. Israel's savage invasion of Lebanon has fully exposed the aggressive and expansionist to eliminate the PLO and stamp out the struggle of the Palestinian people for their national rights, but also to put Lebanon under its control. All the evil schemes of the Israeli ruling clique were supported and encouraged by the United States, which cannot evade its responsibility for all the crimes committed by Israel in Lebanon. Now that the PLO and its armed forces are pulling out of Beirut, the United States must make the Israeli aggressor troops withdraw from Lebanon immediately, totally and unconditionally so as to ensure the latter's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Israel must not refuse to withdraw under any pretext nor should it interfer directly or indirectly in the internal affairs of Lebanon. The international community should take this opportunity to bring about a comprehensive, just and durable solution to the Middle East problem.

A just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. The struggle of the Arab people to recover their lost land and that of the Palestinian people to gain back their national rights are a just cause which enjoys the sympathy and support of more and more countries and people in the world. Despite their arrogance, the Israeli expansionists are under heavy fire from the international community and find themselves bitterly isolated. The Chinese people will, as always, stand firmly on the side of the Arab and Palestinian people. We are convinced that the heroism and indomitable revolutionary spirit of the Palestinian people, fostered in protracted and arduous struggle, will be given new dimensions in the new situation. Victory certainly belongs to the Palestinian people, who uphold unity and persist in struggle.

CSO: 4005/1296

BRIEFS

VISITING SWEDISH WRITER--Beijing, 31 Aug (XINHUA)--Wang Bingnan, president of the Chinese Peoples Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, met and feted Jan Myrdal, honorary president of the Sweden-China Friendship Federation and noted writer, and his wife Gun Kessle here this evening. They had a cordial and friendly talk. [Text] [OW312232 Beijing XINHUA in English 1556 GMT 31 Aug 82]

S. AFRICAN TROOPS TO ANGOLA--Beijing, 1 Sep (XINHUA)--About 30,000 South African troops are massed along the Namibian border ready to mount further attacks on Angola, according to reports reaching here. The Angolan Defense Ministry was quoted as saying that the South African troops, to join the 5,500 who have already invaded the southern Cunene Province of Angola, were equipped with 60 combat planes, an undetermined number of helicopter gunships and 300 armored personnel carriers. Angola first reported that a large South African force had crossed its southern border on July 30. South African military authorities confirmed the invasion on August 11 by announcing that their troops had killed 113 guerrillas of the South West African Peoples Organization at a SWAPO base in Cunene. South Africa claims that its raids into Angola are aimed at wiping out guerrilla bases of SWAPO, which is fighting for the independence of Namibia. [Text] [OW010821 Beijing XINHUA in English 0749 GMT 1 Sep 82]

CSO: 4000/183

JUDICIAL ARGUMENTS MUST SHOW EVIDENCE, JUST GROUNDS, RESTRAINT

Beijing FAXUE YANJIU [STUDY OF LAW] in Chinese No 2, 82 pp 26-27

[Article by Shi Fengyi [0670 7364 0308]" "Arguments in Court Must Show Evidence, Just Grounds and Restraint"]

[Text] Following the enforcement of the Criminal Procedure Law, the state promulgated Provisional Regulations Governing Lawyers, thus marking a new phase in our country's construction of its legal system. As the law courts try cases, arguments from two different points of view, one party accusing and one party defending, will expose fully the true facts and enable the court, after having listened to the opinions of both sides, to arrive at a just decision, a method that will improve the quality of court trials. Because it has only been a short time that the courts have been handling cases according to the procedural law, the procuratorial staff and the lawyers are not yet too familiar with their professional duties. All concerned are still learning while performing their duties, and for this reason certain deviations and errors have occurred in argumentations before the courts. Sometimes the arguments have been insufficient and sometimes overdone. In some cases the responsibility was that of the procuratorial staff and in some cases that of the lawyers.

Arguments in court are tests of the quality of procuratorial prosecution and of the lawyers' defenses. They are also tests of the political and professional level of the prosecutors and the lawyers personally as they show themselves in court, and they are also the focal point of judicial work in the eyes of the masses who sit in on court sessions. The manner in which the prosecutors and the lawyers present their arguments in court, how they exercise their professional functions to the fullest, neither being excessive nor deficient, firmly adhering to principles, but just and right in their formulations, that is an important problem, which we must at present sum up and reach a common understanding on.

This question has in some places been summed up as the "four don'ts of arguing": don't argue forcibly, don't argue craftily, dont' argue deceitfully and don't argue confusedly. Some legal counselling offices summed it up in "four don'ts of saying": don't say anything detrimental to the accused, don't say anything that runs counter to the interests of the state and the people, don't say anything for which there is no substantial evidence,

don't say anything that ridicules or disparages your opponent. There is of course some value in these experiences, but a stricter and more comprehensive way would be the 6-word formulation that arguments "must show evidence, just grounds, restraint." In my opinion this may be called the 6-word rule of arguing in court. No matter whether it is the procurator or the lawyer, if the party can abide by the 6-word rule when arguing in court, that party's argumentation will be of high quality and in good style, and will truly turn the law court into a good classroom where the people can learn understanding and observation of the law.

Evidence

Evidence means to have factual proof. These facts must not be hearsay and gossip, must not be inferences and conjectures, must not be mere generalizations, also not distortions by additions to or exaggerations of the facts, but must be authentic proof of facts which furthermore must be examined as evidence in the presence of the court. Only by arguing on the basis of such irrefutable facts can either procurator or lawyer withstand all attacks and rebuttals and maintain an invincible position. That is one side of the question. Another side is that procurators and lawyers must seek the truth from facts and respect objective facts. There must be no forcible or crafty arguing if the opponent produces well-founded facts and legal and effective evidence.

Just Grounds

Just grounds means on the one hand good grounds in law and on the other hand reasonableness.

Acceptable grounds in law means there are fundamental legal principles and concrete legal provisions to be followed. Every law is composed of two parts, one of common character (fundamental principles) and one of specific character (concrete provisions). In the case of criminal law, the general provisions are the part of common character, as they prescribe the common requirements that constitute criminality and other common characteristics relating to the determination of guilt and the measure of punishment. The specific provisions are the part of specific character which fixes the various requirements that constitute the different specific crimes and the extent to which punishment is to be meted out. The general provisions are a guide for the specific provisions, and the general provisions together with the specific provisions form one organic entity. The fundamental principles are the soul of the law, they embody the legislative spirit, and the application of the law must take these principles as a guide. However, the fundamental principles must also have found expression in concrete provisions; only if there are provisions in law, can there be a conviction for a crime and punishment. The procurators and the lawyers must have a clear-cut legal viewpoint and must base their arguments on the fundamental principles of the law and at the same time apply the exact concrete provisions of the law, thus showing a correct understanding of the law as a whole and correctly apply it as a whole. The distinction whether a person is guilty or not, whether his crime is serious or not, whether punishment is to be reduced or increased, whether a

crime should be punished leniently or with severity, must always take the law as its gauge. Any thesis that is divorced from the law is untenable.

Reasonableness means conforming with the standards of socialist morality. Different classes have their distinctly different moral standards. Every country recognizes only the morality of the ruling class and opposes and restricts the morality of other classes. The morality of our country expresses the will of the proletariat and of the working people, it is socialist morality. All acts that conform with the socialist morality we consider as reasonable, and we cannot consider as reasonable the backward traditional customs and old viewpoints that reflect the will of the exploiting classes. For instance, in a case of the murder of an adulteress, we would not consider it within the bounds of reasonableness if the husband concerned, basing on some right of a husband, would kill his wife. In our country, generally speaking, any criminal act that violates the criminal law is also an act that seriously violates socialist morality. Punishment of a criminal act must be based on criminal law, and it would seem to have no relation to morality. However, there is always a question of special circumstances in every crime, and these circumstances actually contain moral factors. On the question of differentiating between extenuating or aggravating circumstances our criminal law has provisions written into some of the articles of the law, indicating which circumstances demand leniency and which demand severity, but in some cases no such concrete provisions can be found in the articles themselves. In such cases the standards of socialist morality must be used in meting out punishment. Under ordinary circumstances an act that violates criminal law will be one in which the circumstances also severely violate socialist morality. However, there are also exceptional circumstances when the act itself violates the criminal law, but manifests certain factors, such as the motive or the purpose of the crime, which do not conflict with the demands of socialist morality and are therefore still within the bounds of reasonableness. When applying the law at such times one may consider the reasonableness of the action as an extenuating factor and treat the case with leniency. If a youngster has become an irredeemable hoodlum, irresponsive to the admonitions of the head of his family, and the family head in a fit of rage hits and injures the youngster, the family head has in fact committed a crime of inflicting bodily injury, but in consideration of the circumstances his punishment should be reduced or he should be altogether exempted from punishment.

Restraint

Restraint means convincing people by reasoning and the exercise of moderation. In one's arguments one must uphold principles and not yield on points of basic views, but one must also not overdo it. One must not, after getting one's due, not release the opponent or engage in an endless hot pursuit. The purpose of arguments in court is to bring out the facts and to clarify right and wrong. They are arguments concerned with facts and reasons. The purpose is not to have a row or to inflict suffering on someone. As soon as right and wrong has been clarified, there is to be no further endless squabbling. Flaunting one's superiority and trying to outshine others, regarding winning

or losing as a measure of high or low ideology, is wrong. In presenting arguments one must display high standards and a high work style. As soon as the basic questions have been clarified, there should be no need for lengthy entanglements in minor questions or quarrel over a few words and phrases. Argumentation which seeks momentary gratification by exploiting circumstances unfavorable to the opponent, that hotly pursues and fiercely attacks the opponent, that is a rebuttal to inflict cuts and bruises on your opponent and drive him into an extremely awkward position, cannot be considered good or successful argumentation. On the contrary, such argumentation would precisely illustrate a rather low consciousness and low work style of the procurator or lawyer concerned. The procuratorial staff and the lawyers must never forget that despite the different functions performed by each, the overall objective is identical, namely to punish criminals, protect good people and safeguard the correct enforcement of the country's laws.

Basing decisions on facts and being guided by law is the fundamental principle for our country's judicial activities; it is a manifestation of the standpoint and view of dialectic materialism. The various departments charged with judicial work, all the various sectors and various activities concerned must uphold this fundamental principle. Showing evidence, just grounds and restraint are precisely the concretization in the arguments before the court of the judicial guiding principle of basing decisions on the evidence of facts and being guided by law. Showing evidence means basing decisions on actual facts; to have just grounds means to accept the law as one's guideline; restraint means to adopt the correct attitude. These three things are linked into one inseparable chain, not a single one of the three can be dispensed with. Having evidence and no just grounds is useless. In fact if one seems well-grounded in facts, but cannot make clear how these facts are to be evaluated in legal and moral terms, the argumentation would still fail to grasp the crucial point. It is also useless to have just grounds but no evidence. Engaging in empty talk on legal principles or discoursing on articles of the law, without substantial facts as proof, would be an argumentation just like building castles in the air, unable to stand up against rebuttal or further investigation. If one has evidence as well as just grounds, but the wrong attitude, if one would allow oneself to be swayed by personal feelings, or even start out with the idea of inflicting suffering on someone, if one is all out to drive one's opponent to perdition, that would in fact indicate that one has divorced oneself from the standpoint of the state and of the people. It would harm the reputation of the judicial personnel and find no sympathy among the masses. It is therefore only by a complete observance of the 6-word rule of "having evidence, just grounds and restraint" that the procuratorial staff and the lawyers can fully and correctly exercise their professional functions and thus completely satisfactorily and correctly shoulder the sacred mandate entrusted to them by the state and the people.

9808
CSO: 4005/947

PARTY AND STATE

CAMPAIGNS OF TAIPING ARMY

Beijing LISHI YANJIU [Historical Researches] in Chinese, No 3, 1982, 15 Jun 82, pp 83-93

[Article by Shen Weibin [3088 3262 3454]: "A Study of the Taiping's Second Campaign to Destroy the Qing's Great Camp South of the Yangtze River"]

[Text] In the later period of th- Heavenly Kingdom, the second campaign to destroy the Qing's Great Camp south of the Yangtze River, from February to May 1860, was a strategically skilful and brilliantly executed campaign. It lifted theprotracted siege of the Heavenly Capital by the Qing army, but at the same time brought with it certain unfavorable factors in the overall strategic situation of the Taiping army. In the past, quite a number of scholars have pointed out the positive significance of the victory in this campaign, but its negative aspects have frequently been overlooked. The present article discusses this campaign with particular emphasis on assessing its successes and failures in the overall strategic situation. I hope to receive everybody's comments and corrections.

1. Determining the Battlefield Situation and the Strategic Policy During the Second Campaign to westroy the Great Camp outh of the Yangtze River in the Later Period of the Taiping Army.

After the 1856 disorders in the Heavenly Capital, the strategic situation in the Heavenly Kingdom gradually deteriorated. On the western front, the Qing army seized the opportunity to capture Wuchang, Jiujiang and other strategically important cities of Jiangxi, that had constituted a protective screen for the Heavenly Capital on the upper reaches of the Yangtze, and step by step closed in on the Heavenly Capital, with enemy armies even threatening Anqing, the strategically important bulwark protecting the Heavenly Capital. On the eastern front, the Great Camp of the Qing army south of the Yangtze was digging long trenches and consolidating its encirclement of the Heavenly Capital. They also attacked Zhenjiang and Guazhou, two points in the protective defenses downstream. The troops from the camp north of the Yangtze occupied Pukou, thus threatening the grain supply line through Pukou to the capital. Freely loitering and galloping around or the easy coming and going of the early period of the Taiping army had become a thing of the past "like a wilted flower."

In 1858 the Taiping army fought the battles of Pukou and Sanhe, destroyed the Great Camp north of the Yangtze, annihilated the army of Li Xubin and dealt the enemy forces serious blows on both the eastern and the western front. The declining trend on the battlefield again turned and became generally favorable for the Taiping army, who could "somewhat stand on its own feet again," but the defensive posture in its strategy had not changed at all.

When 1859 began, the situation on the eastern front again deteriorated. First, the Great Camp south of the Yangtze had completed a long moat which encircled the Heavenly Capital on three sides and left for the Heavenly Capital "only one road open, through Pukou, where carts could bring in grain and rice to relieve the needs of the capital."[2] Closely following this state of affairs, Li Zhaoshou, who had defected from the Taiping army, moved his troops down in the east and caused Xue Zhiyuan, whose sobriquet was Da-tian-yu and who garrisoned Jiangpu, to defect too to the Qing side, so that Jiangpu and Pukou fell into the hands of the enemy. This cut the line of grain supply for the Heavenly Kingdom, and the citizens of the capital became terrified. When Li Xiucheng at Huangshan heard of this turn of events, he rushed back with his army in great haste. When Chen Yucheng received the war news of the critical condition at Jiangpu and Pukou, he was forced to move his troops, then campaigning in central Anhui, toward the east to join Li Xiucheng in the military operations at Jiangpu and Pukou. The fighting was protracted, lasting from the beginning of March to the end of the year, when success was finally theirs. Though the grain supply line had been reopened, the encirclement of the Heavenly Capital by the Qing troops based on the Great Camp south of the river still endured.

Although not as dangerous and disastrous as the eastern front, the western front held great hidden dangers. After the battle of Sanhe, the fierce onslaught of the Xiang army was broken, but Zeng Guofan had not given up his plan to capture Anqing. At the end of 1959, when the Xiang army had regained its vigor, he seized the opportunity that offered when Chen Yucheng's main force had left Anhui for Suzhou, to join up with Hu Linyi's Chu army to attack Anqing from four directions, and after clean-up operations at Tongcheng, Shucheng and Luzhou to clear the outer surroundings, the situation at Anqing grew more critical by the day.

As this situation presented itself on the battlefield, the strategic plan to lift the siege of the capital by a second destruction of the Great Camp south of theYangtze was worked out in repeated consultations, lasting from the latter part of December 1859 to the middle of January of the next year, between Hong Rengan, the Gan Wang, who administered all government affairs, and Li Xiucheng, the Zhong Wang, who was second in command. The main substance of the plan was told in "Hong Rengan's Confession"; "It will be difficult to do anything about the present siege of the capital unless Huzhou and Hangzhou, which are unguarded, are attacked. When the enemy finds the rear threatened, they are sure to fall back on Hangzhou and Huzhou in order to save those places, and in such case the army sent in that direction can return with all speed, and the rescue of the capital will be certainty."

How are we to assess this plan? How are we to determine its nature? As a plan of campaign, in the way it imitated the old story of "encircling Wei to rescue Zhao," in the way it applied the strategic idea of "deception,"[3] in the way it carried out the strategy of striking at the enemy to achieve a rescue, in order to gain the strategic objective of lifting the siege of the capital, and with respect to other points of strategy, it was an ingenious and brilliant plan. Considering the effective result of its execution, the Taiping army while operating according to this plan, while feigning to be far when approaching their objective, in attacking the enemy where they were least prepared and where they had least expected it, in the unpredictable variations of concentration and division of forces, and in achieving the battle objective that had been set, it had indeed proven to be a successful plan of operation.

However, if it is assessed within the framework of the overall strategic position, it shows that it was not a decision for a strategic offensive and also not a plan that took full account of the overall military situation.

First of all, the Taiping army was kept in check by the Qing army in all places on the eastern and western front. Apart from the army of Li Xiucheng stationed at Pukou, there was Chen Yucheng in Anhui contending with the Chu army, Yang Fuqing deadlocked in his fight with the Xiang army at Yinjiahui in Chizhou Prefecture, Li Shixian being held up by the Qing army at Nanling and Wanchi, and in the Heavenly Capital, "stocks of grain at the Imperial Court ran short," owing to the encirclement by the Great Camp south of the river. With respect to military strength, material conditions and military options, the Taiping army lacked all the conditions to return to the offensive. The second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze can only be considered to be of the nature of a desperate defense. To call it "a strategy of returning to an offensive phase" is obviously an optimistic assessment divorced from the overall war situation.

Next, even though continued existence of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze was a major threat to the Heavenly Capital, the military discipline among the little more than 70,000 soldiers in the Great Camp had utterly broken down, "the generals are arrogant and the soldiers lazy, indulging all day in drinking and frivolities."[4] Only the army group under Zhang Guoliang was in fighting trim. As long as the grain supply line could be kept open, the encirclement of the Heavenly Capital was not a cause for any particular anxiety within the overall situation. When Li Xiucheng left Pukou for Wuhan to organize the second campaign for the destruction of the Great Camp south of the river, Zhang Guolinag took advantage of the situation to capture the defensive positions outside Pukou close to the river and the area around Jiufuzhou, and bottled up the Heavenly Capital "as if in an iron cask."[5] Hu Linyi once described the situation as follows: "It is still too early for successes in the southeast. Each of us acts as he wishes and takes no notice of the others." Although this was spoken in the context of an internal strife among the enemy, it expressed well the place of importance of the eastern front in the overall strategic situation. If we consider it in connection with the fruitless efforts since 1853 of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze in its attempts to encircle the Heavenly Capital,

the above statement by Hu need not be taken purely as satirical. Judged in the context of the overall situation on the battlefields, the truly formidable opponent of the Taiping army was not principally the Great Camp south of the Yangtze, but the Xiang army that was about to encircle and attack Anqing. The concentration of all attention on the Great Camp wouth of the Yangtze- as we see shown by the Taiping high command, reflects in actual fact the conservative ideology in military matters that prevailed after the disorders at the Heavenly Capital. As we admit that ever since the capture of Nanjing in 1853, the aggressiveness in the ideology of the leadership of the Heavenly Kingdom, with Hong Xiuquan as its representative, gradually diminished and its conservatism increased, we see Hong Xiuquan's dream of emperor, of being "venerable elder brother ruler over the empire for millenia" seriously jolted by the situation on the eastern front, where the Qing forces repeatedly attacked the Heavenly Kingdom. Consequently, preserving the Heavenly Capital and lifting the siege of the capital became the guiding ideology of Hong Xiuquan and people like Li Xiucheng. The military operations of the Taiping army during the time from the battles at Sanhe, Hankou and Henan in November 1853 to the battles for Jingpu and Pukou in 1859 were almost all battles to lift the siege of the Heavenly Capital. According to Li Xiucheng's recollections in his "Confession" there were five battles on a relatively large scale, which goes to show that the conservative thinking had indeed grown stronger and seriously restrained and influenced military action. Since the Heavenly Capital was the symbol of the Heavenly Kingdom, it had of course to be rescued from its encirclement. However, looking at it from the angle of directing the overall operations, there should have been a strategic focal point and the military strength should not have been whittled away by rushing about this way and that way trying to preserve the Heavenly Capital without consideration for the situation as a whole. Li Xiucheng later pointed out with deep feelings of remorse, when summing up the "ten errors of the Heavenly Dynasty" in his "Confession:" "We should not have concentrated on defending the Heavenly Capital by withdrawing troops from other parts." This was indeed a valuable lesson drawn from a summing up of the pains of defeat, and it reflects the danger of a conservative mentality in military affairs. Hong Rengan was originally a scholarly type, and military affairs were not his forte. He did not administer the affairs of the dynasty for a long time and lacked the force of character for the control of the situation as a whole. Although Li Xiucheng had been a promising young man, he did not possess the competence for overall command and also lacked experience for this task. It is logical and understandable that they focussed all attention on rescuing the capital from its encirclement. This strategy was therefore a product of a conservative ideology. From all this we see that the statement "the decision to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze was absolutely correct, looking at it strategically," seems to pay attention only to the one side, namely the need to lift the siege of the Heavenly Capital, but ignores the conservative trend that was growing increasingly stronger in the Taiping leadership, and it places too high a value on the strategic thinking of the high command.

On the basis of the above facts I believe that the second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze, considered as a campaign, did possess the character of active defense by offensive attack, but as

one phase within the strategy as a whole, it still dit not exceed the limits of a passive defense.

2. The Conduct of the Campaign and the Special Features of Its Military Tactics

The conduct of the second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze comprises the three organic phases of the campaign sequence: troop disposition, start of combat action and actual battle.

As to troop disposition, it is now very difficult to collate and clarify this owing to the scarcity of presently available material. On the whole the advance was in two formations, one under the supreme command and one under the campaign command. Sometime early in February 1860, the supreme command at the Heavenly Capital sent an official comm-nication to the main forces of the Taiping army, namely to Chen Yucheng, Yang Fuqing, Liu Guanfang, Lai Wenhong and Gu Longxian, ordering them to advance from Chizhou in an attack on the Qing forces in Anhui, the Nanjing area and in Zhejiang, "to execute the plan of 'encircling Wei to rescue Zhao,' and then to wait till the Great Camp will be depleted of troops, to launch the final attack,"[6] in which all the mentioned generals should join. At the same time Li Xiucheng hurried to Wuhu to organize the army under Li Shixian for the diversionary attack. In doing so he broke with the conventional practice of first concentrating the troops before leading them forth into action, as he was rushed for time.

Li Xiucheng and Li Shixian were to leave Wuhu in the first part of February 1860 to execute the war plan, and in a space of a little over 80 days, on April 29, they reached by various routes the place of battle. The two stages of "carrying out a diversionary attack on Huzhou and Hangzhou" and "turning back to rescue one's own positions" were then to be completed one after the other.

The first stage, from the time the armies of Li Xiucheng and Li Shixian moved out from Wuhu until their occupation of Hangzhou on 19 March, was a kind of long-range raid which occupied the objective of the diversionary attack in execution of the main idea of the campaign, namely "to threaten the rear of the enemy by taking Huzhou and Hangzhou which were unguarded." The tactics of this campaign were in particular to make oneself visible to the enemy and lure the enemy out of his lair.

During this stage the tactical intentions of the Taiping army were discovered by the enemy because they intercepted a message on troop movements issued by the Heavenly Capital high command.[7] He-chun, having captured Jiufuzhou, was intent on encirclement and capture of the Heavenly Capital,[8] and did not mind Li Xiucheng's advance toward Huizhou and Hangzhou. However, the Qing Court became highly perturbed by the eastward threat to Huzhou and Hangzhou by the Taiping army. When Li Xiucheng's army camped at Ningguo, the emperor instructed He-chung to send "crack troops from among the various camps north and south of Jinling" as reinforcements. He-chung thus could not but send 2,000 men to Gaochun to observe the enemy's activities. This was the beginning of the depletion of the Great Camp. On 24 February, Li Xiucheng

captured Guangde, and He-chun, pressed by further orders from the Qing Court, could not but order the relief detachment at Gaochun to move south, and in addition sent another 4,000 men to garrison Gaochun. On 3 March, the Taiping army captured Si'an, and again the Qing Court urgently ordered He-chun to send more troops "to rush to the rescue," which forced He-chun to despatch Provincial Commander Zhang Yuliang, Brigade General Xiong Tianxi and Deputy General Xiang Kui with over 6,500 men as further reinforcement to Zhejiang. He also ordered Deputy General Zeng Bingzhong and others with over 3,000 land and water forces with 60 war jungs "to move speedily from Suzhou and Changzhou to Huzhou to blockade the river and suppress the bandits."[10] The Governor General of the Jiangnan Provinces He Kuiqing also sent over 1,000 men of his soldiers and loo "large dragon boats" to assist in the attack.[11] It shows that enemy attitudes toward a defense of Zhejiang Province differed. Emperor Xianfeng was intent on protecting Zhejiang and wanted He-chun to divert troops for its protection. He-chun was more intent on encircling and capturing the Heavenly Capital, and was not at all keen on sending reinforcements elsewhere. The Taiping army by making an appearance at Huzhou and Hangzhou, led the central authorities of the Qing Dynasty by the nose, and step by step lured the effective strength of the Great Camp out of its nest. By the time the Taiping army occupied Si'an, the Qing army had moved out over 20,000 men. As a result "military strength at the Great Camp was down to less than 40,000 and these were either intractable or tired and feeble men,"[12] so that the objective of luring the enemy out of his lair had been fundamentally realized.

The second stage, from 24 March, when the Taiping army began to withdraw from Hangzhou, to 29 April, when the various groups of the main force had moved back into battle positions, was an important stage in the campaign. To organize the retreat at the opportune moment and concentrate the main force, a general meeting was arranged at Jianping, planning elimination of the outer defenses of the Great Camp and "return to rescue the own positions." From the time of moving out from Jianping to the time that the various groups of the main force took up battle positions, the Taiping tactics showed the following particular features:

Firstly, concentration of a superior force. The Taiping supreme command had moved into action over 100,000 crack troops in separate army groups. The battle command again employed the tactic of advancing simultaneously on different routes and attacking from different directions, so that powerful momentum in a coordinated and well-ordered way was created during the progress of the battle. The Qing Government, from central authority down to their local officials, became confused and disoriented by the Taiping tactics of "besieging Wei to rescue Zhao," and made many ill-advised moves.

Secondly, elimination of outer defense positions of the enemy and tightening the encirclement. According to the plan of attack determined at Jianping, the various groups of the Taiping main force launched their attack from three directions at the same time, from east, west and south, step by step pressing on toward the Great Camp. The central group under Yang Fuqing and Liu Guanfang occupied Dongba on 11 April as a prelude to the battle of

the outer defenses. Subsequently, Gaochun and Lishui were taken, destroying the first defensive line of the Great Camp. On 23 April, Molingguan was taken, whereupon the army split into two groups, the group under Yang Fuqing and Huang Wenjin forming the left wing of the central army group, and Liu Guanfang and Chen Kunshu forming the right wing of the central army group. On 29 April they took Yuhuatai and Gaoqiaomen, cutting off the southern communication line of the Great Campl The right army group under Li Xiucheng and Li Shixian captured Liyang on 13 April, then again split into two groups. Li Shixian, forming the right wing of the right army group, moved south toward Changzhou, capturing Jurong. "With the capture of Jurong, the enemy's communication line to the rear was cut."[13] Li Xiucheng formed the left wing of the right army group and marched directly against Chunhua. On 28 April he and the army groups of Li Shixian and Yang Fuqing inflicted a heavy defeat on the Qing army under Zhang Guoliang, occupied Chunhua and camped at the hills of Jingshan. The Great Camp had lost all its strong points on the line from Gaozi to Shiqiaofou, and this cut off their escape route to the northeast. The left army group under Chen Yucheng, on receiving orders to join the battle, started to move on 6 March, passed through Luzhou, Quanjiao, Chuzhou, and on 29 April crossed the Uangtze from Xiliangshan, passed through Dongliangshan, turned north through Dangtu, Banqiao, Touguan, went up to Shanqiao and blocked any possibility for the Qing army from the Great Camp to escape toward the west by crossing the Yangtze. Up to that time the Taiping army had completely eliminated all outer defense points of the Great Camp, and had achieved the tactical victory of a complete concerted encirclement of the enemy.

Thirdly- alternating sham and real attacks and changing back and forth between separate and combined actions. The attacks by the Taiping army in their assault on the outer fortifications were at times feints and at times real. The three army groups of the main force acted at times jointly and at times separately, such changes being unpredictable, and they achieved victory by surprise moves. When Li Shixian moved south toward Changzhou, he also had army groups seemingly attacking Yixing and Danyang, but these were feints. He Guiqing made an error in judgement when he quickly despatched Qing troops to Changzhou as reinforcements, leaving Jurong unguarded, so that the Taiping army was able to capture it. Li Xiucheng took advantage of He Guiqing having pulled out his troops and in a real attack moved from Liyang directly to Chishanhu for an attack on Chunhua. By the time He Guiqing found out that Li Shixian was merely covering up, Li Xiucheng was already deploying for an attack on Chunhua. The central army group under Yang Fuqing and Liu Guanfang were at first united in their attack on Molingguan, they separated for an abrupt attack on Yuhuatai and Gaoqiaomen, and subsequently again combined with the right army group in the encirclement and attack on Chunhua and Ma'anshan, leaving the commanders of the Qing army in a quandary about what to do. This tactic of the Taiping army of surprise movements to defeat the opponent was called by the enemy, in regretful admission: "Luring the enemy by a show of weakness, but establishing a concealed concerted encirclement; charging a strong position by having a separate detachment mount a surprise attack to divert and split the enemy strength."[14]

The battle lasted from 2 to 6 May and was basically a speedy battle, speedily concluded. With a coordinated action by the garrison of the Heavenly Capital, the three army corps of the main Taiping force launched a general attack from ten direction. The left wing of the Great Camp was the first to be breached by the left army corps of the Taiping army under Chen Yucheng. In the night of the 5th, He-chun and Zhang Guoliang led their routed army in an escape through Maxiangkou toward Zhenjiang. On the 6th, the Great Camp was thoroughly destroyed and the battle objective triumphantly realized.

A summary review of the whole progression of the second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze shows it to be on such a large scale, with such a long history and with such a great variety of tactics as to be an outstanding example of a military action, not only in the military history of the Heavenly Kingdom, but in all of modern Chinese military history. The campaign demonstrated the excellent quality of the Taiping army in campaigning and in combat and the brilliant strategic talent of the battle command.

3. The Gain and Loss From the Second Campaign to Destroy the Great Camp South of the Yangtze Seen in the Framework of the Overall Strategic Situation and Its Effects

The second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze was of the greatest significance for the overall strategic situation during the later period of the Taiping army. The result of the battle victory was that the strategic stronghold of the Qing army on the eastern front was destroyed, and that the thorn which had been firmly embedded in their side since March 1853, namely the camp in the outskirts of the Heavenly Capital, was radically removed. The protracted encirclement of the Heavenly Capital was completely lifted, and the destruction of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze foiled the Qing Dynasty's original policy of "a pincer attack from the upper and lower sides and a concerted assault from north and south,"[15] forcing the Qing army at the eastern front to change from an offensive to a defensive strategy. For a time the enemy supreme command lapsed into improper decisions and ill-advised moves and had no choice but to rely heavily on Zeng Guofan and his Xiang army, which had farreaching effects on the organizational system and the political power structure of the Qing army. As a result of this battle, "the fame of the Taiping army increased greatly."[16] Not only was the picture of an unfavorable strategic position on the eastern front completely changed, but on the western front it was now possible with the concentrated military strength to change from the passive defensive stance to an active defense against the Xiang and Chu armies.

Just as everything else in this world has a dual character, the second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze had its weaknesses and shortcomings. Owing to an excessively high estimation of the fighting strength of the Qing army in the Great Camp, the Taiping army supreme command, by concentrating its military strength on this battle, neglected an organic coordination of the eastern and western fronts. The supreme command of the

Heavenly Capital transferred the main strength of Chen Yucheng's army to the east to join the battle, but thereby inappropriately reduced the military strength on the western front, so that the military strength on the western front became extremely weak, and this again seriously affected the combat effectiveness of the Taiping army. This was an extremely inexpedient disposition. Looking instead at the enemy side we see Zeng Guofan highly competent in overseeing the situation as a whole and very cunningly exploiting any favorable opportunity on the ba-tlefield brought about by a strategic coordination of the Qing troops on the eastern and western front, with immediate strategic decisions based on this insight. As early as when Chen Yucheng, together with Li Xiucheng, fought the battle for Jingpu and Pukou, Zeng Guofan submitted to the Qing Court the following plan which indeed took in the overall situation:

"It is my opinion that to expand and clean up in all directions, it is necessary first to capture Jinling....To seize Jinling, we must first station a large contingent of troops at Chuzhou and Hezhou, only then can we advance to the outer defenses of Jinling and cut the grain supply line to Wuhu. If we want to station troops at Chuzhou and Hezhou, we must first encircle Anqing, destroy the old lair of rebel Chen and simultaneously destroy Luzhou from where rescue is bound to come for re-el Chen. If we really can lay siege to these two places and seize the neighboring counties, the said rebel will have to be prepared for much and will have to split his forces, therefore will not only desist from invading Shandong and Henan to the north, but will also not dare to have any designs on Jiangpu and Liuhe to the east."[17]

Zeng Guofan followed this up by cooperating with the Chu army in an advance toward the east on four routes. In February 1860, the Xiang and Chu armies began offensive operations against Taihu, Qianshan, Shucheng and other places, and the danger for Anqing gradually became apparent. However, the Heavenly Capital supreme command did not pay attention to its and ordered Chen Yucheng's main force to relinquish Anhui to join the battle in the east. Chen Yucheng had no choice but to lead his main force under Wu Ruxiao and Liu Canglin to the east. Zeng Guofan seized this opportunity by having the Zeng Guoquan army corps of the Xiang army close in on Anqing. The commander of the Taiping forces in Anqing, Ye Yunlai, was thus left in a very precarious position to defend the city with an isolated force. It shows that concentrating military forces requires much knowledge. In the disposition of its troops during the second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze, the Taiping supreme command displayed the shortcoming of attending to one thing while losing sight of another. This planted the seed for the trouble to come, namely the loss of Anqing.

Next, owing to the strategic thinking of the Taiping supreme command being fixed on protecting the Heavenly Capital by all means, the objective of this time's battle was set too restrictedly merely on lifting the siege, and not on wiping out the enemy. As a result, the battle for the second destruction of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze failed to end with a phase of pursuit. It was a battle to put the enemy to flight, but not a battle of annihilation. Generally speaking, an offensive battle "will win

the real fruits of victory only in pursuit. By its very nature, pursuit tends to be a more integral part of the action in an offensive battle than in a defensive one."[18] When on 5 May the Taiping army won its great victory in its frontal attack and on both wings, and when He-chun and Zhang Guoliang escaped toward Zhenjinag, breaking through the encirclement at Mixangkou, Li Xiucheng did not order a pursuit. The next day the battle was declared concluded. At the end of this battle, so painstakingly organized, there came only as a result that "He and Zhang's armies lost between 3,000 and 5,000 killed, but many more were scattered;"[19] the enemy could not be thoroughly annihilated. The ousted troops from the Great Camp fled to Zhenjiang and moved on to the southeast. We cannot but declare this an unwise strategy of the Taiping army.

The above-stated favorable and unfavorable factors influencing the war situation at that time existed simultaneously. If the Taiping supreme command could have further developed its strong points and avoided its shortcomings, would have fully exploited the favorable conditions created by their victory--the enemy on the eastern front on the defensive, unable to stage a powerful attack--and would have overcome the negative factors, the war situation in the later period would certainly have taken a course favorable for the Taiping army. However, the leadership group of the Heavenly Kingdom was inapt at handling its affairs. Swayed by their battle victories, they made mistakes in judgement and policy decisions, allowing the favorable factors brought about by their victory to be dissipated and the unfavorable factors and negative aspects to grow in a pernicious way.

In an atmosphere of celebrations, the Heavenly Capital supreme command called a military conference to discuss the next step "to pursue the sound strategy." At the conference there was disagreement as to the direction of the basic thrust of the Taiping army. Hong Rengan, backed by Li Xiucheng, set forth a strategic plan for the administration of Jiangsu and Zhejiang and for the seizure of Wuhan in the west:

"In the first place, the distance from the Heavenly Capital to Shaanxi and Sichuan in the west, the Great Wall in the north, Yunnan, Guangdong and Guangxi in the south, is altogether between 5,000 and 6,000 li; whereas to Suzhou, Hangzhou and Shanghai in the east it is less than 1,000 li. There being such a difference in distance, riding on victories, there is a greater probability of success in this direction. As soon as the lower road is gained, the next thing will be to spend 1 million taels and purchase about 20 steamers and send them up the Yangtze River. At the same time let one body of troops penetrate Jiangxi from the south, let another enter Qizhou and Huangzhou from the north, and having formed a junction, let them make a combined movement on Hubei. This will secure us both banks of the Tangtze from which to act in the future."[20]

Most students of the subject will consider this concept a "completely correct strategy," but actually a more penetrating analysis will show that it is a mistaken policy.

Firstly, according to this strategic concept, the Taiping army's supreme command made the capture of Suzhou and Hangzhou its first strategic objective and the westward campaign against Hubei its secondary objective. If we assume that the westward expedition was for the purpose of relieving Anqing from its dangerous position, then, viewed from the strategic situation of those days, the said concept would be turning primary and secondary concerns upside down and would be an improper assessment of what is less and what is more important. Although Suzhou, Hangzhou and Shanghai were downstream from the Heavenly Capital, had an extensive hinterland with an abundant production and their possession could have solved the grain and logistics problems of the Taiping army, and could have provided the Heavenly Capital with a strategic support point, these places, on the other hand, were the major strongholds of Chinese and foreign counterrevolutionaries, with extremely well-developed land and water communications, and, as far as strategy was concerned, places that the enemy would certainly have contested, and, as far as tactics were concerned, places that might be easily captured, but would have been difficult to hold. Furthermore, these places were not contiguous to the main territory occupied by the Taiping army and even if captured would have certainly become a second front and in the end created the unhappy condition of having to divide the military forces. Wieghing the pros and cons, the disadvantages would certainly outweigh the benefits. Especially if viewed from the standpoint of principal strategic tasks of the Taiping army at that juncture, the major task was not to open up new bases, but consisted in concentrating all strength on the resuce of Anqing, the Heavenly Capital's only defense outpost on the upper reaches of the Yangtze, from its imminent peril. Anqing "was the key to the Heavenly Capital and guaranteed its safety. Once it was taken by the demons, it would be made into a basis for attacks against us.... As long as Anqing was intact, the Heavenly Capital was proof against danger."[21] Since Hong Rengan was so well aware of the importance of Anqing, it cannot be said that the Taiping were right, judging from the overall strategic situation, to place the rescue of Anqing from its siege into a position of secondary importance.

Secondly, a strategic disposition according to this conceptual plan, which intended to carry out a westward expedition only after the capture of Suzhou, Hangzhou and Shanghai, could not possibly achieve the lifting of the seige of Anqing, whether timewise or policy-wise. As to time, there would seem to have been no objection if the western expedition were executed immediately after the capture of Suzhou, Hangzhou and Shanghai, for which a time limit of 1 month was set. A number of students of the subject also thought that if Li Xiucheng could have resolutely carried out the decision of the supreme command and after 1 month turned round for a western expedition, it would have induced the Xiang and Chu armies to send part of their forces to the rescue of Wuchang, and the seige of Anqing would have been lifted without a fight. However, this is a subjective conjecture which overlooks two basic facts: one, that the eastern campaign could not possibly achieve its objective within 1 month. The eastern campaign started on 15 May and according to the order of the supreme command would have had to be concluded on 15 June. On that day the army group under Li Xiucheng was just engaged in an attack on Kunshan and was still quite a distance away from Shanghai, not to mention Hangzhou. Obviously, the time limit of 1 month set by Hong

Xiuquan, the Heavenly King, for the capture of Suzhou, Hangzhou and Shanghai was an unrealistic and rash decision. Thus a sharp contradiction arose between the war objectives of the eastern campaign and the time limit set to achieve the objectives. The actual achievement of the campaign objectives would have certainly violated the order to return within 1 month, while the execution of the order to return within 1 month would certainly have meant giving up all or some of the campaign objectives set by the supreme command. In this dilemma, Li Xiucheng decided for the former alternative. After occupying Kunshan on June 15, he kept on advancing on Shanghai.

Although it is said that he followed some personal ambitions in doing so, it had not been altogether his own proposition.[22] The other fact that people overlooked was that there was also a contradiction between the time needed for a western expedition against Wuchang and the Situation at Anqing where relief to lift the siege was urgently awaited. Even if Li Xiucheng would have strictly carried out the order to return within 1 month and would have returned from Kunshan on June 15, to start on the western expedition, it would have taken him at least 3 months,[23] that is, he would have reached Wuchang only in the later part of September 1860, but by that time Anqing would already have been in extreme danger. Not only had its outer defenses fallen, but the vanguard of the Xiang army had already reached Jixianguan. Moreover, Zeng Guofan had in the meantime been appointed Governor General of Laingjiang, in charge of all land and water forces north and south of the Yangtze. In this situation it was already very doubtful whether the Taiping army could have launched an attack against the encirclement of Anqing that could have repelled the enemy. It shows us that timewise all chances of success were lost by designating the eastward campaign as first war objective and relegating the relief of Anqing by a westward campaign to capture Wuchang to secondary war objective.

Strategy-wise, Zeng Guofan had long ago designated Anqing as his strategic objective and was determined to attain it. There was nothing that would have made him lift the siege on his own accord. After the destruction of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze, the Qing Court was afraid the Taiping army would be ordered to march eastward, the area south of the Yangtze would be lost and the supply lines cut. They instructed Zeng Guofan repeatedly to send a detachment of his troops to the relief of Suzhou and Changzhou. However, Zeng Guofan tactfully refused to follow the order of his emperor. He neither wanted to spare any of his troops and even less to lift the siege. Before Suzhou and Changzhou were lost, he gave as reason for not sending a detachment to the rescue in the east, that his forces were too weak and "the bandit strength at this time still strong." After Suzhou and Changzhou were lost, he claimed with even greater emphasis that "this one army at Anqing is of important significance for the whole situation in the Huainan area, and its actions will foreshadow the future recapture of Jinling,"[24] so that the siege of Anqing "must not be rashly lifted." Later, when Li Xiucheng camped at Yixian during the second western expedition and great fear gripped the Xiang army camp at Qimen, some people urged Zeng Guoquan, who was then commanding the Anqing front, to "give up the siege of Anqing" and go to the rescue of Qimen. Zeng Guoquan rejected everyone's suggestion and pointed out: "It is precisely the intention of the bandits to

draw away my troops; why should I allow muself to be duped by them?" Even when the decision concerned the fate of his elder brother, he would under no circumstances lift the siege.[25] Even though the strategy of the Taiping army of launching a second westward expedition to rescue Anqing from its danger drew admiration from Zeng Guofan, when he admitted that "even if the bandits this time will rescue Anqing, they will still be miles away from gaining mastery of the situation....The bandits are well versed in the art of war and seem to be getting even bolder than they had been in previous years," he still remained unmoved in his firm decision"to make every effort to destroy Anqing, everything else to be gain or loss of no urgency."[26] The plan of the Taiping army to go by the old script of "besieging Wei to rescue Zhao" in order to lure the Xiang army away from the siege of Anqing and make them rush westward for the rescue of Wuchang, could hardly be effective in the case of so experienced and astute a man as Zeng Guofan, who furthermore just had been grieved to hear of the defeat and deaths of He-chun and Zhang Guoliang.

The contradiction between strategy and tactics is a very complex one, and it is very difficult to deal correctly with this contradiction. "Sometimes the tactical victory can promote the execution of the strategic task," "there are also times when the direct effects of a tactical victory are extremely brilliant, but of a kind that do not fit the strategic possibilities and therefore may create an 'untoward situation' of mortal danger."[27] It is therefore possible that a commander may put up a very impressive fight in one particular area, but may possibly not have been able to size up the strategical situation as a whole. Facts have made it clear that even though the Taiping army in its eastern campaign against Suzhou and Hangzhou gained rich and populous bases in the Jiangnan area and registered momentarily brilliant achievements, nd even though their armies on the western expedition against Wuchang for a time threatened the oil lair of Hu Linyi and for a time struck fear into the enemy, these actions benefitted not in the least the overall strategic position of the Taiping army in its later period of existence. After setting up new bases in Suzhou and Hangzhou, the Taiping army could not in the end achieve its strategic objective of capturing Wuchang and taking the other half of the Jiangnan territory, and could not realize the tactical policy of rescuing Anqing from its danger. On the contrary, as soon as Anqing had fallen, the Xiang army immediately secured control of the Yangtze and moved downstream, and with a speed incomprehensible to Hong Rengan and the other Taiping leaders, attacked the Heavenly Capital. The Taiping army was "taken completely unawares,"[28] and another siege of the Heavenly Capital began. The bases in Jiangsu and Zhejiang had been hastily acquired and little effective political power had been established there, leaving a large force of concealed disturbing elements in existence. The Chinese and foreign reactionaries not only obstructed the eastward advance of the Taiping army into Shanghai and the occupation of Zhejiang to the west, but continued to invade the provinces of Jiangsu and Fujian and the area of eastern Zhejiang, creating for the TAiping army the unfavorable situation of having to fight on two fronts. Under these circumstances itwas hardly possible to have the provinces of Jiangsu and Fujian become a stable rear area for the Heavenly Capital, and after 3 years these areas were completely lost. The original strategic objective set by

the Taiping supreme command of "bringing both banks of the Yantze River into out possession" vanished like bubbles of soap. This shows that by turning primary and secondary concerns upside down and placing less important before more important concerns in the above-mentioned strategic policy and the consequential progression of the campaigns and tactical policies, the favorable conditions created by the second destruction of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze were lost, the unfavorable factors and negative aspects originally inherent in these campaigns were aggrevated and thus an "untoward situation of mortal danger" created in the overall situation. Comrade Fan Wenlan [5400 2429 3482] once pointed out: "The military victories in Jiangsu and Zhejiang, against all expectations, speeded up the fall of Nanjing."[29] This is a very sond assessment indeed.

It is worthwhile pondering why, following the second destruction of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze, when the Taiping army was already under severe attacks by the enemy forces at Anqing, Hong Xiuquan, Hong Rengan, Li Xiucheng and others still unanimously proposed above all a campaign toward the east. The fundamental reason is that after the victories in the second campaign for the destruction of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze, the ruler and his ministers had become dazzled by the battle victories and had developed a crippling mentality of taking the enemy too lightly and an inclination for rash and risky advances, making "widening the borders and opening up additional land" their was objective, turning from a passive and defensive military conservatism to a military adventurism that disregarded the situation as a whole.

Firstly, owing to the battle victories in the second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze, Hong Xiuquan developed a pernicious and blind religious belief of "placing all trust in Heaven and not in men." The victories, which in actual fact were achieved through the life and death struggle of human bodies, were believed by Hong Xiuquan to be the unfathomable aid and acts of God. Later, Li Xiucheng complains in his recollections: "After the sixth relief of the capital, my Sovereign was exceedingly unreceptive to memorials and only beliefed in the designs of Heaven. His edicts spoke of Heaven but not of men." Resulting from this mentality his attitude toward meritorious personnel was that he "pronounced no more edicts praising the generals; the field commanders were no more received in audience, nor were the court officials. The Sovereign was not interested in the affairs of government, but merely instructed his ministers in the knowledge of Heaven, as if all was tranquil."[30] His religious superstitions made him increasingly incapable of correctly judging the overall situation on the battlefront, as he merely longed for imperial power and for "God the Father and Lord to descend into the world so that Heavenly Father, Heavenly Brother and Heavenly King rule over the Empire." He also nurtured such presumptuous sentiments as "everything under the heavens belongs to the Heavenly Father, Brother and King and will be taken over by them."[31] The reason why he decreed to seize Suzhou, Hangzhou and Shanghai within 1 month was that he wanted Li Xiucheng to capture with the utmost speed the prosperous and populous area of Suzhou and Hangzhou and then go on to occupy both banks of the Yangtze in order to fulfill the prophecy of his dream "that God is helping him to take over all cities and lands." His religious superstition,

together with an inclination to rash and hazardous action fanned by his monarchial ideas, was not only at odds with the situation on the battlefield but also contrary to the objective reality of the relative strength, which no complimentarytalk of "the focal point still being on the western road" could cover up.

Next, the victory in the second destruction of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze made Hong Rengan and Li Xiucheng forget the serious war situation on the western front. When determining the policy of the second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze, Hong Rengan was still able to recognize the serious threat from the enemy on the western front, and he laid down the rule that this campaign is "to have its emphasis on saving the capital and not on acquiring new territory." However, after the victory in the campaign he developed a crippling mentality of underestimating the enemy; "since the government carried on in peace and quietness, no apprehension at all was felt of any impending calamity."[33] He finally made every effort to secure "both banks of the Yangtze" as a matter of primary concern and an action that would lay "a foundation for a long time to come."

The threads of thought in Li Xiucheng's mind were in some respects the same as in Hong Rengan's mind, but at times he had his own personal plans. After victory in the second destruction of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze, he wrote a letter to Zhang Luoxing, the Nian leader and commander in chief of the Northern Expedition, in which he said: "I am of the opinion that although the capital, occupying a position which overlooks the southern and northern shores of the great river, is an impregnable as metal walls and scalding moats, it is nevertheless necessary to root out all the demon caves in the south in order to achieve perpetual security like that of a great rock. Therefore I am determined to lead my army at an early date toward Suzhou, Hangzhou, Changzhou and Zhenjiang in an attempt to broaden our territory and extend our land and pacify the whole empire."

The idea of seizing Suzhou and Hangzhou in order to broaden the territory and extend the land to consolidate the realm of the Heavenly Kingdom, is the same as Hong Rengan's idea of "establishing a foundation for a long time to come." He also for this reason did not support Chen Yucheng's proposal of "giving attention to saving Anhui Province and delaying the intention of seizing Fujian and Zhenjiang, " an idea only shared by the Gan Wang, Hong Rengan. However, Li Xiucheng also had his private plans regarding the rich and populous lands of Jiangsu and Zhejiang. At that time a certain centrifugal tendency began to appear in the Heavenly Kingdom. Each major field commander had his own territory. Li Xiucheng was for a time campaigning in north and south Anhui, an area interlocking in a jigsawlike way with Chen Yucheng's defense area. Toward the end of 1859, after the recapture of Jingpu and Pukou, when he camped at Pukou, Li Xiucheng had virtually left the Anhui territory. His cousin, the Shi Wang, Li Shixian, on his part was active in Jiangxi. In this way it became a very attractive proposition for Li Xiucheng to march into Jiangsu and Zhejiang and acquire a new territory for himself, and when he later captured Suzhou and Changzhou, he considered this his territory. In his utterances and behavior it became very evident that he clung to his official post and was reluctant to leave when ordered to go

on the western expedition. When his troops camped already in Wuchang County, he surprisingly decided on his own to retreat and lead his army back to Zhejiang. This action was much resented even by Li Shixian, who once pointed out: "Our first mistake was not to have our army hold on to Anhui Province and instead move into Zhejiang."[35] This was a reproach against Li Xiucheng, as it was also a forceful and penetrating self-introspection as to the gains and failures resulting from the stragegy of the Taiping army after the second destruction of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze.

The above facts make it quite clear that the military adventurism and conservatism in peasant wars actually spring from the same source as the authoritarian inclinations of the peasant leaders. In the history of the Chinese peasant wars, quite a number of insurgent peasant armies, after establishing their own political regimes, have frequently changed their strategy from the original one of active attack to one of conservative defense. After achieving certain major victories in their defense, they displayed a lack of the firm and indomitable spirit to engage in a tenacious protracted war until the enemy would have gradually depleted his effective strength in his attacks against them, when at this time there would have been an opportunity that should not have been lost to go over to a strategy of counterattacks. Striving frequently for quick victories, employing an adventurist policy or going in for counterattacks or decisive battles often proved unfavorable for the achievement of the long-term objective. These are also the reasons why peasant wars mostly ended in military defeat. The Heavenly Kingdom in its activities before and after the second destruction of the Great Camp south of theYangtze provided a striking example for this frequently witnessed phenomenon.

The victory in the second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yangtze was the crowning piece in the military achievements of the Taiping army in the later period of its existence. Its negative aspects could originally have been eliminated or found solutions if there would have been an earnest examination and assessment of what were matters of primary and what of secondary concern, or matters of greater or lesser urgency. It is a pity that the supreme command of the Taiping army made the wrong dispositions thereby preventing even higher achievements after their victory in this battle and thus allowed an excellent opportunity to be irretriveably lost and also allowed the situation on the battlefield to deteriorate from bad to worse. The miscarriage of the second western expedition and the loss of Anqing signified the beginning of the end for the Taiping army. Hong Rengan, who had masterminded the eastern campaign against Suzhou and Hangzhou and also the western campaign against Wuchang, also became a victim of these reversals, being removed from office and deprived of his rank of nobility. When he received the war news of the loss of Anqing, he clearly realized that this was "the most serious loss" for the Taiping army, and when the further news came that Chen Yucheng had laid down his life, he was filled with even more serious premonitions that "once the Ying Wang [Chen Yucheng] is gone, our military affairs and military power will plummet and disintegrate." Since the capture and opening up of Jiangsu and Zhejiang as new bases did not help in the overall situation, it proved indeed a gross mistake that the military conference at the Heavenly Capital that was studying "a sound

strategy for future progress," did not pay attention to the "Yang Wang's intention of saving Anhui Province." However, was this only this one man's mistake? It was doomed by history because this class could not lead the Chinese revolution to victory, and in the military struggle it was a sing of inability to withstand the onslaught of victory.

One must carefully judge battle victories and must assess battle victories in the framework of the overall strategic position in order to preserve an unbiased mind in such assessments. This is the lesson we can draw from the study of the second campaign to destroy the Great Camp south of the Yargtze.

Revised draft, 1 January 1981.

(Author of this article, Shen Weibin, born 1937, is lecturer at the History Department, Fudan University, Shanghai.)

FOOTNOTES

1. "The Confession of Li Xiucheng"

2. "The Confession of Hong Rengan"

3. "Deception" has always been a major tactical expedient in Chinese and foreign theories on the art of war. We read in Sunzi's "The Art of War," chapter "Deliberation": "War is primarily a game of deception. When one is capable he must feign incapability. When one is active he must feign inactivity. When one is near his objective he must feign that he is far away. When one is far away from his objective he must feign that he is near....One should attack the enemy when they are least prepared and when one is least expected. All these considerations are essential to military success and they should on no account be divulged to the enemy." In the chapter "Maneuvers" we read: "War is based on deception and started by the desire for gain. Its tactics lie in the variation of concentration and division of forces." In his book "Vom Kriege" [On War] Clausewitz has a separate chapter on "Deception" and lists it as one of the items of strategy.

4. Hu Linui, "Ordering All Regimental Commanders to Inspect All Camps."

5. "The Confession of Li Xiucheng"

6. "The Diary ot Nengjing Jushi [Zhao Liewen]"

7. Ibid., entry under wl March (intercalary) in the 10th year of Xianfeng.

8. Chen Naigan, "Chronicle of Zhao Huifu [Zhao Liewen½," with the remark: "Just recovered Jiufuzhou and blockaded its waterways. Government troops are valiant and vigorous and show contempt for the enemy." This shows precisely that He-chun had his mind set on encircling and capturing the Heavenly Capital and was impatient for success.

9. "Donghua Xulu" reign of Xianfeng, Vol 90.

10. Ibid., pp 45 and 49.

11. "Dongnan Jilue," in "The Heavenly Kingdom" (5) p 231.

12. "Linxue Congchao" in "Special Collection of Historical Material of the Heavenly Kingdom" p 399.

13. "Yuefei Jilue" in "Abridged Collection of Historical Material of the Heavenly Kingdom" Vol 1, p 53.

14. "Gengshen [1860] Diary of Jiangyin Dongnan Changshu Xibeicun"

15. This was contained in a posthumous memorial of Xiang Rong, first commander in chief of the Great Camp south of the Yangtze and accepted by the Qing government. Cf. "The Memorials and Other Documents of Xiang Rong" in "The Heavenly Kingdom" Vol 8, pp 672-674.

16. "The Confession of Li Xiucheng"

17. "Memorial on Careful Arrangement in Compliance With Decree" in "Collected Writings of Zeng Guofan" Vol 2 "Memorials," Shijie Shuju edition, p 325.

18. Clauseqitz, "Vom Kriege" [On War] Vol 3 [sic! actually Vol 8], chapter 7, "Attack."

19. "The Confession of Li Xiucheng"

20. "The Confession of Hong Rengan"

21. Ibid.

22. Li Xiucheng's refusal to carry out the order to return within 1 month, apart from the above-mentioned contradictions, has to do with his intention to administer Jiangsu and Zhejiang.

23. It was half a year from the time that Chen Yucheng left the Heavenly Capital on the second western expeditionon 13 September 1860 until 18 March 1861, when he occupied Huangzhoufu. If we deduct 3 months that he wasted on the second western expedition when he was held up unnecessarily, it shows that it would have required about 3 months to reach Hubei.

24. "Memorial on Managing the Whole Situation" in "Collected Writings of Zeng Guofan" Vol 2 "Memorials and Other Documents" p 331.

25. Wang Ding'an, "Record of the Xiang Army" Vol 6.

26. "Yu Zeng Chiyi" in "Collected Writings of Zeng Guofan" Vol 4, p 20.

27. "Collected Works of Stalin" Vol 5, p 127.

28. "The Confession of Hong Rengan"

29. "Modern Chinese HIstory" Vol 1, revised edition, p 139.

30. "The Confession of Li Xiucheng"

31. "Proclamation of the Dreamt Prophecy of Taking-Over Cities and Lands" in "Collected Documents on the Heavenly Kingdom" p 50.

32. "The Confession of Hong Rengan"

33. Ibid.

34. "Collected Documents on the Heavenly Kingdom" pp 246-247.

35. "Collection and Interpretation of Taiping Historical Material" p 202.

9808
CSO: 4005/1069

PARTY AND STATE

HEILONGJIANG ISSUES CIRCULAR ON INTENSIFYING INTELLECTUAL WORK

SK061111 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 5 Sep 82

[Excerpts] According to HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, the provincial CPC Committee recently issued a circular to the party committees at all levels urging leading comrades at all levels to further enhance the people's understanding of the vital significance and pressing need of doing a good job in intellectual work and to conscientiously implement the guidelines of the central directives concerning intellectual work. To this end, we must do a good job in the following tasks:

1. Further enhance people's understanding and strengthen leadership over intellectual work. Party committees of various localities and units must study in an all-round manner all problems discovered in the recent intellectual work inspection activities. Problems that can be solved at present must be solved as soon as possible. In regard to problems that cannot be solved for a period of time, efforts must be made to devise plans to solve them step by step. As for problems that cannot be solved at the moment, efforts must be made to give a good explanation. We must strengthen the ideological and political work among intellectuals and urge leaders at all levels to make friends with intellectuals to always understand the problems existing in their work, study and livelihood. In the future, party committees at and above the county level must discuss intellectual work at least once every half year and inspect it once a year immediately solving all the problems they discover.

2. Concretely solve some practical problems of intellectuals in terms of politics and livelihood. Prior to the end of 1982, efforts must be made to do well from start to finish the reexamination work on redressing all unjust and false cases handled during the cultural revolution.

3. Conscientiously solve the housing problems of intellectuals. It is proposed that all localities must, in accordance with their financial conditions, appropriate a certain amount of money from the local flexible funds to serve as a subsidy for housing construction. In addition, in the days to come, all units, when distributing houses for staff and workers, must take into account and pay special attention to resolving the difficulties of intellectuals. We must strive for a greater improvement in the housing for middle-aged intellectuals in 3 to 5 years.

4. Do a good job in redistributing work for scientifically and technologically specialized cadres and give full play to their talent and wisdom.

5. Do a good job in training scientifically and technically talented persons. Organizational departments of the party committees at all levels must, along with the planning commission and other departments concerned, list the intellectual fostering and educational plans in their national economic development plans to promote the growth of talented persons.

6. Solve the problem of having experts hold too many posts at the same time and provide assistants for them. All localities and units must pay special attention to selecting and promoting outstanding scientifically and technologically specialized cadres to reinforce the leading bodies.

CSO: 4005/1297

PARTY AND STATE

WANG KUNLUN PRAISES HE XIANGNING

HK021046 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Aug 82 p 5

[Article by Wang Kunlun [3769 2491 0978], chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang: "A Shining Banner of the Revolutionaries of the Chinese Kuomintang--in Praise of Liao Zhongkai and His Spouse, He Xiangning; About Their Life and Work"]

[Text] With a feeling of great reverence, today we cherish the memory of the brilliant achievements of Liao Zhongkai and commemorate the 10th anniversary of the death of our late teacher He Xiangning. Liao Zhongkai and our late teacher He Xiangning were a shining banner of the revolutionaries of the Chinese Kuomintang, the great patirots and the forerunner of the democratic revolution in China. The life of Liao Zhongkai and He Xiangning was one of struggle and of revolution. Cherishing the memory of the older generation of revolutionaries will impel us even more to carry out the behest of the forefathers and to courageously and firmly march forward to make the country reunited, prosperous and powerful and enable the people to live in peace and happiness.

I

Liao Zhongkai was an outstanding political public figure in modern China. He wrote and translated many political essays for MIN BAO (PEOPLE'S DAILY), organ of the Tong Meng Hui (Revolutionary League), elucidated the revolutionary theories of Dr Sun Yat-sen, studied socialist theories, and explored ways to solve problems concerning the destiny and future of China. He Xiangning was the first female member of the Tong Meng Hui. She was responsible for arranging Dr Sun Yat-sen's secret meetings and for the communications and liaison work. Under the leadership of Dr Sun Yat-sen, both husband and wife enthusiastically carried out revolutionary propaganda work among the nationals residing abroad and called on countrymen residing abroad to support and take part in the struggle against the reactionary rule of the Qing government. After the 1911 revolution, they energetically carried out the struggle to send armed forces to suppress both the southern and northern warlords. During the period of the new democratic revolution, under the influence and the promotion of the Communist International and the Chinese Communist Party, Liao Zhongkai and He Xiangning spared no efforts to help and support Dr Sun Yat-sen to formulate the three great policies of alliance with Russia, cooperation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers.

They were all along the close comrades in arms and capable assistants of Dr Sun Yat-sen. In the name of Dr Sun Yat-sen, Liao Zhongkai twice held talks with Joffe, a representative of Soviet Russia and helped to bring about the signing of the famous "Declaration of Sun Wen (Dr Sun Yat-sen) and Joffe," the reorganization of the KMT and the first CPC-KMT cooperation. The reorganized Chinese KMT enjoyed the tremendous support of the Communist Party of China and the broad masses of workers and peasants and its revolutionary character was thus greatly enhanced. In the first national congress of the KMT, Liao Zhongkai was elected member of the Central Executive Committee, member of the Standing Committee and member of the Political Committee. He held the posts, in succession, of governor of Guangdong Province, minister of finance and concurrently minister of the Ministry of Labor of the Kuomintang, representative of the KMT in the Whampoa Military Academy and other important posts. He sincerely cooperated with the Communist Party, established a powerful revolutionary armed force and propelled the workers' and peasants' movement and thus enjoyed the deep love and esteem of the vast numbers of the revolutionary party members and the masses of workers and peasants. During this period, He Xiangning was elected minister of the Ministry of Women of the KMT Central Committee. She energetically carried forward the women's mass movement, ran training institutes for the women's mass movement, schools for working women, vigorously propagandized the proposition of opposing imperialism and warlords among the women and called on them to join the ranks of struggle of the democratic revolution and thus became an outstanding leader of the women's movement in China.

After the death of Dr Sun Yat-sen, Liao Zhongkai and our late teacher He Xiangning upheld the three great revolutionary policies and they were thus hated and attacked by the rightist forces. On 20 August 1925, Liao Zhongkai was attacked by an assassin and died for his country. Under the circumstances in which the revolutionary forces suffered a serious setback, like a pine tree standing erect, He Xiangning remained faithful and unyielding. What she cherished most was to "translate her grief into a force to realize his wish, and also to work with all-out efforts the rest of her life to serve the country." She encouraged the revolutionaries of the KMT to "give no thought to personal safety while carrying out the revolutionary cause. ...I hope all comrades of the KMT will exert greater and more arduous efforts to ensure the victory of the revolution." Comrade Zhou Enlai, who was director of the Political Department of the Whampao Military Academy, at that time praised Liao, in his elegiac address to the latter, as "the most responsible and capable leader in the KMT" "who had unrivalled courage of advancing bravely, swiftly and fiercely."

II

After Dr Sun Yat-sen passed away and Liao Zhongkai was murdered, in the long years of struggle of the Chinese revolution, our late teacher He Xiangning ceaselessly forged ahead, fought unremittingly and devoted the energies of her lifetime.

In 1927, Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the revolution and carried out "a purge within the KMT" by force. Our late teacher He Xiangning resolutely opposed the

"case of sorting out party affairs." Faced with difficulties and dangers, she came forward courageously to protect the communists and progressive elements in the Ministry of Women. While Wang Jingwei put forward a proposition to "purge the communists" in Wuhan, Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning and others resolutely opposed. With the force of justice, our late teacher He Xiangning pointed out that Liao Zongkai had shed his blood and dedicated his life to carrying out the three great policies of Dr Sun Yat-sen and we must, by no means, run counter to Dr Sun's teachings. It was unfortunate that the KMT and the CPC were split up. Our late teacher He Xiangning was extremely indignant over this and determinedly resigned all her posts in the KMT government.

At a moment when a powerful enemy force was bearing down upon the border and the national crisis was unprecedentedly serious, with a high level of patriotic zeal, He Xiangning and Soong Ching Ling enthusiastically plunged into the anti-Japanese national liberation movement. In 1931, they published their "views on the current political situation" and resolutely opposed the reactionary policy of the Kuomintang authorities, that is, a policy of "maintaining internal security first before resisting foreign aggression." During the "28 January [1932]" Shanghai campaign, our late teacher He Xiangning went to the streets, delivered speeches and highly praised the heroic feats of the anti-Japanese valiant fighters of the KMT's 19th Route Army. She sent telegrams to the countrymen residing abroad and called on them to support the motherland to resist Japanese aggression. She enthusiastically responded to the "1 August Declaration" issued by the Chinese Communist Party, a declaration which called on the people of the whole country to work together as one to stop the civil war and resist Japanese aggression. She protested the illegal arrest of the "seven champions of democracy" who were engaged in patriotic activities, exposed the KMT government's crimes of compromising with and capitulating to other countries and ruthlessly persecuted patriots at home, during the war of resistance against Japan, energetically responded to the Chinese Communist Party's call for the formation of an anti-Japanese national unit front. Together with Soong Ching Ling, she founded the "China Defense League" for collecting donations from overseas Chinese and zealously plunged into the anti-Japanese national salvation movement. When the Kuomintang authorities started the "southern Anhui incident," He Xiangning and other noble-minded patriots issued a joint message in Hong Kong. It pointed out: "In the future, the use of armed force to suppress the Communist Party must be stopped" and strongly denounced the perverse acts of the Chiang Kai-shek regime and thus vigorously supported the struggle of the Chinese Communist Party for resisting Japanese aggression and liberating the nation and splendidly defended the three great policies of Dr Sun Yat-sen. During the period of the liberation war, she resolutely exposed the dictatorial role of the KMT authorities and supported the proposition of the Chinese Communist Party to stop the civil war and establish a coalition government. She actively initiated the formation of the democracy-promoting association of the Chinese KMT and warmly supported the patriotic-democratic movement.

Our late teacher He Xiangning was an outstanding leader of the revolutionary committee of the Chinese KMT and one of its founders. During the long years of the cooperation with the Communist Party, she realized that the communists fear neither difficulties nor sacrifice and have a long-range revolutionary

objective and that the future of the country will surely belong to the Chinese Communist Party which has close ties with the people. Therefore, while deliberations and discussions on the setting up of an organization of the revolutionary committee of the KMT were made in 1947 in Hong Kong, she clearly put forth her political propositions and said: "If we want to set up such an organization, we must cooperate with the Communist Party. If we again indulge in splitism, I will not participate in it." She proposed that this organization should be named the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese KMT and maintained the name should be preceded by the characters of the "Chinese Kuomintang" so as to unite more revolutionary comrades of the Kuomintang to take part in the revolution. Her proposals met with the warm approval of the participating comrades. Later, He Xiangning, Li Jishen (Li Chi-shen) and others personally wrote and signed "a petition to Madame Sun," asking Comrade Soong Ching Ling to take charge of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese KMT in order to console the yearn of the various democratic parties and democratic personages. This proposal met with the vigorous support of Comrade Soong Ching Ling. In November 1947, the United Conference of the KMT was convened in Hong Kong, and in the speech delivered at the opening ceremony of the conference, she declared that the aim of this united conference was to "realize the genuine three people's principles" and "to carry out the three great policies," and called on all the participants to sincerely and wholeheartedly work hard in carrying out the behests of Dr Sun Yat-sen. On New Year's Day the following year, it was proclaimed that the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese KMT was formally set up and revolutionary elder He Xiangning was one of its principal leaders. She energetically responded to the call of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the convocation of a new people's political consultative conference and at the advanced age of 70, she went to the liberated areas to take part in the new people's political consultative conference and participated in the preparatory work for the founding of the People's Republic of China.

III

After the founding of new China, revolutionary elder He Xiangning held the posts of member of the central people's government, director of the overseas Chinese affairs committee, vice chairman of the National Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, vice chairman of the NPC, honorable president of the All-China [word indistinct] Federation, chairman of the Chinese Artists' Association and other important posts. She consistently stood up for the Chinese Communist Party and persistently took the socialist road. She concerned herself with women and children, with the patriotic countrymen residing abroad and with the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the great cause of the reunification of the motherland. She was a statewoman known at home and abroad and a revolutionary elder commanding reverence among the people throughout the country. After chairman Li Jishen passed away, the Fourth Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese KMT unanimously supported and elected revolutionary elder He Xiangning, who enjoyed popular confidence, as chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese KMT. In a letter to all the members of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese KMT, she urged the comrades of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese KMT to carry out and develop Dr Sun Yat-sen's spirit

of uninterrupted progress and to accept the leadership of the CPC. With more than a half century of her rich experience, she often showed the truth that socialism and socialism alone can save China. She taught all of us to treasure today's victory and firmly take the socialist road.

Revolutionary elder He Xiangning supported the CPC's policy concerning the united front. With her concrete deeds, she set an example of "sharing a common fate in honor or disgrace and showing utter devotion to our friends." At the commemoration ceremony of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PRC, on behalf of various democratic parties, nonparty personages and the All-China Association of Industry and Commerce, delivering a message, she said: "During the long years of revolutionary struggle, we have taken part in the united front led by the CPC. At every important juncture of the revolution, the CPC would point out the orientation of advance and the correct way for us in good time." "With the leadership of the CPC, all descriptions of enemy can be defeated and all sorts of difficulties can be overcome." Revolutionary elder He Xiangning showed great concern for the reunification of the motherland. During her lifetime, she composed poems, wrote aricles, delivered speeches and sent words to her old friends in Taiwan to urge them to do their bit for the reunification of the motherland.

The revolutionary cause for which revolutionary martyrs, such as Liao Zhongkai and He Xiangning, struggled for by sacrificing their lives has ushered in a new era under the CPC. The socialist cause is thriving, the people are enjoying a life of political stability and unity and the scope and growth rate of the construction of the motherland has significantly surpassed the ideals of Dr Sun Yat-sen. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the construction of the motherland has entered a new historical stage. Taking Liao Zhongkai and our late teacher He Xiangning as models, we comrades of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese KMT should learn from their patriotic, noble and moral characters, their revolutionary spirit of ardently loving the Communist Party and closely uniting with the Communist Party and all patriotic and democratic forces with absolute sincerity and their noble spirit and integrity of arduously struggling, of being selfless and fearless, of daring to keep forging ahead and unceasingly making progress, and with our concrete deeds, the shouts greet the convocation of the 12th National Congress of the CPC and make concerted efforts to struggle for building China into a modern and powerful, highly democratic and culturally advanced country with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern defense and modern science and technology.

CSO: 4005/1298

PARTY AND STATE

JILIN STRENGTHENS PARTY CONSTRUCTION

SK080409 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Sep 82

[Excerpts] According to our sources, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, party organizations at all levels throughout our province have scored achievements in improving party workstyle. Large numbers of party members have vigorously engaged in socialist construction on all fronts, thus promoting the development of various undertakings. After the smashing of the gang of four, since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee in particular, the provincial CPC Committee has paid great attention to party construction and listed it as an item on the daily agenda. The provincial CPC Committee has adopted many measures to strengthen the party.

Over the past few years, the provincial CPC Committee issued a circular on enhancing political and ideological work and a circular on carrying forward the practice of seeking truth from facts. After the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the provincial CPC Committee organized all party members in the province to conscientiously study the draft of revised CPC constitution. Following the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the provincial CPC Committee issued documents on ways to organize party members to study the resolutions adopted by the 6th plenum. In February 1982, it issued another circular on conducting a widespread education and inspection on party workstyle, party spirit and party discipline. It also resumed the former organizational systems [zu zhi yuan zhi du] throughout the province, sponsored a provincial educational work conference of party members and summed up the experiences on strengthening the party in the past few years. As a result, various corruptive phenomena in party and cadre contingents have been eliminated politically, ideologically and organizationally, party workstyle has been improved and the party's prestige among the masses has been heightened.

The fact that the provincial CPC Committee pays attention to party construction has aroused the attention in this regard of party organizations at all levels. They basically changed the past situation of depending on a few departments, projects and persons to strengthen the party. With an improved administration, the paty work now is conducted by both the higher and lower units, by every secretary and by each level.

In the past few years, party organizations at all levels throughout the province have adopted the following measures to strengthen the party:

1. Conduct education, anti-corruption education in particular, among party members, thus strengthening their faith in communism and enabling them to preserve the purity of communism.

2. Enforce party discipline. Some party members who illegally joined the party during the great cultural revolution have been dealt with. In particular, some incorrigible party members uncovered in the struggle against economic crimes have been expelled from the party, thus preserving the purity of the party contingent.

3. Rectify the party workstyle, build closer relations between the party and the masses, gradually resume the party's fine tradition and mobilize the masses' enthusiasm for the four modernizations, thus promoting the development of production and improving the livelihood of the masses.

In the course of dealing blows at serious economic crimes, leaders of the provincial CPC Committee have personally handled major and general cases, thus further strengthening the party, improving party leadership and enhancing the fighting capacity of party organizations. The great majority of the 61,000 grassroots party branches and 860,000 party members across the province are good or relatively good. They are attending to socialist construction on all fronts so as to promote the development of industrial and agricultural production.

CSO: 4005/1297

LIAONING OFFICIAL ON HISTORIC CHANGES IN MODERN CHINA

SK090831 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Sep 82

[Recorded talk by Tang Hongguang, vice chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, entitled: "Great Changes and Sacred Missions"--date not given]

[Excerpts] The successful convocation of the 12th National Party Congress is a joyous political occasion for the people of all nationalities across our country, a glorious historical chapter of our party as well as a motive force to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and to approach the magnificant goal for 2000. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech and Comrade Hu Yaobang's report have comprehensively summed up the rich experiences gained since the 11th National Party Congress and, in particular, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, set forth the general task of our party for the new historical period, defined the way forward for us and greatly aroused the fighting will of the people throughout the country.

Looking back over the course of the struggle our party has traversed in the past 60 years or so, there have been three instances of historic change. The first one is the change from the failure of the northern expedition to the outbreak of the agrarian revolutionary war. The second one is the change from the failure of the struggle against the Kuomintang fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign to the launching of the war of resistance against Japan. After smashing the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique and, in particular, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party has already fulfilled the arduous task of setting aright things which were thrown into disorder in the field of guiding ideology and has achieved new successes in practical work of all fronts, thus creating the third great historic change. The third historic change is in accord with historical development, is a vivid reflection of the correctness of our party's line, principles and policies adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, as well as with the common desire and urgent need of the people throughout the country. These historic changes have proved that our party is able to withstand any test, is a Marxist political party which becomes more mature day by day, is a proletarian vanguard which we can totally count on, is the leading core of the people throughout the country and is the place where our faith and hope lies.

It is my honor and pride to be a member of our party. However, in the course of fulfilling the general task for the new historic period, our loads will be very heavy. Therefore, we must strengthen our hope and confidence in the beautiful future of our motherland and in the magnificant prospect of our communist cause.

During the period of socialist revolution and construction, the people of our country closely rallied around the party, traversed a road of arduous struggle and made great contributions to the socialist cause. After the smashing of the gang of four, we have stepped into a new field in socialist construction. Now, with this new situation of socialist construction, [words indistinct], with the correct party line, principles and policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, with the correct leadership of the party Central Committee which enjoys popular love and support and with the hard-working population of one billion, we will certainly achieve new successes in the socialist modernization drive.

CSO: 4005/1297

PARTY AND STATE

'DAZHONG RIBAO' ON PROPAGATING COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

HK070356 Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Justly and Forcefully Propagate Communist Ideology"]

[Text] The 12th CPC National Congress will soon be convened. This is going to be an extremely important congress in the history of our party. At a time when the whole country and members of all trades and all professions are greeting the 12th National Congress with practical actions, we hail the great victories of our party in the practice of communism in the past 50 years. We are determined to hold high the banner of communism to work hard in order to march toward the glorious goal of communism.

The banner of the Communist Party is communism itself. Since the founding of our party, we have made communism our highest guiding principle and our ultimate goal of endeavor. Moreover, with unwavering faith, we have started the communist movement which has surged forward with great momentum. Just take a casual look at the whole history of our party--from the movement to overthrow the warlords and the local despots, land redistribution, the Nanchang uprising, the crushing of the reactionary KMT encompassing the famous long march, the glorious war of resistance to fight the Japanese imperialist invasion, and the 3 years' war of liberation to strive for national victory, to the socialist revolution and construction carried out since the founding of PRC; we can see that all our victories are victories of communist practice. In the cruel war years, under the butcher's knife of the enemy, the great communist warrior Xia Minghang wrote a poem, "Accepting Death," which is full of power and grandeur: "It does not matter if my head is chopped off so long as the doctrine is true. If Xia Minghan is killed, there are successors." The older generation of revolutionaries of our party, all faithful communists and revolutionaries of all sectors, are faithful warriors of communist practice. Had there been no communist ideology to act as our spiritual pillar and motivating force, all our victories would have been unthinkable. What we are carrying out now is no longer a communist movement in a general sense, nor is it a communist movement before the seizure of political power by the proletariat to become the ruling class. It is already the communist movement being well established under the historical condition of the socialist system. That is to say, it is a communist movement in the preliminary stages of communism. If we maintain that all our past victories are gained under the guidance of the communist ideological system, then, under new historical conditions,

if we are to have an overall development in the construction of socialist modernization, if we are to build a high level of material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization, it is all the more necessary to hold even higher the banner of communism, and through strong public opinion and a series of convincing education work, carry forward communist thought, making it the spiritual pillar of the people, making it the ideological basis uniting the 1 billion people of our country and making it the strong motivating force for the construction of the four modernizations. Had there been no basic assurance of communist ideology, our goal would come to naught, and thus we could not prevent invasion and erosion by capitalist ideology. Thus, we must justly and forcefully propagate communist ideology on a grand scale, making it a weapon to criticize all sorts of ideological fallacies, to arm the party and to educate the people.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have strengthened the work on the ideological and political fronts. In our province, all levels of party organs have educated party members, cadres and the masses, respectively, in the line, the guiding principles, policies and the four basic principles, they have organized study and propaganda of the "resolution" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, they have wiped out the influence of "leftism," they have criticized the incorrect tendency of bourgeois liberalization, and they have conducted education in the revolutionary view of life and patriotism, and in fighting against corrosive bourgeois ideology. [as published] In addition, they have made developments in the construction of socialist spiritual civilization throughout society. Such activities of studying, propaganda, and education in politics and ideology have stimulated changes in people's spiritual outlook, in the party spirit and the spirit of society, and there are plenty of good people and good deeds. But we must realize that misconceptions and nuclear ideas have been formed both inside and outside the party for reasons such as the negative influence of the 10 years of internal disorder, which has not been wiped out completely, some people fail to correctly treat and analyze certain setbacks in the history of our party, some people only manage to have a vague idea of the scientific definition of communism, and so on. In addition, the banner of communism is not held highly in education and propaganda, and communist ideology is not often justly and forcefully propagated. As a result, some people outside the party form unclear ideas and wrong concepts on the question of communism; some think that communism is something totally unrealistic; some even say that communism is just like flowers in a mirror or the moon in the water, you can see it but you cannot touch it; some think that as our country is poor, the spirit of our party is bad, the setbacks are numerous, the difficulties are great, it is not even so easy to achieve socialism, and it would be much more difficult to achieve communism; so they have no faith in communism, they throw away their lofty goal and pay no attention to the interests of revolution and they wholeheartedly pursue their personal interests; some say things like: "Reconciliation is noble, escape is wise, being perfunctory is the masterstroke", "if you grow flowers, the fragrance will spread to the neighborhood; but if you grow a sting, you will be stung," "all these isms, whatever gives me substantial benefits is good and so on. Some of our party organs and some leadership cadres, when faced with such erroneous ideas and views, fail to justly and forcefully educate and criticize. One reason is

that they only have a vague idea of communism, and fail to clearly see the boundary. Some take communism as a goal but not a movement; some think that to propagate communism is to skip over the necessary stages, it is too "leftist" and it is not suitable for our time. The above-mentioned problems cannot but stimulate our attention and serious treatment. Any take-it-easy attitude and negligence will be considered irresponsible and not serious.

We communists are the ones to propagate and practice communism. To propagate communism is not only our long-term duty, but is also an imminent and real duty under the new historical conditions. At this moment, we must justly and forcefully propagate it on a grand scale. But how can we make this propaganda a success?

First, all levels of party organs must place the duty to propagate communism in their important agenda. All members of the organs, senior and junior, and all fronts are to be engaged in this propaganda with a high sense of responsibility. This is a duty of all levels of party organs in all professions, all trades and all mass organizations, and wherever there is party organ activity, this task must be grasped well.

Second, education is basic Marxist theory must be strengthened. Party members and cadres must be organized in a planned and step-by-step manner to systematically learn Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the basic theory of communism to wipe out unclear ideas and unclear concepts, so that their faith in socialism and communism can be radically strengthened. Cadres of all levels and all party members must pass through a process of learning and understanding the scientific definition of communism. The communist theory of Marxism tells us, "Communism is the whole ideological system of the proletariat, it is also a new type of social system." That means communism is not merely a new type of social system, but is also a movement guided by the communist ideological system. Ever since there has been a Communist Party, there has been communist movement and communist practice. Some think that communism is a far-fetched illusion; this view is ridiculous. Communism, as a movement and as a kind of practice, is in the reality of our lives and the reality of our struggle. The communist movement has to pass through an extremely long historical process. Generations of men are required for it to proceed. But the road under our feet is the road of communism. When such a basic idea is acquired, our faith in communism will be strengthened enormously and thus we can justly and forcefully make the propaganda of communism a success.

Third, propaganda of communist ideology must be linked with reality. In answering and solving all sorts of ideological questions concerning the ideals of communism, one must pay attention to the various ways to give answers. One must use all propaganda media and be good at answering questions convincingly, analytically and to the point, with reference to the linkage of theory and practice. Meaningless and abstract indoctrination cannot help solve ideological questions. Only when the ideals of communism and the realistic contents of communist practice are united can practical questions be answered convincingly.

Fourth, in propagating communist ideology, we have to inherit and make use of the good past experience of developing education, but we must not repeat previous ways of doing things without making an analysis. We have to search for new methods and create new experiences, based on the new conditions of today. Thus, new problems in the propaganda of communist ideology can be discovered and solve in time so that this propaganda can be effective and continuously grow in profundity. As to the content of the propaganda, on one hand we have to link together the construction of socialist modernization with the ambitious goal of communism, and on the other hand, we have to pay attention to the relations between managing well propaganda on communist ideology and propaganda on executing present socialist policies.

Fifth, in propagating communist ideology, we have to forcefully propagate those advanced personalities and advanced models who have embodied communist ideology, the communist spirit, communist morality and communist conduct so as to promote positive factors and eliminate negative factors. These advanced models are the personification and embodiment of communist ideology. They have great effect on the education, enlightenment and feelings of the cadres and the masses. We have to appeal to the cadres, party members and CYL members to be first in learning from the advanced models and to be good models themselves. We also have to positively promote development in criticism and self-criticism so as to overcome erroneous ideology and erroneous concepts.

That socialism must triumph over capitalism and that communism has to be realized is the inevitable tendency in social development. It is an objective law that nobody can change. We must propagate this truth, and we must educate the cadres and the party members to hold even higher the banner of communism so as to lead the masses to greet the convening of the 12th CPCU National Congress with high communist spirits.

CSO: 4005/1297

PARTY AND STATE

'DAZHONG RIBAO' URGES HAVING FAITH IN COMMUNISM

HK080928 Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 82 p 1

[Commentator's article: "We Must Have Firm Faith in Communism--Refuting the 'Theory of the Remoteness of Communism'"]

[Text] Our ambitious ideal is communism, our glorious banner is communism, and the ultimate goal of our revolution is the realization of communism. This ambitious ideal has been talked of by our party for decades; this glorious banner has been highly held for decades; this ultimate goal of revolution has been struggled for decades. But at present, in the reality of life, some people have become skeptical and are wavering toward communism. One of the more outstanding ways of putting it is the so-called "theory of the remoteness of communism." We must analyze it and give it a definite and accurate answer. Some people say things like "communism is something remote," it is like "flowers in a mirror or the moon in the water, it is something one cannot touch nor get hold of;" some says things like communism is like "the moon in the sky, it is something to look at but you can never get close to it;" some even say "communism is imaginery," it is an "illusion." Such a "theory of the remoteness of communism" is incoherent in theory and it is not in accord with the objective reality in practice; it is something extremely harmful.

What does communism mean? It has two meanings: one is the communist system, and the other the communist movement. The communist system is the perfect, the most rational and the most progressive society of man. Time and the hard work of generations of men are indeed required in its realization. But the communist system must be ultimately realized. This is the inevitable tendency of human social development. Marx and Engels, making use of the theory of dialectical materialism and the theory of historical materialism, which they themselves developed, had observed the contradictions of capitalist society, and analyzed the law of development in a capitalist economy. They pointed out that after a capitalist society has undergone the struggle of proletarian revolution, the process of proletarian dictatorship will become a socialist society where there is public ownership of the means of production, where there is the system of distribution according to work and where exploitation is eliminated; a socialist society, undergoing the process of an enormous development in the productive force and great progress in politics and culture, will ultimately develop into a communist soicety where there is the system of from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs and where

the three major gaps between town and country, industry and agriculture, and physical and mental labor are eliminated. It is very clear that capitalism will become extinct, socialism will certainly triumph and communism will be realized. This is the scientific prediction put forth by the teachers of revolution in their summation of social practice; it is an inevitable historical tendency, and an inevitable law of social development. The idea that "communism is imaginary" and that it is an illusion are utterly unfounded.

Regarding the communist movement, if we speak of the world as whole, it has a history of more than 130 years as indicated by the publication of the "Communist Manifesto." In our country, since the founding of our party, the movement has been progressing in a systematic and planned manner for more than 60 years. Our party led the people of our country to thoroughly accomplish the task of new democratic revolution. The party has achieved the socialist transformation in the private ownership of the means of production and has carried out socialist construction on a grand scale. To walk a thousand li begin with the road immediately under one's feet. In the practice of the communist movement we have walked a long way and have won great victories. Our movement is no longer the communist movement in a general sense, but is the communist movement under the historical condition of the communist socialist system being well established, that is to say, the preliminary stage of communism. This is something we should be proud of. Thus, speaking of communism as a movement from this point of view, the movement is close at hand. The practice of the communist movement is in the reality of our lives. All the actions and movements of proletarian revolution are actions and movements of communist practice. The communist movement is still practising, developing and winning new victories all the time. How can people say that communism "is something remote," that it is like "the moon in the water or flowers in a mirror" and that it is something to look at but you can never get close to it?

There are two reasons why people waver over communist ideals and communist faith. One is that they think that our country is poor and conditions bad and that the communist goal is too far away; the other is that they think that there exist in certain places some problems concerning social mood and party spirit, and the construction of communism is too difficult. We have to admit that because of the serious mistakes made under "leftist" guiding ideology in the past, especially the sabotage done by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, our socialist cause has met great setbacks, and the superiority inherent in a socialist system has not been duly promoted, and in material conditions, it is true that we are relatively weak. The ideology and the way of doing things by certain people in certain places and certain units fall short of the demands of communism. Some have even deserted communism. These are objective facts. But these are definitely not intrinsic nor do they represent the mainstream. Any sober Marxist, any firm proletarian revolutionary, should clearly distinguish the principal and secondary aspects at any time, and we should not become wavering and skeptical toward the faith and ideal of our party and communism because we have seen that our country has at certain periods suffered damager produced by mistakes in guiding ideology. We should not be pessimistic and lose hope in socialist construction and the communist practice because we have seen that counterrevolutionary cliques like those of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing appeared in our party

and our country to bring great setbacks to the socialist cause; we should not lose ambitious communist ideal and firm faith, and we should not cease to strive for them because we have seen that certain unhealthy tendencies are still existing in society and that there are individual cases of corruption. Our socialist system, the communist movement we are continuously practicing, has an extraordinary, stable and immense vitality. Precisely as a result of that, our party managed to crush the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, to correct certain mistakes in guiding ideology and to bring about a turn for the better in the spirit of the party and society. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the Central Committee of our party has proceeded from the actual situation of our country and, under the guidance of the communist ideological system and making use of the theory of socialism, has carried out a series of adjustments and reforms in the politics and economy of the country, and has formulated a series of principles and policies to develop and perfect the socialist system, thus making the political life of our party and our country and the socialist construction proceed along the track of healthy development. In our province for example, in the 3 years since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, there has been an average annual increase of 6.2 percent in the value of industrial and agricultural production, there has been an increase of 57.2 yuan in the per capita income from collective distribution of the communes and villages of the province in the 3 years, and there was a 57 percent increase in the total volume of social commodities retailed in the province. As long as we firmly proceed along this road, there will be a great development in the productive force of the society, and the people's standard of living will be continuously improved, the construction of socialist spiritual civilization will achieve greater results, and the preliminary stage of communism--socialist society--will become better and more developed. All this will serve to lay down a firm and strong foundation for the great building of communism.

Man must have a little spirit, man cannot be without faith. To possess firm faith in communism is the basic requirement of every member of the Communist Party and every proletarian revolutionary. Were there no communist ideal and faith, were there no communist ideological system to act as guidance, there would not be conscious actions of socialist revolution and social construction, to say nothing of the struggle for communism. The inspiring power of ideals and faith is enormous. Countless martyrs of the revolution drew inspiration from the communist ideal, dashed ahead regardless of their safety for the communist cause, and sacrificed their precious lives. Many heroes and exemplary persons drew inspiration from communism, made communism the guidance of their action, and achieved glorious deeds which moved one to song and tears. We should be like them, be men of faith and ideals. Under the guidance of the communist ideological system, we should make ourselves into earnest and down-to-earth men of action, so as to do our small share to help with the great building of communism and then to benefit our posterity. A true communist warrior will never relax his efforts on the grounds that the realization of communism is a long process, and will never shrink from the difficulties he encounters on his way to the battlefield. Beginning with themselves, every party member and every revolutionary must from now on, courageously plunge

into the communist movement. Those who are pessimistic, those who have doubts and those who are wavering, should light up the fire of communism in their heart once again, establish firm faith in communism, look at the future, and strive for communism to the end.

To firmly uphold the great ideal of communism does not mean to carry out right now the policies of communism of a later stage nor to blow any "communist wind." Our present socialist system is quite different from the later stage of communism. We should, under the guidance of communist ideology, more thoroughly carry out the principles and policies of our party and state. We should do our work better. If we long for communism, we should go all out for communism at this moment. The better we achieve the socialist cause today, the earlier communism will come. If generations of our people do solid work step by step, communism will ultimately be realized.

CSO: 4005/1297

PARTY AND STATE

'LIAONING RIBAO' ON COMMUNISTS, COMMUNISM

HK091439 Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Qi Yu [7871 1878]: "Communists Must Stress Communism"]

[Text] Communists must stress communism. This is plain to everybody. Our party is named the Communist Party. This is because its ultimate aim is the realization of communism, and what it is undertaking is the communist cause. Now that we have voluntarily joined this party and pledged before the party banner to fight for communism throughout our lives, we must certainly be loyal to our pledges.

However, some people are not doing so. It seems to them that communism, although it may exist in the future, is an ideal realm which is as vague as mist and cannot be realized in the foreseeable future. So, to fight for communism is something for the future and something for our descendants. This shows that at this historical juncture, various misunderstandings and confused ideas about communism really exist among some comrades.

What is communism? It implies two meanings: One is the communist social system and the other is the communist movement. These two relate to each other. The former is the ultimate aim of the latter, and the latter is a historical course toward the former. The communist social system is the most advanced, reasonable and superior system in human history. The realization of this social system requires unremitting efforts by several generations of people. However, the communist movement started as early as the Communist Party was founded. The new democratic revolution led by our party was a part of this movement, and so is the socialist revolution and the socialist construction led by our party. Thus, fighting for communism throughout over lives is by no means an empty world. All revolutionary work we are undertaking, all we are doing, are for the realization of the communist society in the future and are, first, for the communist cause at present.

We have firm faith in communism not only because it is established on a scientific theoretical basis, but also because it is, first of all, a movement. Practices have proved again and again that communism conforms to the law of development of history and is in keeping with the fundamental interests of the people. Marx discovered the materialist historical viewpoint and exposed the secret of capitalist production. He thus turned utopian socialism

into scientific socialism. The October Revolution led by Lenin, the Chinese revolution led by our party and Comrade Mao Zedong and the revolution in other countries have further turned socialism from a scientific theory into a brilliant reality. All this is a great practice of communism. We are in such a great practice everyday. How can we say that communism is an "empty word?"

A man must have some spirit, and a communist must have the communist spirit. In the socialist society, the distribution of personal consumer goods is made according to one's work, but a communist must never carry out the revolution for the sake of wages. We must not be restricted by the outlook of bourgeois rights and become mediocre people who haggle over remuneration when they have done a bit more work than others. We must not even put money-making first and have only our children, houses and money at heart. All activities such as graft and embezzlement, speculation and profiteering, smuggling and selling smuggled goods, appropriating state and collective property and so forth, are illegal activities which run counter to communism. We must resolutely resist and deal heavy blows to these activities. Practice shows that mere implementation of the system of distribution according to one's work without carrying out communist ideological education will fail in resisting the corrosive influence of capitalist and bourgeois ideologies. This is why we say that the opinion communism is as vague as mist is entirely wrong and harmful.

CSO: 4005/1297

PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON PEOPLE'S CONGRESS SYSTEM

HK200717 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Zhang Shangzhuo [1728 1424 7763]: "The Consolidation and Development of Our Country's People's Congresses" -- slantlines denote boldface as published]

[Text] Compared with the previous three constitutions, the provisions concerning the people's congresses in the draft revised constitution have the following characteristics:

//1. Democratic centralism is consolidated and developed.//

Article 3 of the draft revised constitution clearly stipulates that our state organs should implement the principle of democratic centralism. The article includes the following: 1) The NPC and the local people's congresses at various levels are elected democratically, are responsible to the people and subject to their supervision. 2) All organs of state administration and all judicial and procuratorial organs are responsible to and are subject to the supervision of those organs of state power which originated them. 3) The division of functions and powers between the central and local state institutions shall conform to the principle of giving full play to the initiative and enthusiasm of the local authorities under the unified leadership of the central authorities. This means that on the one hand the people of the whole country establish their state organs of power--people's congresses at various levels--by means of democratic election and on the other hand, people's congresses at various levels exercise, on behalf of the people, all state powers on the basis of democracy to administer state affairs, practice democracy under centralized guidance and ensure that all the people are masters of state affairs and social activities.

//2. The term of office of the NPC and the times for its holding of sessions are more clearly stipulated.//

In 1951, Comrade Liu Shaoqi stressed the importance and necessity of regularly covening people's congresses. Regularly convening people's congresses is not just a question of procedure but an important system for strengthening the system of the people's congresses and for ensuring that the people are masters. It is clear to all that if meetings are not held, it will be impossible for the

people, through their representatives, to discuss and decide major state issues and to implement the principle that all powers belongs to the people. The term of office of the NPC and the times for the holding of its sessions are stipulated in a flexible way in the 1975 constitution. It says, for example, that the NPC is elected for a term of 5 years and under special circumstances the term of office can be extended and that NPC sessions are to be held once a year and if necessary, they can be advanced or postponed. Thus, it was easy for Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and other careerists to avail themselves of loopholes in it. As a result, no NPC sessions were held for a long time and the NPC became nothing more than a name. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the party and the government adopted measures to strengthen the work of people's congresses at various levels and in the course of practice, sessions of the NPC and its standing committee have been regularly convened. The draft revised constitution has affirmed these results, and restored and developed the principle laid down in the 1954 constitution. Article 57 stipulates: The NPC is elected for a term of 5 years. Two months before the term of office of a NPC expires, its standing committee must ensure that the election of deputies to the succeeding NPC is completed. Should exceptional circumstances prevent such an election, the term of office of the sitting NPC may be prolonged but such prolongation must be approved by a majority vote of more than two-thirds of all the members of its standing committee. Article 58 stipulates: Sessions of the NPC will be held once a year. Extraordinary sessions may be convened when the standing committee deems this necessary or when more than one-fifth of the deputies so propose. In this way, the term of office of the NPC and the times for the holding of sessions are more clearly stipulated and fixed and cannot be advanced or postponed at random.

//3. The organization of standing committees of people's congresses at various levels is strengthened and their functions and powers are extended.//

The people's congresses in our country are socialist state organs of power. They are organizations of the Paris commune type, which discuss problems and implement decisions. They should not become parliamentary type "places for idle talks," but should be work organs in charge of both administration and legislation. According to the situation of our country at present, the draft revised constitution has extended the functions and powers of the NPC Standing Committee. It stipulates: 1) The NPC Standing Committee enjoys the same legislative power as the NPC and can enact laws and decrees. It can partially amend and supplement the basic laws enacted by the NPC. 2) The NPC Standing Committee has the power to interpret the constitution and supervise its enforcement. 3) Members of the NPC Standing Committee shall not hold posts in organs of state administration or the judicial and procuratorial organs. 4) The chairman, vice chairmen and secretary-general of the NPC Standing Committee are the participants in the chairmanship conference to attend to the standing committee's important routine work. 5) Under the direction of the NPC Standing Committee, a nationalities committee, a law committee, a financial and economic affairs committee, an education and science committee, a foreign affairs committee and other necessary special committees are set up to discuss and draw up relevant bills. 6) When deemed necessary, the NPC Standing Committee may appoint commissions of inquiry for the investigation of specific questions. All state organs, public organizations and citizens concerned are obliged to supply the necessary information to these commissions when they conduct investigations.

7) Deputies to the people's congresses of counties are directly elected by the voters. Standing committees are established in the local people's congresses at and above the county level. 8) In the same way as their corresponding people's congresses, the standing committees of people's congresses of provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government enjoy the local statute legislative power. They may formulate and promulgate local statutes on condition that these do not contravene the constitution, laws, decrees and general administrative statutes. 9) The chairman or a vice chairman of the standing committee of the people's congress of each province, autonomous region and municipality directly under the central government attends the sessions of the NPC Standing Committee in order to strengthen the ties between the NPC Standing Committee and the localities and masses. From the foregoing stipulations we can see that the organization of the standing committees of the people's congresses in our country has been strengthened and their functions and power have been extended. They can carry out a lot of legislative work more effectively. Better conditions are provided for them to carry out regular supervision over other state organs. They can also link the work of the NPC Standing Committee with that of the standing committees of local people's congresses organically and in good time. These stipulations have to a very great extent made up for the drawback that the number of deputies to the people's congresses at various levels is great and the session time is short, which gave rise to inconvenience in discussing and deciding important questions. This shows that there is indeed a relatively great development in the people's congress system in our country and that it is more consolidated than ever before.

//4. A better guarantee is provided for people's deputies to exercise their functions and powers.//

Firstly, it was stipulated in the 1954 constitution that no deputy to the NPC may be arrested or placed on trial without the consent of the presidium of the current NPC session or the consent of its standing committee. This stipulation has been restored. Secondly, it is stipulated that deputies to the NPC, during its sessions, and members of its standing committee, during sessions of the latter, have the right to put forward bills of inquiry, according to procedures prescribed by law, to the State Council, the Supreme People's Court, the Supreme People's Procuratorate and the ministries and commissions under the State Council, which are all under obligation to answer. Besides, it is also stipulated that deputies to the NPC shall not be subjected to legal investigation for speeches or votes at its meetings. All these stipulations are of great significance in further consolidating and strengthening the people's congress sytem in our country.

CSO: 4005/1226

PARTY AND STATE

DANGER OF 'PEACEFUL EVOLUTION' EMPHASIZED

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [REPORT OF THE TIMES] in Chinese No 5, 1982 p 88

[Commentary by Ding Shi [0002 1395]: "Beward of 'Peaceful Evolution'"]

[Text] At a time when the entire nation, from top to bottom, is winning many victories in attacking all sorts of criminal acts in the economic sphere, the party Central Committee and the State Council have once again explicitly stiuplated that the importing, reproduction, selling, or dissemination of reactionaly, decadent, and obscene recordings and films is strictly forbidden, and the rubbish in the spiritual realm is to be eliminated.

That is a struggle with great political significance. That struggle is certain to affect profoundly the strengthening of the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization and material civilization, the rectification of the party style, the transformation of the popular style, the consolidation of the socialist regime, and vigilance toward "peaceful transformation."

During the past several years our country has implemented a policy of lifting restrictions on contacts with foreign countries. By means of that policy, advanced scientific technology has been introduced from abroad and useful construction capital has been attracted, in order to accelerate our rate of socialist construction. That policy is undoubtably correct and must continue to be resolutely implemented and carried out. However, at the same time bad elements within and without our country are taking advantage of our policy to, via all channels, import into our country large quantities of all kinds of recording and films which promote the decadent capitalist life style and are even extremely reactionary. Even in the capitalist world such things are considered to be in essence extremely obscene and decadent. However, in our Communist Party-led socialist country there are, surprisingly, some people who treasure such spiritual garbage and by countless schemes import, duplicate, sell, and disseminate it, thus seriously poisoning and corrupting many people, especially the souls of youth, spoiling our party style and social atmosphere, fostering criminal activities, and affecting social order. It is closely tied in with smuggling, blackmarketing, corruption, thievery, speculation, and other kinds of criminal activities in the economic sphere, and constitute a great danger of degeneration and deterioration within our party and country. We certainly must fully recognize the dangerous nature of that problem and conscientiously deal with it.

Some of our comrades relatively easily recognize the danger of war but are lacking in vigilance toward "peaceful transformation." Under the present conditions, enemies within and without our country are, with the use of influence, attacking by means of the corrosive influences and sugarcoated bullets of decadent capitalist and feudalist ideology, to win over, corrupt, and conquer weal-willed people within our ranks and the young generation, in order to carry out "peaceful transformation." We absolutely must not lower our guard in that respect. OUr party must be firm and strong enough to withstand the corrosive effects of the "germs," and not be stricken by them. But no enemy is strong enough to fell us. In that sense, the principal danger is from the unstable degenerated and deteriorated elements within the party. Therefore, we must strengthen the political-ideological work, in order to spur the entire party, the entire army, and the entire population to arise to eliminate spiritual garbage, guard against "peaceful evolution," and work together to build a high-level socialist spiritual civilization.

The key to vigilance against "peaceful evolution" is the middle and upper echelons of leadership cadres. Our party is a party which holds political power, and most of its authority is in the hands of leadership cadres at the middle and upper levels. Their spiritual condition greatly influences the ordinary members and the popular masses. Thier attitude toward the anti-corruption struggle directly determines whether or not the Central Committee's stiuplations can be carried out in the area, department, or unit they lead. We ardently hope that leadership cadres at the middle and upper levels will set a good example in the anticorruption struggle, bravely lead the broad popular masses in eliminating spiritual garbage, be on guard against "peaceful evolution," and unrelentingly struggle to build a high-level socialist spiritual civilization.

5616
CSO: 4005/1079

PARTY AND STATE

PRC PAPER REVIEWS CHANGES SINCE 3D PLENARY SESSION

HK020818 Beijing QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 24 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by Sun Ruiyuan [1327 3843 8787]: "Marxist Ideological Line Is the Guarantee for Victory--Reviewing the Great Changes That Have Taken Place Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee--1"]

[Text] Editor's note: Since the downfall of the "gang of four," particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, there have been great changes in the whole situation of our country. On the eve of the convocation of the historically significant 12th CPC National Congress, we review the arduous and brilliant course of the past few years, and our hearts are inspired with enthusiasm and we are filled with a profound feeling of the correctness of the CPC Central Committee leadership.

During the past few years, the party has led us to cure the scars caused by the 10 years turbulance and has brought order out of chaos ideologically, theoretically, politically and economically. Our party has reestablished the Marxist ideological, political and organizational line. We have an unprecedented political situation of stability and unity. The party Central Committee has made a strategic policy to shift the focus to socialist modernization. We have readjusted the national economy according to the concrete conditions of our country, and instituted the production responsibility system in rural areas, which has accelerated the pace of agricultural development. We have perfected socialist democracy and strengthened the socialist legal system, solved the remaining problems of history and rehabilitated a large number of unjust, false and misjudged cases. The cause of science, culture, education and public health is one vast scene of prosperity. The building of socialist spiritual civilization is vigorously developing throughout the country and this has brought profound changes in the social mood and people's mental outlook.

Our party has led the people of the whole country in victoriously realizing the task of bringing order out of chaos, accomplished the great historical transformation and raised the curtain for the new situation of building socialist modernization in an all-round way. Starting from today, we will issue articles of review to greet, together with the hundreds of millions of young people, the convocation of the 12th CPC National Congress. [End editor's note]

At the time when the 12th CPC National Congress is about to open, we will review the past and look forward to the future, and our hearts are filled with joy.

Since the 11th CPC National Congress, particularly since the 3d CPC Plenary Session, there have been profound changes in the mental outlook of our party and country. The most noticeable change is that we have restored the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from practice and linking theory with practice. On the basis of this ideological line, the party has formulated the correct political line, policy and tactics, and has led the people of the whole country in achieving new victories in the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Historical experience teaches us that when a proletarian political party struggles for the cause of socialism and communism, it must have a Marxist ideological line. With this ideological line, revolution and construction advances and wins victory; and if it deviates from this ideological line, revolution construction retreats and fails. This is an objective truth. Through prolonged revolutionary practice and particularly through the Yanan rectification, the Communist Party of China has established the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from practice and linking theory with practice. This is an important cause for the victory won in the democratic revolution, socialist revolution and socialist construction. But this ideological line was sabotaged by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques during the "Great Cultural Revolution." The Third CPC Plenary Session corrected the "leftist" mistake in the guiding ideology, brought order out of chaos and resumed the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, thus enabling the socialist cause to prosper in all fronts. This is a great historical contribution of the 3d CPC plenary session.

We have extensively carried out propaganda and education in the ideological line among the cadres and masses in the past few years for the sake of rooting the ideological line of seeking truth from facts in the hearts of the people and making it the guiding principle of the whole party and the people of the whole country. This is a most fundamental order brought out of chaos. We have unfolded the discussion of the problem of the criteria of truth, criticized the "two whatevers," stressed having a broad and accurate grasp of Mao Zedong Thought as a system, advocated doing away with superstitions and emancipating our minds, reaffirmed upholding the four basic principles, combsted bourgeois liberalization, and demanded that the cadres study new conditions, solve new problems, and oppose rigid ways of thinking. This propaganda and education were quite fruitful. It has brought new vigor and vitality to the party and country, expedited the progress of the building of the four modernizations and will have far reaching influence in the social development of our country.

This is a deepgoing movement of ideological emancipation. Engels said: "If you want to have a clear understanding of theory, the best way is to study from your own mistakes and painful experiences." With their own experiences, particularly the experience of the great cultural revolution," the broad masses of cadres and people have deeply understood that seeking truth from facts,

proceeding all from practice and linking theory with practice is the fundamental point of proletarian world outlook. The quintessence of Mao Zedong Thought, the basis for the party to formulate the line, principle and policy, and the guarantee for us to correctly comprehend and implement the line, principle and policy of the party. On the other hand, the subjectivist ideological line is opposed to Marxism; it is a formidable enemy of the party and people and a manifestation of an impurity of party spirit. Only by eliminating subjectivism can Marxism truth gain ground, party spirit be consolidated and revolution and construction win victory.

We have exposed and criticized Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company in creating confusion in the ideological line through the study of the ideological line in seeking truth from facts, eradicated the spiritual shackles imposed by them, clarified the erroneous viewpoint spread before the "Great Cultural Revolution," and enabled the cadres and masses to liberate themselves from the fetters of idealism. The suffocating and depressing atmosphere has cleared up and there has appeared an unprecedentedly vivid and vigorous scene in the political life of the country.

The changes are tremendous. If we review the situation of the past few years and compare it with the situation before the Third CPC Plenary Session, we are aware that the ideological level and spiritual state of affairs of the cadres and masses have really changed. These are prominently expressed as follows:

1. They have eradicated dogmatism and understood the correct handling of theory. Marxist theory is a guide for action and not a religious doctrine. Through the study of the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, the cadres and masses have universally realized that Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company distorted and misrepresented Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, violated its spirit and essence and regarded every sentence of Comrade Mao Zedong as truth, law and a rigid dogma. This is completely wrong. It is imperative to combat dogmatism and oppose all that proceeds from bookishness. The idea that what is written in a book is not to be altered, and that what is not written is not to be spoken and done is intolerable. We must broadly and accurately grasp and apply Mao Zedong Thought, get rid of superstitious ideas, emancipate our minds, regard practice as the criterion of truth and apply Marxism linked with practice. Only by doing so can we develop theory and genuinely hold high the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

2. They got rid of personality cults and understood the correct way of treating leaders. Personality cults once brought extreme adversity toward the Chinese people. Through the study of ideological line and practicality and realistically studying the role of leaders in the development of history, all the cadres and masses understood that a proletarian leader is an organizer and leader of the masses of the people, that there must be a leader in the revolution and construction cause and that the cadres and people must love and defend their leader. But we must never deify our leader, or indulge in personality cults. We must not condone personal arbitrariness, or practice "patriarchal system" and "letting only one person have the say." Comrade Mao Zedong is a great Marxist and a proletarian revolutionary, and has performed

immortal feats for the Chinese people. He committed mistakes in his later years and this caused losses to party work. However, in his life, his contributions should be the priority factor and his mistakes in the secondary factor. They were mistakes committed by a great proletarian revolutionary. Lin Biao and the Jiang Qing gangs deified Comrade Mao Zedong and denied that he had any defects and mistakes. This is what we must repudiate. But we must not only look at Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes or even exaggerate them. Due to Mao Zedong's mistakes committed in his later years, some people try to belittle him, or even negate and slander him. This is completely wrong.

3. They have eliminated one-sidedness and understood that it is necessary to wage struggle on two fronts. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company clamored for opposing of rightism and did not allow opposition to "leftism," and even regarded things that are correct and Marxism as "right deviationist" and opposed them. Recently, some people have gone to the other extreme, only allowing opposition to "leftism" and not to "rightism" or even regarding upholding the four basic principles as "leftist," and not allowing the repudiation of bourgeois liberalization. After the study of the problem of ideological line, all the cadres and masses realized that in order to practically and realistically carry on the struggle to combat erroneous trends, we must oppose both "leftism" and rightism; wherever there appears any kind of erroneous trend, we must oppose it. The practice of subjectivism and laying down hard and rigid rules to only allow the opposition to one type of erroneous trend and not allow the opposition to the other is incorrect and very harmful.

4. They have got rid of a tendency to boasting and exaggeration and are understood to reflect objective things as they really are. During the study of the ideological line, the vast number of cadres and masses summed up the historical experiences and realized the harmfulness of bragging, telling lies and the inclination toward boasting and exaggeration, and further understood the importance of talking, doing and being honest. At present, there is a mood in which those who accurately report the situation are being praised, while those who practice fraud are being despised, with serious bases being punished by party discipline and the state law. This is a great transformation in social mood.

5. They have done away with conservative ideas and understood to study new conditions and solve new problems. The building of the four modernizations is a cause that has never been done before by our predecessors. There are many new conditions and new problems. After the study of the ideological line, the cadres and masses realized that they cannot lie on their past experiences but must dare to explore. Objective reality is constantly developing, as is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We must use our wisdom and intelligence and hard work to open up a way for advance. In the course of studying new conditions and solving new problems, we must try to find out the law of building socialism, create a new way to build modern socialism in Chinese style and score a new victory for Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought.

Marx said: "Once theory is mastered by the masses, it turns into material force." At present, the ideological line of seeking truth from facts,

proceeding from practice and linking theory with practice has become a practical action of the vast number of caders and masses, and this is gratifying news to all of us. Our task is to persist in and further penetrate in implementing this ideological line and transforming it into a strong force in building modern socialism to win still greater victories in the socialist cause.

CSO: 4005/1286

PARTY AND STATE

PRC PAPER SEES STABILIZING SITUATION, UNITY

HK031312 Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 26 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by Gao Zhiyu [7559 2535 3842]: "Happy To See China's Political Situation Characterized by Stability and Unity--Reviewing the Great Changes Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee--Part 2"]

[Text] The convocation of the 12th CPC National Congress is getting closer. Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the 12th CPC National Congress will continue to implement the correct line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11 CPC Central Committee, sum up the experiences of our party in leading the building of scoialist modernization, further point out the fighting orientation for the people of the whole country and initiate a great and new situation in the building of socialist modernization in our country.

During the decade-long "Great Cultural Revolution," due to the shocking political disruption stirred up by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, our economic construction was seriously destroyed and the masses of people were very worried and heavyhearted. The downfall of the "gang of four" marked the end of the turbulent era. The majority of the Chinese people have drawn lessons from the turbulent and intranquil "Great Cultural Revolution." They ardently expect that the party can rapidly cure the scars of internal disorder so that our country can once again proceed on the road of normal development.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, in conformity with the demands of history and the expectations of the people, the party Central Committee has adopted a variety of measures to lead the people of the whole country to work for the restoration and development of a political situation characterized by stability and unity.

The "leftist" rubbish and the dictatorship of feudal fascism pursued by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique is the cause of ruin and the reason why the people could not feel tranquility for a long period. Only by thoroughly exposing and criticizing their pernicious influence and effects politically, ideologically, theoretically and organizationally, could we fundamentally ensure the stability of the country, the unity of the people an the progress of our cause. That is why, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has firmly grasped exposing and

criticizing the crimes of the "gang of four" and factionalist setup throughout the country, publicly brought to trial the 10 principal criminals of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique and attacked and disintegrated the remaining forces of the "gang of four." After investigation, we have basically destroyed the counterrevolutionary forces of the "gang of four," readjusted and strengthened the leadership bodies at various levels and basically resumed normal order in all walks of life. In the same time, we have rehabilitated one by one all the unjust, false and misjudged cases fabricated by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, so that large numbers of cadres and masses could be liberated from the circumstances of being persecuted and involved, and the masses of people could be more at ease of mind.

Our party has resolutely ceased the use of the slogan "Take Class Struggle as the Key Link," which is no longer suitable to socialist society, made the strategic decision to transfer the focal point of the work toward the building of socialist modernization and clearly defined that we will not artificially launch any political movement in order to prevent a repeat of mistakes in magnifying class struggle. Meanwhile we have abolished the so-called "speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters" which is disadvantageous to carrying forward socialist democracy, and resumed, formulated and put in force a variety of important laws, decree and ordinances, which have strengthened judicial, procuratorial and public security work, and attacked all kinds of serious criminal offenders and criminal activities in the economic field. This has stabilized the people's minds in general and eradicated the hidden peril that caused the confusing situation.

The implementation of various policies is another significant measure in mobilizing all positive factors and promoting stability and unity. In the past few years, in line with the principle of seeking truth from facts and correcting mistakes whenever discovered, our party has seized the opportune moment to solve large numbers of problems left over by history. We have implemented the party's policy on cadres and fully aroused and brought into play the initiative of veteran cadres who are a valuable wealth of the party and the country. The various economic policies in agriculture formulated and practiced after the 3d CPC Plenary Session were also earnestly implemented and the situation in rural areas is better than ever before. The problem of 800 million peasants is a matter of great importance. If this matter is stabilized, it can promote a situation of stability in the whole country. In urban areas, the party and government have put forth efforts to gradually solve the employment problem of large numbers of young people who are waiting for jobs; the situation in urban areas is also turning for the better. Meanwhile, the party vigorously has implemented the policy on intellectuals, fully affirming and pay attention to giving full play to the role of intellectuals in the building of the four modernizations and earnestly improving the conditions of their work, life and political treatment, so that they can exert their talents and play a greater role in the building of the four modernizations. Our party has also conscientiously carried out the policy toward nationalities and the united front, and further improved the relations between nationalities, strengthened national unity and aroused the initiative of the

people of various nationalities and nonparty patriotic and democratic personages in our country. This is a forceful impetus in developing a situation of stability and unity.

Our country experienced 10 years of internal disorder, and the fundamental reason we have been able to achieve stable and normal development in politics, the economy and other aspects in the short time of few years is because the Communist Party is the leader of our country. At present, our party has resumed the system of democratic centralism, the central leadership organ has realized the principle of collective leadership and we have a perfect organizational structure. This is an organizational guarantee for the prolonged stability of the political situation in our country.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, while paying close attention to upholding party leadership, the party Central Committee also has stressed improving party leadership and emphasized grasping the major issues of perfecting the political life within the party and earnestly building well the party work style. Our party has formulated "on certain requirements of the political life within the party," and established the Central Discipline Inspection Commission. It has important significance in resuming and carrying forward the fine tradition and work style of the party, perfecting the democratic life of the party and raising the party's fighting spirit.

The party Central Committee has repeatedly admonished the whole party to unswervingly build the party work style well, and consider the problem of party work style as a matter of life and death for the party, and mobilize all the people within and outside the party who have deep love and who support the party to have concern for our party's work style. With the unremitting efforts of the whole party and the people of the whole country, were surmounting the unhealthy tendencies that exist within the party. The betterment of the party work style will inevitably lead the people's mood and the general mood of society to turn for the better and energetically promote the situation of stability and unity.

Our country is now at an important juncture in history as we are carrying forward the revolutionary cause and forging ahead into the future. The people of the whole country hope that our country will have long-lasting peace and stability, and expect that our cause will flourish and prosper. The 12th CPC National Congress will promote a long, stable political situation in our country and our socialist modernization cause will achieve still greater and brilliant victory.

CSO: 4005/1286

PARTY AND STATE

'LIAOWANG' ON CPC POLICY TOWARD INTELLECTUALS

HK040600 Beijing LIAOWANG in Chinese No 7 20 Jul 82 pp 2-3

[Article by Xu Minhe [1776 3046 0735] and Yang Ruimin [2799 3843 2404]: "The Party Central Committee Is Concerned About Middle-Aged Intellectuals"]

[Text] On 18 June there was a day-to-day business meeting going on in the State Council inside Zhongnanhai. When touching upon the matter that the socialist system should guarantee the interior of society the inherent impetus of obtaining technical progress, Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out that the key to the implementation of the policy toward intellectuals lies in the solution of the problem of middle-aged intellectuals. This is a matter of liberating productive forces. The working and living conditions of middle-aged intellectuals should be solved. It will not do not to solve their problems.

Ten days later, on the afternoon of 28 June, in the Ziguang Chamber in Zhongnanhai, Premier Zhao Ziyang met with a scholar of American nationality, Professor Wu Jianxiong, and her husband Professor Yuan Jialiu. During their conversation, Premier Zhao said, "At present the emphasis on the implementation of our country's policy toward intellectuals should be put on the solution of the problem of middle-aged intellectuals. Their working and living conditions should gradually improve. They bare the backbone of various departments of the state in charge of important tasks, yet the burden of life they bear is heavy, and their living conditions are rather poor. Therefore, the state has made up its mind to solve the problem of the well-being of middle-aged intellectuals in the coming few years. Only once the problem of middle-aged intellectuals is solved, will the young intellectuals have something to look forward to. This is of great significance to the development of our country's educational and scientific cause.

This policy announced by Premier Zhao Ziyang embodies the concern and the attention of the party and the people for middle-aged intellectuals. This is the continuation and development of our party's consistent policy on intellectuals.

People still remember that Comrade Deng Xiaoping once said something significant to the scientific and technological personnel--and in a broad sense it was spoken to the broad mass of intellectuals--which lingers on one's mind.

He said: "I would like to be your director of the logistics department. I would like to be of good service in this respect, together with the comrades at different levels of the party committee."

This is what he said in March 1978 at the opening ceremony of the National Congress of Science. What he said drew thunderous applause at the Great Hall of the People at that time. It is in this speech that he, on behalf of the party Central Committee, announced that "the majority of the intellectuals in our country have become part of the proletariat," "part of the laboring people."

Since the fall of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC National Congress, our party has done a great deal to solve the problems of intellectuals, such as concerning their working and living conditions.

With the gradual implementation of the policy of a large number of elderly intellectuals who were accused of being the so-called "bourgeoise academic authority," the problems of the policies concerning middle-aged intellectuals appear to be conspicuous.

The party Central Committee had noticed this question in good time.

At the Central Committee work conference held at the end of 1980, Comrade Chen Yun pointed out that we had a total of several million graduates from institutions of higher education and self-taught scientific and technical personnel and they had 10-20 years of experience in practical work training. It is certain that the scientific and technical level in the seventies and the eighties should come from the scientific and technical backbones of the levels of the fifties and sixties.

The CPC Central Committee organization department and related departments such as the former scientific and technical cadre bureau of the State Council have carried out investigation and study on how to display the role of middle-aged and young intellectuals.

The former Scientific and Technical Cadre Bureau of the State Council held a special forum, with middle-aged and young scientific and technical workers attending, to discuss this problem. In September 1981, they wrote a "report on fully displaying the role of middle-aged and young scientific and technical cadres" to the party Central Committee and the State Council.

In January 1982, the party Central Committee wrote instructions on this report and distributed it, together with other related reports from the organization department of the Central Committee, the propaganda department and the United Front Ministry. And they issued "an announcement by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on making an examination on policy toward intellectuals."

The announcement pointed out that our party had always emphasized that things cannot be done well without intellectuals. We need to establish an army

contigent of cadres who persist in taking the socialist road and possess specialized knowledge and ability. History has proved that our country's broad mass of intellectuals, together with the workers and peasants, have played a great role in revolution and construction. They are an indispensable and important force to rely on in the cause of constructing socialist modernization. However, because "leftist" errors and influence in the past have not been entirely eliminated, there are still leading cadres in some areas and units who do not have a complete understanding of the role and status intellectuals play in the new period. They have not done their best in the implementation of the related policies issued by the Central Committee since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC National Congress. What is worse, they have not shown much concern for middle-aged and young intellectuals. Many people's talents cannot be fully brought out. Problems they countered in their work, study and daily living are not well handled. The fundamental way to solve this problem is by earnestly implementing the Central Committee's policies concerning intellectuals, further removing people's prejudice against them, people within the party and in society. One must wholeheartedly do the following: Politically, treat them equally without discrimination; when assigning work, bodly use them; and in daily living, take care of them. The announcement specially pointed out that at present most of the backbones of vocational work of all walks of life were middle-aged intellectuals and the work they were in charge of was particularly heavy, yet their working, studying and living conditions were rather poor. Something must be done to help solve their practical problems in real earnest, problems that should be solved and can be solved by making efforts. The announcement demanded that the party committee at different levels check the work of intellectuals in the first 6 months of the year. They should study, stipulate and improve measures in real earnest to achieve substantial results.

This announcement of the party Central Committee is another significant decision made on the policy toward intellectuals in the new period since the National Congress of Science.

Since the issuance of the announcement, various departments of the Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the National Political Consultative Conference, the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have all attached great importance to it. They have organized investigation groups in succession to check the implementation of the policies of intellectuals and have adopted measures to make further improvements.

Taking their investigations into consideration, the problems of middle-aged intellectuals have definitely reached such a stage that it won't do not to solve them.

A great number of facts indicate that the middle-aged intellectuals have played an important role on different fronts, e.g. there are 3,660 teachers in Qinghua University, and 2,360 of them are middle-aged teachers who graduated between 1950 and before the cultural revolution. They make up 64 percent of the total number of teachers in the university. In the first half of this year, the school offered a total of 271 courses with 515 lecturers in charge. Among them, 469 are middle-aged teachers and they make up 91 percent of the total

number of teachers. In the whole university, among the 431 teachers who are in charge of the field work, 344 of them are middle-aged. They make up 80 percent of the total number. As for the Chinese Academy of Science, from 1978 to 1979 there were 179 people in the 28 units in the Beijing region who won national scientific and technical achievement awards of the first and second grade from 1978 to 1979. Of them, 166 are middle-aged, which is 92.73 percent of the total number of people who have won awards. The 12 scientific and technical personnel of the Ministry of Machinery Industry who won the national invention award in 1980 are all middle-aged intellectuals. The Shenyang Foundry Institute in the past 3 years has won 38 awards (including the achievement award of the National Science Congress and other awards). All of them are the fruits of research by middle-aged intellectuals.

Nevertheless, middle-aged intellectuals encounter plenty of difficulties in their work. Some of them run short of necessary apparatuses, equipment, reference books, information materials and subsidiary labor. Under the influnece of the thinking that "one's merit should be measured by one's qualifications" some intellectuals suffer suppression and negligence; some are just under-employed and have not received proper training and redressing and so on and so forth.

They also come across many difficulties in their daily life. In 1956 the State Council issued the salary standard for higher education professions. However, at present, the salary level of middle-aged teachers is generally lower than this standard. Taking the Central China Engineering Institute as an example, among the 336 assistant professors in this institute, none of them receives the highest pay for assistant professors set by the salary standard of higher education professions (that is, grade four of higher education), and there are only 14 people who are above the lowest salary standard line (that is, grade six of higher education). They make up merely 4 percent of the total number of assistant professors. The other 96 percent of the assistant professors are all below the lowest standard salary line. Some of them are still receiving the salary of assistant lecturers. Among the 1,156 lecturers of the institute, not only do none of them receive the highest standard salary line for lecturers (grade six of higher education), but there are only as many as 61 people who have reached the lowest standard salary line of lecturers and they make up 5 percent of the total number of lecturers. According to a typical investigation of universities and colleges of higher edcuation such as Beijing University, Qinghua University, Nanking University, etc, the situation is more or less the same, and so is the situation for middle-aged intellectuals in government organizations, departments of culture, science and technique, the news media, etc.

Since middle-aged intellectuals receive low pay, the average cost of living of many families is even lower than the lowest standard of living of the city they live in. Many middle-aged intellectuals must repair bicycles, taking in washing, go shopping, do the cooking and whatever for themselves.

Modern scientific techniques are advancing at an amazingly fast speed. While doing their work, intellectuals must at the same time keep abreast of developments in their field. However, the living conditions of the middle-aged intellectuals now are not favorable for furthering their studies and achieving vocational improvement.

The imminent housing problem at present is a common social problem, yet to the intellectuals, the situation seems to be more conspicuous. Lodgings are not only the places where they live and eat, but are also indispensable environment for labor because much of their work and studies take place in their houses, and therefore improving their living conditions appear to be more urgent.

Owing to the poor living conditions, and the heavy burden borne by middle-aged intellectuals, they are run down by overwork, and their health is going from bad to worse. In many units, the death rate of middle-aged intellectuals has surprisingly surpassed that of senile people.

Problems found in the implementation of the policies concerning intellectuals have accumulated because of the influence of the "leftist" guiding thought. This "leftist" influence is mainly shown in the negligence of knowledge, the underestimation of the [word indistinct] of intellectuals and a certain prejudice against intellectuals. Work done by intellectuals is a sort of complex and hard mental labor. This sort of labor requires the pooling and accumulation of knowledge, and therefore some essential working and studying conditions are needed.

The mental labor of intellectuals creates value. The more advanced human beings are, and the more developed the society is, the bigger the proportion mental labor will occupy in all social labor. This is especially obvious in the realm of science and technology. The achievements of science and the progress of technology play important roles in raising the labor productivity of society and improving economic effects. According to the estimation of quite a few economists, when the world entered the seventies, labor productivity was raised. Between 60-80 percent of labor depended on the adopting of new techniques. Yet this is not always fully estimated, just as Marx said: "The estimation of mental labor (science) is inevitably far lower than its value."

We should have sufficient understanding of the role and status of intellectuals in the new historical period. Middle-aged intellectuals should merit our special attention because they are a generation forming a link between the past and the future, carry forward the cause pioneered by our predecessors and forge ahead in to the future. The grievances and difficulties of middle-aged intellectuals should be solved, so that they can later pick up the heavy burden. This is a significant problem concerning the prospect of the construction of the four modernizations. We must realize this with a strategic eye and in a sober way. Fully displaying the role of middle-aged intellectuals means opening a trail for the growth of the young intellectuals. It also means basically solving the problems of all intellectuals. Improvements in the living and working conditions of intellectuals should be regarded as a project of capital construction, and the basis of capital construction as well.

As early as 1956, Comrade Chou En-lai pointed out in his "Report About the Problems of Intellectuals:" "The salary of intellectuals should be properly adjusted according to the principle of drawing pay according to work, so that their salary is more or less equivalent to their contribution to the state.

The tendency of equalitariainism in the salary system and other irrational phenomena should be done away with." At present, our country still has many difficulties, and the living conditions of middle-aged intellectuals cannot be completely changed overnight. The mass of middle-aged intellectuals should make allowances for the country's difficulties. They should share the burden with the country, and share joy and sorrow with the mass of people. Although the state is facing financial difficulties, the party Central Committee has decided to solve the problem of the well-being of middle-aged intellectuals. This discussion meets with the socialist law of economy, as well as the long-term interests of the people. We ought to overcome the "leftist" influence and the tendency of equalitarianism, and then earnestly carry out the decision.

CSO: 4005/1294

PARTY AND STATE

34TH LECTURE ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW021035 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0024 GMT 30 Aug 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 30 Aug (XINHUA)--Thirty-fourth lecture on draft revised constitution: "The Neighborhood Committees and Villagers' Committees Provided for by the Draft Revised Constitution."

The draft revised constitution stipulates that neighborhood committees and villagers' committees are established in urban and rural residential districts as mass organizations of self-government at primary level. Practice has proven that these committees are an important form of organization which is practical and can be adopted on a long-term basis in China. They have played a significant role in mediating disputes among people, safeguarding social order and running public establishments and public welfare institutions.

The establishment of neighborhood committees and villagers' committees in China is an important way and the best organizational form through which the people's direct democracy in social life at the grassroots level can be realized gradually and through which the working people can participate in managing the state.

The establishment of these committees is also necessary for strengthening the grassroots organs of the state. The draft revised constitution stipulates that grassroots organs of the state have the duty to relay residents' opinions and demands to the people's governments, to make suggestions and exercise supervision over the people's governments. To accomplish this task, the grassroots organs of the state can strengthen their ties with the masses, mobilize and organize them to implement the state's constitution, laws, decrees, administrative rules and regulations and plans and develop economic and cultural construction, public work and public welfare work in their respective areas.

The draft revised constitution's provision on the establishment of neighborhood committees and villagers' committees indicates a new development and improvement in China's democratic system and also embodies the class nature of our organs of state and state system and the superiority of the socialist system.

CSO: 4005/1295

35TH LECTURE ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW020919 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0105 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 31 Aug (XINHUA)--Thirty-fifth and last lecture on draft revised constitution: "The Relations Among the Public Security Organs, People's Courts and People's Procuratorates as Provided for by the Draft Revised Constitution."

The draft revised constitution stipulates that "people's courts, people's procuratorates and public security organs shall, in handling criminal cases, divide their functions, each taking responsibility for their own work, and they shall coordinate with each other and restrict each other to ensure accurate and effective application of the law." This is a very important provision because it sums up China's judicial work.

During the "Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" destroyed the three organs and introduced the method of handling criminal cases in a coordinate process. This completely abolished the principles of the division of functions and responsibility and the mutual restriction among the three organs and created many frameups and erroneous cases. The law of criminal procedure promulgated in 1979 sums up our past experiences and lessons and explicitly stipulates these principles.

There is a clear division of functions among people's courts, people's procuratorates and public security organs as stipulated in the law of criminal procedure. Public security organs protect the security of the state. In prosecuting criminal cases, the people's procuratorate investigates cases that it deems necessary to handle directly. The investigation of other cases, detention of suspects and preliminary hearings are handled by the public security organs. The people's procuratorate supervises the laws of the state, prosecutes major criminal cases such as treason and subversion, investigates criminal cases which it accepts to hear, examines cases investigated by the public security organs and decides on arrests, prosecution and exemptions from prosecution. The people's court is the trial organ of the state and tries all criminal and civil cases.

In handling criminal cases, people's courts, people's procuratorates and public security organs implement the principal of coordinating with each other and restricting each other in the following ways: In the course of investigating

a case, in the public security organ desires to arrest the suspect, it must get the approval of the people's procuratorate. After completing investigations, the public security organ must submit all cases to the people's procuratorate for examination and decision on whether the cases should be prosecuted or exempted from prosecution. If the public security organ disputes the people's procuratorate's disapproval of an arrest and decision on exemption from prosecution, it may ask for reconsideration.

People's courts, people's procuratorates and public security organs are China's important organs of state and are an important tool for enforcing the people's democratic dictatorship. The objective of the division of functions, mutual coordination and mutual restriction is to accomplish the tasks of protecting the people, punishing criminals, striking at the enemies, protecting the construction of the four modernizations and defending the socialist system. Division of furctions and responsibility will enable the three organs to execute their respective functions and shoulder their respective responsibilities in handling criminal cases. This aids the strict enforcement of the work responsibility system in order to raise work efficiency. Mutual coordination and mutual restriction enable the three organs to pool collective wisdom and do their respective work well in handling criminal bases. This aids the thorough and comprehensive investigation of cases in order to prevent mistakes and the accurate application of the law in order to raise the quality of handling cases.

CSO: 4005/1295

BREIFS

DANGER OF SUGARCOATED BULLETS--There is not merely one kind of sugarcoated bullet, but at least two kinds: one kind is material sugarcoated bullets, such as money, beautiful women, foreign-made goods, etc. They corrupt us materially. There is also a spiritual kind of sugarcoated bullet, such as capitalist ideological viewpoints, culture and art, lifestyle, etc. They corrupt us ideologically os as to weaken our will, disintegrate our conviction, and confuse our thinking. We must be on guard against both kinds of sugarcoated bullets. [Text] [Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 12, 1982 p 51] 5616

IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL WORK--The party Central Committee has many times emphasized the necessity of stressing the ideological-political work. What the Central Committee means by ideological-political work is definitely not certain simplified methods that were promoted under the "leftist" guiding ideology, but requesting party organizations at all levels to, on the basis of the characteristics of the new period, defend the battlefield position of socialism and communism against all thoughts and acts that are erroneous and harmful to the socialist cause; carry out criticism with compelling arguments and persuasive force; carry out education that is appropriate to the masses' personal experiences and personal interests and teaches patriotism, collectivism, and communism; attack perverse trends; foster correct trends; and cause our people to become people with ideals, virtue, culture, and discipline. [Text] [Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 12, 1982 p 51] 5616

ASSIGNMENT OF RETIRED CADRES--It is necessary strictly to set up a system regarding demobilized and retired old cadres. Old cadres have worked prudently and conscientiously for decades and have made great contributions. They definitely must be properly assigned and given consideration in their postretirement lives so that they can be content in their later years. If capable people are assigned they are certain to bring honor to their positions. Some may participate in study classes, review the course of the struggle, summarize their experiences, and give help and set a good example in their work. Various miscellaneous organizations should not be set up. Old cadres should be organized at the basic level to perform tasks beneficial to society. [Text] [Beijing BAN TAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 12, 1982 p 51] 5616

COMMUNIST IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION--The carrying out of communist ideological and moral education must be based on practice and adhere to the principle of gradual advance in the proper sequence. At present, among the workers it is necessary to concentrate on education that stresses the historical mission of the working class and its fine tradition, strengthen their "master of one's own house" sense of responsibility and the bringing into play of their main-force role in constructing the "two civilizations," and gradually overcome all kinds of backward thought unworthy of the progressive nature of the working class. Among the peasants, it is necessary to stress education which takes into consideration the three interests--state, collective, and individual--and advocates the rewards of labor, the "public first, self second" attitude, and finding pleasure in helping others. Among youths, it is necessary to stress education which teaches ardent love of the homeland, ardent love of the part, and ardent love of the socialist regime, and helps them gradually build a correct outlook on life and a correct world outlook. In the nationalities areas, it is necessary to stress education which makes progress in strengthening units of the nationalities. [Text] [Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 12, 1982 p 51] 5616

CSO: 4005/1079

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HEALTH SERVICES CREDITED FOR IMPROVING HEALTH IN BEIJING

Beijing JIAN KANG BAO in Chinese 1 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Chen Enjia [7115 1869 3946]: "The Weight and Height of Young People in the Beijing Have Increased"]

[Text] Since the founding of the republic, medical and health services have greatly developed in the capital Beijing. The height and weight of young people have increased by large margins, the mortaility rate of population has greatly declined, the average life-span has kept increasing, the number of deaths due to infectious diseases has dropped from the first place in pre-liberation days to the sixth place. The mortality rate of population in Beijing Municipality was 12 per 1,000 in 1949 and has fallen to 6 per 1,000, down by half compared with 1949. At the early stage of liberation the average life-spans of men and women in Beijing Municipality were respectively 53.8 and 50.2 years, 18 and 24 years longer.

Thanks to development of medical and health services, the level of growth and development of children has all along shown an upward tendency. According to health checks carried out by the Beijing health department in 1981 on 180,000 children aged 3 and under in the rural districts, the physical development of children was generally up to the normal requirement, the height and weight of children were up to the average value and over, and babies gaining weight after completion of their first month of life reached 95 percent and more. Calculated on the basis of the growth rates of primary and middle school students for each 10 years, the average height of boy students increased 2.63 centimeters and their average weight increased 0.95 kg on average, the average height of girl students increased 2.22 centimeters and their average weight increased 0.95 kg. The height and weight of primary and middle school students in the capital increased at a rate approaching or surpassing that of children in some developed countries.

In order to control the outbreak and spread of infectious diseases, mass patriotic and health movements were launched in the munciipal area in Beijing during 1952 to implement anti-epidemic measures, with the result that acute infectious diseases were brought under effective control, the incidence of some infectious diseases and deaths due to infectious diseases dropped, and people's health was protected in the municipal area. Now, all babies from

2 months to 7 years receive 11 kinds of anti-epidemic inoculations, totaling 15,000,000 person-times in the municipal area each year. With importance given to strengthening health and anti-epidemic work, the number of deaths due to infectious diseases has dropped from the first place in pre-liberation days to the sixth.

9780
CSO: 4005/1036

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

IMPROVING MARXISM-LENINISM CLASS AT HIGHER SCHOOLS DISCUSSED

Beijing JIAOXUE YU YANJIU [TEACHING AND RESEARCH] in Chinese No 2, 82, 31 Mar 82 pp 3-5

[Article by Zheng Da [6774 6671]: "On Reform of Marxism-Leninism Class in Schools of Higher Learning:]

[Text] A few years ago instructors of Marxism-Leninism class (i.e., public political theory class, hereafter Marxism-Leninism class) at schools of higher learning were puzzled by a large number of questions: some schools don't take this class seriously enough; lack of suitable teaching materials and the necessary reference materials; class discipline is poor; some questions which are bold but hard to answer clearly and which we have been hearing for the past 10 years come from the students in a steady stream, the confusion in theory created by the 10 years of chaos has brought many difficulties to Marxism-Leninism class. In the past few years, with the continuing progress of the party in setting things right in politics, the economy and ideology, there have also been some delightful trends in Marxism-Leninism class.

Many students have taken a liking to the course and there has been a clear change for the better in class discipline. From the lectures of many teachers classmates have learned the importance of upholding the four basic principles, and acquired a powerful weapon for resisting the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalism. The arguments to "eliminate political theory class" are no longer heard very much.

There have been new developments in teaching and research work. Some new questions for which there were no ready-made answers "forced" teachers to investigate, further combining theory and practice. These results are also reflected in development of materials and teacher training and created the conditions for constantly improving teaching quality.

There have been evident improvements in teaching methods. To varying degrees political theory instruction in schools of higher learning have adopted the heuristic teaching method and have made some beneficial attempts to further develop the student's initiative to study.

Leadership has constantly been strengthened. On 7 July 1980 the Ministry of Education issued "Trial Methods for Improving and Strengthening Marxism-Leninism Class in Schools of Higher Learning" and provincial, municipal and

autonomous region education leadership sections and school party committees in response, strengthened leadership of Marxism-Leninism class, replenished the strength of Marxism-Leninism classrooms and laboratories and through listening to reports, reading documents, and purchasing books and materials paid attention to the work needs of the teacher. After October 1980 in particular, the party Central Committee's Propaganda Department resumed the leadership of Marxism-Leninism class and provincial, municipal and autonomous region party committees' propaganda departments became even more concerned about education in Marxist-Leninist theory in local schools of higher learning. learning. All this greatly mobilized the initiative of the faculty and ensured the healthy development of Marxism-Leninism class.

Apart from the efforts of the teachers generally, winning these achievements is inseparable from the overall development of the political and economic situation. Since 1980 the party Central Committee at many important meetings and in many important documents has emphasized that we should strengthen ideological and political work among students and education of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The "Resolution on Certain Historical Questions of the Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee has played an enormous guiding role in teaching Marxism-Leninism class and especially history of the Chinese Communist Party. In August 1981 the party Central Committee's Propaganda Department convened a conference on questions on the ideological front. Leadership comrades of the party Central Committee said that we should strengthen leadership of the party on the ideological front, improve lax and weak attitudes which would propel the party's ideological and political work as well as the teaching of Marxism-Leninism class.

Of course, there are still quite a few questions and difficulties. Some of them are in work, such as leadership, working conditions, faculty treatment, personnel assignments, guaranteeing class time, advanced study, etc., others are ones which were clearly stipulated in the Ministry of Education's "Trial Methods" but have not yet been implemented. Some are theoretical, for although there have been several years of setting things right some questions still have not yet been positively concluded; among students there is still this or that question about knowledge or attitude toward Marxism-Leninism class, and class discipline is still not completely satisfactory. Thus the vexation which troubled the faculty a couple of years ago still exist to some degree in some places.

How can these questions be resolved? Some people think that it is undoubtedly necessary for leadership to continue to emphasize the importance of Marxism-Leninism education, to do ideological and political work among students, and to raise their understanding of this curriculum; as far as Marxism-Leninism class itself is concerned, it should be improved and changed to correspond with the objective situation.

What should be reformed? Some comrades feel that the present Marxism-Leninism curriculum was fundamentally set in the fifties and the influence of the

Soviet Union is too great. These arrangements and the theoretical system are already behind present-day life. If we are to reform them we will have to dare to break down old conventions and consider increasing other courses in the social sciences and not limit ourselves to the present few offerings.

There are other comrades who think that the present curriculum of Marxism-Leninism is fundamentally appropriate and many years of practice has shown that it is effective in training students to become people who are both Red and expert and well-rounded. The question is that the system is out-of-date, the content is clearly cumbersome, linking theory and practice is insufficient and frequently it cannot answer the new questions which keep cropping up in actual political and economic live, students feel their "thirst is not quenched," and this problem should be resolved. Thus the reform of Marxism-Leninism class should consist of mainly improving teaching content and method but the curriculum itself need not be changed.

Whatever the viewpoint, when researching these questions there is always some basis and it is necessary not to depart from actual conditions.

"Resolution on Certain Historical Questions in the Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" says: "We should strengthen and improve ideological and political work, use the Marxist-world view and Communist morality to teach the people and youth, uphold the educational principles of overall development of morality, mind and body, both Red and expert, the unity of intellectuals with workers and peasants, and the unity of intellectual labor and physical labor, to resist the influence of corrupt bourgeois ideology and the ideology of feudal remnants, to overcome the influence of petit bourgeois ideology, develop a patriotic spirit of the ancestral country's interests above everything else and the spirit of arduous work contributing all to the modernizations." This both set the direction for all school education as well as pointing out the direction for Marxism-Leninism theory education and is undoubtedly the fundamental basis on which we should consider the Marxism-Leninism curriculum.

The mission of the Marxism-Leninism class should be the specific basis for our research and reform. The Marxism-Leninism class in schools of higher learning is both a required course for students and a constituent part of the school's entire ideological and political work. Its characteristic should be that it is systematic education of students in Marxist-Leninist theory as distinct from current events education and daily ideological and political work of the party and the Communist Youth League. In the past overlooking this characteristic of the course made it frequently slapdash with the result that students never actually understood and mastered the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, not to mention applying these principles to guide their own work and lives and this lesson should not be forgotten.

Referring to the experience of Marxism-Leninism education in schools of higher learning after liberation, the mission of the Marxism-Leninism class should include the following: (1) help the students understand and master the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought completely and correctly and raise their socialist consciousness; (2) help the students

comprehend the party's line, principles and policies and self-consciously uphold the four basic principles; (3) help students gradually establish a proletarian world view, learn correctly to use standpoint, viewpoint, and method to investigate questions, research learning, and handle work and strive to serve the socialist modernizations. If the above mission is reasonable, then it should make the definition of the curriculum help complete the above mission.

In addition to this, we must also pay attention to the following situations:

First, the historical situation and its continuity. The current undergraduate Marxism-Leninism curriculum in schools of higher learning is: in the liberal arts, 4 courses (history of the Chinese Communist Party, political economy, philosophy and history of the international communist movement); in physics, 3 courses, engineering, agriculture and medicine, (history of the international communist movement is not offered). This arrangement is basically grounded on the three constituent elements of Marxism, and has gone on this way since the fifties. In October 1952 the Ministry of Education issued "Directive on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought Curriculum in Schools of Higher Learning Throughout the Country" which stipulated that all schools of higher learning were to offer a three-course curriculum in political theory to consist of theory of new democracy, political economy, and dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Later on, there were some changes in individual subjects, for example, they added the foundation of Marxism and gradually changed it to history of the international communist movement which became a course in the liberal arts; the theory of the new democracy changed into the history of China's revolution and then later was further changed to the history of the Chinese Communist Party; but the courses in philosophy and economics were retained to form the present curriculum. Thus, when considering a new curriculum we must note the historical role these courses have already played and that the faculty in political theory at schools of higher learning during these years was basically trained in accordance with the demand that they teach these courses. If the new curriculum will still be based on the three constituent elements of Marxism, then in the light of historical experience and the faculty the changes should not be significant.

Second, class time is limited. The proportion of total class time which it is appropriate to devote to Marxism-Leninism classes is a question which urgently needs to be clarified and we should summarize experience since the founding of the People's Republic of China and consult the experience of other countries. According to the existing stipulations of the Ministry of Education the 4 public political theory classes in the liberal arts take 420 class hours or 17.5 percent of total class hours; the 3 courses in physics, engineering, agriculture and medicine take 210 class hours, or about 8.8 percent of the total. To help the university students to master the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism (generally the content of the present materials) linking up with actuality, explaining the profound in simple terms and in a lively way within these class hours is very tight in terms of time and is even very difficult. The load carried by students now is very heavy. All curricula feel that there are not enough class hours and there

is much competition for class hours so that it will be difficult to increase the proportion of just Marxism-Leninism classes in the total class hours in the presnnt discipline in the education schedule. If the several courses presently being offered are retained as required courses and other courses in political theory are to be added to them there will not be much free time in class hours.

Third, how to expand the university student's general knowledge. Some comrades think that in higher education in view of the general tendency abroad in recent years,toward interdisciplinary courses, that while maintaining the Marxism-Leninism courses, we should offer some other related courses. This proposal is worth considering. There are two questions which must be resolved in connection with this: one is making appropriate class hour arrangements; and the other is that in dealing with the relationship to the Marxism-Leninism courses we cannot usurp the content of the former nor make it a substitute for the Marxism-Leninism curriculum. Some comrades have proposed that schools offer advanced courses in time set aside on the basis of conditions.

Fourth, universities, middle schools and elementary schools should have an overall plan. The different characteristics of university, middle school and elementary school students place different demands on determining political theory classes appropriate to their different stages of intellectual development and interconnecting them should be considered.

On the basis of the above situation, generally speaking, the present arrangements of Marxism-Leninism class in schools of higher learning should only be reformed gradually and not suddenly. This gradual change means not departing from the original foundation and making just the necessary adjustment in some courses, placing the emphasis on improving course content and teaching method in an effort to improve teaching quality so that theory will be closely combined with actuality and to the extent possible answer the questions posed by students. If Marxism-Leninism class does not link up with actuality and avoids the questions with which students are generally concerned, they will lose interest in the course and it cannot play the role it should. Of course, this linking up can only be an organic one, according to the system and logic of each course. To achieve this end teaching outlines and materials should be revised according to the different disciplinary needs of the liberal arts and physics, engineering, agriculture and medicine by cutting out what is superfluous, emphasizing the key points and striving to reflect the new situations in political and economic development and the latest results in scientific research. At the same time, teacher training should be strengthened teaching experience should be summarized and exchanged and an effort made to raise the level of teaching. This looks like a minor change, but it may not upset the present work foundation and is generally suited to the theoretical attainments and teaching experience of the present faculty and will be readily received in all aspects.

If the above reforms can be implemented we should also continue investigation and research and with the reorganization and reform of all education comprehensively research the arrangement and linkage of the courses so that the

structure of education in political theory will be even more rational.

The reform of Marxism-Leninism class in schools of higher learning is far-reaching and of great concern to society. The reform should be considered maturely and done unhurriedly. After new proposals are set, it is best if leadership organs designate certain schools to carry out pilot projects in a planned way and then extend them after gaining some experience and avoid willfully changing the present courses and so that the teachers and students are at a loss as to what to do.

The reform of Marxism-Leninism classes should rely on the existing Marxism-Leninism course faculty, involve them in discussions more, give full play to their wisdom, experience and initiative, pooling their wisdom to make the reform of Marxism-Leninism class even more fully effective.

8226
CSO: 4005/1045

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

TASKS UNDERTAKEN TO CLEAN, BEAUTIFY HARBIN

Beijing [UNKNOWN] in Chinese 5 Aug 82 p 3

[Text] Since the smashing of the "gang of four" and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have persisted in shaping the hygienic outlook of the city of Harbin and in bringing its unsanitary practices under control so that we can improve its hygiene year after year and gradually build Harbin into a civilized, clean and beautiful city. In the course of developing the "five stresses and four points of beauty" activity, we have made renewed efforts to bring such "unsanitary practices" under control. The result is new changes in the facade of the city.

First, is is necessary to clean up the streets and shape the outlook of the city. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our city has spent five winters and springs in a row pressing foward with the task of cleaning up the streets and reshaping the outlook of the city. At present, garbage can be basically cleaned up and carted away on a daily basis; unauthorized installations on 24 main streets have been completely dismantled and removed; some 669 capital construction sites have been consolidated as an initial step in the direction of reversing the chaotic trend of "making a shambles of an entire street as a result of the construction of a single building."

Second, vigorous efforts have been made to build latrines, relocate night soil storage sites, and eradicate flies at their breeding grounds. We have spent the past 4 years building, overhauling and remodeling 84 public latrines and 1,080 private latrines for residents. Efforts have been made to control the breeding and spawning of flies in more than 13,000 places. By last May, 60 percent of latrines were overhauled to meet the required standards, thus curtailing the breeding of flies. The five night soil storage sites in the city were supposed to be the most serious cause of pollution resulting in the increase in the number of flies. In an effort to solve this over 20-year-old "difficult" problem, we appropriated 1 million yuan in special assistance to the project designed to move these night soil storage sites (covering more than 81,000 square meters of land) out of the city, a project which was completed last May.

Third, the construction of roads and water drainage systems has been accelerated. From 1977 to 1981, the proportion of asphalt roads in the highway system increased by 202,444 square meters from 30.2 percent to 53.5 percent; the water drainage pipeline rose from 333 to 407 kilometers; well-paved roads within the city doubled, thus changing the phenomenon characterized by flying dust on the windy day and muddy roads on the rainy day.

Moreover, based on a specific survey of movie theaters, railway stations, bus stops, scenic spots along both sides of the Sungari River, wharves, grassland, and other public places, we have taken different measures to beautify their environment and bring their unsanitary practices under control. As a result, a noticeable improvement has been made in their sanitary appearance. Additional supervisory measures have been taken to inspect and examine how food is stored, processed, transported, and marketed and other features of food production. Cleanliness standards have been set for 19 major businesses including restaurants and food processors which they must observe without fail.

Leadership Must Translate Its Determination Into Action

In the course of studying and implementing the series of instructions on building a spiritual civilization issued by the party Central Committee, we have come to realize that doing a good job of cleaning up the city and improving its environmental sanitation will herald a breakthrough in the building of our spiritual civilization. It is part of a major policy for the development of socialist modern cities, a task of prime importance to the improvement of living and working conditions for the masses, and an important regular duty to be discahrged by party and government organizations at various levels. Aware of this, we can act more consciously and pay greater attention to the efficiency of work. In the course of action, we must focus attention on the following four points:

First, responsibilities must be clearly defined and everything must be well planned and programmed. Each year, the municipal party committee and government are required to clearly define responsibilities and organize forces from all sectors of the economy to guarantee their implementation in an effort to improve the urban environmental sanitation. To this end, we have included a fundamental measure for sanitary improvements in the city's national economic plan, and have backed it up with a mobilization of necessary manpower, material and financial resources that can be used to help the city improve its sanitary outlook year after year. This year, in response to the demands of the "five stresses and four points of beauty" activity, we have ordered departments concerned with public health to conduct a conscientious investigation and study of problems concerning the improvement of sanitation in the city of Harbin, which has led us to identify major problems that still exist, and to work out a clearly defined and detailed plan for controlling the "unsanitary practices." Thanks to more than 6 months of efforts, this plan has been basically realized and has produced good results.

Second, decisions on major issues need to be made promptly. The standing committee of the municipal party committee and the conference of the office of the mayor have scheduled regular and special meetings to discuss patriotic health work. In the first half of this year, seven meetings were held to discuss this work, at each of which, decisions on problems of major concern were adopted and their solution was promptly sought (including problems concerning the removal of the night soil storage sites, the eviction of those units which occupied the Cultural Park without authorization, the development of the Sun Island scenery, and the garbage removal and cleanup). Members of the standing committee of the municipal party committee and deputy mayors of Harbin have made an active commitment to the implementation of the patriotic health work in conjunction with other assigned responsibilities.

Third, leading comrades must take the initiative to overcome difficulties. Leaders msut get personally involved in seeking solution to some "long-standing difficult problems" that have remained unsolved for years, and must persist in doing so until they are effectively solved one after another. For example, not long ago, Comrade Wang Zhao [3768 6857], secretary of the provincial party committee, and second secretary of the municipal party committee, has found an initial answer to the long-unsettled problem caused by failure to control traffic aggravated by unsanitary practices in front of the Sanguoshu railway station, as soon as he moved his office there and worked out a solution in coordination with the concerned units. The Cultural Park scenic tourist site is a interest in our city. Since the beginning of 1965, its ecological environment has suffered damage after more than 500 enterprises continued to set up retail stores which totaled 81 at last count. This year, a decision has been adopted by the municipal government to order the occupying units to move out of the park not later than a seceduled date, and repeated efforts have been made to urge them to comply with this order through investigations. Following more than 2 months of efforts, the 81 retail stores have begun to move their merchandise in large quantities out of the park while 78 of them have begun to dismantle their structures. The remainder have promised to do the same in the near future.

Fourth, cadres must play a leading and exemplary role in this field. Since the beginning of this year, leading comrades at central and provincial levels have taken the lead in carrying out the health and clean-up activities, and leadin cadres in our city have followed suit by taking an active part in such activities. Comrade Li Lian [2621 0500 1344], second secretary of the provincial party committee and first secretary of the municipal party committee, who arrived in Harbin to assume his new positions not long ago, has braved frigid weather to join the cleaning workers in carting garbage away from the downtown. Two of these workers have since become his friends. During the spring festival, he invited them to his home to be his houseguests. Upon hearing him praise them as the "master beauticians of the urban environment," the two cleaning workers said cheerfully: "We welcom another new worker who joins us!" By taking the lead in doing work solidly, leading cadres have inspired cadres at all levels and the masses to accelerate the development of the urban patriotic health work.

The Masses Must Be Relied Upon To Promote the Health Work

For years, we have carried forward the tradition of fully mobilizing the masses to promote the patriotic health movement. In this connection, we have focused attention on promoting the following tasks:

First, we must give full play to the role of party and CYL organizations at all levels and mass organizations in this direction. We have focused attention on guiding CYL members to build a spiritual civilization and foster communist morality in conjunction with their practical action to control unsanitary practices and to bring order out of chaos, and on making them models in promoting clean habits and health work. So far, CYL organizations at all levels throughout the city have carried out more than 8,800 hygienic clean-up activities in which a total of 2.5 million persons participated, and built more than 5,200 youth-supervised modern public health service stations. The municipal trade union has cooperated with concerned departments in developing a campaign to evaluate performances by cleaning workers and advanced convoys in connection with the street health propaganda campaign organized by various health departments and carried out by more than 10,000 medical workers. Such activities have proved instrumental in stimulating the enthusiasm of the broad masses for promoting the patriotic health campaign.

Second, in every different season, hygiene activities are carried out on a crash basis. In light of the weather condition in our city, four citywide clean-up activities are undertaken on a crash basis a year. Before "1 May," the campaign is mainly to remove snow and garbage accumulated during winter until they are completely carted away from the downtown. When the weather becomes warmer that usually comes after "1 May," the campaign focuses on promoting indoor and outdoor cleaning efforts, planting trees, cultivating flowers, covering the environment with green grass and beautifying the city. When the summer comes, we concentrate our efforts on eliminating flies, and promoting the sanitary handling of food. Before the end of the year, indoor and outdoor clean-up activities are repeated in order to greet the arrival of the new year and spring festival with clean environs. Following years of adherence to this approach to the development of the health work on a crash basis in four different seasons has proved effective in concentrating forces on solving prominent health hazard problems faced by the city; it is a good method well-timed to meet the needs of the people and designed for the masses to promote the health work.

Third, the development of the hygienic emulation, examination and evaluation campaign must take diverse forms. Based on the actual circumstances, people in "two vast areas" (meaning borders between seven different administrative districts and between different suburban districts) and workers on five fronts (namely, industrial and communications, financial and trade, urban construction, cultural and educational, and agricultural fronts) have been organized to compete for the honor of Mobile Red Flag in the name of public health. This citywide health evaluation and examination campaign is launched twice a year, and its results will subsequently be made known to the public through newspapers and radio stations along with points scored by various

contestants. Those units with excellent performances on the health front would receive Mobile Red Flags, those with poor performances would be publicly criticized, and requested to improve themsleves before the expiration of an officially scheduled date, and thos with serious problems would be fined. At year's end, health work will be summed up and awards will be presented. Since the beginning of last year, the masses have been organized to vote for what they considered the "most health-conscious neighborhood" and the "best movie theater." Besides, we have joined Shenyang and Changchun in mounting friendship campaigns for the three sister cities to emulate one after another on health work. During the past 4 years, some 260 Red Glaf winners and advanced health units have been selected and made known along with 3 advanced departments and 2 advanced districts. We have also joined 12 cities in the province in evaluating health work in a competitive spirit. As a result of this evaluation and emulation activity, advanced units have continued to come to the fore, many backward units have changed their health outlook one after another, and various other units have extensively raised their hygienic levels.

"Four Initiatives and One Cooperation" Activity Proves Effective in Spuring the Development of the Fundamental Health Program

In the course of developing the massive health clean-up work, we have stepped up the development of the long-term urban health work in accordance with the principle of "controlling health hazard practices both on a long-term and crash basis while giving prior consideration to projects designed to solve health hazard problems once and for all." A decision has also been made by the government to appropriate funds for the purpose of building the water drainage systems, roads and latrines every year. To overcome difficulties in raising enough funds for this purpose, we have mobilized various social forces, and counted on the support of various units in terms of financial and material resources and manpower and countless other means to promote the development of the health program designed to solve the problem once and for all, in accordance with the provincial party committee's instruction on "four initiatives and one cooperation" (calling on every unit to sweep and remove snow, plant trees, build water drainage systems, and rebuild roads in its area, and all others which benefit from this approach to raise funds for this purpose).

First, financially sound units have been mobilized to rely on their own efforts to promote the development of the health work in their environs and family residential zones. The northeast light alloy processing plant has spent the past several years planting and growing more than 80,000 trees, covering more than 120,000 square meters of land with green grass, building nurseries, covering more than 2,000 square meters of land with flowers, rebuilding old roads and paving new ones through more than 70,000 square meters of land, and converting nearly 6 hectares of land into 2 plant nursery plots. It has scored initial success in building the "Dongqing Park" which consists of fountains and ponds, artificial mountains, and seating for tourists.

Second, units which have benefited from the public health program have been organized to raise funds as part of a joint effort to finance the construction of facilities designed to solve the health problem once and for all. There are some long-term health promotion projects which urgently need to be built but are still beyond the government's financial ability to do so. To seek a prompt answer to this problem, we have worked out a strategy calling for a joint effort by concerned units to raise funds coupled with appropriate financial assistance extended by the government. By following this approach, we have solved a number of "long-standing difficult problems." In 1981, roads totaling more than 200,000 square meters of land, 27 kilometers of the water drainage pipeline, and some 5,000 meters of pipeline carrying drinking water were built with funds raised by our city in this way. In the past, the roads under the jurisdiction of the Dazhai administrative office of the Taiping District were unpaved, and the water drainage systems were unavailable. The masses there had difficulty in obtaining drinking water, in finding outlets for contaminated water, in building paved roads and latrines. During the past several years, some 20 sewage drainage systems have been laid, 21 asphalt roads have been built or repaired, 236 iron pellet-filled roads have been laid, 54 latrines have been overhauled, and pipeline has been installed to bring water to more than 500 homes. Now it can be said that the problem caused by the "four difficulties" has been solved.

Practice proves that the realization of the "four initiatives and one cooperation" reflects a strong desire of the people throughout the city to improve hygiene and clean-up with the self-reliant spirit. This means that only by mobilizing all positive factors and all available social forces in a way that takes into account actual local conditions can we speed up the development of projects designed to solve the urban health problem once and for all.

9574
CSO: 8111/1716

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PRESENT STATE OF SCHOOLS OF HIGHER LEARNING DISCUSSED

Beijing LIAOWANG in Chinese No 5, 20 May 82 p 24

[Article: "The Present State of Higher Learning Institutes in Our Country"]

[Text] The institutes of higher learning are the main bases for fostering talented persons. Our institutes of higher learning have gained a great development in recent years.

Our country had 704 institutes of higher learning in 1981. Among them 518 were universities and colleges and 186 were training schools, an increase of 270 over 1965 and an increase of 29 over 1980. Of the institutes of higher learning, 32 were universities, 207 industrial colleges, 55 agricultural colleges, 10 forestry colleges, 112 medical colleges, 186 teachers' colleges, 10 language colleges, 36 financial and economic colleges, 7 political science and law colleges, 12 physical culture colleges, 27 art colleges, and 10 colleges for nationalities.

In the same year, the number of students attending regular and special courses at institutes of higher learning totaled 1,279,500, an increase of 89.7 percent or 135,800 over 1980. Of these students, those attending regular courses accounted for 82.9 percent, numbering more than 1.06 million; those attending special courses accounted for 17.1 percent, numbering more than 218,000. Nationwide, the number of college students averaged 12 per 10,000 people, a 1.4 percent increase over 1980. The proportion of college students to the national population was too small.

In the same year, the number of teaching and administrative personnel at institutes of higher learning was 666,300 nationwide, an increase of 100 percent, numbering 333,700, over 1965 and an increase of 5.4 percent, numbering 34,400, over 1980. Among them, there were 249,900 full-time teachers, accounting for 37.5 percent of total number of teaching and administrative personnel and representing an increase of 80.9 percent, numbering 111,800, over 1965, or an increase of 1.2 percent, numbering 3,000, over 1980.

Of the full-time teachers at institutes of higher learning, 4,200 were professors, accounting for 1.7 percent of total, and 19,700 were associate professors, accounting for 7.9 percent, 118,300 were lecturers, accounting for 47.3 percent of total, 46,300 were teachers or 18.5 percent of total, 61,400

were assistants of faculty or 24.6 percent of total. The composition of the contingents of teachers was not rational enough, the number of professors and associate professors being too small.

Among the contingents of teaching and administrative staff at institutes of higher learning, auxiliary teaching staff accounted for 8.3 percent, numbering 55,200, administrative personnel 16.3 percent, numbering 108,700; personnel doing regular odd jobs accounted for 19.7 percent, numbering 131,000; the number of scientific research personnel accounted for 2.5 percent, numbering 16,800; the staff of school factories and farms accounted for 9.8 percent, numbering 65,600; the number of personnel of other subsidiary sections accounted for 5.9 percent, numbering 39,100. The number of nonteaching personnel is too large, while the number of scientific research personnel is too small.

The above-mentioned facts tell us that our country's institutes of higher learning have grown to a definite size but are still quite incompatible with the position and needs of our large country of 1 billion people.

9780
CSO: 4005/1036

MAO ZEDONG'S CONSTITUTION THOUGHT REVIEWED

Hong Kong MING PAO YUE KAN [MING PAO MONTHLY] in Chinese No 5, 1982
pp 69-71

[Article by Jin Sikai [6855 1835 1956]: "Mao Zedong's Constitution Thought"]

[Text] Since the anti-rightist campaign of 1957, people have thought that there was no constitution in Mao Zedong Thought. Actually, Mao Zedong gave an earnest speech"On the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China" at the 30th Session of the People's Central Government Committee on 14 June 1954 and on 15 September 1954 in the opening speech at the 1st Session of the National People's Congress he emphasized that drafting a constitution was the important task of that session. So why did he later disregard the constitution? To explain this contradictory behavior, it is necessary to clarify Mao Zedong's thoughts on a constitution. Although his constitution thought has a few errors which do not conform to actual circumstances, it has its consistent logic.

Mao Zedong's constitution thought is grounded in dialectical and historical materialism and recognizes that a constitution has its class nature and can grow; thus the important structural part of his constitution--freedom and democracy--also embodies the spirit of this philosophy.

I. Philosophical Foundations

Dialectical materialism holds that inherent in anything is a contradictory struggle which propels the motion development of the thing according to its natural laws; people understand this natural law and take and apply it; whether this understanding is correct or not must be tested in practice. Thus, also it is with human society. The struggle of class contradictions propels society's developmental laws and its motion development and people understand that the laws of social development, carry out class struggle and do their utmost for the communist revolution which develops from this. This law of social development develops from primitive communal society, slaveowning society, feudal society, and capitalist society towards socialist society and communist society.

Societies are different, which is to say, their ownership of the basic means of production is different. Apart from the basic means, there is also the ownership of the non-basic means of production. For example, in pre-1949 China mainland, feudal ownership of the means of production was the basic one, but in addition there were slaveowning and capitalist ownership of the means of production. The composite of these kinds of ownership of the means of production was called the economic base and on top of the economic base there was a superstructure; which reflected the economic base and at the same time played a role in strengthening the economic base.

The superstructure is the political and legal system and the social ideology which corresponds to it. The constitution is fundamental law and it is a structural part of the superstructure. In Mao Zedong's view, "law is the ideology of the nation which the ruling class publicly implements with armed coercion. The law, like the state (machinery) is a tool to guarantee certain interests of the ruling class." The constitution is naturally a tool of the ruling class, too, and has a class nature.

The dialectical method stresses the motion development of things and the constitution which reflects the economic base is also motion developed. Of course, Western law is also constantly revised, but the motion development of a Marxist constitution indicates that the constitution changes and developes on the basis of the laws of social development. The Chinese Communist Party carried out the revolution in accordance with the laws of social development advancing from the new democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. In the period of the new democratic revolution, it was natural to deny the constitution of the national government and after the victory of the new democratic revolution a constitution was drafted which conformed to the economic base of new democracy, i.e., the constitution passed in September 1954. We said above that Mao Zedong was in earnest about this constitution, but after the announcement in 1956 that the socialist transformation was basically completed, it was necessary to reformulate the constitution which was suited to the economic base of new democracy. In 1967 Mao Zedong said, "All corrupt ideology and other unsuitable parts of the superstructure are crumbling day by day." The "other unsuitable parts of the superstructure" included the September 1954 constitution.

In January 1975 the Chinese Communist Party rewrote a constitution suited to the socialist economic base. In his Report of the Revision of the Constitution, Zhang Chunqiao said "Since 1954 China's politics, economy culture and international relations have undergone great changes. Its content is no longer applicable today. To summarize our new experience, to strengthen our new victory, to reflect our people's common wish to uphold continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the important task of this revision of the constitution."

From this it is clear that the distinguishing feature of Mao Zedong's constitution thought, from a philosophical level, is its class nature and ability to grow; these two features are also embodied in the important structural parts of the constitution--freedom and democracy.

II. Freedom and Democracy

Mao Zedong's knowledge is based on the recognition by dialectical materialism that freedom is the necessary development of the natural law of things and his practice is based on this. In "Anti-Duhring," Engels held, on the basis of Hegel's argument that "Freedom is understanding necessity. Necessity is only reckless when it is not understood. Freedom is not made independent apart from natural laws in the imagination but in understanding these laws it is possible to make natural laws serve a certain goal in a planned way." Mao Zedong criticized this argument: "Engels said we go from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom, that freedom is understanding necessity. But this is not complete, he said only hald and did not go on, only by understanding can there be freedom? Freedom is the understanding of necessity and the transformation of necessity. There is also work...before there can be freedom...only if the understanding of necessity is wrong should there be transformation."

Applying the above concept of freedom to society, then freedom is the understanding of the necessary development of the laws of social development and revolutionary practice on this basis; if one does not understand the necessary development of the laws of social development and tries to obstruct them, then that is counterrevolution and there is no freedom. Therefore, the Chinese Communist Party's constitution provides for various articles of freedom to the extent possible, but there are still many villains who must be controlled and reformed through labor.

From this it can be seen that people who have freedom have democracy; counterrevolution has no freedom and is an enemy to which we dictate. That is, "Implement democracy among the people, implement dictatorship toward the enemies of the people; these two are inseparable. Combining the two is the dictatorhip of the proletariat or people's democratic dictatorship."

This democratic dictatorship not only has its class nature, but it also has the ability to develop. This can be seen from the people component. Mao Zedong said "What is the people and what is the enemy? The concept of people has different meanings in different countries and in different historical periods in countries. In terms of China's situation, during the antiJapanese war all anti-Japanese classes, strata, and social organizations were part of the people and Japanese imperialism, traitors, and appeasers were enemies of the people. During the period of the liberation war American imperialism and its running dogs, i.e., bureaucratic capitalists, the landlord class, and the KMT reactionaries who represented these classes were enemies of the people; all classes, strata and social organizations who opposed these enemies were part of the people. At the present stage, the period of building socialism, all classes, strata, and social organizations which approve of, support and participate in socialist construction are part of the people; all social forces and social organizations which oppose the socialist revolution and are hostile to and damage socialist construction are enemies of the people."

From the developmental nature of the definition of the people and the enemy one can see that the people in one period can become the enemy in the next stage. For example, the national bourgeoisie of the anti-Japanese war period were the people and if during the period of the war of liberation the capitalists in the national bourgeoisie supported the KMT reactionaries they became enemies. Or again, a capitalist in the period of the war of liberation was among the people, but by the period of socialist transformation he became an object of revolution. Although the CCP carried out the socialist transformation by peaceful methods of redemption, the above passages from Mao Zedong did not mention the people and enemies of this period, but in the situation of theory and practice the object of revolution in this period was the national bourgeoisie.

There are many forms of ownership of the means of production in the advance from socialism to communism, for example, agricultural cooperatives are socialist and people's communes are also socialist. Peng Dehuai supported agricultural cooperatives, but said that people's communes "were done early" so this was called "right opportunism," later changed to "Chinese revisionism." Thus, although in his talk On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People Mao Zedong considered taking mainly the socialist road "the standard for distinguishing fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds," in "On New Democracy" he also said "people's government is one which guards the people" and these views were completely destroyed by practice of class nature and the ability to grow.

The target of revolution in the great Cultural Revolution was the"person in authority taking the capitalist road" and this is based on the ability to grow. Mao Zedong said, "During the democratic revolution these people actively participated in opposing the three great mountains, but after the country was liberated they did not approve as much of opposing the bourgeoisie; they actively approved and participated when overthrowing local tyrants and distributing the land, but after the country was liberated they did not approve as much when implementing collectivization in agriculture. He (they) did not take the socialist road, he (they) are now in power again, so can't we call [him (them)] the person(s) in authority taking the capitalist road?"

Quite clearly Mao Zedong used this development of freedom and democracy to force people to support his view of continuing revolution. Thus he also said, "This thing, democracy, sometimes seems to be the goal, but actually it is only a technique. Marxism tells us that democracy belongs to the superstructure, to the scope of politics. That is to say, in the final analysis, it serves the economic base and freedom is also like this." "Using a fundamental law form like the constitution to strengthen people's democracy and socialist principles gives the people a clear track and makes the people feel there is a clear, distinct and correct path to follow, so it can raise the initiative of all the people."

This view of freedom and democracy is a basic structural part of Mao Zedong constitution thought.

III. Places Which Can Be Debated

Seen from the perspective of the above two sections, from philosophy to theory and its implementation, Mao Zedong's constitution thought has a strict logic, and seems to be unassailable, but in actuality this is not entirely so. Because dialectical materialism and historical materialism do not just rely on logic, what is more important is matter, i.e., it is necessary to combine it with China's actuality.

The goal of the new democratic revolution led by Mao Zedong was to oppose the three great mountains of feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism, most importantly feudalism. In Western European antifeudalism not only destroyed the feudal economic base, but also strengthened man's right to change the feudal system which centered on personal dependence and at the same time restricted the rulers which the theory of contract which developed into the capitalist constitution on the basis of this. Marx's study of capitalist society stresses overthrowing the bourgeoisie by class struggle and pushing society toward socialism and communism. But the Communist Party opposed Russian and Chinese fuedalism with Marxism, and after seizing power jumped over capitalism, recognizing that they could push on toward communism through socialist construction. In this way, the scorned capitalist human rights and denied the theory of contracts, and let the feudal system which centered on human dependence subtly shift to a society ruled by the Communist Party.

Mao Zedong said, "What are 'inherent human rights'? Are not they 'human granted' 'human rights.'" "Our rights are granted by the common people, first of all by the working class and the poor lower and middle class peasants." Thus in his constitution thought there is no contractual concept of protecting "human rights," and he also emphasizes "the state machinery of the army, police and courts are tools for class to oppress class. For the class opposed they are instruments of oppression, and its violence is not something which is in any way 'benevolent.'"

This dictatorship which scorns human rights and denies the theory of contracts in reality carries on the feudal system which is centered on human dependence; as for the constitution of the People's Republic of China which embodies Mao Zedong's constitution thought, it is only an overcoat decorated with modern class colors.

Let me ask, if, on the basis of the above described situation and combined with actuality, human rights thinking and contract theory were put into the constitution, wouldn't this run counter to dialectical materialism and historical materialism? Actually, this is not so, because through class struggle, the Chinese Communist Party made China go from a feudal society to a new democratic society and probably after 4 years will go from socialist transformation to a socialist society. But in view of the above, it still contains a little of the feudal system, so the mission of the new democratic revolution to oppose feudalism is not yet complete. At the same time, the rural areas are now changing to a production responsibility system which transfers the production guarantees to the household and it is said that the

people's communes might also be eliminated; factories are implementing economic responsibility systems. The new government is emphasizing responsibility which means that socialism makes people irresponsible, and the new democratic transition to socialism has been too fast. European capitalism has been in existence for at least 300 years and still has not entered the socialist stage, so why should China's new democracy take only 4 years?

From feudal society to new democratic society and then from new democratic society on to socialist society has all been through the struggle of class contradiction. According to the dialectical method, the process of struggle of class contradiction should go from gradual quantitative change to sharp qualitative change. China's feudal society has existed for 2,000 years and these 2,000 years have all been in quantitative change, but the qualitative changes were only in the last few decades. New democratic society can change into socialist society, so why is there no quantiative change? It seems that Mao Zedong closely followed Lenin's view that the stage of socialism could be reached without going through the capitalist stage, and veiws the quantitative change of new democratic society as qualitative change. To use a colloquialism, new democratic society still has a long way to go, the transition to socialist society discussed in the previous section is a development forced by subjective purpose divorced from objective reality and runs counter to materialism. As for including human rights and the spirit of contract theory in the constitution to oppose the fuedal system which exists in actuality thus conforms to dialectical materialism and historical materialism.

A RENMIN RIBAO editorial on 1 October of last year emphasized, "We should think of questions our forerunners did not dare to think and dare to do things our forrunners did not dare to do." Now is an excellent time to make good on that!

8226
CSO: 4005/984

JOURNAL ON HONG KONG EDITOR'S DISAPPEARANCE IN PRC

HK030400 Hong Kong CHISHIH NIENTAI in Chinese No 152, Sep 82 pp 56-58

[Special contribution by Shih Hua [2457 5478]: "The Person Lo Fu and His Disappearance"]

[Excerpts] Lo Fu, also known as Luo Chengxun, was a deputy editor-in-chief and editor-in-chief, respectively, of TA KUNG PAO and HSIN WAN PAO, both well-known leftist papers in Hong Kong. He was a member of the CPPCC and the Hong Kong representative of the National Writers' Congress. He had been a resident of Hong Kong for 30 years. He was a well-known figure among Hong Kong leftists. In Hong Kong, he mixed with both leftists and rightists in journalistic and literary and art circles. Many people in literary and art circles on the mainland of China and abroad also had contacts with him.

Something Wrong Confirmed in Mid-July

In early May this year, Lo Fu and his family were traveling in Guangzhou. Lo was suddenly told to leave alone for Beijing. It turned out that he never returned. No news was heard about him. By the end of May, his wife Wu Xiusheng (who was an editor of a WEN WEI PO supplement) had received only a slip of paper from him bearing the words: "I am all right. Please don't worry!" The newspaper for its part had all along heard nothing from him. This was uncharacteristic of Lo Fu. In ordinary times, no matter whether he was traveling or attending a conference, he always kept in contact with Hong Kong calling long distance, sending letters or contributing articles. His wife, his colleagues and some of his friends inquired of the responsible persons of the XINHUA News Agency. The reply was always: "He would return soon!" In mid-June, the bi-monthly PAI HSING of Hong Kong first reported that he had disappeared and that something might have happened to him. Some people inquired of the Chinese communist officials in Hong Kong. The answer was that he would return before 1 July. But after 1 July, still nothing was heard from him. By the middle of July, the story leaked out from the staff of TA KUNG PAO who were in the know that Lo Fu was detained in the interior on charges of "violating party discipline and state laws" and would not return to Hong Kong. It was also pointed out that his problem had "nothing to do with newspaper editing" and "nothing to do with his making friends with the Chinese." Meanwhile the administration office of TA KUNG PAO and the editorial office of HSIN WAN PAO held a meeting. Apart from charging Lo Fu with serious political mistakes, the meeting attacked Lo's work style, and so forth. A person surnamed Li was named the acting editor-in-chief.

After the news broke, some columnists in Hong Kong, such as Miao Yu, Hu Chu-jen and Tai Tien, continued writing articles commenting on the subject. These articles were published in non-leftist newspapers. They mostly praised Lo Fu's moral conduct, his writings and his cultural training. Some also exposed certain secrets about this incident. According to Miao Yu, Lo Fu was charged with "illegal activities," because he discussed with a foreigner his collection of three well-known paintings drawn by Huang Binhong. This foreigner was considered someone connected to a foreign intelligence organ. Actually, Lo Fu was being denounced and attacked by factionists in the country. Another article revealed that Lo was being dealt with as a spy and had been "relieved of his party membership." Since he was a veteran party member, he of course knew much about the party's secrets. Expelled from the party, he of course was not allowed to return to Hong Kong.

On the other hand, based on what was leaked by TA KUNG PAO, some people have summed up (or guessed) the concrete details of the story: Lo Fu got into trouble because he was found out by the Chinese communists to have made a certain "deal with the people of a U.S. intelligence department."

It was learned that Lo Fu had been in contact with certain people at the American Consulate General. He was also invited by the USIS to visit the United States between May and June this year. But these activities were open secrets. His intended trip to the United States was definitely approved by the Hong Kong branch of the XINHUA News Agency. Therefore, if anything was wrong, it should not be related to these social activities.

During this period, many rumors circulated in leftist news circles and among Lo Fu's friends. One of the rumors was that a foreigner had bought Lo Fu's collection of paintings, paying a price higher than their actual market value. In his contact with this person, Lo Fu talked much about what should be "kept secret" according to the Chinese communist rule of discipline. Another rumor was that in recent years, Lo Fu had bought housing in Britain and also a villa in Hong Kong. His sons and daughters were also sent to study abroad. How could he afford the high tuition fees in Britain and the United States? However, some people said that the rumor about his having bought housing had not been confirmed. He did have a villa in Clearwater Bay where he often entertained his friends. But that was owned by his daughter-in-law's relatives. Still another rumor was that the trouble with him basically had nothing to do with "economic crimes." As a veteran Communist Party member with several decades' work experience in Hong Kong, he knew well what could or could not be done. His case was chiefly one where "the gods fight so that the mortals are involved." The "gods" refer to cadres at the central level. Where there is struggle at the central level, those "mortals" (actually already not "mortals") close to the "gods" are often made the scapegoats. According to such logic, when the dust has settled down in the upper-level struggle, it seems that Lo Fu may still return to work in Hong Kong, unscathed. However, such an assertion actually is not made on any sound basis. What is most credible is the revelation by the newspaper about "having nothing to do with his making friends with the Chinese." This actually means that he "ran afoul of party discipline and state laws" in his socializing with foreigners.

Lo Fu's wife Wu Xiusheng has not worked at WEN WEI PAO since early July. Later, she requested that she be allowed to go to the interior to see Lo Fu. The party concerned at first agreed to make arrangements for her trip but later again advised her to temporarily give up the idea. In early August, she was told that the trip was entirely her own affair, and she could decide herself whether to go or not. This meant that the relevant Chinese communists stationed in Hong Kong would no longer hold themselves responsible for this matter, or that the matter had exceeded the province of authority, as far as those people in Hong Kong were concerned.

No official announcement may ever be made about Lo Fu's case. It is feared that he will never see his friends in Hong Kong again. However, this matter has cast dark shadows on the Chinese communists' work abroad. 1) As a veteran intellectual admitted to the Chinese Communist Party, Lo Fu showed unswerving loyalty to the Chinese communists--loyalty that had never been doubted by the Chinese communists leaders here, by his colleagues at the newspaper office or even his friends outside. Some people were dissatisfied with him just because he was overdoing it in "following the party," or because of his work style. Many people would hardly believe it that he would be the type of person to become a turncoat. 2) In the Chinese Communist Party, Lo Fu was not doing secret work. Instead, he worked openly and was a public figure. He was well known, especially in journalistic and cultural circles. His actual social standing was quite high. If he is now gone forever, with nothing heard about him, people in leftist organs will inevitably feel greatly discouraged. Intellectuals abroad would also have more doubts about the Chinese communists. It is feared that little could be done in a short period of time to make up for the dent made in the confidence of the part of people in leftist organs, and the damage done to the Chinese communists' image, as far as outsiders are concerned. 3) Lo Fu was undoubtedly the mainstay of the Chinese communists' united front work concerning intellectuals in Hong Kong. After this incident, it will be very difficult to keep in touch with some of the original targets of united front work in the future (many of them having only personal friendship with Lo Fu). Also, as far as future work is concerned, it would be difficult to find in a short period of time a person as skilled in handling intellecturals as Lo Fu.

Therefore, it suddenly occurs to the writer that if Lo Fu had really sold information, then it must be the one "buying information" who reported the matter to the Chinese communists. This is because it is inconceivable that a person like Lo Fu would know any state secrets from high circles. Moreoever, such counter espionage has exactly served to deal a heavy blow to the Chinese communists' united front work abroad.

The only way for the Chinese communists to dispell the dark shadow over this matter it to, as quickly as possible, make public the truth. Moreover, the best of all solutions is to give Lo Fu a fair and open trial in accordance with the principle "everyone is equal before the law."

CSO: 4005/1292

CHENG MING'S VERSION OF 'HSIN WAN PAO' HIJACK REPORT

HK021333 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 59, 1 Sep 82 pp 16-17

[Report by Lo Bing [5012 0393]: "Inside Story on HSIN WAN PAO'S report on the Second Hijack"]

[Text] The "Hijack Shock" of HSIN WAN PAO

"...Recently, disturbances have repeatedly arisen from the local HSIN WAN PAO. First, it was shocked by the Lo Fu incident; then, came the hijack shock.

I expect you have heard quite a lot about the Lo Fu incident. Some of the Hong Kong newspapers said he was involved in leaking secrets abroad; while others said he had committed economic crimes; still others said that this case was of both a political and economic nature. Though reports varied, details of this case have become clearer and clearer. I seldom contacted Lo Fu, but we were on good terms, because he was a benign person who impressed me favorably. How could I expect him to meet with such a tragic lot! It was said that his pay had been suspended and that he would not come back to Hong Kong within the foreseeable future. This incident has shocked not only HSIN WAN PAO but also the entire Hong Kong journalistic circle.

On 30 July, HSIN WAN PAO published the following exclusive report: "This paper received a piece of information this morning: At 9 a.m., a chartered "Viscount" airplane for tourists, from Shanghai to Beijing was hijacked by scoundrels when it flew over Wuxi. After a fight, the scoundrels were overpowered. Another hijack scheme was thus smashed. The plane touched down at Nanjing airport at 11:51 a.m." This report, immediately after the previous one on 25 July that a plane from Xian to Shanghai was hijacked, created a furor, because HSIN WAN PAO was told exclusively through a trunk call. But on the same day, this report was denied by the Beijing authorities who said that no hijack incident had happened on the air route from Shanghai to Beijing. That was the first time that a report by a communist paper was denied by the communist authorites. The bourgeois news point was to blame for causing this trouble. The paper thus got another shock. However, it did not publish a correction announcement. This made people suspect that the incident had really occurred. Can you find out the truth of this mystery and clarify the background of this report?...

This letter from Hong Kong posed a difficult question for me. Of course, as a reporter, I am ready to accept this or that challenge.

Since the report said that it was a tourist chartered plane which belonged to the civil aviaiton system, I went to make inquiries in the civil aviation bureaus both in Shanghai and in Beijing. But both bureaus said that no incident had happened on the line between them. After busily running about for 2 days and trying to clear up this case through several different channels, I still got no results. On the third day, I happened to meet a friend who worked in a foreign relations department. He told me that he would be going abroad the next day. When we chatted about some foreign affairs, he disclosed some information about the hijack on the air line from Shanghai to Beijing. The truth of this case was thus found out by chance after a hard journey.

The story goes like this:

In late July, a Ugandan military delegation led by Major General Tito Okello, the commander of the Ugandan National Liberation Army, came to visit China. On 26 July, Geng Biao met this delegation in Beijing and Yang Dezhi gave a ganquet in honor of this delegation that evening. On 29 July, the delegation attended a banquet held by Wang Jingkun, the commander of the Shanghai PLA garrison. On 30 July, the delegation left Shanghai. On 31 July, General Okello attended a reception held in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing to celebrate the anniversary of the founding of the PLA. In this period, the Uganda delegation flew to and fro between Beijing and Shanghai on a military plane, not a civil plane. In order to guarantee their security, when the military plane flew from Beijing to Shanghai, the Chinese military authorities sent a head of the security section and another security guard to escort the delegation on the same plane. It was on this very military plane that the hijack incident happened.

Who Was the Hijacker?

Who was the hijacker?

He was none other than that security guard.

At that time, the plane was flying above Jiangsu Province. The security guard abruptly burst into the cockpit and pointed a gun at the pilot's head: "Don't move, listen to my order!..."

"Don't make jokes," the pilot said.

"This is no joke. I'll shoot you if you don't obey my order."

At this moment, the pilot was aware that this guy really meant what he said. Cool-headed and unruffled, the pilot pretended to obey; then, by catching the hijacker off guard, he suddenly knocked down the hijacker's gun with his right hand and picked up a hammer with his left hand. With a heavy blow, he killed the security guard. The whole event just took several seconds.

After that, the pilot sent one of his crew to inform the security head who was in the passenger cabin and asked this cadre to keep quiet and not to disturb the Ugandan military delegation.

Therefore, the delegation felt relaxed all the way. They knew nothing of the incident in the cockpit.

I asked my friend why, since an incident did happen on the plane, the authorities still denied the report of the Hong Kong newspaper?

The friend said, the Hong Kong paper reported that the incident occurred in a civil plane--"a tourist chartered plane," which was not true. On the other hand, it is hard to say that the security guard intended to hijack the plane only based on his words--"Listen to my order...." Maybe he had other motives, say, taking revenge for something. The case is now under investigation. Furthermore, there were some other inconsistencies in the report by the Hong Kong paper.

There Was Indeed an Incident on a Plane

I think, thus far, readers can feel they know the truth initially. First, there was indeed an incident on a plane--a military plane carrying foreign guests. Second, it was very likely that the incident was a hijack, but that is not completely certain. Third, the authorities just denied a hijack on a tourist chartered plane as reported by the Hong Kong paper but did not deny the incident happened on a military plane. Fourth, HSIN WAN PAO did not make a completely groundless report, so it cannot be blamed for starting a rumor. The only problem is that the report was not too precise. As for whether a communist newspaper should try to be the first to issue this kind of report, that is quite another matter.

A series of incidents have occurred on airlines; this, of course, is not a good thing. But, since things have come out and have gradually become known by people, it would be better to make the truth known to the public, so as to show that Chinese air crews are able to smash hijack attempts and tackle other incidents. Is that not very meaningful? It is believed that this was the reason why the editors of HSIN WAN PAO published this exclusive report. In fact, there is no cause for much criticism. Recently, Beijing's newspapers published some articles like the one entitled "Aircraft Hijacking Can Never Succeed in China." It seems that propaganda of this kind is not superfluous, because the news reports by themselves can act as a deterrent.

How Were the Five Hijackers Able To Buy Air Tickets?

Of course, negligence cannot be absolutely avoided even when all preventive measures have been taken, for nothing in the world is absolute. For example, two major acts of ngeligence can be found in the hijack incident of 25 July: First, how were the hijackers able to bring weapons (including knives and explosives) onto the plane? Second, why were they able to buy tickets on the same plane together? There is such a regulation in China that letters of introduction from their unit are needed when people want to buy air tickets.

Then, how did those five hijackers get their letters of introduction? (Three of them were workers in an instrument and meter plant, the fourth was a youth waiting for employment and the fifth was a dismissed young worker.)

Some people guessed that they were children of high-ranking cadres. That is not true. It was absolutely because of the negligence of a cadre, who is a middle-aged woman of unsound mental condition, in the security section of the instrument and meter plant that the hijackers were able to get their letters of introduction. One of the would-be hijackers who worked in this plant asked the lady to give him a letter of introduction. But the woman cadre gave him quite a few sheets of blank letter paper with official seals on them. Thus, the five people, after putting their names respectively on these letters, conveniently and smoothly bought their tickets in the booking office of the Xian Civil Aviation Bureau.

Besides their deterrent role, making hijack incidents public can also arouse the attention and vigilance from the quarters concerned. To cope with hijack plots, stress should be laid on preventive measures at every stage. Wrestling on planes is very dangerous and is a last resort. Never place all hopes on this final blow!

CSO: 4005/1292 END

JPRS 81848

24 September 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 340

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81848

24 September 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 340

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

PARTY AND STATE

Constitutional Revision Gives Attention To Head of State Question
(Xu Chongde; FAXUE YANJIU [LEGAL RESEARCH], No 3, 1982) ... 1

'DAZHONG RIBAO' on Revolutionaries' Communist Spirit
(DAZHONG RIBAO, 29 Aug 82) 12

'BA YI' Criticizes Deng's Speech, Hu's Report
(BA YI, 4 Sep 82) 15

'BA YI' Raps Hu Yaobang Report To CPC Congress
(BA YI, 5 Sep 82) 17

'HUNAN RIBAO' Article on Mao's Early Patriotism
(Hunan Provincial Service, 8 Sep 82) 19

Eighth Hebei CYL Congress Concludes 27 August
(Hebei Provincial Service, 28 Aug 82) 21

Beijing Radio Article on Liao Zhongkai
(Shang Mingxuan and Wang Xuezhuang; Mandarin to Taiwan,
30, 31 Aug, 1 Sep 82) 23

Part I
Part II
Part III

'BA YI' Criticizes 12th CPC Congress Work Report
(BA YI, 1 Sep 82) 27

Eight Democratic Parties Play Positive Role
(XINHUA, 27 Aug 82) 29

Zhu Xuefang Article Praises He Xiangning
(Zhu Xuefang; RENMIN RIBAO, 26 Aug 82) 31

Hubei Discusses Political, Legal Work at Meeting
(Hubei Provincial Service, 6 Sep 82) 36

Guangxi Conference on Political, Legal Work
(Guangxi Regional Service, 5 Sep 82) 38

Anhui Progresses in Discipline Work
(Anhui Provincial Service, 31 Aug 82) 40

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Issue of 'National Heroes'
(Xiao Tang; RENMIN RIBAO, 3 Sep 82) 42

'Abnormal Phenomena' Observed at CPC Congress
(BA YI, 3 Sep 82) 44

Deng Violates CPC's Democratic Principles
(BA YI, 3 Sep 82) 45

Nationwide Discussion of Constitution Ends
(XINHUA, 5 Sep 82) 46

Need To Further Improve Party's Work Style Emphasized
(Lu Chuntian; SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [REPORT OF THE TIMES],
No 5, 1982) 48

Articles Review Policy Toward Intellectuals
(YANGCHENG WANBAO, 15 Jun 82) 52

Investigation of Intellectuals' Problems
Party Committee Corrects Wrongs

Commentary on Learning From Veteran Party Members
(NANFANG RIBAO, 27 Jun 82) 54

Cadres' Practice of Building Residences on Farmland Condemned
(Sun Xupei; RENMIN RIBAO, 2 Jul 82) 56

Comments on Biography of Tan Sitong
(Wang Junyi; RENMIN RIBAO, 6 Jul 82) 59

Outstanding People Should be Respected
(Lei Ke; RENMIN RIBAO, 8 Jul 82) 61

Peng Zhen Talks About Draft Revised Constitution
(Zeng Jianhui a6d Xu Minhe; LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST]
No 5, 1982) 63

Implementing Policy on Intellectuals Urged
(DAZHONG RIBAO, 9 Jul 82) 68

Aluminum, Electronic Calculators Plants, by Li Zhiqin, et. al.
Strong Points Utilized, by Wang Sheng
Party Admission, by Bian Qian
Scientific, Technical Personnel, by Song Jiqun
Solving Problems, by Wang Songshan and Liu Mingxin

Briefs
Henan Policy Toward Intellectuals 73
Henan Promotes Forestry 73
Hubei Industry, Communications 73
Brisk Hubei Markets 74
Hunan Crime Rate Drops 74
Hunan Political, Legal Conference 74
Hunan Party Members 74
Hunan Raw Coal Production 74

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Study of Zheng Chenggong
(Kong Dongwei and Zhang Ping; GUANGMING RIBAO, 16 Aug 82) 76

Ningxia Holds Political Legal Work Conference
(NINGXIA RIBAO, 29 Aug 82) 79

Call for Study of Socialist Society Conflicts
(Zhang Jiangmin; GUANGMING RIBAO, 21 Aug 82) 81

'GONGREN RIBAO' Discusses Equality of Sexes
(Xu Bing; GONGREN RIBAO, 25 Aug 82) 84

Hunan Works To Solve Problems in Education Work
(Hunan Provincial Service, 4 Sep 82) 87

Hunan Official Discusses Education Situation
(Hunan Provincial Service, 1 Sep 82) 88

'RENMIN RIBAO' Cites Zhou Yang Remarks
(Cong Linzhong and Meng Xiaoyun; RENMIN RIBAO, 3 Sep 82) 89

'GUANGMING RIBAO' Carries Speech on Art Criticism
(He Jingzhi; GUANGMING RIBAO, 29 Aug 82) 94

Article Urges Theory Study by Art Critics
(Chen Yong; RENMIN RIBAO, 1 Sep 82) 101

New Plays, Operas, Dramas To Open in Beijing
(XINHUA, 30 Aug 82) 107

Initial Success Said Achieved in Education
(XINHUA, 29 Aug 82) 108

PRC Celebrates Founding of Korean Prefecture
(XINHUA, 4 Sep 82) 110

Beijing To Give More Benefits for Late Marriage
(XINHUA, 7 Sep 82) 111

Women Important Force in Building Up Xizang
(XINHUA, 7 Sep 82) 112

Positive Attitude on Study of Crimes, Problems Emphasized
(Hu Heng; GUANGMING RIBAO, 19 Jun 82) 113

Hubei Deals Sternly With Students Refusing State Assignments
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 19 Jun 82) 115

Solutions Sought for Intellectuals' Practical Problems
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 18 Jun 82) 116

Briefs
Guangdong Builds Mausoleum 118

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Confession of Member of Privileged Stratum Recounted
(Li Fu; CHENG MING [CONTENDING], No 7, 1982) 119

PARTY AND STATE

CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION GIVES ATTENTION TO HEAD OF STATE QUESTION

Beijing FAXUE YANJIU [LEGAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 1982 pp 15-20

[Article by Xu Chongde [6079 1504 1795]: "On the Question of the Head of State"]

[Text] The question of the head of state is an important one in the state system; it is also one that attracts a great deal of attention in the process of revising our constitution this time. After reading the "Draft of the Revised Constitution," I feel that compared to the several constitutions of the past, there are some new changes and developments in the provisions of this Draft on the institution of our head of state. This is a rather popular revision. On this, the present article intends to provide some exposition as to the basic characteristics, essential nature, form, etc., of the head of state in conjunction with the actual situations of Chinese and foreign institutions of the head of state.

1. Basic Characteristics of the Head of State

The term applied to the head of state was found long ago in our ancient documents. For instance, in the section "Yiji, Book of History" it is written: "The Head of State was wise; his officials were good; and the affairs of the common people were well handled." Also, the section "Biography of Lang Kai, History of the Later Han Dynasty" states: "The three Dukes answer commands from above at the foot of the Throne and respond to presentations from below in apposition to the Head of State," etc. Among political theories of the West, there prevailed at one time an "organic theory of state"' actually, this kind of political idea rose far earlier in China than it did in the West. More than 2,000 years ago the Chinese already compared the ruler to man's head, that is, head of the state, and his ministers to man's limbs (assistants/officials). Just as "Memorial on Licentious Customs and Remnant Abuses, Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals" suggests: "Of man's body his head is sovereign, and his limbs are appendages." Hence, according to such recordings in our documents, the concept of head of state in our ancient times always meant the ruler. In the ancient history of Western Europe, except when forms of a republican regime appeared, generally speaking, the head of state of a slave system or a feudal system likewise meant the ruler. This concept prevails even today in certain developed countries, such as the monarchical states of Britain, Holland, Sweden and Belgium. Of course, the heads of state of these countries, compared to those of antiquity or the medieval period, have in essence already undergone very great changes. Here only some explanations about general characteristics of present-day heads of state are provided:

(1) The Head of State Pertains to the Class and Historical Category Head

The Head of State, as the top part of a structure of political power, is closely connected to the state; this head of state comes into being when a state is born. Although in primitive society there were also chieftains of tribes, they were not representatives of states separated from society; the respect people exhibited toward these tribal chieftains was free and voluntary and not secured on account of particular laws. Engels said: "The most powerful kings and dignitaries or commanding generals of the greatest countries of civilized days may envy the indisputable respect enjoyed, and not imposed by coercive means, by the most ordinary tribal chieftains." He pointed out, the "tribal chieftains stood inside society" whereas the dignitaries and commanding generals of states and kings are "things external to, and above, society."[1] Here Engels profoundly revealed the fundamental distinction between heads of state and tribal chieftains; heads of state have a class character and are the instruments of class rule, while tribal chieftains are otherwise.

Exploiter heads of state are essentially, as Engels said, "things external to, and above, society." Even in the case of the head of state of a socialist country, whose essential character is already different from that of an exploiter head of state and who has already begun to return to society, the reason the proletariat needs the state is still because of intent to suppress its own enemies; hence, the power of such a head of state still inevitably needs to be maintained by special laws. Only when we reach communist society will the head of state disappear along with the withering away of the state itself; the organizers or social leaders then will no longer have a class character and become men voluntarily respected by people.

(2) The Head of State Externally Represents the Country

In today's international community, the heads of state are the highest representatives in foreign affairs of their respective countries. Within the limits prescribed by the constitution of his own country, the head of state's political activity in which he is engaged while representing his country in foreign affairs and the speeches he delivers need not be particularly authorized. In the foreign relations of any country, there are always many necessary tasks to be performed, such as the head of state dispatching envoys to foreign countries, accepting the letters of credentials submitted by foreign envoys stationed in the country; under such circumstances, he does so not as an individual but as the symbol of the state. His acceptance of those letters of credentials imply the recognition of their bearers as the legitimate representatives dispatched by independent states. Also, in concluding treaties with foreign countries (which generally must be ratified by the legislative organ) or ratifying treaties his own government has concluded with foreign countries (if the head of state is the highest organ of power or part of it), the head of state represents the whole state when he signs them. Treaty obligations must be observed by the people of the whole country.

---

1. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4 p 168

In the territories of foreign countries, the head of state enjoys full diplomatic immunities. These immunities include: the head of state's person, the inviolability of his personal belongings and residence, freedom of communication with his own country and other countries by confidential codes and diplomatic carriers, exemption from excise tax and enjoyment of various ceremonial deferences, and non-application of the laws of the host country on him. The spouse and members of the entourage of the head of state are usually also accorded deferential treatment according to established international conventions.

(3) Exercising Powers of the Head of State According to the Constitution

The constitutions of various countries usually incorporate clear provisions on what kind of functions and powers their heads of state can exercise. Although, because concrete political systems are different, the contents of such provisions can hardly be uniform, from the actual situations of most countries we can summarize certain powers commonly exercised by a head of state and call them "powers of the head of state." Possessing powers of the head of state is one of the important characteristics of a head of state.

Powers of the head of state include the following: (i) The power to promulgate laws. The laws of all countries are enacted by their legislative organs; whether or not the head of state is a part of his country's legislative organ is by no means consistent among countries of the world; what are the procedures for passing a legislation and whether or not a head of state has the veto are also different between the countries. But once a bill of law is passed by a legislature it is promulgated by the head of state: this is quite common. Without such promulgation, a law cannot take effect. (ii) The power to issue orders. The head of state, as the country's chief, has the power to issue orders. As for the kinds of questions on which such orders can be issued and the degrees to which such orders can cover on them and the legal effects of these orders, while different countries differ from each other, they generally include the issuing of orders of appointment and removal, the issuing of orders on the application of nationwide or regional marshall law, the issuing of orders on nationwide or regional mobilization, etc. These functions and powers may be said to be common to all heads of state. (iii) The exercise of the highest power in foreign affairs. The head of state represents the country externally; he has the power to send or recall plenipotentiary envoys stationed in foreign countries; he accepts foreign envoys; he concludes or ratifies, annuls treaties and important agreements concluded with foreign countries; he declares war against, and concludes peace with, foreign countries, etc. (iv) The power to command the armed forces. According to the conventions of various countries, the head of state is the supreme chief of all troops and commands the country's armed forces. There are of course also individual exceptions, as in some countries of the world the power to command the military is no longer for the head of state to exercise. (v) Appointment and removal of high-ranking officials. The extent to which the head of state can appoint and remove high-ranking officials is different in different countries. The more general practice is for him to appoint and remove the premier of the government, members of the cabinet (high commissioners of state or ministers), ambassadors and ministers stationed in foreign countries, etc. (vi) The power to grant pardons and confer honors. The head of state may issue orders of general amnesty or special pardons and confer medals of merits and rewards as well as various honorific titles on particular units or individuals.

(4) The Status of the Head of State Is Provided in the Constitution

The head of state is different from the head of government. Although in reality in some countries, such as France, the United States, Switzerland, etc., the head of state and the head of government are one and the same, the concepts of the two are after all different. Since the head of state is the symbol and representative of the state, it is necessary to provide in the constitution clearly as to who is the country's head of state. For instance, it is provided in Article 89 of the Korean Constitution: "The Chairman of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea is the Head of State; he represents the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and state power." Also, Article 71 of the Romanian Constitution provides: "The President of the Romanian Socialist Republic is the Head of State and represents state power in the domestic and external relations of the Romanian Socialist Republic." Further, Article 87 of the Italian Constitution likewise provides: "The President of the Republic is the Head of State and represents the common unity of the country," etc. There are also countries in the world in whose constitutions the question of who is the head of state of the particular country is not clearly provided, such as the United States. But from the way the U. S. Constitution treats the status and functions and powers of the president, the president being the head of state is very clear. In another situation, such as the Japanese Constitution, which likewise fails to incorporate the provision as to who is the head of state but merely states in its Article 1: "The Emperor is the symbol of the state of Japan, the symbol of all citizens of the state of Japan"; since the term "symbol" is not very precise in its connotation and since the emperor does not enjoy the actual power of a head of state, whether or not the emperor is the head of state is therefore subject to some controversy in the academic circles of Japan. But a country like Japan should have its own head of state, that is beyond doubt. From the status of the emperor and his political activities, particularly his political influence, we can see that the emperor is a nominal ruler; it may not be inappropriate to take him as the head of state. Similarly, in a great country such as ours, it is also necessary for the constitution to take the further step to provide clearly the status of the head of state.

II. Classification of Heads of State According to Their Essence and Forms

The class essence of the head of state is consistent with the class essence of the state, this requires no further elaboration. Because of the difference in the essence of the state, the heads of state of countries in the contemporary world may be classified into the two major categories of heads of state of countries of exploitative classes and heads of state of proletarian countries. The former are the instruments of dictatorship of the exploiters; not only do the powers they exercise and their political activities invariably serve the interests of the exploitative classes, but those who serve as such heads of state themselves are also representative of the exploitative classes and some of them are directly big landowners and big capitalists. We need not mention the emperor of the Central African Empire who fell from power not long ago, Bokassa, who is decorated all over with pearls and precious stones and who indulges in cannibalism or Uganda's tyrant, Amin, who drinks human blood, even in the case

of "civilized" countries in Europe and America, the President of the United States today is himself a millionaire.[1] From the domestic and foreign policies carried out by the heads of state of the capitalist countries, we can even more readily understand their essence. In the case of the budget President Reagan recently proposed, even capitalist newspapers have criticized it as one which exempts the rich from taxation and makes the poor "suffer greatly" (words used by THE WALL STREET JOURNAL). As for the foreign policies of such heads of state, once we mention the war of aggression President Truman launched against Korea and the order he issued on the arbitrary occupation of our sacred territory Taiwan, we can also readily understand the whole story. Contrary to this, the heads of the socialist countries are the public servants of the people; they exemplarily carry out the policies of the proletariat and serve the people wholeheartedly. The head of state of the People's Republic of China belongs to this category; he is the head of state of a socialist country; this is well known to everyone.

In order to examine complicated things more carefully, apart from classifying them according to their difference in class essence, we may also further classify the heads of state in terms of their forms.

(1) From the methods of their origination, the world has inherited offices of the head of state and directly or indirectly elected heads of state.

The common characteristic of bourgeois monarchies is the succession to their thrones, by which the office of the head of state is inherited from generation to generation. Of course, there is also a difference between various methods of succession to the throne.

The heads of state of republican systems are elected, and they are generally called President. In terms of the methods of election, they may be further classified into two kinds: one is elected by parliament; to this kind belong the president of the Czechoslovak Republic, the president of the Fourth Republic of France, the president of the Singaporean Republic, and the like. The other kind is not elected by parliament; under this there are further other different conditions: a) election by ballots directly cast by voters; for instance, the President of today's Philippine Republic is directly elected by the voters; b) election indirectly by the voters; for instance, the election of the U. S. president requires that voters of various states first select "electors," and then these electors cast their votes in order to elect the president; c) election by specific group; this is a mixture of the above two modes. For instance, the president of the Fifth Republic of France before 1962 was elected by an electoral corps, and the electoral corps was made up of deputies elected by members of the National Assembly, members of the provincial assemblies, members of assemblies of overseas dependencies, and municipal assemblies.

The head of state of the People's Republic of China is elected by the National People's Congress; this is a demonstration of the principle of socialist democracy.

---

1. Consult "Biography of Reagan" published by the U. S. Political Biographic Co.

(2) Classified by Their Corporal Forms, There Are Individual Heads of State and Collective Heads of State

Individual head of state is an office served by an individual, but this by no means excludes deputy office(s), such as vice president, vice chairman, etc. Because such a deputy office merely assists the head of state to carry out his functions and does not occupy a position equal to that of the head of state himself, even if there are many deputy offices they by no means constitute a collective head of state. Whenever two or more individuals simultaneously serve in the office of the head of state and they share equal power, they are then called a collective head of state. Individual head of state is a more common form and has long been in practice. While collective head of state also has had its rather early origin -- for instance, in the Roman Republic of 500 B. C., its head of state consisted of consuls elected by the comitia centuriata who numbered two and who shared equal power; and France in 1795-1799 adopted the system of "Directoire" that was composed of five members who shared equal power and constituted a collective head of state -- it was after all not a common form in history and has come to be adopted by more countries only recently.

(3) Classified by terms of office, there are life-tenure heads of state and heads of state with limited terms of office.

Generally speaking, heads of state of hereditary monarchies hold a life-tenure office. Heads of state of democratic republics usually have fixed terms of office; but different countries follow different systems, so the lengths of such terms are also different. The country with the shortest term of office for its head of state is the Republic San Marino; his term is limited to half a year, and re-election is held each year in April and October. The term of office of the Swiss president is 1 year; that of the U. S. president, 4 years; that of the president of West Germany, 5 years; that of the president of the Philippines, 6 years; and that of both France and Italy, 7 years.

Some heads of state of democratic republics also hold life-tenure office, and this situation may be classified into two kinds: (i) The legal life-tenure system; for instance, the Yugoslav Constitution passed in 1974 provides that "Josip Broz Tito shall be elected President of the Republic with an unlimited term of office" (Article 333); and (ii) de facto life-tenure system.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, all heads of state have never exceeded two terms in office; therefore legally or actually, a life-tenure office for a head of state never existed.

(4) From the situation in which heads of state exercise their functions and powers, there is also a distinction between those who serve concurrently as heads of government and those who do not, i.e., between those who perform substantive functions and those who only have empty titles.

The power of the heads of state of some countries is very limited; they only shoulder some ceremonial tasks; in some other countries, while in their constitutions and laws a long series of major functions and powers are provided for their heads of state, these are enjoyed by them only in form but not really

exercised, and hence these heads of state are all non-substantive. On the other hand, in cases where the constitutions confer rather great power on the heads of state and these heads of state also actually fulfill such constitutionally provided functions and powers, they are substantive heads of state. Generally speaking, heads of state of countries of the parliamentary and responsible cabinet system such as the king of England are basically non-substantive, whereas heads of state of countries of the presidential system such as the United States, France, Egypt, and the Philippines, and those of countries of the dual system such as Nepal, Jordan, Morocco and Saudi Arabia, they hold substantive power and enjoy actual authority.

To sum up all the above, the forms of the heads of state of various countries in the world are very complicated. The reason that this is the case is determined by the myriad factors that the historical conditions under which various countries are situated are different, their situations of economic development are different, the relative ratios between the political forces of various factions in their common trial of strength are different, the angles from which the rulers consider their fundamental interests are different, and the traditional characteristics of their respective nations are likewise different. Extensive study of other people's experiences will by no means be of no benefit to our own country.

III. The Head of State of Our Country

The head of state of the People's Republic of China is a component part of the socialist system of state. It is a proletarian organ of state representing the interests of the vast ranks of the people. Since the founding of our state, our head of state has undergone several changes.

(1) Evolution of the Installation of Our Head of State

Since the founding of our state, the question as to who is our head of state has been by no means very clear in law; that is to say, we have not, as in the case of the above-mentioned Korea, Romania, and Italy, clearly provided in our constitution as to who is our head of state.

The evolution of our head of state may be generally divided into four stages: The first stage was the early days of the founding of our state; we may regard the Central People's Government Council then, as the collective head of state of the country. The grounds for this are two: First, the Central People's Government Organic Law at the time provided: "The Central People's Government Council represents the People's Republic of China externally and guides the regime of the state domestically" (Article 4); secondly, Comrade Dong Biwu said in his report on the "Draft of that Law" before the CPPCC in September 1949: "The functions and powers of the Central People's Government Council are mostly provided by the constitutions of various countries as functions and powers of the head of state." But we must see that the chairman of the Central People's Government had an important role to play because the organic Law provided that he "presides over the meetings of the Central People's Government Council and leads the work of the Central People's Government Council." Even so, to regard the Central People's Government Council as our collective head of state at the time, as a theoretical interpretation, is still appropriate.

The second stage was 1954, when our system of state underwent some change, but in our constitution there was no clear provision as to who is our head of state. Some think that our head of state was the NPC Standing Committee and the PRC Chairman. Actually, such an understanding is theoretically not necessarily immune from attack because: (i) the question of how the functions and powers of our head of state are exercised by no means answers the question directly who is our head of state. If because it was said that the functions and powers of our head of state were exercised by the Standing Committee in conjunction with the chairman, we therefore regard both of them as the heads of state, then let us ask, is there any reason that country should have two organs of state simultaneously as its head of state?

(ii) Our head of state, compared to that of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Federated Republics and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviets, which are themselves collective organs, was also different in form. What Comrade Shaoqi said about our's being a collective head of state should be understood in terms of the chairman's conduct, which was not a matter of individual dictation but based on collective decisions, but we cannot conversely regard all collective bodies participating in the making of those decisions as heads of state; otherwise, would our heads of state have been limited to the chairman and the Standing Committee? For instance, the chairman, in appointing and removing members of the State Council, issuing an order of amnesty, would be exercising the power of the head of state on the basis of NPC decisions; if we should regard those who participate in this joint exercise of the power of the head of state as heads of state, then we are bound to reach the conclusion tha the NPC was also a head of state, in which case the NPC, its Standing Committee, and the chairman would have become our heads of state; this, I am afraid, would not be very scientific.

(iii) The functions and powers of the chairman provided in our 1954 constitution are all typically power of the head of state in nature, and the constitution explicitly provided that "The chairman represents the People's Republic of China externally." Therefore, it is logical to regard the chairman as the head of state. As for the fact that the chairman, in appointing high-ranking administrative personnel, sending ambassadors, and ratifying treaties, must have the consent of the Standing Committee, this only suggests that the basis for the chairman's exercise of his power was collective decision and not that the Standing Committee was therefore also a head of state. For instance, the president of the United States must have the consent of the Senate in appointing the secretaries of the various departments, but we cannot say that the Senate is therefore also the head of state of the United States. Again, the power of the head of state of the British king is in reality all exercised by the prime minister, parliament, and other organs, but this does not preempt the fact that only the British king is the head of state. In terms of situations even more similar to ours, we may cite as example the Romanian president; his basis for exercising his functions and powers is the decisions of the General National Assembly and the State Affairs Committee (equivalent to our NPC and its Standing Committee), but the Romanian Constitution explicitly provides the president as the head of state, with no suggestion whatsoever that organs exercising functions and powers in conjunction with the president are all heads of state. Of course, this question may be explored further.

The third stage was after the promulgation of our 1975 Constitution, when there was no longer a chairman of the republic. This system has continued up to today. After the chairmanship of the republic was discarded, the constitution failed to provide who is the head of state, and in no other document was this explained; from concrete analyses of the system, too, it would be very difficult to get a clear answer to the question. Compared to our 1954 constitution, our head of state originally had fairly major functions and powers in three aspects: (i) the power to command armed forces of the country; (ii) the power to nominate the premier of the government; and (iii) the supreme power of representation in foreign affairs. After the chairmanship of the republic was discarded, the aforesaid power to command the country's armed forces belonged to the CCP Central Committee chairman; the power to nominate the premier of the government constitutionally belonged to the CCP Central Committee; and the power of representation in foreign affairs belonged to the NPC Standing Committee. Under such a system, who is really the head of state simply cannot be clearly answered legally or factually.

The fourth stage is after the promulgation of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution" today. From this promulgated "Draft of the Revised Constitution," we can see that we are about to revive the installation of a PRC chairman, but he will have certain characteristics different from those of the past.

(2) What Are the Benefits of Having a Chairman?

In today's world, international exchanges are frequent; if in such international activities a sovereign country actually lacks a representative, that would be inconceivable. China is a great country; it should have a head of state specified by its constitution. If, as designed by the "Draft of the Revised Constitution," a chairman is installed and he is explicitly provided as representing the PRC externally and internally, with the prestige of the head of state symbolizing the great socialist China conferred upon him, that would be beneficial to international protocol and our work in all international intercourse.

Moreover, according to the "Draft of the Revised Constitution," the functions and powers of the NPC Standing Committee are far more expanded than before. Along with the development of the democratization of our national life, the future NPC Standing Committee surely will demonstrate more and more of its role as the presider over the Standing Committee, is bound to have his burden of tasks increased. After the chairman of the republic is installed, to turn over a part of the work, especially such as the ceremonial, procedural work presently done by the chairman of the Standing Committee to the chairman [of the republic] is bound to be beneficial to the chairman concentrating his energy on doing a good job in handling well all his own tasks. This same reason also applies to the premier of the State Council, so that the premier can have more time and energy to handle government work.

Just as stated above, after 1975 there was no longer a chairman of the republic and hence the power of the head of state was according to provisions of the Constitution exercised respectively by the CCP Central Committee chairman, the CCP Central Committee, and the NPC Standing Committee. Under such circumstances, not only was it not very clear as to who was the head of state, but the practice

also ensued in which the party's leading organs were confused with organs of the regime of the state. After the chairmanship of the republic is installed from now on, these above shortcomings can be corrected and our state system will thus also be improved.

After the founding of our state, the institutionalization of a chairman of the republic lasted as long as 25 years; this was delightedly accepted by the vast ranks of the masses. Generally speaking, if a certain political form with profound influence among the masses can be continually maintained, that would be of benefit to the feelings and psychology of the people. If we look around the world, there is also no lack of such examples.

(3) What Are the Characteristics of the 'Draft of the Revised Constitution' on the Chairman

The office of the chairman of the republic has been interrupted in our law already for nearly 8 years; it shall be restored from now on. This indicates the stability of our country and the further normalization of its political life, and it is therefore very popular. Its main characteristics are:

(i) The "Draft of the Revised Constitution" clearly establishes the status of the chairman: the chairman represents the country both internally and externally. He occupies a lofty position but, on the other hand, he must follow NPC decisions and NPC Standing Committee decisions when he exercises his functions and powers. The chairman's activities are closely united with the collective; this is the substance of the superiority of the socialist head of state system, as it is by no means necessary to have a collectively constituted head of state formalistically. Some comrades often connect an individual head of state to the bourgeoisie, thinking that a socialist state must have a collective head of state; actually, this is entirely a misunderstanding. Just as this article has discussed above, the bourgeoisie in some cases also adopts the collective head of state system, such as Switzerland, San Marino and the French Republic of 1795. On the other hand, the proletariat in some cases also adopts the individual head of state system, such as Korea, Romania, etc. Our chairmanship abosrbs the strong points of many countries of the world, and is a head of state system of a combination of the individual and the collective. It is creative and a system which suits our concrete national conditions.

(ii) The functions and powers exercised by the chairman, relatively speaking, are far more limited than those provided in the 1954 Constitution. He no longer commands the country's armed forces and no longer serves as chairman of the Supreme National Defense Council. Besides, because in fact we already have many avenues and forms through which political consultation can be carried out, forms such as the Supreme State Conference are no longer necessary; hence the chairman no longer convenes a Supreme State Conference and serves as its chairman.

(iii) The chairman does not shoulder any administrative responsibilities. From the power of the chairman, we can see that when a new government is organized he appoints its premier. But he must follow NPC resolutions to the full in appointing the premier and other members of the State Council. The State Council is

responsible to the NPC and its Standing Committee, and not to the chairman. The chairman's other functions and powers are mostly based on the decisions of the NPC and its Standing Committee. Therefore the chairman himself really shoulders no responsibilities.

(iv) The chairman's terms of office is restricted by the constitution; that is it is limited to continuation by re-election only once. Although the chairman has no actual power, shoulders no administrative responsibilities, and does not get involved in government work, and therefore the length of his term of office does not have any great significance, because ours is a country where in principle limited tenures of office are practiced and where such tenures are hence provided for the chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, its vice chairman, the premier of the State Council, its vice premiers, etc., it is thus necessary also to provide that continuation of the chairman and his vice chairmen in their offices shall not exceed two terms.

The People's Republic of China is a great socialist state. At the same time, according to the long experience in our political history, it is also necessary to ensure institutionally that no individual shall hold the power to determine the affairs of state, in order to avoid the resultant rise of various unwholesome practices. Precisely because of such a fundamental spirit and point of departure, the new constitution revives the installation of the chairman, but on the other hand also limits his power so as to have him shoulder no administrative responsibilities and limits his tenure in office as well. This is the summing-up of history.

9255
CSO: 4005/1075

PARTY AND STATE

'DAZHONG RIBAO' ON REVOLUTIONARIES' COMMUNIST SPIRIT

HK100300 Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 82 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Revolutionaries Must Have Communist Spirit"]

[Text] Comrade Mao Zedong once said: A man must have spirit. As a proletarian revolutionary, what kind of spirit must we have? We must have communist spirit, and untiring study, labor and work, and fight all our life for the cause of communism. This is the most valuable morality and the most characteristic essence of proletarian revolutionaries. However, at present not all the people are thinking and acting in this way. Some people believe in so-called "material benefits"; they say: "This doctrine or that doctrine, whatever benefits me is the best doctrine." With this erroneous belief, they seek their own interests, strive for money, concentrate on their own personal benefit and engage in building cozy nests for their children. As for the great cause of the four modernizations and the people's interests, they have cast them all to the winds. This state of mind is incompatible with the spirit of communism and must be transformed through wide-ranging propaganda and education in communist ideology.

Why do we make revolution? It is not for pay nor for any personal "benefit." It is for the realization of the lofty ideal of communism. Those who join revolution merely for pay and reward are not qualified to be proletarian revolutionaries. From the day of its founding, our party has raised high the banner of communism, regarded communism as its maximum program and target and initiated the earthshaking communist movement. Our party could develop from a communist group of only a few dozen people to a great party in power with 38 million party members, and achieve victories in the democratic revolution and socialist revolution and construction because we upheld the truth of communism. The more than 60 years of history of our party is a history of the communist movement and a history of struggle in realizing the lofty ideals of communism.

In the brutal war years and under enemy White terror, why did millions of revolutionaries from all corners of the country risk the ruin of their families to embrace the party and join the revolutionary ranks? Because they cherished the ideal of communism; and it was the common ideal of communism that tightly bound them together. From the very day they joined the revolution, they risked everything including their lives, singing aloft

the solemn battlesong "The Internationale Will Surely Be Attained," and exerted all their painstaking efforts for the great practice of communism. Because they had the objective of communism in their hearts, they could advance wave upon wave and march forward courageously; because they had firm and unswerving faith in communism, they were able to resist luxury when rich, to be unshakable when poor, and could never be subdued by force. For his entire life, the revolutionary pioneer Li Dazhao "carried morality on his iron shoulders and wrote articles with his wonderful hands." What he carried was communist morality, and what he wrote was communist articles. When he was arrested together with his wife and daughter, "in the 20 days in jail, he never talked about family affairs." His last lecture, made under the enemy gallows, was a declaration that communism would inevitably win victory, and this manifested his boundless loyalty toward the cause of communism. The poems "Song in Jail" and "Die a Martyr" by the revolutionary [words illegible] of revolutionary martyrs have devoted their lives for the glorious cause of communism.

Today when our communist movement has developed to the initial stage of communism, we must further vigorously carry on the communist spirit. Only by carrying forward the communist spirit, can we surmount all difficulties, achieve still greater victories and continuously develop the communist movement. As a matter of fact, in our daily life, there are new communist people and deeds emerging every day and the communist spirit is shining everywhere. Those heroes who sacrificed their lives in the war to defend the motherland and in the struggle to help people fight flood and tide over natural disasters; and those labor models who are assiduously working day and night, year in and year out on the various fronts in building socialism--they are all communist fighters in the socialist period. They selflessly dedicate their whole lives solely to further develop the communist movement and realize the lofty ideals of communism. They fully understand that the communist system will not drop from heaven or spontaneously come into being nor will it emerge from empty talk. Communism can only be attained through the generations by millions of people who have communist spirit. All loyal communists, Youth League members and all revolutionary masses should take heroes and models as their examples, impel and urge themselves on with the brilliant deeds of the revolutionary martyrs and the revolutionaries of the older generation, arm their minds and guide their actions with communist thought and be communist men of action with earnest and down-to-earth work style. They must be concerned about the affairs of state before others, enjoy comfort after others, and work and labor with consciousness and initiative to help build communism and bring benefit for the future generations.

In launching the communist movement under the guidance of the communist ideological system, we must not only build a high degree of socialist material civilization but also of socialist spiritual civilization. It is wrong to ignore the building of material civilization and to institute a "poverty-stricken glory." But if we comprehend socialism as merely an accumulation of wealth and a rise in the standard of material life, then we will become one-sided and lose the socialist orientation and the spiritual motive force. We will therefore be unable to resist the

invasion of capitalist ideas and are bound to go astray. Only under the guidance of the ideological system of communism and, while energetically developing socialist material civilization and vigorously developing socialist spiritual civilization, can we uphold socialism in its complete sense. Socialist spiritual civilization regards communist thought as its core and it is fundamentally different from capitalist spiritual civilization. In a capitalist society, all social relations and the relations between men are based on money to seek fame and wealth and benefit oneself at the expense of others. That is their ethics. In our socialist country, all behavior that is selfish, seeks private gains at public expense and harms others to benefit oneselves, and those people who are obsessed by lust of money and unwilling to give up even a hair to others are most contemptible. Only those who wholeheartedly serve the people and devote their lives for the cause of the four modernizations are most respectable. Those who are sated with food and remain idle, who do no work or show no concern for the weal and woe of the masses but take advantage of their power to seek private benefits and engage the whole day in building their cozy nest arouse public indignation and are condemned. This is also the reason why so-called "material benefits" is wrong. All those who are willing to dedicate themselves to the cause of the four modernizations and vigorously developing China should carry forward communist spirit and fight against all erroneous thinking and actions and be socialist new men with ideals, morality, culture and discipline.

In proposing communist spirit, we do not at all mean that we should ignore practical interest. But when we speak of "material benefit," we must speak of people's benefit and communist benefit. In fact, our party is concerned most for the interest of the people. Interests are manifested in many ways. Our party is not only concerned for the current interests of the people but also for the long-term interests of the people; not only for the material interests of the people, but also for the political and spiritual interests of the people. The building of material and spiritual civilizations are the fundamental interests of the broad masses of people, manifested in many ways. The line, principles and policies put forward by the party since the Third CPC Plenary Session were all closely linked with the interest of the people, and the masses of people did gain many benefits. Viewing the conditions of our province, the total wages of the workers of the whole province in 1981 increased by 52 percent over 1978; average wages rose from 568 yuan in 1978 to 755 yuan in 1981, an increase of 32.9 percent. Allowing for price increases, real wages have still risen 23.5 percent. The housing condition of workers is gradually improving. The total area of workers' housing built in the whole province between 1979-81 was more than 10 million square meters, much higher than the total area in the 12 years between 1966-1977. The party and government have made their greatest efforts to improve the people's life, since the Third CPC Plenary Session. This is obvious to all. The party shows concern for the people, and the people ardently love the party, love socialism and have a more firm communist faith.

For the comprehensive initiative of a new situation in building socialist modernization and for the lofty ideals of communism, let us inspire ourselves with much higher communist spirit!

CSO: 4005/1312

'BA YI' CRITICIZES DENG'S SPEECH, HU'S REPORT

OW100057 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 4 Sep 82

[Text] In principle, any leading Comrade making an important speech at the party congress shoulders immense responsibilities. Summing up past work, making plans for the future, defining major objectives and setting up concrete and practical tasks are the main things he has to do for the whole party, the whole army and the people throughout the country. Regretfully, neither Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech nor Comrade Hu Yaobang's report delivered at the congress gives a clear-cut plan for future development nor do they define major objectives or set up concrete and practical tasks to be carried out. First of all, what is puzzling is that Comrade Deng Xiaoping sets forth the so-called four tasks as long-term work for the future. Many comrades in the party and army cannot help asking this question: Are the rectification of the party work style, consolidation of the party organization and restructuring the administrative and economic setups the only things we need to grasp in the next 2 decades? If, as Comrade Deng Xiaoping thinks, we should continue to grasp these few things even up to the end of this century, then at what time are we expected to finish the work of rectifying the party work style and consolidating the party organization so that our party can exercise its leadership correctly, and at what time can we complete the restructuring of the economic setup so that our party can properly lead the important task of economic construction? As another question, shall we continue the struggle to strike at undermining activities in the economic and other fields up to the end of this century? Can our great party and the 1 billion people not wipe out in a shorter period the handful of bad elements engaged in speculation and profiteering, embezzlement and theft? In fact, the four tasks set forth by Comrade Deng Xiaoping should in no way be taken as the most important tasks for the period up to the end of this century. It is true that these tasks are important, but they should not be long-term major tasks. [Words indistinct] we must note that all these problems are products left over by Chairman Mao's erroneous line and thinking. Failure to solve these problems even today has much to do with the series of mistakes that Comrade Deng Xiaoping has committed during the 5 years since he began taking charge of the work at the central level. We can say definitely that if we resolutely do away with the influence of the old erroneous line and thinking and boldly correct Comrade Deng Xiaoping's mistakes committed during the past years by seeking truth from facts, we will be able to accomplish

the four tasks and solve many other questions earlier than the end of this century. Unfortunately, neither Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech nor Comrade Hu Yaobang's report delivered at the congress expresses the determination to give up the erroneous line and thinking, and neither makes a serious examination of the mistakes committed during the past years--that is, no attempt is made to solve the fundamental problem. If the fundamental problem has not been solved, how can there be solutions to other problems?

CSO: 4005/1293

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI' RAPS HU YAOBANG REPORT TO CPC CONGRESS

OW100823 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 5 Sep 82

[Text] At the seventh plenary session of the current party Central Committee discussing the draft of the Central Committee's report to the 12th CPC National Congress, a number of comrades pointed out that the report failed to present concrete details on many aspects and lacked the attitude of seeking truth from facts. Many comrades recalled the report delivered by Comrade Liu Shaoqi to the Eighth CPC National Congress on behalf of the party Central Committee. The party's line, domestic and foreign policies and its concrete program for building the socialist motherland were clearly spelled out in that old report.

It is regrettable to note that the critical opinions raised by the comrades at the seventh plenary session of the current party Central Committee were not contained in the report delivered to the 12th CPC National Congress. As a result, the report delivered by Comrade Hu Yaobang to the congress failed to spell out a long-term national development plan or a concrete program. Some slogans set out in his report are unrealistic and even erroneous. Touching on the main tasks of socialist construction in the years to come, Comrade Hu Yaobang said that the total output value of industrial and agricultural production from 1981 until the end of this century should be quadrupled. This is unrealistic and cannot but cause the people deep concern. Moreover, he failed to put forward any concrete and realistic steps to fulfill this task.

People of the older generation may well recall that in 1958 Chairman Mao Zedong had put forrward a similar task when he called for an increase of at least 30-fold in the total industrial and agricultural output value. As a result of the lack of the necessary means with which to fulfill the task he put forward, the so-called "great leap forward" ended in bankruptcy and brought disaster to the state and to the people.

A new long march program was formulated in 1978. It was also unrealistic and died prematurely after creating tremendous damage to the national economy. This set the country's economic development back several years. At that time, Deng Xiaoping, on more than one occasion, criticized Hua Guofeng, Li Xiannian, Yu Qiuli, Gu Mu and other comrades for putting forward such an unrealistic long march task.

Why is it that these bitter lessons have not been kept in mind? Why is it that a leap forward-type plan, proved to be impractical, should have been put forward at this time? Delegates to the current party congress did not dare to criticize it at their group discussions. This shows that the patriarchal behavior of feudalism is still entrenched in this country. It would be excellent if our respected and beloved commander in chief, Peng Dehuai, still lived today. He would dare to resolutely oppose petty bourgeois fanaticism and heroically defend the interests of the country and the people.

CSO: 4005/1293

'HUNAN RIBAO' ARTICLE ON MAO'S EARLY PATRIOTISM

HK091240 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 8 Sep 82

[Text] HUNAN RIBAO carries on the upper part of page 3 today an article by Comrades (Gao Juchun) and (Tang Zhennan) of the exhibition hall at Mao Zedong's old dwelling in Shaoshan, entitled "Learn From Comrade Mao Zedong's Patriotism In His Student Years." The article reads as follows:

"I am determined to see the world.
Without acquiring scholarly honor I will not return.
Why must we be buried in our native place?
We can thrive anywhere in our life."

This is the poem written by Comrade Mao Zedong to express his soaring aspirations when he left Shaoshan at the age of 16 to study in other places. Even when he was a student, Comrade Mao Zedong made up his mind to save the country and the people. His ardent patriotism and his spirit of studying diligently and arduously seeking truth for the sake of the country and the people are still worthy of our learning today, in particular by the broad masses of teenagers. To put it in a concrete way, the aspirations and ideals of Comrade Mao Zedong at that time were arduously seeking truth for saving the country and the people. The only thing on his mind was to liberate the miserable Chinese people from the dual oppression of imperialism and feudalism and to make our country independent, free and prosperous.

When he was studying in (Xiangxiang Dongxiang) primary school in the second half of 1910, Comrade Mao Zedong, spurred on by his ardent patriotism, learned by heart bourgeois reformist books and articles of Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao. While studying at Hunan's Provincial No 1 Teachers' College in the summer of 1915, he wrote in big characters on the cover of a book entitled (Longshi Pian [Stories About the Dragon], which exposed the Japanese imperialists' aggression against China and the traitorous crimes of Yuan Shikai: To avenge the insult inflicted on the Republic of China on 7 May depends on us students. In addition, in a poem he wrote in memory of his fellow student (Ding Gu), he also expressed his worries about the country and the people.

In order to save the country and to overthrow the Qing government--the running dog of the imperialists--Comrade Mao Zedong resolutely threw aside his writing brush and joined the new army in October 1911. He stayed in the

army for half a year. After Yuan Shikai seized state power and the 1911 revolution failed, he decided to leave the new army. In the course of arduously seeking truth, Comrade Mao Zedong enriched his knowledge, accumulated experience and increased his ability and faith in saving the country and the people. In his diary, he wrote: It is a great joy to struggle against heaven, earth and men.

In order to mobilize and organize the masses to save the country and to save themselves, Comrade Mao Zedong issued, in the name of Ershibahua Sheng, [28 strokes--the same number of strokes of the 3 Chinese characters Mao Zedong] a notice requesting to make friends with young people who worked hard, were able to endure hardships, and were determined to sacrifice their lives for the country at any time. He proposed to organize a revolutionary society and his proposal met with the approval of all his friends. After some discussion, this society was named Xinmin Xuehui. He drafted a constitution for this society. Thus the Xinmin Xuehui, which later exerted an extensive influence on China's situation and destiny, was officially formed on 14 April 1918.

In June 1918, Comrade Mao Zedong graduated from the No 1 Teachers' College. In August, he went to Beijing for the first time in order to organize Hunan's progressive youths and progressive public figures to participate in the national movement of going to study in France on part-study, part-work schemes. In Beijing, he made friends with many well-known figures who advocated a new cultural movement and studied in good time Li Dazhao and other's articles which praised the October revolution in Russia and publicized Marxism. Comrade Mao Zedong finally found the only truth that could save China--Marxism-Leninism--and started a new struggle in saving the country and the people.

CSO: 4005/1293

EIGHTH HEBEI CYL CONGRESS CONCLUDES 27 AUGUST

HK080953 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 28 Aug 82

[Summary] The Eighth Hebei Provincial CYL Congress, which lasted 5 days, concluded on the afternoon of 27 August. The congress declared: "CYL organizations at all levels, CYL members and young people throughout the province must seriously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; study cultural, scientific and technological knowledge; heighten awareness of communism; and, under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee and CPC committees at all levels, study, blaze new trails, be realistic and struggle hard. They must make even greater contributions toward opening up a new prospect for our province's CYL work and in striving for a new victory in our province's socialist modernization."

This congress received the earnest interest of the Provincial CPC Committee and the CYL Central Committee. Principal leading comrades, including Gao Yang, Liu Bingyan and (Zhang Zhuguang), attended the congress. Zhao Yimin delivered an important speech at the congress. On behalf of the Provincial CPC Committee, he placed high hopes on the CYL members and young people throughout the province and set strict demands on CYL work.

At the congress, the deputies listened to, examined, discussed and passed the work report entitled "Lead All CYL Members and Young People Throughout the Province to Struggle Hard in Order to Open Up a New Aspect of Socialist Modernization in an All-Round Way." The work report was delivered by (Feng Wenhai) on behalf of the Provincial CYL Committee. Fifty-six units and individuals delivered oral or written speeches, exchanging their experiences in CYL work for the new period and reporting on their advanced ideology and exemplary deeds.

At the congress, the deputies reviewed CYL work since the Seventh Provincial CYL Congress and summed up their experiences. They fully affirmed the active role of the CYL members and young people throughout the province in the four modernizations and the results they achieved." They clearly put forth the principle and tasks of CYL work in the province in the future, which are that under the leadership of the Provincial CPC Committee and CPC committees at all levels, CYL organizations at all levels throughout the province must unswervingly implement the line, principles and policies of the party, persist in arming the young people with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong

Thought and modern scientific and cultural knowledge and lead all young people throughout the province to serve as a brave shock brigade to open up a new prospect."

Finally, all deputies elected the Eighth Provincial CYL Committee, which comprises 87 committee members, including (Feng Wenhai), and 13 alternate committee members. They also elected 88 provincial delegates to attend the 11th CYL National Congress.

On the evening of 27 August, the Eighth Provincial CYL Committee held its first plenary meeting to elect the secretary, deputy secretaries and Standing Committee members, as follows: Secretary (Feng Wenhai); Deputy Secretaries (Wu Zhenhua), (Wang Huifang)--female, (Ju Zhiqiang) and (Yu Tongyi); and Standing Committee members (Yu Tongyi), (Huang Xiwen), (Wang Heping), (Wang Huifang)--female, (Feng Wenhai), (Li Baochun), (Li Anming), (Zhang Hequan), (Wu Zhenhua), (Dong Kui) and (Ju Zhiqiang).

CSO: 4005/1293

BEIJING RADIO ARTICLE ON LIAO ZHONGKAI

Part I

OW040953 Beijing in Mandarin to Taiwan 1830 GMT 30 Aug 82

[First part of article by (Shang Mingxuan) and (Wang Xuezhuang): "Liao Zhongkai and the First KMT-CPC Cooperation" with the subtitle "Liao Zhongkai Was a Capable Assistant to Dr Sun Yat-sen in Reorganizing the KMT"]

[Excerpts] In his long revolutionary career, Liao Zhongkai did a lot in the interests of the people. The most brilliant chapter in his revolutionary history was his dedication to KMT-CPC cooperation and his death for this cause.

The realization of the first cooperation between the CPC and the KMT was symbolized by the latter's reorganization. Reorganizing the KMT, with assistance from the CPC, was a righteous and courageous step taken by Dr Sun Yat-sen to conform with world trends and feeling among the people when Chinese history was entering the period of new democratic revolution led by the proletariat. At that time, Liao Zhongkai was a capable assistant to Dr Sun Yat-sen, the main activist in reorganizing the KMT.

In January 1923, initial progress had been made in preparatory work at KMT reorganization. Liao Zhongkai was appointed counselor of the KMT headquarters.

In February of that year, when Chen Chiung-Ming's rebellious troops were put to rout, Dr Sun Yat-sen returned to Guangzhou and resumed his post as generalissimo of the army and navy of the Republic of China. After that, Liao Zhongkai also came back to Guangzhou to assume the important posts of finance minister of the headquarters and governor of Guangdong Province. Confronted by direct threats from imperialists and their lackeys, namely the warlords in both the north and the south, efforts were stepped up to reorganize the KMT. While taking care of important military and government affairs, Liao Zhongkai did his utmost to assist Dr Sun Yat-sen in reorganization work. In mid-October, Liao Zhongkai, Li Dazhao and three others were appointed as reorganization committee members to take charge of the work.

On 20 January 1924, the First National Congress of the KMT opened in Guangzhou. It was presided over personally by Dr Sun Yat-sen, while Liao Zhongkai, as

a Guangdong delegate, took part in the leading work of the congress. On 23 January, the congress adopted a declaration, which had been drafted under the direction of Dr Sun Yat-sen, with participation by Communist Party members. The declaration contained a new explanation of the three principles of the people, pointing out that nationalism means opposing imperialism and achieving equality of all nationalities in the country, that democracy is aimed at establishing a democratic system for all people instead of for a few, and that the people's livelihood means controlling capital and equalizing land ownership. The three principles of the people, as newly explained, are revolutionary principles, containing the three great policies of allying with the Soviet Union, allying with the CPC and supporting peasants and workers. Basically, theywere identical to the CPC program for the democratic revolution period, and for this reason they were accepted as a common program for KMT-CPC cooperation. As Mao Zedong pointed out, the new three principles of the people were a triumphant revolutionary banner in the high tide of the national revolution.

Liao Zhongkai was well aware of the vital importance of the new principles to the reorganization of the KMT. When the declaration was discussed and examined, he resolutely resisted mistaken opinions attempting to eliminate revolutionary contents from the declaration. After the adoption of the declaration, he stressed that, under any circumstances, it was imperative to take the declaration as a work target and strive hard to achieve it. Subsequent facts indicated that he acted faithfully in what he had said.

Part II

OW041043 Beijing in Mandarin to Taiwan 1830 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Second part of article by (Shang Mingxuan) and (Wang Xuezhuang): "Liao Zhongkai and the First KMT-CPC Cooperation" with the subtitle "Liao Zhongkai Was a Good Friend of the Communists and Worker-Peasant Masses"]

[Excerpts] Liao Zhongkai attached great importance to the role played by the CPC and the worker and peasant movements under its leadership in the national revolution. He took the initiative in sincerely cooperating with the Communist Party and gave warm support to the worker-peasant masses.

Liao Zhongkai was not a communist. However, he firmly believed that it was necessary to win the goodwill of the Communist Party in order to strike down imperialism in China. He supported communists in carrying out open activities in party, government and army organizations and continuously recommended promising young communists for important positions in order to let them play their role.

When Zhou Enlai returned from France, Liao Zhongkai personally greeted him and appointed him director of the Political Department of the Huangpu Military Academy. He maintained friendly relations with noted communists, such as Li Dazhao, Mao Zedong, Zhu Zhaozhen, Deng Zhongxia, Lin Boqu and Wu Yuzhang, and often discussed with them major matters in the national revolution. His sincere, cooperative and modest attitude won respect and admiration from communists.

Siding with the workers and peasants, Liao Zhongkai supported their anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggle. He faithfully implemented the policy of supporting the workers and peasants and effectively used government power to support the worker and peasant movements. Under his sponsorship and with his participation, the Guangdong revolutionary government issued the first and second declarations on the peasant movement and formulated [words indistinct] and the regulations on the organization of trade unions.

In a word, Liao Zhongkai set an example in going forward hand in hand with the communists and giving full support to the worker and peasant movement during the first KMT-CPC cooperation.

Part III

OW041351 Beijing in Mandarin to Taiwan 1830 GMT 1 Sep 82

[Third and last part of article by (Shang Mingxuan) and (Wang Xuezhuang): "Liao Zhongkai and the First KMT-CPC Cooperation" with the subtitle "Liao Zhongkai firmly opposed the KMT rightists' efforts to undermine KMT-CPC cooperation"]

[Excerpts] The rightists within the KMT had persistently resisted and opposed KMT-CPC cooperation ever since exchanges of views on cooperation started. For this reason, struggles between the leftists and rightists were perpetuated throughout the entire process of KMT-CPC cooperation.

Liao Zhongkai firmly opposed the rightists' anticommunist activities. He steadfastly defended the three revolutionary policies of alliance with Russia, cooperation with the CPC and assistance to the peasants and workers, safeguarded the unity between the KMT and the CPC and upheld the KMT's revolutionary orientation.

After Dr Sun Yat-sen announced his determination to reorganize the KMT and invited the communists to join the party, Hu Hanmin, Wang Jingwei, Zhang Ji, Feng Ziyou and other senior founding members of the KMT adopted a defiant attitude. Wang Jingwei and Dai Jitao even attacked Dr Sun Yat-sen's policy decision and the CPC in private. Liao Zhongkai despised the rightist statements and actions and they never disturbed him. With more and more concrete actions, he drew a clear line of demarcation between himself and the rightists.

Overt and covert, direct and indirect, struggles between the leftists and rightists throughout the entire KMT National Congress alarmed Liao Zhongkai. When the congress examined the KMT draft constitution on 28 January 1924, some delegates, instigated by rightists Feng Ziyou and (Ma Shu), proposed a motion restricting KMT members from joining other parties, which, in fact, prevented the CPC members from joining the KMT. In the face of the rightists' sinister intention to sow discord between the KMT and the CPC, Li Dazhao spoke on behalf of CPC members who had joined the KMT in a private capacity and were attending the congress, declaring the CPC members' revolutionary motive to join the KMT and sternly repudiating the motion. However, the rightists were relentless. In view of this, Liao Zhongkai bravely stepped

forward and made an explicit speech at the congress, severely denouncing the rightists' absurdity and expressing his approval of Li Dazhao's statement. He called for cooperation with the CPC.

Owing to the resolute struggle waged by Liao Zhongkai and the CPC members and Dr Sun Yat-sen's firm support, the congress was eventually a victory.

After Dr Sun Yat-sen's death in March 1925, the rightists seized the opportunity to form the "Club of KMT Comrades," "Club of Comrades of the 1911 Revolution" and "Society of Dr Sun Yat-sen's Principles." In view of the situation, Liao Zhongkai published an article in May 1925, entitled "The Revolutionaries and Counterrevolutionaries," repudiating the rightists' sinister shceme to undermine the revolution.

In the summer of 1925, an excellent revolutionary situation emerged in Guangzhou. The (?earth-shaking) general strike took place there in June. This great anti-imperialist struggle encouraged the people of the whole country. In July, the national government was formed and the rightists' power weakened. Liao Zhongkai was appointed councillor and finance minister of the national government and Standing Committee member of the Military Commission.

Liao Zhongkai was the nucleus of the leftists and mainstay of the revolutionary (?cause) after Dr Sun Yat-sen's death. Nevertheless, a more serious struggle started at this moment. A group of rightists, headed by Hu Hanmin, (Deng Zeru) and (Zou Ru), who wielded considerable power in the KMT and government conspired in a scheme to purge party members. They summoned rightists from other places to assemble in Guangzhou in an attempt to hold the fourth plenary session of the First KMT Central Committee and remove Liao Zhongkai and the CPC members from leading posts. The conspiracy was quickly uncovered and repudiated. Realizing that Liao Zhongkai was the big obstacle for the rightists to seize party power and dissolve KMT-CPC cooperation, they decided to get rid of him. Unmoved by repeated warnings that the enemy was about to resort to violence, Liao Zhongkai continued to work, together with the CPC members, in leading the masses to cope with the complex political situation. On 20 August 1925, when Liao Zhongkai was attending a meeting of the KMT Central Executive Committee, he was assassinated by a murderer hired by the rightists in front of the Kuomintang headquarters building.

CSO: 4005/1293

'BA YI' CRITICIZES 12TH CPC CONGRESS WORK REPORT

OW031217 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 1 Sep 82

[Text] Comrade Chen Yun has said that the report of the CPC Central Committee to the National Congress should summarize and evaluate past work and publicly examine its mistakes before the delegates on the one hand, and, put forward measures for correcting past mistakes, set the direction for future efforts and draw up plans for future work on the other. Judged on this criterion, the report to the 12th CPC Congress is obviously much better than those delivered to the 9th, 10th and 11th CPC congresses. The report to the current party congress discussed existing shortcomings and set forth new tasks. In addition, it also made a public self-criticism; regrettably, however, the report failed to incorporate the views of many Central Committee members expressed at the seventh plenary session of the CPC Central Committee on thoroughly resolving the issues left over from history and correcting past mistakes.

We all know that after the death of Mao Zedong and the smashing of the gang of four, and especially after the third and sixth plenary sessions of the CPC Central Committee, efforts were made to expose serious past mistakes, resolve the many questions left over from history and point out the grave mistakes made by Chairman Mao Zedong which brought disasters to the country and the people. People hoped that the 12th CPC Congress would go a step further and correct the mistakes of the past once and for all. However, the report to the congress did not make it clear that the root cause of the past mistakes was the erroneous line and thought. To make things worse, the report stressed the continuous use of the erroneous thought as our guide. By doing so, it opens the possibility of subjecting the country and the people to a new quake.

To the vast numbers of commanders and fighters, the failure of the CPC Central Committee to resolve the Lin Biao case once and for all in its report to the congress is regrettable. This is because the so-called case of the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique produced by Kang Sheng and the gang of four has had an extremely bad influence on the army, the party and the country, and has implicated and victimized tens of thousands of people.

It goes without saying that there can be no true stability and unity in the party, the army and the country before the false case of Lin Biao cooked up by Kang Sheng and the gang of four is completely repudiated. Normal party life cannot expect to return if the issues left over by history are not thoroughly and objectively resolved. As the CPC Central Committee report evaded the major issues left by history, it is necessary for the delegates, PLA delegates in particular, to make their views on such issues known in order to make up for the deficiency of the report.

CSO: 4005/1293

EIGHT DEMOCRATIC PARTIES PLAY POSITIVE ROLE

OW310001 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0229 GMT 27 Aug 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 27 Aug (XINHUA)--Since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, along with the gradual implementation of the united front policy, China's eight democratic parties have greatly promoted their organizations' development, and their organizational work has become increasingly active. According to statistics made by the departments concerned, the eight democratic parties have recruited a total of more than 35,000 new members over the past 3 years. Now, they have a total of over 700 local organizations and over 4,000 grassroot branches. All democratic parties are now taking on a new look and playing a positive role in China's political life and socialist modernization.

Over the past 3 years, all democratic parties have offered many constructive ideas and suggestions on state affairs, thus playing a democratic, supervisory role for the work of the CPC and the people's governments. They are called the CPC's friends who will give forthright admonition. Since 1979, the CPC Central Committee has invited all democratic parties and nonparty personages to hold democratic consultation conferences more than once. At these conferences the democratic parties gave many precious ideas and suggestions concerning state affairs. Last December, Hu Juewen, chairman of the China Democratic National Construction Association Central Committee, and Hu Ziang, vice chairman of the same organization, wrote to the leading comrades of the CPC Central Committee offering some pertinent ideas on the question of the united front. The CPC Central Committee thought highly of their views, and many of their ideas and suggestions were accepted.

Members of all democratic parties have also offered many important reference ideas for actual work. Local organizations of the China Democratic League, China Association for Promoting Democracy, Jiusan Society and other parties have held hundreds of discussion meetings and offered over 4,000 ideas and suggestions concerning the reform of China's education system and the education plan in the new period.

Members of all democratic parties and the masses with whom they have established contact have maintained extensive ties with Hong Kong and Macao compatriots, Taiwan compatriots and overseas Chinese. The Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League, the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang,

China Zhi Gong Dang, the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party and other parties have all strengthened ties with Hong Kong and Macao compatriots, Taiwan compatriots and overseas Chinese. They have done much work in publicizing the true situation on the motherland's mainland, deepening mutual understanding and carrying out scientific and cultural exchange, thus contributing to the motherland's reunification.

Over the past 3 years, all democratic parties have focused their work on the four modernizations, brought into full play their vocational specialties and achieved remarkable results in promoting economic construction and spiritual civilization. In accordance with the needs in the readjustment of the national economy and the four modernizations, they have also organized their members to launch specialized activities. Last year hundreds of thousands of people listened to reports on special topics and seminars sponsored by all democratic parties and held in all localities. They have also mobilized members still at their posts and their retired members to open various kinds of spare-time schools in line with local conditions in order to train qualified personnel for the four modernizations. At present, the democratic parties have run more than 600 spare-time schools with enrollments of more than 100,000 students.

In the excellent situation of China's united front work, members of all democratic parties have a deep sense of being the master of their own affairs, and their patriotic ardor runs high. They are working hard at their posts to make contributions to the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005/1293

PARTY AND STATE

ZHU XUEFANG ARTICLE PRAISES HE XIANGNING

HK020827 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Aug 82 p 5

[Article by Zhu Xuefang [2612 1331 5400], vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT: "A Revolutionary Forerunner, An Outstanding Woman For a Generation--Commemorating the 10th Anniversary of the Death of Comrade He Xiangning"]

[Text] Comrade He Xiangning was Dr Sun Yat-sen's close comrade-in-arms and Mr Liao Zhongkai's spouse. In their youth, both husband and wife enthusiastically took part in the anti-imperialist and antifeudal revolutionary activities led by Dr Sun Yat-sen and did a lot of work in helping Dr Sun Yat-sen. He Xiangning was the earliest female member of the Tong Meng Huin (Revolutionary League) and a forerunner of the Chinese democratic revolution. What we treasure most is the fact that after Dr Sun and Mr Liao passed away one after another, for the past 40-odd years Comrade Hi Xiangning was unswerving in her loyalty to the revolutionary propositions of Dr Sun Yat-sen, vowed to adhere to carrying out the unfinished revolutionary wish of Mr Liao Zhongkai and steadfastly took the road of sincerely cooperating with the CPC, thus making the Chinese revolution glow with new radiance. She was worthy of the title of true comrade-in-arms of Dr Sun Yat-sen and close friend of the CPC.

After attending the World Trade Union Council in Prague in 1947, I returned to Hong Kong by way of San Francisco. In San Francisco, in his talk with me, Gen Feng Yuxiang touched on the question of setting up a revolutionary organization of the KMT. He gave me a letter and entrusted me as his plenipotentiary with discussing this question with the KMT revolutionary comrades in Hong Kong. When I came to Hong Kong, the Democrats of the KMT, such as He Xiangning and Li Jishen, were also discussing this matter in a preliminary and informal manner.

At that time, there were differing views among the revolutionary comrades on the question of whether or not the three Chinese characters "Kuomintang" should be reserved in the full name of the proposed KMT revolutionary organization. Finally, Comrade He Xiangning proposed that it should be called "the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT." This would be able to unite more of China's nationalists in taking part in the revolution. Her proposal met with unanimous approval. Together with five other comrades--Li Jishen, Liu Yazi, Peng Zemin, Li Zhangda and Chen Qiyuan--He Xiangning

personally wrote and signed a "petition to Madame Sun" and entrusted me with establishing contact with Comrade Soong Ching Ling, who was in Shanghai at that time. Comrade Soong Ching Ling issued a reply in favor of setting up the KMT revolutionary organization and expressed that she would go all out to support it. On New Year's Day 1948, the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT was set up in Hong Kong.

From the end of 1947, when together with Comrade He Xiangning I made preparations for setting up the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT in Hong Kong, to 15 August 1960, a day when she was elected chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT at the second enlarged plenary session of the Fourth Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT, and 1 September 1972, a day when she passed away in Beijing, I was fortunate in having been able to work with her for the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT, and in the long years of getting along with one another and of frequent contacts, I greatly benefitted from her wisdom. She made an unforgettable impression on me.

An Outstanding Female Revolutionary

The extraordinary life of Comrade He Xiangning was related to the great era of the Chinese revolution in which she lived, like a powerful eagle fearing no windstorm. She courageously marched forward on the dangerous and difficult road of the Chinese revolution and never retreated. She was an outstanding female revolutionary of this great era.

Comrade He Xiangning had a deep affection for the 1911 revolution. At the ceremony commemorating the 50th anniversary of the 1911 revolution, she made a speech and highly praised the 1911 revolution led by Dr Sun, saying: "The 1911 revolution is a great victory. It destroyed the autocratic monarchy that had ruled China for 2,000 years, spread the ideological seed of democracy and republic and promoted the new advances of the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people." In summing up the historical experience of the 1911 revolution, she said: "In the times of imperialism, with the exception of the proletariat, it is impossible for any other class to lead any true revolutions to victory." "Through the extremely difficult, tortuous and complicated struggle, the CPC led the Chinese people and eventually overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and founded the great People's Republic of China in 1949." In an article in commemoration of the 99th birthday of Dr Sun Yat-sen, she wrote that "it is justifiable to say that the summary of the experience gained in the long years of his struggle are the three great revolutionary policies of alliance with Russia, cooperation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers for the common struggle against imperialism which were put forth by Dr Sun Yat-sen in 1922 and the new explanation of the three people's principles which he made at the First National Congress of the KMT held in 1924. It is a pity that before he had time to thoroughly carry out his revolutionary propositions, to our great sorrow, he passed away.... What an arduous task for us to carry out the behests of Dr Sun Yat-sen and to uphold the anti-imperialist struggle!" Ten years have elapsed

since Comrade He Xiangning passed away. The sound of her talks is still ringing in our ears and her articles have remained fresh in our memory. This is because they were the records of her deeds and what she saw and heard in the revolutionary activities which she herself took part in. It is only natural that they are all the more heart-touching and unforgettable. In looking back at the tortuous road that the Chinese revolution had traversed, we are today more deeply convinced that to promote new advances in the Chinese people's revolution and to unite with more of China's nationalists to take part in the revolution, Comrade He Xiangning really made unremitting efforts.

Myriads of Thoughts Embodied At the Tip of a Writing Brush

Comrade He Xiangning was talented, possessing an extraordinary artistic gift, and also a revolutionary female artist who enjoyed great prestige. In her early years, she gave me an album of paintings of lions and tigers, the general appearance of which was mighty and true to life. Every time I looked over the paintings, I would feel an upsurge of emotion and be greatly aroused. Comrade He Xiangning's attainments in painting and the ideas and moral values dispalyed in her paintings were all tied together with her faithful and unyielding revolutionary character and were inseparable from her great breadth of vision and her ardent love for the motherland and the people.

Comrade He Xiangning was good at painting flowers and birds, mountains and rivers and four-footed animals, and she was particularly fond of painting tigers and lions. She placed her thought of rejuvenating the Chinese nation into her painting of waking lion holding up its head. After the founding of new China, at the advanced age of 70, Comrade He Xiangning still exerted great efforts in painting. Working together with other famous Chinese traditional painters, she drew a large-sized painting of flowers and birds, which symbolized the flourishing prosperity of new China. All her paintings required extraordinary painting efforts and were exceptionally pregnant with meaning. After the advanced age of 80, despite her increasingly shaking hands, Comrade He Xiangning still did not forget to draw paintings. From that time on, she gradually liked to paint leafless plum branches. It is said that "with newly blooming flowers nearly topping a thousand, it is simple for the old branch to bear a mighty strain."

Particularly, her artistic career was closely bound up with the fate of the Chinese people. I still clearly remember the grand occasion of the "charity sale paintings exhibition" which created a furor and was sponsored by the famous artists of Shanghai in the Tong Yan Restaurant at the proposal of Comrade He Xiangning. After liberation, in recollecting the events of those years, Generals Chen Minshu, Jiang Guangding, Cai Tingkai, Dai Ji and others still greatly showed their appreciation for help received.

As did some comrades of the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT, I saw Comrade He Xiangning painting with my own eyes. With some strokes of her painting brush, leaf-less branches were formed, and with some dots of her painting brush, red plums would appear on the canvass. However, the impression left on people's minds was always that the myriad of thoughts of this revolutionary

elder were embodied at the tip of her painting brush and that her great, boundless revolutionary aspirations melted into her paintings. It is a pity that the album of paintings which Comrade He Xiangning gave me in her early years was unfortunately lost during the 10 years of chaos. Although the rare treasures were lost, their spirit remained forever. I can still remember the lifelike figure of every lion or tiger. This is the roar of the waking lions which Comrade He Xiangning painted with her courage and uprightness and strength of character at ordinary times. We suffered to the full the discriminatory bullies of the imperialists. Now we can hold our heads high among the countries in the world. Since we have come to this, can we not have especially deep thoughts and feelings?

All Patriots Belong to a Big Family

"Tossing about in bed, I am alone under the quilt; I get up to re-read 'Song of a Cypress Boat.'

"The moon is bright and the frost is cold, but where are you now? The shadow is thinning out and the lamp light is withering away--it was late at night.

"It is difficult to meet you even in dreams, and it is greatly regrettable not to have any means to make you return from the grave.

"With sad memories, I am only determined to strive to fulfill your unfinished wish, and when can I discharge this responsibility of mine in the service of the country?"

This is the elegiac poem of Comrade He Xiangning in memory of Mr Liao Zhongkai. It was after the passing away of Dr Sun Yat-sen that Mr Liao Zhongkai laid down his life in enthusiastically carrying out the "three great policies." So, the phrase "fulfilling your unfinished wish" in this poem was the noble ambition Comrade He Xiangning formulated for carrying out the unfinished wish of Dr Sun Yat-sen and Mr Liao Zhongkai.

On 11 March 1925, when Mr Sun Yat-sen was on his deathbed, he repeatedly cried: "Madame Liao Zhongkai." Hearing Dr Sun choking with a stiff tongue, Comrade He Xiangning hastened to ask Madame Sun that they go together to the bed of Dr Sun and said: "Dr Sun, you can rest assured that I vow to support your spirit of reorganizing the KMT, to realize the three great policies and to take good care of Madame Sun. The sea may run dry and the rocks may crumble, but I will never forget my vow. Upon hearing what Comrade He Xiangning said, Dr Sun grasped her hands and said: "Peace...struggle... save China." On the morning of the next day, he departed from the world forever.

On 20 August of the same year, when Liao Zhongkai and his spouse drove up to the door of the headquarters of the KMT Central Committee in Guangzhou, Mr Liao was assassinated. With her own eyes, Comrade He Xiangning saw her beloved revolutionary companion fall down in a pool of his blood.

These two events shook up ideologically and impelled Comrade He Xiangning so deeply and greatly as to be incomparable in her life. "Fulfilling your

unfinished wish" thus became her ideological pillar in her subsequent revolutionary activities. Therefore, her determination and willpower were also incomparable.

Comrade He Xiangning's "fulfilling your unfinished wish" was aimed at uniting with as many patriots in the KMT as possible and taking the road of cooperating with the Communist Party so as to ensure the realization of the three great policies rather than breaking away from Chiang Kai-shek's KMT in an oversimplified way. After liberation, she was enthusiastic as before in uniting with more of China's nationalists to take part in the work of revolution. Mr Yu Youren, a senior stateman of the KMT in Taiwan, composed a poem in memory of the motherland. Comrade He Xiangning wrote a poem in reply and stated that "all patriots belong to a big family." I remember that in 1959, Premier Zhou Enlai once put forth the question of peaceful liberation of Taiwan. Upon hearing this, I went to inform Comrade He Xiangning of this matter. She said that solving the Taiwan problem by peaceful means had always been her long-cherished wish and held that the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT should make use of the historical relations with the Taiwan KMT and do more work in helping the Communist Party.

Carrying our the behests of his father Liao Zhongkai and his mother He Xiangning, Comrade Liao Chengzhi recently wrote a letter to Mr Chiang Ching-kuo. He said: "A calamity has gone and I am still alive. If we meet again, let us forget previous ill will in our laughter." This is a letter excellent both in writing and meaning with abundantly clear good faith. It is of positive significance in helping the atmosphere on both sides of the Taiwan straits become further relaxed and friendly. The letter sincerely says: "In appraising history and looking forward to the future, we should maintain the principle of the world being for all and take the interests of the country and the nation as the supreme principle rather than stressing the importance of the interests of any parties or individuals." This principle is entirely correct and has met with the warm support of the vast numbers of our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and our fellow countrymen residing abroad.

The reason why this letter can take root in the hearts of the people lies in the fact that the return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland and the accomplishment of the great cause of national reunification is the common wish of the 1 billion Chinese, including our compatriots in Taiwan, and also the sacred task of this generation of ours. We hope we can join hands and work together with our old friends and colleagues in Taiwan and do our best to accomplish this wish. Dr Sun Yat-sen said: "World trends are vast and mighty. Those who submit will prosper and those who resist shall perish." It is adviseable to judge the hour and size up the situation and make a plan for an early return to the embrace of the motherland. You are welcome at any time and under any circumstance.

CSO: 4005/1293

PARTY AND STATE

HUBEI DISCUSSES POLITICAL, LEGAL WORK AT MEETING

HK070318 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Sep 82

[Text] According to this station's reporter, (Xia Jiali), the 10-day-long provincial conference on political and legal work closed today. The conference called on political and legal departments at all levels and all cadres and policemen throughout the province to inspire revolutionary spirit under the leadership of the party and to make new contributions in fulfilling the great tasks put forward at the 12th National Party Congress, making fundamental improvements in the common social practice and public security, and promoting the building of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization.

Through the conveyance and study of the spirit of the national conference on political and legal work, the provincial conference further defined in the field of guiding ideology the following fundamental political and legal tasks for the new period: Perfect our socialist democracy and legal system; strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship; and protect and promote our socialist modernization which centers on economic construction. As the conference analyzed the province's [passage garbled]

achieved remarkable successes in straightening out public security and particularly in straightening out urban public security. The general [word indistinct] society and public security are gradually taking a turn for the better. However, they have not yet taken a fundamentally favorable turn.

The conference called on political and legal departments at all levels throughout the province to continue upholding the guiding principle of comprehensively improving public security, and to strengthen struggles against counterrevolutionaries, spies, criminals and disastrous accidents in public security. We must continue to firmly grasp cities, areas along the railway lines, vital communications lines, factories, mines and enterprises as key targets for straightening out public security. At the same time, we must energetically straighten out rural public security.

After studying issues concerning inflicting severe punishments on criminals who seriously disrupt the economy, the conference noted: Serious economic crimes within the party are the important expressions of class struggle under the new historical conditions. With regard to those criminals who are guilty

of serious corruption and who seriously take bribes, smuggle goods, traffic in smuggled goods, carry out speculation and swindling activities and embezzle state and collective property, we must quickly and severely punish them according to law by checking all facts.

This provincial conference on political and legal work is the province's largest conference on political and legal work since the founding of the PRC. More than 700 people attended the conference. They included responsible persons of political and legal departments at provincial, prefectural, municipal and county levels; responsible persons of security units, procuratorial departments and courts from the Hubei provincial military district, the Changjiang Shipping Bureau, the Wuhan Railway Bureau, and all large factories and mines; and responsible persons of departments concerned.

Provincial CPC Committee Secretary Li Wei and Provincial CPC Committee Standing Committee member (Li Jun) spoke at the conference.

CSO: 4005/1293

PARTY AND STATE

GUANGXI CONFERENCE ON POLITICAL, LEGAL WORK

HK061015 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 5 Sep 82

[Text] The Political and Legal Committee under the autonomous Regional CPC Committee held a regional conference on political and legal work in Nanning 30 August-4 September. The conference discussed and studied ways to implement the spirit of the national conference on political and legal work. The conference called on political and legal departments at all levels throughout the region to firmly and unflinchingly implement the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress and to make new contributions to protecting and promoting socialist modernization in our country. During the conference, Shi Qingsheng, secretary of the Political and Legal Committee under the autonomous Regional CPC Committee, conveyed the spirit of the national conference on political and legal work and expressed his views on implementing that spirit. Zhao Maoxun, secretary of the autonomous Regional CPC Committee, attended the conference and delivered a summation speech.

The participating comrades were greatly educated and inspired through their study of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech at the 12th CPC National Congress and their study of Comrade Hu Yaobang's report made to the congress on behalf of the CPC Central Committee. After studying the documents concerning the national conference on political and legal work and the speeches by Comrade Peng Zhen and Comrade Peng Chong, the participating comrades achieved a clear understanding of the political and legal tasks for the new period, deepened their understanding of the two functions of our political and legal departments, gained a clearer idea of the targets of dictatorship during the new period and solved a series of basic questions in the field of guiding ideology, such as the question of who constitutes the service targets of our political and legal work during the new period and of who constitutes the targets of dictatorship during the new period.

The conference noted: During the new historical period, the focus of our party's work has already been shifted to socialist modernization, which centers on economic construction. Under the guidance of the four basic principles, our political and legal departments must energetically promote the building of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization while revolving around the fundamental task of socialist modernization; strengthen and perfect our socialist democracy and our socialist legal system; and strive for a fundamental improvement in public order while striving for

fundamental improvements in the state's financial and economic conditions, in the common practice in our society and in our party's work style.

The conference noted: Political and legal departments are tools of people's democratic dictatorship. As the exploiting class in our country has been eliminated as a class, the great majority of the existing contradictions in our society do not possess the nature of class struggle. Class struggle is no longer the major contradiction in our society. Our political and legal work must keep abreast of this new situation, persist in carrying out democratic functions for the people, truly guarantee and safeguard the people's democratic rights, personal safety and other legal rights, and prevent contradictions among the people from intensifying and transmuting. At the same time, due to domestic factors and international influences, class struggle will continue to exist to a certain degree in our society for a long time, and class struggle can be intensified under certain conditions.

We must persist in waging a protracted struggle against all kinds of hostile elements, uphold the functions of the people's democratic dictatorship and the state dictatorship, and insist on using the Marxist class viewpoint to handle certain social contradictions and social phenomena in our country which possess the nature of class struggle. We must not only avoid repeating the mistake of broadening the scope of class struggle, but must also prevent the emergence of the viewpoint that class struggle has died out.

The conference noted: We must strictly distinguish between and correctly handle the two different types of contradictions, namely, contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and contradictions among the people. We must exercise dictatorship over all minds of hostile elements disrupting our socialist system and elements seriously jeopardizing public security. Although we must punish in accordance with the law those lawbreakers and criminals belonging to contradictions among the people, we must not handle them as contradictions between ourselves and the enemy.

The conference called on political and legal departments at all levels to conscientiously accept the leadership of the party, to strengthen the building of political and legal ranks, to continue firmly grasping the strengthening of public security, to resolutely hit hard at serious criminal activities in the economic, political and cultural fields, and to guarantee a successful promotion of our four modernizations.

CSO: 4005/1293

PARTY AND STATE

ANHUI PROGRESSES IN DISCIPLINE WORK

OW040933 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Excerpts] According to ANHUI IBAO, under the leadership of the Anhui Provincial CPC Committee, party committees at lower levels and discipline inspection departments in Anhui have taken a series of measures and done a great deal of work to implement the guiding principles for inner-party political life, restore and develop the party's fine traditions and work style, rectify unhealthy tendencies, tighten party discipline and enhance the party's fighting capability. As a result, party discipline in Anhui has markedly improved.

Since the promulgation of the guiding principles for inner-party political life and the draft of the revised CPC constitution, party committees and their discipline inspection commissions at all levels in Anhui have adopted a variety of measures to organize party members and cadres throughout the province to seriously study them. They have rotationally trained a large number of backbone party members. They have also given lectures to all party members systematically in order to educate them in the guiding principles for inner-party political life and in the party's fine traditions and work style. This has been the most extensive education in party regulations, rules and spirit conducted in our province.

To strengthen education in party work style, discipline and spirit among party members and insure the implementation of the guiding principles and other related regulations, the Provincial CPC Committee also made a number of specific stipulations in accordance with the guiding principles and other related central documents and in light of Anhui's reality. Among them are a "circular on strictly banning the use of public funds to entertain guests and give presents," an "emergency circular on investigating and correcting the practice of various organizations procuring commodities directly from production units," "supplemental regulations on improving leadership style and expenses of provincial offices," and "provisional regulations on the standard of cadre's housing and housing distribution."

The Provincial CPC Committee and its Discipline Inspection Commission did not tolerate or take a lenient attitude towards a small number of party members and cadre who corrupted party work style and violated party discipline.

Rather, they seriously and sternly dealt with such cases after wrongdoings were verified by serious investigation. They also mobilized vast numbers of cadres and the masses to discuss such cases, especially typical cases.

In an effort to rectify party work style, various localities in Anhui also waged a resolute struggle against grave criminal activities in the economic field in order to firmly eliminate degenerates in our party. At 5 August, the numbers of economic offenses exposed in our province were as follows: 2,246 cases involving individuals seeking illegal profits worth more than 1,000 yuan, 440 cases worth more than 5,000 yuan, 139 cases worth 10,000 yuan and 10 cases worth 100,000 yuan. Among these 837 cases have been closed after due investigation with 683 persons punished by laws and 5,850,000 yuan of illicit money recovered.

CSO: 4005/1293

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON ISSUE OF 'NATIONAL HEROES'

HK080228 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 82 p 5

[Article by Xiao Tang: "National Heroes and Outstanding Historical Figures"]

[Text] Recently, some comrades have raised the idea of extending the meaning of "national heroes." Judging one's great contributions to the unification and development of his own nationality, and to the development, as well as consolidation, of China's unification as a multinational country, they label Ye Lu A Bao Ji [5102 1774 7093 0202 2894] and Hu Bi Lie [1827 1801 3526] as national heroes. They even go so far to call Wu Shu [0335 5890] and Du Duo [1122 6995] national heroes, due to the former's contribution to the development and expansion of the Jin Kingdom, and the latter's contribution in expanding the Qing Kingdom southward. In his article "On China's Historical Territories and Ancient National Wars," (in Issue No 4 of QIUSHI XUEKAN [SEEKING TRUTH ACADEMIC JOURNAL], 1982) Chen Wutong [7115 2745 2717] raised different ideas.

Chen contends that if we define the concept of "national heroes" by the above-mentioned criterion, all the leaders, intellectuals, militarists and politicians who have made contributions to the development of various nationalities and Chinese history, such as the emperors Qing Shi, Han Wu, Tang Tai Zong and Song Tai Zu can be called national heroes indiscriminately. He held that the title of national hero must have its own specific implication. National heroes must be closely linked with national struggles and only those who have shown their courageous and dauntless spirit, and have made great contributions in the struggle against national oppression and national aggression can be called national heroes. Without national struggles, there are no national heroes. Based on this principle, we can distinguish national heroes from other outstanding historical figures. It is true that Ye Lu A Bao Ji and Hu Bi Lie made great contributions to their own nationalities and to the historical development of the whole Chinese nation, and they are outstanding historical figures who must be fully recognized. However, they are not national heroes. Meanwhile, we may comment also on the struggle of right and wrong between conflicting historical figures such as Hu Bi Lie and Wen Tian Xiang. Hu Bi Lie played a positive role in history by unifying China and by adopting many measures to develop and consolidate the unification of China. Nevertheless, he not only plundered and killed the people of South Song in war, but also implemented many cruel policies of national

discrimination and oppression. Such a war of national oppression was unjust and he cannot be called a national hero. Whereas the struggle waged by the people and army of South Song in resisting aggression was a just one and Wen Tian Xiang, who fought bravely on the battlefield and finally gave his life, was worthy of the title of national hero. Based on the same principle, Wu Shu and Duo Duo cannot be called national heroes either, and only Yue Fei and Shi Ke Fa deserve to be called national heroes.

It must be pointed out that the principle of national equality must be upheld in studying and evaluating national wars and national heroes of different nationalities of China. In evaluating events and figures in national wars, we must adhere to a unified standard and must not treat the Hans with one standard and a minority nationality with another. Due to the fact that most historical documents and works have been written by Hans, the minority nationalities have been depicted as the oppressors, plunderers and invaders of the Hans. The wars waged by minority nationalities have been depicted as excessively cruel and of a plundering and aggressive nature, as if justice was on the side of the Hans and national heroes only emerged from among the Hans. Obviously, this is the prejudice of Han chauvinism which should be thoroughly eliminated and rectified.

CSO: 4005/1293

'ABNORMAL PHENOMENA' OBSERVED AT CPC CONGRESS

OW052355 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 3 Sep 82

[Text] Two very abnormal phenomena have been observed at the 12th CPC National Congress. First, on the first day of the congress, the appearance of a small coterie was very noticeable among the delegates. Second, although the party Central Committee has instructed that the 12th CPC National Congress be held in a frugal manner, there are still several different grades of treatment for the delegates. If such phenomena, which have incurred extremely unfavorable responses from among the delegates, are not corrected, they certainly will produce harmful effects within the party and among the people.

What we call "small coterie" refers mainly to the group of people who have gradually rallied around Comrade Deng Xiaoping after the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Among them are leading comrades of the party Central Committee and its Military Commission and the military regions as well as the principal leading comrades of certain provinces and municipalities. These "closest" comrades can be represented by the 42 who were received by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in three groups on the eve of the congress and on the second day of the congress. This is, in fact, virtually no different from the way Chairman Mao and the gang of four, during the cultural revolution, discussed things at their residences with their confidants. Dividing the delegates into "close" and "not too close" is one of the most disgusting practices left over from the Ninth CPC National Congress. It is totally improper that such a practice is still being followed today.

Secondly, since it has been determined that the congress would be convened according to the principle of frugality; all the delegates should be treated equally. While there are differences in positions and authorities in work among the delegates, treatment for them as delegates to the party congress should not be different. Many privileged delegates, however, are housed in luxurious buildings, provided with sedans for transportation and are feted in Zhongnanhai almost every day.

In recent years, the party Central Committee has repeatedly stressed that everyone is equal before law and truth, and that, within the party, everybody should address each other as comrade. This is to introduce the practice of equality among all the comrades within the party and the country. Apparently the differences in treatment that have been observed at the congress have violated the spirit of what the party Central Committee has said.

CSO: 4005/1293

DENG VIOLATES CPC'S DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES

OW052359 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 3 Sep 82

[Text] One cannot help feeling regret that the party's democratic principles have been violated at the 12th CPC National Congress. It was decided at the seventh plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee that the delegates to the 12th CPC National Congress be informed of the letter of appeal from Huang Yongsheng, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and 14 other former leaders of our armed forces to the 12th CPC National Congress, as well as the request from Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Jiang Tengjiao and others to the discipline inspection committees of the CPC Central Committee and its Military Commission for an objective and factual review of the case about the so-called "scheme to assassinate Chairman Mao." For this reason, the Secretariat of the 12th CPC National Congress had the letter of appeal and the request duplicated so that each panel of the congress would have a copy. But Comrade Deng Xiaoping ordered that the contents of the above-mentioned letter and request be kept from the delegates. Such a practice has seriously violated the principles for inner-party democratic life.

How can we educate the party members and the people of our country if we talk glibly about socialist democracy and socialist law in our reports but pay no attention to them in actual work, and even such an organ as the Secretariat of the congress also has to yield to the pressure of certain individual and cannot take the lead to foster democracy?

When Chairman Mao Zedong and the gang of four placed themselves above the party Central Committee and party congresses, the broad masses of party members--including even the state chairman, the chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, vice chairmen and general secretary of the party, premier and defense minister--could do nothing but curse in their hearts, it only indicated that there was very little democracy in our party.

To forestall the recurrence of similar incidences in which one single person can dominate the will of the majority, we must, starting now--this is to say, starting from the 12th CPC National Congress--give full play to democracy in the party and settle all major problems, particularly the major historical problems, through extensive discussion and democratic consultations. The so-called "Lin Biao case," which has implicated as many as 10,000 people in the party and in the armed forces, is exactly such a problem left over by history.

CSO: 4005/1293

NATIONWIDE DISCUSSION OF CONSTITUTION ENDS

OW062346 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0703 GMT 5 Sep 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 5 Sep (XINHUA)--According to XINHUA reporters, the 4-month long nationwide discussion of the draft of the revised constitution ended on 31 August. The 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions as well [as] various central organizations and the PLA general political department have all sent to the secretariat of the constitutional revision committee their reports on how their discussions were conducted as well as their opinions with regard to the revision. Overseas Chinese residing abroad and compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao have also sent in their opinions on the draft of the revised constitution.

It is generally maintained that the draft of the revised constitution not only tallies with our country's actual situation, but has also considered the prospects for development over a relatively long period, and so it reflects the fundamental interests of the people throughout the country. After it is reviewed and adopted by the National People's Congress, the draft certainly will become a relatively perfect cardinal law in our country's legislative history, guiding the people of all nationalities to work hard to build our country into a modern socialist power.

While reviewing the major provisions in the draft of the revised constitution concerning political and economic systems, people in various parts of the country maintained that because the draft, on the basis of comprehensively summarizing the positive and negative experiences gained after the founding of the country over a period of more than 30 years, has included the 4 basic principles in its preamble as the foundation of national construction, and because these 4 basic principles are also found throughout the draft and because it has clearly stated that the Chinese people's basic task from now on is to concentrate their efforts on socialist modernization, it has charted a clear-cut course for the people and has a great significance for ensuring our country's development along the socialist course.

They pointed out that the provisions of the draft regarding the tenure of state leaders, simplification of government organizations, expansion of socialist democracy, respect for the people's democratic rights and strengthening the people's congress system as well as the system under which the premier assumes responsibility for the state council fully reflect the common aspirations and

fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities because not only they conform to the basic Marxist theory on the state, but also tally with the situation of our country.

The broad masses of people also maintained that the provisions in the draft of revised constitution regarding the reinstatement of the state chairmanship and the establishment of the central military council to lead the nation's armed forces mark a further improvement of our country's state system. Many people added that the draft's provision regarding the inseparability of the citizens' rights and obligations will have positive effects on guarding against the recurrence of anarchism and such phenomena, which appeared during the "cultural revolution," as demanding only rights but not fulfilling obligations.

During the nationwide discussion of the draft of the revised constitution, the secretariat of the constitutional revision committee received more than 2,000 letters concerning the people's opinions and suggestions on the draft of the revised constitution. All the letters' writers hope that the draft will be further perfected, and that supervision over the constitution will be strengthened so that the constitution can be properly implemented.

CSO: 4005/1299

PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO FURTHER IMPROVE PARTY'S WORK STYLE EMPHASIZED

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [REPORT OF THE TIMES] in Chinese No 5, 1982 pp 89-90

[Article by Lu Chuntian [4150 4783 3944]: "Strive for Greater Success in Rectifying the Party's Work Style"]

[Text] In 1982, an important task facing the entire party is to struggle against various unhealthy tendencies which are bound to have a corrosive effect on its organization and to strive for greater success in rectifying the party's work style. A Marxist proletarian political party must have not only the political line, principles and policies which represent the proletarian interests, but also an excellent style of work which is an embodiment of the proletarian world outlook, ideology and code of ethics. If the party does not have an excellent style of work, it will find it impossible to put its correct line, principles and policies truly into effect. This is why, since its founding, our party has attached very great importance to the development of its political ideology and work style. Our party is unsurpassed by other political parties in terms of its ability to achieve unity in forging close ties with the masses, the indomitable spirit it has displayed in struggle, selfless devotion of its members to the public interest, an embodiment of their noble quality, and their exemplary conduct which reflects their willingness to make themselves the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts. This is the source of strength which has made our party unbeatable and invincible in confrontation with enemies.

Comrade Chen Yun said: "The problem concerning our ruling party's work style is a problem that will vitally effect its very existence." Since our party gained the status as the ruling party, its work style has become a matter of special significance. Whether its work style is good or bad not only will have a decisive effect on its destiny and future but also will affect the civilian lifestyle, the social atmosphere, the consolidation of the political power now under its leadership, and the outcome of our socialist construction program. The 10 years of turmoil brought tremendous damage to our party and country of which our party's work style bore the brunt. Although our party has made progress in rectifying its work style, it remains far from satisfactory. It can be said that no noticeable changes have been made in this direction. For example, such unhealthy practices by some of our party members as seeking personal connections for selfish purposes, propensity for backdoor dealings, obsession with special privileges, abuse of authority for the benefit of one's children, worshiping everything foreign and fawning on foreigners at the expense of our personal and national dignity still need to be eliminated.

Particularly serious is the fact that some Communist Party members including highly responsible cadres have even gone so far as to involve themselves in smuggling, black marketing activities, embezzlement, bribery, speculation and other unlawful and criminal activities. As a result, they have converted a large amount of state and collective property into their private ownership. These people have virtually disqualified themselves to be called Communist Party members. Confronted with this situation, some of our party organizations and leading bodies did not consider this a matter of serious nature, toward which they have adopted a permissible, indifferent and carefree attitude. Some have even gone so far as to appease law-breakers and discipline-breachers by covering them up and by setting up one obstacle after another to the prosecution of certain particular cases. Although some did want to do something about it, they have been handicapped by a lack of guts, courage and feasible strategies. If this situation is allowed to continue, it is certain that our party will be in danger of changing its color through a process of peaceful evolution as more and more party members will become susceptible to corruption and temptation for decadent ways of living, and begin to show no interest in implementing the party's correct line, principles and policies. No party member faithful to party character and with a sense of responsibility can respond to this problem that threatens the very existence of the party with an apathetic attitude.

Before nationwide liberation, Comrade Mao Zedong discussed the problem of how to resist bourgeois attacks with "sugar-coated bullets," saying: "There may be some communists who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets. They will be defeated by such bullets. We must guard against such a situation." Does this practical danger still exist today? Numerous facts can provide an answer to this question, indicating that this danger still exists. Although exploiters as a class have disappeared from our country, the class struggle still continues to exist and sometimes will even become acute. This means that the struggle between the corrosive influence and those who oppose it will not stop. At the same time, our implementation of an open door economic policy will give foreign decadent bourgeois ideologies and cultures a chance to invade our country. For this reason, we cannot rule out this possibility that those Communist Party members who joined the revolution long ago and subsequently survived tests of the protracted revolutionary struggle, and who were conquered neither by enemies with guns in battles nor threats of the "gang of four" may fall victim to the unhealthy bourgeois ideas or be conquered by the bourgeoisie armed with "sugar-coated bullets," during the current struggle between the corrosive influence and those who oppose it. The alternative in preventing this threat is to strengthen the training of party members in party character and to foster a sound style of work for our party. What we fear most is not the corrosive bourgeois influence or attacks by external enemies, but the corruption of our party itself. Our middle level and senior party cadres can play a pivotal role in strengthening the organization of the party and in improving its structure. As long as they behave themselves well as firm, sober-minded and hopeful Marxists, they will be able to lead our party to advance in the correct direction, and greatly strengthen its fighting power. In the end, they will be able to foil any attempt by hostile forces to corrupt and topple our party.

To rectify the party's work style in a more fundamental way, we must pick up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism and actively develop the ideological struggle within the framework of the party. Once an unhealthy tendency takes shape, it will tend to become stubborn and cannot be easily overcome unless by necessary struggles. During the past several years, some unhealthy tendencies have emerged to affect our party and still need to be eliminated. The fact that such tendencies have become widespread in some units does not stem from the reason that they did not know what is right and what is wrong, but that few have ever dared to challenge them. Efforts must be made to change this situation in the future. We must struggle against all demoralization tendencies inclined to destroy our party and undermine its prestige as well as those liberalism-oriented, spineless and carefree elements inclined to protect such tendencies. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the party. This is a reflection within the party of contradictions between classes, and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the party's life would come to an end." By broadening the cruel struggle, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" tortured cadres and people for no reason at all. As a result, some innocent cadres were thrown out of office or were even tortured to death. This sad and painful memory remains fresh to some comrades who would panic at the mere mention of the term "struggle" and who still have misgivings with regard to the ideological struggle. But under no circumstances should we give up criticism and ideological struggles because we once suffered from the cruel struggle carried out by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." If we do, our party will end up losing its fighting power and ability to save those cadres who have made relatively serious mistakes but still can be educated, and to defeat offensives on the ideological front, launched by the bourgeoisie. In the course of the iedological struggle developed by our party, we must prevent some people from labeling and wielding the stick against others, concentrate on implementing the party's policies and analyze problems in concrete terms. But what deserves our great attention is a liberalization tendency to discourage people from criticizing and denouncing those who should be criticized and denounced. At present, we do see a vulgar practice prevail over our party, which emphasizes the need for saving face and for building personal relationships for selfish purposes. Although some comrades are known for their near-perfect performances, they never want to criticize mistakes committed by others. For fear of offending others, they never want to say a word about the unhealthy tendencies. Nor are they willing to struggle against any violators of the party's interests. But they have never hesitated to sacrifice the party's principles in the name of seeking the so-called "unity." These people have actually played a role in providing a "protective umbrella" for various unhealthy tendencies. It goes without saying that whichever unit is dominated by such people will find it difficult to make justice prevail over evil force, and will place its party branch in danger of being converted into a haven for a few speculators who were allowed to join the party earlier. This is why we consider it necessary to carry on the ideological struggle while resolutely rejecting the approach by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to confuse friend with foe. It can be said that the party's workstyle will stand no chance of being rectified, if we fail to carry out the necessary ideological struggle in which the proletarian ideology can be used to defeat its bourgeois counterpart and

correct ideas can be used to defeat incorrect ideas. As for those few people found guilty of engaging in unlawful and criminal activities in the economic field, they should not be allowed to escape punishment in accordance with the provisions of party discipline and state laws. Special efforts must be made to consolidate those party organizations which have been found rotten to the core.

Ours is a party armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Since we could destroy the old world and build a new world, we can certainly cleanse our own bodies. During the past few months, thanks to determination and resolute measures displayed and adopted by the party Central Committee to integrate the rectification of the party's work style with the development of our spiritual civilization, the campaign launched for this purpose has gained momentum and produced relatively good results. This proves that the argument that people have lost confidence in rectifying the party's work style is unfounded. Let us rally around the party Central Committee and join one another in striving for greater success in rectifying the party's work style this year!

9574
CSO: 4005/1084

PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLES REVIEW POLICY TOWARD INTELLECTUALS

Investigation of Intellectuals' Problems

Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 15 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "Do a Good Job of Investigating Intellectual Work; Central Committee Organization Department Sends Out Investigating Teams to Understand Situation, Danger of a Few Units Only Going Through the Motions Should be Watched"]

[Text] According to a report in today's RENMIN RIBAO, recently the Central Committee's Organization, Propaganda, and United Front Departments and the State Science Committee and the Labor Personnel Department has sent out five investigating teams to provinces, cities and autonomous regions to look into the situations in these places with regard to investigation of intellectuals work. The investigating teams began work at the end of May and the beginning of June.

Beginning in March of this year, according to a communique from the CCP Central Committee all areas in the country began investigation of intellectuals work. Party committees at all levels regard this work very highly and in many provinces, cities and autonomous regions leadership comrades have personally started work and some have even led investigating teams down to the grassroots level, had heart-to-heart talks with intellectuals, held conferences and directly resolved situations and remaining problems in intellectuals work. Now departments' investigations of intellectuals work is at the important stage of researching and emphasizing the resolution of problems. Many localities and departments are in the process of collecting questions which have been discovered during investigation and discriminating the circumstances. They are resolving those that they can resolve themselves and for those which are hard to resolve for the time being, they are drafting feasible suggestions and doing ideological work on the personnel involved. However, there are a few units which are in danger of treating this as a mere formality and only going through the motions.

Party Committee Corrects Wrongs

Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 15 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "Haizhu Ward Party Committee Adopts Method of Investigation and Implementation To Resolve a Group of 'Old' Questions for Intellectuals"]

[Text] The Guangzhou City, Haizhu Ward CCP Committee is concentrating on investigating the implementation of policy toward intellectuals in the ward and

has adopted a method of both investigating and implementing to resolve quickly a group of questions which have gone unresolved for a long time.

Since April of this year, an investigating team led by the Haizhu Ward deputy secretary, together with the grassroots level units concerned, through conferences, individual heart-to-heart talks and home visits, heard directly the complaints of over 500 middle level medical and engineering technicians and teachers (over 90 percent of the population). They held 7 meetings by category, investigated questions one by one and then the investigating team directly coordinated the handling of questions which had encountered major obstacles, and resolved them one by one. A minority of intellectuals protested their individual political verdicts, for though they had appealed many times, the unit concerned stuck by its original decision due to the influence of "leftist" thinking and they were never cleared. The investigating team and the unit concerned, together, researched one by one the background materials on these comrades, reached a consensus on the matter and changed the original inappropriate political verdict. There was a teacher who had had 2.19 yuan deducted from her pay for no reason since the "Cultural Revolution." She had protested many times, but the department concerned just kept dragging it along unresolved. Recently, through the intervention of the ward investigating team, the question was resolved for her in a few hours. In addition to this, they also implemented policy with regard to some cadres whose wages had had deductions from the time of the "Cultural Revolution"; they thoroughly eliminated some untrue materials which had been placed in the dossiers of personnel concerned during the various movements.

In 2 short months the investigating team has resolved or is resolving questions raised by over 30 intellectuals. There was a doctor who said that some property which had been inventoried and confiscated during the "Cultural Revolution" had never been restored and the department concerned had never investigated and dealt with the matter. The investigating team gave instructions that all subordinate units in the ward were to conduct a conscientious investigation of this question and they discovered 10 similar cases. These questions are now recieving appropriate attention. A technician who not long ago was transferred to the Haizhu Ward City Building Bureau was wrongly sentenced over 20 years ago, but after the courts cleared him, his original unit never went through the procedures to restore his cadre and wage benefits. Although the Ward City Building Bureau had no direct responsibility they assumed an attitude of responsibility and appointed someone to resolve the issue in connection with the original unit.

8226
CSO: 4005/982

PARTY AND STATE

COMMENTARY ON LEARNING FROM VETERAN PARTY MEMBERS

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jun 82 p 1

[Commentary: "Respect Old Party Members, Emulate Old Party Members"]

[Text] On the eve of the 61st anniversary of the founding of the CCP, the Guangdong CCP Committee invited 40 old party members not withdrawn from production to come to Guangzhou for a meeting to look back on history, recall martyrs and look forward to the future. This embodies fully the love and concern of the party for old party members from rural areas and at the same time adds a very significant activity to the commemoration of "1 July" and provides lively teaching material for our revolutionary traditions and communist education of party members. With the greatest respect we here extend our cordial greetings to the old party members who are participating in this conference and to the old party members who could not attend.

Guangdong was one of the earliest provinces to launch revolutionary activity after the founding of the CCP. There are now still 1,700 old party members not withdrawn from production in the rural areas of the province. They entered the Chinese Communist Party in the three different revolutionary periods of the first and second revolutionary wars and the war of resistance against Japan. The 40 old comrades who are participating in this conference are representatives of the 1,700 old party members. Whether in the years of revolutionary war or in the period of socialist revolution and construction, these old comrades have been severely tested and tempered and have made valuable contributions for the party and the people. Before the founding of the country, in extremely difficult times and extremely adverse surroundings, they risked their lives, shed blood and tears, fought bravely and did not fear sacrifice for the revolution. After the founding of the country, in the rural areas they kept up the struggle, led the masses to clean out the bandits and oppose local tyrants, to carry out land reform, to walk the road of cooperativization, to build an enterprise through hard work and never give up the struggle to change the backward situation in the rural areas. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee they have regained their youthful vigor, resolutely upheld the party's line, principles and policies, carried on the party's excellent traditions and work style, and maintained the purity of the communism of Communist Party members. In these old party members we can see that noble character whose "contributions to the party and people are great, but whose demands on the party and people are few," which does not claim credit for itself, is not arrogant, and wholeheartedly serves the revolution and the people; that strong faith which remembers

the aim of the struggle, and fights to the end for communism; that excellent work style which fights hard, is honest in performing official duties, is willing to bear the burden of office and is intimately concerned for the masses.

The Chinese Communist Party members of our province should conscientiously emulate the communist ideology and character of these old party members and strive to uphold the purity of communism. Party organizations at all levels should use all means to publicize their revolutionary spirit, mobilize and organize the broad party membership to emulate their achievements and call on everyone loyally to keep their oath of allegiance to the party, wholeheartedly to serve the people and struggle all their lives for communism like these old party members.

We wish old party member comrades health and long life and we hope that in their remaining years these old party members will pass on to new party members and the young generation the party's excellent traditions and work style, will make a new contribution to training revolutionary successors and so there will be people to carry on the party's enterprise.

8226
CSO: 4005/982

PARTY AND STATE

CADRES' PRACTICE OF BUILDING RESIDENCES ON FARMLAND CONDEMNED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Sun Xupei [1327 2485 1014]: "The Widespread Practice of Construction of Residences in Funan"]

[Text] In certain counties in the Fuyang District of Anhui the cadres' practice of building residences is very widespread. The newcomer, Funan County, ended up in front. It ranks first in the district for having the most rapid rate of development, largest quantity, highest standards and the greatest amount of occupied land.

Standing on the roof of the county CCP committee's office building and looking toward the north and south, the fields can be seen to alternate red and green. Twenty or 30 fine red brick residences are scattered here and there. Most of them have principal rooms, side rooms, passageways and an enclosing wall. They have courtyards for cultivating flowers and vegetables that exceed the building area by two or three-fold. They also have old fashioned gateway arches. In some residences there are also buildings of two or more stories which are of fine construction. Some windows have four layers: steel windows, steel nets, screen windows and glass panes. They are capable of keeping out thieves, sparrows, mosquitoes and the wind.

According to surveys, in the country town of Funan, in the 2 years since the publication of the "Guiding Principles," 153 residences have been built. Most of these have been built for cadres, including 4 houses for the deputy secretaries of the county CCP committee and deputy Hasien magistrates, 9 houses for leading comrades in ministries, committees and offices, and 37 houses for leading cadres at the division and bureau level. There were also some built for ordinary cadres. In addition, there were also ordinary yet uncommon workers such as the driver in the county general unit for harnessing the Huai River, who built a 3-story building (13 rooms) that served concurrently as a hotel (with 19 beds) and as a restaurant. Before long, 16 newly built residences charged rent and opened up hotels. This included two houses of cadres at the level of district CCP committee secretary and above and five houses of cadres who were level one section chiefs.

In view of the normal income of those who built private residences, for the most part they cannot afford to build these residences, which are worth between

several thousand yuan and 10,000 or 20,000 yuan. In Huanggang District there is the case of a culture and education secretary. The wage income of both husband and wife is only 116 yuan. There are 8 family members, yet they were able to buy land over 40 li outside of the county town to build a 7-room house. Based on preliminary investigations, problems of varying degrees exist among those who build private residences. The sources of their capital funds and materials frequently depend on the following channels. First, they take advantage of the power of their position to take public materials that are used in building storehouses, workshops and staff and worker dormitories for building private residences. Buildings of the Grain Bureau and other agencies are damaged, yet cadres' houses are the most numerous and most beautiful. The station head of the grain supply center in the outskirts of town, Zhao Xiyong [6392 6007 3057], lives in a public 10-room house, yet he built a residence that has 5 large rooms. In old and new houses there are still piles of several cubic meters of numbered timber, nine sacks of hemp, bricks, logs, bamboo poles, reinforcing bars, etc., all of which are preparatory for the continued building of residences. Second, they use graft and embezzlement. In the flour mill there is a petroleum products storeman who used the method of decreasing the production of oil and embezzled money from over 10,000 jin of vegetable seed oil to build an attractive residence. Third, they make use of public vehicles without payment to transport materials. They take advantage of their positions to transfer labor.

Of these residences, 123 are built on good fertile farmland. On the average, each household has half a mu of cultivated land. In the Grain Bureau there is a deputy bureau director who did not build a residence. He first built a surrounding wall which enclosed 1.54 mu of cultivated land. As far as land for building residences is concerned, 14 residences received endorsement from the Urban Construction Bureau (also illegal) and the rest used illegitimate methods. Through force or trickery, they secured land from the five production brigades in the nearby Zhang, Qian, Ni and Guai farms and from the Leng stockade. They used methods such as inviting guests to eat and drink, providing work for the children of local cadres and providing food to fix the selling of grain in order to buy land cheaply. In the past 3 years, in the vicinity of the county town, cultivated land has decreased by 2,110 mu, of which over 540 mu has been used to build private dwellings. The complaints of the masses have been strong. An older man in the Zhang estate walked half a li with the provincial CCP committee's Commission on the Inspection of Discipline to visit the owner of the residences. They scolded them saying: "Our land has all been sold to local officials by cadres. Later on you will have nothing to eat."

Based on investigation, the building of residences in Funan County is widespread and difficult to rectify. It is related to the factionalism left over from the "Great Cultural Revolution" that was not thoroughly eradicated. According to statistics, there are 17 leaders from the rebel group who today still hold leading positions as commune secretaries and above. Quite a few of them move between the upper and lower levels and engage in many unsound and evil practices. During the "Cultural Revolution" although in the Fuyang District the No 1 rebel leader, member of the former standing committee of the Fuyang District CCP Committee and secretary of the Funan County CCP Committee, Nie so and so had been exposed, removed from office and transferred to another county to assume the position of commune deputy director, nevertheless, he still had quite an in-

fluence over Funan. Several people willingly helped him to build a residence to the north of the town. (He originally had a home of 4 rooms, now he had one built with 7 rooms covering 144 square meters.) Before long, in collusion with 11 others, he bought almost 9 mu of land preparatory to building another new residence.

With the assistance and support of work teams from the provincial CCP committee, during the middle of April the Funan County CCP Committee organized the standing committee of the County People's Congress, the county government and other concerned leading cadres to take a look around the 10 or so residences. Afterwards they also dispatched people to make investigations. At present, the practice of building residences has been checked, but work in investigation and dealing with this matter has been very slow. Some leading comrades have an overwhelming fear of difficulty. Their measures are ineffective and they have a wait-and-see attitude. The masses informed the authorities of these problems, and 10 or more of these typical residences were investigated with the result that only 3 houses were said to be problems. Many people contended that money had been borrowed from friends and relatives in the country and that was that. However, when the work team of the local CCP committee carried out investigations in the countryside, the peasants said: Our circumstances have just begun to improve, where could we get so much money to lend to people in the cities to build homes? That is ridiculous.

Recently, the Anhui Provincial CCP Committee instructed the Fuyang Local CCP Committee and the Funan County CCP Committee to conscientiously investigate and deal with this problem. As their first step they demanded that land that had not yet been developed or land on which a foundation had already been layed be returned immediately to the peasants for cultivation. At the same time they decided to dispatch a joint fact finding group composed of leaders from the provincial Commission for the Inspection of Discipline, the standing committee of the Provincial People's Congress, the Procuratorate, the Planning Commission, the Construction Commission, the Finance Department and other units. On the basis of investigating and studying the situation, they earnestly helped the Funan County CCP Committee deal with this problem.

9864
CSO: 4005/1023

COMMENTS ON BIOGRAPHY OF TAN SITONG

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO 6 Jul 82 p 5

[Article by Wang Junyi [3769 0193 5030]: "On 'Tan Sitong: Biography and Commentary'"]

[Text] Tan Sitong was a patriotic thinker in modern Chinese history. As a famous representative of the radicals of the 1889 Reform Movement and as a pioneering thinker of the bourgeois democratic revolution, he has received attention and has been a subject of research. A new research work has been published recently by the Shanghai Publishing House--Deng Tanzhou's [6772 3389 3166] "Tan Sitong: Biography and Commentary" (hereinafter "Biography and Commentary"). Compared with other research works on Tan Sitong, this book has a more solid collection of historical materials, a more thoroughgoing and systematic treatment of the subject matter and more independent ideas. It is a good reference for the study of Tan Sitong.

The author has collected much hard-to-find firsthand materials for the book which is the result of many years of study and thinking. The book gives a systematic analysis and comprehensive commentary on Tan's life and thinking. It is both a biography and a commentary. Much of the book is devoted to a detailed account of Tan's life, beginning from his family and his youth through the period of the 1889 Reform and ending with his heroic death. Many factual errors contained in other biographical and chronological accounts on Tan have been clarified. There are special chapters on the social background and theoretical origins of Tan's thinking. There are many commentaries on Tan's philosophical, social, political, and literary though. Looking into his philosophical thought, the book deals with the basic materialist tendency of his natural outlook, his vigorous dialectics, and his historical views on development and change. It also points out how, in the theory of knowledge, he was stifled by the Buddhist theology and was finally converted to idealism. The book shows how the turbulent and complicated currents of society existing at the end of the 19th century were reflected in Tan's complex philosophical thought, the book points out that Tan's thought reflected the pulses of the times more than the other thinkers of his time. The author discusses at length Tan's democratic ideas and revolutionary thoughts, pointing out that although he joined the 1889 Reform Movement, his political thought went beyond reformism so that he became a pioneer of the bourgeois revolution. Hitherto, research works on Tan Sitong have been mostly specialized commentaries on par-

ticular subjects; few books are like "Biography and Commentary" which, combining history and commentary, treats Tan's thoughts comprehensively and systematically. Therefore the publication of this book, filling a need in this respect, has advanced research on Tan.

The book has absorbed and digested the findings of other books on Tan but has not been limited by them. It has made bold attempts to form new ideas and has expressed the author's independent thinking in commentaries or in the footnotes on controversial issues. For example, some scholars have argued that Tan in his early period had a conservative political thinking but a materialistic outlook and that around the time of the 1889 Reform he had become a political radical but a philosophical idealist. "Biography and Commentary" holds that Tan's philosophical views and his political thought should not be separated. The two are an integral whole. His philosophical views were the theoretical basis of his political reforms. His philosophical views were basically materialistic although they suffered severely from idealist impurities. His political thoughts became increasingly radical although they were not thoroughgoing. Such complexities in his thought accurate reflected the political weakness and theoretical compromise of the bourgeoisie of which he was a representative.

Based on historical facts, the book questions some widely held views and materials contained in other studies on Tan. For example, "Liu Ai Si" (Si Tragic Poems) and "Biography of Tan Sitong" written by Kang Youwei [1660 064 3634] and Liang Qichao [2733 0796 6389], the earliest existing biography works on Tan Sitong, have long become important source materials for studies on Tan's life and thinking. But these works, according to "Biography and Commentary," describe Tan as a faithful discipline of Kang Youwei and diehard royalist, and therefore have taken away the brilliance of Tan's democratic revolutionary thought, and covered up Tan's difference with Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao in political views. In misrepresenting Tan's image, Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao aimed at exploiting people's respect for Tan for the benefit of their royalist cause. So one must exercise discretion when using "Liu Ai Si" and "Biography of Tan Sitong" as historical materials. Another example: It is said that Tan wrote a "Farewell Note" to Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao on the eve of his death, a note often quoted as dependable historical material. The author of "Biography and Commentary," however, with the help of an account as narrated by Wang Zhao [3769 3564] who went into exile in Japan at the same time as Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, has found that the "Farewell Note" is permeated with royalist tones characteristic of Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, but very alien to the mainstream of Tan's thinking and to his style. So the author concludes that "Note" is a forgery by Kang Youwei and Liang Zichao. The argument is based on an analysis of factual material and is worth considering.

9856
CSO: 4005/1026

PARTY AND STATE

OUTSTANDING PEOPLE SHOULD BE RESPECTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO 8 Jul 82 p 8

[Article by Lei Ke [7191 0344]: "The Emergence of Outstanding People"]

[Text] A poem by Zhao Yi [6392 5065] of the Qing Dynasty says: "Outstanding people emerge in each generation, enjoying the praise of the land for hundreds of years." The poem referred to people in the literary world, but in the socialist age outstanding people emerge in an endless stream from all walks of life--some devote themselves wholeheartedly to work, some think single-mindedly of the public good, some live an upright and honest life, some sacrifice their lives to duty. For our age, outstanding people include not only those great men and women who stand at the forefront of the times, and those geniuses who have an insight into the mysteries of the universe, but also those people who, without making a showy display of it, are willing to devote more of their time and effort to the great cause of mankind.

But the problem is some of the outstanding people, once they have emerged, are treated very fairly. This is found in the past, and is still unavoidable in the present. As noted by some people, progressive people, whether they are recognized as outstanding or not, are not popular in certain places. Because you strive hard and are anxious to get ahead, although overdoing it a bit sometimes, you are described as bent on "following the fashion" and "seeking publicity." Because you are conscientious about work, scrupulous about following rules and regulations and dare to resist crooked ways and dishonest practices, you are accused of "minding other's business." Because you compete with others to be a progressive and suffer a setback, they refuse to give you sympathy and support and even blame you for having "asked for it." Some progressive people, even after being recognized as exemplary people, still cannot escape such mocking comments as: "He has a personal design in wanting to become a progressive" or "He has a mixed motive in wanting to become a model." There are even people who use all kinds of "legitimate" reasons to obstruct progressive people, oppress them, impede their work, make it difficult for them to do anything.

Lu Xun had this to say on the subject: "Whenever Chinese say or do something, if it is somewhat contrary to the inherited customs, they must succeed in one somersault in order to have a place in the sun or to be praised with the warmth of a hot iron. Otherwise, they will not escape the crime of wanting to do

something new and different, or the fate of being silenced, or the accusation that they have committed the greatest and most unforgivable treason and heresy." Our models and pacesetters suffer from the same fate. Being progressives, they naturally run "contrary to inherited customs," breaking the bounds of the old ideology and achieving a state of knowledge and consciousness beyond the reach of ordinary people. This is why they have invited various criticisms and become unpopular in certain quarters. And this is precisely why we must view progressive people in a true perspective and support them wholeheartedly. It is important to be alert and good at discovering the heroes, the outstanding and progressive people; it is equally important to help them establish themselves and move forward. Today, under new historical conditions, since we want to achieve our socialist modernization and build both our material and spiritual civilizations, we rely even more on the broad masses of the people, on the continuing emergence of outstanding people from among them, who will bring a new life, a new outlook, a new vigor to the whole ranks of the laborers and to all society. This is why our party and government have so many times emphasized the importance of setting up people as progressive pacesetters so that everybody can learn from them. To be really able to do this, we need to foster such a general consensus first: He who is progressive deserves to be honored and can justly feel so; he who praises and learns from progressive people deserves to be honored and can justly feel so; and he who does the contrary should be criticized and condemned by society. This will allow our models and our progressive people more space and more freedom to put their abilities and talents to work in the fullest way.

9856
CSO: 4005/1026

PARTY AND STATE

PENG ZHEN TALKS ABOUT DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 5, 1982 pp 5-7

[Article by Zeng Jianhui [2582 1696 1798] and Xu Minhe [1776 3046 0735]:

[Text] Nearly 33 years have elapsed since the founding of the PRC. This part of the history of the Chinese people's glorious struggles is truthfully reflected in the draft revised constitution of the PRC which was published the other day.

Apart from the Common Program, a kind of provisional constitution, adopted in September 1949 by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, we had three different constitutions in a little over 30 years. They are the 1954 constitution, that of 1975 and that of 1978. Now, we are going to have another new constitution. The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress voted on 26 April to release the draft revised constitution for study and comments by the people of all the nationalities of the whole country.

This time the constitution is revised to incorporate in the fundamental law of the state the achievements and experiences of the people of all the nationalities in the socialist revolution and construction since the founding of the PRC, especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee elected in 1978. These revisions are attracting worldwide attention because they affect the destiny of the people of the whole country.

In that case, how were the draft revisions of the constitution enacted? What are the most outstanding features of this draft revised constitution as compared to the previous three constitutions? How could discussion of this draft revised constitution by the whole people be assured of complete success?

With these in mind, your reporters asked Comrade Peng Zhen, vice chairman of the Standing Committee, the National People's congress, and vice chairman of the Committee on Constitutional Revisions, to comment on these problems for publication.

Comrade Peng Zhen received your reporters at his residence on 30 April, the third day of the publication of draft revised constitution. Comrade Peng Zhen

is a senior proletarian revolutionary of our party. Since assuming in 1979 such important party and government positions as a member of the 11th CCP Central Committee Politburo and vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, he has made available to the party and the people of the whole country his rich experience and wisdom, and worked enthusiastically with them to weather the turbulent days devoted to bringing order out of chaos. As chairman of the Judicial Committee under the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and secretary of the Political and Legal Committee of the CCP Central Committee, he has contributed heavily toward promoting socialist democracy and improving the socialist legal system as he guided the enactment of a series of laws and regulations.

Comrade Peng Zhen participated all the way through the drafting and enactment of our first constitution--the constitution of 1954. The draft revised constitution just published was prepared under his guidance.

When we reached his residence, Comrade Peng Zhen welcomed us warmly to his living room. He smiled as we explained to him the purposes of our visit. "This is an informal discussion," he said. "The publication of the draft revised consititution is an important event which is worth discussing." He began by telling us the responses he has received since the publication of the draft revised constitution. Citing the comments at home and abroad on this draft revision, he said some believe "it has epoch-making implications," some call it "a milestone," some regard it as "a symposium of a series of current policies," while others think it "has wiped out all the remnants of the Cultural Revolution."....He continued by concluding that "these responses demonstrate that the people at home and abroad regard this draft revised constitution as a summary of what we had achieved in more than 30 years of struggle, a summary of the lessons we have drawn from both positive and negative experiences. Many of the provisions of this draft revision would not be included if not for the lessons we have drawn from the "Great Cultural Revolution." This draft revised constitution has solidified the achievements and experiences of our struggles over a long period of time which we set down in the form of a fundamental law. It seems this draft revised constitution of ours will be able to hold water. Of course we must let the people of the whole country decide whether the draft is good or bad and whether any more revisions are required."

"What are the outstanding features of this draft revision?" Comrade Peng Zhen went on to say: "This is to say, it is based on the actual conditions in China, a country with 1 billion people scattered over 9.6 million square kilometers of land plus territorial waters, which has not developed evenly due to local differences in politics, economy, culture and custom. We must proceed from this reality to draw our lessons from our own history and the experiences of other countries--to absorb all the beneficial matters which agree with our existing conditions and meet our current needs."

Comrade Peng Zhen pointed out: "This draft revised constitution is guided by one basic principle: to work for the greatest good for the greatest majority of people. That is what we all must work for. The eight issues which I

presented to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress are focused on this basic principle."

He said: "While the constitution must proceed mainly from the existing conditions, it must also take the future into account. First, put primary emphasis on reality, and secondly, gear to the needs of the future. The constitution must remain stable for a period of time because it is the foundation of the socialist democracy and legal system. The foundation must not be disturbed at will. Can we disturb the foundation of the Great Hall of the People? Can we disturb the foundation of this house where we talk? If we did, we would not be able to sit here. Consequently, we must work for the stability of the constitution."

Proceeding from the greatest good for the greatest majority of people, the draft revised constitution sets in motion four fundamental principles; provides that the primary task of the Chinese people in this new historical era is to work for the socialist modernizations; lays down new rules for improving the socialist economic and political systems; brings together the socialist democracy and the socialist legal system; places special emphasis on effective protection of the rights and interests of the minority nationalities; sets down a series of guidelines for the development of the socialist culture; ...All these are for the greatest good of the greatest majority of people.

The draft revised constitution has taken a big step forward to promote democracy and establish a better system of law. Comrade Peng Zhen said: "The revision of the constitution this time has brought the people's democracy into full play--setting down realistic and specific provisions with regard to the basic rights of our citizens, strengthening and developing the system of the people's congresses, devising rational division of power of the organs of state...."

"The revision of the constitution this time," continued Comrade Peng Zhen, "has brought democracy into full play. The revision was done under the guidance of the Party Central Committee but based on the opinions of everybody and participated in by everybody. The entire revision process represents the unity of the views of the party and the people.

It took a year and half to solicit the opinions of all circles concerned and work out the draft revised constitution which has just been published. The Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress voted in September 198[illegible] to establish a committee on the revision of the constitution of the People's Republic of China to revise the 1978 constitution. Ye Jianying was elected the chairman of the constitution revision committee, while Song Qingling and Peng Zhen were elected its vice chairmen. Later, the constitution revision committee set up a secretariat with Hu Qiaomu as the secretary general.

Before it began drafting the revision, the Secretariat gathered together the opinions of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, the ministries and agencies of the State Council, the People's Liberation Army, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the various democratic parties

and groups, various people's organizations, the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. It studied the proposals on constitutional revisions introduced by the delegates to the National People's Congress and the suggestions on constitutional revision advanced by the masses. It held more than 10 discussion seminars attended by jurisprudence, political science and economics scholars of both Beijing and other areas, and experts engaged in these particular fields of work. It also studied the three constitutions and related documents of new China, the constitutions of old China, as well as the current and past constitutions of other countries. This is the background against which the Secretariat prepared the draft revision of the constitution.

The exploratory text of the draft revised constitution completed in February 1982 was based on the opinions of all the localities, departments and groups of the whole country which it had sorted out. Before the Politburo approved the exploratory text in principle, it was carefully examined and amended by the CCP Central Committee Secretariat. At the time when the Second Plenary Session of the Constitution Revision Committee deliberated on this exploratory text, the leading organs of the departments of the CCP Central Committee and the armed forces, as well as those of the several provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions also discussed it and recommended many changes. Having examined carefully all these opinions, the Constitution Revision Committee amended the exploratory text both in content and wording, and produced an amended text of the draft revision. After being approved in principle by the CCP Central Committee Secretariat, the amended text was presented to the Third Plenary Session of the Constitution Revision Committee for examination. The Committee discussed the text very carefully, not only article by article, but also word by word.

Comrade Peng Zhen explained the proceedings of the constitution revision to demonstrate how our party leads the people both to enact the constitution and the law and to obey them.

He pointed out that "the constitution is the business rules for our 1 billion people which everybody must obey. Since the people of the whole country must obey it, we must bring the socialist democracy into play by asking all the people to discuss it.

"The process of discussion by the whole people is a process by which all the people confer repeatedly with each other, a process by which the party and the masses confer repeatedly. It is not just a formality. There is no way of knowing whether the views of our party represent the collective views of the people unless we confer with them and learn from the actual application of the law.

"Discussion by the whole people is a very good way to unify the views of all the people. The view of the party and the people must be unified, and views of all the people of the whole country must be unified. How could this be possible, if we do not promote democracy and let everybody participate in the discussion? The four adherences we proposed is a summary of the basic historical experience of our country in modern times as well as a truth

derived from practice. Their position in the draft revised constitution resembles the four columns which support a building. If this were not agreed upon by all, there would be no way to build the house. The four adherences expressly provided in the draft revised constitution do agree with the basic interests and requirements of the people of our country. I believe discussion by the whole people will enable the masses to understand more clearly the importance of this point.

"Discussion by the whole people is an important process by which the 1 billion people participate directly in managing the affairs of the state. The constitution is the fundamental law of the state. When the people take part in discussing the revision of the constitution, they actually participate in drafting and learning how to use the constitution as a legal weapon to manage the important matters of the state.

"Consequently," Comrade Peng Zhen pointed out emphatically, "to organize the whole people to discuss the draft revised constitution is a very important matter. These discussions and revisions will no doubt make the constitution comparatively flawless."

He said when the whole people discuss the draft revision, they must know its content. If not, how could the discussion proceed satisfactorily? The discussion must focus on the major issues in the draft revised constitution. What are the major issues? The eight issues which I had explained on behalf of the Constitution Revision Committee are all major issues. If the people of the whole country could agree on the major issues, the situation would be much simpler. So we must take hold of the major issues and should not let secondary and trifling issues trouble us and divert our attention to other matters."

Comrade Peng Zhen said emphatically again: "The discussion by the whole people must be conducted in full democratic spirit. Everybody should be allowed to speak out and express his views. We must also value the opposing view of the minority because they could help the revision of the constitution."

We ta ked for 2 hours. We know Comrade Peng Zhen is a busy man and we must not ta e too much of his time. We therefore rose to take leave. As Comrade Peng Zhen stood up and walked with us to the door, he asked us: "I hope you comrades who do propaganda work could help the people do the discussion well. The constitution should be revised, enacted and observed by all." His words that "the constitution should be revised, enacted and observed by all" kept ringing in our ears after we had taken leave of Comrade Peng Zhen. Indeed, the revision of the constitution is an important matter to the Chinese people. Let us all do our best for the emergence of this perfect new constitution.

5360
CSO: 4005/1032

PARTY AND STATE

IMPLEMENTING POLICY ON INTELLECTUALS URGED

Aluminum, Electronic Calculators Plants

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Li Zhiqin [2621 3112 4428], Tian Xiuying [3944 4423 5391] and Zhao Lingi [6392 2651 3305]: "To Boldly Promote and To Go All Out To Make Use of Intellectuals"]

[Text] Zibo--The Shandong Aluminum Plant Party Committee has been attaching great importance to and boldly making use of intellectuals in the process of the four modernizations, and has thereby promoted continuous progress in its production.

This plant is a large-scale integrated complex having more than 1,500 intellectuals who account for 10.9 percent of the employees of the whole plant. For the purpose of bringing the role of intellectuals into full play, the plant party committee has politically admitted into our party those who conform to the conditions of becoming a party member, and selected those who qualify for becoming a vanguard to be vanguards. Engineer Chen Linjun [7115 2651 0193] has been with this plant for nearly 30 years. Working diligently and conscientiously, he has made contributions to the production of aluminum oxide. He applied six times for party membership, but his wish never came true because of his family background. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, party organizations have maintained the principle that class origin must be determined by oneself, and questions of a political nature in somebody's history must be examined by reality. Since he is always doing very well in his work, not only has he now been admitted into the party, but as an administrative personnel he has also been promoted to deputy director. At present, the plant as a whole has recruited a total of 489 intellectuals into the party, who account for 30.6 percent of the total number of intellectuals of the plant. At the same time, intellectuals elected to be model workers or advanced producers account for over 30 percent of the total number of model workers of the plant as a whole. The plant party committee in making use of intellectuals has successfully adopted the principle of appointing people on their merits. At present, a total of 85 intellectuals have been promoted to leading posts, and 14 of them are on posts of department level and above. They have authority of office and thereby give full play to their professional knowledge. Because our policy has been implemented, the

enthusiasm of large numbers of intellectuals has been aroused. According to incomplete statistics, since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, they have put forward more than 20,000 reasonable suggestions of which more than 4,000 reform projects have been implemented. As a result, they have created a new standard of the 1980's with the old equipment of the 1950's. In 1981, the total value of industrial output increased 27 times over that in 1954 when the plant was in its initial stage. In the same period of time, more than 20 different categories of aluminum oxide have been developed from only a single type of product at the initial stage of the plant.

Weifang--The Weifang Electronic Calculators Plant is a key producer of series-100 calculators in our country. It has a total of 102 scientific and technical personnel. In recent years, a total of 58 of them have one after another been admitted into our party, and 20 of them have assumed leading posts of the plant and the workshop. The leading cadres of the plant have tried their very best to give priority to caring for the daily needs and dwellings of intellectuals. The scientific and technical personnel of the whole plant have personally realized that they themselves have really become a part of the working class, and that basic changes have taken place in their mental attitude. They work assiduously as if they were masters in making concerted efforts to successfully run a socialist enterprise.

This plant started to produce DIS-130 calculators in 1977. Its products have been well received and won high credit. In mid-January this year, the state designated this plant to produce DIS-153 high quality electronic claculators. They have completed the mission of trial production with an amazing speed of 4 and a half months. A crying need of the country has thus been met. Both the manufacture and debugging of this high quality calculator are extremely difficult. The seven scientific and technical personnel of the trial production division have, with the close cooperation of the masses of workers, given full play to their own intelligence and wisdom and untiringly thrown themselves into the battle. From the time when they accepted the mission until the end of April this year when the first calculator was produced, they worked overtime every night, as late as sometime after 10 o'clock. Nobody has ever enjoyed a whole Sunday or ever asked for overtime allowance. Engineer Song Qingchen [1345 3237 2525], who is a party member, is responsible for a variety of technical work related to production technology, blueprint and tape machines. Despite the fact that his wife is paralysed and that they have three young children, he always works overtime at night and sometimes even overnight. The masses of workers said emotionally: "Our DIS-153 calculators are made by the death-defying spirit of our engineers."

Strong Points Utilized

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Wang Sheng [3769 0581]: "To Make Jobs Suitable to Everybody's Special Training and To Make Use of One's Strong Points"]

[Text] Linqu--The Linqu Party Committee and party organizations at all levels of departments of industry and communications and their affiliated agencies have been paying the closest attention to giving fair treatment to the scientific and technical personnel so that they can give full play to their strong points. In the past, the situation of placing a person on a job not in line with his special training was rather grave in this country. As a result, the scientific and technical personnel were unable to bring their specialties into full play. Over the past year, the county party committee instructed the party committee of departments of industry and communications and their affiliated agencies and the county personnel department to carry out a more systematic investigation in order to first find out the real situation and then, in accordance with actual needs, go as far as possible to make jobs suitable to everybody's special training so that one can make use of his special knowledge. Assistant engineer Wang Furui [3769 4395 3843] of the county electronics instruments plant is specialized in radio technology, but he was formerly assigned to work at the business department. Last year, after he was reassigned to work in the electronics instruments plant, his professional skill began to be fully utilized. Assistant engineer Chang Huanxun [1728 3562 8113], a graduate of Qinghua University majoring in electronics, is skilled in electronic technology, but he was formerly assigned to work at the county cement plant. In order to give full play to his expertise, the department of industry transferred him to work at the electronics workshop of the electrical machinery plant concentrating on electronics instruments research. Since this workshop was expanded into an independent electronics instruments plant, he was appointed chief of the technical division of the plant. It was in this way that his special knowledge has been fully utilized, and the trial-production of 12 different kinds of new electronics instruments, including the automatic raw material positioner, the automatic raw material sealing control, the silicon controlled power source, the motion monitor alarm and the automatic belt burden scale control have been successfully completed. At present, these elctronics instruments are well received by more than 700 cement plants and other industries including iron and steel, petroleum, coal and food in 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous prefectures throughout the country. Early this year, the national Ministry of Building Materials commended him. At present, there are a total of 123 scientific and technical personnel in departments of industry and communications with a college, middle school or professional training, and 112 of them, who account for more than 90 percent of the total, have been assigned to take up appropriate positions.

Party Admission

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Bian Qian [0593 6197]: "To Actively and Carefully Admit Intellectuals Into Our Party"]

[Text] Beizhen--The Shengli oil field Binnan oil production headquarters party committee has adopted effective measures to conscientiously implement the party's policy of intellectuals.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, this headquarters' party committee has been the first to carry out a widespread investigation to gain acquaintance with the real situation of more than 500 graduates of universities, middle schools and professional institutions. The party committee has registered and put on record their political background, working cond-tions and questions left over by history to really get to know how things stand. It was followed by taking the initiative in calling on intellectuals to have heart-to-heart talks with them, to solicit their opinions, and to encourage them to free their minds of ideological apprehension in order to draw close to party organizations. It was on this basis that we have centered on helping intellectuals who have applied for party membership. They have been admitted into our party one by one when they became qualified. According to recent statistics, a total of 37 intellectuals at or above the level of assistant engineer or a medical doctor have been admitted into our party. All unjust, false and wrong charges against them also have been redressed. Likewise, their reputation has been rehabilitated and their titles of technical posts reinstated. In work, this headquarters' party committee has adopted the principle of assigning jobs to people according to their abilities and thereby promoted large numbers of intellectuals who are capable in administration and organization to leading posts at all levels. At present, principal professional leaders of 8 out of 13 grade-3 leading groups are selected from graduates of universities, middle schools and professional institutions. Since 1978, 3 of them have been promoted to deputy chief engineers, 38 to cadres at division chief or deputy division chief levels, and 14 to leading cadres at the grass-root level.

Scientific, Technical Personnel

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Song Jiqun [1345 4949 6746]: "To Do a Good Job in Logistics To Support Scientific Research"]

[Text] Zhucheng--Over the last 2 years the Zhucheng Party Committee and county government started from five different aspects to solve such questions as political treatment, working conditions and the well-being of scientific and technical personnel engaged in agricultural work. As a result, their enthusiasm has been aroused and agricultural work in science and technology has been vigorously and dramatically carried out.

The five questions are: 1) Politically we must be concerned with scientific and technical personnel. In recent years, 33 scientific and technical personnel engaged in agricultural work have been admitted into our party and another 55 have been promoted to leading county, commune and farm posts. 2) Some actual problems of their needs must be resolved. Since 1979, the problem of 16 couples of scientific and technical personnel living apart has been rectified one after another. The record of the family members of one of these households has, in accordance with our policy, been changed from agricultural to non-agricultural residents. New dwellings have also been allotted to 18 families of scientific and technical personnel whose former living quarters were inadequate. 3) With respect to working conditions, the county government has squeezed 310,000 yuan from local revenues to build 94 housing units for the commune agricultural technology station and to furnish all of those who engage in agricultural technology promotion work with beds, desks, chairs and benches for use in their office and dormitories. As a result, their working conditions have obviously improved. 4) With respect to articles to be supplied under labor insurance, each scientific and technical worker has been provided with an overcoat, a raincoat, a pair of shoes, a magnifier, and a steel tape in accordance with our policy. The county government also has decided that starting from 1982, it will try to allocate one bicycle each to the agricultural technology promotion personnel step by step. 5) With regard to bonus and fringe benefits, they will be treated at least equal to the average level of benefits received by commune comrades.

Solving Problems

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Wang Songshan [3769 2646 1472] and Liu Mingxin [0491 0730 0207]: "To Help Scientific And Technical Personnel Solve Their Real Problems"]

[Text] Changle--Since this spring, the Changle Party Committee has organized three inspection groups which have, in conformity with the principle of making the focal point stand out, summing up experience, finding out problems, and correcting while inspecting, visited and investigated 78 units and contacted 337 scientific and technical personnel by adopting the methods of listening to reports, conducting inspection in person, and holding seminars to find out the real situation and to solve problems. In so doing, they have accomplished an inspection on the work of intellectuals throughout the county in an all-round way, and thereby enabled the party's policy on intellectuals to be better implemented. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, a total of 318 intellectuals have been admitted into our party throughout the county, and the total number of party members who are intellectuals reached 507, which accounts for 25.4 percent of the total number of intellectuals in the whole county. A total of 103 intellectuals have assumed posts at all levels. Four of them work at the county level and another 23 at division level. A total of 658 technical personnel have acquired appropriate technical titles. The problem of couples living apart of 66 intellectuals has been settled. Family members of 19 intellectuals at middle level have been accorded a status of nonagricultural residents from their original agricultural status. Dwellings of 75 intellectuals have been improved and wages of more than 1,500 intellectuals have been readjusted.

9560
CSO: 4005/1091

BRIEFS

HENAN POLICY TOWARD INTELLECTUALS--Since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Henan Province has done a great deal of work in implementing the policy toward intellectuals and has achieved very great results. The province has promoted to leadership posts a large number of intellectuals who have both ability and political integrity, are young and energetic and have professional knowledge and organizational and leadership ability. Of these intellectuals, two have been elected vice governors, one has been elected vice chairman of the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, 201 have been promoted to leadership posts at the departmental and bureau levels of a prefecture or a municipality, 2,812 have been promoted to the departmental level of a county and 11,263 have been promoted to the section level of a county. Now 4,299 intellectuals have joined the Communist Party and the technical titles of a large number of intellectuals have been promoted. [HK040650 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Aug 82]

HENAN PROMOTES FORESTRY--Since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Henan Province has done well in promoting forestry. Since 1979, the province has afforested 8.93 million mu, which is one-third of the province's afforested area. The province has planted 1.08 billion trees along roads and rivers and around villages and houses. Twenty-two counties in the province are basically self-sufficient in timber. [HK040650 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Aug 82]

HUBEI INDUSTRY, COMMUNICATIONS--The total value of industrial output of Hubei Province increased by an average of 15.1 percent per year from 1979 to 1981. The amount of investment in light industry in the province over the past 3 years amounted to 66.3 percent of the total amount of investment in light industry in the 30 years prior to the last 3 years. Output of main light industrial products in 1981 was 300 to 1,000 percent more than in 1978. Heavy industrial departments have done well in serving light industrial departments and other departments and heavy industrial production has increased. The province has closed, suspended, merged and shifted to other types of production some 1,900 enterprises, which excessively consumed energy resources, the quality of whose products was poor and which incurred serious losses. The province has organized 142 integrated complexes and general plants. Approximately half of the enterprises have implemented the

economic responsibility system. The revenue derived from industry in the province in 1981 was 1.6 billion yuan more than in 1978. [HK040650 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Aug 82]

BRISK HUBEI MARKETS--Since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, urban and rural markets in Hubei Province have been brisk. The total amount of commodities retailed in urban areas in 1981 was 43.2 percent more than in 1978 and increased by an average of 12.7 percent per year from 1978 to 1981. The sales of high-grade and durable consumer goods increased relatively quickly. The sales of sewing machines, bicycles, watches and radios increased by 100 percent, and the sales of TV sets, electric fans, recorders and washing machines increased by between 300 to 1,200 percent. The amount of consumer goods retailed at the county level and below in 1981 was 71.3 percent more than in 1978 and increasedby an average of 19.7 percent per year from 1978 to 1981. The volume of business in 1981 was 240 percent more than in 1978. The province now has some 2,000 fairs and markets and each urban resident spends an average of 55 yuan on commodities at these fairs and markets. [HK040650 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Sep 82]

HUNAN CRIME RATE DROPS--CPC committees and governments at all levels in Hunan Province have seriously tidied up social order, resulting in a remarkable improvement of social order. From January to July this year, some 1,500 criminals in the province surrendered themselves to public security organs and confessed their crimes and some 20,100 criminals were arrested and sent by the masses to public security organs. A large number of criminals have stopped committing crimes. The incidence of criminal cases from January to July this year was 11 percent less than in the corresponding period last year, the incidence of serious and big cases dropped by 8.6 percent, the rate of cases cracked in this period was 13.6 percent more than in the same period of last year and the rate of serious and big cases cracked increased by 93 percent. According to incomplete statistics, the whole province has sent some 4,600 public security cadres and policemen to places where social order is bad to help them improve social order. The social order of some 85 percent of counties, municipalities, communes, townships, streets, organs and enterprises throughout the province has remarkably improved. [HK040650 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 26 Aug 82]

HUNAN POLITICAL, LEGAL CONFERENCE--The conference on political and legal work which the Hunan Provincial CPC Committee held and which lasted 8 days concluded in Changsha on 26 August. The conference conveyed and studied the spirit of the national conference on political and legal work and looked into and arranged for future work and tasks. Wan Da, second secretary of the provincial CPC Committee and concurrently chairman of the provincial Political and Legal Committee, spoke at the conference, saying that serving the four modernizations is the fundamental task of political and legal work. He said that stepping up the struggle against the serious criminal activities in the economic sphere is not only the current prominent task but also the future long-term important task. It is necessary to grasp it firmly and well. At the conclusion of the conference, Yin Ziming, vice chairman of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, made a report. [HK040650 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 26 Aug 82]

HUNAN PARTY MEMBERS--Since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, party organizations at all levels in Hunan Province have admitted some 100,800 people into the party, thus strengthening the building of party organizations. They have absorbed into the party advanced elements who have a high degree of political awareness and professional knowledge so as to generally improve the quality of new party members. Over the past 3 years or so, the province has admitted some 16,700 intellectuals of various professions into the party, accounting for 16.59 percent of the total number of party members admitted. [HK040650 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Aug 82]

HUNAN RAW COAL PRODUCTION--To celebrate the 12th CPC Congress, Hunan provincial subordinate coal mines produced some 28,500 tons of raw coal on 1 September, which was 15.3 percent more than the normal daily production quota. Provincial subordinate coal mines' output of raw coal in August was some 744,000 tons, and they overfulfilled the monthly production quota. [HK040650 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Sep 82]

CSO: 4005/1293

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON STUDY OF ZHENG CHENGGONG

HK020447 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Kong Dongwei [1313 0520 0251] and Zhang Ping [4545 1627]: "Summary of the Discussions at the Fujian Provincial Academic Symposium on the Study of Zheng Chenggong"]

[Text] A symposium on the study of Zheng Chenggong was held at Xiamen University, Fujian Province 26 July-1 August 1982 to commemorate the 320th anniversary of Zheng's recovery of Taiwan. Lively discussions on subjects such as Zheng's recovery of Taiwan and his anti-Qing activities were held by 100-odd Chinese and foreign scholars at the symposium. The discussions are summarized as follows:

1. On Zheng's recovery of Taiwan: The comrades at the meeting gave high credit to Zheng's expulsion of Dutch colonialists and his recovery and development of Taiwan. Some comrades emphatically pointed out that Zheng's recovery of Taiwan did, to a certain extent, curb the advance of Western colonialists, contributed to Korea's and Japan's development and provided a favorable situation for Overseas Chinese economic development. Consequently, it made great contribution to Asian and world history. Some foreign scholars pointed out that Zheng Chenggong is not only a prominent figure in Chinese history, but also an international figure of the 17th century. He played a remarkable role in the development of international sea trade and naval arms.

As for the motive behind Zheng's recovery of Taiwan, some scholars expressed the belief that he wanted to obtain a solid base for anti-Qing activities. Some, however, maintained that he wanted to protect the sea traders' interests. The anti-Qing activities were only of secondary importance. Some gave credence to the belief that the main motive stemmed from nationalism--opposition to the Dutch colonialists' invasion of Chinese territory. Scholars' assessment of Zheng varied as their views on his motive were divergent. Some comrades were of the opinion that assessment could not be based only on motive or effect. Only by linking effect with motive could assessment of Zheng's contribution be made or could his class and historical limitations be determined.

2. On Zheng's resistance against the Qing dynasty: Some maintained that in view of the implementation of the cruel policy of suppression by the Manchu's noble class, Zheng's resistance against the Qing represented the interests of China's main and minor nationalities. His resistance against the Qing should be given credit, as it affects the entire nation. Some, however, held that his resistance against the Qing represented the protection of sea traders' interests. His motive was to preserve and strengthen his own force. It was, therefore, not resolute and thorough. Some expressed the belief that though it mainly represented the interests of the landlords of China's main nationality, objectively it also reflected the demand of the masses. Some even expressed the belief that it was against the historical trend to resist the Qing after it had basically unified the entire country.

As for the peace talks between the Qing dynasty and Zheng, a school of thought was that what was on Zheng's mind was not whether he should surrender, but whether it was feasible to surrender since peace talks would mean that his will was shaken. Another school of thought was that Zheng was adamant during the peace talks. They were only a strategy to gain time to replenish the provisions and funds for his troops, to expand his armed strength and to save the lives of Zheng Zhilong and other relatives. Some comrades discussed the views of Taiwan's scholars. They maintained that Zheng was not trapped during his peace talks with the Qing but that, instead, it was manipulated by him. Both parties, in fact, had some gains and losses during the peace talks. In part, Zheng gained more than he lost. In general, the peace talks were favorable to the Qing.

Comrades differed on whether Zheng should be regarded as a national hero. Many were of the opinion that his resistance against the Qing was righteous and reflected the desire of all nationalities. He should, therefore, be regarded as a national hero. Some maintained that the reason for Zheng being regarded as a national hero was that his expulsion of Dutch colonialists, his recovery of Taiwan and his resistance against the Qing should be given credit. It is, however, inadvisable to regard him as a national hero. The concept of a national hero was also discussed at the symposium.

3. On the economic activities of Zheng's group: Some scholars expressed the belief that sea trade was Zheng's way of safeguarding the source of ammunition and the provisions and funds for his troops. Its effects on his resistance against the Qing, however, should not be overestimated. Some maintained that it was the main economic support of Zheng's group. It would be very difficult for Zheng to engage in long-term anti-Qing activities if he was only supported by his sense of loyalty. The reason why Xiamen became Zheng's base of anti-Qing activities was that it was an important foreign trade center. Some theses on the study of the rise and fall of Zheng's group clearly explained the destiny of maritime traders in our feudalistic society and the reasons why they could not attain full development. Many comrades expressed the belief that Zheng was the pioneer who put mercantilism into practice and scored good results.

4. On the assessment of Shi Lang and Zheng Jing: Some comrades pointed out that Shi Lang's suppression of Taiwan stemmed from national need rather than personal grudge, although he had old grudges against Zheng Chenggong. He took Taiwan from Zheng and united the country. It can be said that he was the unaware partner of and successor to Zheng's undertaking. Some comrades, however, maintained that although Shi made a considerable contribution to the suppression of Taiwan and to its future, his contribution should not be overrated nor should it be mentioned in the same breath with Zheng's. Shi's proposal to suppress Taiwan stemmed from his personal motive of wreaking personal vengeance, pledging loyalty and showing off his ability. He should not be regarded as perfect just because he suppressed Taiwan.

As for the assessment of Zheng Jing, some comrades gave credence to the belief that Zheng Jing's resistance against the Qing was against the historical trend. In particular, his participation in the rebellion of the three princes turned Zheng's group into a feudalistic separatist group. The group's increasing exploitation and suppression of the people of Taiwan impeded Taiwan's further economic development and the unification of the country. Some, however, were of the opinion that Zheng Jing was an influential figure who had good and bad points in both the history of Taiwan and mainland China. He made considerable contributions to Taiwan's development and to the promotion of its social, economic and cultural development. His return to China to resist the Qing was in essence different from the rebellion of separatists such as Wu Sanguei.

CSO: 4005/1303

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NINGXIA HOLDS POLITICAL LEGAL WORK CONFERENCE

HK100814 Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 82 p 1

[Report: "Autonomous Region Holds Political, Legal Work Conference"]

[Text] The Ningxia Regional CPC Committee held a regional political and legal work conference in Helan County from 20-25 August. At the meeting, the spirit of the national political and legal work conference was relayed, our region's political and legal work situation was analyzed and measures for implementing the directives of the national political and legal work conference were discussed and studied.

Shen Xiaozeng, deputy secretary of the regional CPC committee and secretary of the regional political and legal committee, presided over the conference and gave a summation speech. Xue Hongfu, secretary of the regional CPC committee, relayed the spirit of the national political and legal work conference.

This was the largest political and legal conference ever held in this region. Attending the conference were responsible persons of the CPC committees, political and legal committees, public security departments, procuratorates, courts and other judicial and administrative departments of the region and the various prefectures, municipalities and counties, totaling more than 240 people.

The conference was of the opinion that the basic task of political and legal work during the new period was to perfect the socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship and defend and promote the socialist modernization which was centered on economic construction. The political and legal departments, as the tools of the people's democratic dictatorship, must be adapted to the requirements of the new situation and new task and should more consciously serve the economic foundation and the four modernizations.

The conference analyzed the public security situation in our region and believed that public security in our region, especially in our cities, had remarkably improved. However, public security in our cities still is not stable. In the rural areas, quite a few problems related to public security have cropped up. We must soberly realize the long-term,

complicated and difficult nature of the task of bringing order to our public security and overcome and guard against the idea that we can slacken our efforts and vigilance. Both in our rural and urban areas, we must adopt "comprehensive measures" to improve our public security. Such "comprehensive measures" mean that we should, in accordance with the principles and policies formulated by the party Central Committee and under the unified leadership of the party committees at various levels, give full play to the roles of the political and legal departments, make all the departments and units shoulder their responsibility and grasp key, major and fundamental work. We should continue to mete out prompt and severe punishment to serious criminals in accordance with the law and do a good job of propagating the socialist legal system. We should do our civil administrative work satisfactorily and contribute to the stability of society.

The conference pointed out that to crack down on criminal activities in the economic field is a tremendous task for our whole party both at present and in the future and that we should never regard the serious criminal activities in the economic field as being merely common criminal activities. It pointed out that these activities are the serious expression of class struggle in the new historical conditions at a time when we are opening up to the outside world and enlivening our economy at home, and therefore our struggle against these activities is a struggle against the corruption of capitalist ideology. In the future, political and legal departments at all levels should continue to vigorously cooperate with the party discipline inspection committees, obey the central authorities' directives and the instructions of the regional party committee, treat cracking down on serious economic crimes as an important task and more conscientiously and actively pay close attention to satisfactorily fulfilling this task. We should earnestly pay close attention to investigating and cracking major and important cases and mete out severe and prompt punishment according to the law on the basis of thoroughly investigating all the facts related to the crimes.

The conference discussed the problem of reorganizing and building up the ranks of political and legal workers. The conference demanded that we satisfactorily reorganize and build up these ranks in accordance with the principle of "reorganizing, expanding, training and improving at the same time."

The conference emphatically pointed out that strengthening and improving the party's leadership over political and legal work is the basic factor for ensuring the healthy development of political and legal work. This must be fixed in the minds of all our political and legal cadres and policemen, especially the leading cadres. They must never waver in their belief in this idea.

CSO: 4005/1303

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CALL FOR STUDY OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY CONFLICTS

HK010130 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Zhang Jiangmin [1728 3068 2494]: "Make a Penetrating Study of the Contradictions in Socialist Society"]

[Text] At present, there is a great urgency and reality in launching a study of the contradictions in socialist society. This is because our country is confronted with many problems in the new historical period that need theoretical answers and summarization, and what is more, the study made by the theoretical circles in this respect lags far behind the development of actual socialist practice.

Marxist philosophy holds that, whether you are studying a capitalist or a socialist society, you have to start from the analysis of contradictions. We can only get a clear understanding of the essence of society and find out the solution for the contradictions in society by analyzing the universality and particularity of social contradictions, the special characteristics and nature of social contradictions and the development and transformation of the basic and main contradictions in society and their current manifestations. Marx' "Capitalism," Lenin's "Imperialism Is the Highest Stage of Capitalism" and Comrade Mao Zedong's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," were all done in this way. It is a pity that during a certain period in the past, we were divorced from the correct viewpoint of "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," mixed up the two different types of social contradictions and erroneously misrepresented the basic and main contradiction of socialist society, thus causing serious consequences. Facts have proved that, whether or not the contradictions in socialist society are correctly understood and handled has a great bearing on the socialist cause. Therefore, we must go deeply into the study of the contradictions in socialist society and study the problems of dialectics in the socialist period. This is our base in laying down the correct policy and tactics, and is a guarantee in realizing modern socialism.

In the new period of socialism, philosophical study should persist in linking theory with practice and attach more importance to combining the philosophical principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the concrete practice of our socialist modernization. We must study the

new conditions and problems of the four modernizations and study the new particularities of the contradictions in socialist society to give a philosophical answer or to raise them to a philosophical understanding. In this way, we can establish flesh-and-blood philosophical ties with the practical life of the masses of people, light up a bright prospect for building a new social life and maintain the vigorous vitality of Marxist philosophy.

Marxist philosophy develops along with the development of practice. In order to enrich and develop Marxist philosophy, we must continue to sum up the experiences of struggle in a capitalist society and the new developing achievements of natural science, and in particular emphasize conscientiously summing up the negative and positive experiences of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and study the new problems of the contradictions in socialist society. If we negate combining the principles of Marxist philosophy with the concrete practice of our country, or deny or ignore the study of the contradiction in socialist society, it would be impossible for Marxist philosophy to further develop in our country.

The study of the contradictions in socialist society comprises a variety of meanings. For instance, what are the new contents in the sense of unity and struggle in the contradictions in socialist society, what is the mutual role among them and what is the motive force in developing socialism? What is the universality and particularity of the contradictions in socialist society, and what are the new particularities in the relationship between them? How should we comprehend antagonistic and nonantagonistic contradictions, contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, and the contradictions among the people that exist in socialist society? Why must we regard the two different kinds of contradictions as a science for study? What are the main and basic contradictions in a socialist society, and how can they be solved? How does a socialist society gradually change from quantitative to qualitative, and what are the way and basic content of this process? What are the new particularities of the negation of negation in socialist society? Does partial negation exist in the general course of the negation of negation? Why are socialist new emerging things invincible? What contradictions exist in the modern socialist construction, and how can we correctly solve these contradictions to foster the development of the four modernizations, and so on.

In studying the contradictions in socialist society, we must proceed from practice and seek truth from facts, and emphasize analyzing and summing up the fresh experiences of socialist revolution and socialist construction. The successful experiences gained are very important in helping us understand the contradictions in socialist society, and the lessons gained through setbacks, which help us to comprehensively understand the dialectics in the socialist period, also must not be ignored. By continuously developing democracy, emancipating our minds and practically summing up the positive and negative experiences, we can strictly understand the essence of the contradictions in socialist society and discover the development laws of the contradictions in socialist society.

The study of the contradictions in socialist society is arduous work, and merely relying on personal efforts is not enough. We must rely on collective study and discussion, give play to the wisdom and role of the collective and earnestly pool the wisdom of the masses, and only then can we gradually reach the target of advancing from imperfect to relatively perfect, and from inaccuracy to relative accuracy, and go deeper and improve step by step.

The study of the contradictions in socialist society should be carried out in a planned way. As for the first step, on the whole we can follow the view and method of "On Contradictions" in analyzing contradictions, and apply it to the problem of analyzing the contradictions in socialist society, and then take this as a base to further perfect our exposition. Comrade Mao Zedong once said the mere possession of "On Contradictions" is not enough, we must do more to analyze the contradiction in socialist society and write more new dialectical works to lead the cause of socialist revolution and construction. It was too late for Comrade Mao Zedong to accomplish this work, therefore the work has historically been placed on the shoulders of this and the next generation. We are expected to assiduously make great efforts, sum up the practical experiences of socialism, study the development and characteristics of the contradictions in socialist society and write dialectical works with distinctive Chinese features and Chinese style to serve the modern cause of socialism.

CSO: 4005/1303

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GONGREN RIBAO' DISCUSSES EQUALITY OF SEXES

HK030629 Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Xu Bing [1776 3521]: "Promote Sexual Equality, Oppose Giving More Weight to Boys Than to Girls"]

[Text] In his article "There Is Nothing To Be Reproached for in Giving More Weight to Boys Than to Girls," Comrade Xie Gang [6043 0474] said: "During the distant clan commune period, 'matriarchy' dominated over society first, and then 'patriarchy' prevailed. This was a step forward, which showed that women were less capable and thus had to give way to men." This opinion, which is apparently right but actually wrong, obviously embodies a discriminatory view of women.

Yes, the transition from matriarchy to patriarchy was indeed a step forward in history. However, both matriarchy and patriarchy were temporary forms of family and marriage, used to meet the needs of a specific stage of historical development. Patriarchy is definitely not the ultimate form of family. Following historical development, the family form based on monogyny, in which husband and wife enjoy equality, is bound to replace the patriarchal family system. This is, naturally, another great step forward in history. As everybody knows, the development of family form is mainly determined by the mode of production of a society. The replacement of matriarchy by patriarchy neither indicated that women were capable in the past and were no longer "capable" now, nor that men were incapable in the past and have become capable now. The real causes of this change were: 1) Children can identify their own fathers. During the matriarchal period, mankind remained in the age of barbarism, when group marriage and loose dual marriage prevailed. At that time, children were unable to identify their own fathers, being able to know only their own mothers. Under such circumstances, lineage could only be determined matrilineally. Later, the monogyny marriage system was developed. Thus, children began to be able to identify their own fathers, and determining lineage on a patriarchal basis became possible. 2) The social division of labor cancelled out the social significance of female labor. The economic system which prevailed in the matriarchal society was the communal household economy. In such a primitive communal society, men were engaged in hunting, gathering and producing the necessary work tools, while women had to undertake housework and take care of children. The labors of both were social labor, and had

equal social value. However, following the emergence of the monogyny family system, the individual family became the basis of private life. Thus, housework became a pure private matter and lost its social value. Women were excluded from social production and, compared with men's productive labor, women's household labor became insignificant. This pushed women to economic dependence on men. Consequently, women became household servants, while men managed to establish their authority in the family. 3) The inheritance of private property made the determination of lineage on a patriarchal basis necessary. In the matriarchal society, property was owned and inherited by the whole matriarchal clan. However, once individual households emerged, property was privately owned by men. Then, household property was no longer inherited by the whole clan but by the man who possessed the status of true heir. Therefore, it became necessary and possible to determine lineage on the patriarchal basis.

The above three points are the principal reasons for the replacement of matriarchy by patriarchy, with the second point being the most decisive, that is, women being excluded from social labor. As pointed out by Engels, "as long as women are still excluded from social production and labor and are constrained to private labor in the household, the emancipation of women and the equality of men and women are now and will be impossible. The emancipation of women will only be possible when the vast number of women can engage in production on a social scale and when household work takes only a very little part of their time." Here Engels clearly indicated the basis of patriarchy as well as the basis of the equality of men and women. Comrade Xie Gang said: "Although the 'steadfast' concept of 'giving more weight to boys than to girls' has been fiercely criticized, it is passed on from generation to generation.... This has shown that it is correct and has great vitality." Yes, as a social mentality, the concept of giving more weight to boys than to girls is a reflection of social reality and an objective existence. However, an objective existence will not necessarily be correct. The phenomenon of women having been excluded from social labor for several thousands of years seemed to have "great vitality," and the concept of giving more weight to boys than to girls, which was based on this social reality, was steadfast indeed. However, following the emergence of socialized mass production, women have been engaged in a comprehensive way in modern industrial production. Thus, the objective basis on which the concept of giving more weight to boys than to girls existed was overthrown. As a result, this concept is vanishing and will eventually lose its "vitality." In capitalist society, the status of women is much higher than that of their predecessors in feudal society. However, although partial equality of men and women has been realized in capitalist society, complete and thorough equality of men and women cannot possibly be realized. Only when socialism is reached will it be possible to realize the full equality of men and women. Modern socialist production needs the participation of women, or more frankly, the tasks of socialist production can never be accomplished without women. On the other hand, as the system of exploitation of man by man has been abolished in socialist society, men and women are politically equal and, economically, enjoy equal pay for equal work. Moreover, equality of men and women is solemnly acknowledged

in socialist law, and thus its enforcement is guaranteed by law. All these conditions have not only made the equality of men and women become possible, but have also turned it into fact.

Therefore, the concepts of giving more weight to boys than to girls, esteeming men and disdaining women and so on are nothing more than matters which had existed in the history of mankind but have vanished now. If someone still sticks to the old concept of esteeming men and disdaining women today, is he not a man who is behind the times?

CSO: 4005/1303

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HUNAN WORKS TO SOLVE PROBLEMS IN EDUCATION WORK

HK050248 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 4 Sep 82

[Text] According to HUNAN RIBAO, since the provincial CPC committee and government held an urgent telephone conference in mid-July on education work, the prefectures, municipalities and counties have rapidly implemented the spirit of the meeting and taken steps to solve a number of urgent problems in education work. They have achieved initial success in this endeavor.

In the past 1 month and more, the province has organized 260 inspection groups and sent 197 leading party and government cadres at and above county level to carry out inspections on the communes and brigades and provide assistance. The province has dealt severely with 354 cases of beating up teachers and taking possession of school property. Wages arrears have now been paid 8,000 teachers in schools run by the people. Places that have not yet implemented remuneration for such teachers this year are now hastening to do so.

While seriously dealing with these problems, the leading party and government organs throughout the province have also summed up and publicized the good typical examples of some progressive teachers in protecting school property, and have conducted education and activities among the cadres and masses in respecting the teachers and caring for the schools. They have thus established a good atmosphere in this respect. Certain cadres and peasants who were in dispute with teachers have voluntarily gone to the schools to conduct self-criticism and strengthen unity with the teachers. Some pupils' parents have paid calls on the teachers to seek the views of the schools on strengthening education in the home. Commune and brigade cadres have visited some teachers ill in hospital. When some teachers have difficulties in their domestic life, the cadres and peasants help to solve them as far as possible. Some schools were in a poor state of repair and lacked teaching equipment. Commune and brigade cadres have launched the masses to contribute labor and material to repair the buildings and make some teaching equipment. Some communes and brigades have also assigned protection and management personnel to the schools.

CSO: 4005/1303

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HUNAN OFFICIAL DISCUSSES EDUCATION SITUATION

HK031040 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Sep 82

[Text] On 30 August, (Wang Xiangxian), director of the Education Department of Hunan Province, at the request of the provincial government, reported to the 17th meeting of the provincial people's congress standing committee on the situation of primary and middle education since last year and on a few current items of work. In the past year, the Education Department, in addition to doing well the task of intellectual and cultural education, has further reinforced ideological and moral education for students. The appearance, spirit and discipline of the schools have greatly improved through the civility and courtesy drive, physical culture has been promoted, and the schools give us a fresh impression. Director (Wang) pointed out that although great achievements had been scored in education in this province, there are still many problems and difficulties. The chief problem is that the passing percentage is low and drop-out percentage high in primary schools. There exists, in many regions or schools, a problem of pursuing one-sidedly an increase in the proportion of students entering middle schools. The quality and quantity of both the teachers and the education itself are low, political and ideological work is weak, and there has not been any change in the unitary structure of secondary education. Therefore, the following tasks must be grasped firmly and well:

1. A big debate on the aims of socialist education must be organized throughout the province, first among the education workers, so as to form a strong public opinion so that our party's principle on education will become deeply rooted, in the people's minds, and vague concepts can be clarified and wrong concepts overcome.

2. Leadership must be strengthened, plans well formulated, the task of making primary education universal accomplished, the teaching force of primary schools reinforced, educational expenditure duly increased, conditions for running primary schools improved, the structure of secondary education be reformed, and the proportion of vocational education increased.

In conclusion, all favorable conditions must be fully utilized to push the education of our province steadily and positively forward.

CSO: 4005/1303

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' CITES ZHOU YANG REMARKS

HK091049 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by RENMIN RIBAO reporters Cong Linzhong and Meng Xiaoyun: "Education, Qualified Personnel Policy--A Visit With 12th CPC Congress Delegate Zhou Yang"]

[Text] After sitting down, Comrade Zhou Yang amiably said: "What would you like me to talk about? You can suggest some topics."

Since 1932, Zhou Yang has been a party leader in culture, education and propaganda fields. We asked him: "Would you please say something about the intellectual issue?"

"I can talk about this problem for 3 days and nights," he said, smiling. "What should I start with?"

He then began with education. Zhou Yang said: The United Nations has an organization called the "United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization." It is reasonable to put education in first place, for without education there would not be any qualified personnel. If there were no qualified personnel of all types, who could we rely on in the building of material and spiritual civilization? Therefore, education is a matter of primary importance.

Zhou Yang studied in Japan in his early years. He said: "Whenever they mentioned the Meiji restoration, the Japanese would like to talk about making their country rich and building up its military power. In a period of only three or four decades, they defeated both Russia and the Qing dynasty. After being defeated in World War II, Japan revived as an economic power in less than 30 years. Why could they achieve these results? Among various causes and factors, one of the important factors is that they always set great store by education."

In books dealing with their history, the Japanese have written: "In order to make our country rich, it is necessary to enrich the knowledge of our common people. In order to build modern industry, there must be many people who can promote this cause." In the last years of the Meiji era, 95 percent of the people in Japan attended school. Zhou Yang said: "When traveling in

the Japanese countryside, people today still find that the buildings of a primary school are always the best in a village. This shows that the Japanese people have great respect for education." The years after World War II were called the "dark period" in Japan. In those days, the nation met with severe financial troubles and was bogged down in an awful mess. But the Japanese still held that "no methods other than education can revive Japan." After the "miraculous economic development" was realized, the Japanese concluded: "Other than the technical transformation in industry and agriculture, the fundamental cause of this success lies in our high standard of education."

After telling us about the history of Japan, Zhou Yang said: "Though the content of education in Japan is different from that in China, we should use their experience for reference; that is, by popularizing cultural and scientific knowledge in the people, the growth of industry, science and technology could, in turn, be promoted. Recently, the Japanese Ministry of Education brazenly distorted history, describing the Japanese aggression against China, known to the whole world, as an 'advance.' As a matter of course, this has aroused protests from the people in China and in other countries, including the people in Japan. But this again shows that the principle of national education is of primary importance."

"A socialist state and a proletarian party should place even greater importance on the education issue and have a broader view in this respect, for this is of strategic significance." Zhou Yang added: "The criticism by the 'gang of four' of the saying that 'knowledge represents strength' was absolutely ridiculous. Lenin said: 'Knowledge is a weapon for laborers to win their liberation.' Our objective is to realize the four modernizations and to build the two civilizations. If a nation had no knowledge, no culture, did not even know how to read and write and calculate, how could spiritual civilization be built? It is very necessary to encourage the 'five stresses and four beauties,' but that could hardly be achieved without popularized education as a foundation. The experience in Japan indeed merits being taken for reference."

China's educational cause has undergone great development in the last 30 years. Especially in recent years, both the central and local authorities have attached importance to the development of education. By tapping financial potentials, they have increased funds for education. As a whole, however, funds for education are still rather low. In some provinces and cities, some people in power even diverted, deducted and misused funds earmarked for education, using various excuses and means. In view of this situation, Zhou Yang said: "It is necessary to adjust the relationship between material construction and spiritual building. An appropriate ratio should first be worked out. It is absolutely correct to give priority to economic construction, for the economy is a foundation. But this cannot be an excuse for looking down on investments in intelligence. If we lose foresight in this respect, economic construction will ultimately be affected. In a big nation as ours, funds for education should have an appropriate share in the national economy."

Zhou Yang continued: "Education is the means to spread knowledge. So, attention to education shows the attitude toward knowledge. It is an extremely nihilistic view toward intellectuals and the cultural legacy of the human race to think that we can carry out revolution and construction without employing knowledge and intellectuals. This cannot be taken lightly, for this view is extremely absurd. It is unimaginable that modernization can be realized in a nation with many illiterate people."

The topic of our conversation then turned to intellectuals. There have been discussions in the press recently assessing China's present-day intellectuals, asking how to give full scope to their abilities and how to make proper arrangements for their jobs and living conditions. In this debate, Zhou Yang believes the key is to lay down a series of policies and measures that will protect talented people and produce more of them. He said: "Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out at the national science conference that the majority of intellectuals are already part of the Chinese working class. This is a historical summation and a major policy. We should, in addition, have concrete regulations and measures such as, for example, the system of academic degrees. In 1958, Comrade Nie Rongzhen tried to reinstate the system of issuing academic degrees but was opposed. Now, our state has laid down the 'Regulations on Academic Degrees of the PRC.' A group of graduate students have been conferred degrees as doctors and masters this year. This is the first time since the PRC was founded. In my opinion, this is an improvement not only in the academic field, but one that has a bearing on our country's cadre system. How should we judge the ability of a cadre and choose a qualified person? The general requirement for a qualified cadre should be the possession of both professional ability and political integrity. Yet, more specific standards should still be worked out. In the past, however, some people, in fact, chose persons mainly based on seniority. Academic degrees can represent the level of one's learning. Cadres cannot be chosen by seniority. It is even worse to promote cadres based on familiarity. People should be promoted according to their learning and ability. Yet, the most important thing is their political integrity. Thus, revolutionary spirit has been put in the first place of the four requirements for promoting cadres. The second requirement is age, that is, they should be young in average age. As for the other two requirements--to make cadres better educated and more professionally competent--they refer to their learning, experience, intelligence and ability."

Recently, there was a television play entitled "Prize." In this story, a middle-aged intellectual was awarded a prize for his invention, and his wife was busy planning how to use this money. But when the prize, nominally 200 yuan, was awarded, a large portion had been deducted, and only 15 yuan was available. "This reflects a policy problem," Zhou Yang said with deep feeling. "It is not easy to put a correct policy into effect. The problem in our actual life reflected in this play left people not knowing whether to laugh or cry."

Sunlight filtered through the curtain. Zhou Yang leaned back on the sofa and thought a little while. He then said: "Another major policy is the

policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, gratifying changes have been brought about in the vast rural areas of our country. What did these changes derive from? They derived from the series of agricultural policies laid down by the central authorities. These policies have aroused the enthusiasm of the hundreds of millions of peasants. It is also necessary to arouse the enthusiasm of the intellectuals, and only thus can the realization of modernization enjoy hopeful prospects. The policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend set forth by the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong is the one which is the most effective in mobilizing the initiative of the intellectuals. Without this policy and merely depending on issuing prizes, things will get nowhere."

"Since you have been engaged in work concerning intellectuals for 50 years, can you relate to us any experience or lessons you have learned?" Immediately after asking this, we felt the question was a bit blunt.

But Zhou Yang did not mind. Squinting in the distance, he said softly: "I often thought about why intellectuals so deeply cherish the memory of Premier Zhou. He not only set strict demands on them, but also gave meticulous care to the intellectuals, respected them and cherished their initiative. Despite many claims on his time, he still gave every consideration to one intellectual after another, whether he had achievements or shortcomings, whether he was in difficulties or suffered frustrations. This shows the broad vision of a great proletarian revolutionary. In the intellectuals' eyes, he was both a respectable state leader and an intimate and trusted friend. Another problem concerns the orientation to which we should direct the initiative of the intellectuals. Should we direct them to the individualist orientation of seeking fame and profit or to the socialist orientation of serving the people and the socialist cause? This important issue has a bearing on the orientation of our cultural work. Intellectuals, particularly those in the fields of art and literature, are very sensitive and most of them are very talented. We must cherish their initiative and, at the same time, help them to keep the correct orientation in their work and keep close ties with the people."

When answering our questions, Zhou Yang also expressed many other opinions. Because of limited space, we outline his opinions as follows:

1. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee has done a great deal of work for the intellectuals, including giving them due social status, redressing mishandled cases involving them, admitting some of them into the party, promoting some outstanding persons among them to leading positions, assessing and promoting their titles in technical and professional work, establishing the system of academic degree and improving their living and working conditions. All this is known to all. At present, however, the leftist influence still exists when people deal with the intellectuals. Efforts must be continuously made to eliminate this influence.

2. "Leftist" mistakes cannot simply be imputed to any one person. Most of our older comrades took part in formulating and implementing "leftist" policies to a different degree. I myself have committed quite a few mistakes, both in the 1930's and in the period after the PRC was founded. I always take a critical attitude toward my mistakes. Mistakes are unavoidable if one is making revolution. What we need is not to repent but to earnestly sum up experience and draw lessons.

3. Times are changing and it is impossible to stop these changes. The historical trend is irresistible. When dealing with the thinking and the work of the intellectuals, we can only give them guidance and really help them in a patient and careful manner to suit themselves to the party's basic principles and the needs of socialist development. We should treat with care those things that we frown upon and think whether other people are wrong or whether we are too conservative, for both are possible. On the one hand, we should overcome "leftist" ideology but oppose the tendency of liberalization. It is good if we often think it over and always warn ourselves.

It was the time for us to say goodbye. Zhou Yang excitedly said: "So many intellectuals are attending the 12th CPC National Congress. This represents a new atmosphere. The expansion of the ranks of intellectuals and their higher social status is one of the symbols that our nation is prospering. I am very glad to see this. This indicates that the cause of our party is full of promise."

CSO: 4005/1303

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' CARRIES SPEECH ON ART CRITICISM

HK081040 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by He Jingzhi [6320 2417 0037]: "Be a Firm, Clearheaded and Competent Marxist Literary and Art Critic"--excerpts from a speech delivered at a forum on the work of literary and art criticism held by the CPC Central Committee Propaganda Department on 24 July 1982]

[Text] Summary: This article maintains that to be a firm, clearheaded and competent Marxist literary and art critic, we should hold high the banner of communist ideology and never vacillate in our principles and orientation, even if shortcomings and mistakes have occurred on our road of advance. Ideological struggle should be carried out in the literary and art circles. We are taking a lopsided view if we can only discover tendentious problems in one aspect, but fail to discover similar problems in other aspects. To be a competent literary and art critic, we should not only have a correct stand and firm determination, but should also have a solid basis of theories, philosophy and life. Literary and art circles should have a good Marxist work style and carry forward the party's three important work styles, the work style of criticism and self-criticism in particular.

[Words illegible] become firm, clearheaded and competent Marxists. This is a demand set on all revolutionaries, Communist Party members in particular. Comrades who are engaged in revolutionary literary and art work should also strive for this goal. In particular, this should be the objective of the struggle for literary and art critics. Most comrades present are literary and art critics and the organizers of literary and art work. When this meeting comes to an end, I believe that it will be a matter of great significance to conscientiously think about Comrade Yaobang's demand in light of our actual work.

Not all people in our ranks of writers and artists are Marxists. Nor should we not put forth such an unrealistic demand. As far as a literary and art worker is concerned, as long as he politically supports the party

and socialism, we should unite with and help him and march forward with him hand-in-hand although his world outlook does not yet or completely belong to Marxism. In the literary and art circles, there still exists the problem of sticking to the socialist road and the struggle between proletarian and other nonproletarian ideology. Most comrades working in the literary and art circles--an important front army of intellectuals' corps--are, as the central authorities appraise, parts of the working class and laboring people. They have no problem in changing their stand, that is, a change in their political stand. However, with regard to philosophic ideology and world outlook as well as ideology, we still have a lot of work to do. While doing the work to promote unity, we should also carry out propaganda, criticism and education work. In addition, even those comrades who support the party leadership, persist in taking the socialist road and believe in Marxism cannot claim to have perfectly mastered Marxism. We should fight all our lives in order to become genuine Marxists. Therefore, we should always be modest, set strict demands on ourselves and unceasingly study and make progress. Only thus can we gradually master Marxism, keep a clear head under complicated circumstances, study theories in a thorough and persevering way and truly accomplish something significant.

We have scored successes in our literary and art critique work and the corps of our literary and art critics are good. Most comrades have a fairly good understanding of Marxist theories and are able to consciously use these theories to guide their work. However, the problem we talk of today is still an important matter of practical significance. It is not easy to be a "firm, clearheaded and competent Marxist." Some people often say that they support Marxism. However, to truly master and apply Marxism takes more than one day's work. Some older comrades joined the revolution a long time ago and are engaged in the work of spreading Marxism. They did a great deal of beneficial work in the past. During or before the period of the "gang of four," they were unfairly treated and some of them even nearly lost their lives. After the smashing of the "gang of four," they have straightened their shoulders and are respected by the people. They have also brought their role into play. Can we say that what they have done in recent years is all in accord with Marxism? I believe that the answer is no. Under new and complicated circumstances, some of our comrades are not so firm and clearheaded. Of course, it is not appropriate to say that they have "accomplished something significant." We should on no account think that we are always correct. Therefore, even for veteran comrades, to be a firm, clearheaded and competent Marxist is a practical problem.

The so-called "firmness" contains two meanings. The first meaning is that we should take a clear-cut stand at all times. During the 10 chaotic years, Marxism was severely distorted and sabotaged by the "leftist" ideas and counterrevolutionaries. In recent years, under the conditions in which we advocate the emancipation of minds, the implementation of the open-door policy toward a foreign country and the practice of enlivening the domestic economy, another ideological trend occurred. Some people cast doubt upon or negate our stand and road. Under such circumstances, most people are firm. However, some people are not always firm. A small number

of comrades express the views that we should no longer follow communism or stress discipline. Once we talk about these problems, we will be accused of pursuing the "leftist" line. What logic is this? In recent years, some comrades no longer want to talk about "-ism." They do not want to say anything about Marxism and socialism. They think that Marxism and socialism are the same old stuff. We should pay attention to this problem. When we are abandoning the ossified, dogmatic and distorted explanation of Marxism and eliminating the "leftist" influence, we should be completely confident of our stand and orientation and should on no account vacillate from them. The second meaning of "firmness" is that when shortcomings and mistakes occur in the process of bringing order out of chaos, we should firmly believe that the Marxist line, guiding principles and policies adopted by the CPC Central Committee since the third plenary session are correct. We should firmly believe that our achievements outweigh anything else and thereby affirm them. We should also firmly believe that Marxism is developing and socialism is bound to triumph. If Marxism does not develop and progress, it is no longer Marxism. Of course, we should correct shortcomings and mistakes occurring on our road of advance. It is wrong for us not to do so. However, when we are correcting our shortcomings and mistakes, we should not fear that the heavens will fall. Under such circumstances, we also need a firm Marxist discipline. Some shortcomings and mistakes are unavoidable. We should not cast doubt upon or negate the line and guiding principles of the third plenary session because of these shortcomings and mistakes. Once we encounter new problems, we should not turn the clock back and return to the old ways of dogmatism, ossification of minds and the "leftist" ideology. Not long ago, the CPC Central Committee stressed that the principled attitudes toward Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought should be: first, stick to them; second, develop them. To accomplish these two tasks, we should be firm in our resolution. Only thus can we be completely and truly firm Marxists.

Apart from being firm, we should also be clearheaded. Reviewing the overall situation and historical trends of thought, we realize that it is not easy to keep sober heads. Because great victories and severe setbacks occurred in the history of our state and party, people could easily become muddleheaded. This is what we call "getting dizzy with success" or "being scared out of one's wits because of failure." We have drawn experience and lessons in this respect. Therefore, we should rightly stick to the Marxist dialectics, avoid one-sidedness and other individual and subjective factors and keep a clear head. It is not easy for us to do so. With regard to the problem of assessing our achievements, very often some comrades do not hold identical views. This is connected with their subjectivism in minds, lopsided methods and muddled views. Some people only like to recall the happy occasions when they "passed five barriers and decapitated six enemy generals," but are reluctant to talk about their "setbacks and failure." Some other people assume a posture of being always correct to criticize the situation which occurred since the third plenary session and brag about their correct views. This also is evidence that they are not clearheaded. We have scored marked successes over the past few years due to the leadership of the CPC Central Committee. Some people fail to ascertain this main trend. This also reflects their

muddleheadedness. Apart from that, have we ideologically made a clean break with the bourgeois ideology? Do we correctly understand the great Marxist campaign of the emancipation of minds? Is there any "emancipation of the minds" which is "straying far from the subject," correct path and objectives? Sometimes, do we not fail to keep a clear head with regard to the above-mentioned problems? This is something which calls for deep thought.

With regard to the ideological struggle between the two lines, the central authorities discussed this matter a long time ago and have continuously stressed its significance. However, some of our comrades have only a one-track mind. They can only discover or stress tendentious problems of one aspect, but fail or are unwilling to talk about tendentious problems of other aspects. Some comrades do not want to admit the existence of the "leftist" ideology, whereas some other comrades negate by hook or by crook the occurrence and harm of bourgeois liberalization. All this is not in accord with practical reality. The "leftist" ideology has been deeply rooted in literary and art work. However, we should on no account underestimate bourgeois liberalization. Taking the present situation into consideration, we will also commit serious mistakes if we underestimate this matter. If we use the adjective "deeply rooted" to describe the pernicious "leftist" influence, we can probably use the phrase "having a long history" to depict the influence of bourgeois ideology. We should realize its historical roots and international conditions. Communism cannot be realized overnight. It is our important task to eliminate the remnants of feudal ideology. However, we should not underestimate bourgeois ideology. We should constantly and soberly perceive these two tendencies and consciously carry out necessary and effective struggle. We should have a dialectical materialist point of view and avoid subjective lopsidedness. We still hold fairly serious lopsided views on the relations between literative and art and politics. The CPC Central Committee uses the slogan "literature and art should serve the people and socialism" to replace the former slogan "literature and art should serve politics." However, some comrades do not accept this. Comrade Qiaomu talked about this problem at the tea party held on the last day of the National Committee meeting of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles. He dwelt on this subject very successfully. The basic spirit of his speech has been accepted by most literary and art workers. Do all people accept it? The answer is probably no. Even among those who accept the view, there is one thing which we should pay attention to, that is, we should not use one tendency to conceal another. It is a gross misunderstanding if some people interpret the spirit of Comrade Qiaomu's speech as that literature and art can be separated from proletarian politics. Although we no longer say that literature and art are subordinate to politics, we do not accept the view that literature and art can be separated from politics. In an official speech delivered in early 1980 on behalf of the central authorities, Comrade Xiaoping mentioned this subject. Comrade Qiaomu and other comrades of the central authorities also hold the same view. In his speech, Comrade Qiaomu particularly stressed that the main topics of our literature should support socialism and the people's interests and should voice very strong political themes. Naturally, neither Marxist literary and art criticism nor Marxist

aesthetics can be separated from politics. We resolutely oppose vulgar sociology and attach importance to artistic law. However, we never advocate the so-called "pure aesthetics," which is completely cut off from social life and ideology, and even less do we believe that there is the so-called "Marxist aesthetics" which has nothing at all to do with politics. With regard to the problem of the party's leadership over literature and art, while stressing artistic law and opposing the practice of doing things in an oversimplified and crude way, we should pay attention to another lopsided and erroneous interpretation. It is wrong to narrowly regard literature, a vast and remarkable social phenomenon with its own pecularities, merely as a gear wheel and screw working for the party. This is an important theoretical basis of the "leftist" ideology in literature and art which has been spreading for many years. It is now time to correct it. However, we never think that the party should not and cannot exercise leadership over literary and art work. We believe that party member literary and art workers should, first of all, treat themselves as party members before they regard themselves as literary and art workers. At present, some party member literary and art workers agree in words that literature and art are the "screw" of the party, but they flagrantly violate party discipline in their deeds and are completely devoid of a sense of responsibility to the party The party is confronted with a problem of strengthening and improving its leadership over various aspects of literary and art work. This is also the case with its leadership over the work of literary and art criticism. We should pay attention to the fact that nobody is allowed to revive the "leftist" staff under the pretext of strengthening party leadership. At the same time, we should pay attention to the act of weakening or negating party leadership in the name of improving party leadership. The party should exercise leadership over the work of literary and art criticism, because it is an important aspect of the party's leadership over all literary and art work. It is right for us to look at problems in such a way and show such judgment. Some comrades worry about the possibility of dampening people's enthusiasm for letting a hundred schools of thought contend and adversely affecting the implementation of the double-hundred policy. No, we should not look at problems in this way. The party committee's leadership over the work of literary and art criticism means, first of all, its leadership over the guiding principles and policy of literature and art. Instead of hampering the implementation of the double-hundred policy, the party leadership will correct those mistakes which hinder the implementation of this policy. Apart from that, we should have the following understanding: The implementation of the double-hundred policy does not mean that the guidance of Marxism is dispensable. The purpose in implementing the double-hundred policy is precisely to develop Marxism and promote the prosperity of socialist literature and art. With such understanding, it is easier for us to establish an identical view: While resolutely implementing the double-hundred policy, the party leaders should organize and expand the Marxist contingent of literary and art criticism. While letting a hundred schools of thought contend and encouraging people to freely express their views, we should publish in a planned way some convincing commentary articles to discuss important theoretical principles and policies. When we criticized "Unrequited Love" last year, the central authorities expeditiously issued a

series of instructions to exercise direct leadership and solve this problem. Correct principles and proper methods were followed in the drive on criticism. Hence it was successful criticism which attained a fairly high Marxist level. In a word, we may come to the following conclusion: We should become clearheaded Marxists and avoid subjective lopsidedness. In particular, we should avoid being carried away by personal feelings and interests while observing and analyzing problems. Otherwise, we will not be able to keep a clear head.

Very often we are infuriated by the other party in a debate. Under such circumstances, we are liable to commit mistakes. It is particularly important for critics to remain calm. In our country, most contradictions are contradictions within the ranks of the people. We should adopt the method of unity-criticism-unity and carry out ideological and political work to solve them. Our literary and art criticism is conducted under such preconditions. We should guard against the possibility of making mistakes when we are hot with rage. Sometimes, when writing articles, we attack someone for a particular fault without considering the whole. In so doing, we are liable to depart from our former position and starting point. If we fail to keep a clear head, the struggle will not be beneficial to enhancing our levels and strengthening our unity. Our literary and art criticism will even begin to contradict itself because of this. When we are carrying out struggle between the two lines, some people might criticize us, saying that we "try to mediate differences by sacrificing principle." As a result, we are under a pincer attack. Under such circumstances, we should also keep a cool head. To approach problems in an all-round way is different from eclecticism. Eclecticism means doing things in an equivocal way without distinguishing between right and wrong or drawing a distinction between truth and falsehood. People with eclectic views always drag in all sorts of irrelevant matters. We carry out conscientious analysis and draw a distinction between right and wrong. This has nothing in common with eclecticism.

We should also become competent Marxists. I believe that our literary and art circles and the contingent of literary and art critics are full of promise and can make magnificent achievements. To become competent Marxists, we should not only have a correct stand and resolute confidence, but also establish a solid basis, a solid theoretical and Marxist philosophic basis in particular. To train ourselves to be staunch, unwavering, clearheaded and sober Marxists who can truly accomplish something great, we should establish a solid Marxist theoretical basis (including a philosophic and aesthetic basis). This is a matter of primary importance. We should realize that the reason why some comrades committed mistakes in ideology and work was not because of their stand and impure motives, but mainly because they lacked a solid basis of the Marxist world outlook. In addition, we should have a solid basis in life. Those who are engaged in literary and art creativity and criticism and those who carry out leading work in the literary and art circles should understand social life. It will not do for them to rely on things in their study alone. They should get out of the study and become familiar with the society. The socialist cause belongs to the masses. Socialist literature and art also

belong to the masses. Socialist literary and art criticism is an activity of the masses. It is not a simple thing to carry out literary and art criticism, because it is an important matter closely connected with the healthy development of the proletarian literary and art movement, which has a long history. As workers of literary and art criticism, when we are writing articles and publishing magazines, we should take the needs of the masses into consideration.

We should also have a good Marxist work style. To acquire and adhere to a fine work style is also a solid basis which we require. We should like to mention two things here. The first thing is about the state of mind. Some of our comrades were unjustly treated in the past. But since their problems have now been solved, they should no longer have a lingering fear or be oversensitive or feel disheartened when they suffer slight setbacks. Such a state of mind is not in accord with the demands of the new era. The second thing is about carrying forward the party's three important styles of work, the practice of criticism and self-criticism in particular. At present, some comrades in literary and art circles are reluctant to pay heed to criticism. Instead of accepting criticism, they blindly attempt to redress other people's grievances. Some comrades also talk about the importance of carrying out criticism. But they only want to criticize others. When people criticize them, they turn like a wounded tiger on those who raise the criticism. Wenyi Bao made self-criticism with regard to the problem of "Unrequited Love." Its attitude was good and had, therefore, achieved effective results in this respect. This shows that self-criticism will not impair our prestige. We should acquire a good work style of constantly carrying out criticism and self-criticism. The task of the workers of literary and art criticism is to comment on literary and art works, which includes both praise and criticism. To criticize other people, we should, first of all, have the spirit of making self-criticism. If we are willing to practice sincere self-criticism and make self-criticisms in "commentator's articles," we will show that we have acquired the work style of firm, clearheaded and competent Marxists rather than being weak or losing face.

I firmly believe that the work of our literary and art creativity and criticism is full of promise. Our Marxist literary and art critics are being organized into a powerful contingent. We should intensify our efforts and make contributions to creating a new situation in the work of the socialist literary and art criticism of the new era.

CSO: 4005/1303

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ARTICLE URGES THEORY STUDY BY ART CRITICS

HK091050 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 82 p 5

[Article by Chen Yong [7115 8673]: "Literary and Art Critics Must Step Up Study of Basic Marxist Theories"--text of a speech delivered at a forum on the work of literary and art criticism sponsored by the CPC Central Committee Propaganda Department on 23 July 1982. A few alterations and additions were made at the time of publication.]

[Text] The vast majority of people believe that literary and art criticism has played an important role over the last few years and has been very successful. However, literary and art criticism remains a weak spot in the whole arena of literary and artistic endeavor. Presently, the party Central Committee is paying close attention to all theoretical work, and has raised the problem of the organization of the theorists, including the problems related to the organization of literary and art theorists. This is absolutely necessary and the work should be earnestly seized upon. The two most important conditions for good performance in literary and art theory and criticism are, one, the contingent of literary and art workers must be organized, because the attitude of an army of drifters and deserters fighting the battle alone is difficult to upgrade and make better use of. There is no advantage derived from literary and art criticism if there is no opportunity to exchange ideas and no room for theory. The other condition is to strengthen research on basic Marxist theory. Of course these are not the only important things, for example, equally valuable is increasing knowledge, upgrading the study of culture and art, and deeply penetrating life itself etc., but I will confine my discussion to the problems related to research on the basic Marxist theory.

The basic theory is fundamental to all literary and art critics. Our literary and art critics are primarily involved in stating their views on the real problems of literature and art, and they participate in current critiques of the arts. However, criticism is not independent of theory, and a general problem existing today among literary and art critics is precisely that their theoretical preparation is insufficient. In speaking of critics, a fundamental improvement would be to upgrade their basic theory. In recent years, of the problems facing us that require resolution, a majority of them are problems of basic theory, or directly related to basic theory. For example, humanism and the theory of human nature.

Today's views on these subjects are widely divergent, even to the point of being confusing, and who maintains the correct view and the incorrect view cannot be immediately resolved because basic Marxist theory has not been understood. Humanism and the theory of human nature are profound, highly advanced problems; lean a little to one side and it involves idealism, and lean a little to the other side and it becomes mechanical materialism. What finally is Marxism we as yet have not been able to resolve. If we do not start from the basic theory and do not emphasize research of basic theory, this question cannot be adequately resolved. As it stands now, we cannot resolve problems.

Looking back over history, it is easy to clearly understand the problem of our lack of theoretical preparation. The world of Chinese literature and art was virtually devoid of basic Marxist theory. The revolutionary movements in literature, beginning in 1928, gave expression to our insufficient theoretical preparation and exposed our lack of theoretical weapons. There are reasons for this, and not only in the area of literature and art theory. In a letter written to Sung Ke, Comrade Liu Shaoqi said that the level of theoretical knowledge among the Chinese communists was relatively poor. Not long after the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, party members were quickly thrust into the first national revolutionary war. War continued uninterruptedly and under such brutal conditions, many cadres did not have the time to pursue theoretical studies. In Russia, from 1883 onward, the workers liberated society and founded the first Russian revolution in 1905, giving them a total of 20 years in which to prepare theoretical knowledge, with the most important figures in this work being Lenin and Plekhanov. Initially it was Plekhanov, and later Lenin. Plekhanov and others who founded the Workers' Liberation Society all focused their attention on the propagation of Marxism, and were involved in this work for 20 years. The spread of Marxism was very successful. It was Plekhanov's day, his golden age. Lenin was very young at the time Plekhanov began the task of propagating Marxism. Lenin was also to come under his great influence, and of course, in the end, would surpass his teacher. Still, Plekhanov's achievements cannot be overlooked. He introduced many of Marx' basic writings to Russia, and some of these works he annotated himself. Our present translation of "Feuerbach" was annotated by him. Some of his important works like "Our Diverging Opinions," "On the Development of the Monist Historical Outlook," "An Unaddressed Letter," and so on, were all written during this time. The long years of Lenin's and Plekhanov's theoretical work became the leading ideology in the Russian revolution. Afterward, the stand of all Soviet theory was comparatively high, and this was related to the conditions of that tradition. Moreover we should not forget that Plekhanov and the tradition of Russian revolutionary democratic theory were closely related, as were the works of Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Dubrovin, and thus there was a very rich tradition in theory. In this aspect China is slightly more deficient. We cannot but admit this fact and admit our weak spots. After losing our first national revolutionary war, we began literature and art movements. Those comrades who returned from Japan and who are identified with the later period of the creativity society, also spread the ideas of Marx in literature and art. We should recognize their contribution and the new ground

their work opened up, and we should not overlook their important roles as disseminators of new ideas. Although some of them made mistakes they still deserve their rightful place in history. Looking back, on the subject of theory, they were ill-prepared to the point that the mistakes they committed were mistakes of principle; the majority of their sources were secondary Japanese works and they almost never introduced the original works of Marx, Engels and Lenin to China. Later on, they themselves admitted to having come under the influence of "leftist" things in the Japanese Communist Party at that time, hence some leftist things were introduced to China. In fact, subsequent to this, Lu Xun had become aware of the importance of work in basic theory and introduced to China Plekhanov's works on art and literature, but not long after this, during the White terror under the rule of the Kuomintang reactionaries, and the incessant war, the whole leftwing battlefield had no opportunity to raise the level of their theoretical studies. It is clearly evident, then, that China is just as deficient in theoretical knowledge as Comrade Liu Shaoqi had suggested. The central party's and Chairman Mao's level of theory is very high, but the level of theoretical knowledge of many cadres, including those in literature and art, is not very high, and we should admit this fact. Seeing this fact, we can appreciate the importance of raising the level of theoretical knowledge among the workers in the literature and art field.

The level of our understanding of theory is not high, and I feel it is presently expressed, at the very least, in the following areas: First, we do not possess sufficient understanding of things influenced by bourgeois thinking, unrestrained freedoms, and other mistaken things, and our estimation of problems is sometimes insufficient to the point of being able to clearly analyze certain limits. In the past couple of years, this point was particularly evident in our theoretical work in literature and art. Presently, some people in society cannot clearly distinguish the limits of freedom and unrestrained freedom. They often think that unrestrained freedom is something socialism should pursue, and that we should give expression to freedom. The limits of individual liberation and individualism are also not clearly distinguished. Of course we do not oppose individual liberation, and feel, moreover, that only the socialist system can guarantee real liberation for the individual, but some young people cannot discern what kind of individual liberation the people need, nor do they understand what individual individualism is, and they cannot determine the limits of democratic socialism and bourgeois democracy, including petty bourgeois anarchy. Our socialist system is still not perfect, bureaucratism and the appearance of other unfavorable things in many places is quite serious, the development of things which oppress individualism and individuals has not been eradicated, and socialist democracy must strengthen its durability from the point of view of the system and from the working conditions, and we cannot allow anarchy to do the job for us. These questions will only be resolved completely when we allow the socialist system to advance toward perfection and by making an advance toward the improvement of work conditions, and nothing will be achieved by relying on unrestrained freedom, individualism, bourgeois democracy and petty bourgeois anarchy. Our literary and art work, literary and artistic creativity, and literature and art theory should clarify the confused thinking of young people in this

area. It should propagate Marxist ideology, propagate the kind of socialist democratic freedom suitable to the people's needs and oppose unrestrained bourgeois freedom, individualism and anarchy. We cannot deny that some literature works have corresponded exactly to the needs of some youths who are inclined to err in this direction, and these works, having reflected mistaken trends of thought, only serve to propagate more dramatically these errors of thought. Some literary and art critics actually provide an order and theoretical basis for these mistaken trends of thought in their literature and art criticism. Seen objectively, at the very least, it has the effect of intensifying the already mistaken views. This is one of the most obvious expressions of our level of theoretical knowledge being underdeveloped. Just as many comrades have suggested, in our literature and art criticisms, the fact is that we are only able to treat the symptoms, but not the disease. There are many aspects of literature and art for which we cannot use theory to illuminate them. In literary and art work we are often only able to analyze the work itself, and we cannot relate common themes and carry out analysis from a high plane of theoretical understanding. We do have some comprehensive studies, but few which really theorize their research topics. We must surmount this weak point and begin to upgrade our grasp of basic theory. Our study of basic theory must resolve the problems in two areas. One is universal Marxist theory and China's own Marxist theory, and second, universal literary and art theory and China's own literature and art theory. At the present time, we still do not know enough about the universal area in Marxist theory, our knowledge of literature and art theory is for the most part knowledge of the universal in literature and art, and it is not yet Sinicied literary and art theory. We are quite aware of the principles of literature and art, as there are only a few who will openly deny that art has its own special principles, but when now we talk about the principles of art, we mean the universal aspects of the principles of art and we do not yet mean the principles of art, which are related to China. In this area Lu Xun and Chairman Mao did much work to open up new roads, laid good foundations for study, and it is necessary for us to pursue these problems. How the universal aspects of the principles of art are applied to solve practical problems in China constitutes one of our major tasks. To achieve this we need to greatly increase our way of comprehending these matters, as it is not enough to only understand the universal aspects of the principles of art, for we must also understand Chinese principles of art, from the general to the specific. This problem must be dealt with from the view of comprehension and practical application.

In the past, the suggestion has been made that Marx and Engels thinking in literature and art does not constitute a system of thought in itself, and it has even been suggested that their ideas in this area are nothing more than a collection of a few odd writings. In the final analysis, how to really understand the concept of what constitutes a system is also a problem. Marx and Engels thought in literature and art is exactly the same as their thinking in other areas, that is, it is based on their world view and methodology. Dialectic materialism and historical materialism is like a red thread running through all of their ideas on literary and art problems, thus, all these ideas are consistent from beginning to end, and are integrated and harmonious throughout. Can the same be said for all the

views and systems of thought of every thinker in the capitalist world? The problem is only a problem, because the works were not written as one work, on its own, as if they had never put their thinking of dialectic materialism into a single work.

Marx and Engels certainly never exhausted all of the questions related to literature and art, and we are certainly not in the position to rely on their already formulated thoughts on the subject to easily solve all the world's problems with them. Just as we need to carry on their thinking, we also need to create from it and develop it. What constitutes our present problem is to what extent we have grasped their basic thinking on literature and art that we have inherited from them. The view that Marx and Engels only left us with a few odd writings on literature and art cannot be seriously considered.

There is also the suggestion that the ideas of Marx and Engels in literature and art which were propagated in the past all belong to the external principles of literature and art, and what is more important now, is a study of the internal principles of literature and art. This viewpoint is also worthy of discussion. We will put aside the question of whether Marx, in the past, directly pointed out that the grasp of art was different from the grasp of theory, and whether he expounded upon the problems of the imbalance between art and economics, and problems between the relationship of the author's point of view and realism, because these problems are particular, specialized problems in literature and art and cannot be considered only as a matter of external principles. What we want to say here is that Marx and Engels used a historical materialism viewpoint to study problems in literature and art, historical materialism being one of their great discoveries, and only after we acquire this point of view will we be able to scientifically and clearly recognize universal laws in the historical development of mankind. This point of view is suitable for application in every single aspect of social life. Literary and artistic thinking is actually the application of historical materialism in questions of literature and art.

Are the literary and art principles that were expounded by the application of the universal principles of historical materialism merely external principles? It is not man's conscious that determines man's social existence, but is man's social existence which determines man's conscious. Does this basic principle of historical materialism really touch upon the inherent development and internal principles of literature and art, or on the contrary, do the principles going from the external to the internal determine the direction, nature and face of literary and artistic development? One only needs to analyze more concretely the literary and art phenomenon of an era or a class to attain the correct answer. People must admit that when one disregards the universal principle of historical materialism, there is no way then to clearly explain any of the slightly more important phenomena in literature and art, and no way to produce a proper scientific explanation. If you must ask whether the universal laws expounded by historical materialism in relation to art and literature are

external principles or internal principles, one can only reply that they are the most profound and universal of external principles.

When we say that social existence determines social consciousness, including literature and art, this is to speak of it fundamentally, as determining the fundamental relationship between social existence and social consciousness does not deny other factors which might determine and influence the development of literature and art, and it does not deny the relative particular principles of literature and art. We must work out all of the other factors which determine and influence the development of literature and art and must see that in the area of literature and art, the universal principles expounded by historical materialism come into being vis-a-vis the unique principles of art. However, at the same time we cannot see that the operation of all kinds of factors not included in social existence must be restricted by social existence and the unique principles of literature and art must be restricted by the universal principles of historical materialism. The crux of the real problem is to integrate the universal principles of historical materialism and the particular principles of literature and art; the terminology of external principle and internal principle has blurred the central point of the issue. The wording is unsuitable and inaccurate.

We should integrate the work of our literary and art critics; it should not be only an organizational integration, but also one of thinking, and this integration of thinking can only be a proper integration if it is based on Marxism. If thinking is not integrated, then the critics will all be isolated from one another, each fighting their own private war, even to the point of fighting their own people. Our basic theoretical work should be long-term, continued and sustained, as people like us cannot take the place of those scholars in higher tertiary institutions involved in the research of the basic principles of literature and art, and we cannot take their place in writing "an introduction to literature"; we should not want to undertake the usual academic work in place of others, as those people have their own tasks, and we have ours. But no matter how we divide up the work, these basic problems still have to be researched, we must concentrate more on research according to the needs of present literary and art criticism, and we must combine more closely theory and application and science and the needs of the present struggle.

CSO: 4005/1303

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NEW PLAYS, OPERAS, DRAMAS TO OPEN IN BEIJING

OW301334 Beijing XINHUA in English 1142 GMT 30 Aug 82

[Text] Beijing, 30 August (XINHUA)--More than 70 plays, operas and dance dramas, about half of them newly produced, will be presented in Beijing in September and October, the Ministry of Culture announced here today.

On 11 new plays, three deal with the life of young people today, according to the ministry.

They include: "These Troublesome Guys," portraying conflicts between young workers and their leaders in a decorative sculpture factory; "The Golden Key," about young peasants endeavoring transform their poverty-stricken home village into a prosperous one; and "A Story Behind a New Soft Drink," a comedy depicting young peoples attitudes towards unhealthy tendencies.

"General Peng Dehuai," an award-winning play presented by an army theater troupe, is also on the program.

Another play, "Spring Comes to the Hailan River," depicts the changes brought to the rural areas in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture by the party's rural economic policies in recent years. It will be presented in Korean by a troupe from the prefecture in the northewast.

About 20 new works of Beijing Opera and other local operas with contemporary themes are slated, the ministry said.

One of them is "An Inside Story of Chaoyanggou Village," a Henan Province opera showing how a couple who settled down in the countryside upon high school graduation 20 years ago persuade people to accept the idea of family planning. Produced by the third troupe of Henan Opera Theater in Zhengzhou, the opera has drawn full houses through its 100 performances in the city since its debut in March, according to the ministry.

Nearly 20 troupes with over 30 items in their repertoires have been invited from Shanghai, Tianjin, and other parts of the country to perform in the capital, the ministry said. Included are six children's plays that were highly acclaimed at a national children's play festival held earlier this month, the ministry added.

CSO: 4000/184

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

INITIAL SUCCESS SAID ACHIEVED IN EDUCATION

OW290250 Beijing XINHUA in English 0234 GMT 29 Aug 82

[Text] Beijing, 29 August (XINHUA)—China has trained 600,000 students in higher education in the last 4 years, realizing the goal set by the Communist Party Central Committee, according to the Ministry of Education.

In August, 1977, Deng Xiaoping, vice-chairman of the CPC Central Committee said that education should achieve initial success within 5 years. This goal has now been achieved, the ministry sources said.

By the end of 1981, the number of institutions of higher learning operating in China reached 704 or 270 more than in the year of 1965. In 1981 higher education students reached 1.28 million, 606,000 more than 1965. This number includes both students in 4- or 5-year curriculums and those who had less than 4 years of study.

China now encourages diversified development of higher education, the ministry said, a concept which has been expanded to include any post-secondary education, in order to accommodate the country's economic and cultural needs.

Diversified higher education now includes the regular 4- or 5-year universities, 2-year colleges, radio, television and correspondence universities as well as night universities for adults.

Development is also evident in post-graduate education. For example, starting in 1978, China enrolled 42,000 post graduate students, about 10,000 per year on the average, a number which is expected to increase. In 1965, the number was only 1,500 per year on average.

In secondary education, attention has been paid to vocational training, as a way to acquaint students unable to enter universities with their future jobs.

Advancing agricultural production is the ultimate purpose of rural education. Agriculture schools and other vocational institutions are operated in rural areas, some utilizing work-study programs. A 1-year agriculture course has been added in a number of rural junior middle schools after the students regular 3-year-course of study.

"Without agricultural knowledge, graduates cannot adapt to their work in the countryside," said Zhang Chengxian, party secretary of the Ministry of Education. "The system of the rural secondary education needs to be reformed," he said.

A meeting held recently in Shandong Province focused on reforming educational structures of rural middle schools. Now specialists have been organized by the Ministry of Education to compile new textbooks for rural schools.

Education is considered one of the key points for training professional personnel. The proportion of education expense in the country's total operating budget has increased from 9.95 percent of the total in 1979 to 13.5 percent in 1981, and capital construction investment in education accounted for 3 percent of the capital construction investment total in 1981, a two percent increase over the 1979 figure.

China has set a goal of nationwide popularization of primary education in 1990, the Education Ministry said.

CSO: 4000/184

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PRC CELEBRATES FOUNDING OF KOREAN PREFECTURE

OW041302 Beijing XINHUA in English 1214 GMT 4 Sep 82

[Text] Yanji, 4 September (XINHUA)--A rally attended by 80,000 people was held here yesterday in the capital of the Korean autonomous prefecture of Yanbian, Kirin Province, northeast China, to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the autonomous prefecture.

Korean nationality, one of China's 55 minority nationalities, includes a population of 1,600,000 people in China. About 730,000 people of the Korean nationality live in Yanbian autonomous prefecture, the main region where the Koreans live, making up 41.1 per cent of the prefectures total population. Cadres of Korean nationality at various levels of the prefecture account for 51.4 per cent of the total number of the cadres in the prefecture, according to the local government sources.

In the past 30 years, the autonomous prefecture has recorded considerable progress in developing its economy. The output value of agriculture in 1981 more than doubled while industry in 1981 recorded a 5.8 time increase comparing with 1952. Residents standard of living has kept pace with the development of the production.

The standing committee of [words indistinct] congress and the state council recently sent a message of congratulations to the prefecture on the occasion.

A delegation from the nationalities committee of the national peoples congress and the state nationalities affairs commission headed by Vice-Minister Wen Zhengyi made a special trip here from Beijing to attend the rally and other celebrations.

At the conclusion of the rally, dances and sports performances were shown including Korean traditional sports games such as wrestling and springboard.

A special film week, theatrical performances, an exhibition and public lectures were also held at the prefecture for the celebrations.

CSO: 4000/184

BEIJING TO GIVE MORE BENEFITS FOR LATE MARRIAGE

OW071745 Beijing XINHUA in English 1213 GMT 7 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, 7 September (XINHUA)--Additional benefits will be given to those young people in Beijing who marry late or have [a] child late. The measures are outlined in regulations recently passed by the Beijing municipal government and scheduled to go into effect on November first this year.

According to the new regulations, men who marry after the age of 25 and for women who marry after the age of 23, the newlyweds will enjoy a total of 22 days nuptial leave. Present leave is 15 days.

Every one-child family will receive a monthly five yuan subsidy until the child reaches the age of 14. The yearly total--60 yuan--is about equal to the average monthly pay of a worker. For women who bear a child after the age of 24, maternity leave will be extended from the usual 56 days to 71 days. They can, if they wish, request an extension of the leave to 6 months or 1 year, with full pay but with subsidies deducted.

Children from one-child families will enjoy a priority in entering kindergarten and receiving medical care, and education will also be subsidized. These families will be eligible for improved housing accommodations.

In the countryside, one child families will receive two shares of private plots and an extra four hundred work points (peasants receive cash rewards at the end of the year according to work points they have earned during the year), as an allowance for child care every year.

The regulations urge people with serious hereditary disease not to have children.

The regulations also outline conditions for couples to have the second child.

These special cases include: A couple having a child after they had already adopted one; cadres and workers from national minorities; and, in the countryside, when a man marries into his brides family and she being the only child in the family. Apart from these exceptional cases, the regulation stated, families should not have more then two children each. The regulations also say that the government will reward those who contribute to the work of birth control and family planning.

CSO: 4000/184

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WOMEN IMPORTANT FORCE IN BUILDING UP XIZANG

OW071747 Beijing XINHUA in English 1219 GMT 7 Sep 82

[Text] Lhasa, 7 September (XINHUA)--There are more than 8,000 women cadres in the Tibet autonomous region, comprising 30.85 percent of the total number of cadres in Tibet.

This was revealed to XINHUA recently by Ngapoi Cedan Zhoigar, vice-president of the all-China women's federation and honorary president of Tibet's women's federation, at the 3d regional women's congress here. "Women have become an important force in building up new Tibet," she added.

Cedan Zhoigar said that under the system of serfdom before the democratic reform in Tibet in 1959, women were regarded as serfs and chattel with no personal freedom at all.

But, she continued, since the democratic reform, women's economic and political status in Tibet has been thoroughly transformed. Large numbers of women have been sent to study in various training courses from literacy classes to that of science and technology, some were sent to study at colleges and universities in the interior of the country.

She added that at present all leading groups at various levels in the autonomous region, such as the regional party committee, the people's government and the National People's Congress (N.P.C.) standing committee, include women cadres. Many of them were elected delegates to the National People's Congress or the national congress of the Communist Party.

She said Tibetan women are now playing an important role in agricultural and animal husbandry production. At the same time, with the development of industry, the first generation of women workers have grown up in Tibet, including many exemplary miners, technicians, engineers and drivers.

Now in Tibet, Cedan Zhoigar said, there are 399 women "red-banner pacesetters" and 65 women "red-banner collectives" for the whole region.

CSO: 4000/184

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POSITIVE ATTITUDE ON STUDY OF CRIMES, PROBLEMS EMPHASIZED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jun 82 p 1

[Report by Hu Heng [5170 5683]: "Strive To Strengthen Our Study of the Question of Crimes by Youths and Children: All-China Academic Symposium on the Study of Crimes by Youths and Children Convened in Nanning"]

[Text] The All-China Academic Symposium on Crimes by Youths and Children was held from 11-17 June in Nanning Municiaplity in the Zhuang Nationality Autonomous District in Guangxi. The symposium stressed that the study of the question of crimes committed by youths and children is an important question in our youth and children work as well as a major issue in the realm of social science; it is of great significance to study the causes, evolution and tendency of development of the law-violating and criminal behavior of youths and children and to adopt appropriate measures to solve existing problems in the education of the entire younger generation, the maintenance of our stability and unity, and the promotion of the construction of the four modernizations.

The symposium held that the main stream of the present younger generation is good; their reflection is alert, the study diligent, their labor enthusiastic, their love for the motherland ardent, and they are all willing to dedicate their youth to the four modernizations. But the injuries they sustained during the 10-year turmoil were the greatest and deepest, and they are now again facing the historic turning point of returning to order from disorder, readjustment, and reforms; hence among them there have existed also this and that kind of problems, and a very small number among them have even violated the law and committed crimes. In analyzing these problems, we cannot depart from their particular historical conditions.

The symposium demanded that, in conducting the study of the crimes committed by youths and children, we need to forge a whole scientific system with the theory of Marxism united with reality, to establish our own criminology on youths and children, and to solve the direction and methodology of our study.

The delegates emphatically discussed the three questions of how to look at, what to do with, and how to proceed to treat in the future the question of crimes committed by youths and children. Those comrades who spoke up

maintained that we must examine youths and children from the particular conditions of history, we must guide youths to understand correctly the state of our country, we must insist on educating youths and children with the communist ideology and, in the case of those youths and children who have committed criminal offenses, stress education, rescue, and transformation, and we must, under the leadership of the party, mobilize various forces in society to do a good job in comprehensive handling in order to fundamentally prevent the rise and development of criminal behavior. The comrades issuing statements also held that, apart from studying from the standpoint of social causes, we must also do so as to the subjective causes of youths and children themselves in committing criminal offenses from the pedagogical, sociological, ethical, psychological, and biological angles.

Adviser to the CCP Central Propaganda Department Liao Jingdan [1675 0064 0030] gave a speech at the symposium. In the course of the symposium, the China Society on the Study of Crimes by Youths and Children was also established.

9255
CSO: 4005/1043

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HUBEI DEALS STERNLY WITH STUDENTS REFUSING STATE ASSIGNMENTS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jun 82 p 1

[Report: "Sternly Dealing With Graduates Who Refuse To Abide by Assignments by the State: Hubei Disqualifies a Graduate Student and an Undergraduate From Receiving Assignments"]

[Text] XINHUA dispatch, 18 June, Wuhan: A graduate student at the Central China Engineering Institute and an undergraduate at the Wuhan Metallurgical and Medical College refused after their graduation last year to abide by the assignments the state granted them. In order to make discipline more strict and guarantee the smooth operation of job assignments for graduates, the Hubei provincial personnel bureau recently approved reports submitted by the two institutions which disqualified them from receiving any further assignments.

Before he was admitted, the graduate student in the specialty of solid dynamics at the Central China Engineering Institute was a staff member at the Rongjiang County Farm Machinery Research Institute in Guizhou; after he graduated last March, he was assigned to remain at the institute to work. His lover was working at Rongjiang, but he single-mindedly stressed his need to look after his father, younger brother and sister in Shanghai and requested an assignment there. The institute repeatedly assigned work to him, but he steadily refused and continued to decline the assignments given. Hence, the institute decided to disqualify this graduate student from receiving any further assignment upon his graduation and to return him to his original unit.

A 1981 graduate of the Wuhan Metallurgical and Medical College lived in Wuhan; after his graduation in August last year, he was assigned to work at the Anshan Steel Company. Under interference by his family, this student too refused to take up the assignment by the state. The college decided to disqualify him from receiving any further assignment and, according to relevant regulations of the state, notify the concerned units of the locality of his family that within the next 5 years no unit under ownership of the whole people would be allowed to hire him as a formal staffer of the state.
9255
CSO: 4005/1043

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SOLUTIONS SOUGHT FOR INTELLECTUALS' PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jun 82 p 1

[Report: "While Examining Working Conditions of Intellectuals, Party and State Responsible Persons of Various Provinces, Municipalities, and Autonomous Regions Point Out: Change Our Negative Attitude of Waiting for Conditions of Everything, Actively Solve Practical Problems for the Intellectuals"]

[Text] This reporter has learned from relevant central departments: while listening to briefings on the examination of the working conditions of intellectuals made by relevant local departments recently, the responsible persons of various provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions demanded that problems found in the work of the intellectuals be conscientiously solved.

The Standing Committee of the CCP Fujian Provincial Committee listened to briefings on the examination of the working conditions of intellectuals in mid-May; the first secretary of the provincial party committee Xiang Nan [7309 0589] expressed his views over the questions broached at the session and demanded that party committees at various levels continue to do a good job in examining the working conditions of intellectuals; he also demanded that the various concerned departments grasp their time closely and, with regard to problems touching on wage and welfare, medical and health care, housing, car use, assigning of assistants to experts, and the like, proceed further to investigate their backgrounds, come up with concrete programs for their solution, and submit such programs to the standing committee of the provincial party committee for discussion. Xiang Nan also suggested to the organizational departments that they should select a contingent of fine middle-aged and young technical core cadres to enter the leading groups of divisions and bureaus. Prior to this briefing session, the secretary of the Fujian Provincial Party Committee and chief of the intellectuals' working conditions examination group of the provincial government, Cheng Xu [4453 1645], personally visited part of Fuzhou Municipality's high- and medium-ranking intellectuals in order to solicit their views on behalf of the provincial party committee about policy implementation, their work and living conditions and the like, and also exchanged views with them over how to foster talents in the professional and technical ranks, how to absorb intellectuals into the party and improve their working conditions, how to solve difficulties in their life, and such problems.

The secretary of the CCP Shaanxi Party Committee Zhang Fanghai [1728 2455 3189] has convened a briefing session on the examination of the working conditions of intellectuals by the various systems directly under the jurisdiction of the province. At the session he said that the key point in implementing the policy on intellectuals is trusting and employing them. Shaanxi has a contingent of more than 200,000 professional and technical cadres and more than 300 scientific and research units; this is a great asset. But in the past we have not given sufficient scope to this asset; we should take the examination this time as an important turning point in the promotion of our work on the intellectuals and grasp it closely and handle it well.

The secretary of the CCP Shanxi Provincial Committee Ruan Bosheng [7086 3124 3932] has sought out comrades in the temporary office for the examination of the working conditions of intellectuals under the organization department of the provincial party committee to listen to their reports on the situation of their work on letters from, and visits by, intellectuals and also to carry out special studies with them. Ruan Bosheng said that we must take the handling of letters from, and visits by, intellectuals as an important task, handle it conscientiously; it would not be appropriate just to let the letters lie there. He said that, with respect to the problems broached in those letters, we must follow the provisions of current policies to see which one needs to be solved and, after study, transmit them in time to various places for proper solution; when demands for the solution of certain problems advanced in these letters do not tally with current policies, we should reason clearly with them in order to do a good job in persuading them.

The secretary of the CCP Gansu Provincial Committee Liu Bing [0491 0393] said at the briefing session on the examination of the working conditions of intellectuals by units under the direct jurisdiction of the province that we must conduct ourselves truly as the bosom and understanding friends of the intellectuals, become their confidants, think about what they think and be eager to meet their needs; in respect to the solution of their practical problems, we must have a sense of urgency and a sense of responsibility; we must energetically overcome and earnestly change our negative attitude and passive approach of the past in waiting for conditions on everything, waiting for the neighbors on the left and on the right to do something first, and waiting for uniform regulations.

Beijing, Shanghai, Shandong and Xinjiang have also convened at various points briefing sessions on work or forums on intellectuals; day-to-day Secretary of the CCP Beijing Municipal Committee Chen Xitong [7115 1585 0681], Deputy Secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee Yang Shift [2799 1102 3127], Secretary of the Shandong Party Committee Gao Qiyun [7559 0796 0061], First Secretary of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Regional Party Committee Wang Enmou [3769 1869 5399], and Secretary Li Jiayu [2621 0857 3768], participated in these sessions to listen to various views and gave speeches there.

9255
CSO: 4005/1043

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

GUANGDONG BUILDS MAUSOLEUM--The Guangdong Provincial Nationalities Committee recently decided to appropriate a special fund of 50,000 yuan to Hainan Li-Miao Autonomous Prefecture to build a tomb for (Wang Guoxing), an outstanding representative of the people of the Li nationality. After liberation, (Wang Guoxing) was infinitely loyal to the cause of the revolution and construction of the party. During the 10-year turmoil, he was cruelly persecuted by Lin Biao, the gang of four and their companies. Consequently, he died without being cleared of a false charge. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the Hainan Li-Miao Autonomous Prefectural CPC Committee reversed verdicts on (Wang Guoxing) and the CPC Central Committee appropriated a special fund to build a house on some 200 square meters in (Wang's) hometown for his dependents. At present, the autonomous prefectural finance bureau has sent this special fund to Qiongzhong County, which has made arrangements for the use of the fund. [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 23 Aug 82 HK]

CSO: 4005/1303

CONFESSION OF MEMBER OF PRIVILEGED STRATUM RECOUNTED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 7, 1982 pp 30-32

[Article by Li Fu [2621 1133]: "I Am a Member of the Privileged Stratum"]

[Text] The train was running in the direction of Shanghai. I was lying in one of the passenger cars with soft seats, and opposite me sat an old cadre in his green army uniform; his hair had already turned grey, but his face was ruddy. He was wearing a pair of presbyopic glasses, busying himself in leafing through books and newspapers without stopping, altogether unlike an "uncouth Eighth Route Armyman" but, rather, like a student thirsting for unlimited knowledge. The long, dull journey made us friends in conversation. Little did I expect that this soldier by the name of Yang would show no wariness toward a Hong Kong man like myself; he was totally open and frank and refrained from nothing in our talk. To all the questions I asked, he came up with straight replies. Our conversation touched upon such questions as China's privileged stratum, democratic movement, Poland's trade union Solidarity, etc. It was most interesting. Here I would like to provide the contents of our conversation to the reader friends of CHENG MING.

Yang (casting a glance at my long hair and outfit): Aren't you from Hong Kong?

Li: Yes

Yang: People in Hong Kong call the mainland the countryside, and the mainlanders "mainland piglets." (He laughed affably.)

Li: Compared to Hong Kong, China's cities do look like countryside.

Yang: Hong Kong is so modern and the things there are so cheap that many cadres are trying to find some way or come up with some excuse to pay it a visit in order to wander into a night club or buy some foreign goods. It's very interesting.

Li: Hong Kong is delightful, but it also has many problems; the most serious is the problem of housing. Some say Hong Kong is like a "pigeon house," while others say it is a "beehive"!

Yang: Hong Kong has Hong Kong's troubles, and the mainland has the mainland's troubles.

Li: Old comrade, you must have been working in the army for a long time.

Yang: More than 40 years. At the time of the "9 December [1935] Movement," I was a middle school student and I went to join the guerrillas; I have remained with them ever since. Now, I am just 60, almost ready to retire.

Are You Willing To Retire?

Li: Are you willing to retire?

Yang: Some say, there is no retirement for someone engaged in revolution. I don't look at it this way. There may be no end to our struggle for the communist cause, but a man is bound to get old and he must voluntarily retreat from the stage of history. Why should one who already begins to drool involuntarily continue to monopolize the shrine, and for what? That is called "occupying the toilet without making one's bowel movement" -- no good at all! Hence, Deng Xiaoping says: It is the urgent wish of the masses that old cadres retire. Those who are not willing to retire are not really for the communist cause, but are afraid of losing their "privileges." Actually, even if we are retired, we continue to draw our salaries and every year we even get 2 extra months' salaries for traveling, and we also continue to review documents: our "privileges" are still there! If it is said that this is applying the "policy of buying off" to us old cadres, ha ha, that would make us bourgeois who need to be "bought off." (He spoke humorously, and couldn't help laughing again.)

Li: This being the case, you too seem to think that there are some people in China who are enjoying "privileges"; can we say that a "privileged stratum" does exist?

Yang: Of course, this is a fact. By closing our eyes we may not see a fact, and by engaging in sophistry we may distort a fact; but a fact, after all, remains a fact. When I talked about my desire to retire, my wife, children, and relatives mostly disagreed with me; did they wish to have me engage in revolution? Only a fool could have failed to see that they were only afraid that after I lose my "power" they too will lose their "privileges." (Laughter.)

Li: Hong Kong men are very much interested in the question of the "privileged stratum"; it is frequently discussed in the press. But the Chinese communists have never acknowledged that there is any "privileged stratum" in China.

I Enjoy Many 'Privileges'

Yang: Even if the party says so, the common people by no means look at it this way. I am a member of the very "privileged stratum."

Li: (surprised by the other man's frankness): Is that so?

Yang: Why not? Our clothing, food, housing, and transportation facilities are all different from those of the common people and cadres in general. What we wear is high-class material; what we eat is "individualized cooking"; correspondents are sent to our homes and we regularly relish feasts; the place we live in normally measures more than 100 square meters; while the furnishings in our home lack the kind of 10,000-yuan bathtub mentioned in Ye Wenfu's [5509 2429

4395] poem, they do include sofas, chests of drawers, beds, telephone, etc., which are all provided by the state. When I go out, I always stay in high-class hotels; there are always special passenger cars to take us in and out; we are allowed to take a plane, and when we ride on a train we are entitled to occupy the section with soft seats; when we need to have our illness attended to we have a health insurance certificate, and well-known physicians take care of us, good medicine and good equipment are used, and every year we are given a physical checkup. We are entitled to read confidential, top-secret documents; at meetings we are seated at the presiding officer's platform; when we are in the theater watching a drama we are seated at the front rows and at the rear rows if watching a movie... Those above the division and bureau chief level in the central organs, above the department and bureau level in the provincial organs, and above the division commander level in the armed forces all enjoy such privileges; county party committee secretaries and county governors as well as the various department heads also enjoy their respective privileges; all of these may perhaps be called a "privileged stratum."

Li: Some explain that this is required by their work and should not be regarded as a matter of "privilege."

Yang: The greatest deception lies precisely here. The so-called requirement of work or so-called serving the people sounds of course highfalutin; but, to put it bluntly, actually it is often a case of thieves and whores on the loose. An 80-year oldster taking a nurse as a concubine -- is this required by his work? No wonder he is not willing to retire, because once retired he would no longer enjoy such a "privilege." When I went to Jiangxi to work, they took me on a tour of Lushan, with one big feast every 3 days and a small one every 2 days; can you say this is required by my work? In treating me with such enthusiasm, they actually also wished to "scrouge" a little so that each would share the spoils of the other, with no one complaining about anyone else. In any case, the money spent belongs to the state, the comfort enjoyed is ours; why shouldn't anyone do it? (With a shrug, he continued:)

Making Friends Also Requires Attention to Well-Matched Status

In this "privileged stratum" of ours, even making friends is based on well-matched status, with only those of the same level mixing with one another; a division commander would never seek out a little soldier as a friend. Our children are like this too; they can make friends with each other if their fathers belong to the same level; otherwise, they would say; "Your father is subordinate to mine." Our tone in addressing our subordinates is also different; it is a preaching tone, a tone with which a senior instructs a junior. A common cadre usually calls us chief so-and-so or director so-and-so...even though the central authorities have repeatedly ordered that we must greet each other as comrade. Can you say that all this is required by our work? (While speaking, he suddenly stood up.)

Li: One is unaware when engrossed in a given situation but attentive when outside of it as an observer. In your case, you have turned out to be even more attentive while engrossed in it; this is truly incredible!

Actual Wages Cannot Be Estimated

Yang: Because of his background as a member of the feudal class, Lu Xun understood them better, and once he thrust his spear backward, he hit them right at their vulnerable spot. Marxism holds that the difference in classes lies in the difference of people's status in labor and production and the difference in the distribution of the fruits of labor that they receive. Basically, people like us are used to pointing our fingers or swinging our feet or moving our lips. That is to say, in labor and production our status is different from that of the vast ranks of the workers and laborers; but in distribution our wages are several or even 10 times higher than those of the workers. These are nominal wages only; in reality the other remunerations we enjoy are still higher than our wages; they are inestimable. For instance, no one knows how much of the state's foreign exchange some who go abroad actually spend on the photographs and books they bring back; and they could well have obtained these things without going abroad. Then, what did they go abroad for? They went abroad simply for sightseeing, widening their horizons, and buying some foreign goods, since the money they spent came from the state treasury anyway.

Li: Today's retirement system is also a measure to repeal the lifetime tenure system; does it also limit cadres' privileges?

Yang: An emperor cannot remain such for his whole life. Certain people's privileges are reduced, but the ranks sharing such privileges are expanded; thus the privileged stratum is not contracted but extended.

Li: This view of yours is very refreshing. I would like to ask you to discuss whether "privileges" can corrode people.

Mao in His Late Years Was the Greatest Capitalist-roader

Yang: Those who enjoy "privileges" naturally wish to preserve forever such a political and economic status; whenever such a status faces infringement, they are bound to do their best to oppose it. All reforms and changes are likely to encounter their opposition. Once they feel duly satisfied with their own power and position, what they pursue is then greater privileges. Such people have in essence already changed, from revolutionaries gradually to the opposites of revolution. "Ideological petrification" under such circumstances becomes a matter of course. According to the Land Reform Program of the past, when a peasant possessed a large amount of land for 5 years, his class status would change into that of a landowner. We have possessed these "privileges" for over 30 years; why should it be impossible for us to become "privileged elements"? Can it be that we are gods free of the consequences of human consumption? In the case of the oldster Mao himself, hadn't he in essence already changed? Otherwise, how could he have treated his old comrades-in-arms this way? how could he have been so careless in his lifestyle? Hence, the oldster Mao said: "The bourgeoisie is within our very own party"; this was said indeed correctly, but with one proviso: "I myself have been the greatest capitalist-roader."

Li: In discussing such things with a Hong Kong man whom you have never met before, aren't you afraid of incurring problems?

Yang: I am not so afraid; I am just about to retire. Having engaged in the revolution for a lifetime, can they put me in jail now?

Such Party Members Are Incomparable to Li Jiacheng

Li: Can I say that you have said these things because you are about to retire?

Yang: Perhaps so. But this perception has actually been taking shape for a long time. At the time of the "Cultural Revolution," the Red Guards said we were "capitalist-roaders"; they wanted to put tall hats on us and parade us in the streets; they wanted to "throw us on the ground and trample us 10,000 times." It was then that I thought to myself: having devoted myself to the revolution for a lifetime, why should the common people hate us so today? Can this not be a protest to our enjoyment of "privileges"? The conclusion I reached was: "We should bow down and admit our guilt." After the downfall of the "Gang of Four," we were all vindicated and our offices reinstalled, or we gained even higher offices; even in the case of many who had in the past "bowed down" to admit their own guilt, they too regarded themselves as having been wronged, as if they themselves had in fact been "always correct." An old horse always recognizes its track; thus such people once again embarked upon the old road, or did things even more unscrupulously. Chen [7115] the Pockmarked Face having demolished a kindergarten to build his private house was an iron-clad fact; I am afraid even a capitalist today would not have done such a stupid thing. Have they not returned to their native villages to build schools? Has not Li Jiacheng [2621 0857 6134] donated several tens of million yuan to build the Swatow University? Such communists can't be compared even to a capitalist; it would be getting them off too lightly to just attach the label of "capitalist-roader" to them. It would be only proper to call them "feudal bureaucrats."

Li: Some are of the opinion that the cadres today are even more fierce in seeking "privileges" than those prior to the "Cultural Revolution," so that when worse comes to worse, a second rebel movement similar to the "Cultural Revolution" might become inevitable; do you think this view is correct.

Yang: I think this view has a definite basis. One view is that the "capitalist-roaders" indulged in seeking privileges; the rebels exceeded the capitalist-roaders; and the old cadres whose offices have been reinstated are now exceeding even the rebels. The "privileges" of one "generation" thus become more and more pronounced than those of another "generation." The masses are very dissatisfied with this scene. Yet, after more than 10 years of turmoil, people are longing for stability; but the sources of turmoil still exist. Those in power cannot but consciously take note of this. In my view, the many measures now adopted by Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang are meant verily to limit the swelling of these "privileges." But, in repealing "the four avenues of unlimited airing of views" and suppressing the democratic movement, they have hampered the opposition to "privileges." Because those who seek privileges fear most other people's exposure, "the four avenues of unlimited airing of views," and the masses' making their views known.

Li: Are you saying that letting the masses make their views known and engage in the democratic movement is the most potent weapon for opposing "privileges"?

Yang: That question is something which I have not yet had time to think through. But I am of the opinion that it simply won't do if a cadre system like that of Stalin, which accommodates stern gradations and smacks of a heavy feudal odor, is not pulled down. Once the cadres' "privileges" are removed, with democracy being put into practice in addition, and with the masses electing and recalling the cadres as well as supervising them, it would be difficult for them to seek privileges. Another approach is to have material goods in society greatly multiplied. Once the distance between officials and the common people is shortened and the "privileges" enjoyed by the high-ranking cadres today can also be enjoyed by the masses, then such privileges would no longer constitute privileges.

Carry Opposition to Privileges Into the Next Generation

Our generation has fought guerrilla wars and endured hardship; its tendency to seek privileges would not be too excessive. Our next generation might be more fearsome. Taking advantage of their senior generation's power and office, they have become totally lawless and unscrupulous, smuggling gold, monopolizing the importation of petroleum, coal and other materials of the like, raping women, murdering people and using drugs, and what not. The grandson of X X X and the sons of X X X and X X have all been arrested. The central authorities have a document which provides: whatever case [in which the son is involved], the father is not allowed to come forward to intervene, nor to solicit information about it. After "1 May," the inhibition on carrying out executions will be removed. Many are waiting to see: will you dare to touch the children of high-ranking cadres who are still in power? If they should suffer no consequences, then the party's prestige will be completely swept away. Opposition to privileges will not only prevent our own generation from becoming corrupt and degenerate, but will also have to do with our next generation and posterity. (As the general reached this point, his tone became full of pain.)

Li: How do you view the democratic movement in China?

Yang: When we first joined the revolution, we intended precisely to struggle for democracy and the people's happiness; when we joined the Communist Party, we also aimed at the fine future of mankind--the triumph of the communist cause. The essence of the Communist Party is itself opposition to dictatorship, especially opposition to feudal dictatorship. But, honestly, we have sometimes marched in the opposite direction and become the tools of great feudal dictators; we have acquired privileges and become privileged elements. This way, we are bound to fear the people and fear democracy. With so many problems bred by the oldster Mao, if there had been some democracy in practice at the time and had there been some small bulletins exposing them somewhat, would the people of the whole country have been deceived? Would he have been able to instigate the "Cultural Revolution"?

Li: How do you think a socialist state should practice democracy?

Yang: In my view there are two ways: one is to do like Yugoslavia does by consciously carrying out improvement and reforms and realizing socialist democracy; another is, if you do not handle the matter consciously and contradictions become

radicalized, then a Hungarian Incident, a Czechoslovak Incident, or a Polish trade union, such as the current Solidarity, results. Poland has a population of only 36 million; yet the trade union Solidarity has 10 million members, who thus constitute a formidable force. Many high-ranking officials, even the wife and son of the vice premier, are its members. But this organization seems too loose; it lacks a closely-knit core force. Hence its reaction to Poland's military control appears impotent. We still lack adequate understanding of the situation of the Polish workers' struggle; but we can predict that Walesa and his advisers will sum up their experience and continue to push forward.

Li: Would a view like yours be regarded as heresy in today's mainland? Would you be regarded as a "dissident"? Are there many like you?

Yang: Perhaps some would regard [my view] as improper. But it is no longer possible today to "command everything with Mao Zedong Thought"; whoever is not a petrified element is using his brains. In the case of us oldsters, our conventions are especially numerous and our burdens are especially heavy; when considering problems, our thinking is not liberal enough, unlike today's young people among whom some neither believe in gods nor fear ghosts. China's hope lies precisely in them. My view has never been publicly aired; no one can stop me from exercising my own thinking. As far as I know, people's thinking at present is very confused or it may be said to be also especially active. Among high-ranking cadres, people who view problems as I do are not, I believe, necessarily very scarce; the only difference is that when they speak publicly, they usually resort to high-sounding expressions.

With a loud whistle, the train rushed into the boundless darkness of the night. The old cadre's series of talks aroused my deep thoughts. Outside the window, the limitless benighted firmament seemed menacingly pressing downward. The night was pitchblack, but luckily some stars had begun to flicker. These were exactly like the sparks of thought of our motherland's elitist elements which enable us to see the hope of the country.

9255
CSO: 4005/1017

END

JPRS 81862

27 September 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 341

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81862

27 September 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 341

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Minority Determines Foreign Policy in PRC
(Ba Yi Radio, 9 Sep 82) 1

Further Reportage on Japanese Textbook Issue
(XINHUA, 3-6, 8, 9 Sep 82) 3

Governmental Order
Religious Leaders' Comments
Congress Criticizes Distortion
Politician Wants Texts Amended
Philippine Foreign Minister Comments
Publisher Urges Correction
Noted Sociologist Comments
'RENMIN RIBAO' Condemns Militarism

Briefs
Japanese Minister Feted 11
Egyptian, Yugoslav Officials Meet 11
Japanese, Danish Ministers Talk 11
Press Strikes in India 11
Insat-1A Satellite Abandoned 12

PARTY AND STATE

Shanxi Party Secretary Urges Study of Constitution Revision
(Zhu Chunnian and Jian Shengyuan; SHANXI RIBAO,
29 Jun 82) 13

Tianjin Urged To Study Draft Constitution
(TIANJIN RIBAO, 1 Jul 82) 15

Party Committees Implement Shanxi Spirit of 'Resolution'
(SHANXI RIBAO, 1 Jul 82) 16

More Contributions To Four Modernizations Work Urged
(Chen Pixian; GONGREN RIBAO, 11 Jul 82) 18

'LIAONING RIBAO' Discusses Communist Ideals
(Qi Lin; LIAONING RIBAO, 1 Sep 82) 21

Liu Shaoqi's Work on How To Be Good Communists Noted
(Zhao Jinrong; SHANXI RIBAO, 1 Jul 82) 23

Hebei Party Secretary on Local People's Congresses
(Jiang Yizhen; HEBEI RIBAO, 21 May 82) 25

CPC Congress Fails To Deal With Army Building
(Ba Yi Radio, 10 Sep 82) 29

Deng Praise for 7th CPC Congress Signals Purge
(Ba Yi Radio, 7 Sep 82) 31

'TIANJIN RIBAO' on Guarding Against Corruption
(Wen Zhu; TIANJIN RIBAO, 28 Aug 82) 33

Uphold Mao Zedong's Scientific Principles on Literature, Art
(He Xilai and Du Shuying; WENXUE PINGLUN [COMMENTS ON LITERATURE], 15 May 82) 36

Reform Movement of 1898, Its Two Leaders Appraised
(Ling Zhi; XUESHU YANJIU (JOURNAL OF ACADEMIC RESEARCH), 20 May 82) 56

Briefs
Sino-Japanese Film 65

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MINORITY DETERMINES FOREIGN POLICY IN PRC

OW121315 Ba Yi Radio [Clandestine] in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 9 Sep 82

[Text] At the group discussions of delegates to the 12th CPC National Congress on Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech and Comrade Hu Yaobang's report, rather few delegates spoke freely on foreign affairs issues. This is because for many years foreign affairs have been a forbidden zone for many people. Major foreign policy decisions have always been made by the leader himself and a few of his close followers: Even central leading comrades do not dare to talk frankly about foreign affairs issues, much less to criticize mistakes in foreign policy. Today many delegates avoid talking about foreign affairs issues apparently because of their lingering fears.

In fact, there is nothing strange about this. In the five national party congresses since the founding of the people's republic, only at the Eighth Congress did the delegates openly and frankly put forward their views and opinions on foreign affairs and on our party's relations with other parties. Since then only the leader of the party had the power to decide on such issues.

For example, all decisions on relations between the Chinese and Soviet parties and between the two countries were made by Chairman Mao himself with the participation of Kang Sheng, Chen Boda and the gang of four, especially during the cultural revolution. On U.S. President Nixon's visit to China and the restoration of Sino-U.S. relations under conditions disadvantageous to our country, the decisions were also made by Chairman Mao himself with the gang of four's advice. Likewise, the invitation for Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka to visit China and the hasty establishment of diplomatic relations with Japan were also planned by the gang of four and approved by Chairman Mao himself. At the time he also solemnly promised the Japanese not to mention again Japan's aggression against China and the sacrifices the Chinese people had suffered.

After Mao Zedong's death and the gang of four's downfall, little has changed in the decision-making process in foreign affairs. At present, important foreign policy decisions of our country are all made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping himself with the participation of a few of his trusted followers. For example, the decision to establish formal diplomatic relations with the United States was made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. Moreover, despite repeated warnings by other central leading comrades, he promised President Carter that China would henceforth not object to U.S. sales of limited defensive weapons to Taiwan. In the

signing of the treaty of peace and friendship with Japan, the decision was also made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping himself. At the time, acting as he saw fit, he went so far as to promise the Japanese side that henceforth the Diaoyu Island issue would not be mentioned again, and that the issue would be left for future generations to solve. In reality, it was to permit Japan to permanently occupy our country's territory.

It is clear that the continued practice of making foreign policy decisions the special function of a few individuals can only lead to serious mistakes in foreign policy and endanger our national interests. To draw lessons from mistakes and prevent mistakes from repeating themselves, it is henceforth imperative to have more people openly and frankly discuss international issues, particularly issues concerning Sino-Japanese, Sino-U.S. and Sino-Soviet relations. Setting the difficult issues and dispute with these countries as soon as possible is the most urgent task our country faces today in its relations with foreign countries.

CSO: 4005/1314

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON JAPANESE TEXTBOOK ISSUE

Governmental Order

OW090946 Beijing XINHUA in English 0928 GMT 9 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, September 9 (XINHUA)--By order of the Japanese Government, Japanese Ambassador to China Yasue Katori has informed Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister Wu Xuegian that after reconsideration the Japanese Government has decided to take further measures to settle the textbook question on Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki's instructions for an early settlement of the textbook issue.

In an appointment with the Chinese vice-foreign minister on September 6, the Japanese ambassador said the Japanese Government will be responsible for rectifying the questionable points in the textbooks. Those expressions on certain questions raised by the Chinese side are expected to be corrected this year by revising the authorization criteria for the textbooks.

As to the textbooks already authorized, the minister of education will issue views to be printed in the bulletin of the Ministry of Education so that the demands of the Chinese side will be met in the course of teaching, he said.

The Textbook Authorization and Research Council will hold a meeting in September this year. The authorization criteria for revision of textbooks will be decided by the end of November and the views of the minister of education will be made public around the end of November, so they can be carried out before the textbooks begin to be used in April next year.

The Japanese ambassador also made some supplementary explanations of the measures to be adopted by the Japanese side.

Religious Leaders' Comments

OW080806 Beijing XINHUA in English 0735 GMT 8 Sep 82

[Text] Tokyo, September 7 (XINHUA)--Japan "should confess the sins it committed in the past and correct the wrong narrations in textbooks," Nikkyo Niwano, president of Rissho Koseikai of Japan, told a visiting Chinese religious delegation here today. The delegation is led by Gong-mine Zhan Suyong,

vice-president of the Chinese Buddhist Association, and Shen Chengen, vice-secretary general of the Three-Self Patriotic Committee of the Protestant Churches of China.

The Japanese religious leader said that Japan should express gratitude for the comments made by China and Japan's other neighbours on the textbook issue, for they showed concern over Japan's future. He said it was wrong to distort the historical facts and not to tell the truth to the younger generation, hence his telephone protest to Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki.

Niwano highly valued the contacts between the religious circles of the two countries and hoped for closer friendly ties between the two countries.

The Chinese delegation leader Gong-mine paid high tribute to Niwano's contributions to Japan-China friendship and also to world peace. He said that the aggressive war of the Japanese militarists had brought enormous suffering both to the Chinese and to the Japanese people. The two peoples should learn from this historical lesson and cement their friendship from generation to generation.

The Chinese delegation arrived here yesterday as guest of the Niwano Peace Financial Group. A cocktail party was held in its honor this evening by the forum of Japanese religious believers friendly to China. It will meet Japanese Buddhists and protestants and visit religious establishments in Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, and Nara.

Congress Criticizes Distortion

OW061521 Beijing XINHUA in English 1501 GMT 6 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, September 6 (XINHUA)--Some delegates attending the current party congress today severely criticized the Japanese Education Ministry for distorting the history of Japanese aggression. They gave their views while discussing Hu Yaobang's report, particularly his statement about China's relations with Japan.

The delegates urged the Japanese Government to take steps promptly to correct the mistakes in Japanese textbooks.

The noted publisher Chen Hanbo said the history of Japanese militarists aggression against China is a history written in blood, which no one can blot out. By altering school textbooks, some people in the Japanese Ministry of Education tried to misinform the Japanese children. "This is a vain attempt," he stated.

Chen Henbo said that after the war many upright Japanese historians and publishers produced a good number of books correctly recording Japan's aggression abroad from the late 19th century to the 1940's. These books are welcomed by the Japanese people. Some have been translated into Chinese.

He pointed out it is only natural that the Japanese Education Ministry's attempt to tamper with the history of that period has roused the indignation of the people of both China and Japan.

Chen Hanbo urged the Chinese and Japanese people, who have both suffered from the Japanese war of aggression, to join hands in opposing militarist ideas and actions intended to revive militarism. He expressed the hope that Japanese publishers will continue to put out books faithful to history and contribute to Sino-Japanese friendship.

The Japanese Government should quickly correct the mistake of its Education Ministry in distorting the history of Japanese aggression against China, Chen Hanbo said.

Professor Zhu Tianshun of the Taiwan Research Institute, Amoy University, said that the textbook distortion shows there are indeed forces in Japan who want to revive militarism.

He said the issue may help the Chinese and Japanese youth get to know the truth of history. "Thus a bad thing may become a good thing," he said. "I believe that the two peoples would be even more alerted to prevent the revival of militarism. Taiwan fell under Japanese occupation after the 1895 Sino-Japanese War," he recalled. "During the half a century of Japanese occupation, the people of Taiwan suffered greatly. As a Chinese growing up Taiwan Province, I understand only too well what is meant by Japanese aggression."

Zhu Tianshun joined the communist-led New Fourth Army in 1942, in Hubei, to fight the Japanese aggressors. He was then in charge of educating captured Japanese soldiers. "Many of them finally came to see the true nature of the war and began to expose the atrocities committed by the Japanese occupationist army in China. A number of these soldiers later resisted the aggressive war," Zhu Tianshun said.

Zhang Hui, deputy director of the Culture Bureau of Jiangsu Province who has worked in Nanjing for three decades, said the people there are indignant at the Japanese Education Ministry's attempt to cover up the facts about the 1937 "Nanjing massacre," in which more than 300,000 people were killed by the Japanese aggressors.

Zhang Hui, who had just returned from a visit to Japan, said that in Tokyo, he found both people prominent in Japanese cultural circles and men in the street believed that it is stupid to distort history. They pointed out that the masses of the Japanese people will never forget how Japan's war of aggression brought untold sufferings to the Chinese people and misery to its own people. They told Zhang Hui that the people of the two countries should join hands in urging the Japanese Government to take clear-cut measures promptly to correct the mistake.

Politician Wants Texts Amended

OW050826 Beijing XINHUA in English 1737 GMT 5 Sep 82

[Text] Tokyo, September 4 (XINHUA)--Shosaku Itai, advisor to the Workers Party of Japan, today demanded the Japanese Education Ministry make up its mind to amend the history textbooks that whitewash Japan's aggression against China during the last war.

Itai told XINHUA that Sino-Japanese friendship is based on Japan's repentance of its past war of aggression, which is also the spirit of the Japan-China joint statement on the normalization of relations between the two countries. To distort history in the revised textbooks is a violation of this spirit, Itai said.

He said the Japanese Education Ministry should correct its mistakes on the textbook issue. However, no clear-cut statement on how to correct the mistakes has been made this is simply irresponsible, he added. [sentence as received]

He said the Japanese people should never relax vigilance on the possible revival of militarism in Japan, which is deep-rooted.

Philippine Foreign Minister Comments

OW050912 Beijing XINHUA in English 0822 GMT 5 Sep 82

[Text] Manila, September 5 (XINHUA)--Philippine Foreign Minister Carlos P. Romulo called Japan's move to distort history in school textbooks a "dangerous tendency" and urged the Japanese Government to amend the revised textbooks, according to BULLETIN TODAY.

In an interview with visiting NHK Hong Kong bureau chief Mikio Arai, Romulo said that the issue of the revision of Japanese history textbooks reflects an apparent effort to "change the thinking of young Japanese so that they may accept certain policies of the past heretofore condemned."

He also said the attempt of the Japanese Government "may be an omen, a dangerous tendency, to alter the status of Japanese military invasion in occupied countries during the last world war."

Refuting the claim that the issue is an internal affair of Japan, Romulo said the issue affects the relations between Japan and other Asian countries.

"We have a right to express our opinion on this matter. Asian peoples, particularly those who suffered during World War II, have a profound interest in the faithful recording of the facts of history," Romulo emphasized. The Philippines was one of the victims of the Japanese aggression during World War II.

Romulo said the Japanese Government has announced that it would effect temporary corrections of the revisions in the classroom. "We hope the permanent modifications will be fully implemented," Romulo observed, "for if carried out, it would be a manifestation of Japanese sensitivity to the sentiments expressed by many Asian peoples."

Publisher Urges Correction

OW041800 Beijing XINHUA in English 1616 GMT 4 Sep 82

[Text] Tokyo, September 4 (XINHUA)--A Tokyo publishing house, with the help of writers and managing compilers of textbooks, today drafted a plan to make corrigenda on mistakes in high school history textbooks, and demanded restoration of the original narrative on aggression.

The plan, KYODO reported, mostly dealt with restoration of the original text on the Nanjing massacre, and Japanese "aggression" and "imperialism," during World War II, items which were deleted in a screening process.

University Professors Keizi Nagahara and Shunichi Uno, both of whom write and compile textbooks, drafted the plan. They want to present their applications for the corrigenda as soon as possible to enable use of the corrected textbooks by the spring. Nagahara and Uno called on all publishers to draft corrigenda programs.

Another KYODO report said that the Federation of Publishing Workers Union asked all publishers to respect the writers' intentions and work together on presenting their corrigenda applications to the publishing houses.

Noted Sociologist Comments

OW041324 Beijing XINHUA in English 1252 GMT 4 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, September 4 (XINHUA)--"The Japanese Government should prove to the world people as well as the Japanese people its sincerity with action," said noted sociologist Fei Xiaotong in an interview with XINHUA. This would be the concrete way to correct the Japanese Education Ministry's mistake of distorting facts of Japanese aggression in the textbooks, he said.

Fei Xiaotong said that the dragging out of the issue was caused by maneuvers taken by certain people in the Japanese Government who, on the one hand said they would modestly listen to the views of foreign countries and on the other hand said "foreign protests are interference in Japan's internal affairs."

"They are actually stubbornly clinging to their mistake. It is incomprehensible that they should say they want to make corrections while not taking any action and wanting to use the distorted textbooks which, they saw, can only be corrected two years later. They did not clarify how they are going to make the corrections and what they are going to correct. So, one cannot understand the meaning of the assertion the government will be responsible to correct errors," he said. "We are certainly not satisfied with such ambiguity," Fei Xiaotong said.

"If the Japanese Government truly wants to show its sincerity, it should first explicitly admit that the Japanese militarists invaded China, adopt concrete actions to correct mistakes and guarantee that there would be no recurrences," he said.

'RENMIN RIBAO' Condemns Militarism

OW031600 Beijing XINHUA in English 1521 GMT 3 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, September 3 (XINHUA)--The PEOPLE'S DAILY published an article today stongly condemning the Japanese militarists for their vicious attempts to revive militarism and undermine Sino-Japanese friendship.

The article, under the headline "Militaristic Forces Should Not Be Allowed To Undermine the Foundation of the Sino-Japanese Friendship," says that the distortion by Japan's Education Ministry of Japan's imperialist aggression has enraged and alerted the Chinese and Asian peoples. Many signs indicate that in Japan, some people who harbor evil intentions want to reverse the historical facts of Japanese imperialist aggression. These people, says the article, clinging desperately to militarism, are attempting to stage a comeback.

The article points out that the attempt to veil the aggressive history is not a new act of the Education Ministry, but an act it embarked upon a long time ago.

Since last fall a number of influential liberal democrats have been appealing to the Education Ministry for changes in the history textbooks, which they condemn. They have been demanding that the texts tell of "the indomitable spirit shown by the Japanese in defense of their country" and reintroduce the concept of "loving the emperor." Some Japanese tycoons have openly demanded military training in schools and they want the textbooks to "raise the people's awareness of the royal family as the core of the country." Some even suggest that emperor worship and the Rhinto religion be restored in schools. The committee for formulating a charter for education in April brazenly advocate the restoration of this imperial nationalism by defending "the history-created noble tradition centering around the royal family."

The article points out that the reason some Japanese served with such brutal enthusiasm during the aggressive wars waged by Japan was mainly because they were brought up under the militaristic educational system that deeply poisoned them.

Obviously, the article says, the changing of the word "aggression" into "advance" is not merely a matter of misuse of words but a matter with an unwholesome historic background. Because of this, the distortion of history textbooks manifests itself as a serious political issue concerning not only important historic facts that involve the national feelings of the peoples of Asia, but also Japan's future and the relations between Japan and other Asian countries. The actions of the Education Ministry and a number of Japanese groups go against the spirit and principles as set forth by the joint statement on the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations. They deny the deep self-reproach expressed by the Japanese Government toward the Chinese people because of its aggressive wars against China. The issue also concerns the prospects of friendly cooperation between China and Japan, the education of future generations, the thorough annihilation of militarism, or the restoration of it, and a future of peace or war in Asia as well. Therefore, the strong reactions from the Chinese people and people of other Asian countries demonstrate their grave concern.

The article also points out that in connection with the Education Ministry's distortion of Japan's aggressive history there exists a lot of extremely serious trends. For example, in the past few years, rightist organizations have been on the rise.

[OW031605] Religious Activities--Paying respect to Yasukuni Shrine has become an open function. The Japanese Constitution clearly stipulates the rule "separating government from religion," banning Japanese Government officials from taking part in religious activities and government institutions from supporting such activities. Since 1969, however, a few liberal democrats have been proposing what has been called the "Hasukuni Shrine Bill" to render nil the nonsupport-of-religion rule in the Constitution and make it legal for government officials to take part in or provide funds for such activities.

During the early 1970's, films began to whitewash Japanese militarism; the trend has been gaining in momentum since then in films such as "Height 203" in 1980, "Joint Fleet" in 1981 and "Dai Nippon Teikoku" (The Imperial Japanese Empire) shown recently.

This is not the end. Recently, there are even those rightist elements in Japan who had proposed the setting up of a "monument to the founding of the Manchurian state." They claim that by so doing they want to demonstrate that Japan "had not invaded" China. They even claim that they want to hand down "the ideal and exploits" of Japan's aggression against China's northeast to future generations.

The article says that all facts indicate that in Japan, people with militarist ideology are still poisoning the young and a handful of militarists are still trying to revive the old dream of "greater east Asia coprosperity sphere."

These attempts to reverse history are not isolated and are linked to the economic or political situation in Japan.

During the post-war years, the Japanese economy has seen such a rapid development that it has become the focus of world attention. Japan has become the second most powerful economic power in the capitalist world. The credit goes to the Japanese people and their government.

However, Japan is poor in resources and its growth is dependent on cheap raw materials from other Asian countries, which not only provide the major portion of necessary materials for Japan, but also serve as important markets for Japanese goods and capital. It is no exaggeration to say that, without the cooperation of the Asian countries, Japan could not be where it is. And it is only natural that the Asian people should concern themselves with the course of the Japanese economy which has a close bearing on their own. The notion that Japan's economic cooperation with developing nations is a "favor," that Japan's assistance is indispensable to China's four modernizations, is outrageously wrong, the article says. Capitalizing on one's economic strength to trample on the basic principles of Sino-Japanese relations, is a practice bound to be rebuffed.

Recently, some Japanese politicians held that Japan should become a "political power." Historical experiences warn the Asian people and the international community to heed the question of what kind of political power Japan will become in the future. Already the revision of textbooks by Japan's Education Ministry on the history of Japanese invasion of Asian-Pacific countries has aroused universal suspicion about that future. "Whither goes Japan?" has become an issue of increasing interest.

CSO: 4000/186

BRIEFS

JAPANESE MINISTER FETED--Beijing, September 3 (XINHUA)--Kichiro Tazawa, Japanese minister of agriculture, forestry and fisheries, and his party were guests of honor at a dinner given by Lin Hujia, Chinese minister of agriculture, animal husbandry and fishery here this evening. The guests arrived yesterday and met with Lin Hujia this morning. The two sides discussed agriculture and cooperation and exchanges in the field. The guests also met with Yang Zhong, China's minister of forestry this morning. Also present at the dinner this evening were He Kang, vice-minister of agriculture, animal husbandry and fishery and Yasue Katori, Japanese ambassador to China. The guests will leave September 5 for China's northeast. [Text] [OW032023 Beijing XINHUA in English 1646 GMT 3 Sep 82]

EGYPTIAN, YUGOSLAV OFFICIALS MEET--Belgrade, September 6 (XINHUA)--Visiting Egyptian President Muhammad Husni Mubarak and his Yugoslav counterpart Petar Stambolic today expressed their hope that the proposed 7th Nonaligned Summit would help checking the continuing deterioration in the international situation, TANJUG reported today. The two sides expressed anxiety over the worsening world situation, which they believed, was the result of growing distrust and intensified contention and arms race between blocs. Mubarak arrived here today to begin his three-day official, friendly visit to this country. He and Stambolic discussed the most pressing international problems. They expressed their satisfaction over the settlement of a venue for the nonaligned summit. They believed that the Palestinian problem was the key problem in the Middle East crisis, to compel PLO fighters by force to withdraw from Lebanon will only make the problem more complicated instead of solving it. Referring to the Iraq-Iran war, the two leaders expressed the hope that ways and means to bring the war to an end would soon be found between the two warring states. The two sides stressed the significance of further development of the traditional, friendly relations between the two countries. Stambolic gladly accepted the invitation of Musarak to visit Egypt. [Text] [OW070812 Beijing XINHUA in English 0752 GMT 7 Sep 82]

JAPANESE, DANISH MINISTERS TALK--Copenhagen, September 7 (XINHUA)--Japanese Foreign Minister Yoshio Sakurauchi left here for home today after a three-day official visit to Denmark. Yoshio Sakurauchi had discussions with Danish Foreign Minister Kjeld Olesen on Japanese-Danish relations and the Japanese-EEC (European Economic Community) relations. They also discussed the recent strained relations between the United States and European countries. In an

interview with Danish television yesterday, the Japanese foreign minister expressed his misgivings at the measures the United States had taken to uphold its embargo on natural gas pipeline equipment to the Soviet Union. He said it will also affect Japan. [Text] [OW080802 Beijing XINHUA in English 0741 GMT 8 Sep 82]

PRESS STRIKES IN INDIA--New Delhi, September 3 (XINHUA)--Journalists and others in the news business in India held a one-day nation-wide strike today against the press curb bill introduced in Bihar State. The bill, referred to by press circles as anti-press and a threat to democracy, seeks to permit the government to arrest and imprison reporters for writing "objectionable stories." The strikers demand the withdrawal of the bill and express the fear that the central and other state governments will propose similar legislation or other measures infringing on press freedom. Most newspaper, news agency and magazine offices in the capital were closed as the city press corps and newspaper workers joined the strike. In Delhi, apart from those organizations concerned with the newspaper employees, several political and social organizations came out in support of the strike. Mrs Indira Gandhi, the prime minister, in defending the Bihar Bill, said on September 1 that the bill contained nothing to gag the press and that she would not advise the president to withhold his assent to the bill. [Text] [OW070826 Beijing XINHUA in English 0810 GMT 7 Sep 82]

INSAT-1A SATELLITE ABANDONED--New Delhi, September 7 (XINHUA)--India's first multi-purpose satellite Insat-1A was abandoned after running out of fuel, the Indian Space Research Organization centre in Bangalore announced Monday. Indian space scientists discovered that all the fuel on board the spacecraft had been depleted, making control of the satellite impossible. "We have stopped giving commands to the satellite as all the systems on board are down. The satellite cannot be used anymore," the space department said late last night. The satellite, weighing 114 kg, was launched on April 10 from Cape Canaveral, USA. It was manufactured by the Ford Aerospace Company according to requirements laid down by the Indian Department of Space. The failure of the satellite completely upset India's telecommunication, the radio and TV network and meteorological programmes. "Investigations are continuing to determine the precise cause of these events and to determine the corrective sections to be implemented on Insat-1B," a press release of the space department said. Insat-1B is the second satellite scheduled for launching next year. [Text] [OW070826 Beijing XINHUA in English 0810 GMT 7 Sep 82]

CSO: 4000/185

PARTY AND STATE

SHANXI PARTY SECRETARY URGES STUDY OF CONSTITUTION REVISION

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by Zhu Chunnian [4376 2797 3112] and Jian Shengyuan [4675 5116 2266]: "'The Draft of the Revised Constitution' Should Be More Thoroughly Studied"]

[Text] The 15th session of the Standing Committee of the Shanxi Provincial People's Congress heard a report by Ruan Bosheng [7086 3124 3932], secretary of the provincial party committee and chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, on matters concerning the study and discussion of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution."

In his report, Comrade Ruan Bosheng said: Nearly 2 months have passed since the "Draft of the Revised Constitution" was made available for nationwide discussion. Since then, under the leadership of the provincial party committee, the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress has actively assumed responsibility for organizing the discussion in accordance with the requirements contained in the notice issued by the Central Committee and the provincial party committee. Personnel have been sent to help and advise various counties and districts on this matter. A general survey of the current development of the provincewide discussion on the "Draft of the Revised Constitution" shows that the party committees, the standing committees of the people's congresses, the people's government, and committees of the people's political consultative conference at provincial, county, municipal, and district levels have attached great importance to the study campaign. Specific arrangements have been made for leading comrades of various units to hold discussion meetings in light of the development of the local situation so that they can take the first step to gain experience in this field. Related material has been compiled, cadres forming the backbone of the study campaign have been trained, and leading comrades have been sent to give personal direction to the study at the basic levels. Enthusiasm has widely been aroused by party and government organs at all levels for carrying out study and discussion activities. Meetings have been held and propaganda media have been mobilized throughout the countryside to convey the draft constitution to the public. The masses have been mobilized by many communes and brigades to begin study and discussion of this matter.

In his report, Chairman Ruan Bosheng discussed some problems resulting from the current provincewide study and discussion of the "Draft of the Revised

Constitution." In this connection, he said ; A few units have failed to give adequate attention to the study and discussion of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution." After studying it once or twice, some units have failed to devote enough time to organizing the masses to study or guide them to suggest any changes in the "Draft of the Revised Constitution." Insisting that the revision of the constitution is a matter of concern to the upper level authorities rather than to themselves, some units have failed to schedule any study and discussion of this matter for fear of adversely affecting production and other work. They have also failed to give those muddle-headed comrades correct guidance and assistance in this direction.

In his report, Chairman Ruan Bosheng repeatedly emphasized that party committees at all levels must strengthen their leadership and must regard the study and discussion of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution" as a matter of prime importance rather than "a matter of formality"; in addition to comprehending the basic spirit of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution," they must study and discuss it chapter by chapter, section by section and article by article so that they can suggest changes in the draft; specific time must be scheduled for concentrated study by every unit.

Members of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress and comrades attending the 15th session as observers have continued to propose changes in the "Draft of the Revised Constitution" along with opinions on improving and perfecting our legal system.

9574
CSO: 4005/1080

PARTY AND STATE

TIANJIN URGED TO STUDY DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jul 82 p 1

[News Report: "Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Congress Concludes the 20th Session: Study of the Draft Constitution Urged"]

[Text] The 20th Plenary Session of the Ninth Municipal People's Congress at Tianjin concluded the day before yesterday. This was the second study session held by the Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Congress. Yan Dakai [7051 6671 7020], chairman of the Standing Committee, presided over the meeting. Vice Chairmen Liu Gang [0491 0474], Wang Enhui [3769 1869 1920], Zhou Shutao [0719 0647 1718], Lu Da [6424 6671], Yang Jianbai [2799 1017 4101], Xu Ming [6079 2494] also attended the meeting.

In the session they listened and discussed the summarizing report on "The Situation of Our Municipality in Unfolding All-people Discussion of the Draft Constitution" prepared by the deputy secretary of the Municipal Party Committee, chief of the Propaganda Department, and vice chairman of the Municipal Leading Group for the study and discussion of the draft constitution, Chen Bing [7115 0393]. The session urges that every system, every department and every unit should treat the all-people study of the draft constitution as a serious event in the national political life, and an important task in the present political ideological work; leadership must be strengthened and unrelentingly improved; specially appointed people are put in charge and specialist leadership installed; the connection between the study of the draft constitution and other tasks is well defined; the review of the study and discussion at basic level is strengthened; the situation is under timely control; guidance is provided in proper categories. The demand of "three onces" (study once, explain once, and discuss once) made upon various departments and different units must be based on the reality of the situation for concrete measures without simplification. The standing committee of people's congress at every district and county and municipal offices must continue collecting suggestions made in the mass discussion and submit them together with items on the units of all-people discussion, number of people and opinions to the municipal people's congress before the end of July. They must succeed in study and guidance, help cadres and the mass to study and understand the basic spirit of the draft constitution, clarify certain hazy concepts of the constitution and further strengthen the propaganda of all-people discussion. The press, radio stations and TV stations should make additional effort to succeed in the propaganda of all-people study of the draft constitution. Propaganda bases such as every cultural house (station), clubs, broadcasting station and rural cable broadcast, etc. must be fully utilized in response to the study and discussion of the draft constitution.

9507
CSO: 4005/1081

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY COMMITTEES IMPLEMENT SHANXI SPIRIT OF 'RESOLUTION'

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jul 82 p 1

[News Report by Zhu Erchu [2512 3643 2806]: "Party Committees at County-Level and Above Concentrate on Implementing the Spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session: Improve Organization Life, Engage in Criticism and Self-Criticism"]

[Text] For the past year, the party committees at the county level and above have had good results through overall review and implementation of the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session making it the main substance for organizational life, closely connecting thought and work reality and seriously engaging in criticism and self-criticism.

According to statistics, among the 119 counties (municipalities and districts) 85 percent have held at least one life meeting of the party standing committee. Following the guidance and encouragement of provincial party organs, 92 percent of the 102 division committees, departments (bureaus) have held meetings according to the regulation.

In sum, major achievements of life meetings held in the party committees at the county-level and above are as follow:

1. Use the "resolution" as a mirror, continue clearing "leftist" lingering effect and influence, thereby raise the level of awareness in implementing the party line, principle and policy since the Third Plenary Session. Since last winter and this spring, many county-level party committees have engaged in perfecting the responsibility system of agricultural production, raising and consolidating work, joining and developing various management work, engaging in ideological review in the life meetings, unifying understanding and contributing to the prosperous development of the villages. On the industrial front, party committees at every level joined in reorganizing enterprises, raising economic benefit. Since the beginning of this year, the implementation of the party principle and policy was reviewed in the life meeting, bringing industrial production to a new phase. Party committees of every front also bring personnel policy, especially intellectual policy, to the life meeting and review whether it has closely conformed to the party Central Committee's decision on political affairs and seeks positive improvement.

2. Resolutely correct the evil trend of constructing private houses and rectify party discipline. Since last September, local party committees and county party committees jointly reviewed the "Regulation Concerning Party Internal Political Life" and held life meetings according to the spirit of provincial party committee engaging in serious criticism and self-criticism of some party members and leading cadres who abuse their authority in enclosing plots and constructing houses, engage in extortion and misappropriate state and collective resources. Those comrades who had committed mistakes underwent profound education. At present, the evil trend of comrades abusing their authority to build illegal private houses has basically been halted.

3. Speak out and resolve the conflict, strengthen the unity of "group." Party committees of many localities treat this problem as an important item in the life meeting, putting the problems between members which cause disunity on the table, engaging in criticism and self-criticism, and thus eliminating misunderstanding and confusion and making visible improvement in leadership unity.

4. Strengthen political ideological work, make preliminary improvement of the looseness of organization. Every locality proceeds from improving and strengthening the degree of party leadership and treat the issue of how to improve ideological work, overcome lethargy as an item on the agenda for serious discussion. In the past, many comrades reviewed work superficially; investigation was not carried out in sufficient depth; tasks were pushed around.

On the basis of review and recognition, they were able to adopt some measures which produced desired effects.

At present, the party committees above the county-level are living out organizational life and implementing the "Resolution on attacking serious criminal activities in the economic realm" passed by the Party Central Committee and the State Council, and seriously sum up lessons and experiences in the anti-corruption struggle.

9507
CSO: 4005/1081

PARTY AND STATE

MORE CONTRIBUTIONS TO FOUR MODERNIZATIONS WORK URGED

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by Chen Pixian [7115 0012 7359]: "Make More Contributions to the Construction of the Four Modernizations"]

[Text] Since liberation, Hubei Province has become an important industrial base and a main grain and cotton-growing area under the leadership of the party and the state. The working class in Hubei must try hard to make more contributions to the construction of the four modernizations.

Hubei Province, which is one of the birthplaces of the Chinese nation, is situated in the hinterland of central China at the middle reaches of the Chiangjiang River Valley. As early as in the period of the Warring States (475-221 B.C.) more than 2,000 years ago, the splendid culture of Chu was here. Natural conditions in Hubei also are very favorable, for example, a temperate climate, moderate rainfall, fertile land, convenient communication systems, and rich mineral resources. Historically, Hubei has been called a "land of plenty" and a "communication center connecting nine provinces." However, prior to liberation, under the rigorousness of the three big mountains, the rich resources in Hubei Province were untouched or not being utilized. The level of agricultural production was low and unstable. Due to the incapability in providing disaster relief, the destiny of "poor harvests in 9 out of 10 years" simply could not be avoided in this well known Jiang-Han Plain, not to mention the state of poverty in the mountainous areas in western Hubei. Hubei was then especially weak as an industrial base. The fact that there was only 38,000 kw of power-generating capacity throughout the province in 1949 could fully speak for itself.

Until after liberation, thanks to the leadership of the party and the socialist system, the economic development in Hubei has been accelerated.

An outstanding change in agriculture is that the condition of agricultural production has been greatly improved through the protracted, large-scale capital construction of water conservancy works. There are now a total of more than 6,200 reservoirs throughout the province having a storage capacity of 25,800 million cubic meters. Besides, the electrical irrigation and drainage equipment of 4.64 million hp has a water storage and drawing capacity

of more than 42,000 million cubic meters. The situation of low level and unstable agricultural production has begun to take a turn for the better and preliminary successes have been achieved in building Hubei into an important grain and cotton-growing base. The victories gained both in resisting the catastrophic flood in 1954 and in fighting the waterlogging in 1980 have won favorable comments all over the world.

In industry, the state has given top priority to making investment in capital construction in Hubei since liberation. At present, fixed assets of industries in Hubei owned by the whole people have exceeded that of Shanghai. The total value of industrial output ranks seventh in China. Power generating capacity throughout the province has reached 3,499,000 kw which is approximately 100 times greater than that of 1949 making it a major hydraulic power generation network among which the famous Gezhou dam project traversing the Chiangjiang River has already installed 3 generating units to go into operation. The annual steel producing capacity of this iron and steel base, of which the Wuchang Steel Works is the center, has reached 4.67 million tons. Of these producing units, the 1.7 meter rolling mill is at the world's 1970's level has begun to receive benefits. The machinery industry in Hubei also has become relatively strong. For instance, the modernized 2d motor plant has a capacity of producing 80,000 cars annually. The textile industry also occupies a position in the country as a whole. There are a total of 1.55 million spindles mostly equipped with a complete set of weaving, printing and dyeing facilities. In such other industrial sectors as the light industry, the chemical industry, the electronics industry, coal industry and the petroleum industry, considerable improvements have also been made.

With regard to communications, both railway and highway have been expanded rapidly. As far as railway is concerned, aside from the existing Beijing-Guangzhou line, a second railway running through the province from north at Jiaozuo to south at Zhicheng and other railways east and west including the Wuchang-Daye line, the Hankow-Danjiang line, and the Xiangfan-Chongging line have all been completed recently. Since liberation, a total of more than 14,800 kilometers of new highways have been built. Motor vehicles have now been utilized as transportation means by 98.5 percent of the communes and 67.6 percent of the brigades throughout the province. The Changjiang River traverses the whole province from west to east and has great potentials for us, from now on, to develop and utilize.

The rapid economic development taking place in Hubei since liberation has strongly indicated that "without the Communist Party there would be no new China," and that "only socialism can save China." Despite the fact that there have been faults and setbacks in the work in Hubei Province, especially the setbacks suffered during the "10 year turmoil," the leadership of the party and the socialist system have constantly played a dominant role and have achieved great successes. Our party has absolute capability to overcome all difficulties including overcoming the faults made in our own work and to unite the masses victoriously to achieve the great goal of building the two socialist civilizations.

The favorable natural conditions and the existing industrial foundation require our Hubei working class to try hard to make contributions to the four modernizations. The state has given Hubei a vast amount of investment and thereby a considerable production capacity is taking shape. It is our duty-bound obligation to try hard to do our work still better, and to make the most of the investment made by the state in order to strive to realize speedy development which can yield high benefits. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the working class in Hubei has been adhering to this spirit to exert themselves in struggles. From 1979 through 1981, the average annual increase of the total value of industrial output throughout the province was 15.1 percent, while the average increase of industrial profit was 13.1 percent. Not only the goal of a balanced budget has been achieved, there was even a slight surplus. However, as far as the situation of industrial production in the province as a whole is concerned, its economic benefits still lag far behind the advanced level of our country. This is our main issue today.

Under the guidance of the lines adopted by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our country has entered the path heading to prosperity and progress. We have both determination and confidence in building Hubei into a still better industrial area so that we can keep abreast of the pace of our country as it marches victoriously forward.

9560
CSO: 4005/1136

'LIAONING RIBAO' DISCUSSES COMMUNIST IDEALS

HK131221 Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 82 p 3

["Ideological Forum" by Qi Lin [7871 2651]: "Ideals and 'Material Benefit'"]

[Text] The dispute between "righteousness" and "interest" dates back to ancient times. For thousands of years, there have been various opinions on which should be valued more highly. Even now, the dispute between righteousness and interest still exists. When we say "righteousnes," we mean "communism;" when "interest" is referred to, it means "material benefit" as described by some people. There is absolutely no question as to whether a Communist Party member should attach importance to doctrine or to material benefit. Because the title itself indicates that a Communist Party member should be ready to dedicate his life to communism. This is the spirit of "laying down one's life for a just cause," put by Mencius. However, facts are not so perfect. After the chaos of 10 years, some party members believe that they have "seen through everything." Therefore, they want to overturn the pledges they made when joining the party and abandon righteousness to pursue interests. Their reasoning from life is "only material benefit is real, everything else is but illusory and should not be relied on."

The ideal of communism is really a great objective. However, it is not an illusory object because of its great nature. The ideal of communism is not only great but also realistic. The integration of both the great and realistic nature has existed ever since the appearance of communist theory. As early as in the late 1840's when "Communist Manifesto" was published, communism was already not a theory or ideal only, but a practical movement guided and inspired by this theory and ideal. Without such a great ideal inspiring people to fight bravely, it would have been impossible for so many dauntless heroes to have emerged in the international communist movement. More than 100 years ago when the working class had not yet gained a foothold, the communists firmly believed that the "Internationale must certainly be realized." At a time when we are living in a socialist society, the early stage of communism, why do some people still think that communism is illusory? As a matter of fact, it is because these people have lost sight of the objective and cannot see it clearly, but not because the objective is becoming more remote and illusory.

It is true that the ideal of communism belongs to the ideological category. As a scientific world outlook, however, it is deeply rooted in real life and is practically embodied in people's behavior. Without the communist spirit, there will be no communist behavior. Only when one has established a communist ideal, can one whole-heartedly serve the people. If one loses the ideal of communism and cares for one's own salary, housing and the future prospects of one's sons and daughters, that means one has lost all the fine qualities of a Communist Party member but keeps the empty title of a Communist Party member. People always say: "To pursue undeserved reputation brings disaters only." This saying is right. We must never practice formalism and never engage in false talk, big talk and empty talk. However, this does not mean that we cast aside ideals and beliefs and no longer uphold principles. We must also pay attention to the saying: "To pursue material benefit brings disaster." There are many lessons we can learn and much experience we can draw on in this field. It is all the more necessary for Communist Party members, especially under the circumstances of opening up to foreign countries and enlivening the domestic economy, to uphold communist principles, to be loyal to their own beliefs and to work hard for the interests of the people.

Does that mean that we oppose material benefit while laying stress on the ideals of communism? Of course not. Communists do not care for their individual interests, but care for revolutionary interests. One of the principles in socialist construction is to let the people gain more "material benefits." If we treat the emphasis on communist ideals as opposition to implementing the party's current economic policies and evidence in opposing the improvement of people's living standards, it is at least a misunderstanding.

However, when we say "material benefit," we must distinguish public from private and reasonable from unreasonable. It is right to fight for the public interests of the people; whereas it is wrong to secure personal gain for the interests of individuals and small groups. It is reasonable to obtain deserved material benefit according to the party's policies and the government decrees. But we must resolutely refuse to accept material benefit we do not deserve according to the party's policies and the government decrees. Higher demands should be raised on Communist Party members who must be models of working more yet asking for less. Communist Party members must not only set demands of policy on themselves, but also set demands of party spirit, namely the communist spirit of dedicating their lives to a just cause. There are thousands and thousands of people who really have this spirit, and Liu Hulan, Lei Feng and Zhou Yunchen are their representatives. Their noble ideology is none other than communism in our life, which cannot be understood by those who are extreme individualists and those who believe in the doctrine of "everyone for himself and the devil take the hindmost."

The communist ideal is the reflection of the Marxist world outlook as well as the ideological core of the Communist Party members. We must talk about it and think of it from time to time, and express it in our words and deeds. This is not only for the future, but also for the present moment. That is because only communist ideology can effectively resist the corruption of capitalist ideology, cleanse the air and make the socialist sky pure and bright forever.

CSO: 4005/1315

PARTY AND STATE

LIU SHAOQI'S WORK ON HOW TO BE GOOD COMMUNISTS NOTED

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Zhao Jinrong [6392 2516 1369]: "Party Members Must Keep in Mind Thier Swearing-in Pledges to the Party"]

[Text] On the day of admission to the party, every Communist Party member must take this solemn oath before the flag: "I swear to devote the rest of my life to communism." This oath represents the ultimate objective every Communist Party member must strive to achieve.

As far as every Communist Party member is concerned, he draws his firm political belief from his deep understanding of the laws governing the development of history and his correct assessment of the nature of things. The day our revolutionaries of the older generation vowed to show boundless loyalty to the revolutionary cause and full faith in the victory of the communist cause began with their search for ways for national salvation, which subsequently led them to accept Marxism as the truth and develop a scientific communist world outlook. The revolutionary principles of Marxism convinced them that the old systems and old order were bound to die out and that no force could resist the triumphant advance of the revolution toward the realization of communism. It was precisely this firm belief in the final victory of the revolutionary cause that led them to display an indomitable spirit of dedication to communism. This is why they would never back away from their commitment to this faith and their pledges to the party even when the revolution suffered frustrations and defeat or when the party was placed in the most difficult position; they answered the enemy with the same attitude when he tried to win them over to this side with lures of lucrative and high-level government positions; their faith remained firm even when they were unjustly accused of introducing erroneous tendencies into the party.

But after the war was over and the gunfire was silenced, the political status of our party underwent changes. With improvements in living and working conditions, some of our party members, especially those comrades who joined the party in peacetime, gradually have been losing their sense of communism while increasingly shifting their concern to the welfare of individuals and families. In their minds, the realization of communism is so remote and invisible that they don't think they will live to enjoy its fruit. For this

reason, they have refused to make any sacrifices for this purpose. Although some believers in communism have been moved to tears by tales of the heroic deeds performed by our revolutionary martyrs and have taken to heart the oath that "every Communist Party member should pledge to dedicate the rest of his life to communism," they are still lacking in the indomitable spirit that is willing to make sacrifices. While embarking on revolution, they often fear hardships and fatigues, facing difficulties and problems with an air of pessimism and depression, with pent-up feelings bottled up inside, and with a lack of courage to fight a battle. When confronted with the unhealthy tendencies that exist in society, they choose not to "become involved" in any struggle against them. Some have even begun shamelessly to "drift along with such unhealthy tendencies" with a sense of pride. These people will not want to struggle for communism for the rest of their lives, even though they may be able to do so for a specific period or a few years or "momentarily." This behavior is counterproductive to the cause of our present generation!

The oath, "I swear to devote the rest of my life to communism," is not empty talk but a philosophy of life and a communist world outlook. In his work, "How To Be a Good Communist," Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out: The communist cause is our lifelong undertaking. We must spend the rest of our lives gearing all our activities to serve this cause rather than anything else. When efforts are being made to rectify those unhealthy tendencies within the ranks of the party, all our Communist Party members must constantly and conscientiously remind themselves of their swearing-in oath, and remind themselves of whether they can take resolute action to sacrifice everything they have in the struggle for the realization of communism. I think it is very meaningful for them to do so.

9574
CSO: 4005/1080

PARTY AND STATE

HEBEI PARTY SECRETARY ON LOCAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESSES

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 21 May 82 p 1

[Article: "Jiang Yizhen [3068 0001 4176], Secondary Secretary of the Hebei Provincial Party Committee, Calls for Strengthening Party Leadership"]

[Text] On 16 May, the Standing Committee of the Hebei Provincial People's Congress held a forum to which responsible comrades on the standing committees of various municipal, county and municipal district people's congresses attending the 15th session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Hebei Provincial People's Congress were invited. Jiang Yizhen, second secretary of the Hebei Provincial Party Committee and chairman of the Standing Committee of the Hebei Provincial People's Congress, delivered an important speech at the forum. He emphasized the need for the standing committees of the country level people's congresses to improve their work and for the party to strengthen its leadership over such work. In this connection, Comrade Jiang Yizhen said: Both the party Central Committee and the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress have issued instructions defining the nature, functions and role of the standing committees of the local people's congresses at various levels. The people are masters of their own country. "All power in the PRC belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise state power are the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at various levels." The fact that the people's congresses at country and higher levels have been allowed to set up their standing committees is an important reform in the organization of state power in various regions throughout the country. To help the standing committees of the local people's congresses function well is of vital significance to the endeavor to improve the socialist democratic system and the socialist legal system and to strengthen local organs of state power at various levels. Whether we can help them function well depends first of all on whether we can achieve a correct understanding of their nature, functions, tasks and role. At present, a widespread problem is a lack of the understanding of the standing committees of the local people's congresses--local organs of state power--among comrades from all walks of life, especially those comrades working for these committees, who still cannot adjust their habits to the requirement for handling affairs of the state in conformity with democratic proceedings and the laws. Meanwhile, the tendency to confuse the party with the government still exists in some localities. Comparing the establishment of the standing committees

of the local people's congresses to the introduction into politics of some "bossy old ladies," some comrades said: "When the government acts on orders dictated by the party committee, the people's congress just keeps complaining." This erroneous idea has prevented the normal development of the work of the standing committee of every local people's congress. He pointed out: The standing committees of the local people's congresses are power and work organs which must exercise the power as provided for by the laws so that they can keep functioning normally. Under no circumstances should they be viewed as "voting machines," or "honorary organizations" or "places for exchanging lengthy and meaningless views." The "Local Organic Law" and the draft of the revised constitution stipulate that the standing committees of the people's congresses at county and higher levels have the power to preside over the election of their own deputies; they are authorized to discuss and make decisions on important matters concerning the welfare of their respective administrative areas and to oversee the performance of the corresponding people's governments, courts and procuratorates; they have the power to annul inappropriate resolutions and decrees issued by the corresponding and next lower level people's governments and inappropriate resolutions issued by the next lower level people's congresses; they have the power under the law to decide on the appointment and removal of personnel to and from the organs of state power; when the people's congresses are in recession, their standing committees are empowered to elect deputies to fill any vacant seats of the next higher level people's congresses or to remove any individual deputies from there. To discharge these duties and accomplish these tasks calls for enormous effort. This is why the standing committees of the people's congresses at all levels cannot be called "rubber-stamp organs sitting idly, doing nothing." During the recent elections held in some counties, some people were found guilty of engaging in unlawful activities aimed at electing "three categories of people," or persons with serious problems, to the leading bodies in the place of those good comrades capable of upholding the party's line adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. In the case of such unlawful activities, the standing committees of the people's congresses should intervene as required by law and should never allow any conspiracy to succeed. The standing committees of the county level people's congresses are empowered by law to exercise their important functions. To put real teeth in these local organs of state power, we must call on comrades working for the standing committees of the local people's congresses to get more work done voluntarily and "to blaze a trail to the future." As soon as they get the job effectively done, it is only a matter of time for the standing committees of the people's congresses to become powerful and for the people to change their attitude and to bring the role of these local organs of power into full play.

He said: The leadership and support provided by the party committees are crucial to the efforts to bring the role of the local organs of state power into full play. The party leadership is at the core of the four basic principles. Our comrades working for the standing committees of the people's congresses must remember that although the standing committees of the people's congresses must count on the leadership of the party committees to carry out their work, this does not mean placing the party in a position to monopolize everything. Under the leadership of the party, the people's congresses and their standing committees can directly exercise power to manage the affairs of state on behalf

of the people. We must improve the system for the people to manage the affairs of state so that more favorable conditions can be created for the party to exercise its leadership. Attention must be given to the fact that in the national life, our Communist Party has provided leadership and other activities within the framework of the constitution and the laws. The party has led the people in enacting and observing the constitution and laws. In our country, the constitution and laws reflect a sense of unity between the advocation of the party and the will of the people. Observing the provisions of the constitution and laws means obeying the leadership of the party. Therefore, it can be said that there is nothing inconsistent between the call for relying on the leadership of the party and the call for bringing the role of the standing committees of the people's congresses into play. We must correctly resolve the contradiction between the call for relying on the leadership of the party and the call for bringing the role of the organs of state power into play. How can this problem be successfully resolved? The party committees should hold themselves mainly responsible for demonstrating skills in using the local organs of state power to realize the party's proposals. The party committees of various municipalities, counties and municipal districts must effectively strengthen their leadership over the work of the standing committees of the people's congresses. They must list this work as an item on their agenda, regularly listen to reports given by the standing committees of the people's congresses, and study their work several times a year. They must follow the provisions of the laws or obey their own consciences in submitting all important proposals for consideration and action by the standing committees of the people's congresses. Party organizations at all levels must give support to resolutions and decisions adopted by the standing committees of the people's congresses, and teach party members to act as models in observing and enforcing them conscientiously. Attention must be paid to preventing responsible comrades on the standing committees of the people's congresses from assuming specific government jobs concurrently. Aware of the fact that some cadres still do not clearly understand the nature and role of the standing committees of the people's congresses, the party committees must make them known through related meetings, while leading comrades of the party and government at county and higher levels must restudy the related documents of the party Central Committee, and acquaint cadres and especially leading cadres at all levels with the important role played by the standing committess of the people's congresses in the administration of the affairs of state. In short, in the course of carrying out the actual work, they must help the standing committees of the people's congresses to persist in doing their work in conformity with the provisions of the laws, and bring into fully play their role as the local organs of state power. Party organizations of the standing committees of the people's congresses must promptly brief their higher level party committees on their work, bring the actual situation to their attention and arrange the activities of the committees in close coordination with the central task of the party. In a nutshell, if the party committees can strengthen their leadership over the work of the standing committees of the people's congresses, if the standing committees can conscientiously implement the party's principles and policies, constantly keep in close touch with the people, act conscientiously according to the laws, step up investigations and study, dare to put new ideas into practice, and continue to accumulate working experiences through constant probing, they will be able gradually to get their work off

the ground and function more effectively than ever as the organs of state power. Expressing the hope that comrades attending the forum would enthusiastically, firmly and confidently study hard and do a good job so that they can live up to their heavy commitment to and the expectations of the party and people, Comrade Jiang Yizhen said: At present, they must effectively concentrate on promoting industrial and agricultural production and work on the financial and trade fronts, deal blows to the serious criminal activities in the economic fields, continue to do a good job of building our spiritual civilization, and organize and bring the discussion on the draft of the revised constitution to a successful conclusion.

9574
CSO: 4005/1078

PARTY AND STATE

CPC CONGRESS FAILS TO DEAL WITH ARMY BUILDING

OW121341 Ba Yi Radio [Clandestine] in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 10 Sep 82

[Text] The 12th Party Congress has evoked various responses among large numbers of party members, commanders and fighters in the army. On the one hand, they have been inspired by some of the resolutions adopted by the congress that are correct in principle. If these resolutions are implemented, they will definitely play an important and positive role in party life. On the other hand, however, they regret that leading comrades of the party Central Committee look down on the army, try to push army cadres out and particularly belittle the army's positive role in party life.

It is most regrettable that questions concerning the army, army building and the modernization of national defense were hardly dealt with in Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech and Comrade Hu Yaobang's report as well as during group discussions. This is a practice completely different from that of the Eighth Party Congress, which was of historical importance. Comrades of the older generation clearly recall that at the Eighth Party Congress, Comrade Peng Dehuai made an important speech specially on the question of army building. Delegates attending the Eighth Party Congress enthusiastically and meticulously discussed the specific task of army building set forth by Commander in Chief Peng. However, in their speeches at the 12th Party Congress, even principal leaders of our army such as Geng Biao, Yang Dezhi, Yang Yong, Xiao Ke and Wu Kehua failed to put forward the army's pressing problems and short-term tasks for discussion.

In addition, at the 12th Party Congress, no mention was made of the acute political and ideological problems existing in the army; nor was any effort made to redress the frame-up case of Lin Biao, a problem many army members are most sensitive about. At the same time, problems concerning the retirement of army cadres and the transfer of such cadres to civilian work were also not solved.

Comrade Hu Yaobang's report to the congress called for an all-round rectification of party style and consolidation of party organizations by stages and in groups. As far as the army is concerned, it still must judge whether a party member in the army is good or bad according to the following criteria: Whether or not he was directly or indirectly connected with the Lin Biao clique, how he conducted himself during the cultural revolution, whether or not he participated in three-support and two-military activities [support industry, support agriculture and support the broad masses of the left;

military control and political and military training], and so on and so forth. It goes without saying that such measures cannot but cause doubts and misgivings among large numbers of army cadres.

Take the election of central party organs by the congress for example. While making preparations for and holding the elections, a certain person of the party Central Committee repeatedly insisted that the number of army delegates to be elected to such organs be held to a minimum, in an attempt to weaken the army's role in party life. All this cannot but cause disappointment and discontent among large numbers of party members, commanders and fighters in the army.

CSO: 4005/1313

PARTY AND STATE

DENG PRAISE FOR 7TH CPC CONGRESS SIGNALS PURGE

OW111421 Ba Yi Radio [Clandestine] in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 7 Sep 82

[Text] At the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has totally ignored historical facts and openly played down the historical significance of the 8th CPC National Congress. He has also heaped praise on the Seventh CPC National Congress. It is easy to understand why he has done all this.

There have been only 5 CPC national congresses during the 32 years since the founding of the PRC. Deng Xiaoping was in charge of the work of the central authorities immediately prior to the convocation of the 12th CPC National Congress.

To negate the four previous congresses naturally means to negate the party and government leadership as well as the principles and policies laid down during this period. This is like telling the whole party and all the people throughout the nation that the party line and the various party policies are correct only after Comrade Deng Xiaoping took charge of the work at the central level. This is like saying that the 12th CPC National Congress is the only national party congress of any consequence.

Needless to say, the 12th CPC National Congress is far better than the 9th, 10th or 11th CPC National Congresses in every respect. It has displayed the party's democratic style even more prominently. However, it has been less successful than the Eighth CPC National Congress.

The Eighth CPC National Congress was the most unified, democratic and lively congress in party history. More than 100 deputies made speeches at the congresses in which they summarized the work of the party, the government and the army, pointed out the future tasks and mapped out the specific steps and policies to help the nation forge ahead. Unfortunately, the line of the Eighth CPC National Congress was later betrayed and the people were compelled to follow the adventurist policy of "hoisting high the three Red Banners." In fact, Comrade Deng Xiaoping was also involved in this.

Comarde Deng Xiaoping seeks to praise only the Seventh CPC National Congress because it set an example in promoting the personal cult around the leader, whereas the Eighth CPC National Congress disapproved of such a personal cult. In addition, the Seventh CPC National Congress was convened on the basis of the

Yanan Rectification Campaign. Comrades of the older generation should remember that the Yanan Rectification Campaign aimed at ruthlessly struggling and oppressing the broad masses of party, government and army cadres who dared to speak the truth and to refuse to have blind faith in the leader.

The fact is that the 12th CPC National Congress was also convened after 3 years of mass purges and suppression, to praise the Seventh CPC National Congress means to approve the mass purge conducted in the party and in the army during the past few years and to lay a theoretical and historical foundation for a general rectification campaign after the 12th CPC National Congress.

CSO: 4005/1313

PARTY AND STATE

'TIANJIN RIBAO' ON GUARDING AGAINST CORRUPTION

HK101316 Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Wen Zhu [2429 4554]: "Uproot the Outworn Concept of Bringing Honor to One's Ancestors"]

[Text] In some of the economic crimes or the activities that violate law and discipline there is something that gives people an outworn impression. This is the influence of the feudalist ideology. Among the offenders, there are some people who have done quite a few things that hinder the implementation of policy, violate law and discipline and receive personal gains at the expense of the public interests because they have obstinately pursued bringing honor to their ancestors and displaying their influence in their homeland. Therefore, when we fight against the corruption of the capitalist ideology, we should not overlook the influence of the feudalist ideology.

Exploiting the relationships of fellow villagers to carry out some illegal trade is a kind of unhealthy trend and is also one of the means by which economic crimes and other illegal activities have been committed. Naturally, in developing the economy, the mutual support and cooperation between the rural and urban areas is indispensable. However, in doing so we should obey the state plan and act in accordance with the policies and regulations of the state, and we should not disregard the plan, policies and regulations of the state on account of the relationships of fellow villagers. The reason why some people have overemphasized the interests of their homeland and even placed these interests above the interests of the state and thus pursued the former at the expense of the latter lies in the fact that they have become infatuated with the passion caused by the old concepts of bringing honor to their ancestors and making a show of their influence in their homeland. The concept of bringing honor to one's ancestors is a kind of corrupt idea of pursuing official ranks and wealth that has been propagated by the landlord class. According to this idea, when the descendant of a family is appointed to an official post, becomes rich or earns a good name or a high position, he will be able to bring honor to his family and ancestors and thus he will also be respected and have have renown and influence in his homeland. When some people have become cadres, especially leading cadres, they may act wantonly at will if they hold this outworn concept, and moreover, are carried away by the flattery of other people. These people will perhaps be generous at the expense of the state and use their power of office to allocate funds and materials to their homeland as "special favors" even though this

is banned by the state. They will perhaps act as go-betweens for the illegal trade of their fellow villagers. Moreover, they will perhaps do things to facilitate the illegal activities of some people from their homeland. Because these people have become intoxicated by their zeal to gain renown and to "have a monument set up and a biography written for them" in their homeland, they have even unscrupulously practiced fraud and robberies in violation of the party discipline and the policies and have finally become the "major" offenders in criminal activities.

[HK101318] Simple and honest feelings for one's homeland is something we can understand. Some of our proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary martyrs were full of love for their homeland. The people of their homeland were also proud of them. However, this feeling differs diametrically from the concept of bringing honor to one's ancestors and of gaining renown in one's homeland. When Gan Zuchang, a veteran Red armyman, returned to his homeland, what he brought back to his homeland was a party member's noble virtue of disregarding one's personal renown and interests instead of the vulgar practice of being proud of having achieved merits, and returned home with honor and wealth. Now many of our old cadres are not working in their homeland, but they still treasure a deep love for the people in their homeland and often think that they should live up to the expectation of the people and fellow villagers in their homeland. They will never use the powers of their office to engage in unhealthy practices in order to obtain some special benefits for their homeland. When some people from their homeland try to achieve through them some goals that do not conform to the policies, they will patiently explain the policies to these people and politely refuse their requests. Perhaps by so doing one may hurt some people's feelings. However this action sets an example in resisting the corruption of the unhealthy trend and displays the high consciousness of a party member and a state cadre, and therefore, it will certainly win the approval of the majority of the people. We should like to say that this is an action that brings honor to one's homeland. If one conducts some improper transactions in collusion with some people from his homeland at the expense of the interests of the state in order to gain "renown" for himself in his homeland. Thus the "good renown" is a temporary one while the bad name will be a lasting one.

As the idea of feudal privilege is doing mischief in some people's minds, these people forget the party spirit and the whole situation, and in working for the people in their homeland, they have paid no attention to the principles and have bent the law for the benefit of their fellow villagers. As a result, they have committed serious mistakes and even crimes. What is even more dangerous is that these transactions that are done for personal relationships may provide opportunities for a few economic criminals and other evildoers and enable them to bring harm to both the urban and rural areas, with the results being dreadful to contemplate.

As the feudal clan idea is doing mischief in some people's minds, these people forget the people and their duties in general and do something in violation of the policies for their relatives or friends in their homeland or even commit all kinds of offences in defiance of the law. This will not only ruin their own reputation, but will also impair the relationships between the party and the masses of people, reduce the party's prestige and injure the people's initiative in going all out to realize the four modernizations. This is what we will never tolerate.

Many comrades are vigilant in preventing the corruption of the capitalist ideology, but some comrades may pay insufficient attention to preventing the impact of the feudalist ideology. In fact, these two kinds of poisonous ideology may collide under certain conditions. When you have serious individualist ideas and pursue renown, position and material gain, in due course this idea will collide with the old concept of bringing honor to your ancestors and obtaining renown in your homeland and make mischief. Even if the latter can be regarded as the ghost of a dead idea, it may arouse your new motive for seizing renown. Therefore, we must be on our guard against the ghosts of some feudalist ideas which we have not completely eliminated.

CSO: 4005/1313

PARTY AND STATE

UPHOLD MAO ZEDONG'S SCIENTIFIC PRINCIPLES ON LITERATURE, ART

Beijing WENXUE PINGLUN [COMMENTS ON LITERATURE] in Chinese No 3, 15 May 82 p 3-15

[Article by He Xilai [0149 6007 0171] and Du Shuying [2629 2579 3467]: "Uphold the Scientific Principles of Comrade Mao Zedong's Literature and Art Thought"]

[Text] "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" which Comrade Mao Zedong gave 40 years ago and an important contribution to the history of proletarian literature and art. These talks, together with other writings and speeches on literature and art by Comrade Mao Zedong before and after the founding of the PRC, summarize the historical experience of the practice of proletarian literature and art in China since the "May 4 Movement" and set forth the directions and policies of literature and art and the theoretical principles of sinicized Marxist literature and art, and this constitutes Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought. For several decades Mao Zedong's literature and art thought has been the guiding thought for China's proletarian artistic creation and theoretical criticism, and under the guidance of just this thought our literature and art have made enormous achievements.

Our course, the road of our literature and art development has not been as straight and level as Changan Street. In the decade of chaos in particular, our literature and art suffered enormous disasters; Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought was unscrupulously perverted and distorted; individual opinions of Comrade Mao Zedong concerning questions of literature and art, which had already proved to be inappropriate by practice, were used with ulterior motives, and many of the basic questions of Marxist literature and art theory were thoroughly mucked up. After the smashing of the "gang of four," especially after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, China's proletarian literature and art entered a brand new period of development. The leftist cangue which had confined people's minds for a long time was broken open, a series of forbidden areas which should not have been off limits were broken into, artistic productive forces were given unprecedented liberation, artistic creation rapidly flourished and theoretical research also became more lively daily. Looking back, looking ahead, pondering, searching, everywhere one could sense the vitality and everywhere one could see the spirit of courageous advance. Like all of social life, our literature also experienced a profound change. When people strive to draw the necessary lessons of experience from the complications of the past and reevaluate certain events, people, and

works, and when people search the new creative or theoretical realm and try to answer the sharp and urgent questions which practice poses they cannot avoid restudying, rethinking, and relearning the literature and art thought of Comrade Mao Zedong, which has guided our literature and art movements for so long. This is a very normal phenomenon.

It should be said that the majority of people can make a seeking truth from facts evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought on the basis of the criterion of the practice of testing truth. However, the two attitudes of intellectual rigidity and liberalism which come from "left" and right deserve attention. The former holds a "whatever" attitude that Comrade Mao Zedong's writing and speeches on liberature and art are "every word truth" and everything should be done according to them. If anyone expresses any doubts about individual views of Comrade Mao Zedong on literature and art, or believes that it is necessary to change as circumstances change, then he is viewed as "heretical," "revisionist" and "setting up the 'Talks' as conventions to be broken out of." The latter holds a negating attitude towards Comrade Mao Zedong's writings and speeches on literature and art. People who hold this attitude are not good at, or do not wish to conduct, scientific, seeking truth from facts analysis of history, are not good at, or do not wish to, distinguish between the basic principles of Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought and certain incorrect views, especially leftist errors which were committed in work guiding literature and art in the late years, and even want to deny some scientific principles. Some of them also yearn to find a way out in the outmoded theoretical treasure-house of the modern bourgeoisie and promote corrupt idealistic artistic thought. These two attitudes are mistaken, harmful and must be resolutely opposed.

How should Comrade Mao Zedong's liberature and art thought be treated correctly? The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of the Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" which was approved by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee said "We must continue to uphold Mao Zedong Thought, conscientiously study and apply its standpoint, viewpoint and method to research the new situations which appear in practice and resolve new questions."[1] This is the only correct attitude for treating Mao Zedong Thought, including literature and art thought.

To uphold Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought it is necessary to conduct strict scientific analysis according to the standpoint of the Marxist principle that practice is the sole criterion of truth, i.e., not rashly affirm everything and even less so lightly deny everything. Some of Comrade Mao Zedong's views on literature and art were correct when they were voiced, but with the development of the situation and the change in conditions they are no longer suitable and must be replaced by new formulations and new viewpoints; some of the views which were one-sided and imprecise at the time must be supplemented and revised through the scientific method; some of the views have been repeatedly proven to be mistaken through practice and must be abandoned. The important part of Comrade Mao Zedong's writings and views on literature and art apply the fundamental principles of Marxism, and made a scientific summary of the historical experience of the Chinese proletarian literature and art movement. The crystallization of this scientific summary is the basic princi-

ples of what we usually call Mao Zedong's literature and art thought, including a series of basic theories and basic policies. For example, proletarian literature and art must serve the broad masses of the people and maintain the broadest and closest links with them; actual life, especially the life of struggle of the broadest masses of the people, is an inexhaustible and sole source of proletarian literature and art; while reforming the objective world, literature and art workers must also reform their own subjective world, reform their own ability to understand and become one with the masses in their thoughts and feelings; the principle of "use the old for the present, use the foreign for the Chinese" must be adopted, the artistic and literary experience of antiquity and foreign countries must be absorbed and a "Chinese style and Chinese school which the ordinary Chinese will enjoy" must be established and developed; it is necessary to implement "let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend" to make the most of the proletariat's broadest artistic democracy and artistic freedom to create the most favorable environment and conditions for the flourishing and development of proletariat literature and art, etc. Through severe tests of several decades of historical upheavals the above basic principles were repeatedly proven by practice to be correct, scientific, and objectively ture. What is meant by upholding Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought basically is upholding the above important scientific principles, especially applying these scientific principles to research new situations and resolve new questions and summarize the brand new experience provided by practice.

Literature and Art Must Serve the People and Society and Maintain the Closest Ties With the Masses

Proletarian literature and art is the people's art in the true sense of the broadest mass basis. Its flesh and blood ties with the masses are its life-blood. To act as the voice of the masses, to reflect the life of struggle of the ma ses and to express the thoughts and feelings, ideals, desires and demands of the masses is its bounden duty. Comrade Mao Zedong had a firm grip on this essential characteristic of proletarian literature and art, and developed his brilliant exposition by starting with the relationship between literature and art and the people.

In China, the new democratic revolution which began with the May 4 Movement has been a great anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution of the masses under the leadership of the proletariat. The nature of this revolution determined the nature of the proletarian literature and art movement which was an important front. Proceeding from t fundamental Marxist viewpoint that the people are the force which creates tory, Comrade Mao Zedong especially emphasized the mass nature of this iterature and art movement. In "On New Democracy" he said: "New democratic culture (including literature and art--authors) in a word is the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal culture of the masses led by the proletariat." He also said: "This new democratic culture of the masses and thus is democratic. It should serve the workers, peasants and toiling masses who make up over 90 percent of the people and gradually become their culture."

The important question which Comrade Mao Zedong resolved in "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" was "a fundamental question and a question of principle": Who should literature and art serve? He said: "Our question is basically a question of being for the masses and how to be for the masses." In Comrade Mao Zedong's view, the question of serving the masses (at the time primarily workers, peasants, and soldiers) was the beginning and end of resolving the whole question of revolutionary literature and art, the core of the whole question. It was proceeding from precisely this central question that on the basis of summarizing scientifically the lessons of experience of the revolutionary culture movement since the May 4 Movement Comrade Mao Zedong explained and resolved a series of important questions of literature and revolution, literature and art and life, popularization and improvement, reform of the writer's world view, praise and blame, etc. The basic viewpoint of Comrade Mao Zedong's writings and speeches on literature and art in the period from the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art right up to Socialist Revolution and Socialist Construction is also shot through with this main thread that literature and art must serve the broad masses of the people.

The relationship between literature and art and the people is a question which has existed since the birth of literature and art. In the history of literature and art, both in China and abroad, all works of literature and art which are superior have maintained a certain relationship, indirectly or directly, to this or that degree, by this or that method, with the masses. However, writers and theoreticians before the proletariat were unable to fundamentally resolve the question of the relationship between literature and art and the masses creatively and theoretically because the masses of the time were in a position of servitude and because of their own limitations ideologically. Only with the advent of Marxism was their theoretical basis for fundamentally resolving this question. However, in the time of Marx and Engels a real mass literature and art movement had not begun, and works which could be called proletarian mass literature and art were still in the embryonic state. Thus, under the historical conditions of the time, Marx and Engels had not clearly stated the question of how literature and art should serve the people, or at least had not given a profound explanation of this question. The first to state that literature and art must "serve the thousands upon thousands of laboring people and the essence, strength and future of these nations"[2] was Lenin. That was in November 1905 during the high tide of the Russian democratic revolution. After the October Revolution, the above idea of Lenin's was further developed due to the development of the revolutionary movement and literature and art. In a talk with Caitejin [5591 3676 6855] he said: "Art belongs to the people. It must have its most solid foundation at the lowest rung of the laboring masses. It must be understood and liked by these masses. It must be integrated with the feelings, thoughts, and will of these masses and raise them. It must arouse the artists in the masses and cause them to be developed."[3] Comrade Mao Zedong carried forward this glorious idea of Lenin's, and on the basis of the specific practice of the Chinese proletarian literature and art movement developed it creatively and made it Chinese. For example, on the basis of the specific characteristics of the classes in Chinese society at the time and their attitude towards the revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong conducted a specific analysis of the "masses of the people" and said that the workers, peasants, and soldiers were the main body, while the urban petty bourgeoisie, laboring masses, and intellectuals "are revolutionary allies" "who will cooperate with us for a long time,"

and thus the idea that literature and art serves the people is that it serves the above-mentioned four classes but primarily workers, peasants and soldiers. Or again, on the basis of the fundamental ideological condition of China's revolutionary literature and art workers, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Writers must plunge into the thick of the life of workers, peasants and soldiers, must resolve the question of standpoint in actuality and not just orally, and become one in thought and feelings with the broad masses, primarily with the workers, soldiers and peasants who make up the overwhelming majority of the people. This provided guaranteed conditions from the subjective aspect of the writer for literature and art to serve the masses. Or again, on the basis of the specific environment of the Chinese revolutionary struggle of the time, Comrade Mao Zedong combined the ideas that literature and art serve the masses and literature and art serve the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. He demanded that writers take the standpoint of the proletariat and the masses, create works of literature and art "to serve as powerful weapons to unite the people, educate the people, attack the enemy and annihilate the enemy and help the people struggle against the enemy with one heart and mind." In his view, for literature and art to serve the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the revolutionary war of the time was fundamentally also to serve the masses of the people. In addition, Comrade Mao Zedong's discussion that the popularization of literature must be the people's popularization, and improvement must be the people's improvement; the discussion of the revolutionary utilitarianism of proletarian literature and art which "proceed from the unity of the present and future interests of the broadest masses, which make up over 90 percent of the population"; the discussion of the relationship between praise and blame in literature and art which is resolved by the criterion of the fundamental interests of the masses of the people, etc., were Mao Zedong's application and development of the universal principles of Marxist-Leninist literature and art theory in the specific practice of the Chinese proletarian literature and art movement, and important contributions of Comrade Mao Zedong to Marxist-Leninist literature and art theory in the relationship of literature and art to the masses of the people.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The people are the mother of writers and artists. The artist life of all progressive literature and art workers is in their flesh and blood ties with the people. To forget, ignore, or cut off these ties will dry up artistic life."[4] The practice of the past 40 years has repeatedly proven that if these ties are maintained, proletarian literature and art will maintain its flourishing vitality and will develop greatly; if these ties are cut off, proletarian literature and art will be on their last legs and even basically changed.

In the Great Cultural Revolution and the previous state, the tendency of literature and art to be divorced from the people became increasingly clear and increasingly serious. Making a group of works which reflected the demands and hopes of the masses "anti-party and anti-socialist poisonous weeds" in 1957 was the earliest expression of this trend. Thus works which presented a false picture of peace and prosperity, which avoided contradiction and which closed their eyes to the ever worsening difficulties of the masses due to the rampancy of the leftist thought tide increased daily. This is not the people's literature and art. Its further transformation of necessity led to the emergence of

an anti-people literature and art. The deification and conspiratorial literature and art which virtually dominated the literature and art scene for 10 years because it was advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was out-and-out anti-people literature and art.

For a long time in the past our literature and art circles were keen to make literature and art part of politics, and raised the slogan to serve politics and emphasized it to an absolute degree, even demanding that it serve very momentary and localized policies. Under such conditions and in response to such slogans as "act our innermost thoughts, sing out innermost thoughts, write out innermost thoughts, paint innermost thoughts" could also be made unchallenged criteria. This of necessity made literature and art simply a tool and a mouthpiece for politics, especially when leftist errors in politics became increasingly serious, the harm this slogan did was very obvious.

The restoration of the people's maternal flesh and blood ties with literature is something which began only after the smashing of the "gang of four." This is an important characteristic of the new literature and art which is mainly revolutionary realism. This is expressed in: first, works of literature and art not only truly refelct the suffering, devastation, and unhappiness experienced by the masses in the decade of chaos, and the scars left on their spirit and their epic struggle in adversity, but also reflects with deep strokes the tortuous path which the masses have walked in the last 20 years and their thoughts on this setback; second, literature and art works have courageously exposed many sharp and urgent social questions and abuses, for example, anti-bureaucratism and its incorrect style, and played a promoting role in present social change; third, literature and art works solemnly and earnestly express the strong desire and cry of the masses' demand for reform, portray images of those who joined the four modernizations, pioneers, industrialists, and new men who carry forward change and the modern heroes of the defensive war. Just because the flesh and blood ties of art and the masses were restored, the masses are more concerned with artistic creation than ever before, and the audience for all forms of art is extremely broad. All works which truly reflect their lives, demands, hopes, feelings and ideals arouse strong sympathy and enormous reverberations. It should be said that literature and art of the new period developed with the support and concern of the party and the broad masses of the people. Without this vigorous support it would have been very difficult to smash the "leftist" fetters and very difficult to achieve the present condition.

In today's socialist new period, the party Central Committee has proposed that literature and art serve the people and socialism, and this is the application and development of Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought under the conditions of socialism. This formulation both supports the theoretical core of Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought and avoids the leftist error which was committed when handling the relationship between literature and art and politics in the past few decades, and opens up an even broader road for the development of China's socialist literature and art today. Comrade Hau Qiaomu said very correctly: "To serve socialism is a broad concept. As long as it is advantageous for cultivating the new man's world view, ideals, character, faith, will, wisdom, courage, values, and entire spiritual world, then it is serving socialism."[5]

The literature and art of the new period, speaking in terms of its main currents, is something which upholds the direction of serving the people and upholds the central core of Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought in reality and not just in name. Of course, there are also a few works which express a more serious tendency to be divorced from the people. Without considering the fundamental interests and needs of the broad masses of the people, individual writers even publicly proclaim that their works were written for the few with similar tastes. In actuality they advocate individualistic "self-expression" which runs counter to the thoughts and feelings of the worker, peasant, and soldier masses, and is the "self-expression" of the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia which Comrade Mao Zedong criticized 40 years ago. This erroneous trend must be criticized and corrected.

Social Life Is the Sole Source of Literature and Art Creation

Emphasizing that social life is the sole source of literature and art creation is a fundamental principle of Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought. The relationship between literature and art and life is one of the most fundamental questions in literature and art creation. Before the birth of Marxism, a great many progressive literature and art theoreticians had conducted brilliant expositions on this question.

Comrade Mao Zedong summarized the rich experience which had been accumulated in this aspect in the literature and art of the past, applied the fundamental viewpoint of his "On Practice" to the realm of literature and art and made a specific and incisive exposition of the question of the relationship between literature and art and life. He said:

"What is the ultimate source of all kinds of literature and art? Works of literature and art which are ideological are reflections of a certain social life in man's mind. Revolutionary literature and art is the reflection of the people's life in the mind of the revolutionary writer. In the people's lives there has always been a mine of raw materials for literature and art. This is something in the natural state, something crude, but it is something most moving, most rich, and most fundamental; in this regard they make all literature and art pale by comparison, and they are an inexhaustible sole source for all literature and art. This is the sole source because there can be only this source and there cannot be another source."

In this passage there are three important ideas which must be noted. First, Comrade Mao Zedong emphasizes very strongly the ultimately decisive role of social life for literature and art creation. Second, when stressing the ultimately decisive role of objective social life for literature and art creation, he definitely does not mean passive objective determinism. He does not overlook the subjective dynamic role of the writer and the tendency of literature to be revolutionary or reactionary, progressive or backward, determined mainly by the writer's standpoint and worldview. Third, Comrade Mao Zedong stresses the position of life as a "source" for literature and art. He does not make it absolute, but analyzes it dialectically. On the one hand he says that life is "something most moving, most rich, and most fundamental" and on the other hand also says that life is only "a mine of raw material" for literature and art, "something crude" and "in the natural state." Thus, Comrade Mao Zedong expounded profoundly the intimate ties of literature and art and life and the dialectical relationship which differentiates them.

Proceeding from the scientific proposition of Marxism that social life is the sole source of literature and art creative work, Comrade Mao Zedong reaches the following two conclusions in conformity with the laws.

First, writers and artists must plunge into life and join in the great struggle of the masses. Imbued with deep feeling he called: "For China's revolutionary artists to be writers and artists with a future they must go among the masses for a long period, without conditions and wholeheartedly they must go among the worker, peasant, and soldier masses, go into the thick of the struggle, go to the broadest and richest source to observe, to learn, to research, and to analyze all men, all classes, all the masses, all lively forms of life, and forms of struggle, all literary and artistic first-hand materials, then they will be able to start the creative process." In the period right after the October Revolution, Lenin had called: "Get closer to life, pay more attention to how the worker and peasant masses actually build new things in daily work."[6] He urged Gorky to leave St Petersburg and walk about the real life. In June 1919, Lenin wrote especially to Krupskaya, who was at work on the propaganda ship "Red Flag," for her to find a way to get Gorky a position on the ship the better for Gorky to get closer to real life. But Comrade Mao Zedong's discussions on this question are more profound and shot through with the brilliant idea of dynamic theory of practice "come from the masses, go to the masses." After the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art, in accordance with Comrade Mao Zedong's demands, many writers and artists threw themselves into the great torrent of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle, linked up with the worker, peasant, and soldier masses and thus changed the face of literature and art creative work.

Second, writers and artists must create typical works which come from life. The artistic authenticity which we often mention comes from authenticity of life and is not limited to the authenticity of life of the primitive state but is the epitome of life phenomena in the natural state, "typifies its contradictions and struggles," discards the dross and selects the essential, eliminates the false and retains the true, from this and that, from inner and outer, and achieves what we normally call the authenticity of an artistic model through artistic understanding of the deepening and leaping from feeling to reason. He said, "Though the social life of mankind is the sole source of literature and art, though the latter has incomparably more moving and richer content, the people are dissatisfied with the former and demand the latter. Why is this? It is because although both of the two are beautiful, the life which the works of literature and art reflect can and should be higher, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, more ideal than ordinary real life and thus more universal." This provided an extremely incisive philosophical commentary on the principles of artistic creation and the nature of artistic authenticity. This must be said to be an important contribution of Comrade Mao Zedong to Marxist aesthetics.

Comrade Mao Zedong's brilliant idea that life is the sole source of literature and art has enormous direct and vital guiding significance for literature and art creation. Practice proves that by upholding this ideal, literature and art creation can be vital, and make great progress; divorced from this idea, not only can it become partial to idealism, theoretically, but also must suffer setbacks and take the wrong way in literature and art creation. Practice proves

that by upholding this ideal, literature and art creation can be vital, and make great progress; divorced from this idea, not only can it become partial to idealism, theoretically, but also must suffer setbacks and take the wrong way in literature and art creation. From after 1942 to the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction, in China's literature and art there appeared a large number of excellent works of literature and art, and a large number of accomplished writers and artists all of which scored great successes under the guidance of the above-described thought of Comrade Mao Zedong. However, after the mid-fifties, using the political movement's criticism of "truthful writing" which had first been put forth by Stalin, criticism of the rational content contained in the slogans "expose the dark side" and "intervene in life," criticism of advocating "realism is the broadest path," "deepending of realism," "describing middle characters," and among these criticisms equating the "truthful writing" of realism with revisionism and making the role of world view the absolute in guiding creative work, etc., all deviated to varying degrees from the scientific principle that real life is the sole source of creativity and its ultimately decisive role in creative work. These idealistic slants in theory played a harmful hindering and destructive role towards creative practice. And during the decade of chaos, the subjugation by the so-called "eight black doctrines" of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and their gang and the advocacy of "proceed from the line," "the three saliences" and "will of the authorities" advocating idealistic theory as the philosophical foundation was an even greater thorough refutation of the scientific principle that life is the sole source of creative work, and its necessary consequence in creative work was a flood of "deceptive and fraudulent" works of literature and art.

Through over 20 years of twists and turns, when literature and art circles faced the serious task of setting things to rights after the smashing of the "gang of four" people had to return anew to the scientific principle that life is the sole source of creative work, and through the penalty of practice, people even more sensed the importance and value of this scientific principle. Thus, the cry "proceed from life" gradually rose. As the pace of the thought liberation movement accelerated, literature and art also began to stride closer to the source of life. The important accomplishments we have made in literature and art in recent years mentioned above all are inseparable from the restoration of this principle.

When Transforming the Objective World, Literature and Art Workers Must Transform Their Own Subjective World

In "On Practice" Comrade Mao Zedong said, "The struggle of the proletariat and revolutionary peoples to transform the world includes the following real tasks: transform the objective world and also transform their own subjective world--transform their own ability to understand and transform the relationship of their subjective world with the objective world." This also suits completely literature and art workers. For literature and art works to be more objective and master objectivity more correctly and turthfully demands that writers and artists constantly transform their own subjective worlds, transform their ability to understand and express the objective world (including artistic method, technique, skill, etc.), transform their own standpoint, thoughts, and feelings, and transform the relationship between their subjective world and the objective world.

Five years after uttering the passage quoted above, Comrade Mao Zedong gave another specific explication of the writer's transformation of the objective world at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art. He stressed especially that writers and artists must, through plunging into the life struggle of the worker, peasant, and soldier masses, through the study of society and Marxism-Leninism, "through long-term and even bitter tempering" shift their stand "to the side of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and to the side of the proletariat" and "become one with the masses" in thought and feeling. This formulation was entirely correct at the time and was thoroughly necessary. This is why:

First of all, since revolutionary literature and art are to serve the broadest masses of the people, primarily the workers, peasants, and soldiers and its source can only be the life of struggle of the masses, and literature and art must express their thoughts, feelings, ideals, hopes, and demands, and be their voices, thus it of necessity demands that writers and artists have a profound understanding of the main objective of description and service. But this understanding can only be achieved by the method and path pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong in his "On Practice": conscientiously practice. It is also as Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly stressed at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art: literature and art workers must participate in the struggle of the masses to change the world, join in the thick of the life of the workers, peasants, and soldiers and link up with them.

Second, the question of literature and art workers linking up with workers, peasants, and soldiers is the key to spreading the revolutionary literature and art movement among the masses. This is a question the new literature movement since the May 4 Movement has wanted to resolve, but which it has never resolved due to the suppression and watchfulness of the Ruomintang reactionaries and because the civil and military revolutionary lines were for a long time separated by the counterrevolutionary and cultural "encirclement and suppression." Before the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art, the divorce and estrangement between literature and art and the worker and peasant masses was a serious problem. But only in places where the masses are their own masters, as at Yanan, can the objective conditions be created for literature and art workers to go among the masses and give them the valuable right to go among the masses. The better this integration is achieved, the better it is able to create the necessary literature and arts works suited to the worker and peasant masses and able to spread literature and art among them.

Third, the problem of linking up literature and art workers and the worker and peasant masses is a common question which faced all progressive intellectual circles at the time, especially the large number of intellectuals who entered the liberated areas. This problem had a very sharp reality and urgency. Already 3 years before "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" were delivered, in an essay "The May 4 Movement," Comrade Mao Zedong said: "If intellectuals do not link up with the worker and peasant masses then we will get nowhere. The final demarcation of intellectuals as revolutionary, non-revolutionary or counterrevolutionary depends on whether they are willing to and will link up with the worker and peasant masses." Although the intellectuals, including literature and art workers, who came to Yanan and other revolutionary bases at the time hated the old world and were inclined towards revolu-

tion, the conditions and reasons for individuals to take the revolutionary path were very different. Moreover, in terms of their educations and origins, most belonged to the category of petty bourgeois intellectuals. Deep in their souls, most of them still preserved a petty bourgeois intellectual kingdom and to varying degrees had a tendency to look down on the laboring masses. The attitude of most literature and art workers towards the objectives of service and depiction, in the words of Comrade Mao Zedong's generalization, were called "inexperienced, uncomprehending, and without scope to exercise their talents." And the isolation and incompatibility in thought and feelings also was very widespread. Facing these problems, for literature and art workers to be educators and engineers of the soul, there had to be a problem first of educating and changing their own souls, and there had to be the problem of first learning from the worker, peasant, and soldier masses, acquiring the standpoint, ideology and feelings of the proletariat. Only in this way could the problem of who literature and art was for be truly resolved ideologically and the works needed and liked by the worker, peasant, and soldier masses be written.

From the above three points it can be seen that no matter whether it is viewed from the necessary demands of proletarian literature and art development at the time or from the concrete conditions of the ranks of literature and art workers at the time, to say that literature and art workers transform their ideology, change their standpoint and become one with the worker, peasant and soldier masses in thought and feeling is correct and necessary. Practice proves that Comrade Mao Zedong's idea that at the same time that literature and art workers change the objective world they change their own subjective world is an important scientific principle of his literature and art thought, and we must maintain it.

However, at the same time that we affirm the basic viewpoint of the above-discussed scientific principles of Comrade Mao Zedong, we must note that in treating the question of intellectuals, including literature and art workers, Comrade Mao Zedong, in his late years, departed from the same ideology and principle by which he had treated intellectuals in the period of the democratic revolution and committed a leftist error. Comrade Hu Qiaomu said, "This is expressed in concentrated fashion in the violent-type mass-style criticism he constantly launched against literature and art workers and the 1963 and 1964 memos concerning literature and art works (the parth Central Committee has already made these two memos public and repudiated them). The two latter events also were one of the remote causes and proximate causes for the Great Cultural Revolution which he launched. It should be admitted that Comrade Mao Zedong lacked complete understanding and appropriate faith in the writers, artists, and intellectuals of that time in general, and mistakenly saw them as part of the bourgeoisie and even viewed them as "black line figures" and "demons," so that the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique could use this viewpoint to inflict serious harm on them. We must never forget this painful lesson.[7] In making this analysis and evaluation we are doing so by seeking truth from facts and are thus a propos.

When we study Comrade Mao Zedong's basic principles concerning the literature and art workers changing ideology and the subjective world now, we cannot focus it on the specific demands created by the special circumstances of literature and art workers of that time (such as the demand that literature and art workers undergo a fundamental change from one class to another, etc.) and make it an in-

flexible rule to be carried out to the letter, but should use the fundamental spirit of this principle to guide us in researching today's new situations and resolve new questions. Of course, there has always been a question for literature and art workers of links with the people and being at one with them in thought and feelings, and there has always been a problem of changing their subjective world. As Comrade Zhou Enlai said, "People all change, and never stop even when they grow old."[8] This is because "ideological change is a long-term task."[9] However, the basic state of intellectuals now, including literature and art workers, is very different from the time when Comrade Mao Zedong gave his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art": they have already become part of the working class. Thus, the tranformation of the subjective world of literature and art workers referred to now is different from the Yanan period, and should belong to the category of selfremolding of the laboring people. It is no longer necessary to emphasize the "transformation" and "conversion" from one class to another. And now it is no longer necessary to issue slogans especially for literature and art workers to carry out "ideological transformation." If this was the case, some people would become transformers and others would become the transformed, and this would repeat the errors of the late fifties, which would not be good for stability and unity and not good for liberation of artistic productive forces. Comrade Chen Yi once said most intensely: "Today we are victorious, we hold political power and thus proclaim ourselves leaders and transformers, to make all people the object of change. This runs completely counter to Chairman Mao's thought, and runs counter to party Central Committee policy."[10] We hope that this phenomenon criticized by Comrade Chen Yi will always be a historical relic.

In addition, transforming the subject world is very broad concept. It includes both the "changing standpoint" and "changing thoughts and feelings" we often refer to, as well as including changing the ability of the subjective to understand the objective and to make the self understand society and conform to objective actuality it is necessary to make the self's understanding be able to stand up to the objective truth of the test of practice.

The Ancient To Serve the Present, the Foreign To Serve the Chinese, Establish and Develop 'a Chinese Work Style and Chinese Manner Enjoyed by the Ordinary Chinese'

"A Chinese work style and Chinese manner enjoyed by the ordinary Chinese" is basically a fundamental topic which comes from the linkage of the universal truth of Marxism and the specific practice of the Chinese revolution. It is first of all the inherent characteristic of all Mao Zedong thought and does not refer only to literature and art.

The question of "Chinese style and Chinese manner" was first proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Party Central Committee in 1938. He said that Marxism could be realized in a certain national form only by linking up with China's specific characteristics. If it cannot become part of the Chinese people, and join with the flesh and blood of the people, then it is only an abstract, empty Marxism.

This idea of Comrade Mao Zedong's was further applied, developed and expanded in a series of later writings--"On New Democracy," "Oppose Party Formalism," "On the Ten Great Relationships," "Talks With Music Workers," and thus became an important scientific principle in his literature and art thought. Applying this principle in literature and art theoretical research demands that one proceed from the historical actuality of China's artistic development and the artistic movement and the establishment of a Marxist literature and art theory which is sinicized and has its own national characteristics. Application in literature and art creative work demands that writers and artists pay attention to literature and art national creativity, paying attention to national traditions, characteristics, style, and forms requires continuing to oppose literature and art dogmatism which has little promise.

In Comrade Mao Zedong's view, to establish and develop, in literature and art, national forms which had a "Chinese style and Chinese manner," one should mainly pay attention to two aspects of work: one is to correctly treat the national literature and art heritage and national literature and art traditions and one is to borrow and study correctly the good experience of literature and art.

In the historical development of the past several thousand years, the Chinese people created a brilliant ancient literature and art and formed their own unique national literature and art traditions. The proletariat must take stock of and carry on the vast ideological materials and ancient heritage and make it the raw material and starting point for developing a new national literature and art. However, this inheritance is not absolutely unprincipled acceptance of everything. Comrade Mao Zedong did not approve of either discounting history or being conservative and sticking to conventions. Comrade Mao Zedong said about literature and art forms: "In art there is the question of form and the question of national forms. Art cannot be divorced from the people's customs, feelings, or language, and it cannot be divorced from the people's historical development. The national conservatism of art is rather strong and can even survive for thousands of years. The art of antiquity is still appreciated by later generations."[11] The national character of art is inseparable from the nation's customs, habits, character, psychology, language, etc. It is gradually accumulated in long historical ages from the common lives of generations of this people and develops slowly; and the stability of national forms is even greater. The "national conservatism" mentioned by Comrade Mao Zedong refers to this point. This stability and conservatism may even go to such a degree so that Stalin felt that the difference between proletarian culture and bourgeois culture is not in form but only in content. Thus he stated his famous "content is proletarian, form is national--this is the culture of all mankind which socialism is to achieve."[12] When giving a definition of new democratic culture, Comrade Mao Zedong also said, "National forms and the content of new democratic culture are our new culture today."[13]

Comrade Mao Zedong was unusually well acquainted with China's history and its present state and was well-versed in the attainments of ancient culture. He always regarded highly carrying on the national traditions. He could skilfully use classical verse forms to express revolutionary ideological content and give voice to his great feelings as a proletarian revolutionary, and these poems had very high artistic level and aesthetic value. His entire life he cherished the national dramatic arts, including the Hunan regional opera; he set the drama

reform direction in "let a hundred flowers bloom, weed out the old and let the new emerge," he proposed collecting folk songs, etc., all of which speaks for the high regard he had for national traditions and national forms of art.

However, his high regard for national traditions in art was for no other reason than to develop a new proletarian literature and art which had the national characteristics and the characteristics of the time. Thus he concluded "study of the ancients is for the living of today." This is the principle of the famous "use the ancient for the present" in treating the question of the heritage of ancient literature and art.

In Comrade Mao Zedong's view, although national traditions in art, including national characteristics and forms, have stability in one regard, in the final analysis they are still developing. Thus the best preservation is development. Comrade Mao Zedong's statement: "Oppose dogmatism and conservatism, for these two things are not good for China"[14] proceeds from this dialectical viewpoint of preservation and development.

The motive for promoting the development and change of national artistic traditions comes from two aspects. On one hand it comes from among the people. This is the different material conditions of life, mainly different economic lives, which people faced in different periods. Different conditions of material life of necessity leave their own stamp on people's spiritual life, including people's political views, religion, morality, social psychology, and aesthetic tastes. These changed elements reflected in art must stimulate change and development of the national traditions. This is the decisive and main aspect. The other aspect comes from the mutual influences and inter-penetration of peoples and countries. This mutual influence and inter-penetration is an objective law and with the advance of history, is expressed more and more clearly. The history of cultural development of peoples in China and abroad proves this point. For just this reason, Comrade Mao Zedong always had a very high regard for studying foreign things, and stressed absorbing the strong points of other peoples. As early as 1940 in "On New Democracy" he said, "China should absorb advanced culture of foreign countries in great quantities and make it raw material for its own cultural food, this kind of work has not been done enough in the past." He felt that regardless of whether it was foreign contemporary culture or ancient culture, "all are things which we can use today and all should be absorbed."[15] By the fifties, in "On the Ten Great Relationships" he stressed, "Our policy is that we should study the strong points of all peoples and all countries; politics, economics, science, technology, literature, and art, all truly good things we should study. But, we must study analytically and critically, we cannot study blindly, cannot copy everything and transport it mechanically. Their short points and defects, of course, we should not study."[16] This is to say, in absorbing foreign things we should take their essence and cast off their dross through a process of critical transformation, and absolutely cannot "absorb them completely uncritically and swallow them whole." He said, "The advocacy of so-called 'total westernization' is still a mistaken viewpoint." Comrade Mao Zedong also emphasized in particular that the study of foreign things should have a clear objective, that is, "study the strong points of foreign countries to straighten out Chinese things, and create Chinese things which have unique national style." In a word, "study foreigners

for today's Chinese."[17] This is the famous principle "use the foreign for China."

In the decade of chaos, under the ultra-leftist slogans to oppose "feudalism, capitalism, and revisionism" and "big, foreign, and ancient," the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique on the one hand implemented a policy of anarchism tosards the national literature and art legacy which cut off history and denied all the people, and on the other hand implemented a policy towards foreign literature and art of total exclusion and national isolation, which caused great harm to literature and art.

Already in the last century Marx and Engels said, "Since the bourgeoisie has squeezed the whole world's markets, this makes the production and consumption of all countries global in nature...the past condition where places and peoples closed themselves off from international contact and were self-sufficient has disappeared and what has arisen to replace it now is mutual intercourse and mutual reliance of peoples. It is thus with material production and it is also thus with spiritual production. The fruits of people's spiritual activity has become something to be enjoyed in common. Day by day a people's one-sidedness and narrowness is less and less able to exist, and thus a world literature has formed from the many ethnic and local literatures."[18] It is clear that national isolation in literature and art is a kind of retrogression, and retrogression even as far as the bourgeoisie is inferior. In the past few years our party has corrected this anti-Marxist ultraleftist policy and implemented open policies from economics to culture. Since it is open, of course, it is hard to avoid having some bourgeois corruptions come in along with it, and it is necessary to wage effective struggle against these things, otherwise bourgeois liberalism will appear and influence the healthy organism of our people. However, just because of this we cannot stop being open and lock ourselves up again. Some people also view these normal lessons in literature and art, such as absorbing and transforming certain artistic methods from the contemporary West, as great outrages and think they insult the achievements of the ancients, so they fight hard to oppose them, and that is not right.

Of course, we should also pay attention to another trend, which thinks that everything foreign is good and everything which has come down to us from our forefathers is not wanted, and advocates rejecting national traditions and copying everything from abroad. This is a repetition of the "total westernization" under new condtions. We should know that "total westernization has been proposed by some but cannot be implemented."[19] This is already well-known in modern Chinese history, including the history of modern Chinese culture. In literature and art, if we disregard China's national situation, do not consider the national traditions and characteristics, and do not want "a Chinese style and Chinese manner enjoyed by the ordinary Chinese," then there is no way out.

Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom, Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend, Develop Proletarian Literature Democracy and Freedom

The policy of let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend, was put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong in May 1956. The next year he explained it fully in "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." The presentation of this principle was after the large-scale and violent mass-

style class struggle, in which class struggle was no longer the main social contradiction, was basically concluded and was predicated upon the recognition that in socialist society there were still various contradictions, mainly a large number of contradictions among the people. Just exactly as Comrade Mao Zedong said, it only applied to among the people. It is a principle for resolving questions of right and wrong and questions of contradictions among the people in the realm of science and culture and is not the same as a coercive method and a dictatorial method for resolving contradictions between the enemy and us. The objective in putting forth this principle was to mobilize all positive factors to promote the development of the economy and culture, to satisfy the people's constantly growing urgent demands of material and cultural life. Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong said, "Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend was a principle to promote development of art and the advancement of science, and a principle to promote the flourishing of China's socialist culture."

Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend principle summarized the objective laws of mankind's scientific and cultural development. Literature and art, by their very nature, are an unusually free spiritual activity of mankind and are incompatible with mechanical coercion, slavery, etc. As far as socialist literature and art development is concerned, implementing this principle is to fully develop the democracy and freedom of proletarian literature and art, to fully believe in the ability of the masses to discriminate and truly make the masses the final and most authoritative judge of works of literature and art.

For a long time now people have formed a bias so that if once democracy and freedom are mentioned it is certainly "bourgeois rubbish," and certainly a suspicion that one is engaging in "bourgeois liberalism." This is actually a misconception. When explaining the demands of the double hundred principle, Comrade Mao Zedong said, "Different forms and styles in art can develop freely, different schools in science can debate freely. We think that to use administrative force to coerce adoption of a style or a school, or to prohibit another style or school can be harmful to the development of art and sciences. Questions of right and wrong in art and science should be resolved through the free discussion of the art world and the scientific world, and be resolved through the practice of art and science and should not be resolved through the adoption of a single method."[20] In this passage, Comrade Mao Zedong stressed "freedom" in three places: "develop freely," "debate freely," and "discuss freely." Clearly, in Comrade Mao Zedong's view, freedom of socialist literature and art is a necessary condition and important method for the development of literature and art, and that coercion of administrative force is an obstacle to the development of literature and art. Comrade Mao Zedong made the freedom of literature and art an objective law of the development of literature and art and emphasized it. This is a consistent idea with him. Already in his talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art he stressed: "We encourage revolutionary writers and artists to actively become close to workers, peasants and soldiers, and give them complete freedom to go among the masses and give them complete freedom to create truly revolutionary literature and art." Comrade Mao Zedong also said, "Under the great principle of unity against Japan, we should permit the existence of works of

literature and art which contain a variety of political attitudes," "and should permit the free contention of various kinds and descriptions of works of art." Thus, we can see that presenting the principle of let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend, was based on Comrade Mao Zedong's understanding of the objective law of freedom of literature and art.

Before Comrade Mao Zedong, the authors of the classics of Marxism discussed the need for complete freedom in the creative activity of literature and art as a part pf spiritual production and the lack of freedom for literature and art in capitalist society. They saw behind the curtain of "freedom" and "democracy" which dazzled through elaborate decoration, the dependence of the artist and artistic activity on the slave-ship of the propertied and money. Marx and Engels said, "The bourgeoisie has wiped out the soul of professions which heretofore were respected by people and which they held in awe. It has made physicians, lawyers, teachers, poets, and scientists hired labor bought with its money."[21] Only by overthrowing the capitalist system can artists and artisitc works have freedom in the true sense. Lenin developed these ideas of Marx and Engels, and said that the proletarian revolution "opened a big gate" for artists "so that they broke away from the low conditions of life explained with extraordinary clarity in the "Communist Manifesto" and entered a vast universe of freedom."[22] Lenin regarded freedom of artistic creation very highly and his famous views on the two "vast universes" in "Party Organization and Party Literature" are well known. However, he never made the question abstract. Lenin was disgusted with the beautiful sounding phrases of bourgeois "freedom, equality, universal brotherhood" and was disgusted with the intellectual-style empty talk of "pure democracy." When he talked about freedom he always strictly differentiated proletarian freedom and bourgeois freedom, and stressed that proletarian artistic freedom should be greater and broader than the bourgeoisie's and thus true freedom. He said, "In a society based on privately owned property, the artist produces a commodity for the market and needs a buyer. Our revolution has liberated artists from the oppression of this senseless state. The revolution has made the Soviet nation the patron and subscriber of the artist. Each artist and each person who wants to become an artist has the right to freely create independently according to his own psychology."[23] Lenin understood art very well, understood artists and their creative laws. Time and again he warned Lunacharsky, who was in charge of culture and the arts after the October Revolution, "Don't treat art roughly."[24]

It is not hard to see that Marx, Engels and Lenin generally touched on the many viewpoints later developed by Comrade Mao Zedong which focused on the core of literature and art democracy and freedom. However, they were unable to generalize their own views into a complete principle. On the basis of China's situation, Comrade Mao Zedong first proposed the principle of let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend and the entire theory related to this principle. This is another of his important contributions.

And yet, what is regrettable is that 20 years after this principle was put forward it has not been conscientiously and continuously implemented. As soon as it was put forward it encountered the expansion of the anti-rightist struggle and a large group of literature and art workers who had responded to the party's call for "contending" and "blooming" were attacked as "rightists," some only be-

cause a work had its own characteristics or advocated its own artistic viewpoint. From then on, the double hundred principle actually became a mere scrap of paper. In 1961 and 1962 Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Chen Yi both took the lead in calling for artistic democracy and freedom. Comrade Zhou Enlai said, "We should create a democratic style, and change the work style of the literature and art world. First of all we should change the cadre's work style; to transform the cadre's work style we must first of all change the work style of leadership cadres."[25] Comrade Chen Yi appealed: "We should open up democracy and let htem speak; if comrades have something to say they should dare to speak out, this is a good phenomenon for our party, the picture of prosperity; not to talk out, but to withdraw is not a very good omen."[26] How movingly and how apropos people speak out! However, because the theory of broadening the class struggle was proposed at the 10th Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee came right after that and their pertinent cries did not have time to be turned into reality when they were swallowed up by the political noise of the leftists and the tide of literature and art criticism that came in high wave after wave. By the midpoint of the "Great Cultural Revolution" the abovementioned views of Comrade Chen Yi became the grounds for persecuting him. In this way literature and art democracy and freedom were finally driven out of the literary camp completely, thoroughly, cleanly and comprehensively, and replaced by feudal, fascist cultural dictatorship.

After the samshing the "gang of four," the double hundred principle once again returned to the literary camp amid the masses' cries to suppress cultural dictatorship. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee has reaffirmed this principle again and again. It should be said that the tentative flourishing of literature and artistic works in recent years and the activity in theoretical criticism are inseparable from the conscientious implementation of this principle.

Experience both positive and negative over the past 20 or more years has been conclusive proof that the let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought content principle is an important magic weapon which must be upheld. Socialist literature and art democracy and freedom, which is the core of this principle, should also certainly be upheld. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping has said: "The yamen work style must be abandoned and administrative orders in literature and art creation must be abolished." He also said: "What to write and how to write can only be determined by writers artists seeking and gradually finding in the practice of literature and art. There should be no flagrant interference in this area."[27] We must uphold the party's leadership of literature and art and improve party leadership, and through implementing correct principles (including the double hundred principle) carry out the party's leadership of literature and art, but definitely not interfere with the creative freedom of the artist.

Overcoming the resistance of ideological rigidity and semi-regidity in implementing the double hundred principle is still an important task. At the same time, works and viewpoints which are erroneous and unhealthy creatively and theoretically and even questionable politically should be severely and conscientiously criticized. Of course, this criticism should be seeking truth from facts, entirely reasonable and should not attack one fault without considering other aspects, to use one's authority to oppress others or to blow things out of proportion.

As for evaluating works of literature and art we should certainly adopt a cautious attitude. If it is not something which is politically reactionary, openly proclaims a counterrevolutionary viewpoint or sings a different tune than the line, principle and policy being carried out by the party, then it is best if the leadership does not draw the conclusions. Comrade Zhou Enlai said: "Whether this form will survive and whether or not the people will like it is not something which leadership approval can determine; but present leadership decisions are mostly approved by the masses. Whether a work of literature and art is good or bad should be determined by the masses and not by the leadership."[28] The spirit of Comrade Zhou Enlai's speech is very important.

China's socialist literature and art is now undergoing a great change. We are advancing in pondering and searching. The scientific principles of Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought will always be a guide to lead us forward. If only we uphold it, apply it, enrich it, and develop it we will certainly be able to secure even more glorious achievements.

We look forward with full confidence to the early arrival of the prime of a socialist literature and art in which flowers bloom in a riot of color and masses of stars glisten and which is truly worthy of the name.

Feb-Mar 1982

FOOTNOTES

1. "Renmin chuban she," single volume edition, p 51.

2. "Dangde zuzhi he dangde wenxue" [Party organization and party literature], "Makesi Engesi Liening Sidalin Lun Wenyi" [Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on Literature and Art], 1974, p 109.

3. "Liening Lun Wenxue yu Yishu" [Lenin on literature and art], II, p 912.

4. "Zai Zhongguo Wenxu Yishu Gongzuozhe Disici Daibiaodahuishangde Zhuci" [Congratulatory speech at the fourth congress of Chinese literature and art workers], see WEN YI BAO 1979, 11-12 joint edition.

5. "Dangqian Sixiang Zhanxiande Ruogan Wenti" [Certain question of the present ideological front], HONG QI 1981 No 23.

6. "Lun Women Baozhide Xingzhi" [On the nature of our press], "Liening Quanji" [Lenin's Complete Works] Vol 28, p 83.

7. "Dangqian sixiang..." loc cit.

8. "Zhou Enlai Yu Wenyi" [Zhou Enlai on literature and art], Vol 1, p 38.

9. Ibid., p 19.

10. Ibid., p 69.

11. "Tong Yinyue Gongzuozhede Tanhua" [Talks with music workers] REMIN RIBAO 9 Sep 1979.

12. "Lun Dongfang Renmin Daxuede Zhengzhi Renwu," [On the Political Mission of the People's of the East University], see "Sidalin Quanji" [Stalin's Complete Works], Vol 7, p 117.

13. "Mao Zedong Xuanji" [Selected Works of Mao Zedong], p 700.

14. "TongYinyue..." loc cit.

15. "Mao Zedong Xuan..." loc cit.

16. "Mao Zedong Xuanji" Vol 5, p 285.

17. "Tong Yinyue..." loc cit.

18. "Gongchandang Xuanyan" [Communist Manifesto], "Makesi Engesi Quanji" [Complete Works of Marx and Engels], Vol 4, p 470.

19. "Liu Shaoqi Xuanji" [Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi], p 333.

20. "Mao Zedong Xuanji" op cit, Vol 5, p 388.

21. "Gongchandang Xuanyan," loc cit.

22. See Caitejin [5591 3676 6855] "Huiyi Liening" [Reminiscing About Lenin], "Liening Lun Wenxue yu Yishu" op cit, II, p 916.

23. Ibid., p 911.

24. Ibid., p 931.

25. "Zhou Enlai Yu Wenyi," op cit, p 10.

26. Ibid., p 77.

27. "Zai Zhongguo Wenxue..." loc cit.

28. "Zhou Enlai Yu Wenyi," op cit, p 21.

8226
CSO: 4005/1070

PARTY AND STATE

REFORM MOVEMENT OF 1898, ITS TWO LEADERS APPRAISED

Guangzhou XUESHU YANJIU (JOURNAL OF ACADEMIC RESEARCH) in Chinese No 3, 20 May 82 pp 103-107

[Article by Ling Zhi [0407 5347]: "A Few Problems Concerning the Appraisal of the 1898 Reform Movement and Its Two Leaders"]

[Text] Many books and articles of research on the 1898 Reform Movement and on Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao published by the Chinese academia since the founding of the PRC involve a great many problems. Due to lack of space, the following are brief expositions of a few of the problems.

I. The Appraisal of the 1898 Reform Movement

There is no consensus in the academic circles on the nature of the 1898 Reform Movement. Many comrades regard the 1898 Reform Movement as a bourgeois reformist movement. This was the basic view shared by the academic circles before the "Great Cultural Revolution." In 1980, Tang Zhijun wrote an article saying that the reform faction was afraid to tackle the land problem. Instead, they asked only for the establishment of agricultural associations and schools "to develop agriculture for the staples." They were extremely careful and did not want to offend the feudalist ruling authorities, hoping to win the cooperation of the feudalist forces in the pursuit of specific reforms. They did not present to the public either a revolutionary theory or a revolutionary program. What they proposed was still "to pursue reforms in the name of the ancients," and the "rights of the people" they advocated were in reality the "rights of the gentry." Interested only in winning over the landlords and bureaucratic intellectuals, and banking on Emperor Guangxu who was powerless, the reform faction had to depend solely on issuing directives and orders for constitutional changes and modernization, and to prepare for the growth of capitalism without encroaching on the basic rights and interests of the landed class. Their ideal government was but a constitutional monarchy acceptable to both the feudalist landlords and the bourgeoisie. "In attempting to secure national independence and the development of Chinese capitalism, the reform faction had to opt for the reformist road which they find most practical." ("Problems Concerning the Appraisal of the 1898 Reform Movement," RENMIN RIBAO 20 June 1980)

In the last couple of years, some comrades claimed that the 1898 Reform Movement was a bourgeois reform movement and not a reformist movement. These are their reasons: First, reforms and reformism, like revisions and revisionism, are two different concepts which must be strictly distinguished. Marxism which champions revolutions is opposed to reformism but does not oppose reforms indiscriminately. Second, reformism is a foreign word which had cropped up in the late 19th century European labor movement. It was a political tide hostile to both Marxism and the basic rights of the proletariat. It sought to replace the anti-bourgeoisie class struggles with reforms which do not encroach upon the bourgeois system of exploitation. Such being the case, we simply cannot equate any reform before the emergence of Marxism with reformism. Third, although the reforms of 1898 did not demand the overthrow of the Qing Government of the feudalist landed class, it did represent the wishes of the bourgeoisie to develop capitalism and to change the feudal society into a capitalist society by means of political and economic reforms initiated from above. It was a step forward under the circumstances at that time when bourgeois revolutions had not appeared. We may say that if not for the 1898 Reform Movement, the 1911 Revolution could not have occurred so soon. Judged in the historical context of the revolutionary struggles in semi-colonial and semi-feudalist China, the 1898 Reform Movement belongs in the category of the old bourgeois democratic revolutionary movements, a "step" in the march of history, and should be called a progressive bourgeois reform movement. (RENMIN RIBAO, 23 Sep 1980)

In his article "From Westernization and Modernization to Bourgeois Revolution," Li Shiyue said "the Reform Movement obviously does not belong in the category of reformism." It "attempted to go through channels from the top working downward, i.e., reforms." "The 1898 Reform Movement was the first attempt of the bourgeoisie to seize political power." (LISHI YANJIU No 1, 1980)

Other comrades think the 1898 Reform Movement was "a bourgeois democratic revolutionary movement, attempting to turn China into a capitalist society." Since "the 1898 Reform Movement led by the reform faction sought to bring about a new social configuration, it ought to belong in the category of social revolution." ("More on the Nature of the 1898 Reform Movement," Journal of South China Teachers College, No 1, 1982)

With regard to the role of 1898 Reform Movement in history, all the writings before the "Cultural Revolution" agreed that it played a significant role in seeking national salvation and liberation of the mind.

The research by the academic circles on the 1898 Reform Movement which subsided during the "Cultural Revolution" came back to life after the downfall of the "gang of four." In his article "Problems Concerning the Appraisal of the 1898 Reform Movement," Tang Zhijun said: "The 1898 Reform Movement occurred after the 1894 Sino-Japanese War when China was confronted with the threat of partition and Chinese capitalism had just begun to develop. It sought national salvation and the development of capitalism. Since it represented the trend of Chinese social development at that time, it signified progress." He also pointed out: "As an

enlightenment, the 1898 Reform Movement encouraged the Chinese intellectuals to seek liberation of their mind. Although this was only the very first step, it was nevertheless a very important step." (RENMIN RIBAO 20 June 1980 p 5)

Xiao Li pointed out that the 1898 Reform Movement was the first violent attack against the feudalist autocracy, the first patriotic national salvation movement and the first bourgeois ideological enlightenment movement in modern Chinese history. ("The Positive Impact of the 1898 Reform Movement Should Be Affirmed," KUANGMING RIBAO, 17 July 1979) Other comrades have gone even further to say that the 1898 Reform Movement was a patriotic movement in Chinese history, a milestone of the awakening of the Chinese nation in modern history.

On top of this, historians are debating the appraisal of Emperor Guangxu in the light of the studies on the 1898 Reform Movement. To pursue more penetrating research on the causes of the failure of the 1898 Reform Movement and the lessons to be learned, some comrades have compared it with the Meiji Reform in Japan, and analyzed why the Meiji Reform had succeeded and why the 1898 Reforms had failed.

II. The Appraisal of Kang Youwei and His "Treatise on Universal Harmony"

1. The Appraisal of the "Treatise on Universal Harmony"

First of all, there are different theories about the year the "Treatise of Universal Harmony" was written. Some believe the book was written in 1901-1902. Some claim the book was written in 1901-1902, but its basic concepts and major theme had existed for quite some time. Some allege the book took 18 years (1884-1902) to finish. Others claim that since the first two parts of the "Treatise on Universal Harmony" were published in 1913 by BUREN ZAZHI, it must have been completed a little before 1913.

The academic circles are divided in their appraisal of the "Treatise on Universal Harmony." According to one of the theories, the "Treatise on Universal Harmony," which represents Kang Youwei's thought in his later life, is a book designed to dope the masses and to oppose the democratic revolution.

In his 1957 article ("On Kang Youwei's Treatise on Universal Harmony," "WEN SHI CHE" No 1, 1957), Tang Zhijun believed: "Actually opposed to the national democratic revolution, the "Treatise on Universal Harmony" sought to apply reform as a pretext to suppress the revolution, and resorted to "lofty ideals--universal harmony--to dope the masses, but he himself did not and could not find a way to reach universal harmony."

In his 1979 article "On Kang Youwei's Theory of Three Stages of Universal Harmony" (ZHONGHUA WENSHI LUNCONG, Vol 2, 1979) Tang again pointed out: "Kang Youwei's theory of "three stages of universal harmony" before and after the 1898 Reform Movement did not remain the same." His earlier

"theory of universal harmony" and his later work "A Treatise on Universal Harmony" should be appraised separately. Tang said: "Before the 1898 Reform Movement, the spearhead of struggle of the 'three stages of universal harmony' aimed at the feudalist diehards, while the 'three stages of universal harmony' after the 1898 coup gradually turned toward the bourgeois revolutionaries." Consequently, the "Treatise on Universal Harmony" became Kang Youwei's "theoretical backstop of his post-coup advocacy of constitutional monarchy and the restoration of the dethroned monarch."

In an article "Discussions Concerning the Ideological Substance of Kang Youwei's 'Treatise on Universal Harmony'" (WENSHI ZAZHI, No 2, 1957), Zhang Qizhi and others claimed "'To rise above national boundaries' which Kang Youwei called 'the way to save the people' is actually anti-national independence, anti-democratic revolution, but pro-constitutional monarchy. If we say the theory of constitutional monarchy implied progressiveness during the 1898 Reform Movement, then the advocacy of such a theory after the 1911 Revolution would be utterly reactionary."

According to another view, the essence of the "Treatise on Universal Harmony" is basically Kang Youwei's earlier progressive thought on bourgeois democracy and freedom. But this does not agree completely with its final appraisal of the work.

In his article "On Kang Youwei's 'Treatise on Universal Harmony'" (WEN SHI ZHE No 2, 1955), Li Zehou said: "The content and uniqueness of the 'Treatise on Universal Harmony' rested on its use of a Utopian framework to express candidly and fully Kang Youwei's earlier progressive anti-feudalist bourgeois thought." "The central theme of the 'Treatise on Universal Harmony,' the foundation of Kang Youwei's theory of democracy and his fantasy of universal harmony consists of individual freedom, equality, independence, individual rights, and the liberation of individual personality." This opposition to the feudalist family and patriarchal system "represents not only the heartfelt wishes of the masses but also the objective requirement of social development. This is exactly the progressive ideology of the nascent bourgeois class."

In his article "On the Treatise on Universal Harmony" (included in "Selected Research Essays on Modern Chinese Thinkers"), Lin Keguang said the book affirms its battle against feudalism, exposes the "superficiality of the capitalist material civilization and the hypocrisy of what the bourgeoisie regard as democratic freedom," and gives publicity to the "advanced bourgeois thought of democracy and liberalism." He thinks the "Treatise on Universal Harmony" stands for "both socialism and democracy" and that "it represents the apex of Kang's political philosophy, the cream of Chinese philosophy during the 1898 Reform era."

2. The Appraisal of Kang Youwei's Philosophy of Changes and Historical Evolution.

The academic circles of our country have advanced various theories on Kang Youwei's philosophy. The following are different views on Kang Youwei's philosophy of changes and historical evolution.

In his article "An Appraisal of Kang Youwei's System of Philosophy at the Height of His Popularity" (XUESHU YUEKAN No 9, 1963), Cai Shangsi pointed out: "In spite of the positive implications of that part of Kang Youwei's philosophy on changes, he preferred gradual changes to sudden changes, and publicized the theory of predestination and retribution, and the subjective idealist concept of the 'heavenly origin of all things on earth.' These are the passive aspects of his philosophy."

In his article "An Appraisal of the Uniqueness and Idealist Trends of Kang Youwei's Philosophy" ("Teaching and Research" No 3, 1961), Zhang Changjiang said the uniqueness of Kang Youwei's philosophy is "primarily his recognition and exposition of the concept of 'changes.'" But the "changes" contemplated by Kang Youwei are metaphysical changes, "gradual changes (quantitative changes) instead of sudden changes (qualitative changes)," changes for the preservation instead of the destruction of the old things." This "feeble" approach which nevertheless represented the understanding and interpretation of a violently changing world by the enlightened bourgeoisie constituted the major theme of Kang Youwei's philosophy.

In his article "Research on Kang Youwei's View of Historical Evolution Based on Gongyang Gao's Theory of Three Stages" (ZHONGHUA WENSHI LUNCONG, Vol 1) Wu Ze said Kang Youwei's theory of historical evolution covered two different periods, one before the 1898 Reform Movement and the other after the 1898 Reform Movement. According to Wu: "Kang Youwei regarded the Chinese before the 1898 Reform Movement had reached a stage of comfort and peace which called for modernization and constitutional reform to work toward the stage of universal peace, meaning to abandon the feudalist absolute monarchy for a bourgeois society under a constitutional monarchy." After the 1898 Reform Movement, Kang Youwei turned his three-stage historical evolution into a theory gradual historical progress of three recurrent stages. The "purpose is to uphold reformism, to oppose 'overstepping the stages' and 'overreaching,' and to oppose revolutions."

In his article "On Kang Youwei's Theory of Reforms" (included in "Symposium on the 60th Anniversary of the 1898 Reform Movement"), Zhang Qizhi said Kang Youwei "called for changes and yet dreaded changes. He admitted in theory the existence of contradictional 'antitheses' but stayed away from contradictional struggles in practice. He applied his theory of evolutional development to enhance public morale but urged people to put up with reality. He promised mankind an 'age of peace and prosperity' and yet projected its realization for a far distant future. He was as aggressive as he was conservative." He "substituted unity for struggle, used evolution to oppose revolution, preached gradual progress to reject leap forward, and encouraged compromise to harmonize contradictions. These represent the actual content and class characteristics of Kang Youwei's theory of evolution."

In his book "Kang Youwei's Philosophy," Kuang Bolin pointed out that Kang Youwei believed that nature and the history of human society change and evolve continually. This part of his philosophy was representative of the

times and full of vitality, and served as the major philosophical basis of his drive for reforms and modernization." "His theory of 'three stages' which constitutes Kang Youwei's concept of historical evolution criticized the feudalist dogma that 'the way is as immutable as heaven' and proclaimed in no uncertain terms that the feudalist institution must change, and so must the 'principles' which defend the feudalist system of government." But he believed the progress of history is brought about by removing and gradually assimilating the barriers (contradictions) between people and those between people and material things." This is "entirely his own fantasy." Kuang Bolin said "Kang Youwei's theory of historical evolution of changes is a vulgar theory of evolution and also an idealist view of history with pronounced religious connotations.

3. The Appraisal of Kang Youwei's Economic Thought

In 1962 the Beijing Economics Society sponsored a seminar on the economic thought of Kang Youwei. (Reported by GUANGMING RIBAO 23 Jan 62.) Zhao Jing told the gathering that Kang Youwei had a better understanding of the relationship between politics and economics, between production and distribution, and between industry and agriculture than his predecessors. The fact he proposed to build an industrial state is a noticeable step forward.

Feng Youlan dna Xue Hanwei, however, regarded Kang Youwei's economic thought as capitalism which he had idealized, and doubted whether it had any shade of utopian socialism, because the two are contradictory.

Yi Menhong said Kang Youwei's earlier thought is neither capitalism per se nor completely free from utopian ideas. His later thought which repudiated private ownership indirectly repudiated capitalism. So we could not say it was founded mainly (basically) on capitalism.

In an article "Kang Youwei's Economic Thought" (JINGJI YANJIU No 5, 62) written after the adjournment of the meeting, Zhao Jing broke down Kang Youwei's economic thought to cover two different periods with the year 1902 (particularly 1898) as the chronological divide. The former which favored an "industrial state" and capitalist industrialization represents the wishes of the nascent bourgeoisie to develop national industry and commerce. The latter part of Kang Youwei's economic thought served as "a tool to whitewash and defend the rule of the reactionary forces at home and abroad." He opposed the economic thought of the revolutionary faction, and tried to rescue the crumbling Qing imperial regime by befuddling the real issue.

4. The Appraisal of Kang Youwei

Cai Shangsi regards Kang Youwei as one of the leaders who looked to the West for truth before the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, a very prominent representative of modern Chinese bourgeois reformism, and an awfully controversial thinker. ("An Appraisal of Kang Youwei's System of Philosophy at the Height of His Popularity" carried in XUESHU YUEKAN, No 10, 1963)

In his article "The Historical Implications of the 1898 Reform Movement" ("Symposium on the 60th Anniversary of the 1898 Reform Movement"), Fan Wenlan said the fact that Kang Youwei ranked above his contemporary thinkers and occupies such a prominent position in the history of political thought is because he had presented those lofty ideals" (i.e., Treatise on Universal Harmony).

In his article "Kang Youwei's Political Platform for the 1898 Reform Movement" (included in "Symposium on the 60th Anniversary of the 1898 Reform Movement"), Liu Renda said: "The patriotic modernization movement of the reform faction organized and led by Kang Youwei reflected the demand of the nascent Chinese bourgeoisie to oppose imperialist aggression and feudalist constraints, and launched frontal struggles against the feudalist ruling class--the diehards and the Westernizationists--for the establishment of a constitutional government." "This is Kang Youwei's major historic feat."

In his article "An Appraisal of Kang Youwei," Tang Zhijun said: "Kang Youwei (1858-1927), a historical figure who once played a progressive role in modern Chinese history, has ended up in later life as a reactionary rejected by the people. What accounts for stagnation of his political thought is mainly reformism which played a role in pressing for the development of capitalism during the formative years of the Chinese bourgeoisie before the revolutionary wave had swelled. Once the bourgeois revolutionary movement sprang up, his stagnant thought became a historical stumbling block and finally turned into a feudalist dreg."

Xu Guangren said: "In practical politics, Kang Youwei always 'worked to maintain the status quo' and followed the example of Confucious 'to aim at the universal harmony but actually working to bring about peace and comfort only.'" "Obviously, Kang Youwei's political action was weak and feeble. He was a 'giant' in writing books but a petty intellectual in real action." ("On Mr Luo Mengti's article: Comments on the Appraisal of Kang Youwei in 'On the People's Democratic Dictatorship'" published in Journal of South China Teachers College, No 2, 1959)

III. The Appraisal of Liang Qichao

First of all, there are different views on Liang Qichao's class affiliation. Wu Yuzhang considers Liang "a bourgeois intellectual who had broken away from the feudalist class. ("Symposium on the 60th Anniversary of the 1989 Reform Movement") According to Liu Danian, the reform faction, including Liang Qichao, unlike the bourgeoisie led by Sun Yat-sen which had "emerged from the petty bourgeoisie," consisted of the representatives of the bourgeoisie who had emerged from the landed bureaucracy, lacking revolutionary commitment. That is to say, Kang and Liang represented the upper-class bourgeoisie. ("Symposium on the 60th Anniversary of the 1898 Reform Movement)" Jin Chongji and Chen Shikuang think Liang Qichao represented "the landed bourgeoisie." ("On Modern Chinese Leaders")

The academic circles believe Liang Qichao's activities covered four different periods: 1894-1898, 1898-1903, 1904-1911 and 1911-1929. There is consensus

on what Liang had done during the first period, but the appraisals on the remaining three periods differ widely.

Liang Qichao's political activities and political ideology in those years from 1898 to 1902 received both approval and disapproval by the public. Hu Shengwu and Jin Chongji said that in those days Liang Qichao "held fast to his royalist position without yielding an inch, but acted deceitfully to defraud Sun Yat-sen" whereby the revolutionaries suffered losses in attempting to cooperate with the royalists."

In his "A Biography of Liang Qichao," Meng Xiangcai said Liang Qichao's efforts in those years to befriend the revolutionaries were just a false front which did not last very long before he turned around to attack the revolution. Meng gives Liang credit for the effectiveness of his propaganda skill, but does not approve of Liang royalist activities and his effort to have an independent army.

In Chapter 20 of his book "From the Opium War to the 4 May Movement," Hu Sheng attests that during this particular period Liang had done highly effective ideological enlightenment work, helping people (especially youths), who knew nothing other than the Confucian classics and works of Zhuangzi and Laozi, broaden their outlook...and arousing their ardent patriotic and revolutionary enthusiasm." He also affirms Liang's political influence.

According to Hu Sheng, between 1902 and 1903 Liang Qichao was skeptical about the democratic revolution, but realized a revolution was the only way to save China. His contradictory attitude invited the criticisms of the revolutionary faction on the one hand and that of Kang Youwei and others who favored reformism on the other. "Liang Qichao's contradictions reflect the response of the progressive intellectuals at the time to a situation where the bourgeois revolutionary ideology was replacing the bourgeois reformist ideology."

Most comrades believe Liang Qichao's political position between 1904 and the 1911 revolution was on the decline and becoming more reactionary. His reformist thought at the time was so brutally attacked by the revolutionary faction that his influence on public opinion suffered a marked setback. Some comrades consider this polemic debate was a struggle between revolution and counterrevolution, and Liang was on the counterrevolutionary side. The campaign for constitutional government sponsored by Liang was an effort to use a constitutional monarchy as a vehicle to inaugurate certain political reforms to the feudalist system in order to defend the rule of the Qing Government and to prevent the eruption of a revolution. That was reactionary in nature and intent.

There are many other comrades who do not accept this interpretation. They believe the polemic debate at that time between the reformers and the revolutionaries should not be interpretated as a conflict between two hostile classes because the ultimate objective of both was to defend the independence of the Chinese nation and to develop capitalism. Although

they differed in their method of approach and the form of government to be established through the reforms, they both sought to substitute a capitalist system for the feudalist system. The kind of government to be established, be it a democratic republic or a constitutional monarchy, would not affect the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole, even though the former would benefit the middle-lower strata while the latter would bring more benefit to the upper stratum of the bourgeoisie. (Opinions expressed at the Hunan provincial academic seminar to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the 1911 Revolution.)

Some comrades think the negative impact of the campaign for constitutional government was outweighed by its positive impact, and they think the same criterium ought to apply to the appraisal of Liang Qichao. There are others who think Liang Qichao who was active overseas at the time should not be lumped together with the constitutional faction in China.

Most comrades do not approve of what Liang Qichao did after the 1911 Revolution. Some think he "had become such a political degenerate that he cooperated with the warlords and bureaucrats of the landed compradore class to oppose and suppress the revolution...and gradually became a key member of the landed compradore camp." ("Collected Research Papers on Modern Chinese Thinkers" pp 85-86) Some think Liang's efforts "during the "4 May" movement to defend the feudalist culture, to honor Confusius and restore the ancient ways, and to oppose the democratic republic made him an enemy of the new cultural movement. He played a reactionary role to attack Marxism in the so-called polemic debate on "socialism." Some comrades, however, do not accept this assessment. They claim that Liang had illusions about the feudalist warlords and bureaucrats of the day, but he also opposed resolutely what they did, especially the restoration of the monarchy. At the time of the "4 May" movement, Liang was definitely not an enemy of the new cultural movement; he was a member of the united front for the new cultural movement. (Hu Xiao: "On the Appraisal of Liang Qichao's Thought in His Latter Years," see FUDAN XUEBAO, No 5, 1979)

In his overall appraisal of Liang Qichao, Li Houze said Liang Qichao's role and position in modern Chinese history should be assessed on the basis of what he did during the period ranging from 1898 to 1903 which marked the apex of his achievement as an enlightening bourgeois propagandist. The most unbiased role he played earned him his lifetime height of popular influence. It was a short but extremely important period of his achievement...more than enough to offset all his mistakes and misdeeds..." He "is definitely a leading figure in modern Chinese history whose achievements outweighed his mistakes." (Li Houze: "On the History of Modern Chinese Thought")

5360
CSO: 4005/1049

BRIEFS

SINO-JAPANESE FILM--The propaganda department of the autonomous regional federation of trade unions has issued a circular calling on trade unions at all levels to conscientiously organize their staff and workers to see a Sino-Japanese film entitled "An Unfinished Game of Chess." The circular notes: Through the Chinese and Japanese chess players' tragic lot, the film "An Unfinished Game of Chess" exposes the crimes of Japanese imperialists in launching the war of aggression against China, which brought great suffering to the Chinese and Japanese peoples. The film also sings the praises of struggles waged by the Chinese and Japanese peoples against militarism and the profound friendship between the peoples of the two countries. On the pretext of revising textbooks, the Japanese Education Ministry has distorted historical facts to prettify militarism. This practice goes against the common aspirations of the Chinese and Japanese peoples. The circular says: The film "An Unfinished Game of Chess" can be described as vital teaching material that can be used in carrying out education in patriotism and internationalism for our staff and workers. In addition to organizing their staff and workers to see that film, trade unions at all levels can also hold forums and organize film reviews so as to further extend the film's educational effects. [Text] [HK061348 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 5 Sep 82]

CSO: 4005/1313

END

JPRS 81882

29 September 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 343

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81882

29 September 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 343

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Egypt-Arab Reconciliation Said To Follow Tortuous Path
(Lao Yuan; SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE], No 11, 1982) ... 1

PARTY AND STATE

Mao's Contributions To Marxist Epistemology Reviewed
(Yu Enzi; BEIFANG LUNCONG [THE NORTHERN FORUM], 4 Jul 82) 5

Favoritism in Granting Promotions Criticized
(NANFANG RIBAO, 20 Jul 82) 14

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Deputy Commander Gives Views on Voluntary Retirement
(Yang Xianhou andLi Jicheng; NANFANG RIBAO, 26 Jul 82) 17

'YANCHENG WANBAO' on Guangzhou PLA Successes
(Li Jun; YANGCHENG WANBAO, 7 Sep 82) 21

Briefs
Heilongjiang Militia Meeting 25

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Intellectual Party Members
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 3 Sep 82) 26

Fujian's Cheng Xu Answers Questions on Intellectuals
(Fujian Provincial Service, 11 Sep 82) 32

Strengthening Ideological Education Stressed
(LIAONING RIBAO, 14 Jun 82) 34

Senior Middle Schools, by Dong Qing
Higher Learning Institutes, by Jin Chunhua

Fujian To Return to Overseas Chinese Private Houses
(Fujian Provincial Service, 9 Sep 82) 38

Xizang Meeting Stresses Communist Education
(Xizang Regional Service, 11 Sep 82) 39

Beijing Students' Mental Attitude Toward CPC
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 1 Sep 82) 41

'GUANGMING RIBAO' Article on Literature, Art
(Zheng Bonong; GUANGMING RIBAO, 1 Sep 82) 44

Symposium on Nationalist Affairs Theory Ends
(XINHUA, 8 Sep 82) 50

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EGYPT-ARAB RECONCILIATION SAID TO FOLLOW TORTUOUS PATH

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 11, 1982 pp 8-9

[Article by Lao Yuan [0525 0337]: "Egypt-Arab Reconciliation Advancing Along Tortuous Path"]

[Text] The momentum of reconciliation between Egypt and the Arab countries after Mubarak assumed power has clearly become stronger since Egypt recovered the Sinai. That conforms to the requirements of the current situation and is in accord with the aspirations and interests of Arabs. Due to a variety of historical and practical reasons, that momentum is not developing in a straight line but is advancing along a tortuous path.

Let us consider some features of the reconciliation between Egypt and the Arab countries.

Because it signed the Camp David accords with Israel, in 1978 Egypt was expelled from the Arab League. The Arab League's general headquarters were moved from Cairo to Tunisia. All of the Arab countries except the Sudan, Somalia, and Oman severed diplomatic relations with Egypt. While Sadat was in power Egypt and the Arab countries criticized each other and relations were very tense. After Mubarak assumed power he concerned himself with resolving that problem. As the Middle East situation developed, the circumstances gradually changed. Egypt no longer made concessions in independent negotiations. Mubarak did not visit Jerusalem and refused to sign a document pledging Egypt not to establish contact with the Palestine Liberation Organization. Those were steps taken by Egypt toward reconciliation with the Arab countries. In February Mubarak visited Oman and in early May visited the Sudan. Unofficial Egyptian public figures--Khalid Mohieddine, head of the Unionist Progressive Party, and Haykal, former general editor of the newspaper AL-AHRAM--visited four countries in northern Africa, including Libya. Egypt also prepared to send its delegation to the Asian-African Solidarity Committee meeting to visit Syria. Regarding the question of restoring diplomatic relations between Egypt and the Arab countries, Mubarak recently said, "We leave the restoration of relations up to our brother Arab countries, at whatever time they want and by whatever means they want," and "Egypt's door is always open to any of the Arab countries." On 24 April Egypt proclaimed the exemption of the citizens of several Arab countries from entry visas. Ghali, the Egyptian Foreign Minister, stated that "Egypt abides by

the Arab League Mutual Defense Treaty concluded in 1950, and Egypt will come to the aid of any Arab country that makes such a request." In early May Egypt sent a military delegation to visit Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

For their part, the Arab countries have also taken a number of steps to move closer to Egypt. At the Arab Foreign Ministers Conference held in Tunisia, Iraq proposed putting off moving the Arab League general headquarters to a new location, thus making its return to Cairo a possibility. Egypt attended the meeting of the preparatory committee of nonaligned nations held in Kuwait. That was the first time since 1978 Egypt had attended a major international conference held on Arab soil. At that conference there emerged an atmosphere of mutual dependence between Egypt and the Arab countries. Although there are as yet no official relations between the governments of Egypt and the Persian Gulf states, since the death of Sadat increasingly large numbers of high-ranking officials of Persian Gulf states have secretly visited Cairo, among them the Amir of Bahrain, a relative of the King of Jordan. The economic ties between Egypt and the Persian Gulf states have also improved. Business circles have shown much interest in Egypt. A deal is about to be concluded for the use of Persian Gulf capital to construct two large projects in Egypt. The Arab League and the Persian Gulf states are taking positive steps and are preparing to aid Egypt economically.

Several Arab states frequently engage in activities to bring Egypt back into the Arab fold. In their front ranks are the Sudan, Oman, Somalia, the United Arab Emirates, Morocco, Jordan, and Tunisia. After attending a conference with the heads of state of Jordan and Morocco Qaboos bin Said, the Sultan of Oman, visited Cairo and then visited Jordan. According to the Middle East News Agency, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan may restore diplomatic relations with Egypt. Several Arab leaders have requested the convening of an Arab summit meeting participated in by Egypt.

Here we must give special attention to relations between Egypt and Iraq. Originally those two countries were relatively far apart with regard to their stands toward the Arab-Israeli conflict. But with the development of the situation, especially the development of the Iran-Iraq war, the two countries have drawn closer and closer together. Iraq needs the support of Egypt. From the point of view of actual military strength, Egypt is among the Arab countries relatively more capable of aiding Iraq. According to reports from foreign news agencies, in March of last year Egypt began to supply arms to Iraq on a quarterly basis, and in March of this year, after Iran launched a counterattack against Iraq, Egypt agreed to provide to Iraq military equipment worth 1.5 billion dollars. That agreement was concluded in Cairo during the visit of an Iraqi military delegation. Baghdad and Cairo have already restored airline ties.

What accounts for the emergence of the reconciliation trend between Egypt and the Arab countries? In sum, it is a requirement of the common cause of Arabs and is a requirement of the Arab people's opposition to Israeli expansionism and the domination and interference of the Soviet and U.S. hegemons. It is in the common interest of all Arab countries.

With regard to Egypt, it is necessary so that Egypt can extricate itself from its relative isolation in the Arab world, and in order to strengthen its position with regard to Israel and in negotiations with the United States and the Soviet Union, while also recovering its traditional influence in the Arab world. The internal economic construction of Egypt also requires investment aid from the oil-producing states. The Persian Gulf states are now laying an oil pipeline across the Arabian Peninsula, thus moving the focus of Middle East crude oil shipments from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea, to be exported via the Suez Canal. Egypt stands to derive great economic benefit from that.

From the point of view of the Arab states, Arab unity is incomplete without Egypt. Egypt is a major Arab state and would hold the balance should something happen. It would not be beneficial if Egypt did not get along with the Arab countries politically and economically. If Egypt became unstable because of its isolation, all parts of the Middle East would be affected. The Arab countries also hope to restore good relations with Egypt by assisting it after its recovery of the Sinai, so that it can defend Arab interests in negotiations with Israel. The Persian Gulf states, affected by the transformation of the Iran-Iraq war situation and by the influences of the Islamic revolution exported by Iran, need the support of Egypt in order to ensure their safety. All of the other Arab countries also need to improve or relax relations with Egypt.

Of course, there still remain several obstacles on the path of reconciliation between Egypt and the Arab countries, the most important of which is the Camp David accords. Egypt adheres to the peaceful process of the Camp David accords and honors the pledges it has made to Israel. But a considerable number of Arab countries oppose the Camp David accords. The Sudan, Morocco, and Oman have congratulated Egypt upon its recovery of all of the Sinai, and Hussein, the King of Jordan, has expressed his satisfaction. Syria, however, thinks that "Its evacuation of the Sinai is in reality an Israeli trick," "the aim of which is to lure more and more Arab states into the trap of the Camp David accords." The PLO has also made a negative appraisal. Some of the states of the rejectionist front are of the opinion that Egypt must renounce the Camp David accords before returning to the Arab ranks. But Egypt persists in not accepting any preconditions for its "just and honorable" return to the Arab League. Syria and other countries believe that that stand is in reality intended to win the Arab countries' recognition of the Camp David accords. Although Klibi, the Secretary General of the Arab League, advocates strengthening ties between Egypt and the Arab countries, his desire that Egypt return to the Arab League in the near future may cause the member countries of the rejectionist front to withdraw and create the danger of causing a new division. In some of them public opinion is that the time is not yet ripe for Egypt to return to the Arab League.

The restoration of relations between Egypt and the Arab countries requires the finding of a common bond and a breakthrough. At present, some Arab countries are seeking a way for the two sides to reach a "least restrictive accord." Saudi Arabia's new Middle East scheme may enable the Arab countries to reach a relatively unanimous agreement. But that will not be easy.

Therefore, the process of reconciliation between Egypt and the Arab countries will continue to be tortuous and complicated.

Israel obviously does not want to see a reconciliation between Egypt and the Arab countries and is thus doing its utmost to sabotage it. It adheres to an expansionist stand with regard to the Palestine question. They have committed crimes in the West Bank and Lebanon. Its objective is to cause Egypt to become stuck in a difficult position. On the eastern front it has not hesitated to adopt a posture which it hopes will sow discord between Egypt and the other Arab countries. An English newspaper stated that because Israel is uneasy toward Mubarak it would like to "place Mubarak before the same kind of submachine gun muzzle that killed Sadat." It secretly derives pleasure from the discord among the Arab countries.

Even though there are still obstacles of one sort or another hindering reconciliation between Egypt and the Arab countries, the tendency that has already emerged is continuing to make progress.

5616
CSO: 4005/1082

MAO'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO MARXIST EPISTEMOLOGY REVIEWED

Harbin BEIFANG LUNCONG [THE NORTHERN FORUM] in Chinese No 4, 4 Jul 82 pp 2-7

[Article by Yu Enzi [0060 1869 3320]: "On Comrade Mao Zedong's Important Contributions to Marxist Epistemology"]

[Text] Marxist epistemology is an important component of Marxist philosophy highly regarded by Comrade Mao Zedong. On the basis of combining the theory of Marxist epistemology with the practice of the Chinese revolution and a summation of practical experiences, Comrade Mao Zedong has developed this theory and made his breakthrough. The main feature of Marxist epistemology is the concrete historical unity of the subjective and the objective, and of knowledge and practice, all with practice as the foundation. Comrade Mao Zedong firmly grasped this feature, enriched and developed Marxist epistemology, and made important contributions to it.

I

By expounding the theories of proceeding from reality, seeking truth from facts, and giving full play to the subjective initiative based on and corresponding with objective realities, Comrade Mao Zedong has enriched the dynamic revolutionary theory of reflection.

Comrade Mao Zedong firmly upheld the materialist theory of reflection, and affirmed that it is a matter that determines consciousness and that consciousness is the reflection of matter. Using this affirmation as the basic premise and starting point of epistemology, he developed in a special way the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin concerning the use of materialism as a means of observing problems. Engels said that in trying to comprehend the real world, people should proceed from "the facts grasped in their own and not in some fantastic interconnection." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 4, p 238) Lenin said: "We must discuss problems by proceeding from facts." ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 7, p 141) Comrade Mao Zedong summarized dialectic materialism and historic materialism as seeking truth from facts. He said: "'Facts' are all the things that exist objectively; 'truth' means their internal relations, that is, the laws governing them; and 'to seek' means to study." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 3, p 759) Seeking truth from facts means proceeding from reality, linking theories with

realities, or combining the universal Marxist theories with the concrete practice in China. Seeking truth from facts is the starting and basic point of Mao Zedong Thought, and this thought was the result of a summation of the experiences of successes and failures in the Chinese revolutionary struggles and the experiences in opposing dogmatism, empiricism, and the mechanical transplanting of the decisions of the Communist International and the experiences of the Soviet Union. Comrade Mao Zedong said: Decide on the work method according to the actual situation; this is the most basic method which all communist party members must bear in mind. Our mistakes, if we study their causes, were all due to the fact that we decided on our work methods subjectively and without taking into account the actual situation. This should be a good lesson for all comrades. He regarded subjectivism in the party as a sign of unhealthy party spirit which must be eliminated. He also pointed out that in order to proceed from reality and seek truth from facts, we must persevere in investigation and study, collect detailed data, and draw correct conclusions from these data under the guidance of the general theories of Marxism-Leninism. Based on the fundamental point of Marxist epistemology, Comrade Mao Zedong raised seeking truth from facts to the plane of epistemology and used it as the party's ideological line and basic work method. In the course of its application, he enriched and developed Marxist epistemology.

In solving the problem of relations between the subjective and the objective and between consciousness and matter, Marxist epistemology recognizes not only the determination of consciousness by matter, but also the reaction through practice of consciousness on matter.

Marx said: "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness." Again, he said: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it." Lenin pointed out: "Men's consciousness not only reflects the objective world, but also creates it." "The world cannot satisfy people, and people are determined to transform it with their own action." ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 38, pp 228, 229) Comrade Mao Zedong paid high tribute to these epistemological views. He said: "For the first time in human history, these scientific formulations correctly solved the problem of the relationship between consciousness and existence, and they are the basic concepts underlying the dynamic revolutionary theory of knowledge as the reflection of reality which was later elaborated so profoundly by Lenin." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 2, p 625)

Comrade Mao Zedong laid particular stress on the role of conscious initiative which are consistent with objective realities. Our party was under fairly difficult conditions while carrying out its prolonged revolutionary struggle. Based on certain objective conditions, it was particularly urgent that we should give full play to dynamic initiative, and that was why Comrade Mao Zedong correctly placed its role in an important position.

Comrade Mao Zedong studied the contradictions between subjectivity and objectivity, and between knowledge and practice as though they are the basic contradictions in the motion of knowledge, and expressed very profound thoughts

in handling their dialectical relationship. After stressing, as preconditions the primary role of matter and the secondary role of consciousness, and affirming that matter determines consciousness, he admitted that under certain conditions, ideas can also produce decisive reaction. When revolutionary movement was impossible in the absence of any revolutionary theory, the creation and propagation of a revolutionary theory should play a decisive role. Similarly, when something had to be done, and there was no principle, method, plan or policy for doing it, then the determination of the principle, method, plan or policy also plays the decisive role. Some people take a negative attitude toward this, because they think that exaggerating the role of dynamic initiative will lead to idealism. On this question, Comrade Mao Zedong explained in these words: "Are we going against materialism when we say this? No. The reason is that while we recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the spiritual and social being determines social consciousness, we also--and indeed must--recognize the reaction of the spiritual on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base. This does not go against materialism; on the contrary, it avoids mechanical materialism and firmly upholds dialectical materialism." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 1, pp 300-301) His analysis of the contradictions according to the interreactions and interchange of positions between subjectivity and objectivity and between theory and practice had indeed some new meaning. The decisive reaction produced by the subjective factor under certain conditions was also dealt with in "On Protracted War," in which he said: War is a test of strength, but in the course of war, strength changes its original form. Here, subjective effort is the decisive factor in winning more battles and making fewer mistakes. Objective factors provide the possibility for this change, but in order to realize this possibility, correct principles and subjective efforts are required. By that time, the subjective role will be decisive.

In handling the relationships between subjectivity and objectivity and between knowledge and practice, Comrade Mao Zedong firmly upheld the ideological line of seeking truth form facts, and stressed the need to develop correctly dynamic initiative on the basis of respecting objective laws. In practical activities, he attached great importance to both scientific analysis and revolutionary fervor in order to combine the "hot" and the "cold." He also stressed the need for subjectivity and objectivity to be carefully matched and for knowledge and practice to be closely combined, all on the basis of practice. Thus, in theory, Comrade Mao Zedong further developed the basic issue of Marxist epistemology; and in practice, applied this theory to China in a way suitable for China's special conditions, thus further enriching the dynamic revolutionary theory of knowledge as the reflection of reality which had been profoundly elaborated by Lenin.

II

On the basis of practice, Comrade Mao Zedong comprehensively and systematically described the sources of knowledge, the motive force in developing knowledge, the criterion of truth, and the purpose and end-result of knowledge, and thereby developed the concept of the primacy of practice in Marxist epistemology.

What is practice? Its connotation was given by Marx in his fight with classic materialism and idealism. He criticized this failing to regard practice as "people's perceptual activities," "objective activities," and "revolutionary and critical activities." Engels said that practice, and industry too, was the most convincing rebuttal to agnosticism and all philosophical fantasies. Commenting on Hegel, Lenin said: "By 'good' is understood man's practice = the demand (1) also of external actuality (2)." ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 38, p 229) None of them provided any definition of practice. Speaking of special human initiative, Comrade Mao Zedong gave a positive definition of practice. He said: "Deeds and actions are the subjective translated into the objective." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 2, p 467) Through the relationship between the subjective and the objective, he showed the implication of practice and affirmed that practice is different from either the spiritual activities that remain stationary in a subjective sphere, or the spontaneous objective activities in the external world, but is rather the conscious and purposeful objective activities carried out under certain ideological guidance to transform realities. Thus the basic feature of practice was revealed. Comrade Mao Zedong also pointed out that this practice was social practice and the revolutionary practice of millions upon millions of people. There is a process of gradual development and gradual improvement for Marxist philosophy, and Comrade Mao Zedong's definition of practice was further development of Marxist epistemology.

Lenin said that the concept of life and practice was the primary and basic concept of Marxist epistemology. As to what concept of practice is the primary concept of epistemology and how it should be interpreted and confirmed, Comrade Mao Zedong had an explicit and systematic answer, which also enriched certain basic thoughts.

First, practice is the source of knowledge. Comrade Mao Zedong described how the objective world and the laws governing it could be reflected in the brain. He said that if anyone wants to know a certain thing or a certain class of things directly, he must personally participate in the practical struggle to change that thing or class of things. He also pointed out that a man's knowledge consists only of two parts, that which comes from direct experience and that which comes from indirect experience. Considered as a whole, knowledge of any kind is inseparable from direct experience. If anyone denies that knowledge comes from direct experience and from personal participation in the practice that changes reality, he is not a materialist. Comrade Mao Zedong made a systematic and scientific summerization of the forms of social practice and their interrelationship, and specifically and profoundly expounded the different positions and roles of various forms of social practice in knowledge. He pointed out that productive activities are the most basic form of activities in practice as well as the basic source of human knowledge. There are many other forms of activities apart from that of production, such as those in class struggle, political life, and scientific and artistic pursuits. Through these activities, we will come to know in varying degrees the various relationships among men. Among these activities, the different forms of class struggle in a class society give people the broadest influence. Comrade Mao Zedong also included scientific

experimentation as one of the basic forms of practice, and recognized it as an important source of knowledge.

Secondly, practice gives an impetus to the development of knowledge. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: Productive activities in the human society develop step by step from a lower to a higher level. Therefore, people's knowledge of nature and society also develops step by step from a lower to a higher level, or from being shallow to being deep and from being one-sided to many-sided, showing that practice is a strong motive force continually pushing knowledge forward. This idea was further clarified in the process of analyzing knowledge.

Thirdly, practice is the criterion for testing truth. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: Marxists hold that only people's social practice can be the criterion of the truth of people's knowledge of the external world, and that the correctness or incorrectness of all knowledge can only be decided by practice. Comrade Mao Zedong treated the testing of truth with practice as a process. Since every historical epoch has its limits, the test with practice cannot be completed all at once. He said: "The history of human knowledge tells us that the truth of many theories is incomplete and that this incompleteness is remedied through the test of practice. Many theories are erroneous and it is through the test of practice that their errors are corrected." Since practice is the criterion of testing truth, Comrade Mao Zedong considered the concept of practice as the primary and basic concept in the theory of knowledge.

Fourthly, practice is the goal of knowledge. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: According to Marxist philosophy, a very important thing is not the knowledge of the laws governing the objective world and the ability to interpret the world, but the use of this knowledge dynamically to transform the world. The goal of knowledge is to transform the world, to guide practice and to serve practice. This also shows practice as the foundation of knowledge.

Comrade Mao Zedong's theories on the implication and forms of practice and the position and role of practice in knowledge have further expounded the Marxist concept of practice, enriched the viewpoint that practice is primary, and contributed to the Marxist theory of knowledge.

III

The dynamic leap on the basis of practice and in the process of knowledge as pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong represents a concrete development in the dialectical path of knowledge and has enriched and developed the theory on the dialectical process of knowledge.

Classic Marxist writers have described the idea that knowledge is a dialectical process. Marx said: "The concrete is concrete because it is the concentration of many determinations; hence unity of the diverse. It appears in the process of thinking, therefore, as a process of concentration, as a result, not as a point of departure, even though it is the point of departure in reality and hence also the point of departure for observation

and conception." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 2,pp 214-215) Knowledge begins in the concreteness of perception and becomes the concreteness of thinking through the abstract. It then goes into the essence of matter. This is the actual process of the development of knowledge. Engels also had this to say on the dialectics of the process of knowledge: "Science climbs from lower to ever higher levels of knowledge." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 4, p 212) Lenin's achievement lay in his concise summerization of the relationship between practice and the process of development in knowledge. He said: "From living perception to abstract thought, and from this to practice--such is the dialectic path of cognition of truth, of the cognition of objective reality." ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 38, p 181) Comrade Mao Zedong personally participated in the practice to transform China and led the CPC and the Chinese people in arduous struggles. Through practice, he came to understand and assimilate the theories on the process of knowledge, and that was why he was able to expound more concretely and comprehensively the thoughts of Marx, Engels and particularly Lenin, and to gain a deeper insight into such thoughts than his contemporary philosophers could.

As to the dialectical relationship between perceptive knowledge and rational knowledge, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: First, rational knowledge depends on perceptual knowledge. As to the sequence in the process of cognition, perceptual experience comes from the objective world, and also from practice. Knowledge comes from practice and begins with experience--this is the materialism of the theory of knowledge. Secondly, perceptual knowledge needs to be developed into rational knowledge. Perceptual knowledge can solve only superficial problems, but rational knowledge can solve essential problems. The true task of knowledge is to arrive at thinking through perception. Knowledge needs to be deepened--this is the dialectic of the theory of knowledge. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: To make a leap from perceptual to rational knowledge, we must first reconstruct the rich data of sense perception, "discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside," and then form a system of theories. If we will look at the development of Marxist philosophy from this angle, we can see that Comrade Mao Zedong has really given a deeper meaning to the theory of the process of developing knowledge, and the application of this theory constituted a new experience.

Comrade Mao Zedong not only analyzed the dynamic leap from perception to rational knowledge, or from knowledge to practice, but also the development from rational knowledge to revolutionary practice, or the dynamic leap from knowledge to practice. He pointed out that this leap was of even greater significance than was the first leap, because only this leap could accomplish the purpose of transforming the world. Only through this leap can we test and develop theories, since this is the continuation of the whole process of knowledge.

After the two leaps from practice to knowledge and knowledge to practice, has the movement of knowledge been completed? To this question, Comrade Mao

Zedong gave a dialectical reply: both yes and no. If through repeated cycles of practice and knowledge people's knowledge of a certain concrete process has united the subjective and the objective, it may be considered completed. However, as far as the progression of the process is concerned, the movement of knowledge has not been completed, since the internal contradictions and struggles of any process continue to develop along with people's movement of knowledge. Thus he carried Lenin's thoughts on the dialectical path of knowledge one more step forward.

In expounding the dialectics of the process of knowledge, Comrade Mao Zedong grasped the basic contradictions in the process of knowledge, namely the contradictions between the subjective and the objective and between knowledge and practice. He pointed out: "Often, correct knowledge can be arrived at only after many repetitions of the process, leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter, that is, leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge, the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge." By closely combining the two sets of contradictions between the subjective and the objective and between knowledge and practice--contradictions which are both related and separated--Comrade Mao Zedong revealed this truth: What the theory of knowledge has to resolve is the contradiction between the subjective and the objective, and this contradiction must be solved through the dialectical movement of knowledge and practice. Comrade Mao Zedong's exposition has thus added more profound and specific substance to the revolutionary theory of reflection.

Comrade Mao Zedong formulated this scientific ruling for the general process of human knowledge: "Practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge. This form repeats itself in endless cycles, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 1, p 273) This summerization has enriched and developed the theory of the continual deepening of knowledge on the foundation of practice and is an important contribution to Marxist epistemology.

IV

Comrade Mao Zedong creatively applied the Marxist epistemology on the work of proletarian political party. He formulated a complete set of scientific methods of leadership, methods of working and methods of thinking, and developed Marxist epistemology in the course of application in practice.

Marxist philosophy is a scientific world outlook, and the use of this scientific outlook to guide the proletarian political power and the broad masses in understanding and transforming the world turns it into scientific methodology. Marx pointed out: "Philosophy uses the proletariat as its material weapon, and similarly, the proletariat uses philosophy as its weapon." ("Selected Works from Marx and Engels" Vol 1, p 14) Engels called materialist dialectics "our best working tool and the sharpest weapon." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 4, p 239) "Marx' philosophy is complete philosophical materialism, which has provided humanity, and especially the working class, with powerful instruments of knowledge."

("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 2, p 443) Following the direction pointed out by Marx, Engels and Lenin, Comrade Mao Zedong led our party and people in the revolutionary struggles, summed up the practical revolutionary experiences, summerized and explained from the plane of epistemology Marxist philosophy as a world outlook as well as the theory of knowledge. He also stressed that philosophy should be liberated from the philosophers' classrooms and books and turned into sharp weapons in the hands of the broad masses. He closely combined the theories of Marxist epistemology with the practical activities of the proletarian political power and the broad masses, and thus made a unique theoretical contribution to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

Comrade Mao Zedong also combined Marxist epistemology with the party's mass line, which he called the Marxist theory of knowledge. He said: In all the practical work of our party, all correct leadership is necessarily "from the masses, to the masses." "From the masses" means that the leaders' knowledge mainly comes from the millions upon millions of people's practice. All the ideas, views, plans and methods of the leadership can only be the reflection of the objective world, and the raw materials or semifinished products can only come from the practice of the broad masses. The leaders should, after study, transform the scattered and unorganized perceptual knowledge into concentrated and systematic ideas, thus elevating it into rational knowledge. "To the masses" means that the leaders change the concentrated ideas into mass ideas and act on them, or use theories to guide the mass activities in practice. Thus they can test and develop the theories in practical activities. Practice, knowledge, again practice; masses, leaders, and again masses in an endless spiral will help make the leaders' knowledge more accurate, more vivid and more enriched. This was the way Comrade Mao Zedong combined Marxist epistemology with the party's mass line, so that the mass line in the method of knowledge becomes the mass line in the leaders' methods. Our mass line came from Lenin, but the theory of mass line was the creative work of Comrade Mao Zedong. It marks a new breakthrough in the development of Marxist epistemology.

While explaining "from the masses and to the masses" as the methods of leadership and work, Comrade Mao Zedong also pointed out the need to adopt the method of combining general calls with specific guidance as a component. This is again the application of Marxist epistemology in revolutionary practice. Comrade Mao Zedong applied Lenin's idea that "opposites (of individual and general) are identical" in analyzing the process of knoweldge, while the combination of individual guidance with a general call was interpreted in terms of the combination of the special process of knowledge with the general dialectics of knowledge.

Marxist epistemology with practice as its special feature stresses the unity of the subjective and the objective as well as theory and practice, all on the foundation of practice. Application of this theory in the proletarian revolutionary cause means combining the universal Marxist truth with the concrete revolutionary practice. Comrade Mao Zedong introduced the unity of theory and practice as the party's ideological line and the party's work style and study style. He analyzed the roots of leftist and rightist errors

in the party and the revolutionary ranks from the plane of epistemology, and pointed out: "Idealism and mechanical materialism, opportunism and adventurism, are all characterized by the breach between the subjective and the objective, by the separation of knowledge from practice. The Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge, characterized as it is by scientific social practice, cannot but resolutely oppose these wrong ideologies." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 1, p 272) The feature of leftist opportunism is that "leftists'" thinking outstrips a given stage of development of the objective process; some regard their fantasies as truth, while others strain to realize in the present an ideal which can only be realized in the future. They alienate themselves from the current practice of the majority of the people and from the realities of the day, and show themselves as adventurists in action. The feature of rightist opportunism is that people's thinking cannot keep pace with the changes in objective conditions, and can only remain stationary at the old stage. In action, these people show themselves as conservatives. On the basis of such an analysis, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Our conclusion is the concrete, historical unity of the subjective and the objective, of theory and practice, of knowing and doing, and we are opposed to all erroneous ideologies, whether 'leftist' or 'rightist' which depart from concrete history." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 1, p 272) The use of Marxist epistemology in analyzing various erroneous opportunist ideologies, and the use of the concrete, historical unity of the subjective and the objective and of theory and practice to arm the whole party, and to set right the ideological line have developed Marxist epistemology and are of great significance in the party's ideological building. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that at the present stage of social development, the duty to understand correctly and transform the world has been entrusted by history to the proletariat and its political party; thus expounding the dialectical relationship between understanding and transforming the world, and its great significance. He said: "Education in dialectical materialism should be conducted among our comrades so as to set right their thinking so that they will be good at investigations and study, summing up their experiences, overcoming difficulties, minimizing mistakes, improving their work, struggling hard and building a great and strong socialist country. They will also help the oppressed and exploited peoples in the world and complete our great international duty." Comrade Mao Zedong attached great importance to Marxist epistemology as a sharp weapon in knowing and transforming the world.

Although Comrade Mao Zedong made great contributions to Marxist epistemology, we must also be aware of his mistakes in knowledge and practice in his later years. The causes of his mistakes, in terms of epistemology, were the separation between the subjective and the objective, and the dislocation between knowledge and practice. His mistakes in later years were precisely a violation of the theories of Marxist epistemology, which he had expounded, and the basic tenets of Mao Zedong Thought. Here, we must separate Mao Zedong Thought, which has become a scientific theory long tested by history, and his mistakes in later years. Mao Zedong Thought is a precious spiritual wealth of our party, and the theory of knowledge which Comrade Mao Zedong correctly expounded and developed is a component of Mao Zedong Thought. We must carefully study and master Marxist epistemology and Comrade Mao Zedong's correct ideas and use them to guide ourselves in studying the new conditions in the practice of socialist construction and in solving new problems.

9411
CSO: 4005/1159

PARTY AND STATE

FAVORITISM IN GRANTING PROMOTIONS CRITICIZED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "A Handful of Individuals in Provincial Seismological Bureau Engage in Favoritism in Promoting High Level Technical Personnel"]

[Text] During the first assessments and recommendations for promoting high ranking technical personnel in the provincial Seismological Bureau there were a few people who brazenly violated party policies and regulations. They unscrupulously practiced favoritism and corruption. They squeezed the names of those who were obviously not qualified as well as their own names onto the list of promotions to associate researcher. This provoked strong dissatisfaction among the broad masses of scientific and technical personnel. Recently, after ascertaining conditions, the leading comrade of the provincial Science Commission severely criticized this unsound practice and called on the bureau's party organization to strictly and conscientiously deal with this incident.

The provincial Seismological Bureau is an agency under provincial control. The job of promoting technical personnel should be handled by the province's management department for scientific and technical cadres. In January of last year, cadres in the bureau's Office of Planning and Scientific Research who pursued private ends such as Chen Jiachao [7115 0159 6389] and several others violated the organizational laws of the evaluation committee regarding the promotion of high level technical personnel. Without any discussion by the bureau's party organization and without the approval of higher authorities they made up a list of members of the bureau's evaluation committee. They single handedly took on the job of assessing and recommending high level technical personnel. Among the 13 members of this evaluation committee, there were only 3 associate researchers and no specialists in the field. Furthermore, six of them had rated themselves for promotion to associate researcher. Chen Jiachao, an assistant researcher, was the secretary of the evaluation committee and everything passed through his hands. He assessed himself for promotion to associate researcher and without authorization "appointed troops." He determined the closing date for entering a list of names for examination and for submitting papers. He also assessed and reviewed materials to be sent to specialists in the field for evaluation. Thus, the 13 people in the bureau who participated in this assessment for promotion to associate researcher did not go through an evaluation and investigation by the basic level units nor did thye arrange for the promotion

candidates to write essays or work reports in their units. They heard many complaints from the masses. As a result, certain people who obviously were not qualified for promotion were put on promotion lists. Moreover, it created difficulties for those who were qualified to participate in assessments.

In order to attain his goal of being promoted to associate researcher, Chen Jiachao unscrupulously resorted to deception and made use of the power of his position to engage in malpractices for selfish ends. Without the consent of the organization he sent assessment materials as he pleased to people he had handpicked for evaluation. He sent the data on other people to only 3 or 4 specialists for evaluation while he sent his own paper to more than 10 people. What's worse, he secretly deleted and destroyed remarks written by specialists that would be detrimental to his promotion. For example, a certain professor at Zhongshan College checked over the second and fifth section of his essay "Essentials of Chinese Tectonics" which he had submitted for assessment, and pointed out that the concepts and conclusions in the paper had been plagiarized from the works of others. When Chen read this comment he immediately deleted it. In order to break away from the leadership and supervision of the province's management department and in an attempt to get by under false pretenses, he tore out six pages of the article issued by the management department on setting up a special assessment and evaluation group in the bureau and sent it to the leaders in the bureau to read. In order to supress others and build up himself, he falsely attacked scientific and technical personnel who were well educated and dedicated. In October of last year, the bureau convened a recommendation meeting. Prior to the meeting most members of the evaluation committee did not know whose names had been submitted nor had they seen the technical work report papers of those who were entered for examination. At the meeting someone suggested first reading the materials and then making recommendations. Chen Jiachao, seeking to obtain quickly the recommendation of these 13 people falsely alleged that his materials had already been submitted. Because they met with the resistance of the majority of the people, the conference had no choice but to decide to first have three associate researchers review the situation.

Scientific and technical personnel were extremely upset with this evil practice of favoritism and they made this known to the leadership in the bureau. In January of this year, the party organization of the provincial Seismological Bureau convened and enlarged conference. After hearing the reports of the three associate researchers they decided that the Office for Planning and Scientific Research should promptly transfer the handling of promotions to the political office. Furthermore, after the special assessment and evaluation group composed of three associate researchers and four specialists in the field invited in from other units reported to the provincial government for approval they took charge of the job of making evaluations and recommendations. However, Chen Jiachao and others overturned the decision of the party organization and continued to control the assessment work of these 13 people. After Chen was criticized by the bureau's party organization, he still refused to hand over the job. He bypassed the provincial evaluation committee for scientific research personnel and technical personnel. On 18 March he hurriedly reported to the State

Seismological Bureau on the evaluation material of these 13 people. It was only due to the strict checks of the State Seismological Bureau and the timely retrieval of these materials that the scheme of Chen and the others did not succeed.

In 1980, when Chen Jiachao was promoted to a mid-level technical position, he had already been engaging in large-scale unhealthy practices. His wife, a specialized graduate of Wuhan Physical Training College who was not qualified as an engineer, was promoted to a position of engineer. In January of last year, based on the related State Council regulations, the provincial bureau for scientific and technical leadership demanded that the Seismological Bureau reexamine engineers and assistant researchers who during the past 2 years had been reviewed for promotion by the office in charge of the transfer of capital funds. After undergoing checks by the higher authorities, certificates were issued by the provincial bureau for scientific and technical leadership. Chen once more curried favor high and low for personel gain. Through fraudulent means he obtained the authority to carry out reexaminations so that reexaminations which basically disregarded regulations were endorsed. The masses were very critical of this. Chen racked his brains to find a way to break away from the provincial bureau for scientific and technical leadership. He sent someone to Beijing to deceive the State Seismological Bureau. He "borrowed" certificates without having either the uniform number for the provincial certificates nor an attached photograph and seal. He then proceeded to issue them to everyone without authorization. His attempts were successful. Recently, scientific and technical personnel in the bureau reported to higher authorities and asked how a minor official like Chen Jiachao could have such great power and authority. It is hoped at least that high level leading agencies will help in clarifying problems having to do with the biases of the leadership in that bureau and that they will deal strictly with schemes for private gain that have arisen in the granting of promotions to technical positions. The leadership in the bureau should also draw a lesson from these experiences and improve leadership work.

9864
CSO: 4005/1161

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

DEPUTY COMMANDER GIVES VIEWS ON VOLUNTARY RETIREMENT

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Yang Xianhou [2799 0341 0624] and Li Jicheng [2621 0679 2052]: "A General's Point of View"]

[Text] On one beautiful moonlit evening, we called on Comrade Ou Zhifu [2962 5268 1381], deputy commander of Guangzhou units. Not long ago, this general who had devoted half a ceutnry of hard work to the revolution wrote a request for resignation to the party organization. He expressed the following wish: "In order that our military cadres become more revolutionary, younger, more knowledgeable and more specialized, I have decided to request that the party organization approve my resignation." We began our discussion with his voluntary request to resign from his position of leadership.

At 67 years of age, Comrade Ou Zhifu is full of vigor and cheerful. After inviting us to be seated, he gestured with his hands and, coming straight to the point, he said: "The party Central Committee has handed down a great resolution for reforming the state system, streamlining administrative structure and resolving the problem of the 'aging' of cadres. This is a brilliant policy that coincides with the will of the party and the wishes of the people. It also represents the wishes of us older comrades." He went on movingly to describe his own experiences. In October of 1929, [as published], just as the flames of revolution were raging on the banks of the Auo Jiang and the You Jiang in Guangxi, he was born into an impoverished family of the Zhuang nationality. At 15 years old, Ou Zhifu joined the peasants Red Guard and soon became a soldier in the 7th Red Army. During the war years of intense fighting, he braved untold dangers and fought courageously. He was wounded three times and a shell fragment still remains in his body today. Following liberation, Comrade Ou Zhifu kept up that burst of energy from the war years and continued to work conscientiously. He was elected as a delegate to the party's 8th, 9th and 11th NPC. During the counterattack of self-defense against Vietnam, in spite of his advanced age and weakened condition, he proceeded, for 30 days and nights, to advance in an armored car and climbed mountains and forded streams with the aid of a stick. He went personally to the frontlines to direct the struggle. After hearing these moving recollections, we couldn't help be filled with profound respect: "The old general is truly as brave as he was in the early days!"

"No," Comrade Ou Zhifu shook his head: "The present cannot be compared to the past. I am no longer of much use." "Why do you say that?" He pointed at his gray temples and said with some humor: "As you can see I am rapidly turning into a 'hoary-headed old man'! At my advanced age I cannot be as brave as I would like to be!" He continued with much emotion: "Birth, age, illness, death and the supersedure of the old by the new are all the inevitable laws of nature. No one can live forever. Anyone can have great abilities or great talents but he can only play a role within a fixed period of history. Carrying out the goals of comminism can be compared to a relay race, the strength of many replacements is required. The resignation of the old and the participation of the new involves only two words--'to resign' and 'to participate' yet their weight cannot be measured. If the new and the old do not cooperate and do not promptly replace each other, the revolutionary cause will be suspended. There must not be any misunderstanding or vacillation among veteran cadres regarding this important matter. It affects the rise or decline of our party and state. At present, the old must cede to the new and the new must take over. There can be no delay. Every veteran cadre should take charge of the revolution and consider future generations. We should ahppily and willingly resign from leading positions so that young cadres can quickly reach maturity."

The conversation turned toward young people. Comrade Ou Zhifu's eyes suddenly sparkled and the more he spoke the more excited he got. He cited his experiences of being regimental commander at 23 years old and division commander at 29 years old and said: "Some people are anxious about young cadres, they say delicate bamboo shoulder poles cannot stand up to the pressure. This is a common view. Everyone grows from young to old and from inexperience to relative maturity! If you stumble and fall you pick yourself up. What is so amazing about that? The standard of young people at the present time is much higher than during the early years. Only by boldly teaching them courage and training and building up a large group of young cadres can units remain young and vigorous and be competitive. As for old fellows like us, by tomorrow we will have forgotten the book we read today so how can we meet requirements in the fast changing struggle for modernization? In the war years there were many touching examples of grizzled old squad leaders who helped out 'inexperienced' company commanders by offering advice in fighting successful battles. You must not think this is all from books or movies, this is what we actually experienced firsthand. At that time we did not 'consider qualifications and arrange ranks according to seniority' nor must we do that today. Old cadres should welcome the attempt of young people to catch up and surpass them. This is an old tradition of our armed forces. We must all follow this custom." At this point Comrade Ou Zhifu stopped for a while and with a smile counted off on his fingers the outstanding young cadres in units under his command. There is division commander so and so who is in his prime. Although he has not been on duty for very long, he has nevertheless organized and commanded the unit in an orderly manner. He is truly of fine "material." Then there is a certain division political commissar. You must not think of him as a youth. Whatever burden you place on his shoulders he will always do a good job... He cited one example after another. His wrinkeled face was brimming with irrepressible joy. It is true, for a senior cadre, what greater happiness can there be than to see successors who are capable of carrying on the revolutionary cause!

"There are those who say that when senior cadres retire they have no position or power. How do you feel about this problem?" Comrade Ou Zhifu did not immediately answer our question. Rather, he first talked about an event that was still fresh in his memory. It was during the time of the Long March when we crossed Jiajinshan. The soldier Huang Zhicheng [7806 1807 2052] was sick and steadily deteriorating. In addition, it was cold and the ground was freezing. For several days grain and rice had not gotten through. He was faint from hunger. At that time Ou Zhifu held the post of special agent of the regiment. When he went to assist him, Huang said with much effort: "Don't worry about me, you had better leave. We must keep up the struggle until the final victory." He then died a martyr's death. Upon remembering this, Comrade Ou Zhifu "suddenly" stood up. He waid with feeling: "How many comrades dedicated their lives for the liberation of the Chinese people! The names of many of them as well as those in charge are not even known. Today the new long march toward the four modernizations has just begun. As for those of us who are fortunate enough to have survived, if we try to determine the price and weight in terms of authority of office, would not this be in the worst taste and a typical case of individualism? If we do this and later shut our eyes and stretch our legs, how will we see the revolutionary martyrs and Marx?" After Comrade Ou Zhifu talked about how he reached Yenan on the Long March, he discussed his experience of changing from regimental commander to deputy battalion commander during the reduction and reorgainzation of troops. He also read to us the few sentences he had written in his resignation letter: "From the day I joined the party I resolved to fight to the end to achieve the goals of communism. How are we to understand the phrase 'to the end'? I believe it means to be ready to work both at the top or at the grassroots level as well as to resign. It means to act like an 'abacus bead' which is moved about in serving the party and to devote one's life to doing good deeds for the people. This is not only a requirement of the revolution, it is also a longstanding tradition of our party. However, if one seeks to remain on the job all one's life and to remain an official to the end of one's days, that would be a great mistake." "Whether one shows no consideration for the general interest and remains on the job or whether one resigns from revolutionary responsibility of one's own accord is a rigorous test of the party spirit of senior cadres. When faced with this test we should be objective while considering the future and the overall situation. We must be practical and go beyond the individual. We must give top priority to the interests of the people, being with the overall situation and be realistic."

After hearing these moving words, we felt as if we had seen the sincere and fervent revolutionary spirit of an old soldier and an old party member. We then asked him to talk about the resignation of senior cadres and how they can make further contributions to the revolution. With much sincerity and earnestness, Comrade Ou Zhifu said that contributing to the revolution means considering the overall situation, understanding cardinal principles and serving the needs of the party's undertaking in every way. There is no justification for the idea that one can only make a contribution to the revolution by remaining on the job and that one can't contribute to the revolution if one doesn't remain at one's post. As he spoke he handed two diaries and a large letter pouch to us. Upon opening them up for a look we

saw that in the diaries he had recorded his personal experiences since joining the revolution. The diaries were filled with small and closely written characters. They contained as many as 30,000 characters. The letter pouch was filled with a 10 chapter manuscript of his memoirs. He had written this during the past few years when he had a few moments. Some of it had already been published and some was undergoing further revision. Comrade Ou Zhifu said that old fellows like himself who had grown up in the army had all gained some experiences and lessons in how to fight a battle or how to lead troops. Wouldn't it also be a contribution to the revolution to sum up all of this to hand over to the next generation? When he decided to retire he made good use of the time in his remaining years promptly to write his memoirs and his experiences in the establishment of units as a contribution to the next generation.

The interview came to a close. On the raod back it took a long time for us to calm down. The general spoke so wisely: "Take charge of the revolution and consider later generattions," "act like an 'abacus bead' that is moved about in serving the party and devote one's life to doing good deeds for the people." What lofty ideals and what breadth of vision!

9864
CSO: 4005/1166

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'YANCHENG WANBAO' ON GUANGZHOU PLA SUCCESSES

HK090552 Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 7 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Li Jun [2621 6511] of Guangzhou PLA units: "Taking New Strides in the New Historical Period--Major Achievements in Military and Political Building of Guanzhou PLA Units Since Third Plenary Session"]

[Text] At a time when the victorious convening of the 12th CPC National Congress is being celebrated, the commanders and fighters of the Guangzhou PLA units are happy to see that, in common with whole army, their units have achieved great progress in the building of a regularized and modernized revolutionary army since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, and especially since Comrade Deng Xiaoping has been in charge of the military commission of the Central Committee. As Comrade Hu Yaobang has pointed out in his report to the 12th party congress: "The PLA has achieved conspicuous success in strengthening military training and political and ideological work, in improving the relations between army and government and between army and people, in safeguarding the borders, in securing the safety of our country and in participating in socialist construction. The political and military qualities of the army have been further upgraded in the new historical conditions."

The Guangzhou PLA units are stationed at the great southern gate of our country. They have to bear the sacred responsibility of safeguarding the border or our socialist motherland, and in addition, they must withstand severe tests in the struggle against the corrosive force of capitalist ideology. Practice in these years has proved that they are the vanguards in the construction of socialist spiritual civilization. They have proved themselves to be the most loved of the new generation.

In the spring of 1979, under the correct guidance of the Central Committee and the encouragement of the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, the Guangzhou PLA units won great victories in the self-defense counterattack against Vietnam. They showed the prowess of our army and our country in their punishment of Vietnamese regional hegemonism. In the past few years, the units stationed at the outposts of frontier, coastal and mountain defense have been in a high degree of alertness. They have strengthened the construction of border defense and army-civilian joint defense

and have followed closely the movements of the enemy. The unit at Fakashan Mountain on the Guangxi frontier defenses have determinedly counterattacked the armed provocations and harassing attacks of the Vietnamese invaders under extreme adverse conditions and hardships. They have secured the safety of the people's property and the safety of the sacred territory of our motherland. Twelve individuals and units, such as the "heroic battalion of Fakashan" and the "heroic company that stands fast" were given honor titles by the military commission of the Central Committee and the party committtee of the Guangzhou PLA units. Many other cadres and fighers rendered outstanding services. They have won awards and also the hearts of the masses.

All levels of leadership have placed training in combat readiness in a strategic position. They have seriously studied the characteristics of future wars and reformed contents and methods of training which failed to meet the requirements of actual combat, so as to make the training better suited to its purposes. Through methods like collective training, they have strengthened the training of cadres and commanders. They have also strengthened training in tactics and coordination. There has been obvious improvement in all the cadres' ability to organize command in coordinated combat and in their level of understanding of military theories. All units have strengthened formation training in accordance with the demands of regularization, and their sense of organization and discipline has been further strengthened. The basic reason for the notable achievements in military training is that the principle put forward by plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee on seeking truth from facts has been seriously followed. In addition, it is also the result of the reforms in training which stress the demands of actual combat.

The building of socialist spiritual civilization is the basic guarantee and an important content of the building of modernization. It is the basic guarantee and an important content of building a modern, regular and revolutionary army, and is also the basic guarantee and important content of upgrading the combat strength of the army. Guangzhou PLA units have taken the establishment of communist ideology as the core and taken the "four haves three stresses, two fear nots" (to have ideals, good morality, knowledge and good health) stress the army's standard of appearance and bearing, good manners, and good discipline; and fear neither hardships nor bloodshed and sacrifice as the Mai [word indistinct] models, and from advanced individuals and units in establishing a new spirit and in developing the building of socialist spiritual civilization. The history of the decades of growth of our army and the victory in the counterattack against Vietnam in self-defense have proven that high level of spiritual civilization is the source of our army's combat strength, and the magic weapon with which we conquer our enemy. The activities to build socialist spiritual civilization have been fruits in our army and brought about a new situation in the army: the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is more comprehensive and deep, there is new and encouraging progress in moral trends, ways of doing things and discipline, and thousands of advanced units and advanced individuals who participate in socialist construction have come to the force. Many advanced models have gained honor titles conferred by the military commission of the Central Committee and the party committee of the Guangzhou PLA units. There are persons who love the border area, persons who welcome hardship, and persons who do not hesitate to sacrifice their lives; there is the

"exemplary company of the frontier outpost" which has smashed the assaults and harassing attacks of the enemy many times; there is the noble "good second company on duty at coastal defense," which stands firm by the side of "the window through which the South wind comes;" there is the heroic scout You Zhiqiang and the "Lei Feng style warrior" Li Jinbo and so on. Influenced and led along by such advanced models, a new situation of learning from the advanced, overtaking the advanced and creating the advanced has formed. The mass of young fighters are "willing to shed blood and sweat so as to let their youthfulness give light," and they are "willing to bear hardships so as to bring happiness to millions of families." A generation of new socialist men is growing. They have lofty ideas, they have morality, they are civilized and they have good discipline.

Since the beginning of this year, all units have promoted patriotic education in "ardently loving the country and the army" on a grand scale so as to push forward the building of socialist spiritual civilization. They have further strengthened the sense of honor and of responsibility of the cadres and fighters. The ideas that "the interests of the country are above everything" and that "it is the highest honor to serve the people" have become more clear. The problems of for whom to be a soldier and for whom to fight a battle have been better solved. The patriotic consciousness of the cadres warriors fighters has been enhanced. They are thus willing to dedicate their youth to safeguarding and building the great cause of the four modernizations.

The people's army comes from the people and works for the people. To serve the people wholeheartedly is the basic principle of this army. In the past few years, the commanders and soldiers of the Guangzhou PLA units have promoted the glorious tradition of supporting the government and cherishing the people. They have regarded supporting industrial and agricultural production and engaging in public welfare as the practice action to develop the new situation of the construction of the four modernizations. They are continuously composing new chapters in cherishing the people. They have forged closer army-government and army-people relations. According to incomplete statistics of 1981 and the first half of this year alone, the units have dispatched more than 58,000 vehicles and machines and spent more than 2 million working days to support local construction and emergency relief work. The commanders and fighters take Comrade Lei Feng as their model. They go into society to do good deeds for the people where units are stationed. They are to first to take part in planting trees, repairing roads and bridges, and cleaning the streets. They build civilized villages and civilized neighborhoods with the people. They bring the new practice of "the five stresses and four beauties" to the towns and the countryside. When the people are endangered by natural disasters, the commanders and fighters are always eager to deal with the emergency and to save people from danger. They dash ahead in disregard of their own safety to save state property and the lives and property of the people. In May and June this year, torrential rains hit Shaoguan and Zhaoqing prefectures of Guangdong and the counties and towns around Dongting Lake. The floods became disastrous. Fields were flooded and railway service stopped. Hundreds of thousands of people were surrounded by floods on all sides. The navy and air force units stationed in Guangdong and Hunan immediately dispatched more than 5,000 personnel and a large fleet of vessels to the flooded area at full speed. They fought bravely to save the people and the embankments. They repaired the

railroad and helped the people of the flooded areas resume production. When they were in action to fight against the flood, the cadres and fighters were not afraid of hardships, and the spirit of saving the people in danger regardless of one's own safety could be seen everywhere. When there was a dangerous situation at the third section of the main embankment of the Beijiang River, the third company of a certain unit rushed to the scene. More than 50 cadres and fighters jumped into the turbulent current and stood hand-in-hand in the water to form a wall of flesh and blood. They used their bodies to block the current, and succeeded in gaining time for the repair team. Many people praised the army with warm tears: "They are not afraid of bloodshed in battle, they pay no attention to their own safety in dealing with an emergency; the CPC-led PLA is excellent."

The new achievements of the Guangzhou PLA units in all aspects are the results of firmly practicing the line, principles and policies adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The commanders fighters are determined to thoroughly study and carry out the documents and resolutions of the 12th party congress. They are determined to further enhance their communist consciousness and to confirm their faith in communism. They are determined to promote the communist spirit and to try very hard to accomplish the glorious tasks assigned to our army by the 12th party congress. They are determined to create a new situation in building a modern, regular, and revolutionary army.

CSO: 4005/1324

BRIEFS

HEILONGJIANG MILITIA MEETING--The Harbin on-the-spot meeting on the militia (?ground artillery) construction [min bing di pao jian she] sponsored by the provincial military district concluded today. The meeting called for efforts to create a new situation for our province's militia ground artillery construction and develop new conditions for the province's militia work. In the militia ground artillery construction, Harbin has proceeded from the characteristics of cities and has been bold in creation and practice. It solved the problems in the contents of training, the training materials and methods and the standards for evaluation within a comparatively short period of time and has achieved a fairly good result in the militia ground artillery construction. The Harbin Municipal CPC Committee and military sub-district, the Harbin Flax Mill and six other units introduced their experiences in strengthening the militia ground artillery construction. (Zhao Xianmin), deputy political commissar of the provincial military district, spoke at the meeting. The meeting noted: The militia ground artillery is an important component part of the militia structure, a key force in future antiaggression wars. It is imperative to successfully organize, manage, educate and train this contingent and raise our province's militia ground artillery construction to a new level. Participants in the meeting watched demonstrations of Harbin's militia ground artillery training and of the methods of training. They visited an exhibit on innovations in training equipment, and some units' militia weaponry warehouses and management of equipment. [Text] [SK111050 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 10 Sep 82]

CSO: 4005/1324

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON INTELLECTUAL PARTY MEMBERS

HK112349 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 82 p 2

[Commentator's article: "Pay Attention to Recruiting Party Members From Among Intellectuals"]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, people have paid attention to the recruitment of party members from among the intellectuals. The proportion of professionals and technical personnel among the newly-recruited party members is increasing every year. This is a good phenomenon. But of the nearly 40 million party members of the whole country, only 15.8 percent have a cultural level of senior high school education. Even fewer possess modern professional and technical knowledge. A number of intellectuals who have received long-term training and satisfy the requirements of membership are still not admitted into the party for various reasons. This situation falls short of the demands put forward on the construction of party organizations in the building of socialist modernization. We should change the situation in a planned and step-by-step manner.

Grasp Correctly the Requirements of Membership

Like the peasants and workers, the intellectuals are one of the forces on which the socialist cause depends. In recruiting party members from among the intellectuals, we should also grasp the same requirements of membership and strictly follow the party constitution. It goes without saying that this should be the case. But the actual situation is quite different. In a business unit in Jiujiang Prefecture of Jiangxi, 27 technical cadres at or above the grade of engineer applied for membership. Some of them satisfied the requirements of membership, but their applications failed. Some workers acquired membership more easily.

There are some intellectuals who have been working for 20 or 30 years and have been asking for party membership for 10 or 20 years. In the past, the party organizations said that they had to be tested, but the test is still going on. This is something quite common in all parts of the country. There is one thing which deserves our special attention: there are comrades whose

performances have been persistently good and they urgently ask for membership, but the problem is still not solved. They are not permitted membership until they are seriously ill or their condition becomes critical. Some are even recognized as posthumous members by the organization. All these phenomena serve to tell us that there is the problem of setting too harsh demands in admitting intellectuals into the party. We have not been fair in following the requirements of membership as provided in the party constitution. The main reason is that the comrades in charge of party or organizational affairs in the local party organizations have failed to shake off the influence of "leftist" ideology and harbor a certain prejudice in dealing with intellectuals.

We have to admit that intellectuals, especially intellectuals of middle and old ages, have special situations different from those of the peasants and workers. For instance, there are comrades who are not from the families of laboring people, there are some whose social relations are relatively complicated and there are some who have certain individual historical problems. During the war, class struggle was acute. Besides, our party had not acquired national political power at that time. It was then quite impossible for us to understand completely the family, the social relations and the political history of some people. As a result, strict regulations were imposed on the admission of comrades into the party. That was necessary then. But there have been fundamental changes in the circumstances and in the position our party occupies. We have gradually clarified the political and historical conditions of certain people. As a result, certain strict regulations were duly modified in the Eighth CPC National Congress. More than 20 years have elapsed since the 8th CPC National Congress, and most old and middle-aged intellectuals have seen profound changes in their political position and ideological consciousness. Under such circumstances, in dealing with their application for membership, we should naturally be more serious in following the three principles of our party: judge the family background from the person; judge his social relations from his influence; judge his history from his actual performance. As long as they satisfy the requirements as provided in the party constitution, we should admit them into the party as warmly as we admit the worker and peasant comrades. There are some other intellectuals who integrate their dedication to the communist cause with love of science, research in technology and promotion of their expertise. They have no desire for wealth and fame, and they work hard. Thus, the time they devote to the study of Marxism-Leninism and to participating in social activities is relatively less. This is understandable. It is unfair to confuse such an attitude with "having no concern for politics" and "being expert but not red." Some intellectuals were wronged and tortured for a long time, but they did not waver toward the party and the state and in their faith in the communist cause. They continued their specialized research under adverse conditions. Finally, they were rehabilitated and the maltreatment of them was corrected. They still regarded the status of being a communist as their ultimate political destination. How can we not be concerned about and fail to cherish their political activism? How can we persistently seize upon the so-called problems of the past and refuse to admit them into the party? There are also some intellectuals who have formed living and working

habits different from those of the ordinary workers in the political organs of the party because of the characteristics of their profession and the influence of their living environment. We must specifically analyze these habits. We cannot indiscriminately term these habits as the "foul smell of intellectuals." Intellectuals have weaknesses and shortcomings too. It is absolutely necessary to point out these weaknesses and shortcomings and warmly help them to overcome them in considering their application for membership. But if we overemphasize these things which are not intrinsic or essential and make these the rationale for the refusal of their admittance, that is not quite proper.

To emphasize that the question of admitting intellectuals into our party be considered realistically absolutely does not mean lowering the requirements of admission, but reminding certain comrades to pay attention to the methods of thinking so as to further facilitate the elimination of discrimination against intellectuals, which has existed for a long time and which reached its climax during the "Great Cultural Revolution." It is also to facilitate the firm upholding of the principles of our party and the correct grasping of the requirements of admission into our party. If it happens that there is the practice of laying too much emphasis on technical skill and professional knowledge, of considering fame only regardless of the applicant's political consciousness, ideology, conduct and work performance, or of appointment by individual leaders regardless of whether the person has asked for membership or not, so that persons who fail to satisfy the requirements of admission are dragged into the party unwillingly, then, such practices must be corrected.

Clarify the Points of Emphasis in Recruiting Party Members From Among the Intellectuals

At present, in recruiting members from among the intellectuals, we should emphasize recruiting those middle-aged comrades who possess higher political quality, technical skill and professional knowledge.

There are more than 8.3 million professional and technical comrades of various types in our country, and over 60 percent of them are middle-aged. The proportion of middle-aged intellectuals is even greater in the interprises and other establishments at the grassroots level. Most of these comrades have matured since the founding of the state. They have received long-term training, education and trial. They have mastered a greater amount of professional knowledge. In addition, they have rich experiences in practice. They are now working on all fronts, especially in the technical and professional fields of economic activities, teaching and scientific research. They are responsible for most of the arduous tasks. They are the mainstays. Although their working conditions are bad, income low, and burden of daily life heavy, many comrades still have in their mind the great cause of the "four modernizations." They work hard regardless of personal gains and losses, blame and hardships. Many of them are activists who have more than

once asked to be admitted into the party. They possess or basically possess the requirements of membership. To pay attention to stepping up the recruitment of party members from among these comrades is not only the requirement of the construction of the socialist cause and the requirement of the building of the party itself in the new period, it also satisfies the demands of the mass of intellectuals to advance too.

A few years ago, in all parts of the country, more attention was paid to recruiting members from among the old intellectuals who had fame and had undergone long-term trial. This is correct, and we should continue to do this in the future. But, in some parts of the country, the emphasis of work in recruiting members from among the intellectuals has not been placed on recruiting middle-aged intellectuals. As a result, the proportion of party members from among the middle-aged intellectuals in many parts of the country is obviously lower than that of members from among old and young intellectuals. There is of course a historical reason for that. But it is also inseparably bound up with neglecting to recruit members from among the middle-aged intellectuals in the past few years. For the great cause of carrying on from the past and paving the way for the future, the organizations of the party, especially in the units and departments where there is a concentration of intellectuals, should take measures to strengthen the work of examining and understanding middle-aged intellectuals. They should contact and talk to them more often, and help them become advanced. Party committee and branches at grsssroots levels should individually handle the name-lists and the relevant conditions of the applicants for membership. There should be a clear division of labor. Nurturing and education should be strengthened. As a result of all these, comrades who can meet the requirements of membership can be absorbed into the party in an active and planned manner through effective work and in accordance with the stipulations provided in the party constitution.

Strengthen the Nurturing and Education of the Young Intellectuals Before They Are Admitted

To demand that the emphasis of work in recruiting intellectual party members be placed on the middle-aged intellectuals does not mean that the demands of the young intellectuals to be admitted can be ignored. Nor does it mean that nurturing and education of them need not be strengthened and that even those who can meet the requirements will not be absorbed into the party.

Young people are a dependable shock force in the construction of socialist modernization. They are the hope of our country and our nation for becoming flourishing and prosperous. Youth, and especially the work of party building among the young intellectuals, cannot be ignored in the strengthening of party building in the historical period of carrying on from the past and paving the way for the future. But we should see that, because of the influence of the 10 years of internal disorder, there has been a lack of education in basic

knowledge of the party for young people. Now it is extremely necessary to give them a supplementary lesson on "strengthening the mastery of proletarian party spirit and being members of the Communist Party in reality as well as in name." Not long ago, there were various views among some young people regarding the question of being a member of the party. There were many reasons for that, the chief one being that our work failed to keep pace. Since the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has achieved many notable good deeds for the people. In addition, political and ideological work has been strengthened. As a result, many young people have begun to look at the party properly and the number of applicants for membership has greatly increased. Since last year, more than 90 extracurricular study groups organized by the students of Qunghua University have come to the fore. By the end of June this year, over 1,000 students had presented their applications to the party organization and 170 of them had been admitted. This fact proves that the great cause of our party can certainly attract young people to its side and that young people are always willing to advance with our party. As long as the party organization is good at guidance, and vigorously, strengthens the nurturing and education of the young people before their admittance, it will gather strong reserve power around our party, and the quality and quantity of recruiting new party members will be adequately ensured.

Now, there are 1.28 million students in institutes of higher education, and only 3.8 percent of them are party members. When the 1977 and 1978 classes graduate, the proportion of party members among university students will become smaller. This proportion is even smaller than that before the liberation, when some universities were operating underground. This deserves the attention of all levels of party organizations. Institutes of higher education have to train experts for the country and train qualified members of the Communist Party from the university students so as to provide red and expert mainstays for all fronts. This is an extremely glorious task for the school party organizations. Thus, party organizations of all institutes of higher education should put this in an important place on their agenda, make practical plans and seriously carry them out. In general, in the first 2 years after the students enter the institutes, they must be given political and ideological education so as to improve their understanding of the party. Besides, we have to discover activists on the basis of comprehensive observation, and absorb the outstanding ones into the party. In the last 2 years, we can recruit more students who satisfy the requirements of admission as party members, on condition that the quality and quantity of the members are ensured. Of course, the above demands must be based on a sound foundation of work. Only when there is high-quality work can plenty of high-quality party members be produced. While the building of party committees of institutes of higher education is being strengthened in all parts of the country, we should at the same time pay attention to the training of political guides and party affairs worker comrades the school and faculty levels. [as printed] We should help them learn the basic theory of party

guiding. We should help them correctly understand and grasp the principles and policies of recruiting party members and the requirements of admission. We should always summarize experiences so as to improve the quality of work. We should give them political treatment and remuneration equivalent to those of other teachers so as to make them keep their mind on their own work and become one of the forces in improving party building in the schools.

CSO: 4005/1319

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FUJIAN'S CHENG XU ANSWERS QUESTIONS ON INTELLECTUALS

OW121959 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 11 Sep 82

[Excerpts] According to FUJIAN KEJI BAO [4395 1696 4430 2111 1032], in answering questions concerning a check-up on intellectuals' work put to him by a reporter of this gazette, Cheng Xu, secretary of the Fujian Provincial CPC Committee, recently pointed out: Party committees should pay close attention to implementing the policy toward intellectuals, and leaders should take action in doing so. This is the key to implementing this policy. Unit leaders who still fail to pay attention to implementing this policy should promptly change their passive position.

Comrade Cheng Xu said: In accordance with the party Central Committee's instructions, an all-round investigation on intellectuals' work in the province has been made in recent months. It should be noted that party committees and governments at various levels have paid close attention to this check-up and have solved some problems for intellectuals while checking up on their work in accordance with the guidelines of the party Central Committee and those of the provincial party committee. However, many of the intellectuals' problems still remain unsolved for the following main reasons:

1. Lacking a clear understanding of the importance of implementing the party's policy toward intellectuals, some leading comrades have not yet taken vigorous action in this regard. Now, quite a few units hold that since almost all problems have been solved, they can wind up the work on hand. Fearing difficulties, many people have been dilatory in solving problems for intellectuals or have tried to shift the responsibility onto others.

2. Leaders of some units have failed to make vigorous efforts to solve problems for intellectuals. They have discussed measures to be taken in this regard but have failed to conscientiously carry out such measures. As a result, problems that can be solved remain unresolved.

3. No effective measures have been taken to solve some major, difficult problems for intellectuals.

Comrade Cheng Xu pointed out: We should conscientiously publicize and implement the guidelines laid down by the 12th CPC National Congress and effectively step up our work among the intellectuals in order to fully arouse their enthusiasm. Continuous efforts should be made to eliminate the leftist influence and to do away with all prejudices against the intellectuals. It is necessary to give wider publicity to the party's policy toward intellectuals and to educate cadres at various levels, especially leading cadres, in this regard so that they will fully understand the important status and role of intellectuals in the new historical period. Now we must redouble our efforts to solve the problems discovered during the check-up and carry out this task well.

CSO: 4005/1319

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

STRENGTHENING IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION STRESSED

Senior Middle Schools

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Dong Qing [2639 7230]: "Ideological Education Should Be Intensified for Senior Middle School Students"]

[Text] This year's graduating senior middle school students will soon embark upon the road of entering a higher school or taking up employment. Owing to the disruptive activities of the "Gang of Four" and the one-sided concentration on the proportion of students entering schools of a higher grade, ideological education was neglected for a time in past years. In the present state of economic development of our country, students entering schools of a higher grade are a minority and those taking up employment are the majority. However, for reasons such as neglect of ideological work, some graduating students, even if they enter schools of a higher grade, will have many hidden ideological troubles, and they can hardly become students who are of good character and scholarship and have good physique. And those who are unable to enter schools of a higher grade can hardly play their part at their construction posts once they have flunked a competitive examination. A small number of them will nurse a grievance in their life, attempt nothing and accomplish nothing, and then will become a social burden. Education for graduating students must be given great importance and, moreover, must be conducted by school, parents and the education department in coordination.

First, we should understand the actual condition of the students and sympathize with them in their difficulties. Students are now under great pressures from all sides. Pressure comes from their preparations for entering schools of a higher grade: In violation of their teaching plans some schools do a rush job of teaching and concentrate review of lessons half a semester ahead of schedule, thus confining students to a state in which they ignore what is happening in the world and endure the tribulation of time. Some reference books for candidates taking entrance examination appear in a great variety like flooding waters and keep reaching students' hands. Students make a fetish of these reference books but, hard pressed for the numerous reference books, they do not know what course to take and dare not ignore them. On the other hand, schools add tasks at each level, cramming students with mimeograph and duplicate outlines, "simulated examination questions," "standard answers,"

"examination guides" like snowflakes. Added to these are examination-oriented "special course of lectures," "guidance reports," "answer training," "examination knowledge," and so forth. Numerous examinations for different grades in various names fall like heavy bombs on students' heads--minor tests, major tests, interim tests, unified examination, regional examination and trial entrance examination. Students are reduced to an extremely tense state of suffering. Many students have suffered from failing eyesight, indigestion, neuralgia, insomnia, dizziness, and failing health. Students comment: This way of study will skin you, if not kill you. One will collapse physically even if one has passed the entrance examination.

In addition, the pressure from society and parents is even greater. That some parents use material incentives to encourage their children to pass college entrance examination is a widespread phenomenon. Some parents take an attitude of intimidation toward their children, saying "If you fail in your college entrance examination, you'll have to leave home and find your way of living." Some parents in the rural districts hope their children will have a bright future so that they can leave the countryside. In short, education from parents is negative in many respects. Some students have said with bitterness: "If I fail in this college entrance examination I'll die." Because of this and also the fact that students lack a correct understanding of their view of life, their future and the socialist modernizations, belittlement of manual labor is widespread. Many students pin their life-long hope on college entrance examinations and do not prepare themselves against a failure to pass the examination. We should pay serious attention to this state of affairs among students and sympathize with them. We can no longer allow the erroneous tendency towards one-sided concentration on entering a higher school to oppress young students cruelly.

Second, the party's policy of all-round development must be resolutely implemented. Owing to the deviation from the party's education policy for a time, one-sided concentration on the proportion of students entering schools of a higher grade raised its head and developed. Leading education bodies at various levels must sum up lessons and resolutely rectify various tendencies toward violation of policy. At the same time, schools at various levels must resolutely implement their teaching plans and take administrative measures to stop reckless printing and distribution of reference books for entrance examination, pay attention to students' health, incorporate into their teaching plans ideological education for graduating students, and strengthen checking and supervision over education for graduating students, thereby to ensure implementation of the education policy.

Third, intensify education for graduating students from several sides. We must conduct education for students in the situations and the party's policy for economic work, teach them to assume a correct attitude toward the issue of entering schools of a higher grade or taking up employment and to get prepared for both. We must enlighten students on the revolutionary view of life, on their future and their ideal, thereby enabling them to establish a correct revolutionary view of life and have a broad vision. We must conduct labor education. It should be made clear to students that whether entering schools of a higher grade or taking up employment they will find themselves in a state of arduous labor and that this type of labor is at the service of the four modernizations and is likewise a matter of glory.

Education for young students including graduating senior middle school students is a matter bearing on the growth of the younger generation, on the fostering of successors to the cause of revolution, and on the prosperity of the four modernizations and the prosperity of our country. Therefore, it must not be regarded as unimportant.

Higher Learning Institutes

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Jin Chunhua [6855 2504 5478]: "Intensify Moral Education, Lay Good Foundation"]

[Text] The Provincial Bureau of Higher Education recently held a meeting at Dalian for exchanging experiences of higher learning institutes in ideological and political work. The meeting emphasized that in the new situation it is imperative to take a sober view and make a correct estimate of the corrosive influence of capitalist ideas on college students, and to make a new breakthrough in the ideological and political work of the higher learning institutes. It is imperative to intensify moral education in earnest and to lay a good foundation conscientiously in the ideological and political education for college students.

The attending comrades were of the unanimous opinion that while the main current is good among college students, there are some weak points and, in particular, those lower-grade students admitted after 1980, who are generally younger in age, are more influenced by liberalist ideas and have a weak foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Under such circumstances, an opportunity is given for capitalist ideas to corrupt the young students. College students are part of the elite among the youths in the contemporary era, yet they are also part of the focus of contention between the bourgeoisie and us, which means that our task of combating the corrosive influence is formidable.

On the basis of full discussions, the leading body of the Provincial Bureau of Higher Education set demands on the institutes of higher learning with regard to current ideological work that remains to be further resolved and strengthened: 1) The institutes of higher education must strengthen construction of their teaching and research sections for moral education. The teaching and research sections should go a step further and compile teaching material on moral education according to the characteristics of the students at different grades. At the same time, they should provide their complement of moral education teachers according to plan within a few years and strengthen their fostering and improvement. On this basis they should determine the title of professional post. 2) Do a good job to evaluate students' moral character. Where possible, experiment may be carried out to evaluate students' moral character provided it is integrated with moral education. 3) Lay a good foundation conscientiously and lay emphasis on the work for first-year college students. From the first day new students enter the school, ideological and political education must be intensified, strict demands set, and good collective bodies formed. Education and management must be combined, classes and departments in disarray must be put in order, and a solid job must be done to lay the foundation in a down-to-earth manner.

At the meeting, they also discussed the issue of ideological education for graduating students. The institutes of higher learning were called upon to attach great importance to and firmly grasp the ideological education for graduating students. They should help the graduating students get a clear understanding of the bright future of our country and their heavy historical responsibility, put the relationship between the needs of the state and their personal interests in their proper perspective, go to where the fatherland needs them the most, and contribute their youth, ability and wisdom.

9780
CSO: 4005/1040

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FUJIAN TO RETURN TO OVERSEAS CHINESE PRIVATE HOUSES

OW110206 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 9 Sep 82

[Text] From 1 to 5 September the Fujian Provincial People's Government held a provincewide discussion meeting on implementing the policy on the privately owned houses of overseas Chinese in this country. The meeting urged departments concerned to further enhance their understanding of these problems and to make concerted efforts and return this year to overseas Chinese privately owned houses that were occupied or seized during the Cultural Revolution.

It was emphastically pointed out at the meeting that it is a task of the entire party and governments at all levels to implement the policy on the privately owned houses of overseas Chinese. All departments concerned should pool their efforts and settle this problem once and for all as soon as possible in the spirit of seizing every minute.

Representatives from Fuzhou and Zhangzhou municipalities expressed the determination at the discussion meeting to return to their original owners before the coming national day all the privately owned houses of overseas Chinese occupied or confiscated during the 10-year internal chaotic period. Representatives of Quanzhou Municipality said that the question of returning privately owned houses to overseas Chinese will be settled before the end of the year.

Xiamen Municipality has encountered many difficult problems in this connection. However, it has built more than 180 new living quarters at (Hubin) new village for over 100 households presently occupying the privately owned houses of overseas Chinese. It is making every possible effort to settle the problems involved before the end of 1982.

CSO: 4005/1319

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XIZANG MEETING STRESSES COMMUNIST EDUCATION

HK110658 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 0000 GMT 11 Sep 82

[Excerpts] The Xizang Regional CPC Committee held a report meeting on the morning of 9 September, at which Comrade (Li Wenshan), director of the propaganda department, delivered a report on education in communist ideology. He pointed out: Launching communist ideological education is not only an important topic in bringing order out of chaos in ideology but is also an important ideological guarantee for smoothly carrying out socialist construction. Launching communist ideological education is of long-term practical and far-reaching historical significance.

Comrade (Li Wehshan's) report was in three parts. In the first part, he spoke on the importance of conducting communist ideological education. In the second part, he spoke on a number of problems encountered in study and gave his views on these problems. In the third part, he spoke on how to carry out communist ideological education with a firm and clear-cut stand and in a just and forceful way.

He said: Our socialist construction is being carried out while we are surrounded by imperialism and social-imperialism. We face a serious struggle between corruption by capitalist ideology and opposition to corruption by socialist ideology. To win victory in this struggle we must apply communist ideology, the strongest and sharpest weapon. Every class in the world has its own spiritual prop. Communism is the spiritual prop of the proletariat.

In his report, Comrade (Li Wenshan) set out the facts and spoke reason and, from theory to practice and from history to the present, criticized the so-called "theory of the remoteness of communism" and the ideas that "carrying out communist ideological education means skipping stages" and "communism has not been tested in practice" and other muddled views and erroneous concepts, and analyzed the causes of these views and concepts. He also dwelt on the relationships between socialist spiritual and socialist material construction, between carrying out education in communism and practicing the principle of distribution according to labor, and between carrying out communist ideological education and implementing the party's policy on religion.

Comrade (Li Wenshan) said: In carrying out communist ideological education, we must swing into action from now on to study, publicize and practice, and let the blossoms of communist ideology produce rich fruits.

On the question of how to carry out communist ideological education, Comrade (Li Wenshan) gave three views:

1. The whole party should get going to publicize communist ideology with firm and clear-cut stand. We must vigorously proclaim that communism is not an illusion or a hypothesis. It is an objective truth that has been developed from practice and has undergone and withstood the test of practice. On the other hand, we must firmly wage struggle against erroneous ideas and viewpoints that run counter to communism, and spare no efforts in maintaining the purity of communism.

2. Seriously sum up experiences and persistently unfold the struggle on two fronts. We should do very well at integrating propaganda in communist ideology with resolute implementation of the principles and policies in the current stage, and succeed in carrying out communist ideological education without getting divorced from the reality of the socialist stage. We must criticize theories such as "communism is remote," "communism has not been tested in practice," and "conducting propaganda in communist ideology means skipping stages." We must ensure that everyone understands that we are engaged in the practice of communism every day, and has confidence in the attainment of communism.

3. We must start with ourselves and start right now in attaining the great ideal of communism.

The meeting was held in the laboring people's cultural palace in Lhasa. Over 1,000 cadres of the regional organs and Lhasa Municipality attended. Song Ziyuan, deputy secretary of the regional CPC committee, presided at the meeting.

CSO: 4005/1319

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BEIJING STUDENTS' MENTAL ATTITUDE TOWARD CPC

HK100937 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 82 p 2

[Report: "Firm Faith in Marxism-Leninism Is the Mainstream of the Thinking of Contemporary University Students--Excerpts From Minutes of a Forum Attended by Some CYL Cadres in Beijing University"]

[Text] Editor's Note: Great changes have taken place in the thinking of Beijing's University students since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, especially since last year. A main expression of this is that they have strengthened their faith in the party and Marxism-Leninism. On 28 August, our correspondents invited some CYL cadres at Beijing University to a forum to talk about the gratifying changes in the students' thinking. Following are excerpts from their speeches. [end editor's note]

Students' Thinking Is Changing Along With Development of Situation

Li Keqiang, secretary of the CYL committee:

Some students once doubted the correctness of Marxism, thinking that it was no longer applicable. They tried to find some other methods from Western books to solve China's problems. However, after a period of hesitating and searching, they felt that "after all, Marxism is the best method." Quite a few of them have applied to join the party. Some said: "After following a roundabout way, we have finally come back to Marxism." Through social investigation and practice, some students who once doubted the correctness of the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the present policies due to the influence of the "leftist" ideological trend and who only knew something about the doctrines of Marxism without knowing that the essence of Marxism is proceeding in all cases from reality, have made great progress and acquired a new understanding of Marxism. In studying Marxism, these students have gone through a course from one-sidedly accepting it to comprehending it in a relatively all-round way. The majority of students have not doubted the correctness of Marxism. However, they know very little about it. Several years ago when some erroneous ideological trends appeared in our society, they deemed that these trends were wrong, but felt that they could not explain why. After studying Marxism by means of comparing it with Western ideologies, they have grasped some essentials of the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method and raised their capability of distinguishing between right and wrong. Now quite a few students are able to propagate Marxism-Leninism with a clear-cut stand in classroom discussions, at forums and on other occasions.

Marked Progress of Students' Thinking

Xiao Dongfa, secretary of the CYL general branch in the Department of Library Science:

Great changes have taken place in the students' thinking over the past few years. We can also easily feel such changes in our department.

1) The students have worked harder in the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Now some active elements in grades 1-3 in our department, who have asked to join the party, have voluntarily organized themselves into several groups to study the "Communist Manifesto." They have written down what they have learned from this work. Some Grade-5 students even held a seminar to study Comrade Liu Shaoqi's "How To Be a Good Communist." Still other students have studied "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," "Selected Works of Lenin" and "Selected Works of Mao Zedong" on their own and written down what they have learned from these works.

2) Students' ability to analyze, distinguish and resist Western bourgeois ideologies has been increased. In recent years, since implementing the open-door policy, the bourgeois ideology and culture from abroad have seriously influenced some sensitive young students. In view of this, we have asked some teachers from the philosophy department to give some lectures on "Existentialism and Marxism" and "How To Correctly Judge Man's Value." At the same time, we have made back-to-back comparisons between Marxist viewpoints and those of the Western thinkers, so as to increase the students' ability of analysis and criticism.

Upsurge of Studying Marxism-Leninism Is in the Ascendent

Xia Tingkang, secretary of CYL general branch in the Department of Physics:

"Time is the best cure for mental scars." A student, whose parent was wrongly labeled as a rightist in 1957, once felt that Marxism was unbelievable. With the help of the organization and his classmates, and after reading a large number of social science books and Marxist-Leninist works, he realized that he was wrong. He said: What is the fact? The most important fact is that the CPC has changed the backward old China into a vigorous new China and that the great practice of building socialism is being carried out in China. All youths who are ambitious and have high aspirations can achieve successes only when they throw themselves into this great practice! Through the study of Marxist theories, especially the study of the "resolution" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, many students have strengthened their faith in communism and the CPC. Now quite a few students in our department are conscientiously studying Marxist philosophy to solve their problem in epistemology and methodology. The upsurge of study is just in the ascendent.

Number of Students Asking To Join the Party Constantly Increasing

Hei Liangjie, vice secretary of the CYL Committee:

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee emancipated the minds of the young students. It enabled them to break through the spiritual shackles of the "two whatevers," and provided theoretical and practical foundations for the thorough criticism of the ultraleftist ideology. On this basis, the "resolution" of the sixth plenary session further helped the students clarify various confused ideas and understanding and gradually guided their political ideology to develop along the correct lines.

Since the party's policies have been carried out in depth since the third plenary session, the society has been propelled forward and the enthusiasm of the young students in studying Marxism-Leninism has been aroused. Now more students are studying Marxism-Leninism more enthusiastically and consciously.

Since the sixth plenary session, the number of students who have asked for admission or have been formally admitted into the party has constantly increased. According to rough statistics by the end of last year, the students of grades 4-5 in the liberal arts departments asking to join the party accounted for about 70 percent of the total, and those in the departments of political science, economics and law, in particular, accounted for 80 percent of the students in their respective departments. In the science departments, about 20-30 percent of the students have asked to join the party, of whom 50-60 percent were students of grades 4-5. The number of students admitted into the party also increased from 1978 to 1981. In 1978, only 59 students in the whole university were admitted into the party, but in 1981, 119 students were admitted into the party.

CSO: 4005/1319

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ARTICLE ON LITERATURE, ART

HK101137 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Zheng Bonong [6774 0130 6593]: "We Must Study the Law Governing the Development of Socialist Literature and Art"]

[Text] I agree with the view that in our literary and art theoretical research, we should study the laws of art. The task of our theoretical work is to explore and expound on the objective laws. Only when our theory really masters the objective laws can it play a correct guiding role in our practice.

Persist in Studying Literary and Art Laws With Historical Materialist Views

What are laws of art? Some Western scholars think that discuss the "internal law" of art. In their opinion, only discussions in isolation of beauty, aesthetic feeling, artistic images, artistic forms and so on can be regarded as discussions of artistic laws, and any discussion of the relationships between literature and art and life and between literature and art and society is a discussion of problems that are beyond the scope of art itself. According to this opinion, neither Marxist literary and art theory nor even the works of Hippolyte A. Taine and George M.C. Brandes have the profundity to be regarded as the science of literature and art. My opinion is that we can view literary and art laws in a broader sense as well and that we should not understand them in a too narrow sense. What is called a law is the internal, inevitable and essential relationship between things. To study artistic laws means to enquire into the internal relationships in the whole process and in all the links in the development of art. The development from social life in natural form to literature and art in ideological form and the process of literature and art in the ideological form dynamically reacting on social life are the most common processes in the development of art. If we do not study the relationships between art and life and between art and society, how can we clearly understand the objective laws governing the development of art? Of course, we must study beauty, aesthetic feeling, artistic images, artistic forms and so on, but these phenomena cannot be explained if they are viewed in isolation from the conditions in social and material life that have given rise to these

phenomena. Before the birth of Marxism, many people explaining ideology by using ideology and could not scientifically explain the phenomena of the ideological field. It was not until the time when Marxism treated ideological phenomena as the reflection of social and material life that a scientific explanation was given to the emergence and development of ideological phenomena. In the past, under the influence of the leftist ideology, we committed the mistakes of dogmatism and vulgar sociology. By vulgar sociology we mean treating the relationships between literature and art and social economics and politics as being simple and vulgar. This vulgar sociology is never characterized by making inquiries into literary and art phenomena in the light of their relationships with the economic and political conditions in the society. We should continue to overcome the evil habits of dogmatism and vulgar sociology in our literary and art theoretical work. At the same time, we must adhere to the basic viewpoints of historical materialism.

We Should Study the Specific Laws Governing Our Country's Socialist Literature and Art

As far back as more than 40 years ago, Comrade Mao Zedong said in his "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" that we should study the general laws of war, but that we should also study the specific laws of revolutionary wars and, moreover, study the even more specific laws governing China's revolutionary war. What he said was not only the scientific method of studying wars but also the scientific method of studying all problems. In studying literary and art problems, we should also use this method. We should study the general laws of literature and art, but we should also study the specific laws of socialist literature and art and, moreover, study the even more specific laws that govern China's socialist literature and art. Certainly, it will not do if we do not study the general laws of literature and art. Since socialist literature and art is a type of literature and art, it is also governed by the general laws of literature and art. If it is not governed by these laws, it will be deprived of its characteristics as literature and art. That is why we should critically inherit the entire cultural legacy of the human race and derive from this all beneficial ancient and foreign artistic experiences. It will not do either if we only study the general laws of literature and art and do not study the specific laws that govern China's socialist literature and art. Our literature and art has grown on its own specific soil, which is different from that on which any ancient or foreign literature and art grew. For example, the aim of our artistic production differs widely from that in the Western countries. In a capitalist society, despite the fact that different writers and artists are carrying out their creative work for their own various aims, taking the capitalist literary and art undertaking as a whole, it cannot be free from its dependence on money. Stalin said that the aim of capitalist production is to pursue the surplus value and the highest profit. In a sense, the aim of a capitalist artistic production cannot be separated from the pursuit of money and profits. On the other hand, the aim of our literary and artistic production is to serve the people and socialism. Moreover, the process of the development of socialist literature and art differs

from that of any literature and art of the past. West European literature and art has gone through the stages of classicism, romanticism and realism and has gradually developed into the current much-in-voque modernism. Should China's socialist literature and art also take such a course of development and embark on the route of modernism? The Western capitalist countries have their own specific social and historical conditions which have given rise to modernism. This is an inevitable result of the development of history. We should make a concrete analysis of modernism and derive from it things that can enlighten us. However, we have our own specific social and historical conditions and cannot, therefore, follow the steps of Western literature and art. Our literary and art undertaking is guided by the communist world outlook. We will commit great mistakes if we do not admit that China's socialist literature and art is governed by its own specific laws of development or if we substitute the laws of Western capitalist literature and art for the laws of China's socialist literature and art.

If we count from the time when Gorky wrote "Mother," socialist literature has only a short history, less than a century. It would be longer if we start our count from the earliest literary creations of the working class. Our proletarian literature and art, if counted from the "May 4th" new culture movement, has history of over 60 years. The history would be even shorter if we started our count from the left-wing literary and art movement. What are the laws that govern the development of literature and art as an undertaking? To be more precise, when the proletariat has taken over state power, how should the society organize the production of art? We have accumulated many experiences in solving these problems. Among these experiences, there are both positive and negative ones and both experiences of success and experiences of failure. Summing up these experiences in a scientific manner and deriving from them things of the nature of laws is of great significance in guiding the current and future literary and art practice. At present, some people in the West have paid attention to studying the course of development of socialist literature and art and some of them have already written some works on this theme. Of course, they used their stands and viewpoints in summing up this course. Quite a few of them did it with prejudice and in an arbitrary manner. Therefore, their conclusions are often wrong. Since other people are paying attention to doing this work, we should pay even more attention to doing this work satisfactorily.

Some comrades think that since the 6th plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee approved the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," we have already summed up our historical experiences and that, therefore, there is no need for the literary and art circle to sum up its experiences. They think that the urgent task at present is to solve the concrete problems in our literary and art work and not to carry out useless discussions of historical problems. I think that those who hold this view are shortsighted. Because the resolution of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee systematically summed

up the basic experiences of the socialist revolution and socialist construction since the founding of the PRC, what we should precisely do is scientifically sum up, under the guidance of the spirit of the "resolution," the historical experiences of various front lines. Only by doing so can we strive to implement the spirit of the "resolution." How can we refuse to make a further study of the historical experiences of various front lines on the ground that the "resolution" has already summed up the party's 31 years of history? At present, there are indeed various kinds of problems that should be urgently solved in our literary and art work. However, without summing up our historical experiences, it is very difficult for these problems to be deeply and thoroughly solved. Marxism requires us to use historical viewpoints to analyze problems. This means that, first, we should investigate and study problems under the concrete historical conditions and in their historical surroundings and that we should not investigate and study them in isolation from their concrete historical conditions and surroundings; and second, we should view the course of the development of the problems and separate the current problems from the historical development of the things that are related to these problems. We should not solve the problems in our current literary and art movement by treating only the symptoms and not the disease. We should study the current state of affairs related to literature and art both at home and abroad and the historical development of literature and art in order to find the laws governing them. Thus, we will be able to have both the foresight and the initiative, manage to act in accordance with the inevitable laws that govern the development of things, overcome all negative factors, bring into play all positive factors, lead our whole literary and art undertaking onto a path of prosperity and open up a new situation. If we do not study the objective laws and do not understand the inevitable nature of historical development, it will be difficult for us to shake off our blindness and be free from our passive position.

Explore the Laws Governing the Development of Socialist Literary and Art Production

The production of art has the following dual nature: it is a kind of spiritual production of a social nature and, at the same time, it must be achieved through the individual creative work of the writers and artists. It is precisely as Engels said, that thinking is not the "thinking of an individual" but it can only be realized in the "thinking of individuals." On the one hand, all artistic products are produced to meet certain needs in the society and have such and such an impact on the society. Therefore, the society cannot help but raise such and such requirements for the production of art and, to some extent, organize and supervise this production. On the other hand, all artistic products should be created through the writers' or artists' own imagination. Therefore, we must ensure that in this field there is full freedom for individuals to use their creative power. These two requirements are often in conflict. How to handle their

relations is a very important problem. The leftist and rightist mistakes in our guiding ideology in the past were often related to the way in which we handled this problem. For a time, we despised and even denied the specific nature of imagination and overlooked and even neglected the creative power of writers and artists as individuals. For a time, we treated the thesis that literature and art is subordinate to politics as a basic law governing socialist literature and art and even as a universal law governing all literature and art. Practices have proved that this view is not based on adequate scientific grounds. Seeing the tremendous harm that the "leftist" mistakes brought about in the past and seeing the malpractice of the past in exercising an excessive restriction to and an overstrict control of literature and art, some comrades have begun to hold the following view: We should not stress the organization and supervision of the production of art by society; we should only stress giving writers and artists freedom to use their individual creative power. This view also runs counter to objective reality. A writer cannot live in isolation from society, and pure individual creative work that is detached from society is impossible. Society has always put forth such and such requirements for the production of art and has, to a certain extent, organized and supervised the production of art. We should not indiscriminately oppose all practices of organizing and supervising the production of art; we should only oppose the practice of organizing and supervising the production of part in a simple and arbitrary manner. Karl Kautsky said that socialist material production was carried out in a planned manner, but socialist spiritual production was carried out in an anarchic manner. This was a viewpoint that ran counter to Marxism. In order to achieve the prosperity of the production of socialist literature and art, there should be the following two indispensable conditons: 1) the writers and artists should be versed in literary and art creative work; 2) the party and state should be good at organizing and guiding the production of art. There are laws governing the former. Are there also laws governing the latter? Undoubtedly, there are. We should study the latter as well as the former. In the past, we often said that we should lead literature and art in accordance with the laws governing art. This also meant that our leading persons had to understand the difficulties involved in creative work and the characteristics of imagination. However, this is not enough, for leading and organizing the production of literature and art is itself an area of learning. Those who know how to do creative work are not necessarily adept in organizing and leading the production of art. For example, the problem related to the structure of the production of art is one that demands the making of a profound research into it. If the structure is not appropriate, however great the abilities of the writers and artists, they cannot be brought into full play. Now, the economic front is undergoing a reform in structure; the production of art should also undergo a reform in structure. The structure should not be formulated at will, in accordance with subjective desires, and it must be established on the basis of objective laws.

The forerunners of Marxist literary and art theory have already expounded many times on the laws governing the development of socialist literature and art. This is something that we should not fail to see. The process of the development

and growth in strength of socialist literature and art is also the process of the people's gradual understanding and mastering of the objective laws governing it. By pointing out that the orientation of literature and art is to serve the masses of the people and that literary and art workers should follow the path of combining themselves with the masses of the new times and by pointing out the policy of "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," Comrade Mao Zedong precisely summed up in a scientific manner the historical task and path of development of socialist literature and art. What he pointed out has already been proved to be correct by practice. We are not exploring the laws governing the development of socialist literary and art production emptyhanded. Instead, we are doing this on the basis of the achievements of our predecessors' research. We should confirm the correct ideological results that our precedessors have reached and adhere to the Marxist viewpoints on literature and art. However, we should also realize that the history of the development of socialist literature and art is, after all, a short one and that our research into its laws is, after all, inadequate. We should admit that our understanding of these laws is far from being profound and perfect and that we are still in the realm of ignorance concerning many problems. In the past, we committed many mistakes and suffered many twists. The cause that gave rise to these mistakes and twists could not be separated from our failure to understand the objective laws and our violation of them. We should try to understand anew many historical phenomena, and there are a large number of new conditions and problems that demand our profound and systematic study. We should not only adhere to but also develop Marxist viewpoints on literature and art. Engels said: "Even the mere achievement of developing the materialist viewpoint for a single historical event is the result of the scientific work that demands many years of calm and intensive efforts. Obviously, to achieve this, any empty talk will not work. Only by critically examining and fully mastering a large quantity of historical data can a person fulfill this task." In studying the laws governing the development of the production of socialist art, we very much need to develop the spirit of making the "calm and intensive efforts" that Engels mentioned. This is precisely the spirit of emancipating minds and seeking truth from facts.

CSO: 4005/1319

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SYMPOSIUM ON NATIONALITY AFFAIRS THEORY ENDS

OW111351 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1424 GMT 8 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, 8 Sep (XINHUA)--The second national academic symposium on the theory on nationality affairs concluded in Beijing on 8 September. Attending the symposium were more than 90 theoreticians on nationality affairs from 15 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country. While focusing on the task of improving and developing socialist relations among all nationalities, they studied the theory on nationality affairs.

The symposium pointed out: The work of studying the theory on nationality affairs must be closely linked with the general goal of developing socialist modernization. Persistently upholding the four basic principles and placing emphasis on improving relations and strengthening unity among all nationalities constitute an important task in developing socialist spiritual civilization.

The symposium called on theoreticians on nationality affairs to earnestly study and implement the guidelines laid down by the 12th CPC National Congress, to arm themselves with communist ethics, to popularize Marxist-Leninist thinking on nationality affairs and to make fresh contributions to promoting unity among all nationalities and developing socialist spiritual modernization.

Sponsored by the China society for study of the theory on nationality affairs, the symposium opened on 2 September. Attending the symposium were responsible persons of departments concerned Yang Jingren, Zhang Youyu, Jiang Ping, Liu Guoguang and Wu Jinghua.

CSO: 4005/1319 END

JPRS 81928

5 October 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 345

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81928

5 October 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 345

CONTENTS

PARTY AND STATE

Significance of Discussing Draft Constitution Stressed
(Dong Li; XINHUA RIBAO, 6 Jul 82) 1

Law of Contradiction Clarified Through Examples
(Yu Siyi; XINHUA RIBAO, 6 Jul 82) 3

'Three Beliefs,' Adherence to 'Four Basic Principles' Stressed
(WEN HUI BAO, various dates) 5

Strengthen Beliefs
Adherence to Principles, by Li Ping

Taiping Ward's Case Handling Work Commended
(HARBIN RIBAO, 15 Jun 82) 10

Citizens' Efforts Help Authorities Reduce Crime
(HARBIN RIBAO, 10 Jun 82) 11

Proposals Made To Improve Quality of Services
(HARBIN RIBAO, 6 Jun 82) 12

Party Building, Improvement of Party Leadership Discussed
(Zhang Yanjun; BEIJING RIBAO, 2 Jul 82) 14

Emulation of the Spirit of Lei Feng Urged
(Yi Lu; SHIDAI DE BAOGAO No 6, 1982) 16

Chen Duxiu's Handling of Revolutionary Leadership Viewed
(Qian Feng and Liu Qifa; JIANGHAN LUNTAN, 15 Jul 82) 19

Zhang Xun's Qing Dynasty Restoration Discussed
(Min Go; RENMIN RIBAO, 20 Jul 82) 32

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Naval Exercise on High Sea Described
(Lu Qiming and Li Xueyin; RENMIN RIBAO, 30 Jul 82) 36

PLA General Logistics Department Trains Technical Cadres
(Zhou Songnai and Wang Zongren; RENMIN RIBAO, 21 Jul 82) 38

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Implementation of Population Policy Stressed
(Editorial; XINHUA RIBAO, 5 Jul 82) 40

Reestablishment of Sociological Study Discussed
(Fei Xiaotong; RENMIN RIBAO, 20 Jul 82) 43

PARTY AND STATE

SIGNIFICANCE OF DISCUSSING DRAFT CONSTITUTION STRESSED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Dong Li [5516 4539]: "Fully Developing the Spirit of Democracy and the Legal System"]

[Text] Sending the draft constitution for discussion by all the people is an important event in our people's political life. It is of far-reaching significance that, in the process of discussion, people will receive a universal education on the socialist legal system.

The draft constitution concretely realizes the union of socialist democracy and the socialist legal system. The draft constitution further expands the people's democratic rights and defines that the people can exercise their power through various levels of people's congress to control state affairs and economic, cultural, and social affairs through legislative and other avenues, thus ensuring that the people participate in the governing of the state. In the chapter entitled "Basic rights and obligations of citizens," from Article 32 to 53, each article manifests the spirit of socialist democracy and the legal system. At the same time, the draft constitution specifically stipulates that "citizens' rights and obligations are inseparable." Citizens' rights are protected by the constitution and the law, but they must not be abused; citizens enjoy equal rights, but they also have equal obligations. Thus the draft constitution fully develops socialist democracy and joins in a sound union with the socialist legal system.

Articles in the draft constitution specifying democracy and the legal system are practical only under the socialist system. In feudal society, the emperor's word was law; the toiling masses had no democracy to speak of. In the capitalist system, under the banner of "democracy, equality, and liberty," the capitalist class uses parliamentary forms to engage in a power struggle to enrich themselves, with proletarian interests totally unrepresented. We are a country of people's democratic dictatorship, with constant attention given to people's democracy and a sound socialist legal system. We have traveled a tortuous road, however, mainly because the counterrevolutionary group of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing destroyed democracy and the legal system. Not until the "gang of four" was smashed were democracy and the legal system gradually restored and developed, and it cannot be an instant success. Owing to the erosion by capitalist thought and remnant feudal thought, there is

still an abnormal attitude among our cadres toward democracy and the legal system. For example, ignoring the principle of democratic centralism, some people are still keen on the practice of patriarchism, "rule by the voice of one man," decisions made by one man, the fear of rubbing influential people the wrong way like touching a tiger's bottom. In addition, some people still go in for capitalist liberalization and toy with anarchism. A very small number of people, in total disregard of law and discipline, sink in the morass of crime. All these practices call for our close attention; we must resolutely prevent and overcome these evil tendencies, uphold the state legal system, let people enjoy a high degree of democratic rights, use legal means to ensure the smooth progress of our modernizations, and seek visible improvement of party discipline, political style, and the people's morale.

9507
CSO: 4005/1162

LAW OF CONTRADICTION CLARIFIED THROUGH EXAMPLES

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jul 82 p 4

[Article on Popular Logic by Yu Siyi [0205 1835 5030]: "Only 99 Top Hats Left--Discussion on the Law of Contradiction"]

[Text] In the "New Collected Humor" there is an episode on flattery. A junior official was about to leave the capital to assume office in the province. He went to a senior official to bid farewell. The senior official told him, "It is not easy to function as a local official. Be very careful." The junior official replied, "Please be at ease. I have prepared 100 top hats of flattery to be presented to each one on the way. To be sure, everyone in the locality will be pleased." The senior official had a fit and said, "We are all decent people. How can you do something like this?" The junior official feigned distress [and asked], "How many people are there in the world who would shun flattery like you?" The senior official was very pleased and nodded his head, "You are quite right." The junior official came out and told his friend, "Of the 100 top hats of flattery I have prepared, only 99 are left."

In this episode, the attitude of the senior official violates the law of contradiction. What is the law of contradiction? The law of contradiction is that within the same process of thought, the contents cannot contradict each other. In other words, within the same period of time and under the same set of circumstances, one cannot affirm and negate a subject simultaneously. Otherwise, it would be self-contradictory, a fallacy in logic. In this episode, the senior official first considered that "flattery was not right"; when the junior official flattered him, he nodded his head and was obviously pleased. This is a self-contradiction, violating the basic law of contradiction.

This kind of fallacy is often encountered in daily life. For example, a young man was planning a big wedding. Some people advised him to depart from convention and make things simple. He said, "Yes, young people should not follow the convention of emphasizing sumptuousness and seeking momentary pleasure. However, in making things simple, I feel somewhat unpresentable." This young man first affirmed the premise that weddings of young people should be "simple" and then said that, for his own face, he should not make things "simple." The second part of his speech in fact negated the first

part of his speech; this is a fallacy of logic under the law of contradiction. Another example: On the one hand, some cadres always talk about how young people should follow the assignments made by the organization, or how "young men should aspire to prove themselves in the far corners of the world," or how "young people should toughen themselves in adversity." On the other hand, they employ every means available to get an easy job in a big city for their children. This is also a self-contradiction.

We can consciously control and use the law of contradiction to the following advantages:

First, we can avoid confusion in thought and contradictions in logic. For example, a notice urges concerned departments in municipalities and counties to improve workstyle to the end that leading cadres of rural communes will not be summoned for meetings, so that they can concentrate on summer harvest and summer planting. It goes on to say that if cadres are summoned for a meeting, they must get approval from the municipal or county party committee. This notice is self-contradictory, stating "concerned departments [should] avoid summoning leading cadres of rural communes" as well as "if they are summoned for a meeting"; therefore it violates the law of contradiction. If it is changed to "if possible, [cadres of rural communes] should not be summoned for a meeting" or "unless necessary, do not call leading comrades for a meeting," the contradiction in the text can be avoided.

Second, the law of contradiction can be used to point out misconstrued actions and serve as a weapon for ideological struggle. In the Warring States period, Gongsu Ban helped the Kingdom of Chu to build a scaling ladder to attack the Kingdom of Song. Mozi deliberately asked him to help eliminate an enemy and said, "I can pay you." Gongshu Ban angrily retorted, "I am a moral person; I do not kill." Mozi said, "You talk about morality and are unwilling to kill one man, but you help the Kingdom of Chu to attack the Kingdom of Song and kill many people. Can we say that you understand the difference between the multitude and the individual?" Here Mozi used the law of contradiction to point out and criticize Gongshu Ban's action. We can also apply this law in our struggle against misconstrued actions.

Of course, in applying this law, we must be careful not to confuse contradiction in logic with the inner contradiction of objective matter or contradiction in dialectics. For example, "Today he is a student; 10 years from now he will be a teacher." This is not a mistake in logic, because the time reference is different. "Make light of enemies in strategy but pay serious attention to enemies in tactics" is not a contradiction in logic, for it deals with different approaches. "Water is liquid at normal temperatures but solid under 0°C" refers to different conditions, and is therefore not a contradiction. In rhetoric, there are also seemingly contradictory aphorisms: "Veteran boxers perish under fists; veteran swimmers perish under water." "Failure is the mother of success," etc. We must make a clear distinction concerning these aspects.

9507
CSO: 4005/1162

'THREE BELIEFS,' ADHERENCE TO 'FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES' STRESSED

Strengthen Beliefs

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 17 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Leaders of the Municipal Party Committee Point Out at the Commencement Assembly of Two Classes at the Party School: Party Members and Cadres Must Strengthen 'Three Beliefs'"]

[Text] Yesterday morning, the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee party school held its commencement assembly for its eighth cadres rotationary training class and fifth theoretical training class; President Chen Guodong [7115 0948 2767], first secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee party school, presided over the session. Hu Lijiao [5170 4539 2403], second secretary of the municipal committee and Zhong Min [6945 3046], secretary of the municipal committee, also attended. Comrades Chen Guodong and Hu Lijiao spoke at the assembly.

In their talks they stressed that party members and cadres of the whole municipality must seek further to understand the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, improve their perception of the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies, and keep steadfast their "three beliefs" (namely, belief in their adherence to the four basic principles, belief in the principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and belief in the leadership of the party Central Committee). They also emphasized in their talks that we must first seek to rebuild the party ideologically and strengthen the party's ideological and political work. Only by achieving ideological consistency can we accomplish organizational consistency. As to how to strengthen our party's ideological and political work, the main thing is to propagate correctly the line, principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, use the spirit of the third plenary session as our weapon to arm the vast ranks of our party members and cadres, and make them understand correctly the essence of the spirit from the third plenary session to the sixth plenary session, heighten their consciousness in implementing the party's current principles and policies, and politically maintain consistency with the party Central Committee.

Apart from all the students, those attending the commencement assembly also included more than 400 leading members of various regions, counties, and bureaus, and the Shanghai deputies scheduled to attend the party's forthcoming 12th National Congress.

Adherence to Principles

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 29 Jun 82 p 3

[Commentary by Li Ping [2621 1627]: "Adhere to the Four Basic Principles During the Great Shift"]

[Text] The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee opened our triumphant channel of navigation toward a socialist modern power; this constituted a great shift of far-reaching significance in the history of our party. During the past 4 years, while marching along the Marxist political line, and the ideological organizational line reestablished by the party we have scored a series of brilliant achievements. When welcoming the 60th anniversary of the birth of our great CPC we saw that our economic situation was getting better year after year and our political situation also was becoming more and more stable each year. Practice has proved: the line, principles and policies established by the party since the third plenary session are entirely correct and our party Central Committee is entirely trustworthy.

In order to continue to implement the line, principles and policies the party has established since the third plenary session and make a go of our socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization, the most important thing at present is to heighten our consciousness in adhering to the four basic principles and unswervingly to implement the four basic principles. Just as the "Resolution" of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee points out: "The four basic principles are the common political foundation for the unity of the whole party and the unity of the people of the country's various nationalities; they are also the fundamental guarantee for the smooth advancement of the cause of our socialist modernization."

The four basic principles of socialist path, people's democratic dictatorship, Communist Party leadership, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought prescribe the nature of our society, the form of our state, the leading position of our party, and the guiding ideology of the undertakings of our revolution and construction. They are the four indispensable pillars of our socialist motherland. This is the bedrock of our state. It concerns the consolidation of the fruits of the people's revolution, it concerns the success or failure of our four modernizations, and it concerns the future and destiny of party and state.

The four basic principles are the historic choice of the millions of people of China through their long struggle. For over 100 years, countless determined men and revolutionary martyrs have for the purpose of saving our nation and saving our people followed one upon the fall of another in exploring various paths and carrying out all kinds of experiments; but all these efforts failed and countless determined men died a frustrated man's death. The

liberal faction of the landlords once thought of following the path of "enriching the country and strengthening its military"; but the foreign guns and cannons they bought from abroad, along with a small fleet, helplessly sank and succumbed in the midst of the roaring salvos of the 1894 naval battle. The reformist faction of the bourgeoisie once resorted to a 100-day reform; but Guangxu was a powerless emperor and, under the butchering knife of the Empress Dowager, the 6 gentlemen died th ir martyrs' death at Chaishikou. Hence the 1898 reform, too, dissipated. The revolutionary faction of the bourgeoisie led by Sun Zhongshan struggled for over 30 years and succeeded in ultimately overthrowing the rule of China's last emperor; but, after the founding of the Republic, China failed to become rich and strong; instead, it sank into even deeper and graver disasters.

Whither China? With their lives and blood, the martyrs wrote the following line of words: only socialism can save China. Achievements scored in the 33 years since the founding of our state prove with irrefutable facts that socialism not only continues to shine more and more brilliantly in theory but also develops vigorously ahead in practice; it has demonstrated its great vitality.

During these 33 years since the founding of our state, our party has led the people of our entire country to accomplish the task of socialist transformation of the private ownership of means of production and carry out gargantuan socialist construction. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee made the strategic decision to shift the focus of the party's work to socialist modernization, our national economy, in particular, has been able to embark upon a course of steady development. Today, we have already forged an independent, fairly complete socialist industrial system and national economic system. Because the party Central Committee has adopted a series of correct policies, our agriculture has scored fairly extensive development, which has basically solved the food and clothing problems for 1 billion people. On the basis of the developing industrial and agricultural production, our people's material life and cultural life have undergone considerable improvement. Our efforts to build a socialist modern power thus have acquired a powerful material base.

More than 130 years ago, Marx and Engels projected in their "Communist Manifesto" that, after the revolutionary movement led by the Communist Party acceded to power, it should adopt 10 measures to reform the old society. Looking back at our achievements since the founding of our state, except for certain individual articles, all the rest have exceeded the steps listed in that program. The great ideals of Marx and Engels have already become living facts under our party leadership and through the practice of China's various nationalities. In respect to the communist movement, we have already accomplished the tasks of several historical stages, and the achievement of all these successes has resulted from adhering to the four basic principles.

In the "preamble" of the Draft of the Revised Constitution promulgated recently by the NPC Standing Committee, this basic historical experience is recorded and reaffirmed; it clearly prescribes that the Chinese people shall

continue to adhere to the four basic principles and struggle for the realization of the fundamental tasks of the new era. This event indicates: not only all of our Communist Party members must abide by the four basic principles but every citizen of the PRC must also take following the four basic principles as his incumbent obligation; not only our generation must adhere to them but our posterity, too, generation after generation, must adhere to them until communism is realized.

The most important among the four basic principles are: adherence to the socialist path, and adherence to party leadership. These two are closely linked and inseparable from each other. In China, it is never possible to adhere to the socialist path without the Communist Party. On the other hand, to see whether our party leadership is correct or not, steadfast or not, is precisely to see whether it adheres to the socialist path. The reason why we say that the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee is a great shift of far-reaching significance is precisely because since that third plenary session we have fundamentally cast off the influence of "leftist" mistakes and enabled the people of the whole country to understand clearly our general direction of adhering to the socialist path and our general task of realizing the four modernizations during the new historical era.

The magnificent goal of adhering to the socialist path and realizing our socialist modernization requires several basic guarantees. Since spring of this year, while reinforcing the building of our material civilization, our party Central Committee and State Council have at the same time grasped several big matters; to start an institutional reform with the State Council; to crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic realm and launch a struggle among Communist Party members and the state's working personnel to adhere to communist purity and oppose corruption and degeneration; to reinforce the building of our socialist spiritual civilization and carry out among the masses of the people an education in communist ideology and communist morality in a clear-cut manner and without deviating from reality. And keeping in mind the above tasks, continue to rectify the party and strengthen and improve party leadership. To do these tasks well is of great significance to our adherence to the socialist path and to the realization of our socialist modernization. To do a good job in our institutional reform is going to be a great help in really overcoming bureaucratism, greatly improving our work efficiency, and earnestly changing those very serious malpractices of the past, such as mutual wrangling between those above and below, and those on one side and the other, mutual shifting of responsibilities, allowing documents to travel indefinitely thus postponing decisions forever. All this shall serve to help our socialist system demonstrate its thriving vitality. Cracking down on serious criminal activities in the economic realm and launching the struggle against corrosion by the bourgeois ideology are especially directly related to the success or failure, the rise or fall, of our socialist modernization. During this new historical era, we have carried out our policy of opening to the outside world externally and enlivening our economy internally, and practice has proved that this policy has been entirely correct. At the same time, we must also clearly see that we have already developed economic and trade intercourse with 174 countries and areas of the world. Domestically,

while in the regions where the socialist transformation of means of production is accomplished the exploitative classes as classes have already been eliminated, the remnant forces and influences of those exploitative classes still exist. Intact exploitative classes still exist in Taiwan, Penghu, Jinmen and Mazu and other areas like Hong Kong and Macao. While implementing our policy of opening to the outside world externally and enlivening our economy internally under such circumstances, capitalist ideas are bound to take advantage and corrode us. Among the people or even party and state organs and cadres there are some infirm elements susceptible to corrosion by such capitalist ideas. They resort to smuggling and trading in contraband goods, corruption and bribe-taking, speculation and deception, and stealing of state and collective properties and thus play great havoc on our cause of socialist modernization. We are determined to carry forward on a long-range basis the struggle to crack-down on economic criminals and to counter corrosion by capitalist ideas. At the same time we are determined to reinforce the building of our socialist spiritual civilization, adhere to and improve our party leadership, educate party members and cadres to maintain their communist purity, educate the people, especially youths and children, to elevate our national self-respect, self-confidence, and thereby turn our people into idealistic, moralistic, cultured, and discipline-abiding people. In a word, by doing a good job in carrying out the above tasks and enabling the vast ranks of our cadres and masses to really establish their firm belief in the four basic principles, their firm belief in the line, principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and their firm belief in the leadership of the current party Central Committee, we shall be more confident and more hopeful as well as more resourceful in our effort to run our country well and to realize the goal of our struggle for socialist modernization.

9255
CSO: 4005/1106

PARTY AND STATE

TAIPING WARD'S CASE HANDLING WORK COMMENDED

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "Taiping Ward Does Xinfang [0207 6078] Work Conscientiously; No Case Backlog for 2 Years in Succession"]

[Text] Taiping Ward takes xinfang work very seriously and has brought the "3-level case handling network" into full play to resolve questions at the grassroots level. The ward has had no case backlog for 2 years in succession and very few people have taken their complaints to higher levels, so the ward has been commended by the provincial and municipal departments concerned.

The ward convenes regular working meetings of the ward party committee and ward chiefs to research specifically xinfang work and to strengthen leadership strength of ward and grassroots level units' xinfang work. The ward, sections (bureaus), and rural grassroots levels have established xinfang leadership teams forming a case-handling network. Ward level leadership also maintains a duty system of regularly accepting directly complaints from the masses and personally handling cases sent up to them. In the case handling process they rely heavily on doing xinfang work together with the sections, specially researching and resolving questions with the unit involved. A ward joint company, when building business offices, had a dispute with the residents of the neighborhood. The project's time limit extended 2 months at a loss of over 10,000 yuan. The ward xinfang section called on comrades of six departments, including city-building and public security, to handle the case together with the result that in just 2-1/2 days the problem was resolved.

Under the influence of irregular style it is often the case that "once the case is received both sides try to use pull." They uphold principles, they will not be swayed by personal relationships, the personnel handling the case will not accept entertainment or gifts and this meets with the universal approval of people who have taken cases to higher levels. They also do a conscientious job of ideological and political work with the people who take complaints to higher levels so that many of these people can see the general situation, understand the whole picture and take the initiative to relax their own ungrounded or excessive demands so that the contradictions take a favorable turn to a better resolution of the problem.

8226
CSO: 4005/1000

CITIZENS' EFFORTS HELP AUTHORITIES REDUCE CRIME

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "Harbin's Public Order Gets Better Daily; Relying on the Masses To Implement Comprehensive Administration Gets Results"]

[Text] Reporters learned from the Public Security Bureau that this year public order in Harbin has improved daily, the rate of criminal cases has declined, public security cases have clearly decreased and the masses have a greater sense of security. Criminal cases city-wide in May were at the lowest level for any month in the last 2 years, a decline of 24.7 percent over the same period last year, and public security cases declined 21.5 percent compared to the same period last year and all major cases which occurred in May have been broken.

Under the leadership of the municipal party committee, party organizations at all levels in Harbin have made the reorganization of public order work part of their agenda and conscientiously established measures to "teach, attack, defend against and reorganize." Over 80 percent of the units in the city have built healthy public order responsibility systems and strengthened comprehensive administrative work. The Daoli Ward Party Committee extended its experience in fostering neighborhood offices to educate and place young people who have gone astray; established neighborhood public order corps, joint plant-neighborhood defense corps and mass joint defense corps; strengthened the public order lookout and the incidence of cases for April and May dropped to the best levels in history.

In reorganizing public order work, party committees at all levels relying on the masses, have trained and developed a large group of public order activists and have raised the masses' initiative to struggle against evil deeds and evildoers. From January to May the masses uncovered over 1,000 clues to crimes which led directly to the seizure of 98 criminals and at the same time the model figures in protecting public order Guo Zhijian [6753 1807 1017] and Meng Fanda [1322 4907 1129] came to the fore.

Under the leadership of the party committee, municipal judicial organs, relying heavily on the masses, strengthened investigation and trial work, promptly cracked many important cases, strictly and speedily sentenced in accordance with the law a group of criminals who had severely disrupted public order and vigorously attacked the arrogance of criminals.

8226
CSO: 4005/1000

PARTY AND STATE

PROPOSALS MADE TO IMPROVE QUALITY OF SERVICES

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "Comrade Yang Yichen Makes Proposal at Report-back Meeting on Songhuajiang Department Store Reorganization; Deal With the 'Four Relationships,' Resolve 'Three Lows and One Deficiency,'"]

> [Text] Four Relationships: Between Foreign and Domestic Goods, Between Out-of-Province and In-Province Goods, Between Large Commodities and Small Commodities, Between Wholesale and Retail; Three Lows and One Deficiency: Low Political Quality, Low Cultural Level, Low Technical and Business Ability and Deficiency in Quality of Service

Recently at the report back meeting on reorganization of the Songhuajiang Department Store, Yang Yichen [2799 2496 6591], first secretary of the Heilongjiang Party Committee, said that in commerce we should correctly handle the "four relationships" and resolve the question of "three lows and one deficiency" in the employee ranks.

After hearing the report on reorganization work in the Songhuajiang Department Store he said, you handled the "four relationships" well and summarized the experience of correctly handling the question of the four relationships between foreign and domestic goods, out-of-province goods and in-province goods, large commodities and small commodities and wholesale and retail. The key to the "four relationships" is the relationship between foreign and domestic and we cannot squeeze out domestic goods because we sell foreign goods. We should vigorously popularize domestic goods and actively market them. Commercial sections should expand competition of marketing local goods and promote the improvement and growth of local industrial products.

Comrade Yang Yichen said that the question of the "three lows and one deficiency" among many employees, which you mentioned, you have stressed well and accurately. We should resolutely go on stressing and resolving the problems of low political quality, low cultural level, low technical and business level and deficiency in quality of service. The key to resolving the "three lows and one deficiency" is resolving the question of the deficiency of the quality of service. We should carry out comprehensive training in ideology and politics, culture, business and technology, and quality of service.

Comrade Yang Yichen said to correctly handle the "four relationships" and "three lows and one deficiency" demands that commercial employees conscientiously research new trends in present market development. The market in the past was a supply and demand one and stores "worried about people coming in but not about selling," and there were lines to buy many things. Now because supply not meeting demand has become supply exceeding demand, most stores "worry about selling and not about people coming in." This change places even higher demands on commerce and they can no longer go on "doing old gentleman business." Industrial sections should stress raising quality one notch, produce products which are both good and inexpensive and suited to the market to satisfy society's needs.

Comrade Yang Yichen stressed that we should continue to stress civilized and polite behavior to make it normal and systematic. To control "deficiency" in the stores we should have a good service attitude and excellent service quality.

8226
CSO: 4005/1000

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY BUILDING, IMPROVEMENT OF PARTY LEADERSHIP DISCUSSED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO, in Chinese 2 Jul 82 p 1

[Report by Zhang Yanjun [1728 1693 6511]: "On the Question of How To Strengthen Party Building, Improve Party Leadership: Municipal Party Committee Convenes Forum for Representatives of Advanced Party Branches and Fine Party Members--In His Speech Duan Junyi Demands Further Display of Model Role by Party Members and Fighting Fortress Role by Party Branches"]

[Text] In the afternoon of the party's birthday--1 July--, the CCP Beijing Municipal Committee convened a forum for representatives of advanced party branches and fine party members on the question of how to strengthen party building and how ti improve party leadership.

Fifty-seven representatives of advanced party branches, fine party members and new party members from the municipality's industrial, capital construction, agricultural, financial and trade, cultural and educational, scientific and technological, public health, physical education, political and legal, and neighborhood fronts attended the forum upon invitation. Among them there are old cadres and old professors with grey sideburns, there are also university students admitted into the party during the past two years; there are representatives from advanced party branches that have paid attention to strengthening party building and played the role of a fighting fortress in the struggle against corrosion by capitalist ideas, there are also labor models and advanced journalists who have placed their vanguard and model roles in the building of our spiritual civilization and material civilization in the capital and who have also achieved conspicuous results. Party branch secretary of the Doudian production prigade of Fangshan County Ni Zhenliang [0242 2182 0081], deputy director and chief engineer of the Beijing wool textile mill Dai Xiusheng [2071 4423 3932], department store supersalesman and national labor model Zhang Binggui [1728 4426 6311], vice chairman of the Beijing branch of the Writers Association of China Luo Binji [7482 6333 1015], Beijing University professor Duan Xuefu [3008 1331 1788], and secretary of the party branch at Beijing's No 41 Middle School Wei Renxia [7614 3387 7209] and others, altogether 11, made statements at the forum. They excitedly praised our great party and illustrated with their personal experiences as to how party leadership has been the fundamental guarantee for the triumphant advance of our

cause. On whatever front and in whatever work, we must adhere to our party leadership; any inclination to weaken or cast off our party leadership would be very harmful and must be resolutely corrected. In order to strengthen and improve our party leadership, we must unswervingly implement our party's line, principles and policies, and unswervingly do a good job in upholding our party workstyle and party discipline and reinforcing our own party building work. They maintained that, as members of the glorious CCP the responsibilities we shoulder are very heavy; communists of the entire municipality should strive to serve as models in strengthening their party concept, strengthening their party character cultivation, implementing party resolutions, and abiding by party discipline and the laws of the state; they should strive to serve as models in inheriting and demonstrating the party's glorious tradition and workstyle, consciously resisting all unhealthy practices, adhering to the communist ideology, and guarding against corrosion by capitalist idea; and they should strive to serve as models in giving full scope to their vanguard and model roles, realizing the Central Secretariat's four directives concerning the principles of construction in the capital, and doing a good job in building our spiritual civilization and building our material civilization in the capital.

Leading comrades of the municipal party committee Duan Junyi [3008 0689 3015], Jiao Ruoyu [3542 5387 1946], Chen Xitong [7115 1585 0681], and Ye Lin [5509 2651] and responsible comrades of the municipal people's congress standing committee and various departments, subcommittees and offices of the municipal party committee all attended the forum. Comrade Duan Junyi gave the final speech. He pointed out that after the smashing of the "gang of four" and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party workstyle has taken a considerable turn for the better. Since last year, in the matter of party building, our party organizations at various levels have according to the municipal party committee's deployment again done a great deal of work, heightened our party's fighting stamina, and thereby promoted the building of our spiritual civilization and material civilization in the capital. But in our construction work in the capital today, we still have not a few problems and defects, and there is still a considerable gap between our work and the demands of the central authorities and the masses. We must further strengthen and improve our party leadership and seriously grasp party building. He asked relevant departments of the municipal party committee to seriously organize and spread the experiences of these advanced branches, commend these fine party members, so as to further demonstrate party members' vanguard and model roles and the party branches' fighting fortress role. At present, we are determined to grasp well our ideological education in guarding against corrosion by capitalist ideas and adhering to the communist ideology, and to lead the masses in their effort to fulfill and over-fulfill their various tasks this year.

9255
CSO: 4005/1113

EMULATION OF THE SPIRIT OF LEI FENG URGED

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [REPORT OF THE TIMES] in Chinese No 6 (1982) pp 78-79

[Article by Yi Lu [5065 7627]: "Let the Spirit of Lei Feng Once Again Become Fashionable in China"]

[Text] I recall that during the period of the 10 years of turmoil, faced with a time when the social atmosphere was steadily deteriorating and relations between people were daily becoming more superficial, someone suddenly spoke these words: "Alas, Uncle Lei Feng is not around any more!"

It was a strange saying since, it is said, it was spoken with a sigh by a mother carrying a baby on an extremely crowded bus, and finally spread like wildfire to every corner of the country, becoming a pet phrase that was known to every household. When the "gang of four" heard of it, they were exasperated, categorized it as "political rumor," and tried to trace it to its source.

Actually, the "gang of four," in their hearts, knew better than anyone else that this so-called "political rumor" was nothing more than the broad masses' expression of indignation over their perverse methods, and was nothing more than the people's expression of nostalgia about having studied Lei Feng before the "Cultural Revolution."

Of course, there are deepgoing reasons why this study of Lei Feng could not be forgotten by people for very long. It is because in the person of Comrade Lei Feng there was a concentrated manifestation of the excellent traditions of our party, Marxism-Leninism, the moral force of Mao Zedong Thought, a whole series of standards appropriate to socialist spiritual civilization, and the noble character of the new communist man. For this reason, when Comrade Lei Feng was first introduced in the newspapers and periodicals, it moved the hearts of the broad mass of readers. After Comrade Mao Zedong personally wrote an article on the topic of "Emulating Lei Feng" on 5 March 1963, people of all ranks throughout the country immediately responded positively to the call, and it immediately set off a mass fervor for emulation that attracted universal attention. Although this mass enthusiasm was maintained for only a bit over 3 years, the effect it produced is hard to estimate. The broad masses have heightened their ideological awareness, the enterprise of the socialist revolution and socialist construction is flourishing more and more

every day, and a scene of flourishing development has appeared. It is completely accurate to say that if the later "Cultural Revolution" had not interrupted this movement of emulating Lei Feng while it was ascendant, our country's level of spiritual civilization would certainly not be in the unfortunate condition it is in today.

What is worth rejoicing about is that after the collapse of the "gang of four," due to a whole series of efforts by the party to bring order out of chaos, particularly its efforts made since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, Comrade Lei Feng, who had been left out in the cold for so many years, has ended up coming back into our lives again! The party and the people, who have experienced great bitterness during the 10 years of turmoil, cherish the memory of Comrade Lei Feng more than at any time in the past; they understand the value of his spirit more, and once again a high tide of emulating Lei Feng has begun to form. We are happy to see that even though the 10 years of turmoil have left in their wake a serious degree of spiritual and moral corruption, and though party practices and practices among the people have, with respect to certain units and certain individuals, already been spoiled to a painful degree, nevertheless, on every front there are still large numbers of determined warriors who conscientiously carry on with and display the spirit of Lei Feng. They are doing their utmost to make the country strong in realizing the great enterprise of the motherland's four modernizations. This heartening phenomenon is precisely the blooming again of the resplendant flower of the spirit of Lei Feng in the new historical period.

Without any doubt, the emulation of Comrade Lei Feng should be a common topic for study of the entire party, all the military, and the people of the entire country. However, I believe that first of all it should be the topic of study for young people. Because, young people bear the historical mission of carrying forward our revolutionary cause and forging ahead into the future. When we are speaking of young people, what kind of person they are going to be is exceedingly important. Forgive me for saying it directly but, though surely the majority of today's youth are good or comparatively good, still there really are quite a few of them who are ignorant and muddleheaded, lacking in revolutionary ideals, and single mindedly concerned with so-called "material benefits." There are also individuals who are even totally undisciplined and defiant, committing all kinds of illegal and outrageous acts. How can we educate, and rescue, these people? We should adopt effective measures, and systematically and patiently guide them in emulating Lei Feng. Lenin said that the force of a good example is boundless. In this regard, Lei Feng without doubt is the best kind of good example.

What should be pointed out here is that there are some who consider themselves to be "disillusioned with the world" and are actually malignantly swelled up with bourgeois individualism, who not only are not willing to emulate Lei Feng themselves but have a derisive attitude toward other people's emulation of him. In their view, the spirit of Lei Feng is a kind of "alienation" in violation of human nature. I have heard of a student at a certain university who had the audacity to ridicule Lei Feng in a composition as follows: "Oh

Lei Feng, Lei Feng, you're really a common soldier of the sixties who's stupid enough to be lovable." This kind of person does not possess very noble sentiments himself, so naturally it would be hard for him to understand Lei Feng; this really is an example of "The summer insect cannot speak of ice." Lei Feng was a new communist man who in the process of constantly remaking his subjective and objective worlds employed the weapons of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Zhou Enlai in one of his forewords pointed out: "Emulation of Comrade Lei Feng [consists of]: a class standpoint with hates and loves clearly discerned; a revolutionary spirit that is consistent in speech and action; public-spirited, selfless communist practices; and a proletarian fighting spirit that defies personal danger." These four phrases precisely epitomize the spirit and temperament of Lei Feng. This is glory of Lei Feng's thorough breaking with the exploitive classes' concepts of selfishness and personal advantage. It [the spirit and temperament of Lei Feng] possesses the noble, excellent virtues of our age, noble sentiments, and the spirit of revolutionary humanitarianism. It not only is not an alienation from human nature; on the contrary, it is closest in accord with human nature. Some people's use of the phrase "alienation from human nature" to oppose the emulation of Lei Feng is completely unreasonable; and this kind of view is particularly harmful today when the entire party, the entire military, and the people of the entire country are building socialist spiritual civilization on a grand scale.

Let us widen our field of vision to look at the future, the day when the spirit of Lei Feng will once again be fashionable in China; that will be a time when the enterprise of the four modernizations will have great hope. Comrades, let us struggle together to realize this goal!

9634
CSO: 4005/1054

PARTY AND STATE

CHEN DUXIU'S HANDLING OF REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP VIEWED

Wuhan JIANGHAN LUNTAN [CHANGJIANG AND HAN RIVER FORUM] in Chinese No 7, 15 Jul 82 pp 51-57

[Article by Qian Feng [6926 2800] and Liu Qifa [0491 0366 4099]: "On Chen Duxiu's [7115 3747 4423] Interpretation and Practice of Revolutionary Leadership"]

[Text] When we study the first Guomindang-Communist cooperation and summarize the experiential lessons of the period, naturally we must explore the revolutionary leadership issue. For this reason, we must analyze the interpretation of the issue and the practice of Chen Duxiu, the main leader of the CCP at that time. We find that there was an obvious difference in his interpretation and practice of the revolutionary leadership before and after the Guomindang-Communist cooperation. Before the cooperation, he gave serious attention to the strength of the worker class and its leadership role in the revolutionary movement; afterward, he vacillated on the issue, but the general tendency was from vacillation to compromise and finally capitulation.

I. During the period of the 4 May Movement, China's proletariat ascended the political arena. Thereupon, the chant of "labor is sacred" resounded over all the land and the discussion of the labor issue reached a high tide. Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao [2621 1129 6856] were the leaders. When waging a polemic against anarchism, Chen Duxiu began to plunge into the worker movement, propagandized Marxism, aroused the consciousness of the worker class and helped create labor unions. From April 1920 to July 1921, he attended meetings of worker organizations in Shanghai and Guangzhou and served as adviser to the worker movement. In April 1920, he gave a speech entitled "the Consciousness of the Laborer" at the federation of shipping and warehouse workers. "Among the various kinds of people in society, only the workers are the pillars," he pointed out, "and only the working people are the most useful and most valuable, because only by their strength is society propped up." He also pointed out that "the labor movement of the 20th century has reached the time to demand for management power," i.e., "the power of the laborers in politics, military affairs and industry and their position as rulers." In August

1920, he supervised the creation of the popular worker weekly LAIDONGJIE [LABOR WORLD]. Participating in the preparatory meeting of the Shanghai Machine Workers' Union "as an observer" on 3 October, he gave a speech, stating that, if the workers' organization is "completely united, then all organizations in society will be under its control, and even the government has to come under its control."[1] The Shanghai Machine Workers' Union was the first labor union under our party's leadership, and its creation was inseparable from Chen Duxiu's effort. In December of the same year, he pointed out: "The fight of China's labor (peasants and workers) organization against the capitalists and capitalism is the fight to defend China's independence; only the labor organization can achieve the goal of China's independence."[2] In short, in the period before the founding of the CCP, Chen Duxiu gave serious attention to the strength of the worker class and its role in the revolution.

After the founding of the CCP, Chen Duxiu's recognition of the strength of the worker class progressed further. In his reply to anarchist Huang Lingshuang [7806 0407 7208], he said: "To enforce the revolutionary proletarian dictatorship, the proletariat must have a strong organizational strength and fighting power; to create such a strong organizational strength and fighting power, we must have a strong communist party as the vanguard and leader of the proletariat."[3] Upon the first surge of the worker movement under the party's leadership, Chen Duxiu declared confidently: "After the national revolution eliminates foreign aggression and domestic unrest, the position created by the proletariat through its effort may not necessarily fail to surpass the bourgeoisie; it can be inferred by the fact that the current proletarian revolutionary tendency surpasses the bourgeoisie...."[4]

In the revolutionary movement, what should be the position of the proletariat? When discussing the laboring class, viz., the workers and the peasants, Chen Duxiu gave special attention to the historical role of the worker class. "The Marxist 'Communist Manifesto,'" he said, "from the first page to the last, is a lecture on the historical necessity of the class struggle.... All Marx's works advocate revolutionary actions by the proletariat against the propertied class."[5] Prior thereto, in the "Chinese Communist Party Manifesto" drafted under his supervision, his thinking on the historical mission of the proletariat and the proletarian leadership of the revolution was very distinct.

What must be pointed out is that Chen Duxiu's recognition of the strength of the worker class and the issue of the revolutionary leadership power started to a large extent from China's direct launching of the proletarian revolution. In other words, Chen Duxiu was then still propagandizing the general principles of Marxism. Naturally, such propaganda was necessary, because it helped raise the consciousness of the worker class and eliminate the anarchist influence. At that time, some people accepted scientific socialism because of the propaganda. Nevertheless, what was the nature of China's society at that time? What was the mission of the revolution? What measures and means should be adopted to complete China's

revolution? Issues such as these were not solved by Chen Duxiu, nor properly by other party leaders. At that time, the entire party felt that, like the October Revolution of the Soviet Union, China must directly launch a proletarian revolution. The "Chinese Communist Party Program" passed at the First Party Congress reflects the understanding level of the entire party.

II. The Guomindang-Communist cooperation was created and the form of cooperation was for the CCP members to join the Guomindang. The reason was because the worker class and the CCP were still weak, while Sun Zhongshan's Guomindang, relatively speaking, was fairly strong and enjoyed a greater prestige among the masses. Under such balance of strengths and form of cooperation, how to preserve the independence of the proletarian political party and how to achieve the leadership power of the proletariat in the bourgeois democratic revolution became more complex and therefore, more crucial. As proved by the facts, from theory to practice, Chen Duxiu, as the party's main leader, failed to solve the two issues correctly. In chronological order, we will examine step by step his record from vacillation, compromise to capitulation.

1. 1923--April 1924

After the "7 February" Great Strike, Chen Duxiu shifted his attention from the worker class to the bourgeoisie. His article entitled "the Bourgeois Revolution and the Revolutionary Bourgeoisie," published in XIANGDAO [GUIDE] Weekly, 25 April 1923, was a clear indication of the shift. According to him, "if the democratic revolution of the bourgeoisie loses the support of the bourgeoisie, it will have no class significance and social foundation." Though at the time he did not exclude the role of the worker class in the democratic revolution, he actually regarded the bourgeoisie as the only social foundation for China's bourgeois democratic revolution and found the strength of the worker class negligible. He said at the end of 1923: "While the various social classes in colonies and semi-colonies are all infantile, the strength of the bourgeoisie is after all more centralized than the peasants and stronger than the workers." He also said that China's worker class "is not an independent revolutionary force.... The majority of the workers is still sound asleep in a patriarchal society... does not feel a political need, and has not broken away from the superstition in the divine monarchal power." Therefore, he concluded that "the greatest majority of China's workers does not have the need and potential of political struggles."[6]

Who should lead the democratic revolution? According to Chen Duxiu, "if they truly want a revolution, all democratic revolutionary elements should rally around the democratic revolutionary Guomindang before there is any hope to oust the warlords. If everyone hoists a new banner, it will be frivolity and ostentation, not revolution."[7] He also said: "At this crucial moment, the Guomindang should rise and lead the people to pursue the revolutionary movement."[8] If advocating the Guomindang as the banner and the leader of the democratic revolutionary forces was out of strategic

considerations, there was nothing wrong with it in itself, because at that time the Guomindang was in the course of reorganizing into a revolutionary alliance of the various classes and turning into the organizational form of the united front. But the question was how to analyze the class nature of the Guomindang and whether we should fight for its party power.

One should say that, though the Guomindang before its reorganization included the anti-Manchurian faction of the landowner class, it was still a bourgeois political party; after reorganization, it became a democratic revolutionary alliance of workers, peasants, the petit bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, and the basic class attributes of the alliance depended on the class which controlled the leadership power. However, Chen Duxiu's understanding of these issues was vague. As early as at the Xihu Meeting in August 1922, he declared emphatically that the Guomindang was mainly a bourgeois political party; therefore, he opposed joining it. Not long thereafter, namely, in September of the same year, he denied that the Guomindang was a bourgeois political party, claiming that, "to date, no political party representing the bourgeoisie has emerged, indicating that China's bourgeoisie has not expanded."[9] In view of such understanding, naturally it was impossible for him to be on guard against the usurpation of the revolutionary leadership by the bourgeoisie. Not only thus, but he even advocated: "The present mission of the Chinese Guomindang and the right path should be: Take command of the revolutionary bourgeoisie, rally the revolutionary proletariat and accomplish the bourgeois democratic revolution."[10] At the Third Party Congress, he and Ma Lin [7456 2651] advocated: "Turn over all work to the Guomindang." It meant recognizing and permitting the bourgeoisie's control of the party power of the Guomindang; letting the Guomindang take command of the revolutionary bourgeoisie was the same as letting the bourgeoisie take command of the Guomindang and the revolution.

2. May--December 1924

After the creation of the Guomindang-Communist cooperation, as Chen Duxiu and others admired the bourgeoisie and proposed the slogan "turn over all work to the Guomindang," our party gave no attention to exercising independent leadership; instead, it placed the worker movement entirely under the Guomindang banner. This rightwing tendency attracted the attention of the entire party. On 14 May 1924, the CCP Central Committee called an enlarged meeting in Shanghai and clarified three issues, i.e., cracking down on the rightwing and consolidating the leftwing; independent leadership of the worker movement; strengthening the building of the communist party. Thereafter, it pointed out in "the Significance of the Enlarged Executive Committee," published in CCP PARTY NEWS, No 3: "The labor movement, especially the modern industrial workers' movement, is our party's basic work. If we overlook this work in the national revolution, it will be equivalent to dissolving our party."[11]

After the meeting, Chen Duxiu successively gave speeches and published articles to spread the spirit of the meeting. He appealed to the socialists that, "besides the national movement, special attention must be given to propagandizing to and organizing labor, in order to promote its revolutionary spirit and class consciousness and lay the foundation for a social revolution."[12] He also pointed out that "class cooperation" referred to "(1) cooperation among the classes, not mergence, because it is impossible for them to merge; (2) political cooperation in the national revolution, not economic cooperation by means of labor-capital compromise, because economically there is no common ground between labor and capital."[13] When the Guomindang attacked the CCP under the pretext of the incident of the Socialist Youth League publication No 6, he wrote a counterattack: "The struggle between labor and capital is an inevitable revolutionary phenomenon in social progress, and the advocacy of labor-capital compromise is a policy to moderate the revolution."[14] With the serious attention of the CCP Central Committee and Chen Duxiu, the worker movement again flourished. In July and September 1924, our party led the strikes of Guangzhou's Hexi and Shanghai's Nanyang Tobacco Plant. In the struggle in October to smash the coup of the Merchants' Volunteer Corps, especially, the workers of Guangzhou played a tremendous role. By the end of the year, the worker movement had emerged from the depression after the "7 February" tragedy and entered a new period of development. Under this very situation, Chen Duxiu realized: "The overall lesson we have learned in the two decades or more of the national movement is that, among the classes in society, only the ultimate class of mankind, viz., the proletariat, is the most uncompromising revolutionary class.... The national revolution of a state oppressed by capitalist-imperialism also needs it as the combat controller to supervise and urge all friendly forces which have a tendency to compromise--peasants, handicraftsmen, revolutionary intellectuals, vagrants, the poor (beggars and banditti) and small merchants--" to attack the counterrevolution, "before achieving the true goal of the national revolution, viz., national liberation."[15] Nevertheless, between the worker class and the bourgeoisie, which was more powerful? Was the bourgeoisie included among the "friendly forces" "supervised and urged" by the worker class? Chen Duxiu failed to answer these questions clearly.

The independence of the CCP and the worker movement was extremely crucial; it was the prerequisite and foundation of the revolutionary leadership power. However, solving the issue of independence was not equivalent to solving the leadership issue, because the former was mainly an issue of the distinction of the CCP from the Guomindang. The manifestations of the independence of a political party in political struggles are manifold. Under the Guomindang-Communist cooperation, the supreme form of independence was the leadership power of the united front. Zhou Enlai said afterward: "Leadership power must be fought for by force, because someone is fighting for it against the proletariat, against the Communist Party .... In the united front, it is mainly the Guomindang and the Communist Party which are fighting for the leadership power."[16] Yet in this period,

Chen Duxiu confined himself to criticisms of the Guomindang rightwing and limited his attention to the independence of the CCP and the worker movement, totally without any conscious intent of wresting the leadership power from the Guomindang.

3. January--December 1925

In January 1925, the CCP held its Fourth National Congress in Shanghai. Presiding over the congress, Chen Duxiu clearly proposed the leadership issue of the proletariat for the first time: "China's national revolutionary movement requires the vigorous participation of the most revolutionary proletariat and its leadership before the revolution can succeed."[17] It was a leap in cognition on the part of the party's leading figures, including Chen Duxiu.

Not long after the congress, Chen Duxiu wrote an article, stating: The worker class "is the representative of the new productive force; it is rich in rallying and combat powers and a natural ally of the peasantry. Needless to say, the warlord class is the target of the revolution, and the bourgeoisie includes three kinds of elements, viz., 'counterrevolutionary,' 'nonrevolutionary' and 'inclined toward revolution.' Only the worker class is the most revolutionary. In terms of the class essence of mankind, the worker class is most richly endowed with the revolutionary character."[18] Here, Chen Duxiu expounded the revolutionary character of the proletariat in comparing it with the bourgeoisie. It was an improvement over his previous high regard for the bourgeoisie and his comparison of the proletariat with the peasantry and the petit bourgeoisie. Chen Duxiu took part in and led the 30 May Movement, wrote a series of fighting articles and enthusiastically supported the powerful mass movement. Conversely, the 30 May Movement enabled him to realize that "China's workers and students are the bravest fighters in the national movement,"[19] and that "the success of the national revolution of colonies and semi-colonies forms a direct proportion with the development and concentration of the forces of the worker and peasant classes."[20] Nevertheless, he still had not solved the issue of how the proletariat would gain the leadership power. He equated the proletarian leadership with the Guomindang leadership, mentioning the leadership power of the proletariat and the fact that the Guomindang should lead the national revolution in the same breath. He once said: "As a party out of office, the Communist Party only appeals to the people to support the Guomindang government on certain matters, or to supervise it on certain matters, but it does not directly undertake any political responsibility."[21] Obviously, Chen Duxiu basically had no intention to fight for the leadership power inside the Guomindang.

Noticing the leftwing, middle and rightwing factions in the Guomindang, Chen Duxiu remained vague about their natures. He said that the Guomindang "leftwing represents the interest of the masses and the rightwing the interest of private individuals and bureaucrats."[22] In fact, the Guomindang leftwing mainly represented the interest of the national

bourgeoisie. Failing to see this point clearly, he was bound to place the hopes for the democratic revolution on the leadership of the Guomindang leftwing.

4. January--November 1926

After the 30 May Movement, the labor movement expanded day by day and prepared to support the Northern Expedition. The Guangzhou government at that time was able to support the labor movement, because the latter, especially the general strikes of Guangdong and Hong Kong, benefited its coffers. Under this situation, Chen Duxiu praised the labor movement. Furthermore, when summarizing the experiences of the labor movement since the 30 May Movement, he pointed out: "There is a grave issue in the national revolutionary movement of the Shanghai inhabitants, viz., whether to let the revolutionary worker class lead the movement and proceed directly to revolution until the completion of the national liberation in the whole China, or to let the compromising large merchant class influence the people and gradually return to the previous 'foreign slave' Shanghai."[23] It indicates that Chen Duxiu had begun to sense the gravity of the struggle for the revolutionary leadership power between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Not long afterward, at the enlarged meeting of the CCP Central Committee over which he presided, he again stressed the necessity for the CCP to preserve its organizational independence. The policy on the Guomindang decided at the meeting was: "Expand the leftwing, closely associating with it and dealing with the middle faction together with it; openly oppose the rightwing."[24] The meeting pointed out unequivocally that, "since '30 May,' China's bourgeoisie has gradually become an important component of the national movement and it has the tendency to lead the movement," and that the proletariat "should vie with the bourgeoisie for the leadership position of the revolutionary movement to forestall compromises in the future." It also pointed out: "For China's worker and peasant classes to actually lead this revolution, the most crucial condition is that this party which represents the worker-peasant influence must become a party of the masses and have a good organization, in order to expand as much as possible the worker-peasant mass organizations and, together with the Guomindang leftwing, win the petit bourgeoisie and lead the revolution to the finish."[25] At that time, Chen Duxiu only noticed the new trend of the class struggle in society, but failed to see that the struggle was reflected ever more seriously in the contention between the Guomindang and the CCP. Under this grave situation, Chen Duxiu remained content with the position of the CCP as a "party out of office." In regard to the various factions of the Guomindang, though there was the policy of differential treatments, his analysis of Jiang Jieshi, who had shifted from the middle faction to the new rightwing, was wrong.

Precisely because of the absence of a correct strategy, Chen Duxiu failed to realize that, for the proletariat to gain leadership power, the key was in winning the leadership power in the Guomindang, the government and the army. Thus, in face of the attack launched by Jiang Jieshi's new rightwing, Chen Duxiu made three major concessions.

The first was political. At the Second Guomindang Congress in January 1926, instead of following the policy of attacking the rightwing, isolating the middle faction and expanding the leftwing, Chen Duxiu went all out to negotiate with the Xishan Meeting faction. Consequently, the result of the congressional election was "the expansion of the rightwing influence, the encouragement of the middle faction and the isolation of the leftwing."[26]

The second was military. In the "SS Zhongshan incident" instigated by Jiang Jieshi against the CCP, the siege of the Soviet consulate, the surveillance of Soviet advisers, the arrest of CCP members in the First Army and the disarming of the pickets of the striking workers in Guangdong and Hong Kong, Chen Duxiu persistently took a concessionary attitude, thereby consolidating and elevating Jiang Jieshi's position in military affairs.

The third was on party affairs. At the Second Plenary Session of the Second Guomindang Central Committee, the "Plan to Rectify Party Affairs" proposed by Jiang Jieshi which completely excluded the CCP was actually passed with the support of Bao Luoting [7637 5012 1694], Chen Duxiu and Zhang Guotao [1728 0948 3614], giving the rightwing an enormous organizational superiority and depriving us of any standing in party affairs.

After the start of the Northern Expedition, Chen Duxiu and others took a wait-and-see attitude and had no definite policy on the ever more powerful Jiang Jieshi. Thus, Jiang Jieshi usurped the achievements of the Northern Expedition.

Chen Duxiu's "theory of two revolutions" which had its inception when he drafted the declaration of the party's "Second Congress developed further in this period. He said that, after the victory of the democratic revolution, "China's capitalists will naturally develop, and only then will its capitalism develop freely.". Only after this developmental period of capitalism would China enter "the age of the proletarian revolution." Therefore, in the period of the democratic revolution, the CCP would not struggle with the Guomindang for political power." "As for the struggle of the CCP with the Guomindang leftwing for political power after the victory of the national revolution, it will not happen either." Obviously, starting from the "theory of 2 revolutions," Chen Duxiu would not advocate leadership power for the proletariat.

5. December 1926--July 1927

Going from victory to victory, the Northern Expedition completely wiped out Wu Peifu [0702 0160 1318], the arrogant Hebei faction warlord, by the end of 1926. The achievement was made with the help of the worker-peasant masses, while the victory of the Northern Expedition promoted the development of the worker-peasant mass movement. In all areas in the nation, especially Hunan, Hubei and Jiangxi, the movement flourished. Nevertheless, the reactionary tendency of Jiang Jieshi's new rightwing also grew stronger day by day at the same time.

Under this new situation, the CCP Central Committee called a special meeting in Hankou. Chaired by Chen Duxiu, the meeting not only failed to propose a countermeasure against Jiang Jieshi's reactionary tendency, but, on the contrary, emphatically opposed the "leftwing tendency" in the party and stressed the necessity to restrict the peasant movement. One must admit that in certain areas and certain aspects at that time, the worker-peasant movement indeed had a leftwing tendency. However, Chen Duxiu regarded this secondary tendency as the main one. His opposition to the leftwing tendency was not for the purpose of expanding and developing the worker-peasant movement or of waging a more effective struggle against the rightwing, but for the purpose of winning the leftward shift of the rightwing influence, in order to shore up the precarious Guomindang-Communist cooperation, thereby basically relinquishing the revolutionary leadership power of the proletariat.

In March 1927, when Jiang Jieshi dallied with Japanese imperialism, Chen Duxiu still referred to him as "the leader of the Red Army." Though voicing some criticisms of Jiang Jieshi, he "sincerely demands that Commander-in-Chief Jiang Jieshi, leader of the national revolutionary army, immediately, by words and deeds, prove that the so-called North-South compromise to resist communism together is indeed the plot of Japanese imperialism to create rumors, foment discord and spread slanders for the purpose of sabotaging China's revolution."[27] Chen Duxiu still entertained a great illusion of Jiang Jieshi.

In April, when Jiang Jieshi already picked up the butcher's knife and swept from Ganzhou, Nanchang and Jiujiang to Nanjing and Shanghai, Chen Duxiu and Wang Jingwei concocted a "joint declaration" that the report that "the Guomindang leaders will drive out the communists and suppress the labor unions and pickets" was a "rumor." They did everything to whitewash Jiang Jieshi: "Shanghai's military authorities have expressed their allegiance to the central government. Even if there should be some complaints and misunderstandings, they are not necessarily unexplainable." Such arguments produced the effect of hoodwinking and lulling the broad CCP members and worker-peasant masses.

Jiang Jieshi's "12 April" counterrevolutionary coup smashed Chen Duxiu's illusion. To counter the difficulties brought to the revolution by Jiang's revolt, Chen Duxiu shifted his hopes to Wang Jingwei. Courting Wang Jingwei, he was willing to abandon the basic interest of the workers and peasants and withdraw the CCP members from within the Guomindang and the Wuhan government.

At the time of the Xia Douyin [1115 2435 1377] revolt, the Wuhan government offered 1,500 rifles to Wuhan's worker pickets, but Chen Duxiu turned it down, to show that he had no "plot" and to demonstrate his "loyalty to the Wuhan government.

On 4 June, as the secretary general of the CCP, Chen Duxiu wrote a letter to the Guomindang, hoping for its leadership and the completion of the

land revolution and saying that "the future of China's revolution and the fate of the Chinese people entirely depend on the firm action of your party at this time."

On 30 June, the enlarged meeting of the Party Central Committee chaired by Chen Duxiu formulated the so-called "11 Articles of Guomindang-Communist Cooperation," acknowledging that the Guomindang "naturally occupies the leadership position in the national revolution" and declaring that participation of the CCP members in the government "does not signify a coalition regime," and that, "to minimize frictions in the political situation," they would withdraw from the government by "taking leaves of absence." There were even such statements as: "The worker-peasant mass organizations are all subject to the leadership and supervision of the Guomindang;" the worker-peasant armed forces "should all obey the control and training by the government."

If it is said that, prior to 1927, Chen Duxiu was still able to pay serious attention to the worker-peasant movement, then, after 1927, he sought to compromise with the reactionary Guomindang forces by betraying it.

During the period of the first domestic revolutionary war, our party acquired a part of the leadership power in the democratic revolution, and the worker-peasant movement, especially, was basically deployed under our party's leadership. It was a great victory of our party in its infancy. Nevertheless, due to the great disparity in strengths between the enemy and us, and subjectively due to Chen Duxiu's rightwing capitulationism, the partial leadership power gained by our party was lost, and the powerful great revolution failed.

III. The first Guomindang-Communist cooperation produced a crucial impact on the revolutionary history of modern China. The Chinese communists gained experience in their sincere cooperation with the patriotic and democratic Guomindang members; they also gained experience in the struggle against the reactionaries who disrupted the cooperation. It was most helpful to the consolidation and development of the united front in the future led by our party. Here, the one issue calling for exploration is: Why was Chen Duxiu unable to preserve the independence of the proletariat and gain the proper leadership power, and why did he follow the opposite path, losing the independence and relinquishing the leadership power? From the above observations, what kind of conclusion can we reach?

1. On leadership power, we cannot say that Chen Duxiu never stressed the organizational independence of the CCP and the role of the worker class, or that he never criticized the Guomindang. The issue was that, under the situation of Guomindang-Communist cooperation, short of basing ourselves on the foundation of struggling with the Guomindang for party, military and political powers, independence had no guarantee and the proletariat could not achieve leadership power. Chen Duxiu confined

himself to general expositions of the independence of the CCP. On independence and leadership power, the two issues which were linked yet distinguishable, he equated them at times and severed them at other times. Around the time of the Guomindang-Communist cooperation, he proceeded from the "theory of one revolution" (directly launching the proletarian revolution) to the "theory of two revolutions." All these could not truly solve the leadership issue, but would either make the leadership power come to nought from the "leftwing" aspect or turn into an appendage of the bourgeoisie. Chen Duxiu became such an appendage. His process from vacillation to compromise and finally capitulation was the inevitable outcome of the influence produced by the social democratic trend in China.

2. Uncertain and confused on many issues, Chen Duxiu held totally different views in the same month or within a matter of days. On 18 April 1923, for instance, he vociferously declared that the worker class had "the greatest fighting spirit" and was "already the bravest radical vanguard" (see his article "How to Overthrow the Warlords"), but a week later he found the role of the worker class negligible. He excluded the bourgeoisie from the revolutionary forces at times and admired it at other times. While claiming that the Guomindang was the political party of the bourgeoisie, he declared that China's bourgeois political party had not emerged. He said that the proletariat must lead, but he also said that the Guomindang should lead, while the CCP was only the party out of office, and that all work should be turned over to the Guomindang. Noticing the leftwing, middle and rightwing factions in the Guomindang, he also criticized the rightwing, but compromised with it step by step and finally capitulated to it. Thus it went on and on. One decisive factor for his vacillation and confusion was his failure to integrate the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of China's revolution; therefore, he failed to solve the theoretical and policy issues of China's revolution. Steadfastness and thoroughness in theory and accuracy in lines and policies, never vacillating left and right, can only be achieved by integrating the Marxist-Leninist universal truths with China's revolutionary practice. It is one of the most important historical experiences of our party, an experience paid with blood. Naturally, we cannot ask the leader of an infant party to properly integrate the two all at once, as it involved a repetitious and prolonged process, but the problem was that Chen Duxiu failed to progress in this direction; he took the opposite direction.

3. On the question of how to assess Chen Duxiu's mistakes in the leadership issue, we have already discussed in "the Issue of the Revolutionary Leadership Power in the First Domestic Revolutionary War" (ZHONGGUO SHEHUI KEXUE [CHINA SOCIAL SCIENCE], No 4, 1980). Here we will only discuss some opinions on the method of study. Same as the thinking of all historical figures, Chen Duxiu underwent a historical developmental process on the issue of leadership power. Therefore, we must examine the changes and developments and link them with the historical conditions at the time before we can see the main tendency as well as the complexity and recognize

the essence and principal current. Lenin said: "If we master the facts from their sum total and their connections, then, facts are not just 'something which speaks louder than words,' but irrefutable; if we fail to master the facts from their sum total and their connections, but pick them in random fragments, then, they can only be a sort of child's play, or even not as good."[28] Seizing upon a certain incident in isolation or a certain article written by him, or even a certain sentence in an article, will not lead to a correct judgment of Chen Duxiu. To say flatly that Chen Duxiu was a capitulationist, or that he was a capitulationist to begin with, will not be convincing.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Summary Record of the Initial Meeting of the Shanghai Machine Workers' Union," LAODONGJIE [LABOR WORLD], No 9, 10 October 1920

2. "Discussions on Socialism," XIN QINGNIAN [NEW YOUTH], Vol 8, No 4, 1 December 1920

3. XIN QINGNIAN, Vol 9, No 6

4. "On Building the Nation," XIANGDAO [GUIDE] Weekly, No 2, 20 September 1922

5. "Criticism of Socialism," XIN QINGNIAN, Vol 9, No 3, 1 July 1921

6. "China's National Revolution and the Classes in Society," QIANFENG [VANGUARD] Monthly, No 2, December 1923

7. Chen Duxiu, "How to Overthrow the Warlords," XIANGDAO Weekly, No 21, 18 April 1923

8. Chen Duxiu, "Beijing's Coup and the Guomindang," XIANGDAO Weekly, Combined Nos 31 and 32, 1 July 1923

9. Chen Duxiu, "On Building the Nation," op. cit.

10. Chen Duxiu, "the Bourgeois Revolution and the Revolutionary Bourgeoisie," XIANGDAO Weekly, No 22, 25 April 1923

11. See "Selections of the Political Reports of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee" (1922-1926), March 1981 edition

12. "Chen Duxiu's Speeches on Socialism" (May 1924), "Prior to the Sixth Congress"

13. Chen Duxiu, "the Guomindang and the Labor Movement," XIANGDAO, No 71, 18 June 1924

14. Chen Duxiu, "Our Reply," op. cit., No 82, 17 September 1924

15. Chen Duxiu, "Lessons Learned in the National Movement of the Past 27 Years," XIN QINGNIAN Quarterly, No 4, 20 December 1924

16. "On the United Front," "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai"

17. "Resolution of the Fourth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party on the National Revolutionary Movement"

18. Chen Duxiu, "the Strength of the Workers in China's National Revolutionary Movement," XIANGDAO Weekly, No 101, 7 February 1925

19. Chen Duxiu, "Shanghai's Great Massacre and China's National Freedom Movement," op. cit., No 117, 6 June 1925

20. Chen Duxiu, "a Letter to Dai Jitao [2071 1323 7118]," "Prior to the Sixth Congress"

21. Chen Duxiu, "the Significance of the Guangzhou Battle," XIANGDAO Weekly, No 121, 11 July 1925

22. Chen Duxiu, "the Revolutionary Shanghai," op. cit., No 160, 30 June 1926

23. Ibid.

24, 25. "Resolution of the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee," "Prior to the Sixth Congress"

26. Zhou Enlai, "on the Relations of the Chinese Communist Party with the Guomindang from 1924 to 1926," "Selected Works"

27. Chen Duxiu, "on Jiang Jieshi's Speech of 7 March," XIANGDAO Weekly, No 192, 18 March 1927

28. Lenin, "Statistics and Sociology," "Complete Works," Vol 23, p 279

6080
CSO: 4005/1190

PARTY AND STATE

ZHANG XUN'S QING DYNASTY RESTORATION DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jul 82 p 5

[Article by Min Go [7096 2047]: "Zhang Xun's Restoration"]

[Text] The development of history often travels a zigzag path. The 1911 revolution overthrew the rule of the Qing monarchy and established a Republic and thereby brought to a close more than 2,000 years of the feudal monarchical autocratic system. But the old forces did not acquiesce in their defeat. In the early years of the Republic, in the wake of the failure of Yuan Shikai's "Hongxian monarchy" there occurred on 1 July 1917 again a restoration of the Qing Court. Because this restoration was instigated single handedly by the feudal warlord Zhang Xun, it was generally known as Zhang Xun's Restoration.

Zhang Xun (1854-1923) was originally the Qing Dynasty's regional commander-in-chief for Anhui and Jiangsu south of the Changjiang in charge of the river-defense Military Post stationed in Nanjing. After the outbreak of the 1911 revolution, the revolutionary troops attacked Nanjing and Zhang Xun put up a stubborn resistance in his backed-up corner. Upon his defeat, he led more than 2,000 troops to retreat northward and set up his defense command in the Xuzhou-Gunzhou region to continue to confront the revolutionary troops. Upon the establishment of the Republic, he stubbornly kept his queue to indicate that he was still loyal to the Qing Court. This baseful attitude of wishing closed mindedly to serve as the Qing Court's running dog on his part incurred the loath of the vast ranks of the people. People called this odd-looking warlord "the general with a queue," and his troops were also called "queued soldiers." In 1913, because he had earned some "merit" in helping suppress "the second revolution" launched by Sun Zhongshan, he was promoted by Yuan Shikai to become the inspector general for the Changjiang Region, and his "queued soldiers" too were increased to 20,000 men. From then on, he took over command in Xuzhou and became a supercilious local warlord.

In 1916, head of the warlords of the northern sea, Yuan Shikai, assumed the title of an emperor but was defeated and died of anxiety and fear. When Li Yuanhong acceded to the presidency, real power was held in the hands of Premier Duan Qirui. Contradictions between the warlords of the northern sea and the Kuomintang partisans and the local forces of the southwest multiplied; the political situation became very chaotic. Zhang Xun thought that this

must be the best time to restore the rule of the Qing monarchy and he therefore convened the Xuzhou Conference under the pretext of uniting together the warlords of the northern sea and the local forces of the southwest, to counter the Kuomintang. At that conference, he glibly talked about how the Qing Court was "profoundly gracious and benevolent," and therefore demanded "honoring various conditions on giving preferential treatment to the royal family of the former Qing Dynasty." He also proposed that all warlords of the northern sea "consult one another on everything," "assuredly adopt a uniform posture," and therefore openly organized an offensive/defensive alliance of the warlords. At this time, Duan Qirui was intent on making use of the Xuzhou Conference in order to consolidate his ruling position; through his covert machination, the ranks of the warlords of 7 provinces who attended the Xuzhou Conference quickly expanded to include 13 provinces and regions. They also proceeded to organize the so-called "Association of 13 Provinces and Regions," formulate a charter, and uphold Zhang Xun as their overlord. During this period, warlords who joined the association led by Zhang Xun issued a series of circulars which viciously attacked the National Assembly; their blustering posture was most arrogant.

Soon thereafter, contradictions between Li Yuanhong and Duan Qirui exploded in the so-called "war participation" (i.e., participation in World War I) question. Duan advocated declaration of war against Germany; Li and the National Assembly firmly opposed this; the two sides faced each other like water and fire. Because of Germany's covert support for his intent on restoration, Zhang Xun opposed declaration of war against Germany; but he also despised the National Assembly and Li Yuanhong. As a result, both Li and Duan competed to rope in Zhang Xun as their supporter. But Zhang Xun had his own plans. He pretended to be a mediator between Li and Duan and tried to utilize their contradictions and thereby harvest the fisherman's prey as he waited for the chance to control the central government. Meanwhile, with his status as the overlord of 13 provinces and regions he connived with the German and Japanese imperialists and struck up connections in all directions. He also recruited remnant seniors and juniors of the former Qing Dynasty lying low in various localities, offspring of the "Hongxian Monarchy," as well as the old loyalists to piece together a substantial force and thereby actively make preparations for restoration.

In late May 1917, when Li and Duan reached a stalemate over the question of dissolving the National Assembly, Duan Qirui, through his confidant Xu Shuzeng, instigated the governors general of various provinces to converge on Xuzhou with a view to urging Zhang Xun himself to take the lead to overthrow Li Yuanhong and dissolve the National Assembly. Upon receiving such information, Li Yuanhong first gave the order to dismiss Duan Qirui from his premiership. When this message reached Xuzhou, the governors general raised an uproar and immediately proceeded to duscuss a counterpolicy. Taking advantage of this opportunity Zhang Xun advanced the proposal of "indispensable restoration" and "the governors general on the surface also indicated their consent." After the meeting, the governors general, according to their premeditated steps, took turns to declare their independence and refused to recognize the central government. Li Yuanhong was forced to call Zhang Xun into the capital to mediate. Thus Zhang Xun leading 3,000 of his "queued soldiers" proceeded northward from Xuzhou on 7 June; on the next day he

reached Tianjin. When he met with Duan Qirui, who had just stepped down from office, he immediately put forward his conditions for "mediation" and pressured Li Yuanhong to dissolve the National Assembly. Li was forced to issue a decree to dissolve the National Assembly; Zhang Xun arrived in Beijing on the 14th.

In order to hoodwink the people, Zhang Xun indicated after his entry into the capital his readiness to support Li Jingxi to organize a responsible cabinet; he also sent circulars to the various provinces to have them repeal their respective independence. The situation nominally quieted down, but covertly Zhang Xun directed his confidant Wan Shengshi to send secret circulars to the restorationist elements in various localities and ask them to hasten to the capital. The restorationist elements in these localities were elated with frenzey and immediately they all proceeded to Beijing. Among them was Kang Youwei, who had degenerated into a restorationist. He held that a republic was not suitable to China's national conditions, and unless the course of action was changed there would be no way to "achieve salvation." He also wantonly alleged that, once Xuantong was restored on the throne, "the country could be put back to sure safety within a week." After a round of intense plotting, Zhang Xun brought with him his cronies who secretly entered the Qing Palace on the evening of 30 June and held a so-called "deliberations before the emperor'; they immediately decided to launch the restoration that very evening. In the depth of the night, the queued soldiers occupied the train station, the post office, and other similar important places. In the meantime, they sent delegates to urge Li Yuanhong to "return sovereign rule [to the Qing Court]; but the proposition was rejected by Li. In the early morning of 1 July, Zhang Xun changed into a court outfit of the Qing period and led all those clowns to the Qing Palace to implore the 12-year old Puyi to "ascend the throne" and accept their homage, as they hailed "May you live 10,000 years"! Thus the restoration comedy was under way.

Under the direction of Zhang Xun, eight "edicts" were issued on the same day, changing 1 July of the 6th year of the Republic into "13 May of the 9th year of Xuantong," replacing the five-color national flag with a dragon flag, thus restoring the old system prevailing at the end of the Qing. At the center were installed grand councillors and a cabinet; governors general of the provinces were now changed to inspectors general or viceroys. Zhang Xun conferred upon himself the office of a grand councillor while serving concurrently as viceroy of Zhili and superintendent of the Northern Sea, thus concentrating both military and administrative powers in himself. Sending circulars to the provinces, he drivelled that "All our brethren are old subjects of the former dynasty and heavily indebted to it; even today's soldiers and civilians still feed themselves on this land and for generations owe their livelihood and growth to it. Upon receiving this circular, you should immediately follow the new calendar and hoist up the dragon flag."

The restorationist forces over-estimated their strength; they failed to perceive Duan Qirui's political plot to use them as his tools so that he could continue to control the central government. They thought that since restoration was planned at the Xuzhou Conference, once it got started various places would immediately respond. However, their reactionary fantasies were soon destroyed. As soon as news about the restoration began to spread, vehement

opposition by the people of various strata was aroused at once. The masses all flocked to hold meetings, and public opinions invariably aired condemnation, all designating Zhang Xun and his ilk as "renegades," "clowns." Sun Zhongshan issued a declaration for expedition against the renegades to point out that an expedition against Zhang Xun was not only "a struggle for the Republic's existence, but also the nation's battle against military force." He at the same time ordered revolutionary party members of various provinces to "send troops to punish the renegades." The industrial and commercial circles in Shanghai all hung the Republican flag for 3 days; the various circles in Canton convened a citizens' "rear service association for national defense" in order to evince their determination to oppose restoration. Li Yuanhong fled to the Japanese Embassy for shelter and firmly declined to mix company with the restorationist elements. Making use of the momentum of the people of the whole country in opposing restoration, Duan Qirui immediately started his maneuvers everywhere; with the support of the Japanese imperialists he succeeded in organizing an "expeditionary army against the renegades: and convened an oath-taking rally at Machang in the outskirts of Tianjin on 3 July. In the Beijing-Tianjin region those contingents joining this "expeditionary army against the renegades" numbered more than 50,000 men. They pushed simultaneously northward along the Beijing-Tianjin Railway and the Beijing-Hankou Railway in the east and in the west. The queued troops defending Langfang collapsed upon their very first encounter; seeing that the situation did not augur very well, the restorationists hurriedly fled Beijing for their lives. Knowing that the game was as good as lost, Zhang Xun could no longer come up with any countermeasures; he was compelled to resign from all his fraudulent offices and beg the corps of foreign envoys in Beijing to come forward to "mediate." Duan Qirui proposed the disarming of the queued troops and preserving Zhang Xun's life and properties. But Zhang Xun insisted on leading his troops back to his old nest in Xuzhou in an attempt to preserve his forces intact so that he could still remain a local warlord. After negotiations between the two sides broke down, the "expeditionary army against the renegades' launched its overall attack on the 12th; the queued troops defending Beijing either laid down their arms and surrendered or simply dissapated. Under the protection of two Germans Zhang Xun fled to the Holland legation in a hurry. After only 12 days, the farce of the restoration thus folded in the midst of curses by thousands. Duan Qirui reentered Beijing on the 14th and resumed control over the government. Looking upon himself as the benefactor who had brought about the "regeneration of the Republic," he insolently refused to reinstate the "temporary covenant" and the National Assembly, and continued to carry out his warlordly arbitrary rule.

In the history of the Republic, there appeared more than once clowns who vainly attempted to steer history backward. Because they violated the people's will, they all ended up in defeat and disrepute. The shortlived restoration by Zhang Xun once again testified to this logic of historical development.

9255
CSO: 4005/1101

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

NAVAL EXERCISE ON HIGH SEA DESCRIBED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Lu Qiming [7120 0366 2494] and Li Xueyin [2521 1331 1377]: "Test On the High Sea"]

[Text] The boundless high sea of our motherland is the cradle of the people's navy where it has grown up and become increasingly powerful. The high sea of our country is also a testing ground where the sailors demonstrate their fighting power.

On the constantly changing stormy high seas a large scale two-sided military exercise of landing operations and counter-attack was carried out: A composite formation of the "Red" composed of scores of naval vessels, under the support of the naval air units, swiftly moved to the formation of naval vessels of the "Blue" unit which was about to "invade" a certain island.

With the two opposing sides confronting each other, the decisive factor rested on the commanding officers. At the time when the commanding officer on the flagship of the "Red" unit, who is in the prime of life, was about to issue orders to attack, there was a sudden change in the formation of the "tricky" "Blue" unit. When the "enemy" shifts its position we must also make changes! The commander of the "Red" unit calmly issued new orders one after another to resort to the tactics of starting a feigned attack to lure the "enemy." Various arms with different combat missions charged the "Blue" unit wave after wave. Airborne forces reinforced them in time from the sky.... They totally "annihilated" the "Blue" unit which had intended to make a forced landing at the beachhead.

The name of the commander of the "Red" unit is Zhang Yusan [1728 0056 0005] who has been one of the first generation sailors of the poeple's navy. In May last year, he came to the coastal front to assume the post of the commander of a composite armada and started to learn once again the tactics and techniques of various service arms. In a short period of only one year, he has become familiar with the different types of naval vessels of the armada and the fighting capabilities of the neval air units, and thereby becoming a commander who can skillfully direct the operation of a composite armada with sophisticated equipment.

People often say that in order to command a modern warship on the high sea, one must not only have the courage and resourcefulness of a strategist, but he must also be as scientifically minded as an engineer. Yang Zhangkui [2799 2222 1145], dadui commander of a certain guided missile escort vessel unit was in the past an "uneducated person" who was not even able to write letters to his own family members. But now he can master the techniques of launching guided missiles from the sea. He directed naval vessels to practice shooting on the rough high sea. As soon as the naval vessles entered into the course of combat, a ship-to-ship missile took off with a gush of heavy smoke and blazing flames and "boom," hit the target accurately.

In a sense, a mdern warfare is a war of electronics. The boundless high sea is a vast battle ground to engage in electronic wartime. A certain fast attack craft unit has specifically set up a research group to explore the new tactics of electronic warfare. By pooling their wisdom and strength together, a new type of guiding operations has been put forward, a new means for operating radar in a concealed position has been put forward, a new means for operating radar in the concealed position has been tempered, and a new method for jamming electronic waves has been found. In a "fierce fight" on the sea, this FAC unit, by applying the successful result of research, defeated the formation of an "invader" equipped with advanced electronic instruments and seized the initiative at the testing ground on the high seas.

A long distance deep sea navigation is a rigorous test of the commanding skill of a submarien captain. The young captain Zhang Leiyu [1728 4320 1946], who has only recently been promoted, has commanded three long voyages and every time he has successfully accomplished his mission. Once there was a navigation plan in front of him which called for a longer voyage and was more difficult to accomplish. There are four water lanes on this sea route which are both narrow and dangerous. At that time, "enemy activities" of one kind or another were reported on islands winding through both sides of the course. As typhoon wreaked havoc and turbid waves leaped skywards, the submarine sailed like an untamed wild horse. Zhang Leiyu was in command with perfect ease and ingeniously utilized the bad weather as a cover to carry out reconnaissance drills under the "enemy's very noses." He sailed thousands of miles and won a new "certificate of quality" in the test on the high sea.

9560
CSO: 4005/1134

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA GENERAL LOGISTICS DEPARTMENT TRAINS TECHNICAL CADRES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Zhou Songnai [0719 2646 5082] and Wang Zongren [3769 1350 0088]: "PLA General Logistics Department Trains and Employs Middle-Aged Scientific and Technical Cadres"]

[Text] The PLO General Logistics Department party committees at all levels have been paying attention to the work of training and employing middle-aged scientific and technical cadres in recent years. A scientific and technical contingent full of vigor and vitality which is provided with various branches of learning has, step by step, been set up and the work of scientific research has been thoroughly carried out and more than 1,000 scientific research projects have been successfully accomplished.

Party committees at each unit of the PLA General Logistics Department, while making earnest efforts to redress the unjust, false and wrong charges and to solve the question of approving party membership applications, have adopted three practical steps:

1. To actively train them, to constantly heighten their level of professional theory and to improve their ability of engaging in actual technical work, night schools and different types of shortterm training classes have been established extensively, academic forums and public lectures on different subjects have been convened. Foreign experts and professors were invited to give lectures in China. Particular attention has been paid to educating elder experts and renowned professors to take up the work of training middle-aged and young scientific and technical cadres as their unshirkable responsibility and to willingly let the cadres surpass themselves.

2. We must boldly promote competent and politically sound middle-aged scientific and technical cadres and appoint them to leading posts. The posts of more than 400 directors and deputy directors of various divisions and offices of all PLA medical colleges, general hospitals and a scientific research base, with the exception of a few independent cases, are not occupied by well-trained middle-aged scnentific and technical cadres as well as some professors and associate professors. Over the past five years, the PLA Academy of Military Medical Science has promoted a total of 48

scientific and technical leading cadres to posts at the above departmental level and 40 of them happened to be middle-aged scientific and technical personnel. Since these comrades have been appointed to leading posts, party committees at all levels dared to let them shoulder heavy responsibilities by earnestly conferring posts, rights and duties upon them so that they may really play their role as "pillars" in scientific and technical work.

3. We must give a free hand in their work to let middle-aged scientific and technical cadres take up the responsibilities in important scneitific research projects. In recent years, most of the successes in more than 1,000 scientific research projects of the PLA General Logistics Department were the results of the hard work of middle-aged scientific and technical cadres.

Party committees at all levels in the PLA General Logistics Department also have attached great importance to solving the actual difficulties encountered by middle-aged intellectuals. In recent years, the PLA General Logistics Department built more than 540,000 square meters of new living quartesr for teaching, scientific research and medical units to use in order to solve the problem of inadequacy of housing for scientific and technical cadres. At present, the question of family reunion of scientific and technical cadres. At present, the questionof family reunion of scientific and technical cadres at and above the level of lecturers, military surgeons-in-charge and engineers has basically been resolved. In addition, all units have arranged to provide motor vehicles and to improve the quality of food for scientific and technical cadres. In order to let scientific and technical cadres concentrate on scientific research work, most of the units have released them from physical labor in farming and sideline production. Noncombatant duties also have been reduced to theminimum.

9560
CSO: 4005/1134

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

IMPLEMENTATION OF POPULATION POLICY STRESSED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jul 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Unswervingly Carry Out the Party's Population Policy"]

[Text] Today, this newspaper publishes in summary form the views of the provincial party committee and provincial government on implementing the joint CCP Central Committee-State Council "Directive on Further Doing a Good Job in Our Birth Control Work"; this document fully embodies the spirit of the joint Party Central Committee-State Council directive and concentratedly summarizes the good approaches and experiences of our province in developing our birth control work; it is bound to play a powerful promotion role in unifying the policy thinking of the province's leading cadres at various levels, heightening the consciousness of the cadres and masses in doing a good job in our birth control work, and promoting the deepening development of the province's birth control work.

Rigorously enforcing birth control and controlling our population increase is an important strategic question encountered by our socialist modernization. It directly concerns the success or failure of the cause of our four modernizations and the happiness of our posterity; it is a very important and urgent big matter. And unswervingly implementing the party's population policy is in turn the reliable guarantee for the triumphant accomplishment of this important historical task. What is the party's population policy? It is no other than limiting our population increase and improving our population quality, and its basic demand is: promoting late marriage, late procreation, fewer births, and superior births. Concerning these demands the party Central Committee and State Council have provided clear regulations; this time the provincial party committee and provincial government have again provided certain concrete, supplementary regulations. All these regulations are formulated by proceeding from the realities of our nation and our province, and they are also proved in practice to be correct and feasible; they have pointed out the direction for us to do a good job in our birth control work and provided us with norms that can be followed. Party organizations and government departments at various levels should all propagte them energetically, seriously adhere to them, and resolutely implement them. We must make the spirit of this document known to every household and even every woman and child, so that it can penetrate people's minds.

Correctly understanding policy is the premise for resolutely implementing policy. With regard to the same policy prescription, because the angles from which people view problems are different, their understandings are also different, and it is often likely for them to derive different conclusions. For instance, some have understood that caring for the practical difficulties of certain masses of the peasants is a case of the party's policy becoming lax and relaxed, thus making it possible to increase to two births per household. This is purely a misunderstanding. In reality, the policy prescriptions of the party Central Committee and State Council are very clear; in order for a household to have a second birth, there must not only be "special circumstances" and "practical difficulties," but it must also be "approved" and "arranged according to plan." This prescription not only demonstrates the spirit of the necessity of grasping our birth control work closely but also predicates our policy on the basis of its acceptability by the majority of the masses; it is neither lax, relaxed, nor does it reduce our birth control requirement. Again, for instance, after our new marriage law was promulgated, some people stressed only the aspect of people being permitted to get married by their legal age, while ignoring the other aspect that our population's base figure is already very big so we should promote later marriage. This is also a manifestation of partial understanding. Situations similar to this tell us that only by seriously studying the party's relevant policies and really understanding the spirit of the party's policies can we continue to clarify this or that kind of muddled concepts, partial understandings, and thereby ensure resolute implementation of our population policy.

In implementing resolutely the party's population policy, we must adhere to the principle of relying mainly on ideological education and supplementing it with necessary economic restrictions and punishements. Our birth control work is extensive in coverage and heavy in quantity; it touches hundreds and thousands of households and is a profound revolution. It is bound to run into many ideological problems and practical problems. Because the feudal ideas of several thousand years' standing about "regarding men as superior to women" and "the more sons, the greater happiness" still have a considerable market and, in addition, after the responsibility agricultural production system was put into practice, many peasants became even "more eager to have sons," the formidable nature of this work has become exacerbated. This has come to require us to energetically reinforce our work in ideological education, to make it more penetrating, more meticulous, more solid, and more fruitful so as to really turn the implementation of our birth control into the conscious action of the masses. We cannot relax or weaken our ideological and educational work just because we think that the central government and the province have already clearly prescribed economic restrictions and punishing methods, or even replace our ideological and educational work with them; that would not only be erroneous in terms of our guiding ideology but also would affect the smooth deployment of our birth control. Facts prove that putting emphasis on punishments and taking education lightly would not only fail to restrict any second birth or prevent multiple births but also create the feeling of confrontation which should not prevail between the party and the masses or between

the cadres and the masses. We should know that punishment is a means and not an end; the end is to enlighten the consciousness of more people on the sideline through the punishment of an extreme minority. And only when restrictions and punishments are employed as supplements to basic undertaking of penetrating, meticulous ideological work can such restrictions and punishments be effective and persuasive and reap the positive effect of "punishing 1 household, educating 10,000 households" and achieve good results.

In carrying out resolutely the party's population policy, we must be good at linking our established policies and principles to the actual situations of our own district and unit. In the case of larger matters, they must be unified under the policy prescrptions of the party Central Committee and State Council and the supplementary regulations of the provincial party committee and provincial government; as for the temporary regulations formulated by various regions, municipalities and counties in the past, whichever are in accord with the spirit of the Central Committee and the provincial committee should continually be implemented, otherwise the Central Committee and provincial documents must be followed. In the concrete process of implementation, we must seek truth from facts and insist on proceeding from reality and refrain from handling everything in the same rigid manner. For instance, various localities may base themselves on relevant Central Committee and provincial regulations, keep in line with their own respective local realities, and thereby formulate their own detailed guidelines for implementation; certain "village rules and folksy conventions" that have played a wholesome role in our control of population increase may also be implemented continually.

Since the 1970's, birth control work in our province has achieved conspicuous results. Today, on the basis of the spirit of the directive issued by the party Central Committee and State Council the provincial party committee and provincial government have once again done this work well and provided us with new supplementary regulations. So long as we unswervingly implement the party's population policy and penetratingly and carefully do our ideological and political work well, the birth control work in our province is bound to achieve even greater results.

9255
CSO: 4005/1127

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

REESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jul 82 p 5

[Article by Fei Xiaotong [6316 1321 6639]: "Some Suggestions on the Reestablishment of the Science of Sociology in our Country"]

[Text] It has been more than 3 years since sociology was restored in our country. But restoring the status of this subject of sociology among China's social sciences is not the same as restoring the subject's old content. Insofar as this subject's content is concerned, it remains to be built by us energetically in order to turn it into a sociology guided by Marxism, closely united with reality, and in the service of our socialist construction. This is essentially different from the sociology in the China of the old era and from the sociology of countries of the West.

In saying that as a science China's sociology has already paused for nearly 30 years, we do not mean that the work of our country in attempting to seek a scientific understanding of the Chinese society has been interrupted for such a long period. On the contrary, a genuinely scientific understanding of the Chinese society began only with the social surveys undertaken under the leadership of the CCP. Social surveys uniting theory with reality have always been a fine party tradition, and Comrade Mao Zedong personally the example of this. This has been the most precious foundation of our sociology. In the long processes of revolution and construction, large contingents of theoretical workers and practical working cadres have been trained and fostered in our country. Such contingents of forces with both theory and practical experience are the mainstay and core on whom the development of our sociology depends in the years ahead.

We must also seriously study the sociology of the West and the sociology of old China; we must study not only the vast amount of knowledge they have accumulated but also the methodology they employ. This by no means prevents us from carrying out a Marxist type of criticism after deliberation and consideration upon the completion of our study. Today's problem is that we do not know, or do not know enough. Only by serious study can we analytically and critically absorb things that are useful to us. We have several thousand years of fine civilization which includes rich sociological thinking and which awaits our critical inheritance from the Marxist point of view. In a word, we must use Marxism as our guide and, on the basis of the party's

fine tradition, implement the double-hundred principle, make the past serve the present and make things foreign serve China; for the purpose of reestablishing our sociology, we must endeavor to utilize all utilizable conditions.

The reason we must reestablish this science is because of the needs of the development of our present social economy. In order to implement socialist modernization in a planned way and achieve a systematic, scientific understanding of the actual conditions of our social economy, we have at various points established many disciplines of social science; each discipline has undertaken tasks of research according to its own particular realm of specialty. But in respect to certain social phenomena and social problems relating to the national economy and people's livelihood, especially certain questions of a comprehensive nature, the corresponding disciplines are still lacking for such research undertakings. And sociology is precisely one science which is rather comprehensive, as it takes society as a whole and comprehensively studies various aspects of the relationship between social phenomena and their development and change.

Since our sociology takes as its goal an endeavor to keep in line with the reality of Chinese society and to render service to the building of a socialist modern state, this determines that our sociology must achieve its growth in the soil of our own country. Sociology is a superstructure of a given society under given conditions; the various concepts which make up sociology come from, and are applied to, the realities of a given, specific society. Today there are in the world still different societies and nations of different cultures; the sociologies of all countries inevitably exhibit their own respective characteristics. Our sociology must reflect the Chinese society of a socialist nature and the characteristics of the Chinese people. We must predicate ourselves upon having our feet planted in the reality of our current Chinese society and, through the test of practice, gradually develop our own sociology. This is a formidable task, the accomplishment of which requires the efforts of several generations. But a journey of 1,000 li begins with a first step. We have the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and we have the guarantee of the socialist system, so our goal is bound to be attained.

In order to realize this goal, we must have a contingent of forces capable of making such efforts. Scientific work is honest, careful specialized work; without a scientifically trained contingent of forces and without going through a long period of hard labor, success can hardly be achieved. But in our country, because institutions of higher learning have for many years not trained any sociological workers, those who studied sociology in the past were by no means numerous and they are now mostly rather old, with their undertakings neglected and their knowledge out of date, the difficulty we encounter first in our endeavor to launch our sociology is a manpower shortage.

We are forced to take the training of a new generation of sociologists as the primary task in our current effort to reestablish this science. In order to gain time, apart from training them in our universities we must also break conventions and adopt the method of carrying out study and teaching simultaneously. That is, we must absorb the middle-aged teachers of other sciences who are cultivated in Marxism and the cadres of various relevant

departments who are experienced in social work, have them study sociology on a short-term basis, and then organize them to carry out social surveys and compile teaching materials for various subjects of sociology and thereby train them to become the sociological research personnel of various organs and the teachers of sociology of various schools.

In trying to reestablish our sociology, we must adhere to the principle of uniting theory with reality and linking teaching with scientific research. Natural sciences cannot depart from experiments; social sciences cannot depart from social surveys. Social surveys are purposeful and systematic observations of social phenomena which provide data for the exploration of the laws of social movement. Living in society, man cannot be totally ignorant about society. But such knowledge as can be derived from life and practice is not only limited and partial, but often a case of conveying what things are but not why they are. In order to obtain scientific knowledge about society, we must aim at specific problems, carry out systematic observations in specific contexts, and, after analysis and rearrangement, raise them to the level of theoretical perception. Therefore, a sociology that is rooted in the reality of Chinese society must begin by scientifically investigating Chinese society.

Promoting social surveys is our party's fine tradition. In the environment of warfare in the early years, what was adopted was mainly the approach of selecting models and carrying out brief, face-to-face conservations in order to carry out social surveys; that was the approach of "dissecting a sparrow" or a key-point social survey. It was the most basic type and method of scientific social investigation and also the type and method that has proved in practice to be effective and highly fruitful

While this key-point social investigation has been indeed a truly effective type and method, to which we should adhere and give further scope, we should also see its limitation. This type and method is not suitable for application to objects of research that are broad in substantive coverage and wide in physical extent. It may be able to dissect a "sparrow," examine various ingredients of a social model, present meticulous descriptions, and achieve definitive results, but it can hardly correctly indicate in quantitative terms the status and relative weight of such a model in the broader realm. Therefore, to further develop our social survey we must still supplement it with survey methods that are suitable for application in larger areas; that is, we must achieve unity between spot survey and area survey. In an area survey, the method generally is to take a specific problem as a point of departure, adopt a series of quantitatively measurable indicators, compile a questionnaire, ask those subject to the survey to fill it in according to their respective situations, and thereby derive statistics and achieve quantified results. When this method is adopted, the number of people subject to the survey can be very big and is not limited by the ability of the individual surveyor himself; in particular, because modern computing tools are well developed and capable of handling huge figures, they are beyond the imagination of the handicraft approach of the past. Whether or not this survey method can succeed in authentically reflecting social realities is determined by how questions and measuring indicators are formulated, how questionnaires are compiled, how after the questionnaires are compiled these

questionnaires are distributed and filled out according to relevant sampling, and how through statistics the figures are finally interpreted. In order to be able to correctly solve these problems in accordance with scientific requirements, we must rely on key-point surveys beforehand and key-point verifications afterward. Hence, spot survey and area survey must be combined, characterization and quantification must be combined, as they are not in contradiction, but mutually supplementary.

Both spot and area social surveys require down-to-earth basic training. Key-point surveys must be brought deep into the ranks of the masses; we must participate in their life; we must not only visit and observe them but also go through living with them together before we can understand their thinking and their attitudes. We must be good at living with the masses, good at making observation and analysis, capable of selecting some guidelines out of complicated conditions of real life and observing the relationship between them, making comprehensive comparisons, and elevating our understanding to the theoretical level. It is incorrect to take this kind of investigation and study work as simple and easy "cursory observation." We must undertake sufficient preparations and basic training; not be afraid of hardship, tiring work, and involved dealings; and train ouselves in practice in a preserving manner, before we can become authentic social investiagtors. Area social surveys also cannot be accomplished just by randomly compiling questionnaires and bringing them back and summarizing the statistics they provide. Without penetrating understanding of the questions under survey, it is impossible to formulate appropriate questionnaires. As to how sampling should be carried out in order to have the overall situation reflected and how to persuade those subject to survey to honestly fill out the questionnaires, problems of this sort must all be solved with flexibility according to local circumstances. In carrying out analysis and compiling statistics after the questionnaires are gathered, we must adopt various methods and tools of computation. With respect to figures obtained from the statistics, we must further keep in mind pertinent related conditions and study them again and again in order to understand their implications. For the sake of doing a good job in our investigation and study, we must never overlook basic training.

Social change has its historical process to follow; in order to understand today's society we must compare it with yesterday's society. Hence, in carrying out a social survey in a certain locality, we should observe it regularly, being able at least to carry out additional surveys at short intervals in order to observe the change. Our past social surveys were often carried out in conjunction with certain political tasks; once a movement passed, such survey data were then thrown away; few were able to accumulate the various surveys of a locality and carry out a comparative study to see the laws of change therein. And because of this lack of accumulated data, even when another survey was conducted in the same locality, it had to start from scratch again. This approach can hardly yield penetrating surveys, and it also tends to unnecessarily waste people's energy. Therefore, our social surveys from now on should be carried out in a planned way again and again in the already surveyed areas where basic conditions are also mastered in order to make it possible to compare the surveys at various times and thereby observe social change as well as to have surveys of different aspects

complement each other and make obvious the connections between them. Areas subject to such repeated surveys may be called base areas for social survey, which are namely the scientific observation stations in our society. We can imagine that in different areas of the country many base areas for social survey are established where regular observation is feasible; when we need to understand certain of the country's social conditions, it is possible for us to obtain fairly accurate data in a short period of time. Compared to the "public opinion polls" conducted in certain countries of the West, the results can be far more advanced scientifically. At present, this exists only in our imagination, which is still some distance from reality.

The issue of investigation and study should be closely linked to the actual situation and problems of our current socialist economic development. We must not only set our eyes on the questions of social ills with which people in our society are concerned, such as crimes being committed by youths and children, but we need also to study certain basic phenomena, such as current urban-rural relations, family structure, city planning, population quality, plant management, etc. At present, there exist in our superstructure and ideology many problems which require sociological workers to carry out pertinent social surveys in order to have systematic, analyzed reliable data submitted to the decisionmakers. We must critically accept various past and foreign sociological achievements in the manner of seeking truth from facts by eliminating the dross and preserving the essential; first of all, we must learn to understand the sociology of foreign countries and then criticize it; sociology itself must also become the object of our sociological study. This includes analyzing the historical backgrounds of the sociological theories of various countries in various periods by historical materialism, examinig the roles they have played in society at the time, and also studying the use to which we can put in our current socialist construction. It is time for us to begin this study. For the sake of fostering the next generation, we must also have a subject which introduces us to Western society. A relatively realistic approach is to select certain representative sociologists among those in the West and study them one by one.

Furthermore, we must continue to develop academic exchanges with foreign countries. During the past 3 years we have already establsihed contacts with sociological groups or individuals in Japan, the United States, Canada, Australia, Britain, West Germany, Yugoslavia, France and such countries, and carried out exchanges. We are an open country; the closed-door days have now passed. For the sake of learning from each other, mutual visits by social groups and individuals are mutually stimulating beneficial activities. In spite of the fact that we have different social systems from some countries, friendly exchanges are necessary.

9255
CSO: 4005/1124

END

JPRS 81955

8 October 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 347

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81955

8 October 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 347

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S.-Soviet Nuclear Arms Talks Discussed
(Wang Baoqin; SHIJIE ZHISHI, 16 Jun 82) 1

Reportage on Events in Lebanon
(XINHUA, various dates) 5

UNSC Discussion
'Arafat Urges Multinational Return
Israel Decides Not To Withdraw
Israelis Control West Beirut
'Arafat Wants Israeli Withdrawal
PLO Demands Israeli Withdrawal
UNSC Votes To Condemn Israel
'Arafat Calls for Protest Strike
Jordan, Iran Condemn Israel
Algeria, S. Yemen Score Israel
Israel Agrees To Withdraw
Israeli Actions Condemned
'Israeli Massacre' Condemned
Honecker Hits Israel
Syria Says U.S. Responsible for Massacre
Lebanon To Request Multinational Return
Beijing Foreign Students Protest Massacre
Arab League on Israeli Actions

Reception Held for Japanese Film Shooting Team
(XINHUA, 7 Sep 82) 15

Protest Against Japanese Rewriting of History Textbooks
(Various sources, various dates) 16

Okinawan Assembly Protest Note
Japanese Councillor
Hong Kong Anti-Japanese Demonstration

UN General Assembly Opens 37th Session 21 Sep
(XINHUA, 22 Sep 82) 19

[III - CC - 80]

Kenyan Capital in Wake of Abortive Coup
(Ye Zhixiong; XINHUA, 14 Sep 82) 20

Socialist Parties Win in Swedish Elections
(XINHUA, 20 Sep 82) 22

Sichuan Party, Government Fete Kim Il-song
(XINHUA, 20 Sep 82) 23

Suzuki, Thatcher on PRC Relations, Israel
(XINHUA, 20 Sep 82) 25

Briefs
Argentina Seeks Nonaligned Backing 26
CGDK Premier Arrives for UN Session 26
Ziaul Haq on DK's Status 26
Indian Prime Minister to Moscow 27
India To Host Nonaligned Summit 27
UK, India Defense Cooperation 27
W. German Opposition Nominates Kohl 27
EEC Meeting on Relations With U.S. 28
Japan's Abe, Zhao Ziyang Meet 28
'Arafat Meets Syrian Envoy 28

PARTY AND STATE

Beijing Radio on Seeking Truth From Facts
(Zhu Yuanshi; Beijing Domestic Service, 7 Sep 82) 30

Communist Standards for Relations Between People Discussed
(He Beiren; RENMIN RIBAO, 9 Sep 82) 34

'RENMIN RIBAO' Recounts Xishan Conference History
(Bai Jian; RENMIN RIBAO, 14 Sep 82) 37

'RENMIN RIBAO' Urges Developing Marxist Principles
(Zhang Wenhuan; RENMIN RIBAO, 7 Sep 82) 41

'RENMIN RIBAO' Marks Feng Yuxiang Centenary
(Wang Kunlun; RENMIN RIBAO, 11 Sep 82) 46

Henan's Liuzhuang Brigade Writes to Central Leaders
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 15 Sep 82) 56

'JIEFANG RIBAO' on Studying New CPC Constitution
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 11 Sep 82) 58

Fujian Urges Education in Communist Ideology
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 19 Sep 82) 60

Shandong Meeting Urges 'Five Stresses, Four Beauties' Campaign
(Shandong Provincial Service, 19 Sep 82) 62

Meeting on 18 September
Station Commentary

Zhejiang CYL Congress Concludes in Hangzhou
(Zhejiang Provincial Service, 6 Sep 82) 65

Briefs
Haikou Bureau Official Arrested 66
Jilin Delegation to Yanbian 66
Jilin Delegation Back From DPRK 66

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Deng Scored for Belittling PLA
(Ba Yi Radio, 17 Sep 82) 68

Henan Holds Military Training Meeting
(Henan Provincial Service, 19 Sep 82) 70

Taiwan To Consider Improving Performance of F-5E Aircraft
(Jiang Qiguang, Liang Jiamu; CHUNG-YANG JIH-PAO,
22 Aug 82) 71

Briefs
Wuhan Urban Air Defense Conference 73
Nanjing PLA Units Support CPC Organs 73

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S.-SOVIET NUCLEAR ARMS TALKS DISCUSSED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] No 12, 16 Jun 82 pp 2-3

[Article by Wang Baoqin [3769 0202 0530]: "The New Round of U.S.-Soviet Nuclear Arms Talks"]

[Text] After intense publicity campaigns, negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on strategic nuclear weapons have been reopened. These are a continuation of the 10 years of talks that the two sides held from 1969 to 1979. The irony is that the results of 10 years of talking have been the so-called first and second strategic arms limitation agreements, while, in fact, the nuclear stockpiles of both sides have continued to grow. In particular, the Soviet rate of arms expansion has far outpaced that of the United States. When the second nuclear treaty was signed in 1979, the volume of Soviet nuclear weapons not only exceeded that of the United States, but in certain respects the quality of the weapons also matched that of the United States. Because of this and because of the later Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the U.S. Congress set aside the ratification of the second nuclear arms limitation treaty. After assuming power in early 1981, the Reagan administration made it even clearer that it was abandoning this treaty and would renew talks with the Soviet Union. When would the new talks resume? Reagan said it would be after the United States had reached "nuclear parity" with the Soviets and on the condition that the Soviet Union "showed restraint" in its behavior throughout the world.

The Soviet Union has little respect for Reagan's approach. On the one hand, it has continued to forcefully expand armaments while announcing that there is already a state of "parity" in U.S.-Soviet nuclear might and condemning Reagan administration plans to achieve nuclear superiority; and on the other hand, it has continued to push a peace offensive, urging the United States to ratify the second nuclear arms treaty and to resume strategic arms limitations talks. But the United States has consistently refused.

Now, there have been new developments. On 9 May, Reagan grought forth a "new proposal" for talks on separate stage reductions in strategic nuclear weapons and requested that they begin in June. Here, Reagan emphasized "reductions" and not "limitations," the word that had been used in the past, intending to make it clear that these are "new talks" unrelated to those of the past. Nine days later, Brezhnev, after condemning Reagan's proposal as totally one-sided, expressed a willingness to negotiate, but showed no interest in Reagan's emphasis on "reductions" and raised his own set of "principles" and "proposals."

One may wonder what has renewed interest in the U.S.-Soviet negotiations that were halted for 3 years.

In terms of the United States, because the momentum of the domestic antinuclear movement is strong and has become a potent force in combination with the European peace movement, the Reagan administration has been compelled to try to weaken the momentum by reopening nuclear talks with the Soviet Union. In addition, and perhaps even more importantly, the political struggle between the two parties in the United States intensified so that Reagan had to respond. This year is a midterm election year in the United States, while 1984 is the presidential election year. Senator Edward Kennedy of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party is eager, full of ambition and preparing to make a run for the White House. The proposal he sponsored in Congress for a "nuclear freeze" has already received broad support in Congress, and this, in concert with the powerful, mass antinuclear movement and a heftier Kennedy campaign chest, has become a great threat to the Republican Party. Reagan's proposal on agreeing to U.S.-Soviet nuclear talks is one step in reaction to the Democratic Party's attempts to capture the electorate. In addition, the Western European allies are facing a nuclear impasse and feeling the depth of their plight. The antinuclear movements are influencing their political situations and so they, too, have hoped that the United States would negotiate with the Soviets. On 2 June, Reagan attended the summit conference of seven Western nations in Paris, and naturally this subject was a major topic of discussing. Before Reagan arrived, he announced that "if the Soviets will only show similar restraint," he would adhere to the treaties signed in the past. Therefore, Reagan's proposal to reopen nuclear arms talks with the Soviets was also for the purpose of smoothing over U.S.-European differences.

As for the Soviet Union, it has always maintained the notion of continuing nuclear talks with the United States on the basis of existing agreements. It has persistently spoken in exalted tones of disarmament, but nuclear arms negotiations are also one of its important means of confusing people. Although it has exerted great efforts to have the tip of the antinuclear movement spear point only at the United States, people generally blame both superpowers in the nuclear arms race, and the Soviet Union cannot escape this. Because of this, it is even more interested in playing the hand of negotiation to cover up its nuclear domination. It has agreed to reopen nuclear talks in order to "add fuel" to the U.S. domestic nuclear debate and the antinuclear movement, to sabotage Reagan's plans for expanding armaments, to increase differences within the Reagan administration, and to use the peace offensive to win over those in Western Europe who oppose the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles and, in so doing, to further disrupt U.S.-European relations.

Of course, in addition, there is still another reason: both the United States and the Soviet Union are facing serious economic difficulties. Both hope to reach some kind of compromise through the talks and, under the premise of contending for their own nuclear superiority, to limit the other and suitably reduce the economic burden of expanding nuclear armaments.

However, history has shown that this kind of negotiation, in which each side does its own calculating, is merely a matter of moving the nuclear competition

between the two superpowers to the negotiating table in order to put on an act. This time will be no exception.

Let us look first at Reagan's proposal. Its primary function is to bring about a large reduction in the Soviet Union's large land-based missiles and superiority in throw weight, while maintaining the U.S. lead in bombers, cruise missiles, submarines carrying guided missiles and submarine-launched missiles. The first stage of Reagan's two-stage reductions in nuclear arms is a reduction of the land- and sea-based warheads of both sides (according to materials released by U.S. officials, each side has about 7,500) by one-third, to about 5,000, with the land-based warheads not to exceed half of these, about 2,500. But according to U.S. estimates, 72 percent of the Soviet warheads are on land-based missiles (approximately 5,500) while only 22 percent of the U.S. warheads are land based. In this case, the Soviets would have to eliminate 3,000 land-based warheads and the United States would not need to eliminate any, and could even add more than 300. The U.S. proposal also stipulates the reduction in the total number of land-based and sea-based missiles of both sides to 850, just half of the present U.S. number. But the Soviet Union has a total of 2,400 missiles and, according to the U.S. proposal would have to eliminate 1,550, far more than the number the United States would have to eliminate. In regard to the second-stage reduction of "throw weight" to equal levels, this also is bad for the Soviet Union, because it has a one-third superiority over the United States in this area. For both sides to reach equivalency, the Soviets would need to make large-scale reductions. In addition, the Reagan proposal fails to address clearly the problem of limiting the U.S. superiority in strategic bombers and cruise missiles. According to reports, Reagan has already agreed to include these two items in the second stage of negotiations. But when the time comes, the United States is preparing to replace the aging B-52 bombers with the new B-1 and Stealth bombers and to deploy a large number of cruise missiles, reducing their numbers but increasing their accuracy.

Now let us look at the proposal of the Soviet Union. Its purpose lies in reducing the U.S. lead in the areas of long-range bombers, cruise missiles, submarines with guided missiles and submarine-launched missiles, while it does not reduce its own strength in the area of land-based missiles. Because of this, the proposal emphasizes maintaining the "already existing equivalency" of both sides--that is, it does not allow a weakening of the superiority that the Soviets enjoy in certain areas. At the same time, it wants to "preserve all the positive results that have already been achieved," a clear indication of the articles in the second nuclear arms limitation treaty which are beneficial to the Soviets, namely, those limiting America's bombers and cruise missiles while not limiting the Soviet's heavy land-based missiles. In addition, the Soviets propose to begin "freezing" the strategic weapons of the Soviet Union and the United States now. This is an effort to get the United States to stop development and deployment of new strategic nuclear weapons and to consolidate Soviet superiority in certain areas. At the same time, the proposal, in concert with the U.S. domestic antinuclear movement, is gaining propaganda points for the Soviets.

We can see from this that these two diametrically opposed proposals are designed by each side to strengthen itself and weaken its opponent. In terms of the pre-

sent circumstances and the stances of the two sides, we can expect that the talks this time will be even more difficult than before and will end with the same inevitable result. In the course of protracted give-and-take negotiations, the armaments competition between the two sides will become more and more fierce and the nuclear arms stockpiles will continue to grow.

9705
CSO: 4005/1116

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REPORTAGE ON EVENTS IN LEBANON

UNSC Discussion

OW170931 Beijing XINHUA in English 0738 GMT 17 Sep 82

[Text] United Nations, September 16 (XINHUA)—The U.N. Security Council today held an urgent meeting at the request of Lebanon to discuss the worsening situation in that country as a result of Israel's invasion of West Beirut.

Representatives attending the meeting blasted Israel for its blatant occupation of West Beirut and demanded an immediate, unconditional pull-out of its troops from Lebanon.

Addressing the meeting, Lebanese permanent representative to the United Nations Ghassan Tuwayni pointed out that by invading Beirut, Israel has broken the cease-fire and other commitments which were expected to bring an end to the longstanding tragedy.

Delegates from Jordan, Kuwait, the Arab League, PLO and Syria joined in condemning Israel for its new invasion and in demanding its pull-out from Lebanon.

Jordan and Syria also accused Israel of perpetrating the assassination of Lebanese President-Elect Bashir al-Jumayyil, because, they said, al-Jumayyil had rejected Israel's demand for a "peace treaty" with Lebanon.

Earlier in the day, U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar voiced deep concern over the latest developments in Lebanon in the wake of al-Jumayyil's assassination, particularly Israel's invasion of West Beirut.

The Security Council is expected to consider a Jordan-sponsored draft resolution at a time to be set by council members.

'Arafat Urges Multinational Return

OW171001 Beijing XINHUA in English 0733 GMT 17 Sep 82

[Text] Rome, September 16 (XINHUA)--PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat told a press conference here today that he had requested the Italian Government to send

troops again to Lebanon so that the multinational forces could protect the Palestine refugee camps there.

He said he had made the request because "Israel has occupied our camps in Beirut." "The dignity of the three contingents of the multinational forces and the honour of their governments are at stake," he said.

'Arafat also called for an urgent meeting of the U.N. Security Council and an intervention by Security Council observers in the situation of Lebanon.

He said he was ready to discuss with the United States the eight-point proposal of the Arab summit.

During his stay here, 'Arafat had made a number of calls on Italian political and party leaders. Italian Communist Party leader Berlinguer issued a statement after meeting with 'Arafat this morning. He urged Italian soldiers to return to Lebanon together with the French and American forces to guarantee the security of the Palestine refugee camps.

Berlinguer expressed "grave concern" over the developments in Lebanon and called for energetic actions by the international community, especially by the European community to check the Israelis.

Meanwhile, Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo had met with U.S. Ambassador Maxwell Rabb and telephoned both U.S. Secretary of State Shultz and French Foreign Minister Cheysson in connection with the developments in Lebanon, ANSA reported.

The Italian delegation to the 69th Interparliamentary Conference here today issued a communique condemning the fresh Israeli aggression of Lebanon.

Israel Decides Not To Withdraw

OW171606 Beijing XINHUA in English 1514 GMT 17 Sep 82

[Text] Beirut, September 17 (XINHUA)--In a special cabinet meeting yesterday, Israel decided not to withdraw its troops immediately from West Beirut, Radio Israel announced today.

If the Lebanese troops are ready to take over the positions occupied by Israeli troops, the Israeli Government will order its troops to withdraw, said a cabinet spokesman, according to the broadcast.

The official in a statement, expressed dissatisfaction with the United States for accusing Israel of violating the agreement on the Palestinian armed forces withdrawal from Beirut. There are still 2,000 Palestinian troops and a quantity of heavy weapons in Beirut, according to the spokesman.

Although Israel declared a ceasefire yesterday, gunfire could be heard in West Beirut and Israeli aircraft still circled over the city today.

Israelis Control West Beirut

OW180936 Beijing XINHUA in English 0733 GMT 18 Sep 82

[Text] Beirut, September 17 (XINHUA)--Israeli troops are now in control of the whole West Beirut.

According to the radio reports here, some headquarters of the Lebanese leftist militia have been destroyed and many people arrested as the Israeli troops made house-by-house search.

U.S. special envoy Morris Draper came back here today after meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and some of his cabinet members in Jerusalem, carrying with him the Israeli conditions for its withdrawal from West Beirut.

The Israeli radio quoted a Foreign Ministry official as saying that Israeli and Lebanese officers would discuss the question for the Lebanese Army to take over the positions from Israel, provided that the Lebanese Army should enter the Palestinian camps in West Beirut.

Following discussing the situation with President Ilyas Sarkis, Lebanese Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan told reporters here Lebanon insists that Israel withdraws its troops to their positions before September 15. He also disclosed his government had decided to send the Lebanese Army to take over the security of the whole West Beirut, but the Israeli action obstructed the carrying out of the plan.

'Arafat Wants Israeli Withdrawal

OW191302 Beijing XINHUA in English 1206 GMT 19 Sep 82

[Text] Damascus, September 18 (XINHUA)--PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat today urged immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Beirut, according to a WAFA report.

In a message to King Fand of Saudi Arabia today, 'Arafat asked him to exert pressure on the United States, France and Italy to send peace-keeping forces back to Beirut to protect the lives of civilians.

'Arafat also urged the king to influence Islamic nations to stop massacres inside Palestinian camps and in Beirut taken by Israeli aggressors.

In a similar urgent message to Cuban President Fidel Castro, the current chairman of Non-Aligned Movement, 'Arafat urged Israel to implement the U.N. Security Council resolutions and withdraw its troops from Beirut.

PLO Demands Israeli Withdrawal

OW191307 Beijing XINHUA in English 1232 GMT 19 Sep 82

[Text] Damascus, September 18 (XINHUA)--The Palestine Liberation Organization in a statement today demanded the withdrawal of all Israeli troops from West Beirut.

The statement, issued after an urgent meeting of the PLO Executive Committee presided over by its chairman Yasir 'Arafat on Saturday night, held the United States responsible for the massacre in West Beirut as it had failed to guarantee the safety of the Palestinian refugees as promised by U.S. special envoy Philip Habib.

It also accused the multinational peace-keeping force of the United States, Italy and France of withdrawing from Beirut ahead of time without notifying the PLO.

The statement demanded that Israel be expelled from the United Nations for its violations of the U.N. Charter.

It called on the multinational peace-keeping force to return to Beirut until all Israeli troops are withdrawn.

The U.S. should take measures to force the Israeli troops pull out of Beirut, the statement said.

UNSC Votes To Condemn Israel

OW191854 Beijing XINHUA in English 1839 GMT 19 Sep 82

[Text] United Nations, September 19 (XINHUA)--The U.N. Security Council today unanimously condemned Israel for the massacre of Palestinians in Beirut.

The council adopted a resolution by a vote of 15 to 0 at an urgent meeting early this morning, authorizing Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar to boost U.N. observers in and around Beirut from 10 to 50.

The resolution insisted that the deployment of the observers should not be hindered and that they should have full freedom of movement.

It reminded all U.N. members of their obligation under Article 25 of the U.N. Charter to accept and implement Security Council decisions.

The resolution states the council was appalled at the massacre of Palestinian civilians in Beirut, called once again for respect for their rights and repudiated all acts of violence against them.

The resolution urged the secretary-general to start consultations immediately, particularly with the Lebanese Government, on additional steps the

council might take, including the possible deployment of United Nations forces, to help that government to ensure full protection for the civilians in and around Beirut.

In addition, the document requests Perez de Cuellar to "report to the council within 48 hours," and "to keep the council informed on an urgent and continuing basis."

The secretary-general said in a report to the Security Council yesterday that two teams of OBG (Observers Group Beirut) found many clusters of bodies of men, women and children in civilian clothes who appeared to have been massacred in groups of 10 or 20 in the area dominated by the Israeli forces.

He told the council that "in the present situation unarmed military observers, however courageous or numerous, are not enough."

Zuhdi Labib at-Tarazi, observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization, condemned the involvement of the Israeli troops in Beirut. It was the Israeli commandos that had stormed into the camps and massacred some 1,500 innocent civilians, he said.

At-Tarazi said the PLO had moved out of Beirut on conviction that the agreement on withdrawal would be honored, and the appropriate guarantees for security and protection of civilians would be upheld by the United States.

He urged the council to send forces to ensure the safety of the civilians in Beirut, without violating the sovereignty of Lebanon.

Ghassan Tuwayni, representative of Lebanon, said Lebanon requested that all necessary measures be taken to stop Israeli atrocities.

Representatives of countries including Kuwait, Syria, Egypt, Algeria and Democratic Yemen also joined in condemning the crimes committed by Israel.

Today's council meeting was the third of its kind to consider the grave situation resulting from the Israeli incursions into Beirut and its brutal massacre of the civilians there.

'Arafat Calls for Protest Strike

OW200838 Beijing XINHUA in English 0752 GMT 20 Sep 82

[Text] Damascus, September 19 (XINHUA)--PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat was quoted today as declaring that the PLO Central Committee had called on Arabs in Israeli-occupied territories to stage a one-hour strike tomorrow afternoon to protest the Israeli massacre of Palestinian civilians in West Beirut.

The Palestinian news agency WAFA reported that the PLO Central Committee also called for memorial services for the dead to be held next Friday.

The calls were made at a PLO Central Committee meeting this afternoon. Yasir 'Arafat and President of the Palestine National Council Khalid al-Fahum attended the meeting.

In his reply to reporters before the meeting, 'Arafat stressed that the United States was responsible for the Israeli massacre in Lebanon.

Jordan, Iran Condemn Israel

OW200740 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 20 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, September 20 (XINHUA)--The Jordanian Government Sunday strongly condemned the Israeli massacre of defenceless Palestinian refugees in West Beirut, according to a Pamascus [as received] report quoting TV Jordan.

In a statement issued after a cabinet meeting, the government called on all countries, the United States in particular, to protect the Palestinian civilians in Lebanon.

The statement also declared a one day mourning in Jordan to express its condemnation of the crime.

According to a Tehran report the Iranian Government last Saturday denounced Israel's new invasion of Lebanon and occupation of West Beirut. A Foreign Ministry statement said that the continuation of the aggression and crimes by the Zionist regime in the region would further intensify the wrath of the Islamic combatants.

Algeria, S. Yemen Score Israel

OW201824 Beijing XINHUA in English 1505 GMT 20 Sep 82

[Text] Algiers, September 20 (XINHUA)--The Algerian Government has issued a communique condemning Israel for the massacre of Palestinian civilians in Beirut and demanding a total withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon.

The communique says, "The most urgent solution at present is an immediate and total withdrawal of the (Israeli) Zionist troops from the Lebanese territory."

The communique said a just and durable peace would emerge in the Middle East only when an independent Palestine state is established on the Palestine territory with the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Meanwhile, President Chadli Bendjedid sent a message to PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat, telling him that Algeria will stand by the Palestinian resistance movement at any time and under any circumstances.

The Party of the National Liberation Front also condemned Israel for the mass killings in Beirut.

In a communique issued last night, the party said what happened and is happening in Beirut and other Israeli occupied territories poses a threat not only to the security in the region but also to world peace and stability.

In Aden, South Yemeni Premier 'Ali Nasir Muhammad yesterday condemned Israel for what he calls the crimes in West Beirut.

In a message to Yasir 'Arafat, 'Ali reiterated the Yemenis will stand by the Palestinians in their "just struggle," prepare to support any actions to stop the mass killings and to preserve the human rights of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman called on all peace-loving countries in the world, in particular all Arab countries, to take action to stop the killings and to confront the United States for its support to Israel.

Israel Agrees To Withdraw

OW201933 Beijing XINHUA in English 1529 GMT 20 Sep 82

[Text] Beirut, September 20 (XINHUA)--Israel has agreed to withdraw from West Beirut and accepted the U.N. Security Council resolution adopted Sunday which calls for the sending of more U.N. observers to Beirut.

A decision to this effect was made at a special meeting of the Israeli cabinet held last night.

The Israeli radio said that Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir would inform the U.S. Government of the decision in a reply to U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz's appeal for Israel to accept the U.N. resolution and to effect an immediate withdrawal of troops from West Beirut. But he took exception to Shultz's proposal on the dispatch to Beirut of two battalions of international peacekeeping forces now stationed in south Lebanon.

At the same time, the Israeli cabinet denied any responsibility for the massacre of refugees in West Beirut. It went so far as to assert that massacre "would have continued" if Israel had not intervened.

Israeli Actions Condemned

OW202054 Beijing XINHUA in English 1831 GMT 20 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, September 20 (XINHUA)--West Germany, Italy, Spain, Australia and New Zealand have joined the world countries in condemning Israel for its massacre in Beirut and called for international effort to stop Israel's aggression in Lebanon.

In a government statement Sunday, West Germany said it condemned the Israeli killing in West Beirut "in the sharpest way." The strengthening of United Nations troops in and around Beirut was a "correct move" to prevent further bloodshed, it said.

A strongly worded communique released by the Italian prime minister's office the same day said Italy "expresses the strongest condemnation and the angriest reproach" for Israel's killings in the Lebanese capital. The communique said Italy "addresses a pressing appeal" to Israel to immediately withdraw its troops from Beirut. The Italian Government would develop diplomatic initiatives to reconstitute an international peace force "to ensure the safety of the civil population of Beirut," the communique said.

In Spain, the government also condemned Israel's bloody actions and appealed to the international community to take steps to guarantee the safety of the Lebanese people.

Australia Monday described Israel's actions over the weekend as an "appalling massacre." Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser also said "it is time for the world to give a little more thought to humanity."

In New Zealand, Acting Foreign Minister David Thomson said that there was no possible justification for Israel's killings of innocent civilians in Lebanon. New Zealand fully supported the actions of the United Nations Security Council, including the deployment of further observers in Lebanon, he said.

'Israeli Massacre' Condemned

OW202110 Beijing XINHUA in English 1847 GMT 20 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, September 20 (XINHUA)--More Third World countries condemned Israeli massacre of Palestinians in West Beirut and demanded an immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon.

The Indian Government said in a statement today that "no words are too strong to condemn this act of genocide."

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania denounced the fascist Begin regime and condemned Israeli troops for their brutal massacre of thousands of Palestinian refugees. It also called on the United States, France and Italy to get their forces back to Beirut.

Turkish Foreign Minister Ilter Turkmen said in Ankara yesterday that he was shocked and indignant at the massacre and held Israel responsible for this crime.

The Indonesia Foreign Ministry today issued a statement demanding an immediate halt to "cruelties" in West Beirut.

Honecker Hits Israel

OW212000 Beijing XINHUA in English 1901 GMT 21 Sep 82

[Text] Berlin, September 21 (XINHUA)--Erich Honecker, chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, yesterday strongly condemned Israel for its recent massacre of Palestinian refugees in West Beirut.

He expressed grave concern over the developments in the present Middle East situation.

Honecker made the condemnation at a banquet given in honor of Lao Premier Kaysone Phomvihan who is leading a Lao party and state delegation on an official visit to GDR.

Syria Says U.S. Responsible for Massacre

OW211208 Beijing XINHUA in English 1202 GMT 21 Sep 82

[Text] Damascus, September 20 (XINHUA)--The United States should bear the responsibility for the massacre committed by the Israeli occupation troops in West Beirut because its policy had led to the withdrawal of Palestinian fighters from Beirut, paving the way for the Israeli invasion of West Beirut, said Syrian Prime Minister 'Abd ar-Ra'uf al-Kasm today, reported Radio Damascus.

Speaking at a cabinet meeting, al-Kasm said that the resolution of the Arab Fes summit called for continuous efforts to realize genuine Arab unity and oppose the Zionist enemy.

It was reported that the cabinet meeting discussed the present situation in Lebanon and the resolution of the Arab summit.

Lebanon To Request Multinational Return

OW210258 Beijing XINHUA in English 0245 GMT 21 Sep 82

[Text] Beirut, September 20 (XINHUA)--The Lebanese cabinet has decided to request the return of the multi-national force to Beirut to protect Lebanese and Palestinian civilians.

According to Radio Lebanon, Lebanese Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan met the French ambassador here today to inform him of the cabinet's decision. The ambassador told reporters after the meeting that France will give the Lebanese Government a reply after consultations with the United States and Italy.

Another report said that 40 U.N. observers arrived in Beirut from south Lebanon today. They will work together with the other 10 observers already in Beirut to protect the civilians in West Beirut in accordance with the resolution of the U.N. Security Council.

Beijing Foreign Students Protest Massacre

OW211246 Beijing XINHUA in English 1239 GMT 21 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, September 21 (XINHUA)--Some 200 foreign students demonstrated in Beijing today against the massacre of Palestinians by Israel.

The students went to the embassies of the United States, Britain, Italy, France, Lebanon and the Soviet Union, the mission of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the offices of some U.N. organizations in Beijing. They shouted slogans, and handed a statement to some of the embassies.

The protestors carried the flags of Lebanon and the PLO, portraits of Yasir 'Arafat and posters in English, Arabic, French and Chinese: "Stop the massacre in Lebanon!" "No to Israeli aggression, yes to an independent Palestinian state!" "U.S.--stop arms aid to Israel!" and "The people of the world need peace!"

One poster carries the picture of an innocent little girl, with this appeal: "Why do they die?"

The parade started at 11 a.m. and lasted for four hours.

Arab League on Israeli Actions

OW220300 Beijing XINHUA in English 0245 GMT 22 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, September 22 (XINHUA)--Foreign ministers of the Arab League nations met in emergency session in Tunis yesterday to discuss Israel's massacre of Palestinian civilians in Beirut refugee camps last week.

The meeting was held at the request of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Addressing the opening session, Arab League Secretary General Chedli Klibi accused Israel of having "knowingly" broken the accord engineered in Beirut by U.S. envoy Philip Habib.

He expressed the hope that the meeting would "reaffirm the unity which emerged from the Fes summit" on an overall peace plan for the Middle East.

Conference sources said that at the closed-door talks after the opening session, PLO representative Faruq Qaddumi accused Washington of moral responsibility for the Beirut massacre. He called for a cut in oil exports to the United States. He also called on the Arab League member states to recall their ambassadors from the United States and boycott American goods.

CSO: 4000/189

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

RECEPTION HELD FOR JAPANESE FILM SHOOTING TEAM

OW072000 Beijing XINHUA in English 1835 GMT 7 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, September 7 (XINHUA)--Li Yimang, president of the Association for International Understanding of China, gave a party here this evening for a Japanese film shooting team from Tokyo Broadcasting System (TBS) and three members of the former Anti-War League of Japanese in China.

The Anti-War League of Japanese in China was an anti-war organization formed by progressive Japanese living in China and awakened Japanese soldiers during the war of resistance against Japan. In coordination with the armed forces under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the league members, together with the Chinese people, made contributions to the defeat of Japanese fascists.

At the party this evening, Li Yimang and Mitsunaga Tabata, head of the Japanese team, said they wished the peoples of the two countries would never forget the lesson in the past and would be friendly to each other from generation to generation.

Shigeru Yamamuro, former member of the Anti-War League, said, "As eyewitnesses to historical facts, we firmly oppose the Education Ministry for distorting the history of Japanese aggression against China in textbooks."

The Japanese guests, arriving here today, were invited by the Chinese Ministry of Radio and Television. Earlier, the Japanese guests had visited places where Anti-War League had its operations. Based on what they shot in China, they will produce a TV documentary after returning home to reflect the common life and struggle against the Japanese aggression between the league members and the Chinese soldiers and civilians.

CSO: 4000/189

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PROTESTS AGAINST JAPANESE REWRITING OF HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Okinawan Assembly Protest Note

OW081904 Beijing XINHUA in English 1838 GMT 8 Sep 82

[Text] Tokyo, September 8 (XINHUA)--Okinawa Prefectural Assembly delegation today presented a protest note to the Education Ministry demanding restoration of the accounts deleted from school textbooks about the former Japanese Army's massacres of Okinawans during World War II, press here reported.

Heading the five-member delegation, Tadahide Teruya, a Liberal Democrat, presented the note to Kazuo Fujimura, chief of the ministry's textbook screening section, addressed to Education Minister Heiji Ogawa.

The note says, "The textbooks should stand on the spirit of the basic education law and the national constitution based on human prestige, peace and democracy." It points out that "the massacres of Okinawan civilians were undeniable historical facts, and deletion of them from textbooks is unpardonable." The note strongly demands restoration of the deleted parts "for the sake of preventing such tragic wars."

According to press reports, in the draft of the textbooks scheduled to be used next spring there was an account which runs: "The army killed some 800 Okinawan noncombatants because they obstructed military operations." However, it was removed completely under the pretext that the data was not "conclusive."

Infuriated by the actions of the Education Ministry, education and women organizations in Okinawa Prefecture have voiced strong protests.

The protest note was unanimously adopted at an extraordinary session of the local assembly on September 4. A decision was also made at the same session to have the note sent to the government by a delegation composed of suprapartisan assembly members.

Japanese Councillor

OW101715 Beijing XINHUA in English 1621 GMT 10 Sep 82

[Text] Tokyo, September 10 (XINHUA)--The evaluation of Japanese Government's measures for solving the textbook issue is one thing, and how the government will put them into effect is another and the more important thing, said Tadashi Yaoita to XINHUA today.

Yaoita, a member of Japan's House of Councillors and president of Japan-China Agricultural and Peasants Exchange Association, said that Japan should demonstrate its sincerity in really solving the question with deeds. He said to propose only principles but not to realize them cannot be deemed as a final solution. He suggested that history should be accounted faithfully and Japan's past aggression should be examined in earnest and be told to the coming generations without distortion. It is of great importance to the everlasting friendship between Japan and China, he said. Calling for continued observation of the Japanese Government's moves, he demanded serious government steps to correct the distorted description in history textbooks.

The influence of a certain militarist force in Japan, said Yaoita, has facilitated the downplay of Japan's aggression and its history of massacre as is shown in the history textbooks. He stressed that even after the correction of the distorted accounts, the Japanese people must not slightly relax their alert, but should campaign by means of public opinion against the gaining ground of this militarist force.

Seigen Ozawa, a responsible member of the Japan monthly CONTEMPORARY ASIA, said yesterday that the distortion in the textbooks of Japan's aggression against China is the result of a long-time scheme engineered by a handful of ultra-rightists in Japan. The issue has alarmed the Japanese people that there exists in Japan some factors to undermine Japan-China friendship. However, he added, the surfacing of the issue is also a good thing because it has put the Japanese and Chinese peoples on the alert, hence their efforts to eradicate those factors adverse to the friendly ties between the two countries.

Hong Kong Anti-Japanese Demonstration

OW181202 Hong Kong AFP in English 1150 GMT 18 Sep 82

[Text] Hong Kong, Sept. 18 (AFP)--A home-made bomb exploded in a big Japanese department store hours before Hong Kong's biggest anti-Japanese rally took place in Victoriu Park this afternoon to protest against Japanese rewriting of history textbook.

An 18-year-old salesgirl in the third floor stationery department of Matsuzakaya Department Store was slightly injured on her face and hands when a package she had just pulled out of a shelf and opened suddenly exploded.

Police found the device to be a toy lantern filled with gun-powder connected to a battery, suspected of being connected with the rally in the nearby park.

Just a block away, up to 10,000 people applauded, cheered and shouted slogans at the rally while policemen and their vans were at the ready in and outside the park.

The venue was festooned with huge buntings and banners inscribed with such slogans as "Down with Japanese militarism," "Oppose rewriting of historical facts of Japanese invasion of China," "Alert against revival of Japanese militarism" and "Mourne countrymen who died in anti-Japanese war."

Speakers angrily denounced the "Japanese slaughtering of 10 million Chinese" and "rewriting history to pave the way for reviving Japanese militarism."

The rally observed a one-minute silence for fellow countrymen who died in Japanese invasion and resolved to send a telegram to the Japanese Government for immediate correction of distorted historical facts.

The telegram followed a letter written in blood collected from 458 students and lecturers of the University of Hong Kong and sent to China's National People's Congress yesterday urging Beijing to "force the Japanese to withdraw the revision immediately and not to soften up its attitude to Japan."

The rally today also marked the 51st anniversary of the "Mukden Incident" of September 18, 1931, when the Japanese engineered the incident in Manchuria as an excuse to start the invasion of China.

It called on the citizenry of Hong Kong to join a two-day boycott of Japanese goods.

Some 900 students distributed 700,000 "boycott" stickers while 7,000 posters and 110,000 leaflets also went up all over the city.

Shutters went up outside the Japanese department stores--Daimaru, Matsuzakaya and Mitsukoshi--while inside there was an apparent thinning out of customers who used to throng the stores on Saturdays and Sundays.

CSO: 4000/189

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY OPENS 37TH SESSION 21 SEP

OW220310 Beijing XINHUA in English 0248 GMT 22 Sep 82

[Text] United Nations, September 21 (XINHUA)--The United Nations General Assembly opened its 37th session here this afternoon with a wide range of international problems on agenda.

The most pressing issues of the 139 items to be discussed are the Middle East, Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Southern Africa and global economic negotiation.

Inaugurating the session, Ismat T. Kittani (Iraq), president of the 36th session of the General Assembly, referred to the terrible massacre at the Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut. He said a message would be sent to the families of the victims to convey "a sense of deep outrage of the entire international community."

The session elected Imre Hollai, deputy minister for foreign affairs of Hungary, the president of the current General Assembly session.

In his speech, Hollai noted that the world is "fraught with tensions," with certain trends in world politics "causing legitimate concern." "Some circles insist on pursuing a policy of strength" and the arms race is "gathering new momentum," he said. He called for urgent efforts to find political solutions and not to resort to force.

On the tasks of the current session, he asked all the member states to make joint efforts "to encourage and facilitate negotiations and to impart a fresh impetus to reviving the spirit of constructive co-operation; to promote the cause of disarmament; to move closer to the just and peaceful settlement of crises; to advance the process of decolonization; to make headway in establishing a system of economic relations based on mutual advantage; and to promote social progress."

The General Assembly approved the appointment of a nine-member credentials committee, consisting of Bahamas, China, the Dominican Republic, Nepal, New Zealand, Nigeria, Seychelles, the Soviet Union and the United States.

President Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Vice President Khieu Samphan and Prime Minister Son Sann of Democratic Kampuchea attended the opening meeting for the first time since the formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

CSO: 4000/189

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

KENYAN CAPITAL IN WAKE OF ABORTIVE COUP

OW141602 Beijing XINHUA in English 1522 GMT 14 Sep 82

[Article by XINHUA correspondent Ye Zhixiong: "Kenyan Capital Returns to Normal After Abortive Coup"]

[Text] Nairobi, September 13 (XINHUA)--Life in the Kenyan capital Nairobi has returned to normal as measures have been taken by the government to stabilize the situation since it frustrated an Air Force coup on August first.

Nairobi, once a flourishing city but then became a site of rampant looting in a few frenzied hours during the coup attempt, is now beginning to show signs of improving. Food stores have reopened, telephone and telecommunication services have been restored and the month-long curfew lifted. Foreign tourists have started to come back to Kenya again and international conferences are again being held at the famous Kenyatta International Conference Centre here.

Measures have been undertaken in the past six weeks by the Kenyan Government to overcome the disastrous consequences of the coup attempt. The minimum wage was raised by 15 percent on August 20 to improve the life of the poor, and loot has been searched out and returned to the original owners to placate the Indian and Pakistan resident businessmen who suffered most.

The government has also rectified the police system to improve social security and reaffirmed severe punishment for graft and the taking of bribes.

In addition to an oil import cut of ten percent to reduce the country's international balance of payments deficit, 600 million shillings of government stocks have been issued through Kenya's Central Bank to raise funds for reconstruction.

The Kenyan Government is also striving to get foreign capital investment and foreign help to stabilize the domestic situation.

Government leaders have reiterated that tribalism should not be allowed to permeate into the investigation of the attempted coup case. The Nairobi University was closed down because some of its students had played their part in the coup bid. But two ministers have recently stressed that university students should not be blamed en masse. The newspaper DAILY NATION pointed out editorially that "this is the way to treat youth." The paper hopes that people of various circles and tribes of Kenya will be able to relinquish previous grudges, strengthen unity and stabilize the situation so as to join their effort to tide over the economic difficulties which many Third World countries too are now facing.

In recent years, Kenya's economy deteriorated as a result of the international oil price hikes and the shifting of economic crisis by Western industrial countries. In 1981, Kenya suffered an international balance of payments deficit of 1,332 million shillings (10.24 Kenyan shillings equal one dollar). Its currency was devalued twice and the inflation rate reached 13 percent. As a result, more and more people lost their jobs and many were made poor.

Some elements in the Kenyan Air Force made use of this situation and staged a coup in the small hours of August first. During street fighting, 1,000 soldiers and civilians were killed or wounded and more than four hundred shops in Nairobi downtown were looted. According to official estimates, the coup caused a loss of more than 1.2 billion shillings (110 million dollars).

CSO: 4000/189

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOCIALIST PARTIES WIN IN SWEDISH ELECTIONS

OW202020 Beijing XINHUA in English 1523 GMT 20 Sep 82

[Text] Stockholm, September 20 (XINHUA)--The "socialist parties" defeated the "bourgeois parties" in the parliamentary election today, according to the final returns released here.

The "socialist parties" are composed of the Social Democratic Party and the Left Party, and the "bourgeois parties" made of the Moderate Coalition, the Centre Party and the Liberal Party.

The final results showed that the Social Democratic Party got 45.9 percent of the total votes, Moderate Coalition 23.6, Centre Party 15.6, Liberal Party 5.9, Left Party 5.5, and the other small political parties 3.5 in total.

Accordingly, the Social Democratic Party gained 166 seats of the 349-member Parliament, Moderate Coalition 86, Centre Party 56, Liberal Party 21 and Left Party 20.

The Social Democratic Party had ruled Sweden for 44 years until it was defeated by the bourgeois parties in the parliamentary election in 1976. The bourgeois government, however, proved weak all along in its six years of office, with the cabinet reshuffled three times. And the current general election was held at a time when the country is beset with economic difficulties.

It is expected that outgoing Premier Thorbjorn Falldin of the present government would present his resignation to the speaker of the Parliament today. But, the government will stay on as a care-taker basis until the new government is formed on October 8.

Social Democratic Party leader Olof Palme answered journalists' questions on a T.V. broadcast yesterday evening. He said that his party would form a new government alone. He added since the bourgeois parties have a considerable number of voters, the new government will consider their opinions, so as to find a solution to domestic economic problems on a broader basis.

CSO: 4000/189

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SICHUAN PARTY, GOVERNMENT FETE KIM IL-SONG

OW201711 Beijing XINHUA in English 1643 GMT 20 Sep 82

[Text] Chengdu, September 20 (XINHUA)--The Sichuan Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Sichuan Provincial People's Government gave a banquet here this evening in honor of President Kim Il-song and the other Korean guests.

At about 7, the president entered the banquet hall.

In the company of Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Tan Qilong. [previous two grafs as received]

In his toast, Tan Qilong said that China and Korea are close neighbors, and a profound friendship has been formed between the two parties, the two countries and the two peoples in the prolonged revolutionary struggles. He said, "Such a friendship cemented with blood has stood the severe test of history."

He said, "Comrade Kim Il-song has made monumental contributions to the friendship between the Chinese and Korean peoples."

"The people in Sichuan hold President Kim Il-song in great esteem, treasure Sino-Korean friendship and rejoice at every achievement won by the Korean people in their socialist construction and their efforts for independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland," he said. He said that he hoped Sino-Korean friendship would last forever.

O Chin-u, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, said in his toast that he was entrusted by President Kim to express sincere thanks to Deng Xiaoping and to the cadres and people of Sichuan Province for their hospitality.

He said, "Comrade Kim Il-song's visit to China is an epochal event in consolidating and developing the blood-sealed militant friendship and unity between the two parties, the two countries and two peoples of Korea and China."

He said: "We have come to a place of a long history with glorious footmarks of Chinese revolution. We have experienced the profound friendship and militant unity of the Chinese people for the Korean people. At the same time, we have seen the successes made by the people in Chengdu and Sichuan in socialist revolution and construction by adhering to the line and policies of the Communist Party of China."

He said that the Korean party and government will exert efforts to further consolidate and develop the Korea-China friendship.

During the banquet the Chinese and Koreans toasted the increasing friendship between the two peoples. The band played Chinese and Korean music.

Present at the banquet were local party, government and army leaders Lu Dadong, You Taizhong, Zhong Hanhua, Du Xinyuan and Ren Baige as well as Qiao Shi and Han Nianlong.

This afternoon, President Kim and other distinguished Korean guests visited, in the company of Deng Xiaoping and Tan Qilong, the Dujiang dam irrigation system, an ancient project on the Chengdu plain, built more than 2,000 years ago.

CSO: 4000/189

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SUZUKI, THATCHER ON PRC RELATIONS, ISRAEL

OW201810 Beijing XINHUA in English 1637 GMT 20 Sep 82

[Text] Tokyo, September 20 (XINHUA)--Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher today strongly condemned the author of the massacre of Palestinian refugees in Beirut. Both wanted the United Nations to take necessary actions to deal with the situation, press reports said here today.

They expressed the condemnation at their second round talks this morning.

On the massacre of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, Mrs. Thatcher said this was something on which one could not remain silent. She was quoted as saying that she had "an abhorrence" of the atrocity and that she would refer it to the United Nations. Suzuki said the incident was intolerable and an inhumane act. He said Japan would urge the United Nations to adopt a resolution calling for an Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon.

Referring to China, Suzuki said Japan would offer every possible cooperation for China's modernization. "I believe Britain, the United States and other Western nations should also offer such cooperation," Suzuki added. Mrs. Thatcher expressed the same opinion, saying Suzuki's views would be very beneficial to her forthcoming visit to China.

Dealing with their bilateral economic relations, Mrs. Thatcher strongly asked Japan to cut back its big trade surplus with Britain. She also called on Japan to open its market wider and make more direct investments in Britain.

During the talks, the two leaders agreed to have more political dialogues between the prime ministers of the two countries and at other levels. Both sides also agreed to conclude at an early date an agreement on science and technical cooperation.

Mrs. Thatcher arrived here on September 17 to begin her six-day official visit to Japan. In her first round talks with Suzuki on the same day, she stressed that the recession of world economy was grave and protracted and the Western nations should make concerted effort to cope with it.

Mrs. Thatcher met former Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda yesterday and exchanged views with him on world economic problems.

CSO: 4000/189

BRIEFS

ARGENTINA SEEKS NONALIGNED BACKING--United Nations, September 16 (XINHUA)--Argentina today called on non-aligned countries to support its effort to seek negotiations with Britain to settle the problem of the Malvinas Islands. The appeal was made at a closed ambassadorial level meeting of the non-aligned countries held here today at the request of the Argentine permanent representative to the United Nations Carlos Manuel Muniz. Muniz reaffirmed Argentina's sovereignty claim to the Malvinas Islands. "The juridical and historical rights of Argentina over the Malvinas Islands are sound and very clear," he declared. He bitterly accused Britain of taking an intransigent attitude towards a peaceful solution of the problem. Latin America, he said, will seek at the forthcoming U.N. General Assembly session a resumption of negotiations aimed at "finding as soon as possible a peace solution to the dispute of sovereignty over the islands." [Text] [OW170945 Beijing XINHUA in English 0706 GMT 17 Sep 82]

CGDK PREMIER ARRIVES FOR UN SESSION--United Nations, September 17 (XINHUA)--Son Sann, prime minister of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea [CGDK], arrived in New York this afternoon to attend the 37th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations as deputy chairman of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea. Among those greeting him at the airport was Khieu Samphan, vice-president of Democratic Kampuchea and deputy chairman of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea. [Text] [OW180230 Beijing XINHUA in English 0206 GMT 18 Sep 82]

ZIAUL HAQ ON DK'S STATUS--Bangkok, September 20 (XINHUA)--Pakistan supports Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's right to attend next year's non-aligned summit, the BANGKOK POST reported today. The Pakistan pledge was made by President Ziaul Haq in Islamabad in an exclusive interview with the Thai newspaper yesterday. In the interview, Ziaul also supports the restoration of Democratic Kampuchea's rightful place in the Non-Aligned Movement. He said: "We believe that Democratic Kampuchea should be allowed to re-occupy its rightful place in the meeting of the movement." Expressing his support for ASEAN aims and objectives, President Ziaul said: "Our views on key issues such as Afghanistan and Kampuchea coincide." "There is considerable scope for developing closer economic cooperation and increasing trade between Pakistan and the ASEAN countries," he added. [Text] [OW201305 Beijing XINHUA in English 1204 GMT 20 Sep 82]

INDIAN PRIME MINISTER TO MOSCOW--New Delhi, September 20 (XINHUA)--Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi left here this morning for a week-long visit to the Soviet Union. The visit, her first to Moscow since she resumed office in 1980, came less than two months after a nine-day visit to the United States. Speaking to reporters at Delhi airport before leaving, Mrs. Gandhi said that "I am going there with a feeling of friendship and goodwill from the people of India to the people of the Soviet Union." She said that her talks with Soviet leaders would be more on policy matters. "Defence talks are held separately. And these matters are usually discussed at official level and not at my level," she added. She also announced that two Indian test pilots have been selected for space flight with Soviet cosmonauts, expected in 1984. [Text] [OW202045 Beijing XINHUA in English 1513 GMT 20 Sep 82]

INDIA TO HOST NONALIGNED SUMMIT--New Delhi, September 20 (XINHUA)--India announced today that it has accepted the proposal to host the seventh non-aligned summit. In a reply to Cuban President Fidel Castro who is the current chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi said it was an honour that members of the Non-Aligned Movement had unanimously requested India to host the seventh summit. The dates for the summit, the message said, would be decided soon and the information conveyed to this meeting of the foreign ministers of the movement in New York. However, local press reports said earlier that the summit may be held at the beginning of March next year after a foreign ministers' meeting at the end of February. According to the spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry, Castro informed Mrs. Gandhi that a consensus had been achieved among members of the Non-Aligned Movement selecting New Delhi as the venue of the next summit. The seventh non-aligned summit was originally scheduled to be held in Baghdad on September 6. However, a proposal to move the venue of the summit to New Delhi was made because of the war between Iraq and Iran. [Text] [OW210254 Beijing XINHUA in English 0241 GMT 21 Sep 82]

UK, INDIA DEFENSE COOPERATION--New Delhi, September 21 (XINHUA)--India and Britain have decided to cooperate further in the field of defense, particularly research and development in electronic systems, the PRESS TRUST OF INDIA reports today. It was also decided during today's talks between Indian Defense Minister R. Venkataraman and visiting British Defense Minister John Nott that experts of India and Britain would meet periodically for this purpose. India asked to share Britain's advanced defense technology and Nott agreed to collaborate in more sophisticated areas, according to a Defense Ministry spokesman. During the discussions, Nott expressed satisfaction with the Jaguar program under which the aircraft is being assembled in India. [Text] [OW212111 Beijing XINHUA in English 1840 GMT 21 Sep 82]

W. GERMAN OPPOSITION NOMINATES KOHL--Bonn, September 20 (XINHUA)--The Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union (CDU-CSU) and the Free Democratic Party (FDP) agreed this evening to back Helmut Kohl's nomination for the federal chancellory. They decided to submit a "constructive no-confidence" motion to Bundestag on October 1 to oust the present chancellor

Helmut Schmidt and enable Kohl, chairman of the parliament group of the CDU, to form a government. A so-called "constructive no-confidence" motion embraces the nomination of a candidate for the chancellory apart from a vote of no-confidence in the government. The chancellor will be replaced by another politician if Bundestag votes by an absolute majority for the motion, according to the constitution. Eduard Ackermann, spokesman of the parliament group of the CDU, announced that the opposition parties and the FDP also agreed to propose the holding of general elections on March 6 next year--ahead of schedule. Helmut Schmidt announced the collapse of his government last Friday, owing to the collective resignation of four ministers from the FDP. [Text] [OW212121 Beijing XINHUA in English 1846 GMT 21 Sep 82]

EEC MEETING ON RELATIONS WITH U.S.--Brussels, September 20 (XINHUA)--Foreign ministers of the 10-nation European Community met here today to discuss strained relations with the United States over the problems of Soviet pipeline project and steel exports to the U.S. During their general session this morning, the ministers expressed their regret at President Reagan's adamant stand over the pipeline controversy and his continued objection to a limitation pact for European steel exports to the U.S. Danish Foreign Minister Ellemann Jensen, president of the EEC Council, said the ministers agreed to enter an arrangement with regard to the steel exports limitation pact, which will come into force on October 1. But no decision on the pipeline problem was made. The foreign ministers of the Ten are reportedly expected to meet U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz informally in New York next week, during the 37th session of the U.N. General Assembly. [Text] [OW211212 Beijing XINHUA in English 1204 GMT 21 Sep 82]

JAPAN'S ABE, ZHAO ZIYANG MEET--Beijing, Sept 17 (KYODO)--Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang said Friday he believes that the visit to China by Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki starting September 26 would be a successful one. The Chinese Government and people are now positively preparing for Prime Minister Suzuki's visit to China, Zhao said in his meeting with visiting Japanese International Trade and Industry Minister Shintaro Abe at the Zhongnanhai, where top Chinese leaders live. Abe told Zhao that Prime Minister Suzuki is happy about his forthcoming visit to China and Zhao said the Chinese Government will welcome Suzuki's visit. Abe is the first Japanese cabinet minister to talk with Zhao after the diplomatic row over the Japanese textbook issue was settled. Before the meeting, Abe told reporters he hopes for long-term stability in Sino-Japanese relations including economic ties. [Text] [OW170519 Tokyo KYODO in English 0504 GMT 17 Sep 82]

'ARAFAT MEETS SYRIAN ENVOY--Damascus, September 18 (XINHUA)--Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, discussed the present political situation here tonight with 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, representative of the Syrian President Hafiz Asad, vice premier and minister of foreign affairs, according to the Palestine news agency. At the request of 'Arafat, Khaddam attended a meeting of the PLO Executive Committee. According to

the Syrian radio, the Syrian foreign minister delivered a speech at a meeting of the leaders of various provinces earlier today. He stressed, "There is no other alternative before us but determination, resistance and refusing to surrender. We have decided to make further sacrifices for defending Arab dignity and for restoring the lawful rights of the Palestinian people." [Text] [OW191309 Beijing XINHUA in English 1220 GMT 19 Sep 82]

CSO: 4000/189

PARTY AND STATE

BEIJING RADIO ON SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS

OW101051 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 7 Sep 82

[Article by (Zhu Yuanshi): "The Great Victory of the Ideological Line of Seeking Truth From Facts"]

[Excerpts] Nearly 4 years have elapsed since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. In this short period of 4 years, we have witnessed a great historical change. We have succeeded in correcting the erroneous course of the Chinese revolution, fulfilled the arduous task of bringing order out of chaos and scored great achievements on various fronts.

This great historical change is a victory of the party's Marxist line of seeking truth from facts.

Since the victory in smashing the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique in October of 1976, our country has entered a new historical period. Cadres and the masses both inside and outside of the party have plunged into revolution and construction with unprecedented zeal. Yet, at the same time, they have also strongly demanded the correction of mistakes from the Cultural Revolution and the left guiding ideology. To meet their demand was not an easy task. The erroneous policy of the "two whatevers" seriously thwarted the task of bringing order out of chaos on various fronts by applying the principle of seeking truth from facts.

Although the 11th National CPC Congress declared the end of the Cultural Revolution and played a positive role in exposing and criticizing Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and in mobilizing the entire party to build a strong and modern socialist country, the congress, regrettably, still affirmed the Cultural Revolution's wrong ideology, policy and slogans. This led to a 2-year stalemate in various tasks immediately after the downfall of the "gang of four."

Obviously, whether our party could restore the Marxist ideological line of seeking truth from facts had become a fundamental question of whether we could bring order out of chaos and whether we could continue to advance.

The historical responsibility of thoroughly correcting the mistakes of the Cultural Revolution and the long erroneous guiding principle of left

ideology fell squarely on the shoulder of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Congress.

The greatest achievement of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Congress was the establishment of the ideological line of seeking truth from facts which stressed linking theory with practice, restoring genuine Marxism, affirming the Marxist principle that practice is the only criterion of truth, criticizing the erroneous "two whatevers" theory, and reaffirming the need to thoroughly and accurately master the scientific ideological system of Mao Zedong Thought.

This fundamentally corrected the party's erroneous left ideological tendencies, enabled the party to seize the initiative in bringing order out of chaos and made the smooth implementation of China's socialist modernization program possible. As a result, an excellent and vigorous situation has emerged on all fronts across the nation and in every undertaking.

Now, let us take a look at the great victory of the ideological line of seeking truth from facts in view of the changes in the political, economic and cultural fields since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

First, let us review the changes in the political field. Thanks to the establishment of the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, an excellent situation of stability and unity has emerged across the nation.

Responding to the call of emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, a vast number of cadres and masses have freed themselves from the spiritual shackles of personality cults and dogmatism that were prevalent in the past, and a new practice of striving to study new situations and solving new problems has taken hold.

Since the third plenary session, historical materialism has again triumphed over historical idealism, and the party's democratic centralism and collective leadership have been reaffirmed and implemented beginning with the central organs. In the nation's political life as a whole, the task of perfecting and strengthening socialist democracy and the socialist legal system has been stressed. Not long ago, the central authorities put forward the policy of upholding the four basic principles and the historical task of opposing ideological corruption by bourgeois ideas and eliminating the remaining pernicious influence of feudalism. All this has guaranteed the continuous advancement of China's socialist democracy on a correct path. Following the advancement of socialist democracy, the socialist legal system is also being strengthened.

Today, a lively political situation of social stability and unity has taken shape; the tension once prevalent in personal relations among individuals has relaxed; the relationship between the party and intellectuals has markedly improved; unity between workers, peasants and intellectuals has strengthened; the various nationalities and social strata are more closely

united than ever before; and a socialist spiritual civilization with communism as its nucleus ideology is being built. In a word, the nation has steadied its faith in unity and in realizing the four modernizations with concerted efforts.

Second, let us review the changes in the economic field. The implementation of the ideological line of seeking truth from facts in the economic field has corrected the leftist guiding ideology of impetuously seeking quick results--an ideology which prevailed over a protracted period in our economic construction. The implementation of such a line has also started to solve problems of serious imbalances among the major branches of the economy. Based on the actual situation in China, we have proceeded from reality and carried out the "eight-character principles," namely "readjustment, transformation, consolidation and improvement." We have acted according to our capabilities, marched forward step by step and accented practical results. We have also adopted effective measures to closely link our production development efforts with those to improve economic results. We have begun to give top priority to improving economic results instead of overemphasizing production figures and speed.

The sector of our economy which has satisfied people most is agriculture. In the past few years, China has witnessed rapid, large-scale developments in agriculture. There are many reasons for this. However, the main reasons are as follows:

We have entirely emancipated our thinking and sought truth from facts. The party has resolutely and unswervingly supported and led the broad masses of peasants in bringing about tremendous changes and put into practice all types of responsibility systems in production and management--systems which are suited to the level of China's agricultural production.

In view of the developments mentioned, we are confident that after a decade of strenuous efforts we will be able to open a new era of vigorous economic growth, that there will be substantial increases in China's agricultural and industrial output, and that the Chinese people's living standards will be greatly improved.

Third, let us review the changes in the fields of science, education and culture. Due to the implementation of the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, the status of intellectuals has been greatly elevated. They belong to the working class in China and they constitute an important, reliable force in building China into a powerful, modern socialist country.

The series of correct policies adopted by the party have greatly whipped up the enthusiasm of the broad masses of intellectuals in promoting the four modernization program and scoring tremendous achievements in scientific research. Some of them have made major breakthroughs in scientific research and won great honors for the motherland. For example, the successful synthesis of yeast alanie T-RNA is the most advanced in the world at present. In addition, the popularization of such improved strains as hybrid paddy rice and "Lumian" cotton seed No 1 over large areas has greatly contributed to

the increased output of grain and cotton. Such improved strains represent China's scientific achievements in recent years.

Significant improvements have also been made in the field of education. As far as the number of college graduates and the situation in college admission are concerned, over 310,000 college seniors and postgraduate students have graduated, and more than 300,000 new students have enrolled in various colleges and universities this year. The number of new admissions in 1982 has increased 12 percent over that of last year.

The development of literary and art activities is unprecedentedly vigorous.

In short, we have begun to follow a correct path in developing China's education, science and culture and scored remarkable achievements. The nation is thriving and prospering. Under the guidance of the correct line laid down since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, socialist China, like a huge oceangoing ship ploughing through the waves, is forging ahead while hoisting aloft the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Let us advance from strength to strength, guard against arrogance and rashness, work hard with a revolutionary drive, overcome all difficulties and win even greater victories!

CSO: 4005/1341

PARTY AND STATE

COMMUNIST STANDARDS FOR RELATIONS BETWEEN PEOPLE DISCUSSED

HK100849 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Sep 82 p 8

["Random Talk on Communist Theory and Practice" column by He Beiren [0149 0554 0088]: "Communist Standards for Relations Between People"]

[Text] After reading Comrade Mao Zedong's five letters to friends and relatives, I thought of the communist standards for handling the relations between people.

Communists have their own moral principles. While transforming the whole society, they are transforming the relations between people. They have put forth their own standards for handling the relations between people. "Standards for inner-party political life" and "the three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention" can be called the communist standards for the correct handling of various relations. In his many works, Comrade Mao Zedong also talked on how communists should correctly handle various relations. Based on actual experiences, he prescribed communist standards for the correct handling of various relations. In the article "Combat Liberalism," he concentrated on criticizing various improper relations among communists.

These five letters from Comrade Mao Zedong are also brilliant literature on the correct handling of various social relations by communists. As shown in the letters, Comrade Mao Zedong set a personal example, thoughtfully putting forth some standards for the correct handling of relations with friends and relatives. What he wrote compels admiration.

Well, the standard for our approach to fellow villagers' request for help is like this: "It is not right for me to single out a small number of areas for particular attention."

The standard for our approach to friends and relatives' request for "using influence" to obtain jobs is: "It is not right for me to recommend anyone for a job. A person must prove his worth among the people and win their confidence before there is a chance for him to get a job." "On the matter of admission to a higher school, I don't think it right to write to the school. It is for the school to decide whether or not to admit a student."

The standard approach to relatives and old friends who wax arrogant on the strength of their influential connections and who refuse to submit to the control of the local government or the relevant organization is: "Like all others in the village, anyone must accept the leadership of the party and the government, work hard in the fields and obey the law, and should not seek special treatment. ...If anyone shows any backwardness in his behavior, he should be criticized. He should not be exempted from criticism for his shortcomings or mistakes, just because he happens to be one of my friends or relatives."

Communists are very warm. Moving class relations of friendship and love among revolutionary comrades are understandable. No less deep is the affection that exists between relatives, between friends, between fellow villagers, and so forth. "Because they are laboring people and also my relatives, I love them." This is an indication of affection between relatives. "I send herewith 300 yuan for your mother. I may send more later." This is a gesture of friendship. "You may write often to keep me informed of things in the village." This is a manifestation of concern for the people in the village. Look, is affection not spelled out in black and white? Communists set store by affection and by justice in particular. Justice is a standard that communists must follow: "Because I love them, I hope that they will make progress, work hard in the fields, obey the law and join the mutual-aid cooperative organization. Like all other people, they cannot claim any special privilege." To seek the combination of affection and justice, communists must make affection and justice serve the great majority of people and the cause of the people.

The communist standards for the handling of relations between people represent a complete system involving many aspects and many [words illegible] core, which is the thinking. It calls for taking "serving the supreme interests of the greatest majority of people" as "the only purpose" and for altruism in getting along with people and handling all matters. As its opposite, "the idea of cultivating relations" assumes various forms. But their one and only core is the principle of individualism. It calls for serving a person's own interests in all matters and results from the corrosive effects of the feudal idea of showing relatives special favor and the bourgeois concept of exchange at equal value. No matter what the banner they raise and what the excuse or euphemism they use, those people involved with various improper relations, including those Communist Party members running foul of the communist standards for relations between people, are actually seeking more than their fair share, as they grab something extra for their own relatives and old friends from the state and from the people, using less than honest means. That being so, do these offenders not feel ashamed? They are held in contempt, condemned and even ostracized and resisted by people out of revolutionary indignation. Is this not well deserved?

Two different sets of standards for the handling of relations clash sharply with each other, with one or the other gaining the upper hand or declining. We must use communist relations to gradually replace all relations that involve the seeking of private gain at public expense, or the promotion of

one's own interests at the expense of others. We must use the communist standards for relations to overcome all manifestations of individualism represented by the "idea of cultivating relations." Only in this way can socialism triumph and can communism be realized. This of course involves a very long process. Today, we still cannot get everyone to act according to communist standards. But we should demand that every Communist Party member act according to the communist standards for relations. We should make more people follow the example of communists. Concerning those Communist Party members who run foul of the communist standards for relations, we should also adopt the attitude typical of Comrade Mao Zedong: "So long as you and I assume a correct attitude and so long as they are not obstinate in their opinions, their shortcomings and mistakes can be rectified and they can make progress." Those who stick to their own views should be dealt with differently.

All Communist Party members willing to revitalize China should take this as an example. They must first arouse their own party spirit and energetically promote the communist standards for relations.

CSO: 4005/1341

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' RECOUNTS XISHAN CONFERENCE HISTORY

HK180400 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Sep 82 p 5

[Article by Bai Jian [4101 0679 1658]: "Supporters of the Xishan Conference"]

[Text] Supporters of the Xishan Conference constituted a rightist clique within the Kuomintang. They derived their name of "Supporters of the Xishan Conference" from their convening and participating in the illegal "First Plenary Session of the Fourth KMT Central Committee" held in the Beyun Temple in Xishan, Beijing. It was in effect a conference which in nature was anti-Russian, anti-communist, and anti-cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese communists.

In the course of his prolonged revolutionary activities, Sun Zhongshan finally came to the conclusion that to make China's revolution a success, it would be absolutely necessary to "take Russia as the teacher." For this reason, in 1923, with the aid of the Communist Internationale and the Chinese communists, he prepared to reorganize the Kuomintang and to bring about cooperation between the KMT and the CPC. At that time, Liao Zhongkai, Song Qingling and He Xiangning, representing the KMT leftist group, firmly supported Sun Zhongshan's stand, whereas Deng Zeru, Feng Ziyou, Zou Lu, Zhang Ji and others, who represented the interests of the landlords and of the compradore class, strongly expressed their opposition. Following the announcement in November of that year of the "declaration on reorganization of the Kuomintang," a group of 11 people, including Deng Zeru, Lin Zhimian and others, sent a petition to Sun Zhongshan openly asking for censuring the Chinese Communist Party and opposing the reorganization of the Kuomintang. On reading the petition, Sun Zhongshan wrote on it remarks cautioning them not to be "skeptical of everything"; he sternly censured them separately.

In January 1924, the Kuomintang convened its first national representatives' congress in Guangzhou. In the discussion on the constitution of the party, a group of 11 members, including Huang Jiliu and others, anxious to basically prevent cooperation between the KMT and the CPC, brought up a motion to forbid party members to simultaneously become members of another party as a measure to prevent communist members from joining the Kuomintang. But as a result of Sun Zhongshan and Liao Zhongkai's leftist group firmly

insisting on cooperation between the two parties, the congress, following discussions, finally agreed that Communist Party members could join the Kuomintang on an individual basis. The congress then adopted a constitution with a corresponding provision and announced the celebrated manifesto of definitely establishing the three big policies of an alliance with Russia, an alliance with the communists, and aid to agriculture and industry. This prevented the rightists from realizing their conspiracy. The members of the Central Executive Committee and the alternate members of the committee elected by the congress had as their backbone members elements of the KMT leftist group and the CPC. However, among members of the Supervisory Committee, rightist elements such as Deng Zeru, Zhang Ji, Xie Chi and others clearly dominated.

The successful holding of the KMT's "first national representatives' congress" earmarked the formation of a united front of the democratic classes in China's revolution and the formal beginning of the first cooperation attempt between the KMT and the CPC. Since then, anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist revolutionary struggles have broken out one after another and have seriously threatened the interests of the imperialist and feudalist classes. Under such conditions, the KMT rightist clique stepped up its activities. On 18 June, Deng Zeru, Zhang Ji and Xie Chi, acting as members of the Central Supervisory Committee, issued a statement censuring the Communist Party and made the false accusations that Communist Party members were "disloyal to our party both in words and in deeds" and that they "posed a great menace to the existence and development of our party." On the 25th of the same month, Xie Chi and Zhang Ji visited the Soviet adviser, Borodin, and demanded to know whether the activities of communist members within the Kuomintang "were rational or not." Sun Zhongshan was extremely disturbed by these ruthless activities of disrupting and ransacking cooperation between the Kuomintang and the communists. He severely reprimanded the culprits. Finally, Feng Ziyou, who had insisted on his mistakes and was found incorrigible, was expelled from the party. Since then, the rightists mended their ways slightly.

Following Sun Zhongshan's death in Beijing in 1925, the rightists thought that the opportune moment had arrived. Accordingly, in September of the same year, Lin Sen, Zhou Lu and others left Guangzhou and arrived at Shanghai. There they conspired with such people as Xie Chi, Ye Chucang and Shao Yuanchong to team up with other members of the Central Supervisory Committee, who harbored the same anticommunist feelings as they, in preparation for convening in Beijing the "First Plenary Session of the Fourth KMT Central Committee" with the ultimate objective of taking over the reins of the Kuomintang. On 23 November, in front of the hearse of Sun Zhongshan in Beijing's Xishan Beyun Temple, Zou Lu, Xie Chi, Ju Zheng, Lin Sen, Tan Zhen, Shi Qingyang, Shi Ying, Dai Jitao, Ye Chucang, Shao Yuanchong, Shen Dingyi, Mao Zuquan, Fu Rulin and others (Zhang Ji did not attend the session on account of illness, but signed his name to indicate his accord), illegally convened what they called the "First Plenary Session of the Fourth KMT Central Committee." In a circular, it ordered the Central Executive Committee in Guangzhou to stop functioning. The next day, another circular was issued, stating that the date for convening the second national

representatives' congress of the Kuomintang would be "fixed by this committee." On the 28th of the month, 8 resolutions in opposition to the 3 big policies were adopted. Among them were resolutions on "cancellation of the membership of the communists in this party," one on "dismissal of Li Dazhao and others as members of the Central Executive Committee," and another on "relieving Borodin from the post of adviser." On 2 December, an announcement was made abolishing the posts of members or alternate members of the KMT Central Executive Committee held by some nine communists including Li Dazhao, Tan Pingshan, Mao Zedong, Qu Qiubai and others. Actually, the resolution adopted called for their dismissal. On the 13th, they organized their "Central Executive Committee," with Lin Sen, Zou Lu and others as the standing members and decreed that the committee would move its office to Shanghai. At about this time, some 30 members of the KMT Guangzhou municipality party headquarters, including Huang Jiliu and others, arrived successively in Shanghai. They gathered together and formed a bogus "KMT central headquarters." Branch party headquarters were set up in Beijing and other places. The MINGUO RIBAO served as their "battleground." Circulars, announcements and statements were carried in that newspaper. A separate setup thus came into being in opposition to the KMT central authorities in Guangzhou.

These perverse activities of the rightist clique aroused the ire of people of the whole nation. An angry wave of sentiment to topple the Xishan clique spread in various localities. On 5 December the ZHENGZHI ZHOUBAO, edited by Mao Zedong, made its appearance in Guangzhou. It carried a special column meant to "counterattack" this rightist clique. At the same time, newspapers and publications in Shanghai, Beijing and other localities carried many articles of rebuttal and censure. They unveiled the clique's reactionary activities and isolated them from the people.

In January 1926, as a result of efforts made by the Chinese Communist Party and the leftist group of the Kuomintang, the KMT's second national representatives' congress was convened in Guangzhou. The congress adopted a resolution censuring the Xishan Conference. It pointed out that the Xishan Conference was "entirely illegal and could endanger the party's foundation and impede the progress of the people's revolution." It decided to expel from the party forever Zou Lu and Xie Chi and to address a letter of warning to 12 other people including Ju Zheng, Lin Sen, Zhang Ji, Shao Yuanchong and others. The letter urged them to "reform themselves." A special order was issued to Dai Jitao requiring him to rectify and to repent. Shortly thereafter, when the disciplinary motions were adopted, a resolution was passed to expel from the party Ju Zheng and Shi Qingyang. At the same time, Ye Chucang was ordered to hand over the MINGUO RIBAO and Shen Dingyi was asked to stop managing the reactionary Zhejiang provincial KMT headquarters. A severe warning was addressed to nine other people, including Qi Zhongchi and Huang Jiliu, of the bogus Shanghai central party headquarters. They were ordered to withdraw from the party headquarters within a specified time. The congress elected the members of the Second Central Executive Committee. Li Dachao, Lin Chuhan, Tang Pingshan and Mao Zedong, members of the Communist Party, were all reelected. Thus, they emerged victorious in their struggle against the supporters of the Xishan Conference.

Following the convention of the KMT's second national representatives' congress, supporters of the Xishan Conference still did not repent. On 29 March of the same year, they convened the illegal "second national representatives' congress of the Kuomintang" in Shanghai. Ninety-eight representatives attended the congress (principally from Shanghai and Nanjin; students from universities in southeast China made up one-third of the total). The congress had as its main theme the topic of coping with the communists. It adopted reactionary resolutions such as one "on eradicating the communist elements." On 13 April, the so-called "Second Plenary Session of the First Central Committee" was convened. Xie Chi, Zou Lu and Shen Dingyi were elected standing committee members. Ju Zheng was elected to head the organization department, Gui Zhongji to head the propaganda department, Huang Jiliu to head the workers' department and Lin Sen to head the overseas department. It was further decided to publish the JIANGNAN WANBAO as the party newspaper. Opposition to the revolutionary group in Guangzhou was thus continued.

However, despite the rightist clique running amok, the revolutionary forces with headquarters in Guangzhou and jointly set up by the Chinese Communist Party and the leftist group of the Kuomintang, representing the interests of the Chinese people as a whole, received the support of the vast masses of industrial workers and peasants as well as the petite bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. They continued to flourish and ultimately achieved the enormous successes of the northern expedition. Finally, as a result of the new rightist clique represented by Jiang Jieshi revolting against the revolution, the first internal revolutionary war suffered a setback. On 11 June 1927, the Nanjin "Kuomintang central headquarters" set up by Jiang Jieshi issued a circular ordering the abolishment of the slogans calling for the "downfall of the supporters of the Xishan Conference" and restored party membership to Xie Chi, Zou Lu and others. Since then the supporters of the Xishan Conference and the Jiang Jieshi clique joined forces and jointly prosecuted their anticommunist and antipeople dirty activities.

CSO: 4005/1341

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' URGES DEVELOPING MARXIST PRINCIPLES

HK101030 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Sep 82 p 5

[Article by Zhang Wenhuan [1728 2429 3562]: "Creatively Develop Marxist Basic Principles--Reading Notes in Studying Works of Marx and Engels"]

[Text] "Creating something new and original from the laws and institutions" was Su Dongpo's comment on the paintings of Wu Daozi. He indicated that the reason why Wu Daozi's paintings were prominent and above all others lay in the fact that he could not only wisely carry forward the good artistic tradition of Chinese paintings but could also blaze new trails. It is suitable, in my opinion, to quote this line of poetry from Su Dongpo to demonstrate the creativity of theoretical workers.

As far as a theoretical worker is concerned, the "laws and institutions" means basic Marxist principles and "something new and original" means blazing new trails. "Creating something new and original from among the laws and instutitions" means creatively applying basic Marxist principles to practice and applying the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism in studying the new situation and solving new problems arising in the course of practice, and in developing Marxism under new historical conditions.

Marxist theory is our guide to action, which develops continuously. The truth that Marxist theory develops continuously is included in the principles of Marxism. Dialectics recognizes no eternal justice or ultimate truth and recognizes nothing constant, absolute and sacred. Marx said: "Dialectics does not worship anything. It is, in essence, critical and revolutionary." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 218) In accordance with this dialectical viewpoint of development, the founders of scientific socialism once and again stressed that their theories should not be regarded as dogma and that some conclusions they drew from given historical conditions as constant formulas were absolutely applicable to all ages and conditions.

Marx and Engels always criticized and denounced all attempts to turn their concrete conclusions into general historical philosophic theories. In 1877, Mikhailovsky, a Russian nationalist theoretician, summarized the history narrated in "Das Kapital" on the origin of West European capitalism into a historical philosophic theory on the general road of development. It

seemed that all nations were destined to take this road regardless of their historical conditions. Marx said: "In so doing, he will bring me undue honors, and at the same time, bring me excessive insults." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 19, p 130) In 1883, in introducing the principles of Marx' "Das Kapital," French socialist Jaures did not mention the historical conditions of these principles. Engels criticized this and said: "These principles have a very definite limit. However, in the works of Jaures, these principles have an absolute and universal meaning, and therefore, they are incorrect in meaning." (ibid., Vol 36, p 84) In 1894, in introducing Marx' theory of value, German economist Werner Sombart did not mention the historical period to which this theory was suited and thus made this theory one that transcended history. Correcting this, Engels said that "first, we should restrict this theory historically and stress that it is applicable only to those social formations in which there exist commodity exchange and commodity production. Primitive communism does not know what value is." (ibid., Vol 39, p 404)

Why did Marx and Engels stress the historical limits of their theories in such a way? The fundamental reason lay in preventing the people from turning their scientific theses on given questions under a given historical stage into a panacea which was applicable in all ages and from turning their theories into a priori principles. This was the matter which Marx and Engels avoided and considered most taboo. It is known to all that Marx and Engels launched a fierce struggle against various petit-bourgeois socialist schools of thought all their lives. The theories of these schools of thought were diverse, but they had one thing in common, that is, they claimed that they had a complete set of panaceas guaranteed to cure all social ills. Marx and Engels stood consistently against these sorts of panaceas and called their concoctors social quacks and charlatans.

Different from those social quacks, Marx and Engels never supplied any panaceas. They deemed that they understood the world to the extent in which historical conditions were reached. They only asked the people to combine the scientific conclusions which they reached according to given historical conditions with the concrete practical activities, rather than supplying them with the absolute truth transcending history. Marx said: "Correct theory must be integrated with concrete conditions and expounded and elaborated on in accordance with existing conditions." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 27, p 433) In the 1880's, in his letter to Russian revolutionary Cha Su Li Qi [2686 5685 0448 1142], with sincere words and earnest wishes, Engels pointed out: "Marx' theory of history is, as I see it, the basic conditions of firm, unshakable and consistent revolutionary tactics; in order to find out this kind of tactic, what is required is that this theory should be applied to the economic and political conditions of one's own country." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 450)

Marx and Engels were against making inferences on the future a priori. As early as 1843, Marx said that the characteristics of a new ideological trend are precisely that while criticizing the old world, we hope to discover a new one rather than intending to predict the future in a dogmatic

way. "Our task is not to infer the future and proclaim some decisions that hold good for all time and will be applicable at any time in the future." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 416) The tasks of Marx and Engels were to criticize the old world and bring to light the law that capitalism is doomed and socialism is bound to triumph, and to point out the social material forces which will overthrow the capitalist system. In regard to how to realize this change and what to do after the change is realized, they placed hopes on the creativity of the people who carried out the struggle and the theoreticians of the coming generations rather than making concrete decisions for them. Therefore, they always refused to offer any answers to the questions about what concrete action to take in the time of the future revolution.

In 1881, the Dutch Socialist Democratic Party planned to let the International Congress of Socialists, which would be soon convened in Zurich, discuss a question: If the socialists seize the state power, what must be the first important legislative measures in politics and the economy in order to ensure the victory of socialism? Dutch socialist democrat Niu Wen Hu Si [4781 2429 5170 2448] told Marx this plan. Marx criticized it and said: "The 'question' which will be discussed, as you told me, at the Zurich congress, which will be soon convened, is, in my opinion, not correctly raised. What must be done and what must be done at once in a given time in the future depends, of course, entirely on the given historical circumstances in which the people have to carry out their activities. However, raising this question now is purely imaginary and therefore the only answer to this question must be the criticism against the question itself. If there is not any factor to solve this equation in the various known items of the equation, we cannot possibly solve this equation." (ibid., Vol 35, p 154) In the very same year, Kautsky consulted Engels on the question of the influence of population increases on social progress. Engels replied that there exists the possibility to fix a limit on population growth. It is not difficult for the people in a communist society to readjust the production of man himself. Engels held that it is not necessary to make any suggestions on this matter to the people in the future. "Anyhow, the people in a communist society can decide for themselves whether they should adopt some measures, and when and what means and even which measures they should adopt. I do not think that I am on a mission to make suggestions and offer advice to them in this respect. Those people are not in any case more stupid than you and I." (ibid., Vol 35, p 145)

The reason why Marx and Engels were so cautious about the questions involving the future lay in the fact that they always took a scientific attitude toward objective things rather than being entirely prudent. According to the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, man's knowledge comes from practice. In regard to the course of the socialist revolution of a certain country, only the people of that country who carry out socialist revolution can understand and sum it up and Marx and Engels could not do anything for them. As for the laws governing a socialist society, and in particular the socialist road of concrete economic development, only the people and the theoreticians who carry out socialist construction can solve them, and Marx and Engels were, in fact, powerless in

this respect. This is because the concrete road of the development of socialist economies of various countries is decided, to a great extent, by the concrete historical conditions of the various countries. Generally speaking, it is difficult to make correct inferences in advance about these historical conditions.

People may ask: Did Marx and Engels not put forth a number of expositions on socialism? How then should we treat them? Certainly, Marx and Engels made quite a few statements on socialism. We must make an analysis of these statements.

Many of the expositions of Marx and Engels on socialism are still to this day radiating with the light of truth and are still of great instructive significance to the current socialist construction. Many views of Marx and Engels on socialism are the result of the carrying out of scientific study of the laws governing the development of human society, in particular capitalist society, and also a scientific detection of the unknown socialized production in a nonantagonistic form made according to the laws governing the known socialized production in an antagonistic form. Therefore, they are essentially different from the various patterns designed subjectively by eutopian socialists. Moreover, judged from the present situation, our study of many important expositions of Marx and Engels on socialism is far from sufficient.

On the other hand, we must notice that some of the expositions of Marx and Engels on socialism were stated while they were analyzing capitalist society and were criticizing all descriptions of socialist schools of thought. Therefore, they had the nature of inference, assumption and hypothesis. They had yet to be tested by practice.

It is known to all that in Marx' "Das Kapital" and "Critique of the Gotha Program" and in Engels' "The Principles of Communism" and "Anti-Duhring," Marx and Engels assumed that after the elimination of the capitalist private ownership system, a unitary system of the ownership of the means of production by the whole people would be set up; the society would own all the means of production; and commodity exchange and commodity production would cease to exist. Before the October Revolution, Lenin agreed with this viewpoint of Marx and Engels. He held that socialism meant eliminating the commodity economy. In the early few years after the October Revolution Lenin still regarded socialism as a system incompatible with the commodity-money relationship. During the period of wartime communism, the Russian Communist Party put this theory into effect but practice proved it to be not a through road. Lenin was not in the least dogmatic. In light of the actual conditions at that time, Lenin determinedly discarded the old theory and boldly blazed new trails. He carried out new economic policies, restored and developed the relations of commodity and money, and in addition, practiced state capitalism. At that time, many famous political public figures were not convinced, quite a few theoreticians lost their bearing on this matter, some foreign revolutionaries in the Communist International conducted vigorous propaganda against this and the organ of the Russian Communist Party also sang a different tune. Lenin criticized

all this and pointed out that one of the causes of this mistake was that they understood state capitalism in light of old books and that they were reacting on the strength of their imagined cleverness. Lenin said: "But in those old books you will not find what we are discussing; they deal with the state capitalism that exists under capitalism. Not a single book has been written about state capitalism under communism. It did not occur even to Marx to write a word on this subject; and he died without leaving a single precise statement or definite instruction on it. That is why we must overcome the difficulty entirely by ourselves." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 626) "Overcoming the difficulty entirely by ourselves" precisely showed Lenin's theoretical courage and creativity. Practice has proved that Lenin was correct and that he did develop Marxism, consolidate Soviet state power and advance the socialist economy.

The above-mentioned incidents only indicate one principle: "The whole world outlook of Marx is a method rather than a creed. What it supplies is the starting point for further study and the method which should be used for this study rather than ready-made dogmas." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 39, p 406) The practice of overall socialist construction requires us to [words illegible].

CSO: 4005/1341

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' MARKS FENG YUXIANG CENTENARY

HK200817 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Wang Kunlun [3769 2492 0178], chairman of KMT Revolutionary Committee: "Loving the Country and for the Sake of the People, He Forged Ahead Ceaselessly--Commemorating the Centenary of the Birth of General Feng Yuxiang"]

[Text] General Feng Yuxiang was a recognized and influential figure in our country as well as abroad. He was a patriotic leader, tireless in making progress and a democratic fighter who opposed civil war and dictatorship. Today is the centenary of his birth and we sincerely commemorate this day.

Joined the 1911 Revolution To Overthrow Feudal and Imperial System

Feng Yuxiang was born of a working family in 1882, in the 8th year of the reign of Emperor Guangxu of the Qing dynasty. His grandfather was a hired laborer and his father was a bricklayer. He joined the army of the Qing government when he was 11 years old. China was then in an era of drastic changes; the Qing government humiliated the nation by forfeiting its sovereignty while the people were subject to oppression. As a result, people were living in dire poverty and people's uprisings followed one after another. Feng Yuxiang experienced the Sino-Japanese war in 1894-1895. He took part in the building of artillery batteries in Dagukou and joined the war against the eight-nation allied forces; he sympathized with the Yi He Tuan anti-imperialist movement. He was diligent in study and he got good marks in examinations. Consequently he was promoted on many occasions from ordinary soldier to deputy team leader, platoon leader and mess officer. Later, the Qing dynasty expanded its army and set up the 12th Division and he was promoted to battalion commander. Although his position changed, he always remembered the miseries of the people; he refused to become an honest follower of the Qing government. With high position, he was able to witness the extravagant and dissipated life of those in authority in the government and this situation fired him with revolutionary zeal. He contacted other people such as Wang Jinming and Shi Congyun and they organized a secret organization called the "Military Research Society [wu xue yan jiu hui 2976 1331 4282 4496 2585]" in preparation for launching revolution.

According to the military system of the Qing government, the 20th and 6th Divisions and the 2d Combined Army Unit were carrying out autumn drill in Yongping in August according to the Chinese calendar, 1911. Taking this opportunity, the revolutionaries in these units brought along ammunition in their preparation for an uprising. But when these units were departing from Luanzhou, news of the Nanchang uprising was spreading across the country. Many provinces responded to the Nanchang uprising and the repercussions of this uprising were also momentous in various northern provinces. Wang Jinming and Shi Congyun who were stationed in Luanzhou proclaimed the formation of a military government and with Feng Yuxiang as chief of staff, they declared independence. This was the famous Luanzhou uprising of the 1911 revolution. But this uprising did not make enough preparation and in addition, because of the betrayal of capitulationists, the leaders of the uprising, including Wang Jinming, were arrested and murdered. Feng Yuxiang survived but was transferred to his hometown. Although the Luanzhou uprising failed, this city is not far from Jingji and consequently it had a great effect on the morale of the Qing army and boosted the morale of the army units in the southern parts of the country and these changes played an important role in overthrowing the rule of the Qing government.

Punitive Expedition Against the Northern Warlords and Participation in National Revolution

The 1911 revolution toppled the Qing government and the Republic of China was formed. But the head of the northern warlords, Yuan Shikai, seized the victory of the revolution and disregarding advice from others, he proclaimed himself emperor in 1915. Feng Yuxiang was then stationed in Sichuan. He disregarded threats and lures on the part of Yuan Shikai and resolutely joined the ranks of the revolutionaries who opposed Yuan Shikai and supported the republic. He sent messengers to Cai E to express his support for the republic against Yuan Shikai. On the other hand, he advised Chen Huan not to fight against the units that were in support of the republic. The army led by Feng Yuxian was then transformed into the 5th Division of the army supporting the republic while the whole country rose against Yuan Shikai. Under internal and external oppression, Chen Huan proclaimed Sichuan Province independent. He also announced that he was opposed to Yuan Shikai becoming emperor. Yuan Shikai met serious setbacks when Yunnan Province sent a punitive expedition against him, Sichuan Province became independent while many other provinces such as Guizhou, Guangxi, Guangdong, Zhejiang and Hunan also rebelled against him. He died under the curse of the whole country.

In 1917, northern warlord Zhang Xun seized the opportunity of the turmoil in the political situation following the death of Yuan Shikai and by making use of the so-called "inner government conflict" between Li Yuanhong and Duan Qirui, he led the "pigtailed army" into the capital, ordered the dissolution of parliament and forced the then-president, Li Yuanhong, to give in. He collaborated with Kang Youwei and a handful of feudal remnants and tried to restore the throne of the deposed Qing Emperor Pu Yi. Feng Yuxiang was then staying in Xishan on the outskirts of Beijing. Upon hearing this news, he hurried to his old army which was stationed in Langfang

and sent a messenger to Zhang Xun declaring his opposition to the restoration. He led his army and attacked Beijing and consequently swept away this scandal of restoration.

In 1918, Duan Qirui sent the 16th Company under the leadership of Feng Yuxiang to Fujian Province to fight against the army units that, under the influence of Dr Sun Yat-sen, were fighting against evil to protect what was right. Feng Yuxiang was deeply conscious of the righteousness of the cause of the revolution and he did not order his men arbitrarily. When his army arrived, he announced across the country his suggestion to stop fighting and suggested that the north hold talks with the south. From then on he constantly exchanged messages with Dr Sun Yat-sen. In one of his letters to Dr Sun, he said that although he could not keep him company, his spirit was one with that of Dr Sun.

It was a time characterized by wars among warlords and these wars were becoming fierce under the manipulation of imperialism. Warlord Cao Kun resorted to dirty tricks in election during which he bribed people and consequently became "president." He mobilized his army and fought against another warlord, Zhang Zuolin. Utterly dissatisfied with Cao Kun's bribes during election and wars among warlords, Feng Yuxiang covertly kept contact with Dr Sun in the south and he prepared to take action against the most reactionary warlords who were in support of Chiang Kai-shek.

In 1924, Feng Yuxiang was appointed by Cao Kun as commander of the 3d Army, Hu Jingyi as commander of the Reserve Army and Sun Yue as deputy commander of Beijing Garrison. Before leading the army, Feng Yuxiang secretly agreed with Hu Jingyi and Sun Yue to launch a political coup. When Feng Yuxiang's army was on its way to a battlefield in Rehe, it was suddenly directed by Feng Yuxiang to return to Beijing where Cao Kun was arrested and Pu Yi was again dethroned. Feng Yuxiang thus succeeded in launching a "revolution in the capital" and put an end to the ridiculous situation after the 1911 revolution of the existence of an emperor in the summer palace in Beijing. In October of the same year, Feng Yuxiang convened a political and military meeting. He organized a national army with himself as commander in chief. He also sent a telegram to Dr Sun Yat-sen, inviting him to go north to manage state affairs. In his reply, Dr Sun said: "...You have eliminated a vicious enemy. I congratulate you on your contributions to the country.... I am very happy to know your great plans for building the country. I have decided to go north soon to discuss the matter with you...."

Dr Sun Yat-sen arrived in Beijing on 13 November 1924; but he was then sick. It was a pity that when he arrived in Beijing, Feng Yuxiang had already left the capital because of the oppression by Duan Qirui and Zhang Zuolin. Unfortunately, Dr Sun passed away on 12 March 1925. Feng Yuxiang was deeply grieved and he was very sorry not to have been able to meet this great revolutionary of the era. Feng's desire for realizing peaceful unification between the north and the south and political reform through the efforts of Dr Sun Yat-sen ended in failure.

The emergence of the Chinese working class in the political arena and the founding of the Communist Party of China showed that the Chinese revolution was beginning to enter a historical stage from the old democracy to the new democracy. In 1923, the CPC convened the third congress in Guangzhou and this congress defined a principle for forming a united front with the KMT. In 1924, Dr Sun convened the 1st congress of the KMT. The KMT was reorganized and the 3 great principles of uniting with the Soviet Union, uniting with the CPC and supporting peasants and workers were also defined. Motivated by the currents of the era, General Feng met Li Dazhao and was influenced by the CPC. In early 1926, the various pro-Chiang Kai-shek warlords were again planning to launch war against each other and consequently the situation in the north was very tense. Feng was unwilling to get involved in this war. Consequently, with a decision to seek revolutionary truth, he visited the Soviet Union for study via Mongolia. On his way to the Soviet Union, he joined the KMT and declared that all the men of the national army were also joining the KMT. He was appointed by the KMT Central Committee as KMT representative in the northwest national army.

In July 1926, in the cooperation between the CPC and the KMT, the national revolutionary army marched north. In September, Feng returned to China, with support from the Soviet Union and the CPC. Liu Pojian, a communist, was appointed political minister to General Feng while Soviet advisers were invited to help train his army. His army held a rally to swear an oath in Wuyuan, Suiyuan. He said in his message that he left his motherland for the Soviet Union "in a hopeless state but returned home with something in mind." He solemnly declared: "From now on, the national army is based on the will of the masses of the people, it is an armed force totally in the interest of the people and is closely linked with them." He led his army from Suiyuan to Shaanxi and Gansu Provinces so as to support the Northern Expeditionary Army. He led his army through Tongguan, attacked Luoyang and Zhangzhou and fought against the reactionary army of Tuhang Zuolin and Wu Peifu on the central plain. His army became part of the strong armed forces of the Northern Expeditionary Army.

Frankly, General Feng took a tortuous path in the latter period of the first revolutionary civil war. He joined the Zhangzhou meeting and Xuzhou meeting and supported Chiang Kai-shek who harbored evil intentions for power and consequently caused damage to the revolution. No sooner had Chiang Kai-shek consolidated his position than he turned his spearhead against the national army and eliminated this army that was formed by Feng over a 20-year period. General Feng was very sad but he gradually raised his political consciousness. He opposed Chiang Kai-shek in 1929 and 1930, but he failed. He retired from the political arena and lived a secluded life in Taishan where he indulged in reading books. It was a great turning point in his life.

He Maintained Unity in the War of Resistance and Opposed Separatism and Capitulation

Following the "18 September" incident in 1931 and because of the deep invasion of the Japanese army, China was in a serious national crisis. The

whole Chinese people rose in their fight against Japanese aggression. Some patriotic generals in the KMT army also opposed capitulationism and urgently demanded fighting against the aggression. Under the arrangement and influence of the CPC, General Feng organized the Qahar people's allied forces in Zhangjiakou to fight against the Japanese aggression. He was the commander in chief of this army, with Fang Zhenwu as frontline commander in chief and Ji Hongchang (communist) as frontline general commander and commander of the 2d Division. They led the army into battle where they fought heroically. This army captured the three counties of Kangbao, Baochang and Guyuan, and the important town of Duolun in eastern Qahar. The victory of this army spread across the country to inspire the whole people. But Chiang Kai-shek regarded this action as perverse and unprincipled and he consequently decided to eliminate this army. Chiang collaborated with the Japanese aggressors to bribe those who were undetermined in the allied forces and they covertly created discord in the relations between General Feng and his old armymen. As a result, the allied forces found themselves in an increasingly difficult situation and were at last defeated. General Feng could not but leave Zhangjiakou and returned to Taishan to live in seclusion again and indulge in reading books.

Feng did not turn passive despite his failures. He read tirelessly to probe into questions of how to save his country and his people. At the same time, he paid attention to changes happening at home and abroad. He also strengthened his contact with anti-Japanese forces in various parts of the country. In November 1933, generals from the KMT 19th Army Cai Tingkai, Chen Mingshu and Jiang Guangnai and those who opposed Chiang Kai-shek within the KMT such as Li Jishen, launched an uprising in Fujian where they declared the formation of the "People's Revolutionary Government of the Republic of China" to oppose Japanese aggression and Chiang Kai-shek. General Feng sent his representatives to take part in this event. On 12 December 1936, Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng launched the famous "Xian incident." Following this incident, General Feng sent a message to Zhang Xueliang to explain the advantages and disadvantages of capturing Chiang Kai-shek. He proposed to Zhang Xueliang that he take the situation of the whole country into account and release Chiang Kai-shek so as to smash the plot of the pro-Japanese factions. Thanks to the concerted efforts made by the CPC and those who were of insight within the KMT, Chiang Kai-shek was compelled to accept the conditions for fighting against the Japanese aggressors. The "Xian incident" was peacefully resolved.

Following the peaceful settlement of the "Xian incident," the CPC Central Committee sent a telegram to the Third Plenary Session of the Fifth KMT Central Committee and in this telegram, it proposed the five principles for stopping the civil war and saving the country. Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning, Feng Yuxiang and 10 others suggested to Chiang Kai-shek that he restore the 3 great principles for uniting with the Soviet Union, uniting with the CPC and supporting the peasants and workers, originally proposed by Dr Sun. The war of resistance against Japan began following the Lugoujiao Bridge incident. Determined to have his share in saving his country, General Feng, who was then deputy chairman of the Military Commission, visited many places to call on the people to unite against

Japanese aggression. He denounced the criminal activities of Wang Jingwei and others who were supporting the aggression and selling out the country. He suggested expelling Wang Jingwei from the KMT and ordered his arrest. He denounced the KMT reactionaries for prosecuting progressive youths and creating anticommunist friction and advocated abolishing secret service organizations and improving the life of soldiers and the people. He criticized Kong Xiangxi and Soong Ziwen's families for making enormous wealth on the basis of the misery of the country. He suggested that the rich contribute their money and ordered the confiscation of illegal property so as to finance the war of resistance against Japan.

During the war of resistance against Japan that lasted for 8 years, General Feng had more opportunities in Wuhan, Chongqing and elsewhere to keep contact with rank-and-file soldiers and laboring people. He also had the opportunity to contact progressive people and communists. In particular, he was deeply influenced and much helped by Vice Chairman Zhou Enlai. His relationship with the CPC was becoming closer. The Sanhu printing office owned by himself reprinted large quantities of the article "On Protracted War" by Chairman Mao and editorials from XINHUA RIBAO. He accepted a task entrusted to him by Vice Chairman Zhou Enlai to rescue Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the Vietnamese revolution who was arrested in Guangxi, and to rescue many democrats and communists such as Zhang Shenfu, Shen Junru and Hua Gang. On 28 August 1945, Chairman Mao Zedong was invited to hold talks with Chiang Kai-shek in Chongqing. General Feng held that "Mao Zedong's coming to Chongqing shows that he is honest." He attended a gathering to welcome Mao Zedong held by people from various circles in the office of the Sino-Soviet Cultural Association. He mounted the rostrum and said enthusiastically: "Today, this gathering has realized the three great principles of uniting with the Soviet Union, uniting with the Communist Party and supporting peasants and workers advocated by Premier Sun Yat-sen."

General Feng came to know from reality and his own experiences who was really fighting against Japanese aggression and who was just pretending to do so. He also knew who was really seeking unity and who was creating friction and who was for the people and who was opposing the people. As a result, he was coming closer and closer to patriotic and democratic forces as well as the CPC. He made increasing progress and consequently he was respected and protected by the CPC and the whole people. But on the other hand, the KMT reactionaries hated him all the more. His words were blockaded, his activities were limited and he himself was also watched by agents sent by the reactionary authorities. Chiang Kai-shek's propaganda department constantly spread rumors to attack him. But in spite of all this, he never retreated; instead, he stuck to the line of resisting Japanese aggression and of unity and progress. On 14 November 1941, various circles in Chongqing celebrated the 60th anniversary of the birthday of General Feng (one's age was usually reckoned according to the Chinese calendar). Comrade Zhou Enlai wrote an article on this occasion, "Celebrate the 60th Birthday of General Feng Huanzhang," in which he praised him as "daring to do what others do not dare to do and daring to say what others do not dare to say," "a mainstay in the fight against Japanese aggression" and the one "with his contributions known in the world."

He Cried for the People and Sacrificed Himself for Democracy

A political consultative conference was held following the victory of the war of resistance against Japan; but before the ink about the resolution of the conference had dried, another civil war broke out. The Jiaochangkou and Changbaitang incidents occurred in Chongqing and they were followed by the serious Xiaguan incident in Nanjing. KMT agents hit the people who opposed the civil war and demanded peace with batons and fists.

Under increasing fascist pressure and stuffed with political oppression, General Feng particularly felt that he could no longer stay in China and constantly he intended to go abroad. He told Chiang Kai-shek that he intended to visit water conservancy facilities in the United States. Feng's proposal to go abroad was in fact what was intended by Chiang Kai-shek because in this way he could banish Feng abroad and get rid of a stubborn opponent. On 2 September 1946, General Feng Yuxiang left his miserable motherland for the United States. During the early days after his arrival in the United States, he witnessed the progress made by this country in agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry; therefore he conscientiously studied these aspects so as to acquire advanced experiences for the peaceful construction of our country. But reality was merciless, the situation in China was getting worse while the civil war was spreading across the country. Encouraged and supported by the U.S. Government, Chiang Kai-shek one-sidedly convened a bogus national congress, issued orders for "suppressing rebellion" and attacked liberated areas in a big way. The Chinese people who were living in utter misery were once again plunged into a bloody civil war. To talk about developing water conservancy under such circumstances was ridiculous. General Feng could no longer keep silent and he spoke! In May 1947, students' movements spread across the country to "oppose civil war, oppose hunger and oppose prosecution." General Feng issued his "Letter to All Compatriots Across the Country" in which he strongly condemned the KMT authorities for arresting students and called for an immediate end to the civil war and the organization of a true coalition government. He traveled far and wide in the United States to give speeches at various gatherings and in the streets, wrote articles in newspapers and magazines and held press conferences to express his views to press circles and the public, that is, that he opposed dictatorship by Chiang Kai-shek and that he opposed U.S. support for Chiang Kai-shek in launching civil war. He penetratingly exposed Chiang's government and called on the U.S. Government to stop its aid to Chiang in killing the Chinese people. His words had a great impact in influential circles in the United States.

In November 1947, the American Chinese Peaceful Democratic Union was formed in New York and it was headed by General Feng. Comrades from among KMT democrats, the people's alliance, CPC and nonparty groups joined this organization. This organization passed rules, issued a declaration, elected leading members, and carried out activities to oppose U.S. Government support of Chiang Kai-shek and this work was very effective. On 1 January 1948, the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT was formed in Hong Kong and General Feng who was staying in the United States was elected chairman of

the Standing Committee and Political Committee of this organization. He was very happy to hear this news. He set up an organizing committee of the general subbranch of the KMT Revolutionary Committee in the United States to print a wide variety of documents about the formation of the KMT Revolutionary Committee and those documents were distributed to the U.S. Congress, State Department, various universities, libraries and Overseas Chinese organizations to spread the political influence of the KMT Revolutionary Committee.

Chiang Kai-shek was enraged by all these activities of General Feng in the United States and General Feng was later subject to constant political prosecution. The first prosecution was that he was ordered to return home. Feng refused this order and consequently he was dismissed from office while his passport was cancelled. Finally he was expelled from the KMT on 7 January 1948. None of this was unexpected. General Feng did not surrender to any of this, instead he became even more resolute. He issued his "Announcement on Being Expelled From the Party" and declared that he would "struggle to overthrow Chiang's dictatorial system and realize peace and democracy in China." In his "Open Letter to Chiang Kai-shek" he expressed his confidence that Chiang Kai-shek would be overthrown in a short period and consequently he urged Chiang to come dowm from the political arena and spend the rest of his life abroad. In order to prevent prosecution by Chiang's agents, General Feng had also made a will in which he said: "Dare to speak, dare to do, suffer for the people and die for the people...." Thus for the independence of his country and the liberation of the people, General Feng disregarded his own life and death.

He Will Live Forever in the Hearts of the Chinese People

The year 1948 was an extraordinary year. The PLA won one victory after another on various battlefields. The days of the KMT reactionaries were numbered and Chiang's government was soon to be toppled. The CPC Central Committee issued the "1 May" announcement about the convening of a new political consultative conference. Various democratic parties, people's organizations and patriotic democrats united ever closer around the CPC and consequently Chiang Kai-shek was becoming even more isolated.

Good news was pouring in to inspire even those who were living far away from their motherland, including General Feng, and many patriotic democrats. General Feng decided to respond to the call of the CPC, return to the embrace of his motherland, attend the new political consultative conference and take part in building a new China.

General Feng and his family broke through various obstacles imposed by KMT agents and through meticulous arrangement, they boarded a Soviet liner "Victory" on their way home via the Soviet Union. One month after they began their trip, the liner caught fire on its way to the Black Sea and General Feng died in spite of emergency rescue. It was on 1 September 1948, and he was then 66 years old. What a pity that this veteran general, who fought throughout his life for the birth of new China, passed away on the eve of the founding of new China.

Following the death of General Feng, Mao Zedong, chairman of the CPC Central Committee, and Zhu De, PLA commander in chief, sent messages of condolence to Feng's family in which they praised General Feng as a man who was "seeking democracy and making contributions to the country." On 1 September 1949, a mass gathering was held on the liberated mainland to mark the first anniversary of the death of General Feng. Chairman Mao, Commander in Chief Zhu De, Vice Chairman Zhou Enlai as well as Soong Ching Ling, Li Jishen and Guo Moruo sent condolences and wreaths to pay respect to General Feng. According to the historical conditions made by General Feng, the CPC Central Committee decided to bury the ashes of General Feng in Taishan. In 1953, a grand ceremony was held in Taishan for the burial of the ashes of General Feng.

The life of General Feng was characterized by hardships and anxieties. From a soldier he became a general. "From a typical old armyman he became a democratic armyman. Traversing a tortuous path, he finally marched toward a new democratic China." (Zhou Enlai's speech in commemoration of General Feng) In particular, in his later years, General Feng resolutely and openly cut off his relations with the KMT reaction that betrayed the country and he struggled against the U.S. imperialism that interfered with China's internal affairs and supported Chiang Kai-shek in launching the civil war. He was resolute and undaunted in the face of setbacks. He became an intimate friend of the CPC and a dauntless fighter of the Chinese democratic revolution.

General Feng was a veteran KMT member and he took part in the first and second cooperation between the KMT and the CPC. From his own experiences in the cooperation between the KMT and the CPC and the separation between these two parties, he deeply understood that "peace is invaluable." At a time when he was leaving for the United States, General Feng wrote a letter to Chiang Kai-shek who was then president of the KMT. In this letter, he said with deep feeling: "In the world today, peace is justice. Peace is needed internationally and it is particularly so at home. With peace, everything can be resolved but a war will only end in suffering and misery. Furthermore, peace will finally follow war; no matter how long a war lasts, it is eventually followed by peace. ...It is better to realize peace now than in the future. Peace is the only way...." If these words of General Feng had been accepted at that time, our country would not be separated as it is today. And the situation in which tens of millions of compatriots are separated by a strip of water and yet they cannot reunite would not exist. The KMT would not have been discarded by the people and it would not have retreated from the motherland and stayed in Taiwan. We must pay attention to historical experience. It is good for us to review these words of General Feng at a time when the people of the motherland have once again called on, extended their warm hands to, and suggested the holding of peace talks with the Taiwan authorities so as to realize a third KMT-CPC cooperation and reunify the motherland.

The Chinese people who have experienced misery and anxiety have wisdom and potential. They will no doubt realize the modernization program and reunify their motherland so that our motherland will be able to stand in the forest

of the nations of the world as an advanced and unified country. That is a glorious task of this generation of ours as well as the best way to commemorate countless people who upheld justice, including General Feng.

As I wrote to this point, I could not but think of Madame Feng--Comrade Li Dequan. For many years, Comrade Li Dequan shared weal and woe with General Feng. The outstanding contributions made by General Feng to the motherland include the efforts made by Comrade Li Dequan. Following the unfortunate death of General Feng, Comrade Li Dequan carried on his bequest. Consequently, after she returned home, she carried out enormous work for our socialist revolution and construction, in promoting people's health, the women's movement, international intercourse and in her other positions. She joined the CPC at the age of 60 and from a patriotic democrat she became a communist fighter. This year is the 10th anniversary of the death of Comrade Li Dequan so let us take this opportunity to commemorate and pay our respects to her.

The life of General Feng has left many things behind it that are in our interests. His contributions will be written into the history of the Chinese people.

CSO: 4005/1341

HENAN'S LIUZHUANG BRIGADE WRITES TO CENTRAL LEADERS

OW171431 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1411 GMT 15 Sep 82

> [Excerpts] Zhengzhou, 15 Sep (XINHUA)--XINHUA Editor's Note: The great call issued by the party's 12th congress for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization finds reverberating echoes in the hearts of all party members and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. Although the Liuzhuang Production Brigade has made marked achievements in production and construction under the influence of the 12th CPC National Congress' call, it has drawn up a new development plan and set new goals for itself. All who concern themselves with socialist modernization, all who have a will to make China strong and prosperous should learn from this spirit. However, it must be pointed out here that the conditions of all places and fronts are different from one another and, therefore, they must proceed from their respective specific conditions, work really hard to achieve concrete results by making good use of local conditions and must not mechanically copy others' experiences or impose uniformity. We are confident that with the firm and indomitable efforts by the whole party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, the progress of socialist modernization will certainly be accelerated.

Party members, cadres and the masses of Liuzhuang Production Brigade, Qiliying Commune, Xinxiang County, Henan Province, recently wrote a letter to leading comrades of the party Central Committee, saying that, inspired by the spirit of the 12th congress, it has revised its development plan, changing its original plan to double its total output by 1990 for a new one to achieve this goal by 1985 with the collective's income set at 5 million yuan and the average per capita income from the collective's distribution at 1,000 yuan. In their struggle to create a new situation, members of this brigade are determined to continue to work hard and self-reliantly and to enter into competition with the people of the whole country to push forward socialist modernization.

Leading comrades of the party Central Committee have inspected this brigade and given some important instructions, thereby greatly inspiring the party members, cadres and the masses of this brigade. In the past few years, Liuzhuang Production Brigade made striking achievements: No longer concerning itself with agriculture alone, it succeeded in the all-round development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and industry as well as combined agriculture-industry-commerce enterprises. Its income from industry, sideline production and forestry accounts for over 70 percent of its total income. In 1981, its per-mu grain output was 1,700 jin, enabling it to hand in to the state 140,000 jin as grain tax and on a sales basis. Its per-mu cotton output was 175 jin, enabling it to sell 170,000 jin to the state. Its total income reached 2.5 million yuan--double that of 1978--and its accumulation funds amounted to 5.3 million yuan.

Its letter to leading comrades of the party Central Committee reports its new plan: 1) In line with the necessity for specialized and socialized commodity production and on the basis of the principle of voluntary participation, mutual benefit and becoming rich together, it will make further efforts to set up economic associations with outside organizations in the form of joint operation of factories, processing customer-supplied raw and semifinished materials, and so on, in order to achieve the best possible economic results; 2) it will improve production conditions and such welfare undertakings as an old folks' home, brigade clinic, child care centers and kindergarten; 3) it will embark on scientific and cultural undertakings, increase investment in intellectual development to expand secondary education, send young people to study in universities and specialized secondary schools, build a science and technology hall, improve the library and reading room, and conduct various sports activities; 4) it will intensify education in communist ideology and train new peasants to have lofty ideals and better moral standards and education who observe discipline; and 5) it will strengthen the party by assigning to the leading body in a planned way those middle-aged and young cadres who are ideologically superior, politically highly conscious, better educated and technically knowledgeable.

CSO: 4005/1341

PARTY AND STATE

'JIEFANG RIBAO' ON STUDYING NEW CPC CONSTITUTION

OW172154 Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Sep 82 p 1

[Article by JIEFANG RIBAO commentator: "Conscientiously Study the New Party Constitution"]

[Excerpts] The new "Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party," examined and approved by the 12th National CPC Congress, has been published in full. The new party constitution is a new program of party-building for the new historical period. Every Communist Party member in Shanghai must conscientiously study the new party constitution, actively propagate it and resolutely act according to its stipulations.

Our party has had 12 constitutions since its founding 61 years ago. The party constitution of the 12th party congress is the best constitution of our party. It is a crystallization of the party's historical experience and collective wisdom, a powerful weapon to strengthen party-building and uphold and improve party leadership in the new historical period and, at the same time, a brilliant guide to inspire and push the vast numbers of Communist Party members to strengthen their communist faith and persistently and dauntlessly advance toward the great goals of communism.

Party organizations at various levels in Shanghai must effectively organize all Communist Party members to conscientiously study the new party constitution in conjunction with the study of other important documents of the 12th party congress. It is necessary to make every party member understand the contents of the new party constitution deeply and accurately. In studying the new party constitution, first of all it is necessary to focus on studying the general program. The general program is the party's most fundamental political and organizational program. By studying the general program, every Communist Party member will be able to enhance his communist awakening, increase his consciousness in upholding the four fundamental principles and, while striving to accomplish the general task of the present stage, always keep the great goals of communism in mind.

Ten chapters and 50 articles follow the general program in the new party constitution. They mainly cover the following three important areas:
1) More exacting demands are set on all party members, party cadres and primary party organizations than in any past party constitution;

2) important changes are made in the party's organizational system; 3) more detailed and specific provisions are made on the party's democratic centralism and party discipline. In studying the new party constitution, we must pay attention to the main contents in these three areas, study them repeatedly and grasp their essence.

The new party constitution sets more exacting demands on party members and party cadres than past party constitutions. Every party member and cadre must measure and make demands on himself according to the criteria for party members and the requirements for cadres stipulated in the party constitution. He should ask himself whether he is qualified as a party member or a party cadre according to the criteria and requirements set by the new party constitution. If the vast numbers of party members and party cadres can all make strict demands on themselves according to stipulations of the new party constitution, their images among the masses will take on marked changes and the party organization will greatly enhance its fighting capacity and stand in the front rank of the masses with a completely new appearance.

The new party constitution has made some rather important changes to the party's organizational system. For example, at the central level and the provincial, municipal and autonomous regional levels, one committee and two commissions will be elected; the party Central Committee will not have a chairman, only a general secretary; the party members serving as secretaries of CYL committees at and below the county level and of enterprises and institutions may attend meetings of party committees and their standing committees at the same levels; and so forth. These changes will be conducive to further noramlizing the political life of party organizations at the central and local levels, strengthening collective leadership, enhancing party unity, training successors and achieving cooperation between old and new cadres and the succession of old cadres by new ones.

The new party constitution expounds the basic principles of the party's democratic centralism more systematically and comprehensively, attaches very great importance to strengthening party discipline and makes many specific stipulations in these two areas. These stipulations are obviously very necessary for improving inner-party democracy and ensuring normal inner-party political life.

Studying the new party constitution and setting demands on every party member, especially party cadres, according to the stipulations of the new party constitution are essential for the purpose of strengthening and improving party leadership and building our party organizations at all levels into a strong leading core for the cause of socialist modernization.

The new party constitution is the party's internal law enacted to meet the characteristics and requirements of the new period. It is also the guidance for action of every party organization and Communist Party member. We must study it chapter by chapter and article by article.

CSO: 4005/1339

PARTY AND STATE

FUJIAN URGES EDUCATION IN COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

OW210436 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0704 GMT 19 Sep 82

[Excerpts] Fuzhou, 19 Sep (XINHUA)--The comrades attending the meeting of the propaganda department directors of prefectural, municipal and county party committees in Fujian Province said: In his report at the 12th National CPC Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang has pointed out that spiritual civilization must have communist ideology at its core. This thesis is very important.

The meeting was held by the propaganda department of the Fujian provincial party committee. The directors of the propaganda departments of various prefectural, municipal and county party committees attending the meeting have studied the documents of the 12th national party congress and discussed how to propagate and implement them.

While studying Comrade Hu Yaobang's report, they held: Our party has always attached importance to communist ideological education. This education has made many Communist Party members foster a world outlook of dedicating their lives to the realization of communism. However, there are still some party members, cadres and people who are not enthusiastic to pursue communist ideals. They even consider communism too distant and too indistinct to attain.

The comrades attending the meeting discussed how to carry out a successful education in communist ideology. They called for giving priority to the following work:

1. It is necessary to do a good job in propagating and implementing the documents of the 12th national party congress.

2. It is necessary to theoretically expound that the realization of communism as a social system is the final objective of the communist movement and a task for many generations to complete; that the communist movement is a course of struggle to establish this ideal society under the guidance of communist ideology; that the present four socialist modernizations program is an important stage of the communist movement; and that without communist ideology, socialism would be nonexistent.

3. It is necessary to correctly handle the relations between the propagation of communist ideology and the implementation of policies for the present period. While adhering to communism as our guiding ideology, we will never confuse the different policies for different periods, nor will we wantonly change the existing policies. In order to correct the erroneous thinking that the implementation of the policy of to each according to his work is incompatible with the advocacy for communist ideology, we should clarify the consistency between communist ideology and the party's present policies to dispel the masses' fear for frequent policy changes.

They said: When we propagate the documents of the 12th national party congress, we should boldly seek truth from facts; carry out comprehensive, convincing propaganda and education in communism aimed at specific persons; constantly promote the building of socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology at its core; and bring about the rapid development of socialist material civilization.

CSO: 4005/1339

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG MEETING URGES 'FIVE STRESSES, FOUR BEAUTIES' CAMPAIGN

Meeting on 18 September

SK210133 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 19 Sep 82

[Excerpt] According to our sources, on the afternoon of 18 September the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee sponsored a meeting with the participation of responsible persons from pertinent departments, commissions, bureaus and offices under the provincial level organs and from the Jinan municipal organs to call for vigorously carrying out a "five-stress" and "four-beauty" campaign centered around conducting communist ideological education during National Day.

Comrades Xu Jianchun and Wang Zhongying, standing committee members of the provincial CPC committee, attended and addressed the meeting.

The meeting noted: Communist ideology is the guiding idea of all party activities and the central thought for achieving socialist spiritual civilization and waging the "five-stress" and "four-beauty" campaign. Only by upholding communism as the central point in carrying out "five-stress" and "four-beauty" activities can we make sure of stressing decorum, manners, hygiene, discipline and morals and of beautifying the mind, language, behavior and environment, as well carry out "five-stress" and "four-beauty" activities in a sustained and systematic manner.

The meeting urged that efforts should be made to have education on communist ideology penetrate all activities in the "five-stress" and "four-beauty" campaign.

The meeting contended that National Day would arrive this year in the warm atmosphere of celebrating the convocation of the 12th National Party Congress with great historical significance among the party members and the people. In carrying out "five-stress" and "four-beauty" activities prior to or after National Day, with the central content of studying, disseminating and implementing the 12th National Party Congress' documents and of heightening communist ideological consciousness, it is of the greatest importance on implementing the fighting guidelines and all tasks set forth by the 12th National Party Congress.

The meeting urged that, prior to National Day, earnest efforts should be made to organize party members, cadres and the masses to listen to reports given by the delegates to the 12th National Party Congress in regard to the congress' guidelines and to do a good job in holding discussions on the guidelines by relating to their ideological status and the actual situation so as to profoundly understand the great historical significance of the 12th National Party Congress and the fighting tasks set forth there. Efforts should be made to orient the people's thinking and action to the 12th National Party Congress' documents. It is necessary to conduct education on communist ideology and morality among party members, cadres and the masses while they are studying the 12th National Party Congress' documents. Efforts should be made to criticize the erroneous viewpoints that communism has not been tested by practice, that communism is a vague fantasy and that it is impossible to conduct education on communist ideology and morality in the socialist period. We should mobilize the people to greet National Day with concrete deeds, creating a new situation in socialist modernization.

The meeting urged localities and units throughout the province during the National Day to seize the opportunity to conduct education among cadres and the masses on transforming social traditions and developing new communist decorum and morals. Efforts should be made to encourage the new style wedding ceremonies and oppose waste and extravagant ways in rituals.

The meeting set forth the time from 24 to 30 September as a period of doing a rush job in improving the dirty environment, social disorder and poor service throughout the province.

Station Commentary

SK210025 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 19 Sep 82

[Station commentary: "Apply Education in Communist Ideology to All Activities of Five Stresses and Four Points of Beauty"]

[Text] The provincial CPC committee has held a meeting to make arrangements for launching the activity of five stresses and four points of beauty around the National Day. The meeting stressed: Applying the education of communist ideology to the activity of five stresses and four points of beauty is very important to implementing the guidelines of the 12th National Party Congress and to creating new situations in socialist modernization. Communist ideology is the guiding ideology of all activities of our party, the core of socialist spiritual civilization and the guiding ideology and the core of the activity of five stresses and four points of beauty.

Referring to the five stresses and four points of beauty, the most important parts are morality and beautification of the mind. Morality means communist morality. Beautification of the mind means cultivating communist ideals and beliefs, a communist labor attitude, patriotism and internationalism and being ready to give one's life for the people. If it

deviates from communist ideology and morality, the activities of five stresses and four points of beauty will be unable to help the people stress decorum, manners, hygiene, discipline and morals, will lose its lofty ideals and fighting goals, will be unable to resist corrosive thinking and unhealthy practices and will be unable to help improve party work style and social habits and build the socialist spiritual civilization.

We must apply the education of communist ideology and morality to all activities of five stresses and four points of beauty. Practices have proved that the activities of five stresses and four points of beauty will encourage the people to voluntarily live up to communism. Through the activities, large numbers of party members and the masses can be educated in communism and their consciousness in communism will be heightened. Meanwhile, the activities will strengthen people's belief in communism and foster communist morality and values. The practice of greening, beautifying and cleaning the environment will inspire people's enthusiasm. Improving traffic order and maintaining public security will impel the people to observe social morals and carry forward communist morality. Improving service attitudes and quality will help the people foster the idea of serving others wholeheartedly and raise the level of professional morals. All these activities have directly reflected the intimate relations between the people in a socialist country and will promote the building of a high-degree socialist spiritual civilization.

The key to developing the "five-stress" and "four-beauty" activities in a sustained and systematic manner lies in the mental status of party members, cadres and leading personnel at all levels. If leading comrades have strong confidence in communism and pledge to fight for the state all their life, they will be able to conduct education in communist ideology among party members and the masses, eliminate all erroneous points of view and lead the masses to practice communism. In the course of conducting "five-stress" and "four-beauty" activities, which stress the study and implementation of the guidelines of the 12th party congress and on the improvement of communist ideological consciousness, leaders at all levels should take the lead in studying the documents of the 12th party congress, profoundly comprehend the guidelines of the 12th party congress, justly and forcefully apply communist ideology and morality to all activities and make contributions to building high-degree socialist spiritual civilization and creating new situations in all fields of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/1339

PARTY AND STATE

ZHEJIANG CYL CONGRESS CONCLUDES IN HANGZHOU

OW101303 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 6 Sep 82

[Text] The 7th Zhejiang Provincial CYL Congress triumphantly ended in Hangzhou on the afternoon of 6 September. The congress had successfully completed all items on the agenda, elected the 7th Zhejiang Provincial CYL Committee, unanimously adopted the work report of the congress, and elected deputies from Zhejiang to attend the 11th National CYL Congress. During the congress, which lasted 5 days, the deputies earnestly studied the speeches by the leading comrades of the provincial CPC committee and the work report of the congress. They issued a clarion call to young people to actively respond to the call of the 12th National CPC Congress and firmly hold aloft the banner of communism. They must, as always, resolutely follow the party and build a new life with their youthful vigor.

(Li Fengying), deputy secretary of the provincial CYL committee, made a closing speech. He said: We must firmly carry out the militant tasks put forward by the provincial CYL congress and further improve our work concerning the Youth League in the province. Efforts must be made to educate CYL members and young people with the basic theories of Marxism and with communist ethics, actively carry out various activities to cherish the party, the motherland and socialism, train more competent young people who are good in ideology, study and health, and develop the campaign of promoting the "five stresses and four beauties." It is also necessary to enliven CYL activities and concern ourselves with the vital interests of young people. Efforts must be made to bring into full play the exemplary role of CYL cadres, become a competent assistant to the party and play the role well as a bridge between the party and young people.

The 7th Zhejiang Provincial CYL Committee has 90 members, with (Lu Songting) as secretary and (Chen Yuexing), (Li Fengying), (Sun Xunling), (Lu Guangliang) and (Qian Qingxun) as deputy secretaries. Attending the closing ceremony were leading comrades of the provincial CPC committee, the standing committee of the provincial people's congress, the provincial people's government and the provincial CPPCC committee Zhang Jingtang, (Jiang Baodi), (Wang Yaoting), (Li Kezhang), Shang Jingcai, Li Lanyan, Liu Yifu and He Kexi. Also attending the closing ceremony were responsible persons of the provincial military district, the departments concerned and various mass organizations in the province.

CSO: 4005/1339

BRIEFS

HAIKOU BUREAU OFFICIAL ARRESTED--(Zheng Chengjin), deputy director of the Hainan Municipal Water and Electricity Bureau, was arrested by the judicial office on 17 September on charges of corruption and bribery. He had seriously failed in his duty and had violated the criminal law. When acting as director of the Water and Electricity Bureau of the Hainan Autonomous Prefecture of Li and Miao Nationalities, and as secretary of the party committee of the Dafeng Overseas Chinese farm of Chengmai County and as manager of the farm several years ago, (Zheng Chengjin) was guilty of corruption and bribery and was negligent in his duty, causing a great loss to the national economy. (Zheng Chengjin) did not normally have much family income. But this year he built a private house in his hometown of Chengmai County at a cost of more than 10,000 yuan. He also spent 4,000 yuan to buy illegally 300 square meters of land in Haikou. Now his family still has on hand around 26 square meters of high-quality timber. In the crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic area, the masses were keen on exposing the criminal activities of (Zheng Chengjin). They urged the relevant department to investigate the case. His crimes were at last found out. Now the case of (Zheng Chengjin) is being investigated further. [Text] [HK201416 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 19 Sep 82]

JILIN DELEGATION TO YANBIAN--A 25-member Jilin provincial party-government-military delegation, headed by Yu Ke, secretary of the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee, and with Zhao Tianye, vice chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, Luo Yeujia, vice governor, Che Minqiao, vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee, and (Liu Jianbin), deputy political commissar of the provincial military district, as deputy leaders, left Changchun for Yanji County at 1900 on August [as received] to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of Yanbian Autonomous Prefecture on 3 September. [Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 Aug 82 SK]

JILIN DELEGATION BACK FROM DPRK--The Jilin provincial CPC delegation returned to Changchun on the morning of 30 August, having concluded its visit to Chagang Province in the DPRK, a visit carried out at the invitation of the Chagang Provincial KWP Committee. The delegation was led by Song Jeihan, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, as head and (Zhao Dongli), director of the provincial foreign affairs office, as deputy head.

During their visit to Chagang Province, responsible secretary of the provincial KWP committee Yi Tong-chun met with and entertained them and in Pyongyang Kim Yong-nam, secretary of the KWP Central Committee, met with and feted them. On their arrival in Changchun, (Zhao Xiu), secretary of the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee, and (Li Shuren), vice governor, met them at the railway station. [Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 Aug 82 SK]

CSO: 4005/1339

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

DENG SCORED FOR BELITTLING PLA

OW201349 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 17 Sep 82

[Text] From now on, all party members, especially leaders of the central and local authorities, must strictly abide by the new party constitution adopted at the 12th CPC National Congress. Only thus can the style of the party be improved, party organizations be consolidated in accordance with the provisions of the new party constitution and the norms for party life be restored.

The masses of party members in the armed forces express the hope that the new party Central Committee correct some of the erroneous regulations formulated by previous party central committees against the armed forces. For example, the restriction on the number of party members in the armed forces and the reduction of the proportion of military party members in the whole party membership are aimed at downgrading the military's role in the political life of the party and the state.

It must be pointed out that this practice runs counter to the historical traditions of our party and army. In all stages of the Chinese revolution, our army has played a most positive role in the political life of the party and the state. Our party has always shown concern for the development of party organizations in the armed forces. That is why the proportion of its party members has always been quite large. Every commander and fighter regards attainment of party membership as a great honor. Now, according to the regulations set by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, the proportion of party members in a company must not exceed 20 percent of the number of people in that company, the practice of having at least one party member in a squad as required in the past is no longer continued, and the number of party members in military organizations must be strictly controlled.

Due to these erroneous regulations, the number of party members among the army's commanders and fighters is drastically diminishing. According to statistics by the PLA General Political Department, the number of party members among commanders and fighters in 1981 was 40 percent less than in 1980. In the first half of this year, the number of party members decreased by 60 percent compared to the same period of 1981. This has resulted in a decrease in the proportion of military party members in the whole party membership, and the military party organizations are not so enthusiastic

as they used to be. Pessimism prevails among military party members, particularly among party member officers. This has affected the morale and sentiments of the commanders and fighters.

In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, when he referred to the PLA, Comrade Hu Yaobang stressed the importance of strengthening military training and ideological and political work in the army in order to enhance its military capability and political consciousness. However, it is obvious that this task can be accomplished only if attacks on the army are stopped, an end is put on downgrading the role of military party organizations and efforts are made to enhance military party members' enthusiasm.

In his opening speech at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that he paid high tribute to the Chinese PLA, the great wall of steel safeguarding the security and socialist construction of our motherland. However, Comrade Deng Xiaoping should remove his prejudices, in deeds and not in words, against the army, particularly against the masses of military cadres.

CSO: 4005/1338

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

HENAN HOLDS MILITARY TRAINING MEETING

HK201410 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 19 Sep 82

[Text] The Henan provincial meeting on militia training was held in Zhumadian Military Subdistrict from 4-7 September. The meeting summed up the provincial militia training work in the first 8 months of this year and made arrangements for militia training tasks in 1983.

The meeting held that since the beginning of this year, due to the importance attached to militia training by the leading bodies at various levels, militia training in our province, such as personnel taking part in military training and training time and contents, has been performed better than it was in previous years. The quality of training has shown a marked improvement and the various training tasks have been quite satisfactorily accomplished.

The main tasks of militia training for next year are, in accordance with the provincial military region's 4-year plan on militia training, to pay special attention to the training of professional technical units such as infantry units and antiaircraft machinegun and artillery units and the training of militia company commanders and other professional armed cadres. At the same time, it is also necessary to pay attention to the enrollment of some female militia for training in accordance with stipulated percentage.

The meeting called on the various units to conscientiously implement the guidelines of the 12th party congress, make prompt preparations, speedily start military training, set exacting demands and improve training quality.

Leading comrades, including Provincial Military Regional Commander Shang Tan, Deputy Commander (Zhao Ju) and adviser (Li Jie), attended the meeting.

CSO: 4005/1338

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

TAIWAN TO CONSIDER IMPROVING PERFORMANCE OF F-5E AIRCRAFT

Taipei CHUNG-YANG JIH-PAO 22 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by Jiang Qiguang [3068 0796 3171] and Liang Jiamu [2733 0857 2606]]

[Text] According to the foreign press, on the 19th of this month, the United States Department of Defense notified Congress of its plans to sell 60 F-5 fighter planes (including 30 F-5E's and 30 F-5F's) to the Republic of China.

During the above news release, the U.S. Department of Defense declared that this sale will definitely enhance the air defense capabilities of this country. However, according to analysts here, the U.S.-China Communique announced on the 17th of this month clearly indicated that in the future the U.S. will no longer sell any advanced aircraft to the ROC. Therefore, to meet our future requirements on fighter airplanes, we must strive to improve the performance of the F-5E.

The F-5E aircraft is currently the main airplane type of the ROC's Air Force. Both the F-5E and F-5F have good low-altitude combat performance; they are recognized by ROC military experts as the best aircraft the Air Force currently has for carrying out low-altitude intercept missions. According to the Jane's Catalog of Aircraft, the F-5E is a high performance, high power jet fighter made by the Northrop Corporation. It is powered by two J 85-GE 21 turbo jet engines, and has a maximum speed of Mach 1.6 (i.e., 1.6 times the speed of sound), a climb rate of 32,000 feet per minute, and a ceiling of 54,000 feet. Its maximum range is 1400 miles and its combat radius is 750 miles.

The F-5E is an all-weather airplane equipped with precision radar and electronic systems. It can carry two 750-pound bombs as well as air-to-air and air-to-ground missiles; it is nicknamed "Tiger-II" for its superior fire power.

Because of the superior aerodynamic design and the unique flap configuration, the F-5E has outstanding performance in "maneuverability" and "take-off weight." The Soviet MIG-21 is similar to the F-5E in terms of weight, size, and mission, but the F-5E is far superior to the MIG-21 as far as the above two aspects are concerned. In fact, it is considered the "jinx" for the MIG-21.

The F-5E is also attractive from the standpoint of cost (approximately 2.17 million U.S. dollars) and low maintenance expense. The "Zhong Zhen" model

currently being developed under a joint effort by the ROC and the United States is essentially an F-5E.

The F-5F is one of the F-5 series of fighter airplanes developed by the Northrop Corporation. According to the Jane's Catalog of Aircraft, the F-5F can be considered the twin-seat version of the F-5E.

According to military experts, the Communist Chinese Air Force currently relies on the F-9 (an improved version of MIG-19) and F-7 as its main low-altitude attack force. Both of these airplanes are inferior to the F-5E in terms of low-altitude combat capability and performance, but they have a larger number of them. Furthermore, the Chinese Air Force is aggressivley developing the F-12, the equivalent to the MIG-23. We should closely monitor this development. In order to maintain our control of air space over the Taiwan Strait, it is important to improve our current fighters and at the same time develop high performance fighters for the future.

It has been pointed out by analysts in this country that since we will not be able to purchase advanced fighters such as the F16, J79, and F5G from the United States, improving our current F-5 airplanes for future air defense is a feasible strategy. Because our military forces have traditionally been supplied with U.S. equipment, the continuing use of U.S. fighters will simplify maintenance and repair problems; furthermore, having cooperated with the Northrop Corporation in the production of F-5E for many years will facilitate the transfer of technology.

One aviation expert believes, after comparing various high performance fighter airplanes around the world, that the main thrust in modifying the F-5E should be in the direction of improving their all-weather combat capabilities, their engine thrust, and their onboard weaponry.

This expert pointed out that based on the current strength of the ROC's Air Force, a decision by the U.S. Government to continue the cooperative effort to produce F-5E and F-5F will undoubtedly further strengthen the air defense posture of Taiwan. However, under the condition that future sales of advanced aircraft will be discontinued, it is essential that we develop high performance airplanes on our own.

On 19 February of this year, the Defense Minister Sung Ch'ang-chik pointed out in testimony to the Legislative Yuan that to develop a new aircraft would cost over 1 billion U.S. dollars; but to ensure national security, he believes that the government would support such an effort. Currently, the Department of Defense is giving an equivalent amount annually to the Aeronautical development Center to support the research and development of jet engines. This is an indication of our government's dedication to develop our own fighter aircraft.

This expert is pleased to report that the aeronautical industry and related high technologies in this country are receiving an increasing amount of attention. He is also optimistic about the successful outcome of this research and development effort leading to the production of a new fighter airplane. In view of the superior training and higher caliber of the ROC's Air Force personnel, we are confident about achieving victory over the Communist Air Force.

3012
CSO: 8111/1819-B

BRIEFS

WUHAN URBAN AIR DEFENSE CONFERENCE--In order to strengthen the self-defense capacity under modern conditions, a conference on urban air defense for the Wuhan area opened in Wuhan on the morning of 10 September. The opening ceremony was presided over by (Wang Zhan), deputy political commissar of the PLA Wuhan units, and Deputy Commander (Kong Jinde) delivered a speech. He said that since wars in the future will be triphibious warfare under modern conditions, urban air defense will play an important role in the overall war situation. It is necessary to strengthen our study in this respect, have more practices and sum up our experiences and lessons so that our urban air defense capacity can be constantly raised. He required all participants to study hard under the guidance of the 12th congress spirit so that every one of them can make progress. Responsible comrades of the national people's air defense office also attended and spoke at the opening ceremony. Other participants were leading comrades of the PLA Wuhan units, Henan Province, Hubei Province, Hubei Provincial Military District and Wuhan municipality. [Text] [HK150611 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Sep 82]

NANJING PLA UNITS SUPPORT CPC ORGANS--Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin at 1100 GMT on 13 September broadcasts a 3.5-minute report saying that the commanders and fighters of the Nanjing PLA units are filled with joy over the success of the 12th CPC National Congress and election of the new CPC central leading organs. According to the report, many units have held discussion meetings, report meetings, singing and poetry reading meetings. "They are determined to closely rally around the new party Central Committee and do their utmost to speed up the modernization of national defense," the report says. The same service at 1100 GMT on 15 September carries a 2-minute report on a circular issued by the political department of the Nanjing PLA units on 14 September, calling on commanders and fighters to conscientiously study and widely propagate the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress, resolutely implement the documents and decisions of the congress and strive to carry out the fighting tasks set forth by the congress and build a modern, regular revolutionary army. According to the report, the circular puts the stress first of all on the study of the documents by leading cadres at and above the regimental level. [OW171347 Editorial Report]

CSO: 4005/1338 END

JPRS 81961

12 October 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 348

CPC 12th PARTY CONGRESS

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 81961

12 October 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 348

CPC 12TH PARTY CONGRESS

CONTENTS

Hong Kong Paper Reports 'Successful' Results of CPC Congress
(Editorial; SOUTH SHINA MORNING POST, 14 Sep 82) 1

Delegate Notes Atmosphere of Party Congress
(Qin Mu; RENMIN RIBAO, 12 Sep 82) 3

Guangdong Delegates Discuss Hu Yaobang's Report
(Guangdong Provincial Service, 12 Sep 92) 6

Shaghai Paper Urges Study of Hu Yaobang Report
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 9 Sep 82) 10

Jinan PLA Units Support New Leading Organs
(Shandong Provincial Service, 13 Sep 82) 12

Kumming PLA Units Acclaim 12th Congress
(Yunnan Provincial Service, 13 Sep 82) 14

Taiwan League Meeting Hails CPC Congress' Success
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 15 Sep 82) ..... [illegible]

Taiwan Delegates to CPC Congress Hold Forum
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 14 Sep 82) 18

Jiusan Society Urges Studying CPC Documents
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 14 Sep 82) 20

Kuomintang Greets Closing of 12th CPC Congress
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 13 Sep 82) 21

'RENMIN RIBAO' Interviews Three Party Veterans
(Meng Xiaoyun; RENMIN RIBAO, 13 Sep 82) 23

Liaoning Delegates Discuss Hu's Report
(Chai Qiyun; RENMIN RIBAO, 11 Sep 82) 26

Tianjin Mayor-Central Committee Member Interviewed
(Kou Zhanggu; ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE, 14 Sep 82) 29

Deputy Communications Minister Interviewed
(Zhu Ling; CHINA DAILY, 15 Sep 82) 32

China Democracy Association Studies Congress
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 15 Sep 82) 35

Party Members, People Hail New CPC Leading Body
(Beijing Domestic Service, 14 Sep 82) 37

China Democratic League Meets on CPC Congress
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 16 Sep 82) 39

Democratic Party Greets Close of CPC Congress
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 16 Sep 82) 41

New CPC Central Committee Members, Alternate Members Profiled
(XINHUA Domestic Service, various dates) 42

Alternate Member Chen Suzhi
Alternate Member Liu Hongru
Member Zhang Shou, by Xu Xinhua
Alternate Member Yu Zhenwu, by Zhang Wanlai
Alternate Member Gong Benyan, by Yu Youhai, Wang Wang Yaguang
Member Yu Hongen, by Qu Jianchong
Member Li Senmao, by Zhang Xuanguo
Member Wang Zhaoguo, by Fang Jingen

Hong Kong Paper on CPC Congress
(Editorial; HSING KANG SHIH PAO, 13 Sep 82) 51

Article Lauds Hu Yaobang Report
(Yuan Mu; Beijing Domestic Service, various dates) 54

Shaanxi Launches Drive To Study CPC Congress Documents
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 14 Sep 82) 60

Fujian Meeting Urges Implementing Congress Guidelines
(Fujian Provincial Service, 17 Sep 82) 61

'WEN HUI BAO' on Implementing Congress Documents
(Editorial; WEN HUI BAO, 12 Sep 82) 62

Zhejiang Studies CPC Congress Documents
(Editorial Report) 65

'NINGXIA RIBAO' Urges Study of Congress Documents
(Ye Mo; NINGXIA RIBAO, 10 Sep 82) 66

Tianjin People Hail Success of CPC Congress
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 13 Sep 82) 69

Kunming PLA Meeting on Studying Congress Spirit
(Yunnan Provincial Service, 19 Sep 82) 70

Sichuan Plans To Study CPC Congress Documents
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 14 Sep 82) 71

Guizhou PLA Congress of Progressives Opens
(Guizhou Provincial Service, 17 Sep 82) 73

Xizang Circular Urges Studying Congress Documents
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 14 Sep 82) 74

Guangzhou Trade Unions Study Congress Documents
(Guangdong Provincial Service, 18 Sep 82) 75

Guangzhou PLA Units Relay CPC Congress Spirit
(Guangdong Provincial Service, 18 Sep 82) 76

Henan Delegates Discuss Hu Yaobang's Report
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 11 Sep 82) 78

Hunan Military District Urges Study of Congress Documents
(Hunan Provincial Service, 18 Sep 82) 80

Hunan Meetings Convey 12th Party Congress Spirit
(Hunan Provincial Service, 17 Sep 82) 81

HONG KONG PAPER REPORTS 'SUCCESSFUL' RESULTS OF CPC CONGRESS

HK140543 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 14 Sep 82 p 2

[Editorial: "After the Congress, a Cleansing Drive"]

[Text] The 12th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party has come to a successful conclusion and the first plenary session of the new Central Committee on Sunday saw the birth of a new Politburo and a new party Secretariat.

Until late last week, the congress proceeded very much in accordance with earlier predictions. But the birth of a new Central Committee, as was the case with previous congresses, drew much interest—and some initial mystery. For the Central Committee has always been regarded as the pivot of the party and it is this large body of party representatives that could influence many party policies in the next five years.

Indeed, changes in the membership as announced on Friday and Saturday showed consolidation of the pragmatic leadership as Mr Deng Xiaoping and his close associates, Mr Hu Yaobang and Mr Zhao Ziyang, would like it to be. Nevertheless, signs that this new leadership may not be in full control were evident in the retention of some former followers of the ultra-leftist line both in the Central Committee and in the newly-created Advisory Commission.

Another outcome that may not draw heavy applause is the retention of a fairly large number of septuagenarians both on the Central Committee and the Politburo. It was earlier expected they would join the large body of advisers. But the party constitution does not limit the age of any Central Committee members, let alone the age of those on the Politburo.

Such reservations apart, the congress does represent a fresh start after the chaotic 10 years of Cultural Revolution and five years of continuous debate to put the party on the correct path.

While personnel are vital in the functioning of the party leadership, the constitution adopted at the congress is of equal significance. It has laid down many new stipulations intended to prevent the party from repeating past mistakes.

But the constitution will only be of value if it is fully implemented and followed, as so aptly pointed out by Mr Li Xiannian in his speech marking the end of the congress. And the responsibility lies with all party members if it is to remain healthy.

In this task, the party may be blessed with a new Secretariat that is now composed of members of like minds and determination with a wealth of experience at their disposal. It will be this Secretariat that will be responsible for the day-to-day affairs of party matters.

There are, however, a few loose strings that seem to cry out for action or an explanation. More than 20 serving officers in the government, in the army and at provincial levels have lost their Central Committee membership and have joined the Advisory Commission. There is as yet no word if, by joining the advisory body, they will still have to leave their present posts.

To outsiders, the military side in particular has always appeared to present the party leadership with recurring headaches. The 12th congress saw the "transfer" of a large number of army officers to advisory posts. But to have the defence minister accorded the same treatment does seem strange.

Be that as it may, the congress is over and the party can now go ahead with the difficult tasks it has set itself.

The next major move will be even more difficult as the leadership at all levels starts to examine the records of some 39 million party members in a rectification campaign. The progress of this campaign will be watched carefully over the next three years for much will depend on the success of this gigantic undertaking.

CSO: 4000/191

DELEGATE NOTES ATMOSPHERE OF PARTY CONGRESS

HK141228 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Sep 82 p 5

[Article by Qin Mu [4440 3668]: "The Hearts of the Party and People Are Really Linked Together"]

[Text] I did not expect to be a delegate to the 12th CPC National Congress--a historical and grand meeting. Just as indicated by many delegates in articles published in newspapers, I, too, have a sense of pride and a sense of mission. Moreover, on the one hand, I was overcome with shame and remorse and, on the other hand, I was also much moved and inspired. I have not done anything particularly outstanding in work, and never expected I would have been trusted so much. After thinking over and over, I felt I had to attend the meeting with a most serious and stern approach. I had to be responsible for the party and the people in everything I did at the meeting, such as listening to reports, studying documents, taking part in discussions and filling in the ballot form.

This grand meeting has not only drawn the attention of China, but also has been observed throughout the world. "Creating a new situation," "having great and historical significance," "outlining the magnificent goal and combat-worthy tasks in the new period," and so on—these were comments made by the newspapers in our country when appraising the 12th party congress. Similar remarks also were made by foreign press in commenting on the meeting. Thus, it can be said that the tasks of the 12th party congress are quite obviously known at home and abroad. The tremendous changes and big strides China has made since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee have made people clearly aware that the present congress will certainly continue to wipe out all negative influences left by history and will create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization by holding aloft the banner of communism.

The delegates to the distinguished meeting have extensive backgrounds. Take the Guangdong delegation for example. It consists of not only secretaries of the CPC committees at the provincial, municipal, prefectural and county levels, the governor of the province and mayors, but also includes outstanding athletes, model workers, special class teachers, outstanding shop assistants, special grade cooks, chief engineers, female scientists, university principals, professors and writers. These delegates have

connections with quite a number of comrades inside and outside the party. Before my departing for the meeting, quite a few comrades came to my home to have a chat with me and say what they wished for and expected from the congress. In sum, they all hoped the line of the third plenary session could be further carried out and the baneful influences of 10 years' internal strife would be further wiped out. They also expressed the hope that bigger strides would be made in socialist modernization and a new atmosphere would be much enhanced in building socialist spiritual civilization. On the other hand, they also expressed intense hatred for a small number of degenerates and those who seek personal profits by abusing their position within the party, hoping that the party discipline inspection committees at all levels would deal heavy blows to them, regardless of their position or seniority, and also that those who seriously breach discipline and law would be properly dealt with according to law. They also hoped that the past mistakes of personality cult and personal peremptoriness which, inevitably lead to political tragedy, would not be repeated. Democratic centralism should be practiced from the higher levels to the grassroots. Everyone should be subject to a certain degree of supervision. Such remarks can be heard in sitting rooms and also have become street gossip. There is nothing secret about it. The reason why I cited some of the remarks is because I want to show that the masses of people share the same views on such affairs. However, I am gratified to know that the reports we heard and documents we read at the 12th party congress, though involving various aspects, in sum, have responded well to the problems that vast numbers of the masses are concerned with. This shows that the hearts of the party and the people are really linked together. For me, when the meeting is over, I will be able to gladly answer all the problems which many comrades once posed to me.

When delivering his report to the party congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang was interdicted many times by prolonged applause. The following two paragraphs, too, won warm applause from the audience: "Now, the Central Committee is happy to report to the congress that, thanks to efforts made since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, political life in the party, and first of all in the Central Committee, after being seriously abnormal for so many years, has now gradually returned to the correct path, the path of Marxism." "When our Red Army was compelled to go on the Long March, it was vastly outnumbered by the enemy, yet we overcame that difficulty. During the 'Cultural Revolution' the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques ran rampant and the whole country was thrown into chaos, yet we turned the tide. So can there be any difficulties today which we cannot overcome?" These remarks, being full of righteousness, valiantness and dauntlessness, are really comforting and inspiring, and also are very convincing answers to all the questions pending in the minds of vast numbers of the masses.

This report also points out that the general objective of China's economic construction from now to the end of this century "is to quadruple the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production--from 710 billion yuan in 1980 to 2,800 billion yuan or so in the year 2000." Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have found

that in the southern part of our country there are quite a few commune members whose income from collective distribution has been increasing at a rate of scores of yuan each year, while it increased only by 1 or 2 yuan each year during the 10 years' internal strife. Now, in Guangdong Province, counties have emerged in which the annual per capita income has reached 500 yuan, as well as brigades in which the annual per capita income has exceeded 700 yuan. These glad tidings are really encouraging. This indicates that under the guidance of correct policies it is completely possible to quadruple the gross annual value in the next 20 years.

The 12th party congress was permeated with a spirit of seeking truth from facts, an atmosphere of unity and frugality and an air of going all out to make the country strong. During this meeting, no sightseeing activities were arranged and "no special supplies" were provided for the delegates. Everybody was treated equally. Admission to a play or a movie cost 10 cents, and a cup of tea cost 5 cents. Every delegate should abide by all regulations and discipline imposed by the congress. All delegates are much delighted with the emergence of such an atmosphere, saying that we have witnessed a good example for fostering healthy tendencies.

CSO: 4005/1342

GUANGDONG DELEGATES DISCUSS HU YAOBANG'S REPORT

HK140900 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 12 Sep 82

[Text] The Guangdong provincial delegates to the 12th CPC National Congress had, in the course of the congress, a lively discussion of Comrade Hu Yaobang's report. They had full confidence in fulfilling the magnificent goals in economic construction set forth by the CPC Central Committee and put forward a lot of constructive suggestions on how to fulfill the great tasks in Guangdong.

Delegate Liu Tianfu said: In his report, Comrade Hu Yaobang set forth the programs for economic construction, the strategic goals, emphasis, steps and a series of policies for the next 2 decades. It is possible to realize these magnificent programs by our own efforts. In light of conditions in the past few years, I deem it necessary, in the course of implementing these programs, to handle well the following relationships:

1. It is necessary to handle well the relationship between class struggle and economic construction in order to maintain a long-term political situation characterized by stability and unity. The general principle that the emphasis of party work should be shifted to economic construction for socialist modernization must be adhered to. As our state policy and a basis for resolving the international and domestic problems, socialist economic construction should be adhered to and should not be shifted to another direction. Class struggle should be solved through democracy and the legal system in order to prevent the expansion of the scope of class struggle.

2. It is necessary to maintain the stability and continuity of policies. Following changes in circumstances, it is necessary and unavoidable to readjust some individual policies, but we should not change at will previous policies that prove to be effective, nor should we mess things up again.

3. It is necessary to handle well the relationship between the planned economy and regulation by market mechanism. The socialist economy should adhere to the principle of relying mainly on the planned economy and supplementing it with regulation by market mechanism. We should adhere to

this principle. However, ours is a big country. There are different conditions in various enterprises and products and the situations are complicated. It is impossible to bring everything into line with the plan or mandatory planning. It is necessary to practice mandatory planning on a small number of large projects, enterprises and products that have a strong bearing on the national economy and the people's livelihood. However, with regard to the thousands upon thousands of small commodities, it is necessary to practice the method of regulation by market mechanism because it is a supplement to the planned economy.

4. It is necessary to handle well the relationship between centralized unity and strengthened management on the one hand and relaxation of policies to enliven the economy on the other hand. In the socialist modernization drive, doing this is out of the question without the idea of taking the whole country into account. We should centralize and unify what should be centralized and unified; however, we should also continuously persist in relaxing policies that should be relaxed in order to enliven the economy. Over the past few years, under the guidance of the planned economy, Guangdong Province has emphasized relaxing the policies in order to enliven the economy and has succeeded in scoring considerable achievements. Naturally, there have also been some deviations which we are trying to correct. But we should not refrain from doing something necessary for fear of a slight risk and negate the policy for enlivening the economy.

5. It is necessary to handle well the relationship between administrative interference and the solving of economic problems with economic means. In a socialist economy, it is impossible to completely do without administrative interference. However, the economic means should be primary. We should not meddle too much because this will lead to the practice of giving arbitrary and impracticable directions which are in violation of the economic law and cause economic losses. It is necessary to make use of such economic leverage as price, interest and tax revenue and economic contracts to solve economic problems.

6. It is necessary to handle well the relationship between self-reliance on the one hand and the open-door policy and the introduction of foreign advanced technology, management experiences and necessary foreign funds on the other hand. For a long time in the past, our party has adhered to the policy of mainly relying on self-reliance and supplementing it with foreign aid and has never rejected the open-door policy. Our people are ingenious, industrious and courageous, but our cultural and scientific knowledge is relatively backward and our construction funds are insufficient. Under these circumstances, the implementation of the open-door policy and the introduction of foreign advanced technology, equipment, management experiences and necessary funds will enable our people to strengthen the intelligence, wisdom and the ability of self-reliance. Naturally, we should prevent any tendencies that may undermine the rights and interests of our country.

7. It is necessary to handle well the relationship among the central authorities, localities, enterprises and the individuals. Efforts should

be made to give overall consideration to the individual interests of the central authorities, localities, enterprises and the staff and workers in order to extensively mobilize the initiative for socialism. In his report, Comrade Hu Yaobang talked about the questions of putting together the funds on key construction projects and of actively improving the people's livelihood. These questions are very important and I resolutely support them.

Delegate (Wu Youheng) said: I completely agree with the goal of quadrupling the annual national output value of industry and agriculture by the end of this century and firmly believe that it can be achieved and even exceeded. The per capita income in Dongguan County's Changxin Commune was as much as 865 yuan last year. But the economy is unevenly developed in various localities. It is necessary to encourage the practice of letting some areas get rich before others and, for the first time, make this policy.

Comrade Ren Zhongyi said in interposition: I agree with this idea. Do not practice equilibrium. We should allow, and create conditions for, some areas to get rich before others. The two provinces of Guangdong and Fujian have their own favorable conditions. It is necessary not only to allow them to become rich before others but also to create conditions to let them become modern before others. Modernizing a few localities before others will play a favorable role in other areas and the whole country.

Delegate (Tang Guangming) said: In the four modernizations campaign, Guangdong should move faster and strive to make more contributions to the state. Guangdong has many favorable conditions in its economic construction. It has very good geographical and natural conditions and a good economic base. The central authorities have also issued specific policies and taken flexible measures regarding Guangdong. We should bring into good play these superior characteristics and do our work even better. We should make every effort to achieve a comparatively well-to-do level ahead of schedule. Naturally, we also have many difficulties in Guangdong. First, access to Guangdong is difficult and, second, we are short of energy resources. Without a solution to these two weak links, it is impossible to speedily and vigorously develop Guangdong's economic construction. Therefore, it is suggested that Guangdong should actively utilize foreign funds to exploit the natural resources so as to help Guangdong solve energy and communications problems.

Two delegates, (Zhao Wuchang) and [name indistinct] said: In the socialist modernization drive, urban work is very important. Doing a good job of it would play a promoting role; failure to do a good job of it would drag down the progress of our work. In the past, urban construction work has been greatly affected by the "leftist" ideas and a lot of problems still remain. In order to do a good job of the urban construction work, it is necessary to first deepen our understanding of the work. We should carry out reform systems such as planning and finance. There should be urban construction funds for large and small cities alike and the urban construction funds and materials should be listed in the annual plan. With such a big country as China, which has so many cities, it is impossible for the state to undertake all the work. It is therefore necessary to implement a policy on this

matter. Guangdong's investment amount for urban construction work over the past few years has been the biggest since the founding of the PRC. This is primarily because the localities' enterprises have some financial resources for emergency use which can be utilized to build housing and other welfare facilities.

(Li Guangliang), Miao nationality; (Pang Hui), Miao nationality; and (Yang Wengui), Li nationality, who are our provincial delegates to the 12th CPC National Congress, appealed to the state to step up support for the minority nationality areas. They said: Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, an unprecedentedly excellent situation has also emerged in the minority nationality areas. However, compared with the plains, they are still relatively poor. This manifests in the weak agricultural basis, the underdevelopment of the commodity economy, insufficient transport facilities and the backwardness of their cultural, health and educational undertakings. The mountainous areas are very rich in natural resources such as forestry, hydroelectric power and minerals. So long as the state gives us more support and we, on our part, make great efforts, we shall certainly be able to speedily develop the economy.

CSO: 4005/1342

SHANGHAI PAPER URGES STUDY OF HU YAOBANG REPORT

OW140545 Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Sep 82 p 3

[Commentator's article: "A Great Militant Program for the New Period—On Seriously Studying Comrade Hu Yaobang's Report"]

[Excerpts] The 12th National CPC Congress adopted a resolution at its plenary session on 9 September approving the important report "Creating a New Situation in All Fields of Socialist Modernization" delivered by Comrade Hu Yaobang on behalf of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

Comrade Hu Yaobang's report comprehensively and profoundly sums up the rich experience of our party in leading the nation in eliminating chaos and restoring order and in bringing about a great historical change since the 11th CPC Congress and especially since its 3d Plenary Session. It points out the correct path, strategic steps, principles and policies of our march forward. The report's guiding ideology or basic spirit is its holding aloft the communist banner in analyzing our country's realities in the present stage and in specifically telling us how to uphold the socialist system and achieve socialist modernization and how to ideologically and politically safeguard socialist modernization.

Comrade Hu Yaobang's report sets forth the specific tasks and policies for China's economic, ideological, cultural and political construction and for the building of our party. It is a militant mobilization order for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and a great militant program for guiding the whole party and the whole nation from victory to victory in the new historical period. We are determined to seriously study the report, acquire a deep understanding of it and actively implement it. Undoubtedly, the successful study and implementation of Comrade Hu Yaobang's report and other important documents of the 12th National CPC Congress are bound to give impetus to the progress of all work in Shanghai and to greatly contribute to the creation of a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

Shanghai is one of China's important industrial bases and domestic and foreign trade centers. It is also an important city of science and culture. The party organizations and people of Shanghai shoulder a difficult but glorious historical responsibility of creating a new situation in socialist

modernization. In accordance with the program and principles of the 12th National CPC Congress and the provisions of the new party constitution, we must build Shanghai's party organizations at all levels into strong bastions for the resolute implementation of the correct line of the party Central Committee. We have completed the arduous task of eliminating chaos and restoring order in our guiding ideology. But we still cannot relax our efforts in concrete work. We must continue to eliminate the influence and remnants of the "gang of four." There should be no ambiguity on this matter. We must not smooth over matters at the sacrifice of principle. We must remove all hidden dangers. We must use the guidelines of the 12th National CPC Congress to achieve unity in ideology and action. We must successfully carry out the consolidation and construction of party organizations and their leading bodies at all levels in Shanghai. Only by so doing can we keep in step and make new contributions toward realizing the magnificent goal in the year 2000.

Our paramount task at present is to carefully read and reread Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech, Comrade Hu Yaobang's report, the new party constitution and Comrade Ye Jianying's and Comrade Chen Yun's important speeches, study them paragraph by paragraph to understand their meaning and explain and publicize them to the broad masses. The purpose is to deeply understand the guidelines of the 12th National CPC Congress, arm ourselves with them and thoroughly implement them in our practical work.

CSO: 4005/1342

JINAN PLA UNITS SUPPORT NEW LEADING ORGANS

SK141019 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 13 Sep 82

[Text] On 13 September leading comrades and standing committee members of the CPC committees of the Jinan PLA units, the North China Sea Fleet and the Air Force of the Jinan PLA units studied in groups the news on the successful conclusion of the 12th CPC Congress and communique No 1 of the 1st Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee. They unanimously expressed resolute support for the line, principles and policies of the 12th CPC Congress and for the new leading bodies and persons of the CPC Central Committee.

Leading comrades and Standing Committee members of the CPC Committee of the Jinan PLA units, including Xiong Zuofang, (Zhang Feng), Zhao Bingan, Fang Zheng, Long Qian, (Ouyang Ping) and Xu Hongyun, attended the group study. They said: The new leading bodies of the CPC Central Committee are well elected and well staffed by both veterans of noble character and high prestige and a younger generation full of vitality. The cooperation between old and new cadres and the succession of the new to the old have embodied the party's prosperous scene of endless Chang Jiang water surging forward. Led by such leading bodies, we feel relieved and confident in doing our work.

They unanimously pledged to study the documents of the 12th CPC Congress in line with the actual situation and to lead the units with the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress in fulfilling their tasks in a still better way.

On the afternoon of 13 September, Standing Committee members and advisers of the CPC Committee of the North China Sea Fleet were very happy when they were studying communique No 1 of the 1st Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee. They said: The newly elected leading bodies of the CPC Central Committee are composed of tried veteran comrades and a great number of younger comrades. This is an important guarantee for the fulfillment of the general task for the new period. We are determined to lead the units to conscientiously study and implement the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress, successfully carry out our various tasks and accelerate building a modern regular and revolutionary army.

Standing Committee members of the CPC Committee of the Air Force of the Jinan PLA units said on their study of communique No 1 of the 1st Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee: It is the common desire of the whole party, the whole army and the people throughout the country that Comrade Hu Yaobang serves as the general secretary of the Central Committee and Comrade Deng Xiaoping serves as chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee. We are fully convinced that the new Central Committee can certainly lead the whole party, the whole army and the people throughout the country to open up a new situation for socialist modernization.

They unanimously held: The leading bodies of the Central Committee elected at the first plenary session fully manifest the characteristic of the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young. This is an important indication of the prosperity of the party. We are determined to closely rally around the CPC Central Committee, conscientiously study and fully understand the guidelines of the documents of the 12th CPC Congress and do our work in a down-to-earth manner.

CSO: 4005/1342

KUNMING PLA UNITS ACCLAIM 12TH CONGRESS

HK150337 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Sep 82

[Summary] When news of the triumphant conclusion of the 12th party congress spread to the PLA units in Kunming commanders and fighters held forums and discussion meetings in their units to talk about the important historical significance of the congress. They declared: "We must resolutely support all combat tasks issued by the 12th party congress and support the newly elected Central Committee, the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, we are resolved to rally closely around the CPC Central Committee, to be inspired with enthusiasm, to work with one heart and one mind and to struggle hard to open up new prospects for socialist modernization in an all-round way."

On the evening of 11 September, when the news about the conclusion of the 12th party congress spread to a certain unit of the Kunming PLA units, leading comrades of the unit sat together and watched the television program. They also held a forum. (Zhang Jinghua), head of the PLA units, and (Wang Mengqi), deputy director of the political department of the PLA unit, said: "The 12th party congress was a congress of unity and victory, achieved on the basis of thoroughly correcting the past leftist mistakes. It was also a congress of cooperation between the old and the new cadres, of succession from the old to the new cadres and of carrying forward the revolutionary cause and forging ahead into the future. The principles and policies formulated by the congress all conform to the situation of our country and to the realities of our party." They said: "As old comrades, we must resolutely act in accordance with the instructions of the CPC Central Committee and strive to do well in cooperation between the new and old cadres of the PLA unit and in the succession from the old to the new cadres of the PLA unit. We must contribute toward the building of the PLA unit."

When the news spread to the PLA commanders and fighters stationed in the border area between China and Vietnam, they listened to the closing speech of Li Xiannian and discussed the programs, principles and policies formulated by the 12th party congress. "They are resolved to fulfill all combat tasks put forth by the 12th party congress with the practical actions of defending the border area and building border defense. Both old cadres who joined the party during the war and new fighters who joined the army less

than 1 year ago and old and new party members have a common conviction--unswervingly follow the party to advance, work and study hard and training themselves into people's fighters who have communist ideals, communist morality and observe revolutionary discipline. On those the party pins its hopes."

"Although the PLA commanders and fighters stationed at Koulinshan are facing the threat of being attacked by Vietnamese aggressors at all times, they expressed in various forms their excited feelings in support of the 12th party congress."

CSO: 4005/1342

TAIWAN LEAGUE MEETING HAILS CPC CONGRESS' SUCCESS

OW160525 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1701 GMT 15 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, 15 Sep (XINHUA)--The General Office of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League on 14 September held an enlarged meeting of its Executive Council members to warmly celebrate the epoch-making historical success of the 12th CPC National Congress and call on all league members, and Taiwan compatriots associated with it, to conscientiously study, actively propagate and resolutely implement documents of the 12th CPC National Congress and contribute their efforts to creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

The meeting first adopted a resolution supporting all important decisions of the 12th CPC National Congress and calling on all league members to study, propagate and implement the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress. The resolution says: The magnificent blueprint and strategic plan drawn up by the 12th CPC National Congress on creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization are completely in line with China's national conditions. All members of the league, and Taiwan compatriots associated with it, are filled with joy and national pride.

The resolution says: The 12th CPC National Congress calls on compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and Chinese nationals residing abroad to urge the Kuomintang to agree to hold peace talks at an early date and make joint efforts to accomplish the great case of the motherland's peaceful reunification. The Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League resolutely responds to it and calls on all league members to make their due share of effort, together with the people of all nationalities throughout the country, to bring about the motherland's peaceful reunification.

Cai Xiao, chairman of the General Office of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League, presided over the meeting. Li Chunqing and Su Ziheng, vice chairmen, Xu Mengshan, secretary general, and Ye Renshou, Lin Shengzhong and Shen Fu, Executive Council members, of the General Office of the league, spoke at the meeting. They held that the 12th CPC National Congress. [sentence as received] The fighting tasks set out by the congress are completely in line with the aspirations of the people of all nationalities throughout the country, including Taiwan compatriots. They expressed the belief that, under the leadership of the newly elected CPC

Central Committee, the great motherland's four modernizations and reunification are bound to succeed.

Council member Chen Wenbin, who has fought for half a century for the motherland's prosperity and reunification, said in a written statement: This CPC Congress undoubtedly is of very great significance in creating a new situation in all fields of our socialist modernization. Looking ahead, I feel all the more pleased. He said: We, Taiwan compatriots living on the mainland, really long for the reunification of the motherland at an early date, so that we can go back to our native place and reunite with our families. This is our greatest wish in life. He expressed that he wants to spend the rest of his life doing his utmost, together with the people of the whole country, and make his contribution to accomplishing this great objective.

Council member Wang Wande, 80, wrote a poem "In Celebration of the 12th CPC National Congress," expressing his aspirations: "At age 80, I have had a panacea, and I feel at ease walking toward a bright future. The great truth prevails in a world that belongs to all, and the ancient country of China has taken on a new look."

CSO: 4005/1342

TAIWAN DELEGATES TO CPC CONGRESS HOLD FORUM

OW160438 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1536 GMT 14 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, 14 Sep (XINHUA)--Compatriots of Taiwan origin attending the 12th CPC National Congress met with over 200 compatriots of Taiwan origin at a forum at the CPPCC's auditorium today to discuss their impression and experience in attending the 12th CPC National Congress. They are determined to advance in the orientation as pointed out at the 12th CPC National Congress and make contributions to the motherland's reunification and four modernizations.

Cheng Jian, vice chairman of the All-China Federation of Taiwan Compatriots, presided over the forum. Su Ziheng, member of the NPC Standing Committee and vice chairman of the General Office of the Council of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League, spoke at the forum, extending a warm welcome to the delegates of Taiwan origin to the 12th CPC National Congress. He said: The 12th CPC Congress is of great historical significance. Since the downfall of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our motherland has undergone tremendous changes and embarked on the road of national resurgence. The 12th CPC National Congress summed up historical experiences and proposed grand goals and militant calls for opening up in an all-round way brandnew vistas in socialist modernization. We must seriously study the documents of the 12th CPC Congress and strive to fulfill all tasks put forward at the 12th CPC Congress.

Lin Liyun, head of the delegation of Taiwan compatriots to the 12th CPC Congress and chairman of the All-China Federation of Taiwan Compatriots, said: While attending the 12th CPC National Congress, we, delegates of Taiwan compatriots, were treated with loving care by the party Central Committee and allowed to live in Zhongnanhai where we experienced the most unforgettable days of our lives. She said: The return of Taiwan to the motherland and the realization of national reunification are undertakings of great concern to the whole party and the people of the whole nation. Upon meeting us Taiwan compatriots at the 12th CPC Congress, some delegates would always ask about our contacts with relatives and friends in Taiwan. Some delegates even expressed their wishes to be guests at our native homes once China is reunified. These brief encounters reflected their ardent wishes for the reunification of our motherland. The Federation of Taiwan

Compatriots is a mass organization of Taiwan compatriots. We must not fail the expectations of the party Central Committee and the people of the whole nation. We will make still broader contacts with Taiwan compatriots at home and abroad and in Taiwan itself so that they will join the people of the whole nation to make still greater contributions to the motherland's reunification.

Cai Xiao, deputy head of the delegation of Taiwan compatriots to the 12th CPC National Congress and chairman of the General Office of the Council of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League, said: Seeking truth from facts, the 12th CPC National Congress summed up both positive and negative experiences since the 11th CPC National Congress, put forward a militant call for opening up in an all-round way new vistas in socialist modernization and painted a bright future for building the motherland's spiritual and material civilizations. They are the common wishes of the Taiwan compatriots both in mainland China, in Taiwan and overseas. We believe that under the leadership of the new party Central Committee, the state's financial and economic situation as well as the party's work style and social practices will undergo fundamental changes for the better, and the reunification of the motherland will surely make still greater progress.

Also speaking at the forum were Zhu Tianshun, Xu Jinxing, Chen Maling, Wen Xiaowu, Lin Shengxing, Chen Heng and other Taiwan delegates to the 12th CPC National Congress.

In their talks, Chen Bingji, Tian Zhongshan and Wang Maosheng, delegates of Taiwan compatriots from Beijing to the 12th CPC National Congress, said: In warmly celebrating the victorious closing of the 12th CPC National Congress, we think all the more about our native homes in Taiwan and long for the reunion with our relatives whom we have not seen for many years. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech and Comrade Hu Yaobang's report at the 12th CPC National Congress put forward once again the three major tasks including the return of Taiwan to the motherland. This has expressed our common wishes. We must seriously study the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress and make unremitting efforts to fulfill the three major tasks of the 1980's.

CSO: 4005/1342

JIUSAN SOCIETY URGES STUDYING CPC DOCUMENTS

OW151245 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1200 GMT 14 Sep 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 14 Sep (XINHUA)--The 16th meeting of the Central Standing Committee of the Jiusan Society was held at the CPPCC National Committee auditorium on the afternoon of 13 September. The meeting adopted a resolution calling on all members of the society to seriously study the important documents of the 12th CPC National Congress and to strive to achieve the fighting goal put forth by the congress.

The resolution hails the 12th CPC National Congress as a meeting of great historical significance. The line, principles and policies formulated at the congress is a new program for building a modern motherland with a high level of culture and democracy. The leading organs elected by the congress form a strong leading core and a fighting command which unite the people of all nationalities in the country in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

Xu Deheng, chairman of the Jiusan Society Central Committee, presided over the meeting. He highly evaluated the viewpoint expounded in Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech saying: "In the construction work ahead, our party will continue its long-term cooperation with all patriotic democratic parties and all patriotic democrats." Xu Deheng said: The Jiusan Society is a democratic party which consists mainly of highly educated intellectuals. With the Communist Party's kind concern and assistance over more than 3 decades, we have advanced together with the party and together withstood tests. The Communist Party's high esteem for the democratic parties has on the one hand delighted us and on the other made us feel that we shoulder a heavier responsibility. We must redouble our efforts in doing our work so as to live up to the expectations of the Communist Party and the people.

Vice Chairmen Jin Shanbao and Zhang Chengpei of the Jiusan Society Central Committee attended the meeting.

CSO: 4005/1342

KUOMINTANG GREETS CLOSING OF 12TH CPC CONGRESS

OW160008 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1445 GMT 13 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, 13 Sep (XINHUA)--The Standing Committee of the Fifth Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee Central Committee held its 19th session in Beijing on 12 September. The meeting warmly celebrated the successful closing of the 12th National CPC Congress and pledged firm support for the resolutions approved by the congress. The meeting adopted a resolution calling on all members of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee and liaison personnel to conscientiously study, publicize and implement the guidelines of the 12th National CPC Congress and to strive to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and fulfill the general tasks of the new period.

Qu Wu, vice chairman of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee Central Committee, presided over the meeting. Addressing the meeting, Wang Kunlun, chairman of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee Central Committee, said: The 12th National CPC Congress was a brilliant milestone in the history of the CPC. It was also an important event in the political life of the people throughout the country. The 12th National CPC Congress presented a correct program and a number of principles and policies. It elected the Central Committee, the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, thereby facilitating the cooperation between the young and old cadres and the succession of new cadres to the old. All this shows that the CPC is full of vitality and ensures the prosperous growth of China's socialist undertakings.

Wang Kunlun said: In his report Comrade Hu Yaobang called for continued adherence to the principles of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and "treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal or woe," for strengthening cooperation with the democratic parties and groups and for further consolidating the patriotic united front. This is also the guiding principle for the work of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee. Organizations at all levels and the entire membership of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee should thoroughly study, widely publicize and firmly implement the resolutions and guidelines of the 12th National CPC Congress and make further progress in all our work so as to contribute fresh efforts to promoting the overall growth of the national economy and to building socialist spiritual civilization.

Jia Yibin and Hou Jingru, vice chairman of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee Central Committee, and Zhang Keming, Shao Hengqiu and Qin Yizhi, members of the Standing Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee Central Committee, also addressed the meeting.

The meeting adopted a resolution of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee Central Committee concerning studying, publicizing and implementing the documents and guidelines of the 12th National CPC Congress. The resolution says: Taiwan's return to the motherland and the accomplishment of the great cause of motherland reunification is the common desire of all our compatriots and it will be the inevitable outcome of historical development. The resolution urges all members to strengthen relations with the compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, the Overseas Chinese and the people having historical ties with the Kuomintang. They should make common efforts to persuade the Kuomintang authorities in Taiwan to judge the hour and size up the situation so as to expedite the Kuomintang-CPC negotiations and contribute to the peaceful reunification of the motherland from all aspects.

Also attending the meeting were Zhu Xuefan, Zheng Dongguo, Gan Cisen, Wu Maosun and Sun Yueqi, vice chairmen of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee Central Committee, as well as members of the Standing Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee Central Committee in Beijing totaling more than 30 people.

CSO: 4005/1342

'RENMIN RIBAO' INTERVIEWS THREE PARTY VETERANS

HK150720 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Sep 82 p 3

[Newsletter by RENMIN RIBAO reporter Meng Xiaoyun [1322 2556 0061]: "Shouldering the Heavy Responsibility--Interviewing He Changgong, Liu Shunyuan and Zhou Yang, Members of the Central Advisory Commission"]

[Text] "From the party's first national congress to the 12th national congress, the Chinese revolution has undergone a long and tortuous path, and our party has been gradually developing in turn amid setbacks and victories. I am a survivor, a son of the party and an old soldier of the people. Now in my eighties, I will continue to serve the party and the people." With these words, Comrade He Changgong started a conversation with me. He has pledged to work for the party throughout his life.

This old man has followed the party and undergone an extraordinary course over the past 60 years. He told me with fervor and assurance about his army life of several decades from the Jinggang Mountain to Yenan.

"A person may become old. This is a law of nature. A man's life may be limited, but the cause is unlimited!" he said with emotion. For many many years revered, he spared no pains to work days and nights for the liberation of the nation and for the building of socialism.

Revered, he deeply felt that he had an unshirkable duty for collecting and studying material of the party history and the army history. In 1978, he resigned his party position in the PLA Military Institute and devoted himself to the study and writing of party history. Over the last 2 years, he has written his reminiscences, "Memorable Years," totaling 150,000 characters. Now, he is the director of the Research Institute of Figures in the Party History and an adviser to the national commission for collecting material of the party history. His work schedule has been fully arranged. Visitors come one after another. Revered, he never feels tired. Youngsters invite him to talk about the revolutionary traditions and he never declines their invitations.

Being introversive, abstruse and contemplative, Comrade Liu Shunyuan, 79, has a disposition completely different from that of He Changgong. Revered Liu graduated from the department of British literature of the Beijing

Teachers' University in 1928. In 1931, he joined the Communist Party of China in Qingdao and then did underground party work for a long time. After liberation, he once worked as the party secretary of the Jinan Municipal Committee and the secretary of the Jiangsu CPC Provincial Committee. At the 3d Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee, he was elected deputy secretary of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission. In October 1980, he, of his own accord, demanded to retreat to the second front and took a job as an adviser to the Zhejiang CPC Provincial Committee.

Asked by the reporter, Liu Shunyuan expressed his opinion on establishing advisory commissions: "Taking myself as an example, because I am old, it is difficult for me to take charge of specific tasks. If I still occupy a position, that would obstruct the rise of the new force. A solution must be worked out to abolish the system of lifelong tenure of office. Elderly cadres have glorious personal history of revolution and they have made contributions to the people. But confronting the new historic tasks, they are less educated and less competent professionally than some outstanding young and middle-aged cadres at present. The previous experience of fighting battles and carrying out agrarian reform is no longer suited to the demands of the present modernization drive. Advisory commissions can play a certain positive role. First, elderly cadres have experience and prestige. They can say something that other people find difficult to say and can help the Central Committee find out about the situation and draw up major policies. Second, advisory commissions can supervise leading organs at all levels and deter and restrain unhealthy tendencies. Third, advisory commissions can discover, foster and train a large number of young and middle-aged cadres, and help them take over various duties.

"Leading a happy life in their remaining years is not the most important thing for communists. For a communist, the greatest happiness and the significance of his life is the struggle for communism. Before the liberation, when I did the underground party work, I turned in all of my salary of over 100 yuan to the organization. I did not have any official position, but I still resolutely fulfilled my tasks! As long as one does not retreat in the thought, one still has a lot to do after retreating to the second front."

In Zhejiang and Jiangsu Provinces, Liu Shunyuan has discovered some youth who have made excellent achievements in studying Marxist theory.

"I was eager to know why some youth were willing to study Marxism and reach a high level. Their answer is: Though they have once fallen into confusion, they still discover solutions through Marxism. From them, I see the hopeful prospect of our younger generation."

Thinking for a while, he went on: "Contacting and understanding the youth, and helping them to take a revolutionary road as soon as possible is the work I will continue to do. We should concern ourselves with their life, take an interest in it and attend to it. Standing by with folded arms is not a proper attitude. Our remaining years are not long. We should fulfill

our last obligations and make our last contributions. Isn't that the responsibility for a communist?"

Perhaps driven by a sense of historic responsibility, almost all the elderly comrades we interviewed coincidently placed great hopes on the youth.

Let us again listen to Comrade Zhou Yang who gave us much food for thought.

"Revered Zhou, you have been a leader in the art and literature field since you were young. At this historic juncture of the new superseding the old, can you say something about your hopes on the young and middle-aged successors based on your personal feelings and experiences?"

"When I was appointed the leader of the Cultural Commission in the Shanghai Central Bureau, I was only 25 years old. It is because I was young that I committed mistakes. In those years, I was not the only young leader, as many division and army commanders and secretaries of county party committees were people in their twenties. Old comrades should always ask how they themselves grew up. I do not agree with those elderly people who always frown on young people and do not trust in the young. If we want our country to be prosperous, who should we rely on other than the young and middle-aged people? I am not only expounding their goodness and neglecting their shortcomings. But, anyhow, do they have more shortcomings or more promise? Young people are our natural successors. Even though they have quite a few problems and we cannot turn a blind eye to this, more important, we should look at their essential qualities. If they have shortcomings, do we elderly people have no responsibility? We elderly comrades should concern ourselves with them and share the responsibility. Young people should be allowed to commit mistakes. Giving them warm help and guidance is a method better suited to the demands of these new times. We have also committed mistakes. It is impossible to always be correct. We elderly people should often ask ourselves: Are they wrong or are we too conservative? If we think it over often, many things will become easy to understand."

He Changgong, Liu Shunyuan and Zhou Yang have been elected to the CPC Central Advisory Commission. They have worked hard for the party and the people over several decades and have made many contributions. Today, at this historic juncture of the new superseding the old, they again show lofty sentiment and broad vision of communists. Though in their later years their mind is still closely linked with the young; their hearts are throbbing with the pulse of our times. Such people as they will always maintain their youthful vigor.

CSO: 4005/1342

LIAONING DELEGATES DISCUSS HU'S REPORT

HK141356 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Sep 82 p 2

[Newsletter by RENMIN RIBAO reporter Chai Qiyun [5049 0796 0663]: "Firmly Grasp Economic Results To Achieve the Grand Goals--Sidelight of the Group Discussion of the Liaoning Delegation"]

[Text] "Liaoning must give play to the superiority of its heavy industry base and contribute to the creation of a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization." This was the unanimous view expressed by the Liaoning delegation attending the 12th party congress during the group discussion on Comrade Hu Yaobang's report.

In the 30 years and more since the founding of the People's Republic, Liaoning has built itself into a rather solid industrial base with a comprehensive range of industrial departments established mainly on metallurgy, machine building, petroleum, chemical engineering and coal. Its gross industrial output value, which is only lower than Shanghai and Jiangsu, ranks third in the nation. Its profits and taxes handed over to the state, which are only less than Shanghai, rank second in the nation. In freely exchanging views on how to implement the guidelines of the 12th party congress and how to make proper contributions to achieve the grand goal of "quadrupling" production, many of the delegates stressed the need to give play to the superiority of the heavy industry base on the basis of existing enterprises and to make efforts to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

Tan Liren, vice governor of the province, held that the upsurge in all fields of socialist modernization should be an upsurge based on outstanding improvement in economic results. In the case of Liaoning, this means giving play to the superiority of the heavy industry base and improving economic results on the basis of existing enterprises. He said that Liaoning's industrial production has maintained a fixed tempo during the national economic readjustment. In 1979, the growth rate was 6.1 percent, and in 1980, it was 8 percent. Last year, the rate of growth was basically at the same level as that of the previous year. However, economic results were poor. The economic indexes in various sectors were all lower than the best historical level. For example, in 1981 the output value realized from every 100 yuan in fixed asset was 83.9 yuan, or 17.9 yuan less than in 1965.

If the 1965 level could be reached, the industrial output value of the whole province could increase by 4.92 billion yuan. In 1981, profits and taxes realized from every 100 yuan in fixed asset and floating capital was 23.78 yuan, or 8.79 yuan less than that of 1965. If the level of 1965 could be reached, 30.8 more yuan in profits and taxes could be collected annually from every 100 yuan. This shows the great potential of economic results. To vitalize the economy and lay a sound foundation, it is imperative to improve economic results.

Carrying out technical transformation is one of the most basic ways to fully tap the potentials of existing enterprises. Comrade Yin Yin Yuan, manager of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, said that the technical transformation of old enterprises is not only faster than building new enterprises but also more worthwhile in economic construction. In the 30 years and more since the founding of the People's Republic, the state has invested 5.2 billion yuan in the expansion of the company and developed a production capacity of 6.7 million tons of steel. However, the profits and taxes handed over by the company to the state have reached more than 25.9 billion yuan, equivalent to 5.5 times the total investment. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the Anshan Iron and Steel Company has readjusted its service orientation and carried out partial technical transformation by relying on its own effort. This has resulted in a lowering of consumption and a marked improvement in economic results. Compared with 1978, fixed asset increased by only 1.3 percent in 1981, whereas profits increased by 19 percent and savings in coal totaled more than 1 million tons. If a little more capital is spent on technical transformation, the company will be able to develop an overall production capacity of 7 million tons in the "Sixth 5-Year Plan" period and the quality of half its principal products will be able to catch up with the present advanced world level. By the "Seventh 5-Year Plan," it will be able to develop a production capacity of 8 million tons, and the quality of all its products will be able to reach the advanced world level.

Making a success of the all-round readjustment of enterprises and improving the management level are also indispensable measures for achieving this grand goal. Zhang Yinghua, secretary of the party committee of the Fuxin Mining Administration, used the experience of this administration in carrying out all-round readjustment of enterprises to explain the great necessity of readjusting the enterprises. By means of enterprise readjustment, the Fuxin Mining Administration has reduced its leading members from 16 to 9 and its organs from 23 to 16. The streamlining has reduced the number of departmental cadres by 20 percent and released 6,000 of the 80,000 workers and staff members for study and training in rotation. As a result of preliminary readjustment, coal output has greatly increased. In the first half of this year, production has been overfulfilled by 100,000 tons and losses have been reduced by 10 million yuan. Comrade Zhang Yinghua said: The readjustment has produced talented people, labor, funds and efficiency.

Comrade Hu Yaobang in his report has set a grand goal for the end of the present century to encourage the delegates. Many of the delegates emotionally said: We have seen bright prospects and are filled with confidence

and courage regarding the future. They analyzed the situation in Liaoning and unanimously held that, like the whole country, Liaoning also has the ability to quadruple the gross output value of industrial and agricultural production by the year 2000. Due to the fact that the ratio of heavy industry in Liaoning is higher and the task of readjustment is arduous, they plan to lay a sound foundation in the first decade in order to make ample preparations for vitalizing the economy in the subsequent one. Although Comrade Huang Oudong, chairman of the provincial people's congress, is 77 years old, he is still as energetic as ever. He thinks that the strategic goal set by the 12th party congress is magnificent, but the task of translating it into reality is also arduous. However, as long as the whole party is united as one and resolutely carries out work in accordance with the policy affirmed by this party congress, it is entirely possible to "quadruple" production in Liaoning as well as in the whole country.

CSO: 4005/1342

TIANJIN MAYOR-CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER INTERVIEWED

HK150236 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 0116 GMT 14 Sep 82

[Feature by Kou Zhanggu: "From the Youngest Mayor to Central Committee Member--An Interview With Li Ruihuan"]

[Text] Beijing, 14 Sep, ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE--After the 12th CPC National Congress elected the Central Committee on the afternoon of 10 September, I went to the area where the Tianjin delegation stayed to visit Acting Mayor of Tianjin Li Ruihuan, who was just elected a Central Committee member.

Li Ruihuan is a man of some fame abroad. As early as in the 1950's, he earned the title of "Young Lu Ban." The press referred to his deeds on many occasions. Many people know that he is a model worker.

Perhaps he thought that he should now devote still greater attention to his work. He was not very enthusiastic about my visit. He even said, "There is nothing worth writing about me!" In fact, since he began his new post in Tianjin, he has performed remarkably well.

Li Ruihuan was transferred from Beijing in March last year to act as vice mayor of Tianjin municipality. In May this year, he was again promoted to acting mayor of Tianjin municipality. At the age of 48, he is now the youngest of China's leaders at the provincial and municipal levels.

From Li Ruihuan's colleages, I learned something about him:

After the Tangshan earthquake, 30,000 residents remained in improvised sheds in Tianjin municipality. They badly wanted to change this situation. The Tianjin Municipal CPC Committee and the municipal people's government put Li Ruihuan in charge of this matter. Just as the saying says, "an old hand at the game knows what needs to be done." Li Ruihuan, who studied 6 and 1/2 years at the Beijing Architectural Engineering Spare-Time College and had rich experience in urban construction, made tours of the whole city, looking and listening to what was said everywhere. He quickly formed a concrete program that called for stepping up the construction of housing and systematically dismantling improvised [sheds] with designated persons in charge. This won the support of the people of the whole city, from the top levels to the bottom levels. He conscientiously directed operations. In a short

period of 6 months and 21 days, all the housing planned for 1981 was completed, covering a total area of 3.1 million square meters. The highest level of construction of residential housing was created in the history of Tianjin. Three days after the completion of construction work, electricity and water supplies and other equipment were turned on. As far as the rate of completion of housing for occupation was concerned, the municipality ranked first in the whole country. Before the end of the year, the dismantling of all makeshift public sheds in the municipality was completed. The 150,000 residents who had stayed in such temporary quarters for as long as 5 years happily moved into the new multistory buildings. People beat drums and gongs and set off firecrackers, celebrating the move to new housing and warmly hailing the newly appointed mayor's "beautiful performance" in directing this battle.

Li Ruihuan often said to his colleagues: "Only by acting in a down-to-earth manner can we get things done." After shouldering the responsibilities of an acting mayor, he worked with still greater enthusiasm. Many problems of misunderstanding in economic departments and units had long remained unsolved, interfering with the progress of work. He faced the problems directly and made penetrating investigations and studies in the bureaus and factories concerned. With national interests in mind, he weighed the pros and cons and started the business of persuasion. In a short time, he solved certain knotty problems that stood in the way of economic development.

To improve the work efficiency of the municipal government, Li Ruihuan often adopted the method of holding municipal government office meetings. The leaders from the quarters concerned were able to discuss things face to face. Those matters ripe for action were immediately taken care of by the respective parties concerned. Through this method, Li Ruihuan in the past several months has solved many problems bearing on the personal interests of residents, such as increasing the commercial networks in the urban area, improving environmental sanitation, consolidating social peace and order, strengthening traffic control, increasing nonstaple food supplies for the city, and so forth. Workers of the municipal government said: "The mayor is full of pep and drive. He is capable of creating a new situation."

Thanks to the help of Chen Weida, head of the Tianjin municipal delegation and first secretary of the municipal CPC committee, Li Ruihuan at last agreed to receive me. We sat on the sofa talking.

"How does it feel to be a mayor?"

"I never dreamed of being a mayor, starting out as a carpenter. I feel the great strain of it as I may be compared to a small horse pulling a big cart. If I have achieved something, it is because I have relied first on collective strength, second on my fellow comrades' backing and third on mass support. Only by relying on support from all of these three sources can I achieve something."

"I congratulate you on being elected a CPC member!"

"All I feel is a sense of mission. I must study hard and mercilessly drive myself in my work, in order to live up to their expectations."

"Have your family members moved to Tianjin?"

"No! Things are much simpler if I stay alone in Tianjin. I can concentrate on my work." He told me that he returned to his home only every several months. His wife is a worker at a seal-engraving factory. His eldest son is soldiering in Beijing. His youngest son is studying at the Beijing Aviation College.

CSO: 4005/1342

DEPUTY COMMUNICATIONS MINISTER INTERVIEWED

HK150135 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 15 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Zhu Ling: "New Minister Makes Shipping His Business"]

[Text] A middle-aged man sits in a hotel room with a telephone receiver in one hand; in the other a pencil is busily marking papers that are scattered on the table. The visitor can hardly get a word in edgeways.

Qian Yongchang, the executive deputy minister of the National Ministry of Communications and a delegate to the 12th party congress, is using the noon time, designed for the delegates to take a break from their heavy schedule, to go over ministerial documents and give instructions.

He has just been elected a full member of the new Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

"Sometimes I wonder whether I can live up to the expectations of the party and the people. But I am determined to do a good job with the help of the veteran comrades," he told CHINA DAILY.

Qian, 48, graduated at the top of his class from Dalian Ocean Shipping College in 1953. After graduation he worked his way up from third officer of a ship to captain of a 3,000-deadweight-ton (DWT) ship in 1960.

Not long after, he was appointed captain of the first China-made 17,000-deadweight-ton ocean liner. In more than 20 years at sea, he has been to more than 70 harbours in about 30 countries and regions.

Qian is one of the new generation of oceanshipping professionals brought up in China after liberation, said a senior official of the Ministry of Communications. He has proved very successful in his work. During the "Cultural Revolution," when Qian was a captain, he resisted the anarchism of the time and led his crew in fulfilling the transportation plan.

In 1976, Qian was promoted to deputy manager of the Shanghai Ocean-Shipping Company and four years later to general manager of the National Ocean-Shipping Company in Beijing.

Qian succeeded in switching from a technical to an administrative job. In Shanghai he stressed management and quality control as priorities. "Whatever we cadres do, we should bear economic effectiveness in mind," Qian says.

Taking "time is money" as his motto, Qian insisted on attending the daily dispatching conferences in Shanghai, offering his suggestions to ensure early and smooth dispatch of ships. He constantly reminded his co-workers that one 10,000-DWT ship lying idle for one day could cost China as much as $8,000.

He called on workers to save oil and try to repair the ships themselves. As a result, the company saved an estimated two million yuan in ship repairs and oil consumption in the first half of 1979. At the same time, the damage and accident rate dropped by 20 percent.

In 1979, Shanghai started the first containerized line from China to Australia.

Workers praise Qian as a manager, saying he is efficient, full of energy, knowledgeable and professional. In 1981, when a ship had run around near the Yangtze River, it was Qian who worked out a plan that saved the ship from breaking apart.

Qian has also taught himself English to the extent that he can conduct negotiations and business without interpreters.

As Qian was promoted to the administrative level, he never forgets to work closely with workers and he adheres to the principle of letting all have a say, not just one.

People say they feel at ease to work with this young deputy minister who not only gives good advice but takes their proposals seriously.

Qian is enthusiastic about the country's plans to expand communications.

During the congress, the party leaders set the goal for China to quadruple its production by the end of this century and stressed that efficient communications were vital to that goal.

"I have felt great pressure as our country's communications have been unable to keep pace with its economic development," Qian said. He pointed out the country's harbours lack berths and efficient management, and bottlenecks occur often.

Talking about China's oceanshipping industry, he said it is now composed of thousands of people and a fleet of eight million deadweight tons, compared with only a few people and one or two ships in the early 1960s.

"But we have problems; we still have to charter foreign ships to carry goods which we should be handling ourselves," he said.

But the minister is confident. "We have mapped out our development plan which says, for instance, that by 1985 the harbours will have been expanded to 200 berths from the present 143, and to 300 in 1990; highways will have been upgraded and expanded. Inland rivers will be used to the full and the oceanshipping fleet will have been expanded," Qian said.

CSO: 4005/1342

CHINA DEMOCRACY ASSOCIATION STUDIES CONGRESS

OW160617 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1252 GMT 15 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, 15 Sep (XINHUA)--The Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the China Association for Promoting Democracy [CAFPD] held its 16th meeting here on the morning of 14 September. The meeting urged all members of the association to conscientiously study documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, closely rally around the CPC and work hard to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

Xu Boxin, vice chairman of the CAFPD Central Committee, presided over the meeting. Zhou Jianren, chairman of the CAFPD Central Committee, said in a written message to the meeting: Regarding China's democratic parties, the CPC reiterated, at its 12th national congress, its determination to continually adhere to the policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and the principle of "treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal and woe." Under the Communist Party leadership, the united front has ushered in a new and vigorous situation in the past few years and our association has made great headway in work and in organizational development. Zhou Jianren said that the association would play a greater role on this front from now on.

Vice Chairmen Lei Jieqiong and Ye Shengtao of the CAFPD Central Committee delivered speeches at the meeting. Lei Jieqiong said: At its 12th national congress, the Communist Party defined its policy toward the democratic parties in governing its relations with them, that is of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and "treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal and woe." This shows that the Communist Party and the various other democratic parties are getting closer. Since we share weal and woe and pursue the same goal, we should be of one heart and one mind and treat each other with all sincerity. We should be the Communist Party's friends, giving forthright admonitions.

Ye Shengtao said: The documents of the 12th CPC National Congress seem to be a book, a big book of comprehensive and profound knowledge. It will take us some time to thoroughly go through this book, which we have just roughly read once. We should conscientiously read it and do things accordingly. If we can learn something from it, we will be able to contribute to the four modernizations.

Hu Mengyu and Huo Maozheng, Standing Committee members of the CAFPD Central Committee, were inspired by the fact that the 12th CPC National Congress attached great importance to education and placed it on the same footing with agriculture, energy industry, communications and science in developing the economy. Hu Mengyu is the head of Beijing University's primary school education research group and Huo Maozheng a vice principal of Beijing No 2 Experimental Primary School. They pointed out: The CPC has put forward correct principles and it is up to every individual as to whether these principles can be carried out. We are the people's teachers. We should work hard, according to the party's requirements for training competent persons.

Also speaking at the meeting were Standing Committee members of the CAFPD Central Committee Chen Hui, Huang Guoguang, Wu Rong, Fang Ming, Zheng Xiaoxun and Ge Zhicheng.

CSO: 4005/1342

PARTY MEMBERS, PEOPLE HAIL NEW CPC LEADING BODY

OW181408 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 14 Sep 82

[Excerpts] With great joy and excitement, vast numbers of CPC members and cadres as well as the masses warmly celebrated the triumphant close of the 12th CPC National Congress and hailed the birth of the new central leading organ. They are determined to rally closely around the CPC Central Committee, advance along the path pointed out by the 12th CPC National Congress and work hard to create a new situation in socialist modernization.

The forming of the new central leading organ elated the party members and people in Beijing. Prof Zhang Wei, vice president of Qinghua University, joyfully said: The new central leadership has redoubled our confidence. With the correct program mapped out by the 12th CPC Congress, the strong and energetic party Central Committee we now have can certainly shoulder the heavy responsibility of implementing the principles and tasks put forward by the 12th CPC Congress.

Party members and people of Zhuang, Han, Yao and Miao nationalities in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region firmly support the newly elected 12th CPC Central Committee, the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection and are determined to follow the party Central Committee in working with one heart to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

When the good tidings reached (Huacha) village, Tianyang County in the Youjiang revolutionary base, (Pan Guolong) and his wife (Huang Jumei), who are both 76 years old and veteran Red Guards [armed units of the masses in the revolutionary base areas during the second revolutionary civil war, 1927-1937] of Zhuang nationality, lit up with pleasure. They recalled the old time events when Comrade Deng Xiaoping came to (Huacha) village to organize and lead the masses in waging revolution, and they spoke glowingly of the changes in agricultural production and family life since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

The news of the triumphant close of the 12th CPC National Congress greatly inspired the party members and masses of various nationalities in Xinjiang. In report meetings and forums of various kinds, they pledged with one voice to resolutely support the new CPC Central Committee and expressed true joy

at the smooth succession of the new cadres to the old ones in the party's top echelon.

Huang Luobin, secretary of the Xinjiang Regional CPC Committee, went to Urumqi's "July 1" Textile Mill to study the major documents of the congress together with workers of various nationalities.

Party members and people in Guangdong's urban and rural areas held one forum after another to warmly hail the triumphant close of the congress and to pledge firm support of the new central leading organ.

When the good tidings of the birth of our party's new leading organ reached Hunan, everywhere--whether on the banks of the Xiangjiang River or in Dongting Lake Valley--was astir with jubilant crowds. The vast numbers of party members and masses expressed in various forms their wholehearted support of the new central leading organ.

In the course of studying and discussing the communique of the 1st Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, responsible comrades of the Hunan Provincial CPC Committee, government and people's congress standing committee unanimously expressed their support for the newly elected central leading organ and their belief that it can definitely lead the 1 billion Chinese people along the path mapped out by the 12th CPC National Congress.

After the formation of the new central leading organ was made public, people in Shaanxi's urban and rural areas were filled with exultation. Many units immediately published the namelist on walls or blackboard newspapers. Party members and masses in many units held discussions. They unanimously expressed their wholehearted support for the newly elected party Central Committee's leading organ.

Many offices, factories, stores, schools and hospitals in Liaoning Province and Shenyang municipality have been holding discussions these days. They warmly hailed the birth of the party Central Committee's new leading organ.

When the good tidings of the triumphant close of the 12th CPC National Congress and the birth of the new central leading organ reached Hangzhou, the whole city was astir with jubilant crowds. Zhang Jingtang, deputy secretary of Zhejiang Provincial CPC Committee, believed that the new central leading group is a strong core capable of leading the whole party and the people throughout the country in creating a new situation in socialist modernization and that it is capable of proceeding from China's reality in the new period and upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and has the trust of the whole party.

CSO: 4005/1342

CHINA DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE MEETS ON CPC CONGRESS

OW181146 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1525 GMT 16 Sep 82

[Text] Beijing, 16 Sep (XINHUA)--The Central Committee of the China Democratic League [CDL] held an enlarged meeting of its Standing Committee here today. The meeting adopted a circular of the CDL Central Committee on studying the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, urging all members of the league to conscientiously study those documents and make still greater contributions during the new historical period.

Chu Tunan, vice chairman of the CDL Central Committee, presided over the meeting.

Speaking at the meeting were Shi Liang, chairman of the CDL Central Committee; and Vice Chairmen of the CDL Central Committee Hu Yuzhi, Sa Kongliao, Li Wenyi and Fei Xiaotong.

Shi Liang said in her speech at the meeting: I had the honor to be able to attend the 12th CPC National Congress are a fighting program for building a powerful socialist country. [sentence as received] Regarding the various democratic parties, the CPC reiterated, at its 12th national congress, the policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and the principle of "treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal and woe," thereby fully affirming the position and role of intellectuals in socialist construction. Because of this, we feel that a glorious, historical task has been placed on our shoulders.

She urged all CDL members to conscientiously study the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, enhance their understanding, play their part in work of the league and make contributions to the common efforts in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

Hu Yuzhi pointed out at the meeting: The history of our league in the past few decades has testified that we and the Communist Party "share weal and woe." The new fighting task put forward by the 12th CPC National Congress is also the task of our league. In congratulating the CPC on the successful ending of its 12th national congress, we should understand the guidelines of that congress so that we can be able to play a still greater role in socialist construction.

In their speeches at the meeting, Sa Kongliao, Li Wenyi and Fei Xiaotong unanimously pointed out that many CDL members come from scientific and technological fields or from the cultural circles. They urged members of the league to give full play to their specialties in the struggle to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. They said that members of the league can set up schools and invite scientists and technicians to go to the border and minority areas to pass their valuable scientific and technical knowledge to the people in those areas where industrial and agricultural production are relatively backward.

Also speaking at today's meeting were Standing Committee members Liu Simu and Huang Yaomian of the CDL Central Committee and Hong Si, CDL Central Committee member.

CSO: 4005/1342

DEMOCRATIC PARTY GREETS CLOSE OF CPC CONGRESS

OW180501 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0735 GMT 16 Sep 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 16 Sep (XINHUA)--On the afternoon of 14 September, the Central Committee of the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party held an enlarged meeting of its Standing Committee to warmly celebrate the victorious close of the 12th CPC National Congress and express its support for all the resolutions adopted at the CPC Congress.

Shen Qizhen, vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party, presided over the meeting.

In a written speech, Ji Fang, chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party, said: I deem it an honor to have attended the 12th CPC National Congress as an observer and listened to Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech, Comrade Hu Yaobang's report and Comrades Ye Jianying's and Chen Yun's speeches. These speeches and report fully affirmed the far-reaching significance of the CPC Congress. All the members of the Peasants and Workers Democratic Party are inspired by the great importance attached to democratic parties and the earnest hope placed on them by the report. From now on, we must continue to exert ourselves and seriously study and implement the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress. In view of the special features of the Peasants and Workers Democratic Party, we must use our strong points and display self-respect and self-reliance to contribute to the accomplishment of the general tasks of the new period.

Others who expressed their views at the meeting included Yan Xinmin and Xu Binrui, vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Peasants and Workers Democratic Party; Fang Rongxin, Ding Gongnan and Wang Yifan, Standing Committee members; and Ren Yingquiu, a Central Committee member.

The meeting discussed and then adopted a "Circular on Seriously Studying and Propagating the Documents of the 12th CPC National Congress" issued by the Central Committee of the Peasants and Workers Democratic Party.

CSO: 4005/1342

NEW CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS, ALTERNATE MEMBERS PROFILED

Alternate Member Chen Suzhi

OW150027 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0810 GMT 13 Sep 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 13 Sep (XINHUA)--Newsletter on personages: Female governor who has grown up from a worker, on Chen Suzhi [7115 4790 5347] who was newly elected as alternate member of the CPC Central Committee.

Among the members of the CPC Central Committee elected by the 12th CPC National Congress, a 51-year-old female alternate member aroused the attention of many people. She is Chen Suzhi, Standing Committee member of the Liaoning Provincial CPC Committee and vice governor of Liaoning Province.

Comrades who know her well say: "By electing this female cadre to serve in the Central Committee the congress shows that it is good at sizing people up, for she is in the prime of her life and has both ability and political integrity."

However, Chen Suzhi herself says: "I have been a worker since I was young and I never dreamed of being elected as an alternate member of the Central Committee. What little ability I own is far from meeting the needs of achieving the socialist modernization!"

Chen Suzhi was elected vice governor of Liaoning Province in March this year and put in charge of industrial work. Since taking up the new leading post, she has tried to learn from veteran cadres with modesty and concentrated her energies mainly on going deep into the realities of her work and on investigation and study. In the past few months, she has visited more than 30 enterprises in four municipalities and a specialized zone, held discussions with basic cadres and workers on questions concerning technical reforms and improvement of economic effects. Her spirit in learning from others with modesty has helped her improve her leadership.

Written by XINHUA reporter Yu Youhai.

Alternate Member Liu Hongru

OW160612 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1145 GMT 13 Sep 82

["Newsletter on Personalities: 'From Apprentice to Vice President--A Biography of Liu Hongru, Newly Elected Alternate Member of the CPC Central Committee'"--XINHUA headline]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 13 Sep (XINHUA)--When the news that Liu Hongru was elected an alternate member of the CPC Central Committee came to the organizations of the China People's Bank, many comrades began to talk about this newly promoted vice president: "He is a talented person, to be sure." "He has both theoretical knowledge and experience. Being revolutionary, professional, well-educated and young, he has all the qualifications."

Those who know Liu Hongru's background concluded: The Central Committee truly made an exceptional choice this time in boldly selecting cadres among specialists.

Liu Hongru, 51, is a native of Yushu County, Jilin Province. As his family was poor, he went to a factory as a welding apprentice after he graduated from a primary school. He joined the revolution in 1947 and was assigned to the Northeast Administrative College to do political work. In 1950 he was sent to study at the graduate class of the China People's University as the school wanted to train more teachers. Not long after graduation, he passed the examination for graduate study in the Soviet Union. He studied first at Moscow University and then transferred to a financial college. He acquired a candidate degree there with excellent scholar achievements. He returned to China in 1959 and has worked at the China People's Bank as deputy section chief, deputy director of the general office and vice president of the Agricultural Bank and People's Bank. His rich experience of life and his unusual course of growth--from a primary school student to candidate degree holder and from an apprentice to vice president and an alternate member of the CPC Central Committee are the subject of extensive discussion and interest among the people.

In 1979 the central authorities decided to restore the China Agricultural Bank and appointed Liu Hongru its vice president. Under the leadership of the bank's leading party group and in accordance with the policy adopted at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee with regard to enlivening the rural economy, he has contributed to creating a new situation in the Agricultural Bank's work. Previously, agricultural loans were mainly granted to provide relief to production teams with difficulties or to support grain production. As a result, great amounts of agricultural loans could not be recovered, some production teams became more and more indebted and the operation of the banks became more and more difficult. To counter this problem, Liu Hongru traveled four provinces and a dozen or so counties. Throughout his itinerary, he held discussions with cadres and the masses. After discussing this problem with them, he put forward a new suggestion: that agricultural loans be used primarily to help the peasants develop the production of commodities. Later, the bank's leading party group adopted

his suggestion and implemented it as an important policy. This reformed the old practice of granting agricultural loans which had been carried on for decades, rapidly solved the longstanding, knotty problems which had long been deemed unsolvable by many people and greatly promoted the rural commodity economy.

In early 1981, a potential crisis existed in our national economy with inflation as one of its important factors. Banks were concerned about what to do to create a favorable condition for solving the problems. At that time, some people proposed that we should follow the method of 1962, that is, cutting down on consumption by way of cutting down on the issuance of currency. Liu Hongru, then a newly appointed vice president of the China People's Bank, was charged with organizing a special-subject research project on the circulation of currency. He and other comrades analyzed and studied great amounts of firsthand information and held that it would not do to copy mechanically old methods under the new situation. He contended it was not time to achieve a balance of market goods by way of cutting down on the amount of currency in circulation. On the contrary, active efforts should be made to support the development of agriculture and the light and textile industries and strive to increase the amount of commodities so as to make it correspond with the amount of currency in circulation. Based on this suggestion, the China People's Bank decided on its monetary policy in the economic readjustment and issued more than 10 billion yuan of loans on the basis of overall balance to support the light and textile industries. This measure, as expected, resulted in the achievements of the dual objectives--developing the economy and stabilizing currency.

To meet the requirements of the development of a commodity economy and the regulation by the market, he has in recent years also actively initiated and supported the bank in promoting the work of "economic information," bring into fuller play the role of banks as the "thermometer" of economic activities in society as well as the role as a "link" in the process of expanding reproduction.

During the days the 12th CPC National Congress was in session, this apprentice-turned-economic expert, recalling his course of growth under the rays of the party, was thrilled all along and unable to calm himself down. Facing the strategic objective of quadrupling the total output of our national economy in two decades, the requirement of effecting fundamental turns for the better in our three fields of undertaking during the next 5 years and--what should he do in order to make his due contributions? He has outlined a preliminary plan for studying the congress documents and implementing their guidelines and has set stricter demands on himself for respecting and emulating veteran cadres. He is determined to make new contributions in the drive to create a new situation in socialist modernization.

Member Zhang Shou

OW150039 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0018 GMT 14 Sep 82

[Newsletter by XINHUA reporter Xu Xinhua: "For the Sake of the Motherland's Needs"--on Zhang Shou, member of the CPC Central Committee and vice president of Shanghai Jiaotong University]

[Summary] Beijing, 14 Sep (XINHUA)--Zhang Shou [1728 1108], 52, is a native of Changshu County, Jiangsu. He enrolled in the department of shipbuilding of Shanghai Jiaotong University in 1948 and joined the CPC in April 1949. Following his graduation from the university in 1951, he worked at the university as assistant professor, lecturer and associate professor.

In 1962, after serving several years as deputy director of the department of engineering and physics of the university and secretary of the general party branch of the department, Zhang returned to the department of shipbuilding. In 1980, he was appointed to be first vice president of Shanghai Jiaotong University.

In March 1981, Zhang went to the United States and studied econometrics and macroeconomic models for 15 months at the University of Pennsylvania as a visiting scholar.

As a delegate to the 12th National CPC Congress, Zhang maintains that, to realize the party's general task in the new historical period, it is extremely important to have cadres who are more revolutionary, younger, better educated and professionally more competent. He says: "A professional cadre's assumption of a leading post does not mean that he can forget his professional knowledge. Instead, he must be more revolutionary, continue to study and strive to be more professionally competent so that he can exercise his leadership more effectively."

Alternate Member Yu Zhenwu

OW180407 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0114 GMT 15 Sep 82

[Newsletter on an outstanding personage by XINHUA correspondent Zhang Wanlai: "From Pilot to Corps Commander--On Newly Elected Alternate Member of the CPC Central Committee Yu Zhenwu"]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 15 Sep (XINHUA)--People have the following comments about Air Force Corps Commander [jun zhang 6511 7022] Yu Zhenwu [0060 2182 2976]: Leading cadres say that "he has both political integrity and ability and is in the prime of life." Commanders and fighters of his unit say that "he handles affairs in a decisive manner, makes exacting demands, has a drive as if propelled by a special motor in him and goes to the lower levels whenever possible."

Yu Zhenwu is 51 years old. As of last year, he had logged 1,600 hours of flight time, which is not really impressive among pilots of the same age.

However, the difficulties and dangers he has experienced and the level he has reached in his flying career are rarely matched by other pilots.

In the defensive counterattack against Vietnam, Yu Zhenwu was already a corps commander. He was tempered in actual combat and demonstrated outstanding organizational and command ability. His daring and resolution in work and his spirit to courageously take on responsibility and to conduct criticism and self-criticism have long been praised by commanders and fighters.

Yu Zhenwu said that he has been trained and brought up by the party. He is a native of Kuandian, Liaoning. He joined the people's armed forces at the age of 16; he has served as fighter, pilot and group commander; he has been in leading posts at the regiment and division levels; he has been rewarded many times for meritorious services performed.

Alternate Member Gong Benyan

OW180051 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0123 GMT 15 Sep 82

[Newsletter on an outstanding personage by XINHUA reporter Yu Youhai and HEILONGJIANG RIBAO correspondent Wang Yaguang: "A Socialist Entrepreneur With Courage and Insight--Notes on Gong Benyan, Newly Elected Alternate Member of the CPC Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 15 Sep (XINHUA)--Gong Benyan, a familiar name, was listed as an alternate member of the new Central Committee elected at the 12th party congress. Many people have happily asked: Is he the "Bold Gong" who was given publicity in newspapers and magazines?

Yes, he is that "socialist entrepreneur with courage and insight," a factory director who was noted for making remarkable achievements in running the Qiqihar No 1 Machine Tools Plant and the Fulaerji No 1 Heavy-Duty Machinery Plant a few years ago. In the years when the "gang of four" wreaked havoc, what Gong Benyan did at the No 1 Machine Tools Plant was bold indeed. After being jailed and opposed for 5 years, he was reinstated as factory director. At that time, although he faced the danger of being struck down again at any time, he did not yield to the evil forces. He led the workers and staff members of the plant in doing three things that are now entirely correct but could have been regarded as the worst offense at that time:

1. A few people who had built themselves up by "rising in rebellion" and who only acted as officials but did nothing were sent to work in workshops, and people who were competent and ideologically sound were assigned to leading posts, with power to exercise as well as with duties and functions to perform.

2. A reward system was instituted among the workers and staff members with a view to eliminating the practice of "sharing food from the same big pot" and with egalitarianism.

3. The label of the "stinking ninth category" was removed from intellectuals, and 17 scientific and technical personnel were promoted as engineers.

Such measures aroused the enthusiasm of workers and staff members.

As a result, production developed rapidly and the plant's output value increased from 29.6 million yuan in 1972 to 68 million yuan in 1976.

At the end of 1978, when the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was successfully held, Gong Benyan was transferred to the Fulaerji No 1 Heavy-Duty Machinery Plant as its director. This plant is a large, key enterprise of our country, which was praised by Premier Zhou as "a national treasure" when he inspected the plant. However, owing to the damages done during "the 10 years of domestic turmoil," the plant with 16,000 workers and staff members showed nothing as "a national treasure" when Gong Benyan took it over.

Facing difficulties, Gong Benyan resolutely implemented the lines, principles and policies laid down at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, closely united the plant's cadres, technicians and workers in doing a good job in production and rebuilt the plant as "a national treasure." He boldly and resolutely set things right, readjusted the plant's leading body, carried out enterprise consolidation and worked to improve the living conditions of workers and staff members. After a year of efforts, the label of "ranking last in three aspects" was removed from the No 1 Heavy-Duty Machinery Plant; its production developed in an all-round way, and rare record was set in increasing the variety of products and improving their quality. Enterprise management was noticeably improved, and unexpected achievements were made in building quarters for workers and staff members, arranging work for job-seeking young people and expanding agricultural and subsidiary production.

Gong Benyan, 55 years old, was born in Wendeng County, Shandong Province. He began to work as a child laborer at the age of 11. He has been in the revolutionary ranks for 39 years since he began to work in an ordnance factory in a liberated area in 1943.

In December 1981, Gong Benyan was appointed to new leading posts, standing committee member of the Heilongjiang provincial party committee, director of the provincial industry and communications office and chairman of the provincial economic commission.

Being elected by the 12th party congress as an alternate member of the Central Committee, Gong Benyan is deeply grateful to the party for its trust. At the same time, he also feels the great pressure and heavy responsibility on his shoulders. While discussing the strategic objective set by the 12th party congress for our country's economic construction, he had the following important thought: In Heilongjiang Province, over 1,000 state-owned industrial enterprises are included in the state budget; 15 large enterprises make profits while 15 others suffer losses. If the 30 large enterprises are run well, a 60-percent increase in the province's profits

can be assured, thus helping all other industrial enterprises to achieve better economic results. A few days ago, he telephoned comrades of the provincial economic commission, asking them to make preparations in this regard. After the conclusion of the congress, he would return to the province to study measures for this purpose and immediately take action to achieve the new objective in struggle.

Member Yu Hongen

OW160332 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0147 GMT 15 Sep 82

[Newsletter on an outstanding personage by XINHUA correspondent Qu Jianchong: "Man of Action on the Coal Front--On the Newly Elected Central Committee Member Yu Hongen"]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 15 Sep (XINHUA)--Yu Hongen, newly elected Central Committee member by the 12th CPC National Congress and currently vice minister of coal industry, is a man of action on our country's coal front, a coal miner who has grown into an outstanding cadre both Red and expert.

Yu Hongen is 55 years old. He began to work in a coal pit 40 years ago at age 15. After the northeast was liberated in 1945, he began a new life. The party helped him attend a night school and then enroll in a worker-cadre school, allowing him to acquire a general education while working. In 1948, Yu Hongen joined the Chinese Communist Party. From then on, he successively worked in a coal mine as shift leader, pit leader and mine superintendent. In 1956, the leadership sent him to the Beijing Mining Institute for further training. In the 20 years after graduation from the institute, he served successively as superintendent of the Xingan coal mine, deputy chief of the Hegang Mining Bureau, deputy chief of the Heilongjiang Coal Administrative Bureau, deputy secretary of the Hegang Municipal CPC Committee and secretary of the Hegang Mining Bureau CPC Committee. He was appointed vice minister of coal industry last year.

The Hegang coal mine was formerly a small and poorly equipped old mine. After liberation, it underwent repeated renovations and extensions. With 12 new pairs of large pits, it has become one of the country's more advanced and large mining areas, and its annual output has increased from some 2 million tons in the early days after liberation to 13 million tons in 1981. Yu Hongen worked hard in building new pits and transforming the old mine.

Yu Hongen was interviewed by this reporter after his election as a Central Committee member. Yu Hongen said: "I am a coal miner. Without the leadership of the Communist Party, I would have long been buried in a mass grave. The party has trained me from a coal miner to a state cadre. I have done very little for the party and people, and yet the party and people have given me very great honor, which makes me feel very uneasy." On prospects of future development of the coal industry, he said excitedly: "Comrade Hu Yaobang in his report regards the development of the energy industry as one of the strategic focuses of the national economy. This is a great

encouragement to the masses of workers, cadres and engineering and technical personnel on the coal front. Our country has abundant coal resources, and a solid foundation has been laid after more than 30 years of construction. So long as we exert ourselves and work hard, we have all the conditions to push the coal industry forward as quickly as possible." He expressed his determination from now on with the help of the old comrades to work together with all the coal workers and staff members in the country, do their utmost to achieve the strategic objectives in the new period and live up to the expectations of the party and people.

Member Li Senmao

OW160649 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0010 GMT 16 Sep 82

[Newsletter on an outstanding personage by XINHUA correspondent Zhang Xuanguo: "Railway Expert--On the Newly Elected Central Committee Member Li Senmao"]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 16 Sep (XINHUA)--Li Senmao [2621 2773 5399], deputy secretary of the leading party group and first vice minister of the Ministry of Railways, is a middle-aged cadre who has been tempered for many years working at the grassroots level and has been promoted grade by grade.

Li Senmao joined the revolution in 1945. In 1947, he went to the Northeast Railway Institute to study in the traffic class and acquired some basic theoretical knowledge. In 1950, he took part in the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, engaged in wartime railway transportation work and was cited once for exceptionally meritorious service and three times for merits. Back in China, he successively served in the relatively busy Shenyang railway station, the Shenyang railway subbureau and the Shenyang Railway Bureau as station master, subbureau chief and bureau chief. He has had practical work experience in railway transport.

Li Senmao was transferred to work in the Ministry of Railways in April this year and was put in charge of transport and factories. He often works until after midnight. He says: "I am the youngest among the ministry's four leading cadres and naturally should shoulder more responsibilities."

Li Senmao pays special respect to old comrades. He often calls on former ministers and bureau chiefs in evenings or on Sundays to hear their opinions and ask them for help and guidance. He cooperates very well with older comrades. He says: I have taken over new duties, but that does not make me a new bureaucrat. I will carry forward the party's fine traditions and do my work cautiously and conscientiously.

Member Wang Zhaoguo

OW171053 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0008 GMT 17 Sep 82

[Newsletter on an outstanding personage by XINHUA reporter Fang Jingen: "Cadres Like This One Are Needed in the Four Modernizations--On Newly Elected CPC Central Committee Member Wang Zhaoguo"]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 17 Sep (XINHUA)--While introducing to this reporter newly elected member of the CPC Central Committee Wang Zhaoguo [3769 0340 0948] who is also a party committee secretary and deputy director of the No 2 Motor Vehicle Manufacturing Factory, Huang Zhengxia, delegate to the 12th CPC National Congress and first secretary of the party committee of the same factory, said: "Wang Zhaoguo takes a firm political stand and is well-educated, still eager to study, modest and prudent. As he also has experience in leadership work at a basic-level unit, he is a very promising person."

Huang Zhengxia said that this is the common opinion of many leading cadres and the staff and workers of this factory.

Wang Zhaoguo, 41, graduated from the Harbin Industrial University in 1966, worked at the university for 2 years and was assigned to the No 2 Motor Vehicle Manufacturing Factory in 1968. Since then, he has been secretary of the CYL committee of a branch plant, secretary of the CYL committee and then member of the standing committee of the party committee of the factory.

In 1975, this factory was committed to putting into production the 2.5-ton cross-country truck by 1 July in spite of all kinds of interference. Moreover, there were quite a few so-called "bottlenecks" at that time, the subplant making bodies being one of them, all hindering the progress of the new project. The factory's party committee assigned Wang Zhaoguo to work at that subplant. He led a work team there and later became the first secretary of the subplant's party committee. He firmly stood up against the trouble-making "rebel group," united with the workers, worked day and night, changed the passive situation of the subplant and caught up with the pace of the rest of the factory, putting the cross-country trucks into production half a month ahead of time.

After the "gang of four" was smashed he worked with still greater vigor and in even higher spirits. Leading the whole subplant to eliminate the remaining "leftist" influence, he turned the rather backward subplant into an advanced unit.

In 1979, he became deputy director of the factory, a unit with 50,000 staff and workers.

Wang Zhaoguo is keen in learning from advanced management methods of related enterprises throughout the country and studying foreign financial management, cost control and market prediction theories, applying whatever is beneficial to his factory with good results. He is also studying history and English. He said that he has been studying for several years but due to a busy work schedule has not made much progress.

CSO: 4005/1342

HONG KONG PAPER ON CPC CONGRESS

HK150605 Hong Kong HSING KANG SHIH PAO in Chinese 13 Sep 82 p 2

[Editorial: "Closure of Chinese Communist 'Congress'"]

[Text] The 12th CPC "National Congress" opened on the 1st of this month and ended on the 11th after meeting for 10 days.

The main program of the party's congress was to listen to and discuss Hu Yaobang's so-called report entitled "Comprehensively Initiate the Building of Socialist Modernization," adopt the "new party constitution" and "elect" the 12th "Central Committee members and alternate members," "members of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection" and members of the newly established "Central Advisory Commission." The 1st Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee was held on the 12th, and the "general secretary of the Central Committee," "the Political Bureau and Standing Committee of the Political Bureau" and "secretary of the Central Committee Secretariat" were also elected. Thus, the "12th congress," clamored for by the new authorities of the CPC for a long time, has now completed its work and ended.

Originally, the "national congress" of the CPC was an assembly that the Hu-Deng clique was striving for in order to gain "legal" status regarding party power, formally establishing the so-called "Hu-Deng system," consolidating Deng's sphere of influence and initiating a new dominating situation. Although the preparatory work was ample, it utterly lacked substance and, finally, hastily ended. Therefore, we can anticipate that the congress will have no effect at all on the party internally or externally but, on the contrary, will lead to a counteroffensive by anti-Deng forces, particularly the military leaders who, being coldly treated, may cause the military to resist party bureaucrats.

In the "opening address," Deng Xiaoping compared in a high-spirited and vigorous manner the current "12th congress" with the "7th congress" held in 1945 in Yanan and placed himself in the same situation and status as that of Mao Zedong in the earlier period. The "12th congress" is incomparable to the "7th congress" because the "7th congress" was held at a time when the Chinese people's war of resistance against Japan had entered the counterattack stage, final victory was in sight and the people

were enthusiastic. With the disguised activities and deceptive propaganda of the CPC for years, its true face was not recognized by the Chinese people. Therefore, in his political report "On Coalition Government," Mao put forward the establishment of the "new democratic state system," and maintaining "land reform" really did deceive and tempt those people who did not know the essence of the Communist Party.

Today, the CPC is in decline; it has brought serious misery to the country. Not only do the people have no means of livelihood and society is financially poor and empty, but the CPC itself has caused problems and difficulties. The occurrence of the crisis of the "three beliefs of nationalism, democracy and people's livelihood" proved the bankruptcy of the extreme communist system and that the evil theory of Marxism-Leninism does not suit China. But Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang are still not aware of this. They continue to stress the "four insists" and put forward the so-called call to "initiate a new situation in building socialist modernization." In the "new party constitution," they assert the final aim of the CPC as "realizing the social system of communism" and also claim that "the CPC regards Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as its guiding principle." How then can they change the viewpoint of the people of the world and how can they rid the people of the mainland of their disappointment and indignant attitude toward the Communist Party? The "four modernizations" have completely failed, the spirit of party members is degenerating, party discipline is slack and the tyranny of discriminating against intellectuals (intellectuals like Qian Xueshen, an expert in mechanics, are always placed last on the list of "alternate members of the Central Committee") still remain as before. How then can they realize "modernization"? How can they "initiate socialist modernization"?

We now come to the problem of personnel. As known to all, the main objective of the "12th congress" was to eliminate the opposition elements and rivals from the "organs of the party center" so that they can form Deng-Hu homogeneous bodies. Therefore, the abolishment of the post of "party chairman" is in fact aimed at getting rid of "Vice Chairmen" Ye Jianying, Li Xiannian and Chen Yun. And the establishment of the "Advisory Commission" is for the purpose of driving the old, the remnants of the "Cultural Revolution" and Hua Guofeng and his supporters to the "Advisory Commission"--the "home for the aged" with no title and power.

However, after the backstage struggle which lasted for some time and through the means of "preparatory meetings" of the congress, "deliberations and consultations" during the congress and "election in advance," the results were that not only did the senile Ye Jianying publicly state that he would not "cease to work until the end of his days," being unwilling to withdraw from the "leading bodies," he remained as a "member of the CPC Central Committee" and "member of the Political Bureau and of its Standing Committee." The other factional elements that Deng-Hu wanted to get rid of long ago retained their seats. In addition to Hua Guofeng again being "elected" as "member of the CPC Central Committee," "the faction of the Cultural Revolution" and Hua Guofeng's supporters, such as Mao Zhiyong from Hunan, Wang Qian from Shanxi, Li Ruishan from Shaanxi and Li Desheng from

the "Shenyang troops," were all again elected as "members or alternate members of the CPC Central Committee," while Li Desheng and Ni Zhifu were also squeezed into the "Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee."

Furthermore, the "oil gang"--always opposed by Deng Xiaoping--those under Li Xiannian such as Yu Qiuli, Gu Mu, Kang Shien, Chen Muhua, Fang Yi and others, either retained as a "member of the CPC Central Committee" or were squeezed into the "Political Bureau," with Li Xiannian being a "member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau." All the above shows that the so-called Deng-Hu "system" still faces great obstacles in the current situation.

We must also not overlook Deng Xiaoping, who is an old hand in instituting struggle to seize power. Their method of struggle is to advance gradually, and the tactics are like peeling bamboo shoots. They have already pushed Hua Guofeng from the "Political Bureau" and reduced the pressure on Hu Yaobang. In the core of leadership of the CPC--the "Secretariat"--three of five secretaries--Hu Yaobang, Deng Liqun and Hu Qili--are out-and-out members of the Deng-Hu faction, while of the other two--Yang Yong and Chen Pixian--the former is one of the old subordinates of Deng and the latter has historical relations with Deng. So, the "Secretariat of the Central Committee" is in fact under the control of Deng-Hu.

Deng Xiaoping himself holds the most important title of power, that is, "chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee." "Vice Chairmen" Ye Jianying, Xu Xiangqian and Nie Rongzhen are all old and useless. What is more, they hold empty titles that are of no practical use. The "executive vice chairman" is the former "secretary of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee," Yang Shangkun, who is a Deng "coordinator." In this way, they can completely control the puppet "Minister of National Defense" Geng Biao, who was driven to the "Advisory Commission," and also full control "Chief of the General Staff" Yang Dexhi. As for Xu Shiyou (former member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and vice minister of national defense) who favored Deng before but later became his rival, and Nie Fengzhi (former "member of the Central Committee" and commander of the "Nanjing troops") who had close relations with Xu Shiyou, they were pushed into the "Advisory Commission." They no longer constitute a military threat to Deng.

From now on, Deng has been elected as the actual "chairman" of the CPC. Just view the picture of Deng pointing at Hu at the congress in the presence of all, while Hu, holding a teacup with both hands, listens attentively to Deng's instructions. We can then judge the actual position and relationship between Deng and Hu.

The military ringleaders of the CPC who were deprived of the title of member of the "Central Committee" and "transferred to a lower level"--that of the "Advisory Commission"--amounted to a large number. How arrogant they were in the era when Mao-Lin were in power. But now they are being attacked by the Deng faction. They are certainly not willing to give up but are trying by every means to seek opportunities to retaliate. Therefore, we expect that the Deng-Hu clique will not only have to encounter struggle within the party, but will also have to institute struggle between the party and "the barrel of a gun."

CSO: 4005/1342

ARTICLE LAUDS HU YAOBANG REPORT

OW181331 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 16, 17 Sep 82

[Article by (Yuan Mu): "A Great Historic Change and Its Basic Experience"]

[16 Sep 82]

[Excerpts] The convocation of the 12th CPC National Congress shows that our party is leading the people in successfully effecting another great historic change and opening a brilliant new chapter of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization in our country. A correct appraisal and full understanding of the far-reaching significance and basic experience of this historic change and, on this basis, further unifying the thinking of the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country are no doubt very important for us to unite as one, courageously advance along the road indicated by the party's 12th national congress and brace ourselves to win greater new victories.

At the very beginning of his report to the congress on behalf of the party Central Committee, Comrade Hu Yaobang summarized the indicators of the historic change brought about in the fields of ideology, politics, organization, economics, culture, military matters and party affairs.

Through bringing order out of chaos in the past 6 years, especially the 4 years since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have in practice adhered to and developed the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, dispelled the apathetic atmosphere in which "ten thousand horses were all muted" on all fronts and gained a vigorous creative power.

We have quickly achieved and gradually consolidated a political situation of stability and unity and brought about lively scenes of the best historic period since the founding of the People's Republic.

We have step by step readjusted, consolidated and strengthened the leading bodies. By and large, the leadership in party and state organizations at all levels is now in the hands of cadres loyal to the party and the people.

We have step by step rectified the "left" mistakes that persisted for many years in the guiding ideology in economic construction. As a result, our

national economy has tided over a most difficult phase and is now on a sound path of steady growth.

We have step by step eliminated the erroneous ideas of looking down on cultural construction and discriminating against intellectuals. As a result, our endeavors in education, science and culture have scored new successes and are beginning to thrive.

Our PLA has further enhanced its military capability and political consciousness in line with the new historical conditions.

In leading all fronts in bringing order out of chaos, our party has withstood tests and remolded itself. It has become more mature and firmer in the course of struggle.

All this shows that the political situation in socialist China is stable, that revolution and construction are forging steadily ahead, and that the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is strong.

At the end of last year, the party summed up the experience in readjusting the economy since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, decided to shift all economic work to the path of focusing our efforts on increasing economic results and, around this fundamental goal, put forward 10 principles for economic construction. The 10 principles are the crystallization of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought integrated with China's new situation and new practice and indicate that our party has attained a new scientific level in its understanding and grasp of the laws governing socialist economic construction. With this, our party at its 12th congress was able to formulate the strategic objective, priorities and steps of our economic construction for the next 20 years, thus drawing a blueprint for us for construction more suited to our national conditions.

In socialist society, while working for a high level of material civilization, we must strive to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. While reforming and perfecting the socialist economic system, we must reform and perfect the socialist political system and strive to build a high level of socialist democracy.

Socialist material and spiritual civilization needs and complements each other. If we pay attention only to building material civilization and ignore socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology at its core, socialist society will go astray and degenerate. In the final analysis, the development of socialist economy must rely on the people and must serve the people. If the people become no good, what meaning do material things have? The crux of the matter is that in socialist society, we must strive to enable every member of it to correctly understand the relationship between the individual and society and between immediate and long-range interests. We must vigorously step up the building of socialist spiritual civilization so that our people will become people with lofty ideals, moral integrity, education and a sense of discipline.

In building either material civilization or socialist spiritual civilization, we must give full play to the people's initiative and creativeness. This calls for efforts to attain a high level of socialist democracy in order to fully protect the people's rights as masters, exercise effective dictatorship over a tiny minority of hostile elements who try to undermine socialism, and consolidate and strengthen the state system of the people's democratic dictatorship.

Precisely because of this basic viewpoint, our party has made achieving the four modernizations, building a high level of civilization and attaining a high level of democracy simultaneously the three fundamental goals for building a modern socialist country and has included them in the new party constitution. They all undoubtedly represent application and development of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in the new socialist practice in our country. They are effectively guiding and pushing forward the Chinese people's socialist practice and will be further enriched and developed in practice.

Expounding the basic reason that made it possible to bring about the historic change, the report to the 12th party congress clearly points out: "Our victory has not been easy. It was won only after the Central Committee led the entire party and people in overcoming enormous difficulties of all kinds."

This is a historic conclusion completely in keeping with objective reality. Practice has irrefutably proven that the present party Central Committee is a Central Committee which firmly and unwaveringly implements the correct Marxist line, is a united, harmonious and militant leading collective, and is a strong core capable of controlling any complex situations.

In the course of leading the whole party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country in bringing about the historic change, the party Central Committee, to ensure the correct implementation of the party's correct line and various basic principles, waged timely and appropriate ideological struggles on two fronts--against both "left" and right deviations, thus maintaining the party's political and ideological unity. This was an important guarantee for the historic victories we won in the past, and is an important guarantee for us in creating a new situation in the days to come.

The principle of emancipating the mind, using one's brains, seeking truth from facts, uniting as one and looking forward, put forward by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, is the application and development under the new historical conditions of the ideological line of integrating theory with practice which the party and Comrade Mao Zedong always advocated.

Without emancipating the mind and failing to break through the personality cult and the trammels of dogmatism, it would have been impossible to set things right in the past, and it will be impossible to create a new situation in the future. Distorting the principle of emancipating the mind,

misinterpreting it as saying whatever one wants to say, and advocating bourgeois liberalization will also have a very harmful effect on our cause. We must continue to oppose both these tendencies. In short, emancipating the mind must be in line with, and not deviate from, the four fundamental principles.

[17 Sep 82]

[Excerpts] On upholding the four fundamental principles: Upholding the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship, the leadership of the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought--these are the four fundamental principles we have upheld since the founding of the PRC. While penetratingly exposing and criticizing the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques after smashing the "gang of four," the party pointed out: In the final analysis, our struggle against the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques is a struggle in which we uphold the four fundamental principles while they try to undermine these principles. To uphold the four fundamental principles, we must eliminate the pernicious influence of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques in distorting, tampering with and undermining these principles. As we made a clean sweep of the leftist mistakes made before and during the Cultural Revolution, rightist deviations from the four fundamental principles occurred. We must now continue to prevent and oppose both the erroneous leftist and rightist deviations in order to firmly uphold the four fundamental principles.

On a correct appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought: A great leader and teacher of our party and the people of all our nationalities, Comrade Mao Zedong made great and indelible contributions to the Chinese revolution. He made serious mistakes in his later years, but his merits far outweigh his mistakes. If we did not have the Marxist courage to conduct self-criticism of our party's mistakes, including those made by Comrade Mao Zedong, and to correct such mistakes in practice, it would be impossible for us to set things right and effect an historic change. If one negated all Comrade Mao Zedong did during his lifetime just because he made serious mistakes in his later years, one would negate the entire history of the Chinese revolution led by our party and make even more serious mistakes.

On class struggle in the socialist period: The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, points out: Class struggle no longer constitutes the principal contradiction after the exploiters were eliminated as classes. However, because of certain domestic factors and foreign influences, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come and may even grow acute under certain conditions.

This is a scientific conclusion the party reached on the question of class struggle in our country at the present stage after setting things right since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and after

making a thorough analysis of our country's social realities. This tells us that we must resolutely oppose a possible reemergence of the erroneous idea of "taking class struggle as the key link" and its manifestations and at the same time prevent ourselves from losing our revolutionary vigilance in class struggle under new historical conditions.

On the two aspects of the policies of developing the socialist cause: In the new historical period of the development of our socialist cause, we must attend, both in ideology and in action, to two aspects. On the one hand, we must persist in the policy of opening to the outside and in our policies for invigorating the domestic economy. On the other hand, we must resolutely strike at the grave criminal activities in the economic, political and cultural spheres that endanger socialism. It would be wrong to attend only to the latter aspect and be skeptical about the former, and it would be dangerous to stress the former aspect at the expense of the latter.

Historical experience tells us: To uphold the party's correct Marxist line, it is necessary to oppose the leftist tendency of attempting to return to the erroneous theories and policies that prevailed before and during the Cultural Revolution as well as the rightist tendency of bourgeois liberalization that is skeptical about and negates the four fundamental principles. As to when, where and which tendency we should particularly oppose, we should proceed from reality. While particularly opposing one tendency, we should pay attention to preventing another.

The new party constitution adopted at the 12th party congress points out in its general program: In order to lead the people of all nationalities throughout the country in attaining the great goal of socialist modernization, the party must achieve three essential requirements, the first of which is a high degree of ideological and political unity. This is a summation of the experiences of our party's protracted struggle. It must be stressed that conscientiously keeping in step with the party Central Committee politically and ideologically is a rule of political discipline that all party members must strictly observe. At the same time, positively and responsibly publicizing and explaining the party's ideology, theory, line, policies and principles should be one of the duties every party member fulfills on behalf of the party and the people. However, some party members do not do so now and even openly do something unorthodox or act on their own with regard to major matters of policy and principle on which the party has decided. This cannot be tolerated by all loyal and honest communists. This must be resolutely stopped and corrected. We believe that under the banner of the 12th party congress, the whole party will certainly achieve a higher degree of ideological and political unity, thus effectively ensuring the success of the struggle to bring about a new situation.

Our party's unalterable, basic purpose is to serve the people wholeheartedly. The party's status fundamentally changed after becoming the ruling party leading the whole country. However, this should not change in the slightest degree the party's purpose as well as the basic requirement for each and every party member to be an ordinary member of the working people. However, a host of facts show that some people have become cadres and have held power

with the party becoming the ruling party and that they have used this power not to serve the people but to seek personal gain at the expense of the masses, the collective or the state. Thus, they have become masters of the people instead of public servants and various unhealthy tendencies have grown. We must resolutely check such unhealthy tendencies in order to trust and rely on the masses and to win their trust and support.

Comrade Chen Yun emphatically pointed out that the style of a political party in power determines its very survival. In resolute response to the call of the 12th party congress, we must conscientiously rectify the party's work style and consolidate party organizations in order to achieve a fundamental turn for the better in the party's work style, to serve the people better and to work heart and soul for the interests of the overwhelming majority of people. In this way, our cause will be ever-victorious.

CSO: 4005/1342

SHAANXI LAUNCHES DRIVE TO STUDY CPC CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

OW171147 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1546 GMT 14 Sep 82

[Excerpts] Xian, 14 Sep (XINHUA)--When the news of the triumphant close of the 12th CPC National Congress and the birth of the new central leading organ reached Shaanxi, the vast numbers of Communist Party members and masses joyfully said: Everything is good--the congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech and Comrade Hu Yaobang's report, the new CPC Constitution and the newly elected central leading organ. Everything accords with our wishes. Many factories and schools put up wall newspapers, held literary and art recitals or sponsored forums to warmly hail the triumphant close of the congress and the birth of the new central leading organ. An upsurge in studying, publicizing and implementing the 12th CPC National Congress documents is being whipped up throughout the province.

During the past several days party organizations at all levels in the province seriously studied the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress and the communique of the 1st Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee. The Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee held enlarged Standing Committee meetings on four occasions for the study and discussion. Jiang Yi, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, said: The study, propagandizing and implementation of the 12th CPC National Congress guidelines is the paramount task before party organizations at all levels and before the entire party membership. We are determined to arm the party members and the broad masses in our province with the congress guidelines and strive to fulfill the various tasks put forward by the congress.

The Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee issued a circular today asking party organizations at all levels in the province to take immediate action in studying, publicizing and implementing the 12th CPC National Congress documents and to make the congress guidelines known to every household and taking root in the hearts of the people. The propaganda department of the Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee is currently holding a work conference in Xian on the study of and propaganda on the 12th CPC Congress documents. This conference was attended by the heads of the prefectural, municipal and county propaganda departments and by a number of theoretical and propaganda workers. At the same time, the science, technology and education department, the industry and communications department and the finance and trade department under the provincial CPC committee, as well as the provincial national defense industry office and other provincial departments are also holding separate conferences to make preparations for the successful study and propagandizing of the congress documents in their own departments.

CSO: 4005/1342

FUJIAN MEETING URGES IMPLEMENTING CONGRESS GUIDELINES

OW191231 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 17 Sep 82

[Excerpts] On the evening of 16 September, the Fujian Provincial CPC Committee and provincial people's government held a telephone conference to mobilize the people throughout the province to implement the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress and promote spiritual civilization in the province. Hu Ping, secretary of the provincial party committee and vice governor, presided over the conference. (Cheng Xu), secretary of the provincial party committee, addressed the conference.

(Cheng Xu) said: In his report delivered at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang succinctly and penetratingly expounded the importance of regarding communist ideology as the core in promoting socialist spiritual civilization. We must understand the importance of building socialist spiritual civilization from the high plane of strategy. We must also be determined to exert our utmost efforts in simultaneously building material and spiritual civilization to enable our socialist cause to maintain its revolutionary youthfulness and vitality.

To implement the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress and greet the triumphant opening of the national commendation meeting, the provincial CPC committee decided to launch mass activities throughout the province in late September and in October to promote spiritual civilization.

On behalf of the provincial CPC committee, (Cheng Xu) called on leading comrades of the various party committees and the various departments, party members and CYL members to play an exemplary role in promoting socialist spiritual civilization.

CSO: 4005/1342

'WEN HUI BAO' ON IMPLEMENTING CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

OW190050 Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 12 Sep 82 p 2

[Editorial: "Carry on the Heritage, Pave the Way for the Future and Advance on the Crest of Victory—Unify Our Thinking and Action on the Basis of 12th Congress Guidelines"]

[Excerpts] The 12th CPC National Congress, which victoriously closed on 11 September, has been written down in history as an historical session which carries on the heritage and paves the way for the future. The great significance and far-reaching influence of this congress are sources of immense encouragement and utmost confidence for party members and the people of Shanghai. It is our firm belief that the work program formulated by the 12th CPC National Congress will definitely materialize and will certainly bring prosperity to our party, our socialist cause, our country and our nationalities.

The task facing our party organizations at all levels and all party members is to satisfactorily study, publicize and implement the guidelines of the 12th congress. In his opening speech, Comrade Deng Xiaoping comprehensively elaborated the historical position of the 12th congress, the tasks to be set forth by it and the essence of its documents. We must take this opening speech as the overall guide in our thinking and, in the light of Shanghai's practical conditions, our current work and our political awareness, conscientiously study the 12th congress documents and unify our thinking and action on the basis of these documents in order to carry on the heritage, pave the way for the future and advance on the crest of victory.

To carry on the heritage means to make a scientific summation of the historical victories won since the smashing of the "gang of four" and in particular after the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee. In the 4 short years since the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee, the party Central Committee has fundamentally freed itself from the fetters of past mistakes, accomplished the arduous work of setting things right in ideology and effected an historical change of great significance. These are 4 years of earth-shaking changes, of all kinds of hardships and of great victories.

The tremendous achievements and profound changes after the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee clearly show that our party is mature and full of vitality. It is here that our confidence and hope grow. We must take the 12th congress documents, which are a summation of victories, as the most precious treasure and as textbooks with richest content. We must conscientiously study, absorb and apply them.

To pave the way for the future means to advance on the crest of victory and create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. Studying the 12th congress documents and proceeding from the practical conditions on all fronts, we must fully understand the guiding ideology, principles and policies of these documents and correctly understand the relations between politics and the economy and those between promoting material and spiritual civilization. We must be far-sighted and do our jobs honestly and with dedication. We must, in consideration of the circumstances of our respective departments and units, analyze the many favorable conditions and at the same time analyze the existing difficulties. We must have the ambition to climb to the summit of the Taishan Mountain and at the same time take a scientific approach and study the skills of "mountaineering." We must start right now from all specific jobs and move steadily forward to make solid progress. We must hold high the banner of communism, guide our thinking by communist ideas and display our spirit of devotion, hard work and creativity in order to immensely invigorate our mental state and arouse and scientifically organize the enthusiasm and creativity of all cadres and the masses. This is the most effective way to promote an all-round upsurge in the socialist economy and the most concrete action to implement the 12th congress guidelines.

Strengthening of the party is the fundamental guarantee for accomplishing the historical task of carrying on the heritage and paving the way for the future. Studying the report to the 12th congress and the new party constitution, we must be aware that during the socialist period the party's leading position in the country determines that the party's activities are vital to the interests and well-being of the people of the whole country. If we do not strengthen the party and uphold and improve its leadership to suit the characteristics and needs of the historical period, party members, and party's cadres in particular, are apt to become divorced from the masses.

"The style of a political party in power determines its very survival." We must, in accordance with the party Central Committee's unified arrangements and in carrying forward the spirit of the Yanan rectification, extensively and intensively conduct education in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, in communist ideals and the party's line, principles and policies, in basic knowledge about the party and in the criteria for party members while studying and implementing the congress report and the new party constitution, the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" and the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life." We must ensure that all party members clearly understand the character, position and role of our party, know how to become qualified party members according to the party constitution, and understand

that Communist Party members are vanguard fighters with communist ideas of the working class, that they are forever ordinary members of the working people, that they must serve the people wholeheartedly, that they must work for communism all their lives, and that they should never seek private interests and privileges and should firmly resist and combat all unhealthy tendencies.

We must also clearly realize that leading bodies at all levels are the key to the strengthening of the party. Due to the severe disruption by the "gang of four" during the 10 years of domestic turmoil, impurities in ideology, style and organization exist to a serious extent in some of Shanghai's party organizations. It is an urgent task to consolidate and build leading bodies. We must weed out those persons who rose to prominence by rebellion, who are seriously factionalist in their ideas, who have indulged in beating, smashing and looting, who oppose the line followed by the party Central Committee since the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee or who have seriously violated the law and discipline. We must never relax our efforts in this task. All levels must take up this responsibility and thoroughly carry out this task. We must boldly and unhesitatingly assign to leading posts those middle-aged and young cadres who possess both political integrity and ability and who can create a new situation in their work. Great attention should be paid to the role of old cadres in passing on experience, giving help to and setting an example for younger cadres. This is a major task of primary importance in strengthening the party and an important political and organizational guarantee for adhering to the socialist road and concentrating efforts on modernization. If we successfully consolidate the party's organization and rectify the party's style to make party organizations at all levels strong leadership cores, our party will surely shoulder the heavy historical task without fail and lead the people of the whole country in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. The party will appear before the people with a lofty image and new face.

Party organizations at all levels and party members and cadres throughout the city must mobilize quickly to whip up a high tide in studying, publicizing and implementing the 12th congress documents and, guided by the spirit of the 12th congress, hold high the great banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, adhere with added vigor and resolution to the four basic principles and the line followed by the party after the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee, and strive to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization!

CSO: 4005/1342

ZHEJIANG STUDIES CPC CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

OW171415 [Editorial Report] Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin at 1030 GMT on 13 September broadcasts a 7-minute item which reports that the successful close of the 12th CPC National Congress and election of new central leading organs have filled provincial organizations, democratic parties, party members, cadres, the masses and PLA commanders and fighters in Zhejiang with joy, and that "they unanimously express firm support for the new CPC Central Committee, Central Advisory Commission and Central Discipline Inspection Commission and are determined to rally around the CPC Central Committee and strive to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization." The report cites remarks by several individuals including He Zhibin, chairman of the Zhejiang Provincial Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee and vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee, who expresses firm support for the new CPC Central Committee, and (Yang Sijie), commander of the PLA division to which the "Hardbone 6th Company" belongs, who promises to follow the party unswervingly and strive to accomplish the general task of the new period.

The same station at 1030 GMT on 14 September transmits a 3-minute report saying that the comrades of the organization department of the Zhejiang Provincial CPC Committee are conscientiously studying documents of the 12th CPC National Congress and promise to implement the principles and policies adopted by the congress and do a good job in organizational work. According to the report, there are more than 420,000 young and middle-aged cadres in Zhejiang Province, and the organization department of the provincial party committee is to make greater efforts to select thousands of outstanding young and middle-aged ones to leading posts.

The same newscast also carries a 5-minute report with portions recorded on a meeting held by the party committee and administrative leadership of the Hangzhou Oxygen Generator Factory, where (Liang Maomao), delegate to the 12th CPC National Congress, works, on 13 September to discuss the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress. The report gives recorded remarks by the secretary of the factory party committee, the factory's director and the factory's chief engineer, who express support for the new CPC central leading organs and willingness to do a good job in the succession from old cadres to young ones.

CSO: 4005/1342

'NINGXIA RIBAO' URGES STUDY OF CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

HK180642 Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 10 Sep 82 p 3

["Ideological commentary" by Ye Mo [5509 1075]: "Apply Communist Ideology To Seriously Study the 12th Party Congress Documents"]

[Text] The convocation of the 12th CPC National Congress is a large happy event in the political life of the whole party and the people of the country. This congress is the most important meeting since the 7th party congress and will write a brilliant new chapter in our party's history with its great significance and far-reaching influence. At present, the primary task of all party members and the people of the country is, with communist ideology, to seriously study, vigorously publicize and resolutely implement the spirit of the 12th party congress and also to work hard at their posts and to do their part in creating a new situation in the four modernizations.

The contents of the documents of the 12th party congress are substantial and manifest a new development made by our party on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech and the report made by Comrade Hu Yaobang on behalf of the party Central Committee have summed up the great achievements made since the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, enriched and developed the correct line formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and outlined our party's objective for some time to come. The new party constitution adopted at the congress has eradicated the "leftist" mistakes found in the previous party constitution, set new demands for party members and party cadres and stipulated many new provisions for improving the central and local organizational system. This is a valuable crystallization of the party's historical experience and collective wisdom. The documents of the 12th party congress also show that our party has become more mature in understanding the law of socialist revolution and construction. We must earnestly study the documents of the 12th party congress in order to know better the correct road, strategic measures, guidelines and policies on our road of forging ahead. This is of great significance for our party and the people of the country in unifying thinking and creating a new situation with one heart and one mind in all fields of socialist modernization.

To study well the documents of the 12th party congress, great efforts should be made in making arrangements and giving guidance. But first and foremost, we must apply communist ideology to our study. This is because our party is leading a socialist-communist cause. Guided by communist ideology, the 12th party congress has summed up the historical achievements made in the past 6 years, analyzed and responded to major problems in the new period of socialism. The magnificent objective to march toward the 21st century put forward by the 12th party congress is advanced on the blueprint of building our country into a socialist one with highly developed civilization and democracy, and realizing communism at last. The 12th party congress is a meeting of upholding aloft the banner of communism and full of the spirit of communism, and a meeting of calling on the whole party and the people of the country to strive for the socialist-communist cause. Concerning this view, only if guided by communist ideology will it be possible to understand well the spirit of the 12th party congress and the magnificent strategic goal, various tasks and a series of principles and policies formulated at the meeting. The CPC has set communism as its ultimate aim since its founding, taking the communist ideological system--Marxism-Leninism--as its guide for action and for staunchly pushing the communist movement ahead. When the CPC held its first congress, it had less than 60 members. But it had the courage to define itself an immediate task of knocking down warlords and overthrowing the imperialist brutal rule in China. It had the courage to set itself the goal of striving for the realization of socialism and communism in a country which has the largest population in the world. From the first party congress to the present one, our party has traveled a brilliant road. During the 61 years, it suffered some serious setbacks and failures, but our party, with all its faithful members, has never ceased its valiant struggle for the great cause of communism through numerous practices and the efforts of holding firmly to the truth and correcting mistakes. Without communist ideals and practices, it would have been impossible for our party to reverse the course of events, turn danger into safety, rise again and advance toward prosperity, it would have been impossible for our party to become a mature Marxist party with a total of 39 million members, and it would have been impossible that a beautiful prospect would be opened up for socialist modernization. Socialism cannot be built without its spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core. Meanwhile, without communist ideology, lofty ideals and revolutionary boldness of vision, it would be impossible to correctly understand our party and the socialist-communist cause under its leadership, and it will be impossible to correctly understand the spirit of the 12th party congress.

Our party has always held that communism can only advance in practice. Communist ideals can hardly be attained in a short while. Painstaking efforts must be made for it generation after generation. In the course of struggling for communism, we should pass through many stages, conquer a number of enemies and overcome numerous difficulties. Under the guidance of lofty ideals, we should set objectives for each stage, which should be properly set without transcending from one stage to another. We will get closer to communism by traveling every distance of the "journey" and attaining every concrete objective. The magnificent goal and combat-worthy tasks defined by the 12th party congress for the new historical

period are a major milestone on the road toward communism. Any failure to attain the goal and to accomplish all the tasks will lead us to run in the opposite direction of communism. When striving for the magnificent goal of marching toward the 21st century, the whole party, the people of the whole country, enterprises on all fronts and even every individual should cherish lofty ideals. However, with only lofty "ideals" and paying lip service for communism, one cannot be considered to have real communist ideology, unless he makes efforts to carry out the combat-worthy tasks put forth by the 12th party congress, firmly implement the party's principles and policies and do a good job in work, even in a trifling matter. We must study the documents of the 12th party congress in combination with communist ideology. It means that we must, with communist spirit, work hard for the realization of the goal and tasks put forth by the present congress.

Communist ideology will not spontaneously erupt. So the party organizations must imbue, educate and publicize communist ideology to its members and the masses of the people. Now the documents of the 12th party congress are the best teaching materials for the whole party and the people of the whole country when education for communist ideology is being carried out among them. Party organizations at all levels must arrange well the study of the documents of the 12th party congress as a matter of prime importance. As the first step, they should help party members and the masses understand well the spirit of these documents and study them paragraph by paragraph and sentence by sentence. On the basis of the study, we must put theory into practice, carry out criticism and self-criticism, enhance revolutionary vigor, clear up all negative factors and fight against all unhealthy tendencies which run counter to the spirit of the 12th party congress. In the course of the study, party members and party cadres must be specially called on to set a good example. The more party members are a good example of the study, the more the education for communist ideology will be effectively carried out. Even so, the spirit of the 12th party congress will be smoothly implemented and developed. The study of the documents is a long-term task. Following an initial study, efforts must be made over a long period of time. However, so long as we seriously study these documents with communist ideology and we further imbue ourselves with communist ideology through the study, we will certainly, through endless endeavors, plain living and hard struggle, accomplish the magnificent goal as desired by the 12th party congress, and our party and country will certainly become more flourishing.

CSO: 4005/1342

TIANJIN PEOPLE HAIL SUCCESS OF CPC CONGRESS

OW171325 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1809 GMT 13 Sep 82

[Excerpts] Tianjin, 13 Sep (XINHUA)--When the good news on the successful close of the party's 12th national congress and the election of the party's new central leading organs reached Tianjin, both banks of the Haihe River were astir with jubilant crowds.

The members of the new central leading organs have received warm support from people in all walks of life in Tianjin. Chen Bing, deputy secretary of the Tianjin Municipal CPC Committee, said: Historical experience has proven that so long as our party has a strong central leading core and a correct line, it will be able to defeat and surmount all difficulties and dangers, no matter how great, on the road ahead. The new central leading organs are such a core as they are all composed of completely trustworthy and mature Marxists.

Teng Weizao, economist and president of Nankai University, said with emotion: A number of older comrades, who enjoy high prestige and command universal respect, are remaining in the central leading organs; long-tested comrades in the prime of life are responsible for the work on the front-line; and two-thirds of the Central Committee members are new people. The leading core formed by such a new lineup is not only strong but stable, and can be completely trusted.

The Tianjin Municipal CPC Committee has drawn up a plan to organize the entire municipality to study documents of the 12th CPC National Congress. It calls on leading cadres at all levels to take the lead in studying and propagating the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress, and it calls on every unit to figure out on how to create a new situation in its own field of work. The Tianjin Municipal CPC Committee has already compiled propaganda materials on the 12th CPC National Congress and is earnestly training announcers and propagandists.

CSO: 4005/1342

KUNMING PLA MEETING ON STUDYING CONGRESS SPIRIT

HK201140 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 19 Sep 82

[Text] The CPC committee of the Kunming PLA units held an enlarged meeting to call on cadres above the division level to grasp well the work of studying the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress. Since the victorious opening of the 12th CPC Congress, the CPC committee of the Kunming PLA unit has successively organized five study and discussion meetings. On the basis of deepening their understanding and through study they realized that leading cadres are the key to relaying and implementing the 12th congress spirit in the unit. Therefore, after the return of the delegates, they immediately held an enlarged party committee meeting of cadres above the division level, with the director of the political department also attending, to conscientiously study and discuss the documents of the 12th CPC Congress in order to deepen their understanding. In order to guide even better in the second stage the study of the documents in the whole unit, the meeting also invited organizations and cadres in charge of propaganda and theory of offices above the division level. While systematically studying the documents of the 12th CPC Congress, the meeting emphasized comprehending the historical status and important significance of the 12th CPC Congress and defined the fighting objective of the congress. They had a firm belief that socialist cause will inevitably win and also made clear that the new party constitution is the new program in party building in the new historical period, made clear the characteristics and content of the new party constitution, had firm communist faith and strengthened their sense of responsibility to the party. On this basis, they studied and arranged the concrete measures for the study, propagation, and implementation of the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress.

CSO: 4005/1342

SICHUAN PLANS TO STUDY CPC CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

OW172222 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1427 GMT 14 Sep 82

[Excerpts] Chengdu, 14 Sep (XINHUA)--The vast numbers of party members, cadres and people in Sichuan warmly celebrated the triumphant conclusion of the 12th National CPC Congress and sincerely support the party's new central leading organ. They are determined to rally closely around the party's Central Committee and work hard for realizing the magnificent goals set at the congress.

In studying and discussing the documents of the congress, Standing Committee members of the Sichuan Provincial CPC Committee were of the view that the programmatic document of the congress fully reflect the fundamental interests of the party and the people and enriched and developed the party's correct line adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and that they are the result of combining Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the reality of the new historical period and an ideological weapon guiding the whole party and the whole (?people) in creating a great new situation.

They said: The congress set three examples for us: the combination of theory with reality, the cooperation and the succession of the new cadre from the old, and unity. Party committees at all levels in Sichuan must pay close attention to the study and propagation of the 12th National CPC Congress and seriously organize their implementation. [sentence as received]

On 14 September, the Sichuan Provincial CPC Committee issued a circular to party committees at all levels throughout the country entitled "Views on the Arrangement for the Study and Propagation of the Party's 12th National Congress Documents" and made concrete arrangement for the study and propagation of the documents at the first stage.

Since 1980, over 4,500 young and middle-aged cadres have been promoted to leading posts at and above the county level in Sichuan one after the other. In the course of study, many of them pledged not to let the party and the people down. Gu Jinchi, vice governor of Sichuan, said: Many veteran comrades went through fire and water for the party's cause during the difficult revolutionary period. Today, after they stepped to the econd

line in the interests of the party, they continue to help the new cadres and make nothing of the hardships. I am deeply moved. As a new cadre who was just promoted to the leadership of the provincial government, I am faced with the urgent task of setting a strict demand on myself, modestly learning from the veteran comrades, seriously investigating and studying, forging close ties with the masses and striving to become a qualified cadre.

CSO: 4005/1342

GUIZHOU PLA CONGRESS OF PROGRESSIVES OPENS

HK180622 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 17 Sep 82

[Summary] A Guizhou Military District congress of progressive PLA and militia units and individuals opened in Guiyang on 17 September. Leading comrades of the province attended. Leading comrades of the organs of Kunming Military Region were also present.

Tian Huayi, deputy political commissar of the military district, presided at the opening ceremony. (Tang Chunhai), deputy commander, delivered the opening speech. He said: "The tasks of this congress are to study and implement the 12th party congress documents, sum up and exchange achievements and experiences in launching a drive for progressive PLA and militia units and individuals in the past 2 years, establish typical examples, commend the progressives, and further mobilize the cadres, fighters and militia of the military district to carry out in depth the drive for progressive units and individuals. They should work in concert to do a thoroughly good job in building the PLA units and putting militia work on a sound basis in three aspects."

Li Tinggui, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee and vice governor, spoke at the ceremony. Ren Ying, a deputy to the 12th party congress and commander of the military district, then conveyed the spirit of the 12th party congress.

CSO: 4005/1342

XIZANG CIRCULAR URGES STUDYING CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

OW171207 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1227 GMT 14 Sep 82

[Excerpts] Lhasa, 14 Sep (XINHUA)--The victorious close of the 12th CPC National Congress and the new central leading bodies elected by the 1st Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee have inspired the people of all nationalities in Xizang. Party members, cadres and the people in general expressed the belief that if they rally still closer around the party Central Committee and conscientiously carry out the various tasks and policies formulated by the 12th congress, they will certainly create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, and the party and state and Xizang will further prosper.

In the past few days, the people and party members of all nationalities of all offices, organizations and basic-level units have jubilantly and excitedly studied and discussed the 12th congress documents. A high tide in studying the documents was surging. The Xizang Autonomous Regional CPC Committee has recently issued a circular in the Tibetan and Han languages to all places of Xizang, calling on party committees at all levels to earnestly organize party members and cadres to study well the 12th congress documents, first doing a general studying and then singling out special subjects for study and discussion in order to really understand the essence of these documents. The circular also requires all prefectures, cities and counties to run cadre training classes to train a main force for conducting the mass study and publicity activities. The Xizang Regional and Lhasa Municipal CPC Committees already have held report meetings to assist over 1,000 cadres at and above the county level in studying documents. The leading comrades of the Xizang Regional CPC Committee, the Standing Committee of the Xizang Regional People's Congress and the Xizang Regional People's Government were the first to study these documents and, in light of the practical condition of Xizang, discussed how to implement the guidelines of the 12th congress.

Sun Yunzhou, deputy director of the party school of Xizang Autonomous Region, said that the party Central Committee has smoothly effected the cooperation and transition between new and old cadres--this is of great significance in the history of the development of the international communist movement. He said that although his school had trained over 2,000 cadres of Tibetan and Han nationalities in the past few years, it should make still greater efforts to train more cadres so that young cadres--Tibetan ones in particular--will soon mature.

CSO: 4005/1342

GUANGZHOU TRADE UNIONS STUDY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

HK201218 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 18 Sep 82

[Text] Yesterday the Guangzhou Municipal Federation of Trade Unions convened a meeting of its leading cadres at or above the county level to study the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress. Comrades who attended the study meeting expressed their determination to make the trade unions set up strong ties between the party and the masses of workers. They held that the party's 12th congress documents represented the fundamental interests and the will of the working class. They said: We must seriously study and implement these documents.

Participants pointed out that the trade unions should take the major responsibility for building socialist spiritual civilization. When organizing workers to study the congress documents, trade unions at all levels should link the study with publicizing the advanced figures and their advanced mentality. They should hold high the banner of communist ideology and lead the workers in the whole city to struggle as the main force in the building of material civilization and as the vanguard in the building of spiritual civilization.

CSO: 4005/1342

GUANGZHOU PLA UNITS RELAY CPC CONGRESS SPIRIT

HK210625 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 18 Sep 82

[Text] After returning to their units, the delegates of the Guangzhou PLA units to the 12th CPC National Congress have conscientiously relayed, explained, publicized and implemented the congress spirit by various methods, greatly inspiring the broad masses of cadres and soldiers.

On 15 September, as soon as they returned to Guangzhou, Commander of the Guangzhou PLA units Wu Kehua and Political Commissar Wang Meng, both delegates to the 12th CPC National Congress, called leading cadres together and spoke glowingly to them of the great significance of the congress. At the same time, they worked out measures for studying, relaying and implementing the congress spirit.

Yesterday morning, the Guangzhou PLA units held a solemn meeting to relay the congress spirit. After relating the grand occasion of the congress to the meeting, Comrade Wang Meng said: "The 12th CPC National Congress set a firm ideological line of Marxism for our [word indistinct], realized the cooperation of elderly and young cadres and the succession of the old by the new and attained an unprecedented unity within the party. The party is full of promise. By summing up both the positive and negative experiences of China's socialist revolution and construction over the last two decades, the congress set forth grand objectives and fighting programs in light of China's specific conditions. Our socialist modernization cause is full of promise."

"With Comrade Deng Xiaoping being elected chairman of the CPC Central Military Commission and a large number of veteran proletarian revolutionaries taking command of our army," he said, "it is greatly hopeful that the PLA can be built into a modern and regularized army."

At the meeting, Comrade Wu Kehua said: "The central leading organs elected at the congress is a leading body enjoying popular confidence, a powerful command trusted by the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities. We, the cadres and soldiers of the PLA, resolutely support the new party central authorities. We are determined to do a good job in building our troops in accordance with the congress spirit."

For the last few days, the delegates of the Guangzhou PLA units to the 12th CPC National Congress also went to grassroots units and the border posts and reported the grand occasion and great significance of the congress to the broad masses of cadres, soldiers, staff members and their dependents, making the congress spirit known to everybody.

Through studying the congress spirit, cadres and soldiers of the PLA units enthusiastically expressed their determination to unify their thinking and actions on the basis of the congress spirit, closely rally around the new party Central Committee and strive to create a new situation in building the army.

CSO: 4005/1342

HENAN DELEGATES DISCUSS HU YAOBANG'S REPORT

OW170634 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1614 GMT 11 Sep 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 11 Sep (XINHUA)--During the 12th CPC National Congress, delegates from Henan conscientiously discussed the tasks for economic construction and the party Central Committee's grand target of quadrupling the annual output value of industry and agriculture within the next 20 years. They indicated that in doing their work from now on, they will concentrate their efforts to achieve this aim and bring about a new situation in socialist construction.

Delegate Dai Suli said: To advance economic construction, the party has set forth correct strategic steps, targets, emphases and policies for quadrupling the annual output value of industry and agriculture by the end of this century. This is a grand and encouraging objective that can certainly be realized. First, we have a strong party Central Committee that is capable of handling complex situations. This fact has been verified by our practice since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. This party Central Committee will certainly be able to lead the whole party in carrying out the task of effecting a new situation. Second, we already have a very good position from which we can continue our advance. The situation in agriculture is very good. It is ascending, and there is great potential for development. There are over 15,000 industrial enterprises in our province, and their potential is very great. Third, we have abundant resources for the state to establish key projects in our province. In agriculture, bases for grain production can be set up. The development of diversified undertakings is also promising. Coal mining, the petrochemical industry and electric power are being developed. Fourth, science education is being strengthened. Our grand objective will certainly be realized as long as we resolutely implement the party Central Committee's line, principles and policies and carry out the four tasks as pointed out in Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech.

Delegate Li Baoguang put forward a suggestion on how to develop industrial production. She said that to do so, it is necessary to solve the following four problems: (1) While making use of existing industrial enterprises, efforts should be made to renovate and tap the potential of old enterprises. (2) It is necessary to readjust the industrial structure, the product mix and the strategic distribution of industry in accordance with the specific

conditions in each area and the demands of the market so as to produce readily marketable products. Each area should make good use of its favorable conditions, bring its superiority into play, develop its strong points and avoid its shortcomings. (3) Serious efforts should be made to readjust and train cadres and workers and build a contingent of cadres, staff members and workers who are really capable of modernizing industry. (4) It is necessary to reform the organization system and develop collective enterprises.

Delegate Zhu Xia said: Comrade Hu Yaobang reported that "it is China's firm stratetic principle to persevere in a policy of opening to the outside world and expanding economic and technological exchanges with foreign countries in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit." In view of the realities in Henan, I feel that in the past we did not do enough to promote economic and technological exchanges with foreign countries. Some people described the use of foreign funds and the importation of technology as usury. That is why we were afraid to deal with foreign countries. In 1980 and 1981, we carried out 6 cooperation projects on a trial basis. From now on we will sum up our experiences and adopt measures to expand economic and technological exchanges with foreign countries.

CSO: 4005/1342

HUNAN MILITARY DISTRICT URGES STUDY OF CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

HK200733 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 18 Sep 82

[Text] On the morning of 17 September more than 2,000 commanders and fighters of the PLA units under the Hunan Provincial Military District held a rally to convey and implement the spirit of the 12th party congress.

At the meeting, (?Lu Wenxin), delegate to the congress and political commissar of the provincial military district, spoke of the grand occasion of the party congress and of the meeting's spirit. In addition, he also, on behalf of the standing committee of the CPC committee of the provincial military district, made arrangements for the study and implementation of the 12th party congress documents, calling on all commanders and fighters of the PLA units under the provincial military district to conscientiously study congress documents with a view to unifying thinking and understanding in line with the party congress spirit, and to make greater efforts in the building of the PLA units under the provincial military district and of militia units so that they can win new merit in defending the motherland and creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/1342

HUNAN MEETINGS CONVEY 12TH PARTY CONGRESS SPIRIT

HK180601 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Sep 82

[Excerpts] The Hunan Provincial CPC Committee held meetings of party members and cadres at and above section-level in the provincial organs in the morning and afternoon of 17 September to convey and implement the spirit of the 12th party congress. Mao Zhiyong, Wan Da, Zhou Li, Sun Guozhi, Jiao Linyi, Zhao Chuqi, Wang Zhiguo, and Dong Zhiwen, principal responsible comrades of the provincial CPC committee, and Yin Changmin, an alternate member of the CPC Central Committee who is in Changsha, attended the meetings. Also present were other leading comrades of the provincial CPC committee and responsible comrades of the provincial people's congress standing committee, government, and CPPCC. The two meetings were presided over by provincial CPC committee Second Secretary Wan Da and Secretary Sun Guozhi. Provincial CPC committee First Secretary Mao Zhiyong and Secretary Jiao Linyi made reports to the meetings conveying the spirit of the congress.

The reports of Mao Zhiyong and Jiao Linyi were in six parts: 1) Summary of the congress; 2) achievements and importance of the congress; 3) the correct program for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization; 4) the correct program for party building in the new period; 5) carry out cooperation of new and old cadres and replacement of old by young in the party's highest leadership stratum; 6) strive to achieve the three fundamental turns for the better.

Mao Zhiyong and Jiao Linyi said: Fifty Hunan deputies and six alternate deputies attended the congress, and three others attended as observers. We comrades are very happy and honored to have been able to attend this important congress, which attracted world attention. We also profoundly feel how great our responsibilities are.

Comrades Mao Zhiyong and Jiao Linyi said: Comrade Hu Yaobang's report delivered on behalf of the 11th Central Committee, which was approved by the congress, stipulated the correct program for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and a whole series of principles and policies for doing so. In our study, we should concentrate on understanding and grasping the following main points: 1) Achieving fundamental turns for the better in the state's financial and economic situation, in social order and in party work style is the main target for endeavor in the

next 5 years; 2) promoting an all-round upsurge in the socialist economy is the cardinal task in creating a new situation in all fields; 3) socialist spiritual civilization centered on communist ideology is an important characteristic of socialism; 4) the importance of establishing a high degree of socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist legal system; 5) the passages on developing relations between different nationalities, strengthening the broad patriotic united front, striving to promote the great cause of reunifying the motherland, including Taiwan, and developing external relations.

In the fourth part of their reports, Comrades Mao Zhiyong and Jiao Linyi introduced the new party constitution adopted by the 12th party congress. The party organizations throughout the province must currently whip up an upsurge of studying and implementing the new party constitution and make full ideological and organizational preparations for the party rectification about to be planned by the Central Committee.

They said: We must understand that accomplishing the three fundamental turns for the better stipulated by the congress is the basic demand of the correct program and principle of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization stipulated by the congress. It is the main hallmark for accomplishing the tasks put forward by the congress. The task of accomplishing the demands put forward by the congress is glorious and arduous. The whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country not only need to unite as one organizationally and carry out persistent and unwearying efforts; they also need to uphold ideologically the correct principles put forward by the 12th party congress, and oppose erroneous leftist and rightist trends that run counter to these principles.

We must grasp organizing the study of the 12th party congress documents as a major matter and do a good job of it. In study, we must first make efforts to master the basic spirit of the documents, and study in connection the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, to unify our thinking. On this basis, we should as far as possible solve problems in connection with the reality of our area, department or unit. The Central Committee has demanded that we spend half a year, from now until the first half of next year, in organizing well the study of the 12th party congress documents. This is very essential. Through study, the party members and masses should enhance understanding of the party's program for endeavor, and heighten their awareness and their confidence in our cause. At the same time, we should, through study, overcome certain erroneous ideas and unhealthy trends that do not accord with the spirit of the 12th party congress.

We hope that the comrades of the provincial organs, especially the responsible party members, will take the lead in promoting this study. We should apply the spirit of the 12th party congress to unify our thinking, guide our action, and lead and unite the party members and the masses to work hard together to achieve the great goal put forward by the 12th party congress.

The meetings were attended by 4,400 responsible cadres of the provincial organs.

CSO: 4005/1342 END

JPRS 82025

20 October 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 352

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82025

20 October 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 352

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Protests of Japanese Textbook Changes Examined
(Qin Mu; WEN HUI BAO, 6 Aug 82) 1

PARTY AND STATE

Study of Draft Revision of Constitution Encouraged
(LIAONING RIBAO, 20, 24 Jul 82) 4

Abiding by Law, by Li Fan
Rights of Returned Overseas Chinese, by Zhang Yuming
Leadership System Reform, by Shu Chang
Policy Toward Nationalities, by Bai Lianke
National Defense Provisions, Wu Jinshan
Professors, Students Participate, by Li Xiangjun

Establishment of Party Propaganda Network Encouraged
(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 27 Jul 82) 9

Party Members Urged To Overcome Shortcomings
(Yang Zhenwu; LIAONING RIBAO, 26 Jul 82) 10

Mao Essay on Party's United Front Policy Discussed
(Liu Lili; GANSU RIBAO, 27 Jul 82) 12

Journal Discusses 'Several Theoretical Problems'
(GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT],
13 Jan 82) 16

Criticism, Self-Criticism
Critical Article

Spirit of Patriotism Encouraged
(Song Lukun; DAZHONG RIBAO, 29 Jul 82) 24

Briefs
Advanced Party Branch Assembly 27

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Uses of Guerrilla War in Flatlands Viewed
(Yuan Zhiliang; DAZHONG RIBAO, 12 Jul 82) 28

Rally To Commend Advanced Militia Cadres
(Li Guozhen and Guan Guodong; ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 22 Jul 82) 30

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Problems in Training High-Level Specialists Discussed
(Yang Ruimin; RENMIN RIBAO, 22 Aug 82) 32

Ministry of Education Responds To Queries About College Military Training
(GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT], No 5, 82) 37

Implementation of Party Policy on Intellectuals Emphasized
(SICHUAN RIBAO, 7 Jul 82; SHAANXI RIBAO, 16 Jul 82).... 39

Chengdu First People's Hospital
Xian National Defense Industry System

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PROTESTS OF JAPANESE TEXTBOOK CHANGES EXAMINED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 6 Aug 82 p 2

[Essay by Qin Mu [4440 3668]: "The Bloody Page Cannot Be Torn Out"]

[Text] There are some people who are very good at playing with words and extricating themselves from responsibility. For instance, if someone steps on your foot he might say, "The top of your foot bumped into the bottom of my foot." This is the sort of thing I mean.

This sort of logic strikes us as both astonishing and despicable. Nevertheless, there are quite a lot of people in the world who can play these kinds of tricks. When the Japanese Education Ministry examined and approved the Japanese history textbooks for middle and elementary schools, in many places in the section concerning the history of Japanese aggression in China the word "aggression" was replaced with the world "advance" (a correct Chinese translation would be "enter"). The paragraphs in the textbooks concerning the great massacre carried out at that time by the Japanese aggressor forces in Nanjing have been deleted. Furthermore, the responsibility for the atrocities of the Nanjing massacre has been preposterously shifted to China. It is said that it was a consequence of resistance offered by the Chinese side.

China is a sovereign state. How could it allow a foreign aggressor force to wantonly "enter in"? Furthermore, after the "entering in," the Chinese are not allowed to resist. If they resist, then the country that is the victim of aggression must assume responsibility for the atrocities of a massacre subsequently carried out by the aggressors. What sort of logic is this?

This is the logic of militarist elements. It would appear that the ghost of militarism is still hiding in the noggins of some people in the Japanese Education Ministry and is still wandering through the halls of the Japanese Education Ministry.

This is indeed an extended application of the logic of "The top of your foot bumped into the bottom of my foot." If this sort of "argument" can be accepted, then truth can be thrown into the trash basket. The murderer may say with perfect assurance and with eloquence, "That guy just bumped into the blade of my sword with his neck."

By falsifying the middle and elementary school textbooks, distorting history, and shifting responsibility away from the militarists, the Japanese Education Ministry is cheating the youth of Japan. This sort of behavior is not only opposed by the people of the country which was the victim of aggression, but is also condemned by many honest Japanese. This is quite natural.

Japanese militarist elements committed monstrous crimes against the Chinese people. In the days to come, no matter how close the Chinese people and the Japanese people become as they go forward on the road of friendship, this bloody page of history cannot be torn out and destroyed. The Nanjing massacre of that time was one of the most barbaric atrocities to be committed by aggressors in world history. People of our generation lived through the period of the war of resistance. At that time a picture book recording the crimes of the Japanese aggressors was widely circulated throughout the Chinese rear areas. (The aggressor forces swaggered around and made a show of their strength, taking pride in their atrocities. They took photographs as souvenirs, thereby furnishing the materials for those picture books.) I have seen that picture book. The "Record of the Atrocities of the Japanese Bandits' Aggression in China" has scenes of the bayoneting of children, as well as scenes of brandishing human heads for photographs. It also has scenes of the "killing contest." Two aggressor soldiers had a killing contest, and the one who set the record killed over 100. When this historical episode is mentioned it not only arouses the indignation of Chinese, but also arouses the indignation of righteous Japanese. They hate the militarist elements among their own people! Whoever does not hate them, but covers up atrocities for these elements and absolves them of guilt--such a person is colluding with militarist elements and revealing his own particularly low moral character.

Just at the time when the Japanese militarists were stepping up their aggressive moves, Lu Xun once hoped that at some time in the future there would be a historical turning point. He wrote a poem expressing his hope, "Having passed through a kalpa and brothers remain; they meet with a smile that extinguishes amity and enmity." After several decades there has finally appeared a situation in which the Chinese people and the Japanese people get along in a friendly way and have intimate contacts. And the precondition for the appearance of this kind of situation is introspection by the Japanese authorities on historical crimes, and the resolute struggle of the broad masses of the Japanese people against militarist elements. In the relations between the Chinese and Japanese peoples, these last years have seen many deeds of profound friendship which are deeply moving and worthy of song and praise. The broad masses of the peoples of both China and Japan have a responsibility to cherish and develop this kind of friendship which has crystallized in the new historical era. It is indeed a cause for rejoicing to see many Japanese friends rising up together with the Chinese people to censure the covering up by certain people of the crimes of militarist elements.

There are a considerable number of Japanese who, having committed certain crimes during the war of aggression against China, have learned from history and are sincerely repentant. Quite a few times there have been Japanese who have come to Shanghai or Guangzhou and have looked back on the past and felt extremely remorseful. In the deep of the night they have thought about the past and the future, have cried their eyes out, and on their own initiative apologized to Chinese friends. At one time, the person in charge of the Fushun War Crimes Administrative Office in the northeast was paying a return visit to Japan. Quite a few Japanese who had formerly been imprisoned at Fushun and who had been educated by this person in charge, came one after another from various places to Tokyo to visit him and to express the sincerity of their repentance. This is sincerity which can be trusted. In the Northeast Martyrs Memorial Hall in Harbin there are many historical materials concerning acts of heroism in the war of resistance and the atrocities of the Japanese forces during their aggression in China on display. When Japanese friends visited Harbin after liberation we did not, at first, think of arranging visits to it. However, they asked to visit it on their own initiative. Afterward they made the suggestion. "This exhibition is very good, but we hope that you might add to the exhibits some materials concerning our Japanese antimilitarist heroes. Let the deeds of the revolutionaries of both countries be exhibited together." This kind of attitude is open and aboveboard, and shows utter devotion. Furthermore, when General Yang Jingyu gave his life for his country in the war of resistance against Japan, the Japanese military performed an autopsy to determine what he had been eating in his last days to stay alive and carry on the struggle. When the Japanese military physician who was ordered to do the autopsy saw that the stomach of this Chinese hero of the war of resistance against Japan contained only tree bark, grass roots, and cotton, he was moved to tears. Subsequently, after the liberation of the northeast, this Japanese military physician again visited Harbin. He also asked on his own initiative to pay his respects at the Northeast Revolutionary Martyrs Memorial Hall. He pondered for a long time the portrait of the martyr Yang Jingyu. Why is it that some Japanese make no attempt to conceal the aggression which Japanese militarism carried out against China in those years, while, on the other hand, other Japanese try by hook or by crook to distort history and perpetrate a cover-up? It is simply this: the first kind of person has realized his errors and repented, while the second kind of person has not yet realized his errors and repented. With some of the going so far as to revive the old dream of the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere," it will definitely stimulate people's vigilance.

It was not only the people of China and the peoples of many other countries who suffered grievously under Japanese militarism: the Japanese people themselves suffered. During the last 10 or 20 years Japan has enjoyed economic development, but for many people the memories are probably still fresh of the period right after military defeat. Half-breed illegitimate children ran about in the streets and alleys, people queued up to buy the leftover food of the U.S. military, and large groups of university students sold peanuts in the streets. Why on earth would anyone want to prettify the militarism which brought such severe calamities to his own people, as well as to other peoples! Admist the roar of condemnation at home and abroad, we are just rubbing our eyes and waiting to see how those responsible in Japan are going to explain themselves to the people of the world.

12187
CSO: 4005/1213

PARTY AND STATE

STUDY OF DRAFT REVISION OF CONSTITUTION ENCOURAGED

Abiding by Law

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by Li Fan [2621 9400], Assistant Director of the Legislative Office, the Provincial People's Congress: "Establishing a New Social Style of Regarding Lawabiding as Honorable and Lawbreaking as Shameful--Something Learned from the Study of the Draft Revision of the Constitution"]

[Text] The draft revision of our country's constitution embodies the broadest and highest degree of democracy to be enjoyed by the overwhelming majority of the people. The draft constitution stipulates: "All rights of the PRC belong to the people." "The people have the right to administer the affairs of the state, economic and cultural affairs and all social affairs in accordance with the provisions of the law and through the various proper channels and formalities." Representatives elected in democratic elections by the people exercise the political power, organize the government and administer the state, and in addition supervise, with the right of dismissal, the personnel of the government at all levels. According to the principles of socialist democracy and of the socialist legal system, the draft constitution includes realistic and clear provisions on the basic rights of the citizens, having an additional number of new articles and expanding the democratic rights of the people. The 1954 Constitution stipulated: "All citizens are legally equal." Article 32 of the present draft constitution changed the "legally" into "before the law," to clearly convey the idea of equality in the application of the law, i.e., that no organization and no individual may have privileges above and beyond the constitution and the law. The draft constitution also added certain provisions that truly guarantee the personal freedom of the citizens, by, for instance, prohibiting unlawful detention, or to deprive or restrict a citizen's personal freedom in any other unlawful way, and by prohibiting violation of the dignity of a citizen, prohibiting all methods of humiliating and caluminating a citizen, prohibiting unlawful search and entry into a citizen's residence, etc.

The rights of a citizen are inseparable from his duties. The state guarantees the lawful freedom and rights of every citizen, which must not be infringed upon by any organization or individual, but at the same time a citizen must not, in the exercise of his freedoms and rights, injure the interests of the state,

society and the collective, and also not the freedoms and rights of any other citizen. In our country there are no rights without obligations and also no obligations without rights. Some rights of the citizens, e.g. the right to work, the right to an education, etc., are rights per se but without obligations.

In the course of the discussions of the draft constitution, a universal education of the masses on a grand scale on the socialist legal system must be carried out to study the law, understand it and observe it. We must exert great efforts to praise and support the fine people and fine deeds of those who conscientiously observe the constitution and the law, cherish and safeguard public property, observe work discipline, observe public order, observe public morality and have the courage to fight against evildoers and evil deeds. We shall establish among the broad masses a new social style of considering law-abiding as honorable and lawbreaking as shameful.

Rights of Returned Overseas Chinese

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by Zhang Yuming [1728 5148 2494], Deputy Chairman of the Provinical Overseas Chinese Federation and Professor of the Shenyang Agricultural College: "The Draft Constitution Expresses the Innermost Thoughts and Feelings of the Overseas Chinese and Returning Overseas Chinese"]

[Text] The draft of the revised constitution sums up the lessons from our historical experiences since the establishment of our government and embodies the basic rights of the whole people of all nationalities. It expresses also the innermost thoughts and feelings of the numerous returning overseas Chinese and their family members.

Our party has always shown solicitude toward the overseas Chinese and their relatives. As early as during the first revolutionary civil war, Comrade Mao Zedong expressed, while at the revolutionary base of Ruijin, his will to protect the overseas Chinese and to support their return to China. Under the extremely difficult conditions of the war of resistance against Japan, the Association of Returned Overseas Chinese (the predecessor of the All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese) was founded on an equal basis with the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the All-China Women's Association and the Communist Youth League. The Common Programme of the early years of the PRC and our first Constitution of 1954 stipulated explicitly: "The PRC protects the just rights and interests of the overseas Chinese." After the smashing of the "gang of four," when order was restored out of chaos, the party returned to its policy concerning the overseas Chinese, and the overseas Chinese, the returning overseas Chinese and their relatives gained a new life in political respects. The Federation of Overseas Chinese was subsequently restored and began again to fully play its role. For the protection of the legitimate rights and interests of the returning overseas Chinese and their relatives, the present draft constitution added provisions which are more complete than those in the 1954 and 1975 Constitutions, and which fully reflect the aspirations of the overseas Chinese, returning overseas Chinese and their relatives. The cadres of our Federation of Overseas Chinese are bound to exert greater efforts to win

the support and cooperation of all departments for the work of the Federation, to bring into full play the functions of this people's organization, the Federation for Overseas Chinese, to unite and establish contact with the numerous overseas Chinese, returning overseas Chinese and their relatives and have them maintain the warm feelings of patriotism toward their country and their native places, to make even greater contributions toward building the "two civilizations," toward the early return of Taiwan to the mothercountry, toward achieving the great undertaking of uniting the fatherland and in the international struggle against hegemonism.

Leadership System Reform

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jul p 2

[Article by Shu Chang [5289 2545]: "A Major Reform in Our Country's Leadership System"]

[Text] The draft of the revised constitution stipulates that the following officials, if reelected, may continue to serve, but for no more than two consecutive terms: the chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, its vice-chairman, the state chairman and the vice-chairman, the premier and vice premiers of the State Council, the members of the State Council, the chairman of the Central Military Commission, the president of the Supreme People's Court and the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate. This is a major reform in our country's leadership system. It is a mark of increased perfection of our socialist legal system and a realistic step toward a high degree of socialist democracy.

The three preceding constitutions of our country had no such provision. Owing to the historical conditions prevailing at that time, the 1975 and 1978 Constitutions show very serious defects. The 1954 Constitution suffered from a lack of social experience and was deficient in that it had no limits for the terms of office of the state's leadership personnel. It stipulated, for instance, that "the terms of office may be extended under special circumstances," but neither defined the "special circumstances," nor placed any specific lime limits on such extensions. Everybody knows that later the terms of office of the state leadership personnel became such of a system of "perpetuity."

According to the stipulations of the draft constitution, the state's leaders cannot serve for more than 10 years, regardless of the individuals' seniority, prestige and abilities. This means that at most every 10 years some persons will retire from their leadership positions and some persons will newly assume these posts. Everybody will agree that this is a rational and orderly process, which will prevent the occurrence of a personality cult and its accompanying evils, and it will also [help] us to overcome and preclude future bureaucratism.

Policy Toward Nationalities

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by Bai Lianke [4101 6647 4430], Teacher of Mongolian Nationality at the Fourth Middle School of Chaoyang City: "The Draft of the Revised Constitution Embodies the Party's Policy Toward Nationalities"]

[Text] Our country is a unified country of different nationalities and the provisions in the draft constitution concerning nationalities give full expression to the concern of the party and the state for the various minority nationalities.

The draft constitution upholds the policy of self-government for the minority nationality areas and expands the autonomy in the minority self-governing districts. It provides for great developments in the various enterprises in the minority nationality areas and affirms in legal form that the position of minority district chairman, prefecture and county chairmen be filled by members of the minority. It also assures government assistance to the minority nationality areas for the training of cadres of all ranks, of specialists and of technical workers of all kinds from among the members of the minority nationality. This is of great significance for the development of the autonomous minority nationality regions and is also greatly welcomed by the minority people themselves.

The historical facts prove that the party's policy of consistently upholding the equality of the minority people, of uniting with them and of mutual assistance is the fundamental guarantee for success in the various enterprises in the autonomous minority nationality regions. Only by carrying out within our unified state a system of self-government in the minority nationality regions, can we fend off aggressive and subversive activities from abroad and ensure common prosperity for the state as well as for the minority people.

National Defense Provisions

Shengyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by Wu Jinshan [0124 6855 1472]: "An Important Measure to Strengthen National Defense"]

[Text] The provisions in the draft of the revised constitution which increase the state's guarantees for the livelihood of disabled armymen, which provide pensions for relatives of fallen soldiers and give special privileges to family members of armymen, fully manifest the superiority of the socialist system and at the same time constitute an important measure to strengthen our national defensive strength.

According to the provisions of our Law on Military Service, all young men of the designated age group have to join the military forces to defend the fatherland. Caring for the men in the military service, giving privileges to their family members, providing pensions for the families of fallen soldiers, caring for armymen who became disabled during their service period in the course of

their duties or due to military action, all these measures are the glorious tradition of our party. The fact that care and certain privileges for disabled servicemen and for family members of fallen soldiers are items entered in detail in the constitution, brings peace of mind to family members of men now serving with the armed forces and peace of mind to the armymen in the service, and this is of important strategical significance to inspire the large number of our officers and soldiers to speed up the modernization, regularization and revolutionization of our military forces, as it will also be of significance in any future war against hegemonistic or imperialistic aggression.

Professors, Students Participate

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by Li Xiangjun [2621 0686 6511]: "The Professors and Students at Liaoning University Actively Participate in the Discussion of the Draft of the Revised Constitution"]

[Text] After publication of the draft of the revised constitution, the professors and students of Liaoning University engaged in enthusiastic study and discussion of the draft. The propaganda department of the party committee repeatedly organized lecture meetings to give supplemental guidance to the different departments, so as to convey a clearer understanding to the teaching and administrative staff, workers and students as to why the constitution needed revision and also of the main content of the draft revision, its basic spirit and special features.

In the course of the studies and discussions, the university repeatedly invited party members, cadres, professors, workers, as well as returned overseas Chinese and representatives of democratic parties to give symposia, and elicited extensively various opinions on the draft constitution from the professors and students of the whole university. The draft of the revised constitution fully affirms the function of the intellectuals, establishes the status of the intellectuals and is a great encouragement to professors and students. During the discussions some concrete opinions on the draft of the revised constitution were put forward. Everyone agreed that the discussion by the whole people will certainly bring about a great fundamental law that will accord with the demands of our country's new historical era.

9808
CSO: 4005/1182

PARTY AND STATE

ESTABLISHMENT OF PARTY PROPAGANDA NETWORK ENCOURAGED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Notice Issued on Gradually Restoring and Establishing Propaganda Network Throughout Province"]

[Text] The Zhejiang Provincial CPC Committee recently issued a notice calling on party committees at all levels throughout the province to pay special attention to discovering and training propaganda personnel. The notice also called on them to enlarge their propaganda forces and gradually to restore and establish a party propaganda network throughout the province.

The notice set down that local, municipal, county, district and commune party committees as well as party committees above the level equivalent to communes should all install a certain number of speakers. Party committee secretaries and propaganda department directors (propaganda committee members) are considered ex officio speakers. The main tasks of speakers are to report regularly to cadres, propagandists and the masses on domestic and international situations and projects, to explain and publicize major party documents, to explain party principles, and policies, to give guidance in studying political theory, to respond to questions introduced by the people and to criticize the various mistaken ideological trends. Party branches at the basic level must install propagandists. In basic level urban and rural party branches propaganda committee members are considered propagandists. Branches should select a certain number of propagandists from among party members, league members and activists according to their actual needs. The duties of propagandists are to focus on the central tasks of the party under the leadership of party branches, to make use of all propaganda tools and propaganda fronts, to conduct frequent propaganda instruction for the masses and promptly to make known the opinions and needs of the masses. In the latter half of this year each region, municipality and county must set up a propaganda network extending from individual sites to the entire area. They must conscientiously set up one or two pilot plans in districts, communes, towns, factories and mines. Furthermore, they must gain experiences and strive to install speakers and propaganda teams everywhere by the first half of next year.

9864
CSO: 4005/1199

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY MEMBERS URGED TO OVERCOME SHORTCOMINGS

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Yang Zhenwu [2799 2182 2976]: "Often Felt 'Shortcomings in the Revolution'"]

[Text] In April of 1949 Comrade Zhou Enlai said in his report to the First National CYL Congress: "Although I am a party member of 27 or 28 years standing and even though I have not committed many errors, everytime I start to talk about this I always feel that I have many shortcomings in my work on the revolution and that I have not done my work well or satisfactorily." Comrade Zhou Enlai devoted his entire life to working for the revolution. He is worthy of the people and the revolution yet he personally felt that he had "shortcomings in the revolution" and that his work was "not satisfactory." This fully embodies the lofty sentiment of a great proletarian revolutionary. He is a model who deserves to be studied by all the people throughout the country.

Feeling that one has "shortcomings in the revolution" is a noble spiritual condition. It reflects the true sentiments of a CPC member. When many of us joined the revolution we were still innocent children. Only with the nurturance of the party can we gradually come to comprehend a greater number of revolutionary truths and become revolutionary soldiers. Only if we review our process of reaching maturity can the idea of having "shortcomings in the revolution" spontaneously develop. Many comrades are working for the revolution with precisely this kind of feeling. Jiao Yulu [3542 5940 4389] once felt shame and distress because he was unable to lead the people in triumph over famine. Ignoring his sick condition, he personally drew up a blueprint for transforming Lankao's backwardness. At Nanjing Industrial College, the lecturer Wei Yu [7279 6877] felt that he had received much from the state but had contributed little in return. He studied abroad in West Germany for 3 years and lived frugally. He used money that he had saved up bit by bit to purchase large quanties of instruments and materials for his motherland. In Jin County a model CPC member, Qu Lichang [3255 4539 1603], compared himself to a mulberry leaf that lives off the people. He wanted to become a silkworm that spins silk for the people, so after retiring he participated in 9 years of collective labor without taking a single cent in payment.... These comrades all felt that they had "shortcomings in the

revolution" so they made every effort to achieve success worthy of the revolution. Modern socialist construction requires thousands upon thousands of fine comrades like these.

However, there are also certain party members who feel that they have "no shortcomings" in the revolution. They believe that "there is no meritorious service, there is only hard work and that there is no hard work, only exhaustion." Thus, their revolutionary will has waned and there has been an increase in bureaucratism and hedonism. Some are unwilling to do hard work and have drifted along, eating three square meals a day without doing any work. Others made use of the powers of their position to seek personal gain by pulling strings and securing advantages. Still others have had mental "shortcomings." They have always felt that they did much work for little pay. They approach work with a hired hand attitude of "work according to pay." They bargain and haggle with the party organization as if the party has shortchanged them. These people's greatest defect consists of the fact that individualism is rampant. They have reversed the relationship between the individual and the party. If they can recall their party training and instruction and compare the struggle of model and advanced workers on every battlefront, they should feel quite ashamed.

Only by constantly feeling that we have "shortcomings in the revolution" is it possible to continue to call for advances and have fewer "shortcomings" in the revolution. According to the concepts of dialectal materialism, those who are advanced have certain inadequacies and those who are less advanced have even more inadequacies. Even if people on each side did everything correctly, if they make strict demands on themselves they will always find "shortcomings." During the great undertaking of establishing "two civilizations," CPC members should study the model of Comrade Zhou Enlai and constantly think about their own "shortcomings" in the revolution. In this way they should spur on and arouse revolutionary fighting spirit. They must do good work with all their heart and all their might in order to fulfill their duties and responsibilities. We must not fail to live up to the party's nurturing and education and we must strive to have a clear conscience in this great era.

9864
CSO: 4005/1199

PARTY AND STATE

MAO ESSAY ON PARTY'S UNITED FRONT POLICY DISCUSSED

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Liu Lili [0491 0196 0196]: "A Reflection on Studying 'Forward to "The Communist Party Member" ': Both Uniting and Struggling is an Important Theory and Tactic of the United Front"]

[Text] "Forward to 'The Communist Party Member'" is an important essay written by comrade Mao Zedong on 4 October 1939. In that essay, comrade Mao Zedong advocated the necessity of correctly understanding the party's position and role in each historical period, especially its position and role in the new historical period; charified the party's political line and political mission of "building a Bolshevized Chinese Communist Party on a national scale that has a broad mass nature and is completely consolidated ideologically, politically, and organizationally"; summed up the lessons of our party's experience during the 18 years since its founding in 1921, especially the lessons of its relations with the bourgeois class during the Northern Expedition, the Agrarian Revolutionary War, and the War of Resistance Against Japan periods; and elaborated on the united front tactic of both uniting and struggling. Therefore, under today's historical conditions of our party adopting the policies of lifting restrictions on relations with the outside and carrying out internal economic reforms based on the needs of socialist modernization, conscientiously studying that essay, grasping the united front standpoint, principles, tactics, and methods, always maintaining a clear mind, maintaining the purity of communism, mastering and being adept in relations with the bourgeois class, and winning victory in the struggle between corrupt capitalist ideology and anti-corrupt socialist ideology have important actual significance.

Both uniting and struggling is an important principle of the united front. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the united front, the armed struggle, and party building were the three principal magic weapons used by the Chinese Communist Party to defeat the enemy during the Chinese Revolution. During those 18 years, the united front made up of the Chinese proletarian class, the bourgeois class, and the other classes was set up and developed principally during the first Great Revolution, the Agrarian Revolutionary War, and the initial phase of the War of Resistance Against Japan. An important conclusion may be derived from the laws verified by those three

historical phases: With regard to the question of the political party of the proletarian class forming a united front with the bourgeois class (especially the big bourgeoisie), it is necessary to resolutely and earnestly struggle on two fronts. On the one hand, it is necessary to oppose the error of ignoring the possibility of the bourgeois class participating, for a certain time and to a certain degree, in the revolutionary struggle. However, it is also necessary to oppose the error of regarding the programs, policies, ideologies, practices, etc., of the proletarian class and the bourgeois class as being identical, and ignoring their different principles. The former error is regarding the bourgeois class and the state capitalist bourgeoisie as being one in the same, and as a result ignoring the policy of forming a united front with the bourgeois class and doing all that is possible to maintain that united front. That is left-leaning closed-doorism. Tha latter error, however, is ignoring the fact that the bourgeois class (especially the big bourgeoisie) not only goes all-out to influence the petty bourgeois class and the peasants, but also goes all-out to influence the proletarian class and the Communist Party, in sparing no effort to eliminate the independent nature of the proletarian class and the Communist Party ideologically, politically, and organizationally; spares no effort to transform the proletarian class and the Communist Party into appendages of the political party of the bourgeois class; and spares no effort to cause the fruit of the revolution to in fact belong to the bourgeoisie and their party. It is ignoring the fact that when the revolution comes into conflict with the interests of the bourgeoisie and their party the bourgeois class (especially the big bourgeoisie) will appropriate the revolution. That is right-leaning opportunism. It is evident that both uniting with and struggling against the bourgeois class is an important united front principle that must be adhered to. It has been validated not only by the actualities of the democratic revolution but also by the actualities of the present new historical period of the socialist society. If that principle is abandoned we may either fail to mobilize and unite all forces in support of our country's enterprise of modernization, or else abandon our adherence to the four basic principles, ignore capitalism's corrosive ideological influence and the poisonous inroads of its life style, obscure the boundary between the proletarian class and the bourgeois class and between socialism and capitalism, and sabotage and set back the enterprise of socialist modernization now being carried out by our country.

Both uniting and struggling is a historical characteristic of the Chinese Revolution. The path of development of the Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party has passed through the complicated relationships of the formation of a united national front with the bourgeois class and, because of the breakup of that kind of united front, a serious armed struggle with the big bourgeoisie and their allies. That is a historical characteristic, a characteristic of the process of the colonial-semicolonial revolution, and is not part of the revolutionary history of any capitalist country. That historical characteristic was also determined by the characteristics of the Chinese Revolution itself, i.e. because China was a semicolonial, semifeudal country, was a country that was unevenly developed politically, economically, and culturally, and was a country with a large land area in which the semifeudal economy was predominant. That determined the nature, objects, motive force, scope, methods, principal forms, etc., of each stage of the Chinese

Revolution. For example, during the initial phase of the War of Resistance Against Japan period it no only determined that the nature of the revolution at that time was that of a democratic revolution of the bourgeois class, that the principal objects of the revolution were imperialism and feudalism, and that the basic motive forces of the revolution were the proletarian class, the peasant class, and the urban petty bourgeois class, with the participation of the national bourgeois class for a certain time and to a certain degree, but also determined that the principal struggle form of the Chinese Revolution was armed struggle. In the period of the new historical stage of the socialist society, although the circumstances of China and the situation of our party have undergone great changes the limitations and effects of that historical characteristic of the Chinese Revolution still exist and the united front is still a major magic weapon of our party in the new historical period, especially under the conditions of the adoption and implementation of the policies of lifting restrictions on external relations and carrying out internal economic reforms, because of the needs of socialist modernization. It is still necessary to adhere to and implement the important principle of both uniting with the bourgeois class and struggling against it, in order to resist the inroads of bourgeois ideology and guard against the degeneration and deterioration of our party and state. In view of the fact that the international bourgeois class still has only a vestige of influence in the exploiting classes in our country, they have not abandoned its attacks on socialism and the proletarian class, and always have a myriad of schemes to take advantage of all openings to, by means of political ideology and economic activity, corrupt and win over a few unstable elements within our ranks and people who have weak revolutionary will, trying in vain to take advantage of our country's socialist modernization to change our country's socialist nature and bring about the prophesy of "peaceful evolution" they have dreamed about. In that regard we must have clear minds and full understanding.

Both uniting and struggling is an important component of our party's political line, for because of the historical characteristics of the Chinese Revolution and the characteristics of the Chinese Revolution itself, our party's present building process and its Bolshevization process take place in extrensic, special circumstances. The party's defeat or victory, its retreat or advance, its contraction or expansion, and its development and consolidation cannot but be tied in with the relationship between it an the proletarian class. In referring to that problem, comrade Mao Zedong said, "When our party's political line deals correctly with the formation of a united front with the bourgeois class, or with the problem of being compelled to break up the united front, progress is made in its development, consolidation, and Bolshevization; but if it does not correctly deal with relations with the bourgeois class, our party's development, consolidation, and Bolshevization may take a step backward." Therefore, he said that "An important part of the political line of the Chinese Communist Party is the political line of both uniting with the bourgeois class and struggling against it. An important part of the party building of the Chinese Communist Party is developing and becoming steeled in the course of both uniting with

and struggling against the bourgeois class." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, pp 570-571.) If our party does not know how to unite with the bourgeois class at a certain time it cannot advance and the revolution cannot develop; and if our party does not know how to, while uniting with the bourgeois class, wage a resolute, earnest struggle against it, the party may disintegrate ideologically, politically, and organizationally, and the revolution may be defeated. Comrade Mao Zedong's brilliant exposition on that matter has not only been verified by past history, but in its basic spirit and principles is still a rare, profoundly enlightened, and important theory and tactic regarding our present analysis and study of the problem of class struggle in socialist society, and in dealing with the task of socialist modernization, launching a struggle against corrupt capitalist ideology, and carrying out socialist ideological education.

During the period of implementing the policies of lifting restrictions on relations with the outside and carrying out internal economic reforms, therefore, we must not forget the inherently corrupt, reactionary nature of the bourgeois class and the vestigal forces of the exploiting classes, which is obscured by the outward appearance of things, and cannot, once a problem arises, become alarmed, panic, and refrain from taking necessary action for fear of taking a slight risk. Suspicion and opposition have been proven by practice to be correct working methods.

5616
CSO: 4005/1254

PARTY AND STATE

JOURNAL DISCUSSES 'SEVERAL THEORETICAL PROBLEMS'

Criticism, Self-Criticism

Beijing GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT] in Chinese No 1, 13 Jan 82 pp 12-14

[Article by the Chinese Communist Party Committee of Nanjing University: "Use the Weapons of Criticism and Self-criticism Correctly--Discussion on How We Handle 'Several Theoretical Problems'"]

[Text] The fourth issue of our 1980 journal (philosophy, society, science edition) contained an article entitled "Several Theoretical Problems During the Latter State of the Socialist Reformation of Our Nation" (hereafter referred to as "Several Theoretical Problems"). Its basic ideas violated the four fundamental principles and involved serious political errors. After the article was printed, it had a negative impact both inside and outside the country and was severely criticized by many readers. We sought out the author several times in attempts to educate and help him, hoping that he could recognize his mistakes and carry out serious self-criticism. At the same time, we wanted to write collectively some critical articles to help reduce the negative impact of his article. But in the course of half a year, this problem remained unresolved. Only with the issuance of the "Resolution Concerning Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" and the spread of the spirit of the party Central Committee forum on problems on the ideological front did we obtain the potent weapons which enabled us to solve the problems.

There are objective reasons why this problem dragged on for 10 months. At the time it began, both in society and in our school, we lacked an atmosphere conducive to criticism and self-criticism. Because of the painful lessons of the past, the people were fearful of criticism. This is especially true of the intellectuals who feared a recurrence of the methods of cruel struggle and merciless attacks from the 10 years of unrest in the past. But, looking at it from our subjective perspective, the failure to solve the problem for so long a period reflected the weak and disorganized state of our leadership in ideological and political work. This was first manifested in our relatively simple assessment of the problem at the time, our general belief that the problem could be solved by talking to the author and having him engage in a little self-criticism; and again in our wait and see mentality, our waiting

for the author to gain understanding himself. Later, practice proved that that approach was unrealistic. This was because the appearance of the article "Several Theoretical Problems" was not a random, isolated occurrences and was not a problem of one man or of one article, but rather was a reflection of an ideological tide within society. For just this reason, when we began to suggest that we should criticize the mistaken ideas in this article, some people said that it "had no especially notable mistakes" and that criticism of the author amounted to "bludgeoning him," "rectification of a man," "not allowing one to speak," etc. Although only a small number of comrades held such viewpoints, their influence was not small. The major external reason that the author was slow in recognizing his own mistakes and in making self-criticism was that he received just such influence.

At the forum on problems on the ideological front, comrades with responsibility on the party Central Committee indicated that there existed in society a tendency toward bourgeois liberalization which violates the four fundamental principles; that there was a weak and disorganized state of affairs in which many comrades were powerless to struggle against this mistaken tendency, and that we had to correct these things firmly. This was a profound lesson for us, making us realize that the key to solving the problem of "Several Theoretical Problems" was for the party committees themselves to gain unified understanding first and for them to dare to carry out criticism of and needed struggle against this mistaken ideological tide. To do this, we promptly convened a standing committee meeting, seriously studied the documents of the party Central Committee, engaged in criticism and self-criticism and raised concrete ideas on how to go about handling "Several Theoretical Problems." On this foundation, we organized the entire body of cadres above the middle level and had them engage in study to unify further everyone's ideology and we requested that party organizations at every level within the school strengthen ideological and political work and overcome the weak and disorganized state of affairs. This was quickly followed by the transmission of related documents of the Central Committee of the party and the standing committee's ideas on how to handle "Several Theoretical Problems" to the entire body of party members and education and administrative workers. Through study, the thinking inside and outside of the party was gradually unified, and the concerns of the absolute majority of comrades were dispelled. And our comrades also gained a further understanding of the serious nature of the mistakes in "Several Theoretical Problems," and they were willing to work with us in criticizing the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalization. The author of "Several Theoretical Problems" also expressed a willingness to accept criticism and correct his mistakes. We grasped this opportunity by using the forum format to carry out criticism and self-criticism and solve the problem in a relatively complete way. Through this process, we deeply realized that carrying out criticism and self-criticism depends first on whether or not our party committee itself is strong and united and secondly on whether or not the absolute majority of the masses can join with us in criticizing bourgeois liberalization.

But just how to use the weapons of criticism and self-criticism correctly to carry out criticism of bourgeois liberalization is another question which needs to be addressed seriously. In accordance with the different reactions

of the masses to "Several Theoretical Problems," when launching our criticism, we first determined whether or not, after all, the article had any mistakes, and, since it had mistakes, whether or not they were mistakes in individual points raised or errors in principle within the basic concepts. In this way, we could prevent ourselves from going too far in our criticism and could prevent ourselves from beating around the bush in matters of technique, from failing to grasp the true nature of the problem and from falling short in our educational function. Whenever one points out an article's mistakes in principle, one should be fair and calm in laying out the facts and reasons. We carried out an analysis of the basic concepts of "Several Theoretical Problems" based on seeking the truth from facts and pointed out that the article committed serious political errors in regard to a series of important matters, such as party leadership, the socialist system and Mao Zedong Thought, and that its major harm lay in rejecting party leadership and the socialist system, producing extremely damaging objective effects.

In the analysis during the forum of the author's mistakes, everyone felt that it was first of all a problem of world outlook. He not only failed to resist the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalization that had arisen at the time, but he also felt a sympathetic response to it, systematizing and forming a theory incorporating all of society's mistaken notions, and writing this article reflecting the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization. One important reason behind this was that the author departed from the four fundamental principles and reached a completely mistaken understanding of the principle of emancipation of the mind which has been carried out since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee. He believed that it meant being daring, in great matters of principle, saying what others had not said before or what others dared not say and writing articles with "new ideas," offering "new breaktrhoughs in theory," "developing a school of one's own" so as to "amaze the world in a single stroke." The trouble was caused by individualism. Secondly, everyone felt that one of his big problems was that his study style was not correct and this was one of the causes of his errors. Ordinarily, failing to study systematically and penetratingly Marxism-Leninism, and latching onto mere fragments of writings and holding wide ranging discussions of them leads to improper conclusions. When evaluating great historical matters such as the cooperative agriculture transformation led by our party, using one-sided ideological methodology and arbitrarily drawing conclusions without doing any research leads to political mistakes. Everyone would do well to learn from this.

The key to whether or not criticism can play an active role and produce positive effects lies in whether or not the point of departure for the criticism is correct. Criticism within the ranks of the people must always begin with the hope of unity. We realize through practice that criticism which begins with the hope of unity is carried out first of all in order to help comrades who have made mistakes to correct the mistakes and overcome negative factors, while at the same time affirming the correct aspects of things and stimulating his initiative and avoiding the mistaken methods of the past when comrades who committed mistakes were condemned in metaphysical terms as being wholly devoid of merit and were bludgeoned to death. At the same time that we criticized the author of "Several Theoretical Problems"

and pointed out the serious errors in his article, we made an assessment based on seeking the truth from facts of his overall long-term performance, fully acknowledging that he received many years of party training, has been basically supportive of the party and that his past work has consistently been positive and dependable and that accomplishments have been made. Everyone enthusiastically hoped that he would draw lessons from his errors, seriously clarify his own thinking, work for the party from now on and not let these errors weigh on his mind. This sort of criticism is truly for others' good in the hope of achieving unity. It is both strictly serious and emotionally caring and uses both reasoning to arrest the mind and emotions to move the heart, and it brings good results. Secondly, correct criticism which begins with the hope of unity is manifested by leaders engaging in self-criticism and assuming responsibility, in the spirit of seeking the truth from facts, for the mistakes of the leaders. The article "Several Theoretical Problems" appeared in our Nanjing University journal and reflects the weakness and disorganization of our leadership in ideological and political work in the last period. Our guidance of and concern with the journal was inadequate and we were not detailed enough in our ideological and political work since we were unable to hold frequent ideological discussions with our comrades at the journal. These are all external factors which, to some extent, led to the author's commission of errors. We engaged in self-criticism in this regard and assumed the responsibility that we should have assumed. Therefore, the forum was helpful both in criticizing "Several Theoretical Problems" and its author and in criticizing our party committee. Our self-criticism in the spirit of seeking the truth from facts was a good lesson for the author, allowing him to sense that they party organization did not want to bring about his downfall, but rather hoped, through criticism and self-criticism, to educate him, correct his mistakes, summarize the lessons to be learned, strengthen unity and do a good job.

There is a process of ideological development that leads to a person's making a mistake, and, similarly, there is a process of recognition that occurs in correcting mistakes. Because of this, in helping a comrade who has made mistakes, we must be patient and not act with undue haste or force him to accept criticism, but must allow the criticized comrade to think and, during the time when he is unable to understand, allow him to argue his case and maintain his opinions. In light of this principle, when handling "Several Theoretical Problems," wer requested that the author criticize only whatever part of his errors that he understood and to engage in self-criticism only when he recognized his errors, and we did not demand that "he submit to our attacks." Self-criticism must be established on a foundation of ideological understanding and emotional ease and must express sincerity and truth. The author acceded to our request and spoke sincerely, and therefore everyone was able to offer more precise criticism better suited to his actual ideological state, to make a more emotionally and rationally penetrating analysis and to better persuade and educate him.

Practice has proven that upholding this method when carrying out criticism and self-criticism provides very good results, seeing to it that the one being criticized is truly educated. During the forum, the author of "Several Theoretical Problems" made several written and oral self-criticisms, each more

penetrating than the last, and finally recognized, on the foundation of self-awareness, the serious political mistakes in the article and expressed his acceptance of the sincere criticism of the organization and his comrades. He further recognized that the criticism was limited out of propriety, fully displaying the party organization's protection of and concern for the individual comrade, and he expressed his gratitude for everyone's help. The comrades at the meeting expressed satisfaction with his sincere attitude and ideological change of heart and felt that his self-criticism was not a case of just going through the motions, but was a concrete expression of his raised consciousness.

The forum also provided many comrades a lesson in how to carry out criticism and self-crticism correctly and relieved the ideological anxiety of many who were afraid of criticism. Some of the comrades who attended the forum were deeply thankful and said: "This is the first time in many years that we have seen this sort of correct handling of criticism and self-criticism. The feeling that this correct handling of contradictions within the ranks of the people gives to us intellectuals who suffered because of the mistakes of the Left is difficult to express." We told the entire faculty and staff of the circumstances of the forum and there was universal praise from them.

After the forum, we again sought out the author of "Several Theoretical Problems" for a talk in order to do further ideological work and to encourage him to engage in serious study of the "Historical Resolution" and related documents of the Party Central Committee, to raise his consciousness, to correct his mistakes, to adjust his literary and study styles, to delve into reality, to research, to arouse his spirit and to work hard.

Because of 10 years of unrest, the excellent traditions and work styles of the party were damaged, making proper criticism and self-criticism impossible. This time we have made a start and have learned some helpful things in the process. Actual life shows us that tendencies toward bourgeois liberalization and the ideological tide of anarchism will continue to exist in differing degrees for a long time to come, and articles such as "Several Theoretical Problems" will continue to appear. We cannot hope to solve these problems by carrying out criticism on a few occasions. Because of this, we must further implement the spirit of the concerned documents of the party Central Committee overcome the state of weakness and disorganization, strengthen leadership in the school is ideological and political work, correctly use the powerful weapons of criticism and self-criticism, carry out criticism of an struggle against every kind of mistaken ideological tide, and truly bring ideology throughout the school in line with the fundamental conclusions of the "Historical Resolution."

Critical Article

Beijing GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT] in Chinese No 1, 13 Jan 82 pp 15-16

[Article: "Nanjing University Journal Publishes an Article Criticizing Another Article for Its Serious Political Mistakes"]

[Text] The fourth issue of the 1981 Nanjing University journal (philosophy, society and science edition) published an editorial article entitled "Learn a

Lesson, Manage the Journal Well," which indicated that after this journal published the article "Several Theoretical Problems During the Latter Stage of the Socialist Reformation of Our Nation" (hereafter referred to as "Several Theoretical Problems"), in its fourth 1980 issue, it received letters from some readers pointing out that "Several Theoretical Problems" denied the great accomplishments of our nation's socialist reformation, misrepresented the socialist system of our nation and the nature of the party, violated the four fundamental principles of the party and overstepped the bounds of letting 100 schools of thought contend. The article indicated that the appearance of "Several Theoretical Problems" was not accidental, but was a reflection of the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalization rising in certain people in society in the previous period. The editorial article also noted that the publishing in this journal of an article violating the four fundamental principles is a reflection of the weak and disorganized state of the work of the editorial department in the previous period and of the problem of imperfections in the work system. This issue of this journal also includes 3 other articles highly critical of "Several Theoretical Problems" with its serious political mistakes printed in order to reduce its negative impact.

The article "The Cooperative Transformation of Agriculture in Our Nation Was a Great Victory for Scientific Socialism" by Zhong Kuxie [0112 1655 1400] (hereafter referred to as "Zong's article") looks at the matter of the socialist transformation of agriculture and, in the spirit of seeking the truth from facts, criticizes the mistaken concepts in "Several Theoretical Problems."

First, "Several Theoretical Problems" accuses the guiding ideology of our party in the latter period of the socialist transformation of being "agricultural socialist ideology," but this is a groundless charge. Just what is agricultural socialism? "Zhong's article" felt that, when discussing the various factions of false socialism which stand in opposition to scientific socialism, model writers drew distinctions based on class, not on differences in occupations and industries. They have never written of "agricultural socialism." The term "agricultural socialism" is a generalization by later writers of the Russian idea of "rural communes" and the "heavenly field system" of our nation's Heavenly Kingdom of Taiping [a widespread anti-Manchu peasant revolt from 1851 to 1864], or it was derived from Lenin's "peasant socialism." Concerning the history of our own party, Comrade Mao Zedong, in a speech at the Jinsui cadre conference, raised the idea of "agricuoltural socialism" in reference to the appearance in rural areas at the time of the tendency toward absolute egalitarianism. Later, in its response to letters section, XINHUA explained it this way: Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out this matter because at that time, during the land reform in certain liberated areas, the people not only distributed land equally, but also equally distributed all of the property of the landlords, destroying industry and commerce and, in addition, calling this equal distribution "common property" or "socialism." Some of those in theoretical circles listed three basic features of this "agricultural socialism" in the previous period, while others suggested four. "Several Theoretical Problems" did not clearly explain what was meant by "agricultural socialism," but after all is said and done it seems to indicate an absolute egalitarianism. "Zhong's article" felt that whether or

not one can use occupations and industries to distinguish nonscientific socialisms can be studied, but none of the theories of "agricultural socialism" noted above have anything to do with our nation's socialist transformation of agriculture.

As everyone knows, the socialist transformation of agriculture led by our party adhered to the scientific socialist theory of Marxism, combined with the concrete realitieis of our nation and used mutual cooperation to guide the individual economy gradually onto the road to collectivization. The principle of distribution according to work which was carried out in the collectivized economy was a denial of absolute egalitarianism. History has already proven that our nation's socialist transformation of agriculture during the mid-fifties promoted the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce and hastened the development of industrial and agricultural production and the entire national economy. This is clearly a victory for scientific socialism. How could it be "agricultural socialism"? "Zhong's article" reminded its readers that, in important theoretical matters, they should not force their own vague notions of "agricultural socialism" onto our party. To do so is unjust and frivolous.

Secondly, in order to "liquidate" our party's so called "agricultural socialist" guiding ideology, and in arguing the dual nature of the peasant class, "Several Theoretical Problems" said that "the peasants themselves really do not believe in socialism, but are born agricultural socialists. They want to establish an absolutely egalitarian ideal kingdom which is maintained by the absolute authority of an enlightened monarch.... Because of this, the enthusiasm they display is naturally fanatical and utopian and has an extremely destructive nature," and that "for a long time now we have had problems in recognizing the dual nature of the peasant class." After citing related discourses of Marx, Engels and Lenin, "Zhong's article" pointed out that the revolutionary leaders' analysis of the dual nature of the peasantry was comprehensive, viewing them as a dependable allied army for the proletariat while at the same time pointing out their faults. The key to the road the peasants ultimately follow lies in who is leading them. Under the leadership of the proletariat and its political party, the peasants incline toward revolution and can take the socialist road. And the author of that article, when discussing the dual nature of the peasants, made the mistake of one sidely quoting the revolutionary leaders and offering distorted explanations of their ideas.

"Several Theoretical Problems" denied Comrade Mao Zedong's conclusion that "the peasants have a vast reservoir of enthusiasm for socialism," saying that our party's affirmation of this enthusiasm is an "adoration of the spontaneity of the peasant class." "Zhong's article" held that this accusation is groundless. In order to avoid taking out high interest loans or even mortgaging their land, and to develop production, guard against natural catastrophes and make use of agricultural equipment, the individual peasant who obtained land in the land reform, and especially the power lower- and middle-class peasants who lacked other means of production, actually requested the taking of the road of mutual cooperation and showed great socialist enthusiasm. But a small number of relatively prosperous

middle-class peasants maintained spotaneous bourgeois tendencies. In this regard, Comrade Mao Zedong, as early as on the eve of the establishment of the nation, indicated: "Education of the peasants is a serious matter"; after the establishment of the nation, related resolutions of our party not only pointed out the dual nature of the peasants during the period of socialist revolution, but also indicated that we must pay attention to overcoming the spontaneous bourgeois tendencies of some of the peasants and carry out a lot of ideological political work. This was obvious to everyone. How can anyone say that we adore the spontaniety of the peasants?

And further, "Several Theoretical Problems" indicated that our nation's cooperative tranformation of agriculture was "carried out in a single push," as "a blind mopping up operation." "Zhong's article" cited a large number of facts to explain that the process by which our party led the peasants down the socialist road suited China's national conditions and Marxism-Leninism. There were flaws and deviations in our work--primarily the lack of thoroughness in the implementation of principles, policies and procedures--and, at the height of the cooperative transformation, the problems of pressing for results, crude work, excessively rapid change and cutting everything to fit the same mold violated the principles of voluntary mutual benefit and steady progress, which resulted in certain lasting problems. But, in comparison with the tremendous historical victory of the cooperative transformation of agriculture, these are, after all, of secondary importance. It is difficult to avoid some shortcomings in a great social transformation involving several hundred million people.

The articles "Our Nation's Tranformation of Capitalist Industry and Commerce Was a Great Fulfillment and Glorious Victory of Scientific Socialism" by Li Taoxie [2621 3447 1400] and "'The Theory of Practice' Is the Marxist Theory of Knowledge" by Zhe Guixie [0772 1400] analyzed and criticized "Several Theoretical Problems" for distorting "the theory of practice" into a narrow theory of experience in regard to our nation's tranformation of capitalist industry and commerce and for the mistaken notion of viewing this as the ideological wellspring of the errors committed in the latter period of our nation's socialist transformation.

9705
CSO: 4005/1248

PARTY AND STATE

SPIRIT OF PATRIOTISM ENCOURAGED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Song Lukun [1345 7627 2492]: "We Must Devote Every Effort To Promote the Spirit of Patriotism"]

[Text] Patriotism is a concept formed by history. It has meant different things at different times in history. When we discuss patriotism today, it is not only expressed in love for our beautiful land, history and cultural legacy. More importantly, it is reflected in love for our socialist system, the CPC and people under its leadership. It is also reflected in our deep love for our modern socialist cause. This brand-new spirit of patriotism has already become the ideological and political basis for unity among all peoples in our land. It has become a strong spiritual force that our cause of modern socialist construction relies upon for success.

During the new historical period of carrying out the establishment of the four modernizations, how should we promote the spirit of patriotism?

We must strengthen the people's sense of pride and self-respect. At present vast numbers of CPC members, CYL members, state cadres and masses have devoted themselves with much enthusiasm to the four modernizations in order vigorously to develop China. A new wave of patriotism has just sprung up throughout China. However, due to the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on the people's way of thinking and due to the corrosive influence of capitalist ideology and the capitalist lifestyle, there have been a number of people in the past few years, including even a handful of party members and state cadres, whose patriotic ideas have become somewhat vague. This has produced a mentality of underestimating the capabilities of our people and country and this has given rise to the idea of worshipping foreign things and fawning on foreign powers. They only see certain superficial signs of prosperity in foreign countries. They do not see the decadence and degenerate character. They mistakenly believe that "socialist China is inferior to capitalist nations." Consequently, when they have contacts with foreigners some people are bought over and engage in shameful acts that damage the honor of the people and the integrity of the state and the people. In order to promote the spirit of patriotism, it is necessary to get rid of our sense of inferiority and improve the people's sense of pride and self-confidence. We must do battle with all things that damage the dignity of the people and the integrity of the country.

In order to promote the spirit of patriotism we must study China's geography, history and culture, particularly China's modern and current revolutionary history. We must foster a deep affection for our country and mold our sentiments through out majestic scenery, our long history, splendid culture and our glorious tradition of patriotism. We must establish a spirit of devoting ourselves to the prosperity, strength and courage in our country. We must study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. We must also acquire a communist world outlook and view of life. We must resist and overcome the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology and other nonproletarian ideologies. We must strengthen our confidence in the certain victory of communism and strengthen our resolve to struggle for communism.

In order to promote the spirit of patriotism, it is essential actively to throw ourselves into the establishment of the four modernizations. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee defined the shift in the party's focus of work. They proposed the great goal of building our nation into a highly democratic and highly civilized modern socialist power. This is in the basic interests of all the people and provides a stage for the children of China bravely to struggle on behalf of the motherland. The great revolutionary forerunner, Mr Sun Yat-sen, once said: "No country can match the land and people of China. We who are born in China are truly fortunate. The leaders in every country want to avail themselves of China's stage yet they have been unable to do so. Now that we occupy this large stage we still have not thought about making preparations. We have let time slip by without accomplishing anything. There have been few achievements.... Isn't that extremely shameful?" "Only you virtuous gentlemen can place the responsibility of revitalizing China on your own shoulders." ("Selected Works of Sun Yat-sen" vol 1 p 66). At that time Mr Sun Yat-sen was faced with overthrowing the Qing government and establishing a bourgeois republic. Today we are faced with the great historical mission of carrying out the four modernizations. This is very different from the time of Sun Yat-sen yet the noble spirit of patriotism of Sun Yat-sen in those years and his strong sense of national pride and confidence still provide us with enlightenment and inspiration. Let us put on a new strong and grand living drama on this new historical stage and add a new glorious page to the annals of our patriotic tradition.

Patriotism must be combined with internationalism. We are both patriots and internationalists. We must promote patriotism but we do not want to develop a parochial nationalism. We deeply love our country and we oppose discriminating against, bullying or invading other countries. We advocate uniform equality among nations and peoples. We must learn from each other and respect each other. We oppose the invasion of one country by another and we oppose one people oppressing another. Soviet and Vietnamese hegemonists have stirred up nationalist sentiments. They have hoodwinked their own people and bullied, oppressed and invaded other countries. The brand of patriotism that they preach is not true patriotism but rather a reactionary doctrine of power and bourgeois parochial nationalism. We deeply love our motherland and so we should support the struggles of oppressed nationalities and peoples throughout the world. Only by thoroughly destroying the social system of people exploiting other people

can communism come to the fore. We are proud of our superior national culture, but we must still learn from countries with advanced culture and science. We must learn from their strong points to offset our own weaknesses. We must work hard for the prosperity of our country and successfully handle China's affairs. We must strive to make a greater contribution to the struggles of people in the Third World and throughout the world.

9864
CSO: 4005/1233

BRIEFS

ADVANCED PARTY BRANCH ASSEMBLY--On 12 July the Jinan Municipal CPC Committee convened the Third Advanced Party Branch and Model Party Members' Representative Assembly. They mobilized party members and party organizations on each battlefront throughout the municipality to give full play to their role as the righting bastion and exemplary vanguard during the establishment of a socialist material and spiritual civilization. This year Jinan has gone through evaluation and selection from top to bottom. Nine hundred and thirty-nine advanced party branches and 6,460 model CPC members were selected. These advanced party branches and model party members were distributed in all trades and professions and on every battlefront throughout the municipality. They included advanced party branches and model party members who had for many years continuously maintained their good name as well as new talent that has appeared in the past few years. Wei Jianyi [7614 1017 3015], secretary of the municipal CPC committee, gave a talk at the assembly. He called on basic level party organizations throughout the municipality and all party members further to start a great upsurge to study advanced models and constantly to focus on activities to learn from and strive to act as advanced models. The assembly read out the municipal CPC committee's resolution to commend 128 advanced party branches and 398 model CPC members. They also issued certificates of merit and citations. [Text] [Article by Zhu Huanwen [2612 3562 2429]] [Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jul 82 p 1] 9864

CSO: 4005/1233

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

USES OF GUERRILLA WAR IN FLATLANDS VIEWED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Yuan Zhiliang [5913 1807 5328], Zhang Lianzhang [1728 6647 4545], and Yang Renguo [2799 0088 0948]: "Guerrilla War in the Flatlands"]

[Text] Flatland guerrilla warfare is a form of warfare in which militia guerrilla forces use the terrain and surface features of flatland regions--such as villages, irrigation canals and ditches, dikes and dams, trees, the green curtain of tall crops, etc.--together with flexible and clever tactics to attack the enemy. Throughout the entire period of the war of resistance against Japan the flatland guerrilla forces fought with mobility and flexibility, appearing and disappearing like spirits, so that the Japanese aggressors were terrified by rumors and believed the very grasses and trees to be soldiers. They ended up feeling completely surrounded, in an impssse in which they were under attack no matter which way they turned.

Our province is situated on the lower reaches of the Yellow River. Its 94,960 square kilometers of flatlands constitute approximately 2/3 of its total area. The boundless flatlands of western and northern Shandong, and the corridor from Jiao County to Wei County, which is as flat as a whetstone, have an especially open topography and well0developed communications. In wartime this would undeniably augment the speed and mobility of the enemy's tanks and motorized units, and aid him in carrying out concentrated large formation warfare and airborne operations. However, we must also note that the flatlands have many inhabitants, are highly productive, and have many financial resources. They are suitable for organizing numerically strong guerrilla detachments to carry out a warfare of joint defense, relying on the fighting villages and towns. The summer and autumn, when the forests are thick and the green curtain of tall crops rises and provides cover, are especially suitable for making surprise attacks on the enemy.

In the antiaggression war of the future, when guerrilla forces fight in the flatlands, they must make full use of the factor of the masses which will be advantageous to us. They must build the populated areas into fighting villages and towns in a planned and focused way, in order to provide support for prolonged guerrilla activities. They must construct networks of trenches over a large area ot create the conditions ofr attacking the enemy. They

must build extensive tunnels to actively engage in tunnel warfare. They must make use of the green curtainof tall crops and disperse into small bands to make surprise attacks on the enemy.

In the antiaggression war of the future, since flatland guerrilla warfare will have to contend with an enemy possessing great firepower, speed, mobility, and modern technology and equipment, our militia guerrilla forces will have to take their own special characteristics as the starting point. Making the most of their strengths and avoiding their weaknesses, utilizing their advantages to the fullest extent, they must abide by the following tactical principals. (1) Keep a firm grip on the villages and rely on protective screens. In order to keep up flatland guerrilla warfare, it is necessary to treat village defense works as important positions, and to use natural protective screens as important supports. It is necessary to make use of houses, shedsk dikes and dams, irrigation canals and ditches, forests, growing crops, the green curtain of tall crops, wind, rain, snow, fog, and other complex weather conditions, to conceal; actively to seek military opportunities, and with agile movements to fall upon the enemy with the swiftness of a thunderbolt. (2) Use small dispersed bands and be flexible in movement. The actions of our militia guerrilla forces must be carried out by small dispersed bands which can separate and reunite, preserving a high degree of flexibility of movement. By constantly varying their style of fighting, changing their mode of action, appearing and disappearing like spirits, being flexible and changeable, the enemy will be unable to get intelligence and will not know in which direction to pursue us. His troops will be exhausted and he will be under attack everywhere. (3) Fight quick battles to force a quick decision and use speed to gain the upper hand. Our militia guerrilla forces must fight quick battles to force a quick decision and use speed to gain the upper hand in every battle. They must be quick-witted and decisive, acting as the occasion demands. They must implement the principle of "when we can win we fight, and when we can't win we run away," and avoid hesitation and indecision. (4) Use independence and initiative, and deal with situations promptly. The war of the future will be modernized war. The situation on the battlefield can completely change in the twinkling of an eye. The slightest delay could allow a military opportunity to slip away. The method of command of militia guerrilla forces must adapt to changes in the situation on the battlefield. The principle of integrating a centralized command on the strategic and campaign level with decentralized freedom of initiative on the campaign and battle level must be realized. Every commander must exercise military command in flatland guerrilla warfare in accordance with the overall intentions of the higher authorities, and in light of the enemy's situation, the terrain, and their own assigned tasks. Sometimes they should concentrate to attack the enemy at a certain point, hitting a vital spot. Sometimes they should disperse, with each man fighting on his own and each band fighting on its own. Attacking on their own initiative with flexibility and cleverness, they will fall upon the enemy so that he won't be able to protect his head and his rear. Attacked in the belly and the back, his corpse will be buried in the boundless fields.

12187
CSO: 4005/1198

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

RALLY TO COMMEND ADVANCED MILITIA CADRES

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Li Guozhen [2621 0948 2823] and Guan Guodong [4619 0948 2726]: "Review of Accomplishments--Exchange of Experiences--Raise Militia Work to New Levels: Provincial Rally to Commend Advanced Full-Time Militia Cadres Convenes"]

[Text] Yesterday, on the eve of the 55th anniversay of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, our province's first rally to commend advanced full-time militia cadres was held in Hangzhou.

The purpose of this rally was to review accomplishments in building up the ranks of militia cadres, to sum up experiences, to commend the advanced, and to encourage full-time militia cadres throughout the province to be enthusiastic and work hard, going a step further in implementing the guiding principles and policies of the Party Central Committee and its Military Commission concerning militia work, and raising militia work in our province to new levels in accordance with the demands of a new situation.

Over 360 delegates and specially invited representatives attended this rally. They included old comrades who have fought for decades on the frontlines of the people's militia, as well as new comrades who have recently taken up posts in militia work. They included activists who have made contributions in routine work, as well as advanced heroic personalities who defied personal danger at critical moments. They included delegates from mountain regions, islands, and rural areas, as well as delegates from cities and towns, and from the industrial and communications systems.

The rally was attended by Tie Ying [6993 3841], first secretary of the Provincial Party Committee and first political commissar of the Provincial Military District; Li Fengping [2621 0023 1627], secretary of the Provincial Party Committee, governor, and chairman of the Provincial Militia Committee; and Chen Anyu [7115 1344 5038], member of the Standing Committee of the Provincial Party Committee and first secretary of the Hangzhou Municipal Party Committee.

The rally was attended by Kang Mingcai [1660 2429 2088], commanding officer of the Provincial Military District; Zhang Qiliang [1728 0796 5328], Guo

Shijun [6753 1102 0193], and Zhang Feng [1728 2800], all assistant commanding officers; Meng Keming [1322 0344 2429] and Zhang Youfu [1728 0645 6010], both assistant political commissars; and others.

The rally was also attended by representatives of the leadership of the Nanjing units, and by advisers to the Provincial Military District.

The opening address was delivered by Comrade Kang Mingcai. He said that this rally is an important event in the building of the militia in our province. It is a gathering of heroes--the advanced representatives of the full-time militia cadres. The higher level party committees attach great importance to this rally, and the broad masses of militia are very interested. We must learn from one another, and make up each other's deficiencies. Under the leadership of the Provincial People's Government and the Provincial Military District, we shall hold a good meeting--an inspiring, forward-striving, and practically-oriented meeting.

Comrade Li Fengping delivered an address at the rally. First he conveyed warm congratulations to the meeting on behalf of the Zhejiang Provincial Chinese Communist Party Committee, the Provincial People's Government, and the Provincial People's Militia Committee. He gave a general account of the excellent situation and prospects presented by the building up of the ranks of the full-time militia cadres in our province. He enthusiastically praised the important contributions towards the building of the militia in our province made by the delegates. He called upon the party committees and government units of all levels in our province to take an interest in and support the work of people's militia units, and to do a good job in building the ranks of the full-time militia cadres. He hoped that the broad masses of full-time militia cadres would continually raise their political level and their level of military technique, that they would do a good job on the "3 tasks to carry out" in militia work, and make new contributions towards protecting the four modernizations and building the four modernizations.

Comrade Meng Keming presented to the meeting a work report entitled, "Strengthen the Ranks of Full-Time Militia Cadres--Contribute to Militia Work in Our Province."

12187
CSO: 4005/1198

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PROBLEMS IN TRAINING HIGH-LEVEL SPECIALISTS DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Yang Ruimin [2799 3844 2404]: "Conscientiously Resolve the Problem of the Disparity Between Training High-Level Specialists and the Need For Them"]

[Text] Synopsis: Last year, the graduates in more than 330 of the more than 840 specialties taught by national higher schools fell short of the demand, and the graduates in more than 50 specialties exceeded the demand. The principal reasons for the disparity between training and needs are the lack of long-range planning and the irrational of some specialties. Henceforth, forecasting personnel training requirements, rectifying and reforming the present specialties, improving student recruitment and assignment methods, and rationally resolving the leadership system problem and other problems must receive close attention.

According to relevant statistical departments, in 1981 the number of graduates requested from the state by each province, municipality, autonomous region, and sector was estimated at 520,000. But in 1981 there were only a little more than 276,000 graduates, a shortfall of nearly 250,000. That proves that even though the number of students recruited by higher schools has increased the phenomenon of college graduates not meeting the needs is still prevalent.

And at present, among the college graduates who are assigned, there still exists the following situation. Let us take 1981 as an example. In that year a total of 840 specialties were studied by graduates of the country's higher schools. Supply and demand were essentially balanced in only a little more than 450 of them, which accounted for a little over 50 percent of the total number of specialties. In the other specialties supply fell short of demand. The three principal reasons were the following:

1. Supply failed to meet demand in 300 of the specialties. Among them, in some engineering specialties the contradiction regarding the failure of supply to meet demand was relatively pronounced. For example, supply failed to meet demand in 13 of the 17 mineral industry specialties and in 20 of the 27 construction specialties. Especially in the light industry, textiles, geology, ordinary machinery, food, and other sectors which have weak technical

forces, the number of graduates needed was even greater. In the great majority of the liberal arts specialties, graduates of which are required by society in relatively large numbers, supply has not met demand. Society has an especially urgent need for graduates of the financial-economic, political science-law, and economic management specialties.

2. It is difficult to assign graduates on the basis of their training. Of the 840 specialties, supply exceeded demand in only 50, totalling about 10,000 graduates. For the most part, the specialties in which there was a surplus of graduates were among the following: 1. the specialties in which there has been a surplus for a relatively long time, such as nuclear energy, nuclear physics, engineering physics, and space physics, all of which are specialties which were formed during the late 1950's. Because there was a tendency toward saturation in the personnel staffs of the relevant scientific research sectors, as early as the early 1960's there began to be a surplus of graduates in those specialties and a considerable number were made laboratory technicians or did routine administrative work; 2. The specialties in which graduates have begun to be redundant only during recent years. For example, iron smelting and steel smelting in the metallurgical field, agricultural machinery repair and agricultural electrification in the agricultural machinery field, marine chemistry and marine geology in the oceanography field, etc.; 3. Specialties in which there will be a surplus in the future, such as the elctronic computer specialty.

3. Gaps in specialties that must be urgently filled. For example, the training of state administrative cadres in the political science specialty as well as in the biological engineering and agricultural engineering specialties, etc., all of which are in urgent need of filling.

Moreover, there is yet another circumstance which merits attention: a relatively large number of college graduates are assigned to the large cities, the interior, the large units, and the state-operated enterprises, where they become "overstocked" personnel, but the small cities, the outlying districts, the small units, and the collectives, which already had shortages, have been assigned a small number of college graduates, which has made the phenomenon of a shortage of qualified personnel even more serious.

There are many factors which have created the disparity between the training of qualified personnel and the need for them. The principal ones are:

1. The lack of long-range personnel training plans. The present structure of specialties of the nation's higher schools was essentially erected in the 1950's, with concentration on heavy industry and national defense industry, and for a long time it has not been thoroughly readjusted. There is a close relationship between that and our country's lack of long-range, relatively practical educational planning.

2. Annual student recruitment plans lack over-all balance with regard to the classification of specialties. Due to the lack of long-range personnel training plans, during the past several years the specific number of students recruited for each course or specialty has been based on the school's

teaching staff, equipment, and other conditions. The planning and education sectors serve only to regulate the total number of students recruited. As a result, the specialties with strong teaching staffs and good equipment recruit large numbers of students, while the specialties with weak teaching staffs and poor equipment recruit small numbers of students. Although the specialties generally regarded as being high-grade require small numbers, it is difficult to reduce them; but it is difficult to expand the number of students recruited for the "popular goods of dependable quality" specialties (indicating ordinary specialties requiring strong adaptability), in which many students are not interested, although large numbers are needed. That kind of blindness in the student recruitment work becomes fully evident when graduates are assigned and the professional sectors make use of personnel.

3. The structure of specialties is not rational and some specialties are too finely divided. The number of specialties, which was 250 in 1955, has developed to the present total of more than 1,000. Because specialties are too finely divided, the students are very narrowly specialized and their ability to adapt to jobs is relatively weak. The training goals of some specialties are unsuitable. First, a small number of industrial specialties stress research, designing, and light industry techniques and skills. But the personnel requirements of the employing units are just the opposite of the specialties offered in the schools. In that regard, after graduating a very large percentage of the students who studied research and design specialties have no choice other than to become production technicians. Second, in some cases the service object of the specialty is not clear. The contents of some specialties are similar or essentially identical, but the names of the specialties differ, and when assignments are made there easily occurs the phenomenon of making assignments that do not correspond to the specialties that were studied.

4. The employing units do not have definite job requirements. A few substandard "personnel" who have low education levels and lack specialized knowledge are substituted for "qualified personnel," thus creating the false appearance of an excess of college graduates.

5. Errors in making assignments.

At present, every sector of the national economy is undergoing a readjustment, the economic structure, organizational structure, and production structure are being reformed, and a new transformation is taking place with regard to the numbers of qualified personnel needed and their specialties, so the unsuitability of the specialties that have been offered by higher schools, the educational contents, the training goals, etc., has become even more evident. In order to increase the economic effectiveness of the training of qualified personnel and accelerate our country's four modernizations, resolving the supply-and-demand contradiction between the training of qualified personnel and the need for them has become an urgent matter for the planning, education, and other sectors. At present, it is necessary to positively resolve the following problems:

Do a good job of calculating the training of specialists by higher schools. Calculating the need for qualified personnel is a science that has received extensive attention during recent years. It is even more necessary that our country's socialist state, on the basis of the actual economic and social development conditions, have goals and plans to proportionately train the specialists urgently needed for national construction. That requires the planning sector to, when drafting economic and social development plans, cooperate with the education sector in ascertaining the actual need for specialists by each sector, organization, and enterprise, and go all-out to, within a relatively short period of time, draft personnel training plans and education plans that are in tune with the economic and social development plans.

On the basis of the new economic development situation we must adjust and reform the existing specialties. First of all, it is necessary to change the excessively fine differentiation of specialties, reduce the number of narrow specialties, and increase the number of ordinary specialties that are relatively appropriate. It is also necessary to reform the structure of courses and increase the number of relevant required courses and elective courses in a specialty, expand the students' knowledge, and broaden their future employment prospects. Secondly, it is necessary to adjust the proportion of students recruited for the various courses and specialties. With regard to the specialties in which there will be a surplus in the future or in which there is already a surplus, and especially the specialties in which there has been a surplus for a long time, some may reduce the the number of students recruited or recruit students every other year or every few years; the students of some specialties may, while concentrating on one specialty, concurrently study a second specialty; and some must be reformed. With regard to specialties which reguire large numbers and in which demand exceeds supply, in addition to readjusting and reforming the specialty we must appropriately increase the number of students recruited. With regard to the small number of specialties for which there is an urgent need but in which there are still openings, it is necessary to promptly fill those openings. Third, with regard to the small number of specialties with obscure training goals, it is necessary to, on the basis of the actual needs of society, clarify the specialty's employment orientation and enable the training of qualified personnel to be more focused. Fourth, it is necessary to compile a list of specialties and unify their nomenclature.

Improve the higher schools' recruitment and assignment of students. At present, it is necessary to promptly resolve two problems: first, it is necessary to enter deeply into study and research in order to build a good foundation for calculating the need for trained personnel, make progress in drafting specific annual student recruitment plans, and transform the prevalent passivity caused by the higher schools basing their student recruitment plans on their own training capability and structuring specialties on the basis of their teaching staffs, equipment, and other conditions. Second, when recruiting students it is possible to consider appropriately assigning examinees to their home areas. With regard to such remote areas as Tibet, Xingiang, and Qinghai, as well as the forest zones, we must give appropriate consideration when enrolling and classifying them, in order to

facilitate assinging those students to jobs in their home areas after they graduate and meet the urgent needs of those areas.

It is necessary to study and improve the leadership system of the higher engineering schools. During the past several years, the reason why our country's higher schools have undergone relatively rapid development is that the active operation of schools by each central-level professional sector has begun to have an important effect. But at the same time there have appeared a number of problems because the professional sectors make their selections on the basis of the school's structure of specialties, and often on the needs of the organizations or enterprises themselves. Therefore, the specialties are generally relatively narrow. That not only limits the adaptibility of the graduates but also, because of control by the sector, there easily results an "overstocking" of trained personnel. The operation of schools by professional sectors in such a way as to stress the long-range and avoid the short-range, to enable the training of qualified personnel to better suit the needs of society, is also a problem that merits attention and resolution.

5616
CSO: 4005/1276

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION, AND CULTURE

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION RESPONDS TO QUERIES ABOUT COLLEGE MILITARY TRAINING

Beijing GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT] in Chinese No 5, 82 p 5

[Interview with a responsible person of the Ministry of Education by GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN reporter: "Questions and Answers on College Manual Labor and Military Training Program"; date and place not specified]

[Text] On 11 April, XINHUA reported that the State Council has approved the Ministry of Education's "Proposal on the Work of Enrolling College Freshman Students in 1982" which reveals that beginning this year, qualified institutions of higher learning or their departments under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education will put into effect a system designed for freshman students to spend 1 year participating in manual labor on a trial basis. In response to this proposal, some readers have demanded an explanation on the matter in question, which was not specifically and clearly stated. For this reason, a reporter of this journal has interviewed and asked a responsible person of the Ministry of Education the following qeustions. The contents of questions and answers are as follows:

Question: Why should this provisional system be put into effect?

Answer: Upholding the principle of combining mental labor with manual labor and of integrating intellectuals with workers and peasants constitutes an important aspect of our education policy. During the past several years, leading comrades on the Central Committee have emphasized the need to attach importance to the training of students in manual labor and stated that although some excessive proposals and actions of the past on education in physical labor should not be repeated today, its complete abandonment may unavoidably lead us toward another extreme, whose harmful effect is clear to all. For this reason, we must adopt appropriate measures to promote education in physical labor. Meanwhile, in response to the demand from the state, college students must undergo military training. At present, many schools have devoted attention to strengthening education in physical labor and military training. The enforcement of the system designed for college freshman students to participate in physical labor and military training on a trial basis will create a very favorable condition for the thorough implementation of the party's education policy, for students to foster viewpoints on behalf of labor and the masses, the sense of organization and discipline, and communist morality and virtues, and for them to develop morally, intellectually and physically and to become politically conscious and professionally competent.

Question: Does the system designed for freshman students to spend 1 year participating in manual labor mean that they should devote themselves to participation in manual labor throughout the year? If so, should the school system and education programs be reconsidered?

Answer: The Ministry of Education's "Proposal on the Work of Enrolling College Freshman Students in 1982" approved by the State Council points out: Individual colleges or their departments selected and approved by the Ministry of Education will "organize freshman students to participate in manual labor and military training following their admissions, and will offer them some basic cources." They don't have to spend time throughout the year participating in manual labor and military training. As seen from this point, the formulation: "The System Designed for Freshman Students To Spend 1 Year Participating in Manual Labor on a Trial Basis" is not an accurate statement, and can be easily misunderstood by people.

During the period of this experiment, no changes are expected in the existing school system although schools themselves may make appropriate adjustments to their education programs. After students become sophmores, they will still have to participate in manual labor as they see fit.

Question: What steps are to be taken to enforce this system on a trial basis?

Answer: This year, this experiment is to be conducted only by individual colleges under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. Colleges involved in this experiment must possess the following three conditions: First, they must have leading bodies that are very strong, are willing to conduct this experiment, and are capable of making necessary preparations for this purpose; second, their participation in this experiment must have received approval and support from their respective local party and government leading bodies; third, their participation must have been approved by the Ministry of Education.

Although the establishment of this system designed for freshman students to participate in manual labor and military training is a new idea, we have already accumulated a lot of valuable experiences in education in physical labor, as we have done in the past. Success can be expected in this experimental work, as long as our leadership attaches importance to it, appropriate measures are taken to promote it, and efforts are made to stimulate the enthusiasm of teachers and students for this work. We believe that a more perfect system of education in physical labor and military training is certain to emerge through this experiment and the summing-up of experiences, and that doing so is very significant to the endeavor to promote the reform of higher education, and to improve the quality of education.

9574
CSO: 4005/1236

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

IMPLEMENTATION OF PARTY POLICY ON INTELLECTUALS EMPHASIZED

Chengdu First People's Hospital

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jul 82 pp 1, 2

[Report: "First People's Hospital of Chengdu Municipality Proceeds From Reality, Conscientiously Implements the Party's Policy on Intellectuals"]

[Text] The party committee of the First People's Hospital of Chengdu Municipality has conscientiously implemented the party's policy on intellectuals, energetically mobilized the enthusiasm of hospital personnel in their medical and scientific research work, and hence enabled the hospital to achieve definite results in its work.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party committee of this hospital has paid attention to proceeding from reality in its implementation of the policy on intellectuals; with respect to the medical personnel who were affected and subjected to examination by especially trumped-up charges during the 10 years of internal disturbance, it has reached new conclusions, person by person and case by case, by seeking the truth from facts; with respect to cases of unjust, false and erroneous litigation, it has thoroughly rectified them without leaving any "tails." The chief of the five sense-organ division, who is over 70 years of age, was denounced in the early days of the "cultural revolution" as a "reactionary capitalist" and subjected to grabbing and struggle at random. His private home was occupied by people of other units, and some gold ornaments were also confiscated from him. His case long remained unsolved; he retired in 1977. But the hospital considered that even though he had retired, it still had to assume responsibility to the very end. Hence, it especially sent out cadres to check with more than 10 units, overcome all kinds of difficulties, and now has finally succeeded in having party of his occupied home returned to him; the confiscated gold and ornaments, too, were recovered for him without loss last year. The concerned departments converted them into cash according to state regulations and returned it all to him. This old division chief, who had followed a medical profession for several decades, was very moved and excited by all this. Another middle-aged internist had been erroneously given a warning by the CYL during the struggle against the right when he was going to college. For over 20 years, he himself never mentioned the incident. When the hospital inspected its work regarding intellectuals this time, it discovered this question in the files; his original unit was

immediately contacted to have this reprimand corrected and the file destroyed. When even such a problem which he himself failed to think of was solved by the organization, he deeply felt that the hospital, in implementing the policy on intellectuals, really left no stone unturned. This incident also put at ease other comrades who were worried about whether such file data had been thoroughly sorted out.

Some of the medical personnel of this hospital are family members of overseas Chinese or connected with people abroad; the hospital treats them all alike without discrimination or indifference. There is a clinic nurse who, because she has relatives in the United States, had the "black pot" [stigma] of "overseas relations" imposed on her, and thus became politically untrusted and discriminated against all work; all five members of her family were crowded into a room of only 13 meters square. After the policy on overseas Chinese came into effect, the hospital readjusted a whole suite for her and, on the basis of her professional level, promoted her to chief nurse; this year, it further sent her to the Sichuan Medical College for further study. Her brother came back twice to visit his relatives and was quite satisfied with this; he also twice thanked the leaders of the hospital.

In terms of medical business, this hospital, apart from arranging well the work of the old medical personnel and promoting those among them whose medical art is of a higher level to leading posts, especially pays attention to giving scope to the pivotal, core role of middle-aged medical personnel in administering medication and carrying out scientific research. During the past few years, the hospital has appraised various helathy service and technical offices and titles for more than 280 middle-aged medical personnel; among them those with the title chief physician or an equivalent number as many as 58. The hospital proceeded on the one hand to boldly arrange their employment and, on the other hand, also to provide them with opportunities to engage in various studies and to improve their professional competence. Apart from providing study classes in the hospital such as those in foreign languages, electrocardiogram, use of precision instruments, and the like based on duty-exempted or semi-duty-exempted attendance, they have also selected more than 130 persons at various points and sent them to medical institutions and other hospitals inside and outside the province for further study. In addition, the hospital has selected a number of middle-aged medical core cadres as assistants to reputable older physicians on its own staff so that they can learn their rich experience and inherit it from them. The Chinese medicine "computer" diagnostication office, for instance, has been launched precisely by a middle-aged chief physician under the guidance of the well-known old Chinese physician Wang Wenxiong [3769 2429 7160].

With the party's policy on intellectuals thus concretely implemented at the hospital, this has further inspired the medical personnel's enthusiasm in their work and their political zeal; they have achieved conspicuous results in improving the quality of their medical services and their scientific research and, throughout the hospital, there have been 22 scientific research projects which won national, provincial and municipal scientific-technological achievement awards. Not a few comrades took the initiative in their work to move close to the party organization and strive to win party membership by practical deeds. During the past 3 years there have been 14 medical personnel who joined the party, of whom 5 are chief and deputy chief physicians, chief pharmacists, and division heads.

Xian National Defense Industry System

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jul 82 p 3

[Report: "With the Middle-Aged at the Center of Gravity, Conscientiously Implement the Policy on Intellectuals: Intellecutals of the Province's National Defense Industry System Play an Important Role in Scientific Research Production; Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee the System as a Whole Has Scored More Than 600 Major Scientific and Technological Achievements"]

[Text] With middle-aged intellectuals at the center of gravity, the province's national defense industry system has conscientiously implemented our policy on intellectuals and enabled them to play an important role in scientific research production. During the past 3 years, the system as a whole has scored more than 600 major scientific and technological achievements; of these, 5 won the national invention award and 15 won the national gold prize or silver prize.

The system's intellectuals make up 72 percent of the total number of cadres; they are mostly college and middle-school graduates trained since liberation. These middle-aged scientific and technical personnel are shouldering heavy responsibilities in scientific research production and they constitute an important scientific and technological force. The system office party committee and its various subordinate bureaus have paid great attention to their training and employment. According to statistics, there are more than 1,960 scientific and technical personnel in the system who have been promoted to leading cadres above the division level, and among them intellectuals make up the overwhelming majority. Among the 43 newly promoted medium-level leading cadres at state-run plant No 803, professional scientific and technical personnel make up 60 percent.

During the past 5 years, the system has made the most readjustments in the occupations of those intellectuals who were not working at what they had been trained for, so that their new occupations will be relevant and able to utilize their expertise; leaders at various levels have also been giving considerable attention to the appraisal of the intellectuals' job titles and party membership question. Up to May this year, they had already appraised and promoted the job titles of more than 7,000 professional personnel; since 1978, among the party members recruited by various units, the ratio of intellectuals has increased from slightly over 5 percent to more than 30 percent, while in the Hongan company in particular, they have reached 62 percent. Middle-aged intellectual Zhou Tianxiao [0719 1131 1321] at Research Institute No 631 has achieved outstanding results in his research in the theory of "finite elements technique" and he has repeatedly made academic reports at academic conferences in which foreign luminaries participated; he has now been promoted to senior engineer.

Beijing Unit Rear Services Department

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jul 82 p 2

[Report: "Beijing Rear Service Department Helps Intellectuals Solve Practical Problems"]

[Text] The party committee of the rear services department of the Beijing troop unit has conscientiously implemented the party's policy on intellectuals, solved some difficulties in the life of the intellectuals, and further mobilized the enthusiasm of the vast ranks of intellectuals to dedicate their wisdom and talents to the modernization of our national defense.

In the subordinate units of the rear service department there are nearly 10,000 scientific and technical cadres who are fighitng day and night at medical, teaching, and scientific research posts. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party committee of the rear service department has adhered to the principle of seeking truth from facts and, while properly solving certain problems left over by history and placing emphasis on giving scope to the role of intellectuals, at the same time attended to the solution of some practical difficulties in the lives of the intellectuals. One was the solution of the problem of medium- and high-level intellectual couples whereby the husband and wife lived apart from each other. A second was the rational readjustment of their housing. Units such as the Beijing troop unit general hospital and the International Peace Hospital, under difficult housing conditions, have allocated housing to technical cadres above division chief level which is similar to that of the heads of the hospitals themselves, thereby improving their housing conditions. A third was the improvement of the political treatment and salary appraisal of scientific and technical cadres by fixing different grades in the technical job titles, so that technical cadres above the level of chief military physician and engineer have made some gain in their monthly income. A fourth was to make it a point to take and bring back those division chiefs and engineers who must go out for a meeting or joint diagnosis or other activities. In this way, the intellectuals are spared anxiety about things left behind and they are thus able to play their core role in accomplishing various tasks. Director Xu Shaoding [5171 1421 0002] of external medicine division No 2 of the military district general hospital, in keeping with his duties, has displayed a strategic pass-storming spirit and, at various points, has displayed a strategic pass-storming spirit and, at various points, has experimented and created six scientific and technological results such as the localized implanting of the narrow portion of the lumbra vertebra.

9255
CSO: 4005/1129

END

JPRS 82127

1 November 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 355

JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE
25
ANNIVERSARY

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82127

1 November 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 355

CONTENTS

PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA

PARTY AND STATE

Mistakes of Vice Minister in Swindle Case Reviewed
(LIAOWANG, 20 Aug 82) 1

Importance of Cadre Education Emphasized
(Sha Hong; LIAOWANG, 20 Aug 82) 7

Rectification Through Ideological Education Carried Out in Heilongjiang
(HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 1 Jul 82) 12

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Implementation of Party Policy on Intellectuals Discussed
(Various sources, various dates) 14

Shanghai Results
Zhejiang Efforts, by Jiao Huima
'LIAONING RIBAO' Commentary, by Yu Shichang

Reform of Education in Philosophy Proposed
(Gao Qinghai; GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN, No 3, 1982) 21

Survey Reveals Increase in Number of Colleges, Students
(GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN, Mar 82) 25

Integrating Party, Modern History Courses in Schools
(Hwang Meilai; GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN, Apr 82) 26

Strengthening Propaganda Work in Minority Areas Emphasized
(SICHUAN RIBAO, 17 Aug 82) 31

Commentary on Efforts
Conference Held

Briefs
Higher Education for Adults 35

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Friends of Dissidents Report on Current Mainland Situation
(Jiang Peng; CHENG MING, Sep 82) 36

PARTY AND STATE

MISTAKES OF VICE MINISTER IN SWINDLE CASE REVIEWED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 8, 20 Aug 82 pp 24, 25

[Article bv staff reporter: "What Devil Drove Them Onto the Evil Path?--Reading Notes on Coverage of the Case of Yang Yibang and His Comrades"]

[Text] The decision by the Central Discipline Inspection Commission for a further disposition of the case of Yang Yibang [2799 5030 6721] and his comrades has already been made public in the press. The reporters who began investigating and covering this case 2 years ago have not been permitted to draw a leisurely breath for a long time. This decision encouraged and educated people. And in itself this affair gives people cause for deep thought.

In the course of covering this case, we were often perplexed. What we felt we could not understand was: Why had Yang Yibang and his comrades committed such serious mistakes? The absurdity of these mistakes is simply inconceivable and hard for people to believe. Were they truly unavoidable? What devil drove them to tread this evil path and to obstinately stick to a wrong course for such a long time?

The mistakes committed by Yang Yibang and his comrades were really big.

Speaking only of their selling at a low price a batch of plastics and raw materials to a Hong Kong businessman, this brought others a profit of over $750,000. And because that Hong Kong businessman sold in big quantities the batch of plastics and raw materials at a lower price than our foreign trade company, the company had no choice and was forced twice to lower its price and got $480,000 less in income. Even some foreign businessmen indicated that they could not understand this, saying: "We never expected the China Plastics and Rubber Society to hurt cr kill itself." The political and economic loss of this affair is incalculable.

What is more sacred than the state's honor, more valuable than its international prestige? But Yang Yibang and his comrades simply wanted to self-destruct this prestige. When the Yanshan Company was to sign a foreign trade contract with foreign businessmen, they, without the slightest necessity, asked that Hong Kong businessman to "witness" the signing. Why would a big, imposing state-run company of the PRC want a leather handbag merchant from Hong Kong to vouch for it?

Yang Yibang and his comrades gave a certain Ke [2688], the Hong Kong businessman, a letter of appointment as adviser to the Yanshan Company and credentials empowering him to represent the Beijing Engineering and Construction Company, thereby causing a sudden rise in the social status of this leather handbag merchant. Ke made big copies of his letter of appointment as an adviser and the credentials empowering him to be a representative and hung them in the offices of rich and profitable companies. He printed the two titles on his name card, and everywhere he went he boasted to people that he was a "representative of China" on a "special mission." In his status as an adviser and representative, he sent the equipment catalogues of Yanshan as well as other companies in Beijing to several dozens of well-known factories and companies in America, West Germany, France, Italy, and Japan. He also held talks on raising money by huge loans with big banks in some countries, making a hubbub and creating a sensation. In the words of a foreign newspaper, he stirred up a dazzling "whirlwind of wealth and profit." This "whirlwind" caused a loss to our country's honor and prestige that it should not have sustained.

In damaging our country's honor, the actions of Yang Yibang and his comrades not only shocked the people of our country but even dumbfounded foreigners. After Yang Yibang and his comrades went to Hong Kong, in order to seek loans in Japan and Western Europe, they time and again violated the regulations of the State Council and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by not going through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the relevant departments that handle foreign affairs to get visas for Ke to go to Japan and Belgium. When the personnel of the Japanese consulate in Hong Kong saw Yang Yibang's red passport they were astounded. They simply couldn't believe that a vice minister of the PRC would deal with the visa of a businessman. Some European banks also felt that it was an incomprehensively strange thing for a vice minister of the Chinese government to negotiate for huge loans, not through a Chinese embassy or a Chinese bank, but through an unknown Hong Kong businessman. Just as Comrade Tang Maozhao [0781 4243 0664], our ambassador in Belgium, pointed out: "Comrade Yang Yibang is a vice minister of the government and going abroad to raise funds is a serious act in foreign affairs and such a mission should be reported to the relevant departments and embassies ... and normally, the opinions of these departments should be sought." "They even went so far as to carry out such a major affair surreptitiously, outside normal channels and procedures, something which aroused a great deal of suspicion in China and abroad. This showed a total disregard for the country's honor." Our vice minister allowed himself to be ordered about and let another person flaunt a vice minister's banner in order to lend him impetus and strength--in reality this provided the other person with an out-and-out umbrella for carrying out his swindles and bluffs.

Were the serious mistakes of Yang Yibang and his comrades unavoidable? Of course not. Speaking of abiding by discipline, a party member must abide by party discipline and a citizen must abide by the law of the land--this is common knowledge. Our party has always been a party of strict discipline, and stressing discipline is a good tradition of our party. But Yang Yibang and his comrades were simply unwilling to abide by the bare minimum of discipline. How could this kind of mistake be unavoidable?

Was it that the deceptive methods employed by Shanghai businessman Ke were particularly brilliant? Was it that the swindles he set up were especially ingenious? No, it wasn't that at all.

Take an example at the end of 1978. This swindler sent a person to Beijing to submit a written statement to higher authorities, with the injunction "You can use my personal reputation (this is the wording of the original text, but it should be: personal "name") and say that a loan of $50 billion to $100 billion will be given to the Chinese government for part of the Chinese government's funds for its construction of the four modernizations." What was the cost? The only condition was that he get a commission of 2 percent. To grant a loan of $100 billion is big talk. But anyone with a little knowledge of international credit could see that this would be contrary to reason, because: what does $100 billion mean? At the present time, the funds in circulation in all of Europe only amount to about $600 billion. Under normal circumstances, the amount any one financial group may lend cannot exceed 20 percent of its funds. At this loan rate, the total amount of loans that all of Europe would be able to make would not exceed $120 billion. Ke said he could get China a loan of $100 billion--was this believeable?

As a matter of fact, before Ke sent people to Beijing he first sent people to Guangzhou as a maneuver, saying that they had the backing for a large international long-term loan, and wanted to invest in the construction in the country and also sought to obtain within the country a letter of authorization or a right of representation from the sides concerned. However, the unit concerned of Guangdong Province was not fooled. They adopted a prudent attitude and handled the matter in the regular fashion of Communist Party members, who investigate and study when anything crops up. After an investigation, they quickly ascertained that it was not worthwhile to hold talks with these people. When Ke sent people to Beijing to submit a written statement to higher authorities, a leading comrade unequivocally pointed out: "I regard these people as swindlers whose goal is the 2 percent commission." Afterward he said again: "I strongly suspect that this 'Hong Kong Leather Handbag Company' is rubbish." A leading comrade concerned with the State Planning Commission held one discussion with a person sent by Ke and received this impression: "I feel that what he said is incredible and unreliable"; "it looked like his background and these data were all big talk"; "his way of speaking was grandiose and the price he wanted was high" and "therefore, we paid no attention to him." In short, other comrades were not fooled; only Yang Yibang and his comrades were completely taken in by Ke.

We say that Ke was certainly not a brilliant swindler, and one proof of this is Ke's own "confession without duress." At the end of 1978, after he claimed to be the representative of a consortium that could provide a $100 billion loan, on 20 January 1979 he went from Hong Kong to Beijing and proposed to Yang Yibang: "I don't have a name abroad so it will be hard to carry on my activities and I want you to give me the name of an adviser of the Yanshan Company." Wasn't this enough to show that he was nothing more than an agent for a leather handbag company? Hadn't he already voluntarily exposed his disguise and swindle?

If we were to say that the above-mentioned comrades are worthy of being high-ranking leaders with broad knowledge and wide experience, then they would be able to see through at a glance that this was a swindle; the vigilance of comrades in Guangdong who are close to Hong Kong and Macao is particularly high, and therefore they cannot be fooled; in that case, what about the other comrades? From the beginning other comrades also quickly saw through the swindle and were not fooled. For those who say they don't believe this, here is an example that can prove this point:

It was also in January of 1979 that Ke, at the recommendation of Yang Yibang, signed a memorandum with the China Petroleum and Natural Gas Exploration and Development Company for providing a $500 billion loan. Next, the Petroleum and Natural Gas Exploration and Development Company sent a comrade named Wang Zhenhua [3769 2182 5478] to Hong Kong to continue discussions. In this fashion, Ke repeatedly proposed that he be given the title of adviser and empowered representative so that he would use these titles to seek the loan.

At that time Comrade Wang Zhenhua said: "Seeking loans in this fashion does not require the helping hand of other people, and we ourselves can handle everything." Therefore, he refused to give Ke any title and soon afterward severed contacts with him.

The two contrasts are clear-cut. It is very obvious that what Wang Zhenhua and his comrades did was correct, but that Yang Yibang and his comrades, when they were shown the truth about Ke, still firmly believed in him and did not suspect him and still relied on him to seek the loan. Why was this?

Retracing our steps, perhaps it was because they lacked experience. Indeed, for a long time many comrades have had insufficient knowledge about worldly matters, and when having dealings with foreign businessmen, because of their lack of experience, they have suffered a little loss or been fooled a little bit. This is understandable. The correct attitude is conscientiously to study new problems, conscientiously to sum up new experiences. Yang Yibang and his comrades did not do this. If one's knowledge and experience is insufficient, one can consult experienced and knowledgeable comrades and one can conscientiously study and investigate. But Yang Yibang and his comrades, first, did not listen to the advice of other comrades and, second, did not at the very least investigate and study.

When covering and investigating this case, reporters got hold of much data that showed: the other comrades gave many pieces of advice and put up many objections. Time and again, earnestly and with good intentions, they warned: "Be cautious, be careful!" But Yang Yibang and his comrades stubbornly turned a deaf ear and obstinately, clung to their course! They believed more in this Hong Kong "big shot" than in their own comrades. This is indeed extremely rare.

In that case, in the final analysis why did Yang Yibang and his comrades make such serious mistakes and sink in deeper and deeper? For over 2 years reporters have thought and thought about this, and they feel the reason is covered by two words: small interests. First, they did it, not for the

overall interests or the state's interests, but for the interests of this area and this department of the Yanshan Company of Beijing. They considered nothing but the interests of this area and this department. They did not hesitate to damage the state's interests and the overall interests, and even did not care about the state's honor, prestige, or image. Second, they did it for individual interests. Of course, cliquism is just expanded individualism. But, not stopping with this, they vainly hoped that by this they would blaze a new trail, amaze the world with a single brilliant feat, and heighten their own social status. As for coveting property and for taking and demanding bribes, this is an even smaller interest. Thus it can be seen that being blinded by lust for personal gain was the internal logic behind Yang Yibang's and his comrades' taking a mistaken path.

Of course, the interests of a locality or an enterprise must be taken into account. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, one of the goals of our many reforms of the economic system has been to readjust the relationships between the state and the central authorities and the localities, and let the localities and the enterprises receive their due interests and thus give play to their initiative. At present, we still fall short of this goal, and therefore we must persist in our reforms and perfect our reforms. The problem is that, in uniting the interests of the state, the locality, and the enterprise, we must benefit the locality and enterprise but even more benefit the state, and we must benefit the part but even more benefit the entirety and the situation as a whole. In order to unite and coordinate the relationships between those interests, there must be discipline and supervision.

But, in the view of Yang Yibang and his comrades, foreign trade discipline, financial and economic discipline, and foreign affairs discipline, since they united the interests of the whole and the part, were for them a restriction and an obstacle. Could they abide by this kind of discipline? No, they wanted to breach it. Therefore, their repeated violations of discipline were not a question of their having a weak concept of discipline but of them giving no thought to abiding by discipline.

It was precisely because they were driven by these "small interests" that they not only did not agree that Ke was a swindler but even felt that he was a friend who could be trusted! That Yang Yibang could hand over internal letters to this, in his eyes, "big shot" to bring from Hong Kong to Guangzhou was simply a case of "making no distinction between what's one's own and what's anothers." This is also not strange, because Yang Yibang and his comrades wanted to blaze a new trail, and this so-called new trail they wanted to blaze, in their plan, needed the support of an overseas "god of wealth." Therefore, they fell into a lamentable single-track way of thinking When Ke turned up and said that through him they could get a loan from a consortium, Yang Yibang and his comrades did not consider whether this "god of wealth" was true or false, real or unreal. The reason for this was that they plunged headlong into the trap, which certainly was not brilliant, set by Ke and were led astray to the extent that they were unwilling to turn back and would not even admit to themselves that they had been cheated and fooled.

The above-mentioned views were obtained by reporters through coverage and investigation of this case and provide the reader with reference materials. In the final analysis, has the key and crucial point of the mistakes made by Yang Yibang and his comrades been brought out? The answer must come from profound thought on the part of Yang Yibang and his comrades.

However, there is a point that must be affirmed: it was absolutely not because of the open door policy and principle that they committed such mistakes. Without a doubt, the open door policy is a correct policy and principle. Since the third plenary session, by carrying out this policy and principle we have obtained distinct results and there are plenty of outstanding people who have carried out this policy. We must continue to carry it out in the future. The only question is whether it is carried out correctly or in a distorted or mistaken fashion, whether its correct implementation is protected or obstructed. On this point no distortion or misrepresentation is permitted.

9727
CSO: 4005/1309

PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF CADRE EDUCATION EMPHASIZED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 8, 20 Aug 82 pp 33-34

[Article by Sha Hong [3097 3163]: "Strategic Decisions On the Education of Cadres"]

[Text] Cadre Education and Intellectual Development

Cadre education is a major problem having relation to the success and failure of our socialist modernization. Its importance and urgency are becoming more and more obvious. In 1978, when Comrade Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721] came to the CPC Central Committee's Organization Department to be its director, he laid down the following tasks for the department: 1) to implement policies, 2) to adjust the leading group, and 3) to give good education to cadres.

Our party has always paid great attention to the education and training of cadres, and has very good traditions and experience. Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly pointed out that when cadre education is successful, our enterprise will have great opportunities; otherwise, there will be no future. He stressed that the cadres should learn new and unfamiliar things all the time. As our party has paid serious attention to cadre education, a large number of qualified personnel have been trained and brought up to manage party, military and state affairs. Of course, from our cadre education in the past, we have also learned a lesson and taken a roundabout course. Mainly in the late 1950's and under the "Left" influence of the guilding thought, we could not properly solve the problem of how to transform the revolutionized cadres into a specialized intellectual force. In the 10 years of turmoil, much less could we talk about the education of cadres.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, with the shifting of the focus of party work, cadre education is being restored gradually. Regarding the work of cadre education, the leading comrades of the party Central Committee have given many instructions and stressed the importance of cadre training in documents and reports. In 1980, in his speech on "The Current Situation and Task," Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that we should have a force of cadres who persist on the road of socialism and have professional knowledge and skill. Without real ability and learning, we cannot achieve modernization in the four fields. At whatever posts, cadres must have definite professional knowledge and skill; otherwise, they must learn. Those who have

some knowledge and skill must learn more. Those who cannot or are not willing to learn must face readjustment. We must organize and readjust leading groups according to professional requirements, and give play fully to the role of professional personnel. In his speech at the meeting in celebration of our party's 60th anniversary, Comrade Mu Yaobang made the following remarks: At present, we are facing the major task of learning anew. It is the hope of the party Central Committee that all party comrades, and the younger comrades in particular, will brace up, strengthen their party spirit, enhance their political consciousness, acquire more theoretical and practical knowledge, and learn more about management and technology as required by their own occupations and specific jobs. The results of our study will determine the quality of our leadership and work and will have a direct bearing on the progress of the socialist modernization of our country.

As we always say, after the political line is determined, the conditions of the cadres play a decisive role. In our organization work, if we only transfer and use the cadres without giving them training and education, it will not do. The fundamental task of organizational work is to train and educate the cadres, give them new knowledge, and improve their quality in accordance with the party's line and tasks. In our present construction work, we rely mainly on the cadres in service, and thus face the problem of educating and training cadres on their jobs and changing the structure of the cadre force.

Not long ago, Comrade Chen Yun [7115 0061] pointed out: In the next 20 years, we should greatly strengthen our educational and scientific undertakings. Man's brains cannot be destroyed, not even by the atomic bomb. The political, vocational, technical and cultural training of cadres is an intellectual development which requires very little investment but produces very great results. As a matter of fact, this learning increases latent productive capacity and lays down a foundation for future development. Comrade Chen Yun described cadre education as a kind of intellectual development. This is a great strategic question which was raised by summing up past experiences at home and abroad.

Since World War II, the economic growth of Japan has been promoted by education. Though such high-speed growth is very unusual and conceals unsurmountable internal contradictions, the speed of its economic development is quite fast. Many factors have taken part in this high-speed development. Certainly, intellectual development must have played a fairly important role. After the war, the Japanese Government aimed first at people's intellectual education and then at science and technology. In the United States, some bourgeois theoreticians have also paid serious attention to education. They hold that the quality of people is more important than the number of people, and intellectual investment is more important than material investment. An American source shows that from 1948 to 1969, 41 percent of the increase in national income came from improved technical management and workers' higher techniques.

Generally speaking, our cadre force is good, or fairly good. However, judging from the historical task of modernization which we are taking on, in quality our cadres still have a long way to go. The quality of cadres should be

considered in three aspects: first, political quality, which is basically different from that of any Western capitalist country; second, professional quality, or intellectual quality, which means the professional knowledge and skill of cadres to fulfill their duties; and third, the practical quality of a practical worker who never talks big but can proceed from reality, seek truth from facts, and carry out his specific duty according to the party's line and policies. Knowledge is not entirely equal to ability. Some people have good knowledge but cannot necessarily apply their knowledge flexibly in practice. We have many comrades who possess a practical quality.

At present, the main problem of the quality of cadres is that their intellectual and professional qualities are fairly poor; but this does not mean that they need not be trained to improve their political and practical qualities. They should also improve these qualities; they should study Marxism-Leninism further and use it to tackle new issues under the new situation. In the current situation, we should grasp the improvement of cadres' intellectual quality as a weak link.

The Basic Task of Cadre Education

Recently, the organs under the CPC Central Committee and those under the State Council carried out a structural reform. Soon afterward, the central authorities undertook the work of training and educating cadres, and pledged to make cadre education a regular and normal system, to help cadres improve their knowledge of Marxist-Leninist fundamental theories, their own specific jobs and science and culture, improve their leadership and administration ability, to truly become qualified personnel of the party and the state, who persist in the road of socialism and posses professional knowledge, and to enable all our cadres to meet the requirements for the development of socialist modernization. This is the present basic task of cadre education.

In the work of cadre education, we must set different demands on the cadres in accordance with their different conditions. Without certain specialized knowledge and cultural qualifications, those who work in central organs can hardly suit the needs of the work of leading organs. Particularly after the structural reform, we demand higher work efficiency, better quality of work, and an end to the malpractice of bureaucracy and overstaffing. It is natural to set higher demands on the cadres.

We must conduct the education of cadres according to their characteristics of being cadres and adults; we cannot copy the regular curricula for youth. The cadres are known for their practical experience and good understanding. But past circumstances compelled them either to cut short their cultural study or to forget from long disuse the fairly high cultural education they received. Progressing in an orderly way and step by step is the law of education. It is entirely possible for the cadres to gain certain cultural and professional knowledge with curricula and teaching materials properly selected and compiled according to the characteristics of cadres. In the future, among the cadres of all central organs, the proportion of those having a college education should increase every year; and among the leading groups of ministries and bureaus, cadres having a college education should also constitute a larger

proportion. In short, the central organs will take the lead in the work of cadre education so that they will become not only organs of leadership and administration but also great schools of training personnel. Comrade Zhao Ziyang [6392 4793 7122] has laid very great stress on this issue and has even discussed about what measures to take. Generally speaking, education should be carried out in a social and modern way, through various channels and methods, either separately or collectively. In the work of cadre education, we must not do things in a simple and careless manner. We should set different requirements of study for different persons and for different types of work.

In the curricula of cadre education, the science of leadership and administration deserves serious attention. Many people in this country are carrying out research and hopefully can produce quickly the outline and teaching materials on these subjects in accordance with our requirements. The science of administration and the science of leadership are not entirely the same, as they not only cross each other but each has its respective emphasis. Lenin said that administration requires experts who are proficient in all aspects of production, understand modern high technology of production, and have received certain scientific training. Therefore, the science of administration should be the specialized subject of leading cadres.

Necessary Policies and Systems

To make cadre education a regular and normal system, we must definitely lay down some necessary policies and systems. First of all, we must bring cadre education into line with the whole national economic plan and national educational plan. We must have a long-term plan and also yearly plans. All administrative and vocational departments of education should include cadre education in their own operating plans and management systems. The education of cadres is not only the business of the organizational department, the Ministry of Education and the workers' education committee, but also the business of the party and the state.

Before doing its work well, every department must first train and educate its cadres. In the past, as cadre education was not listed in the plans, there were various problems in the education of cadres. One of the problems was that those who were in a position to make decisions and give commands in their units and were also in most need of education did not undertake study. Another problem was that courses in most need were not provided. If we fail to include cadre education in the plans and regard it as our own business, we cannot solve these two problems fundamentally. All departments should have foresight and be willing to spend some money to train cadres of their own departments and systems.

Next, every 3 years the cadres of central organs should leave office to study for 6 months. After a half-year of study, they can work again. After a period of work, they should go to study again. In the future, this should be the normal system.

Third, we should link the education and training of cadres with the assessment and employment of cadres in order to change the abnormal situation that

it makes no difference whether one studies or refuses to study, whether one studies hard or carelessly, and even that one puts oneself at a disadvantage by taking up study. The present situation has been brought about by the fact that study has nothing to do with employment and promotion. In the future, when we check on cadres, we should check not only their work but also their study. In the employment of cadres, we should take into consideration not only their qualifications and the record of their service but also the standards of their education and training. A system to assess cadres; proficiency must be set up and perfected, the results must be put on record. When a cadre has completed the study of required courses and passed the exmination, he will receive relevant credits. Those who have high credits and can apply their learning in practical work should have the priority for promotion and employment among cadres with otherwise similar qualifications. This is a reform of the cadre system.

Fourth, during the period of study, any cadre who has left his job to study should receive the same treatment in welfare and wage increases as those who remain in office. Some cadres who have left their jobs to study and who meet difficulties in living should be properly looked after. The training of cadres is also capital construction, and we should encourage the cadres to study and give them necessary assistance and security regarding concrete problems. The party Central Committee is very much concerned with the middle-aged intellectual cadres regarding their difficulties in work and living, and has determined to solve problems in this field step by step. Comrade Chen Yun holds that this is capital construction within capital construction. Cadre education is likewise a kind of capital construction. We cannot see only material things and not the people; we must recognize the importance of intellectual development to socialist modernization.

Fifth, as regards comrades working in central organs who are college graduates or have received systematic vocational training, particularly those younger comrades who lack practical working experience, we should organize and arrange them, in a planned way, to receive frontline training and gain practical experience. This is also an important policy not to be ignored to improve the quality of our cadres. In the future, our veteran cadres will retire while new cadres will come to fill up the vacancies, so we should pay even greater attention to this problem.

9039
CSO: 4005/1310

PARTY AND STATE

RECTIFICATION THROUGH IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION CARRIED OUT IN HEILONGJIANG

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Pilot Rectification Programs at the Grass Roots Level Organizations in Our Province Have Achieved Results--Do A Good Job in Ideological Education, Improve the Quality of Party Members"]

[Text] Since 1979 our province has carried out rectification in certain grass roots level organizations. Pilot rectification programs have been carried out in 290 units over the past 3 years. This year the pilot programs have been expanded to include 201 party committees (among which are 94 above the level of county or regiment), 276 general branches and 3,707 party branches. 66,464 party members have participated. From beginning to end in this rectification, every area has worked hard at ideological rectification, gotten a firm hold on the key link of party member education and solved the ideological problems of joining the party. Through education, the political quality of party members has been greatly increased, morale has undergone a profound change, the proportion of qualified and basically qualified party members has jumped dramatically and the number of basically unqualified and unqualified party members has clearly fallen.

In this rectification, every area has primarily educated party members in three areas:

The first is to seriously study the line, principles and policies since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and solving problems concerning the maintenance of political unanimity with the Central Committee of the Party. We have dispelled the doubts of certain party members, cleared up a lot of muddied ideas, corrected certain mistaken concepts, and seen to it that the field of vision of party members was widened, that their awareness was raised and that their understanding of ideology was truly unified and improved. According to an analysis of Yabuli Village in Shangzhi County, of 373 party members who took part in the rectification, 142 had muddied ideas about Chairman Mao and Mao Zedong Thought and, for 132 of them, things were made clear; 169 had muddied ideas about what was good and bad and right and wrong throughout the past 32 years and, for 165 of them, things were made clear; and 231 had muddied ideas about the line, principles and policies of the party and, for 222 of them, things were made clear.

The second is to study the "Party Constitution (Revised Draft)" (and later also the "Guiding Principles"), focusing on improving the political quality of party members and solving the three problems of maintaining firm communist beliefs, establishing the goal of whole-hearted service of the people and upholding the standards for communist party members. Through rectification, the party members in Xianfeng Commune in Wangkui County primarily clarified three basic points: the first was that the interests of the party com' be-fore all else, that when handling conflicts between party interest and indi-vidual interest, one should adhere to the principle of unconditionally serving the interests of the party; the second was that a clear line must be drawn be-tween proper individual interests and ultra-individualism, that it is proper that the party organization show concern for the individual interests of party members, but that party members indulging in individualism is shame-ful; the third is that wholehearted service of the people is determined by the nature of the party and that scheming for private gain is a reflection of the ideology of an exploiting class. Through study, the broad party members in the Bureau of Light Industry in the city of Jiamusi made it clear that when handling conflicts between the interests of the party and those of the individual, we must maintain three no changes--regardless of time or place, placing the party's interest first does not change; the principles of placing others before self and working selflessly for the common good can not change; and the requirement of hard work before pleasure can not change.

The third is to carry out anti-corruption education, maintaining the purity of communist party members. The pilot rectification programs prior to 1981 primarily set about correcting unhealthy tendencies and teaching party members to preserve the advanced nature of the party. In the Poli County supply and marketing network, 18 of 20 of the leading members of the leading groups at the party committee and branch levels used their authority to one extent or another to engage in unhealthy tendencies. During the rectification they seriously analyzed how these unhealthy tendencies seriously damaged the work of the party and the prestige of the party organization and saw to it that everyone realized that improper party work style is a reflection of the ideo-logy of bourgeois egoism and is totally incompatible with the nature and goals of the party. The problem was that this aspect of education was not approached from the high plane of the struggle against corruption.

This year, from the beginning of the rectification of the grass roots level organizations of the party, every area began with the idea of implementing the spirit of the "Emergency Notice" and other documents of the Party Central Committee and, in combination with attacks on serious criminal activities in the economic realm, carried out penetrating education of party members on opposing capitalist ideological corruption. We must check erroneous ideas at the outset, overcome individualist thinking, seriously remold our world outlooks and forever maintain communist purity.

In rectification each area must pay attention to maintaining the correct edu-cational principles and methods, combining self-education and mutual criticism, combining the raising of consciousness and the solving of practical problems and combining the improvement of education and the fostering of the roles of party members. Everyone recognizes that these methods are relatively good and have been seen to be so through the good experience we have had in recti-fying the grass roots party organizations under the new situation.

9705
CSO: 4005/1092

IMPLEMENTATION OF PARTY POLICY ON INTELLECTUALS DISCUSSED

Shanghai Results

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 3 Aug 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Important 'Capital Construction'"]

[Text] This municipality, in accordance with the spirit of Party Central Committee directives and under the uniform arrangement of the municipal party committee, started in mid-April to conduct an overall inspection of our work regarding intellectuals. Through this inspection we have basically learned of some of the problems encountered by various categories of intellectuals throughout the municipality, improved the understanding of the vast ranks of our party members and cadres with respect to the party's policy on intellectuals, further established close relations between the party and the intellectuals, and thereby enabled the intellectuals to feel deeply the care and trust extended by the party and the state and further inspired their enthusiasm to love the party and the country and to dedicate themselves to the four modernizations.

During the 5 years and more since the smashing of the "gang of four," the implementation of our policy on intellectuals in Shanghai has achieved conspicuous results. We have carried out reinvestigation and rectification in cases of litigation for the intellectuals persecuted by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and thrown out all slanderous, fictitious testimony imposed upon them. While restoring leading offices to a contingent of old intellectuals, we have at the same time selected a contingent of middle-aged and young intellectuals and sent them to fill vacancies in the leading groups at various level. Since 1978, the whole municipality has promoted 3,400 professors and associate professors, researchers and associate researchers, and high-ranking intellectuals as well as more than 63,300 engineers, lecturers and middle-level intellectuals. We have readjusted the work of more than 17,000 professional and technical cadres who were not applying what they had studied, solved the problem of couples living separately for more than 10,970 intellectuals, and made some efforts to improve the working and living conditions of intellectuals. But from the standpoint of the overall situation, not a few problems still exist in our effort to implement our policy on intellectuals, and they need to be solved.

From the inspection operations this time, we can see that the key to whether or not our policy on intellectuals is well implemented lies in whether or not our cadres, especially our leading cadres at various levels, have a clear perception of our work regarding intellectuals. Worthy of note is that among some of our cadres, their prejudice toward intellectuals has not been eliminated even up to this day, and some have even complained about our implementation of the intellectuals policy being "excessive." Let us take a look at the facts. In practical work, some units do not pay attention to giving scope to the intellectuals' roles, and nonparty intellectuals who have entered leading groups find themselves occupying offices but enjoying no authority; in some individual units there are even practices of ridiculing, attacking, and finding fault with intellectuals; teaching and scientific research personnel are still occupied with rear service and miscellaneous tasks; rewards to technical personnel in engineering in factories are lower than those granted to workers; some units follow explicit provisions regarding looking after leading cadres of the party and government in housing distribution, but they lack the necessary consideration for the special point that intellectuals are engaged in mental labor; some units tend to be overly critical with intellectuals who ask to join the party, thinking that the family background of these intellectuals is not very good, or, under the pretext of "complicated social connections" and "political and historical problems," refuse to encourage them to join the party. All this serves to illustrate that implementation of our policy on intellectuals is not only not "about right," but is not at all "all right"; not "excessive" but rather "inadequate" in many aspects.

Here we need especially to stress the question of improving the working and living conditions of middle-aged intellectuals. Today, Shanghai has altogether more than 230,000 middle-aged intellectuals, who make up more than 65 percent of the total ranks of all intellectuals. In the teaching and research offices of some universities, the research offices of some scientific research institutes, and the design divisions of some factories, middle-aged intellectuals even make up more than 80 percent. A great majority of them are those we have trained since liberation; they have received fairly systematic education in cultural and scientific knowledge, they have been repeatedly tested politically, too, and in practical work they are playing a pivotal role; they constitute the backbone force on the various fronts today and for some period ahead. Yet their wages and salaries as well as their housing conditions are generally low and inferior; we are making more use of them but not giving them as much. Some middle-aged intellectuals are now worrying about their knowledge becoming obsolete. In addition, the composition of talent has not been rational, the burden and involvement in nonprofessional undertakings are heavy, and these tend to limit and affect the demonstration of their positive roles. The time for solving these problems has arrived. Several years ago, because of the state's limited financial resources, we mainly concentrated on the implementation of our policy on old intellectuals; during the next few years the state will give priority to gradually improving the working and living conditions of middle-aged intellectuals. This is an important policy decision of a strategic nature made by the Party Central Committee. If we fail again to seize this opportunity to give full play to the middle-aged intellectuals'

core role and bridge role, we will suffer great losses and bungle great matters!

The "Resolution" issued by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee clearly points out: "It is impossible to build socialism without culture and our intellectuals." Marx called intelligence "the most reliable form of wealth, both a product of wealth and a producer of wealth." The more developed a society, the more socialized its production becomes, and the more important also is the role of knowledge and intellectuals. Helping intellectuals to solve some of their practical difficulties, especially improving the working and living conditions of middle-aged intellectuals, should also be regarded as "capital construction." Only by making a success of this can we speed up the development of our four modernizations.

"All wealth has been created by workers and peasants; how much can intellectuals count?" This view is obviously wrong. The Party Central Committee has long declared that intellectuals are a part of our toiling people. Workers and peasants are indeed creators of our social wealth, but intellectuals are likewise the creators of our social wealth. Along with the development of our modernization, science and technology are both playing increasingly greater roles in the development of our production, and all this cannot be separated from mental labor. At present, 60 percent of the industrial profits and 40 percent of the production increase in many of our cities depend on science and technology. Any thinking and conduct slighting knowledge and intellectuals would be incorrect and harmful.

"They are going to cock their tails again." This estimation is not in accordance with the intellectuals' present overall situation. The fact that the enthusiasm and creativity of intellectuals is not given full play is our main question today. We should follow the spirit of the central policy decisions to adopt effective measures and do a good job of mobilizing and developing the intellectuals' enthusiasm. If we take the already mobilized enthusiasm as a "tail," that would be a demonstration of the "Leftist" prejudice of despising and discriminating against intellectuals, as well as a reflection that the remnant poison of the "gang of four" has not yet been thoroughly eliminated. Party committees at various levels should carry out among party members and cadres education in the party's policy on intellectuals, and put work on intellectuals on their agenda for discussion and examination several times a year. The Party Central Committee has clearly pointed out that mobilizing the enthusiasm of the vast ranks of our intellectuals, bringing their talent into full play and thereby achieving results should be taken as one of the important indicators to ascertain the quality of leadership work of a locality or a unit. Hence, leading cadres at all levels must take their work regarding intellectuals as an important duty. When implementing our policy on intellectuals, we should at the same time ardently look after the intellectuals' political progress, and strengthen our ideological and political work with respect to the various ideological problems they still have. We must urge leading cadres at various levels to make friends with intellectuals, enhance their understanding, initiate talks in general, and help the intellectuals to continue to improve their ideological and political consciousness.

In order to bring the intellectuals' role into full play in our new historical era, party committees at all levels should under present conditions and within possible limits closely undertake to solve the practical problems the intellectuals face. For example, we should actively select good middle-aged and young cadres to enter the leading groups at various levels; through examination, all those who are qualified should be given timely promotion in their technical offices and titles; we should pay attention to raising the intellectuals' academic status and social status, etc. When the solution of certain problems, such as low wages and crowded housing, would create more difficulties, we must rely on uniform arrangement and gradual improvement. In a word, we must not passively wait for arrangement and deployment by the superior levels but should proceed from actual conditions and take the initiative in solving these problems. When conditions are present for solving them, they should be solved right away; when conditions are temporarily not present for solving them, conditions should be created for their solution. Having done this, even if some problems still are not solved for the time being, the intellectuals will understand. We believe that as long as we turn the central policy decisions into actions, the enthusiasm of the vast ranks of our intellectuals is bound to be further demonstrated in making even greater contributions to the cause of our socialist modernization.

Zhejiang Efforts

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Aug 82 p 4

[Commentary by Jiao Huima [3542 1920 7802]: "The Key Lies in Overcoming the 'Left' Designation"]

[Text] In accordance with requirements of the Party Central Committee and under an arrangement by the provincial party committee, during the past few months our province has carried out an overall inspection of our work on intellectuals. Most units have done a serious, effective job. They have proceeded from reality in conducting education among the cadres on the party's policy on intellectuals, enabling them to improve their understanding of the status and role of intellectuals; basing themselves on the spirit of implementing while inspecting the policy in its operations, they have solved certain practical problems for the intellectuals. Thus experiencing the party's care and warmth, the vast ranks of intellectuals have become inspired in their enthusiasm for our socialist construction.

But generally speaking this work can only be said to be a beginning; its progress has been somewhat uneven and still falls far behind the main requirements. In inspecting and implementing their work on our policy on intellectuals, some units and departments have not been able to make further progress, this naturally represents one aspect of their practical difficulties, but the main thing is still a question of ideological perception. Some comrades do not think much of implementing our policy on intellectuals; they regard the intellectuals as having already been elevated a great deal during the past few years and they think there is not much more to be done. They murmur that "the intellectuals are very difficult to deal with, because their desires are

a bottomless pit which can never be fully satisfied." From these comrades' point of view, the status of intellectuals is already high enough, and their salaries are good enough, and there is basically no necessity to implement any special policy on intellectuals. This perception both fails to accord with our actual situation and violates the party's policy. From the problems revealed in the inspection of our work on intellectuals this time, we can see that some fine middle-aged and young backbone cadres are still suppressed in their respective places and are not able to play their role very well; not a few fine intellectuals are not brought into the party; political conclusions about certain intellectuals still leave a tail, and in their files there are still unsubstantiated data. As for the difficulties in their work and their lives, these are even more numerous. In a word, our work in implementing the policy on intellectuals is not completely fulfilled and many things remain to be done.

In order to accomplish well the inspection of our work on intellectuals from beginning to end, we must first of all overcome the erroneous ideas of the "Left," remove our biases and prejudices about intellectuals; we must carry out a reeducation of the cadres and the masses regarding the party's policy on intellectuals and enable everybody to really understand; the vast ranks of our intellectuals, like the workers and peasants, are forces on whom our socialist construction depends. Without the intellectuals, our four modernizations cannot be realized; this is like lacking armed forces in wartime, without them we cannot possibly win victory in a war. Therefore, at present and for a long period ahead, implementing our policy on intellectuals and doing a good job in our work on intellectuals is an important task; it is required by the party and the people; it is required by the four modernizations; it is a strategic measure of profound significance.

We must also see that in past years the vast ranks of our intellectuals have been subjected to persecution and have suffered all kinds of wrongs; they could not expect fair treatment, and they have traveled a bumpy, zigzag road. Despite this, they still love the party and their socialist motherland, working diligently and selflessly. Their reward has not been commensurate with their labor; this has been especially salient in the case of middle-aged intellectuals. We should take the initiative to protect them, look after them, and warmheartedly help them solve their difficulties so as to enable them to work with even more concentration and devotion and make greater contributions to our four modernizations.

In this regard, units like Zhejiang University, Hangzhou Institute of Electronic Engineering, and Zhejiang Institute of Chinese Medicine have done a relatively good job. They have conscientiously studied the series of directives issued by the Party Central Committee on the question of our intellectuals, continued to overcome the influence of "Leftist" ideas, recognized the important position occupied by intellectuals in the four modernizations, and taken the implementation of our policy on intellectuals as the greatest policy of their respective institutions. With such profound understanding, they put the inspection of their work on intellectuals high on the agenda of their respective party committees and, in respect to their intellectuals,

made a point of fully trusting them politically, using them boldly in their work, and ardently looking after their living conditions. In this way, they were able to do their work penetratingly and meticulously and solve problems in time. Thus, they further built closer relations between the party and the intellectuals, and mobilized the enthusiasm in work on the part of the vast ranks of intellectuals, so that it has been possible to launch various work projects of these institutions sooner and their teaching and scientific research results have been eminent.

To sum up, the inspection of our work on intellectuals should begin first of all with heightening our ideological perception and overcoming the influence of the "Left." Once our thinking becomes pertinent, relevant methods present themselves, and policy can thus also be readily implemented. If we entertain an attitude of catering to an official assignment, performing under order, and passively responding to the situation, we will be unable to do things well, and the inspection of our work on intellectuals is bound to be perfunctory.

'LIAONING RIBAO' Commentary

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Aug 82 p 2

[Commentary by Yu Shichang [0151 0013 2490]: "Rain Must Be Dispensed After Thunder--Looking at the Potential of Implementing Our Policy on Intellectuals From Three News Items"]

[Text] The party and the state are right now beginning to improve the political treatment and living amenities of middle-aged intellectuals; to those intellectuals over 40 years of age this is really like being caressed by the spring wind. "A good rain always knows the best time, it chooses the spring to come forth"; leading cadres of not a few units are "dispensing rain" in time and doing their best to change intellectuals' working and living conditions. But theire are also comrades who brag entertainingly at meetings, yet sing a song about "difficulties" afterward. The masses call this "hearing only thunder but seeing no rain."

GUANGMING RIBAO recently published three news items in succession: The first item reported that Xiong Shide [3574 0013 1795], who graduated from Tongji University and was assigned to work in Qinghai in 1961, had twice been denied opportunities to have his wages adjusted, and even his engineer title was considerably delayed in being appropriately appraised because he expressed his views to the leadership. Only when the provincial governor intervened later was he promoted to the post of engineer. The second item reported that the Keshan County party committee in Heilongjiang Province at one time decided that the various systems under its jurisdiction could raise their own housing construction funds; when the farm machine division implemented this on a per capita basis, it prescribed that the average housing construction expenditure for division chiefs was to be more than 5,000 yuan each, whereas that for engineers was to be only 1,200 yuan. After a leader of the county party committee discovered this, he had the allocation changed through some personal

effort, so that an engineer and a division chief were treated equally and priority was also granted to engineers in having housing allocated to them first. The third item reported that the Tianjin Dining Appliances Plant No 5 originally decided to allocate housing according to the number of family members and similar conditions; technical personnel did not rate any consideration. Later, the plant leaders cited the intellectuals' special contributions to the workers and determined that, in allocating housing, the nature of the contribution must also be considered. As a result, three technical personnel were allocated housing.

These three news items indicate that when our policy on intellectuals is implemented, the various departments and units may dispense both thunder and rain; their potential is very great. In our implementation of the policy on middle-aged intellectuals, certain problems involve many concerns and the work is therefore rather complicated; once leading comrades personally come forward to engage themselves in the solution of difficult problems, such work can always achieve results. Today's problem is that the enthusiasm of certain comrades in implementing our policy on intellectuals still has not been demonstrated; they have a bias in varying degrees toward intellectuals and lack an understanding of the great role intellectuals can play in our four modernizations; hence they tend merely to do some propaganda work and issue appeals; as for concrete work, they are sorry, they have to ask others to do it. From this, we can see that to tap potential we must first of all tap that of leadership work; once the leading comrades all have enthusiasm and a sense of urgency in implementing our policy on intellectuals, then the working situation will be very different. There is also potential in the various departments and units implementing our policy on intellectuals, and they are by no means all unequal to their assignments. But some comrades wait passively for the superior level to allocate funds and materials to them; otherwise they get nothing done. Today, relying on their own strength, many units have already done quite a lot of work and solved certain problems of intellectuals so that they don't have to look back while engaged in their work. If we turn our glance downward instead of upward, many approaches will present themselves to us. Even if some things are found to be hard to achieve temporarily, there is still great need for political care in seeking to make explanations like a close friend.

Implementing our policy on intellectuals, especially middle-aged intellectuals, concerns the fundamental interests of the state and the people. If we have the enthusiasm of both the party and the state as well as that of varicus departments and units, our policy on intellectuals can indeed be fully implemented.

9255
CSO: 4005/1277

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION, AND CULTURE

REFORM OF EDUCATION IN PHILOSOPHY PROPOSED

Beijing GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT] in Chinese No 3, 82, pp 28-29

[Article by Gao Qinghai [7559 3237 3189], professor of the philosophy department of Jilin University: "My Suggestions on Reforming Education in Philosophy"]

[Text] The reform of education in philosophy consists mainly of handling the following three relationships well: relationships between basic education and professional education, between intellectual education and aptitude training, and the relationship of theory and history to the current situation. Although within the framework of education in liberal arts, these three topics have something in common, they occupy special positions in education in philosophy.

Before graduating from the philosophy department, students must build a broad and solid philosophical foundation which qualifies them to meet the needs for the continued development of our socialist construction program. Edcuation in philosophy is a work designed to deal with problems facing various divisions of study and even various trades and profession. Following 4 years of education in philosophy, only a very small number of students can be hired by the philosophical research institutes to engage in narrow philosophical research work. The majority of graduates will devote themselves to education in philosophy, or education in philosophy-oriented theory, or related research and propaganda work, at universities and other research institutes, in party and government organizations or even at factories and enterprises. This a matter of objective reality as well as a normal development.

Since all trades and professions are in need of people to advise them on the Marxist world outlook, the philosophy departments must be devoted to the training of the talent needed to help our country raise its Marxist philosophical and theoretical levels. In considering a special education program, we cannot merely rivet our eyes to the needs of the philosophical research institutes for such talent. The more we do so, the narrower the road ahead of us will become. If we consider the situation as a whole, we must first concentrate on basic education, which provides a basis for us to consider whether special study programs should be strengthened. Special education in philosophy covers many divisions of study. Before graduation, philosophy students must build a foundation which will enable them to conduct research,

education and propaganda projects associated with these divisions of study, as dictated by the needs of their work. Even a senior student must first lay a philosophical foundation in general before proceeding to concentrate on a specific area of study. Basic philosophical education consists of three courses: basic theory, basic philosophical principles and basic philosophical knowledge. Although, at present, these three courses are being taught in different ways, they all face a specific problem. Let me first discuss the third category of basic courses. Education in philosophy covers a wide range of basic knowledge, including natural and social sciences, and the science of reasoning. How to enable students to have an effective grasp of these most necessary fundamentals to meet the needs of education in philosophy in a few years is a problem that cannot be easily tackled. Take basic knowledge of natural sciences for example. Basic knowledge in this respect required of majors in philosophy is not the same as majors in sciences. Majors in philosophy must strive to acquire an overall command of all branches of study. In addition to coming to grips with theoretical fundamentsl, they must understand the latest achievements in these fields. The contents of these courses must be concise and should not be allowed to take up too much of scheduled school time. This is a problem that cannot be easily handled. We cannot offer philosophy students courses in mathematics, physics and astronomy, as we do majors in sciences. This is a long-standing question to which no effective answer has been found. As an answer to this question, I would like to suggest that teaching materials required to meet the needs of education in philosophy be compiled and teachers dedicated to this special form of education be trained. At present, some schools have made available to students a course in the general concept of the history of scientific thinking, a course that is deemed absolutely necessary. The existing teaching staff must be strengthened in order to make it a success. Apart from this, forums on specific subjects of study must be provided. Since this is a problem that is beyond the ability of any single institution of higher learning to solve, I hope that the Ministry of Education will organize institutions of higher learning to take concerted action to address to this problem.

Courses in basic theory and philosophical fundamentals such as philosophical principles, history of Chinese and Western philosophies, and classic Marxist-Leninist works are undoubtedly very important branches of study, and therefore should be strengthened. What efforts can be made to strengthen them? I think this is at the core of the problem. At present, there is a growing tendency to add hours to sessions scheduled for education in philosophy on the assumption that additional sessions must be scheduled in order to strengthen education in philosophy. Such requests for additional sessions in philosophy stem from the swelling of its content. Once the additional sessions are approved, the content is certain to swell again. By going into this cycle, we would make such basic courses lose their original nature and functions, and their contents duplicate one another, thus bringing unnecessary additional burdens to students. Basic courses must be treated and taught as basic courses. Efforts must also be made to make them function like basic courses. Answers to certain philosophical questions in special courses should not be allowed in basic courses. Sometimes, unnecessary elaboration will not produce good results. Once the content becomes complicated, the lines become hazy and the tenets of philosophy become unnecessarily scholastic. In this

way, it is not possible to strengthen basic courses in a true sense. As seen from the current teaching programs, generally speaking, too many sessions have been scheduled for basic courses, and time allocated for each has been unnecessarily extended. Efforts must be made to cut the number of such sessions, along with the length of time allowed for each of them. Cutting the number of the sessions does not mean lowering the quality of education, but raising it. Meanwhile, some of the content of the study program can be shift to elective courses so that students will still learn as much as they can. Although the study program appears to be cut in quantity, it is actually strengthened by making adjustments to a variety of subjects of study.

The relationship of theory and history to the current situation is mainly a matter of concern which must be handled in accordance with the education-oriented guiding thought, and in connection with the arrangements for the contents and the scheduling of courses in these subjects of study. We must attach importance to the three equally important aspects of education, and we must schedule them in a well-organized and well-cordinated way. For years, we have noted a tendency to "give undue emphasis to history, and little attention to theory and fear touching reality." In the eyes of many people, history ranks foremost, and theory is at the bottom of the ladder. Under such circumstances, many people have shifted their interest to history, one after another, while practical philosophical issues have begun to lose their popularity. Of course, this situation is created by many factors. Whatever the factors, the trend in which a large number of students who have graduated from the philosophy department have shifted their interest to history while losing interest in theoretical studies and practical problems will tend to hamper the development of courses in philosophy, and therefore should be reversed. At present, a survey of the contents of education in theory, as seen from the fact that majors in theory know nothing about history while majors in history know nothing about theory; when they reluctantly try to forge a link between the two, they can hardly touch the depths. A survey of the arrangements for courses also shows that the theoretical theme in certain elective courses is out of proportion to other themes, and its quality is inferior to that of the historical theme; the subject of study of practical problems is even not touched upon, thus leaving a blank to be filled. Although the conference on liberal arts held in Wuhan in 1978 adopted a social survey program as part of a resolution on education, the reality is that it has never been effectively implemented. The lack of funds and difficulties investigators have encountered in society have made it impossible for them to carry out any systematic investigation in a well-planned manner. Particularly noteworthy is a lack of teachers specializing in the study of theory and method of social survey. This shortage of teachers trained in this field will naturally lead students to conduct surveys without objectives in mind. Problems of this kind must be solved. Otherwise, students who have graduated from the training will find themselves unable to measure up to the needs of the development of the socialist construction program. If this situation is allowed to develop, the consequence is not hard to predict. I hope that the Ministry of Education will hold a special meeting to study and solve this problem.

How to handle properly the relationship between intellectual education and aptitude training is a universal problem which seems more important to educa-

tion in philosophy, whose fundamental purpose is to apply Marxist philosophy which is a combination of scientific views of the universe, epistemology and methodology as a vehicle to develop viewpoint and method which can help students analyze and solve problems in a scientific way. This fundamental purpose of education in philosophy cannot be achieved unless students are capable of transforming all necessary knowledge they have acquired into viewpoints and methods which can help them survey problems and into a theoretical process of thinking. Students must strive to build this capability through the study of theories, and must lay a foundation for this purpose during their college years. This is a problem which involves the contents and methods of education, and in the final analysis, a problem which gives food for thought guiding education. During the past several years, classroom teaching has been conducted as an important link in education and an entirely necessary step in strengthening education in philosophy. In the past, we have inherited many good methods and good experiences in theoretical education. Today, these excellent traditions are under the threat of being thrown away due to our failure to emphasize them adequately. Efforts must be made to stop this trend. An example in this direction is discussion which is an excellent method for inspiring intellectual power through the execution of theoretical education. We can come to grips with theory by coordinating education in theory of world outlook with the endeavor to change the world outlook. Everyone should display a bold spirit to stress the need to "change the world outlook." If we fail to change the world outlook, how can we comprehend and come to grips with dialectical theory with a metaphysical method of thinking? This trend has been widespread among students (and some teachers) today. On the basis of concentrating on classroom teaching as a link in education, we must attach importance to other links in education. Only in this way can we help students stimulate their enthusiasm for study, and increase their ability to think over, analyze and solve problems independently.

9574
CSO: 4005/1243

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION, AND CULTURE

SURVEY REVEALS INCREASE IN NUMBER OF COLLEGES, STUDENTS

Beijing GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT] in Chinese No 3, 82, Mar 82 p 21

[Article: "A General Survey of Institutions of Higher Learning in China in 1981"]

[Text] In 1981, China had 704 institutions of higher learning (including 518 universities and colleges, and 186 junior colleges, up 270 from the level of 1965 and 29 from the level of 1980).

1. In 1981, the institutions of higher learning throughout the country, including colleges and junior colleges, enrolled 278,800 freshman students and graduated 139,600 students; their student population was 1,279,500 (including 1,060,700 4-year college students and 218,800 2-year college students), up 11.9 percent from the level of 1980.

The number of students enrolled in each of the following departments and their percentage are as follows: The department of engineering had 461,300 students who made up 36 percent of the total; the department of agriculture had 78,800 students, 6.2 percent; the department of forestry had 13,600 students, 1.1 percent; the schools of medicine and pharmacy had 159,000 students, 12.4 percent; normal colleges had 321,500 students, 25.1 percent; the department of liberal arts had 69,100 students, 5.4 percent; the department of sciences had 99,800 students, 7.8 percent; the departments of finance and economics had 47,900 students, 3.7 percent; the departments of political science and legal affairs had 10,000 students, 0.8 percent; the department of physical education had 11,200 students, 0.9 percent; and the department of art had 7,300 students, 0.6 percent.

2. The faculty members of the institutions of higher learning totalled 666,300. Among them were 249,900 full-time teachers, up 3,000 from the level of 1980. Of the full-time teachers, 5,037 were professors, 21,421 were associate professors, and 126,965 were lecturers.

9574
CSO: 4005/1243

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

INTEGRATING PARTY, MODERN HISTORY COURSES IN SCHOOLS

Beijing GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT[in Chinese No. 4, Apr 82 pp 5-8

[Article by Hwang Meilai [7806 5019 0171] "The Teaching of Chinese Communist Party History and Modern Chinese History Should Be Integrated"]

[Text] At present, it is necessary to carry out reforms in political theory courses in the areas of course curriculum, teaching materials, course coordination, and instructional methods. How do we bring about these reforms? It will not do to proceed merely from general reasoning, nor will it suffice to proceed from partial experiences of the past. We must proceed from the actual ideology of the students, in order for the reforms to achieve results. Our integrating the teaching of party history with the teaching of modern history is one example.

Viewed from the general trend, the ideology of the current generation of students is sound. They are rich in ideals, bold in their innovations, lively in thought, diligent in their learning, and eagerly hopeful that the motherland can rapidly realize the four modernizations. However, due to their relatively young age and to their having grown up during a turbulent era, they cannot but carry with them the characteristics of that era in their thinking. Not only do they lack the experience of the old society, but they also are without any pre-"Cultural Revolution" experience; not only do they lack basic general political knowledge, but they do not have any basic historical knowledge, either. These deficiencies have caused some of our young students to develop nebulous and erroneous ideas regarding the four fundamental principles. Some students harbor doubts in their hearts and feel that the idea that the Chinese revolution must be led by the Communist Party and that socialism is the inevitable course of history are all Communist Party propaganda. Some even say: "That China has not resolved her problems is because China has not passed through the historical stage of capitalism; China ought to make up for this one lesson in capitalism now."

We are of the opinion that the reasons for the development of the above-mentioned ideas are manifold. Among them, one main reason is that the students do not understand the history of China. Many people have not yet understood from history how the Chinese revolution developed so that it can only be led by the Chinese Communist Party and how it can only go down the socialist road.

To counter such a situation, we feel it is necessary to add to the course on the "History of the Communist Party" a section of materials on modern Chinese history of the period prior to the creation of the party and, through lively and concrete historical facts, enable the students to understand the developmental process of the old democratic revolution and its regulated pattern, and make clear the historical inevitability of Chinese Communist Party leadership and China's going down the socialist road. In this manner, as we come to introduce studies on the history of revolutionary struggle after the establishment of the party, the students will find the teaching more acceptable. In 1979, we set up test points in some departments. After the summer vacation of 1980, we made these changes across the board in classes in party history. Experience over the past 2 years demonstrates that this reform has been successful. Minimally, it has obtained comparatively good results in the following three areas:

First, the reform has enhanced the students' understanding of the four adherences, particularly adherence to party leadership and to the socialist path.

Modern Chinese history certainly constitutes good educational material for carrying out instruction of the four fundamental principles among young students in the aspect of the laws of historical development. In modern history, ever since the encroachment of imperialism in 1840, which turned China into a semicolonial, semifeudal society, people of every social strata and every political persuasion but forth various plans and paths in attempts to solve China's contradictions. History has dealt them just conslusions and appraisals and summarily has made it clear that Chinese Communist Party leadership is a historical choice and that assuming the socialist path is a historical imperative. A classmate in the chemical engineering department wrote in a brief conclusion: "Studying modern Chinese history leads one to see clearly that China's taking the socialist road is not something purposely arranged or conjured up by certain people but is the summation of experience of several decades of collision, bloodshed, and sacrifice. Let's try to take a look at the many different plans: The absolute egalitarianism of the petty bourgeoisie, constitutional monarchy, capitalist reform, the capitalist republic, etc., all failed to work. Only socialism is the inevitable course of history." Another classmate in the mechanical mathematics department wrote in his brief conclusion: "These past several years I have often heard people arguing that the capitalist system is better than the socialist system, and complaining that China has not experienced capitalism. This is all because they do not understand history. Through a study of modern Chinese history, we can clearly see from the failure of Kang Youwei's reformism, the abortive attempt of the 1911 Revolution, and the series of events which took place thereafter that the plan of a capitalist republic will not work in China."

Through studying modern history, many students--seeing the failure of the Taiping Revolution led by the peasant class, the bankruptcy of the Hundred Days' Reform led by the bourgeois reformists, and the eventual miscarriage of the 1911 Revolution led by the capitalist revolutionary clique--further realize that for the Chinese Communist Party to lead the Chinese revolution is the "comparison of the classes," the "choice of history," and the "demand of the

times." By studying modern Chinese history, they also learn from the Taiping Revolution, the Hundred Days' Reform, and the 1911 Revolution that whether revolutionary movements were led by the peasants of by the bourgeoise, the subjective reason for their ultimate failure was their own inherent class-restrictive nature, which rendered them incapable of correcting errors and overcoming the difficulties caused by their own restrictiveness and thus resulted in eventual failure. Using the technique of class a alysis, students learned that although the proletariat and its vanguard ranks also made mistakes during the revolution, the proletariat and its political party have been fully capable of utilizing their own strength to surmount difficulties, correct errors, and continue to advance the cause; such knowledge has also strengthened the students' confidence in party leadership.

The above-mentioned situation makes it clear that, through lively historical facts, rich historical experience, and the gradual introduction of the historical pattern in the necessity to firmly uphold party leadership and take the socialist road, we will make the material more readily acceptable to the students. Some students said to the teachers: "The teachers not only tell directly how great the Communist Party is and how wonderful socialism is, but the historical accounts and experiences of modern history you mention also enable us to understand the truth of the need to follow firmly the party's leadership and to take the socialist road." This explains that the students have begun to acquire an understanding of the four fundamental principles in light of historical materialism. The classmate who originally throught China ought to make up for a lesson in capitalism eventually wrote in his conclusion: "In studying modern Chinese history, I realize that it is not China which should make up for a lesson in capitalism. It is we young people who should make up for a lesson in modern Chinese history."

Second, thestudy of modern history heightens the patriotic consciousness of the students.

Modern Chinese history is a history of struggles, patriotism, and anti-imperialism. During the period of more than a century, prominent sons and daughters of the Chinese people shed their blood and sacrificed their lives for the independence and prosperity of the motherland. Their tragic and heroic deeds have deeply moved the hearts of the young students. Many students are determined to take these patriotic, noble-minded people as their models to uphold the glorious tradition embodied in "In the rise and fall of a nation, every man bears a responsibility," and to contribute their capabilities to the four modernizations. One student wrote in his final paper: :If the chief expression of patriotism at that time lay in the launching of a brave, unyielding, persistent, anti-imperialistic, antifeudal struggle for the independence, wealth, and prosperity of the motherland, the expression of patriotism today should lie in the struggle for the realization of socialist modernization of the motherland and the revitalization of China." One student wrote: "I thank the school and the teachers who have unfolded a corner of our mother's clothing, revealing the scattered bloodstains and multiple wounds. They have stirred up ripples on the calm waters of university life and have stimulated patriotic zeal in my heart." "Motherland, don't you know how grieved and outraged your son is when he knows of the devastation

you have suffered! Today, bearing this knowledge in mind while launching our troops toward the four modernizations, we will enable thousands and millions of people, particularly those of the younger generation, to strengthen their will to realize the four modernizations."

Patriotism is the ideological foundation for the firm adherence to the four fundamental principles. Today, anyone who truly loves the motherland and wishes her strength and prosperity will certainly follow the party in taking the socialist road. Socialism is the home of true patriots. In today's China, a young person who truly loves the country must also necessarily love the party and socialism. Prior to the time of the "Cultural Revolution," the ideological development and growth of intellectuals were generally summed up into three stages: From the ideological awareness of patriotism to the development of socialist awareness and to still further development in the establishment of a world view of communism. It appears that these three stages still constitute the ideological developmental pattern of today's intellectuals. Because of this, some students have brought forth the proposal: Modern Chinese history ought to be a required course for the Chinese people.

Third, the study of modern history creates the conditions for those below to study the history of the party in leading the people in the revolutionary struggle. At the same time, it enhances the students' interest and enthusiasm in taking political theory. Some students wrote down their thoughts in this area in their briefs, while others wrote directly to the teachers expressing their views. One student from the department of automotive studies wrote: "One is still required to take the political theory course upon entering college. Having no alternative but to comply, I decided to do some "personal work" during the political theory class. The first time I brought along the unfinished dairy of the previous day. However, upon the conclusion of two class meetings, I found that what was recorded in the diary were actually the thoughts generated from listening to the teacher's lecture on modern history. ...Since that class meeting, I devote my whole attention to the political theory class, feeling that the recess bell rings too soon. I am afraid that I haven't been this serious in attending the mathematics class." Furthermore, as one student from the physical engineering department wrote to the teacher: "Respectful teacher: We freshmen in physical engineering enjoy very much listening to your lively lectures. ...We are so eager to gain more social knowledge. ...Now there are some people who talk about their dislike of the political theory class and blindly suggest abolishing it. I think this is wrong. We dislike dead, inflexible political dogma. What we desire is a lively, enlightening political theory course."

In teaching the history of revolutionary struggle, as we come to the period following the establishment of the party, we have appropriately modified and enlarged the scope of instructional materials on party history. Deviating from past practice, when we only taught the history of line struggle within the party, we have added to the course content certain introductions and analysis on the various apsects of the enemy, our allies, and ourselves. These changes are in accord with the ideological realities of the students. For example, in lecturing up to the period of the 10-year civil war, in the past

we would at the very beginning open with lectures on the circumstances and nature of the revolution following the failure of the great revolution; the three uprisings; and continue with how our party, following the failure of the great revolution, found the only correct road for the development of the revolution--the road of the Red regime--while barely mentioning the regime established by Chiang Kai-shek in 1927. It was permissible to instruct this way in the past, because the students were knowledgeable about the reactionary nature of the Chiang Kai-shek regime. There was no doubt in their minds that such a regime had to be overthrown. Today's students do not have the advantage of comparison between the old and new societies, nor do they have basic historical knowledge. Therefore we must first of all help them to recognize clearly the reactionary nature of the Chiang regime. Right at the beginning we emphasize in our teaching the antirevolutionary regime established by Chiang Kai-shek after the "12 April" coup, exposing from the political, economic, military, diplomatic, and various other perspectives the fact that the regime established by Chiang Kai-shek between 1927 and 1932 was a traitorous and dictatorial regime, plagued by internal strife, which had to be overthrown. Upon the foundation of this understanding, we proceed with the lectures on the theories and practice of the Red regime.

Take another example. As we come to the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, realizing that some students are quite ignorant about the reasons for fighting Japan, we will add a class which specifically reveals and analyzes Japanese imperialism and the savageness and ruthlessness of the war of aggression it launched, letting the students know that not resisting Japan would have led to the demise of the nation and to extinction of the race, and that to steadfastly fight the war of aggression was the only way out for the Chinese people.

There are some advantages in broadening the content of party history, incorporating it into modern Chinese history, and introducing and analyzing the situation with regard to the enemy, our allies, and ourselves from political, economic, military, and cultural perspectives. First, it enables students to gain a deeper understanding of the historical experience, line, general and specific policies of the party; second, it employs the method of comparative studies, as we did in the study of the history of the period of the old democratic revolution. During the period of the new democratic revolution, through comparisons between ourselves and the Kuomintang, bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, various factions and political representatives, we enable the students to understand why the Chinese revolution must be and can only be led by the Chinese Communist Party down the socialist road.

Mentioned above are some of the reforms we have launched in our "History of the Communist Party" course. The main point is to combine the teaching of party history with that of modern history, adding to the course a section of modern history and broadening the content of party history. The duration and frequency of class meetings should also be modified, based on necessity. Of course, these reforms were formulated according to the actual ideological situation of enrollees in the past 2 years. Hereafter, if the teaching of high school history has been intensified and high school students are all able to systematically learn Chinese and foreign history (including modern Chinese history) well, we will need to reconsider the methods of conducting party history education based on the new situations at that time.

9519
CSO: 4005/1239

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

STRENGTHENING PROPAGANDA WORK IN MINORITY AREAS EMPHASIZED

Commentary on Efforts

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by SICHUAN RIBAO commentator: "Efforts Must Be Made To Strengthen Propaganda Work in Areas of Minority Nationalities"]

[Text] Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, further efforts have been made by our province to strengthen propaganda work along with other work under the guidance of the party's correct line, principles and policies. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that following their circulation and implementation, the guidelines of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee have proved instrumental in leading party organizations in areas of minority nationalities to attach greater importance to propaganda work, to take bold steps to assume responsibility in case of emergency, and to uphold principles essential to the development of the two civilizations. Although the current situation on the propaganda front is excellent, under the impact of certain historical factors and the 10-year turmoil, the propaganda front serving areas of minority nationalities in our province has found itself unable to meet the need for the development of the four modernizations program and to satisty the demands of minority nationalities. For this reason, successful steps must be taken further to promote propaganda work in areas of minority nationalities.

In a nutshell, the key objective of propaganda work in areas of minority nationalities at present is to arm the minds of cadres and people of all nationalities with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, to ehlp them increase their communist consciousness, and to stimulate their political zeal and enthusiasm for production and for serving socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. To this end, vigorous efforts must be made to convey to the public the essence of the communique of the Seventh Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and to mobilize cadres and people to welcome the triumphant convocation of the 12th party congress with practical actions. Efforts must be made to continue to convey to the public the Central Committee's and the provincial party committee's principles and policies on the development of the economy. Further steps must be taken to enforce the production responsibility system in all forms until it becomes a perfect and stable institution which is instrumental in bringing

economic prosperity to areas of minority nationalities as quickly as possible. Extensive efforts must be made to develop and publicize the "five stresses and four points of beauty" activity; and no effort should be spared to build a socialist spiritual civilization, and to persist in educating people in communist ideology. Vigorous efforts must be made to pay tribute to the advanced, to foster a new lifestyle, and to break with or change the obsolete conventions and old customs and habits. Efforts must be made to transform the people of this generation into new people with ideals, morality and culture and conscious of the need to abide by discipline. Efforts must be made to strengthen the development of culture in areas of minority nationalities in order to satisfy the urgent needs of people of minority nationalities for cultural activities. Effective measures must be taken to raise their scientific and cultural levels while steps must be taken to strengthen the education of party members and cadres, strengthen unity among the people of all nationalities, and mobilize them to provide active and better services for the development of the four modernizations program.

The key to success in promoting propaganda work in areas of minority nationalities lies in constantly helping cadres at all levels raise their awareness of the importance of these areas to our nation. The areas of minority nationalities constitute an important, inalienable and integral part of our beautiful motherland while the people of minority nationalities are indispensable members of a big family composed of people of all nationalities in this country. Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "China considers the people of minority nationalities indispensable to its growth. There are numerous minority nationalities in China who live in an area larger than that inhabited by the people of Han nationality, an area which abounds in material wealth. The minority economy is indispensable to our national economy." For this reason, in the course of developing the four modernizations program, any discriminatory attitude in the work dealing with the area of minority nationalities including propaganda and cultural work is wrong. To strengthen propaganda work and to develop cultural activities in areas of minority nationalities call for bringing two initiatives into play. On the one hand, the area of minority nationalities must rely on their own efforts, count on their own resources in every possible way and work hard to bring their superiority into play, while on the other hand, the provincial level departments, especially propaganda and cultural departments, must be mentally prepared to make contributions to the areas of minority nationalities, and do everything possible to give them strong support and assistance until the common endeavor to promote propaganda work there bears fruits.

The successful implementation of propaganda work in areas of minority nationalities calls for continued efforts by comrades on the propaganda front to emancipate their minds, and to display a cheerful spirit, enthusiasm and a high sense of responsibility on behalf of the party's cause. If we are determined to achieve success in developing the areas of minority nationalities, we can certainly help the propaganda department there open a new front, and raise the quality of its work to a new level.

Conference Held

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Aug 82 p 1

[Article: "Sichuan Holds a Conference on Improving Propaganda Work in Areas of Minority Nationalities"]

[Text] From 4 to 11 August, the propaganda department and the propaganda work commission for areas of minority nationalities of the provincial party committee held a joint conference in Xichang to discuss propaganda work in areas of minority nationalities.

Nie Ronggui [5119 2837 6311], deputy secretary of the provincial party committee, attended and concluded the conference with a report. Responsible comrades of the propaganda department and the propaganda work commission for areas of minority nationalities of the provincial party committee attended and spoke at the conference. This conference on propaganda work in areas of minority nationalities was the first of its kind ever held in Sichuan since liberation. The conference conveyed important speeches by leading comrades on the Central Committee. As a result of study and discussion, the conference made clear that the key objective of propaganda work in areas of minority nationalities is to arm the minds of the broad masses of cadres and people with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, to increase their communist consciousness, and to stimulate their political zeal and enthusiasm for production and for the development of the two civilizations. The conference also emphasized the need to carry out the following major tasks: First, vigorous efforts must be made to convey to the public the guidelines of the Seventh Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and practical action must be taken to welcome the triumphant convocation of the 12th party congress. Following the opening of the 12th party congress, successful efforts must be made to organize a study and propaganda campaign, to arm the minds of cadres and the masses with the spirit of this congress, and to translate its guidelines into practical action. Second, efforts must be made to continue to convey to the public the essence of the related documents issued by the Central Committee and the provincial party committee, further steps must be taken to enforce the rural production responsibility system and sum up related experiences until it becomes a stable and perfect institution, further efforts must be made to stimulate the enthusiasm of the masses for expanding production. Third, vigorous efforts must be made to strengthen the building of a spiritual civilization, and to further develop the "five stresses and four points of beuaty" activity in a way that takes into account the actual needs of areas of minority nationalities, to educate people constantly in the "three loves" under socialism and the four basic principles. Fourth, vigorous efforts must be made to strengthen the building of cultural facilities in the countryside, and successful efforts must be made to develop education as a matter of first priority.

The conference maintained that the successful implementation of propaganda work in areas of minority nationalities calls for: (1) taking into consideration their special characteristics and actual conditions and adoption of methods that conform to the local conditions, methods which will

result in raising the levels of the quality of propaganda work; (2) strengthening the building of a propaganda contingent composed mainly of workers of minority nationalities; (3) active efforts to occupy the ideological and cultural positions and to develop in every possible way propaganda and cultural activities. The conference emphasized that the key to success in promoting propaganda work in areas of minority nationalities lies in further strengthening the leadership of the party over the work dealing with areas of minority nationalities; the propaganda department should bring its role into play as an advisor to the party committee on the ideological front; comrades on the propaganda front must continue to emancipate their minds, do everything in high spirits, keep in close touch with reality and conduct study and investigations as part of a conscientious and effective effort to understand and guide the ideological activities of minority nationalities; they must study new situations, solve new problems, blaze a new trail and open a new path to the future as a great contribution to propaganda work in areas of minority nationalities.

During the conference, comrades were greatly elated by the news on the communique issued by the Seventh Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. They all pledged to welcome the convocation of the 12th party congress with great political zeal and practical action. The conference was attended by more than 120 persons including responsible comrades of prefectural, county and municipal propaganda and cultural departments in Garze, rba. Liangshan and Leshan Prefectures inhabited by the people of minority nationalities and of provincial level departments concerned.

9574
CSO: 4005/1335

BRIEFS

HIGHER EDUCATION FOR ADULTS--In 1981, there were 1,346,300 adult students in institutions of higher learning throughout the country, down 207,800 or 13.4 percent from the level of 1980. Among them were 268,000 radio and television university students, down 56,400 or 17.4 percent from the level of 1980; 49,100 students in institutions of higher learning for workers and peasants, including 48,640 workers and 4,600 peasants; 58,730 middle school teachers who were performing on-the-job training at colleges. [Text] [Beijing GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT] in Chinese No 3, 82, Mar 82 p 9] 9574

CSO: 4005/1243

FRIENDS OF DISSIDENTS REPORT ON CURRENT MAINLAND SITUATION

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 9 Sep 82 pp 28-31

[Article by Jiang Peng [3263 2590]: "Dialogue With Friends of Wei Jingsheng, Liu Qing"]

[Text] I went to Beijing on a pleasure visit with a young friend of mine from Guangzhou. In Beijing this veteran Red Guard encountered many "old comrades in arms." One evening, we unexpectedly met with several friends of Wei Jingsheng and Liu Qing, and talked with them about the new situation pertaining to Wei Jingsheng, Liu Qing, and others; the three crises on the mainland--the political, economic, and moral crises; and the 17-year consequences of the 10 years of calamity and the three possibilities for future change in China. Below is the main content of our conversation:

Host: The people of Hong Kong are very interested in our democracy movement within the country!

Guest: The Hong Kong press has reacted very quickly to the democracy movement on the mainland, and to some extent it has also refelected the city residents' interest in the democracy movement.

Host: What are some of the things that the Hong Kong press has reported?

Guest: Almost all of the articles by Wang Xizhe, Wei Jingsheng, Liu Qing, and Xu Wenli, as well as the important articles on Xidan Democracy Wall, have been published by the Hong Kong press.

The Spirit of Martyrs

Guest: What is the latest news about Wei Jingsheng, Liu Qing, and the others?

Host: In China, other people cannot contact these "enemies." Only their family members can see them and deliver necessary things to them. Wei Jingsheng's father long ago took him to be a counterrevolutionary and denounced him as such before his arrest. His girlfriend Peng Ni is very good to him but has not seen him recently. Zhao [6392] X has become responsible for TANSUO, and he is tha author of the poem "For You..." which

appeared on Xidan Democracy Wall. This person has a lot of literary talent, his thinking is liberated, and he is fairly radical. However, Zhao X has been subjected to a great deal of pressure from the Public Security Bureau--both soft and hard--and he has now simply changed into another person: dejected, pessimistic, disappointed. He frequently holds dances in his home and hangs around with youths of shady character. The change in him is particularly longstanding, possibly because the ideological struggle was too fierce. His girlfriend says she wants to "sever relations" with him, and some fairly upright young friends of his have also become estranged from him.

Guest: Liu Qing's "Notes From Prison" caused very big vibrations in Hong Kong. Many newspapers and periodicals strove to be the first to publish it, and also sold it in separate editions.

Host: The price paid for transmitting out "Notes From Prison" was the arrest of Liu Qing's younger brother Liu Nianchu and TANSUO's editor Lu Lin.

Guest: How did the Public Security Bureau know?

Host: It looks like somebody installed bugging devices in their homes. In fact, we people have been put under close surveillance by the Public Security Bureau. However, we are not engaged in any untrustworthy activities, we are not engaged in plots or subversion, so we are not afraid.

Guest: In foreign countries, bugging is a crime. Nixon even lost the presidency because of the Watergate bugging.

Host: But in China security personnel can exercise "dictatorship" over the common people, and all freedoms are sham promises in the constitution. Public security personnel can open your letters, and they can photograph your activities with long-range lens cameras. For them, installing a bugging device is nothing.

Guest: The youths striving for democracy have extraordinary courage.

Host: The great majority of them are people who are ready to give their lives to the democracy movement in the spirit of "martyrs." Many of the viewpoints expressed in the articles written by Wei Jingsheng, especially his article "Do You Want Democracy or a New Dictatorship," have been exchanged between us, and everybody holds identical or similar views. At the time they were written, some of us thought that such things should not be written and such tactics should not be pursued, and the controversy over this was very fierce. But Wei thought that the masses should be told the real situation and he did not shrink from sacrificing everything. His prediction was basically borne out by subsequent facts. Liu Qing took himself right to the doorstep by going to the Public Security Bureau "to defy the law." The Public Security Bureau was put into an extremely awkward position by his refutations and was unable to answer them. But they still exercised "dictatorship" over him. Many articles written by Wang Xizhe used the viewpoints of Marxism to analyze the question of China and the communist movement. What crime was there in that? Why do the public security personnel arrest these kind of youths again and again?

Guest: I have read almost all of the articles by these young people. Their viewpoints are not all alike, but how commendable is their spirit of seeking truth. Putting these young people, who dared to think and speak, into prison will be a great loss to our nation. (When I said this I could not hold back tears in my eyes.)

Host: The spirit and articles of these people are not only admired by everybody, but even in prison many convicts treat them as heroic figures. If Liu Qing had not been helped and covered by other convicts he would not have been able to write "Notes from Prison" in the prison where he was under close surveillance and he would have had no way to get the article out for publication.

Of course, the youths in the democracy movement are made up of good and bad people jumbled together, and also of the dregs of society. Yang Guang and Yu Yi are people of this ilk. After Wei Jingsheng was arrested, Yang Guang still wrote articles that foolishly called on people to take up arms, but in the court in which Wei Jingsheng was tried he cooperated very well with the court and put all the blame on Wei Jingsheng. This person was acquitted. Yu Yi is the author of the peom "The Imperial Palace Is Far From the Chairman's Hall." After being released from prison, he obtained special consideration, so it is thus obvious that he cooperated very well with the Public Security Bureau.

Cooperation Between Reform Faction and Democratic Faction?

Guest: Wang Yizhe holds certain view. He thinkgs that one day the reform faction, within the party faced with attacks by the "whatever faction" and the opportunist-bureaucrats, will go forward hand in hand with the youth democratic faction as well as the intellectuals and the broad masses of people. Do you think this is possible?

Host: China's rulers have always used two methods to protect their authority and position. One method is to display changing moods, being fickle and crafty, so that their subjects will be at a loss as to what to do; the other method is to preach to the common people, coercing you into believing in the ruler's dogma. Old Mao carried on this way. Old Mao slapped himself in the face, saying this one time and that another time. He said he wanted things to be open and aboveboard and did not want anyone to engage in schemes and intrigues, but it was precisely he who continually engaged in schemes and intrigues, saying they were "open plans." He used the Red Guards to make rebellion and strike down his opponents, not hesitating to wreck the entire party and state. AFter his goal was attained, if the Red Guards rebelled against the "revolutionary committee" whose establishemnt he had sanctioned, they were said to be rebelling against Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and were sent to prison. Today the tricks of certain people in the CPC are very much the same as Old Mao's. When they wanted to deal with the "whatever faction," they used the democracy movement inherited from the "May 4th" movement, saying that the masses had been given this right by the constitution and that they had no right to oppose this. But, after the "whatever faction" was basically overthrown, they put on another face, saying that "speaking out

freely, airing views fully, holding great debates, and writing big-character posters" had never played a positive role. One after another, Wei Jingsheng, Liu Qing, and Ren Wanding have been arrested and jailed. Wang Yizhe cannot escape from the same fate. This action by these people in the party truly chills the hearts of the common people of China. The power of the "whatever faction" is still not small, and it is possible that they will join forces with those whom Wang Xizhe calls opportunist-bureaucrats and early in the morning some day pounce on the reform faction within the party after being beaten back by it. This danger exists. However, the democratic forces and the broad masses of people cannot place too big a hope on the reform faction within the party. When striving for cooperation with them, the democratic forces and the broad masses of people must be on the alert for a "change" in them. The democratic forces and the broad masses of people must not just play the part of their tools, but must maintain independence and motivate them to develop in a good direction.

From "Three Cirses in Confidence" to "Three Big Crises"

Guest: Do you think there has been a turn for the better in China's "three crises in confidence"?

Host: We do not see any sign indicating a turn for the better. We think that China now not only has "three crises in confidence" but also that the situation has developed to a point where it faces "three big crises": political crisis, economic crisis, and moral crisis. What is the political crisis? It is the existence of the "three crises in confidence" and the existence of the danger of the "whatever faction's" launching a counter-offensive to retrieve lost ground. Because the reform faction within the party has not thoroughly overthrown the idol of Mao Zedong, the "whatever faction" at any time can attack Deng Xiaoping with some things that Mao Zedong said during the Cultural Revolution, saying: you are a revisionist and China's Khrushchev. This viewpoint has a very big market in the armed forces and in those who have vested interests in the Cultural Revolution. Therefore, once the high-ranking person ascends to heaven, trouble could break out. The economic crisis is obvious. It should be said that the economic situation is much better than it was during the period of the "gang of four." But this year's budget financial deficit is 2.7 billion yuan. The foreign and domestic debt is over 10 billion yuan, and in fact this is also a financial deficit. Because of these things, income must be obtained to repay them. What will be used to repay the deficits? Workers pose this question: The cost of producing a watch is about 10 yuan and it sells on the market for about 100 yuan; the cost of producing a bicycle is between 10 and 20 yuan, and it sells on the market for between 100 and 220 yuan. In both cases, the selling price is 10 times the cost. Where does the money used to buy these things go? Part of it is squandered or gained by graft by the bureaucratic special-privilege social stratum. And isn't part of it taken to support the group of Pol Pot, that murdering prince of devils? Some people say that exploitation has not really been eliminated. In that case, where is the enthusiasm of the workers to come from? If workers are not enthusiastic, production will not rise. So how can the financial deficit be reduced? How can debts be repaid? When the times come, an economic crisis will erupt. The moral crisis is one of the sequelae of

the Cultural Revolution. There is this doggerel: "People in the fifties decade helped people, people in the sixties decade rectified people, people in the seventies killed people, and people in the eighties decade watch out for everyone." Some people who spout communist ethics turn out to be thieves and prostitutes, people who scramble for power and profit, people who make false charges against each other, and people who are corrupt and degenerate. High officials read "Dream of the Red Chamber" and learn from Jia Baoyu to have affairs with women, and some even have affairs with the wives of their sons. When a son's wife gives birth to a child, people ask: Is it the father's child or the son's child? I have seen with my own eyes the sons and daughters of two high-ranking cadres take drugs. The drugs had been smuggled in from HOng Kong. AFter taking the drugs, they said complacently that it was as if they had no bodies and only their spirits remained, and that they felt extremely strange and extremely satisfied. Capitalist society has drugs, they said, so how can we be without them here? If the capitalist society did not have drugs, we would have them here. Isn't this a moral crisis?

Restoration of the Spirit of the Fifties Decade Is a Blind Alley

Guest: Some people think that at the beginning of the fifties decade the CPC was a good party and was supported by the people, and that if the traditions and way of doing things of that time were restored China would change for the better. What is your view?

Host: Most of us do not hold this view. Actually, the 10-year calamity of the Cultural Revolution was a consequence of the 17 years preceding the Cultural Revolution and cannot be separated from those years. If the spirit at the beginning of the fifties decade was so splendid, why was there in 1957 the free airing of views and the "antirightest struggle"? At that time Lin Xiling maintained: "The socialism we have now is not true socialism." "True socialism should be very democratic, but what we have here is not democratic." "The present ranking system is a more terrible class system than the slave system." "The crisis that now exists in the party is that the veteran party members have become degenerate and the new party members have become opportunistic." Chu Anping pointed out the "party domination" and Zhang Bojin brought up the "rustication in rotation" issue, opposing one-party dictatorship and individual autocracy. Which one of these problems brought up by the "rightists" at that time has been solved? If Old Mao had not come up with a "plot" but rather had gladly received this "bitter but good medicine," then there would have been no Great Cultural Revolution, and there also would not have been the democracy movement symbolized by the "Tian'anmen Incident" and Xidan Democracy Wall.

Trying to restore the rule of the fifties decade would be like going down a blind alley. If it were done badly, there is a possibility that acts of rebellion fiercer than those in the Cultural Revolution would be set off.

Wat the Cultural Revolution the PUnishment for the Preceding 17 Years?

Guest: Are you saying that the Cultural Revolution was not a "10-year calamity" but was the continuation of the "free airing of views" in the fifties decade"?

Host: In its initial period the Cultural Revolution was, essentially, a movement in opposition to the special privilege rule of feudal bureaucrats, and was the general eruption by the masses of 17 years' discontent with the way they were ruled. Most of the "capitalist roaders" opposed by the Red Guards were brave men in the "antirightist struggle" of those years. This movement was used by Old Mao to retaliate against his opponents, and it led to evil ways. However, it greatly heightened the consciousness of the masses causing them no longer to have blind faith in the Communist Party, no longer to believe in Mao Zedong, and not to fear bureaucrats. This ran counter to Mao's desire. Precisely because of this, the "Tian'anmen Incident" broke out on 5 April 1976. This was the masses' own great cultural revolution without Old Mao leading it. And the "Beijing Spring" movement of Xidan Democracy Wall was the true continuation of the "May 4th" movement.

The "10-year calamity" was precisely the punishment for 17 years of rule. We must summarize the lessons of the "10-year calamity," and first of all we must summarize the cause leading to the Cultural Revolution. This was the fact that the special-privilege rule of the feudal bureaucrats led to strong dissatisfaction on the part of the masses and produced acts of rebellion. However, the Red Guards mistakenly, under the leadership of Mao Zedong himself, were led into evil ways. Finally they discovered: If any great personage is not supervised by the masses, he will ultimately betray the people. That is why the "Tian'anmen Incident," in the name of mourning Premier Zhou but in fact opposing the contemporary Qin Shi Huang, erupted.

The Cultural Revolution pounded the CPC ideologically and organizationally. It is now extremely difficult for this party to regain the prestige it enjoyed in the past. If the reform faction within the party wants to carry out effective reforms, it will ultimately have to join forces with the democracy movement of the masses. There is no hope of restoring the spirit of the fifties decade--it is doomed to failure.

In the Kuomintang period before liberation, the musician Shu Mu composed a strange song. Now, circulating among the people are many doggerels satirizing the current political situation. There is one doggerel that children like the most: "Eat milk, drink bread. Pick up briefcase on train, put down briefcase and walk north, see people bite dog. Pound stone with dog, stone takes big bite out of me." This is a new "strange song" that obviously expresses popular feeling.

A Broken Generation and a Reflective Generation

Host: After getting in touch with us, what are you feeling about China's youth?

Guest: I think you are commendable youths who think of the important affairs of state. With such youths, there is surely hope for the country.

Host: Have you read the article "A Brief Discussion of the Development of Lu Xun's Thinking" written by Li Zehou of the Philosophy Research Institute? (Host: This article was published in the book "History of Modern Chinese Thought" by the same author.)

Guest: I have not read it.

Host: In the sixties, Li Zehou was one of the three major talents in Beijing University. Of these three persons, one was executed by shooting, one became insane or committed suicide, and only he is active. In this article, he divides the intellectuals since Zhang Taiyan into seven generations: Zhang Taiyan's generation, the "May 4th" movement generation, the Great Revolution generation, Lu Xun's generation, the Liberation generation, and the sixth generation is the generation of Red Guards in the Great Cultural Revolution, while the seventh generation will be that of a completely new historical period. He thinks that the vast majority of the Liberation generation (the fifth generation) was full of innocence and zeal and looked forward to embracing the revolution. They were devout and docile, given more to repentance than to exercising their intellect, but, being placed in a stifling environment, both internally and externally, for a long period of time, they did not accomplish much. The outstanding members of this generation, after witnessing and personally experiencing all sorts of things, gave careful consideration to some fundamental problems. The sixth generation (the Red Guard generation) grew up and matured in an environment of vicious struggle. Leading tortuous lives after they thoroughly understood the reality of the misery in society, they quickly woke up to the fact that they had been duped and cheated. The spirit of bravery and creativity lost by the former generation began to revert to the sixth generation, and they again shouted in resounding voices in opposition to feudalism. They will be a bridge toward and a hope for the future.

The facts are truly like this. Many of us were Red Guards in those years, and, from personal experience, we saw China's problems and the way to explore and solve these problems. Part of our generation has truly become "a broken generation" and the other part is truly "a reflective generation." Neither believing in gods or fearing devils, they bravely explore. They have made all sorts of sacrifices for their ideals. Yu Luoke and others were executed by shooting; and Wei Jingsheng, Wang Xizhe, Liu Qing, Ren Wanding, and others are still in prison. History's judgment will be that these foresighted persons were heroes of our nation, not criminals.

Three Ways That Spur Change

Guest: How do you see China's future?

Host: We feel disappointed. The enthusiasm that exploded when the "gang of four" fell from power has gradually cooled. But we are optimists. We believe the tide of history is irresistible. The existing state of affairs in China will eventually change. There are three possibilities that will impel change.

The first possibility is that the CPC becomes completely rotten and there is no way for it to effect reforms. In that case, there will appear a Polash-style situation and the masses will turn to one or several organization like the Solidarity trade union and force the CPC to effect reforms, or it is possible that the masses, driven beyond their forebearance, will set off a new storm like the "Tian'anmen Incident," or there will appear acts of rebellion by the masses like there was in the early stage of the Cultural Revolution. We hope this situation will not occur.

The second possibility is that the leadership and rank and file will get together to change the present state of affairs. That is to say, the reform force within the CPC and force of the broad masses who demand reform will coordinate and work in concert to effect reforms. When the "practice faction" toppled the "whatever faction," things were done in this way. At present this possibility seems small, but with a change in circumstances it could become big.

The third possibility is that many sons and daughters of high-ranking cadres and young intellectuals, on returning from study abroad, will have learned good experiences in other countries and will effect domestic reforms.

In short, the present state of affairs in China is better than it was in the period of Old Mao and the "gang of four." But some bureaucrats and elements who enjoy special privileges are rigid, decadent, and incompetent. They will not be able to rectify people, arrest people, and kill people as was done in the past. "Hanging up a sheep's head and selling dogmeat"--trying to palm off something inferior to what is purports to be--will also fool nobody. We hope that reforms will be effected by the leadership and the rank and file getting together to do it. This is the relatively best way.

Guest: What hopes have you for the people of Hong Kong?

Host: We hear that representatives of Hong Kong's university students went to Beijing and Guangzhou, where they expressed support for our struggle for democracy. We are deeply touched by this. We thank them and we thank our compatriots in Hong Kong. Before long, it will perhaps be our turn to go to prison. We appeal to the university students, young friends, and broad masses in Hong Kong to vigorously shout for us! Shout for us!

The eyes of each of our hosts were brimming with tears, filled with earnest hope. After leaving them, the sound of their emotion-filled voices continued to echo in my ears.

9727
CSO: 4005/1327

END

JPRS 82160

3 November 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 356

JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE
25
ANNIVERSARY

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82160

3 November 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 356

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' Views U.S. Election Process
(Yuan Xianlu; RENMIN RIBAO, 8 Oct 82) 1

'RENMIN RIBAO' Reviews Political Situation in Panama
(Zhu Manting; RENMIN RIBAO, 7 Oct 82) 3

Egypt, Sudan To Sign Integration Charter
(XINHUA, 10 Oct 82) 6

Franco-African Summit Held in Kinshasa
(XINHUA, various dates) 8

Summit Offers an Opportunity
Summit Ends

Romanian Communist Party Shuffles Members
(XINHUA, 8 Oct 82) 11

'XINHUA' Reports Close of Polish Sejm Session
(XINHUA, 10 Oct 82) 13

Poland Passes Law To Rebuild Trade Unions
(XINHUA, 9 Oct 82) 14

Briefs
'Arafat Demands End To Arrests 16
Al-Wazzan Forms New Lebanese Government 16
France To Increase Defense Budget 16
GCC Meets in Saudi Arabia 17
Chancellor Kohl Meets Soviet Official 17
Palme Discusses Sub Incident 17

Turkish-American Defense Meeting 18
Former Leaders of Polish Body Sentenced 18
Italian CP Delegation Feted 18

PARTY AND STATE

Draft Revision of Constitution Discussed
(TIANJIN RIBAO, 15 Jul 82) 19

Protection of Sanctity of Constitution Urged
(Hua Ding; ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 11 Aug 82) 21

Conference Demands Strengthening Political, Legal Work
(LIAONING RIBAO, 16 Aug 82) 24

Draft Constitution Revision Procuratorial System Viewed
(Ying Houjun; ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 4 Aug 82) 26

Provincial Leaders on 12th Congress Documents
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 14 Oct 82) 29

CPC National Congress Fails To Clear Lin Biao
(BA YI Radio, 14 Oct 82) 31

Upholding Four Basic Principles While Publicizing Legal System Stressed
(Zhang Zhonghou, Zheng Yuanyuan; MINZHU YU FAZHI, 25 Aug 82) 33

Committee Sees Revival, Bright Prospects for Legal Profession
(Ma Wenyuan; HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 19 Aug 82) 47

'REPORT ON THE TIMES' Draws Criticism on Literature, Art
(Various sources, various dates) 49

'WENYI BAO' Criticism
'NANFANG RIBAO' Report

Bad Attitudes of Some Cadres Criticized
(Dong Song; TIANJIN RIBAO, 18 Jul 82) 52

Progress in Public Order Management Reported
(LIAONING RIBAO, 12 Aug 82) 54

'BAN YUE TAN' on Ideological Education, Policies
(Wu Xiong; BAN YUE TAN, 25 Sep 82) 56

Founding of China Law Society Reported
(MINZHU YU FAZHI, 25 Aug 82) 59

Li Desheng on Liu Bocheng's Military Career
(Li Desheng; RENMIN RIBAO, 4 Oct 82) 62

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA Obeying Party's 'Correct Leadership' Stressed
(BA YI Radio, 12 Oct 82) 71

Beibu Navy Group Defends Fishermen, Oil Rigs
(Beijing Domestic Service, 6 Oct 82) 73

Briefs
Urumqi PLA Units' Circular 75
Demobilized Soldiers 75

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' VIEWS U.S. ELECTION PROCESS

HK121258 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Oct 82 p 7

["Newsletter From America" by RENMIN RIBAO reporter Yuan Xianlu: "Contest Between 'Model Citizen' and 'Outstanding Youth'"]

[Text] According to U.S. public opinion, Maryland's State Senator Lawrence Levinton is certainly a respectable person. A law school graduate, he was elected as a state senator on two successive occasions and was chosen as a "model citizen of the year" by Maryland's State Chamber of Commerce in 1981. In this years' state congressional election, he is fighting for nomination as a Democratic candidate with the hope of being elected as a state senator for the third time.

However, Antony Pyke, another Democrat in the same electoral ward, also cast an eye on the seat. He is not at all less respectable than Levinton. As a businessman who has finished university education, he was chosen as "The Outstanding Youth of the United States" by the National Youth Chamber of Commerce in 1979.

Therefore, in Maryland's state congressional elections, the preliminary election has become a contest between the "model citizen" and "the outstanding youth" for the Democratic nomination in Montgomery County.

The "outstanding youth" Pyke suddenly discovered that the "model citizen" was actually not worthy of respect while serving as a state senator because Levinton, as the chairman of the committee of budget and tax collection of the State Senate, took advantage of his power to benefit those large enterprises which had business connections with his law firm. This accusation was printed in pamphlets to be widely distributed among the Democrats of the county.

Levinton immediately staged a comeback, saying Pyke's accusation was absolutely groundless and an out-and-out lie. More than that, he contended that it was none other than Pyke himself who was not worthy of respect because Pyke, pretending to be interested in public welfare, once wrote a letter to the state governor proposing a project with an ulterior motive of establishing business connections for a friend of his.

Subsequently, Pyke called Levinton a "hypocrite" and Levinton, in turn, called Pyke a "liar."

At a press conference held by Pyke not long after, he made such accusations as Levinton's wife having threatened and insulted him in anonymous telephone calls on three occasions. Instantly, he broadcast a telephone recording to the public in which a woman shouted angrily "you despicable liar."

Levinton confessed that his wife indeed made telephone calls, as she was very angry after reading the pamphlet printed and released by Pyke. He contended that what his wife suggested was no more than the advise which Pyke intended to give in his pamphlet. Levinton gave no reason why the telephone calls were made anonymously.

In his appeal to the leading organs of the Democrats, Pyke complained that his election campaign posters were torn up by Levinton's supporters and demanded an investigation into the case. No investigation was conducted, but an editor of a small newspaper in the county spoke for Pyke. The editor said that after seeing a man, driving a green car tear up Pyke's election campaign posters, he immediately made a phone call to Levinton and asked who the man was, but Levinton hung up unreasonably. Later, Levinton replied that he had not sent anyone to tear up the posters and did not know what it was all about. He was holding a party when the editor called him and he had no time to deal with Pyke's helper.

More alarmist news came in late August. Pyke revealed that while campaigning at the entrance to a large store, a young woman tempted him but he rejected her. Not long after, his pregnant wife received a telephone call from a woman who told of her dubious relationship with Pyke. Whereas Pyke held that this was Levinton's dirty tricks, Levinton immediately denied this, hinting that Pyke was playing tricks. He also mocked Pyke with some ironical remarks.

People in Montgomery County were disgusted at the ugly performances made by the "model citizen" and the "outstanding youth" in the election campaign. They said that Montgomery County was one of the richest counties with the highest educational level in the United States and what they expected in the election was debates between gentlemen on different policies, not the vulgar squabble between two rascals.

However, such accusations would not be taken seriously by both Levinton and Pyke. In his famous work about the election campaign of a state governor, which was written many years ago, Mark Twain gave a vivid description of how rascally means were used in a U.S. election campaign. In today's real life, it is nothing new that every conceivable means is used in election campaigns. The contest between the "model citizen" and the "outstanding youth" is by no means abnormal in American-style democracy.

CSO: 4005/54

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' REVIEWS POLITICAL SITUATION IN PANAMA

HK081022 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Oct 82 p 7

[Article by Zhu Manting [2612 3341 1656]: "The Political Situation in Panama Evolving Around the Change of President"]

[Text] Panama, which is known as a "world bridge," is a country situated in Central America. Not long ago, a change in the presidency occurred in this country. Former President Royo announced his resignation and Vice President De la Espriella took his place. Soon afterward came great personnel changes in the government. The changes and development of Panama's political situation have drawn attention from the people who are in Latin America and who are concerned about the situation in this area.

The changes in Panama's political situation started last year after Omar Torrijos, former head of the government and commander of the National Guard, died in an airplane crash. Panama lost a very popular leader, and this led to a power struggle inside the leading group and a large-scale personnel change. This change has once given rise to an unstable political situation.

Over more than one decade, Panama has had a relatively stable political situation. This is inseparable from the policies that General Torrijos pursued. After taking power as a result of a coup in 1968, Torrijos complied with people's demands for safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty. He held high the banner of anticolonialism and waged a prolonged struggle for the recovery of sovereignty over the Panama Canal. At last he signed a new treaty on the canal zone with then U.S. President Carter in Washington on 7 September 1977 and won victory in the struggle. The Panamanian national flag began to flutter over the canal zone and the long-standing national desire of the Panamanian people was eventually realized. In his domestic policy, Torrijos carried forward a process of democratization and gradually returned government power to the people. In 1978, Royo, then-minister of education at 38, was appointed president. According to the stipulation of the constitution, a general election would be held in 1984. These policies were all very popular and Panama could thus maintain a fairly long-term stable situation. This formed a sharp contrast to the turbulent situation in other areas of Central America.

After Torrijos died, the composition of strength inside the Panamanian Government started to change. This was, first of all, reflected in a large-scale change of officers in the National Guard. The Panamanian National Guard is a military force as well as a public security force. For a long time, it was the main strength which had controlled the situation of this country. In early March this year, Flores, the commander of the National Guard who succeeded Torrijos, was forced to retire, and a large number of principal members of the staff department and commanders of local garrisons were dismissed and replaced by Paredez, the new National Guard commander, as soon as he took office. In June, the general secretary of the ruling Democratic Revolutionary Party was also replaced. On 31 July, that is, the first anniversary of General Torrijos' death, President Royo also tendered his resignation. According to the constitution, former Vice President De la Espriella took over the presidency. So leaders of the party, the government and the armed forces, who formed the mainstay of the state power, were all [passage indistinct] Royo for health reasons was the climax of this great change. His resignation was not absolutely unexpected. According to news reports, Royo had openly disputed with the commander of the National Guard, the general secretary of the Democratic Revolutionary Party, the speaker of the National Assembly and other important people. In those days, Paredez openly demanded that the holding of the general election be moved up. This was obviously directed at the president. In addition, the economic recession in Panama was very serious. Its foreign debts amounted to $3 billion. Mass movements and activities of opposition parties became increasingly active. All this destabilized the Panamanian domestic situation. Meanwhile, Panama is of great strategic significance to the United States. This is because, besides the very important Panama Canal, the United States still stations 20,000 U.S. troops in the canal zone and the total investment by the United States in Panama amounts to $2.8 billion. After Mexico and Brazil, Panama is a Latin American country where the United States makes the largest investment. At present, the U.S. Government takes a firm position to support some right-wing military regimes in Central America. But in his foreign policy, Royo preferred to build closer relations with [?Venezuela]. This, of course, went against U.S. intentions. When visiting Venezuela and talking with the Venezuelan president on 27 July, Royo suggested that a conference of Latin American countries' foreign ministers be held in Panama City at the end of this year, and he attempted to exclude the United States from this conference. The Panamanian ambassador in Venezuela even declared that Cuba would be invited to this conference. Royo's position further irritated the United States and widened the difference between him and the National Guard. It is precisely because of these external and internal factors that Royo could not but resign, using his health as an excuse.

After assuming power, new President De la Espriella, acting according to Paredez' suggestion, at once dismissed all ministers in the Royo cabinet as well as provincial governors, mayors and ambassadors, totaling several hundred people. At the same time, he "took a balanced road" when reorganizing the cabinet and absorbed members of opposition parties and other persons in all fields into his government and took steps to restore the domestic economy. In his foreign policy, the new president supported the United States taking

part in the affairs of the western hemisphere and at the same time declared that Panama would continue to side with Latin American countries and Third World countries. He reiterated: "We continue to support the efforts of all peoples in opposing colonialism and striving for independence and territorial integrity. We oppose interference and threats in any forms against weak countries." The series of policies adopted by the new president were s ted to the interests of all parties, and thus no turbulence was evident in Panama, although the government had experienced great changes.

CSO: 4005/54

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EGYPT, SUDAN TO SIGN INTEGRATION CHARTER

OW101656 Beijing XINHUA in English 1639 GMT 10 Oct 82

[Text] Cairo, 10 Oct (XINHUA)--An Egyptian-Sudanese integration charter is ready for signature by President Husni Mubarak and President Ja'far Numayri in a few days, according to local press reports.

As Egyptian Prime Minister Fu'ad Muhyi al-Din put it on 7 October, the charter "covers all economic, military and social aspects."

In the economic field, the two countries will adopt common policies [on] agriculture, irrigation, industry, transport, mineral wealth and communications and practical measures for removing all restrictions with regard to the freedom of movement of persons, capital and trade.

In the military field, the charter lays emphasis on the joint defense agreement between the two sides and on the coordination of defense operations.

The charter also aims as coordinating action in foreign policy and national security.

The charter stipulates the establishment of a higher integration council headed by the presidents of the two countries, which will meet twice every year, a Nile Valley Parliament with 60 members and a fund to finance the integration process.

The signing of the charter is a culmination of the fast growing relations and cooperation between the two countries. Since the restoration of their full diplomatic relations in March last year, the two countries have witnessed a frequent exchange of visits by their presidents, ministers and leading personnel in all fields. There have been coordinated action and joint ventures.

In foreign affairs, the two countries have taken coordinated steps toward major world issues and regional problems. Sudanese President Ja'far Numayri has been leading a campaign for helping improve the relations between Egypt and other Arab countries. At the recent Arab Fes summit, he stressed the necessity of welcoming Egypt back to the Arab world.

In the military field, the two countries signed documents of military cooperation and coordination within the framework of joint defense last December. There have been joint military training and joint military exercises, which, as pointed out by Egyptian Defense Minister Abu Ghazalah, were of a "defensive character."

In the economic field, trade between the two countries reached a total volume of U.S.$124 million last year and is expected to reach $137 million this year. An economic integration zone embracing southern Egypt and northern Sudan has been set up for joint ventures in agriculture. Tens of thousands of feddans of wasteland have been jointly reclaimed in the integration zone.

The police departments of the two countries have taken coordinated efforts to maintain social security. The education departments have improved their ties as well. There are now 12,000 Sudanese students studying in Egyptian universities and 4,000 Egyptian teachers working in the Sudan.

Egypt has a population of 44 million, the largest in the Arab world, and a territory of 1 million square kilometers. The Sudan has a population of over 17 million and a territory of 2.5 million square kilometers, the biggest in the Middle East. Their integration will be an important event. The leaders of the two countries have expressed the hope that both the two peoples will benefit from the integration venture.

CSO: 4000/6

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FRANCO-AFRICAN SUMMIT HELD IN KINSHASA

Summit Offers an Opportunity

OW081258 Beijing XINHUA in English 1218 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Text] Paris, 7 Oct (XINHUA)--The ninth Franco-African summit opening tomorrow at Kinshasa, capital of Zaire, will offer France a chance to enlarge its political consultations and economic cooperation with African nations, thus giving a bigger scope for its influence in that continent.

The summit will be attended by its original 19 member African nations as well as over 20 other African nations which will go as observers.

Chad and Namibia will be the main topics for political discussions, said a French Foreign Ministry spokesman. The conflicts at the Horn of Africa will also loom large at the summit.

The stabilization of raw material prices and issues concerning reduction or exemption of debts will be the focal points in discussions on economic matters. As more and more Third World countries are heavily in debts and the appeal issued by the previous Franco-African summit to stabilize raw material prices has received little response, the forthcoming summit is expected to call for a global conference to discuss the two outstanding issues.

France made it clear that the forthcoming summit should pave the way for the third Lome talks at which a third Lome convention is to be signed. The previous two Lome conventions have proved effective in promoting trade between the African nations and the European Community. Whether the new Lome convention will help stabilize the prices of raw materials is of special concern to the African nations.

On the eve of the Franco-African summit, France reiterated its readiness to reinforce its "special relationship" with the French-speaking nations in Africa. President Francois Mitterrand, in an interview with FRANCE-INTER on 4 October, said that France "is going to reserve the means at its disposal and its attention largely for the French-speaking African countries," and will cooperate with Africa in line with the principle of mutual-respect.

Referring to the current conflicts and external threats to Africa, the French president pointed out that "it would be insensible to allow an imbalance in favor of one superpower to appear there."

Over the past year, there has been progress in the relations between France and the African countries. During a visit to Niger, Ivory Coast and Senegal last May, Mitterrand reaffirmed France's commitments to the security and economies of the French-speaking countries in black Africa.

Last month, the French Government announced that it will provide 20.5 billion francs in development aid for the Third World in 1983, and priority will be given to the French-speaking countries in Africa, particularly the least developed nations. Mitterrand will travel to Burundi, Rwanda and Congo after the summit. All this shows that France sets great store by maintaining and developing relations with the French-speaking African countries.

Summit Ends

OW101603 Beijing XINHUA in English 1501 GMT 10 Oct 82

[Text] Kinshasa, 9 Oct (XINHUA)--French President Francois Mitterrand ended a 2-day discussion, which was highlighted by economic issues, with 36 African leaders or their representatives at the ninth Franco-African summit here today.

The summit indicated that the French Government has attached high importance to the development of its "special relations" with African countries in an uneasy global context. African countries, in particular those in black Africa, supply the most important strategic minerals France needs in its economic development, such as uranium, cobalt and manganese. Africa takes a 20 percent share of France's total exports. France has defense agreements with six African countries and military cooperation agreements with 25 countries in Africa. There are 3,000 French troops and 1,700 military experts in Africa. [A total of] 25,000 French economic experts are working there under cooperation agreements.

French President Mitterrand announced at the summit that his government would make efforts to consolidate and expand the Franco-African "special relations." He promised that during his tenure of office, French foreign aid will increase from 0.32 percent of the gross national product to 0.7 percent, most of which will go to Africa, especially to French-speaking African countries.

It can be seen that Mitterrand wants to use the left color of his socialist government to push vigorously his own "doctrine of the Third World," of which Africa constitutes an important part. The strategic goal of this doctrine is to avoid being pushed aside by the Soviet Union and the United States, to guarantee French material resources and expand market for French products, and to bring Africa closer to West Europe.

On military cooperation between France and African countries, Mitterrand said that his country will strictly implement the military and joint defense agreements with African countries.

He reassured the African leaders that France stands and will stand by the side of their countries when and if their countries are under threat.

The Franco-African summit conference was the brainchild of former French President Georges Pompidou on the basis of the diplomatic policy laid down by General Charles de Gaulle. It was carried on by President Valery Giscard d'Estaing and has been pushed to a new stage by President Mitterrand with the admittance of English- and Portuguese-speaking Africa along with French-speaking nations. Twenty-four African nations attended the 1980 summit. The number rose to 33 a year after the French Socialist Party came into power. This year the figure rose to 37, including Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola.

At present, African countries, especially black African countries south of the Sahara, are faced with growing economic difficulties. These countries are in the main raw material and primary product exporters. Poverty and the worsening international trade has made them debt-ridden and slowed down their economic growth. Under these circumstances, more African nations have come to place hopes on promotion of Franco-African cooperation. They hope that by attending the annual Franco-African summit, they will help expedite the North-South dialogue and correct the unfair and unequal treatment on such issues as the pricing of exported raw materials.

According to a communique issued at the end of the summit, participants in the meeting expressed deep worry over the deteriorating world economic situation and appealed for an "urgent and coordinated" solution to the increasingly unfair trade terms. They demanded an overhaul of the agreement on the setting up of "joint funds" for raw materials and called for global talks on the problem of raw materials pricing. In addition, they wished to see a tranquil and peaceful world, the building of "confidence" between the developed and under-developed nations and a positive role to be played by France in all these aspects.

On the eve of the summit, Congolese Foreign Minister Pierre Nze told the media that "it's no good to imagine France as the savior. It is the African people who, by their struggle and their efforts in overcoming difficulties, hold the key to saving Africa." This view was supported by President Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda when he said after the summit that, although African nations should actively seek foreign assistance, they must rely on self-reliance, on a strengthened South-South cooperation, and especially on unity and cooperation between the African nations.

CSO: 4000/6

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY SHUFFLES MEMBERS

OW090823 Beijing XINHUA in English 0750 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Text] Bucharest, 8 Oct (XINHUA)--At a 2-day plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party ending today, a number of party leading members were removed from their offices for breaking party discipline and state laws.

At the plenum chaired by General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, former Minister of Foreign Trade Cornel Burtica was expelled from the Executive Political Committee and the Central Committee of the RCP, because he was mainly responsible for the violation of party discipline and state laws and great economic losses in foreign trade. He had been dismissed as foreign trade minister last May.

Victor Zglobiu was relieved of his rank as an alternate member of the Central Committee for breaking laws and abusing his position. Ovidiu Maitec lost his position as a Central Committee alternate member and was expelled from the party for "having committed acts incompatible with party membership."

Other personnel changes were approved at the plenum. Virgil Cazacu and Marin Enache were relieved of their posts as secretaries of the Secretariat, because they were to be assigned other positions.

Ilie Verdet and Miu Dobrescu were elected secretaries at the plenum which proposed to relieve Verdet of his post as vice-president of the State Council.

Marin Enache was elected alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, while Petre Danica and Gheorghe Dumitrache were relieved of their positions as alternate members of the Executive Political Committee.

In addition to the personnel changes, the plenum also approved the draft unified plan for national economic and social development in 1983 and five other documents on economic work. The plenum decided to submit these documents to the Grand National Assembly for discussion.

The draft unified plan for 1983 stipulates that the net output value of industry and agriculture will increase 8 percent and 6.1 percent respectively, and the national income will increase 5 percent.

The plenum approved a draft law on investment by the working masses in the state-run economic units with a view to raising development funds. The total investment by the masses shall not exceed 30 percent of a unit's fixed capital. This draft law will be discussed by the masses of people.

The plenum suggested that the Grand National Assembly approve the restructuring of the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development of Romania so that the council may function both as a legislative body of the party and state and an economic parliament. The plenum also prescribed the composition, powers and way of working of the new Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development.

The plenum also decided to hold the National Congress of the Romanian Communist Party on 16-18 December this year.

CSO: 4000/6

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' REPORTS CLOSE OF POLISH SEJM SESSION

OW101226 Beijing XINHUA in English 1208 GMT 10 Oct 82

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Oct (XINHUA)--The 2-day session of the Polish National Assembly (SEJM) was closed here today after approving the new trade union law and other laws.

At the end of the SEJM session, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party and prime minister, delivered a speech. He said that the government had long intended to repeal the martial law, but the continued unrest and disturbances had delayed such a decision. However, the government was still prepared to suspend the state of seige, he said. But no specific date was given for such an action. (On last 21 July, Jaruzelski said at the SEJM that the state of seige would be suspended before the end of the year if the situation is further normalized.)

Jaruzelski said that Poland's economy is still in difficulty, but there have been "some signs of improvement." The country's industrial production in September this year was 4 percent higher than that of the same period last year. Productivity and export also increased. Grain harvest this year was good, but in some provinces the purchased quantity is far short of the purchase plan.

He said that the government will continue to carry forward the economic reformation and will take more effective measures to consolidate and promote the positive tendencies.

He said the new trade union law the SEJM just approved is an important step towards the normalization of social life.

At Jaruzelski's proposal, the SEJM approved the following government changes:

Janusz Obodowski will replace Zbigniew Madei as chairman of the State Planning Commission, with the rank of deputy prime minister. Zbigniew Szalajda will replace Andrzej Jedynak as deputy prime minister. Five portfolios including finance and culture, will also change hands.

A peasants' social organization law was also approved.

CSO: 4000/6

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLAND PASSES LAW TO REBUILD TRADE UNIONS

OW091952 Beijing XINHUA in English 1918 GMT 9 Oct 82

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Oct (XINHUA)--The Polish Parliament today overwhelmingly approved the law on trade unions to rebuild trade unions, thus virtually outlawing the Solidarity Trade Union.

The draft law on trade unions was first submitted to all trade union organizations for discussion early last year, but was not passed because of differences of opinion.

The Polish mass media has recently begun to stress the importance of solving the trade union problem, and described the setting up of new unions as the "best solution."

F. Berytovic said at today's session on behalf of the Legislation Committee of the Parliament that as soon as the law comes into effect, the past registrations for trade unions will cease to be effective, and if a trade union wants to carry out activities, it must register again.

He said the new law lays down the principle that trade unions are independent of state and economic administration bodies, and rules out the possibility of soldiers in the service and policemen and prison staff having the right to organize trade unions.

The law stipulates that when there is no other way out, strike is allowed as a last resort. But no strike with political nature is permitted. If organizations, leaders and participants of strikes and demonstrations violate the law, they cannot be exempted from punishment.

Among the 450 members in the Parliament, 10 voted against the bill, with some absences and nine abstentions.

In a speech on 7 October, Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski said that once the new law on trade unions goes into effect, the "Solidarity" union, the professional union and the self-government union will "cease to exist." He said that the complete renouncing of the existing union system and the reorganization of trade unions is "a very brave and bold step" and "the only wise one."

The Polish Catholic Church takes the bill with clear reservation. It stands for creating conditions for restoring the status of the "Solidarity" rather than banning it. For this reason, Bishop Jozef Glemp cancelled his meeting with Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski scheduled on 6 October. He also gave up his plan to visit the Vatican and the United States.

CSO: 4000/6

BRIEFS

'ARAFAT DEMANDS END TO ARRESTS--Beijing, 8 Oct (XINHUA)--Palestine Liberation Organization's leader Yasir 'Arafat in a message yesterday called on Arab leaders to intervene to stop the repressive campaign by the Lebanese Army against the Palestinians in Lebanon, the Palestinian News Agency WAFA reported. The appeal came amid reports from Beirut that the Lebanese Army has been carrying out mass arrests in West Beirut in the past few days. Lebanese Defense Ministry spokesman Major Atef Torbay said Wednesday the arrests were part of a government campaign to clean Beirut of all arms and to weed out all illegal aliens and deport them. 'Arafat's message said, "I still have the hope that the new Lebanese Government, which would like to build a new Lebanon, would have this establishment based on fraternal grounds, free from these vengeful acts and dangerous practices." 'Arafat held the multi-national force in Lebanon responsible for their "participation in and supervision of" the arrests and for keeping silent. The force is composed of American, French and Italian troops. [Text] [OW081240 Beijing XINHUA in English 1221 GMT 8 Oct 82]

AL-WAZZAN FORMS NEW LEBANESE GOVERNMENT--Beijing, 8 Oct (XINHUA)--Lebanese Prime Minister Shafig al-Wazzan has completed the formation of a 10-member government, according to reports reaching here. Al-Wazzan, who serves a second term as prime minister, made the announcement last night after consulting President Amin al-Jumayyil and Parliament speaker Kamel Asaad. He said that the top priority of his government, made up entirely of newcomers, would be to handle security matters and oversee the reconstruction of Lebanon after Israel's invasion. Members of the new government included: Prime Minister and Interior Minister Shafig al-Wazzan; Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Elie Salem; Minister of Justice and Information Roger Shikhani; Minister of Defense, National Education and Fine Arts Tissam Khoury. [Text] [OW081311 Beijing XINHUA in English 1247 GMT 8 Oct 82]

FRANCE TO INCREASE DEFENSE BUDGET--Paris, 7 Oct (XINHUA)--French Defense Minister Charles Hernu today announced that the national defense budget for 1983 will reach 158.8 billion francs (U.S.$22.9 billion), an increase of 10 percent over 1982. Hernu told a press conference that about 20 percent of the budget will be spent on the development of nuclear forces. The new budget represents about 4 percent of France's gross domestic product. The defense minister said, "If the two superpowers are over-armed and capable of destroying each other many times...we have no intention to invade others, nor do we want to become an over-armed country." Hernu considered the budget "indispensable"

for France to keep it safe from aggression, saying that it will contribute to strengthening the country's security and fight against terrorism. Moreover, it will ensure the French forces nuclear training to maintain their combat power. [Text] [OW081302 Beijing XINHUA in English 1249 GMT 8 Oct 82]

GCC MEETS IN SAUDI ARABIA--Beijing, 11 Oct (XINHUA)--Defense ministers of the six-nation Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) began talks in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia yesterday to discuss closer military cooperation among the member states, according to reports reaching here. Addressing the opening session, the Saudi defence and aviation minister, Prince Sultan Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz al Sa'ud, said that "recent developments in the Gulf and the Arab region as a whole are having serious repercussions on security and stability in the area." Prince Sultan urged the ministers to exert more efforts to achieve closer cooperation between the member states. He said that "international conferences and treaties cannot deter aggression or safeguard rights unless we are capable of defending ourselves." In his speech, he also accused Israel for killing Palestinian and Lebanese people during its invasion of Lebanon. Referring to the Iran-Iraqi conflict, Prince Sultan said that the war between the two countries "serves only the interests of the enemies of Islam and depletes the potentials of the peoples of Iraq and Iran." The meeting, the second since the Arab Gulf Cooperation Council's formation in May last year, was also being attended by defence ministers from Kuwait, the United Emirates, Oman, Bahrain and Qatar. [Text] [OW110954 Beijing XINHUA in English 0742 GMT 11 Oct 82]

CHANCELLOR KOHL MEETS SOVIET OFFICIAL--Bonn, 7 Oct (XINHUA)--Chancellor Helmut Kohl, in his first meeting with a senior Soviet official today since taking office, said under his government, Bonn would remain a "solid, honest and reliable partner" to Moscow. Kohl told Mikhail Solomentsev, alternate member of the Soviet Communist Party Politburo, that he would pursue a policy of "genuine detente, dialogue and cooperation." But Kohl also said the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the situation in Poland, and Soviet nuclear rearmament strained East-West relations. Kohl made clear to the Soviet official that West Germany would implement NATO's plan to deploy new U.S. missiles as scheduled, if the Soviet Union failed to reduce its nuclear arms in Europe before next autumn. Solomentsev reportedly said later that he saw "good grounds for optimism" about relations with the new West German Government. Solomentsev, also premier of the Soviet Russian Republic, is here to attend a Soviet trade fair in Duesseldorf. [Text] [OW081214 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 8 Oct 82]

PALME DISCUSSES SUB INCIDENT--Stockholm, 9 Oct (XINHUA)--Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme declared yesterday that Sweden will not be intimidated by any people who do not respect its sovereignty and borders and will take a firm stand against them. Palme told a press conference that such a stance is a prerequisite of Sweden's policy of neutrality. He was referring to the intrusion into Swedish waters by an unidentified foreign submarine. The Swedish Navy has been hunting for it since 1 October. He described the intrusion as "intolerable" and "unacceptable." Sweden has every right to defend its territories and under certain circumstances, it could destroy the intruding sub, he said, adding that Sweden is not allowed to take a mild attitude to any of the two big powers. On the same day, Defence Minister Boerje Andersson said the situation is grave

and anything could happen. He warned that Sweden is determined to force the sub to surface at any cost. Meanwhile, the navy has detonated several mines in its search for the sub around the Haarsfjaerden waters south of the capital. This is the first time since World War II that the navy has exploded underwater mines. [Text] [OW100804 Beijing XINHUA in English 0735 GMT 10 Oct 82]

TURKISH-AMERICAN DEFENSE MEETING--Ankara, 9 Oct (XINHUA)--The Turkish-American high-level joint defense group met here from 7 to 8 October to discuss military cooperation between the two countries. The 2-day discussions were reportedly focused on the strengthening of the joint defense capability and the possibility of cooperation on defense industry, especially aircraft industry. The Turkish and American military officials also examined the ways and means to modernize the Turkish military forces in order to enable them to better fulfill Turkey's commitment to the joint defense of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The Second Chief of the General Staff of the Military Forces Necdet Oztorun led the Turkish group and his counterpart was U.S. Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs Richard Perle. The Turkish-American high-level joint defense group, a coordinating organ on strategic issues, was set up last December during U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's visit to Ankara. This was the second meeting of the group. [Text] [OW101211 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 10 Oct 82]

FORMER LEADERS OF POLISH BODY SENTENCED--Warsaw, 8 Oct (XINHUA)--The court of the Warsaw military area today sentenced four former leaders of the outlawed Independent Poland Confederation to 7 years' to 2 years' imprisonment, the Polish News Agency PAP reported. Leszek Moczulski was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment. Romuald Szeremietiew and Tadeusz Stanski received 5 years' imprisonment. Tadeusz Jandziszak was sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment with the sentence suspended for 5 years. The Independent Poland Confederation was set up in September 1979. The confederation was declared as "counterrevolutionary" and outlawed by the Polish authorities. The military court said Moczulski formed the nucleus of the confederation and its branches in West Germany, the United States and Sweden were led by him. [Text] [OW092212 Beijing XINHUA in English 1653 GMT 9 Oct 82]

ITALIAN CP DELEGATION FETED--According to XINHUA, Zhong Min, secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee, met and feted (Paul Bufaleny), member of the Italian Communist Party leading organ, and his entourage. During the meeting, both sides had lively discussion on the friendship between the Chinese and the Italian communist parties and between the people of the two countries and wished continuous development of friendly relations between the two parties and countries. [Text] [OW102016 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 7 Oct 82]

CSO: 4005/54

PARTY AND STATE

DRAFT REVISION OF CONSTITUTION DISCUSSED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Regular Meeting of the Municipal Government Studies and Discusses the Draft Revision of the Constitution--After Revision and Adoption the Draft Will Be a Good Constitution for Vitalizing China--Li Ruihuan Puts Forward Some Concrete Proposals to the Various Government Departments for Further Study and Discussion of the Draft Revision of the Constitution"]

[Text] Yesterday afternoon the Municipal People's Government held a regular meeting to study and discuss the draft revision of the constitution.

Acting Mayor Li Ruihuan [2621 3843 3883] conducted the meeting. In the discussions everyone agreed that the draft revision of the constitution scientifically and comprehensively summarizes the experience and lessons of history since liberation. It reaffirms the achievements of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, and embodies the principles and policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. It reflects the hopes of the people of the entire nation, and represents the interests of the people of the entire nation. It is entirely suited to national conditions and accords with the popular will. It is not only adapted to the actual situation in China at the present time, but also takes into consideration China's long-range future development. Therefore this is a fairly well-made and well-thought-out draft revision of the constitution. After this draft has undergone discussion and further revision by the entire people, and been formally adopted by the National People's Congress, it will certainly be a good constitution which will vitalize China, and will certainly promote the burgeoning development of China's socialist modernization construction.

In his address Li Ruihuan also said that the draft revision of the constitution has four special characteristics: (1) The four basic principles of upholding the socialist road, upholding the people's democratic dictatorship, upholding Marxism-Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought, are written into the fundamental law. This has a very profound significance for the consolidation and development of the system of people's democratic dictatorship in China, and for guaranteeing that China will not change color. (2) The basic task is now set down in the form of China's fundamental law: From now on the concentrated strength of our people will advance socialist modernization construction. This summarizes our experience in the 32 years since liberation. (3) The status and functions of the state-managed economy, the collective economy, and the individual economy, are affirmed. This will play an important role in developing our present economy, and in resolving actual difficulties in the livelihood of the masses. (4) It is made clear that state organs must strictly apply the work responsi-

bility system. Especially the leading cadres must assume responsibility. This is of the utmost importance for overcoming bureaucratism, improving government work, maintaining close ties with the masses, and increasing efficiency in our work. Li Ruihuan also put forth three views on how the various government departments should further their study and discussions of the draft of the revised constitution: (1) We must increase understanding: make the great numbers of cadres and masses understand that it is the right and duty of every citizen to join in the discussion and study of the draft of the revised constitution. (2) We must strengthen leadership: leadership at all levels should take the lead in studying, and personally guide the masses. (3) We must relate the draft to actual situations: on the basis of an all-round understanding of the spirit and essence, we must lay particular emphasis on further and deeper study of those parts which are related to actual situations in our own sectors.

The meeting was also addressed by Vice Mayor Bai Hua [4101 2901], Secretary General Lu Xuezheng [7627 1331 2398], as well as responsible persons from the municipal finance commission, economic commission, construction commission, civil affairs bureau, public security bureau, second commerce bureau, and Hongqiao Ward. They linked together the actual situation in their departments, and analyzed the guiding thoughts and fundamental spirit of the draft revision of the constitution, as well as how to continue to improve the study of the draft revision of the constitution. Some comrades also put forward their ideas about revisions of the draft revision of the constitution.

12187
CSO: 4005/1176

PARTY AND STATE

PROTECTION OF SANCTITY OF CONSTITUTION URGED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Aug 82 p 4

[Article by Hua Ding [5478 0002]: "Protect the Sanctity of the Constitution; Ensure the Implementation of the Constitution"]

[Text] At the end of the preamble to the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the PRC," it says: "The people of various nationalities of our country, all government organs and the people's armed forces, all political parties and social organizations, all enterprises and industrial organizations must accept the Constitution as the basic norm for all their activities and bear responsibility for the protection of the sanctity of the Constitution and for its implementation."

Marxism tells us that the state is the tool of the ruling class and that it is a complex social organism. Marx vividly describes it metaphorically as a "machinery." To have this "machinery" run well, it is necessary to draw up a complete set of laws, and furthermore have the people carry them out and observe them, particularly if it is the Constitution, our country's basic law and the general set of rules for 1 billion people in the conduct of all their affairs. The state's organization is to be structured according to the provisions of the constitution, and relations between the state, society and the individual citizens must all follow its basic principles. It is the basis of all ordinary legislation; not only is its authority above that of ordinary law, but it also has a greater stability than that of common laws. This is therefore added reason for us to make it our bounden duty to implement the Constitution in an exemplary way and to defend it courageously.

The practical experiences of our people's democratic dictatorship have proved that safeguarding the authority of the Constitution and of the laws is of extreme importance for the consolidation of the people's democratic dictatorship, as also to stop up any loophole for a counterrevolutionary restoration, to protect the socialist economic foundation and to ensure the pursuit of our economic and cultural construction in a state of stability and unity. During the "Great Cultural Revolution" Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and their cronies, going against the historical trend, inflicted an unheard-of calamity on our legal system, which had not been too perfect to begin with. They replaced the current law of our country with gang regulations and gang laws. They openly proclaimed the counterrevolutionary slogan of "thoroughly smash the public security organs, procuratorial organs and the people's courts,"

and were responsible for innumerable cases of unjust, false and wrong convictions. They had their own ulterior motives in mind when they set the revolutionary mass movement against the socialist legal system in an antagonistic opposition and confused people's thinking. There was a period of time when it was actually considered timid and cowardly to observe law and discipline and to deal according to law a show of conservatism, while flouting the law and discipline and committing all kinds of outrages was praised as being "imbued with the revolutionary spirit of revolt," so that some people's regard for the legal system became blunted and a small minoirity even went so far as to go the road of crime. For this reason we emphasize today that the state should be ruled by law, that the sancitity of the Constitution must be protected and that we must ensure the implementation of the Constitution, as being of great significance in creating order out of chaos. For a long time we suffered grievously for not paying attention to the rule of law. If we are now making it the duty of everyone throughout the country, high and low, to protect the sanctity of the Constitution and ensure its implementation, we have learned this principle by paying a very costly "tuition fee."

Our country's Constitution and laws express in the form of a legal system the will and interests of the broad masses. They also demand of all state organs and of all citizens without exception that they be observed and implemented. Here, rights and duties are uniform for all. As to each individual citizen, he must observe discipline and obey the law conscientiously as this is his glorious duty that he has to fulfill toward his country and the collective, and this is completely identical with his own interests. Only by ensuring absolute observance of the Constitution in actual life, can the Constitution fully play its role as the basic great law which will promote our socialist modernizations. If we do not earnestly practice what we advocate in the case of the Constitution and the law, and if we do not effectively carry them out, even the best of constitutions and laws would be empty letters and form meaningless ornaments. We are therefore determined to ensure the following: to have laws that can be relied upon, to have laws that must be followed, to have laws that are strictly executed and to have all violations of law prosecuted.

In order to safeguard the sanctity of the Constitution and ensure its implementation, we are determined to render the present discussion of the draft constitution an effective means to enhance the concept of the legal system, to eliminate the stage of nihilist influences in law, to raise the awareness of the status and functions of the Constitution in the state, to raise the awareness of the dignity and stability of the Constitution, to eliminate the erroneous ideas that laws are useless and that it is immaterial whether or not to observe the provisions of the Constitution, to eliminate those traditional concepts of blind faith in the authority of one individual and denial of avoiding strengthening the legal system for fear of asking for "trouble" and rather prefer to follow one's own inclinations, make arbitrary decisions and take peremptory actions. Particularly members of the CPC and revolutionary cadres must be even stricter in their observance of the Constitution and the laws and take the lead in carrying them out. Our Constitution represents the greatest benefits for the people of the whole country and their will. It reflects in a concentrated way the policies and propositions of the party.

If our party members and cadres observe discipline and obey the law, it means that they submit to the leadership of the party, comply with the will of the people of the whole country, safeguard the greatest benefits for the people and truly fulfill their glorious duty as servants of the people. Equality of all before the law is a principle of Marxism. Cadres and party members have the duty to obey the law, but certainly no privilege to violate laws and disturb discipline without being punished for it. The socialist Constitution is the crystallization of the sanguinary struggle fought by our revolutionary martyrs; it records the positive results of the Chinese people's arduous struggle and represents the basic interests of the people. It is possessed of the highest legal authority and is a guide of action for all of us in this generation. To the same extent that we protect the sanctity of our fatherland, we shall protect the sanctity of the Constitution, and to the same extent that we protect our lives, we shall safeguard the implementation of the Constitution.

9808
CSO: 4005/1260

PARTY AND STATE

CONFERENCE DEMANDS STRENGTHENING POLITICAL, LEGAL WORK

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Aug 82 p 1

> [Text] The Politics and Law Work Conference called by the provincial party committee demands continued efforts in public security work, crack down on serious criminal activities in the economic field and intensified struggle against the remnant Lin Biao and "gang of four" elements.

From the 11th to the 13th, the provincewide Politics and Law Work Conference called by the provincial party committee relayed for implementation the spirit of the All-China Politics and Law Conference, demanded that all political and law cadres and police personnel throughout the province enhance their revolutionary enthusiasm for the continued pursuit of public security work, called for a crackdown on economic crimes and serious attention to and intensification of the struggle against Lin Biao and "gang of four" remnants so as to greet and welcome with concrete actions the impending 12th National Party Congress.

The conference was presided over by Zhang Tiejun [1728 6993 6511], member of the standing committee of the provincial party committee and secretary of the political and legal group of the provincial party committee, and Zuo Kun [1563 3824], provincial vice governor and deputy secretary of the political and legal group of the provincial party committee. In his speech Zhang Tiejun said, the basic guiding idea of the All-China Politics and Law Work Conference was that political and legal work must serve economic construction. The political and legal organs at all levels must be guided by the four basic principles in establishing an ideology of service for the socialist modernizations. They must closely rally around the core of all party work, namely the energetic drive to build up the socialist material and spiritual civilization, the strengthening and perfecting of socialist democracy and of the socialist legal system, and while striving to have our country's financial and economic conditions take a fundamentally favorable turn and to have our party's work style take a fundamentally favorable turn, strive simultaneously to bring aobut a turn for the better in the general mood of our society and its public order.

The conference earnestly studied and discussed the spirit of the All-China Politics and Law Work Conference, and in the light of the realities in our province, set out concrete measures for these ideas to be put into practice. The conference emphasized the necessity to continue to carry out energetically

public security work, prominently the fight against hooligans, rapists, group rapists and to punish them speedily and severely. Even if the crime does not result in the death of the victim, monster criminals who commit rape or group rape with particularly cruel methods or under particularly evil circumstances, or the leaders of hooligan gangs, all of whom deserve the death penalty, must definitely be put to death. We must also take vigorous measures to combat serious criminal activities in the economic field. In major and important cases that are being dealt with too slowly and too perfunctorily, an energetic breakthrough must be effected. Big economic criminals must be punished severely and speedily according to law.

The comrades attending the conference forcefully expressed their opinion that serious attention must be paid to the struggle against the remnant forces of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." All pointed out that people like Jin Dechun [6855 1795 4783] of Jinzhou will not admit their guilt, but will try to reverse correct verdicts, bring wicked lawsuits against people, spread reactionary political views and secretly plot illegal activities. In some places and departments those conducting the investigations will find themselves in an isolated position, while the targets of their investigations may be arrogant and aggressive. Not only must the political and law departments be on guard against such situations, but the party committees must also give these conditions their attention. Those who should be set right, must be set right, those who must be removed must be removed and under no circumstances must such men be allowed to occupy leading positions. Those of them who have broken the law must, moreover, be punished according to law.

The conference discussed and made arrangements for the establishment of experimental units of basic level political organizations and also demanded the strengthening of guidance by the party committees in political and legal work, a conscientious readjustment of the political and law contingents, especially of the leadership groups in the political and legal organs at all levels, improvement of their training and deployment, so that the complete fulfillment of the tasks of political and legal work of all kinds in this new era is guaranteed.

9808
CSO: 4005/1300

PARTY AND STATE

DRAFT CONSTITUTION REVISION PROCURATORIAL SYSTEM VIEWED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Aug 82 p 4

[Article by Ying Houjun [2019 0683 0193]: "The Draft of the Revised Constitution and Our Country's Procuratorial System"]

[Text] The Draft of the Revised Constitution sums up the basic experiences of our country's modern history; it is the crystallization of all positive results of our revolution and reflects in a concentrated way the interests of the whole nation. These special characteristics of the draft constitution are also evident in its Article 16, which deals with the procuratorial system.

First of all, the draft constitution for the first time clearly defines within our country's basic great law the nature of the procuratorial organ as "the state's organ charged with supervising the legality." The purpose of the supervision of legality is "the protection of the unity of the law and the respect for the law," also to ensure that "no organization and no individual may enjoy privileges above and beyond the law," and to set up a special procuratorial supervision. As everybody knows the state in our country has four powers, the legislative, the executive, the judicial and the procuratorial power. They are exercised by the people's congresses and their standing committees, the people's governments, the people's courts and the people's procuratorates, respectively. They are all brought into being by the people's congresses at various levels, their division of duties is clearly defined and each has its own duties to attend to. Each executive, judical and procuratorial organ is again equally responsible to and subject to the supervision of the people's congress and its standing committee. This shows that the procuratorial power is one indispensible aspect of the unified state power, and that the procuratorial system is an important legal system that evolved from the socialist state system and political system.

In the capitalist countries and in old China, although the procuratorial organs may have had the power to investigate public security authorities as they engaged in the investigation and direction of cases, they were basically an organ of prosecuting, filing accusations on behalf of the state against a defendant in a law court, and as to its structure it belonged administratively to the government's judicial administrative system or to the judicial organs. It was therefore not an independent state organization and had of course no

authority to supervise the legality in a comprehensive way. This was a procuratorial system that Lenin did not approve of. His opinion was: "The only duty of the chief prosecutor and the only affair he has to attend to is one thing: the surveillance of a truly uniform understanding of the legal system throughout the entire republic, disregarding all local differences and not allowing local influences to interfere." Our draft constitution follows exactly Lenin's idea. It summed up the positive and negative experiences since the establishment of our government, before the nature of the procuratorial organ was clearly defined as one of supervising the legality. Article 133 of the draft constitution furthermore specially determines: "The People's Procuratorate exercises the procuratorial power independently according to the provisions of the law and must not be interfered with by any administrative organ, organization or individual." The draft constitution has formulated further corresponding provisions to ensure in organizational respects that the procuratorial organ may exercise independently the power of supervising the legality as such power has been bestowed by law, and to ensure that it give full expression to the seriousness of the socialist legal system.

Next, the draft constitution also drew up a complete set of provisions determining the duties of the procuratorial organ. In exercising its procuratorial powers, the people's procuratorate on the one hand gives effect to the duties specified in Article 27 of the draft constitution: "Protecting public order, suppressing all treasonable and counterrevolutionary activities and meeting out punishment to those who endanger public security, sabotage the socialist economy and commit other criminal activities and to punish and reform criminal elements." On the other hand the procuratorial organs are also to protect on the legal plane the basic rights of the citizens from unlawful infringements, earnestly observe the provisions of Article 36 of the draft constitution, namely that "a citizen, whosoever he may be, may be arrested only with the approval of the people's procuratorate or by a decision of a people's court, such arrests to be carried out by the people's security organs." An act that infringes on the basic rights of a citizen shall be investigated by the procuratorial organs and in serious cases where criminal laws have been violated, criminal responsibility shall be established. This shows that according to the provisions of the draft constitution the procuratorial organs bear the double responsibility of punishing criminals and protecting the people, which is an unqualified expression of the superiority of the socialist system.

Third, the relevant articles of the draft constitution directly and indirectly prescribe the organizational principles and the principles to govern all activities of the procuratorial organ. For instance, the draft constitution points out that the procuratorial organ, the same as any other government organ, must uphold such basic principles as "equality of all before the law," seeking truth from facts, following the road of the masses and striving hard to serve the people. In addition, the draft also provides in its Article 137: "When the people's courts, the people's procuratorate and the public security authorities handle criminal cases, they shall proceed with a strict division of work responsibilities, coordinate their work among each other and interact with each other, to ensure that law is implemented correctly and effectively." This principle is an important creation in the judicial practice of our country and reflects the dialectic relation of combined unity and mutual contraposition in the criminal procedure as between the public safety organs,

the procuratorial organs and the judicial organs. By upholding this principle we can bring into full play the collective wisdom of the three organs, have a question examined from different angles and thus avoid any subjective partiality in the investigation of cases and ensure a high quality in the performance of their duties. For the first time this important creation is written into the country's basic great law, a fact which is certainly of great practical significance and of a farreaching historical significance.

9808
CSO: 4005/1260

PARTY AND STATE

PROVINCIAL LEADERS ON 12TH CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

OW160441 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1258 GMT 14 Oct 82

[Text] Beijing, 14 Oct (XINHUA)--Principal party and government leaders of Fujian and seven other provinces and autonomous regions have visited basic-level units to propagandize and lecture on the 12th National CPC Congress documents to party members, cadres and the masses, urging them to make the greatest efforts to master the guidelines of the documents in order to make contributions to creating a new situation in all fields socialist modernization.

After explaining the essence of the congress documents at the sixth plenary meeting (enlarged) of the Third Fujian Provincial CPC Committee, Xiang Nan visited the Fujian Teachers' University and its affiliated middle and primary schools to lecture on the congress documents. Hu Ping and Cheng Xu, secretaries of the provincial CPC Committee, visited Fuzhou University and the party school of the provincial CPC Committee on separate occasions to give lectures on the congress documents.

Leading cadres of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Regional CPC Committee visited regional-level units and various prefectures and counties to help party member-cadres of all nationalities study the congress documents in many different ways. Qiao Xiaoguang visited units directly under the regional authorities to study the congress documents with all cadres and, at the same time, to inquire about and examine cadres' progress. Zhou Guangchun and Xiao Han, secretaries of the regional CPC Committee, visited Qinzhou Prefecture and Duan Yao Autonomous County on separate occasions to have cordial talks with basic-level rural cadres and to familiarize themselves with the progress of the cadres and people of all nationalities in their study of the congress documents.

After returning to their respective locations, the delegates to the 12th National CPC Congress from Guizhou Province have visited basic-level units to explain the guidelines of the congress documents in close link with local practical conditions. At a meeting of unit cadres directly under the provincial authority aat and above the section-level, Chi Biqing urged party member-cadres to make themselves good examples in studying congress documents.

Leading party and government cadres of Gansu Province and delegates and alternate delegates of the Lanzhou area to the 12th congress have explained the

guidelines of the congress to all systems, departments and units. Studying with leading cadres at and above the level of the county party committee secretary at the enlarged meeting of the Gansu Provincial CPC Committee, Feng Jixin viewed his understanding after studying the congress documents and discussed the plan, methods and steps to launch provincewide activities to study the 12th congress documents. At the meeting, he said: Now that the 12th congress has firmly decided on policies and principles and pointed at the clear-cut orientation, party members and the people of the whole province must conscientiously study the congress documents and master their essence in order to create a new situation in Gansu and win new victories.

After generally conveying the guidelines of the 12th congress, Shandong, Liaoning, Nei Monggol and Xizang have made further efforts to launch study and study-guide activities so that party members, cadres and the people will surely master the essence of the congress documents and build material and spiritual civilization according to the requirements set by the 12th congress. At the meeting of cadres of provincial organs and cadres at and above the deputy section chief level of universities and colleges called by the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee, Bai Rubing lectured on the congress documents. The provincial party committee also held a study class for leading cadres of provin-ial organs at which leading cadres of the provincial party committee made systematic and indepth study with leading cadres at and above the level of member of the leading party group of provincial departments, committees, divisions and bureaus. After National Day, leading cadres of the Liaoning Provincial CPC Committee and people's government divided the report to the 12th congress into six topics and reported on each topic to units under the provincial party committee and government as a guide. Xu Shaofu, secretary of the Liaoning Provincial CPC Committee, has reported to cadres of units directly under the provincial authority as a guide. Delegates to the 12th congress--now scattered in various prefectures and cities--have also explained the essence of the congress documents and guided others toward their study, making these documents known to everyone. Delegates of all nationalities to the 12th congress from Xizang have all conveyed the congress documents to cadres and herdsmen upon their return to Xizang. After the Xiang Autonomous Regional CPC Committee called a meeting of party member-cadres at and above the county level, Yin Fatang and Raidi separately visited the grasslands in northern Xizang and the Shannan Prefecture to study the congress documents and discuss implementation of the 12th congress guidelines with local cadres and to answer questions by cadres and herdsmen during study. At the meeting of party member-cadres called by the Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional CPC Committee, Zhou Hui urged the people of all nationalities in Nei Monggol to study the 12th congress documents well. He said: The strategical goal set by the 12th congress is both far-sighted and practical, providing us with a grand blueprint. Comrade Hu Yaobang has stressed both material and spiritual civilization. We must establish and develop a new type of social relationship among the people of all nationalities based on spiritual civilization and satisfactorily build both material and spiritual civilization.

CSO: 4005/55

PARTY AND STATE

CPC NATIONAL CONGRESS FAILS TO CLEAR LIN BIAO

OW150301 (Clandestine) BA YI Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 14 Oct 82

[Text] While the armed forces are studying the documents of the 12th Party Congress, some comrades point out: Although the 12th CPC National Congress approved the work report of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and expressed satisfaction with the work of the commission, it is not difficult to see from the commission's report that its investigation of the Lin Biao case was perfunctory and superficial, merely going through the motions; that it failed to solve once and for all the problems left over from history in connection with the false charges against Lin Biao; and that it failed to rehabilitate the people involved in the case.

More regrettably the party congress failed to point out the serious mistakes in the Central Discipline Inspection Commission's report, thus further impeding the correct solution to the false case against Lin Biao. First, the commission's report continued to use the term "the case of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques." This is to equate Lin Biao and the other former leaders of our armed forces, who were framed by the gang of four, with the gang of four and their band of counterrevolutionary renegades. Second, it still used the so-called case of Lin Biao's counterrevolutionary conspiracy, cooked up by the gang of four, as the main charge against Lin Biao and the other former leaders of the armed forces. Third, in examining the Lin Biao case, the Discipline Inspection Commission, under pressure from above, failed to refer to the important material evidence and statements gathered by the second special investigation group. Yet, it is precisely these materials which will, to a very great extent, expose the facts of the fabrication of the Lin Biao case by the gang of four.

The more important items in the materials gathered by the second special investigation group include the following:

1. Two original manuscripts of the "outline for 'Project 571,'" discovered in a small safe in Jiang Qing's Lushan office, in which are changes made in handwriting of Kang Sheng, Xie Fuzhi and Jiang Qing;

2. The log of the guards at Villa No 96, Lianhuachi, Beidaihe, on file at the Central Security Bureau, which contains an entry on an important instruction given by Premier Zhou Enlai to the guards at Lin Biao's villa on 12 September 1971;

3. Records in the logs of the control rooms of naval and air force units at Shanghaiguan and testimonies by controllers on duty on 13 September 1971;

4. Records of take-offs and landings of military aircraft and helicopters and radar search reports on the night of 13 September 1971 from the air force control center; and

5. On-the-spot investigation report by the staff of the Chinese Embassy in the People's Republic of Mongolia on the plane wreckage and eight corpses.

The above-mentioned and many other materials gathered by the second special investigation group prove that Lin Biao and the others were deliberately murdered by the gang of four and several other leaders then in the party Central Committee.

On 12 September 1971, sworn followers of Kang Sheng and the gang of four sneaked into Villa No 96, Lianhuachi and murdered Lin Biao, Ye Qun, Lin Liguo, Liu Peifeng and four others. They loaded the corpses into Lin Biao's Hongqi sedan, and they themselves got into several other cars and drove to the air force Shanhaiguan airfield. At the airfield, the gang of four's lackeys carried out another crafty plot and created the so-called farce of Lin Biao's escape to defect to the enemy. This is the conclusion reached by the second special investigation group based on irrefutable facts.

The Central Discipline Inspection Commission should refer to these materials, reexamine the false case against Lin Biao and correct past mistakes in the handling of the case.

As far as the armed forces are concerned, the false case against Lin Biao is the most important problem left over from history, and this problem should be thoroughly solved as soon as possible.

CSO: 4005/55

PARTY AND STATE

UPHOLDING FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES WHILE PUBLICIZING LEGAL SYSTEM STRESSED

Shanghai MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM] in Chinese No 8 25 Aug 82 pp 3-8

[An arrangement by Zhang Zhonghou [1728 1350 0624] and Zheng Yuanyuan [6774 0337 0337] of speeches at a symposium of legal scholars and practitioners: "Upon the Four Basic Principles While Giving Publicity to the Legal System--A Symposium of Persons of the Legal Circles on the Invitation of the Editorial Staff of Three Periodicals: FAXUE YANJIU [LAW RESEARCH], FAXUE ZAZHI [JOURNAL OF LAW] and MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM]"]

> [Text] The inauguration of the China Law Society is a great and happy event at our country's political science and law front. To celebrate the birth of the China Law Society, and furthermore to act in the spirit of the All-China Political Science and Law Conference and to strengthen further and imporve giving publicity to the legal system, the editorial departments of the three periodicals, the FAXUE YANJIU, FAXUE ZAZHI and the MINZHU YU FAZHI, took the opportunity of the successful conclusion of the inaugural meeting to invite persons of the legal circles to a symposium on the present propagandistic work for the legal system. The symposium was held at the Beijing Friendship House, and was attended by 70 persons, among them the vice president and directors of the China Law Society, leading persons from political science and law colleges and legal scholars. The sumposium was presided over by the responsible staff of the three periodicals, Sun Yaming [1327 5888 1987], Yu Haocheng [0060 3185 2052] and Zheng Xinyong [6774 1800 3057]. The following is a resume of part of the statements:

Upholding the Four Basic Principles Is Our Clear-Out Stand

Gan Zhongdou [3927 6850 2435], Vice President of the China Law Society: The present symposium has been arranged by the editorial staff of three law periodicals at a time when the China Law Society just concluded its inaugural meeting. The responsible comrades of the three periodicals are listening to everyone's ideas and also hope that everyone will get busy and everyone will be concerned about our joint publicity work on behalf of the legal system. At

the meeting of the China Law Society, the leadership concerned and the comrades raised the question of our Society publishing a journal; we have this intention and are in the midst of preparatory work. I think to have the support of the four basic principles play its full role on the front of ideological theory is more than can be achieved by just one periodical, but must rather rely on all the newspapers and periodicals, and I very much hope that the three periodicals that sponsor the present symposium will work together with us on this task.

The leading ideas at the present inaugural meeting of the China Law Society, or let us say the main themes, were the two items we were called upon to uphold in the speeches of Comrade Peng Zhen and Comrade Yang Xiufeng [2799 4423 1496]: one was to have a clear-cut stand of upholding the four basic principles, and the other is to uphold an unswerving orientation of linking theory with practice. To implement this spirit will require the efforts of all different quarters. The three periodicals that we have here today have each their own peculiarity, but they have one thing in common and that is the "two upholdings" in their editorial work. In this respect I beleive you will certainly produce even more remarkable contributions. Comrade Peng Zhen said that the four basic principles are not just some kind of a theory or one particular school of thought, but are the summation of our country's historical experiences since the beginning of the 20th Century, are the basic principles derived by our own summing up of our country's history and are truth that has been tested in practice. They are not something that can be handled this way or that way, but are objective law that can be handled only in this way. In the field of literature and art there is the demand that the political substance of service to the people and service to socialism must be combined with perfect artistic form. Our propaganda for the legal system must also consider what the best form would be to propagate the four basic principles, and not merely to shout slogans uselessly. Whether a piece of writing propagates the four basic principles does not depend on whether and how often it mentions the four basic principles, but on whether it gives expression to the spirit of the four basic principles. The "four items to uphold" and the "double-hundred policy" are not mutually contradictory, but consistent with each other. On the one hand we want to uphold the four basic principles, on the other hand we want to render the atmosphere of scientific research as lively as possible and want to have vivid and vigorous publications. This is a problem worth studying. Some of the law periodicals of the past are quite good and were also well received by the masses. In establishing close links with the masses, we must on the one hand serve the masses, understand the needs of the masses, but on the other hand also earnestly analyze the interests of the masses and through our contacts with the masses raise the ideological awareness and the moral sentiment of the broad masses of our readers. In this respect I hope many more good articles will be published.

We Must Raise Standards As Well As Popularize

Wang Guiwu [3769 2710 0063], head of the Research Section of the Supreme People's Procuratorate: Comrade Peng Zhen and Comrade Yang Xiufeng both emphasized in their speeches the principle of linking theory with reality. Linking up with the reality means that we are asked to give first priority to the actual problems encountered in our legislative and judicial practice in all our legal research and our propaganda for the legal system, and provide explanations in the theoretical field as well as popular explanations. For instance, the problem of the relevance of our draft constitution to our political construction

and the buildup of our legal system, the problem of the present class struggle under the new conditions, the problem of juvenile criminality within the readjustment of our public safety and order, the policy and legal problems in combating economic crimes, the economic and legislative problems in the four modernizations, the problem of administrative law provisions in the simplification and reform of our administrative structure, etc, all these are questions that urgently require study, propaganda and interpretations. We must oppose doctrinairism, but we must not ignore empiricism. For instance, the lack of a strong belief in the legal system, a habit of relying on the method of launching political drives and being unaccustomed to use the weapon of law and use legal processes in one's work within the framework of the law, or even a lack of respect for legal procedures, paying attnetion to policies and not so much to law, turning overcautious even after advocating the legal system and thus being confused as to what to do, etc. Failing to overcome these kinds of empiricist ways of thinking would also be detrimental to the buildup of the socialist legal system and to legal research.

How to find the correct relationship between popularizing and raising standards is also an important problem of legal research and of propagating the legal system. We are now in urgent need of legal monographs of a high level and a good linkage of theory and reality, to be written by our legal scholars. We urgently need a systematic summing up of the rich and valuable successful experiences and of certain failures in our country's political science and law work and to evolve a theory from this work. We need even more an effort at popularization on a large scale. It is very gratifying to see MINZHU YU FAZHI being published in an edition of 800,000 copies. It shows that it is doing a good job at popularizing legal knowledge and is therefore well received by the large number of our cadres and the masses. The fact clearly indicates once more that the people in their hearts long for good government, long for law, and that the masses have an eager desire for legal knowledge, to master the weapon of law in order to ensure social stability and to protect their personal interests. The support of the masses is our greatest encouragement and reward. The buildup of our legal system has unlimited and broad prospects. We must popularize legal knowledge not only among the masses of cadres and peasants, but also first of all among the cadres of all ranks, including our leading cadres.

There is common ground between legal research and the propaganda for the legal system, but there are also differences between the two. The propaganda for the legal system is a propaganda for the current policies, laws, regulations and decrees of the state and statements in opposition are not permissible. Otherwise there would be no uniform will and action throughout the country, and that would be detrimental to the stability and unity of the country. Legal research explores unknown territory, and it is permissible to conduct these studies also with regard to the current policies and laws from both directions, the positive and the negative side, to sum up experiences and put forth suggestions for reform. Otherwise there would be no advance and development.

Link Up With Reality, Have a Target for Your Arrow

Xie Fei [6200 7378], Vice President of the Central People's Policy Academy: With regard to propaganda for the legal system, we must earnestly propagate

the important significance of upholding the four basic principles and propagate the new achievements and new experiences gained by the party with respect to strengthening the socialist legal system since the Sixth Plenary Session.

The socialist legal system is determined by the people. Any person must obey the Constitution and the law. Any individual or organization that violates the Constitution or the law must be punished according to law. A sound legal system will bring about a state where law can be relied upon, where law must be followed, where law is executed strictly and where violations of the law will be prosecuted.

We must propagate among the people that the basic goal and significance of the socialist legal system is to have the broad masses thoroughly understnad that the socialist legal system protects the interests of the state, the interests of the collective and the lawful interests of the whole body of our citizenry. We must teach the people to rise to protect the economic foundation of socialism and to resolutely fight all criminal elements.

In our propaganda work we must link theory with reality, we must start out from the realities, take facts as our basis, have a target for our arrows, this is the way to raise the effectiveness of our propaganda for the legal system and protect the authority of the socialist legal system.

Let Us Function as Promoters and as Supervisors

Sun Yaming [1327 0068 2494], Director of the Law Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences:

Today's symposium is being conducted by the publishers of three periodicals, it may also be called a celebration, namely celebrating the inauguration of the China Law Society.

In our propaganda on behalf of the legal system we must, most fundamentally, be clear about what we are propagating. Comrade Yang Xiufeng said that upholding the four basic principles is the fundamental guarantee for the realization of the socialist modernizations. In China, if we abandon the four basic principles, it will be absolutely impossible to realize the socialist modernizations. Our legal research and our propaganda for the legal system must be fully aware of this idea and implement it from beginning to end.

In our propaganda on behalf of the legal system, we must make it our important task to bring about a state, as pointed out by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, where "there is law that can be relied upon, law that must be followed, law that will be executed strictly and violations of the law that will be prosecuted." To strengthen the socialist legal system we have to have laws. We must greatly step up our legislative work and energetically draw up laws where none exist. In the last 2, 3 years we enacted 200 or 300 laws and regulations, but this still falls far short of actual requirements. To enact a law is not easy, some laws need several years until they are ready to be enacted. Once we have a law, it must be executed and affairs must be handled strictly according to law. Any person whosoever who violates the law

must be punished. With regard to the rule that where there is a law, the law must be followed, there are certain places in our country where this is not done well, and certain people do not follow the law where it exists. In our propaganda for a legal system, we must not only play a role in promoting legislation and providing constructive suggestions, but must also play a role in supervising the implementation and carrying out of the laws.

Certain Hopes

Wu Jialin [0702 1367 7792], Vice President of Ningxia University:

The FAXUA YANJIU, FAXUE ZAZHI and the MINZHU YU FAZHI are legal periodicals of a comparatively great influence. As a reader who considers it indispensable to read them and as an occasional contributor, I take this opportunity to submit to the editorial departments of these three periodicals certain hopes on my part:

First, to uphold the four basic principles and oppose the trend toward bourgeois liberalization; and on the other hand carry out the "twice hundred" policy and enliven the academic atmosphere.

Upholding the four basic principles and implementing the "twice hundred" policy at the same time is quite possible. Any view or practice that places these two things in diametrically opposed positions is wrong. Truth becomes clearer through debate. Without academic disputes there can be no talk of development in jurisprudence.

Second, to start out from reality, start out from the national conditions of China, opposing empty talk divorced from objective reality, but on the other hand also to look forward into the future, study new questions and explore directions of political and legal reforms.

To link theory with reality, facing reality, solving the various questions posed by actual life, that is the direction of legal research.

Third, to reflect and expose the various contradictions and problems in our society, but on the other hand to consider the social effect and not to give the enemy an opportunity that he could take advantage of.

We must give our own people confidence, hope and strength, and encourage people to be imbued with confidence in facing the future and advancing forward.

Fourth, to present things vividly and vigorously, so that people will find it interesting and absorbing, but on the other hand we must guard against vulgarity and low taste.

Articles must be written in a popular style, easy to understand, vividly and vigorously. We must not always put on a stern expression and preach. We should use less terms that sound like instructions, such as "this is how it should be done," and "this is how things should be," as also terms that smell of gunpowder, such as "resolutely fight" and "thoroughly criticize," but on the other hand we must clearly differentiate between "popularization" and "vulgar-

ization," between "enhancing interest" and "low taste," as otherwise we would introduce bad influences.

Fifth, to have a general character, undertake jointly the propaganda of socialist democracy and of the socialist legal system, but on the other hand also to have individual character, each publication to be set up and run with its own characteristic features.

MINZHU YU FAZHI is a periodical of a comprehensive character, touching on such fields as politics, law, ethics and society, but still will have politics and the legal system as its main topics. Isn't it after all called "Democracy and Legal System"!

In our specific legal work we feel deeply at present the urgent need to handle our work in a comprehensive way. Be it redressing the ills of society or reducing criminality, all requires a coordination and comprehensive handling from such various aspects as politics, economics, law and ethics. It seems to me that MINZHU YU FAZHI could do more in this direction.

Uphold Linking Theory With Reality; Uphold the Four Basic Principles

Wang Shuwen [3769 0647 2429], Vice President of the China Law Society: The four basic principles are the fundamental guiding ideology and the fundamental principle of the present draft of the revised constitution. They are the unshakable conclusion gained by our people from their protracted personal experiences. They sum up the fundamental experiences from 100-odd years of revolutionary struggle. They are truth tested in long periods of practice and reflect the objective inexorable law of historical developments in China.

Upholding the four basic principles provides the common political foundation on which the whole party and all nationalities of the country stand united. It is the fundamental guarantee for the smooth progress of our undertaking of the socialist modernizations, as it is also the fundamental guarantee for our effective performance in legal research and in propaganda of the legal system.

To proceed in each case from actual conditions, seek truth from facts, link theory with reality, that is the ideological line of dialectical materialism followed by our party. Only by upholding the principle of linking theory with reality, starting out from the actual conditions in our country, starting out from the new conditions in this new historical era, can our legal research and our propaganda for the legal system correctly reflect and be of service to the economic foundation of socialism and promote the triumphant advance of our cause of the socialist modernizations.

We must therefore emulate the spirit of Comrade Peng Zhen's and Comrade Yang Xiufeng's speeches and uphold the four basic principles and uphold the principle of linking theory with reality in all our legal research and propaganda for the legal system. We must do so in order to develop the Marxist legal theories of Chinese socialism, to foster socialist democracy, to perfect the socialist legal system and to make a contribution to the construction of our socialist material and spiritual civilization.

Implementation of the "Double Hundred" Policy

Wu Lei [0702 4320], Head of the Law Department of China People's University: In the field of jurisprudence we must implement the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought content," we must draw on the collective wisdom and absorb all useful ideas, pool everyone's thoughts and strength, allow differing views to contend freely and maintain and develop the stimulating atmosphere of scholarly theoretical research. This is not contradictory to the four basic principles, but consistent with them. Only by upholding the four basic principles can we possibly implement and carry out the "double hundred" policy and can we truly promote the flowering of legal research. The implementation of the "double hundred" policy and can we truly promote the flowering of legal research. The implementation of the "double hundred" policy is also consistent with the correct spirit of launching criticism and self-criticism in the field of scholarship.

When we engage in legal research and in actual judicial work, it is again necessary to start out from the realities, seek truth from fact, conscientiously sum up the experiences and lessons from our country's judicial practice and buildup of the legal system, in order to have them serve our socialist modernizations. Only by effectively linking our legal research with the legislative and judicial practice can we achieve notable results and can we cultivate our particular characteristics. Any legal research that is divorced from reality has no vitality and cannot yield positive results.

To make a success of our legal research, we must also absorb the beneficial experiences and lessons of all times and from all countries. The guiding principle for these studies must of course be Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and the studies must base on the present realities of our country. Whatever is beneficial for socialism should be absorbed, but mere dross and poison must be repudiated. We must truly follow the precept: "Make the past serve the present and make foreign things serve China," so as to serve our country's legal system and our construction. We must definitely abstain from a blind worship of everything foreign, from returning to the ancient ways and from copying things mechanically in disregard of specific conditions.

We must integrate legislative and judicial practice with the propaganda for the legal system, launch diversified legal research activities, advocate the study of Marxism-Leninism and the reading of original works, and establish clarity in all fundamental concepts and theories. Apart from continuing the good work of publishing legal periodicals, newspapers, scholarly journals and books, research in legal theory should be further supported by the publication of "Collected Essays on Law," which should contain a selection of outstanding articles that had already been published somewhere before. The collection and publication of "A Selection of Writings on Law by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin" is also suggested, so as to make the relevant writings of classic authors available to legal research; also suggested is the publication of a certain amount of legislative and similar material.

Pernicious Influence Still To Be Cleared Up; Bringing Order Out of Chaos

Cao Haibo [2580 3189 3134], President of the Beijing Academy of Politics and Law:

The situation on the politics and law front is excellent, but we must not ignore the pernicious influences of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." During the 10 years of turmoil, our politics and law front was a great disaster area. All fields, from organization and professional work to cadre contingents, had been utterly devastated. Since the Third Plenary Session, the party Central Committee has done much to bring order out of chaos and has made many policy decisions that strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship, that promote socialist democracy and perfect the socialist legal system. Development was achieved from the old monkish "I know no law, I hold nothing sacred," to the enactment of many new laws, from the chaos in public order to a greatly improved public order, from a desolate scene in legal research to a rejuvenation of jurisprudence, from returning the political and law cadres and professors to their original posts and the reopening of politics and law colleges and universities to the strengthening and developing of these contingents, etc, etc. This all shows that the politics and law front is recovering, consolidating, fighting on and developing. It also indicates that the situation on the politics and law front is excellent and furthermore getting better and better.

To keep the excellent situation on the politics and law front developing further and to benefit the four modernizations, we must uphold the four basic principles, resolutely implement the policy of the Central Committee of quick and severe punishment for serious criminal elements and serious economic criminals, and the policy of educating, reforming and redeeming youths who have gone astray. At the same time we must further strengthen the socialist legal research in service to our country's economic base and to the four modernization drives.

It must be further pointed out with emphasis that in order to develop the excellent siutation at our politics and law front, we must continue to eliminate the poisonous and pernicious influences of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Some persons have been severely poisoned and take an attitude of scepticism and resentment against the new principles and policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session. It is therefore still necessary for us to continue our work of eliminating the pernicious influences and of bringing order out of chaos. We must guard against any of the three hostile groups infiltrating our leadership teams. Only by continuing our efforts to bring order out of chaos can we correctly implement the principles and policies of the party, can we strengthen the solidarity of the politics and law contingents and can we further develop the excellent condition on the politics and law front.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," we have done great work and achieved outstanding results in our propaganda for a legal system. The concept of the legal system has been spread wide and strengthened among the masses, especially also among the youths, but this work has not yet been done sufficiently penetratingly and in sufficient detail, it has also not been maintained for a sufficiently long time and must therefore be further strengthened. Only by con-

tinuing our propaganda on behalf of the legal system and by strengthening the buildup of the legal system can we prevent and avoid a recurrence of a turmoil like the "Great Cultural Revolution."

Summing Up the Historical Experiences of the Revolutionary Legal System

Zhang Xipo [1728 1585 0980], Vice Chairman of the Law Department of China People's University:

In order to sum up the practical experiences in the construction of our country's revolutionary legal system, to develop a socialist legal system that fits the national conditions of our country and incorporates Chinese characteristics, we must earnestly study the abundant experiences in the buildup of a revolutionary legal system in our country since the time of the revolutionary bases. Comrade Yang Xiufeng mentioned in his report many successful experiences of particularly Chinese features in our law, such as the integration of democracy and dictatorship, of democracy and the legal system, the coordination of punishment and leniency, the mass line under the guidance of the party committees, the integration of specialized work in the departments with reliance on the masses, the reform of criminals through labor and education, circuit travelling of law courts, on the spot adjudication, settlement of civil disputes by mediation, etc. There is not one of these methods that does not have its roots in the revolutionary bases and that has not gradually evolved from protracted struggle and repeated practice. If we do not understand the historical experience of the growth of our revolutionary legal system, we will hardly be able to understand the origin and the quintessence of our current legal system. We must therefore greatly treasure this valuable heritage and carry forward and develop the good tradition. This is also good teaching material useful in instructing our younger generation in the four basic principles and the revolutionary tradition.

Collecting and studying historical material on the revolutionary bases is now being given greatest attention by everyone, from Central Committee down to provincial and municipal party committees, and many of our older comrades are devoting themsleves most enthusiastically to this historically significant work. For instance, in the "Comprehensive History of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region" now being compiled by the three provinces in question, the history of the legal system occupies an important place. In the North China area, the compilation of a "History of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Regional Regime" is now being organized and it will also give much attention to the study of the history of the regime and the buildup of its legal system. I ardently hope that older comrades who participated in the regime and in the work of building up its legal system will write more memoirs of the revolution. I also hope that legal publications will select appropriate articles for publication that relate to the history of building up the revolutionary legal system.

Let All Have A Say, Not Just One

Ma Kechang [7456 0344 2490], Vice Chairman of the Law Department of Wuhan University and associate professor:

On the premise that our law periodicals are upholding the four basic principles, they should also follow the "double hundred" principle and launch discussions of different scholarly views. One must not place upholding the four basic principles in an antagonistic opposite position to implementing the "double hundred" policy. In jurisprudence one must not only hear one voice, but rather have all have their say. To advocate debating different scholarly views means to allow arrors to be committed and errors to be set right. In the debates of different scholarly views, facts must be presented and things must be reasoned out. People must convince by reasoning and must earnestly observe the "three not's" put forward by the party Central Committee.

I believe that after the inception of the China Law Society, our law periodicals will uphold the four basic principles with even greater awareness and make even greater contributions to the flowering of our country's socialist jurisprudence.

The Legal System and Spiritual Civilization

Yang Yonghua [2799 3059 5478], Lecturer at the Northwest College of Politics and Law:

There is an inseparable link between the socialist legal system and the socialist spiritual civilization. In a certain sense one may say, without a socialist legal system there can be no socialist spiritual civilization.

First, a legal system is the precondition for the spiritual civilization. History has proved long ago that the important indicator for human society's transition from the uncivilized to the civilized stage is the emergence of the state and of law. The spiritual civilization of any type of society has as its precondition the legal system of that particular society. If ancient Rome would not have developed its law, there would not have been a mighty Roman Empire. If there would not have been the compilation of the Han Dynasty law and no formulation of the Tang Dynasty law, there would have been no reign of Emperors Wen and Jing and no Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty. Past history has been like this, and it has become even clearer in the age of socialism. If there would be no socialist state and its law, we would not be able to speak of any socialist spiritual civilization. If the socialist legal system is trampled underfoot, the certain consequence would be a destruction of the socialist spiritual civilization. The 10 years of turmoil are a clear proof of this.

Second, the legal system is a major component of the spiritual civilization. The socialist spiritual civilization is a scientific system. It comprises three parts that are closely connected and inseparable from each other. One is widespread absorption of all mankind's knowledge, second is composed of the ideals and sentiments of communism, and the third is the principle of observing discipline and observing the law. Comrade Dong Biwu [5516 1801 2976] once said: "Talking of civilization, the legal system must be reckoned as one item in it."

Third, the legal system is a guarantee of civilization. The socialist spiritual civilization is a major yardstick and indicator for the progress of society. However, its emergence was not plain sailing but required a long period of

struggle. We therefore need a socialist legal system as a guarantee. The crimes in the economic field and the various other crimes are nothing but destructive acts against the socialist civilization. To combat and punish all criminal elements is action that protects the socialist material and spiritual civilization.

This shows that developing socialist democracy and perfecting the socialist legal system are basic measures, and the road to be followed, if we are to build up our socialist spiritual civilization.

Research Into the New Cinditions and New Problems

Wang Liming [3769 4409 2494], Editor for Theoretical Affairs at the JENMIN RIBAO:

Since the Third Plenary Session proposed promoting socialist democracy and perfecting the socialist legal system, legal research in our country has broken down formerly forbidden zones and achieved most gratifying results in all directions. The principle "all are equal before the law," which used to be repudiated as a bourgeois slogan, has now been written into the draft of our revised constitution. Old laws were formerly considered as something that deserved nothing but criticism and not worth carrying on, but now everyone agrees that the old laws could be critically accepted and carried on. While the slogan "man must rule, not law" was voiced toward the end of the fifties, now the majority of our comrades believe it is rather the rule of law that we must put into practice. In short, conditions in law research are very good and develop in a healthy way.

However, compared with research in other field, I am afraid, it still appears somewhat weak. For instance, there are rather few special monographs and articles that study Marxist-Leninist theories of jurisprudence. There is obviously also a shortage of works that use Marxist-Leninist theories of law in the analysis of theoretical and practical questions. I think it is a good thing that the All-China Politics and Law Work Conference proposed the earnest study of the Marxist-Leninist law theories.

In most recent years, bourgeois laws, monographs and articles were translated much more than before; this is a good thing. In future we must translate much more and publish more of these translations so as to widen the field of vision, use them as reference and enhance the level of our jurisprudence. However, our own research work must catch up at the same time. We can make use of the translated works only after subjecting them to analysis and criticism according to the Marxist-Leninist theories of law, we must discard the dross and adopt the quintessence, discard the false and absorb the true. If we would not analyze carefully enough and are not sufficiently critical, if we would not draw clear lines of demarcation, it could happen that we disseminate some bourgeois legal viewpoints. This is a problem that concerns all who engage in legal research and concerns us who engage in propagating the law.

The source of law is in reality. To produce good writing it is necessary on the one hand to be guided by the Marxist-Leninist theories on law, and on the other hand to understnad and study the actual conditions. Satisfactory work in the propaganda of law cannot possible divorce itself from these two requisites.

The present All-China Politics and Law Work Conference raised quite a number of questions that we find well worth our earnest study.

Hopeful Expectations With Regard to the Three Publications--There Is Strength Only in Bringing Forth New Ideas

Gong Xiangrui [7895 4382 3843], Professor of the Law Department of Beijing University:

In publishing a periodical, to show strength is only possible be setting forth new ideas.

First, bringing forth new ideas is first of all matter of being "new" in spirit. It means that on the premise of upholding the four basic principles, to publish more and more articles that are of a fairly high level, that effectively apply historical materialism and dialectical materialism and extend their studies to all ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign advanced legal theories and systems. Having the correct direction in the four basic principles as a premise, our jurisprudence and our publications will be able to flourish and develop.

Second, bringing forth new ideas is a matter of new content. Outmoded content cannot satisfy the needs of the readers. One indication of the good condition at our politics and law front is the growing number of law students and of those who show a regard for the law. The Department of Law at Beijing University alone has more than 1,000 students. They are all new readers and we must satisfy their needs. There is also a constantly increasing number of laws and regulations. The new Constitution is amout to be promulgated; there are also three drafts of the Code of Civil Law; the Code of Civil Procedure and other laws have already been published; it is planned to have more than 140 economic laws and regulations over the next 5 years and sooner or later a large number of administrative laws will come out (Law Governing Administrative Organization, Law on Reform of the Cadre System, Regulations Governing Standards for Laws and Regulations, Regulations Governing Administrative Procedure, Regulations Governing Adjudication of Administrative Cases). It is a need of the broad masses of readers to find more articles that inform on the content of these new laws.

Third, bringing forth new things also refers to a new style, that means to publish more articles that are truly relevant to the realities of our country and that present theories and analyses. Strive for diversity in content and nature. No matter where in the layout, from heading to content, strive for originality, liveliness and a style true to life and convincing in its message, because legal articles are frequently apt to be written dull and dry, and even in a kind of "officialese." We must promote a scholarly style that links theory with the realities. We must overcome the fault of simplifications by "moving from established concept to established concept" and of "considering things only as they stand."

Fourth, at this opportunity of talking about bringing forth new ideas, I call upon the three publications to publish more articles on the administrative law. In the past such articles were very scarce and very poor and shallow. Now that we talk about perfecting our legal system, the legal system, or "rule by law,"

in the administrative field is most important. It also means that before we create administrative laws, we must demand of the administrative authorities that they observe the law, demand of the personnel of the state to observe the law and especially demand of the leading personnel who act in the name of the state to observe the law. To achieve this we must have a set of organizations, institutions, methods and theories. That then is a question of demanding of the administrative authorities how to obey and how to carry out the la . In brief, the public press must have new ideas. Only by bringing forth new ideas will it show strength. My good wishes to FAXUE YANJIU, FAXUE ZAZHI and MINZHU YU FAZHI for the success in their future operations!

More Studies of Foreign Laws and International Law

Qiu Riqing [8002 2480 1987], Professor of International Law at the Law Institute of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences:

In their speeches both Comrade Peng Zhen and Comrade Yang Xiufeng touched on the subject of following the precept "Make the past serve the present and foreign things serve China," and also touched on the task of uniting with those who work in the field of law in the various countries of the world. This is all very important, and it is my hope that our law publications will proceed along the following lines:

1. Increase the study of foreign laws, especially laws on the protection of the environment, forestry laws, laws on soil erosion, as also laws on foreign trade and on commerce. All these could serve useful purposes as references in our legislative activities.

2. Publish more articles on international law, more propaganda for the study of international law, especially also propaganda for a Chinese establishment for the study of international law, that also means articles on a scientific organization for the study of Marxist international law. The study of international law, that also means articles on a scientific organization for the study of Marxist international law. The study of international law in China is guided by Marxism and employs the political stand, view and methods of dialectical materialism and historical materialism in its study of international law. The Marxist science of international law declares openly that it serves the protection of the sovereignty and independence of all states, opposes imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism, racism, protects world peace and supports the just struggle of the peoples of the third world, the establishment of a new international economic order and the cause of human progress.

Exert Efforts on Study, Do a Good Job at Publishing Periodicals

Hu Guang [5170 0342], President of Southwest Political Science and Law College: I am very happy to attend this symposium today; it is a good opportunity to learn from the three periodicals. You have gained abundant experiences on how to run a law periodical and on how to propagandize the legal system. We have come here to learn from you. We who live in the remote southwestern corner of the country are not as well informed as you are here, the materials at our disposal are limited and our research ability is small and progress of our research

work is also comparatively slow. We are publishing FAXUE JIKAN [Jurisprudence Quarterly], but each issue consists of only somewhat more than 20,000 copies. To improve the quality of our publication, we regularly send staff to the editorial offices of various periodicals, such as MINZHU YU FAZHI, to learn from their experiences and we also take care to have contact with actual life to investigate and study its conditions, so that our propaganda on the legal system and our legal research are as far as possible relevant to the realities and answer or explain the various questions posed by real life. To operate periodicals well, vividly and lifely, and to make a contribution to the promotion of socialist democracy and to the strengthening of the socialist legal system, it is necessary to expend much effort. In this respect your three periodicals have provided us with much highly treasured experiences. We shall adopt your strong points, amend our shortcomings and improve our work performance.

9808
CSO: 4005/3

PARTY AND STATE

COMMITTEE SEES REVIVAL, BRIGHT PROSPECTS FOR LEGAL PROFESSION

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by Ma Wenyuan [7456 2429 0337]: "A New Battalion in Our Judicial Contingent--Interview With the Provincial Lawyers Association Preparatory Committee"]

[Text] The construction of the legal system in our province since the third plenary session is a gratifying sight, and the revival of the legal profession is a very exciting expression of this. This reporter recently interviewed the Provincial Lawyers Association Preparatory Committee.

Several leading comrades of the preparatory committee had in the fifties been active for some time as lawyers, and the memory of the work during that period is still fresh in their minds. As early as 1955, 41 legal counsellor offices had been set up in the large and medium cities and at some county seats of our province. At that time 143 cadres and 113 comrades qualified as lawyers and formed our contingent of lawyers, pursuing their professional activities, mainly handling criminal cases. Later, under the influence of the ultra-leftist line, the legal profession was subjected to various kinds of criticism and censure. Fabricated charges were leveled against many innocent lawyers, and the lawyer system that was just about to be built up, came to a premature end. This conveniently opened the door later on for Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to engage on a large scale in fascist dictatorship, and fabricate the many cases of unjust, false and wrong convictions. This was a serious destruction inflicted on our socialist legal system and provides us with a grievous lesson.

When broaching the subject of the present condition of the legal profession, the comrades of the preparatory committee said: In the wake of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the Central Committee is persistent in its efforts to bring order out of chaos, to develop socialist democracy and to strengthen the socialist legal system as tasks of top priority. Since the second session of the Fifth NPC, a series of important laws, such as the Criminal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure have been promulgated, and the restoration of a contingent of lawyers has been placed on the agenda as an important item. Under the concern and solicitude of the party committees and government agencies at all levels, the buildup of a contingent of lawyers was begun in 1979, and lawyers resumed their professional activities. Up to the present, legal counsellor offices have been established in 97 municipalities and

counties (districts) of this province, which make available the services of 326 lawyers, lawyer trainees and legal workers, of whom 171 have the formal qualifications as lawyers and lawyer trainees. In addition, 382 cadres work concurrently as lawyers. The "Provisional Regulations Governing Lawyers" have been published as a regulation of the lawyer system. It is an indication that the establishment of a lawyer system has entered a new stage in its historical development.

Furthermore, they introduced to this reporter the following positive results achieved in the few years since the resumption of work by lawyers: First was the overall development of defense in criminal cases. Since January 1980 to June of this year, lawyers were assigned by the people's courts or mandated by defendants in 10,298 criminal cases and appeared in court in the defense of 10,418 defendants, protecting the lawful interests of the defendants, improving the quality of judicial procedure, preventing the miscarriage of justice and ensuring the correct application of the law. Second was the development of representation in civil disputes, mainly disputes over economic contracts. To the end of June of this year, 932 important civil cases had lawyers represent clients or take part in mediation or arbitration, or in civil procedure activities. As representatives of factory and enterprise units, they assisted mediation and arbitration organs or law courts in correctly deciding a large number of economic disputes and thereby promoted the readjustment of the national economy and the smooth progress of the four modernizations. Third, the development of legal advisorship to factories and enterprises. From last year to June of this year, they examined or drafted 123 legal documents for factories and enterprises, represented them in 71 cases of litigation, took part in the mediation and arbitration of 112 cases and gave legal counsel in 732 cases, thereby solving knotty legal problems for certain factories and enterprises and promoting production, enhancing business management and being welcomed by factories and industrial and commercial enterprises. Fourth was legal assistance in noncontentions legal cases. The legal counsellor offices of the whole province dealt with 1,110 cases of noncontentious legal affairs up to the end of June of this year. The cases concerned disputes over economic contracts, debts, compensations, inheritances, support claims, etc. The offices served to establish closer relations between the party and the government, on the one hand, and the masses, on the other hand. Fifth was the development of functioning as legal enquiry offices, drawing up documents used in litigation as well as other documents of legal character and giving legal assistance to government agencies, factories, enterprises, communes and private citizens. In the past 2 years, they received 5,708 inquirers, answered 48,495 legal inquiries and wrote 16,573 legal documents of various kinds. They helped the relevant departments, units and citizens solve many knotty legal problems, helped the masses distinguish between right and wrong, between what is legal and what is illegal, reduced disputes and prevented crimes, thereby promoting stability and unity.

Listening to this presentation by the comrades of the preparatory committee, this reporter felt that although it is only a short 2 years since the lawyer system was restored, the lawyers did a great amount of work and made a valuable contribution to the development of socialist democracy and the perfection of the socialist legal system. Practical experience has proved that the lawyers are an important and indispensible force on the judicial front and also constitute a new battalion in our judicial contingent. At the present time when we strengthen the socialist legal system, the legal profession has very bright prospects.

9808
CSO: 4005/1288

PARTY AND STATE

'REPORT ON THE TIMES' DRAWS CRITICISM ON LITERATURE, ART

'WENYI BAO' Criticism

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jul 82 p 3

[Article: "Some Questions That Need To Be Answered by REPORT OF THE TIMES"]

[Text] In its issue No 5, 1982, WENYI BAO carried an article entitled "A Matter of Principle That Commands Attention," repudiating a series of articles published in the February 1982 issue of REPORT OF THE TIMES, and especially some formulations in its "Editor's Note." The articles were published under a general headline entitled "A Restudy of the 'Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art.'"

The article says: "The "Editor's Note" points out: "During the 16 years following the 'Great Cultural Revolution,' the meaning of the "Talks" has been distorted or tampered with by 'leftists' and rightists." In this sentence, the term "16 years" is a perplexing and absurd formulation. Inasmuch as the 10 years of civil strife and the succeeding years that began with the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee are two extremely different historical periods, the attempt to obscure the line between the two historical periods and to mix them up means denying the significance of the Third Plenum as a great turning point in the history of the party and state.

The article says: REPORT OF THE TIMES carried a signed article parroting without any analysis the slogan "Literary and artistic workers still face the fundamental question of how to remold their world outlook and shift their stand," and repeatedly emphasizing that the "task of prime importance" and the "fundamental problem" now facing them are "how to move their stand over to the side of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and to the side of the proletariat." The term "remold ideology" here refers only to the need for literary and artistic workers to change their basic stand, rather than the need for everyone to devote the rest of his life to changing his subjective world as well as the objective world. This is inconsistent with the Party Central Committee's repeated reaffirmation of the spirit of its policy recognizing intellectuals as members of the working class, as well as its instruction that the slogan "Remold ideology" should no longer be mentioned.

'NANFANG RIBAO'Report

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 82 p 4

[Article: "Develop Criticism and Countercriticism"]

[Text] The May 1982 issue of WENYI BAO carried a signed article disputing the "Editor's Note" in the February 1982 issue of REPORT OF THE TIMES. After noting this, REPORT OF THE TIMES reprinted this "Note" in its July issue, along with letters and commentaries from readers rebuffing WENYI BAO. In response to this counterattack from REPORT OF THE TIMES, the August issue of WENYI BAO carried an article by Guan Lin [7070 2651] entitled "Distinguish Right From Wrong and Search for the Truth," citing facts and applying the method of reasoning to analyze and rebuff the countercharges and countercriticism coming from REPORT OF THE TIMES.

REPORT OF THE TIMES presented its countercriticism views in this way: 1) REPORT OF THE TIMES Maintains that its "Editor's Note" is entirely correct in getting those views across to the public; the formulation "during the 16 years following the 'Great Cultural Revolution' presents only a sense of time;" "it does not make any sense at all" when critics "plucked it out of context at random, and then proceeded to distort it and make a mountain out of a molehill as a device to confuse right and wrong." 2) Some people have criticized REPORT OF THE TIMES because it has criticized the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization and has touched their sore spot. 3) All local campaigns to criticize REPORT OF THE TIMES have been directed by certain people in Beijing "who want to mobilize the mass media to organize a well-orchestrated attack against REPORT OF THE TIMES until it is publicly condemned as an ultraleftist publication and put to death."

In refuting the countercriticism from REPORT OF THE TIMES, WENYI BAO carried an article which can be summarized as follows:

First, many newspapers and journals have carried articles criticizing the "Editor's Note" published by REPORT OF THE TIMES. This is not a tempest in a teacup but a response to a question of vital significance raised in the "Note." Instead of mentioning our tremendous achievements in bringing order out of chaos during the past several years, and the basic fact that Mao Zedong Thought on literature and art has been restored and developed, the "Note" has concocted this historical concept of "the 16 years following the "Great Cultural Revolution" in an attempt to launch indiscriminate criticism of the problems connected with the 10-year civil strife and the problems that came after the smashing of the "gang of four." As portrayed by the "Note," rightist trash has gotten out of hand, just as its "leftist" counterpart did during the 10-year civil strife. This judgment is inconsistent with objective reality and a gross distortion of the Party Central Committee's appraisal of the situation.

Second, in a series of articles countering the criticisms, REPORT OF THE TIMES has followed a very strange approach to the process of debate, trying by every means at its disposal to turn the matter at issue into a polemic over whether the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization should be criticized. Now at issue is the definition of the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization and the way it is assessed on the literary and artistic front. No one can call the effort to correct individual mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong a tendency toward bourgeois liberalization, nor can anyone say that the literary and artistic front as a whole is now dominated by this tendency. In an article entitled "Some Problems on the Ideological Front," Comrade Hu Qiaomu [5170 0829 2606] pointed out: "The so-called tendency toward bourgeois liberalization is merely a local phenomenon on the ideological front, a phenomenon which affects only a very small number of comrades." "The tendency to deny achievements, exaggerate mistakes, and spread a mood of disappointment is dangerous and absolutely intolerable." The popular criticism of the "Editor's Note" that was published in REPORT OF THE TIMES reflects a sense of disagreement with its negative attitude toward our tremendous achievements in bringing order out of chaos ever since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. This is where the key point of dispute lies.

Third, REPORT OF THE TIMES has carried many articles this year emphasizing that the "matter of prime importance" to the implementation of Mao Zedong Thought on literature and art is to demand that the broad masses of literary and artistic workers "move their stand over to the side of the proletariat." The Party Central Committee has explicitly pointed out that the overwhelming majority of intellectuals in our country have become members of the proletariat, who need to change their subjective world continuously while changing the objective world. This is a transformation essentially initiated by the working people themselves. The insistence that literary and artistic workers thoroughly change their class stand will only end up depriving them of their status as members of the working class and will constitute a challenge to the Central Committee's appraisal and proposal in this connection. If we truly want to maintain unity with the Party Central Committee on the political front and on matters of principle and policy, we must launch struggles on two fronts, and this means that we must oppose not only the right but also the "left" deviationist tendencies in the course of implementing the party's principles and policies.

9574
CSO: 4005/1330

PARTY AND STATE

BAD ATTITUDES OF SOME CADRES CRITICIZED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by Dong Song [0392 2646]: "Don't Underestimate the Problem of Attitude"]

[Text] The leading comrades of some units are in the habit of being short-tempered with their subordinates, and putting on a stern expression and dressing them down. When others remind them to watch their attitude a bit, they take exception and say, "As long as my purpose is alright, whether my attitude is good or bad doesn't count." This is really oversimplifying matters a bit.

The problem of attitude must not be underestimated. Everybody knows the story of the "Three Visits to the Thatched Cottage" in the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms." Liu Bei, Guan Yu, and Zhang Fei made two visits to seek the advice of Zhu Beliang, but were entirely unsuccessful. Then Zhang Fei lost his temper and wanted to bring him tied up with a hemp rope. Liu Bei did not follow his suggestion, but with an attitude of utmost respect and reverence made a third visit to Zhu Geliang. Finally he won over this genius. If his attitude had been like Zhang Fei he would certainly have made a mess of things.

Through the ages the principle remains the same. Today, as we conduct ourselves with others and do our work, we should still pay attention to the problem of attitude. In the first place, only if your attitude is good will people speak frankly with you, enabling you to hear the voice and suggestions of the masses and your subordinates in good time, and to mobilize everyone's enthusiasm so that you can do a good job with one heart and one mind. In the second place, only if your attitude is good will people be willing or bold enough to give you their critical opinions, enabling you to hear unpleasant things when it is necessary, so that you can overcome shortcomings and correct mistakes. In the third place, if your attitude is good, people will be closer to you and will be willing to impart their knowledge to you without reservation, enabling you to use the capabilities of many to make up for your own shortcomings, to enrich your thinking and enhance your abilities. On the other hand, if you always show a gloomy countenance to the masses and your subordinates, or at any moment forth at the mouth and glare with rage, so that people are terrified at your very sight, respect you and keep you at a distance; if this continues then you will become an isolated person. Even if you had the splendid talents of the Duke of Zhou, would it be of much use? If in the course of daily life you handle affairs with bad intentions, then the results will surely be bad. How-

ever, even if your intentions are good, the results will not necessarily be good. One important reason for this is the problem of methods, of attitude. Thus we can see that the belief that good and bad attitudes "don't count" is obviously incorrect.

Attitude is a manifestation of thought. People who can work together with one heart and be on intimate terms with the masses and their subordinates, are people who have an unassuming attitude, who treat people as equals, and have a strong mass point of view. This sort of comrade is in the majority in our revolutionary ranks. It is exactly this that is an important guarantee that our party and government and the masses of the people will maintain relations in perfect harmony. However, there are undoubtedly some comrades in positions of leadership who are full of bureaucratic airs, who do not treat people as equals, who are simply rude to the masses, whose way of speaking leaves you no way out and allows for no explanations, and who often just don't give you a chance to take a breather. When such a comrade is criticized about this, he will make the unreasonable retort, "That's just my nature." Then people can't help but ask, "You are overbearing to the masses and to your subordinates, and sometimes even show no respect for human dignity, but before your own leaders you show a kind and pleasing countenance, respectful and reverential--so where did that 'nature' of yours go?" To tell the truth, this evil is the effect of social status notions of the old society.

In our socialist country, relations between man and man are absolutely equal. In economic status we all enjoy the ownership of the means of production; in political status we all have the same rights and duties; in social status there are only the distinctions of the division of labor, but no distinctions between noble and humble, betters and inferiors. No matter how high the positions of our cadres, they have no right to view themselves as any higher in status than others, and may only be public servants of the people, wholeheartedly serving the people, with "head bowed willingly as an ox for the children." They must know that the authority of our cadres was given to them by the masses, their power and wisdom comes from among the masses, and the success of their work is a result of relying on the masses. Separated from the masses they are a river with no source and a tree with no roots: they accomplish nothing. Those comrades who at every turn put on airs in dealing with the masses and their subordinates should put some effort into cultivating a mass point of view.

12187
CSO: 4005/1176

PARTY AND STATE

PROGRESS IN PUBLIC ORDER MANAGEMENT REPORTED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 12 Aug 82 p 1

[Text] Beginning this year, the party Central Committee announced that it would bring about a distinct turn for the better in our public security. Half a year has passed and how effective has the comprehensive management of the public order in this province been? After interviews with the departments concerned, this is a report for our readers: Criminal cases throughout our province during the past half year decreased by 21.5 percent compared with the corresponding period last year. Major and special cases among all these cases also decreased and have continued to decrease these last few months. There was also a great reduction in such public security cases as brawls and fighting, wounding people with knives, robbery and theft, gambling and similar cases. Public security in town and country also took a turn for the better. Practical experience has proved that the policy of the party Central Committee of a comprehensive management of public order was absolutely correct.

The party committee itself takes public security work in hand and works in a down-to-earth style.

To implement the policy of comprehensive management, the party committees at all levels began with a general appeal for action and then turned to setting about the task themselves. A comrade in a responsible position in the Jinzhou Municipal Party Committee went to Jinxi County to investigate and study the situation. He spurred on the county party committee to carry out "comprehensive management" and very rapidly changed the whole aspect of the public order situation in that locality. One of the main leading comrades of the Fuxin Municipal Party Committee discovered that a county party committee was not attaching sufficient importance to the implementation of the policy of comprehensive management. The municipal party committee member thereupon went three times to hear reports on the public security situation from the chief assistant and secondary assistant of the county party committee, did some supervising, urging and checking and was responsible for this work being put on the work agenda of the county party committee. The majority of the municipal and local party committees took public security work in hand with a proper organization, with checkups and each according to his own particular formula. Some carried this work out by a systematic assignment of responsibilities with later integration of all the separate sections and pieces. Some concentrated their efforts on the rehabilitation of public order in key distircts, counties and units. All achieved striking successes. The whole province, high and low, has basically brought about a situation where the policy of comprehensive management has been effectively implemented and executed by the entire party.

Public security work in medium and small towns is picking up; the big cities are also catching up. The comprehensive management of public security in our province was initiated in the medium and small towns. After the on-the-spot meeting at Hingkou this February, the party committee of Shenyang Municipality first rectified the party work style, then undertook work in a systematic way, organizing the various fronts and assigning responsibilities to the various departments and finally demanded that over 200 key units rectify their public security and order situation within a certain time limit. As a result, after half a year of work, the public security situation of the entire municipality has distinctly changed. Fushun Municiaplity changed as to key points the public security aspect in Xinfu District, Qingyuan County and in some comparatively larger units, and spurred on the public security work throughout the entire municipality.

Reduction of crimes committed by juveniles; the trend of increasing crimes by younger age groups has been stopped. The party organizations, the Communist Youth League, the Women's Federation and other relevant departments have taken the key link in hand, namely the work of educating and redeeming juveniles that have gone astray, and many good results have been achieved in this work. The more than 1,000 cadres of section and division rank at the Anshan Steel Works linked up with the neighborhood committees and households and undertook, assuming full responsibility, to educate the youths who had gone astray. The standing committee of the Tieling Municipal Party Committee paired off with youths who had gone astray and made friends with them. The Communist Youth League of Fushun Municipality organized it in such a way that youths who had behaved well in reformation through labor, were released from the reformatory on parole and underwent education with the Youth League members' assistance, in this way developing one step further the work of educational assistance to youths who had gone astray. Accoridng to recent statistics of the departments concerned, the ratio of youths who corrected their past errors and made a fresh start in the whole province is 69.4 percent. In the first half of this year the number of delinquent juveniles has been less than during the same period last year, and the trend of increasing crimes committed by the younger age groups has been initially halted.

The comprehensive management of public security changed its policy from one of "striking at" to one of "guarding against!" disturbances; efforts are now going to be directed toward a long-lasting public order. In the past the great number of cases had made it impossible to engage in "guarding against" disturbances, and the political and law departments did not have the energy to undertake the basic work of public security. At present more thought can be given to a policy of long-lasting public order, and at the same time that blows are struck against crime, the basic work in the grassroots security work can be actively launched. All localities start to determine and put into effect systems of responsibility for public order and security, systems of responsibility for public order at the working places and a system of undertakings by villages and citizens. In some municipalities and localities these systems and measures have been consolidated into local statutes, which indicates that the measures of the comprehensive management of public order in our province has taken a development toward legalization and institutionalization.

9808
CSO: 4005/1300

PARTY AND STATE

'BAN YUE TAN' ON IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION, POLICIES

HK071444 Beijing BAN YUE TAN in Chinese No 18, 25 Sep 82

[Article by Wu Xiong [0702 7160]: "Communist Ideological Education and Current Policies"]

[Text] Why should we now emphasize the propaganda of communist ideology in our socialist society? What is the relationship between the propaganda of communist ideology and the implementation of the current socialist policies? These questions were recently raised by some comrades. We think that it is indeed necessary to make them clear.

Communism as a social system is the most advanced, the most rational and the finest system in human history. It is the loftiest ideal and the ultimate goal which we communists strive for. There are several different stages of revolutionary development in the course of the realization of the communist social system, which can only be attained in long and persistent efforts by many generations. The course of the struggle for the communist ideal constitutes the communist movement under the guidance of the communist ideological system. At each development stage of the communist movement, communists must formulate and implement correct policies which conform with the social circumstances of their own country and the basic interests of the masses of people. They have to persistently and courageously struggle to fulfill step by step the historical tasks of every stage and strive to prepare the conditions for the eventual realization of communism. In the communist movement, all practical activities and work for each stage which are in the line with the law of social development can be regarded as concrete steps toward the goal of communism and must be brought under the guidance of the communist ideological system.

As pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong 40 years ago, "the democratic revolution of China will never succeed without the guidance of communism, still less the latter stage of the revolution." He also said, "At present, there is no doubt that we should expand the propaganda of communist ideology and strengthen the study of Marxism-Leninism. Without such propaganda and study, we will neither be able to drive the revolution of China toward the future stage of socialism, nor be able to guide the current democratic revolution to attain victory." Practice has shown that it was under the guidance of the communist ideology that the democratic and socialist revolution of China achieved great successes. Today, as the communist movement in our country has already arrived at a stage

with an established socialist society, we should even still more firmly uphold the guidance of communist ideology in the struggle of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization construction.

As communists, we hold high the banner of communism. For us, adhering to the guidance of communism in everything is a necessity determined by the nature and the historical mission of our party. As our party is the ruling party, only communist ideology can be taken as our guiding ideology which penetrates every field of social life. We did hold high the banner of communism and gave full play to the communist spirit even in the period of democratic revolution, so how can we now doubt or feel strange about the propaganda drive of communism after we have already entered the socialist stage which serves as the primary stage of communism? One can be sure that socialism will never survive without communist ideology. The reasons are as follows:

1. Only by upholding the guidance of communist ideology can we guarantee the correct direction of the development of a socialist society and reinforce our people with confidence and strength. Once one is free of the guidance of communist ideology, one will be trapped by one-sidedness in understanding socialism and, furthermore, one will constrain one's vision on material interests, give up one's lofty ideals and goal of striving, and lose one's spiritual motive and fighting will, and thus be conquered by various corrosive influences. As a result, one will inevitably become lost.

2. Only by upholding the guidance of communist ideology can we correctly work out and implement various socialist policies, correctly observe and handle various problems at the current stage, and thus push ahead with the socialist cause. Otherwise, if policies, no matter how good they are, cannot be correctly understood and implemented, it will not be surprising that things will always go contrary to our wishes. For example, viewing matters in light of the decadent bourgeois ideology, some people have gone so far as to distort the policy of opening the door to the outside world and enlivening the economy at home as the liberalization of the economic field, and thus have made use of the opportunity to reap great profits. As they have interpreted the principle of distribution according to work as "rendering service according to reward," a tendency of "regarding money as everything" has taken shape. This is really good evidence to show the consequences of such actions.

3. Only by upholding the propaganda and education of communist ideology can we push the broad masses of the people to conscientiously and correctly handle the relationship between collective interests and personal interests and that between long-term interests and immediate interests, help them to set up lofty moral standards, and thus cultivate a generation of communist new people.

It must be pointed out that by holding high the communist banner and emphasizing the propaganda of communist ideology, we do not mean to immediately implement the policies of the higher stage of communism. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "We must keep the spreading of communist ideas and propaganda about the communist social system distinct from the practical application of the new-democratic program of action; we must also keep the communist theory and method of investigating problems, undertaking research, handling work and training cadres distinct

from the new-democratic line for the national culture as a whole. It is undoubtedly inappropriate to mix the two." As we are now living in a socialist society, which is the primary stage of communism, we still must adhere to the principle of distribution according to work and other socialist policies in the economic field and social life. It will prove to be an unrealistic illusion to leap over the historical stage and prematurely progress to communism by means of pulling up seedlings in the hope of helping them to grow. That is contrary to the objective laws of social development and in disregard of the development level of productive forces and the consciousness level of the masses of the people. For sure, we should never repeat such stupid practices as the "tendency to effect the transition to communism prematurely," which was prevalent in 1958, or the "tendency to effect the transition to communism despite poverty" which was promoted during the cultural revolution period.

The general goal for the new historical era and the corresponding principles and policies put forth by the 12th CPC Congress have pointed out the way for the communist movement at the present stage in our country. It is the program of action for the whole party and the people throughout the country at the present stage. We must unswervingly implement this program and spare no effort to realize it, even at the expense of our blood and lives. In implementing the general goal and the corresponding policies for the current stage and speeding up the socialist modernization construction, we keep an eye to the beautiful ideal of communism in the future. And, in upholding the propaganda about communist ideology and resisting various corrosions, we are aiming at ensuring the smooth and healthy development of socialist construction. In fact, the two things are supplementing each other and helping each other forward.

By and large, in order to correctly understand the relationship between the propaganda about communist ideology and the implementation of the current socialist policies, we must adopt the dialectical method of thinking. On the one hand, we should never separate the two things, oppose them to each other, negate the guiding role of the communist ideological system and forget the ultimate goal of communism. On the other, we should never mix the two things up, equate them and thus adopt the policies of communism at the social stage. In other words, we must on the one hand take a broad and long-term view, have the lofty ideal of communism in mind and unswervingly propagandize communist ideology and on the other, conscientiously implement the current socialist policies, carry out day-to-day work in a down-to-earth manner, and strive hard to realize the magnificent goal of communism.

CSO: 4005/55

PARTY AND STATE

FOUNDING OF CHINA LAW SOCIETY REPORTED

Shanghai MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM] in Chinese No 8, 25 Aug 82 pp 2-3

[Article: "Solemn Inaugural of the China Law Society in Beijing"]

[Text] The inauguration of the China Law Society was formally proclaimed in Beijing. It reflected the long-standing aspiration of the workers in the field of law throughout the country, it conformed with the needs of our legal system as it enters the new era and symbolizes the arrival of spring for legal research in our country.

Under the cordial attention of the CPC Central Committee and after ample preparations, the grand inaugural meeting of the China Law Society was held at the capital from the 22d to the 27th. The delegates, numbering more than 300, listened to a report by Comrade Wang Yifu [3769 0001 1133] on the preparatory work and to opening speeches by Comrade Peng Zhen [1756 4176] and Comrade Yang Xiufeng [2799 4423 1496]. Following an earnest discussion, the meeting passed in principle the "China Law Society Statutes" and elected 167 directors to form a board of directors. The meeting also elected Yang Xiufeng its honorary president, Wu Xinyu [2976 2450 1342] its president, and the following as vice presidents: Zhang Youyu [1728 0645 3342]. Wang Yifu, Liang Wenying [2733 2429 5391], Wang Hanbin [3076 3352 2430], Zhu Jianming [2612 0494 2494], Xiang Chunyi [2709 3196 0001], Gan Zhongdou [3927 6850 2435], Qian Duansheng [6929 4551 0581], Huan Xiang [1360 6763], Chen Shouyi [7115 1343 0001] and Wang Shuwen [3769 0647 2429]. The statutes stipulate: The China Law Society is a nationwise association of mass character for the scientific study of law. Its tasks are: under the guidance of the CPC, to unite all workers in the field of law, uphold the four basic principles, observe and follow the principles and policies of the CPC, actively launch legal research, conduct domestic and international academic exchanges and contribute toward the flowering and development of the Marxist socialist science of law in China, toward developing socialist democracy, toward the perfection of the socialist legal system and toward building up a socialist material and spiritual civilization.

Comrade Yang Xiufeng spoke at the opening ceremony. He reviewed the tortuous development of the socialist science of law in our country since the inception of our government and pointed out: after the establishment of our government, working under the guidance of the CPC, we initially established a socialist

science of law and a contingent of legal scholars. However, as from the end of the fifties, due to the erroneous "leftist" influences, legal research could not develop in a normal way. Especially during the 10 years of domestic turmoil and due to the sabotage by the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, our legal system was destroyed and the science of law trampled underfoot. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the Central Committee put forward the historical task of developing socialist democracy and perfecting the legal system. Directed by the correct political line, principles and policies of the CPC since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the various distorting and confusing legal theories and principles regarding the legal system have been gradually cleared up and legal research restored and developed.

Comrade Yang Xiufeng suggested the Law Society direct its attention to effective work in four directions: 1. Active promotion of a legal research that integrates theories with practice; 2. launching of academic exchanges and friendly contacts with with jurisprudential circles in various foreign countries; 3. do good work in compiling and publishing legal publications and collecting library material; 4. strengthen contacts and cooperation with every other organization in the field of legal science.

In his opening speech, Comrade Peng Zhen pointed out that the major task of the Law Society is to uphold the four basic principles and to contribute to the development of social democracy and the perfection of the socialist legal system. He said: Are the four basic principles merely one theory, merely the proposition by one of the schools among the "hundred schools"? No, the four basic principles were put forward by the CPC Central Committee; they are not pure imagination without foundation, but rather the summing up of our country's historical experiences since the start of the 20th century, they are the truth that has been tested in practice. Practical experience has proved that if we uphold the four basic principles, our road ahead will be bright and the broader the further we advance.

Comrade Peng Zhen pointed out: Integrating theory with practice means to start out from the actual conditions in China, to sum up our own experiences and lessons and to find out the laws of social development of China [illegible]f. At the same time we must also turn it around and apply it to the realities. He said: When starting out from the realities and using practice as our test, it will be easy to discern whether our individual way of thinking is correct. If everyone starts out from the realities and everyone uses practice as test, it will be easy to have unity in the ideology of the jurisprudential circles.

Comrade Peng Zhen furthermore pointed out: We must adopt beneficial experiences and lessons from all times and from all countries. When the 1954 Constitution was drawn up, a study was made of the constitutions of all the countries of the world. We must not assume that China has nothing to offer in the science of law owing to its several centuries of feudal society. Our ancient laws incorporate abundant experiences. There are many laws starting with the "Chunqiu" [Spring and Autumn Annals] and "Zhanguo] [History of the Warring States] down to the times of the Ming and Qing Dynasties; although they incorporate feudal experiences, we must still subject them to study, in order to reject the dross and

assimilate the essence. The Law Society should study all laws, ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign, and regardless whether they are progressive, neutral or reactionary, regardless of whether they are of the slaveholder society, or feudal or capitalist, they all should be studied. He emphasised: Jurisprudence is the superstructure, it is determined by the economic foundation and must again serve the economic foundation. As society develops, its economic foundation develops and law must develop along with these developments. If law does not conform with the realities and with the demands of the socialist development, we must study and revise it.

The meeting received serious attention and solicitude from the CPC Central Committee and the people of the whole country. Among those who attended the opening ceremony and offered their congratulations, there were also the following: Peng Chong [1756 0394], CPC Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee Secretariat, Huang Huoqing [7806 3499 7230], Chief Procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, Zhao Cangbi [6392 5547 3880], Minister of Public Security, Liu Fuzhi [0491 1788 0037], chief secretary of the Legal Commission of the NPC and Minister of Justice, Wang Zhanping [3769 2069 1627], vice president of the Supreme People's Court, Wang Hanbin [3076 3352 2430], vice chairman of the Legal Commission of the NPC Standing Committee, and Shi Jinqian [0670 6651 0467], deputy director of the General Political Department of the PLA. In the morning of the 23 July, Comrades Deng Xiaoping [6772 1420 1627], Peng Zhen, Wei Guoqing [7279 0948 3237], Peng Chong, Wan Li [5502 6849], Xi Zhongxun [5045 0112 0534] and Yang Shangkun [2799 1424 2492] again met with the comrades that attended the inaugural meeting and had a group photograph taken. During the entire period of the meeting the delegates received much valuable information and encouragement. Each one of the delegates expressed his desire to study and grasp the spirit of the speeches by Comrades Peng Zhen and Yang Xiufeng, to deepen his understanding further, to firmly uphold the four basic principles, to uphold the principle of linking theory with practice and to make further contributions to the development and flowering of our country's socialist jurisprudence.

0908
CSO: 4005/3

PARTY AND STATE

LI DESHENG ON LIU BOCHENG'S MILITARY CAREER

HK140902 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Oct 82 p 5

[Article by Li Desheng [2621 1795 3932]: "From Private to Marshal--On Reading 'Liu Bocheng's Military Career'"]

[Text] Through the concerted efforts of such writers as Comrades Yang Guoyu, Chen Feiqin, Li Anming and Wang Wei and the comrades concerned in the China Youth Publishing House, the book "Liu Bocheng's Military Career" has eventually been published. As a veteran who followed Comrade Liu Bocheng in struggle for many years, I feel very pleased about this.

Comrade Liu Bocheng is a staunch proletarian revolutionary, a marshal who has fought countless battles and a Marxist military theorist. In 1911 when he was only 19 years old, he joined the student army which opposed the Qing government and thus began his long and arduous military career. Come to think of it, 71 years have already passed. This history is the process of his change from a private to a marshal and from democrat to a communist. It is also the process of his becoming a Marxist militarist and military theorist. With his indelible military theory and practice, Liu Bocheng has written down a chapter in the history of Chinese modern warfare and of the development of the People's Army. "Liu Bocheng's Military Career" is the first book ever published at home which systematically recounts the glorious course which Comrade Liu Bocheng has traversed.

This book is true to history and has an interesting plot. After reading it, one will find that the images of Liu Bocheng at different stages will appear vividly on the page.

I often think that the proletarian revolutionaries and militarists of older generations have not only created a new era for the coming generation but have also left valuable spiritual wealth for them. So I would like to recommend the book "Liu Bocheng's Military Career" to the broad masses, and in particular, to young comrades, including the young officers and fighters of our army. It is my hope that all of us will read this book to have a clear picture of how the revolutionaries and militarists of the older generation thought and acted and what they left to us--their decendants--in the past years.

After reading the book "Liu Bocheng's Military Career," I deeply felt that not only as a marshal, well-known at home and abroad, but also as an ordinary private, Comrade Liu Bocheng has left a solid footstep in the 71 years of his military career.

The Communist Party and the Communist Party alone can lead China to the right. This is the great truth which Liu Bocheng realized after experiencing countless sufferings in his early years. While in his teens, with the ideal of carrying out democratic reform and making the country rich and building its military power, Liu Bocheng joined the democratic revolution led by Dr Sun Yat-sen, held a post in the fifth division of the Sichuan Army founded by the Tongmeng Hui [Revolutionary League] and took part in the battles to suppress Yuan Shikai, supporting the KMT in the fight against Yuan Shikai and in defence of the constitution. He led his troops in fighting in various different parts of Sichuan Province, taking passes by force of arms and wiping out the commanders and vanquishing the enemy and he was thus praised as being a famous general in central Sichuan Province. However, owing to the limitations of the times and the influence of other factors, this famous patriotic soldier bitterly struggled amid the contentions of tangled warfare of the warlords. In 1921 after the CPC was founded, Dr Sun Yat-sen accepted the political aid of the Communist Party, organized the KMT and practiced KMT-CPC cooperation. As a result, tremendous changes took place in the situation of the whole of China. It was precisely in this period that Liu Bocheng began to turn over in his mind the 10 years of his military life in which he had gone through fire and water through numerous contacts with the communists, such as Yang Angong, Wu Yuzhang, Zhao Shiyan, Chen Duxiu and Zhou Enlai. He not only realized that the conduct of both old and new warlords was incompatible with his aspiration of doing everything for the people, but he also realized that the road of the old democratic revolution had come to a dead end and that only the road taken by the Communist Party held hope for China. Liu Bocheng joined the CPC on 13 May 1926. It was the most important turning point in his life. It was just at the end of the very same year that, under the leadership of the CPC, he staged the Lu (Zhou) Shun (Qing) uprising. From then on, Liu Bocheng's military career entered a completely new stage of fighting to win state power for the people.

With regard to this phase of Comrade Liu Bocheng's history; when talking with Agnes Smedley, a progressive American writer, Comrade Zhu De said: "People take different roads. Some people are not ready to repent and mend their ways once they become warlords. Some get bogged down in a quagmire by following the warlords but they eventually find a new revolutionary road; others were ideologically poisoned so seriously in the past that they are unable to extricate themselves although they have found the new road. Many KMT soldiers have turned into warlords. However, Liu Bocheng and I have discovered and taken a new road of revolution."

In his new military career, Liu Bocheng participated in staging and leading the Nanchang uprising. He was one of the founders of the Chinese PLA. During the period of the Red Army, he was chief of general staff of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee, inflicted repeated reverses on a formidable enemy and distinguished himself in action. During the period of the war of resistance against Japan, he was commander of the 129th division

of the eighth route army, fought in various different areas behind the enemy lines in north China, established the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan anti-Japanese base area and developed the people's guerrilla war. During the period of the liberation war, he was commander of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan field army (that is, the later second field army). Together with Comrade Deng Xiaoping, he commanded for long years a strategic front army and performed immortal feats for the founding of the PRC. After the founding of the PRC, he held the post of president and political commissar of the Chinese PLA Military Academy for years and he worked assiduously at training senior commanding army cadres and made important contributions to building a regular revolutionary army.

Comrade Liu Bocheng has the lofty military integrity of a soldier. As early as 1942, Comrade Zhu De said: "He possesses a soldiers qualities, such as humanity, trustworthiness, resourcefulness, courage and strictness and also the style of famous ancient generals. He is a rare talent among the generals in our country."

The "humanity" of Comrade Liu Bocheng is shown most importantly in the fact that he has all along sided with the people and worked for their interests. The key to the question of why he is different from the generals of the old army in the same era and "found and took a new road of revolution" lies in this point. When he was about to leave home to join the army to oppose the Qing government, that is, when he was going to take the first step in his military career, some of his native neighbors advised him to engage in trade and take the road of fortune making. Liu Bocheng, who was then 19 years old, said: "A true man must hold a sword to save the people from untold miseries, how is it possible for him to take care of only his own wealth and honor?" Later when he failed to find the road of saving the country and the people despite his arduous struggles, he quietly retired from military life. When many people tried to pursuade him to return to the warlord troops to hold an important post, he sternly refused, saying: "My family does not have any private savings. When I encounter the enemy, I will dash ahead regardless of my safety for fear that the nation be in peril as the result of domestic trouble and foreign invasion and that people are reduced to anxiety and misery by the government authorities rather than seeking undeserved reputation and honor. If these warlords try to tempt me with a high position and handsome salary, it is justifiable to say that they have eyes without pupils." After he joined the CPC, which represents the fundamental interests of the Chinese people and became a conscious communist, he put his understanding of the "humanity" of the people to the higher plane of unconditionally submitting to the leadership of the party. While the Red Army was on the long march, Zhang Guotao vainly attempted to split the party and the Red Army. Under extremely difficult conditions, together with Comrade Zhu De, Liu Bocheng risked his life to wage uncompromising struggle with Zhang Guotao and thus safeguard the leadership of the party and the interests of the people. This was a full embodiment of his strict party spirit and his loyalty to the people. The deeds of Liu Bocheng in war years, such as braving untold dangers, in disregard of personal safety, for the party and the people and cherishing and showing consideration for his subordinate officers and rank-and-file soldiers in all matters are even beyond counting.

The "resourcefulness" of Comrade Liu Bocheng is shown in the fact that he has a good command of the art of war, both ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign and has rich and exquisite military astuteness and resourcefulness and is rich in operational experience. Liu Bocheng was bold in recognizing the slyness of the enemy army and good at studying the strategy and tactics of the enemy army and proceeding to draw up correct principles of operation, thus enabling his troops to be in an invincible position in military operations. During the period of the war of resistance against Japan, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping directed the 129th division of the eighth route army in launching countless battles of driving away the tiger from the front door and chasing the wolf at the back in a complicated situation in which they were under a pincer attack waged by the tiger (the Japanese invading army) and the wolf (the stubborn enemy troops). This was a long-drawn-out general war, involving the military, political, economic and cultural spheres. As a result, the 129th division won many great and significant victories and ultimately, it controlled more than 80 cities and the vast countryside of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan areas and the army grew into a 300,000-strong army. During the period of the liberation war, in accordance with the strategic decision of the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, the army commanded by Liu [Bocheng] and Deng [Xiaoping] made a breakthrough in the center of the areas and thrust into the Dabie Mountains in a leaping forward fashion from 1,000 li away. This more fully displayed Liu Bocheng's and Deng Xiaoping's art of carrying out a "battle of wits" with the enemy. At the same time, the army commanded by Liu and Deng broke down the Huanghe defence line of the army of Chiang [Kai-shek] in a sudden operation and launched the southwest Shandong battle, thus regaining the initiative whether in strategy or in battles. However, Liu and Deng were determined to leave the rear behind to create the pioneering undertaking of thrusting into the Dabie Mountains in a leaping-forward way rather than attacking Longhai and the areas east of the Huanghe River and the Peiping-Hankao railway. Prior to this, in order to give Chiang's troops a false impression, Liu and Deng made an elaborately planned deployment for the army's route of advance. They ordered their troops to make a feint on the ferries of the Huanghe River to build up the momentum that the main force of the army would advance north. They again ordered the troops of a friendly field army, which was temporarily put under the command of Liu and Deng, to pin down the enemy. This made Chiang Kai-shek at a loss, thinking that a large contingent of the army commanded by Liu and Deng would leave the rear behind to advance south, and he then concentrated a colossal force of 30 brigades to make a joint attack on Yuncheng and Juye by advancing along five routes. When the large contingents of the army commanded by Liu and Deng suddenly strode across the Longhai railway and speedily penetrated the vast and weakly defended strategic positions in the length and breadth of the areas controlled by Chiang's troops, Chiang Kai-shek still judged that under the pressure of his massive forces, the army commanded by Liu and Deng could neither advance north across the Huanghe River nor dare to fight any battles and would have to "flee south in disorder." Therefore he assembled 24 brigades to set off in hot pursuit and to attack the flank of the army commanded by Liu and Deng and only placed a tiny number of troops on garrison duty in Shahe which the army commanded by Liu and Deng had to pass in advancing south. Liu and Deng turned Chiang Kai-shek's trick against him and ordered their troops to advance to the Wohe and Huangfan areas and Shahe at the fastest possible

speed and thus left Chiang's troops far behind. It was not until the spearhead of our army being directed at the Dabie Mountains became clearly obvious that Chiang Kai-shek came to realize the truth, but it was too late. Except for fighting a fierce battle in the areas of the Ruhe River and the Huaihe River with the enemy troops which came to attack them, in the 1,000-li leaping-forward march, the army commanded by Liu and Deng did almost not fight any significant battles. All they did was to launch the "battle of wits" with the enemy on the invisible battlefront.

The "courage" of Comrade Liu Bocheng is shown in the fact that he stands in no fear of a formidable enemy and is calm and self-possessed, brave in battle and courageous and resolute in directing military operations. Liu Bocheng often said: In fighting a battle, we must rely on courage. Cowards will never win a battle! In his early military career, as a fighter and a brigade or regimental or company or platoon commander, he always placed himself directly on the first front line and led his men in charging and shattering enemy positions in every battle. In the war of suppressing Yuan Shikai in 1916, Liu Bocheng and others led the eastern Sichuan troops that rallied against Yuan Shikai in attacking Fengducheng, although Yuan's [Shikai] army far outnumbered the troops that rallied against it whether in equipment or in quantity, Liu Bocheng personally led his men in charging against the enemy. It only took one round to rout Yuan's army. Unluckily, Liu Bocheng was seriously wounded in this battle with his eyeball hit out and his skull broken up. According to later [?accounts], in the previous battles, Liu Bocheng was injured nine times in all, but this wound was the most serious and meant that he lost his right eye forever. Later, when he was a high-ranking army commander, he still preserved this praiseworthy spirit and style. However, by this time, he no longer charged at the head of his men and personally went to the front posts to command military operations. What was more important was that he was good at using correct principles of operation and bold in shouldering heavy loads in war, dared to gnaw a hard bone and always paid attention to inspiring the indomidable style of fearing neither hardship nor death and fighting heroically under difficult circumstances among the officers and men of the troops of our army. During the period of the liberation war, Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping directed the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan field army in launching the Juye campaign (that is, the Longfeng battle). In the campaign, the fifth brigade of the second special brigade was assigned to check the fifth enemy army in the areas of Longguji and to screen the advance of the main forces to attack the troops of the 11th reorganized enemy division under the command of Zhang Fengji. These two armies were the elite main troops of Chiang Kai-shek. They were uniformally equipped with U.S. weaponry and had relatively combat effectiveness. Whether or not the fifth brigade could perform its duty satisfactorily had a bearing on the success and failure of the whole campaign. For this reason, he specially drove in a horse-drawn rubber-tired cart to the headquarters of the fifth brigade. He said to the brigade's cadres: "We must break the necks of these two tigers" and "use soft measures in order to hit hard blows at the enemy. We must let the enemy gain a little first before we attack it. This is like the way the masters of martial art come to blows. They give ground first before attacking." After that, he rushed to inspect the unit close with the enemy, a unit of the fifth brigade which fought in the van, that very night without a single halt. Then, he again risked his

life to inspect the main-force battalion which was deployed along the forward positions. As field army commander, Liu Bocheng went deep down to the brigades, regiments and battalions to direct operations and boost morale. This made the fighting fettle of the troops run unprecedentedly high. At the crucial juncture of this battle, the extremely heavy shellfire of the enemy caused our troops heavy injuries and deaths. Whenever the officers and soldiers of the troops thought that Commander Liu was behind them, they would feel that they were shouldering heavy responsibilities and became fully confident and brave and indomitable in battle and they thus withstood the heavy pressure of the enemy. While advancing to the Dabie Mountains in a leaping-forward way, the headquarters of the field army and the sixth special brigade were checked by the 85th enemy division on the northern bank of the Ruhe River and three other enemy divisions which came behind in hot pursuit were approaching them very closely.

The situation was desperate. Liu Bocheng issued a stirring directive: "When meeting face to face on a narrow path, the brave will surely triumph" to his troops. Together with Deng Xiaoping, he braved the enemy's shellfire and personally went to the vanguard unit to command the fighting. This greatly inspired the troops. The commanders at various levels charged at the head of their men and led the fighters in bloodily fighting their way out of the enemy positions, thus enabling the organs of the army and the troops to cross the Ruhe River safely in good time. This was the bold and powerful fighting style of Liu Bocheng's troops.

The "strictness" of Comrade Liu Bocheng is shown in the fact that 1) as a model revolutionary soldier, he sets strict demands on himself and 2) as a general who commands a powerful army, he leads troops and manages military affairs in a strict way. After reading the book "Lou Bocheng's Military Career," the readers will find out this military integrity of Comrade Liu Bocheng and gain some enlightenment from it.

Comrade Liu Bocheng has an outstanding grasp of the art of military operations. In this book "Liu Bocheng's Military Career," there are relatively detailed and vivid descriptions about the various battles, campaigns and strategic operations which Comrade Liu Bocheng directed in previous years. They include the following events: The battles, led by Dr Sun Yat-sen of suppressing Yuan Shikai, supporting the KMT to fight against Yuan Shikai and defending the constitution in the early military career of Liu Bocheng; the fourth anti-"encirclement and suppression" campaign which he took part in directing during the period of the Red Army; the famous battles which the vanguard units of the Red Army, led by him during the long march, launched, such as the speedy crossing of the Wujiang River, the skillful crossing of the Jinshajiang River and the lightning-quick crossing of the Daduhe River; the Yangmingbao, Shentouling, Xiangtangpu, Changlecun and Xiangchenggu battles which were well-known at home and abroad and the 100-regiment campaign, all of which he launched in the way of guerrilla warfare during the war of resistance against Japan; and the 10 successful campaigns (the Shangdang, Pinghan, Longhai, Dingtao, Juye, Juannan, Hua County and Jujinyu campaigns and the Henan-Anhui-border and the northern Henan campaigns), the implementation of the strategic counteroffensive by crossing the Huanghe River, the great victory in southwest

Shandong Province, the 1,000-li leaping-forward thrust to the Dabie Mountains, the chase of the deer in the central plains, the Huaihai decisive campaign, the successful total crossing of the Changjiang River and the march into the great southwest during the period of the liberation war. Not long ago, the article "Reading 'How Liu Bocheng Directed Military Operations'" written by Liu Huaqing was published in the newspapers. This article made a detailed analysis and study of the characteristics of Liu Bocheng's art of military operation. Here I am not inclined to repeat it. I would like to discuss some points which we should at least learn from the book in learning war and enhancing abilities.

1. Comrade Liu Bocheng can correctly understand the dialectical relationship between theory and practice and uphold the principle of seeking the truth from facts in directing military operations. Liu Bocheng is a soldier who has received an orthodox educational training. In 1912, with excellent academic records, he was admitted to the crash course for officers of the Sichuan army of the military hing-ranking officers school run by the Zhongqing military government. In 1927, the CPC sent him to study in the Moscow Senior Infantry School. He did so exceedingly well in his study that he was recommended by the infantry school to go to the Soviet Fu Long Zhi [0126 7893 5347] Military Academy for advanced studies. These schools enabled him to acquire a considerably high level of military accomplishments. However, Comrade Liu Bocheng has all along borne it in mind that theory apart from practice is a dead theory and practice apart from theory is a blind practice, and that while directing military operations in a war, one must persist in conducting a thorough investigation and study and being clear about tasks, the enemy's situation, our situation, topography and time--five factors which the officers should master in using strategy and tactics in a flexible way rather than indulging in dogmatism and empericism. Liu Bocheng has not indulged in empericism. This does not mean that he has attached no importance to experience. During the war years when he was burdened with pressing military duties, Liu Bocheng wrote a number of military works and almost none of them are not written by applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the military theories of the famous militarists both ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign. He summed up his own operational experience and proceeded to put forth some military theories and new operational methods originally characterized by our army. He has thus enriched Mao Zedong's military thinking. Marshal Chen Yi's praise for Liu Bocheng was that as far as military affairs are concerned, he is a new Sun Wu, a modern militarist strategist. Marshal Ye Jianying said that Liu Bocheng is "the treasure of our country and people." Comrade Liu Bocheng, as I see it, deserves all this praise.

2. Comrade Liu Bocheng has the spirit of studying assiduously and extensively. His motto is that "we have not used sufficiently what we have learned and the desire for learning what we have not yet mastered knows no bounds." In the matter of study, he has the ancients' style of "studying hard in defiance of hardships." When he studied in the Moscow Senior Infantry School, people worried that he would find it difficult to study Russian because he was already more than "30 years old." Keeping the determination of "assiduously studying Marxism-Leninism and mastering military science to repay the kindness of the motherland" at heart, he studied hard day and night and succeeded in tackling

this key problem in study, and thus laid a foundation for studying the other courses well. During the protracted, difficult and strained war years, he made good use of every interval and every possible little time, often studied indefatigably with a magnifying glass under an oil lamp and summed up his experiences and lessons. Liu Bocheng not only studied assiduously but also transformed Confucius' old concept that "one should acquire a broad and profound knowledge of polite letters by keeping oneself within the bounds of etiquette" into a new one, that is, the method for studying military science is being extensive but under correct guidance, that is, taking the Marxist-Leninist military theory and Mao Zedong's military thinking as a guide. In his long wartime life, he himself made great efforts to extensively study the military theories of the famous militarists both ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign and the military practice of famous generals, ranging from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin to Suvorov, Napoleon, Clausewitz, Ludendorff and Okamura Yasuji, from the assignment tactics and guerrilla tactics of the Soviet Union to the combat borders of the United States and Germany and the paragon orders of Japan, and from Sun Wu, Sun Bin and Kong Ming to Peng Juan and Ma Su. He is good at using the Marxist-Leninist military theory and Mao Zedong's military thinking to study all this. It is because he has a good spirit of study that he can become a Marxist military theorist, and his military theory can become an important component part of Mao Zedong's military thinking.

3. Comrade Liu Bocheng is modest and prudent and never claims credit for himself and becomes arrogant. When he had become a world-famous general, he still often examined what was wrong with his direction of military operations, and even when a brilliant victory was won in a battle, he would still find out the deficiency in the operation and overcome and correct it so as to benefit the coming operations. In the Longfeng battle during the period of the liberation war, the field army won a complete victory thanks to Liu's and Deng's accurate judgements of the enemy's situation, their meticulous troops disposition and their resolute deployment and direction of troops. Nevertheless, Liu Bocheng made self-criticism among his troops on his own initiative after the operation. In the Longfeng operation, the enemy recognized that they were defeated, but we have also some shortcomings. In campaign, our main force should advance and retreat in great strides. Only thus can it take the enemy by surprise and strike where or when the enemy is unprepared, and thus easily eliminate the enemy one by one. This time we fell into a clumsy "ox-wrestling" position--deadlock, and as a result, the enemy became very cautious and we could not move our troops and confuse the enemy to make it reveal its weaknesses. In fact, our troops were thrown into passivity. The generals who can keep a clear head and examine the deficiency on their own initiative in face of a victorious battle are very rare. Liu Bocheng is precisely such a general.

In total, the brilliant military theory and practice of Comrade Liu Bocheng is a sum of the valuable wealth of our party and army. In a situation in which we are marching towards the "four modernizations" under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee, it is of particularly great significance to arousing the vast numbers of party members to enhance the confidence in the fact that the cause of communism is bound to triumph, to guiding the broad masses of youngsters in correctly exploring the road of life, and to training and bringing up revolutionary soldiers and commanding personnel of a new generation of our army. It is worthy of serious study.

Before winding up this article, one point must, as I see it, be pointed out here, that is, as a biography depicting the military activities of Liu Bocheng, the book "Liu Bocheng's Military Career" has its own deficiencies. For example, the whole military activities of Liu Bocheng are written in a sketchy way, some important activities have not been recorded and narrated and the appraisal of some specific historical events needs further consideration, and so on. I hope the writers, editors and all comrades who know the situation will make concerted efforts to revise and make this book better.

CSO: 4005/55

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA OBEYING PARTY'S 'CORRECT LEADERSHIP' STRESSED

OW130931 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 12 Oct 82

[Text] It is correct to demand the armed forces to obey the party's leadership; but it is more important to stress that the party lead the armed forces correctly.

Because the armed forces had long been indoctrinated with the idea that they show absolute obedience to one individual leader, as evident from such slogans as "We will fight wherever he points to," "carry out whatever we understand as well as whatever we do not understand," and so forth, the broad masses of commanders and fighters became accustomed to blind subordination. That is the reason why they committed so many serious mistakes during the Cultural Revolution.

The reason why we emphasize the need for the armed forces to accept the party's correct leadership is because it is necessary to prevent anyone in the party from exploiting the armed forces for private purposes, such as using the powerful armed forces to usurp party and state power and maintain his supreme authority within the party and in the country. Therefore, only by demanding the armed forces to obey the party's correct leadership can we prevent anybody, the most prestigious leaders included, from using the armed forces as his support to impose his will, his leadership and his feudal, patriarchal actions on the whole party and the whole nation. Because this happened once before, nobody dares to speak out the truth, much less to criticize.

To require the armed forces to obey the party is an abstract idea. Over the past several decades, there have always been some people who wanted to exercise dictatorship in the name of the party. Consequently, the armed forces' obedience to the party's leadership has turned into the armed forces' obedience to the party leader's leadership. Even if one might not necessarily be the party's leader in name, he still could do whatever he wanted and could put himself above the entire party as long as he wielded the military power. A wise man once said: Military authority is like a big river. If the water of the river is under control, it is beautiful and useful; but if it is out of control and becomes a flood, it will cause havoc and destroy everything in its way.

During the tumultous decade, if Chairman Mao and Wang Hong Wen had not been the chairman and vice chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee, if Zhang Chunqiao had not been the director of the General Political Department of the PLA, if Mao Yuanxin had not been in control of the Shenyang Military Region, and if Jiang Qing had not had the authority to oversee military affairs, the "gang of four" would not have dared to do so many vicious things during that period.

But also, if the military had simply obeyed the party's leadership, and not its correct leadership, the "gang of four" and its factionalist setup could not have been crushed in one stroke throughout the country, and it would have been impossible that more than 90 percent of the central leaders (?present at) the 12th CPC National Congress were people who had been rehabilitated and have become party, government and military leaders.

In short, it is correct to demand the armed forces to obey the party's leadership; but it is more important to emphasize that the armed forces obey the party's correct leadership.

CSO: 4005/61

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BEIBU NAVY GROUP DEFENDS FISHERMEN, OIL RIGS

OW070853 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2340 GMT 6 Oct 82

[Newsletter by station correspondent (Liu Jingde): "'New Cavalry of the Sea'--On How a Certain Navy Escort Vessel Group at the Output of Beibu Bay Defends Oil-Drilling Platforms and Fishermen in the South China Sea"]

[Excerpts] The rolling waves of the vast Beibu Bay are roaring. A number of warships are waiting for combat orders to be issued by the higher level at any time. Suddenly, a yellow signal flag is hoisted on a warship. The warships are organized into battle array; they plow the waves and bravely advance.

These warships belong to a certain escort vessel group of the Navy's South China Sea Fleet known as the New Cavalry of the Sea. Since 1978, this escort vessel group has shouldered the task of defending offshore oil-drilling platforms and protecting fishermen from their outpost in Beibu Bay, Guangxi. They have spent over 1,700 days and nights on the sea and covered more than 52,000 nautical miles. They are now going to sea for the 207th time.

Soon after returning from a patrol at dusk one day, warships No 8310 and 8311 received a report on some suspicious activities. The commanders and fighters of the two warships immediately set sail in spite of fatigue after long patrol duty. They soon found out what was going on. Acting on instructions from the higher level, they ascertained the identities, positions and pendant number of all targets within 10 nautical miles of the oil-drilling platforms. They were thus commended by the higher level. The commanders and fighters of the escort vessel group, ever on the alert, defend our territorial waters. When encountering emergency or enemy activities, they always step forward bravely to accomplish their mission in disregard of their own safety.

On the evening of 5 March this year, two fishing boats of (Xinhua) Brigade of (Dijian) Commune in Beihai Municipality were attacked by Vietnamese armed vessels at sea. The escort vessel group received a combat order to set out immediately. (Jin Yingfei), political commissar of the group, and (Huang Jinlai), deputy commander of the group, immediately boarded the No 8302 escort vessel and set out on an emergency mission.

At that time, the wind was strong and the waves were turbulent at sea. Dense fog made the sea and skies dim and indistinct. The escort vessel was tossed about by the wind and waves. However, the commanders and fighters calmly maneuvered the vessel toward the scene where the incident took place, plowing through the waves and braving the wind. In 40 minutes, guided by radar on shore, the escort vessel arrived in the area where the fishing boats were attacked. The higher level ordered the escort vessel No 8302 to locate the targets.

Using the positions reported by the radar operator and the position and course of the escort vessel itself, the commanders conscientiously analyzed the pattern of lights of the fishing boats at sea, resolutely corrected course and promptly sailed close to the fishing boats in distress. Gun crew members (Cao Xingwen) and (Liu Chuanpeng) and other comrades bravely jumped aboard the fishing boats and helped two seriously injured fishermen aboard the escort vessel where medical personnel rushed to save their lives. An old fisherman in his eighties, with grateful tears in his eyes, said: Our gratitude to the Liberation Army will always be remembered in a thousand generations to come.

Seeing our escort vessel, the Vietnamese armed vessels had fled in haste.

CSO: 4005/61

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

URUMQI PLA UNITS' CIRCULAR--On 4 October the Political Department of the Urumqi PLA units issued a circular on publicizing and organizing well the activities of building socialist spiritual civilization. The circular says that building a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization is a task of the whole party and is a guarantee for building socialism and a modernized and regularized revolutionary army. In October, all units must quickly whip up an upsurge in publicizing and organizing well the activities of building socialist spiritual civilization. The circular demands that all commanders and fighters of the PLA units stationed in the Xinjiang Region be mobilized immediately and universally unfold the spiritual civilization activities of eliminating dirt, disorder and discourtesy. It is necessary to implement the party's policy on nationalities, respect the customs and habits of minority nationalities and actively [phrase indistinct] [Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 6 Oct 82 HK]

DEMOBILIZED SOLDIERS--A certain regiment under the Urumqi PLA units held a farewell meeting for demobilized fighters on 1 October. Commander Xiao Quanfu and Political Commissar Tan Youlin of the Urumqi PLA units attended the meeting and delivered speeches. During the meeting, the regiment made a dress parade and march-past. Then, the mobilized fighters gathered together and made an oath in front of the army flag. They declared that when they go back to their hometowns, they will vigorously publicize the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress, guide their behavior with communist ideology, carry forward the glorious tradition of the army and try to be the first in playing the roles of pioneers and men of action in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and construction so as to bring benefit to the people and do credit to the army flag. In their speeches to the meeting, Commander Xiao Quanfu and Political Commissar Tan Youlin urged the mobilized fighters to conscientiously study, publicize and implement the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress after going back to various fronts and try hard to play exemplary roles in the drive. The two PLA leaders demanded that the mobilized fighters must maintain the good ideology and fine style which they had cultivated in the army, carry them forward in their future posts and, in particular, take the lead in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, learning scientific knowledge and improving the cultural level, be actively engaged in the building of material and socialist spiritual civilizations and try hard to be a new generation which has ideals, morals and cultural standards and observes discipline. [Text] [HK060600 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1650 GMT 5 Oct 82]

CSO: 4005/61 END

JPRS 82176

5 November 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 357

JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE
25
ANNIVERSARY

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82176

5 November 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 357

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Results of Recent Chinese Party Congress Assessed
(Mariya Netsova; OTECHESTVEN FRONT, 17 Sep 82) 1

PARTY AND STATE

New Draft Constitution Said To Guarantee Democracy
(Luo Shirun; FUJIAN RIBAO, 20 Aug 82) 4

Exclusion of Gang of Four Remnants From Leadership Emphasized
(Zhang Shuzheng; RENMIN RIBAO, 24 Sep 82) 7

Division of Labor Within State Council Outlined
(ZHONGHUA RENMIN GONGHEGUC GUOWUYUAN GONGBAO, 10 Jul 82) 9

Article Extols Communism, Denounces Individualism
(Hui Lin; HEBEI RIBAO, 5 Sep 82) 14

Zhengjiang Regional Leaders Strengthen Ideological, Political Work
(Chen Hua, Li Hui, Yu Feng; XINHUA RIBAO, 29 Jul 82) .. 17

Harbin Grocery Branch Committee Urges Study of New Constitution
(HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 10 Sep 82) 20

Symposium on Draft of Revised Constitution Held
(Zheng Ping; FAXUE YANJIU, 23 Aug 82) 22

Mao's Mass Line on Evaluating Cadres Discussed
(Yang Yuyin; SHANXI RIBAO, 3 Sep 82) 24

Study, Promotion of 12th Party Congress Documents Urged
(HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 11 Sep 82) 26

Shandong Cadres Guide Study of 12th CPC National Congress Documents
(DAZHCNG RIBAO, 4 Sep 82) 28

Class Character, Social Character of Law Discussed
(Sun Guohua, Zhu Jingwen; FAXUE YANJIU, 23 Aug 82) 31

Brigade Branch Secretary Urges Struggle To Achieve New Production Goals
(Jiang Baoxun; HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 10 Sep 82) 38

Communist Ideals, Cause Promoted
(Yang Shiliang; HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 11 Sep 82)..... 40

Inculcating Masses With Socialist Ideology Stressed
(You Gan; XINHUA RIBAO, 27 Jul 82) 43

Spirit of Communist Party Mambers Praised
(Xie Xianwen; FUJIAN RIBAO, 14 Aug 82) 46

Fuzhou Party Members Lauded for Their Integrity
(Li Yuchang; FUJIAN RIBAO, 16 Aug 82) 48

Importance of Strong Base for Party Ideology Stressed
(Wang Lianbin; FUJIAN RIBAO, 20 Aug 82) 50

Need To Build Leading Bodies of Competent Cadres Emphasized
(Wang Yu; HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 17 Aug 82) 52

Achievements in Revolution, Construction Reviewed
(Chen Shijun; HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 17 Sep 82) 54

Fujian Research Symposium on Zheng Chenggong Summarized
(Kong Dongwei, Zhang Ping; XIAMEN DAXUE XUEBAO, No 3, 1982) 56

Briefs
Guizhou CPPCC Standing Committee 59

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Xinjiang Leaders at CYL Congress End Ceremony
(Xinjiang Regional Service, 12 Oct 82) 60

Wang Renzhong's Speech to Literary Circles
(Wang Renzhong; WENYI BAO, 7 Sep 82) 62

'GUANGMING RIBAO' Interviews Writer Wang Meng
(Jin Tao; GUANGMING RIBAO, 1 Oct 82) 73

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Taiping Heavenly Kingdom
(Fang Zhiguang; GUANGMING RIBAO, 27 Sep 82) 76

Historical Activities of Minority Nationalities Reexamined
(Chen Wutong; GUANGMING RIBAO, 5 Jul 82) 83

Briefs
Man Nationality Troupe 89
Corban Festivities 89
Gansu Cleanup Campaign 89
Shaanxi Conscription Work 90
National Day Activities 90
Corban in Urumqi 90
Sports Meet 91

RESULTS OF RECENT CHINESE PARTY CONGRESS ASSESSED

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 17 Sep 82 p 5

[Article by Mariya Netsova" "China Today, and Now on 'the Special Chinese Way' Again"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The 12th Chinese Communist Party Congress has a special place in the country's modern history. Convoked 6 years after Mao's death, it was supposed to evaluate the period marked by the physical and, above all, domineering presence of "the great helmsman," lay down the basic directions to be taken in China's domestic and foreign policy in the near and longer term, ratify the changes that had been prepared in the party's organizational structures, and refill the positions at the top of the party hierarchy.

Approval of Deng Xiaoping's Pragmatic Line

The evaluation of the Maoist legacy, and especially of the so-called "cultural revolution," which did irreparable damage to Chinese sociopolitical life, which marred hundreds of human destinies and which, by official admissions, turned into "a national catastrophe," was urgent and necessary. The failure of the economic policy, and especially of "the great leap" and of "people's communes," as well as the conception of "a continuation of the revolution with the dictatorship of the proletariat," which serves as an ideological basis to justify mass repression and innumerable Maoist campaigns, are at variance with the present orientations of the pragmatic crew that is establishing itself in power.

/All these questions, phenomena and events found a place in the report of the chairman of the CCP Central Committee, Hu Yaobang, and were characterized as "leftist errors" committed by Mao Zedong, especially during the last years of his life, which left unusually deep wounds on the party and people and caused serious damage to the entire life of the country. At the same time, Hu Yaobang assessed as "critical" the years since the 11th CCP Congress, which are associated with the routing of Jiang Qing's counterrevolutionary group in 1976 and especially with the Third Plenum of the CCP Central Committee in December 1978, when, as is known, Deng Xiaoping's line was adopted in CCP domestic and international policy./

After numerous and cruel purges at all levels of the party, state and administrative hierarchy, during the course of which the adherents of the so-called gang of four--key personnel who rose during the "cultural" revolution--were eliminated one by one and, above all, after they were rendered harmless in the Political Bureau and State Council (the government), the 12th CCP Congress actually registered the final victory over the "leftist" fraction and its adherents. The former Mao successor, Hua Guofeng, was hard hit by the reverberation of these struggles for the third time in a row. Eliminated consecutively from three key posts in the party, government and army, he now has been dropped also from membership in the Political Bureau, to remain a member only of the newly elected Central Committee.

Ideological Party Platform

Despite the admissions of Mao's "leftist" errors and criticism of his authoritarian style of political leadership, the 12th Congress confirmed and included in the policy section of the new statutes the already familiar plank that the theoretical foundation of the CCP is Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong's ideas. This plank was adopted at the Sixth Central Committee Plenum last year and amends the previous (1977) statutes, which endorsed Mao's ideas as allowing of no appeal and represented their author as "the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time." And this means that the Chinese leadership does not want to break with the Maoist legacy and will continue to make selective use of the eclectic verbiage of their ideologue leader in keeping with the requirements of the present political moment. It is not amiss to recall that the ideological and political platform of "the great helmsman"--so-called Sinicized Marxism, which is now called "the scientific system of Mao's ideas," justifies "China's exclusiveness" and "the special Chinese way," rejecting the experience of the socialist countries and the general objective laws governing socialism.

Modernization of the Economy

One of the basic tasks set by the 12th CCP Congress and incorporated not only in Deng Xiaoping's opening address but also in the report is that "of creating a new situation on all fronts of socialist modernization and, above all, in the area of the economy." More specifically, by the end of the century China will strive to quadruple its industrial and agricultural output and increase per-capita income in almost the same proportion (from the present $250 annually to $1000 to $2000 annually). The impression created is that in their striving to overcome the crisis status of the economy, disrupted by Maoist experiments (by the admission of the Chinese themselves, industry lags 20 years behind the world level, and agriculture half a century), the present party and administrative leadership has abandoned some voluntarist methods of the past and has, to a great degree, restored the role of economic incentives, which formerly were declared to be bourgeois and revisionist deviations. Ways of developing the economy are sought in the already familiar model of Deng Xiaoping and Chairman of the State Council Zhao Ziyang of combining "the socialist economy with the regulative force of the marketplace economy," as well as by opening China's doors wide to the West.

/The goals and indicators thus laid down for the future were met with restrained optimism not only in China itself, but also abroad, all the more so because the present state of the Chinese economy provides no grounds for sensation. Only a few months ago one of the two remaining deputy chairmen of the PRC State Council, Wan Li, declared to journalists that such a goal was not feasible, the newspaper MONDE looked for "rhetorical effect" in it, and American experts foresaw that weaknesses in the area of power supply would cause a 3- to 5-percent decline in industrial output by 1985. To this add only that, according to the official announcement of the PRC State Statistical Administration for 1981, the rate of growth of gross product and national income last year was half that of the previous year and the production of machine-building output had fallen "almost to the borderline."/

Replacements at the Top

Replacements at the top of the Chinese political pyramid are awaited with great interest--the election of the Central Committee, Political Bureau and Secretariat, as well as an innovation of the congress--the creation for the first time of a Central Consultative Council or a kind of council of elders. It is to consist of old and honored key party personnel, as well as wavering, protesting and dissatisfied veterans who do not accept the present pragmatic course or who simply do not want to go into the rear-guard.

/The first conclusion which can be drawn not only from the personnel decisions but also from the structural changes is that Deng Xiaoping's crew has come out strengthened, with reinforced positions in all key party elements. The congress eliminated the post of party chairman in favor of the secretary general and to that reelected Hu Yaobang, one of Deng Xiaoping's closest followers. Outstanding in the foreground of the new Central Committee Secretariat, which will manage current party business and possess many wider powers, is the Hu Yaobang-Zhao Ziyang tandem, and according to the first estimates at least half of the significantly rejuvenated and vitalized Central Committee consists of adherents of the so-called pragmatic line./

It is an impressive fact that appeals for an infusion of young blood in the party leadership left the Political Bureau almost unaffected, while the six reelected previous members of its Standing Committee, who meet all requirements (40-year party membership and advanced average age of 75 years) have offered "quiet opposition" to Deng and have refused to join the Central Consultative Council headed up by him.

/It is no accident that the 12th CPC Congress is comparable in its importance with the Seventh, held in 1945, which ratified Mao's authority after long internal dissension and a widespread and fierce "movement for the rectification of style" with the almost negative name of zheng feng [rectification]. Without anticipating the excesses of that period, the present congress again declared the beginning of a new campaign "for the rectification of style," which will start this year. And this will put to the test the new secretary general's expressed "80-percent certainty" that China will live in a very stable political setting by the end of the century. . ./

6474
CSO: 2200/1

PARTY AND STATE

NEW DRAFT CONSTITUTION SAID TO GUARANTEE DEMOCRACY

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Luo Shirun [5012 2514 3387]: "Study the New Draft Constitution: Democracy Is Guaranteed to Remain Invincible"]

[Text] In 1946 Huang Yenpei visited Yanan to meet with comrade Mao Zedong. When speaking of the rise and fall of past dynasties he said that of the rulers in history, those who rose suddenly also perished suddenly, that in the past few people were able to escape from the control of that cyclical rule. Comrade Mao Zedong replied, "Our Communist Party members have already found a new path. We can escape from that cyclical rule. That new path is democracy. Only if the people are allowed to exercise control will government dare not relax; only if all the people arise to assume responsibility can the situation of the people perishing and the government multiplying be avoided.

Does democracy have such great strength?

Just as the name implies, democracy means the people being the masters of their own house. First, it indicates that basic governing system of a nation. Our form of government is a people's democratic dictatorship state in which the working class leads and the worker-peasant alliance serves as the foundation. Our form of government is implementing the collective democracy of the people's congress system. Slave states and feudal states are not democratic. The democratic states is at best democracy that is employed fully only by propertied millionaires. As regards the common people, it is only a kind of hoax. In essence, socialist democracy is democracy of the absolute majority. Its most important characteristic is all the people exercising their right to manage the nation on the basis of polling their means of production and right to govern. The second content of democracy is protecting the citzens' best democratic rights. The third is democratic ideology, a democratic work style, and democratic habits. That is even more important with regard to leaders.

"Not stressing the building of a highly democratic socialist democratic political system is a bitter lesson of the 'Cultural Revolution.'" That is a saying that arose after our young People's Republic's experience in encountering calculating careerists.

"Without democratization there can be no modernization." This is a saying of knowledgeable persons with a broad and long-term outlook during the time when the focus of our party's work is changing.

"Without democracy there can be no centralization, dictatorship, or legal system." That is an incisive saying regarding the mutual dialectical relationship.

Although democratic ideology and democratic work style are listed No 3, with regard to the cadres now controlling political power No 3 does not exist, not to mention No 1 or No 2.

Our state's basic political system is a unified people's congress system based on the summarized experience of the Paris Commune. But there are several leadership cadres whose understanding in that regard is insufficient and who are not adept in applying that system to mobilize the broad popular masses to be the masters of their own house and the positiveness of socialist construction. If there is a locality in which the annual people's congress is held only with the urging of the upper echelon, and they are frequently held in form only. Such cadres only know how to hold a few cadre conferences to assign tasks, but do not understand how to utilize people's congresses and their standing committees to consider plans, and assign, examine, and recapitulate tasks. All types of overstaffed administrative departments have more people than work, but the standing committees' staffs are too small. There are many standing committee members who are members in name only and are incapable of carrying out day-to-day investigation, study, and inspection, administrative supervision, and judiciary work, and thus are unable to fully bring into play the role of people's corgresses and their standing committees in serving as the organs of authority at each echelon. Therefore, such cadres are often unable to effectively guarantee the rights of citizens. Sluggishness in handling affairs, mutually recrimination, not bringing to justice violations of citizens' legitimate rights and interests, not rectifying misjudged cases, apathy toward appeals by the popular masses, and other bureaucratic phenomena are not uncommon in our administrative and judicial organs.

Therefore, the new draft constitution, in order to perfect our state's fundamental political system, made a number of new stipulations. In addition to further emphasizing the central concepts of all power belonging to the people and the people having the right to manage the state and to manage economic and cultural affairs, manifested principally in strengthening the people's congresses and their standing committees at all levels, it broadens the powers of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and as far as possible frees the members of standing committees at all levels from their full-time jobs so that they can have ample time to keep in touch with their constituents and with the masses, and with regard to the work of administrative and judicial organs, handle every-day investigations, supervision, and inquiries. By strengthening the standing committees it strengthens the everyday work of the standing committees and strengthens the people's congresses. In addition, it opens up a new way of direct management by the people of state

affairs. For example, the staff and workers of enterprises may, via staff-worker congresses and other forms, participate in enterprise management; peasants and residents of cities and towns may exercise self-rule by means of village committees and neighborhood committees. All of those things enrich and develop the contents and forms of socialist democracy. With regard to the basic rights and obligations of citizens, the new draft constitution, summarizing the actual experiences of a period of more than 20 years, especially the historical lessons of the "Cultural Revolution," adds many new contents, and takes a step forward in broadening the rights of citizens. Furthermore, there are additional practical guarantees for those rights.

As pointed out in the "Resolution on Certain Problems in the Party's History Since the Founding of the Nation," "It is necessary to, on the basis of the principles of democratic centralism, strengthen the building of state organs at each echelon, transform the people's congresses and their permanent bodies at each echelon into authoritative people's organs of authority and, in the basic governmental administrations and in basic-level social activities, gradually implement direct democracy by the people. It is especially important to emphasize efforts to develop democratic management of enterprise affairs by the working masses of urban and rural enterprises. The new draft constitution is a form which uses fundamental law and systemitizes and legalizes such requirements.

It may be anticipated that by earnestly implementing the stipulations of the new draft constitution, we will be able to closely unite the nation's people, mobilize the positiveness of hundreds of millions of people, enable our socialist cause to flourish and, within a not-too-long period develop our nation into a highly democratic, highly civilized, modern socialist power.

5616
CSO: 4005/1321

PARTY AND STATE

EXCLUSION OF GANG OF FOUR REMNANTS FROM LEADERSHIP EMPHASIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Zhang Shuzheng [1728 2579 2398]: "Talk Begins With 'Submerged Reefs'"]

[Text] Reefs are "crazy rocks whose steep parts appear like swords." Navigators call them "obstacles" when they appear in rivers or seas, blocking the waterways. Submerged reefs in the waters pose even greater danger to shipping because they are more difficult to detect.

Are there any "reefs" in the waterways plied by the huge ship of our socialist modernization? Yes. A case in point is the political sabotage of the election of the Weixian County party congress in Hebei. Not long ago, when the county party congress was in session, some people gave drinking parties, delivered letters of blackmail, and displayed unsigned big-character posters raising false charges against the newly elected leading comrades on the county party committee and threatening to "rehabilitate" the former dismissed secretary of the county party committee, thus casting a pall over the election work. Although such unlawful activities are merely individual cases, they deserve our close attention. Among the culprits of these unlawful activities were self-styled rebels, persons obsessed with factionalism, vandals and robbers, opponents of the political line adopted by the Central Committee since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and serious violators of laws and discipline. Unreconciled to their loss of power and influence since the smashing of the "gang of four," they resent being investigated on charges of exploiting power for selfish purposes. Lusting for profits, and obdurately refusing to admit mistakes, they have worked hand in glove in an attempt to stage a political comeback. They are "submerged reefs" in the waterways plied by the huge ship of socialist modernization.

"We must remember that peaceful life is still fraught with dangers, our existence is still under the threat of subjugation, and order still can give way to disorder." Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and especially since the 12th party congress, our country has become more united and more stable than ever, with various undertakings gaining momentum with each passing day. "Unfolding before our eyes are lively transformations and an acute competition between the work of nature and human ingenuity." Leading bodies at all levels have been consolidated through the holding of party congresses, and people's congresses in which democratic elections have taken place and through the application of other measures. Hundreds upon

hundreds of outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres have been selected and promoted, and old cadres have been gradually replaced by younger cadres in a spirit of cooperation. This will provide an important guarantee for the party and state to achieve a long-term political stability, and represents an effective step in broadening the prospect for the development of the socialist modernization program. But we still have to guard against the "submerged reefs" during our march forward. In the course of selecting and promoting a large number of middle-aged and younger cadres and consolidating leading bodies at all levels, we should be on the alert to discern those self-styled rebels, persons obsessed with factionalism, vandals, robbers, opponents of the political line adopted by the Central Committee since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and serious violators of laws and discipline so that none of them will be able to enter leading bodies. Those still in leading positions can be resolutely dismissed from office, and punishment can be meted out to others found guilty of violating laws.

In an important speech to the 12th party congress, Comrade Chen Yun warned us: "If these three categories of people are allowed to enter leading bodies, they will jump at any opportunity to stir up trouble, bringing disaster to the people and the country again a few years from now when the climate is suitable and when the party is hit by another storm." This statement deserves our thoughtful consideration.

9574
CSO: 4005/20

DIVISION OF LABOR WITHIN STATE COUNCIL OUTLINED

Beijing ZHONGHUA RENMIN GONGHEGUO GUOWUYUAN GONGBAO in Chinese No 10, 10 Jul 82 pp 447-450

[Article: "Bulletin from the State Council Concerning the Division of Labor Between the State Planning Commission, the State Economic Commission and the State Scientific and Technological Commission," 5 May 1982"]

[Text] Recently, the Standing Committee of the State Council discussed and fixed the division of labor between the State Planning Commission, the State Economic Commission, and the State Scientific and Technological Commission, as follows:

I. Concerning the Division of Labor Between the State Planning Commission and the State Economic Commission

A. The State Planning Commission is responsible for the formulation of medium and long range plans and annual plans for national economic and social development, and the State Economic Commission is responsible for organizing the coordination and implementation of annual plans. The State Economic Commission will participate in formulating plans and achieving overall balance. The State Planning Commission and the State Economic Commission will oversee and inspect the implementation of the plans together.

B. The annual plan should provide for a certain reserve (such as funds, resources, foreign exchange for the year) so that in organizing the implementation the State Economic Commission can make the necessary adjustments. If in the course of implementation it is necessary to readjust a local or key enterprise plan, the State Economic Commission and the State Planning Commission will study and resolve the issue together, in the event of an important readjustment of a national norm, the two commissions will study the matter and report it to the State Council for a decision.

C. The State Supplies Bureau is the department of the State Council for unified management of supplies work and operates on behalf of the State Council. The State Supplies Bureau formulates plans for balanced allocation of goods and materials in accordance with the demands of the State Planning Commission and is responsible to the State Planning Commission; in the supply and control of goods and materials, it is responsible to the State Economic Commission. The

Orders Committee in which the State Economic Commission participate is organized by the State Supplies Bureau.

D. Key scientific and technological projects and scientific and technological development plans are the responsibility mainly of the State Planning Commission, may be formulated with the State Scientific and Technological Commission and the State Economic Commission and are implemented separately by the State Economic Commission and State Scientific and Technological Commission. Plans for applications of Scientific and technological results are formulated mainly by the State Economic Commission and after overall balancing by the State Planning Commission become part of the State Economic Plan.

E. Planning for technological reform and equipment renewal (including the bank loan portions) are mainly the responsibility of the planning committees at various levels and may be formulated in concert with the economic committees at various levels, then are unified with capital construction plans and made part of the fixed assets investment plans.

Plans for technological reform and equipment renewal in local areas and departments are approved by the State Planning Commission and the State Economic Commission.

In capital construction, the State Planning Commission is responsible for determining the scale of construction, the use of investment and large and medium-sized construction, is responsible for proof of large and medium sized construction, approves the balance between related projects, feasibility studies and design plan documents, is responsible for organizing the formulation of resource exploration plans, regional plans, river basin plans, highway network plans, and agricultural economic divisions. The State Economic Commission is responsible for organizing and approving design, construction and construction management, allocation of construction supplies, and for organizing production equipment, checking and acceptance on completion and standards and legislation for capital construction.

F. National defense industry and national defense scientific and technological plans are formulated by the State Planning Commission with the National Defense Scientific and Technological Commission and the State Economic Commission. Readjustment, reorganization, and reform work in the machine industry is the responsibility of the State Economic Commission.

G. Planning for the balance of international income and expenditure is the responsibility of the State Planning Commission. Planning for the use of foreign resources, imported technology, and equpment is mainly the responsibility of the State Planning Commission which can work out plans and check and verify with the State Economic Commission and relevant departments. The above norm projects among them are the responsibility of the State Planning Commission which organizes the relevant proofs in concert with the economic commission and the scientific commission and which are approved by the State Planning Commission; within the norms set by the plan, below norm projects will be examined and approved by the relevant departments and the planning committees of provinces, cities, and autonomous regions in concert with the economic

committees, then reported to the State Planning Commission and the State Economic Commission to prevent reckless and redundant projects. The absorption and extension of imported technology is to be organized by the State Economic Commission and implemented by the relevant departments.

H. The State Planning Commission and the State Economic Commission will research, coordinate, and resolve important economic policy questions and report to the State Council for the record or for ratification.

I. In day-to-day work, the two commissions should strengthen ties, cooperate closely, work in coordination and establish a system of regular combined operations.

II. Division of Labor Between the State Planning Commission, State Economic Commission and the State Scientific and Technological Commission in Science and Technology Work

A. Formulating Science and Technology plans and key projects.

1. Science and technology plans (including medium-, long-range and annual plans) and key projects are to be mainly the responsibility of the State Planning Commission, in concert with the scientific and technological committees and economic committees at various levels, and are to become part of national, departmental and provincial, municipal, and autonomous region economic and social development plans so that scientific and technological development and economic and social development will be closely combined.

2. When setting scientific and technological plans and key projects, expenses, investment, resources should be determined and incorporated into national and departmental and provincial, municipal, and autonomous region financial, capital construction and resources plans in line with the economic system and channels.

3. One responsible comrade from the State Scientific and Technological Commission will serve as deputy chair of the State Planning Commission.

4. To coordinate scientific and technological planning, the State Scientific and Technological Commission will organize forces from various areas, actively stress forecasting and consultation on scientific and technological development, investigate and study the world and Chinese situation in science and technology and propose the scientific and technological direction and areas for priority development and key projects. Expenses necessary to carry out the above tasks will be controlled and dispersed by the State Scientific and Technological Commission.

B. Implementing Scientific and Technological Plans and Projects

1. The State Scientific and Technological Commission will organize the implementation and oversight of developmental, long-range, and new technology projects in the state's science and technology plan and key projects; the State Economic Commission will organize the implementation and oversight of science

and technology projects which are short-range and serve current economic construction.

2. Necessary expenses, investment, and resources for state science and technology plans and state key projects will be managed by the State Economic Commission, and the State Scientific and Technological Commission according to the economic system and channels as the work progresses.

3. To concentrate use of necessary financial and material forces to carry out key science and technology work, we should reform existing allocation and management of the three science and technology expenses (intermediate experimentation, trial production of new products, and subsidies to important scientific research projects). In addition to the 300 million yuan already allocated to local areas and already calculated as part of the financial base, most expenses should be allocated by project and should continue through the contract system.

4. When readjustment is necessary in carrying out the state science and technology plan and key projects, the department, local area, or unit responsible shall propose it, and the readjustment, revision, and supplementing will be carried out by the State Economic Commission and State Scientific and Technological Commission according to plan management procedures.

C. Appraisal and Extension of Trial Production of New Products and Scientific and Technological Results.

1. The State Scientific and Technological Commission will organize the relevant areas to verify, evaluate, and appraise particularly important new products and scientific and technological results designated by the state or the results of controversial important scientific and technological projects.

2. The State Economic Commission will organize sections in charge to be responsible for carrying out the appraisal, extension, and awards for trial production of new products and the scientific and technological results of new technological research and experimentation and production construction.

3. Plans for extension and application of scientific and technological results will be formulated mainly by the State Economic Commission in concert with the State Scientific and Technological Commission, and after overall balancing by the State Planning Commission they will become part of the state economic plan. Necessary expenses, resources, and measures will become part of department and local area plans in accordance with economic system and channels; the state will provide special subsidies for the extension of important scientific and technological results.

4. The State Economic Commission will be in charge of organizing relevant departments and local areas to implement plans for extending and apply scientific and technological results.

D. Readjustment of Scientific Research Agencies and Approval of New Scientific Research Agencies

1. To arrange rationally the distribution of scientific research agencies and strictly control the addition of new scientific research agencies, independent scientific research agencies established by departments of the State Council and provinces, cities, and autonomous regions, should have the approval of the State Scientific and Technological Commission in concert with the State Economic Commission and relevant departments and committees, and particularly important ones should have the approval of the State Council.

2. Readjustment and reorganization of existing scientific research agencies will be under the unified organization of the State Scientific and Technological Commission in concert with the State Economic Commission and relevant departments.

E. In their day-to-day work, the three commission should strengthen ties, cooperate closely, work in coordination and consult regularly.

8226
CSO: 4005/1

PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE EXTOLS COMMUNISM, DENOUNCES INDIVIDUALISM

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 5 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by Hui Lin [6540 2651]: "'Grand Objective' and 'Five Selfish Interests'"]

[Text] The 12th party congress is progressing triumphantly. In outlining the great plan calling on people to go all out to blaze a new path for the development of socialist modernization, the party Central Committee has painted for us a grandiose picture of socialist modernization. This congress is being held after our party fulfilled another great historic transformation. While recalling the past and looking to the future, every cadre, every party and CYL member, and every politically conscious citizen is in a jubilant mood, vowing to work hard as a contribution to the endeavor to build our country into a modern socialist power with high levels of civilization and democracy.

But some people are keenly interested only in the "struggle" for "five selfish interests." The term "five selfish interests" here does not refer to the "five positions which could be obtained through imperial civil service examinations" of the old days but "five points of interest" frequently heard and mentioned in daily life; namely, wives, children, housing, money and positions. After establishing a family, everyone will bear and raise children and will need food, clothing, housing and transportation. Originally, this could be called a normal life; there was nothing controversial about it. But it is an entirely different matter, if everyone views the "five points of interest" as a matter of prime importance in life. If they become the only thing that matters amd disturbs sleep, or the most desirable thing to be obtained at any price, a goal to be achieved by hook or crook or by other illegal means. At present, the "five points of interest" have become a problem, a root cause of the party's unhealthy work style, and of an unhealthy trend characteristic of "five evils."

The following examples are numerous and can be seen everywhere:

Some people have taken advantage of their official positions or authority and have tried by all means at their disposal to get "good jobs" for their wives and children--jobs that are not only light, easy and clean but also lucrative. In assigning housing units, some people in charge of this work have flaunted the banner of "democratic discussion" to cover up their double-dealing tactics

that serve their selfish interests. Their principle of distribution calls for assigning first priority to themselves, second priority to their own children, third priority to their relatives and friends, and fourth and last priority to the masses.

Always thinking that the "party is indebted to them," some people have openly demanded promotion by their organizations; when their demand is not met, they respond with a noncooperative attitude.

Examples of this kind are too numerous to mention here. I always believe that these people lack a "responsive chord" in their mentality, a "chord" which will enable them to get a clear understanding of the current situation.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party has scored great success in fulfilling the rectification of its guiding ideology. By now, it is going all out to blaze a new path for the development of socialist modernization. However, those who are dedicated to the struggle for "five selfish interests" seem unaware of this excellent situation and the splendid future that is in store for us. What they see is only a small world that appears beneath their noses.

The train of our time is constantly on the move. As revolutionaries, we must promise to catch up with it. Otherwise, we will lag behind the train of our time.

I also believe that in their mental state, these people appear overwhelmed by individualism and losing interest in communism. This change in their mental state has produced an ideological problem.

In life, one must have ideals, and an objective to be fulfilled, which serves as the pillar of mental health. In other words, one must have communist ideals. Only by bearing this grand objective in mind can we live a more meaningful life, aim high, look afar, and generate inexhaustible energy. When Comrade Wang Ruofei was in the enemy's prison, predicting that he was going to be executed, he asked someone to deliver a letter to his wife Li Peizhi [2621 1014 0031], saying: "Please forget me. No tears are necessary for my sacrifice. Instead, you must concentrate your energy on fighting another battle, and you must continue your efforts until the party's cause succeeds. I must say goodbye now. It was the Red flag that brought us together. It is also the Red flag that compels us to part company. Although fighters have fallen under this Red flag, this revolutionary Red flag will never fall. It will follow the trail of blood shed by fighters and fly over all the country. We hail this our victory." Revolutionary martyr Zhao Yunxiao of Fuping County, Hebei Province, gave birth to a child when she was in the enemy's prison. Before being executed, she left a letter to her son, saying: "I tell you honestly that your parents are communists. I hope that you will study diligently when you grow up. Only in this way can you live up to the expectations of your parents." During the misery of wartime, what did our revolutionary martyrs have in mind? What mattered most to them was their revolutionary interests. What was foremost in their minds was the realization of communism. They shed the last drop of their blood for the sake of their ideals, and used it to glorify the revolutionary Red flag. What an imposing image they left behind! What a lofty

aspiration they wanted to fulfill! What a great sense of human dignity they conveyed to us! Today, ignoring the fact that the revolutionary victory was won at the cost of the lives of our revolutionary martyrs and the revolutionary path was paved at the cost of their blood, some people in our midst are concerned only about their small world, and care only about their "five private interests." Some even want to make profits at other people's expense, and enjoy life with unearned income. In contrast to the revolutionary martyrs, they are really disgusting creatures without any sense of shame.

A stanza from Mayakovsky's poem says: "In the course of carrying out work, you must link every trivial event with your fixed far-reaching goal." This is true. Outstanding volleyball player Lang Ping [6745 1627] said: "In the past, I viewed the communist ideals in abstract terms, and as something seemingly too remote to be reached. Today, I feel that this crusade is near and dear to me. We must proceed with this crusade in what we do daily, and must fight for our lofty ideals." Lang Ping is right. We must fight for the great communist cause. We must continue to do so.

9574
CSO: 4005/20

PARTY AND STATE

ZHENGJIANG REGIONAL LEADERS STRENGTHEN IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Chen Hua [7115 5478], Li Hui [2621 6540] and Yu Feng [5713 1496]: "In Order To Enhance the Ideological and Political Work in Zhengjiang Region, Leaders Feel That They Must First Be Able To Solve the Problem of Self-Recognition With Regard to Ideology"]

[Text] How can ideological and political work be strengthened? The leaders of Zhenjiang prefecture and county levels believe that they must first solve the problem of their own ideological understanding.

Since this year, the leaders at all levels in Zhenjiang prefecture, have done a lot of work on ideological and political work with fairly good results. However, due to the corruption of the rotten ideology of the bourgeosie, a few of the cadres and the masses have a somewhat lesser sense of country, sense of the overall situation, and of our plans. Their tendency toward the development of egoism and "looking for money" are prevalent; and old habits and old consciousness such as feudalistic superstitions, male chauvinsim, gambling, and parading one's wealth are on the rise. These circumstances illustrate that ideological and political work is still rather frail. Particularly there is widespread existence of this phenomenon in varying degrees where some of the leaders do not attach importance to ideological and political work, do not know how and do not dare to conduct ideological and political work. The leadership of the prefecture and county levels in Zhenjiang underwent conscientious study of appropriate documents of the Central Committee, looked back on the decades of valuable experience of our party in ideological and political work, related to the new situations and new problems which occur under the new historical conditions, and reached the understanding that to strengthen ideological and political work, the leaders must first solve the few problems as follows:

1. The leading cadre, must attach importance to studying the basic theories of Marxism. This is the basis of accomplishing ideological and political work. Only by grasping the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism, and by earnestly grasping the ideological realities of the cadres and the masses can the scientific and directional nature of ideological and political work be enhanced. The leading comrades of Jintan and Danyang counties believe that if the theoretical basis is shallow, it will be difficult to draw a clear line of distinction, then it is impossible to successfully accomplish ideological and political work. They stated that: There are a lot of problems now which must

be prevented from becoming onesided. For example, we may stop using the slogan "take class struggle as the key link," but cannot abandon the struggle against the corruption of capitalistic ideology. We may stress using economic methods to manage the economy, but we cannot deny the leading position of ideological and political work. We must truly draw a clear dividing line, which is difficult to draw without guidance of basic theory. So to strengthen ideological and political work, the first problem is to raise the Marxist theoretical level of all leaders. Since Marcism is the guiding ideology of our party, the study and grasping of this guiding ideology is the basis for establishing faith in communism, and raising the level of ideological and political work, maintaining consistency from a political standpoint and with the party's Central Committee.

2. The problem of recognizing the importance of ideological and political work must be solved. After changes in work emphasis is brought about, some comrades do not recognize clearly the status and function of ideological and political work; nor do they understand the purpose of it. Ideological and political work often stops at sporadic talk of its importance and arrangement of a few meetings, hence, it lacks actual actions and specific examinations; it stops at being treated as a rush job and cannot be treated as a regular routine; it stops at talk in generalities without permeating into every specific item of work. In light of the above situation, many comrades feel deeply that to strengthen ideological and political work, the leadership at all levels must make clear under new historical conditions, the importance of ideological and political work, and must make clear the mission and purpose of ideological and political work, closely centered around the construction for the Four Modernizations, relating to new situations, new problems, and strengthen ideological and political work. We cannot treat the content of a political education parochially and just provide enough for being at work or maintaining production plans, but must be adept at relating the vital interests of the masses, and carrying out education on patriotism, collectivism, and communism.

3. We must have the spirit to dare to speak out. Comrades in charge of the county committee in Gaochun say that the premise of strengthening ideological and political work lies in daring or not daring to adhere to revolutionary principles and have a clear cut stand on executing criminals. We must have the spirit of "daring to step out when meeting contradictions, and daring to speak out in the face of right and wrong." We can't be afraid of hurting somebody's feelings, and be afraid of offending someone. The comrades of the prefecture economic committee say that to strengthen the leadership on ideological and political work, we must overcome an existing situation where a lot of cadres play it safe and don't distinguish right and wrong, don't speak of principles, don't dare to stand up to evil doers and evil deeds and evil winds and evil practices and start criticism and struggle against them all. The comrades in charge in Zhenjiang municipality believe that the problem of not knowing how to do ideological and political work is still relatively easy to solve. The fear is that the party spirit of Communist Party members is lost and because one is afraid of irritating someone, he does not dare to do ideological and political work. Overcoming this word "fear," and persisting in the party spirit is the key to the ideological and political work for strengthening the party. The comrades in charge of the prefecture committee believe that party organizations at all levels must persist in support of the ideological fronts

of socialism and communism, and must justifiably, boldly and assured, handle ideology and conduct which is erroneous or detrimental to socialism, especially prominent problems within the party and the ranks of the cadres.

4. Must establish ideology by actions rather than mere words. Many comrades grasped the question of why there is weakness in ideological and political work, and consolidated experiences and training. They believed that one of the main reasons is that many leaders are divorced from the masses and that what they say and what they do are different. They more times than not consider themselves as "educators." They don't look at themselves in a mirror, but shine a flashlight on others. Therefore, to strengthen ideological and political work, the first thing that is necessary is to stress to the leading cadres to be upright themselves before requiring others to be so. They must combine words with actions, study (the criterion), observe discipline and abide by the law, and use their own exemplary conduct to influence others.

These opinions were presented by comrades at a meeting convened by the Zhenjiang prefecture committee on ideological and political work. The cadres in charge at the prefecture and county levels conscientiously studied pertinent documents of the Central Committee, exchanged experiences, and deliberated on such questions aimed at how to strengthen ideological and political work.

9660
CSO: 4005/1271

PARTY AND STATE

HARBIN GROCERY BRANCH COMMITTEE URGES STUDY OF NEW CONSTITUTION

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Sep 82 p 4

[Report by the General Party Branch Committee of the No 1 Grocery in Harbin: "Study the New Party Constitution, Do a Good Job of Educating Party Members"]

[Text] In recent years, as our activities have expanded, we have also continually added new party blood to our store. Of the 39 party members in the store, 32 are new party members. They are all mainstays full of fighting spirit serving in the first line of battle. After the 12th Party Congress passed the new constitution, we immediately convened a party member forum to study and discuss it, particularly saw to it that new party members would learn a great deal in their study and that they would gain confidence in struggling for the great goal of communism.

Our store handles foodstuffs. Presently, the market has ample supplies of most goods, but there are shortages of a small number of items. During our study and discussion, many young party members began to sense their own lack of social and work experience and wanted to study the new constitution thoroughly and to make strict demands of themselves based on the great goals of communism without thought of personal gain and privilege. They made it clear that in the future they would continually raise their ideological awareness and consciously resist the corruption of bourgeois ideology.

The new party constitution requires that party members attain a specific level of understanding of the theory and policies of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Many new party members feel that during the 10 years of unrest of the "Cultural Revolution" they did not learn real skills. Although some people received high school diplomas, in the recent junior-senior high school equivalent examination they only had a junior high school level. They expressed a desire to improve their skills, to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought seriously, to attain basic party knowledge and to learn of the line, principles and policies of the party and to study science, literature and vocational work.

The new party constitution makes stricter demands of cadres. Some new party members have already assumed the duties of cadres, and, during the study and discussion, they indicated that in the future they hope to unite comrades in serving the people while working in the first line and meeting the demands of the party constitution.

Our store is an experimental unit in party consolidation. The general party branch is determined to do well in party consolidation work in accordance with the stipulations of the new party constitution and to lead the entire body of party members in thorough study of the new constitution, not only raising the ideological awareness of new party members, but also educating older party members, to it that every Communist Party member can fulfill his vanguard model role in leading the masses in operating a first rate socialist store.

9705
CSO: 4005/28

PARTY AND STATE

SYMPOSIUM ON DRAFT OF REVISED CONSTITUTION HELD

Beijing FAXUE YANJIU [Studies in Law] in Chinese No 4, 23 Aug 82 back cover

[Article by Zheng Ping [2398 1627]: "Give Full Support to Democracy and Earnestly Engage in Discussion"]

[Text] From 31 May to 1 June, 1982, the Law Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences held a symposium in Beijing on the draft of the revised constitution. The symposium was attended by comrades from the political-legal departments, from schools of politics and law, from units of political science and law school and research institutes and comrades from the press and from publishing houses, altogether 40 persons. The meeting was presided over by Comrades Sun Yaming [1327 0068 2429], Director of the Law Institute, Han Youtong [7281 1636 2717], Deputy Director of the Institute, and Wange Shuwen [3769 0647 2429]. Attending the meetings there were old comrades with many years experience in political-legal work and in legal research work, as well as legal scholars in the prime of their lives and newly rising forces in teaching and research. They all gathered with a high sense of responsibility as masters of their own affairs and regarded it the bounded and glorious duty of the jurisprudential circles to further improve the draft of the revised constitution. They earnestly engaged in discussions, stated their own concepts and put forward their own opinions and suggestions.

All comrades at the meeting agreed that this draft constitution enjoys the greatest support among all constitutions since the establishment of our government and represents a great advance even over the 1954 Constitution, which people considered quite satisfactory. The draft takes the resolutions of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee as its guide, firmly upholds the four basic principles, lays down the fundamental institutions and tasks of the state and determines the road of socialist modernizations as suitable for the national conditions of our country. They said with deep feeling, the draft gives expression to the common aspirations of the whole people of all nationalities, and that it is permeated with the one fundamental principle of serving the greatest interests of the overwhelming majority in our country. The discussion of the draft by the entire people demonstrates that our country's political life has further improved in stability and normality, restored the tradition of the 1954 Constitution of upholding the mass line and indicates that our

country's socialist democracy and legal system have developed to a new stage. They said: the guiding ideology of the 1975 Constitution was erroneous, the methods of drawing up that constitution were undemocratic; there was absolutely no consultation of the opinion of the masses. In the case of the 1978 Constitution, there was also no widespread consultation of jurisprudential circles. In the present revision of the constitution, the central authorities repeatedly arranged discussions with the comrades of our jurisprudential circles, and launched an open discussion by the whole people. This shows that the party and the state attach great importance to the opinions of the legal specialists and of the masses, and this will certainly result in a much more perfect constitution. All participants at the symposium fully approved the draft constitution and on this basis put forward their own opinions and constructive suggestions.

During the meeting Comrade Zhang Youyu [1728 0645 3342], Deputy General Secretary of the Constitutional Revision Commission, Vice President of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and noted legal scholar, gave a major speech. He said: In our revision of the constitution we must be guided by a correct theory, must adopt a study method of linking theory with reality and of starting out from the actual conditions. We cannot ask for formal "perfection" and must not say that we should have whatever is in foreign constitutions. The constitution is the basic law. It is not a compendium of all laws, but can only regulate the most basic questions in the life of the state. Following his speech, he answered one by one questions brought up during the discussions and gave explanations.

At last, Comrade Wang Shuwen gave the summing-up speech, in which he said: This symposium was very successful. All participating comrades spoke out freely and everyone aired his views. On the basis of earnest study, each stated his own concepts and put forward his own valuable opinions and enthusiastic suggestions. Active participation in the discussion, to make this draft constitution attain a high degree of maturity, is one of ths tasks that must be borne by all of us comrades in the field of law. He said: The present revision of the constitution upholds the principle of seeking truth from facts. The draft has been much improved in legal form and strengthened in its normative and scientific character. The provisions in the various articles have also been rendered more compact and clearer. He finally pointed out that everybody had expressed the opinion that the draft constitution is a very perfect and very mature draft, and had expressed the belief that through the discussion by the whole people and further improvements, and after formal enactment by the National People's Congress, it will beocome a great fundamental law in this new historical era of our country and will be of extreme significance for the further development of socialist democracy, for the perfection of the socialist legal system and as an assurance that our country will be built up into a powerful modern socialist state.

9808
CSO: 4005/7

PARTY AND STATE

MAO'S MASS LINE ON EVALUATING CADRES DISCUSSED

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 82 p 5

[Article by Yang Yuyin [2799 3768 0603]: "The Masses Need To Be Consulted in Investigating Cadres"]

[Text] Thanks to suggestions from the masses, An Kang [1344 1660], former secretary of the Jixian County party committee, was finally exposed as a serious problem and an incompetent and immoral cadre; disqualifing him from being promoted to any important position. This is a victory for the party's line of upholding the truth and seeking truth from facts, as well as a reminder to certain bureaucrats. A Chinese proverb says: "Three feet thick ice takes more than one cold day to form." A serious problem such as the one posed by An Kang was certainly not created in a matter of a single day. Isn't it true that cadres and the masses in Jixian County never brought this problem to the attention of their higher authorities? Does anyone believe that the related leadership department was really unaware of it? The masses will doubt that it is true. Also incomprehensible is why An Kang was so popular and enjoyed so much trust from his superiors, and why he was praised as "an advanced example," showered with offers of higher positions before his problem was investigated and exposed by newspaper reporters. This has prompted people to ask: Why did some investigators view An Kang as a serious problem while others called him "a hard-to-find cadre" and why did they draw such different conclusions from the same investigation?

This will lead people to figure out a way to solve the problem of how to investigate cadres.

Our party cadres are the people's cadres. The masses of people know better then anybody else about what their cadres have done, whether they are superior or inferior, and whether they are good or bad. For this reason, the masses are in the best position to judge cadres. An Kang spent several years in Jixian County serving as secretary of its party committee, or the preeminent leader in that locality. As far as the investigation of his work and performance is concerned, undoubtedly the cadres and the masses in Jixian County knew him better than anybody else, and therefore,they should be the first to be interviewed for in this matter. If high ranking leaders spend time only in their office, if they are unwilling to contact other cadres and the masses, and if they listen only to briefings given by a few aides, and only want to

touch the surface of the matter in question; they will find it very difficult to get a true picture of the situation, or a comprehensive understanding of what is really going on. Conducting investigations in this manner is apt to lead poeple to midjudge and come up with inaccurate conclusions on the matter at issue. Undeniably, this is an important factor which led the related department to draw conclusions in the investigation of An Kang which were extremely different from those drawn by newspaper reporters. We can learn an important lesson from this experience. According to the newspaper reports, An Kang also had "a very good idea" in dealing with "bureaucrats." He was a man capable of pleasing his superiors with flattery and gifts. When he took trips to Taiyuan and Linfen, he always loaded his car with noodles, edible oils, fruits and wine. Who were the recipients? What effect did they have on the recipients? Although the common people did not have the exact answer, they knew one thing for sure, that is, the recipients would say something in favor of An Kang when he was recommended for promotion.

Comrade Mao Zedong once said: A leader must assume the following two responsibilities: First, he must give "counsel"; second, he must "put cadres to good use." In employing cadres, he must first get to "know them." Only in this way can he "put cadres to good use." The investigation of the problem of An Kang shows that some of our "leaders" really "know very little about cadres." Then, is it likely that personalities similar to An Kang will be exposed in the future? This has become a subject of deep concern and constant debate among the people. However, so far one thing is sure: Even if cadres like An Kang win temporary promotion, sooner or later they will be toppled by the masses.

At present, the party Central Committee has reaffirmed the need to promote cadres of political integrity and professional competence to important positions. This is really a wise policy decision. In light of the lessons drawn from the investigation of An Kang, I would like to give leading comrades at all levels and other comrades concerned with the employment of cadres the following counsel: In the future when they are assigned to investigate and recruit cadres, they are advised to contact the masses first and conscientiously listen to their views and opinions.

9574
CSO: 4005/20

PARTY AND STATE

STUDY, PROMOTION OF 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS URGED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Sep 82 p 1

[Article by staff correspondent: "The Standing Committee of the Provincial Party Committee Continues In Depth Study of the Documents of the 12th Party Congress--Initial Steps Are Taken For the Study, Promotion and Implementation of the Spirit of the Documents Throughout the Province"]

[Text] On 9 September, the provincial party committee convened a standing committee meeting to continue the in-depth study of the 12th Party Congress documents and to make initial arrangements for party organizations at every level throughout the province to study and promote these documents and to implement the spirit of the documents.

In their study and discussion, the comrades who attended the meeting unanimously held that the report "Create a New Overall Situation in Socialist Modernization Construction" by Comrade Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721], is a striving program for building a strong, modern, highly civilized, highly democratic socialist nation. The report held high the banner of communism, pointed out the strategic goals, focal points and procedures of our nation's economic development by the end of this century--as well as a series of correct principles to be followed--and correctly upheld the socialist system and the four important guarantees of carrying out modernization construction. This report has already been passed by the 12th Party Congress and from now on has become a fundamental basis for every item of work throughout the party. The new party constitution, which is a program to strengthen party construction under the new historical conditions, also has already been passed by the 12th Party Congress and has gone into effect. This is a tremendous event for the entire party and the entire nation. The report and the constitution are brilliant Marxist documents. Using communist ideology as a guide, we must study and use the documents of the 12th Party Congress and transform their spirit into real action, creating a new situation in the socialist modernization of our province. In their study and discussion, everyone analyzed the advantageous conditions of the socialist construction in our province and confidently showed that there is a completely scientific basis for the great goal set forth by Comrade Hu Yaobang in his report of guadrupling the 1980 annual gross value of agricultural and industrial output by the end of this century, and that this is in keeping with the actual conditions in our nation and in our province. If only we the people throughout the province will actively mobilize, closely follow

the plans of the party Central Committee, unify our ideology in line with the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, increase our sense of responsibility as masters of the state, develop our superiority, uncover our potential and solidly carry out our work, then this goal can certainly be reached.

In the study, everyone felt that the important speeches of Comrades Ye Jianying [5509 0494 5391] and Chen Yun [7115 0061] given at the full session of the 12th Party Congress were sincere and honest and very moving. The older generations of revolutionaries have already done much work and their spirit of "putting one's shoulder to the wheel until one's dying day" in working for the party and the revolution has established a brilliant example for us to learn from. The long-term task of communism will require the hard work of many generations to complete. We must resolve to implement thoroughly the strategic policy of cooperation between the old and the new cadres, make a smooth transition of responsibilities, selecting the capable, doing a good job of passing on experience, giving help and setting examples, and guaranteeing a long period of peace and order for our nation and prosperity and development for the socialist cause.

The standing committee listened to the report of the propaganda department of the party committee and made initial arrangements to carry out study and promotion of the 12th Party Congress documents and to implement the spirit of the congress throughout the province. (1) Party committees at every level must organize and lead the broad party members, cadres and masses throughout the province in thoroughly studying the documents of the 12th Party Congress, taking the opening remarks of Comrade Deng Xiaoping to be the general guiding ideology, and they must start a surge of study and promotion of these documents. The comrades with major responsibility must take the lead in study, guide others in study, take the lead in explaining and publicizing the spirit of these documents and thoroughly implement document proposals in an exemplary way. They must fully foster the tremendous mobilization and organizational functions of the documents, arouse the spirits of the people throughout the province, be of one mind, work hard, do solid work and struggle to create a new situation in the socialist construction in our province. (2) On the foundation of studying and understanding the spirit of the documents of the 12th Party Congress, the party committees of every area, municipality and county and every department under direct provincial control must engage in survey research and forum discussions and come up with realistic programs and specialized plans. (3) Every department in every area must combine study of the documents of the 12th Party Congress with each item of actual work and do a good job in present work, emphasizing industrial and agricultural production and overall rectification work and fully completing every task raised by the provincial party committee at the beginning of the year.

At this meeting of the standing committee of the provincial party committee, it was also decided that the provincial party committee should prepare to convene an enlarged meeting of the full committee after "10/1" [1 October]. It was requested that every area and every related department immediately begin work on setting forth related plans and programs and preparing well for the enlarged meeting of the full committee of the provincial party committee.

9705
CSO: 4005/28

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG CADRES GUIDE STUDY OF 12TH CPC NATIONAL CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Sep 82 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Struggle to Fulfill the Great Missions Set Forth By the 12th CPC National Congress: Provincial CPC Committee and Provincial Government Leadership Cadres Enter Deeply Into the Basic Level, Work With Masses in Earnestly Studying Documents of 12th CPC National Congress"]

[Text] In the morning of 3 September the leadership cadres of the Provincial CPC Committee and the Provincial Government split up to go to the Jinan petrochemical plant and the Jinan Railroad Bureau to, along with the cadres and masses, study and discuss the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, freely discuss the great historical significance of the 12th National Congress, and pledge determination to, under the guidance of the line of the 12th CPC National Congress, struggle to launch a comprehensive new phase of socialist modernization.

Provincial CPC Committee Secretary Gao Quyun and provincial vice-governors Song Yimin and Zhang Jingshou went to the Jinan petrochemical plant and met with the comrades in charge of the plant and the secretaries of the party branches of each department, the trade union and Communist Youth League cadres, the model party members of each department, and the engineers and technicians. First of all, they studied comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening remarks and the report of comrade Hu Yaobang. Then there took place an enthusiastic informal discussion. When expressing opinions, everyone pointed out that the 12th CPC National Congress was the most important congress since the 7th CPC National Congress; that it determined the party's grand objectives and struggle missions in the new historical period; and that it has caused us to become more confident and will further develop our party, our state, and our cause. The party chapter secretaries and the model party members expressed the opinion that the great mission of the new situation of comprehensively carrying out socialist modernization set forth by the CPC Central Committee reflects the will of the entire party and the entire population, and that we definitely must develop the revolutionary spirit of struggling all one's life for the communist cause, fully bring into play the vanguard model role in economic construction, and contribute to constructing socialist material culture and spiritual culture. The representatives of the engineers and technicians expressed the opinion that henceforth, in economic construction it will be necessary to, in endeavoring to increase economic effectiveness, making innovations

and other aspects, positively contribute their intelligence and talent. During the information discussion the leadership comrades of the Provincial CPC Committee and the provincial government also freely discussed the results and experiences of their own study of the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, which helped enlighten and help everyone. The comrade heading the plant's party committee also reported to the Provincial CPC Committee and provincial government leaders on the plant's accomplishments since the 11th Session of the 3d Central Committee; warmly praised the correct lines, guiding principles, and policies of the 3d Plenum; and stated that it was necessary to recapitulate the plant's practices, organize the broad worker-staff masses to earnestly study and grasp the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress documents, unify the thoughts of the broad party members, cadres, and Youth League members regarding the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress, and struggle to launch the new situation of all-round socialist modernization!

The comrades in charge of the Provincial CPC Committee and the provincial people's government--Li Zichao, Lin Ping, Liu Peng, Zhu Qimen, etc.--and the comrades in charge of the Jinan Railroad Bureau, outstanding party members model workers, advanced producers, and the railroad engineers and technicians, cadres, and staff-worker representatives, studied and discussed the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress. Everyone related their personal experiences, warmly praised the great historical transformation brought about by our party during the 6 years since the smashing of the Jiangqing counter-revolutionary clique, especially during the 4 years since the 11th Session of the 3d CPC Central Committee and the great transformations on all fronts, and freely discussed the profound historical significance of the victorious convening of the 12th CPC National Congress. The socialist construction program and great objectives set by the 12th CPC National Congress will advance our country's socialist modernization.

In expressing their opinions, the comrades of the railroad system said with incomparable enthusiasm that the common objectives and missions of the new historical period set forth in the report of comrade Hu Yaobang profoundly imspired them after they heard them, and that the more they studied them the more confident they became and the more they were moved. Especially, making communications a key strategy in the next 20 years of economic development further inspired everyone. Rail transportation is an important aspect of communications, and is in the vanguard of national economic development. Whether rail transportation is carried out well or not is directly related to the achievement of the great objectives of the four modernizations. Everyone unanimously expressed the opinion that they were determined not to be unworthy of the great trust and hope of the party and the people, that they would earnestly study the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, with communist thought and attitude perform their work well, and ensure that the railroads are always open and unobstructed, extend in all directions, and are safe and on schedule, and play their vanguard role well, in order to make significant contributions to the new phase of socialist modernization.

The comrades in charge of the Provincial CPC Committee and provincial government successively expressed their opinions and freely discussed their study and

experience, and did a good job of organizing study by the railroad system's cadres, staff, and workers of the requirements of the 12th CPC National Congress documents. They said that railroad transportation had an important relationship to national economic development, that its work is glorious and its responsibility is great, and that they definitely must keep abreast of the new situation resulting from the great historical transformation and do a good job of serving as the vanguard in the new phase of initiating socialist modernization. To this end, it is first of all necessary to thoroughly study the 12th CPC National Congress documents; especially, each leadership echelon must set an example in study, and organizing study by the cadres, staff, and workers of the 12th CPC National Congress documents must be made a foremost matter and a central task. In studying, it is necessary to grasp the fundamentals of communist moral education and use communist theory, thought, and spirit in grasping and implementing the 12th CPC National Congress documents. It is necessary to foster the revolutionary study style of theory related to practice and use the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress documents to command our work and activities, and to become confident and enthusiastic because of study, in order to carry out the operations of railroad transportation well and fulfill the great strategic mission assigned to it by the party.

5616
CSO: 4005/1321

CLASS CHARACTER, SOCIAL CHARACTER OF LAW DISCUSSED

Beijing FAXUE YANJIU [Studies in Law] in Chinese No 4, 23 Aug 82 pp 24-27

[Article by Sun Guohua [1327 0948 5478] and Zhu Jingwen [2612 2529 2429]: "Tenative Discussion on the Class Character and Social Character of Law"]

[Text] Class character is an important attribute, but not the only attribute of law. It is therefore not right to conclude that the character of law is simply this one and only class character, and it is equally wrong to regard law purely as a tool of class struggle. Law has many attributes and functions, and the social character of law is yet another important aspect of the character of law. The question is how are we to understand the social character of law and how are we to understand the relationship between the class character and the social character of law.

In the discussion of the class character of law, some comrades pointed out that the social character of law is one that reflects "the interests and demands of the entire society." A "social character" understood in this way inevitably and absolutely displaces any class character. This is simply not a characteristic attribute of law.

It is true, law took root in the social life, but it is not at all the product of the social life of just any kind of society, but only the product of the social life at the stage when primitive society disintegrated and changed into a class society and in the various forms of the class society, as well as at the stage when the class society changed to the classless communist society.

The social nature of law denotes that law is the reflection of the social relations in the above-mentioned stages of social development. Its existence and development is, in the final analysis, determined by the production relations of the societies at these historiccal stages. Law is at the same time also the adjuster for the production relations in these various societies. The study of law cannot separate itself from the social relations which it reflects and protects. However, law does not reflect the social relations of just any kind of society, but only the social relations of a society with economic inequality and the social relations that benefit the ruling class. The social nature and the class nature of law therefore do not exclude each other, but are dialectically linked and organically an entity. The social nature of law reflects its class nature, and the class nature of law explains its social nature.

The social nature of law reflects its class nature. This, first of all, demonstrates that the social relations themselves, that are reflected in law, bear class character, have class polarization and have the social relations of a society in which there is class struggle and the social relations that are beneficial for the ruling class. This furthermore demonstrates that law is not at all a passive and negative reflection and image of these social relations, but rather an active and positive affirmation, protection and d-velopment; it is active service that it performs.

The class character of law explains its social nature. This, first of all, demonstrates that in law the will of the ruling class, on which corporal form has been bestowed by means of laws, is not sprung from just any kind of imagination, but is the revlection of certain social relations, in the final analysis, of the demands of the production relations in a certain society.

It furthermore demonstrates that if the law is to fulfill its function of class suppression, it must at the same time carry out certain social functions. Engels once pointed out: "Political rule is everywhere based on the performance of certain social functions, and the political rule can only be sustained as long as these kinds of social functions can be performed."* This tenet is absolutely appropriate and fitting in the case of law. To fulfill its class mission, law must give consideration to certain common needs of society, such as e.g. safeguarding traffic order, building water conservancy projects, protecting the environment, etc., since carrying out these social functions are the indispensable conditions for the continuation of the political rule. Summing up these two points we may also say that law, being a social norm closely related with class and class struggle and possessed with class character, takes root in the social relations at a certain stage of human history and, in the final analysis, takes root in the economic life. The class character of law precisely shows the social nature of law and illustrates the fact that law is the reflection and adjuster of certain social relations.

When certain comrades set the social nature of law absolutely against the class character of law, they also seem to set the class character of law absolutely against the objective nature of law, i.e. against the objective rule. As they see it, only the social nature of law can reflect the objective rule of social development, and the class character of law does not reflect this kind of objective rule.

Actually, as we said before, not only is the social nature of law ultimately conditioned by the objective rule of social development, but the class character of law too is ultimately conditioned by the objective rule of the transformation of society from the primitive commune society to class society and from class society to the classless society of communism. Law is the superstructure of society; its nature is, in the final analysis, conditioned by the rule of the developmental movement of the economic base, on the establishment of which it relies.

---

* "Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 3, p 219.

Law can reflect the objective rule of social life, and it is, in the final analysis, conditioned by this objective rule because law is a special form of this social movement. However, law is no- tantamount to this kind of objective rule. Law is the reflection of a certain social relations; it may correctly reflect the objective rule, but may also distort or violate the objective rule. It is definitely not so that because law is of a social nature, it is certain to reflect correctly the objective rule and it is also definitely not so that law, because of its class nature, cannot reflect the objective rule. A specific analysis is required to determine the conditions of objective rule being reflected in law. Generally speaking, the extent to which law reflects the objective rule of social development determines the extent of class essence in law and determines the extent of awareness of the ruling class as to its own interests. At a time when the law reflects the interests and the will of a class that represents the new production relations when the class is in its ascendency, it can be well in line with the objective rule of social development. At a time when law reflects the interests and the will of a class that represents production relations that hinder the development of productive forces, when this class is in the decline, law will be an obstacle to social development and will become a tool in the hands of the ruling class that is resisting the production relations from definitely conforming with the objective rule, which is of the nature of the productive forces. However, this kind of resistance cannot be maintained for a long time. "When a country's regime sets itself against the development of the economy...the struggle ends everytime with the overthrow of the regime. The economic development always, without exception and mercilessly, opens a road for itself."*

The extent to which law reflects the society's objective rule of development is on the one hand determined by the historical stage in which the ruling class finds itself, and on the other hand by the extent to which the ruling class is aware of its own class interests. The latter refers mainly to the question to what extent law reflects the particular economic rule of its production relations, on the establishment of which law relies.

It also shows that the objective nature of law, i.e. the extent to which law reflects the objective rule of social development, is not in an opposite position to the class character of law. The fact that law reflects the objective rule of social development to quite different degrees demonstrates precisely the difference of the class character of law under different sociohistorical conditions.

By placing social nature and class character of law into the position of opposites leads inexorably to the erroneous conclusion that only one sector of legal norms has class character (as for instance that sector of the law shoe function is class suppression) and that another sector of legal norms (for instance that sector that adjusts internal relations within the ruling class or carries out social functions) is without class character.

---

* "Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 3, pp 222-223.

It is very obvious that the legal norms which regulate the relations between the ruling class and the ruled classes have class character. Do the legal norms that regulate the internal relations within the ruling class also have class character? The answer is also in the affirmative.

Since law reflects the will of the ruling class, the legal norms that regulate the internal relations within the ruling class are equally reflections of the common will of the ruling class. How could they in that case be without class character? When law regulates the internal relations of the ruling class, it intends to have the interests of the various groups and individuals within the ruling class submit to the interests of the ruling class as a whole, serve the struggle of the ruling class against the ruled classes and serve the basic interest of antagonistic struggle against domestic and foreing hostile forces.

Anyone who holds that legal norms which regulate the internal relations within the ruling class are not of class character, commits two mistakes: First, he simply equates class character with class dictatorship. In the opinion of comrades who hold this view, it seems that only exercizing dictatorship can be called "of class character," and since the law that adjusts the relations within the ruling class is not a dictatorship of one class over the other, it appears to them to have no class character. Actually, the dictatorship over the hostile classes is only one aspect of the class character of law. The class character of law manifests itself also when it adjusts the relations within the ruling class and in doing so protects the interests of the ruling class as a whole, and on the other hand also restricts the wilful and reckless actions of specific groups or individuals within the ruling class. Second, he completely isolates the function of law as it regulates the relations within the ruling class from the function of the law of effecting suppression of the ruled classes and of combating the domestic and foreign hostile forces, as if adjusting the relations within the ruling class, effecting dictatorship over the ruled classes and the struggle against domestic and foreign hostile forces have no inherent relations among each other. In actual fact there is a very close relationship between the effective adjustment of relations within the ruling class and fostering democracy within the ruling class on the one hand and the dictatorship over the ruled classes and the struggle against domestic and foreign hostile forces and for the protection of its political rule. how can one say that they are without class character?

At the present stage of our country, the exploiting classes have already been eliminated as classes. The question of adjustments of laws is in a large measure an internal question of the people, and manh of its problems are not problems of class struggle. However, if legal norms do not directly regulate class struggle problems, it does not mean that such legal norms have no class character. This is so because: First, every legal norm in our country is the expression of the common will of the broad masses led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. Every legal norm has been adopted and is being implemented by starting out from the interests of the working class and the masses. They are distinctly of class character. Second, the question regulated by the norm itself may not

be a question of class struggle, but it will be a question dealt with and resolved according to the will of the broad masses led by the working class, unquestionably beneficial for the overall political state of stability and unity and enhancing the strength of the broad masses led by the working class in their class struggle.

Some comrades hold that no class character is in such norms that fulfill certain social functions, such as laws concerning seeds, laws on the protection of the environment, traffic regulations, because they are beneficial for all members of the society. This is obviously simply setting "class character" against the concept of "benefit for the whole society," as if anything that is beneficial for the whole society by this fact alone will not have class character. If we use this criterion in analyzing typical laws of exploitation, it will not always be appropriate, and it is an even less suitable criterion by which to analyze socialist law. The reason for such oversimplified views to arise is linked again with the idea that the class character of law and the social nature of law are two things standing in opposition to each other.

As already mentioned, the political rule of a class demands that certain social functions must be carried out, as otherwise no political rule could maintain its rule. Throughout Chinese history, the feudal ruling classes always understood that controlling the Yellow River was of major significance for their safe possession of "all under heaven." Building water conservancy projects, protecting the environment, establishing and safeguarding traffic order, etc., were carrying out such social functions. Evidently they were beneficial for the entire society, but don't overlook what kind of a "society" it was. Don't forget that this "society" was one that worked to enable the ruling class to continue ruling. As the ruling class in the exploitative society concerned itself with these matters, it cannot be said that the working people too did not derive some benefits, but the fundamental element is that these matters benefitted the ruling class because they enabled them to continue ruling. In the socialist society the broad masses led by the working class will of course give greater care and better attention to these matters. The socialist law contains a great mass of norms to carry out economic and cultural functions as well as social functions, which is a fact closely bound up with the class essence of socialist law. Socialist law has the historical mission of transforming the old society and building a new society. Socialist law exercises certain social functions, not only as needed to bring about the political rule of the masses led by the working class, but also to create the preconditions for the building of socialism and communism, for the ultimate elimination of class distinctions, for the elimination of political rule per se and for the liberation of all mankind. In socialist law, as determined by its very essence, class character and social nature are identical. Fundamentally, the interests of the working class represent the interests of the total social development; what suits the interests of th- working class, will of necessity also suit the interests of the entire society, and what suits the interests of the total social development also, of necessity, suits the interests of the working class. The social nature of socialist law reflects the class character of socialist law, and the class character of socialist law determines its even broader social nature.

Some comrades see that such legal norms, as a law concerning seeds, a law for the protection of the environment and traffic control regulations, exist in the same form in a socialist as well as in a capitalist society, thus both societies having the same norms. These comrades therefore conclude that this type of norms has no class character. In our opinion this is a confused conception of things and there are two reasons for such a confused conception to arise:

First, one reason is that it regards the legal norm in an isolated way, divorced from the social relations which the legal norm reflects and protects and also divorced from the entire legal system to which the norms belong. Observing legal norms in this kind of an isolated manner will of course not clarify their nature. Let us consider the law on the protection of the environment. If we place the legal norms of this law into the legal structure into which it belongs and observe it in connection with the social relations which it reflects and protects, its class character will be very obvious. The law on the protection of the environment in a capitalist country, within the overall legal system of the bourgeois country and in coordination with the other bourgeois norms, will protect the social relations and the public order that is advantageous to the bourgeoisie. The same law in a socialist country is a component of the socialist legal structure and together with the other socialist norms will protect the social relations and the public order beneficial for socialism. How can one say that it will have no class character?

Second, there is a confusion between the concept of purely technical norms and legal technical norms. The technical norms reflect the relations between man and nature, between man and his work objective or work tools. These technical norms per se do not have class character, but the observance of certain technical norms does not only concern the relationship of man to nature or man to his work objective and work tools, but also the relationship of man to man. Violations of the technical norms are not merely violations of natural norms, but can also affect or endanger the interests of other members of th- society. In this way certain technical norms, apart from their original attributes as technical norms, acquire social character and become social technical norms, and their observance is demanded by the need to protect certain social relations. These norms have now greatly proliferated following the increase in the social productive forces, the constantly growing socialization of production and the increasing ability of man to transform and destroy the environment around him. As to certain technical norms that relate to the major social interests, the ruling class frequently uses the power of the state to affirm their properties as legal norms or determines that observance of these technical norms is an obligation in law. As a consequence, these technical norms are no more purely technical norms and also not purely social technical norms, but become legal technical norms. The law on the protection of the environment, the law concerning seeds, traffic regulations and legal provisions concerning safety in production, labor insurance, standardization, administration of weights and measures, protection of natural resources, etc. contain norms that are originally technical norms without class character. However, as these norms are fixed within the state's legal system and become an indispensable

component of the existing order, they manifest the will of the ruling class, become legal technical norms and become a component of the legal system that serves the social relations beneficial for the ruling class concerned and acquire class character. Therefore looking at that aspect of legal technical norms that reflect the relationship of man to nature and that reflect the rules of nature, they don't possess class character. Looking at their having social nature and the attributes of law, seeing that they serve certain social relations, are affirmed by the state and have their observance and enforcement guaranteed by the power of the state, they also acquire class character. That means that every legal norm, including legal technical norms that originally reflected natural rules and later came to reflect certain social relations, all have class character. There are no legal norms in the world that do not possess class character.

Of course we must distinguish between different legal norms. Those legal norms that originated in technical norms have of course a strong tendency to preserve continuity. When introducing any kind of advanced technology, the continued use of the technical norms connected with it will be considered, but before affirming it in law, the difference in social systems must also be given consideration. For instance, a socialist country will give greater consideration to the protection of the workers, and it will therefore not be possible to simply copy the provisions in the laws of the capitalist countries. We must distinguish what has to be complied with technically and what are legal attributes. Through an analysis of the above kind, we must, in our opinion, acknowledge and correctly understand this concept of the social nature of law, and correctly understand the relationship between the class character and the social nature of law. The class character and the social nature of law are the major characteristics of law; they are different and yet also permeate one another. The social nature of law is one that also contains class character because law is inevitably linked with class and class struggle. The class character of law is one that contains social nature because law per se is a kind of social phenomenon; it is a special form of social movement. Both are one organic entity and not mutually exclusive. There are many attributes of law, and we must not deny one because of the presence of a certain other attribute. It is of course even less permissible to take the social nature of law as reason to deny the class character, this essential attribute of law.

9808
CSO: 4005/7

PARTY AND STATE

BRIGADE BRANCH SECRETARY URGES STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE NEW PRODUCTION GOALS

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Sep 82 p 4

[Report by Jiang Baoxun [1203 1405 7311], the Party Branch Secretary of the Bao An Production Brigade of Yuan Bao Commune in Qing An County: "Foster the Roles of Party Members, Realize the Magnificent Goal"]

[Text] The new party constitution is a revision of the 11th Party Congress constitution with many changes of basic significance. It eliminated the "leftist" errors of the 11th Party Congress constitution and has placed even greater demands on party members and party cadres than any of the previous party constitutions did. This was completely necessary. Only in this way could our party develop greater fighting strength and better develop its core leadership role so that it could lead the masses in realizing the great goal of quadrupling the annual gross value of agricultural and industrial output by the end of this century.

Since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party branch has maintained the "three meetings and one lesson" system, continually raising the quality of party members, fostering the three great workstyles and strengthening the battle fortress role of the party branch and the vanguard roles of party members. As a result, we have been better able to lead the masses on the communes into seriously implementing each policy and principle established by the party since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, in completing and perfecting systems of responsibility in agricultural production and in rapidly production. Gross agricultural income in 1981 was twice that of 1979 and per capita income increased 1.5 fold. Collective accumulation continued to increase and commune members became more and more prosperous. In the last few years, the savings of the 500 households throughout the entire brigade in the commune credit cooperative alone has exceeded 130,000 yuan; 20 percent of the commune households have built brick houses; and sales of high-grade goods have increased. We can see from the development of production in our brigade in the last 3 years that the fighting capacity of the party organization and the leading model roles of party members are extremely important in the thorough implementation of the principles and policies of the party and in guaranteeing the rapid development of production.

"If you want to work with iron, you must be tough yourself." The 12th Party Congress set our great targets, and the tasks that lie before us are increasing-

ly arduous. Because of this, our party branch must place greater stress on self-strengthening and must organize the entire body of party members to study and implement the report and the new constitution of the 12th Party Congress seriously, seeing to it that all party members are clear about the nature, position and role of the party and act strictly in accordance with the stipulations of the new party constitution concerning the duties of party members. In this way, we will further foster the model vanguard role of the party members, strengthen the fighting capability of the party branch, lead the masses in carrying out the building of the two civilizations, and create a new phase in the building of a socialist modernization in agriculture.

9705
CSO: 4005/28

PARTY AND STATE

COMMUNIST IDEALS, CAUSE PROMOTED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by Yang Shiliang [2799 6108 9037]: "Let Life Shine Under the Realizat on of Communism"]

[Text] Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: Spiritual civilization is to make our people into cultured laborers with revolutionary ideals, morals, and discipline. Revolutionary ideals are communist ideals. Communist ideals are the most beautiful ideals of mankind. Today, the significance and value of each and every one of our lives is inseparable from communist ideals.

Why do we say that the most beautiful ideals are communist ideals? Because we believe that the most beautiful society is a communist society. In such a society, a high level of economic, scientific and technological development combines with the overall development of the people themselves, a prosperous material life combines with individual spiritual perfection, the innate strength of man achieves its greatest liberation and the excellent character and intellectual brilliance of man achieves full development. Just as Marx said--in communist society, every man becomes an artist and all labor becomes artistic labor.

Ideals are dissatisfaction with social realities and are the yearning for and pursuit of a beautiful future. In a class society, the rulers and those who are ruled, the exploiting class and those who are exploited, each have their own ideal; in each of the different social stages in the history of mankind's development, the representatives of each class have always unceasingly sought the ideal corresponding to the interests of their class. In our country, there were the Confucian ideal of "returning the world to benevolence by disciplining the self and restoring the rites" and establishing a "kingdom of gentlemen," the united world of Hong Xiuquan [3163 4423 0356] in which "all in the world are equal and no one goes hungry or cold," and the "three people's principles" and "the world shared by all" of Sun Yat-sen. In the West, there have been the Christian ideal of the "kingdom of Heaven," the bourgeois revolutionary's "freedom, equality and brotherhood of mankind," and the "utopia" and "city of sunshine" of the utopian socialist.... Although their depictions of the future have been full of enthusiasm, their ideals could not possible be realized because they were divorced from the actual levels of the productive forces of society and the degree of civilization. Those who held such ideals

failed to see the correct path to reforming social life and the class strength which can be relied upon in doing so. Some of these ideals have even performed the function of paralyzing the people. Only by proceeding along with the development of industry after the working class had stepped upon the stage of history and begun to mature day by day, only with the "Communist Manifesto" published by Marx and the transformation of socialism into a science, did mankind truly find the most beautiful ideal that could be gradually realized--communism. Some comrades, especially younger ones, do not understand the full meaning of the word "communism" and even go so far as to speak of communism as "the same old stuff." Don't they know that this "same old stuff" is just the glorious path that we Chinese peoples have taken to escape the bitter seas and revitalize ourselves? It was only discovered in Marxism after more than 100 years of arduous searching and bloody sacrifice on the part of the Chinese people and successive groups of noble fighters.

The communist cause is a great cause and an arduous cause. It will require a long and tortuous struggle and must rely on the continuing efforts of one generation after another. Some people imagine that one morning communism will suddenly arrive or, when setbacks occur and errors are made, feel that communism is far off and indistinct, that the beautiful ideal is only a mirage. Such views are unquestionably mistaken. If we begin with an historical materialist position, and view the present construction of the socialist material and spiritual civilizations as laying the foundation for the beautiful mansion of communism and the four modernizations as a real step toward realizing the ideal of communism, then we will not feel that communism is far off and indistinct, but rather is real. Just look at this poem found in local records by a martyr who was in prison in 1935: "The enemy can only chop off our heads, but can never shake our belief! Because the doctrines in which we believe are universal truths! We are completely willing to sacrifice for communism and to shed our blood for the Soviet!" Countless revolutionary martyrs and older revolutionaries went through rough times to realize the great ideal of mankind. They were resolute and heroic in struggle, giving up their lives for righteousness and using their youth and life's blood to compose a beautiful poem on the practice of communism. Although they never saw the socialism of today, and didn't even see the victory of the new democracy, nonetheless, in the struggle for the more immediate goals and interests of the working class, they saw the future of the communist movement and didn't in the least feel that communism was far off and indistinct.

An ideal is intimately related to one's outlook on life and one's sense of the value of life. Recently, the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League decided to confer the glorious title of "Excellent Communist Youth League Member" on student Zhong Hua [6988 6985], and to call upon the broad youths to learn from her. Zhong Hua has contracted leukemia which is difficult to cure, but she is neither afraid nor discouraged. Rather, she is taking advantage of the limited time she has left to struggle for the four modernizations. She says: "The value of a life cannot be measured by its length, but by the size of its contribution to society. In living today, I must struggle for tomorrow!" From Lei Feng [7191 6912] and Zhao Chune [6392 2504 1230] to student Zhong Hua who continues studying and living today, such people have all intimately combined the far reaching ideal of communism with the practical spirit of action

and, starting with their own time and with themselves, have actively laid the bricks that would lead to the realization of communism. In the persons of countless martyrs, heroes and exemplary figures, we have seen the brilliance of the beautiful ideal and the significance and value of life.

Life is beautiful and ideals are moving. The 12th Party Congress began a new historical situation and raised the tremendous goals of building four modernizations. Let's arouse our revolutionary spirit and act bravely--the beautiful prospect of communism shall be realized!

9705
CSO: 4005/28

PARTY AND STATE

INCULCATING MASSES WITH SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY STRESSED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by You Gan [1429 2413]: "Talking About Inculcation"]

[Text] As early as the time of socialist transformation, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The cooperative must emphasize doing good political work. The fundamental mission of doing political work is to incessantly inculcate socialistic ideology to the peasants and masses; and to criticize capitalistic tendencies." This is to say that the peoples' communistic ideology is not natural, but must be inculcated from without.

The most fundamental purpose of our ideological and political work lies in utilizing revolutionary ideology and revolutionary spirit. That is to say, using communistic ideology and the basic theories of Marxism to teach the cadres, the masses, the entire working class, even all the people; incite and raise the revolutionary awareness of man; and, through repeated practice, raise the understanding of man, and enhance the capability to remold an objective world. Not understanding this most fundamental purpose of ideological and political work, one will be unable to grasp the key to ideological and political work; and, then, one cannot very well use the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to teach the vast number of cadres and people, and inculcate from without the communistic ideology into the minds of a billion people.

Why should it be stressed that communistic ideology is inculcated from without and cannot be naturally formed? On this question, Lenin pointed out in his pamphlet, "What Is To Be Done?": "Any worship of spontaneity in the workers movement and any underestimation of the role of 'political consciousness', namely, the role of the Social Democratic Party, will both--absolutely regardless of whether the underestimator wants to or not--strengthen the influence of the capitalistic ideological system over the worker."

"But the reader will perhaps ask: Why will spontaneous movements, carried out along the least lines of resistance, have the tendency toward being controlled by a capitalistic ideological system? The reason is very simple: the origin of the bourgeoisie ideological system is very remote from the socialistic ideological system; it has undergone even more overall processing; it has so many tools for dissemination, they are incomparable." Thus, when Lenin quoted Kautsky (at that time he had not yet forsaken Marxism) in reading a passage from the draft of a new program for the Social Democratic Party of Austria,

he pointed out this is an "absolutely correct and significant statement." Kautsky said: "The socialistic consciousness of this time can only be produced if it has a base of profound scientific knowledge." "Socialistic consciousness is a type of thing that is inculcated from without into the proletarian class struggle, and is not the type of thing that is naturally formed in the struggle. Therefore, Jin Jia Yin Fei [5283 0502 0936 2431] program states accurately: "The mission of the Social Democratic Party is to inculcate the proletariat with the consciousness of understanding the proletariat's place and mission. If this type of consciousness were to naturally appear from within the class struggle, then there is no need to do it this way." The realities of our country also prove this point. Feudalistic ideology has existed in our country for more than 2000 years and capitalistic ideology also has a history of more than 140 years; but there has only been some 60 odd years of communist propaganda. Even though our country's exploiting class has already been abolished as a class, capitalistic ideology and feudalistic ideology have not been destroyed; they have a relatively independent nature toward economic foundations and still exist in our country. If we were not to carry out the inculcation of communistic ideology, bourgeois ideology and ideological remnants of feudalism would inevitably slip through the cracks. Now, there are more who commit serious economic crimes than the 1952 "Three antis". One of the main reasons to be sure is because ideological and political work has not kept pace. That there are some young people who have been subjected to fairly pronounced corruption by bourgeois ideology is, however, also due to not inculcating them with communistic ideology! This is to say if people's minds are not occupied by communist ideology, their minds will inevitably be invaded by all types of non-proletarian ideologies, and will in no way remain as a vacuum. Therefore, the fundamental purpose of our ideological and political work is to incessantly inculcate communistic ideology to the cadres and the masses, raise the political awareness of man, and in repeated practice, enhance mankind's understanding and the capability to remold an objective world. This cannot be forgotten at any time.

A great deal of practice also proves the point. The party committee at our province's Yangzhou Cotten Mill has had several years of practice. They have come to the understanding that there are obviously many reasons why there is currently a definite market for influence from bourgeois ideology and ideological remnants of feudalism on the workers and staff members, especially among younger staff and workers. But a very vital reason is that within a relatively short period of time, the party committee slackened the carrying out of a conscientious and systematic education on advanced ideology for the working class, namely, the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. In order to raise class awareness on the part of the staff and workers, and arouse their revolutionary spirit, they had to start from reality, move forward in proper order and sequence, and inculcate the staff and workers with the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong; they had to solve the problem of world outlook and outlook on life. With the communistic ideology instilled, other problems were easy to solve. Thus, since April 1st of last year, they opened a political school at the mill, and have been training the staff and workers according a definite plan on a rotational basis. Emphasis was placed on rotational training for the young workers who entered the mill after 1970. Each session has about 50 students and they are excused from work

to study for a half month. By April of this year, ten sessions had been held and a total of 491 persons had undergone training. The staff and workers who attended the political classes had varied enhancement towards upholding the four basic principles; the historical and fine traditions of the working class as well as ideological understanding. Of those persons who had been on the borderline of committing crimes, after undergoing study, two were removed.

Some comrades ask what can be done in cases where some people have no interest in inculcating the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. This is merely a viewing phenomenon and is not getting down to the essence of the matter. The vast number of cadres and people only need a party organization which is adept at leading. Starting out from the real situation, not engaging in that type of formalism which was in the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," and studying the positive nature of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought will be quite high. The staff and workers for the industries, mines, and other enterprises in Shenyang municipality in Liaoning Province, since the Sixth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, voluntarily organized theory study groups to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Now, there are already 1023 of these groups with participants mounting to more than 10,000 people. Originally, there were those among the staff and workers who felt that studying theory "is useless." Now these people have reached the understanding that "not only is it not useless, it is of great utility." Yang Shengde [2799 4141 1795], a young worker in Workshop No 6 of the Shenyang No 3 Shoe Factory,used to ignore political theory study and was under the influence of a bad social atmosphere. He had wounded someone and was detained and punished. Afterwards, he attended the theory study group in the factory, made very swift progress, and was elected as a new Long March shock worker. With deep feeling, he said: "If a person does not study political theory, he will not have a pillar for his spirit, and will not have lofty ideals; he will then lose his direction. I will always bear in mind the lesson I have learned from ignoring the study of political theory."

We want to build a modernized, highly democratic and civilized, strong socialistic country. What can we achieve if we abandon inculcating Marxism-Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought to the vast number of cadres and people?

9660
CSO: 4005/1271

PARTY AND STATE

SPIRIT OF COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS PRAISED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Aug 82 p 4

[Article by Xie Xianwen [6200 0341 2429]: "'We Are Communist Party Members' Praised"]

[Text] When faced with the murderous looking hijacking scoundrels, the first thought that came to Yan Jijai [2799 4949 3189], captain of Civil Aviation Flight 2505, was: "I am a Communist Party member. No matter what happens, the conspiracy of the scoundrels cannot be allowed to succeed. Even if I have to die, I must find a way to overcome the scoundrels." At that tense moment, Communist Party members Liu Zhaoxian [0491 0340 6343] and Miao Xueren [5379 1331 0088] shouted to the passengers: "We are Communist Party members. Communist Party members stand up! Let us fight the rotten eggs altogether!" At the signal of the communist members of the flight crew, the Communist Party members among the passengers--Yu Fukun [0205 4395 0981], Wang Shouye [3769 1343 2814], Lu Fayao [7120 3127 1031], and others--courageously rushed forward immediately. Thus, a hijacking incident, rarely seen since the founding of the People's Republic, was thoroughly shattered the moment it occurred.

Faced with the terrific force of a No 9 scale typhoon, the party members from Putian, Ningde, Jinjiang, Xiamen, Fuzhou, etc of Fujian Province stood throughout the entire incident at the forefront of danger. We could hear all over: "We are Communist Party members." From these inspiring voices, we can all see the giant figures of the Communist Party members.

Truth is always concrete. When China was in the days of white terror, Lu Xun [7627 6598] already declared to the whole world: The Communist Party is the locomotive. He once sent a telegram to the party Central Committee: "On your shoulders is entrusted the hope of China and mankind." Lu Xun understood this truth exactly from every move and every act of the Communist Party members at that time. In his "Letter Answering the Trotskyite," he wrote: "With my feet solidly on the ground, I feel honored that I could be a comrade with those who shed blood and struggle for the survival of the Chinese people."

"We are Communist Party members!" These very weighty words, once spoken, are not retractable. During those war years, on the smoke filled battle ground, to be in the front of a charge and ahead in any hardship, Communist Party members always fought to the front to shout: "I will go. I am a Communist Party

member!" Today, in the new long march towards the four modernizations, we hear even more everywhere the solemn call of "I am a Communist Party member." In the front line fighting a blood battle with the enemy, in the time of struggle with scoundrels, and in the ideological battle front of an anti sugar bullet struggle, the masses deeply recognize from these solemn calls and decisive actions that the Communist Party member is the main heart and bone of the revolutionary endeavor and the model of their own work and living!

Comrade Hu Yaobang once said these very meaningful words: "At present, everyone of us must be prepared to write our own history, write our own history beyond 1981, the history of the 1980's." Our Communist Party members are now demonstrating the superior tradition of the party, are further vitalizing their revolutionary spirit, and are writing their own shining history with their actions. From this, the history of our party will be even more magnificent!

5974
CSO: 4005/9

PARTY AND STATE

FUZHOU PARTY MEMBERS LAUDED FOR THEIR INTEGRITY

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Li Yuchang [7812 3768 2490]: "Good Party Discipline Brings About Good Army Discipline; "Five Don'ts" Bring About "Five Nos"; Resisting Unhealthy Trends and Evil Practices for Four Years and Promoting the Building of Civilization, A Communication Materials Warehouse of the Fuzhou Units Becomes An Advanced Unit and Receives Notice of Commendation"]

[Text] The party committee people of a certain communications materials warehouse of the Fuzhou units took the lead to obey discipline and laws, resisted unhealthy of a spiritual and cultural civilization at the warehouse. With no corruption, no theft, no taking of graft, no violation of the finance and economic system, and no violation of the principles of issuing materials and equipment since 1978, the entire warehouse recently received a notice of commendation from the leadership organization of the Fuzhou units.

This warehouse is responsible for the issuance of communication materials of the Fuzhou units. Faced with large amounts of state assets, these party committee people maintained a clear head, consciously resisted the corrosion of capitalist ideology, and persisted to achieve the "five don'ts--do not seek private gains at public expense; do not submit to personal friendship; do not accept gifts and bribes; do not use crooked ways; and do not turn on the green light to unlawful acts. In the last 4 years, not a single of the 9 party committee members has ever taken a single item of public material from the warehouse. They strictly carry out the principles of issuing materials and equipment. Any unit or individual that wants anything without following the system and procedures is refused. Once an old army friend of Party Committee Deputy Secretary and Chairman [Zha Ren] Li Tiancheng [2621 1131 2052], who was the head of a local factory, wanted an old telephone switchboard. Li Tiancheng patiently explained: "State assets cannot be used for personal favors. We are both cadres of the party. Official business should be handled officially." On 12 March this year, an acquaintance got hold of party committee standing member and Vice Chairman [Fu Zhu Ren] Zheng Encheng [6774 1869 2052] and wanted to have a small discarded gasoline motor to remodel into a motor for a bicyle. The acquaintance was refused immediately. But he would not accept the refusal and wanted to buy the motor with 20 yuan. Zheng told him solemnly: "This is public property. It cannot be sold to you even for 200 yuan, not to say 20 yuan."

Some people want to gain benefits from the warehouse. They regularly visit the warehouse with gifts and were always firmly refused. Xie Peimin [6200 3099 2404], party committee member and section chief for administration, responsible for the repair and expansion of the warehouse, has refused gifts from a local contracting team 5 times in the last 2 years. One day in February this year, the responsible person of another contracting team brought two hens. Xie forcefully declined with thanks and the person had no choice but to carry the hens back. The warehouse people are determined not to be involved in any violations of the finance and economic system, false reporting and fraudulent claims, concoction of pretexts, and the transforming of large public to small public. They are responsible for the disposal of discarded materials and equipment returned by the armed forces each year. Since 1978, they have sold more than 79,000 yuan of discarded goods, Not a single penny has been retained at the warehouse. The entire sum has been handed over to the state. The warehouse regularly handles the transportation plans for the movement of materials and equipment. Some people wanted them to transship goods whose procurement had been banned. The party committee members were incorruptible and strictly stood their ground. Once a member of an organization brought an acquaintance of his to the warehouse and asked for help to ship 4 smuggled 'tri-purpose machines' [san yong ji] [0005 3938 2623] to Shenyang as communication equipment and materials. Zhou Jinzhuo [665C 6855 0587], party committee secretary and political commisar, and two other standing members refused without showing any forgiveness.

Good party discipline has brought about good army discipline. The "five don'ts" of the party committee members have brought about the "five nos" of the units. The entire warehouse has no market for unhealthy trends and evil practices. Good people and good events have emerged continuously and the warehouse has become an advanced unit.

5974
CSO: 4005/9

PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF STRONG BASE FOR PARTY IDEOLOGY STRESSED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Wang Lianbin [3769 5114 2430]: "Talk On 'Pillar'"]

[Text] As recorded in the Astronomical Lecture in Huainanzi [3232 0589 1311] [a collection of lectures on various subjects, based on Taoist ideology, were written by guests of Liu An (0491 1344), king of Huainan of the Western Han Dynasty, 208 B.C. - A.D. 24]: "Long, long ago, Gong Gong [0364 1562] and Zhuan Xu [7348 7320] were fighting for the king's title. Their rage and fury prevented them to fight around the mountain. Consequently, the heaven pillar crumbled and the link to earth was broken. Heaven was tilted toward the northwest and thus the heavenly bodies were shifted; the earth was dented in the southeast and thus became flooded.

Although this is an ancient mythology without scientific basis, we can see that the ancient people already had an insight into the pillar support influence. We do not believe that there is any heaven pillar. However, we have to hold a scientific attitude towards the pillar support influence. To build a great hall, the pillar must first be selected. If the pillar is not straight, there is nothing even a good artisan can do. When the hall is erected, the pillar should be doubly cared for. If the pillar is damaged and bends, the hall will fall. This is a reasoning that even children can understand.

Is our great socialist fatherland not exactly a great hall standing in the eastern world? In the last decade, how many people with lofty ideals have searched all over the place for the ideal pillar to build the great hall of the Chinese nation? However, from Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao to Sun Yat-sen none of them really found it. Concerned with the crisis of the nation and that the pillar was not erected, Mr Yang Changji [2799 2490 3444], teacher of Mao Zedong during his youth, once wrote: "Shut off in the peach orchard, I wish to plant a large tree to support the long heaven." It expressed his wish to develop pillar materials to build the nation and help the world and his desire to support the swaying heaven that wishes to be strong. Another teacher of Mao Zedong, Mr Li Yuanfu [2621 0337 3940], similarly wrote an antithetical couplet to encourage himself shortly before he died: "To develop materials for the country should have a lumber to support the great hall; to keep the family in order and educate the son cannot compare with Sange in Nanyang."

Actually, a great hall cannot be built with one piece of lumber. This great hall of our socialist fatherland is raised by the joint struggle and joint support of thousands and thousands of Chinese Communist Party members and the entire people of the country under the leadership of the party. In our collective struggle, the party has produced its own leader and a strong and unbreakable spiritual pillar has emerged--Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

In these days of welcoming the 12th CPC National Congress and looking back at our revolutionary history, we cannot help but doubly realize that the fact that we can smoothly push forward socialist revolution and socialist construction is because of the spiritual pillar of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Experiences have shown that if we persist with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, we can "hold up the heaven if it falls and straight up the world if it is swept by the winds." Otherwise, the heaven of the working people will fall and the great hall of socialism will suffer. People will not forget that, during the 10 years of land revolutionary battle, because of the rejection of the correct ideology of Mao Zedong and other comrades by the central leadership at that time, the central Soviet area became a history of collapsed "heaven" and subsided "earth." Neither will people forget that during the "Cultural Revolution" the departure from Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought led to the lesson of 10 years of internal chaos. And it will be even more difficult to forget the fact that because the true colors of Mao Zedong Thought were reinstated at the party's Third Plenary Session, the damaged great hall of socialism is again becoming more fortified each day....

Our current endeavor is the modernization construction of socialism and the adding of bricks and tiles to the great hall of socialism. We cannot do without the spiritual pillar of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Only with this spiritual pillar can we exert ourselves to the utmost and fight ceaselessly for the party and the people and will there be hope in our endeavors.

5974
CSO: 4005/9

PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO BUILD LEADING BODIES OF COMPETENT CADRES EMPHASIZED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by Wang Yu [3769 1751]: "'Promotion' for the Reason of 'Transfer' Is Not Justified"]

[Text] At present, a case connected with the administration and employment of cadres has come to my attention: A cadre about to be transferred was promoted before his departure. According to information available to this writer, when a unit recently transferred one of its cadres to another unit, its cadre administrative section immediately went about the task of promoting him to the position of deputy section chief and submitting this proposal for approval by higher authorities; this unit has also received a newly appointed cadre from another unit, and [that cadre's] new position as deputy section chief had been approved shortly before his transfer.

Certainly this does not mean that cadres cannot be promoted before their transfer if they qualify for such promotion. But the fact is that most cadres who are hurriedly promoted before their transfer do not merit promotion. In other words, their promotion may be unnecessary. The two deputy section chiefs I mentioned earlier belong to this category of cadres.

Since their qualifications are not adequate, why should they be hurriedly promoted? When this writer discussed this problem with a leading comrade responsible for the employment of cadres, he said candidly: Cadres who are promoted prior to their transfer usually enjoy more advantages than cadres who are not. If a cadre in his forties remains a "plain soldier" after his transfer, he is certain to be rejected. Furthermore, personally speaking, we must do everything possible to give a satisfactory answer to their desire for grade promotion following so many years of service with our unit, so that they will be in a better position to deal with problems as soon as they are transferred to other units. This statement is not completely convincing.

The promotion of cadres must be based strictly on their qualifications, rather than on any other expedient considerations. Only by doing so can we pledge to ensure the quality of leading cadres. Using this rule as a prerequisite for promoting cadres is significant, in that it will improve the quality of leading cadres, increase their ability to deal with problems, and improve the efficiency of office work. To put a cap on the size of

leading cadres and to preserve an elite leading body are steps that will lead to the elimination of the dilatory style of work and bureaucratic ways of doing things. At present, some units have found their "officers out of proportion with their soldiers," and have received complaints from the masses about the incompetence of their cadres. This phenomenon results directly from their failure to promote cadres on the basis of qualifications.

Moreover, it is unwise to promote cadres reluctantly under the pretext that this will make them more presentable to recipient units, will make their transfer out of their units a success, and will make them "feel good." The party will give the masses a bad impression if it hurriedly promotes a cadre before he is ready for such promotion and if its leading cadres are nuts in the eyes of the masses. Relying on this method to throw unwanted cadres to other units is not an honest style of work cherished by communists, and is harmful to their growth. Those who take care of cadres must strengthen their sense of party character, uphold principles, and strengthen their sense of responsibility to the party. Only by so doing can we achieve success in building a contingent of cadres and regard this as a matter of prime importance that no one can ignore.

9574
CSO: 4005/26

PARTY AND STATE

ACHIEVEMENTS IN REVOLUTION, CONSTRUCTION REVIEWED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Chen Shijun [7115 1102 6511]: "Lofty Ideal and Great Practice"]

[Text] In his report to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that it is absolutely necessary to educate party members and all advanced elements to truly want to "become communists." Since the day of its birth, our Communist Party has held high a banner emblazoned with the big characters: "Communism." During the past several years, however, under the disruptive impact and corrosive influence of the 10-year civil strife and bourgeois ideology, some people have lost interest in this "communist" banner and have even considered "communism" to be a pipedream. This idea is completely wrong.

Communism is the great ideal of humanity. More than 130 years ago, Marx and Engels pointed out in the "Communist Manifesto": "A specter is haunting Europe--the specter of communism." The bourgeoisie at that time called this thunderclap movement a "specter" and a "horrifying shadow." Later, "all the powers of old Europe entered a holy alliance in order to exorcise this specter." ("Communist Manifesto") ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 250) History, however, is relentless. Instead of "being exorcised," the "specter" of communism has gained momentum with each passing day, like a raging fire, and has ever since turned socialism--the initial stage of communism--into reality in many parts of the world.

Following 28 years of struggle, the Chinese communists won the new democratic revolution and founded the People's Republic of China at the cost of sweat and blood. Following 33 years of revolution and construction, they have again scored remarkable successes in developing socialist modernization. This fully indicates that the Chinese people have paid a high price for the realization of the communist ideal and for this great experiment, and the communist movement has won a great victory through practice. This fact has proved unfounded the saying that communism "is now shaken" to its foundations. Of course, the road we have traversed is only "the first step in the long march of 10,000 li." We must be aware that today we still remain in the stage of socialism or the initial stage of communism but are not yet in the final, ideal stage of communism. In other words, the road toward the realization of communism remains tortuous and long. But no matter how

tortuous and long the road ahead of us is, the realization of the communist ideal is only a matter of time that may cover several generations or more. This is a law governing the development of history—a law that no one can resist.

The 12th Party Congress is the most important conference that has ever been held since the Seventh Party Congress, and it is a new milestone on the road toward the realization of the four modernizations and communism. As long as we conscientiously implement the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress, hold high the communist banner, and firmly believe in communism, "the Internationale can certainly be realized."

9574
CSO: 4005/26

PARTY AND STATE

FUJIAN RESEARCH SYMPOSIUM ON ZHENG CHENGGONG SUMMARIZED

Xiamen XIAMEN DAXUE XUEBAO (ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE BAN) [UNIVERSITATIS AMOENSIS ACTA: SCIENTITARUM SOCIALUM] in Chinese No 3, 1982 pp 168, 160

[Article by Kong Dongwei [1313 0520 0251] and Zhang Ping [4545 1627]: "Summary of Fujian Province Research Symposium on Zheng Chenggong"]

[Text] In order to mark the 320th anniversary of Zheng Chenggong's repossession of Taiwan, Fujian Province held a research symposium on Zheng Chenggong at this university from 26 July to 1 August of this year. At the symposium over 100 Chinese and foreign scholars engaged in lively debates on matters such as Zheng Chenggong's repossession of Taiwan and his anti-Qing activities. Below is a summary of the major problems discussed:

1. Zheng Chenggong's Repossession of Taiwan. Participating comrades spoke highly of Zheng Chenggong's great achievement of ousting the Dutch colonialists, regaining Taiwan, and developing Taiwan. Some comrades emphasized that to a certain extent, Zheng Chenggong's repossession of Taiwan prevented the eastward progress of Western colonialists. It was advantageous for the development of Japan and Korea and had a positive influence on the development of the overseas Chinese economy. Thus he made a definite contribution to the historical development of Asia and the world. Some foreign scholars pointed out that Zheng Chenggong was not only an influential figure in Chinese history, but that he was also a 17th Century world figure. He played a decisive role in expanding world maritime trade and maritime armed forces.

As for Zheng Chenggong's motives for taking over Taiwan, some people believed that his primary motive was to seek a stable base area to continue his fight against the Qing government. Others thought that his motive was to safeguard the interests of maritime commercial groups. This implied that opposition to the Qing government was of secondary importance in regaining Taiwan. Still others believed that the primary motive consisted of the righteous cause of nationalism and of opposition to the invasion of Chinese territory by Dutch colonialists. Owing to the divergence of opinions concerning his motivation, there were also differences in assessments of it. Some comrades pointed out that in assessing a situation, one cannot look only at motivation, nor can one look only at results. It is important to consider results, but this must be linked up with motivation. In this way we can consider both his historical contribution and the limitations of his class status and of history.

2. Zheng Chenggong's Anti-Qing Activities. One view holds that in the early years of the Qing rule, because the Manchu aristocracy had implemented brutal policies that oppressed nationalities, Zheng Chenggong came to represent the interests of the Han people and of other minority nationalities in his opposition to Qing rule. It should be verified that he had the interests of all the people at heart. Another view holds that Zheng Chenggong represented the interests of maritime commercial groups in his opposition to the Qing government. Preserving and expanding his own influence was at the heart of his strategy all along. His opposition to the Qing government was neither resolute nor thorough. Still another view holds that Zheng Chenggong primarily represented the interests of the Han landlord class in his anti-Qing activities. He also objectively made known the demands of the masses. In addition, there were comrades who believed that after the Qing Dynasty basically united the country, continued opposition to the Qing Dynasty ran counter to historical trends.

As for the matter of Qing-Zheng peace talks, one view holds that the question Zheng Chenggong was considering was not whether or not he should capitulate but rather whether or not he could capitulate. His indecision was reflected in the peace talks. Another view holds that during the peace talks, Zheng Chenggong's stand was firm. The peace talks with the Qing government were a maneuver to gain time to replenish provisions and funds for troops and to expand his military strength. At the same time, they were also for the purpose of saving the lives of Zheng Zhilong and his relatives. Certain comrades questioned the opinions of Taiwanese scholars. They believed that Zheng Chenggong did not "walk into a trap" by participating in the Qing-Zheng peace talks, nor was the Qing side "manipulated" by Zheng Chenggong. During the process of the peace talks, both sides had successes and failures. In the limited view, Zheng Chenggong gained much and lost little, and in the overall view [the talks] were advantageous to the Qing government.

There were also differing opinions on whether or not Zheng Chenggong could be called a national hero for his opposition to Qing rule. Many comrades felt that opposing the Qing Dynasty was a just cause which reflected the demands of all nationalities. He could therefore be called a national hero. Some comrades believed that the reason why Zheng Chenggong is called a national hero is because he ousted the Dutch colonialists and recaptured Taiwan, and because his opposition to the Qing rule was partially confirmed. They believed that he should not, however, be called a national hero. The symposium launched a discussion on problems with the concept of national hero.

3. Economic Activities of the Zheng Clique. One view holds that maritime trade was a means used by Zheng Chenggong to solve the problem of sources for military supplies and funds. However, the role of maritime trade in Zheng's armed struggle against Qing rule cannot be overestimated. Another view holds that maritime trade was the major economic mainstay of the Zheng clique. By relying solely on "the righteous principle of loyalty to the sovereign," Zheng Chenggong found it difficult to wage a lengthy resistance against the Qing Dynasty. Xiamen became the base area of the Zheng clique in resisting the Qing rule, because at that time Xiamen was a major port for foreign trade. Some dissertations have researched the history of the rise and decline of the Zheng maritime commercial group. They were thus able to explain the fate of maritime traders in China's feudalistic society and the reasons why they were unable to develop fully. Quite a few comrades believed that Zheng Chenggong was the forerunner of putting the "mercantile" theory into practice and reaping the results.

4. Assessing Shi Lang, Zheng Jing, and Other Figures. Some comrades pointed out that even though Shi Lang had personal grievances against Zheng Chenggong, he nevertheless conquered Taiwan. This stemmed from the demands of the state and nationalities and was not done for personal revenge. Shi Lang took back Taiwan from the hands of the Zheng clique and unified the country. One could say that he was the unwitting collaborator and inheritor of Zheng Chenggong's cause. Others believe that even though Shi Lang made a definite contribution to conquering Taiwan and to the problem of keeping from forsaking Taiwan, his achievements should not be exaggerated. We cannot place them on a par with Zheng Chenggong's achievements. Shi Lang offered his services to go and take over Taiwan out of personal motives such as personal revenge, rendering a service to the sovereign, and a wish to show off his talent. We cannot believe that Shi Lang could do no wrong just because he conquered Taiwan.

In assessing Zheng Jing, some people believed that Zheng Jing's anti-Qing activities ran counter to the historical trend. In particular, his participation in the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories caused the character of the Zheng clique to change completely to one of feudal separatism. Furthermore, they believed that the Zheng clique's exploitation and oppression of the Taiwanese people became increasingly severe, prevented the social and economic development of Taiwan, and became an obstacle to national unification. Others believed that Zheng Jing was a figure who certainly influenced the history of Taiwan and the Chinese mainland. He both rendered meritorious service and committed some mistakes. He made a definite contribution to developing Taiwan and encouraging Taiwan's socioeconomic and cultural development. An essential distinction must be drawn between his taking advantage of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories to return to the mainland to oppose Qing rule and the armed rebellion of Wu Sankui and other separatist influences.

9864
CSO: 4005/30

BRIEFS

GUIZHOU CPPCC STANDING COMMITTEE--The 27th Meeting of the 4th Guizhou Provincial CPPCC Standing Committee was convened today in Guiyang. The major issues on the agenda are: to study the spirit of the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, convey the spirit of the 20th meeting of the National CPPCC Standing Committee and discuss and decide on the date for calling the 5th session of the 4th provincial CPPCC and other related issues. The meeting will last 3 days. Today, a full session is being held by the committee members. The meeting is being chaired by Miao Chunting, chairman of the CPPCC 4th Guizhou Provincial Committee. Lu Zhenfan, member of the Standing Committee of the 5th CPPCC, conveyed the spirit of the 20th meeting of the 5th Standing Committee of the CPPCC in the session. Hui Shiru, Luo Dengyi, Yang Hanxian, Tang Hongren, Mao Tieqiao, Yuan Jiaji, Sun Hanzhang, Wang Leting, Li Xiagong, Zhu Yuru, He Peizhen, Jian Xianai, Wu Tongming and Zhang Chaolun, vice chairmen of the CPPCC 4th Guizhou provincial committee, appeared at this afternoon's meeting. Committee members of the CPPCC in our province, responsible persons of the united front department of the Guizhou CPC Provincial Committee, various democratic parties, the Federation of Trade and Industry, the provincial office for religious affairs and the Research Institute of Culture and History, the advisers of the provincial advisory office and responsible persons also attended the meeting this morning. There was group study this morning. [Text] [HK130837 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Oct 82]

CSO: 4005/73

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XINJIANG LEADERS AT CYL CONGRESS END CEREMONY

HK130655 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 12 Oct 82

[Text] The Sixth Xinjiang Regional CYL Congress came to a successful close in Urumqi this afternoon. The congress called on youths and CYL members of all nationalities in Xinjiang to conscientously study and implement the 12th CPC National Congress spirit, hold high the great banner of communism and strive to be vanguards in building socialist spiritual and material civilizations and in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

With the 12th CPC Congress spirit as its guiding principle, this congress summed up the work of the CYL in this region and, after discussion, set the tasks for the CYL work both at present and in the future. The sixth regional CYL committee and delegates to the 11th CYL National Congress were elected after repeated deliberations and democratic election, and a resolution was unanimously adopted on the work report of the Fifth Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Regional CYL Committee.

The closing ceremony was presided over by (Abdulla Hamudula), executive chairman of the Presidium. (Shi Congshu), member of the presidium gave the concluding speech. He required that CYL organizations at all levels in Xinjiang, under the leadership of the CPC committees, conscientiously study the 12th CPC congress documents, implement the 12th congress spirit in a down-to-earth manner, make unswerving efforts to arm the minds of the young people with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and unremittingly educate them in communist ideas so that the cadres and youths of all nationalities can be further united and work harder as vanguards in the building of the two socialist civilizations and in fighting for the realization of the party's general tasks in the new historical period. He said that CYL organizations at various levels must regard the "five stresses and four beauties" activity as a concrete effort in implementing the 12th party congress spirit, take immediate actions to carry it out uninterruptedly and make new contributions in achieving a fundamental change in social atmosphere.

Xinjiang regional party, government and CPPCC committee leaders as well as the PLA Urumqi units leaders Gu Jingsheng, Xiao Quanfu, (Huang Luobin), Bai Chengming, (Yang Hansheng), (Liu Zebai), (Zhou Yusheng), (Bu Wen), Yang Yiqing, Mayinur, (Liu Sichong), Liu Zimo, (Zeng Dizhu) and (Aziliefu Muhemaiti) attended the closing ceremony.

The Sixth Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Regional CYL Committee held a plenary session this afternoon. Members of the Standing Committee and secretary and deputy secretaries of this committee were elected. The Standing Committee consists of 11 members. (Hasimu Yiliqi) was elected secretary and the following were elected deputy secretaries (listed in the order of the number of strokes in their surnames): (Chi Tongxin), (Amudula Hamudula), (Yang Zhaoju) and (Fan Xingchu).

CSO: 4005/72

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WANG RENZHONG'S SPEECH TO LITERARY CIRCLES

HK211457 Beijing WENYI BAO in Chinese No 9, 7 Sep 82 pp 3-9

[Speech by Wang Renzhong delivered on 24 June 1982 at the Second Plenary Session of the Fourth National Committee of the Chinese Federation of Literature and Art Circles: "Unite and Compose More and Better Songs of the Triumph of Communism"]

[Text] Comrades:

Taking as its guideline the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" which was adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and centering round the task of correctly summing up the historical experience in literature and art, the Second Plenary Session of the Fourth National Committee of the Chinese Federation of Literature and Art has held extensive and thorough discussions. This is helpful for us to reach a common understanding to adhere to the orientation of serving the people and socialism with literature and art. In order to give better play to the role of literary and art workers throughout the country in building socialist spiritual civilization, the session has also formulated the "joint pledge of the literary and art workers." Undoubtedly, this will also be welcomed by the party and the people. Comrades, you have done a lot of work. Now, I would like to say something about my personal views. The topic I am going to take is: "United and compose more and better songs of the triumph of communism!"

The First Question: Portraying and Praising New Heroes

Last year, comrades of the central secretariat research office wrote a book entitled "People Who Compose Songs of the Triumph of Communism" which collated the deeds of people with advanced communist ideology on various fronts in our country. Their deeds are indeed inspiring. Comrade Deng Liqun wrote a forward for this book and I also have recommended it. From this book we can see that numerous new people with communist ideology have emerged in the great struggle for socialist modernization. They represent the main stream of our times and have set examples for tens of thousands of people. It is the most glorious task of socialist literature and art and the most noble duty of the broad masses of literary and art workers to portray and praise these new heroic people. Does

this mean the advocation of the theories of "subject matter determines everything" and "no conflicts?" Of course not. Subject matters of socialist literature and art have as wide a range as actual life and cannot be restricted within certain limits. Moreover, we have a rich history of over several thousand years standing, which includes the history of the people's struggle since the opium war, which needs to be [word indistinct] and described in the light of Marxism. However, as far as the nature and characteristics of socialist literature and art are concerned, writing about advanced people and collectives which are shining with brilliant communist ideology and praising new people and new things can only be the first and principal task. This is the demand set for us by our times.

We are living in a great era. We want to build a strong and modern socialist country with a highly developed civilization and democracy. This is an arduous and heroic undertaking unprecedented in Chinese history. In promoting the development of this undertaking, tens of thousands of heroes and models will certainly be trained, new things, new idea, new customs and new habits will certainly defeat old things, old ideas and old customs and habits, and communist ideology will certainly and gradually become the dominant ideology of our society. It is only natural that socialist literature and art should fully reflect this great historical progress and strongly promote this great historical progress. Consequently, creating new heroes for a new era and educating the masses with communist ideas have naturally become the focus of our work. Can there be any doubt about this?

Advanced people with communist ideas and ethics are gradually trained in the course of study and struggle. It is impossible that they should be perfect. Besides, these advanced people are often suppressed and attacked by bureaucrats, [word indistinct] by people of the same generation who are fettered by old habitual forces, satirized by backward elements and even framed by bad people. The true, the good and the beautiful always exist side by side with the false, the vicious and the ugly and the former develop through struggle against the latter. Likewise, good people and good deeds also exist side by side with bad people and bad deeds, and the former develop through struggling against the latter. While portraying and praising heroic people, we unavoidably have to expose and criticize bad people and bad deeds. We cannot do one thing without doing the other. We firmly believe that all new things which reflect the objective demands of social development will eventually triumph over old things and old forces no matter what setbacks they may suffer. In the same way, the communist system which is the common and noble ideal of progressive human beings will also finally triumph over capitalism and gain victory throughout the whole world. This is an objective law independent of man's will. For some time, some innocent people have thought that developed capitalist countries are incomparably excellent. It would seem that these countries are a paradise on earth. How can this be true! This is because they do not understand the law of social development and do not understand the actual conditions of capitalist society. Today developed capitalist countries with the United States as their representative have met with various difficulties and impending crises. In

these countries, inflation and unemployment among workers are serious, crises occur one after another and internal contention is ever intensifying, contradictions between the monopolistic capitalist class and the broad, proletariat masses of the people and between the hegemonists and many countries have become more acute with each passing day. Even when some of these contradictions may temporarily be eased, more acute conflicts are being bred. Recently, I read two novels entitled "Money Merchant" and "Motorcar Town" written by a Canadian writer Arthur Hailey. They give a relatively true but terrible picture of U.S. society. No representative figures from the bourgeoisie in the Western countries, including various kinds of advisers and brain trusts, can have any miraculous cure for these chronic maladies. In capitalist society, the relationship between man and man is disgusting and is entirely an undisguised monetary relationship and a relationship of buying and selling, and the people there put profit before anything else and harm others to benefit themselves. There is no alternative for such a society except gradual destruction. On the other hand, although our society is still in the primary stage of communism and there are still many traces of the old society in it, it is full of vigor and the people in it have good faith in the future. Our works of literature and art must extract subject matters from life, arm the people's minds with the idea that communism will certainly triumph and capitalism will certainly die out and encourage them to struggle heroically for the socialist modernization of new China and for safeguarding world peace and human progress.

In order to build a new life and to train new people for socialism, we must, with great effort, publicize the communist ideology and carry out communist ethical education. In this respect, socialist literature and art cannot shirk their responsibilities and they have much to accomplish. On 21 June, RENMIN RIBAO carried an article entitled "We Must Advocate Communist Ethics" which put forward three communist ethical criteria: working irrespective of remuneration to serve the people, patriotism and internationalism. I think these criteria are necessary but two very important criteria should be added. 1) The idea of being masters. In our country, the people are masters of the country and the society. Therefore, we must be concerned with state affairs, actively participate in managing affairs of the state and the society and work with a sense of responsibility of masters. This is the duty and right of each citizen. It is precisely because of this that we advocate dedicating ourselves to socialist modernization in the spirit of being masters and combating acts harmful to the interests of the state and the collectives and combating various unhealthy trends. We should dare to step forward bravely to fight bad people and bad deeds and to make sacrifice including our lives to protect state and collective property and the interests of the people; 2) relationship of unity and mutual assistance from man to man. This includes the relationship between cadres and the masses, among the people and among family members. We should show concern for each other, love each other and help each other and we should show more concern for others then for ourselves. In order to help others, we should be willing to sacrifice our own interests and even our own lives. Comrade Guan Suxiang, who is present today, and some other people of the Yunnan Bejing opera troupe have been sending money

for the past 20-30 years without disclosing their names to support a lonely old man who is living far away from them in Beijing. Newspapers have also carried many examples of people who donated their parents' legacies and their personal income to the state, to areas afflicted by disasters and to people who are in difficulties. These are manifestations of the communist spirit. They have proved the bankruptcy of the selfish bourgeois outlook on life and revealed the fine relationship between men under the socialist system. Ideas such as "everyone for himself and the devil take the hindmost" and "subjectively for oneself but objectively for others" are all lingering sounds of the declining exploiting system and are incompatible with our socialist collectivism.

All honest and righteous literary and art workers must warmly praise in their works advanced people with communist ideology and style so that the latter will become familiar examples for the broad masses of the people to learn from and castigate in their work bad people and bad deeds which manifest decadent ideology of the exploiting classes so that they will be held contempt by the society. At present, ultraindividualism has again gained ground among some people in our ranks. This is a harmful trend which we must not overlook. We must strengthen communist ideological education to check this trend. We advocate that literary and art workers should compose more and better songs of the triumph of communism. This is precisely because we want to use the brilliant images of heroic people on various fronts and in the PLA to influence the broad masses of the people and to educate them with communist ideology so that they will strive to foster a communist outlook on life and a noble objective for life, resolutely resist the influence of the decadent bourgeois ideology and overcome various expressions of individualism and liberalism. In this way, the ideological level, ethical level and mental attitude of the whole society will be raised.

If you want to work with iron, you must be tough yourself. In order to successfully portray advanced people of communism, we literary and art workers must first of all improve our own ideology. It is impossible for a man with unhealthy ideology to portray typical characters with a beautiful soul. We must strengthen ideological and political work within the ranks of our writers and artists and advocate with great efforts ideas such as not seeking personal fame or gains, not fearing hardships or death, serving the revolution and the people heart and soul, and contributing to the beloved motherland and tens of thousands of compatriots and brothers spiritual products with advanced revolutionary ideology and the greatest artistic appeal. I hope that our comrades will restudy Comrade Mao Zedong's "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" and "Combat Liberalism" and Comrade Liu Shaoqi's "How To Be a Good Communist" and first arm ourselves with communist ideology so that we may influence, encourage, inspire and educate the broad masses of the people.

The Second Question: Study

In the past few years, a large number of new people have been added to our contingent of literary and art workers. They have brought vigor with them. However, unavoidably they also have shortcomings and weaknesses of which the principal

one is that they lack the necessary Marxist theoretical knowledge and the necessary tempering in a fiery life. This has to be urgently remedied through study. There are two ways for them to study. They should learn from books and they should learn from the society. We literary and art workers are to influence and educate people. Educators should first be educated and before one can be a teacher, one must first be a student. Each of our comrades, without exception, should continuously study and continuously advance.

First and foremost, we must study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and foster a communist world outlook. Communism is the most ideal social system of mankind. It is a revolutionary movement and at the same time an ideological and theoretical system. We must arm ourselves with a communist world outlook and correct our various erroneous ideas before we can correctly show others the way to advance. Only if we understand the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and have learned to use the stand, viewpoints and methods of Marxism-Leninism to observe everything, to analyze people and to analyze the relationship between man and his fellow man, can we see things accurately and profoundly. If we observe questions with the stand, viewpoints and methods of the bourgeoisie or petty-bourgeoisie, we will certainly confound right and wrong, stand facts on their heads and even take enemies for friends, sliding to an erroneous stand. The following situation once occurred in the literature and art circles. For example, there were writings which openly sympathized with imposters, degenerated people and even murderers. In the ideological circles, some people wrote articles openly suggesting that freedom of speech should be given to counter-revolutionaries and that we should allow them to publish their counterrevolutionary views in our newspapers. Absurd arguments and fallacies which in reality advocated democracy without centralization or democracy without dictatorship were even more in number. In March 1979, on behalf of the Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping launched the upholding of the four basic principles and the opposing of bourgeois liberalization. Immediately some people said that a policy of "restriction" had again been adopted and a "cold wave" was approaching. In December 1980, the editorial staff of some literary and art publications held a very erroneous meeting without the approval of departments responsible for the work. This meeting was a typical example of bourgeois liberalization. At this meeting, some party members violated party discipline and rules and censured the four basic principles. Later, they carried out unauthorized activities with the intention of shaking off the party's leadership over literary and art publications. May we not ask: Do these party members still remember Marxist-Leninist principles and the party character? This, together with the publication of "Unrequited Love" and the fanatic applause of some people, shows that the trend of bourgeois liberalization truly existed among some comrades in our literature and art circles before the national forum of the ideological front held in August 1981. In those days, this rightist deviation was a major deviation. Of course, this does not mean that we deny the mainstream of our work in literature and art. Since the third plenary session, achievements in literary and art work have been primary and most works and the list of plays are good or relatively

good and are beneficial to the people and to socialism. However, as far as social trends of thoughts are concerned, we cannot deny that this trend of bourgeois liberalization was indeed very serious before Comrade Xiaoping sounded once more the alarm in 1981. Of course, the "leftist" trend still exists and we must not slacken our vigilance. The reason why the Central Committee injoined its propaganda department to convene the national forum on the ideological front was to overcome the situation of weak and slack leadership and to oppose and overcome the bourgeois liberalization trend. The aim of the forum was very clear. After the forum, a great change took place in literature and art circles. Through studying documents, most comrades in literature and art circles increased their understanding and corrected their views. Common understanding was reached and unity was strengthened. Most of those comrades who had committed mistakes made self-criticism of varying degrees and said that they would submerge themselves in the masses, familiarize themselves with new people and new things and write good articles that reflected the new era and new people. We have adopted a welcoming attitude toward all these comrades. The party has not punished any comrade who committed ideological or political mistakes but is willing to correct them. If we recall what happened during this period, we will see clearly that from the time Comrade Deng Xiaoping launched upholding the four basic principles to the time when bourgeois liberalization was once more criticized and weak and slack leadership was criticized, what occurred was not a "cold wave" at all but an out-and-out spring breeze. It is precisely the party's timely guidance that has made our literary and art work continue to develop along a correct orientation and become healthier and more flourishing. We are quite certain that as a result of laying this foundation, in the coming several years, various literature and art departments will produce even more excellent works and to contribute more to building our country into a strong and modern socialist country.

Historical experience has proved that it is improper to say in an oversimplified way that the social function of literature and art is to serve politics. However, socialist literary and art workers, especially those who are party members, are not separated from politics. We must seriously study the party's line, principles and policies and learn to look at problems in light of politics, that is, in light of the party and the people. The "resolution" adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has summed up the historical experience of the last 32 years or so and is the political basis for the people of the whole country to reach a common understanding. Our comrades in the literature and art circles must seriously study in light of their ideology and work and must truly make some questions clear. Otherwise, it will be mere empty talk to say that party members are politically in keeping with the Central Committee. Moreover, the revised draft of the "constitution" has been promulgated and the revised draft of the party constitution will also soon be transmitted. All of us must seriously study them and consciously observe the constitution and the party constitution. I think that the "joint pledge of the literary and art workers" which has been worked out at this meeting and comprises eight articles, is good. I hope that it will be seriously observed after it has been revised

and approved. If anyone persists in opposing this joint pledge, he should be solemnly criticized and punished. Comrades, the overwhelming majority of our literary and art workers are very resentful of unhealthy trends. This shows their fine political quality. While opposing the involvement of others in unhealthy trends, we must also ask if we are involved ourselves. Needless to say, some literary and art workers are also involved in various forms of unhealthy trends. We must also resolutely correct our own mistakes and must not tolerate them in the least. Otherwise, how can our work be convincing?

Besides studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the party's resolution and other documents, our literary and art workers must also study Chinese history and world history as well as having a basic knowledge of natural science. In particular, we must learn from objects which we are ready to portray. If we mainly write about factories, we must acquire some knowledge about industry. If we mainly write about rural areas, we must acquire more knowledge about rural areas. If you want to write about doctors and nurses, you must acquire some knowledge about medical and health work. Otherwise, how can we write good works? If we force ourselves to write about something which we are not familiar with, what we write will certainly be uninteresting and superficial or be filled with empty phrasology. Without relatively profound knowledge and rich experience in life, it is impossible for one to become a good writer. I hope that our comrades will go deep into the reality of life and among the masses. In particular, we must learn from advanced people and advanced collectives. We must learn from them their communist ideology and arm ourselves before we educate the masses.

At present, advanced people worthy of praise are many and we can praise them in various forms of literature and art. We can write about them in newsletters, short stories, and novels as well as in poems, plays and various forms of folk art. We can also reflect them in films, pictures and music. We have various approaches. We must learn in the course of participating in artistic activities and increase our ability to understand and to portray life. Only if we are familiar with advanced people can we write about them all. We must go beyond the small circles we are familiar with and go among seething activities of life. We must work and struggle together with heroic exemplary people who are creating history, acquire a deep understanding about their thoughts, life and activities as well as their experience, families and various social connections. The more thoroughly we understand them, the better we will be able to write. Only in this way will our portrayal of them be lifelike. The life of literature and art lies in truth. There should be no fabrication in newsletters no matter whether we are writing about good people and good deeds or bad people and bad deeds as well as contradictions among them. Basic plots must be true. In writing novels, plays and films, we may have artistic description of a more typical nature and rational fabrication on the basis of life is permitted. We must also advocate revolutionary realism or the integration of revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism in artistic creation. We should not forbid attempts to use other artistic forms.

We must also learn through the process of criticism and self-criticism. We must adopt a comradely attitude toward works which are not good and carry out criticism through sound reasoning. Publication units and producers should adhere to principles. They should prevent works whose social effects are actually not good from spreading and should not easily give the green light to them. They must be responsible to the people. Anything which is undoubtedly politically reactionary and ideologically harmful, no matter whether it is a literary writing, a film or a play, must be banned and cannot be published or shown. This is the demand of the broad masses of the people. Our cultural publication departments are held responsible for handling works of this kind. We must make sound judgments and ensure a good job is done. Of course, we must act according to law and pay attention to policies and discipline. No individual may ban plays or books at random. We must strengthen work in reviewing works of literature and art. Solemn literary and art criticism itself must be characterized by principle and theory and must proceed from reality, seek truth from facts and have sound reasoning. We must avoid exaggeration in criticism or commendation. Much less should we make groundless charges or blindly lavish praises. We must say yes for yes and no for no and must state our reasons for saying so. Literary and art criticism includes comradely advise. We must not indiscriminately and blindly "defend somebody against injustice" or "sympathize" with works or writers which are criticized. We must not forget that both correct criticism and correct commendation are strong supports for socialist literature and art. I once suggested to the Central Committee propaganda department that publications needed a good shake up. At present, there are too many literary and art publications and there is too much confusion among them. The quality of some of them is very poor and there is much duplication. Consequently, much of the state's paper and the readers' money, energy and time is wasted. We must carry out realistic investigations on them and straighten things according to the principle of putting quality first. Quantity must be based on quality. We oppose publishing them in a rough and slipshod way. Our writers and editors must always bear in mind that we must be responsible to readers, in particular to the broad masses of teenage readers. We must build socialist spiritual civilization and publicize with great efforts the communist ideology. First of all, we should study the question of quality of works, including the quality of ideological contents and artistic presentation. We must ensure good quality. The reason why we pay attention to quality is precisely to better implement the party's "double hundred" policy and promote the prosperity and development of our literature and art.

The Third Question: Strengthen Unity

It should be admitted that the phenomenon of disunity exists to a certain extent in our literary and art circles. This is not strange. It is because there is disunity that we call for the strengthening of unity. I think that there are mainly two reasons which cause disunity among some comrades in the literature and art circles. 1. They have different viewpoints. Comrade Mao Zedong said: We hail from all corners of the country and have joined together for a common revolutionary objective. Why can we not unite as one? Although we may hold

different views we can surely reach a common understanding through placing problems on the table and discussing or debating them and through presenting facts and reasoning things out. If we still cannot reach a common understanding after doing so, we may report to party committees of corresponding levels and even to the Central Committee to ask for help. In case a contradiction cannot be solved for the time being, the two sides concerned should wait patiently and show "magnanimity." Within the revolutionary ranks and among revolutionary comrades, we should "set higher demand on ourselves" and be "lenient to others'" shortcomings and mistakes while adhering to principles. This is because, generally speaking, we have no differences in basic questions such as serving the people, serving socialism, uniting as one to build our country into a strong and modern socialist county and developing flourishing socialist literature and art. Of course, the differences we have mentioned here are differences in political questions and in questions concerning principles and policies. Regarding differences of an academic nature, I think we had such differences in the past and at present. We will have such differences even in communist society. This is something natural. We should discuss differences in academic questions and each may have his reservations without affecting unity and friendship among comrades. After heated discussions on different views at meetings, we should live in harmony as usual. Why can we not do this? Why should there be any personal feelings? Can people holding different views not become friends? Are they, without exception, to be enemies? Our general goal is the same and contradictions among us are mainly and only differences in understanding! We cannot regard differences in understanding as fault finding or personal attacks. How can we impose our views on others? I think that since we have taken on the mission of transforming the old world and building a new one, we should be magnanimous and should not hinder unity because of temporary differences in views. Much less should we set up factions and make unprincipled attacks.

2. Some of our comrades have selfish ideas and personal considerations. They seek fame or personal gain for themselves or for their factions and create contradictions. Impurity of party spirit and individualism are bound to impair unity. Comrades with these mistakes should consciously correct them. I hope that all literary and art workers seriously study two articles written by Comrade Chen Yun entitled "We Must Uphold Truth and Must Not Stress Face-Saving" and "On Two Tendencies of the Party's Literary and Art Workers." We should meet the requirements put forth by him, put subordinating oneself to truth in the first place, put aside personal gain or loss and honor or disgrace and earnestly carry out criticism and self-criticism. Comrade Chen Yun stated that writers and artists who are party members must first and foremost remember that they are party members. This is very important. Up to now, this is still of much significance. A writer who is a party member must first meet the requirements of a qualified party member and must never regard himself as a special party member. Of course, no senior leading cadres should regard himself as a special party member either and no party member should feel self-important.

The unity we talk about is unity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist-Mao Zedong Thought and on the basis of determining to implement the party's line, principles and policies. It is not unity at the expense of principles. Superficial unity which does not draw clear distinctions concerning cardinal issues of right and wrong is not real unity which we communists seek. If we do not draw clear distinctions concerning cardinal issues of right and wrong, we will not be able to uphold truth, correct mistakes or to push our work ahead. Party members in the literature and art circles must properly participate in activities of party organization and often carry out necessary and appropriate criticism and self-criticism. At present, there exists a tendency which is not good. It seems that if we criticize a comrade we are finding fault with him and someone will step forward to take up the cudgels for the criticized and blindly defend him. This phenomenon is abnormal and this attitude is not correct. Of course, if the criticized comrade is in the right and if those who criticize him are in the wrong, you have the right to defend him and you have the duty to speak. This is to defend truth. However, when a person has obviously committed a mistake and has brought losses to the party and the people, the party organization criticizes him and even punishes him because it wants to educate and save him. What right have we to defend him? Are we not doing harm to him if we do so? For example, Comrade Yi Wenfu, who is a party member, has published a lot of politically harmful views. Is it not right to criticize him? The purpose of criticizing him and even giving him appropriate punishment is to make him become more modest in future, study seriously, increase his sense of responsibility as a proletarian vanguard, overcome his arrogance, conceitedness, individualism and mentality of seeking personal fame and gains and strive to become an excellent writer. What is wrong with this? If we see a literary and art worker has committed a mistake and is sinking deeper and deeper in the quagmire and if we do not carry out necessary ideological struggle with the desire of achieving unity and sound the alarm so that he may see his mistake but take a laissez-faire attitude instead, we are not doing him any good.

Finally, I would like to add that we must continue to wage the struggle on two fronts, that is, continue to eliminate the pernicious influence of "leftist" ideas and to oppose rightist ideas. We must act according to facts. We must oppose either "leftist" or rightist ideas, whichever may emerge. There are mistakes which are caused by neither "leftist" or rightist ideas, for example, violating law and discipline and engaging oneself in unhealthy trends. How can we say whether they are caused by "leftist" or rightist ideas? Unhealthy trends, violation against law and discipline and liberalism are nothing else but respectively unhealthy trends, violation against law and discipline and liberalism. We must call them according to what they actually are and must not rashly label them as being "leftist" or rightist. In assessing a literary and art work, we must judge by its ideological and artistic aspects and make realistic analysis. Usually we must not use the concept of being "leftist" or rightist. Only if it involves the general political trend and involves the party's line, principles and policies should we consider making use of these terms and we must use them accurately when they are used.

Comrades, socialism and communism are a just cause and will inevitably triumph in the end. We literary and art workers are staunch fighters who have dedicated their lives to this magnificent and glorious undertaking which is unprecedented in human history. Under the correct leadership of the CPC, we will certainly be able to continuously raise our ideological level and artistic level and make greater contributions to building our country into a strong and modern socialist country.

CSO: 4005/75

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' INTERVIEWS WRITER WANG MENG

HK131221 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 1 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by GUANGMING RIBAO reporter Jin Tao [6855 3447]: "Scaling the Heights of Spiritual Civilization--Interviewing Writer Wang Meng, a Newly Elected Alternate Member of the 12th CPC Central Committee"]

[Text] In a unit on the 8th floor of a high-rise building, the famous writer Wang Meng, a newly elected alternate member of the 12th CPC Central Committee, spoke glowingly of his feelings on attending the 12th National Party Congress to this reporter.

The name Wang Meng is not an unfamiliar one to many readers who love literature. During the 1950's, this young and gifted writer began to show his talent in the world of letters through a short story entitled "A Young Man From the Organization Department." However, it was also because of this short story that he was unjustly treated. Over the past few years, with the arrival of the spring of literature and art, he has applied his energetic vigor, keen observation, deep thoughts and his novel and bold artistic techniques to produce many heartening works. The major points of the keynote of his works are: seeking the true, the good and the beautiful; and striving to explore beautiful things in daily life and in the people's hearts. His works have therefore exerted a tremendous influence upon the literary circles.

Joy and Confidence

As a writer, Wang Meng has shown deep thoughts and feelings about drastic changes in life. He was excited when he talked about the changes. Wang Meng said: "We may say that the world of literature and art has been snatched from the jaws of death. The "gang of four" turned literature and art into a desert. As a result, writers and artists were seriously persecuted, and all the plays, novels and films were labeled as a sinister line of literature and art. Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and after the discussions on regarding practice as the criterion of truth, leftist mistakes made over the years including many leftist mistakes within the literary and art circles have been corrected, thus taking the iron lid off the literary and art circles. The most prominent thing is still the redressing of many miscarriages of justice and misjudged cases within the literary and art circles. This redressing has

liberated the productive forces of the literary and art circles. This result can be seen most clearly among writers." After this, Wang Meng switched the subject of his talk to the 12th National Party Congress. He told this reporter that during the 12th National Party Congress, he learned that many representatives of the literary and art circles were at the congress such as Zhou Yang, Xia Yan, Zhang Guangnian and Ouyang Shan, veterans of the literary and art circles; He Jingzhi from Beijing; Lu Yanzhou from Anhui and Du Pengcheng from Shaanxi. After associating the presence of these people with his own election to an alternate member of the CPC Central Committee, he said: "Although I am nothing special as a person, all this shows that the central authorities attach importance to literature and art and show loving care for the vast numbers of literary and art workers. This also shows that the new prospects for literary and art work as opened up by the third plenary session will continue to exist."

Our Writers' Glorious Duty

After that Wang Meng discussed the duty of every literary and art worker to participate in the great cause of opening up new prospects for socialist modernization.

He held that literary and art workers must work hard for building socialist spiritual civilization and that they must conscientiously bring their work into the orbit of building socialist spiritual civilization.

Wang Meng said: "We can do a lot of things in this respect. This is because literary and art works can influence the people's sentiments, tastes and spiritual state." He noted: Over the past few years, there has been an increase in the number of literary and art publications and more and more films, plays, songs, novels and poems have emerged. These are good phenomena. Many of them are also good works. "However, there is no need for reticence on the fact that some works really do not show any high spiritual state or good taste." Wang Meng added: "Literary and art works play a great role in improving the people's spiritual state and in fostering lofty values. Therefore, writers must first deepen their own understanding and constantly improve themselves in the field of political ideology, cultural training and scholarly attainments. Scientists must scale the heights of science and technology and we writers must scale the heights of spiritual civilization including the heights of communist ideology and morality and the heights of cultural knowledge."

Speaking of our writers' duty Wang Meng felt that it is imperative to attach importance to the issue of showing loving care for and helping those youths who love literature and our young writers who are constantly emerging. Being imbued with enthusiasm, Wang Meng said: "I am now a middle-aged man. I think that the existence of so many Chinese youths loving literature is rare in modern or ancient times, in China or elsewhere. They are all good youths who have plenty of brains, keep forging ahead, love thinking and have great talent. (Of course, this does not mean that youths who do not love literature are not like that. Relatively young writers have been constantly emerging over the past few years. They are the hope of our country's literature." Wang Meng

candidly said: Some of these youths will in the future engage in literary creation and literary criticism. However, the great majority of them will play their role in other fields. Having a youthful spirit and being sensitive to things are their characteristics. However, due to the fact that generally speaking, they do not have much, or only have little, elementary knowledge of Chinese society, Chinese history, Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, their works contain relatively more descriptions of uncertainty, depression and vacillation. And a very few of their works create a value vacuum, show no sense of value, lack the criteria of ideals and morality, and depict the spiritual state of young people's personal struggles that are characterized by unscrupulousness. It is worthwhile to attach importance to these conditions. That is because these conditions not only affect the future of literature but also affect the future of our country. With regard to this issue, Wang Meng said: "It is imperative to show more loving care for and give more assistance to young people of this generation. More comrades should show concern for them, be their friends and assist them in opening up new prospects for their study, livelihood and work." He held that showing loving care for youths engaged in literature always means showing loving care for a generation of capable youths.

Constantly Seeking and Constantly Trying To Find Out

Wang Meng said: In reflecting real life and in carrying out the practice of art that benefits the building of socialist spiritual civilization, literature and art can never deviate from the guiding principle of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend during a free contest of art. Speaking of his plan for producing literary work, he said: "My personal ability is limited. However, in the field of the exploration of art, I am willing to constantly seek and to constantly try to find out things new so as to offer more means of artistic expression, more means of narration and more means of expression. After making some previous explorations, I have formulated this preliminary plan: I shall center my attention on characters, plots and description of psychological factors. I shall also try to produce some peripheral works such as fantasy, and humoristic, satirical, symbolic and metaphorical works." He said that he will also constantly open up new themes. He added: "All my previous produced works are related with historical experiences and lessons. From now on, I shall reflect more new contradictions and changes and more spiritual explorations made by the people during the new period."

Wang Meng is currently a member of the secretariat of the Chinese Writers Association, a vice chairman of the Beijing Municipal Writers Association, deputy head of the China Pen Center and a member of the editorial board of RENMIN WENXUE [PEOPLE'S LITERATURE]. He told this reporter that he will soon leave for the municipal suburbs and army units to observe and learn from real life. He said: "To me, plunging into the thick of life does not mean gathering source material with an attitude of being eager for quick success and instant benefit. My plunging into the thick of life is aimed at widening my field of vision, attentively listening to the pulse of our times, regarding life as a whole, observing changes in and trends of life and enriching my experience and understanding of life."

CSO: 4005/72

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON TAIPING HEAVENLY KINGDOM

HK141438 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 27 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Fang Zhiguang [2455 0037 0342]: "On the Strategic Gains and Losses of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom After Making Nanjing Its Capital"]

[Text] Not long after its army captured Nanjing, the Taiping heavenly kingdom decided to make Nanjing its capital on 19 March 1853 and called it Tianjing. Then it started an expedition to the east and captured Zhenjiang and Yangzhou on 31 March and 1 April, respectively. After that, the Taiping heavenly kingdom stopped going from place to place and fighting battles as it went. Strategically, it entered a stage of building base areas--"appointing officers and entrenching themselves."

Thirteen days after the Taiping army captured Nanjing, over 16,000 Qing soldiers led by imperial envoy Xiang Rong, who had followed the Taiping army from Guangxi, arrived in Nanjing and stationed themselves at Shazigang (later at Xiaolingwei), 20 li east of the city. Their camp was called the Great Jiangnan Camp. In the middle of April, imperial envoy Qi Shan and military affairs assistant Chen Jinsnou also led some 17,000 Qing soldiers to Yangzhou, stationing themselves at Leitangji and Maoerdun outside the city. Their camp was called the Great Jiangbei Camp.

Being surrounded in Tianjing by the Qing army in the north and the south, leaders of the Taiping heavenly kingdom should have concentrated their armed forces to annihilate the two camps of the Qing army in the north and the south in order to remove the fear of disturbance in the rear before attempting to capture other places. However, Hong Xiuquan and Yang Xiuqing did not think in this way. Ignoring the two camps of Qing soldiers which were near at hand, they rashly made the northern and western expeditions in May.

Regarding the strategic orientation of the leaders of the Taiping heavenly kingdom after making Tianjing as their capital, different views have existed for a long time in history circles. As early as the second year after the fall of the Taiping heavenly kingdom, Augustus F. Lindley, an Englishman, had already commented on this. He admitted that "the capture of Nanjing entirely changed the strategy of the heavenly king." But he also said: "It did not follow up its victory with hot pursuit of the panic-stricken Qing army and annihilate it,

but stayed in Nanjing to make it its capital instead." "This was indeed a fatal mistake." ("Personal Experiences in the Revolution of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom," pp 114-115) According to what Lindley thought, Hong Xiuquan and the others should have adhered to the correct mobile strategy of the Jintian uprising--"pressing on without letup until they captured Beijing, abandoning one city after capturing it" or "abandoning Nanjing and concentrating their forces on the southern provinces of Guangdong, Guangxi, Guizhou and Fujian." After the founding of new China, some comrades in the history circles agreed with Lindley's view and held that it was a serious strategic mistake to make Tianjing a capital. However, other comrades did not agree with the foregoing traditional conclusion and held that we should not confuse making Tianjing a capital with the strategic decisions made afterward. Thus, this involves the question of how to correctly assess the question of making Tianjing the capital of the Taiping heavenly kingdom and the question of its strategy afterward, that is, why the Taiping heavenly kingdom made the strategic decision of dividing its armed forces to launch the northern and western expeditions instead of attacking the Qing army's Jiangnan and Jiangbei camps.

Why did Hong Xiuquan, Yang Xiuqing and other leaders of the Taiping heavenly kingdom decide to divide their armed forces to launch the northern and western expeditions instead of attacking the two Qing army camps in the vicinity after they made Tianjing their capital? Recently, I read a passage describing how a French jesuit named Clavelin embarked on the warship "Cassini" and visited the generals of the Taiping army on 6 January 1854. This passage can help us a lot in trying to understand the above question.

It tells how a general of the Taiping heavenly kingdom replied to Clavelin's question on religion. "He told us that Hong Xiuquan was a pious believer. He liked to think independently and to find out the will of heaven, particularly when he was in difficulty. Whenever he met with difficulties, he would stay away from others and try to think of what measures he should take. After offering prayers, he would say: 'Heaven has enlightened me in this way.' Sometimes he would say: 'Heavenly Father or Jesus has come to enlighten me in this way.' As a matter of fact, the decisions he made often led to successes. No wonder the ignorant masses of people believed that he had really seen the Heavenly Father. For example, many leaders here wanted to attack the Qing army stationed outside the city and went to ask Hong Xiuquan to do so. After offering his prayer, Hong Xiuquan replied: 'Just now, heaven has enlightened me thus: let the Qing soldiers here fritter away their energy in idleness. Moreover, our picked troops are in the north at present. If we attack our enemy now, the Miasma of these devils will be blown to the north. We will surround them in the future. The kingdom of the devils will be completely destroyed.' At present, we all believe this will be so in the future." (See Jian Youwen's "The History of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom," Vol 1, p 537)

Clavelin followed French enboy Alphonse de Bourboulon on his visit to Tianjing. They embarked on the warship "Cassini" in Shanghai on 30 November 1853 and arrived at their destination on 6 December. On the following day, accompanied by Bourboulon's secretary Gu Si and interpreter Mr Ma, they met with

Huang Yukun and Lai Hanying. On the 10th, he went with Bourboulon and others to meet Dingtianhou Qin Rigang. That evening, Clavelin remained behind, staying there for 1 night and 2 days. Since he had a good command of Chinese, he was able to gather a lot of information from the generals of the Taiping heavenly kingdom. It is probable that Clavelin learned from Huang Yukun, Lai Hanying or Qin Rigang the recorded conversations concerning Hong Xiuquan mentioned above. Its truth is unquestionable.

This recorded material tells us that there were three reasons why Hong Xiuquan did not attack the Qing army camps which were nearby: he wanted to "let the Qing soldiers fritter away their energy in idleness." He wanted to divide the enemy forces so that "the Miasma of the Qing army would not be blown to the north." The main forces of the Taiping army were in the north and he lacked strength for attacking the two Qing army camps.

Comparing relevant records of the Qing government, I consider that the foregoing reasons why Hong Xiuquan did not attack the great Jiangnan camp and the great Jiangbei camp before sending his troops on the northern and western expeditions are basically reliable.

On 31 March 1853, the second day after he and the Qing soldiers led by him arrived in Tianjing, Xiang Rong learned that troops of the Taiping army "had already gone to Zhenjiang by water and captured it" and that other troops "had gone north to the Yangzhou area via Guazhou." He immediately proposed to Emperor Xianfeng an "attack" on Tianjing "to which reinforcements would certainly be sent" in order to check the Taiping army's advance to the east and the north. This was a strategy of "surrounding the Wei Kingdom to save the Zhao kingdom." On 17 April, Emperor Xianfeng agreed to Xiang Rong's proposal in the imperial edict saying that since the Taiping army "has divided its forces to harass Yangzhou, Zhenjiang and other places, the strength of the bandits entrenched in Nanjing and its vicinity is weakened and we can seize the opportunity to attack it. ...In short, if the attack and suppression in areas south of the Changjiang River is successful, the bandits will be prevented from harassing the north." Obviously, in those days, the Qing government tried to attack Nanjing in order to check the Taiping army's advance to the east and the north. On 22 June, a month after the Taiping army sent its troops on the northern and western expeditions, Xiang Rong discovered that the purpose of the Taiping army sending its troops in different directions to harass various localities was "to divide our forces so that we cannot concentrate them on attacking Nanjing." Four days later, Xiang Rong gave an even clearer answer to why the Taiping heavenly kingdom did not attack the two Qing army camps. He said: "The ringleaders attempt in vain to entrench in Nanjing, send their troops to harass various localities in order to divide our forces, tenaciously defend his positions in order to exhaust our soldiers and prolong the confrontation to shorten our military supplies. He is afraid that once the major troops are shifted, he will find it difficult to maintain his half of the country in the south and the east." This means that according to Xiang Rong, the reason why the leaders of the Taiping heavenly kingdom were not eager to destroy the great Jiangnan camp and the great Jiangbei camp after making Tianjing their

capital but "sent our their troops in separate detachments to harass Anhui and Henan in the north and Jiangxi in the south" ("Xiang Rong's Drafts of Memorials to the Throne," "The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom," Vol 7) was to "tire out our troops" and to "divide our forces." This is basically the same as those mentioned by Hong Xiuquan for not being eager to attack the two Qing army camps.

Viewed from the military practice of the Taiping heavenly kingdom after making Tianjing its capital, the strategy of Hong Xiuquan and others of dividing up their troops to make the northern and western expeditions before attacking the great Jiangnan Camp and the great Jiangbei Camp, to a certain extent, played the role of slackening the enemy's vigilance, dividing the enemy forces and tiring out the enemy troops, which helped to attain part of their strategic goal.

When the northern and western expeditionary troops triumphantly entered Henan and Jiangxi provinces, the Qing emperor sighed in despair that he was short of troops. He said: "Most of our picked troops of the north route are along the north and south banks of the Changjiang River. If we do not capture the three cities (Nanjing, Zhenjiang and Yangzhou) as quickly as possible, how can we have troops to reinforce Henan Province?" As a matter of fact, Xiang Rong had already sent General Qu Tend and his soldiers of the great Jiangnan Camp to intercept and suppress the Taiping troops in Henan and had sent General Deyinbu and his soldiers "to reinforce Jiangxi." Consequently, "military strength becomes weaker and the shortage of troops becomes more serious as a result of dividing the armed forces." Although Xiang Rong held that the Taiping army "intends to divide our armed forces by harassing various localities in order to delay our attack on the cities and that we will be tricked if we send troops to chase them," ("The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom," Vol 7) he was nevertheless led by the nose by the Taiping army. As a result, "the Qing soldiers became exhausted and were short of supplies."

Thanks to making Tianjing its capital and the northern and western expeditions, the Taiping heavenly kingdom prevented the Qing troops in the north from advancing toward the south and controlled a section of the Changjiang River from the Zhenjiang River to Jiangxi Province so that "ships can navigate freely carrying with them ample supplies to the bandits and enhance their morale!" ("A General Plan for Suppressing the Guangdong Bandit," Vol 57) Xiang Rong said that the number of Qing soldiers sent by the great Jiangnan Camp to fight in other places by February 1854 was "no more than 5,000-6,000." "In his memorial to the throne on 2 October, he said that this strategy of the Taiping heavenly kingdom leaders was to "tire out our soldiers and cause us to be short of supplies." "On the other hand, they can send their troops out in all directions to attack various localities. After they have captured a town or city, they entrench there. In this way, our forces are dragged along by them while these bandits can remain safely in places they have captured. This is why the bandits always have more soldiers than they need, whereas we do not have enough." ("The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom," Vol 7) Eventually, the Taiping heavenly kingdom concentrated its forces and smashed the great Jiangbei Camp and the great Jiangnan Camp in March and June 1856, respectively. The Taiping army's success in smashing the great Jiangnan Camp and the great Jiangbei Camp was inseparable from the strategy of Hong Xiuquan and others of slackening the enemy's vigilance, tiring out the enemy's soldiers and dividing

the enemy's forces. On 28 July 1856, Zhejiang provincial Governor He Guiqing said in his memorial to the throne: the great Jiangnan Camp "has become weaker and weaker as more and more soldiers are being sent to other places. I learned that when Xiang Rong first arrived there, he had nearly 20,000 soldiers but now he has no more than several thousand." In his posthumous memorial to the throne, Xiang Rong summed up the causes of the doom of the camps and said: "The bandits joined their forces together, whereas we separated ours. Our failure was deep-seated." This fully shows that after Hong Xiuquan and others made Tianjing their capital, they did not attack the great Jiangnan Camp and the great Jiangbei Camp immediately but started the northern and western expeditions, because they wanted to divide the enemy forces and tire out the enemy soldiers.

British consul T. f. Meadows held that "the purpose of the Taiping heavenly kingdom's northern expedition at that time was not to mount a large-scale offensive against Beijing but to try to divide up the military strength of the Qing government in the north and to prevent the Qing troops from coming down to the south in great numbers. The expeditionary troops were only a detachment for holding up the enemy forces. Therefore, the northern expedition was a success--it fulfilled the task of holding up the enemy forces." (Meadows: "The Chinese and Their Rebellions," p 181)

Meadows said that the Taiping heavenly kingdom's troops on the northern expedition were only a detachment for holding up the enemy forces and that the target of the expedition was not to capture Beijing but solely to divide the enemy's strength. Evidently, this is not completely in conformity with historical facts. However, I think that objectively speaking, Meadows had some grounds for saying that the northern expeditionary army "divided the strength of the Qing army in the north, preventing it from coming down to the south in great numbers." Zhang Dejian, who collected intelligence about the Taiping army for Zeng Guofan, said: the Taiping army "regards Nanjing as its stronghold and launched false offensives in the north. It actually obtains supplies from vast areas in Jiangsu, Anhui, Hubei and Jiangxi. It does not forget Hunan either. Its attention to the upper reaches is similar to that of a baby eager to be fed." ("Zhang Dejian: 'A Collection of Information About the Bandits'") This is clear proof.

However, viewed from the overall strategic situation, it was obviously a serious mistake that after Hong Xiuquan and others made Tianjing their capital, they started the northern and western expeditions instead of smashing the great Jiangnan Camp and the great Jiangbei Camp, which placed them in a passive situation.

After making Tianjing its capital, the Taiping heavenly kingdom had four major armies at that time: one was entrenched in Nanjing and the other was defending Zhenjiang and Yangzhou, which were to the east of Tianjing. The third was on the northern expedition and the fourth was on the western expedition. Each army consisted of 20,000-30,000 soldiers, and the total number of soldiers it had

amounted to about "100,000." The first two armies were for defending its capital, Tianjing, against the enemy troops in the great Jiangnan Camp and the great Jiangbei Camp. Hong Xiuquan's instructions for the northern expeditionary army were: "Take the shortest route and try to reach Beijing as quickly as possible. Avoid delays caused by attempts to capture cities." ("Draft of the Qing History," biography of Hong Xiuquan) The strategic target was to capture Beijing, and the mobile war principle of abandoning each city after capturing it, a principle which had been adhered to since the Jintian uprising, was concretely adopted. The western expeditionary army was to be on the offensive as well as on the defensive and its strategic target was to "open up new territories." It was to capture Anhui, Jiangxi, Hubei, Hunan and Sichuan in order to consolidate the base 'with Nanjing as its center' on the southern bank of the Changjiang River.

Viewed from the military practice in the 3 years after Tianjing was made a capital, although the strategy adopted by Hong Xiuquan and others also put the Qing army in a passive position, it brought them serious setbacks in the revolutionary cause. The northern expeditionary army committed the mistake of belittling the enemy and of rashly advancing into the enemy's rear, which was far from its base. It was not able to obtain reinforcement and, finally, was completely annihilated in May 1855. After he was captured, Li Xiucheng summed up the "ten mistakes" which brought about the fall of the Taiping heavenly kingdom, of which three were related to the failure of the northern expedition. He "regarded" Li Kaifang and Lin Fengxiang's defeat and death in the northern expedition as "a major mistake." After the defeat, the Taiping heavenly kingdom was never able to make another northern expedition.

In the beginning, one victory was won after another in the western expedition. Later, as a result of dividing up the troops for entrenchment, the expeditionary army became weaker and weaker. It suffered serious setbacks after the defeat in the Xiangtan battle on 1 May 1854. Towns and cities of great military importance on the upper reaches of the Changjiang River, including Wuchang, fell into the enemy's hands one after another. It was not until January 1855, when Hong Xiuquan and Yang Xiuqing sent the Yi prince, Shi Dakai, from Tianjing with relief troops to the west, that victories were again won. It can thus be seen that the western expedition was both a mistake of rashness and conservatism.

The eastern war zone, including Yangzhou, Zhenjiang and Tianjing, had all along been surrounded by the great Jiangnan Camp and the great Jiangbei Camp of the Qing army. Obviously, a conservative mistake of passive defense was committed. At the end of 1853, the Taiping heavenly kingdom abandoned Yangzhou in order to reinforce the northern expedition. Later, troops from the western front were again transferred to recapture Yangzhou. Clearly, the Taiping heavenly kingdom found it hard to cope with the situation. In February 1855, after the failure of the small sword society in Shanghai, the Qing army intensified its encirclement of Zhenjiang and Tianjing and the situation became more and more desperate. Again, Hong Xiuquan and Yang Xiuqing sent for Shi Dakai and Qin Rigang, with the main force from the western front, to save the situation. Only then were the two army camps of the Qing Dynasty, which had surrounded Tianjing for over 3 years, smashed respectively in March and June 1856. However, Zeng Guofan's Hunan army in Nanchang, which had been trapped, escaped.

That the Taiping heavenly kingdom made Tianjing its capital was an important change of its strategy in the early stage. During the process of this change, Hong Xiuquan and Yang Xiuqing put an end to their former warfare and adopted the principle of fighting wars with the support of rear areas. We should say that this was basically correct. However, after making Tianjing its capital, the Taiping heavenly kingdom immediately carried out the northern and western expeditions. Although certain anticipated results were made, the losses obviously outweighed the gains if viewed from the overall strategic situation. If, after making Tianjing their capital, the leaders of the Taiping heavenly kingdom had concentrated their forces on annihilating the great Jiangnan Camp and the great Jiangbei Camp before making the northern and western expeditions, the development of the situation would have been greatly different.

CSO: 4005/72

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES OF MINORITY NATIONALITIES REEXAMINED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Chen Wutong [7115 2745 2717]: "Correctly Handle our Country's Historical Wars Between Minority Nationalities and Various Han Nationality Dynasties"]

[Text] For a long time Chinese historical research on classical literature and literary works based on history were dominated by one major theme that all minority nationalities and their states located outside the borders of the various historical Han nationality dynasties of the central plains were "alien nationalities" or "foreign states"; that the wars they fought with those dynasties were "foreign aggression against China"; and that the rule over the central plains by a minority nationality was a "foreign invasion." This theme calls for reexamination.

I

To regard the minority nationalities as "alien nationalities" and "foreign states" is to equate the Han nationality or the various dynasties of the central palins with historical China, and to confine the historical boundaries of our country in the domains of the various dynasties of the central plains. This is a mistake which has arisen from conceptual confusions in the definitions of nationality and state, and a lack of distinction between the ancient and contemporary implications of "state" and "China."

Accoridng to Marxist principles, a nationality is a community whereas a state is a tool of class domination. The difference between the two is very clear. A state "identifies its citizens by means of geographical divisions." "Every state depends on the domiciles of its citizens to organize them" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 4 pp 166, 167). A nationality is identified with a specific region during its formative stage. After that, its members for economic or other reasons do not always remain in the same region, and often move to other localities which eventually become heterogeneous nationality regions. In a homogeneous state, there is no distinction between state and nationality. The distinction exists in a heterogeneous state. Citing Europe as an example, Engels said, "In every European country, there is, as a rule, one government in control of many nationalities." "The boundaries of a state do not agree with the natural or language boundaries of the nationalities" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels" vol 16 pp 175, 176). Our country

has been a multinationality state where the Han and other minority nationalities have lived together since antiquity without any distinct boundaries between them. Historically, no attempt had ever been made to redefine the boundaries of the country to agree with the domain of a nationality which had gained control of the state power. The domain ruled by the Shang Dynasty included the Man (tribes in southern China), the Yi (tribes in east China), the Rong (tribes of west China) and the Di (tribes of north China) which owed allegiance to it. "The Man, the Yi, the Rong and the Di still mingled with others in the interior" during the Spring and Autumn Period (Gu Jiangao: "Table of Major Events of the Spring and Autumn Period" 39, Introduction to "Tables of the Four Distant Tribal Groups"). The Qin Dynasty which destroyed the 6 kingdoms and established 35 prefectures which later expanded to 42 had within its domain large parts of the eastern Yi, the southern Man, the northern Di, and the western Rong, plus many minority nationalities who had settled down on the central plains.

During the time of the Qin and Han Dynasties, the Xiongnu (Han) founded their own state in the north after defeating 26 other states, including the eastern Hu; the Yuezhi to their west; the Kingdom of Henan at Loufan and Baiyang to their south; the Hunyu, Qushe, Dingling, Gekun, and Xinli to their north; and Yuzhi, Loulan, Wusun and Hujie. Thus, they controlled a multitude of nationalities. When the Han Dynasty replaced the Qin Dynasty, it extended its territory by chasing away the Hun in the north, defeating the Yues to the south, reaching out for central Asia, developing the Ordos region, and establishing prefectures for the Yi in the southwest. This brought more nationalities under its control. All the subsequent dynasties of the central plains and the states which bordered minority nationalities had, without exception, many nationalities within their respective borders. In a word, our country has been a multinationality state since antiquity.

The state, the product of a class society, changes in nature and scope as history develops and changes. A "state" in ancient China signified a state power based on slavery or feudalism and did not include all the nationalities and territory of China at that particular time. The fact that the characteristic economic self-sufficiency of the feudal society leads to inevitable political decentralization and separatism and that the various nationalities do not develop at the same pace explain why our country had, since the Qin Dynasty, an autocratic centralized feudal state, on the one hand, and a certain degree of feudal separatism in some areas, on the other. In time of unity, the regional political regimes of the minority nationalities still existed in distant bordering areas where the authority of the central plains dynasty could not reach. In time of dissension, the separatist regimes of these nationalities multiplied and proclaimed themselves "kings" or "states." These regimes have been known as "states" no matter whether they were unitary or regional, in the central plains or at the bordering areas, big or small in size and population. The nature of such precapitalist "states" differs from our contemporary concept of a "state" which denotes a country composed of various regional nationalities with a unified government, a unified system of law, unified national interests and a unified tariff system. This kind of state as we understand now is a product of the economic development of escalating capitalism. Our country did not become a state in this contemporary sense until the downfall the Qing Dynasty.

The ancient and contemporary implications of the term "China" (Central Kingdom) are different. In ancient times "China" did not imply a state. Every dynasty had its own reigning title and none had ever included "China" as a part of that title. At that time "China" was only a geographical and cultural concept the implications of which kept evolving as time went on. It generally referred to the royal capital at the time of both the Shang and Zhou Dynasties. It became a term to denote the central plains where the feudal kingdoms and principalities were during the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Periods. Since the days of the Qin and Han Dynasties, it had become the domain ruled by the dynasties of the central palins. This was true no matter whether that dynasty was founded by the Han or other minority nationalities. After the historical boundaries and component nationalities of our country became better defined as the country was finally unified by the Qing rulers, the term "China" was expanded to cover the territory and the nationalities, and the Qing government began for the first time to call our country "China" in its diplomatic transactions. The term "China" did not become the formal name of a modern state until after the founding of the "Republic of China" of "five nationalities" by the 1911 revolution which overthrew the Qing Dynasty. The nature of the state underwent a fundamental change when the People's Republic of China was founded by the Chinese Communist Party after it had led the people of all the nationalities to win the new democratic revolution. The people of all nationalities have become the masters of the state and the term "China" is now the name of a state which belongs to the people of all the nationalities, a scientific concept that reflects the reality of Chinese history.

Having clarified the difference between nationalities and states and the changing connotations since antiquity of "state" and "China," we see quite clearly that to equate the Han nationality or the dynasties of the central plains with historical China is contrary to the historical reality of China. The historical China included not only the Han nationality and the dynasties of the central plains but also all the minority nationalities and their states. The historical territory of China covered not only the areas under the control of the central plains dynasties but also the areas under the control of the states of the minority nationalities outside those dynasties. It is wrong to exclude from China the area controlled by any nationality and its state power.

The demarcation between China and foreign land based on the territorial boundaries of the Han nationality and the central plains dynasties is not only a mistake but also an understatement of the contribution of the minority nationalities to the history of China, and a denial of the political position of the minority nationalities as members of the Chinese nation and masters of the history of China. The history of China was created jointly by the people of all nationalities of the country. The Han nationality, no doubt, is the principal nationality of our country. Their advanced position in all areas helped them play a predominantly leading role in the formation of our country and in its political, economic and cultural development. But those minority nationalities with unique political, economic and cultural qualities have also contributed substantially to the historical development of our fatherland. The role played by the minority nationalities in the formation and development of our unified multinational state, for example, should never be overlooked. When the distant ancestors of the Han nationality founded a state power based on

slavery in the central plains, various other nationalities, including the Man, the Yi, the Rong, and the Di, participated actively in the political struggles of the day. Later, when the Qi, the Chu, the Yan, the Han, the Zhao, the Wei, and the Qin founded the seven small centralized states in the agricultural regions in both north and south China which they had consolidated separately, the eastern Hu and the Huns also established two separate nomadic military states in the grasslands of northern China. The Qin which had subdued the other six states established for first time in the history of our country a unified centralized multinational feudal state. When the Qin and Han Dynasties changed hands, the Huns also defeated the eastern Hu and founded a unified multinational Hun state in the north. Following the footsteps of the Qin, the Han Dynasty consolidated even more territories and nationalities. After prolonged war with the Han Dynasty, the Huns finally submitted to the authority of the Han, unifying the expansive agricultural and nomadic regions, a step forward in achieving a unified multinational state. In spite of subsequent periods of dissension, our country, pressured by the people of all the nationalities, worked persistently to unify more territories and nationalities. As a result, the extent of unification began to grow longer and longer. Unification has been the main thrust in the historical development of our country, during which the minority nationalities have united the border regions and occasionally a large part of China, paving the way for national unification of the whole country. The Mongols who founded the Yuan Dynasty and Manchus who founded the Qing Dynasty did even more to bring about the most extensive unification of the country. As Comrade Mao Zedong has said, the fact is that China could not go it alone without the minority nationalities. "The minority nationalities have helped the whole country and the whole Chinese nation politically, economically and in national defense." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 5 p 154) The minority nationalities which had contributed their share to the founding and the historical development of the fatherland are entitled to enjoy their political position as members of the Chinese nation and the masters of the hisotry of China. The state power they established both within and outside the central plains dynastic regime is by virtue of logic the state power of China.

II

Historically, the minority nationalities and their state power were part and parcel of China as a nation and a state. Even though they and the Han nationality dynasties of the central plains had opposed one another as aliens and Chinese, both were indivisible components of China as a whole, and the distinction between the Chinese and the aliens should not have existed at all. The historical wars between these minority nationalities and the ruling dynasties of the central plains were not wars waged against China by foreign powers. Nor were wars of "aggression" and "antiaggression." "Aggression" and "antiaggression" are terms used to describe the wars between modern sovereign states which have emerged with the rise of capitalism. The historical wars between the various nationalities of China, like the wars between the kingdoms of the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period and those between the Wei, Shu and Wu of the Three Kingdoms, were domestic matters, completely different than the wars waged by China against foreign aggression. "The Marxist principle requires that an analysis of any social problem should be done in its proper historical setting." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 2 p 512)

If we were to apply the modern rules of international relations to the historical wars in ancient China without considering the historical background, the difference between modern and ancient states, and the distinction between the domestic matters and foreign relations of a state, we would misinterpret the impact of time and geography.

To say that the historical wars between the nationalities of China were neither aggression nor antiaggression does not mean to rule out the question of right and wrong on the part of the belligerents. "The failure to distinguish the types of wars is wrong in principle and harmful in practice." ("Complete Works of Lenin," vol 35 p 184) We can apply the historical materialist principle and use the class analysis to pursue factual analysis of the historical wars between the nationalities of China in order to determine whether they were just or unjust, progressive or reactionary and give our approval or disapproval of those wars. Generally speaking, a war of plunder and oppression waged by the ruler of one nationality against another is unjust. A war waged by an oppressed nationality to resist plunder and oppression is just. The wars of rebellion waged by the top level elements of some nationalities to break up the country and to obstruct unity, such as the rebellions of the three vassal leaders and the rebellions by A-mu-er Sana during the Qing Dynasty, were reactionary. The wars waged by the central government to put down rebellions and safeguard unity were progressive in nature. While we must expose and denounce the wars to unify the country launched by the ruling dynasty of any nationality motivated by a desire to exploit and plunder, they deserve historical approval when the outcome of these wars objectively contributed to the development of a unified multinational state, and the advancement of the national economy and culture. We must also denounce wars among the rulers of different nationalities for the redistribution of wealth and power which seriously disrupted the livelihood of the people, and social production; such as Liu Yuan, a Xiongnu nobleman, who launched a war against the west Jin Dynasty, and then turned against the separatist regimes of the various nationalities in the north after the downfall the west Jin Dynasty.

The fact that some minority nationalities gained control of the central plains as a result of wars between the nationalities of China is very like the Han nationality emigrating to the border regions or opening up the border regions by any ambitious ruler. It is obviously unjustified to denounce it as a "foreign invasion." The minority and the Han nationalities share a common fatherland and should enjoy equal rights. The Han nationality of inland China are just as entitled to migrate to the frontier regions as the minority nationalities are free to move to the central plains. Moreover, some minority nationalities used to live in the central plains before they migrated, for various reasons, to the frontiers. Take Xiongnu for example. According to Wang Guowei's research, their distant ancestors, known as Guifang, once had their tribal center "between the Qian and Long, or further west" at the time of the Shang and Zhou Dynasties "although their entire domain extended from the northwestern border of the Zhou to the northeast." ("Guantang Jilin" vol 13 "Research on Guifang, Kunyi and Xianyun") According to the findings of this research, the Xiongnu were then in the present day Shaanxi and Shanxi before they migrated both north and south of the big desert. Since they had migrated from the central plains to the frontiers, why couldn't they return from the frontiers to the central

plains? Once they had returned to the central plains, they should not be criticized for establishing a ruling dynasty right there. Since the Han and other minority nationalities are members of the Chinese nation, any qualified nationality may establish a ruling regime in the central plains, although the quality of its rule is an entirely different matter. We cannot be racially biased to favor any one nationality. If we were, which one would we side with since the Han nationality assimilated many minority nationalities during the past several thousand years and has many distant ancestors?

We cannot deny that, historically, the rulers of those minority nationalities which gained control over the central plains inflicted during wartime horrible disasters, brutalities, calamities and sufferings upon the people of the other nationalities and also pursued oppressive and discriminatory policies and even imposed upon the central plains their backward method of production which resulted in severe obstruction and retardation of the social economy as a whole. We must expose and criticize such negative effects. We would betray the historical materialist approach if we were to overlook these negative effects, or deny the right of the other nationalities to resist them. This, however, is only one side of the matter. We must also take a look at the other side. The minority nationalities which gained control over the central plains actually contributed to the unification of China by strengthening the liaison between the frontier regions where they once lived and pushing forth economic and cultural exchanges leading toward the merging of all the nationalities. Moreover, driven by the law of social historical development, these minority nationalities finally abandoned step-by-step their time-honored mode of production but preserved the advanced mode of production of the Han nationality in the central plains. As they worked to adjust themselves to this mode of production and to absorb the Han culture, they began to feudalize and sped up the feudalization of themselves and the frontier regions. All of these had a positive impact on the historical development of China and should be accorded full recognition.

The historical relations of the nationalities of China are so complicated that they must be handled in accordance with the Marxist principle of the equality of nationalities. As Lenin has pointed out: "One who does not recognize and uphold the equality of nationalities," "is not a Marxist or even a democrat." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 20 p 11) As academic and literary workers living in a socialist era committed to the equality of nationalities, we must follow the Marxist principle of the equality of nationalities to deal with the minority nationalities by treating both contemporary and historical minority nationalities as equals and by recognizing without exception both the minority nationalities and the Han nationality as members of the Chinese nation and the masters of the history of China. This is the only way correctly to handle the historical relations of the nationalities of China and to work out an objective appraisal of the historical activities of the minority nationalities.

5360
CSO: 4005/1044

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

MAN NATIONALITY TROUPE--In accordance with the suggestions of enhancing cultural exchange and unity between nationalities, the Liaoning Song and Dance Ensemble came to Lanzhou to perform the Man Nationality fairy dance drama "Zhen Zhong Hu." In the evening of 9 October, Xiao Hua, (Du Yide), Feng Jixin, Yang Zhilin, Wang Bingxiang, Li Bin, (Lan Tianlin), Li Qiyang and other leaders watched the first performance in the People's Theater. The Man Nationality is a hard working nationality. They are good at assimilating and have created a splendid national culture. They are also rich in national literature and song and dance. "Zhen Zhong Hu" is a drama created by the Liaoning Song and Dance Ensemble according to Han folklore. [Excerpt] [HK120459 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 11 Oct 82]

CORBAN FESTIVITIES--Beijing, 30 Sep (XINHUA)--During the past few days, the people of all nationalities in Xinjiang, Ningxia and Guangzhou celebrated Corban, a traditional Islamic festival, with jubilation. On 29 September, the people of Hui Nationality in Ningxia put on new clothing, gave banquets, and held various sports, literary and art activities to joyously celebrate Corban. Leading comrades of the autonomous region as well as of the party, government and army in various localities joined with cadres and the masses of Han and other fraternal nationalities to hold tea parties and gala meetings. In the afternoon, Li Xuezhi, first secretary of the autonomous regional CPC committee, Ma Qingnian, chairman of the Standing Committee of the regional people's congress, Wang Jinzhang, chairman of the regional CPPCC committee, and other leading comrades separately went to people's communes and production brigades of Hui Nationality in suburban Yinchuan and called on the houses of retired veteran workers of Hui Nationality to extend them holiday greetings. [Excerpts] [OW030148 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1157 GMT 30 Sep 82]

GANSU CLEANUP CAMPAIGN--According to GANGSU RIBAO, on the afternoon of 30 September, Du Yide, commander of the Lanzhou PLA units, and Xiao Hua, first political commissar, led over 3,000 commanders and fighters of leading organs of the Lanzhou PLA units and the units stationed in Lanzhou Municipality to clean up the environment at the Lanzhou railway station, markets, theaters, parks and streets in (Xinghe) and (Nanchang) roads, [words indistinct] and at (Xiaojiawan). They have created a new situation in developing the campaign of five stresses and four points of beauty. Also joining the clean-up activity were leading comrades of the Lanzhou PLA units including (Dong Zhanlin), (Wu Huaheng), Liu Ling and (Cheng Keyun) as well as responsible comrades of organizations in Lanzhou. [Text] [SK020938 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 1 Oct 82]

SHAANXI CONSCRIPTION WORK--According to SHAANXI RIBAO reports, the Shaanxi provincial 1982 winter conscription work has started. The coverage and requirements of the current conscription are as follows: In rural areas, servicemen will be recruited from among youths with a junior secondary educational level or above who belong to families with relatively plentiful manpower; in cities and county towns, servicemen are only recruited from among class of 1982 graduates from senior secondary schools, and no staff members of or workers in administrative organs, enterprises and nonproductive public organizations or students at school will be accepted. The age limit in 1982 for male conscription candidates is 18-19 years old. Those class of 1982 graduates from senior secondary schools who are 17 years of age may also be accepted on a voluntary basis. Servicewomen will also be recruited on a voluntary basis from class of 1982 graduates from senior secondary school who will be 17 or 18 years old in 1982. [Text] [HK050922 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 0500 GMT 5 Oct 82]

NATIONAL DAY ACTIVITIES--Inspired by the magnificent objective and program of the 12th party congress, people of all nationalities in the region today joyfully took part in celebration activities marking the 33d anniversary of the founding of the PRC. In the morning, Wang Enmao, Gu Jingsheng, Ismail Amat, Tomur Dawamat and other leading comrades of the regional CPC committee and people's government celebrated the festival together with the people of all nationalities in Urumqi Municipality. "In the Xinjiang cement factory and the Urumqi nonferrous metal refinery, Comrade Wang Enmao listened to production reports made by leaders of the two factories and visited workers of all nationalities who were on duty on the occasion of the festival. He paid tribute to their achievements in production and encouraged them to make new contributions to creating a new situation in socialist modernization." "In the Urumqi Municipal Telecommunications Bureau, Comrade Gu Jingsheng, in high spirits, made a visit to wire rooms, operation rooms and others. In the telephone room, he asked for truck calls to Kuytum and Shihezi, requesting operators to convey greetings of the regional leading departments to the broad sections of staff and the workers of the two places on the very occasion of the festival." [HK041118 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 1 Oct 82]

CORBAN IN URUMQI--On the afternoon of 30 September, regional party and government leading comrades, including Wang Enmao, Gu Jingsheng, Ismail Amat and Tomur Dawamat, and Urumqi Municipal CPC Committee secretary Liu Sicong, went to the Yanan road residential district in Urumqi to send their season's greetings to the people of minority nationalities and join them in celebrating the Corban festival. Comrade Wang Enmao and other leading comrades visited the homes of some workers, cadres, residents, intellectuals and religious personages including (Shadeer), (Maimaiti) and so on, and carefully inquired of them about their work and living conditions. Every courtyard was full of the cordial atmosphere of unity between the cadres and the masses and between nationalities. On the morning of 30 September, Gu Jingsheng, Huang Luobin and other comrades also went to the July First General Cotton Textile Mill and celebrated the Corban festival with the textile workers of all nationalities. [Text] [HK041120 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1650 GMT 1 Oct 82]

SPORTS MEET--Beijing, 2 Oct (XINHUA)--Two thousand pigeons were released among warm applause of 70,000 people at three o'clock this afternoon in the Beijing Workers' Stadium to celebrate the closing of the 6th municipal sports meet which opened July 2. During the past three months, 8,000 athletes participated in competitions in 26 events including track-and-field events, swimming, weight-lifting, shooting, ball games, chesses, gymnastics, and martial arts. Three national records were broken. Present on the occasion were Peng Chong, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Hu Zi'ang and Qian Changzhao, vice-chairmen of the National Committee of the Chinese people's political consultative conference, Duan Junyi, first secretary of the municipal party committee, Jiao Ruoyu, mayor of Beijing, Xu Yinsheng, vice-minister of the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission and Zhong Shitong, chairman of the All-China Sports Federation. Comrade Hoang Van Hoan was also present. [Excerpts] [OW021258 Beijing XINHUA in English 1244 GMT 2 Oct 82]

CSO: 4000/7

END

JPRS 82183

8 November 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 358

JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE
25
ANNIVERSARY

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82183

8 November 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 358

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Contradictions Among Western Countries Analyzed
(Yang Xu; SHIJIE ZHISHI, 1 Aug 82)..... 1

PARTY AND STATE

Need To Crack Down on Economic Crimes Reemphasized
(Xiao Dong; JIEFANG RIBAO, 8 Aug 82)..... 8

Fujian Celebrates Convocation of Party Congress
(Editorial; FUJIAN RIBAO, 2 Sep 82)..... 10

Transformation of Cadres Needed To Realize Aims of Communism
(Ji Bai; RENMIN RIBAO, 30 Aug 82)..... 12

Central Party School Trains 17,000 Cadres in Marxist Doctrine
(RENMIN RIBAO, 25 Aug 82)..... 14

Heilongjiang's Party Organizations Reshuffle Party Committee Membership
(RENMIN RIBAO, 1 Sep 82)..... 15

Conference Urges Stronger Administration of Civil Justice in Shandong
(DAZHONG RIBAO, 10 Aug 82)..... 17

Superiority of Communist Ideal Stressed
(Yi Mu; JIEFANG RIBAO, 26 Aug 82)..... 19

Ideal Communist Ideology, Practice Discussed
(Qi Xingzhi; FUJIAN RIBAO, 30 Aug 82)..... 21

Shandong Forum Held on Rectifying Party's Grassroots Organization
(Zu Jian; DAZHONG RIBAO, 20 Aug 82) 23

Shandong Peasants Support Draft Revised Constitution
(DAZHONG RIBAO, 1 Jun 82) 25

Model Party Member's Integrity at Work Cited
(Wang Jinming; DAZHONG RIBAO, 10 Aug 82) 27

Statutory Principles of Policymaking Explained
(Yu Desheng; KEXUEXUE YU KEXUE JISHU GUANLI, No 6, 1981) 29

Eventual Victory of Communism Said To Be Inevitable
(Zhu Fuxun; SHANXI RIBAO, 3 Sep 82) 36

Communism Lauded as Objective Truth
(Zhong Wen; HEBEI RIBAO, 3 Sep 82) 40

'Manifesto' Analyzed as Outline of Marxist Politics
(Wang Bangzuo; Sun Guanhong; FUDAN XUEBAO (SHEHUI KEXUE BAN), 20 Sep 82) 43

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Need To Strengthen Ideological Education of Youths Emphasized
(Li Yanjie; SICHUAN RIBAO, 23 Aug 82) 52

Article Reports on Computer Science at Nanjing University
(Wen Youxin; GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN, Apr 82) 57

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

State Council, CPC Shakeup by Deng, Hu Examined
(Luo Bing; CHENG MING, Sep 82) 62

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CONTRADICTIONS AMONG WESTERN COUNTRIES ANALYZED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 82 pp 2-4

[Article by Yang Xu [2254 4872]: "Dissecting European-American Contradictions"]

[Text] The meeting of heads of seven Western countries at Versailles in Paris on 4-6 June and the meeting of the NATO heads of state in Bonn on the 10th both centered their discussions on the common economic policies of the Western countries and their strategy for coping with the Soviet Union. Their background is: During the past few years, contention between the United States and the Soviet Union for world hegemony has become increasingly intensified; the Western countries are faced with the most serious and sustained economic crisis since the war. With each [nation] proceeding from its own interests, differences of opinion between the European and American states have become increasingly pronounced and their domestic and foreign policies likewise have become considerably different. In order to deal with the offensive of Soviet expansionism jointly, so as to come through the economic crisis together, the European and American states urgently needed to get together to discuss their grand policies in order to coordinate their stand and do their best to take consistent steps.

Content of Differences

European-American differences are reflected in a concentrated manner in three aspects of strategy: coping with the Soviet Union, economic policies, and Third World policies.

Differences in strategy for Coping With the Soviet Union. Since the war, the ratio of U.S.-Soviet strength has continued to change. Since the 1970's, the United States has continued to suffer disadvantages in the process of its contention with the Soviet Union for world hegemony; it has already felt handicapped in using its armed forces as a deterrent. While seeking detente over a 10-year period it has, contrary to its wishes, let the Soviet Union become stronger, and it finds itself far less able to constrain the latter's external expansion. And because of the decline of America's strength, its allies in Western Europe have been developing political and economic relations which have further weakened America's ability to control its allies. In reality, the hegemonist system that the United States established in the West after the war has already begun to collapse. The United States recognizes that it matters are allowed to drift on, the alliance relationship is liable to become shaky and America's ground in the Third World will also be lost. Before Reagan came to

office, the feelings in America's political circles had already undergone some changes: they began to regard detente as more harmful than beneficial, forcefully suggested a stiffening of attitude toward the Soviet Union, and demanded that the allies strengthen their armaments, deploy intermediate-range nuclear weapons, mete out economic sanctions against the Soviet Union, limit their development of economic relations with the Soviet Union, etc. Since Reagan has been in office, generally speaking the United States has adopted an attitude and policy toward the Soviet Union harder than before.

In contrast to this, the West European countries think that what detente has brought to Europe is more beneficial than harmful, mainly in the economic aspect. In the case of West Germany in particular, it was during these years of detente that it established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and the East European countries and developed economic exchanges with them. The signing of the four-power Berlin Agreement served to mollify the warlike atmosphere in West Berlin, and relations between East and West Germany became ameliorated. The West European countries also think that the policy of detente may help gradually strengthen the centrifugal tendency toward the Soviet Union on the part of the East European countries; the Poland incident indicates that the Soviet Union's backyard is by no means stable. They think that as long as such contradictions develop but do not explode, they will keep the Soviet Union from minding much of the affairs of Western Europe and thereby faciliate the stability of the situation in Europe as a whole. The West European countries propose to have "both defense and detente": to have "adequate military capabilities in order to maintain the balance of forces," on the one hand, and to promote a "policy of detente" with the Soviet Union so as ultimately to establish a "sustained peaceful order" in Europe, on the other hand (Hammel's [Hamoer] report at the NATO Council of Ministers in December 1967). The West European countries are not opposed to strengthening their armaments, but they maintain that they must first negotiate with the Soviet Union in order to reduce the other side's armaments to the lowest level possible. They condemn the Soviet Union's policy of external expansion and aggression and also feel that the Soviet threat to Western Europe is becoming increasingly serious, but they are reluctant to stem the channels of negotiation with the Soviets. They not only do not wish to limit the development of their economic relations with the Soviet Union but also seek to close a deal with the Soviet Union on natural gas from Siberia and further expand such economic relations with them.

Differences in Economic Policy. The Western countries are faced with the three big problems of high unemployment, high inflation, and economic stagnation and decline. Reagan attempts to stimulate an economic resurgence through a large-scale tax reduction combined with a simultaneous tightening of the money supply and credit loans. As a result, investment has not increased but the interest rate for loans has quickly shot up. Considerable capital from Western Europe flows to the United States. The exchange rate of the American dollar keeps rising, resulting in sustained instability in the international money and trade market. This has produced a negative effect on West European countries in two respects: One is that the American dollar continues to hold good, whereas the currencies of the West European countries remain flabby (within only a year and a half, the exchange rate for the American dollar vis-a-vis the other principal currencies of the West has shot up about 30-60 percent) and their expenses for

importing energy and raw materials therefore go up, resulting in an increase in the rate of inflation in some West European countries. The other is that in order to prevent the exodus of their capital, the West European countries are forced to raise their own interest rates; as a result, their investment has failed to rally and their economic recovery has thus become hampered. In the case of Britain's GNP, after its 1980 decline of 2.3 percent, it again declined in 1981 by 1.2 percent. West Germany's GNP declined by 0.3 percent in 1981; the estimate this year is that it will not increase more than about 0.5 percent. Although France's GNP increased by 0.3 percent in 1981, its inflation rate has stayed at 14 percent. Therefore, leaders of the West European countries have repeated compalined about the damage that America's high interest rate policy has been doing to the West European economy.

Differences in Dealing With Third World Questions. First of all, there are different views as to the root source of the instability in the developing countries. The United States indiscriminately regards this as a result of the Soviet Union's expansion of its sphere of influence. The West European countries, on the other hand, think that the Soviet Union's external expansion constitutes only the external cause of these countries' instability, whereas the fundamental cause lies in these countries' backwardness and poverty, which provide the Soviet Union with opportunities to make inroads there. The United States also often makes a distinction as to whether or not a country is anti-Soviet and anticommunist; all such regimes that are, would be given support. The West European countries, on their part, propose to put pressure on all political forces in these countries and help these countries to carry out certain policies of reform in order to mitigate their domestic class struggles. They hold that, in supporting the military dictatorships of some of these countries, the U.S. policy is shortsighted, and that while it might have some temporary effect in deterring Soviet influence, in the long run it can hardly remove the fundamental cause of instability in these countries. They propose to proceed from the West's long-range interests, adopt a gradual, reformist policy, and channel the Third World's national liberation movements into the West's course so that they will not be susceptible to Soviet instigation and control. Hence, on the policy approach to problems in this regard, including South-North relations, European and American practices are not coordinated and often run counter to each other. After Reagan assumed office, he adopted a policy based on maintaining America's interests in the Western Hemisphere, endeavored to improve America's strategic position in the world, and intensified the sturggle to counter the Soviet Union. The United States thinks that any interference in Latin America threatens U.S. global strategy; the United States not only is engaged in a struggle with the Soviet Union for spheres of influence in this area but also is suspicious of any increase in West European influence in Latin America. On problems like Nigaragua, El Salvador, etc, Europe and America play different tunes and hamper each other's efforts there; this is precisely a reflection of the contradiction between them.

Whence the Differences

The rise of differences between Europe and America can be attributed to multifarious and complicated causes. On the one hand, as the Soviet Union has advanced into Afghanistan, moved forward in the Middle East, and threatened the

oceanic routes for oil transportation, the West European countries have heightened their vigilance toward the Soveit Union. On the other hand, along with the decline in America's strength, the West European countries feel that the latter's nuclear protection is no longer reliable, and they have a growing suspicion that the United States might seek a way out or fight a partial nuclear battle in Europe. Under such circumstances, European-American differences have deepened. Concretely analyzed, they are shown in the following aspects:

One is that Europe and America are situated in different circumstances. Europe is the strategic center of gravity in the Soviet-American struggle for hegemony; America is located far from the European theater but tries very hard to retain its established interests and battleground. Europe is situated in the forefront of the confrontation of the two groups; it is also the source and battlefield of both world wars; the people's memory of the last war is still fresh. Today, factors concerning the danger of war continue to increase, the two sides have both stationed heavy armed forces in Europe, and the nuclear weapons they have deployed and stockpiled are more than enough to destroy the whole of the European continent. Some personalities in Western Europe cannot avoid being worried about all this, and hence they hope to achieve some temporary peace in their own corner.

A second is that the degrees of dependency on foreign trade and raw material energy sources by Europe and America are different. Today, West Europe's total volume of foreign trade greatly exceeds that of the United States. When the 1978 proportions of export commodities and services to their respective GNP's are compared, those of the United States make up 8.4 percent; those of West Germany, 27.1 percent; those of Italy, 24.6 percent; and those of France, 20 percent. Three-fourths of the Soviet Union's trade with the West is transacted with Western Europe, and Western Europe's dependence on Soviet sources of energy and raw materials has already become sizable. For instance, the petroleum that the Soviet Union exported to Western Europe in 1978 made up 7-8 percent of Western Europe's total consumption, and the natural gas, 10 percent (25 percent [of the natural gas went] to Italy, 16 percent to West Germany, and 14 percent to France).

A third is that, because of the change in the ratio of strength between Europe and America, America's ability to control its West European allies has been greatly weakened. In 1979 the GNP of the nine countries of the European Community for the first time exceeded that of the United States, amounting to $3.3 trillion and making up 23 percent of the world's total. The nine countries of the European Community have already achieved first place in world trade, with 34.7 percent of the total volume; U.S. trade makes up 11 percent; their steel production amounts to 140 million tons, which exceeds America's 126 million tons; their passenger cars make up 32 percent of the world's total production, while U.S. production has decreased to 29 percent. During the 10 years form 1969 to 1979, the European countries' share of NATO expenses increased from 23 percent to 42 percent. Because of such changes in the strength ratio, the status of the United States as the hegemon in the Western alliance is now facing a challenge: Western Europe is no longer the docile, obedient junior partner of the United States but an "equal partner" demanding independence and self-determination.

A fourth has to do with differences arising from different political party systems. Among the Western countries, there exist basically two political party systems: one is that of the conservative parties, such as America's Republican Party, Britain's Conservatives, and West Germany's Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union; they all belong to this category. The other is the socialist party system, such as the British Labor Party, the French Socialist Party, the West German Social Democratic Party, etc; America's Democratic Party is in general close to that system. The points of emphasis in the domestic and foreign policies of these two big systems are somewhat different. In terms of economic policy, conservative parties are often inclined to adopt policies centering on control of inflation; the main-current factions of social parties under most circumstances would advocate policies aimed mainly at solving problems of unemployment. Both France and Germany have socialist parties in power, and their criticism of U.S. economic policies has been therefore even more drastic; to a great extent, that stems precisely from this kind of background. It has been revealed that a study report by the Premier's Office in West Germany holds that the American and British Governments usually adopt an indifferent attitude toward poverty, unemployment, and such other social problems and hence threaten the stability of their societies. Rather than constituting a difference between the countries of Europe and America, such a difference of opinion may well be said to be a difference between the different political parties of the Western countries.

A fifth is the contradiction between the interests of Europe and America. This is saliently reflected in their economic policies. Western countries often use their neighbors as their refuge by making gains at other people's expense. And differences in their policies toward the Third World also reflect a struggle for benefits. The sharpening of differences between Europe and America in this regard reflects precisely a radicalization of the struggle of the Western countries for raw mateirals and market during their current economic crisis.

Coordination of Policies, Mitigation of Contradictions

The two meetings of Westerm heads of state were convened precisely against the above background. In order to mitigate the disgruntled sentiments of his West European allies, Reagan on the eve of his visit to Europe issued a series of talks and policy announcements to assure them that the United States would not follow an isolationist path or withdraw its troops from West Europe. He also put forward in succession proposals concerning disarmament talks on strategic nuclear weapons, medium-range nuclear weapons, and conventional forces in order to mollify the West European countries. Before the meetings, the European and American sides also consulted with each other repeatedly in order to achieve common views. Thus, prior to the two meetings this time, the tense relations between the European and American sides were relaxed to a certain degree. The meetings touched mainly on questions having to do with the following four aspects:

1. With regard to the economy, both the European and the American sides hoped to "control inflation and increase employment, as well as promote the steady growth of their economies," and opposed each following its own particular course without paying attention to that of the others, so that the fallen track of world economic depression of the 1930's would be avoided. But in respect to

West European protests against high interest rates, the United States made no concessions; while agreeing to intervene in the matter of the exchange rate, it proffered no concrete measures. As for how to overcome the current economic crisis, no panacea could be found; the countries concerned would follow their own respective course according to their own circumstances. Because the economic policies of the European and the American side are likely to influence each other, it is expected that the differences and contradictions in this regard will still undergo ups and downs from time to time.

2. As for economic relations with the Soviet Union, the United States vigorously strove to limit trade with the Soviet Union, prescribe concrete limits on credit loans, refrain from providing interest rate subsidies, raise credit loan interest rates, etc. But because of vehement opposition by other Western countries, especially France and West Germany, all this has not been consistently realized. Documents of the meetings merely indicate in general that the development of economic relations with the Soviet Union conforms to the West's "political and security interests" and there is need to supervise the exporting of strategic goods. On this question, the European-American contradictions are saliently reflected. The United States proposes forcing the Soviet Union to change its policies through a limitation of trade with the Soviet Union, but Western Europe thinks that maintaining economic relations with the Soviet Union may help establish stable relations between East and West. Hardly one week after Reagan did his fence-mending, pacifying work in West Europe (on 18 June), he suddenly and without advance consultation with the allies in Western Europe announced an extension of sanctions against exports to the Soviet Union; this aroused vehement opposition on the part of the West European countries. (See the article in our last issues, entitled "A New Round in U.S. Economic Warfare Against the Soviet Union.")

3. With regard to military affairs, defense, and security, a common stand acceptable to the European and the American side was affirmed; the U.S. nuclear umbrella is indispensable; external expansion by the Soviet Union should be reproached; efforts should be made to strengthen defense without seeking superiority; a balance should be maintained at the lowest possible level; realization of "genuine detente" was advocated; efforts by the Warsaw Pact countries to secure military-related Western technology should be constrained; NATO's sphere of action should be expanded; disarmament talks with the Soviet Union should be promoted over reduction of strategic nuclear weapons, medium-range nuclear weapons, and conventional forces; and the convening of a meeting to discuss confidence-building in Europe and questions of the like was proposed. As for the crucial difference between Europe and America--whether to subdue the Soviet Union by expanding armaments and war preparations or by maintaining relations of detente with the Soviet Union and entrusting hopes to internal "peaceful evolution" inside the Soviet group; whether to maintain the balance through expanded armaments or through disarmament--this is still not reconciled.

4. With respect to the Third World, the United States accepted to a certain extent the views of the West European countries. For example, agreement was reached on global negotiations, recognizing that the draft resolution put forward recently by the Group of 77 may be taken as the basis for consultation among the countries concerned; economic aid to the developing countries should be increased in order to remove poverty, hunger, and other such factors that contribute to instability. But on concrete policies for coping with South-North relations, there is still a gap.

In a word, the two meetings of the heads of state affirmed common European-American economic policies and strategic goals, clearly defined the limits up to which the two sides could compromise and yield to each other when views are found to be divergent and interests do not appear to be consistent, but at the same time [the meetings] further exposed the differences and contradictions that will affect European-American relations hereafter. It remains to be seen how much practical effects the agreements reached at these two meetings will have. But the extended sanctions against the Soviet Union by the United States and the resignation by Haig have obviously cast a new shadow on European-American relations. While Europe and America will coordinate their policies and readjust their relations from time to time hereafter, along with the intensification of the Soviet-American struggle and the turmoil and change in the international situation, plus the state in which the Western capitalist world finds itself bogged down in crises and finds it hard to recover for long periods, European-American differences and contradictions may well sharpen still further.

9255
CSO: 4005/6

NEED TO CRACK DOWN ON ECONOMIC CRIMES REEMPHASIZED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 8 Aug 82 p 4

[Commentary by Xiao Dong [5618 0392]: "'Tigers' and 'Flies'"]

[Text] The crack down on serious economic criminal activities is a good measure that has great popular appeal. Each time a big case is publicized in the press, people always discuss it in an excited and pleased manner; sometimes they also applaud with delight, saying that this case is being handled well and this "tiger" deserves to be beaten.

In the case of such criminals, the illegal gains of some of them are considerable and those of others are minor, but the damage they render to the state is always great. Among the criminals, some are even cadres in our party and state organs. Thus they not only render serious economic damage to the state but also ruin our party workstyle and civilian customs with very bad political impact. Hence, there is reason for people to commend such handling of a major case in terms of beating a "tiger," for grasping such a case is like grabbing the ox by the nose in such a struggle. This struggle concerns the rise and fall of our party and state, and this handling of major cases and important cases is in turn the key which determines whether or not this struggle can achieve the necessary successes. By vigorously handling them the way we are today, and handling them in a down-to-earth way through to the end, the economic criminal activities and unhealthy practices will all be swept away, the people's confidence in the construction of our socialist modernization will be further enhanced, and their zeal in work will become greater and greater. Therefore, dealing with such major cases and important cases as quickly as possible--i.e., going into the mountains to "beat the tigers"--is a matter of first importance.

After beating the "tigers," do we still need to swat the "flies?" This is something that merits people's thinking. Recently, it has been cloudy and rainy for a long time; in addition, people throw watermelon rinds everywhere and spill hogwash everywhere, and flies have started to multiply under such circumstances; in some locations they fly around in swarms and become rather fierce. If allowed to spread, they are likely to threaten people's health. Compared to the "tigers" in the economic realm, the "flies" may be said to be rather small, but the area to which they spread and their absolute numbers are by no means small, and when these are added together, the havoc they create for the state and the collectives is quite great. Viewed from the way economic crimes have developed,

some big "tigers" have really grown from small "flies." Especially, the pollution they have brought to our social customs and the corrosion they are working on people's souls are very serious. Hence, in order to build an advanced spiritual civilization, we should also have a clear-cut stand and firm attitude toward these "flies" in the economic realm and seek to wipe them thoroughly clean.

What we mean by "elimination" here, of course, is not the physical elimination of people. In serious economic criminal activities, we must carry out a resolute crackdown; this so-called "crackdown" mainly means, except in outrageously offensive cases, sentencing them to imprisonment--for more than 10 years in more serious cases and for a few years in lighter cases. With respect to the "flies," some should also be punished according to the law, while some may not need to be. But in order to learn from past mistakes so as to avoid future ones, we should deal with them according to our party discipline or subject them to solemn criticism and education.

A discussion like the above is meant to suggest merely that as we strategically beat the "tigers," we also must not forget to swat the "flies." But some comrades think that since this struggle is called a crackdown on serious economic criminal activities, at their places there seem to be no serious ones to crack down on; hence they simply take no action and go to sleep. Yet it is precisley these so-called "clearwater offices" that turn out to be the dens sheltering dragons and tigers: there are those who commit corruption and accept bribes; there are those who steal and deceive; there are those who clandestinely sell cultural relics and print counterfeit vouchers; and there are those who filch economic information. And most of them are discovered by public security organs or in their residential alleys and streets, and their own respective units come to know about them only after the criminals are taken to prison. This shows that no conclusion can be made as to whether or not a place has any problems until a full investigation and study are carried out. Even if no "tigers" are present, efforts must be still made to swat the "flies," and these really do exist rather generally. If there really are no "flies," either, then swatting some "mosquitoes" would be fine, too. Today, "mosquitoes" are extremely active in some places, and their harm is by no means secondary to that of the "flies."

9255
CSO: 4005/33

PARTY AND STATE

FUJIAN CELEBRATES CONVOCATION OF PARTY CONGRESS

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Sep 82 p 2

[Editorial: "Warmly Hail the Triumphant Convocation of the 12th Party Congress"]

[Text] With extremely excited feelings, the more than 700,000 communists and vast ranks of the cadres and masses of Fujian Province warmly hail the triumphant convocation of a 12th CPC Congress that is of great historic significance!

In early August, the glad tidings of the decision of the Seventh Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee to convene the 12th Congress on 1 September brought great excitement to the vast ranks of the party members, cadres, and masses of our province. During the past 20-plus days, as we look back at the great changes that have taken place on the province's political, economic, and cultural fronts since the Third Plenary Session, we deeply feel that since the Third Plenary Session, our party has already accomplished the formidable task of returning to order from disorder in its guiding ideology and also has achieved the important victories of returning to order from disorder in the practical undertakings on the various fronts and of realizing a historic major shift. On this basis the 12th Party Congress, by summing up our experiences, is going to enrich and develop the line, principles, and policies since the Third Plenary Session and put forward the strategic targets and various tasks in our economic construction; by means of our new party constitution it is going to propel our party's ideological construction and organizational construction toward a still higher level; it is going to elect a new Central Committee and elect a Central Advisory Committee and the Central Committee for Inspection of Discipline in order to make our party center an even more vigorous command headquarters to lead the people of the country's various nationalities in their earnest struggle to bring about an all-round new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization.

Today, the foremost task that lies before the party members and masses of our province is study. Party organizations at various levels must organize the vast ranks of the party members and cadres and masses to seriously study and extensively propagate the important documents and related resolutions such as the Central Committee report, the CPC Constitution, and the report by the Central Committee for Inspection of Discipline which this congress is going to examine and pass. During such study and propagation, they must keep in close touch with the reality of their own respective localities and units so as to try to understand time and again the fundamental spirit of this congress, as

well as the path for continued advance, the strategic steps, and the principles and policies determined by this congress, and thereby further unify the understanding of the province's vast ranks of party members and masses and welcome the new victories of the cause of our socialist modernization.

The banner of the Communist Party is communism. Ever since the founding of our party, it has taken the realization of communism as our maximum program and goal of struggle. The 12th Party Congress is going to clearly give prominence to communist ideology and indicate once again our determination to hold high the communist banner and struggle on generation after generation until our ultimate victory. Under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th Congress, the vast ranks of our party members and cadres must lead the people of the whole province to earnestly struggle, accomplish the various fighting tasks put forward by the 12th Congress, and bring about a new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization in Fujian. Fujian is a province that is carrying out special policies and flexible measures; on the one hand, we must insist on the policy of opening up to the outside world and enliven our economy internally, while on the other hand we must remain vigilant toward the influence of external capitalist thinking. And for the purpose of resisting corrosion by capitalist ideology, the most powerful weapon is nothing other than communist ideology. Let us hold high our communist banner and forge triumphantly ahead!

9255
CSO: 4005/11

PARTY AND STATE

TRANSFORMATION OF CADRES NEEDED TO REALIZE AIMS OF COMMUNISM

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Ji Bai [2478 4101] "Pioneering and Maintaining"]

[Text] In reading Comrade Hu Yaobang's 20 July speech to middle-aged and young cadres, I feel that the reason his expectations for middle-aged and young cadres were so eager actually has to do with the great question of a country doing pioneer work and then having to maintain what was accomplished in the earlier period.

Regarding this question I shall first quote a passage beginning with the reply to the Tang emperor Tai Zong when he asked his attendants which was more difficult, pioneering government or maintaining it: "Xuan Ling said: 'In the dim beginnings, when you have had to contend with both the masses and the powerful, and then all was subject to you, how difficult is the pioneering of government!' Wei Zheng said: 'From ancient times with regard to emperors and kings there has been none who did not acquire what he had through great difficulties, or who did not lose it through being too much at ease; maintaining what one has acquired is, alas, difficult' The one above [the emperor Tai Zong] said: "Suan Ling and I took power together, and of 100 who went out into battle, only one returned alive, and so, we know well the difficulties of getting started. Zheng and I keep things under control, but we're often afraid someone among the rich and powerful may try to take things over, or some disaster may happen because of something we have overlooked; therefore, we know the difficulty of maintaining things. In any case, the difficulty of pioneering, at least, is over with; the difficulty of maintaining is what we face with everyone at present.' Isn't what history referred to as the "government of Zhen Guan" not just words of praise that someone has imposed on history.

Does not similar problem also exist with us at present? I think it does. But the difference is that the pioneering work that we are speaking of is not a repetition of the feudal pioneering work of the emperor's court, but the great change of the socialist system. And the maintaining we are talking about is neither excessive conservatism, nor sticking to conventions, nor being satisfied with the status quo, idly enjoying the fruits of others' labors; it is rather that we must, on the basis of carrying on the enterprise pioneered by the old generation of proletariat revolutionaries, develop our enterprise further. This is by way of fulfilling the ideals which the

generation sought after, i.e., the ideal of Marxism, advancing generation by generation towards the great ideal of communism. The difficulty of pioneering, as everyone clearly knows, has gone through about 30 years of bitter practice, and the amount of sacrifice made in it has been very great. But as for the difficulty of maintaining, from the point of view of being a Marxist, one must be clearly aware of the fact that there will be a long road to realizing the ideal of communism, and it is decidedly not an enterprise that can be completed in only one or two generations; a whole communist echelon will be required to complete it. Before are those who prepare the way; after, are those who carry on, and middle-aged and young cadres are an indispensable link in this echelon formation. We are also traveling a historically unprecedented road, and will necessarily meet with a great many difficulties from within and without, and we will definitely have to pay a price difficult to estimate; therefore, we must also take care to forge the character necessary to meet with and overcome difficulties.

The realization of the four modernizations will be a great step forward towards communism. And whether or not there is any hope for the "four modernizations" will depend on whether or not cadres can undergo their own four changes;" at present, this really is in the nature of a "pressing strategic task." Among the four changes required of cadres, I consider that becoming more knowledgeable and more professional will become more and more important. Because, as far as being more revolutionary is concerned, we have excellent examples to follow, and being more youthful is a matter of the natural course of a person's life, so that there remain only being more knowledgeable and more professional which practically up till now have not been given enough attention; this is the historical cause of the situation that: "In a word, our cadres' level of knowledge is low, their educational level is low, and their professional knowledge is deficient." Moreover, to this day there are many people who disparage knowledge and look down on professionals. Does one not still occasionally hear of cases of the beating up and humiliation of teachers, and of the suppression and envy of those with professional talent? Therefore, along with requiring that cadres bring about the four modernizations, we must also continue to eliminate those obstacles which cannot help the four modernizations.

The older generation of revolutionaries has already made a contribution to overcoming the difficulties of pioneering; as for the difficulties of maintaining, we must see whether middle-aged and young cadres are able to bring about their four transformations, and whether or not they are able, based on the six proposals of Comrade Yaobang, to make strict demands on themselves, and at the same time bear constantly in mind the historical lesson that "Pride and a wish to take over may develop among the wealthy and powerful, and disaster occur due to something we have overlooked." For many years, our party has been undergoing a similar lesson. We should bear it firmly in mind and not commit the same mistake again. If they can be modest and prudent, and guard against arrogance and rashness, then there will be hope for the middle-aged and young cadres, and the people will be able to rely on them.

9634
CSO: 4005/1282

PARTY AND STATE

CENTRAL PARTY SCHOOL TRAINS 17,000 CADRES IN MARXIST DOCTRINE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 82 p 1

[Article: Central Committee's Party School in Five Years Trained Over 17,000 Cadres"]

[Text] XINHUA reporter Zou Aiguo reports that the CPC's Central Party School since classes were resumed in 1977 has persevered in implementing the educational program of using the basic principles of Marxism to arm the minds of cadres, and heightening the Marxist-Leninist/Mao Zedong Thought level of the party's higher- and middle-level cadres, and has already trained and rotation-trained 17,883 higher- and middle-level cadres, middle-aged and young cadres, and propaganda/theoretical cadres, thus training 2.6 times as many cadres as the total number trained and rotation-trained during the 18 years prior to the "great cultural revolution."

Based on the Central Committee's decisions, the Central Party School over the past 5 years held, one after the other, seven rotation training classes for higher- and middle-level cadres, five theory classes, and two training classes for young and middle-aged cadres; also, coordinating with organizations directly subordinate to the Central Committee of the CPC, and with central and state organs the People's Liberation Army and the Peking Municipal Committee held three extracurricular rotation training classes. For the great majority of students, having gone through their period of study at the party School, there was progress and improvement, to one degree or another, in all the areas of their having a more complete and accurate grasp of the scientific system of Marxism-Leninsim/Mao Zedong Thought, conscientiously implementing the party's lines, programs, and policies and forging them into their party spirit, and the rectifying ideological practices. Along with this large-scale training of cadres, the Central Party School's theoretical work was also unprecedentedly lively, making an important contribution to bringing order out of chaos on the theoretical front.

And important characteristic of the CPC's Central Party School's teaching method is that it requires the students to have a complete and accurate grasp of the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism/Mao Zedong Thought. The Party School, aiming specifically at counteracting the circumstances of Marxism-Leninism/Mao Zedong Thought having been twisted and distorted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," selectively edited and retranslated approximately a million words of the Selected Readings from the Works of Marx, Lenin, and Mao Zedong for use as teaching material, and everyone is required to gain a better understanding of the fundamental principles of Marxism.

9634
CSO: 4005/1282

PARTY AND STATE

HEILONGJIANG'S PARTY ORGANIZATIONS RESHUFFLE PARTY COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 82 p 3

[Article: "The Various Levels of Heilongjiang's Party Organizations Hold Elections to Make up for Differences in Organizational Strength"]

[Text] Ever since the Third Plenum of the party's 11th Central Committee, the various levels of party committee of Heilongjiang Province has persevered in the principles of democratic centralism, made a great effort to strengthen and improve the system of the various levels of party congress, and have universally held elections to make up the required differences in organizational strength. The great majority of party committees throughout the province at the commune level and higher convened one or two party conferences and periodically changed, through election, the membership of the various levels of party committees, enlivening democratic activity within the party and promoting the self-building quality of party organizations.

The great majority of Heilongjiang Province's party organizations at the commune level and above during the course of the party conferences listened to a broad range of criticisms and suggestions, summed up their experience as a basis for instruction, and formulated work plans. These party conferences, in the course of carrying out the elections changing the membership of the party committees, democracy was fully promoted, the candidates were evaluated again and again, and elections were held to make up for the differences in organizational strength. One member of the standing committee of the party committee and Assistant President of Harbin Normal University had used the power of his position for personal gain. The masses took great exception to this, and when the party conference held its election of its party committee members, he lost the election. This not only educated him, but educated other party committee members, and served to strengthen everyone's conscientiousness in serving the people. An Assistant Secretary of the party committee of Yichun Municipality's Fifth District had a very lackadaisical workstyle and did not do anything about any critical suggestions that were made, and in the past there was nothing the masses could do about him. But when the election to make up for differences in organizational strength was held, it has a very strong effect on him, and he sincerely made a self-critical examination of his shortcomings before the party conference. There were some county committee members who in the past had not been able to deal correctly with their own ideological practices and shortcomings; at the party conferences they listened to the representatives' criticisms, and also saw some candidates lose

the elections, so that they were instructed by this, and gradually understood that they should make their responsibility to the broad masses of party members consistent with their responsibility to higher-level party committees, and actively take the initiative in correcting their own shortcomings. Through this kind of democratic election, the membership of the party committees' leading bodies was improved, the average age was lowered, and the educational level and level of ideological awareness were raised. According to statistics representing the 41 communes in the three counties of Hailin, Ningan, and Muleng, the number of members of two levels of party committee elected was reduced by 57 compared with last time, the average age was lowered by 2.7 years, and the number possessing middle-school or higher education increased 10 percent over the last [conference's elections]. The party committee members and party secretaries of the majority of factory and mine enterprises of the municipalities of Jiamusi and Mudanjiang will no longer serve concurrently as head of their enterprise, reducing the amount of overlapping posts, and putting into effect the principle of separating party from government.

The party committees of the six counties and municipalities of Heihe Prefecture last year held an average of 28 party conferences, of which 70 percent dealt with studying ways to improve the work of bringing about a better connection between the party and the masses, solving in a timely way a number of inner-party problems, and bringing into play the core-leadership effect of the party committees.

9634
CSO: 4005/1282

PARTY AND STATE

CONFERENCE URGES STRONGER ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL JUSTICE IN SHANDONG

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Aug 82 p 1

[Article: "Strengthen the Administration of Civil Justice to Serve the Construction of the Four Modernizations, the Fourth Province Wide Work Conference On Civil Justice Convenes in Jinan"]

[Text] The Fourth Province Wide Work Conference on Civil Justice convened in Jinan from 31 July to 7 August. The conference relayed the spirit of the third Nationwide Conference on the Administration of Civil Justice, combined with conditions in our province, discussed and planned future tasks in the administration of civil justice. Director Liang Deshan [2733 1795 1472] of the Provincial Higher People's Court spoke at the conference.

Ever since the spirit of the Second Nationwide Conference on the Administration of Civil Justice has been implemented, people's courts at all levels in our province have adhered to the Four Basic Principles and have earnestly carried out the lines, principles and policies put forward by the party Central Committee since its third plenary session. As a result a new situation has appeared. According to statistics, from 1979 to the end of June this year people's courts at all levels have tried and closed a total of over 84,000 civil cases of first instance at a rate of 96.5 percent and over 5,000 cases of appeal and retrial at a rate of 94.9 percent. At the same time it relied on and guided grassroots mediation organizations to mediate and handle a large number of civil disputes.

The conference pointed out that that (Trial) Civil Procedural Law is the summary of a long period of judicial practice and experience which reflects the new character and new demands of the administration of civil justice in the new historical period. The promulgation and trail use of the Civil Procedural Law is a major event in the construction of the legal system in our country. It is also a sign of the activities of civil justice entering the new stage of handling cases strictly in accordance with litigation procedures. The conference demanded that people's courts at all levels further study, popularize and implement the "(Trial) Civil Procedural Law," formulate concrete trial implementation procedures according to actual local conditions, stress mediation work in litigation during its trial implementation, and rectify discipline in civil justice.

The conference stressed that in hearing civil casses the people's courts must correctly implement the marriage law and various policies and laws. With divorce cases, they must correctly implement the provisions of the marriage law and adhere to the principle that approval is dependent on whether the marriage between the husband and wife has in fact broken up. To find out whether a marriage has broken up, the people's courts must examine the foundation of the marriage, the affection between spouses after their marriage, the reason for divorce, the responsibility for the cause of dispute, current relationship between the spouses, consideration for the interests of the children, and effects on the society. For all cases in which the marriage has in fact broken up and mediation has been ineffective, a divorce should be granted. For cases in which the marriage has not broken up there should be mediation or no approval for a divorce. For divorce cases caused by love for the new and distaste for the old, deliberate creation of divorce dispute, or which involve a third party, facts must be investigated, right and wrong must be distinguished, and the party in the wrong must be given strict and critical education. Civil cases arising from the implementation of the production responsibility system in the countryside must be handled with the interests of the state, collective and individual in mind by seeking truth from facts and following the law.

The conference demanded that leading comrades of the people's courts at all levels must understand fully the significance and the role of administration of civil justice in the daily life of society; truly put administration of civil justice in its proper place; continuously stregthen the building of the ideology, work style, organization, and profession of the contingents in the administration of civil justice and at the same time strengthen judicial supervison and enhance the quality of trials. The broad masses of judicial cadres must strengthen their sense of pride and responsibility in doing their best in administering civil justice, enforce the law impartially, work diligently, and strive to further do a good job in administering civil justice in our province.

9586
CSO: 4005/1249

PARTY AND STATE

SUPERIORITY OF COMMUNIST IDEAL STRESSED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Aug 82 p 4

[Commentary by Yi Mu [0076 2606]: "Our Ideal--Communism"]

[Text] Recently, our party and state leaders as well as propaganda in the press time and again stress that we must strive to be socialist builders with ideals, dedication to morality, discipline, and culture; this is a very important matter. We think the key here is to have ideals.

A man's conduct is governed by his ideals. Whatever ideals a man has in his social practice, that is the conduct he will exhibit. In ancient times, some people were utterly ambitious, wishing to "be conferred with the title after death"; when they would see the entourage of a ruler on an inspection trip with banners flying, honor guard standing at attention, weapons on display, and retainers swarming around him, they would sigh with emotion: "A real man should indeed be like this!" Or, "He can be replaced." Thus, throughout their lives they would tire themselves out by seeking to take over the government or to become a marquis or prime minister. Some hoped to become "gentlemen" and prided themselves on being "above worldly considerations": "Speak only of benevolence and justice; why anything about profit at all?!" Or, "When endowed with carriages and horses for transport and light furs for clothing, let me share with friends, and I shall cover them without regret." Some held a nihilist attitude toward everything in the world, wishing to do nothing about anything and advocating "abandonment of weapons and retreat from this world," "unthinking" and "inaction." The capitalist society developed the existing concepts of private ownerhsip to their extreme, so that if a man failed to work for himself, heaven and earth would destroy him; "he would not sacrifice a single hair even if it should benefit the whole world"; or he would strive to be a wise man and play safe: "Every man simply sweeps away the snow in front of his own door but pays no attention to the frost on other people's roofs"; or one's heart is steeped in a desire for gain, banking on getting rich, jockeying for advantage, intriguing against each other, making profits at other people's expense, swallowing small fish as a big fish should, or, for the sake of getting rich, simply making risky moves. All this is now renounced by us and despised by us.

We communists believe in communism; that is to say, we take the realization of communism as our ideal. The emergence of private ownership was a step forward in history, but it is also the root cause of all evil. The slave society, feudal

society, and capitalist society based on private ownership that lasted for several thousand years made man suffer infinite pains. Historical experiences prove that only by eliminating these kinds of societies based on private ownership can man speak of real happiness, genuine freedom, and liberation. In his "Principles of Communism," Engels said: "Communists post the elimination of private ownership as their own principal demand." For over 100 years, countless determined and kindhearted men have subjected themselves to stoic life and hard struggle for the realization of this goal, and this goal has already come to be realized in this world step by step. Viewed from the countries that have overthrown capitalism and practiced socialism (such as our country and certain brotherly countries), they have proved that socialism (that is, the preliminary stage of communism) is superior to capitalism by no one knows how many times. Practice will further prove that, as time goes on, as history develops, and as experiences accumulate, the socialist system will become more and more perfect; it will bring more and more happiness to the people.

Communism is infinitely fine. Yet there was a time when people avoided talking about communism and avoided or opposed talking about the superiority of socialism, let alone taking communism as our ideal. Without this communist ideal, we would be unable to build our socialist spiritual civilization, we would be unable to resist erosion by the rotten ideology and lifestyle of the bourgeoisie, and devious and unhealthy practices would then prevail far and wide. Then, naturally, no one would take any action to build socialism. When a man lacks ambition, no one knows what he will do. Just as in walking: with no destination, and walking erratically, who knows where he will end up? Therefore, reinforcing our education in communist ideology and establishing the communist ideal constitute a necessity for reviving China and a necessity for building our socialist four modernizations. When a man becomes listless, if it is not because he is biologically ill but because he has problems with his thinking, he needs ever more to solve his ideological problems in order to collect his spirit. And even if he has biological troubles, it is also of great importance that his spiritual state overcome his illness. Carrying out propaganda and education in communism can have a spirit-uplifting effect. A man cannot be without his "spirit"; when his "spirit is not retained in his body," he is liable to become muddleheaded in his work. We are today in an era of a historic shift; we must never become muddleheaded.

9255
CSO: 4005/33

PARTY AND STATE

IDEAL COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY, PRACTICE DISCUSSED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Aug 82 p 1

[Commentary by Qi Xingzhi [7871 5887 0037]: "A Superficial Discussion on Communist Ideology and Practice--Ideal and 'Practical Benefits'"]

[Text] When acquaintances and friends get together and talk about the need to establish the farsighted ideal of communism, someone will often say: "That is too empty! It's still more practical to get more rewards and get promoted to a higher level of wage earnings...." In real life, there are indeed those who believe only in the so-called "theory of practical benefits" and shove aside what they once embraced as an ideal which happens now to be aside what they once embraced as an ideal which happens now to be "too empty."

Is it all right to take the communist ideal as being "empty?" No, it is not all right. "An ideal is a lantern lighting the way; without an ideal, there can be no firm direction, and without a firm direction, there can be no life" (Leo Tolstoy's words). Different classes have different ideals and different beliefs; these are the spiritual pillars on which people depend for carrying their life and their work forward. Comrade Mao Zedong once said a man has to have a spirit. The communist ideal is none other than the strong spiritual pillar and momentum for forward movement for us proletarians, communists, and revolutionary fighters; this is totally true and totally real.

The realization of communism and the establishment of the communist system really make up a very long process and can be accomplished only by several generations of talented people. But efforts to practice communist ideology and develop the communist movement have been made ever since a communist group appeared on the soil of China. The 61 years of the history of the CPC are the history of nothing other than its effort, under the guidance and encouragement of communist ideology, to smash the old world and create the new world. Is this not a totally genuine reality?

During the period of revolutionary struggle, was it not the communist ideal which hundreds and thousands of communists, revolutionary fighters, embraced while they advanced in the wake of the fall of others ahead, heroically struggled, bled and sacrificed, and ultimately won the world for the people?

During the periods of socialist revolution and construction, was it not the communist ideal that our communists, CYL members, revolutionary cadres, and

millions of people embraced while they proceeded to reform society, wash away the dirty mud and water left by the old era, and create the new system and new life of socialism? Was it not the communist ideal they embraced while they drafted the new blueprint for changing the world and turning poverty into wealth? Was it not the communist ideal they embraced while they proceeded to overcome the enemies hostile to socialist new China? Was it not the communist ideal they embraced while they proceeded to overcome serious natural calamities? Was it not the communist ideal they embraced as they sought to resist and ultimately smash Lin Biao and the "gang of four?"

All this and the road we personally traversed--were they not instances of practicing the communist ideal? Were they not totally real?

Of course, the struggle we have carried out for the realization of the communist ideal has secured only preliminary fruits; the life of our people has generally improved, but it still cannot be said to be well-to-do. And while we have had victories and successes, we have also suffered setbacks and failures. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, it was precisely because our party was able to sum up the experiences and lessons of the past and accomplished the return to order from disorder, as well as a historical shift, that the communist movement on the soil of China could continue to develop forward triumphantly along a healthy road, and the vast ranks of the party members and millions of the people could confidently proceed with the construction of our four modernizations. All this, too, has been vivid reality witnessed by all and talked about by all.

Taking the communist ideal as "empty" is a reflection of the "distant and vague theory." Among comrades with such a view, some may have a problem with their perception, as they have understood communism merely as a social system without taking it first of all as a kind of movement. In the case of others, it may be that they have become shaky in their convictions. In the early days, they too struggled excitedly for communism, but when they saw twists and turns appearing in the communist movement, their convictions became shaky and their fighting will became lax. Some fell into the trap of individualism, indulged in material enjoyment at the present, exerted zeal for what is called "the higher the wages, the better; the more the rewards, the better; the more spacious the housing, the better, the higher the office, the better; and the lighter to work, the better." They shoved aside their once-farsighted ideal into oblivion. They might perhaps really scoop up some "practical benefits" for themselves individually, but their spirit is bound to become more and more empty, and they might even lose their original spiritual pillar and be led astray. I hope these comrades think a little about this question. As communists, our goal is to achieve the greatest happiness and the greatest practical benefits for the whole people, and we must never think of obtaining our personal "practical benefits" apart from communist ideology.

Every communist, cadre, and staff member must endeavor to keep his thinking from drifting away from the ideological system of communism. Let us sing aloud the stimulating battle song "The Internationale Is Bound To Be Realized," and let us fight, let us create, and let us welcome the triumphant convocation of the 12th Party Congress with an assertive communist spirit.

9255
CSO: 4005/11

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG FORUM HELD ON RECTIFYING PARTY'S GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATION

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Zu Jian [4371 0256]: "Put Ideological Education In the Lead, Do Our Best To Rectify and Build the Leading Group; Province wide Work Forum On Rectification of the Party's Grassroots Organization Sums Up and Exchanges Experiences"]

[Text] The province wide work forum on rectifying rhe party's grassroots organization was convened in Jinan during 13-18 August. The forum relayed and implemented the spirit of the work forum on rectifying the party's grassroots organization convened by the party Central Committee's Organization Department. It summed up and exchanged experiences of the former phase of experimental work of rectification in our province; discussed and studied the problems concerning doing our best to rectify the party's grassroots organization in our province.

Those who attended included comrades in charge of organization departments of party committees of all localities, municipalities and major enterprises, and comrades in charge of concerned party committees and political work departments directly subordinated to the province and of party committees of some counties. Secretary Gao Qiyun [7559 0796 0061] of the provincial party committee spoke at the forum.

The forum pointed out that in order to rectify the party's grassroots organization, we must build closely around a high degree of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization; use as basic teaching material the documents of the 12th party congress soon to be convened; combine study of the "Historical Resolution," "Guiding Principles," and other related documents; systematically educate party members on party spirit, work style and discipline; do our best to rectify and build the leading group for the party's grassroots organization and struggle to mobilize the whole party to realize the various tasks put forward by the 12th party congress.

The forum demanded that in the work to rectify the party's grassroots organization we must let ideological education play the major role and become more involved in educating party members on communist ideals, the party's lines, principles and policies, the opposition against corrosive bourgeois ideology, and the basic knowledge of the pary, essentially enhancing the party spirit, party consciousness and political quality of party members. On this basis, we should organize

party members to measure themselves by the standards of a party member, launch the activities of summing up past experiences, comparison and examination, criticism and self-criticism, and do our best to evaluate party members. We must vigorously give recognition to outstanding party members, and as to party members who have shortcomings and make mistakes we must patiently help to educate them and enable them to strive to become qualified members.

The forum stressed that we must treat our effort to rectify and build the leading group for the grassroots party committees, general branches and branches as a key issue; conscientiously resolve existing problems in carrying out the party's lines, unifying the leading group and correcting party work style; overcome the state of slackness and feebleness; and increase the fighting strength of the party organization. In accordance with the demands to make the party more revolutionized, rejuvenated, knowledgeable and specialized, we must do our best to reselect or rectify the leading group. We must substantitate the leading group with cadres who support the party lines, who are knowledgeable, vigorous and in the prime of life, and who can initiate new situations. We must resolutely remove from the leading group those people who have gained their status by following Lin Biao and Jiang Qing in "rebellion" people with serious factional mentalicy, smash-and-grabbers, and those who have in recent years caused serious political damange to the standards in party life and have seriously violated law and discipline in the economy. For those who have lost the qualifications of a party member, we must cancel their membership. For party members who take part in smuggling and the sale of contraband, accept bribes and resort to robbery, engage in speculation and profiteering, after their problems are understood, we must handle them by seeking truth from facts. For those who have been pessimistic and backward for a long time and have not played the role of party members who repeatedly fail to correct themselves, we should persuade them to withdraw from the party or remove their names.

The forum pointed out that rectification of the party's grassroots organization is a major matter that concerns building the party in power, and that party committees at all levels must strongly emphasize it, place it on an important agenda, and conscientiously strengthen the leadership. All parts of the province must become more involved in investigating and analyzing the conditions of the party's grassroots organization, formulate a practical and realistic rectification plan, use the experience of selected units to promote work in the entire area, and gradually expand it. Rectification of the party's grassroots organization in industry and communications, finance and trade should be carried out in combination with other rectification tasks of enterprises, while among rural commune teams it should be closely combined with the task of summing up and perfecting the responsibility system in agricultural production so that the task of rectifying the party's grassroots organization will become the motivating force behind all tasks.

9586
CSO: 4005/1318

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG PEASANTS SUPPORT DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jun 82 p 1

[Article "The Standing Committee of the Shandong Provincial People's Congress Invites Model Agricultural Workers and Representatives of advanced Units to Hold a Forum, Draft Revised Constitution Speaks To the Heart of the Broad Masses of Peasants"]

[Text] The Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress invited model workers on the agricultural front and representatives of advanced units in Jinan to hold a forum on 28-30 May earnestly to study and discuss the draft revised constitution.

In the forum, everyone unanimously believed that the announcement of the draft revised constitution and handing it over to all the people to discuss is itself a concrete expression that the people make the decisions and the people manage the major matters of state. Every section and article of the draft revised constitution reflects our country's actual conditions, represents the interests of the people of all nationalities, and speaks the heart of everyone.

In the forum, many comrades joined with reality and spoke of the party's regulations and state laws being downgraded at the time when the "gang of four" ran rampant. At that time policies underwent repeated changes, if not criticizing "bourgeois tendency" it was "sever the tail of capitalism," so that the peasants did not know what was best to follow. Since the Third Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee the party's rural economic policy has been entirely in accord with the interests of the peasants, but quite a few grassroots cadres and commune members remained anxious. The present draft revised constitution explicitly states the two systems of ownership in our socialist economic system, namely, the system of ownership by all the people and the collective system of ownership by the laboring masses; stipulates the three economic forms, of all the people, the collective, and the individual; and encourages peasants to do their best to run their private plots, private hills, household sideline production, and in raising privately-owned livestocks. These stipultations are affirmed in the constitution which therefore provides the broad masses of grassroots cadres and commune members strong backing, clarifying the direction, removing their anxiety and increasing their trust in the party's policies.

In the forum, everyone believed that the draft revised constitution explicitly states the four adherences which are in accord with our people's basic interests and demands. Adherence to the Four Basic Principles is the summary of the basic experience of our modern history and the truth which underwent the test of practice. It is the basic safeguard for our building a strong and modern socialist state.

Everyone at the forum expressed firm support of the separation of politics and the commune and the setting up of rural government. This would strengthen the building of political authority and give full play to the role of economic management of the people's commune.

In the forum, everyone freely aired his own views and gave some opinions on revising the draft constitution. They said: Taking part in the discussion of the draft revised constitution is both exercising the right of the people as masters of their own house and a good practice in studying socialist democracy and socialist legal system by the people. We must take the lead to do our best to study, discuss and popularize it so that everyone and every household will know and understand the basic spirit and substance of the draft constitution.

Deputy directors of the standing committee of the Provincial People's Congress Zhang Zhusheng [1728 4554 3932] and Yang Jieren [2799 0094 0086] presided over the forum.

9586
CSO: 4005/1318

PARTY AND STATE

MODEL PARTY MEMBER'S INTEGRITY AT WORK CITED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by Wang Jinming [3769 6855 2494]: "Unsoiled by a Speck of Dust--The Deeds of Model Driver Lu Suhai [0712 4790 3189]"]

[Text] On the communications and transportation front in Jinan Municipality there is an outstanding driver who has been praised for resisting corrosion and for being never contaminated. He is Lu Suhai, a model worker of the communications system in the province and a model Communist Party member in the municipality.

Lu Suhai is a driver of an automotive team of the Lixia Prefectural Transportation Corporation in Jinan Municipality. For 11 years as a driver, he has always made severe demands on himself according to the standards of a Communist Party member and consciously resisted unhealthy trends. One day last August, the construction project of the Jinan Agricultural Exhibitation Hall had an urgent need for bricks. Because the worksite was narrow and it was rather difficult for vehicles to come in and out of it, the cargo owner offered a 2-yuan "turn-around fee" for every trip made. After taking up the task, Lu not only did not take the "turn-around fee" but completed the task with a guarantee of both quality and quantity, and was praised by the cargo owner. Once, Lu transported timber for a unit in Jiyang County. While loading, the cargo owner quietly told him: "I have prepared a few plants for you. On your way, turn around and take them home to make some furniture!" Lu said with sincerity: "I do not want the planks. I am here to transport wood, not to take it!" After he loaded the cargo he drove away. On another occasion Lu transported cement for a commune in Licheng County. It was past 8 o'clock in the evening before work was finished. A leading comrade of this commune insisted that Lu take two small baskets of apples. Lu said with sincere words and earnest wishes: "Although this sort of things is popular I do not go in for it. Do not do this from now on!" When he was leaving, this leading cadre held Lu's hands tightly and said: "Thank you! You are truly a fine example. I will learn from you."

Lu Suhai often says: "It was the party and the people who fostered me to become a driver. My steering wheel can only contribute to the party and the people and it cannot be used to make personal gain for myself." Last September, Lu's mother died of illness. The leader was concerned and specially sent a

motor vehicle to help with the funeral. After the funeral, Lu paid the corporation 18 yuan for the use of the vehicle. At first the leader did not agree with this but at Lu's persistent plea the money was accepted. Once, one of Lu's nephews pleaded that he help him haul bricks to renovate his house. Lu siad to him patiently: "The vehicle belongs to the state and it is not ours. I cannot use a state vehicle to haul private material." He convinced the nephew to go through the formality of consignment for shipment at the corporation before the bricks could be hauled for him.

9586
CSO: 4005/1249

STATUTORY PRINCIPLES OF POLICYMAKING EXPLAINED

Tianjin KEXUEXUE YU KEXUE JISHU GUANLI [SCIENOLOGY AND THE MANAGEMENT OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY] in Chinese No 6, 1981 pp 34-36

[Article by Yu Desheng [0060 1779 0524], Political and Research Office, Chinese Academy of Sciences: "The Four Statutory Principles of Policymaking"]

[Text] The scientific method of policymaking is a deciding factor in elevating the level of management at various levels of the state and society. In the course of policymaking, there are four statutory principles which we must abide by scrupulously.

1. To have power. A policymaking organ must have the legal power to make decisions on issues it is confronted with.

It is necessary to have a correct understanding of the nature of power. Power has its structure: First of all, according to different spheres of action, power is divided into different levels and domains. In a nation, only the people as a whole enjoy complete and inseparable power. The direct expression of the people's will should be the supreme decision of a nation. In some countries, it is stipulated by law that under certain circumstances, a general referendum may be held on vital problems which concern the destiny of a nation. (For instance, after the war, France held general referendum on several occasions on the issue of the country's system of government; Norway held a general referendum on the issue of joining the European Community.) However, despite its authoritativeness, a general referendum is, after all, only a temporary measure and not a permanent structure. Although it makes vital decisions, it does not exercise constantly the function of policymaking as the supreme power organ of a state. The most important policymaking organ of a state is a representative organ elected by the people according to law (such as China's National People's Congress) and its standing body. It will decide the state budget, the state plans for development, and the important issues of war and peace. As far as the state functions of management are concerned, the government is the supreme policymaking organ which makes decisions within the scope of the law on problems in the course of its performance.

Under the government, the management organs at various levels and in various departments have their own separate spheres of management according to the

nature of their work, such as provinces, counties and districts, as well as industry, agriculture, finance and trade, forestries, scientific research and education.

In these spheres, the leading organs at various levels each have their relevant functions and powers.

Next, at the same level and in the same department, power is also divided in nature; or, we may say that there are several centers of power of different nature. In the past, the great French free thinker Montesquieu propounded the theory of the division of power against the unlimited power of the absolute monarchy at that time. Since then there has developed a tripower system with separate legislature, judiciary and executive; this has become an important milestone in the development of the theory of state power, and it also has become the principle of organization of capitalist countries. There is no doubt that this theory has something to recommend it. Its merit lies in the division and restriction of various powers. Under the prerequisite of centralizing major powers in the supreme power organ comprised of the delegates of the people, the socialist countries have also adopted certain rational parts of the system of the division of power. In China, regarding both state power and economic and scientific organizations, many things have yet to be improved and reformed. In addition to having the powers of legislature, judiciary and executive divided, the supervisory and academic organizations (or technological and economic advisory organs) should be given independent power outside the executive so that the chances will be greatly reduced for decisionmaking organs at various levels and in various departments to commit mistakes in policymaking. And when mistakes occur, particularly when wrong decisions are made beyond one's authority, they will be uncovered and rectified more easily. In the present social conditions, having full power without any supervision will do all kinds of harm but no good. Excessive concentration of power with no restriction very easily gives rise to mistakes. To rectify these mistakes, it is always necessary to seek forces outside the system. This will naturally bring about the collapse of the legal system and social chaos. This is also one of the causes of so many years of disturbance in our society. This kind of power structure, which cannot regulate itself and adapt itself to the circumstances, can never be an ideal system.

We must also recognize that all powers should stem from the laws which confer them. In one case, the legislative organs stipulate directly by means of laws the scope of functions and powers of organizations and public personnel of various levels, and the powers of the subordinate organs are mostly derived from these organs. In another case, the powers are stipulated in the rules and regulations of various bodies (most of them are leading organs of such organizations and academic organs), such as the cooperatives, societies and associations of various descriptions, and even the academy of sciences. Although the powers of these organs are not stipulated directly by law, the general legal status of their nature is still provided for by law, in spite of the fact that they are not stipulated as specifically and directly as in the former case. Moreover, their rules and regulations are also approved by law. In this sense, their powers also come from the law.

There's no denying that the legislation of our country is extremely imperfect, so that many centers of power have taken shape de facto, but with no legal basis, and some stipulations in the law could not be carried out in practice. There are also a great many issues which must have immediate answers, as there is no provision for them in the law. For instance, there are a large number of scientific organs, but there is not a single corresponding law (such as general regulations for organizations of scientific research and planning in foreign countries). Even for the academy of sciences, there is not a single corresponding law to stipulate its nature, task and legal status. Other laws still remain to be enacted, such as the laws on state-run enterprises. corporations, mass organizations and so forth. These gaps in the law have created gaps in power and created confusion of power among various organs at various levels. On the one hand, these organs find themselves powerless; and on the other, it often happens that a person exceeds his power in dealing with a case. To prevent any person from exceeding his power in policymaking, it is necessary first to perfect the legislation, and in particular to stipulate the organizational laws, rules and regulations on the duties and powers of leading organs and responsible persons of various levels.

The meaning of policymaking without exceeding one's power is twofold: one is to consider whether or not one has the power to make decisions according to the level, rank and domain of one's office; and the other is to judge whether or not one has the power to make decisions from the standpoint of the division of power in the horizontal power structure. Obviously, a certain enterprise or school should not make decisions on matters concerning the whole situation of a certain administrative area; in other words, the office of forestry should not deal with matters concerning aquatic products. The executive and administrative offices of various levels should also never make decisions in judicial and academic matters; and on the other hand, the procuratorial organs should not make administrative decisions. It is a pity that such absurd cases have also occurred frequently.

To make policy on problems which one has the power to decide, it is necessary to act within one's jurisdiction. This is the first statutory principle of policymaking.

2. To follow regulations. This means that the act of policymaking should be carried out according to legal procedure.

Judged from a certain angle, that is, from how directly they aim at the questions, laws may be divided into two categories: the law of entity and the law of procedure. The former answers directly such questions as what is right, what is wrong, what should be done, and what should not be done, like our criminal law, environmental law and so forth. The latter gives no answers to such questions but only points out the kind of procedures and formalities by which these questions are to be solved, like the criminal procedural law, the organizational laws of various organs of political power and mass organizations, and articles concerning procedure in the regulations of the scientific organizations. The importance of the question of procedure lies in the fact that although it does not touch directly the substance of the question, it does provide the solution of substantive questions with rational

procedures and methods which must be followed, and thus guarantees the correct solution of these questions. Therefore, the legality of procedure is a necessary condition for the substantive legality of any policy (not to mention whether or not it is correct). Policies which are made in violation of the laws of procedure cannot be considered legal and valid. It has been borne out time and again in the past that mistakes of procedure more often than not concealed or led to mistakes in substance. Fundamentally, the policy which started the "Great Cultural Revolution" and a series of policies derived therefrom were all wrong and violated the basic spirit of our country's constitution and the party constitution as well as various substantive rules and regulations. However, the fact that these policies could have been adopted was partly because the laws of procedure were also sabotaged, and problems were not handled in accordance with the procedures laid down in the laws and regulations. It was the same in the fields of economy, science and technology. Some major construction projects which were undertaken blindly a few years ago were also decided under conditions in violation of procedural rules for capital construction. (For example, construction and planning were fixed without geological survey and economic adjustment data, projects relying on certain resources were completed before the whereabouts of these resources was known, and so forth.) Violations and mistakes of procedure reflected violations and mistakes in substance. In many countries, it is stipulated by law that not only must all decisions on major issues be validated according to the rules, such as they must be passed by the majority or approved by the higher authorities, but also these decisions must be made by going through a certain process in advance, such as all plans should undergo careful verification and be discussed and passed by academic or technical and economic committees, including those of conferring academic titles and offering research courses. The essential prerequisite for administrative approval is the recommendation of academic committees. When decisions are made by committees of organizations, there must be a quorum at the discussion and the legal majority must agree. The purpose of all this is, by following strictly the procedure, to ensure the correctness of decisions in substance, or at least to enhance the probability of their correctness.

Decisions which are made against procedural laws should be considered illegal and have no legal effect in substance. In the past, there was a practice of admitting that "there were defects in ways and means" and "the formalities were not observed"...but, at the same time, maintaining its legal validity; this is very harmful, and the practice itself is also illegal. In our country the concept of the law is very vague, and often violations of the law (especially laws other than criminal law) do not cause any concern. As to the violation of procedural laws, this is even more often considered a matter of no importance and not worth mentioning. Therefore, our legal system is trampled underfoot, and man is above the law. Such phenomena as taking someone's word as the law by treating personal "approval" and "appointment" as above the legal procedure are fairly common. The fact that some construction projects were undertaken hastily, which caused great damage and loss, was very largely related to the violation of procedural laws in policymaking. Efforts must be made to correct this.

To call for legality in procedure, the prerequisite is that there must be laws of procedure. At present, in the domain of the political life of our country, although procedural legislation falls far short of our requirements, after all it has somewhat taken shape, while, in comparison, in the economic, cultural and scientific domains wherein many policies should be made for social administration, the procedural legislation or procedures approved and protected by law are very few. In recent years, China and foreign countries have taken policymaking as a branch of the science of management, as a specialized study, carried out a great deal of work, and published many theories and studies. It is an important task of legislative work to elevate the results of these studies to the level of procedural laws, or to let the legislators formulate legal procedures of policymaking by summing up and incorporating these results.

The process of policymaking must follow the legal procedure. This is the second statutory principle of policymaking.

3. To accord with the law. This means that the result of the policymaking process must be in accord with the existing laws and must not go against the laws in word or in spirit.

The various policymaking organs have their different legal statutes, and the relationship between the results of their policymaking and the laws is also not the same. In general, there are the following areas: If a policymaking body is a legislative organ, then any policy it makes is a new statute which has supreme legal effect to restrain not only itself but also various other organs and even individual citizens in a certain place or throughout the country. However, here are two conditions: First, such a policy made (in the expression of a law) should never go against the national policy and the nation's basic principles as expressed in the constitution, and also it should not go against the result of a referendum; otherwise, it is also illegal and therefore ineffective. Second, a policy expressed as a new law should not go against a corresponding law made previously. If the policymaking organ considers the old law no longer appropriate, then the organ should declare explicitly in a legal way that it is abolished totally or in part; otherwise, there will be a conflict in law, which will cause many difficulties to the executive and judicial departments, and may even create social disorder.

Even if an organ is fairly authoritative, it will run into difficulties by ignoring the legality of its own decisions. For instance, not very long ago a state legislative organ in the United States passed a law prohibiting "idlers" from loitering at railway stations in order to maintain the public order. However, the court declared that it was unconstitutional. Consequently, the law was rescinded because it violated the U.S. Constitution. In our country, too, I cannot say that there are no policies made by organs at various levels that violate the constitution and the laws. It is very necessary to intensify the work of control and supervision so as to raise the statutory level of policymaking.

In most cases, the policymaking bodies are those of administration and implementation. Of course, the policies they have made cannot be considered new laws. These policies can only be concerned with certain subjective

actions within the scope of existing laws, within the scope permitted by existing laws, or concrete measures for carrying out the commitments and duties stipulated by existing laws. They are policies for the bodies concerned, not policies at the state legislative level; they are only administrative policies for implementation at the level of the bodies concerned or below. It should be pointed out also that in the course of making policies, not only should we give consideration to keeping the result of policymaking in line with domestic laws, but also, whenever foreign countries are involved in the issues, we should take into account the laws of the foreign countries and international law. There have been not a few instances wherein people made policies by acting only on their subjective desire and assumptions, violated laws, and suffered loss and damage. For instance, our foreign trade departments failed to give consideration to the patent laws of the target countries for our exports, so they were sued for infringing the patent rights of third-country manufacturers and were compelled to pay damages. For another instance, for the export of toy animals, although in the contract there was no provision regarding the requirements of physical technology, the other contracting country had laws stipulating that toy accessories (such as eyes, tails and so forth) must withstand so many pounds of pulling force without falling off and so many degrees of high temperature without burning before the toys could be sold. However, our commodity was not up to the legal requirement and incurred loss and damage. The export shipments of food were destroyed by fire because of our ignorance of the rules and regulations for health protection. There have also been many cases of the failure of enterprises operated jointly with foreign merchants because the export of such technology was under the control of law.

Therefore, to accord with law in policymaking, it is necessary to conform to domestic laws, international law and the laws of the countries concerned. This is the third statutory principle of policymaking.

4. Standardization. This means that the result of the process of policymaking must be formalized according to certain legal requirements.

The result of policymaking, whether the issue involved is small or big, always has a certain social significance and, to a certain extent, simultaneously also gains its statutory significance to become an incident of legal nature. Due to the fact that the policymaking organs have varying status in law and that the issues they deal with are of varying significance (which also are often in line with their designation and status), the results of policymaking likewise have varying legal status. For instance, the state organs of power should formalize their policies into laws. (There is also a distinction between specific laws, such as regulations and codes, which are comprehensive laws regulating relationships of a certain category, or amnesty decrees and decisions to set up special courts, which are separate laws for the task of solving certain specific problems.) The decisions of the government and its subordinate departments, which may be either comprehensive or specific, are called by different names according to their different tasks, such as "decisions," "orders," "regulations," "instructions," and so forth. The latter are all in the nature of government decrees or orders, and are subordinate to the former in legal effect.

All leading organs of various levels have their own series of policies for different problems. Although these policies are very different on the level of legal effect or in area of effect, they all have a certain legal character and constitute a certain standard or a standard system. Most of the policies are formalized into documents, they must conform to requirements of legal standards, such as: they must be definite in form, stable in duration of time, and mandatory in effect (that is, they are equally effective on the subject and object concerned), and they must be promulgated (that is, the parties concerned must be notified in a proper way for enforcement).

As all policies concern legal standards, they must have the necessary standard elements: assumption, handling and punishment. In "assumption," it is necessary to point out under what circumstances this standard is applicable. In "handling," it is necessary to point out the obligations of the parties concerned under these circumstances. For "punishment," it is necessary to stipulate the responsibilities of the parties concerned in case they fail to fulfill their obligations. (In a broader sense, it should also include encouragement and reward to those who have performed well.) It should be pointed out that a legal standard system as a whole is a system by itself, which should be comprehensive and closed. However, though a policy is expressed as a certain standard or a standard system, it is only a branch of the whole legal system, and in this sense may be open and not comprehensive. For instance, a certain policy states only that under certain circumstances the parties concerned should do certain things, but it does not stipulate any punishment for their failure to do so. It seems that there are only the assumption and handling, but no punishment. As a matter of fact, punishment is included in other legal documents (such as the regulations regarding rewards and penalties). When this branch system is geared to the greater system, its legal standard becomes comprehensive and forms a closed system. It is a pity that at present many of our legal decisions are always open, and there is no system they can be geared to. Therefore, finally, there is no way for them to form comprehensive and closed systems. For instance, such remarks as "according to law," "on the basis of the policy" and so forth are frequently mentioned in the documents; however, there is no such "specific" law to provide this reference with the legal basis, and there is no way to find the "policy" which fundamentally is not and cannot be pointed out here. The punishment of those who have not fulfilled their obligations (such as refusing to carry out certain measures) is also frequently mere verbal intimidation: "to be dealt with according to law" and so forth. But there is no corresponding law which the case can be geared to, and no specific penalty is stated to provide a real basis for this reference "according to law." Therefore, to standardize all policies (also one of the aspects of a scientific approach), it is necessary to further improve our legal system. We must study and scrutinize all laws as a complete system; we must make the laws dovetail and work in concert with each other.

All policy documents must be in standard legal form. This is the fourth requirement of policymaking.

(Edited by He Zhongxiu [0149 6945 4423])

9039
CSO: 4008/194

PARTY AND STATE

EVENTUAL VICTORY OF COMMUNISM SAID TO BE INEVITABLE

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 82 p 3

[Commentary by Zhu Fuxun [4376 4395 6064]: "Hold High Our Communist Banner and Advance Courageously"]

[Text] The 12th Party Congress, long expected by the whole party and people of the whole nation, has not been triumphantly convened: At the time of the convening of this congress, we can't help but sing out loud: "The Internationale is bound to be realized!" Let us demonstrate fully our joyful fighting sentiments with the finest "Internationale" in our hearts.

The 12th Party Congress, with the ideological system of communism established by Marx and Engels as its fundamental guiding ideology, has made a scientific summation of the great historical shift realized during the 6 years since the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. At the same time, it has determined the party's magnificent goals and fighting tasks in the new historical period. This is a congress of pivotal, great historic significance, a congress for bringing about new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization, and a congress to mobilize the whole party to hold high our communist banner and advance courageously. Seriously study the documents of the 12th Congress, profoundly understand and resolutely implement the spirit of the 12th Congress, arm our minds with the communist ideology, strive to do a good job of handling our various tasks with communist spirit and workstyle, and continue to bring about a new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization and make contributions thereto: these are the glorious political tasks that lie ahead of every one of our comrades.

In order to implement the spirit of the 12th Congress, to insist on calling forth our spirit and exerting our zeal with communist ideology, and to strive to do a good job of handling our various tasks, we must stay in line with reality and clarify from the unity of theory and practice our muddled concepts and erroneous understanding about communism so as to thoroughly reform our thinking, exert our spirit, and hold still higher our communist banner.

The fundamental principle of Marxism tells us that communism has meaning in two aspects: one suggests a social system, that is, the building of the communist social system, which represents man's highest ideal; and one suggests a kind of

movement guided by the ideological system of communism. Marx and Engels pointed out: "What we call communism is that realistic movement which eliminates existing conditions." This serves to explain clearly that communism is first of all a kind of movement. Since the issuing of the "Communist Manifesto" in 1848, and ever since the appearance of a Communist Party in the world, there has always been a communist movement guided by the ideological system of communism. Looking back at the 61 years of our CPC history, it has been a brilliant history of precisely holding high our communist banner and engaging in the revolutionary practive for our communist cause. It was precisely under the guidance of the ideological system of communism that our party led the people of the whole country and, through long, hard, and assiduous struggles, and with countless revolutionary martyrs unmindful of sacrificing their lives and shedding their blood, finally overthrew the three big mountains imposed on the heads of the Chinese people, achieved the great new democratic victory, and established the socialist new China. Since the founding of our state, the party has again led us to carry out socialist revolution and socialist construction and similarly secured brilliant achievements. From the early days of the founding of our party to the war of resistance against Japan, the war of liberation, from the three great socialist transformations after the founding of our state to socialist construction, and from the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique to the great historical shift since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and right up to the bringing about of a new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization today, all the revolutionary enterprises in which our party has engaged have constituted the communist movement guided by the ideological system of communism, and all have constituted practical deeds with the ultimate goal of realizing communism. We should especially see that the communist movement in which we are currently engaged is no longer the communist movement in which we first struggled for the seizure of political power but a communist movement with a socialist system--that is, the preliminary stage of communism--already established. In terms of the historical progress of social development, it is a communist movement that is increasingly nearing the long-range destination of a communist society. Are these not objective facts in our real life? How can it be said that "communism is distant and vague," "sings a stilted tune," or "utters empty words?" As for some who allege that "communism is fantasy" and "has not undergone test through practice," that is even more mistaken, and is neither theoretically nor practically convincing. Indeed, we have still not yet practiced communism as a social system. From our practical conditions at present, we can see that the conditions for concretely carrying out the communist practice of "to each according to his needs" are still not present; this still requires the process of a number of generations earnestly struggling to actively create these conditions. Hence the realization of the communist system really cannot be achieved until sometime in the very distant future. Marx's and Engels' scientific foresight in their day about communist society was no "fantasy," either; it was the inevitable law of historical development summed up from social practice by [evaluating] a large amount of data and by absorbing the ideological fruit of their predecessors. Naturally, the conceptualization of the communist social system by these revolutionary reachers was limited to a few points inferred from principle, and what [certain] aspects of that conceptualization were eventually to be like still required the test of practice. However, as we glance at the history of the international communist movement, take a look at the total revolutionary move-

ment in which our party has engaged, and also take a look at the various revolutionary tasks being undertaken by every loyal and sincere communist and revolutionary, they all constitute practicing the communist ideology. How can we have the slightest murkiness or doubt about this?

The magnificent goals and fighting tasks proposed by the 12th Party Congress have clearly pointed out the direction for us to build our advanced material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization. In order to accomplish these tasks and bring about a new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization, we must treat our various tasks with communist thinking and workstyle, link the work at our own posts with the communist cause and with the long-range destination of communism, and continue to create new results and make new contributions. The light of communist thinking flashing from the large number of heroic and model personalities emerging on our province's various fronts--from the forthright, exemplary Liu Hulan [0491 5170 5695], Yin Lingzhi 1438 7227 5347], of the war years to Luan Fu, Wang Shuying [3769 6615 5391], Fu Changwang [0265 2490 2489], Wu Jichang [0702 0679 2490], etc--is precisely a concrete demonstration of their heroic dedication to the party's communist cause. Hence they are praised by others and have become examples for others to follow. In learning from them, the main point for us is to learn their spirit of dedication and spirit of death-defying struggle in the interest of the communist cause and their selfless, lofty style. But we should also see that some party members are downcast and not assertive; they can hardly gather their spirit at work; they are used to passing the buck or dragging their feet; and they have failed to do a good job in handling their present tasks. There are also some who "look up to money in everything"; when there are profits, they work hard, but when no profits are in sight, they simply stop working, and they often wrangle a great deal for the infinitesmal personal gains they can get from under other people's noses. And there are even some who forget about justice once they see profits. Money muddles their minds; they encroach upon the property of the state and their collectives; they engage in such tricks as speculation and doubledealing, corruption, and acceptance of bribes, and they embark upon the road of economic crimes. Why have such phenomena appeared? The causes are of course multifarious, but the most fundamental one is their shaky confidence in communism as they harbor doubts about the theory of communism. They have lost the spiritual crutch of communism in their minds, and hence a breach has been made in their mental dam by capitalism. As a communist, becoming shaky and doubtful about communism means that one has been hit by the spiritual, sugar-coated bullets of capitalism; it means that one has become corroded; it means that one is reneging on communism.

Such people are of course no longer fit to be communists. For this reason, every one of us communists must arm our minds with communist ideology, consolidate our philosophy of life predicated on the struggle for communism, resolutely resist corrosion by the capitalist ideology, and serve as strong fighters against corrosion and change. Facts prove that without communist ideology there can be no socialism. At the same time, it is impossible to resist erosion by capitalist ideology by relying solely on the socialist principle of "to each according to his work." In order to "resist corrosion without ever becoming contaminated," we can succeed only by relying on communist ideology.

The 12th Party Congress has unfolded for us the magnificent scene of the construction of our socialist modernization and has opened up a broad avenue for us. Looking ahead, we are filled with lofty sentiments; turning toward reality, our confidence is infinitely enhanced. Let us hold high our communist banner, demonstrate our skill in handling our modernization enterprises, exert ourselves to climb the peak, and forge courageously ahead.

9255
CSO: 4005/19

PARTY AND STATE

COMMUNISM LAUDED AS OBJECTIVE TRUTH

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Zhong Wen [6945 5113]: Communism Is Undoubtedly an Objective Truth"]

[Text] Communism is the lofty ideal and glorious banner of us proletarian revolutionaries and communists. During the past few decades, the fine sons and daughters of our Chinese nation remained firmly confident in realizing socialism and communism in China while carrying out their struggle and work. Countless revolutionary martyrs have, in order to realize this sacred goal, not even minded dedicating their own precious lives. Ordinarily, there should be nobody who doubts such an ideal and a conviction so deeply rooted among the party members and masses. Yet, after 10 years of internal disturbance, questions have been raised with respect to the credibility of communism by some people. When education on communism is being carried out, the view is expressed: that communism is but imagination, a fantasy; it is not a truth and it is not yet proved and tested by practice. This kind of understanding not only violates the fundamental principle of Marxism but also is not in accord with the actual conditions under which communism rose and developed.

The theory of Marx and Engels on scientific communism is not fabricated out of the blue by some dreamer but the product of social practice at the time. During the time when Marx and Engels lived, capitalism underwent tremendous development. They directly participated in the struggle in politics, economy and culture in order to change the capitalist society; at the same time, they absorbed the fine ideological fruits of their predecessors and, on that basis, profoundly studied the laws of development of the capitalist society and suggested the scientific dictum that, because of the internal contradictions of the capitalist society, it was bound to be predisposed to its own demise and replaced by a newer and higher form of society--a socialist and communist society. Just as Lenin said, Marx theory that "the development of capitalism is bound to advance toward communism" was proposed by him wholly on the basis of his most accurate, most meticulous, and most profund study of the capitalist society with the help of a full understanding of the total knowledge of past sciences." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4 p 347)

We know that under the capitalist system there exist a state of anarchy in production, periodic economic crisis and workers' unemployment, poverty, close-down and bankruptcy of enterprises, and even economic confusion and disastrous destruction throughout the entire society as a result. Predecessors of Marx and Engels like Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen had poignantly exposed and

belabored such crimes and abuses of capitalism and also had offered certain speculation and conceptualization about the fine socialist and communist society of the future. But, because of the limitations of time and class, they failed to understand the real causes giving rise to these abuses and failed to perceive the objective laws of the development of the capitalist society; naturally, they were also unable to find the strength and path to realize socialism and communism. Their theories could only be of a utopian nature, and the social experiments undertaken by them likewise could only end in failure. Under their new historical conditions Marx and Engels summed up the experience of practice in struggle on the part of the proletariat and the experience and lessons in practice of utopian socialism and, through their study of the laws of the economic movement of the capitalist society, ultimately succeeded in revealing the fundamental cause of the crimes and abuses of the capitalist society: the contradiction under capitalism between the socialization of production and the private ownership of the means of production. It was precisely this unsurmountable fundamental contradiction which caused capitalism itself to bog down in inescapable economic crises and political crises and determined the fate of its inevitable replacement by a society suitable to the requirement of socialized large-scale production with public ownership as its basic characteristic--the socialist and communist society. From this, we can see that the theory of communism established by Marx and Engels is not only not utopia or fantasy but, on the contrary, it has precisely substituted utopia with science. This theory is established entirely on the basis of the objective laws of the development of the capitalist society and the development of human society. The large amount of factual data, theoretical premises, and the ideological fruits and experiences and lessons absorbed from precursors on which it is based has also been tested by the practice of revolutionary struggle by those precursors, especially the proletariat. Therefore, it can be said that this proletarian theory, even during its formation, already had the characteristic of a truth tested through practice and a scientific truth correctly reflecting the laws of social development.

This scientific theory of communism not only had the conspicuous characteristic of truthfulness during its formation but during the subsequent long period of test through practice it has also been proved to be a decidedly objective truth. According to the Marxist point of view, communism is not only a revolutionary ideological and theoretical system and an advanced social system, but also a most practical movement in pursuit of practical goals by practical means, that is, the communist movement. The inception of the communist movement was the establishment of the League of Communists in 1847 and the issuing of the "Communist Manifesto" in 1848. During the past hundred years or more, it has, through the hard, assiduous struggle by the world proletariat, successively secured the triumph of the Russian October Revolution, the triumph of the Chinese revolution, and the triumphs of revolutions in many other countries. These triumphs have all been achieved under the guidance of the theory of communism and they also constitute the most practical tests of Marx' revolutionary theory as to how capitalism is bound to be replaced by socialism and communism; they constitute the best testimonies to the truthfulness of the theory of communism.

Perhaps some would say that while there are today many countries which have overthrown capitalism and established their socialist society, there are

none which are as of yet building communism. Indeed, communism as a social system is the highest stage of man's historical development; therefore it requires sustained efforts from a number of generations before it can be successfully built. But we should see that a communist society and a socialist society are by no means two radically different forms of society but two different stages of the same form of society in the process of development. Just as Lenin said, in a socialist society "since the means of production have already become public property, then the term 'communism' is also applicable here so long as we don't forget that this is not a complete communism" but "the 'first' stage or lower stage of the communist society." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 255). Viewed from this sense, the socialist economic construction and building of the spiritual civilization which we are engaged in today are in fact a stage or component part of the great practice of building communism. Take our own country as an example, in spite of the fact that during the past few decades we have suffered some setbacks and passed through some tortuous paths, the level of our productive forces is still rather low, and problems such as unhealthy party work style and unhealthy social customs, etc., still exist. After the smashing of the "gang of four" and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party has once again established the Marxist line and once again embarked under the guidance of the scientific theory of communism upon the course of healthy development. Since the third plenary session, our economic construction has grown steadily, the level of our productive forces and our economic results have gradually improved, the people's living standards have continued to be ameliorated, and social customs are also taking a turn for the better. During the building of our spiritual civilization, new people like Zhao Chun'e [6392 2504 1230] and Luan Fu [2940 5397] who care about their collectives, love the people, are selfless, and shine with the brilliance of the communist ideology have continued to surge forth. Can it be said that these lively practices are not also the best testimony to the principle of scientific communism?

In stressing that communism is a truth tested by practice, we by no means suggest that the theory of communism no longer needs to be developed, no longer needs to be tested by practice. The scientific theory of communism is not a stagnant theoretical system; it needs to continue to be tested by practice along with changes in historical conditions and the deepening development of revolutionary practice in order to enrich, perfect, and develop itself. But equally evident is that we can never just because the theory of communism continues to need testing through practice and continues to need supplement and perfection, deny the truthfulness of its reality. We should, instead, combine these two aspects by recognizing, on the one hand, that the theory of communism still needs to continue to be perfected and developed and by seeing, on the other hand, the truthfulness of its reality. Only thus is our perception of communism correct.

9255
CSO: 4005/17

'MANIFESTO' ANALYZED AS OUTLINE OF MARXIST POLITICS

Shanghai FUDAN XUEBAO (SHEHUI KEXUE BAN) [FUDAN JOURNAL (SOCIAL SCIENCE EDITION)] No 5, 20 Sep 82 pp 17-21, 74

[Article by Wang Bangzuo [3769 6721 0146] and Sun Guanhong [1327 7070 1347]: "The 'Communist Manifesto' Is an Outline of Marxist Politics"]

[Text] Politics is a science with strong class character. The slaveowner class, the landlord class, and the bourgeoisie all have their own politics. The political science of the proletariat came into being after the emergence of Marxism. It is symbolized by the publication of the "Communist Manifesto" (abbreviated the "Manifesto" from here on). The "Manifesto" is scientific communism's programmatic document and is the guiding outline of politics.

Of course, before the "Manifesto," Marx and Engels upheld the stand of the proletariat. They analyzed the political phenomena of capitalist society and wrote many brilliant expositions on political doctrines. For example, in the works "Introduction to the 'Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right,'" "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts," "The German Ideology," and "Principles of Communism," they analyzed political problems in the relationship between the state and socioeconomic structures and arrived at a series of correct conclusions. The "Manifesto" provided a systematic and complete exposition on political doctrine. The emergence of Marxist politics was a revolution in the history of political theory, and it ushered in a new phase in the development of political science.

I.

Political theory prior to Marxism was, in general, one of historical idealism.

As in "Utopia" by Plato, the ancient Greek, the political doctrine of the slaveowner class was a combined product of the philosophy of idealism and ethics. Aristotle in "Politics" separated politics and ethics. He was the first person in history to use concepts of the exploiting class to found a system of political science. However, he was strongly influenced by ethics. He used good and evil to judge states and governments. He believed that the slave and landlord government of the "Golden Mean" was the most ideal government.

In essence, the political theory of the feudal landlord class during the Middle Ages in Europe was dominated by the theological world outlook. The tenets of the church became the basis and starting point for political thought. Church dogma was also political dogma. The words of the Bible had legal effect in courts of law, and economic and social relations required the endorsement of the church.

Modern capitalist political theory is governed by the typical world outlook of jurisprudence. The world outlook of jurisprudence is the secularized version of the theological world outlook. Human rights have replaced religious doctrine and religious authority, and the state has replaced the church. In the world outlook of jurisprudence, all economic and social ties have rights as their basis, and they are created by the state. In 17th and 18th century Europe, the school of natural law, including such figures as Gesuxiusi [transliteration] of the Netherlands, Hobbes and Locke of England, Montesquieu and Leroux of France, and Spinoza of Germany, believed that natural law was above the law of realism. It is a reflection of human rationality and reflects the natural demands of mankind. It is eternal and unchanging. In 1776, under the guidance of the world outlook of jurisprudence, the United States promulgated the "Declaration of Independence," and in 1789 France published the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen," which advanced the "theory of natural rights." Although this played a fairly progressive role in history, it departed from fixed socioeconomic relations to deal with human rights in isolation. It concealed the class nature of human rights.

Even though they were utopian socialists and outstanding thinkers, Saint Simon, Fourier, and Owen were still unable to break free of the restraints of historical idealism. They exposed and criticized the hideous political phenomena of capitalist society. They believed that there would be no way to eliminate the suffering created by the capitalist mode of production by merely remaining with the legal "basis of rights." However, they also totally rejected the legal and political sphere. They failed to realize the revolutionary function of the proletariat. They asserted that all political struggles were useless, and advocated the elimination of social inequality by using all labor income. They abandoned the class struggle of the proletariat and were unable to find the way to social emancipation.

The "Manifesto" differs from the above-mentioned early political doctrines in that it analyzes political phenomena by using a new world outlook. Lenin summarized this new world outlook as being a "thoroughgoing materialism which embraces all aspects of social life, dialectics which is the most complete and profound developmental theory and the theory of the international historical and revolutionary mission undertaken by the proletariat concerning class struggle and the creators of communism's new society." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 578) The "Manifesto" proceeds from this brandnew world outlook and explains the scientific nature and class character of Marxist politics in the following four areas.

First, it stresses how the production mode sets restrictions on politics. The production mode of certain social material goods and the resulting social struc-

ture are the political and spiritual foundation of that society. This is the fundamental philosophy of the "Manifesto." The historical materialism set forth in the "Manifesto" clearly shows that all political views of the people are, in the final analysis, guided by their economic living conditions, their mode of production, and their mode of product exchange. This then does away with the mysterious nature of politics of the past and establishes Marxist politics on a scientific basis. Second, it analyzes the class character of political phenomena. The "Manifesto" uses concepts of class and class struggle to analyze history and political phenomena. Class struggle is regarded as a basic thread that is connected with political struggle. It advances the famous phrase "All class struggles are political struggles." It points out the class nature of the state and political parties and exposes the class roots of national exploitation. In the past, political theories of class exploitation concealed the class character of political phenomena. Their aim was to deceive the people. The "Manifesto," however, openly declares that the political theory of Marxism serves the interests of the proletariat.

Third, it reveals the unity of Marxist political theory and the practice of revolution. The "Manifesto" establishes political theory on the scientific foundation of historical materialism and comes to the political conclusion the the bourgeoisie is doomed, while the proletariat will be victorious. The victory of the proletariat does not depend on favors bestowed by others, but rather it depends on the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat itself. This is the great historical mission of social emancipation undertaken by the proletariat. The "Manifesto" clearly explains the path of the proletarian revolution and tactics for the struggle. It both expounds scientific theory and emphasizes the practice of revolution. This is another remarkable feature that distinguishes Marxist politics from all other political theories of class exploitation.

Fourth, it embodies the fighting spirit of proletarian political doctrine. This is not only manifested in expositions on the revolutionary role of the proletariat but is also prominently expressed in the solemn criticism of various theories that are antagonistic toward the proletariat. It helps the proletariat to break away from the influence of various erroneous ways of thinking and to recognize that Marxist politics is the banner of their own military victory.

II.

The many important principles which are set forth in the theoretical basis of the guiding ideology, the content matter and the methodology of the "Manifesto" form the basic system of Marxist politics. In this sense, the "Manifesto" is an outline of Marxist politics.

First, the "Manifesto" sets forth class theory and the theory of class struggle. It clearly points out that the history of all society since the disintegration of primitive society is a history of class struggle. This means that class struggle is the motive force behind the historical development of class soceity. The "Manifesto" relates the circumstances of class antagonism and class struggle in slave societies and feudal socieites. It clearly shows that the final result of class struggle makes it inevitable that new modes of production replace

earlier modes of production. The "Manifesto" analyzes the process of the emergence and development of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat as well as the struggle between the two. It analyzes political phenomena such as classes in capitalist socieities and class struggle. It points out that only by waging a class struggle against the bourgeoisie can the proletariat bring about the revolutionary transformation of all of society. In this way the proletariat can eliminate classes, liberate all of mankind, and in the end liberate himself.

Second, the "Manifesto" makes an extremely penetrating exposition of the key political question of the state. It proposes a new scientific conclusion. For example, the "Manifesto" analyzes states, particularly the class character of bourgeois states and their transience in history. It points out that the common trait of the political power of such states are merely committees for managing the general affairs of the bourgeoisie. Once the conditions of that class have been eliminated and that public authority has lost its class character, the state will be destroyed. Another example is that the "Manifesto" comes close to drawing conclusions on smashing the capitalist state machinery. Lenin said: "Since the proletariat requires a state that has this sort of particularly violent organization for opposing the bourgeoisie, then it is only natural to draw the conclusion: If we do not eliminate and destroy the bourgeoisie beforehand in order to set up our own state machinery, we will be basically unable to set up such an organization! The 'Communist Manifesto' has come close to drawing this conclusion." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 192) Another example is the statement by the "Manifesto" that the most outstanding and significant contribution of Marxism on the question of the state is the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Although the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" first appeared in "The 1848-1850 Class Struggle in France," the basic ideas were already made clear in the "Manifesto." The "Manifesto" proposed that the "proletariat use violence to overthrow the bourgeoisie and set up its own rule"; that "the immediate goal of communists is...to overthrow the domination of the bourgeoisie and for the proletariat to seize power"; that "the proletariat must above all obtain political rule"; and that "the first step of the workers' revolution is to see to it that the proletariat rises to [become] the ruling class and fights for democratic rights." In reality, all of this deals with the question of the state system of proletarian nations. The "Manifesto" also touches upon the question of the form of government. In his book "The State and Revolution," Lenin wrote: What should we use to replace the smashed state machinery? "In 1847, Marx's answer to this question in the 'Communist Manifesto' was very abstract." However, 2 years after the "Manifesto" was published, in "The 1848-1850 Class Struggle in France," Marx criticized the Paris proletariats during the June uprising for mistakenly believing that the capitalist republic was a "socialist republic." Actually, it was a case of seeing a "socialist republic" as the organizational form of a proletarian state power. For a long time people have said that the proletariats discovered the form of the Paris Commune, the Soviet system and the system of the people's congress, while they have overlooked studies on republican systems, especially the basic feature of the socialist republic form of government. In addition, the "Manifesto" also pointed out the tasks of countries with a dictatorship of the proletariat. After proletariats have fought for democratic rights and have risen to become the ruling class, they must make use of their state power to gradually deprive the bourgeoisie of all means of production and concnetrate it in the hands of

the proletariat. They must also do their utmost to increase their total productive capacity. The 10 specific measures, put forward in the "Manifesto" for progressively depriving the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes of their right to private property, for developing industrial and agricultural production, and for transforming society reflect how the proletarian state must exert an influence on economic development. Marx and Engels believed that by implementing these 10 measures, [the proletariat] would further advance toward far-reaching objectives such as eliminating conditions that exist in classes themselves, and seeing that public authority loses its class character so that the state will be destroyed. Once the tasks of states under the dictatorship of the proletariat are completed, their organizational form will be replaced by the coalition system of communist society.

Third, the "Manifesto" expounds the doctrine of revolution. It does not discuss revolution in the abstract but rather it links revolution with the development of productive forces and the transformation of production relations. The "Manifesto" evaluates the historical advance of the bourgeoisie and points out how it destroyed feudal and patriarchal production and social relations and how it greatly encouraged the development of social productive forces. However, along with the development of capitalist productive forces. They seriously hampered social progress, and the revolutionary spirit of the bourgeoisie was wiped out. The "Manifesto" discusses the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat and the developmental laws of the proletarian revolution. It systematically links the ideology of violent revolution with the theory of class struggle and the state. The "Manifesto" also sets forth the idea of continuous revolution. Marx and Engels discussed the attitude that the proletariat should adopt concerning the democratic revolution in Germany at that time. They believed that the German proletariat should uphold the struggle of the bourgeoisie against the feudal class and actively participate in the democratic revolution. However, they should not for one minute forget their own antagonistic position regarding the bourgeoisie. "The revolution of the German bourgeoisie is the immediate prelude to the revolution of the proletariat." After the proletariat together with the bourgeoisie overthrow the feudal autocratic system, they must continue to wage a socialist revolution and launch a struggle to oppose the bourgeoisie.

Fourth, the "Manifesto" discusses the theory of political parties. It points out that the Communist Party is the political party of the proletariat. "The party does not have any interests that differ from the interests of the proletariat." The party is the representative of the basic interests of the proletariat. The characteristics of the party are to support the principle of internationalism, to have a thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit, and to uphold from beginning to end the long-range objectives of communism in every developmental state of the struggle. Consequently, in actual practice, the Communist Party is the most resolute of the workers' parties in all countries and consistently pushes for movement and advancement. Theoretically, the party looks to Marxism for guidance in understanding the conditions, the process, and the general objectives of the proletarian movement. It has led the proletariat from victory to victory, and therefore it is the vanguard organization of the proletariat. The "Manifesto" also set forth the basic guiding principles of the Communist Party. It states that the immediate goals of communists are: to organize the proletariat into a powerful political force, to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie, and to have the proletariat seize political power. The

basic features of the communist revolution are to abolish the bourgeois system of private ownership and thoroughly eliminate the system of exploitation.

Fifth, the "Manifesto" discusses the question of nationalities. It connects the problem of nationalities to the class problem and points out that the exploitation of nationalities has led to oppression and barriers of misunderstanding among nationalities. The capitalist system is at the root of all of this. Thus, only by eliminating the capitalist system is it possible to abolish the exploitation and oppression of nationalities and to remove the barriers of misunderstanding among nationalities. The "Manifesto" emphasizes the international character of the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie and asserts that only by uniting the proletariats of all nationalities in the world is it possible to win victory in the proletarian world revolution.

Sixth, the "Manifesto" sets forth the tactical problems of political struggle. It presents the basic principles for tactics in the Marxist political struggle: "Communists must struggle for the immediate goals and interests of the working class; however, during this movement they must also represent the future of the movement." It is considered that communists should actively support or directly participate in all revolutionary movements that oppose existing old systems. At the same time, they must on no account forget that the matter of system of ownership is essential to the revolutionary movement. Furthermore, they should adopt different tactics to deal with opposition parties in different countries with different political stands. Correct international tactics will facilitate mutual support and solidarity among the democratic parties of all nations, thereby strengthening progressive forces in these nations. This would be of benefit to opposing the old system of exploitation that currently exists.

The "Manifesto" gives a systematic and complete account of the major areas of politics mentioned above. It forms the basic system of Marxist politics. We believe that if in practice we regard the "Manifesto" as an outline of Marxist politics, it will be of major significance in understanding the history and current state of politics and in establishing a Marxist political science that is appropriate for China.

III.

The publication of the "Manifesto" ushered in a new era. It gave strong impetus to the propagation and development of Marxist politics.

Lenin integrated the actual conditions of Russian society and the revolution. He gave a creative exposition of the major areas of politics covered in the "Manifesto." For instance, in "What's To Be Done?" and "One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward" Lenin explained theories of political struggle and the party. In "The State and Revolution" and "On the State" he discussed theories of the state and revolution. In "The Two Tactics of the Social Democratic Party During the Democratic Revolution" and "'Left-Wing' Communism, and Infantile Disorder," he explained the strategy and tactics for revolution. In "The Rights of Nations of Self-Determination" and "Theses on the Socialist Revolution and the Rights of Nations to Self-Determination" he explained theories on national questions, etc. This was a new development in Russian Marxist politics, coming over half a century after the publication of the "Manifesto."

The Chinese people embraced Marxist politics after the October Revolution in Russia. In 1920 a translation of the "Manifesto" was published. It had a profound effect on intellectuals with the beginnings of communist ideology. Later on, people began to use Marxist views to teach political science. For example, at Shanghai University, Qu Qiubai and Zhang Tailei gave lectures on "An Introduction to Social Science" and "Political Science," respectively. Yun Daiying gave lectures on "An Introduction to Political Science" at the Central School of Military and Political Affairs and at the Guangzhou Institute on the Peasant Movement. He also published a printed pamphlet with the same title. In the 1930's it became common practice to use Marxist concepts to teach and study political science. During the period that Deng Chumin was studying in Japan, he systematically studied works such as the "Communist Manifesto" and "Das Kapital" in order to establish a personal system of learning and ideas and to lay a theoretical foundation. In 1930 he wrote "An Outline of Political Science," and in 1939 he published "An Outline of the New Politics." The two works thoroughly and systematically dealt with the essence, concepts, and research methodology of political science as well as its position in social science. He explained the basic principles of political categories such as class, the state, government, political parties, and revolution by using the world outlook and methodology of Marxism. In fact, these works reflect the basic principles of the "Manifesto."

In the revolutionary base area, much attention was given to Marxist political works. Leading comrades of the central government repeatedly gave instructions that classical works such as the "Communist Manifesto," "The State and Revolution," "'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder" and "The Foundations of Leninism" were to be regarded by cadres as required reading. In his work "On the New Democracy," Comrade Mao Zedong wrote a profound exposition and clarification of a series of fundamental issues in politics such as class and class struggle, the state, political power, revolution, political parties, patriotism, internationalism and, most important, the strategy and tactics of revolution. At the same time, other proletarian revolutionaries such as Comrade Liu Shaoqi also wrote systematic and original expositions on problems in the establishment of the party. These Chinese-style political theories enriched the treasure house of Marxist theory and guided the Chinese revolution to win a great victory.

After the founding of new China, Marxist politics should have been further perfected and developed under the new conditions. Unfortunately, however, due to the influence at that time of the Soviet Union and the subsequent development of events, not only did they deny that politics was an independent discipline, they even denounced it as a capitalist pseudoscience. Things began to change only after the smashing of the "gang of four." Under the loving care of the party Central Committee, politics has come to be regarded as an independent discipline and is rapidly being reinstated and developed. The importance of politics is just now being broadly recognized by people in all areas of society. The founding of the Chinese Political Science Association at the end of 1980 can be said to be a new starting point for research in Marxist politics.

Over 130 years have passed since the publication of the "Manifesto." Even though tremendous changes have occurred in the world and in China, today with the establishment of a Chiense-style Marxist political science we can still gain a good deal of enlightenment by studying and investigating the "Manifesto."

First of all, as far as guiding ideology is concerned, China's political science must have Marxism as its theoretical foundation. At one time there was a view that it was possible to let up on or totally ignore the study of Marxism in order to focus on studying new conditions and new problems in the political sphere. This view is incorrect. The "Manifesto" is a scientific socialist work that is required reading of every worker. The degree of the people's familiarity with it is perhaps beyond compare. However, every time we restudy it we always get something new out of it. This is also true when we study it from the point of view of political science. To be sure, Marxist politics must certainly move with the times, but the many basic principles contained in the "Manifesto" must be upheld. Only by supporting these principles can there be advancement. In fact, the proletarian revolutionary leaders of all nations are good at combining the basic principles of Marxism with the actual concrete conditions in their country. They continue to solve new problems, yet manage to uphold the basic principles of Marxism while at the same time expanding on these principles. Owing to the fact that many principles of Marxist politics have been disseminated throughout most works by revolutionary teachers, when establishing the discipline of Chiense politics it is necessary to conscientiously seek out these works. We must systematically, thoroughly, and accurately master their theoretical system in order to use it as an ideological weapon for studying new conditions and new problems.

Second, as far as subject matter is concerned, the "Manifesto" studies the political phenomena under the conditions of that period--such as class, the state, revolution, political parties, nationalities, strategies, and tactics. It also sets forth a series of theoretical principles. As set forth in the "Manifesto," actual application of these principles must always be subject to change in accordance with the historical conditions of that time. For example, when 19th century Marx and Engels analyzed the essential characteristics of the proletarians who sold out their own labor force to the needs of capitalist production and to increase capital, they nautrally explained this by linking the heavy physical labor of the proletariat of that period and their material impoverishment. Today, quite a few workers in certain Western countries no longer have to do the strenuous labor of the past. Some have cars, refrigerators, and even private homes. Naturally, Marxist politics cannot merely repeat the concrete portrayal of the conditions of workers found in "The Conditions of the English Working Class." It must use the basic principles to provide a scientific interpretation of newly emerging phenomena. As for raising the income level of workers in certain capitalist nations, we should use new data to prove that since modernized production requires a labor force with an even higher level of technical and specialized knowledge, therefore the value of the labor force has increased. The improvements in the living conditions of workers at the present time is in fact a requirement of capitalism for exploiting the workers under the new conditions. China has already eliminated the system of exploitation, and the exploiting class no longer exists as a class. Under such historical conditions, Marxist politics must study the political system of socialist China and other important political matters such as the particular form of the class struggle in socialist societies, the socialist form of government, the cadre system, etc. Consequently, at present and in the future, the subject of the study of Marxist politics must continually change. The basic principles of Marxist politics can be better supported only through development and change.

Third, the basic methods for studying Marxist politics are dialectal materialism and historical materialism. We must continue to support these methods. More specifically, the methods of class analysis and integration of theory with practice must under no circumstances be discarded. Comparative studies--that is, the method of "making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China"--are also useful. At the same time, we must realize that with the development of scientific technology, it is possible to utilize methods of modern natural science used by politicians in the United States and Japan, such as statistics. We can learn rational and useful things from them. In sum, we must pay full attention to studying, improving, and perfecting our methods in order to facilitate the gradual formation of a methodology for political study that is uniquely Chinese.

9864
CSO: 4005/32

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NEED TO STRENGTHEN IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION OF YOUTHS EMPHASIZED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Aug 82 p 3

[Article written by Li Yanjie [2621 3601 2638] in Chengdu on 13 August 1982: "A Train of Thoughts Triggered by My Visit to the Capital of Heaven-- a Message to Workers Dedicated to the Youth Program"]

> [Excerpts] Editor's note: Comrade Li Yanjie, lecturer of Beijing Teachers College, who is known by "his friendly dedication to the ideological education of youths" recently wrote an article for this newspaper entitled "A Train of Thoughts Triggered by My Visit to the Capital of Heaven." The article is based on what he saw and heard during his visit to Sichuan, an article that deserves particular attention from comrades dedicated to ideological and political work, especially those comrades devoted to the work of educating youths.
>
> Ideological and political work is a branch of science. How to use scientific thinking, scientific approach and scientific method as a key to achieving a breakthrough in this "branch of science dealing with human souls" of the 1980's is really a matter that needs to be studied. Comrade Li Yanjie's article has given us an invaluable signal in this direction.

Sichuan abounds in natural resources, famous mountains and rivers. It is also known for its glorious revolutionary tradition, and industrious and intelligent people. It really deserves to be called an affluent province endowed by nature, a province capable of producing heroes bringing glory to their native place. "The grandeur of roads in Sichuan is truly beyond description." The trip that took me to Sichuan was really rewarding and highly instructive, particularly in the area of how to promote successfully ideological work among youths. This article was written as a tribute to youths in Sichuan as well as the forthcoming 12th Party Congress.

An Enlightenment of "Difficult Roads in Sichuan"

The ancients said: "The roads in Sichuan are as difficult as the path to the blue skies." Today, tremendous changes have taken place in Sichuan where

people have scored remarkable success in building a socialist material civilization. This fact teaches us a profound lesson: Difficulties are not insurmountable; as long as we display an indomitable spirit to remove the mountains and sharpen skills in dredging the rivers, we can turn the harmful into the beneficial and make difficult jobs easy ones. This fact reminds me of the problem in the ideological education of youths.

How should the ideological problem of youths be evaluated?

This young generation grew up in the 10 years of the civil strife, a generation which personally saw the "gang of four" turn upside down relationships between men and evils, between truth and falsehood, between good and bad, between the beautiful and the ugly, and between right and wrong. The majority of youths experienced a mental transformation which began with skepticism, misgivings and exploration and ended in awakening and forward-looking movement. Given the special historical conditions at the time, this change in mentality should surprise no one. It is clearly unfair to assign the blame for all problems that have been created to youths alone. It is also wrong to call them members of a hopeless generation. Furthermore, a general survey shows that the quality and main aspect of our young generation as a whole are good, sound and hopeful. Although some people have seen only the youths who aimlessly roam in the streets, as a matter of fact, they constitute only a small proportion of the large youth population of many millions. The overwhelming majority of youths have studied technology diligently and assiduously, and are interested in the four modernizations program. Even those disappointed and distraught youths who have fallen victim to cheating and have been rejected by their capricious lovers are unwilling to lag behind others. We must understand that youths have not only strengths but weaknesses as well, which are visible to everyone. Although they are apt to observe problems in a unilateral and radical way, this weakness also reflects their strong point on the ideological front and thoughtfulness in dealing with problems. Although they are interested in fads and new ideas, and although their ability to distinguish right from wrong is limited, this tendency also reflects their strong desire to acquire knowledge and their readiness to accept new things. Although they lack a sense of organization and discipline, they have the desire to promote democracy and courage to express their views. Although they have the habit of criticizing and complaining about life, they are keenly interested in realizing the four modernizations program and reform.

In short, we must evaluate the ideological problem of youths from the historical and dialectical point of view. If we see it from the historical point of view, we can proceed to gain an insight into the background and cause of their ideological problem, as well as an understanding of why this young generation and the party are in the same boat and share the same destiny, and why we should give them love. If we see it from the dialectical point of view, we will become aware that the quality and the main aspect of our young generation are good, and will gain confidence in transforming it through education until the unhealthy aspects of its ideology are eliminated.

Thoughtful Message From Builders of the Dujiang Irrigation System

The six-character lesson on flood control summed up by Li Bin and his son: "Dredge the river deep, and build dams to protect the plains," tells us that in harnessing the rivers, reliance on building dams alone won't work, and efforts must be made to dredge their shallow sections and to regulate waterways. Although this is the way rivers are harnessed, is it also true of the transformation of people?

The term "dredge and regulate" here is highly meaningful. The term "dredge" can be construed as "remove obstructions," "chart a course," and "make a breakthrough" while the term "regulate" can be interpreted as "give some one instruction, advice, lessons and induce him to do something." When the two terms are converted into a phrase, it means removing obstacles, putting things on right track, and reconciling, transforming and resolving contradictions. If comrades devoted to the education of youths fail to heed this lesson on dredging and regulating, and are interested only in subjecting them to control, restriction and oppression, they will end up containing flood by means of damming alone and sharpening contradictions instead of resolving them.

It is easy to talk about it but difficult to get it done. Doing ideological work among youths means coming to grips with knowledge and the art of education. First, we must love and keep in close touch with the youths, and try to understand clearly what they have in mind so that we can choose the most opportune moment to address their problems in the most effective way. Generally speaking, during their journey to the cherished goal in life, youths will invariably encounter the following three problems: (1) the problem concerning their education, jobs and ideals; (2) the problem concerning their love affairs, marriage and family life; (3) the problem concerning their sense of the state and the nation and justice. However, it must be noted that the characteristics of the three problems which face every generation vary from era to era. To this generation of youth which suffered frustrations in the 10 years of civil strife from which it still has not fully recovered, these problems mean a loss of education, jobs, lovers, and will to live a normal life. By now, the problems of how to inspire the youths to adopt a correct attitude toward such "losses," how to stimulate their interest in life, how to encourage them to set a sail to their cherished ideal goal, and how to make them rekindle the flame in their souls, have become bottlenecks to the implementation of ideological and political work among the youths. The key to success in addressing such bottlenecks is love. We often compare youths to the flowers of our motherland. Certainly, we must love not only flowers in full bloom but also flowers which bear the brunt of frosts. Whatever their backgrounds, youths of all kinds are children of our motherland. Is there any reason that compatriots should not love and help one another? I firmly believe that warm love is instrumental in melting cold hearts, and in opening the closed windows of minds.

Second, we must trust and understand youths, explore the bright side of their life and grasp every crucial moment to educate them. One day, I heard a

youngster say: "Is there any youth who does not want to make progress and who wants only to lead a decadent life?" This voice echoes the opinion of the vast majority of the young people. Our comrades devoted to the work of educating youths must trust youths, and must be aware that there is a candle deep down in the heart of every youth. If we can dig out this candle that is buried deep in his soul and light it up, we can turn it into a flame. Recently, I found that a youth lost his interest in life and wanted escape this world to become a Buddhist monk because he was in trouble with his family and neighbors. Although he claimed that he had seen through the mundane world, a candle was buried deep in his soul because he hoped that his action would end up removing a gap between two generations along with an obstacle to progress. This discovery of a candle in his soul provided an opportunity to educate him. Through education, he regained confidence in life and interest in going back to work. We cannot even discriminate against those wayward youths. We must treat them as equals, and try our best to find even the faintest silver lining in their gloomy hearts.

Third, we must look after and help youths, instill in them the communist faith and chart a correct course of education for them. To chart a correct educational course for youths is not only a point of departure but also a goal for comrades dedicated to the work of educating youths. To educate youths in communist ideology is not only our responsibility but also a direction in which we must move in this work. One day, a youngster told me that he believed in neither communism nor Marxism. I asked: What society do you hope to live in? He said: "I hope to live in a society of universal harmony devoid of cheating." What a good idea! There is no conflict at all between the society of universal harmony and communism. More than that, communism is an ideal aimed at building a world of universal harmony deprived of exploitation and oppression. Although we agree with each other on this point, the problem is how to realize a world of universal harmony. I told him that the path to the goal of universal harmony could not be found in the ancient Chinese precepts of universal harmony or in Kang Youwei's "Book on Universal Harmony"; nor are the Christian "Bible," Mohammed's "Koran," or Shakyamuni's "Sutras" panaceas for saving the world; only the perfect communist ideological system founded by Marx and Engels is good at translating the communist utopia into a branch of science. At this point, this youth said: "This time, I am totally convinced." If we want to steer youths on the road toward communism and convince them of this truth, we must give them love, show them compassion, reason with them, tell them the truth and guide them toward correct behavior.

A Chain of Thought Triggered by a Visit to the Temple of Zhu Geliang

Today, many youths believe in religions. While in the Qingcheng and Emei Mountains, I saw vendors selling incense and paper money everywhere. I also saw people streaming into temples where they burned incense and bowed their heads before the Buddhist statues. When they emerged from the temples and were on their way home, many wore images of Buddha. Among them were devout Buddhist followers, curiosity-obsessed tourists, and souvenir-collectors. According to comrades on the staff of the Emei Tourism Administration, each year, they receive nearly 800,000 visitors, approximately 1/10 of whom

are faithful pilgrims to the Buddhist temples. Among them are men and women both young and old and individual party and CYL members. This fact deserves our attention. Although citizens in our country enjoy freedom to believe in religion, we should spare no effort to preach materialism. It should be suggested that plants originally designed to produce badges of Buddhist image be encouraged to manufacture badges in memory of the revolution; that the legendary tales contained in the "Emei Story" be balanced by works extolling the laboring people's efforts to change nature. We must give less emphasis to the superstitious nature and more emphasis to the process of construction in introductions to our cultural relics. For example, is it possible to emphasize how the bronze pagoda in the name of Hua Yan was minted and how the statue of the saints on elephants was moved up the mountain? By doing this we can educate tourists in materialism and man's determination to conquer nature, and inspire the public to demonstrate love and affection for the splendid landscape of the motherland and its laboring people. Under the impact of the religious superstitions, some youths have failed to demonstrate a firm faith in communism. Some youths have said that communism is only a dream or like the moon it is too remote to be reached. Their reasoning is that communism is an idea that still needs to be verified through tests. Actually, this is a misunderstanding, because communism is not only a socialist system but also an ideological system and a practical movement. Although communism as a social system still has a long way to go from its ultimate realization, socialism--the initial stage of communism--now claims a history of more than 60 years on earth. Because communism is a long-term cause whose realization calls for efforts by countless generations, no one should envision its realization in a matter of 1 day. Although the communist movement may still suffer frustrations or setbacks during its march forward, it has been firmly established as an inexorable law governing the development of human society. One cannot sense communism as a reality until one envisions it as a lofty ideal and acts in a way consistent with the ultimate communist objective. If we all think and act in a way that contributes to the building of the communist entity, we can certainly expect an early victory for the communist cause.

The triumphant convention of the 12th party congress is drawing near. Under its guidance, the triumphant convention of the "11th Congress of the CYL" is also expected. Let all our old, middle-aged and younger comrades unite as one in the common struggle to broaden the prospect for the development of socialist modernization.

9574
CSO: 4005/1334

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ARTICLE REPORTS ON COMPUTER SCIENCE AT NANJING UNIVERSITY

Beijing GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT] in Chinese No 4, 82, Apr 82 pp 25-26

[Article by Wen Youxin [5113 0645 0207]: "The Professional Orientation Is Firm--Teaching and Research Develop Together--Report on Nanjing University's Computer Science Department"]

[Text] The Computer Science Department of Nanjing University is in the forefront of computer science in China. Personnel are few, the mission is difficult, conditions are not the best; but the department has matured rapidly and achieved much. Since this speciality was set up in the Mathematics Department in 1958, and as a department itself in 1978, there have been only 13 years for actual work, excluding the serious interruptions of the 10 years of disorder. However, in cooperation with other units they have designed 5 computer models and 10 kinds of software, they have published 31 scientific articles of a fairly high level, and trained almost 300 undergraduate and 3 postgraduate students in the field. The entire department does both its ideological-political work and its professional work very well. There is a manifest academic atmosphere.

Computer studies is a new discipline. All of the units concerned with computer studies in China started up around 1958. Why is it that Nanjing University has moved to the forefront when all the units started up at the same time? Is it because of a surfeit of manpower? There are only 54 faculty members in the entire department. It has the smallest faculty of the nine natural sciences departments, and yet it bears a heavy load. The number of students in the department has already reached 517 undergraduates, 20 postgraduates, and 8 advanced students. In addition they have taken on 13 national research projects, and instruct 800 students from the other 8 departments in computer principles. Is it that objective conditions are good? That's not it either. The university has allocated little funding to the department since it was set up; on the contrary, the department has provided the university with 110,000 yuan. What is the reason then? Besides the correct leadership of the university party committee, it is a result of their own aspirations, and the principles and methods for departmental administration which they have gradually worked out through practice, and which have proven correct.

(1) Follow the orientation and be unflagging in perseverence. The realm of computer science is extensive and rapidly changing: Where could they start in building the discipline? They carefully analyzed the realities of their university and their own personal characteristics, and decided to make the most of their strengths while avoiding their weaknesses by adopting software as their basic orientation. For this purpose they sent Zu Jiafu [1776 1367 4395] (professor and doctoral student advisor) abroad to study programming languages. Since then there have been numerous "fads" in China and abroad, but they have continued to deploy their scientific echelon in accordance with the orientation laid down, and have not set off on blind pursuits. They have worked hard progressively to expand the field of software research, doing increasingly solid work in such areas as "languages" and "operating systems." The results of their research have won praise from China's computer industry as well as such departments and ministries as the Fourth Ministry of Machine Building, the Ministry of Petroleum Industry, and the State Administration of Computer Industry. Nanjing University's advanced position in software has also been reaffirmed many times.

(2) Make the most of strengths, avoid areas of weakness, and fight to win the initiative. Software cannot be separated from hardware. In 1958 they designed the first Model 103 computer at a cost of 4 million yuan. It was a great achievement, but the cost was also great. Should they continue to design hardware? They opened up a new road of cooperation with manufacturing plants, working together with the Shanghai No 13 Radio Plant, the Changzhou No 2 Radio Plant, the Nanjing No 734 Plant, and others. The plants produced the hardware, and they provided mutual support in the design and implementation of languages. This shows far greater initiative than to expend a great deal of effort building computers themselves. The advantages of this can be summed up in three points: First, they make a direct contribution to the development of China's computer industry. Second, they can stay serious-minded, and can train and temper the ranks of teachers through practice. They can observe the developmental tendencies of the discipline, keep the scientific initiative, and base their teaching and research on the advanced levels of computer development in China. Third, they can promote social understanding of the professional standards of the university, and at the same time take in some revenue to use in equipping themselves and improving their working conditions (in the last 4 years the department has earned 1 million yuan, of which 800,000 yuan has been used to purchase 11 microprocessors, 22 terminals, and 4 distributed operating systems.)

(3) Insist on the two central tasks: teaching and research spur each other on. How can a newly created discipline be made to flourish in the university? At Nanjing University it is believed that the key is to handle correctly the relationship between teaching and research from the very beginning. From the leaders to the teachers, from thought to action, the two must be closely integrated. The clearly enunciated guiding principles for the department are: excel in software, and integrate software and hardware; and teaching energizes research, while research spurs on teaching. First, it is emphasized that teaching plays a role in energizing research. It is emphasized that teaching is the starting point for the selection of research topics, as well as being an important point of return. From the point of view of

nurturing talent thisis a real insight. We can discover talent through teaching, and go on to bring up successors in scientific endeavors: this is the most basic kind of "energizing." Furthermore, full-time researchers after all, have their own limitations. If teachers and students with various points of view and depths of learning have contact with and participate in research, this will provide research with a continuous flow of energy. For example, during the seventies work with data bases was all the rage in foreign countries. Nanjing University did not make a move until teachers and students expressed their needs to the researchers. Only then did they organize their forces to seek out an assignment in the north China oilfields to develop a storage management system. As soon as the research project was completed a related course of study was offered. At the same time a contingent was trained to do data base research. The role of research in spurring on teaching is even more apparent. The principal reason why this department has been able to form an academic echelon, offer 35 courses, prepare 28 volumes of teaching materials, and raise the level of teaching to a high level in such a short time, is that the research efforts have been successful. (Thirteen important state and provincial research projects have been completed, of which eight have filled gaps in our country, and six have won awards.) Fifteen of the 35 courses have been new courses for which teaching materials had to be created through research. For example, teaching materials for ALGOL could not have been created except through research in that language. Computer science is very much oriented toward practice: without research and repeated hands-on computer experience it is impossible to have a deep understanding and make clear explanations when teaching. It is precisely because they have emphasized the integration of teaching and research that 95 percent of the department faculty have undergone research training, while 70 percent of the faculty have had teaching responsibilities. There is no separation between the department and the research facility. Their research in the high-level language XCY was carried out in response to teaching requirements. Afterwards it was initially taught two times on a trial basis in the classroom, revealing many problems. After being further perfected by the researchers this language has become far more rational and systematic, while the theoretical conceptions and the intellectual progressions of developing software have become clearer and better articulated. Therefore, they advocate that everybody engaging in research and everybody engaging in teaching take the first steps toward that happy state in which most of the faculty will have the "two skills" (skill in teaching and skill in research).

(4) Pay attention to building up an academic echelon. The Computer Science Department of Nanjing University has an excellent corps of teachers. Professor Ye Nanxun [0673 0589 3575], department chairman, has devoted a great deal of effort to computer science education. In setting up the Computer Science Department, he has played and is continuing to play an important role on such key issues as grasping the department's direction of development, and the all-round organization and coordination of its forces. At the present time the department faculty has 2 processors, 7 assistant professors, 37 lecturers, and 8 teaching assistants. There are two conspicuous strengths: First, the average age is a young 42 years. The entire contingent is vigorous and spirited. The three leaders in the field, Xu Jiafu, Sun Zhongxiu [1327 6988 4423], and Zhang Fuyan [1728 4395 3508], are 57, 45, and 42 years old, respectively. They are just in their most productive

productive years and full of vim and vigor. Two years ago Sun Zhongxiu went to the United States for advanced study. He originally planned to stay for 2 years, but completed his plans in 1-1/2 years and returned to China ahead of time. With great dedication he immediately applied what he had intensively studied in the United States to his teaching and research. Second, the ranks are well-ordered. They constitute a multilayered, small but powerful, academic echelon. Influenced by the vanguard type model of CPC and CYL members, the above three academic leaders function as the mainstays, motivating 10 project leaders, under these are 17 key faculty members who independently direct research and teaching. There are also 10 faculty members who devote most of their efforts to teaching, but who also cooperate in assuming some research responsibilities. The leaders of the echelon have solid talent and learning, as well as rich practical experience. For example, Xu Jiafu and Sun Zhongxiu have often been invited to attend academic conferences abroad. Zhang Fuyan has often been engaged by other departments and branches to examine and accept computer imports from abroad, and to advise in negotiations. The rapid development of this contingent would not be possible without the solicitude of the leaders and the timely adoption of certain effective measures: (1) Put faculty members in the frontlines, let them mature through practice, provide them with directed training, and allow them to work independently once they have reached a certain level. (2) Let the old hands guide the new hands, and encourage them to consciously yield to the new hands. Besides letting the old hands guide the new hands, and regularizing cooperative work, they are encouraged to yield leadership in their areas to new hands, once they are fundamentally mature. Alternatively, the old hands should help the new hands to branch out and carry on the battle independently. (3) Organize all kinds of training groups with the key faculty members as the principal lecturers. For faculty members who are rich in teaching or research experience, the discussion group and research group formats are used for mutual exchanges and enhancement, enabling the general faculty members to broaden their horizons and benefit from the academic atmosphere. (4) Whether in teaching or research, department requirements are tough and strict. Teaching materials must be of a quality suitable for publication, frequent business trips must not lead to laxity in professional studies, and scholarly research must be rigorous.

What we have been told shows that the Nanjing University Computer Science Department is a very promising department. In order for it to develop in a healthy way, we must give it even more support and make even greater demands.

(1) Cooperation is necessary for development. The computational mathematics and mathematical logic specialities in the Mathematics Department, the Computation Center, and the Computer Science Department of Nanjing University have been a single family in the past. At present they have interlocking professional relations, but internal cooperation is still not good enough, and it should be further strengthened.

(2) Add new forces in an appropriate way, to make the teaching contingent of the department even more complete.

(3) Strengthen the ideological and political leadership of the party, and perfect the division of work between party and government.

(4) Take great care for the lives and health of the faculty, continue to improve working conditions, and take care of fundamental work procedures in the next few years.

In China the computer software contingents are still very weak. The research forces of the higher institutions of learning should become one of the centers of software research in China. If Nanjing University comprehensively organizes and makes rational plans for the relevant forces, making them into a "fist," and then does some hard work, it is entirely possible for it to become a "national team" in this field on the battlelines of higher learning, and to make new contributions to the development of China's computer industry.

12187
CSO: 4005/1238

STATE COUNCIL, CPC SHAKEUP BY DENG, HU EXAMINED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 9, Sep 82 pp 9-13

[Article in "Word From the North" column by Luo Bing [5012 0390]: "The Expansion of Hu Yaobang's Influence and the Deng-Hu System"]

[Text] Elimination of "Centrifugal Elements"

Before the 7th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the 12th CPC Congress, the CPC has made many personnel readjustments, and in particular has retrenched organizations. In the central organizations, many "centrifugal elements" have already been eliminated, thereby strengthening the Deng-Hu system.

The so-called "centrifugal elements" are mainly people who deviate from or oppose Deng Xiaoping's line. Obviously, the strength of the "whatever faction" has been basically eliminated and the power of the "petroleum faction" has fallen to its lowest point.

The so-called Deng-Hu system is mainly the organizational system in the party, government, and army with Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang as its core.

At present it can be said that all the organizations of the State Council and the CPC Central Committee have already been brought into the Deng-Hu system.

After the retrenchment of the State Council, there are now 1 premier, 2 vice premiers (originally 13), 10 members of the Standing Committee, and 41 ministries and commissions (originally 52). The original over 500 vice ministers have now been reduced to slightly over 360. The average age has dropped from 64 to 58. In addition, through structural reform, the organizations directly subordinate to the State Council have been reduced from 41 to 15 (18 were incorporated into various ministries or commissions). The news agency XINHUA, which was directly subordinate to the CPC Central Committee, is now a department of the State Council.

Of course, the "retrenchment" was only in "quantity," but "quality" has also been improved. This so-called heightening of quality mainly means that the proportion of people inclined toward the Deng-Hu line has risen.

Naturally, Premier Zhao Ziyang is a person who follows the Hu-Deng line.

Wan Li Is Also a Trusted Subordinate.

Vice Premier Wan Li is also a trusted subordinate of Deng Xiaoping's.

Wan Li, 66 years old this year, was the mayor of Beijing before the "Cultural Revolution." Beijing's famous 10 big edifices were built mainly under his leadership. In the "Cultural Revolution" period when Deng Xiaoping reemerged, Wan Li became minister of railways. At that time the nationwide railway communications were in a state of chaos and urgently in need of a thorough overhaul. Wan Li mobilized all the railway staff and workers and swiftly reversed the chaotic situation in railway transportation. He wore work clothes and personally rode trains everywhere on inspections, and wherever he went he solved railway problems. People said he was "the minister who travels on a thousand li [wan li--pun on his name] of track." During the movement to "criticize Deng and counterattack the right deviationist evil wind of reversing correct decisions," the "gang of four" shouted loudly that they would rather have a socialism that ran late than a capitalism that ran on time, and they slandered Wan Li by saying that he was a "sinister example" and struck him down. After the "gang of four's" downfall, in 1977 Wan Li became the first secretary of the Anhui provincial party committee. During this period he frequently made tours in disguise, was concerned for the people's weal and woe, and resolved many unjust, false, and mistaken cases. The Anhui masses named him "Blue Sky--Just Judge--Wan." At the same time, Wan Li involved himself keenly in Anhui's rural economy and changed the working features of the entire province. As evidence of this there is the nursery rhyme: "Want rice to eat look for Wan Li; want grain to eat look for [Zhao] Ziyang," After this, Wan Li was transferred to Beijing and became vice premier and concurrently minister of the State Agricultural Commission. His post in the CPC is secretary of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat. From Wan Li's experience, it can be seen that he is on Deng Xiaoping's side.

"You Have a Big Nerve!"

Recently, a friend in cultural circles in Beijing told me a story that illustrates this point.

Before the turn of the year, there was a public showing of the Japanese film "Longing for the Hometown," which received a big welcome from young people. In this film was a nude scene, which was over in a flash and had not the slightest sexual contact, but Huang Zhen, then minister of culture, on learning of this scene, immediately ordered a ban on showing of the film. Therefore, "Longing for the Hometown" was "cut off" halfway in its showing. There was a public outcry. When Vice Premier Wan Li heard of this he summoned Huang Zhen and said to him: "You have a big nerve! Do you know who approved the public showing of "Longing for the Hometown"? It was Vice Chairman Deng who personally approved the showing. He has now gone to America (on a visit), and you have stopped the showing..." Flabbergasted, Huang Zhen immediately made a telephone call lifting the ban on "Longing for the Hometown."

My friend cited this story to show that Wan Li is a diehard follower and trusted subordinate of Deng Xiaoping's and that his power is great. This view is of course, correct.

The other vice premier retained in his post is Yao Yilin, and he is also an important figure on the Deng-Hu side. This leading figure in the student movement in Beijing and Tianjin in the mid-1930's was mainly engaged in propaganda work before the founding of the PRC. After 1949, he was principally engaged in financial and economic work and in secretarial work. He has been vice minister of trade, minister of commerce, deputy secretary general of the CPC Central Committee, and vice minister in charge of the General Office of the CPC Central Committee.

Yao Yilin--Hu's "Old Partner"

Yao Yilin, 65 years old this year, is really good at secretarial work. Since the 1950's, he has always written his own articles and reports without the aid of a secretary. He is also an expert in finance and trade. Every time he goes to a university to report on relevant financial and economic issues, he receives a warm welcome. The students say his reports are realistic in content and vivid in language. He behaved well during the "Cultural Revolution." His stock reply to the many twisted arguments put forward by the Red Guards was: "Marx didn't talk like that." With regard to the unreasonable demands raised by these so-called revolutionary masses, he always answered them by saying: "This is a state secret and cannot be divulged." He can be called an "old partner" of Hu Yaobang's, and when, after the "gang of four" fell from power, he was appointed deputy secretary general of the CPC Central Committee, the secretary general at that time was Hu Yaobang. When the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee was established, Hu Yaobang became its general secretary and Yao Yilin became one of its secretaries.

Of the ministers and ministers in charge of the various ministries and commissions of the State Council, the most prominent figure is Zhang Jingfu. He also can be said to be completely loyal to Deng Xiaoping's line.

Zhang Jingfu's Position Is Unusual

Why do I say that, of the high officials with the rank of minister or minister in charge, Zhang Jingfu's position is particularly illustrious?

First, I say this because Zhang Jingfu is the minister in charge of the State Economic Commission, and the commission was formed by incorporating several former commissions. Of these former commissions, the ministers in charge of the agriculture, machine-building industry, and energy commissions are all vice premier (Wan Li, Bo Yibo, Yu Qiuli). From this, the weight of this commission and its new leaders can be realized.

Second, of the 10 members of the Standing Committee of the State Council, 9 are former vice premiers. They are Yu Qiuli, Geng Biao, Fang Yi, Gu Mu, Kang Shi'en, Chen Muhua, Bo Yibo, Ji Pengfei, and Huang Hua (former vice

premiers Yang Jingren and Zhang Aiping are not members of the Standing Committee). On the namelist of the Standing Committee, only one person--Zhang Jingfu--is not a former vice premier.

These two facts show that Zhang Jingfu's position is very unusual. This fair-haired boy in the State Council, who is almost 70 years old, is a former first secretary of the Anhui Provincial CCP Committee and a former governor of Anhui Province. Before this he had been minister of finance, vice minister in charge of the State Scientific and Technological Commission, and vice president of the Academy of Sciences. Again, going against the current, he was afterward appointed to local posts.

There is an interesting story from the year that Zhang Jingfu was transferred from the post of minister of finance to that of first secretary of the Anhui party committee. It is said that a veteran cadre, on reaching a great age, gave a big banquet and then applied for reimbursement. Finance Minister Zhang Jingfu was unwilling to approve the reimbursement and passed the issue on to Hua Guofeng. Hua Guofeng, not daring to offend this revolutionary of the older generation, approved it, saying: "This reimbursement is not to be taken as a precedent." Because Zhang Jingfu offended the veteran cadre, relations between the two became strained, to the extent that their relationship in the Standing Committee of the Politburo was affected. In order to alleviate this situation, Zhang Jingfu was transferred from the Finance Ministry and became chief of the party and government in Anhui. There were many people in the central government who had rather little to say about Zhang Jingfu's transfer because he had maintained a principle of the party spirit.

After Zhang Jingfu went to Anhui, he roused himself for vigorous efforts to make the country prosperous and worked with a will to make the country strong, did many good things for the people, and was universally praised by the local masses.

It can be said that Zhang Jingfu, regardless of whether he was in the financial and economic departments of the State Council or was a cadre in Anhui Province, enjoyed quite high prestige.

This shows that Zhang Jingfu's promotion enjoyed public confidence and was also a recognition by Deng and Hu of his talent.

Niece of Chiang Air Force Maj Gen Chen Qixia

In the State Council, with the exception of Wan, Yao, and Zhang, the youngest member of the Standing Committee and minister of foreign economic relations and trade, Chen Muhua (61) is a person who attracts considerable attention. In government circles, she is a woman of power cloaked in mystery. In Beijing, many foreign correspondents and members of embassies have made great efforts to find out Chen Muhua's background. In issue No 55 of CHENG MING, I introduced this somewhat legendary and colorful figure. Here I will make four additional points.

1. Chen Muhua went to Yan'an in 1938.

2. After the state was founded, Chen Muhua did specialized work pertaining to coal mines, railways and planning. In the later part of the 1950's, she went to Vietnam as an expert to help in construction. After returning to China, beginning in the 1960's she has been engaged in foreign economic liaison work.

3. Chen Muhua is the niece of Kuomintang Air Force Maj Gen Chen Qixia. Chen was the commander of the Xianqiao Dadui, one of the three dadui of the Kuomintang Air Force. In the civil war period, because of war weariness he returned to his home village and tilled the land. Because of this, in the various political movements after founding of the PRC he was not attacked, but on the contrary became a counselor in the Zhejiang Provincial Conselors Office.

4. Chen Muhua's husband is a man named Zhong Yi. Originally a military cadre, he was transferred to civilian work in the localities and works for the State Planning Commission. His official position used to be higher than Chen's, but now hers is higher.

A Highly Secret Affair

This is what an "authoritative source" who once worked with Chen Muhua told me. He said: "This is a secret that must not be divulged. Only a very few people in the country know about it, and oversees it would be hard to find anyone who knows about it."

People didn't used to pay much attention to Chen Muhua, but 2 or 3 years ago, her level of recognition suddenly shot up because of the "special plane incident."

The "authoritative source" gave me some fresh and fairly precise inside information about this incident.

A seriously ill member of a basketball team wanted to return to Beijing on Chen Muhua's private plane and get emergency treatment, but, because he did not ride on the plane, he missed his chance to get emergency treatment and, as a result, died. There was a lot of reaction to this affair and some people in the State Council voiced criticisms. At a CPPCC conference in 1980, many Standing Committee members brought the matter up and expressed a lot of indignation. When Chen Muhua learned of this, she wrote a letter to Liu Lantao, secretary general of the CPPCC, saying that at the time the incident occurred she knew nothing about it and that the whose matter had been handled by her secretary, who did not ask her for instructions. Chen's letter also said that the central authorities had approved the special plane and that she herself had not wanted to ride on it. She said that the incident is now causing her more and more trouble and that it is truly incomprehensible and thus requires clarification.

At the time was Chen Muhua wronged?

Up to today, people in Beijing have not again brought up this "special plane incident." In reporting on this incident in Chen Muhua's experience, the press only used 89 characters, not enough to satisfy people's "curiosity" (it should really be said to be their "knowledge of the facts in the case"), and therefore people's interest in this favorite of the State Council has cooled off.

From Zhang Chen and Wu Lengxi We See What "Closely Following" Means

Of the new people in the State Council, although many of them are talents who possess specialized knowledge, there are also those without special professional talents who have become ministers. Zhang Chen, minister of nuclear industry, is an example. She is certainly not a so-called "high-grade intellectual." Her posts in the past were only those of deputy head of a cotton mill, deputy chairman of the Planning Commission of Shenyang Municipality, and deputy director of a bureau in the Second Ministry of Machine Building. There were several reasons why she became minister of nuclear industry, including: 1) her politics are good and 2) she is popular. From this we know that, in selecting talent and choosing people for a job, Deng and Hu put "politics" first. What is called being good in politics means to closely follow Deng and Hu.

In the past, during the Mao Zedong era, "closely following" was stressed. Now there still must be stress on "closely following."

In the State Council's personnel changes, Wu Lengxi's appointment to the post of minister of radio and television was quite a surprise to some people. However, people who knew the inner story did not think in this way. They think that although Wu Lengxi in the past was influenced by the "whatever faction" and once did not do well, after a "deepgoing investigation" was made, he indicated his "firm support for the line of the third plenary session." Deng Xiaoping then sent him to the localities for "tempering" (he became secretary of the Guangdong provincial party committee) and Deng hinted that he would transfer him back to the center in the future. Some people in Beijing say that it can be seen from Wu Lengxi's return to the capital that Deng Xiaoping has a political mind; but there are also people who think that from this one knows that precept "better 'left' than right" is still applicable. But, no matter what the case is, Wu Lengxi today is not a member of the "whatever faction" but is a "close follower."

With so many members of the "close follower faction" in the leading group of the State Council, naturally the Deng-Hu system has been greatly strengthened.

From Trusted Follower of Liu Shaoqi's to Trusted Follower of Deng Xiaoping's

The strengthening of this system is shown not only in the renovation of the leading group of the central government but also in the changes in the leading members of the organizations of the CPC Central Committee.

From the reorganization of the Central Committee Party School it can be seen that the "whatever faction" has further lost power and influence in the leading organizations.

That Deng Liqun, who in recent years has been shown to be "strong in the principle of party spirit and, from being a trusted follower of Liu Shaoqi's, has become a trusted follower of Deng Xiaoping's and has replaced Wang Renzhong as director of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee was no surprise to people.

Naturally, Beijing cultural circles have views about Deng Liqun.

Besides being comparatively interested in the reorganizations of the Propaganda Department, people are paying attention to the personnel changes at RENMIN RIBAO.

Why Was a Directorial System Set Up in RENMIN RIBAO?

It is said that someone raised the question of chief editor Hu Jiwei's age and that, subsequently, there was an atmosphere for having Hu Jiwei become an adviser. However, the "popular will" within RENMIN RIBAO did not agree to this arrangement. Many people pointed out that Hu Jiwei's thinking was comparatively liberal and that he was a firm supporter and faithful implementer of the ideological line of the third plenary session. During his tenure of office, RENMIN RIBAO published many good articles on the topic of upholding principles that were stronger than those of the news agency XINHUA or the magazine RED FLAG, so why is it that Hu Jiwei could not continue to be chief editor but Xiong Fu, who was influenced quite a bit by the "two whatevers," could continue to be chief editor of RED FLAG?

It is said that, out of respect for the "popular will," the CPC Central Committee decided to change RENMIN RIBAO to a directorial system and make Hu Jiwei the director and Qun Chuan the chief editor.

Viewed from a certain angle, the personnel reorganization of RENMIN RIBAO was different from the personnel changes in the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee and in the Ministry of Culture of the State Council. Some persons whose thinking had become rigid have been removed from leading posts, while persons who are loyal to the third plenary session's line are not absolutely unimpeded and unblocked.

My Beijing friend found that, in the process of strengthening the Deng-Hu system, some old colleagues, old superiors, and old subordinates of Hu Yaobang's have mounted to leading positions in certain departments.

Of the above-mentioned current right-hand men (vice premiers) of Zhao Ziyang's, Yao Yilin is an "old partner" and aide of Hu Yaobang's.

Hu Jiuli's Big Promotion

A figure in Zhongnanhai who is extremely worthy of attention--Hu Qili--is also an old subordinate of Hu Yaobang's.

Hu Qili can be said to be a high-ranking cadre in the CYL who bestrides two eras. In 1964, he became an alternate secretary of the CYL Central Committee. In the "Cultural Revolution" period he was transferred to a lower level in the localities for a long time, taking up the post of regional party secretary. After the "Cultural Revolution," Hu Yaobang came back to Zhongnanhai and Hu Qili's name became one of the "five Hu's." At the 1st plenary session of the 10th CYL Central Committee in 1978, he was reappointed to his post as secretary of the Secretariat and concurrently became secretary general of the CYL Central Committee, listed second only to First Secretary Han Ying. When Lin Hujia was transferred to the post of mayor of Beijing, Hu Qili filled the vacancy left by Lin Hujia by becoming mayor of Tianjin.

Now, Hu Qili has been transferred from the localities to Zhongnanhai and plays an important role there--director of the General Office of the CPC Central Committee (the previous director was Yao Yilin).

For many years, straight up to last year before the sixth plenary session was held, the two chairmen of the CPC Central Committee (Mao Zedong and Hua Guofeng) have let their trusted follower have the post of director of the General Office, viz, Wang Dongging.

In the past, the power of the director of the General Office of the Central Committee has been extremely great.

My friend told me about a "top secret" situation.

Special Agent Role of the General Office of the Central Committee

During the years that Mao Zedong was consolidating his own power, he used various methods to keep a watch on Politburo members and on cadres with the rank of vice premier and above. Responsible for the mission of what was called "security work" was the "Ninth Office." The so-called "Ninth Office" is the Ninth Office of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, viz, the garrison office. All heads of this office have been people with high connections. People who have read articles concerning the details of Peng Dehuai's past experiences know this.

In those years, the security personnel at Peng Dehuai's side were in reality special agents keeping a watch on Peng Dehuai. In addition to the "Ninth Office," the General Office of the Central Committee had an even more secret mission, viz, recording and reporting the speech and activities of members of the Politburo Standing Committee and of cadres with the rank of vice premier and above. In every high-level cadres' home were personnel of the Organization Service and Administration Bureau. They were drivers, cooks, workers, etc., and among them were people from the General Office of the Central Committee. Therefore, every work and act of the high-ranking cadres were known by the director of the General Office of the Central Committee and

was afterward reported by him to Mao Zedong. Therefore, between the high-ranking cadres there were basically no private contacts, and when they did meet each other they seldom spoke of what was in their hearts. In the latter stage of the "Cultural Revolution," the contacts between Ye Jianying and Deng Xiaoping were not held in Ye Jiangying's home but in the home of his younger brother, Ye Daoying, in order to avoid "divulging confidential matters."

Now, the working mission of the General Office of the Central Committee and its director should be different from that in those years. However, no matter what the mission is, the General Office of the Central Committee has always been an important organization in Zhongnanhai, and Hu Qili is one of the closest trusted followers of Hu Yaobang's.

When Hu Qili was transferred from Tianjin, the post of that city's mayor was temporarily filled by Li Ruihuan. Li Ruihuan is a member of the CYL Central Committee, a member of its Standing Committee, and a secretary of its Secretariat. He is also a figure in the Hu Yaobang system.

Li Chang and One of the "Two Hu's"

In the past, Li Chang, the present executive chairman of the Presidium of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, did not attract much attention. He is an old colleague of Hu Yaobang's. In 1952, he, together with Hu, was picked to be a secretary in the Secretariat of the CYL Central Committee. At the 4th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Li Chang and Jing Nanxiang (now dead), deputy secretary of the CYL and minister of education in the early period after the founding of the state, were made by by-election members of the CPC Central Committee. It is believed that they will be subsequently confirmed at the 12th party congress.

Hu Keshi, current vice president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, has been a colleague of Hu Yaobang's for the longest time and their relationship is close. In 1952, Hu Keshi became an alternate secretary of the CYL Central Committee and in the following year was promoted to full secretary. In the CYL Central Committee, they are called the "two Hu's."

Feng Wenbin Exercises Real Power in the Central Committee Party School

The Party School of the Central Committee is a big organization. The current president of the school, whose name is Wang Zhen, is old, and real power in the Party School is exercised by one of the vice presidents, Feng Wenbin. Feng is concurrently deputy director of the Party History Research Center of the Central Committee and chairman of the Commission for Collecting Party Historical Data of the Central Committee. He was once Hu Yaobang's superior. In 1949, at the first plenary session of the First Central Committee of the New Democracy Youth League, held on 4 April, Feng Wenbin was elected secretary of the First Central Committee of the League. At the third plenary session of the First Central Committee of the League in 1952, Hu Yaobang joined the Secretariat of the League Central Committee and worked under Feng Wenbin's leadership. In the 1957 "antirightist" movement, Feng was forced

from office and Hu Yaobang took Feng's position with the title of "first secretary of the League Central Committee." In this year's streamlining of the administrative structure, Feng lost his position as deputy director of the General Office of the Central Committee. It is said that the reason he lost this office was because, in handling the case of economic crimes committed by the sons and daughters of a very old veteran cadre, he "offended" that veteran cadre to his face. However, Feng's current posts cannot be overlooked.

Wu Xueqian and Xiang Nan

In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, First Vice Minister Wu Xueqian has drawn considerable attention. In the 1950's, he was once the director of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee and was Hu Yaobang's "subordinate." Afterward he was transferred to the posts of bureau chief and deputy director in the International Liaison Department.

Among the cadres holding important posts in the State Council and in the organizations of the CPC Central Committee is also a batch of persons who were once cadres in the CYL Central Committee. For example, Wang Wei, first vice minister of the Ministry of Public Health and concurrently deputy director of the State Family Planning Commission; Lu Jindong, vice minister of the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission; Wang Zhaohua, deputy director of the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee; and Li Shuzheng, deputy director of the International Liaison Department of the CPC Central Committee--all of these people were once secretaries in the Secretariat of the CYL Central Committee (Li Shuzheng was an alternate secretary).

Among the current first secretaries of provincial party committees, Xiang Nan, first secretary of the Fujian Provincial CPC Committee, is the focus of everybody's attention. From 1957 to 1964, he was a secretary in the Secretariat of the CYL Central Committee. Others like Xiang Nan who in the past were secretaries of the CYL Central Committee are Liang Buting, first secretary of the Qinghai Central Committee, and Zhang Ze, secretary of the Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee. Liu Daosheng, secretary of the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee; Yang Haibo, vice president of the China University of Science and Technology; and Xu Weicheng, director of BEIJING RIBAO--all of these people were secretaries of the CYL Central Committee in the 1950's or 1960's (Xu Weicheng was an alternate secretary).

Expansion of Hu Yaobang's Influence

From the above-mentioned developments in personnel we see that Hu Yaobang is beginning to expand his power in the party and government organizations. This influence has three characteristics:

1. Its members and backbone are cadres of the CYL Central Committee.

2. Hu Yaobang, this old CYL first secretary, is its core and its direct organizer and commander.

3. On the surface it is a system formed by Hu Yaobang himself, but in reality it is part of the Deng-Hu system.

The third characteristic is not easy to see. Up to now, the ideological line and the political line of Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang have been identical, and people have been unable to find any rift in their harmonious relationship. At the beginning of this year, Hu Yaobang, at a symposium of organizations directly subordinate to the CPC Central Committees, made a speech in which he looked back at the history of 1966: The "Cultural Revolution" was just beginning, and in the core leadership stratm of the CPC there occurred a fierce debate about choosing a successor to Mao Zedong with Mao Zedong preferring Lin Biao and Zhou Enlai recommending Comrade Deng Xiaoping. Then Hu Yaobang said: If Mao Zedong at that time had decided that Comrade Deng Xiaoping would be his successor and had let Comrade Deng Xiaoping take his place, the Chinese revolution would not have taken the 10-year detour. At that time Comrade Deng Xiaoping was a little over 60 years old--in the prime of life--and he had handled many things well. From this we know that Hu Yaobang is Deng Xiaoping's faithful follower. He certainly will not pull together his assistants and set up an independent kingdom. That Hu Yaobang selected some people from among former cadres of the CYL Central Committee was only in order to strengthen the Deng-Hu system and was not in order to establish and strengthen his individual influence. Looked at from another angle, and even from Deng Xiaoping's angle, for Hu Yaobang to put some old colleagues and old subordinates in important positions was what he should have done. Within the CPC and within the CPC Central Committee, factionalism exists to a serious extent. If you are a leading figure in the party and do not have assistants and companions who are your diehard followers, there is the possibility that you will be overthrown by your political opponents and all of your ideological lines and political lines will fail.

9227
CSO: 4005/1328

END

JPRS 82204

9 November 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 359

JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE
25
ANNIVERSARY

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82204

9 November 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 359

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Israel's Sharon Testifies on Beirut Massacre
(XINHUA, 26 Oct 82) 1

British Conservative Party Ends Conference
(XINHUA, 9 Oct 82) 2

End of EEC-U.S. Steel Dispute Noted
(XINHUA, 22 Oct 82) 4

Iraq Accepts New Islamic Peace Proposals
(XINHUA, 27 Oct 82) 6

Briefs
UK Malvinas Victory Parade 7
Schmidt on Chancellorship 7

PARTY AND STATE

Roundup of Appearances by East Region Leaders
(Editorial Report) 8

Yuan Dynasty Valued Consulting Service Provided by Retired Officials
(Sui Xiwen; BEIJING WANBAO, 4 Aug 82) 10

Many Intellectuals Become Leading Cadres in Gansu
(RENMIN RIBAO, 12 Aug 82) 12

Heilongjiang Province Studies Party Congress Documents
(HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 5 Sep 82) 14

Giving Scope To Role of Intellectuals Required
(HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 6 Sep 82) 16

Bai Rubing, Others Attend Nationa Day Party
(Jinan Shandong Provincial Service, 20 Sep 82) 18

Fuzhou PLA Congress Deputy Addresses Rally
(FUJIAN RIBAO, 21 Sep 82) 19

Xinjiang Air Force Cadres Meeting Held
(Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service, 25 Sep 82) 21

Guangxi: People's Congress Standing Committee Meets
(Nanning Guangxi Regional Service, 25 Sep 82) 23

Shanghai's Chen Guodong Television Speech
(Shanghai City Service, 26 Sep 82) 24

Mao Zhiyong Congratulates Women's Volleyball Team
(Changsha Hunan Provincial Service, 26 Sep 82) 26

Fujian Vice Governor Discusses Spiritual Civilization
(Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service, 26 Sep 82) 27

Shanghai United Front Discusses CPC Congress
(Shanghai City Service, 28 Sep 82) 28

Hu Hong Addresses Fujian CPC Committee Session
(Fuzhou Provincial Service, 28 Sep 82) 30

Advisory Commission Members at Nanjing Honored
(Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service, 30 Sep 82) 32

Wang Daohan Speaks at National Day Reception
(Shanghai City Service, 30 Sep 82) 33

Henan Province Celebrates National Day
(Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service, 1 Oct 82) 34

Guangxi Meeting on Five Stresses, Four Beauties
(Nanning Guangxi Regional Service, 1 Oct 82) 35

Qiao Xiaoguang Celebrates PRC Anniversary
(Nanning Guangxi Regional Service, 1 Oct 82) 36

Guangxi's Wuzhou Radio Station Resumes Operation
(Nanning Guangxi Regional Service, 1 Oct 82) 37

Mao Zhiyong Speaks at Hunan Sports Meet
(Changsha Hunan Provincial Service, 1 Oct 82) 38

Fujian Conducts Class for Propaganda Cadres
(FUJIAN RIBAO, 2 Oct 82) 40

Shanghai's Chen Guodong, Others Visit Workers
(Shanghai City Service, 2 Oct 82) 42

Shandong Calls for Implementing Congress Guidelines
(Jinan Shandong Provincial Service, 3 Oct 82) 43

Fujian Launches New Civility, Courtesy Campaign
(XINHUA, Domestic Service, 3 Oct 82) 44

Shandong Municipal Secretary Speaks on Grand Objective
(Jinan Shandong Provincial Service, 4 Oct 82) 45

Advisory Committeeman Addresses Jiangsu Social Scientists
(Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service, 4 Oct 82) 47

Wan Da Calls on Hunan To Emancipate Minds
(Changsha Hunan Provincial Service, 5 Oct 82) 48

Jilin CYL Organizations' Achievements Since Third Plenum
(Changchun Jilin Provincial Service, 5 Oct 82) 50

Jiangsu CPC Department Holds Meeting on Cadres
(Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service, 5 Oct 82) 51

Wan Da Discusses Congress at Hunan CPC Session
(Changsha Hunan Provincial Service, 6 Oct 82) 52

Hunan CPC Holds Plenary Session on Congress
(Changsha Hunan Provincial Service, 6 Oct 82) 53

Shandong Holds Meeting on Enlistment
(Jinan Shandong Provincial Service, 6 Oct 82) 55

Shanghai Circular Urges Study of CPC Documents
(Shanghai City Service, 6 Oct 82) 56

Jilin Opens Ninth Provincial CYL Congress
(Changchun Jilin Provincial Service, 7 Oct 82) 58

Jilin Holds Plenum of Ninth Provincial CYL Congress
(Changchun Jilin Provincial Service, 7 Oct 82) 60

Guangdong Municipality Stresses Open-Door Policy
(Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service, 7 Oct 82) 61

Shandong Uncovers Illegal Resident Registers
(Jinan Shandong Provincial Service, 7 Oct 82) 62

Fujian Congress Appoints New Vice Governors
(Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service, 8 Oct 82) 65

Jilin Provincial CYL Congress Delegates Visit Veteran Cadres
(Changchun Jilin Provincial Service, 9 Oct 82) 66

Bai Rubing Attends CYL Congress
(Jinan Shandong Provincial Service, 10, 14 82) 67

Bai Rubing Attends
Closing Session

Shanghai Commissar Discusses Congress Guidelines
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 10 Oct 82) 70

Jiangsu People's Congress Committee Meeting
(XINHUA RIBAO, 11 Oct 82) 71

Provincial CYL Congress Ends
(Changchun Jilin Provincial Service, 11 Oct 82) 73

Commentary on Importance of Communist Ideology
(Changchun Jilin Provincial Service, 11 Oct 82) 74

Hainan CPC Arranges Study of Congress Documents
(Haikou Hainan Island Service, 12 Oct 82) 76

Fuchuan County Checks Back-Door Promotions
(Nanning Guangxi Regional Service, 12 Oct 82) 77

Provincial Meeting Commends Model Workers
(Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service, 12 Oct 82)..... 78

Hunan Discipline Inspection Committee Meeting
(Changsha Hunan Provincial Service, 13 Oct 82) 79

New Fujian Vice Governor Interviewed
(ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE, 15 Oct 82) 80

Professional Cadres Trained Systematically
(Jinan Shandong Provincial Service, 16 Oct 82) 82

Guangxi Radio Comments on Fear of Policy Changes
(Nanning Guangxi Regional Service, 17 Oct 82) 84

Jilin Holds Telephone Conference on Enlistment
(Changchun Jilin Provincial Service, 17 Oct 82) 85

Congress Standing Committee Meeting Ends
(Changchun Jilin Provincial Service, 19 Oct 82) 86

Obituary of Jiangsu CPPCC Vice Chairman
(Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service, 19 Oct 82) 89

Seventh in Series on Revised CPC Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 22 Oct 82) 90

Shandong Holds Model Workers Meeting
(Jinan Shandong Provincial Service, 22 Oct 82) 93

Studying, Implementing Congress Documents Urged
(Jinan Shandong Provincial Service, 24 Oct 82) 95

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Changes in New CPC Constitution
(RENMIN RIBAO, 26 Oct 82) 97

Shandong Ends Model Workers Meeting
(Jinan Shandong Provincial Service, 26 Oct 82) 106

Briefs
Commemorative Meeting 107
Sports Meeting 107
Discipline Violations 108
Congress Documents 108
Qiao Xiaoguang Watches Gymnastics 108
Enhancing People's Congress 109
Guangzhou Clean-Up Drive 109
Liu Tianfu Meets U.S. Group 109
Defeat of 'U.S.-Chiang Agents' 109
Zhiyong Meets Kecheng Relative 110
FuzhouSports Meet 110
Spiritual Civilization 110
'GUANGXI QIAOBAO' Resumes Publication 110
Qiao Xiaoguang Attends Play 111
New Shandong Municipalities 111
Shandong Young, Middle-Aged Cadres 111
Sentry Guards Guidelines 111

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Shaanxi CPC Circular on Congress Spirit
(Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service, 2 Oct 82) 112

Xizang Releases Population Census Results
(Lhasa Xizang Regional Service, 20 Oct 82) 113

Shandong Releases Census Figures 28 Oct
(Jinan Shandong Provincial Service, 28 Oct 82) 114

Family Planning Regional Meeting Held in Jiangsu
(Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service, 20 Oct 82) 116

Sichuan: Nationalities Official at Prefecture Celebration
(Changdu Sichuan Provincial Service, 1 Oct 82) 117

First Chinese Monastery Opens in Shanghai
(ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE, 11 Oct 82) 118

Developed Provinces To Aid Minority Regions
(XINHUA, 14 Oct 82) 119

Lanzhou Hosts Northwest Broadcasting Meeting
(Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service, 22 Oct 82) 121

Xinjiang Starts Courses on Nationality Policy
(Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service, 26 Oct 82) 122

Feng Jixin Attends Returned Chinese Meeting
(Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service, 8 Oct 82) 123

Shaanxi Conference on Work of Intellectuals
(Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service, 5 Oct 82) 124

Southwest Party History Meeting Concludes
(Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service, 26 Oct 82) 125

Nei Monggol Zhou Hui Speaks at Nei Monggol University
(Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service, 14 Oct 82) 126

Xizang Leader on Study of 12th Congress Documents
(Lhasa Xizang Regional Service, 14 Oct 82) 127

Yunnan Public Security Bureau Circular on Mass Campaign
(Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service, 14 Oct 82) 128

Qinghai's Gaisang Doje Talks About 12th Congress
(Xining Qinghai Provincial Service, 12 Oct 82) 129

Jilin Scores Achievements in Education
(Changchun Jilin Provincial Service, 1 Oct 82) 130

Review of Nie Rongzhen's Work for Intellectuals
(Dong Kegong, et. al.; GUANGMING RIBAO, 4 Oct 82) 132

Briefs
Xinjiang Prefecture Commendation Rally 140
Guizhou Conscription Work 140
Sichuan Democratic League Conference 140
Gansu County Population Growth 141
Xinjiang Model Workers' Delegation 141
Minority Visiting Group 141
Xiao Quanfu Watches Liaoning Troupe 141
Gansu Farewell To Retiring PLA Veterans 142
Veterans Pass Through Xian 142
Feng Jixin Meets Heroic Pilot 142
Henan Develops Education 142
Hubei Higher Education Develops 142
People's Police School in Changchun 143

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ISRAEL'S SHARON TESTIFIES ON BEIRUT MASSACRE

OW261011 Beijing XINHUA in English 0824 GMT 26 Oct 82

[Text] Beijing, 26 Oct (XINHUA)--Israeli Defense Minister Ari'el Sharon has admitted that he authorized Lebanese rightwing militiamen to enter West Beirut refugee camps where some 1,000 Palestinians were slaughtered in mid-September.

Sharon, architect of the June 6 invasion of Lebanon, was giving evidence to the judicial inquiry commission into the massacre at its opening session yesterday, according to reports reaching here.

Sharon said that the Israeli cabinet backed "in principle" his decision to allow Lebanese militiamen into the Sabra and Shatila camps.

Sharon requested a private session to tell the commission headed by Supreme Court Chief Justice Yitzhaq Kahan the "real reason" why he gave the go-ahead, but he said at the public session that Israelis did not enter the camps due to the extreme combativeness of the armed Palestinians still there and in order to "spare the lives of Israeli soldiers."

Sharon also said that Israel decided to invade West Beirut at midnight of September 14 only hours after Lebanese president-elect Bashir al-Jumayyil was assassinated.

He said that he made a personal visit to an Israeli observation post overlooking the camps the following morning and after the visit, it was decided to let the militiamen into the Sabra and Shatila camps.

Sharon added that he learned of the massacre from General Eytan 24 hours after it began but then failed to tell Prime Minister Menachem Begin of what he learned that night.

Sharon gave testimony after General Eytan and Israeli military intelligence chief Yeshshua.

The commission, set up after Menachem Begin came under intense pressure for a full-scale independent investigation, is expected to call Menachem Begin later.

CSO: 4000/11

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRITISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY ENDS CONFERENCE

OW090841 Beijing XINHUA in English 0822 GMT 9 Oct 82

[Text] Brighton, England, 8 Oct (XINHUA)--Britain's ruling Conservative Party ended its four-day annual conference here this afternoon in a mood of marching towards the next general election, which is expected within 12 to 18 months.

Addressing the closing session this afternoon, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher expressed her determination to continue her government's present policy. "We will not disguise our purpose nor betray our principles," she said.

On Britain's foreign policy, Mrs. Thatcher stated that "a strong and united Western alliance is a guarantee of our peace and security." She pledged that her government would give the highest priority to national defence, both conventional and nuclear. She also told the delegates: "We seek agreement with the Soviet Union on arms control. We want to reduce the levels of both conventional and nuclear forces." But she insisted that those reductions must be mutual, balanced and verifiable.

Foreign Secretary Francis Pym pointed out in the debate on overseas affairs that the main danger to security and peace was still the possibility that the Soviet Union would expand its influence by force or the threat of force. Therefore, he said, "The arguments of the unilateral disarmers are dangerously naive."

The foreign secretary stressed the role of the EEC, saying that "I am more than ever convinced that our membership of the community is crucial to the success of our foreign policy."

Referring to Britain's relations with the developing countries, the foreign secretary described the economic development of the Third World as being contributory to "our security and prosperity as well as theirs."

Speaking on the subject of "keeping our defences strong," Defence Secretary John Nott said: "Peace must be maintained through strength, not weakness." He stressed that Britain's determination in defence rested on three commitments: The maintenance and modernisation of the independent nuclear capability; a strong conventional naval, army and air force; and the maintenance of a force structure within the NATO framework.

On the economic issues, both speeches delivered by government ministers and motions adopted at the conference were aimed at carrying on the government's economic strategy to keep down public borrowing so as to relieve the pressure on interest rates. For this purpose the government emphasized the need to continue the fight against inflation, to cut back public spending, to denationalise some of the state-owned industries and to free business from state control. Rejecting the demand for lower taxes, Geoffrey Howe, chancellor of the exchequer, said: "Tax reductions will be made only as and when we can afford them."

CSO: 4000/11

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

END OF EEC-U.S. STEEL DISPUTE NOTED

OW221321 Beijing XINHUA in English 1228 GMT 22 Oct 82

[Text] Brussels, 21 Oct (XINHUA)--The European Economic Community today agreed to limit steel exports to the United States voluntarily, thus resolving the ten-month old dispute on the issue.

This was announced by the EEC commission's Vice-President Etienne Davignon at a press conference here today.

An arrangement was agreed upon which proposes limiting European exports of carbon steel and alloy steel products to 5.7 percent of total U.S. consumption and limiting European shipments of steel pipes and tubes to 5.9 percent of the American market, the average attained between 1979 and 1981.

The arrangement was made on October 11 when the European Commission accepted American steelmakers' amendments to the agreement reached last August 6 on European steel exports to the United States. In exchange U.S. steelmakers agreed to drop anti-dumping complaints against government subsidized European steel exports.

The agreement, which places limits on European steel exports until the end of 1985, was reached little more than two hours before the U.S. Commerce Department was due to impose hefty duties on European steel imports. It followed hours of frantic talks between the community ambassadors here to settle West German objections to the deal.

West Germany, the largest European steel producer with a third of total community steel exports to the United States, had opposed inclusion of its pipe and tube production, arguing that U.S. firms were seeking the restrictions to protect themselves against state-aided European imports while West German steelmakers were virtually unsubsidised and faved zero or minimal penalties.

Etienne Davignon told reporters that the accord would guarantee the European steelmakers' share of one of their most important markets. The European industry is said to be still in the midst of one of its most serious financial crises despite steel production cutbacks and massive redundancies in recent years.

The Europeans' share of U.S. steel sales would fall by around nine percent this year compared to 1981, Davignon said.

EEC Commission Vice-President Wilhelm Haferkamp today called the pact a major step towards restoring transatlantic cooperation, hit in recent months by rows over the construction of a Soviet gas pipeline and farm trade, as well as steel.

He told newsmen the agreement was additional proof "of the strength of the foundations of collaboration between the two banks of the Atlantic." He added: "We are convinced that with the same political will, the same patience and the same tenacity, the EEC and the U.S. will be capable of resolving other problems."

CSO: 4000/11

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

IRAQ ACCEPTS NEW ISLAMIC PEACE PROPOSALS

OW270416 Beijing XINHUA in English 0318 GMT 27 Oct 82

[Text] Baghdad, 26 Oct (XINHUA)--Iraq today announced that it had accepted new Islamic peace proposals including an immediate ceasefire in its war with Iran, the Iraqi News Agency reported.

INA quoted an Iraqi foreign minister official as saying that his country "wants the Islamic and world public opinion to be acquainted with the obstacles faced by the Islamic mission and the real attitude of both Iraq and Iran toward the new proposals."

The new proposals, submitted to both Iraq and Iran by the Islamic goodwill committee last Saturday, call on both countries to withdraw their troops to the internationally recognized borders in accordance with the Algiers 1975 agreement.

Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i Sunday rejected the plan, saying it failed to meet Iran's demands for calling Iraq an aggressor and for the payment of war reparations.

The proposals suggest the deployment of Islamic forces or observers from the member states of the Islamic conference organization on the common borders accepted by both parties.

The Islamic goodwill committee headed by Guinean President Sekou Toure also suggests the formation of a committee acceptable to the two nations to solve the border question and another body to determine who the aggressor is and to condemn it.

The committee proposes the establishment of an "Islamic solidarity fund" to extend immediate aid to both governments to rebuild their countries.

The new proposals are based on the general principle that the two countries should respect each other's national sovereignty and territorial integrity and reiterate their adherence to the principles of non-acquisition of territory by force.

CSO: 4000/11

BRIEFS

UK MALVINAS VICTORY PARADE--Recently, London held her largest military review since World War II, to celebrate Britain's victory in the Malvinas war. More than 1,000 officers and soldiers who had taken part in the war were reviewed. Planes, guns, tanks and guided missiles also appeared on the scene. It was a great occasion. However, to men of insight, it was no more than a farce. Relying its powerful military force, Britain snatched the Malvinas from Argentina, a Third World country. Such a "victory" of aggression is not at all glorious and does not deserve such a celebration. As a matter of fact, Britain has been strongly condemned by the international community because of this war. As regards morality, she has suffered great losses. Moreover, the dispute over the Malvinas is not over because the British are now in occupation. Most Third World and nonaligned countries have always supported the Argentinian demand to its sovereignty over the Malvinas. Was it not too early for Britain to celebrate its "victory" in such a jubilant manner? Besides, the commemoration day for Columbus' discovery of America was selected for this London "celebration." This made a mockery of history. How could Britain's recent military adventure in Latin America be mentioned in the same breath with the pioneering deeds of Columbus 400 years ago? As was pointed out by a Spanish official, this act can only result in doubling people's righteous indignation. [Text] [HK221045 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Oct 82 p 6]

SCHMIDT ON CHANCELLORSHIP--Bonn, 26 Oct (XINHUA)--Former chancellor Helmut Schmidt told deputies of his Social Democratic Party today that he will not run for chancellorship again in next March's general election. Schmidt, 63, cited his health and differences with his party as reasons behind his decision not to seek re-election. Talking about his differences with his party, Schmidt said that the policy direction of his party will probably bring about new quarrels. Some people want him to be a candidate so as to maintain the stability and continuity of the party policies. He also cited his disagreement with other people over the deployment of U.S. missiles in West Germany next year and over economic and energy policies as reasons for not running in the election. Schmidt told his Social Democratic Party that his age and health made him reject the re-election. He underwent an operation last October to have a heart pacemaker fitted following several bouts of ill-health. After Schmidt's retirement as candidate of the Social Democratic Party, the successor may be chosen between Hans-Jochen Vogel, SCP leader of West Berlin, and Johannes Rau, minister-president of North Rhine-Westphalia, the party sources said. [Text] [OW271409 Beijing XINHUA in English 1204 GMT 27 Oct 82]

CSO: 4000/11

PARTY AND STATE

ROUNDUP OF APPEARANCES BY EAST REGION LEADERS

OW030105 [Editorial Report] Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Services in Mandarin at 1120 GMT on 27 September carries a report of less than one minute saying: "Comrade Xiang Nan presided over a plenary session of the Fujian Provincial CPC Committee" on the afternoon of 26 September. The meeting was said to have discussed what the provincial party committee should do in carrying out rural work in this winter and next spring.

The same service at 1120 GMT on 27 September also carries a 4.5-minute report on the speech made by "Wen Xiushan, member of the Standing Committee of the provincial party committee, in an enlarged session of the provincial party committee" held on the morning of 26 September. He was speaking about the rural work to be carried out this winter and next spring, according to the report. In his speech, he calls for efforts to fulfill the task of studying, propagating and implementing the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, to combat economic crime and unhealthy tendencies, to improve public order, and to fulfill the targets in growing grain crops.

Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin at 1100 GMT on 28 September transmitted a 4-minute report on the 27 September closing of the "fifth Anhui provincial athletic meet." The closing ceremony was held in "the provincial handball center." It was reportedly attended by "Zhou Zijian, Yan Youmin, Yang Weiping, Su Yu, Liu Lianmin, (Shi Jingjie), (Shi Chun), (Wang Yuzhoa), Cheng Yetang, Hou Yong, Wei Xinyi and Li Qingquan, leading comrades of the provincial party committee, provincial people's congress Standing Committee, provincial people's government, provincial military district and Hefei Municipality." The report added that Wei Xinyi, "vice governor and chairman of the (?organization) committee for the fifth Anhui provincial athletic meet," spoke at the cermony, calling for further progress in training outstanding sportsmen to represent the province in future national athletic meets.

Shanghai City Service in Mandarin at 2300 GMT on 29 September carried an 1.5-minute item, reporting that "Shanghai municipal CPC committee first secretary Chen Guodong and municipal CPC committee secretary and mayor Wang Daohan, accompanied by deputy head (Lu Muyun) of the finance and trade office of the municipal government and others," inspected some stores in a street and a food market on 29 September. The two leaders expressed their concern for the workers there and found the stores and markets were satisfactorily stocked for the national day and the mid-autumn festival, according to the report.

Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin at 1100 GMT on 30 September carried a 4-minute report on "work inspections made of the neighborhoods, stores and food markets by the provincial and municipal leading comrades on the morning of 30 September." These "provincial and municipal leading comrades" mentioned in the report separately are "Bai Dongcai, Fu Yutian, Wu Ping and Xu Qin," who made their inspections in the company of municipal CPC committee deputy secretaries (Wang Xianwen) and (Zhu Tongjin); "(Zhao Zengyi), Zhao Zhijian, Wang Zhaorong, Li Shizhang, Fang Qian, (Xu Shaolin), (Yao Xidong) and (Jiang Jinqing)," who also extended festival greetings to the workers and staff members they met during their inspections; and "provincial CPPCC committee vice chairmen Lai Shaoyao, Shen Haqing and Liu Jianhua," who carried out inspections as part of still another group. According to the report, some of these leading comrades had a discussion during the inspection on the livelihood of the people. In the discussion, "provincial CPC committee first secretary Bai Dongcai said we must find satisfactory solutions to the two problems about which urban people are most concerned. One is the problem of vegetable supply and the other is the problem of living quarters. At present, both of these two departments are seriously afflicted with unhealthy tendencies. Some responsible comrades have gone so far as to each keep several housing units under his personal occupation by taking advantage of their positions and powers, while there are still many people who have to accommodate as many as three to five generations of their families in one single house. Should we allow such things to go on unchecked? He called on both the provincial and municipal governments to work out some regulations and sternly adopt administrative and economic means to deal with the problem. Otherwise, we would become divorced from the masses. 'To serve the people' would be just an empty talk."

The same service at 1100 GMT on 30 September also carried a 1.5-minute report on the soiree held by the provincial cultural bureau on 29 September to welcome all those who came to Nanchang for the national children's drama festival. The report said: "Before the soiree, our province's party and government responsible comrades Bai Dongcai, (Zhao Zegyi), Fang Zhichun and Xu Qin" and others met the leaders of the leading group of the festival and various participating troupes and specialists.

Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin at 1100 GMT on 1 October carried a 2-minute report on inspection of an urban construction project in Nanchang by "provincial and municipal leading comrades" on 1 October. According to the report, these leaders were "Bai Dongcai, first secretary of the Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee; (Zhao Zengyi), secretary of the provincial CPC committee and acting governor; Wu Ping, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee and secretary of the Nanchang Municipal CPC Committee; and Zhao Zhijian, member of the Standing Committee of the provincial CPC committee and mayor of Nanchang city." These leaders extended festival greetings to the construction personnel and encouraged them to do a good job for the project, which involves a bridge, the report added.

CSO: 4005/104

PARTY AND STATE

YUAN DYNASTY VALUED CONSULTING SERVICE PROVIDED BY RETIRED OFFICIALS

Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 4 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Sui Xiwen [7131 0823 2429]: "The Yuan Dynasty Valued Advisors"]

[Text] In its early years the Yuan Dynasty attached much importance to the employment of retired officials as its advisers.

A former expositor of the Hanlin Academy, Dou Mo [4535 1075] had already retired to his native place when Emperor Shizu of the Yuan Dynasty (Kublai) sent an emissary to summon him back to the capital, there presented him with a residence and a monthly emolument. "Since Dou Mo was old, he did not actually attend office, but if important events of state occurred, he was usually consulted." In a period of over 10 years, "he acted as adivser in many cases." Dou Mo lived to the ripe age of 85. Many more cases of retired officials being reemployed as advisers could be quoted, as for instance the Hanlin Academician for the Transmission of Directives Wang E [3769 5501] and academician Wang Pan [3769 4323], who, after their retirement "were consulted by special emissaries of the Throne whenever an important event occurred," their opinions were bound to be sought before action was taken" and "messengers were sent to consult them." These advisers played an important role in the Throne's decision-making.

Although the Yuan Dynasty had not established explicit institutions to regulate the employment of retired officials as advisers, the literature and documents of the time reveal that the Yuan Court solicited their advice with an open mind and that they were employed to consel and submit opinions in a very sincere and earnest attitude, which is deeply touching even when measured by today's viewpoints. For instance, Dong Yong [5576 3938], an academician for the transmission of directives in the Hanlin Academy, who had retired to his native place due to old age in the first year of the "da de" reign [1297], was summoned several times to appear before Emperor Chengzong [1295-1308] to "inform of events in the preceding dynasty, "when their talks lasted till far into the night." The way the emperor often talked with retired old officials of state till deep into the night seems to show that these counsellors played a more important role than the regular officers of state. When the Yuan Court decided to compile the records of Emperor Shizu, the compilers were told to "obtain information" from Dong Yong. When the Court despatched someone to far-away places or transferred

someone to an official poast away from the capital, "these people would first obtain information" from Dong Yong, before embarking on their journey. Dong Yong was also freely communicating everything he knew. He always "guided and taught," and many greatly benefited from his instructions, and "at day's end some would forget about leaving him." ("Biographies of Famous Men of the Yuan Dynasty") There was also Song Zizhen, a former minister of state, who had retired in the 3rd year of the "zhi yuan" reign [1267] and was specially reappointed a minister. He was "consulted at his home whenever an important event occurred." The fact that advice was sought by going to the home of a retired official and the adviser is not merely summoned to Court to give his report, indicates again the prevailing sincere and earnest attitude. Song Zizhen was also one who had retired from office, but not from work. "Whenever he heard of something in public affairs that was unfavorable for the people, he would get his writing utensils ready and sned off a dispatch," thus providing the Yuan Court with a number of good opinions.

Most of the above advisers lived in the time of Kublai, which indicates that Kublai was an emperor who was willing to employ retired officials and have them contribute their special capabilities. The Mongols were originally a nomad people of the north, in culture and social institutions far behind the Han people. In the early stages they despised intellectuals as a "stinking ninth category" of people, but Kublai was earnest in his desire to provide good government, was willing to learn from specialists and to develop all resources of knwoledge. The employment of the upper level intellectuals of the Han people with their great special experiences contributed to make Kublai's reign the period of greatest prosperity and power of the whole Yuan period.

9808
CSO: 4005/1214

PARTY AND STATE

MANY INTELLECTUALS BECOME LEADING CADRES IN GANSU

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Aug 82 p 1

[Text] Enhance the Strength of the Leadership, Open UP New Prospects in Our Work, Raise Work Efficiency--In Gansu a Large Number of Intellectuals Enter the Leading Bodies--In Line With the Demands for More Revolutionization, More Participation by Young Men, More Knowledge and More Specialization.

Our correspondents Xi Yongnian [6742 3057 1628] and Guo Fenxiang [6753 3083 4382] report: Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, over 1,200 intellectuals have joined the county and higher level leading groups in Gansu Province. Of these, 4 serve at the provincial level, 124 at the level of prefectural bureaux and 1,096 at the level of county divisions. This is highly effective in strengthening party leadership and in rendering the leading bodies more revolutionzed, participated in by younger men, more knowledgeable and provided with more specialized expertise.

Gansu is located in a border area of our country. The cultural level of its cadres is low and their outlook is rather limited. Leading comrades of the central authorities once pointed out that the Gansu cadres must overcome their "rustic parochialism," to conform with the demands of the four modernizations drive. Since the Third Plenary Session and following the implementation of our new policy toward the intellectuals, the leading bodies at all levels have revised their prejudice against the intellectuals, have free-heartedly absorbed the best of them, and made changes in the organizational and intellectual structure of the leading bodies. In 1979 Gansu Province elected the incumbent party secretary and president of Lanzhou University, Liu Bing [0491 0393], and another intellectual who is a party member, to deputy provincial chairmen in charge of cultural and educational affairs, scientific research and public health services. Beginning of this year Liu Bing also assumed the position of deputy secretary of the provincial party committee. Spurred on by the provincial party committee and the provincial people's government, the 13 prefectural and zhou municipalities, the 82 departments directly under the provincial government and the 81 counties, municipalities and districts elected intellectuals into their leaderships. At present the whole province has already 5 prefectural and zhou municipal party committees and 37 county party committees, as well as 47 county government leadership -roups that have basically reached the standards demanded by the central authorities as regards revolutionization, participation of younger men, more knowledgeable expertise and specialization.

The entry of these intellectuals into the leading groups of county and higher level governments brought about three changes. The first was that the leadership was strengthened, that the thorough implementation of all principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session was ensured and that the construction of the two kinds of civilization, material and spiritual, was being pushed ahead. The second change was that the situation of "layment leading experts" was changed and that new prospects were opened up in work. For many years Gansu had been completely silent as far as literary and art creations were concerned, but since three intellectuals joined the leading group of the Provincial Culture Bureau, literary and art work experienced a great upsurge. The literary and art stage of Gansu Province put on successively such excellent stage plays as "Flowers and Rain on the Silk Road," "The Xi'an Incident," and "Nan-tian zhu" [Pillar of the Southern Sky]. The third change was a switch away from vague general leadership and the raising of work efficiency. The Lanzhou Oil Refinery is a factory of 10,000 staff and workers. Originally its leadership group was overstaffed, but had a rather small number of competent intellectuals. After the Third Plenary Session it added a few intellectuals to its leading group and trimmed the group down to 12 men. With the new leadership group production went up continuously, the product assortment was constantly increased, the annual gross product value exceeded 800 million yuan and profits of over 200 million yuan were turned over to the government (accounting for one-third of the total profits turned over to the government per year by all of Gansu industry). In 1981 the Petroleum Ministry praised this plant as being a "red flag" [pacesetter] of the whole country's oil refinery system.

9808
CSO: 4005/1214

PARTY AND STATE

HEILONGJIANG PROVINCE STUDIES PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 5 Sep 82 p 1

[Report: "Our Hearts and the Hearts of Delegates to the 12th Party Congress Leap Together--Party Members and Cadres of Organs Directly Under the Jurisdiction of the Province and Harbin Municipality and the Masses Have Been Conscientiously Studying and Enthusiastically Discussing the Spirit of the 12th Congress During the Past Few Days"]

[Text] Party members and cadres of organs under the direct jurisdiction of the province and Harbin Municipality and the masses have during the past few days been conscientiously studying and enthusiastically discussing Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening address and Comrade Hu Yaobang's report to the 12th Congress.

During these days, organs under the direct jurisdiction of the province have been conscientiously studying the spirit of the 12th Congress by adopting such methods as study and discussion and by keeping in line with the reality of work in their own respective units and departments. Comrades of units like the united front department of the provincial party committee, the research office of the provincial party committee, the provincial CPPCC, the party school of the provincial party committee, and the provincial Academy of Social Sciences have cited a large amount of facts during their study to illustrate that since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our country has already brought about a historic, great shift. They say: Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening address and Comrade Hu Yaobang's report have voiced the heartfelt wishes of the vast ranks of the masses; these are important documents of the party and state at this historic turning point. The 12th Party Congress is bound to accomplish the task of closing off the old situation and bringing about a new situation. Some comrades who are engaged in scientific theoretical research are of the opinion that the strategic target set forth in Comrade Hu Yaobang's report--to quadruple the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production in our economic development--is objective and scientific, with both a strict scientific attitude and a magnificent determination to forge courageously ahead. We have the experience of 30 years since the founding of our state and also the firm leadership of our tested and trustworthy Party Central Committees. This strategic target is bound to be realized.

The various commissions, division, departments, and bureaus of the provincial government have during the past few days rapidly stirred up an enthusiastic trend to study and propagate the spirit of the 12th Congress. Every day, units like the provincial construction commission and the provincial finance division have closely grasped the completion of the given day's work and then have sat down to discuss enthusiastically the reports given at the 12th Congress on that day. Many party member comrades say that, although we are located far away from Beijing, our hearts nonetheless leap together with the hearts of delegates to the 12th Congress! During the last 2 days, leading comrades of the party groups and committees of various units have all taken the lead in studying. Wang Weizhi [3769 4850 0037], head of the provincial General Bureau of Forestry, said: "In the report he made on behalf of the Party Central Committee, Comrade Hu Yaobang has given a clear exposition of the strategic target, strategic deployment, and strategic key points of our economic development. As communists, we must link our own activity with the enhancement of the factors of communism and thereby further strengthen our confidence in struggling for communism. Wen Bingxue [2429 3521 1331], chief of the farm water conservancy department of the provincial Water Conservancy Bureau, associate chief engineer, and a party member of Korean nationality, said that Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening address and Comrade Hu Yaobang's report have voiced our heartfelt wishes and conveyed the people's will and demands. After the 12th Congress, the party will be rectified according to the requirements of the new party constitution; we are full of confidence in the sure prospect of seeing our party workstyle achieve a fundamental turn for the better even faster. Party members and cadres of units such as the provincial Foreign Trade Bureau, Material Supplies Bureau, and Animal Husbandry Bureau all indicated during their study and discussion that they want with one heart and one mind to rally closely around the new Party Central Committee and to exert themselves to strive so that the blueprint for the four modernizations will soon turn into reality on China's soil.

The Standing Committee of the Harbin Municipal Party Committee continued in the forenoon of 3 September to study the spirit of the 12th Congress. During the past few days, party organizations at various levels in the municipality have organized the vast ranks of party members, cadres, and masses of the staff and workers to conscientiously study Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening address and Comrade Hu Yaobang's report at the 12th Congress, and have paid attention to guiding the political enthusiasm of the vast ranks of the party members and masses toward [gaining] a profound understanding of the spirit of the 12th Congress and toward doing a good job in handling their incumbent tasks.

9255
CSO: 4005/27

PARTY AND STATE

GIVING SCOPE TO ROLE OF INTELLECTUALS REQUIRED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Sep 82 p 1

[Report: "Give Scope to the Role of Intellectuals in the Realization of Our Magnificent Goals in Economic Construction-- Provincial Party Committee Issues Circular To Post Six Required Points]

[Text] Recently, the provincial party committee issued a circular to party committees at various levels to require leading comrades at all levels to further heighten their understanding of the great significance and urgency of doing a good job in their work on intellectuals, to conscientiously implement the spirit of the series of directives the party Central Committee has issued on our work on intellectuals, and to concretely grasp the following six tasks:

1. Further heighten our understanding and strengthen our leadership over the work of intellectuals. Party committees in the various localities and departments are to carry out a comprehensive study of the problems discovered during the inspection of our work concerning intellectuals not long ago and solve whatever they are able to solve; in the case of those problems which can hardly be solved for the time being, they are to formulate plans and solve them gradually; in the case of problems that cannot be solved presently, they are to explain the circumstances and do a good job of interpretation. They are to reinforce ideological and political work on intellectuals, and promote leaders at various levels who will make friends with intellectuals and regularly understand the problems in their work, study, and life. From now on, party committees above county level are to discuss at least once every half year and inspect at least once every year our work on intellectuals in order to discover problems and solve them in a timely manner.

2. Solve in a practical manner certain problems in the politics and life of the intellectuals and, before the end of this year, bring a good beginning to a good end in concluding the reinvestigation work on rectifying the unjust, false, and erroneous cases of litigation during the "Cultural Revolution." With regard to the question of implementing our policy on letting them have private housing and sorting out and returning to them their once-confiscated properties, they are to get a grasp of such implementation according to existing regulations of the party Central Committee. On the question of intellectuals who wish to read the documents and listen to the reports, the party

organizations of the units where they are located are to make proper arrangements and solve this [question] according to the pertinent regulations and their needs in their work.

3. Conscientiously solve well the intellectuals' practical difficulties such as housing. In building housing, they are to base themselves on the principle of "uniform leadership, teamwork and divided responsibilities, active arrangements, and solution through dispersion," follow the jurisdiction relationship between units and the system of financial control, adopt the approach of letting the concerned units take the basic responsibility and the higher department provide appropriate subsidies, and suggest to the various localities that under feasible conditions they should take out a partial investment from their local flexible funds to be used as such subsidies. In the meantime, when they distribute housing to staff and workers, the various units from now on are to consider and pay attention to solving the difficulties of intellectuals. They are to strive to improve considerably the housing of middle-aged intellectuals, through a 3-to-5-year effort.

4. Do a good job in handling readjustment for the scientific and technical professional cadres so as to give full scope to their wisdom and talent. In order to solve the problem of the serious shortage of scientific and technical professional cadres in the overall operational process of our province's industrial enterprises such as light industries, textiles, and food processing, we must carry out this task of readjustment with leadership and in a planned way through a variety of channels such as "transfer (transferring personnel), borrowing (borrowing for particular engagements), invitation (recruitment), help (helping others), contractual responsibility (heavy industry guaranteeing a responsible supply of personnel to light industries), joint handling (handling technical projects jointly), and training (raising personnel through training operations)."

5. Get a close handle on the task of training scientific and technical professional talents well. The organizational departments of party committees at various levels should work in conjunction with planning committees and other such concerned departments to subsume plans on the training and education of intellectuals in line with the plans for the development of our national economy, so as to promote the raising of talent. In the case of scientific and technical professional personnel equivalent to lecturer and above, they should generally be given a leave of from 3½ months to half a year every 3 years for advanced study. All units should make overall arrangements and correctly handle the relationship between work and advanced study.

6. Do a good job of solving the problem of experts serving in too many positions concurrently and of assigning assistants to them. There should be a readjustment of those experts who at present serve in too many positions concurrently and from now on they should be subject to control by the department in charge. In the case of professors and those equivalent to professors who are without assistants, efforts must be made to get a close handle on making all such necessary assignments within the year. All localities and departments must pay attention to selecting fine scientific and technical professional cadres in order to strengthen their leading groups.

9255
CSO: 4005/27

PARTY AND STATE

BAI RUBING, OTHERS ATTEND NATIONAL DAY PARTY

SK010630 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 20 Sep 82

[Text] The provincial people's government, the Jinan PLA units and the Jinan Municipal People's Government jointly held an evening party at the Bayi Auditorium on the evening of 20 September to enthusiastically celebrate the 33th anniversary of the PRC's founding.

Responsible comrades of the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee, the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, the provincial people's government and the provincial CPPCC committee including Bai Rubing, Su Yirin, Zhao Lin, Li Zhen, Gao Qiyun, Li Zichao, Wu Kaizhang, Wang Jinshan, Xu Jianchun, Wang Zhongyin, Xu Leijing, Zhao Feng, Zhang Ye, Chen Lei, Yang Jieren, Zhu Benzheng, Wang Baomin, Song Yimin, Liu Peng, Zhang Jingtao, Zheng Zijiu, Liu Zhongqian, Ding Fangming, Zhou Xingfu, Wang Zhe, Yu Xiu, Li Sijing, Zhang Weicen, Tian Haishan and Wang Liang attended the party.

Also attending were responsible comrades of the Jinan PLA units including Rao Shoukun, Xiao Wangdong, Fan Chaoli, Xiong Zuofang, Zhang Feng, Zhao Bingan, Zheng Sansheng, Fang Zheng, Chen Renhong, Long Qiang, (Ouyang Ping), Kong Shiquan, Zeng Shaoshan, Li Suiying and Xu Hongyun; responsible comrade of the Jinan PLA units' air force (Zhang Yonggeng) and comrades at the Jinan Club (Wei Jianyi), (Zhang Jun) and (Li Yuanrong) and others. Also attending the party were responsible comrades of the leading organs of the Jinan PLA units, the provincial military district, the various major locally stationed PLA units and the various departments of the provincial CPC committee and government.

Deputies from all circles of society attending the party spoke glowingly of the great achievements scored on all fronts and the gratifying changes that had taken place in the past 33 years and, in particular, since the third plenary session. They spoke freely on the great historic significance of the party's 12th congress, pledged to make earnest efforts to study the 12th congress documents, rally more closely around the party Central Committee, apply the 12th congress guidelines as guidance to their ideology and action and work hard to create an all-round new situation in socialist modernization.

A color feature film "Rickshaw Boy" was shown at the party.

CSO: 4005/102

PARTY AND STATE

FUZHOU PLA CONGRESS DEPUTY ADDRESSES RALLY

OW020459 Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Sep 82 p 1

[Text] On the morning of 20 September, the Fuzhou PLA units held a rally of party cadres of organs and contingents directly under those units. After conveying the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress, the rally urged party cadres to be models in studying and implementing the documents of that congress [words indistinct] regular and revolutionary army and to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

A total of 2,198 persons attended, including Standing Committee members of the party committee and other leading comrades of the Fuzhou PLA units; leading members of these units' command staff, political and logistics departments' party cadres of contingents at the platoon level and those directly under these units as well as a number of cadres on convalescence leave.

The rally was presided over by Cao Punan, head of the Fuzhou PLA units' political department. Fu Kuiqing, political commissar of Fuzhou PLA units, delivered a report on the 12th CPC National Congress in his capacity as the representative of Fuzhou PLA units' delegates to that congress.

Comrade Fu Kuiqing's report described the grand occasion of the 12th CPC National congress and its principal guidelines. He said: This congress inherited and advanced the line of the Eighth CPC National Congress and enriched and developed the line, principles and policies formulated at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The documents adopted at this congress, which laid the foundation for achieving socialist modernization, point out the orientation for building Chinese-type socialism and provide guidelines for the various tasks of socialist construction in the country. The congress is the most important meeting since the Seventh National Congress of the CPC. It will certainly be recorded in a brilliant page of our party's history.

Fu Kuiqing continued: Comrade Hu Yaobang's report is a correct program for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. In studying this report, we should pay special attention to the following principal guidelines spelled out in it:

1. A main target for the next 5 years is to strive for a fundamental turn for the better in the country's financial and economic situation, in standards of social conduct and in the style of our party.

2. To bring about an all-round upsurge of the socialist economy is the most important task for creating a new situation in all fields of work.

3. Socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology at its core is the most important characteristic of socialism.

4. To attain a high level of socialist democracy is a great principle for socialist political construction.

5. The guiding principles for strengthening national defense and the unity of our nationalities and for developing relations with various countries are spelled out in his report.

In conclusion, Comrade Fu Kuiqing set forth requirements for party members, cadres and fighters on how to study and implement the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress. He said: Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech at the congress should be the general guidance for studying and implementing the 12th CPC National Congress' documents. Efforts are needed to thoroughly study Comrade Hu Yaobang's report, the new party constitution, the speeches by Comrades Ye Jianying and Chen Yun, and Comrade Li Xiannian's closing speech at the congress. It is necessary to fully understand the great victory won by the party and the people of the country it leads in bringing order out of chaos since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee as well as to understand the basic experience gained in this connection.

We should deeply understand the strategic goal of and fighting program for creating an all-round new situation in socialist modernization, clearly understand the basic spirit of the new party constitution and its great significance in further strengthening party building, have firm faith in the party leadership and increase our awareness of the need to maintain political unanimity with the party Central Committee. Using the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress as a driving force, we should exert efforts to build a socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core, vigorously strike at economic and other crimes, step up military training and fulfill still better the various tasks of combat preparedness.

Comrade Fu Kuiqing emphatically pointed out: To study, propagate and implement the 12th CPC National Congress' documents, party committees at all levels should strengthen their organizational leadership and grasp this work as a matter of prime importance. While studying these documents themselves, leaders at various levels should go to grassroots units to publicize these documents and answer questions in the course of study at the grassroots level so that the guidelines of the party national congress can be understood by everyone and take root in the hearts of the masses. By so doing, the thinking of the commanders and fighters will be unified on the basis of the party national congress' guidelines and our work will be promoted smoothly.

Fu Kuiqing called on Communist Party members, commanders and fighters, workers and their dependents to brace up and, under the leadership of the party Central Committee, concert their efforts to fulfill the glorious tasks assigned to our army by the 12th CPC National Congress.

CSO: 4005/104

PARTY AND STATE

XINJIANG AIR FORCE CADRES MEETING HELD

HK291205 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 25 Sep 82

[Excerpts] A meeting of party and propaganda cadres at and above the regimental level of the Xinjiang unit air force closed on 25 September. The meeting decided to start with raising the communist ideological consciousness of cadres and soldiers and developing in depth the building of the army's socialist spiritual civilization.

While studying the 12th congress documents, particularly on the problem of building socialist spiritual civilization, the participants had a heated discussion. They said: In his report, Comrade Hu Yaobang raised the problem of building socialist spiritual civilization to a strategic level. This is a development of Marxist theory and practice. Through study we have realized that socialist spiritual civilization is an important characteristic of the superiority of the socialist system and that communist ideology is the core of socialist spiritual civillization. We have deepened our understanding of the significance of building socialist spiritual civilization.

At the end of the meeting, Yang Yongbin, commissar of the air force headquarters of the Urumqi unit, delivered a concluding speech. He said: The building of socialist spiritual civilization is a long-term strategic task for our party. Party committees at all levels must grasp this work firmly and well. At present, we must conscientiously implement the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress and firmly grasp the core of building socialist spiritual civilization. We must fundamentally raise the communist consciousness of cadres and soldiers.

Comrade Yang Yongbin put forward five points for carrying out communist ideological education in the army: 1. We must further lead the cadres and soldiers to study revolutionary theory and establish the lofty ideals of communism. We must purposefully and in a planned way organize the army to study relevant Marxist-Leninist works and works of Comrade Mao Zedong.

2. We must explain to cadres and soldiers that communism is constantly advancing in practice and bringing benefits to mankind. The work led by our party is a component part of the communist movement. All our efforts are made for the realization of this great objective. Therefore, we must further strengthen the faith of cadres and soldiers in communism.

3. We must educate cadres and soldiers to consciously resist the corrosion of capitalist ideas and have firm confidence in the superiority of socialism.

4. We must educate party cadres to strengthen their sense of responsibility to the party and be a model in observing discipline and be in conformity politically with the CPC Central Committee.

5. We must educate cadres and soldiers to have the overall revolutionary situation in mind, establish the idea of regarding hard work as an honor, love and take root in the border region and do one's own work well in order to make new contributions in defending and constructing the border region.

The delegates of various nationalities attending the meeting held a discussion on the relationship between nationalities mentioned in Comrade Hu Yoabang's report. They said: We must further develop socialist new nationality relationships based on equality, unity and mutual aid, and unite as one with the various nationalities of Xinjiang to continuously strive for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

During the study and discussion, the attendants unanimously pointed out: The 12th congress regards the building and development of the new relationship between nationalities as an important indication of building socialist spiritual civilization and a high level of socialist democracy. This has called on us to raise the unity between nationalities to a new level. The PLA must firmly establish the idea that a people's army cannot be divorced from the people. In constructing and defending the border region, we must rely on the people of various nationalities, unite with them and advance together. This is the fundamental guarantee that we have won one victory after another. The attendants also considered that supporting socialist construction in the border region is a glorious task for the troops stationed there.

Cadres above regimental level attending the meeting also said at the discussion: to insist on the four basic principles of the party is the political base and guarantee for the unity of the various nationalities. Party members must have firm party spirit, must be bold to combat all forms of behavior that sabotage unity and split our motherland and must make a contribution to further strengthening national unity.

CSO: 4005/108

PARTY AND STATE

GUANGXI: PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETS

HK291125 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 25 Sep 82

[Excerpts] On 24 September, the 5th Guangxi Regional People's Congress Standing Committee held its 15th plenary session. The committee members and the 22 responsible comrades of the municipal and county people's congresses who attended the session as nonvoting delegates conscientiously studied and warmly discussed the 12th Congress documents. They said that the 12th Party Congress was of epoch-making significance.

During the study, the committee members treated Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech as their ideological guide and conscientiously discussed Comrade Hu Yaobang's report.

During the study, the committee members also focused on discussing the problem of making efforts to build up a highly developed socialist democracy that was put forward by Comrade Hu Yaobang in his report. They said that socialist democracy is the guarantee for the construction of the socialist spiritual and material civilizations. Only by developing socialist democracy to the full can we more satisfactorily lead the people of all nationalities throughout the region to fulfill all the tasks of struggle that were put forward at the 12th Congress.

At the plenary meeting this morning, the members listened to the report on the state of affairs and suggestions related to the scientific and technical work in our region by Luo Libing, vice president of the Regional People's Government. President of the Committee Huang Rong presided over this session.

CSO: 4005/95

PARTY AND STATE

SHANGHAI'S CHEN GUODONG TELEVISION SPEECH

OW040047 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 26 Sep 82

[Speech by Chen Guodong, first secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee: "The Achievements and Significance of the 12th CPC National Congress"--at Shanghai television station on the evening of 26 September--recorded]

[Excerpts] The achievements of the 12th CPC National Congress, which is the most important party congress after the 7th CPC National Congress, can be generalized as follows:

1. It examined and approved the report submitted by the 11th CPC Central Committee and formulated the correct program, as well as a series of relevant principles and policies, to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization;

2. It examined and approved the new CPC Constitution and formulated the program, system and various organizational principles of building our party into a strong leading core of socialist modernization;

3. It elected the new Central Committee and the new central advisory commission and the central commission for discipline inspection.

Within the new central leading organs, there are proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, who are the mainstay, as well as a large number of middle-aged and young cadres who are professionally and morally proficient, energetic and knowledgeable, and experienced in modernization. This is a big step forward in the cooperation of old and new cadres and succession of the new to the old.

The significance of the congress can be generalized in the following four respects:

1. The great historic significance of the congress can be observed from the comparison of historical facts cited in Comrade Hu Yaobang's report, which made a comparison of our party's historic change after the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, and particularly after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, with the two previous historic changes during the period of democratic revolution, and from the opening speech by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, who compared the 12th and the 7th CPC National Congresses. Despite

the vast differences of historical conditions from the previous two changes, the current change has once again proved that the socialist and communist cause led by the CPC accords with historical laws and the aspirations of masses and has invincible vitality, and that the CPC, after the loss of comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De and a large number of exceptional leaders, has still proved itself a strong core that can surmount all sorts of adversities, control all types of complexities and lead the Chinese people to achieve one victory after another.

2. The program set forth by the congress to create a new situation in all fields and the various principles and tasks of this program are a replenishment and development of the correct line set forth by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, thus further enriching and perfecting this line and making it more practical. This has further ensured the continuity and stability of our party's and our people's progress along the correct line set forth by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

3. The report--especially the first and last portions--of the 12th CPC National Congress, and Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech are highly significant, as they have pointed out that our party and people will take their own path and build socialism with Chinese characteristics. This is an expression of Mao Zedong Thought and the principles of seeking truth from facts, following the mass line and upholding independence and self-reliance.

4. The principles and task set forth by the congress will play a significant role in guiding our future work. They are the basis for our tasks in socialist construction, and also the basis for strengthening the building of the party and correctly carrying out party consolidation. The tasks set by the congress include:

--quadrupling the gross annual output value of the nation's industrial and agricultural production during the 20-year period from 1981 to the year 2000. This objective will be accomplished in two steps. This means that the 20-year period will be strategically divided into its first and second decades;

--accomplishing the three strategic projects of developing agriculture, energy resources and communications, education and science;

--achieving a fundamental change for the better in our country's financial and economic situation, social conduct and party style in the next 5 years;

--restructuring the administration and the economic set-up, building a socialist spiritual civilization, striking at the serious crimes of sabotaging socialism in the economic and other spheres and consolidating party style and party organizations--projects known as the four guarantees.

These are great, strategic policy decisions which accord the nation's fundamental interests. Guided by the principles of the congress, we certainly will be able to create a new situation of socialist modernization and bring prosperity to our party, our socialist cause and our state and people of all nationalities.

CSO: 4005/103

PARTY AND STATE

MAO ZHIYONG CONGRATULATES WOMEN'S VOLLEYBALL TEAM

HK281344 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 26 Sep 82

[Excerpts] At noon on 26 September, when the television station passed on the good news about the Chinese women's volleyball team winning the Gold Cup at the Ninth World Women's Volleyball Championship in Lima, the capital of Peru, a reporter came to the residence of the delegates to the seventh enlarged plenary meeting of the Fourth Hunan Provincial CPC Committee to visit Comrade Mao Zhiyong. Comrade Mao Zhiyong first very gladly expressed his wish to congratulate and learn from the Chinese women's volleyball team. He said: Many comrades attending the enlarged meeting of the Provincial CPC Committee watched the television program without having their lunch. They were very excited after they saw the Chinese women's volleyball team win the final victory.

Comrade Mao Zhiyong said: The situation of industrial and agricultural production in our province this year is good. The total value of industrial output from January to August was 9.5 percent more than in the corresponding period last year. After implementing the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, many units are revising their original plans, taking new measures and striving to make a greater contribution to the country.

Although the situation is good, we must not relax our efforts. Like the Chinese women's volleyball team, we must not relax our efforts when we are confronted with difficulties and we must not be proud when we face victory. For the sake of our motherland's honor and for the purpose of building the four modernizations, we must constantly scale new heights.

Comrade Mao Zhiyong also emphatically pointed out: All physical culture workers must learn from the Chinese women's volleyball team very well. The 12th Party Congress issued the combat call to open up a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. The Chinese women's volleyball team got off to a good start in opening up a new situation in the field of physical culture. The comrades on the physical culture front in our province must regard the fifth provincial sports meet as a good start and actively open up a new situation in the field of physical culture. It is necessary to do well in grasping the building of the forces of physical culture and sports in order to train more people of ability, score achievements quickly, constantly break records and scale heights. In the meantime, it is essential to deeply and universally carry out mass sports activities so that everyone has good health and can vigorously embark on the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005/95

PARTY AND STATE

FUJIAN VICE GOVERNOR DISCUSSES SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

OW300817 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 26 Sep 82

[Excerpts] Zhang Gexin, member of the Fujian Provincial CPC Committee and vice governor, delivered a speech at an enlarged session of the provincial CPC committee on 25 September. His speech dealt with how to create a new situation in building a socialist spiritual civilization in the province.

Comrade Zhang Gexin said: Any society needs ideological support. The socialist ideological support is spiritual civilization with communist ideology at its core. The 10 years of internal chaos in the country inflicted serious mental wounds on the people. This factor together with Fujian's geographical location and its historical background have made it almost impossible for us to avoid the influence of bourgeois ideology and way of life in our open door dealings with foreign countries. Some people, especially young people, have therefore become obsessed with individualist ideas and concerned only with money and other practical benefits. Disillusioned with the mortal world, they say that life is nothing but a dream and that they are in this world to do nothing. They are either cynical or depressed. Generally, they do not have ideals, confidence, goals nor a scientific Marxist world outlook. In short, they do not have ideological support.

Comrade Zhang Gexin continued: We should vigorously promote communist morality and practices, adhere to laws and observe discipline, commend good people and their meritorious deeds, uphold justice, criticize bad people and their wrongdoings as well as various evil practices and bad habits, and resolutely strike at criminal activities in the economic and other fields. These are important tasks for building a socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology at its core.

Zhang Gexin concluded: It is necessary to strengthen party leadership over the task to build a spiritual civilization. With emphasis on implementing the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress, party committees should strengthen their leadership over this task and over party building so as to create a new situation in building a socialist spiritual civilization in the province.

CSO: 4005/104

SHANGHAI UNITED FRONT DISCUSSES CPC CONGRESS

OW021112 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 28 Sep 82

[Text] The united front work department of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee held a meeting on the afternoon of 28 September to introduce and explain the 12th CPC National Congress guidelines to nonparty personages. Comrades Chen Guodong and Hu Lijiao attended and addressed the meeting.

Comrade Zhou Gucheng, who had attended the 12th congress as an observer, was the first to take the floor to tell about his own feelings. He said: "I am deeply impressed that the party's feelings towards us nonparty persons are sincere and that the relations between the party on the one hand and the various democratic parties and independents on the other are those of utter sincerity and common fate. He said: I want to ask: The 12th party congress having put forth a grand [word indistinct], what should us democratic parties do? He said that democratic parties should also create a new situation in their work. For this purpose, he suggested that just as the party attaches importance to the position and role of the democratic parties, the democratic parties should attache importance to their own organizations and to making full use of the advantages of their organizations. They should do their work with great purpose.

Comrade Hu Lijiao made detailed explanations of the objectives of China's economic work, building of spiritual civilization, striving for a turn for the better in party style, on the election of the Central Committee and two central commissions, and the consolidation and expansion of the broadest united front.

Comrade Chen Guodong, speaking in close connection with Shanghai's practical conditions, talked about the historical change, the great new tasks and the bringing about of an all-round upsurge of the socialist economy. He also dwelt on the tremendous significance of abolishing the cadres' life-time tenure system. He first pointed out that Shanghai had been the birthplace and counterrevolutionary base of the "gang of four." This is a stern and profound lesson. We should never forget about it.

Comrade Chen Guodong said: Much has yet to be done to turn Shanghai's party organization into a fighting fortress for implementing the party Central Committee's correct line. Although things have been set to rights in the guiding ideology, the

task of completely setting things right in the political, organizational and ideological fields is still vast and tortuous. He asked nonparty personages to be friends of CPC members, not hesitating to remonstrate, treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal and woe in order to consolidate and expand the broadest patriotic united front and strive to create a new situation in the socialist modernization.

The meeting was presided over by Comrade Zhang Chengzong. Comrade Zhao Xingzhi was present.

CSO: 4005/103

PARTY AND STATE

HU HONG ADDRESSES FUJIAN CPC COMMITTEE SESSION

OW041221 Fuzhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 28 Sep 82

[Excerpts] The sixth enlarged plenary session of the Third Fujian Provincial CPC Committee successfully concluded on 27 September. Hu Ping, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, presided over the 27 September session. Wei Jinshui and Wu Hongxiang spoke at the meeting.

Hu Hong, permanent secretary of the provincial CPC committee, delivered a summing-up speech on behalf of the provincial CPC committee. He called on the whole province to further study, propagate and implement the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress.

Comrade Hu Hong discusses four questions. The first question was how to have a profound understanding of the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress. He said: To summarize, the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress are aimed at creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

The second question which Comrade Hu Hong discussed was how to further strengthen unity. He said that in order to strengthen unity, we must enhance our party spirit and eliminate factionalism.

The third question which Hu Hong discussed was on how we need to do our present work well.

He said:

1. We should further emancipate our minds and widen our field of vision. With the condition of guaranteeing the fulfillment of the grain production plan, we should open up more avenues of production to improve the livelihood of peasants sooner. We must fulfill the plan to grow 32 million my of grain in 1983.

2. We should continue to stabilize and perfect the system of responsibility in production and arouse the masses' enthusiasm by pursuing correct policies. We should promote the contract system in all fields. Industrial, communications and commercial enterprises should seriously popularize the system of economic responsibility.

3. We should regard the building of a socialist spiritual civilization as an important task.

4. We should immediately step up preparations for organizational reform.

5. We should do a good job in consolidating selected party organizations on an experimental basis.

The last question discussed by Comrade Hu Hong dealt with how to continue the study and propagation of the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress and how to implement them. He set some demands for it.

He said: Party committees at all levels should seriously organize all party members to study the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress and make it their first important task. We should convene enlarged meetings of country party committees and convey well the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress to the leadership of the party branches. At the same time, we should organize well contingents of propagandists and adopt various effective measures to truly make the guidelines of the congress known to every family.

CSO: 4005/104

PARTY AND STATE

ADVISORY COMMISSION MEMBERS AT NANJING HONORED

OW030230 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 Sep 82

[Text] The people's governments of Jiangsu Province and Nanjing Municipality co-sponsored a gala meeting this afternoon at the Great Hall of the People in Nanjing to mark the 33d anniversary of the founding of the PRC. Attending the meeting were Xu Shiyou, vice chairman, and Jiang Weiqing, Liu Shunyuan and Hui Yuyu, members of the advisory commission of the CPC Central Committee. Also present were responsible comrades of the provincial CPC committee, the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, the provincial government and the provincial CPPCC committee, including Xu Jiatun, Liu Lin, Han Peixin, (Gu Xiulian), Zhou Ze and Bao Houchang; responsibile comrades of the Nanjing PLA units, including Nei Fengzhi, Guo Linxiang and Du Ping; responsible comrades of the air force of the Nanjing PLA units and military academies in Nanjing; and responsible comrades of the Nanjing Municipal CPC Committee, the Standing Committee of the municipal people's congress, the municipal government and the municipal CPPCC committee, including (Xu Zhi), Liu Feng, Wang Zhaoquan and Zhou Aimin. Among others attending the gala meeting were responsible comrades from various provincial departments, Nanjing municipal departments and departments under the leading organ of the Nanjing PLA units as well as personages and masses from all circles of Jiangsu and Nanjing. A total of more than 3,000 people were present on the occasion.

The Great Hall of the People in Nanjing was in a festive mood. Armymen and civilians exchanged greetings on this festive occasion and unanimously pledged to earnestly study and implement the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress, strive to do their own jobs well and contribute their shares to the creation of a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

At the gala meeting the provincial Beijing Opera Troupe, the provincial drama troupe and the provincial Kunju [a kind of Chinese opera] troupe presented splendid programs, which were warmly welcomed by all those present.

CSO: 4005/103

PARTY AND STATE

WANG DAOHAN SPEAKS AT NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION

OW020204 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 30 Sep 82

[Text] The Shanghai Municipal People's Government held a reception this afternoon to mark the 33d anniversary of the founding of the PRC. Invited to the reception were the consuls general, consuls of various countries in Shanghai, their wives, foreign experts and teachers, and representatives of permanent foreign missions in Shanghai, as well as overseas Chinese, compatriots from Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and noted personages among Chinese nationals of foreign nationalities. Attending the reception were Mayor Wang Daohan; vice mayors Zhao Xingzni, Zhao Zukiang, Yang Di; Zhang Chengzhong, vice chairman of the municipal people's congress Standing Committee; Feng Depei, vice chairman of the Shanghai Municipal CPPCC committee; as well as responsible persons of various departments under the municipal government.

Mayor Wang Daohan proposed a toast amid a cordial atmosphere. He said that the recently convened 12th CPC National Congress, after summing up its historic victory won in the past 6 years, defined a program for the Chinese people to bring about a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. This program is of great historical significance for the Chinese people to carry forward the revolutionary cause and forge ahead into the future. In the years to come, a better political situation characterized by stability and unity will emerge in China, and China's national economy will continue to grow steadily.

Comrade Wang Daohan said that the people of Shanghai, displaying a fervent spirit for work, are answering the 12th CPC National Congress' call with actual deeds and are determined to work hard at their respective posts to fulfill the grand objective put forward by the congress.

In his toast, Comrade Wang Daohan extended his deep gratitude to the experts, teachers and friends from various countries who have come to Shanghai to help it in construction and in developing science, technology, education and other fields. He also indicated that the people of Shanghai will strengthen their unity and friendship with the people of all countries in the world and will continue to contribute their share in opposing imperialism and hegemonism and in defending world peace.

An atmosphere of unity and friendship prevailed throughout the reception.

CSO: 4005/103

PARTY AND STATE

HENAN PROVINCE CELEBRATES NATIONAL DAY

HK040945 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Oct 82

[Text] On the evening of 30 September, the Henan Provincial People's Government held a film entertainment in celebration of the 33rd anniversary of the founding of the PRC. Principal leaders in provincial and municipal organs of the party, the government and the PLA, including Liu Jie, Dai Suli, Zhao Wenfu, Li Qingwei, Zhang Shude, Han Jingcao, Hu Shangli and Sun Huasan, attended the entertainment. Participants also included cadres, workers, intellectuals, well-known personages from all circles, representatives of minority nationalities, Taiwan compatriots and returned overseas Chinese in Zhengzhou, the provincial capital, with a total number of more than 4,000 people.

The entertainment was permeated with a warm atmosphere of great joy. Comrades attending the entertainment spoke glowingly of the excellent situation. They said: This year's national day coincides with the mid-autumn festival and was closely preceded by the successful conclusion of the 12th CPC National Congress. Coupled with the winning of the world championship by the Chinese women's volleyball team, it is really a situation in which "a fourfold blessing has descended upon the house."

On this happy occasion, people congratulated and encouraged each other. They expressed their determination to follow the example of the Chinese women's volleyball team, boost their spirit, work hard and make due contributions to the creation of a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

The entertainment was held separately in the Henan People's Hall and the Zhongzhou Theatre. Attendants watched some China-made films, such as "The Sea Is Shouting," etc.

CSO: 4005/95

PARTY AND STATE

GUANGXI MEETING ON FIVE STRESSES, FOUR BEAUTIES

HK041132 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 1 Oct 82

[Excerpts] The standing committee of the Regional CPC Committee held a meeting yesterday to hear and approve the report by the Regional CPC Committee Propaganda Department on conscientiously studying the 12th Party Congress documents and extensively, deeply and protractedly carrying out the five stresses and four beauties campaign. The report required that various localities and units emphasize study and propaganda of building a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization while studying and publicizing the 12th Party Congress spirit in October, and carry out the movement of five stresses and four beauties movement more extensively and deeply.

The report required CPC Committees and governments at various levels to take this matter as a concrete measure to implement the 12th Party Congress spirit and improve the party's work style and social atmosphere. It suggested that every party and league branch hold organization meetings to discuss and work out concrete measures and requirements to carry out this movement. This must be considered the daily work for party and league branches. While studying the new party constitution, party members must make an examination of their words and actions to see whether they are correct in maintaining social order, developing socialist new habits and encouraging communist morality. They must develop their achievements and overcome their shortcomings, and set a good example for the masses of people.

Leaders of various regional departments, committees, offices and bureaus as well as universities and colleges and Nanning Municipality, Nanning Prefecture and PLA units garrisoned in Nanning attended the meeting.

CSO: 4005/95

PARTY AND STATE

QIAO XIAOGUANG CELEBRATES PRC ANNIVERSARY

HK041010 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 1 Oct 82

[Text] Yesterday evening, the regional people's government held film receptions in Nanning Theater and the Regional People's Government Auditorium to celebrate the 33rd anniversary of the founding of the PRC. Regional party, government and army leaders Qiao Xiaoguang, Qin Yingji, Liu Chonggui, Huang Rong, Zhao Maoxin, Zhou Guangchun, Xiao Han, (Zhang Judeng, Li Yuan) and others attended the receptions. Also present were more than 3,000 people, including responsible people of the Regional CPPCC Committee, various democratic parties, Nanning Prefecture, Nanning Municipality and various mass organizations as well as representatives of veteran Red army soldiers, veteran cadres, model workers and minority nationality visitors. Before the receptions began, leaders of the Regional CPC Committee, People's Congress Standing Committee and People's Government Qiao Xiaoguang, Qin Yingji and Huang Rong received the minority nationality visitors delegation in the Rehearsal Hall in Nanning Theater. They shook hands with them and extended greetings to them. Comrade Qin Yingji urged them to study and implement well the 12th Party Congress documents, strengthen the unity between various nationalities and work hard to create a new situation in the minority nationality areas.

The Chinese feature film "Camel Xiangzi" was shown at the receptions.

CSO: 4005/95

PARTY AND STATE

GUANGXI'S WUZHOU RADIO STATION RESUMES OPERATION

HK041140 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 1 Oct 82

[Text] After active preparations, the Wuzhou Municipal People's Broadcasting Station resumed broadcast early this morning. This broadcasting station, which was established in October 1959, stopped service in June 1962, during the first readjustment of our national economy. Since the smashing of the gang of four, especially since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, along with the all-round rehabilitation and development of the national economy, the people in this city have demanded resumption of its broadcast. In June this year, the Regional CPC Committee and the Ministry of Radio and Television approved its resumption.

The Wuzhou Municipal People's Broadcasting Station is the first local broadcasting station in our region which has resumed operation. This is an important result of the continuous development of radio and television undertakings in our region. Today, when the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country are conscientiously studying, publicizing and implementing the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, this station will surely play an active role in extensively and deeply publicizing the party's line, policies and principles, in carrying out communist ideological education among the masses of people and in the building of socialist spiritual and material civilizations.

On the afternoon of 29 September, a ceremony was held to announce the resumption of broadcasting. Chief responsible cadres in the Wuzhou Municipal CPC Committee, People's Congress Standing Committee and People's Government Teng Weizhong, Wang Yuzhou and Liao Weixiong attended the ceremony and extended greetings. Representatives from the Regional Broadcasting Bureau, the Regional Journalists Association and Regional Information Society also attended the ceremony and extended congratulations.

CSO: 4005/95

PARTY AND STATE

MAO ZHIYONG SPEAKS AT HUNAN SPORTS MEET

HK040722 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Oct 82

[Text] A solemn closing ceremony was held yesterday evening at the provincial stadium to mark the conclusion of the Fifth Provincial Sports Meet. Leading comrades of the provincial and municipal party and government organizations, including Mao Zhiyong, Sun Guozhi, Jiao Linyi, (Zhao Zhipi), Wang Zhiguo, Dong Zhiwen and (Liu Xinquan), and the comrades attending the seventh enlarged plenary session of the Fourth Provincial CPC Committee, attended the closing ceremony yesterday evening. Also present at the closing ceremony were sportsmen, sportswomen, coaches, representatives of referees as well as spectators from the provincial capital, numbering about 4,000 people. They happily gathered under the same roof to celebrate the complete success of the Fifth Provincial Sports Meet which had been held under the guidance of the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress.

Mao Zhiyong, first secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee, delivered a closing speech. On behalf of the Provincial CPC Committee and people's government, he warmly acclaimed the complete success of the sports meet and extended warm greetings to the sportsmen and sportswomen who had attained outstanding achievements.

Comrade Mao Zhiyong said: The work of physical culture is a major issue for bringing benefit to the people, making the country strong and inspiring the national spirit. In his report to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang looked upon physical culture as an important aspect in building socialist spiritual civilization. He pointed out that the development of various cultural undertakings, including physical culture, is an important requisite both for the building of material civilization and for the raising of people's political consciousness and moral standards. We should strive to implement this guiding ideology, further develop sports undertakings and strive to create a new situation in the work of physical culture in our province.

Comrade Mao Zhiyong said: In order to create a new situation in the work of physical culture, it is necessary, first of all, to pay close attention to the study and implementation of the documents of the 12th Party Congress and use the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress to guide the physical culture work. It is necessary to vigorously develop mass sports activities and train a large number of excellent physical culture reserves. Only in this will it be

possible to make greater and faster improvement in the technical level of physical culture and sports in our province.

At the closing ceremony, leading comrades of the provincial party and government organizations awarded banners, cups and medals to the teams, sportsmen and sportswomen who had won the first six places in team competitions and individual events and who had won the title of "Spiritual Civilization Sports Team." After the conclusion of the closing ceremony, the sports and recreational workers in the provincial capital gave a brilliant performance.

CSO: 4005/95

PARTY AND STATE

FUJIAN CONDUCTS CLASS FOR PROPAGANDA CADRES

OW130619 Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Oct 82 p 1

[Excerpts] A training class for propaganda and theoretical cadres to study documents of the 12th CPC party congress, jointly sponsored by the propaganda department and the party school of the provincial party committee, ended on 27 September. Opened on 11 September, the class lasted 17 days.

Comrade Cheng Xu, secretary of the Fujian Provincial CPC Committee and delegate to the 12th CPC National Congress, spoke at the graduation ceremony. He stressed: Party committees at various levels, all party members and cadres in the province and all propaganda and theoretical workers should conscientiously study and propagate the documents of the 12th party congress with great political enthusiasm to bring into full play the tremendous mobilizing and organizing role of the documents, so that the whole party and the people of the whole province will further heighten their spirits and strive, with one heart and one mind, to accomplish the fighting tasks set by the 12th party congress.

Cheng Xu pointed out: It is necessary to regard the study of 12th party congress documents as the most important task. Party committees at various levels should hold serious discussions and work out concrete arrangements. Leading cadres at various levels, especially those at and above county level, should take the lead in study, go to the grassroots' level and personally explain and publicize the documents, take concrete actions to implement the guidelines of the 12th party congress and do well in all fields of work. Propaganda departments at various levels and comrades on the propaganda and theoretical fronts should make organizing study and propagation of the documents their central task and the most honorable duty for some time to come and concentrate their efforts on doing it well. All mass propaganda systems, including newspapers, periodicals, television, radio and other press units, theatrical performance organizations, grassroots level broadcasting stations, cultural centers and so forth, should mobilize and actively launch activities to propagate 12th party congress documents. Efforts should be made to create a new situation in propaganda work through the study of the documents.

In his speech, Comrade Cheng Xu also answered questions raised by the comrades present. He said: The party Central Committee suggested that, in studying the 12th party congress documents, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech should be

regarded as the overall guiding ideology. This is completely the same as to say that the communist ideology should be taken as the guidance. Both Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech and the other 12th party congress documents have a red line running through them, and both were drafted under the guidance of communist ideology. We should boldly propagate communist ideology and conduct education among the masses of the people, particularly party members a young people, on communist ideals, beliefs and moral values.

Comrade Cheng Xu said: Since the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique and, in particular, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have won, through the arduous efforts of the whole party, the entire army and the people of all our nationalities, major successes in setting right our work in the ideological, political, organizational, economic, cultural and military spheres and in the work of the party. This is evident to all. These great successes fully demonstrate that we have effected a great historic change. That we have effected a great historic change does not mean that we have solved all the problems left over from history. The "left" mistakes made before and during the "Cultural Revolution" had a deep and extensive influence and caused serious damage in our country. The problems accumulated are very many and cannot possibly all be solved in a few years. However, our party has already reaffirmed the correct Marxist line and formulated a correct program and a series of correct principles and policies, thus laying the foundation for successfully settling the problems left over from history, solving the difficulties confronting us, creating a new situation and winning new victories in socialist construction.

Cheng Xu also called for strengthening the ranks of propaganda and theoretical workers. He said: Party committees at various levels should all pay attention to building up the ranks of propaganda and theoretical workers and conscientiously select propaganda and theoretical cadres for training at the party school. Attention should be paid to selecting a number of college graduates who have high political consciousness and a certain theoretical basis and comrades who have educated themselves in strengthening the propaganda and theoretical ranks. It is necessary to strengthen the administration and education of the existing propaganda and theoretical cadres.

Ming Zufan, deputy director of the propaganda department and secretary of the party committee of the party school of the provincial party committee, presided over the graduation ceremony and made arrangements for current study and propagation of the 12th party congress documents.

CSO: 4005/104

PARTY AND STATE

SHANGHAI'S CHEN GUODONG, OTHERS VISIT WORKERS

OW050053 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 2 Oct 82

[Excerpts] On the morning of 2 October, Chen Guodong, Hu Lijiao, Wang Daohan, Zhong Min and Yang Shifa, leading comrades of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee and the municipal people's government, respectively visited the new villages of (Weifang), (Shangnan) and (Shanggang) in Pudong, the new village of (Puyang) in (Xialianqidu), the Shanghai No 3 Bicycle Plant, quarters for scientific research units and construction sites, extending festival greetings to workers and residents there.

Comrades Chen Guodong and Hu Lijiao also inspected food and provisions shops, the food market and barber shops to acquaint themselves with the market situation in Pudong by earnestly listening to the opinions of the masses.

Mayor Wang Daohan visited the new village of (Xiyang), one of the 12 key residential quarters under construction in the municipality. With the blueprint for the construction of the village in hand, he carefully inspected the construction site and inquired into the problems residents had encountered in daily life. Then, he called together responsible comrades of the departments concerned accompanying him on the visit and specifically discussed the question of how to build this village well. Mayor Wang stressed that to successfully build the new residential quarters, it is necessary to have a general director to exercise unified leadership.

On the morning of 2 October, Zhong Min and other comrades visited the Shanghai No 3 Bicycle Plant, where more than 1,200 workers persisted in engaging in production over the festival. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the output of this plant, producing the Phoenix bicycle, has doubled. With its products being exported to more than 80 countries and regions, it is one of our country's plants with the largest export volume. Inspired by the guidelines of the 12th party congress, the workers and staff members of the bicycle plant are striving to reach the annual target of 2.2 million bicycles.

CSO: 4005/103

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG CALLS FOR IMPLEMENTING CONGRESS GUIDELINES

SK040750 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 3 Oct 82

[Excerpts] In an interview with our reporter, (Cui Zhenhua), director of the provincial forestry department, pointed out: Efforts must be made to conscientiously implement the guidelines of the 12th party congress, and do a better job in afforestation in order to accelerate the construction of mountainous areas and to create a new situation in our province's forestry construction.

Comrade (Cui Zhenhua) said: The 12th party congress defined the general task of our party in the new historic period and the grand fighting goal for developing the national economy in the coming 20 years and set forth new demands on protecting and developing forestry. This is a great encouragement to our cadres and the masses on the forestry front. We are determined to do a solid job with a new attitude and strive to create a new situation in our province's forestry construction.

At present, all localities, on the basis of conscientiously studying and implementing the guidelines of the 12th party congress, must fix mountain and forest ownership certificates, designate hilly lands and beach areas in line with local conditions and formulate all kinds of forestry production responsibility systems that are suited to each specific locality and unit. Efforts must be made to first manage protection forests well with an emphasis on water resource containment forests and actively develop economic forests that can produce preserved and fresh fruits and timber forests according to local conditions. Efforts must be made to build small tracts of fast growing forests in a planned manner in the plains with an emphasis on building tree belts around farm plots and houses and along rivers, roads and ditches so as to gradually form a new-style farmland protection forest system by linking together forest network, tree belts and wooded tracts. Scientific technology must be popularized so as to raise the level of scientific afforestation and forest management.

To integrate the study of the 12th party congress with the current production, leaders at all levels on the forestry front must actively form a work force to conduct investigations and research at grassroots. The provincial forestry department intends to organize a number of cadres to go separately to some key counties in hilly lands and plains to help carry out forestry production during the winter-spring period in order to implement the guidelines of the 12th party congress with concrete deeds.

CSO: 4005/102

PARTY AND STATE

FUJIAN LAUNCHES NEW CIVILITY, COURTESY CAMPAIGN

OW050053 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0701 GMT 3 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Fuzhou, 3 Oct (XINHUA)--The Fujian Provincial CPC Committee recently decided to launch mass activities throughout the province similar to those of the "civility and courtesy month" and designated late September through the end of October for this program in an effort to promote spiritual civilization.

In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang made an incisive and profound exposition on socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core, emphatically pointing out the importance of building a socialist spiritual civilization, the Fujian Provincial CPC Committee stated.

The following main points were stressed by the provincial CPC committee as being essential to the mass activities program throughout the province:

1. While conscientiously studying and propagating the 12th CPC National Congress' documents, it is necessary to widely publicize the significance of building socialist spiritual civilization and to propagate the principles and tasks there of so that they will be understood by every household and take root in the hearts of the people. In the course of these tasks it is essential to see that leading cadres at all levels and the masses will become more aware of the need to become involved in the mass activities program.

2. Education in communist ideals, morality and discipline should be promoted as the central link of this program and firmly grasped from beginning to end. To build spiritual civilization with communist ideology at its core, it is necessary to keep in mind the current thinking of cadres and the masses and to carry out among them effective education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; in the history, especially modern history, of the motherland; in the party's platform, history and revolutionary traditions; and in the constitution, citizen's rights and obligations, and morality.

3. The program is also aimed at eliminating the state of dirtiness, disorder and poor service in Fuzhou, Xiamen and five other cities in the province. To help develop the program throughout the province, it is imperative to eliminate the state of dirtiness, disorder and poor service at railway stations, airports, seaports, stores, inns, hotels, movie theaters, parks, tourist centers and hospitals.

CSO: 4005/104

SHANDONG MUNICIPAL SECRETARY SPEAKS ON GRAND OBJECTIVE

SK050501 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 4 Oct 82

[Recorded talk by (Sun Zhiyuan), secretary of the Zibo Municipal CPC Committee: "Give Full Play to the Superiority in Heavy Industry of Zibo Municipality and Contribute to Creating a New Situation in All Fields of Socialist Modernization"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] In the course of studying the documents of the 12th CPC Congress, our Zibo Municipality's party members, cadres and people were greatly inspired when they discussed the objective of quadrupling China's industrial and agricultural output value by the end of this century. They were determined to take into account the situation of the country as a whole, give full play to the municipality's superiority in heavy industry and make contributions to creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

In line with the strategic objective, priorities and steps and the principles and policies set at the congress and the actual situation in Zibo as a heavy industrial city, we should take self-reliance and hard work as our strategic measure and make full use of the present foundation of our enterprises to consolidate enterprises and carry out technical innovations. In the first 10 years, we should mainly engage in laying a solid foundation, accumulating strength, creating conditions and making preparations for the all-round economic development in the latter 10 years. We plan to double our industrial and agricultural output value in the first 10 years before 1990, that is to increase from 4.43 billion yuan in 1980 to 8.86 billion yuan.

In accordance with the strategic objective of China's economic development we think that we have favorable conditions for developing Zibo's economic construction:

1. We have fairly abundant resources. Departments of basic industries, such as [words indistinct] coal and petrochemical industries, are able to provide a considerable amount of raw materials and fuels every year.

2. We have a fairly substantial industrial technological foundation. We now have 923 industrial enterprises of various categories with total fixed assets of 3.36 billion yuan. With these enterprises, we have built our municipality into a base area of basic industries with large and medium-sized enterprises as its main body.

3. (?We have developed) agriculture that suits the needs of the development of urban industries. Industry and agriculture promote each other and the latter has provided good conditions for industrial development.

4. Our industrial and agricultural output value is 84 times the figure of 33 years ago when the PRC was founded. The average annual increase has been 12 percent. The average annual increase in industrial production has been 40.32 percent. We have gained both positive and negative experiences in economic construction.

What is more important, the 12th CPC Congress has formulated a definite program, steps, principles and policies for the economic construction. We are full of confidence when we look ahead. Provided we conscientiously implement the guidelines of the congress, give full play to the superiority in heavy industry of Zibo Municipality [words indistinct] work in unison, our Zibo Municipality will surely accomplish [word indistinct] objective and quadrupling the annual industrial and agricultural output value by the end of this century.

CSO: 4005/102

PARTY AND STATE

ADVISORY COMMITTEEMAN ADDRESSES JIANGSU SOCIAL SCIENTISTS

OW051204 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 4 Oct 82

[Text] The social science circles in Jiangsu Province held a meeting in Nanjing on 4 October to discuss experiences in studying documents of the 12th party congress. The meeting was jointly sponsored by the Jiangsu Provincial Academy of Social Sciences and the Jiangsu Provincial Philosophy and Social Science Association. More than 150 people, including council members of the Philosophy and Social Science Association, responsible persons of various academic societies and theoretical workers of provincial organizations, attended the meeting.

Comrade Liu Shunyuan, member of the central advisory committee, attended the meeting on invitation and made a speech. In his speech, he recalled his personal experience, talked about the question of attitude in studying 12th party congress documents in the light of the realities and gave his own view on how to grasp the essence of the documents. The representatives present at the meeting were inspired and enlightened.

(Zhang De), delegate to the 12th party congress and secretary of the party committee of Nanjing University, and comrades (Xu Fushi), (Ni Haotang), (Liu Zijun), (Zhu Qiluan), (Gong Yue) and (Liu Fuming) spoke at the meeting.

The representatives at the meeting felt that the 12th party congress documents are rich in content and of great theoretical importance, and that it is imperative to study the documents well and clearly understand their essence by integrating theory with practice in order to make contributions to creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization in theoretical propaganda, teaching and research.

CSO: 4005/103

PARTY AND STATE

WAN DA CALLS ON HUNAN TO EMANCIPATE MINDS

HK060853 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 5 Oct 82

[Excerpts] The seventh enlarged plenary meeting of the Fourth Hunan Provincial CPC Committee closed on 5 October. Wan Da, second secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee, delivered an important speech on behalf of the standing committee of the Provincial CPC Committee.

The general purpose of the meeting was to relay and study the documents of the 12th CPC Congress, to reach a deep understanding of the spirit of the congress so as to unify the thinking of all delegates and raise their understanding on the fighting program of the party, to raise their ideological consciousness and to raise their confidence in the revolutionary cause. On this basis, the meeting planned the tasks for this winter and next year.

The meeting had full confidence in the central party leadership; they profoundly understood that the party Central Committee had a high level of understanding of Marxism, was capable of having the complicated situation in hand and provided a firm leadership core in leading the people to surmount all difficulties and obstacles and to win victory. This close and harmonious, firm and stable leadership is the most important guarantee for our country to maintain long-term stability and create a new situation.

In his important speech, delivered on 3 October, Wan Da said: To create a new situation, we must further emancipate our minds. In order to implement the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress well, one of the important tasks of Hunan Province is to tell the leading cadres to study well the documents of the 12th CPC Congress, conscientiously sum up historical experience, learn from its lessons, broaden our thinking, consciously follow the direction of the CPC Central Committee and be bold in creating a new situation.

Comrade Wan Da enumerated the circumstances of Hunan Province not properly following the CPC Central Committee on some important matters for a certain period after the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. He said: Although we have done a lot of work in eliminating the influence of the left and have achieved some results, and although we have to guard against and overcome the influence of the right, we must also never underestimate the influence of the left and never underestimate the influence of the idea of the two whatevers. We must review lessons and experiences of the past, and in accordance

with the line, principle and policy of the CPC Central Committee since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, consider carefully what are the problems that have been solved, on what problems are our minds still not emancipated and what are the problems that we have to prevent. This will be of great use to us in studying and implementing the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress.

Comrade Wan Da also mentioned about the arrangement of work for this winter and next year and the problem of improving and strengthening party leadership. He said: Hunan Province msut emphasise the following tasks this winter and next year: 1) Regard the study of the 12th CPC Congress documents as a major event and grasp it well. First of all, we must have a correct study attitude, establish a fine study atmosphere, conscientiously study and master the essence of the documents and integrate it with the study of the basic theory of Marx, Lenin and Mao Zedong and deepen our understanding. On this basis, closely combine our practice with the practice of the local departments and units and solve the problems that can be solved. 2) Earnestly grasp the reform of administrative structure. The reform of the administrative structure of Hunan must follow the plans of the CPC Central Committee. In grasping this work well, leaders of various levels must have great determination, be steady and unified in their thinking. 3) Comprehensively accomplish the economic tasks of this year and actively set out long-term plans. We must comprehensively accomplish the tasks of the national economy of this year. On the basis of improving the economic results, we must resolutely work to realize fourfold results and increase to fivefold, strive to achieve fivefold and increase to sixfold. In agriculture, we must grasp the management work of late rice and industrial crops and strive for an all-round harvest. The task of the fourth quarter of the year in industry is weighty. Party committees and government at all levels must concentrate forces to promote this task. All trades and professions must make preparation work for the upsurge of the national economy in the next year. 4) Make great efforts to grasp the building of socialist spiritual civilization and socialist democracy. 5) Run well the experimental units rectifying the party work style and actively make preparations for the overall rectification of party work style.

CSO: 4005/95

PARTY AND STATE

JILIN CYL ORGANIZATIONS' ACHIEVEMENTS SINCE THIRD PLENUM

SK060913 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 5 Oct 82

[Text] Since the party's third plenary session, the provincial CYL organizations at all levels, with a focus on the great fighting goal of building the socialist material and spiritual civilizations, have conducted all kinds of welfare activities that are suited to youths, enabling the work of CYL organizations to become more lively and vigorously. The CYL organizations at all levels throughout the province have extensively conducted education on adhering to the four basic principles and on cherishing the party, the state and socialism among youths, enabling more and more youths to have faith in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and to deepen their boundless love of the party and socialism.

In the past 3 years, some 482,500 youths in the province have been admitted into the CYL organizations and some 10,050 CYL members have been gloriously accepted into the Communist Party of China. Thousands and thousands of outstanding youths have assumed posts in the party and government organs. To keep abreast of the socialist modernization construction, the CYL organizations at all levels throughout the province have led youths to conduct activities on vying to be shock workers in the new long march, greatly arousing the enthusiasm of youths in the province for the building of the four modernizations. A great number of new-long-march shock workers and teams have come to the fore. The activities on learning from Lei Feng and fostering new habits and on the five-stresses and four-beauties which have been conducted among youths for years have enabled them achieve gratifying improvement in their mental outlook. Heroes and models shining with the brilliance of communist ideology like (Lin Hongyu), (Yin Xuefu) and (Che Guihua) have emerged in large numbers. Some 171,000 learn-from-Lei Feng groups and youth service teams working in the province's urban and rural areas have extensively propagated new communist habits and made new contributions to building the socialist spiritual civilization.

According to statistics, this march alone, youngsters across the province did 5.71 million good deeds. In addition, the CYL cadres at all levels throughout the province, proceeding from reality, have organized youths to study culture and technology, have actively recommended talented persons, have enthusiastically helped jobless youths find jobs by themselves and have done a good job in helping and reforming mischievous youths through education. These activities have made the work of the province's CYL organizations more lively and vigorously.

CSO: 4005/101

PARTY AND STATE

JIANGSU CPC DEPARTMENT HOLDS MEETING ON CADRES

OW061151 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 5 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Shortly before national day, the organization department of the Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committee held a discussion meeting of responsible persons of departments and sections and of members of party branch committees to study and understand the guidelines of documents of the 12th party congress. In the light of their own thinking and the realities in work, the comrades freely discussed the view and stipulations on strengthening the ranks of cadres in Comrade Hu Yaobang's report and the new party constitution.

The comrades pointed out that our cadre ranks are now going through a period of cooperation between old and new cadres and of succession of the new to the old. In the past 2 years or so, more than 800 outstanding young and middle-aged cadres have been promoted to leading bodies at and above the county level in our province, and more have been promoted to leading bodies at the grassroots level. However, we are still falling far behind in responding to the call of the party Central Committee to train and promote hundreds of thousands of young and middle-aged cadres.

The comrades at the meeting realized from experience in actual work that to insure that the ranks of cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent, it is essential to do a good job in cadre training. In the past 3 years or so, the province has trained more than 410,000 cadres of various levels and fields of work. More than 3,500 leading cadres at and above the county level have been trained on a rotation basis. With the four modernizations in progress and the need for revolutionary, younger, better educated and professionally more competent cadres, cadre education should also be regularized.

CSO: 4005/103

PARTY AND STATE

WAN DA DISCUSSES CONGRESS AT HUNAN CPC SESSION

HK080924 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Oct 82

[Excerpts] During the seventh enlarged plenary session of the Fourth Hunan Provincial CPC Committee held on 3 October, Comrade Wan Da, second secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee, noted: In order to truly merge the guiding thoughts of our leading cadres at all levels into the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress, we must develop the range of our thinking and open up new prospects in the following five ways:

1. We must strengthen our devotion to the cause of the party, inspire revolutionary enthusiasm and have strong faith in opening up new prospects.

2. We must persist in proceeding from reality in all cases and scientifically and creatively carry out work.

3. We must take a broad and long-term strategic view, attach major importance to developing science and technology and strengthen our efforts to exploit and invest in intelligence. Not only industrial and agricultural development requires science and technology, but the development of trade and other undertakings also requires science and technology. At present, leaders of some areas and units attach insufficient importance to scientific and technical personnel and have not done nearly enough to make rational use of scientific and technical personnel. It is imperative to conscientously solve this problem.

4. We must overcome the tendency to overlook ideological and political work and strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization which regards the communist ideology as its core. In the past few years, some areas and units have slackened their efforts to carry out ideological and political work, thus weakening this work. As a result, some harmful trends have emerged such as working according to remuneration and putting monetary rewards and considerations above all else. These trends are detrimental to the development of our socialist modernization program. We should do very well in summing up historical experiences. While grasping the building of socialist material civilization, we must attach great importance to the building of socialist spiritual civilization and truly carry out the building of socialist spiritual civilization as a strategic guiding principle.

5. In carrying out every task, we must uphold the mass line and respect the people's creative initiative and pioneering spirit.

CSO: 4005/95

PARTY AND STATE

HUNAN CPC HOLDS PLENARY SESSION ON CONGRESS

HK080920 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Oct 82

[Excerpts] The seventh enlarged plenary session of the Fourth Hunan Provincial CPC Committee successfully ended yesterday in Changsha. This session lasted 14 days. The key contents of the session are the following points: Conveying and studying the documents of the 12th National Party Congress; achieving a deep understanding of the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress; enabling the participating comrades to achieve unity of thinking, to deepen their understanding of the party's program of struggle, to raise their ideological consciousness and to increase their faith in our cause; and on this basis, in close connection with this province's reality, studying and drawing up a plan for the work to be carried out this winter and next year.

Through the joint efforts made by all the participating comrades, the session achieved the desired results. The participating comrades are of the same view that they have learned a profound lesson, that they have been greatly inspired and that they have achieved a deeper understanding.

In his speech delivered on the morning of 3 October, Comrade Wan Da stressed: To open up new prospects, we must further emancipate our minds. He said: To successfully implement the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress in Hunan, what counts is that our leading cadres at all levels must make great efforts to master the documents of the 12th National Party Congress, conscientiously sum up historical experiences, draw (?lessons), develop the range of our thinking, conscientiously keep pace with plans formulated by the central authorities and be bold in opening up new prospects.

After listing some cases in which our province failed to successfully keep pace with some important issues put forward by the central authorities for a period of time following the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Wan Da said: Despite the fact that we have a lot of work of and scored some achievements in eradicating the leftist influence over the pas few years, and although we still have to pay vigilant attention to and overcom the possible occurrence of rightist things, we must not underestimate the influence of leftist ideology and the influence of the two whatevers. We should review our past experiences and lessons. In accordance with the line, guiding principles and policies formulated by the central authorities since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we should do well in

thinking over the following questions: What problems have been solved? We have not freed ourselves from old ideas about some issues. What are these issues? What are the problems which we should attentively prevent? Thinking over these questions will greatly benefit our study and implementation of the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress.

Comrade Wan Da also discussed the plan for work to be carried out this winter and next year and the issue of improving and strengthening our party leadership: This winter and next year, our province must do well in emphatically grasping the following tasks:

1. Do well in grasping the study of the documents of the 12th National Party Congress as the first task of primary importance.

2. Do well in conscientiously restructuring administrative organs. In restructuring administrative organs in our province, we must act in accordance with the plan of the central authorities and conscientiously grasp this work. To successfully carry out this important task, leaders at all levels must have great determination, advance steadily and conduct painstaking ideological work.

3. Comprehensively fulfill all economic tasks for this year and actively formulate long-term plans. In agriculture, we must do well in grasping the management work concerning late rice and industrial crops at the later stage of their growth and strive to reap a bumper harvest in an all-round way. Industrial production tasks for the fourth quarter are very heavy. Party committees and governments at all levels must concentrate their energies to promote industrial production. All trades and professions must do well in making preparations for further promoting our national economy next year.

4. Strive to do well in grasping the building of socialist spiritual civilization and the building of socialist democracy.

5. Do well in conducting tests in party consolidation at selected points and make preparations for comprehensively consolidating party organizations.

The participating comrades conscientiously studied Comrade Wan Da's speech. After discussing and adopting Comrade Wan Da's report [as heard] at the second meeting of the seventh enlarged plenary session of the Fourth Provincial CPC Committee held yesterday morning by the Provincial CPC Committee, the seventh enlarged plenary session was declared successfully closed.

CSO: 4005/95

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG HOLDS MEETING ON ENLISTMENT

SK071030 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 6 Oct 82

[Text] Recently the provincial people's government and military district convened a provincial enlistment work conference to plan and arrange their winter's enlistment work. Comrade Su Yiran, secretary of the provincial CPC committee and governor, spoke at the conference. Attending the conference were some leading comrades, including Zhao Feng, commander of the provincial military district and (Liu Lian), political commissar.

The province's enlistment work is to begin 10 October. In rural areas, those whose families have relatively enough labor force and whose education is at and above junior middle school level are qualified for the enlistment and to be organized into militia organizations to serve as primary militiamen, and so are this year's graduates from senior middle schools. In urban areas, only this year's graduates from senior middle schools are qualified for enlistment.

The conference pointed out: To be drafted for military service is a glorious and sacred duty of citizens. The broad masses of youths to be enlisted should enthusiastically respond to the call of the party and government to vie with one another to join the army, heed the motherland's call and obey the state's selection.

The conference urged: The party committees and governments at all levels should make a proper arrangement for the enlistment and firmly enhance the leadership to attend to this work. We should be closely unified to publicize, study and implement the guidelines of the 12th party congress. Efforts should be made to educate the broad masses of cadres and youths to be enlisted with patriotism and revolutionary heroism to have them perform military service in line with the law. We should further do painstaking ideological and political work for enlistee youths and their families to assure that the broad masses of youths contribute to the building up of national defense with enthusiasm.

CSO: 4005/102

PARTY AND STATE

SHANGHAI CIRCULAR URGES STUDY OF CPC DOCUMENTS

OW071157 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 6 Oct 82

[Text] The Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee recently issued a circular on studying and propagating the documents and guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress. The circular points out that to study and propagate the congress documents is a central task for the present and for a period henceforth. It urges the party organizations and propaganda departments at all levels in Shanghai to consider it a task of prime importance to organize party members, cadres and people to study the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress.

The municipal party committee's circular says: We should organize the study and propagation to make party members, cadres and people of Shanghai work hard in a vigorous and down-to-earth way with one heart and one mind and strive to accomplish all the tasks set by the 12th CPC National Congress.

The circular says: On the study program for party members and cadres, stress should be put on the study for leading cadres at all levels, particularly the leading cadres at and above the county level. The study should be carried out in two stages to be completed at the end of June 1983. During the first stage, we should convey the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress, organize well the study of the congress documents, have an overall comprehension and grasp of the basic guidelines of the documents and unify the ideological understanding of party members and cadres according to the guiding ideology and the principles and policies adopted by the party congress. During the second stage, we should proceed, on the basis of the enhanced understanding and unified thinking achieved during the first stage, to sum up the experience and lessons drawn in the past 6 years in line with the realities of our departments, localities and units. This should include the effort to sum up the problems caused by Shanghai's failure to thoroughly convey the guidelines of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. We should explore ways and means of implementing the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress, consciously implement the guidelines of the congress documents in the course of work and make all our comrades in the party have unified thinking, act in concert and coordinate their steps.

The circular says: We should give well-prepared talks on the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress among the people and make the guidelines known to everyone. The responsible persons of party committees at all levels should take

the lead in giving guidance lectures. We should restore or establish the contingents or party lecturers and propagandists.

The circular urges the news media--such as newspapers, journals, radio and television stations, literary and counties and various departments on the ideological and theoretical front--to consider it their central task to organize the study and propagation of the congress documents for the present and for a period henceforth and actively carry out the propagation.

CSO: 4005/103

PARTY AND STATE

JILIN OPENS NINTH PROVINCIAL CYL CONGRESS

SK081001 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Report on the opening of the Ninth Provincial CYL Congress--recorded]

[Excerpts] Today the sky is bright and the clouds pale. A large-sized streamer with the words "Warmly celebrate the successful opening of the Ninth Jilin Provincial CYL Congress" trailed from the provincial guesthouse. The streamer looks more brilliant under the bright and beautiful sunshine. At 0730 this morning, 800 representatives imbued with a feeling of immeasurable joy lined up to enter the auditorium of the provincial guesthouse to participate in the opening ceremony of the Ninth Jilin Provincial CYL Congress. Among these representatives, there are excellent representatives of CYL members, activists coming forward in the course of learning from Lei Feng and developing the five-stress and four-beauty campaign, shock workers of the new long march, representatives of CYL members in the PLA, representatives of the "three-good" students, representatives of CYL members who are self-employed and who become experts through self-studies, representatives of excellent assistants of the young pioneers and representatives of minority nationality people, Taiwan compatriots and returned overseas Chinese. On behalf of the 1.03 million CYL members across the province, they happily met together to discuss our province's CYL work and youth activities.

At 0800, leading comrades of the provincial CYL committee, the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, the provincial people's government, the provincial CPPCC committee and the provincial military district, including Qiang Xiaochu, Wang Daren, Li Youwen, Li Diping, Yu Lin, Yu Ke, Zhang Shiyang, Song Jiehan, Liu Jingzhi, Huo Mingguang, Chen Hong, Liu Yunzhao, (Gao Houqi), Zhang Kaijing, Luo Yuejia, Xiao Danfeng and (Liu Jianbin), mounted the rostrum amid warm applause. Invited to participate in the opening ceremony were responsible comrades of departments concerned of the provincial CPC committee and the provincial people's government and various mass groups. Also attending were veteran Red Army men, veteran scientists, veteran models, veteran CYL cadres and responsible comrades of the Liaoning and Heilongjiang provincial CYL committees. The opening ceremony was presided over by Du Changling, executive chairman. Du Changling made an opening speech.

[begin recording] Fellow representatives and comrades: As the people throughout the country happily and vigorously study and implement the guidelines of the 12th party congress, the Ninth Provincial CYL Congress has ceremoniously opened. The Ninth Provincial CYL Congress has opened right after the closing of the 12th party congress, which has epoch-making significance. Our task in future is to hold high the banner of communism, conscientiously strengthen the construction of the CYL organizations and enhance the CYL's fighting capacity under the guidance of the guidelines of the 12th party congress and under the direct leadership of the provincial CPC committee and the party Central Committee so as to create a new situation in CYL work and lead the broad masses of youths across the province make contributions to the four modernization drive.

The item on the agenda of this congress are as follows:

1. Listen to the speech of the provincial CPC committee;

2. Examine the work report of the Eighth Provincial CYL Committee;

3. Elect the Ninth Provincial CYL Committee;

4. Elect the deputies to the 11th National CYL Congress; and

5. Commend shock brigades and shock workers in the new long march, advanced CYL branches and excellent CYL cadres. Now we invite Comrade Wang Daren, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, to make a speech on behalf of the provincial CPC committee.

Fellow comrades: the Ninth Provincial CYL Congress has opened today. This congress will have an important significance to mobilizing the broad masses of CYL members and the youths across the province to better study the documents of the 12th party congress, implement the congress guidelines and create a new situation in all fields of the socialist modernization. I extend warm congratulations on the congress on behalf of the provincial CPC committee.

CSO: 4005/101

PARTY AND STATE

JILIN HOLDS PLENUM OF NINTH PROVINCIAL CYL CONGRESS

SK081021 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Excerpts] The Ninth Jilin Provincial CYL Congress continued its plenary session this afternoon. At the plenary session, Comrade Yu Ke, our province's delegate to the 12th party congress, relayed the guidelines of the 12th party congress. After that, Comrade (Du Qinling) made a work report to the congress. The report was entitled "Be Shock Brigades in Creating a New Situation in All Fields of Socialist Modernization." The report was made up of five parts, the titles of which were: "Following the party, forge ahead courageously in the great historical change." "We should give priority to the study and the implementation of the guidelines of the 12th party congress," "be new forces in the development of national economy," "play an exemplary vanguard role in building the socialist spiritual civilization" and "build CYL organizations into key forces to unify and educate young men."

The report urged the broad masses of CYL members and youths of the province to be new forces in the development of national economy, act in accordance with the resounding slogan of loving Jilin and building Jilin and work hard at their posts to produce first-rate results and to do first-grade work. Youths engaged in all trades and professions should love and concentrate on their duties and work hard to study the scientific and cultural technology in order to upgrade the scientific and cultural level. We should further launch the activity on striving to be shock workers of a new long march in order to start an upsurge of learning from and catching up with the advanced.

The report stressed that the broad masses of CYL members and youths should play exemplary vanguard roles in building the socialist spiritual civilization.

The report pointed out: Being pioneers in building the socialist spiritual civilization, we should, in line with the core of communism, foster communist beliefs and ideals, the spirit of collectivism, an attitude of being masters towards our labour and a sense of organizational discipline and establish the practice of studying Marxist theory to vigorously popularize and carry forward the moral practice of communism and resolutely resist the corrosive influence of the vestiges of bourgeois and feudal ideas.

CSO: 4005/101

PARTY AND STATE

GUANGDONG MUNICIPALITY STRESSES OPEN-DOOR POLICY

HK091121 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Summary] The standing committee of the Foshan Municipal CPC Committee has linked reality with the serious study of the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress and taken note of that section which calls for persistently relying on our own resources to seek rejuvenation and enlarging economic and technical exchanges with foreign countries. It has further realized the great strategic significance of the open-door policy introduced by the CPC Central Committee. It has resolved to further develop the superior features of economic activities with foreign countries and accelerate economic development, contributing to the creation of new situation in socialist modernization.

In studying the CPC National Congress documents, the standing committee of the Foshan Municipal CPC Committee recalled what it was like before and after the introduction of the open-door policy by Foshan Municipality. "Before the 3rd plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, due to the influence of leftist thinking, foreign capital that could be drawn upon could not possibly be used. Advanced techniques and equipment and management experiences that should have been introduced from foreign countries were not brought in because of fears. This interfered with the rate of development. After the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the superior features of economic activities with foreign countries were developed. In 3 years, foreign exchange from trade more than doubled. Through the use of foreign exchange kept by certain areas on a percentage basis, the processing of materials supplied by customers, compensatory trade and other channels, 5,000 pieces of equipment of various kinds and a number of spare parts needed in production were imported. The development of economic activities with foreign countries stimulated the enlivening of the whole economy. The total industrial output value of Foshan Municipality rose 56 percent. The problem of employment was basically solved and the people's living standard was improved."

After a review of the achievements in the past 3 years, the comrades of the standing committee personally felt the brilliant correctness of the party's policy of enlivening the economy at home and opening the door to foreign countries. "They realized that the open-door policy had not been come by easily. It was a result of the party's triumph over leftist thinking. The 12th CPC National Congress has reiterated the open-door policy and defined it as a fixed strategic guideline in economic construction. This is a great victory for the party's down-to-earth ideological line. In the past, some people were

too fearful of policy changes. The 12th CPC National Congress has called for continuing and developing the general and specific policies followed since the 3rd plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. People now have set their minds at ease. They have become more enlightened ideologically, more convinced and more energetic in their work."

After summing up the experiences and lessons in economic activities with foreign countries in the past 3 years, the comrades of the standing committee of the Foshan Municipal CPC Committee have realized the relationship between the open-door policy and the seeking of rejuvenation through self-reliance. They have strengthened their awareness of the implementation of this strategic guideline.

"When this municipality first introduced the open-door policy, it lacked experience. It acted upon whatever was suggested by foreign businessmen. Later, after investigation and the summing-up of experiences, the Municipal CPC Committee suggested that in introducing imports, we should stress our own needs and select those items that are not available in our country, or are in extremely short supply in domestic and international markets. Only important equipment was to be imported. Emphasis was put on studying and assimilating foreign equipment and techniques. Thus, the capacity of equipment and the technical level were raised throughout the municipality."

The comrades of the standing committee of the Foshan Municipal CPC Committee have realized that the aim of economic technical exchanges is to strengthen the ability to rely on our own resources and stimulate the development of the national economy.

CSO: 4005/95

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG UNCOVERS ILLEGAL RESIDENT REGISTERS

SK081008 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] According to our sources, the Liaocheng Prefectural CPC Committee, Shandong Province, recently dealt with violations of the law and breaches of discipline in which the Liaocheng County Public Security Bureau secretly approved applications submitted by a large number of peasants who attempted to change their agropopulace registers to nonagropopulace ones.

Before 1979 the provincial CPC committee once seriously criticized the Liaocheng County Public Security Bureau for its illegal approval of a large number of cases of changing agropopulace registers to nonagropopulace ones. However, without drawing lessons from the criticism, the bureau overstepped its authority to approve 305 applications for changing agropopulace registers to nonagropopulace ones from 1980 to the end of 1981 by exceeding the state quota for this regard and flaunting the banner of implementing the policy. As of now, 254 peasants have moved out to settle in other places, exerting bad influence in the society. Measures adopted by the bureau were vicious, such as collectively practicing fraud, running counter to the policy, concocting various pretexts, arbitrarily setting forth policies, and abusing their power to arrange peasant settlement in urban areas. At the bureau CPC committee meeting held on 28 October 1980, 107 application cases were approved without higher level permission. On 8 December 1981, (Liu Meian), deputy director of the county public security bureau and member of the bureau CPC committee, sponsored a meeting full of food and drink at the collecting post. After eating at the meeting, they privately approved 51 application cases for settling in urban areas.

By attaching great importance to the violations and breaches perpetrated by the county public security bureau, the provincial and Liaocheng Prefectural CPC Committee organized fact-finding groups at two levels to carry out investigations. However, the fact-finding groups encountered a lot of obstruction devi ed by the county public security bureau, which also employed trickeries to fool the groups.

To enforce party discipline and straighten out the party work style, the Liaocheng Prefectural CPC Committee resolutely rescinded all illegal application cases which had been approved by the bureau and strictly dealt with pertinent personnel who

had committed mistakes. The prefectural CPC committee punished (Shi Dingshen), Standing Committee member of the county CPC committee, secretary of the county public security bureau CPC committee and director of the county public security bureau; and (Liu Meian), member of the bureau CPC committee and deputy director of the county public security bureau, by dismissing them from their posts inside and outside the party. The prefectural CPC committee also punished (Sun Mingwen), member of the public security bureau CPC committee and deputy director of the county public security bureau by placing him on probation within the party for 2 years and dismissing him from his posts as CPC committee member and deputy director.

The provincial CPC committee recently issued a circular urging party committees at all levels to adopt effective measures to strictly control the conversion from agropopulace registers to nonagropopulace ones and to resolutely solve problems arising in changing agropopulace registers to nonagropopulace ones. In particular, all conversion cases approved by leading cadres for their relatives by taking advantage of their position and power and employing back-door deal should be earnestly checked and rescinded in a down-to-earth manner. As to serious cases, it is necessary to find out pertinent personnel who are to blame for the conversion.

CSO: 4005/102

PARTY AND STATE

FUJIAN CONGRESS APPOINTS NEW VICE GOVERNORS

OW101954 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Text] The 17th meeting of the Standing Committee of the 5th Fujian Provincial People's Congress ended this afternoon in Fuzhou after being in session for 5 days.

During the meeting, Cai Li, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, conveyed the guidelines of the 24th session of the NPC Standing Committee. Members of the Standing Committee examined a report on the promotion of mass discussions in Fujian of the revised draft constitution. The meeting examined a report by the provincial people's government on the final financial accounts for 1981 and heard a report by vice provincial governor Wen Fushan on measures taken to combat flood and typhoon disasters and another report by the provincial personnel bureau on the situation and problems in the work concerning intellectuals. The Standing Committee members carried out lively discussions on all these reports. The meeting adopted a resolution on the final financial accounts for 1981.

In compliance with recommendations by the Fujian provincial CPC committee, the meeting elected this afternoon (Ji Ya) as deputy to the Fifth NPC. On the suggestions made by Ma Xingyuan, governor of the Fujian Provincial People's Government, the meeting decided to appoint (Huang Changxi) and (Lu Dongming) as vice governors of the provincial people's government and remove Jin Zhaodian, Wu Hongxiang, Guo Chao, Xu Ya and Guo Ruiren from their posts of vice governors of the provincial people's government.

The meeting extended its respect to the five veteran comrades Jin Zhaodian, Wu Hongxiang, Guo Chao, Xu Ya and Guo Ruiren who are withdrawing from the frontline, for their hard work during their tenure of offices.

CSO: 4005/104

PARTY AND STATE

JILIN PROVINCIAL CYL CONGRESS DELEGATES VISIT VETERAN CADRES

SK100428 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Yesterday morning, part of the delegates attending the Ninth Provincial CYL Congress formed themselves into 31 groups under the leadership of Du Changling, secretary of the provincial CYL committee, and separately visited 32 persons including veteran cadres, Red Army soldiers, scientists and youth workers. These revolutionaries of the older generation enthusiastically told the youths about history and discussed traditions with them in an effort to pass on experience, give help and set examples in training new hands. The delegates were deeply inspired and educated by their lofty ideological level, their selfless revolutionary moral character, their indomitable fighting spirit and their selfless work enthusiasm.

At around 0800, the visiting group headed by Du Changling arrived at the home of the 82-year-old Li Youwen, chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee. Comrade Li Youwen warmly received the group members. Delegate (Zhang Yongyong) handed a letter of respect to old Li.

Zhang Kaijing, vice chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, and 80-year-old Xiao Danfeng, vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee, introduced to the youths their personal experiences in studying the documents of the 12th party congress. Comrade Dong Xin, deputy governor, had taken charge of the CYL work during 1930-1950. He is a senior member among CYL workers. He expressed the hope that the CYL cadres in the new period will inherit the fine traditions of the CYL, study hard and make progress and create a new situation in CYL work. In addition, to enable the delegates to have faith in achieving the grand goal of quadrupling the annual industrial and agricultural output value in the province by the end of this century, he gave an account of various aspects of the province's foundations and conditions for developing industry.

CSO: 4005/101

PARTY AND STATE

BAI RUBING ATTENDS CYL CONGRESS

Bai Rubing Attends

SK110821 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 10 Oct 82

[Excerpts] While the people across Shandong Province are enthusiastically studying and implementing the 12th CPC National Congress guidelines, the Seventh Provincial CYL Congress ceremoniously opened in Jinan Municipality on the morning of 10 October. At the congress, 1,100 delegates from various fronts, are high-spirited and vigorous and full of high morale to express their determination to hold high the great communist banner and advance bravely along the orientation set forth by the 12th National Party Congress, and to make due contributions to creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

Attending the opening ceremony were responsible comrades of the provincial CPC committee, the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, the provincial people's government and the provincial CPPCC committee, including Bai Rubing, Su Yiran, Li Zhen, Gao Qiyun, Li Zichao, We Kaizhang, Gao Keting, Xu Jianchun, Wang Zhongyin, Xu Leijian, Zhao Feng, Chen Lei, Zhang Zhusheng, Liu Peng, Zhang Jingtao, Zheng Zijiu and Wang Zhe. Also attending the ceremony were responsible comrades from the leading organs under Jinan PLA units and from the provincial military district, including (Zhou Suiduo), (Xu Shulin) and (Liu Lian).

At 0800 in that morning, (Lin Pingsheng), secretary of the provincial CYL committee, announced the opening of the congress. (Wang Lequan), deputy secretary of the provincial CYL committee, delivered an opening speech. He stated:

[begin recording] The tasks of the congress are to earnestly study and implement the 12th CPC Congress guidelines, to sum up the work done in the period since the Sixth Provincial CYL Congress in line with the 12th CPC Congress guidelines, to draw up work tasks for the days to come and to organize the broad masses of CYL members and youths across the province to go all out in waging arduous struggle to make due contributions to creating new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. In addition, the congress will elect the Seventh Provincial CYL Committee and delegates to the 11th National CYL Congress. [end recording]

Bai Rubing, first secretary of the provincial CPC committee, addressed the opening ceremony. He said:

[begin recording] Comrades: The Seventh Provincial CYL Congress has successfully opened today. I, on behalf of the provincial CPC committee, would like to extend warm congratulations on this occasion and extend cordial regards to delegates and to all CYL members, cadres and youths who are working hard on various fronts throughout the province. [end recording]

In his speech, Bai Rubing expounded the great historic significance of the 12th CPC National Congress and stressed the importance of studying, publicizing and implementing the 12th CPC Congress documents. He urged all CYL organizations at all levels across the province, under the leadership of the party, to actively organize the broad masses of CYL members and youths to earnestly study, publicize and implement the 12th CPC Congress documents. Efforts should be made to profoundly master the guidelines of the documents, upgrade their understanding and unify their thinking so as to enable the 12th CPC Congress guidelines to be a strong motive force in advancing the CYL work and other ones. By taking the 12th CPC Congress as a new start point, efforts should be made to enable the work in various fields to achieve great improvement and changes and to make great progress.

Representatives from the provincial trade union council, the provincial women's federation, the provincial federation of literary and art circles and from the provincial scientific and technological association made congratulatory speeches at the congress.

Closing Session

SK150540 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 14 Oct 82

[Text] After successfully fulfilling all scheduled tasks, the Seventh Provincial CYL Congress triumphantly concluded amid the playing of the majestic Internationale on the afternoon of 14 October. Through full democratic discussions, the congress unanimously adopted a work report by Comrade (Lin Pingsheng) delivered on behalf of the Sixth Provincial CYL Committee and relevant resolutions, elected the Seventh Provincial CYL Committee, elected delegates to the 11th National CYL Congress and endorsed a resolution on strengthening the grassroots CYL organizations.

Attending the closing ceremony were leading comrades of the provincial CPC Committee, the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, the provincial people's congress and the provincial CPPCC committee including Bai Rubing, Su Yiran, Li Zhen, Gao Qiyun, Li Zichao, Xu Jianchun, Wang Zhongyin, Xu Leijian, Chen Lei, Zhang Zhusheng, Liu Peng, Zhang Jingtao, Ding Fangming and Wang Zhe. Also present at the closing ceremony were responsible comrades of the leading organs of the Jinan PLA units including (Zhou Suiduo) and (Xu Shulin) as well as responsible comrades of provincial-level departments concerned.

Su Yiran, secretary of the provincial CPC committee and provincial governor, addressed the closing ceremony. On behalf of the provincial CPC committee, Comrade Su Yiran extended warm congratulations to the congress on its success. He said: the provincial CPC committee believes that following this congress, the CYL organizations throughout the province surely will be able to mobilize the broad masses of youths to rally further round the party, to study work diligently and to make new and greater contributions to implementing the correct program and tasks set forth at the 12th party congress on creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

In the speech, Comrade Su Yiran expounded in particular some issues concerning how the party committees can strengthen leadership over the CYL organizations, and urged CYL organizations to grasp the study of the broad masses of youths well. He noted: CYL work is an important component of the party's cause. Strengthening leadership over the CYL is our party's glorious tradition. Party committees at all levels must realistically and firmly grasp the CYL work in line with the guidelines of the 12th party congress.

Comrade Su Yiran said: Young people are in a stage in which they must study to acquire knowledge, to enhance their abilities and to lay a good foundation. They must treasure this good opportunity, race against time and put in a lot of efforts to study culture, science and technology and strive to master the skills needed for building the four modernizations. He expressed the hope that all delegates will creatively carry out the CYL work in the great march in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, will unite and lead the broad masses of youths to serve as shock teams in the four modernizations drive, to make outstanding achievements and to win glories for our great socialist motherland, the party and the people.

The Seventh Provincial CYL Committee held its first plenary meeting in Jinan on the afternoon of 14 October. Standing Committee members of this CYL committee were elected. Comrade (Lin Pingsheng) was elected secretary, and (Wang Lequan), (Sun Shuyu), (Wang Xianrui) and (Wu Aiying) were elected deputy secretaries.

CSO: 4005/102

PARTY AND STATE

SHANGHAI COMMISSAR DISCUSSES CONGRESS GUIDELINES

OW171152 Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Oct 82 [no page given]

[Text] On 7 October, Zhang Chen, political commissar of the Shanghai Garrison District, gave a lecture on the 12th CPC National Congress' guidelines to a certain regiment and answered questions encountered by the cadres and fighters in their studies.

Comrade Zhang Chen came to the regiment on 4 October together with an office work group. Before the lecture he participated in a squad discussion, convened a forum and familiarized himself with the questions encountered by the cadres and fighters in their studies. Then, based on the gains from his study, he prepared his lecture in earnest. During the lecture Comrade Zhang Chen answered questions brought up by the cadres and fighters such as: Is it possible to bring about a basic change for the better in party workstyle? What are the grounds for striving to quadruple the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production by the end of this century? Why do we say that the new leading organs of the party Central Committee have expedited the cooperation between the old and the new cadres and the succession of the new to the old? In answering these questions Comrade Zhang Chen pointed out: In light of the atmosphere of the whole party, we should affirm that the mainstream is good and that the people engaged in evil practices within the party are minority. Besides, the party Central Committee is determined to ractify the party workstyle and has, in the past few years, taken measures to gradually improve party workstyle. The new party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress has put even more stringent requirements on party members and cadres. The central authorities have decided to carry out well-planned, step-by-step party consolidation work beginning the latter half of next year. This has provided a sure guarantee for a change in party workstyle. Therefore, I am sure we will be able to bring about a basic change for the better in our party workstyle. Comrade Zhang Chen's answers helped all cadres and fighters deepen their understanding and gave them more confidence.

A few days ago Jia Defa and Jia Jiping, deputy commanders of the garrison district, and Wang Kai, deputy political commissar, and others as well, led separate work groups to grassroots units to lecture on the 12th congress' guidelines.

CSO: 4005/103

PARTY AND STATE

JIANGSU PEOPLE'S CONGRESS COMMITTEE MEETING

OW262114 Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 11 Oct 82 p 1

[Excerpts] The 30day 16th session of the Standing Committee of the 5th Jiangsu Provincial People's Congress closed in Nanjing on 9 October. To convey and study the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress was an important item on the agenda of the meeting.

First, the meeting listened to a report by Comrade Liu Lin, second secretary of the provincial party committee, on the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress.

During discussions, the Standing Committee members happily discussed and exchanged their study experience in connection with practical work. They were full of confidence in accomplishing the grand goal of building socialism in an all-round way put forth by the 12th CPC National Congress. They all pledged to take the lead in studying and propagating the congress documents and implementing them in practical work.

The meeting successively listened to a report by Gao Liguang, chairman of the provincial economic committee, on Jiangsu's industrial production and communications; a report by Chen Chao, director of the provincial cultural bureau, on Jinagsu's cultural work and plan; an explanation by Liang Haoqun, vice chairman of the provincial construction committee, on the draft of "regulations governing the management of land for urban construction and the settlement of occupants of houses pulled down of Jiangsu Province (for trial use)"; and an explanation by Chen Yu, vice president of the provincial higher people's court, on the draft of "regulations governing the collection of civil court fees by people's courts at various levels of Jiangsu Province (for trial use)." The meeting discussed the above-mentioned reports and explanations. The committee members expressed their views and offered suggestions on product quality, energy conservation, technical transformation, training of qualified personnel, rural cultural development and so on. They also adopted relevant resolutions.

In accordance with the electoral law, the meeting elected acting governor Han Peixin as an additional deputy to the Fifth National People's Congress. It also discussed and approved certain personnel appointments and removals.

Those who attended the meeting included Zhong Guochu, He Binghao, Dai Weiran, Xie Kedong, Ye Xuchao and Liu Shuxun, vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress. Those who attended the meeting as observers were responsible persons of the provincial people's government, the provincial higher people's court, the provincial people's procuratorate and various provincial departments concerned; and the responsible persons of the people's congresses of 11 municipalities and Yancheng County of Jiangsu Province.

CSO: 4005/103

PARTY AND STATE

PROVINCIAL CYL CONGRESS ENDS

SK121025 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Text] The 5-day Jilin Provincial CYL Congress successfully concluded at the auditorium of the provincial guesthouse this afternoon. Attending the closing ceremony were leading comrades of the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee, people's congress, government, CPPCC committee and military district, including Wang Daren, Yu Lin, Song Jiehan, Liu Jingzhi, Zhang Kaijing, Yang Zhantao, Luo Yuejia, Xiao Danfeng and (Liu Luming).

Before committee was elected. After that, all the members of the committee elected a Standing Committee. (Du Qinglin) was elected secretary of the Jilin Provincial CYL Committee and (Qian Shiren), (Wang Fuyuan), (Du Xuefang), (Qin Lifa) and (Jin Dezhu) deputy secretaries. Delegates to the 11th National CYL Congress were also elected.

At today's closing ceremony a resolution on the report on the work of the Eighth Jilin Provincial CYL Committee was approved. A decision of the provincial CYL committee on commending 70 new-long-march shock teams, 330 new-long-march shock workers, 50 outstanding CYL branches and 100 outstanding CYL cadres was read out and certificates of merit and awards were presented to them.

The closing ceremony was chaired by (Wang Fuyuan), deputy secretary of the provincial CYL committee, (Du Xuefang), deputy secretary, delivered a closing speech.

The congress decided that the principles and tasks for CYL work of the province are to attend to the study and implementation of the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress, which is a task of prime importance; to act as shock workers in developing the national economy; to serve as vanguards in promoting the socialist spiritual civilization; to build the CYL into a core to unite with and educate young people and to strive to create a new situation for socialist modernization.

The congress called on CYL organizations and CYL members and other young people throughout the province to turn the tasks set forth at the congress into actual deeds as quickly as possible and to develop deeply and broadly the campaigns to emulate new-long-march shock workers, to learn from Lei Feng and foster new social conduct, to promote five-stress and four-beauty activities and to emulate advanced CYL branches.

Delegates to the congress, filled with confidence, were determined to fulfill the tasks and act as vanguards in the four-modernization drive.

CSO: 4005/101

PARTY AND STATE

COMMENTARY ON IMPORTANCE OF COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

SK120558 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Station commentary: "Study of Communist Ideology Is the Prominent Task for the Younger Generation"]

[Text] Following the guidance of the 12th CPC Congress, the 9th Jilin Provincial CYL Congress successfully concluded. Let us warmly congratulate its successes.

Comrade Hu Yaobang unequivocally pointed out in his report at the 12th CPC Congress that at the present stage we must demand that Communist Party members and CYL members acquire communist ideology. This is a call of the CPC Central Committee and an important task for all CYL organizations. To study communist ideology is a prominent task for the younger generation.

Communism is the inevitable outcome of human social development and our loftiest ideal. However, we must see that at present a few young people have the muddled idea that communism has slim hopes of success and is unreachable. Without the study of communist ideology, such a muddled idea will not be cleared up and the initiative in devoting all one's life to the communist cause will not be aroused.

In studying communist ideology, we should first study and master Marxist and Leninist theories. We should conscientiously study the basic principles of Marxist philosophy, political economics and scientific socialism. We should study the documents of the 12th CPC Congress and the history of modern China, the Chinese Communist Party and social development. We should gradually master the theories on the basic principles of communism and on the objective law of social development.

In studying communist ideology, we should not study books only. We should also study its practice. We should vigorously participate in the activities for promoting the socialist material and spiritual civilizations, because in these activities communist factors keep developing. Participation in such activities is conducive to cultivating our communist ideology, ethics and values.

In studying communist ideology, we should resist, criticize and overcome, with communist ideology, the corrosion by bourgeois ideology and remnant feudal ideology. We have already enhanced our vigilance against the corrosion by capitalist life style; however, we have not done enough in guarding against corrosion by capitalist ideology and culture. We should see that corrosion by the latter can exert greater influence and is more dangerous than that by the former. We should wage a struggle to combat the corrosion and build a great ideological wall to resist the capitalist [word indistinct] poisonous substance and guard against the peaceful evolution, so that we can always be successful in the struggle between corrosion and anticorrosion.

We are firmly convinced that with the inspiration of the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress, a new communist style will develop and a great number of young people with communist awareness will be brought up by the great school of CYL.

CSO: 4005/101

PARTY AND STATE

HAINAN CPC ARRANGES STUDY OF CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

HK130649 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 12 Oct 82

[Excerpts] From 27 September to 9 October, the CPC Committee of the Hainan Military District held an enlarged meeting, assembling cadres above regimental level of divisional, political and logistics organs and of PLA units under the Hainan Military District, to study the 12th Party Congress documents in order to unify thinking and enhance revolutionary vigor with the determination to do well at all work of the PLA units and to make contributions to safeguarding and building the island.

During the meeting, Li Heng, political commissar of the Hainan Military District, who attended the party congress recently, and Commander Jiang Hai relayed and explained the spirit of the recent party congress.

Li Heng also gave a closing speech to the meeting, making concrete arrangements for the study and implementation of the congress spirit. In his speech, he called on CPC Committees at all levels to punctually study and propagate the congress spirit as a matter of prime importance. First and foremost, he said, cadres above regimental level must propagate and explain the spirit among PLA units so as to make it known to everybody. Then, efforts will be made to study some specific points. He also called on PLA units to take the lead in carrying out the activities of spiritual civilization extensively and thoroughly and in doing more good deeds for the people. They should also take the initiative in solving the problem of dirtiness, disorder and poor service and in making a good job of all current work so as to make new contributions to safeguarding and building Hainan Island.

CSO: 4005/95

PARTY AND STATE

FUCHUAN COUNTY CHECKS BACK-DOOR PROMOTIONS

HK130747 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 12 Oct 82

[Text] Fuchuan County CPC Committee, in the course of studying the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, has seriously upheld principles and straightened out the party's work style, and has dismissed a number of cadres' children and relatives who got their jobs as cadres or workers and who were promoted to the rank of cadre from workers or were changed from collective workers to state workers through the back-door and personal relations which violated the party's policies and stipulations.

Over the past years, some leading cadres in Fuchuan County made use of their power, violated policy stipulations and assigned jobs as workers in urban districts to their children and relatives. Some promoted their children and relatives to posts as cadres or shifted their positions as workers in collective enterprises to those in state-run enterprises. In those days, the county party committee, hindered by human feelings, did not tackle these problems. As a result, the masses made many complaints.

Recently, after seriously studying Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech and the part of Comrade Hu Yaobang's report dealing with rectifying party work style, leading members of the county party committee analyzed these problems and considered that they were a manifestation of unhealthy party work style and must be straightened out resolutely. They were determined to implement the spirit of the 12th Congress with actual actions. Then, personnel from the discipline inspection, personnel affairs and labor departments were organized into a group led by a vice secretary of the county party committee specializing in checking up and clearing people who were appointed cadres and workers in violation of policies. This group took charge of the children and relatives of leading cadres at the county level. All departments under the county authorities also organized their strength to tackle their problems.

Now the first 19 people who have been dismissed are all children and relatives of former and current leading members of the county party committee. Following the lead of the county leaders, leaders at lower levels have also taken the lead in removing their children and relatives from their posts gained in violation of policies.

CSO: 4005/95

PROVINCIAL MEETING COMMENDS MODEL WORKERS

OW140817 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 12 Oct 82

[Excerpts] The 5-day Fujian provincial meeting of model workers came to a victorious close at the Xihu Guest House in Fuzhou on 12 October. The meeting was the largest model workers meeting ever held in Fujian since the founding of the People's Republic. Some 700 model workers from the industrial, communications, capital construction, agricultural, forestry, finance, trade, scientific research, cultural, educational, health and sports fronts attended the meeting. They seriously studied the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress and listened to and discussed the opening speech made by Comrade Ma Xingyuan and a report presented by Comrade Cheng Xu. (Lai Aiguang) and 24 other model workers spoke at the meeting.

Leading comrades of party, government and army organizations in the province attended the closing session. They included Hu Hong, Wu Hongxiang, Cheng Xu, Hu Ping, Yuan Gai, He Ruoren, (Zhang Yimin), Zhang Kehui, Jia Jiumin, He Minxue, Fu Bocui, Cai Liangcheng, Hou Linzhou, Ren Manjun, Wang Yan, Wen Fushan, (Du Bingying), Wei Jinshui, Guo Ruijen and Ni Songmao. (Liu Tingzhu) and (Li Jia), leading comrades of the Fujian Military District, also attended the closing session on invitation.

The closing session was presided over by Hao Zhaowen, secretary general [mi shu zhang] of the model workers meeting and chairman of the provincial trade union council. Vice Governor Wen Fushan read a decision on commending the model workers of Fujian Province on behalf of the provincial people's government.

Vice Governor Wang Yan delivered a closing speech at the meeting. He said: Unfolding a widespread mass campaign to emulate and catch up with the advanced meets the needs of creating a new situation. We should convey the guidelines of this provincial model workers meeting to whip up an upsurge of emulating and catching up with the advanced in the various professions and trades in the province and strive to promote a common practice of everyone vying to be among the advanced and aiming high.

In conclusion, Comrade Wang Yan pointed: The 12th Party National Congress has pointed out the direction of our advance and bounded the great bugle to advance. The Fujian working class, with its glorious revolutionary traditions, should courageously charge forward. Let us join the people throughout the province in creating with our own hands a new situation of socialist modernization in Fujian.

CSO: 4005/104

PARTY AND STATE

HUNAN DISCIPLINE INSPECTION COMMITTEE MEETING

HK140858 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Oct 82

[Text] On 9 October, the Hunan Provincial CPC Committee Discipline Inspection Committee held its ninth plenary meeting. (Shi Qingshan), member of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and Secretary of the Provincial Discipline Inspection Committee, conveyed the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and the plenary meeting of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission. Deputy Secretary (Lai Bingren) discussed the work situation in the province since the beginning of this year and gave opinions on future work.

The meeting demanded that discipline inspection departments at all levels and discipline inspection cadres attach major importance to studying the document of the 12th Party Congress, ensure that the whole party maintain political unanimity with the CPC Central Committee and resolutely implement the line, principles, policies and decisions of the party. It is necessary to continue our efforts in grasping the struggle against economic criminal activities, concentrate efforts on handling big and important cases and strengthen anti-corruption education for party members and cadres. It is necessary to curb and promptly correct sinister trends which seriously affect the people. It is necessary to strengthen the organizational and ideological building of discipline inspection committees at all levels in order to meet work demands.

CSO: 4005/95

PARTY AND STATE

NEW FUJIAN VICE GOVERNOR INTERVIEWED

HK180603 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 0850 GMT 15 Oct 82

[Report by ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE reporter Zhou Jingluo [0719 2529 3157]: "Visiting Lu Dongming, New Vice Governor of Fujian"]

[Text] Fuzhou, 15 Oct (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--A new vice governor has been appointed recently in Fujian Province. He takes charge of three bureaus (of machine building, electronics industry and defense industry) and three municipalities (Fuzhou, Xiamen and Sanming). He goes to the office in a small old car. He does not need a bodyguard. When he works in a factory, he eats and lives together with the workers. He is Lu Dongming, 51, a native of Shanghai and the general manager of the East Fujian Electrical Machinery Company. Before taking the leading post in the provincial government, he was an enterprise leading cadre with exceptional courage and insight. The people of Fujian place high hopes on him.

Lu Dongming attended the 12th CPC National Congress not long ago. Your reporter visited him after his return to Fujian.

Lu Dongming is not very tall in stature. He thinks very clearly and talks frankly, showing the qualities of an intelligent leading cadre.

He said: The Fujian Provincial CPC Committee has called an enlarged meeting to act immediately in accordance with the demands of the 12th CPC Congress to create a new situation in socialist construction. To create a new situation, Fujian needs an economic policy suited to its actual conditions. Fujian, he added, should develop a diversified economy because it does not have many big mines but has an unique geographical environment together with natural resources of different kinds suitable for developing, in its own fashion, agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, fisheries, water conservancy, navigation, tourism and heavy and light industries. It should adopt a policy of opening to the outside. Situated on the southeastern coast of China, it is a window of the state opening to the outside. It is culturally developed and is the homeland for a multitude of patriotic overseas Chinese. It wants not only to develop economic cooperation with other provinces but also to establish contacts with foreign countries. This imposes still higher demands on Fujian: It is necessary to nurture scientific, technological and managerial personnel of a high level and to continuously turn out new varieties of products and improve their quality. For

this reason, it is necessary to learn from other provinces and foreign countries and bring in their advanced technology and equipment. It is also sincerely hoped that the overseas Chinese and the foreign firms will cooperate with Fujian as much as they can.

Lu Dongming stressed: Fujian's market should open to other provinces and foreign countries and become one of China's centers for economic interchange with foreign countries. Products from various parts of the country can be introduced to foreigners in Fujian and the good things of foreign countries can be brought in. The opening of this market will promote industrial development. For this reason, attention should be paid to building and expanding this market.

Lu Dongming still holds the post of general manager of the East Fujian Electrical Machinery Company even though he has been promoted to be a provincial government leader. He said that this would help him understand the conditions of the enterprise and reduce bureaucratism on the part of the enterprise leadership. Led by him directly, the East Fujian Electrical Machinery Company is Fujian's first complex to enjoy full decision making power and be capable of independently conducting economic activities with foreign countries. Its output value has quadrupled since 1977. Its foreign exchange earned through exports increased by 50 percent annually in the past 5 years. Its products sold well in the markets in Hong Kong and in Southeast Asuan countries. After the 12th CPC National Congress had issued the great goal, it drew up an ambitious plan of increasing its output value by 100 percent in 1985 as compared with this year. For this reason, Lu Dongming specifically stressed the policy of "struggling for existence by improving the quality of products, making development by increasing the variety of products." This company has set up a production development department specially for studying, designing and testing new products, and has put an effective management system and some strict quality control measures into practice. After joining the East Fujian Electrical Machinery Company in 1958, Lu Dongming worked successively at the posts of technician, engineer, deputy factory director responsible for technology and factory director. He has accumulated rich experience ranging from production techniques to enterprise management and has taken his own path. In future, he will embark on a new march of developing a provincial industrial economic management system. He once said seriously to Xiang Nan, first secretary of Fujian Provincial CPC Committee: "Our work should develop and our cadres should go down to the grassroots levels. I shall have the right to speak only when industry in the province has developed." He also said: "The actual strength of a group of people who are not united means nothing. Only by working concertedly can we run our factory well. Attention should be paid to arousing the enthusiasm of the middle-aged intellectuals and the enthusiasm of the young workers who are lagging behind."

Lu Dongming is revolutionary, young, well educated and professionally competent meeting the requirements for cadres laid down by the CPC. From him, people can see the splendid image of China's leading cadres of a new generation.

CSO: 4005/104

PARTY AND STATE

PROFESSIONAL CADRES TRAINED SYSTEMATICALLY

SK170930 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 16 Oct 82

[Text] In order to ensure that the ranks of cadres become more revolutionary, younger in age, better educated and more professionally competent to suit the needs of the construction of socialist modernization, our province has systematically trained young and middle-aged cadres by stages and in groups to normalize and systematize the education of cadres step by step.

Since 1980, our province has begun to train cadres in a systematic way. In the past 3 years, 1,607 cadres entered training courses in three groups. Training courses have been set up in eight institutions of higher learning including Shandong University, Shandong Engineering College, Shandong Agricultural College, Shandong Economic College and Qufu Normal College. So far, one group of 461 students has been graduated and has returned to their working posts. Through two years' systematic study, they remarkably upgraded their standards of political theory, policy and professional knowledge. Some cadres went from being laymen to being professional experts. Through strict training and collective activities, their sense of organizational disciplines was generally enhanced and their ideology, workstyle and mental attitude were gratifyingly improved.

The following are our province's experiences in training cadres:

1. The provincial CPC committee attached importance to strengthening their leadership and entrusted the organizational department of the provincial CPC committee to take charge of the training work in cooperation with the propaganda department of the provincial CPC committee and with the great assistance of the provincial planning, financial, educational and capital construction departments.

2. The province was willing to make full use of intellect investment to settle the outlay issue. Under the situation of financial difficulties, the provincial CPC committee decided to allocate 3.2 million yuan from the local financial departments for starting training courses for cadres.

3. Remuneration was clearly fixed for those cadres engaged in training courses. During the period of schooling, students were paid as well as cadres at working posts by their former units. Charges for medical treatment were paid by former units. If badly off, they could ask their former units for a subsidy. During

the period of schooling, every student was subsidized two jiao for living expenses and every student was subsidized 20 yuan for research expenses every year. Those who passed the graduation examinations will be paid equal to college graduates.

4. All relevant institutions stipulated definite teaching programs and practically enhanced the ideological education and organizational management in line with the objective of training courses.

CSO: 4005/102

GUANGXI RADIO COMMENTS ON FEAR OF POLICY CHANGES

HK180655 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 17 Oct 82

["Radio Talks": "Keep the Policies Unchanged for a Long Time and Vigorously Promote Production With Ease of Mind"]

[Excerpts] Since the region instituted production responsibility systems, the peasants' enthusiasm for production has soared to an unprecedented height and excellent changes have rapidly taken place in the rural situation. Many rural households have full stocks of grain and oil and large numbers of pigs and poultry. They are becoming more and more prosperous. The peasants everywhere have said that the institution of production responsibility systems is excellent.

However, the peasants also have some worries amid their happiness. Can the production responsibility systems be maintained for a long time? Will we go back to eating out of a big pot again? Some people say, it is not so now but it will be in the future; the production responsibility systems will only last a certain time, so there is no point in thinking about the long term. They are therefore still inhibited to some extent in production and fail to make long-term plans. When undertaking production contracts, they are only willing to do things that yield benefit in the short term and do not want to undertake projects from which they will only benefit after several years. They dare not spend too much labor or manure on certain responsibility fields.

Actually, all this represents a misunderstanding. We can fully believe that the central committee is resolved to correct leftist errors. And this is indeed a fact. Our party has consistently been endeavoring to do this since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Central Committee. The recent 12th Party Congress fully affirmed the line, principles and policies since the 3d plenary session. This is also the case with the production responsibility systems. Comrade Hu Yaobang clearly stated in his report at the congress: We must maintain the production responsibility systems for a long time. We can only gradually perfect them on the basis of summing up the masses' practical experience; we absolutely cannot violate the masses' desires and change them at will, and still less can we go back to the old road. Leading central comrades have also pointed out many times that we must be resolved to continue to promote the various types of production responsibility system.

The party Central Committee means what it says. There is no need for people to doubt it or get worried. Let us vigorously promote production with ease of mind and make greater contributions for the sake of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/95

PARTY AND STATE

JILIN HOLDS TELEPHONE CONFERENCE ON ENLISTMENT

SK180440 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Oct 82

[Text] On 15 October, the provincial government and the provincial military district held a joint telephone conference on enlistment to sum up achievements in the previous enlistment work and to set forth demands on how to make a success of this work in the next stage.

The conference noted: Under the guidance of the 12th party congress and because of the great attention paid by party committees at all levels, the leaders' personal participation, the enthusiasm and efforts of the enlistment departments at all levels and the great support by the PLA units that are ready to receive draftees, the province's previous stage of enlistment work has progressed smoothly.

To successfully fulfill the enlistment task, the conference called on all localities to do a good job in spot checking and double checking the draftees' health conditions to ensure that all of them are of strong physiques. Efforts must be made to do the final draftee selection work well to prevent unqualified persons from being transferred to PLA units. We must also conscientiously rectify party style, correct unhealthy tendencies and guarantee the implementation of policies. In accordance with policies, those persons that do not meet the requirements for age and other conditions, no matter whose children they are, must not be drafted. Efforts must be made to examine and approve the work on deciding to which arm of services the draftee will belong. Prior to this work, efforts must be made to consult with and solicit opinions from comrades of the PLA units that are ready to receive the draftees in an effort to maintain good relations between the two sides. The principle of selecting the best must be conscientiously implemented in order to select for the PLA units those comrades that are comparatively good in physical condition, and in their political, ideological and cultural levels. Propaganda and education work must be carried out in the course of conducting enlistment work. We must have a definite object in view while conducting education for draftees and their parents in line with their ideological reality. Leaders at all levels and comrades in charge of the enlistment work must go to the reality to conduct investigations and studies, to adopt effective measures to solve all problems in a timely manner, to try all possible means to ensure the quality of this year's enlistment work and to make new contributions to creating a new situation in enlistment work.

CSO: 4005/101

PARTY AND STATE

CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING ENDS

SK200537 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 19 Oct 82

[Text] The 14th meeting of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee concluded in Changchun today following a 7-day session. This meeting was presided over by Li Youwen, chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee. Qiang Xiaochu, first secretary of the provincial CPC committee, attended and spoke at the meeting. In the speech, he touched on in particular his personal experience in studying the documents of the 12th party congress and his preliminary ideas on the province's arrangement for studying the congress guidelines in the days to come. Song Renyuan, vice chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, read Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech at the first plenary session of the 12th CPC Central Committee.

During the meeting, participants conscientiously studied the documents of the 12th party congress and held group discussions on the basis of their understanding of the congress guidelines. In line with the reality and the grand objective on our country's economic construction set forth at the 12th party congress, they talked freely about their understanding and impressions of the congress documents. They said with confidence that they will enhance their spirit, work hard and stand fast at their posts and will contribute to creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and achieving the fighting tasks set forth at the 12th party congress.

During discussions, they pointed out that in studying documents, we must adhere to the principle of integrating theory with practice and the spirit of dealing with concrete matters relating to work, combine our study with our work and correctly implement the congress guidelines so as to create a new situation in all work as soon as possible.

At the plenary meeting held on 16 October, participants listened to a report by the provincial financial department on the implementation of the 1982 financial budget plan during the January-September period; a report by the provincial price committee on the implementation of the stipulations concerning several issues of Jilin Province's price management and a report by the provincial public

security department on the situation of consolidating social order. After that, they conducted enthusiastic discussions and maintained that these three reports accord with our province's actual situation and that the government has done a lot of work in this regard and has scored achievements. They expressed their satisfaction with this. In addition, they also pointed out that in regard to the existing difficulties and unsolved problems that arise in the course of carrying out the above work, strenuous efforts must be made to grasp them firmly and well in order to make greater achievements in a short period of time to fulfill our province's revenue and expenditure plan for this year, to achieve a fundamental improvement in social order and to ensure stability in commodity prices. Some committee members also came forward with some ideas and suggestions concerning this work.

The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution on striving for a rapid improvement in the financial and economic situations. During the meeting, participants also examined and approved a report submitted by the provincial people's procuratorate and the provincial higher people's court on extending the time limit for handling criminal cases; endorsed additional decisions concerning the issue of time limits for handling criminal cases; and discussed and decided on the appointment and removal of personnel.

Also attending the meeting were vice chairmen of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, including Zhao Tianye, Xu Shouxuan, Liu Cikai, Zhang Kaijing, Wu Duo, Cheng Shengsan and Ren-qin-zha-mu-su. Dong Xin, deputy governor; Wang Jiren, president of the provincial higher people's court; Xin Cheng, chief procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate, and responsible persons of the provincial public security and financial departments, the provincial price committee, the personnel affairs bureau and other departments concerned as well as responsible persons of various municipal and autonomous prefectural people's congress Standing Committees and offices of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee set up in various localities and responsible persons of the people's congress Standing Committees of various counties, cities and districts attended the meeting as observers.

The 14th meeting of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee which concluded today endorsed a resolution on striving for a rapid improvement in the financial and economic situations. The resolution reads: The people's governments at all levels and the people of various nationalities throughout the province have conscientiously implemented the guidelines of the fourth session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress, done a lot of work and scored relatively good achievements. The situation of revenue and expenditures in the past 9 months was good. However, because of a crop failure caused by disasters this year, economic benefits are comparatively poor in some enterprises. Therefore, we must not take lightly the issue concerning the realization of a balanced revenue and expenditure.

The resolution points out: To ensure the realization of a balanced revenue and expenditure this year, the people's governments at all levels and all enterprises and establishments must further launch activities on increasing production and economizing on expenditures, attend to readjustment and consolidation of

enterprises and establishments with a focus on raising economic results, implement responsibility systems in the economic sphere, improve management, improve product quality, and reduce production cost in an effort to increase production and income and to change deficits to profit. Efforts must be made to strengthen the planning and management of capital construction to avoid blindly carrying out duplicated projects, mobilize the broad masses of people to practice economy, to combat waste, to strictly control expenditure and not to exceed the financial budget. Efforts must be made to strengthen [word indistinct] governing financial and economic affairs and supervision over this work. Those who violate the financial and economic discipline must be investigated to affix personal responsibility, and serious violators must be punished according to law.

The last part of the resolution urges: the people of various nationalities and the broad masses of people throughout the province must conscientiously study and implement the guidelines of the 12th party congress, go all out, work hard and struggle to achieve a rapid improvement in our province's financial and economic situation.

CSO: 4005/101

PARTY AND STATE

OBITUARY OF JIANGSU CPPCC VICE CHAIRMAN

OW221449 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 19 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Comrade Chen Liping, vice chairman of the Fourth Jiangsu Provincial CPPCC Committee, died in Nanjing on 12 October 1982 at the age of 74 after a prolonged illness and failing to respond to medical treatment.

A native of Wujin County, Comrade Chen Liping joined the CPC in December 1930 and activley took part in the workers', peasants' and students' movements and the anti-Japanese and national salvation movement in Beijing, Wujin, Wuxi, Shanghai and Suzhou from 1931 to 1937.

After the founding of the PRC, Comrade Chen Liping was appointed as Standing Committee member and concurrently director of the organization department of the party committee of the second district of Nanjing Municipality, deputy party secretary of the municipal planning committee, vice mayor of the municipal people's government, deputy director of the provincial CPC committee's propaganda department, director of the provincial public health department, president of the Jiangsu Provincial Higher People's Court and chief procurator of the provincial procuratorate.

Comrade Chen Liping left a will requesting that no funeral ceremony be held and that his body be donated to the state for medical research.

In accordance with Comrade Chen Liping's will, the provincial CPC committee performed a simple funeral for him and no memorial meeting was held. His remains were cremated at the Nanjing crematory on 18 October. Before the cremation, Jiang Weiqing,Xu Jiatun, Liu Lin, Han Peixin, Gu Xiulian, Zhou Ze, Bao Houchang, Guan Wenwei and others paid respects to Comrade Chen Liping's remains and extended condolences to his family.

CSO: 4005/103

PARTY AND STATE

SEVENTH IN SERIES ON REVISED CPC CONSTITUTION

OW311220 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 22 Oct 82

[Seventh in a series of questions and answers on the study of the party Constitution adopted by the 12th National CPC Congress: "How To Get a Basic Understanding of the Superiority of the Socialist System?"--by the General Section of the Research Office Under the CPC Central Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The general program of the new party Constitution points out that fundamentally speaking, the socialist system is incomparably superior to the capitalist system, having eliminated the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system, which the latter is incapable of overcoming.

How then to get a basic understanding of the superiority of the socialist system then? We may answer this question in the following three respects:

First, socialism is incomparably superior to capitalism in respect to the economic system. This is first reflected in the public ownership of the means of production under socialism, as against the capitalist private ownership which can open a broad road for the development of a society's productive forces. Another proof is in the fact that socialism calls for practicing the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" on the basis of public ownership of the means of production. This gives the development of social production a tremendous innate motive force.

Second, socialism is incomparably superior to capitalism in respect to the political system. Socialism brings about the political system of proletarian dictatorship--called people's democratic dictatorship in China--that truly enables the people to become masters of the country. In capitalist society, so-called democracy and freedom are simply words with empty meanings. The capitalist systems of the separation of the legislative, executive and judicial functions of government; parliament; general elections; and the regulations guaranteeing freedom of speech, freedom of publication and freedom of assembly and association, and so on, are all established on the foundation of the capitalist system of private ownership, a system that is characterized by man exploiting man.

all these are but a means for the bourgeoisie to preserve the capitalist system of private ownership and deceive and oppress the proletariat and the laboring people. They are not to be shared by the broad masses of laborers. The democracy of a socialist society is enjoyed by the vast majority of the people, whereas democracy in a capitalist society is designed for a handful of the people of the capitalist class. There is a world of difference between the two kinds of democracy. One simply cannot be compared to the other.

Third, socialism is incomparably superior to capitalism, as well as to all prior socialist systems in respect to spiritual civilization. In a socialist society, because of the establishment of the public ownership of the means of production and the elimination of the system of man exploiting man and the fact that the fundamental interests of all of its people are one and the same, it is possible for the people to gradually do away with the old ideas and ways formed under the system of exploitation and private ownership of the means of production and steadily raise their communist consciousness and foster common ideals, common ethics and a common discipline in their own ranks. Communist ideology is the core of socialist spiritual civilization. Guided by communist ideology, the Chinese people have gradually established a spiritual relationship between each other characterized by unity, friendship and mutual concern. The entire society is full of vigor and vitality.

In the capitalist countries, spiritual life is very dejected and decadent because of the existence of the system of exploitation and the intrinsic selfish nature of the bourgeoisie. The common criterion of social conduct is money is everything and everything is for the individual. The capitalist society's contradiction phenomenon between material civilization and spiritual degeneration is the inevitable outcome of the practice of the capitalist system of private ownership. This is a morbid state of the entire society which it is unable to overcome. There is an increasing number of people who feel that they do not have a future.

When we compare the different kinds of spiritual civilizations, we will be able to see that none of the spiritual civilizations of past societies can compared with socialist spiritual civilization.

We have explained the superiority of the socialist system in the above three respects. This is why we must persist in following the socialist road.

The general program of the new party Constitution also points out that the development and improvement of the socialist system is a long historical process. This is another point that calls for our full understanding. We should not lose sight of the fact that the system of socialism represents the initial stage of the system of communist society. This system has been established in China for only 30 and more years. There are still many imperfect areas in this system--whether political or economical, whether in the building of material civilization or spiritual civilization. There are still many problems which require our study and solution.

The socialist system is an unprecedented, completely new system. It is inevitable that this system will experience some twists and turns in the process of development. This is particularly so in the case of China. To build China--a country that began with a backward economy and culture--into a modern, socialist power will prove to be one of the greatest projects of creation ever attempted in the history of mankind. There are many problems pertaining to this cause which past Marxists did not and could not possibly discover and offer their solutions. Therefore, deviations have become inevitable in the course of its development. For example, we made some mistakes in the work of guiding socialist construction. We also witnessed the historical tragedy of the "Cultural Revolution." If these things had not occurred, it can be said with certainty that both the speed and the achievements of our socialist construction would have been greater. In other words, the superiority of the socialist system would have had the opportunity to more fully play its role. However, the very fact that we have smashed the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and corrected the mistakes we committed in our work by ourselves proves that it is determined by the superiority of the socialist system itself that this system is capable of surmounting the difficulties and removing the obstacles that lie in its way and making constant progress in its advance.

Chinese communists, with Comrade Mao Zedong as their chief representative and working for the purpose of establishing socialism in China, have integrated the universal principle of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and guided the people of all nationalities in the whole country in waging a protracted and arduous struggle. Now, socialism is not just a theory in China. It is also a reality in the life of its hundreds of millions of people who are working diligently for it. This is the objective that in fact no force can change.

We firmly believe that our socialist cause is bound to become more and more prosperous as long as the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities of the whole country strive for it. We also firmly believe that the socialist cause is making advances and is bound to gradually win victory throughout the world by developing on the course selected by the people of each individual country as the best suitable to the unique characteristics of their own country.

CSO: 4005/108

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG HOLDS MODEL WORKERS MEETING

SK230934 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 22 Oct 82

[Excerpts] The provincial meeting of representatives of model workers and staff and advanced enterprises and establishments ceremoniously opened on 21 October. In October, the sky is high, the weather is fine, the chrysanthemum blossoms are out and the scenery is attractive. With colored flags fluttering in the breeze, the (Dongjiao) Auditorium was permeated with a warm atmosphere of unity and victory. A streamer with the words "warmly celebrate the opening of the provincial meeting of respresentatives of model laborers" trailed from the auditorium. Above the door of the auditorium, there was a streamer with the words "bravely advance along the course charted by the 12th party congress."

At 0830, some 1,200 model workers and representatives of advanced collectives lined up to enter the meeting place. Attending the meeting were leading comrades of the provincial CPC committee, the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, the Jinan PLA units, the provincial people's government and the provincial CPPCC committee, including Su Yiran, Qin Hezhen, Li Zhen, Gao Qiyun, Li Zichao, Wu Kaizhang, Gao Keting, Wang Jinshan, Zhao Bingan, Fang Zheng, Xu Jianchun, Wang Zhongyin, Xu Leijian, Lin Ping, Zhou Zhenxing, Chen Lei, Wang Baomin, Song Yimin, Liu Peng, Zhang Jingtao, Zhu Qimin, Zheng Zijiu, Ding Fangming, Wang Zhe, Li Sijing and (Zhang Guiyao). Also attending were responsible comrades of various departments and commissions concerned directly under the provincial authority and of various mass organizations. The meeting ceremoniously opened amid the solemn national anthem. (Zheng Gan), director of the provincial trade union council, presided over the meeting.

Comrade Su Yiran, secretary of the provincial CPC committee and the provincial governor, made a report at the meeting entitled: "Advance Along the Course Charted by the 12th Party Congress and Make Contributions To Creating a New Situation in All Fields of Socialist Modernization." The report is divided into three parts. The first part is entitled: "Carry Forward the Achievements and Strive for New Greater Success."

Having reviewed the excellent situation of our province since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and having spoken highly of the important contributions made by the province's model laborers and advanced enterprises and establishments to building the material and spiritual civilization, Comrade Su Yiran said in his report: All workers and staff members in the

province should conscientiously learn from the good thinking, workstyle and characteristics of advanced collectives and model laborers under the guidance of the guidelines of the 12th party congress. Meanwhile, they should quietly immerse themselves in hard work, make great efforts to fulfill their duties at their posts, create excellent achievements and strive to win a new and greater victory.

The second part of the report is entitled: "Enhance Our Spirit, Take the Lead in Work and Make New Contributions To Fulfilling Various Tasks Set Forth by the 12th Party Congress." He pointed out: The general task of our party in the new historical period, which was put forward by the 12th party congress, is to unite the people of all nationalities throughout the province to build our homeland through self-reliance, fulfill step by step the modernizations of industry, agriculture, national defense and scientific technology and build China into a socialist country with a high degree of civilization and democracy. Comrade Su Yiran said: This is a glorious historic mission entrusted to the working class by the new historical period. The provincial CPC committee and the provincial people's government have urged advanced collectives, model personages and the broad masses of workers and staff members on all fronts in the province to conscientiously and voluntarily implement the guidelines of the 12th party congress and set examples in building the socialist material and spiritual civilizations.

The title of the third part of the report is: "Strengthen Leadership and Penetratingly and Continually Conduct the Socialist Labor Emulation Drive of Emulating, Learning From, Catching Up With, Helping and in Turn Surpassing Each Other." Comrade Su Yiran emphatically pointed out: Advanced and model personages are a highly commendable key force to build the socialist cause. How to treat advanced personages is not only a matter of the treatment of a specific person, but also a reflection of one's attitude toward the socialist cause. Advanced and model personages are representatives of the advanced productive force. Their thoughts radiate with the light of communism. Their advanced deeds and experiences are valuable wealth to the state and represent the interests of the people. Negating and dealing blows at advanced personages is a practice of negating and dealing blows at communist spirit and socialist cause. From now on, we must be concerned with and love them with ardor and sincerity, raise their political position in society and support them. We should dare to criticize and struggle against those who mock, strike and persecute advanced personages. Those who make serious mistakes should be strictly dealt with according to the law.

As for those leading comrades who are indifferent to and refuse to stop the practice of striking and persecuting advanced personages, their leadership responsibility should be investigated. All leading comrades should support the healthy trends and deal blows at evil trends with a clear cut stand so as to foster throughout the society a new tendency--it is honorable to be a model laborer, to learn from the advanced and to make more contributions to the state.

CSO: 4005/102

PARTY AND STATE

STUDYING, IMPLEMENTING CONGRESS DOCUMENTS URGED

SK251148 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 24 Oct 82

[Station commentary: "We Must Deepen the Study and Implementation of the Documents of the 12th CPC Congress"]

[Excerpts] An initial upsurge in studying the documents of the 12th CPC congress has been created in our province. The distinguishing feature of the study is that leading persons have attached importance to it and have led it effectively with a clearly defined guiding ideology. Party members, cadres and the masses, having a correct style of study, have conducted their study vigorously and conscientiously. In terms of scale and results, this type of study has been rare in recent years. However, the study is only at its beginning. A lot of work remains to be done. The current question is how to deepen the study and implementation of the congress documents in close coordination with reality. To study and implement the congress documents in close coordination with reality, we should, first of all, bear in mind ideological reality and unify our ideological understanding. Only when we unify our understanding can we effect a new start in our work and a great change in our work style.

In order to unify our understanding, we should read the documents again and again to thoroughly understand their guidelines. At present, some comrades have slackened their efforts, thinking that as they have studied the documents and known their guidelines, they have done well enough. This is quite wrong. We should see that the program, policies, principles and tasks set forth at the 12th CPC congress are a continuation and development of the correct line set forth at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and are a correct application and development of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought under new historical conditions. They strongly aim at practical issues and have a profound theoretical nature. We should exert great efforts if we truly are to master them. It has been less than 2 months since we began to study. How can we say that we have done well enough? We should not feel satisfied with half-baked knowledge, but should put in a lot of effort to deepen the study. After we have studied the documents, we should hold discussions, in line with the ideological reality of cadres and the masses, on a series of important issues put forward in the documents, such as on the great historical change, in fulfilling the grand objective of a three-fold increase, on building the socialist spiritual civilization focusing on communist ideology, on achieving a fundamental turn for

the better in party work style and on realizing the cooperation between old and new cadres and the succession of the old by the new in the party's highest echelon, so that problems can be pinpointed and solved correctly.

To study and implement the congress documents in line with reality, we should also bear in mind reality in work. Unifying our understanding is for the purpose of implementing more successfully the tasks set forth at the 12th CPC congress. Fundamentally speaking, one of the most important indicators of how we have studied the documents is our actions. All localities, departments, units, fronts and comrades, bearing in mind the guidelines of the congress and the grand objective of a three-fold increase, should conscientiously think of ways to make their work suit needs in creating a new situation in all fields. They should work out plans and measures and put them into practice, so as to achieve a new standard, create a new situation and win a new success.

All comrades should take the 12th CPC congress as a new start to make new improvements in ideology, work and work style and to be promoters in creating a new situation. All leading comrades should be examples, match their deeds to their words, stand in the van and resolutely prevent and overcome the bad work style of making empty talk without doing solid work. They should improve the art of leadership and work methods, go deep into the reality of life to conduct investigations and study, promote the work in the entire area with the experiences of selected units and give guidance in line with specific conditions. We are convinced that, following the in-depth study and implementation of the congress documents, our work in various fields will be greatly promoted and the tasks set forth at the congress will be successfully fulfilled.

CSO: 4005/102

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON CHANGES IN NEW CPC CONSTITUTION

HK271210 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Oct 82 [no page given]

[Article by Cheng Yu [4453 1342] and Tian He [3944 4421]: "What Important Developments and Changes Do We See After Comparing the New CPC Constitution With the 7th and 8th CPC Constitutions?"]

[Text] About the General Program

1. About the nature of the party. The new CPC Constitution rewrites the clause in the 7th Congress' CPC Constitution, which reads "The CPC is an advanced and organized force of the Chinese working class," and the clause in the 8th Congress' Constitution, which reads "The CPC is the advanced force of the Chinese working class" as "The CPC is the vanguard of the working class." It deletes the passage "The supreme form of organization" found in the 7th and 8th Constitutions and adds a passage about the CPC being "the force at the core leading China's socialist cause." It rewrites the passage in the 7th Constitution, which reads "Represents the interests of the Chinese nation and the Chinese people" as "the faithful representative of the interests of the people of all nationalities in China."

2. About the final goal of the party. The new CPC Constitution rewrites the passage in the 7th Constitution which reads "Realizing the communist system in China," and the passage in the 8th Constitution, which reads "Realizing socialism and communism in China" as "realizing the communist social system."

3. About the guiding ideology of the party. The new CPC Constitution rewrites the passage in the 7th Constitution, which reads "The CPC takes the thought that integrates Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution--Mao Zedong Thought--as the guide for its work" and the passage in the 8th Constitution, which reads "The CPC takes Marxism-Leninism as its guide to action" as "The CPC takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as its guide to action."

The new CPC Constitution gives a highly summarized narration of the scientific theory of socialism. Concrete narration of this kind cannot be found in the 7th and 8th Constitutions.

The new CPC Constitution gives a relatively comprehensive scientific exposition of the basic characteristics and the tremendous superiority of the socialist system and the prospects of its inevitable gradual victory in the world.

The new CPC Constitution gives a concise scientific exposition of the historical position of Mao Zedong Thought and Comrade Mao Zedong on the basis of the relevant exposition in the "resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC" that was approved by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. We can find no such element in the 7th and 8th Constitutions.

4. About the principal contradiction and the general task of the party. The new party constitution inherits the fine tradition and scientific spirit of the 7th and 8th Constitutions, analyzes the current political and economic situation in our country and clearly points out that "the principal contradiction in Chinese society is between the people's growing material and cultural needs and the backward level of our social production." A similar clause was also written into the general program of the 8th Constitution, but it was not taken as an exposition on the "principal contradiction." The new Constitution also states that "it is essential to strictly distinguish and correctly handle the two different types of contradictions--the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and those among the people." It also raises the party's general task at the present stage.

5. About the three basic requirements for the construction of the party. The new party constitution sums up the historical experience, adapts itself to the demands of socialist modernization, inherits and develops the party's three major work styles of integrating theory with practice, strengthening close ties with the masses and carrying out self-criticism and stipulates the three basic requirements that must be met in strengthening the construction of our party in the future. The three requirements are maintaining a great degree of political and ideological identity, wholeheartedly serving the people and adhering to democratic centralism.

6. About the leading role of the party. The new party Constitution stipulates the correct principles and methods for carrying out the party's leadership over the political life of the state, the socialist cause and various nonparty organizations. It stipulates that "the party must act within the scope of the Constitution and laws of the state" and that the party organizations at all levels must carry out the division of labor between the party and the government and pay attention to the construction of the party. This cannot be found in the 7th and 8th Constitutions.

Chapter 1. Party Members

7. About what kinds of people can apply for party membership. The new party Constitution introduces stricter stipulations than in the 7th and 8th Constitutions. For example, it rewrites the passage in Article 1 of the 7th and 8th Constitutions on "joining an organization of the party and working for it" as "...working

conscientiously for it" and it rewrites the passage in the 7th Constitution, which reads "Can all be admitted into our party" and that in the 8th Constitution, which reads "Can all become members of the party" as "Can apply for membership of the CPC."

8. About what kind of person a party member should be. Taking into account the requirements resulting from the party's leading position in the political life of the state and from the new historical period, the new CPC Constitution rewrites Article 2 and clearly points out that a CPC member is "a communist-minded pioneer fighter of the Chinese working class" and "is always an ordinary member of the laboring people" and that CPC members "must wholeheartedly serve the people and dedicate their whole lives to the realization of communism and be ready to make any personal sacrifices" and "must not seek personal gain or privileges." This cannot be found in either the 7th or 8th Constitutions.

9. About party members' duties. There are stricter and more exacting requirements in the new CPC Constitution than in the 7th and 8th Constitutions. Many new items have been added to the stipulations that are similar to the previous ones. For example, "study essential knowledge concerning the party, and the party's line, principles, policies and decisions; and acquire general, scientific and professional knowledge"; "be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, work selflessly for the public interest, and absolutely never use public office for personal gain or benefit themselves at the expense of the public"; "accept any job assigned by the party"; "firmly oppose factionalism and all factional organizations and small group activities, and oppose double dealing and scheming of any kind"; "refrain from concealing their political views"; "back good people and good deeds and fight against bad people and bad deeds"; "propagate the party's views among the masses"; "help them raise their political consciousness, and defend their legitimate rights and interests"; "take the lead in maintaining public order, promote new socialist ways and customs" and "step forward and fight bravely in times of difficulty and danger, fearing neither hardship nor death."

10. About party members' rights. There are more adequate stipulations in the new CPC Constitution than in the 7th and 8th Constitutions. Examples of additional rights are: "to attend pertinent party meetings and read pertinent party documents, and to benefit from the party documents, and to benefit from the party's education and training"; "to demand the dismissal or replacement of any cadre who is incompetent"; the right "of self-defense" "while other party members may also bear witness or argue on their behalf" which is added to the stipulation in the 8th Constitution that party members have the right "to ask to attend in person" discussion held by party organizations to decide on disciplinary measures to be taken against themselves or to appraise themselves" and "to ask the organizations concerned for a responsible reply" when party members put forward any request, appeal or complaint to higher party organizations up to and including the Central Committee. Another example of the additional content is the clause that no party organization, up to and including the Central Committee, has the right to deprive any party member of his rights as a party member.

11. About recruitment of new party members. The new CPC Constitution stipulates strict principles and procedures. For example, "It is not permissible to drag into the party by any means those who are not qualified for membership, or to exclude those who are qualified," and "a party member on probation must take an admission oath in front of the party flag."

12. About strengthening education in the management of and supervision over party members. In this area, the new party Constitution also makes some new stipulations. For example, Article 8 stresses that every party member, "irrespective of position, must be organized into a branch, cell or other specific unit of the party to participate in the regular activities of the party organization and accept supervision by the masses inside or outside the party. There shall be no privileged party members who do not participate in the regular activities of the party organization and do not accept supervision by the masses inside and outside the party."

Chapter 2. Organizational System of the Party

13. About democratic centralism. The new party Constitution clearly stipulates; "the party is an integral body organized under its program and Constitution, on the principle of democratic centralism." It changes the previous wording of "centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized guidance" into the party "exercises a high degree of centralism on the basis of a high degree of democracy." As for the previous wording of the "four subordinates"-- "individual party members are subordinate to the majority, the lower levels are subordinate to the higher levels and all the members of the party are subordinate to the Central Committee"; the 8th Constitution's way of summarizing is basically retained, but the wording is made more accurate.

14. About the basic principles of democratic centralism. The new party Constitution draws on experiences and lessons from the past and makes more systematic and more comprehensive stipulations. To the clauses about the relationships between higher and lower organizations, it adds that "higher and lower party organizations should exchange information and support and supervise one another." Concerning the adherence to the principle of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility based on division of labor, it clearly writes: "All major issues shall be decided on by the party committees after democratic discussion." It stipulates, in particular, that "the party forbids all forms of the personality cult. It is necessary to ensure that the activities of the party leaders be subject to supervision by the party and the people, while at the same time to uphold the prestige of all leaders who represent the interests of the party and the people."

15. About internal party elections. The new party Constitution stipulates: "There may be a preliminary election in order to draw up a list for the formal election, or there may be no preliminary election, in which case the number of candidates should be greater than that of the persons to be elected." "No organization or individual shall in any way compel voters to elect or not to

elect any candidate." "If any violation of the party Constitution occurs in the election of delegates to a local party congress, the party committee at the next higher level shall, after investigation and verification, decide to invalidate the election and take appropriate measures. The decision shall be reported to the party committee at the next higher level for checking and approval before it is formally announced and implemented."

16. About the correct adherence to the principle of the lower organizations being subordinate to the higher level organizations and the minority being subordinate to the majority. The new party Constitution stipulates: "Lower party organizations must firmly implement the decisions of the higher party organizations." However, "if lower organizations believe that any decisions of higher organizations do not suit actual conditions in their localities or departments, they may request modification. If the higher organizations insist on their original decisions, the lower organizations must carry out such decisions and refrain from publicly voicing their differences, but have the right to report to the next higher party organization."

The new party Constitution stipulates that in discussing and making decisions on any matter, party organizations should adhere to the principle of the minority being subordinate to the majority, but they must carefully consider the different opinions of the minority. "In the case of a controversy over major issues in which supporters of two opposing views are nearly equal in number, except in emergencies where action must be taken in accordance with the majority view, the decision should be put off to allow for further investigation, study and exchange of opinions followed by another discussion. If a decision still cannot be made, the controversy should be reported to the next higher party organization for a ruling." It furthermore stipulates: "When, on behalf of the party organization, an individual is to express views on major issues, he should not go beyond the scope of existing party decisions," that no party member "is allowed to make a decision on major issues on his own," and that "no leader is allowed to decide matters arbitrarily on his own or to place himself above the party organization."

17. About attaching paying attention to party building. The new party Constitution stipulates: "The central, local and primary organizations of the party must all pay great attention to party building. They shall regularly discuss and check up on the party's work in propaganda, education, organization and discipline inspection, its mass work and united front work. They must carefully study ideological and political developments inside and outside the party." We cannot find this in either the 7th or the 8th Constitution.

Chapter 3. Central Organization of the Party

18. About the party's national congress and the party's central committee and two central commissions. The new party Constitution stipulates that the national congress of the party should, in addition to its election of the members of the Central Committee, elect the central advisory commission and the central

commission for discipline inspection and hear and examine the reports of these two commissions. The central advisory commission and the central commission for discipline inspection should carry out their work under the leadership of the Central Committee. It also stipulates, in particular, the nature, position, tasks and the requirements for membership of the central advisory commission.

The new party Constitution furthermore stipulates that members and alternate members of the Central Committee must first be party members for 5 years or more.

19. About the central leading organs. The new party Constitution stipulates that in the Central Committee there are no chairman or vice chairmen posts but only the post of the general secretary. The general secretary of the Central Committee is responsible for convening the meetings of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and its Standing Committee and presides over the work of the secretariat. The general secretary of the Central Committee, the chairman of the central advisory commission, the first secretary of the central commission for discipline inspection and the chairman of the military commission of the Central Committee must all be members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau.

It stipulates, in particular, "the central leading bodies and leaders elected by each Central Committee shall, when the next national congress is in session, continue to preside over the party's day-to-day work until the new central leading bodies and leaders are elected by the next Central Committee."

20. About party organizations in the army. Neither the 7th nor the 8th Constitution makes any concrete stipulation on the organizational system and organs of the party in the armed forces. The new party Constitution, however, clearly stipulates: "The organizational system and organs of the party in the armed forces will be prescribed by the military commission."

Chapter 4. Local Organizations of the Party

21. About the local organizations of the party. The new party Constitution stipulates: "The party advisory committee of a province, autonomous region or municipality directly under the central government acts as a political assistant and consultant to the party committee at the corresponding level. It works under the leadership of the party committee at the corresponding level and in light of the relevant provision of Article 22 of the present Constitution. The qualifications of its members shall be specified by the party committee at the corresponding level in light of the relevant provision of Article 22 of the present Constitution and the actual conditions in the locality concerned. It serves a term of the same duration as the party committee at the corresponding level."

The new party Constitution stipulates that members and alternate members of the party committee of a province, autonomous region, municipality directly under the central government, city divided into districts, or autonomous prefecture must be a party member for at least 5 years. Those of the party committee of

a county (banner), city not divided into districts, or municipal district must be a party member for at least 3 years.

The new party Constitution clearly stipulates the nature and power of office of the party's local committees and the party organizations at the same level as that of the local committees.

Chapter 5. Primary Organizations of the Party

22. About the tasks and duties of the primary organizations of the party. In addition to the same contents of the 7th and the 8th Constitutions, much new material is added into the new party Constitution concerning the strengthening of education among and supervision over party members and cadres and of the ties between the party and the masses. For example, the primary organizations should "ensure" party members' "regular participation in the activities of the party organization, see that party members truly fulfill their duties and observe discipline, and protect their rights from encroachment"; "value the knowledge and rational proposals of the masses and experts," and "do effective ideological and political work among the masses and enhance their political consciousness." They must correct, by proper methods, the erroneous ideas and unhealthy ways and customs that may exist among the masses and properly handle the contradiction in their midst. In particular, the new party Constitution stipulates that these organizations should "educate party and nonparty cadres; see to it that they strictly observe the law and administrative discipline and the financial and economic discipline and personnel regulations of the state; see to it that none of them infringe upon the interests of the state, the collective and the masses; and see to it that the financial workers, including accountants and other professionals who are charged with enforcing laws and regulations in their own units, do not themselves violate the laws and regulations, while at the same time ensuring and protecting their right to exercise their functions and powers independently in accordance with the law and guarding them against any reprisals for doing so.

The new party Constitution stipulates both in the manner of adhering to the principle and in a flexible manner the leading role or the role of supervision and guarantee of the primary party organizations in enterprises and institutions in accordance with the unique conditions there. This is something we cannot find in either the 7th or the 8th Constitution. It contains clearer and more specific regulations on the duties and responsibility of the primary party organizations in the party's leading organs at various levels.

Chapter 6. Party Cadres

23. About party cadres. This is an entirely new chapter. It clearly stipulates that we should make the ranks of the cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent, that party cadres are obliged to accept training by the party as well as examination and assessment of their work by the party, that leading party cadres at all levels must perform

in an exemplary way their duties as party members and must meet the basic requirements that it stipulates, that party cadres should be able to cooperate with nonparty cadres, respect them and learn from their strong points with an open mind, that leading party cadres at all levels are not entitled to life-long tenure and that a retirement system should be implemented in our party.

Chapter 7. Party Discipline

24. About party discipline. A specific chapter on "Award and Punishment" is written into the 7th Constitution, but no specific chapter on discipline is written into the 8th Constitution. The new party Constitution contains a specific chapter on party discipline. In the new party Constitution, there are the following new important stipulations on party discipline:

1. We should implement the principle of everybody being equal before party discipline.

2. Party members who violate the law and administrative discipline shall be subject to administrative disciplinary action or legal action instituted by administrative or judicial organs. Those who have seriously violated a criminal law shall be expelled from the party.

3. It is strictly forbidden within the party to take any measures against a member that contravene the party Constitution or the laws of the state, or to retaliate against or frame comrades. Any offending organizations or individual must be dealt with according to party discipline or the laws of the state.

4. In case a party organization seriously violates party discipline and is unable to rectify the mistake on its own, the next higher party committee should, after verifying the facts and considering the seriousness of the case, decide on the reorganization or dissolution of the organization, report the decision to the party committee further above for examination and approval, and then formally announce and carry out the decision.

Chapter 8. Party Organs for Discipline Inspection

25. About party organs for discipline inspection. In both the 7th and the 8th Constitutions, there is a chapter on the control organs of the party. The new party Constitution contains a chapter on the party organs for discipline inspection and furthermore, raises their position and increases their power. Important new specific regulations are as follows:

1. The party's commissions for discipline inspection at all levels are elected by the corresponding party congresses.

2. Local commissions for discipline inspection at all levels function under the dual leadership of the party committee at the corresponding levels and the next higher commissions for discipline inspection.

3. The party's central commission for discipline inspection shall, when its work so requires, accredit discipline inspection groups or commissioners to party or state organs at the central level.

4. The main tasks of the central and local commissions for discipline inspection are as follows: to uphold the Constitution and the other importa . rules and regulations of the party, to assist the respective party committees in rectifying party style, and to check up on the implementation of the line, principles, policies and decisions of the party.

5. If the central commission for discipline inspection discovers that a member of the central commission has violated party discipline, it may accuse him before the central commission, which must immediately review the case.

6. If a local commission for discipline inspection does not agree with a decision made by the party committee at the corresponding level in dealing with a case, it may request the commission at the next higher level to reexamine the case; if a local commission discovers violations of party discipline or the laws and decrees of the state by the party committee at the corresponding level or by its members, and if the party committee fails to deal with them properly or at all, it has the right to appeal to the higher commissions for assistance in dealing with such cases.

Chapter 9. Leading Party Members' Groups

26. About leading party members' groups. Compared with the 7th and 8th Constitutions, the new regulations in the new party Constitution are as follows: "Giving guidance to the work of the party organization of the unit" is added to the tasks of the leading party members' groups. Moreover, in accordance with the new conditions the following new stipulation is added: "The CPC Central Committee shall specifically determine the functions, powers and tasks of the leading party members' groups in those government departments which need to exercise highly centralized and unified leadership over subordinate units: it shall also determine whether such groups should be replaced by party committees."

Chapter 10. Relationship Between the Party and the CYL

27. About the relationship between the party and the CYL. Like the 8th Constitution, this is written into a specific chapter in the new party Constitution. Where the new party Constitution differs from the 8th Constitution is that it stipulates that the CYL "is a school where large numbers of young people will learn about communism through practice and is the party's assistant and reserve force," and that "those secretaries of league committees at or below the county level or in enterprises and institutions who are party members may attend meetings or party committees at corresponding levels and of their Standing Committees as nonvoting participants."

CSO: 4005/108

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG ENDS MODEL WORKERS MEETING

SK270207 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 26 Oct 82

[Excerpts] After one 5-day session, the provincial meeting of representatives of model workers and staff and advanced enterprises and establishments successfully concluded on the afternoon of 26 October at the Jinan (Dongjiao) Auditorium. All meeting participants pledged to strive for new victories and create new situations in all undertakings. Attending the meeting were responsible comrades of the provincial CPC committee, the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, Jinan PLA units, the provincial people's government, the provincial CPPCC committee and the provincial military district, including Bai Rubing, Su Yiran, Zhao Lin, Qin Hezhen, Gao Qiyun, Li Zichao, Gao Keting, Wang Jinshan, Xiong Zuofang, Fang Zheng, Xu Jianchun, Wang Zhongyin, Xu Leijian, Lin Ping, Chen Lei, Wang Baomin, Liu Peng, Zhu Qimin, Liu Zhonggian, Ding Fangming, Zhang Weicen, Wang Liaong, (Ma Xinghe) and (Zhang Guiyao). Also attending were responsible comrades of various departments and commissions concerned directly under the provincial authority, various mass organizations and various units and bureaus.

During the session, all participants conscientiously studied the documents of the 12th party congress and discussed the report made by Comrade Su Yiran. Forty-two representatives delivered oral and written speeches to the meeting and exchanged their advanced ideas and experiences.

On the afternoon of 26 October, the (Dongjiao) Auditorium was filled with jubilation. The representatives beaming with smiles and enthusiasm, entered the meeting-place. Comrade Xu Leijian, Standing Committee member of the provincial CPC committee and deputy governor of the province, presided over the closing ceremony. On behalf of the provincial CPC committee and the people's government, deputy governor Liu Peng read out the decision on commending advanced units and collectives of enterprises and establishments and model workers and staff members.

In the decision, the provincial CPC committee and the provincial people's government call on all representatives to make continued efforts to render new meritorious services to the people. Large numbers of workers and staff members throughout the province should learn from the advanced and set off a large-scale upsurge of socialist labor emulation drive of emulating, learning from, catching up with, helping and in turn surpassing each other so as to make contributions to fulfilling the tasks set forth by the 12th party congress and creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/102

BRIEFS

COMMEMORATIVE MEETING--A commemorative meeting was held in Shanghai on 24 October, marking the 50th founding anniversary of the Shanghai public education group. The group was founded by Mr Tao Xingzhi, a noted people's educator. Attending the meeting were Zhang Jingfu, minister of the State Economic Commission; Zhong Min, secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC committee; Zhang Jian, vice president of the China Education Society; (Bai Yan), deputy director of the municipal office in charge of education and public health; Hang Wei, director of the municipal education bureau, and (Tao Gang), son of Tao Xingzhi. After the meeting, the attendants visited an exhibition on the life of Mr Tao. Before liberation, the Shanghai public education group was a special organization of education which had trained a group of students during the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation. The group resumed its work this year and has now become a new form of socialist education integrating labor, study and research. The group has provided an example for reforming China's educational structure. The commemorative meeting received greeting telegrams from a Japanese friend (Akio Saito), director of the Institute of China Studies of the Tokyo Senshu University, and from Mr Tao's relative (Wu Shuqin) and the Beijing study group on the thought of Tao Xingzhi. [Text] [OW271215 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 24 Oct 82]

SPORTS MEETING--While the people in Shanghai are joyfully celebrating the successful completion of the 12th National Party Congress, the seventh Shanghai municipal sports meet ceremoniously opened this afternoon at Hongqiao Stadium. Present at today's opening ceremony were leading comrades of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee, people's congress Standing Committee, people's government and CPPCC committee. They included Chen Guodong, Hu Lijiao, Wang Daohan, Han Zheyi, Zhao Xingzhi, Xia Zengnong, Chen Yi, Yang Shifa and Chen Jinhua. Yang Kai, chairman of the preparatory committee for the sports meet and vice mayor of Shanghai, delivered an opening speech amid warm applause. He said: Today, soon after the conclusion of the 12th National Party Congress--a meeting of great significance and far-reaching influence, we are holding the opening ceremony for the largest sports meet ever held in this city since the founding of the People's Republic. We must seriously study the documents of the 12th National Party Congress, resolutely implement its guidelines and strive to accomplish all of its militant tasks. We should make the seventh municipal sports meet a grand sports meet which stresses ideals, morality and discipline, and strive to promote mass sports activities in Shanghai. [Excerpts] [OW210624 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 19 Sep 82]

DISCIPLINE VIOLATIONS--After over 1 year of hard work, Qingpu County in the Shanghai suburbs, the first county that embarked on a major inspection of party discipline, has strictly handled the 202 cases of exposed discipline violations and evil practices and won favorable comments from the people both inside and outside the party. Of the 202 cases exposed in the course of discipline inspection, 180 were verified after investigation, involving 178 party members and cadres at all levels. As a result of the punitive actions taken, 3 were arrested, 2 were expelled from the party, 25 received disciplinary and administrative punishment, 16 were transferred, 57 were requested to pay fines of compensation, 66 were subject to criticism and education, 3 are still being investigated and another 6 have been referred to the "office of the leading group against economic crimes" for further investigation. This vigorous party discipline inspection campaign covered a wide area and the problems exposed are concentrated in three categories: the first category involved a total of 37 cases of corruption--receiving bribes, speculation and fraud. The second category involved 63 cases of improper handling of labor recruitment and housing distribution, making purchases through the back door and seeking special privilege. The third category involved 26 cases of misappropriation of building materials by taking advantage of official position. The people said happily: If we keep up this work, the party's style of work will be basically improved in from 3 to 5 years! [Excerpts] [OW290119 Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Oct 82 p 1]

CONGRESS DOCUMENTS--According to our correspondent (Yuan Xiaoming), the propaganda department of the provincial CPC committee recently invited some 230 reporters from 100 sections and units of organizations at the provincial level to explain and publicize the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress. Of these reporters, some are principal responsible comrades of the provincial CPC committee, the provincial people's government and the provincial people's congress Standing Committee and some are responsible comrades of CPC committees and leading party groups of various units under organizations at the provincial level and responsible comrades of various universities and colleges. In mid-September, the propaganda department of the provincial CPC committee issued a letter to these reporters urging them to publicize and explain the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress directly to party members, cadres and the masses in their own units, answer all questions of the masses and help the masses understand the guidelines and documents of the 12th CPC National Congress. Now some reporters have already begun their reporting activities. Feng Jixin, first secretary of the provincial CPC committee, Li Dengying, governor of the province, Ge Shiying, deputy governor, (Guo Hongchao), deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, and Li Bin, Standing Committee member of the provincial CPC committee, have respectively, gone down to organizations directly under the provincial authority, the Lanzhou chemical industrial company, the No 11 Lanzhou Chemical Industrial Machinery Plant and the party school of the provincial CPC committee to publicize and explain the congress documents to large numbers of party members, cadres, workers, staff members and the masses. [Text] [SK030933 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 2 Oct 82]

QIAO XIAOGUANG WATCHES GYMNASTICS--The 1982 National Acrobatic Gymnastics Team championships concluded in Nanning on 17 October. Regional party and government leaders Qiao Xiaoguang, Zhao Maoxun, Xiao Han, Luo Libin and Wang Zhuguang watched the final stages of the tournament. [Summary] [HK190152 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 18 Oct 82]

ENHANCING PEOPLE'S CONGRESS--On 18-21 October, the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress held a forum of responsible persons of all municipal, autonomous prefectural, county, city and district people's congress Standing Committees to exchange work experiences and discuss ways to further improve the work of the people's congress Standing Committees. During the forum, Wang Daren, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, had a formal discussion with participants and listened to their opinions and proposals. He also made a speech on issues of reinforcing the party's leadership, building high-level socialist democracy, strengthening socialist legal systems and building the people's congress Standing Committees into authoritative organizations in which all power belongs to the people. Song Renyuan, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, delivered a concluding speech concerning ways to further promote the work of the people's congress Standing Committees. [Excerpts] [SK220927 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 21 Oct 82]

GUANGZHOU CLEAN-UP DRIVE--Over 800,000 youths and juveniles took part in a clean-up drive in Guangzhou on 16 October. Also participating were responsible comrades of the Provincial CPC Committee and People's Congress Standing Committee Ren Zhongyi, Kou Qingyan, Yang Yingbin, Chen Yeuping and Zhong Ming; Vice Governors Li Jianan and Fan Xixian; Deng Yifan, Yang Shugen, Chen Haihan, Peng Jiaqing, Zhuang Tian, Zhu Ying and Chen Jide, leading comrades of the Guangzhou PLA units; and Zhang Xianzhang, deputy commander of the airforce of the Guangzhou units. [Summary] [HK170336 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 16 Oct 82]

LIU TIANFU MEETS U.S. GROUP--Governor Liu Tianfu held a banquet on the evening of 12 October at the Guangdong guesthouse in honor of the Massachusetts friendship delegation headed by (D. Lely), executive chairman of the Foreign Commercial Commission of the State of Massachusetts, the United States. Governor Liu and (William Forger), speaker of the Massachusetts Senate and member of the delegation, at the banquet gave toasts, one after another, for friendship between the people of the two countries and the constant development of friendly exchanges and cooperative relations between Guangdong and Massachusetts. The Massachusetts delegation has come on the invitation of the Guangdong People's Government to discuss the establishment of friendly relations and to develop friendly exchanges between Guangdong and Massachusetts. The delegation arrived on the morning of 12 October. [Text] [HK140632 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 13 Oct 82]

DEFEAT OF "U.S.-CHIANG AGENTS"--Yesterday morning, the Huidong County CPC Committee and People's Government held a gathering in (Gangkou) commune to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the (Xiaoxinshan) battle. Some 1,000 people attended the gathering. Leading organs of the Guangzhou PLA units, the Provincial People's Government and the Provincial Military District have respectively sent letters and telegrams of congratulations. On 7 October 1962, a group of 12 armed U.S. and Chiang special agents secretly landed on (Xiaoxinshan) Island in (Gangkou) commune in Huidong County. On learning the news, the militia company of (Gangkou) immediately went to the spot and promptly attacked them with rifles and swords. Consequently, the U.S. and Chiang special agents were all annihilated and the militia company was honorably awarded a merit citation, 1st class. On 1 August 1964, the Central South Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and the Guangzhou PLA units conferred the title of Heroic Militia Company on the (Gangkou) Militia Company. [Text] [HK081101 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 7 Oct 82]

ZHIYONG MEETS KECHENG RELATIVE--When inspecting work in Chenzhou Prefecture on the morning of 21 October, Provincial CPC Committee First Secretary Mao Zhiyong made a special trip to visit (Xiaqing) village of (Santang) commune in Yongxing County to see (Liu Dexi), the eldest sister-in-law of Comrade Huang Kecheng. He was accompanied by (Fan Shide), prefectural special commissioner, and (Zhao Fengxiang), secretary of Yongxing County CPC Committee. (Liu Dexi) is 84 years old this year. She contributed to the revolution by bravely protecting Comrade Huang Kecheng after the Xiangnan insurrection. Comrade Mao Zhiyong paid cordial regards to the old lady and wished her good health and long life. Comrade Mao Zhiyong also inspected a small hydroelectricity station newly built by (Santang) commune. He encouraged the cadres and masses there to develop diversification in light of local conditions and do still better in building up the mountain areas. [Text] [HK220144 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 21 Oct 82]

FUZHOU SPORTS MEET--Listeners: Station reporters are now at the Fuzhou Municipal People's Stadium to report to you on the grand opening of the Eighth Fujian Provincial Sports Meet. Since 0700 some 3,000 sports workers and some 4,000 spectators from various prefectures and municipalities in Fujian have successively arrived at the stadium. Those seated on the rostrum include Xiang Nan, first secretary of the provincial party committee; Yang Chengwu, commander of the Fuzhou PLA units; other leading comrades of party, government and army organizations in Fujian; secretaries of various prefectural and municipal party committees and administrative commissioners of various prefectures attending the enlarged meeting of the provincial party committee. At 0830 Zhang Gexin, vice governor of Fujian and chairman of the organizing committee for the Eighth Fujian Provincial Sports Meet, announces: The Eighth Fujian Provincial Sports Meet is now opened. Ma Xingyuan, secretary of the provincial party committee and governor of Fujian, delivers an opening speech. [Excerpts] [OW301303 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 28 Sep 82]

SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION--The first, second, third, fourth and fifth subteams of the Fujian provincial inspection team on promotion of socialist spiritual civilization completed 5 days of intense inspection work in Quanzhou, Zhangzhou, Sanming, Nanping and Longyan municipalities and arrived in Fuzhou Municipality on 25 October. Starting on 26 October, these subteams will join the sixth subteam in inspecting the promotion of socialist spiritual civilization in Fuzhou Municipality. [Text] [OW260745 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 25 Oct 82]

'GUANGXI QIAOBAO' RESUMES PUBLICATION--Nanning, 2 Oct (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--GUANGXI QIAOBAO, which started publication in 1957, was forced to stop publication during the 10 years of internal disorder. After resuming publication, this Quarto 4-page weekly will mainly propagate policies governing affairs concerning Chinese nationals living abroad, report achievements in local affairs in this respect and construction in the hometown of the overseas Chinese, express opinions of the returned overseas Chinese and relatives of the overseas Chinese, and present the history of overseas Chinese and the new look of their hometown. [Text] [HK030446 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1412 GMT 1 Oct 82]

QIAO XIAOGUANG ATTENDS PLAY--Last evening, the performance troupe for the southwest from the Beijing People's Artist Theater put on the six-act play "Inexhaustible Changjiang River." This instructive play, with a contemporary theme, and newly produced by the Beijing People's Artist Theater, reflects the importance of China's cadre reform system in the modernization drive. Leaders of the Regional CPC Committee and the Regional People's Government, including Qiao Xiaoguang, Xu Qihai and Luo Libin, attended and watched the performance and interviewed all comrades of the troupe after the performance. [Text] [HK300546 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 29 Sep 82]

NEW SHANDONG MUNICIPALITIES--According to DAZHONG RIBAO, with the approval of the State Council, our province has established (Binzhou) Municipality and restablished Xinwen Municipality. 1. (Binzhou) Municipality is established, with Beizhen of Bin County and Xiaoying commune and the (Tuquan) town administrative area of (Tuzai) commune of Boxing County as its administrative level. It is under the leadership of the Huimin prefectural administrative office. 2. Xinwen County is abolished and Xinwen Municipality is restored. The administrative area of Xinwen County becomes the administrative area of Xinwen Municipality. It is under the leadership of the Taian prefectural administrative office. [Text] [SK191126 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 18 Oct 82]

SHANDONG YOUNG, MIDDLE-AGED CADRES--From 1980 to June 1982, Shandong Province installed 4,700 young and middle-aged cadres in leading bodies at and above the county level. Those who were promoted to assume posts at offices and bureaus at the municipal or prefectural level totaled 188, those who have a college education or higher amounted to 26 percent and those who have senior higher school amounted to 50 percent. [sentence as printed] This achievement was scored thanks to the attention of the provincial CPC committee that has held three meetings over the past 2 years to study the work. [Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 1 Oct 82 SK]

SENTRY GUARDS GUIDELINES--In spite of piercing cold wind yesterday and today and despite his age and frail health, (Chen Yuegong), advisor to the political department of the provincial military district, visited a border sentry post of the provincial military district at an elevation of over 600 meters to publicize the guidelines of the 12th party congress among frontier guards. He explained the glorious tasks they must undertake to further understand the guidelines and the documents of the 12th party congress. He also inquired about their sentry duty and living conditions. All frontier guards were much inspired. [Text] [SK260441 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Oct 82]

CSO: 4005/101

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHAANXI CPC CIRCULAR ON CONGRESS SPIRIT

HK041128 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 0500 GMT 2 Oct 82

[Excerpts] The Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee and the Provincial People's Government issued a circular on 30 September on further deepening on a long-term basis the activities of promoting the fives stresses and four beauties through studying and publicizing the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress.

The circular said: In October, on the basis of comprehensively studying and publicizing the documents of the 12th National Party Congress, the whole province should concentrate on deeply studying the congress documents' exposition on building socialist spiritual civilization, and should also repeatedly, deeply and extensively publicize this exposition. By doing so we can ensure that vast numbers of party members and cadres and the broad masses of the people will achieve a deep understanding of the great role played by the building of socialist spiritual civilization in expediting the building of material civilization, thus guaranteeing the orientation of the development of building material civilization.

The circular said: In carrying out the activities of promoting the fives stresses and four beauties in October, we should emphasize further tackling in a comprehensive way the following problems: Poor sanitation and hygiene standards; chaotic public order; and poor quality of service.

The circular in conclusion said: All areas, departments and units must energetically give publicity to and commend their own advanced individuals and collectives. They must call on the broad masses of people to study the new ideas, new morality and new practices of their advances individuals and collectives. They must set off an upsurge of energetically emulating, learning from, catching up with, helping and in turn surpassing one another in the building of socialist spiritual civilization so as to enable the whole province to score still greater achievements in building socialist spiritual civilization and material civilization.

CSO: 4005/91

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XIZANG RELEASES POPULATION CENSUS RESULTS

HK200252 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 0000 GMT 20 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Xizang's population is 1,892,393. This is the most recent accurate figure derived from this year's population census. The results of the census show that females outnumber males. There are 956,542 females and 935,851 males. The region has a total of 324,673 households. On the average there are 1.66 persons per square kilometer, the lowest population density in the whole country.

The population census results also show that the region has 34 minority nationalities. The Tibetan population is 1,786,544, accounting for 94.41 percent of the total population. Other minority nationalities make up 0.75 percent of the population, while Hans account for 4.84 percent.

The party committees and government at all levels in the region attached great importance to this year's population census work. At the beginning of the year they organized and trained over 10,000 enumerators, most of them being of minority nationality.

This population census has determined the population distribution and make-up in Xizang and provides reliable data for further promoting the autonomy of minority-nationality regions, developing the minority-nationality economy and culture in a planned way and deciding on the region's population development plans.

The census not only straightened out urban household registration but also set up a household registration system in the rural and pastoral areas for the first time. Over 95 percent of the population in the region is now under household registration control.

CSO: 4005/91

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHANDONG RELEASES CENSUS FIGURES 28 OCT

SK290456 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 28 Oct 82

[Text] According to our sources, on 28 October the Shandong Provincial Statistical Bureau issued a communique on the major figures of the province's 1982 population census.

The communique states: Preparations for the province's 1982 census started in the later half of 1980 and the enumeration of the population started on 1 July 1982. The post-enumeration check by sampling shows that the enumeration work is of the high quality required. The error rate of the various indexes was lower than the error rate set by the leading group for population census under the State Council. The quality of the enumeration work is excellent.

The communique states: With zero hour 1 July 1982 as the reference time, the population of our province numbered 74,419,054. As compared with figure of zero hour of 1 July 1964, when the second population census was conducted, the population of our province has increased by 18,922,835 persons or 34.1 percent, in 18 years, an average annual increase of 1,051,269 persons or 1.64 percent.

The communique states: Of the population of the province, males account for 50.71 percent; females, 49.29 percent. Of the 119 persons over one hundred years old in the province, 16 are males and 103 are females. The oldest person is 111 years old.

The communique states: There are 39 nationalities in the province. Han nationality population accounts for 99.45 percent of the total population and the various minority nationalities, 0.55 percent. Compared with the figure of the second census in 1964, the Han nationality population has increased by 34.08 percent while the minority nationalities increased by 37.81 percent.

The communique states: Among the population, 189,085 are university graduates and 73,486 are university undergraduates. People with a senior middle school education number 4,376,519 and 13,171,751 people have a junior middle school education. There are 25,103,593 people with a primary school education. Compared with the 1964 census figures, the following changes have occurred for every 100,000 people: Those with university education, including those

who have attended colleges previously but did not finish and those who are presently enrolled, have increased from 167 to 353; those with a senior middle school education have increased from 694 to 5,881; those with a junior middle school education have increased from 2,731 to 17,699; those with a primary school education have increased from 25,422 to 33,733. Illiterates and semi-illiterates in the province account for 28.03 percent of the total population, dropping from 42.75 percent in the 1964 census.

The communique states: The province's 1981 birth rate was 18.84 per thousand; the year's mortality rate was 6.26 per thousand. The natural increase in the population in 1981 was 924,310, a rate of 12.58 per thousand.

The communique states: The total population residing in cities and towns has increased 97.76 percent over the 1964 census figures. The proportion of the total population residing in cities and towns has increased from 12.93 percent in 1964 to 19.07 percent.

CSO: 4005/91

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FAMILY PLANNING REGIONAL MEETING HELD IN JIANGSU

OW260326 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 20 Oct 82

[Excerpts] The 2d Coordination Group for Nationwide Family Planning Propaganda Work held its 2d meeting in Changzhou recently. Representatives of Fujian, Jiangxi, Zhejiang, Anhui and Jiangsu provinces, Shanghai Municipality, and the Jinan, Fuzhou and Nanjing PLA units attended the meeting. Zhou Boping, vice minister of the State Family Planning Commission, attended and addressed the meeting.

The consensus of the participants during discussions was: The two appeals--one for striving to quadruple the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production and the other for striving to keep our population within 1.2 billion by the end of this century--made by the party Central Committee in its report to the party 12th National Congress are closely related. To control population by means of family planning is an important task affecting the success or failure of China's socialist modernization.

The meeting pointed out: At present, in the course of propagating the guidelines of the party congress documents, we should strive to educate the cadres and people so that they understand the relationship between the two appeals.

The representatives of the advanced units in family planning of the five provinces and Shanghai municipality reported to the meeting on their experience in carrying out thorough and protracted propaganda and education in family planning.

At the meeting, prizes were awarded to the units which did a good job in family planning.

CSO: 4005/91

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SICHUAN: NATIONALITIES OFFICIAL AT PREFECTURE CELEBRATION

HK040928 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 1 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Yesterday morning, more than 5,000 people from various circles in Liangshan Yi nationality autonomous prefecture held an assembly in the prefectural capital (Xichang) to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of this prefecture. Comrades Wu Jinghua, vice minister of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, and Yang Rudai, executive secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee, took a special trip to the assembly to extend greetings, respectively, on behalf of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission. Comrade Tian Bao attended the assembly on behalf of the Provincial CPC Committee and People's Government and extended greetings to the people of various nationalities.

Since its founding on 1 October 1952, especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, great changes have taken place in Liangshan Yi nationality autonomous prefecture under the guidance of the party's nationality policy. In his speech at the assembly, Wu Jinghua, member of the CPC Central Committee and vice minister of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, extended warm regards to the people of various nationalities in this prefecture and congratulated them for the achievements they have scored under the party leadership. At the same time, he encouraged them to achieve even greater successes under the guidance of the 12th Party Congress spirit. Yang Rudai, member of the CPC Central Committee and executive secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee, and Tian Bao, member of the Central Advisory Commission, secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee and provincial vice governor, did the same in their speeches. They hoped that the people in Liangshan will resolutely implement the guideline of the 12th Party Congress and strive to build this prefecture into a new and united, rich and civilized prefecture. After reviewing various achievements scored over the past 30 years, (Zhi Jiaming), second secretary of the Prefectural CPC Committee and head of the prefecture, said in his speech that in the future, in accordance with the guideline of the 12th Party Congress and instructions given by Comrade Hu Yaobang when he inspected this prefecture, we must take economic construction as our central task and the development of agriculture as the main job and constantly improve the people's livelihood. We must rally around the Party Central Committee more closely and struggle hard to create a new situation in Liangshan's socialist construction.

CSO: 4005/91

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FIRST CHINESE MONASTERY OPENS IN SHANGHAI

HK120417 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 1357 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Report: "China's Catholic Sheshan Monastery Opens"]

[Text] Shanghai, 11 Oct (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--A grand ceremony to mark the beginning of the school semester was held today at Shanghai's Sheshan Monastery, the first monastery to be run by the Chinese Catholic Church.

Sheshan Monastery was jointly set up by the various parishes of Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Anhui and Shanghai in accordance with the principle of running the church independently. The monastery is situated halfway up Shanghai's Sheshan Hill, which has beautiful natural surroundings. It is very well equipped and is provided with an adequate number of teachers. The first batch of novices, 36 in all, were enrolled in the monastery after they got approval from their parents, signed up on a voluntary basis and sat for the cultural and doctrinal examinations and after they had been checked by the parishes and confirmed as having Christian names.

Father Jin Luxian, dean of the monastery, presided over the ceremony and delivered an opening speech. Zhang Jiashu, head of the Chinese Catholic Bishops College and bishop of the Shanghai Parish, spoke at the ceremony to mark the beginning of the semester. He said that Sheshan Monastery, a monastery run by the Chinese Catholic Church itself, does not come under the control of foreign countries. In compliance with the order of God, it will train clergymen who love their country and religion and who value the interests of the Chinese people above everything else.

More than 200 persons attended the ceremony. They included Bishop Yang Gaojian, responsible member of the Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association and the National Administrative Committee of the Chinese Catholic Church, Bishops Qian Huimin, Qian Yurong, Yu Chengcai, Fang Zhigang and Zhou Yizhai from Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Anhui, guests from various localities as well as priests, nuns and believers from Shanghai.

CSO: 4005/91

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

DEVELOPED PROVINCES TO AID MINORITY REGIONS

OW150620 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1453 GMT 14 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Yinchuan, 14 Oct (XINHUA)--An important approach to strengthening unity and mutual help between all nationalities, consolidating border defense and speeding up economic construction in minority nationality regions, which entails smaller investments but produces more rapid and better results, is to utilize the favorable conditions of the economically more developed provinces and municipalities to help minority nationality regions develop their economies and carry out economic and technical coordination in terms of techniques, management, qualified personnel, funds and equipment. This was proposed at a discussion meeting on the work of more economically developed provinces and municipalities helping minority nationality regions and on economic and technical coordination, which was concluded on 14 October.

The discussion meeting was jointly sponsored by the State Planning Commission and the State Nationalities Affairs Commission in Yinchuan on 7 October.

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee made a decision on the developed provinces and municipalities giving support to minority areas. As a result, relations were established between Beijing and Nei Monggol, Hebei and Guizhou, Jiangsu and Guangxi and Xinjiang, Shandong and Qinghai, Tianjin and Gansu, and Shanghai and Yunnan and Ningxia, while Xizang enjoyed support from all over the country.

According to incomplete statistics, of the 1,170 projects and more for support and economic and technical coordination at present, 381 have been completed. Without additional state investments, these projects have increased economic results, helped minority nationality regions solve technical difficulties, improved product quality, increased varieties, promoted exploitation of natural resources and the development of talents, trained technical and administrative personnel and sped up construction.

The meeting pointed out: This approach has not only sped up the economic development in minority nationality regions but also deepened the mutual understanding between all nationalities, maintained closer ties between all nationalities and promoted national unity.

The meeting emphatically pointed out: Departments concerned must deepen their understanding of this approach. They must follow the strategic goal proposed

by the 12th CPC Congress, proceed from the actual situation in their respective localities and carry out the task step by step in a planned way. It is necessary to give support and carry out economic and technical coordination under the guidance of, and according to the state plan. When selecting projects and units receiving aid, we must give first priority to areas where minority nationalities reside and to border areas.

The meeting also made specific arrangements for some economic questions and for methods of giving support regarding this approach.

CSO: 4005/91

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LANZHOU HOSTS NORTHWEST BROADCASTING MEETING

HK230325 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 22 Oct 82

[Text] The first meeting on broadcasting and television cooperation in the five provinces and autonomous regions of northwest China concluded in Lanzhou on the morning of 21 October. Responsible comrades of the broadcasting bureaus and professional and technical personnel concerned from Shaanxi, Gansu, Ningxia, Qinghai and Xinjiang attended the meeting. Vice Governor Li Qiyang made a speech.

This meeting was held under the guidance of the 12th Party Congress spirit. The provinces and autonomous regions outlined the development of their radio and television, and exchanged wired and wireless broadcasting and television plans and construction and management work information and experiences. They also exchanged views on problems of common concern to radio and television in the provinces and autonomous regions of the northwest. The participants, their understanding enhanced through learning from each other, expressed resolve to make new contributions in creating a new situation in broadcasting and television in the five northwest provinces and autonomous regions and in building material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization.

CSO: 4005/91

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XINJIANG STARTS COURSES ON NATIONALITY POLICY

HK270629 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1650 GMT 26 Oct 82

[Text] With the approval of the ministry of education and the CPC Central Propaganda Department, the Xinjiang Regional Education Department and Regional CPC Propaganda Department decided to offer a course in Marxist theory on nationalities and the CPC policy toward nationalities in colleges and specialized secondary schools. This will be an obligatory course in political theory and will be included in the teaching programs of these schools.

The written reply from the ministry of education and the CPC Central Propaganda Department says: In colleges and specialized secondary schools in the provinces and autonomous regions where there are many minority nationalities, it is very necessary to educate students of both minority nationalities and the Han nationality in Marxist theory about nationality. The party's policy toward nationalities enables them to understand the basic viewpoints of the theory and policy and to draw a line between the Marxist viewpoint on nationality and the bourgeois viewpoint on nationality so as to strengthen their consciousness in carrying out the party's policy toward nationalities. This is also of great significance in consolidating and developing socialist relations of nationalities in China, strengthening national defense and creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

At present, the Regional Education Department and the Regional CPC Propaganda Department are actively making preparations. The first, 100,000 character draft of the teaching materials for the course on nationality theory and policy has been completed. It is expected that the course can start in the first half of next year. At the same time, it has also been decided to start lessons about nationality policy and unity in ordinary secondary schools.

CSO: 4005/91

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FENG JIXIN ATTENDS RETURNED CHINESE MEETING

SK090749 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Text] The provincial meeting of representatives of advanced returned overseas Chinese and family members of overseas Chinese and advanced in collectives in overseas Chinese affairs work was concluded yesterday afternoon. At the meeting, while receiving certificates of merit and banners from the leading comrades of the Provincial CPC Committee and government, 43 advanced workers and producers of returned overseas Chinese and family members of overseas Chinese and representatives of 8 advanced collectives in overseas Chinese affairs work emotionally expressed their determination to thank and repay the party for its policy on overseas Chinese affairs with such concrete deeds as more actively devoting themselves to the socialist modernization construction.

These advanced individuals of returned overseas Chinese and family members of overseas Chinese and representatives of advanced collectives in overseas Chinese affairs were recommended by various localities and provincial level departments concerned and commended after the decision made jointly by the Provincial Overseas Chinese Affairs Office and the Provincial Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese. During the convocation of the meeting, some 170 representatives conscientiously studied the documents of the 12th Party Congress, summed up experience in applying overseas Chinese affairs work to serving socialist modernization construction and the great cause of unifying the motherland and elected through consultation representatives to the national conference to commend advanced collectives and elements of returned overseas Chinese, family members of overseas Chinese and workers in charge of overseas Chinese affairs.

Feng Jixin, first secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee, Ge Shiying, deputy governor, and Wang Shijie, vice chairman of the Provincial CPPCC Committee, attended the meeting. Ge Shiying spoke on behalf of the Provincial CPC Committee and government. (Gu Xingchun), vice chairman of the Provincial Foreign Affairs Office, delivered a report on overseas Chinese affairs.

CSO: 4005/91

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHAANXI CONFERENCE ON WORK OF INTELLECTUALS

HK051032 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 0500 GMT 5 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Recently the Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee held a provincial conference on intellectual work. Guided by the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress, the conference reviewed the achievements and experience in intellectual work since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and worked out measures for improving future intellectual work.

The conference drew up 10 measures for improving future intellectual work:

1. Leaders at all levels must take the lead in eliminating the erroneous ideas of looking down on education, science and culture and discriminating against intellectuals. They must attach importance to and support intellectuals' work.

2. Intellectuals should be treated as people on our side and be given full political trust.

3. The role of intellectuals must be brought into full play. It is necessary to create good working conditions for intellectuals, especially middle-aged intellectuals.

4. It is necessary to strengthen the training of technical and professional cadres.

5. It is necessary to confer titles on intellectuals mainly according to their work achievements, knowledge and technical level and professional capability.

6. Various measures should be adopted to solve the intellectuals' housing problem within the next 2 years.

7. It is necessary to stabilize the ranks of technical and professional cadres in remote areas.

8. Management work concerning intellectuals should be properly handled.

9. It is necessary to strengthen ideological education for intellectuals.

10. The leadership over intellectual work should be strengthened.

CSO: 4005/91

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SOUTHWEST PARTY HISTORY MEETING CONCLUDES

HK270228 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 26 Oct 82

[Excerpts] The conference on compiling party historical materials in the three provinces and one autonomous region of southwest China concluded in Chengdu on the morning of 26 October. The meeting did well in summing up and reporting on work in the previous stage and exchanged valuable experiences in compiling party historical materials in the region. The three provinces and one autonomous region studied and put forward future measures in light of their actual work situation, thus laying a relatively good foundation in compiling party historical materials.

Nine old comrades spoke on specialized topics during the meeting. Their speeches were very important for verifying and enriching party historical materials in the southewest.

Provincial CPC Committee Secretary Yang Chao spoke at the conclusion of the meeting. After discussing the meeting's characteristics and fully affirming its achievements, he said: We must do a good and serious job of compiling party historical materials under the guidance of the 12th Party Congress spirit.

Present at the concluding session were comrades of the conference leadership group Yang Chao, Feng Wenbin, Xie Xiaonai, Zhu Jiabi, Yangling Duoji and (Qin Tianzhen), and the whole body of participants, totalling more than 170 persons. Comrade Xie Xiaonai presided and made a speech. He hoped that all the comrades would continually sum up new experiences, open up new roads and find new methods and create a new situation. They should quickly, well and accurately fulfill the arduous and glorious tasks of compiling party historical materials.

CSO: 4005/91

NEI MONGGOL ZHOU HUI SPEAKS AT NEI MONGGOL UNIVERSITY

SK160147 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Oct 82

[Excerpts] On 14 October, over 3,000 teachers, students and administrative personnel and workers of the Nei Monggol University happily gathered under the same roof to warmly mark the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Nei Monggol University. Joining them were some leading comrades of the regional party and government departments including Zhou Hui, Bu He, Ba-tu-ba-gen, Hao Xiushan and Zhou Beifeng and some responsible comrades of the departments concerned and institutes of higher learning.

Zhou Hui, first secretary of the Regional CPC Committee, spoke at the celebration meeting. He expressed warm greetings to all of the teachers, students and administrative personnel and workers of all nationalities who had made contributions to the construction and development of the Nei Monggol University. After touching on the excellent political and economic situation of the region, Zhou Hui said that the Nei Monggol University assumed the arduous task as set forth at the 12th Party Congress that took education and science as key measures for implementing the strategic objective of economic development by the end of this century.

He urged the party organization at the Nei Monggol University and all teachers, students and administrative personnel and workers to be modest, prudent and united and to treasure the expectations of the party and the people. Efforts should be made to do an accurate job and to further carry forward the fine tradition so as to make greater contributions to the construction of Nei Monggol region's modernization.

CSO: 4005/91

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XIZANG LEADER ON STUDY OF 12TH CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

HK140303 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 0000 GMT 14 Oct 82

[Excerpts] On 8 October, responsible persons of the Regional Propaganda, Culture and Education, Physical Culture, and Public Health Systems held a forum to exchange experiences in studying the 12th Party Congress documents. Regional CPC Committee Secretary Yangling Duoji stressed in a summation speech: We must regard study and publicity of the 12th Party Congress documents as a task of the first importance, set a good grasp of it, and take it deeper. Guided by communist ideology, we must concentrate on the following issues:

1. We must repeatedly study the documents and thoroughly appreciate their basic spirit. We must strive for accurate understanding and mastery of the basic spirit of the documents and apply it to unify our thinking.

2. We must concentrate on unifying our thinking, understanding and action on a number of issues. Judging by the study in the previous stage, we must first unify the understanding of the cadres and masses regarding the great historical significance and major far-reaching importance of the 12th Party Congress, brace our spirits, enhance drive and further strengthen spontaneity in study. We must unify the understanding of the cadres and masses regarding the strategic aims in economic construction put forward by the 12th Party Congress. We must integrate zeal with a scientific approach and strengthen confidence in victory. We must unify the understanding of the cadres and masses on socialist spiritual civilization as an important characteristic of socialism, and vigorously promote the building of spiritual civilization.

3. On the basis of appreciating the spirit of the 12th Party Congress documents, we must, in connection with the reality of our own area, department or unit, improve labor, work and service attitude, beginning with ourselves and our own department. We must strengthen party spirit and strive for a fundamental turn for the better in party work style and social mood.

4. The party organizations and leading cadres must take the lead in study.

CSO: 4005/91

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

YUNNAN PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU CIRCULAR ON MASS CAMPAIGN

HK150619 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Oct 82

[Text] The Yunnan Provincial Public Security Bureau recently issued a circular calling on public security organizations throughout the province to increase activities to promote the five stresses and four beauties.

The circular stressed: In carrying out activities to promote the five stresses and four beauties, public security cadres and policemen throughout the province must conscientiously study the documents of the 12th National Party Congress and achieve a deep understanding of the great significance of building a high level of socialist spiritual civilization.

The circular demanded that within a month of receiving this circular, public security departments in all areas should concentrate on launching activities to tackle the following problems: Poor sanitation and hygiene standards; chaotic public order; and poor quality of service. Just as in the all-people civility and courtesy month, leaders at all levels must take the lead in promoting public health work, play a leading role in safeguarding public order and set an example in paying attention to civility and courtesy. They must combine the deepening of activities to promote the five stresses and four beauties and solving problems of poor sanitation and hygiene standards, chaotic public order and poor quality of service with the professional work of public security organizations, the all-round promotion of public security work and the activities of learning from Lei Feng and other heroes and of fostering new practices. We must conscientiously promote the building of spiritual civilization within the public security ranks.

Through activities to promote the five stresses and four beauties, we must enable all our cadres and policemen to receive an education in discipline and work style so as to further carry forward our public security system's fine tradition of observing discipline and cherishing the people.

CSO: 4005/91

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

QINGHAI'S GAISANG DOJE TALKS ABOUT 12TH CONGRESS

HK130743 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Oct 82

[Text] On 24 September, at the second enlarged meeting of the Second Provincial Federation of Literary and Art Circles, Gaisang Doje, alternate member of the CPC Central Committee and vice chairman of the Provincial Federation of Literary and Art Circles, who just came back from the 12th CPC National Congress, relayed the congress spirit and demanded that literature and art circles devote their efforts to the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

Gaisang Doje said: Our literature and art circles are shouldering major responsibility for the building of socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as the core. Every comrade should plunge into the thick of life with great revolutionary enthusiasm and indomitable will, go to the countryside to smell the fragrant earth, go to the mines to seek brilliant gems, go to the prairie to taste cow's milk and go to the plateau to experience the flowing enthusiasm of the herdsmen so as to portray progressive socialist figures and spread advanced communist ideology. At present, the literature and art circles in Qinghai Province are seriously studying the documents of the 12th Party Congress and drawing up new work plans. A minority nationality literary creation training course involving several dozen people is being conducted. Some writers and artists have gone right into the thick of life and have been making preparations for their new works.

CSO: 4005/91

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

JILIN SCORES ACHIEVEMENTS IN EDUCATION

SK020834 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Oct 82

[Text] According to our sources, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Jilin Province's education has been on a healthy track of development. After readjustment, the province has first strengthened elementary education. Most rural areas throughout the province have restored the system of key elementary schools. Border and mountainous areas have generally restored the establishment of farming-studying centers. Over the past 3 years, the province has maintained an over 95 percent enrollment rate of school-aged children and a 70 percent rate of elementary school pupils who have attended until finishing. Year after year the province has upgraded the teaching quality among elementary schools. By 1985, the province will complete the task of making elementary education universal.

In secondary education, the province has begun to reverse the unitary structure. The province has reduced the number of general senior middle schools from 1,346 in 1978 to 894 at present. Meanwhile, the province has vigorously developed secondary vocational education. Since the 3d plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the province has newly established or reformed 250 technical, vocational and agricultural middle schools. The province has also established 840 vocational training classes. These technical and vocational middle schools have enrolled 33,000 students. At present, the province has over 90,000 technical school students including those in various technical and vocational middle schools run by the state. The proportion of technical and vocational middle school students in total middle school students in the province has been raised from 2 percent in 1978 to 19.6 percent at present.

In higher education, on the basis of restoring, rebuilding, consolidating and upgrading the original higher educational institutions, the province has newly established a number of colleges, universities and short-term vocational junior colleges. According to statistics compiled at the end of 1981, the province had 27 general higher educational institutions that accommodated over 46,000 students. The province has scored a 12.5 percent increase in higher education institutions over the 1978 figure and a 51.3 percent increase in student number.

In year-round education at all levels, after readjustment, the province has had 27 vocational junior colleges in which there are over 12,000 students who

received education in a systematic way. There are also 14 higher educational institutions throughout the province which have set up correspondence classes and provided spare-time university courses, which over 15,000 staff and workers are attending. At present, the province has over 14,000 students attending classes provided by the television university. In addition, there are over 1 million staff and workers across the province who are attending the cultural continuation classes. Since the 3d plenum of the 11th CPC Central C mittee, the province has wiped out illiteracy among over 960,000 illiterates and reduced its illiteracy rate from 20 percent in the past to 5 percent at present. Meanwhile, the province has established four peasant vocational schools, 10 peasant technical schools, some peasant spare-time middle schools and some peasant junior technical schools, in various localities, the first stage in bringing about an education network conducting cultural and technical training among peasants.

CSO: 4005/91

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

REVIEW OF NIE RONGZHEN'S WORK FOR INTELLECTUALS

HK210514 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 4 Oct 82 pp 1, 2

[Feature article by GUANGMING RIBAO reporters Dong Kegong [5516 0344 1872], Song Guangming [1345 0342 2492] and Zou Znshou [6760 1344 1108]: "Comrade Nie Rongzhen and Intellectuals"]

[Excerpts] On 22 August, the eve of the 12th Party Congress, the sky over Baidaihe was very clear and the waves were striking at the shore as if they were revealing their inner feelings. To fulfill the wishes of the broad masses of the science and technology workers, we visited the party's veteran proletarian revolutionary Comrade Nie Rongzhen.

Marshal Nie once said to his fellow workers: "Under the leadership of the party and Chairman Mao, I have spent my early years organizing and establishing the armed forces and I am going to spend my later years organizing and establishing a science and technology force." Since 1956, Marshal Nie has been taking infinite pains in organizing and leading scientific and technological work of New China. When we visited science and technology workers, they said: Reviewing the history of scientific development in New China, looking at the science and technology force which has been gradually established and recalling the achievements obtained, how can we forget the arduous efforts of Marshal Nie under the leadership of the party! The people will not forget the work that Marshal Nie did in the past and they also want to listen to the new teachings of Marshal Nie. The hearts of the science and technology workers are always linked with that of Marshal Nie.

"I Am Going to Grasp Science and Technology Work for the Prosperity of the Motherland"

In 1956, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, on behalf of the CPC Central Committee, sought the advice of Marshal Nie on the arrangement of work: Marshal Nie was requested either to grasp work in Beijing Municipality or grasp scientific and technological work. As far as the former was concerned, going to Beijing had many favorable conditions for Marshal Nie because he once took up leadership work in the municipality in the initial stage of the founding of the country. However, Marshal Nie chose the latter. Without hesitation, Marshal Nie said to Comrade Deng Xiaoping: "I will go and grasp scientific and technological work."

When the news spread, some comrades reminded Marshal Nie that work concerning intellectuals is very complicated and "troublesome." Marshal Nie said to them: "The building of socialism cannot be divorced from science and technology or from the intellectuals. In the past, the prevailing conditions did not permit us to use science and technology to change the state's situation of poverty. Now that the conditions permit it, why should we refrain from doing this? I will grasp science and technology work for the prosperity of the moth .and and I am not afraid of the troubles."

A firm determination and a strong desire is inseparable from Marshal Nie's long-cherished wish.

The "May Fourth" movement broke out in our country in 1919. The slogan of "Struggling against foreigners for sovereignty and penalizing traitors internally" was shouted throughout the country. The two flags of "democracy" and "science" were appealing to innumerable youths. Why was China humiliated by others? Young Nie Rongzhen was also pondering this question. He felt that this is because China was too poor and backward and that to make China become prosperous and strong, it was necessary to have democracy and advance science and technology and a large number of intellectuals who are determined to rescue the country. With this naive idea of "rescuing the country with science," he started off for a long voyage to France at the end of that year together with more than 100 fine youths to participate in a work-study program.

"We Cannot Do Without the Intellectuals in Order to Win a Victory in the Revolutionary War"

Such a thing happened during the Red Army period. Once a military surgeon had written a wrong prescription for the wounded soldiers and thus some suffered from mental disorder. As a result of this, some people said that this surgeon was a hidden traitor and decided to put him to death. However, this surgeon was very nervous and could not explain the reason. When Marshal Nie learned this, he immediately stopped the action. He said to the lower level cadres that there are only a few people in our revolutionary forces who know science and technology, and we should not quickly suspect people or have no confidence in them. Better still, we cannot indiscriminately put a person to death without carrying out thorough investigations. This would be detrimental to the revolution. He demanded that thorough investigations be made into the case. Later, they finally found out the truth. Actually, the medicines were confiscated from the Kuomintang and the labels had been stuck. Thus, the medicines were misused. This not only saved the surgeon but also educated the cadres and fighters of the Red Army and made them understand that under any circumstances, they must deal with the intellectuals in the revolutionary force in a truth-seeking manner and treat them as their own people. Only when we trust them can we give play to their roles.

While Marshal Nie led the armymen and people in the Jinchaji military district to launch the anti-Japanese struggle, he attached major importance to the role of the intellectuals. He always said to the cadres that "the intellectuals know science and technology and it is necessary to attach importance to them. We cannot do without them in building the revolutionary bases and building the revolutionary armed forces."

"They Are Not Outsiders or Guests But Are Our Own People"

Since the founding of New China, and in particular after the conclusion of the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, the long-cherished wishes of Nei Rongzhen could be fulfilled. However, there were so many tasks to perform that he did not know what to do first. He knew inside that nothing could be done if there were no capable persons or if the roles of the capable persons were not brought into play. However, old China's scientific research foundation was very weak and there were only a few scientists and technicians engaging in scientific research work during liberation. Confronted with such a situation, many foreign experts held that China would not be able to launch scientific research work until 7 or 8 years later. Marshal Nie did not agree with this view and drew up a plan at heart: Only by organizing well the existing science and technology force can, we not only launch scientific research work but also build a stronger science and technology force by our own efforts and by relying primarily on the existing force. Others are unreliable; we should not wait; or should we refrain from working by ourselves. Marshal Nie answered in a straight-forward manner that: "There are experts in China, although the number is small. However, we can still work." He had full confidence in the country's science and technology workers and in the building and development of the scientific cause. In this way, under the leadership of Premier Zhou, Marshal Nie took over Comrade Chen Yi's work, and started to organize the science and technology force by formulating and implementing the 12-year development plan for science and technology.

For various well-known reasons, it is not easy at all to attach great importance to developing education, science and culture or given full play to the roles of the intellectuals. Due to "political investigations" under the influence of the "leftist" mistakes and restrictions of certain unreasonable "confidential" systems, Chinese experts were refrained from knowing the scientific projects with which foreign experts were well acquainted. Learning of this situation, Marshal Nie was very angry and said: "If you want people to work for you, you must trust and respect them. Is it not true that foreign experts are more reliable than Chinese experts? They are not outsiders or guests but are our own people and are our own comrades. You want others to work for you but have no confidence in them, this is absolutely not a Marxist attitude!" He continued to say that many of us also have the tinge of once having been intellectuals but the difference is that we were admitted into the party 20 or 30 years earlier than the others. Based on this understanding and with the direct interference of Marshal Nie, some regulations were amended and some disturbances were eliminated, thus the scientists' roles were fully utilized and the scientists have given full play to their talents and ability.

"There Is Only a Small Number of Science and Technology Personnel in China, If They Are Not Appropriately Employed, It Is Really a Big Waste"

It is necessary to choose the right general when fighting a battle, and similarly, it is also necessary to correctly employ people in constructing the country. Marshal Nie held that "making use of personnel is a matter of major importance. If the wrong persons are used in fighting a battle, it means shedding more blood. There is only a small number of science and technology personnel in China, if they are not correctly employed, it is

really a big waste." He personally grasped the arrangement of work for the existing science and technology workers, enabling those idle science and technology comrades to start working again as soon as possible. He tried every possible way to substantiate the scientific and technological contingent under the existing circumstances and strived to urge those scientists abroad who were willing to return and participate in the construction of the motherland to do. He also transferred some young people, who had certain cultural and technological standards, from the PLA to work in the scientific research front. In order to foster the science and technology force, he personally grasped work in running schools. On the one hand, new academic studies were established in the existing colleges of science and engineering, and on the other hand, some new colleges were also set up. He personally participated in the studies of the principles for running schools and arranged work for capable cadres.

Marshal Nie stressed the principle of studying for the purpose of application and formulated one regulation for the personnel working with him: If the science and technology workers write to say that work has not been appropriately arranged for them. On finding the complaints true, you can write to the units to which they belong on behalf of my office and ask them to solve the problem. If problems remain unsolved, bring them to my attention.

"The Demand That Science and Technology Personnel Be 'Red' Is Not Empty"

In the severe winter of 1960, our country's science and technology front, similar to other fronts, encountered serious difficulties. In order to draw a demarcation line between the policies and correct the tendency of being more "left" than right as far as work toward intellectuals was concerned, and correct certain practices which hampered the development of our country's science and technology, despite poor health, Marshal Nie arrived at the No. 5 college of the National Defense Scientific Commission and the Chinese Academy of Sciences to listen to the opinions of the cadres at all levels and science and technology personnel. At that time, science and technology workers had to shoulder various minor tasks, the time that they spent on scientific research normally did not take up even half of their working hours, and some of them only used one-sixth of their time for doing scientific research.

There were unrealistic "Red" political demands for the science and technology personnel, work was too hastily done and they were indiscriminately labelled "white experts." Some fine party members and scientists were unreasonably "criticized." Many experts were afraid to call themselves "experts." Marshal Nie was very sad about the effects and perils that the "leftist" mistakes brought to the science and technology workers and their work. With so many tasks to perform, he emphatically guaranteed "five-sixths of their time," the criterion of being "Red" and "expert," the party's work style, political and ideological work among the intellectuals and other questions of fundamental importance. Under his direction, "14 suggestions on current work of the Natural Scientific Research Organizations" (referred to below as "14 scientific suggestions"), which was regarded as the first national "scientific constitution," were proposed.

Marshal Nie held that the fundamental task of the research centers and scientists was to obtain achievements and cultivate capable persons in order to serve socialism. Other kinds of work must be launched around this fundamental task or be integrated with it, and conditions must be created for it. The demand that the science and technology workers be politically "Red" should not be empty, as it is necessary to judge a person by his actual performance and not by the words that he says. In a down-to-earth way, Marshal Nie put forth the preliminary criterion for judging the "Redness" of the science and technology workers: First, they must support party leadership; second, they must support socialism and serve socialism with their specialized knowledge. In addition, he also stressed the importance of improving party work style and leadership methods among the scientific research institutes. The "14 scientific suggestions" clearly stipulated that: In leading academic work, party organizations should fully arouse the enthusiasm of the scientists, enabling them to launch democratic discussions and enabling the administrative and academic leading organizations to make decisions which will be consequently implemented by the scientists. The party organizations should not monopolize everything. A responsibility system should be set up for the science and technology workers and they should be responsible for scientific and technological problems. In many research institutes, factories and enterprises, the scientists and the engineers do not have the rights to speak nor have they any responsibilities. All decisions are made by the secretaries or the administrative heads and the merits of the science and technology workers have not been brought into play. This is wrong. The technology workers should be responsible for technical problems. The party members and individuals certainly should implement the political resolutions of the party, however, as far as academic questions are concerned, the academic understanding of an individual party member does not represent the party. The party should not demand that the individual party members support or oppose any academic ideas, and they should be given complete freedom in participating in the academic discussions. The party committee of the research institute is the leadership of the whole institute and the party branch of the research office is like the party branch of party organs and can only play assuring roles.

On 6 July 1961, the political bureau of the CPC Central Committee held a meeting to discuss the "14 scientific suggestions" and the exposition of Comrade Nie Rongzhen. The leading comrade attending the meeting, such as Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Peng Zhen, Li Fuchun and others, fully supported the correct opinions of Marshal Nie and fully affirmed that the "14 scientific regulations" was a good document and could be trial implemented. When talking on improving party work style and the work concerning intellectuals, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: How should the party work? We must create a vivid atmosphere in which the people can feel at ease and make scientific achievements. The party's leading cadres must make friends with the intellectuals, show concern for them and help them. I think we must be good servants who work practically, serve the scientists and help them solve problems. Comrade Zhou Enlai added: We must clarify to the cadres that when we serve the scientists well, they will in turn serve socialism better. All of us are working for socialism. Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out: We, the Communist Party, are in power now, but our problem lies in where we have not mastered the objective laws in formulating methods of command. Our task is to further master the laws

governing scientific and technological work. We must not exercise blind leadership or pretend to know things that we do not understand at all, otherwise we will collapse. Later, Comrade Mao Zedong also affirmed that correctness of the "14 scientific regulations."

"I Voluntarily Serve the Science and Technology Workers and Their Work"

From beginning to end, Marshal Nie stressed that rear-service work plays a very important role in science and technology work. He said: "When we serve scientific and technological work better, the science and technology personnel will serve socialism better. This is beneficial to the party's cause and is essential to the party." He made clear his stand more than once: "I myself am a caretaker and servant and I voluntarily serve the scientists and technicians and their work."

Instruments, equipment, reference books, information and other rear-service work are essential components of scientific development, and provide an important guarantee for the rapid development of science and technology. However, its importance was not realized by certain comrades at that time. Marshal Nie was always earnestly practicing what he advocated and promoting work in this respect. In 1958, due to an urgent demand for semiconductor research, despite other busy work, Marshal Nie personally got in touch with the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee and requested them to help solve the question of material supply for the manufacturing of quartz tubes, thus ensuring the progress of the work.

Marshal Nie was always very much concerned with the livelihood of the scientists and technicians. In the early 1960's, while our country encountered a temporary difficult economic situation, he was still concerned with the broad masses of scientists and technicians who were struggling around the clock to tackle modern technical problems. Certain colleges and institues subordinate to the National Defense Scientific Commission were operating in accordance with the state's 12-year plan for scientific and technological development and were working hard without losing a single minute. Continuous struggle and the short supply of daily necessities weakened the health of many of the scientists and technicians, and some of them even suffered from various diseases. Marshal Nie was very worried and decided to ask for assistance from the large military districts. From the coastal areas in the southeast to the border areas in the northwest, the commanders and fighters of the people's army profoundly understood the wish of Marshal Nie. They preferred to live in poorer conditions and rendered assistance to the scientists and technicians who were working hard for the scientific modernization of the motherland. When the materials arrived, Marshal Nie gave an order to the National Defense Scientific Commission that the fish, meat, beans, kelp and other materials are to be allocated to the scientists and technicians. No other persons are allowed to have them. He even personally drew up and inspected the allocation plans. He also said to the leading comrade who was responsible for this task at that time: "Nobody can have a single tael of them, and you are no exception."

"If Somebody Is To Be Criticized, Do Come and Criticize Me"

Then came the 10 years of turmoil. With a heavy heart, Marshal Nie felt that our country's intellectuals would soon be involved in a catastrophe. He

called on the comrades from Beijing and Shanghai to a forum and wanted to draft and submit to the CPC Central a detailed report on committee protecting scientists and technicians. However, this could not be done under the circumstances of that time. Marshal Nie only strived to include protection for the scientists and technicians in the "16 regulations," and eventually put this down as the 12th regulation. Even though this was put down in the "16 regulations," he was still worried and personally talked to Comrade Tao Zhu. He expounded on the important roles of the scientists and technicians and clearly stated that neglecting the role of the intellectuals is incompatible with Marxism, urging Comrade Tao Zhu to protect the scientists and technicians. Comrade Tao Zhu understood the feelings of Marshal Nie. However, due to the sabotage of the two counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, the situation became aggravated. Big-character posters were found everywhere and so were criticism rallies. Big-character posters were also found in the Chinese Academy of Sciences, on which the words "The Chinese Academy of Sciences is black" were written. Marshal Nie became furious on learning this and said: "I think the Chinese Academy of Sciences is Red. If somebody is to be criticized, do come and criticize me!" At that time, the responsible comrades of the Chinese Academy of Sciences were touched. How could they allow Marshal Nie to be criticized on the first front!

From beginning to end, Marshal Nie remained concerned with the safety of the scientists and technicians. Whenever he heard that a certain scientist was being criticized, he would ask his fellow workers to dissuade those who criticized others. Zhongguan Village in Beijing was a place where most of the scientific research units were founded. When Marshal Nie knew that such things as kidnap and destruction of personal belongings took place there, he requested the Beijing garrison command to strengthen their patrols there and stop such things. However, in the wake of an aggravated situation, improved development of the situation was beyond control. In a later stage, the big-character posters of "Down with Nie Rongzhen" were found on the walls of Qianmen. Despite such difficult conditions, our Marshal Nie still indulged in protecting the scientists and technicians. When he thought that certain scientists would be in danger working in the local units, he would "borrow" them and bring them to Beijing under pretext of urgent work.

"I Propose Suggestions to the CPC Central Committee Concerning Major Questions Involving the Intellectuals"

Marshal Nie was in a very good mood after the smashing of the "gang of four." Although he was old and weak, he still attended the National Scientific Conference held on 18 March 1978. Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party's policy toward intellectuals has been further implemented and new achievements in scientific work have been incessantly obtained. How happy Marshal Nie was! Although he was no longer in charge of our country's scientific work, his heart remained all the time with the development of the party's scientific and technological development and with the broad masses of the scientists and technicians. As he said: "I propose suggestions to the CPC Central Committee concerning major questions involving the intellectuals." Last year, when he was 82, some scientists and technicians wrote to him, reflecting on certain questions in assessing job

titles. After carrying out repeated investigations and considerations, and with deep passion for the intellectuals, Marshal Nie wrote a letter to the CPC Central Committee. He pointed out in the letter that: "As far as current promotion for scientific and technological cadres is concerned, some authorities onesidedly stress the work and dissertations of cadres but have not paid attention to examining their ability in solving practical problems and their actual contributions. Under the influence of such a trend, some doct s are reluctant to consult the out-patients or work in the wards; some teachers are reluctant to teach in the classrooms or give tutorials; some scientists and technicians are reluctant to solve actual problems but are enthusiastic in writing theses. This shows that there are some deviations in certain units involving the promotion of personnel." Marshal Nie held that "promotion of personnel should stress the principle of having both ability and political integrity, and primary attention should be given to performance. Be subordinate to allocation and keep one's mind on one's work is one of the most important criteria."

Marshal Nie is already 83 this year, and several decades of military life and tough work since the founding of the country has weakened his health. However, he immediately accepted our request to visit him and to talk on the questions concerning intellectuals. He freely discussed the roles of intellectuals, expounded on how to arouse the enthusiasm of the intellectuals and put forth the anticipations of the intellectuals. He earnestly said: "Attaching major importance to the intellectuals and bringing the roles of the intellectuals into play is where the fundamental interests of the people lie and is also a key measure for realizing the four modernizations in our country. Neglecting the role of the intellectuals is incompatible with Marxism and the communist cause." He said: "Our party will soon hold the 12th Party Congress. This will be a grand gathering of major importance. The congress will affirm our great goal and strategic tasks of our party in the new era. Our party will lead people of various nationalities throughout the country to open up a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. When the congress concludes, the whole party will make more efforts in our work and so will the people. Similarly, our intellectuals will also make more strenuous efforts. I hope that, for the sake of the fundamental interests of people of various nationalities throughout the country, we will better implement the policy toward intellectuals and do a better job in work concerning the intellectuals."

We were deeply inspired by the words of Marshal Nie. They proved that the veteran revolutionaries have attached major importance to the intellectuals for the sake of the revolution and the interests of the people. We would like to listen more to the teachings of Marshal Nie. However, the time that Marshal Nie had spent talking with us has greatly exceeded the time limit approved by his doctors, and we were obliged to conclude this visit.

CSO: 4005/91

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

XINJIANG PREFECTURE COMMENDATION RALLY--On the eve of the Guerbangjie [Corban, an Islamic festival], some 200 representatives of various nationalities attended the first Hotan prefectural rally to commend advanced collectives and advanced individuals in strengthening unity of nationalities. Over the past few years, an excellent situation has emerged of mutual respect and living in harmony among various nationalities in the prefecture. All representatives declared that it is necessary to strengthen the unity of nationalities and make new contributions toward the building of a high degree of material civilization and a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization. Some time ago, more problems concerning the unity of nationalities emerged among young people and juveniles. These problems have now been solved. Many middle and primary schools have set up friendship schools, friendship classes and friendship young pioneers. They have cultivated students from childhood so that they will have the ideology and character of upholding the unity of nationalities. [HK060926 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 3 Oct 82 HK]

GUIZHOU CONSCRIPTION WORK--Guizhou Province will begin conscription work for this winter the beginning of October. From 15-17 September, the provincial government and the provincial military district held a conference on conscription work. The conference pointed out that conscription work has a bearing on the modernization and regularization of our army. The conference demanded that all relevant departments do well in conscription work and all young people who are old enough to join the army apply for enlistment. [HK041258 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 1 Oct 82 HK]

SICHUAN DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE CONFERENCE--From 23-27 September, the Sichuan Provincial Committee of the China Democratic League held a conference on the work of the league. The main agenda of the conference was to mobilize all members of the China Democratic League in the province to seriously study, understand, publicize and implement the spirit of the 12th Party Congress documents. After 5 days' study and discussion, the participants heightened their understanding, strengthened their confidence and understood their tasks. The conference pointed out that in the future, the Provincial China Democratic League organizations must mobilize all league members throughout the province to seriously study the documents of the 12th Party Congress, help the Communist Party implement the policy on intellectuals, help the Communist Party promote urban secondary education and make good preparations for the symposium on serving the four modernizations. (Li Peigen), deputy director of the United Front Work Department of the Provincial CPC Committee, attended and spoke.

Peng Dixian, chairman of the Provincial Committee of the China Democratic League; and Tian Yiping and (Pan Dakui), vice chairmen of the Provincial Committee of the China Democratic League, presided over the conference. Some 50 cadres of all municipal and county China Democratic League organizations and the organs of the Provincial Committee of the China Democratic League also attended. [Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 2 Oct HK]

GANSU COUNTY POPULATION GROWTH--Jingchuan County, Gansu Province, adopted measures to create a new situation in birth control work. In the first 6 months of 1982, the county's population growth dropped to 2.5 per thousand. [Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 3 Oct 82 SK]

XINJIANG MODEL WORKERS' DELEGATION--The first 32-person group of the Xinjiang Regional Model Workers' delegation which will conduct investigations in the mainland left Urumqi this evening by train for Beijing. This delegation was organized by the Regional Federation of Trade Unions in accordance with the spirit of the relevant circular of the All China Federation of Trade Unions. The aim of the organization of this delegation is to widen the views of model workers and to promote their health and mutual study. Moreover, the aim is to enhance the social status and honor of model workers so that everyone will endeavor to become advanced workers. This delegation comprises 62 members of 5 nationalities, including Uighur, Kazakh, Sibo and Tartar. These 62 members include famous model workers, advanced producers and advanced workers in all places throughout the region. During its stay in Beijing, the delegation will go on sightseeing trips to scenic spots and historical monuments and visit some advanced factories, mines and enterprises. The members of the delegation will also take a short rest in picturesque Beidaihe. Before the delegation's departure, responsible comrades of the Regional Federation of Trade Unions held a farewell party for them and saw them off at the railroad station. [Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 5 Oct 82 HK]

MINORITY VISITING GROUP--A 29-member minority visiting group from Guizhou Province's Qiandongnan Miao-dong autonomous prefecture arrived in Gansu Province by way of Ningxia Hui autonomous prefecture on 1 October. On the evening of 1 October, leading comrades of the Provincial People's Congress and CPPCC Committee met with them. On 7 October, the visiting group left Lanzhou for Tianshui. [SK131143 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 8 Oct 82 SK]

XIAO QUANFU WATCHES LIAONING TROUPE--Yesterday evening, the Liaoning Song and Dance Troupe gave the first performance of a ballet on the Manchu Nationality Fairy Play (Zhenzhuhu) in the Urumqi People's Theater. Some 500 spectators applauded their brilliant performances. Responsible comrades of the party, the government and the Urumqi PLA units, including Xiao Quanfu, Li Jiayu, Hou Liang, (Yang Huansheng), Ren Gebai, Simayi Yashengnuofu, Mahsut Teibov and Qi Chengde, watched the performances. At the interval, Xiao Quanfu and other leading comrades earnestly met the leader, playwrights, playwright-directors, composers and directors of the Liaoning Song and Dance Troupe. [Excerpts] [HK201456 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 19 Oct 82]

GANSU FAREWELL TO RETIRING PLA VETERANS--Responsible comrades of the Lanzhou PLA units and the party and government of the province and municipality gathered at Lanzhou railroad station on 20 October to bid farewell to demobilized old PLA fighters leaving to return to their home villages. The leading comrades present included Dong Zhanlin, Zhang Rusan, Wang Bingxiang, Xiao Jianguang, Liu Bing, Gao Jinchun, Zhang Jiangang, Li Qiyang, Li Bin, Lan Tianmin, Yan Shutang, (Ma Yisheng), (Li Weizhi) and (Bai Zhanbiao). The PLA veterans were very moved by this farewell and pledged to work hard to build the four modernizations. [Summary] [HK210344 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 20 Oct 82]

VETERANS PASS THROUGH XIAN--At noon on 8 October, a large number of demobilized soldiers who had contributed to defending and building border areas passed through Xian, Shaanxi Province, and returned home to various places in the motherland. They were warmly welcomed by responsible persons of the provincial and municipal people's governments, the provincial military district, Xian garrison and relevant departments. At about noon, a train arrived in Xian from Xinjiang region. Vice Governor Deng Guozhong; Zhang Ze and (Li Xiuying), deputy commanders of the provincial military district; (Liu Baosheng), deputy director of the political department of the Urumqi PLA units; and responsible persons of relevant departments welcomed the veteran fighters at the railroad station. [HK121421 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 0500 GMT 9 Oct 82 HK]

FENG JIXIN MEETS HEROIC PILOT--Yang Jihai, the heroic civil aircraft captain who successfully thwarted a hijack attempt on a Xian-Shanghai flight on 25 July, made a report to Gansu party and government leaders on 9 October, describing what had happened. Yang Jihai was first received by provincial leaders Feng Jixin, Wang Shitai and Yang Zhilin. [Summary] [HK110319 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 10 Oct 82]

HENAN DEVELOPS EDUCATION--Apart from building many new institutions of higher education, Henan Province has restored and established workers' universities, spare time universities, evening universities and broadcasting and television universities. The number of students has greatly increased. From 1976 to 1981, the province built some 10 new institutes of higher education. The number of students of ordinary universities and colleges is some 49,300 and is 145 percent more than in the period before the cultural revolution. The number of students of middle vocational schools and technical schools is some 55,100 and is approximately 100 percent more than in the period before the cultural revolution. The number of students of workers' sparetime schools is some 47,800 and is equal to 300 percent of the total sum before the cultural revolution. Five counties, including Wen and Meng counties, in the province have popularized primary education. [HK270705 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 19 Oct 82 HK]

HUBEI HIGHER EDUCATION DEVELOPS--Over the past few years, higher education in Hubei Province has extensively developed. The province had 24 schools of higher education before 1966 but now has 50 schools of higher education. The number of teachers, staff members and workers in these schools is 250 percent more than in 1965. The number of students enrolled by the schools of higher education in the province is some 100,180 students and approximates the total

number of students enrolled in the 17 years before the cultural revolution. The number of postgraduates enrolled is 2,777 and 1,000 percent more than the total number of postgraduates trained in the 17 years before the cultural revolution. The broadcasting and television universities throughout the province now have 25,000 students. The province now has 39 universities and sparetime universities for staff and workers with some 4,200 students. From 1977 to the end of 1981, ordinary schools of higher education built new premises on some 2.847 million square meters. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Sep 82 HK]

PEOPLE'S POLICE SCHOOL IN CHANGCHUN--The Changchun Municipal People's Police School run by the Changchun Municipal Public Security Bureau and the Municipal Education Bureau held an opening ceremony on 7 September. The Changchun Municipal People's Police School is the first professional school in Changchun specially for training people's policemen. The schooling period is 2 years. The first year's 200 students are enrolled through selection from those who passed the entrance examination of secondary vocational schools. [Text] [SK080548 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 7 Oct 82]

CSO: 4005/91 END

JPRS 82226

12 November 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 360

JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE
25
ANNIVERSARY

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82226

12 November 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 360

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Middle East Situation Reviewed
(Lu Xi; XIANDAI GOUJI GUANXI, Apr 82)..... 1

Military Expenditures of NATO Countries Analyzed
(Gu Li; SHIJIE ZHISHI, 1 Aug 82) 12

'BEIJING REVIEW' on USSR 'Quagmire' in Afghanistan
(Liu Zong; BEIJING REVIEW, 27 Sep 82) 14

China Seeks Strengthened United Nations
(CHINA DAILY, 28 Sep 82) 17

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Western Europe's Middle East Role
(Lin Jun, Yao Li; RENMIN RIBAO, 29 Sep 82) 19

London Institute Issues Annual Strategic Report
(XINHUA, 30 Sep 82) 21

Guo Feng Meets With DPRK Provincial Delegation
(LIAONING Provincial Service, 5 Oct 82) 23

USSR Seeks Western Technology for Military Use
(XINHUA, 7 Oct 82) 24

Beijing Radio to Korea Comments on UNGA Session
(Beijing Radio, 8 Oct 82) 26

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Yugoslav Economic Problems
(Huang Bingjun; RENMIN RIBAO, 8 Oct 82) 28

'RENMIN RIBAO' on French Ties With Vietnam
(RENMIN RIBAO, 9 Oct 82) 31

Group of 77 Calls for Global Economic Talks
(XINHUA, 12 Oct 82) 32

Polish Spokesman Raps U.S. Economic Sanctions
(XINHUA, 13 Oct 82) 33

Carstens Attends Fete Marking PRC-FRG Normalization
(XINHUA, 13 Oct 82) 34

British 'Gunboat Policy' Mocked in London Play
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 14 Oct 82) 35

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Italy's Diplomatic Policies
(Zheng Yuanyuan; RENMIN RIBAO, 14 Oct 82) 37

Asian-Pacific Commonwealth Countries Begin Meeting
(XINHUA, 15 Oct 82) 39

El Salvador Troops Meet Tough Guerrilla Resistance
(XINHUA, 15 Oct 82) 40

UNHCR Meeting Ends, PRC Delegate's Remarks Cited
(XINHUA, 20 Oct 82) 41

Tokyo Rally Urges All-Round Disarmament
(XINHUA, 21 Oct 82) 42

U.S.-Japan Trade Talks End Without Agreement
(XINHUA, 24 Oct 82) 43

Mass Rally in Osaka Opposes U.S. Nuclear Buildup
(XINHUA, 24 Oct 82) 45

PRC, Other UN Delegates Support Kampuchea's Seat
(XINHUA, 26 Oct 82) 46

Briefs
Polish Shipyard Militarized 48
South African Aid Rejection Urged 48
Student Demonstration Cited 48
Delegation Feted in Shanghai 49
Shandong Receives Visiting Group 49
Korean Delegation in Jilin 49
Jilin Tito Picture Exhibition 49
U.S. Clinic Plane in Guangzhou 49

PARTY AND STATE

Analysis of New Phase of People's Congress System
(Wang Dexiang; HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 4 Aug 82) 50

Innovative Promotion of Marxist Philosophy Urged
(Chen Jun; JIEFANG RIBAO, 19 Aug 82) 54

Fujian CYL Elects Representatives to 11th CYL Congress
(FUJIAN RIBAO, 27 Aug 82) 57

Call Issued for Faith in Communism, Party
(Zhong Hua; FUJIAN RIBAO, 27 Aug 82) 59

Call for Greater Attention to Political, Legal Work
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 27 Aug 82) 61

Conviction of Shanghai Jiang Qing Clique Criminals Discussed
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 29 Aug 82) 63

Shandong Party, Army Officials Study 12th Congress' Work
(DAZHONG RIBAO, 3 Sep 82) 66

Party Meeting
Armed Forces Meeting, by Ji Xia, et al.

Anhui Congress Standing Committee Session Opens
(ANHUI Provincial Service, 26 Sep 82) 70

Jiangxi Removes Bai Dongkai From Governor's Post
(JIANGXI Provincial Service, 26 Sep 82) 72

Jiangxi's Bai Dongcai on Studying CPC Documents
(JIANGXI Provincial Service, 29 Sep 82) 73

Nanchang People's Congress, CPPCC Meetings Held
(JIANGXI Provincial Service, 29 Sep 82) 76

Nei Monggol Military District Studies Congress Guidelines
(NEI MONGGOL Regional Service, 2 Oct 82) 77

12th CPC Congress Documents Being Studied
(RENMIN RIBAO, 3 Oct 82) 79

Beijing Troops Attend Classes To Study Spirit of 12th CPC Congress
(RENMIN RIBAO, 3 Oct 82) 82

Jiangxi's Bai Congcai on Spiritual Civilization
(JIANGXI Provincial Service, 6 Oct 82) 83

Bai Dongcai at 6th Jiangxi Provincial Games
(JIANGXI Provincial Service, 7 Oct 82)..... 85

Anhui CPC Congress Documents' Study Class Begins
(ANHUI Provincial Service, 11 Oct 82) 87

Anhui Provincial CYL Congress Closes 12 Oct
(ANHUI Provincial Service, 12 Oct 82) 88

Anshan Iron, Steel Party Groups Reformed
(Beijing Domestic Service, 13 Oct 82) 89

Anhui CPC Committee on Spiritual Development
(ANHUI Provincial Service, 13 Oct 82) 91

'NANFANG RIBAO' on Removing 'Leftist' Influence
(Guo Rongchang; NANFANG RIBAO, 14 Oct 82) 92

'NANFANG RIBAO' Calls for Purge of 'Three Categories'
(NANFANG RIBAO, 16 Oct 82) 98

Jiangxi's Defense Industry Promotes Production
(JIANGXI Provincial Service, 18 Oct 82) 100

Liaoning Comments on Small-Scale Egalitarianism
(LIAONING Provincial Service, 19 Oct 82) 101

'NANFANG RIBAO' Explains Spiritual Civilization
(NANFANG RIBAO, 21 Oct 82) 103

'NANFANG RIBAO' on Ideology, Current Policies
(NANFANG RIBAO, 26 Oct 82)..... 107

Briefs
Anhui CYL Congress 111
National Day Reception Held 111
Xizang Spiritual Civilization Rally 111
Henan Prefecture Cadre Punished 112
Henan Railroad Policemen Injured 112
Henan Preferential Treatment Conference 113

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Jiangsu To Recruit for People's Liberation
(XINHUA RIBAO, 19 Oct 82) 114

Hebei Radio on Education Funds Misappropriation
(HEBEI Provincial Service, 25 Sep 82) 116

Jiangsu PLA Holds River Crossing Exercise
(JIANGSU Provincial Service, 26 Sep 82) 117

Mao Zhiyong Attends Hunan Military Review
(HUNAN Provincial Service, 26 Sep 82) 118

Nanjing PLA Units Meeting on Congress Documents
(JAINGSU Provincial Service, 27 Sep 82) 119

Yang Chengwu, Old PLA Cadres Study CPC Documents
(FUJIAN Provincial Service, 30 Sep 82) 120

Qie Jinwu, Yin Fatang Attend PLA District Meeting
(XIZANG Regional Service, 1 Oct 82) 122

Greater Use of Air Defense Projects Urged
(JILIN Provincial Service, 3 Oct 82) 123

PLA Unit Sends Personnel to Military Institutes
(XIZANG Regional Service, 4 Oct 82) 125

Nanjing PLA Fetes KPA Political Work Delegation
(JIANGSU Provincial Service, 7 Oct 82) 126

PLA Units Train Guideline Propaganda Personnel
(SHANDONG Provincial Service, 8 Oct 82) 127

Urumqi PLA Holds Civilization Drive Rally
(XINJIANG Regional Service, 8 Oct 82) 128

Kunming PLA Commanders Study 12th Congress Documents
(Zhou Fen, Wang Zhiyun; RENMIN RIBAO, 9 Oct 82) 129

Nanjing PLA Units Conduct Inspection, Cleanup
(JIANGSU Provincial Service, 9 Oct 82) 131

PLA Regional Commander at Tianjin Dam Site
(Tianjin City Service, 10 Oct 82) 132

Liu Zhanrong Speaks at Militia Meeting
(HUNAN Provincial Service, 11 Oct 82) 133

Beijing PLA Cadres Discuss Improving Party Style
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 11 Oct 82) 134

Hunan Militia Progressives' Meeting Closes
(HUNAN Provincial Service, 12 Oct 82) 136

Kunming PLA Meeting on Spiritual Civilization
(ZUIZHOU Provincial Service, 12 Oct 82) 137

Ningxia PLA To Build Spiritual Civilization
(NINGXIA RIBAO, 13 Oct 82) 138

Urumqi PLA Units Study Party Congress Documents
(XINJIANG Regional Service, 13 Oct 82) 140

Chengdu PLA Units Study 12th CPC Congress
(Zhang Weixin, et al; RENMIN RIBAO, 15 Oct 82) 141

CPC Military Commission Honors 'Model Teacher'
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 15 Oct 82) 143

Guizhou Meeting on Placing Demobilized Soldiers
(GUIZHOU Provincial Service, 16 Oct 82) 145

Air Force Organizes Study of Congress Documents
(Liu Congli; XINHUA Domestic Service, 18 Oct 82) 147

Yunnan PLA Spiritual Civilization Achievements
(YUNNAN Provincial Service, 18 Oct 82) 149

Sichuan Reports Improved Results in Militia Work
(SICHUAN Provincial Service, 20 Oct 82) 151

Armymen, Students Urged To Learn From Zhang Hua
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 21 Oct 82) 152

Public Security Department Director Speech
(Fu Jianwu; HEILONGJIANG Provincial Service, 21 Oct 82) 153

Guangzhou PLA Leaders Act To Curb Unhealthy Trends
(GUANGDONG Provincial Service, 22 Oct 82) 155

Xizang Airforce Unit Holds Anniversary Gathering
(XIZANG Regional Service, 23 Oct 82) 157

Rao Shoukun at Urban Sanitation Campaign
(SHANDONG Provincial Service, 24 Oct 82) 158

PLA Units Discuss Unity With Government, People
(XINJIANG Regional Service, 26 Oct 82) 159

Sichuan PLA Leader Helps in Study of 12th Congress
(SICHUAN Provincial Service, 27 Oct 82) 161

Briefs
Building Spiritual Civilization Rally 162
Gansu Servicemen Clean Places 162
Gansu Tourism Develops 162
Leaders Join Clean-Up Drive 162
Veterans Pass Through Xian 163
Shaanxi PLA Labor Service 163

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Lack of Realism in Literature, Art Criticized
(Peng Dingan; LIAONING RIBAO, 22 Aug 82) 164

Hu Qiaomu Discusses Politics, Art
(LIAONING RIBAO, 22 Aug 82) 167

Yinchuan Seminar on Education in Minority Areas
(XINHUA, 30 Sep 82) 169

PRC Delegate on Efforts To Wipe Out Illiteracy
(XINHUA, 4 Oct 82) 170

China-U.S. Art Education Conference Hears Reports
(XINHUA, 18 Oct 82) 172

Outline of Census Work, Results in Xizang
(XINHUA, 28 Oct 82) 174

Briefs
Middle-Aged Intellectuals 175
Legal Advisory System 175

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Disappearance in PRC of Journalist Lo Fu Discussed
(Shih Hua; CH'I-SHI NIEN-TAI, Sep 82) 176

Thatcher Brings 'Good Tidings' to Hong Kong
(HSIN WAN PAO, 28 Sep 82) 183

Thatcher Greeted With Jeers, Cheers
(Christine Cheung; HONG KONG STANDARD, 28 Sep 82) 185

Investors Show 'Dislike' of Thatcher Diplomacy
(SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST, 28 Sep 82) 187

Sovereignty Question Test of British Genius
(Editorial; SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST, 28 Sep 82) 188

Hong Kong Paper on British Stand in Talks
(Editorial; HONG KONG STANDARD, 29 Sep 82) 190

Hong Kong College Students Support Sovereignty Claim
(HSIN WAN PO, 27 Sep 82) 193

Businessmen Cause Stock Market Fall
(Editorial; HONG KONG STANDARD, 28 Sep 82) 194

Speculators Have No Future
(Editorial; SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST, 29 Sep 82) 196

Hong Kong Paper on Banning 'Unrequited Love'
(Huang Yuan-tzu; HSIANG KANG SHIH PAO, 5 Oct 82) 198

World Bank to Rapidly Increase Loans to PRC
(AFP, 6 Oct 82) 200

Briefs
Hong Kong's Future Reviewed 201
Thatcher To 'Keep in Touch' 201

TAIWAN

Taipei Radio Comments on Future of Hong Kong
(Taipei International Service, 30 Sep 82) 202

Taipei Commentary Hails PRC Pilot's Defection
(Yu Hung-wen; Taipei Domestic Service, 17 Oct 82) 204

President Urges National Spirit in Education
(CHINA POST, 28 Sep 82) 206

'ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE' Article on Reunification
(Ma Bi; ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE, 28 Sep 82) 207

Taiwan Compatriots in Beijing View Reunification
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 29 Sep 82) 210

President Entertains Religious Leaders
(CHINA POST, 1 Oct 82) 212

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Qing Development of Taiwan
(Lin Qingyuan; GUANGMING RIBAO, 13 Oct 82) 213

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MIDDLE EAST SITUATION REVIEWED

Beijing XIANDAI GOUJI GUANXI [CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS] in Chinese No 2, Apr 82 pp 12-17, 11

[Article by Lu Xi [7120 3556]: "The Middle East Situation: A Look Back and a Look Ahead"]

[Text] Last year's number 1 "hot spot", the Middle East, continues in a state of sharp turmoil. Accompanying the intensification of the struggle between the two hegemonists, the USSR and the USA, has been development of opposition to the struggle by the two hegemonists by the people of all countries of the Middle East, and a struggle of the Arab people against Israel. In addition, a steady break up of associations between one country and another has taken place to bring about an intricate situation. What the trend of development of the situation will be this year is a question that concerns everybody, and this article plans to make a concise look backward and ahead from the following four aspects.

The Rivalry Between the USSR and the United States Has Always Been the Root Cause of Turmoil in the Middle East. After Reagan Took Office and Emphasized a Hard Line Against the USSR, the Struggle Between the Two Hegemonists Intensified. The Striking Characteristic of the Attacks and Defenses of Both Sides Has Been Active Strengthening of Military Deployments By Each and Development of Military Confrontation.

Proceeding from the need to contend for hegemony with the USSR, and on the basis of a fundamental estimate of the Middle East situation, as well as on the basis of increased deployments of military forces against the USSR during the later stages of the Carter administration, the Reagan administration in the United States clearly advocated a conception of "strategic unanimity" in building resistance to the USSR in the Near East. Its fundamental outlines were as follows: To establish a military "trip wire" to contain further Soviet expansion by organizing a regional defense alliance of local countries and establishing an anti-Soviet strategic cooperation organization from Turkey in the north to Somalia in the south, and from Egypt in the west to Pakistan in the east. In specific methods, it gave more serious attention than did the Carter administration to strengthening of America's military presence, intensified heavy reliance on Israel, and vigorously developed warm relations with the Arab states. In order to put this strategy into practice, it did two main things:

First was strengthening of America's own military forces and military deployments in the Middle East.

In its strategic thinking, the Reagan administration placed greater emphasis on the importance of the Middle East, raising it to the height of world strategy in close association with Europe and prepared to "fight two wars" simultaneously in these two regions. For this purpose, it put forward a series of ideas and measures for strengthening military deployments in the Middle East, the principal of which may be summarized as follows: (1) Considered changes in the organization of the command system in order to coordinate direction to branches of service in each of the armed forces, with preparations for the establishment of an independent headquarters in the Persian Gulf. (2) increased budget allocations to accelerate the formation of a 200,000 man rapid deployment force; (3) expansion of the naval base located on Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, and gaining access to bases in Egypt, Somalia, Kenya, and Oman in the gradual formation of a complete "bases support chain," to supply forces on station and to pre-store materials against the time of need; (4) expansion of naval planning and organization of the Indian Ocean fleet, and putting forward of ideas for building at sea of "intermediate readiness zones" for dispatch of troops to the Middle East.

Second was tremendous increase in assistance to countries in the frontline of resistance to the USSR to make them a part of America's "strategic cooperation system."

The three main pillars of Reagan's Middle East strategic system are Israel, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia. Last year, even though the Begin clique constantly threw America's strategic deployments into turmoil, nevertheless, Reagan continued to regard Israel as one of America's important strategic assets and signed a "Strategic Cooperation Memorandum" with it, which placed the American-Israeli alliance in an important position. Sadat's murder was a very great blow to the United States, and Reagan worked feverishly to stabilize Egypt. He accelerated arms shipments to Egypt and helped it fulfill ahead of schedule its 5-year plan for the modernization of its armed forces at a cost of $5 billion, and joined in the conduct of large scale military exercises. Important development also occurred in American-Saudi relations. Last October Reagan expended tremendous efforts to get the House of Representatives to approve the sale of $8.5 billion worth of arms to Saudi Arabia. This was the largest arms transaction in American history. The United States also urgently helped Saudi Arabia construct modern army, navy, and air bases at a cost of several tens of billion dollars.

Reagan's assistance to Sudan, Turkey, and Pakistan, countries in the front line of resistance to the USSR also increased tremendously over that of the Carter administration. Figures released by official American sources themselves revealed that a comparison of the 1982 fiscal year with the 1981 fiscal year showed military support to Sudan increased from $30 million to $100 million; military assistance to Turkey increased from $450 million to $703.5 million, and military assistance to Pakistan increased even more strikingly. It was planned to provide Pakistan a package of military and economic assistance amounting to $2.5 billion over a 5 year period.

The USSR has selected the Middle East as its current strategic breakthrough point and main direction of attack to dominate the entire globe. During the past year, the USSR has made new advances in its strategic deployments to seek control of Middle East petroleum and petroleum transportation routes:

First, it tightened its encirclement of the Persian Gulf region that is rich in oil production.

Last August, South Yemen, which borders the Red Sea, Ethiopia, and Libya, which is located on the Mediterranean Sea, signed a "Treaty of Cooperation and Friendship," which is a military alliance in character. Signatory powers to the Aden Treaty announced that they concluded the treaty to counter American imperialism. Last year an article published in the 20th issue of the British Foreign Affairs Study Society journal by the society's deputy director, Ian Geleige [phonetic and possibly Greg] maintained that this treaty also served the USSR's military and strategic interests. The article revealed that the Aden Treaty's secret articles included a major part dealing with the establishment under Soviet supervision of a joint military command. Editorials in some Western publications pointed out that this means that, when needed, the troops of the three countries will be placed under direct military command of the USSR. This is yet another major strategic step taken following the USSR's 1979 invasion of Afghanistan to close in on the Persian Gulf. In terms of overall strategy, this permits the USSR virtually to complete its pincers from east to west and from north to south on key points in the Persian Gulf region and the entrance to the Red Sea.

Second, troop dispositions of the Soviet Union itself have been strengthened.

The military personnel sent into the Middle East by the USSR (including those from Eastern Europe and Cuba) actually have become the USSR's "rapid deployment force." It has been estimated that Soviet bloc military personnel in countries concerned in the Middle East number nearly 30,000 to 40,000. In recent years Libya has made large scale purchases of weapons from the USSR, and has become, in fact, a major military arsenal in the Middle East.

Along its southern borders with Turkey and Iran, the USSR has redeployed several tens of thousands of rather powerful combat troops capable of launching an assault on eastern Turkey at any time to consolidate a "Mediterranean bridge to the Middle East." They could launch a "incer attack" on northern and eastern Iran to the South. In addition, by way of securing its position in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union increased its troop strength from 80,000 to 150,000 men. The USSR is very close to the Persian Gulf, and its military posture is far more advantageous than that of the United States.

Third, the USSR has used American weaknesses to launch peaceful diplomatic attacks against moderate Arab countries.

The USSR is in the habit of unfurling the banner of support to the Arabs against Israel, and last year alone catered to Arab national aspirations several times, tossing out suggestions for enlargement of international bodies and neutralization of the Gulf to solve Middle Eastern problems, which evoked a response from

some Arab countries. It also strengthened contacts with Arab leaders, constantly invited them to visit the USSR, and gave them material benefits such as upgrading of the Palestine Liberation Organization's delegation in the USSR, selling ground-to-air missiles valued at $200 million to Jordan for the first time at a low price, and excusing North Yemen from payment of more than $200 million owed the USSR for arms. Toward countries resolutely opposed to the USSR such as Saudi Arabia, it also emphasized winning over tactics. Last August after Saudi Arabia had proposed an eight point peaceful program for solving Mid East problems, the USSR first condemned it only to commend it, and hoped to use support for the Saudi program in exchange for resumption of relations with Saudi Arabia as a means of inserting itself into the Middle East peace process. It maintained a conciliatory posture toward the new Egyptian regime that followed Sadat's death, and Egyptian-Soviet relations now show signs of amelioration and thaw.

Fourth, it is worth noting that the USSR tenaciously covets Iran, and is working along two lines in Iran at the present time. On the one hand it has intensified penetration through the strengthening of economic, trade, and security cooperation, while at the same time supporting pro-Soviet forces to get into government departments to grab important positions and await the opportune time. On the other hand, it uses the 300,000 main force troops on the border to adopt a "posture of a hungry tiger watching and waiting before pouncing on its meal."

The outlook this year is that though the possibility of a tacit understanding between the two hegemonists on Middle Eastern issues cannot be ruled out, a look at the overall trend shows that the rivalry will become more intense, and one aspect of confrontation will continue. However, the two hegemonists are also restrained by various other factors, and their ability to control the situation is on the wane. America is increasingly disadvantaged by its partiality toward Israel. Unless some major unexpected event occurs, the rivalry will not lead to a situation of direct "head-on collision" between the two parties.

2

The nub of the struggle between the Arabs and Israel is the Palestine question, and all parties are exploring new ways for solution. Israel stubbornly maintains an expansionist position, and no prospect of breaking the impasse within a short period of time is in view. The situation between the Arabs and Israel on the eastern front is tense and holds the potential for flaring up into another crisis.

A look at relations between Egypt and Israel shows continued progress during the past year. The current struggle is concentrated on whether or not Israel will leave the Sinai on time. Not only does this bear on whether the two countries will be able to maintain peace, but also affects future prospects for the peace process in the Middle East.

Three years ago Sadat took the initiative in talking peace with Israel to break the impasse between Egypt and Israel and give impetus to Middle East

peace talks. On the basis of the Camp David accords, the two countries held negotiations last year on Palestine autonomy, which stalemated once again without any progress being made. However, cooperation has expanded between the two sides in matters of trade, tourism, and communications. Following Sadat's death, both countries expressed continued implementation of the Camp David accords, and Israel promised it would withdraw completely from the Sinai on time on 25 April, and at the appointed time an international peace keeping force would occupy the area concerned. On 19 January the two countries formally signed an accord on Israel's final withdrawal from the Sinai. Currently some particulars await solution. In an overall sense, as a result of both sides having already walked a very long distance on the road of the Camp David accords, the two countries common interests are great. Furthermore, in order to promote "strategy of unanimity" against the USSR in the Middle East, the United States cannot permit Israel to scrap the treaty. Consequently, it is unlikely that much backsliding will occur on this issue; however, the possibility cannot be ruled out that Israel will use the withdrawal of its forces as a tactic for coercing Egypt, and deliberately raise obstacles to delay its withdrawal from the Sinai.

In the peaceful solution of Arab-Israeli disputes, a new situation has also taken place during the past year, and both parties are seeking new ways for a comprehensive solution to the Palestine problem.

The Saudi King, Sa'ud Fahd proposed in August last year an "eight point program for peace," which aroused universal serious attention internationally. This was the first time since the Arab-Israeli war of 1948 that an Arab country had formally put forward a comprehensive and fairly realistic program for peace. It both adhered to the basic demands of the Arab countries and the Palestinian people, and also showed concern for realities, advocating solution to Arab-Israeli problems through peaceful negotiations. This may be regarded as a major action on the part of Saudi Arabia as representative of the moderate countries in effecting a fundamental solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict that has gone on for more than 30 years. Though the Saudi program could not be passed at the 12 Arab heads of state conference held last November because of internal splits among Arab countries, it has in fact obtained widespread support from an overwhelming majority of Arab countries. The situation shows a trend toward peaceful solution to Middle East problems to be the dominant position of the Arab world. Most recently, when faced with Israel's arrogance about swallowing up the Golan Heights, the individual Arab countries have composed their differences and improvement has occurred in the atmosphere that promotes understanding. Morocco, Kuwait, and Jordan have actively linked up to increase impetus for the early convening of another Arab heads of state conference. Syrian President Assad, who did not attend the conference last year, has indicated desire to attend. Arab country efforts to seek common ground while reserving differences, and to unite in the face of the enemy is a basic guarantee of victory for Arab endeavors. People are expecting that through the struggles of all parties a compromise can be reached on the basis of the Saudi program for the formulation of "a joint Arab strategy." It appears that once Egypt has completely recovered its lost Sinai territory in April, that its policy toward the world may undergo tremendous readjustment, and that it will take more account of Arab sentiments and support the basic rights of the

Palestinians. Egyptian leaders have many times expressed the need to improve and restore relations with other Arab countries. The Egyptian foreign minister also said recently that the current Palestine autonomy negotiations are a prelude to the Palestinian people practicing self-determination and establishing a country. Foreign newspapers believe that this standpoint goes beyond the scope of the Camp David accords, and provides room for maneuver for Egypt and other Arab countries in adopting a common standpoint.

The Saudi program evinced fierce reaction in Western Europe. Economically, and particularly in the realm of oil, the United Kingdom and France rely greatly on the Middle East. They believe that only through a priority solution to the Arab-Israeli issue will it be possible to withstand effectively Soviet expansion into the Middle East, and to guarantee the security of Europe's southern flank and the supply of oil. Consequently they have all along prodded the United States for an early and comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli issue. In June and in December 1980, the nine European Common Market countries approved the "Declaration of Venice," and the Luxembourg Document, which advocated mutual recognition between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel, and recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self determination. It proposed positive ideas of allowing the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate actively in Middle East peace talks. After the Saudi program was put forward, many European countries expressed approval and support, and both the heads and foreign ministers of the United Kingdom and France made visits to the Middle East to seek a common ground between the Saudi program and the Western European position, and to explore means for a comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli issue.

The United States intends to maintain the impetus for peace talks under its own direction, and at present most important is to guarantee that those portions of the Camp David accords pertaining to Egypt are smoothly carried out. However, in order to sweep away obstacles to a "strategy of unanimity" in resistance to the USSR, it has no choice but to view with increased attention the ideas of Arab moderates. Consequently it also maintains a rather flexible attitude toward the Saudi program, and has announced it "can accept" some of the content of the Saudi program, and that still other contents may be made a "basis for negotiation." American publications have disclosed that the United States may pursue a future plan of "changing horses in mid-stream," by which is meant expansion of the scope of peace talks on the foundation of the Camp David accords, with the recruitment of other concerned countries for participation to find a new compromise proposal between the Camp David accords and the Saudi program.

However, it must be realized that despite the difficulties that the Begin government faces in its internal and external relations, it continues stubborn and arrogant. On the eastern front it continues to fan the flames of disorder to create a tense situation.

In last year's June election in Israel, the Begin bloc won by a narrow margin of one vote over the opposition Labor Party, and had to rely on a coalition of several extreme right religious factions to form a government. Its position is extraordinarily weak. Begin's stubborn promotion of a "Greater Israel"

plan not only arouses the hatred and enmity of every Arab country and an unprecedented isolation internationally for Israel, but also has made its relations with the United States tense. Internally it is also not getting along well either, and twice the Knesset has proposed a bill of no confidence in Begin. In order to get out of its troubles and shift the internal line of vision, during the past year the Begin bloc has steadily caused provocations on the eastern front. In April it stirred up a "missile crisis" in Lebanon. In June, it attacked Iraq's nuclear reactor. In July it launched aggression against southern Lebanon and attacked Palestine guerrilla bases. In December, it brazenly announced the swallowing up of the Golan Heights. Today Israel continues to muster forces on the Golan Heights and along the borders of southern Lebanon. Such an arrogant attitude will steadily breed new crises in the Middle East.

3

A United Struggle Against Hegemony by the Entire Arab World Has Continued To Advance Along a Tortuous Road During the Past Year. Internally the Arab States are Splintered and the Situation is Extremely Complex. The Influence and Role of Moderate Countries, With Saudi Arabia as Their Representative, In Advocating Independence and Sovereignty, in Opposing Both Hegemonists, and in Emphasizing Opposition to Soviet Hegemony Has Further Increased.

Faced with the tide of Arab country unity in a struggle to resist hegemony, the United States was first to bear the brunt. After Reagan took office, even though the "strategy of unanimity" against the USSR that he promoted accorded to a certain degree with the desires of Arab states faced with the Soviet threat, still excessive American partiality toward Israel could not avoid sharp confrontation with Arab nationalism. It aroused fierce dissatisfaction and opposition from the Arab states, and today the United States remains the number one target of the Arab states in their struggle against imperialism, against colonialism, against hegemony, and against the Jews. Even those countries that have had traditionally close relations with the United States and the West emphasize independence and autonomy; they do not want to rely too closely on the United States. Saudi Arabia, as well as Egypt, Sudan, and Somalia, which have already agreed to provide the United States with military facilities, oppose providing the United States with military bases, and they will not permit the United States to station forces directly on their territories.

In another vein, along with the intensification of the Soviet offensive southward and the daily increasing evidence of its socialist imperialistic goals the struggle of the Arab states against Soviet hegemony has also developed further. Some countries that have had an attitude of resolve against the USSR such as Egypt, Sudan, Somalia, and Oman, have further strengthened their mutual support during the past year for common resistance to Soviet hegemony. Last November, these four countries separately held joint military exercises with the United States. After long consideration the heads of the six Persian Gulf countries of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Oman, Bahrein, Qattar, and the United Arab Emirates finally announced last May the establishment of a "Gulf Cooperation

Committee," which called for the elimination of superpower interference, and responsibility for Persian Gulf matters to be borne by the gulf states themselves. Member states strengthened their security cooperation, their main spearhead being aimed at the USSR. Despite their desire to rely on the USSR to oppose the United States and Israel, some of the "solid front" countries remained vigilant against the USSR, and their attitude toward the USSR was also entirely not unanimous.

The three way splintering within the Arab world is developing further in a direction that is favorable to the moderate states.

The role on the Middle Eastern political stage of the moderate countries represented by Saudi Arabia is becoming increasingly conspicuous. Saudi Arabia together with other petroleum producing countries of the Persian Gulf possess incalculable financial and political strength. Statistics show that as a powerful international economic bloc, annual income of the Persian Gulf countries is more than $200 billion. By relying on this vast economic power, Saudi Arabia has successfully expanded its own influence and improved its position in the Arab world. Establishment of the "Gulf Cooperation Commission" signifies that the six gulf states have entered a stage of major development of all around cooperation in the political, military, and economic fields. During the Lebanon conflict, Saudi Arabia again used its own influence to mediate the "missile crisis" between Syria and Israel, and the exchange of fire between the Palestine guerrillas and Israel. The formal Saudi eight point program for peace talks mentioned earlier is supported by an overwhelming majority of Arab countries, Saudi Arabia thereby gradually taking into its own hands the lead in Middle East peace talks. All this shows that the role of Saudi Arabia and other countries will further increase.

Following Sadat's death, Egypt's relations with the Arab states, and particularly with the moderate Arab states, moderated greatly. This is a development of extreme significance in the relations of all Arab states. President Mubarak has repeatedly expressed a desire to improve relations with Arab countries, and he has issued an order to Egyptian propaganda organizations to halt all attacks on Arab countries. This has gained a positive reaction from Saudi Arabia. The Saudi king, Sa'ud Fahd, and his ministers have expressed "support" and "confidence" in Egypt's leaders. Mubarak has announced that when "the time is ripe," he will go to Saudi Arabia and other countries to resolve mutual differences. Recently he has also expressed Egypt's readiness at any time to resume diplomatic relations with Arab countries.

"Solid front" countries are split with other countries on the important issue of how to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict. However, after Israel brazenly announced the swallowing up of the Golan Heights, in order to curb Israeli expansionism, Syria particularly felt the need for support from other countries. Only by bridging differences is it possible to curb an enemy together. At the end of last year, President Assad took the initiative in visiting the gulf states and other countries. Reportedly Assad agreed to personally attend a reconvened conference of Arab heads of state, and to discuss a joint Arab strategy including the Saudi's eight point peace plan. The gulf states then

guaranteed to provide Syria with greater political and financial assistance. In addition, Libya also announced resumption of the diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia that had been broken for more than a year as a result of Libya's condemnation of Saudi Arabia for asking the United States to dispatch advance warning aircraft [AWACS]. The Saudi foreign minister said that this is the first step of the Arab countries toward reconciliation. However, it should be realized that for historical and practical reasons, there still exists for each country divergences that cannot be readily resolved for the moment. In addition there is the interference and sabotage of superpowers, which hurts the unity of each country.

In addition, turmoil in the political situation of some countries goes on. During the past year the power of Islamic fundamentalism has become rather active. According to a reporter from the British "Observer," in the Middle East region, some largely extremist religious organizations of a fundamentalist complexion, including organizations in some countries in Africa and Asia, have joined together for combined power. Reportedly they are preparing to establish an international organization like that of the Socialist Party International, and this doubtlessly poses a major threat to regimes in each of the Arab countries. In Syria the anti-government activities of the Moslem Brotherhood have yet to be put down, and in the capital of Damascus incidents involving dynamitings and assassinations constantly occur. Last October, Egyptian president Sadat was assassinated by a religious fanatic. In mid-December an unsuccessful coup d'etat by the Moslem Shiite faction took place in Bahrein. In many countries, many internal social conflicts, religious attacks, and intrusions of foreign power are intertwined, increasing the factors for instability in the political situation.

4

The War Between Iran and Iraq Has Been Long and Drawn Out, and In "Waging War Both Sides Are Facing a Serious Crisis. Recently Some Countries Have Again Undertaken Mediation. Development of the Situation Awaits Further Observation.

The war that broke out between Iraq and Iran in September 1980 has gone on for 16 months up to the present time, and has gone through three major stages. During the early period of the war, Iraq sought a quick war and a quick solution through large pushes into Iranian territory and attacks on strategic areas. It occupied about 200,000 square kilometers of Iranian soil including eight cities such as Qasr-e-Shirin, Dezful and Khoramshahr. Massive forces also surrounded the petroleum center of Abadan and the strategic communications hub at Susangerd. Subsequently the war entered the stalemate stage. In the spring of 1981, Iran launched a total of six partial counterattacks, and in two large scale counterattacks last fall, in particular, Iran seriously mauled the Iraqi forces, recovered some lost territory, and relieved the siege around Abadan. The battlefield situation began to take a turn in favor of Iran. Iraq's eight divisions in the frontlines were spread over a 1,000 kilometer long battleline in Iranian territory and were comparatively passive. Still, for Iranian arms to dislodge Iraqi forces was no easy matter. Presumably neither side is prepared to defeat the other side's absolutely superior military

strength, and the war may go on for a while. This protracted warfare caused an extremely great drain on both sides, and has had severely disastrous consequences both economically and politically.

Iran's originally very straitened economy deteriorated increasingly. Its major oil facilities were blown up, and its oil production and exports decreased by two-thirds from what they had been before the war. Foreign exchange reserves were depleted, only $3 billion in gold remaining. Within the country, goods are scarce, prices have shot up, and the peoples' lives are hard. Internally all kinds of conflicts steadily intensify. Armed opposition faction activities, of which the "people's holy warriors" is the main one, proliferate. President Raja', Premier Bahonar, and Islamic Republic Party Secretary General Behesti, all trusted followers of Khomeyni, have been blown up. Within the Iranian religious leadership bloc too, differences in views have cropped up.

Iraq's economy has likewise suffered severe damage. Petroleum production and exports were halted for a time, and now daily petroleum output has declined from the pre-war 3.5 million barrels to 1 million barrels. As a result of the decline in exports, losses of more than $30 billion have occurred. The British "Economist" estimates that the war has cost Iraq between $750 million and $1 billion monthly. Payment of military expenses and carrying out of economic construction has consumed three-fourths of foreign exchange reserves. As of September 1981, foreign exchange reserves had dropped from the pre-war $35 billion to $9 billion, and it has borrowed $16 billion from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

Reports from foreign periodicals say that because of the stalemated war in which Iraq can neither advance nor retreat, officers and men inside the country have come to hate the war, and the people long for peace. At the leadership level too, there is some discord. In addition, the Shiite faction, which accounts for 60 percent of the population, has been hurt by the religious fanaticism, and quite a few people have joined the Islamic fundamentalist "Bugle Call Party," or the "Islam Society," to conduct sabotage and anti-war propaganda. With the support of neighboring countries, the Kurds have also staged a comeback. They carry out guerrilla activities and have joined with other anti-government forces to establish, in the northern part of the country, an armed organization known as the "Iraq-Iran National Force," which poses a threat to the resurgent Socialist Party regime.

Today this war, which is a tremendous disaster for both sides, still goes on. Since the positions of both sides are far apart, as yet no basis for negotiations has been found.

After taking all things into consideration, Iraq feels that for the war to drag on is not only bad for consolidation of the regime, but also bad for realization of its goal of expansion of influence in the Persian Gulf and the Third World. Particularly inasmuch as Sadam Hussein's government hopes to conclude the war before the seventh meeting of unaligned heads of state scheduled to meet in Baghdad in September, in order to create a good atmosphere in which the meeting can be smoothly opened in Iraq, he has liberalized conditions for a

cease fire indicating "being prepared to stop the war at any time." However, President Sadam Hussein has also announced that only when Iran is ready to recognize Iraq's borders can the war be ended; otherwise, Iraq will continue the war until its "just rights have been obtained." Recently Iraq's first deputy premier, Ramadan, further indicated that "unless the present regime in Iraq completely falls from power, this war cannot be brought to a close." Iran has always maintained a hard attitude, proposing the three conditions that Iraqi forces unconditionally withdraw, that the International Court affirm who is the aggressor, and that the aggressor pay indemnities for damages. It is unwilling to compromise.

The war between Iran and Iraq has brought many bad affects on the presently very unstable Middle East region. The lift between Iran and the Arabs and among the Arab states has been further deepened, and the petroleum supplies on which the Western economies depend have been impaired. International society is concerned about development of the war. Gulf states and many Arab countries worry lest the war spread and the situation becomes tumultous; they hope for an early cease fire. Western Europe also fears the effect on its oil supplies. The two hegemonists are in the process of intensifying their rivalry. The Soviet Union has hedged its bets, providing armaments through various channels to both sides and has tried to win over Iran economically.

After the war began some countries and international organizations tried several times to mediate, but without success. As was said in the foregoing, neither Iran nor Iraq is willing to cease fire under "humiliating" circumstances. Yet dragging on the war over a long period of time is ultimately a heavy burden. Most recently both Syria and Kuwait have particularly indicated willingness to mediate the war between Iran and Iraq jointly. On 26 January both Iran and Iraq achieved accord on the acceptance of visits to prisoners of war by family members. This is the first agreement that both parties have reached since the war began. In view of this action, whether or not a turn for the better will occur in the war in which there has been a refusal to budge for more than a year is a question about which everybody is concerned.

9432
CSO: 4005/1329

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MILITARY EXPENDITURES OF NATO COUNTRIES ANALYZED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI /WORLD KNOWLEDGE/ in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 82 p 4

/Article by Gu Li /0657 0500/: "Increase in Military Expenditures in NATO Countries"/

/Text/ In 1978, in view of the fact that Warsaw Pact countries had gained the upper hand in military deployments in Europe, all NATO countries met to discuss countermeasures. NATO countries estimated that they were incapable of action as far as their conventional military forces were concerned. They therefore decided to add to their nuclear weapons in order to strengthen their deterrent capability. Where did the money come from? After bargaining and haggling, they decided that beginning in 1979, each member nation would annually increase its military expenditures by 3 percent. At that time no one believed that they could go this far and then just sit back and relax, since most studies on Western military affairs pointed out that in order to reach a balance of military strength between East and West, it was necessary to pay a much higher price. However, in order just to ratify even this 3-percent increase in military expenditures, the ruling party in each NATO country still had to make a tremendous effort.

Did this 3-percent annual increase in military expenditures actually come about? By no means. During the past few years, due to complexities in the economic situation, inflation, shortages of money, and the continued expansion of the pacifist movement, a large number of countries were hesitant to increase military expenditures. Some even backed out. The British journal THE ECONOMIST made some calculations and drew up a list of actual increases in the defense expenditures of NATO member nations during the past 3 years. (See table below.)

From the table below it can be seen: 1) Only three nations fulfilled the target. 2) Luxembourg showed the greatest increase, but its base number is small and its actual role in NATO is limited. 3) England and France were originally fairly active, but their ability fell short of their ambitions, so that last year they had drastic cuts. 4) After Reagan came to power, the United States showed quite a sizable increase. 5) West Germany at first was held back by the pacifist influence within the country. Their efforts were hampered. Last year they made a great effort and are catching up.

Real Growth Rate of Military Expenditures in NATO Countries

Country	1979	1980	1981	1978-1981
Luxembourg	3.5	16.3	6.7	28.4
Canada	0.4	5.7	4.4	10.8
United States	2.4	3.1	4.3	10.1
NATO TARGET	3.0	3.0	3.0	9.3
West Germany*	1.7	2.9	3.4	8.2
England	2.9	3.5	0.5	7.0
France	3.5	3.4	0	7.0
Netherlands*	3.0	2.9	-0.4	5.6
Norway*	2.6	2.8	-0.3	5.2
Belgium	1.0	2.3	-2.2	1.0
Denmark	-0.2	0.7	0.2	0.7
Italy	2.6	-7.7	-6.8	-11.7
Turkey**	-	-	21.9	-
Greece	-	-	6.8	-
Portugal	-	-	1.6	-

*There are no other figures available for increased prices of armaments; therefore we can only calculate using an average price index that is lower than the increased price of armaments. Thus, the rate of actual increase in their military expenditures is somewhat lower than in the table.

**Due to soaring inflation in Turkey, there is no way to calculate the actual increase in the price of their armaments. The number given here is only an estimate.

9864
CSO: 4005/5

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'BEIJING REVIEW' ON USSR 'QUAGMIRE' IN AFGHANISTAN

HK041500 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW in English No 39, 27 Sep 82 pp 12-14

[Article by Liu Zong: "Soviet Aggressors Sink Deeper Into Afghanistan Quagmire"]

[Text] Soviet aggression in Afghanistan is being sucked into the same quagmire that sunk U.S. aggression in Vietnam in the 1960's.

Although the Soviet Union has 100,000 troops stationed in Afghanistan and built many more permanent military bases, it has failed to gain control of the situation. It is bedevilled by the growing resistance movement of the Afghanistan people and the disintegration of the puppet Karmal regime.

Guerrillas Grow in Fighting

Since spring, the important guerrilla base in Panjshir Valley, 80 kilometres north of the Afghan capital Kabul, repeatedly has been attacked by large numbers of Soviet and Karmal regime troops, backed by aircraft and tanks. However, every attempt to eliminate the base has failed, as the courageous guerrillas used the difficult terrain there to lure the enemy in and then wipe out the scattered units.

In one action in late May, the guerrillas shot down 20 Soviet aircraft, destroyed--dozens of enemy tanks and armoured vehicles and killed 800 enemy troops. With the widespread support of the people, the guerrillas are growing in strength as they fight, while their enemy is unable to achieve its objective.

The May action was typical of countless battles in Afghanistan. Soviet troops have been there for nearly three years but have been able only to maintain control of the large cities and towns and to set up some military bases. While the guerrillas are able to move freely throughout the country, the aggressors are open to attack whenever they leave their bases. On 3 September the freedom-fighters ambushed a Soviet convoy when it left Kabul for Paktia Province, destroying some Soviet tanks and killing about [number indistinct] Soviet soldiers.

The guerrillas also have launched frequent attacks on enemy positions. On 31 August and 1 September, the guerrillas shelled Jalalabad, capital of Nangrahar Province in eastern Afghanistan, and its airport. They destroyed two Soviet helicopters and killed about 80 Soviet and government troops.

Although the guerrillas are poorly equipped and lead a subsistence existence, their morale is high and they are confident of victory, for they know they are fighting for the independence of their country. On 2 May, seven groups of freedom-fighters decided to join forces to form the Afghanistan Islamic Alliance of Freedom-Fighters so as to strengthen their armed struggle against the Soviet occupation.

A statement issued by the alliance said: "We are convinced there is no other way to deal with the Russian invasion but through a holy war."

One guerrilla expressed the sentiments of his comrades-in-arms when he said: "We are not afraid of death. We are not afraid of death. We are ready to lay down our lives to drive out the aggressors and win independence and freedom for our country."

The low morale of the Soviet troops provides a sharp contrast. A Soviet captain captured by the freedom-fighters said he thought the war in Afghanistan was stupid and unjust. He said that the Soviet troops have done nothing good in Afghanistan and that a good number of Soviet soldiers just want to go home; many spend all their free time drinking or sleeping.

Falling Out Within Karmal Regime

As the true features of the aggressors became more exposed, many prominent Afghans, including military and government officials, have crossed over to the side of the people's resistance. Defections have become an everyday occurrence. The repudiations of the Karmal puppet regime have dealt telling blows to it from within.

In February, Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, an Afghanistan diplomat, used the pretext of seeking medical attention to flee to New Delhi. This diplomat of 30 years' standing had been successively the ambassador to India, to the United Nations and to Britain. He was the president of the 21st United Nations General Assembly in 1966. At a news conference after his escape, he said he was joining the Afghanistan resistance organization and would strive to bring about the alliance of all resistance groups to oppose the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

Large-scale defections have reduced government troop strength to about 30,000 from about 80,000. The Afghan press agency reported that 350 paramilitary troops of the Karmal regime in Laghman Province, northeastern Afghanistan, on 23 July crossed over with their weapons and ammunition.

In July the Karmal regime revised its military draft law to permit it to draft 60,000 more men, but so far it has only been able to get one-tenth of this number.

Recent reports say that the Karmal regime plans to put all males aged 16 to 55 into its so-called civil defence organization and use them for patrol and guard duties to make up for its shortage of regular forces. This measure can only increase the Afghanistan people's hatred of the puppet regime.

Furthermore, factional fighting within the Karmal regime is mounting. Six people were reported killed and many others wounded on 3 August when shooting broke out inside the Presidential Palace of the Afghanistan Revolutionary Committee. The incident arose when the regime relieved Gul Aqa from his post as director of the general political department of the government armed forces. Aqa, a member of the Parcham (Flag) faction, had conducted repeated purges of the Khalq (Masses) faction in the armed forces and this had caused friction between the two factions. To mollify the Khalq Faction, the regime sacked Aqa, touching off the shoot-out between his supporters and palace guards.

Permanent Military Bases

The Soviet troops in Afghanistan are in a most unenviable position. They have but one way out, and that is to get out. But, in pursuit of its strategy of thrusting southwards to contend for world hegemony, the Soviet Union has decided to do exactly the opposite. It is building numerous permanent military installations in Afghanistan with a view to occupying the country for a long time.

The British SUNDAY TELEGRAPH reported recently that the Soviet Union is building six new air fields in northeastern Afghanistan's Badakhshan Province, three of them in the mountainous area of the Wakhan corridor. At the same time, Moscow is expanding four air bases--one north of Kabul, another in the south in Shindand, and a third in western Afghanistan's Kandahar, as well as the Jalalabad base.

Moscow also has sent two SAM-8 missile regiments to Afghanistan and has equipped the Karmal troops with SAM-2, SAM-3 and SAM-6 rockets. As the freedom-fighters have no aeroplanes, the Soviet Union's large-scale building of military airfields and military bases and the deployment of sophisticated modern weapons is obviously not meant to deal with the guerrillas.

CSO: 4000/9

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHINA SEEKS STRENGTHENED UNITED NATIONS

HK280156 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 28 Sep 82 p 4

["Opinion" column, by CHINA DAILY commentator: "Strengthening the UN"]

[Text] The 37th regular session of the UN General Assembly began last week when gunfire was flaring in several spots in the world. It faces old issues remaining unsolved and new problems cropping up.

On the heavily loaded agenda of the current UN General Assembly, the Middle East is at the top. The recent massacre of civilians in West Beirut where Israel was in control has made it all the more pressing. At the request of the Non-aligned Co-ordination Committee, a special debate was opened soon after the General Assembly began its session. It passed a resolution condemning Israel for the criminal massacre, demanding its unconditional withdrawal from Lebanon, and urging the Security Council to establish a committee to probe into the Beirut events.

Again the United States was the only state that voted with Israel against the resolution.

Israel Condemned

The Chinese Government and people have lodged strong condemnation against Israel's heinous aggression and atrocities against the Palestinian and Lebanese people. Israel must carry out UN resolutions and immediately withdraw from Lebanon, as the first step before any solution of the Middle East issue. China firmly supports the Palestinian people in their struggle for return to their homeland to found their own state, and supports other Arab people in their struggle against Israeli expansion.

Vietnam, emboldened by a superpower, is still occupying Kampuchea. Supporting the coalition government of the Democratic Kampuchea headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, China, together with the world, demands the complete, unconditional withdrawal of Vietnamese aggressor troops from the country as the prerequisite for the solution of the issue.

Afghanistan Problem

The Afghan issue, in spite of the UN General Assembly's reso utions in three successive years, is another unso ved problem. The Soviet Union is utterly isolated in international community for its aggression against Afghanistan, and will remain exposed to strong condemnation as long as it continues its military occupation of the country.

South African troops must withdraw from Namibia, the last country in the African continent to become independent, in order to realize the goal set by UN resolutions as soon as possible.

We also back the efforts of the 77 non-aligned countries in promoting south-north negotiations, in order to rationalize the world economic order and further enhance the development of the developing countries and co-prosperity of all countries.

Disarmament Issue

China's stand is disarmament, especially on reducing nuclear weapons is clear-cut and consistent. An agreement should be reached, without attaching any conditions, not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states and nuclear-free zones, and not to be the first to use such weapons against Eaiztjvher.

China will, as ever before, work together with the third world countries and all peace-loving countries to strengthen the United Nations, so that the international organization will better fulfill its responsibility to defend peace and justice.

CSO: 4000/9

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON WESTERN EUROPE'S MIDDLE EAST ROLE

HK011327 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Sep 82 p 7

[News roundup by Lin Jun [2651 6511] and Yao Li [1202 4539]: "Western Europe Actively Participates in Middle East Affairs"]

[Text] The conference convened by foreign ministers of the European Economic Community (EEC) in Brussels issued a statement on 20 September on the Middle East problem. The statement strongly condemns the crime of the massacring of the Palestinian civilians by Israel and demands the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from the western part of Beirut. It also reaffirms the consistent stand of the EEC on the solution to the Middle East problem and stresses the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the Middle East peace negotiations. The statement shows that Western countries have paid great attention to the Middle East situation and made efforts to find a peaceful solution to the problem in this area.

After the invasion of Lebanon by Israel, the EEC governments and leaders vigorously denounced the Israeli aggression. They pointed out: "This has brazenly violated international law and runs counter to the most fundamental of human rights" and they called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. The EEC has also made the following provisional decisions: "Cease to sign financial agreements with Israel, cease to hold conferences at a ministerial level with Israel and cease to sell arms to Israel." Concurrently, some countries in Western Europe are intensifying their diplomatic activities in dealing with the Lebanese crisis. In early July, the French Government submitted to the Security Council a proposal for a peaceful solution, which was rejected by the United States. In the middle of July, the French and Egyptian Governments put forward another proposal to the Security Council, calling for a cease-fire and the withdrawal of troops and advocating that the solution to the Lebanese crisis must be linked with the complete settlement of the Middle East question. France and Italy actively dispatched their troops to join the multinational troops in order to guarantee the safe evacuation of the PLO armed forces from Beirut.

After the invasion by the Israeli troops of the western part of Beirut and the bloody massacre of the Palestinian civilians, various countries in Western Europe have lodged protests and strongly condemned Israel's brutality. The governments of Italy, France and the United States have reached an agreement

on redeploying multinational troops organized by these three countries to Beirut. Franch Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson stated that the reployment of multinational troops to Beirut is not only to maintain the security of this city but also to seek "complete withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon as the first step."

The EEC countries have, for a long time, been paying close attention to the development of the Middle East situation and intensifying their activities in dealing with the problems of this area. In recent years, they have always spoken "with the same voice" about the Middle East question, stressing that the self-determination of the Palestinian people is the key point in the Middle East problem and have urged the recognition of the legitimate position of the PLO. The EEC issued the "Venice Statement" in July 1980, putting forward two principles for resolving the Middle East problem which were: 1) Ensure the security and right to exist of the Middle East countries (including Israel). 2) Recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, stressing that peaceful Middle East negotiations must be linked with the PLO. These are so-called "unbiased" and "balanced policies." However, for a long time, the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, have been carrying out a keen contest in the Middle East so that the Middle East problem could not be completely and fairly settled.

Particularly after the conclusion of the Camp David Agreement, and in order to push forward the Camp David process, the United States repeatedly urged Western European countries not to "hamper" the Camp David process by creating opposition to the United States on the Palestinian problem. This made the Western European countries slow their involvement in the solution to the Middle East problem which could not be resolved for a long time because the United States has always shown partiality to Israel. This has aroused strong indignation and dissatisfaction among the people and governments of various Arab countries. They hoped that the EEC would be able to participate in the Middle East peace process as new force. Under these circumstances, in the past few years the EEC countries, especially France, have been tightening their diplomatic relations with the Middle East states, and the Western European countries are also intensifying their activities involving Middle East affairs.

The Lebanese crisis and the evacuation of the PLO from Beirut have speeded up the political solution of the Middle East questions. The "peaceful program" of the Reagan government recognizes the autonomy of the Palestinian people. The Arab States Summit Conference has also formulated a plan for the peaceful solution of the Middle East problem. This tendency to "deal politically with the question" and "the existence of possible negotiations" has certainly encouraged the European community." The statement of the EEC Foreign Ministers' Conference calls upon each party "to initiate reciprocal harmonious progress and finally realize a complete, peaceful solution by taking advantage of this opportunity." Now the problem is that Israel, shielded by the United States, declined various rational proposals for a peaceful solution and pursues armed expansion. Under this situation, only by strengthening their unity with the Arab countries and waging adequate struggle against the hegemonism of the Israeli aggressor and superpowers, will the European states be able to play an active role in the process for peaceful solution in the Middle East.

CSO: 4005/89

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

LONDON INSTITUTE ISSUES ANNUAL STRATEGIC REPORT

OW301121 Beijing XINHUA in English 0727 GMT 30 Sep 82

[Text] London, 30 Sep (XINHUA)--International security in the 1980's is more affected by the growing refinement and spread of conventional weapons of the two super-powers than by nuclear competition, says the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) in its annual report "The Military Balance 1982-1983" published here today.

It points out that a new trend of convergence has been detected, with both super-powers tending to buy increasingly similar forces for increasingly similar needs. It says that both are investing heavily in survivable strategic command, control, communications and intelligence systems; both are investing in strategic reconnaissance aircraft, realizing that satellite systems do not always provide timely information; and both are upgrading their force projection capabilities, especially naval forces, in similar ways.

It says both the United States and the Soviet Union are having difficulty in obtaining worldwide networks of bases.

"Few countries in the Third World are prepared to provide unqualified access to either superpower," the survey says. "Without such access, planning becomes uncertain and much of the investment in long range power projection of forces becomes dubious."

According to the survey, the numerical balance of troops and conventional weapons "over the last 20 years has slowly but steadily, moved in favour of the Soviet bloc," but "there would still appear to be insufficient overall strength on either side to guarantee victory."

In assessing the strategic forces around the world today, IISS does not endorse many of the current views of supposed U.S. inferiority to the Soviet Union. With warhead and equivalent megatonnage counts, it concludes that there is close to parity in land and sea-based missile warheads and a U.S. advantage when aircraft weapons are included. But Soviet megatonnage shows an advantage of over 2.65:1 in missiles and of roughly 1.6:1 when bomber-delivered weapons are included.

As to the balance of theatre nuclear forces, the report indicates that the numerical and qualitative balance continues to shift against the West, largely because of Soviet SS-20 deployments. It goes on to say that "even with the inclusion of Poseidon/Trident on the Western side and the continued exclusion of Soviet strategic systems, the balance is distinctly unfavourable to NATO and is becoming more so."

In this year's report, economic information relevant to defence is given in greater detail than ever before. It says that all countries are concerned about defence cost escalation.

CSO: 4000/9

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GUO FENG MEETS WITH DPRK PROVINCIAL DELEGATION

SK060450 Shenyang LIAONING Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 5 Oct 82

[Text] The eight-member North Pyongan Provincial KWP Committee delegation led by Comrade Choe Man-kuk, candidate member of the KWP Central Committee, executive committee member and secretary of the North Pyongan Provincial KWP Committee, arrived in Shenyang yesterday afternoon for a friendly visit. Yesterday at the Shenyang Railway Station Square hung a huge streamer reading "Long live the militant friendship and revolutionary unity cemented with blood between the two countries, the two parties and peoples of China and Korea." Colored flags were hung on the platform. At 1430, when the train carrying Choe Man-kuk and other Korean distinguished guests stopped at the platform, Li Huang, permanent secretary of the Liaoning Provincial CPC Committee, Zhang Xincun, secretary, Zhang Tiejun, standing committee member, Luo Dingfeng, standing committee member and secretary general, (Li Ziying), secretary of the Shenyang Municipal CPC Committee, and (Yu Bixiu) and other responsible persons of pertinent provincial and Shenyang Municipal departments walked forward and warmly embraced the distinguished guests. Eight girl young pioneers wearing red scarfs presented flowers to the distinguished guests. Accompanied by the provincial and Shenyang Municipal leaders, the distinguished guests and the girls walked hand-in-hand out of the station. Some 800 children in gala dresses beat waist drums and waved bouquets and colored ribbons to warmly welcome the distinguished Korean guests.

When the distinguished Korean guests entered our country in Dandong, they were welcomed by (Wang Jincheng), deputy secretary general of the provincial CPC committee, who had gone to Dandong especially for the occasion. (Li Shishan), secretary, (Wang He), deputy secretary of the Dandong Municipal CPC Committee, were also present at the station.

At 1930 Guo Feng, member of the advisory commission of the CPC Central Committee and first secretary of the Liaoning Provincial CPC Committee, met with the members of the delegation and extended heartfelt greetings to them. Also present at the meeting were Li Huang, Zhang Xincun, Zhang Tiejun, Luo Fingfeng and (Yu Bixiu). On the same evening Comrade Guo Feng hosted a banquet in honor of Choe Man-kuk and the other distinguished Korean guests.

CSO: 4005/105

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

USSR SEEKS WESTERN TECHNOLOGY FOR MILITARY USE

OW071323 Beijing XINHUA in English 1229 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] Paris, 9 Oct (XINHUA)--About 20,000 Soviet citizens are involved in a staggering effort to obtain high technology from the United States and other Western countries legally and illegally and apply it to military uses.

This was disclosed by U.S. officials at a two-day meeting of the Coordinating Committee for Exports Controls (COCOM), which began here yesterday.

The U.S. officials told journalists after the meeting that more than 150 Soviet weapons systems now contained technology derived from Western products, including night vision equipment and technology for the SS-20 missiles.

Americans are worried about the military application of a whole range of recent developments, including the entire field of micro-electronics and silicone chips, advanced computers, semiconductors, optical fibers and alloys.

U.S. press revealed recently that about 7,000 Soviet spies are engaged in stealing secret high technology data from U.S. companies.

The U.S. federal agents seized in California last August a military photographic computer that was being illegally exported to the Soviet Union. The computerized image processing system was designed to enhance and interpret pictures taken from reconnaissance aircraft and satellites.

A West German businessman and three of his associates were reportedly charged by federal prosecutors with conspiring to smuggle 8 million dollars worth of computers, semiconductor manufacturing equipment and related technology to the Soviet Union.

An American newspaper reported that secret data for anti-submarine warfare has made its way to Moscow, with the assistance of American "insiders."

Western experts note that the theft of high technology from the West saves the Soviet Union at least one billion dollars annually in research and development costs.

The U.S. officials warned at the COCOM meeting that "the cost of this leakage in our judgment to the NATO allies vastly exceeds any benefits that could be obtained by unrestricted trade in a relatively narrow high technology sector."

They said the Soviet Union, through "legal and illegal acquisitions" of Western technology, has narrowed what used to be a 10-to-15 year "military technology gap" to just "one or two years."

CSO: 4000/9

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BEIJING RADIO TO KOREA COMMENTS ON UNGA SESSION

SK101345 Beijing in Korean to Korea 1100 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Station commentary: "Voices Reverberated at the United Nations Building"]

[Text] At the moment, some 157 countries from five continents are gathered at the UN Building, holding the 37th UN General Assembly session. They are discussing a series of important problems facing the world at the present time. In the last week 7 state leaders and about 50 foreign ministers participated in the general discussion.

In his 4 October speech Huang Hua, PRC foreign minister and head of the PRC delegation, explained to the session basic views and assertions of the PRC delegation on the present international situation.

His speech was warmly welcomed by those attending the session.

Issuing statements to the reporters in the corridor outside the conference room, delegates of some countries said: Foreign Minister Huang Hua's speech was very wonderful. This speech showed that the PRC is firmly standing with the Third World. The issues mentioned by Foreign Minister Huang Hua are all important problems--matters of concern to the world's people of our time. These are also fundamental views and suggestions to solve these problems.

A member of the Bangladesh delegation said: The PRC is a friend of the Third World and a friend of Bangladesh. We agree with Chinese suggestions. In the future, we will mutually support and make efforts to implement these suggestions.

What has attracted the most attention at the current UN session was a speech delivered on 30 October by King Nordom Sihanouk, head of the delegation of the Democratic Kampuchea coalition government.

In his speech, citing facts he had directly experienced or witnessed, he exposed the criminal acts of the Vietnamese government which has treacherously and brutally invaded Kampuchea in violation of international laws.

His speech invoked long and warm applause from those present.

A high ranking UN official who has worked for the United Nations for many years said: Rarely has a speech by a state leader been so warmly applauded by those attending the conference.

As King Sihanouk walked from the conference hall, some 100 delegates warmly congratulated him.

Ever since he arrived at the United Nations, King Sihanouk has been accorded the utmost cordiality by leaders of various countries. In every meeting he attended there was a flag of Democratic Kampuchea.

Such a cordial and warm hospitality accorded the delegation of the Democratic Kampuchean coalition government at the United Nations reflects not only the sacred aspiration of most of the countries in the world who live justice and peace and oppose aggression by outside forces, but also it shows that Vietnam, which is practicing regional expansionism, and the Soviet Union, its supporter, are daily being isolated in the international community.

Expressing their great concern over the situation in the international community, which is daily being strained and complicated as a result of the fierce scrambling between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, delegates of various countries who spoke at the session called on the two superpowers to immediately stop the injudicious arms race.

Ambassadors of many countries demanded that the Soviet Union and the Vietnamese authorities instigated by the Soviet Union withdraw their troops of aggression respectively from Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

Strongly denouncing the U.S.-backed Israeli aggressors for occupying Lebanese territory and for brutally massacring Lebanese and Palestinian people, ambassadors of various countries also called for a fair and reasonable solution to the Middle East problems.

Delegates of many Third World countries, expressing deep concern over the serious threat produced by the ever-shrinking economies of the advanced countries, called for an early convocation of global negotiations in order to eradicate the unfair and old economic relations between the developing and developed countries and to establish a new economic order in the international community.

At the session, the delegates also agreed with and supported the UN General Secretary, who urged the session to observe the UN Charter and to strengthen the role of the United Nations.

The current UN General Assembly is to discuss some (138) topics--a wide range of issues rarely found in the previous UN General Assemblies. The current UN General Assembly is unlikely to solve all of these issues. For this reason, the various member-states of the United Nations and the vast Third World countries in particular must make long, hard efforts to solve them.

CSO: 4005/105

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON YUGOSLAV ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

HK121500 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Oct 82 p 7

["Newsletter from Yugoslavia" by RENMIN RIBAO reporter Huang Bingjun [7806 3521 6874]: "Economic Stability and Administrative Measures"]

[Text] The 12th National Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, concluded not long ago, fully affirmed the brilliant achievements in changing Yugoslavia from an economically underdeveloped country damaged by wars into a prosperous socialist country. At the same time, the congress also pointed out some problems in the process of development and took stabilizing the economy as a strategic task for the future period. Here, economic stability, as a Yugoslav economist said, refers to economic readjustment.

In recent years, Yugoslavia has made great efforts to readjust the economy and has achieved some successes. But some new problems also arose in this course. In general, difficulties still exist in the Yugoslav economy as a whole. Happily, people have deepened their understanding of the serious situation and have been clearer about the orientation for extricating themselves from the predicament. Moreover, they have shifted their words into actions.

At present, the economic readjustment in Yugoslavia is mainly being conducted in two areas. On the one hand, they have worked out the basic starting points for the long-term economic stabilization program and are drawing up specific plans based on these starting points. The crux is to further develop the self-management system and give full play to objective economic laws and market logic so as to realize the fundamental economic transformation. On the other hand, by issuing urgent decrees and adopting administrative measures, they have interfered in the current economic process so as to put an end to the development of unfavorable tendencies and to improve the current situation. The adoption of administrative steps have helped create conditions for the smooth implementation of the long-term economic stabilization program. The plans for restraining inflation clearly stipulated that in the transition period before 1985, administrative measures should be increased, and after this period, they should be gradually reduced and give way to economic measures which regulate the economy on the basis of economic laws.

Early this year, a legal act about controlling hard foreign currency exchange and credits in 1982 was adopted and at the same time, the government also laid

down a clear stipulation on the use of foreign exchange. In mid-July this year, the federal chamber adopted four decrees to restrict consumption and adjust it to a realistic level. At the end of the same month, federal government declared that all prices be frozen so as to prevent inflation from being further aggravated. Then, nearly all major sectors of the national economy were brought under the control of decrees and administrative measures.

Great difficulties also occurred in repaying due foreign debts. In previous years, in order to speed up economic development, Yugoslavia contracted large amounts of foreign loans. For lack of unified decrees, every enterprise and every bank had the right to contract foreign loans, so the state lost control of credits. At present, various debts in Yugoslavia amount to $23 billion and will fall due one after another. Last year, it paid $4.4 billion in principal and interest, accounting for 23.8 percent of the foreign exchange revenue of the whole year. This year, it still needs to pay $5.5 billion in principal and interest, while the situation in regard to foreign exchange revenue is not satisfactory. By taking steps, Yugoslavia has concentrated the use of foreign exchange and foreigh exchange reserves to help some banks pay off their due debts so as to maintain its reputation in international financial circles. Federal leaders repeatedly stressed that clearing foreign debts was a matter of primary importance.

As a result of the foreign exchange shortages, the import of raw materials and materials for reprocessing as well as the supplies in markets were affected. The planned annual growth rate of the gross industrial output value is 3.5 percent, but the growth rate in the first half was only 1 percent. The figure in June was 1.1 percent lower than that in May. Productivity shows a declining tendency. Some people are doubtful whether industrial production has fallen into a recessionary stage. The slow growth of production and the continuous increase of exports result in the reduction of reserves of raw materials and manufactured goods. Thus, a contradiction occurred between the maintenance of the repayment ability and the maintenance of growth in production. In order to solve this contradiction and maintain production, the federal government allowed borrowing for importing raw materials and some advanced equipment, and particularly for increasing exports. Only when production and exports increase can more foreign exchange be gained. This is a fundamental way out for shaking off the economic predicament.

What is deeply worrying Yugoslavia is the fact that while production stagnates and productivity declines, various types of consumption increase drastically. In the first half of this year, general consumption and common consumption increased by over 30 percent. Though some projects under construction have been discontinued, the gross amount of investment still accounts for 1/3 of the gross social output value and increased by 28 percent in the first 6 months. After declining for 2 years running, individual income increased by 30 percent in the first half of this year. This consumption level, especially the growth rate of consumption, has probably exceeded material production. Therefore, the federal chamber adopted four decrees for restricting the growth of various types of consumption.

The growth of consumption directly led to the exacerbation of inflation. Last year, the rate of inflation reached a record 40 percent. Though it was planned to reduce this figure to 15 percent this year, in the first half and so the rate of inflation was already 20 percent. If this tendency goes on, the rate of inflation by the end of this year would be as high as 50 percent. Under these circumstances, the federal government resolutely declared that all prices be frozen at the level of 31 July for 6 months or even longer. This drastic measure was welcomed by consumers, but it would be unfavorable to producers. People were afraid that this could affect the growth of production and the supplies in the markets.

The administrative measures adopted by Yugoslavia are expedients. They are necessary though they cannot effect a permanent cure of the economic problems. The sense of responsibility is also emphasized now. People who have made erroneous investment decisions and violated decrees and agreements, thus causing the present economic difficulties, have to be criticized by name. But Yugoslav comrades also maintained that people should assume responsibility themselves and it would be better to ask people who had committed mistakes to resign, because resignation is not a kind of punishment. In addition, it is considered as more important to mobilize the entire society, to launch extensive social actions in order to guarantee the implementation of decrees so as to shake off the current economic predicament.

CSO: 4005/89

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON FRENCH TIES WITH VIETNAM

HK100620 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Oct 82 p 7

["Short" commentary: "An Unwise Move"]

[Text] According to reports, the French International Agricultural Company and Vietnam recently reached a barter agreement worth 1.5 billion francs. This is another move in relations with France and Vietnam following France's provision of 200 million francs in financial aid at the end of last year. ASEAN and certain countries that uphold justice have expressed strong disquiet and opposition over this. A high-ranking Thai official said that this French move "does not help in restoring peace and stability in Southeast Asia."

As everyone knows, the past three UNGA sessions have adopted resolutions demanding the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea. As one of the permanent members of the Security Council, France too has consistently advocated that Vietnam withdraw all its forces from Kampuchea. In order to compel Vietnam to implement the UNGA resolutions, many countries in the world have cut off or refused aid to Vietnam. At present Vietnam is still stubbornly refusing to implement the UNGA resolutions and is not willing to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea. In these circumstances, the French move in providing Vietnam with economic aid and carrying on large-scale trade with that country is bound to be censured by the international community.

LE MATIN said, according to the desire of figures in the French Government, "This will help to liberate Vietnam, which is facing economic collapse, from tight Soviet control." It must be pointed out that this desire is just an unrealistic illusion. Vietnam fell into the Soviet embrace in order to attain hegemony in Indochina and Southeast Asia by serving Soviet hegemonism. There may exist certain contradictions between Vietnam and the Soviet Union because each of them harbors sinister designs. However, this kind of contradiction absolutely cannot replace their identity of interests. Vietnam too has hinted in many ways that there are contradictions between itself and the Soviet Union, in an attempt to swindle aid from certain people in the West who harbor illusions about taking advantage of Soviet-Vietnamese contradictions, in order to make up for the deficiencies in Soviet aid. Certain people in France who are not too choosy about what they do for the sake of returning to Indochina take the bait set by Vietnam without complaining. They are thus duped. This policy does not help solve the Kampuchea issue, and it also lowers France's reputation in the international community. It is extremely unwise to suffer fresh loss after paying for a previous one.

CSO: 4005/89

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GROUP OF 77 CALLS FOR GLOBAL ECONOMIC TALKS

OW120750 Beijing XINHUA in English 0715 GMT 12 Oct 82

[Text] United Nations, 11 Oct (XINHUA)--Foreign ministers of the Group of 77 in a declaration issued here today called for immediate discussions on the world's economic conditions.

The group, which got its title from its original members, is now composed of 125 developing countries.

The foreign ministers held their sixth annual meeting at the UN Headquarters from 6 to 8 October to review the world economic situation and international co-operation for development in preparation for the 37th regular session of the General Assembly. The foreign ministers also carried out a review of issues relating to the strengthening of co-operation among themselves.

They said they deplore the fact that "some developed countries persist in resorting to arbitrary unilateral decisions and refusing to enter into genuine negotiations." The foreign ministers stressed that urgent and effective action is necessary "to enable the global negotiating process to get underway without further delay."

They emphasize the need for urgent action in fields that are of critical importance for the developing countries, such as raw materials, food, energy, financial flows and trade, at forthcoming conferences and meetings of the United Nations system.

The foreign ministers drew the attention of the international community to the critical economic situation of the least developed countries. They renewed their urgent appeal to all countries and multilateral institutions immediately to take concrete and adequate measures to implement the new programme of action for the 1980's for the least developed countries.

The foreign ministers reaffirmed their full support for economic co-operation among developing countries. This "strategy of collective self-reliance" constitutes "an essential part of the efforts of the developing countries to establish a new international economic order," they said.
The foreign ministers said they deplore the position taken by some developed countries on activities of economic cooperation among developing countries. They strongly urged that the major powers respect their commitments under the various resolutions and decisions on promoting these activities within the UN system.

CSO: 4000/9

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLISH SPOKESMAN RAPS U.S. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

OW130755 Beijing XINHUA in English 0718 GMT 13 Oct 82

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Oct (XINHUA)--Polish Government spokesman Jerzy Urban told foreign journalists here today that U.S. President Reagan's decision to suspend most-favored-nation trading status following the Polish National Assembly approval of the new trade union law "a direct attack on the Polish people."

Urban accused the United States of seeking to "instigate conflict in Poland between the authorities and society." But Reagan's socio-political aim would never be reached, he said.

Urban questioned Reagan's charge that the new economic sanctions are not directed at the Polish people. He said Reagan is only trying to deceive the U.S. electors.

The Polish Government spokesman pointed out that the U.S. leader's decision to suspend most-favored-nation trading status would cost Poland about 40 million dollars in annual export revenues. "This will not cause Poland to collapse--it is less than one percent of our total exports to capitalist countries," he said. But there would be painful effects in the present critical state of the economy, and it would mean there would be fewer goods on an already poorly supplied market, he added.

Urban also condemned a number of other Western countries for their attacks on Poland's new trade union law.

The Polish press agency and the Polish newspapers have published commentaries in the last two days, attacking Reagan's new decision.

CSO: 4000/9

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CARSTENS ATTENDS FETE MARKING PRC-FRG NORMALIZATION

OW131814 Beijing XINHUA in English 1609 GMT 13 Oct 82

[Text] Beijing, 13 Oct (XINHUA)--The Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries sponsored a reception this evening to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Attending the reception were FRG President Carstens, his wife Veronica, Zhu Xuefan, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Zhou Peiyuan, vice-chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

Wang Bingnan, president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, said "Since the establishment of diplomatic relations 10 years ago our two countries have constantly increased political, economic, scientific, technical, cultural and art exchanges. People to people contacts and mutual understanding and friendship between them have strengthened and developed. This not only conforms to the fundamental interests of our two peoples, but also is in the interest of defending world peace.

"We believe the visit of President Carstens will make an important contribution to promoting friendship and cooperation between the two countries and two peoples," he said.

Carstens said "The history of the relations between our two countries is very long. Our contacts are getting closer and closer and mutual understanding is becoming deeper and deeper.

"A history of 10 years is a brief period. We express satisfaction over the success scored in that time," he said.

Also present at the reception were FRG Ambassador to China Guenther Schoedel, embassy officials, FRG experts in Beijing, and more than 400 others.

CSO: 4000/9

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRITISH 'GUNBOAT POLICY' MOCKED IN LONDON PLAY

OW150115 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1318 GMT 14 Oct 82

[Text] London, 13 Oct (XINHUA)--The 19th century British Empire is mocked in a play for its "gunboat policy" and for forcing China's Qing Government to sign unequal treaties and cede Hong Kong. The play, "Poppy," was recently staged by the British Royal Shakespeare Company at the new theater in the Barbican Art Center.

"Poppy," a play about the "Opium War" waged by Britain in 1840, was written by British playwright (Peter Nicolls). The play tells the story about a London merchant named (Obaliah Upwalt), who owns large poppy plantations under the East India Company, and who has reaped huge profits from exporting opium to China through various illegal means. The play's protagonist, Sir Dick Whittington, is a young man whose father died when he was still a little boy. With the desire to get rick quick and reestablish the family name, he leaves his home in rural England and follows (Upwalt) to engage in the opium trade. After their ship, loaded with bigles and opium, arrives in Guangzhou, their illegal opium is confiscated and burned by Lin Zexu, and several British merchants are detained. Then the East India Company seeks help from the British Government. Under the name of "free trade," the British Government sends a fleet of 15 gunboats and flagrantly launches an aggressive war against China.

The then British Foreign Secretary Lord Palmerston is portrayed in the play as a puppet. He sits on (Upwalt's) knees, repeats what he says like a parrot, follows his orders to the letter and orders that the gunboats be steered to coastal Guangdong and the Changjiang to bombard the Chinese ports.

The play has also created a female missionary named (Fortune), who preaches the trinity of Christianity, trade and civilization, smuggles opium into China in boxes for holding the Bibles, and encourages people to consume opium wherever she goes.

The play also depicts the Anglo-French allied forces' aggression against China and the burning of the Summer Palace in Beijing. When the play proceeds to this point, one woman in the audience tells the reported that this is the most ignominious chapter in British history, and that she feels sick by it.

Owing to the limitations of the class status of the playwright and the director of the play, the Chinese people's image has been distorted in certain parts of the play.

The presentation of "Poppy" has aroused some response in Britain. The TIMES and the SUNDAY TELEGRAPH have commented that the play has stung Britain's "gunboat policy" of the 19th century and has "exposed a historical case of injustice."

CSO: 4005/89

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON ITALY'S DIPLOMATIC POLICIES

HK181307 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Oct 82 p 7

[Article by Zheng Yuanyuan [6774 0954 0954]: "On Italy's Diplomacy Which Is Based on West European Interests"]

[Text] In recent years despite being greatly perplexed by a national economic recession and a turbulent political situation, Italy has actively participated in the international political arena. In particular, Italy is playing an eye-catching role in European affairs. According to Colombo, Italian minister of foreign affairs, Italy "has the obligation to enhance its role" in Europe.

Italy is a member state of both NATO and the EEC and its diplomacy is always based on West European, U.S. and NATO interests. However, under the circumstances of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, intensifying their internal contradictions, Italy, as an important West European country, is facing some new diplomatic problems.

Conforming to the trend of the independence of Western Europe, Italy's Spadolini government urges Western Europe to be united. While the EEC has suffered a setback on the admission of Spain and Portugal as new member states, the Rome government holds to realizing the plan of expanding the community in time. This action has been supported by some countries. In order to well enhance the role of the community, Italy and West Germany made a joint proposal for building an "European alliance" at the end of last year, and submitted an "European document" to the European parliament as a supplement to the community"s "Treaty of Rome." This proposal is devoted to strengthening the political ties between the 10 member states of the community, and to expanding the range of the community's foreign policy, including security, culture and justice in order to follow the basic aim of European unity. President Pertini said that only by unity and integrity will Europe be able to bring about a major undertaking by the two superpowers of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Italy attaches great importance to cooperation with France and West Germany for the sake of strengthening the unity of Western Europe. Since this year, leaders of Italy, France and West Germany have made frequent contact and had close consultations on bilateral and multilateral affairs. Even some

Western public opinions consider that triangular cooperation between Bonn, Paris and Rome is gradually taking shape.

Italy is showing its ability and talent even more through its active diplomacy. In June this year, when the United States opposed the natural gas pipeline transactions between West European countries and the Soviet Union and declared sanctions against some West European companies, Foreign Minister Colombo was the first to visit the United States and make clear the position and viewpoint of the Western European allies. Colombo stated that he was "speaking as an Italian and an European." During the 1st 10 days of August, Colombo visited Peru, Brazil and Argentina and this was the first visit to Latin America by a community member state since the Malvinas Island war. Western public opinions held that Colombo's trip to South America expressed the desire of most of the community member states for resuming the dialogue between Europe and Latin America and for repairing the gap which developed during the war. The European community states are playing active roles as a new factor in Middle East affairs and Italy has become more active than before in this respect. During the recent Lebanon crisis, Italy, the United States and France twice jointly deployed multinational troops. Besides, the Italian Government had allocated funds of 11 billion liras for the aid of Lebanese civilians and Palestinian refugees, hereby expressing its concern for the Middle East situation.

Italy and the United States have entered into a long-term "partnership." Italy has adopted "moderate" measures while dealing with the relations between the United States and Europe. This action has been favorably received by Washington. For instance, while some Western European countries remained undecided on deployment the U.S. new type missiles, Rome stated that they "can't back out," and stuck to the resolutions adopted by NATO.

When conflict of interest emerged between Europe and the United States over such issues as the natural gas pipeline, Italy was, on the one hand, against the expansion and intensification of tension between Europe and the United States and pointed out that the "unity of Europe does not permit the support of neutralism of anti-U.S. characteristics." On the other hand, Italy resolutely adopted the same position as her West European allies by opposing the Reagan government's embargo on the natural gas pipeline and acutely criticized the high interest rate policy imposed by the United States.

Based on West European interests, Italy has played a role to some extent 'through its diplomatic activity' in protecting West European interests and alleviating the contradictions between Europe and the United States. Located in Southern Europe, near the Middle East and North Africa, Italy has a strategic position of great importance. Being active in diplomatic links and taking the initiative of protecting the unity of Western Europe, Italy has become an even more important country for NATO and the community, which cannot be overlooked. Naturally, Italy will inevitably be involved with and its diplomatic activities will be affected to some extent by domestic political and economic difficulties as well as contradictions and differences between the United States and Europe.

CSO: 4005/89

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ASIAN-PACIFIC COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES BEGIN MEETING

OW152003 Beijing XINHUA in English 1523 GMT 15 Oct 82

[Text] Beijing, 15 Oct (XINHUA)--Seventeen Asian and Pacific commonwealth countries opened a four-day regional meeting in Suva, Fiji, Thursday to discuss politics, trade, energy, industry and agriculture.

All participating countries, represented by heads of government or their envoys, agreed during opening discussions that it was in the interests of the Pacific region to keep the Soviet Union out of the Pacific, conference sources said.

Australian Prime Minister Malcom Fraser told reporters that Soviet aid has often been "accompanied by political strings and political requirements." All developing nations needing aid should accept help from countries that will provide it without political strings, Fraser added.

Participants at the meeting voiced disappointment at the failure of the United States to sign the United Nations Law of the Sea Convention, but expressed hope this country would change its attitude.

Pacific island nations objected to the continued French nuclear testing in the South Pacific.

The meeting, officially designated the Third Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting, ends 18 October.

CSO: 4000/9

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EL SALVADOR TROOPS MEET TOUGH GUERRILLA RESISTANCE

OW152020 Beijing XINHUA in English 1503 GMT 15 Oct 82

[Text] Beijing, 15 Oct (XINHUA)--Government troops in El Salvador have met tough guerrilla resistance in their effort to recapture the five towns seized by guerrillas over the past five days, according to reports reaching here.

More than 4,000 elite troops from three U.S.-trained battalions have been sent out to try to dislodge the guerrillas from their positions.

The guerrilla offensive was the biggest in scope since the March constituent assembly elections. It followed weeks of relative lull amid reports that both the government and the guerrillas were making contact to pave the way for a negotiated solution to the conflict.

The guerrilla radio Veneceremos (We shall overcome) said that 72 government soldiers had been killed and 107 captured since the fighting began Sunday. It called the offensive "National Military Campaign for the Heroes and Martyrs of 1979-80."

In most previous encounters, guerrillas adopted hit-and-run tactics. They melted away into the rugged countryside when the military mounted a drive against a town they had taken. But the tactics seemed to have changed in their latest offensive.

The guerrillas have repeatedly called for dialogues with the U.S.-backed government for an end to the bloodshed. The three-year-long war has claimed more than 35,000 lives.

But the government, bent on stamping out guerrilla activities, time and again rejected the calls. It launched many military operations against guerrilla bases in the past few months.

Countering the government military actions, the guerrillas blew up power stations, downed power lines, ambushed government troops and blocked highway traffic.

CSO: 4000/9

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UNHCR MEETING ENDS, PRC DELEGATE'S REMARKS CITED

OW202009 Beijing XINHUA in English 1501 GMT 20 Oct 82

[Text] Geneva, 20 Oct (XINHUA)--The 33rd session of the Executive Committee of the United Nations High Commissioner's Program for Refugees (UNHCR), which closed here today, showed deep concern over the serious situation of refugees and called for more effective measures to protect them.

Discussions of the 10-day meeting centered around the refugee situation in a number of regions where they are concentrated, such as Afghanistan, Indo-China, Southern Africa and the Middle East. According to the latest statistics, the number of Afghans who have fled to Pakistan since the Soviet invasion have already reached 2.7 million. More than 200,000 Indochinese refugees, who have escaped from Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos after the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, are still awaiting durable solutions in various neighboring countries. The continued Soviet and Vietnamese military occupation of Afghanistan and Kampuchea was criticized by a number of speakers as the root causes of the refugees fleeing these two regions.

The session also discussed the question of outside military attacks on refugee camps which have often occurred in recent years in southern Africa, along the Kampuchean-Thai border, in Pakistan and, in particular, in Lebanon. The recent brutal massacre of over 1,000 Palestinian refugees in two Beirut camps by Israeli troops was strongly condemned by many speakers, especially those from Arab countries.

China was represented at the session as a member of the UNHCR Executive Committee. Speaking on the question of outside military attacks on refugee camps, Chinese delegate Tian Jin strongly denounced the recent atrocities committed by Israel in killing Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. "This cruel and inhuman act is a gross violation of the norms of international law," he noted. "The Chinese Government and people, together with all the justice-upholding countries and the peoples of the world, strongly condemn such atrocities." He called for further measures to be taken to protect refugee camps against any new military attacks.

CSO: 4000/9

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

TOKYO RALLY URGES ALL-ROUND DISARMAMENT

OW220339 Beijing XINHUA in English 1635 GMT 21 Oct 82

[Text] Japanese workers and students rallied in Yoyogi Park here this evening demanding the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and the realization of all-round disarmament.

The rally, sponsored by the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, also expressed opposition to the revision of Japan's Peace Constitution and the revival of Japanese militarism.

A declaration passed at the rally said people "are facing the worst crisis since the second World War" now that "the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union is daily intensifying."

The declaration noted: "Israel has committed flagrant aggression against Lebanon in the broad daylight and wantonly slaughtered Palestinian people, while the Soviet Union has not withdrawn its troops from Afghanistan after stalling for so long."

The declaration appealed to the Japanese people to take action to defend Japan's Peace Constitution and prevent the Japanese Government from making Japan a military power.

After the rally, the participants paraded in the streets with huge banners and red flags.

According to an announcement at the rally, about half a million people attended similar "anti-war" meetings in other parts of the country today.

CSO: 4000/9

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S.-JAPAN TRADE TALKS END WITHOUT AGREEMENT

OW241908 Beijing XINHUA in English 1849 GMT 24 Oct 82

[Text] Tokyo, 24 Oct (XINHUA)--The three-day U.S.-Japanese Honolulu trade negotiations which started 20 October ended one day ahead of schedule with no agreement reached.

High in the agenda were liberalization of Japan's import of U.S. beef and oranges, reduction of import tariffs for agricultural products and expansion of export of tomato and five other U.S. agricultural products to Japan.

Japan's restricted quota on import of U.S. beef and oranges is a sustaining headache of the United States whose trade with Japan is out of balance by a deficit of an estimated $20 million this year.

Sharp antagonism developed between the U.S. and Japan from the very outset of the conference. The U.S. side accused the Japanese of violating the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) regulations by putting restrictions on imports of U.S. agricultural products. It strongly demanded that Japan completely liberalize import of U.S. beef and citrus fruits.

The Japanese side, however, turned down the U.S. demand but to show its "sincerity" for negotiations it proposed to discuss a U.S. request for increased imports of six U.S. products that are currently restricted and the reduction of import tariffs for agricultural products. The Japanese proposal also met with U.S. rejection.

The reasons for both sides sticking to their own stands were apparent. As the trade friction between the U.S. and Japan will be a major issue in the U.S. mid-term election beginning next month, the United States naturally hopes to divert the discontent of the U.S. farmers to Japan who insists on putting restrictions on import of U.S. agricultural products. Japan, on the other side, is currently in political instability caused by the ruling Liberal Democratic Party's (LDP) general election. Deriving much of its political support from conservative, rural Japan, the government is unlikely to soften its protection of the less efficient Japanese orange growers and beef producers. Moreover, Japanese orange production already showed surplus in

the last decade. The demand for liberalization of the U.S. export to Japan, if agreed, will seriously affect Japan's agriculture.

Such are the major problems behind the disputes between the U.S. and Japan at the Honolulu conference.

CSO: 4000/9

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MASS RALLY IN OSAKA OPPOSES U.S. NUCLEAR BUILDUP

OW241608 Beijing XINHUA in English 1514 GMT 24 Oct 82

[Text] Tokyo, 24 Oct (XINHUA)--About half a million Japanese people staged a mass rally in Osaka today, calling for reduction of armaments and an end to nuclear build-up by the United States and the Soviet Union.

This was a follow-up of the anti-nuclear, anti-war rallies held several months earlier in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The rally today was held in ten separate places in the city at which the slogan "eradicate nuclear weapons and war from the earth" was seen everywhere.

In a keynote speech at the meeting, Prof Katsube of the Momoyama Gakuin University said that Japan should be a vanguard in opposing nuclear build-up and pushing forward the peace campaign. People with war experience and writers and actors also addressed or performed at the meeting, voicing opposition to war.

An appeal adopted at the rally says that reoccurrence of the tragedy in Hiroshima and Nagasaki would be impermissible. The Japanese Government, a victim of atomic explosion, should halt arms build-up and make sincere efforts toward eliminating nuclear weapons, the appeal says.

CSO: 4000/9

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRC, OTHER UN DELEGATES SUPPORT KAMPUCHEA'S SEAT

OW260750 Beijing XINHUA in English 0711 GMT 26 Oct 82

[Text] United Nations, 25 Oct (XINHUA)--The UN General Assembly today voted down a Vietnam-sponsored amendment designed to unseat Democratic Kampuchea from the UN body.

The amendment was rejected by a vote of 29 in favour and 90 against, with 26 abstentions. Comparing with voting last year, thirteen more votes support Democratic Kampuchea and eight less votes support Vietnam.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk, president, Son Sann, vice-president, and Khieu Samphan, prime minister of Democratic Kampuchea, attended today's plenary session.

The credentials committee adopted a resolution recommending acceptance of the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea. But the Soviet Union and Vietnam mustered a few countries for an amendment to reject its credentials.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk stressed in a statement that the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea "is one of the entire nation. Absent are only those, very few in number, who have chosen to place their services at the disposal of the occupying power, who obey it in everything and who cannot remain in office without the essential support of 200,000 Vietnamese bayonets."

He told the assembly that his coalition government is not a government in exile, for its members are carrying on the struggle in large liberated zones in northwest, southwest, and northeast Kampuchea and its council of ministers met and will continue to meet on Kampuchean territory.

He denounced Vietnam and the Soviet Union for their manoeuvres to unseat Democratic Kampuchea. "To recognize the so-called regime of Phnom Penh, or to favour the vacant-seat-concept of Kampuchea, would be on the part of the United Nations to give this premium to the power occupying a small peaceful friendly nation whose only crime is to love independence and reject submission," he declared.

Chinese permanent representative Ling Qing said that the government of Democratic Kampuchea is that country's sole legitimate government while the Heng Samrin regime is only one installed by the Vietnamese aggressors, who are manoeuvring to impose it on the international community.

"Whether in terms of principle or from a procedural point of view, Democratic Kampuchea is fully entitled to continue to occupy its rightful seat in the United Nations," Ling Qing said.

The representatives of Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines noted that the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea is a positive development which deserves support for its exercise of sovereign right within its own soil.

They stressed that rejection of the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea would imply a recognition by the United Nations that the situation in Kampuchea was a fait accompli, but continued support for Democratic Kampuchea's seat will reinforce its commitment to the principles of the charter.

The representatives of Yugoslavia, Japan, Zaire, Colombia and Papua New Guinea also expressed their support for the validity of Democratic Kampuchea's credentials in the United Nations.

CSO: 4000/9

BRIEFS

POLISH SHIPYARD MILITARIZED--Warsaw, 12 Oct (XINHUA)--The Polish martial law authorities announced the militarization of the Lenin Shipyard in the Baltic port of Gdansk following two days of strikes and street clashes, according to the Polish press agency PAP. Beginning from two o'clock this afternoon, about 3,000 people reportedly gathered at the gate of the Lenin Shipyard. Security forces intervened because of their "aggressive behaviour." Street clashes occurred in the center of Gdansk city, and the police fired tear gas and smoke bombs, and used water cannons to disperse the crowd. [Text] [OW131454 Beijing XINHUA in English 1250 GMT 13 Oct 82]

SOUTH AFRICAN AID REJECTION URGED--United Nations, 21 Oct (XINHUA)--The UN General Assembly adopted a resolution today urging the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to refrain from granting any credits or other assistance to the apartheid regime of South Africa. The resolution was introduced against South Africa's application to IMF for a credit of one billion special drawing rights. The vote was 121 in favour and three against (the United States, Britain and West Germany), with 23 abstentions. The General Assembly urged the Security Council to consider the matter as soon as possible with a view to taking appropriate action. It also requested the UN secretary-general to undertake urgent consultations with IMF. [Text] [OW220232 Beijing XINHUA in English 0222 GMT 22 Oct 82]

STUDENT DEMONSTRATION CITED--According to a report of NODONG SINMUN of Korea yesterday, youths and students in Kwangju City of South Korea staged a rally and demonstration on 13 and 14 October in protest against South Korean authorities who had brutally killed Pak Kwan-hyon in Prison. According to the report, Pak Kwan-hyon was chairman of the students' association of Chonnam University and participated in the Kwangju popular uprising in 1980. Because of this he was arrested and put in jail. He staged a hunger strike in prison in protest of the authorities' persecution and died in prison on 12 October. According to a report, some 3,000 students of Chonnam University staged a rally and demonstration on 13 October in protest of the South Korean authorities' persecution and murdering of Pak Kwan-hyon. On 14 October, too, many students turned out onto the streets and staged a demonstration on the streets. The police threw tear gas at demonstrating students and arrested many of them, the report said. [Text] [SK190107 Beijing in Korean to Korea 1100 GMT Oct 82]

DELEGATION FETED IN SHANGHAI--Zhong Min, secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee, gave a dinner for the Benin People's Revolutionary Party delegation led by (Alawo R. Jidiay) on the evening of 18 October. [Text] [OW200537 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 18 Oct 82]

SHANDONG RECEIVES VISITING GROUP--A 5-member anti-illiteracy and adult education inspection group of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization from the Asian-Pacific areas arrived in Jinan, Shandong Province on 6 October. On the same evening, (Yuan Tuo), deputy head of the provincial educational department, briefed special guests from Malaysia, Nepal, Palestine and Japan on the situation for wiping out illiteracy and conducting adult education in the province. [Text] [SK080208 Jinan SHANDONG Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 6 Oct 82]

KOREAN DELEGATION IN JILIN--At the invitation of the Jilin Provincial People's Government, the 5-member goodwill delegation of the Changang Provincial People's Committee of the DPRK with its head (Cha Ni-nan), vice chairman of the provincial people's committee, and its deputy head (Ham Pyong-chu), secretary of the KWP committee under the provincial people's committee, arrived at Changchun by train on the morning of 6 October. Greeting them at the railway station were Yang Zhantao, deputy governor of the province, (Chi Jinwu), deputy mayor of Changchun Municipality, and responsible persons from the departments concerned. That evening the provincial people's government gave a banquet in honor of the Korean delegation. After their visit in Changchun, the delegation will tour other cities across the province. [Text] [Changchun JILIN Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Oct 82 SK]

JILIN TITO PICTURE EXHIBITION--A picture exhibition on Tito's ideology, speeches and achievements opened on the morning of 24 October at the Jilin Provincial Revolutionary Museum. Attending the opening ceremony were the provincial and Changchun Municipal leading comrades, including Yu Lin, Zhang Kaijing, Dong Xin and Zhai Xiangkun. The Yugoslavia ambassador to China made a special trip to Changchun from Beijing to attend and address the opening ceremony. He said in his opening speech: This exhibition will help the people in Jilin Province and Changchun Municipality further understand today's Yugoslavia and promote the smooth development of friendly relations and cooperations between Yugoslavia and China. The exhibition was jointly sponsored by the Yugoslavia Archives Bureau, the China Museum and the Yugoslav Embassy in China. The exhibition will last for 2 weeks. [Text] [Changchun JILIN Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 24 Oct 82 SK]

U.S. CLINIC PLANE IN GUANGZHOU--A U.S. eye clinic plane, which is an international mobile opthalmological educational hospital, arrived in Guangzhou yesterday afternoon. The plane carried 18 experienced ophthalmologists and doctors. During its visit to the municipality, the ophthalmologists and doctors will see and operate on eye patients and exchange experiences with medical workers in the municipality. Last night, the Zhongshan Medical College gave a banquet in honor of the visitors. [Text] [Guangzhou GUANGDONG Provincial Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 22 Sep 82 HK]

CSO: 4000/9

PARTY AND STATE

ANALYSIS OF NEW PHASE OF PEOPLE'S CONGRESS SYSTEM

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Wang Dexiang [3769 1795 4382]: "The New Phase of Our Country's People's Congress System"]

[Text] The political system of our country is the people's congress system. Upholding this system and, even better, perfecting and adapting it to the needs under the new conditions to guarantee the people the fundamental principle of being masters in their own house constitute an important mission of this draft of the revised constitution.

Our country's people;s congress system has an unparalleled superiority over any other system in Chinese history; it is the system which is the most capable of realizing people's democracy. However, the history of its development is rather short; its many principles require further development and perfection, especially in its legalization and systematization. Owing to the effects of the 10-year upheaval, many effective and concrete systems in our country's people's congress system were negated openly, or were pigeonholed, and became abstract dogma; this greatly limited the development of the superiority of our country's democratic system. This also revealed that our people's congress system itself has unhealthy and incomplete parts, and that it lacks effective measures with which to resist various kinds of destructive forces. As to the definite significance of this, concrete systems have even more and special significance than do democratic principles themselves. Because a concrete system under the guidance of democratic principles is the true bridge which will lead us to real democracy. Without these systems we will remain eternally on "the far shore" from democracy, and therefore cannot truly realize democracy or enjoy democracy. It can be said that the more concrete the democratic system, the more practical and realistic are the democratic rights enjoyed by the people. What makes one happy is the fact that the draft of the constitutional revision makes many important changes to our country's people's congress system. With the passage of this revision, it will be even more complete systematically, tighter legally, and more scientific organizationally. These changes indicate that our country's people's congress system already has developed to a completely new historical phase.

First, the draft of the revised constitution, on the basis of summing up the experiences of implementing the people's congress system in our country over the past 30 years or so, especially in strengthening the organization and the system of the people's congress, causes it to become a work organization. The draft of the revised constitution clearly stipulates: The National People's Congress is the organ within our country with the highest state powers; local people's congresses at all levels are the organs of state power at those local levels. Moreover, the draft constitution defines three aspects of the powers and position of the National People's Congress: (1) Legislative powers. The draft stipulates: "The National People's Congress and the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress exercise the legislative powers of the state, and set down laws and decrees" (Article 55). The National People's Congress has the power to revise the constitution, to set down and revise the criminal and legal codes as well as other fundamental regulations of state organs. This is the basic manifestation of the legislative powers of the National People's Congress (Article 60). (2) The power to elect or recall important leading personnel of the state. These persons include the chairman and vice chairmen of the People's Republic of China, the premier and vice premiers of the State Council, members of state commissions, ministers of the various ministries, chairmen of various commissions, the auditor general, the secretary general of the State Council, as well as the president of the Supreme People's Court and the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate (Articles 60 and 61). The National People's Congress also has the fight to elect or recall the personnel who comprise the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, among them the chairman, the vice chairmen, the secretary general, and the members (Article 63). (3) The NPC has the power to decide on national economic development plans, state budgets, and other important matters; these include investigating and authorizing the national economic plans and reports on their implementation, deciding on the establishment of special administrative zones and their systems, and deciding questions of war and peace (Article 60). These regulations enable the position and nature of the NPC, the highest organ of state power, to be even clearer and more concrete.

The people's congresses at all levels in our country carry out their work using the form of meetings. The practical experience of many years tells us that without solving work problems of an ordinary nature, there is no way to bring to fruition the many important powers vested in the NPC, even to the point of adversely affecting our pressing legislative work. The draft constitution has greatly developed the relevant regulations for all organs in our country. It has expanded the authority of the NPC Standing Committee in setting down laws and decrees, in appointing and dismissing important state officials when the NPC is not in session, and in investigating and ratifying necessary changes to portions of the national economic plan or budget while those are in effect. At the same time, it has expanded the powers of the standing committees of local people's congresses above the county level, and from this it has increased the quality of the NPC's work mechanisms.

Second, in order to strengthen the authority and position of the NPC, the draft constitution also has especially strengthened the building of our country's system of people's delegates. The delegate system is an important component of the state political system. The significance of this is that the powers and position of the delegates reflect the powers and position of the representative institution itself. The draft has preserved and developed the regulations on the special powers of delegates as contained in the 1954 constitution, such as the right to ask for explanations from responsible officials and the right of immunity. It has also increased the right of delegates to submit proposals and the right of unfettered expression of their views. In addition, it has gone a step farther in delineating the duties of people's delegates in maintaining close ties with the unit from which they were elected and with the masses. The building of the system of delegates has been strengthened through the fwo facets of expanding the powers and delineating the duties of the delegates. The right to submit proposals is an important means by which people's delegates participate in the management of state affairs. NPC delegates and members of the NPC Standing Committee have the right to submit proposals for official action during meetings of the NPC and the NPC Standing Committee. This enables delegates even better to reflect and to pass on the hopes and requests of the people, and to participate in the management of the state. The right of unfettered expression is an important means by which people's delegates exercise a special, individual protection; it provides that when people's delegates are engaged in their official duties, their public views and votes may not suffer the penalty of law; it has the force of guaranteeing that people's delegates may say all they know and speak without reservation while at congresses, therefore enabling the delegates to have the highest degree of responsibility toward the people and to work conscientiously. Concerning the duties of delegates, the most important change contained in the draft constitution is clearly delineated as follows: "NPC delegates maintain close ties with the unit from which they were elected and with the masses; they heed and reflect the opinions and requests of the people. Moreover, when they participate in production, work, or social activities themselves, they help with constitutional and legal measures" (Article 75). This article's stipulations are directed at strengthening the mass foundations of the delegate organizations and at urging the delegates to play their roles well as spokesmen of the people. This article is of extraordinarily important significance.

Third, the various organizational structures of the NPC are the organizational guarantors of the NPC in realizing its role as the organ of supreme state power. The most important change contained in the draft constitution is the strengthening and expansion of the establishment of various special committees. These committees are auxiliary bodies which assist the organ of supreme state power in carrying out its work. This type of setup, aside from special bodies already stipulated in our country's 1954 constitution (such as the Nationalities Commission), also has added or reestablished other special bodies (such as the Legal Commission, the Finance and Economic

Commission, the Education and Science Commission, the Foreign Affairs Commission, the Investigation Commission, etc). The important developments that have been made in our country's people's congress system with respect to organizational structures at the local level are the strengthening of provincial and directly administered municipal people's congresses through the setting up of standing committees, and the expansion of the rights of standing committees of people's congresses at all levels above that of the county.

Our country's people's congress system has undergone a long-term historical process from its birth, through its development and incessant improvement. Having undergone this constitutional revision, our country's people's congress system already has achieved a completely new phase.

9950
CSO: 4005/1274

PARTY AND STATE

INNOVATIVE PROMOTION OF MARXIST PHILOSOPHY URGED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by Chen Jun [7115 6511]: "Propagate the Truth Which Is 'Common Knowledge' And It Will Be Welcomed By the Masses"]

[Text] From press reports the other day: The Municipal Youth Pavillion organized a lecture on philosophy, letting it be known that Marxist philosophy is a potent weapon for recognizing and remoulding the world. Over 600 youths braved the stifling summer heat to attend and, after the lecture hall and the corridors had been filled with extra chairs, some still had to stand and listen. Some youths had worked more than 10 straight hours the day before and had traded shifts with other comrades in order to attend. Even the comrades of the unit which arranged for the lecture were surprised at the tremendous enthusiasm for study displayed by the youths. This was very inspiring to we comrades who are engaged in propaganda and political and ideological work. This brought to mind the work of publishing popular material on political theory.

In recent years, some books have come out which discuss basic knowledge of philosophy, society and science, some of which have been published in great quantities. This is a wonderful thing. But some comrades feel that these books which come and go are the "same old stuff," just basic ideas about Marxist philosophical principles, political economics, etc., and that they are all spreading truth that is "common knowledge," that they offer nothing new and that nobody wants to read them. But this is really not the way it is. Because of the 10 years of internal unrest, many of the grass roots level cadres and youths who grew up in that environment know very little about even the most basic Marxist ideas, and it is necessary to give them a rudimentary education. Even some middle-aged and elderly comrades who studied a little Marxist theory in the past did not necessarily understand it all, and there is no shortage of examples of those who, when studying under the influence of "leftist" ideology, misunderstood Marxism-Leninism. For example, according to a survey of a cadre class at a party school in this city, when discussing the aims of production, approximately three-fourths of those studying were basically unaware of the matter of production aism. For a long period they knew only that production was for profit, to fulfill the task or for the revolution, but they did not know that production was to satisfy the material and cultural needs of the people.

Therefore, for many people, the theory of Marxism is not an old matter frequently discussed, but rather is very new. Stalin said it well: "Perhaps there will be those who say that everything said here is common knowledge, that there is nothing new, and that, therefore, it is not worth the time to rehash this truth which is common knowledge. Of course, there is nothing new here. But if you believe that it is not worth it to review various truths with which we are familiar, then you are wrong. The problem is that every year there are thousands of new young cadres who approach our core leadership. They bring an intense desire to help us and to demonstrate their abilities, but they have not had sufficient education in Marxism, do not know the truths with which we are so familiar and cant only grope about in the dark.... What should we do with these comrades? How can we teach them the spirit of Marxism-Leninism? I feel that we must systematically review the truths of so called "common knowledge" and patiently explain these truths. This is one of the best methods of teaching these comrades Marxism-Leninism." Is not the enthusiasm shown by the youths for the lecture on Marxism arranged by the Municipal Youth Pavillion a forceful proof of this?

By a systematic review of the truth which is "common knowledge" we certainly do not mean a simple review of what has been said before, nor do we suggest closing ourselves off from reality and copying from books and piecing things together from eclectic sources, but rather we mean to elaborate the basic knowledge of Marxism-Leninism in accordance with developing circumstances and changing conditions and to use the basic outlook of Marxism-Leninism to answer directly the various political and ideological questions raised by the cadres and the masses, seeing to it that reading matter contains new thoughts, new substance and new language. Such literary works will not be simply the "same ols stuff," and will certainly be welcomed by a broad readership. For example, the special quality of "Basic Principles of Marxist Philosophy" published by the Shanghai People's Publishing House that sets it apart from books of the same type is its attention to drawing on new advances in present theoretical research, such as its discussion of the standards of truth, its probing of material theory in dialectical materialism, etc. In particular, its use of the findings of contemporary natural science further validated and enriched the view of nature found in dialectical materialism. This effort has reduced the distance between natural science and social science, offering fresh nourishment to social science literature and renewing the feelings of the people. After this book was published, it received the acclaim of a broad readership. We can see that books promoting the truth which is "common knowledge" will be welcomed by the masses.

In order to aid the broad readership in comparing various concepts and to improve their ability to make distinctions, it is necessary to introduce them selectively and critically to the ideas of various schools and branches of social science, including the ideas of idealism. But, at present, the most pressing thing is to continue the work of publishing various types of material concerning the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism and the basic

knowledge of the party, promoting communism and explaining the relationship between realizing the four modernizations and strengthening the construction of a spiritual civilization and urging people to maintain good party style and party discipline and to restore the excellent traditions of the party. For several years now, some material like this has come out, but, when compared with the needs of strengthening communist education and having the broad basses study the basics of Marxism-Leninism, we have not done enough. Those who do theoretical work and publishing work should be duty bound to assume the responsibility for writing and publishing such material and not relax their efforts because all this is truth which is "common knowledge."

9705
CSO: 4005/34

PARTY AND STATE

FUJIAN CYL ELECTS REPRESENTATIVES TO 11TH CYL CONGRESS

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 82 p 1

[Article From the Office of the League's Provincial Party Committee: "Fujian Provincial Communist Youth League Congress Satisfactorily Concluded--The Congress Elected 41 Representatives From Our Province To Attend the 11th CYL Congress; Comrade Cheng Xu [4453 1645] Requested That League Organizations at Every Level Educate Youths in Communist Ideology"]

[Text] The Fujian Provincial Communist Youth League Congress was held in Fuzhou from 21 to 23 August.

The congress elected 41 representatives to the 11th CYL Congress, including league cadres, advanced figures from every battlefront, minorities, Taiwanese, and league members who live overseas.

At the congress, Lin Zhaoshu [2651 0340 2873], the man in charge of the league's provincial party committee, requested that all league organizations and young league members make the study, propagation, and implementation of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and the promotion of league work in our province the outstanding tasks during the last 4 months of this year. And with this as the focus, he urged that they launch an educational campaign among youths to get them to "study history, love the motherland, be good sons and daughters of the motherland, and act as guerrillas in invigorating China." We hope that league cadres will act in accordance with the six demands made of middle-aged and young cadres by Comrade Hu Yaobang, making greater demands of themselves at all times, working hard to be "politically strong and models in action," leading the broad youths of the league in constructing socialism's "two civilizations," fully fostering their model roles, and making greater contributions to the motherland's four modernizations. Let's build an extraordinary record to celebrate the victorious convening of the 12th Party Congress and to welcome the national celebration of the 33rd anniversary of the nation and the successful convening the the 11th League Congress.

Provincial Party Committee Secretary Cheng Xu represented the party committee in visiting the entire body of representatives and speaking to them. He said that the CYL is a strong helper to the party, that the league must supply the party with all manner of cadres, and that therefore having league cadres who are more revolutionary, younger, more specialized, and more

knowledgeable is very important. For them to be more revolutionary is the most impcrtant thing, and the key to this lies in raising communist consciousness, establishing the far-reaching ideals and goals of communism, and actively engaging in the communist movement. In conclusion, Cheng Xu requested that league organizations at every level throughout the province uphold the educating of youths in communist ideology and the training of a new, idealistic, moral, cultured, and disciplined generation.

9705
CSO: 4005/10

PARTY AND STATE

CALL ISSUED FOR FAITH IN COMMUNISM, PARTY

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 82 p 3

[Commentary by Zhong Hua [6850 5478] and Zhong Ying [0112 1758]: "Belief, Trust, Confidence"]

[Text] How is a man able to stand erect? Because he has a backbone consisting of 24 vertebrae, a sacrum, and a coccyx supporting him. How can a communist carry on through so many tests and struggle on till the end of his days? Because he believes in communism, trusts the party, and has confidence in the ultimate victory of the revolution. A man cannot stand without a backbone, and a communist cannot add to the communist cause without the "three faiths."

The heroic 60-year history of the relentless advance of our party makes it clear that the party is the present backbone of China. The party is composed of hundreds of millions of advanced proletarian elements. The members of this vanguard have a firm belief in communism, are ready to sacrifice all they have, and are determined to struggle for the complete liberation of peoples and classes. Please listen to the solemn declarations of martyrs in local records: "The enemy can chop off our heads but can never shake our belief! Because the doctrines in which we believe are universal truths!" "Communism is our belief. The party is our home." These are the heartfelt words of the broad party members, and they express the long-cherished wishes of countless excellent sons and daughters of China.

But there are those who feel that communism is too remote, out of sight, and untouchable, and their belief in communism has been shaken. This is true not only of youths but also of a small number of older comrades. Of course, the establishment of communist social ideals can be realized only in the distant future. But communism is a movement as well as a social system--a movement guided by the communist ideological system. From the day it was established, our party began the great practice of communism. Every accomplishment in the victory of our national revolution and in socialist construction has been a victory of the communist movement and of communist ideology. With each victory we achieved, we moved a step closer to the great goal of communism. Communism as an ideology, a way of behaving, and a movement can be said to be existing, struggling, and progressing everywhere. If we view our present construction of material and spiritual civilizations as laying the foundation of the beautiful

mansion of communism, then we will not feel that communism is out of sight and untouchable, but rather that it is real. The noble belief in communism is our spiritual support. At no time can we doubt it or allow it to be shaken.

Maintaining a tremendous belief in communism and total trust in the party is the source of our confidence in the inevitable victory of communism. In speaking of confidence, people naturally call to mind the countless difficult twists and turns we have confronted in our party's history. But although the party has more than once made mistakes and encountered setbacks, it has never failed to correct itself according to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which makes clear the strong vitality of the party. Compared with the great accomplishments in our party's 60 years of carrying on the communist movement, these mistakes and setbacks are, in the final analysis, of secondary importance. We cannot consider a tributary to be the main channel. At the same time, we must understand that there are no straight roads in the world and no readymade experience to draw upon in constructing socialism or realizing communism. For various reasons, it is difficult to avoid deviations and errors during the great exploration. Now, although there are difficulties and dangerous obstacles before us, "the channel has already been opened up," and the four modernizations are being successfully carried forward. The brilliant ideology of communism shines everywhere. What reason could we have for not being full of confidence?

Let us hold in mind the words of Stalin: One valuable aspect of a communist is that he can remain firm in his belief.

9705
CSO: 4005/10

PARTY AND STATE

CALL FOR GREATER ATTENTION TO POLITICAL, LEGAL WORK

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 82 p 3

[Article: "The Entire Party Must Pay Attention To Political and Legal Work"]

[Text] Strengthening party leadership of political and legal work, mobilizing the entire party to be concerned with political and legal work and supporting and doing political and legal work well are the basic guarantees that the spirit of the National Political and Legal Work Conference will be implemented and that socialist political construction will be strengthened.

The entire party must pay attention to political and legal work. Leading cadres on party committees at every level must fully understand that at the same time that we construct socialist material and spiritual civilization, we must strengthen socialist political construction and strengthen democratic centralism. The former is guaranteed by the latter. Any thinking which centers only on production and business and ignores political and legal work will be one-sided and harmful and must be resisted and overcome. Although, in the new historical period, the exploiting class has already been eliminated as a class and class struggle is no longer the major contradiction in society, class struggle continues to exist within specific bounds and, moreover, can intensify under specific conditions. Our struggle against antagonistic forces both inside and outside of the nation and against the various crimes that do harm to social order will be long, arduous and complex, and we absolutely cannot take it lightly. Attacking serious crime in the economic sector is an important aspect of the political and legal work which serves socialist modernization construction, and we should move ahead in this work. All such work must be given a high degree of attention by party committees at every level, must be placed under the leadership of the party committees at every level and must be placed on the daily agendas of the party committees at every level.

Rectifying social order requires upholding the principle of "comprehensive administration." If each party committee will stress "comprehensive administration" and realistically strengthen leadership, then it will similarly be doing a good job on this important link. We must resolutely mete out swift and severe punishment to major criminals. We cannot be softhearted. This is quite clear. But it is even more important to mobilize the strength of the entire society and to do a good job in the basic work of reducing factors leading to crime and conditions breeding crime, as well as to close

all gaps that could possibly be used by our enemies. "Comprehensive administration" is concerned with all areas of work and requires not only the support and cooperation ov every concerned department, but also the unified leadership and coordinated action of party committees at every level. Now, under the leadership of the party committees at every level, we must take realistic measures to strengthen rapidly grass rooots party and political organizations and work at the grass roots level, to bring about a quick change in the state of weak and disorganized leadership in grass roots party and administrative organizations and in agricultural brigades in particular and to bring about rapid change in cases where grass roots level organizations are unconcerned with and do not stress political and legal work and "comprehensive administration" for maintaining social order.

The Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee has already convened a citywide cadre conference on party member responsibility, transmitting the spirit of the National Conference on Political and Legal Work and offering ideas concerning initial steps to take in relation to actual conditions in Shanghai. We believe that if only party committees at every level throughout the city will pay attention to political and legal work, truly strengthen the leadership of political and legal work and seriously implement the spirit of the National Conference on Political and Legal Work and the demands of the municipal party committee, then a new situation in the political and legal work in Shanghai will certainly emerge and there will be a clear turn for the better in social order.

9705
CSO: 4005/34

PARTY AND STATE

CONVICTION OF SHANGHAI JIANG QING CLIQUE CRIMINALS DISCUSSED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 82 p 1

[Commentary: "The Just Judgment of the People of Shanghai"]

[Text] The Shanghai High Level People's Court and Middle Level People's Court, in accordance with the law, publicly tried Xu Jingxian [1776 2529 6364] and Wang Xiuzhen [3769 4423 3791], the Shanghai ringleaders of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, as well as Chen Eda [7115 7093 1129], Ye Changming [0673 2490 2494], Huang Jinhai [7806 6855 3189], Dai Liqing [2071 4539 3237], Ma Zhenlong [7456 2182 7893] and Zhu Yongjia [2612 3057 0857] and individually sentenced them to prison terms. This was the just judgment of the Shanghai people and of history!

On the eve of the historically significant 12th Representative Congress of the CPC, in accord wit the will of the Shanghai people, the Shanghai judicial agencies completed this important trial. It was an historic victory and a thoroug reckoning of the monstrous crimes of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique in the Shanghai area--a great victory in the continuing effort to quell chaos and restore order!

This trial was long awaited by the people of Shanghai and was closely followed by the people of the entire nation. Shanghai was once a counterrevolutionary nest and an important base of support for the "gang of four." Sixteen years ago, they rose to power; six years ago, these henchmen and their masters met their doom here. Merciless history arranged this merciless end for them. During the 10 years of unrest, Ma Tianshui [7456 1131 3055], Xu Jingxian, Wang Xiuzhen and others under the direct leadership of Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunquiao [1728 2504 2890], Yao Wenyuan [1202 2429 0337], and Wang Hongwen [3769 3163 2429] the ringleaders of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, used every kind of sinister means in carrying out a series of conspiracies, to usurp party power, trying in vain to topple the government and overthrow the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist system. In Shanghai, they spread chaos, framed and persecuted Chen Pixian [7115 0012 7359], Cao Diqiu [2580 5441 4428] and other leading cadres of the municipal party committee and the municipal people's committee, and encouraged, schemed for an particitaed in seizing the leadership of the party and the governmentin Shanghai; they actively participated in the manufacture of new disruptions by the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, carried out counterrevolutionary propaganda to stir up trouble and slandered Comrade Deng Xiaoping [6772 1420 1627] and other party and state leaders and leading comrades who had returned to work; they used fascist means, madly incited people to beat, smash and shoot, fabricated false charges and severely persecuted a large number of

cadres and masses in the city's party and political agencies, democratic parties, mass organizations and cultural-educational, sanitation, scientific-technolcgical, industrial, agricultural and financial networks, causing some to be imprisoned for long periods of time and to be tortured, some to be driven insane, some to be persecuted to death, some were seriously harmed and some to be murdered unjustly; and, after their masters were destroyed, they still unscrupulously decided to launch armed counterrevolutionary insurrection, gathering troops and arms with murderous intent. Because the Party Central Committee adopted strong measures and the army and people in Shanghai struggled resolutely, their armed insurrection failed. The counterrevolutionary crimes of these people went on for 10 years, doing severe damage to our nation's system of people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist order, seriously sabatoging economic construction and every item of work in Shanghai and bringing a tremendous catastrophe upon the people throughout the city, one which spread throughout the nation. The monstrous crimes of Ma Tianshui, Xu Jingxian, Wang Xiuzhen and the rest of this gang are still fresh in the minds of the people in Shanghai and throughout the nation, and the people's hatred remains intense. At that time, they were protected by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and were arrogant and unscrupulous, doing as they pleased, committing many terrible evil deeds. They deserved retribution for their countless crimes and, as is the case with all reactionary factions which move counter to the tide of history, they could not escape the judgment of history and the punishment of the people. The broad masses delight in the humiliating fall from power of this gang of major criminals.

This trial of the major criminals in Shanghai who were in the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique was a matter of due process and a successful example of governing the nation in acccordance with the law which was followed the trial of the ringleaders of the Lin Biao, Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, and it is an indication that our socialist legal system is being further perfected. The Shanghai public security and judicial atencies did a tremendous amount of research for this historic trial and they gathered and verified a large amount of documentary material and firsthand evidence. During the course of the entire indictment and trial process, they strictly adhered to the principle "let the facts be the evidence, let the law be the yardstick," and, moreover, they distinguished different circumstances and considered the severity of the crimes and the attitudes of the parties involved in accepting guilt in handing out different punishments, fully embodying the solemn and principled nature of judicial work. In this trial, just as in the trial of the Lin Biao, Jing Qing counterrevolutionary clique, they strictly distinguished the lines in principle between counterrevolutionary crimes and mistakes. This was advantageous in correctly and strictly distinguishing between the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and those among the people and between what was criminal and what was not, in accurately punishing counterrevolutionary crimes and in redeeming and educating those who have committed errors. The entire trial upheld the principle of independent judicial action--the city's people's public security agency investigated and made pre-trial preparations, the people's procurate prosecuted and the people's courts independently tried the cases. The trial was publicly conducted in accordance with the law with representatives from all walks of life in attendance, and the accused had the right to defend themselves or to invite others to defend them. All of this manifested the democratic principles of judicial work. Because of this, this trial was tremendous victory for the socialist legal system

Now, it has been announced that the trial of the 8 major Shanghai members of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique has concluded. Can we now rest easy? Absolutely not. The Shanghai area was mercilessly controlled by the "gang of four" for 10 years, so we certainly do not want to underestimate their influence or that of remnant forces of the "gang of four." After smashing the "gang of four," we have made progress in our clean up work, but we have not done enough and certain problems remain. The facts make it clear that in recent years remnant forces of the "gang of four" have remaind active and some members of gang factions have taken advantage of party leniency to vent their dissatisfaction, some even going so far as to seek opportunities to reverse verdicts handed down against them. One scoundrel sounded the inner thoughts of such people when he said: "I have become a magot in a manure pit and I will cause havoc." Look! Can we relax in the face of warnings by such "magots"? Of course, we believe that hardened elements that refuse to come to their senses and resolutely stand against the party and the people are in a small minority. Since smashing the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, certain persons who, under the historic conditions of the past, made mistakes in following the "gang of four," have changed their stands, raised their consciousness and comported themselves well. We enthusiastically welcome these comrades. We hope that all those who made mistakes at the outset can learn from the trial of these important criminals in the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, seriously remember the lessons of history and enthusiastically throw themselves into today's construction of the two civilizations which is in tune with the flow of historical progress. Any adherence to mistakes or regression will get nowhere.

This trial has once again reminded us of the 10 years of unrest that is so hard to forget. Review of the past leads to understanding of the present. This kind of historical reflection and comparison increases our appreciation of the wonderful situation we enjoy today, increases our confidence in the correctness of today's line, principles and policies of the Party Central Committee and increases the effort we put into socialist modernization construction. The "gang of four" sabatoge left us in a shambles, and only through tremendous efforts to quell chaos and restore order ideologically, politically, organizationally, and economically were we able to make the important change from historical regression to historical progress. At present, we want to move ahead in arousing revolutionary enthusiasn, in strengthening the sense of revolutionary responsibility, in maintaining the highly conscious attitude of socialist masters in doing each item of work in Shanghai well, in further developing the excellent situation, in welcoming the successful convening of the 12th Party Congress with an excellent record of accomplishments and in achieving new breakthroughs in socialist modernization construction!

9705
CSO: 4005/34

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG PARTY, ARMY OFFICIALS STUDY 12TH CONGRESS' WORK

Party Meeting

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 82 p 1

[Report: "The Provincial Party Committee and Provincial Government, the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress, and the Provincial Political Consultative Conference Hold Separate Study Forums--Study the Documents of the 12th Party Congress; Freely Discuss the Profound Significance of the 12th Party Congress"]

[Text] On the afternoon of 2 September, leading comrades of the provincial party committee and the provincial people's government directly subordinate to the province, comrades in charge of the standing committee of the provincial people's congress and some of the representatives, comrades in charge of the provincial political consultative conference, as well as patriotic personages in various circles held separate study meetings and forums in Jinan to earnestly study the opening speech by Comrade Deng Xiaoping at the 12th Party Congress and the key points of the report given by Comrade Hu Yaobang, and to resolutely lead the people of the whole province to study and implement as best they can the spirit of the 12th Party Congress in order to contribute to the comprehensive initiation of new conditions for modern socialist construction.

In their study, everyone unanimously believed that, like the Seventh Party Congress, the 12th is an extremely important congress in the history of our party. The Seventh Party Congress scientifically and systematically summed up the new democratic revolutionary lines, principles, and policies, with the result that the understanding of the whole party was raised to new heights, and it laid the foundation for defeating Japanese imperialism, liberating the whole of China, and seizing complete victory for the new democracy. On the other hand, the 12th Party Congress further scientifically and systematically summed up the experiences regarding the way to build a strong and modern socialist state under China's conditions. In particular it summed up the 6 years of historical experience in smashing Jiang Qing's antirevolutionary clique and bringing order out of chaos, and it formulated and put forward the program and tasks for the struggle to initiate the new conditions for modern socialist construction. This congress is rich in content, and its experience is valuable. Its significance is great and profound. We must firmly and un-

swervingly implement the various documents examined and approved by this congress and the tasks it has put forward.

In the study forum held by the provincial party committee and the provincial people's government, the comrades in charge of the provincial party committee put forward concrete demands on the question of organizing the braod masses of party members, cadres, and people to study: (1) We must educate everyone to fully understand the historical role and significance of the 12th Party Congress and continuously raise their self-consciousness in studying the documents. (2) The documents of the 12th Party Congress were formulated under the guidance of communist ideology. In studying them, we must stress the essentials of communist ideological education, and use communist ideology, communist theory, and the communist spirit to understand and implement the spirit of the documents. (3) Carry forward the revolutionary learning style of combining theory and practice. First we must read the documents in earnest, strive to understand and get a good grasp of them, and comprehensively and correctly understand the spirit of the documents. Under this prerequisite, [we cannot] closely link up with reality and do our best to resolve existing problems among cadres and the masses in a down-to-earth manner. (4) Stress study by leading cadres. The provincial party committee plans to hold study classes and concentrate on the rotational training of cadres above the rank of party organization member of the armed forces, commissions, departments, bureaus, and offices directly subordinate to the province. All units must also operate study classes for rotational training of party members and cadres in groups and by periods. In studying, we must stress that the leader takes the lead; [the leader] will first understand and get a good grasp and know how to apply the learning in reality. The chief comrade in charge of each party committee unit must personally stress the study of the 12th Party Congress documents, and strive to make this study more down-to-earth and more successful than previous ones.

Armed Forces Meeting

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 82 pp 1-2

[Reports by Ji Xia [3444 2450], Han Laishun [7281 0171 7311], and Wang Zhichen [3769 1807 5256]: "Confidently Advance Along the Broad Road Shown by the 12th Party Congress; Standing Committees of the Jinan Command, the North Sea Fleet, and the Jinan Command Air Force Study the Documents of the 12th Party Congress"]

I

[Text] On 2 September the standing committee of the Jinan Command's party committee earnestly studied the news of the victorious opening of the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech, and Comrade Hu Yaobang's key points in his report. Everyone believed that the documents of the 12th Party Congress have correctly summed up the past and ascertained the future. After the study, their spirit was inspired and their confidence was fully raised. They deeply felt that our party will be able to lead the people of the whole country to initiate a new situation for modern socialist construction.

In their study, eveyone reviewed the course of struggle followed by our party, combined their own personal practice, and freely discussed what they had learned from the study. Everyone said: The 12th Party Congress has not only put forward a new program for struggle but has also provided reliable safeguards for ideology, organization, workstyle, and system. Experience has proved that a correct goal for struggle must be safeguarded for a set of correct principles and policies, fine workstyle, and discipline. Only by giving play to the collective role of the party organization and by reviving the glorious traditions of democracy within the party can the party's undertakings grow and flourish. In this respect, the 12th Party Congress has not only pointed out the direction but also set an example. Many leading cadres also reviewed the major achievements on every front since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. They said: The victorious convening of the 12th Party Congress will initiate a new situation for modern socialist construction. We must celebrate the victorious convening of the 12th Party Congress by the genuine action of doing our best in our work in a down-to-earth manner. For this reason, the party committee of the Jinan Command Put forward the following measures: First, we must learn the documents of the 12th Party Congress, use them as the substance of political education during the second half of the year, and take special time to become more involved in doing a good job in education. Second, we must convene expanded meetings of the party committee, adopt the method of using meetings as a substitute for training, and use the spirit of the 12th Party Congress to arm the minds of cadres above the rank of commander. Third, we must call on cadres at all levels to become more involved in popularizing the documents of the 12th Party Congress on the basis of first educating themselves. Fourth, we must use the spirit of the 12th Party Congress to guide the armed forces' military and political training and all tasks, link up with reality, learn while working, and use outstanding results to contribute to initiating a new situation.

II

On 2 September, the standing committee and advisor of the party committee of the North Sea Fleet earnestly studied the news on the convening of the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech, and the key points of Comrade Hu Yaobang's report.

In the study and discussion, everyone recalled the party's course of struggle in the past 61 years and unanimously believed that the 12th Party Congress will have a great historical significance on the development of our country's socialist cause, just like the victory that the Seventh Party Congress had on the revolutionary cause of our country's new democracy. The leading comrades of the party committee indicated that they will organize the armed forces to learn the documents of the 12th Party Congress, adhere to the four basic principles, adhere to the lines, principles, and policies since the Third Pleanry Session, follow the direction pointed out by the 12th Party Congress, and do every task well. Some older comrades also expressed their view that in the course of making changes, we should do a good job of passing on experiences and manning the last station. In the study and discussion, the fleet made an initial plan for the study and popularization of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress among the broad masses of officers and men in the armed forces. The

first stage calls for widely relaying the spirit of the 12th Party Congress among cadres and fighters and organizing everyone to earnestly study the documents of the 12th Party Congress. The second stage will launch an in-depth study on special topics, combine with the realities in armed forces work, operate study classes well, foster the backbone, do well in explaining and publicizing, and conscientiously do better in the military training and political education of the fleet.

III

On 2 September, the standing committee of the air force party committee of the Jinan Command earnestly studied Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech and the key points of Comrade Hu Yaobang's report, and profoundly understood that the program formulated by the 12th Party Congress is incomparably correct.

In the study forum, everyone freely discussed the great achievements since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and unanimously believed that our party has been able to complete the arduous task of bringing order out of chaos and to realize a great historical turning point because it has adhered to the Marxist scientific principle of combining theory and practice and to the scientific principle that people make history. In order to safeguard victory in the future, we must further use Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to arm our minds and consciously act according to the scientific principles of Marxism. Everyone reviewed with the changes of the [Jinan] Command in recent years, stressed discussion on the importance of building a spiritual civilization, and resolved to follow the demands of the 12th Party Congress and vigorously strengthen communist ideological education among the armed forces, strive to foster and train new communists who will be idealistic, pay attention to morality, and abide by discipline, thereby completing the glorious tasks entrusted by the party and the people. Standing committee members also studied the spirit of the 12th Party Congress with regard to realizing cooperation between young and old and their succession in terms of organization, and indicated that everyone must obey the party's arrangements by working diligently when in office and passing on their experiences when leaving their posts, setting a good example for the young, and making new contributions to the building of the armed forces.

9586
CSO: 4005/1317

PARTY AND STATE

ANHUI CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE SESSION OPENS

OW300057 Hefei ANHUI Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Sep 82

[Excerpts] The 15th session of the standing committee of the 5th Anhui Provincial People's Congress opened in Hefei on 25 September.

At yesterday's plenary session, [name indistinct], delegate to the 12th CPC National Congress and secretary of the provincial party committee, made a report on the congress and the main guidelines it laid down. Those present earnestly studied the guidelines and documents of the 12th Party Congress and held an animated discussion on them. [passage omitted]

Items on the agenda of this session also include:

Relaying the guidelines laid down by the 24th session of the NCP Standing Committee;

Examination and approval of Anhui Province's draft measures for implementation of the state council's regulations on taking over land for national construction;

Examination and approval of the draft measures for implementation of the regulations on use of land for housing construction in rural villages and towns;

Hearing reports by the provincial higher people's court and the provincial people's procuratorate on their work in the first half of this year;

Hearing and examining a summary report on discussions by the people of the province on the draft revised constitution; and

Discussing and adopting resolutions on appointments and removals.

Hu Kaiming and Cheng Yetang, vice chairmen of the standing committee of the provincial people's congress, respectively presided over the session in the morning and afternoon of 25 September.

Other vice chairmen of the standing committee of the provincial people's congress attending the session were Ma Changyan, Ying Yiquan, Yang Ming, Zhang Azuoyin, Xia Deyi, Li Guangtao, Chen Yuanliang and (Zhao Kai).

Attending the session as observers were Meng Jiaqin, vice governor of the province; (Chen Zhengya), president of the provincial higher people's court; (Li Penglin), deputy chief procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate; and responsible persons of the concerned departments directly under the provincial authority. [passage omitted]

CSO: 4005/106

PARTY AND STATE

JIANGXI REMOVES BAI DONGKAI FROM GOVERNOR'S POST

OW292355 Nanchang JIANGXI Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Sep 82

[Text2 The 13th meeting of the standing committee of the 5th Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress ended at the Jiangxi Guest House on the afternoon of 26 September after 6 days in session.

Yang Shangkui, chairman of the standing committee of the provincial people's congress, presided over the meeting. The meeting was attended by 44 people, including Liu Junxiu, Zhang Yuqing, Li Fangyuan, Gu Jiguang and Xie Xianghuang, vice chairmen of the standing committee of the provincial people's congress. (Zhao Zengyi), secretary of the provincial party committee, was also present.

At the meeting, Deputy Secretary Di Sheng of the provincial party committee read the committee's proposal on a candidate for the acting governship of Jiangxi Province.

On the proposal of the provincial party committee, the meeting unanimously adopted a resolution removing First Secretary Bai Dongcai of the provincial party committee from his concurrent position as governor and appointing (Zhao Zengyi) acting governor of the Jiangxi Provincial People's Government.

The meeting also approved appointments and removals as suggested by the provincial people's government and the provincial people's procuratorate.

Attending the meeting as observers were Xu Qin, vice governor; Chen Keguang, chief procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate; (Zhang Xiqing), vice president of the provincial higher people's court; and responsible persons of various departments under the standing committee of the provincial people's congress and the standing committees of 17 municipal, county and district people's congresses.

CSO: 4005/106

PARTY AND STATE

JIANGXI'S BAI DONGCAI ON STUDYING CPC DOCUMENTS

OW041251 Nanchang JIANGXI Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Sep 82

[Excerpts] The Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee held a meeting at the Jiangxi Opera House on 29 September to hear reports on studying the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress. In a speech to some 3,000 leading party cadres of various organizations directly under the provincial government, First Secretary Bai Dongcai of the Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee, called on them to further mobilize and organize party cadres, especially responsible party cadres, throughout the province to take the lead in studying, propagating and implementing the 12th Party Congress documents; to comprehensively and correctly understand the fundamental guidelines of the congress; to unify their thinking, enhance their enthusiasm for work and strengthen their unity; and to unite with and guide the masses of party members and people in fulfilling the grad tasks set by the 12th Party Congress and in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

Fu Yutian, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, presided over the meeting. Attending the meeting were provincial party, government and military leaders including (Zhao Zengyi), Fang Zhichun, Wu Ping, Xin Junjie, Wang Zhaorong, Zhao Zhijian, (Wang Zemin), Xu Qin and(Song Changgeng). Attending the meeting as observers were responsible comrades of the provincial democratic parties and a number of nonparty personages. [passage omitted]

Referring to the present upsurge in studying the 12th Party Congress documents, Comrade Bai Dongcai said that almost a month has passed since the conclusion of the 12th CPC National Congress. In high spirits and in jubilation, party members, cadres and the masses throughout the province have expressed, in different ways and at their respective work posts, their all-round support for the correct program and grand objective set by the congress, their complete trust in the new central leading bodies and their full confidence in bringing about a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. [passage omitted]

Bai Dongcai said that in studying the congress documents, it is necessary, first of all, to understand the fundamental guidelines contained in these documents. To do this, it is necessary to arrive at a unified understanding of them through the study of some fundamental theories of Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong. He expressed the hope that the following five

important points would be carefully studied and thoroughly understood:

1. The significance of the historic change and the historic party congress;

2. The main task for creating a new situation is to bring about an all-round upsurge of the socialist economy;

3. To build a socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology at its core;

4. Successful cooperation between old and new cadres and the succession of the new from the old; and

5. Doing a good job in party building in accordance with the requirements of the new party constitution. [passage omitted]

Bai Dongcai said that in studying the party congress documents, there are three problems that must be solved:

First, in the field of ideology and politics, it is necessary to solve the problem of belief in communism, trust in the party central committee and confidence in the line and objective of the 12th Party Congress and in its program to bring about a fundamental turn for the better in three fields. There must be no wavering in the belief in communism. A communist party member must believe in communism and must completely devote himself to the cause of communism. A communist party member cannot have doubts about communism, because if he does not believe in communism, he loses his spiritual backing. A life without the soul has no value. The theory that communism is but a dim illusion is a dangerous tread of thought. It exists among some communist party members who have lost their ideals, objectives, spiritual motivation and fighting will, who are unable to resist the inroads of corrosive influences and who have even degenerated. Sharp vigilance against this trend of thought must be maintained. [passage omitted]

There must be complete trust in the leadership of the party central committee. Party members must hold identical political views with it. In the difficult course of eliminating chaos and bringing about a radical change in the state of affairs since its Third Plenary Session, the CPC central committee has demonstrated its skill in applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought, its revolutionary mettle and resourcefulness, the communist nature of sharing weal and woe with the masses, and its ability to keep the difficult situation under control and to head off a disaster. [passage omitted] Therefore, we must have complete trust in the correct leadership of the party central committee, resolutely rally around it and strive to fulfill the program and tasks set by the 12th National Party Congress. We must oppose and overcome both the erroneous left and right tendencies that go against the party central committee's leadership and the program of the 12th Party Congress.

Second, in doing their work, various areas should try their best to fulfill the tasks set by the 12th CPC Congress. [passage omitted]

Third, with regard to the question of work style, every party member must conscientiously implement the new party constitution and must make sincere efforts to eliminate unhealthy practices and improve the party's work style. [passage omitted]

In conclusion, Comrade Bai Dongcai called on the propaganda departments of party committees at all levels, the press and the radio to make specific arrangements for and give specific guidance in the study of the 12th Party Congress documents; to select typical advanced examples, promptly sum up their experiences and popularize them; to commend individuals and units that have successfully studied the congress documents; and to help those that lag behind with their study so as to advance the movement to study the congress documents.

CSO: 4005/106

PARTY AND STATE

NANCHANG PEOPLE'S CONGRESS, CPPCC MEETINGS HELD

OW041435 Nanchang JIANGXI Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Sep 82

[Text] The first session of the eighty Nanchang Municipal People's Congress and the first meeting of the seventh Nanchang Municipal CPPCC Committee were held in Nanchang from 22 to 29 September.

During the meetings, deputies and members from various fronts in the municipality conscientiously studied documents of the 12th Party Congress and expressed their determination guided by the spirit of the 12th Party Congress to further heighten their revolutionary spirit and work with one heart and one mind, and contribute their efforts to creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and building Nanchang into a prosperous, civilized, clean and fine socialist city.

The two meetings approved Comrade (Zhao Zhijiang's) work report at the first session of the eighth Nanchang Municipal People's Congress and Comrade (Guo Xiaofu's) work report at the first meeting of the seventh Nanchang Municipal CPPCC Committee respectively; approved Nanchang City's 1981 final accounts and 1982 budget; and approved the work reports of the Nanchang Municipal Intermediate People's Court and the municipal people's procuratorate.

Through full deliberations and democratic elections, the meetings elected (Zhang Fusheng) as chairman, and (Yan Fengshen), (Zhang Daosheng), (Hou Zonghe) and (Ouyang Ming) as vice chairmen. of the standing committee of the Nanchang Municipal People's Congress; (Zhao Zhijian) as mayor, and (Zhang Wanhai), (Wang Wencai), (Yao Xizhong), (Li Benying), (Gao Hongxun) and (Jiang Jinting) as vice mayors of Nanchang Municipality; and (Zhao Ming) as chairman, and (Guo Jiafu), (Jiang Jinting), (Zhang Daosheng), (Xiao Ergong), (Li Huanran), (Xu Dewan), (Ding Zelin), (Zhou Zhifang) and (Wan Xianhao) as vice chairmen of the Nanchang Municipal CPPCC Committee. (Yang Zihui) was elected president of the Nanchang Municipal Intermediate People's Court. A chief procurator of the Nanchang Municipal People's Procuratorate was also elected and this was reported to higher levels for approval.

CSO: 4005/106

NEI MONGGOL MILITARY DISTRICT STUDIES CONGRESS GUIDELINES

SK031042 Hohhot NEI MONGGOL Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Oct 82

[Text] The regional military district held an enlarged meeting of its CPC committee from 20-30 September to study and implement the documents of the 12th Party Congress, to pledge to do a better job in building the party committee in accordance with the congress guidelines and to lead the broad masses of commanders and fighters to make new contributions to creating a new situation in building a modern and regular army.

During the meeting, participants heard relayed reports by the regional delegates to the 12th Party Congress and conscientiously studied and discussed the congress documents by using Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech as the guiding ideology in the light of the reality in building the party committees of the PLA units at and above regimental level of the military district since the Third Plenary Session.

Zhang Debin, political commissar of the Nei Monggol Regional Military District, delivered a report entitled: "Implement the Guidelines of the 12th Party Congress, Improve the Leadership of Party Committees and Struggle to Implement All Tasks of the Party in the New Period." In the report, Zhang Debin reviewed and summed up the achievements gained since the Third Plenary Session and made suggestions for implementing the congress guidelines and for further strengthening the party committees of the regional PLA units at and above regimental level. Zhang Debin said: Studying, publicizing and implementing the documents of the 12th Party Congress is not only an important political task of the party committees at all levels but also is important for building oneself up. From now until next June, the PLA party committees at all levels, through conducting general study and study on special topics, must organize the party committee members to conscientiously study Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech, Comrade Hu Yaobang's report, the new party constitution and the speeches delivered by various leaders. Through study, we can deeply understand the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress, firmly foster a communist ideal and conviction, consciously resist the corrosive influence of capitalist ideology, maintain the purity of communism and, through our model actions, influence and bring along cadres and fighters to enable the PLA units throughout the region to change in terms of ideology, politics, military affairs and work styles to ensure the fulfillment of all kinds of training in preparation against war.

Cai Ying, commander of the Nei Monggol Regional Military District, made arrangements for the PLA units and militia throughout the region to further study the documents of the 12th Party Congress, urging the party committees at all levels to regard the relay and implementation of the congress documents as a current matter of primary importance and to grasp them firmly and well.

Zhou Hui, first secretary of the Nei Monggol Regional Military District Party Committee, and Ting Mao, second secretary, attended and spoke at the conclusion of the meeting.

CSO: 4005/106

PARTY AND STATE

12TH CPC CONGRESS DOCUMENTS BEING STUDIED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Oct 82 p 1

[Article: "Encourage the People to Work Hard at Construction of Material and Spiritual Civilizations, Use the Spirit of the 12th CPC Congress to Unify the Ideology of the People Throughout the Party and the Nation--Leading Party and Government Cadres of Each Area Are Leading in the Study and Publicizing of Documents of the 12th CPC Congress"]

[Text] News from certain provinces, cities and autonomous regions indicates: leading party and government cadres of every area are leading the study of and publicizing the documents of the 12th CPC Congress, seeing to it that the program and strategic goals of the congress are known to all, using the spirit of the congress to unify the ideology of the people throughout the party and the nation and encouraging the people to struggle hard to create a new overall situation in socialist modernization construction.

The Beijing CPC Committee held an 8 day enlarged session to organize municipal party committee members and the primary cadres in charge of each department, committee and office in the municipal government and every bureau under city direction in study of the documents of the 12th CPC Congress. At the session, Duan Junyi [3008 0689 3015] requested that leading cadres at every level take the lead in serious study of the documents, thoroughly grasp their essence, and realize every goal raised by the 12th CPC Congress in accord with the actual conditions of their own units and systems, contributing to breakthroughs in socialist modernization construction. After the 12th CPC Congress concluded, the Shanghai CPC Committee convened in succession an enlarged session of its standing committee and a citywide Party Conference for Cadres in Positions of Responsibility in order to pass on and study the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress. Chen Guodong [7115 0948 2767] used a television broadcast to publicize the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress to party members, cadres and the masses throughout the city, requesting that the people of Shanghai seriously study the documents of the congress and make contributions to the realization of the program and the goals determined by the 12th CPC Congress. At a citywide Leading Party Cadre Conference convened by the Tianjin municipal CPC committee, Chen Weida [7115 0251 6671] said that it is necessary to supply some supplemental guidance and to print propaganda materials, but that our primary energies should be devoted to a penetrating

study of the original documents themselves. He requested that all the leading comrades of the standing committee of the municipal CPC committee and of the party committees of each department thoroughly understand the study situation of their cadres and the masses and accurately answer questions raised by them in study. The Ningxia Moslem Autonomous Region held a 12th CPC Congress study class that was attended by the party secretaries and the heads of the propaganda departments of every city, area and county throughout the region, as well as the primary persons in charge of each department under direct regional control.

In order to pass on and study the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress, certain localities convened meetings where they did not replace study of documents with discussions of work as was done in the past, but rather seriously read and discussed the documents with the emphasis on deepening their understanding of the spirit of the congress. When passing on and publicizing the 12th CPC Congress documents, many leading cadres have spoken at length of their personal understanding gained through study, guiding everyone in unifying ideology and reality and in correctly understanding the spirit of the documents. When speaking at the Leading Party Cadre Conference in Hubei Province, Chen Pixian [7115 0012 7359] expounded on the tremendous significance of taking the notion of "a high degree of ideological and political unanimity" found in the new constitution to be a basic demand made of everyone throughout the party. He pointed out that one important understanding that the people in Hubei Province have gained in their practical work since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee is that only by maintaining ideological and political unanimity with the Party Central Committee can work progress and victories be continually achieved. From now on, if we want to complete the strategic task raised by the 12th CPC Congress of making a comprehensive breakthrough in socialist modernization construction, we must also emphasize maintaining ideological and political unanimity with the Party Central Committee. When passing on the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress to cadres at the provincial, prefectural and county levels in Jiangsu Province, Xu Jiatun [6079 1367 1470] requested that everyone deeply comprehend the spirit of the documents of the congress, combine a serious study of the features of China's socialist construction with the realities of Jiangsu, do well in the construction of socialist material and spiritual civilization, of socialist democracy and of the party, strengthen consciousness and raise the level of leadership of party committees at every level. The Guangdong provincial CPC committee convened a province-wide Conference of Major Leading Cadres on every battlefront and at every level above the county and Ren Zhongyi [0117 0112 1138] gave a talk on the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress documents. The comrades who attended expressed confidence that, under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress, Guangdong would carry out special policies and lively measures and could definitely continue to develop its own areas of superiority, make a breakthrough in the construction of socialist material and spiritual civilizations and make new contributions to the nation.

Certain leading cadres of the party and the government returned to their own units and prefectures after attending the congress. They immediately began

serious study of the documents of the congress with the cadres and the masses of their areas.

In one session and one enlarged meeting of the Heilongjiang standing committee, Yang Yizhen [2799 2496 6591] passed on the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress and drew on actual conditions there in speaking of his own personal feelings about attending the congress and of his understanding gained through a study of the documents. Wei Jianhang [1414 0256 5887], a deputy secretary of the Harbin municipal CPC committee and an alternate on the Party Central Committee, upon returning to Harbin from Beijing, went to the Dongbei Light Alloy Processing Plant. He was selected to work on the municipal party committee by this plant. He passed on the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress to the plant party committee and then went to 2 workshops and certain administrative offices to exchange understanding of the congress documents with everyone. Deputy Mayor Qin Yuefang [4440 2588 5364] of Harbin, after the 12th CPC Congress concluded, spoke on separate occasions to municipal and district government cadres, neighborhood cadres and agricultural work cadres in outlying areas about the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress documents. Up to 1 October her daily schedule was completely full--many units invited her to speak and she gladly agreed. The second day after Qiang Xiaochu [1730 2556 0443] and others returned to Changchun, he passed on the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress to party cadres on the standing committee and in agencies under provincial control at an enlarged session of the standing committee of the provincial CPC committee, and he spoke of his own deep feelings, requesting that an enthusiastic tide of study of the documents of the 12th CPC Congress be raised throughout the province. When Liang Buting [2733 2975 1656] returned to Xining, he discussed and studied the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress with the standing committee of the provincial CPC committee and the persons in charge of each department of the provincial CPC committee.

9705
CSO: 4005/44

PARTY AND STATE

BEIJING TROOPS ATTEND CLASSES TO STUDY SPIRIT OF 12TH CPC CONGRESS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Oct 82 p 1

[Article: "Work To Understand and Get a Hold On the Basic Spirit of the 12th CPC Congress Documents--Troops in Beijing Hold Universal Cadre Training Classes For Cadres Above the Regiment Level"]

[Text] Reporters Zhao Su [6392 5685] and Ling Zhijun [0402 1807 6511] report: the party committees of PLA troops in Beijing have adopted the method of using short term group training in organizing cadres above the regiment level to study the documents of the 12th CPC Congress one topic at a time, helping everyone to work to understand and get a hold on the basic spirit of the documents, and the results have been good.

At present, from leading organs of the troops in Beijing to every unit under their direction, all have focused on leading cadres and leading agencies in first holding study sessions of about 10 days in length for cadres above the level of regiment, concentrating on handling time, people and energy, and they have changed the previous situation of lackadaisical study by agency cadres.

In terms of study methods, they have also changed the way of holding superficial discusssions, "turning the great millstone," and now thoroughly and intensively read every word of the original documents, and then, on the foundation of an overall understanding of the spirit of the documents, carry out topic by topic discussion in accordance with the 6 parts of the 12th CPC Congress report. When discussing each topic, everyone raises various matters that they have individually considered, leading the others in seriously thinking about them. Some units, when discussing the specific topic "On Hastening a Comprehensive High Tide in the Socialist Economy," deal with the confused understanding displayed in their study by some comrades and bring up various specific matters for consideration such as "what are the differences between the overall struggle goals of economic construction brought out at the 12th CPC Congress and the 'Grand Program' put forth in 1978?" and "what are the advantageous conditions helping us realize the overall struggle goals?" This strengthens an understanding of these matters.

Members of unit party committees and 12th CPC Congress representatives pay close attention to using the positive fruits of their own study to spur on study by unit cadres.

9705
CSO: 4005/44

PARTY AND STATE

JIANGXI'S BAI CONGCAI ON SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

OW080505 Nanchang JIANGXI Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Oct 82

[Excerpts] According to JIANGXI RIBAO, the Propaganda Department of the provincial party committee held a meeting on the afternoon of 5 October to make arrangements for publicizing and implementing the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress, conducting extensive "five stresses and four beauties" activities and further solving the problems of poor sanitary conditions, disorderliness and poor service.

Conveyed at the meeting were the opinions of Bai Dongcai, first secretary of the provincial party committee, on how to conduct extensive "five stresses and four beauties" activities and how to regularly tackle the problems of poor sanitary conditions, disorderliness and poor service. Comrade Bai Dongcai called for the following:

1. It is necessary to give wide publicity to the great significance of building a socialist spiritual civilization and the requirements for this and to strengthen regular ideological work.

2. It is necessary to commend those who do a good job and to criticize those who do a poor one.

3. It is necessary to check up on this work. A general checkup is to be made in late October. The results should be published in the press in order to further promote the "five stresses and four beauties" activities.

In accordance with the CPC Central Committee Propaganda Department's requirements for tackling the problems of poor sanitary conditions, disorderliness and poor service throughout the country in October and with the opinions of the leading comrades of the provincial party committee, the meeting called for people in all localities to swing into action and further mobilize the masses to sum up the experiences they have gained since the all-people civility and courtesy month, to seriously study existing problems, to take effective measures to solve such problems and to carry out such measures conscientiously.

The meeting put forward the following opinions:

1. Wide publicity should be given to the thesis set out in the documents of the 12th Party Congress on the building of socialist spiritual civilization in order to promote the deepening of the "five stresses and four beauties" activities.

2. The stress of such activities should be put on tackling the problems of poor sanitary conditions, disorderliness and poor service.

3. "Five stresses and four beauties" activities are a specific form for currently conducting communist education. In carrying out such activities, it is necessary to step up publicity and education in communist ideals, morality and discipline in order to raise people's political consciousness and moral standards.

4. It is necessary to particularly carry out relevant measures in basic units.

5. Inspection and supervision should be strengthened.

6. All propaganda units should step up their work in publicizing the great significance of building a socialist spiritual civilization, and all journalistic units should strengthen their reporting on "five stresses and four beauties" activities. While tackling the problems of poor sanitary conditions, disorderliness and poor service, efforts should be made to tackle problems of mental pollution [jing shen wu ran 4737 4377 3064 2676] and to investigate and dispose of obscene tape recordings.

CSO: 4005/106

STATE AND PARTY

BAI DONGCAI AT 6TH JIANGXI PROVINCIAL GAMES

OW081122 Nanchang JIANGXI Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Guided by the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress, the sixth Jiangxi Provincial Games opened at the Provincial Stadium this morning. [passage omitted]

Attending the opening ceremony were responsible persons of the provincial CPC committee, provincial people's congress, provincial government, provincial CPPCC committee, provincial military district and the Nanchang Army Academy, including Bai Dongcai, Yang Shangkui, (Zhan Zengyi), Wu Ping, Zhao Zhijian, Li Fangyuan, Zhang Yuqing, Xie Xianghuang, Zhang Guozhen, Li Shizhang, (Zheng Xiaoxian), Fang Qian, Lai Shaoyao, Shen Hanqing, (Li Yanling), (Wang Lingde) and (Dong Cai), as well as responsible persons of the other provincial-level organizations including the provincial trade union, women's and CYL organizations, and representatives of the province's advanced units in physical culture and sports.

[Passage omitted] Xu Qin, standing committee member of the provincial CPC committee, vice governor of Jiangxi, and chairman of the organizational committee for the provincial games, delivered the opening address.

[Begin Xu Qin recording] Comrades, the sixth Jiangxi Provincial Games are being held at a time when the people throughout the country are conscientiously studying, publicizing and implementing the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress. On behalf of the Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee and the Jiangxi Provincial People's Government, I extend a warm welcome to the athletes, coaches, umpires and physical culture workers from various areas of the province. The 12th CPC Congress has explicitly pointed out that physical culture and other cultural undertakings are an important aspect of spiritual civilization. Physical culture is an important condition needed by the building of material civilization as well as a necessary condition in enhancing the political and moral character of the masses of the people education on patriotism, communis, discipline, the importance of observing discipline and the revolutionary heroic spirit of surmounting difficulties and hardships can be conducted by means of holding regular mass sports activities, for such education will fire the enthusiasm of the masses to work hard for the prosperity of the Chinese nation and the realization of the four modernizations. [end recording]

Comrade Xu Qin continued:

[Begin Xu Qin recording] The provincial games serve as a good means for reviewing the development of physical culture in our province and the progress made on the physical culture front in building a spiritual civilization. All athletes, coaches, umpires and other personnel involved in the provincial games must hold high the banner of the 12th CPC Congress, uphold the principle of "friendship first, competition second," carry forward the Chinese national women's volleyball team's spirit of daring to fight, and must strive to achieve outstanding results. [end Xu Qin recording]

[passage omitted] Comrade Xu Qin continued:

[Begin Xu Qin recording] We must strive to advance physical culture in our province and catch up with the advanced level in this field.

Comrades, let us work hard to bring about a new situation in physical culture work in our province. I wish the provincial games a complete success. [end recording]

After Xu Qin's speech, (Wang Youngfeng), an athlete from Nanchang Municipality, spoke on behalf of all the participating athletes.

Wrestling, fencing and gymnastic demonstrations were performed following the conclusion of the opening ceremony.

CSO: 4005/106

PARTY AND STATE

ANHUI CPC CONGRESS DOCUMENTS' STUDY CLASS BEGINS

OW130517 Hefei ANHUI Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Excerpts] The first class of the 12th Congress Documents Study Class for cadres at and above provincial bureau level opened on the morning of 11 October at the Anhui Provincial CPC Committee's party school. The number of students is 825. Comrade Lan Ganting, deputy secretary of the provincial party committee and director of the committee's propaganda department, announced the study plan at the opening ceremony. Comrade Yang Weiping, secretary of the provincial party committee, spoke. [passage omitted]

Comrade Yang Weiping pointed out that the over-all guiding ideology for this study class is Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech at the 12th CPC National Congress. The class is expected to conscientiously study the 12th Congress documents and grasp the congress' guidelines. Self-study will be the main method, to be supplemented by group discussions. The following major points must be thoroughly understood: the historical status of the 12th CPC National Congress and the general task of the party in the new historical period; the strategical targets, principles and policies of China's socialist economic construction; the building of socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology at the core; stepped-up building of the party and upholding and improving of the party's leadership; and satisfactory fulfillment of the four major tasks and realization of the three fundamental turns for the better in order to bring about a more in-depth study of the 12th Congress documents.

CSO: 4005/106

PARTY AND STATE

ANHUI PROVINCIAL CYL CONGRESS CLOSES 12 OCT

OW131106 Hefei ANHUI Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Oct 82

[Excerpts] The seventh Anhui Provincial CYL Congress triumphantly closed 12 October. The 5-day congress successfully accomplished the scheduled tasks.

During the congress the representatives seriously studied the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress and warmly discussed the speeches delivered at the congress by Yan Youmin, secretary of the Anhui Provincial CPC Committee, and (Xu Jinjie), standing committee member of the Anhui Provincial CCP Committee. The congress examined and approved the work report by Comrade (Wang Houfeng), deputy secretary of the Anhui Provincial CYL Committee. After careful discussions and consultations, the seventh Anhui Provincial CYL Committee was formed by elections. The congress also elected representatives to attend the 11th National CYL Congress.

The representatives at the congress pledged to follow the 12th CPC National Congress guidelines, unite and lead all the CYL members in the province to struggle for the realization of grand objectives of the CPC in the new historic period. [passage omitted] The representatives held that the primary and fundamental task of the CYL is to seriously educate CYL members with communist ideology. The CYL organizations at various levels must, in accordance with the congress guidelines, actively study and publicize communism. They must also lead the CYL members and youths to study the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought, as well as unfold activities on learning from Lei Feng, fostering advanced deeds and promoting the "five stresses and four beauties." [passage omitted]

Attending the closing ceremony were responsible persons of the provincial CPC committee, the provincial people's congress standing committee, the provincial people's government and the provincial CPPCC committee (Song Hua), Yuan Zhen, (Liu Lianming), Cheng Guanghua, (Shi Chun), Li Guangtao, Yang Jike and Fang Xiangming, (Liu Qibao), deputy secretary of the provincial CYL committee, delivered a closing speech. He called on all representatives to seriously relay and implement the congress guidelines and turn the guidelines into a strong motivational force in youth work.

CSO: 4005/106

PARTY AND STATE

ANSHAN IRON, STEEL PARTY GROUPS REFORMED

OW150539 Beijing Domestic Service in Chinese 1316 GMT 13 Oct 82

[Text] Shenyang, 13 Oct (XINHUA)--With the approval of the CPC central committee, the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry and the Liaoning Provincial CPC Committee, the Anshan Iron and Steel Company has recently built new party and political leading groups, thus successfully realizing the cooperation and replacement of old by new cadres and making a promising step towards revolutionizing the rank and file of cadres, in reducing the average age of the leading cadres at all levels and raising their level of education and professional competence.

The Anshan Iron and Steel Company originally had a large number of personnel in the party and political leading groups, most of whom were old and only a few were specialized technical cadres. After readjustment among the party and political leading groups, the number of secretaries and deputy secretaries, managers and vice managers and directors and deputy directors of the political department in the company was reduced from 25 to the present 13; the average age dropped from 56.6 to 52.5; personnel with senior middle school education level or above now occupy 81.8 percent of the positions; and 45 percent of leading members holds specialized, technical job titles. The new leading groups contain respected old comrades, as well as experts in the prime of life, who are at home with iron and steel production, Gu Zhengrong [6253 2983 2837] is secretary of the company's party committee; Yin Yuan [3009 3220] is the company manager. In the course of building new party and political leading groups, many old cadres took the initiative in withdrawing to the second and third lines in the general interest of the four modernizations, while recommending and promoting capable replacements; they also pledged to be good advisors, help the new leading members along and give allout support to the new leading groups in performing their work. The party committee of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company has made proper arrangements in work as well as in livelihood for old comrades who stepped back from the first line.

While building new party and political leading groups, the Anshan Iron and Steel Company had also made corresponding readjustments and initial reforms in the company's functional structure to cope with the need of modernizing enterprises.

Currently, Anshan Iron and Steel Company's party and political leading groups have, in the course of studying and implementing the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress, put forward 10 provisions for improving the style of work and work methods and strengthening revolutionization. They pledged to lead the broad masses of workers and staff members in improving Anshan Iron and Steel Company's production and technical renovation and to make new contributions towards opening up a new situation for socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/106

PARTY AND STATE

ANHUI CPC COMMITTEE ON SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT

OW140440 Hefei ANHUI Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Oct 82

[Text] The Anhui Provincial CPC Committee held a provincial telephone conference last night calling on all localities throughout the province to earnestly publicize and implement the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress and to develop activities about the "five stresses" and "four beauties" in our province in a penetrating and sustained way.

Present at the conference were Yan Youmin and Yuan Zhen, secretaries of the provincial CPC committee. Deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee Lan Ganting spoke. He said: In the course of studying and publicizing the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, various localities must look upon the activities to promote the "five stresses" and "four beauties" as an important measure in implementing the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress. He called on CPC committees and governments at all levels throughout the province to develop their activities with the same vigor they displayed during the first all-people civility and courtesy month and to make further efforts to straighten out the state of dirtiness, disorder and poor service. First of all, the eight municipalities and prefectures directly under the province and the cities in the prefectures must take action to develop the activities this month. During new year and the spring festival, the people in the cities and the countryside must launch mass activities and vigorously carry out propaganda and education on communist ideology and on socialist spiritual civilization in order to foster a new atmosphere and bring down old customs. In activities to promote the "five stresses" and "four beauties," various localities must strengthen organizational leadership and work guidance and accumulate experience step by step so as to develop the activities in waves and in an orderly manner and to lay solid groundwork for the all-people civility and courtesy month activities next year.

Also attending the conference were responsible party and government comrades and responsible comrades of provincial departments, committees, offices and bureaus.

CSO: 4005/106

PARTY AND STATE

'NANFANG RIBAO' ON REMOVING 'LEFTIST' INFLUENCE

HK261438 Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Guo Rongchang [6753 2837 2490]: "Continue to Eliminate 'Leftist' Influence, Create a New Situation in Construction in the Mountain Areas"]

[Text] The 12th Party Congress has set the general goal for our country's economic construction for the period from 1981 to the end of this century. This goal is to strive to quadruple our annual industrial and agricultural output value and raise our people's material standard of living to a comparatively well-off level. This is the most important task for creating an overall new situation in our socialist modernization. We, the CPC committees at all levels and the broad ranks of party members in Zhaoging Prefecture, like the people in the whole country and in the whole province, are determined to resolutely implement the spirit of the 12th Congress, do all our work well and contribute our share to the realization of this magnificent strategic role.

More than half of Zhaoqing Prefecture is mountainous. The area and population of the mountainous areas constitute about 70 percent of the total area and population of the prefecture. The rich forest, water power, minerals and other resources and the various kinds of forestry and sideline products in these areas are the foundation for the economic development of the whole prefecture. Therefore, fully utilizing the resources of the mountainous areas, tapping the potential of these areas, giving play to their advantages and further speeding up the construction in these areas is of especially great significance for promoting the all-round economic development of our prefecture as well as a strategic policy decision that our prefecture must adopt in order to realize the strategic goal set by the 12th Congress.

How can we speed up construction in our mountainous areas? After repeated study of the 12th Congress documents and summing up historical experience in light of the spirit of this congress, our ideas have become more clear. In the past, because of the erroneous influence of "leftism," we excessively transcended the level of the development of the productive force of the mountainous areas in reforming our relations of production. This seriously harmed the initiative of the masses. As a result, despite our repeated efforts in developing forestry and in construction in the mountainous areas, these areas have never succeeded in putting an end to their poverty and

backwardness. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have gradually carried out a series of policies on developing forestry and construction in the mountainous areas which were formulated by the party central committee and provincial committee, and we have made some necessary readjustments in the relations of production in the mountainous areas in order to make these relations suited to the level of development of the productive force there. As a result, we have effectively given play to the initiative of the masses. The development of forestry and the construction in the mountainous areas have thus been enlivened anew. The economy in these areas has begun to be enlivened and there have been some changes in the poverty and backwardness there. The income of the people there has increased and their contributions to the country have remarkably risen. Moreover, there have emerged a number of communes and brigades that have become rich through utilizing mountain resources. This has provided new experiences for development and construction in the mountainous areas. Throughout the prefecture, there were 185 production teams in which the distribution from the collective exceeded 400 yuan last year. One hundred and twenty of these teams were in the mountainous areas. There were 10 teams in which the distribution from the collective exceeded 800 yuan, and 6 of these teams were in the mountainous areas. This was a heartening change. This has clearly shown the great might of the party's line, principles and policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of its 11th Central Committee. However, we must not fail to see that the speed of development of forestry and construction in the mountainous areas of our prefecture is not quick enough, nor is the change there big enough, and that we have not brought about a fundamental change in the poor and backward features in our mountainous areas. In 1980, there were 2,721 production teams in 86 communes in the forestry areas in which the distribution from the collective was below 50 yuan. These teams constituted 20 percent of the total number of production teams in our prefecture. In 1981, in most of the communes of the forestry area, the distribution from the collective was still below the prefectural average. Moreover, most of the poorest communes and brigades of our prefecture are in the mountainous areas. This is because some of our comrades even now have not clearly understood the idea that in developing production in the mountainous areas, we should adopt the form of diversified undertakings under the prerequisite of the adherence to the socialist public ownership and the idea that the implementation of the responsibility system linking remuneration with output does not change the socialist orientation. Therefore, they lack the courage and will power to readjust the relations of production in light of the actual conditions. In short, this is because we have not thoroughly eliminated the influence of "leftism" or conscientiously implemented the policies. That is why, in order to speed up construction in these areas and create an overall new situation in developing these areas, we should focus on the steadfast implementation of the line, principles and policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, using the spirit of the 12th Congress as a weapon to continue to eliminate the influence of "leftism," continue to adopt flexible policies to adapt the relations of production there to the level of development of the productive force and give the greatest possible play to the initiative of the people there.

According to the reality of our prefecture, in order to continue to eliminate the influence of "leftism" on the construction in the mountainous areas, we must make efforts in the following six aspects: 1) We should put an end to the erroneous policy and practice of "treating grain as the key link" and destroying forests for cultivation of grain and we should implement the correct policy of "treating forestry as the major undertaking, combining it with animal husbandry and fully developing all the various undertakings"; 2) We should put an end to the previous unrealistic practices of "developing large stretches of forest" and placing excessive stress on linking all the forests into a connected unit, readjust the layout of our forests, correctly handle the proportional relationships between timber forests, industrial forests and other forests and coordinate the development of these forests; 3) We should put an end to our previous single-product economic structure of engaging only in sales of timber and raw materials and develop diversified undertakings. We should vigorously develop farming, animal husbandry, processing, mining and small power plants, combine the development of agriculture with forestry and animal husbandry and simultaneously develop forestry, industry and sideline undertakings. By so doing, we will set up a rational economic structure in which various undertakings can promote one another; 4) We should reform the previous relations of production and way of management that transcended the level of development of the productive force, implement the production responsibility system linking remuneration with output and give full play to the initiative of the masses of people in the mountain areas in developing production; 5) We should put an end to the previous practice of placing too many things under unified management and making unified management too inflexible and carry out the policy of exerting strict control over the felling of trees, but relaxing our control over making and managing forests. We should allocate private stretches of mountains which should be allocated, assign by contract the management of barren mountains and dispersed forests which should be assigned. We should assign the production of small quantities of products appropriately to dispersed commune members; and 6) We should put an end to the previous erroneous practice of changing policies at will, maintain the stability and continuance of our policies and safeguard the prestige of the policies. The practices in many communes and brigades in the mountainous areas have proved that if we do not eliminate the influence of "leftism" in people's minds and in our actual work, it will be impossible for us to implement the party's policies or to give play to the initiative of the broad masses.

In the previous period, because we failed to conscientiously carry out the central committee's and the provincial CPC committee's policies on developing forestry and on construction in the mountainous areas, we continued to exercise overcentralized control and management of our forests. We have allocated too small an amount of private mountains. In the previous period, we allocated 1.305 million mu of private mountains which constitute only 1/3 of the area which must be allocated. On the other hand, we dare not assign by contracts other idle mountains and disperse forests to the management of the commune members or assign the production of small quantities of products to them. On the contrary, most of our management methods are still uniform centralized management. There is still 37 percent of our forestry production teams where the production responsibility system has not yet been established, even in

those teams where this system has been established, mostly, renumeration has not been linked with output. Therefore, at present, we should resolutely correct the tendencies of excessive and too strict centralization and of unformed centralized management. We should relax our policies, exercise strict control over felling and relax control over developing and managing forests. To be more specific, we should focus on grasping the following three things:

1. We should resolutely allocate a sufficient area of private mountains to commune members. All the communes and brigades that have not allocated private mountains or have not allocated sufficient areas of private mountains must resolutely allocate a sufficient area of private mountains to their commune members in accordance with the principles formulated by the provincial authorities. About 3 more million mu can be allocated in our prefecture. This work must be completed before the autumn harvest, or at the least, be roughly completed by then. Furthermore, there always are some dispersed stretches of mountain slopes, unutilized land, sites and grounds of broken houses and idle land around houses in mountainous, hilly, plain and low-lying land. We should allocate all such land, except the part of it that we want to reserve for livestock breeding, to commune members in the light of the spirit of the principle of allocating private mountains and encourage commune members to cultivate trees, fruit trees and grass. If the land is too dispersed and small and is hard to allocate, we can invite commune members to tender for responsibility contract of the cultivation of the land. By so doing, we will be able to increase the income of our commune members as well as quickly turn barren mountains green and enlarge the afforested area.

2. We must conscientiously develop a number of professional and key households for cultivating industrial forests. We should act in accordance with the spirit of the central leading comrade's important instructions of "developing individual cultivation first, supplementing it with professional contracts and maintaining this manner of production at a constant for 30 years" that was written on January this year on the report on developing orange production in Jiangxi Province. We should also act in light of the factual conditions in our prefecture and conscientiously develop a number of professional and key households that cultivate industrial forests on a household basis. In our prefecture there are 6 million mu of barren mountains and remnant forests, of which 3 million mu will be allocated as private mountains and the other 3 million mu will be assigned by contracts to commune members, professional or key households who will retain all the products and income from the land assigned to them after the payment of 10 percent of their income to their collectives. This 10 percent of their income will be credited to local accumulation and used for repayment of the principal and interest of the loans. We should maintain this policy for a long time. The state and collective should provide funds, seeds, fertilizer and technical guidance to vigorously support the development of small bamboo plantations, tea plantations, orchards, medical herb plantations and industrial crops farms that are managed on household basis. If a household demands and has the conditions to manage more land, we can assign to them 10, 20 or even dozens of mu of land instead of the normal size of 1 or 2 mu.

3. We should implement in an overall manner the production responsibility system geared to forestry. We should develop diverse forms of this system and we must overcome our previous malpractice of seeking uniformity. We should popularize the contract responsibility system linking remuneration with output, because this system closely links power, responsibility and interests and therefore can give the best play to the initiative of the masses. Judging by the experiences and lessons that we have drawn from our past and by our present situation, generally, we can adopt the following forms of the system: our timber forests should be managed by professional teams and a part of the local accumulation or timber income should be allocated to these teams for the remuneration and bonuses of professional personnel. These forests can also be divided up and assigned to households if conditions exist for effectively preventing excessive lumbering and safeguarding the resources. The managment of rosin forests should not be assigned to persons by drawing lots every year. This will result in constant changes in the person in charge of the management and will thus cause destruction of the rosin resources. We should assign fixed persons to fixed forests and these persons should be responsible not only for the management of the forests but also for the collection of rosin. Once assigned, these people should not be moved for 10 or 15 years, but we should clearly stipulate that if any of them violate the state law and destroy mountain and forest resources, he will be dismissed immediately. The industrial forests can be divided up and assigned to households to be managed. A fixed production quota and a fixed levy should be assigned to them. They can also be assigned to hand in a fixed share of their income to the state. The existing small bamboo plantations, tea plantations, orchards, medical herb plantations and industrial crop farms can be assigned to professional groups, households or individuals. If we implement and continuously perfect these diverse forms of the responsibility system geared to forestry, we will surely raise the masses' initiative in making and managing forests. Thus we will not only effectively put an end to excessive lumbering and satisfactorily protect our forest resources, we will also raise the economic returns of our forestry, increase the income of our masses and make greater contributions to the state.

Because the implementation of the production responsibility system geared to forestry on the two "3 million mu of land" is not only the actual reflection of the further emancipation of minds and relaxation of policies in our work in the mountainous areas, but also the key to the creation of a new situation in the construction in our prefecture's mountainous areas, our party committees at all levels must view this task from the plane of the strategic goal of the 12th Congress, adopt a resolute and conscientious attitude and vigorously grasp the fulfillment of this task in accordance with local conditions and in a practical, planned and orderly manner. However, we should not do this by means of coercion and commandism or seek uniformity, otherwise, this will only be the beginning and an abrupt ending of the uproad without achieving anything. If we pay attention to the above-mentioned tasks, we will be able to turn green all the baren mountains and remnant forests in our prefecture. If on all the 6 million mu of barren mountains and remnant forests, we cultivated mixed and industrial forests, according to current figures, every mu will yield more than 200 yuan. This means an 1.2 billion yuan increase in the total income or a 400-500 yuan increase in the average

annual income of the 3.2 million people in the mountainous areas. The output of the local mountain and forestry products and sideline products will also greatly increase. As a result, not only the income but also the contributions to the state of the people in the mountainous areas will surely increase accordingly. This will greatly benefit both the state and the people. Furthermore, this will lay a strong and sound material foundation for the overall development of our prefecture's national economy and greatly increase our capability in achieving the strategic goal of the 12th Congress.

CSO: 4005/90

PARTY AND STATE

'NANFANG RIBAO' CALLS FOR PURGE OF 'THREE CATEGORIES'

HK170315 Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Oct 82 p 1

["Short" commentary: "Purge 'Three-Category Persons' from the Leadership Groups"]

[Text] The letter entitled "People Who Rose to Power Through Rebelling Cannot Be Allowed to Go on Making Trouble" has exposed the issue of how Tang Gengchen, former vice chairman of the Zhanjiang Customs Revolutionary Committee, a man who rose to power through rebelling during the "cultural revolution," is still making trouble and causing great disruption in the Zhanjiang customs. We must attach great importance to this issue. The exposure of the Tang Gengchen problems shows that the principle put forward by the 12th Party Congress that "people of three categories" (those who followed Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company and rose to power through rebelling during the "cultural revolution," those with gravely factionalist thinking, and those who engaged in beating, smashing and looting) must be resolutely purged from the leadership groups is completely correct. It must be resolutely implemented.

The infiltration of "three-category persons" into the leadership groups is a problem left over from the "Great Cultural Revolution." Judging by the shocking story of how Tang Gengchen has caused great disruption in the customs, it is a fact that there are still persons of these categories who have not yet been dealt with. Although there are not many of them, they have very great capacity for maneuver. In certain places where the leadership groups are weak or lax, these people are still acting in a completely lawless way, constantly make trouble without justifiable cause, and even openly violate law and flout discipline. Tang Gengchen is a typical example. Certain others among them appear to behave very well, but the moment they get the chance they are very likely to jump out and make trouble and again endanger the state and the people. It is evident that purging the "three-category persons" is a major issue that absolutely has to be solved in building the leadership groups at all levels. Only by purging these people from the leadership groups can we further consolidate and develop the excellent situation of stability and unity and ensure the smooth progress of the socialist modernization drive.

However, there are still certain comrades who lack sufficient understanding of the importance of purging the "three-category persons." The thinking of certain comrades is benumbed and they cannot make a proper estimate of the capacity of and dangers posed by these people. Some fail to carry out investigation and study and thus lack a clear picture of these persons. Some fail to stress party principles and do not purge people who protected them in the past, even though they are seriously in question. Others are worried that they are unable to draw accurate demarcation lines in policies, and so on. Hence, correcting ideological understanding and getting a clear idea of the policy demarcation lines is the key to doing a good job in purging "three-category persons." The reason why Tang Gengchen, this person who has repeatedly jumped out to make trouble, was not promptly dealt with is to a very great extent linked to the fact that the leaders concerned had not corrected their ideological understanding. We hope that the leading departments concerned of the Zhanjiang Prefectural CPC Committee will summon up resolve to deal severely with Tang Gengchen. Other places too must absorb the experiences and lessons of the Zhanjiang customs and seriously solve the problem of "three-category persons" in building the leadership groups. Of course, we must at the same time get a firm grasp of the policies and pay attention to work methods, so that the work of purging these persons will be carried out accurately and properly.

CSO: 4005/90

PARTY AND STATE

JIANGXI'S DEFENSE INDUSTRY PROMOTES PRODUCTION

OW200652 Nanchang JIANGXI Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 18 Oct 82

[Excerpts] According to a report by this station's correspondent (Huang Sini), the party organizations at all levels of Jiangxi's National Defense Industry Department have persistently integrated the study of the 12th Party Congress documents with their efforts in formulating long-range plans and in promoting current tasks. While keeping the future in mind, they have based themselves on the present and exerted concrete efforts in promoting industrial production. By end of September, the department had fulfilled 83.2 percent of its 1982 output value plan and registered a 24.3 percent increase in output over the corresponding period of 1981. [passage omitted]

While launching activities to save 1 yuan per person on a daily basis, CYL members and other young workers of (Guangming) Machinery Plant have devoted their spare time to cleaning up (?pollutants) and retrieving scraps of aluminum alloy. So by doing, they have not only provided materials urgently needed in production but saved the plant more than 6,000 yuan.

To achieve the grand goal of quadrupling output set forth by the 12th CPC National Congress, this department has mapped out plans for turning out a record output value in 1983 and has gotten everyone from the bottom to the top involved. The plans call for doubling the department's output value in 1985 and quadrupling it by the year 2000. [passage omitted]

CSO: 4005/106

PARTY AND STATE

LIAONING COMMENTS ON SMALL-SCALE EGALITARIANISM

SK200735 Shenyang LIAONING Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 19 Oct 82

[Station commentary: "Even the Practice of Eating From a Small Common Pot of Gruel Should Not Be Adopted"]

[Text] From a work group which assigns farm work on a household basis, we have learned that the system of assigning farm work on a household basis is extensively adaptable and has become a common wish to peasants in many places, and that the practice of eating from a small pot of gruel in distribution should be checked. In other words, no matter what responsibility systems we adopt, the principle of to each according to his work should be earnestly implemented so that the work results of laborers are directly linked with their economic interests. Following our efforts to stop chaos and restore order after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our comrades have come to understand that the practice of eating from a large common pot of rice should no longer be adopted. However, there are still a few people who think that the practice of eating from a small common pot of gruel still works. As a matter of fact, both practices are expressions of egalitarianism and violate the party's policy of distribution according to one's work. They differ only in scale, not in essence.

As has been proved in practice, changing a large pot into a small one will not satisfy the people, but will have an adverse effect on unity and agricultural production. The responsibility system of assigning farm work on household basis, which is widely instituted in rural areas across the nation, is a good way to solve the problem. Under the system, differences in labor and commune members' income are recognized. Its principle for distribution of products is that first the quotas to be turned over to the state are fulfilled, then sufficient supplies are retained for collective use, and finally the rest belongs to individuals. This gives consideration to the interests of the state, the collective and individual and embodies the socialist principle of distribution according to one's work. The system has corrected the tendency of egalitarianism and promoted our agriculture. It is natural that the system enjoys the heartfelt support of millions of peasants.

Because of different specific conditions, it is impossible for us to one-sidedly adopt one specific system when we institute the responsibility systems.

At present, a few localities still resort to the system of assigning production quotas or farm work on work group basis. However, leading cadres in charge of rural work should see that under such a system, the practice of eating from a small common pot of gruel still exists, to different degrees, in distribution. We should adhere to the principle of respecting the material interests and decisionmaking power of producers so as to directly link the work results of laborer with their economic interests, and try our best to tackle the problems in distribution so as to boost peasants' enthusiasm to the highest.

CSO: 4005/106

'NANFANG RIBAO' EXPLAINS SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

HK220918 Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Oct 82 pp 1, 3

[Commentator's article: "Clarify Some Problems in Understanding the Building of Socialist Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] The 12th Party Congress set forth the task of striving to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. This has been brought to the attention of comrades inside and outside the party. People have talked a lot about this issue in their study. This is a good phenomenon because it shows that people are concerned with this matter. But how should we, from the height of theory and policics, correctly understand the significance and role of this matter included in the program and strategy for building socialism in all fields so as to guide our ideas and acts? There are indeed some questions which need to be solved.

"This is nothing but a repetition of the previous practice of 'giving prominence to politics'" and some people hold this view.

We answer: This is not right. The task of building spiritual civilization set forth by the 12th Party Congress is a strategic principle drawn up by the party after summing up our historic experiences and is a new concept derived from new conditions and problems in real life. This formulation represents a new development in scientific socialist theory. It has a specified meaning and contents, that is, it not only includes ideological education in respect to ideals, morality, discipline and so on, but also includes cultural development in various fields, such as education, art and literature, science and technology, public health, physical culture, etc. Thus spiritual civilization is an important characteristic of socialism. What we advocate is to build spiritual civilization when we are building material civilization. These two aspects are inseparable. They condition one another and serve as the purpose of one another. They are both important components of the program for building socialism in all fields. But the so-called "giving prominence to politics" is a slogan of subjective idealism and voluntarism advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." It separates the dialectical relationships between matter and consciousness and between politics and the economy but advertising that spirit decides everything and stresses that "politics can take the place of everything." Under this reactionary slogan, they rejected all production and economic activities and opposed the idea of

shifting the focus of party work into economic construction. As a result, the more "prominent" their political line was, the more setbacks our economic construction suffered and the more difficulties our people met within their lives. We experienced untold sufferings caused by them in the 10 years of turmoil. Now the spiritual civilization we need to build while building a high level of material civilization is designed to promote the building of material civilization and to guarantee its smooth development, so it has absolutely nothing to do with "giving prominence to politics." If we fail to draw a clear demarcation line and think that the building of [word indistinct] is the same thing as the previous practice of [words indistinct] politics by separating it from the economy and one-sidedly exaggerating the role of the spirit, then we are apt to deviate from the strategic principle of building spiritual civilization as drawn up by the 12th CPC National Congress.

"There is no need to raise so many slogans, we should concentrate our strength to build material civilization, then spiritual civilization will naturally be built." That is another opinion.

We do not need to build material civilization. The report given at the 12th Party Congress clearly advances that our gross annual output value in industry and agriculture will be quadrupled by the end of this century and that China will stand in the front ranks of the countries of the world in terms of gross national income and in the output of major industrial and agricultural products. Materials civilization indeed also serves as a foundation for spiritual civilization. The success in the building of material civilization can stimulate the development of spiritual civilization, in particular, the development in the cultural fields. But we should not simply think that spiritual civilization is merely a derivative or an accompaniment of material civilization and that the level of spiritual civilization can naturally rise when material civilization develops. In reality, spiritual civilization, especially people's political ideology and morality, always develops either faster or slower than material civilization does. Today material civilization in some developed capitalist countries is already rather high. People there have automobiles, comfortable houses and electric appliances. But many people have no ideals. They are barren and exhausted spiritually and are keen on mutual deception and rivalry. The number of drug addicts and criminals in these countries is very high. Some even reach a terrible stage. Some enlightened people in capitalist countries also deplore these problems. Thus it can be seen that spiritual civilization does not develop naturally along with the development of material civilization.

It needs to be stressed that the socialist spiritual civilization we advocate takes communist ideology as its core. Communist ideology is a scientific ideological system of Marxism. As Lenin pointed out, communist ideology cannot spontaneously emerge among the masses, but needs to be inculcated by communists [words indistinct], and only then can it be accepted by the masses. Therefore, while building spiritual civilization, we need to conduct education among the masses in communist ideals and moral values and through this education, build a new type of man-to-man relations characterized by unity and mutual aid and set up new moral and ethical

standards, revolutionary discipline and new social customs and habits. If we neglect or fail to do this work but exclusively go in for the building of material civilization and pay attention merely to material but pay no attention to people, then how can a society with a highly developed spiritual civilization naturally evolve? People who advocate that "spiritual civilization will naturally develop if material civilization is developed" do not know that the building of spiritual civilization cannot only guarantee a correct development orientation for the building of material civilization but can also give great impetus to the building of material civilization. What result would it lead to if we neglect this great task of building spiritual civilization guided communist ideology in the whole society? Things would become what Comrade Hu Yaobang points out in his report to the 12th Party Congress: "People will fall into a one-sided understanding of socialism and will exclusively direct their attention to the building of material civilization or even only to the pursuit of material gains. In that case, we will not be able to safeguard the socialist orientation of China's modernization, and our socialist society will lose its ideals and objectives, its spiritual motivation and fighting will, lose the ability to resist the inroad of corrupt influences and even develop in a distorted manner and degenerate." Obviously, a materially civilized society without spiritual civilization is not the socialist society we need to build.

"Over the past few years, ideological and political work has been neglected. It seems that things have gone so far that we cannot but turn back to handle this work. So the purpose of building spiritual civilization is nothing but a call to us to pay some attention to ideological and political work." That is again another opinion.

It is true that some people did not comprehensively understand the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee after the meeting was held and did not actively carry out the four cardinal principles after they were put forward, thus resulting in the slackening of ideological and political work in some localities and units. The task of building spiritual civilization set forth by the 12th Party Congress does include ideological and political work. This work is certainly very important, but it is merely an aspect of the building of spiritual civilization. As for this work itself, its contents now are much richer than what we considered in the past. It includes the ideological education among the masses in the following aspects: the Marxist world outlook and scientific theory, communist ideals, beliefs and moral values, the outlook of being masters of the country and collectivism, a concept of rights and duties and a sense of organization and discipline, the spirit of devotedly serving the people and a communist attitude toward work, and socialist patriotism and internationalism. In short, it will make everyone a person with lofty ideals, moral integrity, education and a sense of discipline.

Moreover, the task of building spiritual civilization also includes cultural development. If we narrowly consider that the building of spiritual civilization just means to carry out ideological and political work, we will, in fact, wittingly or unwittingly, deny cultural development. Ideological education and cultural development have mutually related points as well as

respective special points. Cultural development and the improvement of the knowledge level of the masses serve as important conditions for the building of material civilization as well as for the improvement of ideological consciousness and the moral standards of the masses. Therefore, cultural development also plays a great part in promoting ideological education. Cultural development covers a wide scope and refers to the development of such undertakings as education, science, art and literature, the press and publications, broadcasting and television, public health and physical culture, and libraries and museums. The development of these undertakings needs a certain material foundation and needs the training of able persons, and ideological and political work can never provide all of this. So it is incorrect to narrowly consider that spiritual civilization means ideological and political work.

This or that misunderstanding of the building of spiritual civilization put forward by the 12th Party Congress is mainly a problem of understanding. Some people do not understand or do not comprehensively understand a series of the party's principles and policies followed since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and they do not thoroughly understand the new theories put forward by the party in dealing with new problems in real life. As a result, they fear that the present formulation of building spiritual civilization indicates a repetition of the previous erroneous practices which have been liquidated. In view of this, it is still an urgent task to thoroughly study the documents of the 12th Party Congress and correctly and comprehensively understand the spirit of this congress.

CSO: 4005/90

'NANFANG RIBAO' ON IDEOLOGY, CURRENT POLICIES

HK281308 Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Oct 82 pp 1, 2

[Commentator's article: "Correctly Understand the Relationship Between Propagating Communist Ideology and Maintaining Current Policies"]

[Text] While studying the 12th CPC Congress documents, many comrades have enhanced their understanding of the significance of strengthening the propaganda and education of communist ideology in order to promote and ensure the progress of socialist modernization. However, some comrades ask: Ours is a socialist society, why should we stress communist education? Does the act of stressing the guiding role of communist ideology not conflict with the implementation of the current policies? How should we understand and handle the relationship between them? Obviously, it is absolutely necessary to clarify these problems in order to do well in carrying out communist ideological education, unswervingly implementing a series of guiding principles and policies adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and implementing the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress.

In his report delivered at the 12th CPC Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang explicitly pointed out: "Socialism is advancing steadily toward the goal of its higher phase--communism. This advance depends not only on the increase of material wealth but also on the steady growth of people's communist consciousness and revolutionary spirit. True, at the present stage, we must in our economic and social life persist in the system of 'to each according to his work' and other socialist systems." This shows the importance and necessity of carrying out communist ideological education at the socialist stage. This also tells us that the practice of carrying out communist ideological education does not conflict with the act of maintaining the current policies and that they are not mutually exclusive.

Since the birth of the CPC, the party has already led the proletariat and the people of the whole country to propagate communism and carry out the communist movement in an organized and planned way. It is only imminent and natural that we should propagate communist ideology in a socialist society. Although a socialist society is different from a communist society, they are related. Socialism is the first phase of communism. It will eventually be developed into a higher phase of communism through the protracted and arduous struggle of several generations. Our purpose in putting forth various tasks which carry

out socialist construction is to improve and consolidate the socialist social system. However, it is not our aim to realize a communist social system today. All these struggles should be guided by the communist ideology to create conditions step by step to attain the lofty goal of realizing communism. When we communists lead the people to accomplish these tasks of struggle, we should never for a moment deviate from the guidance of communist ideology. Therefore, propagating communist ideology and carrying forward the communist spirit is needed in order to consolidate and develop the socialist system and march toward the higher stage of communism. In the whole historical period of socialism, we should expand the propaganda and education of communist ideology. The idea that stressing communist ideological education oversteps the present historical stage actually separates socialism from communism and sets the present great struggle of building socialism against the ultimate goal of realizing communism. It is obvious that such an idea is wrong.

We should realize that it is a matter of particularly great significance to stress the act of strengthening communist ideological education now. Today we are shouldering the great task of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. We should use communist ideology to arm the broad masses of communist party members and CYL members and, through them, bring along the masses to attain the strategic tasks and targets set by the 12th CPC Congress. Without the guidance of communist ideology, there will not be genuine socialism. This requires that we strengthen the propaganda and education of communist ideology, raise people's political consciousness and enhance their capability of understanding and reforming the objective world. The higher the people arise their political consciousness, the fuller they will arouse their enthusiasm and creativeness. The greater the results achieved in various work, the more rapid will progress be made in socialist construction. The thing which we should particularly point out is that communist ideology is a powerful weapon for opposing the corrosion of capitalist ideology. Under the present condition that we are implementing a correct open door policy toward foreign countries and pursuing the practice of enlivening the domestic economy, we are faced with the severe struggle of opposing and resisting the corrosion of capitalist ideology. Because Guangdong is in a special position, this struggle will become more acute and complicated. through communist ideological education we can ensure that people will have revolutionary ideals, morals and discipline. They will be able to resist corrosion and avoid being affected by it.

Communist ideology is connected with but strictly distinguished from the current policies. The connection is determined mainly by the fact that the current policies are worked out in light of the practical conditions at our country's present stage under the guidance of the communist ideological system. The distinction is determined by the fact that the current policies are socialist policies which are different in nature from the policies of the higher stage of communism. We should learn to look at problems from all sides to effectively handle the relationship between communist ideology and correct policies. We should not overemphasize their differences and give up the work of promoting the propaganda and education of communist ideology when implementing the current policies. At the same time, we should not lay undue stress on their connection. When the problem of communism was raised, some

people wrongly thought that the more bombastic the words chanted the better. They did foolish things to violate the current policies. As a result, they threw people's thinking and work into confusion. At present, some comrades worry about the possibility that while emphasizing communist ideological education, if we fail to keep a cool head and the demarcation line concerning policies is not clearly drawn, "leftist" ideology might gain ground and we might repeat "leftist" mistakes. Their worry is understandable. For many years in the past, people suffered a lot from "leftist" mistakes. Once we talk about communism, it will remind us of such leftist mistakes as "communist wind," "larger in size and having a higher degree of public ownership," "issuing a confused order," "eating out of a big pot" and so forth. When we talk about this, we also worry about the possibility that the present popular policies might change. In fact, this is a complete misunderstanding.

We should definitely tell cadres and masses that those erroneous "leftist" stuffs which ran amuck for many years in the past run counter to Marxist principle, distort communism and socialism and harm the present and long-term interests of the masses. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Congress, our party has formulated and implemented a series of correct guiding principles and policies. These include implementing various responsibility systems, developing domestic side occupations, restoring private plots and mountains, opening rural fairs, encouraging some areas and peasants to get rich first, developing various kinds of economic ownership, pursuing the principle of relying mainly on planned economy while making regulation by market subsidiary, following an open-door policy and so forth. All these have shown that we have scored great success in thoroughly correcting the "leftist" mistakes, subjectivism and equalitarianism. These policies conform with our national conditions and are welcomed by the masses, they are not only the current policies of socialism, but are also in accord with the communist ideological system. They are the present task of the communist movement, which should be performed over a long time. If we step into the old shoes of the "leftist" mistakes, our socialist construction will be obstructed. Such being the case, it is absolutely impossible for us to talk about marching toward communist society.

Comprehending this profound truth, under the guidance of the communist ideology, we will be able to overcome interference from the "left" and the right, continue to emancipate our minds and unswervingly and healthily implement the current policies. For instance, some cadres do not understand the importance of implementing the responsibility system in production in the rural areas and bear resentment against it; some cadres are upset by the practice of developing various forms of economic ownership under the prerequisite of maintaining the leading role of the state economy; instead of encouraging and supporting the individual economy of laborers according to the party policy, some cadres restrict it by hook or by crook and some other comrades worry about and cast doubt upon the policy of encouraging some peasants to get rich first. There is no doubt that we should lead these comrades so that they will continue to eliminate the "leftist" influence and be bold in implementing these policies. They should understand that these policies are implemented because of the needs of building socialism and

marching toward communist society in the future. Let us look at some other examples. If people view the policy of distribution according to work from a bourgeois viewpoint, take money as the end-all, are preoccupied with personal gains and losses or work according to money gained, what they do runs counter to the principle of from each according to his ability, to each according to his work. On the contrary, if we take communist ideology as our guiding thought and work with a sense of responsibility and as the masters of our own affairs and adopt a communist attitude toward labor, we will consciously make more contributions to the state. Thus the policy of distribution according to work will be more smoothly and effectively implemented. It is obvious that propagating communist ideology does not conflict with implementing current policies. On the contrary, they promote each other.

To correctly handle the relationship between propagating communist ideology and maintaining the current policies we should pay attention to the following points: first, leaders should keep a cool head. The key to implementing these policies effectively lies in the leaders. As long as leaders adopt an unequivocal and firm attitude toward the current policies the masses will have full confidence in them. While carrying out communist education, the slogans and demands which we raise or any other proposals of the masses which we put forth should not conflict with the current policies. Second, different demands must be placed on different persons. We should place strict demands on communist party members, CYL members and all advanced elements according to communist ideology. In particular, communist party members should, first of all, play an exemplary role in their communist ideals, belief and morals. With regard to other members in society, we should also exert our efforts to help them so that they will attain a lofty realm of thought. However, we should not urge all members of the society to be communists. Third, while propagating the advanced typical examples, we should unify the ideological content and policy. Advanced elements have higher communist consciousness. When propagating their meritorious deeds, there is no doubt that we should fully reflect their lofty communist spirit. However, we should not criticize and restrict the current policies.

In a word, as long as we correctly understand the relationship between propagating communist ideology and maintaining the current policies, we will certainly be able to further implement the line, guiding principles and policies of the party through communist ideological education and step up the progress of building socialist material and spiritual civilization.

CSO: 4005/90

BRIEFS

ANHUI CYL CONGRESS--Anhui Seventh Provincial CYL Congress opened in Hefei 8 October. Responsible persons of the provincial party committee, provincial people's congress standing committee, provincial people's government and provincial CPPCC committee, including Yan Youmin, Wang Guangyu, Yang Weiping, (Yan Zheng), Lan Ganting, Liu Liannin, Yu Guangmao, Cheng Guyanghua, (Shi Jinjie), Yang Chengzong, Li Guangtao, Meng Jiaqin, Wei Xinyi, Zhu Nong and Fang Qikun, attended the opening ceremony. Some 805 delegates attended the congress. The opening ceremony was presided over by Comrade (Liu Qibao), deputy secretary of the provincial CYL committee, delivered an opening address. On behalf of the provincial CPC committee Yan Youmin, secretary of the provincial party committee, spoke at the meeting, urging the province's 9 million youths to become shock workers in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and instructing party members at all levels to be concerned about the growth, moral education, cultural studies and discipline of young people. After the opening ceremony Comrade (Wang Houhong), deputy secretary of the provincial CYL committee, made a working report at the meeting. [Text] [Hefei ANHUI Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Oct 82 OW]

NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION HELD--On the eve of National Day, the provincial government's foreign affairs office gave a reception marking the nation's 33rd founding anniversary. Attending guests were British, Australian, Finish and Japanese experts who are currently either teaching at institutes of higher learning or helping the construction of the (Dexing) copper mining base. Xu Qin, vice governor and director of the foreign office, proposed a toast at the reception expressing his welcome and gratitude to the guests. He also spoke highly of the foreign experts' past work and expressed the hope that friendship will be further strengthened through common efforts. U.S. Prof (Qiu Zhengfu), who is currently teaching in the province, and his wife were also invited to the reception. All the foreign guests were invited to an evening entertainment show after the reception. Visiting guests from Japan's National Folklore Museum and some Hong Kong and Macao compatriots who are currently in the province for trade negotiations also went to the show. [Text] [OW041431 Nanchang JIANGXI Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Oct 82]

XIZANG SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION RALLY--On the afternoon of 14 October, the propaganda department of the Xizang Regional CPC Committee held a mobilization rally in Lhasa on striving to build socialist spiritual civilization.

Attending were responsible comrades of the party, the government and the army of the region and Lhasa Municipality, including Yangling Duoji, (Zhang Xiangming), Nui Ruizhou, (Tao Xu), Hu Zonglin, Wang Yunxiang, Sengqen Losang Gyancan, Xuekang Tudeng Nima, Samding Doje Pamo, Jipu Pingcuo Cideng, Wang Juquan, (Nu Chen) and Dainba Gyaincain, Li Wenshan, director of the propaganda department of the regional CPC committee, presided over the rally. Yangling Duoji, secretary of the regional CPC committee and vice chairman of the regional people's government, made a mobilization report at the rally. He demanded that from 14 October to 14 November, the region launch a mass spiritual civilization drive and all prefectures and departments regard this drive as a practical action to implement the 12th Party Congress spirit. During this drive, it is essential to clean places, improve sanitary work, tidy up social order and traffic order and do well in noise suppression in cities. All service departments must continue to improve service quality. (Gao Shizhen), deputy secretary of the Lhasa Municipal CPC Committee; (Zhao Ghongshan), director of the political department of the regional military district; and (You Gang), deputy secretary of the regional CYL committee, spoke at the rally. [Text] [HK190536 Lhasa XIZANG Regional Service in Mandarin 0000 GMT 16 Oct 82]

HENAN PREFECTURE CADRE PUNISHED--On the morning of 25 September, the Shangqiu Prefectural Intermediate People's Court conducted a trial to hear the case of (Cui Jinying), former deputy secretary of the prefectural CPC committee, and his wife, (Han Wanying), for giving shelter to and harboring criminals. (Cui Jinying) was sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment and (Han Wanying) was sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment and (Han Wanying) was sentenced to 1 year's imprisonment with a 1-year reprieve. In June 1980, their fourth son, (Cui Feisheng), who was working in Luoyang, was sentenced to reeducation through labor for 3 years on the charge of deception. On 1 October the same year, (Cui Feisheng) fled home in Shangqiu. On 16 October the Luoyang Municipal Public Security Organ sent people to Shangqiu to arrest him. (Cui Jinying) told a lie, saying that Cui Feisheng) was not at home. Consequently, (Cui Feisheng) and another criminal were arrested at home the same day. They were later sent back to the reeducation-through-labor center. Eight days later, (Cui Feisheng) fled home again and (Cui Jiying) again lied to public security personnel, saying that (Cui Feisheng) was not at home and would be arrested and sent back when he returned home. As (Cui Jinying) and (Han Wanying) gave shelter to and harbored (Cui Feisheng), he was able to be at large for 6 months and continued to commit crimes. The Henan Provincial and the Shangqiu Prefectural CPC Committees have decided to expel (Cui Jinying) from the party. [Text] [Zhengzhou HENAN Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Oct 82 HK]

HENAN RAILROAD POLICEMEN INJURED--(Shi Yongli), (Yan Jianming) and (Zhu Pingan), people's policemen of the escort team of the Zhengzhou Railroad Public Security Department, fought against thieves to protect state property and were injured. On the evening of 25 September, they discovered two thieves in the train and went to arrest them. Although they were stabbed, they bravely subdued them, sent them to the public security department and were sent to a hospital for medical treatment. [Text] [Zhengzhou HENAN Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Oct 82 HK]

HENAN PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT CONFERENCE--The Henan Provincial Conference on giving preferential treatment to disabled servicemen and dependents of martyrs and PLA personnel was recently held in Nanyang Prefecture. The participants in the conference especially visited seven brigades in (Bowang) and (Yangji) Communes in Fangcheng County. They also held earnest talks with dependents of martyrs and PLA personnel, disabled servicemen, demobilized servicemen, sick servicemen and retired servicemen. They inquired about the situation of their production and livelihood and sought their views and requirements. [Text] [Zhengzhou HENAN Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Oct 82 HK]

CSO: 4005/106

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

JIANGSU TO RECRUIT FOR PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

OW010539 Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 19 Sep 82 p 1

[Text] The Jiangsu Provincial Government and the provincial military district held a meeting on conscription work in Nanjing from 17 to 18 September to discuss arrangements for recruiting servicemen in the province. Liu Juiji, deputy commander of the provincial military district, attended. Li Zhizhong, vice governor of Jiangsu, addressed the meeting.

Persons eligible for recruitment this winter are: rural youths who have at least junior middle school education and whose families have extra manpower, as well as urban and county town students who finished senior middle school in 1982. Males should be 18 or 19 years old this year. Youths who have finished senior middle school education in 1982 and are 17 years old are also eligible if they wish to be recruited. A limited number of young women will also be conscripted this winter, according to the guidelines spelled out in the documents issued by the next higher authorities. Recruitment registration will begin in early October and be followed by physical examinations and individual's political background screening. The recruitment work will end around 20 November.

Comrade Li Zhizhong pointed out in his speech at the meeting: Conscription of servicemen has great significance in strengthening our national defense, safeguarding the motherland and promoting the four modernizations. Party organizations, governments and the people's armed forces departments at all levels should fulfill this task as an important political mission.

While studying, propagating and implementing the guidelines set forth in the 12th Party National Congress' documents, we should, Comrade Li Zhizhong said, carry out in-depth education among the masses, an education in patriotism, revolutionary heroism, citizen's rights and obligations and in morality. We should create an upsurge in which glory belongs to the family or village which has a young man or young woman joining the army. Conscription work personnel at all levels should strengthen a sense of political responsibility, strictly adhere to the rules and regulations spelled out in the recruitment policy documents and conduct interviews, physical examinations and political background screening process well. They are required to send to the PLA as many as they can of our young people who are physically strong, sound in thinking and who have a fairly higher cultural

level. Public security, health and transport departments should closely coordinate to insure the accomplishment of conscription work with better, faster and more economic results.

In conclusion, Comrade Li Zhizhong emphatically pointed out: While carrying out the recruitment task, the governments and the civil affairs departments at all levels should conduct an all-round examination of the work of giving special care to disabled soldiers and to family members of revolutionary martyrs and servicemen and further implement the policy in this regard so that the solicitude of the party and the government can be conveyed to those soldiers and family members.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

HEBEI RADIO ON EDUCATION FUNDS MISAPPROPRIATION

HK010746 Shijiazhuang HEBEI Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 25 Sep 82

[Report on station "Short" commentary: "It Is Absolutely Impermissible to Divert Educational Funds to Any Other Purpose"]

[Text] The short commentary said: Due to the interference and sabotage by the gang of four, we were seriously short of educational funds a few years ago. As a result, many dangerous school buildings were not repaired promptly, worn-out desks, chairs and wooden benches in many schools were not promptly replaced, and many schools could not promptly get their indispensable new desks, chairs and wooden benches. These problems adversely affected educational work and the health of teachers and students. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, in order to heal wounds created by the great cultural revolution, to meet the needs of the four modernizations and to quicken the pace of developing educational undertakings, the party and the state have tried their very best under very difficult national economic conditions to increase educational funds. They have also clearly defined the purpose of educational funds: educational funds are specially appropriated funds for guaranteeing the development of educational undertakings. The funds can also be spend on paying teaching staff, administrative expenses and expenses in repairing school buildings. The funds must not be diverted to any other purpose.

Party and government leaders in all areas and particularly [words indistinct] care for educational undertakings as shown by the party and the state. They should conscientiously do well in managing and using educational funds. They should spend educational funds on areas which need the funds most. In order to pursue private ends, principal responsible persons of the Guyang County Culture and Education Office misappropriated educational funds without authorization. This is extremely wrong. This is an impermissible error, according to our party discipline and state law.

Leaders of party and government organizations at all levels, and party discipline inspection committees and financial departments at all levels must conscientiously strengthen their supervision and management of the use of educational funds. They must seriously handle, according to our party discipline and state law, those units and individuals who misappropriate education funds without authorization.

CSO: 4005/93

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

JIANGSU PLA HOLDS RIVER CROSSING EXERCISE

OW300039 Nanjing JIANGSU Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Sep 82

[Text] An exercise was held to throw a pontoon bridge across a river in Yangzhou Prefecture on the afternoon of 25 September. Responsible comrades of the Jiangsu Provincial People's Government, the provincial military district and the logistics department of the Nanjing PLA units watched the exercise.

This exercise applied the concept of people's war and the strategic principle of active defense. In accordance with the characteristics of modern warfare and the requirement for insuring smooth traffic in the initial phase of a war against aggression, participants in the exercise used several means of water transportation to quickly throw a pontoon bridge across a river. In the spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, militiamen, workers, engineers, technicians and locally stationed troops coordinated closely with one another in accurately and quickly accomplishing their task of throwing a pontoon bridge across a wide river. Then vehicles carrying military equipment were driven over the bridge.

Following the conclusion of the exercise, Li Zhizhong, vice governor of Jiangsu Province, and a responsible comrade of the logistics department of the Nanjing PLA units, addressed the exercise participants.

In his speech, vice governor Li Zhizhong praised the participants for their revolutionary spirit and skill. He called on them to conscientiously study the documents of the 12th Party Congress, to implement the guidlines laid down by the congress and to work hard for the modernization of national defense.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

MAO ZHIYONG ATTENDS HUNAN MILITARY REVIEW

HK281322 Changsha HUNAN Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 26 Sep 82

[Text] Yesterday morning, the PLA units of the Hunan Provincial Military District which are stationed in Changsha, militiamen in the capital of the province and militiamen who are taking part in the provincial display of militia military skills gathered at the parade ground of the provincial military district and were honorably reviewed by leaders of the party, the government and the army in the province and the municipality. They reported to the party and the people the outstanding achievements scored by the provincial military district in strengthening the modernization and regularization of the PLA units and the building of militia over the past year. They reported the results achieved by the PLA units and militia since the unfolding of the activities of socialist spiritual civilization.

Accompanied by (Jiang Jingliu), chief commander of the review and chief of staff of the provincial military district, principal leading comrades of the party, the government and the army in the province and the municipality, including Mao Zhiyong, Wan Da, Sun Guozhi, Jiao Linyi, Liu Fusheng, Zhao Chuqi, Guo Sen, Liu Zhanrong, (Chen Shufu) and (Liu Wenxing), extended earnest greetings to the commanders and fighters of the PLA units and militiamen who were reviewed. Led by the 1 August army flag and the bugle team, the commanders, fighters and militiamen began the march. The subordinate detachments of the organs of the provincial military district, the Changsha Municipal Garrison, female fighters of the hospitals of the PLA units, female militiamen in Changsha and the militiamen of all prefectures and municipalities who have come to the province to take part in the display of military skills were organized into 25 square formations and valiantly and spiritedly passed by the viewing stand.

Those attending the National Day military review also included other responsible comrades of the provincial CPC committee, the provincial people's congress standing committee, the provincial people's government, the provincial military district and the provincial CPPCC committee. Mao Zhiyong, first secretary of the provincial CPC committee and first political commissar of the provincial military district, and Liu Zhanrong, commander of the provincial military district, respectively, spoke at the military review.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

NANJING PLA UNITS MEETING ON CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

OW291003 Nanjing JIANGSU Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Sep 82

[Text] The Nanjing PLA units party committee held an enlarged meeting from 20 to 27 September to thoroughly understand the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress in conjunction with prevailing thinking and current work.

It was pointed out at the meeting that to create a new situation in army building it is necessary to study in depth the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress. Attending the meeting were leading cadres at and above the divisional level and responsible comrades who are ranking departmental officers in the various leading bodies. Also attending the meeting as observers were cadres at and above the divisional level who are currently attending study classes for training in theory.

The meeting fully discussed ways to effect a historic change and to fulfill the great new tasks, the relationship between socialist material and spiritual civilization, the improvement of the party's work style being the key link and other issues. During the discussion, Buo Linxiang, first secretary of the units' party committee, made arrangements for studying the documents in depth. He called for whipping up three upsurges between now and next June.

Comrade Guo Linxiang pointed out that during the course of seriously studying the documents problems should be solved in light of reality. First, we must rectify chaos in our practical work, especially that related to the party's work style. Second, we must be practical and resolutely correct the bad work style of shirking responsibilities; we must examine and fulfill item by item the work assignments given by higher levels. Third, we must be creative. With a pioneering spirit, we should continuously study the new situation in army building in order to achieve results by blazing a new trail. Party committee secretaries Nie Fengzhi and Du Ping also made remarks on the importance of leading cadres setting examples in studying, on the smooth cooperation between old and new cadres and on the succession of the new to the old.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

YANG CHENGWU, OLD PLA CADRES STUDY CPC DOCUMENTS

OW041325 Fuzhou FUJIAN Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 30 Sep 82

[Text] On 27 September the Fuzhou PLA units held a discussion meeting of old PLA cadres in the Fuzhou area on studying the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress. At the meeting Comrade Yang Chengwu told about his own study experience and encouraged the participants to be guided by communist ideology in their speeches and actions and to do a good job in helping the younger cadres take over.

All the 160 comrades present at the meeting were veteran Red Army men or veteran Eighth Route Army men. Gathering to recall past experience and to study the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, they felt especially at ease.

In his speech, Comrade Yang Chengwu said: The 12th CPC National Congress has scientifically summed up our party's historical experience, put forward our party's objective of struggle and achieved the cooperation between the new cadres and the old and the succession of the new to the old. All of us are old comrades. Recalling historical events such as the long march, the Zunyi meeting, the seventh CPC National Congress and the Yanan rectification movement will greatly help us to fully understand the historical role of the 12th CPC National Congress and its great significance. Recalling historical events will also create a spiritual motive force for us to pass on our experience, help and set good examples for the younger cadres.

Comrade Yang Chengwu said: At present we are engaged in organizational reform, simplification and restructuring. Old cadres in poor physical condition should step back to the second line. Some cadres who are not yet advanced in age and are still in fairly good health may also be required to step back to the second line. In view of this, we must have a correct understanding and do our work well. We should use ideals, morals and discipline in evaluating and putting demand on ourselves, foster communist thinking, observe the party's arrangements and do our work conscientiously and well in cooperation with the party leadership at various levels. It is the responsibility of our old comrades to enthusiastically support and help the comrades newly-promoted into the leading bodies to make them mature more quickly. We must use the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress to

guide our own thinking and actions and our efforts to teach and help the new cadres, and set good examples for them.

Many old comrades spoke at the meeting. They pledged to seriously study the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, to gain a profound understanding of them and to actively implement the guidelines of the congress. They pledged to correctly evaluate themselves, enthusiastically support and help the middle-aged and young cadres and contribute to the realization of the objectives put forward by the 12th CPC National Congress.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

QIE JINWU, YIN FATANG ATTEND PLA DISTRICT MEETING

HK011022 Lhasa XIZANG Regional Service in Mandarin 0000 GMT 1 Oct 82

[Excerpts] From 24 to 29 September, the Xizang Military District held an enlarged party committee meeting to convey the spirit of the 12th Party Congress. The meeting called on the broad masses of commanders and fighters of all units in the district to seriously study and resolutely implement the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, lift higher the great banner of communism, be enlightened to struggle, go all out and work with concerted efforts to open a new situation in the modernization and standardization of the PLA units. [passage omitted]

Leading comrades of the Xizang Military District CPC committee and leading military Comrades Qie Jinwu, Yin Fatang, (Dai Yuxian), (Wang Diquan), (Zhang Hongquan), Xia Chuan, (Lu Chen), (Chen Dongzhang), (Zhao Congshan), (Wang Yongde) and others attended the meeting.

Comrade Qie Jinwu, secretary of the Xizang Military District CPC committee and commander, conveyed the situation of the 12th Party Congress and the fundamental spirit of the documents of the 12th Party Congress. He stressed: Party committees at all levels must strengthen organizational leadership and practically grasp studying the documents of the 12th Party Congress as the first major undertaking. First, from now to the end of this year, it is necessary to organize study courses for leading cadres at and above regimental level, giving them a chance to take the lead in studying the documents. Then, we must organize everybody to study. [passage omitted] It is necessary to launch profound education in the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and the new party constitution, providing a good ideological foundation for party rectification which will be held next year. We believe that studying, popularizing and implementing the spirit of the 12th Party Congress will definitely give impetus to pushing forward all kinds of work among the PLA units in our region.

Yin Fatang, first secretary of the Xizang Autonomous Regional CPC Committee and first political commissar of the Xizang Military District, made a speech at the meeting. He said: Studying the documents of the 12th Party Congress, we must pay close attention to the actual conditions and strive to solve key problems concerning party building and the building of the PLA units. Currently, we must take the spirit of the 12th Party Congress as the impetus and deeply launch education in communist ideology among the PLA units and in the building of socialist spiritual civilization. We must cultivate the cadres and fighters. [passage omitted]

CSO: 4005/93

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GREATER USE OF AIR DEFENSE PROJECTS URGED

SK041015 Changchun JILIN Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 3 Oct 82

[Text] According to JILIN RIBAO, the general offices of the provincial CPC committee and the provincial government transmitted opinions submitted by the provincial air defense projects visiting report delegation on combining peacetime and wartime uses of air defense projects. This has aroused the great attention of the leaders of the Shenyang PLA units. They held that this work is worth doing and the reporters' suggestions are also good. The national people's air defense general office has carried these opinions in the PEOPLE'S AIR DEFENSE and has transmitted them to all localities throughout the country.

The provincial air defense projects visiting report delegation was organized jointly by the propaganda department of the provincial CPC committee and the provincial people's air defense office. This delegation had visited some people's air defense projects in six municipalities including Changchun, Jilin, Siping, Liaoyuan, Tonghua and Hunjiang from 12 to 18 April. The reporters were happy to see that, after the third National People's Air Defense Conference, our province's people's air defense departments, together with other departments concerned, have used the air defense projects to run some 830 service units, thus enabling them to play an active role in serving social production and the people's livelihood.

However, because the work of combining the peacetime and wartime use of air defense projects has not been carried out long enough, there are still problems in leadership, management and construction. To this, the reporters suggested that efforts be made to strengthen publicity on using air defense projects both during peacetime and wartime, to enhance the people's understanding and to put to full use all air defense projects available. As to those air defense projects that have already been used, they suggested efforts be made to strengthen maintenance and management. Since most of the air defense projects are under the sole management and leadership of the air defense departments, inconvenience of all kinds are bound to occur. In the future, efforts must be made to organize various departments and mass organizations concerned such as the industrial and communications, finance and trade, educational and cultural, physical culture and sports and public security departments as well as the trade unions, the CYL organizations and the women's federations to do a good job in this work with concerted

efforts. They also suggested that in the future, in building underground air defense projects, efforts must be made to give consideration to the design and construction to ensure that these projects meet the needs of using them both dur ng peacetime and wartime.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA UNIT SENDS PERSONNEL TO MILITARY INSTITUTES

HK051318 Lhasa XIZANG Regional Service in Mandarin 0000 GMT 4 Oct 82

[Text] The leading groups at all levels in Changdu PLA subcommand have conscientiously trained personnel and have sent 52 fighters to study at military institutes this year. In order to train as soon as possible a rank of cadres that is revolutionary-minded, young, educated and professionally competent, and in order to speed up the consolidation of the troops, the leading groups at all levels in the Changdu PLA subcommand have enthusiastically recommended fine fighters who were qualified to enter military institutes to take the matriculation examination. Before the examination, all the units under the subcommand allotted time for these soldiers to prepare for the examinations. The leading group of the subcommand transferred a few teachers to help these fighters make preparations for the examinations for one month and more. In order to live up to the concerns and expectations of the leading groups, the fighters studied very hard to master the basic knowledge. As a result, 52 of the 94 candidates who took part in the examination have been admitted into more than 12 institutes. These fighters have already begun their new life of studying at institutes.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

NANJING PLA FETES KPA POLITICAL WORK DELEGATION

OW080515 Nanjing JIANGSU Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] The Nanjing PLA units gave a banquet on the evening of 6 October to warmly welcome the visiting KPA political work delegation headed by Lt Gen Yun Chi-ho, deputy director of the KPA general political Bureau, Hua Nan, deputy director of the PLA general political department, who accompanied the visiting delegation, was also invited.

Present at the banquet were responsible persons of the Nanjing PLA units Du Ping, Zhang Xiqin and Sun Keji and responsible persons of the leading organs of the Nanjing PLA units, the air force, the Nanjing Political School and the provincial foreign affairs office Li Baoqi, (Di Wei), (Sheng Xichen), (Zhang Peixin), (Du Jie) and Wang Yang.

At the banquet, filled with friendliness between the Chinese and Korean people and armies, Comrade Du Ping extended a warm welcome to the visiting Korean comrades-in-arms on behalf of the commanders and fighters of the Nanjing PLA units. He said: President Kim Il-song, the great leader of the Korean people visited our country recently. He has made valuable contributions towards developing relations between the KCP and the CPC as well as between our two countries. Comrade Du Ping said: As director of the CPV political department, I once fought shoulder to shoulder with the KPA political workers and learned numerous experiences from the Korean comrades-in-arms in political work. The visit of this delegation, headed by Comrade Yun Chi-ho, again provides us an opportunity to learn more.

Yun Chi-ho, head of the KPA delegation said: We can see from President Kim Il-song's visit to China that the friendship between the Korean and the Chinese people is unshakable. Our delegation is very happy to see the achievements of the Chinese people since the Third Plenary Session and the progress achieved in developing material and spiritual civilization. We heartily wish the Chinese people and the army new success in fulfilling the various tasks of the 12th CPC National Congress.

The KPA political work delegation arrived in Nanjing from Chengdu by plane on the afternoon of 6 October. During their stay in Nanjing, the KPA political work delegation members went sightseeing and exchanged experiences with political cadres of the air force unit under the Nanjing PLA units and the Nanjing Political School. The delegation members also attended a soiree held in their honor and saw a performance by the Qianxian song and dance ensemble.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA UNITS TRAIN GUIDELINE PROPAGANDA PERSONNEL

SK100726 Jinan SHANDONG Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Text] According to our sources, on 7 October the Jinan PLA units opened a class on the special course of studying the 12th CPC National Congress documents with the participation of leading cadres at or above division level and comrades from the propaganda departments. In the upcoming 20-odd days, participants will study the 12th CPC Congress documents in a systematic way and the class will train backbone personnel in charge of leading the PLA units to concentrate on studying the congress documents.

After the 12th CPC National Congress, the broad masses of cadres and fighters of the Jinan PLA units have whipped up an upsurge in studying the 12th CPC Congress documents. To deeply carry out the study campaign, the Jinan PLA units decided to open a class in an effort to enable cadres-in-training to intensively study the 12th CPC Congress documents word for word and in a down-to-earth manner and pertinent Marxist and Leninist works. Cadres-in training should earnestly ponder over and master the guidelines of the documents and hold penetrating discussions in line with the key points. On the basis of integrating theory with practice, they should profoundly comprehend the documents, and they should devise ways to penetratingly conduct education among the PLA units in line with the principle of upgrading understanding.

Rao Shoukun, commander of the Jinan PLA units, attended the opening ceremony of the class and delivered a speech. He urged class participants to do a good job in studying the 12th CPC Congress documents with full political enthusiasm, high revolutionary consciousness and a serious and earnest approach. In studying the documents, efforts should be made to earnestly bear in mind their ideological reality and problems arising in former studying activities launched by the PLA units to accurately wage ideological struggle against both leftist and rightist erroneous trends, to clarify various vague understandings and to orient their thinking to the guideline of the 12th CPC Congress documents. In studying the documents, efforts should be made to earnestly concentrate on studying theories and clearly deal with some key problems or theory so as to play a backbone role in waging a study campaign for the days to come.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

URUMQI PLA HOLDS CIVILIZATION DRIVE RALLY

HK090658 Urumqi XINJIANG Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 8 Oct 82

[Summary] The Urumqi PLA units held a mobilization rally on 7 October to launch socialist spiritual civilization activities. Political Commissar Tan Youlin made a speech. He said: "The central committee propaganda department recently held a meeting which demanded that during October all areas, departments and trades seriously organize study and publicity of the 12th Party Congress documents, promote the building of socialist spiritual civilization, and launch the 'five stresses and four beautifuls' drive centered on dealing with dirt, disorder and poor service. We must take action to respond to this call. While vigorously publicizing and studying the 12th Party Congress spirit, we must concentrate efforts on the following tasks:

"1. Further improve the barrack area environment, and also go to streets, transport stations, markets, restaurants and other public places to take part in the clean-up drive, and help the local masses to promote environmental sanitation.

"2. Improve service attitude in connection with the work of our own department or unit, strive to improve work quality and efficiency, and strengthen the building of the PLA's work style and discipline.

"3. Help the masses of all nationalities to build civilized villages, neighborhoods and courtyards, and help local schools, communes and brigades to set up cultural and reading rooms. We should help in the daily life of orphans, widows and the aged, five-guarantee families, and departments of armymen and martyrs, and do many good deeds for the masses, so as to further strengthen army-government and army-people unity.

"4. Seriously review the execution of systems, regulations and pacts drawn up in the past, and uphold those that are practical and effective. We should supplement and improve those that are not good enough."

Comrade Tan Youlin stressed: "Party committees at all levels must regard launching the socialist spiritual civilization drive as specific action for implementing the 12th Party Congress spirit and as one of the units' central tasks, and get a good grasp of it."

CSO: 4005/93

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

KUNMING PLA COMMANDERS STUDY 12TH CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

HK130847 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Oct 82 p 1

[Report by RENMIN RIBAO reporters Zhou Fen [0719 1164] and Wang Zhiyun [3769 1807 5087]: "Leading Cadres at Divisional and Higher Levels in Kunming PLA Units Seriously Study 12th Congress Documents"]

[Text] The leading cadres at divisional level and above who attended the enlarged meeting of the CPC committee of the Kunming PLA units conscientiously studied the 12th Congress documents in the light of their thought and work practice. They decided to start with themselves and take the lead in enhancing their vigor and struggling hard to satisfactorily defend and build up the southwest borders of the motherland.

The comrades who attended the meeting based their discussion on the comprehensive study and understanding of the spirit of the 12th Congress documents and focused their discussion on the problem of how the leading cadres should take the lead in encouraging revolutionary spirit and maintaining and developing the fine tradition of hard struggle, at all times taking into account the actual conditions of the units stationed at the southwest border areas of the country which are constantly undergoing the test of hard struggle and bloody fighting. Liu Zhijian, the first secretary of the CPC committee and political commissar of the units, after summing up the historical and practical experiences and lessons, placed special stress on the idea that the 1980's is a decade of struggle rather than a decade of enjoyment. He said that we should lead the masses of people to carry out vigorous struggle with one heart and one mind for the prosperity of the country and for the fulfillment of the strategic tasks put forward by the 12th Congress. He called on the leading comrades at all levels, especially the veteran ones, to enhance their vigor, share weal and woe with the masses of people and do their work satisfactorily. Zhang Zhixiu, second secretary of the CPC committee and commander in chief of the units, analyzed the practice of some leading cadres of giving too much consideration to their future life of retirement, being satisfied with the present state of affairs, having no desire to make progress and paying attention to enjoyment and remunerations. He demanded that each leading cadre should consider the question of whether his state of mind was suited to coping with the demands of creating a new situation and shouldering the heavy burden that the party and the people have assigned to him.

In order to enable people to build their revolutionary spirit on a scientific, conscientious and sound basis, the meeting centered on a few basic problems and adopted the method of linking theory with practice to develop the discussion in depth. The first problem is to guide the comrades in strengthening their faith in communism, to raise their moral standard and to enable them to look further than their personal interests and not restrict their attention to trivial things. During the discussion, many comrades cited a large number of advanced people, heroes and model fighters such as "Hero of Matchless Courage" Yan Long, "Tong Cunrui-type Combat Hero" Li Chengwen, "Heroic Platoon Commander" Xiong Jing and the "Squad of Nine Brave Fighters," who have emerged in the units' fight against the enemy in the border area and in the course of building up socialist spiritual civilization. This shows that communist ideology exists in the fighting life of our units and has become a tremendous strength for us in overcoming the enemy, achieving victory and creating a new situation. A comparison between these heroes and ourselves should make us realize more clearly the need to free ourselves from vulgar individualism. Only by establishing lofty ideals can we perform actual deeds for the realization of lofty goals.

The meeting also organized its participants to compare the magnificent goal of the 12th Congress with the "great leap forward" and with the "high targets" put forward in 1978. As a result, they concluded that the guiding ideology, fundamental conditions, major stress, key points and measures of the congress' strategic goal differ sharply from the "high targets" of the past. They all said that the magnificent goal of the 12th Congress has been formulated in the manner of seeking truth from facts and is therefore positive, practical and entirely viable if worked hard at. Through their study, they all have strengthened their firm confidence in "fixing their minds on the major tasks, doing their work soundly and making more contributions to modernization." Many comrades expressed their desire to become "file leaders" and "men of action" in carrying out the four modernizations program.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

NANJING PLA UNITS CONDUCT INSPECTION, CLEANUP

OW120804 Nanjing JIANGSU Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Oct 82

[Text] Today, Political Commissar Du Ping, Deputy Commander Zhan Danan, Deputy Political Commissar Sun Keji and advisers (Zhao Jun) and Wang Wenmo of the Nanjing PLA units as well as leading comrades of other PLA organs, units, institutions and schools stationed in Nanjing inspected various PLA organs, units institutions and schools stationed in Nanjing on the results of the campaign to combat filth, disorderliness and poor service using as the criterion the 10 requirements on "civility and courtesy" proposed by the Nanjing PLA units.

Outstanding units were commended and poor-showing units criticized on the spot, and points of emphasis for the next-stage activities to combat filth, disorderliness and poor service were clearly explained during the inspection.

The action taken by the Nanjing PLA units was a concrete step toward implementing the instructions of the propaganda department of the CPC central committee and the PLA's general political department on combating filth, disorderliness and poor service and on building a socialist spiritual civilization.

The inspection began with leading organs, units, institutions and schools of the PLA which were stationed in Nanjing. Political Commissar Du Ping meticulously inspected the wards, mess service and environmental sanitation of the Nanjing PLA units' general hospital and gave instructions on additional measures to be taken on further combating filth, disorderliness and poor service and on planting more trees on the hospital's premise.

Deputy Commander Zhan Danan and Deputy Political Commissar Sun Keji respectively inspected the Nanjing PLA units' No 1 hostel and leading organs of the Jiangsu Provincial Military District.

Based on deficiencies uncovered during the inspection, several thousand commanders and fighters of PLA organs, units, institutions and schools carried out a general cleanup of all 34 hidden spots where sanitation problems were discovered.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA REGIONAL COMMANDER AT TIANJIN DAM SITE

SK101250 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 10 Oct 82

[Excerpts] According to TIANJIN RIBAO, on 6-7 October Qin Jiwei, commander of the Beijing PLA units, and (Yi Ruilun), director of the Logistics Department under the Beijing PLA units, visited the commanders and fighters of a certain PLA unit in charge of the key construction work of the project to divert the Luanhe River water to Tianjin.

This PLA unit has taken up the key water-diverting task of carving out several tunnels under the (Daheijing) Dam in Qianxi County, Hebei Province. Since mid-November 1981, commanders and fighters of the PLA unit have scored successive achievements in tunneling operations by making concerted efforts, fearing no dangers and by studying through working. In particular, as of early October, the unit has completed 4 of its 10 tunneling tasks under the inspiration of the 12th CPC National Congress. The unit has overfulfilled its annual work plan set forth by the Tianjin commanding headquarters in charge of diverting the Luanhe River water to Tianjin by 147 percent.

During his 2-day visit and inspection tours, Commander Qin Jiwei earnestly listened to the briefing given by the principal responsible comrades of the PLA unit in charge of the projects. He also attended meetings with the participation of cadres at or above battalion level. He highly praised the construction achievement scored by the unit and commended the unit which is full of advanced thinking, work style, youthful spirit and creative vigor and with outstanding accomplishment. He praised the leading personnel of the unit as models in creating a new situation of socialist modernization and urged the leading personnel to be serious-minded enough in facing work achievements, to carry forward their former success and to refrain from arrogance and rashness. Efforts should be made to start well and end well and carry forward their advanced thinking, work style and leading methods through to the end. He also urged the PLA unit to strictly observe public discipline and to help the local people do a good job in building socialist spiritual civilization to further tighten the ties between the army and the government, and between the army and the people.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

LIU ZHANRONG SPEAKS AT MILITIA MEETING

HK120229 Changsha HUNAN Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Text] This morning, Hunan Military District Commander Liu Zhanrong was entrusted by the Human Provincial CPC Committee and the provincial military district to give a report entitled "Consciously Study and Resolutely Implement the Spirit of the 12th Party Congress, Strive to Open Up a New Situation in People's Militia Work in the Province" at a meeting attended by full-time cadres of the people's armed forces and advanced units in people's militia work. He issued five tasks and specific demands for opening up a new situation in people's militia work.

Liu Zhanrong pointed out that while we are studying and implementing the spirit of the 12th Party Congress today, it is particularly important to enhance our understanding of the strategic significance of militia work. The militia system is one of our country's traditional military systems. It has not only played an important role in past war years, but will also be meaningful and will play a dominant role in building socialist spiritual and material civilization today. All militiamen throughout the province should take the lead in doing five things: in implementing the party's line, principles and policies and resolutely maintaining political unanimity with the CPC central committee; in promoting industrial and agricultural production and striving to fulfill various production tasks and state plans; in shouldering tough and complicated tasks, participating in tough operations and becoming a shock work team in production; in participating in the "five stresses and four beauties" campaign, giving play to communist morality and customs and striving to do good things for the masses; and, finally, in observing discipline and law, maintaining good social order and resolutely struggling against criminals. Liu Zhanrong stressed: It is necessary to vigorously strengthen communist ideological education for the masses and cultivate the militiamen into a new generation who have ideals, moral and cultural standards and who observe discipline. At the same time, it is necessary to strengthen the building of the full-time cadre contingent of the armed forces, extensively launch the campaign of "creating, learning from the catching up with the advanced workers," be enlightened to unite and work, and struggle to open up a new situation in people's militia work in the province.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BEIJING PLA CADRES DISCUSS IMPROVING PARTY STYLE

OW120811 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0714 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 11 Oct (XINHUA)--While studying the guidelines laid down in the 12th CPC National Congress documents regarding party building, cadres at the regimental level and above attending a study class of Beijing PLA units have exchanged experience in improving the party's style and are determined to take the lead in this regard, according to a report by XINHUA correspondents Ye Xulin and Zhang Jingfa. [passage omitted]

These cadres pointed out: Only when the party's style takes a fundamental turn for the better can it take the lead in improving social conduct and insure and promote the smooth development of our national economy. Regarding their own units' experience in changing the party's style for the better in which "the secretary leads the entire squad, the whole squad leads the party members," many comrades said that the key to insuring the fundamental turn for the better of the party's style lies in the party's leadership cadres who should be the first to do so. [passage omitted]

These comrades' common experience consists of the following points:

1. It is necessary to do away with the decadent ideas of "the powers granted to you will be renounced when the time comes" and "even if I do not have any merits, at least I have worked hard so the party should take care of me." To fortify the ideal of fighting for communism in one's lifetime, we should regard power abuses and the seeking of private interest as acts of infamy. These comrades said that an improvement in the party's style involves the question of struggle between communist ideology and all non-proletarian ideas. [passage omitted] It is, therefore, imperative to carry out education in revolutionary ideals and in the purpose of our army among party members, especially leading cadres who are party members. [passage omitted]

2. We should get rid of the wait-and-see and all other disspirited attitudes, establish the concept that "everything starts from me and my own unit," and be pioneers in the common endeavor to improve the party's style. These comrades said all activities in history aimed at eliminating the old, establishing the new and changing customs and habits were carried out under the leadership of a few persons. They pledged that from now on they would

act in accordance with the new party constitution, set strict demands on themselves and give play to their exemplary and vanguard role in insuring a fundamental turn for the better of the party's style.

3. It is necessary to exert efforts to surmount the tendency of "saving one's face" and "fearing to affront others." We should be bold in combating all words and deeds that tarnish the party's style. [passage omitted]

During the study and discussion session, many cadres at the regimental level and above said with full confidence that the party's style will certainly take a fundamental turn for the better as long as comrades of the whole party carry forward the study style of integrating theory with practice, firmly implement to the letter the principles and policies of the 12th CPC National Congress and do things according to the new party constitution.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

HUNAN MILITIA PROGRESSIVES' MEETING CLOSES

HK130325 Changsha HUNAN Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 12 Oct 82

[Summary] The Hunan Provincial meeting of representatives of progressive full-time armed forces cadres and militiamen concluded on 12 October. Chen Shufu, political commissar of Hunan Military District, presided at the closing ceremony. Liu Fusheng, secretary of the provincial CPC committee and chairman of the committee's people's armed forces committee, read out a decision of the provincial CPC committee, government and military district on commending progressive units and individuals in militia work. Awards were presented to 116 units and individuals.

Chen Qingshan, deputy director of the political department of the Guangzhou PLA units, spoke at the gathering. Sun Guozhi, secretary of the provincial CPC committee and governor, delivered the closing speech. "He demanded that the party committees and government at all levels continually deepen their understanding of the strategic position of militia work and properly solve all problems in militia building. The full-time armed forces cadres must enhance revolutionary spirit, work hard, put all militia work on a sound basis in the grassroots, and strive to create a new situation in the province's militia building."

Leading comrades of the provincial CPC committee, government and military district Mao Zhiyong, Liu Zhanrong, Lu Wenxin, Liu Yu'e, Guo Sen, Wang Hanfu (Luo Qinan), Li Zibin, (Zhao Kangsheng), (Qu Renbin), Hu Yaoguang, (Jiang Jiliu) and (Huang Benren) attended the closing ceremony.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

KUNMING PLA MEETING ON SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

HK140844 Guiyang ZUIZHOU Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Oct 82

[Excerpts] The Kunming PLA units held a conference in Kunming today for representatives of advanced units and individuals in building socialist spiritual civilization. Sixty-two representatives from Guizhou attended the conference. Shi Jingban, deputy political commissar of the Kunming PLA units, presided over the opening ceremony. Deputy Commander Zha Yusheng gave the opening speech. In his speech, Zha Yusheng briefly listed some achievements and progress of the Kunming units in the building of socialist spiritual civilization. He said that this conference is a mobilization conference for studying and implementing the 12th Party Congress spirit and promoting the revolutionization, modernization and regularization of the army. It is another grand gathering of heroes since the conference held in May 1979 for combat heroes in the war to counterattack the Vietnamese aggressors. The main tasks of this conference are: study and implement the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, hold high the banner of communism and get a clear understanding of the present situation and our tasks, sum up achievements and exchange experiences, commend the advanced and set up examples so that the commanders and fighters can be further mobilized to push forward the activity of learning from the advanced units and individuals in building socialist spiritual civilization, to promote the revolutionization, modernization and regularization of the army and to fight for the realization of the great goal in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

On behalf of the Guizhou Provincial CPC Committee, Comrade (Qian Huayi), deputy political commissar of the Guizhou Provincial Military District, read a congratulatory letter at the opening ceremony. [passage omitted]

This afternoon, Zhang Zhixiu, 12th Party Congress delegate and commander of the Kunmkng PLA units, conveyed and explained the 12th Party Congress spirit at the conference.

CSO: 4005/93

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

NINGXIA PLA TO BUILD SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

HK260845 Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 13 Oct 82 p 1

[Report: "Ningxia Military District Congress of Progressives in Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] The Ningxia Military District Congress of Advanced Units and Individuals in Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization Successfully ended here on the morning of 11 October. The meeting was held in the military district auditorium.

During the meeting. Lin Shan, political commissar of the military district, made a report entitled "Holding Higher the Banner of Communism and Penetratingly Developing the Activity of 'Promoting Advanced Units and Individuals' So as to Press Forward the Building of Socialist Spiritual Civilization." Participants seriously studied the 12th Party Congress documents, a series of expositions made by leading comrades of the central authorities and the military commission of the CPC central committee on the building of socialist spiritual civilization and the "instruction of certain questions concerning further developing the activity of promoting advanced units and individuals in building socialist spiritual civilization" by the PLA general political department. Six advanced units and 10 advanced individuals took the floor at the meeting. Through study and discussions, representatives deepened their understanding, inspired their revolutionary enthusiasm and determined their forward progress. They said that they would resolutely implement the 12th Party Congress spirit, learn from and emulate the advanced by holding higher the banner of communism and further the building of socialist spiritual civilization so as to strive for the fulfillment of all combat tasks set forth by the 12th Party Congress.

At the closing ceremony, Ma Xuexian, deputy commander of the Ningxia Military District, read a "Circular Order of Commendation for Advanced Units and Individuals in Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization," issued by the Ningxia Military District. Leading Comrades Qi Anchang and Li Shan of the military district awarded silk banners, certificates of merit and prizes to 11 advanced units and 14 advanced individuals.

Then Qi Anchang, second political commissar of the military district, gave a closing speech. He said: The prime task calling on us at the present time is

to seriously study the 12th Party Congress documents, and in particular the exposition on the building of socialist spiritual civilization. We must also educate army units in patriotism and firmly foster the idea that the interests of the motherland are of top priority. Meanwhile, we must organize cadres and soldiers to seriously study the history of our party and army, the history of the Chinese revolution and the history of social development so that they will understand the truth that "without the CPC there will be no new China" and that "only socialism can save China." Thereby they will love the party, the motherland and the people's army much more and will love, build and safeguard the border areas and take root there. We must further the activity of promoting "advanced units and individuals," which is characterized by the main content of "helping armymen have lofty ideas, good morality, knowledge and good health; stressing the army's standard for appearance and bearing, good manners and good discipline; and fearing neither hardship nor bloodshed or sacrifice" so as to cultivate all armymen to become revolutionary fighters with lofty ideas, good morality, knowledge and good discipline. Party organizations at various levels must educate cadres and soldiers to adopt an overall point of view, properly handle the interests between the revolution and the individuals, between the whole and the part, and between the long-term and immediate and do well at their posts in a down-to-earth manner.

The participants at the meeting also offered a proposal to officers and men of the PLA units of the military district, which pointed out: building socialist spiritual civilization is a long-term strategic task and the activity of "promoting advanced units and individuals" is a continuation and development of the activity of winning honor and creating models in our army under the present new situation. Actively responding to the call of the central authorities and the military commission of the CPC central committee, we must strive to meet all the requirements of "having lofty ideas, good morality, knowledge and good health; stressing the army's standard for appearance and bearing, good manners and good discipline and fearing neither hardship nor bloodshed or sacrifice" under the guidance of the 12th Party Congress spirit and by following the examples of the advanced units and individuals commended by the military district. And we must continuously push forward the activity of "promoting advanced units and individuals" in building socialist spiritual civilization in all units of our military district and work hard to make our army units more revolutionary, modern and regularized as soon as possible.

CSO: 4005/93

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

URUMQI PLA UNITS STUDY PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

HK141319 Urumqi XINJIANG Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 13 Oct 82

[Summary] Since the conclusion of the 12th Party Congress, leading cadres at and above the regimental level of the Urumqi PLA units have seriously studied, explained and publicized the documents of the 12th Party Congress and, in the light of the realities of the Urumqi PLA units, formulated all measures to implement the spirit of the 12th Party Congress. They have resolved to make new contributions toward creating a new situation in socialist modernization and toward the revolutionization, modernization and regularization of the army.

"Since the 12th Party Congress, PLA units stationed in Xinjiang, including the South Xinjiang Military District, the North Xinjiang Military District, the East Xinjiang Military District and the air force command post of the Urumqi PLA units, have adopted such methods as holding enlarged meetings of their CPC committees and meetings of party members and cadres, and running study courses to organize leading cadres at and above the regimental level to study the documents of the 12th Party Congress, thoroughly understand the spirit of the documents and correctly understand their spirit and essence.

"Members of the South Xinjiang Military District CPC Committee have linked reality with study and further come to understand that in the socialist period, it is necessary to persistently conduct education in communist ideology so that we can promote all tasks of the PLA units."

Comrades attending the meeting of party members and cadres which was held by the North Xinjiang Military District declared: "We must use the documents of the 12th Party Congress as our guiding principle, inspire our enthusiasm and do our best to grasp well the building of the PLA units. We must do militia work well, defend the great western gate of our motherland and reassure the CPC central committee and the people of all nationalities."

The CPC committees of PLA units at and above the regimental level demanded: "All party members, cadres and fighters, staff and workers and their dependents must regard the study of the 12th Party Congress documents as the major task and in the course of studying and implementing the spirit of the documents, must try to emulate them. Moreover, cadres at and above the regimental level of all PLA units must go deep into companies to study, explain and publicize the documents of the 12th Party Congress."

CSO: 4005/93

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

CHENGDU PLA UNITS STUDY 12TH CPC CONGRESS

HK180913 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Oct 82 p 1

[Dispatch by Zhang Weixin, Nie Nianxin and Xiao Jianqing: "Cadres at Regimental and Above Levels of Chengdu PLA Units Sum Up Experience and Eliminate 'Leftist' Ideological Influence"]

[Text] Chengdu, 14 Oct--While studying the 12th CPC Congress documents, leading cadres at regimental and higher level of the PLA Chengdu Military Region have referred closely to their ideological reality, drawn lessons and summed up experiences, conscientiously eliminated the "leftist" ideological influence and raised consciousness in carrying out the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress.

During the study, cadres at regimental and higher levels have reviewed the road they have taken in correcting the ideological line since the Third Plenary Session and have checked their understanding on a series of guiding principles and policies formulated by the party's central committee in order to bring order out of chaos. In what aspects have they carried out their work well? In what aspects are there still some shortcomings? What are the reasons for the defects? Many comrades have revealed that they had some doubts and misgivings after the Third Plenary Session. For example, they wondered whether it was a retrogression in the countryside to practice the production responsibility system. In evaluating Chairman Mao's merits and demerits, they feared that it would lead to defaming Chairman Mao. In recent years, "leftist" ideological influence has been eliminated and some confused ideas have been clarified after studying a series of guiding principles and policies formulated by the 3d Plenary Session. However, we must also see clearly that some leading cadres still have a poor understanding on some problems. For example, they only have a perceptual knowledge of some guiding principles and policies of the party. In fighting against bourgeoise liberalism and other erroneous tendencies, they always reveal their "leftist" ideas. After some problems have been resolved, new problems will arise and appear in new forms. Therefore, they have felt that in studying the 12th CPC Congress documents, the further eradication of "leftist" ideological influence and the correction of ideological line are the important problems which must be urgently resolved. They held that efforts should be made in the following aspects: 1) deeply and thoroughly study the 12th CPC Congress documents, only by studying them deeply and thoroughly, is it possible to eliminate the "leftist"

ideological influence from their minds completely; 2) centering on the basic spirit of the 12th CPC Congress documents, selectively study some relevant instructions of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao, and have a thorough understanding on some confused theoretical ideas, through the integration of theory and practice; and 3) everyone must have his own ideology involved, seriously sum up experiences and consciously eliminate "leftist" ideological influence from his mind.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

CPC MILITARY COMMISSION HONORS 'MODEL TEACHER'

OW160506 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1315 GMT 15 Oct 82

[Text] Nanjing, 15 Oct (XINHUA)--A meeting was held by the PLA general staff headquarters in Nanjing on 15 October, at which the honorary title "model teacher" was conferred by the military commission of the CPC central committee on Bai Chunyu.

Bai Chunyu was a teacher of the engineering academy of the PLA engineering corps. With the firm conviction that "a communist party member should work as hard as he can as long as he lives," he kept working tenaciously and made valuable contributions to military education before he died even though he was suffering from cancer of the liver. He died at his post on 2 March this year.

Entrusted by the military commission of the CPC central committee, Han Huaizhi, assistant chief of the general staff, read the military commission's order at the meeting. He pointed out in his speech: At present, we should study well the documents of the 12th Party Congress, achieve real unity of thinking along the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress and strive to do a good job in the structural reform of the military academies and schools. We should, follow Bai Chunyu's example, do a good job in reforming teaching; enhancing the quality of education; accelerating the process of making our ranks of teachers and cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent; and in creating a new situation in the work of the military academies and schools.

Feng Zheng [7458 1767], director of the political department of the PLA general staff headquarters, read a decision of the party committee of the general staff headquarters on learning from model teacher Bai Chunyu. The decision calls on all commanders and fighters of the units under its jurisdiction to actively respond to the call of the military commission of the CPC central committee, bring about an upsurge in studying Comrade Bai Chunyu's exemplary deeds, promote in-depth development of the socialist spiritual civilization, and train more revolutionary fighters with lofty ideals, moral integrity, education and a sense of discipline.

Responsible comrades of the engineering department of the general staff headquarters and the engineering academy of the engineering corps,

teachers' representative Sand Chou Changshu, Bai Chunyu's wife, also spoke at the meeting.

More than 2,500 people, including leading comrades of Jiangsu Province and the Nanjing PLA units, representatives of military academies and schools in the Nanjing area and representatives of commanders and fighters of PLA units stationed in Nanjing, attended the meeting.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GUIZHOU MEETING ON PLACING DEMOBILIZED SOLDIERS

HK200444 Guiyang GUIZHOU Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 16 Oct 82

[Text] The provincial meeting on the proper arrangement for placement of demobilized soldiers was held 14-16 October in Guiyang. Responsible comrades from all prefectural, autonomous prefectural and municipal governments, all military subareas and garrison commands, relevant offices and departments at the provincial level and directors of labor bureaus and civil administration bureaus attended the meeting. Responsible persons from the provincial government and the provincial PLA military region also attended the meeting and delivered speeches.

Inspired by the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress, the meeting communicated and implemented the spirit of the relevant documents issued by the state council and the CPC military commission. Through summing up the experience in placement of demobilized soldiers in 1982, the meeting seriously discussed and made proper arrangements for placement of demobilized soldiers in 1983.

In 1983, the principle of everyone goes to his original place must still be adhered to in placing demobilized soldiers. Stress should be put on the rural areas in placement work. It is necessary to conduct ideological education on demobilized soldiers and raise their ideological consciousness. Only by so doing can they settle down to agricultural production and make contributions to realizing agricultural modernization. As for the demobilized soldiers whose original household registrations were in towns and cities, they will be properly assigned and placed by local governments according to the assignment methods in line with each trade, each unit being responsible for placement work until completion, overall arrangement and balance is achieved. All units concerned must vigorously take up the task of placement and treat it as an important political task. People's governments and people's militia departments in all areas must earnestly strengthen leadership over the work and work in close coordination. One leading comrade must be in charge of the work so as to promptly resolve problems which may arise. It is necessary to establish and perfect leading groups and offices for placement of demobilized soldiers and retired army cadres. A specified person must be appointed in civil administration departments to be permanently in charge of routine work.

Demobilized soldiers should be warmly welcomed and cordially entertained. It is necessary to deeply and widely carry out the activities of building socialist spiritual civilization centering on cherishing ideals, maintaining moral integrity and observing discipline, and do thorough and meticulous ideological work among demobilized soldiers so as to properly solve their practical problems and earnestly carry out the work of placement of demobilized soldiers in 1983, thus vigorously creating a new situation in the field throughout the province.

CSO: 4005/93

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

AIR FORCE ORGANIZES STUDY OF CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

OW211222 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1142 GMT 18 Oct 82

[Report by JIEFANGJUN BAO reporter Liu Congli and XINHUA reporter Cai Shanwu]

[Text] Beijing, 18 Oct (XINHUA)--After gaining an initial understanding of the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress documents, many grassroots units of the PLA air force have seriously conducted special-topic education in the light of the comrades' thinking as a way to deepen the study of these documents. Representatives of these grassroots units recently came to Beijing to report their efforts in studying the documents and their experience in conducting the special-topic education.

In conducting the special-topic education, the grassroots units of the air force used Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech as the general guiding ideology and centered on the principal contents of Comrade Hu Yaobang's report. Eight topics were set up for such education: the great historic change, the strategic objective of economic development, socialist spiritual civilization, the building of the party, the building of the army, attainment of a high level of socialist democracy, the open door economic policy and independent principle, and contributions to be made by everyone in creating a new situation. Specific measures taken by these units were:

1. Prior to the special-topic education, they carried out an investigation so that the education would serve specific purposes. They thought that the efforts made by different grassroots cadres and fighters in studying the 12th CPC National Congress documents were not the same, and the extent to which they understood the documents also varied. It was, therefore, necessary to conduct an investigation and, based on the actual ideological level of cadres and fighters revealed in the investigation, to decide what should be emphasized in the special-topic education. Discussion meetings and heart-to-heart talks were sponsored to find out what the cadres and fighters thought when studying the documents. Then, according to their thinking, an education plan was worked out. This method has produced fairly good results.

2. Education was conducted on the special topics one by one with the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress as basic teaching materials and with special attention to the questions asked by the comrades in the course of study. Before conducting the education on the special topic "the great

"historic change," the party branch of the radio company of a division found that some comrades were unable to clearly understand the concept of a great historic change, and that they could neither clearly understand the previous two great historic changes nor clearly tell the specific indicators of this one. When conducting the education, the party branch of this company first told them what a great historic change is and then led them to review our party's history so that they could see the social background prior to the two previous historic changes, how the task, line, principle and policy altered in the course of these historic changes and what new situation resulted from these changes. The party branch let the comrades talk about the seven indicators of the great historic change as listed in the report to the 12th CPC National Congress. It also let them write out the great changes in their native places since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. In addition, an "exhibition of new outlooks of native places after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee" was held. The purpose was to enable the comrades to understand from numerous facts the scientific conclusion that we have "effected a great historic change" as stated in the report to the 12th CPC National Congress.

3. Some Marxist-Leninist works and Mao Zedong's writings were selected for study so as to deepen the understanding of the 12th CPC National Congress documents from the theoretical view point. In the opinion of these units, a major reason some cadres and fighters fail to clearly understand communism was that they knew too little about the revolutionary theory. These units held that only when there is a scientific understanding of the system of communist ideology, from its conclusion to its rich contents, is it possible to have firm confidence in communism. The general method used by many units was as follows: First, they organized the comrades to read Marxist-Leninist works and Mao Zedong's writings to see how the revolutionary teachers explained communism. In this way, the comrades would be able to see clearly that communism is not only a social system but also a movement and the whole ideological system of the proletariat. Second, they gave lectures to solve the comrades' problem of being unable to understand communism clearly. By integrating theory with practice, the lectures put emphasis on explainging that the communist system is an inevitable result of social development. Third, they gave lectures on the history of social development so as to increase the comrades' confidence in the success of communism from the angle of the social development law. Through the study of theory and discussions of what they had gained in the study, those who had previously lacked confidence in communism were able to discard their misgivings. All were inspired and determined to work hard for the realization of the great ideal of communism.

4. Study and practice were integrated. On the basis of the special-topic education, these units led the comrades to strive to create a new situation in modernizing the PLA units. To apply the revolutionary enthusiasm of cadres and fighters resulting from the study of the 12th CPC National Congress documents to the work of training in preparation against war, a flight division promptly launched a campaign for "everyone to make contributions to creating a new situation." This gave full play to the comrades' initiative and creativity and promoted the progress of all tasks of this division.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

YUNNAN PLA SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION ACHIEVEMENTS

HK191129 Kunming YUNNAN Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 18 Oct 82

[Summary] At the congress of the advanced units and advanced individuals of the Kunming PLA units in building socialist spiritual civilization, Liu Yantian, deputy political commissar of the Kunming PLA units, made a report on the morning of 17 October. The report says: "The Kunming PLA units have scored great success in the activities of building socialist spiritual civilization. Since last year, in compliance with the relevant instructions of the CPC central committee and the central military commission, the Kunming PLA units have unfolded the activities of building socialist spiritual civilization. Now, they have scored great success which is mainly embodied in these seven aspects:

"1. The political awareness of the PLA units has clearly been heightened. Commanders and fighters have seriously studied the line, principles and policies of the party since the 3d Plenary of the 11th CPC Central Committee and eliminated the influence of leftist ideology. It is evident that the party's policies have manifested their tremendous strength on all fronts. We are more deeply convinced of the correct leadership of the CPC central committee and are fully confident of achieving brilliant prospects for the four modernizations of our motherland.

"2. Cadres' and fighters' devotion to the revolution has been remarkably strengthened and the majority of comrades have established a firmer idea of fervently cherishing the border areas, contentedly working at the border areas and defending and building the border areas." A large number of heroic models in devoting themselves to border defense and construction have emerged.

"3. The morality and customs of the PLA units have become better and better. Commanders and fighters have come to understand further the significance and the value of life." More and more comrades have established the communist attitude toward work and taken a view of the revolutionary cause as masters of their own affairs. They have eagerly shouldered heavy burdens as required, irrespective of remuneration and conditions.

"4. The revolutionary spirit of fearing neither difficulties nor hardship, neither shedding blood nor death has been further carried forward. The

"commanders and fighters have placed the dignity of the motherland above everything else and firmly guarded the big gate in the southwest of the motherland.

"5. The PLA units' sense of organization and discipline has been greatly strengthened. The work style and discipline of the cadres and fighters, army discipline and courtesy have remarkable improved. Their mental outlook has taken on a new look. The environmental sanitation in the barracks has greatly improved.

"6. The army-government and army-people relations have been kept more closely." In the first half of this year, the Kunming PLA units spent some 510,000 man-days on labor, voluntarily planted some 1.2 million trees and gave medical treatment some 759,000 times, rushed to deal with emergencies and did relief work some 250 times and rescued some 330 people in distress, 38 advanced units of the Kunming PLA units in supporting the government and cherishing the people were commended.

"7. All items of work with education and training as the core have been promoted. A large number of crack shots, expert artillerymen, skilled workers and excellent instructors have emerged. More and more cadres and fighters have come to understand the importance of mastering modern scientific and cultural knowledge and military science and technology. PLA units have also achieved good results in construction, national defense construction and agricultural and sideline production."

CSO: 4005/93

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SICHUAN REPORTS IMPROVED RESULTS IN MILITIA WORK

HK210331 Chengdu SICHUAN Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 20 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Sichuan has carried out militia work centered on building the four modernizations since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, and has successfully completed the major tasks of organizational readjustment, reform of training, and systematization of political education. There have been notable developments in militia work.

In the past few years the militia organizations in the province, while implementing the party's line, principles and policies, have gradually carried out organizational readjustment in light of the needs of urban and rural economic development and national defense construction. [passage omitted] In the rural areas young people have enthusiastically sent in their names to join the militia. A number of factories, mines and other units have vigorously supported militia construction in personnel, capital and equipment. Various factories, mines and other enterprises in Chengdu, Chongqing, Zigong and Dukou have linked militia building to enterprise development.

Political education for the militia has been gradually systematized and made more regular in the wake of the reforms of political work. This has played a guaranteeing role in enhancing the militia's political awareness and promoting the building of spiritual civilization centered on communist ideology. Militiamen fighting in the frontline of industrial and agricultural production have organized voluntary services groups, farmwork teams, scientific cultivation pioneer teams, demonstration teams in getting rich through hard work, and so on. [passage omitted]

According to statistics, 16,400 militiamen and militia cadres have been commended for merit in the past 3 years, while 514 progressive units in militia work and 2,159 militiamen and militia cadres have been commended and rewarded by the provincial CPC committee and government, Chengdu PLA units and the provincial military district. The Hechuan County People's Armed Forces Department has been commended by the central military commission.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

ARMYMEN, STUDENTS URGED TO LEARN FROM ZHANG HUA

OW270209 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1254 GMT 21 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 21 Oct (XINHUA)--The Ministry of Education and the PLA general logistics department recently issued a circular and decision respectively calling on college students and members of all logistics departments in the army to learn from Zhang Hua.

Zhang Hua, a communist party member, died an heroic death on 11 July this year while rescuing an old peasant. Before his death, he was a student of the PLA No 4 Military Medical College.

In its "Circular Calling for Conducting Learn-from-Zhang Hua Activities Among Students in Institutions of Higher Learning," the Ministry of Education pointed out: Zhang Hua was an outstanding representative of the new generation of college students nurtured by the party and a fine young man of the Lei Feng type. With lofty revolutionary ideals, he was determined to dedicate himself all his life to the cause of communism. [passage omitted] Zhang Hua is a good example for the new generation of college students to follow.

The circular called for all institutions of higher learning in various localities to give wide publicity to martyr Zhang Hua's lofty ideas and deeds among students while studying and implementing the documents of the 12th Party Congress. In conducting activities to learn from Zhang Hua, it is necessary to carry out education in communist ideals, faith and morality. [passage omitted]

In its decision to learn from Zhang Hua, the general logistics department pointed out: Comrade Zhang Hua's advanced ideas and exemplary deeds are vividly characteristic of the times and of advanced young people. They are a vivid teaching material for communist education. [passage omitted]

The decision calls on large numbers of cadres, fighters, workers, staff members and their dependents on the logistics front to learn from Comrade Zhang Hua in ardently loving the party, the people and the socialist motherland and to learn from his lifty spirit of bravely giving his life in the cause of communism. [passage omitted]

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PUBLIC SECURITY DEPARTMENT DIRECTOR SPEECH

SK220700 Harbin HEILONGJIANG Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Oct 82

[Speech by (Fu Jianwu), director of the provincial public security department, entitled: "Achieving a Radical Improvement in Social Order and Public Security Is a Glorious Duty of Public Security Organs"--recorded]

[Excerpts] The 12th Party Congress called for efforts to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and to achieve a radical improvement in the financial and economic situation, in social habits and in party style. Social order is an important part of social habits. A fundamental improvement in social order will certainly bring about a radical improvement in social habits. Therefore, achieving a fundamental improvement in social order and public security is a glorious and an unshirkable duty of public security organs. The broad masses of public security cadres and policemen throughout the province must respond to the call of the CPC central committee and the provincial CPC committee, must work hard and make contributions to achieving a radical improvement in social order and public security. At present, the situation of social order in our province is good. We must regard achieving a decisive improvement in social order as the first fight objective in creating a new situation in public security work and strive to do all work well.

First, we must strengthen the fundamental building of grassroots public security organs. Good spadework in grassroots units ensures stability in social order. [passage omitted

Second, we must do a good job in helping and educating misguided youths. This is of great importance in achieving a fundamental improvement in social habits and social order in particular. [passage omitted]

Third, we must do a good job in ensuring safety and guarding against criminals. This is an effective measure for controlling and preventing the occurrence of criminal cases and for reducing the number of criminal cases. Experiences in various localities have shown that establishing and implementing a responsibility system in public security organs will help prevent the occurrence of criminal cases, check bad behavior and enhance the people's

consciousness in observing discipline and law. Under the guidance of party committees, we must organize all departments to adopt safety and preventive measures and ensure that these measures will be implemented in plants, organs, schools, neighborhoods and rural resident commissions so that criminals will not be able to take advantage of any opportunities to commit crimes.

Fourth, we must deal blows at the sabotage activities of criminals. Efforts to carry out this work should never be slackened. [passage omitted]

Fifth, we must build public security ranks that have a high sense of policies and good professional quality. Public security personnel must have ideals, morality, culture and a sense of discipline. They must have good work efficiency and must fulfill their tasks at a high speed. The quality of their work must be excellent. They must conscientiously and unmistakenly deal with problems and handle criminal cases. Their service attitude must be excellent. They must offer warm and good service to the people. They must have a high sense of discipline and a good work style, and serve as examples in observing party discipline and state law. By doing so, the party will feel relieved and the people will trust us and support our work.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GUANGZHOU PLA LEADERS ACT TO CURB UNHEALTHY TRENDS

HK230200 Guangzhou GUANGDONG Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 22 Oct 82

[Excerpts] The standing committee and the leading comrades of the CPC committee of the Guangzhou PLA units have got rid of their superiority complex in claiming to be the teachers and corrected the relationship between promoting the building of spiritual civilization in the units and building spiritual civilization among themselves. They started off by analyzing the state of ideological building in the CPC committee. They have studied the documents on the one hand and translated them into action on the other, and worked hard to become models in building spiritual civilization.

In the previous period certain leading comrades were accustomed to claiming to be the teachers. As soon as spiritual civilization was mentioned, they only stressed educating the units. As soon as correcting unhealthy trends was mentioned, they grumbled that the lower levels had not done well in this respect, and set themselves apart from such trends.

In order to change this situation, while grasping the building of socialist spiritual civilization, the leading comrades of the CPC committee have guided everyone to take the 12th Party Congress documents as weapons for seriously analyzing the situation in ideological building of the committee and its leading cadres. Everyone realized: as a result of several decades of cultivation and education by the party and testing in long revolutionary struggle, generally speaking the ideological awareness of the old comrades is relatively high and their faith in revolution is relatively firm. However, due to the 10 years of internal chaos, the interference and sabotage done by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, and some increase in the corrosive role of exploiting-class ideology in the new conditions, a number of unhealthy ideas and work styles have grown to some extent among certain leading comrades. Some think little about the great goal of communism but think a lot about their wives, children, housing, cars and positions and so on. Some cannot take a correct view of the power in their hands and indulge in varying degrees of unhealthy practices such as going in by the back door and pursuing special privileges. All these are incompatible with socialist spiritual civilization.

Everyone clearned their thinking through carrying out this analysis, and strengthened their sense of urgency for grasping the building spiritual civilization among themselves. [passage omitted]

They have correctly understood and handled from the plane of attaining the communist ideal the problem of cooperation between new and old cadres and replacement of the old by the new. A number of old comrades pledged: We will obey the party's assignments, prepare to retire to the second or third line and yield our positions to comrades in the prime of life.

Commander Wu Kehua and others have also gone deep into the organs and units to explaing things by citing personal experiences, and publicize the great importance of achieving cooperation between new and old cadres and replacing the old with the new.

In view of signs that, while the organs are currently facing streamlining and reorganization, certain people wanted to use their powers to arrange posts for relatives and friends, the CPC committee demanded that every leading comrade regard correctly handling this problem as a major topic in building socialist spiritual civilization, and promptly ordered the political organs to issue a document further setting out strict regulations on cadre assignment. Political Commissar Wang Meng, and Deng Yifan, deputy political commissar in charge of cadre work, recently received cables and letters from some old comrades-in-arms and subordinates requesting that posts be found for their relatives, sons and daughters in the leading organs of the Guangzhou PLA units. They stuck to principles and refused these requests. Certain leading comrades had intended to transfer their sons and daughters working in distant places to work close to them. They have now voluntarily given up this request.

In studying the documents, they have also analyzed the special circumstance of the Guangzhou PLA units in facing Hong Kong and Macao, and held: Whether we can resist capitalist corrosion in the economic field and influence in the ideological and cultural field is a severe test of the building of spiritual civilization. The party committee and the leading cadres must set a good example in this respect. Apart from continuing to investigate major and important economic crimes, they have organized forces to take stock of fund management in the leading organs, and have formulated still stricter regulations and more effective measures for avoiding capitalist corrosion in the economic, ideological and cultural fields.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

XIZANG AIRFORCE UNIT HOLDS ANNIVERSARY GATHERING

HK230529 Lhasa XIZANG Regional Service in Mandarin 0000 GMT 23 Oct 82

[Summary] An airforce unit stationed in Xizang held a rally on 20 October to celebrate the 20th anniversary of its formation. Leading comrades of the regional people's government, Xizang Military District, and the airforce of Chengdu Military Region Pagbala Geleg Namgya, (Dai Yuxin), (Sun Guoqi) and (Gu Chun) attended the rally.

A responsible comrade of Xizang Military District made a speech. He said: "The commanders and fighters of the airforce stationed in Xizang have taken root on the roof of the world. They love the border region and have taken part in building Xizang for a long time, carrying on the army's fine tradition of arduous struggle. In particular, the radar units battle all year round on the snowy mountains about 4,000 meters above sea-level. As they have no barracks, they live in tents; as they have no fresh vegetables, they eat dried. They have overcome severe cold and lack of oxygen and fulfilled all their tasks relatively well. They have accumulated and summed up many valuable experiences for strengthening the building of the airforce on the roof of the world."

The responsible comrade stressed: "Xizang covers a vast area and has a long border defense line. Its strategic position is very important. The 12th Party Congress has put forward the strategic task of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. I hope that everyone will seriously study, publicize and implement the 12th Party Congress spirit, respond to the call of the airforce CPC committee, and strive to create a new situation in building the airforce."

CSO: 4005/93

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

RAO SHOUKUN AT URBAN SANITATION CAMPAIGN

SK250559 Jian SHANDONG Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 24 Oct 82

[Text] According to our sources, on 24 October, the PLA units stationed in Jinan Municipality dispatched over 10,000 cadres and fighters and over 80 trucks to join environmental sanitation activities, to publicize the importance of building a spiritual civilization, to maintain the public order and to render service for the people at over 30 public places including the Jinan Railway Station and the people's park in an effort to make contributions to bringing about a change in the city's appearance.

Attending the early morning environmental sanitation activities and the service for the people were standing committee members of the CPC committee under the Jinan PLA units and these units' leading comrades, including Rao Shoukun, (Zhang Feng), Zhao Bingan, Fang Zheng, Chen Renhong, (Li Ruiying) and Xu Hongyun; leading comrades of the air force units under the Jina PLA units, including (Wang Zixiang); and cadres from the organs under the headquarters and the political and logistics departments of the Jinan PLA units. They worked hard in sweeping away garbage on the platforms of the station.

On 24 October, in order to avoid the Sunday crowds, commanders and fighters from the artillery and armoured units stationed under the provincial military district and from the air force units under the Jinan PLA units started their cleaning work in the early morning and before rush hours at the scenic places, including Daminghu Lake, Baotuquan Spring, Qianfoshan Mountain, (Jinling) and Renmin Parks and (Yingxiongshan) Mountain.

The PLA units stationed in Jinan Municipality also dispatched over 80 learn-from-Lei Feng service teams, including cultural and a civility propaganda team, a medical team, a repair service team and a barber service team, to do a great deal of work for the people in the municipality.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA UNITS DISCUSS UNITY WITH GOVERNMENT, PEOPLE

HK270514 Urumqi XINJIANG Regional Service in Mandarin 1650 GMT 26 Oct 82

[Text] Delegates attending the sixth Party Congress of the Urumqi PLA units discussed the excellent situation in supporting the government and cherishing the people and pledged to further improve relations with the government and people and to strengthen the unity of all nationalities. In discussions, delegates said: This year, the PLA units stationed in Xinjiang have achieved good results in the struggle to build and defend the border areas. This is inseparable from the leadership of governments at all levels in the autonomous region and the support of the people of all nationalities. Now, while working to create a new situation in building the army into a more revolutionary, modern and regular one, the PLA units cannot abandon the leadership of party organizations and governments at all levels and the support of the people of all nationalities. We must continue to display the glorious tradition of supporting the government and cherishing the people under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th Party National Congress, strengthen unity between the army and the government and between the army and the people and the unity of all nationalities, and make joint efforts with the people of all nationalities in the struggle to create a new situation in socialist modernization in the autonomous region and in the struggle to defend the border areas.

(Ruciwushouer), delegate from the South Xinjiang Military District, after recalling the situation in the unity between the army and the government and between the army and the people since the liberation of Xinjiang, said with deep feeling: In Xinjiang, unity between the army and the people is virtually the unity of nationalities. Only by consolidating this unity can the PLA units smoothly fulfill their tasks.

(Pan Zhaoyi), delegate from a certain unit, said: The unity, equality and common prosperity of all nationalities have a great bearing on the destiny of the whole nation. Ours is a people's army made up of the sons of the people. We can never neglect or slacken the unity of nationalities.

(Xie Yixian), delegate from the unit to which the model 5th company of cherishing the people is subordinate, said: Our unit has made efforts to keep close ties between the army and the people and to strengthen the unity of all nationalities and has accumulated some experience. Some progressive

collectives like the 5th company have emerged. We must make use of these advanced cases to help commanders and soldiers realize that maintaining unity between the army and the government and between the army and the people and strengthening the unity of nationalities should be treated as a matter of importance. We should require cadres and soldiers to keep firmly in mind the view that the Han nationality and minority nationalities cannot be separated and that the army and the people of all nationalities cannot be separated. We should make new contributions to the improvement of the unity of nationalities.

Delegates said: It is necessary to actively assist the localities in their modernization construction in accordance with the actual conditions of the units and local areas, do a good job for the people of all nationalities and run a few popular, significant and influential public welfare undertakings near barracks. It is necessary to set up new social moral standards with communist ideology. The army should work together with the people in building socialist material and spiritual civilization.

CSO: 4005/93

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SICHUAN PLA LEADER HELPS IN STUDY OF 12TH CONGRESS

HK280707 Chengdu SICHUAN Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 27 Oct 82

[Excerpts] After returning from taking part in the 12th Party Congress, Chengdu PLA units deputy commander and Sichuan Military District Commander Zhao Wenjin has gone down to 10 grassroots units to study the congress documents with the cadres and fighters and help them to solve problems encountered in study. [passage omitted]

In the past, two of the chief leaders of the people's armed forces department were not sufficiently united. Comrade Zhao Wenjin let they study Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech, Comrade Hu Yaobang's report and the new party constitution in connection with this problem. After study, these two comrades profoundly felt that lack of unity did not accord with the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and was a sign of impure party spirit. They both conducted self-criticism. Since then they have united and cooperated in work and promoted the work of the people's armed forces department.

Comrade Zhao Wenjin has given answers to questions raised by the cadres and fighters in study. While in the grassroots units, he delivered eight guidance reports and, by combining theory with practice answered several score questions put by 40 cadres and fighters on such issues as: Why is it said that to have culture is regarded as one of the contents of spiritual civilization; What is the concept of communism; and can the task of achieving these fundamental turns for the better be fulfilled on time. The cadres and fighters said happily: The 12th Party Congress has come to answer our questions and untie the knots in our minds. We must study the 12th Party Congress documents still better, do our work well, and contribute to creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/94

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

BUILDING SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION RALLY--The Henan Military District held a mobilization rally on socialist spiritual civilization on 11 October. Cadres of the military district organs and commanders and soldiers directly affiliated to the district attended the rally. (Yao Xia), director of the political department conveyed the spirit of the upper-level instruction. Deputy Commander (Ma Ming) attended the rally and delivered a speech. The rally called on the broad masses of cadres and soldiers to conscientiously study the documents of the 12th CPC Congress, propagate in a grand scale the significance of unfolding the activities of building socialist spiritual civilization and emphasize eliminating dirt, disorder and defects. [Text] [HK130822 Zhengzhou HENAN Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Oct 82]

GANSU SERVICEMEN CLEAN PLACES--Yesterday afternoon, some 300 delegates attending the Gansu Provincial Military District's Congress of Advanced Units and Advanced Individuals of PLA Units and Militia in Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization went to the Baitashan Park to clean places. Among them were Wu Huaduo [as heard], deputy commander of the Lanzhou PLA units; Li Bin, commander of the provincial military district; Lan Tianmin, political commissar of the provincial military district; (Ma Yisheng) and (Wang Jie), deputy commanders of the provincial military district; and (Li Weizhi), deputy political commissar. [Text] [HK221328 Lanzhou GANSU Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 15 Oct 82]

GANSU TOURISM DEVELOPS--Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, tourism has greatly developed in Gansu Province. After Lanzhou, Jiuquan, Jiayuguan and Dunhuang were opened to tourists, the number of foreign visitors to the province has greatly increased. By the end of September this year, some 34,000 foreign visitors, overseas Chinese from abroad and compatriots from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan have visited the province. In order to sum up experiences and discover discrepancies, from 9-13 October, relevant departments at the provincial level held a meeting of representatives of the advanced collectives and the advanced workers of the provincial foreign affairs and tourism systems. [Text] [HK221328 Lanzhou GANSU Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 14 Oct 82]

LEADERS JOIN CLEAN-UP DRIVE--Some 110,000 armymen and people carried out a massive clean-up drive in Urumqi on 16 October, the first day of the city's sanitation shock week. Leading comrades of the regional party and government

and the Urumqi PLA units Gu Jingsheng, Xiao Quanfu, Tan Youlin, Li Jiayu and Janabil took part in sweeping the streets. [Text] [HK170348 Urumqi XINJIANG Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 16 Oct 82]

VETERANS PASS THROUGH XIAN--At noon on 8 October, a large number of demobilized soldiers who had contributed to defending and building border areas passed through Xian, Shaanxi Province, and returned home to various places in the motherland. They were warmly welcomed by responsible persons of the provincial and municipal people's governments, the provincial military district, Xian garrison and relevant departments. At about noon, a train arrived in Xian from Xinjiang region. Vice Governor Deng Guozhong; Zhang Ze and (Li Xiuying), deputy commanders of the provincial military district; (Li Baosheng), deputy director of the political department of the Urumqi PLA units; and responsible persons of relevant departments welcomed the veteran fighters at the railroad station. [Text] [HK121421 Xian SHAANXI Provincial Service in Mandarin 0500 GMT 9 Oct 82]

SHAANXI PLA LABOR SERVICE--Over the past few days, teachers, staff and workers of the PLA Xian Political School have cleaned their campus and shops, restaurants, parks and stations near their school. They have also helped people carry goods. Teachers, students, staff and workers of the Fourth Military Medical University in Shaanxi Province took advantage of their National Day holiday to take part in voluntary labor in stations, shops, hotels, parks and public places. [Text] [HK090334 Xian SHAANXI Provincial Service in Mandarin 0500 GMT 7 Oct 82]

CSO: 4005/93

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LACK OF REALISM IN LITERATURE, ART CRITICIZED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Peng Dingan [1456 1353 1344]: "The Test of Realism"]

[Text] Writers and artists are often under a test of realism under two circumstances. One is when the objective environment restricts the theme of the creative work, as when "acting under orders to write," or "assigning a subject for composition." This frequently leads to a departure from realism. However, even under these circumstances some writers are able to adhere to a spirit of realism, without any pollution whatsoever. The other circumstance is when no limitation has been placed on the selection of themes and the writer has full or fairly full freedom to bring into play his creative talents. However, such freedom is also a test. It is a test of whether one is able to adhere to the spirit of realism and not turn the freedom into a kind of subjective puffery and undertake to create whatever his heart desires.

Today's circumstances are of the latter kind. Nevertheless, in the theme of creative works a situation that merits attention has also appeared and that is that the themes are relatively concentrated ones. Basically love between the sexes, thrills, and stories set abroad are the three themes that have become popular. Moreover, the three permeate each other and are mutually intertwined. Love stories contain some thrills and thrilling stories are permeated with love, while stories set abroad are substantially about love. This situation long ago attracted attention and was somewhat criticized. According to statistics from the Literature Research Institute of the Liaoning Academy of Social Sciences issued on the themes of work that appeared in more than 10 literary publications in the province, no small number had love as their theme. Naturally, this state of affairs is not limited solely to this province.

Why is it that some authors and literary workers have become hung up on what can virtually be called a "trinity," each of which is a relatively independent theme?

Historical phenomena frequently provide a rational feedback. We have lost the fresh flowers, the poetry, and the love. That was during the 10 years of turmoil. The result of this swing of the pendulum has been that love stories

have become the rage for a time. Remember first it was writing about the sadness of losing love and the loneliness of being without love, which was a look back at and a summarization of historical phenomena and which was well received. It also aroused people to think about many problems. However, subsequently the situation changed and "triangular pursuits" appeared. These were followed by "four way struggles," and this was no longer able to attract people, so there were more who "tried to defeat their opponents by a single surprise move."

With the advent of these situations, at least because these kinds of stories were very well written, they could easily be bizarre and distorted, could easily be touching, or sad, or even fascinating. However, was this realism?

The first and fundamental requirement of realism lies not in what the author writes about but rather in why he writes it and what social effect he hopes his work will produce. The spirit of realism is manifested, first of all, in the writer's zest for living and in his throwing himself into and participating in the struggle to change reality. We might say that an author has first a spirit of realism and only afterward can he produce realistic creations. Those who Engels termed great literary masters of the literary renaissance period used their own works to arouse a liberation movement in human thought and to liberate men, and these glorious writings are now a part of human cultural history. Balzac, in his monumental work "La Comedie Humaine," formulated and reflected the tasks of social life of a period, and it was in this regard that Marx and Engels praised him. Tolstoy's "War and Peace" was in its inception an effort to "bend every effort to write the history of the people." [Alexander] Gertsen, Turgenov, and Chekhov all were active participants in changing reality. They regarded literature as a weapon in their hands and as a mirror of the age. As for Lu Xun, he frankly said that he wrote novels as commentaries and to improve people's lives. The reason these great literary masters became great men in literary history was primarily and fundamentally because of their realistic spirit of using literature as a weapon to participate in the struggle to change reality.

Such a spirit of realism fundamentally decides why writers write and what they write about. A serious and responsible author would neither make a choice as he pleased of the theme for his writings nor would he select a theme on the basis of "market price," or what was "marketable in society," and liked by a body of readers. Much less would he fabricate what he was unable to write about for this purpose. Literary and artistic workers in socialist countries should cherish communist ideals and should actively devote themselves to action, and literature and art are weapons in our hands. We should not be restrained and fettered by money bags. We want that literature and art become textbooks for living and media for the transmission of "beauty," particularly of the lofty spiritual world of youth and of a pure, fine, and intelligent "sweet dew." This, I feel should be a precious and important ingredient of the spirit of realism of authors.

To serve the broadest masses of people and to serve mankind's most magnificent endeavors--socialism and communism--is an author's greatest and most precious

freedom. Not long ago, Comrade Ding Ling said something like the following at a small informed discussion meeting in Shenyang: When an author genuinely becomes a spokesman for the people, he has the greatest creative freedom (or words to that effect). On hearing this, I was very moved and I felt that these words were very pervasive and very correct. The idea of serving the people, creative freedom, and a spirit of realism should be organically linked together, and to understand their deep implications is to strengthen our own spirit of realism. Yet some of our comrades still possess a mistaken understanding and a confused conception as a result of which they separate the three.

In really proceeding from the aforestated proposition, our literary and artistic workers develop a "going down into life," and an "experiencing of life." We cannot be satisfied to linger at the level of "writing about whatever we are familiar with," or take as our sphere of activity that "there is life everywhere." This is because we bear heavy burdens and life cries out to us: Expand your circle of life and your range of vision; a bustling and variegated life awaits you!

Naturally, the initial point of realism is not the same thing as putting realism into effect. More penetrating and practiced testing of an author comes from adherence to a spirit of realism in the creative process, genuinely depicting life, not only having detailed authenticity, but also having authenticity in depiction that is representative in nature in a representative environment. If this is what is required, we must say that today many works are lacking in this regard. Some works frequently lack an all-round comprehension and a total perspective of today's social environment. Even in short stories, though they deal only with a small slice of life, one should be able to see the large from the small in them, but in some works the world seems a "fragmented" and "truncated" "depiction." Sometimes it is so "singular," and "purified," as though it were only a "world of love." Society's daily life, the environment in which the characters move, the life, thoughts and feelings of the characters, and even the entire atmosphere serves love. Even though love is an eternal theme, it is not the sole ingredient of life, and this "ingredient," is mutually linked to and permeates and influences all the other ingredients of social life of every individual. Love has no independently existing value and it cannot exist independently. Frequently after reading a work, one feels both ideas and life are equally pallid, and that the temperament of the characters and the content of the work are equally lacking. Does this not constitute a departure from the fundamental nature of realism? As far as detailed authenticity is concerned, some works are guilty of "doing whatever the heart desires" making people feel they are too contrived or too strange, or even finding them hard to believe. When truth is missing, so is beauty. By looking at only the above two points, I believe that the way for us to intensify the spirit of realism is, first of all, to strengthen the sense of social responsibility of authors, to strengthen their love for and understanding of life, as well as have them plunge into life.

9432
CSO: 4005/1331

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HU QIAOMU DISCUSSES POLITICS, ART

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Aug 82 p 3

[Article: "Hu Qiaomu Discusses the Relationship Between Art and Politics"]

> [Text] At the successfully completed tea party jointly held by the Ministry of Propaganda and the Ministry of Culture to celebrate the second plenary meeting of the committee of the Fourth Congress of the Chinese Federation of Literary and Art Circles, Comrade Hu Qiaomu, secretary of the Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee, delivered a speech. He emphasized the related problems concerning art and politics, and delivered a deep theoretical explanation. What appears here is based on selections from this year's No 8 issue of WENYI BAO. The headline has been added by the editor.

Comrade Hu Qiaomu said the orientation of "let art serve the people and serve socialism," advanced by the Central Committee, was the ultimate goal of art in the socialist period.

While explaining why we no longer use the wording "let literature serve politics," which was popular in the past, he said, although these two slogans are not poles apart, they are very different. The basic difference is that "let literature serve the people and serve socialism," takes the people as the target of all effort and service. The scope of serve the people and serve socialism should be much broader than serve politics and the content should be deeper. He said politics itself is not the end, but a means to achieve the end. Although we can say it is a very important means, it can only be a means and an end can only be in the interests of the people. Only if politics is subordinate to the people and to socialism will it be correct. Politics which is not subordinate to the people and to socialism is wrong. This kind of politics exists, existed in the past and it exists now; we not only cannot submit to it, but we must, in addition, oppose it and correct it. He said politics must serve each of the needs of the people. It cannot but serve economics, culture and education, including literature and art and everything else the people need. While speaking about the connection between the party's cause and the people's cause he said, the party is for serving the people and we cannot call all the people's causes one part of the party's

cause, for example, calling the cause of literature a part of the entire party's cause. He said, in the building of socialism the cause of all socialism must be led by the party to the very end, right up until communism. However, we cannot merely view the cause of socialism as a cause of the party; it is above all a cause of the people, the working people. He stressed that the nature of the party determined that the party was only a tool for serving the people and that it must always serve the people wholeheartedly. If the party does not do this it will be committing an error. Hu Qiaomu said that literature and art also may serve narrow politics. For example, picture posters--these are necessary and can also produce good works, but they cannot represent the entire body of literature and art. We cannot stick the serve politics label on all of the art and literature in human history. It won't stick. We serve the interests of the people and we welcome all literary works which reflect the emotions of the people as long as they don't divide or insult the people. Concerning music, for instance, we cannot say that compositions which do not serve politics, which do not serve the politics of today, all must be erased from the history of music. We are not this type of narrow-minded person. In doing things that way we will not be able to lead this nation with a population of one billion forward. He pointed out that we advocate that the main current of literature must uphold socialism and the interests of the people, and that it must display strong political themes. However, we do not hold that aside from this type of literature, all other works are not literature and that the people do not need it. Art which belongs to different categories has an even broader scope.

9686
CSO: 4005/1331

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

YINCHUAN SEMINAR ON EDUCATION IN MINORITY AREAS

OW301119 Beijing XINHUA in English 0717 GMT 30 Sep 82

[Text] Yinchuan, 30 Sep (XINHUA)--Education in minority areas and its relation to economic development was the subject of a recent seminar here which brought together representatives from the Guangxi Zhuang, Xinjiang Uygur, Inner Mongolia, Ningxia Hui and Tibet Autonomous Regions and Qinghai, Gansu, Yunnan and Jilin Provinces.

A delegate from the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region reported on two Maonan nationality villages to illustrate the effect of education. Land conditions and population are about the same. But one of the villages has paid much more attention to the development of education. Around 90 percent of the school age children are enrolled in school. Grain production here is high and most of the families have new houses. The other village has only 52 percent of its children enrolled in school. Farming methods are backward and gain production low. State grain subsidies are still needed.

Delegates discussed methods of raising educational levels in their areas. Suggestions included the need to compile teaching materials directed toward children of minority nationalities, extension of years of schooling so that minority children can reach the national standard, special standards for admittance of minority nationality students to college. Delegates also thought there should be additional investment in education in minority nationality areas.

CSO: 4000/10

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PRC DELEGATE ON EFFORTS TO WIPE OUT ILLITERACY

OW041335 Beijing XINHUA in English 1202 GMT 4 Oct 82

[Text] Foshan, 4 Oct (XINHUA)--Government efforts and the people's warm response have brought illiteracy (between 12-45 years of age) in China down from the 80 percent before liberation to the present 25 percent, said Yao Zhongda, Chinese delegate to the field operational seminar on adult education and literacy which opened here today.

The seminar, attended by delegates from Bangladesh, India, Japan, Malaysia, Nepal, Philippines and China, is sponsored by the UNESCO regional office for education in Asia and the Pacific.

Yao Zhongda, who is head of the worker-peasant education department of the Chinese Ministry of Education, said that in the 32 years since the founding of the People's Republic, over 137.7 million people have graduated from literacy classes.

The literacy standard, he noted, is 1,500 characters for peasants--enough to read simple publications, to keep accounts, and write informal notes. The requirement for workers is around 2,000 characters.

He pointed out that adult education also registered marked improvement in the period: 38.64 million people have graduated from spare-time schools at the primary level, 3.59 million from spare-time schools at the secondary level and over one million from spare-time institutions of higher education.

Reviewing the past he noted that though China is one of the cradles of world civilization, the people were deprived of the opportunity of an education before liberation because of the poverty imposed on them by the feudal and bureaucratic capitalist rule and imperialist aggression. Illiterates went up to 80 percent and in some villages, there was not a single literate person.

Early in the 20th century the Chinese Communist Party developed adult education and worked to eliminate illiteracy in both rural and urban areas as it spread revolutionary ideas. With the development of the Chinese recolution, adult education also expanded.

The 1950's is considered the golden age of this work, he said. The government adopted a series of policies, regulations and measures on adult education. The people, especially the organized rural population, responded with great enthusiasm.

Study was voluntary, he said. When field work was slack, more hours of study were organized, when work became busier, study hours were cut and when work was very busy, there were no classes. Literacy campaigns were launched in the countryside in winter when farmwork was slack. Peasants were busy by day and free at night so they were organized to go to evening schools. Women were free around noon, so they had noon sessions for study. A minimum requirement of 240 hours per year for both workers and peasants was set.

As for the teachers, he explained, all possible resources were mobilized. Children were mobilized to teach their parents and siblings, armymen taught both their new recruits and the population around the barracks, young people were organized into illiteracy eradication teams to go among the population during vacations and finally, rural primary school teachers were mobilized to teach night classes.

However, Yao Zhongda said, the work was not all smooth-going. During the ten chaotic years of "cultural revolution" the hard-won achievements were lost to some extent and by now, China still has 90 million illiterates or semi-illiterates.

This, he said, was incompatible with a national economy that was soon going to develop at great speed. At the recent party congress, General-Secretary Hu Yaobang again stressed the importance of adult education and illiteracy eradication. China is on the way to greater and quicker development in this field, he stated.

In conclusion Yao Zhongda said he hoped to learn from the experience of other countries.

At the opening session of the seminar this morning Yang Kanghua, vice governor of Guangdong Province, delivered a welcoming speech. Other speakers included Yang Yunyu, vice-chairman of the Chinese National Commission for UNESCO and Mr T. Sakya, UNESCO representative.

CSO: 4000/10

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CHINA-U.S. ART EDUCATION CONFERENCE HEARS REPORTS

OW181308 Beijing XINHUA in English 1212 GMT 18 Oct 82

[Text] Beijing, 18 Oct (XINHUA)--China's 27 music conservatories and fine arts colleges graduated 23,000 young professionals in the past three decades. Students were drawn from the millions of children who showed talent in art and music classes in primary and middle schools.

Art education in China is regarded as part of the general education and a task undertaken jointly by the Ministries of Culture and Education.

Reports given by representatives of the two ministries to the China-U.S. Art Education Conference which opened here today, said that besides the 27 college-level institutions, there are 81 secondary art schools, two music schools for primary school children and 137 special art training classes in the country. There are also art departments in a number of regular colleges, including those for national minorities and teachers' colleges. There were only 15 art schools in the country when new China was founded.

All of China's 140 million primary school students are given two classes a week in music. Children in their first three years of schooling also devote two periods a week to art. Junior middle school students throughout the three-year period have one class in music and one in art each week.

Art training at this early age among children is expected to give them some basic knowledge and help them cultivate a love for the beauties of nature, society and the arts. Where conditions permit, schools also organize extra-curricular activities such as bands, choruses, painting groups, drafts, calligraphy, drama, dance, etc. Teachers often spot gifted children in these activities and help them develop their interests and skills.

Art academies specialize in music, theater, dance, fine arts, applied arts and cinema. Most of the secondary art schools offer a course in traditional Chinese opera. Performers are trained for the more than 2,200 troupes of over 400 kinds of local opera.

According to the principles of art education in China, students are required to be both professionally qualified and good in moral conduct and besides art training the curriculum includes such compulsory subjects as philosophy,

political science, economics and history. Studies should include both Chinese and foreign art traditions, the aim being a rounded development of the future artist. Students go to factories and the countryside regularly to gain a deeper understanding of the working people and their cultural needs.

Handicapped children are not forgotten in teaching of the arts. Schools for the blind give three music classes a week and also courses in handicrafts. Schools for the feaf and mute provide courses in fine arts and eurythmics, including music, dance, physical exercises and games.

Singing and dance contests, drama festivals and art exhibitions are held every year to encourage juvenile talent.

A children's music festival from May to October, 1979, attracted more than 150,000 children from 35 cities. A contest, "Singing in Every Class," among Shanghai secondary schools in 1980 drew 800,000 entrants. This year hundreds of millions of children participated in a nationwide "Red May" singing competition sponsored by the Ministry of Culture. Prizes were awarded to 107 children's choruses.

CSO: 4000/10

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

OUTLINE OF CENSUS WORK, RESULTS IN XIZANG

OW281005 Beijing XINHUA in English 0812 GMT 28 Oct 82

[Text] Lhasa, 28 Oct (XINHUA)--Ninety-four point four percent or 1,786,000 of the population of 1,892,000 of the Tibet Autonomous Region are people of Tibetan nationality. The Han nationality accounts for 4.85 percent and 0.75 are people of other nationalities, according to the latest figures provided by the population census office of the autonomous region.

The entire Tibetan population in the country is 3,870,068.

Tibet is the most sparsely populated region in China. In almost all parts of the region, there are only 1.66 persons per square kilometer. The region has 956,000 females and 935,000 males. While in 1959, the year of the democratic reform there were only 1.23 million.

The census showed that in this high plateau, where mere existence was considered difficult in the past, now boasts of 46 centenarians, of which 36 were women. The eldest being 114. The majority live on high plateaus. Naqu area, 4,500 meters above sea level, has 17 centenarians.

Census workers conducted interviews in the entire autonomous region except for two counties high in the Himalayas, which were snowbound at the time the census was taken. Their population of 28,600 was registered according to administrative records. This was the only place in the country where the census was not taken by personal interview.

While this census is the third national population census taken in China since liberation, it is actually the first taken in Tibet.

At the beginning of this year ten thousand Tibetan census takers were trained, and a great deal of publicity work was done.

An official of the census office of the Tibet Autonomous Region said that the statistics collected in the census play a very important role in planning the future economic and cultural development of the region.

CSO: 4000/10

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

MIDDLE-AGED INTELLECTUALS--Beijing, 18 Oct (XINHUA)--Forty was the average age of 696 scientists and technicians who participated in the 122 major natural science research projects which received awards recently, according to a frontpage report in today's GUANGMING RIBAO. A commentary accompanying the report says that the historical task of the country's modernization falls on the middle-aged intellectuals. Ten years of their lives were wasted in the cultural revolution and now the time must be made up. These middle-aged scientists are the connecting link between the veterans and the newcomers. The commentary urges party leaders to pay attention to making full use of these people. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0810 GMT 18 Oct 82 OW]

LEGAL ADVISORY SYSTEM--The legal advisory system has been reinstituted in China since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. At present over 2,200 legal advisory offices have been set up in various parts of the country operated by 7,600 full-time and 2,800 part-time lawyers. Since last year lawyers have actively taken part in court proceedings, assisting the court in passing judgment on defendants in criminal cases and contributing to the protection of the interest of the state and collectives as well as the legitimate rights of individuals. [Text] [Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 0900 GMT 1 Oct 82 OW]

CSO: 4000/10

DISAPPEARANCE IN PRC OF JOURNALIST LO FU DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CH'I-SHI NIEN-TAI (THE SEVENTIES) in Chinese No 9, Sep 82 pp 56-58

[Article by Shih Hua [2457 5478]: "Lo Fu [5012 1318] the Man, and the Mystery of His Disappearance"]

[Text] Lo Fu, also known as Lo Cheng-hsun [5012 2110 8113], is assistant editor-in-chief and chief editor, respectively, of the well-known Hong Kong leftist newspapers TA KUNG PAO and HSIN WAN PAO, a national deputy to China's Political Consultative Conference, and the Hong Kong representative to the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles. He has lived in Hong Kong for over 30 years and is a highly reputed figure among Hong Kong leftists. In Hong Kong he has contacts with personalities in leftist and rightist press circles as well as literary and art circles. Numerous people in literary and art circles in mainland China and abroad have also had contacts with him.

Incident Confirmed in Mid-July

In early May of this year, when Lo Fu and his family were traveling in Guangzhou, he was suddenly notified to go to Beijing alone, but he has never returned and there has been no news from him. At the end of May his wife Wu Hsiu-sheng [0702 4423 5110] (editor of WEN HUI PAO supplements) received a mere note from him: "I'm in good health; please don't worry!" On the other hand, the newspaper has heard nothing. This differed from his regular habits, because usually wherever he traveled or attended meetings, he would keep calling long-distance, and sending letters and manuscritps to Hong Kong. His wife, colleagues, and some friends in other circles inquired of the person in charge of XINHUA NEWS AGENCY but were always told: "He'll be back soon!" In mid-June, the semimonthly PAI SHENG in Hong Kong first reported the news that he had failed to return and the possibility that something had gone wrong. Someone asked Communist Chinese officials in Hong Kong and was told that he would return to Hong Kong by 1 July for sure. But there was still no news of him after 1 July. In mid-July, TA KUNG PAO internally circulated the information that because Lo Fu had "violated party discipline and state law," he had been detained in China and would not return. It was also pointed out that his problem was "unrelated to newspaper editing" and "unrelated to his relationships with Chinese friends." At the same time, committee members of agency affairs of TA KUNG PAO held a meeting

with editorial department of HSIN WAN PAO. In addition to criticizing Lo Fu for having committed serious political mistakes, it criticized his work style and announced that someone by the name of Li would be acting editor-in-chief.

After this information was released, some special columnists in Hong Kong such as Miao Yu [4924 7183], Hu Chu-jen [5170 5468 0086], and Tao T'ien [2071 1131] wrote articles one after another to discuss this. These articles were all published in nonleftist newspapers and essentially praised Lo Fu's morals, writings, and self-cultivation, and also disclosed some inside information about this incident. According to Miao Yu, Lo Fu was accused of "illegal activities" because he had discussed with a foreigner the three famous paintings by Huang Pin-hang [7806 6333 5725] which he had collected, and this foreigner was believed to have contacts with foreign intelligence organizations. In fact, he was excluded from internal factions and exposed for past misdeeds. Another article disclosed that Lo Fu was being punished for espionage and had already been punished by having his "party membership removed." Since he was a veteran party member, no doubt he knew much about internal party affairs. If he was stripped of his party membership, surely they would not allow him to return to Hong Kong.

Moreover, someone discovered (or guessed) concrete details on the basis of what TA KING PAO relayed: Lo Fu had a certain "transaction" with persons from American intelligence agencies; this was found out by Communist China and led to what happened.

Reportedly, Lo Fu had contacts with some people from the American Consulate General, and on invitation by head office of the U.S. International Exchange, he was planning to visit the United States in May and June. But these activities were open, and the visit to the United States was confirmed by XINHUA NEWS AGENCY to have been approved. Therefore, if there was a problem, it should not have had anything to do with this kind of open, friendly intercourse.

During this period, much information circulated in leftist press circles and among Lo Fu's acquaintances. One piece of information said that a foreigner was buying Lo's paintings at a price exceeding their market value, and in his contacts with this person Lo told him much that would be considered "secret" by Communist Chin'as party discipline. Another piece said that in recent years Lo Fu had brought a house in Great Britain and a villa in Hong Kong and had sent all his children abroad. Since school tuition in Britain and the United States is so high, how did he manage to pay for all that? Yet someone said that [the report about] his purchase of a house in Britain was untrue, and while he indeed had [access to] a villa at Repulse Bay in Hong Kong, where he frequently entertained friends, it belonged to a relative of his daughter-in-law. There was one other piece of information that said his problem had nothing to do with "economic crimes." As a veteran party member who had worked in Hong Kong for decades, Lo Fu knew thoroughly what he could and could not do. His problem was caused by "when immortals have a fight among themselves, it does harm to mortals." The "immortals" refers to the top class of cadres of the CPC Central Committee. When there is a struggle there, the mortals close to these "immortals"

(actually no longer "mortals") are treated as sacrifices. According to this view, when the dust of the top-level struggle settles, Lo Fu will still safely return to work in Hong Kong. Nevertheless, this view is groundless. The most credible [view] remains what was circulated within the newspaper office: that "it had nothing to do with his contacts with Chinese friends" in fact meant that in his contacts with foreigners he had "violated party discipline and state law."

As of early July, Lo Fu's wife Wu Hsiu-sheng did not return to work for WEN HUI PAO. After that she requested [permission] to visit Lo in China. At first, concerned sources agreed to arrange for her to go, but later they advised her not to go for the moment. By early August, the answer she received was: It was up to her whether or not she wanted to go. In other words, the concerned, Communist Chinese authorities in Hong Kong were no longer willing to be responsible for this matter. Perhaps the matter had outgrown the scope of authority there.

Enjoyed Success and Rapid Career Advancement in His Youth

Lo Fu is about 62 or 63 in age and is from Guilin, Guangsi. When he was about 20, he worked for TA KUNG PAO in Chongqing. He quickly became well known because of his ready pen and his pure, fresh language. Moreover, he was intelligent and capable. He was also promoted by exception to editor-in-chief of TA KUNG PAO in Chongqing and was known at that time as a "wonder boy." After going through the postwar period with TA KUNG PAO in Shanghai, he came to Hong Kong. In 1948 and 1949, a large group of well-known left-wing cultural personages lived in Hong Kong. Lo Fu had close contacts with these people and was drawn into the CPC. Accordingly, the one who recommended him to enter the party was Lin Mo-han [2651 7817 3211], who later became deputy director of the CPC Central Committee's Propaganda Department. Due to this relationship, Lo became familiar with the leading strata of literary and art circles on the China mainland. He had friends in high levels in Communist China.

In the early 1950's, at about age 30, Lo Fu established HSIN WAN PAO in Hong Kong. At that time, editors and writers were strong in formation and included Ch'a Liang-yung [2868 5328 6978], Ch'en Wen-t'ung [7115 2429 4827] (Liang Yu-sheng [2733 5038 3932]]), Liu P'eng-ju [0491 5338 1172], Chou Yu'jui [6650 2810 3843] (Sung Ch'iao [1345 0829]), Yen Ch'ing-shu [0917 1987 3412] (T'ang Jen [0781 0086]), Yeh Ling-feng [5509 7227 7685] (Shuang Yai [7208 1509]), Kao Lang [7559 2597] (Lan Hu [5663 3275]), Kao Hsiung [7559 7160] (San Su [0005 5685]), Shih Chiu-kung [4258 0036 1872], and others. For a while the newspaper sold extensively. Modern-style martial arts novels also opened up a new mood, at Lo's suggestion, with Liang Yu'sheng and then Chin Yung [6855 1661] making their appearance in HSIN WAN PAO's supplements. What also attracted numerous readers were Lo Fu's own "Nightly Chat" (signed "Yang Chu" [5017 4281]; in recent years Yang Chu's special column has been written by an editor whose last name is Wang), "The New Romance of the Three Kingdoms" (signed "Lo Kuan-hsi [5012 6036 6007]"), and "The New Journey to the West" (signed Wu Ch'eng-hui [0702 2110 1920]). The latter two series were republished in YANGCHENG WANBAO in Guangzhou, so Lo received quite a sum of

of Renminbi in remuneration. His collection of paintings was purchased mostly with the Renminbi remuneration at that time (because Reminbi could not be remitted to Hong Kong). At that time these paintings were inexpensive, and quite a few of them were truly excellent. For instance, the original of the painting on the front cover of "Collection of Paintings by Huang Pin-hung" printed in China, was one of those he collected.

In the mid-1950's, Lo Fu was concurrently editor of WEN HUI PAO and of the weekly WEN YI. With this weekly publication as his front, he kept in touch with numerous veteran writers such as Ts'ao Chu-jen [2580 5112 0088] and Yeh Ling-feng, and also sought many young writers. Many of the middle-aged people in their forties who are now active in press circles were at that time youths who sent their manuscripts weekly to WEN YI.

In the 1960's, Lo Fu was editor of the monthly HAI KUANG WEN YI. With this publication as his base, he came into contact with a group of nonleftist personages in nonleftist circles. It was running rather successfully when the Cultural Revolution broke out and the publication ceased on the spur of the moment.

When the dust of the Cultural Revolution had settled, Lo Fu successively pioneered the "Feng Hua" and "Hsing Hai" pages in HSIN WAN PAO in order to keep contact with nonleftist personages in literary and art as well as cultural circles.

In terms of his writings during these 30 years, Lo Fu's best known special columns and pen names included his prose written in TA KUNG PAO and TA KUNG YUAN in the 1950's, using the pen name "Shih Fu" [0670 1788]. Because of this pen name, he was nicknamed "Lo-shih-fu (Roosevelt)," which rhymes with "Shih Fu," and was also nicknamed "the president." [His columns] also included "Delicacies of the West Window" in the early 1960's, using the pen name "Wu Ling-mei" [0702 0109 3270], in "Afternoon Tea" of HSIN WAN PAO. This lyric creation, which used personal matters as subjects, attracted numerous young writers at that time, and later a volume was published. "Prose From Living on an Island" in "Afternoon Tea" of HSIN WAN PAO was written under the pen name "Ssu Wei [4828 7279]," and the "Hsin Yu" column on the front page of HSIN WAN PAO was signed chief editor (unnamed) after the start of the Cultural Revolution.

The Makings of a Scholar With a Large Circle of Friends

Lo Fu has a large circle of friends and had obviously been charged with the mission of a united front. Moreover, he had never worried about associating with personages of the right or even those with a complicated background. Communist China had always been surprisingly trustful of him. Before the Cultural Revolution, he had contact with Yao K'o [1202 0344]. The Cultural Revolution criticized "The Secret History of the Ch'ing Palace," which put the finger on Yao K'o, and not long before that HAI KUANG WEN YI had published Yao's articles. But Lo Fu did not get into any trouble because of this. After the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution, no matter how the leftist newspapers at that time criticized Ch'a Liang-yung, Lo Fu remained friendly

with him. Later, when Wang K'uang [3769 0562] was transferred to Hong Kong and expressed interest in Ch'a, Lo Fu even helped him make connections and eventually brought about Ch'a's visit to Beijing. Lo Fu also had many years of association with Hsu Fu-kuan [1776 1788 6034], and every year he would visit Hsu's home to give New Year wishes. When Liao Ch'eng-chih [1675 2110 1807] passed through Hong Kong in 1980, Lo even arranged for Liao to meet Hsu. Other local nonleftist writers, including Hu Chu-jen, Tai T'ien, Hsiao T'ung [5618 6894], Hu Chin-ch'uan [5170 6855 6898], Chien Erh-ch'ing [4675 5079 3237], Yi Shu [0076 5289], and Lu Li [7170 7180], have had over a decade of association with Lo. Overseas writers like Nieh Hua-ling [5119 5478 5376], Yu Li-hua [2456 2746 5478], Li Ou-fan [2621 2962 2753], Liu Shao-min [0491 4801 6900], Wang Yu [3769 3254], and Chiang Nan [3068 0589] also know Lo.

Lo Fu appears to be highly bookish. He is gentle, honest, and sincere; moreover, he is witty and a good conversationalist, so he is easily liked by intellectuals in general. A rightist personage who is biased against the Communist Party has said that the image of the Communist Party improves a great deal after it is "filtered" by Lo Fu. Someone connected with the Kuomintang once said that among those who work for the Kuomintang overseas, not one measures up to half of Lo Fu.

Diverse Opinion Within the Newspaper Office

Nevertheless, for over 10 years Lo Fu's relations within the TA KUNG PAO office have not been too good. The main reason is that the policy he carried out during these 10-odd years changed continually. In fact, though still respected in the newspaper office, he has increasingly been losing his prestige. This situation can be said to be a general phenomenon among leaders of leftist organs who have experienced more than 10 years of changeable policies, and is not one that is unique to Lo Fu. Yet what is very different in Lo's case is that, despite his tolerance in his association with friends, in his editorial work, particularly in his writings, he "follows closely" more than many of the veteran newspaper people of his generation. For a time during the Cultural Revolution he discussed all kinds of badges of Mao Zedong every day in the special column "Prose From Living on an Island" in HSIN WAN PAO. Moreover, they were printed in their original sizes, which sometimes took up half a page. At that time the director of the supplement, Kao Lang, was highly displeased, but Lo Fu even publicly criticized Kao in conferences for his "trend toward bourgeois newspaper publishing." In the special column "Hsin Yu" which he wrote in recent years, he defended Communist China's policies every day. Sometimes he contradicted himself, and instead of feeling ashamed he enjoyed it. For instance, when the trial of Jiang Qing began in late 1980, "Hsin Yu" repeatedly declared that she "cannot remove her fault by 10,000 deaths." A month or so later, when she was given a suspended sentence, "Hsin Yu" said that this measurement of penalty embodied the Chinese people's spirit of tolerance, and that in a couple of years in China "there can only be a reformed Jiang Qing or a dead Jiang Qing who leaves behind a bad name." Because these defensive expressions "followed closely" too much, they were held in contempt by some honest people in the newspaper office. If they were used to lead editorial work, they would inevitably cause dissatisfaction among colleagues and subordinates. As for

some of those who "follow closely" with him, they basically trim their sails. When Lo Fu had influence, they naturally praise him, but when he lost influence they would never do anything on his behalf. Secondly, since he was being excluded by honest people, he could only use obedient people to do work. For a good number of years in the past, a chief editor would praise Lo Fu on any occasion. Regardless of whether he was genuine or not, others found it very disgusting and felt that Lo was simply "endearing small characters." Thirdly, it was he who frequently had to associate with rightist friends in carrying out his work on the united front, even using their articles and sometimes flattering them on the pages of HSIN WAN PAO, and even suppressing articles critical of these rightists. Invariably, personages in literary and art circles with leftist tendencies in Hong Kong have been neglected by Lo Fu. In the eyes of certain people, his actions can naturally be said to have absolutely no principles.

In any case, the sympathetic voice coming from nonleftist circles over the Lo Fu incident is far greater than that from people in the newspaper office who worked with him day and night. A lot of people in the newspaper office feel that since he is a party member, he should naturally be dealt with by the party internally if he has violated party discipline. But some feel that a party member is also part of the people and should enjoy the rights of a citizen, rather than be dealt with in secret. The details of the case should be made public, and the trial should be conducted openly in order to show justice. There are also those who feel that for decades Lo Fu had worked diligently and conscientiously, and had performed his duties for Communist China as well as for the newspaper office. Even though he made mistakes, should his merits and hard work in the past be disregarded?

A Shadow Over Overseas Work

Lo Fu has written articles for CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI. In the early days of CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI, his prose was published under the pen name "Wen Ssu [2429 4828]." The May 1979 issue published his speech at the "Forum on the prospects for China's unification." The December 1980 issue republished his article in WEN I PAO entitled: "No need to doubt that spring has really arrived." The November 1981 issue even published a short essay in the special issue, "Views on China's Unification."

Perhaps the details of the Lo Fu affair will never be made known, and it is to be feared that he has bade farewell to all his friends in Hong Kong. Yet this affair has cast a shadow over Communist China's overseas work: (1) As an old intellectual enlisted by Communist China, Lo Fu's loyalty has never been doubted by Communist Chinese leaders, by colleagues at the newspaper office, or even by friends in other circles. Some people are displeased with him merely because he "followed closely" to excess or because of his workstyle. If we were to say that such a person can also change loyalty, many people would find it incredible. (2) In the Communist Party, Lo Fu is not someone doing secret work but is a public figure. Particularly in press circles and cultural circles, he is quite famous and his status is quite high. As he has suddenly gone without any news, it is inevitable that people in leftist organs are bitterly disappointed, and

intellectuals abroad will also have more doubts about Communist China. When the confidence of people in leftist organs is shaken and when opinion about Communist China in other circles is impaired, it is to be feared that there is no short-term remedy. (3) In Communist China's united front of intellectuals in Hong Kong, Lo Fu was undoubtedly a key figure. After this affair, not only will some of the targets of the united front originally planned for ties be very reluctant to make such ties from now on (many people only have personal friendship with Lo Fu), but in terms of launching future tasks it may be difficult in the short run to find someone like Lo Fu suitable to carry out the work regarding intellectuals.

Therefore, this writer has a sudden and strange thought: If indeed Lo Fu sold intelligence to foreigners, then the person who informed Communist China may well be the one who "bought" the intelligence, because first it is hard to imagine what high-level state secrets were known to Lo Fu, and secondly this counterintelligence method is precisely a heavy blow to Communist China's united front abroad.

The only thing that may help Communist China curtail some of the shadow of this affair is a speedy revelation of the truth of the matter; it is best to give Lo Fu a fair and open trial in accordance with the principle that "everyone is equal before the law."

9586
CSO: 4005/1325

THATCHER BRINGS 'GOOD TIDINGS' TO HONG KONG

HK290401 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 28 Sep 82 p 1

["New Talk" column article: "British Prime Minister Says of Her Trip, 'So Far So Good'"]

[Text] Mrs Thatcher, British prime minister, paid a visit to China. She first went to Beijing and afterwards to Shanghai and Guangzhou. Then she arrived in Hong Kong, continuing her busy trip. The schedule for her visit is really very tight. She will conclude her visit to Hong Kong this evening and return to England via India.

Before Mrs Thatcher left Beijing, Primer Zhao Ziyang gave her some words of advice, saying that "it is necessary to strike a proper balance between work and rest." Advising her to rest more. Yesterday Mrs Thatcher said at a press conference that she had spared no effort in completing various prearranged missions. It seems that she can rest only after she returns to England. However, she was full of vim and vigor during her visit in Hong Kong. She expressed her determination to strengthen cooperation between Britain and Hong Kong and thus enabled Hong Kong residents to understand more deeply the attitude of the British Government. At the same time, she also directly or indirectly listened to the opinions of Hong Kong residents on the Chinese sovereignty issue. This will undoubtedly be helpful in the development of relations of mutual benefit between Britain and Hong Kong while at the same time develop Sino-British cooperation.

To sum up her visit in Hong Kong Mrs Thatcher used the following words: "Cooperation, confidence and promise." She declared that Britain bears moral responsibility for Hong Kong. People in Hong Korn understand this promise and responsibility as making a common effort to maintain prosperity and stability in this city. During her visit in Hong Kong, the British prime minister reiterated the decision of both China and Britain on negotiating through diplomatic channels the Hong Kong issue on the basis of the above-mentioned common aim. She was confident that an agreement can be reached which will be satisfactory to China and Britain as well as to Hong Kong residents.

Hong Kong residents must be very glad to hear what Mrs Thatcher has repeatedly said on the common aim of maintaining prosperity and stability in this city. Her successful visit to China will promote the further development of Sino-British relations. Thus, it is responsible to say that, generally speaking, Mrs Thatcher's visit to Hong Kong has brought us good tidings. Just as she ended her speech yesterday with "so far so good," there is no doubt about this point.

Except for its responsibility for Hong Kong's prosperity and stability, Britain also has close economic relations with Hong Kong on the basis of mutual benefit. The latter is the biggest market in Asia for British exports.

When addressing Hong Kong's industrial and commercial circles yesterday at noon, Mrs Thatcher stressed the opportunity for Hong Kong investment in Britain and the possibility for promoting trade between the two sides. This morning, she took a special trip to Tap Shek Kok at Castle Peak to oversee the opening ceremony of a power station. Then she planned a tour from Trun Wan to Central by the Mass Transit Railway [MTR]. Both the Castle Peak Power Station and the MTR use British equipment.

Undoubtedly, there is still room for expanding cooperation with Britain in China's modernization drive and in Hong Kong's economic development. Hong Kong's commercial circles recently showed concern for the rise of British protectionism. However, Mrs Thatcher promised that Hong Kong's commodities can freely enter Britain. On leaving Hong Kong for Britain, Mrs Thatcher is expected to make new contributions in the future to promoting the friendship and cooperation between China and Britain as well as between Hong Kong and Britain.

CSO: 4000/8

THATCHER GREETED WITH JEERS, CHEERS

HK280344 Hong Kong HONG KONG STANDARD in English 28 Sep 82 p 1

[By Christine Cheung]

[Excerpts] A jeering and cheering crowd of petitioners and onlookers yesterday greeted the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher outside the government secretariat before her press conference.

Some 30 students from the Chinese University and Hong Kong Polytechnic, displaying banners saying "Down with unequal treaties" and "Keep in mind the grievances of the nation" gave her a negative reception when she briefly appeared before the waiting crowd and walked into the secretariat.

The students also put forward a letter to her protesting against her stand on the three unequal treaties.

Next to the disgruntled students some 40 elderly people who had come to see the prime minister in person were "told" to hold up banners saying "God bless the queen," "We support Mrs Thatcher," and "We want peace, prosperity, legality, freedom and democracy."

Among the protesters were four representatives from the Hong Kong Social Workers' General Union, who sent her a letter with a social welfare appeal. [passage omitted]

In their letter to the prime minister, the students protested against her statement made to a BBC reporter recently in Bejing over the 1997 issue.

She said in the interview that the aim in future talks was to "vary" the three treaties made in the Qing Dynasty, which she insisted were valid in international law.

The students said the "unequal" treaties were the result of imperialism and colonialism.

Considering from a legal point of view and on the basis of righteousness, treaties imposed under oppression and overwhelming power should be invalid, they said.

They said they felt sorry that the British Government quoted these treaties as an excuse to seek a continued right to administer Hong Kong. This attitude undermines international righteousness and the lessons learned from history.

To solve the problems over the future of Hong Kong, frank and sincere negotiations were more important than to use outdated and illegal treaties as an excuse.

As for the social workers, they urged social improvements to enhance the confidence of the public.

"We need improvements in our social and economic situation to set the people's mind at ease more than to maintain the status quo," the letter said.

In their letter, they related the employment situation, housing problems and the inadequacy of social services.

"We are not short of money nor support from the people, but lack a genuine concern by the government," the letter said. [passage omitted]

CSO: 4000/8

INVESTORS SHOW 'DISLIKE' OF THATCHER DIPLOMACY

HK280122 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 28 Sep 82 p 1

[Text] Investors signalled their dislike of the step-by-step diplomacy of the prime minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, with a day-long sell-off in the stock market yesterday.

Her failure to provide a boost to confidence against a background of declining trade and anxiety over the weakened property market caused the Hang Seng Index to tumble 83.74 points--its largest drop in a single day since the bloodletting early last month.

Small investors, disenchanted with the lack of substance emerging so far from last week's Beijing talks, rushed to sell their market holdings.

By mid-morning, the index had dropped 67.35 points and selling continued as the day wore on.

Blue chips were hardest hit, with Cheung Kong, Hutchison Whampoa, Swire Pacific A and Jardine Matheson all losing more than a dollar by the close.

Banks were also marked down heavily--Hang Seng Bank dropped $4.50 to $49.50, while its parent, the Hong Kong Bank, was 60 cents lower at $9.25.

Throughout the day the market watched closely for signs of positive encouragement from Mrs Thatcher--but, in its view, there was nothing to cheer about.

Already shaky after the fluctuations in trading last week, it collapsed amid predictions that a further decline may follow.

CSO: 4000/8

SOVEREIGNTY QUESTION TEST OF BRITISH GENIUS

HK280104 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 28 Sep 82 p 2

[Editorial: "A Crucial Test for British Genius"]

[Text] Hong Kong people have in the past few days, seen and heard a lot of Mrs Margaret Thatcher, though probably most would agree that they have not heard nearly as much as they would like about the forthcoming talks on our future. The prime minister will understand our concern, living as we do beneath a Damocletian sword, and this has been reflected in the probing questions asked at press conferences both here and in Beijing.

If Mrs Thatcher has not been able to tell us more, the reason is to be found both in her need to preserve her bargaining position and in the fact that the British Government has yet to set out its own thoughts on the many complex issues involved. But journalists travelling with her considered yesterday's conference her best showing so far. And bearing in mind that Japan, China and Hong Kong are not her major preoccupations, and that she has spent a hectic week in all three places, across alien time zones, she deserves a strong vote of thanks from the people of this city for what she has achieved.

This is not to say that Hong Kong has no points of difference with Britain. And not a few local people who find themselves relegated to an inferior status under the nationality act may query why treaties between nations remain sacrosanct but can be radically altered where individuals are concerned. Mrs Thatcher spoke of moral obligations and responsibilities and "being British, we take it very seriously." She must realise that many who have had their British citizenship downgraded, view that remark with some cynicism.

It must be stressed that many people born British under the treaties of Hong Kong are bitter about being deprived of what they consider their birthright, and to be given a passport of dubious value. When Mrs Thatcher speaks of the people of this colony, however, she speaks in the widest sense and regardless of what has happened, there is no doubt that the majority wish for the status quo to remain, and for the British link to persist.

This is not a matter of ardent patriotism for many clearly regard themselves as Chinese first and foremost and take pride in their civilisation, culture, heritage and way of life. What Britain has given them in Hong Kong is a

freedom to express their own individuality and to enjoy a life of their own making. And the result of this interaction of five million people is the Hong Kong we know today.

British justice, administration, rule of law, commercial practices, education, welfare, health system, all adapted to suit local conditions, have helped to shape this society which we now seek to preserve. We are also deeply conscious of our Chinese links and how much we draw from, and owe to China. Clearly we need both influences to continue to prosper.

It will be a test of British genius--and Mrs Thatcher reminded us of many examples in her lunch-time talk yesterday--to produce amendments to the treaties that will satisfy China's desire for "sovereignty," Britain's obligations to the people, and the way of life we cherish as free and hard-working people. If this seems like asking for a miracle, Mrs Thatcher has shown during the past few days she is the sort of person who could pull it off. Good luck to her. We wish her a safe journey home, coupled with our thanks for what she has done--even if shareholders have a strange way of showing it.

CSO: 4000/8

HONG KONG PAPER ON BRITISH STAND IN TALKS

HK290146 Hong Kong HONG KONG STANDARD in English 29 Sep 82 p 6

[Editorial: "UK Preparing for a Graceful Exit"]

[Text] Mrs Thatcher's stand in her talks with China's leaders on the future of Hong Kong was on the surface a tough one.

In defiance of the many local people who feel that the "unequal treaties," while happy in their eventual effects, are so disreputable as scarcely to provide a respectable ingredient in the talks, she clung firmly to legal rights.

The British position, based firmly on yellowing documents of a by-gone era, appears an obstinate--even anachronistic--one.

On deeper reflection, however, one wonders if Mrs Thatcher is as concerned with holding what she has as with finding a solution which offers everyone a graceful way out.

While Beijing will not renew the lease, the Chinese will, we believe, be quite happy to wait 15 years. China's leaders are known for their long range outlook. And it is also known that China has set the year 2,000 as the target date for completion of its modernisation programme.

Long-term Sino-British relations could certainly benefit from a friendly parting of the ways, with no bitter feelings or recriminations on either side.

China has played host to a number of sovereigns, ranging from the late Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia to Spain's King Juan Carlos. It's noticeable, however, that the British sovereign has not been invited to view the Ming Tombs.

This is just one of many omissions that could be remedied if Sino-British ties were to be strengthened by a graceful future British exit from Hong Kong.

The concise Oxford dictionary's definition of history is the "continuous methodical record of public events." But the cavalcade of history has apparently quickened to a gallop lately as far as Sino-British relations are concerned.

We have not yet reached the stage, however, where outworn theories have been overtaken and surpassed by the facts.

There are still those in our midst who have yet to shed old ideas which should long since have become largely irrelevant, like old maps of cities that are being rebuilt or the snapshots and the invitations and the theatre programmes which we accumulated when we were young.

It wasn't too long ago that there was pressure from some of these people for an end to "the 1997 uncertainty"--for "some declaration, one way or the other."

Since then, they have been assured by China that their investments will be guaranteed.

For some, however, the assurance is not enough. They want more than a continuation of prosperity and stability. What they are after now is a continuation of "the plumed hat era."

Such pressure is unreasonable. It can defeat the whole purpose of the Sino-British talks.

The time has come when we in Hong Kong must reconcile ourselves to what is going to happen, and make the best of the goodies that may still come our way.

Nobody nows what the Chinese have in mind for us after they recover sovereignty. We should, however, give them the benefit of the doubt. It would, after all, be in China's best interests to ensure the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong.

And we doubt whether our major trading partners will worry too much about who is running the place as long as there is money to be made. (It seems unlikely at the present that a chauvinistic and xenophobic elite will return to power in China.)

There must have been something claustrophobic--either socially or geographically--about England in the 19th century, because there seemed to be an unending supply of capable young men who were willing to plunge, out of mere restlessness or curiosity, into an unknown continent.

They were not only preoccupied with their missions: they also felt that the international order over which Britain then presided was necessary to civilisation.

At Suez 26 years ago the British learnt that their influence in all those pink-coloured areas of the map withered.

It sometimes seems, however, as if there are those in our midst who have not taken truly into account the cataclysmic consequences of the collapse of the empires, and of the decolonisation of the enormous masses of the Asian continent.

Such people seem to think that order will be maintained as long as the sun continues to shine on a Union Jack and a plumed hat.

That's one outworn theory that has definitely been overtaken and surpassed by the facts.

CSO: 4000/8

HONG KONG COLLEGE STUDENTS SUPPORT SOVEREIGNTY CLAIM

HK271423 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PO in Chinese 27 Sep 82 p 1

[Report: "Polytechnic and Baptist College Students Issue Statements: China's Sovereignty Over Hong Kong Is Indisputable"]

[Text] The evening British Prime Minister Thatcher arrived in Hong Kong, the Students' Union of the Hong Kong Polytechnic and the Students' Committee on Current Affairs of the Hong Kong Baptist College issued separate statements.

In its statement, the Students' Union of the Hong Kong Polytechnic said: "We resolutely believe that all three treaties which Britain forced China to sign in 1842, 1860 and 1898 are unequal. The Chinese people have never recognized these humuliating treaties.

"The 'common aim' of the Chinese and British Government is to maintain the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong. A way proposed by Prime Minister Thatcher to achieve this aim is to revise the treaties. We think that her understanding is absolutely wrong. The British prime minister can never use 'being responsible to the 5 million people of Hong Kong' as an excuse to attempt to perpetuate British rule of Hong Kong. We do not deny that Britain has contributed toward the development of Hong Kong. But sovereignty over Hong Kong belongs, after all, to China. We must reiterate that the Nanjing Treaty, the Beijing Treaty and the special provision for expanding the Hong Kong area are ineffective."

The statement issued by the Students' Committee on Current Affairs of the Hong Kong Baptist College reads as follows:

"A statement of two principles about sovereignty over Hong Kong:

"The Nanjing Treaty, Beijing Treaty and so forth were imposed on the Chinese people by then British imperialism, pursuing a gunboat policy. They are all unequal treaties that should be abolished.

"Hong Kong is part of China's sacred territory. It is beyond dispute that sovereignty over Hong Kong belongs to China. China's recovery of sovereignty over Hong Kong is the sacred duty of the Chinese people."

CSO: 4000/8

BUSINESSMEN CAUSE STOCK MARKET FALL

HK280130 Hong Kong HONG KONG STANDARD in English 28 Sep 82 p 8

[Editorial: "In Search of the Stumbling Block"]

[Text] If you examine the hard evidence you have to conclude that there was little justification for the stock market's sudden 80-point sweep yesterday.

True, Mrs Thatcher's negotiating stance over our future, as it emerges coyly from the diplomatic bag, is rather more obdurate than many people were expecting.

It is, perhaps, a tough stand. But it is also a tough stand in defence of many of the things which many commentators--particularly in the business world--were saying were vital to the future of Hong Kong.

Investors really cannot have it both ways. The negotiations would undoubtedly be quicker if Britain conceded a great deal of ground in advance. The outcome, on the other hand, would be less satisfactory for those who wish to see things here remain as far as possible as they are.

Mrs Thatcher has prepared for a long haul, in the hope of arriving at a more desirable destination.

There is something disreputable in the spectacle of so many people who were recently busily nudging the helmswoman's elbow now shoving their way into the life-boats.

We doubt, in any case, whether the bouts of 1997 nerves here should be blamed on distant policy statements--rather than on the misconceptions and self-interest of local businessmen themselves.

People who keep harping on the sovereignty issue as the big stumbling block to local prosperity and stability are, we believe, reacting to false assumptions.

Chinese statements on the subject have been forthright and clear. Local businessmen have been told, in effect, that they can continue to make money whatever happens.

This Chinese guarantee should have dispersed the clouds of doubt. Instead, however, the atmosphere over those central district canyons is heavy with gloom and foreboding.

The reason for this, we suggest, is that it's the businessmen themselves--and not the sovereignty issue--who have been the main stumbling block to Hong Kong's stability and prosperity.

Hong Kong's real estate boom of recent years made giants out of companies dealing in it, but it make life increasingly tough for the majority tenant family.

Both the colony's rapid population growth and the frenzied industrial and commercial build-up made it almost impossible for land supply to keep pace, given the limited land bank and the difficulty associated with processing land to make it suitable.

Meanwhile, the government's policy was to sell land to the highest bidder either by tender or open auction. And because of the decreasing amount of land available--especially in the most sought-after areas--there was increasing competition for the sites coming on the market.

The situation was worsened by the presence of speculators effectively multiplying the cost to the genuine buyer who wanted a home, a factory site or an office for his own use.

The speculation occurred with the government's passive cooperation; the auctioneer chose the buyer according to the amount of cash he could put down.

The speculative fever damaged the economy to an extent which the government refused to admit. Industrialists tired of being squeezed between rising costs and hard-to-fill order books were quick to seek profits from property development. And that tended to sap the basis of Hong Kong's wealth.

The speculative process is also highly inflationary, circulating more and more cash at faster and faster speeds in search of less and less land.

Perhaps the current bout of "instability" is a blessing in disguise. It provides an opportunity for a concerted effort to maintain real estate prices at realistic levels.

Our message to the "nervous Nellies" of the business community who are the real stumbling blocks to stability and prosperity here is: Stop creating a panic and stop sending your money out of the country.

As we said before, there is something disreputable in the spectacle of so many people who were busily nudging the helswoman's elbow now shoving their way into the life-boats.

CSO: 4000/8

SPECULATORS HAVE NO FUTURE

HK290156 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 29 Sep 82 p 2

[Editorial: "A Faint Whiff of Panic"]

[Text] The antics of the stock and foreign exchange markets in the past two days have a faint whiff of 1967 hysteria when Hong Kong people underwent a momentary panic during a period of leftwing confrontation and rioting. Hong Kong recovered its courage as the tension grew worse, for its people were convinced that their cause was right and that they would in the end win out. There is no parallel with that situation today, yet a few people are pressing the panic buttom over what they perceive as Hong Kong's uncertain future.

The uncertainty cannot be denied. Britain and China are going to embark on diplomatic discussions and until the differences which have surfaced are resolved to the satisfaction of the three parties concerned, that uncertainty will continue. But it is essential to take an intelligent and hardheaded view of the situation. The differences exist not over whether Hong Kong shall continue to prosper but how to devise long-term arrangements to ensure this.

There are bound to be arguments by Britain and China during the course of these discussions as there are whenever negotiations take place between countries. But the fact that China is sticking to its claim of "sovereignty" to Hong Kong is not a portent of doom. The diplomatic discussions have to resolve what China and Britain mean by this term and what it entails, translated into practical working arrangements.

In many people's minds, it seems to imply physical repossession, the flying of a Chinese flag and the appointment of a Chinese governor. But it could also be limited to a formal recognition that Hong Kong is an integral part of China with no implications as far as jurisdiction is concerned. And indeed if China is anxious to maintain stability and prosperity, this is the kind of "sovereignty" that will best ensure Hong Kong's long-term future.

The prime minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, however, is not conceding anything and stands by the treaties. These remain the foundation of our existence until such time as they are varied or replaced. This demonstration

of strength by Britain is proof of its concern for Hong Kong. And far from giving cause for anxiety, it should ally fears that our future will be heedlessly sacrificed.

The surprising feature of the events of the last few days has been the degree of misunderstanding evident in the Chinese approach. Despite its invitation to a number of Hong Kong residents to visit the capital earlier this year, Beijing appears to have no conception of local feelings. How many of the Hong Kong visitors were able to willing to relay the true facts is not known, but the belief is that Beijing officials were not interested in a discussion.

They are now confronted with a situation where a clear majority of local people desire a continuation of the status quo, for prosperity and stability can survive only in this context. At the same time no realist would deny Hong Kong's "Chineseness" and that geographically, culturally and emotionally, it remains inseparably part of China, administered by Britain and for the benefit of China and its people and for those who live and work here.

Hong Kong people need to demonstrate their conviction that they have a stake in this city, and are ready to make the most of good times and tolerate the inevitable hard times when a world economic recession undercuts our growth; ready also to stand up for what they believe in and to declare their allegiance to their community. Let the speculators sell out or take off; they have no future here.

CSO: 4000/8

HONG KONG PAPER ON BANNING 'UNREQUITED LOVE'

HK051100 Hong Kong HSIANG KANG SHIH PAO in Chinese 5 Oct 82 p 4

[Report by Huang Yuan-tzu [7808 1254 1311]: "Hong Kong Government Bans 'Unrequited Love'--a Film Strongly Reflecting the True State of Affairs in the Mainland"]

[Text] Just at the time when the CPC is setting all its propaganda machines into motion to "encircle and attack" British prime minister Mrs Thatcher and is time and again presenting to Hong Kong people its threat of "recovering" sovereignty over Hong Kong, the Hong Kong authorities have banned the showing in Hong Kong and Kowloon of the film "Unrequited Love," which is jointly made by three film companies in the Taiwan area of the Republic of China and which has been adapted from a piece of literary work of the wounded.

The Central Film Company, the China Film Studio and the San-i Education and Recreation Company have spent 50 million new Taiwan dollars and spared no effort in making this film, which has been adapted from a play of the same title by Bai Hua, a playwrite in the mainland. It was planned to be presented on a large scale in the Hong Kong and Kowloon area on 10 October this year, but the censor banned the showing of the film to both adults and children after examining it.

The Film Censor Department of the Hong Kong Government is already an "old hand" at banning films made by Taiwan film companies and in banning films that reflect the true state of affairs in the Chinese mainland. This is, therefore, not the first time that the Hong Kong people's right to enjoy fine China-made films is overlooked.

On 26 March last year, the film "Great Heaven and Sovereign Earth," which depicts the true state of affairs of the "cultural revolution" in the Chinese mainland, was shown in Hong Kong for only 1 day and only HK$420,000 in tickets had been sold when the CPC personalities in Hong Kong regarded it as an eyesore and a film that "attacked the communists and insulted the Chinese nation." As a result, the Film Censor Department was forced to act in the CPC's interests and on the very second day banned the film on the excuse that "the film is of political coloring and of propaganda flavoring." This capricious measure and unconvincing reason for banning the film aroused a strong protest from various sections of the press.

Five months later, on 25 August last year, the Film Censor Department of the Hong Kong Government banned, on the reason of being harmful to Hong Kong's interests, the film "If I Am Earnest," which was adapted from a banned play on the mainland by the Yungsheng Film Company in Taiwan. Once more, the Hong Kong people were deprived of the opportunity of enjoying a fine China-made film that reflected the true state of affairs in the Chinese mainland. Hong Kong actor Tan Yunglin played the part of the hero in the film that was described by the Hong Kong film censor as a film that was harmful to Hong Kong's interests, was awarded the Gold Horse Prize for best male leading role.

The general opinion is that the CPC has willfully made trouble and the Hong Kong Government has inappropriately given way and has thus smeared democracy in Hong Kong.

When an appeal was lodged in November last year, the film censor rejected the appeal! The reason it gave for the rejection was very absurd, for it stated: "If this film is allowed to be shown, it will injure Hong Kong's international relationships."

The reasons the film censor used for banning "Great Heaven and Sovereign Earth" and "If I Am Earnest" were excessive political coloring, propaganda flavoring and being harmful to Hong Kong's interests and international relationships, but what reasons did the film censor give for banning the film "Unrequited Love"?

It is said that the person in charge of the film censor department said to the people who are in charge of releasing the film "Unrequited Love" something of the following tenet: "Which is more important, the relationships between the Chinese ((communist) and Britain or the releasing of this film of yours!"

If the film censor had used this reason for banning this film, it would have acted much more frankly than before. To be frank and straight, the true reason has been its fear of the "despotic power" of the "shadow master."

The "Unrequited Love" and what its writer Bai Hua has experienced has been known to everybody and banning the film "Unrequited Love" will only result in making what the move intending to cover up only conspicuous!

CSO: 4000/8

WORLD BANK TO RAPIDLY INCREASE LOANS TO PRC

OW060800 Hong Kong AFP in English 0730 GMT 6 Oct 82

[Text] Beijing, 6 Oct (AFP)--World Bank loans to China, the world's biggest developing country, are to be increased rapidly from next year, the World Bank vice-chairman in charge of foreign affairs, Munir Benjenk, announced here today.

Mr Benjenk told a press conference that the situation had been somewhat "special" since China was re-admitted to the bank in May 1980. He recalled that the Chinese had not been able to take part in the recent talks on the resources of the International Development Association (IDA), the World Bank's affiliate which provides interest-free long-term loans.

The interest rate of loans extended by the World Bank, which is revised periodically, presently stands at 11.46 percent.

China has therefore obtained only a small portion of the aid loans since 1980 thanks to a "special arrangement," Mr Banjenk said.

He however added that in the recent talks which opened last month, China "will have a larger part of IDA loans as the biggest developing country."

Loans extended by the World Bank and its affiliates to China total $260 million while those to India amount to $2 billion, he noted.

China's loans are divided between two projects: $200 million was for laboratory and computer equipment for 26 Chinese universities for which China had already invited bids last year.

The rest of the loans, $60 million, was meant to finance irrigation and drainage system construction in northern China.

Mr Benjenk added that four other projects--in the areas of agriculture, port infrastructure and oil production--were currently being discussed with the Chinese. He did not give any figures.

CSO: 4000/8

BRIEFS

HONG KONG'S FUTURE REVIEWED--Premier Sun Yun-hsuan of the Republic of China said in Taipei Tuesday at the legislative yuan that any agreement between the British government and the Chinese communists on the future of Hong Kong will be considered null and void by the government of the Republic of China. [Text] [OW231257 Taipei International Service in English 0100 GMT 23 Sep 82]

THATCHER TO 'KEEP IN TOUCH'--British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher yesterday assured Unofficial Members of Executive and Legislative Councils (UMELCO] that she would "keep in touch" with them during the crucial talks with the Chinese government about Hong Kong's future. The assurance was given during her call at the UNELCO office yesterday morning, followed by a whirlwind visit to HMS Tamar and Stanley Fort within three hours. [Passage omitted] During her one-hour stay at the office, Mrs Thatcher held a discussion with unofficial members about her visit to China. There were a total of 32 unofficial members of the two councils, but two of them were engaged on business trips overseas. After the talk, the UNELCO office issued a statement which read: "The prime minister assured members of UNELCO that she would keep in close touch with them during the course of the talks with the Chinese government on the future of Hong Kong. She expressed satisfaction with the outcome of her visit to Beijign and of her discussions with UMELCO in Hong Kong whose interest, she stressed, she is committed to represent." [passage omitted] [Excerpts] [By Samson Wu] [HK280354 Hong Kong HONG KONG STANDARD in English 28 Sep 82 pp 1, 2]

CSO: 4000/8

TAIPEI RADIO COMMENTS ON FUTURE OF HONG KONG

OW300505 Taipei International Service in English 0100 GMT 30 Sep 82

[Text] Red China's premier has told Margaret Thatcher that communist sovereignty would not effect the stability and prosperity of Hong Kong.

He said that the Chinese communists would take a number of measures to ensure the continued affluence of the British crown colony. Peking has told some whopping lies in its time, but this is the biggest yet.

The people of Hong Kong know better. It is 15 years until the Hong Kong lease runs out, but the people of Hong Kong are already trying to get away. There are the beginnings of a flight of capital.

The 5 million people of the colony are aware that the only steps Red China can take are those of impoverishment. Red China is a communist land, and allows no free enterprise. The only capitalism found on the mainland is a reluctant permission granted the farmer to sell a small share of what he produces.

No one sector's operated by a capitalist for a profit. Hong Kong is not agricultural. It is devoted to the making of light industrial products with reasonably priced labor. Some people of the colony are very rich. There is a sizeable middle class. If some people are poor, that is because they were refugees from the mainland. They come out of Red China with nothing. By working hard, some of them have become wealthy.

Politically, Hong Kong is not free. The government is colonial, which tends to mean taxation without representation. Many Chinese do not like this, but they are not in the same position as the American colonialists [as heard] of more than 200 years ago. If they mounted their revolution, the Chinese communists would come marching in. Hong Kong has no chance to become a city state like Singapore.

If the Republic of China sovereignty were returned to the mainland of China, the whole situation would be changed. The Republic of China on Taiwan is a free-enterprise country. Free Chinese administration of Hong Kong wouldn't change the economy. Private ownership would continue. Communism would not take over.

The Chinese of Hong Kong want to flee because they know the communists will sequester all wealth; all industries will be operated by the regime; the rich will be stripped of everything, just as they were when the communists took over the mainland. The middle class [words indistinct] and intellectuals would suffer the most. Even today, they receive the lowest rates of pay on the mainland. They are not trusted, they hold no power.

Hong Kong has many intellectuals. It has a highly educated professional class of doctors, lawyers, engineers and so on. These people would be impoverished. Some would lose their jobs entirely.

Hong Kong may be lacking in political rights, but it has civil rights under the British. People can travel. They can do as they please under the law. All of this will vanish. Hong Kong cannot be allowed special privileges, it will be a part of Red China. For years the communists have called the colony a "stinkpot of capitalism."

The stability of Hong Kong will be that of the secret police and of the block commissar. Lives will be lived in penury and want. Hong Kong's best hope is to delay the communist takeover as long as possible, at least until the expiration of the leasehold in 1997.

Chinese communism may not last that long. People of the mainland have already lost faith in communist ideology and practice. Mainlanders are looking for the example of the Republic of China on Taiwan. The Taiwan success story shows that there is another way for the Chinese. The Hong Kong success story cannot be applied, because the British colonial period is coming to an end. Hong Kong's best defense if [words indistinct] proceedings is a triumph of the Republic of China's way of nationalism, democracy and social welfare--the three principles of the people of Dr Sun Yet-sen.

CSO: 4000/8

TAIPEI COMMENTARY HAILS PRC PILOT'S DEFECTION

OW191307 Taipei Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 17 Oct 82

[(Yu Hung-wen) commentary: "Vital Significance of Another MIG's Flight to Freedom"]

[Excerpts] News reports from Korea say that a Chinese communist MIG-19 fighter, piloted by a major of the Chinese communist air force, took off from Wenteng, Shantung, and flew to freedom. The plane landed safely at a U.S. airbase 6 km south of Seoul, Korea, at 1500 yesterday. Sources said that the Korean Government will hold a press conference tomorrow morning to openly announce this exciting news. On learning this, our compatriots, both at home and abroad, are full of excitement and joy. [passage omitted]

Since last November, more than eight plane and bus hijacking incidents have occurred in the Chinese mainland. To seek freedom, the hijackers wanted to come to Taiwan, the bastion for national recovery. Despite their failure because of inadequate preparations, the mainland people's natred, resentment and detextation against communist despotism reflected by these incidents are of extraordinary significance. Inspired by the success of the Chinese communist air force pilot in flying a MIG-19 fighter to freedom, our mainland compatriots will have more confidence in their struggle for freedom and survival. We believe that similar incidents will happen one after another in the future, and not far off is the time for the total collapse of the bogus Chinese communist regime. [passage omitted]

The latest incident of a MIG-19 flying to freedom is a further proof of the seriousness of unpopularity of the Chinese communist authorities. As everyone knows, in any country the air force personnel receive the best training, are most loyal, earn the best pay and live the most comfortable life compared to all others in the armed forces. From the fact that even high-ranking officers of the Chinese communist air force would fly to freedom when opportunity arises, we can imagine how other people hate, resent and detest the bogus Chinese communist regime. [passage omitted]

In view of the latest incident in which a Chinese communist air force major flew a MIG-19 to freedom, we can say definitely that the bogus Chinese communist regime will soon be overthrown and renounced by patriotic Chinese at

home and abroad, and that the spring of the three principles of the people is bound to come to every part of the Chinese mainland in the near future. Listeners, let us unite together with sincerity and make every effort to bring about an early realization of this great objective.

CSO: 4005/87

PRESIDENT URGES NATIONAL SPIRIT IN EDUCATION

OW062317 Taipei CHINA POST in English 28 Sep 82 p 12

[Excerpt] The nation is presently faced with difficulties and perils which pose an unprecedented challenge to the national culture, President Chiang Ching-kuo said yesterday. For this reason he hopes teachers in every level of education will not only emphasize teaching methods, displaying the spirit of professionalism, and raising the effectiveness of education, but will moreover enhance national spirit education to cultivate citizens with a strong sense of national identity.

Such citizens will vigorously enter into the task of national reconstruction to promote national unity, national culture and the implementation of the three principles of the people.

Teachers' Day Message

The president made his remarks yesterday in a congratulatory message addressed to the nation's teachers and educators to mark Teachers' Day, which is celebrated today simultaneously with the birthday of China's immortal sage and educator, Confucius.

In his address, President Chiang pointed out that the birthday of Confucious is an appropriate day to set aside to honor the nation's teachers, as many tenets of the ancient's teaching permeate the educational system of today. He pointed out that the Confucian concept of "providing education for all without discrimination" was the forerunner of the policies of equal educational opportunities for all that are practiced in this nation today. [passage omitted]

CSO: 4005/87

'ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE' ARTICLE ON REUNIFICATION

HK300408 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 1228 GMT 28 Sep 82

[Article by Ma Bi [7456 3880]: "Get Hold of the Good Opportunity for Peaceful Reunification"--ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE headline]

[Text] On 1 October last year, all Taiwan newspapers, big or small, including CHONGYANG RIBAO, carried in prominent places excerpts of NPC Chairman Ye Jianying's "Principles and Policies Concerning Taiwan's Return to the Motherland and the Realization of a Peaceful Reunification." Although the nine-point proposal was simplified and condensed, the original meanings were still clear. The publicity of this news shook all of Taiwan.

Taking advantage of certain connections, I was able to read the full text of Ye Jianying's speech to XINHUA reporters on the same morning. After reading the speech, I became greatly excited and was even more determined to leave Taiwan and return to the motherland.

The idea of returning to the motherland occurred to me not entirely as a result of reading the principles and policies for peaceful reunification put forth by Marshal Ye. I began to think about this after the CPC smashed the "gang of four" in 1976.

By September of last year, my preparations to leave Taiwan were nearly complete. This can be seen in my article entitled "Speaking About the Three People's Principles 70 Years After the Founding of the Country," which was carried in ZHENZHI PINGLUN [POLITICAL REVIEW] No 8, Vol 39, published on 25 September 1981. In this article, I wrote about Confucius' return to his hometown Shandong and Laozhi's departure from Shaanxi. This article happened to be published 5 days before Marshal Ye put forth 9-point proposal. This was indeed a coincidence.

I returned to the motherland, taking advantage of my trip to Bangkok and Hong Kong. Originally I had intended to settle down in my native town of Hunan. To tell the truth, I thought I was running a risk at that time and I did not completely believe in the seventh point of the nine-point proposal. It says: "Appropriate arrangements will certainly be made for people of all nationalities and in all walks of life in Taiwan who are willing to settle down on the motherland's mainland. They will not be discriminated against

"and can come or go at will." Since I wished to return to my hometown, I did not expect any appropriate arrangements, and since I wished to settle down, I did not want to come or go at will. This is because once I leave Taiwan, it will be impossible for me to go back there again.

On 3 November last year, CPC departments concerned arranged for me to go to the capital, Beijing, and to stay in Beijing Restaurant. [Reportedly the best hotel in Beijing] On the evening of 12 November, Liu Lantao, vice chairman of the national CPPCC, especially invited me to be a member of the national committee of the CPPCC at a dinner party he held in my honor. Recently, I have been approved to move into a new high-grade house in Muxidi, Beijing. A car has also been allocated to me. Thus, I have a house to live in and a car to use. I never expected such good arrangements.

A few of the Taiwan authorities have adhered to the stand of "no contacts, no peace talks and no compromise." But from a third party viewpoint, this is a somewhat obstinate attitude. However, they have their own views and ways of thinking, which can be grouped under three beliefs. First, they hold that in the 30 years of more since the CPC formed China, the political situation has not been stable for half of this period as a result of the "Three Red Banners" and the "Great Cultural Revolution" decade. Thus, how can talks for peaceful reunification be held? Second, they hold that the peasants, workers and laboring people have not been able to shake off the state of being "poor and blank" in the 30 years or more since the CPC began to rule the mainland. Consequently, the four modernizations are easier said than done. Third, they hold that the CPC's "united front" is a treacherous strategy of "simultaneous cooperation and struggle" because the KMT suffered losses after the first and second KMT-CPC peace talks. How can they be tricked for a third time?

The three points mentioned above are their reasons for adopting an attitude of "no contacts, no peace talks and no compromise." However, from what I have heard, seen and felt for more than 10 months since my return, I realize that the line, principles and policies of the CPC and the actual situation at present are different from what the KMT authorities think.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four" and the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the CPC has consolidated its leading core, set up new leading groups, corrected the ultraleftist line, established the principle of seeking political unity, developing the economy and internationally winning over Third World countries to make common efforts for world peace and formulated and implemented a policy of political unity and solidarity, economic prosperity and progress and independence in foreign affairs. A new situation of the 1980's completely manipulated by the CPC has been formed.

In particular, since the successful opening of the 12th CPC National Congress, the situation has become even more stable. The "Three Red Banners" or the "Great Cultural Revolution" decade will never appear again. Therefore the Taiwan authorities should no longer worry about the first topic mentioned above. They can now accept the first point of the proposal concerning the principles and policies for peaceful reunification and effect a third

cooperation. They should also promptly carry out negotiations concerning the establishment of relations in postal communications, trade and navigation as mentioned in the second point of the proposal. They can also consider the third point of the proposal and make preparations for setting up a special administrative zone.

In regard to the present economic development on the motherland's mainland, much new and unprecedented progress has been made. I have visited many large and small factories in the 10 months since my return. I have also visited many workers who are living in multi-story dormitories, some of which have more than 12 stories. I have learned that after implementing the economic responsibility system, they have greatly developed the industrial economy. I have also visited many people's communes. There I visited the peasant households and saw many large and small water conservation projects. I have learned that since the implementation of the production responsibility system, the peasants have also greatly developed agriculture. Besides, the CPC has implemented the policy toward intellectuals. Educational and cultural undertakings are flourishing. The phenomenon of being "poor and blank" no longer exists on the mainland. A very good foundation has been laid for the modernization program. The government led by the CPC is capable of resolving Taiwan's local financial difficulties as mentioned in the sixth point of the nine-point proposal.

People of all nationalities and in all walks of life and masses organizations in Taiwan may well accept the seventh, eighth and ninth points of the nine-point proposal put forth by Marshal Ye. They may either settle down on the mainland or make investments there. They may also participate in state affairs in various ways and put forth their suggestions. They should no longer suspect the CPC's united front as a "trick" and should not mistake the CPC's sincerity for peace as a strategy of "simultaneous cooperation and struggle." From what I have seen in the past 10 months and from my contacts with leaders of various democratic parties and people in various circles, I have realized that the CPC authorities have all along adhered to the principle of "long-term coexistence, mutual supervision, extreme sincerity and sharing weal and woe." I have met with many leaders of the KMT revolutionary committee, such as Wang Kunlun, Zhu Xuefan, Qian Changzhao, Liu Fei, Qu Wu, Sun Yueqi, Zheng Dongguo, Wu Maosun, Hou Jingru and Jia Yibin. I have also met with other figures of various circles, such as Liang Shuming and Pu Jie. They all hold leading posts in national political organs and participate in managing state affairs. Therefore, I believe the fifth point of the nine-point proposal put forth by Marshal Ye, which says: "Representatives of the Taiwan authorities and all walks of life may take up leading posts of national political organs and participate in the management of state affairs." This is a sincere manifestation of the CPC authorities.

In short, each point of the nine-point proposal holds true. Being impressed by sincerity in the past 10 months, I earnestly hope that the Taiwan authorities will soon hold talks with the CPC, cooperate with the CPC for the third time, jointly fulfill the great cause of reunifying the motherland and write a brilliant new chapter in the history of the Chinese nation.

CSO: 4005/86

TAIWAN COMPATRIOTS IN BEIJING VIEW REUNIFICATION

OW032002 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1714 GMT 29 Sep 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 29 Sep (XINHUA)--In the past few days, Taiwan compatriots in Beijing held a forum to speak freely on the deep impacts of the nine-point proposal on Taiwan put forth by Chairman Ye Jianying on the eve of National Day last year and expressed hope that the KMT authorities would accept peace talks so that the great cause of the reunification of the motherland can be achieved at an early date.

In his speech at the forum, Cai Xiao, chairman of the headquarters of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League, said: Since the nine-point proposal concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the achievement of peaceful reunification was put forth by Chairman Ye Jianying, it has won warm support and positive responses from the people of all nationalities throughout the country, including Taiwan compatriots and compatriots from Hong Kong and Macao, as well as overseas Chinese abroad, and it has won the extensive support of international public opinion. Facts have proven that the nine-point proposal fully conforms to the fundamental interests and will of the people of Taiwan. From October of 1981 to July of this year, over 1,000 Taiwan compatriots returned to the mainland to visit their relatives or to go on tours, and over 90 Taiwan compatriots returned to settle in the mainland. [passage omitted]

Lin Liyun, chairman of the All-China Federation of Taiwan Copatriots, said: Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech and Comrade Hu Yaobang's report at the 12th Party Congress have once again put forth three major tasks, including the return of Taiwan to the motherland, and this reflects the sincerity and determination of the party central committee in achieving the peaceful reunification of the motherland. We Taiwan compatriots are deeply inspired and, at the same time, feel our grave responsibility. In the nearly 1 year since the All-China Federation of Taiwan Compatiots was founded, we have coordinated with the departments concerned in carrying out the party's policy towards the Taiwan compatriots residing on the mainland and receiving Taiwan compatriots who have returned to visit their relatives, go on tours or give lectures. Thus, we have done some work to promote the reunification of the motherland. In the future, we will continue to promote extensive contacts with and unity among Taiwan compatriots both at home and abroad in jointly urging the KMT authorities to accept peace talks so that the great

cause of the peaceful reunification of the motherland can be achieved at an early date. [passage omitted]

Among those who made speeches at the forum were Li Chunqing, Wang Wande, Chen Bingji, Li Himin, Liang Baomin and Chen Huijuan.

CSO: 4005/86

PRESIDENT ENTERTAINS RELIGIOUS LEADERS

OW062329 Taipei CHINA POST in English 1 Oct 82 p 12

[Text] President Chiang Ching-kuo received ten representatives from different religions at a tea party held in the Presidential Mansion yesterday afternoon.

The president said that it was only in a country with a democratic constitution that religious faiths operate in complete freedom and under the protection of the law. Only in such a country does there exist a spirit of development of the fundamentals of religion. This is the contrary of the religious persecution and oppression experienced under communism. The president expressed his hope that based on the maintenance of freedom of religious beliefs believers could preserve their faith.

The president also expressed the opinion that religions should not stop at the negative aspect of the removal of the emptiness of the soul, and the avoidance of sinking into sin and viciousness, but should actively arouse people to optimistic endeavours to raise and improve their motivating forces. He hoped that leaders of the various religious sects would guide their followers by advocating diligence, a thriftier life, and law abidance, thus improving the functions of common social practices.

The representatives of the various religious sects expressed how deeply moved they were by the president's speech. The representatives said they hoped to encourage in their followers a spirit of patriotism, to foster a harmonious society, and to aid in the national reconstruction.

CSO: 4005/87

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON QING DEVELOPMENT OF TAIWAN

HK260927 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 13 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Lin Qingyuan [2651 1987 0337]: "The Development of Taiwan by the Qing Government During the 19th Century"--Passages within slantlines denote as published]

[Text] Taiwan is a treasure island developed by the people of mainland China and the aborigines through prolonged hard work. The Qing Dynasty, particularly the 19th century, was an important period in the history of Taiwan's development. This article makes some comments on the issue.

I. Measures for Developing Taiwan

After the first Opium War, Taiwan, like mainland China, entered a semifeudal, semicolonial period. Taiwan became a major area for attempts of plunder and occupation by foreign capitalists. In 1841, after the British aggressors bombarded Keelung, the foreign aggressive powers constantly created disturbances and plotted to turn Taiwan into a fortified strategic point for invading mainland China. In 1847 and 1849, the United States twice carried out "investigations" of Taiwan's coal mines, manifesting its ambitions to plunder the natural resources of Taiwan. During the second Opium War, Peter Parker, special envoy of the United States to China, further proposed an aggressive plan to the U.S. State Department, suggesting the separate occupation of Taiwan by the United States, the United Kingdom and France. After the Meiji restoration in 1868, Japan advanced swiftly on the path of expansion and aggression and Taiwan also became the object of its plunder and aggression. The Japanese invasion of Taiwan took place against this background. At the same time, foreign aggressive powers also entered the mountain regions, the "aboriginal villages," occupied Taitung and engaged in reclamation, illegal missionary work, surveying and drawing maps and carried out military invasion and economic and cultural expansion activities.

Faced with the new situation of foreign capitalists invading Taiwan, a substantial number of farsighted Mandarins in the Qing Government constantly begged the Qing Government to strengthen its administration of Taiwan, enhance military installations and regard the intensified development of Taitung as an important measure in resisting the plots of foreign aggressive powers for the occupation of Taiwan. It was a pity that the Qing Government did not pay attention to these suggestions. In 1874, after the Japanese

invasion of Taiwan took place, the Qing Government dispatched Shen Baozhen, the minister of shipping, to inspect Taiwan and be responsible for foreign trade and military affairs and to negotiate with the Japanese invaders. He was deeply aware of the significance of preventing foreign invasion by strengthening the development and administration of Taiwan. He maintained that in order to "sever the ambitions of the foreigners" and to "eliminate the present peril at close range," it was important to increase the number of troops setting up defences, build highways, construct communication networks and "appease" the aborigines and recruit people to be engaged in reclamation work. These measures can be summed up in following three points:

1. /To carry out policies which were advantageous to developments in the economy and aborigine society./ In 1877, in order to meet the demands of reclamation and cultivation of wastelands and development of the mountain areas, the provincial military governor of Fujian promulgated the "21 regulations for rounding off the appeasement of the barbarians." The main features of these regulations were: 1) To register the households, "select the aborigine chieftains as village administrative chiefs" and strengthen the administrative system for the aborigines; 2) To protect "the lands owned by the aboriginal villages," forbid the local people to possess the lands of the barbarians and punish those who violated the rule; 3) To protect the country's fair trade between the Han nationalities and the aborigines, establish a "clinic" in the aboriginal settlements. To encourage the aborigines (the so-called uncivilized barbarians) to cultivate land and promote the production of industrial crops such as cotton and tea. To establish public schools which charged no tuition, employ teachers for these schools and recruit students from among the aboriginal children who were allowed to take part in the civil examinations ("Private Laws of Taiwan, Property Rights, "Vol I pp 7-8). The measures of the Qing Government played an active role in adhancing the social, economic and cultural levels of the aborigines, facilitating the elimination of misunderstanding between different nationalities and providing the necessary conditions for developing the mountain areas of Taiwan.

2. /In order to carry out cultivation and reclamation, it is necessary to construct highways./ When Shen Baozhen arrived in Taiwan, in the 15 lunar months from the 8th lunar month of the 12th year of Emperor Tongzhi's reign to the 11th lunar month of the 1st year of Emperor Guangxu's reign, he had constructed and repaired three important highways with labor from the troops of the Huai Army and some aborigines. The Qing Government had constructed "roads which had not existed from time immemorial" and these roads had posioyce significance in promoting the development of the economies of the aborigines and Taiwan. Aborigine products such as deer skin were transported to the outside through these highways and gunpowder and other commodities of daily use were transported from the settlements of the Han nationalities to the aboriginal settlements through these highways too. The economic relationship, communication and friendship between the Han nationalities and the aborigines was greatly strengthened.

3. /The ban on reclamation was lifted and people were recruited to reclaim wasteland./ When Baozhen proceeded from the view of preventing foreign aggression and developing Taiwan. He suggested: All old bans should be lifted so as to attract more people and eliminate hesitation, ("Memorials Concerning Fujian and Taiwan," p 11-13). His suggestions were accepted by the Qing Government and it was officially announced that the bans had been lifted. On this basis, the Qing Government further formulated plans and steps to encourage mainland peasants to immigrate to Taiwan. The major elements were: 1) If the aborigines were unable to cultivate the land owned by the "aboriginal villages" and were willing to let the land be cultivated by Han tenants, they were "allowed to register with the proper authorities and do as they pleased"; 2) Every tenant household was given 1 li of land to be cultivated; 3) Every 10 tenant households were given 4 farm cattles and a certain amount of money for grains and seeds. The payment would stop after 1-1/2 years; 4) After 3 years, the cultivated lands were to be taxes, the cattles and the money received by the tenants would be divided into 10 parts and the tenants had to clear 2 parts every year after 5 years; 5) Merchants who were willing to invest money in reclamation and cultivation of the wastelands were immediately given reclaiming licenses when they reported to the authorities; 6) Bureaus for appeasing tenants engaged in reclamation anc cultivation of the wastelands were established in Beinan, Qilai and Puli. ("Private Law of Taiwan, Property Rights," Vol 1 pp 9-12)

The Qing Government's policy of lifting the ban and the measures adopted by it to encourage the people of the mainland to immigrate to and exploit Taiwan had greatly aroused the people's enthusiasm in exploiting east Taiwan. In 1875, more than 2,000 laboring households from Xiamen and Shantou immigrated to and settled in Taitung ("Collected News Items Concerning Taiwan Reported in Shen Bao in Late Qing," Vol 5, p 517). After that, many people went to Taiwan to engage in reclamation and cultivation and they provided reinforcement for developing Taitung. With his foresignt and sagacity, Shen Baozhen suggested that the ban on developing east Taiwan be lifted. He had contributed much to consolidating our coastal defenses.

II. Liu Mingchuan Continued to Carry Out the Policies of the Qing Government on Appeasing the People Engaged in Reclamation

After the 1880's, when Taiwan had been made a province, Liu Mingchuan became the first provincial military governor of Taiwan. On the basis of affirming the results achieved by Shen Baozhen in developing Taiwan, he resolutely continued to carry out the above policies of appeasing the people engaged in reclamation and cultivation of the wastelands and spread the building of these bureaus to the mountain areas in west Taiwan. Under the direction of these bureaus, Taitung was further developed. In 1885, Chen Sheng, a native of Zhangzhou, recruited more than 70 households from various aboriginal villages to develop Pobuwu, Tiansongpi and Yuemei in turn. Villages were gradually formed ("Taipei Prefectural Bazeteer on Managing Barbarians" in Japanese, Vol 1, p 82). In 1886, Balisha of Fuzhoubao in Ilan was developed. Attempts to develop the place during the reigns of the Emperors Daoguang and Xianfeng failed, but it was developed at this time. At the same time, Liu

Mingchuan constructed and repaired highways frim Jiji to Fengxiang and from Fengxiang to Ailiao in Fengshan so that development could be spread to southeast Taiwan. In 1888, Zheng Yuhua, a native of Changhua, recruited peasants to develop the wastelands in Pushige and Jinwangzhuang and villages were gradually formed ("Private Law of Taiwan Property Rights," Vol 1 p 12). The mountain areas of Taiwan developed by Liu Mingchuan were inhabited by aborigines with an extremely backward society and economy (they are called "uncivilized barbarians" in historical records; in order to eliminate their fear and misunderstanding in developing the mountain areas, Liu Mingchuan gave these people special care. Every grown up man, woman and child was given a certain amount of rice, salt, meat and clothes and production tools such as pans, cloth and grassknives were sold to them. In addition, there were interpreters, cultivation instructors, school teachers, doctors and barbers in the bureaus to help the "uncivilized barbarians" promote their levels of production and to help the "uncivilized barbarians" promote their levels of production techniques and culture and change their customs. ("Taipei Prefectural Gazetteer on Managing Barbarians" in Japanese, P 87) As to those who could engage in reclamation and cultivation, they were "given reclaiming licenses" and "property deeds." Their property rights were recognized. The appeasement measures adopted by Liu Mingchuan had created favorable conditions for developing the mountain areas. "There were pioneers and successors in people's reclaiming the barbarian lands. They made persistent efforts and cooperated with each other. As a result, towns and communities were formed." (Lian Heng: "A General History of Taiwan," Vol 3, p 455). In addition, "Tea and other crops are grown in the barbarian land in the mountain areas near Taipei, there are no wastelands." (Liu Mingchuan: "Memorials," Vol 3, p 406) "The seedlings of rice, sweet potatoes and other crops grown by the people and the barbarians are growing luxuriantly." (Hu Chuan: "Diaries and Memorials Written in Taiwan," p 22) Results in developing the mountain areas were achieved.

The above tells us that the 19th century was an important period in our developing Taiwan. The area of cultivated land increased from 60,000 jia in 1800 to 432,008 jia at the end of the 19th century. (Li Mingchuan: "Memorials," p 318) More than 360,000 jia were reclaimed in this period. There was something more important. The Qing Government strengthened its measures and activities in developing Taiwan. This had important strategic significance in preventing the foreign invasion of the coastal areas along the southeast coast of China. Luo Dachun, the one in charge of developing the mountain areas, pointed out: "The foreigners have travelled tens of thousands of li to come to our territory, they are greedy.... Therefore, Houshan should be developed... In the past, our purpose was to increase land and to provide for the people, now, our purpose is to claim sovereignty so as to be prepared for troubles." ("Diaries on the Coastal Defense and Development of Mountain Areas in Taiwan," p 660)

III. The Han Nationalities' and the Aborigines' Development of the Mountain Areas and the Cordial Relationship Between Them

The aborigines of Taiwan are a member of our multinational family. Because of historical and social factors, levels of social and economic development

of different nationalities are not the same. Some of the people lived in highland or mountain areas, (they were then called "uncivilized barbarians" in the historical records). Their society and economy was extremely backward. It was not strange that they had resisted the Han nationalities' development of mountain areas because of fear. Some Qing officials massacred them for this reason. Thus, enmity and misunderstanding between different nationalities resulted. But, judging from the overall situation, they were on good terms. As the productive force of the aborigines gradually developed, and the Han nationalities promoted the development of their economy and society through their development of the mountain areas, they gradually deepened their understanding of the Han nationalities. As a result, they asked the Han nationalities and the civilized aborigines to develop the mountain areas with them. In 1847, Liu Shaoke, the governor of Fujian and Zhejiang, inspected Puli Village and he was welcome by more than 1,000 aborigines along the road. The aborigines who lived in Ilan in east Taiwan, the so-called 36 villages in historical records, felt that prolonged isolation and closeness hindered production development. They enthusiastically asked the Qing Government to "cut the mountains and build highways so that the east and the west would become one large family and to strengthen the economic ties between these areas and the plains areas in west Taiwan. (Yu Yonghei: "Travels in a Small Sea," p 33) Facts had proven that the aborigines strengthening their ties with the Han nationalities brought about progress in the aboriginal society. Thus, an upsurge in the joint development of the mountain areas by the Han nationalities and the aborigines appeared in the 19th century.

In the process of joint development of the mountain areas by the Han nationalities and the aborigines together, the Qing Government's policy of appeasement had played an active role. Under this policy, many aborigines changed their occupation from hunting to agriculture. The aborigines in many villages in Taitung learnt to cultivate land in this period. For instance, in 1874, the aborigines in Jialiwan Village began to cultivate land. They were immediately issued reclaiming licenses by the Qing Government. The Amei Tribe in Beinan was originally the "slave barbarians" in Beinanmi. In the 1870's, influenced by the Han nationalities and the appeasement policy popularized by the Qing Government, they had mastered the techniques of cultivating paddy fields, "They can gradually reclaim land and grow rice." (Wu Guanglu: "Selected Memorials on the Mission of Fujian," p 10) In 1880, the Yamei tribe in Changguangao was able to independently reclaim and cultivate a piece of land. The Qing Government gave them tools and seeds to help them develop production. (Shen Baozhen: "Official Letters;" "To General Luo," manuscript, Vol 2) The aborigines in Youlixing Village in Dakekan were even more backward, but after the appeasement policy was promulgated by the Qing Government, "the barbarians of the entire village learnt to cultivate land, this happened a few years ago." In 1882, the Qing Government gave them "reclaiming licenses" and "property deeds." In the second half of the 19th century, some of the aborigines whose society and economy were quite backward changed their occupation to agriculture and gradually changed over to the system of private ownership.

In the process of joint development, the Han nationalities and the aborigines deepened their understanding. Many Han nationalities helped the aborigines in the aborigine settlements develop production and promote culture and they were much welcomed. For instance, after Wu Sha started to cultivate in Wushigang, "smallpox rated throughout the barbarian village, Wu Sha donated a recipe and medicines, many barbarians were cured and they were indebted to him." (Yao Ying: "The Outlines of the Voyage to the East," p 70) In 1855, Zheng Shang moved to Beinan to reclaim and cultivate land, he taught the aborigines "the methods of cultivation," "the barbarians were happy and treated him as their teacher." ("A General History of Taiwan," Vol 5, p 816) There were many Han nationalities who married aborigines. For instance, in the years of Emperor Jiaqing's reign, Huan Qian, a native of Guangdong traded with the aborigines in Douhuanping in Taiwan. He changed his name to Doumai, "married a barbarian girl who bore him two sons," later, he "invited Zhang Daman and Zhang Ximan, his neighbors, to the mountain areas, treated them as his own brothers and they married barbarian girls and lived with the barbarians. Thus, Nanzhuang was developed." ("A General History of Taiwan," Vol 3, p 435) The cordial relationship was recorded in many historical records: "The Han nationalities married the local people. They were mixed like milk and water and they had an intimate relationship." (Gong Chai: "A Concise Gazetteer of Taiwan") With this cordial relationship, the Han nationalities taught the aborigines production techniques and transmitted their culture to them. The Qing Government built village schools in the aboriginal settlements. As a result, many aborigine adults and children were able to recite, punctuage and dictate the text of the Mao version of the book of songs."

CSO: 4005/86 END

JPRS 82230

15 November 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 361

JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE 25 ANNIVERSARY

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82230

15 November 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 361

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Basic Principles of Party's Foreign Policy Outlined
(NINGXIA RIBAO, 5 Oct 82) 1

PARTY AND STATE

Need To Strengthen Research, Development of Administrative Law Stressed
(Yin Liangpei; LIAONING DAXUE XUEBAO, 5 Sep 82) 5

Heilongjiang's Party Cadres Retrained in Party Aims, Discipline
(FENDOU, 10 Aug 82) 13

Guangxi Leaders Address Meeting on Studying Party Documents
(RENMIN RIBAO, 7 Oct 82) 18

Measures Taken To Enhance Study of Party Congress Documents
(Cui Yunjiao; HEBEI RIBAO, 22 Sep 82) 20

Briefs
Study Party Documents 22

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Significance of Central Military Council Explained
(Various sources, various dates) 23

'ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO' Comment, by Wang Zhao
'GONGREN RIBAO' Comment, by Fang Ming

PLA Guards Strategic Zhongjian Island in South Sea
(Hu Baoyu; JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, Aug 82) 27

Center on South Sea Reforms Warship Training
(Jiang Binghe; JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, Jul 82) 28

Lanzhou Units Develop Ground Artillery Range Finder
(Deng Daju; JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, Jul 82) 30

Air Force Regiment Chalks Up Fine Combat, Training Record
(Wang Zhewei; JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, Aug 82) 31

Training Exercise by Rocket Launcher Battalion Described
(Xu Fangming, et al.; XINHUA RIBAO, 25 Jul 82) 34

Militarymen Trained in Correct Understanding of Open-Door Policy
(Zhu Xiangzhong; HEBEI RIBAO, 28 Jul 82) 37

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Questions, Answers on Violators of Planned Parenthood
(FUJIAN RIBAO, 3 Aug 82) 39

Cadres of Minority Nationalities in Qinghai Selected as Leaders
(RENMIN RIBAO, 22 Aug 82) 41

Forty-One Frogmen Pass Tests in Shanghai
(WENHUIBAO, 27 Jul 82) 43

Appraisal of Foreign Culture Urged
(Ai Qing; ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO, 12 Aug 82) 44

Jinan Muslims Welcome 12th Party Congress
(DAZHING RIBAO, 12 Aug 82) 46

First Group of Doctorate, Master Degrees Awarded
(GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN, 13 Jan 82) 48

Tendency of Writers To Feel Superior Is Decried
(Fan Bing; JIEFANGJUN WENYI, Jul 82) 49

Adequate Research Said Needed in Writing
(Bai Wen; JIEFANGJUN WENYI, Jul 82) 53

Conversation on Authenticity in Writing
(Liu Jin; JIEFANGJUN WENYI, Jul 82) 56

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Struggle Within Literary Circle in Wuhan Discussed
(Yu Mu; CHENG MING, Sep 82) 61

BASIC PRINCIPLES OF PARTY'S FOREIGN POLICY OUTLINED

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 5 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Theory Section, Propaganda Department, Autonomous Regional Party Committee]

[Text] (1) What is our party's basic starting point in handling foreign relations?

Answer: Integration of patriotism and internationalism has always been our starting point in handling foreign relations.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out long ago in the early days after the founding of the nation: "Our general task is: Rally the people of the entire country, seek the support of all our international friends, and strive to build a great socialist nation and to defend international peace and further the cause of human progress." The revolution and construction of the peoples of all nations in the world are mutually supportive, and China's future is linked with that of the world. The victory of China's revolution and construction, inseparable from the struggle and support of the peoples of all nations in the world, is an effective sustenance to the world in its move toward progress and light. We are patriotists, and we will never tolerate any infringement of China's national dignity and national interest. We are internationalists, and we deeply understand that the full realization of China's national interest is inseparable from the overall interest of all mankind.

(2) What is China's consistent principle guiding the development of its relations with the various nations?

Answer: China's consistent principle guiding the development of its relations with the various nations is: "Mutual respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual nonaggression, mutual nonintervention in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence." This five-point principle is applicable to our relations with all nations, including the socialist countries.

(3) On the basis of the five-point principle of peaceful coexistence, with what countries has China established diplomatic relations in the past 33 years?

Answer: In the past 33 years, China, on the basis of the five-point principle of peaceful coexistence, has established diplomatic relations with 125 countries in the world.

There are 28 in Asia: Korea, Mongolia, Japan, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Cyprus, People's Democratic Republic of Yeman, Yeman Arab Republic and Oman.

There are 29 in Europe: Albania, Greece, Romania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Austria, Italy, San Marino, Malta, Spain, Portugal, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Great Britain, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Iceland and the Soviet Union.

There are 16 in America: Canada, the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Jamaica, Barbados, Trindad and Tobago, Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela, Guyana, Surinam, Brazil, Peru, Chile and Argentina.

There are 45 in Africa: Egypt, Libya, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Mauritania, Mali, Senegal, the Upper Volta, Gambia, Republic of Guinea, Republic of Guinea-Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, Sierra Leone, Cape Verde, Liberia, Ghana, Togo, Benin, the Niger, Nigeria, Cameroon, Sao Tome and Principe, the Sudan, the Central African Empire, Chad, Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, the Congo, Zaire, Gabon, Zambia, Mozembique, the Comoros, Madagascar, Seychelles, Mauritius, Zimbabwe and Botswana.

There are 7 in Oceania and the Pacific Islands: Australia, Fiji, Kiribati, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Western Samoa and Vanuatu.

(4) What are China's current relations with Japan, the United States and the Soviet Union? What is its fundamental stand in handling bilateral relations with them?

Answer: First, in terms of China's relations with Japan, the two countries are near neighbors and their peoples have had a close association and deep friendship since ancient times. In the past 100 years, Japan's militarism time and again launched aggressive wars against China, causing serious disasters to the Chinese people, while the Japanese people were also deeply victimized. With the common effort of the peoples of the two countries, normalization of relations was finally achieved in 1972. Nevertheless, some forces in Japan are attempting to obliterate the historical facts of bloody aggressions and revive Japan's militarism, arousing

the serious vigilance and strong objection of the peoples of China and Japan and other countries. Past experience, if not forgotten, is a guide for the future. We must not permit the danger to spread. We must, together with the people of Japan and its government and private figures, eliminate all factors detrimental to the relations between the two countries and enable their peoples to remain friendly with each other through the generations.

Next, in terms of China's relations with the United States, since establishing diplomatic relations in 1979, there were developments compatible with the interest of the two peoples. However, while recognizing the government of the PRC as the only legitimate government of China and the fact that there is only one China and Taiwan is a part of China, the United States passed the "Taiwan Relations Act" in violation of the principles contained in the announcement establishing diplomatic relations, continued to sell weapons to Taiwan and treated Taiwan as an independent political entity. In regard to the acts of the U.S. government, our government declared many times that such acts were infringements of China's sovereignty and intervention in its internal affairs. After close to one year of negotiations, the two governments issued a joint communique not long ago, deciding on step by step measures on the issue of U.S. weapons sale to Taiwan until its final resolution. We hope that the decision will be earnestly carried out. Only by truly following the principle of mutual respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity and mutual nonintervention in each other's internal affairs will the relations between the two countries continue to develop soundly.

Thirdly, in terms of China's relations with the Soviet Union, the two countries enjoyed a friendly relationship for a fairly long period of time. However, due to the hegemonist policy followed by the Soviet Union, the relations have deteriorated to the situation today. In the past 2 decades, the Soviet Union has consistently stationed massive forces on the China-Russia and China-Mongolia borders, supported Vietnam in its invasion of Kamphchea, practiced expansionism in Indochina and Southeast Asia, continuously launched provocations on China's border and invaded by force its neighboring country Afghanistan. All these have created grave threats to peace in Asia and the security of China. We note that Soviet leaders have time and again expressed their desire to improve relations with China. As long as the Soviet authorities are truly sincere and take practical steps to eliminate the threats to China's security, it will be possible for the relations between the two countries to move toward normalization.

(5) What are the consistent fundamental standpoint and policy followed by us in the current international conflicts?

Answer: We adhere to an independent foreign policy, and we will never attach ourselves to any superpower or bloc of nations, or capitulate to the pressure of any superpower. China's foreign policy is based on the scientific theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and starts

from the basic interest of the Chinese people and the people of the world. It has a long-range and overall strategic basis, and will never accommodate to any momentary exigencies or subject itself to instigation and incitement from any source.

We feel that the main forces imperiling the peaceful coexistence among the nations of the world are imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism. China considers its struggles alongside other Third World nations against imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism its sacred internationalist obligation. Though still a Third World country in the course of developing, China will do its best to render aid to other Third World countries which share a common fate with us. We have consistently opposed the arms race of the superpowers and all local aggressive wars instigated or supported by them. We will firmly support the struggles of all nations and peoples under aggression. We strongly censure Israel for its outrageous aggressive acts against the peoples of Palestine and Lebanon and firmly support the struggles of the Palestinians to return to their homeland and build their own country.

(6) What is our party's basic principle in developing relations with the communist parties of the various nations and other worker class political parties?

Answer: In developing relations with the communist parties of the various nations and other worker class political parties, our party, on the basis of Marxism, upholds the principle of independence, complete equality, mutual respect and mutual nonintervention in internal affairs.

Among the communist parties of the various nations in the world, whether large or small, whether with a long or a short history, and whether in power or not in power, there may be no distinction of rank or status, and they must mutually respect one another. Disagreements among them must be gradually solved by means of friendly consultations and mutual patience, in order to further the development of the international communist movement.

6080
CSO: 4005/107

PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO STRENGTHEN RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE LAW STRESSED

Shenyang LIAONING DAXUE XUEBAO (ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE BAN) [JOURNAL OF LIAONING UNIVERSITY (PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES EDITION)] in Chinese No 5, 5 Sep 82 pp 23-26

[Article by Yin Liangpei [1438 5328 1014]: "Great Efforts Needed To Strengthen Research and Development of Administrative Law"]

[Text] Administrative law is the general designation of the legal norms that regulate all the administrative activities of the state's administrative organization. It mainly determines the organization, jurisdiction and formation of the state's administrative organs, the scope of their official duties and methods of rewards and punishments. Its regulations govern the relations that arise between the state's administrative organs in the course of performance of their official duties with other government organs or with social organizations and individual citizens. At present, China has entered a new historical period, and great changes have taken place in our country's political and economic life, it is an objective demand that great efforts should be expended on strengthening the study and development of administrative law and on the gradual perfection of administrative legislation. This is also relevant and of utmost significance for the further development of democracy, for the perfection of the socialist legal system, for the promotion of socialist jurisprudence and for the promotion of the four modernizations.

1. Strengthening the Study and Development of Administrative Law is Demanded by the Need for a Reform in the State Organization and for Higher Work Efficiency

Many countries in the world are presently conducting "administrative reforms," constantly striving to raise work efficiency. Our country is no exception. In December 1981, after the close of the Fourth Session of the Fifth NPC, the State Council took prompt steps to reform the government organization. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that in a certain sense the reform of the administrative organization is like staging a revolution, but it is a revolution directed against the structure and the system, not against men.(1) Why is this revolution being staged? Premier Zhao Ziyang analyzed it in this way: "Our present administrative organization is inflated, its administrative levels overlap, duties are unclear and work efficiency is very low, to an

unbearable degree. If we are to keep to the socialist road and realize the four modernizations, we must stage this revolution. If we do not embark on this revolution, the correct principles and policies of the party will not be fully implemented and it will be impossible to truly overcome the problems of serious bureaucratism and decline in work efficiency. In that case there would be no hope for all our undertakings."(2) Many factors have contributed to the inflation in our administrative structure, the overstaffed situation in all posts and the low work efficiency, and a major factor is the underdeveloped and incomplete state of our administrative law. We have had certain lessons on this problem. From the end of 1953 to the first half of 1954, our country reorganized its administrative structure and reduced the staff at all levels by more than 150,000 persons.(3) The central authorities carried out another reorganization from March to June 1955, further adjusted the administrative structure and the administrative levels within the various units, in most cases reducing the four or five level system to a three or two level system, effected a general reduction or elimination of officials delegated to localities, reduced the intermediary levels between the ministries and the primary level units and thus retrenched a large number of personnel in the state organs. According to statistical data, the reduction in organs directly under the CPC Central Committee amounted to over 43 percent of the original establishment. According to statistics on 51 units of the government system, there was a reduction of 36,270 persons, which is 40.1 percent of the original personnel of 90,498 persons.(4) These two adjustments left the structure of the state organs reduced to a small but capable contingent; their numbers went down but work efficiency went up, and the state, furthermore, saved a large amount of administrative expenses. However, the regrettable part of it is that the various important positive results achieved in the course of these revolutions could not be immediately affirmed in administrative legislation. Even though some administrative regulations were drawn up, they remained a mere formality because of the lack of any mechanism to impose penalties or effect legal supervision. In view of this experience, we must study in our present reorganization not only how to reorganize, but also how to consolidate the positive results of our reorganization by means of administrative legislation. We must not only draw up general well-principled provisions in the constitution and the law on the organization of the State Council concerning the internal organizational relations of the state's administrative organs, but must also formulate correspondingly more concrete legal provisions of administrative law and establish a system of strict inspection and supervision. Any organ or individual that violates the legal provisions must be promptly and severely dealt with according to law. In this respect it is worthwhile to note certain experiences in foreign countries. For instance, in Japan, apart from the constitution, a whole series of administrative laws and regulations were enacted, such as the "Law on the Council of Ministers," "Law Governing the Administrative Organs of the State," "Law Determining the Staff Establishment," "Law on the Office Establishment," "Law Governing Officials of the State," "Law Governing Local Officials," etc, to ensure that the government organs operate with a limited but efficient staff. These laws determine concretely the staff establishment for the various government organs, the office establishment in the administrative structure, the limits of the various competencies, the scope of work for every type of official and

employee, the work procedures, the methods of selection by examination and the system of rewards and punishments. Violations of the administrative laws by any organ, official or staff will all be prosecuted according to law. It is very obvious that this method effectively raises the work efficiency in the government organs.

2. Strengthening the Study and Development of Administrative Law is Demanded by the Need to Combat Bureaucratic Privileges and to Guarantee the Democratic Rights of the Citizens

At present, bureaucratism and the usurpation of special privileges is a fairly widespread phenomenon in our country, and even quite serious in certain units and departments. This is not only an impediment to our work, but a direct infringement upon the interests of the masses and has therefore aroused intense resentment among the people. Bureaucratism and unlawful privileges are products of the feudal autocratic system. The basic principle of that system was that the sovereign "did not recognize any common, civil or human rights."(5) Due to the especially long existence of a feudal society in our country, it is up to this day that the filth and mire of the old society are still polluting our lives. However, that is only one side of the problem. We still have to look at another aspect. "In our present system of state administration, there are serious flaws and abuses which give rise to the phenomenon of bureaucratism."(6) For instance, if the state's administrative organs or its staff, in the course of the performance of their duties, come into contact with individual citizens, there are no concrete and clear legal provisions that determine the legal position of both parties and the rights and duties that each side has. If the state's administrative organs or staff in the course of the performance of their duties infringe upon the rights of others, no methods exist to deal with the situation strictly and effectively. This easily creates a situation of onesided partiality, so that frequently the state employee habitually gives himself the airs of a "representative of the state," willfully issues his commands and gives little thought to the just rights of the citizen and the duties that he himself should fulfill. In Marx's opinion "the customary behavior of persons arrogating to themselves such privileges conflicts with the law."(7) The phenomenon of regarding of the powers of office as a customary affair, is eminently responsible for the growth of the bureaucratic and "special privilege" mentality, which jeopardizes the relations between the state and the masses. An important measure to overcome this flaw and abuse is the energetic strengthening of the study and development of administrative law. Lenin once pointed out: "Our country is a state of the workers that carries the malady of bureaucratism," and we must therefore "be adept at using the measures of state power to protect the material and spiritual interests of the whole united proletariat and not allow their interests to be infringed upon by these state powers."(8) Strengthening the administrative legislation is precisely this kind of practical and effective measure which the state power of the proletarian dictatorship must adopt. Yugoslavia, for instance, to safeguard the democratic rights of the people, not only drew up a very complete set of administrative laws and regulations, but also instituted a whole system of very strict enforcement. The administrative courts adjudicate independently and government organs must obey and

execute their judgements. By instituting these measures, Yugoslavia not only achieved the prompt rectification of certain improper administrative dispositions by government organs, but also compelled the government organs and their staff to strictly obey the law. As a consequence, bureaucratism was effectively suppressed and unlawful privileges prevented.

3. Strengthening the Study and Development of Administrative Law is Demanded by the need to Reform the System of Management of the Economy and to Promote Modernization

Management of the economy is one of the basic functions of the socialist state. In the past 30-odd years, our country's economic management--be it mainly vertical control by the central authorities or horizontal control by local authorities--relied almost exclusively on purely administrative methods, i.e. it used the form of administrative orders as policy directives. This frequently led to equalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources, the situation of "all eating from the same pot," and bureaucratic issue of impracticable orders, which all had a serious detrimental influence on the development of the national economy. Although there was an increase in economic legislation following the smashing of the "gang of four," and the use of economic methods and economic laws and regulations was emphasized in the direction and control of the economy, however, socialist economy being mainly a planned economy, the management of the country's economy is not being carried out along one way, but through many different channels. Not only economic measures and economic laws and regulations are needed, but also needed are other measures and other laws and regulations to exercise an adjusting function. For instance, if the state passes down certain plans in the nature of a command and order to reduce or combine certain departments in charge of some special economic field, or if the state unilaterally decides to transfer the managerial authority or property rights of a certain state-run enterprise without compensation or without any equivalent, this is an administrative measure and belongs into the sphere of administrative law to regulate. Certain Hungarian specialists and scholars are of the opinion that a very important reason why certain abnormal phenomena are now arising in the economic management of certain countries is that there is no dialectical and correlated theory and practice established to relate the political, economic, organizational and legal measures used in economic management. The individual factors within an organic and perfect entity can best bring their unique features into full play if they supplement and complement each other, but at present these various measures are usually in conflict with each other.(9) There is no doubt that similar problems have to be earnestly studied and resolved in our own country. It is especially necessary to find through the study of administrative law those areas where administrative action must be restrained and where administrative measures must be replaced by other measures. At the same time we must find the areas in which administrative action must be strengthened, we must determine where administrative laws and regulations are needed and strengthen the administrative intercession in order to promote the four modernizations.

4. Strengthening of the Study and Development of Administrative Law is Demanded by the Need to Perfect the Socialist Legal System and to Promote our Socialist Jurisprudence

Administrative law as legal norms have existed since long ago. In the history of our country, we may cite the "Zhou Guan" [Offices of the Zhou Dynasty] compiled by Liu Xin toward the end of the Han Dynasty as the first privately compiled code of administrative law, and the"Tang lie dian" [Six Canons of the Tang Dynasty], published under Emperor Xuan Zong of the Tang Dynasty, as a code of administrative law compiled by the state and one which can ' traced back to the 7th century A.S. Following the Tang Dynasty, there are the "hui yao" [collected statutes] of the Ming and Qing Dynasties; especially the collected canons of five reign periods of the Qing Dynasty and the "shi li" [collection of cases] of that period are fairly comprehensive, which demonstrates that administrative law was quite well developed in ancient China.

In the West, an administrative law in the modern sense came about in the 17th and 18th century, following the gradual emergence of the bourgeois ideology of freedom and equality and the rise of the "rule by law" doctrine. At that time the bourgeois scholars, such as Locke, Montesquieu and others, put forward the idea that a state should "exercise its rule by means of formally promulgated and fixed laws,"(10) and "must not force anyone to do what the law does not force him to do, and must not restrain anyone form doing what the law allows him to do."(11) In this way, the freedom and other rights of the citizens are protected by law, and the state organs cannot unrestrainedly impose restraints,unnless provided by law. This is what is meant by "government by law," and the laws that provide the state organs with their basis for exercising government are the administrative law.

The socialist society is in essence quite different from the feudal and capitalist society, and the socialist administrative law is in essence diametrically opposed to the feudal and capitalist administrative law. The socialist administrative law strengthens the administrative management of the socialist state and coordinates the mutual relations between the various government organs. It is an indispensible means of protecting the people's democratic rights and a powerful weapon in the hands of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people. The famous Soviet legal scholar during the Stalin era, Vyshinskii, once emphatically pointed out: "The Soviet Union's administrative law must occupy a most important place in the Soviet legal system, because the question of administration (management) is of special important significance in the socialist construction."(12) In our country socialist administrative law has been gradually developed following the buildup of our socialist legal system. As early as during the stage of the democratic revolution, the liberated area adopted many administrative laws and regulations, and after the liberation of the whole country, work in administrative law was again stepped up. In the middle of the fifties, our legal scholars did some useful exploratory work into the theories of administrative law and achieved certain positive research results in such questions as the target and scope of administrative law, the basic principles of state management, the organizational system of state organs, methods of rewards and punishments for state employees, etc. However, later the influx of nihilist legal ideas stopped all progress in administrative law legislative work and research in this area came to a standstill. Especially the 10 years

of turmoil had disastrous effects on the buildup of our legal system and work on administrative management and dealt a devastating blow to our research into the theory of administrative law. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the party and the government made great efforts to bring order out of chaos and with regard to strengthening the buildup of the socialist legal system, adopted a series of measures, published a series of laws and regulations and achieved a certain positive effect. However, generally speaking, the situation is far from perfect, and especially in the research of basic theories of administrative law we are obviously backward. It is therefore necessary to expend great efforts on strengthening the study and development of administrative law and to rapidly develop and enliven our socialist jurisprudence. We should specifically consider adopting the following measures:

First, we must adopt the method of "walking on too legs," namely take in hand the formulation, publication and implementation of new laws and regulations and simultaneously take in hand the adjustment, revision and compilation of existing laws and regulations. It means that guided by the relevant principles laid down in the Constitution and with due regard for objective needs and differing conditions, we should promptly draw up various kinds of separate administrative laws and regulations to regulate various kinds of administrative relations. At the same time, we should systematically adjust, revise and compile all administrative laws and regulations published since the inception of our government. Those that by their content are still suitable should be clearly designated as of continuing effect. Those that are outdated should be ordered abolished. Those that need revision must be revised without fail and again published according to proper legal procedure. After a somewhat lengthy period of time, we shall then be able to amass a large amount of experiences in the adjustment of various intricate administrative relations and as a consequence create the necessary preconditions for the compilation of a uniform code of administrative law.

Second, guided by Marxism, we must actively launch the study and discussion of the basic theories of administrative law. Engels once pointed out: "If a nation wants to stand on the topmost point of science, it must not cease theoretical thinking for even one second."(13) Marxist philosophy is best suited for theoretical thinking that reflects the law of development of the objective world. Precisely because this is so, we must take Marxism as our guide, uphold the views and methods of dialectical materialsim and historical materialism and energetically launch study and discussion of the basic theories of administrative law, so as to gradually clear up and resolve certain important questions, such as the following: the scientific concept of administrative law, the target and scope of adjustments of administrative law, the basic principles of administrative law, the sources of administrative law, the relationship of administrative law to the other departments of jurisprudence, the position and function of administrative law, the historical development of administrative law, etc.

Third, we must strengthen our work of evaluating administrative law studies in foreign countries and absorb extensively any experiences that are of benefit for our country. In the study and formulation of our administrative

law, we must first of all start out from our own national realities and sum up our own practical experiences in order to meet the needs of our own revolution and construction. However, this does not preclude absorbing, or taking as model, whatever is useful in foreign experiences. In a letter written in 1922 to Kursky at the time of the compilation of the Soviet Russian civil law code, Lenin pointed out" We should definitely absorb whatever there is in West European literature and experiences that will protect the interests of the working people."(14) When discussing the 1954 Constitution, Comrade Mao Zedong also said: "The draft constitution of ours is chiefly a summing-up of our experience in revolution and construction, but at the same time it is a synthesis of domestic and international experiences."(15) To make a success of the study and development of our country's administrative law, we must seriously step up the work of evaluating the studies of administrative law in foreign countries. We must introduce with a clear purpose in mind certain results of administrative law research abroad and must methodically compare our administrative law with that of the foreign countries, in order to absorb anything that is useful for our country.

Fourth, we must strengthen instruction in administrave law at higher level law colleges and institutes in an effort to nurture highly qualified personnel capable of doing scientific research in administrative law. Generally speaking, a country's level of scientific research in administrative law is determined to a very high degree by the availability of highly qualified personnel capable of doing scientific work in administrative law. The raising of this type of scientific research personnel to full maturity is again determined by the availability of instruction at higher level law colleges and institutes. In our country the higher level law colleges and institutes and the law departments of comprehensive universities for various reasons generally do not have separate courses in administrative law. The problems of administrative law are mostly touched upon conveniently when teaching national law or other law courses. Obviously this is not a good way to improve instruction in administrative law or to raise the level of scientific research, and it is necessary to take vigorous and dependable steps to gradually adjust the course schedule in the higher level law colleges and institutes (including the law departments of comprehensive universities), so that administrative law is made an obligatory or elective course. We must realistically strengthen the instruction and the guidance in scientific research so that we shall be able to train as quickly as possible a large number of highly qualified personnel for scientific work and research in administrative law, and we must energetically promote the study and development of our country's administrative law.

To sum up, regardless whether we examine the situation from the aspect of revolutionary and construction practice or from the aspect of theories on state and law, the strengthening of the study and development of administrative law is a necessary and timely task.

FOOTNOTES

1 and 2. Quoted from Zhao Ziyang's "Report on the Question of Reforming the Structure of the State Council," in RENMIN RIBAO of 9 March 1982.

3. RENMIN RIBAO editorial in its 17 April 1955 issue: "Earnestly Undertake Organizational Adjustment and Retrenchment Work."

4. Ho Long, "Report on the Retrenchment at the First level of the Central Authorities" in GUOWUYUAN GONGBAO [STATE COUNCIL GAZETTE], No 34 (1955).

5 and 7. "Collected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 1, pp 541 and 142.

6. "Documents of the Third Session of the Fifth NPC of the PRC," pp 85-86.

8. "Collected Works of Lenin: Vol 32, pp 7-8.

9. Sha-er-ke-si Tuo-ma-si [phonetic] (Hungarian): "Economic Management and the Law" in TUOWAI SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCES ABROAD], No 2 (1981).

10. Locke, "On Government" second part, p 88, Comercial Press edition of 1981.

11. Montesquieu, "On the spirit of Law," Vol 1, p 154, Commercial Press edition of 1961.

12. Vyshinskii, "The Basic Tasks of Soviet Socialist Jurisprudence" in "Theoretical Questions of State and Law" p 110, the Law Publishing Company, 1955.

13. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 3, p 467.

14. "Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 33, p 173.

15. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 127.

9808
CSO: 4005/29

PARTY AND STATE

HEILONGJIANG'S PARTY CADRES RETRAINED IN PARTY AIMS, DISCIPLINE

Harbin FENDOU [Struggle] in Chinese No 8, 10 Aug 82 pp 10-11

[Article: "Several Points of Understanding on Doing a Good Job of Education in Party Spirit, Party Practices, and Party Discipline"]

[Text] Based on the spirit of the Central Committee's and our province committee's directives, a good many localities and units in Heilongjiang have, one after the other, carried out education of party members in party spirit, party practices, and party discipline; launched activities involving the appraisal of party members; and achieved considerable results, having made their initial gropings and having accumulated a certain amount of experience. Summing up this experience has considerable leadership significance for our immersing ourselves, universally throughout the province, in carrying out education in party spirit, party practices, and party discipline.

We must heighten understanding, and conscientiously strengthen our leadership.

An important point of the experience gained by various areas in doing a good job of education in party spirit, party practices, and party discipline is that leadership must place great importance on this task, take firm charge of it without slackening, and follow through to the end. If we want to gain the serious attention of leadership, the crux is that we must heighten the understanding of our leading comrades. Viewing the situation in various areas, once the education had begun, the leadership of some units had all kinds of vague ideas; some felt that at present there is too much work to do, we are too busy with production, and there is no time to engage in such things; some felt that, since we have only recently been exposed to a rotation training program of studying the "Resolutions" and the reports of comrade Zhao Ziyang, if now we are to undergo more rotation training the comrades will very easily get fed up; and others felt that there are so many problems within the party at present that they cannot be solved by a mere few units engaging in this kind of education. In order to do a good job of the education of party members, the party organizations of some localities and units, through the methods of studying the relevant documents and investigating the ideological situation of party members, first of all solved the problem of the understanding of leading cadres. For example, the party committee of Harbin's Weijian Machine Factory successively held three meetings, they conscientiously studied the Central Committee's and the province committee's documents on the carrying out of

education in party spirit, party practices, and party discipline, and came to understand that rectifying party practices is the correct beginning for getting at the root of the party's problems. This affects the survival of our party, and the future and the fate of our enterprise. Only by first reorganizing and consolidating the party, reorganizing and consolidating our enterprises, and completing our production tasks will there be any guarantee of it rectifying party practices. At the same time, they also went through an investigation and analysis of the ideological situation of the party members of the entire factory, and saw that the great majority of the factory's party members were good or comparatively good. However, due to the interference and spoiling of things by the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, many serious problems existed among a good many party members, especially new party members who had entered the party during the "Great Cultural Revolution," with regard to party spirit, party practices, and party discipline. Through this investigation and analysis, the leading comrades recognized that the problems existing in the party are serious, but not unsolvable through reorganization and consolidation. Aside from organizational consolidation, the greater part of the work required is ideological rectification, and the fundamental method of ideological rectification is carrying out education of the broad masses of party members in party nature, party practices, and party discipline. Once the party members' understanding has been heightened, their getting a hold on the matter will be conscious. Hence, the plant's party committee established a leading group for the education of party members, headed by two of the party committee's Assistant Secretaries, which specialized in taking charge of this work. The principal leaders of the party committee personally drew up plans, personally engaged in investigation and research and carried out guidance on a one-to-one basis, solving problems as they arose. Due to the serious attention of the party committee's leadership, and their personal supervision, the leaders of the various basic-level party organizations also took charge in a conscientious and down-to-earth manner, enabling this plant's program of education in party spirit, party practices, and party discipline to be launched, step by step, and to achieve remarkable results.

We must get a good grasp of the fundamentals, and do a good job of systematic, ideological education.

In order to engage in education in party spirit, party practices, and party discipline, the most important thing is to pay attention to ideological education. In this way, we will have gotten a good hold on what is fundamental. A good many units do it just this way. They organize party members in a systematic study of the "(Revised draft of the) Party Constitution," the "Principles," the "Resolutions," the "Decisions Regarding Serious Criminal Activities Attacking the Economic Sphere," the "Partial Exposition of Lenin and comrade Mao Zedong on the Subject of Opposing the Corruption and Deterioration of Communist Party Members," and relevant speeches of the Central Committee's leaders. At the same time, they systematically engage in party classroom education in accordance with the actual situation of party members. The party committee of the Mudanjiang Textile Plant, aiming specifically at problems generally existing among party members, taught six classes in "Conscientiously Resisting the Corrosive Influence of Capitalist Ideology," "The Firm Conviction That One Should Struggle to the Death for the Cause of Communism," and "Setting

Right the Relationship Between Individual Advantage and the Party's Advantage, and Implanting the Ideology of Serving the People with One's Whole Heart and Mind." The party members universally reported that this kind of study was really what they had been thirsting for, and that the more they studied, the more they enjoyed it. The main results were: 1) They came to understand clearly the importance, complexity, and long-term nature of the struggle against corruption, and strengthen their capacity for resisting the corrosive influence of capitalist ideology is all-pervasive and that one must be exceedingly careful to resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology and preserve the purity of communism. 2) Theoretically they understood why communism is the most excellent social system in human history and is the inevitable tendency of the development of human society; further strengthen their belief in the certain victory of communism, and felt that the four modernizations are something to work for and that communism is something to strive for. 3. They understood the basic aims of our party, and implanted in themselves the ideology of serving the people with their whole hearts and minds. A Communist Party member must keep four things in mind: he must remember to serve the people with his whole heart and mind his whole life; he must bear firmly in mind whether his position is high or low, he is still the servant of the people; he must remember that in any matter, he must not think of himself first; he must bear firmly in mind that he must constantly pay attention to changing his world view. 4. They acquired an understanding of the party's organizational principles, and strengthened their conception of organizational discipline. Communist Party members must observe the party's discipline at all times and places, and preserve the party's unity and maintain political unanimity with the party Central Committee. A good many party members said systematic education is laying a foundation that serves to get at the root of ideological problems, and is a good method for improving the political quality of party members.

Solving ideological problems must be related to actual conditions.

In the course of their education in party nature, party practices, and party discipline, a good many units integrated the actual situation among their party members, and launched programs involving the appraisal of party members. This is a thoroughgoing method of systematic ideological education. In order to integrate the actual situation, the party organization must have a good grasp of this "reality," and the individual party member must also have a clear grasp of his own "reality," since only in that way can one have a clear object in view. The general party branch of Sheng Lang Tree Farm in Yichun Municipality, in order to integrate the actual situation, did a good job of appraising party members, conferred with individual party members, and thereby, got a good grasp of the problems existing within the party generally as well as the principal problems of individual party members. Afterwards, heart-to-heart talks were organized on a broad scale, this created standards against which to measure themselves in appraisals. The general party branch, on the basis of having gained an understanding of party members through conferring with them, and through its heart-to-heart-talks, organized the party members into launching a program of "Three Standards to Measure Oneself Against and Three Things to Examine Oneself For," which are: Measure oneself against the conditions, rights, and duties of party members stipulated in the party constitution, and examine

oneself as to whether one's belief in the realization of the great ideal of communism is steadfast, whether one's belief in the basic aim of serving the people with one's whole heart and mind is firmly implanted, and whether one's implementation of the party's line, programs and policies since the Third Plenum is conscientious; measuring oneself against the time, since joining the party, in which one's spirit was at its best, examine oneself to see whether one's work drive is sufficient or whether one has backslided ideologically; measuring oneself against the advanced accomplishments of outstanding party members, examine oneself to see how far one's own ideology, work, and work practices are from measuring up to them. On the basis of this measuring and examination, they carried out the "five things to compare against and five things to look for," i.e., with respect to carrying out the party's line, programs, and policies, they compared to see who was the most conscientious; with respect to completing the tasks assigned by the party organization, they compared to see who was most outstanding; with respect to implementing the party's laws and regulations and observing party discipline, they compared to see who was most conscientious; with respect to being concerned over the sufferings of the people and planning for the people's advantage, they compared to see who was most outstanding; with respect to struggling against bad tendencies, they compared to see who was most resolute. A good many party members were very much moved by this and said that this program of measuring and appraisal was like cleaning and oiling watches and clocks, enabling us to get rid of our grease and dirt, truly solving the problem of enabling us to enter the party ideologically.

For leading cadres to take the lead in solving their own problems it is necessary to stress major points.

An important point of experience as to how some units were able to strengthen education in party spirit, party practices, and party discipline is that they took firm charge of the important issue of leading cadres, solving their own problems first thereby providing a good example for other party members. Though they themselves were the leaders of the educational program, they were also being educated, overcoming the notion that leading cadres are up to standard, they included themselves among those being educated. When the program of measuring and appraisal was first launched at Harbin Municipality's Cake and Confectionary Company, many party members had all kinds of ideological misgivings; some wanted to see whether or not the leaders were able to conscientiously engage in appraising themselves, and whether or not they could welcome others' criticism. Leading cadres at the party committee and branch level, in response to this feeling of the party members, took the lead in appraising themselves. Some leading members of party committees took the lead in examining themselves for having violated the party's principles, using their influence to secure advantages for their children, and arranging jobs for them; some leaders examined themselves for having used their position to secure personal advantage; and other leading comrades also conscientiously examined themselves with regard to their own behavior. The effect of these examples served as a silent appeal. In the entire commune over 470 party members separately, at branch conferences or party group conferences, discussed 1500 problems relating to party nature, party practices, and party discipline. Several party members reported that they had learned a great deal and were moved by this

education in party spirit, party practices, and party discipline. Comparing the situation at this commune before and after the education program, there was a great increase in the number of qualified party members, and a clear decrease in the number of unqualified party members. The party members' morale underwent a great change, with the exemplary vanguard role becoming more prominent.

9634
CSO: 4005/1280

PARTY AND STATE

GUANGXI LEADERS ADDRESS MEETING ON STUDYING PARTY DOCUMENTS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Oct 82 p 1

[Article by XINHUA correspondent from Nanning, dated 6 October: "Guangxi Strengthens Leadership Over the Study of Documents on the 12th Party Congres Congress"]

[Text] The Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Regional Party Committee has completed a survey of cadres and the masses throughout the region in connection with their study of documents on the 12th Party Congress. Following this survey, First Secretary Qiao Xiaoguang [0829 2556 0342], and Secretary Xiao Han [5135 1383] of the provincial party committee, have called for strengthening leadership over the study in the following two ways: First, different methods of guiding different students in different localities must be adopted as a step forward in mobilizing cadres and party members to study harder than ever; second, all students must be advised that their primary task is to study the documents continuously until they come to grips with their very essence of the documents can they implement them in a way that takes into account reality, and carry out policies and tasks set forth by the 12th Party Congress.

At present, the campaign to study documents on the 12th Party Congress is well underway throughout the autonomous region. In the course of leading this study campaign, party organizations at all levels have organized a vast number of cadres and people to pore over the documents conscientiously; they have also held study classes of all kinds aimed at training cadres who will form the backbone of the study and propaganda campaign. Leading cadres at all levels have also volunteered one after another to give lectures on this subject and related instructions. At a meeting recently held by the autonomous regional party committee to examine the study activities in various localities, Qiao Xiaoguang and Xiao Han unanimously pointed out, at present, efforts must be made to further stimulate the enthusiasm of cadres and party members for study.

Different methods must be adopted in response to the needs of different students, for the purpose of helping cadres and party members on all fronts achieve a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress. Office cadres must be encouraged to devote more time than officially scheduled to studying the documents. They must be

encouraged to devote more energy to studying the very essence of the documents. They must be advised to study the documents in conjunction with history, especially the history of the great transformation that has been accomplished since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, which will lead them to realize the great significance of the 12th Party Congress and to become more interested in studying its documents. Greater efforts must be made to help middle-aged and younger cadres study the essence of the documents in conjunction with the history of the party, comrades who know nothing about the history of the party, who are accustomed to categorizing problems in a dogmatic and simple way, and who are even inclined to confuse the positive historical experience with the negative historical experience, reach incorrect conclusions. Efforts must be made to help everyone study the documents in conjunction with the history of the party, especially the two historic transformations during the new democratic revolution and the great transformation that came after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. A review of this history will lead them to understand that as soon as the party corrects its mistakes and proceeds to produce the correct line, principles and policies, it will be able to open a new path for the triumphant development of the revolutionary cause and to make people work harder than ever on all fronts. Qiao Xiaoguang and Xiao Han emphasized that methods aimed at the specific needs of party members in the vast countryside must be adopted in order to help them study the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress successfully. A tour of Jinzhou Prefecture has led Xiao Han to understand that the matters of greatest concern to party members and basic level cadres in the countryside are the question of whether or not the party will change its policies again, what type of nation we are going to build, and whether we can achieve our intended strategic objective and initial prosperity by the end of this century. Methods of interpretation and study easily comprehensible to peasant-party members and welcomed by them must be adopted in order to help them understand such questions.

9574
CSO: 4005/46

PARTY AND STATE

MEASURES TAKEN TO ENHANCE STUDY OF PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 22 Sep 82 p 1

[Article by Cui Yunjiao [1508 0061 5754]: "Yongnian County Adopts Measures To Promote the Study of Party Congress Documents:]

[Text] Recently, the Yongnian County CPC Committee has made specific arrangements for cadres and people throughout the county to study the documents on the 12th Party Congress. In connection with such arrangements, it has also devoted attention to the execution of the following three tasks:

First, efforts have been made to form a leading group in order to guide the study of the documents on the 12th Party Congress. Under the leadership of Secretary Chang Huating [1603 5478 0080] and Deputy Secretary Bao Youku [2552 2589 1655] of the county party committee, the propaganda department and the general office of the county party committee, and party committees of county level organizations have formed a joint leading group responsible for the organization of a study campaign in the county.

Second, measures have been taken to organize a propaganda team. The county party committee has issued certificates to more than 210 political reporters, while party organizations at all levels have further defined the duties of propaganda commissioners, party branch teachers and basic level propagandists. The committee has also asked every production brigade to select one or two persons as communicators charged with the receipt and distribution of newspapers, journals, and letters. The communicators must also provide assistance in organizing newspaper reading groups.

Third, propaganda media and facilities have been put to good use. The party school of the county party committee will soon open classes aimed at training instructors who will form the backbone of a propaganda work force while the propaganda advisory stations of various communes and the spare-time party schools of various production brigades are ready to play an active role in organizing study groups composed of cadres and party members. The county has also repaired and restored to good use more than 150 television sets, and overhauled the entire broadcast system, thus creating a condition for cadres and the masses to study and disseminate the documents on the 12th Party Congress through television and radio media. Similar propaganda

measures have also been taken by various radio stations, cultural centers, theatrical troupes, movie film projecting teams, and various commune cultural stations. These propaganda measures have proved instrumental in raising the spirit of the people, and in inspiring them to strive for success in fulfilling the strategic objectives set forth by the 12th Party Congress.

9574
CSO: 4005/46

BRIEFS

STUDY PARTY DOCUMENTS--According to Gansu Ribao, the propaganda department of the Gansu Provincial Party Committee has appointed 236 comrades as reporters of the party in an effort to bring the current campaign to study and disseminate the documents on the 12th Party Congress to a successful conclusion. Among them are principal leading comrades on the provincial party committee and the standing committee of the provincial people's congress and in the provincial people's government, and responsible persons of various provincial level agencies and party committees of the institutions of higher learning. During the last few days, Feng Jixin [7458 4764 2450], first secretary of the provincial party committee; Governor Li Dengying [2621 4098 3467] and Vice Governor Ge Shiying [5514 1102 5391] of Gansu Province; Guo Hongchao [6753 3163 6389], deputy secretary of the provincial party committee; Li Bin [2621 1755], member of the standing committee of the provincial party committee, have briefed the masses on the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress during their visit to various provincial level agencies, the Lanzhou Chemical Company, and other units. Similar propaganda measures have been taken by reporters assigned by other departments. [Text] [Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Oct 82 p 1] 9574

CSO: 4005/46

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SIGNIFICANCE OF CENTRAL MILITARY COUNCIL EXPLAINED

'ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO' Comment

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 31 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Wang Zhao [3769 6392]: "The Significance of Setting Up the State Central Military Commission"]

[Text] Question: Since the founding of our state, the Military Commission set up by the party Central Committee has led our country's armed forces. Why is it that the revised draft constituion now changes this leadership to that of the Central Military Council set up by the PRC? What is the significance of this provision? Tang Xiaobo [3282 1420 3134], Nanjing

Answer: The provision in the revised draft constitution setting up the State Central Military Council is really one of the major changes in our country's constitutional system. In the past, according to a provision in the 1954 constitution, the chairman of the PRC commanded the countrys armed forces, and in the state structure the National Defense Commission was set up with the PRC chairman as its chairman. The Military Commission of the party Central Committee was always the party's leading organ for the armed forces. With the 10 years of turmoil in our country, beginning with the 1975 constitution, the position of PRC chairman was formally abolished, and the system was changed by a provision that the chairman of the CPC Central Committee would command the country's armed forces. On the basis of summing up over 30 years of history and experience, this revised draft constitution has a new provision. This provision contains three principal parts:

1. It defines the leadership system for our country's armed forces, stipulating that the Central Military Council set up by the PRC exercises leadership over the country's armed forces. This is a state organ that exercises special leadership by itself over our country's armed forces, and it changes the provision in the current constitution that gives the chairman of the party Central Committee command of the country's armed forces.

2. It defines the organizations and system of the leadership structure of our country's armed forces. It stipulates the practice by the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the chairman-responsibility system, that is to say, among the leadership organizations of our country's armed

forces, the practice of the leading cadre-responsibility system. The chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee has the final say regarding all important decisions made by the Central Military Council. Of course, according to the provision of the revised draft constitution, the Central Military Council is a body that exercises collective command over our country's armed forces. Its work method must be, on the basis of democratic discussion, to have its chairman put together the opinions of the majority of its members or the correct opinions and then to make the final decision. The significance of this is that the working system of the State Military Commission is a system that combines the leading cadre responsibility system with collective leadership.

3. It defines the organizational principles of State Central Military Council. Namely: the chairman of the Central Military Council is elected or recalled by the NPC; based on nominations by the chairman of the Central Military Council, the NPC decides who are to be the other members of the commission. The chairman of the Central Military Council is responsible to the NPC, and when the NPC is not in session, he is responsible to the NPC Standing Committee. The term of office of the chairman of the Central Military Council is 5 years and if reelected he can serve another term, but he cannot serve more than two consecutive terms.

The above-mentioned provision is an enormous change in our country's political system and in its armed forces. The provision is of extremely important significance, as follows:

First, the setting up of the Central Military Council in the state structure brings our country's armed forces into the state system and defines their role in this system. According to a basic principle of Marxism, the armed forces are an important component of the state apparatus. The Chinese PLA is the armed forces of the PRC. The constitution is the fundamental law of the land, and it should contain a clearcut provision about the PLA's nature, organization, and position in the system of the state structure. In the past, our country's constitutions, particularly the 1975 constitution, stipulated that the chairman of the CPC Central Committee commanded the country's armed forces. This stipulation mixed up the party's function and the state's function, and in particular it made ambiguous and vague the position of the leadership mechanism of our country's armed forces within the state apparatus, as if the armed forces were outside the state structure. The revised draft of the constitution changes this imprecise stipulation and further perfects the setup of our country's state structure and its system of leadership over the military forces.

Second, the setting up of the State Central Military Council is advantageous for strengthening the drive for revolutionizing, modernizing, and regularizing the armed forces. The revised draft constitution stipulates that the State Military Council is the commander of our country's armed forces. That is to say, it has the power to make policy concerning and to command our country's armed forces. The State Council and its directly subordinate ministries and commissions are responsible for the building up of the armed forces, such

as work concerning the equipment, establishment, and scientific research in the armed forces.

Third, the State Central Military Council practices the chairman-responsibility system. This system better meets the demands put on our country's armed forces for modernized military operations, and is advantageous for our army, when necessary, to change over swiftly to a wartime leadership system. Thus, it is advantageous for the requirements of our country's security and defense, making it possible for our country's military forces more effectively to deal with any aggressive war that might occur.

Fourth, the setting up by the state of the Central Military Council makes it clear that the armed forces are not outside the state, but are a people's armed forces that obey the state's interests and the leadership of the state organs of power. So, it is more advantageous for close unity between the army and government and between the army and people.

Will the leadership over the country's armed forces exercised by the Central Military Council set up by the state weaken the party's leadership over the armed forces? This worry is unnecessary. The party's leadership is the core of the four basic principles and is also an important principle stipulated by the constitution. The party's leadership, of course, includes its leadership over the armed forces. The stipulations of the revised draft constitution only bestow a state form on the armed forces leadership and avoid the malpractice of not distinguishing between whether it is under the party or state. The position of the Military Commission of the party Central Committee as the organ of military leadership does not change, and each specific system of leading the armed forces does not change. The stipulations of the revised draft constitution can only strengthen the party's leadership over the armed forces and will not weaken this leadership.

'GONGREN RIBAO' Comment

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Fang Ming [2455 2494]: "Question and Answer on the 'Revised Draft Constitution of the PRC'"]

[Text] Question: Why does the revised draft constitution stipulate the setting up of the Central Military Council? What is the important meaning of this?

Answer: The revised draft constitution, in its article "State Organs," sets up the Fourth "Central Military Council." This is an important reform for perfecting our country's state organs, particularly the organ of military command. It has the following important meanings:

First, the setting up of the Central Military Council within the state organs brings our country's armed forces into the state system and defines the position of the armed forces within this system. According to a basic principle of Marxism, the armed forces are an important component of the

state structure. The Chinese PLA is the armed forces of the PRC. The constitution is the fundamental law of the land, and it should clearly stipulate the PLA's nature, organization, and position within the system of state organs. In the past, our country's constitutions, particularly the 1975 constitution, stipulated that the chairman of the Military Council of the CPC Central Committee commanded the country's armed forces. This stipulation mixed up the functions of the party and state, and made ambiguous and vague the position of the leading organs of our country's armed forces within the state organs, as if the armed forces were outside the state apparatus. The revised draft constitution changed this imprecise stipulation and further perfected the setup of our country's state organs and the state's system of leadership over the military forces.

Second, the setting up of the Central Military Council is advantageous for strengthening the drive to revolutionize, modernize, and regularize the armed forces. The revised draft constitution stipulates that the Central Military Council is the commander of our country's armed forces. That is to say, it has the power to make policy for and command our country's armed forces. With regard to building up the armed forces in such aspects as the equipment, establishment, and scientific research work of the units, the State Council and its directly subordinate ministries and commissions have complete responsibility. This division of responsibility is highly advantageous for applying the state's forces to strengthen every part of the armed forces buildup, and thus is advantageous for realizing as fast as possible the revolutionization, modernization, and regularization of the armed forces.

Third, the Central Military Council practices the chairman-responsibility system. This system better meets the demands imposed by modernized military operations on our country's armed forces, and is advantageous for our army, when necessary, to switch to a wartime leadership system. Thus, it is advantageous for the requirements for our country's security and defense, and makes it possible for our country's military forces to cope with the possible occurrence of any war of aggression.

Fourth, the setting up by the state of the Central Military Council clearly shows that the armed forces are not a force outside the state but are the people's armed forces that obey the state's interests and the state organs of power. So, it is more advantageous to effecting close unity between the army and government and between the army and people.

Some comrades worry that the command exercised by the Central Military Council over the country's armed forces will weaken the party's leadership over the armed forces. This worry is unnecessary. The party's leadership is the core of the four basic principles upheld by our people and is also an important principle of the revised draft constitution. Party leadership, of course, includes leadership over the armed forces. The stipulations of the revised draft constitution only bestow a state form on the armed forces leadership and avoids the malpractice of not distinguishing between whether it is under the party or state. The stipulations of the revised draft constitution can only strengthen the party's leadership over the armed forces and will not weaken this leadership.

9727
CSO: 4005/1250

PLA GUARDS STRATEGIC ZHONGJIAN ISLAND IN SOUTH SEA

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 8, Aug 82 p 22

[Article by Hu Baoyu [5170 1405 3768]: "Unsinkable Warship--Zhongjian Island"]

[Text] From a map one can see: the Xisha Islands, like unsinkable warships, form a natural protective screen in the South Sea for the motherland and Zhongjian Island is the warship at this fleet's front. The area of the whole island is less than 2 square kilometers. Here, in midsummer the temperature is sometimes as high as 40 degrees centigrade. The damp sea wind leaves spots of rust on some electroplated metals and many fighters have contacted rheumarthritis. On the island there are very few fresh vegetables. In order to resolve this difficulty, the officers and men, besides bringing in fresh vegetables from large islands, have set about planting vegetables themselves in order to make up for this insufficiency.

Life is hard on Zhongjian Island, but the fighters guarding it do not want to leave. Some comrades who are to be rotated time after time entreat their leaders: "Let me stay 1 or 2 years more. I hate to leave this place...." When signalman Hu Aiguo [5170 1947 0948] was about to leave the service, at a farewell meeting he, with tears in his eyes, represented the veteran fighters by exhorting his comrades in arms remaining on the island: "I leave you with an exceptionally heavy responsibility. You must guard and build up this island well! The island is damp, so don't forget to clean your weapons and equipment regularly. When a typhoon comes, don't forget to protect well our small trees and vegetable plots...." Wang Aigong [3769 1947 1562], a radio operator from Beijing, before leaving cleaned his apparatus again and again and watered his saplings time after time....

Why does a tiny island like Zhongjian exert such great fascination on our fighters? The fighters said: "Because we are sentries on the South Sea of the motherland!" That's right, Zhongjian Island occupies an important strategic position. It is no more than a few hours' voyage from Danang and Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam, and warships of the big and little hegemonists regularly haunt nearby waters. The fighters guarding the island are highly conscious of the responsibility they bear. They say: "Although Zhongjian Island is small, its strategic position is important. Although life on Zhongjian Island is hard, it is the motherland's territory. The people of the motherland want us to stand sentry here. We definitely cannot let the aggressors set one foot on it and cannot let enemies seize even one handful of sand on the island!"

9727
CSO: 4005/1273

CENTER ON SOUTH SEA REFORMS WARSHIP TRAINING

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 7, Jul 82 pp 28-31

[Article by Jiang Binghe [1203 0365 0735] et al: "Warship Training Reform"]

[Text] On the shore of the motherland's South Sea there is what is called a "naval school" for the regularized training of warships--a warship training center.

Not long ago, we went to this training center to gather material for a story. Briefing us, the leading comrade said that in the past there existed this problem in training warship units: the same type of warship was attached to different units, and because the training content, demands, and methods were different it was very difficult to meet the requirements for future coordinated naval operations. The warship training center was set up to solve this problem.

Members of the leading group of the training center, by not being distracted by having to take care of administrative affairs, were able to study wholeheartedly the problems in training, not only personally teaching class but also accompanying ships out to sea, and on discovering problems they promptly solved them. The warships participating in the training were able systematically and completely to carry out training according to the training outline, thereby solving fairly well the problem of "skipped training" and "limited training" that appears frequently in training. The vast majority of professional cadres at the training center have many years of practical experience and are qualified for specialized teaching at their own level. In the training center, there are unified management and centralized use of equipment and materiel, so that not only is the utilization rate raised but the supply of training requirements is guaranteed.

Although the warship training center was set up not long ago, it has already displayed its superiority in concentrating the leaders' energy, the training time, and the technical forces. Submarine 299, which took part in the first training session, took only 10 months' time to complete all the training topics. After returning to its unit, it carried out a long-voyage mission in which it sailed safely for over 3,000 nautical miles, for which

it was commended by the navy's leading organization. Several warships that took part in the second training session, after returning to their units, immediately plunged into a naval exercise and satisfactorily completed their missions. This year, the training center, on the basis of the training reform of the year before last, compiled "Warship Training Standards," which, for training content, time, and method of every topic, stipulated extremely specific, systematic, and complete standards, so that the topics gradually became regularized. Several captains of submarine chasers said with emotion: "We've been ship captains for many years, but this is the first time we have trained according to such a systematic outline and content."

We covered the story and took pictures. Look at those warships with their guns trained high and displaying a majestic, vigorous appearance--aren't they precisely a symbol of how well they are thriving after the warship training reform?!

Photo Captions [photos not reproduced]

1. Signalman Liang Hezong [2733 0678 5539] of Escort Vessel 529 took individual first place in a test of his speciality.

2. Cadets drill in quickly taking their battle stations on a landing ship, thereby fostering a good combat style.

3. Feng Zanshu [7458 6363 2873], deputy director of the training center, with seamen training at sea looks for new ways to reform training.

4. Submarine chaser tested in mooring water drum training.

5. Communications section chief Yin Ruqing [1438 0320 1987] (third from left) uses warship model to illustrate his teaching graphically.

6. In the leak-plugging test, the electromechanical team of Submarine Chaser 674 moves accurately and quickly, taking collective first place.

7. On a practice voyage at sea, they become familiar with the harbors and anchorages in their sea area.

8. Submarine Chaser 675 drills in attacking submarines by launching depth charges.

9727
CSO: 4005/1273

LANZHOU UNITS DEVELOP GROUND ARTILLERY RANGE FINDER

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 7, Jul 82 p 40

[Article by Deng Daju [6772 6671 5281] et al: "Ground Artillery Laser Range Finder"]

[Text] A certain technical key task team of the Lanzhou Units, with the assistance of the Laser Research Institute of Shandong Province, has successfully developed a ground artillery laser range finder. It has many uses (besides measuring distance, azimuth, and line of sight, it can be used on the Model 58 steering wheel). It possesses the advantages of being highly accurate (within a range of 100-5,000 meters, its range-finding error does not exceed 2.5 meters and its angle-measuring error does not exceed 2 miles), small in bulk, convenient to operate, and low in manufacturing cost. The Lanzhou units have given it a third class merit award for scientific and technological achievements.

Photo Captions [photos not reproduced]

1. Full view of the ground artillery laser range finder.

2. Reconnaissance fendui using the laser range finder.

9727
CSO: 4005/1273

AIR FORCE REGIMENT CHALKS UP FINE COMBAT, TRAINING RECORD

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 8, Aug 82 pp 30-33

[Article by Wang Zhewei [3769 0772 0251] et al: "Flight Path--Stretching High Into the Clouds"]

> [Text] In the blue sky rises with force a pair of steel wings,
>
> Into the high clouds flashes a fighter's flight path....

In the heroic ranks of the People's Air Force, there is this kind of air regiment: for over 30 years, from liberating the first river, mountain, and island, from taking part in the hydrogen bomb test, and from defending coastal outposts down to being charged with the defense of the national territory, they have outstandingly completed every combat mission, adding glory to the "August First" red star and in 10,000 li of blue sky leaving their flashing flight paths.

Turning over the pages in this regiment's glorious annals, these earth shaking military exploits unfold before our eyes: on 9 January 1966, former dadui commander Li Chunguang [2621 4783 0342] and zhongdui deputy commander Hu Yingfa [5170 5391 3127] bravely and resourcefully waged an aerial dogfight with a U.S.-made Chiang HV-16 seaplane, fighting from 500 meters above the sea surface to only 20 meters above it, and in the end giving the enemy plane a watery grave; on 13 January 1967, pilot Hu Shougen [5170 1108 2704], in concert with his comrades in arms Chen Guoliang [7115 0948 5328] and Ye Muzuo [5509 2606 0146], flying an airplane with inferior equipment, at one burst blew up a U.S.-made Chiang F-104 new-type plane flying high in the sky; and in 1967, when a spy balloon floated over the northwest part of our country, Sun Jingbo [1327 2529 3134], who was on combat duty, was ordered to attack it and he shot it down at an altitude of over 10,000 meters. Tempered by combat, a dauntless contingent, which "gets moving, strikes accurately, understands tactics, and takes command," has been developed.

In recent years, proceeding from the characteristics of modern air warfare and basing themselves on the equipment at hand, the members of this regiment have repeatedly studied the tactics of confrontation between air forces, so

that the brave and indomitable combat style has been carried on and developed. During an inspection competition held by the air force, in which it set six events in line with the demands of actual warfare, they took three first places, two second places, and three third places. Many young pilots have earnestly read relevant materials, have assiduously studied tactics and techniques, and have become pathbreakers in the vast sky. Ding Laihang [0002 0171 2635], 23 years old and a new pilot, humbly requested instruction from veteran comrades after which he found a new set of firing methods. During a straight-line firing competition, he flew a high speed fighter plane and with 16 out of 30 rounds hit an aerial target 10 meters long and 1.5 meters wide, taking first place in the entire division. Zhongdui commander Chen Xiaoming [7115 2556 2494] is as brave as a bearcat. He practices the excellent technique of minimum altitude flying and, in reconnaissance training often takes the "enemy" by surprise by boring into his underbelly. Dadui deputy commander Long Sanfan [7883 0005 0416], when curve-firing at an aerial target, hit the target with all 30 rounds of shells, taking first place in the air force. Not long ago, a high-level organization tested this regiment in the techniques of minimum altitude attacks with cannons and missiles against fighters and bombers. In the whole regiment 100 percent of the first rounds hit the target and the total results were excellent.

Just when we had finished our news-gathering visit to this regiment, a formation of eight planes roared over the airfield. Looking at this orderly formation with its powerful momentum, our hearts flew with the "fighting eagles" along their flight path high into the clouds.

Photo Captions [photos not reproduced]

1. In pairs the planes take off with a roar, the lead plane and the wing plane in close coordination, fully displaying their aerial command superiority.

2. With modernized equipment, the airfield control tower monitors the situation on the takeoff line, landing line, and refueling line, making the flight training orderly and methodical.

3. A young pilot, adept in skills and flexible in tactics, firmly grasps the initiative in the air.

4. In organizing aircraft for tactical patrols in a defense area, each flight crew has an attack and a cover mission, with a clear division of tasks, and the battle formations fly in neat order.

5. Pilot Ding Laihang says: In aerial combat, one must be flexible in tactics and decisive in dealing with situations. When attacking bombers, the other side's firepower is strong and it is difficult to get close to the target. One cannot be hesitant and slow and thus bungle the chance of winning the battle. Below is a recorded photograph of an attack on a bomber.

6. Regimental commander Liao Xiaojiang [1675 2556 3068] says: If you know the enemy and know yourself, you can fight a hundred battles with no danger of defeat. The present techniques employed by foreign air forces in attacking armed helicopters are worthy of our study. A helicopter flies at low altitudes, its speed is slow, its movements are flexible, and it is easy to hide. A fighter plane is just the opposite. This requires that a pilot attack, aim, and hit it fast, making use of his strong points to attack the enemy's weak points. Below is a recorded photograph of an attack on a helicopter.

7. Zhongdui commander Chen Xiaoming says: Modern warfare demands that a pilot be versatile, striking both in the air and at the ground. When firing at the ground, he must lock on his target fast, control his angle accurately, aim and fire steadily, and alter the trajectory of his shells with precision. All of this must be done in an extremely short time. Below is a recorded photograph of an attack on a ground target.

9727
CSO: 4005/1273

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

TRAINING EXERCISE BY ROCKET LAUNCHER BATTALION DESCRIBED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Xu Fangming [6079 2455 2494] et al: "We Praise You Warriors Who Have Mastered the Marvelous Armored Rocket Launcher!"]

[Text] Comrades, perhaps you have seen the documentary film "Rising Up in Counterattack!" In that film you would see the magnificent scene in which flame-spurting rocket projectiles fly toward the enemy hordes, but do you know how our officers and men mastered these marvelous armored rocket launchers? If you still don't understand, please observe a combat-training exercise conducted by a rocket launcher battalion of a certain unit! From it you can see not only the tremendous power of this marvellous armored rocket launcher but also the wholehearted devotion of the officers and men who defend the motherland.

One day before dawn a fine rain was falling hard.

Whoosh! Whoosh! Whoosh! Three red signal flares soared high into the sky at a certain place in Yuhai. Instantly, heavily camoflaughed armored rocket launcher vehicles with a rumble headed at full speed for their assigned target. This was the self-propelled rocket launcher battalion of a certain unit attached to a certain tank regiment charged with the combat mission of attacking enemy field defenses. The higher level had ordered them to go within 20 minutes to the rear of Huanggu Mountain, 18 li away, set up an artillery position there, and then carry out preparatory fire in salvos for an attack by tank forces.

The rain fell without letup and visibility was poor. As a precaution against air raids, the battalion drove without lights. In front of them were mountain ridges and the road was rough and uneven. Driving fast in front was the command car of 1st Company commander Zhao Naisong [6392 0035 2646]. With his head sticking out of the car's windown, he kept a close watch on the road. Suddenly he could faintly see a black shadow ahead. Company commander Zhao immediately ordered his driver to stop the car. He jumped out of the car and took a look: a two-meter-wide deep ditch had been dug by the "enemy" across the road. He immediately reported to the battalion command car:

"Mighty Eagle, this is Fierce Tiger. A ditch about two meters wide blocks the board. What shall we do?"

"Continue forward, drive through it fast!"

"Yes, sir."

The command car approached the ditch and with a roar dashed across it. One by one the vehicles following it dashed across the ditch.

By a hard and difficult rapid march, the battalion had used only 18 minutes to reach its artillery position. Here the terrain was low lying and, coupled with the fact that the weather had been overcast and rainy for days on end, mud was quite deep, which would create difficulties in accurately firing the rocket launchers. Just as each company commander was studying emergency measures, an urgent message came from the forward command post: "The battle at Huya Mountain is extremely fierce, and with frenzied firepower the 'enemy' has stopped our tank assault. Your battalion's rocket launchers must take up their launch position in 5 minutes' time and with fierce fire neutralize the 'enemy' in support of our infantry and tank assault." Battalion commander Chen Maofa [7115 5399 3127] excitedly waved his hand and said: "Comrades! We must overcome our difficulties and race against time to prepare to fire!"

The battalion commander had hardly finished speaking when his officers and men put their feet in the mud, grabbed shovels, and dug level launcher beds so that each armored launcher vehicle rested steadily in the mud. Closely on the heels of this, the turrets of the self-propelled rocket launchers on the armored vehicles rose gradually until they were tilted high, presenting a formidable appearance. On the ground below the vehicles some of the loaders were cleaning projectiles, some were linking up fuses, and some were carrying projectiles. Beads of sweat oozed from their foreheads, but no one was willing to take even a little break. He Jinlong [0149 6855 7893], loader for launcher No 4 of the 2d Company, who used to be an outstanding aimer, said: "To do our duty we must set our minds at ease and make first-rate achievements in whatever work we do." Since becoming a loader he has studied diligently and trained hard, and he can now lift up, without a break, over 120 projectiles, each weighing over 60 jin. In a contest of physical prowess, he broke two of the unit's records for the artilleryman specialty. This time, for every one projectile carried at a time by others he carried two at a time. When loading, he and his comrades in arms coordinated to finish loading 19 projectiles in 40 seconds, producing excellent results.

The launcher chief and the aimer are the key to the fulfillment of an individual launcher's firing mission, and they must have quick reactions and be accurate and fast in making calculations. In charge of the standard launcher in this battle was Zhang Jin [1728 6651], chief of Launcher Vehicle No 1 of the 2d Company, who joined the army in 1977 from Hai'an County and has always been a pacesetter. Not long ago, in a competitive test of his specialty, in 61 seconds he broke his unit's highest record in accurately "receiving, recording, and executing" six sets of commands. Now, calmly and decisively he, in a loud and clear voice, repeated the commands sent from the position's command post. At his side the aimer, following his commands, operated the directional mechanism and the elevation mechanism....

At 630 in the morning, the forward command post made an urgent call: "Request artillery fire support!" Battalion commander Chen's pent-up energy erupted: "Battalion attention, fire!" At the command, the rocket projectiles left their tubes and, like several hundreds of fiery dragons sweeping across the vast sky, flew as swift as wind and quick as lightning toward the "enemy" position 6,000 meters away. Boom! Boom! Boom! The earth shook and Huya Mountain immediately became a sea of fire, the "enemy" position was completely destroyed, and a way was opened for the victorious advance of our tank forces.

The sound of the launchers stopped, motors rumbled, several tens of turrets in unison sank back into the interior of the armed launcher vehicles, which swiftly left their position and headed for a new target.

9727
CSO: 5006/1203

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

MILITARYMEN TRAINED IN CORRECT UNDERSTANDING OF OPEN-DOOR POLICY

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Zhu Xiangzhong [2612 3276 1813]: "A Deeper Understanding of the Party's Open-Door Policy"]

[Text] Comrades of a certain military unit stationed here who took part in a philosophy training class concerning the party's open-door policy, by studying and applying Comrade Mao Zedong's views on philosophy to answer and resolve current actual ideological questions, have further unified their understanding of the party's open-door policy.

By studying and applying the viewpoints with a universal relation to affairs, they recognized the historical necessity of practicing the open-door policy. Everybody studied the viewpoints with universal relation to affairs in "On Contradiction" and studied in "On Protracted War" how the Chinese-Japanese war was put into a specific historical context and the scientific method of objective overall viewpoints coupled with investigation was adopted. From the integration of the entirety of international economic relationships, they saw that practicing the open-door policy is an inevitable trend that suits the development of socialized production. From the condition of our country, they saw that practicing the open-door policy is an urgent requirement for speeding up the four modernizations. From the course of the historical development of the Chinese nation, they saw that practicing the open-door policy conforms to the necessity of the historical development of China's society and economy. A student of the certain unit, Li Deyu [2621 1795 0151], said that development of the social nature of production up to the present day is making the integration and contacts of the international economy more and more wide-ranging and close. Practicing the open-door policy is a universal experience of advanced countries that have realized modernization. Our country is a country engaged in the construction of modernization in the eighties decade of the 20th century, and practicing the open-door policy totally meets the objective demand for the development of our country's socialist economy.

By studying and applying the viewpoing that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth, one will understand the correctness of the open-door policy. At the beginning, some comrades saw that in the process of "opening the door" some problems appeared, and they came to the conclusion that "its disadvantages outweighed its advantages." Focusing on this situation, the training

class first of all introduced to everybody actual materials relating to the open-door policy, leading everybody to discuss the problem of how to grasp correctly the practice criterion, so that everybody came to understand that practicing the open-door policy promotes production, invigorates the economy, expands employment, increases foreign exchange payments, and supplements the insufficiencies in funds for internal construction. Practice has already proved and will continue to prove that carrying out the open-door policy benefits the country and the people and is totally correct. In the past, owing to the "leftist" influence, it was mistakenly thought that we should struggle in isolation, acting independently and with self-reliance, and that foreign assistance was not wanted; and it was mistakenly thought that doing business with capitalist countries was the expression of a slavish comprador/philosophy that worshipped and had blind faith in foreign things. If this bias is not oversome, one cannot correctly understand the open-door policy. Now is the time to cast aside the old viewpoint of closing the country to international intercourse and to put in its place the new idea of opening the door to international intercourse.

By studying and applying the dialectics of the unity and struggle between contradictions, one understands that an important guarantee for correctly carrying out the open-door policy is the implementation of the principle of "both contacts and struggle." Zhang Chongyan [1728 1504 1484], a student of the unit, said that, in the history of our party, Comrade Mao Zedong, based on the dialectics of the unity of and struggle between contradictions, formulated the correct tactic of setting up the united front in which both unity and struggle were carried out, and thereby led the revolution to victory. Today, the party Central Committee, in practicing the open-door policy, is putting forward the dual tactic of carrying out both contacts and struggle. This is the correct application of the scientific tenet of materialist dialectics of grasping struggle amid unity and grasping unity amid struggle, and it is the correct principle for insuring the healthy development of the open-door policy. Integrating their own ideological reality with that of their units, many comrades said: For us, the key to implementing the policy of "both contacts and struggle" is to raise the capacity to resist corrosion and guard against political change. To oppose corrosion we must, be grasping "quantitative change," consciously check erroneous ideas at the outset and firmly grasp the initiative. We must launch on a wide scale the activities to build socialist spiritual civilization, let communist ideology occupy the ideological and cultural positions, and take the lead in being clear-headed, steadfast revolutionaries.

9727
CSO: 4005/1203

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

QUESTIONS, ANSWERS ON VIOLATORS OF PLANNED PARENTHOOD

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by Office of Planned Parenthood: "What Punishment Should be Given to Those Who Violate Planned Parenthood?—Questions and Answers Concerning Planned Parenthood, No 4"]

[Text] Comrade Editor: There are a few people here who are not putting planned parenthood into practice. Some people have received their single child certificate and then have given birth to a second child. What economic sanctions should be applied to these people? Ka Qisheng, Pucheng.

Comrade Ka Qisheng: The required economic sanctions should be applied to those who violate planned parenthood and they should be ordered to take strict birth control measures.

1. The medicine and welfare allowances enjoyed by those who give birth in accordance with regulations should be canceled in the cases of cadres and staff and workers of organizations and business enterprises who give birth to a second child outside of the plan. Both parties will have their wages adjusted, from 5 to 10 percent of the wages of each party will be deducted each month until the 14th anniversary of the birth. The deductions can be made one time or periodically. At the same time, they cannot enjoy financial difficulty assistance and child care assistance. They must also put birth control procedures into practice.

2. Residents of cities and towns who give birth to a second child outside the plan are to be assessed a social rearing fee of 500 to 800 yuan. This can be paid at one time or in installments. They must also put birth control procedures into practice. During the first ten years of the child's life, its grain and oil rations will be supplied at negotiated prices.

3. Residents of rural communes who give birth to a second child outside the plan cannot be assigned special responsibility plots, private plots, mountain areas for private use, beaches for private use and fruits for private use. In addition, their family contracted production quotas cannot be increased. After they have given birth to their second child, they must put birth control procedures into practice and they must not give birth to a third child.

Those who give birth to three or more children, in addition to being treated as described above, must also give back a portion of their special responsibility plots, private plots, mountain areas for private use, beaches for private use and fruits for private use. At the same time, they will also be assessed food and social rearing fees.

4. Married couples who have received their only child certificate and who give birth to a second child (except in the case in which the only child has died) will be punished for giving birth outside the plan. In addition, the child health fees and various types of allowances and awards that have been issued will be recovered. If a child cannot grow up to be a normal member of the labor force because of disability, then birth can be given to a second child upon receipt of approval to do so with only the only child certificate being withdrawn.

10019
CSO: 4005/1278

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CADRES OF MINORITY NATIONALITIES IN QINGHAI SELECTED AS LEADERS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Aug 82 p 4

[Article: "Many Minority Nationality Cadres in Qinghai Are Becoming Leaders--Training and Selecting Minority Nationality Cadres Becomes an Important Aspect of Building the Party"]

[Excerpt] Report by reporters Yu Weihai [0205 0143 3189] and Dang Zhou [7825 0719]: In recent years, the Qinghai CPC Committee has integrated training and selection of minority nationality Party cadres, with many minority nationality Party cadres assuming leadership posts at all levels. This has promoted the development of various reconstruction undertakings in minority nationality regions. At present, there are five minority nationality cadres who are on the standing committee of the Provincial CPC Committee and four are vice-governors in the provincial government. There are also close to 30 persons who have assumed leadership duties in the Provincial CPC Committee and provincial government departments and offices (bureaus). In Qinghai Province, there are six autonomous prefecture, one city, one autonomous region. In the six autonomous prefectures in which the minority nationalities live in compact communities, there are 5 minority nationality cadres who have been promoted and selected to serve as prefectural committee secretaries and there are six who have been appointed as prefectural magistrates. In the 29 counties under prefectural jurisdiction and the 3 autonomous counties, 26 minority nationality cadres have been appointed as county CPC committee secretaries and 32 have been appointed as county magistrates. These comrades have an intimate knowledge of conditions in their regions and have wide-ranging and close relationships with the masses so that, in their leadership posts, they can take charge of their localities and thoroughly bring their leadership functions into play.

Qinghai Province is a region in which many minority nationalities live in compact communities, with such minority nationalities as the Zang, the Hui, the Monggol, the Tu, the Salar and the Kazak accounting for 38 percent of the total population of the province. Since the Third Plenary Session of the Party, the Qinghai CPC Committee has considered training and selection of minority nationality Party cadres to be an important aspect of Party building and has considered it to be a major factor in fully implementing the Party's policies on minority nationalities. When minority nationality Party cadres

are selected, attention is given to actual conditions. At the same time that emphasis is placed on doing things in a revolutionary way, having younger cadres, having cadres with more knowledge and having cadres with specialized knowledge, we should also boldly select for leadership work posts at all levels those minority nationality cadres who support the line and specific and general policies of the Third Pleanary Session of the Party, who uphold the four basic principles, whose ideology and work style are orthodox, who have a definite capacity for work and high prestige and who uphold, support and strengthen minority group solidarity.

10019
CSO: 4006/1278

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FORTY-ONE FROGMEN PASS TESTS IN SHANGHAI

Shanghai WENHUIBAO in Chinese 27 Jul 82 p 2

[Article: "Forty-One Frogmen Obtain Their Certificates in This City—Ministry of Communications Institutes Examination System for Frogmen"]

[Text] Forty-one frogmen were tested in this city and obtained their frogmen certificates issued by the Ministry of Communications the day before yesterday.

In recent years, there has been a rapid development of our nation's frogmen corps and there has been continuous improvement in the level of diving work. In order further to meet the demands of marine development projects and in order to further expand our international commercial underwater services, the Ministry of Communications decided to institute an examination system for frogmen. Last year, the Ministry formulated a provisional method for testing frogmen and issuing certificates and established the Frogmen Examination Committee. On the basis of the resolution by the Ministry of Communications, the Shanghai Rescue and Salvage Bureau carried out training of frogmen from the Yantai, Shanghai and Guangzhou Rescue and Salvage Bureaus. It organized eight courses for the frogmen to train them in diving techniques and for study of diving theory, diving medicine, English diving terminology and current events and politics. The first and second training groups have already been completed.

10019
CSO: 4005/1278

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

APPRAISAL OF FOREIGN CULTURE URGED

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 12 Aug 82 p 4

[Article by Ai Qing [5337 7230]: "Foreign Culture Must be Analyzed and Appraised"]

[Text] The Chinese people not only cherish their own national culture, at the same time they also have a high regard for the cultures created by the people of other nations. The Chinese people are happy to and are adept at carrying on cultural exchanges with other nations and at further enriching and developing their own culture through exchanges.

Historically, we have entered the eighties of the 20th century. Science and technology have made it possible to transmit information that used to require days or even months for transmission instantaneously from one corner to another corner of the world. The large scale and rapidity of cultural exchanges among nations today are unprecedented. Even though this is the case, we must still have a basic standpoint in regard to the basic questions of maintaining and developing the characteristics of our own culture and of preventing assimilation (internationalization).

The formation of a national culture is determined by such factors as history, geography, economics and aesthetic viewpoints. Each nation should treasure its own cultural tradition. The conditions for developing a new national culture and raising the self-confidence of the nation are to put the ancient culture in order, to absorb the essence of its democratic character and to eliminate its feudalistic dross.

In order to develop one's national culture, it is necessary to absorb all progressive and healthy things from foreign cultures. We should make every effort to absorb progressive foreign culture for the purposes of reference. However, we must not apply it indiscriminately and blindly. Rather, we should conditionally absorb progressive cultures of all nations on the foundation of the Chinese cultural tradition.

China is a nation with a long history of poetry and poetry has always occupied a position of legitimate literature. However, during the long period of the development of poetry, there gradually developed a body of very strict rules and forms of composition. These forms hampered people's thinking and artistic creativity.

China's anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary movement, and the "May 4th" movement of 1919 in particular, shook the foundations of the old culture that had existed for several thousands of years, with a new, modern Chinese literature being produced out of this cultural revolution. A new Chinese poetry appeared that took the place of the classical poetry with its strict rules and forms.

Under the impact of various foreign schools, the new, modern Chinese poetry has broken the rules and forms of classical poetry, respecting free creation and using everyday language. In terms of technique, it is comparatively diverse and can reflect actual life more broadly. For this reason, the masses like it, this is natural. Without doubt, our poetry is being enriched and developed on the foundation of our nation's poetic tradition.

To be sure, accepting foreign influences and the new literary forms of immigrants cannot be determined artificially following one's own inclinations. Only those things that fit the needs of the nation can take root in the soil of our national culture and blossom to become fragrant flowers in the realm of our national art and literature.

Mutual influence among cultures is a complex and diverse phenomenon like jumbling together fish and dragons. For this reason, we must analyze and appraise foreign culture, chewing it over and digesting it. We cannot rigidly import and copy it uncritically. We cannot forget the cultural aggression that colonialism has waged againist us. In the world at present there is a great discussion about the pollution that industrialization has brought with it. We cannot forget that there is similarly pollution in terms of culture. Some western nations have exported large quantities of literary works and moving pictures propagating sex and violence and abnormal music and pictures that are poisoning the minds of the young. It is in this that lies the conflict between exclusion and absorption.

As we stated previously, the growth and development of the culture of the Chinese people cannot be separated from active influences of foreign cultures. From this, the following can be concluded. Even at the present time at which there is a high degree of development of science and technology, interaction among cultures has reached an unprecedented level. Thus, we must follow the principle of critical absorption and resistance of that which is corrupting. Tea leaves and coffee can exist together but opium and marijuana must be prohibited. Science and superstition must be differentiated. On the basis of these principles, all nations will be able to create even more brilliant and magnificent national cultures and in the course of increasingly closer cultural exchanges the characteristics of each national culture will bring mutual benefit to each culture as each adopts good points and makes up for shortcomings.

(Excerpted from the author's address at the "Asian Writers Conference." The title was supplied by the editors of this newspapers.)

10019
CSO: 4005/1278

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

JINAN MUSLIMS WELCOME 12TH PARTY CONGRESS

Jinan DAZHING RIBAO in Chinese 12 Aug 82 p 1

[Article: "Our Hui Nationality Compatriots and Islam Imams in Jinan City Have Studied and Discussed the Communique on Implementing a Good Minority Nationality Religions Policy and Welcome the 12th Party Conference"]

[Text] After studying the communique of the Party's Seventh Plenary Session, our numerous Hui nationality compatriots and the Muslims in Jinan City were excited and inspired by it, resolving to welcome the convening of the 12th Party Congress with concrete actions.

On the morning of 7 August, the imams of the various mosques, some of the members of the editorial staffs of the city nationality magazines and working personnel of the Mosque Management Committee assembled at the Nanda Mosque and conscientiously studied and discussed the communique of the Seventh Plenary Session. The Vice-Chairman of the Provincial Islamic Association, Imam Ma Degui [7456 1795 6311] said that the Seventh Plenary Session had made the resolution to convene the 12th Party Congress on 1 September. This major resolution is completely in keeping with the requirements of socialist modernization and reconstruction, fully reflects the common wishes of all nationalities throughout the nation and has the wholehearted support of the numerous members of the Hui nationality group and the Muslims. Provincial government CPC committeeman and Imam Zhang Fukui [1728 4395 7608] said that since the Party's Third Plenary Session great victories have been attained in the fields of economics, politics and culture in our nation and the complete correctness of the Party's line and general and specific policies has been demonstrated. In recent years, the Party and the government have actively supported and assisted the minority nationalities in expanding production and have expended large sums to repair, maintain and open mosques. These are vivid expressions of the sincere concern of the Party and government for minority peoples and of implementation of minority nationality religious policies. When the 12th Party Congress is convened, we should indeed thoroughly study each document, further implement the Party's policies on minority nationality religions and make new accomplishments in each of our own posts. Imam Li Zhaoxing [2621 0340 5281] said that after he had studied the letter of greeting from the plenary session to comrades Liu Bocheng [0491 0130 2110] and Cai Chang [5591 2545], he had received great encouragement

and education. The older generation of proletarian revolutionaries made great contributions during the revolution and in reconstruction. They are good examples for all of our nationalities and peoples to study. We extend our wholehearted wishes to these two veterans of the revolution for health and long life.

During the course of study and discussion, everyone agreed that we must further assist the Party and government in implementing a good policy toward minority nationality religions, strengthen the great solidarity among the nationalities, make a concerted effort to do a good job of building a socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization and welcome the 12th Party Congress with concrete actions.

10019
CSO: 4005/1278

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FIRST GROUP OF DOCTORATE, MASTER DEGREES AWARDED

Beijing GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [Higher Education Front] in Chinese No 1, 82, 13 Jan 1982 p 14

[Article: "Statistics on the First Group of Doctorate and Masters Degrees Awarded in This Country"]

[Text]

(1) Units awarding the first goup of doctorates	151 units
Academic departments and specializations of the units awarding doctorates	812
Teachers able to guide doctoral candidates	1,155 persons
Units awarding the first group of masters degrees	358 units
Academic departments and specializations of the units awarding masters degrees	3,185

(2) Of the academic departments and specializations of the units awarding doctorates, 75 percent were colleges and universities and 25 percent were scientific research facilities. Of the teachers able to guide doctoral candidates, 69.9 percent were in colleges and universities and 30.1 percent were in scientific research facilities.

Of the academic departments and specializations of the units awarding masters degrees, 84.2 percent were colleges and universities and 15.8 percent were scientific research facilities.

(3) Of the academic departments and specializations of the units awarding doctorates in colleges and universities, 87.5 percent were key institutions of higher learning and 12.5 percent were general schools. Of the academic departments and specializations of the units awarding masters degrees in colleges and universitites, 64.1 percent were key institutions of higher learning and 35.9 percent were general schools.

10019
CSO: 4005/1278

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

TENDENCY OF WRITERS TO FEEL SUPERIOR IS DECRIED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN WENYI [LIBERATION ARMY LITERATURE AND ART] in Chinese No 7, 82, Jul 82 pp 100-101

[Article by Fan Bing [0416 1456]: "Three Notes for Writers To Study"]

[Text] Beware of the Tendency "The Party Member is Unimportant; the Writer Is Important

Party literature and art workers should first of all be ordinary party members and then be "cultural workers"--this is a problem which embodies the important principle that literature should be "party literature."

Looking back on the ranks of literature and art over the past few years, there has been a tendency to feel that "party members are unimportant, whereas writers are important." For example, some artists who are party members have publicly stated that by nature, literature and art "is not something that any party, faction, organization, or party branch can control" From the highest party organization down to the party branch, nothing can control literature and art and the writer. Isn't this "the party member is unimportant, whereas the writer is important"? Among some young party member writers, one often also sees the following: As the reputation of the artist grows, his quality as an ordinary Communist Party member becomes weaker. Once he has a little reputation, he talks more crudely and not only comes forth with opinions that are not in line with the Party Central Committee but even goes so far as to "try the party." (There are even such party member artists in the services.) Isn't this also a tendency toward feeling that "the party member is unimportant, whereas the writer is important"?

I think the reasons why such titles as party member, revolutionary soldier, and revolutionary, which define the writer's class character, are placed before the title 'writer" is also very simple: It is because we have always felt that writing should be "useful"--"useful" to the party and people and "useful" to the revolution. So, only people who are enthusiastic about and correctly understand the party and the revolution can write "useful" things. Once a revolutionary writer "smashes" the bonds of party and revolutionary army discipline and unilaterally carries out his so-called writer's "self-expansion," the "writer" part can unexpectedly "become overgrown" and may not

be "useful" to the revolution, but may even be harmful. This being the case, why should the party and people welcome such a writer?

Does this constitute unusual "cruelty" toward the writer on the part of the proletariat? No. In fact, any class makes this sort of demand on its writers. The feudal period advocated "moral writing," suggesting that one was "cultured only if he was moral," and placed feudal "principles" and "morality" ahead of writing. The bourgeoisie places "self" above everything. An artistic soldier from the ranks of the fighting proletariat should self-consciously demand of himself that he "first of all be a Communist Party member," so why should he feel "unaccustomed" to this?:

Divisions of Labor, Differences, Discrepancies

"Well, are there differences among party members? Yes. Division of labor constitutes difference, but division of labor cannot be made the basis of special privilege." This statement takes us from the realm of micro-art into the universe of macro-art. Why do we say that division of labor cannot be made the basis for special privilege? It is not just because the division of labor of the writer is no more "noble" than other divisions of labor. For example, comparing it with military struggle, Lu Xun said: "A poem cannot frighten away a warlord, but a cannon shell can drive him away." ("And That's That." "Literature of the Revolutionary Period") Or further, in the view of the communist, the occupation of writer has an element of irrationality, and in the communist process it must ultimately be changed. In "The German Ideology," Marx and Engels said this: "The result of the division of labor is that artistic talent is concentrated entirely in the individual as artist, but it is constrained by the individual as part of the masses. Even if each person can become an outstanding artist in a certain social relationship, the possibility cannot be definitely eliminated that each person could become a creative artist. Thus, the discrepancy between 'human' labor and 'individual labor has no meaning at all here. No matter what, in a communist social organization the subordination of the writer to the local and ethnic restrictions which proceed from the division of labor are eliminated, and this keeps the artist from being imprisoned in one artistic sphere, to be only a painter, a sculptor, etc. Thus only the name for his activity fully explains the limitations of his professional development and his reliance on the division of labor. In a communist society there are no painters; [there are] only people who make painting one of their own activities." [Writer of article marked last sentence for emphasis.]

Look at this point with a clear head. A writer who is a Communist Party member not only should not look down on other things because he is a "writer," but on the contrary he should create the conditions which thoroughly eliminate this irrational division of labor. Here one can't help but think of Wei Jianyong [5898 1696 0516], the martyr of Koulin Shan, and Ye Yongning [5509 3057 1380], the martyr of Faqia Shan. The former won honor for shooting the enemy and wrote fiction and poetry; the latter killed the enemy in combat and painted and dis scissor-cuts. They were not "imprisoned in one artistic sphere to be only a painter or sculptor," but were people who made literature and art "one of their own activities." Just like the title martyr given to Wei

Jianyong by the Kunming forces, they were "good soldiers who could engage in both culture and fighting." In their persons they embodied Marx and Engels' presaging of the complete man in communist society. They are models worthy of our respect and emulation.

'The Disturbance of Writers' and Flea-like Marxism

Many comrades in the world of literature and art feel that restudying Marxism-Leninism has benefits both for culture and for people and is the sole method for strengthening party spirit and getting rid of evil influences.

When mentioning the study of Marxism, I think of the tortuous path marched a hundred years ago when the proletariat had just acquired its own ranks of literature and art. About 1890, Engels was personally guiding the German Communist Party. At the time "many university students, writers, and other young bourgeois left their own classes and came into the party." "By custom they viewed the bourgeois university as the St Cyr school of socialism.* This school could give them certain rights; for example, if it could not lead to the rank of general, it could lead to an officer's rank to join the 'party ranks.'" (See Engels, 27 Oct 1890 letter to Lafargue.) Thus in the German party's ranks of literature and art and in the editorial offices of their periodicals, there was a "superficial style in literature of blindly pleasing the crowd" and "the bad practice in the press of favoring those in power" (see Engels, 6 June 1895 letter to Tuladi [1458 2139 1717]), even causing the spirit of brotherhood, humanitarianism, sentimental feelings, etc., to spread. In sum, there was a "tendency for gentlemen writers within the party to form a respectable, antibourgeois ideology." Engels used a phrase for this phenomenon of the time, calling it "disturbance of writers," and criticized it in his writings many times.

What is the root of this disturbance? Engels also conducted a well-known and very vivid dissection. He said that it was due to a "Marxism" that would make even Marx say "I am no longer a Marxist" if he were to see it. "Probably Marx would say, as Heine did when discussing his imitators, "What I sowed was dragon seed, but what I reaped was fleas." That is to say, flea-like "Marxism" led to a "disturbance of writers."

Looking back on the tendency toward bourgeois liberalism that has appeared in recent years, there are many similarities to the "disturbance of writers" in the German party a hundred years ago. Especially, isn't the crus of the problem also because many of our writers and artists have departed from Marxism and "lack basic political knowledge," and tendencies are exposed in their works such as portraying the serious class struggle in history as a "misunderstanding," describing the factors deviating from class relations as "beauty of humanity," etc., and views such as "writers and artists have always been opposed to the rulers," and "writer and artists have consciences but

*St Cyr was a privileged officer school in France.

"politicians don't"? Facts show that the slogan issued by Comrade Mao Zedong 40 years ago in his "Talks" to literature and art workers--that they should "humbly study Marxism"--has not yet gone out of date. More dragon seeds and Marxism and less flea-like "Marxism" is still today a serious topic which faces each and every one of us writers and artists.

8226
CSO: 4005/1191

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ADEQUATE RESEARCH SAID NEEDED IN WRITING

Beijing JIEFANGJUN WENYI [LIBERATION ARMY LITERATURE AND ART] in Chinese No 7, 82, Jul 82 pp 102-103

[Article by Bai Wen [4101 2429]: "Talking About Writing Inspired by 'Drinking' Nitroglycerine"]

[Text] One night when I was reading "On Two Trends Among Party Literature and Art Workers" which Comrade Chen Yun published recently, when I got to the part where he warned literature and art workers not to be arrogant but to be knowledgable, I got to thinking.

When I was young, I wrote a poem: "Outside my window is a cypress vine." But even after several decades, I still don't know what a "cypress vine" looks like or what kind of plant it is.

This is not at all strange in a person who wants to be a "writer" when he is young. Because he is anxious to sing or even to publish, he just writes on a subjective basis.

Later on, I read some books on art and gradually became aware that if a work is not authentic enough to make me believe it, it can't move me. In recent years, because I have become old, I have become eccentric, and when I see something in a work that is not described accurately, sometimes I can't help laughing. But it can't arouse my sympathy or affect me, and that's true.

A work has to deal with artistic truth and be fair and reasonable before it can make me believe it or move me. This is a principle everyone learned long ago, so nothing more need be said on that score. The reason I want to express these feelings is that some works now have lost their force as literature because they are ignorant of the details of life.

We who are soldiers know that when the company commander or the commander at any level calls the roll, we answer loud and clear: "Here"! I don't think there's any doubt about that. But from what I've seen, it wasn't like this in the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, and it wasn't like this in the period right after the People's Republic of China was founded. Calling the roll then, the answer was "Present"! Probably in the 1950's when they were standardizing our army, an order was issued changing it

to "Here"! I can't help feeling a little queer--I don't believe it. For this reason the work also loses an element which can move me, and in my mind I ask, "Is this authentic"?

Here's another example. In admiring a work which depicts modern life, I recently also have occasionally run into this kind of problem: they describe an old cadre with heart disease. This is true. Old age often brings illness. Yet when they are upset, angina or heart attack develops and then the problem arises. I have read three stories and one movie script which say that they give the patient nitroglycerine to "drink" or let him "smell" it, and one sniff and he's recovered. I suffer from heart disease, and I know that the first-aid medicine for angina is called "nitroglycerine tablets." They are white tablets which you hold under your tongue to relieve the pain. There is also an imported medicine which is wrapped in a sweet glutinous paper and is also "held in the mouth," but it isn't a "liquid" and definitely can't be "drunk." Of course, taking things too literally, "nitroglycerine" seems like a "liquid," but it really isn't.

As far as "sniffing" it is concerned, as far as I know, that's called "amyl nitrite." I have seen imported kinds labeled "ammonia," packed in a glass vial wrapped in plastic foam, or without any wrapping--in which case it has to be wrapped in a handkerchief. When a patient goes into shock and has his teeth clenched, you break the vial under his nose with a "pop" and it gives off an irritating smell so that the patient comes to; then you can open his mouth so that the medicine can be put in and he can be revived. Because of the sound it makes, it is nicknamed "little cannon shell."

Of course, these are details, little things, but when I feel that the details aren't authentic, I can help but feel a little queer, and it reduces the work's appeal for me.

In a similar vein, I feel that there are really a lot of unauthentic details in recent works. For example, in writing about history, there are modern and even "Cultural Revolutionary" phrases in the language. When reading certain works about life in foreign countries, I do not know if the writer has accurate information, and I always feel it isn't that way. Though I lack knowledge about life abroad, I've seen foreign movies and read foreign novels. Incidentally, I have asked comrades who have studied abroad, and when they read the works they wondered too. Is this life abroad? Is it authentic? Take "martini," for example. It wasn't until the year before last, when I asked a comrade who was familiar with the life of foreigners, that I found out it was a cocktail.

I'm not saying that a writer cannot write about old cadres or about life abroad, but only that he must do some research to be authentic, the better for the reader to believe. If someone thinks this is creative, then he can go on in this muddled fashion, and of course there's nothing I can say, but in my heart I think it shouldn't be permitted.

As for making things up, a work which is not authentic fundamentally is another problem and not one of my laments.

For a serious artist it is hard, of course, not to have some places which are not authentic. I am not learned and can only find an example from the story "Wang Anshi Thrice Aggravates Scholar Su," from the "Jingshi Tongyan." The story goes that the famous Su Dongpo saw Wang Anshi's poem "Ode to the Chrysanthemum," and when he read the lines "Last night the west wind went through the grove and gilt the ground with yellow flowers," he thought "The flowers open in late autumn here. They are related by nature to fire, so they dare to battle with the autumn frost and are not able to endure. They wither, just as you age, but they do not lose their petals." So he wrote another poem saying in mockery, "Autumn flowers do not fall like spring flowers; tell the poet to sing more attentively." Wang Anshi read it, but didn't argue. He just demoted Su to deputy militia envoy to Huangzhou. Not long after Su Dongpo got to Huangzhou, "it was right after midautumn and there was a strong wind every day. One day the wind abated. Chrysanthemum flowers by the fence "covered the ground with gold, and there was not a blossom left on the branches." Su Dongpo was so scared that he "was dumbfounded and couldn't speak for a long time." So he had been wrong all along. Of course, this really isn't evidence, but it has a lesson for us. At least when Feng Menglong wrote the story in the Ming era, he must have been sensitive to this idea; why else would he call the Yuan and Ming "prompt books" and write "imitation prompt books"? There may even have been others with these ideas earlier. Yet if the error which Su Dongpo committed was so rare that he was "dumbfounded," what about our modern writers? And what about the works on modern life we have pointed out? This story has a lesson for me, and I hope it will encourage writers.

In the movies, some have already criticized the streamlined cars which appeared in descriptions of Great Cultural Revolution days; even if you are very attentive to details in shooting a movie, it is hard to avoid slipups. Mistakes are not good, of course, but paying attention to the problem is the thing to do. Basically, it amounts to the writer's plunging into the thick of life. We don't want a writer who 'not only doesn't know what the exchange is, or where the millet they eat in Shanghai comes from, or where their feces go, and having lived there seven or eight years still doesn't know.' (Chen Yun, "On Two Trends Among Party Literature and Art Workers"). He wrote that about the time of the 1911 Revolution, the period of democratic revolution... all the details of life in those times: When was "penicillin" invented and when did they have "sulfathiazole"? When did popsicles appear? When were pedicabs on the streets? What did people wear in the 1920's? Did the warlords' boydguards ride hanging on the car doors?... We need evidence so that it will not cause jokes, or at least will cause fewer jokes. As for modern life, there are things which await our detailed familiarization, research, and efforts so that we don't say things that make us appear to be uninformed and so our works can have more power.

8226
CSO: 4005/1191

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CONVERSATION ON AUTHENTICITY IN WRITING

Beijing JIEFANGJUN WENYI [LIBERATION ARMY LITERATURE AND ART] in Chinese No 7, 82, Jul 82 pp 104-108

[Article by Liu Jin [0491 6855]: "Conversation at My Humble Abode--On Authenticity, Mirrors, and Other Things"]

[Text] My humble abode is small, but occasionally a friend comes to visit. When a friend comes, we have a cup of tea and talk and laugh to our hearts' content. Our conversation is mostly about literature and art. I have recorded a section, which I call "Conversation at My Humble Abode."

Host: I have read your work. You are very gifted. But I don't understand why you think present reality is so somber, so dark, so hopeless, so sorrowful.

Guest: You shouldn't aske me about this. You should go ask society, ask life! I am a writer. My artist's conscience won't let me hide the truth or deceive. I want to speak the truth, write the truth. What I pursue is the truth, the truth, the truth!

Host: It is of course natural to write the truth. I don't expect that you would create stories that are nothing but brightness to fool the masses. No. I am even fed up with those works that are false, exaggerated and whitewash life. In the 1950's I cried out: "Praise, but don't whitewash"!

Guest: But if it is not to whitewash, what do you want me to praise? To tell the truth, I really want to sing the praises of brightness, but I don't know where it is!

Host: Then I encourage you to go to the villages, to the factories, to go among the creators of the four modernizations. In that way you will see many beautiful things and beautiful people. You will see that life is advancing, that life is creating new heroes. You will see that there is not only a dark side to life but also a bright side. Moreover, the bright side is constantly expanding! Have you read "In Praise of the Chinese Spirit," the report of the brave fighting with mudslides and rockslides at the Liziyida Bridge on the Chengdu-Kunming Railway? Have you read the "Notes" of four writers who visited Heze and Lankao and, which was published in WENYIBAO?

Have you read the report of the young girl who gave her inheritance of several hundred thousand yuan to the nation and was happy to earn her own living?...

Guest: (frowns) It looks like you're a model "virtue praiser." Well, do you object to exposing darkness? Do you object to unmasking society's defects? Do you want us to close our eyes in the face of ugly things?

Host: I have never thought there were any factions praising virtue "gechangpai" [2960 1795 3175] or factions lacking virtue "quedepai" [4972 1795 3175]. I don't object to exposing darkness and unmasking society's defects. And I don't expect you to close your eyes in the face of ugly things. I just hope that you will open your eyes wider and see more broadly. I hope that you will not only see the darkness but will also see the brightness; not only directly face ugliness, but also look squarely at real goodness. You say that blindly singing someone's praises, whitewashing life, covering up darkness is what Lu Xun called the literature of "deceit and fraud" and he resolutely opposed it. Yes. Well, shouldn't blindly taking great delight in darkness and ugliness and placing the brightness and beauty of life outside the reach of your pen be opposed? Isn't this literature of "deceit and fraud" in another sense?

Guest: Oh, this lable of yours is really too big. That suspicion of yours is something of a stick!

Host: I'm sorry. I'm only speaking the truth. Recently, calling the praise of socialist brightness the literature of "deceit and fraud" has been a common occurrence, but why has no one said that it is a label or a stick?

Guest: Although there is some darkness and also some brightness in life, an honest writer can only write about things which affect him deeply. If he can only feel profound darkness, why do you insist that he not speak from the heart, but write about a brightness he has never experienced? Why not let the writer freely write about the truth he has experienced profoundly?

Host: Of course, the writer has the right and should write about truth that is familiar to him. But just as Gorky said in discussing writing about the truth, the writer "should ask himself two questions. One question is, What is Truth? And the other question is: Why write about the truth?" On the first question, Gorky said in "Shamelessism" that there are two truths. One is outdated and corrupt; the other is young, stubborn, advancing toward its own noble targets. Our writers must give some thought to this: Which truth has he seen and described? "What kind of truth has he affirmed? What kind of truth does he hope will win the victory?" What is even more important is, Why does he write about this truth? Is it to encourage the people to wholeheartedly struggle with dark forces and corrupt forces so as to propel socialism forward? Or is it to scatter the viruses of skepticism, nihilism, and pessimism, to disintegrate the people's revolutionary fighting will, and even to lead the people to depart from the leadership of the party and the course of socialism?...

Guest: I think you've pulled in the social function of literature and art again. In actuality, you want literature and art to serve society. To be a little more impolite, you want literature and art to be the lackeys of politics. But I think that the life of literature and art is truth. Let the writers write about truth and don't attach any conditions, and even less don't sacrifice truth to yield to political propaganda or any other needs! Otherwise it will decline!

Host: I approve of not making "literature and art serve politics" and of not making "literature and art be subordinate to politics." But if you think that literature and art can float on high, divorced from politics, then it is like a man thinking he can leave the earth by pulling up on his own hair. This not only is futile, but it may even only be a pose. Actually, it is extremely close to politics. Comrade Chen Yun's "On Two Tendencies of Party Literature and Art Workers," which was published recently in the press, also says it very clearly: "Strictly speaking, no literature and art work can be separated from politics. For example, the question of how to write about brightness and darkness is a question of a political nature."

As for saying that the life of art is truth, I respect this truth. Surely, untruthful art has no vitality. But first, speaking of art, it is just that the truth is not enough. It absolutely requires goodness and beauty. Truth can create the life of art, but it cannot give art a soul. Life without a soul is only a walking corpse. Second, "It must be understood that absolute truth and unadulterated truth do not exist"--de Maupassant said--"because no one can think of himself as a perfect, flawless mirror." Each one of us has idealist tendencies which make us see things this way or that; one and the same thing one person feels is correct but another may feel is wrong." The truth is just like this. Did you read the story "Village Wineshop"? How great the difference in the views of the "morals of today" of Farmer Tian, Carpenter Wang, and the recklessly concoted 85-year-old party member, the middle-aged man who died from eating quilt covers "chi beitao" [0676 5926 1152]! If the three of them became writers and began to write a story, do you think they could be a mirror and reflect the truth of life? Do you think the work written by the middle-aged man could also be a mirror?...

Guest: Excuse me, but comparing literature to a mirror is not a new idea. Lenin said that Tolstoy was "a mirror of Russia's revolution." Shakespeare was even earlier. Through a character in "Hamlet" he said, "The play is a mirror." And according to the introduction to the translation of "Selected Literary Theories of the West, Stendahl said that a beautiful creation is like a mirror that reflects the road: it reflects both the blue sky and the mud of the road. The reader should not blame the mirror for the mud, but should blame the people in charge of road repair who should not have let water collect on the road and make it muddy and hard to travel. So how can you deny the "mirror theory" of literature?

Host: I don't object to the "mirror theory" of literature. This is doubtless a clever, useful analogy. I just don't approve of some comrades using the "mirror theory" as a shield for some untrue and tendentiously bad works.

Even making up a general's spending 10,000 yuan in foreign exchange to have a bathtub installed is still recognized as a "mirror" and is still a "reflection of truth." Thus you can't criticize it but can criticize only the fictitious "general." Some works take a series of cadres from an area--from party secretary to regimental commander--and describe all of them as liars, hypocrites, and people with a seriously improper style. Do you think this is untrue? Others say, "The face is ugly so the mirror distorts." Some one wrote an essay in defense of a story: "The story is a mirror. It reflects a picture of social life. If mud appears in the mirror, isn't it ridiculous to blame the mirror and not the mud?"

Guest: What's wrong with that? Do you mean that if there are ugly faces and mud in life, the mirror shouldn't reflect them? Do you mean you demand that the mirror turn an ugly face into a beautiful person and that the mud be reflected as a wonderful, charming lily pond?

Host: Of course that's not the case. The question is that literature is in the end not the same as a mirror. The mirror makes no judgment about the object it reflects, and it cannot and should not choose on its own the objects to reflect. If you turn it toward the sky, it will reflect the sky; if you turn it toward the mud, it reflects the mud. The writer is different. He has his own likes and dislikes, and has his own esthetic interests. In the broad, complex picture of life, he cannot do just what he sees. He should persistently select the objects to reflect, according to his own wishes. This brings up another question: Why did he choose to reflect this and not that? Why did he choose the mud and not the level road? He shone it on the black clouds and avoided the blue sky. You've probably heard of such a poet, I suppose? He specialized in writing about "explosive" subjects in order deliberately to create sensation and please the public. A "general" who tore down a kindergarten and spent several tens of thousands of yuan in foreign exchange to build a house for himself; a "general" who spent tens of thousands in foreign exchange to build a luxurious bathhouse for just one bathtub. In fact, such generals basically do not exist in socialist China. Some comrades urged him, "Why not write about the life of fervent struggle on the part of our engineers?" He replied, "It's useless to write about those things. That can't move me toward the Nobel." Someone else urged him not to write any more about those generals who do not exist and "can't do those kinds of things," but to write about generals like Lo Wuchu [5012 5294 0443], who maintained the glorious traditions of the old Red Army. He said that if he writes about such generals, "Won't I be surrendering?" When in this "mirror" there is reflected a false image that is much uglier than out-and-out fabrication and the distorted mud, don't people have the right to condemn it?

Guest: Of course, this is mistaken. But this is only an individual phenomenon. Generally speaking, an honest writer always is a realist and always can truthfully reflect life....

Host: You mention sincerity. This is really a beautiful word. But in today's world, different people have different sincerities. Take Weizhuang

before the 1970's. Qu Daye had Qu Daye's sincerity, and Ah Q had Ah Q's sincerity, needless to say; isn't "truth" also very different in the eyes of each of them? If Qu Daye, the Imitation Foreign Devil, and Little Lucky D were writers and each wrote a "True Story of Ah Q," the several images of Ah Q would certainly be very different. But they also would certainly think they had written with sincerity and truth, and if they had reputations, they probably would not have tolerated the intervention of critics.

Guest: According to what you say, works of literature fundamentally have no truth to speak of. It's as if real life was like a docile and obedient girl. The writer can dress her up any way he likes, in accordance with his esthetic views....

Host: No. It isn't that there is no truth to speak of, but that there is a difference between truth and untruth. If Qu Daye and the other three "authors" wrote Ah Q together, probably Little D's Ah Q would be truer. Of course, the truest would still be the one Lu Xun wrote about.

Guest: You're way off the mark, brother! Although we may not be Lu Xun's now, we are far from being compared with the likes of Qu Daye....

Host: Don't take it amiss; I was only making an example. I believe that the overwhelming majority of our writers are good. There are some among them who have no hopes of becoming Lu Xuns, either. But there is a condition to becoming a Lu Xun and that is, like Lu Xun, "to sharply grasp the demands of the time, not to consider the many great dangers which may be encountered, and resolutely to share the fate of the people's revolution." Also, to be like Lu Xun, one should make strict demands of himself, dispassionately dissect himself, constantly revise his world view, and strengthen his faith in Marxism and the Chinese Communist Party--in the words of the Communist Party of China's Central Committee Propaganda Department when publishing Comrade Chen Yun's essay "On Two Tendencies of Party Literature and Art Workers."

Guest: Well said. Of course, we should strive to learn from Lu Xun how to be writers and persons--first of all to become ordinary party members and revolutionaries.

Host: Then in conclusion, let me cite a passage from Gorky: "The task of our writers is a difficult and complex task. It cannot be summarized as only criticizing the old society and exposing the infectiousness of the bad habits of the old society. The task of our writers is to research, embody, describe, and affirm the new reality. It is necessary to study how to see the outbreak of future sparks and flames from the smoking ashes of the garbage of corruption."

Guest: Good. Let us not only "see" but also promote "the outbreak of future sparks and flames"!

8226
CSO: 4005/1191

STRUGGLE WITHIN LITERARY CIRCLE IN WUHAN DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [Contend] in Chinese No 9 Sep 82 pp 32-33

[Article by Yu Mu [0151 3668], "A Struggle Within the Literary Circle of Wuhan"]

[Text] Recently, the writers of Hubei, like those everywhere in the country, are going down to the basic levels to "plunge themselves in life;" nevertheless, many of them are carrying a heavy ideological burden along with them, because in no province have so many authors been publicly criticized by name as in Hubei; moreover, some have been criticized without much reason.

Many of Wuhan's Writers Were Criticized

In Hubei during the previous phase of "anti-liberalism," nearly ten famous writers were criticized, including Wuhan's military writer Bai Hua [4101 2901], Zhang Zuwei [1728 4371 1983], the author of "Ah, Elders and Brethren," a report exposing a case of injustice in Tianmen County; Xiong Zhaozheng [3574 0664 2398], the author of the poem "Please Raise a Forest of Hands, and Put an End to It;" and also a student-poet of Wuhan University Gao Falin [7559 0127 2651] who was active in people's publications activities that year. Their works had all won national prizes, and were influential in Hubei, and throughout the country. The Hubei Province Committee took great exception to some receiving prizes, and resented the Central Committee's literary circle (for) (local authorities') not having asked their opinions.

Zhang Zuwei was accused of violating party discipline and taking upon himself the authorization to write about an internal affair and publish it openly. In 1980, while the writer Zhang Zuwei was participating in the Hubei Province Committee's Disciplinary Examination Committee and the Investigation Group organized by the Information Bureau, he carried out an investigation in connection with a case of injustice in Tian Men County, Hubei Province, and used the verified materials in his possession to write the work "Ah, Elders and Brethren," sent it to the provincial information bureau to be checked, verified, and printed; at that time there was no stipulation that the author couldn't openly publish this work. Afterwards, FANGCAO [FRAGRANT GRASS] (the literary monthly) typed the article but when the printing and binding were completed and it was awaiting distribution, relevant departments of the

province committee wanted to hold up publication, as a result this issue had to be redone, the manuscript returned and reprinted, and publication postponed. The editorial department of FRAGRANT GRASS considered that the author is a professional and has the freedom to deal with his own works. Therefore, the editorial department of FRAGRANT GRASS at the end of September sent out to relevant departments of the Central Committee and to periodicals in the various provinces and municipalities copies of the article along with a letter seeking support for it. As a result RENMIN RIBAO published the article, causing a sensation throughout the country. This originally was an old account implicating many people and affairs, but it is unfair that Zhang Zuwei alone should have to bear the responsibility for his "liberalism."

Some Are Very Pleased, While Others Are Sad

While a good many authors are depressed about being criticized and suppressed, some people are very pleased indeed; acquiring honors and winning prizes, gaining official posts and rising in rank. Recently, the Wuhan military author Chen Lide [7115 4539 1795] was set up as an advanced individual model soldier engaged in building socialist spiritual civilization, and the Air Force at Wuhan gave him a Class II Merit Citation, two Class III Merit Citations, and an increase in rank. Many writers were not pleased about this.

Chen Lide was the native of Tianmen County described in Zhang Zuwei's article, who entered the Army in 1949, in 1950 began his creative writing activities, joined the party in 1954, when demobilized in 1970 went to work in Tianmen County's No 2 Machinery Plant; in 1971 he was transferred to the Wuhan Military Area Air Force Political Branch to do creative writing, and now is the assistant group leader of that political section's creative writing group.

On the basis of what works had he received awards and offical rank? Actually, they were all works that did not dare convey reality, works eulogizing the virtues and achievements of the earlier generation of revolutionaries. Therefore, his writings were looked upon very highly by the leaders. Of course, the film script "Ji Hong Sings" published in the September issue of FILM LITERATURE is acknowledged as a good work, however his recent work "Wedding on the Execution Ground" and "Aunt Huang Ying," published in 1962 and recently made into a film, were both criticized and some newspapers and periodicals blamed them for being "morally corrupt," "bringing romance to the execution ground," and "stuffing the audience's heads with low-class taste."

It Isn't That Enemies Can Not Get Together

Zhang Zuwei was under the impression that the people had pleaded on his behalf, and so he became famous, while Chen Lide took it upon himself as his duty to eulogize the virtues and achievements of earlier people, and yet it was not a case of enemies not meeting together, not long afterwards the two of them met at the First National Conference on Creative Writing with Military Themes convened jointly by the Chinese Authors' Association and the

Cultural Branch of the General Political Branch of the Liberation Army. Based on their respective positions, and the topical content of their creative work, Chen Lide was the natural representative. Zhang Zuwei was the outsider, and did not seem relevant. However, due to the fact that a good many authors outside the military applied to participate in the conference, many people were allowed to participate, and this gave rise, in the course of the meeting, to contradictions between military and non-military writers.

During the speech making at the conference, nothing happened, but during the group discussion period, conflict arose. During the group discussion, Chen Lide posed two questions, the first was: "Why is it that now one cannot propose the idea of literature in the service of proletarian politics?"; the second was: "Why has an author like Zuwei mistakenly come to this conference?"

In response to the first question, representatives from both within and outside the military vied with each other to strike back, saying that very notion was in the spirit of the Third Plenum, that it was definitely not the case that such a proposition was not allowed, rather, it was more appropriate to speak in terms of "literature in the service of the people, and in the service of socialism."

As for the second question, the response was particularly sensitive and forceful, with representatives from outside the military expressing in large numbers their wish to withdraw from the conference midway through. Later the conference's leaders had to do all they could to dissuade them from withdrawing.

In the same manner, the military author (of course, we are not talking about Bai Hua) that is, the military poet Ye Wenfu [5509 2429 4395], originally from Hubei and now in Peking, also provoked the anger of the Hubei Province Committee, and was criticized in absentia.

Hubei's criticism of Ye Wenfu mainly stressed two points, the first was that Ye Wenfu, while passing through Wuhan on his way to visit relatives in his hometown of Puqi, Hubei, had spread about "among some units and comrades," "a good many extremely erroneous opinions" (for these opinions, please see ZHENG MING No 52, p 24). The second was their criticism of Ye Wenfu's poem 'Old Palace, I Hate You," which obliquely attacked comrade Mao Zedong." This poem was not even mentioned by name in a criticism of Ye intended for national consumption, the reason Hubei later singled it out for criticism is that it had been published in a Hubei periodical. The No 12 issue of CHANGJIANG WENYI (Yangtze Literature) published Ye Wenfu's poem "Ah, I Have Been Born,"...(Three Additional Poems) sub-title of which was "--choking down this long time suffering, and finally offering this eulogy to the martyr Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450], "the three additional poems of which included the "Old Palace, I Hate You" and the famous "Meditation Under the Pomegranate Tree." The writing of these poems provoked strong feelings, and moved people considerably, gaining large numbers of young readers.

The Practice of Usurping Reason by the Use of Strong Words Can Not Serve the People

The poem "Please Raise a Forest of Hands, and Put an End To It" by the poet Xiong Zhaozheng of Ying Shan County, Hubei was awarded a national prize as an excellent new poem by a middle-aged or young poet, clearly demonstrating the poem's social effect. However, the Hubei Province Committee took exception to this, insisting that the author engage in two sessions of self-criticism, acknowledging that he "himself had been influenced by bourgois liberalist ideology" and that "therefore, the work's social effect is not good," though one really does not know on what basis such statements were made. They also criticized Xiong Zhaozheng for having said that those who criticized him were "Xiang Zhuang doing the sword dance" (people acting from hidden motives). In reality, they themselves were playing the role of a "Xiang Zhuang," in name criticizing Xiong Zhaozheng, but in essence criticizing the entire procedure of awarding national prizes to new poems, with the further intention of bringing disfavor upon the literary circle of the capital.

Their objective was manifested most clearly in their words and actions in criticizing Gao Falin. The poem "Reply" by a (already graduated) student of the Chinese Department of Wuhan University Gao Falin won a prize at the same time as the poem "Put an End To It" by Xiong Zhaozheng. Their criticism of him was that he, "after returning from Peking, spread about Wuhan University's Chinese Department a good many extremely erroneous opinions he had heard at the award conference, producing a bad influence among the young students." From this it can be seen that some people on the Hubei Province Committee are in complete disapproval of the national activities of awarding prizes to new poems.

The above facts indicate clearly that some people are extremely opposed to allowing literature to govern by doing nothing that goes against nature and, relying on these people to lead literature, it is unlikely that Hubei's literature will produce any great breakthroughs.

9634
CSO: 4005/1326 END

JPRS 82264

18 November 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 363

JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE
25
ANNIVERSARY

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82264

18 November 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 363

CONTENTS

PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Background of PRC-USSR Pamir Dispute Reported
(Liu Cunkuan; SHEHUI KEXUE ZHANXIAN, 25 Jul 82)..... 1

PARTY AND STATE

Improvement of Political, Ideological Work Discussed
(XUE LILUN, 1 Sep 82)..... 14

Constructive Criticism Needed, by Li Ruiling
Ideology, Not Fines, Promoted, by Sun Tianmou

Hu Yaobang's Report at 12th Party Congress Studied
(NANFANG RIBAO, 4 Oct 82)..... 18

Importance of 12th Party Congress Documents Stressed
(Editorial; NANFANG RIBAO, 29 Sep 82)..... 20

Improving Party Work Style Said Key to Basic Improvements
(NANFANG RIBAO, 28 Sep 82)..... 23

Report of 12th Party Congress Discussed
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 17 Sep 82)..... 26

Need To Improve Relationship of Party to People Emphasized
(Li Zhenhai, Bao Zuzhi; HEBEI RIBAO, 2 Sep 82)..... 32

Need for Cadres To Redress Grievances Emphasized
(Xie Xixiu; HEBEI RIBAO, 3 Sep 82)..... 34

Party School Trains Teachers, Party Members in Communist Theory
(Wang Zhen; HEBEI RIBAO, 2 Sep 82) 36

Guangzhou Provincial Committee Holds Conference on Politics, Law
(NANFANG RIBAO, 29 Aug 82) 37

Good Work in Politics, Law During New Period Urged
(NANFANG RIBAO, 29 Aug 82) 41

Experience as a Requirement for Leadership Post Discussed
(Xu Jingzhang; XUE LILUN, 1 Sep 82) 44

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Personnel Changes of CPC 12th Congress Analyzed
(Ch'i Hsin; CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI, Oct 82) 46

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BACKGROUND OF PRC-USSR PAMIR DISPUTE REPORTED

Changchun SHEHUI KEXUE ZHANXIAN [ON THE SOCIAL SCIENCES FRONT] in Chinese No 3, 25 Jul 82 pp 164-170

[Article by Liu Cunkuan [0491 1317 1401]: "The Historical Background of the Pamir Dispute Between China and the USSR"]

[Text] If we open up the Atlas of the People's Republic of China we will find that the region of the Pamir, the western extremity of Xinjiang, from the Wuzibieli [Uzbel] Pass[1] to the south down to the Kekelaqukaole Peak (which the Soviet Russians call "Pavel Shveikovsky Peak") is designated as a not limited area. However, on the present-day Soviet Russian maps that area is shown as delimited, i.e., provided with a formal state boundary. The fact that the Pamir area is marked so completely differently on the maps of the two countries has naturally attracted general attention. On 16 June 1981, the Soviet Union concluded a treaty with the Afghan People's Republic in Kabul concerning their frontier from Lake Sarikol[2] to the Kekelaqukaole Peak area. On this occasion, China and the Soviet Union clearly stated their own differing positions. The crucial point is whether there is after all a "legally confirmed" fixed boundary in the Pamir area, or whether the area is still in dispute and not yet demarcated. How is this question to be cleared up and resolved? It requires an investigation into the history of the origin and development of the Sino-Russian dispute over the Pamir.

1. The Origin of the Pamir Problem and the Sino-Russian "Kashgar Agreement"

The ancient Chinese name for the Pamir was "Congling"; located at the western extremity of Xinjiang, it was also commonly referred to as the "Roof of the World."

The Pamir is Chinese territory. For long periods of time in the past, China had set up administrative offices and frontier garrisons, levied taxes, ruled the people and exercised effective jurisdiction over this area. Originally there was no "Pamir question." How then did the Pamir question arise? For a discussion of this subject we must go back to the 19th century.

In the fifties of the last century, Russia suffered defeat in the Crimean War and was thwarted in the west. The tsarist Russian government

subsequently began to step up its unbridled aggression in the area of the Heilong [Amur] and Wusuli [Ussuri] rivers, as well as in Central Asia and in China's western border regions. In these moves Russia invaded Central Asia and China's western border regions not only with the intention of swallowing up territory, but also to advance toward the northern border of British India, with the strategic objective of "posing a serious threat of a possible future invasion."[3]

In the period between the sixties to the middle of the seventies, tsarist Russia extended its influence like a glacier on a southward move, sweeping across the Chinese Balkhash Lake, eastward and southward, expanding over the Kazakh plain and the three khanates of Kokand, Bukhara and Khiva. The Russians spread with the force of rushing waters and with an unparalleled arrogance. In 1876 the tsarist government bloodily suppressed an anti-Russian uprising of the people of Kokand and officially declared the annexation of the Kokand khanate, thus extending Russian influence along the northern borders of the Pamir. In the same year, the Russians organized the "Alai Expeditionary Force" under General Skobelev, famous for his cruel subjugation of Central Asia, for an invasion of the Alai valley and to raise the Russian flag over that area. One group of that force crossed the Outer Altai range and reconnoitred in the area of the Great Karakul Lake in the Heshikuzhuke Pamir and in the area of the Uzbel Pass and Akbaital Pass, all areas belonging to China. This was the beginning of the invasion of the Pamir staged by the armed forces of Russian. From that time one, there was no more peace and quiet in the mountain ranges of the Pamir.

Between 1877 and 1883, tsarist Russia despatched several "exploring expeditions" led by Sverzov, Mushketov, Putiata and others for an overall exploration of the Chinese Heshikuzhuke Pamir, Rangkul Pamir, Sarez Pamir, Archur Pamir, Great and Little Pamir and the Taghdumbash Pamir. They went so far as Wakhan in the south and Lake Issikkul[4] in the west and gathered much information useful for the later territorial demands in the Pamir that the tsarist government would make against China.

The tsarist government indeed followed up these intrusions and infiltrations by Russians into the Chinese Pamir with territorial demands against China. An agreement signed on 3 June 1884 between China and Russia, the "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement,"[5] was concerned with this area.

The Sino-Russian "Kashgar Delimitation Agreement" is the fifth offspring of the "Revised Treaty" of 24 February 1881.[6] The "Kashgar Agreement" determined the Sino-Russian frontier from the Biedieli Pass through the Shyok Pass to the Uzbel Pass, and also determined the direction of the border running south from the Uzbel Pass. The sector south of the Shyok Pass in this arrangement concerns the frontier area and the direction of the border between China and Russia in the Pamir.

The Sino-Russian "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement" was an unequal treaty that Russia forced the Qing government to sign. It violated Article 3 of the 1864 "Sino-Russian Memorandum on a Northwest Border Agreement" and also Article 7 of the Sino-Russian "Revised Treaty," both contain clear provisions

on a frontier along the "crest of the Tianshan mountain range," while the Russians later insisted on declaring a branch range in the southeast of the main Tianshan range as a border and as a consequence assigned an area along the Aksai river north of Kashgar as belonging to Russia.[7] As to the border from the Shyok Pass to the Uzbel Pass, Russia violated Article 8 of the "Revised Treaty," which stipulated that representatives from both countries should proceed to the location of the border area for a survey and determine the border areas according to actual control exercised by both countries and affix border markers accordingly," while Russia unilaterally drew up a "map of the frontier" and forced it on China. On this map the section from Yi'erkeshitamu to the Uzbel Pass was all marked as border area "never before demarcated and was all onesidedly fixed as the Russians saw fit."[8] As a result, Russia arbitrarily marked many areas as Russian territory which at that time had been under Chinese administration, including the Tashkurghan Pamir area, which the Russian scouts had hardly explored.

The provisions of the Sino-Russian "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement" about the direction of the Sino-Russian frontier south of the Uzbel Pass are similarly onesidedly drawn. In its Article 3, the "Agreement" says: Starting from the Uzbel Pass, "the Russian frontier turns southwest, while the Chinese border runs straight south." At that time the Qing government had established border stations at Tusiku'er (at the southeast end of the Tusiku'er Lake), and at Bashigongbaizi in the Pamir area west of the line from the Uzbel Pass straight south, "garrisoned by military forces,"[9] and had also ordered certain "Yzibaxi" (chiefs of a hundred households) to collect taxes and govern the people. This area was certainly under "effective control, exercised" by China. At Sumantashi, 10 li north of Yixi'erku'erzhao'er, there is still a tall and upright stone tablet commemorating the pacification of the great and little Hezhuomu dated the 24th year of Qian Long (1759), with the original inscription by Emperor Qian Long engraved on the tablet.[10] As the Sino-Russian "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement" designated this triangular area, located between "the Chinese frontier running straight south" and "the Russian Frontier turning southwest (i.e., to the west of Yixi'erku'erzhao'er)," as an area still awaiting agreement, it is obviously disregarding the fact that this area was for a long time throughout history under the jurisdiction of China and opened this territory, where China has had effective control, to the danger that Russia would find one reason or another to occupy it.

Although the Sino-Russian "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement" obviously was of such an unfair character, it nevertheless delimited the Sino-Russian frontier in the Pamir from Shyok Pass to the Uzbel Pass and clearly determined the southerly direction of the Sino-Russian frontier from the Uzbel Pass on. It is to this day the only treaty basis for the frontier delimitation between China and the Soviet Union in the Pamir region. This is so because before the conclusion of this agreement there had been no clear determination in any Sino-Russian agreements that dealt with border areas and frontier delimitations in the Pamir, and thereafter, up to this day, there have been no treaties or documents of any kind that delimited the borders in the Pamir between China and Russia, or between China and the Soviet

Union. It is therefore not possible to solve the Pamir dispute without a reference to the "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement."

2. The 1894 Exchange of Notes Between China and Russia Concerning the Pamir Are Not Documents Regulating the Frontiers

Tsarist Russia showed an insatiable desire to invade Chinese territory. Whenever it forced a new unequal treaty on China, it was soon to violate that treaty and prepare for more exacting territorial demands on China. In the latter part of the 19th century, in the process of concluding unequal treaties with the Qing government on questions of territory and borders, tsarist Russia kept renouncing prior treaties, always reached out for a yard after taking an inch and never stopped demanding more. To achieve its objectives, it followed the principle of "effecting prior occupation in order to back up diplomatic negotiations."

In the case of the "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement," tsarist Russia took the same attitude. A few years after signing the "Agreement," Russia not only sent officers of its General Staff, Grombchevsky, Ianov and others, with a column of soldiers to explore the undelimited area west of the line running straight south from the Uzbel Pass, but openly invaded the area east of the line, which the "Agreement" had clearly designated as the Pamir section belonging to China. Grombchevsky and his cronies even invaded the Kashgar, Yarkand and Hetian areas in southern Xinjiang and the northern Tibetan plateau.

In the spring of 1892, the tsarist government held two meetings, in which it plotted the occupation of the Chinese section of the Pamir west of the Sarikol range.[11] The Russian Chief of Staff, Obruchev, under orders from Tsar Alexander III, ordered Colonel Ianov of the General Staff to carry out a large scale invasion with a force of more than 1,500 men, to drive out the Chinese garrison, replace Chinese officials, to raze to the ground all Chinese border stations[12] and establish Russian border posts and garrisons near Liu'erawu, east of the Rangkul Lake, at Yisilike and Aktash, thus effecting a brutal military occupation.[13] By this invasion of 1892, tsarist Russia pushed the line of its military occupation right into the Chinese territory of the Sarikol range, and forcibly occupied over 20,000 km square of Chinese Pamir territory. This was a wanton disregard of the Sino-Russian "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement" and a blatant violation of the agreement.

After establishing this fait accompli, the tsarist government intended to follow up by forcing the Qing government to sign a treaty that would legalize their action. On 15 Nobember 1892, the tsarist Russian Minister to China, Cassini, was ordered by his government to demand of the Chinese Ministry in charge of Foreign Affairs that "a division of the Pamir be negotiated." He furthermore produced a map, unilaterally drawn up, with the demand that the Sino-Russian frontier should "run east and then south from Uzbel Pass" along the Sarikol ridge.[14] The Qing government designated its Minister to Russia, Xu Jingcheng [6079 2529 3397], and an attache of its embassy in France, Qing Chang [1987 1603], to take up the negotiations with Russia for a

a delimitation of the Pamir boundary. The negotiations lasted uninterrupted for almost one and one-half year, from the middle of November 1892 to the middle of April 1894. Because the Russian side stuck from beginning to end to its position of maintaining the occupation in violation of the Sino-Russian "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement" and insisted on drawing the frontier at the Sarikol line, namely the line of their military occupation, the negotiations failed to achieve any result. The representatives of the Qing government firmly insisted on "negotiations based on the Kashgar[15] frontier agreement,"[16] and demanded that Russia withdraw its troops from east of a line that runs straight south from the Uzbel Pass. In the negotiations with the Russian Foreign Minister Giers on 16 and 17 April 1893, Qing Chang sternly pointed out, fully certain of the justice of his stand, that his three principles were: "to maintain friendly relations, to observe the Kashgar Agreement and to stop further troop movements into the area." He scathingly refuted the Russian intention of permanently occupying the territory in violation of prior agreements and various other absurd ideas of the Russian side. However, tsarist Russia chose to break off the negotiations and tried to use rather despicable methods, such as the threat of armed force, secret negotiations with the British for a partition of the Pamir, with the purpose of forcing the Qing government to accept the Russian plan in toto. The Qing government would not agree to that and the negotiations reached an impass.

In December 1893, Great Britain and Russia had indeed reached an agreement in principle on the partition of the Pamir.[19] With its occupation of the Chinese Pamir territory, tsarist Russia had already its spoils firmly in its grip and had no further fear of the Qing government. The reason Russia negotiated at all with the Qing government was because it feared that the Qing government may have the secret support of Great Britain. Now that the partition of the Pamir had been decided upon between Russia and Great Britain, the tsarist government was relieved, because from now on it could spread out the Anglo-Russian secret agreement on the partition of the Pamir in front of the Qing government, that could do nothing about it. Furthermore, soon afterwards Japan started its invasion of Korea and the Sino-Japanese War of 1895 was about to erupt, leaving the Qing government in the dilemma of not being able to attend to the affairs in the east as well as in the west at the same time. Russia took advantage of China's precarious situation and tried to get a temporary agreement from the Qing government for a preservation of the status quo in the Pamir, which it could later misconstrue to justify an indefinite occupation. It is under these conditions that four notes were exchanged between China and Russia in 1894 on the Pamir questions, namely:

On 11 April 1894, the tsarist Russian Foreign Minister Giers suggested to Qing Chang, the representative of the Qing government, that since the negotiations had reached a stalemate, "it is therefore impossible to arrive at a settlement," and that in his opinion one should agree on "an intermediary arrangement," namely "that prior to a settlement, China would agree not to send troops into the area, while Russia would also order its commanders in the border region to remain in their original positions and not to advance any further, so as to facilitate further negotiations and avoid incidents."[20] Qing Chang asked to be allowed to consult his government.

On 12 April 1894, the tsarist Russian Foreign Minister officially advised the Chinese Minister in Russia, Xu Jingcheng, as follows: "Since Russia and China hold divergent views on the Pamir question and an immediate understanding is difficult to achieve, the Imperial Government believes the best method to avoid misunderstandings and possible conflicts is to maintain the present peaceful situation. Each side shall maintain its position and should instruct its authorities in charge to not advance beyond the said positions. It seems that prior to a final settlement, the present conditions might well be maintained, and in our opinion this condition will not give cause to any trouble in view of the peaceful attitudes of our two governments and our aspirations in maintaining friendly relations. If any dispute should arise or new negotiations be started, further negotiations shall take place in Beijing." It was a time when the Qing government wanted to avoid any conflict with Russia on China's western border and therefore found itself compelled to yield temporarily. On 17 April, Xu Jingcheng, under orders from his superior authority, notified the Russian side of China's agreement, namely that "prior to a final settlement of the Pamir questions between China and Russia, both sides shall order their authorities in charge to maintain their positions and not advance beyond these positions." However, in the same note, the Qing government insisted on two important reservations:

"First, that adopting the above-mentioned measures shall not be construed as China relinquishing its rights to the Pamir areas even though presently not occupied by Chinese troops. It reserves its rights based on the 1884 border agreement, until such time that a satisfactory settlement will be arrived at.

Second, that adopting the above-mentioned measures shall not be construed as a conclusion of the present negotiations."

On 18 April, Xu Jingcheng again advised Giers that China "ordered the Chinese authorities in charge not to advance beyond the positions presently held by them until China and Russia shall have reached a final solution of the Pamir boundary question."

On 23 April, Gries replied to Xu Jingcheng that Russia "had correspondingly ordered the Russian authorities in charge not to advance beyond the positions presently held by them until China and Russia shall have reached a final solution on the Pamir boundary question."

The above are the four notes exchanged between China and Russia on the Pamir question. The character of these four notes is perfectly clear: they do not constitute a delimitation of a boundary. They are mutual communications that clarify the standpoints of the invading side, Russia, and the invaded side, China. They are notes which in the face of the stalemate of the 1892-1894 Sino-Russian negotiations in Pamir signify an agreement between the two parties to maintain temporarily the status quo in the said area. The four notes use the term "prior to a final settlement," or some similar term, namely of the settlement of the Sino-Russian dispute over the Pamir. The Chinese side stated in its note in clear and unequivocal terms

that maintenance of the status quo "was not to be construed as China relinquishing its rights to the areas of the Pamir not presently occupied by Chinese forces." That means that China did not divest itself of its rights to the territory of the Chinese Pamir west of the Sarikol range that tsarist Russia occupied. China also made it clear that it "preserves its rights based on the 1884 boundary agreement." In addition the Chinese notes also point out that maintaining the status quo "must not be construed as a conclusion of the present negotiations." This makes it quite clear that the 1894 notes are not notes to delimit the boundary and that they are not at all a final solution of the dispute between China and Russia over the Pamir.

It must be pointed out that the Soviet Russian interpretation of the 1894 notes has not the slightest justification. On 11 August 1981 a statement by the Soviet Foreign Ministry arbitrarily asserts that the Sino-Russian exchange of notes in 1894 constituted documents that delimited the frontier. The statement says that there is a Sino-Russian (Sino-Soviet) "boundary line" in the Pamir from the Uzbel Pass south along the Sarikol ridge, that this "boundary line" has been "historically established" and "legally affirmed by the 1894 exchange of notes," and that any talk of a disputed area on the Sino-Soviet border in the Pamir is a "fabrication by Beijing." The statement also says that "the demarcation of this section of the border on Chinese maps is the same as on Soviet maps, namely along the ridge of the Sarikol mountain range."[22] Even before the above statement was made, Prokhorov had written that the 1894 exchange of notes "in actual fact acknowledges that the border between the two countries runs from the Uzbel Pass along the ridge of the Sarikol mountain range."[23] Every word of this is complete falsehood.

The Soviet allegation that a "historically established border line" exists from the Uzbel Pass south along the ridge of the Sarikol mountain range does not even deserve a refutation. There has never been a "border line," only a line of military occupation by Russia.

The notes exchanged in 1894 are definitely not documents delimiting a frontier. Evidence for this, apart from the clear statements in the documents themselves and the important reservations made by the Chinese side, are the following facts:

First, in his note of 11 April 1894 the Russian Foreign Minister Giers, when suggesting to Qing Chang to maintain the status quo in the Pamir, already stated as the purpose of his proposal that both sides shall refrain from troop movements "prior to a settlement, in order to facilitate the negotiations and avoid incidents." This shows that the Russian side recognized that the border "had not yet been negotiated and determined," and that the maintenance of the status quo was "for the purpose of facilitating the negotiations" and did not constitute a delimitation of the border.

Second, on 23 April of the same year, i.e., on the day when the Russian side sent its last note, Giers told Qing Chang that the present exchange of notes was "only an agreement to refrain from further troop movements by both sides,"

and that the Sino-Russian border in the Pamir still "awaits further negotiations and overall delimitation."[25] If the 1894 exchange of notes had indeed been documents that delimited a border, as the Soviet Foreign Ministry now says, why would the Russian Foreign Minister Giers, a man who personally participated in the exchange of notes, say that the Sino-Russian frontier in the Pamir was still awaiting future delimitation?

Third, on 26 March 1926 the Chinese side sent the Russian side an aide-memoire which said: "The Pamir is Chinese territory. In 1892 the former imperial government of Russia pretended it would use the area only temporarily, but then despatched troops into the area and forcibly occupied it. This case has remained unsettled up to this day." In its memorandum of 14 April of the same year addressed to the Chinese side, the Soviet side indicated: "In places that have so far remained undelimited, frontiers will have to be newly delimited separately."[26] The "so far undelimited places" are in fact the areas of the Pamir.

To sum up, there is ample evidence in the exchanged notes themselves, in the utterances of the party that personally participated on the Russian side and in the memoranda exchanged between China and Soviet Russia in the 1920's to the effect that the 1894 notes exchanged between China and Russia on the Pamir question do not constitute border delimitations. The evidence shows that there exists a territorial dispute between China and Soviet Russia regarding the Pamir. If the Foreign Ministry of the Soviet Union wantonly distorts the historical facts, stubbornly asserts that the 1894 notes constitute documents of border delimitation and that the territorial dispute between China and the Soviet Union in the Pamir "has been fabricated by Beijing," it is nothing but a case of lame excuses and fallacious reasoning. This fallacious theory of the Soviet Foreign Ministry can also not find support in the book "The Sino-Soviet Border Question" by the Soviet academician Prokhorov, published in Moscow in 1975. The author stubbornly defends the territorial aggression by tsarist Russia against China, but when "proving" that the 1894 notes are "border delimiting documents," he lets the cat out of the bag. He writes: The notes exchanged in 1894 determined that "prior to the final delimitation, the Sino-Russian frontier shall run along the crest of the Sarikol mountain range."[27] Since he is admitting that there had been no previous delimitation, how can it be said that the notes contained a delimitation?

The Soviet Foreign Ministry's further assertion, that the demarcation of the Pamir on Chinese maps is identical with that on Soviet Russian maps, is even more inconsistent with the facts. The Soviet Union unilaterally and without the slightest justification marked a line of military occupation, which it had inherited from old Russia, as a frontier line that has already been delimited. China has never acknowledged this. Maps published by China have always marked this border as un undelimited border area, quite different from the way the Soviet Russian maps are marked. Who would have thought that the Soviet Foreign Ministry would cook up a story like this and spread it around!

3. The Anglo-Russian Partition of the Pamir and the Soviet-Afghan Boundary Treaty of 1981.

On 22 July 1981 the Chinese government solemnly declared that the "boundary treaty," presumptiously signed between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan delimiting a frontier from Lake Sarikol to the Kekelaqukaole Peak is illegal. This was a well-justified act, and an act beyond reproach, to protect the Chinese sovereignty. However, the Soviet Foreign Ministry, to disguise the illegal nature of its action, "proved" its "legality" in a statement dated 11 August 1981, stubbornly insisting that "the questions regulated by the said boundary treaty concerned only the Soviet Union and Afghanistan and no one else." It also slandered China by alleging that China "wantonly meddles in the relations of other sovereign states," "tells sovereign states which boundary treaties may and which may not be concluded," and "puts forward illegal territorial demands against the Soviet Union."[28]

It is really true that the Soviet-Afghan boundary treaty "only concerns the Soviet Union and Afghanistan and no one else"? When referring to a map of the Pamir, we see that Lake Sarikol is on the "direct line south" from Uzbel Pass. Drawing a line from Lake Sarikol to the east to Kekelaqukaole Peak this line is in the region of the Great and Little Pamir[29] and east of the "direct line south" fixed in the 1884 border agreement and therefore, according to agreement, belongs to China. This is Chinese territory forcibly and outrageously seized in 1892 by the armed forces of tsarist Russia in violation of the 1884 border agreement. If prior to the settlement of the Pamir question between China and Soviet Russia, a boundary treaty is signed with a third party concerning land that according to an agreement belongs to China, can one still say that this is "of no concern to anyone else" and of no relevance to China!

As to the term "only concerns the Soviet Union and Afghanistan," as used in the Soviet-Afghan Treaty, this is even less justifiable, and there is quite a complex history behind it:

It is well known that in the latter part of the 19th century, Great Britain and Russia were fierce rivals in Central Asia. The forceful southward thrust of Russian aggression and the clamor of an "invasion of India" by way of Central Asia, had political circles in Great Britain extremely perturbed. In January 1873, Russia and Great Britain, arrogating rights to themselves which did not belong to them, concluded the Granville-Gorchakov Agreement and marked off the Sarkol Lake and the area west of it (including some parts of the Chinese Pamir) as the two countries' spheres of influence.[30] In 1892 Russian troops illegally invaded the Chinese Pamir areas west of the Sarikol ridge and thus started taking action behind the ongoing negotiations between China and Great Britain on their partitioning the Pamir. After a protracted period of haggling, and taking advantage of China's great difficulties following its defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, Russia and Great Britain--behind China's back--came to a final agreement on partitioning the Pamir,

concluded on 11 March 1895. This agreement decided to separate the spheres of influence between the two countries on a line from Lake Sarkol straight east "right up to the Chinese border," everything north of the line to be Russian sphere of influence and everything south of the line to be British sphere of influence under the administrative control of Afghanistan.[31] A joint commissions that was headed by Pavel Shvekovsky as Russian representative and Jielede [phonetic] as British representative was engaged from July to September in delimiting although without proper authority--the "boundary" and putting up border markers along the line from Lake Sarikol eastward to the Sarikol ridge according to the illegal Anglo-Russian agreement of 11 March 1895.

The above is in rough outline the course of the Anglo-Russian partition of the Pamir. This partition, carried out by Russian and British imperialism without any participation of China, was an unbridled plunder of territory that belonged to semicolonial China and was as such an illegal action. At that time, the Qing government of China protested and solemnly declared: "The action of Great Britain and Russia of delimiting a boundary without regard for any authorization from China amounts to a forcible occupation and is incompatible with the accepted codes of conduct." The government also wired Yu Jingcheng and the Chinese Minister to Great Britain, Xue Fucheng [5641 4395 2052], "to raise strong protests with the Russian and British foreign ministries, based on existing agreements,"[33] and decided that "this matter must be taken up again" at a later date.[34] All succeeding Chinese governments have refused to acknowledge the legality of this partition.

It must be firmly asserted that the agreement signed by the Soviet Union and Afghanistan on 16 June 1981 on the direction of the Pamir section of their boundary involves precisely the section of Chinese Pamir that Russia and Great Britain split between themselves in 1895, and that Russia and Great Britain at that time determined as their "boundary line." This fully demonstrates that the Soviet authorities are now continuing the entire policy of aggression as an inheritance from tsarist Russia. The statement by the Soviet Foreign Ministry only mentions that the said Soviet-Afghan agreement affirms this section to be the "presently existing boundary" between Soviet Russian and Afghanistan, but avoids all mention that this "presently existing boundary" is derived from the loot that the tsarist government and Great Britain shared between themselves, and that it was tsarist Russia that definitely got the larger portion of the loot. The fact that the Soviet authorities now conceal the evil doings of their ancestry proves irrefutably that Russia intends to forcibly occupy the Chinese areas of the Pamir which tsarist Russia had illegally invaded, for all times to come.

If the Soviet Foreign Ministry criticizes China in a provocative manner for "telling sovereign states what treaties to conclude and which ones not to conclude," this is pure slander committed with the ulterior motive of disturbing the relations between the Chinese and the Afghan peoples. To interfere in the mutual relations of other coun-ries is a custom with Soviet hegemonism, but has nothing to do with China. What China did was merely to point out the illegal action of Soviet Russia in concluding a boundary treaty with a third country concerning territory that by agreement

belonged to China, because Soviet Russia in no sense had any right to sign such an agreement. As China has done merely what any sovereign state would have had to do, is there anything wrong in China's action? According to the "theory" of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, would it not also be interfering in the "mutual border relations" of "sovereign states," if one were to criticize the 1895 Anglo-Russian partition of the Pamir?

In 1895, when Russia and Great Britain partitioned the Pamir, Afghanistan was still a British dependency subjected to much bullying and humiliations. In the 1895 partition of the Pamir by Russia and Great Britain, Afghanistan itself played no role at all. At that time the Russian Lieutenant General of the Army Jielianjiefu [phonetic], when discussing the partition of those days, had to admit: "Russia and Afghanistan delimited their borders, but only the British and Russian signatures were recognized on the agreement, while Afghanistan stood aside like a young orphan not yet of age; that was something absurd."[35] At that time tsarist Russia only respected Great Britain, but had no respect for Afghanistan, that too is absurd!

The history of the Sino-Russian dispute over the Pamir tells us: The source of this dispute had been created by the encroachement on Chinese territory by tsarist Russia. The reason why this major historical case, left pending for so long, still remains unsettled to this day is purely that the Soviet authorities have inherited the mantle of the old tsarist invaders of China and maintain the intention of forcibly occupying the Chinese Pamir for all times to come. To accomplish this, the Soviet authorities did not shrink from falsifying history, spreading false rumors and distorting the 1884 boundary agreement and the 1894 exchange of notes, flatly denying that there is any territorial dispute in the Pamir between China and Russia. They declare the line of tsarist Russia's military occupation as "permanent state boundary," and went even so far as to conclude without proper authority a "boundary treaty" with a third country over territory in the disputed area that by agreement should belong to China. Not only that, a Soviet academician had the impudence to proclaim that the Soviet Union "has the right to occupy territory east of the Sarikol, such as the Tanghdumbash Pamir."[36] The typical hegemonistic stand of the Soviet authorities is increasingly alarming the Chinese people and all neighbors of the Soviet Union. We believe that the only just way to solve the dispute over the border territory is to follow existing treaties. If not basing on presently existing treaties, on what else could a settlement be based? In the case of the Pamir dispute between China and Soviet Russia, the only treaty that presently exists is the "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement" of 1884. Any other solution which exceeds or disavows this boundary agreement is unworkable.

FOOTNOTES

1. Also called Wuzibieli Pass [written in different characters].

2. Lake Sarikol, which the British sometimes calls Lake Wood or Lake Victoria.

3. Engels, "The Foreign Policy of Tsarist Russia" in "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Chinese edition, Vol 22, p 50, fn 1.

4. Murjaev, "In Far East Asia," Moscow, 1956, pp 78 and 129; Alder, "British India's Northern Frontier," London, 1963, p 220; Sikelin Nadingge'er [phonetic], "Ma Jiye in Kashgar," Norfolk, England, 1973, p 12; Ivanov, "Report of a Journey to the Pamir," n.p., n.d., pp 2-3

5. Also called the Kashgar Northwestern Border Agreement.

6. Also called the Il Treaty, in Russian texts called the St. Petersburg Treaty.

7. Qian Xun [6929 1852], "Deliberation and Commentary on Sino-Russian Boundary Treaties," Boundary Treaties, 5, p 3.

8. "Atlas of Xinjiang," Vol 8, State Boundary Atlas, 4, p 13.

9. "Posthumous Writings of Xu Jingcheng" Vol 7, p 8.

10. Jia Qing, "Institutions of the Qing Dynasty" Vol 10, Board of Revenue, p 40.

11. Jielianjiefu [phonetic], "History of the Subjugation of Central Asia" Vol 3, St Petersburg, 1906, p 408; Haerfen [phonetic], "The Union of Central Asia with Russia," Moscow, 1965, p 398; Iskandarov, "East Bukhara and the Pamir at the End of the 19th Century," Vol 1, Dushanbe, 1962-1963, p 289.

12. Curzon, "The Pamir and the Source of the Oxus," London, 1898, p 46; Dunmore, "The Pamirs" Vol 2, London, 1893, pp 108-109.

13. Tagaev, "In the Land of Towering Mountains," Moscow, 1904, pp 134 and 140; Dunmore, op. cit., Vol 2, p 177; Sven Hedin, "Through Asia" Vol 1, London, 1898, pp 188-192; Sikelin Naidingge'er [phonetic], "Ma Jiye in Kashgar" p 65, Cobbold, "Innermost Asia", London, 1900, pp 260-261.

14. "Posthumous Works of Xu Jingcheng" Vol 2, Memorials, pp 5-6.

15. That is the "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement."

16. "Posthumous Works of Xu Jingcheng" Vol 4, Official Communications, p 14.

17. Ibid., Vol 7, Letters, 3, pp 25-31.

18. Ibid., Vol 8, Letters, 4, pp 4-8.

19. Sikelin Naidingge'er [phonetic], "Ma Jiye in Kashgar" p 78.

20. "Posthumous Works of Xu Jingcheng" Vol 8, Letters, 4, p 33.

21. That is the "Kashgar Redelimitation Agreement."

22. Tass Agency wire, Moscow, 11 August 1981.

23. Prokhorov, "On the Sino-Soviet Border Question" p 173.

24. Ibid., p 173, fn 1.

25. "Historical Material on the Foreign Relations of the Qing Dynasty," Guangxi Reign, Vol 89, p 12.

26. New China News Agency wire, Peking, 31 August 1981.

27. See on p 173 of said book.

28. Tass Agency wire, 11 August 1981.

29. Curzon, "Map of the Pamir and Central Asia-India Border Region" 1896, see Cobbold, "Inntermost Asia," map attachment.

30. "Parliamentary Papers" of Great Britain, "Correspondence Between Great Britain and Russia on Central Asia," 1873, pt. 1, item 5.

31. "Agreement Between the Governments of Great Britain and Russia on Their Spheres of Influence in the Pamir Region" in Alder, "British India's Northern Frontier," London, 1963, appendix 7, pp 334-335; Cobbold, "Innermost Asia," appendix 9, pp 344-345.

32. Jielianjiefu [phonetic], "Subjugation of Central Asia" Vol 3, pp 420-422. Note: The furthest eastern section of this "border" is at the Kekelaqukaole Peak of the Salikol range. The Russian side illegally named it the "Pavel Shvekovsky Peak" after their chief delegate who drew up the "frontier."

33. "Atlas of Xinjiang" Vol 9, State Frontiers, 5, p 20.

34. "Historical Material on the Foreign Relations of the Qing Dynasty," Guangxu Reign, Vol 113, p 16.

35. Jilianjiefu [phonetic], "Subjugation of Central Asia," Vol 3, p 420.

36. Prokhorov, "On the Sino-Soviet Border Question" p 169. The Taghdumbash Pamir lies in the area of Tashgurghan inside the southern part of Xinjiang.

9808
CSO: 4005/71

PARTY AND STATE

IMPROVEMENT OF POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL WORK DISCUSSED

Constructive Criticism Needed

Harbin XUE LILUN [THEORETICAL STUDY] in Chinese No 9, 1 Sep 82 p 18

[Essay by Li Ruiling [2621 3843 3781]: "Sincere Advice Jars the Ear and Sincere Advice Pleases the Ear"]

[Text] "Good medicine tastes bitter but cures sickness; sincere advice jars the ear but benefits one's conduct." This venerated famous saying is quite instructive to those who turn a deaf ear to criticism.

However, for a long time I have had a different idea. I feel that, from the point of view of the critic who thinks of curing sickness to save a patient, if he can turn the case of the sincere advice that jars the ear into one of the sincere advice that pleases the ear, would not that be even better? Not long ago, when I heard about the achievement of Comrade Li Yanjie's [2621 3601 2638] work regarding backward youths, this feeling on my part deepened, there was this episode. One youth used to wear a cross on his lapel, when leaders of his unit criticized and reproached him, their words not only failed to take any effect but even provoked his antigonistic sentiment of "just wanting to show you." But, a mere chance of walking along the same road gave Li Yanjie the opportunity to impart to this youth certain esthetic viewpoints and historical knowledge, with a sincere and helpful attitude, was sufficient to "calm him down" and enable him to realize how ignorant and stupid he was and took off his cross. The reason Comrade Li Yanjie was able to become the youth's good teacher and beneficial friend, apart from his being good at enlightening the youth's thinking with philosophical, interesting and broad knowledge, another important reason is that he is good at using sincere advice that pleases the ear to warm and influence the youth's heart.

Indeed, criticism is very different from commendation and is not so good to hear; this is why there is the saying good medicine tastes bitter and sincere advice jars the ear. But, if all critics can follow Li Yanjie's example in stressing the art of criticism and turning medicine into something tasty and sincere advice that pleases the ear, the result would be considerably different. An incident encountered recently by this writer may also serve to illustrate the question: There was a fighter in an artillery company who went to another company to visit the relative of a fellow native fighter; he returned to his

own company late and held up the whole company's training. A leader of his company reproached him, saying that since he was so "oblivious of his organization and discipline, he might as well take off his uniform and return to civilian life!" Upon hearing this, this fighter was upset and depressed. Another leader eventually talked to this fighter; at first he cordially asked him about the current situation in his hometown and family, then he opined: "When you saw a person from your hometown, you could hardly avoid saying a few cordial words; I feel the same way. As the saying goes, a person from the same hometown makes you feel close whether he is a relative or not, and waters in your native place look pretty whether they are really pretty or not. But have you ever thought about how important 'discipline' is to a soldier?! Take your artillery platoon for example, it is engaged in coordinated training. When you alone are absent at the time of training, the whole platoon's training is ineffective and this affects the improvement of all your skills; when you alone are absent at wartime, the whole platoon would be unable to go forward and that would bungle the chance of winning a battle." These understanding and reasonable words on the part of this leader made the fighter knod his head repeatedly and he gladly acknowledged his error.

In contrast, these two ways of airing a criticism can well explain the problem. The former leader's criticism is not necessarily wrong; it could well be regarded as sincere advice that jarred the ear; while his motive was above reproach, its result could often be other than good. But, with patient and careful advice that pleases the ear serving his ideological work, the latter leader was able to make the fighter gladly acknowledge his error. Examples like this can be frequently taken from our daily life. We often say that we must enhance the effectiveness of our ideological and political workers; here a person at such ideological work resorting to providing sincere advice that pleases the ear is precisely one of the important means of enhancing such effectiveness. Those comrades who are good at doing their ideological work usually understand this "secret" very well.

To provide sincere advice is really rather important; but to succeed in doing so is by no means an easy matter. It would not do to try to master this art of criticism without doing some hard work. In the first place, one must have a desire and deep affection of wanting to cure the sickness to save the patient toward the person being criticized. In this way can one pour in one's true feelings when one helps others and thereby utter words that warm the hearts of others. Secondly, one must be good at sensing the mind of the person being criticized, at grasping where the crux of the problem is; only thus can the critic have a definite objective and speak to the point. Furthermore, one must be well cultivated, control one's impetuosity, control one's critical tone, avoid simplicity and crudeness or oppressing others with power or with rationalization. The reason why in the case of some comrades their motives are good but their results are poor, the key is they lack patience, often seize on a comrade's mistake or weakness with excessive tenacity, too eager to scold them in the first instance no matter what might have happened; this approach can hardly be acceptable to the person being criticized; it might even provoke further contradictions. Many facts prove that to emphasize the propriety of criticism is a very important link in doing a good job in one' ideological and political work. Therefore, it is hoped that all those who

are engaged in ideological and political work would, like Comrade Li Yanjie, turn sincere advice that jars the ear into sincere advice that pleases the ear and hence to a good job in their ideological and political work.

Ideology, Not Fines, Promoted

Harbin XUE LILUN [THEORETICAL STUDY] in Chinese No 9, 1 Sep 82 pp 19-20

[Essay by Sun Tianmou [1327 1131 5399]: "'Fines' Cannot Take the Place of Ideological Work"]

[Text] Recently I went to gather news and discovered that cadres of political work in some units, seeing that managing economic work by economic means proved very effective, started to rigidly follow suit by "creating" an approach of substituting economic means for political and ideological work. These units went through a great deal of trouble to come up with things like "Regulations Governing the Imposing of Fines for the Maintenance of Stability and Unity" and formulate things like "Regulations Governing the Imposing of Fines to Stop Fighting and Beating Each Other," etc. "Regulations" of this kind make one thing salient: that is substituting money for hard, methodical political and ideological work, constraining people's thinking and conduct with money.

Can "fines" really take the place of political and ideological work and reap the expected results? Please take a look at the following two stories:

One has to do with a company at a farm where during the period of summer hoeing a couple started to quarrel with each other. The reason was that the husband did not like the loose way the wife squandered his money; the wife did not want to give in and went to the company headquarters to register a complaint against her husband. Upon hearing that it was a quarrel, the company headquarters without uttering a word immediately invoked the "Regulations"; giving as its reason that "such a quarrel at a time of busy summer hoeing affects the company's production," the company headquarters simply fined the couple 5 yuan. The husband was actually a meticulous person who watched every penny; once he heard about being fined 5 yuan by the company headquarters he immediately flew into a rage and gave his wife a thorough beating, conflicts between the couple not only were not solved but deepened.

The other has to do with a certain unit where a staff worker heard someone say that the company headquarters no longer wanted the fruit trees along the road; he immediately believed what he heard and dug up a few of them and took them home. After the company headquarters learned about this, it fined him 30 yuan according to the "regulations" without asking questions. The more this staff worker thought about this, the angrier he became; he therefore stole a few hand grenades and nearly blew the cadre who imposed the fine on him to pieces.

From these two examples, it is not difficult for us to see: be it quarreling or digging up trees, the people involved had their faults, those who served as cadres on political work should have gone to investigate and study, understand the whole process through which the events took place, understand the reasons,

grasp the essence of the problems, carry out patient, careful persuasion and education, induce the persons involved to acknowledge their wrong-doing or encourage them to consciously make the pertinent restitution; this would have made the problems easy to solve. But the actual happenings ran counter to this; the cadres on political work in these two units adopt a bureaucratic attitude of simplicity and crudeness, took money as omnipotent and thought that it could help implement the ideological and political work among men; but the results have turned out to be exactly the opposite, with contradictions radicalized instead.

However, some cadres on political work are still imitating approaches similar to these as if they were pertinent experiences, and they even feel quite good about them. This cannot but make one feel worried. Political and ideological work is difficult; it definitely cannot hope to become effective "by way of some short-cut." In order to do a good job in our political and ideological work, we must earnestly change our bureaucratic workstyle, go deep down in the midst of practical work, understand new situations, study new problems, and explore a set of laws in our political and ideological undertakings so as to gain experiences in political and ideological work.

9255
CSO: 4005/60

PARTY AND STATE

HU YAOBANG'S REPORT AT 12TH PARTY CONGRESS STUDIED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Oct 82 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "A Good Study Experience"]

[Text] When organizing the party members and cadres to study the documents of the 12th Party Congress, the Huiyang prefectural party committee particularly guided them to concentrate intensively and carefully on a part of Comrade Hu Yaobang's report, viz., "a Historical Transformation and New Great Tasks," thereby giving them a pleasant feeling right at the beginning and raising their consciousness in studying. It formed a sharp contrast with the attitude of some comrades who paid no serious attention to studying on ground that the first part of the "report" dealt with things of the past. It appears that the experience of Huiyang prefecture is good and can serve as a reference by the various areas.

When studying the first part of the "report," by linking it with our personal knowledge and summarizing the basic experience of bringing order out of chaos, our comrades will feel a close affinity with it. The reason is because all our comrades personally participated in the practice of bringing order out of chaos, underwent the ideological emancipation and saw with their own eyes the tremendous power of the principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session in reversing the course of events. As long as we study conscientiously, we will understand that the great historical transformation is primarily the reestablishment of the Marxist ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts. It will produce an excellent impact on our future effort to rectify the ideological line more successfully, purge the negative consequences left by the 10-year civil strife and implement the spirit of the 12th Party Congress creatively.

As aptly put by some county party committee secretaries in Huiyang prefecture, once one has learned the first part of the "report," one will understand completely the declaration of the 12th Party Congress on the great historical transformation achieved throughout the party and the nation after the downfall of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session. These are not empty words, but are completely

compatible with the objective facts. It is because, on the basis of re-establishing the Marxist ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts, we have realized a stable and united, vivid and lively political situation, resolutely shifted the emphasis of party and government work to economic construction, gradually readjusted, reorganized and reinforced the party and government leadership teams of the various levels, placed educational, scientific and cultural work on the right track and made certain progresses, and exerted a vigorous effort on building the army and the party and produced marked achievements. All these are not empty words or platitudes, but tremendous accomplishments already made, a record of historical facts, and truths tested by practice.

Did we not say that the 12th Party Congress is a congress with the great historical significance of "carrying forward the revolutionary cause and forging ahead into the future?" Learning the first part of the "report" will give us a deep understanding of this truth. It is because, if we truly understand that we have achieved a historical transformation and see that, with the devastations in the 10-year turmoil and the myriad tasks awaiting to be done, a vital and flourishing scene has emerged in our fatherland, we will understand completely that the command issued by the 12th Party Congress to totally unfold a new phase of the socialist modernization construction and the correct programs, principles and policies formulated by it are not proposed out of the thin air, but the replenishment and development of the lines, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session, an inevitability of historical development and a reflection of the urgent desires of the 1 billion people, compatible with the developmental laws of objective reality.

In a word, learning the first part of the "report" will lay a crucial foundation for the study of the 12th Party Congress documents and the understanding of its spirit, give us a good start for our study, and promote its in depth development.

6080
CSO: 4005/42

IMPORTANCE OF 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS STRESSED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Sep 82 p 2

[Editorial: "Conscientiously Study the Documents of the 12th Party Congress"]

[Text] The three-level cadre meeting called by the provincial party committee devoted its time and energy on studying the documents of the 12th Party Congress. Though the meeting lasted only a few days, the comrades concentrated their attention on studying the documents conscientiously, comprehensively and intensively, discussed them section by section and produced good results. It was a study meeting led by the leading cadres. Many comrades said with deep feelings: Sitting down to concentrate on studying the documents and mutually enlightening one another have not only improved our ideological awareness and stimulated our communist spirit, but also given us a good idea on organizing the studies when we return to our units. It is a good beginning, and it has provided experience for launching provincewide studies generally and intensively.

At the 1st Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee, Comrade Hu Yaobang appealed to the party committees of all levels to consider the study of the 12th Party Congress documents a major task. In accordance thereof, the [Guangdong] provincial party committee has made concrete arrangements. Each and every comrade must fully recognize the extreme importance of the study and consciously handle it as a political task. As proved by experience, if we wish to maintain ideological and political unity with the Party Central Committee and have full confidence in implementing the party's programs and goals, we must study. Let us review the past: The fact that many areas, after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, properly implemented its lines, principles and policies, developed rapidly and made great transformations was all because they conscientiously studied its documents. It was an important experience. Today, if we want to unify our thinking on the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, we must properly study its documents.

To do so, we must study them section by section and truly understand their spiritual essence. Meanwhile, we must link the study with a review of the party's lines, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Each and every one of our comrades took part in the practice of bringing order out of chaos after the Third Plenary Session, had personal experience in the ideological emancipation and in breaking down the "leftwing" fetters, and saw with their own eyes the tremendous power of the party's correct policies. Therefore, studying the documents of the 12th Party Congress in conjunction with the lines, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session will enable us to understand deeply why it is said that we have accomplished a great historical transformation. We will truly understand that the great historical task of unfolding a new phase of the socialist modernization construction is an inevitability in the development of history. We will understand that the strategic goal proposed by the 12th Party Congress is a magnificent plan based on the successful practice of the economic construction in the past few years and the scientific analysis of the coming 18 years. By studying the documents of the 12th Party Congress, we will deeply understand that the series of policies introduced in our province in the past several years on opening the door to the outside and enlivening the economy at home is completely correct, to be more firmly implemented today and perfected in the course of implementation. By so doing, we will properly solve the issue of the continuity of policies and overcome our fear of policy changes, thereby advancing on the momentum of victory with full confidence to build a socialist material and spiritual civilization.

The documents of the 12th Party Congress are contributions to the development of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. When studying them, we should link our study with the relevant expositions of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong, especially those connected with dialectic materialism and historical materialism, in order to trace the source. It will lead to our thorough understanding of the spiritual essence of the documents from the height of theory. The documents are permeated with the scientific thinking of materialist dialectics. Explaining the profound in simple terms, they contain, for instance, concise and comprehensive scientific analyses of the relations between politics and economics, between material and spiritual civilizations, between the communist ideological education and the current policies, and between economic benefits and developmental speed, of the dual policy of the socialist cause (opening the door to the outside and enlivening the economy at home on the one hand and firmly cracking down on the serious criminal activities in the economic, political and cultural realms endangering socialism on the other), of firmly deploying the struggle against "leftwing" and rightwing mistakes, etc. Studying the documents, we feel very close to them. Our study will have an extremely crucial significance in intensifying our understanding of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and of the documents themselves.

We must realize that, since a while ago, an undesirable practice has been found in the study of political theories, i.e., contentment with

superficial understanding. Some comrades often fail to concentrate on studying the material; instead, reading them over once, they stop after acquiring a little knowledge, or even ramble about everything under the sun apart from the basic spirit of the documents. Such attitude and method will make it impossible to truly understand the spiritual essence of the material. To truly understand the spiritual essence of the documents of the 12th Party Congress, we must, on the basis of comprehensive and intensive studying, first link them with the ideological reality, and unify our thinking on the programs and the principles and policies decided by the congress. Meanwhile, we must, under the guidance of the basic spirit of the congressional documents and in accordance with the reality of our particular areas, departments and units, study and formulate various measures and methods to implement the spirit of the congress and actively initiate a new phase.

To place the study of the 12th Party Congress documents in the foremost position and consider it a major task does not mean that other work may be postponed, to be performed after our study. Studying cannot replace work; on the contrary, it is precisely for the purpose of effectively promoting the progress of the various tasks, so that we will, under the guidance of the spirit of the congress, initiate a new phase for our tasks. Currently, there is much work to be done. We must further emancipate our thinking and enliven the economy. We must strive to complete, and complete above norm, the agricultural and industrial production and the various economic plans for this year. The appeal to "make this year better than the last" proposed at the beginning of the year must be vigorously achieved. The strengthening and perfection of the responsibility system on all agricultural, industrial and commercial fronts, the deployment of technical reform and technical innovation, the improvement of the realm of circulation, the building of a spiritual civilization and the combat against the serious criminal activities in the economic realm must be pursued more thoroughly and more successfully. We must also, by means of studying the new party constitution, make proper preparations for convening the provincial party congress and, at the same time, ideological preparations for the party's rectification to be launched in the second half of next year. In short, we must fulfill the demand of the provincial party committee: "Do not wait to study; do not wait to propagandize; do not wait to work."

The 12th Party Congress has presented before our eyes the highway to an enduring political stability and steady economic development. As long as we give serious attention to studying, are skillful in studying, and struggle vigorously, concretely and persistently, a new phase of the socialist modernization construction will be totally unfolded and the magnificent goal proposed by the 12th Party Congress achieved.

6080
CSO: 4005/42

IMPROVING PARTY WORK STYLE SAID KEY TO BASIC IMPROVEMENTS

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Sep 82 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "The Key Is the Basic Improvement of the Party Style"]

[Text] The report on how Qiongshan county, in the course of rectifying the unhealthy trends, conducted a communist education of the cadres and produced obvious results is well worth reading. It will help us understand the crucial importance of improving the party style and the spirit of the documents of the 12th Party Congress.

In his report at the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang appealed to the entire party to strive, in the next 5 years until the next congress, to achieve the basic improvement of the state fiscal and economic conditions, of the social mood and of the party style. The three basic improvements are mutually linked and mutually promotive, but the key is in the improvement of the party style. The fact that, starting from its own reality and rectifying the serious unhealthy trend among a part of the leading cadres who had built private homes illegally, Qiongshan county effectively promoted the socialist economic construction throughout the county illustrates this important principle.

As the party in power, our party, after a long revolutionary struggle, enjoys a high prestige among the masses, and the people deeply understand that, without the Communist Party, there would have been no new China and our socialist modernization will not be achieved. We must firmly believe that the party's leadership will grow ever more obvious and ever more effective in the new phase of the socialist modernization construction in the future. However, we must also soberly realize that, due to the serious wounds suffered by our party in the 10-year civil strife, its prestige has been damaged. Since the Third Plenary Session, party building has been strengthened and the party style has gradually improved, but the improvement is not basic. In some areas, the unhealthy trends in the party are still widespread in a shocking way. The facts in these areas

most clearly indicate that, if the issue of the party style is not solved, it will be very difficult to change the social mood and carry out the economic construction.

The conditions in Qiongshan county in recent years were precisely thus. More than 100 cadres of the level of assistant bureau chief and above built private homes, and a large portion of them, to different degrees, were built illegally. In the course of doing so, some people even embezzled public funds, accepted bribes and turned into serious economic criminals. Under the pounding of this evil wind, many cadres lost interest in their work, "discussing houses" at work and "moving rocks" after work. It became impossible to organize the cadres to proceed to the rural areas. Running counter to the party's superior tradition, this gust of evil wind caused people to abandon their communist revolutionary ideals and spread bourgeois individualism. If the situation was not firmly corrected, how could the masses be led to build a socialist material and spiritual civilization? It was not surprising that the work in Qiongshan county had failed to progress in recent years.

Nevertheless, today, Qiongshan county has begun to change. It is most heartening. Isn't it a fact that some comrades today do not have much confidence in improving the party style and in its basic improvement within 5 years? Seeing the changes now underway in Qiongshan county, these comrades will increase their confidence.

As everyone knows, the number of counties like Qiongshan with its widespread unhealthy trends, its weak party and government leadership and its inability to send the cadres to the rural areas is extremely small in the province. Many people felt that such areas were hopeless and that there was no way to rectify the unhealthy trends. Nevertheless, the Qiongshan county party committee felt otherwise. In the past year, they concentrated on the prominent issue of private home construction, took a clear-cut stand against the unhealthy trend, firmly and promptly handled the major and crucial cases, severely punished the criminals who had seriously violated party discipline and state law, and handed them over to the judicial department for legal sanction. What was of special importance was that they were skillful in stressing the typical cases, reinforced the communist ideological education of the party members and cadres, and enabled the broad party members and cadres to strengthen their communist revolutionary ideals and criticize individualism with a target in mind. By placing ideology in the lead and rectifying the party style, they made many cadres involved in the illegal construction of private homes begin to voluntarily correct their mistakes, and promoted the smooth progress of the struggle against the unhealthy trends; they began to make an obvious improvement in the cadre style, and large groups of cadres consciously proceeded to the rural areas, helping the peasants fully implement the party's rural policy, effectively activating their enthusiasm and assuring the marked growth of the agricultural and industrial production throughout the county; they gave the broad peasants

peace of mind and rapidly restored and enhanced the party's prestige among the masses, and the masses began to develop patriotism and their love for the collective. Naturally, Qiongshan county's effort to improve the party style was only a good start, and much work has to be done in the future. However, since Qiongshan county, beset with such serious problems, could rapidly correct the party style, what grounds do we have to doubt that other areas can also make a basic improvement of the party style?

The report of the 12th Party Congress pointed out: "The party's ideological construction is the pillar to build the spiritual civilization of the entire society." The key to the three basic improvements is the basic improvement of the party style. We hope that all areas, under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, will start from the reality of the particular areas, reinforce the party's ideological construction, improve the party style, bring along the style of the masses and effectively promote the socialist modernization construction.

6080
CSO: 4005/42

PARTY AND STATE

REPORT OF 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DISCUSSED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 82 p 4

[Article: "Guidance Material in Studying the 12th Party Congress Report," Parts 4 and 5]

[Text] What is a high degree of socialist democracy? Why is a "high degree of centralism" not mentioned?

Comrade Hu Yaobang declared: "Building a high degree of socialist democracy is our basic goal and one of our basic tasks."

Then, what is a high degree of socialist democracy? According to our understanding, it refers to the broadest democracy enjoyed by the worker class and the broad masses in a socialist society. It is a state system, i.e., on the basis of ownership and control, in different forms, of the production means, all the people enjoy together the supreme right to manage the state. Concretely speaking, it includes the following three aspects:

1. The people are the masters of the state and have the right to manage the state and the enterprises. It is the essence of socialist democracy. By means of the National People's Congress and the staff and workers' congress, their right is gradually perfected and concretely protected and enlarged. It is far superior to the bourgeois democracy.

2. The socialist democracy is built on the foundation of production means public ownership. As the economic base, public ownership will gradually create the conditions and protect the people's concrete exercise of their democratic rights, such as scheduling the necessary time for political activities, providing propaganda and information by seeking the truth from the facts, making actual use of the best printing tools and meeting grounds, etc. On the other hand, the employment of the tools of democracy in capitalist countries is almost completely under the control of the bourgeoisie.

2. The socialist democracy extends to all aspects of social life and serves as the effective means for the solution of the contradictions within the people and for the people's self-education. In accordance with the principles of the socialist democracy, our country has built and will continue to develop the relations of equality among men and the correct relations between individuals and society. It is something which is basically impossible for the capitalist countries to attain.

Naturally, our socialist democracy is not yet perfect. It must, in particular, be closely linked with the socialist legal system, in order to be further legalized and systematized. Therefore, achieving the goal of a high degree of socialist democracy is an extremely formidable task.

In that case, why is "a high degree of centralism" not mentioned at the same time? Because the socialist democracy refers to China's state system, which indicates the class essence of the state. Democracy as a state system is not in terms of relative centralism; therefore, the question of "a high degree of centralism" does not exist. Furthermore, the state apparatus of any type of country is the centralized expression of the will of the ruling class; there is no state which is not centralized. The distinction between the natures of states is which class exercises dictatorship and whether the majority or the minority enjoys democracy. Therefore, "a high degree of centralism" is not an issue when discussing the state system.

The word "centralism" commonly used by us refers to democratic centralism. It indicates China's political system. In China, the National People's Congress, the various levels of local people's congresses and other organs of the state all follow democratic centralism. As stated by Comrade Hu Yaobang in his report at the 12th Party Congress, "we must, in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism, continue to reform and perfect the political and leadership systems of the state and enable the people to exercise their state powers more effectively and the state organs to lead and organize the socialist construction more efficiently."

What is the basic policy of the Party Central Committee on the class struggle in China's present stage?

Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report: "We must make the proper spiritual preparations for a protracted struggle, perform the dictatorial functions of a state under the people's democratic dictatorship and apply the Marxist class viewpoint in handling the current social contradictions and social phenomena in China bearing the nature of the class struggle. It is the basic policy of the Party Central Committee on the class struggle in China's present stage."

Why must we make spiritual preparations for a protracted struggle? Because the class struggle within a certain sphere will remain for a long

time in China's society. There are three main reasons: First, it is basically impossible to purge completely, within a short time, the remnant poison of the exploiting system and exploiting class in history in the various aspects, especially the ideological aspect. The corruption, theft and bribery perpetrated by some individuals are, to a large extent, due to the ideological influence of the exploiting class ideology of profiting by the toil of others. Second, China's unification has not been finally completed. We still find ourselves in a complex international environment, and capitalism and certain influences hostile to China's socialist cause still corrode and subvert us. In addition to sending spies for disruptive activities, such corrosion and subversion include also the degenerate capitalist ideology which, with China's introduction of the open-door policy, seizes every opportunity to infiltrate, thereby corroding the weak in our ranks. Third, China's economy and culture are still relatively backward, and it is impossible for the young socialist system, with its many imperfections, to completely prevent the corruption and degeneration of certain members of society, including certain party members, and to put an end to the emergence of an extremely small number of exploiters and various kinds of hostile elements. Measures on the prevention of some cadres from utilizing their functions to seek private gain or even to embezzle large amounts of state and collective assets, of the corruption and bribery, speculation and profiteering committed by certain members of society in the realms of production and circulation, etc. are very imperfect. In view of the above reasons, the protracted presence of the class struggle in China within a certain sphere will remain an objective fact.

Though manifested in manifold aspects, the class struggle is mainly embodied in the struggle of the broad masses against hostile elements of every hue deliberately disrupting and sabotaging the socialist system in economics, politics, ideology and culture, and social life. Such struggle has the import of a direct class struggle and seriously hampers the consolidation of China's socialist economy and political system. Therefore, we must firmly perform the dictatorial functions of a state under the people's democratic dictatorship, ruthlessly crack down on the hostile elements and punish them according to law.

Since the class struggle within a certain sphere will remain with us for a long time to come, and since it possesses at times the import of a direct class struggle (struggling against the hostile elements) and at other times certain attributes of the class struggle (struggling against the incorrect words and acts of those within the people seriously influenced by the exploiting class ideology), then, the Marxist class viewpoint is definitely not outmoded. If we abandon the class viewpoint, we will fail to recognize clearly the nature of the class struggle and confuse the social contradictions of different natures. One crucial factor for some comrades to treat casually the serious criminal activities in the economic realm in a previous period was their failure to analyze the criminal activities with the class viewpoint, thereby resulting in their

inability to recognize in such activities the actual reflection of a serious class struggle against the socialist system. Obviously, as long as the class struggle exists, we must use the class viewpoint to analyze and handle the social contradictions and social phenomena bearing the nature of class struggle. Naturally, the large number of social contradictions which do not belong in the realm of class struggle must be solved by means of democratic centralism.

Why are sabotages in the economic, political and cultural realms not considered as ordinary criminal acts?

Today, we are waging an intensive struggle against the serious criminal activities in the economic and the political and cultural realms. Such activities are not ordinary crimes or ordinary anti-social acts, but significant manifestations of the class struggle under the new historical conditions upon China's introduction of the open-door policy toward the outside and the policy of enlivening the economy at home.

Why is it so? Because ordinary crimes are acts endangering only the interest of a certain aspect of society. While crimes causing serious accidents, crimes of beating and injuring, etc., for instance, also endanger public security, the consequences of such crimes do not involve the overthrow and subversion of the political power of the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist system. The serious sabotages in the economic, political and cultural realms are otherwise.

First, in terms of the source of such sabotages, they are the reflections of the corruption and corrosion of the capitalist ideology. In China, the exploiting system and the exploiting class have been eliminated, but the class struggle still exists within a certain sphere, and the influence of the decadent exploiting class ideology remains fairly serious. In recent years, with the introduction of the open-door policy toward the outside and the policy of enlivening the economy at home, the international bourgeoisie and domestic hostile elements, feeling the presence of opportunities, have intensified their activities to infiltrate and corrupt our ranks with the capitalist ideology and living pattern, soliciting and bribing by all kinds of means the very small number of weak-minded among our party members and cadres for the purpose of making large profits on the one hand and rocking the people's political power on the other. In the political and cultural realms, there are also hostile elements of every hue, either making counterrevolutionary propaganda, inciting the resistance of the masses and disrupting the enforcement of the laws and decrees of the state, or utilizing feudal superstition to launch counterrevolutionary activities, or promoting "cultural smuggling" and peddling contraband propaganda material. Meanwhile, in our party, government and army, there is indeed a very small number of people who, unable to withstand the test, have degenerated and deteriorated and taken the path of seriously violating party discipline and state law. In nature, such

sabotage activities are attacks on socialism launched by internal and external forces hostile to the socialist cause.

Next, in terms of consequences, such sabotage activities gravely endanger the security and consolidation of the socialist political power. As fully indicated by many shocking instances of criminal economic activities, the present problems are far more serious than those at the time of the "movement against the three evils" in 1952. Among the various criminal cases, many of the offenders are party members and cadres, even involving individual leading cadres with certain authority. They seriously devastate construction, disrupt social stability, contaminate the social mood, corrupt man's thinking and life and, like termites, endanger the socialist mansion. The easiest way to capture a fortress is from within. The very small number of degenerates within the party and the hostile elements in society, collaborating with one another within and without, have caused great losses to the body of our party and revolutionary ranks. If permitted to develop, they will inevitably destroy our socialist cause. The effect of such sabotages is far beyond that of ordinary crimes. Therefore, the sabotage activities in the economic, political and cultural realms are not only manifestations of the class struggle, but its significant manifestations.

Why must "democracy serve as the means of the people's self-education?"

The main reasons are as follows:

1. It is determined by our state system. The draft revision of the constitution reads: "The people, in accordance with the stipulations of the law and by means of all kinds of channels and forms, have the right to manage the affairs of the state, the economy and culture, and the affairs of society. The socialist democracy is found in the political, economic, cultural and social lives of the people. When democracy serves as the means of the people's self-education, it will help the citizens in exercising their legitimate rights and performing their proper duties to the state and society and in building their democratic habits and understanding how to correctly exercise their freedoms and rights, how to correctly defend the interest of the state, society and the collective, and how to respect the freedoms and rights of others. Handing over the draft revision of the constitution for popular discussion, for instance, is determined by our democratic system and serves as a good means for the self-education of the masses. By way of discussions and making suggestions, the masses enhance their concept of the legal system and learn the distinctions between observance and violation of law and between rights and duties.

2. It is the need for the full development of the people's initiative and enthusiasm. Today, our country has entered a new historical period. In regard to the large numbers of internal contradictions and the ideological issues and questions of right and wrong within the people, if we do

not follow the democratic method and educate and convince the people, but resort to coercion, arbitrarily telling them what to do, we will not only fail to produce any result, but also suppress their initiative and enthusiasm. As proved by practice, in regard to issues within the people, we can only solve them by means of criticism and self-criticism and self-education. Let us give an illustration: The recent "economic situation education" activities enabled the masses, by means of "presenting the figures and making an itemized account," to recognize the benefits brought to their lives by the Third Plenary Session, thereby receiving an education, overcoming the muddle thinking found among some of them and strengthening their enthusiasm for the modernization construction.

3. It helps in mediating promptly the disputes among the masses and preventing the aggravation of contradictions. The basic level social life involves a considerable number of civil disputes, between neighbors, in the family, over debts, houses, public places, etc., which are disagreements of a commonplace nature. By developing democracy and educating themselves, the people will promptly, accurately and legally handle the disputes and prevent "making a triviality into a major matter" and "turning a civil matter into a criminal one." In terms of the stability of the state and the unity of the people, the significance is very great.

What is "the people's self-government in the basic level social life?"

In the plants, villages, stores, schools, neighborhoods, military units and primary organizations, besides the links and interchanges in the political, economic and cultural lives, there are also large numbers of regular contacts in social relations and dealings in social affairs among the people. It is what is called "basic level social life." "The people's self-government" means that the masses organize themselves to manage the affairs of the basic level society and educate themselves. Today, the people's mediation committee, for instance, has been generally set up in China's urban and rural areas. It is the people's self-governing organization which enables them to educate themselves and solve their own disputes by means of criticism and self-criticism. By way of its mediation activities, it not only promptly settles many civil disputes, preventing them from turning into criminal cases, but also propagandizes the party's policies and state laws and decrees, giving the masses a legal education and enhancing their concept of the socialist legal system. It also serves as a bridge between the party and the state and the people and constitutes a vital link of the socialist democracy. One may foresee that, with the further development of mass self-government in the basic level social life, the people will create self-governing organizations in many more forms.

6080
CSO: 4005/38

PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO IMPROVE RELATIONSHIP OF PARTY TO PEOPLE EMPHASIZED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 2 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by Li Zhenhai [2621 2182 3189] and Bao Zuzhi [0545 4371 1807]: "Widely Put into Effect the Provisional System of Tying Party Members to Individual Households"]

[Text] Since the beginning of this year, Baoding Prefecture has widely put into effect the provisional system of tying party members to individual households. So far, nearly 7,000 party members from party branches of 1,523 production brigades in 15 counties have established ties with some 200,000 households of commune members; party branches which have established ties with individual households make up 25 percent of party branches at basic levels.

After the establishment of the system of tying party members to individual households, party branches can now assign work to party members in more specific terms, and oversee their performances more effectively than ever. Each party member is required to take care of three to five households of commune members, to fulfill their assignments in every possible way and to strive for success in a competitive spirit. The result is the revitalization of the organization of the party and the strengthening of its fighting power. Gone is the state of disarray and weaknesses that once existed in many party branches. Previously, Yuanguang Production Brigade in Ding County was known for its social disorder, propensity for gambling, gang-style street fights, and wasteful practices. Since the enforcement of the system of tying party members to individual households begining last year, party members have taken the initiative to rectify the party's work style, to educate commune members in the party's policies, and teach them to abide by law and discipline. In this way, they have solved many problems and turn their backward brigade into an advanced unit. In the past, the party committee of Pukou Commune in Gaoyang County faced many problems. Through the solicitation of opinions from the masses connected with households associated with party members and through the conscientious efforts to launch criticism and self-criticism, it has solved successfully problems caused by the dilatory style of work practiced by commune cadres, their frequent absence from office, and their wavering attitude toward the implementation of the party's policies, and has made the commune an advanced collective in the country.

The establishment of the system of tying party members to individual households has led party members to place strict demands on themselves, and raise their

consciousness of the need to do everything possible to glorify the party and serve the people's interests. When Liu Jinfu [0491 6651 4395], party member of Zhangqi Brigade of Ligang Commune in Lixian County, learned that his wife obtained a plot of land for building a new home without his knowledge, he immediately told her: "When our brigade faces difficulties in dispensing enough residential plots to commune members, and since we belong to a household of party members and don't need to build any new home for ourselves, we must give that plot of land to a needy commune member." Convinced, his wife later voluntarily returned the plot of land to the brigade. Xu Rong [1776 2837], the sister-in-law of Liu Shengnu [0491 0524 1166], member of the propaganda committee of the party branch of Zhangqi Brigade, after receiving a birth certificate for her first child, she wanted to bear another child in the future. After Liu Shengnu gave her repeated education aimed at helping her solve an ideological problem, she decided to back away from having another child. Because party members place strict demands on themselves, no women of child-bearing age in the brigade has raised children not permitted under the birth control program.

Under the newly established system of tying party members ot individual households, party branches at grassroots levels in the countryside have secured the cooperation of individual households associated with party members in improving relations between the party and the masses. Through interviews and heart-to-heart talks made possible by individual households associated with party members, the party branch of Jiangchengdong Brigade in Mancheng County has collected more than 80 suggestions from commune members. One of the suggestions came from commune member Yuan Laoshui [5373 5071 3055] who urged his brigade to organize commune members to participate in a technical training program and study agricultural science and technology. After agreeing to this suggestion, the party branch invited technical personnel to give lectures on agricultural technology which have been welcomed by the masses and given impetus to the development of production. Commune members said, "Through individual households associated with party members, party branches can now promptly listen and respond to demands from the masses with satisfactory solutions."

9574
CSO: 4005/18

PARTY AND STATE

NEED FOR CADRES TO REDRESS GRIEVANCES EMPHASIZED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Xie Xixiu [6200 0823 0208]: "Let People Grab You by the 'Pigtail' and Shaving off the 'Pigtail'"]

[Text] The majority of our leading cadres are earnest and faithful servants of the people. But a small number of comrades are obsessed with special privileges are still pursuing their private interests and practicing unhealthy workstyles. For example, they have done everything possible in their power to obtain spacious housing units to themselves, to transfer their relatives and friends to better positions, and to give them preferrential treatment for examining applications for party membership, for promoting cadres, for adjusting salary, and for recruiting new workers. In doing so, they will certainly leave "pigtails" for others to grab [inviting criticism].

When you have a "pigtail," do you want others to grab it or would you rather cut it off? The masses said, "You should cut it off rather than let others grab you by the "pigtail," because it's better to criticize yourself than being picked on by others. If you don't, you will act like Ah Q who cheats himself and others by curling his pigtail up and hiding it under a hat. Is it embarrassing to you, if it is unveiled by the masses?

If you voluntarily move to eliminate the "pigtail" that belongs to you, you can boldly face up to any challengers who intend to grab you by the "pigtail." It's like a patient who should get treatment at an early stage so that his health can be restored sooner. It certainly will not cause one to lose face or prestige. On the contrary, it will earn you greater respect from the people. Some cadres on the Linzhang County party committee abused their power in the course of changing a certain segment of population from agricultural to non-agricultural status, thus leaving behind a "pigtail." At that time, some other cadres and people in the county immediately took the county party committee to "task" for making this change. In response to this criticism, the committee moved swiftly to settle this issue by sending back to the countryside 220 dependent children whose transfer to non-agricultural status was found violating the related regulations. This action has led it to raise rather than lower its prestige. The fact shows that if one does not want to be picked on one must not wear a pigtail. The best course of action is to voluntarily cut off one's pigtail.

At present, why do some leading comrades hesitate to remove their "pigtails"? The main reason that has prevented them from doing so is their obsession with selfish interests which have led them to forget the fundamental and long-term interests of the party and the people, and to regard themselves as bureaucratic overlords and the people as their "servants." Under the influence of this mentality, the pursuit of special previleges, backdoor dealings and other unhealthy lifestyles have become the order of the day. This practice is caused by the pernicious influence of feudalism and exploiting classes which is incompatible with the communist philosophy of life. Comrade Chen Yun said it well, "We must tell the truth rather than save face." Leading comrades should not be afraid to overcome their shortcomings. The important thing to do is to rid the fear of losing face, to voluntarily shave off the "pigtails" [to make self-criticism] and therefore become honest and open-hearted individuals.

9574
CSO: 4005/18

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY SCHOOL TRAINS TEACHERS, PARTY MEMBERS IN COMMUNIST THEORY

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 2 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by Wang Zhen [3769 2182]: "Party School Holds Training Class for Instructors"]

[Text] Since 23 July, the party school of Xianghe County CPC Committee has scheduled a training class for basic level party branch teachers. Teachers hired by party branches at commune and brigade levels and under the jurisdiction of Xianghe County have been organized to study intensively basic theories and knowledge of party spirit, party style, party discipline and communism. The aim is to train an elite force for the extensive development of education in communism.

This training class is being held in response to the needs of a considerable number of basic level party branch teachers who lack basic knowledge of the party and who found it difficult to guide the study of this subject during a campaign to educate a large number of party members in communism, a campaign mounted by basic level party branches. The aim is to help students clearly understand, through integrating theory with practice, that the purpose of the CPC composed of advanced proletarian elements is to serve the people and its ultimate objective is to realize communism. Topics of instructional materials include "party work style is the key to the existence of the party, Communist Party members must restore and carry forward the three major styles of work, Communist Party members must maintain political unity with the Central Committee, Communist Party members must do away with the practice of the vulgar resorting to the use of connections [in getting things donw] combating the criminal activities in the economic field is an important step in rectifying the party's work style, and strengthening education in party spirit is the key to the rectification of the party work style." In addition to the above teaching materials, four model party members including Wang Zongmin [3769 1350 2404], outstanding party member of Hebei Province and secretary of the party branch of Xinglongzhuang Brigade, and Kang Dequan [1660 1779 0356], outstanding party member of the Xianghe County farm machinery company, were invited to give reports on their experiences in preserving the party's excellent style of work, and in consciously striving to realize the objective of communism. Following 10 days of study and discussion which was proceeding in a way that take into account reality, and of training in communism, the 217 students attending the class have come to understand that at a time when the serious unhealthy tendencies still affect the party, it is extremely important to give communist education to vast numbers of party members. It is an important measure to mobilize the entire party to rectify the unhealthy tendencies and to safeguard the proletarian nature of the party.

9574
CSO: 4005/18

PARTY AND STATE

GUANGZHOU PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE HOLDS CONFERENCE ON POLITICS, LAW

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 82 pp 1, 3

[Text] The Provincial CPC Party Committee held a province-wide politics and law working conference at Guangzhou from the 18th to the 26th of this month, which, in the spirit of the All-China Working Conference on Politics and Law, analyzed the excellent condition of politics and law work throughout the province since the Third Plenary Session, studied the tasks of politics and law work in the new era and set up plans for future work. The conference called on the broad masses of cadres and police personnel at the political and law front throughout the province to make further contributions to the defense of the economic construction of this southern entrance gate to our country.

Leading comrades of the provincial party committee and provincial people's government, such as Ren Zhongyi [0117 0112 1138], Liu Tianfu [0491 3944 1133] and Liang Lingguang [2733 7227 0342] attended the conference. Kou Qingyan [1379 1987 1693], member of the standing committee of the provincial party committee and chairman of the provincial commission for politics and law, relayed at the meeting the spirit of the All-China Politics and Law Working Conference and gave the summing-up speech at the Conference. Wang Ding [3769 1380], member of the standing committee of the provincial party committee and provincial vice governor, gave a work report at the conference. Others attending the conference were personnel in charge of politics and law work in the various local and municipal party committees throughout the province and personnel in charge of politics and law units and from various units directly under the provincial administration.

The Conference agreed that the All-China Politics and Law Working Conference had been a very important one-time conference. Following the shift of focus in the work of the entire party, it has become the fundamental task of political and law work in the new era to protect and promote the modernization construction and permit the buildup of our material and spiritual civilization to develop smoothly. The work of the political and law organs has not become lighter, it has become heavier. The party committees must further strengthen their guidance of political and law work. The political and law organs must establish an ideology of service to the economic construction and bring fully into play their function as guardians of the people's democracy and as organs of dictatorship over the enemy, and must, with greater awareness, direct their energy to the protection and promotion of the socialist modernizations, centered on economic construction.

On the basis of the actual conditions in our province, the conference studied and made arrangements for task of political and law work at the present time and for a period of time to come:

We shall resolutely attack the serious economic criminal activities. The public security organs, procuratorial organs and people's courts at all levels must attend with firmness to the economic cases that have already been transferred to the political and law departments for investigation and disposal, especially the trial of major and important cases must be firmly taken in hand and sentence passed with the utmost strictness and speed. Especially serious new crimes in the economic field committed after publication by the Central Committee and the State Council of their resolution on combatting serious crimes in the economic field, must be punished with great severity. We are determined to continue to firmly take in hand the fight against smuggling. The political and law organs at all levels must overcome any thought of relaxing their efforts, must deal with all cases according to law, uphold our principles and eliminate all interferences. Convictions and measurement of penalty must be based on facts, with the law as the criterion.

We are determined to continue to rectify the public security in towns and villages. The focal points of such rectification are still the cities, the industrial and mining areas and vital communication lines, but attention must also be paid to cities and villages. The rectification shall be carried out by "comprehensive management" the focal point shall be an effective education of young people. We are determined to carry out a concentrated attack against militant actions of a criminal nature that jeopardize the buildup of our socialist spiritual civilization. We shall suppress and strike out against gambling, the formation of gangs by hoodlums, the spreading of feudal superstitions, the poison of obscene material and other violations of the law. In areas where the problems are particularly numerous, the local party committee must organize the political and law departments to carry out a conscientious analysis to discover the reasons and then adopt effective measures to bring about a solution. We are determined to strike out promptly against sabotage activities that might be committed by criminal elements and we shall uncover any criminals that are on the run and have gone into hiding. Murderers, rapists, armed bandits, arsenists, criminals using explosives and other criminal elements that seriously jeopardize public security shall be dealt with according to a policy of swift and severe punishment, and under no circumstances must one show softheartedness in such cases. We shall furthermore intensify our struggle against secret agents, spies and counterrevolutionary elements and shall resolutely crush their sabotage activities. We must reorganize and train a good contingent of political and law workers. The party has always set very strict demands on political and law cadres and has even raised these demands in the new historical era. We want to build up our political and law contingent according to the high demands made on the vanguard of the proletariat, carry out to perfection the organization of this contingent and the rectification of their ideology and work style, give intensive attention to the training of cadres and police personnel, set up good regular police and judicial training schools, law colleges, etc., to train a larger number of qualified political and law personnel.

The conference also studied such other problems as the improvement of propaganda on the legal system, improvement of the civil administration and the judicial work. The public security, procuratorial, law court, judicial and civil administration department held separate meetings.

In the afternoon of the 26th, Comrades Ren Zhongyi and Liu Tianfu attended the meeting and gave speeches. Comrade Ren Zhongyi pointed out that the political and law fronts in our province have done great work under the leadership of the party committees at all levels. They have achieved outstanding successes in dealing with all affairs according to law, in redressing unjust, false and wrong convictions, in rehabilitating public security, in combating the sabotage activities of secret agents, spies, counterrevolutionary and criminal elements, in combating the serious criminal activities in the economic field, and for all this deserve the praises of the party and the masses. However, we must not be satisfied with the present achievements, must guard against conceit and impetuousity, work ceaselessly and unremittingly, raise our standards and do everything to become well qualified political and law workers of the new era. The party's Third Plenary Session decided to have no more political movements in future; we must become apt at using the weapon of law to combat the class enemy and other criminal activities that do harm to our four modernizations. In his speech Comrade Ren Zhongyi particularly emphasized that we must do a good job at building up the political and law contingent, which must be politically pure, display a good work style and be proficient in their professional work. They must be boundlessly loyal to the party, to the people and the proletarian dictatorship, they must hate the enemy and love the people. At no time must they deal with the masses in the attitude that they show to the enemy, but through their own excellent work style and actual actions they must win the support of the people and have the people show affection, support and endorsement of our political and law departments. Comrade Ren Zhongyi furthermore pointed out that the party committees at all levels must all attach importance to the political and law work and strengthen their leadership of such work. The rehabilitation of public security is not only an affair of the political and law departments; it will only be done well if it is also given consideration by the leading organs of party and government, by the grassroots organizations of the party, by enterprise and industrial untis, schools, households, etc. In his speech Comrade Liu Tianfu reviewed the inspiring changes that have occurred in our province since the Third Plenary Session. He said, political and law work belongs to the superstructure and must be set up with a firm ideology of serving the economic foundation. It must furthermore carry out a deep penetration into the work of various kinds of occupations. Owing to the special location of our province, the enemy directs an intensified sabotage against us. This is a prominent problem. We must prepare ourselves well spirtually for a protracted fight against hostile elements in the political, economic and cultural fields, in our social life and in other fields. In our contacts with the outside world, we must maintain our concepts of class struggle and of protection of secret information, and cannot abandon our vigilance. Although we will unswervingly continue our policy of opening up our country to the outside world and of enlivening the domestic economy, we shall also unswervingly maintain our opposition to any capitalist ideological corrosion

and take strong measures against serious criminal activities in the economic field. Only in this way will we be able to ensure that our open-door policy, our policy of enlivening the domestic economy, our special policies and flexible measures will be correctly put into effect.

9808
CSO: 4005/1316

PARTY AND STATE

GOOD WORK IN POLITICS, LAW DURING NEW PERIOD URGED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 82 p 1

[Text] The province-wide politics and law work conference called by the provincial CPC party committee was concluded a few days ago. Based on the spirit of the All-China Politics and Law Work Conference, the present conference analyzed the condition of present political and law work in our province, reviewed the historical experiences of such work and, directing its attention to the new problems arising from the shift of focus in our party's work to the socialist modernizations, studied the future tasks and measures for political and law work throughout our province; it was a one-time important conference. The leading organs at all levels and the political and law departments of the whole province were all determined to relay conscientiously and implement effectively, and as quickly as possible, the spirit of the present conference and after integrating it with the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress, transmit this spirit to achieve a thorough implementation and thus raise the political and law work throughout the province to a high level appropriate for the new era.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the party, and following the shift of focus in the party's work, the fundamental task of political and law work in the new era has been to perfect the socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship, protect and promote the socialist modernizations and ensure the smooth development of our buildup of the material and spiritual civilization. In these few years, the political and law departments at all levels and the whole body of cadres and police personnel performed a large amount of work around these tasks in a down-to-earth manner and achieved oustanding successes. Public security experienced a distinct turn for the better and stability and unity in the political situation have already been established, accelerating the ever improving industrial and agricultural production.

However, we must soberly observe that the work still lags very far behind if we compare it with the objective situation and the demands of the party and the masses. It is particularly worth pointing out that in certain localities the party committees and the political and law departments are not sufficiently knowledgeable as to the fundamental tasks of the political and law work in the new era. After the shift in the focus of work, the party committees in some places believed that the task of political and law work was lightened; they

only paid attention to economic construction but relaxed their leadership of political and law work. The political and law departments in some places did not bring fully into play the functions of the political and law organs, namely to protect and promote the socialist modernizations, and were not prompt enough and not resolutely forceful enough in combating the serious criminal activities that were jeopardizing the socialist system in its economic, political and cultural areas. Party committees and political and law departments in localities where this occurred must now, by studying the spirit of the All-China and the province-wide politics and law conferences and by a study of the important documents that are about to be passed by the impending 12th National Party Congress, set right their conceptions and in a down-to-earth manner do a good job at political and law work in this new era. The political and law departments of the whole province must all dirct their energy in a more conscious, clearer, more definite and more resolute way, to the protection and promotion of the socialist modernizations, of which economic construction is the core item.

Our province lies along the ocean, adjacent to Hong Kong and Macao, and struggle here has always been sharp and complex. At present, owing to the influence of a variety of foreign and domestic factors, a series of intricate and complex new conditions and new problems has arisen, be it in the urban or the rural areas, in politics, economics or in the field of ideology and culture, be it with regard to our struggle against the enemy or in the administrative control of our public security. As our party and government organs at all levels and the political and law departments sum up the historical experiences, it is imperative that they institute simultaneously a penetrating and painstaking investigation and research into the new conditions and new problems, and furthermore work out without delay correct countermeasures that will solve the new problems, so that the problem will be resolved satisfactorily and the correct implementation of our open-door policy toward the outer world and our policy of enlivening the domestic economy will be safeguarded and that the healthy development of the socialist economic construction will be promoted. For one period of time, certian symptoms appeared in the area of public security in our province that merit attention, such as an intensified infiltration and sabotage of an international character by various kinds of reactionary forces, the increased incidence of lawless elements from Hong Kong and Macao entering the country to engage in smuggling, defrauding, abduction of women and in other criminal activities and the increased gambling, spreading of feudal superstitions and clan fights in certain rural areas. All this indicates that the impending struggle on the political and law front of our provinces will be a protracted, complex and arduous one. The leading organs at all levels and the political and law departments must maintain a high degree of vigilance against any such symptoms of crimes that may jeopardize our public security, sabotage our economic construction and against any other serious criminal activities. In ideological respects and in their work, none must show the slightest relaxation; they must inspire revolutionary enthusiasm and make new contributions toward our endeavor to realize a basic turn for the better in the social mood and in our public security, and toward promoting the buildup of our material and socialist spiritual civilization.

In this new historical era, the tasks of the political and law organs have become heavier and the condition has become more complex. At the present time and for some time to come, the political and law work in our province must be outstanding in taking firm and stern measures against serious criminal activities in the economic field, in rehabilitating public order in the urban and rural areas and in combating the sabotage by special agents, spies and counter-revolutionaries; there must also be a great propagandistic effort on behalf of the socialist legal system and further improvements must be achieved in the work of civil administration and in effectively reorganizing and building up the political and law contingents. All these many things cannot be resolved by only relying on the political and law departments. Apart from further strengthening the guidance of the political and law work by the party committees at all levels and apart from having the political and law departments closely following, on their own initiative, the guidance of the party committees, all sections of the society, all organs, organizations, factories, enterprises, schools and grassroots organizations in towns and villages as well as the broad masses must render actual support to the political and law departments and launch appropriate work in close cooperation with them, make joint efforts and for the sake of an effective socialist modernization, create an excellent political situation of stability and unity, which will promote the uninterrupted development of the excellent situation in our province.

9808
CSO: 4005/1316

PARTY AND STATE

EXPERIENCE AS A REQUIREMENT FOR LEADERSHIP POST DISCUSSED

Harbin XUE LILUN [THEORETICAL STUDY] in Chinese No 9, 1 Sep 82 p 22

[Commentary by Xu Jingzhang [1776 2529 3864]: "A Trivial Talk About 'Experience'"]

[Text] At present, along with structural reform in our administration and readjustment of our leading groups, a large contingent of fine middle-aged and young cadres have embarked upon posts of leadership. The vast ranks of the masses are very excited about this, but a few people are worried: these young people lack sufficient experience, can they prove commensurate with their leadership work assignments? In my opinion, this worry might seem reasonable on the surface, it is really unnecessary.

We should acknowledge that experience is precious. Lu Xun said: "The experiences the ancients have passed down to us are precious, indeed, because they have cost them much sacrifice and the benefits they have left us are great." "The results from experience, whether good or bad, have usually required sacrifices, and sometimes even a minor occurrence might exact a surprising price." The experiences that either our predecessors or we have acquired by paying considerable prices should be treasured, because they are one of the advantageous conditions for doing a good job in our undertakings. Among the fine middle-aged and young cadres, if some are equipped with rich experiences, that would naturally be of benefit to us.

However, experience is not omnipotent. While it is an advantageous condition for a leading comrade to do a good job in his undertakings, it is not the only condition. In order to do a good job, a cadre needs many supporting factors, such as political consciousness, career ambition, organizational and leadership capability, professional level, scientific and cultural knowledge, health, etc. In general, these may be measured in terms of whether or not we are making them "revolutionary, younger, knowledgeable, and professional"; experience is only one aspect in this regard. In the case of some people, while they are experienced they happen to be used to following the beaten paths and lack organizational talent, in their work they do not make any breakthroughs and it often proves hard for them to become good leaders. Others although they lack experience in departments at the superior level they do have experience in departments at the lower level and their other qualifications also happen to be rather good, they show courage and perception in their work, they can explore new avenues in their practice, and once promoted they quickly acquire the necessary competence for their new jobs. Furthermore, the extent of

applicability of certain experience is also limited. The experience of building terraced fields in the Taihang Mountains can hardly be applied in the great northeastern plain. At the same time, experience must be continually renewed and enriched. Many past experiences can no longer be borrowed in the construction of today's four modernizations. Some comrades who have accumulated rich experiences during the years of the revolutionary war can hardly avoid showing up their deficiencies in the face of this new issue of the construction of our four modernizations. Therefore, even though experience is precious, our appraisal of its role and value must be objective and appropriate and definitely not partially exaggerated.

So-called experience means the knowledge we sum up or the skills we derive from our practice. If divorced from practice, there is no way to speak of experience. Middle-aged and young cadres are not as experienced as old cadres; this is an objective fact. The key in changing this situation lies precisely in providing them with the opportunities and conditions for practice. Only by placing them in given circumstances can we enable them to train themselves into leaders with rich experience and operational capabilities. So long as our party organizations at various levels seek to create conditions for our fine middle-aged and young cadres, they should be able to gradually grow. For a comrade who has never served in a leadership office, it is very difficult for him to acquire any leadership experience. The leadership experience of Mao Zedong and other revolutionary predecessors were very rich; but when they began to engage in revolutionary activities, their experience was insufficient, because at that time there were neither the experiences of the ancients to follow nor fairly abundant foreign experiences to borrow. It was precisely by continuing to sum up experiences in their revolutionary practice that they passed through a process from lacking sufficient experience to possessing rich experience and thereby became outstanding revolutionary leaders.

Those who are worried about young people lacking sufficient experience may have another idea: they think young people lack sufficient qualifications. We should say that both qualifications and experiences are useful and cannot be overlooked. But in selecting and using exemplary middle-aged and young cadres we cannot pay attention only to qualifications or only to whether or not they have had experience in serving in a particular office: rather it should be based on virtue and talent, pay attention to discovering the actual capabilities of these cadres in directing their work, solving their problems, and exploring new situations. Only thus can we select a large contingent of undaunted, perceptive, and really talented organizers, directors, to implement and realize the party's line, principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session of its 11th Central Committee.

9255
CSO: 4005/60

PERSONNEL CHANGES OF CPC 12TH CONGRESS ANALYZED

Hong Kong CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 10, Oct 82 pp 16-19

[Article by Ch'i Hsin [7871 6580]: "Personnel Changes of the CPC 12th Congress"]

[Text] The CPC 12th Congress passed a new party constitution on 6 September. It stipulates that, among the three central organs, the Central Committee occupies the leading position, and the remaining two, viz., the Advisory Commission and the Commission for Discipline Inspection, not only must accept the leadership of the Central Committee and serve as its "assistants and consultants," but the chairman of the Advisory Commission and the first secretary of the Commission for Discipline Inspection must be members of the Standing Committee of the Politburo, thereby indicating that the supreme power of the CPC leadership level, after system reform, still concentrates in the Central Committee and its Politburo and Secretariat. The other two organs are in a subordinate position, especially the Advisory Commission. JENMIN RIBAO states clearly that it is "a transition between life tenure and the retirement system in the cadre policy." In other words, those elected to the Advisory Commission are in a status of semi-retirement. Naturally, Deng Xiaoping, who has been elected to the Standing Committee of the Politburo and serves concurrently as the chairman of the Advisory Commission, is the only exception.

In view of these stipulations in the new party constitution, we can see from the elections, which started on 10 September, to the Politburo, Secretariat and Military Commission who have joined the power center and who have been excluded. In other words, we can see more or less the personnel changes in the CPC from the list resulting from the elections of the 12th Party Congress.

Changes in the Highest Level

When checking the six members elected to the Standing Committee of the Central Committee against the personnel after the Sixth Plenary Session

last year, we find that only Hua Guofeng has been omitted, and no new member has been added. If checked against its members after the 11th Party Congress in 1978, then Hua Guofeng and Wang Dongxing [3076 2639 5281] are omitted and Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang and Chen Yun have been added.

Among the 28 members and alternates of the Politburo, when checked against the personnel after the 6th Plenary Session last year, the omissions are Liu Bocheng [0491 0130 2110], Hua Guofeng, Xu Shiyou [6079 0013 0645], Geng Biao [5105 7374], Peng Chong [1756 0394] and Sai Fuding [6357 4395 7844], and the additions are Wan Li, Xi Zhongxun [5045 0112 0534], Yang Shangkun [2799 1424 2492], Yang Dezhi [2799 1779 1807], Song Renqiong [1345 0117 4522], Hu Qiaomu [5170 0829 2606], Liao Chengzhi [1675 2110 1807], Yao Yilin [1202 0181 2651] and Qin Jiwei [4440 1015 0251]. When checked against the personnel after the 11th Party Congress in 1978, the omissions include also Wang Dongxing, Chen Xilian [7115 6932 5114], Ji Dengkui [4764 4098 1145], Wu De [0702 1795], Chen Yonggui [7115 3057 6311] and the deceased Su Zhenhua [5685 2182 5478], and the additions include Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang, Chen Yun, Wang Zhen [3769 7201], Peng Zhen [1756 4176], Song Renqiong and Deng Yingchao [6772 7336 6389] who have successively joined the Politburo through by-elections since the 11th Party Congress.

Among the secretaries and alternates of the Central Secretariat, the additions include Deng Liqun [6772 0500 5028], Yang Yong [2799 0516], Chen Peixian [7115 0012 7359], Hu Qili [5170 0796 4539], Qiao Shi [0829 4258] and Hao Jianxiu [6787 1696 4423]; those not reelected include Wang Renzhong [3769 0117 6850], Fang Yi [2455 3015], Song Renqiong, Yang Dezhi, Hu Qiaomu and Peng Chong, a total of six. Among the six, except Wang Renzhong and Peng Chong, all have joined the Politburo.

The chairman of Military Commission is Deng Xiaoping, and the vice chairmen are Ye Jianying [5509 0494 5391], Xu Xiangqian [1776 0686 0467], Nie Rongzhen [5119 2837 5271] and Yang Shangkun (standing vice chairman).

Among the supreme power structures discussed above, viz., the Central Standing Committee, Politburo, Secretariat and Military Commission, the most notable promotions and demotions are as follows: On the promotion side are the six new members of the Secretariat and alternate member Qin Jiwei of the Politburo, especially new secretary Chen Peixian who has been almost completely inactive in recent years and has shown no sign of promotion. On the demotion side are Geng Biao and Peng Chong. Geng Biao was appointed minister of National Defense not long ago, and his star seemed to be rising, yet this time he actually joined the Advisory Commission, and his name was not among the vice chairmen of the Military Commission. It appears that he will not remain as National Defense minister for long. Peng Chong had served concurrently as a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the Secretariat in recent years, and there had been no indication of his fall from power. He was reelected member

of the Central Committee, but has no share in the Politburo or the Secretariat. It seems that his membership on the Central Committee is similar to Hua Guofeng's.

Special Features in the List of Central Committee Members

Among the 348 regular and alternate members of the Central Committee, 211, or over 60 percent of the total, joined the committee for the first time. These new members include the main responsible persons of the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, ministers and ministers-in-charge of the ministries and commissions of the State Council, and some of the leaders of organs directly under the CPC Central Committee. Among the former members of the Central Committee, some joined the Advisory Commission in order to make room for younger men, but more of them lost their positions because of "failing to keep pace with the situation" in the purge of the remnant poison of the Cultural Revolution or in the various policy changes in recent years. The condition applies especially to the leaders of the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. During the time of the 11th Party Congress in 1978, basically the cadres who had been in power in the later stage of the Cultural Revolution and showed support when Hua Guofeng arrested the gang of four served as leaders in the various areas. These people occupied a fairly large number of seats in the Central Committee, especially military men of local areas. This time, most of them joined the Advisory Commission, such as Wang Bicheng [3769 1801 2052], Wang Xinting [3769 2450 0080], Kong Shiquan [1313 4258 3123], Gan Weihan [3927 3262 3352], Xu Shiyou, Zhang Caiqian [1728 2088 0578], Fu Zhong [0265 6945], etc., and some actually fell into disgrace, such as Liu Xingyuan [0491 5281 0337], Ren Sizhong [0117 1835 1813], Zeng Siyu [2582 1835 3768], Wu Zhong [0702 1813], etc.

Among the new members of the Central Committee, besides the leaders (or potential leaders) of the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, most of the councilors, ministers of the ministries, and ministers-in-charge of the commissions appointed after the structural reform of the State Council last May joined the Central Committee, but there are also some exceptions. Councilors Geng Biao, Bo Yibo [5631 0001 3134] and Ji Pengfei [1213 7720 7378] joined the Advisory Commission, and some ministers, such as Nuclear Industry minister Zhang Chen [1728 1820] and Electronics Industry minister Zhang Ting [1728 2185] were not elected to the Central Committee, possibly because they were appointed ministers as professionals and their qualifications in the party were not high. The oddest case was Du Xingyuan [2629 2502 0997], secretary general of the State Council, a position of considerable importance: His name was not found among the regular and alternate members of the Central Committee.

In May, the CPC Central Committee announced the appointment of a group of leading cadres to some units among the organs directly under its jurisdiction, but at the 12th Party Congress this time, these new appointees, unlike the ministers and ministers-in-charge of the State Council, were

not elected to the Central Committee en masse. Only the director of General Office Hu Qili, director of Propaganda Department and concurrently director of Policy Research Office of the Secretariat Deng Liqun, and director of International Liaison Department Qiao Shi joined the Secretariat. In addition, president of the Party School Wang Zhen was elected to the Politburo; director of United Front Work Department Yang Jingren [2799 7234 0088], director of Party History Research Center Hu Sheng [5170 4939], editor in chief of RENMIN RIBAO Qin Chuan [4440 1557] and deputy editor in chief of HONGQI Wang Renzhi [3769 1804 0037] were elected to the Central Committee. All others failed to join the Central Committee.

One of the leading cadres of organs directly under the Central Committee whose fall from grace was notable was director of RENMIN RIBAO Hu Jiwei [5170 4921 0251], an outstanding figure in the ideological emancipation movement in recent years. His promotion from editor in chief to director of the paper last May was actually a demotion. Thus, in the elections this time, he and deputy editor in chief Wang Ruoshui [3769 5387 3055] who had played an important role in the ideological emancipation movement alongside him were not listed among the regular and alternate members of the Central Committee, but new editor in chief Qin Chuan became a regular member. There were also the following notable casualties: Feng Wenbin [7458 2429 1755], once director of General Office, was replaced by Hu Qili during the structural reorganization of the CPC Central Committee in May, but still served as a vice president of the Party School, deputy director of Party History Research Center and chairman of Commission for Collecting Party Historical Data. By shifting from decision making to work on "superior tradition" education, his power was weakened, and he dropped further by joining the Advisory Commission during the 12th Party Congress. Liao Gailong [1675 5556 7127], who designed the "1980 reform" in compliance with Deng Xiaoping's wishes, was transferred from the Policy Research Office of the Secretariat to Party History Research Center and Commission for Collecting Party Historical Data as deputy director and vice chairman respectively in May. His name was not found among any of the committees at the 12th Party Congress, indicating his loss of importance to a certain extent. HONG QI editor in chief Xiong Fu [3574 1788] also failed to be elected to the Central Committee, yet his subordinate, deputy editor in chief Wang Renzhi, became an alternate member of the Central Committee. It was also an unusual occurrence.

Conjectures on the Reasons for the Changes

As it is very difficult to ascertain the factors influencing the election results discussed above, we can only make some inferences.

Very possibly Geng Biao's and Peng Chong's downfall had a certain connection with Hua Guofeng. When Hua Guofeng ordered the arrest of the gang of four in 1976, Wang Dongxing's unit No 8341 made the actual arrest, Geng Biao's International Liaison Department took over the Central Committee's

information media (including newspapers and broadcasting stations), and Peng Chong, Su Zhenhua and Ni Zhifu [0242 1807 3189] were dispatched to Shanghai to suppress the fermenting coup. All these individuals rendered outstanding service to Hua Guofeng, and they were old cadres returning to power not long after the start of the Cultural Revolution. They cooperated considerably with Hua Guofeng, and their experiences were different from those of Hu Yaobang, Wan Li and Xi Zhongxun who suffered quite a bit in the Cultural Revolution. Perhaps they did not make major mistakes like Hua Guofeng, but also perhaps they rendered mutual support in power and position. Possibly it was one of the reasons for their downfall. Hua Guofeng fell from power during the trial of the gang of 10 at the end of 1980. It is believed that the trial of Xu Jingxian [1776 2529 6343], Wang Xiuzhen [3769 4423 3791] and Ma Tianshui [7456 1131 3055], followers of the gang of four in Shanghai, before the 12th Party Congress was convened, and the downfall of Peng Chong (another was Su Zhenhua), who went to Shanghai in those days to handle the Shanghai gang, during the party congress immediately thereafter were not coincidences, but had their internal reasons. That deputy director of International Liaison Department Feng Xuan [7458 6881] who helped Geng Biao in his work after the downfall of the gang of four also joined the Advisory Commission this time perhaps was also related.

The actual loss of power of Feng Wenbin, Hu Jiwei, Wang Ruoshui and Liao Gailong seems to be related to their "exceeding the limit" in the ideological emancipation movement. In 1980, Feng Wenbin published an article in RENMIN RIBAO opposing "the party's centralized leadership" and supported the view that "democracy is the goal as well as the means, but in the final analysis, it is the goal." Beginning in 1978, Hu Jiwei advocated the critical role of newspapers (see XINWEN ZHANXIAN [NEWS FRONT], No 6, 1979), started a "letters to the editor" column, and expressed passive resistance in the criticism of Bai Hua [4101 2901] last year, refusing to reprint or respond to the articles against Bai Hua in JIEFANGJUN BAO. Wang Ruoshui advocated criticizing Mao and introduced the alienation theory. Etc., etc. All these individuals rendered meritorious service when Deng and Hu struggled against the whatever faction. Yet, when balancing the influence of the anti-reform faction, possibly they were considered "extremists" or suspected of helping promote bourgeois liberalism, and were made into targets of intraparty criticism. If the election results of the 12th Party Congress were the consequences of the search for compromise among the various factions, then the temporary removal of the "radicals" of the various factions was very natural.

In terms of the leading cadres of organs directly under the Central Committee during the reorganization in May, the real power probably fell to the younger cadres serving as deputy directors and vice chairmen. Their names had seldom been heard in the past, and it is believed that they were cadres of the League Central Committee when Hu Yaobang was the first secretary of the Communist Youth League. As their party standing and qualifications were still low, under the situation where it was yet impossible to basically change the seniority practice, it was natural that

they failed to be elected to the Central Committee. Nevertheless, with the gradual consolidation of Hu Yaobang's power, their importance will certainly be felt. Judged on this point, the election results of the Central Committee do not necessarily reflect completely the rise and fall of power in the personnel aspect.

The conditions of the army are also difficult to fathom. After Deng Xiaoping became the chairman of the Military Commission at the end of 1980, the choice of his right-hand man was a matter of concern. When Geng Biao became the minister of National Defense, he was thought for a time as the one most likely to succeed Deng Xiaoping. Now this likelihood has vanished. The youngest among the chairman and vice chairmen of the Military Commission elected at the 12th Party Congress is Yang Shangkun who is already 75 years old. Yang Dezhi and Yang Yong among the members of the Politburo are both over 70. Only Qin Jiwei, a new alternate member of the Politburo, is 68 years old this year. There was a rumor last year that some regional commanders led their troops to attend a meeting in Beijing and took a manacing posture toward the reform faction, but fortunately Beijing unit commander Qin Jiwei came to the aid with his men and eased the tension. No one has been able to verify the rumor. Nevertheless, the large reduction of the power of the military, especially local military men, in the Politburo and the Central Committee is a fact. As for the promotion of Qin Jiwei, even if it had nothing to do with the rumor, at least it was perhaps connected with the service rendered by him in the struggle against Beijing unit commander Chen Xilian when the former was the political commissar of the unit (prior to September 1978).

As the election results were the consequences of compromise among the various factions, as the aging senior statesmen still occupy the decision making positions of the supreme level, as many former cadres of the Communist Youth League should have joined the Central Committee but have not done so, and as, in terms of the army, Geng Biao has lost his power, the leaders of the Military Commission are too old and the distribution of power has not been finalized, one cannot feel that the election results of the 12th Party Congress have decided the personnel of the CPC leadership level in the future. It is believed that there will be continuous changes in the personnel of the Military Commission, Politburo and its Standing Committee, and the Secretariat in future plenary sessions of the Central Committee, and some additional individuals may be elected to the Central Committee, to be retroactively approved at the 13th Party Congress.

6080
CSO: 4005/63

END

JPRS 82284

19 November 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 364

JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE 25 ANNIVERSARY

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82284

19 November 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 364

CONTENTS

PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA

PARTY AND STATE

'BAN YUE TAN' Views New Party Constitution
(BAN YUE TAN, 15 Sep 82) 1

First in Series on Revised Party Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 17 Oct 82) 9

Second in Series on Revised Party Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 17 Oct 82) 10

Third in Series on Revised CPC Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 28 Oct 82) 13

Fourth in Series on Revised CPC Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 19 Oct 82) 16

Fifth in Series on Revised CPC Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 20 Oct 82) 18

Sixth in Series on Revised CPC Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 21 Oct 82) 21

'GONGREN RIBAO' Reviews Communism in China
(Jin Chunming; GONGREN RIBAO, 10 Oct 82) 23

Ba Yi Demands Acquittal of Former PLA Leaders
(Ba Yi Radio, 11 Oct 82) 26

Ba Yi Criticizes PRC Leaders for Trusting U.S.
(Ba Yi Radio, 16 Oct 82) 28

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Carrying Out Congress Directives
(Sun Qimeng; RENMIN RIBAO, 4 Oct 82) 30

Linfen Brigade Praises Congress Policies
(RENMIN RIBAO, 15 Oct 82) 34

'ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO' on CPC-CYL Relationship
(Chen Haosu; ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO, 25 Sep 82) 36

'TIANJIN RIBAO' Urges Observing Party Discipline
(TIANJIN RIBAO, 5 Oct 82) 41

Guangzhou Cites Hong Kong Papers on Thatcher Remarks
(Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service, 29 Sep 82) 45

'BEIJING RIBAO' on Giving Youth Communist Outlook
(Xinghzbensi; BEIJING RIBAO, 15 Oct 82) 46

Ba Yi Radio Discusses Sino-Japanese Relations
(Ba Yi Radio, 28 Sep 82) 48

CPC Should Oppose U.S. Global Aggressive Policy
(Ba Yi Radio, 30 Sep 82) 50

Ba Yi Urges Efforts To Avoid Repeating Mistakes
(Ba Yi Radio, 1 Oct 82) 52

Ba Yi Radio Comments on PRC Foreign Policy
(Ba Yi Radio, 18 Oct 82) 54

Ba Yi Supports Zhao Yiya 'JIEFANGJUN BAO' Article
(Ba Yi Radio, 23 Oct 82) 56

Nei Monggol: Wang Jiangong Remarks at CYL Congress
(Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service, 25 Oct 82) 58

Nei Monggol Urges Ideological Education in Modernizing Army
(Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service, 4 Oct 82) 59

Nei Monggol People's Congress Urges Dissemination of Party Guidelines
(Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service, 7 Oct 82) 60

Nei Monggol's Deputy Secretary Speaks at University
(Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service, 23 Oct 82) 61

Nei Monggol: Thoroughly Study Congress Documents
(Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service, 17 Oct 82) 62

Congress Standing Committee Session Ends
(Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service, 12 Oct 82) 64

Program for Restructuring Organizations Issued
(Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service, 17 Oct 82) 66

'BEIJING REVIEW' Editor on Spiritual Civilization
(Xin Xiangrong; BEIJING REVIEW, 4 Oct 82) 68

'BEIJING WANBAO' Discusses Empress Dowager Cixi
(Kong Xiangji; BEIJING WANBAO, 7 Oct 82) 70

Beijing Holds Forum on Spiritual Civilization
(Beijing City Service, 24 Sep 82) 72

'BEIJING RIBAO' Celebrates Its 30th Anniversary
(Beijing City Service, 27 Sep 82) 73

Duan Junyi on Youth Propaganda Training Course
(Beijing City Service, 28 Sep 82) 74

Duan Junyi Speaks at Beijing Cadre Study Class
(Beijing City Service, 11 Oct 82) 75

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Task of Socialist Modernization
(Wu Zhenkun; GUANGMING RIBAO, 20 Sep 82) 76

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Party Building, Constitution
(Yang Fengchun; GUANGMING RIBAO, 11 Oct 82) 81

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Appraising National Heroes
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 19 Oct 82) 87

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Appraisal of Cao Cao
(GUANGMING RIBAO, 19 Oct 82) 89

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on History of Yihetuan Movement
(Feng Shibo; GUANGMING RIBAO, 20 Oct 82) 90

Tianjin Garrison District Discusses Congress Guidelines
(Tianjin City Service, 30 Sep 82) 92

Tianjin Holds Meeting on 12th PCP Congress Guidelines
(Tianjin City Service, 3 Oct 82) 94

Taiwanese Urge Studying of Congress Guidelines
(Tianjin City Service, 9 Oct 82) 95

Tianjin Sponsors Report Meeting on Congress Documents
(Tianjin City Service, 10 Oct 82) 96

Tianjin Holds Farewell Meeting for Released Kuomintang Personnel
(Tianjin City Service, 15 Oct 82) 97

Meeting Held on 12th Party Congress Guidelines
(Tianjin City Service, 13 Oct 82) 98

Leaders Attend Commendation Rally
(Tianjin City Service, 21 Oct 82) 99

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Comrade Liu Lanbo
(Li Rui; RENMIN RIBAO, 23 Sep 82) 100

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Marxist Philosophy, Communism
(Xing Bensi; RENMIN RIBAO, 24 Sep 82) 109

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Socialist Spiritual Civilization
(Li Shu; RENMIN RIBAO, 18 Oct 82) 113

Marchais Speech at Fudan University
(Georges Marchais; RENMIN RIBAO, 22 Oct 82) 118

(Zheng Keyuan) Article on Party Consolidation
(Zheng Keyuan; Beijing Domestic Service, 14 Oct 82) 126

Beijing Designates Month for Building Civilization
(Beijing Domestic Service, 18 Oct 82) 129

Shanxi Continues 'Five Stresses, Four Beauties' Campaign
(XINHUA, 5 Oct 82) 130

Beijing Education Against Bourgeois Influence
(XINHUA, 7 Oct 82) 131

'SHANXI RIBAO' on Shanxi Party Rectification Forum
(SHANXI RIBAO, 5 Oct 82) 132

Shanxi Prefecture Urges To Study Congress Spirit
(Luo Guibo; SHANXI RIBAO, 8 Oct 82) 134

Hebei CPC, CPPCC Hold Meeting on Congress Spirit
(Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service, 23 Sep 82) 136

Hebei Holds Meeting on Congress, Propaganda Work
(Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service, 28 Sep 82) 137

Hebei Get-Together Marks Congress, National Day
(Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service, 28 Sep 82) 138

Hebei Department Urges Congress Documents Study
(Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service, 30 Sep 82) 140

Hebei's Leaders Convey 12th Congress Spirit
(Shinjiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service, 2 Oct 82) 142

Hebei Commentary on Studying Congress Documents
(Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service, 4 Oct 82) 144

'HEBEI RIBAO' on Sentencing of County Criminal
(Yi Zheng, Zhang Fazhi; HEBEI RIBAO, 23 Sep 82) 146

'HEBEI RIBAO' on Enforcing Party Discipline
(HEBEI RIBAO', 23 Sep 82) 149

Hebei Government Urges People To Submit Weapons
(HEBEI RIBAO, 26 Sep 82) 152

Hebei PLA Meeting on Congress Documents Study
(Qiu Gangfeng; HEBEI RIBAO, 9 Oct 82)..... 154

Briefs
Nei Monggol Paper-Publication Meeting 157

PARTY AND STATE

'BAN YUE TAN' VIEWS NEW PARTY CONSTITUTION

HK300713 Beijing BAN YUE TAN in Chinese No 17, 15 Sep 82 pp 15-21

[Feature article: "CPC Central Committee Propaganda Department Outlines Guidelines for the Dissemination of the CPC Constitution"]

[Text] 1. Guiding Ideology in Revising the Party Constitution

The new historical period has imposed new demands on the building of our party. The party constitution passed at the 11th CPC National Congress did not eliminate the influences of leftist mistakes and was unable to adapt to the conditions and demands of the new period. Thus, it had to be revised. The guiding ideology of revising the party constitution this time is: To adapt to the characteristics and the demands of the new situation in the construction of socialist modernization, to impose stricter demands on party members and party cadres, to promote the combat strength of the party organizations and to adhere to and improve the leadership of the party.

2. Procedures for Revising the Party Constitution

The revision of the party constitution began in the winter of 1979. Directly led by the CPC Central Committee, many comrades from the central units were transferred to hold seminars. Later, a considerable number of comrades was sent to various parts of the country and the grass roots units to conduct investigations and to ask for opinions. In the spring of 1980, after repeated discussions and revisions, a draft was formed. After the discussions held in the 5th plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, there was one more revision. In April 1980, it was published and distributed to all party members for discussion. In addition, it was distributed to nonparty personages to ask for their opinions. In May and June 1982, there was another revision on a greater scale. On 5 June, it was published and distributed to the provinces, cities, autonomous regions, the party committees of various military regions, the party organizations of various central political, military departments and departments of the party and to part of the deputies of the 12th CPC National Congress. Later, necessary revisions were made in accordance with the opinions collected, thus forming the draft of the party constitution which was presented to the 7th plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee for discussion and approval. This draft was discussed and passed in the 7th plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. It was unanimously decided to approve the

draft in principle and to authorize the members of the standing committee of the political bureau to present it to the 12th CPC National Congress for discussion after they had revised it in accordance with the opinions formed in the discussions held in the plenary sessions of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Discussed and considered in the 12th CPC National Congress, the new "CPC Constitution" was passed on 6 September 1982. In our dissemination of the party constitution, we can combine the procedures of revision in our explanation: The new party constitution is formed on the basis of fully promoting democracy within the party and it has relatively better concentrated the experience and the wisdom of the whole party. It has not only eliminated the mistakes of the party constitution of the 11th CPC National Congress and has not only preserved the merits of the constitutions of the 7th and 8th CPC National Congresses, but it has also summarized the positive and negative experiences of party building since the founding of the state.

3. Main Contents

In the first place, in the new party constitution, there is a "general program" which is quite substantial in content and quite fully outlines the program of the party. Following the "general program," there are 10 chapters which are subdivided into 50 articles. Collectively speaking, there are three aspects in its content: 1) It imposes on all party members, party cadres and grassroot organizations of the party demands stricter than all those imposed by the previous party constitutions; 2) Important changes have been made in the system of the organization of the party; and 3) Ampler, more concrete provisions are made for the system of democratic centralism and party discipline. In our dissemination, we should emphasize explaining the principles and provisions of the party's programme and the three aspects of the main content so as to relate the necessity and importance of the present provisions and to relate their significance in strengthening party building, promoting the combat strength of the party and adhering to and improving the leadership of the party.

4. Concerning the Program of the Party

A proletarian political party must have a program formed on a Marxist scientific basis. Lenin said: "A program has tremendous importance for the consolidation and consistent activity of a political party." ("Collected Works of Lenin," vol 4 p 229) The party constitution requires every party member to recognize the program of the party. One of the important characteristics of the new party constitution is the inclusion of quite a full "general program." It briefly outlined the program of the party. One of the important characteristics of the new party constitution is the inclusion of quite a full "general program." It briefly outlines the program of the party.

In accordance with the theories of scientific socialism, the "general program" has analyzed the tendencies of development in world history and in the historic period our country is experiencing at the present moment. It has analyzed the basic characteristics of the socialist system, its immense superiority and the future in which it will achieve ultimate world victory it has provided for the ultimate goal of striving to implement a communist society and the basic tasks of building socialism in the present situation.

The "general program" specifies the general task of the party in the present situation and the basic domestic and international policies of the party. Moreover, it explains the three tasks of implementing socialist modernization, building a high level of socialist spiritual civilization and developing a high level of socialist democracy. In explaining the general task, is something which is quite different from past practice. That is, "a high level civilization" is placed before "a high level of democracy" on the grounds that building a socialist material civilization and a socialist spiritual civilization is the fundamental goal of socialism, while building a high level of democratic political system is one of the goals of socialism and it is also the guarantee which ensures the implementation of the former.

The "general program" clearly specifies the nature of the vanguard of the working class of our party, the guiding ideology of our party and the three basic demands which our party must determinedly implement. The three basic demands are: To maintain a high degree of political and ideological unity, to wholeheartedly work for the people and to adhere to the system of democratic centralism. These three aspects are the major merits and the main tradition in the formation of the history of our party. In addition, they are the basic demands in strengthening the building of our party under new historical conditions. The basic spirit of these aspects is consistent with the basic spirit of the three major aspects of our work style as summarized in the past. The three major aspects of our work style are: Combining theory with practice, maintaining close links with the masses and criticism and self-criticism. We must continuously promote the fine tradition of our party and strive to implement these basic demands.

The provisions of the "general program" are the main points of the program of our party. In our dissemination, we should make use of the Marxist theory to put forward a theoretical explanation of these main points of the party's program so as to make the whole party and all the people understand the party's program.

5. Concerning the Strict Demands Imposed on Party Members and Cadres

The party members' being qualified or not qualified is an important issue. It affects the combat strength of the party, the prestige the party enjoys among the masses and the fact that the party can or cannot correctly implement its leadership. The question of the criteria of a party member and the requirements of a cadre become important when the party leads the national political power. In the past, to be a party member and to take part in the revolution, one had to bear lots of hardships and be always prepared to sacrify one's life. But now, there are people who think that they can get privileges in being party members. They can make use of various opportunities and conditions to get privileges at the expense of others. (First, at the expense of the masses, second, at the expense of the state.). If they behave in this manner, the party's prestige among the masses and its leading function will certainly drop. Therefore, the party constitution must in the first place solve the question of whether the party members are qualified or not, it must draw a clear line of demarcation and explain what qualities one must have before one is counted as a qualified member. With regard to this, the new party constitution has emphatically made concrete provisions. (Of course, the rights of the party members are also provided for.)

There are three aspects to the demands on party members: 1) It gives definition. It specifies what kind of man a Communist Party member is and who can apply for membership. 2) It strongly emphasizes that party members must dedicate their whole lives to the realization of communism and be ready to make any personal sacrifices. In addition, in accordance with the conditions of being the party in power, it explains that party members are at all times ordinary members of the working people and that they must wholeheartedly serve the people. They must not seek personal gain or privileges, although they are allowed personal benefits and job functions and powers as provided for by the relevant regulations and policies. 3) It provides for the eight duties which party members must fulfil. The eight duties are quite strict. The demands imposed by the new party constitution are stricter than those imposed by the previous ones. But these demands are concrete and must be fulfilled and accomplished. For instance the party constitution requires that party members must "be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, work selflessly for the public interest, and absolutely never use public office for personal gain or benefit themselves at the expense of the public." This means that every party member should not use the office of the party in power to seek personal privileges at the expense of the masses, the collective and the state. This demand and many other similar demands are the ones party members should and can meet. Of course, it is not easy to meet all these demands. Party members must be repeatedly educated before they can completely meet these demands.

There is a separate chapter on party cadres. In this chapter, the party constitution imposes on the cadres demands even stricter than those imposed on party members. It emphatically mentions that party cadres must proceed from reality and properly carry out the line, principles and policies of the party, be able to fight against all erroneous tendencies inside and outside the party, be qualified for their leading posts, have a democratic work style, implement the party's mass line, combat bureaucratism, exercise their functions and powers in the proper way, adhere to the party's principles and combat all acts of abusing power and seeking personal gain. Of course, party cadres must have the qualifications of party members first. There are some cadres who think that qualifications of members apply to new members and ordinary members only and since they are old members or leading cadres, it seems that there is no question whether they meet the criteria of membership. The actual situation is not like that. There are cadres who occupy high positions but do not completely meet the criteria of an ordinary party member. Therefore, every party member and cadre should use the criteria of membership and the demands of cadres to judge himself and to set demands on himself. The extent to which leading cadres at all levels are successful in this aspect exerts greater influence than that of the ordinary members. In the chapter on party cadres, the new party constitution provides for the selection, training and assessment of the cadres in accordance with correct principles and it calls for genuine efforts to make the ranks of the cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent. In addition, it provides that cadres are not entitled to lifelong tenure, and they can be transferred from or relieved of their posts.

The new party constitution has made provisions for the duties of the primary organizations of the party more detailed than those made in the previous party constitutions. They call for efforts to propagate and carry out the party's line, principles and policies, educate, organize and supervise party members and cadres and see that they truly fulfill their duties and that they give full play to their roles. New provisions are particularly made to educate and supervise party members and cadres and prevent them from infringing the interests of the state, the collective and the masses. These provisions are very important in straightening the work style of the party and the promotion of the party's combat strength.

In short, we must emphatically propagate the necessity to adapt ourselves to the status of the party in power and to the new historical conditions, the strict demands the new party constitution imposes on party members and cadres and the significance of these demands. We must explain that if the provisions of the party constitution are fully implemented, the images of the party members and cadres will go through a notable change. In this way, the party can present a new appearance before the masses and greatly improve its combat strength.

6. Concerning the Organizational System of the Party

In the new party constitution, there are a few changes in the organizational system of the party. First, at the central, provincial, municipal levels and the level of autonomous regions, two commissions and one committee are elected at each level by the party congresses at the corresponding levels. At the central level, there are the Central Committee, the central advisory commission and the central discipline inspection commission. At the provincial level, there are also the two commissions and one committee too. The advisory commissions at the central and provincial levels serve as the political assistant and adviser of the central and provincial party committees. This is an important measure which promotes the advisory function of the old cadres and which implements the cooperation and replacement of the old by the new cadres. The authority of the discipline inspection commissions is also provided for. The commissions for discipline inspection at the central and various local levels are directly elected by the party congresses at the corresponding levels and they report their work to the party congresses. Discipline inspection commissions at higher levels have the power to alter the decisions of the discipline inspection commissions at lower levels. In addition to being led by the party committee of the corresponding levels, the discipline inspection commissions at lower levels are also led by the next higher discipline inspection commissions. Thus, there is a complete system from the highest level to the grassroot level in the organization of the commissions for discipline inspection and the limits of their authority are extended. Second, the system of chairmanship of the central committee is changed to the system of a general secretary. There is no more chairman and vice chairman. There is only the general secretary. The general secretary is in charge of convening meetings and standing committee meetings of the political bureau and he is also in charge of the central secretariat. These changes are advantageous to the strengthening of the collective leadership. The system of general secretary and the system of chairmanship are two different systems. There is no reason why we keep two systems at the same time.

Third, in the chapter on the relationship between the party and the CYL, the party constitution provides that those secretaries of league committees, at or below the county level or in enterprises and institutions, who are party members may attend meetings of party committees at the corresponding levels and of their standing committees. In this way, we can resume the intimate relationship between the party and the CYL which has existed in the history of our party for a long time and it helps strengthen the party's leadership over the CYL and the training of young cadres.

In propagating the changes in the organizational system of the party, we should emphatically explain: These changes are carried out in order to further realize the regularization of the political lives in various organizations at the central and local levels, strengthen the unity of the whole party and realize the cooperation and replacement between the old and new party members.

7. Concerning the Party's System of Democratic Centralism and Party Discipline

Fuller and more concrete provisions have been made in these two aspects of the new party constitution. First, the basic principles of democratic centralism are provided for in a more systematic and more comprehensive manner. It clearly provides that "the party forbids all forms of personality cult" and that all major issues shall be decided upon by the party committees after democratic discussion and must not be decided by any individual. Corresponding provisions regarding the responsibility and jurisdiction of various party organizations, the interrelationship between central and local party organizations, the interrelationship between organizations at lower and higher levels and the relationship between individual party members and party organizations are made. In this way, the party's system of democratic centralism is more vigorously ensured. Second, the question of party discipline is placed in an extremely important position and the following provisions have been made:

1. It applies the principle that all party members are equally subject to party discipline and emphasizes that there should not be any party member who does not participate in the activities of the party organizations and who refuse to be subject to the mass supervision inside and outside the party.

2. The party constitution demands that every party member must consciously act within the bounds of party discipline and the law of the state. Party members who violate the law and administrative discipline shall be subject to administrative disciplinary action or legal action. Those who have seriously violated criminal law shall be expelled from the party.

3. In case a party organization seriously violates party discipline and is unable to rectify the mistakes on its own, the next higher party committee should, after verifying the facts and considering the seriousness of the case, decide on the reorganization and dissolution of the organization.

4. It provides that disciplinary action must be taken in accordance with the party constitution and that the rights of the party members must be respected.

For instance, when a party organization discusses the disciplinary measure against a member or when it verifies facts, the party member must be given a chance to account for himself and speak in his own defence while other party members may also bear witness or argue in his behalf. It is strictly forbidden, within the party to take any measure against a member that contravenes the party constitution or the laws of the state. If disciplinary action is taken against a member or alternate member of the central committee or a local committee at any level, it is necessary to go through special procedures. When a party organization decides on a disciplinary measure against a member, the party member in question must be informed of the decision to be made and of the facts on which it is based. If the member does not accept the decision, he can appeal, and the party organization concerned must promptly deal with or forward his appeal, and must not withhold or suppress it. These provisions are the summing-up of historical experience. They are necessary in strengthening democracy and the regularization of political life within th party.

In propagating this question, we must emphatically explain that the whole party implements the system of democratic centralism and strengthens party discipline in accordance with the provisions of the new party constitution. This is the key to organizatonally preserving and consolidating a high degree of ideological and political unity in our party. It is the key to implementing the party's correct line, principles and policies and the key to promoting the combat strength of the party. It is also one of the important lessons learned in all these years, especially in the years since the "great cultural revolution." The general spirit is to fully promote democracy within the party, prevent overconcentration of political power, personality cult and the killing of important issues by individuals. In addition, it must ensure that the whole party acts in unison on the base of political and ideological unity, that the party's decisions are effectively and speedily implemented and it must overcome and prevent the phenomena of each going his way and weak organization.

8. Concerning Adherence To and Improvements in the Party's Leadership

The party is the force at the core leading China's cause of socialism and the state power of our people's democratic dictatorship. Historical experience has proven that such leadership must be in accordance with certain principles and methods. Therefore, in addition to the above-mentioned three aspects of the main content, the new party constitution has also clearly provided for the principles and methods.

Party leadership comprises: 1) Leadershp with regard to principles and policies; and 2) Organizational (including the distribution and supervision of cadres,) propaganda and educational work (including the ideological and political work on all fronts in accordance with the characteristics of these fronts). In order to strengthen the party's leadership, party work must be separated from government work on the basis of division of labour. In enterprises and institutions, there must be division of labour in party work, administrative work and production. The party must ensure that the country's legislative, judicial and administrative organs, economic and cultural

organizations and organizations of the people work enthusiastically, actively, independently, responsibly and in coordination. As to the leadership of the party organizations at the grassroots level in the enterprises and institutions, the new party constitution provides that: Those party organizations at the grassroots level should discuss and make decisions on important issues of principle and ensure that the administrative personnel fully exercises their authority and that the party organization does not take the job of the administrative personnel into its own hands. The general branch and the branch offices under the leadership of the party committee should, except in exceptional cases, only ensure the function of supervision of the work of the institutions and enterprises.

The provision that "the party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws of the state" is an extremely important principle. It must be observed by every member and cadre from the central to the grassroots level. That means, all activities of the party members and party organizations must not violate the constitution and laws of the state. The constitution and laws of the state are formulated by the people under the leadership of the party. When they have been passed by state authority, the whole party should be the first to observe them.

Party committees at all levels should free themselves from heavy routine administrative affairs to strengthen the propaganda and implementation of the party's line, principles and policies, to organize, educate and supervise the party members to play their exemplary roles, to emphatically strengthen the ideological and political work for the masses and to prevent and overcome the tendency of "the party's paying no attention to the party itself." Thus, the new party constitution provides that the central organizations, local organizations and organizations at the grassroots level should pay attention to the building of the party. They should always discuss and inspect the party's propaganda work, educational work, organizational work, discipline inspection, mass work and united front work and pay attention to the ideological and political conditions inside and outside the party. This is extremely important in strengthening and improving the party's leadership.

In propagating this aspect, we must combine it with the provisions of the new party constitution to explain how we can correctly implement the party's leadership and explain the important significance of improving the party's leadership in adhering to the party's leadership under new historical conditions.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

FIRST IN SERIES ON REVISED PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW211025 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 17 Oct 82

[First in series of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "Why Was the Party Constitution Revised? What Were the Guidelines for the Revision?"--by the General Section of the Research Office Under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpt] The First CPC National Congress adopted the first party constitution, which was subsequently called the First CPC Program. Since then almost every party national congress partially or comprehensively revised the party constitution in light of the developing situation and the party's changed tasks; this was also the case with the new party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress. Since its founding 61 years ago, our party has revised its constitution 11 times. Because of restrictive historical conditions and erroneous guiding ideology, the party constitution adopted by the 11th Party Congress inherited leftist mistakes on many major issues. Tremendous changes have taken place in the political life of our party and state since the 11th Party Congress, especially since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Thus, the party constitution adopted by the 11th Party Congress lagged far behind the developing situation and was quite incompatible with the Marxist ideological, political and organizational liens reiterated by our party. This is why the party constitution adopted by the 11th Party Congres had to be revised.

The guidelines for the revision of the party constitution called for setting more exacting demands on party members and cadres, enhancing the fighting capacity of the party organizations and upholding and improving party leadership, all in accordance with the party's actual conditions and in conformity with the characteristics and needs of the new period in which socialist modernization is being undertaken. All this was aimed at building the party and making it a strong leading core for the cause of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

SECOND IN SERIES ON REVISED PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW211031 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 17 Oct 82

[Second in series of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "What Are the Main Characteristics of the New Party Constitution? What Are the Major Developments and Changes in the New Party Constitution as Compared With the Previous Ones?"--by the General Section of the Research Office Under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The new party constitution consists of a general program, 10 chapters and 50 articles. Compared with the previous party constitutions, the main characteristics of the new party constitution and the major developments and changes in it can be summarized as follows:

1. The general program states the party's basic program quite comprehensively yet concisely. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that the general program of the party constitution is our party's most fundamental political and organizational program. The general program comprises the premises and general principles of the party constitution as well as the party's basic program. Therefore, anyone who applies for party membership must regard the general program as the party's program. Defining precisely the nature, status and role of the party in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist theory of party building and the practice of revolution and construction in our country, the general program of the new party constitution reiterates that the party's ultimate goal is the creation of a communist social system and that the party takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as its guide for action.

The general program clearly points out the principal contradiction in our society, defines the party's general task at the present stage and its domestic and foreign policies and sets the three essential requirements for the strengthening of party building--a high degree of ideological and political unity, wholehearted service to the people and adherence to democratic centralism.

2. The new party constitution sets higher and more exacting demands on party members, party cadres and primary party organizations. In the spirit of improving party members' qualities and solving the question of who is qualified for party membership. Article 1 of the party constitution explicitly defines what kind of person can apply for party membership. Article 2 of the party constitution stresses: CPC members, who are vanguard fighters of the Chinese

working class imbued with communist consciousness, must serve the people wholeheartedly, dedicate their whole lives to the realization of communism and be ready to make any personal sacrifices.

Article 3 of the new party constitution provides for eight duties for party members to fulfill, which are more exacting than those stipulated in previous party constitutions. Article 4 provides for eight rights for party members to enjoy, which are fuller than those stipulated in previous party constitutions. Whether or not a party member can conscientiously fulfill his duties and correctly exercise his rights is an important indication of whether or not he is a qualified party member.

The new party constitution includes a special chapter on party cadres. Among other things, this chapter calls for genuine efforts to make the ranks of cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent. It particularly stipulates that leading party cadres at all levels must perform in an exemplary way their duties as party members and meet six basic requirements which are stricter than those for ordinary party members and cadres.

3. The new party constitution includes major changes in and new stipulations on the party's organizational system at the central and local levels. One major change in the party's organizational system at the central level is that the party Central Committee has no chairman or vice chairmen but only a general secretary. The general secretary, who must be a member of the standing committee of the party Central Committee's political bureau, is responsible for convening meetings of the political bureau and its standing committee and presides over the work of the party Central Committee secretariat. The new party constitution also stipulates that the chairman of the central advisory commission, the first secretary of the central discipline inspection commission and the chairman of the military commission of the party Central Committee must be members of the standing committee of the party Central Committee's political bureau.

All these stipulations are conducive to strengthening the party's collective leadership, consolidating the unity of the party and preventing the recurrence of overcentralization of power and any arbitrary decision by any individual person.

4. The new party constitution contains fairly comprehensive stipulations on the strengthening of the party's democratic centralism and the strict enforcement of party discipline. In the chapter on the party's organizational system, the new party constitution explicitly stipulates that the party is an integral body organized under its program and constitution, on the principle of democratic centralism. Drawing a lesson from past experience, the new party constitution stipulates that the party forbids any form of personality cult and that all major issues shall be decided upon by the party committees based on democratic consultations.

Major stipulations on the strict enforcement of party discipline are:

A. The principle that all party members are equally subject to party discipline shall be applied, and there shall be no privileged party members who are exempt from participating in the regular activities of the party organization and from accepting supervision by the masses inside and outside the party.

B. Every party member is required to strictly observe the state law and administrative discipline, in addition to party discipline; otherwise, he shall be punished according to party discipline as well as the state law and administrative discipline. Party members who have seriously violated the criminal law shall be expelled from the party.

C. In taking disciplinary measures against party members, it is imperative to abide by the party constitution and to protect their rights as party members. It is strictly forbidden to take any measures against a party member that contravene the party constitution or the laws of the state, or to retaliate against or frame up comrades.

D. In case a party organization seriously violates party discipline and is unable to rectify the mistake on its own, it should be reorganized or dissolved according to prescribed procedures.

5. The new party constitution provides for the correct principles and methods for upholding and improving party leadership. It is necessary to improve party leadership in order to uphold it. The new party constitution explicitly points out that party leadership consists mainly of political, ideological and organizational leadership. The party should exercise its leadership over the political life of the state, the realization of the socialist cause and the various nonparty organizations by formulating and implementing correct lines, principles and policies, doing painstaking and effective ideological and political work, performing strict and careful organizational work and bringing the party members' exemplary vanguard role into full play. The new party constitution also specifically stipulates that the party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and laws of the state. In other words, all party organizations and members, from the central level down to the grassroots level, just conscientiously abide by the constitution and laws of the state, and none of their activities is permitted to contravene the constitution and laws of the state.

The above may be said to be the main points of the new party constitution.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

THIRD IN SERIES ON REVISED CPC CONSTITUTION

OW220827 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 28 Oct 82

[Third in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "How Should We Understand the Provisions in the New Party Constitution Concerning the Nature of Our Party?"--by the General Section of the Research Office Under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] Any political party is based on a class and, as such, has its own class nature. Since its founding, the Communist Party of China has explicitly declared that it is a revolutionary political party of the Chinese proletariat. In the past, we described our party as an advancing force of the proletariat; now we say that the CPC is the vanguard of the working class. This is the newest epitome of the class and revolutionary nature of our party after the proletariat seized state power and has led that power for 33 years in our country.

Some comrades have raised this question: "Now class relations have undergone a significant change in our country, in that the exploiting class has been eliminated and class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction; under these circumstances, does the party still have its class nature? Is it still the vanguard of the working class?" In our country, the bourgeoisie--which is an exploiting class--has been eliminated since the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production was basically completed. On the other hand, the working class has not been eliminated like the bourgeoisie; on the contrary, it has grown in strength and still preserves its original proletarian class characteristics. In addition, because our socialist society does not have a long history and has not yet developed to the stage where all classes and all class differences have been eliminated, the great task that history has entrusted to the Chinese working class is far from completed. The working class will exist as a strong advanced class for a long time and will, through the Communist Party, play a leading role among other classes and social strata. Such being the case, the nature of our party remains unchanged even though the class situation has undergone a significant change in our country.

How should we understand the statement that the CPC is the vanguard of the working class and the faithful representative of the people of all nationalities in China? "Vanguard" and "faithful representative" refer to two

different aspects of the nature of our party. The CPC's ultimate goal is the creation of a communist social system and the emancipation of all mankind. The creation of a communist social system is an inevitable result of the law of social development. It follows that our party, by struggling for the creation of a communist social system, represents the fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities in our country. Furthermore, the working class cannot achieve its own emancipation without emancipating all mankind. This means that the fundamental interests of the working class and the people of all nationalities in our country coincide. In addition, the statement that the party is the faithful representative of the people of all nationalities in China reflects the purpose for which our party was founded--that is, to wholeheartedly serve the people. Our party requests that all words and deeds of every party member conform to the maximum interests of the broadest masses of the people. Every party member is requested to subordinate his personal interests unconditionally and absolutely to the interests of the party and the people.

Ours is a multi-national country. The correct line, principles and policies formulated by our party take care of the characteristics and interests of the people of all nationalities, and they have been formulated on the basis of careful in-depth investigation and study of reality. For this reason, they receive enthusiastic support from the people of all nationalities in the country. The CPC deserves to be called the faithful representative of the interests of the people of all nationalities.

The CPC is the force at the core leading China's cause of socialism. This statement fully indicates the historical fact that our party leads the Chinese revolution, as well as its present position in the political life of our country. The previous party constitution contained the words that the party is the highest form of class organization of the proletariat. These words are not found in the new party constitution because the essence of these words is implied in the statement that the CPC is the force at the core leading China's cause of socialism--a statement which is more suitable to the actual situation of our country.

Our party takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as its guidance. It has a political program aimed at creating a communist social system, a scientific method of leadership and a good style of work. For this reason, it enjoys the great confidence of the people throughout the country. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, the CPC is the core of leadership for the whole Chinese people; without this core, the cause of socialism cannot be victorious.

The work of socialist modernization which we are carrying out is an unprecedentedly great task, which is very arduous and complicated. We must pool the efforts of hundreds of millions of people to form a united and well-organized task force to fulfill this great task of socialist construction. Without the party leadership, such a task would be out of the question.

In his speech at the meeting in celebration of the 60th founding anniversary of the CPC, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: The past 60 years prove that our party is indeed a proletarian party armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong

Thought and a party wholeheartedly serving the people, entirely dedicated to their interests and with no particular interest of its own. It is truly a long-tested party, which has acquired rich experience, learned many lessons and is capable of leading the people in braving difficulties to win victory after victory in the revolution. The role of this great party as the force at the core of the Chinese people's revolutionary cause and its leadership in this cause are the dictates of history and of the will and interests of the people of all nationalities, dictates which no force on earth can change or shake.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

FOURTH IN SERIES ON REVISED CPC CONSTITUTION

OW230054 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 19 Oct 82

[Fourth in a series of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "What Is the Ultimate Goal of the CPC?"--by the General Section of the Research Office Under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] There are basically two different kinds of expressions regarding the party's ultimate goal in our past party constitutions since the 7th Party Congress. One is the creation of a communist social system in China. This expression is in the party constitution adopted at the 7th Party Congress. The other expression is the realization of communism. This expression was used in the party constitution adopted at the 9th, 10th and 11th Party Congresses. The new party constitution specifically stipulates that the party's ultimate goal is the creation of a communist social system. This expression is identical to that in the party constitution adopted at the 7th Party Congress. It is a more scientific and precise expression.

Making the creation of a communist social system our party's ultimate goal fully reflects the strong wishes of the proletariat and the people and represents their fundamental interest. It accords with the law regarding society's historical development.

Communism as a movement began the day the Communist Party was founded. The arduous struggles waged by Communist Party members and revolutionary people in the revolutionary period of new democracy were all a part of the communist movement. The socialist revolution and construction carried out after the founding of new China, the magnificent modernization launched today and the daily practice of every faithful Communist Party member in revolution and construction were all part of the communist movement.

At present, there are some comrades who have either lost faith in or have doubts about communism. They regard communism as a dim illusion and unattainable. Seeing that our country is still relatively poor, our social ethics are not very good, our people's consciousness is not very high and too many people are putting money first in everything, they began to doubt communism. Actually, this view is untenable.

Marx said: Socialism came from capitalist society. Therefore, in every aspect, economic, moral or spiritual, socialism has the vestiges of the old society from which it has come. Old China was a semicolonial, semifeudal, backward society. Its productive forces lagged far behind the capitalist countries. These vestiges can in no way be eliminated in a short period of time.

To make things worse, the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques undermined communist theory and movement with ultraleftist arguments during the 10-year internal turmoil. As a result, the body of our party and the thinking of our party members were corroded. After the smashing of the gang of four, we corrected the leftist view which believed that the communist social system would soon be established. Among some people, this led to the erroneous belief that communism is unattainable. We must acquire a correct understanding of communism through study. Communist Party members must cultivate a lofty communist ideal and a firm belief that communism will triumph.

We are now going all out to promote the propaganda and practice of communist ideology; however, this in no way means that we are stirring up a "communist wind." Trying to create a communist social system today, or asking every member of our society to become a communist.

At the present stage of socialism, we must uphold the principle of "to each according to his work" and other socialist practices. We must not repeat past ultraleftist mistakes such as enforcing egalitarianism in the name of promoting communist style. However, as a Communist Party member we must not forget that our bounden duty is to dedicate our whole life to the creation of a communist social system and to the realization of the utmost interest of the vast majority of people.

The realization of the party's ultimate goal depends on the practice of the vast numbers of Communist Party members and hundreds of millions of people. Communist Party members on all fronts should work hard and in a down-to-earth manner to make China a socialist country with a highly developed civilization and democracy, and with modern industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology in order to create conditions for the gradual future transition from socialism to communism.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

FIFTH IN SERIES ON REVISED CPC CONSTITUTION

OW230120 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 20 Oct 82

[Fifth in a series of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "Why Should the CPC Regard Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as a Guide for its Actions?"--read by the General Section of the Research Office Under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The new party constitution clearly points out: The Communist Party of China takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as its guide to action because only by using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought will it be possible for us to correctly explain the objective laws in social development, chart the course for the realization of socialism and communism and point out the direction for the struggles waged by the proletariat in various revolutionary periods.

Marxism covers the following three parts:

1. Philosophy. It is represented by dialectical materialism and historical materialism. This philosophy forms the foundation of all the Marxist theories. It represents the world outlook and methodology advocated by the proletariat.

2. Politico-economics. It centers around the surplus value theories.

3. Scientific socialism. By conducting a scientific analysis of the history of the development of class society, Marx and Engels pointed out that class struggle constitutes a motive force for social development, that class struggle will inevitably bring about the dictatorship of the proletariat and that the proletariat is the gravedigger of capitalist society and the creator of a new society. Thus, they pointed out the road for the realization of socialism. At the same time, they scientifically analyzed the conditions for the realization of a communist social system and showed us our magnificent prospects.

All of the aforementioned parts are interrelated and inseparable. They constitute the complete scientific system of Marxism.

The Chinese communists, with Comrade Mao Zedong as their chief representative, created Mao Zedong Thought by integrating the universal principles of

Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Mao Zedong Thought is Marxism-Leninism applied and developed in China. It consists of a body of theoretical principles concerning China's revolution and construction and a summary of experience therein, both of which have been proved correct by practice. It represents the crystallized, collective wisdom of the CPC.

Mao Zedong Thought covers many aspects. In some important aspects, it has creatively enriched and developed the Marxist-Leninis as well as theories on the new democratic revolution, theories on socialist revolution and socialist construction, theories on army building and military strategies, theories on policy and tactics, theories on ideological and political work and cultural work, and theories on party building.

Some comrades said: China has entered a new historical period. Our current task is to develop the socialist modernization program. Do we still need to take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as our guide? We do not deny that following the changes in historical conditions, views and conclusions on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought will also change. When historical conditions have changed, some individual conclusions and views may find themselves not so adaptable. However, the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought represent the scientific truths verified by practice. They will never become outdated.

Only by studying and grasping Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought will it be possible for us to establish a correct world outlook, raise our awareness for communism, foster lofty revolutionary ideals and develop communist ethics. To persistently take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the party's guide to action is of great significance in guiding us toward the development of the socialist spiritual civilization.

Some comrades said: Comrade Mao Zedong committed errors in his late years. Why must we take Mao Zedong Thought as our party's guiding ideology? If one tries to negate the scientific value of Mao Zedong Thought and deny its role in guiding China's revolution and construction simply because Comrade Mao Zedong made errors in his late years, this attitude is totally wrong and extremely harmful. It occurs mainly because one fails to distinguish the scientific theories of Mao Zedong Thought which withstood tests over a protracted period from the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his late years.

We must separate the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong and the theories he upheld in his late years from scientific Mao Zedong Thought. It was pointed out in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC, which was adopted by the 6th plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, that Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist and a great proletarian revolutionary, strategist and theorist. It is true that he made gross mistakes during the cultural revolution; however, if we judge his activities as a whole, his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweigh his mistakes. His merits are primary and his errors secondary.

In short, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought has not only guided us in winning victories in the new democratic revolution and socialist revolution, but also guided us in scoring achievements in developing the socialist modernization program. At no time and under no circumstances should we weaken our confidence in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. If our confidence is weakened, we will lose our bearing in making revolution. This is the experience of the CPC and the Chinese people in waging struggles during the past several decades.

Taking Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as our guiding ideology does not mean that we must implement whatever Comrade Mao Zedong said. If one adopts a dogmatic attitude toward Comrade Mao Zedong's words and believes that whatever he said is truth and that his words should only be mechanically copied and blindly followed without the slightest modification, and if one even refuses to realistically admit the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his late years and tries to continue making similar mistakes in practice, one's attitude is absolutely wrong and extremely harmful.

The development of socialist modernization will inevitably impose new demands on the development of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. In analyzing the new situation and tackling new problems in the course of developing the four modernization program, we must also make use of new scientific conclusions and views that are suited to China's actual conditions to further enrich and develop Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, raise our party's theoretical level and help our party triumphantly forge ahead along the path of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

SIXTH IN SERIES ON REVISED CPC CONSTITUTION

OW240925 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 21 Oct 82

[Sixth in a series of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th National CPC Congress: "What is the Theory of Socialism"--by the General Section of the Research Office Under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] One salient characteristic of the general program in the new party constitution is in its brief and to the point exposition in accordance with the theory of scientific socialism on the course of the development of world history and the historical period in which China finds itself at present and on the superiority of the socialist system and the prospect that, inevitably, this system will gradually prevail throughout the world. This is not found in the party constitutions adopted by the Seventh and Eighth National CPC Congresses.

What is the theory of scientific socialism? The answer is clearly summarized in the third paragraph of the general program in the new party constitution. The theory of scientific socialism is a term used in comparison with utopian socialism which emerged when capitalism was in its embryonic stage and gained wide popularity in the 19th century when capitalism flourished. During the 1940's, having personally participated in the practice of the class struggle waged at that time by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, Marx and Engels carried out their theoretical study and came up with the theory of surplus value and the theory of historical materialism. The theory of surplus value exposed the secret of capitalist exploitation and brought to light the law of the inevitable extinction of capitalism and the inevitable triumph of socialism. The theory of historical materialism expounded the historical position and role of the proletariat and shed light on the social forces to be found which would bury capitalism. Since then socialism has become a science, no longer a utopia.

In accordance with the summarization in the general program of the new party constitution, the main content of the theory of scientific socialism includes the following:

First, the socialist system can be established only through revolutionary struggle waged by the proletariat. In order to carry out its revolutionary struggle, the proletariat must form a party that is armed with scientific

Marxist theory. Without the correct leadership of the party it would be impossible to win victory for the revolution. As for the form in which the revolution is waged and the course of its development, they vary in different countries. It is in view of this that the general program of the new party constitution has used the wording "through revolutionary struggle" by the proletariat instead of "through proletarian revolution" which was frequently used in the past.

Second, after winning victory in its revolutionary struggle, the proletariat must establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to eliminate any resistance by the bourgeoisie and organize for the building of a new economy, politics and culture. It would be empty talk to hold that socialism can be realized without the dictatorship of the proletariat. One fundamental distinction between genuine and sham socialism lies in the question of whether it is necessary to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. As for what form a proletariat political power should adopt for itself and what name it should use for the state, this is a matter to be determined in accordance with the specific situation of each country. The system adopted by China is that of a people's democratic dictatorship, which, in essence, is proletarian dictatorship.

Third, after seizing political power, the proletariat must establish the system of public ownership of the means of production, abolish exploitation and practice the principle "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work."

Fourth, socialist society inevitably advances into communist society.

Analyzing the economic, political geographic and other basic conditions of the capitalist countries in Europe when they created the theory of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels predicted that communist revolution would not limit itself in one country but would simultaneously break out in all civilized countries, at least in England, the United States, France and Germany. Lenin, after analyzing the law of the imbalanced development of capitalist politics and economy when liberal capitalism developed to the stage of imperialism by late 19th century and early 20th century, put forth the theory that socialism probably would prevail in a small number of capitalist countries or, first, in only one of them. This represented a major development of the theory of scientific socialism created by Marx and Engels. While imperialist countries are fighting with each other for their spheres of influence, the liberation struggle of the proletariat is bound to unite with the national liberation struggle of the oppressed nations. It is possible for socialist revolution to first win victory in countries that are weak links of imperialist rule. The victory of the October revolution in Russia and the course of world history during the past half century and more, especially the establishment and development of the socialist system in a number of countries, have borne out the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory of scientific socialism.

CSO: 4005/88

'GONGREN RIBAO' REVIEWS COMMUNISM IN CHINA

HK190855 Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Jin Chunming [6855 2504 2494]: "The Communist Movement in China Began a Long Time Ago"]

[Text] Comrade Hu Yaobang has pointed out: "Communist ideology and communist practice existed in the reality of our lives a long time ago." This thesis has forcefully refuted such erroneous viewpoints as "communism is a remote illusion" and "communism is not verified by practice."

When did the communist movement begin in China? The answer is that the movement began after the May 4th movement declared in 1919 when communism study groups were formed in various parts of China. So far, more than 60 years have elapsed in the history of its practice.

Is this a farfetched answer? No, it is not farfetched. Comrade Mao Zedong said a long time ago: On the day the new democratic revolution of China began, it formed part of the proletarian socialist world revolution. The proletarian world revolution means the international communist movement.

"Communism is at once a complete system of proletarian ideology and a new social system." This is what Comrade Mao Zedong clearly explained more than 40 years ago in his famous essay on new democracy. The implementation of the communist system depends on the communist movement. The communist movement is a revolutionary movement led by a proletarian party under the guidance of the Marxist scientific communist ideological system. The ultimate goal of endeavor of this revolutionary movement is the communist social system. Thus, the communist movement is a very long historic process.

As far as the whole world is concerned, this movement began with the establishment of the communist league. The Manifesto of the Communist Party, published in 1848 is the first complete scientific programme of the communist movement.

In China, after the birth of the Communist Party, the new democratic revolutionary struggle under the leadership of our party was taken as "communist heresy" by the reactionary ruling classes. They loudly called out the "communism does not suit the situation of China," they wanted to get rid of communism, otherwise, they did not feel comfortable. This fact has demonstrated

that we ourselves and our class enemies take the revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the CPC as the all time communist movement.

But, before the founding of the PRC, what we were engaged in was the new democratic revolution. Judging from its nature, it belongs to the category of bourgeois-democratic revolution. Is it suitable to call it the communist movement? Some people may raise such a question. We think that it is not at all unsuitable. Judging from its objective nature, the new democratic revolution belongs to the category of bourgeois-democratic revolution, but, judging from its subjective guidance, it is essentially different from the old democratic revolution. The differences are mainly:

1. Different cosmologies. The new democratic revolution has completely shaken off bourgeois idealism and the view that history is made by heroes. The new democratic revolution is based on the scientific cosmology of communism, which means that the revolution depends on the dialectical materialism of Marxism for its behavioral guidance. As Comrade Mao Zedong said: The Chinese democratic revolution cannot be successful without the guidance of communism, to say nothing of the later stage of the revolution.

2. Different leadership. The leaders of the old democratic revolution were the bourgeoisie, while the leaders of the new democratic revolution are the proletariat (the revolution is realized through the Communist Party, its vanguard). The question of leadership power is an extremely important question that is closely related with the success, failure and the future development of the revolution. A series of important changes was caused by the difference in the revolutionary leadership. In his essay on contradiction, Comrade Mao Zedong briefly outlined the changes. He said: Proletarian leadership has fundamentally changed the whole face of the revolution, has brought about a new alignment of classes, given rise to a tremendous upsurge in the peasant revolution, imparted thoroughness to the revolution against imperialism and feudalism, created the possibility of the transition from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution and so on. None of these changes was possible in the period when the revolution was under bourgeois leadership.

Of course, we can list other differences, but it is just these two which determine the difference in the nature of matters. These two happen to explain why China's new democratic revolution has overtaken the old system of bourgeois world revolution. Under the guidance of communist cosmology, carry out revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the proletariat; these are the necessary component parts of the international communist movement. Many martyrs of the revolution harbored this magnificent goal of the future and bravely dedicated their lives to this anti-imperialist, anti-feudal bourgeois democratic revolution in order that the most mangificant communist social system would gradually be established in China. Li Dazho, one of the founders of our party, firmly believed that "the future world must be a world of red banners." When beneath the gallows, he solemnly announced: We deeply believe that communism will certainly win the glorious victory in China and in the world. Peng Pai, the first member of our party to organize the peasant movement, gave away his property and status and devoted his life to the great cause of the liberation of the peasants and laborers until his life was

sacrificed in order that the "communist system is practiced and that great harmony is enjoyed by the world." It should be said that all loyal members of the CPC and the CYL and all people who bravely struggle under the guidance of the Communist Party, regardless of the fact of what they have done or are doing in the stage of new democratic revolution or did in the stage of socialist revolution and construction, have committed deeds which are part of the communist movement and communist practice in itself. Now, on the base of the fact that glorious victory has been achieved by our party, the party is leading the working class and the whole people to strive to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. The people of our country will march forward along the glorious road of the communist movement with even greater strides.

CSO: 4005/88

BA YI DEMANDS ACQUITTAL OF FORMER PLA LEADERS

OW120303 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Text] The fact that Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo--who were imprisoned because of implication in the phony Lin Biao case--have been transferred to a military hospital for treatment shows that there is a certain change in their situation. This fact certainly draws the attention of many people in the armed forces. Many leading comrades in the armed forces have long been dissatisfied with the unjust trial of these former leaders of our armed forces. This station has time and again demanded that Huang Yongsheng and other former leaders of our armed forces be released, that the unjust case in which many military cadres at all levels were implicated be reexamined, and that the issue concerning the phony case of Lin Biao concocted by the gang of four be fundamentally resolved.

We have repeatedly stated that the accusation against the former leaders of our armed forces was principally based on the so-called conspiracy plotted by the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique--a case fabricated by the gang of four. Although the former leading comrades of our armed forces argued strongly on just grounds and in spite of the many ironclad truths which show that there simply was not a so-called Lin Biao clique, much less the so-called conspiracy of usurpation of party and state power, certain leaders of the central authorities, in total disregard of facts and witnesses' testimonies, arbitrarily demanded the court return an unjust verdict. Thus legal grounds for trying the phony case concocted by the gang of four was created, Huang Yongsheng and other former leaders of our armed forces were thrown into jail, and many cadres in the armed forces were implicated.

The so-called case of the Lin Biao clique has actually been used as a cudgel to hit and persecute cadres in the armed forces, and this is why many cadres within the armed forces, particularly those in the middle and upper echelons, have been infuriated and disturbed. Although the mistried former leaders of our armed forces have now been transferred from prison to hospital, they are not treated as the victims of other unjust and phony cases. Rather, their transfer has been interpreted as a so-called act of revolutionary humanitarianism. In other words, it is something like magnanimity for the criminals, and not a just rehabilitation of the former leaders of our armed forces and an overturning of all the groundless charges against them. This is extremely wrong. In accordance with the principle that all mistakes must be corrected,

the charges and the verdicts against the former leaders of our armed forces must be frankly and honestly acknowledged as unjust, and these former leaders of our armed forces must be rehabilitated and acquitted. Furthermore, all unjust cases against those who have been implicated by the phony case of Lin Biao must be retried within a short period, so that the issue concerning the case can be thoroughly resolved as soon as possible. By no means should be case be continually used to persecute the broad masses of cadres.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

BA YI CRITICIZES PRC LEADERS FOR TRUSTING U.S.

OW170955 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 16 Oct 82

[Text] U.S. President Reagan's recent statement was another interference of U.S. imperialism in China's internal affairs, and another insult to our national pride. In the face of such brazen aggressive behavior of the United States, how can we remain polite and courteous toward this bunch of imperialist gangsters?

However, XINHUA News Agency and RENMIN RIBAO, following instructions from above, only complained that the Americans had contradicted the joint Sino-U.S. communique and politely criticized Reagan for going back on his promise to sincerely seek to improve relations with China. Actually, the matter should be dealt with in a totally different manner.

As everyone knows, the People's Republic of China is an independent country. How can we allow the U.S. imperialist chieftains to blackmail us? How can we allow U.S. imperialism to send us an ultimatum and listen in silence to their statement that the United States will reduce and ultimately stop selling weapons to the Kuomintang, provided the PRC fulfills its commitment to reunification with Taiwan by peaceful means, and so on and so forth.

This shows that U.S. imperialism is rudely trying to blackmail us and demanding that we accept their arbitrary behavior, and that only when we do so will they agree to stop interfering in our international affairs. One cannot help wondering how much longer certain central leaders will continue tolerating U.S. imperialism's anti-China policy. How can they believe in U.S. imperialism's statements, promises and commitments?

Historical experience tells us that U.S. imperialism will never stop deceiving the people of other countries. However, for some unknown reason, a few central leading comrades trust U.S. imperialism and the promises and commitments it had made on the Taiwan question. Having been repeatedly deceived by the United States, they not only have lost face themselves but, more serious, they have allowed the Americans to encroach on China's sovereignty and violate the Chinese people's national pride.

The main cause of the present situation is that on the question of Sino-U.S. relations, certain leaders have abandoned the correct class stand and forgotten

the simple truth: In the face of imperialist aggressive schemes, only by waging an unremitting struggle can we reliably defend our state sovereignty and national pride.

The history of U.S. imperialist aggression against China over the past more than 140 years shows us that in the struggle against the U.S. imperialist gangsters we cannot depend on courtesy toward their leaders, polite criticism and weak complaints about their aggressive behavior. Only by waging tit-for-tat struggle can we crush the anti-China schemes of U.S. imperialism, the deadly enemy of the Chinese people.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON CARRYING OUT CONGRESS DIRECTIVES

HK071310 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Sun Qimeng [1327 6386 1322]: "What I Understand from the Principles of 'Long-Term Coexistence, Mutual Supervision' and 'Being Utterly Sincere to One Another, Sharing Honor and Disgrace'"]

[Text] In his report at the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "Our party will continue to adhere to the principles of 'long-term coexistence, mutual supervision' and 'being utterly sincere to one another, sharing honor and disgrace' and strengthen our cooperation with the various democratic parties, nonparty democratic personalities, minority nationality personalities and the religious circle patriots." We should attach great importance to and deeply understand this directive of the party Central Committee for this is a fundamental guiding policy of the party Central Committee on the problem related to the united front during the new historic period. My understanding of this policy is as follows:

1. The principle of "long-term coexistence, mutual supervision" was put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong in April 1956 in his article entitled "On the Ten Major Relations." Comrade Mao Zedong said, "it is good to have several parties. They have not only coexisted for a long time and supervised one another in the past but they will continue to do so in the future." In his article "On the Correct Handling of the Contradictions Among the People" published in February 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong further expounded on this important idea. The putting forward of this principle was a great event in the political life of our country and is also a new contribution that our party has made to the theory of scientific socialism.

2. "Being utterly sincere to one another and sharing honor and disgrace" was put forward by Comrade Hu Yaobang in January 1982 at the National United Front Work Conference. He said: "I think that we should clearly point out to the whole party and at the same time tell friends outside our party that during the new historical period, we must establish a relationship of being utterly sincere to one another and sharing honor and disgrace between friends outside our party and ourselves." Here, we should pay attention to the time -- "the new historical period" -- that Comrade Hu Yaobang mentioned in talking about the idea. This means that this relationship emerges and develops under the new historical period. In his opening speech at the second session of the

Fifth CPPCC in June 1979, Comrade Deng Xiaoping told us: "Our state has entered a new historical period in which the key task is to realize the four modernizations. Accordingly, our revolutionary united front has also entered a new historical stage of development." The key distinctive features of this new historical period and of this new historical stage of development are: First, the people of all nationalities on all fronts throughout the country are concentrating their energy on carrying out socialist modernization; and second, the state of affairs related to the classes in our society has undergone a radical change and all the democratic parties have already become the political leagues of the socialist laborers and the patriots who support socialism and whom these democratic parties respectively have contact with, and thus all the democratic parties have become political forces that serve socialism under the leadership of the CPC. These historical conditions have determined that the essence of the new relationship between party and nonparty members is a relationship of "being utterly sincere to one another and sharing honor and disgrace."

3. The 16-character principle that Comrade Hu Yaobang put forth on behalf of the party Central Committee at the 12th Party Congress is the further profound development of our party's theory and policies on the united front under the new situation, and it sets an example of developing Mao Zedong thought at the same time adhering to it. Our party's principles and policies have been formulated in light of actual conditions. The development and growth of the united front has provided a reliable basis for the formulation of the 16-character principle. I should like to only give the example of a few figures of the number of members of the CPPCC and the number of members of various democratic parties. The number of representatives to the First National CPPCC was 662, and 180 of them were selected committee members. The number of committee members who attended the first session of the second CPPCC rose to 559, those who attended the first session of the third CPPCC increased to 1,041 and those who attended the first session of the fourth CPPCC was 1,199. When the first session of the fifth CPPCC was held in 1978 after the smashing of the "gang of four," the number of committee members increased to 1,988, and it rose to 2,054 when the fourth session was held. By the end of 1981 the number of members of the 29 provincial, regional and municipal CPPCC committees was 15,931. The number of members of county CPPCC committees throughout the country was about 130,000. Thus the members of the CPPCC committees at various levels constitute a massive rank of 150,000 people representing extensively broad masses in various circles. During the past 3 years, local CPPCC organizations have remarkably developed. By now, 1,604 county (municipal or district) CPPCC organizations have been recovered or newly established in various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government. They constitute about 56 percent of the 2,864 county-level CPPCC organizations in the whole country. Under the guidance of the spirit of the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, during the past 3 years, the 8 democratic parties in our country have recruited more than 35,000 new members and they now have more than 700 local organizations and more than 4,000 basic-level branches. According to incomplete statistics, more than 10,000 members of the democratic parties have been denominated as model workers, advanced workers, teachers of a special classification or March 8 Red Banner holders or have been awarded with various kinds of science or technology prizes. It is precisely because

the party Central Committee has been able to formulate and put forward, in light of the above-mentioned actual conditions, the 16-character strategic principle of "long-term coexistence, mutual supervision", and "being utterly sincere to one another, sharing honor and disgrace," which governs the united front work.

4. As we have said, this 16-character principle has merged what was put forward under different historical conditions and has been regarded as an integrated principle and published both at home and abroad. This requires us to correctly understand its true meaning.

Because of some historical and actual conditions, the policies of maintaining equality and developing cooperation between various parties have been carried out in our country under the leadership of the CPC. This is a special feature and a strong point of our country's political system. The task of satisfactorily developing the cooperation between the various parties under the leadership of the CPC is an important part of the task of building up a highly-developed socialist democracy. Carrying out and strengthening the cooperation between the CPC and the various democratic parties is required for the fulfillment of the general task of the new historical period and the requirements for the fulfillment in the 1980's of the three major tasks of strengthening economic modernization, promoting the reunification of the motherland and safeguarding world peace. The 12th Party Congress has clearly called for striving to achieve a radical change for the better in our country's financial and economic situation and in the general mood of society. In order to achieve these goals, it is also necessary to continuously strengthen the party's cooperation with the various democratic parties and the personalities in various circles. Many facts have proved that it is obvious to all that these parties and personalities have made contributions to the fulfillment of the above-mentioned general task and specific tasks and that they have even played a role that other organizations and individuals have been unable to play. Our practical experiences and the development of the situation have more and more convincingly made us realize that the principle of long-term coexistence of the CPC and the democratic parties is indeed a Marxist idea of outstanding insight.

The concept of mutual supervision has different meaning and characteristics under different historical conditions. In his "On the Correct Handling of the Contradictions Among the People," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that mutual supervision will be achieved by putting forward opinions and making criticism, and that letting the democratic parties supervise the CPC is aimed at letting the party hear different views. He also pointed out that the CPC is mainly supervised by the laboring people and the masses of party members. This kind of mutual supervision is the reflection of the historical conditions in our country at the time when socialist transformation had just been basically achieved. When our country has entered a new historical period, the mutual supervision is imbued with new meaning and characteristics. The most basic of the new meaning and characteristics is that between the party and nonparty members a relationship of "being sincere to one another and sharing honor and disgrace" has already been established. The party and the various democratic parties have already had their common goal of struggle and

common basic interests. Since their major goals are identical, they will naturally share honor when they succeed and share disgrace when they fail. Since their basic interests are identical, naturally they should only be open and sincere to one another and share trouble and travail. True, contradictions will crop up between them and a difference in opinion will emerge, but these contradictions and differences that are based on an identity of basic interests. The correct handling of these contradictions is a motive force that promotes the progress of our common cause. Under the new historical conditions the supervision of the democratic parties over the CPC coincide with their full cooperation with the CPC. That is to say that the supervision is precisely aimed at strengthening the cooperation. At present, though giving opinions and making criticisms are still important forms of mutual supervision, more and more facts have shown that pooling wisdom and strength and making common efforts to do their common jobs satisfactorily has gradually become the chief form of mutual supervision. One of the vivid examples of this is that during the past few years the various democratic parties have quickly developed various kinds of advisory services, established diverse forms of educational facilities and helped to provide jobs to youths who are awaiting jobs. All members of the democratic parties are masters of the country and are a part of the laboring people. Therefore, there is no distinction between being the principal and being the supplementary in supervising the CPC. Generally speaking, the mutual supervision during the new period is a supervision characterized by being sincere to one another and sharing honor and disgrace. This supervision is an effective measure for developing socialist democracy and strengthening the cooperation between the party and nonparty members.

The "Resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC" very correctly points out: "In order to persistently exercise the party's leadership, we must improve the party's leadership." This is a basic experience that has resulted from the summing up by the party of both the positive and the negative experiences it has gained since the founding of the PRC. In order to persistently exercise and improve the party's leadership it is necessary for the party to be supervised by the democratic parties. The only aim of this supervision is to persistently exercise and improve the party's leadership. All ideas and practices of setting the supervision over the CPC against the CPC's leadership are wrong.

The correct and overall understanding and the resolute carrying out the principle of "long-term coexistence, mutual supervision" and "being sincere to one another, sharing honor and disgrace" is one of the major subjects and tasks in our study and implementation of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

LINFEN BRIGADE PRAISES CONGRESS POLICIES

HK200719 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Oct 82 p 1

[Report: "The No. 1 Artillery Company of a Certain Regiment of Linfen Brigade of Nanjing PLA Units Praises Policies Laid Down by 3d Plenary Session of 11th CPC Central Committee, Saying the Day of Real Communism Is Not Far Off"]

[Text] Reporters Gu Guopu [7357 0948 3877] and Wu Dongfeng [0702 2639 1496] report: The No. 1 artillery company of a certain regiment of the Linfen brigade of the Nanjing PLA units has freely discussed the documents of the 12th Party Congress in relation with practice, eliminated the "leftist" influence in communist propaganda and more deeply understood the great historic turn. The fighters said: The conscientious implementation of the policies and principles laid down by the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has enabled us to leave sham communism far behind, and the day of real communism is not far off.

The cadres and fighters, in talking about the change brought to their native villages by the third plenary session, were evidently all pleased. However, some of the comrades were not so sure. Although they could see that the present situation is definitely good, that society is stable, there are more things to buy and that peasants have become prosperous. Nevertheless, they did not know whether this way of doing things was in keeping with the great communist goal or not? In the light of such misgivings, political instructor Li Jianguo organized everybody to study Hu Yaobang's report to the 12th Party Congress and Hu Qiaomu's article "On the Practice of Communist Ideology." They compared the scientific expositions of the party concerning the building of socialist theory and policies with "leftist" propaganda and methods before the third plenary session, and saw clearly that the shifting of the whole party's focus of work to economic construction, correcting egalitarianism and "eating from the same big pot" and adhering to the principle of distribution according to work have changed the abstract into reality, the one-sided into the all-round and the subjective and unscientific into the scientific in the guidance of theory and policy. This way of doing things is not going backward, but is an important step toward communism.

Will the advocation of becoming prosperous through labor cause people to become more selfish and deviate further and further from the communist ideological level? Lin Renda, leader of the No. 6 squad said: I was a bit worried at

the beginning, but numerous facts have eliminated my misgivings. The care given to my family by our native village is an example. The subsidy was 33 yuan in the first year and 70 yuan in the second year. It was increased to 200 yuan last year. This explains that most of the peasants who advocate becoming prosperous through labor are not just thinking of themselves and not of others and are not obsessed by a lust for money.

On the question of how to deal with the reduce distinctions, fighter Hu Xiaolian said: We suffered from "leftist" influence in the past and would think of polarization the moment distinctions were mentioned. Since the institution of contract responsibility, a household with the minimum amount of labor in our village also has 3 to 4 hundred yuan in savings at the end of the year. This explains that there is only the distinction of more or less and faster or slower prosperity in our country and the tragedy of polarization will not appear.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

'ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO' ON CPC-CYL RELATIONSHIP

HK011346 Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 25 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Chen Haosu [7115 8513 5685]: "A Talk on the Relationship Between the Party and the CYL--Some Thoughts After Studying Chapter X of the CPC Constitution"]

[Text] In discussing and deciding such issues as the important strategic policies of the whole party, the 12th party congress had at the same time paid special attention to the youth movement and CYL work. This has elated and inspired the broad masses of league members and cadres.

The extraordinary close relationship between the party and the CYL has a tradition of more than 60 years. The Chinese Socialist Youth League of the early days had been the earliest of the communist groups to emerge in quick succession to play a role in the building of the party. After the founding of the CPC, the youth movement has consequently had its own undisputable leader--this is the party. In spite of whatever changes there may have been in the formal title of the CYL, it has always been the party's close assistant and reliable reserve force.

We say the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress is the most perfect and the best of all party constitutions since the founding of the party. The provisions on the relationship between the party and the league in the party constitution have also explained this point.

I

The party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress has defined the character of the CYL, namely, "the CYL of China is a mass organization of advanced young people under the leadership of the CPC." "It is a school where large numbers of young people will learn about communism through practice," and "it is the party's assistant and reserve force." Such explicit comprehensive stipulations have never been made in all previous party constitutions.

The party constitution of the Eighth Party Congress only stipulated in principle that the CYL must work under the leadership of the party. As for the character of the league, apart from pointing out that the league was the party's assistant, it had not made any specific stipulation. This is easily

understandable, because stipulations on the character of the league should be written into the league constitution. Now, the 12th Party Congress has specially defined the character of the CYL. This shows the special importance attached by the party to the league and the unusual relationship between the party and the league. The CYL had once been called the Young Communist League. It resembled the Communist Party in that it was also a militant collective of communists and a higher form of class organization of the working class. The CYL has politically and organizationally always accepted the leadership of the party and, at the same time, displayed the party spirit and advanced quality of the proletariat in all its practical activities. The leading comrades of the CPC Central Committee have on numerous occasions stressed to us the necessity of understanding that the CYL is different from other mass organizations. The stipulations on the relationship between the party and the league in the party constitution of the 12th Party Congress this time have again emphasized this point to us.

As regard being a mass organization of advanced young people, this determines that the CYL is the core for uniting and educating young people. Your people are generally divided into such different states as advanced, intermediate and backward. We must organize the advanced young people into a militant collective, unite and draw in the masses of young people in the intermediate state and, at the same time, help and educate the backward young people. This is exactly the glorious responsibility of the CYL.

As regards large numbers of young people learning communism through practice, this has already developed into a tradition since the setting up of the CYL. The addition of the words "through practice" in the party constitution of the 12th Party Congress has expressed this matter even more clearly. Lenin in "the tasks of the youth league," when expounding that the task of communist youths and young people in general is to learn communism, pointed out: This absolutely cannot be limited to only reading pamphlets on communism, but must be closely connected to seething practical struggle. Communism is a kind of social system but, at the same time, is also a real revolutionary movement. The Chinese communist movement already has a history of more than 60 years and communist factors have developed in practice. What we must do is to learn communism from these 60 long years of history as well as the extensive reality already developed today. Are we not at present criticizing "the theory of communism is an illusion?" The party constitution's explicit stipulation that the CYL is a school for learning communism through practice has been precisely advanced in the light of this "theory of illusion." "Our daily life contains communism and cannot be separated from communism." This basic fact is precisely the premise for learning communism through practice.

As regards the league being the party's assistant and reserve force, this is a move forward in comparison with the stipulation of the constitution of the Eighth Party Congress, and the wording "reserve force" has been added. The wording "assistant and reserve force" had been written into the league constitution of the second league congress in 1953, but the party constitution of the Eighth Party Congress in 1957 only wrote "assistant," so the league constitution of the Third League Congress in 1957 also deleted the wording "reserve force." After 25 years, the party constitution has again put in "reserve force." The 11th League Congress, which will be held soon, must also

consider restoring the wording "reserve force." It should be pointed out that not mentioning "reserve force" in the past was only an oversight and did not mean to say that the CYL at that time was not the party's reserve force. On 16 September 1956, in his report on revising the party constitution, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The entire history of the CYL shows that it is the party's reliable reserve force and able assistant." In explaining the reason for deleting the wording "reserve force," the report to the Third League Congress in May 1957 said: The role of assistant in fact also includes the role of reserve force. From this we can see that restoring the wording "reserve force" at present does not endow new content to the character of the CYL, but is a reaffirmation of historical experience. In spite of this, this change will still greatly encourage our 48 million CYL members. As a matter of fact, it is precisely because the CPC Central Committee understands the strong desire on the part of the league members and cadres that it decided to make this revision.

II

By means of the party constitution, the 12th Party Congress has called on party committees at all levels to strengthen leadership over the league, support the work of the league and give full play to the role of league organizations. This is giving enormous support to our CYL in actual work.

The party has attached great importance to the promotion and training of league cadres. This is an important matter closely related to making the cadre ranks of the whole party more revolutionary, younger, better educated and professionally more competent. Many veteran cadres of the CPC Central Committee have emphasized the need to look for successors to the revolution from the CYL ranks. The restoration of the wording "reserve force" contains this intention. In the history of the last 60 years, the CYL has infused a large number of outstanding cadres into the party. At present, many of the leading cadres working in the party and state have been tempered and raised in our CYL ranks. The party places great hope on our present CYL ranks. Comrade Chen Yun has called for the promotion of tens of thousands of young cadres, and most of them are in our CYL ranks. All our league members and cadres should therefore understand their glorious responsibility.

Regarding the question of what kind of role the league should play in the revolutionary struggle, the party constitution of the 12th Party Congress has put forward two points: One is to give play to the role as a shock force, and the other is to give play to the role as a bridge linking the party with the broad masses of young people. In 1959, Comrade Hu Yaobang put forward in a speech a proposal for three support contingents: In the great struggle for achieving communist ideals, the party is the vanguard force, the league is the shock force and the young pioneer is the reserve force. This, of course, may also be said to be a formulation of the relationship between the party and the league as well as the character of the league. The party constitution of the 12th Party Congress has embodied this idea of Comrade Hu Yaobang. We should correct a kind of traditional misunderstanding. That is, laying particular emphasis on interpreting the league's role of a shock force as a role on the economic front when in fact the party constitution is not inclined to interpret it as such. Lenin used to say that the Young Communist League must be a shock force, helping in every job and displaying initiative and

enterprise. Lenin's interpretation was comprehensive and so is Comrade Hu Yaobang's interpretation. We should pay attention to this point. Regarding the role as a bridge, this is clearly related to the league being the core for uniting and educating the young people mentioned before, and there is no need for further elaboration.

III

The party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress has restored a very fine tradition in our party history, namely, the stipulation that under certain conditions league cadre may attend the meetings of party committee and standing committee of party committee at the corresponding levels. Concerning this matter, we must recount the formulations of previous party constitutions.

On 1 June 1927, the "decision of the Communist Party of China on the third revised constitution" (this was the fifth constitution in our party history), approved by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, listed for the first time this chapter on the relationship between the party and the youth league and stipulated that youth league organizations at various levels may attend the meetings of party organizations at the corresponding levels as well as enjoy the right to vote. At the same time, it also stipulated in the conditions for admission of party members that people under 20 years of age must join the party through the youth league. This clearly affirmed from the party and league organizational work system the close relationship between the party and the league.

The party constitution approved by the Sixth Party Congress in July 1928 retained this chapter on the relationship between the party and the league and also stipulated that leading party and league organs from party or league branches to the Central Committee should send representatives to each other's meetings and also exchange speaking and voting rights. At the same time, it stipulated that Young Communist League members (CYL members) joining the party may be introduced by the Young Communist Committee.

The party constitution adopted by the Eighth Party Congress on 26 September 1956 restored the stipulation on the relationship between the party and the league, but the focus had shifted to the leadership of the party over the league and the role of the league as the party's assistant. There was no longer the stipulation regarding league cadres participating in meetings of the party.

In the party constitution of the 9th, 10th and 11th Party Congresses which followed, there was no stipulation on the relationship between the party and the league, and there is no need for an explanation.

During the preparatory period for the 12th Party Congress, an old senior member working the CPC Central Committee, out of concern for the work of the league, wrote several letters to the leading comrade of the Central Committee suggesting the restoration of the historical relationship between the party and the league. After taking into consideration such actual conditions as the party having become the ruling party throughout the country since the nationwide liberation and the extensiveness and complexity of the party's leadership

work, the 12th Party Congress made the present stipulation in the party constitution: "Those secretaries of league committees at or below the county level or in enterprises and institutions who are party members, may attend meetings of party committees at the corresponding level and of their standing committee."

Quite obviously, this stipulation in the party constitution of the 12th Party Congress is aimed at restoring the fine tradition of previous party constitutions. However, it has also taken actual conditions into consideration and is not bringing back intact the party constitution of the Sixth Party Congress or those before the Sixth Party Congress.

The significance of restoring this stipulation is very clear. Comrade Hu Qiaomu explained: "This will contribute to bringing closer the relationship between the party and the CYL and help the leading members of the CYL organizations to become mature." On the one hand, league cadres attending party meetings will be able to very concretely learn how to handle problems in the leadership work of the party and thereby enhance their abilities and accumulate experience. On the other hand, party cadres can directly observe and get to know the league cadres in these meetings and can also pass on experience, give help and set examples. In this way, large numbers of league cadres will grow to maturity more quickly and the CYL will be able to play a more useful role as the party's assistant and reserve force.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

'TIANJIN RIBAO' URGES OBSERVING PARTY DISCIPLINE

HK210216 Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Oct 82 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Party Members Must Spontaneously Observe Party Discipline"]

[Text] The activity of studying, propagating and implementing the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress has developed on all fronts of the municipality. Whether we can enthusiastically study and propagate the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress and determinedly and seriously carry out the resolutions of the 12th CPC National Congress are indications of whether party members and cadres hold any political differences with the central committee. The masses of cadres and party members of the municipality should regard this political activity of the whole people and the whole country as an important lesson in the training of party spirit and the organizing of improving discipline. They should promote their exemplary role among the masses and strive to implement the party's historic mission in a new period.

In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: The party's ideological construction is a pillar of the construction of socialist spiritual civilization. The major content of ideological construction includes the Marxist world outlook and the scientific theory of the working class, communist ideal, faith and morality, the master ideology and collectivism which suits the socialist system of public ownership, the concept of rights andobligations and organization of discipline which suits the socialist political system, the devotion to serving the people and the communist attitude concerning work, socialist patriotism and internationalism and so on. To briefly summarize it, the most important ones are the revolutionary ideal, morality and discipline. The advanced personages of the party and society must continuously spread advanced ideology, promote their exemplary role through actual practice and embody more and more members of society with a lofty ideal and morality, become more cultured and observe discipline.

At the present moment, why is the party not only emphasizing that the masses of party members have communist ideals and communist morality and be more cultured but also that the party's discipline be strictly observed? The observance of the party's unitary discipline ensures that the party will lead the people to seize victory in our revolution and construction. One of the evil influences left by the 10 years of turmoil of the "great cultural revolution" was that there are still some comrades who harbor anarchism. They are

indifferent to the concept of organization and they are lax in discipline; some hold different political and ideological ideas from the Central Committee, freely interpret the party's line, principles and policies as they please, taking what he needs and some even comply with the Central Committee in public to oppose it in private or even openly resist orders; some are imbued with individualism, strive for fame, status and high pay, do not accept jobs or fulfill tasks assigned to them by the party; some have abandoned the party's principles, adhere to factionalism, exchange flattery and favors, form small coteries, attack advanced personages and harbor evildoers and cover up their evil deeds; some are imbued with liberalism, and when they hold different opinons, they do not express them at meetings but instead express them in an unruly manner after the meeting, do not express opinions in public but express them in an unruly manner in private, and freely betray confidential matters; some ignore party discipline and the law, take advantage of their positions and resort to dishonest practices, infringe upon the interests of the people and the country, smuggle and sell smuggled goods, are corrupt and receive bribes, embezzle state property, take the criminal road and so on. Under such conditions, it is extremely necessary to emphasize the strict observance of party discipline.

Lenin has pointed out that if party spirit and party discipline were defied, all proletarian revolutionary movements would fail. Comrade Mao Zedong has also said that unitary discipline was the necessary condition for revolutionary victory. The organizational disciplinary character is collectively expressed in the unity of practical action with the party members' understanding of the correctness of the party's line, principles and policies. The new party constitution formulated at the 12th CPC National Congress makes the high degree of political and ideological unity a fundamental demand which is imposed on the whole party. Is it possible to achieve a high degree of political and ideological unity without vigorous organization and iron discipline? Is it possible for the masses of party members not to spontaneously strengthen training in party spirit and organize disciplinary cultivation? Obviously, it is impossible. Party members and cadres on all fronts of the municipality should take the party's line, principles and policies as their code of conduct and unitary discipline and fully implement them. At this moment, it is necessary for us to be the first in studying well the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, deeply understand the strategic objective, strategic focus, strategic steps and the series of correct principles adopted by the party in our economic development in the following 20 years, unify ideologies and actions with the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress and unify and lead the masses in creating a new situation on all fronts.

Being full of vigor and vitality and with strict discipline is the work style which the party constantly emphasizes. Now that we want to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, the mission is difficult and there are many hardships, but it is especially necessary for us to maintain this fine work style. Some comrades simply interpret the party discipline as: Accepting the assignment of the organization, taking part in the meetings on time and paying the party membership dues on time. This is a very superficial understanding.

Party discipline involves many aspects. The party's principle of democratic centralism -- the minority is subordinate to the majority, lower-level organizations are subordinate to organizations at higher levels and all party members and organizations are subordinate to the national congress and the Central Committee is an extremely important rule of discipline; the party constitution contains the laws and regulations of the party, with the provisions concerning the obligations and rights of the party members in the party constitution an aspect of the party's important discipline; all party members should unconditionally implement the laws, decrees and relevant regulations promulgated by the state and the line, principles, policies and resolutions adopted by the party in various periods. If they are violated, party discipline is violated; that Communist Party members should wholeheartedly serve the people and that they should not infringe upon the interests of the people, the collective and the state is also an aspect of party discipline. The new party constitution passed by the 12th CPC National Congress places the strengthening of party discipline in an extremely important position, as it clearly provides that all members are equally subject to party discipline, that there shall be no privileged party members who do not participate in the regular activities of the party organizations and do not accept supervision by the masses inside and outside the party, that the party duly criticizes or punishes those members who violate party discipline and that party members who violate the law and administrative discipline shall be subject to administrative disciplinary action or legal action instituted by administrative or judicial organs and so on. All party members and cadres must be familiar with and learn by heart all the disciplinary provisions in the party constitution, know what is right and what is not, keep themselves within the bounds of party discipline, overcome blindness and strengthen spontaneity. In addition, it is necessary to unify strict organization discipline with a high degree of spontaneity and creativity to study new problems and create new situations.

An important way to spontaneously observe party discipline, is to perfect the party's system of organization life, and in accordance with the demands imposed on party members by the party, seriously carry out criticism and self-criticism. The new party constitution has imposed stricter demands on party members and cadres than in the past. Eight duties of party members have been provided: To perseveringly execute the party's decisions, accept any job and actively fulfill any task assigned them by the party; be the first to bear hardships and to last to enjoy comforts, work selflessly for the public interest, and absolutely never use public office for personal gain or to benefit themselves at the expense of the public; uphold the party's solidarity and unity, firmly oppose factionalism; be loyal to and honest with the party, match words with deeds, back good people and good deeds and fight against bad people and bad deeds. Stricter demands are imposed on cadres. In addition to playing the exemplary role of the party members, six basic requirements are provided. For instance, they are required to be able to adhere to the socialist road, fight against the hostile forces disrupting socialism and combat all erroneous tendencies inside and outside the party, persistently proceed from reality and properly carry out the line, principles and policies of the party; have a democratic work style, maintain close ties with the masses and conscientiously accept criticism and supervision by the masses and so on.

These demands are the party rules and discipline, and the criterion of action for all party members and cadres. Party organizations at all levels should further perfect the party's system of life, strengthen education party members and cadres on law and discipline observance and make them understand that all party members, regardless of position, qualifications and records of service and contributions, must strictly observe party discipline, conscientiously participate in organization life and accept supervision of the masses. It is necessary to create all kinds of opportunities and conditions, organize the use of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, continuously wash away the political dust on our bodies, praise the good people and good deeds and the exemplary models in discipline observance, criticize the violation of law and discipline and fight against the bad people, bad deeds and bad tendencies disrupting party discipline so as to maintain the solemn nature of party discipline. As long as all comrades of our party understand party discipline from the high plane of party spirit, establish the firm concept of organization discipline and strive to keep in step in their work, the combat strength of our party will be greatly promoted and new situations in all departments will be created.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

GUANGZHOU CITES HONG KONG PAPERS ON THATCHER REMARKS

HK301123 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 29 Sep 82

[Text] Hong Kong papers recently published commentaries and articles one after another and reported the talks of some personages. They opposed the statement of British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher, who insists that the unequal treaties which great Britain imposed on China in the 19th century should continue to be valid.

Yesterday's [29 September] HSIN PAO commentary said that it is to be expected that China reaffirms its sovereignty over Hong Kong and that what is contrary to our expectations is that Britain sticks to the treaties. Declaring that the treaties will be adhered to will impair the national pride of the Chinese people.

The English-language HONG KONG STANDARD, also said in its editorial of yesterday that the British position, based firmly on yellowing documents of a bygone era, appears to be an obstinate 'even anachronistic' one.

On 26 September, KUAI PAO quoted from the statement of Lawyer Liao Yao-chu that the negotiations between China and Britain should be conducted on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. Now, Mrs Thatcher adheres to the unequal treaties as a principle and does not represent the will of the people in Hong Kong.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

'BEIJING RIBAO' ON GIVING YOUTH COMMUNIST OUTLOOK

HK191015 Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 15 Oct 82 p 4

[Feature: "Comrade Xinghzbensi [6717 6321 1835] Speaks on Tasks on the Philosophy Front After the 12th Party Congress"[

[Text] Editorial note: Xing Bensi, responsible person and research student at the Institute of Phylosophy, which is under the Academy of Social Sciences, delivered an opening speech at the 3d National Symposium of Modern Philosophy of Foreign Countries, which was held in the last 10 days of September. He talked among other things, about the tasks on the philosophy front after the 12th Party Congress, particularly the role of studying the modern philosophy of foreign countries in building socialist spiritual civilization. Excerpts have been published as follows: [end editor's note]

Comrade Deng Xiaoping, in his opening speech at the 12th Party Congress, and Comrade Hu Yaobang in his report to the 12th Party Congress, pointed out that socialist spiritual civilization constitutes an important characteristic of the socialist system, that socialist spiritual civilization consists of two aspects, the cultural and the ideological, and the communist ideology is the core of socialist spiritual civilization. These important ideas have greatly inspired us. Philosophy is a branch of science, a system of knowledge and a kind of social ideology. It therefore shoulders the dual task of building socialist culture and ideology. The role of philosophy in building communist ideology is particularly not to be ignored.

The Marxist philosophy is the world outlook of the proletariat or the communist world outlook. Its task is to arm the working class, its political party and the broad masses of people with the knowledge of the most fundamental laws of nature, society and thought and with scientific world outlook and methodology and to provide them with a powerful weapon of cognition so that they can apply this weapon in guiding practice, striving for the victory of the socialist revolution and construction and constantly opening up new prospects for the continued development of the socialist and communist cause. The most important role of Marxist philosophy in understanding social phenomena is that it enables people to have a clearly understanding of the historical necessity and of the way and end result of the development of human society from a variety of historical phenomena and from innumerable accidental historical factors. It thus helps people to acquire a communist world outlook

and belief would constitute a dereliction of duty and a failure. In the future, an important task of the philosophy front and the work of teaching, publicizing and studying philosophy is to conscientiously help the people, particularly the younger generation, to acquire communist ideology, bring into play the theoretical might of Marxist philosophy and make contributions to the building of socialist spiritual civilization in our country.

Now, I would like to talk about the relationship between stepping up the studies of the modern philosophy of foreign countries and enligtening the youths in the ideological sphere. In order to help the people, particularly the younger generation, to acquire communist ideology and strengthen our belief in communism, it is important to help them to get a clear understanding of the various erroneous trends of thought and improve their ability to differentiate. This is precisely the unshirkable duty of our research workers on modern philosophy of foreign countries. At present, due to the influence of bourgeois ideology, there is ideological confusion among the number of youths. Preplexed and apprehensive, they hold a sceptical and indifferent attitude toward Marxism and want to seek the truth from some other Western doctrines. Therefore, a small number of youths take a great interest in the works of Jean-Paul Sartre and existentialism. These youths who take an interest in existentialism, do not necessarily study the philosophy of existentialism. This is because "being and nothingness," a representative philosophical work of Artre, is not available in a Chinese version although it was published in 1943, and it is difficult to understand its content. As for the other existentialists, the youths have not even heard their names and are naturally not in a position to read their works. In my opinion, some youths cherish the ideal of existentialism not so much from reading the philosophical works of existentialism as from reading some literary and art works. However, this does not mean that it is unnecessary to make a scientific appraisal of existentialism, such as Sartre's "Nausea" and Camus' "The Plague," publicize, through literary and art forms and artistic images, the philosophical viewpoint of existentialism and in particular the philosophical viewpoint of self-chosen will being above all else. Therefore, only by a profound analysis of the existentialist philosophy will it be possible to help some youths get a real understanding of the negative role of the existentialist literary and art works. The existentialist philosophy reflects the spiritual condition of a number of people, mainly a number of intellectuals, who, living in the capitalist countries, are perplexed and apprehensive because of their failure to see a way out. It is understandable that such a philosophy should be popular in the West. However, it gives us much food for thought when, in a socialist country like ours, this philosophy should be regarded by some people as truth and as a supplement or substitute for Marxism. Although there are still some disputes in academic circles on the appraisal of both the existentialist philosophy and Sartre, there is a point that should be made clear. The individualist viewpoint covered by such philosophical phrases as "self-chosen will" which are advocated by the existentialists will exert a corrosive influence on our people, particularly on youths. It will also exert a negative influence on our efforts to build socialist spiritual civilization and acquire communist ideology. It is necessary for the research workers of modern philosophy of foreign countries to, through their hard work, help youths to improve their ability of differentiation and, through comparison and differentiation, guide youths to resist the erroneous trends of thought and conscientiously choose the truth of communism.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

BA YI RADIO DISCUSSES SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS

OW300537 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 28 Sep 82

[Text] From the viewpoint of developing Sino-Japanese economic relations, we can see that the talks between Chinese leaders and Japanese Prime Minister Suzuki will undoubtedly produce useful results. But, from the angle of solving certain complicated political problems, we see no possibility in Suzuki's visit producing any results. For example, in the talks, our leaders have failed to say anything about the revival of Japanese militarism and Japan's forcible occupation of our Diaoyu Island.

As to talks on Sino-Japanese economic relations, Suzuki will agree, in the name of the Japanese Government, to offer a supplementary loan of U.S. $400 million to our country for the exploration and exploitation of petroleum in Bohai Bay. He will also agree to extend loans to our country for the purchase of complete sets of equipment for the Baoshan steel complex and other industrial projects. At the same time, consideration should be given to the fact that China already owes Japan as much as U.S. $10 billion. This figure cannot but make people feel worried. Despite this, the bilateral talks between Suzuki and the Chinese leaders on economic relations will still produce some practical results. It is regrettable that the talks cannot touch upon existing serious political issues.

Comrade Hu Yaobang, at the 12th Party Congress, very correctly pointed that some forces in Japan are attempting to revive Japanese militarism. That indeed is the way it is. For example, shortly before Suzuki's visit to our country, Japan put forward a new 5-year plan on expanding its defense capabilities. When this plan is implemented, Japan's military services and branches will all be armed with the most up-to-date equipment and technology, and will also be expanded in manpower, greatly increasing Japan's military strength. It is estimated that, by the end of 1984, Japan's military strength will rank behind only the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France. Moreover, on the eve of Suzuki's visit to our country, a Japanese government spokesman had the impudence to make a preposterous statement. He said that an island nation like Japan needs to protect its sea transport routes and that the Japanese Navy has the right to defend waters within 1,000 nautical miles of the Japanese coastline.

The above-mentioned facts show that such revival of Japanese militarism is dangerous to our country, Southeast Asia and the world as a whole. However,

in the talks, our side has failed to seriously bring up this extremely important issue, and has also failed to mention the question of Japan's forcible occupation of our Diaoyu Island. We are still following Deng Xiaoping's erroneous principle of leaving the Diaoyu Island issue for future generations to settle. This issue, however, is of strategic significance, politically and militarily. It has a direct bearing on China's sovereignty and security. Turning a blind eye to these issues is indeed intolerable.

Comrade Yu Yaobang said it well at the 12th Party Congress: Being patriots, we do not tolerate any encroachment on China's national dignity or interests.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

CPC SHOULD OPPOSE U.S. GLOBAL AGGRESSIVE POLICY

OW030149 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 30 Sep 82

[Text] Comrade Hu Yaobang was absolutely correct when he denounced the United States for going back on its own commitment by continuing to sell arms to the Taiwan authorities, thereby infringing on China's sovereignty and interfering China's internal affairs and when he condemned the present U.S. anti-China policy in his report to the 12th CPC National Congress. However, he should at the same time also condemn the U.S. global aggressive policy which menaces the people of all countries. He should expose the most heinous enemy of the people of all countries--the U.S. imperialist aggressive elements. Furthermore, he should still more specifically tell the whole party, the whole army and the people of the whole country that the utmost principal task in our foreign policy is that while resolutely opposing the U.S. imperialist anti-China policy on the Taiwan issue, we should coordinate with the people of all countries to uncompromisingly and firmly oppose the sinister U.S. global aggressive policy.

The facts show that in the recent decade, especially after the new U.S. administration headed by President Reagan took office, U.S. imperialists have intensified their global aggressive policy and the world hegemony ambition. It can be definitely said that the Reagan administration of the United States is the most aggressive, anti-communist clique. After taking power, Reagan and other chieftains of U.S. imperialism openly and shamelessly craved world hegemony, forcing the people of other countries to satisfy the political needs of the United States and attempting to politically, militarily and economically control the entire world. They are frenziedly preparing for war, energetically expanding naval, ground and air bases, and not even excluding outer space in order to intimidate the people of all countries.

Obviously, under these dangerous circumstances, we should never isolate aggressive individual actions of the United States from the U.S. imperialist, aggressive global policy. For example, we should not merely condemn the U.S. anti-China policy on the Taiwan issue and not merely say that a cloud has hung over the relations between the two countries on that matter. Actually, this cloud has all along hung over the relations between China and the United States and between the United States and other countries. The fundamental cause of this cloud is the U.S. aggressive global policy and the aggressive elements of U.S. imperialism.

Chairman Mao pointed out: Some people cherish illusions about the United States. They believe that even without a severe and protracted struggle, the imperialists would also talk about equality and mutual benefit with People's China.

To be frank, only by waging a severe and protracted struggle, together with the people of other countries who also oppose U.S. imperialism, can we compel U.S. imperialism to respect our sovereignty and not to interfere in our internal affairs anymore. Only in this way can we forcefully counter the U.S. anti-China policy on the Taiwan issue and frustrate its aggressive global policy in order to maintain lasting peace and defend the sovereignty and independence of the people of all countries.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

BA YI URGES EFFORTS TO AVOID REPEATING MISTAKES

OW040517 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 1 Oct 82

[Text] On the occasion of the 33d anniversary of National Day, we are rejoiced to celebrate this great day of historical significance. People of the older generation still recall that 33 years ago when People's China was founded, a hightide to build socialism was vigorously whipped up throughout the country. During these unforgettable years in the early 1950's, a dynamic, favorable situation had prevailed in the nation. In order to build the motherland into a prosperous, modern and powerful country and live a life of plenty, hundreds of millions of people in China have offered their wisdom and strength. Due to the people's hard work and the party's correct leadership, the motherland has taken on a completely new look.

It is regrettable, that in the 33 years since the founding of the nation, we have followed the correct road and scored remarkable achievements only during the first 8 years. Since them, we have deviated from the correct path and followed an erroneous and tortuous road. The state has suffered tremendous losses, and the people have endured untold sufferings. At the end of this period, the state is on the verge of a total collapse.

Generally speaking, the 25 years since 1957 are considered a total waste so far as the building of the socialist motherland is concerned. It is true that after Chairman Mao's death and the smashing of the gang of four, a refreshing atmosphere has permeated the country, and the situation has taken a turn for the better. However, due to the fact that some people are still clinging to their erroneous ideas, an incorrect work style has remained prevalent among the leaders. The state has still failed to entirely follow the correct path. However, time is merciless. Each day, month and year wasted will never be regained. All the people in the country are asking one question: Is there any way out?

The convocation of the 12th CPC National Congress has given people some hope. The congress has formulated a brief and preliminary plan for national development in the next 20 years. However, people are worried about whether this plan can be carried out, because the pernicious influence of the erroneous ideas and incorrect work style among the leaders has not been completely eliminated yet. If we do not take the correct path, we will never be able to carry out the plan for the next 20 years as put forward by the party. Wasting another 20 years would mean a complete failure to our economic construction.

When we enter the 21st century, we would find ourselves lagging far behind many developed countries, and our people would be unable to extricate themselves from poverty. The happy life of ample food and clothing would remain a daydream. Therefore, to return to the correct road which we had followed in the early 1950's represents the needs of the times.

On this occasion of the 33d anniversary of National Day, we look forward to the future. At the same time, we must keep in mind the lessons of the past in order to avoid making the same mistakes again. Only by doing so, will it be possible for us to follow the correct path for national development and to quicken the pace in developing socialist construction in our motherland.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

BA YI RADIO COMMENTS ON PRC FOREIGN POLICY

OW211224 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 18 Oct 82

[Text] It is heartening to learn that the 12th CPC National Congress has boldly discarded the ultraleftist tendencies of its foreign policy despite opposition by some people within the party.

Our diplomatic errors, our efforts committed in handling the issue of war and peace and particularly our ultraleftist diplomatic activities over the past decade or more have brought us irredeemable economic and military losses. Both our nation and our party are isolated among the socialist nations and in the world communist movement. We still remember that during that time almost every socialist nation and every Communist Party was censured by us for practicing modern revisionism. Consequently, only Albania and Vietnam maintained friendly relations with us. Influence by the ultraleftist views on the world situation, we wantonly incited a feverish war of fanaticism among the population and portrayed the world as being on the verge of a third world war. Accordingly, we whipped up a mass movement of digging deep tunnels, storing grain everywhere and preparing against war and natural disasters. Thus we senselessly squandered huge amounts of the state's and people's funds and greatly wasted our material and financial resources. Worse yet is the fact that our ultraleftist diplomatic line aroused all the neighboring countries and even the nonadjacent nations such as Indonesia and Malaysia to guard against our party and nation.

It is hard to imagine what more losses would have befallen us by the erroneous diplomatic line if the gang of four had not been overthrown. Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have substantially improved our relations with the United States, Japan and West European capitalist countries. Regrettably, we have not yet normalized our relations with neighboring countries, an overwhelming majority of the socialist nations and the world communist parties and workers' parties. Only 3 of the 16 socialist nations in the world have normal relations with us. Even our former close friends Albania and Vietnam have become alienated from us. What is most regrettable is that most neighboring countries cannot maintain normal good-neighborly relations with us. Therefore, in our future diplomatic work we must stress improving our relations with neighboring countries and with the socialist nations.

In his report delivered at the 12th National CPC Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang rightly said: China's foreign policy proceeds from the funamental interests of the people of China and the rest of the world. It follows an overall long-term strategy, and is definitely not swayed by expediency or by anybody's instigation or provocation.

In short, it is important to unservingly carry out a correct foreign policy. Proceeding from the interests of the people of China and of the world revolutionary people, we must unite all revolutionary forces in the world.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

BA YI SUPPORTS ZHAO YIYA 'JIEFANGJUN BAO' ARTICLE

OW241121 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 23 Oct 82

[Text] A conclusion has been drawn solely on the basis of one or two articles from the army paper and the report of the PLA General Political Department to the CPC Central Committee secretariat on the eve of the 12th National CPC Congress--a report that reflects the views of the PLA commanders and fighters regarding the revised constitution. This conclusion says that cadres, particularly the high and middle-ranking leading army cadres are imbued with serious "leftist" ideas. This untenable conclusion has greatly disappointed the broad masses of commanders and fighters. Actually, this provides an excuse to strike at the army for the third time since the convocation of the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. To criticize the "leftist" ideas of the army leading cadres is definitely not accidental. At first, efforts were made to purge the army by criticizing rightist ideas and selecting the literary and art workers in the army led by Bai Hua as the target. However, the campaign against rightists failed to arouse sympathy inside and outside the army and among the PLA commanders and fighters because of the resistance of many leading comrades in our army. Some people at the central level believe that a feeling against the ultraleftist trend still prevails among the people throughout the country, therefore, good results can be achieved by striking at the army with the excuse of opposing the leftist trend.

Naturally army consolidation should be carried out if necessary. However, there is no such need now. At the same time, the military commission of the CPC Central Committee has been continuously purging the army since its reorganization. As of now, tens of thousands of leading cadres at and above the regimental 1 level have been replaced, transferred or forced to retire, take convalescence leave and play the secondary role. We must not make special efforts to look for such a ridiculous excuse as combating the "leftist" trend for the purpose of purging the army.

Let us take the article written by Comrade Zhao Yiya in JIEFANGJUN BAO: "Communist Thinking Is the Core in Developing Socialist Spiritual Civilization," as an example. This article has committed no "leftist" mistake fundamentally, nor does it run counter to the principles laid down by the 3rd and 7th plenary sessions of the 11th CPC Central Committee. This JIEFANGJUN BAO article is identical in principle with a similar article written by HONGQI

Journal's editorial department around the time of the 12th National CPC Congress, as well as other articles written by Comrades Hu Qiaomu and Wang Zhen. This article calls for efforts to find the ideological sources for the current unhealthy party style and general mood in society by analyzing the fine social values in the early postliberation years. What is wrong with that? Is it wrong to criticize those who have recently compared one's ideological level to one's cultural level saying that without a high cultural level, one will never meet high moral standards or foster lofty ideals? In his article, Comrade Zhao Yiya also pointed out: There are some unhealthy practices within the party in recent years mainly because the leading comrades have been muddle-headed, and some responsible comrades have taken the lead in disseminating erroneous bourgeois ideas. Comrade Zhao Yiya is absolutely correct! Therefore, we must say that the practice to purge the army, strike at a large number of army leaders and accuse them of committing "leftist" crimes through this article is extremely wrong. This practice is detrimental to army building and to the unity between the party and the army.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

NEI MONGGOL: WANG JIANGONG REMARKS AT CYL CONGRESS

SK261007 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Oct 82

[Text] In a speech delivered at the Seventh Regional CYL Congress, Wang Jiangong, secretary of the secretariat of the CYL Central Committee, pointed out: Efforts must be made to unswervingly run the CYL committees as communist schools and make contributions to building the socialist spiritual civilization.

Comrade Wang Jiangong said: To give full play to their role and to contribute to the building of socialist spiritual civilization, CYL Committees must first of all educate and arm the youths with communist ideas. He said: To enable the broad masses of youths to foster communist convictions, efforts must be made to lead them to study some communist theories and history on social development and confused understanding and ideas and erroneous thinking must be clarified. He said: To educate youths with communist ideas, we must, in accordance with the proletarian standards and demands and proceeding from the actual ideological situation of youths, conduct effective education focusing on life outlook, ideals, future prospects and moral character, resist the corrosive influence of the bourgeois ideology and launch an anticorruption struggle.

He stressed: Efforts must be made to lead youths to combine lofty ideals with the spirit of doing solid work, to keep a foothold at their work posts, [words indistinct] and to contribute to building socialism in a down-to-earth manner. We must be willing to contribute to building socialism and strive to be up-to-standard and quality builders.

At the end of his speech, Comrade Wang Jiangong called on the CYL organizations at all levels, while conducting ideological and political work, not only to foster good motives but also to create a perfect situation that suits youths' characteristics, uphold the steadfastness of principles, adopt flexible and diversified methods and continue to find out and sum up advanced experience through practice.

CSO: 4005/88

NEI MONGGOL URGES IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN MODERNIZING ARMY

SK050516 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Oct 82

[Excerpts] According to our reporter (Chen Bin) and correspondent (Hao Jianjun), in studying and discussing the 12th CPC National Congress documents at the recent enlarged meeting sponsored by the CPC Committee under the Nei Monggol autonomous regional military district, participating comrades noted that building a high level of socialist spiritual civilization is a strong motive force to promote the modernization and regularization of our armed forces.

Participating comrades stated: In his report, Comrade Hu Yaobang gave a meticulous and thorough exposition to the campaign of building socialist spiritual civilization from the high plane of scientific socialist theory and socialist political success.

Participating comrades stated: To fulfill the grand goal of modernizing and regularizing our armed forces, it is necessary to seek ideological and organizational guarantees. The ideological guarantee means that education on communist ideology should be carried out among PLA units so that cadres and fighters are able to understand that communism is not only our fighting goal, but also a practical movement. Efforts should be made to master the identity of communist ideals and to implement the party's current principles and policies that have been formulated under the guidance of the communist ideological system and in line with the actual situation. It is also necessary to understand that communism is not distant and indistinct, but exists in our daily life and that each revolutionary work we have engaged in is a part of the communist cause. Efforts should be made to assure that each party member believes in communism, practices communism in action and does his practical work in a down-to-earth manner.

In studying the 12th CPC Congress documents at the meeting, participating comrades earnestly discussed how to deeply and sustainedly carry forward the campaign of building socialist spiritual civilization. They unanimously contended that the work of building a high level of socialist modernization is not undertaken only by cadres and fighters at grassroots levels but that it is also closely bound up with leading personnel at all levels and is the most important link in building party committees at all levels.

CSO: 4005/88

NEI MONGGOL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS URGES DISSEMINATION OF PARTY GUIDELINES

SK081004 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] According to our reporter (Wu Xinmin), the standing committee of the 5th Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional People's Congress held its 13th meeting in Hohhot Municipality today. The major items of the meeting agenda include studying the 12th CPC Congress documents, discussing and approving the decision on convening the fifth session of the Fifth Regional People's Congress, hearing and examining the report given by the Regional People's government in regard to the regional industrial readjustment and enterprise reorganization and the report given by the Regional People's government in regard to the disposition of motions adopted at the fourth session of the Fifth Regional People's Congress and approving some cadre changes.

Shen Xinfa, vice chairman of the Regional People's Congress Standing Committee, presided over the meeting opened this morning. Ting Mao, chairman of the Regional People's Congress Standing Committee, delivered a report relaying the 12th CPC Congress guidelines and offering his personal opinions on studying the 12th CPC Congress documents. He stated: Studying and implementing the 12th CPC Congress guidelines is our big event at present. We must follow the arrangement made by the CPC Central Committee for studying and discussing the 12th CPC Congress documents and thoroughly understand the basic content of documents and the congress' spirit so as to orient the thinking of the broad masses of cadres and the people to the 12th CPC Congress guidelines. Bearing in minds the actual situation throughout the region, earnest efforts should be made to implement the principles and tasks set forth by the 12th CPC National Congress and make concerted efforts in completing various work of the region and in creating a new situation of socialist modernization.

Attending the meeting were vice chairmen of the Regional People's Congress Standing Committee, including Gao Zengpei, Zhang Rugang, Sun Lanfeng, Qi Junshan, Han Feng and E-qi-er-hu-ya-ke-tu. Attending the meeting as observers were Li Binsan, vice chairman of the Regional People's Government, Li Wenjing, president of the Regional Higher People's Court, Han Shijin, chief of the Regional People's Procuratory Office, and (Yang Dalai), secretary-general of the Regional People's government. Also attending the meeting as observers were responsible comrades from the departments concerned under the Regional People's government, the organs under the Regional People's Congress Standing Committee and under the Hohhot, Baotou and Wuhai Municipal People's Congress Standing Committees and from the organs under various league people's congresses and under various league administrative offices.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

NEI MONGGOL'S DEPUTY SECRETARY SPEAKS AT UNIVERSITY

SK241010 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 23 Oct 82

[Excerpts] On 22 October, Bu He, deputy secretary of the Regional CPC Committee, spoke at a rally in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Nei Monggol Normal University. He pointed out that in order to fulfill the grand task of opening up a new situation in all fields of socialist modernizaton and further implement the important directives of the CPC Central Committee for Nei Monggol's work, we should show ideological and political unity with the CPC Central Committee.

Comrade Bu He said: To show political unanimity with the CPC Central Committee, we should uphold the four basic principles, oppose both leftist and rightist erroneous trends and eradicate interference from various sources. If we do not conduct serious criticism and even necessary struggles against erroneous things and let them develop unchecked, we simply cannot talk about showing unity, with the CPC Central Committee. To show political unity with the CPC Central Committee is not empty talk. We should do so with our acts. We should not only support the CPC Central Committee ideologically but also implement with our acts the decisions and directives of the CPC Central Committee. To show political unity with the CPC Central Committee is political discipline party members should abide by; it is the most rudimentary party spirit and principle they should have. To safeguard party discipline is also an important responsibility for party organizations at all levels.

Comrade Bu He stressed: Schools are places to train qualified people and important bastions for the socialist spiritual civilization. They should be examples in implementing the party's decisions, principles and policies. In our region, they should particularly implement the party's policy on nationalities and successfully unite the people of various nationalities. They should conduct education on the Marxist concept on nationalities in line with the ideological reality of the students in order to make them understand Marxist basic theories and viewpoints on nationalities affairs and to enhance their understanding of nationalities affairs. In this way, the students can foster the idea that all our nationalities are indispensable to each other, raise their initiative in strengthening unity among various nationalities, refrain from saying or doing anything harmful to this unity and strive to promote it.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

NEI MONGGOL: THOROUGHLY STUDY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

SK180411 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Oct 82

[Text] The Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional CPC Committee recently held a meeting of secretaries of league and municipal CPC Committee to further mobilize them to study well the documents of the 12th CPC Congress and to work out plans for study. It called for comprehensive and correct understanding and mastery of the essence of the congress documents and, in line with the actual conditions in our ideology and work, opening up a new situation in the socialist material and spiritual civilizations as soon as possible.

After the 12th CPC Congress, leagues, municipalities, banner and counties in our region have made arrangements for extensively relaying and studying the congress documents. A great number of cadres at and above the county level have been sent to publicize the documents among the masses. The documents have been widely publicized at grassroots and the masses of cadres and people have been greatly inspired.

In accordance with their actual situation, many party and government leading organs have paid close attention to party work style rectification in the course of the study. They have formulated initial plans for increasing their economic targets several times over.

The Regional CPC Committee held: Following the previous extensive study of the documents, we should now deepen study. In particular, cadres at and above the county or banner level should read the documents carefully, acquire a clear understanding and achieve mastery of them. In addition, they should combine the study of the documents with that of the basic principle of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and thoroughly understand the essence of the documents through the integration of theory with practice. They should also underline major parts and list special topics for their study so that they can more thoroughly understand.

The Regional CPC Committee urged: In the course of study, it is imperative to carry forward the fine style of study of integrating theory with practice and, first of all, combine the congress guidelines with our own ideology. We should conscientiously overcome, through study, the ideas and unhealthy trends that go counter to the congress guidelines, take the initiative in unifying our ideology in line with the guidelines, unconditionally show political unanimity with the CPC Central Committee and work diligently in high spirits.

Proceeding from the actual situation in the region, we should implement, in a down-to-earth manner, the measures and methods put forward at the 12th CPC Congress. We should also bear in mind the important directives of the CPC Central Committee on Nei Monggol's work and the directives made by Comrade Hu Yaobang during his inspection tour in Nei Monggol. All localities should work out realistic and feasible plans for the fulfillment of the various objectives set forth at the 12th CPC Congress. In particular, we should adopt effective measures to accomplish immediately those that can be accomplished under existing conditions so as to open up a new situation at an early date.

The Regional CPC Committee called on all localities to conduct still more extensive and profound study, propaganda and education on Marxist theory on nationalities, the party's policy on regional autonomy of minority nationalities and the principle of equality and unity among various nationalities in the course of the study. Efforts should be made to foster a proletarian national outlook and a historical material viewpoint that all our nationalities are indispensable to each other, and they should unite as one to develop and flourish the economy and culture of Nei Monggol. At the end of this year or at the beginning of next year, large-scale publicity and commendations at middle schools and schools at higher levels and in counties and banners to the units and individuals that have done a good job in this field. Those who do a poor job should be properly criticized or educated. The small number of those who undermine the equality and unity among nationalities should be dealt with strictly, in a timely manner.

The Regional CPC Committee called on leading cadres at all levels to take the lead in studying and implementing the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress. Leading cadres should especially devote some time to study and thinking so as to deepen their understanding in the practice of work. Study should be done effectively to avoid formalism. Overall arrangements should be made for both the study of the congress documents and present work in various fields. Party and government organs, particularly enterprises and establishments, may organize their people to study in rotation. They should not resort to the old practice of hanging a board on their office doors reading "Closed for Study." Such practices divorce them from the masses and sometimes can cause delay in their work.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE SESSION ENDS

SK131128 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Oct 82

[Text] The 13th standing committee session of the 5th Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional People's Congress successfully concluded in Hohhot today. During the session, committee members gave priority to the study of the documents of the 12th National CPC Congress and had a lively discussion on it. They discussed the historic significance of the 12th Party Congress and further deepened their understanding of the main content and basic guidelines of the 12th Party Congress and the strategic task, policies and principles as set forth at the 12th Party Congress. In line with the work of the regional people's congress and the practical situation of the region, they put forward some suggestions for the implementation of the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress and pledged to strive for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

During the session, committee members also listened to the draft resolution on convening the 5th session of the 5th Nei Monggol Regional People's Congress and made a decision on it. They also listened to and examined the work report made by the regional people's government on industrial readjustment and enterprise consolidation and the report on dealing with the motions raised by representatives of the 4th session of the 5th Regional People's Congress. With regard to the two reports, some proposals were put forward and submitted to the regional people's government, which will be authorized to decide on their adoption. The meeting unanimously approved the appointment and dismissal of some cadres.

The plenum, held on 10 October, was chaired by Ting Mao, chairman of the Regional People's Congress. Attending the plenum were some vice chairmen including Gao Zengpei, Shen Xinfa, Kergen, Sun Lanfeng, Zhang Rugang, Han Feng, Qi Junshan, Seyinbayar and Ochir Kotokto. Attending the plenum as nonvoting delegates were Li Wenjin, president of the Regional Higher People's Court and Han Shijin, chief of the Regional People's Procuratory Office. Also attending the plenum as nonvoting delegates were some responsible persons of departments concerned of the Regional People's Government, organizations under the Regional People's Congress Standing Committee, the Hohhot, Baotou and Wuhai Municipal People's Congress Standing Committees, all league administrative offices and offices of the people's congress.

The 13th standing committee session of the 5th Regional People's Congress decided to convene the 5th session of the 5th Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional People's Congress in Hohhot in December, 1982. Main items on the agenda of the 5th session are to listen to and examine the work report made by the regional people's government, the results of the region's implementation of the national economic plan in 1982, the report on the arrangement for the national economic plan in 1983, the results of the region's implementation of the financial budget in 1982 and the report on the arrangement for the financial budget in 1983, and work reports made by the regional people's congress, the regional higher people's court and the regional people's procuratorate.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

PROGRAM FOR RESTRUCTURING ORGANIZATIONS ISSUED

SK180955 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Oct 82

[Text] In line with the documents of the 12th Party Congress, the Nei Monggol Regional CPC Committee recently studied and discussed the issue of restructuring the party, government and mass organizations at the regional, league and municipal levels. They held that conditions for this work are currently ripe, so we should firmly attend to it as soon as possible. The Regional CPC Committee has established offices in charge of the arrangements for personnel assignment and put forward a preliminary plan for restructuring organizations and personnel arrangements.

They held: Doing this work well and realizing the cooperation between old and new cadres and the succession of the old by the new to ensure that the ranks of cadres become more revolutionary, younger in age, better educated and more professionally competent are very important guarantees for the implementation of the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress to further create new situations in all fields. It concerns the great event of carrying forward and fulfilling the socialist cause of our party and the state. In line with the principles set forth by the party Central Committee, we should draw on collective wisdom, absorb all useful ideas with careful consideration and enthusiastically bring them into full play.

In the course of study and discussion, some standing committee members of the Regional CPC Committee at the age of about 70 earnestly asked to retreat from the first line and to obey the arrangements of the party to do what they could do. They asked to recommend excellent young and middle-aged comrades who are in the prime of life to work in the first line. With regard to promoting young and middle-aged cadres, they held that a bold evaluation should be passed through a correct assessment. We should guard against the five types of persons to sneak into the leading bodies and work with unity to adhere to principles and to overcome obstruction. Everyone should have a sense of responsibility to enthusiastically do this work well.

The Regional CPC Committee urged: The program for restructuring organizations should be carried out step-by-step in accordance with the arrangements made by the party Central Committee. For now we should concentrate on restructuring the regional-level organizations. All leagues and all municipalities should attend to the current production work and so forth. The work of restructuring

league- and municipal-level organizations will be carried out in the coming winter and spring and will be finished before next year's spring plowing. From the second half of 1983 to spring of 1984, organizations at the banner, county and commune levels will be restructured. All key industrial and mining enterprises should further conduct enterprise consolidation and implement the economic responsibility system, in line with the documents and guidelines of the party Central Committee, with a view to raising economic results.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

'BEIJING REVIEW' EDITOR ON SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

HK120856 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW in English No 40, 4 Oct 82 p 3

["Notes from the Editor" column by Cultural Editor Xin Xiangrong: "Socialist Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] Why is socialist spiritual civilization an important characteristic of the socialist system?

In his report to the 12th Party Congress (see Issue No 37), Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the party Central Committee said: "Socialist spiritual civilization constitutes an important characteristic of the socialist system and a major aspect of its superiority." The report also made a scientific exposition of the relations between socialist material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization and the significance and functions of the latter.

The building of socialist spiritual civilization consists, by and large, of two interrelated aspects: One is the development of education, science, culture, public health, physical culture and other undertakings, including healthy and varied mass recreational activities and entertainment of good taste; the other is the raising of the people's political consciousness and moral standards, of which the most important apsect is to foster revolutionary ideals, morality and discipline. In socialist China, the building of socialist spiritual civilization should be centered round the fostering of communist ideology.

In probing the laws governing the development of human history, Marxism always links material production with spiritual production. The mode of spiritual production is decided by a specific form of material profuction and at the same time exerts a tremendous impact on the latter.

In expounding the process of human being entering into a civilized period resulting from the development of material production, the emergence of social division of labour, the discovery of the written language and its application to recording of documents, Marx and Engels pointed out that slavery in antiquity, serfdom in the middle ages and wage labour in modern times were the three great forms of servitude characteristic of the three great epochs of civilization, all based on the exploitation of one class by another. Marx and Engels also made the scientific prediction that with the development of history,

a civilization of a higher stage characterized by the elimination of the exploitation of one class by another—that is, communist civilization—was bound to emerge. By that time, the land would flow with products like spring water, a generation of communist new people would be able to develop their talents freely in all respects, a thorough rupture with the traditional relations of ownership and with traditional concepts would be achieved; and, in a sense, human beings would finally divorce themselves from the animal world and would consciously treat the world and life with a scientific attitude. All this obviously involves demands both on material production and on spiritual production.

Today, China is still in the initial stage of communism—the socialist society. Although the reality of our country is still a far cry from the ideal world described by Marx and Engels, the latter is the great goal of our long-term struggle. The present drive to accomplish the four modernizations and the great efforts made to build socialist spiritual civilization as we build socialist material civilization are all for the purpose of advancing towards this great ideal.

Material civilization and spiritual civilization are interrelated. But this does not mean that under the socialist system, a socialist spiritual civilization will grow spontaneously with the development of material civilization. The reason is that while material wealth can be used to benefit the people, it can also be used to satisfy some people's selfish desires and even do harm to the people. The key point is the world outlook and morality of the people who control the material wealth.

As regards the contacts between countries, a state with a highly developed material civilization can either use its material wealth to assist oppressed nations and peoples or use it as a means to exploit and control other countries and peoples. This is determined by a country's social system, its guiding ideology and its policies.

The importance of building socialist spiritual civilization is to raise a generation of new people with communist ideology and morality, thereby promoting material civilization and ensuring that it will develop in the right direction.

CSO: 4005/88

'BEIJING WANBAO' DISCUSSES EMPRESS DOWAGER CIXI

HK191339 Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 7 Oct 82 p 3

["Words of a Hundred Schools" Column by Kong Xiangji [1313 4382 0679]: "It Is Also Necessary to Make a Specific Analysis on Empress Dowager Cixi"]

[Text] A view was raised in the article "Empress Dowager Cixi Is Not Worthy the Title of An Old Steed," which appeared in this paper's "Words of a Hundred Schools" Column, that the novel "The Bloodshed in 1898" was wrong to use such words as "An old steed in the stable still aspires to gallop a thousand miles" to describe Empress Dowager Cixi. This is a correct view, but the subsequent arguments in the article are not so appropriate.

An ambitious woman keen on power, Cixi ruled China for 47 years and many of her perverse acts seriously hampered the development of Chinese history. However, it really deserves our serious study as to how the historical clown reached the position of the supreme ruler and why she was able to maintain her totalitarian rule for almost half a century. The novel ["The Bloodshed in 1898"] describes her as a "mature and experienced ruler who could see through the world's trends on the whole." Although this argument is not so appropriate, it is worth discussion. In history, Cixi was a soberminded and cunning person. In regard to the westernization faction's measures of learning from the West, Cixi only adopted those which served to consolidate her power. For example, building railways and operating trains in the palace were not merely an "imagination divorced from reality," but the real facts. In order to let the imperial court have a chance to look at the strange creature, railway, Li Hung-chang contributed several "trains" in 1888, and later, Cixi gave consent to the building of a railway in Ziguang Pavilion, Zhongnanhai, for a trial operation of the trains. In his diary, Weng Tonghe cried out in alarm: "Trains are moving in Kunming Lake [a scenic spot in the summer palace], rails are being built in Xiyuen [a place near the summer palace] and electric lights are illuminating the forbidden city. While observing the situation, I am laden with anxiety." Compared with the imperial tutor, Cixi certainly excelled.

For another example, Cixi did not indiscriminately reject all reforms. The imperial decree formulated by Emperor Kuang Hsu on the eve of the outbreak of the reform movement was promulgated with the consent of Cixi. A military officer Weng Tonghe once wrote: "Instructed by Empress Dowager Cixi, as no

conclusion has been reached after the discussion between censor Yang Shenxiu and Sub-chancellor Xu Zhiqing on state affairs, it is advisable to give lectures on western knowledge. A decision is thus made." Therefore, one can see that it is somewhat removed from the facts to say: "In Cixi's mind, predecessors' doctrines could not be changed and nothing of 'the world's trends' would be considered." As for the argument that "it was not until her return from Xian as a refugee to flee from the calamity of the invasion by the joint army of eight powers that Cixi would meet the ambassadors of various countries," it absolutely is not truthful history. To say the least, on the 25th of the lunar 3d months in 1898, she met with the French Prince, Henry Er Ke Xu [0059 0466 6079] at Leshou Hall in the summer palace. All this is authentically recorded in historical documents and it is necessary to read them in detail.

"It is a serious issue to have a correct evaluation on historical figures." This is indeed a correct saying. In some comrades' view, however, all reactionary persons are bad and they are without a single redeeming feature ever since they are born. This is the over-simplification of the complicated history. History is vivid and fresh, and we must never forget it while evaluating all historical figures.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

BEIJING HOLDS FORUM ON SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

HK041208 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 24 Sep 82

[Excerpts] According to BEIJING RIBAO, responsible persons of party and government organizations, trade unions, CYL organizations and women's federations from this municipality's districts, counties and units at the grassroots level yesterday gathered at (Hongta) Auditorium to attend a forum to exchange experiences in building socialist spiritual civilization and in carrying out the activities of promoting the five stresses and four beauties. The forum was convened by the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee and the Beijing Municipal People's Government.

In his speech at the forum, Municipal CPC Committee Secretary Liu Daosheng said: socialist spiritual civilization is an important feature of socialism and is also an important expression of the superiority of the socialist system. All areas, departments and units must integrate the study of the documents of the 12th National Party Congress with the study of the central authorities' 4 guiding principles for building the capital. In accordance with the documents and the guiding principles, we must conscientiously examine our understanding of the building of socialist spiritual civilization, do well in making arrangements for work to be carried out at the end of this year and do well in formulating a work plan for 1983.

Liu Daosheng said in conclusion: We must inspire enthusiasm, work hard, open up new prospects for building socialist spiritual civilization, and in accordance with the central authorities' relevant demand, realize ahead of time thorough improvements in our party spirit, in the people's common practice and in our public order. We must enable Beijing to be the whole country's vanguard in promoting environmental sanitation, morality, good habits, public order and public security work. We must enable Beijing to be China's first-class city.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

'BEIJING RIBAO' CELEBRATES ITS 30TH ANNIVERSARY

HK051402 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 27 Sep 82

[Text] According to BEIJING RIBAO, the paper held a tea party yesterday afternoon in the National Culture Palace to warmly celebrate the 30th anniversary of its founding. Peng Zhen, member of the political bureau of the CPC Central Committee and vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, wrote a preface to the collected works in commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the establishment of BEIJING RIBAO: I congratulate BEIJING RIBAO on the 30th anniversary of its founding and hope comrades will continue to educate people, especially young people, with dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Hu Qiaomu, member of the political bureau of the CPC Central Committee, wrote a letter to the newspaper office, and in the letter, he hoped that BEIJING RIBAO could try to make itself the best municipal newspaper in the country. Jiao Ruoyu, second secretary of the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee and mayor of Beijing City, read at the party a congratulatory letter from the Municipal CPC Committee. Fan Jin, vice chairman of the standing committee of the Municipal People's Congress and former director of and current adviser to BEIJING RIBAO, and Wang Yi, first secretary of the secretariat of All China Association of Journalists, also delivered speeches at the party. Also attending were responsible comrades of the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee, the Beijing Municipal Government, the standing committee of the Municipal People's Congress, the Municipal CPPCC Committee, all municipal departments and mass organizations as well as comrades who have previously worked in the newspaper office.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

DUAN JUNYI ON YOUTH PROPAGANDA TRAINING COURSE

HK051408 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 28 Sep 82

[Excerpts] When speaking at the final ceremony of the First Friends-of-Youth Lecture Training Course, Duan Junyi, first secretary of the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee, said: It is a demand of the party's cause and a demand in the building of socialist spiritual civilization to run the Friends-of-Youth Lecture Training Course, to cultivate more lecturers like Li Yanjie and to build up a strong propaganda contingent of Marxism-Leninism.

The first Friends-of-Youth Lecture Training Course was conducted by the Municipal CYL Committee in accordance with the opinion of some leaders in the party Central Committee. The 17 comrades, who attended this course included professional CYL cadres, young labor models and shock workers in the new long march at the city level.

Duan Junyi offered his congratulations to the training course and encouraged the CYL cadres who attended this course to form a firm communist faith, to display a dedicated spirit and to energetically publicize communist ideology and the goods deeds of advanced figures. At present, it is necessary to seriously study and actively publicize the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress and make contributions to the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

DUAN JUNYI SPEAKS AT BEIJING CADRE STUDY CLASS

HK190401 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Excerpts] The first class held by the Municipal CPC Committee Party School for leading cadres to study the 12th Party Congress documents opened on 11 October. Addressing the participants, Municipal CPC Committee First Secretary Duan Junyi stressed: Leading cadres studying the 12th Party Congress documents must carry out deep-going and extensive study in connection with reality and think how they can create a new situation in their own work. The 2-week class is being attended by 693 leading cadres.

Comrade Duan Junyi pointed out in his speech: The 12th Party Congress was the most important party congress since the 7th. Serious study of the congress documents will guide us to attain more quickly the target for endeavor put forward by the party. The cadres at all levels must genuinely grasp the spiritual essence of the 12th Party Congress documents, enhance their level of ideological undersanding, and maintain unity with the Central Committee in thinking and action. They must link theory with reality in study. Through study they should enhance their understanding of building spiritual and material civilization and of the importance of the cooperation of new and old cadres and the replacement of old by new, and seriously promote all party work.

Liu Daosheng, secretary of the Municipal CPC Committee, also attended the gathering and put forward specific demands on study.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON TASK OF SOCIALIST MODERNIZATION

HK011305 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Wu Zhenkun [0702 2182 0981]: "The Party's General Task in the New Historical Period and Socialist Modernization"]

[Text] In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "The general task of the CPC in the new historical period is to unite the people of all nationalities in working hard and self-reliantly to achieve, step by step, the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology and make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country." This general task is still clearly listed in the new party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress. The reaffirmation of this grand historical task by the 12th CPC National Congress will tremendously inspire the whole party and people to struggle hard for its realization.

The party's general task in the new historical period includes three aspects, that is, to build a high level of material civilization and of spiritual civilization and to attain a high level of democracy. "Modernization" is a question of political undertaking and "highly advanced civilization" is a question of cultural and ideological development. Therefore, taking the construction in the three fields, of economy, policies and culture and ideology for the party's general task in the new historical period is comprehensive and scientific. The tasks in these three aspects are closely related and indivisible and reflect the basic requirements of building a powerful socialist country.

Replacing capitalism with socialism is aimed at emancipating the productive forces, continuously raising labor productivity and meeting the material and cultural needs of the people. This is the fundamental aim of socialist revolution. After the proletariat seized political power throughout the country, and particularly after the establishment of the socialist system, we must vigorously develop the social productive forces and create higher labor productivity than there is under capitalism. This is the objective requirement of the development of socialism. Only in this way, can we lay a powerful material and cultural foundation for socialism and further consolidate and develop the socialist system, and only in this way too, can we provide extremely rich products for society and create conditions for realizing the

transition from socialism to communism. Therefore, with the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production and the change in the principal contradiction of Chinese society, the focus of work of the party and the state must be unservingly shifted to the socialist modernization program centered around economic construction. However, for a variety of reasons, it was not until the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee that this shift was realized. At present, we are concentrating our efforts on carrying out the socialist modernization program and creating a high level of material civilization. This is the primary and fundamental task that our people are undertaking in the new historical period.

While striving for a high level of material civilization, we must make great efforts to build socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core. This is also a long-range fundamental task of our people. Socialist spiritual civilization constitutes an important characteristic of the socialist system and a major aspect of its superiority. Without this, the building of socialism would be out of the question. If the great task of building a socialist spiritual civilization guided by communist ideology is overlooked, people will only get a one-sided understanding of socialism and direct their attention exclusively to the building of material civilization or even only to the pursuit of material gains and this will thus lead nowhere but to evil ways. Only when we try hard to build a highly advanced spiritual civilization while striving for a highly advanced material civilization, can we ensure that our socialist cause will forever retain its revolutionary youth and vigor. At the same time, socialist society is steadily advancing toward its higher phase -- future communism. This process depends not only on the increase in material wealth but also on the continuous enhancement of the people's communist political consciousness and the constant development of the people's revolutionary spirit. In consequence, building a socialist spiritual civilization is a strategic principle for building socialism. In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "The history of socialism and the present situation in China both tell us that the success or failure of socialism depends on whether or not we adhere to this principle."

The socialist system must not only possess a high level of material civilization and of spiritual civilization but also practice highly developed democracy, that is, socialist democracy. Under the socialist system, the people are the masters of the country and all power belongs to the people. Under the leadership of the party and the guidance of the principles of democratic centralism, the people have been more and more extensively participating in the management of state affairs through various forms and channels. This requires us to extend socialist democracy to all spheres of life, political, economic, cultural and social, to extend democratic management to all enterprises and operational units and to encourage self-management of community affairs by the masses at the grass-roots level. Only this highly democratic political system can suit the relations of production between the socialized productive forces and the public ownership of the means of production. At the same time, we must closely link the building of socialist democracy with that of the socialist legal system so that socialist democracy is institutionalized

and confined to law. Owing to social and historical reasons, however, such a highly democratic system cannot be set up in an overall manner at a single stroke. It should undergo a process of continuous perfection and development. To set up a highly democratic political system is therefore a long-range fundamental task of our people too.

The above-mentioned tasks in the three aspects condition and help each other forward. Socialist material civilization provides an indispensable foundation for socialist spiritual civilization. The developed material civilization will create more favorable material conditions for the building of spiritual civilization and thus give impetus to the latter's continuous development. Spiritual civilization has a powerful reaction on material civilization. Socialist spiritual civilization not only gives a tremendous impetus to material civilization but also ensures its correct orientation. Moreover, the building of material and spiritual civilization is indispensable to a socialist democracy, the steady development of which, provides the guarantee and support for such construction. The internal relationship and interaction of material and spiritual civilization and highly developed democracy demand that in the course of building a powerful socialist country, we must pay close attention to the construction in these three aspects in an overall and coordinated way and correctly handle the relationships between the three. Neglect of any of the three aspects will give rise to serious problems.

There is no doubt that the above-mentioned three tasks are all very important and call for tremendous efforts for their fulfillment. However, they are not juxtaposed. During the new historical period, concentrating efforts on developing the productive forces and doing a good job of the socialist modernization program is always the key point and core of work of the whole party and the state. This is the most fundamental interest and requirement of the people all over the whole country and the basis for the solution of all other problems. The consolidation of the country, the stability of society and the improvement of the people's livelihood are ultimately determined by the development of production and by the success of the modernization program. In view of the previous serious lessons, the decision adopted by the 6th plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee pointed out: "We must never deviate from this focus, except in the event of large-scale invasion by a foreign enemy (and even then it will be necessary to carry on such economic construction as wartime conditions require and permit." In his opening speech at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping again stressed that among the three major tasks of our people in the 1980's--to intensify the socialist modernization program, to strive for reunification and particularly for the return of Taiwan to the motherland, and to combat hegemonism and safeguard world peace, "economic construction is at the core of these tasks as it is the basis for a solution of China's external and domestic problems." For this reason, of the various tasks for bringing about an overall new situation, the most important one is to push forward the socialist modernization of China's economy.

In our country, the main contents of realizing socialist modernization are to equip the various departments of the national economy with modern science and technology, to adopt advanced production technology to serialize the process

of production, to organize and manage economic matters with modern scientific management methods, and to raise the scientific and technical level of the working people by a big margin so that China can reach the advanced levels of the modern world economically and technically. The most important fields to be modernized are the departments and spheres which are of decisive significance in the national economy, such as industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology. Although the modernization of these four spheres does not constitute the whole socialist modernization drive, they are still the most important spheres. Realizing the four modernizations indicates the modernization of the whole national economy of our country and even of the whole country. Beyond all doubt, in this course, the modernization program will be carried out correspondingly in all other fields. Therefore, the slogan for modernizing industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology is scientific. It summarizes the basic aspects of our socialist modernization drive in a striking way and formulates the objective of struggle of our people in the new historical period in a clear-cut manner.

The relations between the four aspects--industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology--are mutually restricted and mutually complementary rather than being juxtaposed. The modernization of science and technology is a key link in our four modernizations. Only when the modernization of science and technology is realized, can we provide the modernization of industry, agriculture and national defense with corresponding scientific and technical conditions. Consequently, in the process of modernization, science and technology should go ahead of the rest. Furthermore, industry plays a leading role in the national economy, so the modernization of industry should anticipate the modernization of agriculture and national defense. Only when industry is modernized, can it supply advanced technology and equipment for the modernization of agriculture and national defense.

With regard to the modernization of science and technology itself, it consists, in fact, of two aspects, that is, the modernization of science and of technology. These two are closely related but also somewhat different. Here the key to the question lies in how to combine the study of basic scientific theory with the practical application of science. Among the present economically developed capitalist countries, some stand in the forefront of the world in the modernization of technology while they are inferior by comparison in the modernization of science; others consistently preserve a relatively high level in science but they seem to be comparatively backward in the modernization of technology; still others pay close attention to both scientific research and the use of science and they link up the two quite satisfactorily. China has a weak scientific and technical foundation and it is backward in production techniques and equipment. Proceeding from this reality, we must, at present and for a considerably long period to come, pay close attention to the use of science and technology and place the modernization of technology in the foremost position so as to quicken the pace of technical transformation of the national economy while strengthening the study of basic theory.

The task for building a powerful and modern socialist country is both great and arduous and will take dozens of years of a historical period. This

historical period constitutes an extremely important stage in the development of our socialist society. The completion of the tasks in this stage will help our society take a significant step forward towards the long-range and great goal of communism. Therefore, although the realization of the transition from socialism to communism calls for the hard work of many generations, our present struggle constitutes a component part of communism--a great revolution unprecedented in human history. Just as the decision adopted by the 6th plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee pointed out: "Our present endeavor to build a modern socialist China constitutes but one stage of this great revolution." In addition, there is communism everywhere in our daily life, and the struggle we wage every day is aimed at laying a foundation for the splendid large building of communism. Accordingly, the argument that "communism is but a dim illusion" is utterly wrong.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON PARTY BUILDING, CONSTITUTION

HK221250 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Yang Fengchun [2254 6646 2504]: "Building the Party Into a Strong Leadership Core According to the Demands of the New Party Constitution"-- passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] In his report to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "As required by the new constitution, we must strive to build the party and make it a strong leading core for the cause of socialist modernization." This is the call to action issued by the CPC Central Committee to the whole party for developing a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. The new party constitution, which centralized the wisdom of the whole party, is more complete in content than all the previous constitutions and sets a stricter demand on party organizations, party members and party cadres. It is a programmatic document suited to the characteristics and requirements of the new period which enhances the combat effectiveness of party organizations, upholds and perfects party leadership and indicates the correct orientation for the further strengthening of party building in the new period. If actions are taken in strict accordance with the stipulations and demands of the new party constitution, we will certainly be able to translate into reality the slogans of the CPC Central Committee and make our party a strong leading core for the cause of socialism.

//1. The New Party Constitution Has Stipulated the Party's Ultimate Goal and the General Task at the Present Stage//

The new party constitution has summed up the experiences and lessons of the proletarian political party, in particular the proletarian political party in power, eliminated the influence of "leftist" mistakes in the party constitution of the 11th Party Congress, restored the strong points in the party constitutions of the 8th and 9th Party Congresses, correctly formulated the militant program of the party at the present stage and clearly stipulated that "the party's ultimate goal is the creation of a communist social system" and that the general task at the present stage is: "To unite the people of all nationalities in working hard and self-reliantly to achieve, step by step, the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology and to make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country." This militant program has embodied the spirit of

integrating the revolutionary principles of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, inherited and developed the formulations of the party constitution of the 8th Party Congress on the task of the party for the present stage and correctly reflected the demands of the times as well as the ideas and aspirations of the masses. It is also the concise outline as well as the development of the party's line, policies and principles since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the summing up of the thorough understanding of socialist revolution and construction as a result of both the positive and negative aspects of the experiences of our party. This program will be like a battle banner rallying the forces of the whole party and directing the unified action of the whole party in seizing new victories.

The new party constitution has correctly put forward the historic task of building a high level of socialist material civilization as well as a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. These are the two major fundamental goals sought by socialism. These two important tasks, which promote and influence each other and are closely interrelated, have reaffirmed that class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction and that the contradiction is that between the people's growing material and cultural needs and the backward level of our social production. The new party constitution has correctly reflected the new conditions and characteristics of the historical period we are living in, stipulated the general task of the present stage, reflected the profound understanding of our party regarding the period we are living in and enabled socialist revolution and construction to be built on a more conscious and solid foundation. The new party constitution has correctly defined the orientation which the building of the political party in power must follow and the conditions party organizations, party members and party cadres must possess. It is an important program for the building of the political party in power. The new party constitution is at the same time a volume of profound ideological teaching material for teaching the masses to become people with ideals, ethics, culture and discipline and plays a tremendous promotional role in changing social convention. Today, if the whole party and people of various nationalities throughout the country will resolutely advance along the orientation indicated by the 12th Party Congress in accordance with the program of the party, they will certainly be able to attain the magnificent goal put forth by the party. In the process of realizing this goal, there is also bound to be a major development in party building. Moreover, the consolidation and development of the party will in turn guarantee the realization of this magnificent goal.

//2. The New Party Constitution Has Stipulated Strict Criteria for Party Members and Conditions for Cadres//

Strict criteria for party members and conditions for cadres are extremely important in strengthening and improving party leadership and building a good party. Based on the past experiences of the political party in power and in particular the lessons obtained since the "great cultural revolution," the new party constitution has set higher demands on party members and party cadres, and stressed that party members must wholeheartedly serve the people, devote their whole lives to the realization of communism and must be ready to

make any personal sacrifices. Party members are at all times ordinary members of the working class, and they are not allowed to seek personal gain or privileges. Party members must fulfill the following duties: They must perseveringly execute the party's decisions, accept any job and actively fulfill any task assigned them by the party. They must play an exemplary vanguard role in production, work, study and social life. They absolutely must never use public office for personal gain or to benefit themselves at the expense of the public. They must firmly oppose factionalism. They must be bold in backing good people and good deeds and fighting against bad people and bad deeds. The new party constitution has stipulated that party cadres must be able to proceed from reality, correctly implement the line, policies and principles of the party and demonstrate organizational ability, a certain cultural level and the professional knowledge needed for competent leadership. Party organizations, party members and party cadres must inherit and carry forward the fine traditions of the party and strive to achieve the three basic demands put forth by the new party constitution, namely, showing a high degree of ideological and political unity, wholeheartedly serving the people and upholding democratic centralism. The new party constitution is suited to the needs of socialist modernization in the new period. It stresses the need of party members and party cadres to study the line, policies and principles of the party as well as science, culture and professional knowledge and calls on them to become experts in the four modernizations. In light of the invasion and attack by capitalist ideas and the temptations of the bourgeois lifestyle, it places emphasis on party discipline and calls on the party members and party cadres to maintain ideological and political unity with the Central Committee. In short, the new party constitution asks all party members to become vanguards of the proletariat with communist consciousness who consciously observe revolutionary discipline.

Party members and party cadres are the cells of party organizations. They are the ties between the party and the masses. It is through the means of the words and actions of the party members and party cadres that the masses acquaint themselves with the character of the party. The policies of the party must also be implemented and executed by the party members and party cadres. Therefore, any policy, no matter how good, will become a mere scrap of paper without the effort and exemplary work of party members, and the prestige of party leadership will suffer. As the political party in power, because of the leading position it occupies in the life of the state, the activities of the party have a direct bearing on the gain or loss as well as the success or failure of the masses. Moreover, the leading position of the party also easily gives rise to the danger of party members and party cadres in particular becoming separated from the masses. Therefore, greater stress must be placed on the question of setting a strict demand on the party members and party cadres. Our party has always paid attention to the quality of its members, emphasized strict criteria for party members and advocated the need of party members to strengthen self-cultivation and tempering. It has all along regarded the exemplary vanguard role of party members as an important condition for the realization of party leadership.

At present the party organizations in some places have neither prestige nor combat effectiveness and cannot correctly establish party leadership. To a

very great extent, the reason for this is because some party members and party cadres in those party organizations have become separated from the masses and cannot wholeheartedly serve the people, and they have taken advantage of the state and the masses under different conditions and in different forms. They cannot correctly and resolutely implement the policies of the party and have even distorted the party policies. Moreover, they have adopted the attitude of accommodating, compromising with and chiming in with the various phenomena which are in contravention to these policies. The masses have complained about our party style, and they are of the opinion that some of the party members and party cadres have not been able to play an exemplary pace-setting role. On the one hand, this condition has admittedly been caused by the sabotage and influence of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, but on the other hand, the lack of strict demand and education for party members and party cadres also has something to do with this. For the sake of changing this condition, the new party constitution has stipulated strict criteria for party members and demands for cadres and stressed that party members must guide their actions with communist ideology. This has enabled the broad masses of party members to have a yardstick to follow in their advance. At the same time, this has also given the masses a basis for judging whether the party members are qualified or not and for supervising the party members and party cadres. This has not only sounded a warning to the party members who failed to meet the requirements, but has also provided an effective weapon for party consolidation. If all our party members will consciously carry out work in accordance with the demands of the party constitution, they will become truly qualified party members. The combat effectiveness of our party organization will be greatly enhanced and our party style will also take a fundamental turn for the better.

//3. The New Party Constitution Has Made More Ample and Concrete Stipulations Regarding the Party's System of Democratic Centralism and Party Discipline//

The question of the party's system of democratic centralism is in fact that of paying attention to whether inner-party political life is normal or not, and it is also the key to whether the political life in leading organs at various levels is normal or not. Facts have shown us that the better democratic centralism is carried out, the more vigorous and lively the inner-party political life will be, and if the climate of the party is good the revolutionary cause will develop. Otherwise we will suffer setbacks and the atmosphere of the party will also deteriorate. This has not only been tested and verified by the history of the democratic revolution but also by the history of 30 years and more since the founding of the People's Republic. Judging from the lessons provided by the "great cultural revolution," the question of abnormal inner-party life is mainly found in two respects. One is the practice of "what one persons says, goes" and each going his own way, and the inability to abide by the principle of democratic centralism and collective leadership. The other is, when important differences of opinion arise, unity in thinking and action cannot be achieved through full reasoning and the development of criticism and self-criticism. Some places basically have no collective unity of will and action. This has resulted in a state of disunity, and the combat effectiveness of the party organization is of course out of the question. Some places have the appearance of being very united on the

outside with everybody voicing support. As a matter of fact, the appearance is false for great contradictions and disunity are being concealed. Consequently, this will enable unhealthy tendencies inside the party to grow and develop, thus weakening the combat effectiveness of the party and damaging its prestige among the people. The serious lesson of the "great cultural revolution" has enabled us to more conscientiously and concretely understand that whether democratic centralism is properly carried out or not and whether inner-party political life is normal or not have direct bearings on the fundamental destiny of the party and the state.

Based on these experiences and lessons, the new party constitution has clearly stipulated "all forms of personality cult are forbidden" and decisions on important questions must be made by the party committee through democratic discussion and not by individual. It has reiterated the democratic centralism discipline of the subordination of the individual to the organization, the subordination of the minority to the majority, the subordination of the lower level to the higher level and the subordination of various organizations of the whole party to the Central Committee and has stipulated the jurisdiction and duties of organizations at various levels. This has guaranteed the carrying out of democratic centralism and collective leadership in the party. The new party constitution has also stressed placing party discipline in an extremely important position and has stipulated that before party discipline no particular party members are allowed to keep himself outside its bonds; the need of abiding by the party constitution and respecting the rights of party members when enforcing discipline; the necessity of all party members to strictly observe party discipline and state law; and if a party organization seriously violates party discipline and is unable to rectify the mistake on its own, the next higher party committee should, after verifying the facts and considering the seriousness of the case, decide on the reorganization or dissolution of the organization. By developing inner-party political life in strict accordance with these stipulations of the new party constitution, we will certainly be able to build a centralized and unified party and eliminate all unprincipled factional struggles so that the whole party can take concerted action to struggle for the common goal and thereby win the confidence and popular support of the broad masses of people.

//4. The New Party Constitution Has Stipulated Strengthening the Political, Ideological and Organizational Leadership of the Party and Raising the Leadership Level of the Party//

An important difference in the new party constitution from previous party constitutions is that it has proposed a method to correctly give play to the leadership role of the party in the national life. This is also an important summing up of the experiences of the party in power. The new party constitution has stipulated: "Party leadership consists mainly in political, ideological and organizational leadership. The party must formulate and implement correct lines, principles and policies, do its organizational, propaganda and educational work well and make sure that all party members play their exemplary vanguard role in every sphere of work and every aspect of social life. The party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws of the state. It must see to it that the legislative,

judicial and administrative organs of the state and the economic, cultural and people's organizations work actively and with initiative, as well as independently, responsibly and in harmony. The party must strengthen its leadership over the trade unions, the Communist Youth League, the Women's Federation and other mass organizations, and give full scope to their roles." Our party has very rich experience in leadership, however it has not been specially summed up in the party constitutions of the past, and therefore it cannot be mastered by all party members. After becoming the party in power, the party has been assailed by an enormous amount of administrative work requiring solutions. On the one hand this is a good thing for it shows the high prestige enjoyed by the party among the people, but on the other hand this has given rise to many defects resulting in the party being bogged down by numerous and complicated matters. This has developed into the tendency of "the party not running the party," affected the enthusiasm of administrative departments and has even created problems in inner-party unity and cooperation with non-party people. Outwardly, leadership seems to be strengthened because everything must be decided by the party organization, but in reality, party leadership has been weakened. Comrade Mao Zedong used to say that party leadership is primarily political leadership, leadership work is political work and leadership is out of the question if divorced from politics. He also said that if we only slacken up a bit in ideological work and political work, economic work and technical work will certainly go astray, and the first secretary of the party committee should personally attend to the matter of grasping ideological work. The stipulations of the new party constitution emphasize this idea. At present, some of the comrades engaged in party work have a special fondness for administrative work, as though they will have nothing to do if they do not do administrative work. This kind of thinking is one-sided and wrong and they must consciously correct it in accordance with the demands of the new party constitution. For the sake of enabling the comrades to understand more thoroughly the importance and necessity of strengthening ideological and political work we must also strengthen the study of the administrative experience of the party in power in accordance with the demands of the new party constitution. This will enable us to further enhance our level and art of leadership on the original basis so that we can fully arouse and give play to various positive factors and improve as well as strengthen the combat effectiveness and leadership prestige of the party.

The new party constitution has also made some important changes in the organizational system of the party. This will play an important role in the replacement of old cadres with new cadres and making the ranks of cadres more revolutionary, younger in age, better educated and professionally more competent. These changes and stipulations are also important measures for raising the combat effectiveness of the party and upholding and improving party leadership, and are necessary for organizationally guaranteeing the implementation and enforcement of party regulations and laws and guaranteeing the normalization of inner-party political life and collective leadership.

In short, the new party constitution is a more perfect party constitution. It is the program for party building in the new historical period, As long as we use practical action to consciously, strictly and conscientiously carry out work in accordance with the stipulations and demands of the new party constitution, we will certainly build our party into a politically more mature, ideologically more united and organizationally more consolidated strong leading core for uniting and leading the people of various nationalities throughout the country in carrying out socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/88

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON APPRAISING NATIONAL HEROES

HK280349 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Oct 82 p 2

["Contention Among a Hundred Schools of Thought" Column: "On the Appraisal of National Heroes"]

[Text] China has always been a multinationality country. How to look at historical heroes of various nationalities who through conflict with state power has been a controversal question in history circles. In an article entitled "On China's Territory in History and National Wars in Ancient Times," (WIUSHI XUEKAN, issue no 4, 1982) Chen Wutong gave his view on how to appraise national heroes.

Some comrades regard major contributions to the unification and development of their own nationality and to the development and consolidation of a united multinationality China as a criterion. These people call Yelu Abaoji, Kublai Khan and others heroes. They even think that Wushu and Duoduo were national heroes since they made contributions to the development and growth is southward expansion by the Jin and Qing dynasties respectively. The article expresses a different view from that held by these comrades. It holds that national heroes are closely linked with national struggle and that only outstanding persons who showed an indomitable spirit in struggle against national oppression and aggression by foreign nationalities and made important contributions to this struggle are national heroes. National heroes are necessarily involved in national struggles. Yelu Abaoji and Kublai Khan made important contributions to their own nationalities and to the historical development of the entire Chinese nation. They were outstanding people in history and should be duly affirmed. However, they cannot be considered as national heroes. Kublai Khan unified China and adopted various measures to develop and consolidate the cause of China's unification. He played a positive role in history. However, his subjective motives and intentions were to increase his acts of exploitation and to strengthen his rule. Through warfare, he not only savagely plundered and slaughtered the people of the southern Song dynasty by means of military force but also pursued a ruthless policy of national discrimination and oppression. The war launched by him was characterized by national oppression and therefore he cannot be called a national hero. The army and people of the southern Song dynasty waged a just war of resistance. Wen Tianxiang, who fought heroically in the forefront of this war and sacrificed his life, fully deserved the title of national hero. According to this principle,

neither Wushu nor Duoduo was a national hero and only Yue Fei and Shi Kefa can be called national heroes.

The article says that cruelty and destruction are unavoidable in war at any time. The northern minority nationalities' "invasions into the south" were cruel but was there any difference between these and the "northern expeditions" made by emperors in the central plain? In "An Account of a Pledge Made in Wuyue Temple," Yue Fei made clear his objective: "We must march across the desert, storm the capital of the savages and kill all of them." Going to war with such strong national hatred, his military activities were unlikely to be benevolent. The question lies in distinguishing the nature of the wars. All wars against national oppression, plunder and aggression are just and progressive wards which are conducive to the development of the motherland's history and should be affirmed positively by us. All heroes emerging in these wars are heroes of the Chinese nation and should be praised by us.

CSO: 4005/88

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON APPRAISAL OF CAO CAO

HK290636 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Oct 82 p 2

["Contention Among a Hundred Schools of Thought" Column: "Correct Appraisal of Cao Cao in 'Romance of the Three Kingdoms'"]

[Text] WENXUE PINGLUN no 4, 1982 carried an article by Lin Qingxi entitled "On Methods for Studying the Image of Cao Cao" which puts forward views on appraising the image of Cao Cao.

The article says: Some people hold that the bad impression about Cao Cao mainly originated from the book revised by Mao Lun and his son Mao Zonggang, which changed a good Cao Cao into a bad one. This is because the aesthetics in the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" has not been understood. As a matter of act, long before the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" was written, stories about the three kingdoms had already been very popular in the Song dynasty in the form of oral folk literature. In these stories, Cao Cao was already a negative character. Although the stories in the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" were based on the historical material in Chen Shou's "Records of the Three Kingdoms" and its notes by Pei Song, the portrayal of characters followed the line in popular stories about the three kingdoms. Can we appraise the characters in the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" today without taking into consideration the ethical standard put forth in the book? No, we cannot. Some people are accustomed to explaining questions from a political and military "high plane." It seems to them that Cao Cao's despotism and usurpation were for the sake of carrying out reforms and that his political tricks and killing of people were needed by the struggle. This has confused the criteria of knowledge. Onesidedly collecting material and viewing merely from the "historical contributions" of the political struggle and characters reflected in the book while ignoring the approach from ethics and individual characters in studying the artistic image of Cao Cao will only lead to academic bias.

The article says: We should look upon the revision made by the Maos in light of the overall relations of literary images. After reading carefully the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" revised by the Maos, none of Cao Cao's crimes were added by them during their revision. They had not changed the original intention of the Jiajing Edition. Judging from the Maos' views toward history, they indeed belonged to the Orthodox school of "honoring Liu and despising Cao." However, as writers who had mastered the art of novels, they first and foremost adhered to the laws of art in artistically polishing the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" and had not inadequately put in concepts which impaired the images of the characters as a whole.

CSO: 4005/88

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON HISTORY OF YIHETUAN MOVEMENT

HK290648 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Feng Shibo [7458 1102 6886]: "Some New Studies on the History of the Yihetuan Movement"]

[Text] The Society of Research on the History of the Yihetuan Movement held a symposium in Weihai Municipality, Shandong Province, 13-19 September. At the meeting, some problems were newly studied.

1. The origin of the Yihetuan--past studies chiefly concerned the tracing of its origin organizationally. Its origin ideologically was neglected. The schools of thought making up the organization of the Yihetuan were complicated. They formed into common ideology, heavily tinged with mysticism, in the process of assimilation and fusion. Primitive and backward religious beliefs among the people were drawn upon to give expression to the political demand for "slaughtering foreigners and exterminating missionaries." The mysticism of the Yihetuan chiefly found expression in its concept of robbing to effect a change, its polytheism and its belief in the "true God." The concept of "robbing" became an important ideological weapon to the Yihetuan in arousing the masses to resist imperialist aggression. The Yihetuan idea of robbing to effect a change was relatively close to the traditional faith of the White Lotus Society. The practice of worshipping various gods and communicating with spirits through mediums was another salient characteristic of the mysticism of the Yihetuan. The "unorthodox" features of folk religion were carried on, to a large degree. Various gods were used as a means to preach the goal of saving the victims of calamities, robbing to save the poor and transforming the world. This also chiefly found expression in "communication with spirits through mediums." "Inviting the visit of various gods" and "protecting the true god" were two interrelated concepts that the White Lotus Society and the Yihetuan used to express political thinking by means of mysticism.

2. Yuan Shikai's attitude toward the Yihetuan of Shandong--at this symposium, some comrades said that though Yuan Shikai was extremely hostile to the Yihetuan and resolutely advocated an emphasis on extermination, his attitude was restrained by the then prevailing situation and the Qing government's policy. There were changes in his attitude in different periods, which should be concretely analyzed. Yuan Shikai's attitude to the Yihetuan might generally be divided into five stages: 1) a resolute emphasis on extermination before he played the role as acting governor of Shandong; 2) a switch in his attitude to

the Yihetuan from an emphasis on extermination to an emphasis on urging a dissolution, after he played the role as acting governor of Shandong; 3) a change from an emphasis on urging a dissolution to an emphasis on extermination, before the Qing government declared war on foreigners; 4) a switch in his attitude to the Yihetuan from an emphasis on extermination to a combination of furtive extermination with open pacification efforts, after the Qing government declared war on foreigners; 5) a switch from a combination of furtive extermination with open pacification efforts to open massacre, after the eight-power allied forces occupied Beijing.

3. The methods of studying the Yihetuan--the participants in the meeting generally held that in studying the Yihetuan, we should strengthen the study of methodology. At the meeting, the following several suggestions were chiefly taken up: 1) in studying the Yihetuan, we must not only pay attention to studying the Yihetuan itself but also strengthen the study of the Qing government and the various aspects of the Chinese society at that time; 2) we must pay attention to studying the history of the Yihetuan movement from various angles, such as sociology, folklore and so forth; 3) in the study, we must pay attention to combining macroscopic with microscopic studies and cannot put personages and things in simplified form--they must be subjected to a concrete analysis; 4) we must strengthen the study of the aggression by foreign missions and struggle against foreign religions; 5) we must pay attention to unearthing and conserving historical data and attach importance to on-the-spot investigation and the assessment of data.

The meeting also made healthy studies on the real or false version of the Yihetuan--a matter that received relatively scant attention in the past--and on the problem of food supplies for the Yihetuan.

CSO: 4005/88

TIANJIN GARRISON DISTRICT DISCUSSES CONGRESS GUIDELINES

SK300924 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 30 Sep 82

[Text] According to our sources, from 20 to 29 September the CPC Committee of the Tianjin garrison district sponsored an enlarged meeting with the participation of principal leading comrades at or above regiment level. During the meeting, taking the opening speech given by Comrade Deng Xiaoping as guiding ideology, participants earnestly studied and implemented the 12th National Party Congress guidelines. They unanimously pledged to resolutely support the newly elected leading organs under the CPC Central Committee and the resolutions adopted at the 12th National Party Congress. They are determined to more closely rally round the CPC Central Committee to enhance their vigor, to work hard and to unswervingly strive to strengthen the build-up of PLA units and militia forces and to fulfill the party's grand target.

During the meeting, Comrade Cao Zhongnan, delegate to the 12th Party Congress and political commissar of the municipal garrison district, first delivered a report relaying the grand occasion and guidelines of the 12th National Party Congress and putting forward ways how to successfully study the 12th Party Congress documents and important speeches.

During the meeting, on the basis of earnestly studying the 12th Party Congress documents, participating comrades held discussions on the following six special topics: 1) Issues concerning the historic change and the new great mission; 2) Issues concerning the strategic target, principles and policies of socialist economic construction; 3) Issues concerning the build-up of socialist spiritual civilization with the core of communist ideology; 4) Issues concerning the build-up of high-level socialist democracy; 5) Issues concerning the correct attitude toward the policy on upholding independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands; and 6) Issues concerning the enhancement of party building.

After their studies and discussions, participants are deeply convinced that the communist cause will certainly win a victory. They are firmly convinced that the party's line, principles and policies are totally correct and that the CPC Central Committee will certainly be able to lead us to fulfill all tasks set forth by the 12th National Party Congress.

The meeting also urged the party committees at all levels and political organs to strengthen their leadership in a down-to-earth manner, to take the campaign

of studying and implementing the 12th Party Congress' guidelines as the first big event and to carry out the campaign vigorously and satisfactorily. Various units should sponsor an enlarged meeting of their party committees to organize cadres to study the documents and hold training classes of backbone personnel in charge of propaganda work. Leaders at all levels should take the lead in successfully studying the documents and go deep into grassroots level to put extensive explanation and dissemination of the 12th Party Congress documents among the broad masses of cadres, fighters, and family members of staff and workers and to rapidly whip up an upsurge in studying and implementing the 12th National Party Congress documents throughout the municipal garrison district.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

TIANJIN HOLDS MEETING ON 12TH CPC CONGRESS GUIDELINES

SK030711 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 3 Oct 82

[Text] According to TIANJIN RIBAO, on the afternoon of 30 September, the CPC Committee of an organization at the municipal level sponsored a meeting of cadres of county-level government offices and cadres of the municipal tourist bureau. Zhang Zaiwang, a delegate to the 12th CPC National Congress and permanent secretary of the Tianjin CPC Committee, relayed the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress to some 1,000 office cadres and urged these office cadres to conscientiously study the congress documents.

At the meeting, Comrade Zhang Zaiwang relayed information on the grand occasion of the 12th CPC National Congress, reviewed the party history in the past decades and spoke glowingly of the important meaning and profound influence of the 12th CPC National Congress in the light of his personal understanding of the documents of the congress. He also reviewed the history on party's growth and talked freely of his experiences in studying the new CPC constitution and strengthening the party building in line with the reality of party's ideological and organizational construction. He also reviewed the situation on party building during the socialist period and, in particular, the tremendous changes in our country's economic construction since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee. He also expressed his firm confidence in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. He called on large numbers of cadres at organizations at the municipal level to set an example in studying and propagating the congress documents and to strive to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

Attending the meeting were (Han Shaowen), a delegate to the 12th CPC National Congress, standing committee member of the Tianjin CPC Committee and secretary general of the Tianjin CPC Committee, and responsible persons of departments concerned.

CSO: 4005/88

TAIWANESE URGE STUDYING OF CONGRESS GUIDELINES

SK091058 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 9 Oct 82

[Text] According to our sources, on the afternoon of 8 October the Tianjin municipal branch of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League sponsored a forum to discuss and approve a resolution on earnestly studying and implementing the 12th CPC Congress documents.

The resolution urges all league members and Taiwanese compatriots to take the campaign of studying the 12th CPC Congress documents under the unified leadership of the Municipal CPC Committee and the party committees at all levels as a major task which will be totally fulfilled by the end of June 1983. Efforts should be made to adopt various measures to earnestly study and implement the documents by integrating the study with academic theories and to thoroughly understand various tasks and vital guidelines put forward by the 12th CPC National Congress so as to guide their acts and to make new contributions to achieving the four modernizations and the reunification of the motherland.

That day, the Tianjin Municipal Taiwan Compatriot Fellowship Society sponsored the second board meeting to study and discuss the opening speech given by Comrade Deng Xiaoping at the 12th CPC National Congress, the work report given by Comrade Hu Yaobang and the closing speech given by Comrade Li Xiannian. At the meeting, participants stated that efforts should be made to heighten their spirit and work hard in their post to devote themselves to building China into a modern powerful socialist country and to strive to reunify the motherland, including Taiwan, and to maintain world peace. They pledged to strengthen unity and ties among Taiwanese compatriots both at home and abroad so as to make due contributions to the reunification of the motherland.

CSO: 4005/88

TIANJIN SPONSORS REPORT MEETING ON CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

SK100721 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 10 Oct 82

[Text] The United Front Work Department of the Tianjin Municipal CPC Committee held a report meeting at the Youyi Club yesterday afternoon. At the meeting, Comrade Zhang Zaiwang, permanent secretary of the Municipal CPC Committee, introduced the grand occasion, the achievements and significance of the 12th CPC National Congress to some 1,000 persons including leaders and members of various democratic parties and mass organizations concerned as well as persons from all walks of life. In line with his personal experience in studying the congress documents, he publicized and explained the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress. In the course of publicizing and explaining the documents, Comrade Zhang Zaiwang stressed the importance of strengthening unity and cooperation among various democratic parties, nonparty personages, minorities, personages from various religious circles and patriotic personages in the course of creating a new situation and in fulfilling the three major tasks of the 1980s. He expressed the hope that, inspired by the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress, persons outside the party will give full play to their enthusiasm, initiative and creativeness and will really make new contributions on all fronts to creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and achieving the great cause of reunifying the motherland.

The report meeting was chaired by Zhou Ru, director of the United Front Work Department of the Municipal CPC Committee. Responsible persons of the Municipal CPPCC Committee, various democratic parties and mass organizations concerned including Zhu Ziqiang, Li Shouzhen, Lou Ningxian, (Wang Jifei), Zhao Jinsheng, Zhou Shutao, Yang Tianshou, Yang Jianbai, Fan Quan, Yu Songting, Liao Canhui, Huang Yusheng, Wu Tingqiu, Kang Tiejun, Chen Ruyu and Ha Litian attended the report meeting.

CSO: 4005/88

TIANJIN HOLDS FAREWELL MEETING FOR RELEASED KUOMINTANG PERSONNEL

SK151325 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 15 Oct 82

[Excerpts] According to our sources, on the morning of 13 October, the municipal office in charge of placing released former Kuomintang personnel held a meeting to bid farewell to former Kuomintang party, government and military personnel and special agents below the county and regimental levels held in custody who have already been transferred to civilian work and been settled. In line with the decision of the State Council of the party Central Committee and the resolution adopted by the 22nd session of the standing committee of the Fifth National People's Congress, all former Kuomintang party, government and military personnel and special agents below the county and regimental levels who had worked at labor reform units have been transferred to civilian work and have been settled.

At the meeting, a responsible person of the Municipal Labor Reform Association, on behalf of the leading group in charge of the transfer and settlement work, issued certificates of transfer and settlement to the 250 people who are being transferred to civilian work and settled in the first stage. (Li Zhisheng), deputy secretary general of the Municipal People's Government, attended and addressed the meeting. He said: Through ideological reform, most of these people have done very well in their work and they have gradually become law-abiding citizens as well as laborers who support themselves by their own labor. The fact that the government is making proper arrangements for the placement of these people fully shows the incomparable superiority of our country's socialism and demonstrates that the policy of the party Central Committee on pardoning and releasing all former Kuomintang party, government and military personnel and special agents below the county and regimental levels held in custody is completely correct and proper.

(Li Zhisheng) gave a warm send-off to these people and urged them always to work hard, to make progress in their work, to make concerted efforts to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and to make contributions to returning Taiwan to the motherland and accomplishing the great task of unifying the country.

Attending the meeting were responsible comrades of the United Front Work Department and the propaganda department of the Municipal CPC Committee, the Municipal Labor Bureau, [words indistinct], the Municipal Civil Administrative Bureau, [words indistinct], the First Commercial Bureau, the public security organs, procuratorial organs and people's courts. In the next few days, other farewell meetings will be held for people who have been transferred to civilian work and have been settled.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

MEETING HELD ON 12TH PARTY CONGRESS GUIDELINES

SK131130 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 13 Oct 82

[Text] According to TIANJIN RIBAO, the United Front Work Department of the Tianjin Municipal CPC Committee held a report meeting a few days ago. Zhang Zaiwang, permanent secretary of the Municipal CPC Committee, propagated and explained the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress at the meeting. He introduced the grand occasion of the 12th Party Congress, expounded the important historic meaning of the congress and the focal points of congress documents and freely talked about his feeling on participating in the 12th Party Congress and his experiences gained from studying the congress documents.

Zhou Ru, director of the United Front Work Department under the Municipal CPC Committee and vice chairman of the Municipal CPPCC Committee, spoke at the meeting. Attending the report meeting were responsible persons of the Municipal CPPCC Committee, various democratic parties and mass groups concerned, including Zhu Ziqiang, Li Shouzhen, Lou Ningxian, Huang Difei, Zhao Jinsheng, Zhou Shutao, Yang Tianshou, Yang Jianbai, Fan Quan, Yu Songting, Liao Canhui, Huang Yusheng, Wu Tingqiu, Kang Tiejun, Chen Ruyu and Ha Litian. Also attending were leading personnel of various democratic parties and people's groups concerned in Tianjin and personalities of various circles, totalling some 1,000 persons.

TIANJIN RIBAO 13 October frontpages the article by Comrade Yan Dakai on his experiences gained from studying the documents of the 12th Party Congress. The title of the article is "Accelerate the Training of Scientific and Technological Personnel To Meet the Needs of the Four Modernizations."

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

LEADERS ATTEND COMMENDATION RALLY

SK220850 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 1430 GMT 21 Oct 82

[Excerpt] On the morning of 21 October, the Municipal People's Government held a ceremonious commendation rally at the No. 1 Workers' Cultural Palace for excellent nursing staffs throughout Tianjin Municipality. The rally conferred the glorious title "Tianjin Excellent Nurse" on 143 nurses. Some of them are veteran models on the nursing front--the oldest one is 64 years old. Some are up-and-coming youngsters who became engaged in nursing work not long ago -the youngest one is 22 years old. Among them, 39 are party members, 28 percent of the total. They have a common characteristic, that is, loving nursing work, working in peace and contentment, enthusiastically attending to patients and striving to improve nursing quality. They have scored outstanding achievements in building spiritual civilization.

At 0800 this morning, when 143 municipal-level excellent nurses, who were dressed in white and neat work clothes and with red flowers on their chests, entered the rally place accompanied by a drum and trumpet team, the rally participants burst into warm applause. Attending the rally were leading comrades of the Municipal CPC Committee, the People's Congress Standing Committee, the People's Government and the Municipal CPPCC Committee, including Yan Dakai, Li Ruihuan, Liu Gang, Tan Shaowen, Bai Hua, Fan Quan, Yu Songting, Jin Xianzhai and Ha Litian.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON COMRADE LIU LANBO

HK011101 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Sep 82 p 5

[Article by Li Rui [2621 6904]: "A Man Who Shone Brilliantly in His Later Years--In Memory of Comrade Liu Lanbo"]

[Text] When I returned from Yunnan in November last year, I learned that Comrade Lanbo's illness had worsened, but it was only after having waited for nearly a month before I was permitted to visit him in the hospital. He grasped my hand tightly. His voice was weak but he kept on talking and appeared to be slightly excited. His secretary told me that he seemed to be concerned with hydroelectric power even in his dreams and that he often called my name aloud. Since then, and before his passing, I visited him twice more, but he could no longer speak, although he still seemed to know who was visiting him. I could clearly see that modern science was keeping him alive but with every passing second he was drifting to the end. A relentless and inescapable law of nature, yet as one stood before his sicked, there was no way of avoiding a deep sense of grief.

Lanbo was an elder brother to me and a bosom friend. From the 1950's to the 1980's, we had been assigned to the same work post. Our relations were superior and subordinate, first and second in command. We worked together for a long time and knew each other well. As early as the 1950's, we already dared to engage each other in heart-to-heart talks. Particularly in the last 3 years, we became all the more intimate and could talk with each other on any topic.

In 1952, I was transferred to the fuels ministry to take charge of the hydroelectric power department. Lanbo was in charge of the electric power department. At that time, hydroelectric power was hardly given any attention at all. The hydroelectric power bureau was not an independent unit and was nearly merged into the thermal electric power bureau (there are always people who despite new things). In the entire country there were only a score of aged people who were backbone technicians in hydroelectric power generation, but the most difficult problem was that there was only one geological engineer. In 1953, a meeting was held to distribute university graduates who had studied geology as their major subject. Lanbo was chairman of the meeting. He gave major attention to the needs of the coal sector for such personnel and failed to realize that knowledge in geology was also essential to hydroelectric power

construction. As a result, only two graduates were assigned to the hydroelectric power department. I was so furious that I walked out of the meeting as a token of protest. He never seemed offended by this uncivil act of mine.

In 1954, following the completion of plans for the Huanghe River, I instigated the appointment of Lanbo to lead a delegation to study the electric power industry of the Soviet Union. The delegation comprised a large number of personnel from the hydroelectric power department and I was the assistant chief of the delegation. Altogether we spent 4 months of the long winter season in the Soviet Union. Our visits were mostly confined to hydropower stations. Since then, the views of the two of us concerning the development of hydroelectric power in our country, have been entirely identical. We spent a month together in a room in the Kiev Hotel in Moscow. While in the daytime we were busily engaged in the daily routine, we frequently talked well into the night. Our talks covered a wide variety of subjects. Concerning the inside details of Chairman Mao's visit to the Soviet Union in 1949, I happened to have some special knowledge. He listened to me attentively and treated my words as news. The Soviet Union was undergoing some political changes at that time. Malinkov was appointed minister of the electric power department and as a whole there were intense discussions on problems such as those concerning Sino-Soviet relations. In the course of the 4-month sojourn in the Soviet Union, it was my habit to keep a small diary and to record something everyday. Very likely the diary contained a narration of our chats at night in the Kiev Hotel. In 1964, I was serving as a cultural tutor in a hydropower station in the Dabie Shan mountain range. During the early part of the "cultural revolution," my small diary was seized by the Red guards of the Ministry of Hydroelectric Power. In March and April 1967, they came twice to the hydropower station to see me and wanted me to make a "confession of my relationship with Liu Lanbo." I was aware that our close relationship was well known to many people in Beijing, so I took care to make a rather lengthy and detailed report. When in 1979 normal work was resumed, the relevant departments returned to me the full text of the report I had previously submitted. The script contained much information about Lanbo. They were mostly tidings of the past which I cannot recollect at present. Below I shall cite some excerpts therefrom (also inserting one or two remarks here and there). The excerpts give a sideview of Lanbo's characteristics.

The report began by stating that in the 7 years from 1952 to the Lushan Conference in 1959, the relationship between Lanbo and myself was a relatively intimate one. I suppose that the principal reason was that aside from our mutual professional connections, we were more or less alike in thought and sentiment. In other words, we both had "rightist" feelings. I considered him an honest person, democratic and never given to maltreating other people. As a result, a very close relationship gradually developed and we talked to each other in confidential terms and in a sense of mutual trust. The following is an example:

On the return trip from the Soviet Union, I talked to him in the plane with some feeling and expressed the hope that there would be no more big "movements" or campaigns. I touched on the topic of "forgiveness" dwelt upon by our past classical school. In reality, this denoted a distrust of mass

movements and was a kind of thinking akin to a fear of class struggle. He was silent but did not refute my viewpoint.

On an occasion in 1956 or 1957, we were leaving a meeting of the State Council. Because the topic of the Yangtze Gorge was discussed at the meeting, I foolishly said: "After all, the chairman is not a sage." Although at the time he rebuked me for my liberalism and lack of "organizational spirit," yet he was only afraid that what I said might cause trouble and in reality was not criticizing my way of thinking and understanding. He was an extremely cautious person, never committed to loose or unrestrained talk. On important occasions he acted even more so.

At the time of the anti-rightist movement in 1957, he was sympathetic to those mentioned as rightist elements. In particular, he expressed a deep sense of pity for a translator of the Russian language in the editing and translation office. The personnel of the "anti-party" bloc of Liaoning Province were all his old acquaintances. He would feel a deep sense of grief whenever mention was made of them and could hardly conceal his resentment at the kind of "struggles" directed against them. He said: "How can we interpret different viewpoints and some little comments as being anti-party?" (Among the elder comrades in northeast China, he was actually a central figure. Some people said that he was like a magnet attracting people to him.)

I believe that at the time of the "great leap forward" in the 2 years of 1958 and 1959, our views concerning the "three red flags" were more or less the same. For example, in the summer of 1958, at a meeting in Shanghai on planning for the east China region, the 1959 targets were increased considerably. I spoke to Liu over the telephone and told him of my strong objection. He was in complete agreement with my views. At the time, I wrote a letter to Chairman Mao and showed a copy of the letter to Liu. Because the electric power industry failed to catch up with the great leap forward targets, when Chairman Mao met Liu on one occasion, he half amusingly scolded him and said: "Only you have failed to do your stuff!" In December 1958, after the Wuchang conference, everybody visited Macheng (a model city of the great leap forward in Hubei Province) to take a look at a cotton plantation and a newly built group dormitory of a production team. He talked to me about his recollections of rural life. He appeared to be depicting the life of a well-to-do peasant family whose thought and feelings were completely at variance with the communization movement of the time. On one occasion, at a meeting of heads of government departments and bureaus, some people expressed doubts on communization. He sat silent. Concerning the nonfulfillment of targets, what he said to me was: "It was like hanging from the neck and walking in the air without the heels touching the ground."

At the time of the Lushan conference, we were assigned to the same dormitory but not to the same discussion unit. In the first part of the conference, Liu Zhaoqi pointed out: "The results have been much talked about and we have also talked about the defects." Indeed, people were all talking about the defects with great enthusiasm. The mood of "letting off steam" or "pouring cold water" was very much in evidence. The industrial and communications sectors complained the most. I recall that Liu also made some complaints

(what he actually said I cannot now remember). Actually, Liu well knew the people I was associated with and my activities at the time. During the Yanan period, he had worked in the United Front Department under the leadership of the elder Ke. He was therefore very much acquainted with Ke. Prior to 23 July, the leftist elements led by Ke were very active. Liu was afraid that I might be involved and become the target of attack. At that time, there were various kinds of comments on the letter written by Peng Dehuai to Chairman Mao. The leftist elements believed that Peng's attack was directed at Chairman Mao. Liu and myself assessed the situation and its possible development. He asked for my views. I gave my opinion that what the chairman said could be "50-50 between 'right and left!'" At the time, my feelings were very heavy and I was slightly angry. Liu too was in the same mood. During the early period of the conference we and several ministers of the industrial departments toured the hills and visited, I think, the botanical garden. When everybody was talking about the difficulties in the rural areas, I blurted out the remark that the Chinese peasants were, relatively speaking, law-abiding and that if this were Eastern Europe the peasants would have risen in revolt. I was the target of attack (struggled against) at one of the meetings of the unit. Subsequently, Liu specially told me that Zhang Linzhi had told him what I said at the botanical garden, but Zhang did not bring the matter up at the meeting. Obviously, Zhang was shielding me. I asked Liu to look over what I wrote in the "confession." He gave me some advice, including whose help to seek so that I could easily get through.

The above was part of the "confession" I wrote at the time. It can be seen that the words and description conform more or less to usages at the time. I was making some sort of statement or "confession." There were hardly any flattering words such as those in articles commemorating people. Nevertheless, even from these "confessed" materials, we can still discern Comrade Liu's bearing, his virtue, views about what was right or wrong and his spirit of strictly adhering to principles.

In the past years, people could not help but act very carefully and paint on themselves some protective color. They had to mince their words when speaking to people and also had to be cautious even before intimate friends and relatives. All this can hardly be criticized. However, upon returning to my post at the Ministry of Electric Power in 1979, I discovered Liu Lanbo to be an entirely different person compared with before. What had vanished was his cautious attitude, his mild speech, his silence and his worldly-wise and playing safe manner. Rather, I found that he was easily excited when talking to other people, that he readily displayed his emotions and that he liked to speak out and was inclined to be temperamental. And the most fundamental change was that compared with the past he was much more concerned with the destiny of the party and the country. Outwardly, he had the appearance of a sick old man, although at heart his spirit was as vigorous as that of a young man. He was a member of the standing committee and at meetings, when other members would prefer to appear contented and would not speak out, he frequently showed an indomitable spirit and said what was on his mind. Since he resumed the post of minister of electric power and up to the time of his death, for 3 years he was confined to the hospital and his room served as the place to meet people, to read his letters, to converse with other people, to

read over official papers and even to hold meetings. He was often found dozing on the sofa with the official papers in his hands. In 1979, his incoming mail was extremely heavy. The party committee of the ministry had courteously requested that not too many letters be shown to him, but this was futile. Finally, he arranged with his secretary that each day not more than 10 letters be shown to him. That year, he read over and wrote down his comments on over 100 of these letters. Whenever an important meeting was called, he would, despite his illness, brace himself to meet the participants. Since 1979, a national conference on electric power has been convened annually. He attended each and every one of them and made a report at each meeting. When reading his report, he would often discard the prepared script and speak extemporaneously. Actually, his extemporaneous delivery was the most vivid and most impressive part of his report. When attending the conferences, because of his heart ailment, he would walk slowly up the stairs to the first floor, stop there for a rest and chat with the delegates in the sitting room before going into the conference room. He did not want to appear as a sick man before the 1,000-odd participants at a conference. He would always be dressed in proper attire and present a bold appearance, as if he were just as energetic as before. He showed exceptional concern for the life of the people. He recommended the convening of a national conference on the living conditions of employees and workers of the entire electric power system. During the conference period, he attended four meetings within a single week. The conference site was on the fourth floor. Naturally, his efforts to get there were gigantic.

All along Lanbo paid high regard to the intelligentsia. At the time of the fuels ministry, he was responsible for the preparation and establishment of the Beijing Mining Institute and the Petroleum Institute. When he was in charge of electric power, he founded the Electric Power Institute. At that time, there was a dire lack of teaching personnel. He even went so far as to see the head of the Beijing Public Security Bureau to look for some teachers among the detainees. During the "great cultural revolution," many of the schools, scientific and technological institutes and planning organs under the ministry of water conservancy and power, particularly certain of the backbone units of the water conservancy and power system, were broken up and demolished, their files burned and their personnel sent to the countryside. Whenever this was mentioned to him, he would be deeply saddened and was moved to tears. (Even the death of his daughter during the 10 years of disturbance did not move him so deeply or impress him so indelibly). It was said that in Chengde a graduate of Qinghua University in the 1950's, who had worn the "rightist" cap, was in such very pitiful financial circumstances that he had to sell meal tickets. Liu specially invited him to Beijing and gave him a teaching post in the Electric Power Institute. Several similar incidents may be recorded. At each and every meeting on electric power work, he would dwell on the question of the intelligent elements. In his belief, the general situation was that the intelligent elements were not properly or adequately used and that, even worse, they were not used importantly and that none, or few, had been given posts of the first three ranks. With great emotion 'bottled up' or allowed to 'dry by the wind.'" Although some units did promote technical cadres of leadership positions, yet their rank was usually far behind that of others and they had no real power at all, particularly the power to employ people. They were just dispensable. Even in the discussion

of important matters of technology, their views were often not solicited. Many of the leadership cadres simply made use of the technical personnel, seldom bothered to talk with them intimately or do any ideological processing work on them. The living problem of the technicians never constituted a matter of concern and far less attention was paid to their wishes to join the party. In Liu's opinion, the poisonous notion of treating the intelligentsia as "stinking persons" was still very much prevalent in the minds of many people, while other notions such as "the unique importance of class origin," "historical problem," "social relations," "family background" and so on, still dominated. He considered all these notions as barriers to giving proper treatment to the intelligentsia. He often told comrades from other localities that if we do not promote the intelligent elements with special training to leadership posts, then the four modernizations cannot be realized. He also asked leadership cadres to learn their respective trade and believed that a leadership cadre should possess the technical knowhow which is commensurate with the duties of his position. On one occasion, at the national conference on electric power work held in February 1980, when he was aware that certain leadership cadres in the electric power system even did not know what the term "cycle" meant, he suddenly issued an order that all the participants should take part in a test on relevant technical knowledge. This shocked everybody. He took pains to draft the major questions (51 big and small ones in all). This kept him up into the small hours of the mornings. He also patiently read over some of the answers. In the course of the conference, he talked very feelingly as follows: "We hope that this test will help to promote an interest in learning. We should acknowledge that our leadership cadres sadly lack the knowhow and experience in managing modernized production and construction. I am one of these leadership cadres. Chairman Mao has more than once instructed us to change from being a layman to becoming a professional. Up to now, I am still not a professional, and I know only one-half of the truths of many things. I sincerely hope that you will not follow my steps. If you do not work hard when you are young, you will regret it when you become old."

In the final 3 years of his work, Comrade Lanbo tightly grasped the problem of cadres, particularly the shaping and formation of a good leadership group. On various occasions, he often said: "The three categories of people" and the "windy" type of people cannot be allowed to remain in the leadership posts. He sent an advance copy of the report to the conference in February 1980 to Comrade Yaobang to look over first and received approbation for it, with the request "that a copy be sent to Comrade Song Renqiong so that the central organization department can know the trend of certain cadres." The following excerpt from the report made by Comrade Lanbo 2 and 1/2 years ago is really worthy of our deep consideration.

"In particular, what we must be vigilant about is the following:

"Among the various levels of our leadership group, from their thought to action, is there still a small minority of people who, up to the present moment, are still opposed to the party's line and guiding principle? This category of people is different from those who do not understand the spirit of the third plenary session. The difference lies in a matter of principle and not one of understanding.

"Is there still a small minority who, up to the present moment, have steadfastly boycotted the series of important policies of our party Central Committee such as those relating to cadres, the intelligent elements and the rectification of framed-up cases and false or erroneous court cases?

"Is there still a small minority who basically have no regard for our party's discipline and national laws, who are lawless and boldly do what they want and are still engaged in petty politics?

"I believe that there are still such kinds of people, although naturally enough we will not be certain until after investigation. These types of people constitute the unstable elements, or rather the hidden unstable elements. We should never treat them lightly. If you do not deal with them, they will molest you instead. Of course, we permit the making of errors and the rectifying of errors, but we should never permit errors to go unrectified. We must give those who have committed errors a chance to rectify them but should never continue to assign important positions to those who have insisted on committing errors. We should carefully discern what is right or wrong and be just in meting out punishment or giving awards. As long as I live, I am determined to hold fast to this principle. Hence, I hope that I can live several years longer."

Subsequently, he heard somebody make the remark at a meeting that we must not deal too severely with those who had committed errors and therefore should "let bygones be bygones." He was extremely angered. He discussed this crucial problem with me and, citing several names, asked: "Shall we also 'let bygones be bygones'" in his report mentioned above, he said:

"From letters received from certain people and from conversations I had with comrades I contacted, it appeared that the leadership elements in some of the units had established themselves by questionable means, that some were still involved in petty politics and that among them were some people of the 'windy' type. These people have not yet acknowledged, or rectified, their errors, or even subjected their errors to open scrutiny. Our comrades cannot feel at ease, and nor do I feel at ease, to allow these people to continue to remain at their posts!"

When he spoke extemporaneously without using a prepared script, he would be in a state of great excitement. In a trembling voice, he said: "I can hardly die with my eyes closed if this matter of reorganizing the leadership group is not done well."

As for Lanbo's initiating a request to retreat to the "second line" of work and recommending Comrade Li Peng to succeed him in the former ministry of electric power, the incident was well-known to everybody. It received commendation from leadership comrades of the central government and he was praised as a worthy example. It appeared that in his visit to the Soviet Union in 1954, it was graduation time for new China's first group of students sent to the Soviet Union to study water conservancy and electric power. They joined our delegation and Li Peng was one of the graduates. At that time, Lanbo was a purposeful and observant person. He trained and took good care

of these graduates through the years. In particular, he showed special concern for Li Peng. He made Li fully conversant with the affairs of the whole ministry, from water conservancy to thermal power generation, and put him in various posts such as chief engineer, section head, party committee secretary and bureau chief. Finally, he named Li as his successor. This complied fully with the standard formulated by the Central Committee for the modernization of cadres.

I can cite many instances of his dare-to-do spirit which characterized him as being entirely different from before, of his readiness to speak out and to make suggestions and of his firm resolve to stick by his own convictions. For example, he was insistent to the end on strengthening the centralization and unification of control within the electric power industry. This was one of the seven guidelines in his article entitled "Must Change the Retrogressive Electric Power Industry to Being Progressive" which was carried in the Beijing RENMIN RIBAO of 19 May 1979. Comrade Chan Yun highly praised this article. He read it over twice and asked his secretary to send Lanbo a letter with the following words: "Be determined to carry out these guidelines in your article. You have my full support." In the 10 years of turbulence, the centralized and unified management system of the country's electric power networks was badly disturbed. The decision in 1979 on the division of water conservancy and electric power into two separate departments made the solution of this problem all the more difficult. As a result, unmindful of his state of health, he bravely offered his views to the leadership in the State Council and to the relevant departments and committees and pointed out the pros and cons of the issue at stake.

In his letter to the State Council, he wrote: The Danjiangkou Hydroelectric Power Station has an installed generating capacity of 900,000 kilowatts, or about one-fifth of the power generating capacity of the two provinces of Hubei and Hunan. It is the central station and the general confluence point of the power network in central China. It performs the important functions of adjusting the power current and supply and serving as the contingency power reserve for the entire network. Particularly in emergency cases, the time element is extremely important. Hence, the bureau in charge of the network must have unified control of its production management." ... "Hydroelectric power constitutes an increasingly important and indivisible part of the electric power industry. I am old and weak now and, perhaps, should take a rest but since this matter concerns the national development of the electric power industry, I cannot help but mention it. Concerning the above-mentioned problems, I am not fighting for power or profit. What I am fighting for is rationality and for the speedy realization of the four modernizations." Later, the State Council convened a meeting to discuss these problems. Comrade Lanbo personally attended the meeting. He strenuously presented his case and acted as if he were a vigorous young man.

For quite some time prior to the convening of the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our conversations frequently touched upon the question of thought liberation among the various levels of the leadership. We both realized the extent of the damage inflicted by "leftist" thought over the past 20 years. When we touched on the general situation, he was often

filled with emotion. After these discussions, he strongly felt a sense of responsibility to the party, the state, future generations and the communist international. Therefore, he sent a letter to the central leadership in which he frankly dwelt upon his apprehensions and the reasons for them. That these problems were eventually solved at the sixth plenary session greatly pacified his feelings.

He was aware that his time was running short. He frequently told those near him that he must finish the things that he wanted done and speak up about what he should say. As his illness worsened, on the last occasion when he was discussing work, he still murmured in an extremely weak voice: "We must fight for hydroelectric power, fight for the speed of development and also fight for nuclear power generation...."

"Lanbo stopped breathing at 1500 on 5 March this year. I believe that at the last moment his thoughts and feelings, which gradually weakened and eventually passed away, were extremely peaceful. In recent days, it has frequently come upon me that the Lanbo whom I had met in the last 3 years--the lustrous and brilliant Lanbo--was in reality his true self. In the past, this lustre was covered up by much caution (perhaps by some sort of reticence). Those old comrades who had unfortunately passed away before the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee never had an opportune moment to show their lustre throughout their whole lives. This is truly unfortunate for the individual and for history. It is fortunate that Lanbo, in his last 3 years, the last 3 years of his life, could show his true colors. The regret is that the available time was far too short. It was like a candle burning brilliantly and, in the twinkling of an eye, was reduced to ashes.

In his 3 years of confinement to the hospital, Lanbo was a patient who was notorious for his nonobservance of the rules. Many comrades, particularly the medical people, advised him to read fewer documents, to receive fewer guests, to talk less and, best of all, not to go out to attend meetings. If he had accepted these remonstrations and advice, our Comrade Lanbo might have been able to live to take part in the 12th Party Congress. Indeed, we can blame him for not understanding the dialectics of "less work means more work and more work means less work." Truly this is a lesson to be taken by many of our aged comrades. But it is something that is out of control. If for many years the aspirations of one's nature have been kept under restraint but if someday opportunity suddenly presents itself, why should one worry when one will die!

CSO: 4005/88

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON MARXIST PHILOSOPHY, COMMUNISM

HK010809 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Sep 82 p 5

[Article by Xing Bensi [6717 6321 1833]: "Marxist Philosophy and Communist Ideology"]

[Text] The program rich in foresight, the grand goal of developing the national economy and the fighting call for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization which were put forth by the report to the 12th CPC National Congress have tremendously inspired the whole party, the whole army and the people all over the country. After studying the report to the 12th CPC National Congress, we philosophical workers are full of confidence in the future of our great motherland and fully proud of our cause which is steadily advancing under the leadership of the party. The report to the 12th CPC National Congress put forth a number of major issues, one of which is the question of socialist spiritual civilization. Through the 30 years of tortuous development after the founding of the PRC and through our efforts to sum up the experiences both positive and negative in the international communist movement, the importance of socialist spiritual civilization has become clearer and clearer; and through a space of serious study and exploration, its contents and core have become clearer and more definite. These achievements of understanding have been reflected in the report. The report points out that socialist spiritual civilization constitutes and important characteristic of the socialist system; socialist spiritual civilization holds an important position and plays a great role in socialist construction; without socialist spiritual civilization, the victory of the cause of socialist construction would be out of the question; socialist spiritual civilization consists of two aspects, the cultural and ideological; communist ideology is the core of socialist spiritual civilization, and so on. The formulation of these important ideas is of extremely great significance not only to enriching and developing the theory of scientific socialism but also to enriching and developing Marxist philosophy. It is the duty of Marxist philosophical workers to study and spread these important ideas and to implement them in practice.

Marxist philosophy constitutes a component part of Marxism and also a component part of the scientific communist ideological system. Marxist philosophy is the world outlook of the proletariat. Its task is to arm the working class and its party as well as the broad bases of people with the knowledge of commonest

laws governing nature, society and human thinking and with a scientific world outlook and methodology and to give them a powerful cognitive weapon with which they direct their practice and continuously open up new prospects for the development of socialism and communism. Marxist philosophy is a weapon for us to understand the world in a scientific way. In a certain sense, it is justifiable to say that Marxist philosophy plays a particularly important role in understanding social phenomena, that is, in understanding the historical trends and historical laws of human society. Together with the doctrine of surplus value, Engels regarded historical materialism as Marx's epoch-making discoveries and as two important theoretical cornerstones of the scientific communist ideological system. The role of Marxist philosophy in understanding social phenomena is manifested mainly in the fact that it enables the people to get a clear picture of the inevitability of historical development from the innumerable fortuitous historical factors and from a variety of complicated historical phenomena. In understanding society from this viewpoint, we can see that class society is not eternal and it is bound to advance towards the communist society of the proletariat; we can see that because there exist insurmountable contradictions within the capitalist system, it will eventually be replaced by the socialist and communist systems, although in today's world, some superficial prosperous phenomena prevail in quite a few capitalist countries. Therefore, communism is the road one must follow in history and the inevitable end-result of the development of human society. In approaching our present society from this viewpoint, we can see that although we are in the primitive phase of communism--the socialist phase--which is not yet highly developed; although the level of our economic development is not yet high due to our past relatively backward economy coupled with our experience of a period of history full of complications; although we are still faced with difficulties and we may encounter all sorts of dangers and difficulties, we will certainly win a thoroughgoing victory in the cause of our socialist construction. This is because we have, after all, established the socialist system and furthermore our socialist system has become consolidated after experiencing grave tests in history. We have found out the path for attaining socialist modernization, which is suited to China's national condition by continuously carrying out practice and exploration and unceasingly summing up experience. Beyond all doubt, our present underdeveloped socialism is bound to steadily advance towards the highly developed socialist phase, and eventually the brilliant prospects of communism will surely come true. The argument that communism is an illusion and is purely imaginary is wrong. This is not only because communist ideas and actions have long been part of our life but also because the realization of communism as a social system is no longer unattainable. So long as we conscientiously implement the party's line, principles and policies which have been tested in history and will greatly develop in future, we will be able to continuously open up new prospects for socialist construction and to gradually approach the great goal of communism.

The work of Marxist philosophy must help the people foster communist ideology and strengthen their belief in communism. This is one side of the coin. The other side is that to build socialist spiritual civilization and to help the people foster communist ideology and belief in communism, it is necessary to vigorously encourage the study of Marxism, including its philosophy.

Communism is a scientific theoretical system and a system of knowledge which was formed on the basis of summing up the outstanding cultural achievements in human history, and in particular, on the basis of summing up the outstanding achievements created by mankind in both the natural and social sciences in the 19th Century rather than a prejudiced narrow theory out of the mainstream of human civilization. It is quite richly endowed with theory and knowledge. It proves the historical necessity with extremely strict logic on the basis of the advances gained in these contents of theory and knowledge. It is utterly ridiculous to regard the communist ideological system as a mystery and as a thing which the ordinary working people cannot understand. Contrarily, it is similarly wrong to regard communism as very meager knowledge and to think that by learning by heart several quotations and even some phrases, we can already be regarded as having understood its true essence. Communism is a belief of ours and it is above all a science. We believe in communism not only because it tallies with the interests of the broad masses of people but also because it is an objective law independent of man's will. The justness of communism and its necessity are identical. Without historical necessity as its foundation, the justness of communism would be devoid of content. Many utopian socialist thinkers sought social justice--communism--all their lives, but because of their lack of scientific knowledge of socialism and communism, they failed to establish a scientific theoretical system. Their theory turned out eventually to be empty preaching. Although their theory could touch off people's imaginations with longing for the future, they failed to inspire the conscious revolutionary enthusiasm of vast numbers of people. Our belief in communism is based on scientific knowledge which finds expression in the understanding of its final conclusion that communism is a historical necessity and the end-result of human society on the one hand and in the acceptance of the contents of theory and of knowledge which are extremely rich and have been tested in practice to be correct and with which it proves this conclusion on the other hand. A fighter for communism must be a politically conscious fighter who really comprehends the communist ideological system ranging from its conclusion to the rich contents which it embraces. The belief of such a fighter in communism is firm. Facing any dangers and difficulties, he can remain firm and persistent and sacrifice what he has and even his life if necessary. He is willing to lay down his life to defend communism. As many martyrs did, he is ready to fulfill the vow that "it does not matter if one is beheaded, so long as one's belief is true."

As an ideological system, since communism has extremely rich contents of theory and knowledge and since it is a scientific truth, it is impossible to understand it without learning it and also impossible to understand it without the help of a "teacher," and it is impossible for communism to take shape in people's brains spontaneously. Even the working class whose class interests and communist ideology are totally identical still cannot produce communism spontaneously. It is only its class status and its practice that make it easier for them to accept communist ideology compared with other working people. No one can really foster communist ideology without learning, what is more, without serious and painstaking learning. As early as the beginning of this century, while waging struggle with "economic faction" who worshiped spontaneous forces, Lenin stressed the great significance of the

study of revolutionary theory to enhance the political consciousness of the proletariat. He pointed out that without revolutionary theory, there would be no revolutionary movements. Only the party guided by advanced theory could realize the role of an advanced fighter. He further pointed out that the workers' movement could only spontaneously give rise to unionism but could not possibly bring about socialist ideology spontaneously. For this reason, the party of the working class should imbue the workers' movement with socialist ideology. Lenin put forth an important question of a theoretical nature in this respect, that is, how can the workers' movement be turned from being spontaneous into being conscious and what ways should be taken to cultivate and develop the class consciousness and the communist consciousness of the working class? This important idea of Lenin is of instructive significance to the building of our socialist spiritual civilization and of our communist ideology. It tells us that to fulfill the task of building a high-level of socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core, a task put forth by the report to the 12th CPC National Congress, it is necessary to intensify the study of Marxism including its ideology.

Although we live today under the socialist system and although the bright prospects of communism tally completely with the interests of the vast numbers of people and although the communist movement is being carried out right beside us, communist ideology still cannot take shape spontaneously. In particular, we must see that although the exploiting classes have been eliminated as classes in our country today, historically, the pernicious influence of the exploitative system and exploiting classes left over in all fields cannot be eliminated once and for all within a short time. Capitalist forces abroad and some forces hostile to our socialist cause will still possibly corrupt and sabotage our country. As a result, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come and the struggle may grow acute under certain conditions. At present the struggle against the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideas carried out in the economic, political, ideological and cultural fields constitutes a manifestation of class struggle. Under these circumstances, communist ideology must expand its position for its own sake through the struggle with various non-Marxist ideas. In this struggle, it is necessary to intensify the study of theory. Only through study and with the aid of Marxism, can the people compare and distinguish, can they guard against the corrosive influence of various non-Marxist ideas and can they resist the influence of all types of bourgeois trends which are of the latest brands and are in fact rotten to the core. In addition, the people will choose the truth of communism through this kind of comparison and distinction. To help the people and in particular, the younger generation, believe in communism and consciously resist the various feudal and bourgeois ideological trends, we have to depend on bringing the theoretical might of Marxism including its philosophy into play and on conducting highly effective education in ideology and theory rather than depending on administrative means. Let us bear firmly in mind Lenin's teaching of "learning, learning and again learning," conscientiously carry out the study of and education in Marxism, that is, the scientific communist ideological system, do a practical job of implementing the program for building a high level of socialist spiritual civilization and intensifying the building of communist ideology put forth by the 12th Party Congress, and lay a sound foundation for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/88

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

HK220504 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Oct 82 p 5

[Article by Li Shu [7812 3412]: "On Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] The 12th Party Congress put forth a grand task before the whole party and the people of the whole country: To create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. One important content in this task is to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. Before the 12th Party Congress, the party Central Committee had repeatedly and seriously pointed out: While building a high level of material civilization, we must strive to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. This is a matter of strategic principle for building socialism. Whether this principle is upheld has a bearing on the success and failure of our socialist cause. The 12th Party Congress once again stressed this problem, made all-round and systematic exposition on this matter from the height of theory and politics and expounded the significance and role of building socialist spiritual civilization, its mutual relationship with the building of material civilization and the contents and methods in this building. This exposition has made us more profoundly understand this matter. The party attaches great importance to the building of spiritual civilization while the whole nation is concentrating on the economic construction of modernization. This provides an important guarantee for the healthy development of economic construction. This can also strengthen people's confidence in the realization of the grand program put forth by the 12th Party Congress.

Our only purpose in developing the modernized economy is to build socialism and to seek the well-being of the people. So, we must have highly developed spiritual civilization of a socialist nature. If we do not set forth this task in time and do not strive to fulfill this task, then not only will our economic modernization meet with insurmountable difficulties, but our economic construction and the whole society will be eroded and damaged by all kinds of capitalist decadent ideology and remnant feudal ideology will run rampant everywhere. As a result, most people will suffer and be drawn into disasters. This danger should particularly be brought to our attention while the policy of opening up to the outside world is being adopted in our country. Therefore, the building of a high level of socialist spiritual civilization is both a far-reaching strategic measure and an immediate necessity.

Any type of spiritual civilization must be based on a certain type of material civilization. In particular, the development of science and the popularization of culture and education must depend on corresponding material means and economic strength. In general, however, spiritual civilization, especially the level of ideology, morality and politics, does not passively rely on the development level of material civilization. Each time that huge progress was made in human material civilization, it was always preceded by some kind of reform in ideology and culture. In history, it is an usual phenomena that comparatively advanced spiritual civilization emerges in some eras and countries where material civilization is comparatively backward. For example, the renaissance of capitalism happened before, not after the industrial revolution. "Countries which are backward in economy can still play the first violin of philosophy: This thing can be seen in France of the 18th century as compared with Britain, and also in Germany afterward as compared with France and Britain." In China, Han and Tang dynasties were the periods when the feudal culture was in its prime. Though these two dynasties are also considered as periods when the economy was flourishing, the development level of productive forces in those days was obviously lower than that in the last years of the Ming dynasty and in the early years of Qing dynasty. However, no higher level of culture emerged in those later dynasties. Even the level of academic thinking created by scholars before the Qing dynasty was hardly seen in later times. But this is not strange because the development of spiritual civilization is relatively independent and is influenced by many factors.

Among these factors, there are two very important ones. The first is the existing and emerging social systems, which include economic and political systems and social relations caused by these systems (mainly class relations in class societies). The class, which represents a certain social system and holds a dominant position or plays a leading role in social relations, together with its interests and will, its spiritual conditions and cultural attainments, can directly influence and determine the development level and orientation of education, science and culture in a society. Its world outlook and political ideals can even determine the basic contents of social ideology and moral standards and thus become a core dominating the entire spiritual civilization. Therefore, a certain type of spiritual civilization is always linked with a certain social system. Development conditions of a social system directly determine the prosperity and decline of a certain type of spiritual civilization; while spiritual civilization also reacts on a social system and functions as a great strength in promoting or hindering social progress. The second factor is cultural heritage and national traditions. Spiritual development in all societies must be based on previous spiritual achievements and forms. After transformation in accordance with real needs and the influx of new contents, more exquisite achievements will thus be produced. The good cultural heritage of a nation is a kind of nourishment in the development of its spiritual civilization. The quality of this nourishment has a bearing on the development. At the same time, the historical traditions of a nation and its attainments in theory and morality also serve as a condition for its building of a new spiritual civilization. This condition is always both favorable and unfavorable at the same time to this building, thus forming a complicated situation. Therefore, in the course of

building a new and higher level of spiritual civilization, there is always a matter of reasonably criticizing and carrying forward the cultural heritage of one's own nation and of the whole human society and correctly treating and utilizing national traditions. How well this matter is handled undoubtedly affects the building of spiritual civilization to a great extent. Our nation has rich cultural heritage and an excellent national tradition. In particular, we have set up a socialist system, and the clash of accumulated many experiences in the field of ideological and cultural building. The party attaches great importance to the matter concerning spiritual civilization. All this constitutes our favorable conditions.

Although the economy in our country is still backward at present, so long as we can make good use of these favorable conditions, we can certainly succeed in building highly developed socialist spiritual civilization while building highly developed socialist material civilization.

The report to the 12th Party Congress points out that socialist spiritual civilization consists of two aspects, the cultural and the ideological, and that its core is communist ideology. Communist ideology plays a guiding role in cultural building. Educating people with communist ideology is undoubtedly an important link in the building of spiritual civilization, and its importance is especially evident at the present stage. How to do a good job in this field is a question calling for our serious study. On the one hand, we should not belittle or replace other contents of spiritual civilization with the education in communist ideology; on the other hand, we should not think that this education only covers a narrow sphere. Rather, we should link it with all aspects of the building of spiritual civilization. Thus, ideological education and cultural development can promote each other and bring out the best in each other.

Communism is not composed of a few simple formulas. Rather, it is a scientific system of theory formed on the basis of summing up all cultural achievements in human history. Thus, it contains rich elements of knowledge. Without reaching a certain level of education, it is difficult for people to master it. In this sense, raising people's cultural level bears an important relationship with education in communist ideology and morality. As a matter of fact, many immoral and uncivil deeds are caused by people's benighted condition. It is also because of the low level of education and the lack of ability to distinguish between right and wrong that some youths degenerate into criminals. Of course, the cultural level is not a decisive factor of people's ideological consciousness, but it still serves as an important condition for the improvement of their consciousness. This is more evident in the growing up of a communist, because not only the study of communist theory needs literary, but more important is that a communist must have the ability to criticize old things and change communist ideology into active practice. A person can possess this ability only when he has sufficient knowledge. It is precisely in this sense that Lenin said: "You can become a communist only when you enrich your mind with a knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind." He said: "We have no need of cramming, but we do need to develop and perfect the mind of every student with a knowledge of fundamental facts. Communism will become an empty word, a mere signboard, and a communist a mere boaster,

if all the knowledge he has acquired is not digested in his mind." "If a communist took it into his head to boast about his communism because of the cut-and-dried conclusions he had acquired, without putting in a great deal of serious and hard work and without understanding facts he should examine critically, he would be a deplorable communist indeed." Thus, it can be seen that the requirement in the field of cultural knowledge for a real communist is not lower but higher than for ordinary people. As for a society, it is similar. If we want to widely build up communist ideology and moral standards, we must energetically raise the cultural and scientific level of the whole nation. To achieve this, we must do a good job in education and popularize it. This is a basic undertaking for cultural development and an important condition for ideological building. The first thing we should do well is the education for the younger generation. The party Central Committee and the State Council have decided: Universal primary education in various forms must in the main be achieved by 1990 and, in areas where the economy and education are more developed, this should be done earlier. We must strive to achieve the objective and ensure our younger generation's healthy development of morality, intelligence and physical culture so that they can avoid the suffering of people without knowledge. This is "capital construction" in cultivating a new generation of communists. So, it is of vital importance. In addition, it is also necessary to energetically conduct social education and eliminate illiteracy in vast areas. Many people, though entering schools in the period of the 10 years of turmoil, are now still semi-illiterate and need to make up missed lessons. If we cannot properly handle this work in time, our work in the building of both material and spiritual civilization will meet with enormous difficulties. The number of existing television universities, correspondence schools and workers' sparetime schools is far from meeting the needs. Because the financial capacity and manpower owned by the state are limited, it is necessary to encourage local people themselves to run schools in various forms and make full use of our social strength. Because we have a large population and our average cultural level is still rather low, only if social education in various forms is widely developed while regular school education is properly handled, can we effectively raise the cultural and scientific level of the whole nation.

Lenin has repeatedly mentioned that the most important thing in setting up communist morality among the masses is to liquidate the mentality and habits shaped in the old society, such as the ideas that "everyone seeks interests for himself and God takes care of everyone" and that "I seek my own profit and don't care a bit for anything else." He said that the essence of communist education is to make people contribute their work and ability to a "public cause," that is, the cause of socialism and communism. What Lenin said here means the same as "serving people heart and soul," which was constantly advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong. Whether a person serves the people heart and soul or seeks interests for himself heart and soul while serving the people half-heartedly is an evident reflection of whether this person has or has no communist morality and whether this moral standard is high or low. It is precisely guided by this slogan put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong, which shines with communist brilliance, that millions of young people in the new China up into communists in their ordinary work. They should feel no qualms before the older generation of revolutionaries.

It is a pity that following the damage caused by the 10 years of turmoil, this well-known slogan was seldom mentioned, even verbally. What took its place was the saying: Serving oneself whole-heartedly and serving one's lovers and one's small group. Many people only show concern for their private interests and show no concern for other people's well-being, still less for the interests of the state and society. These ideas and deeds not only go against communist morality, but also run counter to our national traditions and virtues. But some people take difficulties in current material life as their excuses and regard the selfish ideas as reasonable. This is incorrect. "Being the first to worry and the last to enjoy himself," and "helping each other in the same boat and going through thick and thin together" constitute our nation's principle in the face of hardship. In a socialist society today, it is more necessary to be united and help each other and to work selflessly for the public interest. Only thus can we effectively surmount the difficulties. If every person only shows concern for himself, the actual result would only be a disaster effected on one another. Thus, difficulties would become more serious. This mentality and the habits of petty proprietors are in fact the hotbed of crimes and a kind of corrosive which saps people's morale and eats away unity, resulting in all noble ideas and deeds gaining no ground and even being mocked. Seriously criticizing this egoist and philistine mentality and energetically give publicity to the noble spirit of serving the people heart and soul should be an important content in the current drive of communist moral education. Only by commending noble ideas and deeds, exposing the hideous features of uncivil and immoral things, analyzing and criticizing all kinds of erroneous ideology and mentality and linking communist ideological education with actual ideological work and struggle, can we achieve a good result in improving social moral standards and make our ideological educational drive more vivid and convincing.

In the above, the two points around communist education are: Attaching importance to education in cultural knowledge and paying attention to linking this education with reality. In my opinion, we should not neglect these two points in conducting communist education and in the whole course of ideological building. Our cultural and scientific workers undoubtedly shoulder a special responsibility in the building of a high level of socialist spiritual civilization and should make more contributions. In order to do a good job in this field, we should not only seriously understand the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, but should also often study the questions concerning the building of spiritual civilization and continuously perfect our theoretical knowledge and consciousness.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

MARCHAIS SPEECH AT FUDAN UNIVERSITY

HK240414 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Oct 82 p 4

["Text" of Speech by Georges Marchais, Secretary General of the French Communist Party, at Fudan University on 21 October]

[Text] Dear Comrades and Friends:

First of all, please allow me, in the name of our delegation, to thank the responsible people of Fudan University for their invitation. We are deeply moved by our warm welcome.

To speak frankly, I feel very excited to speak to you here today. There are at least two reasons for my excitement:

The first reason is that this is the first time in history that a French Communist Party [PCF] secretary general has visited China. I mentioned this immediately after I arrived in your country. Besides, as you can understand, I myself am deeply touched.

The second reason is the fact that my being able to speak before you, this university's teachers and students who speak French, know the French history and are familiar with the French culture, thousands of miles away from Paris, is an indication of the success scored by China on its way forward. It is also a symbol of the long-standing tradition of friendship between the two peoples, which is still developing today. I am very happy about this.

During my present visit, the talks we have held and will continue with CPC leaders and the contacts, including the contact with you today, enable us to know directly the reality of your country.

This is, doubtless, very important to us French communists. The French communists welcomed with enthusiasm and admiration the victory of the Chinese revolution. On 1 October 1949, Secretary General Maurice Thorez stated in the PCF's L'HUMANITE that the founding of the PRC is "a great event with tremendous political significance" to the Chinese people, who have emancipated themselves from the fetters of semicolonization and semifeudalism, as well as to the people of other countries who are struggling against imperialism and colonialism.

Afterward, we followed with interest the efforts made by the Chinese people to shake off poverty and build for the future. Comrade Louis Aragon wrote this in his poem: We "hear the sound of cultural breeze blowing into cities, the steps taken by our long-cherished wish...and the advance of the indomitable Asia."

As I have mentioned before, the news that we would visit China, announced several days before we left France, really aroused hope and satisfaction among the French communists and the French laborers. Our visit here today will enable us to understand better your achievements in building socialism and the problems encountered. We have also paid great attention to your methods of solving the problems. All this, naturally, will enrich our thinking.

Before I answer your questions, please allow me to give an account of the PCF's way of thinking struggle.

* * *

Our action aims at the building of a unique socialism fully corresponding to French history and reality, that is, socialism of the French type. As we said at our 24th Congress held in February, "Socialism will develop in a French fashion, and France will develop in socialism."

We love France today and France tomorrow, combining closely our strategy with the reality of our country. This is not because we are stubbornly seeking something novel or because we are affected by narrow chauvinism.

This is, first of all, because we are members of the PCF. We belong to the French people and live with them, sharing common tests and common hopes. Anything related to the people is our own affair.

This is also related to our struggle in history. In fact, great revolutionary advances in our country are all integrated with the defence of France, its independence and its freedom.

The great French revolution in 1789 abolished the privileges of the nobles and brought new rights to the citizens. Besides, the armed forces of the republic defended the country by smashing the attacks of the counterrevolutionaries stationed in the border areas of our country.

The Paris commune of 1871 was the first attempt in the world to set up a working class state power. Besides, the commune also counterattacked the French bourgeoisie, which betrayed the national interests, and foreign invasion.

In the 62 years since the founding of our party, it has always been a successor to these revolutionary and national struggles. Our party has spared no effort to safeguard our country's interests and to fight for social and democratic progress from our persistent struggle against colonialism to the movement of enthusiastic resistance against the Nazis, and from opposing Hitler's demand and the capitulationist agreement of Munich in 1938 to our participation in the French Government in 1945.

Today, we are still working hard to continue this struggle and call on people to build a new society in France according to present-day conditions, that is, socialism of the French type.

The serious problems we are faced with today can only be solved by means of this deep social reform.

Of course, these problems are different from those that you met with before the victory of the revolution in your country. This is because the history, civilization and development of your country are different from those of ours. France is a developed and highly industrialized country. I said at our party's 24th Congress: "We are not living in a France as described in 'Les Miserable' or in 'Embryo,' nor are we living in a Third World country. We are living in a France at the end of the 20th century."

Within 20 to 30 years, that is, within a generation's time, important changes have taken place in France in production, productivity, consumption, education, living labor conditions and other areas. All this has turned France into a big modern power. But these changes have occurred within the framework of capitalism. The law of profit has restricted and distorted these changes and even brought about adverse results. Today, it has become more and more clear that the capitalist system is unable to solve the most acute problems appearing in social development nor satisfy the new demands. French society is undergoing a profound structural crisis.

It cannot be denied that the living standard in France is high, but there exists extremely big inequality. A tiny minority of the privileged possesses an overwhelming portion of wealth. The maximum gap in income is more than 1 to 100. There are 23 million employed people, and among the 17.5 million wage-earners, 2 million men, women and youths are unemployed. Many poor families are in difficulty and have to live frugally and make personal sacrifices.

Therefore, to solve the problems our country has encountered, it is of primary importance to establish a society of justice and let all men and women have jobs and decent wages and enjoy the benefits and comfortable life created by the present-day progress. These can be achieved in a modern country.

Our country has great economic potential. Our country is rich in energy resources, has a complete industry with numerous sectors and is famous for its agriculture. The labor force in our country is highly capable. This includes the workers, technicians, staff, engineers and cadres who have rich experience. Many of these people are trained by well-known schools and universities. But the capitalists today are ruining our economy sector by sector, closing down enterprises and discharging workers. They are using scientific and technological achievements not to lesson the stupendous labor of the men and women workers, but to exploit them to excess. The capitalist pay no heed to the training of workers. Instead, they employ workers without special skill to do monotonous and sickening work.

In order to solve the problems our country has encountered, it is necessary to set up a society in which the economy serves the people and not the opposite. In this society, large-scale production and exchange of materials will belong to the whole society, and the society will adopt a new type of growth format.

I have just mentioned that our country grew out of the centuries-old struggle for freedom and democracy. But the capitalists today put together all the policymaking organs and place them out of the reach of the citizens. They attempt to keep them in absolute right in enterprises, reducing the laborers to being mere pawns to be disposed of at their will. It seems as if the laborers today should still allow their bosses to make arbitrary decisions and take peremptory actions at sites of labor.

In order to solve the problems our country has encountered, it is essential to set up a society in which all achievements of freedom in France are guaranteed, deepened and ensured of new progress. In this society, both laborers and citizens will enjoy the democracy of airing their views and determine the development of the society. They should also determine the speed and ways of social development.

Our country has a rich and varied culture, and is well-known to the world. The names of Moliere, Delacroix, Desartes and Bizet as well as the builder of the big cathedral and Pierre Curie are known to everybody. The universities and ordinary secondary schools in our country have a high level of education. But the rule of the bourgeoisie has turned the schools into means of practicing social segregation and a filtering device for eliminating children of ordinary families or for preventing them from receiving appropriate training or for preventing them from receiving appropriate training for from using what they have learned. This way of ruling has turned France into a country in which people seldom read books, American goods are sold everywhere and cultural progress is confined to a very limited number of people.

In order to solve the problems our country has encountered, it is necessary to set up a society in which new arrangements between work hours and spare time will make culture become wealthy shared by all, schools will give everybody (man or woman) a sound education so that they will be able to have a real career, new relations between men and men will be set up and violence and discrimination among men will be abolished.

The above-mentioned points are the highlights of the French-type socialism which we call on the French people to build.

You can see that we do not base ourselves on a ready socialist "model" formulated elsewhere with a view to trying to make it "conform" to French conditions and to using it to determine the contents of the new society. We are doing just the opposite. Regarding this point, we pointed out at the PCF Congress: "Socialism can only grow from real social movements and the ripening of social contradictions." Therefore, in doing so, we take into consideration the concrete problems facing French society today. We can see that these problems question the capitalist structure of this society, and they can only be

thoroughly solved with methods put forward by us and only these methods can get to the root cause of the crisis which France is undergoing, that is, the capitalist system itself.

This is the reason why we say: In our country, socialism is put on the order of the day.

This is the reason why we say: Socialism will be a French-type socialism; otherwise, socialism will no longer be socialism.

In order to realize this new society, we have also determined to take a unique road that is in accord with the conditions of our people and our country. This democratic French road is to respect at all times the will expressed by the majority of the people in general elections according to their definite goal and choice, a road of integrating the people's movement and struggle. Following this road, we will extend step by step the domain of the people's movement, defeat the capitalist forces and gradually and continuously solve problems, thus advancing step by step in the course of building socialism.

Of course, we are not at all naive. We are very clear on the fact that the French bourgeoisie will never give up its rights and privileges. History has told us that the bourgeoisie will seize every chance to use violence and coercive measures against the people's movement. We do not cherish illusions. Existing facts have also proved to us that our country will advance toward the new society amid acute class struggle. Our entire strategy is precisely to bring about, by democratic means, such a balance of social forces that the bourgeoisie will not be able to use violence.

In view of all these strategic decisions, we decided, after 34 years, to participate in the government for the second time in the history of our party and to participate in the majority leading state affairs. Following the victories of the leftwingers to which we have made full contributions, we must strive with great efforts to meet the demands of the French people within the sphere of the balance of forces manifested in the general election, make use of all conditions available and courageously advance along the road to democratic reforms needed by the people of our country.

Since we have joined the new majority, we have made some social and democratic achievements. Nationalized public departments have been extended and new rights will be given to laborers of enterprises. In order to develop national production with great efforts and to increase employment, we have decided to call on laborers of each enterprise and city to take action in opposing perverse acts of the bourgeoisie, exposing the outflow of capital and financial speculation, developing the productive forces of our country and, at the same time, waging effective struggle for the right of receiving professional training.

The rightwing forces and the financial circles are resisting this move and are trying hard to undermine the implementation of this new policy or to change it in order to defend their privileges. We do feel surprised at this class resistance. You can believe that the PCF is determined to help the laborers

to give play to all their strength in order to maintain the fixed policy, to smash the plot of the financial forces and to smoothly implement the policy chosen by the French people.

* * *

Dear Comrades and Friends:

As I said at the 24th PCF Congress, this strategy has been formulated in accordance with the reality in France and has fully taken into account the reality and changes of the present world.

In this respect, we greatly treasure the uniqueness of the strategy and treasure our party's complete independence and freedom to act, but this does not make our party overlook our international duties in the least. On the contrary, since we independently make our own political decisions in every aspect, we can express even better our enthusiastic support to various forces of any country in their struggle for peace, freedom, independence and socialism.

In doing so, we remain loyal to the finest traditions of our working class and our party. Through numerous struggle against colonialism and imperialism for many, many years, the people of our country have come to the conviction that the interests of the French laborers and that of the oppressed people are identical.

Of course, ruling communist parties in various countries are among these forces, and they are helping their people in building socialism.

We know that owing to the complexity and arduous efforts needed in building socialism, it is undoubtedly the most magnificent and unprecedented human undertaking to build socialism. As far as we are concerned, we have to strive to maintain a clear view toward various experiences acquired by different countries which are advancing along this road as well as the contributions they have made and the limits of these experiences at present.

We hold that since these countries, first of all, have to put an end to legacies left behind by feudalism, capitalism and colonialism and since imperialists threw obstacles in their way in the past and are still doing so at present, the people of countries which are building socialism have completed, in the main, their important undertaking under difficult conditions. What we have seen in your country since coming here has also proved this. Advancing along the socialist road, China has made tremendous achievements in fighting starvation, chronic diseases, poverty and human degradation and in other areas. However, these disasters are still tragic realities existing daily in many developing countries. Nevertheless, your achievements in these areas have been made in a country with 1 billion people, accounting for one-fourth of the world's population.

In assessing the contributions made by countries which are building socialism, we also take in consideration their role in the world. Together with all

forces of peace, they have made contributions by using their strength and influence to safeguard world peace and to oppose imperialist nuclear warmongers. They are a support to the people in various countries who are fighting for national liberation and freedom.

What we have seen in China also shows that socialism is varied in form and full of vitality. All countries that are building socialism--at present socialism is being built in all continents--have encountered some new problems and have to meet unheard of challenges, soberly evaluate their achievements and failure, correct their mistakes and seek solutions correspondent with their stand. Such a way of developing socialism is not an erring action at all, but is rich and colorful. It is helpful to our thinking and will fully demonstrate the idea I have just mentioned--the people of each country should seek their own road to socialism.

Therefore, we hold that there cannot be a "model" of socialism, nor can there be a "center" or "guiding party" in the world for the revolutionary movement which aims at winning socialism.

On the contrary, we, in accordance with the development of the world, are striving for the realization of a new internationalism and express support for all communist parties. In a broader sense, we attach great importance to increasing our support and cooperation with all forces in the world which are struggling for liberation, for shaking off the colonial fetters over their countries, for shaking off the pressure of imperialism and for setting up a new political and economic order in the world. We will turn all possibilities of uniting various forces into reality in order to carry out struggle centering round an objective which is in the interests of the people of various countries, in particular, around peace and disarmament.

Therefore, you can see that indispensable class support which unites all communists in the world, must not be confused with certain demands for unconditional support. We are not worried that there exist various views on this or that issue, or even differences among communist parties of various countries. On the contrary, we will have discussions frankly and calmly and will by no means let this deter our joint action.

Our view on relations between communist parties coincides with that of the CPC. We all know that we have different positions on certain questions between us. With regard to this, we should conduct discussions in a friendly and frank atmosphere--we acted exactly in this way in previous talks we held--and should not let this affect the wishes of our two parties to strengthen cooperation for the common, great goal.

Dear Comrades and Friends:

We have been in the PRC for 8 days. We have visited Beijing, Xian, Yichang and Shanghai and have covered 2,5000 kilometers. Today, we are here with you in Fudan University. Although we will continue our visit in other places in the coming few days, we have already seen much about China. We have seen the achievements made by the Chinese people and the wealth of China's vicilization.

All this has made an impression on me. In concluding my speech, I would like to tell you this impression: There are too many French men and women who do not fully understand China's conditions, changes taking place in China and achievements and problems you encountered in building socialism. I hope that the present visit of our delegation will promote cooperation between our two countries and two peoples and strengthen intercourses in various fields in order to increase mutual understanding and strengthen the traditional friendship between the French people and the Chinese people.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

(ZHENG KEYUAN) ARTICLE ON PARTY CONSOLIDATION

OW151118 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 14 Oct 82

[Article by (Zheng Keyuan): "We Must Do a Better Job in Consolidating the Party"]

[Excerpts] Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the 12th Party Congress: To achieve a fundamental turn for the better in the style of our party, the Central Committee has decided on an overall rectification of party style and consolidation of party organizations, which will proceed by stages and by groups over a period of 3 years beginning the latter half of 1983.

This is an important policy decision to build our party into a staunch force at the core capable of leading the cause of socialist modernization and a major task concerning whether the accomplishment of the great goals set by the 12th Party Congress will have a reliable political and organizational guarantee.

The key link in this overall rectification of party style and consolidation of party organizations is to enhance the political qualities of party members and cadres in general by conducting thoroughgoing ideological education throughout the party. In matters of organization and leadership, it is necessary to consolidate the leading bodies at all levels and further normalize inner-party political life. There will also be a re-registration of party members and, in accordance with the provisions of the new party constitution, those who still fail to meet the membership requirements after education shall be expelled from the party or asked to withdraw from it.

Some comrades are in favor of this kind of party consolidation, but worry that it will lead to the political movements of the past which were buided by left ideas. The worry of these comrades is not entirely groundless. However, it is not difficult to overcome such worries as long as we positively draw lessons from past experience and carefully analyze the difference between the present and past situation.

First, through several years of resolute and comprehensive efforts to set things right, our party has reaffirmed a Marxist ideological political and organizational line. The party's line opposes both left and right deviations and has increasingly proved its correctness through practice. In the

circumstances, if someone should take the opportunity presented by party consolidation to alter the party's work focus which has been shifted to economic construction and to repeat the left mistakes, the party and the masses would not let them.

Second, in the party consolidation, we will solve the problem of impurities in ideology, style and organization that indeed exist in the party. The goal is to consolidate and build the party to make it better. It is certainly not permissible to throw the party into disorder and destroy it.

Third, in the proposed consolidation of the party, the Central Committee has made it clear that the key link is to conduct a thoroughgoing ideological education throughout the party to arouse the consciousness of comrades within the party in striving to become qualified party members and cadres for the new period. At the same time, there will be earnest criticism and self-criticism in the spirit of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and "clarity in ideology and unity among comrades." This in itself is fundamentally different from the past practice of "speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters" and of confounding right and wrong at will, confusing friend with foe, striking people down to the dust and never allowing them to stand up again.

This overall rectification of party style should be carried out with proper preparations and in a planned way under the leadership of party committees at various levels. It is not permissible to kick aside the party committees to make revolution or to engage in any facionalist activities. In the course of work, appropriate measures should be taken to heed the opinions of the masses, but in no way is it permissible to obliterate the line of demarcation between what is inside the party and what is outside the party and to solve the inner-party contradictions by means of the so-called might of the mass movement. In case some error is made in a locality or a unity, it is entirely possible to correct it under party leadership. Certain individuals have problems of one kind or another but refuse to examine themselves and correct their problems in a serious manner. On the contrary, they distort the fundamental spirit of the CPC Central Committee regarding this party style rectification and spread such slogans as "another political movement will be launched" and "the leftist thing will be put into practice again." This is a grave mistake, which cannot shake our determination to conduct the overall rectification of party style.

From now on until the latter half of next year when the rectification of party style begins, we must make good preparations in all aspects. The key tasks are to organize all party members and cadres to concentrate on the study of the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, to enhance their understanding of our party's ultimate goal and work program, strategic steps, principles and policies for the new period, to raise their awareness of communist ideology, sense of organization and discipline and to increase their confidence in socialist modernization so that they will put rigorous demands on themselves according to the criteria for communist vanguard fighters and take the initiative to find and correct their mistakes, if any. Meanwhile, in conjunction with the specific work set by the resolutions of the 12th CPC National Congress,

especially improvement of the party's system of democratic centralism, reform of the leading bodies and the cadre system, adjustment of the leading groups and dealing blows at the serious crimes in the economic and other fields, conscientious efforts should be made to solve the problems about which the masses have the most complaints and to eliminate the unhealthy trends which are conspicuous in various localities. If we do not solve the problems which should be solved now leaving them for the future on the grounds that an overall rectification of party style will be carried out later, our great task will suffer. Anyone who only pays lipservice to support the party style rectification but makes every effort to evade the problems before him and turns a blind eye to the unhealthy trends that harm the interests of the party and the people cannot be regarded as a genuine supporter of party style rectification.

It follows that all party organizations, party members and cadres should take immediate action and set an example in making good, solid preparatory work at their respective levels. In this way, our party will have the utmost certainty of success in making the overall rectification of our ideology, organization and work style and in bringing about a fundamental turn for the better in our party style.

CSO: 4005/88

BEIJING DESIGNATES MONTH FOR BUILDING CIVILIZATION

OW190835 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 18 Oct 82

[Text] According to the Beijing People's Broadcasting Station, at a meeting held today, the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and the municipal government have designated the period from 20 October to 20 November as a month in which people throughout Beijing will be mobilized to build a socialist spiritual civilization and launch activities concerning the "five stresses" and "four beauties."

The meeting called on the people throughout Beijing to continue to wipe out filth, disorderliness and poor service and continue to deepen "five stresses" and "four beauties" so that the building of a spiritual civilization in the capital will be more penetrating and widespread and still greater success will be achieved in this regard.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

SHANXI CONTINUES 'FIVE STRESSES, FOUR BEAUTIES' CAMPAIGN

OW060951 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0010 GMT 5 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Taiyuan, 5 Oct (XINHUA)--The Shanxi Provincial CPC Committee has decided to mobilize cadres and people in Shanxi's urban and rural areas to study well the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress and to continue "five stresses and four beauties" activities in a thorough and sustained manner in October, with emphasis on general elimination of filthiness, messiness and backwardness.

At a recent standing committee meeting, the Shanxi Provincial CPC Committee decided: In the course of the "five stresses and four beauties" activities in October, the party committees of all prefectures, municipalities and counties should first seriously study the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress and use them to guide their activities.

The Provincial Party Committee called on all prefectures, municipalities and counties to sum up their experience of the "civility and courtesy month" activities unfolded since March and to conduct a general inspection of the implementation of "civility rules" and "written pledges up by rural and urban residents."

The Provincial Party Committee demanded: During the "five stresses and four beauties" activities in October, urban areas should set the pace for rural areas. Taiyuan, Datong, Changzhi and Yangquan municipalities and country-level municipalities should first set an example. In order to improve urban appearance and sanitation, we should pay attention not only to the main streets, but also to small alleys, residential compounds and collective dormitories in order not to leave a blind spot.

CSO: 4005/88

BEIJING EDUCATION AGAINST BOURGEOIS INFLUENCE

OW071319 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0045 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 7 Oct (XINHUA)--From August to the middle of September this year, the Beijing, Municipal CPC Committee carried out education in opposing the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology and upholding communist ideology among the communists in Beijing. The education was carried out together with the struggle against grave criminal offenses in the economic sphere. During the one and a half months, some 580,000 party members, accounting for 90 percent of total party members in Beijing, were trained rotationally. The education yielded good results in improving party style and strengthening the party's ideological building.

The education in opposing the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology carried out by the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and the following salient features:

1. Leading cadres took the lead in teaching party lessons to party members. According to incomplete statistics, some 5,600 leading cadres, including standing committee members of the Municipal Party Committee and leading cadres at all levels of grassroots party committee, taught party lessons.

2. The education emphasized the need for communists to foster and uphold the communist world outlook, oppose bourgeois individualism, fundamentally raise political consciousness and build an ideological wall to guard against the corrosive influence.

3. The education was lively carried out in various forms, citing a large number of positive and negative examples.

4. Serious criticism and self-criticism were carried out in the spirit of the rectification movement.

At present, the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee is preparing to begin another round of rotational training for party members in Beijing in January 1983. It will organize the party members to thoroughly and systematically study the new party constitution and carry out education in how to be a qualified communist in order to be well-prepared for the forthcoming overall rectification of party style.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

'SHANXI RIBAO' ON SHANXI PARTY RECTIFICATION FORUM

HK131351 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 5 Oct 82 p 1

[Report by Shan Guizhen [0830 2710 3791]: "Provincial Forum on Rectifying Grassroots Party Organizations Points Out That the Spirit of the 12th Party Congress Must Be Applied to Rectify These Organizations"]

[Text] In the recently held provincial forum on rectifying grassroots party organization, it was emphatically pointed out: It is necessary to make a success of rectifying the grassroots party organizations and to have planning and leadership in putting forward the wholesale rectification of the industrial enterprises; in the rural areas and on other fronts, it is necessary to emphatically grasp well the rectification of the grassroots party organizations in which there are many serious problems, promote the quality and quantity of the party members, strengthen the combat strength of our party and strive to fully achieve the various combat missions determined by the 12th CPC National Congress.

This forum was convened by the organization department of the Shanxi Provincial CPC Committee in Taiyuan. The responsible comrades of the various offices and bureaus of the Provincial People's Government, the organization departments of the Municipal and Prefectural Party Committees and the work teams of part of the counties, factories, mines and enterprises took part in the forum.

On the basis of exchanges of information and interflow of experience, the comrades who took part in the forum had analyzed the condition of grassroots party organization and party members in our province. It was held: In recent years, the party committees at all levels paid more attention to rectifying the grassroots party organizations. There have been great changes in the condition of the grassroots party organizations and the party members. Generally speaking, these changes are good in most cases. But, since the party was seriously undermined by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the party ranks were influenced and corrupted by the decadent ideology of capitalism and the remains of feudal ideology, in addition, since the process of putting the economic responsibility system and the agricultural production responsibility system into practice, the party's political and ideological work have not kept pace with them, therefore, in some of our grassroots party organizations and among some party members, there are the serious problems of ideological, political and organizational impurity, failure to separate party work from government work, failure of the party to pay attention to its own affairs and

weak political and ideological work. Some grassroots party organizations are at a standstill or almost at a standstill. All these things seriously weaken the party's combat strength and hinder the smooth implementation of the construction of the four modernizations. Thus, it is extremely necessary to rectify the grassroots party organizations.

There are grassroots party organizations in the industrial enterprises, rural areas and on other fronts in which there are many serious problems. The forum made arrangements in all fields for the rectification of these organizations. It was pointed out: In the wholesale rectification of the industrial enterprises, it is necessary to place the rectification of the grassroots party organizations in an important position. It is necessary to grasp the rectification of the grassroots party organizations and other rectifications all together. It is necessary to adhere to putting ideological rectification first and making the rectification of the leading ranks the focus. It is necessary to grasp ideological education as the central link in the party's rectification. Promoting communist ideological consciousness and making a success of ideological rectification are the foundation of the successful rectification of the grassroots party organizations and the root of the strengthening of party building. Grasping well the rectification of the leading ranks is the key to this rectification movement. We must work seriously to overcome slackness and inertia, put into practice the division of labor in party and government to its internal affairs and promote the party's combat strength through rectification.

It was pointed out in the forum: Promotion of education must be emphasized in this rectification, and we must also carry out the necessary organization management. But we should be careful in handling people. It is necessary to deal with each case on its merits, according to the nature of the errors made, the seriousness of the case, the attitude and the past performance of the comrade in question. In handling treatment, emphasis must be laid on "the three kinds of people, those who oppose the line followed by the party's Central Committee since its 3d plenary session, those who have seriously violated the party's principles of political life and those who have committed serious economic offenses. It is necessary to firmly remove these people from leading posts. We must clear from the party those people not qualified for membership. As to the problem of grassroots cadre work, the main thing is to summarize experience and lessons, distinguish clearly between right and wrong and promote understanding. As for those party members who have a long time not taken part in organization life, who are negative and backward and do not fulfill a positive function, it is necessary to strengthen education and assistance so that they will increase their understanding and strive to be qualified members of the CPC.

The comrades who took part in the forum held that as long as the party committees at all levels take these matters seriously, put them on their schedule, conscientiously strengthen their leadership and use the new party constitution as a powerful weapon in rectifying grassroots party organization, then this rectification is certain to be success.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

SHANXI PREFECTURE URGES TO STUDY CONGRESS SPIRIT

HK250954 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 8 Oct 82 p 1

[Report: "When Inspecting Work in Jinzhong Prefecture, Comrade Luo Guibo Points Out That It Is Necessary to Establish Two Firm Beliefs, Unify Thinking, Continue to Advance, and Integrate the Spirit of the 12th Party Congress With the Reality of Shanxi"]

[Text] Recently Comrade Luo Guibo, second secretary of the Shanxi Provincial CPC Committee and provincial governor, went on a trip to inspect the work in Jinzhong prefecture. In talking about how to better study and implement the spirit of the documents of the 12th Party Congress, he stressed: We must integrate the spirit of the 12th Party Congress with the reality of Shanxi an ideologically establish two firm beliefs before we can relatively deeply and correctly understand the spirit of the 12th Party Congress documents, truly and completely keep in pace politically with the CPC Central Committee and persistently advance along the course charted by the 12th Party Congress.

From 25-30 September, Comrade Luo Guibo successively visited rural areas, factories, schools and hospitals in Jinzhong prefecture's Qixian, Yuci and Shouyang counties and Yuci Municipality. There he acquainted himself with the situation of how party members, cadres and the masses studied and implemented the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, and listened to reports by responsible comrades of the Jinzhong Prefectural CPC Committee. During his inspection tour, he expressed his views on how to study and implement the 12th Party Congress documents. Comrade Luo Guibo said: Leaders at all levels must regard the study of documents of the 12th Party Congress as a matter of first importance and grasp it firmly as such, take the lead in studying the documents well and strive to understand them thoroughly. They must not carry out the study perfunctorily or superficially and must not be slack toward the end while grasping firmly only at the beginning. They must integrate the spirit of the 12th Party Congress with the reality of Ahsnxi. At present the most essential thing in the reality of Jinzhong and of the whole province is to further settle the question of whether we firmly believe the complete correctness of the party's line, principles and policies formulated since the third plenary session and whether we firmly believe the complete correctness of the leadership of the CPC Central Committee. The 12th Party Congress fully affirmed and further developed the complete correctness of the line, principles and policies formulated since the third plenary session. This is very

important. Viewed from the practice of our province, it is precisely because we have resolutely implemented the line, principles and policies of the third plenary session and have done a lot of work in bringing order out of chaos, distinguishing right from wrong and correcting leftist mistakes that a great change for the better in our economic situation has taken place and a political situation of stability and unity exists today. Practice has amply proved that only if we firmly believe the complete correctness of the party's line, principles and policies formulated since the third plenary session and the complete correctness of the leadership fo the CPC Central Committee and ideologically and politically keep pace with the Central Committee can we make progress in our work, socre one victory after another, and triumphantly fulfill the strategic task of opening up new prospects in all fields of socialist modernization put forward by the 12th Party Congress. Most of the cadres in Jinzhong Prefecture have settled the question mentioned above but we must also see that a small number of comrades have not yet completely settled it. Therefore, we must further straighten out our ideological line through studying the documents of the 12th Party Congress, follow closely the strategic plans of the CPC Central Committee and unify our thoughts on the basis of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress.

In talking about how to open up new prospects in all fields in socialist modernization and how to quadruple the total industrial and agricultural output value, Comrade Luo Guibo said: Shanxi has great potential in quadrupling the total output value. This is particularly because Shanxi is rich in mineral deposits. Our province enjoys exceptional advantages in having a lot of coal. So long as we fully utilize this advantage and develop coal production with great effort and strive to do a good job in its comprehensive utilization, the total industrial output value of our province will increase by 100 or 200 percent and we will then be able to make greater contributions to the country's economic construction. We also have much potential in agriculture. We still have much arable land. At present, only several hundred jin of grain are yielded in each mu of land and output can further be raised by a big margin. At present, rural specialized household and key households are developing vigorously in Jinzhong Prefecture and throughout the whole province and diversified management has a very bright future. Mountainous districts account for a vast area in Jinzhong Prefecture as well as in the province. Besides mining, we can also extensively plant trees and grass, develop with great effort animal husbandry as well as the processing industry. We must seriously carry out investigations, work out feasible plans, do our work earnestly and solidly, give play to our subjective initiative and fight with effort for the realization of the magnificent goal set by the 12th Party Congress.

In talking about the work of Jinzhong Prefecture, Comrade Luo Guibo said: I have visited four counties and one municipality and talked with some cadres and people. They all said that your meeting held at Shouyang was very good because it has further emancipated the minds, raised the consciousness in implementing the party's line, principles and policies and enhanced the improvement of the responsibility system which has links with production and the development of specialized and key households. I hope that comrades in Jinzhong Prefecture will further emancipate their minds in the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, further relax the policies and push various kinds of work in the rural areas to a new stage.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

HEBEI CPC, CPPCC HOLD MEETING ON CONGRESS SPIRIT

HK010220 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 23 Sep 82

[Text] Yesterday afternoon the United Front Work Department of the Provincial CPC Committee and Provincial CPPCC held a joint meeting. Li Feng, delegate to the 12th CPC Congress, member of the standing committee of the Provincial CPC Committee and executive secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee, relayed the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress to personalities of various circles outside the party. The meeting was presided over the Yin Zhe, secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee and chairman of the Provincial CPPCC. About 1,400 persons attended the meeting, including members of the Provincial and Municipal CPPCC in the provincial capital, responsible persons and members of various democratic parties, nonparty senior intellectuals and well-known personages of various circles. In accordance with the program formulated by the propaganda department of the CPC Committee for propagating the 12th CPC Congress and his own personal experience in attending the congress, Comrade Li Feng talked about the grand occasion of the 12th CPC Congress, relayed the spirit of the speeches delivered by leading comrades of the CPC Central Committee and recounted his thoughts on studying the 12th CPC Congress documents and the significance of the congress. Comrade Li Feng's speech was well received by all meeting participants. At the meeting, Comrade Yin Zhe hoped that all participants would conscientiously study the 12th CPC Congress documents, closely rally around the CPC Committee and make contributions to attaining the magnificent goals of the 12th CPC Congress by creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/88

HEBEI HOLDS MEETING ON CONGRESS, PROPAGANDA WORK

HK051450 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 28 Sep 82

[Excerpts] On the afternoon of 27 September, the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee and the propaganda department of the Provincial CPC Committee jointly held a meeting of party member cadres, at which Comrade Zhao Yimin, secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee and a representative to the 12th Party Congress, relayed to all party member cadres in the organizations of the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee and the propaganda organizations directly under the Provincial CPC Committee the successful grand congress and the important speeches of central leaders.

Qi Bing, deputy director of the propaganda department of the Provincial CPC Committee, presided over and spoke at the meeting.

In his speech, he stressed the following points in light of the conditions related to propaganda work in our province: 1) We should conscientiously read the documents and deeply understand the basic spirit of the documents and deeply understand the basic spirit of the documents. 2) The study of the documents should be done in combination with our practice. 3) We should conscientiously do a good job of studying and publicizing the 12th Congress documents.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

HEBEI GET-TOGETHER MARKS CONGRESS, NATIONAL DAY

HK051416 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 28 Sep 82

[Excerpt] Yesterday afternoon the Provincial CPPCC Committee and the United Front Work Department of the Provincial CPC Committee jointly held a get-together to celebrate the successful conclusion of the 12th Congress and the coming national day and mid-autumn festival. Yin Zhe, secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee and chairman of the Provincial CPPCC Committee, presided over and spoke at the get-together.

He said that our get-together day was of special significance for it celebrated the coming national day and the coming mid-autumn festival as well as the successful conclusion of the 12th Party Congress. This could be called a celebration of three happy occasions. He hoped that all the members of the CPPCC and the personalities in all fields should act in accordance with the requirements of the CPC Central Committee and the Provincial CPC Committee and regard the study of the 12th Congress documents as a task of first priority. He said that we should adhere, under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, to the party's policy of coexisting for a long time, supervising one another, showing utter devotion to one another and sharing weal and woe, continuing to implement the party's various policies related to the United Front Work, giving play to the positive factors in all circles and dedicating our strength to the four modernizations and the realization of the great cause of the reunification of the motherland.

Amid enthusiastic applause, (Liu Binyan) Provincial CPC Committee secretary and acting governor, gave a speech that was full of emotion. After giving a brief account of the new situation on the various fronts in our province and the province's long-term program of quadrupling annual industrial and agricultural output value in the next 20 years, he said that we have adequate reasons to say and we are fully confident that we will be able to achieve this goal. In order to fulfill this task, we should continue to consolidate and develop the patriotic united front in our province.

Comrade (Liu Binyan) put forward the following three suggestions: 1) He requested the comrades to supervise the work of the provincial government and give their criticism and suggestions in a timely manner. 2) He hoped that the comrades would have the magnitude of statesmen in enduring humiliation in order to carry out their important missions, and strive with one heart and one mind

to overcome various difficulties. 3) All comrades should make allowances for, show utter devotion to and share weal and woe with one another.

In conclusion, he wished that all the comrades would, under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th Congress, unite as one, work hard and steadily with one heart and one mind and make new contributions to continuously scoring new achievements in creating a new situation in United Front Work and the socialist modernization of our province.

Attending the get-together were NPC deputies, National CPPCC Committee members, deputies to the Provincial People's Congress and members of the Provincial CPPCC Committee who were in the capital. Also attending were responsible persons of the provincial organizations of various democratic parties and various mass bodies.

CSO: 4005/88

HEBEI DEPARTMENT URGES CONGRESS DOCUMENTS STUDY

HK071128 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 30 Sep 82

[Excerpts] The propaganda department of the Hebei Provincial CPC Committee held a meeting the evening of 29 September, calling on all localities in the province and all units at the provincial level to seriously study and implement the guidelines set forth by the meeting called by the propaganda department of the CPC Central Committee on 27 September, to organize study and propaganda of the guidelines issued by the 12th CPC National Congress and, in light of the realities in various localities and units, to publicize the development of socialist spiritual civilization in October to make it known to all families, so that the five stresses and four beauties activities can be carried out in greater depth.

Responsible comrades of the units concerned in Shijiazhuang Prefecture and municipality and at the provincial level attended the meeting. In the spirit of study carried out by the working conference of the Provincial CPC Committee secretaries, Yin Zhe, secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee, talked about the way to implement the guidelines set forth by the meeting called by the porpaganda department of the CPC Central Committee.

After reviewing the results scored since the all-people civility and courtesy month activities were initiated in March this year and the problems discovered in these activities, the meeting set forth the following five demands on all localities in the province:

1. In line with the requirements put forth by the meeting held by the propaganda department of the CPC Central Committee, efforts should be made in October, as in the civility and courtesy month activities carried out in March, to extensively carry out activities of solving problems regarding sanitation, disorder and poor service and to turn these activities into concrete actions to implement the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress.

2. In the spirit of the relevant documents of the CPC Central Committee and in accordance with the plan drawn by the Provincial CPC Committee, all localities, departments and trades should organize vast numbers of cadres, especially the leading cadres at and above the county level, to diligently study the documents of the 12th CPC Congress, particularly the positions on building a highly developed socialist civilization, and to have a good grasp of the great

significance of intensively developing socialist civilization, so as to carry out the five stresses and four beauties activities more extensively, more deeply and more realistically throughout the province.

3. All localities and units should reexamine the regulations, rules and written pledges formulated during the five stresses and four beauties activities some time ago.

4. All party members and CYL members should play an exemplary role in these activities, discover their shortcomings in light of the requirements laid down in the new party constitution and see whether their words and deeds are compatible with the provisions of the party constitution.

5. Party committees at all levels should strengthen leadership over these activities and, in the spirit of the meeting held by the propaganda department of the CPC Central Committee and in light of local conditions, strive to make concrete arrangements for carrying out these activities.

In conclusion, the meeting pointed out: Around February next year, the Provincial CPC Committee will call a meeting to exchange experience in developing spiritual civilization. From now on, all localities and units should pay attention to discovering and fostering typical cases, summing up experiences and making necessary preparations.

Responsible comrades of the Shijiazhuang Municipal CPC Committee, the Hebei Provincial CYL Committee, the provincial public health department and the provincial commercial department spoke at the meeting.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

HEBEI'S LEADERS CONVEY 12TH CONGRESS SPIRIT

HK071427 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 2 Oct 82

[Text] According to the leading comrades of the Provincial CPC Committee and the provincial government who attended the 12th National Party Congress have called meetings of various forms to brief the vast numbers of party members and cadres on the grand occasion of the 12th National Party Congress and to convey and explain the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress. They stressed: At present, we must regard studying and publicizing the documents of the 12th National Party Congress as a matter of prime importance. We must call on people throughout the province to advance along the course charted by the 12th National Party Congress and exert themselves in the struggle for comprehensively opening up new prospects for promoting socialist modernization in our province.

Following the successful conclusion of the 12th National Party Congress, Gao Yang, delegate to the 12th National Party Congress and first secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee, went to Baoding Prefecture's Yi and Ding counties and Baoding Municipality to study with local cadres the adoption of measures for studying and publicizing the documents of the 12th National Party Congress and for implementing the spirit of the congress.

During a recent meeting of members of leading party groups from provincial organs, offices, committees, departments and bureaus which was held by the Provincial CPC Committee, Liu Bingyan, delegate to the 12th National Party Congress, secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee and acting governor and Zhang Shuguang, executive secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee, convened the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress and the important speeches of leading comrades of the central authorities. At the same time, they took further steps to plan out the whole province's work of studying and publicizing the documents of the 12th National Party Congress. They stressed once again: Party committees and leading cadres at all levels must take the lead in studying and publicizing the documents of the 12th National Party Congress and play an exemplary role in implementing the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress. We must call on the vast numbers of party members and cadres and the broad masses of the people throughout the province to conscientiously study and publicize the documents of the 12th National Party Congress, to apply the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress for deepening their understanding and for seeking unity of thought and action, and to make great efforts to fulfill all the tasks put forward at the 12th National Party Congress.

Conveying and publicizing the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress at various meetings of party members and cadres held by provincial departments, prefectures and municipalities were Wang Zheng, Zhao Yimin, Xie Feng, (Xiong Chongzhi), Wang Kedong, Li Feng, Lu Zhiguo, Hong Yi, Yang Yuan and Han Qimin, delegates to the 12th National Party Congress and leading comrades of the Provincial CPC Committee and the provincial government.

Comrade Li Feng also conveyed the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress to nonparty personnel of various circles in the provincial capital.

Leading comrades of the Provincial CPC Committee and the provincial government who attended the 12th National Party Congress have taken the lead in explaining and publicizing the documents of the 12th National Party Congress and used their personal experiences in attending the congress and in studying the documents of the congress to assist and coach the vast numbers of party members and cadres in grasping the essence of the spirit of the congress, thus promoting the studying of the documents of the congress in provincial units and in all areas.

CSO: 4005/88

HEBEI COMMENTARY ON STUDYING CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

HK150217 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 4 Oct 82

[Station commentary: "Concentrate Our Efforts On and Devote Our Energies to Deeply Grasping the Spiritual Essence of the Documents of the 12th National Party Congress"]

[Text] Under the leadership of party organizations at all levels, the vast numbers of party members and cadres and the broad masses of people throughout the province are enthusiastically studying the documents of the 12th National Party Congress and are implementing the spirit of the party congress. They have already scored gratifying achievements in the study and the implementation. However, we should also see that with the extensive development of activities of studying the documents, some comrades have started thinking that they can take a breathing spell. If we do not overcome the idea of being content with things as they are and the idea of being satisfied wich a smattering of a subject, these ideas will certainly affect the uninterrupted deepening of their study. Therefore, we must promptly check these ideas. A very important cause of the emergence of the aforesaid ideas among these comrades is that they have not focused their attention on deeply understanding and grasping the spiritual essence of the documents of the 12th National Party Congress. The documents of the 12th National Party Congress were formulated and adopted after repeated deliberations and studies. They were formulated and adopted after our party had summed up its historical experiences gained over the past 20 years and more since the 8th National Party Congress and particularly its new experiences gained since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The documents are the crystallization of the whole party's collective wisdom. The documents not only fix the grand objectives of struggle and strategic measures for our country's economic building and ideological building but also set new demands on the whole party and people throughout the country. Moreover, with regard to some major theoretical issues, the documents enrich and develop Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The Party Central Committee has called on us to do well in deeply studying the documents. This is aimed at merging the thoughts of all party members and people throughout the country into the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress and at enabling all of us to open up new prospects for socialist modernization with one heart and one mind. To achieve this aim, we must

adopt a serious and earnest attitude and do well in studying all the relevant documents. To do well in studying the documents, we must use our brains, assiduously study the documents, strive to comprehensively, systematically and correctly understand and grasp the basic contents and the spiritual essence of the documents, and in close connection with the respective work conditions of our areas and units and in close connection with our personal ideological conditions, apply the documents to solve some problems that can be solved. We must not be content with having a smattering of knowledge.

Studying the documents and implementing the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress are long-term political tasks. They are most important matters confronting the whole party and people throughout the country. In order to merge the thoughts and actions of the vast numbers of party members and the masses into the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress, leaders at all levels and departments concerned must adopt effective measures, pay attention to and overcome the slack mood for study as soon as it occurs, lead everyone to concentrate their efforts on understanding and grasping the spiritual essence of the documents and continuously deepen the study of the documents of the 12th National Party Congress.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

'HEBEI RIBAO' ON SENTENCING OF COUNTY CRIMINAL

HK051354 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 23 Sep 82 p 1

[Report by Correspondents Yi Zheng [1438 6927] and Zhang Fazhi [1728 3127 3112]: "Li Changjin, a Notorious Rebel in the Great Cultural Revolution, Is Sentenced to 16 Years' Imprisonment"]

[Text] On 5 September, Li Changjin, a corrupt criminal who was a rebel and a notorious "north despot" of Hejian County, was sentenced to 16 years' imprisonment by the county people's court.

Criminal Li Changjin, aged 44, is from Beishicao brigade of Hejian County. He was famous for "rebelling" in the 10 years of internal disorder and suddenly changed his identity from a deputy brigade leader to a standing member of the poor peasants' representative of Hejian County, a member of the Hejian County Revolutionary Committee, deputy director of the Revolutionary Committee of Beishicao Commune and deputy director of the Revolutionary Committee of Beishicao Brigade. He sneaked into the party in 1971 and became party secretary of the party branch of Beishicao brigade. During his tenure there, he used his power to run wild and commit crimes, wantonly corrupt, embezzle and defraud public funds and property, accept bribes, rape women, beat, scold and ride roughshod over the masses and commit countless crimes. The people call him the "north despot" of Hejian County.

The indictment of the people's procuratorate of Hejian County listed Li Changjin's crimes in corruption and bribery: In 1974, Li Changjin seized the opportunity to purchase chemical fertilizer for the Beishicao brigade and embezzled 1,225 yuan; in 1973, Li Changjin drew 536 yuan from the savings of the 8th Production Brigade of Beishicao, claiming he was going to buy a water pump for them; with the invoice he then applied for reimbursement from the Beishicao brigade and embezzled the whole sum of money; and in 1977, when Beishicao brigade borrowed 3,000 yuan from neighborhood sources, Li Changjin embezzled 2,000 yuan from the loan and put it into his own account. Furthermore, in June 1980, when the prefecture and county were jointly investigating his crimes, he repeatedly reimbursed 1,000 yuan from 4 invoices which had already been issued reimbursement funds and requested the cashier to write a bank note to repay his loan used in water conservancy accounts. In addition, Li Changjin accepted one tael of gold as a bribe and stole and swindled angle iron, wire poles, Korean pine, cement and other

goods. The total sum from his corruption, bribes, stolen and defrauded goods amounted to 7,483 yuan.

The indictment also accused Li Changjin of supporting and plotting the activities of beating, looting and smashing. In 1968, the former secretary of Xinzhuang brigade party branch, Wang Jizeng, and commune member Zhu Yuzing participated in factional activities. Because of a violent fight between the two factions they left their village and lived in Beishicao brigade. Li Changjin, Wang Jizeng and Zhu Yuxing met several times to plot to fight back and return to Xinzhuang brigade. Li Changjin clamorously held that "if we can't go back, we can fight," and threatened that "without fighting, you won't be able to get back." He also said: "If you fight, fight rough, as it will not matter if you break their legs or arms. Provided that nobody is killed, everything will be fine," and claimed that: "We have our backup in the county, and if anything happens I can be responsible." Early on the morning of 21 August 1968, a handful of people with guns, hand grenades and 666 powder poison went to Xinzhuang and caused a riot. Wang Ziheng was beaten and pulverized, Wang Ziran's left leg was broken and his collarbone was dislocated, resulting in lifelong disability. Niu Junru's right leg was fractured, he was bedridden for 6 months and died uncleared of his crime.

The indictment also accused Li Changjin's criminals of raping women and infringing upon people's civil rights. Criminal Li Changjin rebelled in the 10 years of internal disorder and became a ringleader of factionalism and of the "three-level committees." After the downfall of the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique, he was still unwilling to correct his "rebellious temper," ignored party discipline and state law, bullied men and seized women and committed all kinds of outrages. If anyone went against the will of this "local emperor," he would then use his "8 warrior attendants" and "14 allies" to exercise his dictatorship over the masses of commune members. Women raped and seduced by Li Changjin suffered a lot. There were among them young girls of 17-18, middle-aged women of 30 and women over 50. This caused women to be in a state of anxiety and some were forced to leave their native place, while others even tried to commit suicide. They were physically and mentally ruined and all severely scolded Li Changjin, saying that he was worse than a dog.

Criminal Li Changjin encroached public property, infringed upon human rights and violated Articles 155, 137, 139 and 160 of "the criminal law," and is guilty many times over. Because some leading cadres shielded him and because Li Changjin were holding power at the time, investigation work encountered many obstacles, causing this case to suffer long delays. On 9 April 1982, the people's procurate of Hejian County accused him, and according to the crimes discovered, the people's court of Hejian County sentenced Li Changjin to 3 years' imprisonment on 22 May. In the face of irrefutable facts, Li Changjin still resorted to all kinds of sophistry and tried by every means to deny and refuse his guilt. He even tried to make a false countercharge and frame the witness. The medium-level people's court of Cangzhou Prefecture received his appeal and made a decision upon the people's court of Hejian County to conduct a retrial. Under the leadership of the prefecture and County CPC Committee, the joint investigation group of the prefecture and county broke through obstructions and continued their investigation. They

not only proved the examined crimes to be real but also discovered new crimes. According to the prosecution of the people's procuratorate of Hejian County, the people's court of Hejian County called the court to order and tried Li Changjin again on 5 September, and issued a new verdict in accordance with law. When the news spread, the broad masses of people cheered and thanked the government "for having eliminated a despot for the people of Hejian County."

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

'HEBEI RIBAO' ON ENFORCING PARTY DISCIPLINE

HK050925 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 23 Sep 82 p 1

[Commentator's article: "We Must Strictly Enforce Party Discipline"]

[Text] This newspaper yesterday carried a report on 10 people who plotted, directed and actively participated in a case of disrupting party congress elections in Feixiang County and who were solemnly dealt with and subjected to punishment according to party discipline and administrative discipline respectively. Among these people were Lu Guotai, Li Molin, Zhao Xiangsheng and Wang Haibo. This way of handling the case is entirely correct. This is necessary in tightening party discipline, purifying the party organization and upholding party unity and unification.

Ours is a party directing socialist modernization in a big county with a population of 1 billion and is a major party with 39 million members. Only with strict discipline can we maintain party unity and unification. In defiance of party discipline, Lu Guotai and others resorted to double-dealing, intrigue and conspiration. In Feixiang County, they secretly acted in collusion during the period of the party congress and used illegal means typical of the "great cultural revolution" to trounce and exclude comrades who adhered to the correct party line. They tried to place themselves in office instead. They thus caused apolitical case of seriously disrupting elections. This is absolutely impermissible by party discipline.

The disruption of the party congress elections in Feixiang is not an incidental and isolated phenomenon. It shows that we must maintain a high degree of vigilance against the factional forces and careerists representative of the "gang of four." The problem of ideological, work style and organizational impurity in the party organization and among the ranks of cadres, as found in Feixiang, also exists elsewhere in our province. It assumes quite serious proportions in some cases. The "Feixiang incident" has sounded an alarm to us and provided us with a profound lesson. First, we must maintain a high degree of vigilance against the "three types of people" staging a comeback. We must resolutely rid the leading groups of the "three types of people." In the past few years, we have achieved much in carrying out the relevant policy and in getting rid of the "three types of people." But it should also be noted that some areas have not been thorough in the cleanup effort. The "three types

of people" are still occupying leadership posts. This poses a potential threat. Once the time is ripe they will make trouble. Lu Guotai, one of the chief plotters of the "Feixiang incident" and formerly a deputy county magistrate, belongs to the "three types of people." During the early stages of the "cultural revolution," he was a hard-core rebel. He has all along been seriously tainted with factionalist thinking. After becoming a deputy county magistrate, he again wanted to make it into the standing committee of the County CPC Committee. Former deputy secretary of the County CPC Committee Zhao Xiangsheng was a deputy secretary of a commune CPC Committee before the "cultural revolution." After his promotion to deputy secretary of the County CPC Committee, he became more seriously affected with individualism. He was obsessed with a desire for more power and vainly tried to manipulate the elections to win the title of a deputy secretary [as published]. Former deputy county head Li Molin was punished according to party discipline for his abuse of authority to serve his own interests in early 1980. He had harbored a grudge ever since. Wang Haibo, for his part, also had a private grievance against the secretary of the County CCP Committee. These people prompted by their private interests readily mixed with someone like Lu Guotai. Together they abused their authority to make trouble. In his speech at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Chen Yun said: "None of the 'three types of people'--those who made a start by following Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and company in rebellion during the 'great cultural revolution', those seriously affected with factionalist thinking, and those smashers, grabbers and looters--can be promoted. Those who have been promoted must be resolutely removed from leading groups. In addition, there are two types of people who also cannot be promoted. They are people who oppose the CPC Central Committee's line since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and who commit serious offenses against law and discipline in the economic and other areas." This guidelines must be carried out in its entirety. Otherwise, there may be a repetition of the "Feixiang incident." This can never be treated lightly.

Second, we must seriously try to solve the problem of ideological, work-style and organizational impurity among party members. The damage done to the party's workstyle by the "great cultural revolution" is very serious. The problem of ideological, workstyle and organizational impurity is a common one. It still assumes very serious proportions in some cases. Judging from the problems exposed at the Feixiang elections, some of the representatives participating in the elections were affected with feudal factionalist thinking and sought to attach themselves to the influential. Some suffered from sectarian sentiments and regionalism. Some showed a lack of fundamental knowledge about the party and did not know how to exercise their democratic rights, even allowing others to circle or mark their own votes. Some were seriously affected with liberalism. They refused to resist, expose, and fight against nonorganizational activities which they knew were wrong and allowed such activities to take their course. Lu Guotai and others took advantage of the unhealthy party workstyle to serve their own ends. Facts show that the call for the planned and systematic rectification of the party put forth at the 12th CPC National Party Congress by Comrade Hu Yaobang is entirely correct and is of a very urgent nature.

Third, we must really overcome the state of laxity and weakness in regard to the thinking of the leadership. To overcome "patriarchal" behavior and the

practice of "letting one person lay down the law" as long noted within our party, we must give full play to inner-party democracy and seriously practice democratic centralism. Democracy as advocated by our party is proletarian democracy and is a far cry from bourgeois democracy, let alone anarchism. Lu Guotai, Zhao Xiangsheng, Li Molin, Wang Haibo and others, plotters and stagers of the "Feixiang incident," disrupted the elections and carried out illegal activities under the banner of "democracy." Actually, they were using "democratic elections" as a cloak. They resorted to such means as "putting up big-character posters," "secretly establishing ties," and fabricating charges against others as practiced during the "great cultural revolution." What they advocated was a mix of bourgeois democracy and anarchism. This was a blasphemy against proletarian democracy and a violation of the democratic rights of the masses of party members. However, their kind of bogus democracy deceived many people. They were for a time successful in their plot. This has provided us with a very profound lesson. In party elections, we must of course give full play to democracy and fully respect party members' democratic rights. But such bourgeois practices as soliciting votes and practicing bribery can never be brought to party elections. The practice of anarchism can never be allowed. Party committees at all levels must dare to exercise leadership. They must dare to righteously criticize, repudiate and rectify all nonorganizational activities that run counter to the party's organizational principles.

The "Feixiang incident" is a mirror. It is a profound lesson for us. But it has also enabled us to wake up and raise our vigilance. We must learn from this incident. We must realistically act according to the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress and the demands of the new party constitution. We must build our party well and shoulder the historical mission of building a core of leadership in socialist modernization in all fields of endeavor.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

HEBEI GOVERNMENT URGES PEOPLE TO SUBMIT WEAPONS

HK060617 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 26 Sep 82 p 2

[Public Notice Issued on 22 September 1982 by the Hebei Provincial People's Government Concerning Social Order]

[Text] In order to strengthen public security and maintain social order, to protect the four modernizations and secure our people's lives and properties, it has been decided in accordance with the relevant laws of the state and the conditions of our province to carry out a thorough investigation and confiscation of all guns, bullets, explosives and other weapons scattered among the public. The relevant issues are noted below:

1. No organ or individual should keep privately weapons such as guns, bullets, explosives, sharp knives or scrapers. Whoever possesses such a weapon should, from the day this notice is issued, immediately proceed to the public security organs to register and hand it over; as to those who have been ascertained through investigation to have been keeping such weapons but still refuse to submit them, the public security organs should notify the local units and the individuals and order them to submit their weapons before a deadline; if they still refuse to hand them over, the public security organs should summon them for interrogation, search their dwellings and severely punish them in accordance with the laws of the state.

2. Factories, mines, enterprises, organs, schools, neighborhood organizations, communes and production brigades should make a good job of propaganda and educational work, fully mobilize the masses and adopt the system of assigning full responsibility in seriously and thoroughly investigating and confiscating the weapons dispersed among the public, such as guns, bullets, explosives, detonators, blasting fuses, sharp knives and scrapers. The public security organs should keep records and make registrations.

3. The leaders of those units which produce, store, transport, sell or use guns, bullets or explosives, especially leaders of the units which employ a large amount of explosives, such as mines, factories, enterprises, basic construction sites, communes and production brigades in the rural areas, should in the near future thoroughly check their stocks and accounts and correct the confusion in managing the explosives. If it is discovered that some explosives are missing, they should make a thorough investigation until the situation becomes clear and deal with it conscientiously. From now on, it is

necessary to strengthen the management of explosives and strictly carry out the system of personal responsibility. As soon as it is discovered that some explosives are missing, stolen or privately lent to others, it is necessary to investigate and ascertain the responsibility of the leaders and the persons concerned.

4. It is necessary for the railway, communication and shipping departments to organize their force in order to strengthen their security checks. They should confiscate without exception the following weapons which are illegally carried: Guns, bullets, explosives, detonators, blasting fuses, sharp knives and scrapers. In addition, they should report the case to the local units and local police stations so that they can handle and investigate it. If the caese is serious, it should be placed in the hands of the local public security organs to be handled in accordance with the law.

5. Public security organs and units concerned should strengthen control over the uses of guns, bullets and explosives in accordance with the relevant regulations. No unit or individual is allowed to manufacture guns, bullets, detonators, explosives or other weapons without permission. If private production is discovered, it is necessary to proscribe it by formal decree and handle it in accordance with the law.

6. The mass of cadres, workers and commune members must take positive action to help the government make a success of the confiscations. It is necessary to educate and mobilize the owners of the above-mentioned weapons voluntarily to submit their weapons. It is necessary to investigate and expose those who hide their weapons. It is necessary for the owners of the above-mentioned weapons who have engaged in criminal activities with their weapons to surrender themselves to the public security organs so as to ask for lenient treatment.

This notice is to be in force immediately.

[Dated 26 September, 1982.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

HEBEI PLA MEETING ON CONGRESS DOCUMENTS STUDY

HK251050 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 9 Oct 82 p 1

[Report by Qiu Gangfeng [6726 1511 1496]: "Provincial Military Command Holds Enlarged Party Committee Meeting to Train Backbone Forces for Publicity and Explanation"]

[Text] From 20-29 September, the CPC Committee of the Hebei Provincial PLA command held an enlarged plenary meeting to conscientiously study the 12th Congress documents and to unify the thoughts of the leading cadres on the spirit of the congress, thus satisfactorily taking the lead and setting a good example in studying and implementing the 12th Congress documents for all the troops and militia men under its command.

Dong Lifang and Fei Guozhu, political commissars of the Provincial PLA command, took turns presiding over the meeting. Gao Yang, Hebei Provincial CPC Committee first secretary and first political commissar of the Provincial PLA command, attended the meeting and spoke.

The CPC Committee of the Provincial PLA command believes that in order to develop the study of the 12th Congress documents satisfactorily among all the troops and militia men under its command, first the leaders at all levels must satisfactorily study and understand these documents. The hammer that is used to forge iron must itself be hard, otherwise it will be impossible for it to be used for forging good iron. It is impossible for those who themselves have confused understanding to help others to correctly understand the documents. Therefore, it was decided to hold an enlarged plenary meeting which had to be attended by all the responsible comrades of the CPC Committees at and above the regimental level and by all the cadres at and above the level of the directors of the divisional propaganda department and of the directors of divisional organs. Thus these people could specially spend some time together in and concentrate their energy on studying the 12th Congress documents. Our practice has proved that this method of holding a meeting as a training course and of training the leading persons first enabled us not only to focus our cadres' energy on studying the documents but also to train cadres for developing study at the basic level.

All those who attended the meeting carried out discussions on special subjects concerning the documents on the basis of a careful word-for-word study of the

documents. They focused their efforts on understanding the essential spirit of the 12th Party Congress. During the study, they linked their real thoughts and adopted the method of presenting facts to reason things out in order to make clear a few major problems of principle. The leading comrades of the party committee of the Provincial PLA command took the lead in adopting this method and talked about their impressions and understanding in light of their personal experiences.

After this study period, they improved their understanding on the following problems: 1) They more profoundly understand the significance of the 12th Party Congress for the great historic change. The comrades who came from the basic level enumerated the great achievements that our country had scored on various fronts and in building our army and militia since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC plenary session and talked about the great achievements of the 12th Party Congress. Many veteran Red Army men and Eighth Route Army men recalled the scenes of the Seventh Party Congress, the magnificent high tide of the democratic revolution that emerged under the stimulus of the spirit of the Seventh Party Congress and the victories of some fighting and battles that they personally participated. A comparison of the 12th Congress with the 7th Congress widened their field of vision and heightened their awareness and their confidence in forging ahead. 2) They become full of confidence in achieving the magnificent strategic goal put forward by the 12th Congress. They linked their deep study of the 12th Congress documents with their thoughts and analyzed in a scientific manner of seeking truth from facts the magnificent strategic goal raised by the 12th Congress. As a result, they have induced from their analysis the following five scientific viewpoints on which this magnificent goal has been drawn up. First, this goal has been drawn up on objective reality. It has taken into consideration the actual conditions in our country and it has been free from the leftist fetters of high targets and from the habit of making false, exaggerated and empty plans. Second, it is based on the law of the development of socialist construction and is not the result of the ideal dream that transcends the present stage of socialism, nor a goal for rash action that violates the objective laws. Third, it is based on our historical experiences and lessons and is not the result of copying the goal of other people or a result of a fondness for exaggerated goals and foreign things. Fourth, it is based on real economic conditions and is not a result of aiming too high and rashly pursuing achievements. Fifth, it is based on the basic interests of the broad masses of the people, therefore it does not advocate the one-sided pursuance of high speed and high accumulation taking no consideration of improving the material and cultural lives of the masses of the people. They also analyzed the following six favorable conditions for the realization of this magnificent goal: We have corrected the leftist mistakes and formulated a correct guideline of regarding economic construction as the key task; throughout our country, we have unified our thinking and created a lively political situation of stability and unity; through summing up both positive and negative experiences and lessons, we have found a path for our socialist modernization that is suited both to our national conditions and to the desire of our people; because of the continuous development of our economic construction, we have already laid a material and technical foundation of a considerable scale; our cause accords with the will of the people, therefore, we can tap endless initiative for building socialism among our masses of people; and we have established a

central leading group that has been formed according to the principle of succession of the elderly by the young and cooperation between the elderly and the young and that is politically mature, competent to run the economy, full of energy and completely reliable. After making an analysis in this manner of seeking truth from facts, they said that the magnificent strategic goal is practical as well as beautiful and is something we will be able to achieve, and therefore they were full of confidence.

3) They have acquired a new understanding of the significance of realizing the lofty goal of communism and strengthening education in communism. During their study, they all used Comrade Hu Yaobang's report and the new party constitution as the basis to make clear that the true meaning of communism consists of two parts--the communist movement and communist system. Thus they have made a clear demarcation line between real communism and false communism and clearly realized that the "communist wind" and "poor transition" that was advocated in the past had nothing to do with communism. They realize that the current policy of the CPC Central Committee serves the general goal of communism and that the core of socialist spiritual civilization is communism. As a result, their confidence in fighting for the communist cause is strengthened. Many comrades said that communism was what we were practicing and we were determined to fight for the communist cause all our lives. Quite a few comrades took account of the concrete problems in their units and studied how they were to do a good job of developing the party organizations according to the new party constitution. Wan Jianchang, political commissar of the Shijiazhuang garrison command, linked his study of the 12th Congress documents with the problem in his own unit of the old age of the members of the leading group in his garrison. He found that what the 12th Congress put forward about making our ranks of cadres more revolutionary-minded, younger, better educated and professionally competent is of vital importance. He discovered what was lacking in his garrison in light of the 12th Congress spirit and clearly know what he should do to make improvements. Advisers Shi Zhenkui and Feng Huanan said that the old comrades had to be clearly aware of their historical responsibilities and act as good "Beles" [Bele was a well-known specialist in selecting good horses] For the revolution in recommending competent official candidates and selecting "intelligent" young people for leading posts in order to satisfactorily build up our leading groups and enable the succession of our party's cause to continue generation after generation, like the constant running of the water in the Changjiang River.

On the basis of their heightened and unified ideology and understanding, the comrades who attended the meeting studied the methods and steps for developing the study of the 12th Congress documents among all the troops and militia men under the Provincial PLA command. They all thought that the method of holding a meeting as a training course was a good method and that after the meeting they would adopt the measures of holding enlarged meetings of CPC Committees and organizing training courses to train office cadres and militia cadres by stages and in groups. The party committee members and leading cadres at all levels expressed their will to take the lead in satisfactorily studying and understanding the documents and in going to the basic level to publicize and explain these documents. They would satisfactorily grasp the typical units and promptly popularize good experience. They would adopt diverse kinds of methods to soundly and effectively develop the activities of relaying and studying the spirit of the 12th Congress.

CSO: 4005/88

BRIEFS

NEI MONGGOL PAPER-PUBLICATION MEETING--On 6 October, the propaganda department of the Nei Monggol Regional CPC Committee and the Regional Post and Telecommunications Administrative Bureau held a regional telephone conference on the publication of papers and periodicals. The conference urged that we should take guidelines of the 12th Party Congress as motives to create a new situation for the publication of papers and periodicals in 1983. Bu He, deputy secretary of the Regional CPC Committee, spoke at the conference. He called on the party committees at all levels to enhance the leadership over the publication of papers and periodicals and to attach prime importance to the publication of party organs and periodicals. Attention should be paid to upgrading the quality of papers and the quality of publication. [Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Oct 82]

CSO: 4005/88 END

JPRS 82291

22 November 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 365

JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE 25 ANNIVERSARY

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82291

22 November 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 365

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

PARTY AND STATE

Forums on Party Congress Held
(LIAONING RIBAO, 16 Sep 82) 1

Gains Since 1978 Prove Correctness of Party Line
(Xu Shaofu; LIAONING RIBAO, 16 Sep 82) 3

Party Congress Documents Widely Studied in Hebei
(HEBEI RIBAO, 20 Sep 82) 8

Ding County Activities, by Li Xinsheng, Zhang Zichao
Pingshan County Activities, by Zhang Bochuan, et al.

Liaoning Urged To Pass on Spirit of Party Congress
(LIAONING RIBAO, 21, 22 Sep 82) 12

PLA Activities in Capital, by Li Desheng
Party Activities in Province

Party Officials Punished for Election Irregularities
(Lu Guotai, et al,; HEBEI RIBAO, 22 Sep 82) 16

County Committee Educates Party Members in Party's Aims, Principles
(XINHUA RIBAO, 29 Jun 82) 18

Eighth in Series on Revised Party Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 24 Oct 82) 21

9th, 10th in Series on New CPC Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 25 Oct 82) 24

Eleventh in Series of New CPC Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 24 Oct 82) 26

 [III - CC - 80]

12th, 13th in Series on New CPC Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 27 Oct 82) 29

14th, 15th in Series on Revised Party Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 28 Oct 82) 32

16th in Series on Revised Party Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 29 Oct 82) 35

17th, 18th in Series on Revised Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 31 Oct 82) 38

19th, 20th in Series on Revised CPC Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 1 Nov 82) 41

21st, 23d in Series on Party Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 2 Nov 82) 43

22d in Series on Party Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 3 Nov 82) 46

24th, 25th in Series on New CPC Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 4 Nov 82) 49

26th, 27th, 28th in Series on CPC Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 5 Nov 82) 52

29th, 30th, 31st in Series on CPC Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 7 Nov 82) 54

Technical Exchange, Cooperation To Develop Changzhou's Economy Carried Out
(XINHUA RIBAO, 28 Jun 82) 58

Socially, Politically Useful Activities for Retired Cadres Proposed
(XINHUA RIBAO, 28 Jun 82) 60

Appearance of a Communist Discussed
(Chen Yizheng; LIAONING RIBAO, 16 Sep 82) 62

Formulation of Local Regulations Reported
(RENMIN RIBAO, 4 Oct 82) 63

Japanese Textbook Revision Seen as Bid To Revive Militarism
(ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO, 14 Aug 82) 64

Shaoguan Plant Stresses Promotion of Engineers, Technicians
(Chen Chaoxing; NANFANG RIBAO, 10 Aug 82) 66

Intellectuals Promoted To High Posts in Guangdong
(Zhang Tingchun; GUANGZHOU RIBAO, 14 Aug 82)..... 68

Promotion Favoritism Uncovered in Guangdong Seismological Bureau
(NANFANG RIBAO, 10 Aug 82) 70

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

'CHENG MING' Analyzes Deng Xiaoping's Army Purge
(Lo Ping; CHENG MING, 1 Nov 82) 72

PARTY AND STATE

FORUMS ON PARTY CONGRESS HELD

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Sep 82 p 1

[Report: "Party Organizations at Various Levels Hold Forums, Briefing Sessions: Uphold the New Central Organs of Leadership, Resolutely Realize Unity and Cooperation Between New and Old Leaders"]

[Text] The triumphant close of the 12th Party Congress and the birth of the new central organs of leadership have added new joy to the urban and rural populace of our province. Party organizations at various levels and the vast ranks of the party members, cadres and masses have profusely held forums and briefing sessions to indicate their support and love for the Party Central Committee; they are determined, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, to make even greater contributions to the opening up of an overall new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization.

People think that the birth of the party's supreme leadership organs has realized the unity, cooperation and transition between the new and old cadres; it is the indicator of our party's vigorous growth and prosperous development, and it is bound to play an instrumental role in bringing prosperity to our socialist cause. Members of the party committee of the No 1 steel rolling plant of the Anshan Steel and Iron Works, which earned the glorious title of advanced party committee, felt extremely excited upon hearing the communique of the First Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee; beginning 13 September they led the staff and workers of the whole plant to launch the ten-day high-yield period to produce 10,000 tons daily. The first day, they strived to achieve a production of 10,043 tons. Comrades of the Fushun, Benxi, and Fuxin municipal party committees and the Chaoyang regional party committee and Kuandian county party committee said, the party Central Committee has established an example for our party organizations at various levels; we too must make the best use of time, broaden our outlook, push aside various obstacles, promote exemplary middle-aged and young cadres to our leadership posts as rapidly as possible, and realize making the leading groups at various levels revolutionary, younger, knowledgeable, and professional. The Benxi municipal party committee also stressed that, in selecting middle-aged and young cadres, they must break away from the traditional method of succession by appraising qualifications and seniority. The municipality had already selected 42 middle-aged and young cadres at the county level and above, they wanted to select another group before the end of this year to enable the

leading groups of the municipality's party organizations at various levels to meet the requirements of the construction of the four modernizations.

Many old comrades who have shouldered leadership work have expressed admiration for the lofty outlook of certain prestigeous older-generation proletarian revolutionaries of the Party Central Committee who give no thought to their own reputation and personal gains, give prominence to the cause of the party and the interests of the state, yield important leadership posts to younger comrades, while they themselves take the initiative to retreat to the second line. They are determined to learn from the old revolutionaries of the central authorities and, while they are still healthy and functioning, select as soon as possible their successors, support the new cadres' work, and serve well as their consultants. Secretary of the Dalian municipal party committee Du Li [2629 2621] indicated at a meeting of the standing committee of the municipal party committee that he himself was already old, and weak from frequent illness, so he was willing to retreat to the second line and let the middle-aged and young cadres take over the heavy burdens. Some middle-aged and young cadres who have just embarked upon the leadership posts have proceeded in keeping with their own process of growth to study the communique of the First Plenary Session; they have further felt the care of the Party Central Committee and the love of the old cadres for them and are determined not to disappoint the expectations of the Party Central Committee and the older revolutionaries and dedicate all they have to the party and the people. Wu Guojin [0702 0948 6855], the young cadre who was promoted in April this year to manager of the Jinzhou municipal food service company, has made even stricter demands on himself: First, he must study the rich experiences of the old comrades, their glorious traditions, and their fine workstyle; second, he must strictly discipline himself, and seek no personal privileges; third, he must be daring and innovative and not remain satisfied with just watching the stall and sticking to the old line; and fourth, he must refrain from becoming arrogant and attempt to serve forever as a servant of the people.

When the Fuxin municipal party committee and the Tieling regional party committee studied the communique of the First Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee, they summed up their own experience and lessons in building their basic-level leading groups and stressed that, while readjusting these groups, the "five kinds of people" should never be allowed to sneak into the leadership posts so as to guarantee the purity of the leading groups and the solidarity of their political power and make our party's leading groups at various levels the strong core of the construction of our four modernizations.

9255
CSO: 4005/59

PARTY AND STATE

GAINS SINCE 1978 PROVE CORRECTNESS OF PARTY LINE

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Xu Shaofu [1776 1421 3940]: "Correct Line, Great Change"]

[Text] Our party has triumphantly convened its 12th Congress; this was the most important meeting since the Seventh Party Congress. The congress summed up the achievements of victory of the historic change realized since the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and put forward the party's magnificent goals and fighting tasks during the new historical period. Studying the documents of the congress enables me to get a profound education and become deeply encouraged; it helps me to heighten my perception, clarify my orientation, and enhance my confidence.

Liaoning has been an "area of grave disaster," suffering the sabotage of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Liaoning Provincial Party Committee, under the successive leadership of Comrades Ren Zhongyi [0117 6850 1138] and Guo Feng [6753 1496] has led the vast ranks of the province's party members, cadres, and masses in resolutely implementing the party's line, principles, and policies, in following the Party Central Committee's plan, and in proceeding to return to order from disorder and promote the overall development of industry and agriculture in order to eliminate the serious consequences brought about by the sabotage of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, to cleanse away the influence of the mistakes of the "leftist" guiding ideology, and to realize the shift in the focus of our work and implement our principles of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation, and improvement. It has given better scope to the role of Liaoning as a base for heavy industry, has adopted a series of decisive measures, and has achieved very great results. Profound changes have thus taken place in various respects: political stability and unity have been realized, there has been a steady increase in our industrial and agricultural production, and our party workstyle, social customes, and social order and security are all turning gradually for the better. During the past few years, we have implemented the "three adherences" according to the Marxist ideological line, political line, and organizational line as determined anew by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and we have achieved conspicuous results.

First, ideologically we have adhered to educating the vast ranks of our party members and cadres with the spirit of the Third Plenary Session in order to rectify our ideological line. Through our discussion of the criteria for testing truth and our study of the Resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and related central documents, we have unified the thinking of the vast ranks of our party members and cadres under the line of the Third Plenary Session and have taken as an important condition for examining the performance of our cadres whether or not they have resolutely implemented the line of the Third Plenary Session. At present our leading cadres at various levels have deeply absorbed the line of the Third Plenary Session; an important guarantee that they can do various kinds of work well. Although a very small number of party members and cadres still remain muddled in their understanding or even have adopted an attitude of suspicion and resistance, and although there also have been certain individual "three kinds of persons" attempting sabotage against us, they have never been able to play a decisive role.

Second, politically we have adhered to returning to order from disorder and reversing the right and wrong once turned around by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. This has been chiefly reflected in the following: (1) We have gone deep into launching struggle to expose and criticize the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. We have unrestrictedly mobilized the masses, pushed aside all obstacles, found out the people and events related to the usurpation of the party and to the seizure of power by the "gang of four," destroyed the forces of bourgeois factions and cliques, and achieved a decisive victory in the struggle. (2) We have rectified a large number of cases of unjust, false, and erroneous litigation. Of the nearly 300,000 cadres and masses who were erroneously determined to have had an enemy character, or who were dealt with according to an erroneous determination of enemy character in the province during the "Cultural Revolution," more than 99 percent have already been rectified. (3) We have readjusted and reinforced leading groups at various levels and have gotten a close grip on the constructive work of making the ranks of our cadres revolutionary, younger, more knowledgeable, and more professional. Since 1980, more than 4,600 fine middle-age and young cadres across the province have been promoted to enter leading groups at county level or above. (4) We have energetically worked at setting our party workstyle aright and rectifying our party organizations. Through studying the "Guiding Principles" and the "Resolution," we have carried out party rectification at points selected for experiment, a general inspection of our party workstyle and party discipline, and rectification of the various trades and professions, thereby rigorously arresting unhealthy practices and reinforcing the education of our party members and cadres and the construction of our party organizations at the basic level. Since last year, the Shenyang Municipal Party Committee has energetically undertaken to oppose such devious practices as making private gains by taking advantage of one's own power, obtaining commodities in short supply by entering through the backdoor, occupying more housing than necessary, converting one's agricultural status to nonagricultural status and enabling a rural family to move to the city, and indulging in unscrupulous entertainment. [The committee] thereby has succeeded in educating the party members and cadres, improving the relationship between the party and the

masses, and raising the party's prestige and credibility. At present, it is carrying out an overall, comprehensive straightening-out task in the rectification of our party workstyle. (5) We have conscientiously implemented our party's policy toward intellectuals. We have carried out a general inspection of our work on intellectuals, heightened the understanding of leading cadres at various levels on the status and role of intellectuals in the new era, and rectified the erroneous tendency of discriminating against and excluding intellectuals. More than 2,200 high-ranking and intermediate intellectuals throughout the province have already come to shoulder leadership tasks at various levels. (6) We have rectified urban and rural order and security, carried out a penetrating education in the legal system, and actively launched our comprehensive rectification work. During the past 4 years, the number of cases of criminal offenses has been decreasing, with those during the first half of this year 21.5 percent less than those of the corresponding period last year. This has enabled our social customs and order and security to gradually make a turn for the better.

Third, in economic work we have adhered to breaking through the constraint of "leftist" guiding ideology, emancipating our thinking, seeking truth from facts, and doing a good job in our economic construction according to the conditions in China and Liaoning Province. Since 1979, we have put emphasis on enlivening our economy under the guidance of uniform planning by the state, and have dared to resort to acquiring wealth through labor. Later on, we actively promoted the production responsibility system in agriculture according to the spirit of central directives; 98 percent of all production teams in the province have now put into practice various forms of the production responsibility system, and this has greatly mobilized the peasants' enthusiasm for production. During these past 3 years, the overall output value of our agriculture has increased by 24.2 percent, with a yearly average increase of 7.5 percent. Last year, while we suffered serious calamities of both flood and drought, our total foodgrain output still amounted to 23.2 billion jin; this made it the year of our second highest yield. Because we have implemented the "eight-character" policy, the province's industrial readjustment work has already shown preliminary results. Light industry, especially the production of articles for daily consumption, has gained rather considerable development. During these past 3 years, the total output value of our light industrial products has increased by 163.7 percent. Progress has been made in our industrial readjustment and in the technical transformation of our old enterprises. Our economic results have begun to improve. During the first 5 months of this year, the costs of products of the 79 enterprises in the province which have undergone consolidation decreased by 1.26 percent compared to those of the corresponding period last year; the profits they submitted increased by 13.5 percent. Under the principle of adhering to the dominant position of our state-run economy, we have put emphasis on developing a variety of economic forms and have expanded avenues of employment for our laborers. During these past 3 years we have succeeded in placing more than 2.28 million city and township personnel who had been awaiting employment. The livelihood of our urban and rural people has thus improved further. According to sample surveys, the net income of each peasant in 1981 increased by 65 percent over that of 1978. During these past 3 years, the average wages of the staff and workers at enterprises owned by all the people increased by 21.6 percent. City and township housing space completed during these past 3 years amounted

to 18.35 million square meters; housing built in the countryside during the past 2 years amounted to more than 30 million square meters. Thus the state of short supply of residential housing for our urban and rural residents has become mollified.

The achievement of the above results fully proves that the party's line, principles, and policies since its Third Plenary Session have been entirely correct. From practice we have come to realize: First, the great historical turning point did not begin until the Third Plenary Session. The smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique created the conditions for the realization of this great shift. But during the 2 years prior to the Third Plenary Session, right and wrong in our party's guiding ideology were still not clarified as they should have been; our efforts to return to order from disorder remained in a state of hesitation and wavering. The great historic merit of the Third Plenary Session lies in fundamentally breaking through the serious constraint of long-standing "leftist" mistakes, in rectifying our party's guiding ideology, and in establishing anew our Marxist ideological line, political line, and organizational line. Without the Third Plenary Session, it would have been impossible to realize the great historic shift and there would have been no fine situation as prevails today, nor would it have been possible for the magnificent goals of struggle to be put forward and realized. Second, the triumphant realization of this great historic shift has been rather hard to come by. Just as Comrade Yaobang pointed out in his report, looking back at the process of our fighting during the past 6 years, what we have traversed has not been an even road. While implementing the line of the Third Plenary Session, we have encountered all kinds of interference. It was precisely under the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee that we launched in time an ideological struggle against the two fronts of "left" and rightist deviation, thereby making it possible for us to quite properly solve certain rather complicated ideological problems and social and political contradictions. Implementation of the principles and tasks determined by the 12th Party Congress is also likely to encounter obstacles and interference. We must adhere to the four basic principles, adhere to the correct line since the Third Plenary Session, and further develop the province's fine situation in our new, great practice. Third, conscientiously implementing the spirit of the 12th Party Congress is a continuation of our implementation of the correct line since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Comrade Yaobang pointed out in his report that the principles and tasks to be determined by this congress are the consolidation and development of the correct line since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Their contents are even richer and more in accord with reality. At present, we must conscientiously study the documents of the 12th Party Congress, further unify the thinking of the vast ranks of our cadres and masses under the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and the correct line since the Third Plenary Session, catch up with the plans of the Party Central Committee, and do our best to open up a new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization in Liaoning.

Today, the province's political and economic situations are both fine. While our agricultural production has suffered serious drought and is liable to decrease in productivity, the enthusiasm of the vast ranks of our peasants is

still swelling. Industrial production will possibly exceed the original plan. The vast ranks of our workers, peasants, and intellectuals are full of hope and confidence about the future. This serves to establish a fine foundation for realizing the magnificent goals put forward by the 12th Party Congress and for opening up a new overall situation in the construction of our socialist modernization. Even though not a few difficulties and problems still exist in our work at present, we are determined to handle our work in Liaoning well. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, let us conscientiously propagate and implement the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, earnestly carry out the principles and tasks determined by the congress, and exert our struggle to open up a new overall situation in the construction of our socialist modernization!

9255
CSO: 4005/51

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS WIDELY STUDIED IN HEBEI

Ding County Activities

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese Sep 20 p 1

[Report by Li Xinsheng [2621 2450 0524] and Zhang Zichao [1728 5261 6389]: "Give Full Scope to the Role of Reporters and Party-Member Liaison Households; Ding County's 470 Reporters and More Than 18,000 Party Members Propagate 12th Party Congress Documents to the Masses"]

[Text] Party organizations at various levels in Ding County have given full scope to the role of reporters and party-member liaison households and have made use of many methods in propagating the documents of the 12th Party Congress to the masses.

In order that the spirit [of the congress] becomeknown to every household, the Ding County CPC Committee has transferred 470 cadres with a relatively higher theoretical level from the county, its districts, and communes to organize a team of reporters. Led by the standing committee of the county party committee, they have gone down to various basic-level units to propagate the documents of the 12th Party Congress to party members, cadres, and the masses. Before these reporters went down, Fu Jiaqin [0265 0502 0530], secretary of the county party committee, and Li Jidong [2621 3444 2639], member of the standing committee and chief of the propaganda department of the party committee, taking Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening address at their guiding ideology, provided helpful guidance to them. The county party committee also compiled and printed for them guidance materials on study and propagation. Meanwhile, party organizations at various levels mobilized more than 18,000 party members who had already established liaison households and, by adopting the approach of fixing tasks and fixing periods of service, asked them to go down among commune members of the more than 72,000 households assigned to them in order to propagate the documents of the 12th Party Congress. After Wu Dongliang [0702 2639 5238], a member of the standing committee of the county party committee and secretary of the Qingfengdian district party committee, was appointed a reporter, he provided helpful guidance, at a general meeting of cadres in the district who are production team leaders of higher, on "The Magnificent Goals Put Forward by the 12th Party Congress Are Bound to Be Realized," in conjunction with the achievements scored on the various fronts in the county and the district

since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. He said while doing so that the total value of the industrial and agricultural output of Ding County in 1977 was more than 150 million yuan; by 1981 it had reached more than 230 million yuan--an average yearly increase of 10.5 percent. In Qingfengdian district, since the Third Plenary Session the total production of foodgrain, cotton, and oil has increased from 50 percent to 100 percent; the total output value of the diversified economy and the per capita income of commune members have both increased by more than 100 percent. He siad that the line, principles, and policies determined by the Third Plenary Session have already been deeply absorbed by the populace, and conditions in various aspects have improved considerably over those of several years ago. Under the stimulus of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, even greater results are surely possible after a period of another 7 or 8 years, when a doubling of the current amounts seems entirely likely. When the foundation is well liad during the first 10 years, a doubling in the second 10 years is even less of a problem. His helpful guidance enabled the vast ranks of the basic-level cadres to further exert their spirit and become full of confidence as to the ultimate realization of the strategic goals put forward by the Party Central Committee.

All the while as this county's reporters and party members have been establishing liaison households to propagate thses 12th Party Congress documents to the masses, they have paid extreme attention to going down deep among the masses, studying the documents together with them, summing up their work together, and heightening their perception and improving their work together. Hence, through such study and propagation, the people's thinking and perception have greatly improved, and their various kinds of work have likewise begun to pick up.

In the process of propagating the 12th Party Congress documents, this county's reporters and party members have also made full use of multifarious propaganda activities. According to incomplete statistics, reporters at various levels and the vast ranks of the party members have, since the convening of the 12th Party Congress, organized and written a total of 250 broadcast texts, compiled and created 119 sets of literary and artistic program and slides, and published 12,000 blackboard editions of news.

Pingshan County Activities

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 20 Sep 82 p 1

[Report by Zhang Bochuan [1728 3124 1557], Wang Wensheng [3769 2429 3932], and Gao Zhuzhu [2580 3796 3796]: "Give Scope to Our Fine Traditions, Adhere to and Improve Our Party Leadership; Pingshan County Party Committee Studies 12th Party Congress Documents in Conjunction With the Actual Situation There, and Formulates Pertinent Measures To Improve Party Workstyle"]

[Text] Leading comrades of the county party committee of Pingshan County, an old revolutionary base, have conscientiously studied the documents of the 12th Party Congress and carried out discussions in conjunction with the actual

situation there. They have unanimously indicated that they are determined to follow the demands of the 12th Party Congress in strengthening our party building, in earnestly doing a good job of rectifying our party workstyle, and in better accomplishing the fighting tasks assigned by the party.

In his report, Comrade Hu Yaobang has put forward as a fighting task the realization of a turn for the better in our party workstyle. In order to understand clearly the relationship between rectification of our party workstyle and our economic construction from the unity of theory and practice, comrades of the Pingshan County Party Committee have summed up their past experiences and lessons. During the 10 years of internal disturbance, the cadres and masses suffered enough consequences of "armchair politics." But after the focus of our party work was shifted to economic construction, the county party committee for a time sought only to grasp production and construction, while overlooking education in communist ideology among party members and cadres. This spring, the county party committee began by rectifying our party workstyle and proceeded from there to strengthen policy education among the party members and cadres as well as education in the legal system and in communist ideology. It also adopted decive measures to energetically arrest such unhealthy practices in the countryside as occupying homesteads at random, cutting trees at random that belonged to the collectives, gambling, and stealing; thereby they consolidated and developed a fine situation and promoted the development of our production. By recalling this experience, everyone was enabled to see clearly that improving our party workstyle and strengthening our party's ideological construction are pillars of the spiritual civilization of the whole society, and that these play a great promotive role in our diong a good job of building our material civilization.

In order to realize a basic turn for the better in our party workstyle and adhere to and improve our party leadership, the county party committee followed the demands of the 12ty Party Congress by keeping in line with Pingshan's actual situation and formulating and reinforcing the concrete measure of carrying out education in communist ideology among our party members and cadres. The county party committee issued a circular asking party organizations at various levels to organize party members to study the 12th Party Congress documents well and, in conjunction with the activities of appraising and selecting advanced party branches and model party members, to establish models and commend advanced workers with fanfare, as well as to do a good job of carrying out education in our revolutionary traditions. The county party committee is now organizing pertinent personnel to write a party history of Pingshan County and to put in order the biographies of our martyrs, in order to use them as teaching materials for administering a lively education in our revolutionary traditions among party members and cadres. It is also preparing to organize old cadres, old party members, and old Red Armymen to lecture to party members on the party's history and on the villages' histories, so that they can take over the party's glorious traditions and pass them on. It is preparing to grasp well the teamwork between party and government,

and thereby fundamentally to change the situation of the past in which the party paid no attention to itself; organis of the county party committee are to play an exemplary role in this [effort]. Most recently, party committees of organs directly under the jurisdiction of the county formulated 12 articles of regulations governing cadres of these organs. The cadres and party members are setting themselves as examples in rectifying our party workstyle, observing discipline, doing good work, and earnestly playing an examplary role.

9255
CSO: 4005/47

PARTY AND STATE

LIAONING URGED TO PASS ON SPIRIT OF PARTY CONGRESS

PLA Activities in Capital

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Sep 82 p 1

[Report: "PLA Units Stationed in Shenyang Pass on Spirit of 12th Party Congress and Call Upon All Party Members To Be Models in Studying and Implementing Spirit of 12th Party Congress and To Bring Into Effect the Three Turns for the Better; Comrade Li Desheng [2621 1795 3932] Speaks at Meeting on How To Study, Propagate, and Implement Spirit of 12th Party Congress"]

[Text] In the forenoon of 20 September, PLA units stationed in Shenyang solemnly convened a meeting of cadres to pass on the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress.

Li Desheng, commanding officer of PLA units stationed in Shenyang, First Political Commissar Liao Hansheng [1675 3352 3932], and other such comrades, responsible comrades of the commanding headquarters of the PLA units stationed in Shenyang, their political department, engineering corps of the Shenyang units, the military district of Liaoning, and various general headquarters of the military party committee, units of the branches of various armies stationed in Shenyang, as well as cadres at the regimental level and above all attended the meeting.

When Jiang Yonghus [3068 2340 6540], delegate to the 12th Party Congress from the units stationed in Shenyang, and deputy commander of the Shenyang units, gave his report at the meeting, he excitedly related the spectacular scene of the opening of the 12th Party Congress, talked about the achievements scored by the 12th Party Congress, discussed the great historic significance of the 12th Party Congress, and reported on the understanding achieved by delegates from the Shenyang units to the 12th Party Congress in their study of the 12th Party Congress documents.

Comrade Li Desheng, for his part, gave a speech at the meeting on the question of how to study, propagate, and implement the spirit of the 12th Party Congress. He said the 12th Party Congress is the most important congress since the Seventh Party Congress; it is a milestone of epoch-making significance in the history of our party. The central leading comrades have emphatically pointed out: Studying, propagating, and implementing the spirit

of the 12th Party Congress is our central task at present and for the period to come. We must grasp this big matter well, according to the plan of the Central Committee and the Military Commission. He asked various units to conscientiously understand the basic spirit of the 12th Party Congress, unify the thinking and perception of the cadres and fighters, firmly believe in the greatness, the glory, and the correctness of our party, firmly believe in the inevitable realization of the magnificent goals set by the 12th Party Congress, and firmly believe in the sure victory of the communist cause. All party members, and the party's leading cadres in particular, must serve as models in the study, propagation, and implementation of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress so as to bring into effect the "three fundamental turns for the better." We must keep closely in mind our actual situation and do a good job of the task of making our units revolutionary, modern, and regular in construction. He called upon all commanding officers to hold high the banner of communism, exert their spirit, immerse themselves in hard work, make efforts with one heart and one mind, and resolutely accomplish the various tasks given our PLA by the 12th Party Congress so as to make our contributions, along with the people of the whole country, to the opening up of a new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization.

Units stationed in Shenyang such as the rear services department, the air force, the artillery unit, the armored unit, and delegates of these Shenyang units to the 12th Party Congress likewise conveyed their respective messages.

Party Activities in Province

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Sep 82 p 1

[Report: "Provincial Party Committee Convenes Meeting of Cadres of Divisions Under Direct Jurisdiction of the Province and Above To Pass on Spirit of 12th Party Congress, and Takes Lead in Organizing Party Members, Cadres, and Masses To Peruse Documents and Master Their Essence"]

[Text] On 20 and 21 September, the Liaoning Provincial CPC Committee convened a meeting of cadres of organs under the direct jurisdiction of the province and above to pass on the spirit of the 12th Party Congress. The meeting asked responsible cadres at various levels to play a vanguard role and also to lead the vast ranks of our party members and masses to take Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening address as our general guiding ideology, to study conscientiously and well Comrade Hu Yaobang's report and the new party constitution as well as the resolutions and speeches of the congress, to conscientiously understand the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, and to implement it in our practical work, so as to strive to struggle for the opening up of a new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization.

The meeting called to hear relayed reports, was presided over by Comrade Li Huang [2621 5435]. Comrade Xu Shaofu's [1776 1421 3940] report was divided into six parts: In the first part he related the general situation of this congress by saying that this congress gave scope to the party's fine traditions and workstyle; it was a congress of unity, a victorious congress, and a vigorous, democratic congress. When he relayed the second part he pointed

out that the congress had examined and passed the report of the Central Committee, the new party constitution, and elected the three committees of the central headquarters; these were the great achievements of the congress. In dwelling on the great significance of the congress, he pointed out that the 12th Party Congress is the most important congress since the Seventh Party Congress. The congress determined to develop a socialism with Chinese characteristics and to follow our own path; it further assured our party, state, and people the continuity and stability of their following the correct line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in our forward movement. The new party constitution passed by the congress will raise our party construction to a new level. The congress realized the tasks of the old and new central leaders in cooperating with each other and in taking responsibilities over from each other.

In his third part he passed on in detail the contents of the report that Comrade Hu Yaobang made on behalf of the Party Central Committee. [Xu] gave an overall exposition of the general task of the new historical period put forward in the report and the key ingredients of the report's six parts, pointing out that this report is the correct program for comprehensively opening up a new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization.

In his fourth part, he said the new party constitution passed by the congress is the most complete party constitution in the history of our party. This new party constitution makes even stricter requirements on our party members, party-member cadres, and the party's basic-level organizations. It makes certain important changes in the party's organizational system and it provides even more complete and more concrete prescriptions on democratic centralism and party discipline. It is the correct program for party construction in the new era.

In relaying his fifth part, he said this congress asserted its farsightedness and triumphantly realized the tasks of the old and new comrades of the central leading organs in cooperating with each other and taking over responsibilities from each other. This is a great undertaking that relates to the long-term order and security of our state and the furthering of our communist cause from generation to generation. In the new leading organs there are both long-tested old comrades who remain as pillars and a contingent of comrades in their prime who have been added as reinforcements. In this way, the realization of the principles and tasks put forth by the 12th Party Congress is given its important guarantee organizationally.

When he relayed the contents of his sixth part, he said the main indicator for the realization of the tasks of the congress is to bring about during the next 5 years the "three fundamental turns for the better." At present, we must quickly implement the four tasks that Comrade Hu Yaobang put forth at the First Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee.

Comrades Wang Guangzhong [3769 0342 0022] and Zhu Chuan [2612 1557], respectively relayed Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech at the First Plenary Session, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech at the Central Advisory Committee, and Comrade Chen Yun's speech at the central Discipline Inspection Committee.

Finally, Comrade Li Huang made a concrete request for party members and cadres of organs under the direct jurisdiction of the province to study the 12th Party Congress documents, stressing that leading cadres at various levels must take the lead in studying the spirit of the documents well. Following the arrangements made by the central headquarters, in the first stage we must peruse these documents, understand their spirit thoroughly, master their essence, and in the course of our study we may keep in mind our actual situation and launch discussions and necessary criticism and self-criticism. The methods of our study must be flexible and diverse, with emphasis placed on practical efficiency. We must especially strengthen our leadership over this study of the documents of the 12th Party Congress, and supervise and inspect such study at fixed intervals, so as to make the spirit of the 12th Party Congress really become known to each household.

9255
CSO: 4005/53

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY OFFICIALS PUNISHED FOR ELECTION IRREGULARITIES

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 22 Sep 82 p 1

[Report: "Incident of Sabotage of Elections at Meeting of Party Representatives in Feixiang County Has Now Been Solemnly Adjudicated; the 10 Instigators, Directors, and Participants in This Incident--Lu Guotai [6424 0948 1132], Li Molin [2621 1075 2651], Zhao Xiangsheng [6392 4161 3932], Wang Haibo [3769 3189 3134], et al--Have Been Punished According to Party Discipline and Administrative Discipline"]

[Text] XINHUA NEWS AGENCY reporters Guo Jie [6753 3381] and Zhao Deren [6392 1795 3387] report: The incident of sabotage of elections at the party representatives' meeting in Feixiang County [Handan Prefecture], Hebei Province, has been solemnly adjudicated. The 10 instigators, directors, and participants in this incident, Lu Guotai, Li Molin, Zhao Xiangsheng, Wang Haibo, and the others, have recently been punished according to party discipline and administrative discipline.

In January of this year, when Feixiang County held its third meeting of party representatives, there occurred a serious political incident of sabotage of democratic elections. Under the care of leading comrades of the Party Central Committee, the Hebei Provincial Party Committee and the Handan Prefectural Party Committee undertook to conduct a penetrating investigation of this incident. The provincial party committee also had the results of the elections in question declared null and void in April of this year, restored to office the original county party committee secretary, Chen Wei [7115 5588], and appointed a new leading group for the county party committee. According to what the Hebei Provincial Party Committee and the Handan Prefectural Party Committee have found out, the instigators and directors of this incident are a bunch of people with serious factionalist thinking and individual ambitions. For the purpose of seizing power in the county party committee, they banded together certain people who had made mistakes during the "Cultural Revolution" or who, because of their unhealthy practices, had been punished and were attempting to make private gains. By adopting the illegal methods of the "Cultural Revolution" period, such as clandestinely seeking to connive with each other, putting up big-character posters, passing out handbills, spreading rumors, and framing others, they squeezed out responsible comrades of the county party committee who had been implementing the party's line since the Third Plenary Session of its 11th Central Committee.

The leading party and government organs in Handan Prefecture recently convened a general meeting in Feixiang County to announce that the following punishments had been meted out to the four instigators and directors of this serious political incident: County Governor Lu Guotai, dismissal from party mem-ership and dismissal from public office, but retained on the job for the time being; Deputy County Governor Li Molin, dismissal from party membership and removal from his administrative job; Zhao Xiangsheng, deputy secretary of the county party committee and deputy county governor, retention in the party for a 2-year period of observation, and removal from his administrative job; Wang Haibo, deputy manager of the cotton and hemp company of the county's supply and distribution cooperative, dismisaal from party membership and removal from his administrative job. The general meeting at the same time announced the following punishments meted out to the [other] six participants: Li Xifeng [2621 1585 7685], director of the county's financial committee office, dismissal from party membership and dismissal from public office, but retained on the job; Liu Yuyin [0491 3768 0603], secretary of Jiudian Commune, retention in party for a 1-year period of observation for the time being; Wang Shuqin [3769 2579 0530], chief of the electricity bureau, and Li Xianghe [2621 4161 3109], deputy director of the county's economic commission, removal from offices within and outside the party; Liu Tong [0491 2717], secretary of Dongzhangbao Commune, and Li Fengbin [2621 7685 1755], secretary of the Daxigao Commune, serious intraparty warning. Apart from these, active participants Li Zhengxiang [2621 2973 4382] and Li Jinzhang [2621 6855 4545], because of their initiative in telling of their problems, exemption from punishment.

Those who attended this general meeting included a total of over 1,000 persons, such as party members and cadres or organs under the direct jurisdiction of Feixiang County and various communes, as well as responsible persons of counties and departments under the direct jurisdiction of the prefecture in Handan Prefecture. In his talk, the responsible person of the Handan Prefectural CPC Committee stressed the need to take this incident as an instructional material on negative examples, to sum up experiences and lessons, and to follow the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and the uniform demployment of the Party Central Committee, in or-er to rectify and do a good job of building party organizations at various levels. He pointed out that the Party Central Committee's principle of not promoting the "three kinds of people"--those who rose during the period of the "Cultural Revolution" by following Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and their ilk in rebellion; those with serious factionalist thinking; and those who beat, smashed, and looted--and those who are opposed to the Party Central Committee's line since its Third Plenary Session, as well as those in the economic realm and other areas who seriously violated law and discipline, is entirely correct. If these kinds of people are in power, once they see an opportunity to seize, they will immediately jump forward to raise winds and waves and thereby threaten the party's cause. Only by resolutely pulling thses people down from leadership posts can we really guarantee the implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies.

9255
CSO: 4005/47

PARTY AND STATE

COUNTY COMMITTEE EDUCATES PARTY MEMBERS IN PARTY'S AIMS, PRINCIPLES

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "Education in the [Basic] Aims of the Party Carried Out, Specifically Aimed at the Actual Ideological Situation of Party Members"]

[Text] The Suqian County Committee of the CPC, in the course of its stepping up the party's ideological construction, gave prominence to the subject of education in the basic aims of the party, and caused to appear among the county's 30,000 party members a good atmosphere of taking being roused to revolutionary enthusiasm as a standard and being brave in taking on heavy burdens and striving to be more advanced.

Since the Third Plenum, the Suqian County Committee has placed great emphasis on the work of educating party members: They, adopting the methods of training people within the county, looking after people at the commune level, and helping people at the brigade level, have enabled each of the party branches of the 471 rural production brigades throughout the county to have an instructor specializing in party education. The 171 party branches of the organizations directly affiliated with the county have also been allotted 156 instructors in party education. The proportion of basic-level party organizations whose members attend over eight of these party classes per year has already reached over 80 percent. But what can we do to enable the education of party members to have a more definite objective? Over the last 2 years, the county committee has also organized concerned personnel and investigated, one after the other, the ideological situation of party members over 10 units such as the county's Xinhua bookstore and Suhuang brigade of the Nancai Commune, and discovered that one of the conspicuous problems among grassroots-level party members is that they do not know how to deal correctly with the relationships among individual, collective, and national advantage. Some party members fear only that the individual will be at a disadvantage, and forget the party's advantage, with the result that their determination is weakened, and their morale uninspired, seriously weakening the party's combat effectiveness. In order to change this circumstance, the Suqian County Committee guided the various levels of party organization throughout the county in sharply pinpointing this subject of the basic aims of the party and, closely tying in the thinking relating to the various kinds of "being at a disadvantage," launching a program of educating party members, which achieved excellent results, as follows:

1. They eliminated the thinking that held that "the individual party member is at a disadvantage," and helped to maintain the advanced nature of communist party members. In the course of implementing the various policies affecting rural areas, some party members considered that in being party members they would have to play a leading role, but in so doing they would be binding their own hands and feet as far as being able to increase their own wealth was concerned, and so be at a disadvantage, so that some of them did not even want to participate in organizational activities. Aiming specifically at this circumstance, the basic-level party organizations of Suqian County universally inaugurated party classes in the topics of "Why should one join the party?" and "How can we maintain the advanced nature of communist party members?," educating party members in how to deal correctly with the relationship between individual advantage and the advantage of the masses. During this year's June planting season in Suqian County, water for agricultural use was in extremely scarce supply owing to the long period of drought, causing serious difficulties with regard to the county's 750 mu of paddy rice that needed to be planted. The Suqian County Committee then carried out a program of education of all party members, centering on the problem of the water needed for agricultural use, in the topics of the public good coming before private interests and the masses' interests coming before one's own, causing many party members to take the lead in allowing the masses to have priority over themselves in the utilization of water. The fields under the responsibility of the secretaries of the party branches of the Miaoxu, Huayuan and Oumiao production brigades of Wangguanji Commune, relying on the circumstances that their water source was the closest, and their irrigation process the slowest, all planted 2 or 3 days later than the masses. Wu Yuanxiang, an old party member of the third team of the seedling dyke production brigade, managed the water so as not to use it first, and only after fully irrigating all of the fields under the responsibility of the production brigade's more than 80 households did he finally take his own turn. A good many party members said: We are willing to undergo things that cause us to be at a disadvantage, and in having things come easy we will yield to others."

2. They eliminated the thinking that "cadres are at a disadvantage," and strengthened their sense of responsibility for serving the people. After the new systems of production responsibility were put into effect, some cadres only paid attention to the fields which their own families were responsible for. The various levels of party organization of Suqian County, aside from utilizing party classes and carrying out regular education of these party members, also got a firm hold on conspicuous manifestations happening during a certain period, and concentrated on solving this ideological question. During this year's period of the "four summer," in the party committee of Luji Commune it happened that a good many cadres of production brigades watched closely the fields that their own families were responsible for, and were never seen among the teams that were divided up to do the rest of the work; and the cadres, after being criticized separately, thought to resign their posts and not work as cadres anymore. The party committee of the commune twice convened a meeting of cadres and educated them in the two areas of the basic aims of the party and socialist principles of distribution. At the same time, they praised the advanced accomplishments of a number of cadres who single-mindedly did a good job of "four summer" work on behalf of the collective. Hence, they enabled everyone to accept the education, persevere in the basic aims of the party, and conscientiously give first priority to doing a good job of their work.

3. They eliminated the thinking that "to be advanced is to be at a disadvantage," and established a good atmosphere of taking pride in making as much of a contribution as possible. In order to bring about a complete change in this unhealthy circumstance of the disparagement and isolation of those who try to be more advanced, the Suqian County Committee took a clear stand with respect to upholding righteousness and dispelling evil within the party. At the same time, party members of units that were more advanced in party education dealt correctly with the question of striving to be more advanced. Since last summer, the county people's market has attended, one after the other, national, provincial, and prefecture-level meetings, of high repute and characterized by heavy pressure, for the exchange of experience relating to the five things to be stressed and the "four beautifuls." In carrying out this task at the beginning of this year, a minority of party members considered that for higher-level cadres to have to participate in this task was an example of "whipping a fast ox," and that being advanced was really too much of a burden. As soon as this kind of thinking reared its head, the party branch of the people's market utilized the example of the accomplishments of Xia Renhui, a communist party member in that unit's hardware and switch market who on his own initiative sought to apply more pressure on himself, and ceaselessly strove to reach greater heights; educated the party members to keep firmly in mind that they are the vanguard warriors of the proletariat; and aroused everyone with enthusiasm to strive to be more advanced. By the period ending in May, the entire shop had already completed its sales quota and compared with the same period last year exceeded its quota by 250,000 yuan, amounting to 49.5 percent of the year's sales plan; the amount of profit realized was over 90,000 yuan more than for the same period last year, amounting to 52 percent of the total year's plan. They attended the provincial conference of model workers and advanced representatives, and were commended by the provincial government. (Reporting station of the county committee's propaganda branch)

9634
CSO: 4005/1076

PARTY AND STATE

EIGHTH IN SERIES ON REVISED PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW011409 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 24 Oct 82

[Eighth in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress:.. "How To Correctly Understand Class Struggle in our Country at the Present Stage"--by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The new party constitutions points out in its general program: After the elimination of the exploiting classes as such, most of the contradictions in Chinese society do not have the nature of class struggle, and class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction. However, owing to domestic circumstances and foreign influences, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time, and may even sharpen under certain limits for a long time, and may even sharpen under certain conditions.

This is our party's basic viewpoint on class struggle at the present stage. Why do we say that after the elimination of the exploiting classes as such, most of the contradictions in Chinese society do not have the nature of class struggle, and class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction?

As we know, the position of class struggle in society changes with the changes in the balance of class forces and the principal contradiction under different historical conditions. It was correct to take class struggle as the principal contradictions before the completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in our country. In the early period after the founding of the People's Republic, the remnant forces of the three enemies--imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism--were still quite strong. The bourgeoisie still existed as an exploiting class, and they still controlled the means of production with which to exploit the people. In the rural areas, land reform was still in progress, and landlords, local tyrants, bandits, key members of reactionary secret societies and so forth were still making trouble. U.S. imperialism was then starting the war of aggression against Korea and spreading the flames of war to Northeast China. It also sent its 7th Fleet to blockade our coastal areas. Working in concert with China's domestic reactionary forces, U.S. imperialism vainly attempted to subvert our newborn people's political power. At that time, class struggle was indeed the principal contradiction in Chinese society; it was very acute, and it dominated our social life as a whole.

In 1952, in accordance with Comrade Mao Zedong's suggestion, the party Central Committee set forth the general line for the transition period: Bring about, step by step and over a fairly long period, the socialist industrialization of China and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce by the state. During the period of socialist transformation, the revolutionary task of the proletariat in China was to abolish the capitalist exploiting system and private ownership of the means of production and to establish a socialist economic system based on public ownership. Therefore, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie remained the principal contradiction in Chinese society.

After completing in the main the socialist transformation, the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes were basically eliminated as classes. Therefore, class struggle in our country changed fundamentally in form and content, and the principal contradiction in society changed in a fundamental way. The Eighth CPC National Congress held in September 1956 declared that the socialist system had been basically established in China; that while we must strive to liberate Taiwan, thoroughly complete socialist transformation, ultimately eliminate the system of exploitation and continue to wipe out the remnant forces of counterrevolution, the principal contradiction within the country was no longer the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie; and that although class struggle still existed and the people's democratic dictatorship had to be further strengthened, the basic task of the dictatorship was now to protect the productive forces in the context of the new relations of production.

The analysis and exposition by the Eighth CPC National Congress on the class situation, class struggle and principal contradiction in our country at that time were absolutely correct. However, owing to various complicated social and political reasons, our party failed to persist in using this correct principle to guide our work following the eighth party congress.

Many contradictions which did not have the nature of class struggle were handled as class struggle, and many contradictions among the people themselves were handled as contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. As a result, class struggle was seriously enlarged in scale, and it finally developed into looking for bourgeoisie within the party, setting off a so-called great political revolution in which one class was to be overthrown by another—the historic tragedy known as the Cultural Revolution.

Based on this lesson, the 3d plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee resolutely stopped following the principle of taking class struggle as the key link. Since then, a great deal of work has been done to set things right in both the guiding ideology and actual work, and the situation of stability and unity has been enhanced.

The 12th CPC National Congress summed up historical experiences and lessons, analyzed the present state of class struggle in China and put forward the basic viewpoint and principle for correctly understanding and handling class struggle. It pointed out that most of the contradictions in Chinese society do not have the nature of class struggle, and that class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction.

Who, then, are the hostile elements who deliberately sabotage and attempt to overthrow the socialist system as referred to by the new party constitution? These hostile elements are mainly: 1. New and old counterrevolutionaries and enemy agents; 2. Remaining elements of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques; 3. Criminals serious disrupting socialist order; 4. New exploiters engaged in graft, embezzlement, speculation, windling, smuggling and selling contraband goods; and 5. A few old exploiters still engaged in sabotage activities.

These hostile elements are using every opportunity to carry out all kinds of economic, political, cultural and other social activities hostile to and undermining the socialist system. Their interests are fundamentally opposed to the interests of the masses of the people. Therefore, the struggle of the masses of the people against them remains a kind of class struggle.

On the other hand, we should also see that although sometimes these hostile elements are quite active, and we must not underestimate their influence, under normal circumstances it is no longer possible for them to form an open and complete class, and the people's democratic dictatorship does not permit them to form or unite into a unified political group. Their activities are illegal and constantly exposed, sanctioned and attacked by the people.

Why does the new party constitution say that this struggle will exist for a long time? This is because: 1. The pernicious influence of past exploiting system and exploiting classes in various spheres cannot possibly be eradicated in a short period. 2. The great cause of the motherland's reunification has not been accomplished; we are still in a complicated international environment; and imperialist forces and certain forces hostile to our socialist cause will still attempt to erode and undermine our country. 3. Our country is still rather backward economically and culturally; our young socialist system is still imperfect in many ways; and it is still impossible for us to completely prevent some members of society and some party members from becoming corrupted and degenerated and to prevent the emergence of a few exploiters and hostile elements of various kinds.

Therefore, we must prepare ourselves mentally for a long-term struggle, see to it that the state of the people's democratic dictatorship exercises its functions of dictatorship over the enemies, and uphold the Marxist class viewpoint in analyzing and handling the current social contradictions and other social phenomena that have the nature of class struggle.

CSO: 4005/129

PARTY AND STATE

9TH, 10TH IN SERIES ON NEW CPC CONSTITUTION

OW011421 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 25 Oct 82

[Ninth and 10th in a series of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress: "What is the Principal Contradiction in Chinese Society at the Present Stage" and "What Is Party's General Task at the Present Stage?"—prepared by General Section of the Research Office of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] Ninth Question: What is the principal contradiction in Chinese society at the present stage?

The general program of the new party constitution states that the principal contradiction in Chinese society at the present stage is that between the people's growing material and cultural needs and the backwardness of our social production. This corrects the mistake contained in the party constitutions adopted by the 9th, 10th and 11th party congresses which said that class struggle is the principal contradiction in our socialist soicety with economic construction being subordinate to class struggle.

With the basic completion of the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production, the main obstacle to the development of social production has been removed and the principal task facing the socialist society is to gradually meet the people's rapidly growing material and cultural needs.

The strenghtening and development of any type of society depends on the development of productive forces. With the main obstacle to the development of the productive forces removed, we must continuously strengthen and develop the socialist system by concentrating all our efforts on economic construction and creating a labor productivity surpassing that of capitalist society in order to build our socialism on a solid material foundation.

We started building our socialism on a very backward economic and cultural foundation. Besides, mistakes have been made in our work over many years. The contradiction between the people's rapidly growing material and cultural needs and the inability of social production to satisfy these needs becomes more outstanding. The new party constitution specifically states that this is the principal contradiction in our soicety at the present stage.

Tenth Question: What is the general task of the party at the present stage?

The new party constitution clearly states that the general task of the party is to unite the people of all nationalities in working hard and self-reliantly to achieve step by step the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology and to make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country. The general task set forth in the party constitution specifies three fields of work: 1) socialist modernization of economy; 2) building of socialist spiritual civilization; and 3) socialist democracy. The focus is on economic construction.

In socialist modernization of economy, the new party constitution states that the stragegic goal is to strive to quadruple the total industrial and agricultural output value in the 20 years from 1981 to 2000; the strategic emphasis is to satisfactorily solve agricultural, energy, transport, educational and science problems; the strategic steps are to lay a good foundation and create favorable conditions through all-out efforts in the first decade and to bring about an all-round upsurge of economy and enter a new economic rejuvenation period in the second decade.

Socialist spiritual civilization, socialist democracy and material civilization are all components of the general task, none of them is dispensable.

To accomplish the party's general task at the present stage, it is imperative to unite the people of all nationalities to work hard and self-reliantly. Comrade Deng Xiaoping incisively pointed out in his opening speech at the 12th CPC National Congres: "China's affairs should be run in our own way by our own efforts. Independence and self-reliance have always been and will forever be our basic stand." In our socialist modernization campaign, we must proceed from China's practical condition. We do not neglect the necessity to learn from the experiences of foreign countries, yet we will not mechanically copy their experiences and models. Integrating the universal Marxist truth with the practical conditions of China, we take our own road to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. This is the fundamental conclusion drawn after summing up our historical experiences over a long period. This is the important principle governing our socialist modernization.

We believe that with the unswerving efforts of the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities of the whole country, we will no doubt victoriously fulfill the party's general task at the present time.

CSO: 4005/129

PARTY AND STATE

ELEVENTH IN SERIES ON NEW CPC CONSTITUTION

OW020537 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 24 Oct 82

[Eleventh in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress: "Why Is It Necessary To Build High-level Socialist Spiritual Civilization While Building High-level Material Civilization?"--by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The general program of the new party constitution states that the CPC leads the people, as they work for a high level of material civilization, in building a high level of socialist civilization. What is material civilization? What is spiritual civilization? Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the 12th CPC National Congress: The transformation of nature results in material civilization. In the process of transforming the objective world, people also transform their subjective world, and the production of spiritual value and the spiritual life of society also develop. The latter achievement is what we call spiritual civilization. What does socialist spiritual civilization consist of? Roughly speaking, socialist spiritual civilization consists of two aspects, the cultural and ideological. The cultural aspect refers to the development of undertakings such as education, science, art and literature, the press and publication, radio broadcasting and television, public health and physical culture, and libraries and museums, as well as the raising of the general knowledge of the people. The ideological aspect, on the other hand, refers to the development of the working class' Marxist world outlook, scientific theories and the communist ideals, conviction and moral integrity.

Why is it necessary to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization, while working for a high level of socialist material civilization? We can discuss this question in the light of the following three points:

1. The civilization of mankind is the crystalization of material and spiritual civilization. Material civilization of spiritual civilization, which is essential in developing material civilization, especially in a socialist society where spiritual and material civilizations permeate and promote each other. Thus, the development of culture, education and science will be impeded if the economy remains undeveloped. Our mental outlook and the building of socialist moral integrity will also be harrassed by the backward state

of economic affairs. The goal of building material civilization cannot be accomplished without spiritual civilization.

2. Only by stepping up the building of spiritual civilization can we develop material civilization. It is difficult for a country to realize modernization if science and culture are not developed. Cultural building therefore is an important prerequisite, both for the building of material civilization and for the raising of people's political consciousness and moral standards.

As a whole, our country is still very backward in science and culture. In industrial departments, the number of technical personnel constitutes only 2.8 percent of the total number of workers and staff. In enterprises, 80 percent of the workers and staff do not have basic scientific knowledge. The use of manual labor is still very common in some industrial and mining enterprises. Illiteracy and semi-illiteracy prevail in the rural areas, especially in remote areas, where scientific and technical personnel are noticeably lacking, and where primitive means, such as oxen and plows, are still being used to do farm work. All this naturally affects the building of material civilization. If we are to accelerate the building of material civilization, we have to continuously expand and develop science, culture and education and to raise the scientific and technical level of the whole nation in order to attain the goal.

As mentioned above, another important aspect of socialist spiritual civilization is ideological building, as it determine the socialist of the spiritual civilization and plays a tremendous motivating role in the building of material civilization.

3. Only be strengthening the building of spiritual civilization can we be sure that modernization will move toward a socialist orientation. Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the 12th CPC National Congress: If the great task of building a socialist spiritual civilization, guided by communist ideology, is over-looked, people will fall into a one-sided understanding of socialism and direct their attention exclusively to the building of material civilization or even only to the pursuit of material gain. In that case, we will not be able to safeguard the socialist orientation of China's modernization and our socialist society will lose its ideals and objectives, its spiritual motivation and fighting will, lose the ability to resist the inroads of corrupt influence and even develop distortedly and degenerately. Comrade Hu Yaobang continued: This is not just alarming talk, but a conclusion drawn from the present realities at home and abroad.

The historic experience of socialism and the actual prevailing conditions in our country remind us that, while stepping up the building of material civilization, it is necessary to also step up the building of spiritual civilization, as this has a bearing on the rise or fall and success or failure of socialism. But some comrades held that, since our present material conditions were so poor, we could not currently build spiritual civilization and that it was not too late to start when our economic foundation improved and material conditions were good. This is a wrong attitude.

Therefore, even if material conditions are still backward, we must continue to carry out education on communist ideology among the people. By so advocating, we are not saying that the spirit is all-powerful. Engels once said: An economically backward country can still play first violin philosophically. Germany in the mid-19th century and Russia at the end of the 19th century, though economically poor, were the birthplaces of Marxism and Leninism respectively. During the war of resistance against Japan, in spite of the fact that the economic conditions in Yanan and other anti-Japanese bases, then under our party's control, were poor, the Yanan spirit was known to the whole world. Furthermore, economic conditions in the early part of the 1950's and 1960's were no better than they are today, yet the fine social atmosphere at that time was highly praised by the people of many countries in the world.

Some comrades currently still do not grasp the far-reaching significance and importance of the building of socialist spiritual civilization. They hold and it is no concern of their, that the building of spiritual civilization is a task for the political and propaganda department, and that people engaged in economic work should be excused from performing this task. The building of socialist spiritual and material civilization, in fact, is a strategic goal which the whole party and the people throughout the country should strive to reach. In production, we must not only have to turn out more and better material products, but must also bring up generation after generation of socialist new persons. Each and every working person should be a builder of socialist spiritual civilization. Party members must set an example by their own deeds, to inspire more and more people to becoming working people with lofty ideals, moral integrity, education and a sense of discipline.

CSO: 4005/129

PARTY AND STATE

12TH, 13TH IN SERIES ON NEW CPC CONSTITUTION

OW021213 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 27 Oct 82

[Twelfth and 13th in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress: "Why Is It Necessary To Attain a High Level of Socialist Democracy?" and "What are the Basic Aspects of the Party's Policy on Nationalities?"--by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 12th Question: Why is it necessary to attain a high level of socialist democracy?

Attaining a high level of socialist democracy is an important aspect of the general task of our party at the present stage. The general program of the new party constitution states: The Communist Party of China leads the people im promoting socialist democracy, perfecting the socialist legal system and consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship.

Only by attaining a high level of socialist democracy will it be possible to develop in all fields of endeavor in keeping with the people's will, interests and needs and to exercise effective dictatorship over a handful of hostile elements and guarantee smooth progress in socialist construction.

Exactly for this reason, the party has consistently strived to promote socialist democracy and improve the socialist legal system since the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee. The 12th party congress in more clear-cut terms made attaining a high level of democracy a fighting goal and an important part of the general task of the party in the new historical period.

We must closely link the building of socialist democracy with that of the socialist legal system so that socialist democracy will be institutionalized and codified into laws. Only in this way can democracy be enhanced. Since the downfall of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, we have enacted a series of important laws including the criminal law, the criminal procedure law, the draft civil procedure law for trial implementation, the election law and the new marriage law. We have also drawn up a draft revised constitution, which will soon be submitted to the National People's Congress for discussion and adoption. This shows that a great deal has been achieved in building up our legal system.

To promote socialist democracy and perfect the socialist legal system, the key lies in the party's own building and the party leadership. The party's past experience and lessons have shown that whether there is sound inner-party political life after the party has won nationwide political power has a direct bearing and decisive effect on the building of democracy and the legal system of the country as a whole. If the principle of democracy and the legal system of the country as a whole. [sentence as received] If the principle of democratic centralism within the party had not been disrupted, the decade of nationwide turmoil would not have happened. Therefore, in the course of promoting socialist democracy. the party must first perfect the system of democratic centralism, give full scope to inner-party democracy and achieve a high degree of centralization on the basis of democracy.

In improving the socialist legal system, the party will continue to lead the people in making and improving various laws, strengthen its leadership over the work of public security, the procuratorate and the judiciary and insure in every way that these departments strictly enforce the laws. Moreover, through our publicity work we should repeatedly educate the whole people in the importance of the legal system. In particular, party members should be educated and urged to take the lead in observing the constitution and laws and acting strictly according to law. Only in this way can we speed up the development of socialist democracy and the building of the socialist legal system.

The 13th Question: What are the basic aspects of the party's policy on nationalities?

The general program of the new party constitution stipulates: The Communist Party of China upholds and promotes relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance among all nationalities in the country, persists in the policy of regional autonomy of minority nationalities, aids the areas inhabited by minority nationalities in their economic and cultural development, and actively trains and promotes cadres from among the minority nationalities.

This is the important principle and policy which the party has consistently adhered to in solving nationality issues in the country.

First, the party upholds and promotes relations or equality, unity and mutual assistance among all nationalities in the country. This is a matter of fundamental importance concerning the unity of the motherland and the common prosperity of all our nationalities. However, under the long influence of left thinking and particularly the disruptive effects of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, the relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance among our nationalities were seriously damaged. Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee, the party Central Committee has done a great deal of work in setting things right in nationality issues, and the relations among our nationalities have taken on a completely new outlook. To further uphold and promote the existing relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance--this is an important policy our party must implement in the entire historical period of socialist construction.

Second, the party persists in the policy of regional autonomy of minority nationalities.

Since the founding of new China, 5 autonomous regions, 29 autonomous prefectures and 75 autonomous counties have been established in our country.

In implementing regional autonomy of minority nationalities, we must overcome and prevent two erroneous ideas. One is great nation chauvinism, primarily Han chauvinism. The other is local nationality chauvinism. Both are harmful.

Third, the party aids the minority nationalities in their economic and cultural development. Owing to historical events, the level of economic and cultural development is very uneven among our nationalities. Generally speaking, the economic and cultural level of the Han nationality is higher than the level of the minority nationalities. This difference in the level of economic and cultural development is the fundamental way to eliminate the actual inequality among nationalities and to promote common prosperity of all nationalities.

Fourth, the party actively trains and promotes cadres from among the minority nationalities. In a multinational country like ours, it is absolutely impossible to promote the great unity and common prosperity of all nationalities without a large number of cadres of minority nationalities with communist consciousness. In the more than 30 years since the founding of new China, the ranks of cadres of minority nationalities have grown rapidly. Most of the cadres of minority nationalities now in leading positions in organs of national autonomy in our country have been trained by the party since liberation. However, in number and quality, the present cadres of minority nationalities are far from meeting the requirements of further implementing the policy of regional national autonomy and of the modernization drive in national autonomous areas. From now on, we must make vigorous efforts to train in various ways cadres of minority nationalities. It is necessary to train not only leading party and government cadres but also cadres specializing in various scientific and technological fields. At the same time, we should continue to promote cadres of minority nationalities who have political integreity and ability to leading posts in national autonomous organs at various levels.

CSO: 4005/129

PARTY AND STATE

14TH, 15TH IN SERIES ON REVISED PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW022353 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 28 Oct 82

[Fourteenth and fifteenth in a series of questions and answers about the study of party constitution adopted by the 12th National Congress: "Why Is It Significant to Further Develop and Strengthen the Broadcast Possible Patriotic United Front?" And "What Is the Party's Basic Stand on International Affairs?" --by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 14th Question: Why is it significant to further develop and strengthen the broadest possible patriotic united front?

The general program of the new party constitution points out: The Communist Party of China unites with all workers, peasants and intellectuals, and with all democratic parties, nonparty democrats and the patriotic forces of all nationalities in China in further expanding and fortifying the broadest possible patriotic united front, embracing all socialist working people and all patriots who support socialism or who support the reunification of the motherland.

This is a major policy adopted by our party during the new historical period to turn China into a modern socialist nation.

During the new historical period to turn China into a modern socialist nation, the status of the working class has been greatly strengthened, peasants have already become collective peasants, and the overwhelming majority of intellectuals has become a part of the working people. People of various nationalities have already followed the socialist path. The capitalist class no longer exists as a class. The majority of those who belonged to the capitalist class have become a part of the workers, earning their own living. Various democratic parties have become a political force serving socialism. Our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and Cninese nationals residing abroad have further raised their awareness of patriotism. The united front has an even broader and more solid basis. Under this situation, our party must continue to adhere to the policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and the principle of "treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal and woe," and strengthen our cooperation with them. We must

do everything possible to strengthen the broadcast possible patriotic united front, embracing all socialist working people and all patriots who support socialism or who support the reunification of the motherland, including our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and Chinese nationals residing abroad. By further developing and strengthening the broadest possible patriotic united front, it will be possible for us to unite all forces that can be united and bring into full play all the positive factors to serve the general task in the new historical period.

To further develop and strengthen the broadcast possible patriotic united front is conducive to the return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland. The reunification of the motherland, including Taiwan, is one of the three major tasks of the Chinese people in the 1980's. Taiwan is the sacred territory of the motherland, and people in Taiwan are our own flesh and blood. However, Taiwan has been arbitrarily separated from the motherland since 1949. The reunification of the motherland will affect the future of our entire nation. It is our major task. The reunification of the motherland accords with the will of the people and the general trend of events. It is universally recognized that there is but one China in the world, and Taiwan is an inseparable part of China. A political situation characterized by stability and unity has prevailed in China. In 1979 and 1981, the NPC Standing Committee made public the guidelines and policy for the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the peaceful reunification of the motherland, winning warm support from the people of all nationalities throughout the country, including the compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and the Chinese nationals residing in foreign countries. An atmosphere favorable to peace talks has prevailed on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. The situation at home and abroad is extremely favorable for helping Taiwan return to the motherland by peaceful means and realizing the peaceful reunification of the motherland. By further developing and strengthening the broadest possible patriotic united front and uniting all patriots who support the reunification of the motherland, no matter to what class they belong, we will definitely be able to greatly develop and strengthen the patriotic forces for the reunification of the motherland, to crush the plots of the imperialist forces and the handful of reactionaries in Taiwan in vainly attempting to separate Taiwan from the motherland, and to fulfill the great task of the reunification of the motherland.

The 15th Question: What is the party's basic stand on international affairs?

In international affairs, the Communist Party of China takes its basic stand as follows:

1. It adheres to proletarian internationalism and firmly unites with the workers of all lands, with oppressed nations and peoples and with all peace-loving and justice-upholding organizations and personages in the common struggle against imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism and for the defense of world peace and the promotion of human progress.

Our party firmly believes that, as long as the peoples of the whole world truly unite as one and unswervingly wage their struggle, world peace can be safeguarded.

2. The Communist Party of China stands for the development of state relations between China and other countries on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual nonaggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefits, and peaceful existence.

Communist and socialism will definitely prevail in the whole world. This is the objective law of social development. However, Marxists believe that revolution cannot be exported but can occur only by the choice of the people of the country concerned. It is on the basis of this understanding that we have always abided by the five principles of peaceful coexistence. In the past 30 and more years, we have established diplomatic relations with 125 countries. With the friendly socialist countries of Korea, Romania and Yugoslavia, we maintain close cooperation and are steadily strengthening and developing ties of unity and friendship. China and many other developing countries in the Third World sympathize and support each other, and have enhanced their cooperation in all fields. We have maintained good relations with many Western nations over the years.

We will never allow other people to invade us. Nor will we violate others' sovereignty and territorial integrity. Now, some people in the world erroneously believe that China needs something from them and vainly expect China to swallow any bitter fruit detrimental to China's interests. Comrade Deng Xiaoping solemnly pointed out in his opening speech at the 12th CPC National Congress: "No foreign country can expect China to be its vassal. Nor can it expect China to swallow any bitter fruit detrimental to China's interests." This has fully demonstrated the principled stand of our country in developing its relations with foreign countries.

3. The Communist Party of China develops relations with communist and working-class parties in other countries on the basis of Marxism and the principles of independence, complete equality, mutual respect and noninterference in each other's internal affairs.

Our party believes: The communist parties of all countries are equal. Whether large or small, whether their history is long or short, whether they are in or out of power, they cannot be divided into superior and inferior parties.

We hold that all communist parties should respect each other. Being situated in different circumstances, all parties may have different views on the assessment of situations and on their own tasks. Their differences of opinion can only be resolved through friendly consultations and by patiently giving each other time. We must not judge a party's rights and wrongs on the basis of known formulated or fixed plans. We are in favor of all communist parties learning from each other's successes and failures. On the principles mentioned above, our party has maintained friendly relations with many other communist and working-class parties in other countries throughout the world and promoted the development of the international communist movement.

CSO: 4005/129

PARTY AND STATE

16TH IN SERIES ON REVISED PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW030750 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 29 Oct 82

[16th in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress: "How To Understand the Three Essential Requirements for Strengthening Party Building"--by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The general program of the new party constitution pointed out: In order to lead China's people of all nationalities in attaining the goal of socialist modernization, the CPC must strengthen itself, carry forward its fine traditions, enhance its fighting capacity and resolutely achieve the following essential requirements: First, a high degree of ideological and political unity; second, wholehearted service to the people; third, adherence to democratic centralism. These three aspects represent our party's main characteristics shaped by history and its fine traditions. They are also the essential requirements for strengthening party building under the new historical conditions. These essential requirements, spelling out the orientation for strengthening party building in a specific and concentrated manner, did not appear in past party constitutions.

First, a high degree of ideological and political unity. This requirement is the foundation of party solidarity and unity. It is also a guarantee for the party to fulfill all revolutionary and construction tasks. The general program of the new party constitution noted in this essential requirement that the CPC makes the realization devote their entire lives. This has a decisive influence on maintaining a high degree of ideological and political unity in the whole party. Our party must not only lead the working class and the people in the country to build socialism but must also struggle for the realization of communism. Only on this basic can our party maintain ideological unity act in unison in the protracted, complicated and arduous struggle to enhance its fighting capacity in effectively guarding against the sowing of discord and sabotage by the class enemy and in combating the erosion of bourgeois ideas. [as received] Only on this basis can we unite the broad masses more closely around the party to form a mighty revolutionary force in accomplishing the great undertaking. To preserve ideological and political unity in the party, it is necessary to uphold the four fundamental principles under the present stage. To achieve ideological unity, it is also necessary to uphold the party's ideological line of proceeding from reality in doing all things, of integrating theory with practice, or seeking truth from

facts and of verifying and developing truth through practice. If this ideological line is not upheld, it will be impossible to sum up historic experience in a scientific way and to oppose right and "left" erroneous influences in all forms, much less to ensure ideological and political unity in the party.

Two, wholehearted service to the people. This requirement represents the aim of the party. It emphasized first of all that the party must represent the fundamental interests of the broad masses of the people. It therefore called on our party members and cadres to correctly implement the party's programs and policies. It also called on party members to always share weal and woe with the people, keep in closest contact with them, and not to allow any member to become divorced from the masses or to place himself above them. By wholehearted service to the people, we mean that it is necessary to uphold the mass line and do everything for, and by relying on the masses so as to turn the correct party views into conscious mass action. Ours is an undertaking involving hundreds of millions of people. It is not a task that can be fulfilled by a handful of heroes or a few leaders without consulting all others. Only be relying on the masses can we overcome hardship and advance our cause.

Three, adherence to democratic centralism. Democratic centralism is our party's organizational principle. To uphold the principle of democratic centralism, it is necessary for us to fully develop democracy inside the party and to achieve a high level of centralism on the basis of democracy. Therefore, it can be said that both democracy and democratic centralism are important and inseparable. To uphold the principle of democratic centralism, it is necessary to strengthen organization and the sense of discipline, to correctly carry out criticism and self-criticism in the party's political life and to wage an ideological struggle over matters of principle in order to achieve the goal of adhering to the truth and rectifying mistakes. We must apply the principle that all members are equally subject to party discipline. The party duly criticizes or punishes those members who violate party discipline and expels those who persists in opposing and harming the party so as to purify the party organizations. If we can do all this, democratic centralism in our party will be greatly enhanced.

The three essential requirements for strengthening party building embodied in the general program of the new party constitution are organically linked with one another. A high degree of ideological and political unity is the foundation of party solidarity and unity. Wholehearted service to the people is our party's basic stand and aim. Adherence to democratic centralism is a sure guarantee for realizing the abovementioned two essential requirements. The three essential requirements stressed in the general program in the new party constitution are basically identical in spirit with regard to the three great styles of work summed up by our party in the past--integrating theory with practice, maintaining close contact with the masses and self-criticism. This spirit has also been developed and supplemented to become realistically important. Our party is now leading the people of all nationalities to engage in socialist modernization. This is a great undertaking never before engaged in by our predecessors. To ensure smooth progress in this undertaking, we must raise the quality of party members and enhance the righting capacity

of party organizations. The present state of affairs in the party organization is quite incompatible with the party's historic tasks; decentralism and liberalism remain serious in many party organizations where undemocratic practices and the party's aim, some party members and cadres used public office for private gain, enriched themselves at the expense of thepublic interest and ganged up in self-seeking pursuit. They also sought special privileges and did things through the back door. All these aroused mass opposition, thereby hampering the implementation of fighting capacity. To raise the quality of party members and to enhance the party's fighting capacity, therefore, it is essential to overcome the undesirable state of affairs mentioned above and to take steps to achieve ideological and political unity in the party, to foster the idea of providing wholehearted service to the people and serving them well, and to adhere to the principle of democratic centralism.

CSO: 4005/129

PARTY AND STATE

17TH, 18TH IN SERIES ON REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW031429 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 31 Oct 82

[17th and 18th in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th National Congress: "How Should We Correctly Understand and Bring into Full Play the Party's Role of Leadership?" and "Why Must the Party Carry out its Activities Within the Scope of the Constitution and the Law?"--by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] First, the 17th question: How should we correctly understand and bring into full play the party's role of leadership?

The CPC is the core of leadership in China's socialist cause. In the new period of carrying out socialist modernization centered on economic construction, the party's responsibility of leadership is even more important. Adherint to and improving the party's leadership and bringing into full play the party's role of leadership are the fundamental guarantees for building our country into a modern, highly civilized and highly democratic socialist country.

The general program of the new constitution clearly pointed out that the party's leadership consists mainly of political, ideological and organizational leadership, that the party must formulate and implement correct lines, principles and policies and perform well its organizational, propaganda and educational work and that it must bring into play the role of all party members as vanguards and models in all work and social life. This gives a clear answer to the question: What are the party's leadership and the necessary correct principles and methods for exercising the party's leadership?

The party's position of leadership in the country's political life decides that the party must exercise leadership over all non-party organizations and all aspects of work. However, the party is not an organization for issuing orders to the masses. The party's leadership over all non-party organizations and the masses of people consists mainly of political and ideological leadership, namely, leadership in correct political and ideolgoical lines and principles and policies.

The party's political and ideological leadership must be guaranteed by organizational leadership. To bring into play the party's role of organizational leadership, it is first of all necessary for the party to strengthen its own building and do a good job in educating, improving, managing and supervising the party members and in training, promoting, reassigning and managing cadres.

The party's leadership also relies on the party members' role as vanguards and models. Besides the resolute implementation by the party's organizations at all levels and the broad masses of party members, the correct lines, principles and policies formulated by the party must be extensively and penetratingly propagated and expounded among the broad masses. It is also necessary to influence and unite the masses with party members' model actions and turn the party's lines, principles and policies into the ideology and actions of the broad masses. This is an important condition for implementing the party's role of leadership.

To adhere to and improve the party's leadership in the new historical period, it is imperative to do a good job in solving the issue of the proper division of work among the party, the government and enterprise. It is necessary to see that our party is the vanguard of the working class and a party that leads a large country with a population of 1 billion. By no means should the party turn itself into an ordinary administrative office, a mass organization or a production unit. The party should stand at a higher level and take a more far-sighted view and strive to solve issues of an orientational and fundamental nature. Party organizations and the party's leading cadres should not, and cannot possibly, take up all heavy and concrete professional work.

The following is the 18th question: Why must the party carry out its activities within the scope of the constitution and the law?

The general program of the new party constitution clearly stipulated that the party must carry out its activities within the scope of the constitution and the law. This is an important principle which must be adhered to in strengthening party building and correctly bringing into play the party's role as the core in the country's political life. It is also a correct conclusion reached after summing up the tragic experiences in the Great Cultural Revolution. It is a content that has never appeared in the previous party constitutions.

Why must the party carry out its activities within the scope of the constitution and the law? The reasons for this are:

1. The constitution and the law were formulated by the highest organ of state power under the leadership of the party on the basis of fully developed democracy. They not only reflect the will and interests of the people throughout the country but also manifest the party's policy and proposition. They are vested with an extreme authority. The party has the obligation and duty to lead the people faithfully and seriously implement the constitution and law. It must first take the lead in implementing them in an exemplary manner. Meantime, the constitution and the law have the characteristics of being mandatorily implemented, and no organizations or individuals are allowed to violate them. Being a part of the people, the party is of course no exception.

2. The constitution and the law are the country's fundamental law and the norm for the people's conduct. They are a concentrated manifestation and concrete embodiment of the party's lines, principles and policies. Therefore, carrying out activities within the scope of the constitution and the law and adhering to the party's programs, lines, principles and policies are consistent with each other. If the party's activities run counter to the constitution and the law, it means that the party negates its own programs, lines, principles and policies.

3. Carrying out activities beyond the scope of the constitution and the law will inevitably bring harm to the party's cause and to the people's interests. During the Great Cultural Revolution, the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique instigated anarchism and unscrupulously destroyed state organs and party organizations, turning the constitution into a blank piece of paper, openly trampling on the law, depriving citizens of their right to personal safety, placing the entire society into a chaotic situation with no legal system and bringing a tremendous catastrophe to the people throughout the country. Such a lesson is really most impressive. Since the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, committee, the party has engaged in developing socialist democracy and perfecting socialist legal system and thus put an end to the above-mentioned extremely abnormal situation. However, because of the fact that the pernicious influence of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique has not been thoroughly eliminated, there still remains a considerable number of party members, including some responsible party cadres, who failed to fully understand the importance of building the legal system, and there still exist in some spheres situations in which laws either are not adhered to or are not strictly implemented, and situations in which laws have not been fully observed or carried out since their formulation. Such situations must be resolutely changed in accordance with the new party constitution.

As the socialist cause is advancing continously and the situation is changing incessantly, laws should also be perfected continously. If a certain stipulation under the law no longer suits the situation, or defects and shortcomings are discovered in such a stipulation, the party may make proposals and lead the organ of state power to revise it or formulate a new one through normal legal procedures. However, before the revision or formulation, such a stipulation shall not be violated.

CSO: 4005/129

PARTY AND STATE

19TH, 20TH IN SERIES ON REVISED CPC CONSTITUTION

OW042050 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 1 Nov 82

[Nineteenth and Twentieth in a series of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th National CPC Congress: "Who Can Apply for CPC Membership? What Are the Advanced Qualities of Communist Party Members as Vanguard Fighters of the Working Class?"--by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 19th question is: Who can apply for CPC membership?

Article 1 of the new party constitution stipulates: Any Chinese worker, peasant, member of the armed forces, intellectual or any other revolutionary who has reached the age of 18, accepts the party's program and constitution and is willing to join and work actively in one of the party organizations, carry out the party's decision and pay party membership dues regularly may apply for membership in the CPC.

In accordance with this stipulation, any Chinese workers, peasant, member of the armed forces, intellectual or any other revolutionary who applies for CPC membership must have the following qualifications:

1. One who applies for CPC membership must have reached or be above the age of 18. This is because people generally come of age after reaching the age of 18; only after reaching this age can they make relatively sound political judgment and have a definite political faith.

2. One who applies for CPC membership must accept the party's program and constitution. By accepting the party's program and constitution, it not only means orally accepting and supporting the party's program and constitution but, more importantly, having the determination to take action in implementing them.

3. One who applies for CPC membership must be willing to join and work actively in one of the party organizations and carry out the party's decisions. If party members do not join and work actively in one of the party organizations and carry out the party's decisions, the party would become a free, loose club, not an advanced, organized force of the proletariat. Only by upholding this principle can the party become a strong, organized fighting force which acts in unison.

4. One who applies for CPC membership must be willing to pay membership dues regularly. Paying membership dues is a reflection of a party member's concern for the party's cause and of his sense of party organization.

The 20th question is: What are the advanced qualities of Communist Party members as vanguard fighters of the working class?

Article 2 of the new party constitution stipulates: CPC members are vanguard fighters of the Chinese working class with communist consciousness.

Communist Party members, as vanguard fighters of the working class, must have a communist consciousness and their main advanced qualities are:

1. They have firm faith in communism. When admitted to the party, they took the oath that they would fight for communism throughout their lives. A Communist Party member must realize that the communist social system is the most ideal, reasonable and beautiful social system since the dawn of history, the inevitable outcome of social development. Firmly convinced that communism will be victorious, he must be determined to fight for communism throughout his life. At the same time, a Communist Party member should also understand that communism is a most difficult cause which can be accomplished only through a protracted struggle. Therefore, he must indomitably and heroically fight for the realization of communism.

2. They guide their actions with communist ideology. While making efforts to carry out their present tasks, Communist Party members must firmly keep the great communist goal in mind and link their present tasks with their ultimate goal. Building a modern socialist country at present is a necessary stage of communist development. Communist Party members must uphold the system of distribution according to work and other socialist systems in the economic field and social life. Moreover, Communist Party members must be more farsighted than others, firmly take a communist attitude toward labor and carry forward the communist spirit.

3. They play an exemplary vanguard role in production, work, study and social life. Communist Party members should go among the masses and serve the people wholeheartedly. They should be the first to bear hardship, the last to enjoy comforts and win the trust and support of the masses with actual deeds.

CSO: 4005/129

PARTY AND STATE

21ST, 23D IN SERIES ON PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW050021 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 2 Nov 82

[21st and 23d in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th party congress: "Why Should CPC Members Be at all Times Ordinary Members of the Working People? What Are Party Members' Rights as Prescribed in the new Party Constitution?"--by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 21st question is: Why should CPC members be at all times ordinary members of the working people?

Article 2 of the new party constitution stipulates that CPC members are at all times ordinary members of the working people. In view of the change in the status of the party since leading the government of the whole country, this is a warning to, and a requirement for, all party members. Before the victory of the revolution in our country, the main question Communist Party members considered was how to carry out their revolutionary struggle to overthrow reactionary rule and seize political power throughout the country. To win the victory of the revolution, communists at that time were ready to make any personal sacrifice, including their lives. Therefore, very few of them thought about their personal interests and rights. To mobilize and unite large numbers of working people to participate in the revolutionary struggle, most communists generally acted as ordinary members of the working people and shared weal and woe with the masses, thus forging close ties with the latter.

With the victory of the revolution in our country, our party won the status of leading the government of the whole country. The party enjoyed very high prestige among the masses. As a result of the change in the party's status, some party members are liable to have such wrong ideas and practices as claiming credit for themselves, becoming arrogant and not considering themselves ordinary people--wrong ideas and practices which separate them from the masses. At the same time, they also have various opportunities and conditions to profit at other people's expense. Particularly, many communists, who are in leading positions in the government, may seek personal gain or privileges in violation of the relevant regulations and policies and forget that they should be ordinary members of the working people.

In fact, there are indeed some Communist Party members who use various opportunities and conditions to seek special political privileges, special economic benefits and special treatment in daily life. For example, some Communist Party members abuse their powers to seek selfish interests for themselves or their relatives, to make arrangements for their children to work in units with favorable conditions or study in institutions of higher learning, to occupy more housing space than they should, and so on and so forth. Thus, they have separated themselves from the masses and become special citizens. Some of them have even become bureaucratic overlords, sitting on the backs of the people, thus seriously damaging the party's prestige and affecting its relations with the masses.

Therefore, the stipulation of the new party constitution that CPC members are at all times ordinary members of the working people is of great immediate significance and will produce far-reaching influence. This will prevent party members from separating themselves from the masses by requiring them to act at all times as ordinary members of the working people.

The 23d question is: What are party members' rights as prescribed in the new party constitution?

Article 4 of the new party constitution stipulates that party members enjoy the following 8 rights:

1. To attend pertinent party meetings and read pertinent party documents, and to benefit from the party's education and training.

2. To participate in discussion, at party meetings and in party newspapers and journals, of questions concerning the party's policies.

3. To make suggestions and proposals regarding the work of the party.

4. To make well-grounded criticism of any party organization or member at party meetings; to present information or charges against any party organization or member concerning violations of discipline and of the law to the party in a responsible way, and to demand disciplinary measures against such a member, or to demand the dismissal or replacement of any cadre who is incompetent.

5. To vote, elect and stand for election.

6. To attend, with the right of self-defense, discussion held by party organizations to decide on disciplinary measures to be taken against themselves or to appraise their work and behavior, while other party members may also bear witness or argue on their behalf.

7. In case of disagreement with a party decision or policy, to make reservations and present their views to party organizations at higher levels up to and including the Central Committee, provided that they resolutely carry out the decision or policy while it is in force.

8. To put forward any request, appeal or complaint to higher party organizations up to and including the Central Committee and ask the organizations concerned for a responsible reply.

The stipulations of the new party constitution regarding party members' rights are fuller and more comprehensive than those in all the previous party constitutions. As far as these stipulations are concerned, the new party constitution is different in three aspects from the party constitution adopted by the 11th party congress:

1. The new party constitution includes special clauses and explicit stipulations on party members' rights, while the party constitution adopted by the 11th party congress only mentions party members' certain rights in passing.

2. The new party constitution restores and develops the relevant stipulations in the party constitutions adopted by the seventh and eighth party congresses.

3. The new party constitution includes this new stipulation: No party organization, up to and including the Central Committee, has the right to deprive any party member of the abovementioned rights.

Thus, it is guaranteed that party members' rights will not be violated.

The stipulations of the new party constitution regarding party members' rights reflect the need to strengthen party building in the new historical period. Party organizations at all levels and all party members must clearly understand the significance of these stipualtions. Party organizations at all levels must respect party members' rights. Any encroachment on a party member's rights is a violation of the party constitution. Every party member must correctly exercise his rights and play a positive role in strengthening party building.

CSO: 4005/129

PARTY AND STATE

22D IN SERIES ON PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW050533 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 3 Nov 82

[22d in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th party congress: "What Are Party Members' Duties as Prescribed in the new Party Constitution?"--by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 22d question is: What are party members' duties as prescribed in the new party constitution?

Article 3 of the new party constitution stipulates 8 duties which party members must fulfill. The stipulations of the new party constitution regarding party members' duties make still higher and stricter demands on party members than those of all the previous party constitutions, and this is the greatest characteristics. It is manifested mainly in the following three aspects:

1. The new party constitution makes new demands on party members as required in promoting socialist modernization.

The general task of the party at the present stage is to unite the people of all nationalities in working hard and self-reliantly to achieve, step by step, the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology and make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country. To fulfill the general task, all party members must take the lead in implementing the party's line, principles and policies because this is of decisive significance to the development of the socialist cause.

Judging from the situation since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we find that some party members have not clearly understood the party's line, principles and policies, or have even resisted them. As a result, the party's line, principles and policies have not been implemented successfully. This is mainly because these party members have not studied well enough and their understanding has fallen behind the situation. Therefore, party members must seriously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. They must study the party's line, principles and policies and make efforts to heighten their political awareness and deepen their understanding of the party's policy.

In addition, to build a modern country and promote socialist modernization, we must rely on science and technology. It is necessary to greatly raise the scientific and cultural levels of the people in the whole country. People in all walks of life must specialize in certain professional knowledge and skills. As vanguards of the working class, Communist Party members must certainly first raise their own scientific and cultural levels and specialize in professional knowledge and skills.

At present, most of our party members are poorly educated, and their professional knowledge is inadequate. This hampers our socialist modernization. It is necessary to resolutely change this situation. Therefore, besides stipulating the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as in the previous party constitutions, the new party constitution adds to clause 1 under the article on party members' duties the demand to study the party's line, principles, policies and decisions and acquire general, scientific and professional knowledge.

To make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic modern socialist country is a Herculean task. We have faced, and will face, various difficulties and problems. Communist Party members must develop their indomitable spirit to lead the masses to advance. Therefore, clause 3 of the article on party members' duties includes the content of calling for party members to perseveringly execute the party's decisions.

2. The new party constitution makes strict demands on party members so as to thoroughly eliminate the serious consequences caused by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques' sabotage.

In the period of the "Cultural Revolution," the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques enormously spread extreme individualism and anarchism, fanned up factionalism, rabidly undermined the party's solidarity and unity, destroyed the party's normal practice and corrupted party style. After the struggle to expose and criticize the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and the efforts to eliminate chaos and restore order in all departments, we have strengthened the party's solidarity and unity, gradually restored the party's practice and remarkably changed party style for the better. However, their remnant pernicious influence has not been completely eliminated. There still exist factionalism, individualism, liberalism, anarchism and other erroneous ideas among some party members. They affect the unity of some party organizations, where unhealthy trends seriously prevail. Therefore, the new party constitution specifically stipulates under clause 4 of the article on party members' duties: To uphold the party's solidarity and unity, to firmly oppose factionalism and all factional organizations and small-group activities, and to oppose double-dealing and scheming of any kind. The new party constitution also calls for party members to match words with deeds and not to conceal their political views or distort facts under clause 5 and to take the lead in maintaining public order, promote new socialist ways and customs and advocate communist ethics under clause 7. These stipulations will help eliminate the serious consequences caused by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques' sabotage, further strengthen the party's solidarity and unity and thoroughly change party style for the better.

3. The new party constitution makes specific demands on party members in view of the situation in the party's leading the whole country's political power.

The previous party constitutions stipulated that party members fulfill their duties to serve the people wholeheartedly and maintain close ties with the masses, which has been included in the general program and article 2 of the new party constitution. While our party is in power, some Communist Party members forget to serve the people wholeheartedly, which is a party member's purpose. They do not know how to correctly handle the relationship between their personal interests and the interests of the party and the people. They even seek personal interests at the expense of the party's interests, and infringe upon the masses' rights and interests by exercising the power they hold and taking advantage of various opportunities and conditions.

Therefore, the new party constitution, under the article on party members' duties, stipulated: Party members should adhere to the principle that the interests of the party and the people stand above everything, subordinate their personal interests to the interests of the party and the people, be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comfort, work selflessly for the public interest, and absolutely never use public office for personal gain or benefit themselves at the expense of the public. Thus, the demand on party members to serve the people wholeheartedly becomes more specific, and there is no mistaking what the demand is aimed at.

In short, the new party constitution has much new content concerning party members' duties added to it. It makes specific stipulations particularly on strengthening study, maintaining the party's solidarity and unity and correctly handling the relationship between personal interests and the interests of the party and the masses and sets still higher and stricter demands. This is determined by the position which our party is in at the helm of the state and by the Herculean task facing our party. This is needed to strengthen party building and persistently improve party leadership in the new historical period.

CSO: 4005/129

PARTY AND STATE

24TH, 25TH IN SERIES ON NEW CPC CONSTITUTION

OW051347 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 4 Nov 82

[Twenth-fourth and 25th in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th party congress: "How To Develop New Party Members and What Should We Pay Attention to?" and "Why Is There a Probationary Period for Probationary Party Members and What Is the Significance of a Probationary Party Member Taking an Admission Oath in Front of the Party Flag?"--by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 24th question is: How to develop new party members and what should we pay attention to?

The CPC is the vanguard of the Chinese working class. To realize the communist social system it is necessary to persist in prolonged struggles.

In developing new party members, we must be active and careful in our work. Only by actively developing new party members can we replenish the party with fresh blood and augment its strength; and only by adopting a careful attitude in developing new party members can we ensure the quality of the members and maintain the purity of party organizations.

In developing new party members, we must strictly adhere to the proper procedures stipulated in the party constitution:

1. An applicant for party membership must fill in an application.

2. An applicant must be recommended by two full party members.

3. The party branch committee must examine the application.

4. The application must be discussed by a general membership meeting of the party branch committee.

5. The application must be approved by the next higher party organization.

6. A probationary party member who has been approved for admission into the party must take an admission oath in front of the party flag.

In developing new party members, we must pay attention to the following:

1. In developing new party members, it is essential to go through the party branch committee. The party constitution stipulates: Only under special circumstances does the CPC Central Committee or the party committee of a province, an autonomous region or a municipality directly under the central government have the power to admit new party members directly.

2. The principle of individual admission must be adhered to. New party members must not be admitted in groups because only by individual admission can we carefully examine and evaluate the applicant and only thus can we ensure that the applicant meets the necessary requirements.

3. It is essential that the requirements for party members be met and that the quality of party members be maintained. It is particularly important to ensure that those who are to be developed for admission into the party conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; unswervingly support the party's line, principles and policies since its third plenary session; assiduously study scientific, cultural and professional knowledge; set an exemplary role in production, work and other social activities; adhere to the principle that the interests of the party and the people stand above everything; resist corrosion by bourgeois ideas and the capitalist way of living; and are bold in fighting unhealthy tendencies and are determined to devote their whole life to the realization of communism.

4. In developing party members, the principle of collective discussion by the concerned party organizations must be adhered to. Developing party members is an important and solemn task. Party committees must hold meetings for collective discussion of applications. An application must not be approved by an individual or a minority of party committee members.

5. Unhealthy tendencies must be resolutely checked in developing party members. Since the pernicious influence of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique has not been completely eliminated, a handful of party organizations have violated the relevant principles in developing new party members. For instance, some party organizations have absorbed new party members under the criterion of factional affiliations or through personal favoritism. Some individual leaders of higher party organizations have arbitrarily instructed party branch committees to admit someone they have named. Some party organizations have even gone as far as using the title of party members as a commodity for trade. All these erroneous practices must be resolutely opposed and checked.

The 25th question is: Why is there a probationary period for probationary party members and what is the significance of a probationary party member taking an admission oath in front of the party flag?

Article 5 of the new party constitution stipulates: Those who have been approved for admission into the party must go through a probationary period before becoming a full party member.

During the probationary period, the probationary members are to be further educated and observed. Party organizations must organize the probationary party members to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, study the basic knowledge about the Communist Party and understand the party's line, principles and policies. They must also assign them jobs within the party and train them in work so as to enable them to master the key points of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; enhance their understanding of the party and its cause; deepen their comprehension of the party's programs, line, principles and policies; acquaint them with the guiding principles for inner-party political life; raise their consciousness; and establish in them the basic communist viewpoints such as on organization, labor and the masses and the materialistic viewpoint of seeking truth from facts. We must ensure that the probationary party members are admitted not only organizationally but also ideologically. Thus, we can ensure that the new party members meet the necessary requirements for admission and maintain their quality.

Party organizations should observe the probationary party members according to their performance in the party's organizational life and practical work. They must understand the probationary members' political character, their faithfulness to the party and its cause, whether they firmly support and carry out the party's line, principles and policies, whether they implement the party's resolutions, whether they submit themselves to job assignments, whether they abide by discipline, whether they perform the party members' duties and whether they are fully qualified as party members. To ensure the purity of party organizations, those who are found to be inferior in political character, speculators, doubledealers or other bad elements must be deprived of membership and expelled from the party according to the party's organizational principles and procedures.

The probationary period of a probationary member is one year. The probationary party member must not be shortened because a probationary party member cannot be adequately observed and educated if the probationary period is too short.

Article 6 of the new party constitution stipuates: A probationary party member must take an admission oath in front of the party flag.

The oath reads: It is my will to join the CPC, uphold the party's program, observe the provisions of the party constitution, fulfill a party member's duties, carry out the party's decisions, strictly observe party discipline, guard party secrets, be loyal to the party, work hard, fight for communism throughout my life, be ready at all times to sacrifice my all for the party and the people, and never betray the party.

The admission oath marks the beginning of a party member's political life and is an extremely solemn matter. Facts have shown that the admission oath ceremony is a form of party education for party members and also a form of self-education by party members. Through such education, every party member will bear firmly in mind the party's demand on him and will not forget his pledge. He will also raise his responsibility and conscientiousness for the cause of the party, strive to realize his pledge by deeds and dedicate his whole life to the realization of communism.
CSO: 4005/129

PARTY AND STATE

26TH, 27TH, 28TH IN SERIES ON CPC CONSTITUTION

OW090111 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 5 Nov 82

[Twenty-sixth, 27th and 28th in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 26th question is: What is the difference between a probationary member and a full member and how can a probationary member be transferred to full membership?

The difference between a probationary member and a full member in regular party activities is that a probationary member does not have the right to vote, elect or stand for election as a full member. This is because as a new member, a probationary member has achieved only preliminary understanding of the party and its line, principles and policies and he is not very familiar with the guiding principles of inner-party political life. A probationary member must therefore go through a period of familiarization and study as regard to the right to vote, elect or stand for election.

During the probationary period, a probationary member must accept the party's education and earnestly study Marxism-Leninsim and Mao Zedong Thought, steel himself in regular party activities, continuously raise his consciousness and boost his determination to dedicate his whole life to the cause of communism.

When the probationary period of a probationary member has expired, the probationary member must, on his own initiative, report to the party organization about the progress he has made in all aspects and express his determination to become a qualified member. The party branch concerned must promptly discuss whether he is qualified to be transferred to full membership. A probationary member who has conscientiously performed his duties and is qualified for membership should be transferred to full membership on schedule, or if continued observation and education are needed, the probationary period may be prolonged. If a probationary member has failed to perform his duties and is really found to be unqualified for membership, his probationary membership should be annulled. Any decision to transfer a probationary member to full membership or to annul a probationary membership must be made through discussion by the general membership meeting of the party branch concerned and approved by the next higher party organization.

The 27th question is: When is the probationary period of a probationary member started and how is the party standing of a member counted?

Article 7 of the new party constitution states that the probationary period ofa probationary member begins from the day the general membership meeting of the party branch admits him as a probationary member. The party standing of a member begins from the day he is transferred to full membership after the expiration of his probationary period.

Why is it that the party standing of a member is counted from the day he is transferred to full membe-ship instead of from the day he joints the party? This is because the party standing reflects a member's practical experience in inner-party life as well as in work. As a probationary member having no right to vote, elect or stand for election, the activities of a probationary member are restricted in innter-party life and work. For example, he can neither make decisions on certain party matters nor assume leading positions. Therefore, the new party constitution stipulates that the party standing of a member begins from the day he is transferred to full membership after the expiration of his probationary period.

The 28th question is: Why is it that every party member, irrespective of position, must be organized into a branch and must participate in regular party activities and accept supervision by the masses inside and outside the party?

The CPC is the vanguard of the working class with a strict sense of organization and discipline. This determines that every member must be organized into a party organization and must accept the supervision by the masses inside and outside the party. This is one of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism on party building. By organizing into a party branch, cell or other specific unit of the party, it means that members must take part in regular activities such as studying party documents, discussing party policies and work, recruiting party members, discussing mass opinion and demands, exchanging ideas, launching criticism and self-criticism and so forth. By so doing, every party member will be able to accept party education, help other members, strengthen his sense of organization and raise his ideological consciousness and political understanding. He can also express his views on party policies and put forth suggestions and proposals for improving the party's work. He can overcome his shortcomings under the supervision of the party and the masses inside and outside the party.

Therefore, article 8 of the new party constitution stipulates that every party member, irrespective of position, must be organized into a branch, cell or other specific unit of the party to participate in regular activities of party organizations and accept supervision by the masses inside and outside the party.

CSO: 4005/129

PARTY AND STATE

29TH, 30TH, 31ST IN SERIES ON CPC CONSTITUTION

OW090245 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 7 Nov 82

[Twenty-ninth, 30th and 31st in a series of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC Congress: "Why Is It That Party Members Are Free To Withdraw From the Party and How To Handle the Question of Withdrawal?" "What Kind of Persons Should Be Persuaded To Withdraw From the Party and What Is the Difference Between Persuading a Member To Withdraw From the Party and Expelling a Member From the Party?" and "What Are the Basic Principles of the Party's Democratic Centralism?"--by the General Section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 29th question is: Why is it that party members are free to withdraw from the party and how to handle the question of withdrawal?

Article 9 of the new party constitution stipulates: Party members are free to withdraw from the party. In other words, the party organization should allow a party member to withdraw if he no longer wishes to be a member. The reason for making this provision is because a person joins the party on a voluntary basis.

While party members are free to withdraw from the party, the party organization should not handle the withdrawal request in a summary fashion but should take the question seriously. This is because there are a variety of reasons that lead to a party members' request for withdrawal from the party. The party organization should find out the real reason and appropriately deal with each case on its merits.

When a party member fails to take part in regular party activities, pay membership dues or do work assigned by the party for 6 successive months without proper reasons he is regarded as having actually left the party organization and having given up his membership. In accordance with the provisions of the party constitution, the general membership meeting of the party branch concerned shall decide on the removal of such a person's name from the party rolls and report the removal to the next higher party organization for approval.

In dealing with the above case, the partyorganization must be careful to find out if there is truly no proper reason for the party member's actions that

call for the removal of his name from the party rolls. It should not take any hasty action on the matter in a summary fashion. At the same time, in day-to-day work, the party branch should take prompt but appropriate actions to educate and help a party member who fails to take part in regular party activities, pay membership dues or do work assigned by the party. It should not wait until he has done so for 6 successive months and then take action.

The 30th question is: What kind of persons should be persuaded to withdraw from the party and what is the difference between persuading a member to withdraw from the party and expelling a member from the party?

Article 9 of the new party constitution says: A party member who lacks revolutionary will, fails to fulill the duties of a party member, is not qualified for membership and remains incorrigible after repeated education should be persuaded to withdraw from the party.

Persuading a party member to withdraw from the party is an organizational action taken against those who are not qualified for membership and who remain incorrigible after education. Such cases shall be discussed and decided by the general membership meeting of the party branch concerned. If the party member being persuaded to withdraw refuses to do so, the case shall be submitted to the general membership meeting of the party branch concerned for discussion and decision on a time limit by which time the member must correct his mistakes or have his name removed from the party rolls. To be valid, all actions taken shall be submitted to the next higher party organization for approval.

Persuading a member to withdraw from the party is different from the disciplinary action of expelling a member from the party. The former is an organizational action taken against a party member who lacks revolutionary will or fails to fulfill the duties of a party member and therefore disqualifies himself as a party member. The latter is the severest disciplinary action taken by the party against a member who has seriously violated party discipline.

The 31st question is: What are the basic principles of the party's democratic centralism?

Article 10 of the new party constitution contains the following 6 points on the basic principles of democratic centralism as practiced by the party?

1. Individual party members are subordinate to the party organization, the majority is subordinate to the majority, the lower party organizations are subordinate to the higher party organizations, and all the constituent organizations and members of the party are subordinate to the National Congress and the Central Committee of the party.

2. The party's leading bodies at all levels are elected except for the representative organs dispatched by them and the leading party members' groups in nonparty organizations.

3. The highest leading body of the party is the National Congress and the Central Committee elected by it. The leading bodies of local party organizations are the party congresses at their respective levels and the party committees elected by them. Party committees are responsible, and report their work, to the party congresses at their respective levels.

4. Higher party organizations shall pay constant attention to the views of the lower organizations and the rank-and-file party members, and solve in good time the problems they raise. Lower party organizations shall report on their work to, and request instructions from, higher party organizations; at the same time, they shall handle independently and in a responsible manner matters within their jurisdiction. Higher and lower party organizations should exchange information and support and supervise each other.

5. Party committees at all levels function on the principle of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility based on division of labor. All major issues shall be decided upon by the party committees after democratic discussion.

6. The party forbids all forms of personality cult. It is necessary to ensure that the activities of the party leaders be subject to supervision by the party and the people and at the same time to uphold the prestige of all leaders who represent the interests of the party and the people.

To ensure the implementation of democratic centralism, the new party constitution, in addition to the above provisions in article 10, also contains clearer and more specific provisions in the general program and other elated articles on the relationship between individual party members and party organizations and on the duties and powers of, and relationship between, lower and higher party organizations. These provisions reflect both democratic principles and centralism. The following are several examples:

1. With regard to the subordination of individual party members to the party organizations, the party constitution stipulates: Party members must execute the party decisions perseveringly and accept any job assigned them by the party. Every party member, irrespective of position, must be organized into a branch, cell or other specific unit of the party to participate in the regular activities of the party organizations. When, on behalf of the party organization, an individual party member is to express views on major issues beyond the scope of existing party decisions, the content must be referred to the party organization for prior discussion and decision or referred to the next higher party organization for instructions. No party member, whatever his position, is allowed to make decisions on major issues on his own. In an emergency, when a decision by an individual is unavoidable, the matter must be reported to the party organization immediately afterwards. No leader is allowed to decide matters arbitrarily on his own or to place himself above the party organization.

2. With regard to the subordination of the minority to the majority, the party constitution stipulates: Party organizations must keep to the principle of subordination of the minority to the majority in discussing and making

decisions on any matter. Serious consideration should be given to the differing views of a minority. In the case of a controversy over a major issue in which supporters of the opposing views are nearly equal in number, except in emergencies where action must be taken in accordance with the majority view, a decision should be put off to allow for further investigation, study and exchange of opinions followed by another discussion. If still no decision can be made, the controversy should be reported to the next higher party organization for ruling. In the case of a disagreement with a party decision or policy, party members may make reservations and present their views to party organizations at higher levels up to and including the Central Committee, provided that they resolutely carry out the decision or policy while it is in force.

3. With regard to the subordination of the lower party organizations to the higher party organizations, the party constitution stipulates: Lower party organizations must firmly implement the decisions of higher party organizations. If lower organizations consider that any decision of higher organizations do not suit actual conditions in their localities or departments, they may request modification. If the higher organizations insist on their original decision, the lower organizations must carry out such decision and refrain from publicly voicing their differences, but have the right to report to the next higher party organization. When making decisions on important questions affecting the lower organizations, the leading bodies of the party at all levels should, in ordinary circumstances, solicit the opinions of the lower organizations. Measures should be taken to ensure that the lower organizations can normally exercise their functions and powers. Except in special circumstances, higher leading bodies should not interfere with matters that should be handled by lower organizations.

4. With regard to subordination of all the constituent organizations and members of the party to the National Congress and the Central Committee of the party, the new party constitution stipulates: The National Congress of the party and the Central Committee it elects are the highest leading organs of the party. Only the National Congress and the Central Committee it elects have the power to make decisions on major policies of the party. Party organizations of various departments and localities may make suggestions with regard to such policies to the Central Committee but shall not make any decisions or publicize their views outside the party without authorization.

All these provisions of the party constitution will provide a stronger guarantee than in the past of the implementation of the principles of democratic centralism in the political life within the party. It should be particularly mentioned here that, to correctly handle the various relationships presented above, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that the most important is the subordination of the whole party to the Central Committee. Only when the whole party is completely subordinate to the Central Committee, can the party lead all its members and people throughout the country to struggle for the realization of the great task of modernization. Party organizations and discipline inspection commissions at all levels should take severe disciplinary actions against whoever seriously violates this principle. This is because the utmost interest of the party and the people throughout the country hinges on the implementation of this principle.

CSO: 4005/129

PARTY AND STATE

TECHNICAL EXCHANGE, COOPERATION TO DEVELOP CHANGZHOU'S ECONOMY CARRIED OUT

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "Over 700 Experts and Cadres Gather on Invitation To Cooperate in Solving Key Problems"]

[Text] Changzhou Municipality recently held its first scientific and technical cooperation and exchange conference, at which over 300 scientific and technical topics were posted in the hope of finding people to solve them. Over 770 experts and cadres from 85 schools of higher education, scientific research units and specialized factories throughout the nation participated in the conference by invitation and cooperated in pooling their efforts. By the time the exchange conference was concluded, 181 topics had been posted. These prospective items of scientific and technical cooperation, following the implementation of the method of compensatory transfer of technology, will be of clear economic benefit to Changzhou Municipality's capital construction. The establishment of contact between Changzhou Municipality and the various schools of higher learning and research institutions had been longstanding. Some 135 factories cooperated, one after the other, with 141 schools of higher learning and scientific research units throughout the country, completing 218 scientific and technical projects, having a very positive effect on the economic development of Changzhou Municipality. The more than 300 topics for which applicants are being sought are all key industrial questions of Changzhou Municipality. The successful completion of the 181 topics decided upon will bring about the satisfactory solution of key problems which a good many units in the municipality have been trying to solve for some time.

This list of selected topics for scientific and technical cooperation were all very beneficial for Changzhou Municipality's progress with getting a hold on name-brand products and the development of new products. For example, the experimental manufacture, and the technology of, the top-grade paint of name-brand diesel engines has already been posted by the chemical industry department of Lanzhou Paint Research Institute; once this problem is surmounted, it will bring about a new improvement in the external quality of diesel engines.

The successful completion of this group of scientific-technical cooperative projects will also have an important effect of improving the economic effectiveness of Changzhou Municipality. For example, if the project signed by the First Institute of the Ministry of Space Industry and the Changzhou Corduroy Cutting Factory to install and develop automatic stalling for monofilament

defects in corduroy cutting machines were completed and put into effect, each year the quantity of inferior cloth produced could be reduced by 1.5 million meters, increasing the national income by 400,000 yuan. Also, when the project taken on by Tianjin University to remake the One-Two amine technology facility of the Changzhou Petrochemical Plant it will, under the new circumstances of not increasing the energy consumption, enable the annual production capacity to increase by 40 percent, and production capital can also be reduced.

At this exchange conference Changzhou Municipality along with the municipal machinery bureau, chemical industry bureau, and radio industry bureau with seven specialized schools of higher education and scientific research institutes including Huadong Institute of Industrial Chemistry, Nanjing Institute of Industrial Engineering, and Shanghai Metallurgical Institute, also separately signed long-term technology cooperation agreements and set up combined bodies for scientific research and production. These combined bodies, based on the principle of mutual advantage, will engage in comprehensive cooperation in the areas of turning over the results of the various projects to one another, technical consultations and the common solving of key problems, the exchange of academic and professional intelligence, and the training of talent. According to the terms of the agreements, the various plants of Changzhou Municipality can, within a broad area, establish contact with the subordinate organizational structures of the unit they will be signing an agreement with for the purpose of cooperation and, with the assistance of the technical forces of our schools of higher education and scientific research units, serve in developing the economy of Changzhou Municipality.

9634
CSO: 4005/1076

PARTY AND STATE

SOCIALLY, POLITICALLY USEFUL ACTIVITIES FOR RETIRED CADRES PROPOSED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "A Recommendation That Old Cadres Have More Contact With the Grassroots Level"]

[Text] After the system of having old cadres leave office and go into retirement is put into effect, every year there will be a number of old cadres retiring from their original work posts. Particularly in this and the following year, in the wake of progress in the work of reforming organizational structures, a good many old cadres will be leaving office, retiring, or retiring to second line to live in retirement. On the basis of wishing to benefit the physical and psychological health of these old cadres, continuing to allow them to do whatever work they are capable of in the service of the party and the people is not only in agreement with the wishes of the cadres, but is also required by the enterprise of the party.

For a long time, our cadres have been accustomed to being very busy, and have not been in the habit of taking leaves. When they retire from their work posts, organizationally, the necessary conditions should be created for them to study and to continue to have some kind of effect. For example, some "reading classes" or "study classes" could be formed, organizing old retired cadres to read a few books in philosophy, history, and political science, and conscientiously form general conclusions on the basis of their historical experience, all in the service of helping our party and country work out their scheme for long-term public security. A number of organizational structures for advisory consultation groups could also be set up, at which experienced old comrades could be asked to offer their ideas. At the same time, it is positively recommended that old cadres have more contact with the grassroots level, and make use of all means available to their circumstances to take part in all kinds of social activities, and go to units in the factories, schools, shops, and streets to carry on their investigation and study, and maintain a close connection with the masses. They can also write works of benefit to the people and to young people, or they can take part in some work requiring little physical exertion that is of benefit to society and earnestly, little by little, do something good for the people.

There are many advantages to be gained from old cadres having more contact with the grassroots level. They can, in the course of their contacts with the grassroots levels, come to understand a good many concrete, vital circumstances,

increase their knowledge, broaden their outlook, and become able, in a flesh-and-blood way, to maintain political unanimity with the Central Committee with regard to the party's line, programs, and policies. They can discover some problems and, at the same time, offer their ideas and suggestions to cadres at the grassroots level, which will be helpful in improving grassroots-level work. Through being able to discover good model examples, and assisting lower echelon comrades in forming general conclusions and broadening their experience in a timely way, they will be able to promote, and give impetus to, grassroots-level work. Our old cadres, with their several decades of work experience, possess comparatively rich work and leadership experience. Their displaying the excellent traditions and practices of the party, immersing themselves in the grassroots level, coming into contact with reality, and forming a connection with the masses, all serve as excellent means of passing on experience and setting a good example for young cadres in positions of power, and will all have a positive effect on promoting an intimate relationship between the party and the masses, between cadres and the masses, and on rectifying party practices and practices among the people.

Although old cadres, in leaving office and retiring, have left their original work posts and no longer perform their administrative and leadership duties, nevertheless they have definitely not, either ideologically, politically, or administratively, retired in the same way. The revolutionary will and organizational discipline of any communist party member is not something that can be "retired" from; they ought still to be communist revolutionaries, and still bear the political responsibility of serving the people and being responsible for them. A good many old comrades, after leaving office or retiring, are still like old steeds in the stable wishing to gallop a thousand li, do not feel that their strength and abilities have come to an end, and are still enthusiastic about the enterprise of building our socialist motherland's material and spiritual civilization. Their high-minded revolutionary spirit is worthy of our close study. We must fully respect our old comrades who have left office or retired, humbly ask for their instruction, and warmheartedly look after them and show them every consideration. What kind of work old cadres are able to do, and how they should go about it, should be decided by them on the basis of their individual concrete circumstances. If we allow old cadres to take part in too many social activities, and become bogged down in trivial affairs, it will not be the proper method for cherishing our old cadres, and in that way it will not be possible to really bring their potential effect into full play.

9634
CSO: 4005/1076

PARTY AND STATE

APPEARANCE OF A COMMUNIST DISCUSSED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Sep 82 p 2

[Commentary by Chen Yizheng [7115 5030 2973]: "The 'Appearance' of a Communist"]

[Text] I often hear some people say: so-and-so looks like a party member and so-and-so does not look like a party member. What is the "appearance" of a Communist? I think that the fundamental point is, he endures hardship first and enjoys pleasures later; he lives to do more things for the people and, when those things are well done, he puts his body and soul into practicing the great ideal of communism.

Communist Zhao Chun'e [6392 2504 1230] would "rather fall down on a pile of coal, than lie in a sick bed"; so long as something "is done for the people," the harder and more tiring it is, the happier she would proceed to do it. She always thinks "I am a worker, I must behave like one"; once admitted into the party, one must "be a Communist in reality as well as in name."

Some say, a party member is a person too; if it is a case of enduring hardship first, one has already "suffered" long ago; if it is a case of enjoying pleasures later, when is "later"? These words are totally wrong! A Communist is a person "made of special stuff"; he must struggle throughtout his life for the Communist cause. A party member also has his own cultural and material life; but he must keep in mind first of all the masses and never enjoy pleasures before the masses, and never struggle with the masses for those pleasures. If one spends a great deal of time thinking about one's house, one's children, one's tickets--"thinking over and over of nothing else but minor advantages," what "appearance" such a party member would have?!

When the masses criticize so-and-so looking like one and so-and-so not looking like one, this explains that the "appearance" of a party member has already left a clear impression in the people's minds. Each party member must doubly treasure the image of the party, serve as a good example everywhere, and make the masses trust the party even more.

9255
CSO: 4005/59

PARTY AND STATE

FORMULATION OF LOCAL REGULATIONS REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Oct 82 p 3

[Report: "In Order to Protect and Promote the Construction of Socialist Modernization--Various Provinces, Municipalities, and Autonomous Regions Formulate a Batch of Local Laws and Rules"]

[Text] Since the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of the country have formulated and promulgated a batch of local laws and rules in order to protect and promote construction of our socialist modernization.

This batch of laws and rules were formulated and promulgated by the people's congresses of those provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions according to our Constitution and relevant provisions of the "Organic Law of Local People's Congresses at Various Levels and Local People's Governments at Various Levels of the People's Republic of China" passed by the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress. According to available statistics, from November 1979 to the end of June 1982, the country's various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have altogether formulated and promulgated 296 local laws and statutes.

Of these local laws and statutes those of the economic field make up 37.2 percent, and among these latter ones there are the detailed rules of the implementation formulated according to the provisions of "Regulations for Environmental Protection of the People's Republic of China (Tentative)" and the concrete regulations for forestry protection formulated according to the provisions of the "Forestry Law of the People's Republic of China." Laws and statutes of the political and legal make up 30.7 percent, and among those there are regulations for strengthening social order and security, regulations for reinforcing market and price control, cracking down smuggling, speculation and double-dealing, and cracking down on serious criminal activities in the economic realm, and detailed rules of implementation for the Criminal Procedural Law. Laws and statutes of the educational, scientific, cultural, and public health fields make up 26.6 percent. Laws and statutes formulated by the minority nationalities areas also make up a definite proportion. Autonomous regions like Xinjiang, Tibet, Ningxia and Inner Mongolia and the two provinces of Sichuan and Qinghai have formulated supplementary provisions or expedient regulations for implementing the Marriage Law in the autonomous regions of the minority nationalities.

9255
CSO: 4005/59

PARTY AND STATE

JAPANESE TEXTBOOK REVISION SEEN AS BID TO REVIVE MILITARISM

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 14 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Be on Guard Against the Return of Militarism"]

[Text] Thinking back to 15 August 37 years ago, there occurred a major event in the human world: the Japanese emperor formally announced to his country the unconditional surrender to the Allied countries. After a bloody 8-year war of resistance, in which they suffered over 18 million casualties (military casualties included) and lost over $6 trillion in property, the Chinese people finally won a great victory in the war of resistance against Japan. The youths who passed the day of "August 15" and who personally experienced the wild joy of that hard-won victory are now about 60 years old.

Among the present generation of young friends, there are many whose personal experience of the internal disorder remains fresh in their memory; but as to what foreign aggression is, and what it is like to be invaded, and what fascist militarism is, I am afraid that, except for some impressions from seeing in some feature films the brutal actions of the Japanese bushido officers, they do not know much about these things--isn't this so?

However, it is extremely necessary and beneficial to remember the experience of history. How could we forget those 8 years of blood and tears, of extreme hardships and difficulties? In the whole period of the war of resistance against Japan, the Chinese nation's fervent spirit of patriotism was developed to the highest degree and the deeds of countless heroes still move and inspire us to this day. Under the CPC's leadership, we not only obtained victory in the 8-year war of resistance, but also created a new China. Today's China is becoming increasingly powerful, and changes have also occurred in postwar Japan. China and Japan have signed a treaty of peace and friendship, and it has become the common aspiration of the peoples of the two countries for this friendship to last for generations and generations.

However, no matter how good and honest your aspiration is, no matter how well this aspiration accords with the interests of the peoples of the two countries, the spirit of Japanese militarism has again publicly stood up and given us a lesson. The Japanese Ministry of Education, in revising its textbooks, changed the statement that Japan invaded China to the statement that Japan "entered" China; and the textbooks say that the "Nanjing Massacre" engineered by the Japanese invading army was the result of the resistance by the Chinese armed

forces. This kind of power politics logic can only evoke the incomparable indignation of the Chinese people.

Did these gentlemen of the Ministry of Education suffer a nervous breakdown, or did they misread the almanac? No, they consider themselves very intelligent. They are unable to restrain their desire to turn their fond dream of reviving militarism into reality. Their vain hope to continue deceptive education of the younger generation is extremely conscious, and they cudgel their brains in an attempt to beautify militarism by distorting history so as to beautify their ancestors.

But how can history written in blood be covered up by words written in ink? Your previous generation of "bushido" made innocent Chinese people the objects of experiments in biological warfare, made them living targets, tied prisoners to trees and dismembered them or cut them in two. You forced Chinese to dig their own grave pits and then buried them alive. You used barbaric methods, which caused even German fascist officers to say that the Japanese army was a "group of beasts," in persecuting the Chinese compatriots, such as rolling them in boxes of nails, pulling out their fingernails, branding them with hot irons, ripping out their hearts, and electrically grinding up living persons and eating human flesh (see "Verdicts of the Tokyo International Tribunal," pp 1,001-1,136). Hideki Tojo, Japan's number one war criminal, rose to power by being appointed to command the military police corps of the Kwantung army in puppet Manchukuo. On 15 August, when Japan surrendered and withdrew its army from China, the then army minister issued a secret order forbidding Japanese militarymen who returned to Japan from China to divulge the Japanese army's atrocities of cruelly injuring or killing Chinese people (see "International Trial of Japan's Major War Criminals, p 224). Not only historians but also the common people cannot forget these crimes. Don't imagine that you can wilfully distort history and practice an obscurist policy. Your era of the "Eternal Way of the Samurai" has gone never to return! There will be no days for you to practice the policy of "burn all, kill all, loot all" in your "benevolent paradise!"

Since the positive education of people and youths is insufficient, we should provide negative education for them. The war of resistance against Japan tempered the Chinese people and their armed forces and produced many heroes and outstanding figures. Much distress regenerates a nation, and in this sense, Japanese militarism--this teacher by negative example--"contributed" to this regeneration.

The workers in youth affairs and educational affairs of China should express their "thanks" to the gentlemen of the Japanese Ministry of Education! "Thank you" for giving us a lesson 37 years after the event. It helps us to heighten our guard and make us more clear-headed.

We must launch a movement to study, explain, and publicize the history of recent and modern times, using historical materials and teaching materials reflecting local conditions, and interviews of veteran comrades who went through the war of resistance against Japan, using history to encourage fighting will, so that the "three love's" teaching content will be further enriched and this movement will be launched more consciously.

9727
CSO: 4005/1234

PARTY AND STATE

SHAOGUAN PLANT STRESSES PROMOTION OF ENGINEERS, TECHNICIANS

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by Chen Chaoxing [7115 2600 5887]: "Boldly Promote and Freely Utilize"]

[Text] The party committee of the Shaoguan Iron and Steel plant, by conscientiously implementing the party's policy on intellectuals and continuing to select engineers and technicians to fill leading groups at all levels, has vigorously promoted the development of production.

Shaoguan Iron and Steel Plant is one of the major iron and steel enterprises in the province and has 665 engineers and technicians who have graduated from institutions of higher learning. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the plant has conscientiously implemented the party's policy on intellectuals and has paid attention to the utilization of technical cadres, taking a large batch of engineers and technicians whose technical level is high, whose organizational capacity is strong, and whose ideological consciousness is high and gradually placing them in leading posts at all levels. At present, 59 engineers and 22 assistant engineers in the plant have been pomoted to cadres at the section deputy chief level and above. Among them, are 3 plant deputy managing directors and 18 workshop managers and office section chiefs. Technical cadres account for 18 percent of the plant's cadres, and 14 workshops, with exception of the scrap steel workshop and the tempered steel workshop, have technical cadres participating in leadership.

In selecting engineering and technical cadres, no matter what the seniority rank or the demand for perfection, the Shaoguan Iron and Steel Plant, provided the person meets the qualifications, is bold in promoting and utilizing. Over the past several years, the plant has promoted five engineers and technicians who have not yet joined the party to the posts of managers of important production workshops such as the coking and steel rolling workshops. These managers are bold in taking hold and managing well and they make the work orderly and rational. For example, Qin Xiuzhang [4440 4423 4545], a coking engineer, after becoming manager of the coking workshop, immediately organized the technical forces to make a thorough investigation of the two coking ovens in the workshop, obtained a large amount of firsthand technical data, and grasped the initiative in production, so that the workshop rapidly reversed its losses.

With regard to the engineers and technicians who have been promoted to cadre, the plant's party committee, "helping them up on the horse and accompanying them part of the way," adopted such methods as releasing them from production for advanced studies and giving them short-term training, thus continually improving their work capabilities. After Ge Hongyi [5514 1347 3015], a steel tempering engineer, was promoted to deputy managing director of the plant, the plant considered that although he thoroughly understood steel tempering technology, he did not have much of a grasp of enterprise management. Therefore, the plant sent him to the South China Engineering College for a half year of advanced studies, so that his enterprise management level was raised to a considerable degree.

After the large batch of engineers and technicians mounted their leadership posts, they greatly promoted the development of production. The year before last the plant reversed its administrative losses, and last year it reversed its policy losses. In the first half of this year, the plant showed a profit of 1.97 million yuan, overfulfilling the profit plan.

9727
CSO: 4005/1234

PARTY AND STATE

INTELLECTUALS PROMOTED TO HIGH POSTS IN GUANGDONG

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 14 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Zhang Tingchun [1728 1694 2504] et al.: "Over 4,000 Middle- and Upper-Level Intellectuals in Our Province Enter Leading Groups"]

[Text] From an organization department concerned we reporters have learned: over recent years, 4,583 middle- and upper-level intellectuals have been selected to fill leadership posts at all levels in our province. After this large batch of middle- and upper-level intellectuals, who have both ability and political integrity, are in the prime of live, and have a high capacity for organizational leadership, entered the leadership posts at all levels, they have effectively changed the structure of the leading groups and have promoted the revolutionization, rejuvenation, intellectualization, and specialization of the leading groups.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, party organizations at all levels in our province have unceasingly cleared away "left" influences; conscientiously implemented the party's policy on intellectuals; truly looked upon the intellectuals as an important reliable force for constructing the four modernizations; and, in promoting them to cadres, broken with the "theory of qualifications and record of service" and the "theory of class status" and boldly promoted outstanding elements among the intellectuals to leadership posts at all levels. Among these over 4,500 promoted intellectuals are professors, lecturers, senior engineers, and engineers, and also agronomists, chief physicians, accountants, etc. Of them, 81 are cadres at the prefectural or provincial department level or above.

After this batch of newly promoted middle- and upper-level intellectuals took their posts, on every front they worked hard, were modest and prudent, were full of vigor and vitality, and dispatched affairs with high efficiency. After Li Xiuhong [2621 0208 1347], sometime lecturer in Zhongshan University, was promoted to deputy director of the Guangdong Provincial Higher Education Bureau, he has been honest and upright in his ways, easy to approach, and steadfast in his work and has enjoyed the high opinion of the masses. Not long ago, Wang Pingshan [3769 1456 1472], a long-time educator and a teacher of special classification, was appointed secretary of the party committee of South China Teachers College. After his appointment, he felt that his burdens and responsibilities were heavier, and he was determined to do his educational work well so as to train even more human talents for construction of the four modernizations.

Many specialized cadres, after assuming office, rapidly opened up the situation by getting results in the management of the economic buildup. Lin Xingqing [2651 1630 7230], assistant researcher at the Guangzhou Geographical Research Institute, who is a little over 40 years old, after being promoted to deputy director of the institute, still maintained his deep involvement with the frontline of scientific research and, merging with the scientists and technicians, tackles key research problems on related projects. Recently, side by side with his comrades, he wrote seven valuable treatises full of original ideas, including "Tentative Ideas for the Comprehensive Exploitation and Development of the Zhujiang River Mouth Coastal Zone" and "Analysis of the Superiority of Guangdong's Agriculture." In the past, because of improper enterprise management, production at the Guangzhou Silk Cloth Dyeing and Weaving Mill fell year after year. In 1979, after engineer Gu Shiding [6253 1102 7844] was appointed mill director, he strengthened enterprise management, began an economic analysis, and managed his cadres well, so that the mill took on an entirely new look. Last year the mill's total output value reached 91.34 million yuan, over 34 million yuan more than in 1978, and profit increased by over 3.9 million yuan.

9727
CSO: 4005/1234

PARTY AND STATE

PROMOTION FAVORITISM UNCOVERED IN GUANGDONG SEISMOLOGICAL BUREAU

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Aug 82 p 1

[Article" "Provincial Seismological Bureau Ascertains True Facts in Promotion Malpractice Case"]

[Text] For days in succession, the leading party group of the Guangdong Provincial Seismological Bureau has held an enlarged meeting to discuss a case of favoritism in the promotion to high research posts. The meeting to adopting the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient," launched criticisms and self-criticism, ascertained the true facts in the case, and distinguished right from wrong. Circumstances showed that this case developed to such a serious extent as a result of the support, investigation, and coverup on the part of the principal responsible person of the bureau. Everybody held that the criticism and self-criticism with regard to this case, and the correcting of unhealthy tendencies in the implementation of the policy concerning intellectuals, will certainly vigorously promote the improvement of the leaders' work style and the development of the bureau's work.

In September of last year, just as the bureau's work of recommending for promotion to high research posts had begun, this responsible person, in violation of the written rules and requirements of the Guangdong Provincial Scientific and Technological Cadres Bureau, supported Chen Jiachao [7115 1367 6387] and others in deciding, without authorization, on the cutoff date for promotion recommendation, thereby making it difficult for middle-level scientists and technicians to enter themselves for examinations. On 2 January of this year, when members of the party leading group heard three deputy researchers report on the situation pertaining to the bureau's recommendations, they discovered that Chen Jiachao and others had practiced fraud and had even torn up the written comments on an expert's thesis, that the recommendations did not follow proper procedures, and other problems, the party leading group of the bureau made three decisions: to transfer the work of managing scientific and technological cadres from the scientific research planning office to the political office; to entrust the three deputy researchers with the task of checking and approving the theses submitted by the candidates for promotion; and to set up a special examination and assessment group that would be responsible for the review and examination work in connection with the candidates recommended for high research posts. However, after only a little

over a month, this responsible person went behind the backs of the other members of the party leading groups and repudiated the group's decisions.

Bypassing the provincial department in charge of scientific and technological cadres, he hurriedly dispatched people with materials pertaining to 13 recommended candidates directly to the State Seismological Bureau for its examination and approval. The State Seismological Bureau held that their action was a violation of principle, and on 19 April transmitted a document to the lower levels, reaffirming that the work of promoting people to high research posts in the provincial seismological bureau was to be handled by the provincial scientific and technological cadres bureau and returned all the materials that had been sent to it. This responsible person brooded over this, and when the scientific and technological cadres management bureau telephoned and asked him what his next step would be, he was highly abusive: "This is an interference in my bureau's internal affairs." What is more odious is that, after this affair failed and was exposed, this responsible person instigated Chen Jiachao and others to make contacts everywhere, write letters containing false charges and anonymous letters, distorting the facts and attacking the deputy researchers who were handling the affair, and created antagonisms among the scientists and technicians. Comrades at the meeting pointed out that the reason he piled mistake upon mistake was because he would not listen to different opinions: not only did he not listen to the correct opinions of the scientists and technicians, but also he would not listen to the opinions of other responsible persons in the bureau. He clung obstinately to his own course and that was that.

Through his comrades' sincere criticism and self-criticism and help in the spirit of seeking truth from facts, this responsible person of the provincial seismological bureau has begun to realize his own mistakes and has made a preliminary self-criticism.

9727
CSO: 4005/1234

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

'CHENG MING' ANALYZES DENG XIAOPING'S ARMY PURGE

HK081039 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 61, 1 Nov 82 pp 7-11

[Article by Lo Ping [5012 0393]: "Deng Xiaoping Removes Top Leftist in Army"]

[Text] Wei Guoqing Openly "Cr , cizes Deng"

There have recently been changes of personnel in the Chinese Communist Army. Most noteworthy is the removal of Wei Guoqing as director of the PLA General Political Department, replaced by Yu Qiuli.

Why did Wei Guoqing step down?

This writer has recently learned from friends in top echelons that there were three reasons for the removal of Wei Guoqing as head of the General Political Department:

1. He adhered to an ultraleftist line and was on a collision course with Deng and Hu. He opposed Deng Xiaoping's line and his army-building line in particular;

2. He acted in collusion with Hua Guofeng and others. The whatever faction worked hand in glove with the ultraleftists. On the eve of the 12th CPC National Congress, he spread rumors and brought pressure to bear on the party Central Committee in an attempt to reverse the ultimate fate of being purged which faced the whatever faction and the ultraleftists.

3. He used two newspapers and one magazine, especially JIEFANGJUN BAO and SHIDAI DE BAOGAO (the latter run by Huang Gang), as a vehicle for creating public opinion in an energetic effort to spread ultraleftist ideas throughout the whole of society and the army. He was trying to expand his influence and consolidate his position.

The article "Communist Thinking Is the Core of Socialist Spiritual Civilization" by Zhao Yiya, published in JIEFANGJUN BAO on 20 August, was a great revelation of the opposition of ultraleftists in the army (including of course Wei Guoqing) to Deng and Hu. What shocked Zhongnanhai was the open declaration by Wei Guoqing himself: "Intellectuals' status has now been raised too

high. In fighting, we have still to rely on workers, peasants and soldiers." This remark signified a direct "criticism of Deng." Deng Xiaoping could not take it. Inhis capacity as chairman of the Central Military Commission, he made Wei Guoqing leave this important position of military power in the General Political Department.

"Deng-wei and "Mao-wei"

After the founding of the PRC, Wei Guoqing, who first joined the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' 7th Red Army and who once acted as deputy political commissar of an army corps under Chen Yi, rapidly climbed the ladder of officialdom. He was for a time in charge of all party and government powers in Fuzhou. During the "Cultural Revolution," he again rose rapidly. This outstanding person of Zhuang nationality from Guangxi was appointed to control the Guangxi Xhuang Autonomous Region and ordered to support one group in fighting another. Fierce armed struggle was waged, resulting in many deaths. Guangxi was poverty-stricken and was known throughout the country for its pickpockets. Wei Guoqing, however, was good at exaggeration; in the party organ, Guangxi was described as a place blessed with phenomenal economic growth. He was especially good at swimming with the tide. Therefore, at the 9th CPC National Congress manipulated by Lin Biao, and at the 10th CPC National Congress controlled by Jiang Qing, he was appointed as member of the Political Bureau. He was transferred to Guangdong as first secretary of the provincial CPC Committee, chairman of the provincial revolutionary committee and the first political commissar of the Guangzhou military region (Xu Shiyou being the commander transferred from Nanjing). He was in the limelight. After Mao Zedong's death, the gang of four immediately came up with a programmatic article in a plot to stage a coup. The article, entitled "Always Adhere to the Fixed Guideline," was published in the form of an editorial in the GUANGMING RIBAO. Wei Guoqing ordered the NANFANG RIBAO to reprint this article. But after the collapse of the gang of four, fortune continued to smile on Wei Guoqing. He remained in the Political Bureau and also acted as director of the General Political Department.

Why was it that Wei Guoqing managed to maintain his high office in the party and the army during the past 6 years? Some people said that this was because in the later stages of the "Cultural Revolution," Deng Xiaoping "took refuge" in Guangdong. He received protection from Xu Shiyou and Wei Guoqing there. Some others said that Deng Xiaoping made it the third time in the "three ups and downs" of his career, amid obstacles put in his way by Hua Guofeng and others, because he won the support of a number of veteran cadres, and Xu Shiyou and Wei Guoqing. These interpretations may be justified. There existed a kind of relationship between Wei Guoqing and Deng Xiaoping that few people know about. In 1929, amid various uprisings in Guangxi, the 7th Red Army was founded. Deng Xiaoping acted as political commissar and secretary of the front committee. Under the 7th Red Army were three columns. The commander of the 3d column was Wei Baqun, who was supposed to be Wei Guoqing's elder brother, as they were of the same clan. (Editor's note: The 21 October issue of RENMIN RIBAO carried an article commemorating the 50th anniversary of the death of Wei Baqun, who sacrificed his life for the country.) At that time, Wei Guoqing was a little soldier under Wei Baqun, or under Deng Xiaoping. Wei Baqun had studied in the Peasants' Training Institute in Guangzhou. He

was Mao Zedong's "pupil." He was like a thread linking up Wei Guoqing with Deng Xiaoping and even with Mao Zedong.

One of the Big Backstage Supporters--Hua Guofeng

However, Wei Guoqing's thinking had never connected with Deng Xiaoping's. He was for a long time a "leftist." His thinking was quite in harmony with the whateverism represented by Huo Guofeng and could hardly be distinguished from the latter. Therefore, Hua Guofeng gradually became Wei Guoqing's big backstage supporter.

The following is quite an interesting story. When the all-PLA political work conference was convened in May 1980, Hua Guofeng, chairman of both the CPC Central Committee and the Central Military Commissions, and Wei Guoqing, member of the Political Bureau and director of the General Political Department, made speeches. The two speeches shared the same fundamental spirit. They both one-sidedly stressed "giving prominence to politics." Especially worth noting was that the two men called for vigorously "fostering proletarian ideology and eliminating bourgeois ideology" in the army. Hua Guofeng said: "It is hoped that in 'fostering proletarian ideology and eliminating bourgeois ideology' and changing social practices, the army can properly play its leading role." Wei Guoqing said that in the army, we must "energetically carry out education and wage struggle with a view to 'fostering proletarian ideology and eliminating bourgeois ideology.'" That the two harped on the same tune fully showed that the top man in the whatever faction and the head of the ultraleftists in the army were cut from the same cloth. Such "leftist" thinking ran counter to Deng Xiaoping's ideological line as defined at the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

In recently years, Wei Guoqing's "leftist" thinking developed continuously and became increasingly opposed to Deng Xiaoping's ideological line. During this period, Deng Xiaoping energetically stressed that the army should be manned by people more revolutionary, more knowledge, more specialized and younger and that the army should be modernized and regularized. At the same time, he called on the whole party to pay attention to the role of intellectuals. Touching on the building of socialist spiritual civilization in some of his speeches, Deng Xiaoping underlined "ideals, morality, a cultural background and a sense of discipline." In his eyes, politics plays a very important role. But culture and knowledge are also important. This viewpoint is correct. Modern warfare calls not only for people's courage, their consciousness and their spirit of sacrifice but also their wisdom and talents, including certain scientific, cultural and technical levels. As far as modernized military equipment is concerned, no matter how advanced the weapons are, the development of their full might depends on the scientific level of the operators. Given the highly scientific nature of modern weapons and also electronics, lasers, infrared rays, space navigation and other increasingly new sciences and technologies, an army in particular cannot be modernized if it does not try to acquire new knowledge and new technical knowhow. But Wei Guoqing openly expressed his disagreement with these ideas as represented by Deng Xiaoping's army-building line. This found expression in three respects.

Making Unauthorized Changes in Quotations from Deng and Freely Criticizing "Unrequited Love"

First, there were Wei Guoqing's own speeches in the army. There had not been many chances for Wei Guoqing to speak at various meetings in the army in recent years. Relatively typical was a speech he made at the all-army political work conference held in January 1982. This speech was entitled "Basic Conditions Concerning the Whole Army's Political Work in 1981 and the Main Tasks for 1982." In this speech, Wei Guoqing stressed "putting politics in command and ideology in the lead." He said: "Under the new situation, political work is still our army's lifeline. It can only be strengthened and must not be weakened." "The principle of putting politics in command and ideology in the lead applies to all work at all times. The more modernized and regularized the army the greater the need to strengthen political work." Throughout the speech, Wei Guoqing mentioned nothing about the study of cultural and scientific knowledge. This was tantamount to open opposition of Deng Xiaoping. As to what he said recently about downgrading the role of intellectuals, this involved problems not only of ideology but also of organizational discipline.

Second, some articles by JIEFANGJUN BAO and the General Political Department also reflected the "leftist" thinking of Wei Guoqing and others. For example, referring to the building of socialist spiritual civilization, an editorial by JIEFANGJUN BAO on 1 August 1982 dedicated to the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese PLA also stressed "paying attention to ideals, morality and discipline," and said nothing about science, technology and culture. A directive by the General Political Department to the whole army released by XINHUA NEWS AGENCY on 25 August put forth this viewpoint: "The building of socialist spiritual civilization may be summed up chiefly as cherishing ideals, paying attention to moral principles and observing discipline." Deng Xiaoping had called for "ideals, a sense of morality, a cultural background and observance of discipline." But they cut out "a cultural background," calling only for "cherishing ideals, paying attention to moral principles and observing discipline."

Third, Wei Guoqing had in recent years let his righthand man, Liu Baiyu, director of the cultural department of the General Political Department, spread ultraleftist ideas through SHIDAI DE BAOGAO operated by Huang Gang. For example, in the "Remarks" introducing the No 2 issue of the journal this year Huang Gang, put forth an historical concept about "the 16 years since the Great Cultural Revolution." This was lumping together the 10 years of the "Cultural Revolution" with the 6 years following it, and lumping together the past ultraleftist line with the line of the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. This was actually opposing Deng Xiaoping's line. Moreover, the spearhead of the attack on "Bitter Love" in 1981 was really directed at Deng and Hu.

Wei Guoqing Not Allowed To Speak at Meetings

Deng Xiaoping discovered the problem of Wei Guoqing long ago. He also made known his views on the matter. But Wei Guoqing stood his ground. To reduce the influence of Wei Guoqing's "leftist" thinking, the latter was forbidden to

speak at important army meetings after August. Yang Shangkun was allowed to speak instead. For example, the first congress of advanced units and advanced individuals of the Navy in building socialist spiritual civilization, and the congress of advanced elements in the air force in building socialist spiritual civilization held in mid-August were both addressed by Yang Shangkun, secretary general and responsible person of the Central Military Commission. In 1982, Yang Shangkun wrote an article in Hongqi in commemoration of the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese PLA. One point stressed in this article was directed against Wei Guoqing's erroneous thinking. The article said: "We must still take political work as our army's lifeline.... But it must be noted that our cadres' scientific, technical and cultural levels are far from being geared to the demands of modern warfare. If this situation is not quickly rectified, even if we have newer equipment, we cannot properly wield or skillfully exploit it. Still less can we take full advantage of its potential. Therefore, a pressing problem confronting us is to make great efforts to increased cadres' knowledge. The position and role of science, culture and technology in building the army have become ever more important and prominent." Yang Shangkun also said: "It is hoped that our cadres, and leading cadres in particular, will attach importance to science and culture as an increasingly pressing major issue. Beginning right now, we must regard it as a major issue of strategic significance in building the army. We must devote efforts to the matter. We must bring about a relatively big change in the scientific and cultural aspects of our army in the next few years." By "leading cadres in particular," Yang Shangkun was referring chiefly to Wei Guoqing.

Hua and Wei Willfully Create Chaos During the 12th CPC National Congress

The CPC Central Committee recently decided that in the next five years or so, a significant number of all cadres working within the party and administrative organs at the central level must have reached senior secondary school level, the professional level of a secondary technical school, or technical college level. From now on, those cadres falling short of the required standard cannot be taken on. Those cadres who now fall short of this standard must be given to periods of study and training on a rotating basis so that they measure up within a specified period of time. In the article, Yang Shangkun said: "This spirit similarly applies to our army. Moreover, as far as the needs of army-building are concerned, we should act more quickly and give a better performance."

In the past, the CPC Central Committee pointed out that there were three kinds of people that could not be allowed to remain in leadership posts. Now, there are five instead of three. In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Hu Yaogang said: "Those who started out as rebels, those who are seriously affected with factionalist thinking, those smash-and-grabbers, those who oppose the central line since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and those who seriously breach law and discipline--who now still remain in leadership posts--must be resolutely removed." Here Hu Yaobang mentioned five kinds of people. According to this standard, Wei Guoqing, who opposed Deng Xiaoping, should of course be removed, and especially from his post as director of the General Political Department. But Wei Guoqing

felt secure in the knowledge that he had strong backing. He was going to stick to his guns. Moreover, on the eve of the 12th CPC National Congress, he let the JIEFANGJUN BAO carry an article by Zhao Yiya in an attempt to create ideological confusion during the 12th CPC National Congress.

Zhao Yiya, who was vice president of the Research Institute of Marxism-Leninism before the "Cultural Revolution" and who was transferred to the post of deputy editor-in-chief of the JIEFANGJUN RIBAO and director of the propaganda department of the General Political Department during the "Cultural Revolution," once encouraged the "dragging out of a handful of people from the army" and the spread of other ultraleftist language. He is now adviser to the JIEFANGJUN BAO. In an article, "Communist Thinking Is the Core of Socialist Spiritual Civilization," published in the JIEFANGJUN BAO on 28 August, he put forth several ultraleftist viewpoints. He purposefully mentioned only three of the four points concerning the whole effort of building socialist spiritual civilization raised by Deng Xiaoping, who called for "ideals, a sense of morality, a cultural background and observance of discipline." The "cultural background" was left out. His object was to negate the great significance of culture to the building of socialist spiritual civilization. This was actually setting ideals, morality and discipline in opposition to culture. It was held that culture was a matter of no consequence; without the development of culture, people with ideals, a sense of morality and an idea of discipline could be turned out just the same. An especially serious problem was his belief that the trend of bourgeois liberalization which had appeared in the past few years, was mainly due to laxity and weakness on the part of the leadership on the ideological front. He said: "The first reason is that individual responsible comrades in theoretical, cultural and press circles take the lead in supporting and publicizing certain erroneous viewpoints on bourgeois liberalization which run counter to the four basic principles. Moreover, these erroneous things are not checked or rectified in time. Thus, they will inevitably grow and spread. This is a very important lesson from experience." The article then made such of "ideological leadership" as a central link. What was said was chiefly an article "criticizing Deng," though not by name. It reflected opposition to the line of the third plenary session by Wei Quoqing and some cadres in the army.

Was it accidental that Zhao Yiya's article was published two days before the opening of the 12th CPC National Congress preparatory meeting?

A friend of mine in the know told me that on the surface of it, this was a "coincidence." Actually, it was a planned move. My friend said that this arrow directed at Deng and Hu was intended to create ideological confusion during the 12th CPC National Congress, so that certain people could fish in troubled waters. Meanwhile, pressure was brought to bear on Deng and Hu to make them yield in certain respects. By certain people, he chiefly meant Hua Guofeng, Wei Guoqing and other advocates of whateverism and ultraleftists. By certain respects, he chiefly meant the positions of the advocates of whateverism and ultraleftists in the upper echelons of the party.

Especially worth noting is that on the eve of the 12th CPC National Congress, Hua Guofeng openly advocated his idea that "practice is not the sole criterion

of truth." This viewpoint was based on the argument that "communist society has still not come into being, so has not undergone the test of practice, but the victory of communism is the truth." This argument by Hua Guofeng was openly repudiated by Hu Qiaomu and others. But it cannot be said that he had no influence at the level of the Central Committee. The spearhead of Hua Guofeng's opposition to the theory of practice was obviously directed at Deng Xiaoping and others. My friend told me:

"It was no coincidence that Hua Guofeng and Zhao Yiya's fallacies were trotted out, one after another, during the 12th CPC National Congress. It was a matter of timing. The top man in the whatever faction (Hua Guofeng) and the head of the whatever faction in the army (Wei Guoqing) harped on the same tune attacking Deng and Hu. Their sinister aim can entirely be imagined."

The publication of Zhao Yiya's article had a great impact on the Political Bureau. Hu Yaobang and Hu Qiaomu were especially indignant. Later Wei Guoqing was asked to conduct review of himself. Wei Guoqing knew that the situation was serious. He offered to resign from his post. Deng Xiaoping acted decisively. He unhesitatingly accepted Wei Guoqing's resignation. Wei Guoqing's fall from power was touched off by Zhao Yiya's article.

To eliminate the influence of Zhao Yiya's article and Wei Guoqing and others' thinking in the army, Deng and Hu ordered the responsible persons of the JIEFANG RIBAO to conduct self-reviews and public self-criticisms. Therefore, it was found that on 27 September, exactly one full month after the publication of Zhao Yiya's article, the JIEFANGJUN BAO carried an article by its editorial department entitled "An Article Marked With Serious Mistakes." This piece admitted that Zhao Yiya's article "is an article written under the correct title but marked with serious theoretical and political mistakes. Right on the eve of the 12th CPC National Congress, we carried an article that ran counter to certain important contents of the report to the 12th CPC National Congress (a report by then already basically finalized and referred by the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee in the first half of August to the 7th plenary session of the CPC Central Committee for approval—a fact known to the writer and the responsible persons of this newspaper). This is not only an indication of lack of prudence but also a serious dereliction of duty and a serious mistake both politically and organizationally." In criticizing the part in Zhao Yiya's article concerning the problem of ideology within the leadership, the article said that since August last year, Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang and Hu Qiaomu had vigorously tackled the problem of laxity and weakness marring leadership work on the ideological front. Great efforts had been made in this respect over the past year or so. "However, today, one year after the forum, Comrade Zhao Yiya made much of 'ideological guidance' as a central link." It seems that he has not a very clear understanding of what is to be advocated, what is to be opposed and what is to be noted--all of which our party has made known in educational programs for the party and in open propaganda campaigns. With the leadership not in a clear state ideologically, we just cannot claim to have 'made things clear to leadership comrades at all levels.' This is entirely contrary to facts. It also makes people wonder what was the target this argument of his was aimed at." "As an organ of the army, this newspaper carried this article by Comrade Zhao Yiya. This

means not only that we publicized wrong viewpoints, but that we failed to set forth facts or reason things out. It means that we failed to point out the specific object of criticism, but instead made a sweeping attack on 'individual comrades' in this or that field of the whole party--an attack carried far enough to involve the whole 'ideological guidance' for the party. This points to an extreme lack of seriousness. It runs counter to the guideline and principles for our party's conduct of criticism and self-criticism in newspapers and magazines. It is especially unworthy of an army newspaper. Only ideological confusion will result. We cannot help feeling deeply that the publication of such an article on the very eve of the 12th CPC National Congress is really a very serious mistake."

Deng Xiaoping Resolutely Criticizes Wei and Opposes Leftists

The appearance of Zhao Yiya's article in the army newspaper shows that in the army there really exists the influence of "leftist" thinking. In the army, some old cadres are dissatisfied with Deng Xiaoping's line, principles and policies. In their eyes, what Deng Xiaoping advocates is revisionism. It is even held that Deng Xiaoping has gone further than Khrushchev did in the past. Like Wei Guoqing, these veteran cadres think that "with more intellectuals admitted to the party, the party may change in quality. With more people joining the army, the army may change in quality." Therefore, they discriminate against intellectuals. Some have stubbornly adhered to Mao Zedong's "teachings" and even Lin Biao's "directives," one-sidedly stressing "politics first" and "the human factor first" and rejecting the arming of the mind with cultural and scientific knowledge. Their fallacy is ideologically rooted in the word "selfishness." Due to their own lack of knowledge and low professional level, they oppose Deng Xiaoping's army-building thinking. What is this for, if not self-interest and the protection of individual rights?

A person in press circles told the writer that Deng Liqun of the propaganda department of the CPC Central Committee has been arranging things. On the one hand, he wants to continue organizing public opinion to criticize Hua Guofeng's opposition to the theory of practice. On the other, he wants to repudiate the fallacies represented by Wei Guoqing and the articles in the JIEFANGJUN BAO. The emphasis is on the latter rather than the former. My friend said that "it is believed that articles and certain persons' talks and speeches representing public opinion will soon appear in the RENMIN RIBAO."

I entirely believe what my friend has predicted.

At the same time that Wei Guoqing stepped down, it was learned that Commander of the Navy Ye Fei had also left his post. Was this a coincidence, or an indication of a link between the two?

Did Wei Guoqing Involve Ye Fei?

Wei Guoqing is Ye Fei's former colleague. The 10th Corps of the East China Field Army (also known as the 3d Field Army), led by Chen Yi, was the most powerful corps in the 3d Field Army in those days. The commander of the corps was Ye Fei and its deputy political commissar was Wei Guoqing (Zhang

Dingcheng being the first political commissar). It was at the time when Chen Yi had led troops across the area south of the Changjiang River. After 1949, Wei Guoqing took charge of all government and military powers in Fuzhou. He was chairman of the Fuzhou Military Control Commission, secretary of the Fuzhou Municipal CPC Committee and mayor of Fuzhou. Ye Fei acted as first secretary of the Fujian Provincial CPC Committee and concurrently governor and also political commissar of the military district. During the "Cultural Revolution," Wei Guoqing was transferred to Guangxi. Ye Fei acted as minister of communications. Wei Guoqing was lucky and made it into the Political Bureau. After the collapse of the gang of four, Ye Fei was left in the cold. Wei Guoqing on his part stepped into a cherished post in the General Political Department. Perhaps out of consideration for their former relations, he keenly recommended Ye Fei as commander of the navy. From this, it can be seen that close relations existed between Wei Guoqing and Ye Fei.

But a friend of mine close to military sources told me that Ye Fei's resignation had nothing to do with Wei Guoqing's downfall. Ye Fei had long been sick and confined to hospital. He had long ago made a request for resignation. Therefore, Ye's case was not related to Wei's.

My friend also produced a copy of the GUANGMING RIBAO dated 15 August as a basis for his information, or view.

The newspaper on that date carried Ye Fei's speech at a congress of advanced elements in building spiritual civilization in the navy--a speech not released by XINHUA NEWS AGENCY. This speech was published before the JIEFANGJUN BAO carried Zhao Yiya's article. There were several points stressed in the speech. Two of them were aimed at something specific. First, what Ye Fei stressed was the four words by Deng Xiaoping (ideals, morality, culture and discipline). This was different from Wei Guoqing and others' one-sided emphasis on politics as the primary factor. Second, Ye Fei criticized Hua Guofeng, not by name, for oppoisng the theory of practice, describing Hua's viewpoint as an "erroneous viewpoint."

Yu Qiuli's takeover of the control of the General Political Department was more surprising than Wei Guoqing's downfall. As everyone knows, Yu Qiuli has in recent years not been entirely in agreement with Deng Xiaoping and others with regard to economic thinking. His status in the State Council is now a bit lower than before. At the mention of Yu Qiuli, the people of Beijing would say that he is of the petroleum faction. The petroleum faction is a term synonymous with the lack of a down-to-earth approach.

However, Hu Yaobang recently visited Daqing and set great store by its achievements. This seemingly smacks of his desire to "reverse the verdict" on the petroleum faction. It is said that Deng and Hu hold that Yu Qiuli showed defects while in charge of petroleum work in the State Council before, but that he had not actually made ultraleftist mistakes. A clear fact is that Yu Qiuli not only attaches importance to political work but also pays attention to the problem of knowledge or specialization for those working in the petroleum field. This experience is also useful in army work.

Another important reason is that putting Yu Qiuli in charge of the General Political Department would not cause much of a shock. Yu was Zhou Enlai's "favorite general," and might command respect in the army.

However, some people in Beijing think differently. One view is rather strange. It is that the transfer of Yu Qiuli to the General Political Department by Deng Xiaoping was prompted by a desire to diffuse the strength of the petroleum faction. Another view is that this was an expediency, or a temporary arrangement of personnel.

At present, the problems within the army are rather complicated. There not only remains the pernicious influence of the "left" but also anarchist thinking. The clash between the idea of whateverism among old cadres, and Deng Xiaoping's line, cannot be immediately overcome. The noncommunist thinking among young fighters also puts obstacles in the way of "revolutionizing" the army. Of course, the main contradictions are still ultraleftist thinking and the viewpoint of whateverism. Therefore, Deng Xiaoping's current purge of the ultraleftist forces in the army is in order. It is believed that the down-fall of Wei Guoqing is the beginning of a series of anti-"leftist" moves. It is said that the two magazines JIEFANGJUN BAO and SHIDAI DE BAOGAO, which have come under the influence of ultraleftists and been exploited by them, will be overhauled ideologically, politically and even organizationally. There has also been news a bout another top leftist, Huang Gang, being expelled from his position of forming public opinion. Those in literary and art circles in Beijing were jubilant on learning the news. Some people enthusiastically hailed the defeat of Yao the Second. Some others also asked: Would there be Yao the Third?

No matter what, Deng Xiaoping's purge of the army is a good thing. If it is a thorough job, it means the removal of a time bomb, and there will surely be a greater stability in China's political situation.

CSO: 4005/128 END

JPRS 82301

23 November 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 366

JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE
25
ANNIVERSARY

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82301

23 November 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 366

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Vietnam Urged To Implement UN Resolutions
(XINHUA, 28 Oct 82) 1

Thai UN Representative Speaks on Kampuchea
(XINHUA, 28 Oct 82) 3

'VODK' Editorial Hails UN Vote To Retain DK Seat
(XINHUA, 27 Oct 82) 4

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Better India-Bangladesh Relations
(Li Wenzheng; RENMIN RIBAO, 12 Oct 82) 5

Briefs
SWAPO Official's Warning 7
'Arafat Meets Nonaligned Committee 7
Senegalese Thanks for Technical Aid 7
Pakistani, Indian Leaders' Talks 8
Indonesian-SRV Talks 8
Thai Troops 'On Alert' 8
Thailand Comments on Conflicts 9
Indian Stand Toward Kampuchea 9

PARTY AND STATE

Study of 12th Party Congress Documents Promoted
(WEN HUI BAO, 6 Sep 82) 10

Shanghai CCPC Notice
Shanghai CCPC, People's Congress Forum

Jurist Pan Nianzhi Interviewed
(Chun Xia; WEN HUI BAO, 11 Sep 82) 13

Essays on Party Ideology, Congress
(Chunhe; LIAONING RIBAO, various dates) 15

Ideological Building Said Important to Socialist Spiritual Civilization
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 14 Sep 82) 19

Efforts To Overcome Neglect of Culture Urged
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 14 Sep 82) 21

Communist Ideology 'Vigorously' Promoted
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 14 Sep 82) 23

Socialist Spiritual Civilization Called Important Characteristic of Socialism
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 14 Sep 82) 25

Liaoning Party Members Learn To Propagate the Twelve Documents
(LIAONING RIBAO, 25 Sep 82) 27

Leading Cadres To Be Trained
Good Study Habits Urged
Dandong Party Members Study
Benxi Propaganda System Under Way, by Guo Yuanfu, Si Xiangchun

Followers of Jiang Qing in Shanghai Tried, Sentenced
(WEN HUI BAO, 29 Sep 82) 31

New CPC Constitution on Role of Party Members Discussed
(Gao Zhu; WEN HUI BAO, 29 Sep 82) 34

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Zuo Zongtang's Historical Role
(Shen Chuanjing; GUANGMING RIBAO, 6 Oct 82) 36

Xi Zhongxun on Du Bincheng, Yang Mingxuan
(Xi Zhongxun; GUANGMING RIBAO, 8 Oct 82) 42

Song Renquiong on Learning From Luo Jianfu
(Song Renqiong; CONGREN RIBAO, 17 Oct 82) 46

'GUANGMING RIBAO' Recalls PRC Feudal Society
(Bai Gang; GUANGMING RIBAO, 20 Oct 82) 48

'HEBEI RIBAO' on Separation of Party and Government
(Zhang Wenguang; HEBEI RIBAO, 21 Oct 82) 56

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Dedication to Communism
(Liu Zhijian; RENMIN RIBAO, 22 Oct 82) 61

Beijing Radio on Discipline Inspection Conference
(Beijing City Service, 23 Oct 82) 66

'GUANGMING RIBAO' Article Views 'Genuine Socialism'
(Xi Guangqing; GUANGMING RIBAO, 25 Oct 82) 68

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Reappraisal of Guangxu Emperor
(Chen Kejin; GUANGMING RIBAO, 25 Oct 82) 70

Nei Monggol Zhou Hui Attends CYL Congress
(Nei Monggol Regional Service, 25 Oct 82) 72

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Promoting Communist Ideology
(Qi Ping; GUANGMING RIBAO, 26 Oct 82) 73

Nei Monggol Seventh CYL Congress Concludes
(Nei Monggol Regional Service, 31 Oct 82) 76

Nei Monggol Circular on Meeting Plans Reported
(Nei Monggol Regional Service, 2 Nov 82) 79

Briefs
Chinese Student's Defection 81

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

VIETNAM URGED TO IMPLEMENT UN RESOLUTIONS

OW280304 Beijing XINHUA in English 0248 GMT 28 Oct 82

[Text] United Nations, October 27 (XINHUA)--Vietnam was urged to implement the resolutions adopted at the past three sessions of the General Assembly which call for an end to its military occupation of Kampuchea and for a comprehensive political settlement to the Kampuchean problem, when the assembly's debate on the question of Kampuchea entered its second day today.

The representative for Pakistan Sardar Shahnawaz said that Vietnam had been guilty of violating a sacrosanct principle of international law for which it had been rightly censured by the United Nations. "A blueprint for the political settlement of the Kampuchean crisis has been laid down in the resolutions of the assembly, and in the declaration adopted at the International Conference on Kampuchea," he stressed.

Ali Alatas, representative of Indonesia, stated that a comprehensive political solution could be achieved within the framework established by United Nations resolutions and on the basis of the principles laid down by the conference. His government called especially on Vietnam to participate in the future efforts of the international conference so that a peaceful and durable solution could be achieved.

The representative of New Zealand Harold Francis said that his government fully supported the political framework that was adopted at the International Conference on Kampuchea.

U.S. representative William C. Sherman pointed out that over the past three years, the General Assembly had stood firm against Vietnam's aggression and had insisted that Vietnam totally withdraw from occupied Kampuchea. This year, he stressed, "we have an opportunity in the form of this resolution to renew our commitment to the goal of an independent Kampuchea."

Speaking on behalf of the European Community countries, representative of Denmark Niels Helskov stressed that the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces was "an indispensable step in returning Kampuchea to normality."

Ignac Golob, representative of Yugoslavia, said that the framework for a political solution of the Kampuchean problem should be based "only on the withdrawal of foreign troops and on the elimination of foreign intervention."

Representatives in their statements attached importance to the formation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk.

Other speakers pointed out that the draft resolution before the General Assembly on the situation in Kampuchea reaffirmed the basic principles contained in the resolutions of the past three sessions and pledged their support for it.

CSO: 4000/12

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAI UN REPRESENTATIVE SPEAKS ON KAMPUCHEA

OW280956 Beijing XINHUA in English 0708 GMT 28 Oct 82

[Text] United Nations, October 27 (XINHUA)--Thai representative Birabhongse Kasemsri said here today that foreign military occupation of Kampuchea and the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination is the core issue for a solution to the Kampuchean problem.

Addressing the UN General Assembly, Kasemsri noted that the formation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea is "a positive step" towards a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

The Thai representative urged the General Assembly into support for the present draft resolution on Kampuchea in order to keep alive the hopes of the Kampuchean people for a just, peaceful and lasting settlement to the tragic situation.

On the Vietnam-proposed limited International Conference on Southeast Asia, Kasemsri said such a conference would only serve to legitimize the continued foreign military occupation of Kampuchea.

He said the proposed conference "has hidden flaws and serious pitfalls" for, first and foremost, there is no assurance that the core issue of foreign military occupation of Kampuchea and the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination would be the focus of attention at such a conference.

Commenting on the Vietnamese foreign minister's tour of some ASEAN countries last July, Kasemsri said out of the expectation of the ASEAN countries, it was disappointing that there were little signs of any substantive change in Vietnam's position.

The Thai representative exposed hypocrisy of the Vietnam-claimed partial withdrawal. He said persistent reports of a continuing build-up of infantry, mechanized and air units as well as introductions of fresh Vietnamese troops into Kampuchea all pointed to "the exaggerated nature of the claim."

He expressed the fear that the forthcoming Vietnam's dry-season offensive might intensify the fighting, trigger a new mass exodus of refugees and cause more incursions by the Vietnamese forces across the border. The Thai representative believed that despite violent protracted campaigns by the foreign forces to crush the resistance, the Kampuchean resistance movement had gained added strength and momentum.

CSO: 4000/12

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'VODK' EDITORIAL HAILS UN VOTE TO RETAIN DK SEAT

OW271119 Beijing XINHUA in English 0815 GMT 27 Oct 82

[Text] Beijing, October 27 (XINHUA)--The UN General Assembly's vote to retain the seat of Democratic Kampuchea in the world organization by an overwhelming majority has greatly encouraged the Kampuchean people in their struggle to resist vietnamese invaders.

This was stated by RADIO DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA in an editorial today.

The UN vote is also an inspiration and support to the small and weak nations in their struggle against foreign aggression, expansion and interference and for the safeguarding of sovereignty and independence, it stressed.

The radio says Vietnam has suffered setbacks in its attempts to unseat Democratic Kampuchea. This time Vietnam's setback is even more dismal.

The radio hails the UN vote as "a magnificent victory of Kampuchea's just struggle against Vietnamese aggression and for national salvation. It is a common victory for all peace-loving forces in the world upholding justice and independence as well as a disaal defeat for the Soviet-Vietnamese expansionists in the international arena."

The radio says the result of the UN voting shows that the international community will never accept any acts which trample on the UN Charter and principles governing international relations. It also shows the international community firmly opposes the Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea and the strategy of the Soviet Union and Vietnam to extend aggression to Southeast Asia.

CSO: 4000/12

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON BETTER INDIA-BANGLADESH RELATIONS

HK141307 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Oct 82 p 7

["News Roundup" column by Li Wenzheng [2621 2429 2398]: "Relations Between Bangladesh and India Are Improving"]

[Text] Bangladesh Chief Martial Law Administrator Hussain Mohammad Ershad paid a formal visit to India from 6-7 October and held friendly talks with Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The current visit has been beneficial to improving the relations between the two countries that have been tense in the past few years.

During the visit, the two sides signed a document setting the terms of the lease in perpetuity of the Tin Bigha Corridor by India to Bangladesh to connect the two enclaves of Bangladesh--Dahagram and Angarpota. This document was signed to satisfy the needs of Bangladesh.

The two sides also signed a document establishing a common economic commission. India and Bangladesh have always had close economic connections. Ever since Lt Gen Ershad came to power, he has attached importance to economic connections with India. This year, when Bangladesh was in urgent need of grain from July to September, India released 100,000 tons of wheat which it had imported from Canada and the United States and lent to Bangladesh. At present, India exports $73 million of commodities a year to Bangladesh, while purchasing only $12 million worth of Bangladeshi products. The establishment of the common economic comission will surely be conducive to both sides in further and better coordinating and cooperating in the economic sphere.

The issue of Ganges River water was a prominent topic in the high-level talks between the two countries. Some press commentators considered that the problem of Ganges River water was one of the most important topics in the high-level talks. After the talks, an Indian spokesman said: "The talks achieved further progress in reaching a new agreement on sharing the Ganges waters during the dry seasons."

The agreement on sharing the Ganges waters signed in November 1977 is due to expire on 4 November 1982. This agreement did not fundamentally solve the problem of both sides sharing the Ganges waters. Since India built a dam in Faraka not far from where the Ganges River enters Bangladesh, every year in the

dry season, there is a serious shortage of Ganges River water entering Bangladesh. This affects the production of industry and agriculture, communications and transportation and people's lives in Bangladesh. The Ganges River Valley, within Bangladesh, occupies 36 percent of the total area of the whole country. Twenty-five percent of the cultivated land of Bangladesh relies on irrigation from the Ganges River and the livelihood of 33 percent of the population is closely linked with the Ganges River.

At the end of his visit, Ershad told reporters, the two sides agreed to study within 18 months how to work out a long-term solution. During this period, the two countries agreed to continue to share the Ganges waters on the basis of the 1977 agreement.

Two or 3 years before Lieutenant General Ershad came to power in March 1982, the leaders of the two countries visited each other several times and discussed the problems of sharing the Ganges waters but they were still not thoroughly solved. Last year, the two countries had a dispute about the sovereignty of a newly discovered island in the Bay of Bengal, and relations between the two countries became strained. Since Lieutenant General Ershad came to power, he has adopted measures and made efforts to improve relations with India. After the current talks, both sides did not even issue any opinion on the matter.

Prior to the high-level talks between India and Bangladesh, some observers were not optimistic. They believed that by January 1983, it would be impossible for the two sides to reach any new agreement but that they might work out some temporary arrangement. Lieutenant General Ershad was hopeful and quite optimistic. He told reporters that his present visit was "successful," that the two countries were advancing in the direction of "perpetual solution" of the problems between them and that they have agreed to improve relations between the two countries. Another achievement of the high-level talks is that the two sides signed a memorandum of mutual understanding on the problem of sharing the Ganges waters.

CSO: 4005/131

BRIEFS

SWAPO OFFICIAL'S WARNING--Dakar, October 29 (XINHUA)--The Namibian people will carry on their armed struggle if political and diplomatic mediation fails, declared a representative of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) here today. Eddy S. Amkongo, SWAPO representative to Western Africa, was speaking at a press conference held here today, the second day of the current week of solidarity with the Namibian people. He stated that as the South African regime has been arrogantly stubborn and the west contact group has adopted a double-faced attitude, prospects for a just solution to the Namibia issue have waned. The argument that the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution No 435 should be linked with the withdrawal of the Cuban troops in Angola is a plot to indefinitely put off a solution to the problem, he added. Amkongo said the armed struggles carried out by SWAPO in Namibia and the African National Congress in South Africa are weakening the South African racist regime. He also appealed to the peace-loving people in Africa and the world as a whole to give material support to SWAPO and the Azania African National Congress. [Text] [OW301622 Beijing XINHUA in English 1512 GMT 30 Oct 82]

'ARAFAT MEETS NONALIGNED COMMITTEE--Tunis, October 23 (XINHUA)--Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the executive committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, had a discussion here today with the delegation of the Palestine issue committee of the non-aligned countries on the consequences caused by Israel's aggression in the occupied lands and Lebanon. During the two-hour meeting, they also discussed the means to help Palestinians resist the Israeli aggression and other issues. At a press conference after the meeting, 'Arafat said that the delegation had reaffirmed the determination of the non-aligned countries to resolutely support the Palestinian people in their struggle for a just cause including the rights to return to their homelands, self-determination and the establishment of an independent state on the Palestinian land. The delegation arrived here this morning after a ministerial meeting of the Palestine issue committee held in Nicosia, capital of Cyprus. A communique issued at the end of the ministerial meeting stressed that Israel should withdraw completely and unconditionally from all the Palestinian lands it has occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. [Text] [OW241616 Beijing XINHUA in English 1502 GMT 24 Oct 82]

SENEGALESE THANKS FOR TECHNICAL AID--Dakar, October 25 (XINHUA)--The last three of 60 China-aided wells in Senegal were inaugurated recently by Prime Minister Habib Thiam. The three wells are located in Maka-Couli Bantan, Koussanar and Koumpentoum of Tambacounda Province, East Senegal. The supply system with each

well includes a tower, two ponds and water troughs for animals. The drilling of the 60 wells with the help of Chinese technicians started five years ago to improve the water supply to the farmers in five of the eight administrative divisions of the country. The whole project costs one billion CFAF (one U.S. dollar equals 338 CFAF). Speaking at the inauguration ceremony Wednesday, Thiam thanked the Chinese Government and technicians for their assistance. He called on farmers to take good care of these wells and prevent waste of water. He said, the Senegalese Government will carry out the policy of ensuring the supply of adequate water for every citizen. For that purpose, it plans to invest 40 billion CFAF in the rural development in the period from now to 1985. [Text] [OW251315 Beijing XINHUA in English 1250 GMT 25 Oct 82]

PAKISTANI, INDIAN LEADERS' TALKS--New Delhi, November 1 (XINHUA)--Pakistan President General Mohammad Ziaul Haq and Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi held talks here today while Zia made a stopover en route to Kuala Lumpur. In their two rounds of talks, they discussed issues such as a no-war pact suggested by Pakistan and a treaty of peace and friendship proposed by India, as well as global and regional matters. President Zia also visited Indian President Zail Singh. A joint press statement issued this afternoon said that India and Pakistan agreed to establish a joint commission. Officials of the two countries will meet in New Delhi next month to discuss the Pakistan draft of a non-aggression pact and the Indian draft of a treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation, the statement said. The statement said that the two leaders looked forward to continuing their discussions at the time of the non-aligned summit meeting in New Delhi next March. Talking to newsmen before his departure this afternoon, Zia described his talks with Mrs Gandhi as "excellent" and hoped they could pave the way for better relations between India and Pakistan. Mrs Gandhi said: "The talks were cordial as well." This is the first time in nearly 10 years that a Pakistan head of state has been on Indian soil. The last occasion was in 1972 when the then Pakistan Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto came to India to sign the Simla Agreement between the two countries. [Text] [OW012013 Beijing XINHUA in English 1537 GMT 1 Nov 82]

INDONESIAN-SRV TALKS--Beijing, October 30 (XINHUA)--Talks between Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach and his Indonesian counterpart Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja made no headway on the Kampuchean issue, Mokhtar told newsmen in Jakarta yesterday. According to reports reaching here, during the talks in the Indonesian capital, the two sides exchanged views on ways of narrowing their differences on the Kampuchean issue. Mokhtar said there was nothing new in the two-hour discussion, "Nguyen Co Thach has not come up with anything new," he said. Singing the same old tune of "Chinese threats," Nguyen Co Thach said Vietnam would pull its troops out of Kampuchea only on condition that the Chinese threat is ended. Mokhtar said that he reiterated the Indonesian position of demanding unilateral withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. Arriving in Jakarta on October 28, the Vietnamese foreign minister is on a four-day visit to Indonesia. [Text] [OW302024 Beijing XINHUA in English 1853 GMT 30 Oct 82]

THAI TROOPS 'ON ALERT'--Bangkok, October 27 (XINHUA)--Commander in Chief of the Thai Army Athit Kamlang-ek said yesterday that Thai troops are on alert in border areas against possible foreign invasion. Kamlang-ek made the remarks to reporters after presiding over a ceremony for decorating jet pilots. Asked

about the possible danger to the security of Thailand by a large-scale Vietnamese military operation in Kampuchea, he said that there might be an assault on the resistance force in Kampuchea in the coming dry season. "As armymen, we must get well prepared and deal telling blows to the invaders to safeguard our national security if they intrude into our territory," he said. [Text] [OW271421 Beijing XINHUA in English 1252 GMT 27 Oct 82]

THAILAND COMMENTS ON CONFLICTS--Bangkok, November 1 (XINHUA)--Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon said yesterday that the present conflict in Southeast Asia is the result of Vietnam's "armed invasion and occupation of Kampuchea." Speaking at the opening ceremony for the 4th meeting of the Standing Committee of the World Veterans Organization, the prime minister said that Thailand and its ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) partners will continue their search for a comprehensive political solution of the Kampuchea problem. The five ASEAN countries are firm in their commitment to peace and stability in Southeast Asia, he added. Prem stressed that the Kampuchea problem is a major obstacle to durable peace in the region. He called for the implementation of relevant UN resolutions which demand the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and the restoration of the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people. He pointed out that though Thailand is not a party to the conflict in Kampuchea it still has to bear the burden of taking care of hundreds of thousands of refugees. The Kampuchea question and other Indo-chinese problems are main topics being discussed at the three-day meeting of World Veterans Organization. [Text] [OW010922 Beijing XINHUA in English 0707 GMT 1 Nov 82]

INDIAN STAND TOWARD KAMPUCHEA--Bangkok, October 31 (XINHUA)--Thailand and other ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) countries are dissatisfied with the speech of the Indian delegate at the UN General Assembly on the Kampuchea problem. This was made clear by Thai Undersecretary of State in the Foreign Ministry Arsa Sarasin to Indian Ambassador Here Ashok Bhalchandra Gokhale October 29. Sarasin described the speech, which condemned the stand of the ASEAN and the Democratic Kampuchean Coalition Government headed by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, as an unfriendly act toward Thailand and other ASEAN countries. He said: "The Indian attitude at the UN General Assembly will seriously affect India's relations with all the ASEAN countries. It demonstrated India's intention not to value its friendship with them. It will probably be submitted to the next ASEAN ministerial meeting for discussion." Sarasin asked the Indian ambassador to convey the Thai views to the Indian Government. Thailand is the current chairman of the ASEAN Permanent Committee. According to AFP, Thailand was speaking on behalf of the five ASEAN countries. [Text] [OW011028 Beijing XINHUA in English 0739 GMT 01 Nov 82]

CSO: 4000/12

PARTY AND STATE

STUDY OF 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS PROMOTED

Shanghai CCPC Notice

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 6 Sep 82 p 1

[Text] The Shanghai Municipal Party Committee Calls on All Party and Youth League Members to Conscientiously Study the Documents From the 12th National Party Congress.

On the 3rd day, the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee issued a notice regarding the study of the documents from the 12th Party Congress and called upon all party and Youth League members throughout the municipality to conscientiously read Comrade Deng Xizoping's opening speech at the 12th National Party Congress and the report by Comrade Hu Yaobang, the representative of the Party Central Committee, and to engage in conscientious propaganda among the masses. The notice also points out that a similar procedure is to be followed in future cases of all documents that the Party Central Committee shall publish in the press, without awaiting further instructions from higher authority.

Shanghai CCPC, People's Congress Forum

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 6 Sep 82 p 1

[Article: "Comrades Who Spoke at the Forum Reviewed the Huge Achievements Since the Third Plenary Session and Expressed Full Confidence in the Realization of the Grand Program"]

[Text] On the afternoon of the 4th day, the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee called the first study and discussion forum of the standing committee members in Shanghai and of a section of responsible cadres in departments, commissions and groups for a conscientious study and discussion of the opening speech of Comrade Deng Xiaoping and the report given by Comrade Hu Yaobang.

The secretary of the Party Committee, Han Zheyi [7281 0772 0001] chaired the study and discussion meeting on the 4th. He said, the Municipal Party Committee issued a notice to conscientiously read and study the documents

from the 12th National Party Congress. We want to be among the first to study, first to make a serious study of the opening speech by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and link it with a discussion and appreciation of Comrade Hu Yaobang's report, of which an abstract was published in the press, to be followed by further penetrating studies.

At the study and discussion meeting on the 4th, the following six comrades made speeches: Yang Kai [2799 1956], Zhang Chengzong [1728 2110 1350], Yang Shifa [2799 1102 3127], Zhao Xingzhi [6392 5887 1807], Ye Shangzhi [0673 1424 1807] and Li Peinan [2621 1014 0589].

The comrades who spoke at the meeting were all agreed that Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech was terse but comprehensive as he touched upon many questions of fundamental principles. Everyone gained a good deal of enlightenment from the way Comrade Deng related to the 7th and 8th National Party Congress and elucidated the historical position and great significance of the 12th National Party Congress. The speakers reviewed the history of the party and talked of the importance of summing up positive and negative historical experiences. Some comrades expressed that the historical experiences which were summed up at the 12th National Party Congress had been bought at a heavy price and must be treasured as extremely valuable. The correct guiding principles determined on this basis are bound to guide us to new victories.

The comrades who spoke at the meeting related to the history of our party in conscientiously studying particularly that section of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech where he said: "The basic conclusion to be drawn from a summing up of our protracted historical experiences is that we must integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of our country, so as to go our own way and build a socialism with Chinese characteristics." In this way they gained a further understanding of the importance of linking theory with practice, of upholding the principle of seeking truth from facts and of starting out from the realities in all affairs. Some comrades said, as to the "leftist" and rightist errors that have been committed in the course of our revolution and construction, their ideological roots had been the split between the subjective and the objective viewpoints and the parting of the ways between theory and practice. As we look back on the victories and setbacks that our party has experienced, we feel even more touched by what Comrade Deng Xiaoping expressed in the mentioned phrase. Some comrades said, only by firmly upholding the prinicple of seeking truth from facts and by rectifying our ideological line can we avoid vacillating now to the "left," now to the right, and in order to safeguard the correctness of our ideological line it is necessary to develop democracy and implement democratic centralism. Since the Third Plenary Session, the Party Central Committee has given us a good example in this respect, and another brilliant example was set by the present Party Congress. In this respect Comrade Hu Yaobang particularly discussed the question of the great effort needed to build up a high degree of socialist democracy.

Comrades who spoke at the meeting related to the actual work and social phenomena during the last few years in their conscientious study of that

section of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech where he said: "Our standpoint in the past as well as at present and in the future is to maintain our independence, self-determination and self-reliance." The comrades all agreed that this has been the consistent policy of our party and that it must be continuously adhered to. Some speakers said, only by maintaining independence, self-determination and self-reliance will we be able to go our own way and to integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of our country. The speakers also said that certain unhealthy phenomena that appeared within the party and in our society in general were not brought about by the policy of opening up our country, but rather by the deficiencies in our ideological and practical work. We are determined to follow Comrade Deng Xiaoping in implementing unswervingly the policy of opening up our country, but at the same time will preserve a clear and sober mind and resolutely resist any corrosion by decadent bourgeois ideologies.

Through their historical review, especially by enumerating the huge transformations and outstanding achievements during the short 4 years since the Third Plenary Session, the comrades who spoke at the meeting showed a sense of boundless confidence in the prospects of the future. Some speakers said, the facts fully prove that our party has much matured and will certainly show itself capable of leading the people of all nationalities throughout our entire country to an all-round initiation of a new phase of overall construction of socialist modernization.

All comrades were elated at hearing of the grand program revealed in Comrade Hu Yaobang's report and in their discussions of the relevant section of Comrade Hu Yaobang's report gained an initial understanding of its implications.

The study and discussion meeting was scheduled to be continued this afternoon.

9808
CSO: 4005/77

PARTY AND STATE

JURIST PAN NIANZHI INTERVIEWED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 11 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by Chun Xia [2504 1115]: "Interviewing Jurist Pan Nianzhi [3382 1819 0037]--Every Citizen Should Know the Law and Obey the Law"; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] Pan Nianzhi, already aged 80, is an industrious and studious, simple and unpretentious jurist who now holds the position of deputy director of the Law Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Shanghai. In the late twenties, Pan studied law at the Meiji University in Japan and remains active in law research. He is respected in legal circles for his great experience in jurisprudence and for his ability to present his own opinions.

Although at an advanced age, Pan is healthy and vigorous. When I went to see him, he was working at home on some items for the "Law" section of the "Great Encyclopedia." On my arrival he greeted me warmly, had me sit on the sofa and made some tea.

I opened up by saying: "At your advanced age you are still keeping up with your work, that is really not easy."

Pan replied smiling: "There was a time lately when we did not pay much attention to legal work and wasted a number of years. Now we have to make up for lost time and damage done." He let us know that he took part in organizing the compilation of a number of books that provided legal information, such as a "Dictionary of Law," "Introduction to Jurisprudence," "Collected Translations of Foreign Law Studies," etc. With a sigh he said: "We have now too few books that popularize law knowledge, it is really a 'book famine.' A person who wants to study law cannot find books to read. We got out a few items which were well received by the people; for instance "Seven Popular Lectures on Law" has had an edition of 320,000 copies, but was soon sold out. Some books for which supply could not satisfy readers' demands had to be reprinted."

I said: "You really have made a contribution toward the popularization and spread of legal knowledge."

Pan replied modestly: "One cannot speak of contribution, I just did the little that was in my power to do."

"Actually, law is nothing mysterious and can be mastered by anyone," Pan said, turning to the topic of studying law. "Any country, large or small, has a uniform will, which, if written down, becomes law and constitutes the norm that everyone has to follow in all actions. This is like having to keep to the right when driving a vehicle on the road or having to stop at a red light, otherwise accidents will occur. Law manifests the will of the country and is the common norm that every single citizen must obey."

"It is always put that way, but it is not a simple matter to have every single person respect and obey the law," I put in rather unkindly.

"It is true, there are now people who feel that the law restricts personal freedoms and puts fetters on hands and feet. However, law fetters the hands and feet of only a certain kind of people, prohibiting them from being unruly in word and deed. Anyone who feels fettered is making it clear that his action would exceed the sphere of what is legally permissible. If his action would be within the sphere of what is legally permissible, he would not feel fettered."

I felt inwardly a great admiration for Pan, hearing him speak so incisively and pungently. In the report at the 12th National Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaoband pointed out: "We shall engage in propaganda and education over and over again for the legal system among all the people. From elementary schools up, all schools shall institute courses on the legal system in an effort to have every single citizen know the law and obey the law. We shall educate and supervise the broad masses of our party members to have them set examples in respecting and obeying the law." I asked Pan to comment and give his suggestions. He replied: "Apart from our Constitution, we are now also gradually establishing and perfecting various kinds of other laws. We are therefore not a country without laws to follow, but rather have the problem of having all affairs truly and factually carried out according to law. We still have a situation where existing laws are not followed. For instance, certain cadres frequently think that their own opinions can take the place of law, and some people evade responsibility for their violations of the law because they have certain connections.--Questions like these are in urgent need of solution. If we are lax in executing our laws and do not prosecute law violations, there will be an increase of law violators and the authority of the law will not be able to assert itself. It is therefore necessary not only to have everyone study the law, but also to have everyone respect the law.

9808
CSO: 4005/77

PARTY AND STATE

ESSAYS ON PARTY IDEOLOGY, CONGRESS

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 4, 5, 11 Sep 82

[4 Sep 82]

[Essay by Chunhe [2504 3109]: "'The Goddess Who Flew to the Moon' and 'The Old Man Moved the Mountains'"]

[Text] "The goddess who flew to the moon" is an old fairytale; "The old man who moved the mountain" though a fable, also has a strong legendary tinge. For thousands of years, the reason why these two stories have spread far and wide is probably because they both embody the beautiful fantasy of man conquering nature! Yet, man's perception has by no means remained in the state of primitive fantasy; otherwise, there would be no social civilization like that which we experience today. With the passage of time, the legend about the goddess who "flew to the moon" has long become reality, and the magnificent feats of "moving mountains" have likewise been repeatedly witnessed! This is the inevitable outcome of scientific development. Only with science can there be the fact of fantasy turning into reality.

From this, one cannot but think of some people saying that communism is "precarious," "utopian," and other nonsense. Actually, long before the emergence of Marxism, there were people who yearned for the "Land of Peach Blossoms" and the "Utopia" type of society, and there were people who established the theory of utopian socialism and carried out experiments according to such utopianism! Yet, just as in the legend "the goddess who flew to the moon," Chang-E drank the "medicine of immortality" and was able to fly to heaven, fantasies were, after all, fantasy. One of the great merits of the great teachers of the proletariat Marx and Engels is precisely that they applied the world view and methodology of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, thoroughly studied human society and discovered the objective laws therein, and changed socialism from fantasy to science. From then on, the communist movement surged forward, and in practice continues to make progress and achieve brilliant victories. This is obvious to all. Our "precarious" and "utopian" theorizers, at a time when scientific socialism has existed for over a century, still fail to see the earth-shaking change the communist movement has brought to this world and still regard science as fantasy: is this not a tragedy?!

Communism has forged ahead in practice, and in the midst of its advance it was not always a matter of smooth sailing. The enemy's opposition has been one

thing. Even we could not avoid making mistakes and the reason for these mistakes, in the final analysis, was because in the course of our advance we deviated from the path pointed out by scientific socialism. The road leading to communism cannot possibly be straight and even; lying ahead of us are countless "big mountains." We can move these big mountains, but the communist cause is not legend, nor fantasy, and we cannot expect God to dispatch the "two sons of Kua'e" to swing the mountains over their shoulders and take them away. What we need is the Foolish Old Man's spirit of "all-out efforts to level the precipice."

The Foolish Old Man is an example. There are three points about him that merit our study: First, he has a clear goal in mind, that is, he is unwilling to "take a devious road back and forth" and he is determined to remove those two big mountains so that his path can "lead straight to southern Henan, reaching the north of the Han River." Second, he has a firm faith in sure victory: "Although I will die, I still have my sons left...and my sons will have their sons, ad infinitum, the mountains will not increase; why should I worry about their not ever becoming leveled?" Third, he had an indomitable and hard-working spirit, everyday he "knocked off rocks and dug up soil" and chipped at the mountains without stop. Our "precarious" and "utopian" theorizers live in a socialist society but fail to establish firmly a far-sighted communist goal in their minds; they think of a bright future, but lack faith in sure victory; they would like to live the good life, but they are unwilling to work hard. Thus, they shift the emptiness of their own thinking and the infirmity of their own faith altogether to the side of the communist cause. This idea is very dangerous, and it is also completely wrong. It is not excessive to say this. I advise you to assert your revolutionary spirit, establish communist ideals, resolve to be like the Foolish Old Man who moved the mountains, and keep pace with the times!

[5 Sep 82 p 3]

[Essay by Gong Xi [1362 1585]: "There Is Communism in Our Life"]

[Text] Where is communism? Communism is both in the future and at our side. As a social system, communism is in the future; it is the goal for which we strive. But, as an ideological system and the movement under the guidance of this ideological system, communism is at our side. Just as Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the "12th Congress": our daily life includes communism and cannot depart from communism.

At communism's elementary stage, in our realistic socialist society, we must tacitly acknowledge that different degrees of work ability are every person's natural privilege, labor is still each laborer's individual means of livelihood, therefore we must practice the principle of to each according to his work. Our party resolutely practices this principle and opposes and criticizes all theories denying this principle. But from the point of view of a communist, our ideology is communism and our aim is not salary nor livelihood; our aim is the realization of the communist ideal. At no time do communists cease to influence and educate the masses with their own actions or to participate in socialist construction with the labor attitude of communism so that their

personal interests are subordinated to the interests of the collective, and present interests are subordinated to long-range interests. If someone joins the revolution for the sake of rewards and haggles with the party and the people, suggesting that he be "paid so much money for so much work," he is not qualified to be a communist. Today, there are within our party some people who forget one's integrity under the temptation of personal gains; but they are, after all, the minority and isolated cases, they are but suds in the sea of our life. The waves that can really pound on people's minds are: Zhao Chun'e [6392 2504 1230] feels distressed because she has spent 900 yuan of public funds while staying in the hospital; she resolved to make greater contributions to the state thereafter in order to "earn back" the money she has spent, even when her life was in danger she continued to go to work regularly. Liu Baoyan [0491 1405 5333], while suffering from cancer, with her weight reduced to merely 70-plus pounds, prompts herself to "make the best use of time to do more work, dedicate the very last moment of her short life [to the state]." Du Yunyun [2629 5366 5366] contributed a great amount of her inheritance to the state. Brother and sister Tao Jinlan [7118 6855 5695] and Tao Enming [7118 1869 6900] submit the silver dollars worth 360,000 yuan which they dug up to the government.... All sincere communists, all those who believe in communism, hardly calculate minute gains and losses for themselves; they are working selflessly for the construction of our socialist modernization.

In our life, in front of us or alongside us, there are more heroes and models, there are those who, for the sake of their communist ideal, exert themselves at the risk of their lives and sacrifice everything, like Zhou Yuncheng [0719 0061 2052], who ignored his own life and concentrated on pursuing what he valued in his life, or Luan Fu [2940 5397], the exemplary intellectual who, for the sake of developing the motherland's science and technology, fought till the very last moment of his life, or Chen Feiyan [7115 7378 3601], though pregnant jumped into the water to rescue someone.... They are not dreamers but communist practitioners with their feet firmly on the ground. It is precisely the practice of these people that is educating and stimulating us and making our faith in communism firmer and firmer. It is also these shining ideas and deeds which are illuminating more and more minds, enabling people to strive forward and advance to communism step by step.

In his article "A Great Creative Act" Lenin praised "Communist Saturday Labor" and proposed we should take good care of the buds of communism. Yes, under the leadership of our party, there are buds everywhere in our life; we should discover them in time and foster them. They have provided us with the substance of our thought, and we must refine them, accumulate them and sum them up. To put it in Lenin's words: "Play fewer politically sharp tunes, pay more attention to ordinary but vivid enterprises of communist construction that originate from life and are tested by life--all of us, our writers, agitators, propagandists, organizers, etc., should tirelessly repeat this slogan" ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 8).

Communism is found in our life; let us treasure the present, and then we shall also gain the future. "When we traverse the windy, events-ridden road, let us not ask how far the fairy island is; we are bound to arrive there, as there are countless Foolish Old Men among us."

[11 Sep 82 p 4]

[Essay by Min Shuhai [7036 2885 3189]: "Let Lofty Ideals Shine Over Man's Life"]

[Text] Reading a good book is an enjoyment, indeed. Whether it stimulates one's thinking or prompts one to strive forward, it always inspires us in certain areas. On the happy occasion of the opening of the party's 12th congress, I happened to finish reading a touching work the "Autobiography of Peng Dehuai." As I close the book, my mind hardly stays calm. The image of a proletarian revolutionary who fought as a soldier and courageously dedicated himself to the communist cause lingers in front of me.

Lenin once said: "History has long proved, great revolutionary struggles create great personalities, and make full use of undeveloped talent." Commander-in-chief Peng, the son of a poor family, became a general of New China with shining fighting merits, this fact demonstrates the great vitality of the communist movement.

After reflection and exploration, once commander-in-chief Peng established his goal in life, he unswervingly struggled for it. During his life he experienced hardships and obstacles, but he never wavered and simply forged ahead. Such a spirit of surging forward was nurtured under the shining, lofty ideal of communism.

An ideal often determines a man's course of life. A man can have all kinds of ideals in his life, but no ideal can make one feel as broadminded and farsighted as the realization of the lofty goal of communism, and no struggle gives one such courage and such determination as the struggle for the realization of communism. Harboring the great goal of communism, commander-in-chief Peng risked his life during the war years; during the period of our economic construction, he also dared to dedicate himself to the defense of truth. From him, we really see the noble quality that a thorough materialist is dauntless.

A man must always pursue something in his life. With respect to an ideal, its selection differs with an individual's view of life. Some people believe that a goal an individual struggles for and achieves "practical benefits" can be called an "ideal"; and if after hard work one fails to gain more benefits, then however good that goal may be, it can never be held as one's ideal and pursue it. The ideal of these people is but the myopic ambition of a sparrow; it falls far short of the communist ideal indeed! But commander-in-chief Peng's spirit of unswerving struggle for the communist cause serves precisely as our shining example. It tells us that so long as we entertain lofty communist goals, we are able to make beneficial contributions to the people's cause.

Under the stimulation of the spirit of the 21th party congress, let us firmly establish our lofty communist goals, resist and overcome rotten bourgeois ideals and remnant feudal ideas, and charge forward on our march toward the construction of the four modernizations in the interest of the people's cause like commander-in-chief Peng did in his own days!

9255
CSO: 4005/57

IDEOLOGICAL BUILDING SAID IMPORTANT TO SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Sep 82 p 4

[Article: "Why Is It Said That the Nature of Socialist Spiritual Civilization Is Decided by Ideological Building?]

[Text] The most important contents in building ideology, generally speaking, are revolutionary ideals, revolutionary morality, and revolutionary discipline. In concrete terms, they can also be divided into these several aspects: 1) the working class's and Marxist world outlook and scientific theory; 2) the communist ideology, beliefs, and morality; 3) the ideology of being masters of their house, which is suited to socialist public ownership, and the concept of collectivism; 4) the concept of rights and obligations and the concept of organization and discipline, which are suited to the socialist political system; 5) the spirit of devoting oneself to serving the people and the communist attitude towards labor; 6) socialist patriotism and internationalism, etc. The thread that runs through these is communist ideology and spirit. Historically our party has highly valued the revolutionary ranks, in particular the building of ideology among the party ranks. Early in the democratic revolutionary period, Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly pointed out that we must firmly and unremittingly apply the system of communist ideology to educate the vast numbers of party members and the masses and to guide all our actions. After the founding of our country, with the party's proposals and exhortations, the hundreds of millions of people consciously studied Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and developed the practice of communist morality and labor attitude. Even in the 10 years of internal unrest, the majority of people were not shaken in their faith in socialism and communism. To strengthen the building of ideology is a basic guarantee that will enable our party and revolutionary ranks to be strong and filled with fighting spirit.

In the two areas of building culture and building ideology in spiritual civilization, the latter plays the leading role; it determines the socialist nature of spiritual civilization. This is because, on the one hand, certain kinds of culture, education, art, and other activities are always pursued under the guidance of a certain ideology. Whether or not their content and form are in accord with social needs is decided by whether or not they embody an advanced spirit of the age. As social ideology, literature, education, art, etc. cannot but reflect the interests and demands of a certain class, cannot but express the ideological tendencies and ideals and beliefs which govern their class.

The basic distinction between socialist culture and capitalist culture lies in the fact that the former takes the communist ideological system as its guide, while the latter takes bourgeois ideology as its home. This is to say that the socialist nature in building culture is determined by our building communist ideology. On the other hand, looking at the entire scope of spiritual civilization, taken as the advanced state of human wisdom and morality, it always takes a certain ideological system as its core and symbol. The spiritual civilization of capitalist society is soaked through and through with the naked mentality of private ownership, extreme egotism, and other decadent ideology of the exploiting classes. In building socialist spiritual civilization, we must thoroughly discard this decadent ideology and substitute for it the communist ideological system which is the most advanced in the history of mankind. In our country, since our party started and directed the Chinese revolution, we have used communist ideology as a compass for our own actions. Today, through building ideology, we need all the more to widely disseminate, and to help the people to establish, the communist world outlook. Without this ideological building, we will have no means by which to resist the encroachment of the decadent ideology of capitalism, nor to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. Consequently, we must strive to conscientiously be responsible for this important link of building ideology.

6722
CSO: 4005/37

PARTY AND STATE

EFFORTS TO OVERCOME NEGLECT OF CULTURE URGED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Sep 82 p 4

[Article: "Why Is It Necessary To Energetically Eliminate the Erroneous Concept of Neglecting Culture?]

[Text] Building culture is an important part of building spiritual civilization; it principally encompasses three aspects: the first is the development of education, science, literature and art, news publication, radio and television, health and physical culture, libraries, museums, and every sort of cultural enterprise; the second is raising the level of mass knowledge; and there is also the healthy, joyful, lively, rich and varied mass dance and music activities. The development of socialist culture is an important condition in raising the ideological consciousness and level of morality of the masses; it is also for the purpose of enabling the people, during periods of rest after intensive labor, to enjoy themselves spiritually with lofty interests. Consequently, the building of culture must be guided by communist ideology; every cultural enterprise must strive, through communist ideals, beliefs, and morality, to educate and to raise the spiritual boundaries of the masses. Whether or not culture can be highly developed, whether or not the masses' level of knowledge will be raised by a certain degree are crucial questions concerning whether or not the building of socialism will be successful. Lenin said long ago that there is no way to build socialism in a country full of illiteracy.

However, owing to past "left" deviationist thought and the strictures of the concept of small-scale production, there existed rather generally and for a relatively long time within our party the erroneous concept of neglecting the teaching of science and culture and the undervaluing of intellectuals. Some comrades one-sidedly emphasized the importance of practical experience and neglected, or even discarded, the study of science, culture, and theoretical knowledge, or were satisfied with understanding of a temporary nature for a single situation; they did not think of, nor were they willing to, on the basis of raising the cultural level, proceed from the whole and within an even broader scope master the objective laws for building socialism. As for the intellectuals, they regarded them as a kind of dissident force, a kind of negative factor; they did not respect the position and function of intellectuals in building socialism. Under the influence of this erroneous concept, developments in cultural building suffered serious setbacks. During the 10 years of turmoil, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" all the more exerted themselves in

touting the nonsense that "the more intellectuals there are the more reaction" and that intellectuals are "stinking old dissidents," etc. They severely damaged our country's cultural enterprise. This not only enlarged the condition of ignorance and backwardness but also extremely damaged the building of socialist material civilization. If we do not completely eliminate this erroneous concept of neglecting cultural knowledge and discriminating against intellectuals, our socialist enterprise will not be able to develop smoothly.

Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party Central Committee has done much work in this area. First of all, it has striven to put into effect the party's policy on intellectuals and clearly proclaimed that intellectuals are a part of the working class, that they are, just the same as the workers and peasants, a reliable force in building socialism. Moreover, it progressively adopted measures to improve the working and living conditions of the intellectuals, enabling them to contribute their strength for the people happily and enthusiastically. Then, it placed universal education and raising the cultural level of the people in an extremely important position, determining policies and methods for basically making primary education universal, as well as developing every type and level of school, before 1990. Apart from this, a considerable amount of energy was devoted to the promotion of literature and art, physical culture, health, and other enterprises. All this played an enormous role in eliminating the erroneous concept of neglecting culture, in strengthening the building of socialism, in changing step by step the conditions which are not suited for the development of culture and the economy.

6722
CSO: 4005/37

PARTY AND STATE

COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY 'VIGOROUSLY' PROMOTED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Sep 82 p 4

[Article: "Why Is It Necessary To Vigorously Promote the Ideology of Communism at the Present Stage?]

[Text] The core of socialist spiritual civilization is just as Comrade Hu Yaobang explicitly pointed out in the 12th Party Congress report: it is communist ideology.

At present, our country is in the socialist stage; is it, by taking communist ideology as the core of socialist spiritual civilization, leaping over a stage? Of course not. The communist movement, which "wiped out existing conditions," arose in the world something over a century ago; it was only by taking communist ideology created by Marx as its glorious banner that the communist movement was able to continually achieve victories. The new democratic revolution led by our party is also a movement under the guidance of communist ideology. As early as 40-odd years ago, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "At the present time, we must, without any doubt whatsoever, expand publicity on communist ideology and intensify the study of Marxism-Leninism. Without this kind of publicity and study, we not only will not be able to guide the Chinese revolution to the future socialist stage, but will also not be able to guide the present democratic revolution to victory." It can be seen that communist ideology and communist practice have existed for a long time in our actual lives. Now, we have entered the socialist society; everyone knows that a socialist society is a rudimentary stage of communism. Of course we should even more vigorously advocate communist ideology and regard it as the core for building socialist spiritual civilization. That viewpoint which holds that vigorously advocating communist ideology is to "leap over stages" is manifestly incorrect.

To build socialism, we must not only have a high degree of material civilization but also a high degree of spiritual civilization. Just as a bird must have two wings before it can fly, so must we manage well both civilizations in order to enable our country to maintain the proper direction in socialism and to progress firmly and unwaveringly towards the goals of communism. In exposing the corrupt practices of capitalist society, Marx pointed out: "The victory of technology seems to have been purchased at the cost of the defeat of morality. As mankind came increasingly to control nature, the individual became increasingly the slave of others or the slave of his own mean behavior."

("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol. 2, page 79.) In today's world, although a number of capitalist countries have attained a relatively high material civilization, nevertheless, owing to what is determined by their systems, they are in serious decline in certain important aspects of their spiritual civilization: for example, the unchecked spreading of the concept of doing nothing but for profit and of harming others to benefit oneself, the poverty and emptiness of people's spiritual lives, the severe degeneration of social practices, the increasing violence of the phenomenon of crime, etc. In our modernization efforts we absolutely cannot, of course, follow their path. Communist ideology is the powerful ideological weapon by which we resist and conquer the decadent ideology of the exploiting class and the ideology of the urban petty bourgeoisie. If we were to neglect the building of socialist spiritual civilization which takes communist ideology as its core, things would turn out as Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: people would sink into one-sidedness and their powers of concentration would be limited to only building material civilization, limited even to the pursuit of their own material interests. Our society might fall into an abnormal development and into deterioration. Consequently, we must fully recognize the extremely important nature of building socialist spiritual civilization by taking communist ideology as its core.

To vigorously promote communist ideology definitely does not imply that we should institute policies of an advanced communist stage. We cannot repeat that "leftist" type of error of "communal practices." Nonetheless, in executing present policies and in engaging in every sort of work, we must not lack the guidance of communist ideology. Carrying forward communist ideology and universally raising the people's consciousness will be all the more beneficial to executing the various policies of the present stage. And the progress of the modernized building of socialism will necessarily be greatly accelerated.

6722
CSO: 4005/37

PARTY AND STATE

SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION CALLED IMPORTANT CHARACTERISTIC OF SOCIALISM

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Sep 82 p 4

[Article: "Why Is the Socialist Spiritual Civilization an Important Characteristic of Socialism?]

[Text] For a period of time now the people's understanding of the characteristics of socialism has been deepening. To regard socialist spiritual civilization as an important characteristic of socialism is, first of all, one of the important achievements which we have made in the effort to bring order out of chaos in ideological theory since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Looking back on this process, the sequence of ideas is very clear: to start with, particularly after criticizing the counter-revolutionary clique of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing for touting phoney communism, when we came to discuss the characteristics of socialism, we paid rather more attention to its economic aspects, such as the establishment of the public ownership of the means of production and the elimination of the system of exploitation. On the foundation of the public ownership of the means of production, the economy developed in a planned, proportionate way; in the distribution of individual consumer goods, we instituted distribution according to labor. Afterwards, following the intensifying of the effort to bring order out of chaos, our understanding also deepened, and we came to understand that socialist characteristics should also be manifested in politics, such as establishing the political power of the working class and the working people, and in instituting a socialist political system with a high degree of democracy in which the people are the masters of their own affairs. At this time, the people also emphasized that another of its characteristics is that the highly developed productive forces and labor productivity, which is even higher than in capitalism, are the necessary requirement and ultimate outcome of the development of socialism. However, can we say that to understand socialist characteristics in this way is complete? From experience, people repeatedly considered this question. In applying the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to sum up historical experience and to analyze the circumstances of the present time, our understanding deepened, and we further came to understand that the above described views are without doubt correct but not complete. Socialism, apart from its characteristics in economics and politics, must still possess another characteristic, and that is that socialist spiritual civilization has communist ideology as its core. Without this spiritual civilization, socialism cannot be built. The 12th Party Congress report summed up the entire party's understanding of socialist characteristics,

pointing out that only discussing economic and political characteristics, and not considering socialist spiritual civilization, "is not sufficient to completely encompass socialist characteristics." This is a great advance in our understanding, and we must thoroughly understand this point.

Next, from the point of view of the theory of scientific socialism, the relations of production, in particular the ownership of the means of production, is of course the basic characteristic which distinguishes different forms of society; but it is not the only characteristic. This is because certain forms of society not only have certain "relations of production which, as a whole, make up the economic structure of society," but in addition have a "superstructure of law and politics erected over them and a certain social ideology suited to them." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol. 2, page 82.) The superstructure and differences in the area of social ideology similarly are characteristics which distinguish different forms of society. As regards an understanding of the characteristics of socialist society, we must of course look at the public ownership of the means of production and distribution according to labor, which are the basic aspects of these relations of production; but we cannot because of this neglect its characteristics in the superstructure and social ideology. If we were only to regard the economic and political characteristics of socialism, and not consider that there is also this important characteristic of socialist spiritual civilization, then our understanding of socialism would sink into one-sidedness, and the socialist enterprise would be endangered.

In reality, economic, political, ideological, cultural and other characteristics of socialism do not exist independently in the real life of a socialist society but rather mutually influence each other. As stated earlier, the characteristics of the socialist economy are most basic and, speaking fundamentally, play a decisive role. The political, ideological, cultural, and other characteristics are prerequisites to serve to spur on and guarantee the perfection and development of the characteristics of the economic area. It should be said that the influence of this important characteristic of socialist spiritual civilization on economic and political characteristics can be felt in our actual lives. Are not the establishment of the public ownership of the means of production and the elimination of the system of exploitation in our country the product of the communist movement under the direction of communist ideology? Can the perfecting and making concrete of the public ownership of the means of production and the establishing and perfecting of new-style mutual relations among people under socialism depart from the guidance of Marxism and the influence of communist ideology and morality? The instituting of "distribution according to labor" also cannot be separated from the propagation of and education in the communist labor attitude and communist spirit. To perfect and develop characteristics in the political field, we must all the more strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

In sum, socialist spiritual civilization which takes communist ideology as its core is an indispensable condition for fortifying and developing socialist society; it is an important characteristic which influences many areas and aspects of a socialist society. We absolutely must not disregard this important characteristic.

6722
CSO: 4005/37

PARTY AND STATE

LIAONING PARTY MEMBERS LEARN TO PROPAGATE THE TWELVE DOCUMENTS

Leading Cadres To Be Trained

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 82 pp 2-4

[Article: "Take Practical Steps, Ensure the Proper Studying of the Documents, Studying by Dalian Party Organizations at All Levels Develops Firmly"]

[Text] On 17 July the Dalian municipal CPC committee held a meeting of leading cadres of units above the county level at which Cui Ronghan [1508 4896 3352], representative of the 12th Party congress and municipal CPC secretary, communicated the spirit of the 12 great documents and briefed the general membership on the grand occasion of the party congress. Hu Yimin [5170 0076 3046], first secretary of the municipal CPC committee, required of each front, each system, and each unit that in the course of studying and discussing the 12 great documents, they must pay attention to integrating work with reality and must study how they can inspire enthusiasm, make breakthroughs, be firm and indomitable, and struggle unceasingly in contributing their efforts to beginning a new phase of the socialist modernization construction.

Beginning on 20 July, standing committee members of the municipal CPC committee spent half of each day studying and discussing each sentence and paragraph of the 12 great documents. Beginning today, the municipal party school and cadre school will separately conduct a ten day training class for cadres above the county level at which they will concentrate their time and energy on studying well the 12 great documents. Before the end of the year, over 4,000 leading cadres will be trained in eight stages. A series of guidance lectures on studying six special topics in the 12 great documents will be offered by the municipal CPC committee's propaganda department for units above the commune level, and the department will train over 1,800 lecturers and propagandists. Liang Dexin [2733 1795 2458], Changhai County CPC committee secretary, personally led a propaganda team to each fishing district to explain to fishermen of on-sea operations the 12 great documents.

Good Study Habits Urged

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 82 pp 2-4

[Article: "Jinzhou Municipal CPC Committee Stresses Study of Twelve Documents by Major Leading Cadres, Emphasis on Developing Good Study Practices to Correct Mistake of Superficial Learning"]

[Text] The Jinzhou municipal CPC committee regards the emphasis on studying of the 12 documents by major leading cadres at all levels as the key for propagating the documents throughout the city. By conducting every kind of study class and by adopting other methods, it has given impetus to the studying done by party members and cadres in rural and urban areas throughout the city.

The Jinzhou municipal CPC committee has underlined its proposal that good studying habits must be developed in order to correct the mistake of superficial learning, and it has put forth specific requirements for leading cadres at all levels who will take the lead in studying the documents. The municipal CPC committee's propaganda department has promptly organized a document study and research class of 30 people from each Marxist-Leninist teaching and research office of each institution of higher learning, municipal and county party school directors and instructors, propaganda department heads from the majority of enterprises, etc, to train theoretical instructors for the leading cadres' studying of the 12 documents. The municipal CPC committee also conducted a key study class of over 720 deputy secretaries of party committees, propaganda department heads, and theoretical cadres of units above the county level in which each sentence and paragraph of the documents was studied for comprehension. Thorough discussions were held on special topics so as to grasp the essence of the documents.

In order to concentrate on the studying of the documents by major leading cadres of each unit, the Jinzhou municipal CPC committee, beginning on 20 July, conducted a one week, document study class for party committee secretaries of units above the county level. This class assisted them to above all study well so they could become leading figures in the studying of the documents. Municipal CPC committee standing committee members also separately took part in discussions and personally gave explanations and answered questions.

Dandong Party Members Study

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 82 pp 2-4

[Text] Dandong party organizations and unit offices at all levels have adopted various forms in organizing cadres and the masses to study and discuss earnestly the 12 great documents in order to get a deeper understanding of the 12 great spirits.

After the standing committee members concentrated on studying, the Dandong CPC committee organized brief, intense study for over 500 party members and

leading cadres above the county level throughout the city. Li Shishan [2621 0013 0810], representative of the 12th party congress and municipal CPC committee secretary, explained the grand occasion of the 12th great convocation and the spirit of the documents. Comrades who took part spent the whole day concentrating on studying and in the evening returned to their units to give guidance in uniting upper and lower levels. In order to conduct extensive propaganda aimed at the masses in urban and rural areas, the 180 propaganda and theoretical mainstays who were trained by the municipal CPC committee's propaganda department and party school have already left for each grass roots unit. The municipal committee of the CYL, the Women's Federation, and the trade unions have separately trained close to 100 propagandists and lecturers who will conduct propaganda among youths and neighborhood residents. The Xiuyan County committee has sent a group of key party members to bring the spirit of the 12 great documents to each and every household.

While studying and conducting propaganda, each unit must pay attention to integrating work, production, and ideological practice, and each must implement while learning. The municipal economics committee, planning committee, and industry and communications department have considered measures for developing further the light, textile, and electronics industries so they can strive for new growth in output value and profits by the end of this year. In accordance with the 12 great documents, the Fengcheng Coal Mine has issued requirements for developing resources, has reformulated plans for increasing production, and is determined not to dispose of resources while conducting precision mining. The Dandong Chemical Plant, renowned throughout the country for producing high quality toothpaste, has resolved to double its production by 1985 in accordance with the 12 great documents. At present, the entire plant's workers arrive early and leave late, each day exceeding production quotas for toothpaste by 20,000 tubes.

Benxi Propaganda System Under Way

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 82 pp 2-4

[Article by Guo Yuanfu [6753 0955 4395] and Si Xiangchun [0674 4382 2504]: "Rapidly Spread the Spirit of the Twelve Documents Among Party Members and the Masses. Benxi Municipality Fully Plays Roles of Lecturer and Propagandist"]

[Text] The Benxi Municipality fully plays the roles of lecturer, propagandist, and political theory instructor, having explained and publicized the 12 great documents to the vast party members, cadres, workers, and masses.

The lecturer and propagandist system set up by the Benxi Municipality already has three years of experience. Its ranks are in good order, it is strong, and it is a vital force in the party's propaganda work. Since the 12th great convocation of 1 July, the entire city has organized over 3,460 lecturers, over 17,700 propagandists, and over 300 political theory instructors. They have separately explained the 12 great documents to the vast party members, cadres, workers, and masses at over 13,070 urban and rural areas, and of

the more than 1,300,000 people throughout the city who have heard these lectures, over 96 percent of them have been educated. The major leading comrades of the municipal CPC committee have separately gone to the industry and communications, finance and trade, culture and education, and capital construction fronts to conduct face to face explanations.

9926
CSO: 4005/56

FOLLOWERS OF JIANG QING IN SHANGHAI TRIED, SENTENCED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 29 Sep 82 p 1

[Article by WEN HUI BAO commentator: "Just Verdict, History's Victory"]

[Text] Xu Jingxian [1776 2529 6343], Wang Xiuzhen [3769 4423 3791], Chen Ada [7115 7093 1129], Ye Changming [5509 2490 2494], Huang Jinhai [7806 6855 3189], Dai Liqing [2071 4539 3237], Ma Zhenlong [7456 2182 7893], and Zhu Yongjia [2612 3057 0857] were major accomplices of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique in Shanghai. Following a public trial, the Shanghai municipal high and middle level people's courts have sentenced them to prison terms varying from 14 to 18 years. The masses have greeted this news with great joy and have expressed resolute support for this just verdict handed down by the court.

This public trial of the eight major accomplices of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique in Shanghai was a followup to the public trial of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques by a special tribunal organized by the Supreme People's Court, it is the continuation of our struggle against the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, and an important part of our effort to settle accounts with its entire criminal activity. Many facts have proven they were key members recruited and raised by the Lin Biao and Jiang counterrevoluationary cliques in Shanghai for the purpose of usurping the party and state power. They worked in collusion, each using the other for his own ends. Under the direct command and control of Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen, they adopted open and clandestine, refined and brutal means to carry out a series of counterrevolutionary conspirational activities aimed at usurping the party and state power in Shanghai, and attempted to overthrow the political power of the people's democratic dictatorship to realize their counterrevolutionary dream of "changing the dynasty." Today, the people have detained these counterrevolutionary criminals by a tribunal of historical significance, and have thoroughly settled accounts with their counterrevolutionary crime. This is an important achievement of the implementation of the party's line and principles adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee and is a major victory for the 10 million people in Shanghai who struggled against the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique.

To the broad masses of people, this trial means a profound education in the real form of class struggle. From the amount of criminal evidence presented by the court, the people could clearly identify Xu Jingxian, Wang Xiuzhen and company as counterrevolutionary conspirators, diabolitical and cunning careerists. In 10 years of civil strife, they did many evil things, committed countless crimes and brought untold sufferings to the broad masses of people in Shanghai. Their 10-year long counterrevoluationary activity in Shanghai has resulted in serious damage to various socialist undertakings on all fronts. The serious consequence created by their criminal activity has also made its influence felt in other parts of the country, and has brought untold sufferings to the people in Shanghai. History of this kind should not be allowed to repeat itself. Today, these common enemies of the people will go down in history as a symbol of everlasting shame and will be cursed by people for generations to come. The public trial of these counterrevolutionary criminals means a complete settlement of accounts with their crime, legally upholds justice for all cadres and people who were victims of their persecution, and set the record of history straight. As a result of this trial, the dignity of law has been preserved, the enemies have been exposed and dealt blows, the masses have been given an education, the socialist legal system has been strengthened and social stability has been enhanced.

From beginning to end, the eight criminals including Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen were publicly tried in accordance with the due process of law. Through the process of litigation and trial, the principles of taking facts as the basis and the law as the criterion were strictly observed, evidence was stressed, and confessions were not readily believed. Different sentences were handed down by the court on the basis of the severity of their crimes and their attitude of atonement. This constitutes a striking contrast to the brutal fascist practice of the "gang of four" who willfully destroyed and trampled under foot the socialist legal system, obtained confessions by compulsion and gave them credence, and acted with utter disregard for human life, during the 10 years of turmoil. This historical experience we have gained through our serious struggle against the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique reminds us of the need to do everything possible to strengthen the building of a socialist legal system with the aim of preventing the repeat of the history of the 10-year turmoil. Lenin once said: "Law reflects the will of the class which has won the battle for control of the state power." Acting according to the law means acting according to the will of the people throughout the country. The socialist laws reflect the will and interests of the people, and are therefore inviolable. In our socialist country, anyone who defies the law, breaks the law, or commits a crime will be punished according to the law.

Although the trial of the eight major accomplices of the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique has come to an end, our struggle against its remnants will continue. Following the smashing of the "gang of four," we have started a sweeping exposure, criticism and investigation campaign to destroy its factional system in Shanghai. Under this campaign, a large number of people who were once falsely and wrongly charged and unjustly sentenced have

been rehabilitated, the party's policies have been gradually put into effect, leading bodies at all levels have been consolidated, the situation in Shanghai has been stabilized, the economy has been restored and developed, and tremendous successes have been scored in all fields of work. But, we must also clearly understand that Shanghai was a bastion of the "gang of four" and their remnants are still hiding and waiting for opportunities to stir up trouble again. We must also clearly and deeply understand the protracted and complicated nature of this struggle as well as the fact that the close of the trial of the eight major criminals does not mean the beginning of a world forever dominated by peace and tranquility. Under no circumstances should we lower our guard and allow ourselves to be carried away by the false sense of security.

Under the leadership of the party Central Committee and the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, we must adhere to the line, principles and policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, strengthen the building of the material civilization and the socialist spiritual civilization, consolidate and develop political stability and unity so that Shanghai can play a greater role in the modernization of our socialist motherland.

9574
CSO: 4005/83

PARTY AND STATE

NEW CPC CONSTITUTION ON ROLE OF PARTY MEMBERS DISCUSSED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 29 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by Gao Zhu [7559 2691]: "Communist Party Members Must Act as Models"]

[Text] In his report to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "The ideological building of the party is the key to the building of the spiritual civilization in our society, communist party members above all must act as models, ideologically and morally."

The exemplary conduct of communist party members is an example for the masses, an example which carries a tremendous power second to none in the world. In the difficult years of the revolutionary war, heroic communist party members could always be counted on to take a bold step to boost the morale of the war-weary troops at any moment that was crucial to victory, and to unite them as one to face sacrifices without fear. In this way, our troops conquered the enemy fortresses, wiped out the recalcitrant enemies, and hoisted our triumphant flag over the enemy camp.

They have displayed the same spirit during the period of our socialist construction. We will never forget the difficult period between 1959 and 1961, a period in which many people suffered from swollen faces caused by starvation. However, at that time, our party had an excellent work style, its members "put the concerns of the nation before their personal concerns," rejected special privileges, and shared weal and woe with the masses. The result was a miracle rarely seen in the world. During the most arduous days, they maintained the best social customs, mutual aid and accommodation, high moral standards were the order of the day. To youths in their thirties today, this childhood experience remains nostalgic. They still yearn for the cordial human relationship of those old days.

But this human relationship between right and wrong, between good and bad and between the beautiful and the ugly was turned upside down during the 10 years of civil strife, an influence which cannot be easily eliminated, and for many other reasons, a fundamental improvement in our social climate remains nowhere in sight today. Is that "a hopeless malady"? No. As long as party members act as models, an improvement in the social climated can be

expected. Zhao Chune was a worker hired by the Laoji coal mine under the jurisdiction of Luoyang Municipality, Henan Province. Although she did nothing spectacular, she is remembered as an ordinary but dedicated female worker who often willingly pitched in to do dirty work in defiance of fatigue; a worker who was willing to assume responsibility that was usually borne by two or three persons. Wherever she went, she loved to help others do a good job. Up to the last 5 days of her life, she continued to work hard and help others even though she was seriously ill. Her death came so suddenly that she was even unable to turn over the key to the coal mine to another worker. She really deserves to be called a noble minded, pure and moral person. When her touching story spread, workers, residents, primary and secondary school students in Luoyang Municipality responded by learning from her, one after the other they walked the streets and visited families so that they could help others. The party's work style is a harbinger of, and can always exercise influence, on the civilian life style. An improvement in the civilian life style can be made possible only by an improvement in the work style of the party. But the party's work style is not abstract nor inexplicable. An excellent party work style is reflected in the exemplary conduct of party members, and in their behavior that is worthy of emulation by the masses.

Although our party's work style and civilian life style are improving with each passing day, we must be aware that some individual communist party members still cannot match their words with their deeds despite their promise to "serve the people and socialism." Instead of serving the people's interests and making contributions to socialism, they have infringed upon the public interest and socialism. Although they call themselves Communist Party members, they are actually fakes because they stripped themselves of genuine communist moral quality long ago. Although they are a minority, they have incurred the wrath of the masses: A report says: when "the party's unhealthy work style" was being discussed by the masses, a heated and vitriolic debate ensued, sending a warning to some organizations of the party and its members against their rotten style of work which has reached such alarming proportions that they could no longer tolerate it. In his report, Comrade Hu Yaobang made public a decision by the party Central Committee to rectify the party during the second half of 1983. Upon hearing this news, both party members and people have expressed warm support for this decision. As soon as this announcement was made, the new constitition of the party was proclaimed. In order to meet the special challenges and needs of this new historical period, the new constitution of the party imposes stricter demands on its members. In addition to playing an exemplary role in fulfilling the eight duties required of party members, leading cadres of the party at all levels must meet six specific requirements for leadership. At this time, every politically conscious party member must make conscientious efforts to make himself a qualified party member, consciously observe the regulations of the party and find better ways of acting as models among the masses. Those party members now pursuing an unhealthy ideological style must become aware and thoroughly rectify their errors.

9574
CSO: 4005/83

PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON ZUO ZONGTANG'S HISTORICAL ROLE

HK210330 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Shen Chuanjing [3088 0278 4842]: "Zuo Zongtang Was the Successor to Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] When Britain launched the aggressive opium war to force open the door of feudal China with military force, Lin Zexu asserted in his proposal that "by fabricating cannons and building ships we would be able to defeat the barbarians." ("Chou Ban Yiwu Shimo," the reign of Daoguang Emepror, Zhonghua Press, p 531) based on this assertion, Wei Yuan put forth the idea of "learning the superior technology of the barbarians in order to control them," ("Haiguo Tuzhi," "Chou Hai Pian," part 3) such a patriotic idea, which advocated learning the foreign technologies of ship-building and cannon-making to fight the Western aggressors, was a correct summation and great development of the anti-aggressive and patriotic thinking of Lin Zexu and others, as well as an important ideological weapon to spur and guide their successors.

In discussions on the personages of the Westernization movement, some people, while negating the role of the Westernization faction as successors to the thought of Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan, asserted that Zuo Zongtang was not a successor to the patriotic thought and cause of Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan but rather their betrayer. I think that such an appraisal is inconsistent with historical facts. After all, there were differences between Zuo Zongtang and other members of the Westernization faction, including Zeng Guofan, Li Hongzhang and so on.

/1. Zuo Zongtang, as well as Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan, belonged to the School of Contemporary Literature/

Zuo Zongtang was of a younger generation in the same period as that of Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan. He agreed with Lin and Wei on the understanding of and attitude toward the critical situation of the times. When Lin Zexu was engaged in Guangzhou in the resistance against the aggressors during the opium war, Zuo Zongtang was studying the historical record of national coast defense in the countryside of Hunan Province. In correspondence with He Xiling, he "discussed again and again and worked out the defense strategy." ("Collected Works of Sir Zuo Wenxiang," all quotations from the same book will not be notified henceforth.) Condemning Qi Shan of "being wicked and traitorous" and of "bungling national defense," he suggested to declaring his crimes to the whole nation and

beheading him so as to "raise the morale of the three armies and frighten the enemy." This showed that Zuo Zongtang supported Lin Zexu in his patriotic acts to resist aggression. Being clearly aware of the British aggressors' "conspiracy which had been brewed long ago, Zuo Zongtang also pointed out that "the leaders of the Qing government were weak and incompetent, and the officials were not determined to devote themselves to the nation"; and that incapable and corrupt ministers were forming cliques to pursue selfish interests. He held that "nothing in the world is unattainable, no enemy in the world is invincible and, after all, people capable of expelling the enemy were available. However, the crux of the problem was that "we were not sure whether the present policies were good enough to change the life of the country!"

Zuo Zongtang had close relations with Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan. They were rather congenial to each other in thoughts and feelings. The patriotic acts and experiences of Lin Zexu in the opium war profoundly impressed Zuo Zongtang, arousing his admiration and his passion to be a follower of Lin. In a letter to a friend, he said: "I always feel like staying near Mr Lin"; "I feel sad when he is sad, I feel indignant when he is indignant, and I feel happy when he is happy"; "I admire him so much that my spirit follows him all the time." When Lin Zexu left Yunnan and Guizhou Provinces and passes by Hunan by boat en route to his hometown, Zuo Zongtang met him on board on the Xiangjiang River. "They had dinner together and talked glowingly all night long." Lin Zexu also "saw eye to eye with Zuo Zongtang and regarded him as an outstanding and talented man." Due to his profound admiration of Li Zexu, Zuo Zongtang was "shocked, in deep sorrow" and "cried his heart out" at the death of Lin Zexu. Sympathizing with Lin Zexu for the unfair treatment he had received, Zuo Zongtang called for an "accurate description of Lin's life" in preparing his biograph so that his patriotic words and acts would be "known to latter generations of our country." Otherwise, he asserted, "We would find no source materials when preparing the history of the times." In his elegiac couplet presented to Lin Zexu, Zuo Zongtang wrote: "Those who agree with you may not necessarily be gentlemen, but those who have discord with you must definitely be mean people"; "the court depends on you for national defense, and the public looks forward to your timely help." As a gentleman who got along well with Lin Zexu, Zuo Zongtang regarded himself as one who needed Lin's timely help. Later, in a couplet dedicated to the memorial hall of Tao Shu and Lin Zexu, Zuo Zongtang wrote: "Thirty years ago we met by chance on board a boat on the Xiangjiang River; and now I come to see you again." Here, he showed his will to follow Lin Zexu all his life.

Similarly, Zuo Zongtang was also influenced by the thought of Wei Yuan. In praising Wei Yuan's book "Sheng Wu Ji," he said, "this book gives a clear and accurate account of the geographical situation and battle arrays. Undoubtedly the author is a master in the field." "Those anecdotes which he narrated in the book are just interesting and absorbing." In his preface to the republication of "Haiguo Tuzhi" ["Illustrated Geography of Oceanic Countries"], he said: When the Westerners were stepping up their aggression against China, Wei Yuan wrote this book based on sailors' talks and Western sources, and "showed his own views by the way"; "this was the fruit of painstaking labor."

Since Zuo Zongtang, as well as Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan, belonged to the school of contemporary literature, held the same point of view on the situation of the nation as his two predecessors, and showed respect for them, we can be sure that they were close to each other in their political view and attitude. Therefore, it was possible for Zuo Zongtang to be the successor to the patriotic thought and cause of Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan.

/2. The Setting Up of the Fuzhou Navy Yard was an Expression of Zuo Zongtang's Patriotic Thought/

Historical facts are the basis to judge right and wrong. Was Zuo Zongtang a successor to the patriotic thought and cause of Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan? The correct answer to this question can only be obtained from historical facts.

The Fuzhou Navy Yard was one of the most successful modern navy-ship-building enterprises of a relatively large scale founded by the Westernization faction. When the foreign big powers dominated the sea and were speeding up their aggression with their strong ships and powerful cannons, the founding of the Fuzhou Navy Yard was an expression of Zuo Zongtang's determination in resisting aggression and putting forward the patriotic thought and cause of Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan. During the opium war, Zuo Zongtang had already proposed to build ships. However, it was only after the second opium war that his idea of resisting aggression by building ships became more and more clear and more and more concrete. In 1862, Zhu Zongtang pointed out that "building ships by modelling them after foreign designs was, after all, a long-term policy of coastal defense." In 1864, he employed mechanics in Hangzhou to build ships based on foreign models and thus began his initial practice of the idea of strengthening coastal defense by building ships. In 1865, he again clearly pointed out that the purpose of building ships was to "deprive those foreign nations of their military superiority." In 1872, in a more definite and comprehensive manner, he once again explained his reasoning and purpose in founding the Fuzhou Navy Yard. He said: "In fact, we have found no other way to deal with the barbarians than to learn the superior technology of the barbarians, as they are dominating the sea and bullying us with their ships and cannons which we do not have." Apart from the Fuzhou Navy Yard, Zuo Zongtang also set up an arsenal in Xian in 1869 and another in Lanzou in 1872 to produce ammunition. In 1874, Zuo Zongtang said: "We have set up a navy yard in Fuzhou and have employed Chinese mechanics to make arms in Gansu Province." "This is an implementation of the policy of learning the superior technology of the barbarians. Apart from this, Lin and Wei also encouraged developing the mining industry, and urged to "allow the businessmen in coastal areas to build ships by remodelling them on foreign designs for their own use or for sale." ("Haiguo Tuzhi," "Chou Hai Pian," part 3) This was a concept of developing capitalist production for civilian use. The Fuzhou Navy Yard founded by Zhu Zongtang was not only a modern capitalist industrial enterprise but also a base to manufacture other machines and develop other industrial branches. He asserted: "Motors and steel-smelting equipment are derived from the ship-building industry. If we can build ships, this means that we already have a basis for developing other industries." In order to develop the ship-building industry, he proposed to build coal mines and thus directly helped to give birth to the Taiwan Coal Mine which was a capitalist civil mining enterprise at the early stage. Apart from building navy ships, the Fuzhou Navy Yard also built some cargo ships and "let them to businessmen" as an "aid provided to the latter to promote commerce." Zuo Zongtang said that in this sense the role of the Fuzhou Navy Yard was "close to that of the China merchants' steam ship navigation corporation" which was founded later. This was evidence of his concept of developing the capitalist transportation industry. In 1877, Zuo Zongtang bought well-drilling and canal-cutting equipment and woolen looms, and established the Lanzhou Wollen Mill.

Thus "China could produce woolen fabric with locally produced wool and sell the products throughout the country. Now, not only the people of Gansu Province but also the people of other provinces were benefitted. Henceforth, the woolen fabric produced in Gansu, as well as the cotton cloth produced in Shanghai, became well-known to the people throughout China." Although the Lanzhou woolen mill later ended in failure this example is enough to show that Zuo Zongtang also had an eye on the development of such capitalist enterprises as the civil mining, transportation, textile and other industires, while being engaged in developing the modern weapons industry by establishing the Fuzhou Navy Yard.

Moreover, when learning the superior technology of the barbarians, Zuo Zongtang did not just simply model China ships on foreign ships and cannons, but also tried to master the Western technology of ship building, ship operations, cannon making and woolen textiles, the major goal of the Fuzhou Navy Yard was to "learn the machine-building and ship-building techniques from the Western countries and teach these techniques to Chinese students so that the Chinese people could benefit forever." Therefore, besides appointing students to learn ship-building techniques from foreign mechanics, Zuo Zongtang also set up a school, and sent students abroad to learn how to pilot and build ships. In this way, he trained China's first group of professional personnel specialized in ship-building, ship navigation, mining and other fields. This correct and far-sighted view by Zuo Zongtang, which integrated manufacturing with technical training, proved to be more profound than those of his contemporaries.

/3. Zuo Zongtang's Outstanding Contributions in Resistance to Aggression/

It was true that Zuo Zongtang also used the superior technology which he learned from the barbarians to put down the Taiping revolution, the Nian Army and the Hui people's uprising; and it was undeniable that these acts should be regarded as reactionary and guilty. However, this was not a major point in judging whether he was the successor to Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan. Our argument is that the landlord class by nature would always suppress the masses. Even Lin and Wei were no exceptions. When criticizing his reactionary crimes, we should not totally negate all aspects of Zuo Zongtang just because he suppressed the masses.

The focus of Zuo Zongtang's attention rested on the northwest. Even before the opium war, he had already mentioned the Xinjiang issue in his poem "Thoughts on Yantai in 1833." After the opium war, as Yakum Beg of Khokand invaded and occupied Kashgaria and other places, and in particular as the Russians occupied Ili, most of the territory of the Xinjiang area was lost, and the northwestern border area of our country was facing an unprecedentedly serious crisis. Without fear of the severe threat of aggression, Zuo Zongtang refuted Li Hongzhang's fallacy of giving up the northwest and courageously undertook the arduous mission of defending Zinjiang. Facing the intervention of Russia and Britain, Zuo Zongtang commended Liu Jintang to lead the army to "mop up the enemy" and "recover our lost territory," he finally regained by military force the whole territorial area of Xinjiang, which had been under Yakub Beg's occupation for 13 years; and won a great victory which had seldom been witnessed in modern Chinese history of anti-aggressive wars, and thus greatly enhanced and glorified the patriotic thought and cause of Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan. When the Russians

were inducing Chong Hou to sign a peace treaty and conspiring to step up aggression and to launch a new aggressive war, Zuo Zongtang made up his mind to recover Ili and shatter the military attack. While exposing the Russians' aggressive ambition, he proposed operational principles, and organized a defense by disposing troops on three garrison posts. He himself also "moved from Suzhou to the forefront and pledged to fight to the death in resistance to the Russian invaders." (Qin Luncai: "Sir Zuo Wenxiang in the Northwest," p 114) Here again, he showed his patriotic spirit and firm determination in resisting aggression. "It was because the empire was already well prepared to use its military force efficiently" that Zeng Jize managed to minimize losses in the territory and retain more political and economic interests in negotiations with the Russians. (Mashi: "History of the Chinese Empire's Foreign Relations," Part II, p 373) This was also a remarkable achievement of Zuo Zongtang in resistance to aggression. Furthermore, after the recovery of Xinjiang, Zuo Zongtang presented a memorial to the throne to call for the establishment of a provincial government in the area. This was really an essential step for the consolidation, defense and construction of Xinjiang because "the big powers like Russia and Britain would not dare to run wild if we maintained a steadfast border." In short, this measure taken by Zuo Zongtang had a very important bearing on strengthening the defense of the north-western border and even the whole country.

Zuo Zongtang's correct principle was to attach equal importance to coastal defense in the east and to frontier defense in the West. When holding the office of governor to Fujian and Zhejiang, he founded the Navy Yard, planned to go to Taiwan personally and accomplished the important work of strengthening coastal defense. In 1866, Zuo Zongtang was instructed to hold the post of governor of Shaanxi and Gansu. However, he "always showed concern for the coastal defense in the southeast although he was working in the West." In 1870 when the Tianjin religious riot occurred and, in particular, in 1874 when the Japanese invaded Taiwan, Zuo Zongtang insisted on sending more crack troops to counterattack the enemy. In 1881, when holding the post of governor of Liangjiang [the area covering the present-day Jiangsu, Anhui and Jiangxi Provinces] and minister of Nanyang [the Chinese coastal region south of Shangton], he replenished the fleet with more war ships and thus reinforced the Nanyang Navy. During the Sino-French War, witnessing that "the French were running wild," Zuo Zongtang "pledged to fight to death against the enemy" and asked to go to the battlefront to join the resistance. The situation was extremely urgent after the Chiense fleet's defeat on the Majiang River. "The public was then badly frightened." However, Zuo Zongtang insisted on going to the forefront in Fuzhou to command the Fujian garrison and sending reinforcements to Taiwan despite his old age and bad health. He finally died on the resistance front.

In the resistance to foreign aggression, Zuo Zongtang always adhered to the patriotic stand. At the same time, he paid more attention to strengthening national power, and attached importance to armament and the role of the army in the resistance to aggression. However, he was by no means a foolhardy warrior without political foresight nor a passionate advocate of the theory that weapons decide everything, but a man who trusted and relied on the masses to a certain extent. For example, when Britain launched the opium war, he pro-

posed to organize fishermen into militia, build pillboxes, train regular troops, establish coastal bases, "combine regular troops with militia," "adopt the policy of strengthening the bulwarks and leaving no provisions outside," and thus drive the enemy to destruction" "like a goat falling into a trap or a fish caught in the net." When marching into Xinjiang, Zuo Zongtang adhered to the following guidelines: "In order to crush the Russians' wicked plan, we must first put down the rebellion in the Hui region; in order to recover Ili, we must first capture Urumqi." He laid down a series of principles, such as, dealing with the northern part and then with the southern part; advancing slowly but attacking the enemy abruptly; marching along several routes in a coordinated way; deliberating the strategy first and then carrying it out in battle; and so on, which showed his foresight and sagacity in military, political and foreign affairs. During the Sino-French War, Zuo Zongtang strongly supported the view of providing aid to the black flag army led by Liu Yongfu, who joined the Agrarian uprising in his early years.

There was this comment on Zuo Zongtang's efforts in opposing foreign aggression: "He never wavered before a threat, felt puzzled before the enemy's tricks, destroyed peace talks, or indulged in empty talk. He was neither misled by temporary peace and thus forgot latent crisis, nor solely devoted his attention to latent crises and thus ignored the current important tasks." (China Society of History: "Westernization Movement," Vol 1, p 125) An elegiac couplet dedicated to him on his death read: "Sir Zuo Wenxiang was the only man in history who never placed hope on and engaged in peace talks." (Qin Luncai: "Sir Zuo Wenxiang in the Northwest," p 116) These comments relatively pertinently sum up Zuo Zongtang's character: his outstanding performance, firm stand and resolute attitude in opposing aggression; and his patriotic spirit.

By and large, Lin Zexu was the pioneer in the resistance to foreign aggression who opened a new era in the struggle agianst foreign aggression by putting forth the anti-aggressive and patriotic concept of learning the superior technology of the barbarians in order to control them, which was of far-reaching significance. Under his historical conditions, Zuo Zongtang made greater contributions than his contemporaries did by following the road opened by Lin Zexu and adhering to the concept of learning the superior technology of the barbarians in order to control them. Although his role cannot be compared to the pioneering roles of Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan, he should be regarded as a successor who carried forward the anti-aggressive and patriotic thought and cause of Lin and Wei.

CSO: 4005/130

PARTY AND STATE

XI ZHONGXUN ON DU BINCHENG, YANG MINGXUAN

HK181353 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Oct 82 pp 1, 4

["Speech by Xi Zhongxun at 7 October Meeting commemorating Comrades Du Bincheng and Yang Mingxuan"]

[Text] Comrades,

The China Democratic League is now holding a solemn meeting to commemorate the 35th anniversary of the death of Comrade Du Bincheng and the 15th anniversary of the death of Comrade Yang Mingxuan. On behalf of the CPC Central Committee, I extend my highest respects to and cherish sorrowful memories of Comrades Du Bincheng and Yang Mingxuan. Meanwhile, I also extend my sincere regards to their relatives.

As known to all, Comrades Du Bincheng and Yang Mingxuan were great patriots, outstanding educationalists, activists in the democratic movement and faithful communist fighters. They were the most prestigious and influential persons in the educational circle and in patriotic and democratic movement in northwest China. In particular, after the arrival of the CPC Central Committee in northern Shaanxi after the long march, they fought for long years in Xian--the center of the enemies hostile to the communists and the people. They rendered outstanding contributions in safeguarding the national united front against Japanese aggression led by the CPC, in opposing the reactionary rule of the KMT and in defending the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border areas. Their lofty morality and their upright and righteous characters distinguished them as paragons of virtue and learning.

Proceeding from the spirit of constantly pursuing knowledge and truth, Comrade Du Bincheng and Yang Mingxuan progressed from being vehement patriots and devoted democrats to ones who sacrificed their lives for the lofty ideal of communism.

While teaching at universities in Shanghai in 1923, Comrade Yang Mingxuan was inspired by Comrades Qu Quibai, Deng Zhongxia and Yun Daiying to study Marxist theories. With the help of the communists Wei Yechou and Li Zizhou, he took part in the battles of the first revolutionary civil war, thus realizing that the way of "saving the country by education" was not accessible unless the Proletariat and the masses of people seized political power. In 1926 he joined

the CPC and, thereafter, he faithfully and conscientiously devoted himself to the liberation of China and the Chinese people and to the communist cause.

Although Comrade Du Bincheng was not a Communist Party member, he also progressed from being a revolutionary democrate to being a faithful communist fighter. In February 1927, he went to Xian, Wuhan, Nanjing, Shanghai and Beijing to make an on-the-spot investigation of the political situation. By seeing the correct policies and revolutionary actions of the communists, the gigantic power of the workers' and peasants' movement and the bloody white terror after Chiang Kai-shek's treachery to the revolution, his mind changed greatly. He drew a conclusion saying: "The future of the Chinese revolution relies on the rise of the masses of the people and their rise depends wholly on the CPC organization and leadership." In 1933, as one of [the] policymakers of General Yang Hucheng he proposed to the general to "cooperate with the communists in fighting Chiang Kai-shek and the Japanese aggressors." When the "Xian incident" broke out in 1936, he shouted the slogan of "following the communists." In 1940 the book "On New Democracy" convinced him: "From now on the Chinese Revolution has definite direction and policy, that is the new democracy pointed out by Mr Mao Zedong. This is the only wayout." Not only did he propagate this viewpoint wherever he was, but he also pointed out: "Our country will inevitably step on the road to socialism and communism. This is indubitable." When Comrades Du Bincheng and Yang Mingxuan jointly founded the northwest general branch of the China Democratic League, they drew up the political program of "fraternizing with the Soviet Union, befriending the Chinese communists and striving for the realization of new democracy." At that time when some people warned him: "Yang Mingxuan is a Communist Party member," he immediately responded: "It is my intention to get a Communist Party member to lead the work of the league." For this reason, in 1937, Comrade Mao Zedong praised Comrade Du Bincheng as the "faithful friend of the CPC." In December 1948, Comrade Zhou Enlai praised him as a "Lu Xun-style communist."

Comrade Du Bincheng and Yang Mingxuan were noted personages of society. They were not corrupted by wealth nor subdued by force, but wholeheartedly served the motherland and the people. Their courage in waging unremitting struggling for the communist ideal was particularly moving. In the "4th May Movement of 1919," although Comrade Mingxuan was twice arrested, he persisted in the struggle till final victory. After Chiang Kai-shek turned traitor to the revolution in April 1927, Yang Mingxuan and Liu Hanchu, who were Communist Party members but worked within the KMT, published an open telegram of denunciation under the name of the executive committee of the KMT in Shaanxi Province. Being shamed into anger, in May Chiang Kai-shek dismissed Comrade Yang Mingxuan from membership of the KMT political branch committee in northwest China, from his post on the executive of the KMT Provincial Committee and from his post as head of the Board of Provincial Education in Shaanxi, and also expelled him from the KMT. In June, the nationalist government controlled by Wang Jingwei in Wuhan appointed him a new member of the provincial government and the head of board of provincial education in Shaanxi, but he refused to accept. Early in 1928, he was arrested by the KMT Government, but he remained faithful and unyielding in jail, thus maintaining the noble character of a Communist Party member. In 1930, the KMT Government invited him to take the post of dean of studies at Anhui University with the prerequisite of him rejoining the KMT,

but he made a stern refusal. In the later stage of the war of resistance against Japan, acting on the orders of Chiang Kai-shek, Hu Zongnan time and again offered him official posts and promised special favors, but time and again he sternly refused.

Comrade Du Bincheng was also a man of awe-inspiring righteousness in his political integrity. In 1938, Chiang Kai-shek dispatched Hu Zongnan to call on him and bestow on him the title of councellor of the military committee; he flatly refused. In 1945, Chiang Kai-shek received him several times in Chongqing, conferring on him the high post of adviser in the military committee, but Comrade Du Bincheng refused to be bought over the scolded Chiang sharply by speaking straight-forwardly for justice. In an interview with the reporter of the "Joint Issue of QINFENG RIBAO and GONGSHANG RIBAO" in Xian in February 1946, Comrade Du Incheng laid bare the vicious motive of the KMT authorities in the practice of carrying our democratic constitutionalism, pointing out: "In the world and China, democratic trends are today surging forward like a seeping tide, which no one can hinder so long as concerted efforts are made to bring about the realization of democratic constitutionalism." This open statement of Comrade Du Bincheng evoked wide repercussions from the people of all circles in the northwest and other parts of China and also made Chiang Kai-shek and Hu Zongnan greatly panic-stricken. In 1947, he was illegally arrested on the second day after Yanan was invaded and occupied by Hu Zongnan. He waged a staunch struggle in the enemy's court and prison, presenting his views vehemently and openly: "The policy of the China Democratic League is to cooperate with the CPC in order to attain the goal of peaceful reunification." He also pointed out sternly: "The KMT should bear the full responsibility for the outbreak of the civil war, on 7 October 1947, heroically he gave his life for the liberation of the Chinese people. The whole life of Comrade Du Bincheng was heroic and laudable, just like the lives of the martyrs Li Gongpo and Wen Yiduo. As one of the leaders of the China Democratic League, he was not only the glory of the league but of the Chinese people also.

The militant course traversed by the two comrades--Du Bincheng and Yang Mingxuan fully shows that the veteran intellectuals of China, in their revolutionary careers, generally proceeded from patriotism and democracy toward understanding the irresistable law of history through continual study and revolutionary practice and eventually established the communist world outlook. Our intellectuals in the new period must also follow the example of Comrades Du Bincheng and Yang Mingxuan by holding high the banners of patriotism and communism, unceasingly pursuing studies and practice and advancing forward.

The revolutionary careers of Comrades Du Bincheng and Yang Mingxuan also show that we must have firm conviction in and unswerving loyalty to communism and the Communist Party and posses the spirit of sacrificing our lives to truth. This is the spiritual pillar of the revolutionary. We need this spiritual pillar in the revolutionary period, as well as in the current period of socialist construction.

In 1948, Comrade Yang Mingxuan ardently said in his eulogy for Comrade Du Binchdag: "Mr Bincheng and I were schoolmates at Beijing Normal University, colleagues in promoting education in Shaanxi and activitists in developing the

democratic revolutionary movement in northwest China. Cherishing the same ideals and following the same path, we became bosom friends at an early age. We never swerved from the course of political integrity." Their profound revolutionary friendship fully embodies the fraternal relations of "treating each other with all sincerity and sharing good and bad times" between the CPC and the various democratic parties and between the Communist Party members and the patriotic democrats. During the revolutionary period, our party established these fraternal relations with the nonpartisan friends and won success for the revolution. In the current new period of socialist construction, we must further consolidate and develop these fraternal relations and cooperation.

Let us unite and learn from the revolutionary spirit and noble character of Comrades Bincheng and Mingxuan, and let us further consolidate and strengthen our cooperation with the various democratic parties, nonpartisan democrats and all patriotic personages so as to struggle for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and for accomplishing the sacred mission of reunifying the motherland.

CSO: 4005/130

PARTY AND STATE

SONG RENQIONG ON LEARNING FROM LUO JIANFU

HK251144 Beijing CONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Oct 82 p 1

[Article by Song Renqiong (1345 0117 4522): "Learn From Luo Jianfu's Spirit of Sacrificing His Life"]

[Text] On 7 September this year, GONGREN RIBAO published the merits of Comrade Luo Joanfu, expert from Shaanxi Lishan Microelectronic Company. The ideology and practice of this outstanding Communist Party member, who sacrificed his life for communism, shines with dazzling splendor on the people and deeply touch their hearts.

There are numerous unsung heroes in the scientific and technological front of national defense. They seek no personal fame or gain, quietly immerse themselves in hard work assigned by the party and the state, and contribute their youth and their lives to the science, technology and construction of national defense. Comrade Luo Jianfu was one of these outstanding representatives.

Luo Jianfu always placed interests of the party and the state above personal interests, studied assiduously, worked selflessly and even gave his all, until his heart stopped beating, to filling in the gaps in the fields of science and technology in the country's aviation industry. He always placed the interests of the people above personal interests, never forgot the people and was always utterly devoted to others without any thought of self. Like a spring silkworm spinning all its silk and a red candle burning to give its final light, he fought his whole life and contributed his all to the party undertakings. His life was short but full of a bright spirit for devoting himself to communism.

Our party is wholeheartedly serving the interests of the people and its final goal is to realize the social system of communism. To wholeheartedly serve the interests of the masses and to fight to the end for communism is the sacred duty of a Communist Party members. The nature of our party determines that its members should devote themselves to communism.

Such a spirit of devotion is essential to both the years of revolutionary war and the period of peaceful construction; it is also indispensable to both the crucial moment and to daily work, study and life. Comrade Luo Jianfu was an engineer working in the aviation industry who struck to his common fighting post, did his labor work with a communist attitude, treated others with com-

munist morality, governed all his life with communist ideology and closely integrated his words and deeds with lofty ideal of communism. Today, while we are creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, Luo Jianfu set a glorious example for us all for devoting himself to the cause of communism in a common fighting post.

In order to meet the character and demand of the new era of socialist modernization, the constitution adopted by the 12th CPC Congress has put forward more strict demands than any other in the past. While studying and implementing the new constitution of the party, party members, specially leading cadres, should measures themselves by their revolutionary spirit and lofty morality of Luo Jianfu, Zhao Chune and other outstanding party members and earnestly think it over: Am I a qualified party member? Have I still a long way to go? And what efforts should I make? After study, we should heighten the level of our communist ideology, strengthen our understanding of communist morality and enhance our exemplary vanguard role in the realization of the magnificent goal provided by the 12th CPC Congress and contribute our efforts to a turn for the better in party style and to strengthen the fighting force of party organizations.

CSO: 4005/130

PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' RECALLS PRC FEUDAL SOCIETY

HK040810 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Bai Gang [4101 6921]: "A Probe Into the Prolonged Existence of China's Feudal Society"]

[Text] The discussion on the prolonged existence of China's feudal society dates back to the famous polemics on the history of society in the early 1930's. Subsequently, before the outbreak of the Lugouqiao incident, Shuji Akisawa, a spokesman for the Japanese imperialists, created the fallacy of "'Asian' stagnation in China's society" and advocated that only "the force of the Japanese Army" could bring "a final end to the stagnation peculiar to Chinese society," thus providing a theoretical basis for the Japanese imperialists' invasion of China. Progressive historians and patriots in the country ruthlessly criticized the fallacy, setting off a second wave of discussions on the prolonged existence of China's feudal society. In the 1950's and early 1960's, discussion was once again held on the issue under the guidance of the policy of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend." However, this discussion was halted by the 10 years of turmoil. The issue was once again raised after the smashing of the "gang of four" and this is the fourth discussion we are holding.

1. Several Problems of Tendency

It must be acknowledged that according to academic papers and works already published, there have indeed been some serious theoretical and methodological defects in the present discussion.

Methodologically speaking, the issue of the prolonged existence of China's feudal society is actually an issue belonging to the field of socioeconomic history, that is, the issue of why the feudal mode of production did not dissolve to be replaced by the capitalist mode of production. In order to solve this problem, we must use the basic method of historical materialism to conduct a scientific investigation into the appearance, development and characteristics of the feudal mode of production in China. However, some comrades hold that this means getting into a rut of "causative analysis" and "inductive method." They are discontent and attempt to break out of this mold. As a result, they abandon the materialist analysis of history, indulge in the wildest fantasies and do unorthodox things instead of probing into history in a historical, logical and dialectical manner. For example, they make analyses of various historical phenomena and events using the control theory instead of historical

materialism. As a result, they see society as a mixture of various casually-combined and mechanically-integrated social factors, not as a constantly-developing living entity. Therefore, they are unable to correctly uncover the law of socioeconomic development or discover the correct answer to the problem of the prolonged existence of China's feudal society. They have introduced to the field of history concepts and terminologies from other academic and scientific fields, such as the "ultra-stability system" and "...mechanism." As internal connections between historical events cannot be summarized using these concepts and terms, they are of no objective significance and less convincing. Obviously, when authors use these terms to explain historical phenomena, they cannot get a correct synthesis of certain historical phenomena. Of course, we do not oppose the introduction of some cognitive means of other academic and scientific fields to historical research as a supplementary means in our research work. For example, we may exploit electronic technology to establish historical information storehouses, compile statistics and draw charts. However, while introducing cognitive means of other academic and scientific fields, we must grasp the entire contents of the research subjects and not stick to trivialities to abandon the methodology of historical materialism. This is the first point.

Second, while probing into the problem of the prolonged existence of China's feudal society by comparing China with foreign countries, these academic papers and works fail to make clear whether it is appropriate to compare the historical periods of the countries ready for comparison and neglect the fundamental tenets of unity and diversification in historical development so as to advocate the theory of West Europe as a center. They contend that only the feudal era in West Europe was "typical and normal," and the feudal society in China was "abnormal and anomalous" because the process of Chinese feudalization was often interrupted by the peasant wars, and there had never been in China's feudal society a situation of peasant enslavement, formation of manors and political diversification as there was in West Europe after the ninth century A.D., hence there was no completion of feudalization and an endless process of feudalization, which led to the prolonged existence of China's feudal society. From the viewpoint of world history, there are three types of feudal systems, namely, the Asian type established on the basis of rural communes, (such as in India and Java) the West European type established on the basis of the Suzerain system and the Chinese type established on the basis of the landlord system, the last being the most developed. As far as China's specific historical conditions are concerned, because China has been a united and multinational country since ancient times and development in different areas of various nationalities was uneven, a complicated situation existed: the feudal society of the Han in Central China belonged to the landlord dystem; the feudal society of the Zang nationality [the Tibetans] belonged to the Suzerain system and the feudal society of the DAI nationality [a minority in Yunnan Province] belonged to the Asian system. History is so complicated objectively that it is absolutely inappropriate to deny the West European criterion on the special qualities of the landlord system in Chinese feudal society on the grounds of the difference between the Chinese feudal society of the Hans and that of West Europe, and contend that Chinese feudal society was in an endless process of feudalization and was never completed. A correct comparison or study should be an exposition of similarities and differences between Chinese feudal society and West European feudal society as well as an analysis on the common laws and specific characteristics of the feudal societies in various countries, but not the negation of one side because of a comparison with the standard of the other side.

Theoretically speaking, a number of views raised in recent years are by no means "new creations" as praised and commended by some comrades but are actually the repetition of those views which were thoroughly criticized by Marxist historians in the two polemics in the 1930's and 1940's. Some views are as follows:

1. The theory of destruction caused by the peasant wars.

Some people publish one article after another, repeatedly advocating: "The prolonged existence of China's feudal society had something to do with sharp class struggle and frequent peasant wars." "Due to its low starting point in feudal eocnomy, plus less peasant wars, West Europe entered the capitalist society first; whereas with a high starting point in feudal economy and frequent peasant wars, China was unable to develop into a capitalist society." Some others contend: "Every large-scale peasant uprising seriously interrupted the process of feudalization, ruined the achievements already made in feudalization and forced the society once again back to its starting point." They also hold that from the long-term historical viewpoint, "the peasant wars did not push forward the advance of history, instead, they hampered the progress of history to certain extent," and "protected the feudal rulers."

These views are not new. As early as in the late 1920's, Soviet scholar Kan Tuo Luo Wei Ya [0974 2094 5012 4850 0068] put forth the idea that people's uprisings "should first be considered as a factor of China's political and financial system and a means to balance the system," and "they have the bandit nature and were destructive." In China, Wang Lixi held that the "occasional peasant revolts" caused prolonged stagnation in China's feudal society. In addition, Mo Feisi and Chen Gaoyong also held that the "peasant revolts" and "periodic damage" caused history to repeat itself.

2. The theory of no completion of feudalization in China.

Some people raise the view: The Chinese feudal society "had never reached the degree of feudalization as West Europe did after the ninth century A.D., that is, China never completed feudalization." Some others contend: "The process of feudalization was one in which large feudal land ownership developed and the liberal peasants were reduced to be the tillers of feudal land production." They also contend that China experienced many relapses from the Qin Dynasty to the Qing Dynasty and the process of feudalization lasted more than 2,000 years without completion. This view was raised by a Soviet scholar, Safanov, in his work "history of the development of the Chiense society" in the early 1930's. Safanov, drawing a parallel to the process of original capital accumulation in the development of capitalism, raised the idea that "every replacement of a dynasty in China was necessarily accompanied by the process of the original feudal accumulation." He contended that "every replacement of a dynasty caused land desolation and economic recession," and led to the repeated appearance of "new feudalization," thus plunging China into an endless process of feudalization and prolonged stagnation.

3. The theory of geographical conditions being decisive.

Some people contend: "Geographical conditions played a decisive role in the role in the early maturity and slow disintegration of the Chinese feudal

economy." This theory on geographical conditions being decisive was very popular among some non-Marxist scholars in the 1930's. For example, Wang Lixi once wrote: "Why was it impossible for China to spontaneously develop into an industrial capitalist era?" "I think that...it was impossible to establish several opposite independent states within China due to its geographical conditions. Therefore, it was not necessary to expand overseas development."

4. The theory of the circulation of history.

Some people hold that Chinese history was bogged down in "repetitive circulation" and "a predicament beyond redemption," and the Chinese feudal society continued its existence in place of peace and turmoil and repetitive circulation." This theory of the circulation of history as expressed in religious terms was very popular in the 1930's. Li Lizhong held that the revolt of the vagabond peasants and herdsmen "constitutes the main reason why the Chinese society experienced a circular development in the past." Mo Feisi and Chen Gaoyong contended that "the peasant revolts brought about the circulation process in China."

5. The theory of the basis of small-scale peasant economy.

This view is quite popular at present. Those holding this view contend: "The totalitarian central dictatorship in China's feudal society was established on the extensive basis of a small-scale peasant economy." "The periodic replacement peace and turmoil, rise and decline of every dynasty" was decided on this economic basis. Some others contend: "The prolonged existence of a small-scale peasant economy was the main reason why the economy in chinese society experienced slow development and stagnation for a long time." As a matter of fact, as early as in the 1930's, Li Lizhong, a devout disciple of Tao Xisheng, once said: "China's economic basis was small-scale peasant economy in agriculture. This is the historical fact known to all. When the commercial capitalist society established on this basis was conquered by the nomadic tribes with a backward means of production, "it experienced stagnation, cessation and retrogression."

In addition, there are the superstructure and other theories being used as the decisive factor. The origin of all these theories can be found in the first polemics on the issue of "the prolonged stagnation of the Chinese society" in the 1930's. These facts have shown a tendency in the current discussion, that is, the serious retrogression in theory, the source of which is the negligence of studying the theory of Marxism. In recent years, as a result of slackening efforts to study Marxism-Leninism, some non-Marxist views or even those views which were criticized by Marxist historians long ago have once again appeared in the historical sphere in new attire. All this shows that it is very necessary to once again promote the study of Marxism.

2. The Basic Reason For the Prolonged Existence of China's Feudal Society

Obviously, it is impossible to answer the question of the prolonged existence of China's feudal society with one or all of the above-mentioned views. A scientific answer can be found only with the integration of the basic truth of

Marxist historical materialism and the concrete historical reality of Chinese feudal society. In the living and material conditions of the society, what is the main force which decides the development from one system to another in social appearance and social nature. "Historical materialists hold that this force is the way to obtain the necessary living materials people need for their existence, that it is the mode of production of such materials as food, clothing, shoes, houses, fuel and instruments of production necessary for social existence and development." While making an analysis of the effect of disintegration produced by commerce on a feudal society, Marx pointed out: "To what extent commerce will disintegrate depends, first of all, on the strong nature and internal structure of the mode of production. In other words, where the integration process will lead, or which mode of production will replace the old one does not depend on commerce, but depends on the old mode of production itself." Therefore, if we want to probe into the reason for the prolonged existence of China's feudal society, we must first of all study the characteristics of the mode of production of Chinese society.

The mode of production consists of productive forces and relations of production. This is the basic decisive force in society. Lenin once made a comparison between the feudal system and the capitalist system, pointing out the general characteristics of the feudal mode of production. They are: 1) natural economy constitutes a dominant position; 2) direct producers "must be confined to land"; 3) "ultra-economic restriction msut be imposed"; 4) "the extremely backward and stagnant technology" formed on the restrictions of small-scale production. Among them, "natural economy" is meant for the integration of the scattered individual, small-scale agriculture and household handicrafts under the land-rent system, in which a household becomes a basic economic unit in feudal society and the value of a product is mainly its use value, not its exchange value. These common characteristics can be seen in almost every feudal society of various countries in the world. The problem is that except for these general and common characteristics, are there any other specialities in the mode of production of the Chinese feudal society? This is the crux for the prolonged existence of China's feudal society.

Marx said: "Of all social forms, there must be a certain production which governs all positions and influences other production, hence its relationship governs the position and influence of other relationships.... To a nation which engages in settlement tillage--such a settlement is progress itself--as in an ancient society and feudal society, settlement tillage is in a dominant position and the industry, the industrial organizations and the corresponding forms of ownership there all bear the nature of land ownership to some extent." Therefore, feudal land ownership was the core of the feudal mode of production. In China, the landlord system constituted a dominant position in the feudal mode of production and its own characteristics not only reflected the special characteristics of various economic relationships in agricultural production, but also influenced handicraft, commerce and city appearance, even making superstructure and state form adapt to the nature of land ownerhsip. In the final analysis, the basic contradiction of the feudal mode of production was the contradiction between individual small production and land ownership by a landlord. The movement of the basic contradiction exerted a decisive influence on the speed of development in feudal society.

Compared with the Suzerain system popular in West European countries, land ownership by a landlord in Chinese feudal society was not so stable as the feudal manor and the allotments to feudal lords in West Europe. Due to the Chinese tradition of treating descendants as a good luck, the system of equal share for each son and the system of separating households and dividing estates became a regular practice in China's feudal era. Furthermore, since the Shangyang reform [during the warring state period] and the carrying out of the "elimination of the 'nine squares' system [a land ownership in China's slave society with one large square of land divided into nine small squares] and the advocation of free land deals among masses," the free land deals and land annexation derived from the free land deals became a basic characteristic of land owenrship by a landlord in Chinese society. This characteristic decided the constant fluctuation in land ownership power and the fluctuation in land ownership, and in turn, furnished the land ownership by a feudal landlord with amazing resilience and powerful vitality.

Another characteristic of the land ownership by a landlord in Chinese feudal society was its close association with commercial profits and high usury interests. In other words, landlords, merchants and usurers were closely linked together with commercial profits and high usury interests were continuously transformed into land rent. "The basis of feudalism is agriculture." For more than 2,000 years, the saying of "with a little bit to make a fortune and with capital to maintain a business" was the motto of all merchants and usurers. Usually they used commercial profits and high usury interests to buy lands and became landlords. It is thus clear that the merchants in China's feudal era were different from the merchants of the late middle age in West Europe, who "played a revolutionary role in a previously stagnant society resulting from past history." Merchants in China's feudal era had never played such a role. Conversely, as the result of their profits was changed into land rent, the resilience of the land ownership by the landlord was thus strengthened. Similarly, unlike the late middle ages of West Europe, usury in China's feudal society "played a role of damaging and disintegrating the ancient and feudal wealth as well as ancient and feudal ownerhsip." As the usury interests were invested in land, it played the same role as the merchants in strengthening the resilience of the land ownership by a landlord.

The integration of landlords, merchants and usurers made the feudal mode of production in China more complicated. Landlords became concentrated holders of the various types of social wealth. Commercial profits and usury interests were unable to form an independent force to deal a destructive blow to the feudal mode of production. Instead, they provided landlords with more means for exploitation and became the supplementary means of land rent. Objectively, they played a role of consolidating the land ownership of the feudal landlord.

More than that, on the premise of free land deals, the class status and economic conditions of various classes in China's feudal society were not like that of West Europe, where the aristocracy remained an aristocracy forever; so did the populace and slaves. On the contrary, they were always changing, and "because people shared uncertain poverty and wealthy, land changed hands every minute." It is known to all that bureaucratic politics were practiced in China's history, not aristocratic policies. The rise or decline of the economic status of the political bureaucrats changed along with their political honor or dis-

grace. There appeared in ancient China the cases of "a commoner becoming a general or a minister," which was hard to imagine in West Europe. Particularly after the establishment of the imperial examination system, it was a common occurrence that a commoner once became a bureaucrat, adding fresh blood to the landlord class and representing a major force in land annexation. Therefore, it was a certainty that bureaucrats were landlords in China's feudal era. Due to the changes in the econoamic status and class status of various classes, after a group of old landlords faded away, another group of landlords would appear. The resilient characteristic of the land ownership by a feudal landlord was thus manifested in the replacement of old landlords by new ones. The economic basis decides the superstructure. As long as the land ownership by the feudal landlord, the core of the feudal economic basis, remained unchanged, the nature of the feudal society would not be changed. In China's feudal era, the exploitation of land rent under the land system of a landlord was the major form whereby peasants, as individual small laborers, were exploited. In a mixed economic form of the land ownership by a feudal landlord, commercial capital and usury capital, individual peasants must hand in as rent to landlords all the products of their surplus labor. In addition, they had to pay as commercial profits and usury interests to the same masters part or even a great part of the products of their required labor. Relying on the three means of commercial profits, land rent and usury interests, landlords thus extorted the products of all the surplus labor and a great part of required labor form individual peasants and downgraded their standard of living to the minimum of just maintaining physiological requirements, thus hampering the development of productive forces in agriculture. For more than 2,000 years, owner-peasants were always in a process of disintegration, due to extortion of heavy taxes. Although a small part of owner-peasants might become landlords, the greater part of them were on the brink of bankruptcy and gradually became tenant-peasants.

Lenin once said: In the transitional period from a feudal society to a capitalist society, "the bankruptcy of peasants heralded progress in agriculture." But owner-peasants incurred frequent and many bankruptcies in China's feudal society. In the late middle ages, bankrupt peasants swarmed into cities in West Europe. However, due to the confinement of China's feudal mode of production, China's feudal cities, unlike commune cities and industrial cities in the West Europe, did not become "revolutionary factors" to promote the development of capitalism and the extinction of the feudal system, but to become cities under the system of prefectures and counties [a system of local administration which took shape during the spring and autumn and the Lin Dynasty] and political centers of various feudal ruling classes. Official handicrafy industry and commerce catered mainly to the needs of the feudal ruling classes at various levels. It was, therefore, not easy for bankrupt peasants to settle down in cities. As a result, they were either tortured to death in ditches and ravines or became vagrants, thus creating distress and recession in agriculture. Because owner-peasants gradually became tenant-peasants instead of agricultural workers, and the integration of bankrupt tenant-peasants' individual small agriculture iwth the household handicraft industry became more and more close, they were, therefore, unable to become the representatives of the new productive force and create a new mode of production.

All in all, the internal structure and durability of the above-mentioned Chinese feudal mode of production was the basic and crucial internal factor for the prolonged existence of China's feudal society. Naturally, in addition to this, some other minor factors also played their roles. For example, we must take into account such factors as China being unified and a multinational country ever since ancient times, and hence the uneven economic development of different nationalities and areas, and the adverse effect of feudal totalitarianism. However, compared with the internal structure and its durability of the feudal mode of production, these factors are after all minor ones and less important.

CSO: 4005/130

PARTY AND STATE

'HEBEI RIBAO' ON SEPARATION OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT

HK021329 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 21 Oct 82 pp 1, 4

[Report by reporter Zhang Wenguang [1728 2429 0342]: "Division of Work Between Party and Government Must Go Ahead—Investigation of Division of Work Between Party and Government at Prefectural and County Level in Shijiazhuang Prefecture"]

[Text] By conscientiously solving the problem of a lack of distinction between party and government and the party taking the place of the government, the prefectural and county levels in Shijiazhuang Prefecture have strengthened party work, brought into play the functional role of the government, aroused enthusiasm in all sectors, promoted the development of all types of work and laid solid foundations for the restructuring of organizations.

The Problem of the Party Taking the Place of the Government Must Be Solved

Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and especially after studying and implementing the guidelines of the Central Committee on separating party and government and overcoming bureaucratism, party committees and administrations at prefectural and county levels in Shijiazhuang Prefecture have done a great deal of work in this respect, and the problem of the party supplanting the government has changed. However, because of an inadequate understanding of the great significance of this question, and the influence of force of habit, the problem remains serious. Some purely government work is still being studied by party standing committees and many professional meetings are held jointly by the prefectural party committee and administrative office. This year, the administrative office has not held any independent meetings on agriculture and even the popularization of the rotation of Zhengding cotton, spring barley and "Hebei No 10 wheat" was decided at a meeting held jointly by the prefectural party committee and administrative office. Some economic, administrative and professional work meetings are also attended by the secretaries and deputy secretaries of county party committees, and speeches are delivered by the secretary and first secretary present. Many specific vocational jobs must also be approved by the secretary and first secretary. If certain work cannot go forward, instead of supporting the government to sort it out, a meeting is called in the name of the standing committee and the matter is taken care of by the party committee. Besdides that, too many documents are issued jointly by the party committee and administration. Up to July this year, the prefectural party committee has issued a total of 105 documents, of which more

than 30 are joint documents. Some government departments are also directly controlled by related departments of the prefectural party committee, hindering the direct and efficient execution of their duties. This state of affairs is even more serious in various county and administrative office bureaus. Most of the meetings here are conducted wholesale, and decisions big and small are made by the number one man. People say: "The party secretary is now doing the work of the administrative director, and the administrative director is doing the work of the bureau chief." In studying the division of work, the Luancheng County Party Committee has summed up "four things they will not divide" and "two things they will do without exception." That is, they will not divide authority, work, meetings and matters regardless of magnitude; and in all matters big or small, they will without exception place the secretary in command and let the party committee assume responsibility.

There are many reasons for this kind of situation, mainly:

1. The disastrous effect of political campaigns. In the anti-rightist struggle, criticising words and actions which opposed or broke away from party leadership was correct, but condemning correct views and normal exercise of authority as "refusing to obey the leadership of the party" left the people bewildered and lost and even now, there is still lingering fear. Particularly during the "cultural revolution," the "revolutionary committees" monopolized party, government, financial and cultural power and practiced "unified" leadership. "Unified" subsequently turned into "one man rule."

2. The role of tradition and force of habit. During the war years, the period of the war effort and the cooperative movement, "work was initiated by the secretary and the commune was run by the whole party." At that time, because cadres were few and tasks were heavy, this method of doing things was correct. After a long time, this developed into a habit and people invariably feel that work can be better carried out if the party committee is directly involved.

3. The influence of feudalism. Becuase feudal despotism existed for a long time in our country, the patriarchal leadership style and small production mode of management are now deep-seated. Some party committees are affected, and although they delegate work to lower levels, they delegate only the duties but not the authority and are wary of giving them a free hand.

The serious consequences are:

1. The government's are tied and its role weakened.

2. Party leadership is weakened, resulting in the party not administering its own affairs. The party's work at grass-roots level is poor and the exemplary role of party members as well as the role of the party branch as a fighting force cannot be brought into play. The phenomenon of laxity and weakness exists universally throughout the region.

3. Due to the inability of the party to do follow-up work, the implementation of the party's line, policies and principles is affected and there is no effective guarantee for economic work.

Division Without Rigidity and Integration Without Confusion

In the division of work, the party committee and government at the prefectural and county level in Shijiazhuang Prefecture have encountered and solved some problems of unclear divisions and areas difficult to divide.

1. The shift of emphasis in the work of the party does not mean monopolizing economic work. Some cadres generally think that the shift of emphasis in the work of the party involves taking personal charge of economic work. This is the main obstacle to the separation of party work from government work. The prefectural party committee holds that as the highest organizational form of the Proletariat, the Communist Party is not an economic organization or a production setup. It is necessary to uphold party leadership, but leading does not mean replacing. If those who are led have been replaced, there is no leadership. Party leadership is essentially political leadership, and this can be achieved by means of line, policies and principles as well as political and ideological work. The party committee must properly grasp the work of party affairs, help the economic departments to formulate and implement policies and principles and carry out political and ideological work in the economic sphere. This is what is meant by shifting the emphasis to economic construction. For example, in agricultural work, the party committee should lay stress on perfecting, consolidating and upgrading the party's organizational construction and responsbility system. All other production matters are best handed over to the government.

2. Undertakings of the whole party and the whole people must be tackled by both party and government. Family planning is a matter of importance to the whole party and the whole people, and the party committee cannot push it aside. In its work, the party committee should by emphasis on formulating policies and getting the party and CYL members to set the pace, while government departments should carry out specific jobs one by one. After the work has been divided, the prefectural and county party committees should still have a secretary or deputy secretary in charge of this work, the administrative office should have a deputy administrative director and the county should have a deputy county administrator in charge of deciding priorities, formulating policies and convening large-scale meetings. All important documents must be jointly prepared by both sides and the rest of the work can be carried out by the government.

3. During key periods, making concerted efforts does not mean monopolizing work. In times of war, and famine due to crop failures and pestilence, there is no doubt whatsoever that the party, government, army and civilians must make concerted efforts. For example, if the "three autumn jobs," the "three summer jobs" and the crucial periods in industry and finance are not handled properly, this is not the affair of a single department. At such times there should be concerted efforts. The role played by the party committee at such times is not in the field of labor, but consists in taking complete charge of the overall situation, organizing, mobilizing and helping the government departments to solve problems occurring in work.

4. There must be appropriate administrative organs to deal with temporary tasks, but they must not exceed the scope of their functions. As undertakings are developed, problems of unsuitable setups are frequently encountered. The

Shijiazhuang Prefectural Party Committee and administrative office formerly set up certain leadership groups and temporary offices. Most of them have taken over the leadership work of the departments, and temporary organs have supplanted the regular organs. This has resulted in needless duplication, overstaffing and the phenomenon of wrangling and passing the buck. In the division of work between the party and government, the prefectural party committee and administrative office have carried out a study of the small groups and offices one by one. Apart from the offices in charge of "cracking down on criminal activities" and "implementing policies," they have suspended the work of all other offices and handed htem to the functional departments. When similar problems are encountered in the future, they have adopted the principle that the affairs of a certain department should belong to that particular department, and if the department cannot handle the work on its own, it should be jointly carried out by all departments concerned, but the work must not be carried out by many departments together. When setting up a leadership group of senior cadres, the Luancheng County Party Committee transferred a deputy director from its organizational department and a bureau chief from its personnel bureau to be in charge of this work. This could be regarded as a "small group" for the upper levels and as an administrative organ for the lower levels. In fact, it is still the affair of the organizational and personnel departments.

5. Reduce the overlapping of duties; tasks must be clearly defined. The situation in which a deputy party committee secretary is also the leading member of a government department, or a departmental leading member is also a standing committee member of the party committee, is universal. Based on division of work and specialized knowledge, the prefectural party committee has decided to gradually reduce the holding of too many concurrent posts. If this cannot be solved straight away, tasks must still be clearly defined. Tasks must not be allowed to overlap because of overlapping duties. Members of the party standing committee who are also leading departmental members must devote their main energy to properly grasping the work of their own departments, and must not, because of their position as standing committee members, transfer the work of their departments to the standing committee.

6. Accept but do not rely on party leadership. As for the government departments, there is still the question of whether or not to accept party leadership after the division of work between the party and government. The policy of the administrative office and county government is to accept but not to rely on party leadership. Business which comes under the scope of government duties is not as a rule handed over to the standing committee of the party committee for discussion. With the exception of allround commendations and recording of merits, circulars on major issues, expressions of sympathy and solicitude for serious disasters, important holiday activities and problems which can only be solved through the joint efforts of both sides, they basically do not hold joint meetings or issue joint documents, and secretaries generally do not attend or make speeches at the meetings of the government. Problems which can be solved by the departments do not require party meetings or documents issued in the name of the party and government, neither do the leading members go and make speeches. However, the departments must ask for instructions from, and report what they want to do to, the government, and the government must ask for instructions from, and report what they want to do to, the party committee. They must accept party leadership but also rid themselves of the attitude of relying on party leadership.

A Profound Change

The careful division of work between the party and government has enabled the state machinery to operate normally and quickly, with the strengthening of party work, the party committee has been freed from tedious routine and can concentrate its energy on doing party work. The organizational department has placed strict demands on incumbent cadres, reorganized basic level party organizations and brought into play the fighting role of party organizations and the exemplary vanguard role of party members. The first secretary must grasp propaganda, study propaganda policies, pay attention to the building of spiritual civilization and, by means of the propaganda department, strengthen the theoretical study of ideological and political work and the training of political work cadres.

The functional role of government departments has been brought into play. There are less meetings and leading party committee members no longer attend government work meetings. The practice of reporting all meetings big and small to the county party committee has changed. Departments need only report to the leading member of their own department and work is completed by whoever is in charge. There has been less getting other people to take command and passing the buck and more initiative in assuming responsibility.

The phenomenon of wrangling and passing the buck has disappeared. In the past, the work of some administrative departments was run by the party committee, and the phenomenon of wrangling and passing the buck frequently appeared because of unfamiliarity with professional work, and poor management. Now, with the return of work to the government departments and with the party committee only looking after principles and policies, mnay problems can be readily solved.

Work efficiency has imporved. In the past, everybody swarmed to the countryside to carry out work and the various fronts of the party, government, army, civilian and school were organized into groups in a unified manner. After they got to the countryside, they put forward many ideas but did little actual work. They often did noly what they were told and seldom shouldered responsibility, now, one person is doing the work of several and the task of a department is carried out by the personnel of that particular department. Because of their familiarity with vocational work, the work is carried out more smoothly, faster and better. Before the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the province, prefecture and county had to release a total of more than 100 people to implement a single rural policy in the county. After more than half a year, they had still not finished the work and left a lot of mess behind. Recently, the prefectural party committee has sent two work teams of several people each to Jingxing and Zhanhuang, and in less than 2 months, they have investigated and dealt with the complicated change form agricultural to non-agricultural status, and with serious economic criminal activities.

The innate work enthusiasm and initiative of the broad masses of cadres have been clearly manifested.

CSO: 4005/130

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON DEDICATION TO COMMUNISM

HK291403 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Liu Zhijian [0491 1807 1017]: "Foster the Revolutionary Spirit of Dedication to Communism"]

[Text] In the new historical period of socialist modernization, every revolutionary fighter of our PLA, and advanced elements and Communist Party members in particular, should play the role of active builders and defenders of a high degree of socialist material and spiritual civilization. They should act as people who strive to contribute toward creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. To accomplish this glorious mission assigned to us by history, we must strive to arm ourselves with communist thinking and develop ourselves into a new generation of idealistic, moral cultured and disciplined people--firmly, unswervingly and realistically fighting to the last for socialism today and for communism in the future.

How should we develop ourselves into new communist people consciously dedicated to the communist cause?

First, We Must Firmly Establish Great Communist Ideals

Ideals represent an individual's object of struggle, a reflection of his political stand and world outlook and the motivating force in his life. All through the ages, anybody who has achieved anything has cherished great ideals. But compared with our predecessors, our Communist Party members' ideals are many times greater. One of our dominating ideals is to fight for the realization of communism. Only with the realization of communism can the Proletariat and the laboring people achieve thorough emancipation, and only in this way will all mankind have a brilliant future. Therefore, the realization of communism is the most advanced, lofty and beautiful ideal of human society and is our spiritual pillar in uniting and fighting together. Only with such an ideal can a person find life meaningful and broaden his mind. And only in this way will one be willing to make sacrifices for the benefit of the people. Without great communist ideals, a person has no sense of revolution and lacks the correct direction and motivation to forge ahead. He is unable to correctly handle the relations between the individual and the collective, the individual and the organization, immediate and long-term interests, and partial and overall interests. He cannot stand up to problems, take a correct approach to setbacks,

humiliations, reverses and failures in life and work, or assume a correct attitude toward success, victory and praise. He cannot possibly have a thorough sense of democracy or an attitude of equality, or follow the mass line. He cannot distinguish between honor and disgrace. He cannot effectively resist corruption by decadent capitalist thinking and the capitalist way of life. Still less can he consciously give his all to communism.

To foster communist ideals, we must study hard and assiduously arm our minds with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought. The ideals mentioned by us are not religious superstitions nor objects of blind worship. Instead they represent a component of the Marxist world outlook. They are based on a correct understanding of Marxist scientific theory and of the objective laws for the development of human society and its inevitable trends.

It is of course commendable to participate in the revolution by solely relying upon simple class feelings and beautiful and benign wishes. But to just stay at this level is far from adequate and is unreliable. Only communist ideals based on training in Marxist-Leninist theory are reliable and capable of standing any drastic test. Some of our comrades fail to break out of the "narrow confines" of an individual and lack great revolutionary ideals. While individualism is to blame, the main cause is a poor grounding in theory and the lack of a profound understanding of communist ideology. We must seriously study Marxist-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought and seek a good grounding in theory in a down-to-earth manner. On this basis, we must firmly foster the Proletarian world outlook and philosophy of life.

Second, We Must Consciously Foster Communist Values

A revolutionary bent on devoting his whole life to the struggle for communism must not only cherish great ideals but also have lofty moral principles. Communist morality is embodiment of a communist's ideals in revolutionary practice and is the norm for his behavior and the guiding principle for his life. Its essence is collectivism and the spirit of wholeheartedly serving the people that communists must uphold in handling the relations between people and between the individual and the collective. Its basic components are: warm love for the people and an everready desire to promote the well-being of the great majority of people in all matters at all times; keen love for labor and a labor attitude of working assiduously; passionate love for the collective and concern over and protection of public property; fervent love for science and the courage to uphold truth; ardent love for the socialist motherland and the patriotic spirit of placing the motherland's honor and idgnity above everything else; the internationalist spirit of caring for the laboring people of various countries; fraternal unity and delight in helping others; loyalty to the communist cause, the revolutionary heroic spirit of selflessness, the maintenance of a lofty sense of revolution; and so forth. Communist morality is a reflection of fundamental Proletarian interests. It serves a socialist economic foundation. It plays a tremendous role in stimulating the development of productive forces and science and technology, in consolidating and developing the political situation of stability and unity, in triumphing over the moral influence of all exploiting classes and cultivating a generation of new communist people and in promoting the revolutionalization, modernization and regularization of our army.

The 10 years of internal disorder have left deep wounds on people mentally and morally. In the process of turning chaos into order and building spiritual civilization, our party has devoted great efforts to healing the wounds and has achieved marked results. But in this respect, many problems still remain. Some people still fail to distinguish between right and wrong, between what is good or bad, and between glory and humiliation. For a time, there circulated on the social scene such ideas as that "all people are selfish" and "taking a subjective approach to oneself and an objective approach to others." The line of distinction between right and wrong was blurred ideologically and morally. This had an unhealthy influence on some people. Therefore, in fostering communist values, we must criticize bourgeois individualism and various kinds of selfish ideas and get rid of these spiritual impurities left over from the old society. Without criticizing egoism and without getting rid of such influence, we cannot keep our revolutionary ranks from maintaining a healthy system mentally.

"Taking a subjective approach to oneself and an objective approach to others" is a variation of egoism and is based on "everything for self" as a starting point. This viewpoint puts self-interest above everything else. In approaching a matter, we first see whether we can benefit. We act only out of self-interest. The term "an objective approach to others" is only a euphemism for egoism. It is inconceivable that a person motivated by "self-interest" would put the state first, the collective first and others first where personal interests clash with those of the state, the collective and others. It is all the more inconceivable that he would sacrifice his own interests and even his life in defense of the people's interests. Therefore, we can never tolerate the rationalization of egoism. Nor can we let it continue to poison people's minds.

Third, We Must Strengthen Training in Organizational Discipline

Discipline is established order that people should jointly observe and is the norm for behavior in carrying out orders and in strictly performing our duties. A different class or group in a different society has different discipline. Proletarian discipline is a source of spiritual strength and an important guarantee for the Proletariat in uniting the laboring people in the struggle for communism and is an important weapon for the empty-handed Proletariat in triumphing over the much more powerful bourgeoisie. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Uniform discipline is a prerequisite for the revolution." "Without discipline, the party has no way of leading the masses to join the army in waging a triumphant struggle." This is the perfect truth. It also represents the sum of our party's revolutionary experience acquired over several decades in leading the masses of people in waging revolutionary struggle. Without a conscious sense of discipline, our party cannot unify will and action. Neither can our army have the power to fight. Without a conscious sense of discipline on the part of the Proletariat and the masses of people, there is no hope for our cause.

Proletarian revolutionary discipline is an important guarantee for maintaining the people's common interests and taking good care of revolution and production. It embodies the organizational discipline for democratic centralism, the political discipline for the party Central Committee in maintaining political uniformity, the laws and decrees promulgated by the state, the army's three main rules

of discipline and eight points for attention, general rules, regulations and systems, social peace and order, social virtues, and so forth. For our army, army discipline, which is most strictly enforced and worthy of being called ironclad discipline, is absolutely necessary. Especially under conditions of contemporary war, given the modernization of weaponry, the great mobility of the army, the suddenness of war, and the quick changes on the battlefield, it is absolutely necessary to act upon an order given or carry out a prohibition imposed. Otherwise, a defeat in war will result. In fighting, a problem sometimes cannot be solved with just one more battalion or regiment added. But strict enforcement of discipline, resoluteness in carrying out an order and quick action can instead bring victory.

Proletarian revolutionary discipline is conscious discipline based on communist ideological consciousness. Without a high degree of political consciousness and without infinite loyalty to the revolutionary cause, there can be no conscious and strict discipline. We must strengthen the sense of revolution and the sense of political responsibility. Enforcement of discipline must be elevated to the plane where an order is quickly acted upon and a prohibition ordered is readily carried out, with a view to uniformity. We must correctly understand the dialectical relations between freedom and discipline, thoroughly eliminate the influence of anarchism and bourgeois liberalization, and subordinate ourselves to the unified will of the party and the revolutionary people. We must consciously overcome the small-producer habit of lax discipline, impose strict demands upon ourselves in all matters, undergo rigorous training, cultivate good habits and resolutely fight all acts that run counter to discipline. Only in this way can we better fulfill various fighting tasks with which we are charged by the party and the people, and only in this way can we ensure smooth progress in the building of a modern and regular revolutionary army.

Fourth, We Must Strive to Raise Scientific and Cultural Levels

Conscious dedication to communism calls not only for great ideals, lofty moral principles and strict discipline, but also for the enrichment of scientific and cultural knowledge to turn ourselves into builders of socialism that closely combine mental and physical work. Cultural and scientific knowledge is not only an important requirement for modernization but also a prerequisite for raising people's ideological consciousness and their level of moral training and discipline. It is entirely correct for the party Central Committee to treat the elevation of the whole nation's scientific and cultural levels as a strategic task and to treat cultural training as an important part of socialist spiritual civilization.

However, some people have regarded cultural training as contradictory with moral training and consciousness of discipline, saying that "given no culture, there would also be lofty ideals and morality...." This is not a Marxist viewpoint. In the Proletarian revolutionary cause, culture occupies an important place. In itself it is an important force in revolution. As far as the relationship between cultural training on the one hand and ideals, morality and discipline on the other is concerned, a given level of cultural or scientific knowledge is a prerequisite and a basis for understanding and practicing ideals, moral principles and discipline. A given level of cultural or scientific knowledge helps

people distinguish between right and wrong, between the genuine and the false, between good and evil, and between the beautiful and the ugly, and thus make a correct choice. The great communist fighters, Lei Feng and Wang Jie, cherished lofty ideals, noble moral principles and a conscious sense of discipline precisely because they tirelessly studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought and acquired cultural and scientific knowledge, drawing political nourishment therefrom and thus gradually developing a communist world outlook and philosophy of life.

Facts show that a rich cultural knowledge provides nourishment for the fostering of ideals, the shaping of character, and the cultivation of desired qualities. The richer a person's knowledge the more perfect he himself is. Without a cultural background and without knowledge, how can communist ideals, morality and discipline be cultivated and consolidated? In a state filled with illiterate and ignorant people, how can socialism and communism be built? For an army, culture is an important element in improving the political and administrative qualities of the army and enhancing its fighting power. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "An uncultured army is an ignorant one. As such, it cannot triumph over the enemy." Therefore, we should strive to draw wisdom and strength from the world of culture and knowledge, transforming the objective world and the subjective world and fighting better for the building of a modern and regular revolutionary army and for communism.

Ideals, morality, cultural training and observance of discipline form a perfect unified whole. They sum up socialist spiritual civilization to a high degree. They represent the main part of the "five stresses and four beauties" and the "four haves, three stresses and two afraids." They represent the direction of effort in building socialist spiritual civilization. They are an indicator of the existence or nonexistence of spiritual civilization and a guide, for that matter. Everyone bent on dedicating themselves to the communist cause must strive to develop themselves into a new communist person who is imbued with ideals, moral, cultured and conscious of discipline.

Dedication to communism is not a hollow slogan. It means concrete action. At present, we are meant to fight for the realization of the various fighting tasks put forth at the 12th CPC National Congress and for the building of our country into a highly civilized and highly democratic modern and powerful socialist country. As far as the army is concerned, we must "develop our army into a modern and regular revolutionary army and further enhance our army's capacity for self-defense under modern conditions." The commanders and fighters of our Kunming PLA units and the militia must strive to improve their ability to fight in tropical mountainous and hilly afforested areas. They must show warm love for the border areas, have peace of mind working in border areas and fight for the protection and building of border areas. This requires us to buckle down to work and fight in different combat posts in different departments on different fronts, starting with every little bit of work and advancing step by step in an effort to create a new situation in various fields of endeavor.

CSO: 4005/130

PARTY AND STATE

BEIJING RADIO ON DISCIPLINE INSPECTION CONFERENCE

HK031028 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 23 Oct 82

[Text] The struggle against serious economic crimes in the municipality made considerable haedway in July-September. Yesterday, the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee held a work conference on discipline inspection. The conference called on the CPC committees at various levels to continuously overcome slack moods and complacency, conscientiously sum up experience, work ceaselessly and unremittingly, push on in the flush of [word indistinct] and carry through to the end the struggle against serious economic crimes.

Over the past 3 months, the CPC organizations at various levels throughout the municipality have conscientiously studied the guidelines of the relevant instructions of the CPC Central Committee, overcome slack moods and obstruction and [words indistinct] leadership. The secretaries and standing committee members shared among themselves work with individual responsibility and took the lead in investigating and handling major cases, thus vigorously promoting the development of this struggle. So far, the major cases that have been wound up and thoroughly investigated account for 84.8 percent of the total. A breakthrough has been made in investigating old cases, and some achievements have been scored in [words indistinct]. The personnel [words indistinct] committed crimes have been punished according to party discipline and state law. Public security organs, procuratorial organs and [words indistinct] investigating and handling major [words indistinct], dealing a serious blow to the criminals and forcing them to largely restrain their illegal activities.

In order to more penetratingly develop the struggle against serious criminal activities, the conference called on the CPC committees at various levels to conscientiously study the documents of the 12th Party Congress and further deepen their understanding of the importance of launching the struggle against serious criminal activities. It is necessary to closely link the struggle against illegal activities in the economic field with the reorganization of enterprises. It is necessary to know how the Maftla stands, inspect all loopholes, find new clues, ferret out the criminals and continually exploit the victories. It is necessary to continuously link this struggle with education in resisting corruption, constantly sharpen the ability of the numerous party members and the broad masses to resist corruption and prevent degeneration, and expose and denounce the criminal acts of sabotaging socialism in the economic and other fields. It is necessary to concentrate forces on hitting and ferret-

ing out those criminals who have committed serious crimes and have long succeeded in staying hidden. [Words indistinct] executive secretary of the municipal CPC Committee, spoke at the meeting. The responsible comrade of the preparatory group of the discipline inspection commission of the municipal CPC Committee talked at the meeting about the situation in the struggle against serious economic crimes from July to September and his suggestions for future work.

Responsible comrades of the CPC committees and discipline inspection commissions of the various capital construction bureaus, institutes of higher learning and factories and mines directly under the Beijing Municipal authorities, numbering more than 600 persons, attended the conference.

CSO: 4005/130

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ARTICLE VIEWS 'GENUINE SOCIALISM'

HK030406 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Xi Guangqing [1153 1639 1987]: "The 'Genuine Socialism' That Negates Socialist Practice"]

[Text] One of the essential characteristics of scientific socialism is proceeding from realities and taking actual social development as the basis of its theory. In contrast, a common characteristic of various kinds of sham socialism is proceeding from abstract principles, without taking real social movement as their basis. "Genuine socialism," which spread like the plague in the theoretical circles in Germany in the mid-and later 1940's, was such a petty bourgeois socialist sect.

The representatives of the "genuine socialist" sect, such as M. Hess, K. Grun, Hai Keligai [3189 0344 0448 5556] and so on, continued to develop conservative idealism of the German classical philosophy. They never took as the premise of their theories real social movement, but instead took German philosophy, especially Feuerbach's humanism, as the premise. They did not base their theories on the scientific study of the capitalist society, but instead on empty talk of abstract humanitarianism.

Their understanding of French socialist documents prominently gave expression to their divorce from real movements. They held that the French socialist documents were not the expression and outcome of real movements in French society but were products of pure ideology, which proved the one-sidedness of the French which needed to be improved by German philosophy. So, they inserted their own words into French theories and drew an idealist conclusion, saying that socialism "is real expression of philosophic ethics." Thus, that socialism was deprived of its essence and became phrases and words which had nothing to do with socialist practice and the workers' movement and could be used freely and wantonly, became empty philosophic words which did not represent true demands but the demand of truth, and which did not represent the interests of the Proletariat, but the interests of the common people. No wonder Marx and Engels said ironically that "genuine socialism" was no other than Proletarian communism "in the spiritual firmament of the Germans" "and a deformation in the mental firmament of the Germans." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, pp 536-537)

The criticism of the German bourgeoisie by "genuine socialism" was another important example showing its divorce from the realities of social life. At that time, Germany was a feudal autocratic country. Although capitalism had developed to a certain extent in this country, the survival of feudalism still seriously existed. Under such [word indistinct], opposing feudal autocratic rule and establishing the rule of the bourgeoisie in industrial and political fields were the needs of social development and the progress of history. However, the "genuine socialists," who did not respect historical conditions and did not make concrete class analyses, cursed capitalism as a crime and advocated that the Proletariat should not take part in and support the struggle carried out by the bourgeoisie against the feudal autocratic system. Thus they became defenders of the reactionary German autocratic system.

The path the "genuine socialists" followed in reforming capitalist society also fully exposed their idealist essence, which was characterized by proceeding from abstract principles and disregarding the basis of social realities. Instead of seeking methods to eliminate the evils of capitalism from within the capitalist system, they developed some empty reasonings, saying that it was free social competition, rather than the capitalist system, which made egoism a common practice, made people gradually lose their nature--their mutual affection--and led to poverty, unemployment and bankruptcy. So, they held that if education, training and charitable activities were carried out and people regained their nature, people would sympathize with the poor, love mankind and show mutual affection. Then capitalism would peacefully develop into communism. Thus socialism, which was a real social movement and a revolutionary practice of the Proletariat in reforming the world, was struck out by them. What was left over was no more than the pure persuasive and ethical activity and the sermon of the philosophers who divorced themselves from social practice.

The ideal society of "genuine" socialists was "living in peace, possessing private property and having enough fields and a dwelling place." This was but an illusion of the petty bourgeoisie which was on the verge of perishing in the historical trend of capitalism and which was attempting to stop the development of capitalism in Germany in order to protect the small "paradise" of private ownership. Engels said that it was a "typical urban petty bourgeois" society.

Along with the development of the workers' movement, "genuine socialism" was becoming more and more reactionary. Marx and Engels began their struggle against this evil sect in 1845 and completely defeated it in theory in 1846. The 1848 revolutionary storm then cleared it all away.

CSO: 4005/130

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON REAPPRAISAL OF GUANGXU EMPEROR

HK031303 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Chen Kejin [7115 0344 6651]: "Guangxu Was a Patriotic Ruler"]

[Text] In the history of the Qing Dynasty, during his 10 years of rule, Emperor Guangxu, in the face of foreign aggression by Japan and the domestic upheaval of the reform movement, managed to conform to the historical trend by resisting foreign aggression and opposing servility toward foreign countries, by having the courage to initiate reforms and advocate learning from the West. Therefore, he should be regarded as a worthy and patriotic ruler, not as a feudal emperor who put in first place the "consolidation of his feudal power." This is the conclusion drawn by Yang Guangmei in his article "Brief Comments on Guangxu Emperor" published in this year's third issue of the "Journal of the Central Institute of Nationalities."

The article says that on the eve of the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1985, Guangxu repeatedly warned that it was "absolutely insane" to rely on the intervention of Britain, Russia and other countries to curb Japan. After the outbreak of the war, Guangxu "spared no efforts to recruit and allocate pay for soldiers." In the wake of the Pyong Yong and Huang Hai sea battles, he deployed forces, established a defenseive line on the Yalu River in the northeast China, strengthened defense in the south onthe lower reaches of the Changjiang River, reinforced the defensive forces in Taiwan and attached great importance to gaining the initiative at sea. Even when the Chinese were defeated in the war, Guangxu did not despair, but insisted on fighting and opposing "peace negotiations." Threatened and coerced by the Japanese, Li Hongzhang signed the "Maguan Treaty," but Guangxu was determined to abrogate the treaty and fight again. Under the pressure of Empress Dowager Cixi and her like, Guangxu finally had no choice but to approve of the treaty. It must be acknowledged that Guangxu's approval of the treaty showed his weakness and was his one blemish. However, this is different from the surrender and compromise of Cixi, Li Hongzhang and their like.

The article also says that during the 3 years from the end of the Sino-Japanese war of 1895 to the eve of the "hundred-days reforms," since Guangxu had absorted some reformist ideas, he was already suggesting and implementing certain measures

for reform. He made great efforts to select talented people, including those good at "official administration" and technical personnel with professional knowledge. More than that, he reorganized the army. On the one hand, he straightened out the existing army; on the other hand he established a "new infantry army" and approved Zhang Zhitong's establishment of a "self-strengthening army" in the lower reaches of the Changjiang River. This marked the beginning of the period of the Chinese learning from the West by establishing regular forces. None of these reformative measures taken by Guangxu deviated from the idea of "Chinese knowledge as the essence and Western knowledge for use." On the issue of developing industry, however, he laid stress on the practice of "inviting tenders for contracts," which showed that he was more farsighted than the Westernization faction. The rapid development of the national industry after the Sino-Japanese war of 1895 was certainly closely connected with this action by Guangxu.

CSO: 4005/130

PARTY AND STATE

NEI MONGGOL ZHOU HUI ATTENDS CYL CONGRESS

SK260528 Hohhqt Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Oct 82

[Excerpts] The seventh Nei Monggol Regional CYL Congress ceremoniously opened in Hohhot on 25 October. Attending the opening ceremony were some leading comrades of the regional party, government, army and CPPCC organizations, including Zhou Hui, Wang Duo, Kong Fei, Bu He, (Shi Shengrong), Shen Xinfa, Liu Huixian, (Lin Jili), Cui Bi and Qi Yongchun.

Attending the congress to extend greetings were some responsible comrades of the Regional Trade Union Council, the Women's Federation, federations of literary and art circles, [words indistinct], scientific and technical associations, Wang Jiangong, secretary of the secretariat of the CYL Central Committee, spoke at the congress.

(Liu Ren), secretary of the regional CYL Committee, presided over the congress and (Liu Yingshan), deputy secretary made an opening speech.

(Liu Yingshan) said: Major tasks of the congress are to listen to the work report made by the sixth Nei Monggol regional CYL Committee, speeches made by leading comrades of the regional party committee and the CYL Central Committee and a relayed report on the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress, and to select the seventh Nei Monggol Regional CYL Committee and regional delegates to the 11th National CYL Congress.

According to the organic law of the congress, the preparatory meeting held on 24 October had approved the list of the delegates' credentials committee, the report on the preparatory work of the seventh CYL Congress, the list of the presidium and secretary-general of the congress and the agenda of the congress. The congress will last 6 days. In the afternoon, delegates listened to the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress relayed by Bu He, leading comrade of the regional CPC Committee.

CSO: 4005/130

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON PROMOTING COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

HK050823 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Oct 82 p 1

[Article by Qi Ping [4359 1627]: "Education in Communist Ideology and Existing Socialist Policies"]

[Text] The promotion of communist ideology is something which the nature of our party and country demands. Since the first day of its establishment, the CPC has resolved to struggle for the realization of communism. Of significance in this is that in China the communist movement started after the period of the new democratic revolution. Following the establishment of new China, the communist movement has greatly developed although it has also received very serious setbacks. Through summing up the historical experience of the past 30 years, the party's Central Committee has decided to insist on educating the people with communist ideology and using communist ideology to guide our undertakings. This is of great significance in the establishment of a socialist society in our country and in the realization of the four modernizations.

At present, our country is at the important juncture of creating a new modern phase of socialism and we sorely need a powerful and strong guiding ideology, that is to say, we need communist ideology to guide our establishment of a new phase in socialist construction. However, as a result of the 10 years of disturbance, the people's ideology has been confused and among some people there is a lack of confidence in communist ideology. People who have no conviction or belief can do nothing and cannot have a true ideology. Today, the task of our party is to make use of communist ideology to educate and to arm the people. This is indeed the most powerful spiritual pillar. Only in possessing a strong belief in communism can there be any confidence in the future. During the period of the new democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong had already pointed out that we must "take a communist stand and use communist methodology to examine problems, to cultivate knowledge, to perform our work, and to train cadres." If it is said that at that time, propagation of communist ideology was aimed at guiding the democratic revolution to victory, then, similarly, our promotion of communist ideology today is for the purpose of consolidating and developing the socialist system and pushing the communist movement a step forward. At present, under the new condition of our country opening its doors to the outside world and enlivening its internal economy, some people, who are unable to distinguish clearly between the nature of socialism and that of capitalism, have blindly admired the West's so-called freedom, democracy and

material civilization, its worship of the dollar and materialism and its bending all the way toward the love of money. Under such circumstances, if we do not propagate communist ideology and do not educate the people with communist ideology, then it will be tantamount to letting the people be led astray by the capitalist class. If this development continues, then not only will we be unable to properly implement the policy of opening our doors to the outside world and the correct guideline of enlivening the internal economy but also the taking of the socialist direction and road will become a problem.

It must be remembered that in our country, feudal society existed for over 2,000 years and the semi-colonial and semi-feudalist society existed for over 109 years, whereas the spread and growth of communist ideology in our country has had a history of little more than 60 years. True, at its appearance in our country, communist ideology did immediately demonstrate its enormous vitality and rapidly developed in some 9.6 million square kilometers of territory. Nevertheless, since feudal ideology and capitalist ideology are deep-rooted, they not only have their own marketplaces but are also endowed with a definite force of resistance. If our party and government do not openly and clearly propagate communist ideology and make use of it to overcome feudalism and capitalist ideology, then feudalism and capitalist ideology will run rampant and occupy our battleground with the result that the entire socialist structure may be strangled to death. Indeed, all that has been said is not merely meant to scare other people. The lesson of the 10 years of disturbance should still be fresh in our memory.

Propagating communist ideology has been our party's avowed policy. However, at present we are still at the socialist stage and the communist society is quite a distance away. Hence, the series of policies on politics, economy and culture which our party has formulated at the present moment are all oriented toward the development of socialist society as their starting point. They form a constituent part of the communist movement, but at the same time they must be strictly separated from the communist system and from the communist ideological structure itself. Not to make such a distinction may cause confusion between the two stages of communist society and socialist society. It must be understood that progressing from socialism to communism will take a fairly long historical stage and can be realized only after strenuous efforts and struggles by several generations of people. Unfortunately, some people, lacking a sufficient knowledge of the prolonged and tedious nature of the communist movement, have entertained the thought that the passage to communism in our country is extremely easy. In 1958, the year which "blew the communist wind," some people thought of resorting to egalitarianism, or the measure of equalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources, for the realization of communism. Also, during the 10 years of disturbance, some people attempted the so-called "transition in poverty." In both cases, the socialist construction enterprise was greatly deranged and lofty communist ideology was badly perverted. After suffering the bitter fruits of "blowing the communist wind" and "transition in poverty," we have gained in wisdom and certainly will not again attempt such foolishness! But historical lessons must always be remembered and in vigorously propagating communist ideology we must prevent "leftist" ideologies from emerging and interfering. We must not let the propaganda of communist ideology stang opposed to the existing policies. We must not entertain the

thought that allowing the existence of a collective ownership system, or even a little of the individual ownership system, is contradictory to the communist ideological structure. Moreover, we must not take the socialist distribution system of "pay according to work" as irrational. We must understand that in our country the policies now being implemented are part and parcel of the communist movement and constitute absolutely necessary measures in the transition to a communist society. Only through earnestly implementing all the policies formulated by the party at present can socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization achieve development.

Concerning policies, Engels in his dissertation "The Peasants' War in Germany" correctly pointed out the following, that if a policy formed "exceeds not only the present but also the future, then this excess is reckless and is but a fantasy. When this policy is put to trial for the first time, it cannot but be retracted to within the bounds permissible under the conditions at the time of its formation" ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 7, p 405). Naturally, it is baseless to urge that in propagating communist ideology, we must "cut the tails of capitalism" and therefore change the existing policies. Thus, the recklessness and fantasy seen at the time of the "blowing of the communist wind" and "transition in poverty" were the realization of Engels words and we have now actively retreated to "within the bounds" permissible under the conditions of the time. The guideline and policies formed at the party's 12th Congress are entirely workable under current social conditions. We must earnestly implement them and not change them at will. Our guideline is to determinedly and irrevocably hold high the banner of communism while at the same time to earnestly implementing the current socialist policies formulated at the 12th Party Congress and devoting our utmost efforts to the creation of a new phase of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/130

PARTY AND STATE

NEI MONGGOL SEVENTH CYL CONGRESS CONCLUDES

SK011228 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 31 Oct 82

[Text] The seventh Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional CYL Congress successfully concluded in Hohhot on 30 October. Attending the closing ceremony were regional party, government, army and CPPCC leaders, including Zhou Hui, Ting Mao, Wang Duo, Kong Fei, Yun Shiying, Bu He, (Shi Shengrong), (Qian Zhengyong), Shen Xinfa, Cai Ying and Kui Bi. Responsible persons of mass organizations, such as Regional Trade Union Council, Women's Federation, Federation of Literary and Art Circles and [words indistinct] were also invited to the ceremony.

A resolution of the seventh Nei Monggol autonomous regional CYL Congress on the work report was approved. The resolution stated that the most important task for the region's CYL organizations for the present and for some time to come is to lead the masses of CYL members and other young people of various nationalities to conscientiously study the documents of the 12th CPC Congress, thoroughly implement its guidelines, vigorously plunge into the great struggle to create a new situation in socialist modernization and act as shock forces in developing the national economy and as vanguards in building the socialist civilization. It also stated that in order to fulfill this task we should uphold the steadfast spirit of the CYL and strive to build a very strong political force.

The congress called on CYL organizations at all levels and the masses of CYL members and cadres to hold high the communist banner, steel their fighting will, arouse their spirit, improve their work style, unswervingly follow the line of the 12th CPC Congress, unite more closely the masses of CYL members and other young people of various nationalities, open up a new situation in the region's CYL work with a brand new attitude and make still greater contributions to the realization of the three fundamental turns for the better and to building a united, prosperous and civilized Nei Monggol.

Zhou Hui, first secretary of the regional CPC Committee, spoke at the closing ceremony. Hundreds of lively young pioneers presented flowers as congratulations on the successful conclusion of the congress. Comrade (Zha-mu-su) delivered a closing speech on behalf of the seventh Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional CYL Committee. He urged all CYL organizations to unite as one, develop achievements and overcome shortcomings, explore and practice bravely and strive to fulfill the tasks set forth at the congress.

In his speech at the closing ceremony, Zhou Hui encouraged delegates to the congress and the masses of CYL members and other young people of various nationalities to foster firm communist beliefs, unite as one, study diligently, display the spirit of doing solid work and strive to create a new situation in the region's CYL work and win an all-round victory in Nei Monggol's socialist modernization.

Comrade Zhou Hui pointed out: Young people are active in thinking and are quick in receiving things of the external world. This is a strongpoint. However, without the guidance of a correct ideology which suits the law of human social development and without [words indistinct], they will not know which way to go and will even take on evil ways. For this reason, the major tasks for CYL organizations at all levels are to consistently educate and arm young people with communist ideas in the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies and in the course of practice under the leadership of the party, so as to make them always bear firmly in mind the glorious name of the CYL and foster a firm belief in the realization of communism.

Comrade Zhou Hui said: Our country has entered a period of overall socialist modernization. People, young and old, face a task of studying anew. To the young people in the period of [words indistinct], successful study is particularly important.

On behalf of the regional CPC Committee, Comrade Zhou Hui called on CYL members and other young people throughout the region to take the lead in bringing about an upsurge in study. He urged all CYL organizations to adopt various forms to train CYL members and other young people in rotation. He said that all party organizations should strengthen leadership and support young people in the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought, of current affairs, policies and laws, of professional technology and managerial knowledge in industry, agriculture, animal husbandry and forestry and of general knowledge to improve their educational level and increase their ability to serve the people.

Comrade Zhou Hui stressed: CYL members should take the lead in strengthening unity and, together with Communist Party members, involve themselves in various fields of work concerning unity. With regard to the misunderstanding created during the 10-year turmoil, we should admit to our history, look forward with determination to resolving the misunderstandings in our generation. We should also refrain from adopting [words indistinct] toward the problems in nationalities. Through the conscientious study of Marxist theory and policy on nationalities, we should foster a firm proletarian outlook on nationalities and the viewpoint that all our nationalities are indispensable to each other. We should have a clear-cut stand and make no accommodation toward unhealthy words and deeds which are harmful to our cause. Party and CYL members should first of all avoid doing or saying anything harmful to unity and should wage necessary struggles against all words and deeds which interfere with or damage unity. We should strengthen the unity among various nationalities on the basis of (? correct principles).

Comrade Zhou Hui concluded that in order to fulfill the grand objective by the end of this century, we should do our own work in a down-to-earth manner. After reviewing the campaign to vie for shock workers launched among CYL organizations

in the past few years, he urged all CYL organizations to sum up their experiences and give them wide publicity so that the practice of doing solid work will become a good common social conduct. He encouraged CYL members and other young people across the region to regard doing solid work as a glory and to vie to be socialist men of action.

CSO: 4005/130

PARTY AND STATE

NEI MONGGOL CIRCULAR ON MEETING PLANS REPORTED

SK031028 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Nov 82

[Excerpts] The Nei Monggol autonomous regional CPC Committee recently issued a circular on convening a meeting in January 1983 with the participation of secretaries from various banner and county party committees throughout the region.

The circular states: The regional CPC Committee decided to sponsor a meeting in January 1983 with the participation of various banner and county CPC committees' secretaries. The meeting chiefly aims at organizing principal responsible cadres at or above banner and county level to further study and implement the 12th CPC Congress guidelines, and at examining and summing up work done in implementing the central authorities' instruction for the region in the period since the convocation of the secretary meeting of various banner and county CPC committees this spring.

The meeting also aims at examining and summing up the work done in the period since August this year in implementing the guidelines of the circular issued by the regional CPC Committee in regard to dealing with the Xinghe County corrupt case. Major items in the meeting agenda, in line with the 12th CPC Congress guidelines, will include discussions on devising ways to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, particularly devising ways to lay a solid foundation for creating a new situation in all of 1983. The meeting will concentrate on summing up experience gained in work, commending advanced units and individuals, conducting criticism and self-criticism and formulating plans for arousing the broad masses of party members, cadres and the people of various nationalities under the guide of the 12th CPC Congress guidelines to strive to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization throughout the region.

The circular urges party leading cadres at our above banner and county level, through studying the congress documents in the next few months, to upgrade their understanding on the party inner situation in the following aspects: 1) It is necessary to upgrade understanding on the party's final fighting goal, combat guidelines for the new historic period, strategic steps and its principles and policies; 2) it is necessary to upgrade understanding on the ideological consciousness of communism and the party's spirit; and 3) it is necessary to upgrade understanding on the importance of exerting confidence in achieving socialist modernizations and on the purpose of striving to fulfill various tasks

set forth by the 12th CPC Congress by heightening work enthusiasm, working with one heart and one mind, waging arduous struggles and doing things in a down-to-earth manner.

The circular points out: The meeting will emphatically engage in improving party workstyle. The issue of party workstyle is closely related to a matter of life and death for the party in power and also to the important question whether we are able to create a new situation in socialist modernization. At present, by studying the 12th CPC Congress documents, it is necessary to conduct extensive and penetrating education on ideology among all party members. Efforts should be made to wage resolute struggles against all malpractices, such as seeking private gains by taking advantage of position and power and violating the party's disciplines, about which the people have a lot of complaints.

The secretary meeting of banner and county party committees will vigorously encourage and commend advanced units and individuals emerging in improving party workstyle. It is necessary to commend a number of model aprty members among leading cadres at or above banner and county level who are selfless and serve the people wholeheartedly, and commend a number of leading bodies at or above banner and county level which have scored marked achievements in upholding the party's fine tradition and eliminating malpractices. Units that lag behind in grasping party workstyle and have serious problems should be properly criticized or educated.

The circular states: To fulfill the grand target of quadrupling industrial and agricultural output by the end of this century, the meeting will discuss our region's developing plans. Leagues and municipalities should formulate their plans with representative quality for developing their major production and submit these plans that may be printed in a book form to the meeting so that the participants of the meeting will carry out mutual studies and exchange experiences.

In conclusion, the circular states: To exchange experiences, pave a new road and draw up future tasks, the meeting urges various localities throughout the region to collect advanced or typical materials accumulated by areas and units at or above banner and county level, such as materials showing that industrial and financial and trade units have scored market achievements in conducting enterprise consolidation, steeling economic responsibility systems, combating egalitarianism and the practice of "all eat from the same big pot," upgrading economic results on a large scale and in switching losses to profits; showing that units and areas have had great success in implementing the principle of taking forestry and livestock production as main tasks in developing a diversified economy; that rural and pastoral areas have successfully fulfilled tasks for supporting urban areas and industrial production and expanding the channels of commodity circulation, and showing that units have succeeded in implementing the party's policy in other special fields. Efforts should be made to sum up these materials to affirm the superiority of their experience and to [words indistinct].

CSO: 4005/130

BRIEFS

CHINESE STUDENT'S DEFECTION--The Ministry of Public Security recently found out that the defection of Zhou Lingfei from Japan to Taiwan to marry Taiwan college student Chang Chun-hua was a scheme carefully planned by the KWT and U.S. CIA agents and approved by Japanese security organ. Zhou Lingfei is Mr Lu Xun's grandson and a photographer for the PLA pictorial. [Text] [OW030947 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 1 Nov 82]

CSO: 4005/130 END

JPRS 82347

30 November 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 367

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82347

30 November 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 367

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Effects of Israeli Invasion of Lebanon Viewed
(Lu Xi; SHIJIE ZHISHI, 16 Aug 82) 1

PARTY AND STATE

Improperly Promoted 'Bad Elements' in Liaoning Punished
(RENMIN RIBAO, 22 Sep 82) 8

Setting Up Military Council Said To Give People Control of Army
(Lu Yu; GANSU RIBAO, 27 Jul 82) 11

Propaganda Director Speaks To Study Class Closing
(Hubei Provincial Service, 1 Nov 82) 14

Guizhou CYL Committee Holds CYL Work Conference
(Guizhou Provincial Service, 1 Nov 82) 16

Guangzhou PLA Units Issue Circular on Trees
(Guangdong Provincial Service, 3 Nov 82) 17

Guangzhou 'Opendoor,' Spiritual Civilization
(Deng Chao, Huang Xiaoling; GUANGMING RIBAO, 25 Oct 82).. 18

Lenin on Socialist Civilization
(Jiang Liu; GUANGMING RIBAO, 25 Oct 82) 23

Communist Spirit, Ideals Promoted
(Ze Sheng; HARBIN RIBAO, 1 Sep 82) 27

Adherence to Improvement of Party Work Style Urged
(HARBIN RIBAO, 29 Aug 82) 29

Spiritual, Morale Factors in Promoting Communism Stressed
(Mo Rong; FUJIAN RIBAO, 10 Sep 82) 30

Heilongjiang Conference on Legal System, 'Two Civilizations' Held
(Luo Zhuowei, Ma Wenyuan; HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 20 Aug 82) 32

Briefs
Seventh CYL Committee Elects Officials 36

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Tank Battalion Trains in Driving Over Rough Country
(Huang Muchao, et al.; JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, No 9, 1982) 37

Submarine's Training Voyage in South Sea Described
(Gao Yiming, et al.; JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, No 9, 1982) 39

Attack by Heliborne Troops on 'Enemy' Described
(Yang Yusheng, et al.; JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, No 9, 1982) 41

Briefs
PLA Recruiter Impersonators 42

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Ningxia Regional CYL Congress Concludes
(NINGXIA RIBAO, 16 Oct 82) 43

'BEIJING REVIEW' Discusses Development of Education
(Xin Xiangrong; BEIJING REVIEW, 25 Oct 82) 45

'CHINA DAILY' Commentator on PRC Census Results
(CHINA DAILY, 2 Nov 82) 47

'BEIJING REVIEW' Writes on PRC's Population
(BEIJING REVIEW, 1 Nov 82) 49

Abilities of College Level Science Students Surveyed
(GAOJIO ZHANXIAN, May 1982) 51

Data on Chinese Literature To Be Published
(XINHUA, 2 Nov 82) 59

Liaoning Comments on Promoting Education
(Liaoning Provincial Service, 1 Nov 82) 60

PRC Symposium on Foreign Philosophy
(Li Jingrui; GUANGMING RIBAO, 18 Oct 82) 61

Xinjiang Regional Organs Celebrate National Day
(Xinjiang Regional Service, 28 Sep 82) 66

Second Radio Information Exchange Meeting Ends
(Jiangsu Provincial Service, 28 Oct 82) 67

Population Increases Larger Among Minorities
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 28 Oct 82) 68

Provincial Census Figures Reported
(NANFANG RIBAO, 31 Oct 82) 69

'BEIJING RIBAO' Lists Beijing's Census Results
(BEIJING RIBAO, 29 Oct 82) 75

Roundup of East China Reports on 1982 Census
(Editorial Report) 78

Sichuan Releases Population Census Figures
(Sichuan Provincial Service, 1 Nov 82) 79

'Five Good' Families Developing Vigorously
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 28 Oct 82) 80

Xinjiang Leaders Attend Regional Meeting on Childcare
(Xinjiang Regional Service, 28 Oct 82) 82

Guizhou Planned Parenthood Conference Concludes
(Guizhou Provincial Service, 1 Nov 82) 83

Guizhou Leader at Family Planning Conference
(Guizhou Provincial Service, 29 Oct 82) 85

Station Commentary on Planned Parenthood
(Guizhou Provincial Service, 1 Nov 82) 87

Zhou Hui at College Anniversary Celebration
(Nei Monggol Regional Service, 22 Oct 82) 88

Shandong Official Educational Development
(Shandong Provincial Service, 30 Oct 82) 89

China Plans To Admit 1983 Graduate Students
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 31 Oct 82) 90

Zhou Hui Attends Rally of Educational Institutes
(Nei Monggol Regional Service, 26 Oct 82) 92

National Boarding School Forum Held in Xinjiang
(Xinjiang Regional Service, 28 Oct 82) 93

Briefs
Fujian Provincial Census 94
'Refugees' to Southern Provinces 94
Hunan Census Data 94

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Remarks by Hu, Zhao at Conference of Cadres Published
(CHENG MING, Oct 82) 96

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EFFECTS OF ISRAELI INVASION OF LEBANON VIEWED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 82 pp 4-6

[Article by Lu Xi [7120 3556]: "Current Situation in the Middle East"]

[Text] The Lebanon crisis caused by Israel's invasion is not yet over, but already it is possible to take a preliminary view of the serious effects it has created. A major change has taken place in the balance of forces in the Middle East and the old pattern has been broken. The situation will still evolve, either to a large or small degree, but its basic outline has already been revealed. Let us make a test analysis in five aspects.

I

Swollen With the Arrogance of Its Expansion, Israel Steps Up Its Pursuit of the "Greater Israel" plan. After occupying southern Lebanon and surrounding Beirut, Israel, relying on its advantageous military situation, making use of the differences between the Arab countries, America's continued, connivance and shielding, as well as the Soviet Union's ambiguous, wait-and-see attitude, is quickening its steps in the vain hope of realizing its long-premeditated "Greater Israel plan." It's hoped-for calculation is: 1) at one stroke to wipe out the Palestinian guerrillas' armed forces, rout the Palestine Liberation Organization, use its military force to prop up a Lebanese central government based on the power of the Christian Phalangist Party, and then force the Lebanese government to conclude a peace treaty with it, thereby turning Lebanon into a buffer state of Israel's; 2) to oust the Syrian armed forces from Lebanon, smash the "Greater Syria plan," and put Syria in a disadvantageous position in which Israel can come at it from both the north and the east, and then force Syria to accept Israel's conditions for peace talks; 3) on the West Bank of the Jordan River and Gaza, to pursue the "Palestine Autonomy plan" under Israeli occupation and bring the West Bank and Gaza onto the map of "Greater Israel," thus liquidating the Palestinian questions; and 4) by breaking up the Arab forces and forcing Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan to conclude separate treaties with it, Israel would engage in regional economic cooperation, thereby creating conditions for Jewish monopoly capital to infiltrate and expand in the Middle East region. Proceeding from the above-mentioned plan, the Israeli ruling clique in negotiations insists on these conditions for withdrawing its army from Lebanon: all the armed forces of the Palestinian guerrillas besieged in Beirut are to withdraw from Lebanon, the Syrian army stationed in

Lebanon is to withdraw from Lebanon, and an Israeli "security zone" 40 kilometers deep is to be set up in southern Lebanon. Israel said threateningly that if these conditions were not met, it would launch a final attack on West Beirut.

II

The PLO Is in a Difficult Plight. The losses that the PLO sustained this time are the most serious since its armed forces were established. The 14 PLO camps in southern Lebanon together with their refugee camps have been destroyed; two-thirds of its 40,000-strong armed forces has been lost; and its military and political headquarters together with their 6,000 plus troops are besieged by Israel in West Beirut and face a life-and-death struggle. Under the pressure of events, the PLO has agreed to withdraw from Beirut. However, the problem of where to withdraw to has not yet been solved. All Arab countries, stemming from their righteous national cause, support the Palestinian cause, but if they were to let the PLO armed forces stay and develop in their own countries then they would worry a lot, both fearing that the PLO would form "a state within a state" and fearing that Israel would look for an opportunity to take reprisals against them. Therefore, these countries are still hesitating to take a clear-cut position with regard to this matter. According to an analysis, it is possible that the PLO armed forces will be broken up into parts and will be separately admitted into several Arab countries, but their activities within a given country will be curtailed and they will not have the kind of convenience and freedom that they had in Lebanon. Even with this setback, the PLO through hard efforts in the future, could restore itself to a certain extent, but with the weakening of its factor as an armed force, its struggle will lay particular emphasis on its being a political force.

As a political force, the PLO will still be active in the Middle East and on the international stage, and nobody can ignore it.

Ever since the PLO was established, it has been the banner of the Palestinian people's liberation and has taken deep root among the Palestinian people and the Arab people, and there is no way that Israel can destroy it with military force. That the Palestinian question is the core of the Middle East question has become even more apparent now. Recently the PLO stated: On the basis of recognizing the Palestinian people's right to return to their homeland and their right of self-determination and of founding an independent Palestinian state, the PLO is willing to recognize Israel. Arafat has already agreed in writing to the UN resolutions on the Palestinian question. International sympathy is on the side of the PLO. Although getting an advantage militarily, Israel has become more isolated internationally, and the pressure of demands on it for a comprehensive just solution to the Arab-Israel problem is increasing day by day.

Under the present grim circumstances, the question of utmost importance to the PLO is how to strengthen its internal unity and avoid the possibility of a split. The PLO is a national united front organization in which eight Palestinian guerrilla groups take part. Not to mince words, with regard to

political stand and struggle tactics, there have always been differences within the PLO. According to a report, under the present circumstances the mainstream faction headed by Arafat advocates that, under the premise of striving to preserve its strength as much as possible the PLO seek a "face-saving" solution of its perilous plight and from now on strive mainly through political struggle for national independence. In foreign relations, the PLO would mainly rely on the support of Saudi Arabia and other moderate countries and strive for America's recognition while preparing, on the basis of the right of national self-determination, for mutual recognition with Israel. But the "radical faction," headed by the People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, in foreign relations tends to rely more on Syria, Libya, South Yemen, and the Soviet Union. According to appraisals in the foreign press, it is possible that they will engage in even more violent activities. Now it is extremely important that a satisfactory resolution be found for the PLO's internal differences.

III

In Lebanon, There Has Occurred a Striking Change in the Balance of Power Between the Various Factions. Since the 1976 civil war, the two religious sects, Christian and Islamic, and the third-party forces in Lebanon have each occupied part of the country, splitting Lebanon, in fact, for a long time. The Moslem forces in alliance with the PLO control southern Lebanon and West Beirut, a third of the country's territory; the 60,000-strong militias of the Christian Phalangist Party headed by Gemayel occupy the mountain areas of eastern Lebanon and East Beirut, and with a complete ruling structure from an independent kingdom; and the Christian and Moslem moderate forces headed by President Sarkis and Prime Minister Wazzan control the central government apparatus, but the territory under their control is very small and people say that they "have legal status but not enough power." In addition, in the name of an "Arab deterrent," Syria has 30,000 troops stationed in Lebanon, which gives it a definite "dominant" position. Israeli's large-scale invasion of Lebanon broke up the three-way ruling structure within Lebanon, and the balance of power has shifted to the Christian Phalangist Party. The Lebanese Moslems lost their ally, the PLO, and their strength and influence has been weakened; with the support of Israel, the Christians have taken this opportunity to expand greatly their forces and territory, and they now occupy the dominant position in Lebanon's political life. The Christian Phalangist Party is now making use of this situation, in coordination with Israel, to carry out vigorous activities to drive out the Palestinians and Syrians. Gemayel has already announced that he will take part in the next presidential election, and he is trying to gain control of the central authorities and be master of all Lebanon.

However, even if a central government headed by the Christian Phalangist Party is established, it will be hard fundamentally to eliminate the longstanding divided situation in Lebanon. In essence, the Lebanon question is the epitome of the struggle between various contradictions in the Middle East. Internally, factions are complicated and numerous. In a country with a population of only 3 million, there are close to 100 political parties and groups and over 40 different armed forces. Externally, Israel has invaded, attacked, and

intervened; the two hegemonists, America and the Soviet Union, are engaged in fierce contention here; and some Arab countries are exerting their influence on the country. As a result, the situation is complex. It can be predicted that after the new central government is established, the internal struggle for power between the religious sects and the political sects and groups will not stop abruptly; the external forces will not suddenly stay their hands; and the 500,000 Palestinian refugees wandering about in Lebanon will still struggle for their right to exist. For a considerably long period of time, Lebanon's political situation will remain shaky and unstable.

IV

The Forces Alignment of the Arab Countries Is Changing. Formerly, the situation in the Arab world was that of a tripartite confrontation between Egypt, which had signed a peace treaty with Israel, and its supporters; the countries of the "rejectionist front"; and the moderate countries. Now the situation is being polarized in two directions.

The reaction of the Arab countries to Israeli's invasion of Lebanon, by contrast with the past, was slack and weak, not only not forming a united stand but also shifting responsibility onto each other. The conference held on 26 June by the foreign ministers of the Arab League did not produce any result and was hastily wound up. Tunisia suggested the holding of an emergency summit conference of the Arab League, but because there wasn't a wide response the proposal was dropped. The lack of conformity between the Arab countries encourages Israeli's aggressive arrogance and is advantageous for the two hegemonists' fishing in troubled waters in the Middle East region.

Vis-a-vis Israel, Syria has been put in the position of facing a difficult choice between peace and war. Lebanon is an important component of the Syrian Arab Baath Socialist Party's "Greater Syria plan," and strategically it is an important flank for Syria's defense against an Israeli invasion. Since 1976, a Syrian army has been stationed in Lebanon. In this invasion of Lebanon by Israel, the Syrian army was forced to draw back to an area in the Bakaa Valley, leaving in Beirut only a 500-man unit to defend, together with the Palestinian guerrillas, West Beirut. Now, not only is Israel forcing the Syrian army to withdraw from Lebanon completely, but also the forces of the various factions within Lebanon are demanding that all foreign troops included in the Syrian army be withdrawn. To a very great degree, Syria has lost its "dominant" position in Lebanon. Not only this, this time when the PLO began to be in peril, Syria did not mount a rescue operation, after it suffered setbacks in the war it was the first to effect a unilateral cease-fire with Israel, and procrastinated and then did not accept a PLO withdrawal to Syria. These actions were censured by the PLO and some Arab countries. Libya made impassioned statements but failed to give the PLO effective support. The influence in the Arab world of the "rejectionist front" countries has gradually fallen.

The moderate countries headed by the Saudis and Egypt and Iraq are drawing close to each other, and their influence in the Middle East is developing. Owing to the exigencies of its war with Iran, Iraq actively seeks the support

of the Gulf Arab oil-producing countries and Egypt. And the Saudis and other countries need Iraq as the first line of defense against Iran's export of its Islamic revolution. Egypt, which was censured after the Camp David accords, has, since Israel withdrew from the Sinai, actively sought to improve its relations with the Arab countries, especially with the Gulf states. The Gulf states are also thinking of drawing aid from Egypt's forces by making them a backup force. After the invasion of Lebanon, Egypt and the Saudis drew a step closer and Mubarak visited Saudi Arabia. Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq are generally becoming reconciled and the moderate forces have obviously grown in strength and are day by day coming to hold the balance of power in the Arab world.

At present, Saudi Arabia and other moderate countries, Egypt, and Iraq, in order to counter the approaching "Iranian threat," do not want the Lebanon situation to expand and are pinning their hopes on America's putting pressure on Israel to seek a political situation. Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the other countries have strengthened their cooperation and are now launching a diplomatic offensive, putting to good use their political and economic influence to put pressure on America, while seeking the support of Western Europe, especially France, to hold preliminary useful discussion of a plan for solution of the problem.

The position taken by the moderates is being given much attention in the Arab world and internationally.

V

The Two Hegemonists, the United States and the Soviet Union, Are Engaged in New Contention Centered on the Lebanon Question. America Has Taken the Offensive, and the Soviet Union Is Laying Particular Stress on Delivering a Political Blow to America. The Hegemonstic Features of the Soviet Union and America Have Once More Been Revealed, and the Arab Countries and Peoples Have Received a Further Reduction by Negative Example. The main goals pursued by Israel in this invasion of Lebanon--routing the PLO, ousting Syria, and gaining control of Lebanon--basically coincide with the goals that the United States is pursuing. America thinks that they are in its long-term strategic interests, and therefore it has winked at Israeli's act of aggression. America thinks that although the Lebanon crisis entails an "obvious risk," it provides a "rare opportunity." On the one hand, America supports and makes use of Israel's military forces; and on the other hand it poses on all sides as a mediator and rushes about vigorously with plans and preparations, trying hard to steer the entire Middle East situation in a direction advantageous for America and to remove the Soviet Union's hand in the Middle East. The foreign press has pointed out that in this Lebanon crisis America is playing the double role of "criminal" and "mediator." Looking at the plan put forward for resolving the crisis, we see that the United States is thinking of sending troops to Lebanon or of taking part in a multination peacekeeping force that is to be stationed in Lebanon. Thus it can both force and supervise the withdrawal of the the PLO military forces and protect Israel, while assuming the posture of supervising the staged withdrawal of Israeli's military forces. The United States also hopes that after this it will have an opportunity to promote

Arab-Israeli peace talks that will solve the Palestinian problem that has been perplexing the Middle East for 34 years, and then it can concentrate its strength on countering the Soviet Union's infiltration and expansion in this region. However, the U.S. government worries that at a time when America has been commonly denounced as a "criminal" or "chief plotter" and has suffered great political damage, if the crisis were to continue for a long time or again intensify, this would entail even more unfavorable consequences for the United States. For one thing, it fears that the mood of dissatisfaction with America on the part of the Arab countries, especially the moderate countries, will increase, and thus endanger Americas plan in the Middle East for a "united strategy to resist the Soviet Union"; for another thing, it fears that the Arab countries could tend to become radical, the PLO could again take the path of violence, and the Arab radical forces would have to draw even closer to the Soviet Union; and for still another thing, it fears that the Soviet Union will be provided with an opportunity to expand its influence and further threaten America's position. All these things worry it very much. Therefore, America does not look forward to Israel's crossing the borders, and in its specific actions it must consider the mood of the moderate Arab countries and give some leeway to Syria and the PLO.

The Soviet Union has expressed itself obscurely with regard to this crisis. At present, the Soviet Union has the heavy burden externally of the Afghanistan, Indochina, and Poland problems and internally has serious economic difficulties, so with regard to the Lebanon problem its abilities did not match its ambition and it avoided a direct involvement there in order to avoid a head-on collision with the United States. It "saw the danger but failed to come to the rescue" of the PLO and it refused to live up to the obligations it had assumed under the "treaty of friendship and cooperation" with Syria, to the disappointment of some Arab countries. Those countries and public figures which had once pinned their hopes on the Soviet Union are now even doubting the "validity" of the treaties they signed with the Soviet Union and the "advanced nature" of Soviet military equipment. Obviously, the political and military "prestige" of the Soviet Union among the Arab countries has fallen. After the setbacks suffered by Syria and the PLO, the influence of the Soviet Union in Middle East affairs has also been weakened. The Soviet Union worries that the balance of power between it and America in the Middle East will change even more unfavorably for it. But the Soviet Union is unwilling to be pushed out by America and is striving to reverse the situation. According to general observations, its present course of action is: to replenish Syria's military equipment in order to retain a firm hold on Syria; to devise ways to delay a resolution of the crisis in order to widen the rift between the United States and the Arab countries; to participate in the multination force in order to get its foot in the door militarily and offset the American forces; and to advocate once again the holding of an international conference in order to push its way into the Middle East peace talks process.

The Lebanon crisis has already lasted for over 2 months, and all sides are now engaged in various diplomatic activities. Because the PLO has agreed to leave Lebanon, coming to terms after fierce haggling, there is the possibility that Israel will be impelled to withdraw its military forces. The focus of the struggle is now the question of when the PLO will withdraw, where it will

go, and how it will withdraw. Because of the effect of the Lebanon affair, the process whereby Egypt and Israel are to hold talks on Palestinian autonomy, which is stipulated by the Camp David accords, has suffered a setback. However, from a look at the overall trend, there has also appeared a situation in which the United States, by its so-called mediation, has gotten the indirect participation in peace talks of Israel, Syria, Lebanon, the PLO, and some other Arab countries. The trend toward solving Middle East problems by peace talks has been developed. If a preliminary solution can be obtained to the Lebanon problem, then, under the impetus of America and Western Europe, various plans for peace talks will emerge one after another. Owing to the complexity of the various contradictions in the Middle East, the intertwining of the Lebanon crisis and the Iraq-Iran war, and the fast-changing situation, the Middle East is still internationally a region of acute unrest. The struggle of the Arab countries and peoples against imperialism, hegemonism, and Israeli expansion will still be long and tortuous.

9727
CSO: 4005/118

PARTY AND STATE

IMPROPERLY PROMOTED 'BAD ELEMENTS' IN LIAONING PUNISHED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Sep 82 p 4

[Report: "Fuxin Municipal Party Committee Severely Handled a Case of Reusing the 'Three Kinds of People'"]

[Text] According to a report which appeared in issue 9 of the Liaoning COMMUNIST Magazine, the party committee of the Kuangshan Machinery Plant of Fuxin Municipality openly violated the policy adopted by the Party Central Committee that "three kinds of people" who made serious mistakes during the "Great Cultural Revolution" cannot be placed in key posts again. This matter has recently been seriously dealt with.

According to this report, in December 1980, deputy director of the Construction Committee of Fuxin Municipality, Duan Jing [3008 4552], again promoted and put in important posts 11 out of the 14 people who had previously been ousted from leading posts at all levels during the struggle of the "gang of four" since taking the concurrent post as Kuangshan Machinery Plant Party Committee secretary and plant director. No arrangement was made for the remaining three because two of them were proven guilty and one received a "double dismissal." Some of these people were seriously imbued with factious ideology, some built themselves up by practicing rebellion, and some made serious mistakes in engaging in beating, smashing and looting. For instance, during the"Cultural Revolution," a leader of a rebel group flogged a woman worker simply for personal revenge in the name of "purifying" the class ranks. In 1974, he attacked the old cadres, flattered the diehard followers of the "gang of four" in Liaoning, and soon was promoted to deputy secretary of the plant party committee. He was dismissed during the struggle of the "gang of four." However, he never ceased to hold onto factious ideology. He attacked investigation and did utmost to complain and call for redressing those who were ferreted out. Even though he is such a person, the plant party committee in November last year still went ahead and reinstated him as deputy director of the staff office of the plant party committee and planned to promote him to the position of plant party deputy secretary. There was another worker who exerted himself to participate in rebellion during the "Cultural Revolution." He was later appointed as a member of the standing committee of the plant party committee. In 1969, he was admitted to the party during the crash admittance of new Party members. In 1975, he was

promoted to deputy director of the revolutionary committee of the municipal machine tool plant No 2. When the movement of "purifying the class ranks" was being carried out, he personally beat five people up and seriously mained one of them. During the investigation, he was dismissed from the post as deputy director of the revolutionary committee of the plant. Since his transfer back to the Kuangshan Machinery Plant, the plant party committee in last December promoted him to deputy section chief have since raised his wages twice.

As soon as these people were reinstated, they become filled with arrogance because power was in their hands. They adopted a variety of measure to frame and jointly attack Comrade Shao Tongzhou [6730 0681 5297], the current security section chief who was formerly in charge of the investigation office. He has always been adhering to principle and enthusiastically carrying out investigation. In April this year, someone even tried to find an excuse to pick a fight with Shao and slandered him as a "bad element." These people also used their power to continue doing evil deeds and thus caused economic loses to the enterprise.

This report pointed out that the problem of shielding the placement of people in important posts who had previously made serious mistakes and been proven guilty was mainly caused by the impurity of the leading group of the party committee politically, ideologically and organizationally. The former plant party committee secretary, Duan Jing, was able to remain safe and sound during the 10-year turmoil by flattering the rebel group. He cherished a deep affection for them and thought of "paying a debt of gratitude for their protection." He knew that a certain person had been confirmed by the Municipal Construction Committee to have risen up in rebellion and was dismissed and replaced after being put in an important post. Nevertheless, Duan Jing once again advocated promoting this person when he presided over a party committee meeting. Yu Hongwen [0060 3163 2429], the former party committee deputy secretary, was more seriously influenced by the "leftist" line and was more imbued with factious ideology. He felt that "none of these people should be punished." Deputy plant director Wang Jinlu [3769 6855 6922] was a workman prior to the "Cultural Revolution" and was the chief of the rebel group of the plant during the "Cultural Revolution." He said: "These people are in conformity with me ideologically, emotionally and in viewpoint and I think it is appropriate to promote them."

Recently, the CPC Fuxin Municipal Party Committee, in accordance with the demand of the masses, conscientiously carried out an investigation on the issue of the Municipal Kuangshan Machinery Plant Party Committee with the help of the working group of the organization department of the provincial party committee. It also specifically convened a standing committee meeting of the municipal party committee. After discussion, it decided to reorganize the plant party committee. The municipal party committee and the municipal government decided that: Duan Jing, the vice chairman of the municipal construction committee, the secretary of the plant party

committee and concurrently the plant director, is dismissed from his posts both within and outside the party; Yu Hongwen, the former party committee deputy director, is given a serious disciplinary warning within the party; and Wang Jinlu, the deputy plant director, is dismissed from his post and to be transferred to another position; Lin Suming [2651 4790 5407], the deputy director of the Municipal Building Materials Bureau, and formerly the deputy secretary of the plant party committee and concurrently the plant director, and other members of the leading group will be investigated separately. Thos who were proven to be one of the "three kinds of people" but were again put in important posts must resolutely be replaced. The CPC Liaoning Party Committee has distributed the Fuxin Municipal Party Committee's report on this case throughout the province.

9560
CSO: 4005/21

PARTY AND STATE

SETTING UP MILITARY COUNCIL SAID TO GIVE PEOPLE CONTROL OF ARMY

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Lu Yu [7627 6276]: "People Take Control of Armed Forces While Party Leadership Over Armed Forces Is Maintained"]

[Text] The new "Draft Revised Constitution of the PRC," in its chapters "General Principles" and State Structure," makes some new stipulations regarding the nature and jurisdiction, the position and role, and the function and mission of the armed forces within the government, as well as on the management and building up of the armed forces, and adds a section on the Central Military Council. Conscientiously to study, discuss, and understand the spirit and essence of these stipulations, and resolutely to build up the armed forces according to these stipulations in the revised constitution, will play an extremely important role in improving and strengthening the party's leadership over the armed forces in maintaining our army's nature of coming from and serving the people, in better attaining our army's purpose of wholeheartedly serving the people, and in accelerating the drive to revolutionize, modernize, and regularize our army.

The people must take control of and supervise the people's armed forces, must manage and be responsible for the building up of people's armed forces--this is the main ideological line of the stipulations concerning the armed forces in the revised draft constitution. Article 28 of the revised draft constitution stipulates: "The armed forces of the PRC belong to the people. Their mission is to strengthen national defense, resist aggression, defend the motherland, defend the people's peaceful labor, take part in state construction, and at all times and all places serve the people's interests." "The state is to strengthen the revolutionziation, modernization, and regularizaion of the armed forces." This stipulation not only makes clear the subordination and the nature of our army, but also makes clear the basic function our army must have and the principal mission it must fulfill in the new historical period. In particular, the stipulation that the state is responsible for the management and building up of the armed forces is required for the armed forces' own buildup and for the forward development of the times. In the new historical period and under the conditions of modern warfare, the dependence of the armed forces for their building up and development becomes larger and larger. First, the rate of modernization of the armed forces depends on the rate of development of the country's economy, and only when the country

becomes powerful and prosperous economically will it be able to obtain even more financial power to strengthen the building up of the armed forces and improve the equipment level of the military units. Second, the raising of the level of knowlege and education of the officers and men depends on the raising of the level of scientific education of the entire nation, and only when the level of knowledge and education of the whole people is raised will the nation be able to provide the units with sons and daughters who are knowledgeable and educated. Third, the realization of the armed forces' doctrine of people's war cannot be achieved divorced from the powerful support of all people of the country, and the state's being made responsible for the management of the armed forces will be more beneficial to the mobilization of all the people of the country to win a victory in a future war.

In order to ensure organizationally the people's right to take control of, supervise, and manage the armed forces, the revised draft constitution, in the chapter "State Structure," has a new stipulation concerning the organizational system and leadership relationships of the armed forces. For example: the state sets up the Central Military Council to lead the armed forces of the country; the Central Military Council practices the chairman-responsibility system, and its chairman, vice chairman, and other members are all appointed and removed by the NPC; the NPC is responsible for and supervises the work of the Central Military Council; the NPC decides the question of war and peace; etc. All these stipulations embody and epitomize in a concentrated way our party's guiding ideology and policies over several decades for strengthening its building up and management of our army, and the revised draft constitution stipulates them in articles of law. This is perfectly correct and extremely necessary.

However, owing to the influence for a long time of the ultraleft ideological trend, some comrades have different, confused ideas about the idea and viewpoint in the constitution concerning the people's taking control of and managing the people's armed forces. It is very necessary to correctly understand these stipulations through conscientious study and discussion of the revised draft constitution.

First of all, that the people's armed forces must be under the control of the people is determined by the nature of our army. Our army comes from and serves the people, and it is natural that it be supervised by the people. In fact, that our army grew from small to big, from weak to strong, from winning victory to winning victory was all done under the leadership of the party and the support and control of the people. Practice proves that only by wholeheartedly serving the people and willingly accepting the people's supervision and being subordinate to the people's supervision and being subordinate to the people's control, can our people's armed forces, under the party's leadership, always be placed in an invincible position. The revised draft constitution precisely summarizes this valuable experience of building up our army over several decades, and stipulates it in the legal clause "the armed forces belong to the people."

Second, that the people's armed forces are controlled by the people is determined by our country's socialist system. In our country, all state power belongs to the people, and the people have the power and obligation to control

everything. According to the viewpoint of Marxism, the armed forces are an important component of the state's political power, and the people of necessity control the state's political power and its armed forces. In the past, organizationally, the people did not have the power to appoint and remove the highest leaders of their own armed forces, and therefore there was no way for them to supervise the work of the people's armed forces. Now, the revised draft constitution has stipulated in legal clauses that the NPC has the power to appoint and remove the highest leaders of the armed forces and has the power to supervise the work of the armed forces, and thus truly gives the people the power to control the people's armed forces. The people's control of the people's armed forces will increase their concern for the development and building up of the people's armed forces, and this will not only benefit the armed forces buildup itself but also at the same time it will benefit the unity and cooperation between the people and the army under the new circumstances. Because this stipulation fundamentally strengthens the relations between the armed forces and the people, the people will regard the acceleration of the drive to modernize the units as their own affair and will come forward and support the state's national disposition of accumulated and consumption of funds; consciously give consideration to the interests of the state, the collective, and the individual; and, on the basis of working hard to develop production, support the state's increase in national defense strength, improvement of its armed forces' equipment, and acceleration of the drive to modernize the units.

Third, the people's control of the people's armed forces reflects the party's advocacy of being united with the people. Some people worry that the people's power to control and lead the armed forces will weaken the party's leadership over the armed forces and will be detrimental to the maintenance of our army's nature and distinctive character. Actually, this is a misunderstanding. "The armed forces belong to the people" and the upholding of the party's leadership over the people are not mutually exclusive propositions. The party's leadership is principally its leadership in carrying out the correct ideological and political line, and this line is thoroughly implemented through the leadership organizations at all levels in the armed forces. The revised draft constitution, precisely proceeding from this fundamental idea, first of all stipulates the Communist Party's leading position and role in the life of the entire country and, at the same time, stipulates that all the power of the state belongs to the people. The uniting of the people's control of the armed forces and the maintaining of the party's leadership over the armed forces precisely reflect the party's advocacy of being united with the people's will.

9727
CSO: 4005/1252

PARTY AND STATE

PROPAGANDA DIRECTOR SPEAKS TO STUDY CLASS CLOSING

HK020640 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Nov 82

[Text] On the occasion of the closing ceremony of the first term of the study class for leading cadres at and above the provincial level on the documents of the 12th CPC Congress, Jiao Dexiu, director of the Propaganda Department of the Hubei Provincial CPC Committee, delivered a speech, pointing out that the current study of the congress documents, which is just a beginning, will be carried out more conscientiously and more penetratingly so that a common understanding can be attained on the basis of the documents of the 12th Congress.

The first term of the study class for leading cadres at and above the provincial level, which lasted for 3 weeks, closed on 30 October. In his speech, Jiao Dexiu fully affirmed the four achievements of this study class. Describing them in four points, he said:

1. The study class has enabled us to unify our views on the great historical turning point realized after the third plenary session and on the current situation, has consolidated our correct understanding of the line, principles and policies laid down by the party since the third plenary session and the program for struggle laid down by the 12th Congress, has deepened our understanding of the important position and great significance of the 12th Congress in the history of our party, and has thus strengthened our confidence in the leadership of the party's Central Committee.

2. The study class has made clear the objective basis of and the favorable conditions for realizing the strategic goal put forth by the 12th Congress to quadruple the GNP, and has thus strengthened our confidence in realizing this magnificent strategic goal.

3. The study class has enabled us to deepen our understanding of the importance of building socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core, and has thus strengthened our faith in communism.

4. The study class has further increased our confidence in improving party building and in realizing the fundamental turn for the better in party style.

In light of the progress of the study drive of the congress documents which is being carried out throughout the province, Comrade Jiao Dexiu also summed up

four experiences, namely: 1) party committees at all levels must attach importance to the study; 2) study classes must be conscientiously organized; 3) assiduously study the documents and try our best to understand their basic spirit; and 4) carry forward the fine style of study in applying theories to practice.

At the end of his speech, Comrade Jiao Dexiu called on the cadres participating in the study class to continue to take the lead in studying, devote every effort to promote the study drive in their own units, departments and on their own fronts, further set up a fine style of study, and set good examples in studying and implementing the spirit of the 12th Congress.

CSO: 4005/134

PARTY AND STATE

GUIZHOU CYL COMMITTEE HOLDS CYL WORK CONFERENCE

HK021228 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Nov 82

[Summary] From 23 to 29 October, the Guizhou Provincial CYL Committee held a conference in Xishui County on rural CYL work. This conference laid stress on summing up the experiences in rural CYL work and looked into the issue of how to create a new situation in all fields of rural CYL work.

The conference demanded: "In a certain period in the future, CYL organizations at all levels must seriously organize CYL members and young people to study and publicize the documents of the 12th Party Congress, sum up experiences, find discrepancies and formulate measures to improve rural CYL work. We must define the important role of rural CYL work and establish the key point of CYL work in the rural areas. We must strengthen leadership over rural CYL work and continue to do well in straightening out CYL branches. It is necessary to vigorously improve ideological and political work for young people in the rural areas. We must universally and penetratingly conduct education in revolutionary ideals, morality and discipline this year. While building a high degree of material civilization, we must strive to build a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization. We must mobilize CYL members and young people to serve as a fresh force and a shock force in marching toward agricultural development. We must carry out shock worker activities along with making contributions to the quadrupling of the national yearly total industrial and agricultural output value by the end of this century. Moreover, CYL organizations at all levels and CYL cadres must, in accordance with young people's characteristics, unfold CYL activities, show concern for young people's interests and demands, enrich their cultural life and unite the CYL members and young people even better to struggle hard to create a new situation in all fields of rural CYL work."

Responsible persons of the Provincial CYL Committee, all prefectural, autonomous prefectural, municipal and county CYL committees and representatives from some district and commune CYL committees and brigade CYL branches attended the conference. Provincial CYL Committee Deputy Secretary (Liu Jixiang) delivered a report entitled "Strive to Create a New Situation in All Fields of Guizhou Rural CYL Work."

CSO: 4005/134

PARTY AND STATE

GUANGZHOU PLA UNITS ISSUE CIRCULAR ON TREES

HK041202 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 3 Nov 82

[Text] Recently, the Guangzhou PLA units Political Department issued a circular requiring all army units under it to conscientiously study and implement the emergency directives of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on stopping the indiscriminate felling of trees.

The circular said that leading organs and CPC committees at various levels in the army must conscientiously study the directives of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, gain a better understanding of the importance of protecting forest resources and the duty of the leaders, and carry out extensive propaganda and education among the soldiers so that they can understand that the people's army should be an example in carrying out the policy on forestry. On this basis, it is necessary to make an examination of the PLA units to see how they have implemented the policy on forestry. Problems must be dealt with seriously when found and measures for improvement must be worked out.

The circular also required that leading cadres at various levels investigate the implementation of the policy on forestry when they inspect the work of the lower-level units. Whenever problems are found, they must be solved immediately. It is more necessary to make concrete and strict stipulations for PLA units stationed in the forestry areas or in charge of construction.

The circular called on PLA units to carry out propaganda among local masses on the emergency directives of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council and continue to do a good job in afforestation. They must continue to help the masses put out hill fires and protect forestry resources so as to make new contributions to the development of forestry.

CSO: 4005/134

PARTY AND STATE

GUANGZHOU 'OPENDOOR,' SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

HK030625 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Deng Chao [6772 6392] and Huang Xiaoling [7806 1420 3781]: "Opening Up to the Outside World and Socialist Spiritual Civilization--Notes on an Investigation of Guangzhou Municipality"]

[Text] Over the past 3 years or so since the implementation of the open door economic policy toward foreign countries, Guangzhou Municipality, the southern gate of the motherland, has developed its economy, enlivened its markets and improved the people's livelihood. This is obvious to all and only few people cast doubt upon it. However, people talk a lot about the influence of the open door policy on the building of socialist spiritual civilization. How should we deal with this question? We carried out investigations and study in some units to initially probe into this question.

1. We Should Correctly Understand the Dual Nature of the Influence of the Open Door Policy Over the Building of Spiritual Civilization

Material civilization and spiritual civilization are two aspects which reflect social progress. They are interdependent, promote each other, share the same objective and cannot be separated from each other. To a certain extent, spiritual civilization is based to a certain degree on material civilization. Certain material civilization is connected with the relevant spiritual civilization. Since the open door policy has played an active role in promoting the building of material civilization, we should not think that it can only play a passive role in the building of spiritual civilization. There is much in the spiritual civilization of the capitalist world such as education, science and technology, which directly reflects the level of material civilization, that we can make use of, assimilate and utilize. This is because the popularization of education and the flourishing of science and culture are necessary conditions for promoting material civilization and important conditions for raising communist ideological consciousness and the level of morality of the people. Even such things as ideology and morality of a strong class nature can also be assimilated in a critical way. If we regard the influence of the open door policy over spiritual civilization as having not a single redeeming feature and being worthless, bitterly hate foreign spiritual civilization without making specific analysis and set the material civilization of the West against its spiritual civilization, these actions are not in accord with Marxists views on

civilization. Practice has proved that since the implementation of the open door policy in Guangzhou Municipality, both favorable and passive factors have occurred with regard to the building of socialist spiritual civilization. The policy has a dual nature.

On the one hand, the open door policy has increasingly provided spiritual civilization with a powerful material basis and many favorable conditions. 1) Through importing from foreign countries a quantity of electronic teaching equipment and teaching materials, inviting foreign experts and scholars to give lectures in our country and carry out academic activities and cooperate with economic and cultural organs from foreign countries and Hong Kong and Macao to jointly run various scientific and cultural training classes, we have trained talented personnel for various quarters and promoted the development of educational undertakings. 2) Through inviting foreign businessmen, sending delegations abroad and signing contracts with businessmen from foreign countries or from Hong Kong and Macao to run the processing industry and joint venture projects with materials and samples provided by foreign businessmen and through cooperating with industrialists and businessmen from foreign countries to organize various activities such as scientific and technical exchange meetings and so forth, we have learned and introduced to our country advanced science and technology from foreign countries. 3) The open door policy has provided us with contract with the scientific management methods of foreign enterprises. This has played a good role in enhancing our management levels, heightening our sense of labor discipline and promoting the efficiency of production and work. 4) Through the implementation of the open door policy, we can specifically understand some changes in people's ethical and moral concepts in some developed capitalist countries and areas as science and technology progress, such as attaching importance to education and science, paying attention to work efficiency, environmental protection and forming the habit of hygiene and so forth. This spiritual richness, which is a result of the development of the civilization of mankind, should be made use of and learned from. 5) The implementation of the open door policy has provided us with a wealth of data for further studying and analyzing the mode of production of capitalism and exposing the corrupt nature of the capitalist exploiting system. This enables people to understand the superiority of the socialist system and strengthen their belief that communism is bound ti win. These favorable factors brought about by the open door policy in the interest of the building of socialist spiritual civilization should not be neglected.

However, the implementation of the open door policy has also brought about spiritual contamination by the capitalist world. As a result, some comparatively serious problems have arisen, such as the engendering of the ideas of worshipping things foreign and "taking money as the end-all," the corrosion of a tiny number of weak willed cadres and masses, an increase in crime rates, criminal activities harming socialism in the fields of economy, politics and culture and the reoccurrence of certain ugly modes of behaviour which had basically disappeared following the liberation. Among some people, there is a tendency to blindly admiring capitalism and imitate capitalist ways of life. All this has shown that since the implementation of the open door policy, we have been facing an acute struggle between the ideological corrosion of capitalism and the socialist campaign to resist this ideological corrosion. This is a new

problem in the building of spiritual civilization. If we do not have sufficient understanding of it or fail to take effective measures, a greater danger might develop. However, if we only discern the passive factors and neglect the favorable ones, we will cast doubt upon and blame the open door policy.

In the early days of the implementation of the open door policy, capitalist ideology once gained ground in Guangzhou. There were many reasons for this. Due to our mistakes in the socialist cause during a certain period and the practice of closing our country to international intercourse, there was a big gap between our economy, science, culture and people's living standard and those of developed capitalist countries. Once we opened up to the outside world, some of our masses and youths were puzzled by the multifarious and queer things of foreign countries. They were proned to be carried away by the feeling of blindly admiring and seeking the material and spiritual civilization of capitalism. Apart from that, due to the fact that we lacked experience in implementing the open door policy and pursuing the practice of enlivening our domestic policy, we underestimated the adverse influence of importing a large quantity of consumer goods and the attack of capitalist ideology and culture. We failed to work out necessary rules and regulations and adopt measures to exercise control. The unhealthy influence seized this opportunity to run amuck. However, this contamination was a result of bourgeois ideology both at home and abroad, but did not originate from the open door policy. Therefore, the thing that we should do is eliminate the passive influence of the corrupt ideology and culture and way of life of capitalism rather than correcting the open door policy itself. As long as we understand this, we will continue to unswervingly implement the open door policy and resolutely resist the corruption of capitalist ideology.

2. We Should Unswervingly Wage Struggles Against the Corrosion of Capitalist Ideology

The influence of capitalist ideology and western culture is not a new thing. It sneaked into China as soon as our country was reduced to the status of a colony. Since the "May 4th movement," our party and people have had experience of fighting against it. Following the nationwide liberation, our ideology and culture guided by the communist ideological system have defeated the imperialist ideology of enslavement and feudal ideology. This has given rise to socialist spiritual civilization. Practice has eloquently told us: As long as the entire party keeps a sober head, observes objective laws governing the development of spiritual civilization, unswervingly fights against the corrosion of capitalist ideology and improves various management systems, we can minimize the spiritual contamination of capitalism.

First of all, we should give up those empty theories and carry out effective and convincing education. Engels said: "Practical socialism is a result of our understanding various aspects of the capitalist mode of production." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 550) Today when many new changes have taken place in developed capitalist countries, people might ask a lot of questions about socialism and capitalism. To fight against the ideological influence of capitalism, we should not evade questions which people ask. We should be good at utilizing striking facts provided by the broad masses of

cadres and people and increase their ability to resist corrosion. For instance, a few years ago a phenomenon of "five too-many" occurred in the northern station in Shenzhen under the Guangzhou Railway Subbureau: Many people talked about the "advantages of Hong Kong," many people fled to Hong Kong illegally, many people grumbled and made cynical remarks, many piferings and embezzlements occurred and many accidents happened in production. To deal with this situation, the party branch of this station mobilized the masses to carry out an education campaign contrasting the two social systems. As a result, people unanimously held that people in general encountered "four difficulties" in living in Hong Kong: Difficulties in getting job, living, obtaining medical treatment and getting married. At the same time, they talked about the five superiorities of our country over Hong Kong society: 1) jobs in our country are more stable than those in Hong Kong and people's livelihood is secured; 2) social order and relations among people in our society are better than those in Hong Kong; 3) it is easier to get married in our society than in Hong Kong; 4) living conditions in our society are better than those in Hong Kong; 5) our medical services and social welfare are better than those in Hong Kong. Hence people began to see through the nature of the capitalist system in Hong Kong and strengthened their resolve to take the socialist road.

Furthermore, we should do the work of introducing progressive and healthy culture and art of foreign countries to the broad masses of people so that they will be able to enhance their ability of analyzing, appraising and absorbing foreign culture. At the same time, we should do our utmost to carry forward national style and develop various cultural undertakings, including rich and varied recreational activities for the masses so that when people are having a rest after carrying out strenuous labor, they will have lofty spiritual enjoyment and receive education through amusement. This is an important aspect of the building of socialist spiritual civilization. The mass artistic hall in Guangzhou and Guangzhou Philharmonic Society have held foreign music appreciation concerts, symphonic popularization concerts and so forth to introduce the excellent and healthy music of foreign countries and raise the masses' appreciation ability. This has achieved good results in resisting the pop music from Hong Kong and Macao.

To improve and amplify various rules and regulations governing the open door policy, the practice of carrying out necessary consolidation and readjustment work is an important link for overcoming the spiritual contamination of capitalism. Practice has proved that the situation will be determined by our efforts and management. Not long ago, Guangzhou Municipality was seriously contaminated by capitalist ideology. Following the convening of a forum by the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee which was attended by delegates from Guangdong and Fujian and the publication of the document of "Rules and Regulations for Banning the Import, Sale and Broadcast of Reactionary and Pornographic Recordings and Video Tapes," the CPC Committee and people's government of Guangdong Province and other units concerned have worked out a series of management rules and regulations and resolute actions have been taken throughout the municipality to sweep away the spiritual garbage of capitalism. As a result, the appearance of the city and general mood of the society have gradually improved. Teaching order has been normal and school spirit, discipline and appearance have taken aturn for the better.

Through education, guidance, consolidation and management, the corrupt influence of capitalist ideology can gradually be overcome. This fact has shown that communist ideology is much stronger than the influence of capitalism. Under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress, while implementing the open door policy, we can certainly build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization.

CSO: 4005/134

PARTY AND STATE

LENIN ON SOCIALIST CIVILIZATION

HK040849 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Jiang Liu [3068 3177]: "Lenin's Theory and Practice of Building Socialist Civilization"]

[Text] In the process of building a new socialist society, Lenin proved the relationship between socialism and civilization.

After the victory of the October Revolution, the problem of building socialism in culturally and economically backward Russia became acute. Lenin emphatically pointed out that socialism had to be built on the basis of great production and that it was necessary to absorb and utilize the fruits of human civilization to build socialism. Lenin said: "Earlier revolutions perished because the workers were unable to retain power by means of a firm dictatorship and did not realize that they could not retain power by dictatorship, force, or coercion alone; power can be maintained only by adopting the whole experience of culture, technically-equipped, progressive capitalism and by enlisting the services of all these people." ("Collected Works of Lenin," vol 30, p 395) At the same time, Lenin also pointed out that: "Only a socialist state could attain, as it has attained, the highest cultural level." ("Collected Works of Lenin," vol 30, p 374) Judging from the general tendency of historical development, socialism is built on the basis of the sum of all human civilization. The socialization of production requires that ownership be socialized and that socialism be realized. This is the inevitable result of the development of human civilization. Moreover, only the socialist system can create a higher level of labor productivity than capitalism. The socialist system enables all laborers to enjoy the best, happiest life; socialism alone can liberate education, science and culture from the enslavement of capitalism and be enjoyed by all laborers; only the socialist system can build up new human relationships, new discipline, high moral standards and good social customs.

The proletariat is the pillar of modern civilization. While still under capitalism, Lenin already clearly pointed out that: "Modern civilization owes its existence to the proletariat and the proletariat alone; its labor creates wealth and luxury and upon it rests our whole 'culture.'" ("Collected Works of Lenin," vol 8, p 96). After the proletariat won political power, Lenin further pointed out that if the proletariat as a class failed to

organize the whole of socialist civilization, it could not organize a new socialist society. In March 1920, in his essay "In Memory of Y.M. Sverdlov", he wrote: "In the long historical process of the working classes' preparation for revolution and in the preliminary stages of the revolution, organization is undoubtedly the principal weapon of the working class. If, from among the scattered laboring masses oppressed by the capitalists, there is formed a class able to learn to do organization work and establish big industry, urban life and the whole of socialist culture and civilization, then and only then can the vanguard of the laborers destroy capitalism and begin organizing a new socialist society." In this essay, Lenin put forward the concept of "socialist civilization." In addition, he told us that: To organize a new socialist society and to build a socialist civilization, it is necessary to rely solidly on the proletariat, and the proletariat building such a society must possess such new qualities.

In the process of the proletariat's struggle for liberation, Lenin already pointed out that: "Marx's philosophical materialism alone has shown the proletariat the way out of the spiritual slavery in which all oppressed classes have hitherto languished." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 2, p 446). This teaching of Lenin, in addition to what Marx meant when he said that philosophy as the essence of an age "is the living soul of civilization," shows that Marxism is the proletariat's ideological guide to the spiritual liberation and construction of a new civilization.

In the practice of building the new socialist society, Lenin paid special attention to carrying out communist ideological education among the masses, particularly among young people and adolescents. He paid attention to the training of a new generation of communists. Lenin held that socialism and communism are solemn faiths. He encouraged the people to believe in the communist ideal and to have confidence in the ideal and in the ultimate victory of communism and socialism. He encouraged the communist attitude toward labor which is unconcerned with reward, and sincerely taught the laboring people to conscientiously work for society with a sense of being their own masters. He promoted communist morality, holding that: "The basis of communist morality is the struggle for the consolidation and perfection of communism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 4, p 355). Lenin's essay "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues" not only pointed out the tasks ofthe youth leagues, but today, after more than 50 years have elapsed, the essay can still be taken as a programmatic document for the construction of socialist spiritual civilization. He emphasised that the new socialist society had to establish human relationship with the spirit of comradeship. In carrying out the new economic policies, Lenin appealed to the people to counter bad capitalist habits with communist influence in all fields.

The thing which deserves our special attention is that Lenin's ideas on building socialist civilization are concentrated mainly in the essays written during 1923. These essays summarized the experiences and lessons of the earliest period of Russia's socialist practice and pondered and planned the path of development for building socialism, highlighting the complementary relationship betwen building socialist society and developing civilization.

First, Lenin proved the great significance of developing civilization and culture in building socialist society.

Lenin pointed out that: When political and social reforms have been realized in Russia, it is necessary to achieve cultural reform; Russia should become a culturally and materially civilized country. When this is achieved, "this cultural revolution will be sufficient to make our country a completely socialist country." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 4, pp 687-8).

What Lenin faced during his lifetime was, in the cultural aspect, the need to develop Soviet education, science, public health and so on, and particularly the need to eliminate illiteracy. Lenin held that in Russia, with its low rate of literacy, it was necessary to do a vast amount of work to "achieve, on the basis of our proletarian gains, some level of literacy." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 4, p 677). Lenin proposed: We must utilize our political power to form a number of "associations (party, trade union and mass organizations) of factory workers, which will devote themselves regularly to assisting the villages in their cultural development." (Ibid., vol 4, p 679) Moreover, we must prevent the bureaucratization of these associations. This is the fundamental task of the working class in power. Lenin paid attention to this because this was a fundamental political problem closely related to the communication between the cities and the rural areas and had decisive significance in Russia's revolutionary cause.

Lenin paid attention to the status of the people's teacher. He held: If the status of the people's teachers is not upgraded, it is impossible to speak of culture. Our schoolteachers should be improved to a standard they never achieved, and cannot achieve, in bourgeois society. In accordance with the situation at the time, he proposed: We must strive to achieve this by working steadily, methodically and persistently to raise teachers to a higher cultural level, to train them thoroughly for their lofty calling and, most importantly, to improve their position materially.

Lenin proposed: It is necessary to give assistance to the cooperative system in the real sense of the work "assistance" and to make all people understand the socialist sense of the principle of the cooperative system. He said: "There is 'only' one thing we have left to do and that is to make our people so 'enlightened' that they understand all the advantages of everybody participating in the work of the cooperatives, and to organize this participation." (Ibid., vol 4, p 683). In his essay "On Cooperation," Lenin loudly and clearly proclaimed: "Given public ownership of the means of production, tge system of socialism." (Ibid., vol 4, p 684).

Second, he created the basic conditions for the development of civilization based on Russia's circumstances.

Lenin affirmed that: Civilization is required for building socialism. In addition, he said: "But why can't we first create such prerequisites for civilization in our country as the expulsion of the landowners and the Russian capitalists, and then start moving towards socialism? Where, in which books, have you read that such variations in the usual historical sequence

of events are impermissible or impossible?" (Ibid., vol 4, p 692) Lenin held: Such variations of the historical sequence not only did not violate the common law of the development of world history, but reflected the new characteristics of the common law as manifested in all countries. After the victory of the proletarian revolution, economically backward countries possess the conditions for developing civilization. Once the political power of the exploiters is overthrown and state political power is in the hands of the working class, the struggle which achieved this as Lenin said, "creates unusual conditions for the further development of civilization;" in addition, the ownership of the means of production is also in the hands of the working class. All these things create conditions for developing civilization. In 1918, in his "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," Lenin, in the political aspect, answered the question of whether Russia should or could "turn the bourgeois revolution into a socialist revolution," and whether the proletariat should or could seize political power and realize proletarian dictatorship. In 1923, discussing economic and cultural aspects, Lenin gave positive answers to the questions of whether Russia could build a socialist society and whether socialism could be built. He said: "Formerly we placed, and had to place, the main emphasis on political struggle, on revolution, on winning political power and so on. Now the emphasis is changing and shifting to peaceful, organizational, 'cultural' work."

Third, in building a socialist civilization, since reform of the state organs and training of talented people was required, Lenin created the slogan of "learn, learn and learn again."

In order to suit measures to new historical conditions and to build a civilized socialist state, Lenin imposed three demands on the state organs: First, be an exemplary institution, second, win everybody's absolute confidence, and, third, prove to all and sundry that we are really worthy of doing the work of such a high level institution. Lenin pointed out that the people available for building the state apparatus were: First, the workers, who are absorbed in the struggle for socialism; but they are not yet educated enough to build this apparatus. Second, those erudite, educated and trained people; but they are pitifully few compared with other countries. Proceeding from this situation, Lenin suggested: "In order to renovate our state apparatus we must at all cost set ourselves the tasks first, to learn, second, to learn, and third, to learn again," and to "see to it that learning really becomes part of our blood." (Ibid., vol 4, pp 699, 700)

Under new historical conditions, Lenin inherited and developed the Marxist view of civilization. His theory and practice in building socialist civilization has important significance in guiding our building of the "two civilizations."

CSO: 4005/142

COMMUNIST SPIRIT, IDEALS PROMOTED

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Ze Sheng [3419 3932]: "Adhere to Communism's Lofty Ideals And Beliefs"]

[Text] Communism is the most advanced, most reasonable and the finest social system throughout human history. To realize communism is to abolish class and the source giving birth to class, to permanently eliminate the system of exploitation or oppression of man by man and to create boundless well-being, freedom and a happy new life for all mankind on the basis of both the system of public ownership of the means of production and the magnificent development of productive forces. Communism, the integral ideological system of the proletarian class, is a scientific conclusion of our great revolutionary teachers Marx and Engels derived from a study of the law of the development of human society by applying the tenets of dialectical materialism and historical materialism and especially by conducting a concrete analysis of the fundamental contradictions in capitalist society. It states clearly that capitalism is doomed and that socialism and communism are bound to win all over the world. This is the inexorable trend in the historical development of human society which no force can resist. The "Communist Manifesto" jointly written by Marx and Engels explicitly announced to the whole world: The ultimate aim of the communists is the abolishment of class itself and the system of private ownership which creates class, and the realization of communism.

All of our communist party members must take the solumn oath on being admitted to the party that we are determined to struggle for communism for the rest of our lives. Although family background and experience of our comrades may vary, as soon as we are admitted to the party, we must firmly foster the belief of carrying the struggle to the end fpr the cause of communism. This belief has concretely reflected the lofty aspirations of the communists who take up the task of liberating all mankind as their own long-range goal. The communists, having this kind of ideal and belief, will be able to enhance the revolutionary enthusiasm and creativeness to the greatest extent and they will thus fear neither difficulties nor hardships, and even to the point of sheding blood willingly in selfless and unceasing struggles. Countless communist have advanced wave upon wave to lay down their lives and shed their boood to die a heroic death for realizing the lofty ideal of communism.

They have added a glorious and heroic chapter to the annals of international communism and the proletarian revolution in our country. Comrade Li Dazhao [2621 1129 6856], a founder of our party, said solemnly while he was about to be hanged: "I can be hanged, but not the great communism!" Comrade Fang Zhimin [2455 1807 2404], a revolutionary in the early days of our party, left these words before he was beheaded: "The enemy can only behead me but cannot shake my belief because the doctrine we believe in is the universal truth!" By relying on these numerous communists with firm belief in communism, our party has overcome one difficulty after another and defeated enemies of one kind or another, and guided the revolution in our country to march towards victory step by step. Every member of our communist party must, from the first day of being admitted to the party, firmly foster the communist world outlook and the belief that he will unswervingly struggle for the cause of communism throughout his life. It is a bounden duty of a communist party member to have a firm belief in communism and to consciously struggle for the realization of communism. It is also a most fundamental condition to judge whether a party member has a sense of principle based on party spirit or whether he is qualified to become a party member. Anyone who is unable to accomplish this cannot be regarded as a qualified party member.

9560
CSO: 4005/12

PARTY AND STATE

ADHERENCE TO IMPROVEMENT OF PARTY WORK STYLE URGED

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Staff Commentator: "Firmly Holding Onto the Fine Party Work Style"]

[Text] Through the efforts made during the past few years, the work style of our party has turned for the better day after day and tangible changes have taken place. Under a situation as good as it is, the key to introducing further improvements in the party's work style lies in the question of how to firmly hold onto it, how to do the job, how to turn a call into action, and how to have measures properly taken.

In order to firmly hold onto the fine party work style, party organizations at all levels must dare to "hit the hard" and dare to resolve the unhealthy tendencies most strongly reflected by the masses. It is necessary to proceed in accordance with the demand of the party Central Committee to go deep into the realities of life and to depend on the masses in order to continuously carry out investigation and study of the status of the party's work style, to formulate an overall plan in the light of reality, and to devote time and energy to implementation.

In doing so, we must not indulge in idle talk but do more practical work, not get up to play tricks but do some labor work. The call which is content with the general practices and the work style which prefers to sidestep a question are not helpful to turn the party's work style for the better.

In order to firmly hold onto the fine party work style, every communist party member and especially the leading cadres must start from themselves, start from every trifling matter and start from now to make contributions of their own by carrying out such exemplary activities as anticorrosion and supressing unhealthy tendencies.

9560
CSO: 4005/12

PARTY AND STATE

SPIRITUAL, MORALE FACTORS IN PROMOTING COMMUNISM STRESSED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Mo Rong [5399 1539]: "Speaking of 'Moral Boost'"]

[Text] While confronting the same dangers and difficulties of one kind or another, some people forge ahead courageously showing "utmost fortitude as they are tempered by numerous dangers and hazards," but others shirk their responsibilities and become hesitant and downhearted as they "seek only personal interests without cherishing high ideals." If we want to know the reason for this, I feel that we must first take the spiritual factor into account.

People must have some vigor. The "moral boost" we are now talking about refers to inspiring revolutionary spirit and enhancing the mental attitude of every member in our society. Although morale is by no means all-powerful, however, under given conditions, it is a decisive factor in the success or failure of an undertaking. Our party was first formed by a small communist group of only a few tens of empty-handed people. Today, we have become a great party of 39 million members holding the political power in our country and we have become an invincible force. In the course of party building, we have gone through all kinds of hardships and difficulties and once almost faced an impasse. However, we were able to survive by making an indomitable and unceasing struggle. What did we depend on? We depended on the ideals and spirit of communism.

Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "The distinguishing feature which makes a man different from a thing is 'the dynamic role of man's conscious '." This dynamic role can be developed either towards the correct direction or vice versa. "Moral boost" is to strengthen the education in revolutionary ideals, morals and discipline in order to give full play to the dynamic role in a correct direction so that the creativeness, the death-defying spirit, the sense of being the master of one's own affairs, and the will of self-sacrifice of the broad ranks of CPC members and the masses radiating with the light of the communist ideology can effectively be enhanced. Lei Feng in the sixties, Zhao Chunge [6392 2504 1230] in the eighties and thousands upon thousands of other heroic model figures have repeatedly proven with their own splenderous deeds that: So long as we are armed with the spirit of communism, we can be irrespective to rewards but work selflessly, dare to

open up a new prospect by doing away with the old and setting up the new, and achieve first rate successes in our own jobs. So long as we are armed with the spirit of communism, we can maintain a high level of vigilance and an exuberant fighting will in front of the unhealthy tendencies, dare to encourage healthy tendencies and suppress unhealthy ones and to drive out evil and usher in good. So long as we are armed with the spirit of communism, there is nothing which is impregnable nor there is any place that is too high for us to reach!

It is important to "boost morale." But by what means "can morale be boosted?" Some people say: "Warriors are bound to come out under handsome reward: because reasoning is not as acceptable as "real benefits" and the key lies in money reward. Since the thought that "morale is all-powerful" has been criticized, the argument that "money award is all-powerful" has gone to another extreme. In line with the principle of distribution according to work, it is necessary to pay out money awards to those who have worked harder and made a greater contribution. However, if the effect of money is over-emphasized without heightening once and for all people's ideological awareness, not only is "morale" not boosted, but also it is possible that people may deviate to the forked road where they take care only of their personal benefits without giving a thought to national or collective interests. or they may even "be intent on nothing but money." People's actions are governed by their own ideology. The ideal of communism is our spiritual pillar and motive power. During the war years, revolutionaries of the older generation disregarded their own safety to fight bloody battles. What was that for? The material life at that time was extremely hard. Nobody had ever thought of a little "trifling award," not to mention the "handsome award." The heroic models in the construction years defied their personal danger and worked selflessly, Did they aim at "monetary award" or "real benefits"? Not all all! Their common belief was to give their lives to the cause of communism! The spirit of communism cannot be bought by any kind of reward.

The 12th CPC National Congress has decided for us the magnificent goal and the fighting task to be implemented in the new historical period. Since the burden is heavy and the road is long, it is necessary for us to energetically promote the communist ideology among the masses and to do more work regarding "moral boost" so that everyone of us can have an entirely new mental attitude to go all out to make a joint effort in opening up a new phase for the construction of socialist modernization.

9560
CSO: 4005/12

PARTY AND STATE

HEILONGJIANG CONFERENCE ON LEGAL SYSTEM, 'TWO CIVILIZATIONS' HELD

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 82 pp 1, 4

[Article by staff reporters Luo Zhuowei [3157 0587 0251] and Ma Wenyuan [7456 2429 0337]: "Strengthen the Socialist Legal System and Safeguard the Building of the "Two Civilizations"--The Province-Wide Politics and Law Work Conference Stressed Taking Continued Rectification of Public Security as Key Point in Fighting All Kinds of Criminal Elements and Punishing Severely the Criminal Elements in the Economic Field"]

[Text] The province-wide politics and law work conference, which concluded on the 18th, set forth that the task of political and law work in the province from now on, under the guidance of the four basic principles and taking the safeguarding of the socialist modernizations as a core item and the fundamental improvement in social atmosphere and public security as its focal points, is to fight all kinds of counter-revolutionary and criminal elements, severely punish serious economic criminals, protect the socialist legal system, consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship, and safeguard the construction of our material and spiritual civilization. These tasks are the province's new contributions in welcoming the convening of the 12th National Party Congress.

More than 780 persons attended the Conference. They were secretaries in charge of political and law work in the prefectural, municipal and county party committees and responsible comrades involved in political and law work in the public security, procuratorial, law court, judicial, civil affairs departments and various departments directly under the provincial government. Politics and law conferences were at the same time held in Harbin and by the provincial forestry system, who in turn participated in the activities of the large conference, a one-time politics and law working conference on the largest scale.

The conference relayed the "Summary of the All-China Politics and Law Work Conference" and heard speeches by Comrades Peng Zhen [1756 4176] and Peng Chong [1756 0394]. It also heard experiences presented by the municipalities of Daqing, Jiamusi, Mudanjiang and the counties of Beian and Tonghe. During the conference, a panel discussion was held with leading comrades of the provincial party committee, Li Li'an [2621 0500 1344], Li Jianbai [2621 0494 4101], Zhao Dezun [6392 1795 1415], Wang Yilun [3769 0001 0243], Chen Jianfei [7115 0494 7378] and Chen Yuanzhi [7115 0337 4160], along with the party

committee secretaries of the various prefectures and municipalities. Comrade Zhao Dezun, the provincial party committee secretary, prepared the report.

The conference agreed that if a turn for the better is to be achieved in the mood of society and in public security, the work of readjusting public security must be continued unremittingly. On the political and law front it remains still as before the main task of bringing about a decisive turn for the better in the mood of society and in public security, thus laying a good foundation for improvement in the future. It will also be necessary to persist in the rectification of public security in the cities, industrial areas and on vital communications lines as key points and to follow a policy of concurrent consideration to both city and countryside. The prefectural and county party committees must concentrate their efforts on effective work in the villages, especially on the important point of stabilizing the position in the villages. In the cities the focus should be on doing effective work in cities that greatly influence the overall situation, especially the two municipalities of Harbin and Qiqihar. In the countryside, work should concentrate on weak counties, communes, brigades and should integrate this work with work in the departments, paying particular attention to the work in severely afflicted areas, effectively safeguarding public order. First, more effective work must be done in educational assistance to juveniles who have gone astray. For this work, forces in all the various fields must be mobilized, and the leading cadres of party and government at all levels should take the lead in carrying out this work most effectively. While attending to the essentials in this task of giving educational assistance, much energy should also be expended on an effective education of the broad masses of youths in general. The education of middle school and elementary school students in morality and in the legal system must be stepped up, as a preventative against decadence and spiritual pollution and to reduce juvenile delinquency. Second, we must combat criminal activities that jeopardize our spiritual civilization. Any kind of criminal activity that endangers our spiritual civilization must be thoroughly investigated, and criminal elements must be punished according to law. Orders must be issued to forbid gambling, and gambling bosses and habitual gamblers must be severely punished. The masses must be aroused to draw up "patriotic pledges," "undertakings by farmers and citizens," "joint pledges by residents," and to establish civilized villages, civilized neighborhoods, civilized factories, civilized stores, and civilized schools. Third, stern measures must be taken against serious criminal activities, and reform through labor must be improved. At the same time, as stern measures are taken against current crimes, great efforts should be made to solve serious criminal cases and to pursue the escaped convicts on the run and hiding. The administration of public safety must be further strengthened and its internal public order must be effectively rectified. Fourth, the buildup of grassroots political power and basic level work must be enhanced. The rectification of the "one do and three meetings" must be carried out in a planned way, in stages and in groups. Fifth, the judicial administration at all levels must be improved. The work of lawyers and notaries must be developed and gradually coordinate with that of the legal assistants in the communes. Mediation work must be perfected. The internal solidarity among the people must be strengthened and contradictions prevented from intensifying and changing in scope or nature. Sixth, the question of the vagrant population must be cleared up. The recruiting and

indiscriminate employment of vagrants as staff members must be firmly stopped. Personnel who habitually move about without official permission must be taken into custody and severely dealt with.

The conference pointed out that the fight against serious economic crimes is a sharp, complex, protracted and arduous struggle and a fundamental task of the political and law front. The policy toward serious economic criminal cases must take the direction of severe and rapid punishment. Party committees at all levels and the entire body of political and law cadres must have a thorough understanding of the seriousness and far-reaching significance of this struggle, must overcome any fear of difficulties and any slackening of determination, but rather get themselves mentally prepared for a protracted fight. Having a good command of the principles, policies, essential points, the sphere and the legal provisions concerning this fight will allow the political and law organs to thoroughly fulfill their functions in this struggle. At present, energy must be concentrated on an effective investigating, bringing to trial and sentencing of major criminals. Every case that involves a violation of law must be actively accepted and handled by the political and law organs at the various levels. When customs, industrial, commercial, and related administrative organs discover a criminal case of this nature, they must transfer it along with any illegally acquired money or goods to the public security organs for punishment according to law. They must not substitute a fine for due punishment and show indulgence to the criminals. On accepting this kind of cases, the political and law organs at all levels must closely cooperate, speed up the handling, raise the efficiency with which such cases are handled and resolutely change the practice of slow progress and poor performance.

The conference demanded that the political and law contingents be adjusted and built up according to the demands required of the vanguard of the proletariat. The leadership team is to be adjusted; this is where the root is for a successful buildup of the contingent and for a completion of its various tasks. The best among the middle-aged and young cadres should be selected to fill leadership positions. The purity of the political and law contingent must be consolidated and men unsuitable to serve as political and law personnel must be eliminated without fail. At present, training in rotation in various forms, by stages and by groups, shall be instituted for cadres and police personnel presently on the job, to enhance their political quality and their professional ability.

The conference emphasized that the guidance of the party over the political and law work must be enhanced. The political and law organs must consciously submit to the guidance of the party committees, and in political respects maintain complete identity with the Central Committee, and furthermore implement to the letter the line, principles and policies determined since the Third Plenary Session. There must be a unity between compliance with the guidance of the Party Central Committee and compliance with the guidance of the local party committees. The entire body of political and law cadres and police personnel must enhance its party spirit and sense of discipline, act strictly according to the organizational principle of the party and resolutely correct the improper disciplinary practices. Party committees at all levels must teach party

members, especially those who serve as leading cadres, to set examples in executing laws, in acting according to law and in upholding the principle of equality of all before the law. Great attention must be paid to a major effort of spreading knowledge of the law among the masses, especially among the cadres, and of strengthening the propaganda and education in the legal system, so as to have the large number of our cadres and the broad masses acquire the habit of understanding the law and abiding by the law.

9808
CSO: 4005/1291

BRIEFS

SEVENTH CYL COMMITTEE ELECTS OFFICIALS--The Seventh Hubei Provincial CYL Committee held its first plenary session yesterday morning, during which it elected its secretary, deputy secretaries and members of its Standing Committee. (Quan Yunlu) was elected secretary and Mao Juyuan--female, (Ni Debing) and (Wang Jingzhang) were elected deputy secretaries. The following 11 people were elected members of the Standing Committee: (Ma Yanming), (Wang Jingzhang), (Mao Hanbing), Mao Juyuan--female, (Yang Chuanquan), (Zhang Wuzhi), (Quan Yunlu), (Ni Debing), (Liang Jun)--female, (Peng Xiaohai) and (Jiang Daguo)--female. [Text] [HK300836 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Oct 82]

CSO: 4005/134

TANK BATTALION TRAINS IN DRIVING OVER ROUGH COUNTRY

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 9, 1982 pp 16-17

[Article by Huang Muchao [7806 1970 6389] et al.: "Tanks 'Go Into Battle'"]

[Text] The hills awaken to the sound of tank motors, and the mountain valley boils with clouds of dust raised by tank tracks. A tank battalion of a certain unit of the Guangxi Border Defense Units "goes into battle."

During the war of self-defensive counterattack against Vietnam, this tank battalion achieved the military successes of destroying 9 howitzers, six 85-mm cannons, 4 twin-barrel antiaircraft guns, 37 recoilless guns, and 110 firing points, and of wiping out 360 enemy soldiers, for which it was given the little "Heroic Tank Battalion." This time they "went into battle" not at the front-line but to solve the "obstacles" in driver training--networks of rivers and paddy fields and steep slopes of mountains.

In order to conquer the "obstacles," they applied their experiences in actual warfare, linked them with the characteristics of the battle zone, and carried out training reform. The training plan formulated by the battalion let the company commanders proceed from reality, boldly organize and put the plan into effect, and stress the main points, and the plan did not make prearrangements for the training; the content of the training was arranged so that there was no "arbitrary uniformity," and it imposed different demands on veteran and new drivers. New drivers put particular emphasis on basic training, and standards were laid down for testing and checking their proficiency. The veteran drivers put particular emphasis on coordination training, combining tactics and techniques, and carrying out the three segments of moving, attacking, and taking cover; the training assignments were divided into primary and secondary ones, the key points were insured, and more training was given in driving on slopes in rough country and in driving across rivers....

Because it adopted the above measures, the "Heroic Tank Battalion" conquered the "obstacles" in the training, and, like cavalry sprouting wings, they galloped smoothly over regions of networks of rivers and paddy fields and in hills and jungles!

Photo Captions [photos not reproduced]

1. When radio communication is blocked, they use signal flags to maintain liaison.

2. A tank column passes through a deep mountain gorge toward its designated zone.

3. Using valley caves in rough country to attack from concealed positions.

4. "Heroic tanks" gallop across a zone of river networks and paddy fields.

5. Combat hero and battalion commander Tan Jinde [6623 6651 1795] personally practices in order to gain experience in a zone of river networks and paddy fields.

6. On-site study of driving techniques in a zone of river networks and paddy fields.

9727
CSO: 4005/43

SUBMARINE'S TRAINING VOYAGE IN SOUTH SEA DESCRIBED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 9, 1982 pp 18-19

[Article by Gao Yiming [7559 0001 7686] et al.: "Underwater Sentries"]

[Text] In the South Sea of the motherland, a hot wind raises white spindrifts. Under this boundless expanse of blue water, an armed submarine is engaged in intense training.

The submarine has already been sailing underwater for over 10 days. Inside the submarine, some strange smells are diffused in the high-temperature air, and a layer of close and numerous beads of water condenses on pipelines and instruments. It is already deep in the night. The submarine captain slowly turns his periscope, carefully searching for targets in the dim watery world; the boatswain, his eyes fixed on instruments, operates the elevator, correctly maintaining cruising depth; the chief navigator, wiping off drops of sweat, bends over the chart table and painstakingly calculates the submarine's position; the submarine's "ears"--The sonarman--wearing earphones carefully identifies every sound in the ocean; the electronic navigation man, enduring the itching of prickly heat all over his body, turns the electric fan around to face his precision instrument; and the political commissar comes up carrying a jug and pours out for his comrades cups of fragrant, sweet, and tasty coffee.... Oh, how beautiful the ocean is in the still of night. But the crew members are not in the mood to appreciate it as they stick to their respective posts!

In the east a gray dawn begins to break, and the submarine rises to the surface to take meterological measurements. The comrades would like to climb up the conning tower and look at the motherland's ocean--the sailor's second home! But this is not to be done. Concealment of the submarine is more important than anything else. Everybody is forced to take several deep breaths in their cabins to get one breath of the fresh air on the surface of the sea. Suddenly the captain gives the order "Submerge!" The siren emits an ear-piercing screech, and over the intercom the engine room chief repeats the captain's command. In the submarine there are only sounds of valves being switched on and off and machines and instruments being turned on. Busily but not disorderly, tensely but not in a fluster, the crew swiftly completes the movements for submerging the submarine quickly. In no time at all, the long steel whale has again submerged and is prowling the ocean.

In traveling under water, is it black night or bright day? It is hard to tell, and only the ship's clock distinguishes night from day. The crew take off their sweat-drenched upper garments and wring them out to dry. After a little while, the garments are dry again. To operate this mighty steel whale, the crew considers their hardship as an honor and a pleasure, and don't care about knowing how many days and nights they have been training aboard the submarine!

The submarine, floating on the surface, victoriously makes its return voyage. When the majestic strains of "Song of the Motherland" come over the radio and the Wuzhi Mountain Range appears on the horizon, the officers and men spontaneously voice their emotions: Oh, motherland, please set your mind at ease. We will certainly be good underwater sentries on the South Sea!

Photo Captions [photos not reproduced]

1. Torpedo section chief Bai Changshun [4101 7022 7311] conscientiously prepares to launch torpedoes.

2. Floating on the surface, the submarine victoriously makes its return voyage.

3. Submarine speeding toward its appointed sea area.

4. Loading torpedoes in the harbor before putting out to sea.

5. Helmsman operating the elevator while submarine is submerged.

9727
CSO; 4005/43

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

ATTACK BY HELIBORNE TROOPS ON 'ENEMY' DESCRIBED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 9, 1982 pp 20-21

[Article by Yang Yusheng [2799 3524 3932] et al.: "After a Surprise Attack on the 'Enemy'"]

[Text] After an intensive bombardment by artillery fire, gazing far into the distance through swiftly moving, indeterminate clouds of dust and smoke, we saw countless helicopters, flying like "dragonflies" toward the region controlled by the "Blue Army." In the twinkling of an eye, the helicopters reached the airspace over their target and landed precisely on a grassy area in a gorge near a hilltop. While the motors still roared, groups of armed "Red Army" fighters jumped out of the helicopters. Swiftly spreading out in battle formation, they launched a fierce attack on the hilltop and strategic points controlled by the "Blue Army."

This tactical exercise, carried out under conditions approximating actual warfare, obtained the anticipated results--it improved the command capacity of leaders at all levels and tempered the units. Below are several photographs taken during the exercise.

Photo Captions [photos not reproduced]

1. Swiftly spreading out in battle formation, the units launch an attack on the "Blue Army's" position.

2. Selecting an advantageous route, the formation flies toward the predetermined target.

3. "Red Army" fighters in a helicopter cabin waiting to go on the attack.

4. Pilot calmly and coolly operating his aircraft.

5. After capturing their target "Red Army" fighters occupy the position and coordinate their operations with units at the front.

9727
CSO: 4005/43

BRIEFS

PLA RECRUITER IMPERSONATORS--The Public Security Bureau of Lintong County, Shaanxi, recently uncovered three cases of PLA recruiter impersonation. One impersonator passed himself off as an army commander and cheated some people out of more than 2,000 yuan. Another impersonated a combat hero to entice young girls with talks of love and affection, and raped one girl. The province's recruitment office has issued urgent notices to all areas calling on them to exercise strict precautions gainst evildoers who sabotage recruitment work. All recruiters will carry with them references from the province's recruitment office. Without exception individuals with any other types of credentials, are not to be trusted. If unlawful elements are found, they should be reported to the local public security department. [Text] [Xi'an SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 1 Oct 82 p 2]

CSO: 4005/136

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NINGXIA REGIONAL CYL CONGRESS CONCLUDES

HK281536 Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 16 Oct 82 p 1

[Report: "Fifth Ningxia Hui Autonomous Regional CYL Congress Victoriously Concludes"]

[Text] The Fifth Ningxia Hui Autonomous Regional CYL Congress, which lasted 5 days, ended victoriously in the Hongqi theatre on the afternoon of 15 October.

Thanks to the direct leadership and profound concern of the regional CPC committee and the concerted efforts of all delegates, the congress successfully accomplished various scheduled tasks. During the congress, all the delegates conscientiously studied the 12th CPC congress documents and listened to a report by Comrade Hei Boli, secretary of the regional CPC committee. They also discussed and approved the work report "Be a heroic shock brigade which opens a new situation in the field of socialist modernization in Ningxia along the course charted by the 12th CPC congress" delivered by Comrade Li Chengyu on behalf of the 4th Ningxia Hui Autonomous Regional CYL Committee. They adopted the resolution "Hold high the banner of communism, be faithful sons and daughters of the party and dedicate our youth to the efforts of creating a new situation in the field of socialist modernization in Ningxia," summed up and exchanged experience in CYL work and studied and explored specific tasks and measures for creating a new situation in the field of youth work in Ningxia. They elected the 5th Ningxia Hui Autonomous Regional CYL Committee and 23 delegates who will attend the 11th CYL National Congress. This congress was a mobilization meeting for further propagating and implementing the 12th CPC congress spirit and working hard to open up a new situation in the field of CYL work. Through this congress, all the delegates comprehended the flourishing and favorable situation in CYL work, were clear about the tasks of the regional CYL work and strengthened their resolve to do CYL work well. This congress will surely further arouse the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses of CYL members and youths throughout the region. This will play an important role in promoting the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization in our region.

Leading comrades of the regional party, government and army Li Xuezhi, Ma Xin, Hei Boli, Shen Xiaozeng, Chen Jingbo, Shi Yulin, Wang Tao and others attended the closing ceremony.

At the closing ceremony, Li Chengyu, secretary of the regional CYL committee, read the "Decision on commending the CYL advanced collectives and outstanding CYL cadres and members." Comrades Li Zuizhi and Ma Xin awarded silk banners, certificates of merit and prizes to 31 advanced collectives and 34 outstanding individuals.

Zhang Xiaoshu, deputy secretary of the regional CYL committee, delivered a closing address.

On the morning of 15 October, the Fifth Ningxia Hui Autonomous Regional CYL Committee held its first session and elected Li Chengyu (Hui) secretary of the regional CYL committee and Ma Qizhi (Hui), Zhang Huaiwu and Li Xiaoshu (female) deputy secretaries of the regional CYL committee.

CSO: 4005/146

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'BEIJING REVIEW' DISCUSSES DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

HK021044 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW in English No 43, 25 Oct 82 p 3

["Note from the Editors" column by cultural editor Xin Xiangrong: "Education Takes Priority"]

[Text] Why is education recently listed as one of the strategic priorities in China's economic development plan?

In his report to the 12th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, General Secretary Hu Yaobang stressed that education, science, agriculture, energy and transport are strategic priorities in our economic growth for the next 20 years. Education is being emphasized more than at any time since the founding of the People's Republic.

Domestic and foreign experience in the past few decades confirms that education is one of the basic building blocks for a prosperous and strong country. Educated workers and people with professional knowledge and skills are indispensable to China's socialist modernization drive. Without them, China cannot fully utilize its rich natural resources, manufacture and use advanced equipment and develop production rapidly.

The foundation of China's education is weak. Although progress has been made since the founding of new China, it is still weak and backward. Over the past 33 years, 10 million students have graduated from secondary technical schools, colleges and universities. This figure is too small for a country with a population of 1,000 million people. The proportion of people who have received a secondary school or college education in China is far below that in the developed countries.

It takes 16-20 years to train a person with high professional skill, 12-15 years to train an intermediate technical workers or a skilled worker. And it takes about 10 years for a junior middle school graduate to become familiar with agricultural production. A few decades will be needed for our whole nation's cultural, scientific and technical level to catch up with that of the advanced countries. This reality forces us to take prompt measures to train professionally competent people and give priority to education. If we fail to expand the scale and raise the level of our education in the 1980s, we will not have enough competent people in the 1990s. A faulty educational system will hold back our economic development.

Education is not only important to production but also to the building of socialist spiritual civilization and the promotion of socialist democracy. To ensure that the ranks of our cadres become more revolutionary, better educated and more professionally competent and to ensure that the people become citizens with lofty ideals, moral integrity, education and a sense of discipline, we should exert great efforts to develop our education. A new type of socialist democracy must be established on the basis of the improved cultural and scientific level of our people.

On the educational front, we are concentrating our efforts on the following:

--Universal primary school education. At present, in more than 600 counties, or around one-third of the total number of counties in the country, primary education has become universal. Plans have been drawn up to extend universal primary education by multiple and diverse forms throughout the country before 1990;

--Strengthen secondary vocational and technical education and train large numbers of young people to become labourers with socialist consciousness, cultural knowledge and certain professional skills. Since general senior middle schools developed too fast in the past few years, their number should be reduced;

--Adjust the structure of departments of liberal arts and science in universities. The length of schooling and standards of our higher education should be varied; some universities should emphasize raising the standards and some popularizing higher education;

--Promote TV, radio and correspondence courses to raise the cultural and scientific level of the cadres, workers and staff members, teachers, peasants and educated youth.

When these tasks are accomplished, the cultural and scientific level of the whole nation will be raised markedly. This will promote the rapid development of China's economic construction and the socialist cause as a whole.

CSO: 4000/13

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'CHINA DAILY' COMMENTATOR ON PRC CENSUS RESULTS

HK020201 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 2 Nov 82 p 4

[CHINA DAILY commentator: "What Census Tells Us"]

[Text] Every Chinese citizen knows that he or she has more than 1,000 million co-patriots, now that overall figures from China's 1982 national census have been released by the State Statistical Bureau.

This census, the third since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, is a meticulous piece of work and has an error rate much lower than the world standard, according to officials of the State Statistical Bureau.

Millions of census employees and volunteer workers made repeated house calls to collect data, correct errors, and make final checks. Specialists are still studying the questionaires and processing the data on the computer.

This census is also a result of fruitful cooperation between China and the UN and other countries.

Planning

China's economic planning will certainly benefit from this census. The economy in a socialist system always takes into account the long-range interests of the people and aims to meet the people's needs in the best possible way. It determines exploitation of natural resources and development of production. It also serves as a reliable basis for better organizations, employment, and education of our people. Detailed statistics for each age bracket will enable central and local agencies to tailor their economic programmes to current conditions.

The first batch of figures from China's 1982 census shows that life has become, if not yet comfortable, at least much easier. China's mortality rate has dropped remarkably. This is because food supplies and medical care have improved, and because the younger generation has been taught to take good care of their elders.

The census also indicates another encouraging development: As the result of the flexible family planning policy in minority areas, the increase of minority inhabitants is relatively greater than the Han people. China now has 15 minority nationalities that each have a population of more than one million, compared to 10 such minority nationalities in 1964.

Education

The government and population experts have been working hard on population planning. Aware that the population would top one billion this year, they have urged the nation to keep the figure below 1.2 billion by the end of this century. The results of this census have proved that this goal is attainable. For although the population increased by an average of 2.1 percent between 1964 to 1982, the increase has been sharply reduced during the last decade. Population control will continue to be a key link in China's modernization programme.

On the other hand, the census presents the nation with a grave situation: Although the portion of the population that is educated has increased considerably, there are still 235 million illiterates or semi-illiterates among people over 12 years of age. This is one of the reasons why the state has taken education and science as priorities in China's modernization drive.

CSO: 4000/13

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'BEIJING REVIEW' WRITES ON PRC'S POPULATION

HK080618 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW in English No 44, 1 Nov 82 p 3

["Notes from the Editors" column: "Rural Population"]

[Text] Can China's rural population growth be controlled now that the production responsibility system has been introduced in the rural areas?

Since the introduction of the production responsibility system in China's rural areas, and particularly since "fixing output quotas for each household" was instituted as the main form of the responsibility system, the peasants have been given greater power in farm management and the principle of more pay for more work is now implemented in a better way. The peasants' enthusiasm for work has risen and this has spurred the rapid development of production.

An improved life, however, contradictorily fed some peasants' desire to have more children so as to have more labour power in the future. Moreover, there is the influence of traditional concepts such as "more children, more happiness," "branching out of the family tree" and "bringing up the children today in order to have someone to rely on in old age," and so forth. All this has resulted in a return to high birth rates in some places.

China's rural population accounts for 86 percent of the country's total. Records over the years show that the birth rate and the rate of multiple children families in the rural areas are 50 percent higher than in the cities. If our country's population is to remain lower than 1,200 million at the end of this century, we must effectively reduce rural population growth. The realization of this goal depends upon implementing the policies of encouraging each couple to have only one child and ensuring better mother and child care.

It is not easy to persuade the peasants to accept the idea of one couple, one child. But it is possible to do so.

In Shandong and Jiangsu--China's two provinces with the highest density in population--the percentage of first births of total births had reached 76.9 and 72 respectively in 1981, and the rate in northeast China's three provinces of Liaoning, Jilin and Heilongjiang all surpassed 70 percent. It is estimated

that if the rate of all the other provinces, particularly the populous southeastern provinces, can be gradually stabilized at 70 percent, and the second-birth rate is kept at less than 30 percent, and third births eliminated, we can keep our population within 1,200 million by the year 2000.

The experiences of Shandong, Jiangsu and other provinces suggest that effective control of rural population growth can be realized if the family planning programme is implemented through the efforts of the basic collective economic organization--the production team. Along with the contracts for output quotas, contracts on family planning are also signed between the production teams and the peasant households. This "double contracting system" provides that both parties have certain obligations and duties, and outlines methods of awarding bonuses and honours. Special offices are set up by the local governments, the communes and production brigades or, in some places, special people are assigned to help formulate birth control plans and work out measures to encourage and supervise their implementation.

The most important task is to conduct patient and detailed ideological education among the peasants, helping each family understand that the government's population policy of fewer but healthier children conforms to the long-term interests of both the country and the peasants themselves. This will help them consciously abandon the traditional concepts of "more children, more happiness" and of "regarding boys as superior to girls." Simultaneously, several forms of honours and material rewards are given to families who adhere to family planning. The only child is ensured paid social welfare benefits and priorities for medical treatment, enrolment in kindergartens and schools and in employment. In addition, family planning information is publicized among the child-bearing couples and contraceptives are supplied free of charge. Women's and children's health care are to be strengthened so as to ensure the healthy development of the next generation.

The backward economy and lack of welfare facilities in many rural areas hinder the elimination of the thinking of "bringing up the children today in order to have someone to rely on in old age." But the development of rural socialist economy and the increase of public accumulation funds and public welfare funds will help the growth of social security facilities such as "home of respect for the old," for those old people who can no longer work and have no one to look after them.

CSO: 4000/31

ABILITIES OF COLLEGE LEVEL SCIENCE STUDENTS SURVEYED

Beijing, GAOJIO ZHANXIAN [Higher Education Front] in Chinese, No 5, 82, May 1982, pp 13-16

[Article by the Hubei Provincial Education Bureau Survey Team: "A Look at the Ability of Present College Students of Science from the Survey of the Students of One Class"]

[Text] Everyone now places considerable importance on training the abilities of college students. This is because we now live in an age of rapid scientific and technological progress, and if we continue the emphasis on merely transmitting information to them while neglecting to train them in various skills we will not be able to turn out students having the various skills suitable for the needs of the "four modernizations." In order to have effective training of college student abilities there must be a realistic appraisal of their current level of ability. Some people believe that after the restoration of the higher education examination system, except for the special conditions for the class of 1981, there has been a general tendency for "increasingly younger ages, increasingly higher grades, increasingly narrow knowledge and increasingly weaker skills." Is it possible to conduct an appraisal of the current level of college student skills? This is a question which is worthy of investigation. In order to understand this problem, the River Control Department of the Wuhan Hydraulic and Electric Engineering Instutute recently conducted a survey of the specialists in river mechanics and river engineering of the classes of 1981 and 1983 (with emphasis on the class of 1983). Altogether over 700 people were studied. The survey provided us with some materials which are helpful in appraising the current abilities of the science and engineering students.

1. Great Progress in the Ability to Absorb Knowledge

River mechanics and river engineering are joint science and engineering specializations. For these two specializations the 1983 class had a total of 60 students. Their average age upon entering college was 16.2 years. Of these students, 55, or 91.5 percent, had just graduated from high school while 5 of them, or 8.5 percent, were returned or rusticated intellectual youth. This particular makeup of the student backgrounds will be typical in the

future. The scores for the senior middle exams were: 16 people, 27 percent, above 330 points, and 35 people, 58 percent, from 300 to 329 points and 9 people, 15 percent, below 300 points. (For the 1983 class the key colleges of the country had a dividing line at 300 points.) Such standards are average for colleges of this type. In the 2 years since entering college there have been exams in 13 courses within these two specialities, with the following results:

	Number of Individual Classes (Cl) with Superior Grades					Overall Grades			
	10 Cl	9 Cl	8 Cl	7 Cl	6 Cl	Sup	Good	Pass	Fail
Number of People	2	4	8	12	19	10	14	27	9
Percentage	3.3	7	13	20	32	17	23	45	15

During the last two years, the college has used an examination system of assigned topics in which the examination content and methodology are relatively rigorous. After making an analysis of examination papers in several major courses such as theoretical mechanics and hydraulics the teachers believe that the depth of the examination content is about the same as that before the "Cultural Revolution," and that in some areas they are even more difficult. They are superior in terms of breadth, especially in topics which combine practical aspects and there are even some which introduce content from some foreign teaching materials. The exam questions are more complete in that they have problems involving concepts, analysis, proof and calculations. In addition to being able to examine a student's grasp of knowledge they show to a considerable degree their analytical and judgemental capabilities, combined application skills, laboratory experiment skills and skills in mathematical operations.

After more than two years of study, all of the teaching faculty express their satisfaction with the students' learning conditions. They feel that with the shortened period of education and the increased content it is very difficult to make achievements such as these. A teacher of theoretical mechanics said: "The students now are younger, have faster minds and quicker responses and are able to absorb more knowledge." A hydrology teacher said: "Students are now able to quickly understand problems so that what was difficult in the past is no problem for them now." An electrical engineering teacher said: "Students now are better able to comprehend things. For example, in the past, 40 percent of the students could not keep up with the explanation of complex numbers in alternating current, while 80-90 percent of the students are now able to do so. They do their assignments faster and need only one hour to complete we calculate should take two hours." A teacher of surveying said: "Students now have lively thought and are in no way inferior to the pre-'Cultural Revolution' students in the ability to absorb knowledge. In the past the students had

difficulty comprehending discussions of the theory of errors in surveying and the testing and adjusting of the instruments, but sutdents now generally have no such problems." A drafting teacher said: "Students now are better able to comprehend spaces and the tougher a problem is the harder they work. In the past, geometric drawing gave students a headache but they now no longer have any difficulties with thi." A teacher of the theory of probability said: "This class was also held in the past and the students had great difficulty, but students now have fewer problems with it." A departmental leadership comrade said: "In the past it was not easy for students to understand the hard parts of some courses and the teachers also had to expend considerable energy, but now the students generally understand faster."

We conducted some preliminary investigations of the students' self-study ability with the following results: (1) Thirty-four students (57 percent) consistently made pre-class preparations; (2) twenty-five students (45 percent) wrote study summaries; (3) forty-six students (77 percent) read professional reference works; (4) eleven students (19 percent) read foreign language reference works; (5) four students (7 percent) read reference works outside of their own specialization.

The investigation shows that the 1983 class in this specialization has a certain level of self-study ability however, the study also discovered that the reference works read by the students were of comparatively narrow scope and were basically intended to illuminate the content of the teaching materials. Their depth was also inadequate as they had not yet discovered their own point of view through study and achievement.

Students in this specialization have very low foreign language proficiency upon entering school. In the college entrance exams for the class of 1983 the foreign language scores were: twenty-six people with zero points, ten people below nine points and only one person above forty points. However, after undergoing two years of basic foreign language study the class of 1983 showed obvious increases in foreign language proficiency. We made a test of their foreign language reading ability by selecting foreign language passages on popular science and hydrology with a length of 3,350 symbols. With no advance warning and without dictionaries the students had 2.5 hours to translate the text into Chinese. The results were that only two people failed the popular science reading and that only 8 people failed the specialized reading. There were obvious improvements in the students' foreign language reading abilities.

In short, the test generally showed that in comparison with the pre-"Cultural Revolution" period the students of today have greatly improved their ability to absorb knowledge. Why is this? Everyone feels that this good result stems from the great emphasis in recent years on basic courses. Students of science and engineering now

have stronger mathematical foundations than in the past. The colleges also have increased the course time and course content in basic courses. In mathematics at this institute, for example, after studying mathematical analysis (including linear algebra) there is an additional 110 academic hours of engineering mathematics the content of which has been increased by the addition of vector analysis, field theory, probability theory, mathematical statistics and mathematical equations. All of this has been useful in developing and training the students' abilities in logic and thought. Strengthened teaching of basic theoretical knowledge is an important condition for developing intelligence and training skills. When investigating the current conditions of university student abilities, overlooking this important condition will produce an estimate of university student abilities which is too low.

2. Applied Knowledge Capabilities Await Strengthening

It is not possible to make complete evaluation of the applied knowledge capabilities of students in the class of 1983 because they have not had training in course projects and graduation projects which will develop their combined skills. However, in an analysis of their examination papers and in an investigation of their experimental work capabilities we discovered that they did not have strong capabilities in applied knowledge, especially in the application of their acquired knowledge in the independent solution of actual problems.

An analysis of the examination papers in theoretical mechanics shows that only about ten students, or 15 percent, were able to do the problems requiring greater liveliness of mind and stronger comprehensive skills. Only seven or eight students, or 11 percent, had stronger problems analysis and problem solving skills. The hydraulics examination papers show that there is a relatively strong grasp of the teaching materials already covered. Some questions involved applying previously studied theoretical relationships in independent thinking to solve actual problems which had not been included in the teaching materials. Even when the problems were relatively simple there were a considerable number of errors. When we did sampling of laboratory experiments, we asked the students to apply basic principles to explain the energy equations for demonstration installations of three types of river currents, and only 80 percent of the students gave satisfactory explanations.

Our investigation took a sampling of the students' laboratory experiments. The sampling was done twice. The first sample was ten people from the 1981 and 1983 classes who had relatively good grades along with another ten who had average grades. They were given a fixed time to conduct individually (sometimes there were limitations so 8 people had to perform simultaneously) two previously performed hydraulics experiments. The results show 8 people, 40 percent, with good performances; 8 people, 40 percent, with

average performances and 4 people, 20 percent, with poor performances. Eighty percent of the students performed the operations with the required level of precision. The second sampling took eight of the above-mentioned 20 good and average students who then performed an experiment that was both new to them and more difficult. The results were not encouraging. The evaluation of the results show: one person superior, two people good, two people passing and three people failing. All of the students performing the experiment made mistakes. (This experiment had three key steps, with three students making mistakes in three steps, four students making mistakes in two steps and one student making a single mistake.) Five students (62 percent) wrote reports which did not meet the requirements. These two samples show that students who have better grades generally have stronger laboratory skills, but that there are a few good students who have low-level, imprecise laboratory skills.

The teachers generally feel that the students of today have very good attitudes towards research work. The more theoretical the problem the harder they work. However, their ability to actively apply what they have learned to solve actual problems is poor. The graduation project of the class of 1981 also demonstrated weak ability in independent work, which is primarily shown as follows: (1) In the first stage the great majority of students don't know what to do when faced with a stack or raw data. (2) Many students are unable to make a comprehensive analysis of materials to extract useful data to solve real problems in their specialization. (3) Many students in the first stage finish organizing their materials (about two weeks) but then do not know what the next step should be. (4) The great majority of students are unable to write satisfactory reports. Why do such conditions exist? In discussions with students they gave the following reasons: (1) For several years there has been a weakening of the laboratory experiment teaching environment. There was a comparison make of the time devoted to practical teaching links in the class planning for the classes of 1967 and 1981:

	1967	1981
Number of Classes	30	22
Number of Class Hours	3198	2498
Laboratory Classes		
Number of Lab Courses	15	13
Lab Course Hours	246	211
Number of Weeks on Class Projects	11	5
Internship		
Subjects	5	5
Number of Weeks	10	8.5

	1967	1981
Number of Weeks Spent in Production Labor	8	2
Number of Weeks Spent on Graduation Project	16	11
Number of Weeks for Practical Training Links	49	29
Portion of Time Spent on Practical Training Links	24.5%	18%

The above comparisons show that: (A) All practical teaching links were reduced, whether the total teaching hours or the total study time. (B) The greatest reductions were in production work, the course projects and the graduation projects. (C) Laboratory courses only had reduced hours, current laboratory courses, from goals to content and methodology, are not useful in training the students' independent work capabilities. There are no links between the laboratory work of the lab courses and the content of the lecture courses, so the students often don't know what to do when they go to the lab. They are even more puzzled why things are this way. Anyway, the teachers prepare everything so all the students have to do is go the lab, read off some numbers and write them on the lab reports. (2) In terms of the educational system, methods and content, there is no attempt to train students' independent work capabilities. The students reflect the current educational system and educational methodology which force a passive attttude upon them. Each teacher wants to pump the greatest possible amount of information into the students within a limited period. The intent is good but the results are inferior. (3) There is a emphasis on theory and a de-emphasis on practice. The teachers do not make rigorous demands in practical links so the students ignore them. For example, the basic tasks in the four measurements in hydraulics experiments (current speed, current volume, current pressure and water level) are very easy to grasp. However, of the 60 students in the class of 1981, according to strict standards only 12 (20 percent) passed while 21 (35 percent) could do only a part or none of the task. It appears that such problems require our close attention.

3. Relative Deficiencies in All Forms of Expression

It is very important for science and engineering students to be able to scientifically express ideas and plans with words, charts and mathematical calculations. Howerer, there are quite a number of problems in this area.

The class of 1983 tock a composition test in which they had a half hour to compose a congratulatory letter to a soccer team.

Fifty-eight people took part in the test, with the following results: 48 people (83 percent) did not use the correct format; 50 people (88 percent) wrote wrong or incorrect characters; 11 people (20 percent) demonstrated a good capacity for expression; 25 people (43 percent) demonstrated an average capacity for expression; and 22 people (37 percent) demonstrated a poor capacity for expression.

The tests show that the current college students have inferior composition skills. One student in the class of 1981 wrote a 1,000 character composition which had no individual paragraphs or any punctuation at all.

The statistics from studies of cartography by 59 students show that only 8 people (14 percent) made maps which suited engineering standards, 15 people (25 percent) met basic standards and 36 people (61 percent) were partially or wholly unacceptable. Some not only had poor cartography skills, they moreover wrote sloppy characters so that no one could read them.

As for their calculations skills, the greatest problem is that the results are not accurate. The following statistics are taken from a theoretical physics course examination papers of a class of 1985 (30 people): for questions 2-5, 22 people (73 percent) had incorrect results in calculations for question number 2; 13 people (43 percent) had incorrect calculation results for question number 3; 14 people (46 percent) had incorrect calcualtion results for question number 4; and 19 people (63 percent) had incorrect calculation results for question number 5.

The most common errors in calculation were inaccurate numerical values, incorrect units and deleted plus or minus signs. A hydraulics teacher once conducted a test with three questions involving mathematics. The level of difficulty was about that of middle school. (For example, one question was to calculate the value of $\frac{0.65^{1/6}}{0.02}$.) In the class of 1985, 20 people answered correctly and in the class of 1986 only 17 did so. This problem is quite common and the teachers have rather strong reactions. The problem arises in part because of middle school teaching and in part because the universities do not make rigorous demand for basic training. The students say that actual mathematical calculations are too troublesome and too tiring and that if they merely get the formula correct that is enough. When they take the college exams, as long as the formula is the correct one and even though the methods and steps are erroneous and the answer is wrong it doesn't matter too much. Some teachers believe that such habits are nurtured in middle school and hard to change. The consequence is that the less strict the demands the harder it is to correct the problem. Teachers of theoretical physics and hydraulics

tackled this problem and the results were clear. They believe that this is an important problem and that the present lack of all sorts of courses in the educational program for the basic training of engineers is a deficiency which must be corrected from now on.

After making this survey we felt that even if we can't make the statement that the college students of today are not the equals of those before them,"progressively worse," we also cannot say that they are becomming "progressively stronger." Rather, there are some strengths and some weaknesses, and these must be concretely analysed. The capabilities of students in the River Control Department show primarily the following several points: 1. Strong in acquiring knowledge but weak in creative research. 2. Strong grasp of book knowledge but weak in resolving concrete problems. 3. Strong abstract thought but weak in comprehensive applications. 4. Strong mathematical reasoning but weak in means of expression. Generally speaking, the students have good intellectual qualities, they are young and have quick, lively minds. But there also is a tendency to value theory and slight practice, which influences their ability to apply theory and knowledge in reaching independent solutions to real problems. From now on, steps must be taken to strengthen political work, continually rectify study goals and study attitudes, adjust the relationship between theory and practice, gain control of practical educational links when laying the foundation, and improve teaching methods to train human talent having high qualities in both knowledge and ability.

11582
CSO: 4005/1235

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

DATA ON CHINESE LITERATURE TO BE PUBLISHED

OW020928 Beijing XINHUA in English 0822 GMT 2 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 2 Nov (XINHUA)--The "Date on History of Modern Chinese Literature" series will soon be published by 16 publishing houses in China. The series summarize modern Chinese literature over the past 30 years.

Edited by the Institute of Literature of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the series is divided into three parts. The first covers 30 subjects in about 15 million Chinese characters, including movements, controversies, mass organizations, ideological trends and main schools of literary criticism.

The second section deals with material and data of over 180 major writers including biographical material, literary career, a personal account of the literary contribution, a general catalogue, dates and index of publications. According to a rough estimate, this section will ultimately include more than 50 volumes with about 35 million Chinese characters.

The third part contains a general booklist, important periodicals and an index of literary supplements of influential newspapers.

In editing this volume of data, the researchers, with materialist viewpoint and scientific methods, attempted to give a comprehensive picture of modern Chinese literature, covering the progressive and revolutionary aspects along with the backward and reactionary, written in liberated areas and Kuomintang-occupied regions, from pre-liberation to post liberation and at home and abroad.

About 300 to 400 people from nearly 100 scientific research units and institues of higher learning took part in the editing work.

Since 1980 the first section of the series has almost been completed, the second part is scheduled to be finished by the end of next year and the third section is underway.

CSO: 4000/13

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LIAONING COMMENTS ON PROMOTING EDUCATION

SK021220 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Nov 82

[Station commentary: "Promote Education as Rapidly as Possible"]

[Text] From the recent communique on the census, we can see that in our country one of every four and a bit more persons is illiterate or semi-illiterate. Our province's situation is better, but we still have some 4.6 million illiterates or semi-illiterates. Particularly in rural areas, such people amount to a very large proportion. This state of affairs is in extreme contradiction to the needs in the four modernizations.

Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the 12th CPC congress that popularization of education is an important premise of building the material and spiritual civilizations. The reason is very clear. Without scientific knowledge, we cannot create or master new production techniques, nor can we organize modern production. Then it is impossible for us to greatly improve production standards. Without scientific knowledge, our nation cannot be lifted out of ignorance and backwardness. Then it is also impossible to establish noble ethics and practices.

(Dawang) brigade of (Zhujiafang) commune of Liaozhong County has noted the importance of popularization of education and has strived to make funds available to run schools. The brigade is very farsighted. However, there are many communes and brigades which possess no such farsightedness. When popularization of education is mentioned, money is the first thing cropping up in their minds. Of course, funds are necessary to promote education. But however small our funds may be, such things as installing a few pieces of glass on class windows and placing some wood boards on desks at which students are unable to write can be solved. The key is how great an importance the people attach to education. As the saying goes, it takes 10 years to grow trees, but 100 years to rear people. Because it takes a long time to rear people and no immediate results can be seen, some people who seek immediate benefits are unwilling to spend money and attach importance to education, whose results cannot be seen in the short term. Such people will suffer great losses in the end. Therefore, we hope that such comrades will quickly change their attitude and at an early date, in accordance with the guidelines of the 12th CPC congress, promote education, which occupied an important strategic position.

CSO: 4005/146

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PRC SYMPOSIUM ON FOREIGN PHILOSOPHY

HK030351 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Li Jingrui [2621 2529 3843]: "Roundup of Third National Symposium on Modern Foreign Philisophy"]

[Text] The third national symposium on modern foreign philosophy was held in Lushan from 20 to 26 September. It discussed questions of studying and appraising methodology in modern foreign philosophy and epistemology regarding Jean-Paul Sartre's existentialism and modern Western philosophy.

Concerning the Question of Studying Methodology in Modern Foreign Philosophy

The comrades attending the symposium agreed that: The basic aim of studying modern foreign philosophy is to uphold and develop Marxism and contribute toward building socialist spiritual civilization. Throughout the course of this study, it is necessary to persistently take Marxism as the guide, seek truth from fact, make concrete analysis and adopt the Marxist critical attitude. Attention should be paid to opposing the method of blindly worshipping modern foreign philosophy and the method of negating modern foreign philosophy in an oversimplified way. These two methods are not Marxist. They are disadvantageous to overcoming the influence of bourgeois philosophy and upholding and developing the Marxist philosophy.

Some comrades said: When the various schools of modern foreign philosophy are studied by applying the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method, this study is of the nature of a critique. Meanwhile, the Marxist critique implies transforming the rational factor of bourgeois philosophy into a Marxist factor. However, we cannot and should not transplant an extraneous "rational" part intact onto Marxist philosophy. Marxist philosophy is an organic system. Any enrichment or development of its content is not an extraneous addition but is a fundamental transformation of an extraneous thing onto an intrinsic part of the content of this system. Therefore, when we say that a certain school of philosophy has "rational" substance, we do not mean to draw a conclusion from a part of its content but only mean the aspect which can be transformed.

How should we apply the Marxist viewpoint and method in realistically analyzing and studying modern foreign philosophy? Some comrades pointed out:

1) We should apply the historical materialist viewpoint in analyzing the class nature of the various schools of modern foreign philosophy, delineating the basic distinctions between their class nature and the proletarian world outlook; 2) we should understand the essence of the various schools of modern foreign philosophy as a whole; 3) we should courageously affirm the positive factors which should be affirmed, and we should also see the negative influence spread by them; 4) we should correctly understand the connections and distinctions between the political attitudes and philosophical stands of the representatives of some schools of modern foreign philosophy and we should not apply their political progressiveness in verifying the rationality of their philosophy.

How To Appraise Jean-Paul Sartre's Existentialism

Some comrades said: There are rational factors in some aspects of Jean-Paul Sartre's viewpoint toward man and his freedom and worth. However, individualism is the core of existentialist humanitarianism because Sartre practically did not consider problems from the angle of abolishing the private ownership and the system of exploitation of one man by another. He saw the alienation of man under the capitalist system, advocated that man should live like a man, and emphasized man's worth and dignity, but he did not touch on the capitalist system and therefore could not point out the correct way to eliminate the alienation of man and realize the emancipation of mankind. On the contrary, he regarded free choice and personal struggle as the means to attain man's ideal and goal, so that it was basically impossible to attainthis ideal and goal. Other comrades said: In a certain sense, Sartre's existentialism can be summed up as a philosophical humanism with the individual human being as its starting point. Marx's study of man follows a basic principle: Grasp the dialectical unity of individual human beings and mankind (society). Marx pointed out that human history was a history of the development of individual human beings. He also pointed out that an individual was a social being and could win freedom only when he was in a society. In the light of this Marxist principle on the study of man, we can see two opposing trends which are ultimately erroneous, namely, the trend, as represented by Hegel, of stressing the ethics of society and disregarding the experiences of individuals, and the trend, as represented by existentialists, or one-sidedly stressing the individual and disregarding the human society. Starting from the point of the individual human being, Sartre's existentialism criticized the theory of human nature in the abstract based on the principle of "essence precedes existence" as upheld by the enlightenment thinkers, including Immanuel Kant, of the 18th century. Under the capitalist conditions of the West, he took the stand of an individual human being and attacked the phenomena of alienation of man to become subordinate to his products, and stressed one's moral responsibility in making a choice. There were certain rational factors in his propositions. However, judging by his starting point and his theoretical system as a whole, Sartre's existentialism could not break away from the framework of subjective idealism set by existentialism in general. He negated the theory that everything has been determined and also negated the dependence of individuals on society, thus changing his so-called "humanism" into a theory of human nature in the abstract. Sartrian philosophy and Marxist philosophy are two qualitatively different systems.

The questions of "freedom," "freed choice" and w h in the Sartrian existentialist philosophy were extensively discussed at the symposium.

Some comrades said: In his theory on "freedom," Sartre did not mean to stress that man had the freedom to choose in given conditions. He held that this freedom was absolute and was not restricted by any conditions. In "Being and Nothingness" and some of his other books, Sartre clearly pointed out: 1) choice has no conditions; 2) choice does not have any "point of support" and does not have an aim; 3) choice does not follow any rule and does not permit any determinism. He admitted that "free choice" was "absurd." Sartre's definition of "freedom" has ethical meaning, but it should not be regarded as an ethical concept because his theory on freedom is a component of his humanistic ontology. When Sartre said that the existence of man was a kind of ontological existence and that freedom was man's essence and man had absolute freedom to train himself, he gave a subjective, idealist definition to "freedom." The comrades holding this view also said: Sartre talked about choice "in given conditions," but these "conditions" are an extension of subjectivism and an ideological thing and are not the environments existing objectively as dealt with in materialism. Sartre said that it was in fact formalistic and impossible for one to be responsible for one's behavior and to talk about sense of responsibility. He did not accept that there were ethical norms guiding human behavior and that man's worth could be determined. For this reason, he held that "freedom" was the only basis of worth.

Some comrades said: By freedom, Sartre meant man's initiative in making choices and decisions regarding his behavior and various problems in life. This is a question of will and self-discipline in the moral sphere. This also is an old philosophical question. Sartre's concept of freedom was rational in three aspects, which we can use for reference: 1) He saw the mistake of "absolute ethics" and pointed out the contradictions between the ethical norms and the concrete practice of ethics; 2) In the light of these contradictions, he posed the question of personal freedom of will in the sphere of ethics, that is, the practice of ethics. He defined freedom as a kind of selective self-determination. He stressed that under the conditions of contradiction between ethical norms, an individual should make his own choice between the standard of worth and the consequences of his deeds; 3) Man is free to adopt ethics, so he has to bear moral responsibility for his behavior. An individual's behavior invariably affects society and other individuals. Therefore, an individual must hold himself responsible for society and other individuals and for the whole of mankind. Sartre's mistakes and limitations were: 1) He exaggerated the absoluteness and negated the relativity of the freedom of will. He also talked about social involvements, but in most cases he proceeded from the angle of responsibility and did not study the formation and role of the freedom of will by proceeding from the social causes. 2) In studying the making of free choice, he neglected the perceivers' cognitive power in adopting morals and made no mention of the perceiver's understanding of objective laws. Instead, he talked about this question by proceeding from the perceiver's impulse. The comrades holding this view also held that Sartre's concept on freedom should not be regarded as individualistic. Citing his assertions in such books as "Being and Nothingness" and "Existentialism and Humanism," they pointed out: Sartre's thinking underwent a

course of change and development. We should at least say that it had contradictions. If we do not analyze the course of change and development and the contradictions but arbitrarily concluded that Sartre's concept of freedom was individualistic, our argument will be ungrounded.

Question of Epistemology in Modern Western Philosophy

1. The approach to the scientific spirit in the modern Western philosophy

Some comrades said: The scientific spirit in modern Western philosophy is a link in the chain of development of human civilization in the West. Some useful things can be derived from it. Western epistemology underwent a course of development. Modern epistemology shifted from the question of the "content of understanding" to the question of "expression of understanding" and then from the question of the form of knowledge to the question of semantics. Now it has shifted to psychoanalysis. Every time it met difficulties, it shifted to look for a new way out and, for this reason, it invariably presented some new things. On the one hand, it disclosed the contradictions in the old theories. On the other hand, it suggested new plans for resolving these contradictions. By disclosing the contradictions in the old theories, it did many good things. The plans of resolving the contradictions were largely wrong although they had rational parts.

Some comrades said: The emergence of Marxist epistemology was a revolution in the history of philosophy. On the whole, it is undoubtedly correct. However, the question of how knowledge came into being has yet to be studied in greater depth. Some schools of the modern Western philosophy, such as Jean Piaget's theory of the origin of knowledge, have examined this question. We should critically take in the good things from them.

Some comrades also said: Analytical philosophy and Marxist philosophy have answered the question of how thinking reflects existence. They only differ from each other in the form and content of study. Analytical philosophy proceeds from the form of study while Marxist philosophy emphasizes the content of knowledge. Analytical philosophy magnifies the form of study, thus turning into idealism. Of course, this is incorrect. However, Marxist epistemology should also study the form of knowledge.

2. Concerning the question of the role of nonrationalism in knowledge

Some comrades pointed out: Many humanistic schools of modern Western philosophy are irrational. They magnify the role of intuition, subconsciousness and emotion and the influence of will, interest, benefit and desire on over knowledge. Of course, they are wrong. However, it is impossible for a man who is going through a course of practice to have nothing but scientific thinking and to be free from nonrational things. The humanistic schools' study of the role of intuitional factors in knowledge and their study of the influence of nonrational factors on knowledge are not entirely nonsensical. Some questions raised by them are the ones which we have long neglected. Other comrades held that the two concepts of irrationalism and nonrationalism should be distinguished from each other.

3. Concerning the question of the relationship between theory and observation

Some comrades pointed out that theory and observation were the "basic" questions of analytic philosophy and that the focus of the controversy was whether there was purely neutral observation. At first they basically tended to refuse to admit that there was neutral observation. They held that observation could be conducted only against a certain theoretical background. They were inclined to relativism. However, many of them now hold that observation can help distinguish one theory from another although it may be influenced by the theoretical backgrounds. So, they come back to logical empricism. The comrades speaking at the symposium held that epistemology was a very complicated question, that Marxist epistemology was a theory of reflection and that the question was how it would reflect reality. This deserves to be further studied. Modern Western philosophy has furnished a great deal of data, which can be used as important reference material in developing Marxist epistemology.

CSO: 4005/146

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XINJIANG REGIONAL ORGANS CELEBRATE NATIONAL DAY

HK290733 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 28 Sep 82

[Text] This afternoon, the general office of the regional CPC committee, the general office of the standing committee of the regional people's congress, the general office of the regional people's government, the general office of the regional CPPCC and the regional nationality affairs committee jointly held a tea party at the Kunlun guesthouse in Urumqi to celebrate the 33d National Day and the (Puerbang) Festival.

Present at the tea party were the responsible comrades of the regional CPC committee, the standing committee of the regional people's congress, the regional people's government, the Urumqi PLA units, the regional CPPCC and the Xinjiang production and construction corps, including Wang Enmao, Gu Jingsheng, Xiao Quanfu, Tan Youlin, Ismail Amat, Zhang Shigong, Tomur Dawama, Huang Luobin, (Ti Guo), Li Jiayu and Janabil. Also present at the party were the responsible people of various democratic parties and various departments, committees, offices and bureaus of the region, the representatives of veteran cadres who have already left their jobs, model workers, advanced workers, teachers of a special classification, science and technological personnel, writers and artists, personages from industrial and commercial and religious circles, and the representatives of patriotic personages of all nationalities and all circles, altogether more than 800 people.

(Maimaiti Mintuofuti), chairman of the regional nationality affairs committee, presided over the tea party and gave an opening address. Wang Enmao, Xiao Quanfu and Ismail Amat also spoke to the party, sending their season's greetings to cadres and masses of all nationalities.

A performance was given by the literary and art workers of all nationalities in the region and films were also shown during the tea party.

CSO: 4005/146

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SECOND RADIO INFORMATION EXCHANGE MEETING ENDS

OW311309 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Oct 82

[Excerpts] According to a report by this station, the second meeting to exchange information on news programs for the broadcasting stations of seven eastern Chinese provinces and municipalities ended in Wuxi Municipality after 8 days on 28 October. Since the first meeting to exchange information on news programs held by the broadcasting stations of seven eastern Chinese provinces and municipalities in (Huangshan), there have been some improvements, new creations and developments in news programs of the broadcasting stations in all localities.

At this meeting, the broadcasting stations of the seven provinces and municipalities learned from one another and carried out extensive exchanges, centering on how to propagate and implement the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress, to further reform news reporting and to better serve the two spiritual civilizations. On 28 October, Comrade Wu Lengxi, minister of radio and television, gave a speech at the meeting on some major questions of improving news reporting. Based on his speech, the comrades attending the meeting carried out lively discussions and everyone maintained that, in reporting news, it is necessary to make facts speak for themselves, reflect more fresh and significant facts happening among the masses at the grassroots levels, use the facts that can be seen and touched by the masses to propagate the party's principles and policies and inspire and stimulate the people to undertake the four modernizations with concerted efforts; and that, to this end, reporters and editors should strive to enhance their news sensitivity and professional levels.

The comrades attending the meeting expressed their determination to further enhance the timeliness in news reporting and spread the latest information among the masses at the fastest speed, and, at the same time, stress the art in reporting to enliven news reporting and use lively and colorful forms to attract audience.

CSO: 4005/146

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POPULATION INCREASES LARGER AMONG MINORITIES

OW010941 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1212 GMT 28 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 28 Oct (XINHUA)--The communique on the third population census indicates that in the 18 years after the second population census taken in 1964, the population of minority nationalities in 29 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities increased 68.4 percent, while the Han nationality increased 43.8 percent. Why have minorities had a larger population increase? For this question, a XINHUA reporter interviewed several experts of the NPC nationalities committee and the station nationalities affairs commission.

These experts said that there are many factors for this larger increase. Before liberation, the population of China's minority nationalities was declining and some of them appeared to be on the verge of extinction. This trend took a turn for the better after liberation. Today, the population of China's 55 minority nationalities nearly doubles that during the early years after liberation. At the time of liberation, the population of the Heze nationality was a little over 300; now, it is 1,476. This is quite gratifying. Population increases in minority nationalities are closely related to the political, economic and cultural development in nationality areas. In all autonomous nationality areas, the 1981 total industrial and agricultural output value was nine times that in 1949. Of this, the industrial output value increased 44 times. The number of hospitals in these areas increased from 230 to 10,700, while the number of professional medical personnel and technicians increased from 3,500 to 353,000. The fundamental reason for these larger population increases is the sharp declining death rate resulting from improved living and health conditions.

Another reason is that some minority nationality people previously registered as Han nationality and reported their real nationality during this census. Moreover, the offsprings of intermarrying parents were previously registered as Han nationality and also changed back to their respective minority nationalities. This phenomenon is especially conspicuous among the Manchu, Tujia and Dong nationalities.

The experts said: The fact that minority nationality people are willing to report their real nationalities shows that after correcting the "left" mistakes, the party's nationality policy has won their confidence.

CSO: 4005/146

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PROVINCIAL CENSUS FIGURES REPORTED

HK020631 Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 31 Oct 82 pp 1-2

[Report: "Provincial Statistics Bureau Announces the Main Figures of the Third Population Census"]

[Text] In accordance with the directives of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council and the provisions of the "Procedures for the Third National Population Census" promulgated by the State Council, our province carried out its census with 0 hour, 1 July as the standard time. All information from this census is being processed by electronic computers. On 31 October, the Guangdong Provincial Statistics Bureau announced the manually computed principal figures as follows:

1. The Total Population

As 0 hour, 1 July, 1982, there were 59,299,220 people in Guangdong. This compares with 40,477,536 people in the second population census at 0 hour, 1 July, 1964 so there was an increase of 18,851,684 people in 18 years. This is an increase of 46.6 percent and the average annual increase was 2.15 percent.

2. The Structure of the Sexes

Of the total population, 30,312,258 were males who constituted 51.1 percent of the total population; 28,986,962 were females and they constituted 48.9 percent of the total population. The proportion of the sexes: if 100 was taken as an index for the number of females, the index for the number of males would be 104.6.

3. The Population of Various Nationalities

There were 46 nationalities in Guangdong: 98.21 percent of the total population, which means 58,239,089 people, were Han nationality; the total population of the minority nationalities was 1,060,131 people, which constituted 1.79 percent of the total population. Compared with the figures of the second population census in 1964, there was an increase of 46 percent, which meant 18,349,619 people, in the total population of the Han nationality; there was an increase of 90 percent, that meant 502,065 people, in the total population of the various minority nationalities.

4. Level of Education

Of the total population of Guangdong, there were 282,495 people with a university level of education (including graduates and currently enrolled students), 4,694,941 people with a senior high school level of education, 10,024,333 people with a junior high school level of education and 24,086,232 people with a primary school level of education.

Compared with the figures of the second census in 1964, for every 100,000 people, there were the following changes in people's levels of education: the number of people with a level of university education increased from 375 to 476; the number of people with a level of senior high school education increased from 1,482 to 7,917; the number of people with a level of junior high school education increased from 5,135 to 16,905; the number of people with a level of primary school education increased from 34,857 to 40,618. In the entire province, the number of illiterate persons or almost illiterate persons above the age of 12 was 9,738,626 people. Compared with the figures of the second population census in 1964, the percentage of illiterate persons decreased from 30.1 percent to 16.4 percent of the total population.

5. Birth Rate and Death Rate

[A total] of 1,457,406 people were born in Guangdong in 1981, the birth rate was 24.99 per thousand; 322,821 people died in 1981, the death rate was 5.54 per thousand. In 1981, the number of people born was 1,134,585 and the natural growth rate was 19.45 per thousand. In 1981, 764,960 males were born which constituted 52.5 percent of the total number of people born in 1981; 692,446 females were born in 1981 and this constituted 47.5 percent of the total number of people born in 1981. The proportion of males and females born in 1981: if 100 was taken as an index for the number of females born, the index for the number of males born in 1981 would be 110.5

6. The Population of the Municipalities and Towns

There was 11,081,572 people who lived in municipalities (not including the population of the counties under the jurisdiction of the municipal governments) and towns. The total population of the 14 municipalities in Guangdong was 7,117,659 people and the total population of the 132 towns was 3,963,913 people. Compared with the figures of the second population census in 1964, there was an increase of 3,896,228 people in the population of the municipalities and towns and the rate of increase was 54.2 percent. The proportion of the population of the municipalities and towns to the total population of the entire province increased from 17.8 percent in 1964 to 18.7 percent.

7. Regional Distribution

The regional distribution of the population of Guangdong: Guangzhou Municipality 5,630,755 people (of which 3,148,259 were urban people)

Hua County	341,049
Conghua County	375,145
Xinfeng County	188,841
Longmen County	248,604
Zhangcheng County	568,488
Panyu County	670,333

Shaoguan Municipality 676,009 people (of which 344,892 were urban people)

Qujiang County	331,117

Shenzhen Municipality 351,892 people

Zhuhai Municipality 133,211 people

Hainan Administrative Region 5,667,669 people (the population figures [words illegible] Islands and Nanshamo

The area inhabited by the Han nationality 3,769,584

Haikou	266,302
Qiongshan County	500,227
Wenchang County	467,769
Qionghai Country	977,520
Wanning County	410,068
Dingan County	245,934
Tunchang County	211,377
Cehngmai County	373,393
Dan County	606,321

Hainan Lizu Miaozu Autonomous Prefecture 1,898,085 people

Ya County	297,701
Dongfang Country	265,152
Ledong County	376,088
Qiongzhong County	190,535
Baoting County	201,655
Lingshui County	246,425
Baisha County	146,019
Changjiang County	174,500

Shantou Prefecture 10,502,057 people

Shantou	722,805
Chaozhou	164,099
Chaoan County	992,679
Chenghai County	635,114
Raoping County	742,073
Nanao County	58,693

Chaoyang County	1,663,846
Jeiyang County	1,264,139
Jiexi County	600,723
Puning County	1,168,689
Huilai Country	679,082
Lufeng County	1,052,495
Haifeng County	757,569

Mei Prefecture 3,774,395 people

Meizhou	109,647
Mei County	591,390
Dabu County	433,855
Fengshun County	504,286
Wuhua County	841,028
Xingning County	891,953
Pingyuan County	209,226
Jianling County	193,010

Huiyang Prefecture 5,317,063 people

Huizhou	166,543
Huiyang County	422,626
Zijin County	562,726
Heping County	374,512
Lianping County	287,172
Heyuan County	550,558
Boluo County	620,406
Dongguan County	1,152,520
Huidong County	520,639
Longchuan County	659,361

Shaoguan Prefecture 4,623,341 people

Shixing County	202,326
Nanxiong County	396,678
Renhua County	151,550
Lechang County	415,820
Lian County	426,152
Yangshan County	405,886
Yingde County	818,726
Qingyuan County	893,749
Fogang County	233,109
Ongyuan County	297,426
Lianshan County	89,512
Liannan County	127,646
Ruyuan County	164,750

Foshan Prefecture 6,911,255 people

Foshan	285,547
Jiangmen	216,097
Sanshui County	294,143
Nanhai County	820,160
Shunde County	807,861
Zhongshan County	1,022,243
Doumen County	240,929
[Two counties garbled]	
Enping County	376,733
Kaiping County	587,079
Heshan County	308,370
Gaoming County	214,181

Zhaoqing Prefecture 4,856,485 people

Zhaoqing	169,799
Gaoyao County	696,894
Sihui County	335,778
Guangning County	441,278
Huaiji County	616,921
Fengkai County	357,610
Deqing County	296,208
Yunfu County	426,152
Xinxing County	358,484
Yunan County	384,247
Luoding County	773,114

Zhanjiang Prefecture 10,855,088 people

Zhanjiang	867,062
Maoming	409,744
Yangjiang County	1,155,142
Yangchun County	821,335
Xinyi County	843,287
Gaozhou County	1,090,147
Dianbai County	1,084,992
Wuchuan County	621,058
Huazhou County	923,045
Lianjiang County	997,827
Suixi County	611,545
Haikang County	944,221
Xuwen County	474,683

8. The Results of a Sample Check on the Quality and Quantity of the Population Census

As provided in the "Detailed Regulations for Sample Checking on the Quality and Quantity of the Population Census," when the processes of registration

and examination were finished, a sample checking on quality and quantity was condcuted. The results: 1.31 per thousand of the total population registered twice, 1.48 per thousand of the total population did not register, which meant that the net difference in population was 0.17 per thousand.

CSO: 4005/146

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'BEIJING RIBAO' LISTS BEIJING'S CENSUS RESULTS

HK050249 Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 29 Oct 82 pp 1, 4

[Report: "Beijing Municipal Statistical Bureau Releases Main Figures of the Population Census"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] A communique on the main Beijing population figures in the 1982 census released by the Statistical Bureau of Beijing 29 October 1982.

In aceordance with the decision made by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, Beijing Municipality carried out its third population census at zero hour 1 July 1982. The population count started on 1 July 1982 after a preparatory period which began at the end of 1980. Under the unified leadership of the party committees and people's governments at various levels and with the enthusiastic support of vast numbers of the people and the close coordination of the units concerned of the municipality and with the thoroughgoing and painstaking work of the census workers, the counting work was successfully completed and verified. Sample checks after the count show that the counting work is of the high quality required by the state. All the data gathered is now being processing by computers. Following are the main figures by simple manual compilation:

1. //Total Population.// The municipality has a population of 9,230,687. (Excluded from this figure are members of the armed forces and temporary dwellers in Beijing who left their original areas less than one year ago.)

As compared with 7,597,367, the figure at zero hour, 1 July 1964 released by the second population census, the population increased by 1,633,320, or 21.5 percent, in the last 18 years, an average annual increase of 90,740 people or 1.1 percent.

2. //Sex Composition.// Of the population of the municipality, males number 4,670,510, accounting for 50.6 percent and females 4,560,177, accounting for 49.4 percent, the proportion of males to females being 102 to 100.

3. //Population of the Nationalities.// There are 55 nationalities who are represented in this city. The Han nationality population numbers 8,908,480, accounting for 96.5 percent of the total and the minority nationalities population is 322,207, making up 3.5 percent.

Compared with the 1964 census figures, the Han nationality population has increased by 1,596,343, or 21.8 percent and the minority nationalities population by 36,977 or 13 percent.

4. //The number of people who have attained certain educational levels.// Among the population of the municipality, 330,308 are university graduates and 119,020 are university undergraduates (including those who are now attending university). People with a senior middle school education level number 1,628,336 and 2,684,962 people have a junior middle school educational level. There are 2,417,372 people with a primary school educational level. The figures in these three categories refer to both graduates and undergraduates and those who are presently enrolled.

Compared with the 1964 census figures, the following changes have occurred for every ten thousand people: those with university education have increased from 436 to 487; those with senior middle school education have increased from 451 to 1,764; those with junior middle school education have increased from 1,173 to 2,090; and those with primary school education have decreased from 3,188 to 2,619.

Illiterates and semi-illiterates (people 12 years of age and above) number 1,147,235. Compared with the 1964 census figures, the percentage of illiterates and semi-illiterates in the total population has dropped from 22.8 percent to 12.4 percent.

5. //Birthrate and Mortality rate.// The number of births in the municipality in 1981 was 156,875 with a birthrate of 17.6 per thousand; the number of deaths in 1981 was 51,625 with a mortality rate of 5.8 per thousand; the natural increase in the population in 1981 was 105,250, a rate of 11.8 per thousand.

6. //Population of urban districts and towns.// The total population residing in Beijing's 10 urban districts and 14 towns is 5,970,227, accounting for 64.7 percent of the total. Those dwelling in the 10 urban districts number 5,597,972, making up 60.7 percent of Beijing's total population and 372,255 are dwellers in the 14 towns, accounting for 4 percent.

7. //The distribution of population by area.// Following is the distribution of the population in the 19 urban districts and counties in Beijing:

Dongchengqu District	651,521
Xichangqu District	764,192
Chongwenqu District	440,306
Xuanwuqu District	562,173
Chaoyangqu District	1,022,309
Fengtaiqu District	585,026
Shijingshaqu District	235,038
Haidianqu District	997,664
Mentougouqu District	259,388
Yanshanqu District	80,355
Changping County	380,028

Shunyi County	472,217
Tongxian County	534,795
Daxing County	428,850
Fangshan County	610,821
Pinggu County	333,506
Huairou County	234,341
Miyun County	390,032
Yanqing County	248,125

8. //Results of the sampling check on the quality of the counting work.// According to the stipulation of the state, the net error rate in population counting work should be lower than 1 per thousand. The sampling check on the quality of the counting work conducted in Beijing shows a net error rate of 0.096 per thousand. The state stipulates that the error rate in reporting sex should be lower than 1 per thousand; the Beijing sampling check on this item has not yet found any mistakes. State stipulation on the error rate in reporting age is lower than 10 per thousand; the municipal sampling check on this item shows a net error rate of 0.86 per thousand. No error has been found in the sampling check on the counting of births and mortality in 1981. According to the stipulation of the state, the net error rate of all items in population counting work should be lower than 2 per thousand; the Beijing sampling check shows a net error rate of 0.32 per thousand.

CSO: 4005/146

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ROUNDUP OF EAST CHINA REPORTS ON 1982 CENSUS

OW011055 [Editorial Report] Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin at 1100 GMT on 28 October carries a 2.5-minute report on a communique issued by the Jiangsu Provincial Statistics Bureau on 28 October citing major statistics from the third provincial census. "The communique says: Our province's population now totals 60,521,114, comprising 50.84 percent males and 49.16 percent females. The average population density is 605.4 persons per square kilometer. Compared with 44,522,091 at the time of the second census on 1 July 1964, Jiangsu's population increased by 15,999,023 in 18 years, or by 888,835 annually on the average." The province has 101 persons who are over 100 years old, of whom 14 are men and 87 are women. The oldest person is 110 years old.

Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin at 1100 GMT on 28 October carries a 7-minute communique released on 28 October by the Statistics Bureau of the Anhui Provincial People's Government on the results of the 1982 census. According to the communique, "1) The total population is 49,665,724, an increase of 18,424,540, or 59 percent, in the 18 years since the second census in 1964, representing an average annual increase of 2.61 percent; 2) Composition of the population according to sex is: men 25,763,440 or 51.87 percent, and women 23,902,284, or 48.13 percent, of the total population; 3) population of nationalities: the province has total of 36 nationalities, of which people of Han nationality make up 99.47 percent; Hui, 0.51 percent; other nationalities, including Mongolian, comprising more than 100 people total 10; and there are 24 nationalities of less than 100 people including the Uyghur nationality; 4) education levels: college graduates 146,124; college students 56, 028; people with senior middle school level education 1,972,954; junior middle school level education 7,073,472; primary school level education 14,753,600."

Shanghai City Service in Mandarin at 1130 GMT on 29 October carries a 2-minute communique published by the Shanghai Municipal Statistics Bureau on the results of the 1982 census. According to the communique, "as of 0000 on 1 July 1982, the total population in Shanghai was 11,859,748. Compared with the second census in 1964, it showed an increase of 1,043,290 in 18 years. This figure represents an increase of 916 percent, or an annual increase of 57,961. The average annual population growth is 0.51 percent. There are more women than men in Shanghai. The population of minority nationalities is 0.42 percent of the total population. The birth rate in 1981 was 186,328, or 16.14 per 1,000."
CSO: 4005/146

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SICHUAN RELEASES POPULATION CENSUS FIGURES

HK020218 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 1 Nov 82

[Text] The provincial statistics bureau released on 1 November a communique giving the main figures for the provincial 1982 population census. The communique shows that the third population census in the province has achieved major success and was of high quality.

The communique states: The total population of the province's 18 municipalities, prefectures and autonomous prefectures is 99,713,310. This is an increase of 31,700,745 compared with the figure of 68,012,565 recorded in the 3d census in 1964. The average annual increase was 1,761,153, a growth rate of 2.1 percent.

There are 51 nationalities in the province. The total minority-nationality population is 3,661,277, accounting for 3.67 percent of the total. Compared with the 1964 census, the minority-nationality population has risen by 1,915,804, an increase of 107.76 percent.

The census shows that the number of people with university graduate cultural level is 309,965; there are 116,972 with university cultural level, including students now at university. In other words, there are 428 people with university cultural level to every 100,000 of the population. The province has 3,955,902 people with senior secondary school cultural level, an average of 3,967 to every 100,000 of the population. There are 15,423,474 with junior secondary school cultural level, an average of 15,468 to every 100,000 of the population. The percentage of illiterates and semi-illiterates has declined from 33.87 at the 1964 census to 23.38.

The communique states: The province's birth rate last year was 17.95 per 1,000, while the death rate was 7.02 per 1,000. The natural population growth rate was 10.93 per 1,000.

These are just the main figures, compiled by hand. Computers will process all the census data to provide greater, more detailed and comprehensive information for the state.

CSO: 4005/146

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'FIVE GOOD' FAMILIES DEVELOPING VIGOROUSLY

OW)21834 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0123 GMT 28 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 28 Oct (XINHUA)--Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee, the "five good" family activity has developed vigorously in all parts of the country. According to incomplete statistics of departments concerned, more than 3.8 million "five good" families have now emerged in our 29 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government. In many places the standards of social conduct have improved through earnestly developing this activity.

The contents of the "five good" family activity are: Good in love for the motherland, socialism and the collective and observing law and discipline; good in production, work, study and fulfilling tasks; good in family planning, educating children and managing a household industriously and thriftily; good in changing prevailing habits and customs, being civilized and courteous and paying attention to sanitation and hygiene; good in respecting the old and cherishing the young, maintaining democracy and harmony at home and promoting unity and mutual help in the neighborhood. Since 1979, this activity has developed, step by step, under the leadership of party committees at various levels, with the active cooperation of departments concerned, and through the actual organization and leadership of women's federations at various levels.

In places where the "five good" family activity has developed more successfully, social morality and practice have changed noticeably, and many new phenomena have emerged.

It has improved the relationship among people in the family and the neighborhood, produced a large number of democratic and harmonious new socialist type families, and changed family and popular practices.

It has greatly promoted the new practice to love the state and the collective and the communist spirit to take pleasure in helping others without consideration of pay.

It has strengthened the education of young people, markedly reduced criminal cases and civil disputes and improved social order.

It has relieved workers, staff members and commune members of worries about family difficulties, stimulated their enthusiasm for production and accelerated the building of socialist material civilization.

It has enhanced the smooth progress of work in all fields at the grassroots level.

At present, some provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government have held special meetings to sum up and exchange experiences in developing the "five good" family activity. They are determined to further develop this activity in a down-to-earth way.

CSO: 4005/146

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XINJIANG LEADERS ATTEND REGIONAL MEETING ON CHILDCARE

HK011014 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 28 Oct 82

[Summary] "The first regional meeting of representatives of advanced collectives and advanced individuals on the front of childcare work closed in Urumqi this afternoon. The meeting urged the childcare workers throughout the region to strive hard with one heart and one mind in the direction laid down by the 12th CPC Congress and make contributions to creating a new situation in childcare work in the region.

"Comrade Gu Jingsheng, second secretary of the regional CPC Committee, called on the representatives during the meeting. The leading comrades of the regional CPC Committee, the Standing Committee of the regional people's congress, the regional people's government and the regional CPPCC, including Tomur Dawamat, Janabil, Ren Gebai, (Zhao Zhisheng), Ba Dai, Mayenur and Han Youwen were present at the closing ceremony. Comrade Tomur Dawamat gave a speech to the meeting."

At the closing session, 41 advanced collectives and 156 advanced childcare workers were awarded certificates of merit and prizes.

In his concluding speech, Ba Dai, vice chairman of the regional [words illegible] childcare work, made a summary of the meeting and encouraged the participants to work hard and make greater contributions to childcare work.

"The closing session also adopted the proposal to the comrades working on the childcare front throughout the region and the letter expressing the meeting's appreciation for the contributions of the comrades who had been engaged in childcare and child-education work for more than 25 years."

CSO: 4005/146

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GUIZHOU PLANNED PARENTHOOD CONFERENCE CONCLUDES

KH021236 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Nov 82

[Summary] The Guizhou provincial conference on planned parenthood, which lasted 6 days, concluded in Guiyang this afternoon. The conference studied the instructions of the 12th party congress on planned parenthood, reviewed work done this year since the implementation of document No 11 of the central authorities and document No 12 of the provincial CPC committee and discussed and looked into the measures to further carry out the instructions of the central authorities and the provincial CPC committee on planned parenthood as well as planned parenthood work and tasks for 1983.

The conference pointed out that by September, the majority of prefectures and countries in the province had carried out more sterilizations and remedial operations than in any previous year. The conference held: "Although the whole province has achieved certain results, some problems still exist. The most salient point is that the multiple birth rate is high and the effective contraceptive rate is low. To accomplish this year's plan for population control and lay down a good foundation for 1983 work, we must do a great deal of arduous and meticulous work."

The conference demanded: "It is now essential to make cadres at all levels and the masses understand further and as quickly as possible the important significance that planned parenthood is a basic national policy. Leadership groups at all levels, particularly leadership groups at the county level, must clearly understand the situation and keep in step. Responsible comrades of the party and the government must personally grasp this work and do well in vigorously grasping planned parenthood work well, as they grasp economic work. Cadres at all levels must take the lead in implementing the state policy on planned parenthood and in accordance with the policy, seriously deal with the cadres who flout the party's policy on planned parenthood and forcibly have more children than the limit. In the course of carrying out planned parenthood work, it is necessary to conduct publicity and education continuously and persistently for all people throughout the province, particularly for commune members in the rural areas, so that the spirit of the documents of the central authorities and the provincial CPC committee is publicized to every household. It is imperative to make good preparations for the planned parenthood publicity month activities around New Year's Day 1983 and the spring festival."

The conference pointed out: "In current planned parenthood work in our province, counties, districts and communes have occasionally sent people to lower-level units to carry out planned parenthood work. However, work in units at and below the commune level has not been carried out regularly." The conference therefore demanded: "All places must build a grassroots work force to regularly grasp planned parenthood work. Communes must universally build a small regular detachment of picked troops. Some brigades must establish a system for the regular management of the women of the childbearing age group."

The conference also demanded that all places establish, put on a sound basis and perfect all forms of the planned parenthood responsibility system, give full play to the role of the medical departments as the main force in giving contraceptive technological guidance and train grassroots planned parenthood technicians.

This afternoon, Governor Su Gang and provincial CPC Committee Deputy Secretary Miao Chunting attended and spoke.

CSO: 4005/146

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GUIZHOU LEADER AT FAMILY PLANNING CONFERENCE

HK011209 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Oct 82

[Text] At the Guizhou provincial conference on planned parenthood yesterday afternoon, Vice Governor Zhang Yuhuan delivered a speech on the achievements our province has scored in planned parenthood this year and on how to accomplish the tasks of family planning for 1983. In his speech, he stressed: In order to fulfill all plans and targets for controlling the population growth in the period of the Sixth 5-Year Plan and for 1983, leaders at all levels must unswervingly implement the spirit of the 12th party congress and its instructions on planned parenthood and, in the course of continuing to develop the economic construction in our province, do well in family planning work so as to reduce the rate of population growth.

Vice Governor Zhang Yuhuan said: Our province has achieved relatively good results in planned parenthood work this year. According to statistics, from January to September this year, the whole province carried out 866,619 sterilizations and remedial operations. This year our province has completed the largest number of remedial operations. Bijie, Zunyi Tongren and Anshun prefectures have carried out over 100,000 sterilizations and remedial operations, 31 counties have completed over 10,000 operations of 4 different kinds and Zhijin County has completed 47,302 operations, the largest number. The whole province has issued 93,837 single-child certificates. Its single-child rate is 21.91 percent. Duyun Municipality's single-child rate amounts to 89 percent. The single-child rates of (Yunnong) District in Guiyang Municipality amount to 87.25 and 86.6 percent respectively. Xishui County's single-child rate is 58.89 percent.

Vice Governor Zhang Yuhuan also talked about the problems existing in family planning work. He said: To completely carry out all central instructions, we must do a great deal of arduous and meticulous work. The number of single and multiple births in the first half of this year was more than in the corresponding period last year. Planned parenthood work in all places has developed unevenly. Some counties did planned parenthood well in the beginning but have not continued to do so. Although many operations have been conducted, the number of multiple births has not dropped markedly. He said: Regarding these existing problems, all places must have resolute and vigorous measures to thoroughly solve them in accordance with regulations of the central authorities and the provincial CPC committee.

In his speech, based on our province's population structure and in the light of the actual situation of family planning work, Zhang Yuhuan stated: The plans and targets for controlling the growth of population in our province in the period of the Sixth 5-Year Plan and for 1983 are that by the end of 1985, the natural growth rate drops below 9 per thousand, the rate of contraception reaches more than 95 percent, the single-child rate increases to 55 percent, the rate of multiple births drops to below 10 percent and the family planning rate increases to over 70 percent; in 1983, the total number of planned births in our province is 520,000, the natural growth rate drops to below 11 per thousand, the single-child rate increases to over 40 percent and the rate of multiple births drops to below 23 percent.

Vice Governor Zhang Yuhuan pointed out: To achieve the sixth 5-year target and accomplish the tasks for 1983, it is necessary to solve the problems in six ways:

1. We must unify the understanding of leaders at all levels with the spirit of the 12th party congress, and the instructions of the central authorities and the provincial CPC committee on planned parenthood. We must continue to do planned parenthood work well.

2. We must strengthen the building of a grassroots planned parenthood force and put on a sound basis and reinforce management organs at all levels.

3. We must continue to establish, consolidate and perfect all forms of the family planning responsibility system.

4. We must give full play to the role of public health and medical departments as the main force guidding planned parenthood technology.

5. We must take good care of the rural households enjoying the five guarantees and get rid of some people's fear of disturbances in the future in order to promote the smooth development of planned parenthood.

6. At present, we must do seriously and well in planned parenthood work in the coming winter and spring.

CSO: 4005/146

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

STATION COMMENTARY ON PLANNED PARENTHOOD

HK021242 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Nov 82

[Station "short" commentary: "With the Rural Areas as the Key Point, It Is Necessary To Grasp Planned Parenthood Work Firmly and Well"]

[Excerpts] It is an extremely important task confronting all people throughout the province to strive to do planned parenthood work well, strictly control population growth and make population growth suit the development of the national economy. The key to making planned parenthood become the spontaneous actions of thousands of households lies in making the masses understand the sighnificance of controlling population growth. The population of our country now exceeds 1 billion. If population increases by an average of some 17 million a year for 18 years, it can hardly be brought to within 1.2 billion in this way by the end of this century. To carry out the requirements put forth by the 12th party congress, it is necessary to firmly grasp planned parenthood work and reduce the natural population growth rate. We must make all understand that carrying out planned parenthood is a basic national policy of our country. Judging from the situation of our province, the natural population growth rate is higher than the national level. To quadruple the yearly total industrial and agricultural output value by the year of 2000, which was put forth by the 12th party congress, and to make people's livelihood reach the level of being comparatively well off, we must do arduous and meticulous work and in the course of grasping economic work, reduce the population growth rate.

Our province now has a population of some 28.5 million, and the rural population accounts for about 80 percent of this. The weak link of planned parenthood is also in the rural areas. In doing well in peasants' planned parenthood, we can then have the most reliable guarantee for achieving the strategic target of controlling population. Therefore, we must make especially great efforts to grasp planned parenthood well, with the rural areas as the key point. We must persistently publicize the significance of planned parenthood to the peasants, introduce and popularize contraceptive and sterilization knowledge and encourage each couple to have only one child. We must strictly control the births and the second child and resolutely avoid having the third child. We must do well in remedial operations on women who are pregnant beyond the plan. We must establish the planned parenthood responsibility system.

CSO: 4005/146

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ZHOU HUI AT COLLEGE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

SK230432 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Oct 82

[Excerpts] According to our reporter (Wu Xinmin), on 22 October, the Nei Monggol Regional Normal University, former Regional Teacher College, sponsored a celebration meeting to mark the 30th anniversary of its founding. At the meeting, over 4,500 professors and students of various nationalities happily got together and declared their determination to earnestly study and implement the 12th CPC congress guidelines, to make further efforts to enhance unity among various nationalities and to strive to build socialist spiritual civilization and create a new situation at the university.

Attending the meeting were leading personnel of the regional party and government organs, including Zhou Hui, Bu He, Ba-tu-ba-gen, and Hao Xiushan, and responsible comrades from the departments concerned and from various higher educational institutions.

The former regional teacher college was founded in 1952. Over the past 30 years, the school that originally had only 6 classes totalling over 100 students and teachers of 5 nationalities has developed into a university that has 13 departments, 16 specialized courses and 1 correspondent school totaling 1,313 professors, staff and workers; 3,478 undergraduate students of 8 nationalities; 39 graduate students; and 5,500 correspondent students.

At the meeting, on behalf of the regional people's government, (Yang Jingkui), deputy director of the regional higher educational bureau, declared that, effective 21 October, the regional teacher college has been formally promoted to the regional normal university. On the occasion of the declaration, the entire meeting resounded with warm applause. Bu He, deputy secretary of the regional CPC committee, delivered a congratulatory speech at the meeting.

Over the past few days, the university has sponsored a series of seminars for the joyful occasion.

CSO: 4005/146

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHANDONG OFFICIAL EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

SK010358 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 30 Oct 82

[Excerpts] In his recent interview with station reporters, Deputy Governor Ding Fangming pointed out: Leading personnel of educational circles at all levels and educational workers should deeply understand the position and function of education in the building of the two civilizations. Ding Fangming called on them to be enthusiastically engrossed in hard work in order to make contributions to creating a new situation of educational work in our province.

Comrade Ding Fangming said: The 12th party congress posted education as a strategic priority for future economic development and that is an important decision made with foresight and sagacity. The decision reflects the aspirations of the broad masses of the people and the objective requirements in the development of history. Science and technology are the key to realizing the four modernizations, while education is the foundation. If we don't solve the problem of having qualified personnel, the building of socialist modernization is only idle talk. The party Central Committee set forth that, while taking the strategic steps of the first ten years, we should give priority to laying a solid foundation to create conditions for making proper preparations. Educating a large number of excellent qualified personnel is a preparatory work of great importance.

In line with the guidelines of the 12th party congress, Comrade Ding Fangming urged that four tasks concerning creating a new situation of our province's educational undertakings be attended to: 1) We should give prime importance to universal education and adopt the policy of walking on two legs. We should depend on the strength of the state and collectives to solve as quickly as possible the outlay and teacher problems and improve the condition of running schools with a view to an early completion of the task of universalizing primary school education by 1985. In urban and rural areas and those counties whose economy and educational foundation are in good condition should universalize the junior middle school education; 2) Attention should be paid to restructuring secondary school education and to vigorously developing technical education. 3) Higher education should be continuously readjusted and restructured; and 4) We should continuously develop adult education to upgrade the scientific, technical and cultural levels of the people of all nationalities.

CSO: 4005/146

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CHINA PLANS TO ADMIT 1983 GRADUATE STUDENTS

OW040123 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0038 GMT 31 Oct 82

[Text] Beijing, 31 Oct (XINHUA)--According to a report filed by XINHUA correspondent Yang Jianyi, the work of enrolling graduate students for 1983 will soon begin in China. A source from the Ministry of Education reveals that the ministry has made improvements and worked out new regulations for next year's graduate students admission on the basis of the principle designed to select qualified people for the state and strengthen the teaching of undergraduate courses in institutions of higher learning.

Compared with the past, graduate school applicants will be required to take an additional test next year. In addition to the 5 to 6 original tests in political theory, foreign language, basic courses and the basics in a specialized field, a comprehensive test will be given to applicants in certain academic fields and specialities. The comprehensive test will include basic knowledge, theories and skills. It will be aimed at testing the students' ability to use the acquired knowledge in analyzing and solving problems as well as their intelligence and creativeness, including reaction speed. The comprehensive test will be given within the scope of the undergraduate courses. It will last 3 hours. In 1983, it will first be administered among applicants in the following three major branches of study--Chinese language (except those majoring in national minority languages), chemistry and machine building (including mechanics, machine building, hydraulic transmission and pneumatics). Applicants majoring in other fields and specialities may also take the comprehensive test on a voluntary basis. Departments of various branches of study and specialities will ask applicants to take the final test. The applicants may go to the unit in charge of college admission to take the final test, or teachers may be dispatched in different groups to test the applicants. The unit in charge of admission work may entrust an institution of higher learning to give this final test. Records, results and comments must be kept on file for the final test.

Questions and topics for testing post graduate students in political theory and foreign languages are to be set by the Ministry of Education in an united manner. Questions and topics in professional fields are to be set by the unit in charge of admission work.

In admitting new students next year, new requirements and criterion may be imposed on applicants of different categories. A responsible person of the department concerned under the Ministry of Education told the XINHUA correspondent that in 1983, various units in charge of student admission would still adhere to the principle of admitting students by taking their moral, intellectual and physical standards into consideration in an overall manner, of admitting those qualified, or ensuring high quality, and of putting quality before quantity. It has also decided that, after finalizing the list of successful candidates through the initial and final tests, the unit in charge of admission work will issue admission notices only to those candidates whose undergraduate college's graduation theses (design), remarks or grades in practical work are screened and considered as meeting the admission requirements. Candidates should be rejected if their graduation theses (design) and the actual work in their respective undergraduate college are unfavorable or they fail to meet the admission requirements.

In admitting masters degree candidates, priority may be given to those who have graduated from an undergraduate college, who are now working in various posts and who have introduced inventions and written books and whose moral, intellectual and physical standards have met the admission requirements.

CSO: 4005/146

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ZHOU HUI ATTENDS RALLY OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTES

SK270229 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Oct 82

[Excerpt] The first rally of representatives of three-good students, excellent staff members, workers and cadres and representatives of advanced collectives of universities, secondary schools and teachers colleges successfully concluded in Hohhot this afternoon.

Attending the closing ceremony were some leading comrades of the regional party and government organizations including Zhou Hui, Ting Mao, Wang Duo, Kong Fei, Bu He, Hao Xiushan and Zhou Beifang. Attending the rally were some responsible comrades of the propaganda department of the regional CPC committee, the regional higher educational administration, the regional educational department, the regional CYL committee and all institutions of higher learning and over 1,000 representative teachers and students of universities and secondary schools in Hohhot Municipality.

During the rally, all participants listened to a report made by Bu He, deputy secretary of the regional CPC committee, on studying and implementing the documents of the 12th party congress and on enhancing the socialist spiritual civilization, exchanged experiences in learning from Lei Feng and creating three goods and mentioned the heroic deeds of martyr (Zhang Hua), an excellent model among university students. They unanimously pledged their determination to hold high the communist banner and to adhere to the educational principles of the party so as to set off courses of an over-all moral, intellectual and physical development and the development of socialist consciousness and professional proficiency. In response to the party's call, they pledged to rush to be pioneers in the development of socialist spiritual civilization with concrete deeds.

On behalf of the regional CPC committee and government, Zhou Hui, first secretary of the regional CPC committee, extended warm greetings to all participants and encourage students to persist in three goods, the over-all development of moral, intellectual and physical education, socialist consciousness and professional proficiency. The students were urged to play exemplary vanguard roles in studying and implementing the guidelines of the 12th party congress and to better emulate Lei Feng and (Zhang Hua) so as to be models for the new generation who have morality, knowledge and a sense of discipline.

Ting Mao, second secretary of the regional CPC committee, spoke at the rally.

CSO: 4005/146

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NATIONAL BOARDING SCHOOL FORUM HELD IN XINJIANG

HK010856 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 28 Oct 82

[Text] According to XINJIANG RIBAO, the national experience exchange meeting of primary and secondary boarding schools for minority nationalities in pastoral and mountainous areas called by the Ministry of Education in Yining Municipality in mid-October concluded that the primary and secondary boarding schools for minority nationalities to be established in pastoral and mountainous areas are the best means of popularize primary education and promote education for minority nationalities in these areas.

According to an incomplete survey conducted in 9 provinces and autonomous regions including Inner Monggol, Xinjiang, Qinghai and so on, the number of boarding schools in pastoral and mountainous areas amounts to 1,991, with an enrollment of more than 280,000 students. Xinjiang region alone has restored and recently established more than 200 boarding schools in pastoral areas, with an enrollment of nearly 30,000 students.

The participants in the meeting stated that there are many forms in promoting education in pastoral and mountainous areas. Above all, we must bear in mind our national conditions and the special conditions of various nationalities and various pastoral and mountainous areas, and adopt the boarding school and the fultime immobile school as the principal form in developing education, while taking various other forms to meet the needs of various levels and various standards. Uniformity, formalism and rash and mass actions should be avoided.

Ba Dai, vice chairman of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Regional People's Government, attended the meeting and gave a speech. Thinking nothing of hardship, the 70-year-old adviser to the Ministry of Education, Zhou Lin, also attended the meeting. (Peng Ke), director of the Department of Education for Minority Nationalities under the Ministry of Education, delivered a concluding speech at the meeting. Wang Enmao, first secretary of the regional CPC committee, called on the participants during the closing session.

CSO: 4005/146

BRIEFS

FUJIAN PROVINCIAL CENSUS--According to a report by this station, this third provincial census leading group and the provincial statistical bureau today issued a communique on the major figures of the third Fujian provincial census. The communique states that registrations under the present provincial census have met the high quality specified by the state. The communique states: As of 0000 hours, 1 July 1982, the province's total population was 25,931,106 together with 57,847 people on Jinmen and Mazu Island, according to information announced recently by the Taiwan authorities. Of the province's total population, 13,308,813 are male, accounting for 51.44 percent, and 12,564,446 are female, accounting for 48.56 percent. Of the province's total population, 25,624,151 belong to the Han nationality, accounting for 99.04 percent, and 249,108 belong to 31 other nationalities, accounting for 0.96 percent. The number of She, Hui, Miao, Manchu and Zhuang nationalities all exceed 1,000. The communique states: Of the total population in this census, 123,393 are university graduates, 33,301 are undergraduates, 1,477,707 are high school students, 3,262,343 are middle school students, 9,397,071 are primary school students and 6,803,038 are illiterates or semi-illiterates who account for 26.29 percent. The communique states: The natural increase in the province's population in 1981 was 411,031, showing natural growth rate of 0.162 percent. [Excerpts] [OW031259 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 1 Nov 82]

'REFUGEES' TO SOUTHERN PROVINCES--Recently there has been a sharp increase in the number of refugees who have flocked to southern provinces, such as Guangdong, Fujian and Zhejiang, to seek jobs and earn a living. They are from Hebei, Sichuan, Henan, Shandong and Shanxi provinces. Many of them who cannot find jobs have become beggars, peddlers or speculators. Some of them are seeking opportunities to smuggle themselves into Hong Kong. [Text] [OW030951 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 1 Nov 82]

HUNAN CENSUS DATA--On 2 November, the Hunan Provincial People's Government allowed the provincial statistics bureau to issue a communique announcing the main figures of the province's third population census. At midnight on 1 July, the province's population was 54,008,851, not including serving military personnel. Compared with the 2d census in 1964, the province's population has increased by 16,826,565, an average annual rise of 2.1 percent. The province's population is made up of 28,052,466 males and 25,956,385 females. There are

thus 108.8 males to every 100 females. The Han population of the province is 51,815,422, accounting for 95.94 percent of the total. Nine of the 39 minority nationalities in the province have populations greater than 1,000. These are the Miao, Tujia, Dong, Yao, Hui, Zhuang, Uygur, Li and Mans nationalities. There are 761,000 Miaos, the largest minority nationality in the province. Next come the Tujias, with 744,000. There are only 2,456 Mans. Municipalities and counties throughout the province have carried out sample checks on the census. The results show that the province's population census met the demand for high quality. [Text] [HK040424 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 3 Nov 82]

CSO: 4005/146

REMARKS BY HU, ZHAO AT CONFERENCE OF CADRES PUBLISHED

Hong Kong [CHENG MING] [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 10, Oct 82 pp 12-13

[Article: "Internal Chinese Communist Materials on the Future of Hong Kong--Remarks by Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang, and Hu Qiaomu at the February Cadres Conference"]

[Text] Dear Editor:

I ready Mr Luo Bing's [5012 3056] article, "The Chinese Communist Decision on the Future of Hong Kong," in the July issue of CHENG MING, and because of the deep confidence I have in the "Beixing Fangyu" column, I believed Mr Luo Bing's report. At the same time, I also believed that it was possible to realize the PRC policy of "one nation, two systems." But I still wanted to read some PRC materials concerning this policy.

From the latter part of July to the end of August, I traveled through the southwestern, northwestern, and northern areas of the motherland. In Beijing, my desire was fulfilled. A classmate of mine who early on had returned from Hong Kong to the motherland to work let me see a PRC "internal material" item that had been given to ordinary cadres. After reading it, I felt that it was very close in basic substance to what Mr Luo Bing had reported. I thought to myself that if my Hong Kong friends could read it, they would certainly be abel to prepare mentally for the future transformation of Hong Kong and, at the same time, would not be overly worried about operating their businesses. Therefore, I jotted down the major elements of the material, especially the parts dealing with Hong Kong. Because this material had already been widely disseminated, my old classmate felt that there were really no secrets to be kept or which could be leaked, and because he believed that the policy that "China would reestablish sovereignty over Hong Kong while maintaining its capitalist system" would be semiopenly published in Hong Kong in the future, he allowed me to take some notes.

After returning to Hong Kong and reading the August and September issues of CHENG MING, I saw that the words of Hu Yaobang concerning the future of Hong Kong, as reported by Mr Leo Bing, tallied well with my notes on the internal PRC material (there were differences in only a few unimportant words), but they did not present as complete a picture as those in the material itself. In order to allow readers in Hong Kong and overseas to glimpse the "whole picture," I have attached my notes in the hope that they can be printed in CHENG MING. I have already copied the material, so there is no need to return it whether it is printed or not.

Sincerely, Chen Riling [7115 2480 7881], 9 September

(We sincerely thank Mr Chen for his concern for this journal and its readers. The following are his attached notes in their entirety--Editor).

Hu Yaobang:

Our socialist modernization construction is presently in an extremely important period.

We must fully understand the strategic significance of opening to the outside economically and daring to achieve a breakthrough by leaping into a more extensive world, and we must pay painstaking attention to the extreme complexity of the new environment we face in opening to the outside, be good at learning new skills and, moreover, promptly discover and overcome the various negative phenomena that could do serious harm to our cause--the first being all negative phenomena within the party, especially among party cadres.

1. We must be resolute, clear-thinking, active Marxists.

Under conditions of peace, there are still dangers.... The danger of the party's declining and accepting "peaceful evolution" will never disappear!.... Haven't there been large numbers of party members and cadres and even certain organizations in your two provinces [Guangdong and Fujian] and in other areas and departments that have been corrupted by the influence of capitalist ideology?

The primary danger comes from the corruption of irresolute elements within our party, not from other areas.

Where is the key in terms of the party itself?.... The key lies in the middle- and upper-level cadres.

How we handle ourselves will be judged sometime in the future, perhaps 20 years from now, by our posterity. I see only three possibilities: "men of accomplishments," "a mediocre generation," or "muddleheaded disciples."

2. We must unwaveringly carry out a firm, serious, stubborn, and thorough struggle against corruption in the party, especially that involving certain party cadres in positions of responsibility.

Now, in addition to opening to the outside economically, we must take on another form in the not too distant future, and that is the form of one nation allowing two social systems. We must do this to solve the problems of uniting with Taiwan and reestablishing sovereignty over Hong Kong. This is the correct policy for us to adopt under the new historical conditions. But at the same time, we must understand that, under the conditions in which this policy will be carried out, the struggle will necessarily be extremely fierce and complicated. After the October Revolution, under conditions a rent-control system was being implemented, Lenin once pointedly indicated as follows: on the one hand he confirmed that the rent-control system was unshakable; but at the same time he emphasized that the rent-control system was not really peace but "struggle," a continuation of struggle in the economic sector, simply another kind of more advantageous "struggle." Therefore, in Kenin's view it was completely necessary to make use

of international capital. But this use involved a severe struggle. The aim was to hasten socialist construction in soviet nations. And Trotsky's view was completely the opposite. He felt that to make use of international capital would inevitably lead to accepting the economic system of the capitalist world, becoming dependent upon it, and that this eliminated any possibility of a nation's building socialism. According to Trotsky's viewpoint, to make use of international capital would be to abandon revolution and forgo socialism. History has already proved that Lenin was completely correct and Trotsky was totally wrong. Today, we naturally must carry on in accordance with Leninism. To struggle alone and reject the idea of using international funds is wrong, on the other hand, in making use of international capital, any thinking or behavior which ignores or abandons necessary struggle is also wrong; in short, we must both utilize capital and struggle. The question is whether or not our CPC members and party cadres, especially leading cadres, will be corrupted and pulled astray by the opponents in this struggle.

A Fujian comrade told of a corrupted party branch secretary who was more than 30 years old and who actually said: "I followed the Communist Party for a decade, and only today realized that I had been deceived." Look at this. He clearly has been deceived by capitalism, and yet he turns things around and says he has been deceived by the Communist Party (laughter)

(Hu Qiaomu added here: The foreign concessions in old China were not really stipulated explicitly in treaties, but were a case of our having been deceived by foreigners, and as we sank deeper and deeper, they finally became "nations within a nation.")

I feel that the economic dealings of Guangdong with the outside truly require a further smmarizing of experience.... Guangdong's economic dealings with the outside seem to suffer from this one major flaw--the method of excessively and spontaneously raising purchase prices has squeezed out the farm produce and sideline products of which there is a shortage, including some farm produce and sideline products of other provinces which are used for exports, and at the same time, there have been large amounts of imports of daily consumer goods which are not--or are not completely--designed to meet the needs of the market-place in the province.

Some comreades might say that flaws are hard to avoid. I am half in agreement with this;...it is best to let the Party Central Committee say this for you, and you---should not say it first.... Aren't some of us comrades mistaken in our understanding?

The advertisements sent out on our Central Television Network also speak of for foreign watches that even "the capable cannot produce" and that are "renowned throughout the world!" In actuality, this serves to publicize the "superiority" of the capitalist system.

We must decide to reduce the export of those goods and materials that are truly causing losses and that are in extremely short supply in the country.

You in Guangdong in 1981 had nearly 1 billion U.S. dollars in local foreign currency reserves, no small amount.

Zhao Ziyang:

We must be daring in taking advantage of the present advantageous international conditions, uphold the policy of opening to the outside, and carry out the policy of stimulating the domestic economy in order to quicken the development of our national economy, but at the same time we must see that under the new historical conditions, we cannot avoid facing a struggle against the corruption of capitalist ideology and bourgeois liberalization.

Hu Qiaomu:

The lowest crime rate in the nation was in 1956! .029 percent; in 1961 it was .069 percent; in 1978 it was .057 percent; in 1979 it was .066 percent; in 1980 it was .079 percent; and in 1981 it was .091 percent.

I believe that in essence this problem is an important case of class struggle under conditions of socialism. As brought out by the Party Central Committee--first raised by Comrade Ziaoping in a speech at a theory and ideology meeting, the exploiting class as a class has already been destroyed, but class struggle continues. After this proposition was brought forth, it was doubted and refuted by many people. They wondered how you could still have class struggle, now that the exploiting class no longer exists! Some comrades in theoretical circles and some friendly figures outside the country raised this question, and some said that the wall had already collapsed but the bricks remain.... In the present stage of development of socialism, we can affirm that class struggle will not die out. Eliminating class struggle will take a long time--just how long is difficult to say.

Presently, we must face the bourgeois classes in Hong Kong and Macao, in Taiwan, and in other nations. They want to encroach upon and corrupt our troops, and they even go so far as to say that they want to turn Guangdong into another Hong Kong. We want to struggle against them, but (except for a small number who are conducting joint enterprises with us) they are not under the jurisdiction of the PRC, and in dealing with them we cannot use the methods we used in 1952 to handle the national bourgeoisie. Because of this, it will be a long-term struggle.

I agree with what Comrade Zhong Yi [0112 1138] has just said, but there is one point I wish to revise. He feels that the high tide of smuggling has already passed. In terms of the present, this may be so (although we cannot say it is at low tide), but in the long term, we cannot view it this way. There may be an even higher tide. Unless we begin now to use extremely clear heads and extremely severe measures, there will certainly be a higher tide. If we regain Hong Kong and Macao, a large number of the bourgeoisie will become citizens of the PRC. Hong Kong and Macao will become territories of the PRC, but will

maintain their present systems as before. It will remain a free port--one nation and two systems--and a new and extremely complicated situation will arise for which we must be fully prepared. We must also prepare for the resolution of the Taiwan problem, even though it is somewhat farther off. Actual intercourse between the mainland and Taiwan is now increasing daily. Guangdong is facing the Hong Kong and Macao problem and Fujian is facing the Taiwan problem. Because of this, we cannot believe that the high tide will pass so easily. For a rather long historical period, this struggle will not shrink in scope.

When the Soviet Union implemented a "new economic policy," a new stratum appeared.... Stalin did an abrupt turnabout, and the "new Economic Policy" was ended. The problem we face at present has nothing in common with the conditions in the Soviet Union at that time, and we cannot use Stalin's methods.... Our policy of opening up to the outside is a long-term one.

9705
CSO: 4005/68

END

JPRS 82378

3 December 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 368

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82378

3 December 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 368

CONTENTS

PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA

PARTY AND STATE

'BAN YUE TAN' Discusses Editorial, Propaganda Work
(Liao Jingdan; BAN YUE TAN, 10 Nov 82)..... 1

Reflections on Socialist Democracy, Two Civilizations Reported
(Xia Shuzhang; YANGCHENG WANBAO, 6 Oct 82)..... 6

Shenyang Cadres Declare Support for New Party Leadership
(LIAONING RIBAO, 15 Sep 82)..... 9

Liaoning Delegates View 12th Party Congress as Success
(LIAONING RIBAO, 16 Sep 82)..... 10

Editorial Praises Work of 12th National Party Congress
(Editorial; WEN HUI BAO, 12 Sep 82)..... 11

Serious Study of 12th Party Congress Documents Urged
(LIAONING RIBAO, 19 Sep 82)..... 15

Better Party Style Said Essential To Achieving New Situations
(Li Tao; LIAONING RIBAO, 19 Sep 82)..... 17

PLA Liaoning Command Resolves To Modernize, Standardize
(Nan Jinghong; LIAONING RIBAO, 15 Sep 82)..... 21

Wrongs Righted Through Legal Channels
(Chun Xia; WEN HUI BAO, 24 Sep 82)..... 22

Shanghai Party Committee Continues To Pass on Spirit of 12th Party Congress
(WEN HUI BAO, 25 Sep 82) 24

Hebei's Xiong County Progresses From Chaos to Order
(RENMIN RIBAO, 16 Oct 82) 27

Shanghai Circular Urges Study of Party Congress Documents
(WEN HUI BAO, 7 Oct 82) 29

Convening of Shanghai CPPCC Committee in December Reported
(WEN HUI BAO, 14 Oct 82) 32

Improving Party Workstyle, Checking Unhealthy Practices Stressed
(Hong Gang; NANFAN RIBAO, 13 Oct 82) 34

Cadres Punished for Illegal Housing Construction
(RENMIN RIBAO, 31 Oct 82) 38

Commentary on Party School Training of Cadres
(Zhong Wen; WEN HUI BAO, 24 Sep 82) 40

Anhui Party School Studies 12th Party Congress Documents
(RENMIN RIBAO, 13 Oct 82) 42

CYL Stresses Ideological Education of Young People
(RENMIN RIBAO, 1 Nov 82) 43

Peasants Educated in Production Responsibility System
(RENMIN RIBAO, 28 Oct 82) 44

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Conscription Drive in Guangdong Reported
(NANFANG RIBAO, 30 Sep 82) 46

Conscription Arrangements, by Shen Peng, Zhuo Qichang
Commentary

Guangzhou PLA Leaders Discuss Spiritual Civilization
(Nei Fei, Wu Shibin; NANFANG RIBAO, 9 Oct 82) 49

Meeting Stresses Improving Public Security
(Shanghai City Service, 8 Nov 82) 51

Significant Political Role of PLA Stressed
(Ba Yi Radio, 9 Nov 82) 53

Briefs
Shanghai Garrison Leaders 55
Nanjing Drama Troupe 55

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Results of Birth Rate Survey 'n Rural Hubei
(RENKOU YANJIU, Sep 82)..... 56

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Japan During Meiji Period
(Lu Wanhe, Xiong Dayun; GUANGMING RIBAO, 27 Oct 82)..... 63

'RENMIN RIBAO' Criticizes James Kennison Article
(Zhou Zunnan; RENMIN RIBAO, 15 Oct 82)..... 69

Report on Family Planning Program Aiding Population Goal
(Liu Dizhong; CHINA DAILY, 6 Nov 82)..... 72

Qian Xinzhong Views Population Growth Rate
(XINHUA, 6 Nov 82)..... 74

Briefs
Intellectual Work Conference 76

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Significance of 12th Party Congress Analyzed
(Xu Xing; CHENG MING, Oct 82)..... 77

PRC's Plans for Sovereignty Over Hong Kong Discussed
(Luo Bing; CHENG MING, Oct 82)..... 84

Party Constitution, Political Modernization Discussed
(Liao Gunagsheng; MING PAO YUEH K'AN, Oct 82)..... 89

Systems Reform by 12th Party Congress Discussed
(Sha Ming; CH'I-SHIH NIEN-T'AI, Oct 82)..... 96

PARTY AND STATE

'BAN YUE TAN' DISCUSSES EDITORIAL, PROPAGANDA WORK

HK230421 Beijing BAN YUE TAN in Chinese No 21, 10 Nov 82 pp 3-7

[Article by Liao Jingdan [1675 0064 0030]: "Work Hard To Publicize the Spirit of the 12th CPC Congress"]

[Text] Editor's note: Comrade Liao Jingdan, adviser to the propaganda department of the CPC Central Committee gave a speech at the second meeting of correspondents convened by the editorial department of the BAN YUE TAN on 7 October, in which he emphasized the issue of publicizing the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress. Excerpts of his speech are published here. [end of editor's note]

Since the establishment of the BAN YUE TAN, it has achieved results; it should be said that it has achieved a lot. It has played a positive role in relaying the spirit of the central authorities, publicizing the party's line, principles and policies and teaching people how to do ideological and political work. Over the past few months, I visited some areas in the southern provinces and solicited the opinions of the propaganda departments there and the opinions of some of their comrades. They all considered this journal helpful. The CPC Central Committee shows a lot of concern for this journal and central leading comrades often enquire into affairs related to it.

Now that the 12th party congress is already over, we should carefully study the way to run our journal better in the light of the spirit of the congress. I am going to talk about the problems we discussed recently in the propaganda committee of the CPC Central Committee, and my personal understanding, in order to provide something for our comrades to refer to.

1. We Should Conscientiously Publicize the Strategic Goal Put Forward by the 12th Congress

Concerning this problem, most of our comrades think that it is a good thing to have a long-term goal for our struggle. However, there are some people who lack confidence, though they are very few. We do have to satisfactorily solve this kind of ideological problem.

At present, we should pay attention to the following two ideological problems: first, empty talk and rash action; second, failure to shift the emphasis of our work, pay close attention to it or lack confidence in it. Judging by the present

situation, the main ideological problem that has cropped up is the latter. In my opinion, there is no reason for a lack of confidence in realizing the strategic goal put forward by the CPC Central Committee. Our country now has more than 300,000 enterprises, forming very solid foundations. Moreover, our party has satisfactorily summed up both positive and negative experiences and formulated a strategic goal, clarified the strategic key links and the strategic steps, and thus clearly distinguished between the important and the unimportant and between the urgent and the less urgent. This being the case, we will certainly be able to achieve a good speed of construction and to realize our goal. It should be said that the speed of development we have fixed is not very great. Of course, we do have to make efforts in order to achieve this speed. We must overcome the state of mind of lacking confidence, aspirations and zeal. Comrades engaged in propaganda work should conscientiously pay attention to responses from all circles and sections of people, cite relevant facts to explain to the masses the viability of the goal raised by the 12th congress, and encourage them to become confident in realizing this goal.

2. We Must Publicize the Superiority of the Socialist System

During the last few years, some people have seen certain foreign things, blindly believe that the speed of economic development in capitalist countries is quicker than ours and the capitalist system is better than ours. In order to give an answer to this question, BAN YUE TAN has published articles by some of the people who have returned from abroad, in which they cited facts to prove that socialism is better than capitalism. In this field, we still have to do more work.

Our "four modernizations" are none other than socialist modernization. Our prerequisite is socialism. Only by relying on the socialist system can we realize the strategic goal we have set. Some comrades, especially young ones, do not quite understand this issue. They lack experience in this sphere and doubt the socialist system. Leading comrades in some grassroots units also fail to clearly understand it. BAN YUE TAN should continue to publicize correct ideas and deepen its propaganda work concerning this issue.

In carrying out propaganda work, we should strictly maintain our political identity with the CPC Central Committee and no one should go his own way. There may be diversified forms of propaganda, but the content (viewpoints and ideas) must be identical to that of the Central Committee. This is a discipline we should strictly observe. For some time in the past, some people put forth the idea that any question can be put forward for discussion in newspapers including the question of whether we should follow the socialist path or be led by the party. This is going too far.

3. We Should Publicize a Chinese Style of Modernization

Our socialist modernizations are carried out on Chinese land and by Chinese people. They differ from those carried out in other countries by other races. China's territory is so large, its population so great and the history of its culture so long that it is impossible for it to succeed by copying the existing practices

of modernizing other countries. The reason why we have actually achieved good results in some spheres, such as in developing the rural economy, is precisely because we have followed our own path. This truth has been repeatedly proved in the practice of our country's communist movement.

Comrade Xiaoping said that we should develop socialist modernization with Chinese characteristics. The principle of independence and self-reliance was, is and will be our basic standpoint. Depending on other people will never do. Should we learn advanced technology from foreign countries, introduce foreign capital and assimulate the advanced elements of economic management in capitalist countries? We can neither follow the old path of economic development of capitalist countries nor the path of developing the economy by depending only on developing processing industries and exporting resources. If we study the problems without taking account of China's actual conditions, we will come to wrong conclusions. It would be dangerous to formulate national policies without taking account of China's reality. Fundamentally speaking, as Comrade Xiaoping pointed out, things in China have to be done by us, the Chinese.

4. We Should Conscientiously Publicize Communist Ideology and Socialist Spiritual Civilization

In order to carry out socialist modernization in a Chinese pattern, we should properly handle the relationship between economic construction and ideological and political work. As Comrade Hu Yaobang said, socialist spiritual civilization is an important characteristic of socialism and a reflection of the superiority of socialism. It is impossible to build socialism without socialist spiritual civilization. We should carefully publicize this viewpoint. What we are doing now is by no means taking class struggle as the key link or making continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We want to build up socialist spiritual civilization centering on communist ideology. This is the orientation of and guarantee for our modernization. We communists will naturally pursue communism. Carrying out modernization at present means turning communist ideology into our people's spiritual mainstay.

The issue of how we are to build a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization can be said to be an issue that no one has yet solved in the world. It is an issue we have been trying to solve for decades, but we have so far failed to do so. Now we should conscientiously study this issue, not only theoretically, but also through practice. [phrase indistinct] "five stresses and four beautifuls" and the construction of spiritual civilization should be the day-to-day work of our grassroots party organizations and a key job for our ideological, propaganda and theoretical circles. Since it is day-to-day work, we should not discuss it occasionally, when we please, it must be discussed often and given attention.

5. About Party Building

The key to achieving modernization in a Chinese pattern lies in the leadership of the party. The central authorities have called on us to bring about three basic turns for the better. Our people on the ideological, propaganda and theoretical fronts must pay special attention to doing this work well.

Our party enjoys high prestige among the masses. However, the "leftist" practices that we engaged in over the past 20 and more years, especially the 10 years of civil disorder, have reduced our party's prestige. Through years of efforts, especially through the efforts we have made since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the image of our party among the masses has undergone a heartening change and great improvement. However, the masses are not yet completely satisfied. What are they so dissatisfied with? The unhealthy trend in some of our comrades and the failure to play an exemplary role by some of our party members. Our party work style is a vital issue for our party, and one we can never neglect. A party member must fight all his life for communism, solve problems related to his world outlook, be imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and observe party discipline and state law. Leading party cadres must take the lead in doing this.

In order to rectify our party work style, we should pay close attention to propagating good work styles and criticizing bad work styles. BAN YUE TAN has published reports on the exemplary role of some leading cadres. Comrades from all localities are also welcome to write reports publicizing the deeds of comrades who genuinely work with a communist spirit and justly handle problems and whose hearts really beat as one with the masses. We must criticize all bad things, but our criticism must be accurate and must be based on facts, not hearsay.

Finally, I Should Like to Say Something About 'BAN YUE TAN'

BAN YUE TAN is a journal that the propaganda department of the CPC Central Committee entrusted the XINHUA News Agency to run. The comrades of the XINHUA News Agency and the editorial department of BAN YUE TAN have made great efforts and have really run this journal well. Now, we should run it even better in accordance with the spirit of the 12th congress. Party committees and propaganda departments in all areas should really support this journal. Our aim in publishing it is to publicize current affairs and policies and do ideological and political work satisfactorily. Our comrades the correspondents in various localities should often exchange information with the party committees there and thus enable those party committees to support their work better. BAN YUE TAN should through its correspondents in various localities, strengthen its links with the party committees, cadres and masses there.

BAN YUE TAN is a party journal. Party committees and propaganda departments should make full use of this journal. In my opinion, every party branch should take out at least one subscription. Comrades in various party committees can contribute to it and put forward their opinions. They can also tell the journal's editorial department what kind of articles they would like to see published in the current period. Moreover, they should organize people to read and publicize this journal.

I have visited some provinces and talked with some comrades. Propaganda networks have been set up in some, but not all areas. I think that these networks must be set up. Those areas where networks have been set up should operate them well and

those areas which have no networks as yet should create conditions for setting them up. Since we now have so many nonparty and party newspapers and journals, we must organize people to read them and discuss what they have read. The lower levels should let BAN YUE TAN know the actual state of affairs there, especially the ideological situation. The editorial department should fully utilize information from the lower levels so as to carry out propaganda and explain situations and policies with the aim of solving the ideological problems of the masses. Only by so doing can they do political and ideological work well. Now that we have the guidance of the spirit of the 12th congress, we will certainly be able to run this journal well and make it play an even greater role as long as we rely on party committees at all levels and on the masses, strengthen our investigation and study and run this journal by relying on the support of the whole party and the masses!

CSO: 4005/147

PARTY AND STATE

REFLECTIONS ON SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, TWO CIVILIZATIONS REPORTED

Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Xia Shuzhang [1115 2579 4545]: "Develop Socialist Democracy and Build the Two Civilizations"]

[Text] The question concerning the building of an advanced socialist democracy occupies an important position in the documents of the 12th Party Congress. It is not only one of the fundamental goals and fundamental tasks we wish to attain or accomplish in the new historical period but also a necessary condition indispensable to the guarantee and support for the building of the two civilizations. I wish to discuss below some reflections on my study of this very question of developing this socialist democracy and building the two civilizations.

Socialism is the great, fine cause shared by all the people. The nature of this cause determines that only by mobilizing to the maximum the enthusiasm of the vast ranks of the masses of the people can we build well the two civilizations. This makes it imperative for us to build an advanced socialist democracy. Through the socialist democratic system and democratic life, once the vast ranks of the masses of the people have strengthened their sense of responsibility as masters of the house, exerted their huge enthusiasm in building the two civilizations, invoked their spirit of initiative in proceeding with such building efforts, and consciously brought into play and dedicated their wisdom and talent thereto, they are bound to be able to bring about the situation of all converging in the endeavor with common goal and exertion and thereby greatly accelerate the processes of building the two civilizations.

The building of an advanced socialist democracy should first of all be reflected in our political life; this goes without saying. But, it is not necessarily confined within such limits. Just as Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "Our socialist democracy must be extended to the various aspects of our political life, our economic life, our cultural life and our social life as we develop democratic management in various public agencies and enterprise units and develop self-government by the masses in their basic-level social life." This entirely tallies with the requirements of building the two civilizations and helps facilitate the improvement, enhancement and healthy development of various kinds of work. Speaking merely of promoting what is beneficial and

abolishing what is harmful, if the various realms of our socialist democracy are fully developed and democracy becomes the method for the masses of the people to educate themselves, then unhealthy and devious practices are bound to decrease until they disappear altogether and socialist forthrightness is bound to increase and enhance itself. Actually, the democratic self-cultivation, outlook, atmosphere, and habit of socialism itself also all belong to the realm of socialist sprititual civilization.

Speaking from the point of view of our own wishes, it is a case of the faster, the better with the building of our socialist democratic system and democratic life. But it requires, after all, the undertaking of a long-term and great deal of work and cannot possibly achieve immediate perfection overnight. We should entertain a positive attitude and make our untiring efforts. While we extend socialist democracy to all aspects, we must at the same time emphasize making efforts to perfect the party's democratic centralism and foster a democratic workstyle, as well as reforming the political system and leadership system of our state. This will play a significant promotive role in all other aspects. Because that will help set an example for the people to be able to better exercise state power and for state organs to more effectively lead the building of the two civilizations; then all other apsects will likewise advance alongside.

Speaking of socialist democracy, we cannot but correctly understand citizens' freedoms, rights, and duties. Under the premise of causing no damage to state, social and collective interests, nor other people's freedoms and rights, the citizens' legitimate exercise of their freedoms and rights is protected; the citizens should also perform their own duties toward the state and society. But, the development of socialism resolutely disallows any measures and conduct that would harm the consolidation of our socialist system or sabotage our socialist production and construction and absolutely refuses to grant freedom to those hostile elements who endanger socialism so that they could thereby engage in destructive activities. According to the will and interests of the people, we can only exercise dictatorship over such hostile elements.

In order to institutionalize and legalize socialist democracy, our development and building of socialist democracy must also unite closely with our development and building of our socialist legal system. Without a wholesome socialist legal system, socialist democracy cannot possibly develop smoothly with any guarantee. In the process of building our two civilizations, especially in respect to the building of our socialist spiritual civilization, we must draw a clear line between socialism and non-socialism or even anti-socialism. The socialist legal system is precisely the sharp weapon of an inviolable nature which serves to protect our socialist cause (including socialist democracy). Hence, it is a very important task to continue to strengthen our legislative work in order to ensure that our various laws will become gradually complete and improved and that the people will always have laws to follow; it is also important to reinforce our propaganda and education in our socialist legal system and endeavor to help everybody learn about the law and obey the law.

The principle which socialist democracy follows is democratic centralism, that is, the system of a combination of centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under the guidance of centralism. Only by giving full scope to socialist democracy can there be correct centralism, and only under the guidance of centralism can socialist democracy be realized.

When we discuss the question of developi ; our socialist democracy, we also must at no time forget China's actual co ditions. "Our construction of modernization must proceed from China's reality. Whether revolution or construction, we must always pay attention to learning and borrowing from foreign experiences. But wholesale plagiarism and transfer of other countries' experiences or other countries' models can never achieve success. In this regard, we have had many lessons. Uniting the universal truth of Marxism with our concrete reality, following our own path, and building socialism with Chinese characteristics--this is the fundamental conclusion we have derived from summing up our long historical experiences." We should profoundly understand the spirit of this passage of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech.

In a situation in which we are practicing a policy of opening to the outside world, we must also maintain our clear-headedness in developing our socialist democracy and building our two civilizations, believe deeply in the incomparable superiority of our socialist democracy, and resolutely resist corrosion by the corrupt ideas and the bourgeois lifestyle from abroad. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has put it very well: "The Chinese people have their own sense of national self-respect and self-pride, taking as they do ardent love for their motherland and dedication of all their strength to the construction of their socialist motherland as their greatest honor and damage to the interests, dignity and reputation of their socialist motherland as their greatest shame." When examined in our real life, if anyone should fail to pay attention to the national dignity of his socialist motherland and personal dignity of himself as a citizen of the socialist New China while prating about democracy, then what kind of merchandise his democracy is and what is his own spiritual state can be easily imagined.

Here, we must return to what we have been saying all along: discernment by the masses and resistance against non-socialist, anti-socialist merchandise still depends on developing and building an advanced socialist democracy. In his speech at the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Ye Jianying said: "Once the wisdom and strength of the masses are concentrated, things will become easy to handle; what used to be difficult will become easy, what used to be dangerous will become peaceful, and failings in our work will also be reduced. Our party's historical experiences have repeatedly proved this point." The guarantee for, and promotive role of, developing our socialist democracy and building our two civilizations lie precisely in this.

9255
CSO: 4005/85

PARTY AND STATE

SHENYANG CADRES DECLARE SUPPORT FOR NEW PARTY LEADERSHIP

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 15 Sep 82 p 1

/Report: "Broad Masses of Party Members and Cadres in Shenyang Municipality Declare: 'United Around the Party Central Committee; Strive Toward the New Goals'"/

/Text/ On 12 September, the good news of the birth of the new Party Central Committee's leading organ spread all over Shenyang. The broad masses of party members, cadres, and people were elated and they expressed wholehearted support. The party committee secretary and mayor of Shenyang Municipality, Wang Danbo /3769 0030 3134/, and the municipal party committee secretary, Liu Cenghao /0491 2582 3185/, said: The formation of the central leading organ has realized the close cooperation and supersession between old and new cadres in our party's leading level, symbolized the party's strength and the prosperity of our communist cause, and fully reflected the will of the broad masses of party members and people. They indicated that a veteran fighter of the party must do his best and spare no effort to pass on experience earnestly. In addition, he must (1) do his utmost to fulfill his duty, (2) have no reservations, (3) initiate conditions, and (4) bear his responsibility. The deputy director of the Shenyang Railway Branch Bureau, Wang Qingyi /3769 0615 5030/, said: Since its Third Plenary Session, our Party Central Committee has gradually formed a strong collective of cooperation between old and new, and the 12th Party Congress has given this leading nucleus even more spirit and fighting strength. Some highly prestigious and respected veteran cadres with rich experience remain as the mainstay of the leading nucleus. This is an important safeguard for our political stability as well as a reliable backing for middle-aged and young cadres in doing their work boldly, thus increasing our confidence in realizing our magnificent goals. The 38-year-old vice mayor, Li Changchun /2621 7022 2504/, who has recently taken up his post, and the deputy director of the No 1 Industry Bureau of the municipal party committee, Ouyang Geng /2962 7122 1649/, said: The large group of middle-aged and young cadres entering the new central leading organ shows that the Party Central Committee and the older generation of revolutionaries strongly stress the training and selection of successors. We must modestly learn from the veteran comrades and continuously increase our ability in practice. The party committee secretary of Shenhe ward, Lu Bo /4151 3134/, said: The older generation of proletarian revolutionaries has established an example for realizing cooperation and succession between old and new. Practice has proved that our undertaking can prosper only by doing well in cooperation and succession between old and new.

9586
CSO: 4005/50

PARTY AND STATE

LIAONING DELEGATES VIEW 12TH PARTY CONGRESS AS SUCCESS

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Sep 82 p 1

/Report: "Representatives of Our Province Return From the 12th Party Congress With Pride and Enthusiasm"/

/Text/ Representatives of our province who attended the 12th Party Congress returned on a special plane at 9:40 am yesterday. Shenyang airport was astir with jubilant crowds.

As soon as they disembarked, leading comrades of the party and government and representatives from various circles received them with warm handshakes and greetings. The representatives were full of cheer, pride, and enthusiasm. They were entrusted by the broad masses of party members and people of our province to attend this historical congress, and now they had returned with serious tasks. How could they not be elated! Comrade Xu Shaofu /1776 1421 3940/, who was newly elected as a member of the Party Central Committee, told reporters with excitement: "This party congress is a successful and victorious one which has initiated a completely new situation. Our Liaoning representatives have been encouraged; they are full of confidence and strong determination. Together with the party members, cadres, and people of our province, we must make our own contribution to realize the magnificent goals of the new period.

The welcoming party at the airport numbered over 200 people, including leading comrades of the provincial party committee, standing committee of the provincial people's congress, provincial government and provincial people's political consultative conference: Shen Yue /3088 6390/, Zhang Zhengde /1728 2973 1795/, Luo Dingfeng /5012 1353 2800/, Ge Xifan /5514 6932 5672/, Zhang Qingtai /1728 1987 3141/, Liu Wen /2692 2429/, Tang Hongguang /0781 1347 0342/, Chen Beizhen /7115 0554 6591/, Xie Huangtien /6200 5435 3944/, Wang Jiyuan /3769 4764 0337/, Peng Xiangsong /1756 4382 2646/, Zhang Yan /4545 1484/ and Niu Pingfu /3662 1627 3940/; and leading comrades of the Shenyang Municipal Party Committee: Zhu Weiren /4281 4850 0088/, Wang Danbo /3769 0030 3134/, Deng Zhongru /6772 0112 0320/, Liu Cenghao /0491 2582 3185/ and Li Ke /2621 2688/.

9586
CSO: 4005/50

PARTY AND STATE

EDITORIAL PRAISES WORK OF 12TH NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 12 Sep 82 p 2

/Editorial: "Carry On the Cause and Forge Ahead: Advance on the Crest of Victory--Use the Spirit of the 12th Party Congress To Unify Our Ideology and Actions"/

/Text/ The 12th CPC National Congress, victoriously concluded yesterday, will go down in history as a historic conference carrying our cause forward and forging ahead into the future. This congress affirmed the guiding principle of fighting to create a new general situation in socialist modernization construction in the days ahead, adopted a new party constitution which strengthens the leadership and building of the party, and elected party leading organizations which realize the cooperation of new and old cadres and a succession of the new to the old and which have become a fighting command headquarters filled with even more vigor and vitality. The great significance and profound influence of this national congress have filled the great numbers of Shanghai CPC members and the people of Shanghai with boundless inspiration and extraordinary confidence. We firmly believe that the fighting principles affirmed by the 12th Party Congress can certainly be realized, enabling our party, our socialist cause, and our country, with its many nationalities, to grow and flourish.

The task which lies before party organizations at every level and the membership of the entire CPC is to do a good job of studying, disseminating, and implementing the spirit of the 12th Party Congress. In his opening address to the congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping gave a general exposition of the historical position, the tasks to be set forth, and the spirit of the documents of the 12th Party Congress. We should use the opening address as our general guiding ideology; combine it with the actual conditions in Shanghai, our present tasks, and our ideological awareness; and conscientiously study the documents of the 12th Party Congress, using its spirit to unify our ideology and our actions, to carry on and to forge ahead, advancing on the crest of victory.

Carrying on means making a scientific summary of the historical victories achieved since the smashing of the "gang of four", and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. In just 4 short years since the Third Plenary Session, the Central Committee has led the

entire party in thoroughly shattering the shackles imposed by protracted "leftist" mistakes, in completing the arduous task of setting our guiding ideology to rights, and in realizing a great historical turning point. These 4 years of earth-shaking transformations have been 4 years full of difficulties and great victories. Our party has correctly summed up historical experiences. It has reaffirmed the Marxist ideological, political, and organizational line. Under the guidance of this correct line, it has brought the protracted social disorder to an end, realized a stable and unified political situation, passed through the most difficult economic period, and put the national economy on the sound track of steady development. It has brought about a betterment in the people's lives, while vigorous creative forces have appeared on all the frontlines. This great victory has not been easily won! As many comrades have said: "Now the line is correct, the situation is stable, the ranks are strengthened, popular feeling is unified, the economy is enlivened, and the work is more solid." The great achievements and profound changes since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee show that our party has matured and gained great fighting powers; herein lie our confidence and our hope. We should treat the victorious summaries of the documents of the 12th Party Congress as our most precious treasures and our richest textbooks, and conscientiously study, digest, and apply them. We must relate them to our own work and thinking and, by reviewing the summaries, really understand how the scientific principles--upheld by the party--of combining Marxist theory with practice, and of Marxism's recognition of the people as the makers of history, are the keys to continued victories in our cause, thereby raising our level of consciousness in implementing the correct line and guiding policies of the party since the Third Plenary Session.

Forging ahead means advancing on the crest of victory and creating a new overall situation for the construction of socialist modernization. In accordance with the overall tasks of the new historical period, the Party Central Committee has set forth the great strategic goal of striving to double and redouble China's total annual industrial and agricultural output value in the final two decades of this century, beginning in 1981--a goal which presupposes the continuous improvement of economic results--and has also determined the key strategic priorities and steps. It was emphasized that, on the one hand, we must insist on economic construction as the focus of the work of the entire party, and we must insist on implementing the entire series of effective principles and policies for economic construction that have been set forth since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. On the other hand, we must work hard to realize the four important political and ideological guarantees for upholding the socialist system and accelerating construction of the four modernization. It was emphasized that at the same time as we build a high level of material civilization, we must also work hard to build a socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as the core. Socialist spiritual civilization should be seen as an important characteristic of the socialist system and as a major aspect of its superiority, and should be put forward as a long-term strategic principle. At the same time, in order to guarantee and support the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization, the building of a high level of socialist democracy is proposed as one of our fundamental goals and tasks. Socialist democracy should be extended to all

spheres of our social life. All of the above is a powerful demonstration that the correct guiding ideology and series of principles and policies for the construction of socialist modernization set down by the Party Central Committee have clearly outlined a mangificent blueprint with a correct course and a realistic pace for the entire party and people. Many comrades have enthusiastically said: "The Party Central Committee has issued mobilization orders for the march to the 21st century," and, "The true golden age of our nation has arrived." Starting from the real conditions on all frontlines, and through study of the 12th Party Congress documents, we must seek a profound understanding of the guiding ideology and principles and policies, a correct understanding and management of the relationship between economics and politics and the relationship between building a material and a spiritual civilization, and be farsighted while keeping our feet on the ground. We must integrate the conditions in our own systems and departments and analyze the many advantageous conditions for creating a new situation; we must also conscientiously analyze the difficulties which really exist; we must have the lofty aspiration of climbing to the top of Mt. Tai; and we must have a strictly scientific attitude, study the art of "mountain climbing," taking the present and concrete work as the starting point and advancing with firm and steady steps. We should raise high the banner of communism and, using the communist ideological system as our guide, manifest a spirit of self-sacrifice, audacity, and creativity, greatly boost our own spiritual state, and fully mobilize and scientifically organize the activism and creativity of the great numbers of cadres and masses. These are the most important means of bringing about an all-round upsurge of China's socialist economy, and they are also the most practical actions for us to take in implementing the spirit of the 12th Party Congress.

Stepping up party building is the fundamental guarantee for realizing the great historical task of carrying on the cause and forging ahead. In the magnificent cause of constructing socialist modernization, history has entrusted our party with a sacred responsibility, and the people of the entire nation have placed their hopes on our party. The new party constitution adopted by the party congress is the crystallization of the party's historical experience and wisdom, and it contains the guiding principles for strengthening party building. In order to conform to the characteristics and needs of the new historical period, the new party constitution sets more exacting demands on party members and cadres, and lays down some important new rules for enhancing the fighting capacity of party organizations and upholding and improving party leadership. In our study of the report and of the new party constitution of the 12th Party Congress, we must be soberly aware that throughout the socialist period, the leading position of the party in the life of the state determines that its activities vitally affect the interests of the masses. If they are not suited to the characteristics and needs of the new historical period, and if we do not strengthen party building and uphold and enhance party leadership, the danger that party members, and especially party cadres, will become isolated from the masses can easily arise. "The style of a political party in power determines its very survival." In accordance with the unified plan of the Party Central Committee, we should develop further the Yan'an rectification spirit, combine study and implementation of the report and the new constitution of the 12th

Party Congress with study and implementation of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" and the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life," and carry out education throughout the entire party in the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, in the ideal of communism and the party's line, principles, and policies, and in essential knowledge concerning the party and the requirements for party membership. We must make all party members understand clearly the character, position, and role of the party. They must understand what is required to meet the standards of a party member in the new party constitution: The Communist Party member is a vanguard fighter of the working class imbued with communist consciousness, and is at all times an ordinary member of the working people. He must serve the people wholeheartedly, must dedicate his life to the struggle for communism, must never seek personal gain or special privileges, and must resolutely resist and oppose unhealthy tendencies. We should also understand clearly that the key to strengthening party building lies in the leading groups at all levels. Because the Shanghai party organization was badly damaged during the "gang of four's" 10 years of domestic disorder, serious impurities in organization, ideology, and style are still found in some departments. The consolidation and building of good leading groups constitute an important and urgent task. We must conscientiously clear out persons who rose to prominence by rebellion, who are seriously factionalist in their thinking, who beat, smash and loot, who oppose the line followed by the Party Central Committee since its Third Plenary Session, and who have seriously violated laws and discipline. We must not be lax in this work; every level must be responsible for carrying this through to the finish. Those young and middle-aged cadres who possess both integrity and ability and who can make breakthroughs in their work should be promoted to leadership posts without hesitation. We must pay close attention to the role played by old cadres in helping and guiding those who are younger and in passing on experience to them. This is an item of the highest priority for party building, and is a most important political and organizational guarantee for keeping to the socialist road and concentrating forces on promoting construction of modernization. As long as we can do a good job of consolidating the party organization and workstyle and can really make party organizations at all levels into strong leadership cores, our party can certainly shoulder its heavy historical responsibilities victoriously and lead the Chinese people in creating a new situation in socialist modernization construction. Then the party shall certainly present a sublime appearance and a new face to the Chinese people.

"Suddenly one night a spring breeze comes up; one thousand, ten thousand pear trees blossom." Summing up the past and looking into the future, we are filled with the joy, confidence, and strength of victory. Party organizations at all levels and the great numbers of party members and cadres throughout Shanghai should quickly mobilize and launch an upsurge in study, dissemination, and implementation of the documents of the 12th Party Congress. Under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, they should raise high the great banners of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, rouse their spirits, firm and indomitable, hold firm to the four basic principles and the correct line since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and struggle hard to create a whole new situation in the construction of socialist modernization.

12187
CSO: 4005/78

PARTY AND STATE

SERIOUS STUDY OF 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS URGED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Sep 82 p 1

/Article by staff correspondent: "The Great Historical Significance of the 12th Party Congress Discussed and Emphasis Given to Cadres Taking the Lead by Earnestly Studying the Documents"/

/Text/ On the morning of 18 September, the Shenyang Municipal CPC Committee convened a general meeting in the Liaoning gymnasium to relay and publicize the spirit of the 12th Party Congress. Eleven thousand party members and cadres above the level of party branch secretary on all fronts participated in the general meeting. Leading cadres in the various democratic parties in the municipality were also invited to attend the general meeting.

At the meeting, Li Tao /2621 3446/, delegate to the 12th Party Congress and first secretary of the municipal CPC committee, passed on and publicized the spirit of the 12th Party Congress. First of all he introduced the grand event of the 12th Party Congress and elaborated on the great achievements and significance of the 12th Party Congress. He publicized the major spirit of the documents of the congress and called on party members throughout the municipality and the masses to unite organizationally as one, to ideologically uphold the various correct policies set forth at the congress and to struggle to implement its magnificant goals.

At the meeting the municipal CPC committee gave mobilization and planning talks for organizing party members, cadres and the masses to study and publicize the documents of the 12th Party Congress. They stressed earnest study of the congress documents and made it known that the implementation of the spirit of the congress would have a bearing on the major problem of opening up new prospects on all fronts during the next 20 years. They emphasized that it is necessary to carry out central tasks for the future. First of all it is necessary to swiftly pass on the spirit of the 12th Party Congress to party members and the masses. Leadership at all levels must take the initiative in work on studying and publicizing it. They must personally offer guidance. From now on party members and cadres above the level of county youth league branch must set aside 1 to 2 days every week to carefully read the documents of the 12th Party Congress so that they will understand the spirit and substance of each and every word. Propaganda departments must write propaganda outlines on the gist of the documents of the congress. They must

conduct guidance training courses and lectures on special topics. They must promote the spirit of the 12th Party Congress in simple terms among the broad masses of party members, workers, peasants and residents. Next, they must adopt various means to train party members and cadres in rotation. From early October to just before Spring Festival, the municipal CPC committee must conduct study groups at the party school of the municipal party committee on the documents of the 12th Party Congress of the municipal CPC committee. By stages and groups they must train in rotation 400 leading cadres above the level of county youth league. All units above the county level must also give full play to the role of party schools and cadre schools and in a planned way train in rotation members of leading groups in subordinate units. If they do not have party schools, they must adopt the method of "small gatherings" and hold study groups in stages for those exempt from production for other duties work and train in rotation party members and cadres above the level of branch secretary. Qualified units may also run training groups in rotation for party members exempt from production work for other duties. As for rural party members, it is necessary to adopt the method of having speakers and propagandists go to rural areas to conduct lecture tours and rotation training after the autumn harvest.

9864
CSO: 4005/52

PARTY AND STATE

BETTER PARTY STYLE SAID ESSENTIAL TO ACHIEVING NEW SITUATIONS

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Sep 82 p 2

/Article by Li Tao /2621 3447/: "Basic Improvement in Party Style Is An Important Guarantee for Achieving New Situations"/

/Text/ In his report to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang solemnly proposed to the entire party that "within the next five years, it is necessary to bring about basic improvements in the financial and economic situations, in social atmosphere and in party style." Of the three "basic improvements," improving party style is the key. Only by improving party style so that party organizations at all levels truly become a steadfast core of leadership and every party member becomes a qualified party member who meets the demands of the new party constitution, is it possible to take on the heavy responsibilities entrusted to us by history. Only then can we make a contribution to fully opening up new prospects in modern socialist construction.

In practice we have come to realize that only if /party/ groups are resolute and dare to uphold principles and the struggle and only if they can set an example by using appropriate methods can we fully achieve basic improvements in party style. In the past year or so while focusing on correcting party style, we have basically solved the following several problems.

Beginning with the municipal CPC committee, the leadership has taken the initiative and each level has taken charge by regarding restoring and giving full play to the superiority of the party's work style as a major task. Last year when carrying out the notices and announcements of the State Council and the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline on putting a halt to unsound practices in the economic sphere, the standing committee of the municipal CPC committee adopted the form of a meeting on democratic life. They carried out earnest investigations of unsound practices such as purchasing products in plants at ex-factory prices, underpaying for food bought during travel in the countryside, using influence to buy good cigarettes and alcohol, seeking people to arrange work for certain cadres who have been returned to civilian life and writing notes for relatives asking for housing. Furthermore, principal comrades of the municipal CPC committee made self-criticisms on behalf of the standing committee in the municipal conference for county, district and bureau leaders. They announced that

starting with the standing committee of the municipal CPC committee and municipal CPC committee organs they would eliminate the procurement of a commodities in shortage. In February of this year at the plenary meeting of the municipal CPC committee, we earnestly launched criticism and self-criticism. We set aside a certain amount of time to listen to everyone's criticisms and suggestions regarding the work of the standing committee and their ideological work style. On eight occasions during the month of June, we investigated and summed up all aspects of work and problems within the standing committee during the first half of the year. In July we held 5 and a half days of meetings on democratic life which stressed investigating the "Leftist" influence in the guiding ideology of economic construction and the influence of the trend of bourgeois liberalization in the economic, ideological and cultural spheres. It also stressed those areas which had been neglected in the establishment of basic level party organizations as well as problems such as insufficient study, investigation and research of ideological work style. Next, they convened and enlarged standing committee meeting at which leading comrades in leading groups in county, district and municipal organs gave reports. They heard criticisms and suggestions of participating comrades on the work, ideology and work styles of the standing committee. For many years the standing committee of the municipal CPC committee did not report to others on the situations in rectifying incorrect work styles. They took the lead in restoring and giving full play to the three great work styles of the party. After the meeting, departments under the municipality and all county districts looked into the practices of the municipal CPC committee of their own accord and carried out thorough rectification of the work styles of leading groups. Those who at first just went through the motions earnestly set about making up for their missed lessons. To date, of the 113 organs under municipal and county district control, the rectification of the work style of 101 units has already been remarkably successful and has won the favorable support of the masses.

They have supported coordinating primary work to rectify work style. They have solved problems without launching movements. Correcting party style involves solving problems such as impure ideology and organization, unsound party practices and straightening out the economy. Consequently, while we are in the process of rectifying party style, we must stress confronting reality and, starting from actual conditions, we must correct whatever problems exist. We must not engage in formalism nor must we practice "arbitrary uniformity." That means we must not engage in movements and that we must create public opinion and the right atmosphere for solving problems in a practical manner. Since last year leading groups in organizations under county district and municipal control have generally focused on four approaches. The first is to coordinate the implementation of the "Guiding Principles" and to resolutely halt all unsound practices. The second is to coordinate carrying out the spirit of the national symposium on ideological and political work, to deal with the disorganized and lax state of affairs in leading groups and to determinedly solve problems such as not daring to deal with and control scoundrels, evil deeds and unsound tendencies. They have had to deal with those who "try to never offend anyone" and who stress "the art of using connections" as well as those whose revolutionary will is weak and lack organization and discipline. The third is to integrate the struggle

to combat major crimes in the economic sphere, to link up the investigation and handling of major cases with the rectification of work styles in leading groups and to conduct instruction on resisting corrosive influences. The fourth is to combine enterprise reorganization and work experiences, to check this against the party's line, principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session, to earnestly eliminate the influence of the "Left" and to increase consciousness of maintaining political unanimity with the Central Committee. In addition to correcting unsound practices and launching a struggle to combat economic crimes, the party organization in the municipal First Bureau of Light Industries also stressed the problem that the 1981 output value of the entire bureau increased 10.8 percent over 1980 while actual profits only increased 0.5 percent and profits remitted to the state decreased by 10.8 percent. They again straightened out their guiding ideology, conscientiously investigated phenomena such as emphasizing output over quality, obsolete products over new products, expansion over tapping existing potential, production over management, etc. They resolutely focused on overall enterprise rectification by viewing improving economic benefits as the crux of the problem. They achieved remarkable results.

They have strengthened communist ideological instruction and given top priority to enhancing party character. The various unsound practices within the party are in fact the manifestation of impure party character. They are the manifestation of flagging communist ideology. Only by giving priority to enhancing party character, supporting the use of both positive and negative examples to conduct instruction on the ideals of communism and conducting instruction on party laws and regulations as well as instruction on resisting the corrosive influences of capitalist ideology, only then is it possible to ensure that each party member becomes a staunch and sober-headed Marxist. Consequently, in the process of correcting unsound practices, we must stress upholding the truth, correcting mistakes, taking up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism and focusing on the truth rather than saving face. We must link up the problems confronting us with examining thinking and revealing party character. We must combine this with summing up experiences and lessons for the education of cadres within and outside the party and the masses. Last year we concentrated on the three negative examples in the cases of Han Liansheng /7281 6647 3932/, Gai Diankui /5556 3013 7608/ and Yu Zhiyou /0060 1807 0645/. At the same time we also focused on the three positive examples of the Shenhe District Bureau of Public Health, the Huanggu No. 51 Grain Management Office and the municipal hospital for infectious diseases. This was reported in an inner party notice, announced in the newspapers and broadcast on the radio. Exhibitions were also held. Party organizations at all levels throughout the municipality were called on to discuss these cases earnestly. The reverberations within and outside the party were strong. For a short while this became the center of discussion. From these several cases, the vast numbers of party members and the masses came to recognize that unsound practices have contaminated the body of the party. They realized that by covering up and protecting illegal and disruptive activities such as not resolutely correcting these unsound practices but letting them go unchecked, more and more party members and cadres would become stuck in mire and party character would deteriorate. Thus, they raised the level of their awareness of the importance of correcting party style.

Party style was simultaneously rectified and improved, party discipline was strictly observed, no one assumed that some practice "will not be repeated." We deeply feel that unsound practices within the party, particularly the unsound practice of leading cadres who use their position to seek personal gains, seriously damage the party's image and affects the relationship between the party and the people. To correct unsound practices, it is necessary to uphold rectification and change. We must not merely go through the motions. Merely making self-criticisms and admitting mistakes is not enough. The key is whether or not there is change. If there is no change, then we have not really solved the problem and mistakes may continue to be committed. Therefore, we must not be excessively lenient nor can we permit "bureaucrats to shield each other." We must not think that unsound practices will "not be repeated" nor must we "examine ourselves for a while and then rest easy for the rest of our lives." We must stress "calling upon the real constitution" and reverse the influence of unsound practices through real actions. We must also totally and thoroughly correct party style in a practical manner.

After more than a year of practical work experience in rectifying party style, there have been definite successes. One positive result has been that the work style of linking theory with practice has been restored and developed. Guiding ideology has been corrected and there has been an increase in awareness of maintaining political unanimity with the Central Committee. The phenomenon of "intestinal obstruction" has been corrected and party principles and policies have been implemented relatively smoothly. A second positive result has been that various unsound practices such as using one's position to seek personal gain have largely disappeared. The relationship between the party the masses has improved. A third positive result has been that the work style of criticism and self-criticism has been restored and given free rein. The disorganized and lax state of affairs has been surmounted. The party has improved its fighting capacity and inspired revolutionary enthusiasm. The fourth positive result has been that the improvement in party style has encouraged noticeable improvements in socialist practices and social order. It has promoted the establishment of a material and spiritual civilization. Between January and July, the gross output value in industries throughout the municipality increased 8.3 percent over the same period of last year and profit remitted to the state increased 13.6 percent. From this it can be seen that only by earnestly continuing to focus on problems can basic improvements in party style be achieved. Of course, we have only just begun our work. We must truly work towards basic improvements in party style and make an even greater effort. We must respond to the calls of Comrade Hu Yaobang and beginning the second half of next year, we must carry out party rectification in a planned and steady manner. We must strive to make a contribution to opening up new prospects on all sides in modern socialist construction by successfully rectifying and establishing our party and by bringing about basic improvements in party style.

9864
CSO: 4005/52

PARTY AND STATE

PLA LIAONING COMMAND RESOLVES TO MODERNIZE, STANDARDIZE

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 15 Sep 82 p 1

/Report by Nan Jinghong /0589 2529 1347/: "Leading Comrades of the PLA Liaoning Provincial Command Are Determined To Follow the Guidance of the Party Central Committee To Speed Up Modernization and Standardization of the Armed Forces"/

/Text/ On 13 September, leading comrades of the PLA Liaoning Provincial Command warmly greeted the birth of the leading Party Central Committee organ and resolved to closely unite around the Party Central Committee to strive and struggle to realize the magnificent goals of the 12th Party Congress and speed up the modernization and standardization of the armed forces.

Political Commissar Ma Ying /7456 3841/ said: The leading central organ produced by the new election is a collective leadership formed by those in our party who are authoritative, influential, and talented in leadership--which is entirely in accord with the desires of the party and people. With this strong leading nucleus, our party will have a bright future and there is hope for our country. Deputy Political Commissar Chen Kai /7115 0418/ said: Among the newly elected leaders of the Party Central Committee, there are highly prestigious and respected veteran cadres who will lead, and middle-aged cadres in the prime of life who will work on the front line. They have the whole revolutionary situation in mind, and they also give consideration to the long-term construction of the party. They reflect the unity of old and new and of the succession, and they are a leading group which will move gradually toward the transition of revolutionization, rejuvenation, popularization of knowledge, and specialization. In terms of organization, this can vigorously safeguard the continuity of the party's policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. The adviser of the PLA Provincial Command, Zhang Xihe /1728 1585 0735/, said: The chairman and deputy chairman of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee are veteran commanders with outstanding meritorious military service who have made major contributions to building the army in the past as well as in the present. Having these veteran comrades take the responsibility of providing leadership for the Military Commission is a reliable guarantee for the acceleration of our army's modernization and standardization.

9586
CSO: 4005/50

WRONGS RIGHTED THROUGH LEGAL CHANNELS

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 24 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by Chun Xia [2504 1115]: "Belief in Justice and the Legal System"]

[Text] Exceeding all her expectations, Wang Jinglan [3769 2529 5695] gained requital for all the injustices and humiliations that she had suffered, and justice was upheld, thanks to the support of society and the protection of the law.

What does this affair tell us?

It tells us that in our socialist society, the large majority of party members are clear about what to love and what to hate and abhor evil as a deadly foe. They profess morality and law and have a strong sense of justice. Look at people like Lu Suzhen [7120 4790 3791] and Zhang Yunxiu [1728 0061 4423], Wang Jinglan was a complete stranger to them, but not only did they give her clothes, food and shelter, but also hurried hither and thither on her behalf to have her take recourse to legal procedures. While we promote the socialist spiritual civilization, we must greatly encourage healthy trends, and we must bravely step forward and courageously put a stop to any immoral acts that violate the common practices of society, break the law and disturb discipline.

It also tells us that in our society, acts that offend public decency, corrupt public morals and violate the law will not only not be tolerated by a just public opinion, but will also not be permitted by the socialist legal system. There are some moral degenerates who always believe that the legal system cannot touch them and therefore do as they please without any scruples at all. However, there is no unbridgeable gap between moral depravity and unlawful criminal behavior. Quite a number of people start out with moral depravity and gradually go the road of unlawful criminal behavior. We advise those who now defy the socialist morality and who flout law and discipline to turn over a new leaf and not follow in Yang Wenlong's [2799 2429 7893] footsteps.

The story also tells us that whenever a dispute arises in our society, reliance must be placed on the organization and trust be placed in our legal system. Especially people who have suffered grievances must fight through

the proper channels to resolve the conflict. Lightly extinguishing a flame of life cannot solve the problem. It would also be wrong to risk "killing the fish and destroying the net" or adopting measures that would intensify the conflict. All such measures are undesirable. Just think of it, if Wang Jinglan would not have approached the factory organization at the Shanghai Textile Mill No 2, or would not have had recourse to legal procedure, the result would certainly not have been as it is today.

In brief, every single party member, every cadre and every citizen of our country shall consciously observe and uphold socialist morality; all must study and abide by the law and strive with all their strength for a radical improvement in the moral atmosphere of the entire society. This is demanded by our construction of a socialist spiritual civilization, as it is also the duty of every individual.

9808
CSO: 4005/80

SHANGHAI PARTY COMMITTEE CONTINUES TO PASS ON SPIRIT OF 12TH PARTY CONGRESS

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 25 Sep 82 p 1

[Text] The Shanghai Municipal Party Committee Held a Meeting Over Several Days To Transmit the Spirit of the 12th National Party Congress--Party Cadres To Make Further Contributions to the Achievement of the Grand Objectives--Chen Guodong [7115 0948 2767] Relays Six Aspects, Hu Lijiao [5170 4539 2403] Raises Demands for Effective Study of Documents.

The Shanghai Municipal Party Committee held meetings on the 22nd and 23rd of its enlarged standing committee for the study and transmission of the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress, followed yesterday by a meeting of party members and responsible cadres of the whole municipality for the study and transmission of the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress. Chen Guodong, first secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, who was Shanghai's chief delegate to the 12th National Party Congress, transmitted, comprehensively and in great detail, the fundamental spirit and the major content of the 12th National Party Congress. He called upon the party members and responsible cadres of the whole municipality to take the lead in making a thorough study of the documents from the 12th National Party Congress, to conscientiously carry out the policies and tasks determined at the 12th National Party Congress and to make greater contributions to the realization of the program and objectives decided upon at the National Party Congress, in order to bring about a turn for the better in the three fundamental aspects, the financial and economic conditions, the general atmosphere of society and the work style of the party.

Comrade Chen Guodong set forth the enormous achievements and great significance of the 12th National Party Congress and in particular informed on the way the agenda of the Congress was carried out and how elections to the three central committees were conducted. He also put forward demands as to how the documents from the 12th Party Congress should be thoroughly studied in Shanghai and how the spirit of the 12th Party Congress must be fully implemented. Comrade Chen Guodong said that the entire Congress was strictly conducted according to democratic procedures and fully displayed the principle of democratic centralism. All delegates freely spoke their minds at the meetings and were completely at ease, which enlivened the atmosphere at the meetings. The entire Congress was solemn, but also simple, it showed

unison and intensity as well as a vivid liveliness, really a great congress of unity and of victory. The course of the congress itself revealed the greater maturity of our party. Comrade Chen Guodong furthermore pointed out that the 12th National Congress of the party was a general mobilization for an all-sided initiation of socialist modernization. The documents from the 12th Congress constitute a development of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Shanghai's party members and responsible cadres must conscientiously study the 12th Party Congress documents, strive to digest them better, with a deeper understanding and take in hand the organization of the study of these documents by all party members as an item of topmost importance, making every effort to do this work effectively. The vast number of party members and cadres in Shanghai must oppose arrogance and shatter complacency. They must rouse themselves spiritually so as to make greater contributions toward the all-sided initiation of the new phase of socialist modernization.

Comrade Chen Guodong's communication was divided into six parts: 1. The general condition of the Congress. 2. The huge achievements and great historical significance of the Congress. 3. The correct program for an all-sided initiation of a new phase. 4. The correct program for party building in the new period. 5. Effecting cooperation between young and old and replacements in the highest level of the party leadership. 6. Struggle to realize the three basic improvements. Comrade Chen Guodong also transmitted the important speech made by Comrade Hu Yaobang at the First Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee regarding the present and next year's work disposition of the party.

At yesterday's meeting, Comrade Xia Zhengnong [1115 1767 6593] transmitted the speech by Comrade Deng Xiaoping at the first plenary session of the Central Advisory Committee. Wang Yaoshan [3769 1031 1472], chairman of the preparatory commission for the discipline inspection commission of the Municipal Party Committee, transmitted the speech of Comrade Chen Yun [7115 0061] at the first plenary session of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission.

At yesterday's meeting, the second secretary of the Municipal Party Committee, Hu Lijiao, made a rousing appeal for a penetrating study of the 12th Party Congress documents and put forward certain demands. He said: Leading cadres in the departments, commissions, offices, districts, counties, bureaus and party committees at all levels must first of all take the lead in the conscientious study of the 12th Party Congress documents, must gain a deep understanding of their spiritual essence, must combine this study with the study of the important literature that has appeared since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and must consciously implement the spirit of the 12th Congress documents in everyone's actual work. The party committees at all levels must effectively take in hand the work of transmitting, studying and propagandizing the spirit of the 12th Party Congress in accordance with the uniform setup of the Municipal Party Committee and take up this work as the item of topmost importance and central task.

Yesterday's meeting was attended by over 3,400 persons, namely the Shanghai delegates and alternative delegates to the 12th Party Central Committee, members of the Central Advisory Committee, of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, the Shanghai delegates and alternative delegates to the 12th Party Congress, responsible cadres of the municipal party committee, of the various departments of the municipal government, municipal commissions, office party organizations, wards, counties, bureau party organizations and party committees, universities and colleges, scientific research units of bureau rank and the large number of responsible cadres from the party committees, the Shanghai garrison and from the Shanghai offices of central government departments and commissions and of the offices of various provinces and municipalities.

9808
CSO: 4005/80

HEBEI'S XIONG COUNTY PROGRESSES FROM CHAOS TO ORDER

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Oct 82 p 1

[Text] Shijiazhuang, 15 Oct [XINHUA]--The party committee of Xiong county, Hebei, vigorously upheld the party spirit education of the broad party members and cadres, and a new prospect of progress from chaos to order emerged throughout the county.

The county was divided into two seriously hostile sides during the "Cultural Revolution" and held deep grudges against each other. After the downfall of the "gang of four," the mistake of magnification was made in the investigation movement, further aggravating the hostilities. By the spring of 1981, the county party committee and the party organizations of the various levels were basically paralyzed; no one reported for work in most of the organ units; work and production were suspended in the majority of the 18 county plants; the post and telecommunications office provided no telephone or mail service; the responsibility system in agricultural production was disregarded. The cadres and masses felt concerned and uneasy, saying that "if the situation continues, Xiong county will be ruined." In May last year, the Baoding prefectural party committee reorganized the leading teams of the Xiong county party committee. The county party committee mobilized the party organizations of the various levels throughout the county to stress party spirit education and eradicate factionalism, thereby making an obvious improvement of the situation. Last year, a good harvest was reaped in spite of the drought. For the first half of this year, the total industrial output value more than doubled that of last year for the same period. The masses joyfully remarked about the great hopes for the county.

Before the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the standing committee of the county party committee was divided into two factions with serious ideological divergences, forming groups within groups and cliques within cliques. When it was most chaotic, more than half of the standing committee members abandoned their work posts, placing the county in a state of anarchy for a prolonged period.

In face of the situation, the new county committee secretary Li Guijun [2621 2710 0971] first solved the factional issue in the leading teams of the county committee. At the first standing committee meeting after the election of the new county committee at the county party congress, he and the members of the standing committee, referring to the "Guiding Principles," studied and formulated the "Eight Stipulations" for the standing committee, demanding that its members maintain unity with the Party Central Committee in politics, enhance their enthusiasm, work hard, uphold the party spirit and eliminate factionalism, refrain from forming small cliques, resist the influence of factionalism, etc. They demanded that the leading teams serve as examples in strengthening the party spirit and eradicating factionalism and in enforcing party regulations and party laws and enhancing unity.

On the basis of improved understanding and concerted action, the county party committee gathered the leading county, commune and brigade cadres for eight successive sessions of party spirit education, guiding them to examine their own factionalism, refrain from blaming others, unite and look forward, gradually emancipate themselves from the fetters of "drawing the line according to individuals," and rally along the correct line pointed out by the Party Central Committee. On the basis of ideological rectification, the county party committee also made the necessary organizational readjustments of the commune and brigade leading teams and the units directly under the county, and firmly removed those persisting in factionalism from the leadership posts. Meanwhile, they boldly promoted and employed a group of middle-aged and young cadres who were strong in party spirit, upright in work style and qualified in both ethics and ability. To date, the county has readjusted the leading teams of 17 communes and 28 units of department and bureau levels and reinforced and reorganized the leading teams of 123 brigades out of the total 221 in the county.

The county party committee also adopted the method of centralized training and integration of theory and practice and conducted a systematic party spirit education of the party members and cadres throughout the county. The secretaries of the county party committee and communes personally lectured the students. Among the 10,000 plus party members in the county, 83 percent participated in the training. In conjunction with the classes, the county party committee organized all the party members to examine, from the top to the bottom, the manifestations of (current) factionalism, its dangers, its sources and the progress of its solution in the "four-investigation" activities. By means of the "four-investigation" activities, the party's style and organizational discipline were rectified. In the course of party spirit education, the county evaluated and selected 58 advanced party branches and 674 superior party members, setting off a fervor to learn from and surpass the advanced.

6080
CSO: 4005/133

PARTY AND STATE

SHANGHAI CIRCULAR URGES STUDY OF PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 7 Oct 82 p 1

[Article: "Municipal Party Committee Issues Circular To Require Party Organizations and Propaganda Departments at Various Levels To Grasp Well the Foremost Matter of Studying Documents of the 12th Congress--Heighten Consciousness, Exert Spirit Through Study and Propaganda, and Struggle to Bring About a New Situation"]

[Text] The Shanghai CPC Municipal Committee recently issued a "Circular on Studying and Propagating the Spirit of the 12th Party Congress Documents" to point out that studying and propagating the 12th Congress documents is a central task at present and for some time to come; it required party organizations and propaganda departments at all levels in the municipality to follow the provisions and demands of "Arrangements for Studying and Propagating the 12th Congress Documents" approved and transmitted by the party Central Committee to the Propaganda Department, to take Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening address at the 12th Congress as the overall guiding ideology, and to grasp that the organization of the municipality's party members, cadres, and masses of the people to study the 12th Congress documents is the foremost matter.

The municipal party committee's circular said, through study and propagation, all must give full scope to the huge mobilizing and organizational role of the spirit of the 12th Congress so as to enable the municipality's party members, cadres and masses of the people to heighten their perception of the combative program put forward by the 12th Congress, exert their spirit, forge a common mind and common effort, struggle hard, work earnestly, and endeavor to accomplish fully the various tasks determined by the 12th Congress.

The circular said, in promoting the study of party members and cadres, the key lies in grasping well the study of leading cadres at various levels, especially leading cadres above the county level. The period of study before the end of June of next year is divided into two stages. In undertaking the study in the first period, the requirement is to organize well the transfer of the spirit of the 12th Congress and the study of the 12th Congress documents so as to achieve an overall understanding and mastery of the fundamental spirit of the documents. All party members and cadres who

are capable of reading must consciously, seriously, and repeatedly read those documents and carefully reflect on them. Then they should peruse them passage by passage and seriously discuss them. During such study, they must stay in line with the ideological realities of party members and cadres of their own respective systems, regions, and units, especially with questions of ideological perception regarding the party's line, principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session of its 11th Central Committee, and proceed to provide positive guidance from and read pertinent parts of those documents. Through the consultation, discussion, debate, and even necessary criticism and self-criticism between comrades, they must correctly master the spirit of those documents, deepen their understanding of the ideological line, political line, and organizational line since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, distinguish right from wrong, practically solve some problems and unify the ideological perception of party members and cadres under the guiding ideology, principles and policies determined by the 12th Congress. In undertaking the study in the second period, they must, on the basis of the heightened perception and unified thinking of the first period, unite with the reality of the work of their own respective systems, regions, and units to look back at, and sum up, the problems brought about by Shanghai's unpenetrating and uncomprehensive transmission of the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. They must also study and implement the various measures and approaches of the spirit of the documents of the 12th Congress in their work, so as to make the thinking of comrades of the whole party consistent, also make their actions and steps consistent. During the aforesaid two periods, all party members must follow the requirements of the spirit of the 12th Congress and the new party Constitution and, through study, discussion, and meeting on organizational life, conscientiously launch criticism and self-criticism, reinforce their party concept, strengthen their cultivation of party character, and overcome mistaken ideas and unhealthy practices which run counter to the spirit of the 12th Congress. They must make sure that the work and party work style on various fronts all show conspicuous progress so as to make relevant ideological preparations for future party rectification.

The circular said: Among the masses of the people propagation and lecturing activities must be launched in a well prepared manner, so that the spirit of the 12th Congress becomes known to every household and every individual. Responsible persons of party committees at various levels must take the lead to submit guidance reports. The municipal party committee propaganda department has from late September onward begun to hold guidance lectures on the study of the 12th Congress documents for the sake of training part of the propagandists. Propaganda departments of party committees at various levels also wish to train their own propagandists. In the process of studying and lecturing on the spirit of the 12th Congress documents, they must restore or establish the ranks of the party's reporters and propagandists.

The circular required newspapers, journals, broadcasting stations, television stations and their news and publishing units, as well as literary and art units of municipalities, regions, and counties, plus departments of the ideological front to take, now and during a period to come, the organization of the study and propagation of the 12th Congress documents as their central task and actively launch their propaganda activities.

The circular required party committees at various levels to strengthen their leadership over the study. Responsible comrades of party committees at various levels must all conscientiously participate in the study and guide such study. Apart from doing a good job in the study of the leading groups themselves, they must also grasp well the study of the lower level.

The circular ultimately said: Present work and production tasks are very heavy; efforts must be made to ensure fulfillment of this year's plans and to achieve overfulfillment. Leaders at various levels must have practical measures and grasp this well in a down-to-earth manner. They must, through this study and propagation of the 12th Congress documents, mobilize the enthusiasm of the cadres and the masses, and struggle to bring about a new situation in our socialist modernization.

9255
CSO: 4005/82

PARTY AND STATE

CONVENING OF SHANGHAI CPPCC COMMITTEE IN DECEMBER REPORTED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 14 Oct 82 p 1

[Article: "Enlarged Meeting of Municipal CPPCC Standing Committee Decides: Fifth Meeting of Fifth Municipal CPPCC To Be Convened in December"]

[Text] The municipal CPPCC yesterday held its 23rd standing committee enlarged meeting and decided: the 5th meeting of the 5th municipal CPPCC committee is to be convened in December 1982.

At the moriing meeting yesterday, committee members first of all discussed and passed the "Arrangements for Organizing Personalities of Various Circles To Study the Documents of the 12th Party Congress" made by Qin Renqiu [7221 0117 4428], deputy chairman of the municipal CPPCC committee. The meeting held that since the convening of the 12th Party Congress, the municipal CPPCC has already organized persons of various circles in the municipality for a preliminarily study of the various important documents of the congress; Chen Guodong [7115 0948 2767], first secretary of the municipal CPPCC committee and Hu Lijiao [5170 4539 2403], both, lectured to extra-party persons of various circles on the spirit of the 12th Congress. Today, we must adhere to the study style of combining theory with reality, opening up our minds, studying hard, in order to understand comprehensively and profoundly the spirit of the 12th Party Congress. At the meeting, committee members recalled the study situation of the previous period; Tan Jiazhen [6151 1367 2823], Su Yuanfu [5685 0337 1788], Ruan Xueyu [7086 7185 2810], Sang Hu [2718 1721], Jiang Xuemo [5592 7185 6206], and Shou Jingwen [1108 6651 2429] made statements during the discussion. The attending members all indicated that they wish to continue to peruse carefully and discuss profoundly the 12th Congress documents, unify their thinking and their understanding, and make contributions to the realization of the goals of struggle determined by the 12th Congress.

In the afternoon, members also listened to reports made by members of the CPPCC National Committee in Shanghai and part of the CPPCC municipal committee members on their inspection of the municipality's factories, countryside, scientific research, administrative and judicial units and conditions of the people's livelihood. Han Zheyi [7281 0772 0001] deputy mayor, attended the meeting and offered explanations to the various proposals made by the committee members; this was highly welcomed by the committee members.

Zhao Xingzhi [6392 5887 4249], Zhang Chengzong [1728 2110 1350], Li Gancheng [2621 1626 2052], Song Richang [1345 2480 2490], Zhao Zukang [6392 4371 1660], Lu Yudao [4151 0060 6670], Long Yao [7893 6460], Liu Liangmo [0491 5328 6206], Wang Zhizhong [3769 5268 0022], Yang Xuanwu [2799 1357 2976], Xu Wensi [6079 2429 1835], deputy municipal CPPCC committee chairmen, and responsible persons of various democratic parties and groups such as Liu Qingji [0491 7221 1015], Wu Ruo'an [0702 5387 1344], and Zhou Gucheng [0719 6253 1004] attended yesterday's meeting.

9255
CSO: 4005/82

PARTY AND STATE

IMPROVING PARTY WORKSTYLE, CHECKING UNHEALTHY PRACTICES STRESSED

Guangzhou NANFAN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Hong Gang [3163 6921], Secretary of CPC Longchuan County Committee: "Strive for the Realization of a Fundamental Turn for the Better in Our Party Workstyle"]

[Text] Comrade Hu Yaobang proposed in his report at the 12th Congress that during the 5 years from this congress to the next, we must "strive for the realization of a fundamental turn for the better in our financial and economic situation, the realization of a fundamental turn for the better in our social customs, as well as the realization of a fundamental turn for the better in our party workstyle." Looking back at our practice since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, I have come to understand profoundly that the three fundamental turns for the better are mutually connected, and the key lies in the fundamental turn for the better in our party workstyle. Only after a turn for the better in our party workstyle is achieved can there be any turn for the better in our social customs. And when a fundamental turn for the better is achieved in both our party workstyle and in our social customs, it would be possible then to better organize, and give scope to, the enthusiasm of the masses, and a fundamental turn for the better in our country's financial and economic situation would no longer be hard to achieve either.

Concerning the great significance of improving our party workstyle, we have during the past few years already achieved through education in both the positive and the negative aspect a more and more profound understanding. In the year before last, the problem of an unhealthy party workstyle in our county was very serious. This was saliently reflected in the following: some party organizations proved to be feeble and lax in their leadership work, and a part of our party members and cadres turned out to be very irresponsible in their work; this helped abet anarchism and individualism; some leading cadres took advantage of their office and power to make private gains, illegally build private housing, move households from the countryside, and arrange jobs for their children, etc. These unhealthy practices have seriously affected the party's prestige and credibility, created tension in the relationships between the party and the masses and between the cadres and the masses, and also abetted unwholesome practices in society, with appropriation of water field in the countryside for the construction of private housing

becoming a prevailing trend. At the beginning of 1981, the country party committee, following the spirit of the directive of the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline on "further implementing the 'Guiding Principles' and resolutely rectifying unhealthy practices" transmitted with comment by the party Central Committee, took the county's most salient practice of illegally building private housing--a practice to which the reaction of the masses has been most vehement--as a breach, and, under the support and assistance of the party committee at the superior level, put special emphasis on handling the question of leading cadres taking advantage of their office and power to illegally build private housing and also succeeded in investigating and repatriating more than 50 people within the agricultural population who had seized the opportunity of land requisition at the time housing was being built to illegally move into the county seat. In the wake of this, it also made the following ruling: when the family members of cadres above the level of deputy section and bureau chiefs and deputy secretaries of commune party committees move into the county seat and townships, their cases must be collectively examined and approved by the leading group of the county party committee; no individual of the leading group of the county is allowed to issue a sanction slip alone; recruitment of workers must all follow established policy and regulations and be subject to collective examination and approval by the county's worker recruitment leading group; no leader is allowed to issue a sanction slip or approval individually. At the beginning of 1982, we again called together cadres above the level of deputy section and bureau chiefs and deputy secretaries of commune party committees to seriously study the speeches of Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang at the forum on questions of the ideological front and adopt measures to put emphasis on solving the problem of the leading groups' feebleness and laxity. Through a series of undertakings, there resulted a conspicuous turn for the better in the county's party workstyle, which greatly enhanced the party's prestige and credibility, strengthened the fighting stamina of party organizations at various levels, provoked the cadres' revolutionary spirit, reinforced organization discipline, made relationships between the party and the masses and between cadres and the masses closer, improved social customs and social order and security, and promoted the development of industrial and agricultural production. This made us deeply realize that the question of party workstyle is a life-and-death question for the party in power, and hence our consciousness and sense of responsibility in waging struggle against unhealthy practices were also heightened.

During the past 2 years, we deeply felt that in order to rectify unhealthy practices within the party, the party organizations and leaders must have a high degree of revolutionary career-mindedness and sense of responsibilty. Whether, in the face of such unhealthy practices prevaling within the party, they are going to look intently but see nothing, fear difficulties, and let those practices run their own course or they are going to face the problems squarely, adhere to principles, break through difficulties, and resolutely seek to correct them, is one of the important criteria for testing whether the revolutionary career-mindedness of the party organizations and leaders is strong enough or not. At the beginning of 1981, in the face of a part of the leading cadres taking the lead to take advantage of their office and power in building their private housing and thereby bringing about a confusing situation seriously affecting the party's prestige and credibility and

the efforts of our economic construction, the county party committee, after repeated discussions, decided to resolutely adopt the latter attitude; this made it possible for the problems to be eventually basically solved.

In rectifying unhealthy practices within the party, party organizations and leaders must be contageous enough to adhere to the truth, insist on principles, place the interests of the party and the people in the position of first importance, refrain from calculating personal gains or losses, and firmly struggle against those unhealthy practices. The handling of those who took advantage of their office and power to build private housing first of all affected part of the members of the standing committee of the county party committee, and the area of its involvement proved to be broad, as it touched on a due part of the middle-level cadres, whose relationships with colleagues around them were complex and rumors about whom were rampant. For instance, there were allegations that "the investigation and handling of housing construction represented a strggle between the housing-construction faction and the non-housing-construction faction," that "it was a struggle for power," that "it signaled an abandonment of economic construction, with the parties involved not placing emphasis where it belongs," that "this housing construction problem can hardly be really solved," and some even wrote threatening letters and letters of false accusation, etc. Under such circumstances, should we place the interests of the party and the people in the position of first importance, adhere to principles, and carry forward this struggle intended to rectify unhealthy practices, or should we be afraid of offending people, afraid of losing votes, afraid of losing our "official posts," and be fearful of taking any step forward or stopping halfway? The county party committee holds that, however heavy the pressure may be, however great the attendant difficulties might seem, however complicated the struggle might turn out to be, and however great individual sacrifices might eventually result, we can only advance and not retreat on the matter of rectifying the unhealthy practice of seeking to build one's private housing at public expense. Under the support and assistance of the party committee at the superior level, this struggle has ultimately won victory.

In rectifying unhealthy practices within the party, we must first get a handle on our leading groups. "When the upper roofbeam is not set straight, the lower one is bound to be slanted"; "when those above set a forthright example, their administration will run smoothly without their issuing any particular orders; should they fail to do so, those below will not follow them even if they issue specific orders." We deeply feel that in order to rectify unhealthy practices, we must first get a handle on the standing committe of the county party committee itself, and demand that each member of the standing committee set a personal example in following party discipline, state law, and established regulations. As regards the several members of the standing committee of the county party committee who did build private housing, in the meetings on organization life they were subject to the application of the weapons of criticism and self-criticism, the attendant launching of active ideological struggles, and the proceedings of solemn adjudication. During the past 2 years, members of the standing committee were all able to set personal examples with respect to the resolutions, rules, and regulations formulated by the county party committee in resolutely following them and

taking the lead to carry them out. Under the impetus of the county party committee, leading cadres at various levels have all been able to set personal examples; there has been progress also in people's observance of law and discipline.

In attempting to rectify unhealthy practices within the party, we must improve the organizational life of the whole party, launch criticism and self-criticism. We must grasp the matter on a long-term, continuous basis, and we must grasp it in a purposeful, planned manner according to differenc characteristics and principal contradictions of each individual period and the actual conditions of each individual unit. We are determined under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, to resolutely follow the requirements of the new party Constitution, continue to rectify the party's workstyle and organization, and endeavor to gradually realize a turn for the better in our party workstyle.

9255
CSO: 4005/85

CADRES PUNISHED FOR ILLEGAL HOUSING CONSTRUCTION

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Oct 82 p 1

[Article: "Liaoning's Fu County Severely Punishes Leading Cadres for Illegal Construction of Private Homes"]

[Text] Reporters Li Yan [2621 1750] and Zhang Heping [1728 0149 1627] report : The party committee of Fu county, Liaoning, earnestly investigated and handled the leading cadres who had seriously violated law and disrupted discipline in housing construction.

Since February, the county party committee, under the supervision and help of the Party Central Committee and the provincial and municipal leadership, assigned more than 40 cadres to form an investigation group to first investigate 24 leading cadres who had serious problems in housing construction and encountered most complaints from the masses. Utilizing his functions, Ning Desheng [1380 1795 3932], member of the standing committee of the county party committee and chief of propaganda department, illegally used more than 23,000 yuan of public funds 3 times, bought private housing at a high price, embezzled more than 1,200 yuan, resorted to vile means and created an evil influence. By decision of the county party committee and approval of the municipal party committee, he was expelled from party membership and dismissed from his post, and his salary was reduced by one grade. The five members of the family of Assistant Chief Ma Junfeng [7456 0193 1496] of the county communications bureau lived in three rooms, yet he seriously violated fiscal and economic disciplines, made illegal investments and found new houses among his subordinate units for each of his two sons. He also committed other acts in violation of law and discipline. After discussion, the county party committee decided to expel him from party membership and recommended his removal from administrative duties and reduction in pay by one grade. On ground of helping to find ways of production and solicit jobs, Li Jicai [2621 4480 6299], assistant instructor of communications unit of the county public security bureau and party branch secretary, tricked the engineering team of the county labor service company to build a large 4-room 98-square meter tile-roofed house for him, and he also embezzled

6,154 yuan of collective assets. Even now, he persisted in a vile attitude and refused to admit his guilt. The county party committee decided to expel him from the party and dismiss him from his post, and the county people's court sentenced him to 2 years imprisonment and 2 years probation.

To prevent the offenders from "one self-examination and a lifetime of comfort," the county party committee decided that they must vacate the illegally constructed houses and the houses assigned to them, which were to be placed under the county's disposal, and return and repay all the embezzled funds and moneys owed within a time limit. To date, 53 houses illegally built by 12 cadres have been confiscated and more than 32,100 yuan returned and repaid to the public.

6080
CSO: 4005/133

COMMENTARY ON PARTY SCHOOL TRAINING OF CADRES

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 24 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Zhong Wen [6945 2429]: "Party Schools May Also Operate Day Schools"]

[Text] The party committee for organs directly under the Fujian Provincial Government recently issued a notice to all units under its jurisdiction to select 300 party cadres at the sectional level to attend the fourth term of the day school classes of the party school. According to reports, the day school of the party school had already operated three terms. The men attending these classes had been released from work for 4 1/2 months' study, and 590 party cadres at the sectional level have been trained in rotation. The nine party schools operated by the Shanghai municipal party committee have most recently also adopted the system of training party cadres in rotation in different ways, some as resident students and some as daytime students.

It is certainly a good method to train cadres in rotation at the party schools without requiring them to live at the schools, but rather as daytime students, so that they may eat and sleep at home and attend classes at the schools. In the last few years, various localities have operated party schools, but only a small number of cadres could be trained in rotation at these schools because there were too few schools, and school facilities, equipment teaching personnel and operating funds were limited. Throughout the country there are now about 20 million cadres. The vast majority of them, especially the middle-aged and young cadres, are urgently in need of this training by rotation. Obviously, it is an arduous task to train all these cadres.

It is reported that since the Third Plenary Session, the training of cadres is viewed as an important item of work by all departments and committees of the central authorities and by party committees at all levels. In the last 3 years, almost 5 million cadres of various ranks and types throughout the country have been trained by operating various classes in rotation and in short-term classes. This is not a small achievement, but at this speed it will take until the end of the eighties or the beginning of the nineties to have all cadres undergo training in rotation, let alone the fact that due to the unequal development of cadre training by rotation in different localities

and departments only an even slower pace of cadre training by rotation will take place in certain localities. In the face of these conditions, it is no wonder that some cadres count by the fingers: though they can't tell what year and month it will be their turn to enter training at the party school, when the time will finally come, it will probably not be far away from their time of retirement when they will stop working.

It is indeed most heartening that the 12th National Party Congress set up the universal training of cadres by rotation as an important strategic measure. The large number of cadres who lost much valuable time during the 10 years of turmoil are particularly gratified by this attitude. To meet the needs arising from our endeavors to create a new overall situation of socialist modernization, there is really not a moment to be lost in training cadres by rotation.

If we now want to speed up the pace of cadre training by rotation, one of the problems to be solved is the contradiction between having an effective instruction and the limitations of our instructional facilities. It may not be amiss here to sum up for once our past experiences in operating the schools, to develop potentials, to open up new channels and employ a variety of forms, so as to enable many more cadres, who are in need of such studies, to have an opportunity to enter the study programs by rotation at an early date, also to improve the situation of insufficiency in theoretical preparedness and deficiency in specialized professional knowledge and to enable the broad masses of our cadres to take a big step forward in raising their political-theoretical, professional and cultural level. Apart from having them attend party schools, cadre schools, political night schools and correspondence schools, it will be possible to institute a great variety of other feasible forms of instruction in rotation, in line with local conditions and starting out from the existing realities. Operating day school programs at the party schools may, after all, be one good method to adopt.

9808
CSO: 4005/80

ANHUI PARTY SCHOOL STUDIES 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Oct 82 p 3

[Text] Reporter Jiang Zhimin [5592 1807 2404] reports: In conjunction with the work of the party school, the teachers, staff and workers of the party school of the Anhui provincial party committee spoke enthusiastically of their impressions of studying the 12th Party Congress documents and resolved to contribute to the improvement of the cadre quality and the training of large groups of personnel for the socialist modernization construction.

By conscientiously studying the congressional documents, the teachers, staff and workers of the party school further recognized the important task of the school to cultivate and rotationally train cadres and to properly conduct their regular training in accordance with Comrade Hu Yaobang's report and the requirements of the new party constitution, in order to adapt to the needs of the modernization construction. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the school conscientiously implemented the party's lines, principles and policies, held 54 successive sessions of training classes for the party members and cadres, training more than 8,600 cadres of all types, and made contributions to the cultivation of revolutionary, youthful, knowledgeable and professional personnel throughout the province.

On the basis of studying the documents of the 12th Party Congress, the school is in the course of adopting positive measures and stepping up the various preparatory tasks for cadre training. The school party committee has made plans and decided to further adjust the structure of the cadre and teaching ranks and boldly promote and give important posts to superior young cadres. After conscientious discussions, the various teaching and research sections have drafted new teaching plans and scientific research subjects. The logistics department is in the course of accelerating the maintenance and construction of school buildings in order to create a favorable environment for studying. To help the broad cadres properly study the congressional documents, the school, beginning 4 October, will hold short-term training classes and give make-up training, by groups and by periods, to cadres of the departmental level and above in units directly under the province.

CYL STRESSES IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Nov 82 p 3

[Article: "Nei Monggol's Secretary of CYL Central Committee Secretariat Stresses Communist Ideological Education of Young People"]

[Text] Huhhot [XINHUA]--On 25 October, Secretary Wang Jiangong [3769 1696 0501] of the CYL Central Committee Secretariat said in his speech at the seventh congress of the Nei Monggol autonomous region that, only by educating and arming the young people with the communist ideology will the CYL develop its effect and make contributions in the building of a socialist material and spiritual civilization.

He said that, when educating them with the communist ideology, the broad young people must first be made to establish a firm belief in communism. We must, in accordance with the proletarian norms and requirements, start from the ideological reality of the young people and conduct a pinpointed and effective education on life philosophy, the ideal future and moral character. Meanwhile, we must resist the corrosion of the bourgeois ideology and launch struggles against it. We must guide the young people to integrate lofty ideals with the spirit of doing solid work, plant their feet on the ground, do their jobs well, "begin with oneself," and concretely add bricks and tiles to the communist mansion.

He said that the communist ideological education of the young people needs forms which are perfect and adjusted to the characteristics of the young people. Therefore, political-ideological work must be improved as well as strengthened, and developed as well as upheld. In recent years, some good forms in ideological education were found and some new experiences summarized, such as the "three-love" education," the "five stresses and four points of beauty," etc. He hoped that everyone would summarize more new experiences in future practice.

He appealed to the young comrades to enhance their fighting will and their spirit.
6080
CSO: 4005/132

PEASANTS EDUCATED IN PRODUCTION RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Oct 82 p 2

[Article: "Party Organizations Must Stress Ideological Education"]

[Text] The introduction of the production responsibility system in agriculture was a great transformation in production and distribution, and some new ideological and work problems inevitably emerged. From inside the party to outside, from the cadres to the masses, the Dadian brigade party branch promptly emphasized the socialist ideological education, improved the political awareness of the commune members, established a desirable production sequence and social mood, and created good experiences in adapting to the new situation and solving the new problems.

The experiences of the brigade in ideological education centered on one point: In the great transformation of the rural economy, they strengthened party leadership and relied on policies as the guide and on the examples of the party members and cadres to influence the masses in improving their socialist awareness. The tremendous change from unified accounting and workpoints according to work done to contracting by households could not but cause changes in the thinking and feelings of the cadres and commune members, and there were even misunderstandings and deviations. How should the great transformation be regarded? Should they stick to the old ways, ignore the matter, or step forward bravely and exercise positive leadership? In terms of a basic level party organization, it was a severe test. As shown by the conditions in many areas, sticking to the old ways or ignoring the matter would lead to the ideological confusion of the cadres, cause tension between the cadres and the masses, and even disrupt production and unsettle living. Only by closely associating with the masses and exercising active leadership, respecting their opinions and creativeness while helping them improve their awareness, dispel their misunderstandings and correct their mistakes would it become possible to master the initiative of work and guide the sound development of the transformation. It was precisely what the Dadian brigade party branch did, resulting in increases in agricultural output year after year and the basic improvement of the social mood.

The leadership of the basic level party organization should include the ideological and the policy aspects. There are two prerequisites: First, the members of the party organization must be consistent in thinking and action, possess a unanimous correct understanding of the party's various rural policies and implement them vigorously. Next, the socialist ideological education must be strengthened, and the party members and cadres must, by their own examples, actively influence and lead the masses to implement the policies, develop the spirit of unity and mutual help and resist all unhealthy trends. The Dadian brigade created experiences deserving attention in all these aspects. In addition, they also launched some cultural undertakings within their power and actively deployed healthy cultural and recreational activities. By so doing, the peasants assimilated the socialist spiritual nourishment, increased their cultural and scientific knowledge, became educated and scientific producers with awareness, and devoted a greater effort to the building of a socialist new village.

6080
CSO: 4005/132

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

CONSCRIPTION DRIVE IN GUANGDONG REPORTED

Conscription Arrangements

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Shen Peng [3088 1756] and Zhuo Qichang [0587 1142 2490]: "Conscription Work in Our Provinces Begins on 1 October"]

[Text] Conscription work for the winter season in our provinces will start on 1 October this year. Since the middle of September the province and various regions, municipalities and counties (districts) have convened consecutive meeting on conscription work and made the necessary study and deployment.

The objects and limits of this year's conscription are: In the countryside, youths whose families have plenty of workers and who have a culture level from junior middle school and above are going to be conscripted; in the cities and at the county seats, only graduating senior middle school students are going to be conscripted. In areas where minority nationalities are fairly concentrated and areas where culture is less developed, the cultural level of conscripts may be relaxed, Age standards are: male youths who reach the age of 18 or 19 in 1982; graduating senior middle school students reaching the age of 17 who volunteer may also be conscripted; female youths reaching the age of 17 or 18 in 1982 who are at the same time graduating senior middle school students.

The meetings on conscription work at all levels have seriously analyzed the advantageous conditions for doing a good job this year and determined to grasp as the central link of this year's conscription work the guaranteeing of the good quality of the conscripts themselves. The provincial meeting on conscription work has demanded leaders at various levels to make sure that their perception of the necessity of doing a good job in our conscription work is enhanced, that they proceed from the whole situation, correctly handle the relationship between national defense construction and economic construction, correctly handle the relationship between our long-range interests and immediate interests, and handle closely and handle well our conscription work as an important task in implementing the spirit of the 12th Party Congress. They must continue to implement the six measures on guaranteeing the quality of conscripts issued last year by the provincial

people's government. They must, in conjunction with propaganda, implement the spirit of the 12th Congress with actual conduct, to register for conscription with enthusiasm, and to make their own contributions to the defense of the motherland and the realization of the modernization of our national defense. People's governments at various levels must, in conjunction with conscription, carry out an overall inspection of the implementation of our policy of providing perferential treatment and comfort to the families of our martyrs and military men so as to further implement measures providing such treatment and comfort, and thereby relieve the youths who are about to be conscripted from any lingering worries.

Commentary

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Sep 82 p 3

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Do a Good Job in Conscription Work, Strengthen National Defense Construction"]

[Text] Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the 12th Party Congress: "We must endeavor to strengthen the building of our People's Liberation Army, build our army into a strong, modern, and regular revolutionary force, and further enhance the self-defense capability of our army under the conditions of modern warfare." To do a good job in our conscription work this year is an important measure in realizing this great goal. Leaders at various levels must conscientiously study the spirit of the 12th Congress, proceed from the long-range interests of the party and the state, correctly handle the relationship between economic construction and national defense construction, and earnestly do a good job in this year's conscription work.

The central question in our conscription work is to guarantee the quality of our new conscripts. In order to adapt to the needs of our military modernization and antiaggression warfare in the future, the newly conscripted soldiers must not only be politically reliable and physically healthy, but also equipped with a higher level of cultural knowledge. The key to whether or not we can guarantee the quality of our new conscripts lies in leadership. Leading comrades at all levels must bring into full play the mobilizing, inspiring, and organizational role of the documents of the 12th Congress. They must organize the vast ranks of the youths and masses to study the spirit of the 12th Congress. At the same time they must widely launch education on loving the party, the motherland, and the people's army, and launch civilized conscription activities with the communist ideal, morality and discipline as their central ingredients so as to whip into shape a social custom of "one person joining the army, the whole family sharing the glory." These things will enable the vast ranks of the masses and youths to recognize clearly their historic responsibility, handle correctly the relationship between individual and revolutionary interests, and register consciously with enthusiasm for conscription in the interest of implementing the fighting task put forward by the 12th Congress.

On the basis of doing a good job in our ideological education, party committees and governments at various levels must clearly define the duties of various departments, coordinate the forces of various departments. Propaganda departments must do a good job in their propagation and agitation work; public health departments must do a good job in inspection; public security departments must do a good job in political examination; communications and transportation departments must do a good job in transporting the new conscripts, so that they all endeavor to accomplish the conscription task in time and with quality and quantity well preserved.

9255
CSO: 4005/74

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GUANGZHOU PLA LEADERS DISCUSS SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Oct 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by Nei Fei [0656 5360 7378] and Wu Shibin [0702 0013 2430]: "Adhere to Struggle Between the Two Lines Amidst Building of Spiritual Civilization: Leading Comrades of Party Committees of Military Units Stationed in Guangzhou Keep in Line With Reality, Seriously Study Discourses in Documents of the 12th Congress Concerning the Building of Socialist Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] During the last few days, leading comrades of party committees of the military units stationed in Guangzhou have been seriously studying and discussing discourses in reports delivered at the 12th Congress concerning the building of our socialist spiritual civilization; keeping closely in line with the fact that currently some people have distorted our socialist spiritual civilization. They have been carrying out analyses and thereby unanimously concluded that in building our socialist spiritual civilization we must oppose the "Left," on the one hand, and at the same time guard against the Right.

Everybody said, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report at the 12th Congress: While building our advanced material civilization, we must at the same time build an advanced socialist spiritual civilization. This is a question of strategic principle concerning the building of our socialism. In the process of launching the construction of our socialist spiritual civilization today, the fine social trend of stressing ideals, morality, culture and discipline is gradually taking shape. But certain comrades still have some problems in their ideological perception and these need to be solved. Of these, a more salient problem is that the remnant poison of the "leftist" ideology is still not cleansed away. Comrades were of the opinion that, at present, we must pay attention to three questions in stressing spiritual civilization: One is to guard against using the "leftist" method to carry out a "class analysis" of our spiritual civilization. Generally speaking, socialist spiritual civilization and bourgeois spiritual civilization are fundamentally different; we must make a Marxist class analysis of them. But this by no means suggests that every ingredient of a spiritual civilization shares a class character. We must never employ the class viewpoint and method of class analysis abusively, or even take a "production automation line" as something of a class character. We should, instead, critically inherit the fruits of the bourgeoisie in man's ideological history and in our

material civilization. The second is to guard against using the "leftist" method in treating the role of spiritual civilization. The report to the 12th Congress pointed out: the building of our spiritual civilization and the building of our material civilization are conditional on each other and goals for each other. Socialist spiritual civilization, of course, constitutes a huge reaction to material civilization, but this by no means implies that poverty is better than wealth, or that building spiritual civilization requires no material civilization. In trumpeting "spiritual omnipotence" and "politics impacting on everything," the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques seriously suppressed the enthusiasm of the vast ranks of the masses of the people and sabotaged our socialist construction. This lesson has been most profound and we must never follow the regressive track again. The third is to guard against adopting the "Leftist" approach to treating science and culture. Cultural construction is an indispensable component part of our spiritual civilization. The cumulation of scientific and cultural knowledge is not only indispensable to the building of our material civilization but also helpful to the formation of our scientific world view. "Only by enriching one's mind with the entire wealth of knowledge created by man can one become a communist" (Lenin's words). Those who think that culture has nothing to do with the elevation of people's ideological perception are very mistaken in their viewpoint.

During their discussion, the comrades also mentioned that only by relying on conscious, assiduous efforts on the part of the whole party, the whole army and all the people of the country in carrying out their difficult tasks can our socialist spiritual civilization develop, and it definitely cannot develop spontaneously, simply because of the foundation provided by the development of our material civilization. To treat spiritual civilization from a rightist view and a delegate the role of spiritual civilization is also wrong. The comrades said: Only by perceiving clearly the dialectical relationship between the two civilizations and, while building an advanced socialist material civilization, at the same time striving to build an advanced socialist spiritual civilization can we strengthen our political and ideological work, heighten the political consciousness of the masses of the people, resist corrision by the ideas of capitalism, guarantee the correct direction of development of our material civilization, and reinforce our cultural construction, elevate the scientific level of our while nation, foster large contingents of professional talents and dexterous laborers, and thereby accelerate our pace in building our material civilization.

9255
CSO: 4005/74

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

MEETING STRESSES IMPROVING PUBLIC SECURITY

OW091035 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 8 Nov 82

[Excerpts] The Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee held a meeting for all Shanghai cadres who are also party members at the cultural square on the afternoon of 8 November.

Hu Lijiao, second secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee, made an important speech entitled "Firmly Implement the Principle of Comprehensive Treatment and Strive To Achieve Fundamental Improvements in Public Security" at the meeting. He emphatically pointed out: It is necessary to involve the whole party and seek the cooperation of all quarters to firmly implement the principle of comprehensive treatment, to strive to achieve fundamental improvements in public security in Shanghai and to create a sound environment for safeguarding and promoting the smooth progress of the socialist modernization drive focused on economic construction.

Wang Jian, member of the municipal CPC committee Standing Committee and deputy leader of the municipal CPC committee's leading group for political and legal affairs, presided over the meeting. Yang Di, vice mayor and director of the municipal public security bureau, relayed the guidelines of the recent national conference on political and legal affairs.

In his speech, Comrade Hu Lijiao said: Following the guidelines of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Shanghai has achieved marked improvements in public security thanks to the efforts of the whole party. From January to September this year, the number of criminal cases in Shanghai was 31.3 percent less than in the same period last year. The number of serious offenses was 20.8 percent less. The whole society is becoming more stable. However, we should realize that achieving fundamental improvements in public security is no simple task. Class struggle exists in certain areas. Enemy activity still presents a serious threat and the public security situation is complex. We must never lower our guard.

Comrade Hu Lijiao said: To do a good job of comprehensive treatment in public security, the following measures should be taken:

1. Party committees at all levels should persist in simultaneously building material and spiritual civilization and list comprehensive treatment as a major item on their daily agenda for discussion.

2. All plants, enterprises, government offices, schools and shops should pay serious attention to implementing the responsibility system in security work and ensure good security and order within their respective units. In future, efforts should be made to help, on a selective basis, the few units where security work is in a mess, in coordination with enterprise consolidation. These units should be urged to improve their situation within a limited time. When, in the course of performing their duties, the departments of political and legal affairs discover problems and loopholes in the security system of the units concerned, they should issue a notice of judicial suggestions (Sifa Jianyi Tongzhishu). The units concerned should earnestly study the notice and carry out the necessary consolidation and make the necessary corrections. The leadership should be held responsible when incidents of grave consequence occur as a result of dereliction. Party committees at all levels should pay particular attention to the movements of remnant elements of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionaries cliques. They should look into the facts concerning those remnant elements currently engaged in sabotage activities, obtain conclusive evidence about them and resolutely attack them without mercy.

3. Leading persons should take the lead successfully conducting education for teenagers in selective units.

4. It is necessary to attach great importance to the correct handling of all kinds of social contradictions that fall in the category of contradictions among the people.

In conclusion, Comrade Hu Lijiao said: We now have the policy and principles, what is needed next is solid work. The comrades of the party committees at all levels and all trades and professions should unite and make concerted efforts to achieve fundamental improvements in public security and contribute their share to creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/150

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL ROLE OF PLA STRESSED

OW092337 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 9 Nov 82

[Text] Stating our task in the modernization of national defense, Comrade Yang Shangkun pointed out: There is no doubt that the political awareness of China's People's Liberation Army is rated top in the world. Henceforth, we must raise our army's political awareness to an even higher level. His remarks have aroused a warm response from the broad masses of commanders and fighters. This shows that the party has regarded our army as a gigantic force, with a high level of political awareness in the nation's political activities and in socialist construction. However, there are some people who have ignored the party's explicit viewpoint on the army. They seek to continue to play down the role of the army so that it will take a secondary role in developing various political activities in the party and the nation. For example, on the eve of the fifth session of the Fifth National People's Congress, it was suddenly announced that the number of army deputies in this supreme legislative organ of the state would be reduced. Now among some 2,500 NPC deputies, there are only 490 army members, 14 percent of the total number of NPC deputies. Now plans are being made to reduce the number of army deputies by half. The aim of this action is obvious. Proceeding from their ulterior motive, some people are trying hard to limit the number of army comrades to study important issues regarding our domestic and foreign policies. For example, the Fifth NPC Session will discuss and adopt the new PRC Constitution, but the number of army deputies attending this important session will be reduced.

Recently, the number of army representatives in various party organs at the central and local levels has been significantly reduced. About one-third of the members of the 11th CCP Central Committee were from the army, while only one-fourth of the members of the Central Committee elected by the 12th CPC National Congress are from the army. Doubtless there are people trying to weaken the army's influence in various party organs at the central and local levels. They have even tried a thousand and one ways to prevent our leading comrades in the army from discussing and deciding on major issues regarding China's domestic and foreign politics. For example, Geng Biao, Wei Guoqing and other comrades in the army were not invited to participate in discussions on the sale of U.S. arms to Taiwan and Sino-U.S. relations several months ago. At the same time, some people have used ugly tricks to make people believe that the leading comrades in the army are incapable of solving major political problems.

However, history has proved that, for several decades, army leaders such as Zhu De, Peng Dehuai, He Long, Chen Yi and Wang Kecheng had all assumed leading posts of the party and the state and directly participated in deciding on major issues which would affect the fate of the party and the state.

In short, the PLA has played a decisive role in determining the fate of the state and the people. Any effort to play down the role of the army today would definitely harm the people's interests. Those army comrades who are concurrently working for the party and for government organs at the central and local levels should try their very best to bring their role into full play in all fields. The broad masses of commanders and fighters must carry forward the army's glorious, revolutionary traditions and become the most active force demonstrating the highest level of political awareness and scoring the most remarkable achievements in developing the various political activities of the party and the state.

CSO: 4005/150

BRIEFS

SHANGHAI GARRISON LEADERS--The Shanghai garrison command has scored gratifying results in greening work. Some 96,000 trees have been planted in the barracks areas this year. In addition, more than 150,000 trees were planted in support of the local tree-planting drive. Today, the leading organ of the Shanghai garrison held a meeting to commend those who distinguished themselves in tree-planting and afforestation activities. The meeting also drew up the 1982-1985 afforestation plan. Present at the meeting were leading comrades of the Shanghai garrison command Wang Jingkun, Zhang Chen, Yao Xiaocheng and Jia Defa who presented awards to 18 advanced units and four advanced individuals. [Excerpts] [OW160637 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 15 Nov 82]

NANJING DRAMA TROUPE--The (?deputy political officer's diary) group of the (Qianjin) modern drama troupe of the Nanjing PLA units successfully completed its performance in Beijing in celebration of the 12th CPC National Congress and returned to Nanjing on 7 November. On 8 November afternoon, the members of the group were received by Du Ping, member of the advisory commission of the CPC Central Committee; Xiang Shouzhi, commander of the Nanjing PLA units; (Zhang Ning), deputy commander of the Nanjing PLA units; Wang Jingmin and Li Baoqi, deputy political commissars of the Nanjing PLA units; and Zhang Yuhua, Duan Huanjing, Zhong Guochu, Wang Wenmo and Hu Darong. During the reception, the responsible comrades of the Nanjing PLA units encouraged the group to modestly listen to comments from various persons, make further careful revision of the drama, constantly perform it among PLA units and play a still better role in building spiritual civilization in the PLA. [Excerpts] [OW100208 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 9 Nov 82]

CSO: 4005/150

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURAL

RESULTS OF BIRTH RATE SURVEY IN RURAL HUBEI

Beijing RENKOU YANJIU [POPULATION RESEARCH] in Chinese No 5, Sep 82
pp 36-38, 31

[Article in "Population Survey" column by Wuhan University Population Research Office, Xianning Prefecture Family Planning Office, Jingzhou Prefecture Family Planning Office, and Yichang Prefecture Family Planning Office: "Survey of Birth Rate in Rural Areas of Hubei Province"]

[Text] Joint Survey, Level, and Writing

In July 1981, the Population Research Office of Wuhan University Economic Department, together with personnel sent by the family planning organizations of the concerned prefectures, counties, and communes in Hubei Province, formed a joint survey team, which went to 15 production brigades in the five counties of Chongyang, Xianning, Qianjiang, Jiangling, and Yidu in the three prefectures of Xianning, Jingzhou, and Yichang to conduct a model survey of the birth rate in rural areas. The survey lasted 4 months. The principle for our selection of survey points was: for natural conditions, we chose points in mountainous areas, hills, and plains; for crop variety, we chose areas that produce paddy rice and cotton; for production responsibility system, we chose the forms of assigning output quotas to individual able-bodied laborers and of contracting production to households; for population average, we chose cultivated land and communes and production brigades with high, middle, and relatively low average incomes; and for family planning, we chose advanced, ordinary, and backward communes and production brigades. Our way of conducting the survey was: based on a unified survey outline, we went directly to the masses of commune members and adopted the method of conducting polls and holding individual talks, in which question-and-answer forms were filled in. We now present a brief introduction to the results of our survey and research.

I. The Marriage Question

Marriage rate. In four communes and brigades in the three counties of Jiangling, Qianjiang, and Yidu, taking the average population of 1980 as the base, the marriage rate was 18.14 percent. In the years 1979 to 1980, taking as the base for calculation marriageable women from 19 to 25 years old, the annual marriage rate was 305.46 percent. From the population age structure in 1979 of these communes, we found that women began to marry at 18, the peak ages for

marriage were 22 and 23, and by the time they were 25 they had basically stopped getting married. The totals by age of marriages by marriageable women are as follows: 18 years old, 5.3 percent; 19 years old, 35.5 percent; 20 years old, 54.2 percent; 21 years old, 171.9 percent; 22 years old, 393.5 percent; 23 years old, 717.8 percent; 24 years old, 886.3 percent; and 25 years old, 965.3 percent.

2. First marriage rate. The ages for first marriage have not changed much since liberation; after 1971, the late marriage policy caused a distinct rise in age of first marriage. Before liberation, the average age of first marriage was 18.16, from 1949 to 1970 it was 19.38, and in 1971 it had risen to 22.54. It is worth pointing out a trend that has appeared in the ages of early marriage, viz, because the new marriage law stipulates that a woman's earliest age to get married is 20, in the rural areas there is a daily increasing number of people applying for marriage certificates at the age of 20. Therefore, education on late marriage must be vigorously strengthened.

II. The Birth Question

First question: first marriage to first birth. From a survey of 645 married women who gave birth, the following figures were obtained: in these prefectures, 11.6 percent of the women gave birth in year 0 (first year of marriage); 51.3 percent in year 1 (second year of marriage); 18.6 percent in year 2 (third year of marriage), and 8.2 percent in year 3 (fourth year of marriage). Within 4 years after getting married, 90 percent of the women had had their first birth, and about half of them had given birth in the peak period of the second year of marriage. The average interval between first marriage and birth was 2 years.

Second question: average number of years between births. For women in rural areas to give birth to only one child is something that has occurred only over the last 2 or 3 years. Before this, married women did not stop giving birth after their first child. Then, what is the situation with regard to the intervals between births? The figures obtained from our survey were:

Births	0→1	1→2	2→3	3→4	4→5	5→6	6→7
Average Interval in Years	2.02	2.95	3.23	3.15	3.14	4.02	5.30

The above table tells us that, on the basis of an average 2-year interval between first marriage and first birth, the average interval for each birth from the second to the fifth was about 3 years, for the sixth birth was 4 years, and for the seventh birth was 5 years.

Third question: birth rate.

1. Birth rate by age.

First of all, it must be explained that the figures here for birth rate by age were not calculated for a certain year's birth rate of women of child-bearing

age by age group. It is not a time index, but the birth rate over a certain period of time in which women who gave birth were in various age groups. One can say that it is an historical time index.

From the table below we can see that the fertility of child-bearing women is highest in the two age groups between 20 and 30, accounting for 77.47 percent of 1,385 person-times; the number of their pregnancies is 79.7 percent of the total number of pregnancies; and the birth rate (to speak precisely, the pregnancy rate) was 2.99395. If a woman of normal child-bearing capacity gives birth during these 10 years, on average she will give birth to three children.

Six Production Brigades in Qianjiang, Jiangling, and Yidu Counties

Birth Rate by Age of Child-Bearing Women

Age Group	Number of Women Giving Birth		Number of Children Born		Birth Rate by Age
	Number	Proportion	Number	Proportion	
15-19	80	5.78	86	4.26	1.07500
20-24	558	40.29	832	41.29	1.49104
25-29	515	37.18	774	38.41	1.50291
30-34	174	12.54	252	12.51	1.44828
35-39	52	3.75	64	3.18	1.23077
40-44	6	0.43	7	0.35	1.16667
TOTAL	1385	100.00	2015	100.00	

Notes: 1. Some women who went through these several-age groups bore children during each age group, and possibly had more than one birth; some women only gave birth within one or two age groups. 2. The number of children born is really the number of pregnancies. The data includes statistics for a very small number induced abortions, and they differ very little from the number of live births. 3. The number of births by age groups was calculated on the basis of the number of women giving birth, and within each age group only those women actually giving birth were counted, and therefore all birth rates are larger than one.

2. Total birth rate or lifetime birth rate

Nine Production Brigades in Xianning, Qianjing, and Yidu Counties

Total Births By Age Group

Mother's Year of Birth	Age Group	Number of Mothers	Approximate Years Mothers Began to Give Birth	Total Number of Children		Average per Mother	
				Births	Survivals	Births	Survivals
1957-61	20-24	126	1977-81	177	160	1.4	1.3
1952-56	25-29	299	1972-76	652	591	2.2	2.0
1947-51	30-34	188	1967-71	906	594	4.8	3.2
1942-46	35-39	116	1962-66	536	448	4.6	3.9
1937-41	40-44	50	1957-61	205	165	4.1	3.3
1932-36	45-49	71	1952-56	385	310	5.4	4.3
1922-31	50-59	164	1942-51	946	717	5.7	4.4
1912-21	60-69	166	1932-41	914	588	5.5	3.5
1902-11	70-79	110	1922-31	507	297	4.6	2.7
1901 and Before	80-	54	1921 and Before	346	264	6.4	4.9
TOTAL		1344					

Notes: 1. For the ages of 20 to 49, the total number of children born is actually the number of pregnancies, because it includes a small number of induced abortions.

2. The total number of surviving children in the 35 and older age group means the number supported to the age of 15. In some age groups, there is a fairly large difference between the number of births and the number of survivals, the reason for which awaits further research.

3. The hypothesis that the mother's average age for beginning to give birth is 20 can be extended a little for mothers who began to give birth before the 30's decade.

4. The total number of children by age group only pertains to a given group and has no relation to the number of children in the age groups before and after it.

The above table tells us that there are several significant questions:

First, in the half a century before liberation, the total birth rate or lifetime birth rate on average was 5.5 and 3.8 children could be supported; after liberation, from 1952 to 1961 this figure was 4.9 and 2 children were supported; from 1977 to 1981 the figure was 1.4 percent and children were supported.

Theoretically, the children born by mothers who began to give birth after the 60's decade started can only be calculated in the total birth rate and not in the lifetime birth rate, because they have not yet finished their child-bearing age and some are still in their peak child-bearing age. However with our country's birth policy of universally advocating that a couple have only 1 child, on average the women in the 25-29 age group have 2 children and usually do not again give birth; even if the women in the 20-24 age group are in the peak child-bearing age, on average they have 1.3 children, and there is very little possibility of their again giving birth. In this sense, we can regard the total birth rate as the lifetime birth rate. Even if a small number of the women were to give birth, this would not matter very much and it would not affect the birth trend.

Second, the period before and after liberation, and before the decade of the seventies, was basically a period when births occurred naturally, and the lifetime birth rate was comparatively high and a woman would bear an average of five children during her lifetime. After family planning was put into practice at the beginning of the 1970's, the unchecked growth of the population was brought under control and there was a distinct drop in the birth rate, and there was a big drop at the end of the 1970's. If we were to take the mothers in their 20's in the above table and put them in a subgroup, we could more clearly see the trend in the history, present state, and change in the number of children born to four generations of mothers. This is that the first and second generation of mothers (in the decade before liberation and the decade after liberation) on average gave birth to 5.5 children, the third generation of mothers (the first generation after liberation) gave birth to 4.8 children, and the fourth generation of mothers gave birth to only 2 children, already close to the population replacement level.

Fourth, of the women now in their birthing period, i.e., women aged 20-29, 850 mothers gave birth to a total of 2,861 children, 2,268 of which were born alive, and every mother on average gave birth to 3.36 children, 2.66 of which were born alive.

3. Population Reproduction Rate

This is an index for using the birth rate to study the scale and speed of population reproduction.

Population Reproduction in Nine Production Brigades in Xianning and Three Other Counties

Age Group	Number of Mothers	Total Number of Girls Born	Total Number of Surviving Girls	Gross reproduction Rate	Net Reproduction Rate
20-24	126	72	70	0.57	0.55
25-29	299	292	283	0.97	0.95
30-34	188	310	301	1.80	1.60
35-39	116	241	223	2.07	1.92
40-44	50	102	86	2.04	1.72
45-49	71	183	158	2.58	2.23
50-59	166	430	267	2.59	1.60
70-79	110	236	133	2.59	1.21
80-	54	146	111	2.70	2.06

The above table tells us that before liberation the gross reproduction rate was as high as 2.5 and the net reproduction rate was 1.7; and that the corresponding figures for the postliberation decade of the fifties were 2.4 and 2, for the sixties 1.9 and 1.7, and for the seventies 0.85 and 0.83. The scale of population reproduction is gradually shrinking. However, there was not much difference in the gross reproduction rate in the fifties and the preliberation period, and the net reproduction rate was even higher than that before liberation; the trend toward a decrease began in the sixties. The women of the sixties have not yet finished their child-bearing period, and the women of the seventies are now in their peak child-bearing period. The calculations made for the reproduction rate of these two periods are not exact. But under our country's current birth policy, these women usually do not again give birth, and therefore the calculations made for their reproduction rates conform to reality. If we calculate the gross and net reproduction rates for four generational subgroups, then the gross and net figures for the first generation of mothers at the beginning of the century were 2.3 and 2.5; for the second generation, 2.6 and 1.7; for the third generation (the first postliberation generation), 2.0 and 1.8; and for the fourth generation (the second postliberation generation), 0.86 and 0.83. Even if the population still increased in the seventies, the trend in population reproduction was already downward. This shows that our country's strategic policy decision to control population growth has been highly successful.

III. Ideological Questions About Birth

In a search for the people's current thoughts and attitudes about the birth question, we carried out investigation and research on birth ideology in the rural areas:

1. In the depths of their thoughts, the peasants still hold a strong desire to have more children. In a survey of 728 persons, 5 percent wanted only 1 child, 51 percent wanted 2 children, 28 percent wanted 3, and 15 percent wanted 4. In mountainous areas, where traditional thinking and ideology is fairly strong, 27 percent wanted 2 children and 72 percent wanted 3 or 4.

2. Under the circumstances in which the state advocates one child per couple, people still prefer boys to girls. Of the people surveyed, only 2.2 wanted a girl, 36.7 percent wanted a boy, and 61.1 percent had no preference. But in the mountainous areas, 77 percent wanted a boy. In order to study the effects of the idea of preferring boys to girls, we inquired into the people's ideas after a girl had been born, and found that 61 percent of the people who had one girl wanted another child. This idea of not giving up until a boy is born is an important reason for the exceeding of the birth control plan.

3. For the younger generation who are about to enter marriageable age, the ideal ages for marrying and giving birth are: of 266 women surveyed, about 15 percent wanted to get married at the legal marriage age of 20, 58 percent wanted to get married before they were 22 years old, and the ideal marriage age was thought to be 22 or 23. Therefore, there is a distinct trend toward marrying at an early age. With regard to the ideal number of children after marriage, 14 percent of the 210 women surveyed wanted 1, 83 percent wanted 2, and 3 percent wanted 3. Of them, 46 percent wanted a boy in the first year after getting married, 29 percent in the second year, and only 25 percent in the third year.

The peasants' idea that they should have a lot of children is complex, and is a composite reflection of social and economic, thinking and ideological, and tradition and habit factors. In order to clarify what factor plays the leading role in the peasants' idea of having many children, we made a survey of the reasons for this idea. Of 808 persons surveyed, 21 percent wanted to increase the labor force, 51 percent wanted to raise sons who would take care of them when they were old, 25 percent wanted successors to their ancestral line, and only 3 percent took delight in raising sons and daughters. From this data one cannot draw the conclusion that now, in the rural areas because the production responsibility system is being practiced, it stimulates the peasants' unbridled pursuit of labor power by having more children so as to make the family prosper. On the contrary, the peasants' thinking gives more consideration to having a comparatively large number of children who will support them in their old age. One must take up the question of whether it is necessary to raise sons to support one in one's old age.

At present there is a contradiction between the peasants' idea of still wanting more births and the state's policy of advocating fewer births. In order to guide the peasants' thought on births onto a track that is in line with the state's policy on births, it is necessary to do patient, painstaking work and further to perfect the birth policy.

9727
CSO: 4005/124

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON JAPAN DURING MEIJI PERIOD

HK101516 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 27 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Lu Wanhe [0712 8001 0735] and Xiong Dayun [3574 6671 0061]: "Japan's Experiences and Lessons in Learning From the West During the Meiji Restoration Period"]

[Text] Generally speaking, Japan's intense efforts to learn from the West during the Meiji restoration period were fruitful. At that time, a group of enlightened scholars who were "well versed in both Eastern and Western learning," with Yukichi Fukuzawa as their representatives were called Japan's "encyclopaedic school." ("History of Modern Japanese Thinking," Vol 1, compiled by Shigeki Toyama and others) They actively propagated empiricism, positivism, utilitarianism and other European and American bourgeois ideas about freedom, democracy and natural rights. These things were subject to class limitations, but they chiefly aimed at opposing feudalism, thereby promoting Japan's modernization at that time. The Meiji government listed "seeking knowledge throughout the world and breaking away from the evil customs of the past" as one of the five articles of the "charter oath." It also put forth the slogans of "enriching the country and increasing its military power," "promoting the production industry" and "developing civilization and enlightenment." In November 1871, a large mission led by Tomomi Iwakura (being the emperor's minister of state and the No 2 man) visited Europe and the United States. After a tour of 1 year and 9 months, their scope of vision was greatly widened and their Samurai minds were conspicuously imbued with ideas of the bourgeois statesmen. The members of the mission, including Koin Kido, Toshimichi Okubo, Hirobumi Ito and Fujima Tanaka, were the leading figures of the bourgeois reform taking place during the early years of the Meiji period. However, the bourgeois civilization had its corrupt aspects. As soon as feudal Japan which had long been in seclusion came into contact with the outside world, it was dazzled and committed some faults and errors due to inexperience. It acquired some experience in overcoming these faults and errors.

Opposing the Pursuit of Outward Appearance, Learning Useful Things

Recalling the conditions during the early years of the Meiji period, Chomin Nakae, a famous Japanese democrat, said: "I was dazzled by the achievements of civilization accumulated by the foreign countries in the past centuries. At first, I

was astonished, then, infatuated, and eventually, went mad." (cited from "State Power and Thinking of the Meiji Government" by Shiro Konishi and others) Toshimichi Okubo also said at that time: "Judging by the current situation, we should take in whatever we can. There will surely be someone to correct our drawbacks in 10 or 15 years." (Yudo Ishizuka: "A Study of the History of the Emergence of Capitalism in Japan") These remarks reflected Japan's eagerness to learn from the West at that time. "Civilization" and "enlightenment" were fashionable terms for a while. But some people did not understand what these terms meant. Yuichi Kato said in his book "Civilization and Enlightenment" published in 1873: "Recently I heard people say that eating pork was civilization, walking with an umbrella in hand was good civilization, going into a room with one's shoes on was not good civilization and blowing one's nose with a piece of tissue paper was very good civilization, and so forth." Eating pork and beef wearing Western-style suits and hats became fashionable. Some people even suggested replacing the Japanese language with the "civilized" English. Others even proposed transforming the Japanese race. In his book "Improving the Japanese Race" written in 1884, Yoshio Takahasi said that "in the interest of the country and ourselves, we should leave our strong points to our descendents by inheritance," and the Japanese should marry Westerners so as to improve the Japanese race. (cited from "Modern Japan's Understanding of Asia" by Hiroshi Kawahara)

The clear-headed leaders of the Meiji government and the enlightenment scholars who had a good knowledge of the Western countries sternly criticized the above-mentioned naive ideas and wrong opinions. The "Meirokusha" (1873-1879, founded in the 6th year of Emperor Meiji's reign), an academic society formed by the enlightenment thinkers led by Yukichi Fukuzawa, released an article entitled "On the Method of Promoting Enlightenment" in the 3d issue of "MEIROKU magazine" published by the society, criticizing the evil practice of pursuing outwardly beautiful things. The article emphatically pointed out: the key to real civilization and enlightenment lies in learning the modern sciences and emulating the scientific spirit of the European countries and the United States, "verifying material objects, conducting research on real images and studying scientific hypothesis," and these mean astronomy, physics, chemistry, medicine, economics, philosophy and other natural and social sciences of the modern bourgeoisie. (Fumizo Hashikawa: "History of modern Japanese political thinking") Yukichi Fukuzawa held that "civilization" should be divided into two kinds: one kind is external civilization, such as clothes, foods, drinks, machines, houses, and rules and regulations, which are visible. Of course, there are many things to be learned about them. But Yukichi Fukuzawa stressed the other kind of civilization, that is, internal civilization, which he called "civilized spirit" and "popular customs." He held that this spirit was intrinsic in Western civilization and was the base for creating external civilization. He emphasized emulating the worthy "spirit" of the West and opposing the pursuit of outwardly beautiful things. He said: "Civilization means a peaceful life, a noble ideal, ample food and clothing, and good morals." Thus he combined material civilization with spiritual civilization and opposed exclusively pursuing material civilization. This was a sensible viewpoint, although he was a bourgeois thinker.

Some leaders of the Meiji government also noticed the trend of pursuing an outward appearance. While making an investigation tour of the European countries and the United States with the "Iwakura mission," Koin Kido (one of the three leaders of the Meiji restoration) seriously compared Japan's conditions of learning from the West with the actual conditions of these countries. He came to this conclusion: Japan's "enlightenment" did not mean "real civilization" and "real enlightenment" which reflected "progress in essence." Instead, it was "skin-deep" and "half-mature enlightenment," "enlightenment shown in following the fashion" and "enlightenment shown in decoration." He said: Learning from the West should not be separated from Japan's conditions, otherwise "in learning new things, we may probably lose our values." Japan's conditions are greatly different from those in Britain and France and are similar to those in Russia and Germany. In view of the widespread individualist thinking at that time, he proposed strengthening education in "the habits of loyalty, justice, benevolence and courtesy" and following the example of Russia and Germany in establishing the "fundamental law" (the constitution). Being weak and poor at that time, Japan had no alternative but to strengthen centralism in order to lay the foundation for modernization. Kido's propositions were aimed at serving the emperor and comprised the aspect of opposing democracy. However, they also were thought-provoking.

Opposing Worship of Foreign Things and Toadying of Foreigners, and Increasing the Nation's Self-Strengthening Power

To show its worship of the West, the Meiji government carried out diplomatic activities in the Rokumeikan Social Hall (1883-1889). Though not long in duration, these activities had a very bad influence.

To seek Japan's national independence, the Meiji government had on many occasions asked the United States, Britain and France to revise the unequal treaties, but met with refusal. After taking the post of foreign minister in 1880, Kaoru Inoue continued to seek a revision of the unequal treaties. On the one hand, he criticized his predecessors' mistakes of "stressing the importance of customs duties at the expense of legal rights" and "stressing the importance of economics at the expense of politics." On the other hand, he held that in order to get the foreign countries' consent to write off the "extraterritorial rights," it would be necessary for Japan to be completely Westernized, to formulate laws and systems recognized by the foreigners and to "build itself into a country with Western civilization in Asia." (Kyosaburo Nobuo: "History of Japanese Diplomacy," Vol 1) He was even prepared to consent to the proposal of letting foreign countries examine and approve Japan's laws, appointing some foreigners to be judges, and even assigning lawsuits involving foreigners to the courts where foreign judges were in the majority.

Kaoru Inoue and others even emphasized making friendly contacts with foreigners. They cherished the illusion of winning the foreigners' favor by giving banquets and dance parties. Guided by this idea of toadying foreigners, they spent a huge sum of money on a luxurious guesthouse designed by a British architect.

They called it the Rokumeikan or the deer bleating hall. The term "deer bleeting" was quoted from a poem entitled "Deer Bleating" in the Chinese classic "Book of Songs." The poem begins thus: "The deer is bleating, grazing on the green. I have honorable guests, whom I welcome with fanfare." The last line of the poem reads: "I have good wine to entertain my honorable guests." The politically elite often held Western-style dance parties and banquets in "Rokumeikan" for the purpose of seeking revision of the unequal treaties. Hence the term "Rokumeikan diplomacy." To make a success of the dance parties, the Japanese Government sent more than 70 men and women of good families to learn ballroom dancing from the English. For the purpose of dressing themselves up as Western women, some Japanese women tried to make their waists look slender by tightening their girdles so uncomfortably that they fainted as a result of cerebral anemia. In 1887, a grand masquerade was held under the auspices of Prime Minister Hirobumi Ito. It was attended by 400 people, including almost all of the political elite. They wore outlandish clothes and acted like buffoons. Home Minister Aritomo Yamagata wore the uniform of a member of the "Kiheitai" troop unit which fought during the civil war to topple the Shogunate. Commissioner of police Tsuyo Mishima dressed like a general of a Japanese legend. Shedding his lofty airs of prime minister, Hirobumi Ito masqueraded as a nobleman of Venice. Interior Minister Sanetomi Sanjo's wife dressed as a country girl. The party lasted from 9 p.m. to 4 a.m. the next day, causing a sensation throughout Tokyo. The Japanese people were utterly disgusted with it, saying that the night's carnival had "thrown the entire capital into envy, laughter, alarm and anger."

History showed that the "good wine" failed to touch the heartstrings of the "honorable guests" and that the "Rokumeikan diplomacy" did not help Japan revise any of the unequal treaties. Kaoru Inoue's deeds of toadying foreigners aroused the strong objections of the Japanese people and persons of insight. Soho Tokutomi gave a loud shout: "Our trouble with diplomatic relations lies not with the foreigners but with ourselves." Minister of Agriculture and Commerce Kanjo Tani released a long article expressing his opinion and resigned in anger. Bo-sen-na-de [3134 2773 4780 1795], a French scholar appointed as a legal adviser, also released a long statement, warning the Meiji government that giving the legislative and judicial powers to foreigners would definitely endanger Japan's independence. The "Rokumeikan diplomacy" ended in failure and Kaoru Inoue was dismissed amid objections throughout the country. History afterward showed that Japan wrote off the unequal treaties chiefly by increasing its strength.

Opposing Mechanical Transplanting, Building the Country According to Realities

During the early Meiji period, due to the people's meager capital and the low technical level at home and for the purpose of quickly laying a foundation for modernization, Japan adopted the policy of "the government setting an example" and also the policy of "transplanting technology," whereby foreign advanced equipment and installations were brought in and foreign technicians employed at the state's expense and a number of modern basic industrial enterprises were set up as "models." Generally speaking, these policies were correct and yielded enormous results. However, there also were faults and errors because of inexperience.

1. The policies were made in haste and the strides put forward were too broad, resulting in heavy fiscal burden and impeding development. During the decade from 1868 to 1877, the Meiji government spent an average of more than 24 million yen each year in buying advanced foreign technologies and equipment (Kameyoshi Takahasi: "Development of Japan's modern economy"), and the spending in some years amounted to 50 or 60 million yen. In 1879, the Ministry of Industry spent 65 percent of its total budget to pay the salaries of foreign technicians. The overspending in importing foreign technologies resulted in an imbalance of revenue and expenditure. The government was compelled to issue bonds and banknotes. This was followed by inflation and a financial crisis.

2. The conditions were not investigated sufficiently, advanced technologies were brought in blindly and regardless of Japan's realities, so that some imported machines could not play their role and were even abandoned. For example, in 1879, the Japanese Government bought 10 sets of technically advanced 2,000-spindle spinning machines and handed them over to some private enterprises for the purpose of "setting an example" and popularizing the experience. However, the cotton produced in Japan was of short staple and could not be processed by these machines. Moreover, these weaving machines had to be operated hydraulically because steam engines were not available. The unstable water flow adversely affected their operation. In addition there was a shortage of technical and managerial personnel. As a result, the 10 weaving mills went bankrupt in 10 years and some of them were destroyed by fire. (Toshio Yamazaki: "History of techniques") For another example, during the early Meiji period, a number of farming machines for use in vast fields were imported and a number of experimental farms and farm tools factories were established. However, Japan had a large population but insufficient farmland. Most of the fields were paddy land lying on hills and were tended by individual peasants. The machines imported from Europe and the United States therefore could not be used. Some people even suggested "transforming paddy fields into land for growing mulberry trees, and switch from eating rice to eating meat." (Shoro Takahashi: "Road to a Modern Country") Some farms brought in more than 300 varieties of vegetables and cereals and more than 400 varieties of fruits and trees from foreign countries. They even imported paddy seeds from far-away places such as Java and Saigon and even from the United States. These foreign strains could not be acclimated to Japan and basically could not be popularized. Most of the experimental farms were not well managed. Some of them went bankrupt and others were sold to private citizens.

3. Foreign techniques and technicians were worshipped blindly and Japanese traditional techniques and technicians were despised. For example, the Yawata Steel Mill was designed by foreign technicians and furnished with equipment and installations imported from Germany. It was forced to close down 1 year after its establishment because the home raw materials could not be processed by the foreign machines. It was reopened 2 years later after it had been innovated by Japanese experts.

4. Greater importance was attached to equipment than to personnel, especially the managerial personnel. Eventually, many government-operated enterprises suffered heavy losses due to mismanagement. For example, an investment of 2.13 million yen was made in the Kamaishi Iron Mine and the losses amounted to 880,000 yen.

The Meiji government promptly remedied and corrected these faults and errors and firmly grasped the training of Japanese technical personnel as the central link. It adopted these methods: 1) universities and various types of industrial schools were established to develop general education. Outstanding students were selected and sent to study abroad and foreign experts were discharged in general. 2) when foreign technologies were imported, personnel and equipment were simultaneously grasped with emphasis on personnel. For example, Eiichi Shibusawa (president of the First National Bank) founded the Isaka Textile Company in 1882. Before importing foreign equipment, he subsidized Jobu Yamabe, who was studying in London, in studying mechanical engineering. He appointed Yamabe to be chief engineer when Yamabe came home after completing his study. The company was run with remarkable results. In 4 or 5 years, its half-yearly bonus amounted to 16.5 percent. 3) Japanese technicians were boldly used. In 1885, Sakuro Tanabe, who was graduated from a Japanese university, was boldly appointed to be chief engineer in dredging Lake Biwa and building one of the world's first few hydroelectric power stations there. Japan promulgated its patent laws in 1885. By 1897, patent rights were applied for more than 13,000 articles. Approval was granted to 3,000 articles, most of which were invented by Japanese scientists and technicians who did not have advanced academic qualifications. 4) Attention was paid to improving and popularizing Japanese traditional techniques. The "Gaun loom" was a typical example. It was made by Shinshi Gaun on the basis of traditional Japanese techniques. Simple in structure and easy to operate, it was used in Japan's textile industry at that time. In 1877, it was displayed in the first national industrial exhibition sponsored by the Meiji government. Afterward, it was changed from being operated by hand to being operated by means of a pedal and was further improved to be motivated by water power. This contributed tremendously toward developing Japan's textile industry at that time. In agriculture, stress was put on popularizing Japan's traditional intensive cultivation and small-scale field management and the strong points of the Western agricultural techniques were adopted, thus developing a farming method which combined Japanese and Western techniques. This gave great impetus to the development of Japan's agriculture.

Japan's modernization motivated by the Meiji restoration was a success. There were numerous factors influencing the circumstances at that time. The most important factor was the correct way to study the Western culture. However, hardships, setbacks and defeats were experienced in the course of this study. This experience deserves the attention of those who study modern Japanese history.

CSO: 4005/154

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' CRITICIZES JAMES KENNISON ARTICLE

HK180955 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Oct 82 p 6

[Article by Zhou Zunnan [0179 1415 0589]: "Prejudice Is Stinking"]

[Text] Mr James Kennison has finally become famous!

As his former colleague and a teacher of Zhengzhou University where he once worked, I should congratulate him, for poor Kennison has taken great pains and tried every conceivable means to have his article published in the United States, but has suffered one setback after another. Now, his great article has not only been published but printed in the famous magazine HARPER'S and warmly acclaimed by some Americans. He has finally won the laurels of a writer which he has yearned for day and night. However, we cannot congratulate him, for he has won the fame by insulting and defaming China, and by using lies and deceptions. This is not fame but shame.

Three years ago, when Kennison was wandering aimlessly in the United States, he wrote us a sincere letter, applying to get a job in China. How grateful and happy he was when we accepted his application! After his arrival, we provided him with the best living, working and writing conditions and gave him a good remuneration. Never did we expect that after returning to the United States and being better off, he would have written the article "China Is Stinking" to vilify and attack the new China. Kennison once said: "The most honest people are those who are cheated by others most cruelly." We most honest Chinese have really been cheated by him most cruelly. Also, those honest Americans, the honest readers of HARPER'S have been most ruthlessly cheated by him.

We never conceal the fact that there are some bad and negative things here in China, neither do we hide the fact that material and living conditions here are poor. Mr Kennison should well remember that we sincerely informed him of all these things when he applied to come to China. Just as the famous U.S. scholar Mr J. K. Fairbank said: We must understand China from a historical viewpoint, not an ideological one. Undoubtedly, Zhengzhou is not the most modernized of cities and there are indeed some residential houses in Zhengzhou

whose running water pipes are installed outside. However, why did Mr Kennison not talk about what Zhengzhou was like before liberation? How many houses like the current ones were there in Zhengzhou before liberation? Even today China is a developing country. It was foreign invasion and domestic troubles that hampered China's development. Since liberation, we have vigorously carried out socialist construction, but it is impossible for us to eliminate all the traces left over by history.

If Mr Kennison criticized and pointed out all these negative things out of good will, we would certainly be grateful. For we never conceal any of these things and have taken or are taking a series of measures to overcome and eliminate them. However, Mr Kennison, with the habitual prejudice of the Western bourgeoisie, has associated all these negative things with China's socialist system. He has attempted to use this clumsy trick to vilify and negate China's socialist system; it is this that we absolutely cannot tolerate. If Mr Kennison knows something about Chinese history and looks squarely at the fact that the old China, once a paradise for adventurers, was willfully trampled upon and humiliated by others, he has to admit that the socialist system has brought great changes to China and that new China has made marvelous progress. This is perfectly clear to all Chinese.

As a matter of fact, Mr Kennison knows nothing about American history either. If he recognizes that the material civilization in today's United States did not drop from the skies and does not deny the fact that the community welfare of today's United States is the result of the hard work of millions of American laboring people and of those in its colonies, he should be ashamed to sneer at other countries because they are not so rich. Moreover, Mr Kennison should know very well that not everybody is able to make a fortune or get rich in the United States. It was due to his failure to make a living as a writer in the United States that Mr Kennison had to go abroad to get a job. Because Mr Kennison does not observe China from a historical viewpoint put with an ideological approach, and because of his deep-rooted political prejudice and lust for fame, he quite unscrupulously, wrote the article "China Is Stinking" without the slightest consideration for his own moral quality.

Mr Kennison once bragged that he was as talented as Jack London. Merely by reading his masterpiece we can say that he is not so honest as Jack London was. Having a guilty conscience, Mr Kennison repeatedly vindicates himself in the article: "I have not fabricated or misunderstood any of the evil things I have heard or seen." "I have not exaggerated the facts but have actually avoided mentioning or recalling some painful memories." In this way, he has tried to convince people that what he has quoted in his article is absolutely truthful. This may deceive honest American readers, particularly those who have not been to Zhengzhou or Zhengzhou University, but cannot deceive those who know the truth, including those Americans and other foreigners who have lived and worked here. As a matter of fact, Mr Kennison, wishing to please the public with claptrap, not only filled his article with fabrications and misunderstandings, but told lies and spread slander. Such cases can be found in every line of the article. For example, the article said that the Chinese "treat all decorations as

decadent" and "one will be severely criticized if one decorates one's apartment, therefore, most families dare not run the risk even now"; "there is only one kind of desk lamp in China"; "daily life is controlled by loudspeakers"; "the students' food is rich with water, with no meat or vegetables at all"; the leaders of the foreign languages department "have only graduated from middle school," and "in the university's administrative departments, there was only one person who had attended university, and he for only 2 years"; and "almost everyone fears Friday afternoon as it is the time for political study." Facts have already given fair answers to these careful fabrications and groundless calumnies and it is pointless for us to waste our time refuting them one by one. There is a Chinese saying: It is better to see once than hear a hundred times. We welcome all American readers to come to Zhengzhou and Zhengzhou University to have a look. They may see whether our campus is as miserable as Mr Kennison describes it and what food our university students eat. They may also see how the young people take part in civility and courtesy activities, how they serve the people wholeheartedly and whether the teachers and students fear every Friday afternoon as fabricated by Mr Kennison. Facts will certainly lay bare Mr Kennison's lies and prove that he lacks even the minimum moral integrity and personal worth required of an upright writer

We would like to restate that there are indeed some things stinking in China. They are none other than the decadent rubbish left over by the old system, which we have not yet eliminated, the traces left over by imperialist aggression and the oppression of reactionary forces over nearly 100 years, and those things which have been poisoned by the corruption and infiltration of external ideology. We Chinese people have both the determination and the confidence to thoroughly eliminate all these decadent and stinking remnants of the old times, and to build both socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization without untiring hands. No matter how much Mr Kennison sneers at, jeers at and vilifies us, our determination and confidence are unshakable. In order to satisfy his greedy desires, Mr Kennison spared no efforts to insult us to cater to the needs of the anti-Chinese forces, without the slightest consideration of his own character and conscience. All this has shown that it is not China, not we, but Mr Kennison himself and his ignorance, prejudice, pride and arrogance that are really stinking. We are convinced that the vast [phrase indistinct] will certainly smell the stink emitted by Mr Kennison.

CSO: 4005/154

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

REPORT ON FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAM AIDING POPULATION GOAL

HK060340 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 6 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by CHINA DAILY reporter Liu Dizhong]

[Text] Married couples who keep to the single child family programme account for more than 70 percent of the total married population in Liaoning, Xhandong, Jilin, Heilongjiang and Jiangsu provinces and in Beijing, Shanghai and Tianjin municipalities, Qian Xinzhong, director of the State Family Planning Commission told CHINA DAILY yesterday. [paragraph published in boldface]

The population target of no more than 1.2 billion by the year 2000 can positively be achieved if only another 10 provinces with populations over 30 million can keep their single-child family ratio at the same level, Qian said.

"We are confident that we can achieve this target set for the year 2000 by the party's 12th National Congress," Qian declared.

Speaking on the results of this year's national census, which revealed China's population has come to just over one billion, Qian said this was very close to his estimate and proved that China's family planning has been a success.

He recalled that China has had two birth peaks since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, both resulting from one-sided and metaphysical population theories and policies. "In the nine years from 1949 to 1958, the increase was more than 100 million. The second peak began in 1962 and lasted 14 years, during which the annual increase was more than 20 million.

"By the time the annual growth rate had begun to fall in 1975--no less than 20 million each year--the total population had reached 820 million," he said.

Family planning efforts must not be slackened, especially in the rural areas where 800 million people live, he said, adding that if each rural couple has two children, the total population will reach 1.317 billion by the end of the century.

While the policy of one-couple one-child is maintained in both urban and rural areas, some persons are permitted to have two children if their cases conform to the following exceptions:

--those whose first child has a non-congenital defect.

--remarried couples of whom at least one partner had no child in the first marriage.

--those whose child is adopted.

"People living in remote mountain areas or overseas Chinese settling in rural areas may also have two children," Qian added.

The minister said, more concrete regulations and laws will be drawn up in the course of two years, including stipulations on second births in rural areas, family-planning policies in minority regions, measures to reward one-child couples and to discourage having two or more children plus efforts to encourage late marriage and late child-bearing.

He said that some people worry that a one-child policy will result in fewer working people to support more retired people in the next few decades, a trend that has showed up in some other countries.

No reason to worry about that," Qian explained. "China will still have a labour force (aged 16 to 55) of 700 million by the end of the century, approximately the current level, mainly because its population base is higher and its population structure is younger than some other countries."

As for the census showing that the present proportion of males to females is 51.5 percent to 48.5 or 106.3 to 100, the minister said it is in line with figures released in 1964 (51.3 percent to 48.67) and in 1953 (51.82 percent to 48.76 percent).

Qian said worldwide, males slightly outnumber females--105-108 to 100--although the trend is changing in some Western countries where the average life expectancy of females is longer.

CSO: 4000/14

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

QIAN XINZHONG VIEWS POPULATION GROWTH RATE

OW061622 Beijing XINHUA in English 1517 GMT 6 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 6 Nov (XINHUA)--Qian Xinzhong, minister in charge of the State Family Planning Commission, in a recent interview said to XINHUA that, "If birth control is not practiced in the Asian and Pacific region, a total population of 5 billion can be expected by the year 2015."

"The figure will be 500 million more than the total population of the world now," he added. The population of the Asian and Pacific region stands at 2.5 billion at present.

In a brief account of the third Asian and Pacific population conference held in Sri Lanka in September, Qian Xinzhong, who led a Chinese delegation there, said that these countries since the 1970's had been paying attention to family planning. They all recognized the importance of keeping popluation growth commensurate with socioeconomic development and birth rate has dropped in the past few years. But the absolute increase was still large.

"This is because the base of the region's population is big," he said.

According to the conference, from 1970 to 1980, the population of the Asian and Pacific region had risen by one-fourth and accounted for 56 percent of the world's total.

Qian Xinzhong said that China was determined to keep its population within 1.2 billion by 2000. Annual natural population growth should be kept within 11 million in the coming 18 years. The 1981 natural growth was about 14 million. He said, "Our task is to take measures to decrease this 3 million."

He stressed that rural population was the major target. Emphasis of publicity and ideological education on family planning work would be put on rural areas and contraceptives will be supplied there first. The quality of contraceptives would be improved.

He said, "We must teach the peasants to understand that birth control will help them raise their living standard."

Rural production brigades are setting up pension system and old folks' homes. "These help peasants to gradually change their idea that 'sons are the insurance,'" he explained.

The first-born rate in Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai had reached 90 percent and in the provinces of Liaoning, Shandong, Jilin, Heilongjiang and Jiangsu, more than 70 percent of newly born babies are the only child of their parents.

He said that if the 70 percent rate can be attained in the 15 provinces whose population topped 30 million, the goal of 1.2 billion by the end of this century could be reached.

According to figures released by the recent national census, it can be expected that people over 65 will account for only around 9 percent by the year 2000. China does not face the problem of an aging population, he said.

CSO: 4000/14

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

INTELLECTUAL WORK CONFERENCE--A Gansu provincial conference on work concerning intellectuals concluded in Lanzhou on 7 November after 1 week in session. The participants studied relevant passages of Comrade Hu Yaobang's 12th Party Congress report and important instructions and speeches of central leaders on work concerning intellectuals. Comrade Guo Hongchao delivered a report on this work. Comrades Feng Jixin and Li Dengying also spoke. The participants summed up work and looked into measures for improvement. "As a result of study and discussion, the responsible comrades of various areas and departments heightened their understanding of the importance of work concerning intellectuals, and gained a clearer idea of the important status and role of intellectuals in building the four modernizations. A number of leading comrades found out the shortcomings in their work and thinking and became more enthusiastic to do a good job in work concerning intellectuals. Many representatives of intellectuals put forward very good views and suggestions. They also got a clearer idea of the heaviness of their responsibilities. They expressed resolve to work hard to change Gansu's economic and cultural backwardness and help to create a new situation in all fields of socialist construction in the province." [HK090121 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 0420 GMT 8 Nov 82]

CSO: 4005/154

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

SIGNIFICANCE OF 12TH PARTY CONGRESS ANALYZED

Hong Kong CHENG MING /CONTENDING/ in Chinese No 10, Oct 82 pp 48-50

/Article by Xu Xing /6079 5887/: "Comments on the CPC 12th Party Congress"/

/Text/ The Party Tradition ofthe "Four-Step Lead"

The 12th National Congress of the CPC opened on 1 September and concluded on 11 September. The First Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee was then convened, at which persons were elected to the various organs of the Central Committee. In his opening speech to the 12th Party Congress Deng Xiaoping said that this plenary session was the first major conference since the Seventh Party Congress. He reached back into the past and explored the roots of the party's historical traditions. His intention undoubtedly was to distinguish this plenary session from the four previous plenary sessions and to make clear the distinctions between them. The reason for this is that the 11th Party Congress belonged to Hua Guofeng and the whatever faction, the 10th Party Congress was controlled by the gang of four, and the Ninth Party Congress was under the influence of Lin Biao.

In principles, the Eighth Party Congress should have gone to Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping. At that plenary session, Liu Shaoqi gave a government report and Deng Xiaoping gave a report on revising the party constitution. In his report Deng Xiaoping advocated doing away with the worship of individuals and deleted the provision from the party constitution which made Mao Zedong Thought the guiding ideology of the constitution. Furthermore, at the First Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee, Liu Shaoqi was elected vice chairman of the party and Deng Xiaoping was elected party secretary general. Only 8 months after the Eighth Party Congress began, the contending and blooming movement got underway. During the movement many outstanding elements were labeled rightists. At that time Deng Xiaoping was in charge of the antirightists movement. It was he who gave to the Third Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee the report on rectifying incorrect styles of work. For the most part, this antirightist movement has been criticized as a mistake of magnification and the ensuing Great Leap Forward as a disastrous movement. Consequently, as Deng Xiaoping currently traces back the historical roots of the party's traditions, he has skipped over the Eighth Party Congress and has directly linked up with the Seventh Party Congress, prior to the founding of the nation.

Of course, this "four-step leap" will help the 12th Party Congress shake off the historical grime and increase the significance of its policies and systems currently in force. However, it has unintentionally exposed a frightening fact, which is that since the founding of the nation, not one party congress has warranted affirmation of the CPC.

It is still fresh in everyone's memory that without exception, each party congress was praised by those in power at the time as being such a significant, successful, and triumphant plenary session. The shouts of a "united meeting" and a "triumphant meeting" still ring in our ears. In the end this was all worthless. Such historical facts are very painful. Because of this, it has not been easy to dispel totally the feeling of dejection in the hearts and minds of the Chinese people that has resulted from "reviewing history." Therefore, as regards the current major plenary session on "setting things right" and "turning back history," the people not unexpectedly have adopted either a wait-and-see, cautious, reserved optimism or a moderate pessimism--both of which /attitudes/ are reasonable.

The 12th Party Congress Is a Continuation of the Third Plenary Session

Exactly what kind of party congress was this one? In the overall view, this party congress formally established the Deng-Hu system. This so-called Deng-Hu system actually has as its core group Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang, Chen Yun, and Zhao Ziyang. Deng Xiaoping is the key figure of this core group, while Chen Yun is the strong mainstay. Hu Yaobang, by relying on the cooperation of his old comrades-in-arms in the CYL, has provided this core group with new theories and new energy for taking action, while Zhao Ziyang has put party policies into practice in the state structure. This is an example of the most sincere cooperation among the first and second generation of leaders concerning "passing on experiences, giving help, and setting an example" that has occurred since the CPC came to power (this does not refer to the founding of the party).

Compared to the whatever faction and the dogmatists, this system is without doubt the most feasible. Furthermore, to a fair degree it coincides with the ideas of the general demand for reforms within the party. Consequently, it has won considerable support within and outside the party. Beginning with the Third Plenary Session in December 1978, they broke through Hua Guofeng's and the others' line of defense. After this they gradually expanded and consolidated their power, and finally at the Sixth Plenary Session in June 1981 they formally removed Hua Guofeng from his position as party chairman. Hu Yaobang took over the leadership. The 12th Party Congress is the final phase of the party power struggle that has been going on since the Third Plenary Session.

The Power Structure That HasEmerged From the 12th Party Congress

At present, the power structure of the CPC that has emerged from the 12th Party Congress is as follows:

The Standing Committee of the Central Committee--The makeup is basically similar to that arranged by the Fifth and Sixth Plenary Sessions, except that Hua Guogeng has finally been removed from the Standing Committee of the Central Committee and from the Politburo. His removal brought about a significant change in the state of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee. Deng, Hu, Zhao, and Chen hold four of the six seats and occupy the dominant position. In principle, a committee consisting of an even number of people is totally illogical. Once Hua Guofeng was removed, another person should have taken his place. Most likely it was not easy to reach an agreement on filling the vacancy. In any case, Deng, Hu, Zhao and Chen still retain absolute dominance, so that even if it continues to exist with an even number of people it will not become "something new."

Something else that is not new in the Standing Committee of the Central Committee is that, at the ripe old age of 85 and with signs of senility approaching, Ye Jianying refuses to retire. On the contrary, he still declares that he will "give his all until his dying day." Why does an old man nearing his end want to hang onto his position and leave himself no alternatives? In addition to this old man himself who values highly his position of power, his family is unwilling for him to step down. Furthermore, this can be seen in the fact that certain groups (such as certain elements in the military and in the petroleum faction) hope that he will act as their straw to clutch at, and that he will remain on the Standing Committee of the Central Committee along with Li Xiannian. This will prevent the Standing Committee from becoming too homogeneous.

The Political Bureau--The changes have been rather extensive. Among the committee members who emerged from the 11th Party Congress, quite a few who belonged to the whatever faction were gradually expunged after the Third Plenary Session and replaced by people belonging to Deng's clique. After the 12th Party Congress, Liu Bocheng /0491 0130 2110/ voluntarily requested leave due to a long bout of illness. Xu Shiyou /6079 0013 0645/ and Geng Biao /5105 7374/ were put on the Central Advisory Commission. Geng Biao, in his capacity as incumbent minister of the Ministry of National Defense, was forced out of the Politburo and onto the Advisory Commission. This was quite an unusual event. (This year Geng is 73 years old; Nie Rongzhen /5119 2837 5271/ is 83 years old, and yet he was retired and resigned from his position as vice chairman of the Standing Committee, although he is retained on the Politburo. He continues to hold the position of vice chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee and has not been put on the Advisory Commission.) Even more odd is the fact that the 65-year-old Peng Chong /1756 0394/ (some say he is 67) is still a member of the Presidium of the 12th Party Congress. He participated in presiding over the meeting on 8 September, but he failed to be elected to the Politburo or the Secretariat.

In all, nine new people were elected to the current Politburo, including alternate members. They are Wan Li /5502 6849/, Xi Zhongxun /5045 0112 0534/, Yang Shangkun /2799 1424 2492/, Yang Dezhi /2799 1779 1807/, Song Renqiong /1345 0117 4522/, Hu Qiaomu /5170 0829 2606/, Liao Chengzhi /1675 2110 1807/ and alternates Yao Yilin /1202 0181 2651/ and Qin Jiwei /4440 1015 0251/.

Almost all nine of these people belong to the Deng faction. Thus the Deng faction makes up the overwhelming majority on the Politburo and plays a decisive role in consolidating the power of the existing system.

The Secretariat--The Secretariat of the Central Committee, which came into being during the Fifth Plenary Session, originally consisted of 11 people. Later on, the Sixth Plenary Session elected Xi Zhongxun as the 12th person. At present the Secretariat elected by the 12th Party Congress still consists of 12 people, including the general secretary, the secretary, and the alternate secretaries. The number of people has not changed. However, because certain people in the old Secretariat were promoted to be members of the Politburo, six new people were selected. They are Deng Liqun /6772 0500 5028/, Yang Yong /2799 0516/, Chen Pixian /7115 0012 7359/, Hu Qili /5170 0796 4539/, and alternates Qiao Shi /0829 4258/ and Hao Jianxiu /6787 1696 4423/. Both Deng Liqun and Hu Qili are Hu Yaobang's men from the CYL organization. Yang Yong represents the military on the Secretariat. In the past, Yang Dezhi, chief of the General Staff, was the military representative on the Secretariat. This time, because Yang Dezhi joined the Politburo, Yang Yong, deputy chief of the General Staff, took over his position, These two men both belong to the Deng faction.

The former secretary of the Secretariat, Wang Renzhong /3769 0117 6850/, failed to be elected. Last winter there had already been hints that he would fall from power. At that time Xi Zhongxun took over his position and became acting director of the Propaganda Department. Not long afterward, /the post/ was formally assumed by Deng Liqun. This probably was related to the pernicious influence of the "left" in /Wang's/ ideology. However, he is currently still a member of the Central Committee. As a director of the Central Liaison Department, Qiao Shi served as secretary.

Changes in the Plenary Session

The three bodies mentioned above are the true policy-making bodies and structures in charge of the day-to-day business of the Central Committee. A plenary session of the Central Committee is required only for endorsing general lines, policies, and major personnel changes. Nevertheless, those in power must control the majority on the plenary session, or else their power would ultimately not be stable. Thus, the 12th Party Congress made every effort to put quite a few oldtimers on the Central Advisory Commission. (It is calculated that there are 48 members from the earlier Central Committee and 12 alternates from the earlier Central Committee.) This has allowed several leading cadres in various departments in state agencies, in various provinces and municipalities, and in the armed forces to be placed on the new Central Committee. According to statistics, of the 210 Central Committee members were reelected, 15 of the original alternates were promoted to positions as full committee members, and 97--or 46 percent--were newly elected to the Central Committee. Obviously, this was quite a major changeover.

The biggest changeover was among the Central Committee alternates. Except for 15 alternates who were promoted to permanent positions, all the rest were replaced. Of these replacements, almost all are unknown personages. As the term suggests, Central Committee alternates were originally used to fill

vacancies on the Central Committee. How could as many as 138 alternates be needed for 210 Central Committee members within a 5-year period? However, in CPC there is an unwritten convention that the position of alternate has consistently been regarded as a high-ranking privileged position. Therefore, those in power frequently take advantage of this fact to use the granting of a position of Central Committee alternate to someone as a favor to win over supporters. One cannot say that the changing of the guard among Central Committee alternates at the 12th Party Congress was totally unrelated to the above-mentioned practice of winning over others.

Balance of Power Leans Toward Deng and Hu

From the above analyses, we naturally arrive at a conclusion: The 12th Party Congress not only caused the power structure to be weighted toward the Deng-Hu organization, but it also ushered in a new era in the history of the CPC in which a faction in the CPC has full assurance of a majority. No wonder that Hu Yaobang declared in his report to the plenary session: "In general, the leading power in party and state organizations at all levels is already basically in the hands of cadres who are loyal to the party and the people." Moreover, both Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang drew parallels between the 12th Party Congress and the Seventh Party Congress. (Hu Yaobang even made comparisons with the Zunyi Meeting.) No matter what the publicly declared reason was, there is another reason which is not openly discussed for drawing such a comparison. That is, because this group securely controls the majority in the highest policy-making organ of the Central Committee and in the Standing Committee organ, the will of the highest level of leadership has become even more unified. Thus, it is unlikely that there will be any great dissension that would result in a dispute.

As for the domination of the CPC, such a relatively stable period will last at least for the rest of Deng Xiaoping's life. Stability is beneficial to national economic construction. It may enable leaders to conserve their energy, usually wasted on internal disputes, and allow them to concentrate on economic construction. However, there is also a disadvantage to this stability. The party's control over the nation and its domination over the people may intensify. In other words, one-party dictatorship will only become stronger; it will not weaken.

In fact, this tendency to consolidate had already begun to appear at the end of 1979 and the beginning of 1980. Since then it has intensified. The slogans of ideological emancipation that were advocated during 1978 and 1979 are no longer even mentioned. Those involved in the democratic movements that sprang up one after another among the people from the end of 1978 to 1981 have long been rounded up. Breaths of fresh air such as that daring and courageous "revival of literature and art" which took place between 1979 and 1980 in art and literary circles no longer exists. Contacts between Chinese and foreigners are being monitored more closely. The people's right to know is increasingly being disregarded, under slogans that stress the maintenance of secrecy. There is increased censorship of foreign television. It is more and more difficult for people to leave the country to visit

relatives or study.... There are numerous indications that China is once again heading in a backward direction. They are heading along a path that confines the people and cuts them off from the outside world. They boast about the superiority of socialism from behind closed doors.

Essential Features of the Deng-Hu System

The Deng-Hu system is as follows: The Chinese society that they plan to establish is not an open, free, democratic society. On the contrary, it is a stabilized society which is under their strict control. They no longer advocate reform but rather the eradication of disorder and a return to righteousness. This means eradicating the pernicious influence of the internal unrest during the Cultural Revolution, eradicating the legacy of troubles deriving from ultraleftist policies, and restoring the consolidated rule of the CPC.

In order to restore the domination of the CPC, they plan to devote themselves to two areas. The first is to develop economic construction, and the second is to establish a spiritual civilization. They realize that economic development is the foundation for consolidated rule, and that eliminating corrupt phenomena in the party is the basis for consolidating their control. Neither should be overemphasized at the expense of the other.

As for the problem of how to develop economic construction, in his report Hu Yaobang issued triple the amount of 20-year promissory notes. In dealing with how to establish a spiritual civilization, he gave a long-winded, empty, theoretical speech. There is really no need to assess the purchasing ability of this kind of promissory note "signed by some great figure." It is more realistic to check on its efficacy through future developments. There are just two points to be made concerning those hollow words, which fall a little short of being considered a "great meaningless speech." The first point is that Hu Yaobang did not thoroughly cirticize the degeneration of party style. He only touched upon it, saying that this is a "problem that affects the life and death of the party." How is this problem of life and death to be resolved? He merely said that the Central Committee has already decided that, beginning the latter half of next year, a 3-year overall rectification of party style will be carried out in stages within the party. This attitude is like "having a doctor slowly attend to someone suffering from acute infantile convulsions." Serious remedies are not considered. It is very doubtful whether this method of rectifying party style--in which they cover up "domestic scandals," evade the people, control public opinion, and rely solely on instruction on inner-party ideology to treat 33 years of severe and lingering illness--can produce substantial results. The second point is that Hu Yaobang said the establishment of a spiritual civilization may be divided into cultural and ideological establishment. Hu obviously believes that ideological establishment is a major link in producing a spiritual civilization. This view is just like Zhang Guo riding a donkey with his face toward the tail; he does the reverse of what should be done. Once could put it thus: The more established the ideology of the CPC, the less freedom of thought the people have. The spirit behind all their independent thought and bold criticism will be destroyed by "ideological establishment." Consequently,

even though it is not yet a situation of 10,000 horses standing mute, still it's not far from it. What brilliant and spendid civilization of letting a hundred schools of thought contend and a hundred flowers bloom is there to speak of?!

The 12th Congress of the CPC is an important milestone for the Deng-Hu system because they have been able to consolidate their rule. It is also an important milestone as far as the entire party is concerned. They definitely put an end to the spirit of Mao Zedong's Cultural Revolution and ushered in a new era of stable rule like that of Brezhnev in the Soviet Union. As for the Chinese people, this is a peaceful but not always prosperous dynasty. The people have food to eat, but they do not have their freedom, nor do they enjoy demoratic rights.

9864
CSO: 4005/66

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

PRC'S PLANS FOR SOVEREIGNTY OVER HONG KONG DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 10, Oct 82 pp 10-11

[Article by Luo Bing [5012 3056]: "Sino-British Talks and the Aspirations of Deng and Hu"]

[Text] The Iron Lady Meets the Iron Man

"The problem of getting Hong Kong back is not something we worry about."

I understand that these were the words of Hu Yaobang.

The words are true. If Beijing wants sovereignty over Hong Kong returned, what right has Britian to refuse?

The problem is when to take it back and in what form. What demands might Britain make? Will China accede to all or some of Britian's demands? And so forth. These questions cannot be answered by a "few words" from Beijing.

This is to say that there is a need for a dialog.

Although the Hong Kong issue was not the sole topic of the Sino-British talks during this visit by Mrs Thatcher to Beijing, it was nonetheless a major element of the dialog.

I don't know if the British dignitaries who sat at the large, round, central table laden with flowers during the dinner party arranged by Zhao Ziyang to welcome Mrs Thatcher drank Mao Tai or brandy or soda pop, but at the rectangular table where she held talks with Zhao Ziyang, Mrs Thatcher surely drank a bitter brew.

Beyond the Summit, a Marathon Is Run

China will certainly take back sovereignty over Hong Kong--the first taste of bitter wine.

The British guests may have suggested that 15 years was too short a time [for the transition], that investors are beginning to halt longer term investments, and that as a result it will be difficult to maintain prosperity in Hong Kong.

They would want a longer period of time before surrendering sovereignty. The hosts very likely made it clear at the time that that would be unacceptable--another bitter drink.

In other words, the Iron Lady of the British capital ran up against the Iron Man of Beijing. On the issue of sovereignty over Hong Kong, the Iron Lady stumbled into a wall.

However, aside from the major principle that sovereignty over Hong Kong must be returned to Chinese hands, other secondary principles and the concrete methods involved are seen as being negotiable. If Deng Xiaoping wants to reassert control over Hong Kong before 1997, it is primarily because of high-level pressure exerted by some within the party (more about the matter of pressure later), and if the British side will make reasonable and sensitive requests, then I believe that fact will circulate rapidly in inner circles and, after Deng and Hu reach an "understanding," they may make some concessions in matters not involving large principles, and the talks need not go on too long. But if matters are not handled in this way, then a marathon dialog will be unavoidable.

Regardless, the talks will not end at the conclusion of this "summit," but will go on at secondary or local levels. Authorities in Hong Kong and in Guangdong will play extremely important roles in this series of marathon or near-marathon talks.

The Chinese Communists certainly have the upper hand in the talks on Hong Kong. The primary reason for this is that China's stand on reestablishing sovereignty after a number of years is just, is reasonable, and can stand on its own merits.

Another reason is that the Chinese Communists had already thoroughly prepared for the talks with Mrs Thatcher and for future talks.

A Succession of Chinese Communist Leaders Go to Hong Kong

It is very interesting to recall for a moment the reactions of the news media of the international community and of the United States and European countries to the news of the Chinese Communists' reestablishing sovereignty over Hong Kong. Several months ago, the diplomatic community in Beijing had absolutely no interest in the question of Hong Kong's future. They were already tired of hearing Deng Xiaoping and other important figures saying things such as they "hoped Hong Kong would continue to prosper," and "investors need not worry." When the July issue of CHENG MING first reported that the highest levels of the CPC wanted to reassert sovereignty over Hong Kong in the near future and, at the same time, to preserve Hong Kong's capitalist social system, although some foreign news agencies reported the CHENG MING report and newspapers in Britain, France, the United States, and Japan printed it, the news was not given prominence and the matter did not attract attention. Only in late August and early September did news concerning the future of Hong Kong become a hot item. Some foreign newspaper reporters in Beijing and reporters in London, Paris, and New York coincidentally surged into Hong

Kong at that time searching for information. When Mrs Thatcher was due to arrive in Beijing, they and reporters from every Hong Kong paper swarmed into Beijing. Why did such a change occur?

The major reason is that they didn't really believe that the Chinese would suddenly decide to take back Hong Kong in the not too distant future.

In fact, even before CHENG MING reported that Chinese Communist decision, the PRC had given documents to XINHUA NEWS AGENCY in Hong Kong outlining the decision to reestablish sovereignty over Hong Kong and the principle of "one country, two systems."

Afterward, high-level cadres involved with Hong Kong businesses streamed into Hong Kong one after another. Among them were Lin Yixin [2651 0001 1800], Lin Xiude [2651 0208 1795] and Liang Weilin [2733 1218 2651]. They passed on the directives of the Party Central Committee to all of China's Hong Kong operatives and carried out the work of explaining.

It is said that there is more than one Chinese Communist document on the Hong Kong matter. A speech by Hu Yaobang at a Guangdong-Fujian work forum is one of them. Beijing friends informed me of the major elements of this important internal CPC document. The heading of the document is in black, which is to say that the topic is black, meaning that it is given to the average cadre to read; this makes it clear that this high-level CPC policy on Hong Kong is semipublic. (Editor's note: This material is appended. It was supplied by one of our ardent readers.)

The Words of Deng Xiaoping in Documents Headed in Red

One document is headed in red, indicating that it is given only to high-level cadres to read. It contains excerpts of the views of Deng Xiaoping concerning the Hong Kong matter. The statement to the effect that what foreigners can handle (managing a city), Chinese can also handle--a statement attributed to a tycoon from Zhongnanhai which has been circulating overseas--is a "grand line" of "Master Deng." Deng Xiaoping also uttered the following words:

> Hong Kong is an inseparable part of our nation's territory, as is Taiwan. That we did not take it back in the past was primarily for reasons of developing trade. But now, after a few more years, we very likely will take it back, making it a district under our direction (a special administrative area).

Beijing friends have told me that all cadres throughout the nation understand the policy and principles of the Party Central Committee with regard to the Hong Kong-Macao issue. I visited some grassroots units to get a feel for the situation, and, sure enough, the leaders of these units spoke clearly and accurately of the policy. The SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO [WORLD ECONOMIC GUIDE], which is published in Shanghai, published an article (on 6 September) on impressions of Hong Kong in which the author revealed his sensitivity to the matter of Hong Kong's future. He wrote: "At present, Hong Kong's economic

development seems to be in the direction of scaling back industry and forcefully becoming a financial center, offering loans to the entire world. This makes it easy to move away on the day when circumstances in Hong Kong and Kowloon change. This is an impression gained from observation." If the author did not understand the intentions of the CPC Central Committee, would he have written this? Would the SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO have printed this article?

Some in the news world cannot handle this question: Why are Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang so determined to reestablish sovereignty over Hong Kong?

Deng Xiaoping's determination stems from his estimation of and emphasis on three pressures, two opportune moments, and one desire.

Three Pressures, Two Opportune Moments, One Desire

Three pressures:

The first is the demand of cadres with "leftist tendencies." They feel that by not taking back Hong Kong, Deng Xiaoping is purposely reqlinquishing China's rights and dishonoring the nation, while at the same time allowing the unhealthy winds from Hong Kong to blow into the mainland, corrupting cadres and harming political stability.

The second is the close attention being paid by the Third World. Some countries feel that by not taking back Hong Kong, China is making it clear that her resolute opposition to colonialism is a lie.

The third is the censure of the international communist movement. When the time came, the Soviet Union would intensify attacks on China's attitude toward Hong Kong, and this would influence the international communist movement.

Two Opportune Moments

The first is that the Chinese Communists are now entering into a campaign to "make comprehensive breakthroughs in socialist modernization construction," and Hong Kong and Macao should and can be included. The Chinese Communists feel it is possible to maintain the area's prosperity. They do not fear that capital will flee after they regain sovereignty, and if it does, they feel it will return.

The second is that Chiang Ching-kuo is in poor health, and Taiwan's situation might change in the next few years. If the PRC can solve the matter of Hong Kong and Macao and turn them into a model of the "one nation, two systems" form, then it will be helpful in solving the Taiwan problem.

One Desire

This is the desire to complete the great task of reuniting the nation. With the return of Hong Kong and Macao to the motherland, followed by the return of Taiwan to the motherland, the great task that Mao Zedong was unable to

to accomplish would be completed by Deng Xiaoping. This would be the great accomplishment of Deng Xiaoping's generation.

I believe that if people understood the feelings of Deng and Hu (especially Deng Xiaoping's), then it would be easy for them to comprehend the policy of the CPC Central Committee with regard to the future of Hong Kong and Macao. The "theoretical basis" of this policy is found in these two words: politics first.

Seen from the perspective of Deng Xiaoping's desires, while smiles will appear and may appear repeatedly in present and future talks between China and Britain (emphasizing that Sino-British friendship and cooperation should be part of China's global strategy), China's stand is completely firm and unshakable.

9705
CSO: 4005/69

PARTY CONSTITUTION, POLITICAL MODERNIZATION DISCUSSED

Hong Kong MING PAO YUEH K'AN [MING PAO MONTHLY] in Chinese Vol 17 No 10, Oct 82 pp 6-8

[Essay by Liao Guangsheng [1675 0342 3932]: "Abrogation of the Party Chairmanship, and Political Modernization--Comments on the New Party Constitution of the 12th National Congress of the CPC"]

[Text] 1. Resistance to Political Development in Modern China

In the context of modern world history, the political development of China has been relatively slow. Every time it has been necessary to learn new ideas and systems, great resistance has been encountered. Most of this resistance originates [either] from political and cultural traditions left over from history or from the power of those with vested interests. The former kind of resistance originates in society, while the latter kind originates with the ruling cliques. Comparatively speaking, the latter kind is more important. The former type of resistance often serves as an excuse for the latter, making resistance even more powerful.

From a political point of view, over 100 years of Chinese history tell us that the only way for China to survive is to go all out to make itself strong. To make China strong, it is necessary to enact reforms or make revolution. Whenever reformist or revolutionary ideologies have arisen to overthrow old forces, the new political forces have replaced the old forces and formed a powerful political clique. After a short period of time, however, this new political clique has in turn transformed itself into a conservative political force, obstructing further progress. Therefore, modern Chinese political development has advanced one step only to retreat half a step. The Manchu government of the late Qing period was corrupt, and the Revolutionary Party rose up to overthrow the Manchus, but political power was then usurped by Yuan Shikai, obstructing any further steps in China's political revolution. After 1949, when the CPC established its political power, a new situation opened up in the 1950's; however, since the early 1960's, the CPC ruling clique has acquired vested interests. It does not hesitate to distort Marxism-Leninism in order to protect its leadership powers, and "revolutionary spirit" has withered. Chinese politics has also retrogressed: although a lot of political jargon has been invented, Chinese politics is still basically backward.

Furthermore, the Chinese people have great powers of resistance to new ideas. Modern China's political leadership stratum got its start in the military; these [leaders] are experts at fighting civil wars, inventing strategems, and political maneuvering. Although their mouths are full of modern democracy, rule by law, or Marxist ideology, in their minds they think only about the political relationships within their own small group, and they are only concerned about their personal safety and political interests. The spirit of ideas such as democracy, rule by law, and Marxism are nothing more than slogans to be shouted at meetings.

For thousands of years the political system has been the weakest link in China's historical and cultural development. Aside from their acquiescence to the "Mandate of Heaven," our ancestors' understanding of national politics was quite limited. For thousands of years the common people dragged out an existence between the "Mandate of Heaven" above and the "sovereign's earth" below. It was not until the last half of the 19th century, while under armed attack from the West, that they began to understand the modern concept of the "nation" and came to realize that a political system must develop in a sound way.

For several decades, China's leaders have been groping for a relatively sound political system. The constitution has been revised several times in the hope that China could attain stable development. The new party constitution of the 12th Party Congress has also been drawn up with this goal in mind.

II. Conflict Between Party and Government Under the Chinese Communists

After the CPC established its political power in 1949, problems of organizational redundancy and clashes of authority between the party and the government appeared. Prior to 1959, Mao Zedong was concurrently chairman of the party and of the state, and he was able to resolve contradictions between the party and the government. After 1959, Liu Shaoqi became state chairman, and the state chairmanship and party chairmanship gradually became antagonistic roles. Fundamentally, in the Chinese Communist system, the party leads the state organizations and controls the military; the position of party chairman is naturally above that of state chairman. However, the state apparatus is the organ which implements policy and is responsible for administrative work throughout the nation. As an organization it is extensive and tightly knit; therefore it also constitutes a system. The state apparatus attends to routine official business and resolves all kinds of difficulties; therefore it strives for efficiency and seeks truth from facts, and it gradually develops an ideology of paying attention to reality. This working style of striving for realism slowly gets out of line with the Marxist-Leninist ideology upheld by the party. This problem of a contradiction between the party and the government was already apparent before the Cultural Revolution. In 1962 the conflict between the "First 10 Points" and the "Later 10 Points" broke out. In 1964 the "Four Cleanups Movement" also generated disputes between the party and the government. Thereafter, many disputes between the two lines appeared one after another, until an ideological contradiction between the party and the government had been created. Finally, Mao Zedong used the Red Guards to wreck the atate administrative system. After

the launching of the Cultural Revolution, the party ruled the country directly and the legal system collapsed completely, which led to a situation wherein there was a party without a government.

Prior to 1949, the aim of the Chinese Communists was concentrated on defeating the Kuomintang and seizing political power. On account of the war, there was no distinction at that stage between the party and the government. Party, government, and military had to cooperate closely for the sake of survival. However, these circumstances had already changed completely by the time political power was established in 1949. After the establishment of political power, it was necessary to maintain stability for a prolonged period. In a period of stability the important issue is economic construction. Only a flourishing economy can maintain an extensive military, improve weaponry, and enable the party to gain the support of the popular masses. In order to maintain a stable society and engage in cultural, educational, scientific, and national defense construction, it is obviously necessary to strive for realism, to make full use of intellectual and expert talent, and to improve administrative efficiency. Specialists in party affairs are not experts at any of these tasks. Therefore, in times of peace, the party and the government must divide up the work; only then can they make rapid progress in these kinds of construction. Unfortunately, Mao Zedong was hoodwinked in his old age and went in the direction of a feudal Marxism-Leninism, concentrating in his own person all the power in the country, and going in for the cult of the individual in a big way. The founding elders and principal officials were subjected to bullying and pressure. Intellectuals were identified with the "stinking old nine" and could only stand in the cowsheds, look up, and sigh, willing but unable to help. After the death of Mao Zedong, the wrath of the masses surged up everywhere, demanding that feudal superstitions be smashed. Finally, the "gang of four" was overthrown and the path of economic development was taken: the destiny of the Chinese people granted them a new lease on life. The two most precious lessons of these more than 30 years are: (1) The party must be institutionalized; power in the party must not be concentrated in one man. (2) There must be a clear distinction between party and government; if party and government do not divide up the work, it will be difficult to make progress in national construction.

III. The New Party Constitution of the 12th National Party Congress, and the Abrogation of the Party Chairmanship

In early September 1982, the 12th National Congress of the CPC approved a new party constitution which reformed the party organization and also added some important new provisions. There are three important changes which concern party-government relations:

(1) The Central Committee of the CPC will have a general secretary and will no longer have a chairman. The general secretary is responsible for convening meetings of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and of its Standing Committee, and also preside over the work of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

(2) The party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws. The party must ensure that the legislative,

judicial, economic, and administrative organs of the state, and the cultural and people's organizations, are able to work actively and with initiative, independently, responsibly, and in harmony.

(3) Advisory commissions are set up at the center and at the level of the provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government. Commissions for inspection of discipline are set up at the center and at all local levels.

Before the CPC established the position of party chairman, overall planning for the party was in the hands of the general secretary. The position of party chairman was only set up after the Zunyi Meeting, and thereafter the general secretary assisted the party chairman in overall planning for the party. During periods of civil war, when there was a party without a government, a party chairman was, of course, absolutely necessary. Since there were no state organs, the party originally provided the leadership for all party, government, and military affairs. The powers of the party leaders were great, and so their positions had to be high. After political power was established in 1949, however, the organs of state took over many party functions, and the civil war had already been brought to an end. Thereafter, the work of the party chairman frequently overlapped with that of the general secretary. On the other hand, responsibility for state affairs had already been assumed by the premier of the State Council and the state chairman, so that the power of the party chairman rested upon nothing. Formally the party chairman was overall leader and his position was higher than that of state chairman. Therefore, after 1959 relations between Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi gradually worsened: there was no room for two tigers on one mountain.

The abrogation of the position of party chairman by the 12th National Party Congress is a correct and resolute decision. Like the hero who cut off his own arm, an impediment between party and government has been removed. However, the abrogation of the position of party chairman does not necessarily diminish "the authority of the party." The party is still the source of power. If the authority of the party continues to be unlimited, it can go on disrupting the state administration as before, and the government will become a puppet of the party.

As far as party-government relations are concerned, what is most important is not abrogation of the party chairmanship but limitation of "the authority of the party." When the party interferes in administrative and government activities, the authority of the state organs is negated and the experience and talents of administrative personnel cannot be brought into play. Policy becomes divorced from reality, and the national economy, education, defense, and other areas can no longer develop according to plan. Furthermore, 30 years of experience shows that unlimited "authority of the party" is the most important cause of the wrecking of the legal system. When the party is above the law, there is no way to establish a legal system. Without a legal system, there is no guarantee of the lives and liberties of the people. The new party constitution specifies: "The party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws." This puts the "laws" above the party, and demands that the party abide by the law. It goes on to

say: "The party must see to it that legislative, judicial, and administrative organs of the state...work actively and with initiative, independently, responsibly, and in harmony." This provision has clearly been devised with the intention of limiting party interference with state organs.

The new party constitution also sets up advisory commissions at the center and at the provincial level, and commissions for inspection of discipline at the center and local levels. The advisory commissions are to put forward recommendations on the party's principles, policies, and implementation, and to exercise a certain restraint on the Central Committee. The most important duties of the commission for inspection of discipline are to maintain party discipline and to deal with important cases of violation of the party constitution or state laws by party organizations or members. In other words, the commissions for inspection of discipline are to prevent or deal with violations of the law by the party and its members. The central and local commissions for inspection of discipline are clearly important organizations for checking abuses of party authority and violations of the law by party members.

Although we cannot know whether these provisions can really be implemented, the principle of a division of work between party and government in the new party constitution is correct. The principle of a division of work between party and government fully manifests a spirit of striving for progress and of seeking truth from facts. At present, China's younger generation is spiritually undisciplined and ideologically confused. Once they had blind faith in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, but a few years ago they awoke from this dream and found everything empty. Even their faith in the Communist Party was shaken. Now that the style of the new party constitution has departed from the usual old phrasemongering and is striving for political stability and an improvement in living conditions of the people, there has truly been a shot in the arm for the Chinese people.

IV. Prospects for "Political Modernization"

The political development of a nation is many-faceted. The Chinese Communists spent 30 years before being convinced that the "authority of the party" must be limited and that the party and the government must divide up the work. This is similar to the discovery of the Manchu government in the late Qing period that besides the Emperor there exists a "nation." From the point of view of modern political science, the development of Chinese politics has not surpassed that of nations in the backward regions. Sooner or later the Chinese people, with a population of 1 billion and a superior sense of national self-respect, must seek "political modernization." After the people's standard of living has improved, they will seek corresponding political and social improvements. This is a universally acknowledged law of politics. The advance of industrial, agricultural, national defense, and scientific and technological modernization will lead to increased political demands by the people. In order to fulfill the people's political demands, there must be a sound and flexible political system. The division of work between party and government and the consolidation of the legal system are prerequisites to the achievement of political modernization.

Political modernization means the establishment of a political system which is stable and has widespread popular participation. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in 1978, the Chinese Communists have actively developed a socialist legal system and enacted many laws. The fifth article of the "1982 Draft of the Revised Constitution" specifieds: "All organs of state and the people's armed forces, all political parties and public organizations, and all enterprises and institutions must abide by the constitution and the law." The new party constitution also prescribes: "The party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws." There can be no doubting the importance of consolidating the legal system, but it must be based on a sound political system. Although the new party constitution boldly abrogates the party chairmanship, as a system it is not as thorough as the "1982 Draft Constitution." The "1982 Draft Constitution" specifies with regard to those in important positions that "they shall not serve more than two consecutive terms." For example, the "Draft Constitution" states: "The term of office of the chairman and vice chairman of the People's Republic of China is 5 years. They may be reelected but shall not serve more than two consecutive terms." (Article 79) "The premier, vice permiers, and commissioners of state shall not serve more than two consecutive terms." (Article 87) Eputies to the National People's Congress and members of the Central Military Commission also may not serve more than two consecutive terms. However, the new party constitution of the 12th National Party Congress has no restrictions on consecutive terms at all. Without limitations on terms in office for the general secretary and the members of the Political Bureau Standing Committee, it is highly questionable whether "only one person having a say" and the "feudal patriarchal system" can be prevented.

Although the new party constitution of the 12th National Party Congress no longer mentions the dictatorship of the proletariat, from the structure of the party constitution it can be seen that the party can still control the military through the "Military Commission of the Central Committee," that the party can control the State Council through the Political Bureau; and that the Central Committee Secretariat can exercise remote control over the central and local government organizations. Therefore, at every level the party organizations can still control every corner of government and society; the power of the party can reach everywhere, and it will be difficult for state organizations to avoid falling under party control. It is easy to see that this new structure offers no sure guarantee of the principles of a "division of work between the party and the government," and "limiting the authority of the party." In other words, the 12th National Party Congress has not been able to separate "state" and "party." Or to put it another way, the state has not been liberated from the hands of the "party's founding elders."

Sun Yat-sen divided the period of national construction into three stages: military government, political tutelage, and constitutional government. The new party constitution of the 12th National Party Congress is situated somewhere in between the stages of military government and political tutelage. Only if the "four modernizations" and "socialist democracy" quickly give way to "political modernization" will the Chinese people be able to avoid continued political turmoil and establish a stable society. The abrogation

of the party chairmanship by the 12th National Party Congress is only a beginning: the party and the government have still not completely divided up the work, and the party still controls the government. A look at the elements making up the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau shows that there is still some distance to go between China's political developments and "political modernization."

At Hong Kong Chinese University, 14 September 1982

12187
CSO: 4005/70

SYSTEMS REFORM BY 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CH'I-SHIH NIEN-T'AI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 10, Oct 82 pp 22-23

[Article by Sha Ming [3097 2494]: "Systems Reform of the 12th Party Congress"]

[Text] The new systems of the CPC which the people have long been concerned about had been set up by the close of the First Plenary Session of the 12th Party Congress. The Central Committee of the CPC established three committees --the Central Committee, the Central Advisory Commission, and the Central Commission for the Inspection of Discipline. The Central Committee elected the Politburo and its Standing Committee. The general secretary and the Secretariat both decided on the chairman and vice chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee.

In August 1980, when the call for reform had gained strength, Deng Xiaoping gave a speech to the Politburo. In October, the high-ranking research fellow on the Central Committee, Liao Gailong [1675 5556 7127], used this address by Deng Xiaoping as a program to advocate the systematic "Gengshen Reform Plan." This plan was authoritative and was the most radical proposal for managing state affairs put forth to date by the Central Committee. In essence the plan was to democratize the party and state through systems reform.

What systems reform has the party implemented 2 years later at the 12th Party Congress?

Decentralization Has Not Yet Been Put Into Practice

Originally we figured that the 12th Party Congress would make changes in the pyramid power structure by putting into practice the checks and balances of the system of decentralization as proposed in the Gengshen Plan. However, the outcome of the 12th Party Congress was quite different.

At the party congress the Gengshen Plan was conceived of as a plan for "electing three committees of equal rank that would restrict and supervise each other and would all be part of the Central Committee." They could be designated the "executive committee," "advisory committee," and "committee for inspection of discipline." Liao Gailong likened the relationship between them to the relationship of mutual supervision and control among the procuratorate, law court, and public security bureau of China's judicial organs. "They form a self-regulating

system for correctly handling contradictions among the people and between ourselves and the enemy and for guarding against the occurrence of degeneration of socialism, revolt, and other unforeseen events." The three committees are all responsible to the Party Congress. When their views do not coincide, they may convene a joint conference. If things cannot be resolved, they may convene the People's Congress.

The current new party constitution clearly stipulates that the Advisory Commission is an "assistant and consultant" to the Central Committee. It "works under the leadership" of the Central Committee and its Standing Committee chairman and vice chairman must "report results to the Central Committee for approval." The Central Commission for the Inspection of Discipline is lower down. According to provisions in the party constitution, its tasks are "to assist the party committees in rectifying party style and to check up on the implementation of the line, principles, policies, and decisions of the party." Its subordinate position with respect to the Central Committee and party committees at all levels is very clear. Whether or not it can check up on party discipline independently of party committees is open to question. Power is still concentrated in the Central Committee; yet the Central Committee of over 300 people holds only one meeting a year. The real power lies in the Politburo. Meetings of the 28-member Politburo are convened by the general secretary of the Central Committee. When the committee is not in session, the Standing Committee of the Politburo exercises the functions and powers of the Central Committee. Therefore, Hu Qiaomu [5170 0829 2606] said that the Standing Committee is "the leading core for the party's overall day-to-day work." When they exercise their authority, no power can contend with them.

Thus, this is still a pyramid power structure. The new Central Committee of the CPC has the shape of a tripod but without true separation of the three powers. The only difference from the past is that the chairmanship has been abolished and replaced by a general secretary. The general secretary does not have as much authority as the chairman [had]. According to the party constitution, he convenes meetings of the Politburo, and his authority to "preside" is restricted to handling the day-to-day work of the Secretariat.

As for the composition of the Politburo, the heads of the three committees as well as Premier Zhao Ziyang are members of the Standing Committee of the Politburo. We can see that at the top of the pyramid of power are the six members of the Standing Committee of the Politburo: Hu Yaobang, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian, and Chen Yun. Furthermore, Hu, Zhao, and Deng, who wield power over the party, government, and military, have become China's "three-horse carriage" [troika].

All things considered, the democratization of China's government from Mao Zedong's autocratic rule to the rule of the three chiefs has taken a step forward. However, it falls far short of having a true collective leading body and a democratic government with checks and balances, as proposed in the "Gengshen Reform Plan."

Little Hope Left of Getting a Younger Leading Body

Among the 340 members [as published] of the Central Committee, 211 or 62 percent are new. According to the news spokesman of the 12th Party Congress, Zhu Mu [4281 4476], over 140 of these, or more than two thirds, are under 60 years old. Only 16 members of the Central Committee are over 71 years of age.

Of the nine new people on the Politburo and the Secretariat, one third are 70-odd years old, one third are 60-odd years old, and one third are between 40 and 50 years old. The average age is 64.

These are indications that the leadership of the CPC is becoming younger. However, if we look at the pyramid power structure of the CPC, which is characterized by the centralization of state power, we will see that the limited extent to which younger people have joined the Central Committee has had very little impact on the CPC's exercise of power. Younger people who have joined the Central Committee can be promoted to only a slightly higher position. They must still gain a few years before they can rise to a position where they have the right to make policies and speak out. By then, however, these younger people may no longer be "in their prime."

Consequently, the average age in the nerve center of the party, the Politburo and its Standing Committee, is worth noting. At present, the average age in the former is 72, while in the latter it is 75. Even more amazing is the fact that of the 28 members of the Politburo, 18 are senior cadres over 70 years old! Almost all of the 16 senior cadres on the Central Committee who Zhu Mu claimed were over 70 years old are on the Politburo. The highest level is still a "government of old men."

The 12th Party Congress repeatedly and strongly advocated that senior comrades "enjoy and command universal respect" and have "tremendous prestige and leadership experience"; therefore they can ensure the stability of policies and handle complex international and domestic affairs. Younger cadres should seek instruction from them more often when confronted with serious problems. They must not be bothered with ordinary problems. This is the same as saying that cadres "in their prime" do not yet have the ability to manage affairs, and that the people cannot have confidence in their ability to exercise power. Ye Jianying, the oldest senior delegate at the plenary session, falteringly announced that he would "give his all until his heart stopped beating." Thus it is very difficult to overcome the continued aging at the higher levels.

Ye Jianying's declaration, the tendency toward growth in the direct ratio of power and age, and the ancient tradition of considering qualifications and arranging ranks according to seniority will inevitably make it extremely difficult to reverse the process of aging in the CPC system. Furthermore, there is no end in sight to the system of having life long careers. In his talk after the plenary session, Hu Qiaomu corroborated this. He said that the emergence of leaders who truly enjoy popular confidence "is not possible in such a large party and nation as ours without going through the test of long-term struggle."

Advisory Commission Is Unworthy of the Title

The organizational system of the Central Advisory Commission was proposed by Deng Xiaoping in 1980. This was unprecendented in the history of communist parties throughout the world. It was Deng's original intention to find a place for a group of senior cadres who were unwilling to retire, and let them play a minor role in checking up on things. It has overtones of being rather like an old-age home for senior statesmen. According to the principle, the chief senior statesmen, Ye Jianying, should take up the post of chairman of the Central Advisory Commission. However, things have not worked out that way. Marshal Ye is old but vigorous and reluctant to give up his post. Li Xiannian is following his every move and nipping at his heels. In order to uphold the reputation of this new organizational system, which enjoys high prestige and respect, Deng Xiaoping himself should head the list of those in command.

Since the group of overage senior statesmen who are a decisive force remain on the Politburo (as many as five members of the Politburo Bureau are over 80 years old), the significance of the Advisory Commission is relatively weak. Furthermore, Geng Biao [5105 7374], Yu Guangyuan [0060 0342 6678], Feng Wenbin [7458 2429 1755], Wu Xiuquan [0124 0208 2938], Wu De [0702 1795], and Chen Xilian [7115 6932 5114] are on the list of members of the Advisory Commission, so that people feel it is not so much an advisory and consultatory organization as an internal united front structure. In general, this is an ornamental and superfluous organization.

On 11 September, RENMIN RIBAO gave an extremely incisive clarification. It said that the installation of the Central Advisory Commission was a new creation of the CPC. "It is also part of the necessary transition of the party's policies on cadres from the system of lifelong careers to the retirement system." They have hit the nail on the head. This shows that the Advisory Commission is purely and simply the product of a policy of compromise. It is a measure of concession adopted by the CPC reform faction against the hugh ranks of aging and useless men who dread losing their privileges. They give advice without being responsible and keep an eye on things. This inevitably is the real function of this new creation.

In 1978, the 11th Party Congress elected 333 Central Committee members and alternates. At this session they elected a total of 348 members and alternates. In addition, they elected 132 persons to the Advisory Commission and 132 members of the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline. There are a total of 612 people on all three commissions. The organization has become even more overstaffed and the financial burden even heavier.

Democratization Is Easier Talked About Than Implemented

The 12th Party Congress has carried out reforms in the system. The strength of the Deng-Hu faction has increased, and the real power of the Central Committee remains in their hands. However, with regard to such problems as democratizing the system and putting younger cadres into positions, they still fall far short of the Gengshen Reform Plan. It is believed that there are three internal reasons for this:

The first reason is that the conservative influence of the leading stratum has been underestimated. From the fact that, although Ye Jianying has repeatedly declared the "necessity for retirement," in the end he still "devotes himself to state affairs," one can see that whether or not someone advances or retires is strongly tied up with the interests of various factions, and compromise is frequently necessary.

The second reason is that, according to the conventions of power struggle, Hu and Zhao, as a new generation of leaders, have not yet put together a strong factional backing. At a time when they are about to present a political challenge in a nation with a high degree of political trickery, perhaps Hu Yaobang's allies in the CYL find it difficult to hold their own. At present, Hu draws his support primarily from Deng Xiaoping's influence and prestige.

The third reason is that centralism is an intrinsic quality of communist parties. In particular, the ruthless domestic and foreign struggles that have been going on for over half a century have caused the CPC to firmly believe that unified centralized leadership and iron discipline will guarantee victory. (After the 12th Party Congress, Hu Qiaomu stressed that the party's first requirement is to have "a high degree of political and ideological unity.") This automatically has a negative effect on democratization. Consequently, [the leaders] lack rudimentary democratic training and understanding. There are a great number of examples in the past and present to show that they have never resorted to democratic processes when dealing with major policies or trying to resolve difficult problems. The one-man one-vote system advocated by the Gengshen Plan has never been carried out. Frequently, the things people are confronted with are either not unanimously endorsed or without endorsement. Thus we can only have limited expectations for the implementation of democratization in the future.

9864
CSO: 4005/65

END

JPRS 82402

7 December 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 369

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82402

7 December 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 369

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

PARTY AND STATE

Study of History of Western Political Thought Urged
(Liu Shaoxian; DONGBEI SHIDA XUEBAO, 20 Jul 82) 1

Essay on Party Work Style Paraphrases Ancient Saying
(Yao Ben; WEN HUI BAO, 25 Aug 82) 9

Party Stressing Role of Scientists, Intellectuals
(Lu Huan; WEN HUI BAO, 3 Sep 82) 11

Ideological Education Ideals Said Important in Practical Work
(Chi Mu; LIAONING RIBAO, 13 Sep 82) 13

Rotation Training Will Upgrade Quality of Liaoning's Workers and Staff
(Editorial; LIAONING RIBAO, 20 Sep 82) 15

Need To Improve Relations Between Party, People Emphasized
(Mu Mei; WEN HUI BAO, 8 Oct 82) 17

Graphic, Theoretical Education in Communism Discussed
(Ke Chuan; WEN HUI BAO, 15 Oct 82) 19

Eliminating 'Three Types of People' in Leadership
(NANFANG RIBAO, 16 Oct 82) 21

Guangzhou Cadres Study 12th Party Congress Documents
(Xie Ting; GUANGZHOU RIBAO, 12 Oct 82) 23

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Civilizations, Intellectuals
(Xing Bensi; RENMIN RIBAO, 1 Nov 82) 26

Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics
(Zhao Shouyi; RENMIN RIBAO, 5 Nov 82) 32

'RENMIN RIBAO' Article on Building Ruling Party
(Zhang Decheng; RENMIN RIBAO, 5 Nov 82) 37

Further Publicizing of Congress Documents Urged
(Nei Monggol Regional Service, 6 Nov 82) 43

32d, 38th in Series on Revised CPC Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 8 Nov 82) 44

33rd in Series on Revised Party Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 9 Nov 82) 47

34th in Series on Revised Party Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 10 Nov 82) 50

35th, 36th in Series on Party Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 11 Nov 82) 52

37th in Series on Party Constitution Study
(Beijing Domestic Service, 12 Nov 82) 55

39th, 40th, 41st in Series on Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 14 Nov 82) 58

42d, 44th Questions on Party Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 15 Nov 82) 61

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Use of Name 'Communist Party'
(Jiang Lixin; GUANGMING RIBAO, 8 Nov 82) 63

Beijing Radio on Strengthening Party Discipline
(Beijing Domestic Service, 9 Nov 82) 65

'QINGHAI RIBAO' on Education in Communist Ideology
(Qinghai Provincial Service, 9 Nov 82) 67

Tianjin Simplifies Bureaucratic Procedures
(CHINA DAILY, 9 Nov 82) 68

Localities Mark Sun Yat-sen's Birth Anniversary
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 12 Nov 82) 70

'RENMIN RIBAO' Assesses Zuo Zongtang's Life
(Yu; RENMIN RIBAO, 15 Nov 82) 72

Arguments on Westernization Movement
(Xia Dongyuan; RENMIN RIBAO, 16 Nov 82) 74

Briefs
Manila Delegation 77
Hainan Cadres' Study Class 77
Zhang Xingsan's Laid To Rest 77
Hong Kong, Macao Social Systems 78
Zhao Speech 78

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Xinjiang, Yunnan Officials Discuss Nationality Work
(Xinjiang Regional Service, 29 Sep 82) 79

Shandong Uncovers Job Placement Corruption
(Shandong Provincial Service, 10 Oct 82) 80

'SICHUAN RIBAO' on Struggle Against Corruption
(An Faxiao; SICHUAN RIBAO, 11 Oct 82) 82

Cadres Disciplined for Housing Misallocations
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 11 Oct 82) 87

Shaanxi Releases Population Statistics
(Shaanxi Provincial Service, 30 Oct 82) 90

Xizang Radio Discusses Duty of Party Members
(Xizang Regional Service, 1 Nov 82) 92

'RENMIN RIBAO' Reports Forum on Role of Theater
(RENMIN RIBAO, 3 Nov 82) 94

Hubei Official Discusses Study of Congress Documents
(Hubei Provincial Service, 4 Nov 82) 102

Nationalities With Over One Million Population
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 28 Oct 82) 104

Heilongjiang Issues Census Figures
(Heilongjiang Provincial Service, 4 Nov 82) 105

Jilin Makes Public Population Census Figures
(Jilin Provincial Service, 5 Nov 82) 106

Nei Monggol Issues Census Figures
(Nei Monggol Regional Service, 28 Oct 82) 107

Qinghai Releases Population Census Statistics
(Qinghai Provincial Service, 5 Nov 82) 109

Xinjiang Releases Population Census Results
(Xinjiang Regional Service, 28 Oct 82) 111

'QINGHAI RIBAO' Writes on Improving Cadre Force
(Qinghai Provincial Service, 6 Nov 82) 113

'Gansu Radio' Urges End to Anti-Intellectualism
(Gansu Provincial Service, 8 Nov 82) 114

Zhejiang Develops Vocational Education
(Zhejiang Provincial Service, 8 Nov 82) 115

Sichuan Circular on Deepening Study of Documents
(Sichuan Provincial Service, 8 Nov 82) 116

Literature Society Holds Annual Meeting
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 8 Nov 82) 118

National Forum Discusses Theatrical Themes
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 10 Nov 82) 119

Culture Minister Discusses Guarding Cultural Relics
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 12 Nov 82) 121

Jiangsu Holds Educational Reform Meeting
(Jiangsu Provincial Service, 15 Nov 82) 124

'RENMIN RIBAO' Analyzes Population Figures
(RENMIN RIBAO, 16 Nov 82) 125

Jiangsu Commends Women's Organizations, Families
(Jiangsu Provincial Service, 17 Nov 82) 131

Briefs
Guiyang National Day Forum 132
Jilin Minority Group 132
Qinghai Ethnology Seminar 132
Newspaper Conference 133
1982 Population Statistics 133
Liaoning Census Figures 134
Hubei Census Results 134
Yunnan Population Statistics 135

PARTY AND STATE

STUDY OF HISTORY OF WESTERN POLITICAL THOUGHT URGED

Changchun DONGBEI SHIDA XUEBAO (ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE BAN) [JOURNAL of Northeastern Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)] in Chinese No 4, 20 Jul 82 pp 88-92

[Article by Liu Shaoxian [0491 4801 6343]: "The Object of Study of the History of Western Political Thought"]

[Text] In recent years, many schools of higher learning have begun to offer courses in the history of Western political thought. A number of textbooks and treatises dealing with the subject have been published. However, as opinions vary, no unanimous conclusion can be drawn with respect to the object of studying the history of Western political thought. The following viewpoints of the object of studying the history of Western political thought may be of help in carrying forward the development of this branch of science and in speeding up the pace of political construction along the socialist line.

The history of Western political thought is a branch of science straddling the domains of both history and political science. It, when viewed from the angle of history, deals specifically with the rise and development of political thought over the centuries in various Western countries. When viewed from the angle of political science, however, it is a branch of comparative political science; and it is the fundamental course in the study of the history of political theory. Comrade Mao Zedong once pointed out: "The sciences are differentiated precisely on the basis of the particular contradictions inherent in their respective objects of study. Thus the contradiction peculiar to a certain field of phenomena constitutes the object of study for a specific branch of science."[1] What is the contradiction peculiar to the history of Western political thought? What law governs its development? Or, in other words, what is really the object of study for the history of Western political thought?

Generally speaking, the history of Western political thought examines the pattern of the rise and evolution of the thoughts, observations, and theories of the various social classes of the major countries in Europe and America at different stages of social development regarding their social and political structures built around class and political relationships and regarding their political and governmental processes. Specifically, it is a history of the rise, formation and evolution of the thoughts, observations, and theories of the slave-holders class and the feudal classes as well as their standard-bearers

in major European and American countries regarding their social and political structures as well as their political and governmental processes; it is a history of the rise, formation and evolution of the thoughts, observations and theories of the bourgeoisie class and its standard-bearers regarding their social and political structures built around class and political relationships and regarding their political and governmental processes until those thoughts, observations and theories forged into a dominant ideology to replace the political ideology of the feudal classes; it is a history of the emergence of capitalist economic and political institutions in Europe and America, the development in class struggle, and the relapse of political ideology of the bourgeoisie from a democratic and progressive trend into a reactionary trend; it is al o a history of the struggle between proletarian and bourgeois political ideologies, the development of a Utopian socialism into a scientific socialism, and the triumph of Marxism after it defeated one opportunist trend after another. In short, it examines the historical development and its law of the struggle between two fundamentally different and diametrically political ideologies and political theories, namely, between revolution and reform; between the advanced and the backward; and between progress and reaction, that have evolved through the successive historical periods in the class societies of major European and American countries. Thus the basic fabric of the history of Western political thought is interwoven with the political thought of the ancient slave societies, the political thought of the feudal societies, and the political thought of the recent and current capitalist societies. Nevertheless, the recent history of Western political thought has to be the focus of study because it covers the most important period in the development of Western political thought.

Politics is the sum of all the relationships that bind the social classes, social organizations, ethnic groups and nations together as well as the political activities that arise from the interplay of those relationships. Its core lies in the desire either to preserve, or to seize, or to consolidate, or to wield state power, the desire to preserve the rule of one's own class, and the desire to safeguard the independence and sovereignty of one's own nation and own country. Political relationships are essentially class relationships. Political struggles are class struggles and class alliances. In the entire historical process from the time of the rise of social classes to the time of their disappearance, politics will always have been a special form of social relationships and social activities. It is precisely the demands of a certain class that determine the political imperatives. Then, either as a structure of social relationships or as a form of ideological expression, politics has to follow the dictate of the economic process. After all, economic benefits provide the social motivation for all political pursuits. The political thought that guided all political activities and political pursuits was a manifestation, on an ideological level, of the political relationships and political struggle between social classes, between social castes, and between social groups at a particular phase of social development. In other words, it was a manifestiation, on an ideological level, of the political relationships and political struggle between slaveowners and slaves, between feudal lords and peasants, between the bourgeoisie and the feudal lords, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, among the various factions within the ruling class, and between exploitative countries and the exploited. Simultaneously, it was a manifestation, on an ideological level, of the political

relationships and political struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the proletariat and alliances of the peasants, and among the various political factions within the proletarian revolutionary movement itself. In short, Western political thought drew an ideological picture of how, at the various historical phases of the development of class societies in the various countries of Europe and America, the ruling classes tried to preserve and shore up their power to rule, and how the ruled classes tried to oppose that rule and, in subsequent periods of social transformation and changeover, to seize power and to establish their own rule. After all, political thought expresses the desire of a certain social class, a certain social caste, or a certain social group to perpetuate its political advantages. It is also a political demand or political proposal made by certain thinkers or certain politicians. Thus each and every school of political thought has its distinctive class features. It is the ideological weapon with which each social class, each political party, each social caste, and each social group seeks to sort out its political relationships with others, to put up a political struggle, to seize state power, and to consolidate its power over others.

The main concern in the study of Western political thought is a study of the thoughts, observations and theories concerning state power. Lenin once said: Politics is participation in affairs of state, guidance of the nation, and determination of the form, duties, and contents of the nation's activities."[2] He also said: "The fully developed, nationwide class struggle can be fulfilled only when the class struggle is within the sphere of politics, but also when the essence of politics, which are the national power organs, have been seized."[3] Therefore, it is obvious that the issue of the power of the state is the very essence of politics. The state is the most basic power organ of society. For any social class, its ability to seize and then to preserve state power and its method of exercising such power in order to consolidate its rule is of decisive importance, decisive in the sense that it determines the chances of the ruling class to further their fundamental interests and to control their destiny as well as the chances of the ruled classes to shake off oppression and win complete liberation. For this reason, the thinkers and politicians representing the ruling class must do their very best to come up with theories, methodology and proposals in defense of their rule while the thinkers and political leaders representing the ruled classes must present their thoughts from their class viewpoint about the state, their political demands and their political proposals, as well as the scheme and strategy by which their classes can seize political power. Thus every school of political thought and political theory concerns itself with the matter of the state and power as its central theme. Therefore, when we examine the development and evolution of political thought in any given period of history in light of the political relationships and the state of class struggle as they existed at the time in each Western country, we must pay close attention to what the representatives of every social class, every social strata and every social group had to say about the state, about how to preserve their rule or how to seize the power to rule, and about what kind of government and political system to have that best serve the interests of their respective class, strata and group in every historical stage of the development of the class societies in the West. We must also pay close attention to their theories, platform and proposals concerning nationhood, form of government, and "the way to run a country." Only by so doing can we have a grasp of the central issue in the history of political thought.

The content of the study of the history of political thought logically should include the ideas of various thinkers and politicians as well as some legal concepts of major European and American countries in different historical periods. Law, like statehood, is a socio-political phenomenon. As Lenin once said: "Law is a kind of political measure, a kind of policy."[4] The state and law are inseparable. Between the two, the state plays a primary and decisive role while law depends on and belongs to the state. Nevertheless, the state also cannot separate itself from law. Law is the basic expression of the authority of the state and is a basic method and tool by which the state organizes itself and exercises its power. In order to impose its rule over other classes, one class must not only have the material means of raising an army and police force to enforce its will, but also have its will accepted by the whole nation, have it written into law so that the nation can obey that will in order to maintain social order. Western history gives ample proof that a jurist would often unavoidably touch on the matters of the state and a political thinker would also touch on legal matters frequently. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong often simultaneously used the political and legal concepts together, such as politico-legal thought, politico-legal relationship, and politico-legal system, etc. This makes it clear that the history of Western political thought is concerned not only with the rise and development of the concept of statehood but also with the concept of law which is closely related to political thought, is directly related to political struggle, has an obvious impact on social life, and plays an unmistakable role in class struggle.

Some of the social views of various thinkers and politicians in European and American countries on different periods of history are an organic part of the history of Western political thought. For example, what is: society; structured society; the relationship between society and the state; the opinion and attitude toward the current social system; and the method to reform the current social system? Understandably, viewing from the ruling position, the concept of statehood and the concept of law of the ruling class must lend credence to the economic and political domination by the class in power and must encourage organization of social relationships in such a way as to preserve the existing social system. On the other hand, the political thought of the ruled classes gives voice to their feelings and attitudes toward existing societies and social systems and their thoughts on how to reform them. Therefore, social viewpoints that are closely tied to those of state authorities then become indispensible elements in studying the history of political thought.

We must bear in mind that when we examine the social implications of political thought, we must not forget the complexity of social phenomena. Certain thinkers and politicians presented the social issues in all their complexity. This means the history of Western political thought embraces a very broad area of study. For example, some thinkers and politicians in history discussed such issues as war and peace, nationhood and national liberation, tactics and strategies of both revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces, international relations, women's liberation, etc. These are both social and political issues At the same time they directly affect the status of political relationships and class struggle. As the history of Western political thought covers so much material, we have to be selective in pursuing our study. It means we have to concentrate on the political thought of the various social classes, social

strata, and individuals in major European and American countries in different periods of history that had a pace-setting effect and inspired a broad following, political thought that expressed an unequivocal position for or against a certain political system or a certain social system, political thought that stimulated social development, and political thought that sharpened the antagonism and struggle between two opposing social classes.

Political thought is a part of social consciousness as a whole. The forms of social consciousness are many and varied. They include political thought, concepts of law, ethics, morality, sciences, philosophies, arts, and religions. The social consciousness of all these various forms interact and affect each other. The history of political thought not only has close links with political science, political systems, and philosophies, at the same time, it also has intricate relationships with other social consciousnesses and sciences. Therefore, to study the history of Western political thought one must also pay attention to other interrelated affects from other social ideologies and political science. The present question cannot be resolved by differentiating it by means of the so-called "narrow" and "broad" senses, but can be clarified only by means of objective historical development of political thought, i.e., facts and reasoning stated as such.

In order to penetrate in depth into the object of study of history of Western political thought, it is necessary to have a clear understanding with regard to the history of Western political thought with respect to its stages and systems.

Generally speaking, the history of Western political thought is divided into periods in which one economic form replaced another in a class society. Sometimes it is also divided into periods in which a change in class division or the handover of political power from one class to another occurred. Political thought and political theory, as an attempt by a social class to define its views regarding the state, took shape as the class society took shape and as class struggle gathered momentum. They were created to cater to the objectives of political and class struggles. Lenin pointed out: "For each of these great periods in the history of mankind (slave-owning, feudal and capitalists) embraces scores and hundreds of centuries and presents such a mass of political forms, such a variety of political doctrines, opinions and revolutions, that this extreme diversity and immense variety (especially in connection with the political, philosophical and other doctrines of bourgeois scholars and politicans) can be understood only by firmly holding, as to a guiding thread, to this division of society into classes, this change in the forms of class rule, and from this standpoint examining all social questions—economic, political, spiritual, religious, etc."[5] Different class societies, in which different classes strata and groups held different economic and political positions, had different opinions about the function of the state and employed different principles and methods in sorting out their political relationships and in executing political struggle, thereby giving rise to different schools of political thought and different political doctrines. Since class division differed, class struggle took different forms, and the power of the state changed hands from one historical period to another, the development of the political thought and the struggle between different schools of thought also varied in form and

in substance from one period to another. Using these ~~changes as a~~ guideline, we can roughly divide the history of Western political thought into six periods: (1) slavery societies, (2) formation and development of feudal societies, (3) collapse of feudalism and rise of capitalism, (4) bourgeois revolution, (5) the rule of the bourgeoisie from the time of capitalism to the birth ~~of Marxism~~, (6) development of capitalism to the rise of ~~imperialism~~ and ~~Leninism. The~~ sum of these six periods equals the basic system of the history of political thought of the Western world.

From the point of view of the entire history of Western political thought, it is not difficult to see that during the historical development of every class society there existed basically three political forces, namely, revolutionary, reformer, and reactionary. Matching these forces were also three political doctrines and trends--revolutionary, reformer, and reactionary. It was the struggle among the different political forces and among the different schools of thought that pushed the social history as well as the history of political thought forward. This is the basic clue for our understanding of the history of political thought of the Western world.

The focus of our study should emphasize the political thought and the experiences of struggle of the progressive classes who were to defeat the reactionary classes in different periods of social development. We should acquaint ourselves with the facts and laws of this struggle, subject them to analytical and critical scrutiny, and draw valuable lessons from them. The history of political thought gives ample evidence that the prevailing political thought of a certain period was invariably the thought of the ruling class. With this understanding, we should closely examine the prevailing thought of each historical period and bring to light its reactionary nature. We should trade all reactionary thoughts to their source and pattern of development. We should find out how these thoughts tried to justify the financial holdings of the ruling class, to smooth over the contradictions that existed between the various strata and groups within the ruling class, and to help perpetuate the rule over the oppressed classes. Such studies would not only help us make positive use of negative lessons of history but also strengthen our hands when we are struggling against hostile political thought.

The focus of our study should also emphasize the political thought of the recent and modern times. It is in recent times that political thought has grown into a full and complex body of knowledge. It basically follows three lines: one is the process of the birth, development, and evolution of bourgeois political thought. The second is the process in which the proletarian political thought, namely socialism, progressed from fantasy into a science, eventually into the final triumph of Marxist political thought. The third is the process of the rise, development and evolution of the political thoughts of the lower stratum of the petite bourgeoisie, the rascals among the proletarian class, and the aristocrats among the working class, namely reformism, opportunism, and revisionism. As we study, we must hold our course steady in the struggle between the two lines. We must struggle against the reactionary political thoughts of the imperialists, the bourgeoisie and their spokesmen. In the meantime, we must struggle against all anti-Marxist factions and all anti-Marxist thoughts and, in the course of our struggle, give a further boost to the developpent of Marxist-Leninist political thought.

The mainstream of Western political thought features the quest of the progressive classes of all ages for national sovereignty, national prosperity, national security, personal freedom, democracy, and happy life and the effort of other classes to either attain or preserve political rule and political leadership. The study of the history of Western political thought will help us understand and draw relevant conclusions from the facts and laws of the historical development of political thought, inherit what was the best of the human heritage, apply the lessons of history to modern-day problems, put foreign experiences to work in China, gain a better understanding of the reactionary and harmful nature of imperialism and feudalism, clarify the historical role, historical significance, power of suggestion, and limited historical application of the political thought of the bourgeoisie and the petite bourgeoisie and convince ourselves that only Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism can lead to the complete liberation of mankind and the full realization of communism. This knowledge will enable us to adhere more resolutely to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, criticize imperialist thought and resist its corruptive influence, criticize and divest ourselves of the pernicious influence of the feudal and bourgeois thought, check and overcome the spread of the petite bourgeois thought, and work together to clear away all ideological obstacles and create a more favorable ideological climate for the realization of the socialist modernization in China.

One of the important reasons for studying the history of Western political thought is that the lessons of history will help us comprehend more fully, more precisely and with greater insight the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and apply, with greater sureness of hand, the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding light for our present political and economic construction. We Chinese have the history of learning from the West for hundreds of years. Experiences have proved that only Marxism-Leninism has "helped the progressives in China, as throughout the world, to adopt the proletarian world outlook as the instrument for studying a nation's destiny and considering anew their own problems."[5] Only Marxism-Leninism injected new life into the Chinese revolution, which, after a protracted and arduous course, finally ushered in a new epoch of socialism. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought took shape amid the actual struggles of the proletariat and the working people, summed up the experiences of the revolutionary movements of the proletariat as well as human history as a whole, embraced, on a selective basis, the best in the cultural heritage of mankind and revolutionized it, and represented a giant revolutionary breakthrough in the history of human reason and in the history of political thought. In his article "On Reforming Our Study," Comrade Mao Zedong urged us to integrate theoretical studies with practical action as a means of learning to use the powerful ideological weapon of Marxism-Leninism and encouraged us to study theory, history and current events as one comprehensive subject. The study of the history of Western political thought will no doubt help us to achieve this objective.

The study of the history of Western political thought will also help us adopt dialectical materialist and historical materialist viewpoints and methods in analyzing and summing up the lessons of history and, as we take part in the

current ideological and theoretical battles, help us stay clear of the leftist and erroneous thoughts, criticize the bourgeois liberal trends, sweep away the influence of feudalism, and criticize and resist imperialist thoughts. As we study and learn the recent history of Western political thought and familiarize ourselves with the facts of history, the social, political and economic conditions as they existed at the time, and the lot of the various classes, social strata, political factions and ideological groups, we will be able to make factual analysis and criticism of the various reactionary and erroneous thoughts, to sum up all the progressive thoughts pertaining to revolution and democracy, and to selectively inherit, implement and develop the best of those progressive thoughts and reject the rest. Hence, it will not only enhance the confidence and pride of the entire Chinese nation, it will also enable us to treat the various schools of political thought of various countries in Europe and America from our own perspective, develop a more precise understanding of the materialist concept of history and the dialectical method of analysis, develop a firmer stand against the idealist concept of history and metaphysics, and develop a better ability to tell friend from foe and right from wrong so that, on the ideological level, we can beat the enemy at his own game, unite and educate the people, uphold socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and work hard under the leadership of the party to realize the four modernizations and the lofty ideals of communism. All of us are Marxist-Leninist proletarian internationalists. "China ought to make a greater contribution to humanity."[7] As we increase our contacts with foreign countries, we must understand them, including the historical development of Western political thought. This is in keeping with our current effort to improve both the material and the spiritual well-being of our nation. We all cherish the cultural heritage which we have inherited from our Chinese ancestors. We must cherish also the cultural heritage from the entire human civilization. We must look to the past for guidance in doing our work today.

FOOTNOTES

1. "On Contradiction," Volume 1, page 284 of "Selected Works of Mao Zedong" [English Version: Volume 1, page 320]

2. "Complete Works of Lenin," Russian edition, Volume 21, page 14

3. "Complete Works of Lenin," Volume 19, page 107

4. "Complete Works of Lenin," Volume 23, pages 40-41

5. "The State," Volume 4, page 47 of "Complete Works of Lenin" [English Version: "Selected Works of Lenin", Volume 4, page 477]

6. "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," page 1360 of "Selected Works of Mao Zedong" [English version: "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Volume 4, page 413]

7. "In Commemoration of Dr Sun Yat-sen, " Volume 5, page 312 of "Selected Works of Mao Zedong" [English version: Volume 5, page 331]

9055
CSO: 4005/2

PARTY AND STATE

ESSAY ON PARTY WORK STYLE PARAPHRASES ANCIENT SAYING

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 25 Aug 82 p 4

[Article by Yao Ben [1202 1149]: "Nao" [A Yellow-Haired Monkey]]

[Text] The Nao is a kind of monkey mentioned in ancient literature. It is smart and nimble, and has sharp claws. There is a fable from our country's ancient past that goes as follows: The tiger had an itchy scalp, so he allowed the nao to scratch him where it itched, and this made him feel extremely comfortable. So whenever his scalp started to itch, he would have the nao do the scratching. As time went by, the nao made a hole in the tiger's scalp, and yet the tiger was totally unaware of it. Later, the nao even started to pick out the tiger's brain and eat it, and gave to the tiger what he could not finish. The tiger appreciated very much the loyalty and submissiveness of the nao, and enjoyed more and more being close to the latter. It was not until one day when the tiger's brain was eaten up and pain set in that the tiger realized what had happened. But when he wanted to seize the nao, the latter had already escaped.

This of course is only a fable, but it sets people to thinking. In real life, there indeed are "nao" who know how to trim their sails and are good at disguises. They know how to flatter and utter sweet words to please the leadership. They embrace the skill of "scratching where it itches," and scratch until some people close their eyes, feel comfortable all over, and thereby lose their vigilance; they look at the "nao" as the good guys and treat them as trusted followers. If these people are selected to become leaders and are charged with important tasks, will this not truly be risky?

In a factory in Shanghai, the factory leadership took a fancy to a person and decided to make him deputy head of the factory but did not officially announce it. In the "Cultural Revolution," this person had joined the factory as a worker, pretended to be active, wormed his way into the party, was all abedience before the leadership, and never said "no." After worming his way into the leadership's confidence, he became a cadre and for 2 consecutive years was even commended as an advanced producer. In fact, he was a man to people's faces but a fiend behind their backs. Using his status and title as a party member and a cadre as a cover, he armed himself for robbery at night. Finally, he was arrested and brought to justice. The leadership and the masses of the factory were all stunned. If such a person

had really been allowed to become "deputy head of the factory," one can truly imagine the consequences. (See XINMIN WANBAO of 28 February.) Although this is an isolated case, it reflects a universal problem, and that is: How can we know a person overall and truly handle the question of knowing one's subordinates well enough to assign them jobs commensurate with their abilities?

A few days ago, I visited an exhibition on anticorruption and antibribery. Among the corruption cases, there was one about a "three good student" in a certain institution of higher learning. Before entering the university, when working as an accountant in a production brigade of a certain commune, he made use of his position to embezzle almost 10,000 yuan. And yet the leadership of the production brigade had all along trusted him very much. Is not such a person who appropriates the property of the collective economy and spends it freely on himself scooping out the "brain" of the laboring people and eating it? But because he covered up his former crime of corruption and gave people a false impression of being "three good," he was commended as a "three good student." There is a popular saying that goes: "You may know a person's face but not his heart." It is not easy to really understand a person. In a free verse, the poet Bai Juyi wrote the folowing famous lines: "To test a piece of jade, one must burn it for 3 whole days; to recognize ability, one must wait and see for 7 years." This also means that it takes lengthy testing to tell whether one is loyal or treacherous, true or false. We must not look at how a person is just one time and on one occasion or from a one-sided impression.

There are roughly two categories of "naos" today. One category of "naos" is made up of those who undermine socialism and undermine the socialist economy. For instance, there are those economic criminals who pervert justice for a bribe and scoop out the "brain" of the people and eat it. There are political "nao." For instance, there is the "head of the rebels," Liu Hanru [0491 3352 1172], who not long ago was found to have been directly involved in persecuting Comrade Peng Dehuai. He was selected to the post of deputy chief of the scientific research institute of a factory. One could see that he must havebeen skilled in "scratching where it itched." For a while, people like him might not scoop out the "brain" of the people and eat it. But once the political climate becomes favorable, they will bare their fiendish, true features. These political "nao" are even more dangerous than the economic "nao."

An all-round reform of organizations will be carried out throughout the country. Many old cadres who have long been tested are leaving or are withdrawing to the second front. Under the new situation whereby a large number of middle-aged and young cadres who have both ability and political integrity are being selected for the leading groups at various levels, we must especially heighten our vigilance against people like the "nao." The leadership and the masses must rub their eyes well and increase their ability to differentiate between good people and bad people. They must not feel that since the "nao" have the ability to "scratch where it itches," they will prefer "ability" to political integrity, base everything on impressions, and fail to carry out investigations, thereby letting people like the "nao" pass the sham for the genuine and sneak into the leading groups.

9335
CSO: 4005/76

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY STRESSING ROLE OF SCIENTISTS, INTELLECTUALS

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 3 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Lu Huan [7120 3562]: "The Enlightenment of the 17 Percent"]

[Text] Among the delegates to the 12th Party Congress, 17 percent were specialists and technical personnel from various fields. This percentage has an implied meaning.

The goal for struggle set forth by the 12th Party Congress will bring about a great new situation of socialist modernization in our country. To have that many specialists and technical personnel attend the congress and participate in discussing the great plan for the next 20 years has no doubt demonstrated our immense trust in and encouragement to the intellectuals.

This shows that when our party proposes the struggle goal for the next 20 years, it is putting a great deal of emphasis on science and technology.

This shows that our party has solemnly brought before the entire party the question of training and utilizing intellectuals, and that it regards this as an issue that should not be neglected.

This shows that the party Central Committee has taken the initiative and the lead in paving the way for "intellegent people" who are revolutionary, who have specialities, and who have both ability and political integrity to participate in the leadership in various fields of modernization.

The goal for struggle set forth by the 12th Party Congress is extremely inspiring. But to realize the great objective, we must be realistic. By the end of this century, we must strive to double the annual total yield of our country's industry and agriculture on the basis of continuously raising economic benefits. We must enable the people's livelihood to reach the level of comfort. For this we will have to rely on comrades throughout the party and people throughout the country to be of one heart and one mind in struggling adruously. To build a material civilization, we are relying on the mass development of productive forces. In this age, the development of productive forces is more and more dependent on, and is even decided by, the development of science and technology and improvements in economic management. To build a socialist spiritual civilization, we likewise cannot depart from modern

science and culture. Thus, attaching importance to intellectuals and giving play to the role of intellectuals mean knowing where the people's interests lie and constitute the key measure in realizing the four modernizations in our country. Any viewpoint that belittles cultural and scientific knowledge and ignore the role of intellectuals is erroneous.

Having individuals with ability is an important key to whether or nor we can realize the goal of struggle set forth by the 12th Party Congress. Our party and people have put our hopes for the continuous advance of our socialist modernization and economic construction on the progress of science and technology and the improvement of economic management. This ultimately means putting our hope in men, in those people who have a firm belief in communism, who know science and technology and all kinds of undertakings, and who have ability. The intellectuals of our country are faced with a glorious and arduous, historical, important task. We hope that intellectuals will live up to this hope, give prominence to the self-sacrificing spirit of being bold in devoting themselves to modernization, and, in the advance to build a new situation, strive to be glorious vanguards who can accomplish much.

9335
CSO: 4005/76

PARTY AND STATE

IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IDEALS SAID IMPORTANT IN PRACTICAL WORK

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 13 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Chi Mu [6375 2606]: "Be a Man of Action with Communist Ideals"]

[Text] When the idea of wanting to strengthen propaganda and education in communist ideology within the party and among cadres is mentioned, a good many cadres approve wholeheartedly. However, some people also consider that in the building of the four modernizations one must rely on doing solid work, and so it will not be of much use to engage in a lot of idle theorizing! This is a vague concept which is false while seeming to be correct. It is quite correct that the building of the four modernizations really requires arduous struggle and hard, solid work. It is also completely correct to emphasize solid work and be opposed to idle talk. However, is it possible to separate the socialist spirit of hard, solid work from the lofty ideal of communism, place them in opposition to one another and, in so doing, reach the conclusion that in building the four modernizations it will do merely to engage in solid work, and since it is not necessary to use the communist world view and methodology to direct our practice, then it is also not necessary to use communist ideology and ideals to arm the masses' minds and inspire their enthusiasm? Obviously not!

Since communism itself is a lofty revolutionary ideal, it also is a great revolutionary practice. Ever since the communist movement has existed in the world, communism is being put into practice. In the past, we climbed snow-capped mountains, crossed grasslands, drove out the Japanese invaders, defeated old Jiang, overthrew the three great mountains [imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism], and seized victory in the new democratic revolution; today, in bringing about the four modernizations and building socialist material and spiritual civilization, what we are trying to accomplish is still a portion of the cause of communism, and our aim is to create the conditions necessary for the ultimate realization of the communist social system. One can say unequivocally that whoever engages in idle talk is not a true communist, and whoever is a true communist is a revolutionary man of action. The revolutionary practice of all sincere communist party members is the practice of communism, and everything that revolutionaries do is done for the communist movement.

The ideological system of communism is not only the guiding light and reliable guarantee of our building of the four modernizations, it is also the source of our strength in doing arduous, solid work. If we separate ourselves from ideals and stress solid work, if we separate ourselves from the lofty ideals and aims of communism in order to carry out concrete policies, and deal with the problem of realizing things, then it will not be possible to keep our heads clear, and it will not be possible to maintain our stamine; on the contrary, it would be all too easy to slip into blindness and one-sidedness, and embark upon the wrong path. For example, our party, based on the needs of the long-term development of the communist movement, has considered the actual circumstances of our present stage of socialism and, realistically has formulated the policies of enlivening our economy internally while opening up to the outside; and trying to enrich the countryside, etc. If we do not use the standpoint and viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism to understand these programs and policies, but proceed from the basis of a bourgeois ideology bent entirely on profit, thinking that one can proceed however one likes in order to make the best of a good opportunity to profiteer, then that would be departing from the path of socialism, twisting the party's policies, and damaging the cause of building the four modernizations; one would be making a mistake and suffer a setback. Therefore real socialist men of action are not like those who seek fame and profit, are short-sighted and who work only only to the extent that they make money from it, but first of all are public-spirited, unselfish clear-headed revolutionaries with a firm standpoint and both far-reaching ambition and a spirit of doing solid work. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out "If we truly forget the general line and general policy of our party, we will be blind, imperfect, muddled revolutionaries and, in the course of implementing concrete lines of work and concrete policies, we will lose our direction, vacillate to the left then the right, and it will affect our work adversely." We should eradicate and reject the erroneous thinking that looks upon communist ideological education as idle talk and totally separates communist ideology from the spirit of engaging in solid work; we should clearly propose a slogan like the following: be a man of action with communist ideals!

9634
CSO: 4005/58

PARTY AND STATE

ROTATION TRAINING WILL UPGRADE QUALITY OF LIAONING'S WORKERS AND STAFF

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Sep 82 p 2

/Editorial: "Combine the Reorganization of Enterprises With the Launching of Training Programs for All Personnel"/

/Text/ Comrade Hu Yaobang points out in the report of the 12th People's Congress that the crux of the four modernizations is scientific and technical modernization. He calls on all areas and departments to adopt the necessary measures to raise the scientific and cultural level of all of the people. With respect to Liaoning's industry and communications front, combining the reorganization and consolidation of enterprises with the launching of training programs for all staff members is an effective method for continuously heightening the political, cultural, technical, and professional level of the ranks of workers and staff.

At present more than 60 percent of the ranks of workers and staff of industrial enterprises are young people below the age of 35; they have attained a certain educational level, their political sensitivity is strong; they are full of vitality and quick at learning operating techniques. However, due to the influence of the ten years of turmoil, the actual educational level and technical quality of the ranks of workers and staff far from meets the requirements of building the four modernizations, and is very far from the international level of the 80's. According to a check of available data, 70 percent of Liaoning's young workers and staff have an actual educational level below the level of lower middle school, and this has had a serious negative effect on their ability to study and master advanced tecniques and political theories. For this reason, the launching of training programs for all staff members has already become a measure in urgent need of adoption.

Taking charge of the training of all staff members and engaging in their intellectual development is part of the fundamental work of doing a good job of running an enterprise. Only by doing a good job of the training of all staff members, and raising the quality of the ranks of workers and staff can the enterprises' latent abilities be brought into full play and the results of reorganization be consolidated over a long period of time. Because, the maintenance of any advanced facility depends upon people for its mastery, and all rules and regulations depend upon people for their implementation; the tasks of production must be completed by the broad masses of workers and

staff; and the speed of the development of production, the scientific and technical level, and the degree of economic effectiveness are ultimately determined by the quality of the ranks of workers and staff.

The regulation and consolidation of the labor organization generally results in a portion of excess staff, providing a very good opportunity for launching a training program for the entire staff. But the launching of training programs for all workers and staff is definitely not done simply to arrange for the enterprise's excess staff, but is a long-term measure proposed by the party Central Committee and the State Council on the basis of their strategic guiding policy of improving economic effectiveness and embarking on a new road of developing the national economy, and is an important, indispensable aspect of enterprises' engaging in constructive reorganization and consolidation. The launching of training programs for all staff members is a long-term strategic task for realizing the four modernizations and bringing about the resurgence of China, and it must be taken charge of not only during the period of reorganization and consolidation, but a continuous, unstinting effort in that direction must be maintained for a long time into the future. Training for all staff members is not only suitable for young workers, but is also appropriate for engineering and technical personnel and management cadres. With the world's science and technology advancing steadily day by day and month by month, there is a problem of knowledge learned in the past becoming outdated, so that if one wants to keep up with the developing and changing new situation then one must study anew.

In launching training programs for all staff members we must base ourselves upon enterprises' present-production and long-term development needs, put comprehensive, overall planning into effect, and accomplish proceeding in a planned, purposeful, and systematic way. In organizing cadres for professional training, carrying out supplementary educational and technical training of young workers and staff, and arranging for scientific and technical personnel to take additional training courses, we must make arrangements so as to take the entire situation into account. When organizing workers and staff to be released from work for rotation training, we must first of all transfer reserve cadres, core production people, young workers and staff, and people who are capable of handling their positions, to participate in study. As for the surplus personnel displaced by the reorganization of the labor organization, aside from old, feeble, or sick workers, or those who are not capable of handling their posts, we can, by adopting the method of assigning staff members but not individuals, train one group, till they are able to cope with their posts, then select another group, and put them through rotation training. At the same time we must pay attention to doing a good job of solving the practical problems of teaching staff, teaching locations, teaching facilities, books, teaching materials, and scholarship money; and do a good job of the ideological and political work, guaranteeing the success and long-term continuance of the rotation training work.

9634
CSO: 4005/58

PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN PARTY, PEOPLE EMPHASIZED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 8 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Mu Mei [1970 2734]: "A Reminiscence of Antaeus"]

[Text] Comrade Stalin once made a brilliant analogy: Antaeus was an invincible hero in a Greek legend. His invincibility depended on the mysterious power he received from the earth, his mother. If his feet were not in contact with the earth, his mother, he would become weak and collapse at the first blow. It was precisely this fatal weakness in Antaeus that finally gave his crafty enemy a chance to use tricks to lure him into leaving the earth, his mother and exterminate him in the air. Comrade Stalin likened Antaeus to a Communist Party member and the earth, his mother to the masses. This is indeed a highly thought-provoking analogy.

Since the day of its birth, our party has identified all work done by its members as part of the people's cause or part of an effort to serve the people. Our party always acts according to its principle by teaching its members the truth that the people are the makers of history; in their midst, our party members are always a minority; in promoting work in all fields, they must rely on and trust the people, draw on their wisdom, put their creative power to good use, and accept their supervision. They must maintain correct relations with the masses, always consider themselves ordinary workers, and act as vanguards and models in uniting the masses and lead them forward.

After our party came to power, a mood of arrogance and complacency has grown among some of our comrades. Those tainted with the bureaucratic style of work can no longer preserve their true colors as workers, and have presented themselves in a wrong way in their relationship with the masses. They do not want to share weal and woe with the masses, nor do they want to be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts. They have also failed in duty to follow decisions by their organizations and to accept supervision from the masses. A small number of party members and cadres have been found guilty of violating the organizational discipline and principles of the party, practicing factionalism, seeking special privileges and backdoor dealings, exploiting public office for private purposes and making profits at the expense of the public interest. In pursuit of a rotten and decadent life, individual party members and cadres have even engaged in serious criminal economic activities, which have resulted in grave damage to the prestige and the cause of the party.

This has prompted the 12th party congress to adopt a new constitution of the party with this stipulation: "Members of the Communist Party of China are at all times members of the working people." Doing so in real terms is very important to every Communist Party member who wants to preserve the genuine nature of communism.

The masses of people love and trust our party not only because its purpose is to serve the people, and its line, principles and policies reflect their interests but also because their personal experiences have convinced them that the vanguard contingent now under the leadership of the CPC is a group of selfless, industrious, modest and prudent elements dedicated to the people's cause. In this contingent, they have seen the hopes of China, as well as the prospect of inevitable victory for communism. This is why they want to join us in striving for the realization of the grandiose objective of our party.

If a Communist Party member presents himself in a wrong way in his relationship with the masses, if he fails to view himself as an ordinary worker, and if he considers himself superior to the masses or even trespasses the domain of their interest, he will certainly risk the danger of alienating himself and incurring wrath from the masses. This is the reason why we must always remember the lesson that cost Antaeus his life and must never allow ourselves to lose touch with the earth.

9574
CSO: 4005/84

PARTY AND STATE

GRAPHIC, THEORETICAL EDUCATION IN COMMUNISM DISCUSSED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 15 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Ke Chuan [0344 1556]: "It Is Necessary To Combine Graphic Education With Theoretical Education"]

[Text] Communist ideology is at the heart of socialist spiritual civilization. In building a spiritual civilization, we must broaden education in communist ideology with the aim of transforming more and more people into citizens with ideals, morality, culture and abiding by discipline under its influence.

Communist ideology is not something that is beyond reach in socialist society--the initial stage of communism--a society in which communist factors already exist. At present, a large number of advanced individuals and models have emerged from all fronts and various departments of trade and profession under the influence of the brilliant communist ideology. For years, Zhao Chune was always the first to arrive at the work site and the last to leave for home. She also distinguished herself by fulfilling her production plans ahead of schedule every month. But for such exceptional achievements, she did not want any bonus. Even when she fell seriously ill, she still put on her coal-covered dress and went to work. This was the way she served the people's interests until her death. What ideology did she subscribe to? Certainly, it is the communist ideology "devoted to serving the people's interests." As long as we keep eyes open, we will find advanced individuals in many units and departments, who have worked hard without the slightest thought of their own interests, and who have served the people wholeheartedly. They are actually an embodiment of the lofty communist ideology. These are advanced individuals living among the masses and therefore, can be emulated by everyone. This is why efforts must be made to uncover such embryo buds of communism in real life along with new personalities characteristic of communist ideology and morality.

Although graphic education has produced remarkable results, as verified by our daily activities, reliance on this aspect of education alone is far from sufficient. Communist ideals, belief and morality can be cultivated only through a study of the scientific Marxist theory. Although some comrades may be momentarily impressed by the exemplary deeds of advanced individuals, their memory of such things is often shortlived simply because their knowledge about communism still falls far short of the rational stage of perception. Communism is a scientific ideological system. It was founded by Marx and Engels in response

to the desire for the emancipation of the proletariat and for the development of society. It drew on achievements of various outstanding cultures of humanity, particularly the classic German philosophy, the classic English political economy, and the theory of utopian French socialism, which were inherited by Marx and Engels in a critical way. The result was a work that points out an inevitable path to the development of human society. This work abounds in ideas and knowledge. A mastery of its contents calls for painstaking study. Only by building the belief in communism on the theoretical premise of Marxism can we make it truly take root in our souls and raise our consciousness of the need to struggle for the realization of communist ideals. This is why, in the course of using the exemplary deeds of advanced individuals as a vehicle for disseminating communist ideology, we must attach great importance to education in Marxist world outlook and scientific theory.

In his report to the 12th party congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "Although we cannot expect every member of our community to become a communist, we must imbue Communist Party members, CYL members, and all advanced elements with communist ideology, and make its influence felt among the masses through their educational efforts." We must make efforts to integrate graphic education and education in scientific Marxist theory into a single effort aimed at helping people raise their communist consciousness and foster communist ideals, belief and morality.

9574
CSO: 4005/84

PARTY AND STATE

ELIMINATING 'THREE TYPES OF PEOPLE' IN LEADERSHIP

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Oct 82 p 1

[Commentary: "Expel the 'Three Types of People' From the Leading Bodies"]

[Text] A letter which came in, "We Cannot Allow the Persons Who Became Known Through Rebellion To Cause More Trouble," exposed the problem that Tang Gengchen [0781 1649 5256], deputy director of the Haiguan revolutionary committee in Yuan Zhanjiang who became known for his rebellion in the "Cultural Revolution," is still making trouble even today by causing turmoil in Haiguan and making it unstable. This matter is worth our attention. The revelation of the matter of Tang Gengchen shows that the policy of the 12th party congress concerning the "three types of people" (those persons who became known for rebellion during the "Cultural Revolution" and went along with the clique of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, those persons with severe factionist ideology, and the destructive elements) is completely correct. It must be firmly and thoroughly implemented.

The penetration of the leading bodies by the "three types of people" is a legacy of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Looking at the shocking fact of Tang Gengchen's causing great turmoil in Haiguan, it is clear that there still are "three types of people."

Although the number of these persons is not great, their ability is large indeed. In some places where the leading bodies are weak or slack, these persons still run wild and cause endless trouble; they go so far as publicly to violate the law and disregard discipline. Tang Gengchen is a typical example. Among them there are also some persons who, on the surface, appear very well behaved but, as soon as they are given the opportunity, come out into the open and cause trouble, repeatedly damaging the country and the people. It can be seen that sorting out the "three types of people" is an important question which must be resolved in building all levels of leading bodies. It is only by expelling the "three types of people" from all levels of the leading bodies that we will be able to consolidate and develop the excellent situation for maintaining solidarity and ensure the smooth undertaking of socialist modernized construction.

However, there still are some comrades who do not sufficiently understand the importance of eliminating the "three types of people." The thinking of some comrades is paralyzed, and they do not know the real situation about the "three

types of people." Some do not heed party principles about preserving themselves, and are not able to sort out the serious questions. Some are anxious about grasping the limits of unacceptable policies, etc. Consequently, understanding correct thinking and clearly demarcating the limits of policy are the crux in doing good work in eliminating the "three types of people." The reason why Tang Gengchen, who has again come out to cause trouble, has not been able to be handled in a timely manner is closely related to the incorrect ideological understanding of the concerned leadership. We hope that the involved leading departments of Zhanjiang local committee will listen carefully to the voices of the masses in Zhanjiang and Haiguan and become determined to deal severely with Tang Gengchen. Other places should also bear firmly in mind the experiences and lessons of Zhanjiang and Haiguan and, in the work of building leading bodies, conscientiously resolve the question of the "three types of people." Of course, we must at the same time grasp policies well, pay attention to work methods, to enable the work of eliminating the "three types of people" to be accomplished accurately and reliably.

6722
CSO: 4005/116

PARTY AND STATE

GUANGZHOU CADRES STUDY 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 12 Oct 82 p 1

[Article by Xie Ting [6200 2732]: "Use the Spirit of the 12th Party Congress To Unify Thought and Action"]

[Text] The Guangzhou Municipal Party Committee has decided to conduct short-term, rotating training classes so that cadres at the level of municipality, county and above can study, by stages and in groups, the documents of the 12th party congress; the first session began classes yesterday. Yesterday afternoon, the first secretary of the Guangzhou Municipal Party Committee, Liang Lingguang [2733 7227 0342], mobilized the rotating training class with the topic "We must conscientiously study, propagandize, and implement the spirit of the 12th party congress." He publicized, explained, and reported, demanding that every level of responsible cadres take the lead in studying, explaining, and using the spirit of the 12th party congress to unify thought and action; they are to unwaveringly implement the program and general and specific policies of the 12th party congress.

Attending this session's rotating training class were cadres at the level of county and above in the executive committees of every department of the municipality and in party districts and bureaus and subordinate units; also included were report personnel in every unit responsible for publicizing and explaining the 12th party congress documents; there were altogether more than 11,000 persons. More than 400 persons, who are part of the city branch of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the various democratic parties, and patriotic groups, also responded to the invitation to attend the report meeting. At the beginning, the secretary of the municipal standing committee, Xu Shijie [6079 1102 2638], introduced the six formal delegates and two alternates from Guangzhou City who attended the 12th party congress.

Comrade Liang Lingguang integrated his own study insights and discussed six questions: 1) We must fully recognize the great historical significance of the 12th party congress; 2) starting out from the actual situation in our country, the 12th party congress has defined the correct program for initiating in all areas the new circumstances for socialist modernized construction; 3) the 12th party congress put forward the idea that building a high level of socialist spiritual civilization and a high level of socialist democracy is an important guarantee for our country's socialist modernized construction; 4) the 12th party congress fixed the concept that party building is to become the

strong core by which to direct the business of socialist modernization; 5) the correct program and general and specific policies defined by the 12th party congress are a continuation and expansion of the correct line followed since the Third Plenum; they are an enrichment and development of Mao Zedong Thought; 6) we must diligently direct the study, dissemination, and implementation of the 12th party congress documents.

In his report Comrade Liang Lingguang demanded that all levels of party committee conscientiously regard the organizing of the study of the 12th party congress as their first important task, that they earnestly concentrate on it. All levels of responsible cadre should view their own actions as a model, taking the lead in studying and explaining; one level should lead one level, one level concentrate on one level, and one level spur on one level. The thinking which holds that "the fourth quarter work is busy, tasks are heavy, and there is no time to study" is incorrect. Every level of leadership must become determined, must arrange its time, must become wholeheartedly devoted, must conscientiously and thoroughly read part by part, chapter by chapter, and section by section, and must thoroughly imbibe the spirit of the documents. They must integrate the reality of their thinking with the reality of their work, diligently ponder, and discuss questions one by one. They are to exchange their ideas and seize upon strong points and make up for shortcomings. They must be sure to strive for actually understanding and grasping the spirit of the 12th party congress, unify their thinking, raise their self-awareness, and maintain uniformity with the party Central Committee in politics and ideology. On this basis, they are to integrate the work of their own line, their own departments, and units; they must do research on measures and methods by which to implement in a practical manner the spirit of the 12th party congress; they must put forward opinions on next year's and subsequent work. They must not allow any interference from erroneous "leftist" or rightist thinking, and must unwaveringly implement the program and general and specific policies of the 12th party congress. They must initiate in all areas the new circumstances in socialist modernization, and build up all the more beautifully the southern gateway of our homeland.

Comrade Liang Lingguang demanded that the comrades participating in the rotating training classes take the spirit of the 12th party congress as their motivation, be inspired with enthusiasm, see clearly the road ahead, strengthen their confidence, overcome difficulties by every possible means, and strive to do good work in their own occupations. In research and investigation, in maintaining links with the masses, in wholeheartedly serving the people, in raising work efficiency, in reducing work mistakes, and so forth, we must have outstanding progress. We must promote the liberation of thinking, conscientiously implement special policies and vital measures, further invigorate the economy, and improve the system of responsibility in the various lines in agriculture, industry, and commerce. We must improve work in the realm of circulation, strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization, and practically rectify "filth, confusion, and mistakes." We must satisfy the various demands for production in "this year surpassing last year."

In order to promote the penetrating study of the 12th party congress documents, during the last part of this month several responsible comrades in the municipal committee will make several reports giving guidance on study

which will relate the reality of Guangzhou City with the rotating training classes: The municipal committee secretary Ou Chu [2962 0443] will explain and publicize the question of the high tide in spurring the socialist economy overall; Huang Zhuangping [7806 8369 1627], standing committee member of the municipal committee, will explain and publicize the question of striving to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization; Xue Yan [5641 3543], secretary of the municipal committee, will explain and publicize the question of striving to build high-level socialist democracy; Xu Shihjie, secretary of the standing committee of the municipal committee, will explain and publicize the question of taking party building to be the strong core for guiding the business of socialist modernization.

§722
CSO: 4005/116

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON CIVILIZATIONS, INTELLECTUALS

HK050618 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Nov 82 p 5

[Article by Xing Bensi [6717 6321 1835]: "Building Two Kinds of Civilization and the Role of Intellectuals"]

[Text] The building of material civilization cannot be separated from science and culture or from intellectuals and the building of socialist spiritual civilization also cannot be separated from science and culture or from intellectuals. Putting socialist cultural development in an important position and correctly appraising the role of intellectuals in socialist construction are not only matters of personal affairs but also important matters which have a bearing on the rise and fall of our country and our cause. In a socialist society, it is utterly wrong to regard intellectuals as intellectuals belonging to the petit bourgeoisie or even to the bourgeoisie. While changing the objective world, man always continuously transforms his own subjective world. In this sense, the transformation of the world outlook is applicable to the intellectuals and is similarly applicable to the workers, peasants and other working poeple. As a member of the mighty force of cultural development and ideological education, intellectuals should study hard and train themselves to be the builders of socialism who are highly accomplished in science and culture and are highly advanced in ideological consciousness and have lofty moral values.

The 12th CPC Congress not only forms a grand program for economic construction, that is, the building of material civilization, but also raised the building of socialist spiritual civilization to a higher strategic plane. The congress defined the building of the two civilizations as an important condition for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. In order to fulfill the strategic task of building the two civilizations, a task which was formulated by the 12th CPC Congress, it is necessary to bring the role of intellectuals into full play. The attain this objective, one important thing to do is to correct the "leftist" ideas which have already existed for a fairly long time, such as a disdain of the importance of knowledge, science, education and culture and discrimination against intellectuals.

Attaching importance to science and culture will surely mean respecting intellectuals, while looking down on science and culture will certainly mean discriminating against intellectuals. These are the two sides of a single coin.

In the past, under the influence of "leftist" ideology, the argument that "knowledge is useless" spread like wildfire and was in vogue for a time. As a result, intellectuals were labelled with all sorts of fabricated charges and it was unavoidable that intellectuals were discriminated against as the "stinking ninth category." If a country or a nation looks down upon science and culture and discriminates against intellectuals, it will inevitable be punished by objective laws. We had this kind of bitter experience in the past. It was only after we had paid a high price that we realized this truth. The 12th CPC Contress report criticized "leftist" errors in its approach to science and culture and in its treatment of intellectuals. Bringing order out of chaos in this way will have an extremely far-reaching impact on our socialist modernization program.

The building of material civilization cannot be separated from science and culture or from intellectuals. It is relatively easy for people to acquire a united view on this matter. However, people hold vastly different views on the question of whether or not the building of socialist spiritual civilization also cannot be separated from science and culture and from intellectuals. Some comrades hold that the building of socialist spiritual civilization can be carried out without the aid of science and culture and without reliance on intellectuals. They argue that communist ideology constitutes the core of socialist spiritual civilization, and furthermore, communist ideology is naturally related to the working people (in accordance with a often used term, the working people mentioned here refer exclusively to manual laborers) and that some working people who do not have a high level of cultural education can equally become fighters of communism. It can thus be seen that whether or not one is culturally educated and whether the level of his cultural education is high or low has nothing to do with the building of socialist spiritual civilization. In connection with this, intellectuals will surely be regarded as non essential and insignificant in the building of socialist spiritual civilization. Moreover, they will even be regarded as the subjects of criticism in the course of building socialist spiritual civilization rather than as a member of the mighty work force for building socialist spiritual civilization. This view is utterly wrong. Let us first put aside its confused theory and absurd logic. Summarizing socialist spiritual civilization into ideological education in an oversimplified way runs counter to the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress which summarized the building of socialist spiritual civilization into two aspects, the cultural and ideological. This summarization scientifically reflects the reality of our socialist modernization program and completely accords with the requirements of the building of our socialist spiritual civilization. The practice of separating the two integral aspects of socialist spiritual civilization and retaining one aspect while abandoning the other aspect and attaching importance to one aspect while belittling the other aspect is an expression of the "leftist" ideology which as for many years despised science and culture and discriminated against intellectuals rather than being an accidental oversight or an error in presentation. Many years have elapsed since the socialist system was established in China but it cannot be denied that the level of China's economic development is still not high, that our country is still not yet educationally, scientifically and culturally developed and that compared with the scientific and cultural levels of many other advanced countries ours is quite backward. It is fundamentally impossible to create a

new situation in all fields of socialist modernization without developing educational, scientific and cultural undertakings and without strengthening socialist cultural development. The 12th CPC Congress defined the development of educational and cultural undertakings as one of the strategic focal points for realizing the strategic objective of quadrupling total annual output value of industry and agriculture. This is a major decision with foresight and sagacity. Placing socialist spiritual civilization in an important position and correctly appraising the role of intellectuals in socialist construction are not only matters of personal affairs but also matters which have a bearing on the rise and fall of our country and our cause. In face of this overall situation, on what grounds do we as individuals base ourselves in sticking to the argument which has been judged by history to be erroneous?

In the building of socialist spiritual civilization, ideological education is more important in a certain sense, so to speak. The 12th CPC Congress determined that ideological education is the pillar of the building of socialist spiritual civilization and communist ideology constitutes the core of socialist spiritual civilization. Then, in ideological education are science and culture actually necessary and are intellectuals at all necessary? Of course, they are necessary to ideological education! They are not only necessary but also indispensable. The argument that ideological education can be independent of science and culture and of intellectuals is wrong. This is so because communist ideology is confused with some simple class feelings and with certain general knowledge. As an ideological system, communism itself is a science. The communist ideological system is quite richly endowed with theory and knowledge. To firmly form communist ideology and foster the ideal of the belief in communism, we must rely on the mastery of the laws governing the development of human society and on the thorough understanding of the long-accumulated rich historical knowledge and all kinds of numerous and complicated modern knowledge, rather than relying on simple feelings or simple general knowledge, let alone on the acquirement of a few communist phrases. Only in this way can we clearly understand the questions: Why does communism constitute historical necessity? Why is human society bound to advance to communism? And can we base our pursuit of the ideal of and belief in communism on a scientific basis. Longing for and cherishing the communist ideal is one thing and acquiring a scientific knowledge of communism is another. It is inconceivable that a man who is utterly ignorant of the laws governing the development of human society and utterly in the dark about the contents of theory and knowledge embraced in the communist ideological system can really foster the ideal of and belief in communism can spontaneously take shape in people's minds or even in the minds of the workers. It is only through study, what is more, through earnest and assiduous study, that people can solve the questions concerning the ideal of and belief in communism communist world outlook. It can be seen that science and culture are an important factor not only in socialist cultural development but also in communist ideological education and that intellectuals must play not only the part of a member of the mighty force of socialist cultural development but also a member of the mighty force of communist ideological education. Removing intellectuals from the ideological education undertaking is not only biased in thinking but also can inevitably hinder the advance of our ideological education along a healthy path.

Some people may say that admittedly, science and culture are necessary to ideological education but regarding intellectuals as a member of the mighty force of ideological education will mean building themselves up. This is because there are still quite a few problems in the ideological remolding of intellectuals and the remolding of their world outlook, so the policy towards intellectuals must remain to be uniting, educating and remolding. This is another manifestation of the prejudice against intellectuals. There is no harm in making an analysis of the meaning of the "remolding" of intellectuals. Have there not already been problems in the world outlook of intellectuals? Of course, we cannot say so. Man's knowledge always lags behind objective reality. Failure of man's knowledge to suit the development of objective things will result in a backward consciousness. At the same time, a man who lives in a society where the influence of the exploiting classes has not been eliminated will surely be tainted with the ideas of the exploiting classes. In such a broad sense, the world outlook of the intellectuals should of course be remolded. However, is the remolding of the world outlook in this sense applicable exclusively to the intellectuals and not applicable to the workers, peasants and other working people? It is justifiable to say that it is equally applicable to all. The remolding of the world outlook in this sense is necessary to anyone. It is precisely in this sense that Comrade Zhou Enlai spurred himself on and encouraged others with the saying keep on learning and remolding yourselves so long as you live. However, some people do not urge intellectuals to carry out self-remolding in this sense, nor do they urge the other people to carry out self-remolding, as they demand of intellectuals, but contrarily, they still regard intellectuals as part of the petit bourgeoisie and even the bourgeoisie and demand them to carry out the alleged thorough remolding. This kind of remolding is of course not suitable to other people and so it is exclusively the task of the intellectuals. Regarding intellectuals as part of the petit bourgeoisie and even part of the bourgeoisie does not completely tally with facts. Together with the workers, peasants and other working people, the intellectuals are working people who live by their own labor in the socialist society. The difference between them and manual laborers only lies in the fact that what they put into their work is mental labor rather than manual labor and the achievements of their labor are spiritual products rather than material products. They provide society with spiritual products and provide the people with nourishment for the mind and all kinds of spiritual services and material services (as doctors, engineers and others) through their own hard mental labor. Similary, under socialism, if the working people who engage in material production and provide society with material products can be regarded as working people, why can't the working people—intellectuals—who engage in spiritual production and provide society with spiritual products (in fact, not spiritual products alone) be regarded as working people? Why have some people still obstinately clung to the previous argument and stubbornly imposed petit bourgeoisie and even the bourgeoisie labels on the intellectuals to this day?

Some people may also ask whether approaching things in this way is not a touch of slightly beautifying intellectuals. Or does it not mean negating the fact that they are tainted with petit bourgeois and bourgeois ideas? In fact, they are two entirely different things. Regarding intellectuals as part of the petit bourgeoisie or part of the bourgeoisie is one thing and alleging that intellectuals are bound to be tainted with petit bourgeois and bourgeois ideas is another thing. Mixing the two up is precisely a reflection of confusion in

the mind. Denying that intellectuals are part of the petit bourgeoisie or part of the bourgeoisie and should thoroughly remold themselves does not necessarily mean negating intellectuals who are tainted with petit bourgeois or bourgeois ideas. As already mentioned above, we live in a society where the influence of the exploiting classes has not yet been eliminated, therefore, it is only natural that people will be tainted with all sorts of ideas of the exploiting classes. Intellectuals are of course no exception. They may be tainted not only with petit bourgeois and bourgeois ideas but even with the ideas of the feudal class. There is no hiding this fact. However, are there far more people who are tainted with the ideas of the exploiting classes than intellectuals? Are there far more people who are obliged to fulfill the task of overcoming the influence of the ideas of the petit bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie and even the feudal class then intellectuals? Continuing to persist in demanding intellectuals to remold themselves (this remolding can only be interpreted as a thorough remolding) seizing on the fact that intellectuals are tainted with some petit bourgeois or bourgeois ideas is the continuity of the "leftist" ideology which has existed for a long time on the issue of intellectuals and is an uncorrected prejudice against intellectuals. It is precisely under the influence of this ideology that in some localities and departments the party's policy towards intellectuals has not been implemented to this day and the intellectuals have not been rationally arranged and put to correct use up to now, and moreover the phenomena in which intellectuals are surpressed and attacked still exists to this day. This cannot but bring harm to the building of our two socialist civilizations.

As a member of the mightly force of socialist cultural development and ideological education, it goes without saying that intellectuals also have the task to study. To be an educator, one must first receive an education. This is an irrefutable truth. To give real play to their own role in socialist cultural development and ideological education, intellectuals must first of all study hard and train themselves to be the builders of socialism who are highly accomplished in science and culture, are highly advanced in ideological consciousness and have lofth moral values. In other words, intellectual themselves are also confronted with a problem of cultural development and ideological education. Intellectuals are characterized by the fact that they have a mastery of knowledge. However, there is no limit to knowledge. In the vast ocean of knowledge, we must continuously draw new nourishment. Particularly in the world today, science and technology are advancing by leaps and bounds, new breakthroughs are brewing all the time, new fields of research are steadily being opened up and new scientific results ahve been emerging constantly. With the lapse of time, even those people who have formerly accumulated rather rich knowledge will find themselves unable to do as much as they would wish to do and will find themselves out of step with the swift development of science. Therefore, only when we study hard and steadily absorb new knowledge can we keep pace with the onward march of modern science and make new contributions to our socialist modernization program. Apart from continuously studying scientific and cultural knowledge and mastering the latest scientific findings, another task confronting the intellectuals is to heighten their own ideological consciousness and to consciously arm themselves with communist ideology (intellectuals who are party members must do so all the more). In a certain sense, it can be said that ideological education and the formation of communist

ideology is more important and more difficult for intellectuals. We say that it is more important, because just as we necessarily guide our cultural development with communist ideology so as to ensure its correct orientation, the intellectuals must have a correct world outlook to guide the study of their own scientific and cultural knowledge. With a correct world outlook and correct thinking as the guide, we cannot only be clear about the purpose of our study and stimulate our revolutionary zeal for making contributions to the socialist modernization program of our motherland but also enhance our ability to discriminate against modern scientific and cultural knowledge so that we can manage to absorb positive factors and discard negative factors and make them better serve our socialist modernization program. We say that it is more difficult because the formation of communist ideology calls, as already mentioned above, for a real mastery of the laws governing the development of human society and also for launching struggle against all sorts of noncommunist ideas in our minds. As for intellectuals, this kind of process is more complicated and tortuous than mastering a new kind of scientific and cultural knowledge. For this reason, intellectuals must attach importance to the question of their own ideological education and devote a lot of energy and effort to it.

CSO: 4005/152

PARTY AND STATE

BUILDING SOCIALISM WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS

HK120847 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Zhao Shouyi [6392 1343 0001]: "Build Socialism With Chinese Characteristics in the Spirit of Reform"]

[Text] In his opening address to the 12th CPC Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping penetratingly pointed out: "To integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of China, blaze a path of our own and build socialism with Chinese characteristics--this is the basic conclusion we have reached in summing up our long, historical experience." This fundamental conclusion, like a red line, permeates this opening address, Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech and the new party constitution.

Proceeding from the reality of China, in particular the specific reality of the past 6 years since the smashing of the "gang of four," Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech sums up the experience of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. The report highly praises various kinds of responsibility system implemented in the rural areas of China, the new changes they have brought to these areas and the unprecedented happiness they have brought to the broad masses of peasants. This is a new socialist pattern suited to the reality of China's rural areas.

The report raises the issue of the four basic principles for promoting an overall development of the national economy. With regard to the relations between concentrating funds to carry out key construction projects and continuing to improve people's livelihood, the issue of adhering to the leading role of the state economy and the development of a diversified economy, the issue of relying mainly on the implementation of the planned economy while making regulation by market mechanism subsidiary, and the issue of relying on our own efforts while expanding economic relations and technical exchange with foreign countries, the report stresses the need to proceed from Chinese national conditions, using the experience of foreign countries as a reference and blazing a path of our own.

The report particularly regards the building of a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization as the main characteristic of socialism and a strategic principle for the building of socialism. This is a new creation in the history of the international communist movement, and has immeasurable practical and far-reaching historical significance.

The report regards a high degree of socialist democracy as a fundamental aim and one of the basic tasks, and extends it to various aspects of political, economic, cultural and social life. Such a view is based on full trust in the masses.

The report explains our independent foreign policy, that is, we will neither depend on nor yield to any superpower nor will we ever pursue hegemonist policies.

With regard to our party building, measures concerning the party's democratic centralism, normal inner-party life, the cadre system and in particular a series of measures to ensure cooperation between young and elderly cadres and the succession of the old by the new, including the historically significant decision to establish an advisory commission, are even more characteristic of China. Therefore, they enjoy the support of the masses.

The above-mentioned brief points have shown that Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening address, Comrade Hu Yaobang's report and the new party constitution form a rich, complete summary of socialist construction with Chinese characteristics and a programmatic document guiding our construction for a period of time in the future.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening address and Comrade Hu Yaobang's report set out the party's general tasks for the new historical period and point out that we should do well in effecting fundamental turns for the better in these aspects during the 5 years from the present party congress to the next one, and in accomplishing the three great tasks during the last 10 years of the 1980's. In particular, they stress that the general objective of China's economic construction for the two decades between 1981 and the end of this century is, by steadily working for more and better economic results, to quadruple the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production from 710 billion yuan in 1980 to 2,800 billion yuan or so in the year 2000. This will place China in the front ranks of the world in terms of gross national income and the output of major industrial and agricultural products; it will represent an important advance in the modernization of our entire national economy; it will increase the income of our urban and rural population several times over; and the Chinese people will be comparatively well-off both materially and culturally. Although China's national per capita income will even then be relatively low, her economic strength and national defense capabilities will have increased considerably, compared with what they are today. This constitutes our formidable goal of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. As long as we strive actively, do our work in a down-to-earth manner and further bring the excellence of the socialist system into full play, we can certainly attain this magnificent strategic aim.

In view of the historical development of all the countries of the world and our own practical experience of building socialism in our country in particular, the attainment of this objective depends, generally speaking, on two factors: First whether or not our production relations and superstructure conform with the development of the productive forces; and second, whether or not we can apply important scientific and technological achievements to production. In short, these two factors involve the reform of the system and the invention and application of science and technology.

Therefore, to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, we should carry out reforms. We will not be able to succeed without the spirit and practice of reform.

Marxism maintains that the Proletariat cannot realize communism immediately after seizing state power. Instead, it must be achieved step by step. In other words, with the prerequisite of upholding the four basic principles, we should adopt a series of measures to measures to gradually reform all those systems, organs, rules and regulations which hamper the development of productive forces. Reform also means revolution. It means correcting irrational systems, organs, rules and regulations. Only by seizing the opportunity to carry out the reforms in accordance with objective laws will the socialist cause advance vigorously.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the fact that we have brought order out of chaos in guiding through and practical work signifies a great reform. The great historical change which Comrade Hu Yaobang speaks of is the result of carrying out a series of reforms on various fronts.

With regard to economic work, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have first of all grasped agriculture, with emphasis on correcting leftist mistakes which existed for a long time, restoring and expanding the decision-making power of communes and production brigades in the rural areas, restoring private plots, household sideline production, collective subsidiary production and rural fairs, gradually implementing various kinds of responsibility systems in production which link remuneration to output, raising the purchasing prices for grain and some agricultural products and solving certain problems connected with the guiding principles of a diversified economy. As a result, marked changes have taken place in agriculture. The tremendous changes brought about in the period of only 3 years since the implementation of the responsibility system in agricultural production have evoked a strong response both at home and abroad.

With regard to the labor front, which is closely connected with the vital interests of the masses, one of the most serious social problems before and shortly after the convening of the third plenary session was the existence of tens of thousands of people waiting for employment in cities and towns, a result of the 10 years of turmoil. However, under the guidance of the employment policy of the "three-in-one combination," we arranged jobs for 26 million people within a period of 3 years. This has played an important role in developing the economy and promoting stability and unity. In the course of carrying out this work, the masses have established labor service companies--a new and dynamic organizational form.

At present, while expounding the guiding principles and tasks of the new period, Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang explicitly define a series of tasks for reform, including reforms of the political system, leadership system, economic system, goods prices, labor system, wage system, cadre system and so forth. All these reforms are to be carried out under the prerequisite of upholding the four basic principles.

There are major and minor reforms as well as overall and partial reforms. Reforms should be carried out in an active and orderly way regardless of their scale and nature. Arbitrary or rash reforms will not work, still less the practice of sticking to old methods and waiting passively.

To carry out reforms effectively, we should, first of all, formulate general plans which conform to the conditions in China. With such general plans, we will have a definite objective for our reforms.

However, as for minor and partial reforms, we should start immediately without waiting. We should not abandon problems that can be solved now just because we lack a general plan. Actions should be taken immediately to settle these problems once we have clear ideas and the right conditions exist. Of course, each and every minor and partial reform should create conditions for later major reforms. We must not create obstacles or hidden problems.

Reform is a matter which affects the situation as a whole. While carrying out reforms, we should handle well various relations.

The reform of the political system, leadership system, economic system, organs, goods prices, labor system, wage system, cadre system and educational system are interrelated, mutually conditional and interdependent. For example, reforms in the labor and wage systems are determined by reforms in the economic and political systems. But reforms in the labor and wages systems also react to reforms in the economic and political systems. Let us take another example. The key to successful reform of the educational system lies in integrating these four kinds of reforms, we cannot only promote the reform of the educational system, but also make the best use of talents. If on the contrary we fail to integrate and coordinate these four kinds of reforms, the training and growth of talented personnel will be hampered. This will cause enormous waste. Therefore, we should have the overall situation in mind, make an overall arrangement, adopt a complete set of measures and progress step by step.

All this can be regarded as the law of reform.

Our purpose in carrying out these reforms is to establish economic and political management systems and various rules and regulations suitable for China, a land of about 9.6 million square kilometers. Of course, when we are carrying out revolution and construction, we should pay attention to learning from and using the experience of foreign countries as a reference. However, if we indiscriminately copy the experience and models of foreign countries, we will never succeed in our endeavor. We have drawn a number of lessons from this.

An important and decisive factor which determines the success of our reforms is that we emancipate our minds, seek truth from facts, proceed from reality and integrate theory with practice. This is our party's fine tradition and an ideological line established by Comrade Mao Zedong after summing up the bitter experiences and lessons of the Chinese revolutionary struggle. It laid the ideological foundations which ensured the victory of the war of resistance against Japan and the liberation war. During the 1950's, we implemented this ideological line. As a result, socialist reforms were carried out smoothly.

However, we later deviated from and went against this ideological line in our guiding thought. As a result, socialist construction suffered severe setbacks. The historical achievements of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee come from the fact that it has completely smashed the fetters of leftist mistakes, set right the party's guiding thought and restored Marxist ideological, political and organizational lines. Therefore, a great historical change has taken place.

We are always going through the trials of successes and, setbacks, victories and difficulties. However, communists always have confidence in the future of their cause.

At present, the political situation in our country is stable and conditions are favorable. In spite of the fact that we face numerous difficulties, as long as we "boost our spirits, blast a path for progress, fight with an iron will and never stop struggling," difficulties can be overcome. We have a bright and promising future. We are fully confident that the "four modernizations are bound to succeed and unification will be realized," because: 1) having been through a protracted and tortuous process of development, we have come to a profound understanding of the law governing our country's socialist construction, and accumulated abundant experiences; 2) the 12th CPC Congress has formulated guiding principles, tasks and policies for creating a new situation in socialist construction, established new party regulations and discipline and adopted a series of effective measures for party consolidation. This is a basic guarantee for the accomplishment of our magnificent goals; 3) creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization is the eager desire of the masses and in accordance with popular feeling in the party, people and army. With the warm support and efforts of the broad masses of people, our cause is bound to succeed.

In particular, what enhances our confidence is that we have the ideal organization of the Central Committee. The present CPC Central Committee is truly a "leading collective which is united and harmonious, and a powerful nucleus which has the complicated situation well in hand." With such a new CPC Central Committee, we can certainly accumulate new experiences in our new and great practice, create new theories, give great impetus to Mao Zedong thought and promote the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

CSO: 4005/152

path of degeneration taken by some revolutionarie in the past. The mode of production represented by the revolutionaries and revolutionary political parties of the old era, and their class position, determined that their revolutionary nature would die with the seizure of political power. But this is not ture of the Communist Party. The class position and historical mission of the working class determine that after the establishment of the people's democratic regime, it will go on to lead the people of the whole country to carry out socialist revolution and socialist construction, and wage an even more arduous and protracted struggle for the ultimate realization of communism.

However, this sort of historical inevitability by no means ensures that no Communist Party will degenerate after obtaining political power. Many facts show that the appearance of degeneration within the Communist Party in power is by no means an accidental phenomenon. There has been no lack of precedent in the international communist movement in former or recent times. Since the national liberation, our party has all along maintained the nature of the vanguard of the working class, but there have been many cases of partial degeneration. Then why does the phenomenon of degeneration appear within the Communist Party in power? This is determined by the historical and social context in which the ruling Communist Party exists. 1) The party is still besieged by various ideas of the exploiting classes, from within and outside the country; all these ideas come from the bourgeois and feudal landlord classes. They may invade the part at any time. This finds expression in the deviation on the part of certain people within the party from the communist fighting goal and from the working-class stand, serving private ends and seeking privileges, and even degenerating into criminals who disrupt socialism. 2) The position of the ruling party is most likely to give rise to bureaucratism. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out in his report on revising the party constitution at the 8th CPC National Congress, "their position in the ruling party can very easily infect our comrades with bureaucratic habits. The danger of departing from reality and from the masses, as far as party organizations and party members are concerned, is not less, but greater than before." Bureaucratism, as far as its social roots are concerned, "is a reflection in our party and government of the remnants of the reactionary style (anti-people style and KMT-style) which the reactionary ruling class had toward the people." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 73). In fact, bureaucratism also often exists side by side with such phenomena as commandism, violation of law and discipline and serious damage to mass interests. If allowed to spread unchecked, these practices will cause the party's serious isolation from the masses and even a basic change in its relations with the people. the party will thus degenerate into one which oppresses the people. Therefore, the problem of bureaucratism always requires the serious attention of the Communist Party in power. 3) Entering the party after the national liberation is not only devoid of the risks of the era of revolutionary war, but also a chance seized upon by some people to serve their own ends. Thus, some careerists and speculators try every means to join the party. At the same time, the ruling party's position will also make those careerists and speculators already in the party more active. Their aim in joining the Communist Party is to climb up the ladder of officialdom and get rich. If such people are given positions of power, it is very dangerous. Though our part has constantly purged itself of its careerists and speculators, will always [word indistinct] such people within a party. To make the party

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ARTICLE ON BUILDING RULING PARTY

HK100955 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Nov 82 p 5

[Article by Zhang Decheng [1728 1795 2052]: "The Fundamental Question of Building a Party in Power"]

[Text] The new party constitution formulated at our 12th CPC National Congress decisively summed up our experiences in building the party since the founding of the PRC, and set forth three basic demands concerning the strengthening of party building, the promotion of the party's fine traditions and the strengthening of the party's fighting power. The three demands are: A high degree of unity in the ideological and political fields, wholehearted dedication to serving the people, and adherence to democratic centralism. This means taking care of and correctly solving the fundamental question of building the Communist Party in power.

What is the fundamental issue involved in building the Communist Party in power? It boils down to maintaining the nature of the party as the vanguard of the working class, preventing its degeneration, avoiding treading the old path of degeneration followed by revolutionaries and revolutionary political parties of the past, and striving to turn the party into a solid core leading the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Whether this problem can be correctly solved has a direct bearing on the destiny of our party and the state. Just as Comrade Chen Yun said, "the problem of party style is a life or death matter for the party in power."

The Communist Party is the Proletarian vanguard. To thoroughly fulfill the historical mission of the Proletariat, bring about world communism and emancipate all mankind is the Communist Party's supreme program. For the Communist Party, leading the people throughout the country to overthrow the rule of the reactionary class and establish the people's democratic regime was only the first step in a long march of 10,000 li. All such tendencies as being concervative, staying at the same level without getting ahead, seeking ease and comfort, serving private interests pursuing privileges, departing from the masses, and so forth run counter to the nature of the Communist Party. All this represents the fundamental distinction between the Communist Party in power and the revolutionaries and revolutionary political parties of the old era. It is this fundamental distinction which determines the possibility that the Communist Party, after becoming the ruling party, will not follow the old

a 100 percent pure is impossible. For the above reasons, the appearance of the phenomenon of degeneration within the Communist Party in power is perfectly possible. So long as the sources and conditions producing it are not eliminated, the phenomenon of degeneration within the ruling Communist Party cannot be entirely avoided.

In summing up the revolutionary experiences of the Paris commune, Marx and Engels pointed out: After winning political power, the Proletariat must take resolute measures to prevent its own workers from "pursuing high office and wealth" and prevent the state and state organs from "changing from public servants into social masters." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 325). Ultimately, that measures should be adopted must be determined by concrete conditions in each country. But the problems they pose are of universal significance to all Communist Parties in power. Before the national victory, our party foresaw such a situation. In December 1948, Liu Shaoqi said in a speech: "Once we have the country in our control, it will not be easy to maintain our position. Many people worry that though we are now fighting hard to bring the country under control, we will degenerate just like the KMT when we succeed. There is some justification for such worries on their part. In an agriculturally backward country like China, a village head or a county party committee secretary may lord it over others. After victory, some people will surely degenerate and become bureaucratic. If our party takes not of this, strengthening ideological education and raising the sense of discipline, [word indistinct] will be better." ("Selected Works of Liu Haoqi," Vol 1, p 413) At the second plenary session of the seventh CPC Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong called on the whole party to guard against the sugarcoated bullets of the bourgeoisie, and to continue the style of fightings amid hardships. Acting on Comrade Mao Zedong's view, the second plenary session of the seventh CPC Central Committee promptly set forth a policy to combat corruption. Later, facts proved that this decision of our party was very farsighted. It allowed our party to get ideologically prepared to lead the people of the whole country to carry out the socialist revolution after seqzing political power. It can be seen that preventing the phenomenon of degeneration is not a problem new to Marxists. No ruling Communist Party can avoid it.

There is nothing to be feared about the appearance of the phenomenon of degeneration within the Communist Party in power. The main thing is that we must have a Marxist party-building line. So long as it adheres to the Marxist party-building line, the Communist Party in power can completely avoid following the old path of degeneration by conducting internal struggle using the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. Now, we can say without the least exaggeration that the three basic demands put forth in the new party constitution formulated at our party's 12th CPC National Congress mean the discovery of a fundamental road to success in preventing the party from degeneration and maintaining its nature as the vanguard of the working class.

The first basic demand in building the party is a high degree of ideological and political unity throughout the party. This basically requires the whole party to uphold communist ideology and the ideological line of taking a down-to-earth approach and linking theory with reality. In other words, only on the basis of Marxism can the whole party achieve a high degree of real and conscious

unity in the ideological and political fields. The new party constitution says: "The PRC takes the realization of communism as its supreme program. All Communist Party members must fight for this throughout their lives. At the present stage, we must uphold the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship, the party's leadership, and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought, and concentrate our strength on socialist modernization." "The party's ideological line calls for doing everything with reality in mind, linking theory with practice, getting down to earth, and testing and developing truths in practice." These requirements must be obeyed by all Communist Party members (whatever their rank). If we act contrary to these requirements, we are likely to make political mistakes. At least our party spirit will be impure. Upholding communism is the fundamental symbol of our party and the supreme expression of party spirit. Only by upholding communist ideology can we resist the corruption of all exploiting-class ideas and maintain the nature of the party as the vanguard of the working class. Only by upholding the ideological line of taking a down-to-earth approach and linking theory with practice can we scientifically sum up historical experiences and correctly solve new problems posed by domestic and international matters, formulate a line and general and specific policies compatible with actual conditions and fundamental Marxist theory, and prevent erroneous "leftist" and rightist trends.

Another basic demand calls for wholeheartedly serving the people. The new party constitution syas: "Members of the CPC must wholeheartedly serve the people." "Other than individual benefits and authority allowed by systems and policies, no Communist Party member may seek any individual benefit or privilege." All Communist Party members have a duth to "insist on putting the interests of the party and the people above everything else, subordinating individual interests to the interests of the party and the people, being the first to suffer and the last to seek enjoyment, serving the public selflessly and never using public office for private gain or sacrificing public interests for private interests." All party cadres must "cherish a democratic work style, maintain close ties with the masses, correctly carry out the party's mass line, consciously accept criticism and supervision from the party and the masses, and oppose bureaucratism." Fundamentally speaking, this basic demand calls for correct handling of the relations between the party and people. The relations between the party and people, put simply, mean that the people need the party and that the party is inseparable from the people. Without strong party leadership, socialist modernization cannot possible be realized, still less the ideal of communism. But if the party departs from the people, it will have nothing to rely upon. It will not only lose all its fighting power but will also inevitably degenerate into something hostile to the people. Though this is an old argument, it is still the case that not all comrades can correctly understand and properly handle the relations between the party and the people. For example, a small number of party members and cadres do not wholeheartedly serve the people. Instead they abuse their authority for private ends and special privileges. Instead of acting as the public servants of the people, they are affected with serious bureaucratism. They even become bureaucrats oppressing the masses. Bureaucratism and the quest for special treatment and privileges pose serious dangers to the ruling party. In the light of our party's experiences, to overcome these dangers, we must at present, and most important of all, uphold the mass line tested by our party in the years of

revolutionary war, as well as systematically carry out administrative and economic reforms. The party's mass line includes the viewpoint and requirement that we do everything for the sake of the masses, rely upon them in all matters and unite with them as one. It also covers the work method or the leadership method of "from the masses and to the masses." It embodies the fundamental theory of historical materialism that the masses of people are the makers of history. It also embodies the dialectical-materialism theory of knowledge that calls for taking practice as the foundation. Its basic spirit calls for completely and thoroughly serving the people. This spirit is the communist spirit, and is unique to the Proletarian revolutionary political party. The loss of such spirit is a direct indication of the degeneration of a Proletarian revolutionary political party. Therefore, in building the party in power, it is absolutely necessary to insist on wholeheartedly serving the people.

The third basic demand is upholding democratic centralism. Since the founding of the PRC, our most serious mistake in building the party has never been worse than the failure to uphold democratic centralism. A major reason why "leftist" mistakes existed for a long time without being rectified any why the "great cultural revolution, causing 10 years of internal disorder, took place was the lack of democracy within the party. Especially within the party's leadership organs, democratic centralism was not upheld, while individual dictatorship and the personality cult prevailed. The appearance of the personality cult within our party was a product of given historical and social conditions. But the corrosive effect of feudal thinking on the party can never be overlooked. For a period of time, we paid attention to resisting corrosion by bourgeois thinking but lowered our guard against the corruption of feudal thinking. In fact, in a state like ours, long ruled by feudalism and so far still very backward in social productive forces, with the remnants of feudal thinking and the influence of small-production habits still widely felt, our party faces not only corruption by bourgeois ideas but also corrosion by feudal thinking. This especially has added to the complicated and arduous nature of the job of building our party. There thus appeared an abnormal situation in the political life of the party. Now our party has the benefit of more experiences and lessons. The provisions in the new party constitution of the 12th CPC National Congress for democratic centralism have shown great improvements over those in previous party constitutions. Especially worth noting is that the new party constitution for the first time states: "The party forbids any form of personality cult. It is necessary to ensure that the activity of party leaders is supervised by the party and the people and, at the same time, to maintain the prestige of all leaders who represent the interests of the party and the people." It also says: "If an individual party member announces something important on behalf of the party organization, he must refer to the party organization concerned for discussion or decision, or turn to upper-level party organizations for instructions when his announcement goes beyond the framework of an original party decision. No matter how high his rank, no party member can make a personal decision on major issues. If a personal decision is required in an emergency, a subsequent report must be promptly submitted to the party organization. No leader is allowed to practice individual dictatorship or place the individual above the party organization." The new party constitution further stipulates that "party leadership cadres at all levels, whether democratically elected or appointed by a leadership organ, do not enjoy lifetime tenure and are subject to being transferred or removed." To abolish lifetime tenure for cadres is an

important measure in preventing the appearance of the personaltiy cult. To better uphold democratic centralism, the new party constitution stresses "practicing a high degree of centralism on the basis of democracy." It no longer calls for "democracy under centralized guidance." In my opinion, the call for "democracy under centralized guidance" does not convey a definite meaning. When it comes to the matter of understanding, it is liable to give rise to misunderstandings about democratic centralism (people are led to believe that centralism is used to restrict democracy). This does not help the upholding of democratic centralism. These new provisions were made in view of the serious lessons learned from "the great cultural revolution." They are undoubtedly of great significance in building up the party in power.

Experience over many years tells us that the slightest deviation from these three basic demands will do harm to the effort of building our party and the socialist cause led by the party. To uphold these three basic demands in an overall manner is to build an impregnable fortress in the face of the invasion of exploiting-class thinking. Thus we can ensure that the ruling Communist Party will become the vigorous vanguard of the working class.

However, just as Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, there still exists the problem of impure ideology, style and organization within our party. The 12th CPC National Congress demanded that in the next 5 years we bring about a fundamental turn for the better in the party's style while achieving a fundamental turn for the better in financial and economic conditions and in social practices. To this end, the 12th CPC National Congress decided that beginning from the second half of next year, 3 years should be devoted to overall reorganization of the party's style and party organizations in separate groups over different periods of time. What is worth noting is that a small number of comrades still have a passive and pessimistic attitude toward the struggle for a fundamental turn for the better in the party [word indistinct]. This is entirely wrong. In the past few years, despite the absence of a fundamental turn for the better, under the guidance of the party's correct line, the party's style has shown increasing improvement. This is an objective fact clear to all. Since the party's style has been improving step by step, given a few years of effort, why can't we bring about a fundamental turn for the better? We believe that if we reorganize and build up our party according to the three basic demands, we can surely bring about a fundamental turn for the better in the party's style.

CSO: 4005/152

PARTY AND STATE

FURTHER PUBLICIZING OF CONGRESS DOCUMENTS URGED

SKD71109 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Nov 82

[Excerpts] The morning the propaganda department of the Nei Monggol CPC Committee held a meeting of journalists in Hohhot to sum up experiences and to call for thoroughly publicizing and reporting the 12th Party Congress.

Bu He, deputy secretary of the Nei Monggol CPC Committee, spoke at the meeting. After fully affirming the previous achievement of all departments of information in Hohhot in publicizing the documents of the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Bu He stressed the issue of how to further publicize and report the 12th Party Congress in order to strive for creating a new situation in newscasting.

Comrade Bu He stressed: In order to create a new situation in newscasting, from now on we should concentrate news work on thoroughly publicizing and reporting the 12th Party Congress. The following specific tasks should be fulfilled: 1) Continuously make a full and thorough report on the situation of studying the documents of the 12th Party Congress among the broad masses of party members, cadres and the people; 2) vigorously publicize the restructuring of organizations; 3) give energetic publicity to the achievements in economic construction; 4) widely and thoroughly publicize the building of socialist spiritual civilization; 5) publicize and strengthen party building to strive for effecting a fundamental turn for the better in the party's workstyle; 6) continuely conduct propaganda in order to enhance the solidarity of the people of all nationalities; 7) spread propaganda to further conduct struggle against serious crimes in the economic field.

Comrade Bu He urged all participants to seriously study the documents of the 12th Party Congress, politically to rally around the party's Central Committee, to conduct a thorough investigation and study of reality and to work hard with unity and revolutionary enthusiasm with a view toward scoring greater achievements in creating a new situation.

CSO: 4005/152

PARTY AND STATE

32D, 38TH IN SERIES ON REVISED CPC CONSTITUTION

OW090553 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 8 Nov 82

[Thirty-second, 38th in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "Why Do We Say that the Party is an Integral Body, Organized Under Its Program and Constitution on the Principle of Democratic Centralism?" "Why and How Should Election in the Party Reflect the Will of the Voters?"--By the general section of the research office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 32d question: Why do we say that the party's an integral body, organized under its program and constitution on the principle of democratic centralism?

A Proletarian political party must have a program and constitution based on Marxism. The general program of the party constitution is, in fact, an outline of the party's program. A party's program is its banner. It is of great significance to the unity and consistency of the party's activities. The party constitution contains principles governing the organizational structure of the party and inner-party life. It is the party's fundamental law and a powerful weapon in improving party organization. Party organizations at all levels and all party members must stay within the limits of the party constitution.

Only by applying the principle of democratic centralism on the basis of the party's program and constitution will it be possible to organize the party into an integral body ideologically, organizationally and in action.

Ideological and political unity is the foundation for organizing the party into an integral body. A Communist Party member must, above everything else, accept and observe the party's program and constitution and dedicate his whole life to the realization of the party's ultimate goals. In this way, the whole party will have a common goal, ideal and belief, code of conduct and moral standard, and so forth. In other words, it will have an ideological and political basis for unity.

Organizational unity is the guarantee for organizing the part into an integral body. Lenin said that the Proletariat can and will surely become an invincible force, because its ideological unity on the basis of Marxism is consolidated by the material unity of its organizations. It follows that ideological

unity alone is not enough for the party to organize itself into an integral body. All party members must join a party organization, as requested by the party constitution, and actively work in it. In accordance with the whole set of strict principles and regulations, all party organizations and members will be organized into an integral body and will be able to work effectively in all fields under the centralized leadership of the party Central Committee.

Unity in action is the concrete manifestation of the party's being organized into an integral body.

The 38th question: Why and how should election in the party reflect the will of the voters?

Article 11 of the party constitution stipulates: "The election of delegates to party congresses and of members of party committees at all levels should reflect the will of the voters."

This fully shows that election in our party is based entirely on respect for the democratic rights of its membership.

Election in the party, which reflects the will of the voters, is an important condition in forming a good leading body. The rank-and-file party members know who among the party cadres is most faithful and true to the party, maintains close ties with the masses and is really competent. As long as elections really reflect the will of the voters, we can be sure that good party members and cadres, who combine political integrity and ability, will be elected to leading bodies of the party at all levels.

Election in the party, reflecting the will of the voters, is an important way to arouse, and give play to, the party members' enthusiasm. Currently, the party is leading the people throughout the country in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. To accomplish this great historical task, it is necessary to bring into full play the enthusiasm of the masses of party members, which in turn depends on democracy in inner-party life. Election in the party reflecting the will of the voters is an important manifestation of inner-party democracy.

Election in the party reflecting the will of the voters is an important measure to prevent careerists, conspiratiors and other people, who harbor evil intentions, from sneaking into leading bodies at various levels.

One of the main reasons that the Li Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques were able to run amok in the party for 10 years was that they exploited the opportunities they found in the abnormal state of inner-party democracy. They admitted into the party many rough characters from their factions. They manipulated and controlled party elections in places where they had usurped all or part of the power and placed these rough characters in leading posts at various levels.

To reflect the will of the voters in elections in the party, it is necessary to insure the following in accordance with the stipulation of article 11 of the party constitution:

1. Elections must be held by secret ballot.

2. The lists of candidates must be submitted to the party organizations and voters for full deliberation and discussion.

3. There may be a preliminary election in order to draw up a list of candidates for the formal election. Or there may be no preliminary election, in which case the number of candidates should be greater than that of the persons to be elected. In both cases, the voters should be able to freely choose leaders who really represent their will and who are really satisfactory to them.

4. The voters should have the right to inquire into the candidates, demand a change or reject one in favor of another. No organization or individual may in any way compel voters to elect or not to elect any candidate.

CSO: 4005/152

PARTY AND STATE

33RD IN SERIES ON REVISED PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW100417 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 9 Nov 82

[Thirty-third in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "How to Correctly Handle Relations Between Higher Party Organizations and Lower Ones"--by the general section of the research office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] Correct handling of relations between the party's higher and lower organizations is of very great significance in maintaining the unity and solidarity of the whole party politically, ideologically and organizationally, and in correctly and effectively implementing the party's principles, policies and decisions.

Relations between higher party organizations and lower ones are those between the leader and the led. Lower organizations must obey the leadership of the higher. Higher organizations must respect the functions and powers of the lower. Higher and lower organizations should respect, support and supervise each other and should exchange information.

In the party's political life, contradictions of one kind or another often occur between higher and lower organizations. To reduce and correctly handle these contradictions, the higher and lower party organizations must act strictly according to the principle of democratic centralism in all aspects of political life.

In accordance with the provisions of articles 10, 14 and 15 of the party constitution, in the handling of relations between higher and lower organizations, the higher organizations should pay attention to the following:

1. Higher organizations should pay constant attention to the work of lower organizations and quickly solve the problems they raise. Higher organizations should not just issue instructions and assign tasks to lower organizations, but should constantly go down and listen to their views and those of rank-and-file party members and constantly examine how the lower organizations are actually implementing instructions from higher organizations and fulfilling the party's tasks and what problems the lower organizations may have.

2. When making decisions on important questions affecting lower organizations, the leading bodies of the party at all levels should, in ordinary circumstances, solicit the opinions of the lower organizations. Generally speaking, lower organizations are closer to the masses and have a better understanding of the local situation than higher organizations. If the higher organizations pay attention to the opinions of the lower organizations and learn from them when making decisions on important questions affecting the lower organizations. They will be less subjective and one-sided and the decisions they make will be better and conform to objective reality.

3. Measures should be taken to insure that the lower organizations can exercise their functions and powers normally. Except in special circumstances, higher leading bodies should not interfere with matters which ought to be handled by lower organizations.

In accordance with the provisions of the party constitution, in the handling of relations between higher and lower party organizations, the lower organizations should pay attention to the following:

1. The lower organizations should regularly report on their work to, and request instructions from, higher organizations. As requested by the new party constitution, party organizations should regularly and truthfully report on their work to higher party organizations and take the initiative in requesting instructions from higher organizations on the handling of important matters concerning the overall situation. By so doing, they can obtain timely instructions and assistance from higher organizations and avoid, or reduce, mistakes in work.

2. Lower party organizations must firmly implement the decisions of higher party organizations. Before decisions on general principles and other important matters are made by higher leading bodies of the party, lower party organizations may hold discussions at relevant meetings within the party, fully express their views and opinions and make suggestions to higher organizations. However, once decisions are made by higher party organizations, they must be firmly implemented. If lower organizations consider that any decisions of higher organizations do not suit actual conditions in their localities or departments, they should request modification. When higher organizations accept the opinions of lower, the latter have the right to reserve their opinions and report to the next higher party organization. Generally, when higher organizations insist on their original decisions, the problem does not lie in the decisions themselves but in the failure of some comrades in the lower organizations must firmly implement the decisions of higher, even if they cannot figure out why, and must refrain from publicly voicing their differences.

3. Decisions of lower organizations must not contradict those of the higher. Local party organizations at various levels have the power to make decisions on questions of a local nature, based on work requirements and the demands of the masses inside and outside the party. Such decisions, however, must conform to the guidelines of the relevant decisions of higher organizations. Only the party Central Committee has the power to make decisions on major national policies. Party organizations of various departments and localities may make

suggestions regarding such policies to the party Central Committee, but may not make any decisions or publicize their views outside the party without authorization.

As far as lower party organizations are concerned, the correct handling of relations between higher and lower organizations, in addition to the points mentioned previously, consists mainly of preventing and overcoming deviation towards decentralism. For example, some comrades like to establish, at their working posts, a system and influence of their own, to practice liberalism, and are unwilling to accept the party's leadership and supervision. Some fail to conscientiously study and firmly implement instructions of the party Central Committee and other higher organizations, but feign compliance and passively resist. Some things the party Central Committee has ordered repeatedly. However, leading comrades in some units continue to go their own way or, based on their own needs, comply when orders suit them and resist when they do not. A few even openly express views opposed to the spirit of the party Central Committee's decisions and fail to identify themselves with the party Central Committee politically.

This deviation towards decentralism has adversely affected the party's unity and solidarity and weakened the party's fighting capacity. Party organizations at all levels should pay serious attention to this deviation and wage a resolute struggle against it.

CSO: 4005/152

PARTY AND STATE

34TH IN SERIES ON REVISED PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW131336 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 10 Nov 82

[Thirty-fourth in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "How Party Members Who Assume Leading Posts Correctly Handle Relations Between Themselves and the Party Organization?"--By the general section of the research office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The issue regarding the relations between an individual and the party organization is an important one of organizational principle. Article 16 of the new constitution explictly explains how to correctly handle the relations between an individual and the party organization, particularly the relations between those party members who assume leading posts and the party organization. When, on behalf of the party organization, an individual party member is to express views on major issues beyond the scope of existing party decisions, the content must be referred to the party organization for instructions. No party member, whatever his position, is allowed to make decisions on major issues on his own. In an emergency, when a decision by an individual is unavoidable, the matter must be reported to the party organization immediately afterwards. No leader is allowed to decide matters arbitrarily on his own or to place himself above the party organization.

It is on this basis that the party's leading cadres at all levels must pay attention to the following three points:

1. It is necessary to separate the personal opinions of leading cadres from the viewpoint of the party organization. The decisions by the party organization can only be made public in the name of the party organization. Under no circumstances should these decisions be made public in the name of any individual or on the basis of the opinion of an individual.

Naturally, that does not mean that the party's leading cadres cannot express their own views and opinions. Actually, every party member and leading cadre will encounter some actual problems nearly every day, and they need to express their own views and opinions. Sometimes, a party's leading cadre may possibly face an important issue in his work--an issue which has never been discussed and decided on by the party organization. He may have to offer his opinion on this issue. This is an entirely normal situation. However, we must separate the opinion of an individual from the viewpoint of the party organization.

2. We must separate the principle of permitting no one to make decisions on major issues on his own from the spirit of daring to shoulder responsibilities in one's work. No individual is allowed to make decisions on the party's line, guidelines and policy and on major issues regarding the work of the party, because an individual's knowledge, experience and understanding of the objective situation are always limited, no matter how knowledgeable and competent he is.

However, a situation may suddenly arise or a problem may unexpectedly crop up, such as a serious natural disaster or a certain major incident. Due to one reason or another, the party organization has not made any decision or does not have time to make any decision, but there is a need to make a decision or to adopt resolute measures to solve the problem. Under this situation, the leaders of the party organization must not dodge their responsibilities and refuse to make decisions. They must hold themselves responsible to the party and the people and dare to make decisions and adopt measures to solve the problem. However, the matter must be reported to the party organization immediately afterwards.

3. It is necessary to put oneself in a correct relationship to the party organization. This is a fundamental issue on how to correctly handle relations between an individual and the party organization. Some comrades have failed to correctly handle relations between themselves and the party organization, simply because they have failed to put themselves in a correct relationship to the party organization. A party organization is composed of many individuals. An individual is a member of the party organization. Our principle is that the party organization should lead an individual instead of the individual leading the party organization.

Some leading cadres who are the top leaders in various party committees always think that they are correct at all times. They advocate the practice of "what I say counts" and seek to exercise a patriarchal rule over others.

The party organizations and the broad masses of party members must strengthen their supervision over those comrades who assume leading posts, dare to criticize and struggle against the practice of "what I say counts" and a patriarchal work style. At the same time, they must support those comrades to boldly and responsibly perform their duties on the basis of the party's principle and the decisions made by the party organization.

CSO: 4005/152

PARTY AND STATE

35TH, 36TH IN SERIES ON PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW131001 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 11 Nov 82

[Thirty-fifth and 36th in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "How Can We Correctly Deal with the Differing Views of a Minority in Inner-party Political Life? Why Should Party Committees at all Levels Function on the Principle of Combining Collective Leadership with Individual Responsibility, Based on Division of Labor?"--By the general section of the research office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 35th question is: How can we correctly deal with the differing views of a minority in inner-party political life?

One of the party's basic principles of democratic centralism is that the minority is subordinate to the majority. By upholding this principle, it does not mean that we can ignore the views of a minority. Article 16 of the new party constitution stipulates that serious consideration should be given to the differing views of minority. Some comrades ask: Since questions are discussed and decided on in the party in strict accordance with the principle of the minority being subordinate to the majority, whiy is it necessary to give serious consideration to the views of a minority? This is because the differing views of a minority are not entirely wrong and more often than not some such views are reasonable and correct. By giving serious consideration to the views of a minority, it will be able to supplement and develop correct views, to discuss questions more thoroughly and to handle them more prudently and satisfactorily. At the same time, it should also be noted that the views of the majority are usually correct or comparatively correct. However, the views of a minority are sometimes correct, too. Therefore, our party advocates: On the one hand, the principle of the minority being subordinate to the majority must be upheld and party members with differing views are required to unconditionally carry out the party's decisions; and, on the other hand, party members with differing views are allowed to have preservations and present their views to party organizations at higher level, up to and including the Central Committee.

In order to give serious consideration to the views of a minority and to correctly implement the principle of the minority being subordinate to the majority, the party constitution includes some specific stipulations, the main points of which are as follows:

1. In case of controversy over a major issue, in which supporters of the two opposing views are nearly equal in number, the issue should not be hurriedly put to the vote in ordinary circumstances and the decision should be put off to allow for further discussion, so that all those present can express their views to the full and thrash out the issue in dispute. In case of controversy over a major issue in an emergency, where action must be taken, the views of the majority must prevail and be implemented. Otherwise, time would be wasted and an irretrievable loss might result.

2. Before holding another discussion on an issue in dispute, a decision which has been put off, the comrades concerned should be organized to study the relevant documents of the Central Committee and party organizations at higher level, to make further investigation and study and to exchange views. By so doing, it will be easier to reach a consensus.

3. If still no decision can be made because of serious differences of opinion after more discussion, the controversy should be reported to the next higher party organization for ruling.

As long as a small number of comrades with differing views observe party discipline and obey party organizations' decisions, the party organizations should patiently listen to, and fully consider, their views and unite them. In no circumstances should party organizations discriminate against and exclude them. A small number of comrades with differing views should respect and give serious consideration to the views of the majority of comrades and should not consider themselves in the right and stubbornly cling to their own opinions. They must resolutely obey the decision adopted in accordance with the majority view, and in no circumstances must they be allowed to spread discontent or opposing views in violation of the party's principles.

The 36th question is: Why should party committees at all levels function on the principle of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility, based on division of labor?

Article 10, clause 5 of the new party constitution stipulates: Party committees at all levels function on the principle of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility, based on division of labor. All major issues shall be decided by the party committees, after democratic discussion.

This is of great significance for strengthening and improving party leadership and increasing the party's fighting capability.

Implementing the principle of collective leadership is conducive to making correct decisions. Only by pooling the wisdom of those concerned will it be possible to make correct decisions and commit no, or fewer, mistakes resulting from onesided views.

Implementing the principle of collective leadership is conducive to training cadres. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that, only in democratic life would it be possible to train large numbers of capable people. The collective

leadership of the party is actually a reflection of the party's democratic life in leading bodies. With collective leadership, members of a leading body can learn from others' strong points to offset their own weaknesses, supervise one another and make criticism and self-criticism. By so doing, members of a leading body, especially young cadres, can continuously raise their level of theoretical and policy understanding, strengthen their collective and democratic spirit and increase their ability in leadership.

Implementing the principle of collective leadership is conducive to exposing and preventing individual careerists' and conspirators' activities. The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques were able to run amok in the party for as long as 10 years, mainly because the party's collective leadership system was disrupted. Taking advantage of abnormal party life, they frenziedly carried out criminal activities to usurp party leadership and state power. When a sound system of collective leadership and normal democratic life prevail, there will be no loopholes for individual careerists and conspirators to exploit. In such circumstances, it will be easier for party organizations to discover and expose such careerists and conspirators before they make any big trouble.

Collective leadership must be combined with individual responsibility, based on division of labor. It would be very dangerous if no one were responsible for anything on the pretext of collective leadership. Individual responsibility, based on division of labor, means that the responsibility of each leading member must be clearly defined, after making a collective decision. With a strong sense of responsibility, each leading member should do his best to conscientiously carry out the party committee's decisions in doing the work for which he is responsible.

We are now striving to bring about a new situation in socialist modernization. There are many new situations and problems awaiting us to study and solve. This calls for party committees at all levels to strictly follow the principle of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility based on division of labor and raise party leadership to a new level.

CSO: 4005/152

PARTY AND STATE

37TH IN SERIES ON PARTY CONSTITUTION STUDY

OW150411 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 12 Nov 82

[Thirty-seventh in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "Why Does the Party Forbid All Forms of Personality Cult?"—By the general section of the research office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] It is stipulated in item No 6 of article 10 of the new party constitution: "The party forbids all forms of personality cult. It is necessary to ensure that the activities of the party leaders be subject to supervision by the party and the people, while at the same time to uphold the prestige of all leaders who represent the interests of the party and the people." This was a new and important provision enacted by our party after drawing on previous experiences and lessons. It is very important to upholding the principle of democratic centralism, strengthening collective leadership, ensuring a sound democratic life within the party and consolidating the party's solidarity and unification.

The long years of actual revolutionary struggle in China have fully demonstrated that our party and people would have been groping in the dark for longer periods had not Comrade Mao Zedong saved the revolution form danger on many occasions and if the party Central Committee he headed had not charted a firm and correct political direction for the whole party, the people of all nationalities throughout the country and the people's army.

However, the role of individuals, including Proletarian leaders, cannot be separated from the social and historical conditions of their times, the people's activities, class struggle and the process of social development. Individuals can bring their role into full play only when they correctly understand the conditions for social development, as well as the ways to change these conditions, and when they truely act according to the law of history and the people's will. Meanwhile, we must realize that no one is born a leader and that a leader is the product of certain historical conditions and grows out of the needs of social development of his times. The times produce their heroes, not the reverse.

In the past our party was relatively careful in preventing and opposing the personality cult. On the eve of the founding of new China, Comrade Mao Zedong instructed that it be forbidden to hold birthday parties for leaders or name a place, street or enterprise after a party leader and that it be necessary to keep to the style of waging hard struggles and stop glorifying leaders. The eighth CPC National Congress laid further emphasis on upholding collective leadership and opposing the personality cult. In his report on the revision of the party constitution at the eighth CPC National Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping

clearly pointed out: Our task is to continue to firmly implement the central authorities' principle of opposing the practice of giving prominence to, and glorifying, individuals and to foster closer ties between the leaders and the masses so that the party's democratic principle and mass line can be implemented in all fields.

However, starting from the late 1950's, a personality cult began to develop gradually. The political life of the party and the state, particularly the party Central Committee, became increasingly abnormal. During the great cultural revolution, the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques took advantage of the people's reverence for the leader and did their best to promote a personality cult. They defied the leader in the uppermost leading post and pushed the personality cult to its extreme. The party and the people suffered disasterous losses in their cause. After the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, the personality cult was not promptly corrected. A new form of personality cult continued for some time.

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee restored the Marxist ideological line, formulated the correct political and organizational line and laid down the principle of emancipating the mind, starting up the machinery, seeking truth from facts and uniting to look ahead. Then the party Central Committee formulated the "guiding principles for inner-party political life" and issued directives, including the one that called for giving less publicity to individuals. These measures played an important role in upholding the Marxist-Leninist basic principles, changing the extremely abnormal situation in the past, marked by a widespread personality cult within the party, and restoring the party's principle of democratic centralism and collective leadership.

Personality cult is a negative factor left over from history. China has a long history of feudalism. It is hard to eliminate the lingering poison, in ideological and political aspects, created by the long years of feudal autocracy. To stop the personality cult, we must constantly eliminate the remaining influence of feudalism, institutionalize and give legal form to democracy within the party and democracy in the political and social life of the country and place the party leaders' activities under the supervision of the party and the people. We should act strictly according to the party constitution's provisions and earnestly exercise supervision over the leaders in areas concerning the party's organizational system, collective leadership, democratic life and organizational discipline, to thoroughly prevent the personality cult and ensure that the party leaders do not divorce themselves from the masses and from reality.

To oppose the personality cult does not mean negating the role of revolutionary leaders as individuals, nor does it mean discarding revolutionary authority. Authority is needed whereever collective activities take place. This is an important Marxist viewpoint. China is a big country with a population of 1 billion, and our party is a big party with more than 39 million members. Besides, there are a host of complicated situations. Without the revolutionary authority of the party Central Committee and the leaders for exercising a unified leadership over the whole party and the whole people, our country will become a pile of loose sand and it will be impossible to carry out the four modernizations.

We know that the present party Central Committee is capable of coping with complicated situations and deserves the complete trust of the whole party and the whole people. Therefore, while opposing the personality cult, we should correctly uphold the prestige of all leaders representing the interests of the party and the people.

There is an essential difference between promoting the personality cult and upholding the prestige of all leaders representing the interests of the party and the people. The former involves the unrealistic, unscientific, unprincipled and blind extollment of individual leaders, the infinite exaggeration of the individual's role, the negation of the people's historical role and the defication and idolization of individuals. The latter is based on a realistic attitude to the leaders. We should respect the leadership and follow the command of leaders who represent the interests of the party and the people. When these leaders have shortcomings or commit mistakes, we should show our loving care and give them appropriate and well-meaning criticism. We should resolutely struggle against those who, with vicious design, seize on one point and ignore the overall picture, or even spread rumors and make malicious attacks.

Upholding the prestige of the party Central Committee and the party leaders is in the interests of our party and the people. It is an important guarantee for the success of our cause and an honorable duty of each and every Communist Party member. Our lofty consideration for the party spirit, we should fully understand the importance of upholding the prestige of the party Central Committee and the party leaders and show it in our actions.

CSO: 4005/152

PARTY AND STATE

39TH, 40TH, 41ST IN SERIES ON CONSTITUTION

OW170545 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 14 Nov 82

[Thirty-ninth, 40th and 41st in a series of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC Congress: "If any Violation of the Party Constitution Occurs in the Election of Delegates to a Local Party Congress, How Should It Be Handled?"; "Why Was It Necessary to Stipulate that, when Necessary, Party Committees of and above the County Level May Convene Conferences of Delegates?" and "What is the Difference Between a Party Congress and a Conference of Delegates to the Party?"; "Why did the New Constitution Stipulate that Party Committees of and Above the County Level may Send out Their Representative Organs?" and "What are the Nature and Tasks of Such Representative Organs?"--By the general section of the research office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] First, the 39th question: If any violation of the party constitution occurs in the election of delegates to a local party congress, how should it be handled?

Article 11 of the new party constitution stipulates that if there is any violation of the party constitution in the election of delegates to a local party congress, the party committee at the next higher level shall, after investigation and verification, decide to invalidate the election and take appropriate measures, and that the decision shall be reported to the party committee at the next higher level for checking and approval before it is formally announced and implemented. This is a new stipulation made to cope with the serious violations of the party constitution that have occurred in conducting party elections in various localities over the past few years. Because the pernicious influence of the 10 turbulent years has not been completely eliminated, a handful of people in some localities have advocated factionalism instead of party spirit and carried out nonorganizational activities in flagrantly violating the stipulations of the party constitution and trampling the democratic election principles.

If such a situation is not eliminated, the party's election will not embody the will of the electors. More seriously, the people who emerged with the rebellion of the Ling Biao-jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, the people with serious ractionalist ideology, the smash-and-grabbers, the people who oppose the party Central Committee's lines formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th

CPC Central Committee, as well as the people who violated the law and discipline, may find their way into the party's leading bodies.

The following is the 40th question: Why was it necessary to stipulate that, when necessary, party committees of and above the county level may convene conferences of delegates? And what is the difference between a party congress and a conference of delegates to the party?

Article 12 of the new party constitution stipulates that when necessary, party committees of and above the county level may convene conferences of delegates to discuss and decide on major problems that require timely solutions. The Seventh Party Congress also made a similar stipulation. However what was different was that the party constitution of the Seventh Party Congress further stipulated that several conferences of delegates be convened during the time between the earlier and later national and local party congresses. The results of the implementation showed that only one national conference of delegates was convened by the party in March of 1955. Obviously, the new party constitution's stipulation on convocation of conferences of delegates was of a further practical nature. The party constitution of the Eighth Party Congress contained a stipulation that party congresses at and above the county level carry out a permanent delegate system and convene a conference of delegates once eacy year during the tenure of the permanent delegates. However, the results of implementation showed that the Eighth Party Congress convened its second conference in 1958 and never convened a later conference. Thus, the implementation proved that the stipulation on a permanent delegate system of congresses was very difficult to carry out. Therefore, the present new party constitution did not make any stipulations on the practice of such a congress system. However, since it is necessary to discuss and democratically decide within the party on some major problems that may arise during the period between two congresses and that require timely solution, the new party constitution stipulates that conferences of delegates may be convened when necessary.

There are differences between a party congress and a conference of delegates. First, the nature of a party congress and that of a conference of delegates are different. The party's national congress is the highest leading organization of the party, and the party congresses at various other levels are the leading organizations of the parties at the respective levels. The party committees are responsible toward and report on thier work to the party congresses at their levels. The conferences of delegates are not leading organizations of the party, but are important meetings held during the period between two congresses to discuss and solve the major problems that require timely solution. Second, the decisions on the numbers of delegates and their elections of the party congresses and conferences of delegates are different.

Finally, the 41st question: Why did the new party constitution stipulate that party committees of and above the county level may send out their representative organs? And what are the nature and tasks of such representative organs?

Article 13 of the new party constitution stipulates that party committees of and above the country level send out their representative organs.

The main purposes of establishing prefectural committees and district committees were to facilitate the guiding of the localities in their work.

Article 29 of the new party constitution exclusively stipulates that a prefectual party committee, or an organization analogous to it, is the representative organ dispatched by a provincial or an autonomous regional party committee to a prefecture embracing several counties, autonomous counties or cities. It exercises leadership over the work in the given region as authorized by the provincial or autonomous regional party committee. This article clearly answers the question of the nature and tasks of the representative organs of the party committees of and above the county level.

CSO: 4005/152

PARTY AND STATE

42D, 44TH QUESTIONS ON PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW171424 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 15 Nov 82

[42D, 44TH in a series of questions and answers on the study of the CPC Constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress—by the general section of the research office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 42d question is: Why must newspapers and journals and other information media run by party organizations at all levels propagate the line, principles, policies and decisions of the party? This is because they are the party's organs of mass media. Newspapers, journals, radio and television broadcasts are the important media through which the party carries out its ideological and political work, propagates Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought and its line, principles, policies and decisions and strengthens its ties with the masses.

Newspapers and journals and other propaganda means run by party organizations at all levels should give full play to their enthusiasm, initiative and creativeness, carry out lively propaganda work and make sure that their propaganda materials are interesting and absorbing. In addition, they must uphold the prinicple of party spirit, observe party discipline, unconditionally hold views identical to the party central committee's, must not make statements contravening the party's line, principles and policies, must accept and be subordinate to the leadership of the party.

In disseminating the line, principles and policies and other theoretical matters of political significance, they must follow the instructions of the party Central Committee and are not allowed to go it alone. If comrades of newspapers, journals and other propaganda departments do not agree with the party's line, principles and policies, as well as the decisions of party organizations at and above their level, they may present their views, to party organizations at higher levels up to and including the Central Committee. However, before the relevant decisions are revised, they must not arbitrarily propagate anything that contravenes the party's basic views.

In doing propaganda work, we must oppose "left" deviation as well as bourgeois liberalization. In short, the newspapers, journals and other propaganda departments of the party must obey its leadership and carry out their work under its supervision. Party organizations at all levels should also strengthen their leadership and supervision over newspapers, journals and other means of publicity of the party.

The 44th question is: Under what circumstances may the National Congress of the party be convened before the due date and under what circumstances may it be postponed? Article 18 of the new party constitution stipulates: "The National Congress of the party is held once every 5 years and convened by the Central Committee. It may be convened before the due date if the Central Committee deems it necessary if more than one-third of the organizations at the provincial level so request. Except under extraordinary circumstances, the congress may not be postponed."

Article 18 of the party constitution aims to ensure that the National Congress of the party is convened on the due date under normal circumstances, to improve the system of party congress and to ensure that important matters of the party can be decided on through discussion at a national party congress, that the National Congress of the party is the party's real and effective leading, decision-making body and that the National Congress of the party plays a role in supervising the party Central Committee and its members.

However, a situation may arise in which the party Central Committee deems it necessary to convene a national party congress before the due date as required by unforeseen circumstances in order to discuss and decide upon important matters. Another situation may also arise in which a majority of party organizations at the provincial level request that the National Party Congress be convened before the due date to discuss emergency matters. This is absolutely necessary in order to perfect democratic life of the party, and particularly that of the party's highest leading body, and to timely and correctly handle major issues of the party.

Based on article 18, the party constitution, in its Chapter IV, also stipulates that local party congresses, under extraordinary circumstances, may be convened before or after their due dates.

CSO: 4005/152

PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON USE OF NAME 'COMMUNIST PARTY'

HK190623 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Jiang Lixin [1203 0500 2450]" "Why Lenin Proposed Using the Name 'Communist Party'"]

[Text] As a result of the upsurge of the "Communist League" movement in 1847, and especially the publication of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" in 1848, the glorious name of "Communist Party" emerged in response to the times. Due to historical reasons, the name of the political party of the Russian working classes was first called the "Social-Democratic Labor Party." About the time of the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin on more than one occasion proposed changing the name of the Russion "Social Democratic Labor Party" to the Communist Party. In his "report on the review of the program and on changing of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) on 8 March 1918, Lenin pointed out that the reason for changing the name of the party was not only because the name of "Social Democratic Labor Party" had been tarnished by the opportunists of the second international, but more importantly, because this name of "Social Democratic Labor Party" was no longer a correct reflection of the historical mission of the political party of the Russion working class after the victory of the October Revolution. The name "Communist Party" was a concentrated reflection of the essence, tasks and objectives as well as the ideological system of the political party of the working class and "the name Communist Party is the only one that is scientifically correct." ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 3. p 476)

What does the name Communist Party indicate?

1. The name Communist Party signifies that it has been produced and developed in thereal communist movement. The name Communist Party was advanced by Marx and Engels in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" based on the practice of the "Communist League Movement. It followed the founding of the "Communist League" and its birth was announced in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" to mark the beginning of the real communist movement. After examining the 40 years of the real communist movement, Engels, in the prefaces to the 1888 English edition the 1890 German edition of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party," emphatically pointed cut: "communism is a working-class movement" and "communism signifies a working-class movement" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 1, pp 237, 244). Therefore there could be no doubt about taking the name of the Communist Party in the manifesto.

The CPC has always practiced the real communist movement on the basis of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party." This movement "began long ago when the CPC was founded, and continued during the new democratic revolution which it led. This movement has now brought about a socialist society, which is the first phase of communism." ("Comrade Hu Yaobang's report to the 12th Party Congress.") The history of the international communist movement and of that of our party are enough to indicate that the real communist movement must be manifested through the leadership of the Communist Party.

2. The name Communist Party embodies the lofty goal of communism. Socialist society is the first phase of communist society. Basically speaking, socialism has eliminated the inherent contradictions the capitalist system itself could not overcome, and is incomparably superior to the capitalist system. However, it is still not the most ideal society for mankind. "Our party looks farther ahead: Socialism must inevitably evolve gradually into communism, upon the banner of which is inscribed the motto, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 3, p 32). Only when the whole world is built into a communist society of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" can the great historical mission of the Communist Party be completed.

3. The name Communist Party shines with the radiance of communist ideology. Lenin held that this name could help to clarify the mind of the Proletariat politically. (See "Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 3, p 62). The ideology of the Proletariat is the most advanced ideology of human society. The Communist Party is the vanguard of the Proletariat, therefore, the ideological consciousness of the Communist Party is the ideological consciousness of the working class as well as communist ideology. Without communist ideology, not only will we be unable to build socialism, but we cannot even begin to talk about realizing communism. Just as Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the 12th Party Congress: If the great task of building socialist spiritual civilization under the guidance of correct ideolism overlooked, we will not be able to safeguard the socialist orientation of China's modernization and our socialist society will lose its ideals and objective, its spiritual motivation and fighting will, lose the ability to resist the encroachment of corrupt influences and even get on the path of distortion and degeneracy. Every party member must strive to become a qualified member in accordance with the demands of the new party constitution, so that the name of the Communist Party will emit greater radiance!

CSO: 4005/152

PARTY AND STATE

BEIJING RADIO ON STRENGTHENING PARTY DISCIPLINE

OW100121 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 9 Nov 82

[Station commentator's article: "Strengthen Party Discipline and Combat Liberalism"]

[Text] The 12th Party Congress called for improving the party's system of democratic centralism and further normalizing inner-party political life. This is one of the problems which must currently be solved in party-building, and an important part of the solution lies in strengthening party discipline and firmly overcoming liberal tendencies.

Within the party at present, liberalism has become a quite serious problem. Liberalism manifests itself mainly in two areas. On the one hand, it manifests itself in some party members and cadres. For example, some people may or may not conscientiously implement the party's line, principles and policies, depending on whether the line, principles and policies are to their liking, and may even go their own way and adopt indigenous policies; some people, ignoring the party constitution and the guiding principles for inner-party political life, pursue unhealthy tendencies and lay stress on personal connections; some divulge party secrets; some form a small circle, indulge in petty and mean action and stir up trouble among comrades in violation of the party's organizational principle some work for a price, lack respect for party discipline and refuse to accept jobs assigned by the organization; and so forth. It can be said that the manifestations of liberalism pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong 45 years ago in his article "Combat Liberalism" still exist in varying degrees in the party, and some are quite conspicuous.

On the other hand, liberalism also manifests itself in some party organizations and responsible persons. They confound right and wrong and are not fair in meting out rewards and punishments. They lack a clear-cut attitude in dealing with the mistakes in words and deeds and violations of law and discipline committed by party members, especially those who are also cadres, failing to educate, criticize and punish those who should be educated, criticized and punished, but allowing them to continue and even protecting and sheilding them. As a result, the work to uphold party discipline and rectify party style has met considerable, and in some cases shocking, obstruction.

The essence of liberalism is to reject ideological struggle and stand for unprincipled peace. Liberalism, as pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong, is corrosive to our party and our revolutionary ranks. It runs counter to our calls for the whole party to identify itself with the party Central Committee, ideologically and politically. It encourages evildoers and evil deeds and impedes work in all fields and the smooth progress of the four modernizations as a whole.

Liberalism existed in the past and, owing to the influence of an anarchist, disorganized and undisciplined state in the 10 years of domestic turmoil, has become more serious. We hope that party organizations at all levels will regard strengthening party discipline and firmly overcoming liberalism as an important part of the party's ideological building and especially the rectification of party style at present and pay serious attention to it.

CSO: 4005/152

PARTY AND STATE

'QINGHAI RIBAO' ON EDUCATION IN COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

HK100435 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Nov 82

[Text] Today's QINGHAI RIBAO carries on page 2 a commentator's article entitled: Strengthen education in communist ideology in rural and pastoral areas. After stressing the importance of education in communist ideology, the article goes on the to say that in order to create a new situation and win new successes in the rural and pastoral areas, strengthening education in communist ideology is an important factors. Since various forms of responsibility system were adopted in these areas, the initiative of the peasants and herdsmen has been brought into full play, and the situation is very good. However, the responsibility system is only a reform of the mode of production and economic management. It cannot replace the day-to-day work of patient and meticulous political and ideological education. Moreover, we must also recognize that since class struggle will continue to exist within certain spheres, and owing to the influence of conventional ideas and practices and the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology, such phenomena as seeking private gains at the expense of public interests, and violation of party discipline and state laws, will continue to occur. Thus, strengthening education in communist ideology among the peasants and herdsmen is entirely necessary and important.

The article points out that in carrying out education in communist ideology, it is necessary to adopt correct and effect methods. The key issue is that CPC committees at various levels must attach enough attention to this work.

In conclusion, the article says that carrying out education in communist ideology is a tradition of our party. In the present new situation, is education bears many new characteristics. New problems will inevitably occur in the course of education. We must first study the new situation, promptly sum up new experiences and solve the new problems which emerge on the road of our advance.

CSO: 4005/152

TIANJIN SIMPLIFIES BUREAUCRATIC PROCEDURES

HK090110 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 9 Nov 82 p 1

[Report: "Tianjin Cuts Away Business Red Tape"]

[Text] By getting rid of bureaucratic practices, 594 collectively-owned commercial establishments were set up in 2-months--in Tianjin.

They provide jobs for more than 5,000 young people, Jingji Cankao (Economic Information) reported.

These commercial establishments covered a floor space of more than 30,000 square metres and drew an investment of 10 million yuan.

Their businesses include catering, local products, general merchandise, repairing, furniture, and tailoring.

Building so many commercial establishments in so short a time was without precedent. It was brought about by smashing the bondage of trivial and miscellaneous bureaucratic formalities.

Tianjin had long been short of commercial and service establishments, causing great inconvenience to the people.

Normally, the setting up of a shop or store with a floor space of dozens of square metres should not have been difficult.

However, under the system, the application form for building such a shop had to pass 32 departments. Within each such department, it had to be endorsed by several sections.

The application form had to be marked with at least 169 stamps or signatures before it went through all the red tape.

The Deputy Mayor of Tianjin Li Ruihuan at the end of June called for the setting up of 1,000 commercial and service establishments by the end of this year. However, by the beginning of August work had just started on the construction of 140 such establishments.

Faced with the unsatisfactory situation, Li decided to form a provisional office to co-ordinate work for the planned building.

Under his direction, officials of relevant departments personally went to various places to fix the sites for the establishments to be built.

Thus, procedures were simplified, time was saved and efficiency raised. Most of the new shops took only a month to be completed and start operation. Some of them took only 20 days before they began to do business.

CSO: 4000/16

PARTY AND STATE

LOCALITIES MARK SUN YAT-SEN'S BIRTH ANNIVERSARY

OW142126 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1713 GMT 12 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 12 Nov (XINHUA)--Personalities from various circles in Shanghai, Nanjing, Guangzhou and Wuhan separately held ceremonies to celebrate the 116th anniversary of Dr Sun Yat-sen's birthday.

Some 60 personalities from various circles in Shanghai paid a visit to Dr Sun Yat-sen's former residence on the morning of 12 November. In front of Dr Sun Yat-sen's portrait were laid baskets of flowers sent by the Shanghai municipal people's government, the Shanghai Municipal CPPCC Committee, the United Front Work Department of the Shangahi Municipal CPC Committee, the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the KMT Revolutionary Committee and the China Welfare Institute. Among those who paid visits to Dr Sun Yat-sen's former residence were: Shao Xingzhi, secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee; Shang Chengzong, Liu Jingji and Wu Ruoan, vice chairman of the standing committee of the Shanghai municipal people's congress; Li Gancheng, Song Richang, Feng Depei, Jing Renqiu, Tan Jiazhen, Long Yue, Liu Liangmo, Wang Zhizhong, Yang Xuanwu and Xu Wensi, all vice chairmen of the Shanghai Municipal CPPCC Committee; responsible persons from various democratic parties and the departments concerned; and personalities from various circles.

Some 100 personalities from various circles in Jiangsu Province and Nanjing Municipality paid homage at Dr Sun Yat-sen's mausoleum on the morning of 12 November. Wei Yongyi, vice chairman of the Jiangsu Provincial CPPCC Committee officiated the ceremony, in front of the seated statue of Dr Sun Yat-sen were laid baskets of flowers presented by the standing committees of both Jiangsu Provincial People's Congress and Nanjing Municipal People's Congress, the Jiangsu Provinical and Nanjing Municipal CPPCC Committees, and the united front work departments under the Jiangsu Provincial and Nanjing Municipal CPC Committees.

Among those attending the ceremony to pay homage were responsible persons from people's governments, people's congresses, CPPCC committees, united front work departments and personalities from various circles in both Jiangsu Province and Nanjing Municipality, including Ye Xuchao, Liu Shuxun, Wu Yifang, Liu Hegeng, Guan Wenwei, Zeng Ruqing, Chen Yusheng, Deng Haoming, Gao Juefu, Ouyang Huilin, Jiang Zonglu, Ding Yichen, Hang Hongzhi, Li Zhao, Ma Zhaohong, Zhou Aimin, Liang Shangren, and Xia Fengying.

Some 150 personalities from various circles in Guangzhou Municipality and Guangdong Province attended a ceremony celebrating the 116th anniversary of Dr Sun Yat-sen's birthday held in Zhongshan Memorial Hall in Guangzhou on the morning of 12 November. In front of the statute of Dr Sun Yat-sen were laid baskets of flowers presented by the Guangdong Provincial and Guangzhou Municipal people's governments, the Guangdong Provincial and Guangzhou Municipal CPPCC Committees, the united front work departments under the Guangdong Provincial and Guangzhou Municipal CPC Committees, and the Guangdong Provincial And Guangzhou Municipal Committees of the KMT Revolutionary Committee. The ceremony was presided over by Xiao Junying, vice chairman of the standing committee of Guangdong Provincial People's Congress and chairman of the Guangdong Provincial Committee of the KMT Revolutionary Committee. Among those attending the ceremony were Yi Meihou and Luo Xiongcai, both vice chairmen of the standing committee of the Guangdong Provincial People's Congress; Liang Weilin, vice governor of Guangdong Province; Zhou Zhifei, Tan Tiandu, Wang Yue, Zeng Tianjie, Guo Qiaoran, Chen Yilin, Diao Zhaofen and Zuo Hongtao, all vice chairmen of the Guangdong Provincial CPPCC Committee; Fang Wenyu, Liang Ruochen, Liang Yiwen, vice chairmen of the standing committee of the Guangzhou Municipal People's Congress; Luo Peiyuan, vice mayor of Guangzhou Municipality; Liu Shijie, Rao Weihua, Mei Rixin, Li Weigang, Mo Yinggui, all vice chairmen of the Guangzhou Municipal CPPCC Committee; Zhang Boquan, Xu Zhengzhou, Tan Wei, Sun Qieli, Xu Liang and Chen En, responsible persons of the united front work departments under the Guangdong Provincial and Guangzhou Municipal CPC Committees; Wu Zhongxi, Fang Shaoyi, He Baosong, Lin Yiyuan, Feng Boheng and Ye Shaohua, all responsible persons of the Guangdong Provincial and Guangzhou Municipal Committees of the KMT Revolutionary Committee. Also present at the ceremony was Luo Xiou, member of the CPPCC National Committee and wife of former KMT high-ranking General Cai Tingjie.

The Hubei Provincial CPPCC Committee and the Hubei Provincial Committee of the KMT Revolutionary Committee jointly held a ceremony to commemorate the 116th anniversary of Dr Sun Yat-sen's birthday at the "Memorial Hall of Wuchang uprising during the 1911 Revolution" on 12 November. In front of Dr Sun Yat-sen's portrait were laid baskets of flowers presented by the Hubei Provincial and Wuhan Municipal People's Governments, the Hubei Provincial and Wuhan Municipal CPPCC Committees, the united front work departments under the Hubei Provincial and Wuhan Municipal CPC Committees and the Hubei Provincial and Wuhan Municipal Committees of the KMT Revolutionary Committee. Among those attending the ceremony were responsible persons from both the provincial and municipal people's congresses' standing committees, the provincial and municipal people's governments, the provincial and municipal CPPCC committees, the united front work departments under the privincial and municipal CPC committees and the provincial and municipal committees of the KMT Revolutionary Committee, including Tao Shuzeng, Tang Zhe, Wang Libin, Wang Jiaji, Sun Yaohua, Xie Fusheng, Wang Zhizhuo, Zhang Ruping, Zhou Jifang, Xu Jinbiao, Xie Yujin, Xie Wei, Liang Zhiyan, Liu Jisun, Yuan Wen, Zhou Yongzeng, Xiao Zuolin, Yu Jintang, Wang Dianzhao, Hou Qixin, Wang Jiqing, Chen Bohua, Yang Sheng, Cai Jie, Ma Weiqing, He Fanchong, Lu Yaolin, Wang Jiarui, Liu Shuhe, Qian Yuanduo, Yang Chunbo, Sun Jiaji and Li Jiayou as well as personalities from various circles totalling 150 in number.

CSO: 4005/152

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ASSESSES ZUO ZONGTANG'S LIFE

HK180726 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Nov 82 p 5

[Article by Yu [4416]: "How to Assess the Life of Zuo Zongtang--His Achievements and Failures"]

[Text] In a recent article entitled "Comment on Zuo Zongtang" (carried in the No 5 issue of QIUSUO (SEARCH), 1981), Geng Shixin said that Zuo Zongtang was for a long time excluded from the ranks of patriots, chiefly for two reasons: 1) His suppression of peasant uprisings; and 2) his involvement in Westernization, the advocates of Westernization being regarded as traitors. Therefore, Zuo Zongtang, who achieved success in recapturing Xinjiang, was labeled a national traitor. Bai Yanhu, a traitor who defected to the enemy and received the czar's protection, was instead praised as a national hero. Such a phenomenon of reversing right and wrong has arisen from using the attitude toward the peasant uprisings as the only criterion for assessing figures from modern Chinese history. This is obviously not an overall approach.

First, China was a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society marked not only by contradictions between landlord and peasant classes but also those between imperialism and the Chinese nation, "the contradictions between imperialism and the Chinese nation being the most dominant of all." Therefore, the main danger was of conquest by imperialism and the extinction of the country and its people. Resistance against aggression and conquest concerned the whole situation of the survival or perdition of the Chinese nation, and was a main indicator of patriotism or national betrayal, progressiveness or reaction. Therefore, in assessing figures of recent Chinese history, we must take note of their position and role in handling class contradictions and especially in handling national contradictions. Regardless of the class to which they belonged and no matter what their motives and aims, so long as what they did played an objective role in resisting aggression and was in line with the long-term interests of the Chinese nation, they should be regarded as patriotic and progressive.

Second, in judging whether the advocates of Westernization were traitorous or patriotic, we must not only take note of the Westernization activities themselves but especially take into account the kind of policy that the people practicing Westernization followed toward foreign countries. If they resisted aggression by foreign countries, then they were patriots. Otherwise, they

were traitors. In fact, after the suppression of the uprising by the Nian Army, Zuo Zongtang was all along concerned to resist aggression, from the recapture of Xinjiang to the Sino-French war. Moreover, Zuo Zongtang promoted Westernization exactly because of his desire to make the country prosperous and the army strong in resisting foreign aggression. Therefore, his activity should even less be regarded as traitorous.

Third, the Chinese nation is a great nation with glorious traditions of patriotism. The great historical role of the masses of people in the struggle against aggression must be fully affirmed. Meanwhile, the important role of outstanding figures must also be given proper affirmation. The historical experience of recovering Xinjiang in particular shows that only through the activities of the organizations and outstanding figures of a state in translating the scattered and spontaneous struggle against aggression into organized and planned anti-aggression war, can we recover lost territory and maintain the state's territorial integrity.

In the light of the above, we may make a comprehensive review of three important things that Zuo Zongtang did during his life. His participation in suppressing peasant uprisings was undoubtedly reactionary. On the matter of his involvement in Westernization, the main side was patriotic and progressive and the minor side was actionary. His recovery of Xinjiang was patriotic and progressive. Therefore, it can be said that the main side of Zuo Zongtang's life was patriotic and progressive and its secondary side was reactionary. Such a one-divides-into-two assessment itself includes the affirmation and praise of his patriotic and progressive side as the dominant factor and the negation and condemnation of his reactionary side as the secondary factor.

CSO: 4005/152

PARTY AND STATE

ARGUMENTS ON WESTERNIZATION MOVEMENT

HK190358 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Nov 82 p 5

["Academic Trends" column by Xia Dongyuan [1115 2639 0337]: "New Progress in the Study of the History of the Westernization Movement"]

[Text] Some new arguments have been put forward in a recent seminar on the history of the Westernization movement held by East China Normal University in Shanghai.

First, the Taiping Tianguo movement and the Westernization movement were "antagonistic to and related with each other." It is not necessary to go into details here about the antagonism between them. The main expressions of their being "related with each other" are: 1) They had the common purpose of "learning from the strong points of foreign countries." Scholars who had this opinion held that Taiping Tianguo was a rebellious movement of the oppressed peasants in modern history. There were new factors of learning from the West in this movement. It studied and used new-type Western weapons to attack the Qing court earlier than others. Then, the Westernization faction also attacked Taiping Tianguo through "learning from the strong pionts of foreign countries." 2) Both Taiping Tianguo and the Westernization movement played the role of promoting the emergence and development of modern capitalist industrial enterpirses. Before the opium war, the seeds of capitalism had already slowly developed in China. After the war, the invasion of foreign capitalism created a condition for its rapid development. At that time, modern capitalist industrial enterprises, like arrows on the bowstring, might burst out at any movement. The "arrow" was shot by the Qing government in suppressing the Taiping Tianguo movement. Politically, the suppression of the Taiping Tianguo movement was reactionary. However, to shoot the "arrow" of capitalism conformed to the trend of historical development. Since Taiping Tianguo carried out a policy favorable for commercial development the commodity rate of agricultural and sideline products was greatly increased and both internal and external trades were promoted. In Taipoing Tianguo areas, feudal relations were greatly weakened and the commodity rate was raised by the small-scale peasant economy. This was favorable to the development of capitalism. Similarly, one of the most important roles played by the Westernization movement was opening the way for the emergence and development of capitalism.

Second, most comrades reached unanimity of views on the argument which held that "the reactionary purpose of the Westernization movement resulted in the emergence and development of progressive factors (new productive forces and production relations)." In the past, there were three different opinions on the rise of the Westernization movement: one held that it was the antithesis of Taiping Tianguo; one held that it was the antithesis of imperialism; and the other held that it was the antithesis of both. During this seminar, most comrades held that the Westernization movement introduced advanced Western science and technology and promoted the development of new productive forces and the emergence and development of capitalist production relations. Since capitalism was the natural antithesis of feudalism and one of the main purposes of the Westernization faction in establishing Western-style enterprises was to "contend with foreign merchants," the Westernization movement also played the role of resisting the invasion of foreign capitalism. As to the navy and coastal defense and other military installations established after the 1870's, which were aimed at and played the role of resisting foreign invasion, many comrades also reached unanimity of views to different extents.

The reason this unanimity of views could be reached was because the ways the participants approached the Westernization movement were unanimous. In the past, there were actually two criterions in appraising this movement. One was taking the remarks "the course of turning China into a semicolony and a colony by the allied forces of imperialism and China's feudalism is also the course of struggle by the Chinese people against imperialism and its lackeys" as a political criterion and putting the Westernization faction and its movement on the antagonistic side. The other was taking the development of economy, that is, the replacement of feudalism by capitalism, as a criterion. Since the Westernization movement played the role of promoting the development of capitalism, it is certainly necessary to make an affirmative appraisal of it. As a matter of fact, Comrade Mao Zedong not only mentioned the two "courses," but also drew the following inference: "The imperialists invade China, oppose China's modern history." At the seminar, many comrades expounded problems in the light of the above two theses. This was why they were able to make a comparatively fair appraisal.

Third, the discussion on the above-mentioned two problems naturally involved the question of the success and failure of the Westernization movement and the question of whether the defeat in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95 was a "complete bankruptcy" of the Westernization movement. Quite a few comrades did not agree with the viewpoint regarding the defeat in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95 as a "complete bankruptcy" of the Westernization movement, which was quite popular in the historical circles in the past. Although the Westernization movement ended in failure, we still cannot say it was "completely bankrupt," because its failure involved factors of success. The rise of the Westernization movement conformed to the historical trend of the times. It first established in China modern enterprises equipped with machines. During the movement, minds were enlivened and vision was broadened. People gradually realized that the prosperity of the Western countries was not merely shown by their "sturdy ships and sharp weapons." This provided a condition for the 1898 reform. When we say the Westernization movement ended in failure, we mean that it did not attain the desired aim of "making our country rich and building up its military power." Some comrades held that the so-called bankruptcy was

none other than the bankruptcy of the political affairs of the Qing government. The theory of "complete bankruptcy" is obviously wrong.

A wide range of problems were discussed at this seminar on the history of the Westernization movement. Quite a few of them need to be further studied. For example, does the Westernization movement include all matters which have dealings with foreigners or only include those being interrelated with "self-improvement" and "becoming rich?" Is it correct to lay all the blame on the Westernization movement for the compromising foreign policy of the Qing government? Was the Westernization movement responsible for the defeats in the Sino-French and the Sino-Japanese wars? There are still no monographs on these questions and they have not yet been discussed fully. Besides, an important characteristic of the theses given at this seminar is that they have analyzed one by one the enterprises established during the Westernization movement. But they have only analyzed less than 10 enterprises. There are still no monographs on some important enterprises, such as the Anqing Armament Factory, the Jiangnan Manufactory, the Jinling Machinery Bureau and the Tianjin Machinery Bureau. Neither is there any monograph on facotries for civil use. If a microstudy will be carried out on the enterprises established during the Westernization movement and on relevant figures before a macro-analysis is made, the study of the history of the Westernization movement will surely develop greatly.

CSO: 4005/152

BRIEFS

MANILA DELEGATION--At the invitation of Madame Marcos, a six-person friendship delegation led by Liang Lingguang, mayor of Guangzhou and head of the delegation, and (Mai Zuyan), vice mayor and deputy head of the delegation, left Guangzhou this afternoon for Manila, the Philippines, for a friendly visit. During the visit, Mayor Liang Lingguang will sign an agreement with Mayor (Lameng Bagesen) on establishing friendly ties between Guangzhou and Manila. A friendly discussion will also be held between the two sides on cooperation and exchange in the economic, cultural and educational fields, as well as in trade, science and technology and urban construction. Guangzhou and Manila will become friendship cities. A discussion on this began in March this year by representatives of the two sides. After discussion, both sides unanimously agreed to sign an agreement on forming friendship cities on 5 November in Manila. A four-person production observation group led by responsible cadres of the Guangzhou Foreign Trade Committee is accompanying the delegation. [Text] [HK041124 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 3 Nov 82]

HAINAN CADRES' STUDY CLASS--The first study class in the documents on the 12th National Party Congress as held by the Hainan Regional CPC Committee for leading cadres of regional organizations opened yesterday. A total of 146 leading cadres attended the class. Chen Kedong, standing committee member of the regional CPC committee and director of the propaganda department under the regional CPC committee, presided over the study class. the study class will regard Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech as its general guiding ideology. The class will spend 15 days on deeply studying the documents of the 12th National Party Congress. During the second stage, the class will spend 6 days conducting investigation and study at grassroots units. [Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 27 Oct 82 HK]

ZHANG XINGSAN'S LAID TO REST--Beijing, 6 Nov (XINHUA)--A ceremony was held today at the Babaoshan Cemetery of Fallen Revolutionaries in Beijing to lay to rest the ashes of Zhang Xingsan, formerly vice minister and member of the leading party group of the Ministry of State Farms and Land Reclamation. Comrade Zhang Xingsan died of cancer on 12 July 1982 after failing to respond to medical treatment. He was 77 years old. When Comrade Zhang Xingsan was seriously ill, Wang Zhen, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, and other leading comrades visited him in the hospital. Lin Hujia, He Kang, Zaho Fan, Yang Yan, Bian Jiang, Zhang Linchi, Dong Shaojie, Lu Qing, Wang Fawu, Li Boning, Liu Jianzhang, Zhang Da, Lu Jindong and other responsible comrades of departments concerned attended today's ceremony. Lin Hujia, minis-

ter of agriculture, animal husbandry and fishery, presided over the ceremony. Zhao Fan, director of the state farms and land reclamation bureau of the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Fishery, reviewed Comrade Zhang Xingsan's militant life with deep grief. [Excerpts] [OW081102 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1247 GMT 6 Nov 82]

HONG KONG, MACAO SOCIAL SYSTEMS--Beijing, 6 Nov (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--Today's RENMIN RIBAO says China will certainly recover Hong Kong and Macao. The social systems of these places will not be changed after they are recovered. RENMIN RIBAO says this in an editorial entitled "Correctly Appraise and Handle the Class Struggle in the Current Stage." The editorial also says the social system of Taiwan will not be changed either after it is reunified with the motherland. [Text] [HK060136 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 0125 GMT 6 Nov 82]

ZHAO SPEECH--On 1 November, the propaganda department of the Tianjin Municipal CPC Committee issued a circular urging propaganda departments of CPC committees at all levels to organize cadres and the people to conscientiously study Comrade Zhao Ziyang's important speech delivered at the national science and technology award conference entitled "A Strategic Question in Vigorous Economic Development." The circular states: Comrade Zhao Ziyang profoundly expounded in his speech the importance of science and technology in economic construction, the fundamental principles for scientific and technological work, the dialectical relationship between science and technology and economic construction, the CPC committees at all levels promotion of scientific and technological work and the question on the motive force to propel technical progress in enterprises. His speech was an imbodiment of the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress in scientific and technological work and an important guidance for us to further understand the congress guidelines and fulfill the strategic objective of quadrupling our annual industrial and agricultural output value by the end of this century. The circular called on all units, while striving to enhance their understanding, to study and work out specific measures to implement Comrade Zhao Ziyang's speech in line with the actual situations and to create a new situation for promoting the municipality's scientific and technological work and its economic work. [Text] [SK050948 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 5 Nov 82]

CSO: 4005/152

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XINJIANG, YUNNAN OFFICIALS DISCUSS NATIONALITY WORK

HK300925 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 29 Sep 82

[Text] On the afternoon of 27 September, responsible comrades of the regional party committee, people's government and CPPCC of the autonomous region Wang Enmao, Gu Jingsheng, Ismail Amat, Tomur Dawamat and Meng Shulin met with the members of the Yunnan provincial delegation for nationality work. When they met, the leading comrades of the regional party committee and the people's government of the autonomous region extended a warm welcome to the comrades from Yunnan for coming to our region to pass on their valuable experience and to exchange experience in nationality work with us.

Comrade Wang Enmao and Comrade Ismail Amat said: Yunnan is situated in the southwestern part of our country while Xinjiang is situated in the northwestern part. Both are situated on the frontline of our border. In addition, both are areas inhabited by minority nationalities. Making the unity of various nationalities a success has extremely important significance on the safeguarding and construction of the border areas.

They said: We should study well Yunnan's experience in nationality work to further strengthen the great unity of the various nationalities. In this way, we can make Xinjiang the great wall of steel to protect our borders.

Comrade Tomur Dawamat said: The CPC is the great liberator of all our nationalities. Had there been no CPC, equality between various nationalities and our happy life would be impossible. He said: The new Central Committee elected at the 12th CPC National Congress is the strong force at the core leading all our nationalities and we can totally trust it. We must closely rally around the Central Committee to contribute our efforts to creating a new situation in the socialist modernization of our region.

(He Wanbao) of the Naxi Nationality, member of the Yunnan provincial delegation for nationality work and deputy director of the Yunnan provincial party committee department of nationality work, and (Dingruobo Hegui), vice secretary of the prefectural party committee of Xishuangbanna Autonomous Prefecture of Yunnan, said: We are happy to see that the nationalities learn from each other and cordially help each other as though they were members of a family. There is an excellent situation of economic stability and prosperity and continual development of production in agriculture, industry and animal husbandry. They said: The principles proposed by the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region regional party committee in the construction of the five good rural areas are correct. Great achievements have been made.

CSO: 4005/149

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHANDONG UNCOVERS JOB PLACEMENT CORRUPTION

SK111122 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 10 Oct 82

[Excerpts] According to our sources, the Jining Prefecture CPC Committee has strictly dealt with the case of Jining County which seriously violated the law by practicing graft and fraud in employing educated youths who settled in the countryside for a long time. The prefectural CPC committee punished (Zhang Caodong), in charge of settling educated youth in the countryside, who took the lead in the violation, by dismissing him from his posts of deputy secretary of the county CPC committee and secretary of the county discipline inspection commission. The prefectural CPC committee also punished (Wang Guiqing) and (He Dongzhu), deputy directors of the county office in charge of settling educated youth in the countryside, who were in charge of the employment and violated the provisions of the policy by arbitrarily changing employment candidates, expanding the employment scale and taking advantage of their position and power to arrange jobs for their relatives, by respectively dismissing them from their posts as county statistics bureau director and county family planning bureau director and by placing them on probation within the party for 2 years. The prefectural CPC committee punished other cadres who committed mistakes in this regard by recording demerits.

In 1980 the county employed 500 educated youth who settled in the countryside a long time ago on two occasions. Of these educated youths, there were 261 persons whose cases were false or not in conformity with the situation, accounting for 52.2 percent of the total employed workers. In recruiting workers, few responsible personnel of the county CPC committee and the county people's government took the lead in running counter to the provisions and signed approval documents or offered secret messages in making job arrangements for false applicants. Under their erroneous influence, 61 cadres at county and commune levels throughout the county placed their children and other relatives in jobs by arbitrarily taking advantage of their position and power and intentionally violating the party's discipline and policy.

To straighten out party work style and enforce party discipline, the Jining Prefecture CPC Committee, in addition to strictly dealing with the cases of cadres and personnel concerned, also instructed the Jining County CPC Committee to earnestly examine its mistakes, to draw lessons from the cases and to conduct

self-criticism before the people across the county. The employment of all persons falsely employed and educated youths employed through exceptions of the provisions should be ended completely, and these persons should be forced to return to the countryside.

As for these cases, the provincial CPC committee has issued a circular, urging the party committees at all levels across the province to strictly deal with cases of party cadres who indulge in malpractices by violating the law and taking advantage of their position and power for private purpose and to resolutely block the occurrence of graft and fraud.

CSO: 4005/149

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'SICHUAN RIBAO' ON STRUGGLE AGAINST CORRUPTION

HK261546 Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Oct 82 p 3

[Article reprinted, with some additions, from XUEXI magazine, by An Faxiao [1344 3127 1321]: "Heighten Consciousness in the Struggle Against Corruption"]

[Text] The struggle against serious crimes in the economic sphere is developing in-depth throughout the province. According to the information provided by the masses and through thorough investigations, some cases, such as corruption, bribery, smuggling, trafficking, speculation, deception, and stealing many possessions belonging to the state and collectives, have been exposed and verified, and illicit money and booty have been forfeited or recovered. All the cases have been dealt with according to party discipline and the state laws and initial achievements have been made. This is gratifying to the people and affords general satisfaction. The struggle is the important expression of class struggle in economic sphere under the new historical conditions as well as a serious struggle between corruption and anti-corruption. As far as party construction is concerned, this struggle is one of the effective measures to rectify the party and party style. Just as Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the 12th CPC Congress: "The whole party must enhance its understanding of this struggle, take a firm stand in it and unswervingly carry it through to the end. This will be an important guarantee for our adherence to the socialist road." Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the CPC Central Committee has attached great importance to strengthening party spirit, setting party discipline straight and correcting party style, and has earnestly instructed the whole party to carry forward the party's fine tradition, observe the rules in party life, guard against the corruption of capitalist ideology and has rectified unhealthy style. The vast majority of party members and cadres have brought their actions into line with the rules of party life, become honest in performing their official duties, observed discipline and laws, worked hard and made contributions to the construction for the four modernizations. However, we must clearly see to it that there are indeed some cadres and party members who, due to their failure to resist the corruption of capitalist ideology, have departed from the stand of a communist party member and became the captives of the bourgeoisie. Some of them, obsessed with the desire for gain and the lust for money, have directly engaged in criminal activities; some of them, taking advantage of their power, have covered up, supported and instigated criminal elements; some of them, worshiping and having blind faith in foreign things as well as pursuing the bourgeoisie lifestyle, have lost their national and

personal character, degenerated and have become corrupt. A common characteristic of all the cases already exposed is that a handful of people in the state organs and enterprises collaborated with the illegal elements in society and jointly committed crimes. Party members and cadres are involved in almost all important cases and some of them are even leading cadres. They were not conquered by the enemies with guns in the previous war years or overwhelmed by the despotic power of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," but have now become the guilty persons condemned by people. Zhao Guilian, former deputy secretary as well as deputy director, of the CPC committee, of the foreign trade office of the Chongqin Municipal Government, is a cadre who has been a party member for more than 40 years. Wang Gaixiang, former deputy director of the import and export office of the provincial light industry bureau, is also a party member cadre who has been part of the revolution for more than 30 years. Cheng Zhanbiao, who once worked in our province for quite a long time and was later transferred to Yunnan and finally degenerated, is a cadre with 50 years in the party. They have all been arrested according to law and their deeds disclosed to the public on paper. The grim realities have shown that the decadent capitalist ideology is impairing the body of our party, corrupting the ranks of cadres and endangering our revolutionary cause. If we fail to carry out the struggle against corruption and clean up the filth within the party and among the cadres, and continuously let all decadent things develop and expand, our party organizations and cadre ranks will be corrupted, and all the achievements which the vast number of party members, cadres and the broad masses have made in the construction of the four modernizations through their hard work will be endangered. Only by resolutely exposing and hitting hard at those serious criminal elements within the party and among the cadres and cleaning up all the filth is it possible to make the party's body more healthy, the cadre ranks more pure and the leading force and fighting strength of the party organizations more powerful. The practice of the struggle has proved that the struggle launched by the central authorities is very opportune and necessary. There are, of course, only a handful of criminal elements within the party and among the cadres who must be dealt with and more important task in front of us is to guide the vast number of party members and cadres to draw lessons and experiences through the struggle and strengthen their immunity capability, thus heightening their consciousness to the struggle against corruption.

In order to heighten consciousness in the struggle against corruption, we must, first of all, have a clear understanding of the corruption by capitalist ideology in the new situation. The CPC Central Committee has adopted a policy of opening up to foreign countries and enlivening the domestic economy to meet the requirements of the construction of the four modernizations. Practice has shown that this policy is absolutely correct. Remarkable achievements have already been made in economic returns. Just as the party's Central Committee pointed out: "In the course of implementing this policy, some unsteady elements will inevitably degenerate and a handful of illegal elements will certainly seize the opportunity to sabotage the socialist economy." While enlivening the domestic economy, some with the ideology of the exploiting class will take advantage of it and seize the opportunity to make a fortune through exploitation. As a result of opening up to foreign countries and frequent international exchanges, external capitalist ideology and a decadent lifestyle will infiltrate into all areas of our life

through various channels. Some external capitalist forces, bent on taking advantage of our policy of opening up to foreign countries, have tried by every conceivable means to corrupt us with money, material benefit and decadent ideology. There are indeed some unsteady elements in our ranks who, in the face of the capitalist "vanity fair," a decadent world actually, have completely relieved themselves of the proletarian ideology, been hit by sugar-coated bullets, degenerated themselves and taken the road of committing crimes. Harsh facts have taught us that capitalists are after all capitalists. It is not at all strange that some external forces attempt to influence us by decadent capitalist ideology. The crux of the problem is that we must maintain a firm proletarian stand, be sober-minded, guard against the corruption of the capitalist ideology from time to time and heighten our consciousness in the struggle against corruption.

The party's historical experience has also taught us that while dealing with capitalists, we must uphold the proletarian stand, maintain the party's communist purity and prevent corruption by capitalist ideology. When we were about to seize state power, Comrade Mao Zedong issued a timely warning to the whole party to guard against the attacks of the sugar-coated bullets launched by the capitalists. The movements against "three evils" and "five evils" in the early years after the founding of the PRC repulsed the attack launched by the capitalists and saved a number of cadres. Now we have entered into a new historical era. As a result of implementing the policy of enlivening the domestic economy, particularly that of opening up to foreign countries and the world, we will unavoidably deal with capitalists. Although things have changed objectively, our proletarian stand and criterion of communist morality must remain unchanged forever. Comrade Hu Yaobang explicitly pointed out in his report to the 12th CPC Congress: "In the new period of the development of our socialist cause, we must attend, both in ideology and in action, to two aspects. On the one hand, we must persist in the policy of opening to the outside as well as in our policies for enlivening the economy domestically and, on the other hand, we must resolutely strike at the grave criminal activities in the economic, political and cultural spheres that endanger socialism. It would be wrong to attend only to the latter aspect and be skeptical of the former, and it would be dangerous to stress the former aspect to the neglect of the latter." We must have a clear understanding of these guiding principles. In the new circumstances, we must continuously carry forward the fine tradition of fighting against corruption and withstand the new tests. On the one hand, we must resolutely carry out the party's present economic policies; on the other hand, we must continue to carry out the struggle against corruption, become sober-minded in the new circumstances and consciously resist the invasion of decadent capitalist ideology.

To heighten the consciousness in the struggle against corruption, we must fully understand that class struggle will exist in a certain scope for a long time in the socialist period and the struggle against criminal activities in the economic sphere and the corruption of capitalist ideology will be a protracted one. In China, after the completion of the socialist transformation in the private ownership of the means of production, the vast majority of the exploiting class

elements have been transformed into laborers who earn their own living, and the exploiting class, as a class, has already been eliminated. However, class struggle still exists, and in particular, the ideological influence of the exploiting class will exist for a long time. Just as Lenin said: "When the old society is dying, its corpse will not be kept in a coffin and buried. On the contrary, it will become rotten and poison us." Some comrades fail to see or recognize the class struggle in reality and become apathetic and ignorant of various serious criminal activities and the corruption of the capitalist ideology. This is extremely dangerous. "The resolution on certain historical questions since the founding of the PRC" clearly points out: "Due to domestic factors and international influence, class struggle will continue to exist within a certain scope for quite a long time and may become very acute in certain circumstances. It is necessary to oppose both the viewpoint of expanding the class struggle and the viewpoint that class struggle is dying out." The present struggle against criminal activities in the economic sphere and the corruption of capitalist ideology is a prominent expression of the class struggle under new historical conditions. If one thinks that the class struggle has died out, one will lose vigilance against the influence and corruption of the capitalist ideology and give up the struggle. Therefore, we must see that the class struggle will exist within a certain scope for a long time and that the struggle against corruption will be a protracted one. Only then can we maintain a high revolutionary vigilance all the time and effectively carry out the struggle.

To heighten the consciousness in the struggle against corruption, the basic problem is that we must arm ourselves with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, acquire a communist world outlook, strengthen our abilities to discern and resist decadent capitalist ideology and the bourgeoisie lifestyle and toughen party spirit both theoretically and practically. All cadres must firmly establish the idea of serving the people wholeheartedly and adhere to the socialist road. They should never exploit others, put in their pockets the properties of the state and the people, corrupt and accept bribes, obtain illicit money and seek personal gain by taking advantage of their power and work. This is the basic principle and knowledge for serving the people as well as a simple truth all cadres must know. Cadres who have misbehaved in this aspect should not be sheltered with such excuses as "enlivening the economy and increasing the income of the collectives," "having a poor understanding of policies," "lacking experiences" and "merits surpassing faults." Every communist party member must perform his solemn pledge when joining the party, always remember the party's fundamental objective of serving the people wholeheartedly and fight all his life for communism. All communist party members must always remember that they are the fighters of the proletarian vanguard and make a clear break with bourgeoisie ideology and other nonproletarian ideologies. They must maintain noble communist integrity and the purity of a communist party member both ideologically and politically. They must act in accordance with the ancient sayings such as "neither riches nor honors can corrupt him," "come out of the mud unsoiled," and "officials must have clean hands," and become models in performing their official duties honestly, seeking no personal interest, resisting corruption and being uncorruptable. If a communist party member fails to do this, it means he has not yet joined the party ideologically

and has betrayed the pledge he made when joining the party. If we are unsteady in our fundamental stand and revolutionary belief, we will become simple-minded, drifting and mercenary mediocrities and lose our abilities to resist the corruption of capitalist ideology, exposing our weak side to the microbe of the bourgeoisie. "Insects come from rotten meat and worms from putrid fish." "Staleness precedes the appearance of insects." There are inevitable internal reasons why some party members are hit by the bourgois sugar-coated bullets and have degenerated, because we have some weak spots, of which others take advantage to launch an attack. Therefore, we must strengthen the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, seriously transform our world outlook, firmly establish the belief to fight all our lives for communism and build up a great wall to ideologically resist corruption, thus taking a firm proletarian stand and maintaining the political and ideological purity of a communist party member.

The central authorities point out that this struggle concerns the life and death of the construction of the four modernizations as well as the future and destiny of the party and the state. It is closely linked with all party members and cadres. Communist party members, the party's cadres in particular, must stand in the forefront of the struggle against corruption, withstand repeated tests in the practice of the struggle and toughen party spirit. Party organizations at all levels must, through the struggle, examine and understand cadres, find out and vigorously recommend those excellent party members and cadres who honestly perform their official duties, observe discipline and laws, uphold the principle of party spirit and wholeheartedly serve the people. It is necessary to promote to leading posts those excellent cadres who have withstood vigorous tests. As for those criminal elements and cadres who have made serious mistakes, they must be seriously dealt with according to laws of the state, the party's discipline and the administrative discipline. Lessons should be drawn from the corruption of cadres so as to find out loopholes and problems in using, examining and managing cadres and take preventive measures in the system. It is anticipated that through the struggle, criminal and degenerate elements within the party and among the cadres will be eradicated, comrades who have made mistakes will be saved and vast numbers of party members and cadres will be vigorously educated. Thus the party organizations will become more powerful, cadre ranks will become stronger and the construction of modernization will develop more rapidly.

CSO: 4005/149

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CADRES DISCIPLINED FOR HOUSING MISALLOCATIONS

OW121149 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1442 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 11 Oct (XINHUA)--The Beijing Municipal CPC Committee recently handled strictly five cases of discipline violations in house distribution and construction. Disciplinary actions were taken against the principal offenders.

Between August 1978 and May 1979, the Beijing power capacitor factory dispatched more than 100 workers and staff members to take part in the construction work of dormitories under a unified municipal plan. In April 1980, the factory, according to agreement, was allocated 25 dormitory units as compensation for the labor provided. Cadres of higher organizations and leading cadres of the factory, using their position and power for personal gain, took possession of 12 units, and another 12 units were given to or exchanged with "related households" [guan xi hu 7070 4762 2073] by the factory leadership in return for a quick solution of problems concerning the supply of necessary construction materials for plant buildings and dormitories through back doors and special connections. The practice seriously hurt the interests of the masses and created a very bad impression.

The municipal party committee endorsed the recommendations of the leading party group of the municipal machine-building bureau to deal strictly with the personnel involved: the former general party branch secretary and director of the factory, who bore the major responsibility for the distribution of the above-mentioned houses by acting arbitrarily and on his own, without discussions by the general party branch and the factory administrative meeting, was given a serious warning within the party, and administratively it was recommended that he be removed from his current post as director of a switch factory. A deputy director of the factory, who participated in the decision and implementation of the housing distribution, was given a warning within the party, and administratively it was recommended that he be removed from his post as deputy director of the factory. A deputy director of the capital construction department of the municipal machine-building bureau, who abused his position and power not only by taking part in the factory's housing distribution but by exchanging a bad unit for a good one for his relatives, was given a warning within the party, and administratively it

was recommended that he be removed from his post as deputy director of the capital construction department of the municipal machine-building bureau. The exchanged dormitory unit should be returned to the factory. Others who took the opportunity to exchange or loan houses for themselves or relatives were all instructed to make a deep self-criticism and return the houses in question.

A painter of the Central Institute of Fine Arts owned a 19-room private home which was seized during the "Cultural Revolution," and his family of eight were forced to move into two rooms owned privately by someone else. In the course of solving the painter's housing problem in June 1980 and again in June 1981, at a hint by someone, the painter drew some paintings and gave them as gifts to the personnel concerned. Investigation has established: a former responsible person of the municipal office for the implementation of housing policies accepted a painting and 42.7 yuan worth of foreign cigarettes and liquors from the painter; two working personnel formerly on loan to the municipal office for the implementation of housing policies each accepted two paintings from the painter; and a cadre of the municipal real estate administration accepted a painting from the painter.

The municipal party committee endorsed the recommendations of the leading party group of the municipal real estate administration that the above-mentioned four comrades be instructed to make a deep self-criticism and return the gifts they accepted (all are returned now), and that the former responsible person of the municipal office for the implementation of housing policies be disciplined as appropriate by the party organization of his present units.

In July 1980, the municipal capital construction commission, with the approval of the municipal government, set aside two buildings consisting of 161 units with 336 rooms altogether, from the houses built under a unified plan at the Tuanjie Lake residential area, for sale to private buyers as an experiment. It was clearly stipulated that the units were to be sold only to private persons and not to organizations. However, 43 units and 90 rooms were bought with public funds by six organizations under the municipal economic commission and two organizations under the state.

The leaders of these organizations openly violated rules and practiced fraud; their mistakes are serious. The municipal party committee endorsed the recommendations of the leading party group of the municipal economic commission on handling the case: the various organizations involved are responsible for the evacuation by groups of all the houses illegally bought with public funds and the return of these houses to the municipal real estate administration, and the municipal real estate administration will return the public funds it received in the illegal purchase of the houses to the organizations concerned. The municipal instruments and meters bureau purchased the most housing units illegally and used large sums of public funds for the purpose. The bureau's leading party group should bear some responsibility, particularly the secretary and a deputy secretary of the leading party group, who gave approval for the secretary of the party committee of an instrument machine tools plant to use public funds to repay his personal debt for buying a housing unit; they should

be held responsible as leaders. Because they had already made self-criticisms, no disciplinary actions were taken against them. The manager of the Beijing Radio Instruments Industry Corporation committed serious mistakes in using public funds to buy houses and was given a warning within the party.

In 1980, a deputy secretary of the party committee of the Jiangtai Commune and chairman of the administrative committee of the commune, in Chaoyang District, ordered the commune's hydroelectric power station to build two rooms for him. In March 1981, he again ordered the hydroelectric power station to build four rooms for his private use (including one room for his brother), with a floor space of 60 square meters. In addition, he also committed the mistakes of appropriating collective labor and materials to make furniture, making duplicate and false claims for allowances on business trips, sharing lumber without authorization, demanding houses from units that occupied the commune's land, and so forth. After studying the case and with the approval of the municipal party committee, the Chaoyang District Party Committee decided to remove him from his post in the party, and administratively recommended that he be removed from his post as chairman of the commune. He was ordered to return all the public funds and property he had appropriated (all are returned).

The former secretary of the party branch of the Denggezhuang Production Brigade, Xizhuang Commune, Huairou County, originally had a house of five rooms on 0.5 mu of land for his family of six. In 1980, when his eldest son got married, he built five more rooms with the approval of the commune. In the spring of 1981, taking advantage of his position and power, he built five more rooms without approval. In the spring of 1982, he occupied land for building a five-room house for his daughter. A total of 2,229 mu of land was occupied for the above. Encouraged by his illegal occupation of land, six other commune-member households also occupied 3.8 mu of land to build houses without approval. With the approval of the municipal party committee, the Huairou County Party Committee decided to place him on probation within the party for 1 year, had the land he illegally occupied in 1982 returned and ordered him to pay for the economic loss on the land he had occupied for a year.

Recently, the preparatory group for the discipline inspection commission of the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee issued a circular to party organizations at various levels in the entire municipality on these five cases of violations of discipline.

CSO: 4005/149

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHAANXI RELEASES POPULATION STATISTICS

HK310546 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 30 Oct 82

[Text] The Shaanxi Provincial Statistics Bureau issued a communique today giving the main figures of the province's 1982 population census. These are as follows:

1. At midnight on 1 July, the province's population was 28,904,423, representing 2.8 percent of the national total. Compared with the previous population census taken at midnight on 1 July 1964, which gave a figure of 20,766,915, there has been an increase of 8,137,508, which is a rise of 39.2 percent. The average annual growth during the past 18 years has been 452,084, an annual growth rate of 1.9 percent.

2. Males account for 14,968,678--51.8 percent—of the population and females 13,935,745, which is 48.2 percent.

3. The Han population of the province is 28,771,418, representing 99.54 percent of the total. The total minority-nationality population is 133,005, representing 0.46 percent. Compared with the 1964 census figures, the Han population has grown by 8,098,580, a rise of 39.2 percent, and the minority-nationality population by 38,928, a rise of 41.4 percent.

4. Of the total population of the provinces, 180,023 have the cultural level of university graduates, and 69,500 have the level of university students, including students now at college; 2,269,669 have senior secondary school cultural level, 5,599,602 have the level of junior middle school, and 9,440,101 have the level of primary school. Compared with the 1964 census, there have been the following changes in cultural levels per 10,000 of the population: those with university cultural levels have risen from 52.6 to 86.3; those with senior secondary school level have increased from 161.8 to 785.2; those with junior secondary level have increased from 515.2 to 1,937.3; and those with primary school level have increased from 2,546.2 to 3,266. The number of illiterates and semi-illiterates above the age of 12 is 7,144,388. Compared with the 1964 census, the number of illiterates and semi-illiterates has declined from 39.79 percent to 24.72 percent of the population.

5. Last year 579,488 babies were born, a birth rate of 20.35 per 1,000, and 202,319 people died, a death rate of 7.1 per 1,000. The natural population growth was 377,169, a rate of 13.24 per 1,000. Of the babies born during the year, 302,448 were male and 277,040 female.

6. Of the total population of the province, the number living in municipalities and townships, not including counties and townships subordinate to municipalities, was 5,490,608. The total population of the six municipalities was 4,058,102. The total population of the 81 townships was 1,432,506. The urban population grew by 2,298,459 compared with the 1964 census figure, a rise of 72 percent. The percentage of urban population in the total population rose from 15.37 in the 1964 census to 19.

7. The following are the population figures for the province's 10 prefectures and municipalities: Xian Municipality, 2,943,468, including 746,904 in Changan County; Tongchuan Municipality, 627,171, including 249,461 in Yao County; Baoji Municipality, 3,358,411, including 3,019,657 in the 11 counties subordinate to the municipality; Weinan Prefecture, 5,399,063; Xianyang Prefecture, 4,466,096; Hanzhong Prefecture, 3,288,495; Ankang Prefecture, 2,630,835; Shangluo Prefecture, 2,070,866; Yanan Prefecture, 1,616,781; Yulin Prefecture, 2,403,237.

8. Sample checks on the quality of the census show all errors were below the standard laid down by the State Council's census leadership group.

CSO: 4005/149

XIZANG RADIO DISCUSSES DUTY OF PARTY MEMBERS

HK020923 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 1 Nov 82

[Station commentary: "Party Members Must Regard Studying, Publicizing and Implementing the Spirit of 12th Party Congress as Their Glorious Duty"]

[Excerpts] In order to study, publicize and implement the spirit of the 12th party congress, party members must maintain unanimity with the CPC Central Committee politically and ideologically. The new party constitution approved at the 12th party congress pointed out in the general program: within the party, democracy is given full play, a high degree of centralism is practiced on the basis of democracy and a sense of organization and discipline is strengthened, so as to ensure unity of action throughout its ranks and the prompt and effective implementation of its decisions. This is a basic requirement every party member must meet.

In the new historical period, we are bound to meet with many new problems in our socialist undertakings. The principles and policies laid down by the 12th party congress and its analysis of the many theoretical problems are correct. However, even if some people inside and outside the party fail to understand them for a time or hold various different views, this is not at all surprising nor is it easy to avoid. The problem is that we should have a unified ideological understanding within the party. All party members must have firm faith in the correctness of the leadership of the CPC Central Committee and the sure victory of the socialist cause under the leadership of the party. If a party member fails for a time to understand a certain decision of the party, it is permissible, in the internal political life of the party, to conduct criticism and self-criticism, waging ideological struggles over matters of principle, upholding truth and rectifying mistakes. However, it is entirely forbidden for a party member to act in violation of the party's decisions. In the magnificent cause of building socialism, if a party member fails to maintain unanimity with the CPC Central Committee politically and ideologically and fails to actively study, publicize and implement the spirit of the 12th party congress by behaving as if he were an ordinary noncommunist and acting as an appendage of some masses, he is not worthy of being a qualified party member because he does not carry out his bounden duty as a party member.

Party consolidation is aimed at solving the problem of qualified and disqualified party members. From now on, every party member must judge himself according to the new party constitution approved at the 12th party congress. When judging himself, a party member should first examine whether he has played an exemplary vanguard role in studying, publicizing and implementing the spirit of the 12th party congress or whether he has just kept up appearances by taking a sometimes active and sometimes inactive attitude. If he has not done well enough, he must exert itself.

In order to do a good job of studying, publicizing and implementing the spirit of the 12th party congress, all party members must study well the documents of the 12th party congress. Being educators, they themselves must first be educated. All party members must set strict demands on themselves, study hard and penetratingly grasp the spirit of the documents. Only by studying well will it be possible for them to carry out the task of publicizing and explaining the spirit of the 12th party congress.

In order to study, publicize and implement the spirit of the 12th party congress, party members should also bring into play their exemplary vanguard role in their work. If you want the masses to do something, you must first be able to do it yourself. If you want to dissuade the masses from doing something, you must first refrain from doing it. The purpose of studying and publicizing the spirit of the 12th party congress is to implement the spirit of the 12th party congress and to carry out the various tasks well according to the requirements of the 12th party congress. If a party member does not match his words with his deeds or if he talks much but practices very little, the masses will not believe him. The masses constantly look at the actual deeds of party members. If a party member plays an exemplary vanguard role, he will be able to rally the broad masses around the party and strive to open up a new situation in socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/149

'RENMIN RIBAO' REPORTS FORUM ON ROLE OF THEATER

HK051240 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Nov 82 p 5

[Feature article by RENMIN XIJU reporter, JUBEN reporter and RENMIN RIBAO reporter: "Theater Must Educate the People With Communist Ideology--Minutes of a Forum Attended by People of Theatrical Circles in Beijing on Creating a New Situation in Play Writing"]

[Text] In the past half year or so, there have appeared on stage in the capital some good or comparatively good plays. The situation is gratifying and inspiring. The China Dramatists Association and the cultural and art section of RENMIN RIBAO jointly invited more than 20 theatrical personnel to attend a forum to discuss the implementation of the 12th CPC Congress spirit and the creation of a new situation in playwriting in order to meet the requirements of building the socialist spiritual civilization. Those attending the forum and delivering speeches were Zhao Xun, Liu Housheng, Hu Ke, Shu Qiang, Xia Chun, Wei Min, Li Hua, Mo Yan, Ding Yisan, Chen Yong, Lin Yuxuen, Wang Zhen, Gu Xiang, Liang Bingkun, Wang Jingyu, Tian Fen, Zhong Yibing and Cheng Zhiwei. All the participating comrades exchanged their ideas, centering on how to educate people with communist ideology in the theater. Following are the minutes of the discussion:

Fully Display the New Historical Era

We have already entered a new historical period. Under the leadership of the party, the Chinese people, with a new gesture, are carrying out the revolutionary practice, with communism as its fighting goal. It is a demand raised by the era and the people on literary and art personnel, including theatrical personnel, and it is the sacred duty of literary and art personnel to reflect this great practice of the Chinese people. All the participating comrades held that in the new historical transition period, we theatrical personnel must shift our attention and focus to the reflection of life in the new era, the exposition of new contradictions and the depiction of new figures. Many new people with communist ideology and style have emerged in the real life of the country; we theatrical personnel must warmly depict and extol them.

At the 12th CPC Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "We cannot, of course, expect every member of our society to be a communist, but we must demand that the party members, the CYL members and all other advanced elements acquire communist ideology, and we must, through their instrumentality, educate and influence the broad masses." "All party members and other advanced persons in our society must continuously propagate advanced ideas and set an example by their own deeds so as to inspire more and more members of our society to become working people with lofty ideals, moral integrity, education and a sense of discipline." All the participating comrades held that these words are of guiding significance to theatrical personnel. They pointed out that theatrical personnel must do their utmost to reflect our era, use communist ideology to educate people and continuously propagate advanced ideas to the masses. Some people look at our era with a critical eye, declaring that "they disdain to depict the merits and splendid achievements beyond the world of self-feeling" and avoiding the depiction of the new people's "brave struggle and selfless labor" as well as the extolling the new life. Such ideas and feelings are incorrect.

Comrades Zhao Xun, Liu Housheng and Hu Ke pointed out: In our real life, there are many new people who adhere to the communist banner, adhere to the socialist road, dare to struggle against deeds harmful to the interests of the party and the people and dare to lead the people to create a new situation in construction for the four modernizations. They have displayed the spirit of our era and are our pride. Why should we not extol them? They have made splendid achievements and signal contributions with their brave struggle and selfless labor. Why should we not extol and praise them?

Comrade Mo Yan, one of the authors of the play "Diary of Instructor Song," said: The instructor in the play comes from life. In real life, there are many instructors like Song Chunyang. I myself have interviewed three instructors having nobel integrity. Many of their deeds deserve our praise and extolment. In the army, many grassroot cadres dare to resist various unhealthy trends and do not hesitate to sacrifice their lives, thus setting examples. Deeply moved by their deeds, I really admire them. That is why I depict them and extol them. They are unknown heroes of the army.

Comrade Tian Fen, author of the play "A Gold Key," said: In real life, there are many people with new ideology and new style whom we may encounter when we go deep into life. I myself have met with many of these new people. For example, there is a peasant who established a "rabbit hospital" with his own money to cure the sickness of the rabbits of all villagers. Another example is a "tremella expert" who cultured fungus himself and presented it to others regardless of reducing his own income. These people have noble integrity and the spirit to serve others. While going deep into life, it was these new people who moved me most deeply. We must do our utmost to depict them well.

All the comrades held that theatrical personnel must keep abreast of the era and do our best to reflect the era so as to make theater keep pace with the era. We must reflect in our plays those people and deeds with communist ideology and style which have continuously emerged in the new era. We theatrical personnel

must take up important tasks in the struggle of building socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core. We must use our creations to propagate communist ideology to the people through artistic images.

Vigorously Portray New People With Socialist Ideology

Socialist plays propagate communist ideology through vivid artistic images, not by using empty political phraseology. The advocation of using communist ideology in plays to educate people is not the repetition of the simple practice of the past of "depicting the center, playing the central role, singing the center and drawing the center," but the portrayal of the images with communist ideology and moral integrity in accordance with the characteristics of the theatrical art. All the participating comrades pointed out that we must prevent the tendency of simplification, avoid formulism, generalities and rough and slipshod creations, and attach great importance to portraying socialist new people with vivid and conspicuous character.

Comrade Hu Ke said: The 12th CPC Congress laid stress on educating the people with communist ideology. This is of far-reaching significance. Only by depicting people and portraying the images of socialist new people can a play attain the goal of educating people with communist ideology. As a result of laying stress on depicting socialist people in recent years, gratifying achievements have been made in theatrical creations in the army and some comparatively successful plays have appeared, such as "Great General Peng," "Chen Yi Goes Out of the Mountain," "Deep in the Tiansan Mountain" and "The Diary of Instructor Song." The success of the plays lies in their depiction of the nobel spirit of the veteran proletarian revolutionaries and the portrayal of the moving images of socialist new people. From these plays, the audiences have seen the ideological integrity of communist fighters and have been educated by communist images.

Comrade Wei Min said: A fine example has boundless power. We must set examples for the people to follow by portraying images of socialist new people. During the period of the self-defensive war against the Vietnamese aggressors, many soldiers, after seeing the film "Dong Cunrui," strengthened their courage and dauntless spirit and rendered meritorious service. Therefore, it is our unshirkable duty to guide our creation with communist ideology and depict images of socialist new people.

Comrade Liu Housheng said: Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, there have appeared on Beijing's stages a number of good plays, some of which have broken through previous levels. Much experience can be derived from them. As our plays perform the role of educating people with communist ideology and serving people and socialism, they should be raised to a higher plane, rendering better service. Previously, some of our plays, in close association with the revolutionary situation at the time, played positive roles. In the anti-Japanese war, the liberation war, the land reform and the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, there were such plays, which we cannot sweepingly negate. However, the situation is quite different today; so are the conditions. The previous level is not up to expectations and old practices will not work. Our plays need to be upgraded overall, both ideologically and artistically. We are, therefore, required to be bold to depict contradictions and portray images of socialist new people in exposing contradictions.

Comrade Hu Ke also pointed out: In the past, some plays depicted heroes by using the method of loading them with good deeds. This method will not suffice at present. It is truthful and moving new images which must be portrayed to cater to the needs of the people.

Some comrades held: The practice of not stressing the portrayal of images of characters deserves attention. Such a practice is harmful to the upgrading of the quality of theatrical creations. Comrade Lin Yuxuen and others pointed out: At present, some playwriters only pay attention to the story but neglect the characters or depict some figures without character. Therefore, it is only naturally that many audiences are not satisfied with such plays. In order to impress audiences and educate them with communist ideology, it is all the more necessary for our plays to closely integrate ideology with artistry and vigorously portray socialist new people with vivid and conspicuous character.

Be Bold and Skillfully Expose the Contradictions in Our Real Life

If we want to display our era and portray the images of socialist new people, we will inevitably meet with the problem of how to reflect social contradictions. Socialist new people have emerged in real life and grown up in the struggle against various old and backward things. Heroic models and advanced fighters with communist ideology have toughened themselves in the struggle against various erroneous ideas. Therefore, plays must boldly and skillfully expose various contradictions in real life and portray new images in the exposure. Only such characters are vivid, fresh and truthful. It is necessary to continuously oppose the theory of "no conflict" in playwriting. Many participating comrades held: In the wake of the appearance of the play "Who Is More Powerful?" last year, there have successively appeared some good plays, such as "Spare Auspiciousness," "The Accused," "The Golden Key," "Funny and Ridiculous Behavior," "Trouble Arises Within the Family" and "The Diary of Instructor Song." A conspicuous feature of these plays is that the authors dare to expose social contradictions, even sharper contradictions, and do their utmost to portray images of socialist new people in the exposure of contradictions.

Comrade Gu Xiang and Liang Bingkun recalled: Last year, at a time when some literary and art personnel was avoiding the depiction of contradictions in real life, advocating deviation from living contradictions in playwriting and vying with each other in writing on popular subjects such as love stories, historical events and relations between China and foreign countries, the editorial department of WENYI BAO and the literary and art section of RENMIN RIBAO jointly held a forum on the discussion of the play "Who Is More Powerful?" positively recommending this play and the idea of boldly reflecting contradictions in real life and significantly raising opposition to the "theory of no conflict" in creation. The recent good trend in playwriting is closely connected with the forum.

Comrades held: Today, we must continue to uphold this principle when we are to create a new situation in producing plays. We should dare to extol as well as expose--to extol our new era, our party and the new type of people in our times and to expose all sorts of contradictions in life and the unhealthy trends and tendencies. As for how to expose contradictions existing in life, there exists

a problem concerning propriety. Chen Yun, Cheng Zhiwei and other comrades spoke of correctly handling the relationship between extolment and exposure by upholding the materialist dialectics. Comrade Chen Yun said: previously, we used to go from one extreme to another for lack of a dialectical outlook. Once we were told to be bold in exposing shortcomings and the dark side of things, we would lose enthusiasm for portraying what is good and beautiful; while once we were told not to exclusively depict shortcomings and the dark side, some of us would go to the extreme of failing to look reality in the face. In reality, good and beautiful things always coexist with evil and ugly things. People always welcome the castigation of evil and ugly things by our writers. This is also approved by our party. The problem is that we must take the stand of the party and the people when we castigate the evils. Comrade Cheng Zhiwei said: In the course of creating plays, there are several relationships that need to be properly handled. The first is exposure and "exhibition." These are absolutely different attitudes. In some works, evil things are portrayed just as an exhibition. What we need is to criticize these evils with indignation. An indifferent attitude is not suitable. The second is the relationship between the sense of reality and the sense of propriety. The sense of reality provides vitality for an art, but being true does not mean being successful. The third is between ideals and reality. Ideals should be presented in actual contradictions. If ideals are presented in a hollow way, the audience will not feel interested. The fourth is between generality and specificity. Successful works always successfully portray specific characters of persons. The reason why "Great General Peng" is successful is that the hero in this play has a distinct individuality.

Comrade Zhao Xun made a comparison between "The Diary of Instructor Song" and "The Story of Buddies." He said: Both plays incisively expose contradictions in present real life. That is their common good point. But there is also a difference between these two plays. As the writer of "The Story of Buddies" said in an article, he had once lived with these "buddies" for a long time and he could not do a disservice to them and behave ungratefully. Obviously, the writer cherished a sympathetic attitude toward his buddies when he got down to depicting them or criticizing their shortcomings. As a result, his exposure of contradictions is incisive but his solutions of contradictions are powerless. On the other hand, the writer of "The Diary of Instructor Song" was indignant at the unhealthy tendency when he got down to exposing it. For this reason, his criticism is rather accurate and his attitude is clear-cut. Therefore, the problem is not whether we should expose contradictions in life or not; rather, what is involved is that writers should take a correct view of the contradictions and treat them in a proper way.

Comrade Zhong Yibing said: To successfully portray characters in plays, the key lies in presenting their communist ideals through the exposure of actual contradictions. "The Accused," "Trouble Arises Within the Family," and "Funny and Ridiculous Behavior" are all plays describing actual contradictions, and the mainstream of these plays is good. Some of these works may have this or that problem. The main problem is that these works do not yet profoundly

present the progressive ideals, faith and moral standards of the characters in the plays through the exposure of contradictions and thus they cannot yet deeply move the audience. Hugo once said: "There are two methods for arousing the enthusiasm of the masses in the stage, that is, by means of magnificence and truthfulness. Magnificence can grip the attention of the masses and truthfulness can grip that of the individuals." "The malady affecting truthfulness is prosaism and that affecting magnificence is dishonesty." I think that these words are of significance in our portrayal of characters. In the creation of plays over the past 30 years and more, have there been any works describing "magnificence" which are false? Or are there any truthful works which are paltry? I think that both types of works do exist. Without a sense of reality, we can only portray a type of visionary "great heroes" who have reached the peak of perfection. People will just find that these characters are false and hollow. Today, when we lay stress on educating the people in communist ideology, we must prevent ourselves from going back to the old path of making up false great heroes in our plays. In the creation of plays in the last 6 years, the tradition of realism has been restored. Of course, there are also some offshoots. Some people take truthfulness as the sole principle for creation and neglect the necessity of educating the people in communist ideology. They improperly seek truthfulness or higher box office value for their works and fail to invest the characters with lofty ideals. This type of truthfulness is insignificant. To publicize communism does not mean to make dramatic personages shout heaps of communist slogans. Rather, we should express the radiance of communist ideology through the description of the conflict of contradictions. Recently, some plays in Beijing, such as "Golden Key" and "The Story of Buddies," have already given prominence to communist ideology of the characters.

Uphold the Revolutionary Realist Method of Creation

Revolutionary realism is the method of creation we have always advocated and exercised during the past several decades. In our creation of plays, we must uphold and must not abandon this principle and method. Many comrades in the forum held that upholding the principle of revolutionary realism in creation is of positive and immediate significance, particularly at present.

Comrade Gu Xiang said: At present, some people deem that the realist method of creation is already outdated. Some people suggest that plays now are not flourishing and need to be modernized. They even suggest taking the road of the modernist school. The other people think that realism is a product of the era of steam engines and that what we need in an electronic era is the modernist school. Of course, we need to make a serious analysis of the modernist school and should not simply treat it as reactionary. Some techniques of the modernist school do merit our study and assimilation. They can be utilized for our purpose after being transformed. Revolutionary realism does not mean an indiscriminate exclusion of foreign techniques of expression. But we must note that the modernist school of the West is a product of capitalism when it develops to a certain stage. It is based on jumbled philosophies and world outlooks. We should not blindly worship it. It is not correct to take the modernist school as the orientation of our creation of plays and even literary and artistic creation as a whole. Upholding and developing the revolutionary realist method of creation should continue to be our orientation.

Comrade Mo Yan talked about the problem of upholding revolutionary realism in connection with his own work. He said: We literary and art workers of China have opened a road of revolutionary realism. In my opinion, revolutionary realism should be accompanied by revolutionary idealism, revolutionary contents and national forms. He also said: Works describing contradictions among the PLA troops should dare to touch problems concerning the unhealthy tendency; otherwise, they will lose truthfulness. But the description needs a sense of propriety. Our purpose should be to cherish our troops and to let the audience feel that our army is able to resist the unhealthy tendency, thus giving them hope and strength. The first draft of "The Diary of Instructor Song" did not properly handle this problem; everything was described in a mess. Afterward, I collected other people's opinions and revised this draft. So, I feel that meticulous treatment is very important when we are to reflect contradictions in real life in our literary and art works. If we do not pay attention to propriety, we will fail in portraying the characters. This requires us to better utilize the creation method of revolutionary realism.

Comrade Xia Chun said: We should correctly handle the relationship between content and form in our creation of plays. Here exists a problem of what is principal and what is subordinate. We cannot neglect the ideological content of our works.

Only by Plunging Into the Thick of Life Can a New Situation Be Developed in the Field of Creating Plays

Life is the only source of creation. In order to improve the quality of our works and to develop a new situation in the field of creating plays, we must encourage dramatists to go deeply into the thick of life. Many comrades attending the meeting also stressed this point.

Comrade Shu Qiang discussed this question by taking the play "The Story of Buddies" written by Zhong Yingjie as an example. He pointed out: This play is not perfect. It has many shortcomings and even serious mistakes, thus needing to be revised and improved. But we should affirm that this play has a rich flavor of life because the writer of this play is familiar with the life he described. The key to creating good works which can correctly and vividly reflect life is that the writer must plunge into the thick of life so as to familiarize himself with life, acquire a good knowledge of people's hopes and demands and have a good command of the masses' language. Now, some people say that plays are faced with a crisis. This is certainly wrong. In my opinion, if our writers can always go deep into the thick of life and live with the masses so as to understand them and know them well, and then reflect their life in the works, no type of drama will be faced with a crisis; rather, it will always flourish.

Comrade Ding Yisan said: In order to bring about a new and flourishing situation in the field of creating plays, playwriters must go deep into the thick of life in a more extensive way. This has been proved by the plays which have recently come out, such as "Who Is More Powerful?" and "The Diary of Instructor Song." It is not enough if we only go to touch life for a while. We also need to have strong feelings for life and be filled with ardor and sincerity. Only in this way can we write something of strong artistic appeal.

In connection with his works, Comrade Li Hua said: "The Accused" was created after I plunged into the thick of life for a long time. The contradictions depicted in the play are derived from my experiences in life. I did write this with real feeling and sincerity. Because I have the experience of life and know things that I want to depict well, I felt no difficulties when I got down to describing the mentalities, dispositions, characteristics and behaviors of the characters in the play and I did not feel that I was making up a story. He also pointed out: Our nation is going in for an effective reform. Life is boiling and exciting, many new things and contradictions are continuously coming up. So long as we plunge into the thick of the life, we will not be indifferent in such a situation.

Comrade Wang Zheng said: We should have confidence in developing a flourishing situation in the field of creating plays. We should have ambitions and strive to create some good works which can be handed down at least for a few years or even more than a dozen years. In connection with the creation of his play "Funny and Ridiculous Behavior," Comrade Wang Jingyu also stressed that writers should plunge into the thick of life. He considered this as the only way to create works of drama which audiences love to see.

Comrade Liu Housheng said: We must lay stress on going deep into the thick of life and, at the same time, we should have an overall improvement. We should raise our ideological level and improve our ability to use artistic techniques of expression. Without a high ideological level, we cannot properly and correctly understand life. Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen the study of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and the study of the party's line, principles and policies and, in particular, the documents of the 12th party congress at present. It should be noted that the next 5 to 10 years will be a period of change for plays--the writers will change, so will the audience. We must write good works of both high ideological and artistic quality. Only thus can we satisfy the needs of today's audiences. So long as we all exert ourselves, plays will not meet with crisis; rather, there will be a bright future.

CSO: 4005/149

HUBEI OFFICIAL DISCUSSES STUDY OF CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

HK050408 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Nov 82

[Summary] The 2d study class on the 12th party congress documents for leading cadres at and above bureau-level in the Hubei provincial organs opened at the provincial CPC committee's party school on 4 November. Provincial CPC committee second secretary Han Ningfu made a speech at the opening ceremony, which was presided over by Jiao Dexiu, director of the committee's propaganda department.

Han Ningfu said: It is necessary to have a clearer idea of the aims of studying the 12th congress documents. He said: "Studying the documents of the 12th party congress means grasping their basic spirit and unifying our thinking with it; it means unifying our thinking with the program and the series of principles and policies stipulated by the 12th party congress, and truly solving the problem of maintaining political unity with the Central Committee. For instance, how should we understand the correctness of the party's line, principles and policies since the 3d session of the 11th Central Committee? How should we understand the great historical turning-point since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee? What position does the 12th party congress occupy in our party history? And so on and so forth. Only by unifying our understanding on these major issues can we spontaneously implement the 12th party congress spirit."

Han Ningfu said: "Through studying the 12th party congress documents, the party members, especially the cadres, should enhance understanding of the party's program for endeavor, heighten ideological awareness, and strengthen confidence in our cause. The moment they hear about quadrupling, certain comrades think of the high targets of 1958 and the foreign rash advance of 1978 and are afraid that this will be another rash move. They lack confidence in achieving the target of endeavor. This is a problem we must seriously solve in study. So long as we seriously study, and sum up experiences in connection with the reality of our thinking and work, this problem of confidence will not be hard to solve."

Han Ningfu went on to stress the importance of good study methods. He continued: "There has been a great turn for the better in the party work style since the third plenary session. However, there is now an unhealthy phenomenon, and that is, when talking about party work style, certain comrades have a lot to say about other people and units but little about themselves and their own units. They talk a lot but do not improve things much. They discuss unhealthy tendencies at great length but do not struggle much against them. This phenomenon does not match the 12th party congress spirit, and must be seriously overcome."

Han Ningfu concluded: "It is very necessary that leading cadres at and above bureau-level gather together to study the 12th party congress documents. However, this is only the start of study. On returning to their organs after studying, they must organize the cadres and masses to study, do some investigation and research, sum up experiences and lessons in study, and promote the in-depth study of the documents."

CSO: 4005/149

NATIONALITIES WITH OVER ONE MILLION POPULATION

OW311325 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1225 GMT 28 Oct 82

[Text] Beijing, 28 Oct (XINHUA)--It is learned from the State Statistics Bureau that following are the 15 minority nationalities with population over 1 million according to the third national census:

Zhuang Nationality	(13,378,162)
Hui Nationality	(7,219,352)
Uygur Nationality	(5,957,112)
Yi Nationality	(5,453,448)
Miao Nationality	(5,030,897)
Manchu Nationality	(4,299,159)
Tibetan Nationality	(3,870,068)
Mongolian Nationality	(3,411,657)
Tujia Nationality	(2,832,743)
Bouyei Nationality	(2,120,469)
Korean Nationality	(1,763,870)
Dong Nationality	(1,425,100)
Yao Nationality	(1,402,676)
Bai Nationality	(1,131,124)
Hani Nationality	(1,058,836)

CSO: 4005/149

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HEILONGJIANG ISSUES CENSUS FIGURES

SK050409 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Nov 82

[Text] According to our sources, the Heilongjiang Provincial Statistical Bureau issued a communique on the major figures of the third provincial census.

The communique states: The provincial census, with zero hour 1 July 1982 as the starting point, was smoothly completed on 10 September after a comprehensive survey and registration, reexaminations and calculations according to the criterion set forth by the state. The communique reveals the following census results: The population of the whole province totaled 32,665,546. Of the province's population, there are 16,722,562 males and 15,942,984 females. There are 28 aged persons across the province who are over 100 years old. Of them, there are 8 aged males and 20 females. The oldest among them is 115 years.

The provincial census revealed that there are 47 nationalities throughout the province. Of these nationalities, the Han Nationality comprises 31,056,708 people, 95.07 percent of the total population. The other 46 nationalities comprise 1,608,838 people, 4.93 percent of the total population. Those with over 10,000 population include Man, Chaoxian, Hui, Monggol and Daur nationalities. Compared with the 1964 census figures, the population of various nationalities has increased. For example, the Hezhen Nationality scored a 98.7 percent increase over the former figure and a 3.9 percent increase each year, the highest increase of all.

The communique states: The province has 168,838 people who are college graduates; 54,910 people with a college education, including college students; 7,063,459 people with senior middle school educations; 7,247,661 people with junior middle school educations; and 11,607,545 people with elementary school educations. According to the per-10,000-person statistics, there are 69 people with college educations.

The communique also discloses natural changes in the province's population, such as the 1981 birth and death rates. According to the 1982 census statistics, the province has 13,241,697 urban dwellers, who account for 40.5 percent of the total population.

In addition, the communique of the third provincial census' major figures makes public the total population of various prefectures and municipalities across the province.

CSO: 4005/149

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

JILIN MAKES PUBLIC POPULATION CENSUS FIGURES

SK060520 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 5 Nov 82

[Text] According to JILIN RIBAO, the provincial statistical bureau released the major figures of the third provincial population census.

With zero hour 1 July 1982 as the reference time, the population of the province is 22,560,053. Males number 11,554,694 or 51.2 percent; females, 11,005,359 or 48.8 percent. Compared with the figure of the second census in 1964, the population has increased by 6,891,391 or 44 percent, averaging an annual increase of 382,855 or 2 percent.

There are 38 nationalities in the province. The Han Nationality population is 20,732,394, accounting for 91.9 percent of the total. The population of the minority nationalities is 1,827,659.

People with a primary school education or higher number 15,454,814, accounting for 68.5 percent of the total population. Among them 144,921 or 0.6 percent are college graduates. People who attended college previously but did not finish and those now attending number 52,960 or 0.2 percent. People with a senior middle school education number 2,428,969 or 10.8 percent, and 4,709,218 people or 20.9 percent have a junior middle school education. Some 8,118,746 people or 36 percent, have a primary school education.

Illiterates and semi-illiterates--people of 12 years of age and above who cannot read or can read only a few words--number 3,662,706. Compared with the 1964 census figure, the percentage of illiterates and semi-illiterates in the total population has dropped from 28.7 percent to 16.2 percent.

The province's 1981 birth rate was 17.67 per thousand; the mortality rate, 5.32 per thousand. The natural increase in the population in 1981 was 12.35 per thousand, lower than the national average population increase rate.

The total population in the 9 municipalities and 101 towns of the province is 8,941,108.

The results of the sampling check on the quality of the enumeration work were compared against the enumeration figures of the population census and found that error in overcount and undercount was zero. Error rates in reporting sex and age were 0.12 per thousand. The overall error rate was 0.05 per thousand, lower than the state-set standard of 2 per thousand.

CSO: 4005/149

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NEI MONGGOL ISSUES CENSUS FIGURES

SK290930 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Oct 82

[Text] The third regional census, with zero hour 1 July 1982 as the starting point, has been smoothly completed after a comprehensive household-by-household survey and registration, reexaminations and a sampling survey. The regional statistical bureau issued a communique on 28 October on the major figures of the third regional census. The communique is composed of seven parts:

1. General population: The population of the whole region totaled 19,274,279. As compared with the figure of the second census in 1964, the population of the region has increased by 6,940,141 persons, or 56.27 percent in 18 years, an average annual increase of 2.51 percent.

2. Composition by sex: Of the population of the region, there are 10,053,501 males, which account for 52.16 percent of the total population of the region, and 9,220,778 females, which account for 47.84 percent of the region's total population.

3. The birth and mortality rates: The region's 1981 birth rate was 22.11 per thousand and the mortality rate was 5.77 per thousand. The natural increase in the population was 327,668 persons and the natural population growth rate was 17.34 per thousand.

4. The population of various nationalities: A general survey report shows that our region has 44 nationalities, of which 2,489,780 persons are Monggol Nationality; 16,277,899, Han Nationality; 169,096, Hui Nationality; 236,350, Man Nationality; 58,671, Daur Nationality; 18,139, Ewenki Nationality; 107,564, Chaoxian Nationality; and 2,053, Oroqen Nationality. Compared with the second census in 1964, the population of Monggol Nationality has increased by 1,105,325 persons, an increase of 79.84 percent, and the population of the Han Nationality has increased by [sentences indistinct].

5. The cultural standards of the population: Among the population, 5.7 persons per thousand on the average have attained college cultural standards; 75 persons, senior high school standards; 193 persons, junior high school standards; and 328 persons, primary school standards.

6. The urban population: The total population living in towns and cities is 5,567,306 persons, an increase of 2,563,322 persons, or 85.5 percent over the 1964 census. The population residing in towns and cities account for 28.85 percent of the region's total population.

7. The results of the sampling survey to check the quality of census registration: After completing the region's census registration and reexamination work, a sampling survey to check the quality of census work was conducted in accordance with relevant stipulations which shows that among the population residing in towns and cities, about 0.14 per thousand repeated the registration and about 0.1 per thousand failed to register. The error rate is 0.04 per thousand.

CSO: 4005/149

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

QINGHAI RELEASES POPULATION CENSUS STATISTICS

HK060444 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 5 Nov 82

[Excerpts] The Qinghai Provincial Statistics Bureau announced today the main figures of the 1982 population census. The bureau's communique says: The province's total population is 3,895,706, a rise of 1,750,102 in the 18 years since the census of 1 July 1964, which gave a figure of 2,145,604. This represents an annual increase of 97,228, an average growth of 3.4 percent. The population is made up of 2,004,819 males and 1,890,887 females, respective percentages of 51.46 and 48.54.

There are 2,359,979 Hans in the province, 60.58 percent of the total. There are 1,535,727 people of minority nationalities, 39.42 percent of the population. Compared with the 1964 census figures, the Han population has increased by 1,043,746, a rise of 79.3 percent, and the minority-nationality population by 706,356, a rise of 85.17 percent.

The province has 25,779 people with the cultural level of university graduates, and 5,689 people with university cultural level, including those studying at university now. There are 199,261 people with senior secondary school level, 544,725 with junior secondary school level, and 999,470 with primary school level. Compared with the 1964 census, the number of people with university cultural level to every 100,000 people has risen from 633 to 808, the number with senior secondary level from 1,665 to 5,115, the number with junior secondary level from 4,909 to 13,892, and the number with primary level from 18,417 to 25,654. There are 1,243,654 illiterates or semi-illiterates above the age of 12. Compared with the 1964 census, the proportion of such people in the population has declined from 44.26 to 31.92 percent.

Last year 101,058 babies were born in the province, a birth rate of 26.65 per 1,000; and 28,374 died, a death rate of 7.48 per 1,000. The total increase of population during the year was 72,684, a natural growth rate of 19.17 per 1,000. The total population of towns, not including counties subordinate to municipalities, was 797,931, an increase of 442,261--124.34 percent--compared with the 1964 census. The urban population accounted for 20.48 percent of the total, compared with 16.58 percent in 1964.

The population of Xining Municipality, including Datong County and Qinghai mining area, is 926,294. The population of Haidong Prefecture is 1,711,090. The population of Haibei Zang Autonomous Prefecture is 219,692. The population of Huangnan Zang Autonomous Prefecture is 147,364. The population of Hainan Zang Autonomous Prefecture is 324,995. The population of Guoluo Zang Autonomous Prefecture is 103,708. The population of Yushu Zang Autonomous Prefecture is 192,912. The population is Haixi Monggol-Zang-Kazak Autonomous Prefecture is 269,651.

CSO: 4005/149

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XINJIANG RELEASES POPULATION CENSUS RESULTS

HK291509 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 28 Oct 82

[Text] Under the leadership of the CPC committees and the people's governments at all levels of the autonomous region, strictly following the census procedures promulgated by the State Council, through the hard work of all census takers, and with the enthusiastic support of the people of all nationalities and the active coordination of various prefectures, units and departments, the third population census of the autonomous region has now reaped initial results, and the census registration, the simple manual tabulation and some other stages of the census have already been completed.

According to the results of the simple [words indistinct], the total population of all nationalities in the autonomous region [words indistinct] 1982 was 13,081,681, of which males account for 51.47 percent and females 48.53 percent. Compared with the total population released by the second population census in 1964, the total population released by the current third census in our region has increased by 5,811,614 people, the annual rate of increase being 3.3 percent and the population density having increased from 4.5 persons per square kilometer in 1964 to 8.1 persons per kilometer in 1982.

Our region is a multinational region. According to the current population census, the populations of various nationalities are as follows:

Uygur Nationality	5,949,661
Han Nationality	5,286,533
Kazak Nationality	903,370
Hui Nationality	570,788
Monggol	117,460
Kirgiz Nationality	112,979
Sibo Nationality	27,364
Tajik Nationality	26,484
Uzbek Nationality	12,433
Manchu Nationality	9,137
Tahur Nationality	4,369
Tatar Nationality	4,106
Russian Nationality	2,662
Other nationalities	54,335

In recent years, the educational level of the people of various nationalities in our region has been remarkably improved. In the whole region, the people who have attained college educational level amount to 82,929 (including students who are studying at institutions of higher learning), accounting for 0.6 percent of the population, an 100-percent increase over 1964 when the second census was conducted. The people who have attained senior secondary educational level account for 6.4 percent of the population, (including students who are studying in high schools) an increase of 82 percent over 1964. The people who have attained junior secondary educational level account for 17.5 percent of the population (including students who are studying in junior secondary schools) an increase of 78 percent over 1964. In 1981, the natural population increase of the region was 267,349, the natural growth rate was 20.67 per 1,000 and mortality rate was 8.41 percent.

The postenumeration check by sampling shows that the enumeration work of the current population census of the autonomous region was of high quality. Both the discrepancy and the error rate of the total population are lower than the standards set by the population census office of the State Council, and all the samples were of the high quality required.

CSO: 4005/149

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'QINGHAI RIBAO' WRITES ON IMPROVING CADRE FORCE

HK070437 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Nov 82

[Text] Today's QINGHAI RIBAO carries on page 2 an article by Comrade (Yang Qilin) on making the cadre force revolutionized, younger, better educated and more specialized. The article dwells on six main points dealing with this topic.

The article says: the party committees at all levels in Qinghai have done a lot of work in this respect. Nearly 1,000 middle-aged and young cadres have been promoted to leading posts at and above county district level. However, generally speaking, we have not made much progress in selection and promotion work, and our field of vision is also rather narrow. The work of cultivating cadres in a planned way has not kept abreast of requirements. There are still problems of low educational level and lack of specialized knowledge among those cadres who have already been promoted.

Why has this happened? First, we have been affected by erroneous leftist thinking and fail to regard intellectuals as equals. Second, the concept of promoting people according to seniority still exists to a serious extent. When promoting cadres to department or bureau level, we only consider those who are currently county or office cadres; and when promoting cadres to county or office level, we only consider those who are now old section heads or clerical secretaries. The idea seems to be that this is the only reasonable thing to do. As a result, the effort to promote and employ more young cadres is greatly affected.

Third, the influence of the subjectivist idea of demanding perfection and unrealistically seeking complete all-rounders is very profound.

Fourth, work is not done thoroughly enough, there is too little serious examination work, and it is thus not possible to promptly discover, promote and employ young and middle-aged cadres.

Writing on the question of seriously purging the people of five categories, Comrade (Yang Qilin) says: The basic policies and principles in this respect are already clear, and there is no need to wait any longer. The specific work of purging these people must be done with one level grasping another. The lower-level party committees must be responsible to those at upper level, and purge a member of these categories as soon as he is found. The pass must be strictly held. Not a single new one can be promoted. It is necessary to speak the truth and compile accurate and factual material.

He stresses: When promoting cadres, we should concentrate on selecting them from among young and middle-aged people who performed well or basically well during the Great Cultural Revolution. There is no doubt on this point whatever.

CSO: 4005/149

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GANSU RADIO' URGES END TO ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM

HK090123 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 0420 GMT 8 Nov 82

[Station commentary: "Actively Eliminate the Erroneous Concept of Discriminating Against Intellectuals"]

[Excerpt] Gansu Province has scored great success in implementing the policies on intellectuals since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee. However, there are still quite a number of comrades who have not completely shaken off the bindings of leftist ideology and the small producer concept; contempt of education, science and culture and discrimination against intellectuals exist among them in varying degrees. The party and government cadres at all levels must seriously correct these things.

Judging by the situation in work concerning intellectuals reported from various places, the following are the main factors affecting work concerning intellectuals in the province:

1. The pernicious influence of leftism has not been eliminated. Instead of being regarded as a part of the working class, the intellectuals are erroneously treated as targets for remolding.

2. There is lack of clear understanding on the status and role of intellectuals in the four modernizations drive. Certain leading comrades have not put education, science and culture in their proper positions.

3. There is one-sidedness in ideological methods, and certain problems among the intellectuals are exaggerated.

4. Lack of investment is put forward as an excuse for restricting rational investment in brains.

Unless these problems are solved, the work of implementing the policies on intellectuals will go no further than talk. While studying the 12th party congress documents, the leading comrades of party and government departments must seriously correct their understanding of the status and role of intellectuals, and unservingly and correctly implement the party policies and the relevant decisions, regulations and circulars of the provincial CPC committee and government.

CSO: 4005/149

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ZHEJIANG DEVELOPS VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

OW090545 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 8 Nov 82

[Text] Cities in Zhejiang Province have made new progress in developing vocational classes and vocational middle schools on the basis of achievements scored last year. Vocational classes and vocational middle schools have been set up in Hangzhou, Ningbo, Wenzhou, Shaoxing and Quzhou municipalities and in Lishui, Qingtian, Zhenhai, Dinghai and Putuo counties. This year the number of newly established and reorganized vocational middle schools and schools offering vocational classes has totaled 38 admitting nearly 2,000 students and teaching more than 30 special courses, nearly 1,000 students have enrolled to study air-conditioning, plastic pressing, leather and hide processing, chemical fiber technology, automotive repair, gardening, boiler maintenance, printing and dyeing, chemical engineering, paper processing, carpentry, painting, Chinese herbal medicine and kindergarten education.

Three characteristics marked the development of vocational education this year:

1. The leadership paid more attention to this undertaking with the support of the departments concerned with factories and enterprises showing great enthusiasm.

2. A greater number of students sought to enroll in vocational classes or vocational middle schools. In Hangzhou, among the students who applied for middle school entrance exams, more than 5,000 chose to enroll in vocational middle schools. The number of applicants seeking enrollment in the accounting course offered by the Ningbo No 17 middle school exceeded the number admitted by 12-fold.

3. The quality of students notably improved. In admitting students, Hangzhou Municipality gave precedence to key middle schools and vocational classes over regular middle schools, and as a result, the quality of students getting into vocational classes notably improved.

CSO: 4005/149

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SICHUAN CIRCULAR ON DEEPENING STUDY OF DOCUMENTS

HK090236 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 8 Nov 82

[Excerpts] The Sichuan Provincial CPC Committee issued a circular on 6 November demanding that party committees at all levels further deepen study of the 12th party congress documents. The circular pointed out: Studying and implementing the 12th party congress spirit is the cardinal task for the whole party. The present task is not only to carry out extensive propaganda and whip up a mass upsurge of study, but also to further deepen study by the cadres at all levels and ensure that the study is done in close connection with the reality of thinking and work and that a number of problems are solved properly. The provincial CPC committee therefore makes the following demands:

1. Continue to make great efforts to profoundly appreciate the basic spirit of the documents and unify ideological understanding. The party committees should seriously analyze the situation in study in the previous stage, to see which problems have been solved relatively well and which have not been solved. On the basis of analysis and study they should grasp the key points, list special topics, and launch comradely discussion and argument and the necessary criticism and self-criticism, to solve problems in ideology, further unify understanding, and genuinely maintain ideological and political unity with the Central Committee.

2. Leading cadres must take the lead in correcting the party work style. In correcting party work style, it is necessary to grasp points of breakthrough. the provincial organs should start by checking on and correcting the excessive occupation of housing by certain leading cadres, and thus lead forward the work of correcting other unhealthy trends in getting divorced from the masses. The work of hitting at serious economic crime must be conducted well in accordance with the provincial CPC committee's recent forum on the matter.

3. In reforming the provincial administrative structure, it is necessary to resolutely act according to the principles laid down by the central authorities and the provincial CPC committee's plans. This task should be done sooner rather than later.

4. While doing a thoroughly good job in current production and work, it is necessary to seriously investigate and study, sum up experiences, and formulate practical plans and measures for creating a new situation in our own area and department.

The circular said in conclusion: The fourth provincial party congress will be held in January or February next year. Doing a good job in the above-mentioned tasks, especially in reforming the provincial administrative structure and drawing up plans, are practical deeds for implementing the spirit of the 12th party congress and also an essential preparation for the 4th provincial party congress. The municipalities and prefectures and the provincial departments should report the outlines of their plans and main measures for the next 5 years to the provincial CPC committee by the end of December.

CSO: 4005/149

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LITERATURE SOCIETY HOLDS ANNUAL MEETING

OW090248 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0050 GMT 8 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Nanjing, 8 Nov (XINHUA)--The starting point and end-result of creations and studies in contemporary literature should be promotion of the socialist spiritual civilization. This is an important conclusion reached through discussion by comrades attending the 1982 annual meeting of the China society for study of contemporary literature.

The annual meeting was held in Nanjing from 24 October to 2 November. More than 200 contemporary literature researchers, writers and critics attended the meeting.

Portraying numerous modern socialist and educating people in the communist spirit--these are the essential characteristics of socialist literature, distinguishing it from feudal and capitalist literature.

In the past 2 years, literature has made new developments and become more varied in content and form and in the images of people created. This is the main aspect of literature in the last 2 years. At the same time, we should also face up to the tendency to evade actual contradictions and conflicts in literary creations. Our literature should adhere to the concept of one divides into two and scale new heights. Amazing changes have taken place and are still taking place in social life. Our writers and critics should all experience the new life at its source and think and explore on how literature should reflect the new life and new people.

The comrades attending the annual meeting held that our literature in the past few years has adhered to and developed revolutionary realism, which is necessary. However, we should not ignore revolutionary romanticism and works of literature combining revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism, and we should also allow varied creative methods.

CSO: 4005/149

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NATIONAL FORUM DISCUSSES THEATRICAL THEMES

OW130757 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0738 GMT 10 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Xian, 10 Nov (XINHUA)--In the past few years, China's theatre has again become active. Comrades from cultural departments in various areas, who are attending the national forum on theatrical themes being held in Xian, have summed up their experiences and achievements in theatrical creation, pointed out their shortcomings in this work and look to the future with confidence.

Act According to the Laws Governing the Arts

"Plays are spiritual products, and the work of artists should be respected." The leadership in charge of theatrical work creation in Fujian Province understands this principle very well. Xiang Nan, first secretary of the Fujian Provincial CPC Committee, personally observes this principle. He watches and discusses plays and operas very often, but he regards himself only as one of the audience. Instead of issuing instructions to artists, he supports and encourages them to open up new vistas in theatrical works.

Playwrights Continue to Emerge

Jilin Province established a fund for theatrical work creation in 1981. The province is ahead of others in adopting measures to help local playwrights in their creative work. The relevant expenses are paid by the provincial finance department and cultural bureau. The regulations on the use of the fund stipulate that a provincial, prefectural and county theatrical troupe may receive a subsidy when it premiers a new play or opera written by a local dramatist. However, after staging five or more performances of the same play or opera, it must pay a sum of money to the playwright, who will also receive a cash award from the finance departments concerned.

This has enhanced the enthusiasm of playwrights to write more theatrical works.

Never Forget the Audience in the Vast Countryside

The leadership in charge of literary and art work in Jiangsu observes this principle: Never forget the peasant audience, accounting for 80 percent of the province's total population.

At present, most of Jiangsu's theatrical works are modern plays or operas, based mainly on rural themes and skits. In the past few years 491 such plays or operas have been created. The important reason for the creation of so many good works is that there are many prefectural and county playwrights living in the countryside. Besides, the leading departments concerned support skits and modern theatrical works, publicize the significance of serving the countryside and commend theatrical troupes serving the peasants. A representative from Jiangsu Province said that, so long as the correct direction is followed, modern theatrical works are very promising for staging in the countryside.

CSO: 4005/149

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CULTURE MINISTER DISCUSSES GUARDING CULTURAL RELICS

OW150521 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1307 GMT 12 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 12 Nov (XINHUA)--At the 25th session of the 5th NPC Standing Committee today, Minister of Culture Zhu Muzhi explained the "PRC law for the protection of cultural relics (draft)." He pointed out that China is a country with a time-honored history, glorious revolutionary traditions and outstanding cultural heritage. Properly protecting and administering cultural relics is highly important in carrying out scientific research, educating the masses, creating a new, socialist culture for our nation and building a socialist spiritual civilization.

He said: The drafting of the "PRC law for the protection of cultural relics (draft)" began in 1979. During the past 3 years, opinions were widely solicited from the departments in charge of cultural relics in various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government. In Beijing, meetings were held for members of the CPPCC National Committee, noted personages and experts and comrades of departments concerned to solicite their opinions. Necessary additions and revisions were made in accordance with their opinions.

Zhu Muzhi said: Protecting cultural relics has been a consistent policy of our party and state. Following the development of economic construction after the founding of new China, the state promulgated a series of regulations and measures for protecting cultural relics. Under the historical conditions in those days, these regulations played a significant role and our country achieved salient success in protecting and administering cultural relics. But most of these regulations were promulgated to deal with certain specific problems arising from the preservation and administration of cultural relics in those days. Although the "provisional regulations for the protection and administration of cultural relics" promulgated by the State Council in 1961 were relatively systemized, it was not a comprehensive law for protecting cultural relics, because its contents still focused mainly on the preservation of unmovable cultural relics above and below ground. There was only a very brief mention of the relics unearthed in archaeological excavation and those in the care of individuals. The preservation of well-known historical and cultural cities and relics in the care of museums were simply not mentioned.

Zhu Muzhi pointed out: Our nation's cultural relics went through a catastrophic period as a result of a serious breach of the legal system by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques during the decade of internal turmoil. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the ravage of cultural relics was thwarted in certain localities, thanks to certain measures adopted by our party and state, but the ravage of cultural relics still continues, and the situation has become quite serious in certain localities. One important reason is our imperfect legal system. If we fail to change this situation quickly by strengthening our legal system and stopping the destruction, it is possible that the rare and valuable legacy of several thousand years will be ruined by people of this generation. This is something we should be ashamed of before our ancestors and the coming generations. For this reason, it is essential to enact a comprehensive law for the protection of our cultural relics on the basis of summing up our experiences, both positive and negative, in preserving our cultural relics.

He said: The "PRC law for the protection of cultural relics (draft)" was drafted in connection with the new situation and new issues which have arisen from today's preservation and administration of cultural relics and on the basis of making relatively extensive changes and additions to the "provisional regulations for the protection and administration of cultural relics," promulgated by the state in 1961. Articles on the protection and administration of cultural relics in the case of individuals and museums, as well as policies concerning rewards and punishments, are added to the original "provisional regulations for the protection and administration of cultural relics." Certain new regulations have also been added to the general principles and to the chapter concerning archaeological excavation.

Zhu Muzhi then introduced the principal changes and additions to the draft of the cultural relics protection law. He said: The draft clearly stipulates that, with the exception of those specially specified by the state, buried cultural relics, as well as those collected by various state organizations, military units, enterprises and establishments owned by the whole people and those units preserved as cultural relics, belong to the state. According to Article 3 of the general principles, the ownership of monuments, ancient buildings and cultural relics handed down from ancient times, belonging to a collective or an individual, is protected by state law. But the owner of the cultural relics must follow the relevant state regulations regarding the protection of cultural relics.

Zhu Muzhi said: Regarding the administration of the units preserved as cultural relics, the draft basically follows the principles and measures stipulated in the original "provisional regulation for the protection and administration of cultural relics" which have been proved to be effective. The draft stipulates that, in accordance with the actual needs in protecting cultural relics, and with the approval of the people's government of each individual province, autonomous region and municipality directly under the central government, a controlled belt may be demarcated in the surrounding area of the unit preserved as cultural relics, but the unit's environmental features must not be ravaged by buildings and structures to be built within this belt.

He said: Many of our country's well-known historical and cultural cities were political, economic and cultural centers in ancient China, or important cities where modern revolutionary movements or major historical events took place. The large amounts of historical and revolutionary relics preserved both above and below ground in these cities reflect our country's long history, glorious revolutionary traditions and brilliant culture. We can say that these famous cities are the crystallization of our national culture and the symbol of our revolutionary history. Preservation of these famous cities' traditions, special characteristics and features is very essential. For this reason, the draft stipulates that those cities of historical value and revolutionary significance will be made public by the state council as well-known historical and cultural cities.

Zhu Muzhi said: The draft has particularly stressed that all archaeological excavations must go through the process of application and approval. Following the development of international cultural exchange, many foreigners have requested to take part in our country's archaeological excavation. But under the current conditions, approval of their requests is inappropriate.

He said: The current market in cultural relics is quite chaotic. In certain localities, speculation and smuggling of cultural relics are on the rampage. One important reason for this situation is multiple administration and competition. For this reason, the draft stipulates the principle of unified procurement and prohibiting profiteering in the resale of relics, to strengthen the management of the market of cultural relics and prevent the cultural relics from being smuggled out.

Zhu Muzhi said: Regarding reward and punishment, the draft stipulates that all organizations, groups and individuals are obligated to protect the state's cultural relics. It has clearly stated that protecting cultural relics is a glorious obligation which everybody should undertake. He said: To ensure that the cultural relics protection law is implemented, the socialist legal system must be strengthened, rewards and punishments must be strict and impartial, and the people must be educated to be law-abiding by rewarding those who have contributed to the preservation of cultural relics and punishing those who have ravaged cultural relics. The draft has also clearly stipulated that destroying cultural relics must be given administrative sanction according to each individual case, and the criminal responsibilities of those who commit serious acts must be investigated.

CSO: 4005/149

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

JIANGSU HOLDS EDUCATIONAL REFORM MEETING

OW161848 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 15 Nov 82

[Excerpts] The Jiangsu provincial meeting on restructuring secondary education and on work-study programs in middle and primary schools closed in Yangzhou on 15 November.

The meeting pointed out: In order to meet the demand for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization put forward by the 12th CPC National Congress, it is necessary to accelerate the restructuring of secondary education and train a large number of intermediate and elementary technical personnel and a skilled workers reserve.

The meeting began on 8 November. The participants included the deputy commissioners, vice mayors and deputy heads in charge of education and the directors of the education bureaus of various prefectures, municipalities and counties; and the representatives of various provincial, prefectural and municipal departments concerned. (Zheng Kang), director of the propaganda department of the provincial party committee, addressed both the opening session and the closing session of the meeting.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Jiangsu Province has made remarkable achievements in restructuring secondary education and in carrying out work-study programs in middle and primary schools. At present, all municipalities and counties in the province have secondary vocational schools or have set up vocational classes in regular middle schools. About 40,000 students are attending vocational schools or vocational classes. In the past 3 years, the vocational schools and classes in both urban and rural areas of the province have trained some 5,500 persons of various specialities.

(Luo Ming), deputy director of the provincial education department, addressed the meeting. He discussed how to solve the several specific problems concerning the restructuring of Jiangsu's secondary education and the development of vocational education.

CSO: 4005/149

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ANALYZES POPULATION FIGURES

HK180950 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Nov 82 p 5

[Article by the population analysis group of the census office of the State Council and the demographic section of the State Statistics Bureau: "Some Analysis of China's Population Situation"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] On 27 October 1982, the State Statistics Bureau published their "communique on major data of the 1982 census." The outcome of this census shows that our country's population totals 1,031,882,511 people, constituting about 22.6 percent of the 4.56 billion of the world population. (According to figures released by the United Nations fund for population activities, the world population in 1980 was more than 4.41 billion and the annual rate of increase is 1.7 percent. Calculated by these figures, the world population in 1982 must be more than 4.56 billion.) The population of the 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions on the mainland (not including the population on Jinmen, Mazu and other islands of Fujian Province) including active servicemen totals 1,008,175,288. This census has produced plentiful information. The data it collected is still being processed by computer. Now, we are going to make a few simple analyses of the major figures we have obtained through simplified manual process, taking into account the statistical data of population surveys carried out in the past.

/1. The trend of sharp increase in our country's population has already been controlled, but in order to achieve the goal of keeping our population below 1.2 billion, we should continue to make great efforts./

The population of our 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions including active servicemen has increased by 313,593,529, or 45.1 percent, in the last 18 years compared with the second census figure of 694,581,759 (as of 0000, 1 July 1964). The annual rate of increase has been 2.1 percent. This shows that the absolute figure of population increase in our country is very great and the rate of increase relatively high. During these 18 years, the rate of increase of the earlier years was markedly different from that of the later years. According to the information of the two census' and the annual population

statistic reports, during the first 9 years the population increased by 186.66 million, an annual increase of 20.74 million or 2.68 percent. But during the latter 9 years, the population increased by 126.93 million, an annual increase of 14.1 million or 1.51 percent. This shows that since 1973, our birth control has been remarkably successful. According to the data collected in this census, the natural rate of population increase in 1981 was 1.455 percent. This rate of increase was still much too high if we want to meet the requirement of controlling our population level below 1.2 billion by the end of this century, a target put forward by the 12th congress. During the 18 1/2 years from this census to the end of this century, we should control the population increase within 191.82 million or 10.37 million annually. According to this target, the average annual rate of population increase should be reduced to less than 0.95 percent. Therefore, our task is still very arduous, particularly at present because it is the peak birth rate period.

During the 18 years since the first census in 1964, the annual rate of increase in our country's total agricultural and industrial output value has been 9.3 percent, the increase in GNP has been 7.4 percent and the increase in grain output has been 3.7 percent. This shows that despite the serious interference of the years of civil disorder, our country has still achieved some growth in the national economy. This fact proves the superiority and powerful vitality of the socialist system. However, we should not fail to see the fact that the base figure of population is big, our economic foundations are weak and our labor productivity is low. Excessive growth of population will inevitably give rise to tension in our economic development and negate our efforts to raise the consumption level of our people. During the past 18 years, the newly increased part of population consumed 30 percent of the increased value of the means of production in the same period. If we had reduced the rate of population increase to 1 percent, we would have reduced this to 14.8 percent (all these figures are calculated on the basis of the average consumption level at that time). Take grain consumption for example: the average annual increase in grain was 17.2 billion jin during the 18 years. Suppose the annual consumption of grain was 520 jin per capita, the newly increased population consumed 52.7 percent of the amount of increase in grain output every year. This figure would have been reduced to 25.1 percent if the rate of population increase had been reduced to 1 percent. Thus we could have had more grain and other goods for speeding up the four modernizations and improving people's livelihood. This has fully proved that it was entirely necessary for the 12th congress to put forward the implementation of birth control as a fundamental policy for our country. During the latter half of the 18 years period, the rate of population increase was reduced by 44 percent compared with the first 9 years. For example, in Sichuan Province, the province with the biggest population in our country, the natural rate of increase dropped from 2.732 percent in 1972 to 1.093 percent in 1981. Evidently, as long as we continue to conscientiously pay attention to this work and do a good job of carrying out careful ideological education and other relevant work, we will be able to further reduce our rate of natural population increase and achieve the aim of population control.

/2. Population density has remarkably increased throughout the country and there has been change in population distribution./

According to the date of this census, the population density in our country is 107 people per square kilometer, 33 more than the 74 people per square kilometer in 1964, the year of the first census. According to the latest census, among the 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, the 11 coastal provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have increased their population density from 232.7 people per square kilometer in 1964, to 320.6 people per square kilometer. The per kilometer increase is 87.9 people, an increase of 37.8 percent. The population density of the 18 inland provinces and autonomous regions has risen from 47.3 people per square kilometer in 1964 to 71.4 people per square kilometer, an increase of 24.1 people per square kilometer, or 50.9 percent. (In Xizang, Qinghai, Xinjiang, Gansu, Ningxia and Nei Monggol, the most thinly populated of the 18 provinces and autonomous regions, the per kilometer population rose from 7.2 to 11.8, an increase of 63.9 percent). The per kilometer population in the 11 coastal provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions has increased as follows: from 1,745 to 1,913 in Shanghai, from 553 to 687 in Tianjin, from 452 to 549 in Beijing, from 434 to 590 in Jiangsu, from 363 to 486 in Shandong, from 278 to 382 in Zhejiang, from 210 to 282 in Hebei, from 191 to 280 in Guangdong, from 185 to 245 in Liaoning, from 138 to 213 in Fujian, and from 101 to 158 in Guangxi. The increase in the 18 inland provinces and autonomous regions is as follows: from 301 to 446 in Henan, from 224 to 326 in Anhui, from 180 to 255 in Hubei, from 177 to 257 in Hunan, from 126 to 199 in Jiangxi, from 120 to 176 in Sichuan, from 116 to 162 in Shanxi, from 101 to 141 in Shaanxi, from 97 to 162 in Guizhou, from 84 to 120 in Jilin, from 52 to 83 in Yunnan, from 43 to 69 in Heilongjiang, from 32 to 59 in Ningxia, from 28 to 43 in Gansu, from 10 to 16 in Nei Monggol, from 5 to 8 in Xinjiang, from 3 to 5 in Qinghai, and from 1 to 1.6 in Xizang Autonomous Region (calculated according to data collected in the area covered by the census). The above-mentioned change in population distribution has been caused by the movement of people from densely populated areas to thinly populated areas because the state has been building its strategic rearguard in a planned manner. The change has also been caused by the generally higher birth rate in the inland areas than in the coastal areas. In the thinly populated areas which lack labor force, the appropriate increase in population density will to a certain extent facilitate economic development. However, most of the areas in our country are densely populated; therefore, we should pay attention to putting an end to the sharp increase in population density.

/3. We have scored some achievements in controlling the urban population, but should continue to make great efforts./

Compared with the figures of the 1964 census, the proportion of the urban population in the whole population has also changed. The total urban population (by which we mean all the residents in the municipalities except the residents in the counties under the municipalities, and all the residents in the towns, including those town residents engaged in agricultural production) has increased

by 79,485,541, an increase of 62.5 percent, which is higher than the 45.1 percent rate of increase in the whole population. During the 18 years, the proportion of our urban population related to the whole population has risen from 18.4 percent in 1964 to 20.6 percent, an increase of only a little over 10 percent. This rate of increase is much smaller than the increase rate of urban populations in most of the countries in the world. That is why we are faced with a relatively small number of the many problems caused by the overconcentration of population in big and medium-sized cities. This has proved that our set of policies encouraging the rural areas to develop diversified undertakings, developing a number of medium-sized and small enterprises in a planned manager in rural areas and controlling the growth of urban population are successful. We should continue to do this work well in the future.

/4. The population of the minority nationalities increases more quickly than that of the Han nationality./

Compared with the figure of the 1964 census, the population of the Han nationality has increased by 285,407,456, an increase of 43.8 percent, while that of the minority nationalities has increased by 27,309,518, an increase of 68.4 percent. The proportion of the minority nationality population in the whole population has increased from 5.8 percent in 1964, the year of the second census, to 6.7 percent now. The main reason for this is that the party has carried out its correct nationality policies, implemented regional nationality autonomy and vigorously supported the economic and cultural development of the minority nationalities. Another main reason is because the state has been more lenient in enforcing birth control among the minority nationalities. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party's nationality policies have been further implemented. Many of the minority nationality people who did not register themselves as minority nationalities have now done so. This has also contributed to the relatively big increase in the minority nationality population.

Among the 55 minority nationalities in the 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, 15 of them each have a population exceeding 1 million, compared to 10 in 1964. These are the Zhuang, Hui, Uygur, Yi, Miao, Man, Zang, Monggol, Tujia, Bouyei, Chaoxian, Tong, Yao, Bai, and Hani nationalities. The population of 13 nationalities (10 in 1964) ranges from 100,000 to 1 million each. They are the Kazak, Dai, Li, Lisu, She, Lahu, Va, Shui, Dongxiang, Naxi, Tu, Kirgiz and Qiang nationalities. The population of 7 nationalities ranges from 50,000 to 100,000 each (only 3 nationalities in 1964). They are the Daur, Jingpo, Mulao, Xibe, Salar, Blang and Gelo nationalities. The population of 20 of the nationalities is below 50,000. They are the Maonan, Tajik, Pumi, Nu, Achang, Ewenki, Jinuo, Ozbek, Jing, Benglong, Yugur, Baoan, Moinba, Drung, Oroqen, Tatar, Eluosi, Lhoba, Gaoshan and Hezhen nationalities (according to the information collected in the areas covered by the census). Some nationalities with very small populations have increased their populations relatively fast. For example, the Qiang nationality in Sichuan has increased its population from 49,105 in 1964 census to 102,768 now, an increase of 109.3 percent. Another example is the Hezhen nationality which has increased its population from the 1964 census figure of 718 to 1,476 now.

/5. The educational level of our people has been greatly raised, but still falls short of the demand of the four modernizations./

Compared with the figures of the 1964 census, the numbers of people educated to various levels have also increased, according to this census. During the 18 years, the number of those who have received higher education has increased by 3,141,566, those who have received senior middle school education by 57,361,124, those who have received junior middle school education by 145,930,267 and those who have received primary school education by 156,335,851. The change in the numbers of people educated to various levels per 100,000 people is as follows. The number of those who have received higher education has risen from 416 in 1964 to 599. The number of those who have received senior middle school education has increased from 1,319 to 6,622; that of those who have received junior middle school education has risen from 4,680 to 17,758; and that of those who have received primary school education has risen from 28,330 to 35,377. The proportion of illiterates and semi-illiterates in the whole population has dropped from 38.1 percent in 1964 to 23.5 percent now. These figures show that during the past 18 years, in spite of the interference of the 10 years of civil disorder, our country's educational undertaking has to some extent developed. At the same time we have also achieved some good results in eliminating illiteracy. Of course, we should not fail to see that generally speaking, our educational undertaking is relatively backward and falls far short of the demand of the four modernizations. At present, we should continue to make efforts to popularize our primary school education. The progress of our work in eliminating illiteracy is not quick enough. The structure of our middle education is still irrational and the percentage of the vocational (technical) middle schools and agricultural schools in our middle schooling is still too small. Because of the evil influence of the 10 years of civil disorder, some of our junior and senior middle school graduates are, in fact, poorly educated and must be reeducated fast. The development of higher education falls far short of objective needs. In many economically developed countries, in each 100,000 people on average there are several thousands or more than 10,000 people who have received higher education, but in our country there are only 499 people.

In conclusion, we should say that this census has proved that the figures of our routine annual population statistics reports are relatively accurate. The population figure of this census, taking 0000 hours on 1 July 1982 as the standard time of calculation, is 1,008.18 million including all the people and servicemen in our 29 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions. If the 4.24 million servicemen (the population figure of last year did not include them) and the natural population increment of 6.58 million people in the first half of 1982 (assuming the annual rate of natural population increase in 1982 will be the same as the 1.455 percent in 1981 and the natural increase in the first half of the year is 45 percent of that of the whole year) are deducted from this figure, the population at the end of 1981 was 997.36 million. This was only 1.14 million bigger than the figure of 996.22 million that the State Statistics Bureau published on 30 April for the population figure at the end of 1981. The relative error is only 0.114 percent. Since the first census in

1953, we have gradually set up a residence register management system in our country and have gradually developed and perfected it. Some confusion was brought about in this system during the 10 years of civil disorder, but before the beginning of this census, we reorganized the residence register work and made the figures more accurate. Later, we shall further perfect our residence register and population statistics systems on the basis of this census. Moreover, we should set up the system of making sample surveys of the change in our population in order to continue to provide the state with accurate figures on our population. We believe that it is entirely necessary and possible for us to do so.

CSO: 4005/149

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

JIANGSU COMMENDS WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS, FAMILIES

OW181103 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Nov 82

[Excerpts] The provincial meeting to commend the "four good's" women's associations and the "five-good's" families was held in Nanjing today. The activities to promote "four good's" women's associations were started early this year, whereas activities to promote the "five-good's" families were launched over 3 years ago. Many "four-good's" women's associations have emerged and 250,000 "five-good's" families have been selected. Receiving honors at this meeting were 288 "four-good's" women's associations, 253 "five-good's" families, 17 "five-good's" collectives and 126 advanced individuals who distinguished themselves in activities to promote "five-good's" families.

Present were Gu Xiulian, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, Dai Weiran, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress; Chen Yusheng, vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee; Wang Jingqun, adviser to the provincial people's government; and responsible persons of provincial organs and mass organizations.

Gu Xiulian addressed the meeting. She highly praised the deeds of the advanced individuals and called on participants at this meeting to emulate their lofty moral quality and selfless spirit of serving the people wholeheartedly and helping others and of daring to destroy the old and foster the new in reforming society and raising the ideological and moral standards of the people. Comrade Gu Xiulian stressed that party committees at all levels must strengthen leadership and all departments concerned must work in coordination with the women association to further develop activities to promote more "four-good's" women's associations and "five-good's" families.

Comrade Gu Xiulian and other comrades presented citations to representatives of the "four'good's" women's associations and the "five-good's" families amid jubilant music.

CSO: 4005/149

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

GUIYANG NATIONAL DAY FORUM--On the afternoon of 29 September, the Guiyang Municipal CPC Committee, the municipal people's congress Standing Committee, municipal government and the municipal CPPCC committee jointly held a forum to mark the 33d anniversary of the founding of the PRC. Some 80 representatives of advanced producers, 8 March Red Banner pacesetters, new long march shock workers, advanced teachers, neighborhood activists, patriotic democrats, Taiwan compatriots, returned overseas Chinese and all fronts and departments attended the forum. Responsible persons of the municipal CPC committee, the municipal people's congress Standing Committee, the municipal government and the municipal CPPC committee also attended. (Chai Rong), deputy secretary of the municipal CPC committee and mayor, presided over the forum. (Xia Yiren), first secretary of the municipal CPC committee, spoke, extending seasonal greetings to the comrades of all nationalities, all circles and all fronts throughout the municipality. He demanded that all people throughout the municipality unite as one, make concerted efforts and build Guiyang Municipality even better. [HK010730 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 29 Sep 82 HK]

JILIN MINORITY GROUP--The 31-member visiting group of minority religious personnel from Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region arrived in Changchun, Jilin Province, on 24 October. Responsible comrades of the united front work departments under the Jilin provincial and Changchun Municipal CPC committees and of the provincial and Changchun municipal nationalities affairs commissions went to the provincial guest house on 25 October to visit all members of the group and briefed them on the situation in nationalities and religious work. The visiting group left Changchun on 28 October for Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture and Jilin Municipality. [SK040324 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 29 Oct 82 SK]

QINGHAI ETHNOLOGY SEMINAR--The 7-day second seminar of the China Ethnological Study Association concluded on 27 September. A total of 156 theses were submitted to the seminar and 26 experts and scholars spoke. The participants held animated discussion on the central subject--ethnology and modernization--and reached a unanimous view on the relations between ethnology and modernization. They held that ethnology should serve modernization and that they should conscientiously study the documents of the 12th CPC congress to create a new situation for the study of ethnology. Three comrades were invited to

introduce the academic study of ethnology in Taiwan Province and foreign countries. At the end of the seminar, leading comrades Liang Buting, Zhao Haifeng and Ma Wanli visited the participating veteran experts and delegates from various places. [Text] [SK300438 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Sep 82]

NEWSPAPER CONFERENCE--According to QINGHAI RIBAO, a newspaper cooperation conference of the five northwest provinces and autonomous regions was held in Xian from 22 to 28 October. Present were responsible comrades from the newpapers of the five northwest provinces and regions and other comrades concerned. Comrades from the news bureau of the central propaganda department also attended. Comrades from XINWEN ZHANXIAN, GUANGXI RIBAO and SICHUAN RIBAO and a number of news units in the Xian area were present by invitation. The central task of the meeting was to study and discuss how to create a new situation in newspaper work and further improve propaganda and reportage of the 12th party congress spirit. The participants exchanged information and experiences in propaganda and reportage of the 12th party congress spirit in the previous stage, and put forward views on further publicizing this spirit in a sustained and deepgoing way. They also exchanged views on how to sum up experiences in running newspapers since the founding of the state, and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee. The meeting also held discussions on economic reporting and literature and art propaganda in newspapers, the building of leadership groups and the journalist force, reforms of administrative structure and journalism, and management issues. [Text] [HK290307 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 28 Oct 82]

1982 POPULATION STATISTICS--The Gansu Provincial Statistics Bureau released on 29 October the main figures for the 1982 population census. The report says: At midnight on 1 July, the province's total population was 19,569,261, of whom 51.74 percent were males and 48.26 percent females. Compared with 1964, the population has grown by 54.94 percent. Thera are 41 nationalities in the province. The minority-nationality population accounts for 7.92 percent of the total population, and shows a rise of 62.11 percent compared with 1964. The report says: The percentage of people with various cultural levels has increased from 23.02 percent in 1964 to 46.72 percent. On average there are 55 people with university cultural level and 625 with senior secondary school level to every 10,000 of the population. The percentage of illiterates and semi-illiterates has fallen from 46.16 in 1964 to 34.89. The report states: the province's birth rate in 1981 was 20.12 per 1,000, while the death rate was 5.72 per 1,000. The natural population growth rate was 14.4 per 1,000. The urban population accounts for 15.34 percent of the province's total, compared with 14.13 percent in 1964. The report also gives the population distribution among the prefectures and municipalities. The population of Lanzhou Municipality, including its 3 subordinate counties, is 2,376,325. The report states: the quality of this population census was outstanding. The degree of error in all items of the census was lower than the standard set by the state. [Text] [HK300437 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 29 Oct 82]

LIAONING CENSUS FIGURES--According to our reporters, the Liaoning Provincial Statistical Bureau made public today the major figures of the 1982 provincial census. The population of the whole province totaled 35,721,693. Of the province's population, 51 percent are male and 49 percent, female. The Han Nationality comprises 91.86 percent and 8.14 percent are various minority nationalities in which Man, Monggol, Hui, Chaoxian and Xibe nationalities each number over 10,000. Compared with 1964 census figures, there is a fairly great change in education levels according to the per-10,000-person statistics. The number of people with college educations has increased from 68.2 persons per 10,000 in 1964 to 101.7 persons in 1982; senior middle school educations, from 222.9 to 934.4 persons; and junior middle school educations, from 737.1 to 2,762.1 persons. The number with elementary school educations has decreased from 3,692 persons per 10,000 in 1964 to 3,565 in 1982. The province has reduced its illiterate and semi-illiterate rate from 23.7 percent of the total population in 1964 to 12.9 percent in 1982. The province's birth rate in 1981 was 18.53 per thousand; death rate, 5.32 per thousand; and natural increase rate, 13.21 per thousand. Of the province's total population, there are 15,132,303 people who live in the 13 municipalities and 93 townships across the province, accounting for 42.36 percent. [Text] [SK310246 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 Oct 82]

HUBEI CENSUS RESULTS--The results of the third population census in our province have been released. The total population of our province is 47,804,150, which is 14,094,806 more than the figure of the second population census on 1 July 1964. The average annual rate of increase in the 18 years is 1.96 percent. Among the whole population, 24,544,398, or 51.34 percent are male and 23,259,752, or 48.66 percent are female. The proportion between male and female population is the same as that of the second population census. This shows that the rate of increase in male population and that of the female population is balanced. According to the population census, the rural population in our province constitutes 17.3 percent of the province's total population. The census reveals that there are 43 nationalities in our province. The Han Nationality constitutes 96.68 of the total population of the province. The minority nationalities with populations over 10,000 are the Tujia, Miao, Hui and Dong nationalities. Compared with the figures of the 1964 population census, the numbers of educated people have increased to a relatively great extent. The proportion of illiterate and semi-illiterate people to the whole population has dropped from 35.72 to 23.32 percent. This census has revealed that there are 86 people in our province whose age exceeds 100. This is 45 more than the figure of the 1964 census. Among the 86, 17 are male and 69 are female; 77 are rural residents and 9 are urban residents. The age of the oldest is [figure indistinct] Zhongxiang County has the largest number of these old people, with 180. There is a husband and wife in Yingshan County who are both over 100 years old. [Text] [HK300634 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Oct 82]

YUNNAN POPULATION STATISTICS--The Yunnan Provincial Statistics Bureau issued a communique on 27 October officially announcing the main figures in the province's 1982 population census. At midnight on 1 July, the province's total population was 32,553,817. The census also showed that there were slightly more males than females. Males accounted for 50.69 percent and females for 49.31 percent. The total minority-nationality population of the province is 10,318,998, accounting for 31.7 percent of the province's total population. Compared with the figure for the 1964 census, the minority-nationality population has risen by 61.4 percent. There are 24 nationalities with more than 4,000 members. The Yi, Bai and Hani nationalities each number more than 1 million. Compared with the 1964 census figures, there have been the following changes in cultural level per 100,000 people in the province: people with university cultural level have increased from 232 to 331; people with senior secondary school cultural level have increased from 855 to 2,792; people with junior secondary school cultural level have increased from 2,578 to 10,224; and people with primary school cultural level have increased from 19,046 tO 29,305. The number of illiterate or semi-illiterate people above the age of 12 is 10,979,281. Compared with the 1964 census figures, the percentage of illiterate and semi-illiterate people in the population has fallen from 47.29 to 33.73. The results of the census show that a total of 811,191 babies were born in the province in 1981. The birth rate in that year was 25.36 per 1,000, while the death rate was 8.6 per 1,000. The province's population increased by 536,031 during the year, representing a natural growth rate of 16.76 per 1,000. [Excerpts] [HK290328 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Oct 82]

CSO: 4005/149

END

JPRS 82422

8 December 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 370

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82422

8 December 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 370

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Ziaul Haq on DK, DRA at Singapore News Conference
(XINHUA, 13 Nov 82) 1

Pakistan's Ziaul Haq Comments on Asian Tour
(XINHUA, 14 Nov 82) 3

'RENMIN RIBAO' Hails Results of Haq's Asian Tour
(Liu Zhengxue; RENMIN RIBAO, 14 Nov 82) 4

Jordan's Husayn Addresses Palestinian Issue
(XINHUA, 8 Nov 82) 6

IMF Gives 'Unreasonable' Loan to South Africa
(Chen Gong; RENMIN RIBAO, 10 Nov 82) 7

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Gulf Cooperation Council Meeting
(RENMIN RIBAO, 14 Nov 82) 9

Beijing Radio Warns Against New SRV Adventures
(Beijing Domestic Service, 4 Nov 82) 10

'XINHUA' Notes Bangladesh Leader's Nepal Visit
(XINHUA, 10 Nov 82) 13

Albania's Hoxha Denounces Former Aide as Traitor
(XINHUA, 12 Nov 82) 14

Polish Government Warns Against Strikes
(XINHUA, 9 Nov 82) 15

Spanish Communist Party Leader Resigns
(XINHUA, 7 Nov 82) 16

SRV Urged To Withdraw Troops From Kampuchea
(XINHUA, 27 Oct 82) 17

UN General Assembly Debates Kampuchea Problem
(XINHUA, 6 Nov 82) 18

Thailand Reinforces Border Defense Against SRV
(XINHUA, 11 Nov 82) 20

Australia's Street on Economy, Ties to U.S., USSR
(XINHUA, 13 Nov 82) 21

U.S., USSR Step Up Activities in Far East
(XINHUA, 28 Oct 82) 22

No UN Resolution Adopted on Peace in S.E. Asia
(XINHUA, 9 Nov 82) 23

DPRK President Urges U.S. Withdrawal From ROK
(XINHUA, 14 Nov 82) 25

Egypt's 'Ali Urges U.S. Dialogue With PLO
(XINHUA, 13 Nov 82) 26

Beijing Rally Supports Namibian People's Struggle
(XINHUA, 20 Oct 82) 27

UK Not To Negotiate on Falklands Sovereignty
(XINHUA, 6 Nov 82) 28

Argentina Endorses UN Falklands Resolution
(XINHUA, 6 Nov 82) 29

'RENMIN RIBAO' on UN Backing Renewed Malvinas Talks
(Guan Yanzhong; RENMIN RIBAO, 7 Nov 82) 30

Egypt Calls for Joint Action on Arab Problems
(XINHUA, 7 Nov 82) 32

'VODK' on Key To Solution of Kampuchean Issue
(XINHUA, 26 Oct 82) 33

'XINHUA' Views LDP Election Campaign in Japan
(XINHUA, 9 Nov 82) 34

Jaruzelski Letter Stresses Ties With GDR
(XINHUA, 5 Nov 82) 36

Polish Party Political Bureau Meets 7 Nov
(XINHUA, 7 Nov 82) 37

Pakistan President Holds Talks in Indonesia
(XINHUA, 14 Nov 82) 38

Singapore Representative Addresses UNGA Session
(XINHUA, 29 Oct 82) 39

Annual French-British Summit Ends 6 Nov
(XINHUA, 6 Nov 82) 40

Pakistani, Malaysian Leaders Exchange Views
(XINHUA, 9 Nov 82) 41

Egypt's 'Ali Ends Official Visit to Turkey 6 Nov
(XINHUA, 6 Nov 82) 43

'BA YI' Says U.S. Preparing for Germ Warfare
(Ba Yi Radio, 8 Nov 82) 45

Hong Van Hoan on Works of Ho Chi Minh
(Hoang Van Hoan; RENMIN RIBAO, 5 Nov 82) 47

Briefs
Solzhenitsyn's Taiwan Visit Condemned 56
Delegation Leaves for Philippines 56
'Arafat Meets With Niger's Kountche 56
New Turkish President Elected 56
Australia, New Zealand, U.S. Manuevers 57
New Leader for Spanish Communists 57
U.S.' Undersecretary Meets Japanese Leaders 57
Sports Dignitaries Reception Held 57

PARTY AND STATE

Forum Held by Liaoning Cadres on 12th Party Congress Report
(LIAONING RIBAO, various dates) 58

Socialist Legal System, by Jin Yang
Power of Cooperation of Old, Young

Party Discipline, Organization Discussed
(RENMIN RIBAO, 6 Oct 82) 61

Party Discipline
Rectification in Tong County Party Branches

Citizens' Rights, Responsibilities Said Inseparable
(Huang Ziyi; HEBEI RIBAO, 30 Jul 82) 64

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NPC Leader Inspects Xizang's Aba Prefecture
(XINHUA, 13 Nov 82) 68

Symposium on Improving College Enrollment System
(XINHUA, 25 Nov 82) 69

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ZIAUL HAQ ON DK, DRA AT SINGAPORE NEWS CONFERENCE

OW131326 Beijing XINHUA in English 1206 GMT 13 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 12 November (XINHUA)--Complete withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan and Kampuchea is an "urgent need" for the maintenance of peace and stability in Asia and the rest of the world, said President Ziaul Haq, according to reports reaching here today.

President Zia, in a news conference at the end of his three-day state visit to Singapore, said both Pakistan and Singapore "are deeply concerned over the blatant armed intervention by foreign forces in Afghanistan and Kampuchea."

Drawing a parallel between the Afghan and Kampuchean issues, the president said, "Peace and security in Southeast Asia are closely linked with peace and security in Southwest Asia."

He pledged support for the Democratic Kampuchean Coalition Government under President Norodom Sihanouk.

Referring to Afghanistan, the Pakistan president stressed that there must be a political solution which, among other things, would enable the 2.8 million Afghan refugees in his country to return home "with dignity."

There cannot be anything but a political solution to both issues, he said emphatically.

On the non-aligned movement, Zia said Asian nations should work closely with each other and with other non-aligned countries to ensure the success of the forthcoming seventh non-aligned summit in New Delhi next March.

A joint statement issued here today said the two countries welcomed the formation of the Kampuchean Coalition Government "as a positive development that would enhance the prospects for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem."

The two sides condemned the recent Israeli invasion of Lebanon, saying that a lasting solution of the Middle East problem should be based on United Nations' resolutions.

The joint statement also noted that economic cooperation between the two countries, including the establishment of joint ventures, can be promoted on a "considerable scope."

Zia, who held talks with Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew yesterday, is on the last leg of a Southeast Asian tour which has taken him to Thailand, Indobesua abd Nakatsua,

CSO: 4000/15

PAKISTAN'S ZIAUL HAQ COMMENTS ON ASIAN TOUR

OW140637 Beijing XINHUA in English 0233 GMT 14 Nov 82

[Text] Islamabad, 13 November (XINHUA)--Pakistan President General Mohammad Ziaul Haq said today that his tour of India and Southeast Asian countries had been far more successful than expected in promoting mutual cooperation and understanding.

He was talking to newsmen at the Islamabad Airport on his arrival from Singapore at the end of his trip to India, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore.

The president said that he is more than satisfied with the results of his tour which was undertaken to exchange views on mutual and international relations and to improve bilateral relations between Pakistan and those countries.

The president further said that his first stop over in New Delhi for a few hours produced very meaningful results in that it had been a good beginning in the direction of solving problems between the two countries.

He said the talks in India were held with the realisation that peace and cooperation is the aim and the need of the two countries to promote regional and world peace.

The president said that the discussions in Bangkok between him and the Thai prime minister went on in the light of the fact that both countries have large numbers of refugees, from Kampuchea in case of Thailand and from Afghanistan in case of Pakistan, because of foreign armed intervention in those countries.

He said, both sides believe that the foreign forces in the countries where the refugees came from should be withdrawn.

Replying to a question, the president said that Pakistan is determined to get the Kashmir issue solved through peaceful means as laid down in the resolutions of the United Nations and SIMLA agreement. The Indian leaders are well aware of the stand adopted by Pakistan in this regard. Pakistan would never make any compromise on principles, he added.

He said that during his meeting with Mrs Indira Gandhi, "We began on areas of agreement and not on disagreement." The improvement of relations between the two countries "depends on political will, the will of leaders and the desire of the people of India and Pakistan," he said.

CSO: 4005/15

'RENMIN RIBAO' HAILS RESULTS OF HAQ'S ASIAN TOUR

HK140743 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Nov 82 p 6

["News Review" column by Liu Zhengxue [0491 2973 1331]: "President Haq's Southeast Asian Tour Yields Positive Results"]

[Text] President Ziaul Haq of Pakistan visited four members of ASEAN, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore, from 1 to 12 November. This was the president's first visit to Southeast Asia as head of government since he took office in 1977. Haq's "extremely beneficial" and "highly fruitful" visit not only strengthened political, economic, scientific and cultural ties between Pakistan and ASEAN but also opened up new prospects for future cooperation with Southeast Asia.

On the questions of Kampuchea and Afghanistan, President Ziaul Haq and Thai Premier Prem Tinsulanon both held that Soviet aggression against Afghanistan and Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea were linked, and that the borders of Pakistan and Thailand faced similar threats. Hence both sides agreed to deal with the border threat they both face by promoting economic and ultimately political cooperation. The leaders of Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore unanimously held with President Haq that "foreign military intervention" constituted the source of tension in South and Southeast Asia, and they urged all countries to "observe the basic principle of non-interference in other countries' affairs and non-use of force to settle disputes." They reiterated that it is necessary to persistently implement the UN resolutions on Kampuchea and Afghanistan, that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from these two countries, and that the Kampuchean and Afghan people should be allowed to determine their own destiny, so as to restore the national independence and sovereignty to these two countries. It is worth noting that this visit of President Haq coincided with the passing of the UNGA's fourth resolution on Kampuchea and with its preparations to debate the Afghan issue. The stand upheld and the viewpoint expounded by President Haq and the ASEAN leaders are bound to gain the attention of international opinion.

Another key issue discussed by President Haq during this visit was that of how to uphold the principles and orientation of the non-aligned movement so as to promote its smooth progress. In view of the tension caused by the fierce rivalry between the two superpowers in the Indian Ocean, President Haq pointed out in Jakarta that certain members of the non-aligned movement have

already become victims of superpower military intervention. President Haq and the ASEAN leaders unanimously agreed to uphold the basic principles of the non-aligned movement and to preserve its non-bloc character. Haq hoped that an international conference on Indian Ocean problems would be convened as soon as possible, so that the ocean could become a true zone of peace and netrality.

During his visit, President Ziaul Haq has also had high praise for the role of ASEAN, he said that ASEAN was an "effective and successful" organization in common cooperation and in regional economic, cultural and welfare development. He also hoped that the South Asian region would establish a similar organization one day.

In order to improve Pakistani-Indian relations, President Ziaul Haq stopped for 1 day in New Delhi en route to Southeast Asia, and held what the Indian press described as "very fruitful" talks with Indian Premier Indira Gandhi. President Ziaul Haq optimistically told reporters in Bangkok: "We have broken the ice, and we are now creating a beneficial environment for South Asia." He also hoped that the "breakthrough" achieved in his talks with Premier Indira Gandhi would lead to the establishment of an organization along the ASEAN lines in South Asia. On this basis, President Ziaul Haq said with full confidence: "We will then be able to establish a working relationship between these two regional organizations and strive together to promote peace and prosperity in Asia."

The delegation led by President Ziaul Haq discussed with the ASEAN leaders the world economic crisis and ways and means of promoting bilateral trade and economic relations. He said: "We must promote the South-South dialogue," and agreed with the viewpoint that developing countries should first make use of their own resources and only then seek external assistance. The ASEAN leaders appreciated this.

President Haq's Southeast Asia tour was universally welcomed by the countries concerned. Some sectors of public opinion held that it was a "milestone" in the development of ties between Pakistan and ASEAN.

CSO: 4005/153

JORDAN'S HUSAYN ADDRESSES PALESTINIAN ISSUE

OW081350 Beijing XINHUA in English 1204 GMT 8 Nov 82

[Text] Amman, 8 November (XINHUA)--King Husayn of Jordan said the suffering of the Palestinian people and the injustices they have been subjected to over the years have only strengthened their cohesion and determination to regain their legitimate and national rights, the JORDAN TIMES reported today.

Speaking at a ceremony for graduating a new group of army officers, the king said, "The Palestinians, who have been resisting enemy settlement policies, Judaization and arbitrary actions did not surrender or succumb to the pressures and continue to refuse any alternative to their original homeland and national soil."

The Palestinian and Jordanian peoples are joined by sacred ties, Husayn said, adding that "both have a common geographic and historical background and common aspirations and destiny. That is why they march together and have united their goals, and joined their efforts to resist enemy invasion of and aggression against Arab and Islamic nations."

King Husayn stressed the need for a solution of Palestinian problems on the basis and principles of the United Nations' resolutions and human rights.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

IMF GIVES 'UNREASONABLE' LOAN TO SOUTH AFRICA

HK121506 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Nov 82 p 6

[Article by Chen Gong [7115 0501]: "An Unreasonable Loan"]

[Text] On 3 November the International Monetary Fund [IMF], backed by the United States, approved a loan of U.S. $1.7 billion for South Africa. This is the biggest and most unprecedented international loan ever given to South Africa.

This decision by the IMF has aroused strong opposition among the African states. Previously, three anti-apartheid policy commissions of the United Nations had issued a joint statement, urging the IMF to turn down the loan application submitted by South Africa. The United Nations had adopted a resolution by an overwhelming majority, declining a loan to South Africa. However, both the condemnation of international public opinion and the UN resolution have been ignored by the IMF.

At present, the IMF has promised to decrease the amount of the loan because of tight funds. In regard to a new loan application, it will apply strict regulations and will not carry them out to the letter. However, the United Nations is generously helping South Africa with its money, and is doing its best to meet South Africa's demand. One of the most important factors is that the IMF has enjoyed strong support from the U.S. Government, which has the full power to speak in the IMF.

Prior to the IMF decision on the loan, the Reagan administration gave the impression that it was impossible to postpone the loan for South Africa and that the United States would cast a vote in the IMF based strictly on economic reason.

The so-called loan "based strictly on economic reason" is practically military aid in disguised form. From 1975 to 1977, South Africa military spending increased by U.S. $450 million, and during the same period, the IMF made a U.S. $540 million loan to South Africa. Thus it has helped South Africa to increase military spending. With assured financial resources for military spending, which are more than sufficient, domestically, South Africa is more wantonly suppressing negroes and internationally, it will continue its illegal occupation in Namibia and invade other independent states.

At present, the continuous increase of military spending in South Africa has brought an enormous budget deficit which has simultaneously caused inflation and an international adverse balance of payments. The international adverse balance of payments of South Africa precisely corresponds to the "technical requirement of the IMF." Consequently, the IMF could make another loan to South Africa with ease. The loan shows once again the support of the South African racist regime by the United States and the irrational funding system existing in the IMF.

CSO: 4005/153

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL MEETING

HK150725 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Nov 82 p 6

["Short Commentary": "Gulf States Advance in Unity"]

[Text] The 3-day long Third Summit Meeting of the Gulf Cooperation Council ended in Manama, capital of Bahrain, on 11 November. The meeting mainly discussed the war between Iran and Iraq, and the issues of Palestine and Lebanon, achieving fruitful results.

Since its founding on 25 May 1981, this council has often held prompt consultations and coordinated positions among its member countries when certain major problems cropped up in the region. It has also formulated a common strategy in the fields of politics, foreign affairs, economy and defense. Over the past 2 years, the council has made gratifying progress in promoting overall cooperation between the six gulf states and protecting the safety of the gulf region.

At present, the situation in the Middle East is turbulent and complex. Israel's invasion of Lebanon and the continuation of the war between Iran and Iraq have made the security and defense of the gulf states into urgent matters for the council. Though the recent summit meeting postponed its approval of the draft treaty on security and defense, under the present circumstances, the gulf states still share the common aspiration for joint efforts to cope with external threats and to protect the security and stability of the region.

On the present political stage in the Middle East, the unity of Arab countries constitutes a key factor. The unity and cooperation of the gulf states plays an important role in the complicated affairs of the Middle East. It shows to other Arab countries the degree of strength which can be achieved through unity in the search for peace and stability in the Middle East. We believe that in the strengthening of overall cooperation in the region, the Gulf Cooperation Council will surely play an increasingly important role in safeguarding peace in the gulf region and in the Middle East.

CSO: 4005/153

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BEIJING RADIO WARNS AGAINST NEW SRV ADVENTURES

OW051333 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Nov 82

["International Current Events" program commentary: "Guard Against New Adventures by Vietnam in Defeat"]

[Text] In the war of aggression against Kampuchea started by them, the Vietnamese authorities find themselves bogged down in a quagmire. They are suffering from repeated crushing defeats and are extremely isolated internationally. However, clinging obstinately to their course, they are preparing for new adventures. The situation warrants vigilance. Dealt crushing blows on the Kampuchean battlefield. The communique on military successes during the last rainy season published by the general command of Democratic Kampuchea National Arny and guerrilla units on 15 October pointed out: According to preliminary statistics, during the rainy season this year, 13,000 Vietnamese aggressor troops were killed or completely put out of action by Kampuchean National Army and guerrilla units. Kampuchean National Army and guerrilla units captured and destroyed 123 platoon-level, 91 company level, 33 battalion-headquarters, 12 regimental-headquarters and 3 division-headquarters positions of the Vietnamese aggressor forces. More than 900 soldiers of the puppet army surrendered. During the rainy season this year, Democratic Kampuchean National Army units recovered and liberated 9 townships and 122 villages and expanded and consolidated the areas controlled by Democratic Kampuchea. During the rainy season, Democratic Kampuchean National Army and guerrilla units cut off and destroyed 430 highway sections and 278 railway sections, blew up and destroyed 70 bridges and culverts, destroyed more than 120 motor vehicles and 3 trains of Vietnamese forces and destroyed and sank 14 enemy motorboats and other vessels. Under attack by Democratic Kampuchean National Army and guerrilla units, the Vietnamese aggressor forces in Kampuchea are faced with great difficulties militarily, politically and logistically.

Because of its aggression against Kampuchea, Vietnam is strongly condemned universally. Before the current UN General Assembly session, it dispatched high-ranking officials to sell its ideas everywhere, attempting to hoodwink world opinion and entire other countries into accepting the fait accompli of its occupation of Kampuchea. Recently Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach proposed that the so-called three Indochinese countries, ASEAN and other countries concerned hold an international conference on Southeast Asian questions, which was another attempt to legalize Vietnam's occupation of Kampuchea

by deception. His proposal was promptly rejected and opposed by the ASEAN countries. A thai official pointed out that the Vietnamese proposal was a dangerous trap.

Since the opening of the current UN General Assembly session, Vietnam has carried out all kinds of conspiratorial activities and cooked up various absurd pretexts, attempting to deprive the Democratic Kampuchean Government of its legitimate position in the United Nations and seat the Heng Samrin regime, which is supported by Vietnam with guns and bayonets, at the United Nations. However, Vietnam's attempt met with a crushing defeat. Nguyen Co Thach carried out frequent diplomatic activities in New York and tried to influence international opinion into supporting Vietnam's policy of aggression. However, he was rebuffed everywhere he went, and he left the United Nations ahead of schedule without speaking at the General Assembly session.

This year's UN General Assembly session decided to maintain Democratic Kampuchea's legitimate seat in the United Nations by an overwhelming 90 to 29 majority vote. It also adopted a resolution on the Kampuchean issue by an overwhelming majority vote, bigger than last year's, again demanding Vietnam to withdraw all its forces from Kampuchea.

All this shows that the Kampuchean people's struggle against aggression has won wide sympathy and support, and that more and more countries in the world have come to see the regional hegemonist features of Vietnam.

In the face of its serious defeats, the Vietnamese authorities are preparing to start new adventurous moves along the Kampuchean-Thai border. Recently Hanoi has stepped up moving troops and war supplies to the Kampuchean-Thai border. Not long ago, officers of the Vietnamese aggressor forces held a strategic meeting in Phnom Penh. Subsequently Vietnam has strengthened its forces in the northwest, west and southwest parts of Kampuchea adjacent to Thailand. As of now, it has sent more than 20,000 additional troops to Kampuchea, and its troops along the Kampuchean-Thai border have reached seven divisions in strength.

Meanwhile, Vietnam has also moved large numbers of tanks, armored personnel carriers, big artillery pieces and modern military equipment to these areas. In the rainy season this year, Vietnamese troops stepped up their efforts to build highways, bridges, logistic depots and airstrips in western Kampuchea to increase the mobility of the Vietnamese aggressor troops in Kampuchea. All indications are that Vietnam is preparing for large-scale new military moves.

Vietnam's preparations for new adventurous moves are aimed at extricating itself from the difficult position it has landed itself in its war of aggression against Kampuchea.

In summer this year, the three Kampuchean resistance forces formed a coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea. More and more Kampuchean patriots are rallying under the banner of the coalition government. The Kampuchean people's morale in resisting Vietnamese aggression is rising continuously. Internationally the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea has won the

sympathy and support of an increasing number of countries. In stepping up its preparations to start new adventurous moves, the Vietnamese authorities are attempting to wipe out at one stroke the coalition government and national army of Democratic Kampuchea.

What merits attention is that Vietnam's military moves are aimed not only to strangle Democratic Kampuchea but to spread the flames of war to Thailand in an attempt to force Thailand and ASEAN to give in. During his recent visit to Indonesia, Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach asked the ASEAN countries to take a realistic attitude. The Heng Samrin regime, acting on the orders of its masters in Hanoi, even nakedly threatened the ASEAN countries, saying that there is a limit to its patience, that it reserves the right to act in self-defense, and so forth.

All indications show that Vietnam's moves in Kampuchea are supported and incited by the Soviet Union. According to reports, when Vietnamese leader Truong Chinh visited the Soviet Union in early October, the Soviet Union promised to give faithful and reliable support to Vietnam. Shortly afterward, the Soviet Union dispatched a delegation of military and political cadres to Vietnam to carry out activities. Meanwhile, hundreds of Soviet tanks, large numbers of 155-mm long-range artillery pieces and other Soviet weapons are moving into Kampuchea in a steady stream. Facts show that the Soviet Union is undeniably responsible for the brazenness with which Vietnam is preparing to embark on new adventures.

In defeat, the Vietnamese authorities are trying to find a way out by launching new large-scale military moves relying on Soviet support. They are daydreaming. People are closely watching Vietnam's next move. If it dares to make new adventures, it certainly will meet with even more disastrous defeats.

CSO: 4005/153

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' NOTES BANGLADESH LEADER'S NEPAL VISIT

OW101938 Beijing XINHUA in English 1929 GMT 10 Nov 82

[Text] Katmandu, 10 November (XINHUA)--King Birendra of Nepal today received at his royal palace the visiting Bangladesh leader Hassain Mohammad Ershad, who came to power seven months ago.

The president of the Bangladesh Council of Ministers and his wife Begum Ershad arrived here this morning on a three-day official visit. Their entourage includes Foreign Minister Shamsud Doha and Minister for Agriculture Obaidullah Khan.

Nepalese Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa welcomed the guests at the airport, where General Ershad told reporters that the relations between the two countries are "very, very cordial." He added that he hoped his visit would strengthen the present ties.

Prime Minister Thapa and General Ershad held official talks this afternoon on bilateral, regional and international matters of mutual concern, including the question of harnessing water resources for bilateral and regional benefit.

The two sides are also learnt to have discussed areas of cooperation between the two countries under the Nepal-Bangladesh Joint Economic Committee.

Bangladesh and Nepal have been maintaining close and friendly relations ever since Bangladesh's emergence as an independent state in 1971. Both have emphasized the need to enhance regional cooperation among the South Asian countries for all round mutual benefit.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ALBANIA'S HOXHA DENOUNCES FORMER AIDE AS TRAITOR

OW120758 Beijing XINHUA in English 0736 GMT 12 Nov 82

[Text] Belgrade, 11 November (XINHUA)--Albanian communist leader Enver Hoxha has denounced his former close aide Mehmet Shehu as a traitor and a dangerous double agent, the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG reported today.

In a speech at a public meeting in Tirana Thursday, Hoxha, first secretary of the Albanian Labor Party, said Shehu served in turn the secret services of the United States and other foreign countries. TANJUG said quoting reports from Tirana News Agency and Radio.

Mehmet Shehu, former member of the Labor Party politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, committed suicide at a moment of "nervous distress" last December, according to an official report in Tirana.

Documents and incontestable evidence had been discovered showing that Shehu had been working for the United States Secret Service since before the Second World War, Hoxha said.

During and after the war, Shehu continued his service for foreign employers, listened to their orders and received their pay, he said.

Shehu joined the Yugoslav Secret Service, and worked for the secret service of the Soviet Union and the United States to eliminate the party and the people's government, and to put Albania under foreign control, Hoxha said.

Hoxha said Shehu and his men plotted to murder him and received orders for Hoxha's slaying and for that of other party and state leaders, but the party and people frustrated his scheme.

It has long been forbidden to talk of Shehu's death in Albania, and Hoxha now openly denounced his former closest comrades for forty years as one of Albania's dangerous traitors and enemies, TANJUG added.

CSO: 4000/15

POLISH GOVERNMENT WARNS AGAINST STRIKES

OW091343 Beijing XINHUA in English 1235 GMT 9 Nov 82

[Text] Warsaw, 8 November (XINHUA)--"Strikes and demonstrations are illegal and dangerous" and "the Polish state has enough power and means to secure order and respect for the martial law," the Polish Council of Ministers warned today.

The council renewed this warning issued two days ago by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party against the planned November 10th strikes and demonstrations of Solidarity Union's clandestine organizations.

According to an official press release, the council met and assessed the country's social and political situation. It charged the opposition underground organizations and hostile countries in the West with creating new tensions. "The people and the government of Poland are employing all political means to secure peace and stability in order to quickly end the crisis."

The government hoped, said the release, to stem the plans of those organizations that want to create turmoil. "What is important is to let the truth be understood by those who don't know strikes and demonstrations are absolutely senseless" and "are illegal and dangerous," it said.

It warned that the government "will not refrain from taking necessary steps to safeguard order, stability and normal labor if those advocates of turmoil cannot draw messons from their past experience."

According to the press spokesman of the Ministry of Interior, police in Wroclaw Province yesterday arrested some members of the so-called Strike Committee of the Lower-Silesia Region allegedly for unlawful clandestine activities. Among those arrested was Bednarz, chairman of the strike committee and a member of Solidarity's provisional co-ordination committee.

In a bulletin issued by the spokesman, Bednarz was described as "an organizer who is known in Wroclaw for breaking social order and preparing to call unlawful strikes." According to another report, the court of Wroclaw today sentenced 17 "perpetrators" responsible for the 31 August street fight to imprisonment ranging from 3 months to 4 years.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER RESIGNS

OW071256 Beijing XINHUA in English 1210 GMT 7 Nov 82

[Text] Madrid, 6 November (XINHUA)--Spanish Communist Party General Secretary Santiago Carrillo today offered his resignation to the party central committee following his party's defeat in the general elections last month.

The central committee has accepted his resignation which he described as "irrevocable."

Carrillo, who had been the general secretary since 1960, listed the party's defeat in the elections as one of the reasons for his resignation.

In last month's elections, the Communist Party got only 4 seats in the Congress of Deputies, compared with 23 in the 1979 elections. It thus lost its representation in parliament as an independent party group.

At a press conference this afternoon, the 67-year-old party leader expressed the hope that his stepdown would help solve the contradictions in the party.

He said he foresaw no changes in the party's internal and foreign policies after his resignation.

Carrillo also denounced "outside pressure" which has infiltrated into his party.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SRV URGED TO WITHDRAW TROOPS FROM KAMPUCHEA

OW271115 Beijing XINHUA in English 0809 GMT 27 Oct 82

[Text] United Nations, 26 October (XINHUA)--Vietnam was urged to withdraw immediately all its troops from Kampuchea for a just and peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean problem at the 37th session of the UN General Assembly which began today.

This is the fourth time that the General Assembly has picked up this issue because Vietnam had repeatedly refused to implement the related UN resolutions on Kampuchea.

Carlos P. Romulo, foreign minister of the Philippines, stressed that the principal components of a just and lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem were "the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea; the restoration and preservation of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny; and non-interference and non-intervention by foreign powers in the internal affairs of Kampuchea."

Representative of Senegal Massamba Sarre said that events which contributed to the present situation in Kampuchea came from violations of the fundamental UN principles.

He stated that Senegal as chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on Kampuchea urged member states of the United Nations to increase their efforts to help find a political solution to the problem.

Representative of Australia Richard A. Woolcott said that the first essential step for returning Kampuchea to normalcy must be the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces.

He said Vietnam's proclaimed partial withdrawal is no more than a planned seasonal rotation of troops. Actually there were indications that Vietnam had used the current rainy season to strengthen its forces in Kampuchea.

Masahiro Nisibori, representative of Japan also called on Vietnam to abandon its military interference and respond positively to the resolutions of the UN General Assembly. He noted that a comprehensive solution of the Kampuchean problem should be achieved through the prompt implementation of the declaration of the international conference on Kampuchea and relevant resolutions.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY DEBATES KAMPUCHEA PROBLEM

OW061105 Beijing XINHUA in English 0712 GMT 6 Nov 82

[Text] United Nations, 5 November (XINHUA)--Foreign armed intervention and occupation of Kampuchea is the root cause for the tension of Southeast Asia, said Birabhongse Kasemsri, permanent representative of Thailand to the United Nations, at the General Assembly today.

Speaking on the Vietnam-proposed item "question of peace, stability and cooperation in Southeast Asia," the Thai representative noted that peace in the region has been disrupted as a result of foreign invasion and occupation of the independent and non-aligned country of Kampuchea.

"Unless and until the Kampuchean people are permitted to exercise their legitimate right to self-determination, free from foreign occupation and coercion, the prospects for the restoration of peace, stability and cooperation in Southeast Asia are rather dim and distant," he stressed.

Kasemsri added that total withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea is also vital for a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem.

Australia representative James Dobie stressed that the main cause of tension in Southeast Asia is Vietnam's invasion and continued occupation of Kampuchea. If Vietnam is serious in its professed desire to promote peace, stability and cooperation in Southeast Asia, it has to recognise that a necessary first step is to withdraw its occupying army and cooperate in settling the Kampuchean problem in accordance with the process agreed at the United Nations and the International Conference on Kampuchea. But "Vietnam's record does not give much confidence that its deeds with match its words," he declared.

Japanese representative Masahiro Nishibori pointed out that the major destabilizing element concerning the Kampuchean problem is "continued foreign military presence, as a result of which the Kampuchean people are denied their right of self-determination."

Lasting peace and security in Southeast Asia could never be realized unless a comprehensive political settlement to the Kampuchean problem is found, he declared.

Vietnamese representative Vo Anh Tuan repeated his worn-out theme of so-called "China's threat." For all his efforts to shift the blame of tension in the Southeast Asia onto China, he found he was only speaking to a largely empty floor.

The Vietnamese representative said nothing about total and unconditional withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea and the restoration of the rights of the Kampuchean people to self-determination. He laboured hard to justify Vietnam's aggression against Kampuchea and legitimize its puppet regime in Phnom Penh.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAILAND REINFORCES BORDER DEFENSE AGAINST SRV

OW111337 Beijing XINHUA in English 1250 GMT 11 Nov 82

[Text] Bangkok, 11 November (XINHUA)--Thailand has recently decided to reinforce its border defense, a measure taken in anticipation of possible intrusions by Vietnamese forces during their forthcoming dry-season offensive.

A report issued here by press office of Thailand's supreme headquarters said Saiyud Koetphon, supreme commander of the Thai Armed Forces called a joint meeting of senior officers of the three services and frontier police yesterday to discuss the situation and security measures on the eastern border.

During the past month, fierce fighting was frequently observed in Koh Kong in Kampuchea, said the report. The Vietnamese and Heng Samrin troops used heavy weapons in their attacks on the resistance forces. Nineteen rounds of shells fell across the border into Thailand's Trat Province and caused some damages to the local people.

The report said Vietnamese troops on the other side of the border have been relieved by fresh troops but no reinforcements have been observed. However, intrusion into the Thai border areas by Vietnamese troops in hot pursuit may occur, though there have been no fresh threats to Thailand, the report said.

It pointed out that there are signs that the Vietnamese and Heng Samrin troops are preparing a new dry-season offensive against the resistance forces in the area across Thailand's northeastern province of Surin. This may affect Thailand's security, said the report.

CSO: 4000/15

AUSTRALIA'S STREET ON ECONOMY, TIES TO U.S., USSR

OW131322 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 13 Nov 82

[Text] Canberra, 13 November (XINHUA)--Australian Foreign Minister Tony Street feared that the present economic recession in the West will lead to a "less stable situation."

In an interview with THE AUSTRALIAN, published in the paper today, Street said he believed that "the economic difficulties of the kind and extent we are experiencing now, lead to a less stable situation. In situations of instability it is much more difficult to conduct political relations and it opens up the opportunity for undesirable influences to get a foothold."

"The lesson of the 1930's was that the economic turmoil of the depression led directly to the sort of pressure that started World War II," he said.

On Australia's relations with the United States, Street said the ANZUS (Australia-New Zealand-the U.S.) Treaty is the centrepeace of the relationship," ANZUS "is not only a military alliance, there have been spin-offs in many areas," he said.

Referring to relations with the Soviet Union, Street said, "If the Soviet Union agreed to evacuate Afghanistan then we would obviously look at the whole thing again."

The Australian foreign minister also talked about the situation in the Pacific and the Soviet influence and activities there.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S., USSR STEP UP ACTIVITIES IN FAR EAST

OW281300 Beijing XINHUA in English 1244 GMT 28 Oct 82

[Text] Tokyo, 27 October (XINHUA)—The U.S. and Soviet military activities around Japan and in the whole Far East have become more frequent recently, the Japanese newspaper NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN reported today quoting Japanese defense agency sources.

The sources disclosed yesterday that a large-scale military exercise was conducted in the north Pacific early this month by the U.S. Pacific Fleet to demonstrate the U.S. military presence at the doorway to the Soviet Union.

When the U.S. military exercise was underway, Soviet backfire bombers intruded into its operational waters. U.S. warships then poised for launching missiles and warplanes aboard warships were ready for scramble.

The Japanese maritime self-defence force and the U.S. Seventh Fleet held a joint exercire in the Sea of Japan last August while the Soviet Union sent in electronic reconnaissance planes and destroyers to observe it.

The paper said that Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay has become an anchorage for Soviet attack nuclear submarines. Soviet electronic reconnaissance planes often fly back and forth between Soviet coastal bases and Can Ranh Bay. More recently, secret submarine bases have been established off southern Chishima Islands (Kuriles).

The U.S.-Soviet military rivalry in the Far East is getting more intensified, the paper noted.

CSO: 4000/15

NO UN RESOLUTION ADOPTED ON PEACE IN S.E. ASIA

OW090800 Beijing XINHUA in English 0706 GMT 9 Nov 82

[Text] United Nations, 8 November (XINHUA)--More speakers voiced at the UN General Assembly debate this morning that peace, stability and cooperation in Southeast Asia could only be achieved when the Kampuchean question was resolved.

Malaysian Deputy Minister for Housing and Local Government S. Subramaniam said at the debate that the continued Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea was the root cause of the present tension and instability in that region.

He said that 200,000 Vietnamese troops are continuing their occupation of Kampuchea and sustaining a regime they installed there several years ago.

He added that peace, stability and cooperation can prevail only when the Kampuchean problem is removed.

Vietnam's proposal for a "regional conference" to resolve the Kampuchean issue "is nothing more than a propaganda exercise to maintain the status quo and to confuse the Kampuchean issue with a host of other issues," he said.

Thiounn Prasith, representative of Democratic Kampuchea, said that the so-called partial retreat of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea and the proposals for an international conference on Southeast Asia were "tricks" played by Vietnam.

He stressed that a just and durable solution to the Kampuchean problem was "a prerequisite for the re-establishment of peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the establishment of the area as a zone of peace, liberty and neutrality."

Josue L. Villa of the Philippines said that peace and stability in Southeast Asia could only be achieved when the Kampuchean question was resolved, in keeping with General Assembly resolutions and the UN Charter. The proponents of the present item should now heed the call of the international community for a peaceful and comprehensive settlement of the Kampuchean problem, he said.

But Soviet representative Oleg Troyanovskiy reaffirmed at the debate the Soviet support for the continued Vietnamese military occupation of Kampuchea, saying that it would be "unrealistic" at present to demand the further withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. He talked about a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem, without mentioning implementation of relevant UN resolutions.

The General Assembly concluded this morning its consideration of the agenda item on the question of peace, stability and cooperation in Southeast Asia with no resolution. At the end of the meeting, General Assembly President Imre Hollai declared that the item be included in the provisional agenda of the assembly's 1983 session.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DPRK PRESIDENT URGES U.S. WITHDRAWAL FROM ROK

OW140752 Beijing XINHUA in English 0724 GMT 14 Nov 82

[Text] Pyongyang, 14 November (XINHUA)--President Kim Il-song of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Saturday called for U.S. troop withdrawal from South Korea, according to a KCNA report.

In a message to the International Conference of the Youth for the Independent and Peaceful Reunification of Korea, the president pointed out: "The most reasonable way of Korea's reunification at present is to make the U.S. troops withdraw from South Korea, terminate the U.S. imperialists' interference in the internal affairs of Korea and found the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo by uniting the north and the south."

He said: "The conference, an international one of progressive youth from five continents who love peace and are inspired by a burning sense of justice, is of great significance in supporting and encouraging the Korean youth and people in the struggle for preventing the permanent division of the nation and the danger of a new war provocation and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of the country."

The three-day conference opened in Tokyo yesterday and was attended by representatives from Japan and 40 other countries.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EGYPT'S 'ALI URGES U.S. DIALOGUE WITH PLO

OW130914 Beijing XINHUA in English 0725 GMT 13 Nov 82

[Text] Washington, 12 November (XINHUA)--Egyptian Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali today denounced Israel for planning to annex the occupied West Bank and urged the United States to start a dialogue with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

He said after meeting Secretary of State George Shultz that "the PLO has an essential role in the forthcoming discussions and negotiations of the Palestinian problem."

The United States has so far insisted that it will not deal with the PLO unless the PLO recognizes Israel's right to exist.

'Ali also said that Israel's insistence on expanding and building settlements on the occupied West Bank and its going ahead with plans to settle 1.4 million people there during the next 30 years, "can only be interpreted as a plan for the sheer annexation of the occupied Palestinian land."

He said, "The Israeli declaration prompted indignation in the whole world and eroded the confidence of Palestinians."

The Egyptian foreign minister is visiting the United States preceding Israeli Prime Minister Begin, who is to meet President Reagan here at the end of next week to discuss the settlement situation and other Middle East issues.

'Ali also called for "speedy withdrawal" of Israeli troops (estimated to be 40,000 to 50,000) and other forces from Lebanon.

He said, "Our objectives are a strong central government in a totally free, sovereign and independent Lebanon."

'Ali met President Reagan and presented him with a message from Egyptian President Mabarak. The foreign minister said that Egypt will stay interested in the peace process in the area and will continue to be hind all efforts to achieve a comprehensive peace settlement. He indicated that President Mubarak will visit the United States early next year.

CSO: 4000/15

BEIJING RALLY SUPPORTS NAMIBIAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

OW200838 Beijing XINHUA in English 0822 GMT 20 Oct 82

[Text] Beijing, 20 October (XINHUA)--Over 400 workers from the Chinese capital today held a rally to welcome a delegation from the National Union of Namibian Workers and to support the Namibian people's just struggle for national independence.

Peng Siming, chairman of the Beijing Trade Union Council, and Pejavi Muniaro, leader of the delegation, spoke at the rally.

Peng Siming said the Namibian people were waging a tenacious struggle for their national independence against imperialism, colonialism, and the ruthless rule of South African racism.

He condemned Pretoria's aggression and exposed the evil deeds of imperialism in supporting the South African authorities.

Peng said, "The workers of Beijing and the whole country firmly support the Namibian people in their just struggle, and demand that Pretoria immediately and unconditionally end its illegal occupation of Namibia as stated in the UN resolutions. We oppose all interference by outside forces which are undermining the cause of Namibian national liberation."

Pejavi Muniaro, deputy secretary of the National Union of Namibian Workers, spoke of the Namibian people's struggle. He expressed the determination of the Namibian people and workers to continue their struggle for national independence until final victory.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UK NOT TO NEGOTIATE ON FALKLANDS SOVEREIGNTY

OW061630 Beijing XINHUA in English 1514 GMT 6 Nov 82

[Text] Paris, 5 November (XINHUA)--British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said here today that Britain will not start negotiations with Argentina over the sovereignty of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands.

Speaking at a press conference after her talks with French President Francois Mitterrand, Mrs Thatcher said she did not think that Thursday night's UN vote on the Falkland Islands was a defeat for Britain in any way.

She was referring to the fact that 90 UN member countries voted for the Latin American resolution which called on Britain to enter into negotiations with Argentina on the sovereignty of the islands.

"The vote will not make any difference at all to our attitude," she said.

She said the U.S. decision to vote for the UN resolution was incomprehensible and disappointing.

Mrs Thatcher had reportedly sent a cable to U.S. President Ronald Reagan to express Britain's indignation with the U.S. vote.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ARGENTINA ENDORSES UN FALKLANDS RESOLUTION

OW061842 Beijing XINHUA in English 1831 GMT 6 Nov 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, 5 November (XINHUA)—The recent United Nations General Assembly resolution urging Britain and Argentina to reopen negotiations on the future of the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands represents a victory for Argentina and Latin America, declared Argentine President Reynaldo Bignone in a nationwide television and radio broadcast this evening.

Argentina is still prepared to do its utmost to create conditions for the fulfillment of the UN resolution despite Britain's rejection of the resolution and its repeated armed provocations in the southwest Atlantic, Bignone said.

The president went on to say that Argentina has all along stood for negotiations in the hope that the Malvinas issue will gradually be resolved in a just manner. However, he said, this hope and initiative of Argentina was given the cold shoulder. Now that the United Nations has adopted the new resolution, he hoped that the same thing will not happen again.

The president said that as from today Argentina will be ready to comply with the arrangements made by the UN secretary-general towards the reopening of negotiations between the two sides.

It is up to Britain to make a positive response, Bignone said. Otherwise, it would be held responsible for "the tension prevailing in the southwest Atlantic," he added.

Bignone thanked those Latin American and other nations for their support given to his country at the United Nations. He described this as a vivid expression of the unity of the Latin American continent. It also showed that the Latin American nations would cast aside their political and ideological differences and get united for a great and just cause, the president said.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON UN BACKING RENEWED MALVINAS TALKS

HK080413 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Nov 82 p 6

["Review" by correspondent Guan Yanzhong [4619 1750 1813]: "A Diplomatic Victory for Argentina"]

[Text] On the evening of 4 November, the UN General Assembly took a vote on the draft resolution on the issue of the Malvinas Islands cosponsored by Argentina and 19 other Latin American countries. This resolution was carried by a vote of 90 to 12, with 52 abstentions. It called for Argentina and Britain to resume negotiations regarding a solution to the sovereignty dispute over the Malvinas Islands. It also decided to place the Malvinas issue on the agenda of the next UNGA. This news was prominently reported in all the papers in Buenos Aires, and the event was acclaimed as "a victory for the Argentina standpoint in the UN," "a victory for Latin America," and a "step forward" toward the settlement of the Malvinas issue.

The cosponsoring of this resolution by 20 Latin American countries showed a new development in the unity between Latin American countries. As Argentine Foreign Minister Juan Aguirre Lanari said, the Latin American countries took it as "their own cause" to support Argentina in recovering sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands and "worked in unprecedented union." During the debates over this issue, representatives from many Latin American countries explicitly set forth their positions on safeguarding this just cause, winning sympathy and support from many other countries. Since the end of the Malvinas war, according to its experiences, Argentina has made efforts to strengthen relations with other countries in the region and worked to consolidate the unity of Latin America and to carry forward the cause of integration. These efforts have achieved good results, and the outcome of the voting in the UNGA has also proved this point.

The United States decided to vote for the resolution "after careful consideration and extensive consultations." This made Argentina and other Latin American countries feel "satisfied," but Britain expressed "disappointment." During the Malvinas war, the United States sided with Britain and adopted sanctions against Argentina; this provoked strong opposition from the Latin American countries, and also harmed its own interests. As some papers remarked, the United States "could no longer support a position which violated its own interests; it needed to repair relations with Latin America." By

voting for the resolution, President Reagan was trying to show that "the South Atlantic crisis has come to an end," and to create a favorable atmosphere for his coming visit to several countries in Central and South America.

The resolution adopted by the UNGA asked the governments of both Argentina and Britain to resume negotiations and work out a peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute over the Malvinas Islands as soon as possible. Even some countries who abstained from voting also agreed that both sides should solve the dispute through negotiations. But this reasonable demand of most of the member countries in the UN was rejected by Britain. Disregarding the strong feeling of anticolonialism and desire to seek peaceful settlement of international disputes among the international community, Britain tried every means to obstruct the assembly from carrying the resolution sponsored by the Latin American countries. British representatives also tried everything to "persuade" and even exerted pressure on some countries not to vote for the resolution. Public opinion held that the outcome of this voting was "a showdown from London's point of view."

For a long time past, Argentina and Britain held many talks on the Malvinas dispute but made no progress. The Argentine press pointed out that the resolution adopted by the UNGA was "an important step forward" for future work. But the implementation of this resolution still requires unceasing efforts. It is not easy to solve the Malvinas issue. The Argentine Government and people are still faced with the protracted and arduous task of carrying on the just struggle of safeguarding Argentina's sovereignty.

CSO: 4005/153

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EGYPT CALLS FOR JOINT ACTION ON ARAB PROBLEMS

OW070912 Beijing XINHUA in English 0711 GMT 7 Nov 82

[Text] Cairo, 6 November (XINHUA)--Egypt today urged leaders of the Arab nation to act together to solve Arab problems.

In a policy statement to the people's assembly, Premier Fu'ad Muhyi Ad-din said, "Egypt is keen on opening its arms to the Arab nation and invites its leaders to take concerted action to solve existing problems."

Seventeen of the 21 Arab states have severed ties with Egypt because of its 1979 peace treaty with Israel. President Husni Mubarak has sent out signals for reconciliation ever since he took office 13 months ago.

Muhyi Ad-din told the assembly that as a founder of the non-aligned movement in Egypt will continue to ward off attempts of deviation from the basic principles of the movement.

Referring to the disputed Tabah area under Israeli control on the Sinai border, he stressed Egypt's resolve never to cede any part of its national territory.

While supporting Iraq to defend its soil, Egypt will make sustained efforts to seek a peaceful solution to the Iraq-Iran conflict, the premier declared.

Egypt will consolidate its ties with all other African countries but opposes any racial segregation policies in the continent, Muhyi Ad-din said.

Egypt also attaches great importance to its relations with the western European countries and its strong ties with the United States.

Continued foreign occupation of Afghanistan is a flagrant aggression which must be brought to immediate end, he said.

On internal policies he put emphasis on increased production and armed forces build-up. The open door economic policy will be continued, Mohieddin said.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'VODK' ON KEY TO SOLUTION OF KAMPUCHEAN ISSUE

OW261238 Beijing XINHUA in English 1211 GMT 26 Oct 82

[Text] Beijing, 26 October (XINHUA)--Total Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Kampuchea is the key and an indispensable prerequisite to an over-all solution of the Kampuchean issue, commented Radio Democratic Kampuchea today.

The commentary said that since Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea, the Hanoi authorities have not only ignored three UN resolutions calling for Vietnam's troop withdrawal from Kampuchea, but also incessantly sent reinforcements to Kampuchea in order to escalate the war. This prevents the Kampuchean people from exercising their sacred right to self-determination. What is more, they are in great danger of losing their right to live.

Continued Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea has made it impossible to solve the problem of hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean refugees in the Thai border areas and to ease the tense situation along the Kampuchean-Thai border. And the danger of war expansion is daily increasing. It went on to say that by their presence in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, the Soviet expansionist forces have made more and more inroads into Southeast Asia.

The five ASEAN member countries have in the United Nations put forward a draft resolution demanding Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Kampuchea it noted. It called on the current UN General Assembly to pass another resolution demanding the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, and to take necessary measures to exert pressure on Vietnam politically, diplomatically and economically. It appealed to all countries to continue their support for the Kampuchean people's just struggle against Vietnamese aggression until all Vietnamese aggressors were driven out of Kampuchea.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' VIEWS LDP ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN JAPAN

OW091804 Beijing XINHUA in English 1504 GMT 9 Nov 82

[Text] Tokyo, 9 November (XINHUA)—The current one-month primary election campaign of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) has become the party's "inter-necine war" as described by Japanese media.

This campaign, which started on 23 October after the failure of the party leaders to nominate a unanimously-supported successor to the resigned party President Zenko Suzuki through negotiations, has brought four contenders into heated rivalry.

The four candidates are Yasuhiro Nakasone, 64, minister of state in charge of administrative management; Toshio Komoto, 71, minister of state and director general of the Economic Planning Agency; Shintaro Abe, 58, minister of international trade and industry; and Ichiro Nakagawa, 57, minister of state and director of the Science and Technology Agency.

According to local newspapers, during the campaign, the four candidates have each attacked the others in an attempt to increase his own influence.

Yasuhiro Nakasone, who is backed by the "mainstream" faction in the party, advocated the "continuation of the Suzuki policy." He pledged a thorough implementation of Suzuki's financial and administrative policies and a "reconstruction of the financial system without tax increases."

However, the other three candidates who belong to the party's "non-mainstream" faction have launched heavy attacks on Kakuei Tanaka, former prime minister, and the "Suzuki system," declaring that Nakasone, a pro-Tanaka man, can in no way make a radical change of the current party situation of "Tanaka domination" if he is elected. They expressed their readiness to fight for a "reform of Japan's politics at the cost of their lives."

It was reported that none of the four contenders has proposed concrete policies to solve the difficult political and economic issues now faced by the government both at home and abroad. As to the amendment of the constitution, a sensitive issue at home, all the candidates, except Ichiro Nakagawa who said amendment should be made, have taken a scrupulous or evasive attitude.

But Japan's foreign policy is a point that none of the candidates has so far even touched upon.

During the campaign, the four candidates have expressed different views about the effect of the primary election.

It is believed that by 24 November when the results of the primary election are published, contentions between the party's "mainstream" and "non-mainstream" factions will become even fiercer over the question of whether a formal election should be conducted by LDP Dietmen as originally decided.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JARUZELSKI LETTER STRESSES TIES WITH GDR

OW050901 Beijing XINHUA in English 0756 GMT 5 Nov 82

[Text] Berlin, 4 November (XINHUA)--Polish Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski, who came here yesterday for a two-day visit, today handed a letter from Wojciech Jaruzelski to Erich Honecker, chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic.

In the letter, Jaruzelski, chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation of Poland, stressed the need to strengthen cooperation between the two countries and the two parties.

During the talks between Honecker and Olszowski today, the Polish foreign minister briefed the chairman on the measures taken by the Polish party and government to stabilize the situation at home and safeguard the socialist achievements.

The two sides emphasized the importance of keeping friendly ties, saying that they both advocated relaxation of tension, disarmament and limitation of arms, nuclear arms in particular.

The two sides also strongly denounced the interference of the United States and NATO in Poland's internal affairs.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLISH PARTY POLITICAL BUREAU MEETS 7 NOV

OW070856 Beijing XINHUA in English 0729 GMT 7 Nov 82

[Text] Warsaw, 6 November (XINHUA)--The politburo of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party met today to discuss the country's socio-political situation.

A communique issued after the meeting warned the opposition forces against planned strikes, and asked the government "to oppose resolutely all irresponsible and adventurist activities which might endanger the country's social calm and the security of the state and its citizens."

Not long ago, the underground "provisional national coordination committee" of the Solidarity Union issued a statement calling for eight-hour strikes and street demonstrations on 10 November in protest against the new trade union law passed by the National Assembly on 8 October.

The politburo meeting communique said that the opposition forces inspired and supported by subversive centers abroad are seeking to incite strikes and disturbances involving consequences that "would halt the tendency, real at present, toward getting out of the economic crisis, and expose the internal peace of the country to serious danger."

The politburo asked all party members, organs and organisations to take every necessary step aimed at securing calm and undisturbed work.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PAKISTAN PRESIDENT HOLDS TALKS IN INDONESIA

OW040825 Beijing XINHUA in English 0726 GMT 14 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 4 November (XINHUA)--The visiting Pakistan President Ziaul Haq said in Jakarta Wednesday that he and Indonesian President Suharto agreed all foreign troops should get out of Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

Emerging from more than two hours of talks with President Suharto, Ziaul told reporters they had discussed "problems faced by the world, mainly in the Middle East, in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea."

They shared the view that Vietnamese troops should get out of Kampuchea because "we do not accept the imposition of a regime by an outside power," he said. They also agreed that the Soviet Union must pull its troops out of Afghanistan, where they are backing the government against the Afghan people.

The two leaders also exchanged views on the non-aligned movement, which they agreed should play a more effective role in world affairs.

Ziaul said both sides agreed to strengthen bilateral relations by speeding up implementation of the Indonesia-Pakistan economic and cultural cooperation accord.

Arriving in Indonesia on 2 November, the Pakistan president is in the country for a five-day official visit on a leg of his current tour of Asian nations that has taken him to China, Korea, India and Thailand.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SINGAPORE REPRESENTATIVE ADDRESSES UNGA SESSION

WO290202 Beijing XINHUA in English 0131 GMT 29 Oct 82

[Text] United Nations, 28 October (XINHUA)--"The ASEAN countries call for the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea and the restoration to the people of Kampuchea of their right to self-determination," representative of Singapore T. T. B. Koh told the UN General Assembly today.

Koh pointed out that the ASEAN countries are opposed to Vietnam's armed intervention and military occupation of Kampuchea for two reasons. "First, Vietnam's action violates some of the most fundamental principles of the UN Charter, such as respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, non-interference in the internal affairs of states, non-resort to force in the settlement of disputes between states, and the peaceful settlement of disputes."

"The second reason is that if we do not do so, there is a very real danger that after Vietnam has digested its conquest of Kampuchea, and its domination over Laos, it will begin to cast an avaricious eye upon other states of Southeast Asia," he continued.

The ASEAN countries, he said, believe that the declaration adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea contains a just and balanced framework for negotiating a political settlement of the conflict in Kampuchea.

He urged Vietnam to respond positively to the world community's plea to come to the negotiating table to find a political settlement of the conflict.

The representatives of Mauritania, Paraguay and the Central African Republic also condemned Vietnam's illegal occupation of Kampuchea, called for a total and unconditional withdrawal of its troops, and supported the rights of the Kampuchean people to choose and manage their own affairs freely and democratically.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ANNUAL FRENCH-BRITISH SUMMIT ENDS 6 NOV

OW061724 Beijing XINHUA in English 1609 GMT 6 Nov 82

[Text] Paris, 5 November (XINHUA)--British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and French President Francois Mitterrand ended talks here today on the dispute of European community budget and farming policies.

Speaking at a press conference after their talks, which are an annual event, the two leaders said they still maintain their positions on the community budget, the main source of friction for the past three years.

Mitterrand said that the problem is not yet solved.

Mitterrand pointed out that France maintains the community's compensation for Britain should be cut gradually.

But Mrs Thatcher said that the French position is unfair. She hoped the problem will be solved as soon as possible.

They announced monthly meetings between senior officials in London or in Paris to coordinate their actions.

The two sides discussed further cooperation between the two countries in the fields of industry and science.

They expressed their displeasure over U.S. sanctions against European firms using American technology in contracts for the Soviet-European gas pipeline.

It is reported that the two leaders also discussed a wide range of issues including disarmament, European security and their relations with the Soviet Union.

The British prime minister left for home this afternoon.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PAKISTANI, MALAYSIAN LEADERS EXCHANGE VIEWS

OW091708 Beijing XINHUA in English 1529 GMT 9 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 9 November (XINHUA)--Malaysia and Pakistan today signed an economic and technical cooperation agreement during Pakistan President Mohammad Ziaul Haq's visit which ends tomorrow, according to news agency reports.

Malaysian Prime Minister Dr Mahathir Mohamed told reporters today after talks with Zia that under the agreement the two countries will work out measures to reduce the trade imbalance.

Malaysia can increase its imports from Pakistan by buying more cotton, rice and wheat, according to the agreement, and Pakistani firms will be invited to take part in construction and industrial projects in Malaysia to further narrow the trade differential.

Pakistan suggested sending more doctors to work in Malaysia and pledged support for the proposed establishment of an international Islamic university in Malaysia.

Mohamed said the agreement will "not only pave the way for increased trade and economic cooperation, but promote closer contacts between their ministers and officials," according to the reports.

On international issues, the two leaders "reiterated their support for the Palestinian and Arab struggle against Israel and called on all parties concerned to respect the right of the Palestinians for their homeland," reports say.

On the Afghan issue, both leaders "expressed deep concern over the continued occupation and domination of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union."

They called for an immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and hoped to achieve a political solution to the problem, reports say.

Mohamed today expressed concern over the threat to the security of the Southeast Asian region by "growing Soviet-Vietnamese collaboration."

Both sides called for a withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea.

The two leaders, according to reports, discussed greater cooperation among members of the organization of the Islamic conference so that richer nations could help improve the economies of developing nations.

President Zia arrived in Kuala Lumpur 6 November, marking the first visit by a Pakistan head of state to Malaysia. He will go to Singapore tomorrow.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EGYPT'S 'ALI ENDS OFFICIAL VISIT TO TURKEY 6 NOV

OW061900 Beijing XINHUA in English 1839 GMT 6 Nov 82

[Text] Ankara, 6 November (XINHUA)—Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali ended his five-day official visit to Turkey today.

It was the first visit to Turkey in the past fifteen years by such a high-ranking Egyptian official.

During his stay here, Hasan 'Ali held discussions with Turkish Foreign Minister Ilter Turkmen on bilateral relations as well as international issues such as the Middle East question, Iran-Iraq war, the situation in Lebanon and the Afghanistan question.

According to a press release issued here today following the conclusion of 'Ali's visit, the two ministers expressed their concern over the continuing foreign occupation of Afghanistan and their hope that a political solution could be reached as soon as possible on the basis of respect for the sovereignty and independence of Afghanistan and the right of the Afghan people to determine their own future.

They strongly condemned the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and deplored the massacres in Sabra and Chatella Palestinian refugee camps for which Israel should bear full responsibility.

The two sides supported all efforts aimed at the prompt withdrawal of Israeli and all other foreign forces from Lebanon in order to establish peace and stability in that country and to restore its sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity.

They agreed that a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle East question can only be achieved through the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories to its pre-1967 borders, self-determination for the Palestinian people including their right to form an independent state and the creation of conditions allowing all countries in the area to live within secure and recognized borders.

The two sides reaffirmed their support for the PLO and the necessity of its participation in peace efforts.

They also expressed the hope that Iran and Iraq could find an honourable solution to their conflict.

During the talks, both sides expressed their desire to increase political, cultural and trade relations as well as economic cooperation between the two countries.

Yesterday morning, Hasan 'Ali was received here by Turkish head of state General Kenan Evren and Premier Bulen Ulusu. 'Ali conveyed a message to Evren from Egyptian President Husni Mubarak extending "good wishes and friendship" of the Egyptian people.

Hasan 'Ali left Istanbul this afternoon for a trip to Canada and America.

CSO: 4000/15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'BA YI' SAYS U.S. PREPARING FOR GERM WARFARE

OW090529 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 8 Nov 82

[Text] Ignoring China's persistent demands, the U.S. authorities have refused to turn over to us the data on the Japanese scheme to conduct bateriological warfare against China in the 1940's. This shows that the U.S. authorities are not only attempting to conceal the crimes of the Japanese militarists from us but are also secretly preparing for bacteriological warfare.

It is known to all that during its aggression against China, the 731st unit of the Japanese army commanded by Lt Gen Jiro Ishii, a former Japanese army doctor, secretly developed bacteriological weapons in our northeast in preparation for bacteriological warfare against China, the Soviet Union and other countries. The Japanese war criminals especially developed bubonic plague, cholera and other kinds of horrible, murderous bacteria using living human beings as guinea pigs. As a result, many of our compatriots were killed.

Shielded by the U.S. authorities after Japan's surrender, Ishii and other Japanese war criminals managed to escape trial by a tribunal. Furthermore, the United States shipped all the equipment and data compiled by the Japanese 731st unit back to the U.S. Army Bacteriological Warfare Research Center at (Bickley) Base in Maryland, where, with the help of the Japanese, they continued to develop bacteriological weapons started by the 731st unit.

We must point out that the United States used bacteriological weapons during the war of aggression against Korea. They even brought Japanese experts on bacteriological warfare over to the Korean battlefield and asked them to help the U.S. Army use this type of weapon.

At present, the United States is stepping up its research on new ways of conducting bacteriological warfare by applying the latest scientific techniques. For example, they are applying biology, genetics and hereditary medicine to cultivate more lethal and more active bacteria.

In the meantime, the Americans remain silent about the data on the bacteriological developments by the Japanese war criminals. They refuse to turn over the so-called "Handbook On Directing Bacteriological Warfare Against China" compiled under the direction of Lt Gen Ishii. According to the investigation by our departments concerned, this handbook explains in full detail the

different ways of using different kinds of bacteriological weapons in different regions and at different times in accordance with different natural and climatic conditions.

The refusal to turn over these important documents and the handbook on directing bacteriological warfare against China by the United States proves once again that U.S. imperialism still looks at China as a potential enemy and is secretly scheming hostile action against China.

CSO: 4005/153

HOANG VAN HOAN ON WORKS OF HO CHI MINH

HK090531 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Nov 82 p 7

[Article by Hoang Van Hoan: "'Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh' and Renegade Le Duan"—passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] In my statement of Le Duan's distortion of Chairman Ho's will, published last year on the anniversary of the August revolution, I said: The publication of the greatly revised and emasculated "Collected Works of Ho Chi Minh" published by Le Duan is the trick of a political swindler. I reserve the right of further exposing Le Duan.

Now, after a period of careful study, I feel that I have the duty to provide the material and to present my own view so that all Vietnamese people will have a true picture of the "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh" published by Le Duan in 1980.

/1. President Ho and the "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh"/

President Ho devoted his whole life to the revolution. It was his leadership alone which enabled the Vietnamese revolution to traverse its extremely difficult road and in the end win complete victory.

Let us look back on the history of the Vietnamese revolution. From the time of the invasion of Vietnam by the French imperialists in 1958, our predecessors launched one campaign after another and advanced in wave upon wave to carry out their heroic and stubborn struggle, but without success. It was not until the correct position and line put forward by President Ho, advocating workers and peasants as the main force and the means of the united front (the Vietnam Independence League, the Vietnam National Federation, the National Fatherland Front and the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam) which united all the patriotic forces of various classes and social strata, that the people in their millions became mobilized. They vowed to die rather than become slaves and waged a life or death struggle against the enemy. While working for national unity, President Ho, based on the spirit of internationalism, also fought for the sympathy and support of all people and progressive forces in the world, including the French and American people. Under the guidance of this position and line, all the people of Vietnam became united in their sacrifice and struggles and eventually won complete victory in their revolutionary struggle for national liberation.

Vietnam was formerly carved into three parts and together with Laos and Kampuchea formed the French imperialist colony of Indochina. The subsequent building of Vietnam into a democratic republic was the achievement of President Ho.

After the signing of the Geneva accords, the United States inherited the mantle of France and turned South Vietnam into its military base and a new type of colony. The Vietnamese people therefore decided to carry out the construction of the north on the one hand and to work hard to promote the struggle of liberating the south on the other. By closely uniting with the people of Laos and Kampuchea, and with enormous support from China, Vietnam defeated the French Army and compelled France to sign the Geneva accords of 1954 acknowledging the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. In the end, South Vietnam was also completely freed. This was due to the fact that the correct position and line put forward by President Ho had been resolutely followed and put into practice by the armies and civilians in both the north and south. This was also the achievement of President Ho.

The "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh" published in 1960 contained extremely important articles written by President Ho between 1920 to 1960 and fully embodied his strategic and tactical thinking during the different stages of the revolution. These stages were as follows: carrying out underground revolutionary activities; struggling to build the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; and consolidating the base area for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the north, resisting France and the United States and safeguarding the independence and unification of the motherland.

The articles written by President Ho from 1961 to 1969 are also extremely important. These articles embodied his strategic and tactical thinking in the most acute stage of resistance against the United States; the distinguishing feature of this stage is the carrying out of direct armed struggle against the regular U.S. Army.

It can be said that all the works written by President Ho during his 50 years of revolutionary activities were correct proposals tested in the practice of Vietnam's revolution. They were the beacon lighting up the uneven and tortuous road for the revolutionaries and the revolutionary army. Without this beacon, the Vietnamese revolution might still be groping in the dark and no one would know when the Vietnamese people could break away from the slavery of imperialism and feudalism.

Therefore, the "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh" published in 1961 and the articles written by President Ho after 1961 are a valuable legacy in the treasure house of the Vietnamese revolution and they must be studied, greatly respected and always kept intact by present and future patriots.

Also because of this, when republishing the "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh," the parts published in 1960, that is, the articles personally examined and approved by President Ho, should be kept intact. As for the articles written by President Ho after 1961, they could be compiled into a volume as "Selected

"Works of Ho Chi Minh, Volume II." This is common sense that most editorial personnel would understand and act on.

However, Le Duan and his ilk, for the sake of their own sordid and sinister aims, have made the decision (in the words of the publisher's note): "A new edition of the 'Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh' must be published as soon as possible...as a substitute for the 1960 edition, for the study of cadres, party members and the whole people."

Why do they need a substitute? The reason is that the 1960 edition is incompatible with their counterrevolutionary line. A substitute means that they will prohibit the reading of the original edition so that everybody must read and study what they have altered and selected in their new edition.

Let us take a look at what Le Duan and his ilk have deleted from the 1960 edition of the selected works.

2. Alternation of the "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh" Means Betrayal

Le Duan has degenerated and become a renegade, he has completely destroyed the achievements won by the people through 30 years of hard struggle. Throughout the process of his betrayal, he has carried out a black line; that is, when President Ho was alive, he hoodwinked and deceived him and when President Ho died, he discarded his correct position and line and acted in diametric opposition to this position and line. The publication of the "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh" in 1980 was the most notorious part of this black line.

Soon after the liberation of South Vietnam, in order to carry out his deceptive propaganda, Le Duan ordered the propaganda organs to collect those words of President Ho Chi Minh which conformed with his reactionary line, especially those which could be interpreted as being anti-Chinese. However, they could never find any passage suited to their purpose. So Le Duan thought up another trick--the publication of another "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh" called the "New Edition" to cheat the people.

Let us compare the differences between the original and new editions of the "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh."

The original edition contains 249 articles written by President Ho Chi Minh from 1920 to 1960. They constitute all of his most important works. But Le Duan retains only 74 of them and leaves out all the other 175 articles. /That means dropping 70 percent of the articles published in the 1960 edition./

In the remaining 74 articles, Le Duan and his company have flagrantly blue-pencilled quite a lot, including President Ho's political report to the Second National Congress of the Vietnamese Workers' Party in 1951. A report approved by all the delegates present. /This means that they have not only altered President Ho's workers but also the historical documents of the revolution./

As for the newly collected articles, a preliminary estimation shows that more than 700 of President Ho's articles were published in the Vietnamese paper NHAN DAN from 1961 to 1969 alone, but only 52 articles have been selected in what they call their new edition. This does not include President Ho's will, which they have distorted. Compared with the large volume of the original edition of the "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh," these articles would constitute too obviously small a volume if they were published alone as the second volume of the selected works. Therefore, the 52 articles and some others taken out from the original edition were compiled into two volumes of the same size. This is obviously a trick to make people ignorant of the many important ideas removed from the original edition, for now they are allowed access only to the new one which has been implemented and revised by the Le Duan clique. At the same time as betraying President Ho, Le Duan tries to exploit his prestige in order to swindle and bluff. On the one hand he has ordered large-scale propaganda of the idea that he is the "loyal pupil" of President Ho; and, on the other hand, he has hoodwinked the people by means of blue-pencilling President Ho's works, in an attempt to prevent the people from understanding the president's overall position and line.

In order to cover up their anti-Chinese crimes, they have completely deleted nearly 70 of President Ho's articles about China. Furthermore, they have deleted almost all the passage about China in President Ho's other articles.

In order to cover up their crime of invading Laos and Kampuchea, they have deleted President Ho's many articles about Laos and Kampuchea, especially his letter of congratulations to the meeting of the Indochinese people (dated 2 March 1965) and his congratulatory letter wishing the meeting success (dated 18 March 1965).

In order to cover up their crime of abolishing the autonomous regions and oppressing the minority nationalities, they have deleted President Ho's articles on the northwest autonomous region and the northern Vietnam autonomous region and his speeches to the people of various nationalities.

In order to conceal their policy of destroying unity, they have deleted President Ho's congratulatory telegrams to the convention of catholics, the Buddhist convention and the South Vietnam National Liberation Front.

In order to cover up their crime of abolishing democracy, they have deleted President Ho's many articles on problems related to democracy, criticism and self-criticism.

In order to cover up their bureaucratism and the malpractices of coercion and commandism, they have deleted President Ho's many articles on the rectification and training of cadres and on the idea that cadres must show concern for the lives of the masses, carry out the mass line and be the loyal servants of the masses.

In order to divorce themselves from President Ho's economic policies, they have deleted President Ho's articles on the implementation of the principle of self-reliance in carrying out industrial, agricultural and commercial economic construction.

In order to play down President Ho's role in educating the workers, youths, women and peasants, they have deleted his many congratulatory telegrams to the meetings of trade unions, youths and women and his articles on the peasants' role.

In order to belittle President Ho's role in international activities, they have deleted many of the articles which he wrote in France expressing his sympathy with and support for oppressed nations and denouncing the crimes of the colonial system.

In order to play down President Ho's role in leading the struggle of resistance against France and the United States, they have deleted many of his articles on the border battles, the Dien Bien Battle and the Geneva Conference, and his advocation of protracted hard struggle. They have even deleted the appeal which President Ho issued during the state of emergency.

Obviously, Le Duan's publication of the "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh" in 1980 was not a casual event or an action due to a mistake of ideology or understanding. It was an action planned to carry out their plot to deceive their teacher, betray their friends and bring disaster to their country.

Le Duan is indeed a sinister political swindler. The Vietnamese people, and especially Vietnamese revolutionaries must be strictly on their guard against him!

3. Opposing China Is an Important Integral Aim of the Publication of the New Selected Works

Opposition of China forms the nucleus of the Le Duan clique's domestic and foreign policies. Haunted by the fear that the people will know about the excellent situation in China and most of all, about what President Ho said with deep affection about the Chinese people and revolution, this clique brazenly removed nearly 70 articles as well as paragraphs and sentences in other articles about China from the "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh," when they prepared the 1980 edition.

Through the articles that Le Duan has blue-pencilled we can clearly see the depth of President Ho's understanding of and feeling for China. This was because President Ho strove all his life to carry out political activities for the revolution in Vietnam, a revolution closely related to the Chinese people and their revolution. This understanding and feeling was expressed in the following aspects:

/He correctly evaluated the relations between Vietnam and China./ With regard to relations between the two countries, President Ho said: "The relations between the Vietnamese and Chinese nations have thousands of years of history. In the future, these relations will become increasingly more intimate in order to promote the freedom and happiness of our two nations and safeguard world democracy and everlasting peace." ("Congratulatory telegram on the founding of the PRC Government"--5 December 1949)

President Ho said further: "Vietnam and China are brother nations. Our two countries are as close as lips and teeth. We have fought and are fighting shoulder to shoulder for national independence and socialism. The victory of the Chinese revolution is of especially great significance to the Vietnamese people." ("Congratulatory speech on the 10th anniversary of the founding of the PRC"—28 September 1959)

/He sympathized with the Chinese people's struggle against colonialism./ Concerning his sympathy with the Chinese people's struggle against colonialism, President Ho said: "The British capitalists are attempting to invade the whole of China and turn it into a colony,"..."all Chinese people, whatever their political views, oppose this disguised colonial policy."..."I hope that, faced with the threat of the British capitalists, the children of the Chinese nation will unite as one, carry out the resistance struggle and strive to win victory." ("Britain's Colonialist Policy"—9 November 1923)

/He valued highly the influence of the Chinese revolution on the world revolution./ With regard to the influence of the Chinese revolution on the world revolution, President Ho said: "The victory of the Chinese revolution and the founding of the PRC constitutes the greatest event in human history since the October revolution in Russia." ("Congratulatory speech on the 10th anniversary of the founding of the PRC'—28 September 1959)

/He valued highly the experience of the Chinese revolution and Mao Zedong thought./ Concerning the experience of the Chinese revolution and Mao Zedong thought, President Ho said: "The Chinese revolution has great influence on the Vietnamese revolution. Vietnamese revolutionaries should learn from the Chinese revolution and have already benefited by many of its experiences." "The experiences of the Chinese revolution and Mao Zedong thought have deepened our understanding of the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin." "Vietnamese revolutionaries must always remember and be grateful for this." ("Political report to the Second National Congress of the Vietnam Workers' Party"—February 1951)

/He valued highly China's aid to Vietnam./ Concerning China's aid to Vietnam, President Ho said: "These achievements are a result of China's generous aid.... Our comrades the Chinese experts and workers have helped us wholeheartedly. We are greatly moved by and grateful for this lofty internationalist spirit of the Chinese people and their kind feeling toward us." ("Completion of the Hanoi-Hunan Path Railway"—27 February 1955)

He also said: "In our revolution and resistance against Japan in the past, in the socialist construction of northern Vietnam, and in carrying out our cause for the peaceful reunification of our motherland, we have always received the complete support of the CPC and the Chinese people. What is especially valuable is the help of our comrades the Chinese experts." ("Speech of thanks at Comrade Liu Shaoqi's farewell banquet"—NHAN DAN 16 May 1963)

/He adopted a correct attitude toward the overseas Chinese in Vietnam./ As for his attitude toward the overseas Chinese in Vietnam, President Ho said:

"I should like to take this opportunity to say a few words to the foreign national friends in our country. There are among you, businessmen, industrialists, hawkers, small proprietors, workers and intellectuals who have lived together with the Vietnamese people for a long time. Your legitimate economic and cultural activities benefit Vietnam. Therefore, I propose that you should feel secure in carrying on your business as usual. The Vietnamese people and government will cooperate with you, help and protect you." ("Appeal on the day of the liberation of the capital"--10 October 1954)

Obviously President Ho's understanding of and feeling for China was diametrically opposed to that of Le Duan. If Le Duan had retained all of President Ho's articles on China, this would have undoubtedly meant retaining a monster-reflecting mirror which would reveal Le Duan's monstrous features as soon as people looked at it.

In order to cover up their monstrous features, Le Duan and his ilk resorted to vilifying President Ho, giving the following explanation:

"The Chinese leaders have adopted a duplicitous policy. They help us in our revolution and at the same time restrict us and prevent us from achieving victory. Particularly since about 1958, because of the complicated conditions of the struggle of the Vietnamese people, when President Ho talked about China and our relations with China, he continued to affirm China's positive side and its aid to our country's revolution in order to minimize the harmful effect of the Chinese leaders' disgusting conduct." (Publisher's note in the 1980 edition)

They think that by giving this explanation, they can give people the impression that President Ho himself opposed China and acted in the same double-dealing way as them.

In this way, they shamefully vilify President Ho. However, President Ho was an honest revolutionary; he was just and honorable, and always safeguarded truth and justice. His deeds were identical to his words and he proceeded in all his words and actions from the spirit of his duty to the people and to history. This has been universally acknowledged by all the Vietnamese people and all the important political activists in the world.

If anyone is fond of playing double dealing tricks, it is none other than Le Duan himself! Did Le Duan not speak well of China hundreds of times in the past? Now, he has eaten his own words and reversed all he has said. People cannot help but be moved to ask: Can people believe the praise, oaths and promises Le Duan is making today? Is all this praise, these vows and promises really from the heart? Or is he giving this praise, these oaths and promises unwillingly "because of the...complicated conditions of struggle?"

Le Duan thinks that his anti-Chinese trick of publishing the "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh" was well-planned and highly effective, but it was in fact only the mad and foolish performance of a man who had lost his reason. But the deep friendship between Vietnam and China, cultivated by President Ho and Chairman Mao, has taken deep root in the hearts of the two peoples, and

no force can undermine it. The antagonistic situation created by Le Duan and his ilk for the present is only a temporary phenomenon. In the near future, the profound friendship between Vietnam and China will surely be recovered and developed. This is what the Vietnamese people hope and have determined to bring about. The ungrateful anti-Chinese elements will certainly be cast aside by the people!

4. Conclusion

From the above-mentioned facts and analyses, we may draw the following conclusions:

1) The publication of 1980 edition of the "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh" on Le Duan's orders is illegal and invalid. The Le Duan clique must immediately withdraw and destroy all copies of this edition and reprint the 1960 edition as it was for the broad masses to study.

2) The Ho Chi Minh Museum, the Vietnamese Revolution Museum and all other Vietnamese history research institutions have a duty to satisfactorily preserve the 1960 edition of the "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh" and to do their best to collect the manuscripts and original copies of President Ho's articles written in the period from 1920 to 1969 and not included in the 1960 edition, in order to prevent these articles from being fabricated or blue-pencilled by Le Duan and his ilk when they "publish these articles for the first time." Since Le Duan and his ilk unscrupulously and flagrantly blue-pencil led the 1960 edition of the "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh," a collection of precious materials about the Vietnamese revolution which has already been publicly published, how can we guarantee that they will not falsify and blue-pencil those articles they will "publish for the first time?" Therefore, please, do be on your guard.

3) "President Ho's Will," which Le Duan and his ilk published as the last article in the new edition, has also been distorted by Le Duan. The Ho Chi Minh Museum and the Vietnamese Revolution Museum must demand that Le Duan and his clique hand over the intact manuscript of President Ho's will. If what Le Duan gives these museums is still the version he has published, these museums must write a footnote to President Ho's will, stating that this version of President Ho's will has been blue-pencilled by Le Duan and is published because no manuscript is available.

4) Whatever area he works in, a true Vietnamese revolutionary must make efforts to find the 1960 edition of "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh" to read and spread the ideas of this book in order to make people understand President Ho's theories, political line, thought and moral values and see through Le Duan and his ilk's renegade activities. Thus people will not be led onto the path of bringing disaster to the nation, deceiving the teacher and betraying the friend.

5) In spite of the alterations by the Le Duan clique to the original edition of the "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh," President Ho's theories, political line, thought and moral values will live forever in the hearts of the

Vietnamese people and always remain as a beacon showing the road for their advance.

All patriotic Vietnamese should rise resolutely to defend President Ho's political line and achievements of the revolution, smash the despicable conspiracy of the Le Duan clique and its ruthless, corrupt ruling body, and strive to build a peaceful, unified, independent and democratic Vietnam to fulfill President Ho's expectations.

CSO: 4005/153

BRIEFS

SOLZHENITSYN'S TAIWAN VISIT CONDEMNED--Several years ago, the U.S. Government gave political asylum to Solzhenitsyn, an extreme anticommunist element expelled by the Soviet Union. The U.S. Government has also permitted the so-called writer to publish books which distort life in the Soviet Union. Not long ago, U.S. imperialism allowed this running dog to visit Taipei, where he launched the dirtiest attack against our country. He said: Do not trust Peking's promises that it will totally preserve your economic and social system and even your armed forces. Communist China hates you and wants the United States to stop the sale of arms to you in order to weaken your defense capability and create conditions for the invasion of your island. Solzhenitsyn's visit to Taiwan was arranged by the U.S. State Department to use him to express its own viewpoint. [Text] [OW092307 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 9 Nov 82]

DELEGATION LEAVES FOR PHILIPPINES--The Chinese agricultural delegation led by Lin Hujia, minister of agriculture, animal husbandry and fishery, left here today for a visit to the Republic of the Philippines at the invitation of the Philippine Government. [Text] [OW090845 Beijing XINHUA in English 0800 GMT 9 Nov 82]

'ARAFAT MEETS WITH NIGER'S KOUNTCHE--Tunis, 5 Nov (XINHUA)--The Palestinian people will continue to struggle in all fields, militarily, politically and diplomatically, said Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the executive committee of the Palestine Liberation Org anization, at a press conference here today. He made the remarks after his talks with the visiting head of state of Niger Seyni Kountche. He said their talks covered the cause of the Palestinians and the Niger people's support for the Palestinian struggle against the Zionist entity. He recalled his earlier talks with Jordanian King Husayn Ibn Talal, saying that the talks were "successful and constructive." A mixed permanent committee had been established for the relations between Jordan and Palestine, he said. [Text] [OW061026 Beijing XINHUA in English 0705 GMT 6 Nov 82]

NEW TURKISH PRESIDENT ELECTED--Ankara, 8 Nov (XINHUA)--General Kenan Evren has been elected the seventh president of the Turkish Republic, according to the first results announced by the state-run Ankara Radio this early morning. In a national referendum yesterday, a new constitution of Turkey was approved by over 90 percent of the voters. Gen Evren was automatically elected president for a single seven-year term in accordance with a provisional article

of the new constitution. General Evren, chief of general staff of the Turkish Armed Forces, led the military take-over of the administration in the country on 12 September 1980. He then became the chairman of the ruling "National Security Council" and head of state. [Text] [OW081339 Beijing XINHUA in English 1223 GMT 8 Nov 82]

AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, U.S. MANEUVERS--Wellington, 5 Nov (XINHUA)--Australian, New Zealand and U.S. troops began a six-day joint manoeuvre in the north island of this country yesterday. Two thousand five hundred soldiers from the three countries took part in the code-named "Truppenant" exercise which was designed to practise signals, command and tactics of withdrawal in a non-nuclear war setting. It is part of new Zealand Army's 1982-83 training course. [Text] [OW050745 Beijing XINHUA in English 0724 GMT 5 Nov 82]

NEW LEADER FOR SPANISH COMMUNISTS--Madrid, 7 Nov (XINHUA)--The central committee of the Spanish Communist Party today elected Gerardo Iglesias the general secretary of the party to replace Santiago Carrillo, who resigned Saturday. Party officials told reporters that Iglesias won 64 votes from the 104-member central committee. Three members opposed Iglesias' nomination. Nineteen were absent, 15 abstained and three votes were blank, they said. Iglesias, 37, a former coal miner, joined the party at the age of 15 and had been a party leader in the Asturias Region of northern Spain before he was nominated for the new post by Carrillo. After his election, Iglesias said he agrees with Carrillo's Eurocommunism and will carry out the resolutions adopted by the party's 10th congress. [Text] [OW081329 Beijing XINHUA in English 1241 GMT 8 Nov 82]

U.S.' UNDERSECRETARY MEETS JAPANESE LEADERS--Tokyo, 11 Nov (XINHUA)--Japanese officials quoted visiting U.S. Undersecretary of State Lawrence Eagleberger as saying the United States wishes to hold talks with Japan to forge a common hardline position toward the Soviet Union, according to press reports here today. Eagleberger held separate talks with Japanese Cabinet Secretary Kiichi, Foreign Minister Yoshio Sakurauchi and Deputy Foreign Minister Toshijiro Nakajima on U.S.-Japan issues including defense affairs yesterday. He arrived here on 9 November on a three-day tour of Japan. [Text] [OW111934 Beijing XINHUA in English 1616 GMT 11 Nov 82]

SPORTS DIGNITARIES RECEPTION HELD--Beijing, 12 Nov (XINHUA)--Ayilam Pan Panchapakesa Venkateswaran, Indian ambassador to China and Mrs Usha Venkateswaran, gave a receiption here this afternoon in honor of the Chinese sports delegation and the China Central Song and Dance Ensemble, which will shortly leave for India to participate in the 9th Asian Games and the Arts Festival of the games. Present were Li Menghua, minister of the Chinese Physical Culture and Sports Commission; Chen Xian, leader of the Chinese Sports Delegation; and Meng Yu, leader of the China Central Song and Dance Ensemble. Also present were athletes, coaches and referees of the delegation and artists of the ensemble.

CSO: 4000/15

PARTY AND STATE

FORUM HELD BY LIAONING CADRES ON 12TH PARTY CONGRESS REPORT

Socialist Legal System

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 12 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Jin Yang [6930 7122]: "Hu Yaobang's 12th Party Congress Report Is Discussed at Forum Held by Cadres of the Office of the Legal System, Liaoning Provincial People's Congress To Bring Democracy and a Legal System to Socialism"]

[Text] For the last few days, personnel of the Office of the Legal System of the Liaoning Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee have conscientiously studied Comrade Hu Yaobang's 12th party congress report and have resolved to build a high degree of socialist democracy and strengthen the contributing force of the socialist legal system.

Li Fan [2621 5400], vice chairman of the Office of the Legal System, said that the revised draft constitution stipulates that: "The people have the right to manage state work, economic and cultural enterprises as well as societal work by means at any path and form, as long as they abide by the regulations of the law." This guarantees the people's rights to be the masters of their own houses. It will greatly arouse the masses' enthusiasm for socialism. Comrade Huang Yalue [7806 0068 3970] said that, based on the principles of democracy, the state and society insure the people's legal rights and freedom and cannot be violated by any organization or individual. When people exercise their rights and freedom, they must safeguard the interests and freedom of the state, the collectives and other individuals. No one is allowed to use this freedom and these rights to carry out antirevolutionary or any other destructive activities. Absolutely unlimited rights do not exist, thus the nature of rights and obligations are unanimous. Only when obligations and enjoyment of rights are carried out correctly can a true socialist democratic system be guaranteed and be built.

Comrade Liu Baoqi [0491 1405 4388] said that the building of socialist democracy must be closely linked to the building of a socialist legal system in order to bring about socialist democratic systemization and legalization. So-called socialist democratic systemization and legalization requires that the people gain the rights of democracy and freedom by means of struggle. First is the highest power of being master over managing the state. The confirmation by systematic and legal forms brings about democratic codification and

standardization. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, the party has led the people to continue to formulate and complete various laws and to strengthen the party's leadership in political and legal work. As a result, a new unprecedented situation has emerged in the building of China's legal system. At present, China already has some fundamental laws and the task placed before us is how to guarantee the implementation of these laws. Therefore, we must repeatedly carry out propaganda and education of the legal system among the people so that everyone will understand and abide by the law. The broad masses of party officials and cadres must even be more so in leading, upholding and abiding by the law. Every citizen also has the responsibility to supervise the implementation of the law. They must dare to struggle against all unlawful activities so as to guarantee the consolidation and development of the socialist democratic system.

Power of Cooperation of Old, Young

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 15 Sep 82 p 1

[Article: "Cadres of Organizations Subordinate to the Liaoning Provincial Party Committee Discuss the Power of Cooperation Between the Young and Old"]

[Text] Since the opening of the 12th party congress, the cadres of organizations subordinate to the Liaoning Provincial Party Committee have been in high spirits. They said that the 12th party congress has not only designed a beautiful blueprint but has also selected a strong party Central Committee for them so that their work will certainly be able to attain great victories.

The elections of the three committees of the party Central Committee and the Central Committee's leading organizations realized the cooperation of the young and old, and the replacement of the old in the Central Committee's leadership. Zhang Zhengde [1728 2973 1795], secretary of the provincial party committee, Liu Wen, [2692 2429], vice chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, Xie Huangtian [6200 5435 3944], and Peng Xiangsong [1756 4382 2646], vice governors, said that over 60 percent of the members of the 12th Central Committee were newly elected and among these, two-thirds are under the age of 60; the youngest is 38. This shows that our party is growing and flourishing and is not without successors. Comrades of the provincial party committee, administrative office, provincial party committee organization departments and provincial party committee propaganda departments said that the new leading organizations have a group of highly experienced older generation of proletarian revolutionaries with noble character and high prestige as the mainstay to hold the course of the party and state as well as a group of comrades who, in the prime of their lives, possess both ability and political integrity and are in the forefront of work. They are the most combat-worthy of the strong command post. Liu Mingjiu [0491 7686 0046], vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC, said that the party Central Committee's leading organizations have achieved cooperation between old and young and replacement of the old. This is an extraordinary event in the history of China. Niu Pingfu [3662 1627 3940], vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC composed a poem concerning this: "The merit of ushering in the future and inheriting the past is difficult to match, by forging ahead to the future and carrying forward the

cause to success will certainly be attained." Shi Hengyue [4258 2897 1471], deputy director of the Provincial Machinery Bureau said that the old comrades not only have attained great achievements in the past but also have become models of the entire party for achieving cooperation with the young and replacement of the old. Wang Shutang [3769 2885 2768], provincial party committee secretary, said that the emergence of new leading organizations of the Central Committee signifies that our great party is becoming increasingly mature. Zheng Lanru [6774 5695 0320], an electrical engineer, said that with such a strong leadership core the four modernizations will certainly succeed and China will certainly flourish. During the forum, comrades from units of the provincial CPPCC, provincial political organizations, provincial bureau of communications and transportation, provincial planning committee, provincial economics committee, provincial office of public security and the provincial bureau of coal all said that the elections which produce leading organizations of the Central Committee that coincide with the will of the party and the people are China's hope for attaining vigorous development. The strategic goals of the 12th party congress will certainly be fulfilled.

9480
CSO: 4005/49

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY DISCIPLINE, ORGANIZATION DISCUSSED

Party Discipline

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 82 p 3

[Short commentary: "It Is Necessary To Carry Out Higher Level Directives"]

[Text] The party branch committee of the Luosi Village Brigade refused to carry out higher level directives for several years. Although they have undergone education many times, they still have not corrected this. In the end, they threatened upper level organizations by ignoring their responsibilities. This kind of behavior of ignoring the organization and destroying party discipline should definitely not be allowed. The Shuiniantou Commune Party Committee's decision made in accordance with the rules of the Party Constitution to disband the party branch committee of this brigade and to take organizational disciplinary action against Chen Tiecheng and others was totally correct.

Although the Luosi Village Brigade party branch committee's repeated flagrant opposition to higher level organizations is an individual case, yet in some party organizations there exists a tendency in different degrees of not conscientiously handling the Central Committee and higher level directives, putting off carrying out orders, feigning compliance, or carrying out only those to their liking. All of these actions run counter to the principle of democratic centralism and are signs of impurity in party spirit. Allowing these phenomena to continuously exist will obstruct the implementation of the party's lines and general and specific policies as well as weaken the party's fighting power.

Why are these phenomena which run contrary to the organizational discipline of the party able to occur? Firstly, the pernicious influence of the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing who stirred up anarchism and severely damaged the party's organizational discipline has still not been eliminated; secondly, some new party members admitted to the party during the "Cultural Revolution" did not receive systematic education in party discipline and do not understand the party's organizational principles. They are deficient in the proper tempering of party spirit; thirdly, some leading organs of the party are excessively indulgent towards the serious offenses against party organizational discipline. Failures in strictly handling the transgressors immediately bring about looseness in party discipline and cause many party

members' understanding of organizational discipline to be very weak. To overcome these problems, it is first necessary to strengthen education. To the majority of comrades, it is mainly to help them raise their consciousness, strengthen their party spirit and enhance their organizational concept. For the very small minority who seriously damage the party's organizational discipline and are not corrected after repeated education, it is necessary to give them requisite disciplinary treatment according to party regulations and laws.

The new party constitution stipulates that "The lower level organization of the party must resolutely implement the decisions of the upper level organization. If the lower level organization considers that a decision of the upper level organization is not suitable for the actual situation of their area and their department, they can request changes. If the upper level organization insists upon their original decision, the lower level organization must carry it out and not publicly issue differing opinions. However, they have the right to report again to a further higher level." These stipulations fully demonstrate the party's democratic centralism. They are indispensable in guaranteeing the party's unity in thought and action, and in insuring the implementation of the party's lines and policies. Party committees of all levels, when organizing party members to study the new Party Constitution, must treat the chapter on party structural system as a focal point, and make sure the spirit of the document is fully comprehended and implementation, integrating with actual situations, is thoroughly carried out. Therefore, comrades of the whole party will further strengthen their sense of organizational discipline, and work hard cooperatively under the party central leadership to create a complete new situation for socialist construction.

Rectification in Tong County Party Branches

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 82 p 3

[Article: "The Tong County Party Committee Conscientiously Studies the Implementation of the Spirit of 12th Party Congress Documents To Rectify Party Style and Raise Organizational Consciousness"]

[Text] Reporter Zhang Shuzheng [1788 2579 2398] reports: the Tong County Party Committee of the CPC in Beijing studied the implementation of the spirit of 12th party congress documents to rectify party style and raise structural consciousness. They resolved to improve party style and work hard.

Recently, the Tong County party committee gathered together three times to study 12th party congress documents. They understood that the rectification of party style and structure, striking blows at illegal activities in economic and other areas which damaged socialist enterprises were long term tasks and that "almost" and "taking a breathing spell" were intolerable.

On 12 September, the Tong County party committee convened a conference. Attending the conference were Propaganda Department heads of each commune and chiefs of political and engineering offices subordinate to the county. Research and plans were made for the entire county to study the 12th party congress documents.

It was required that each level of the party organization rectify the party's style and organization according to the spirit of the documents. Following this, the county party committee organization department and county propaganda department sponsored an anticorruption education exhibit using actual cases of this county as examples and materials compiled from related 12th congress documents. Touring exhibit and lecturing were given to rural communes.

At present, this county party committee has carried out initial rectification of 430 general and party branches, commended eight advanced party branches and discharged two party branch secretaries from the party membership for their serious unlawful activities.

9480
CSO: 4005/45

PARTY AND STATE

CITIZENS' RIGHTS, RESPONSIBILITIES SAID INSEPARABLE

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Huang Ziyi [7806 1311 3015]: "To Enjoy Rights One Must Carry Out Responsibilities"]

[Text] The draft revision of the constitution regarding the inseparability of citized rights and responsibilities is the manifestation of the basic principle of the socialist system that all people are equal before the law. The inclusion of this point in the constitution is a summation of the experiences and lessons in socialist construction of constitutional government since the founding of the nation and is a new and important part of the draft revision of the constitution.

The draft has a few new provisions regarding citizen rights and responsibilities, such as expanding citizens' political, cultural and educational rights with the addition of new guarantees for citizens' personal freedon, respect for human dignity and personal safety. The rights of citizen supervision over the organs of state and state workers and personnel, citizen rights to work and the right to receive material assistance were made more specific. Fundamental significance was attached to placing the inseparable principles of citizen rights and responsibilities in a prominent position.

In our socialist nation the people are masters of the state. The system of human exploitation has been smashed and the socialist ownership of the means of production is the foundation for equality in human relationships. This is reflected in the laws, the citizens' rights and responsibilities are equal and inseparable. In 1949 the nation formulated the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference's "Common Program," The 9th Article of which says, "All nationalities within the Chinese People's Republic have equal rights and responsibilities." The 1954 constitution clearly defined the legal equality of all citizens. The new draft revision of the constitution not only re-affirms the legal equality of all citizens, but goes a step further in ruling that, "the rights and responsibilities of citizens are inseparable.

All citizens shall have the rights stipulated by the constitution and the legal code and at the same time they must fulfil the responsibilities stated in the constitution and the legal code." (Article 32) This new regulation reflects the special features of citizen rights and responsibilities under the socialist system.

In the "International Workers Conference Common Regulations" Marx pointed out, "The proletarian struggle for liberation is not one for priviledges or power but is a struggle for equality of rights and responsibilities." As Marx saw things, in a socialist nation, the relationship between rights and responsibilities is that "There are no rights without corresponding responsibilities and there are no responsibilities without corresponding rights." (Ma-En Xuanji--Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol II, p 136--137)

When we say that citizen rights and responsibilities are inseparable this means that no one has only responsibilities and no rights and that no one has only rights with no responsibilities. In a socialist nation it is not permissible for any individual or small group of people to obtain rights and freedoms by obstructing majority rights and freedoms or by obstructing state or socialist common benefits. The draft revision of the constitution says, "Citizens have the responsibility to uphold the peace, prosperity and glory of the homeland and not act contrary to them." (Article 51) In the same fashion, the state is very concerned about citizen's individual interests and realizes that the interests of the state and society cannot cast aside individual interests. The guarantee of the common interests of the state and society is the foundation of the guarantee of individual interests. The fact that our country can encourage the broad people to actively engage in public life and consciously undertake assorted responsibilities is evidence that state and social interests match the individual interests of the citizenry. Not only does the fulfilment of state and social responsibilities not cause the loss of individual interests and freedoms, on the contrary, the country is made even stronger by the foundation of guaranteed individual rights for citizens. Under the socialist system there is no separation of the interests of the state and society from those of individual citizens, they are consistent. In a socialist state the more the citizens faithfully carry out their responsibilities the more they create beneficial conditions for the broad citizenry. The broader the rights enjoyed by the citizens and the more the guarantees, then the greater the sense of superiority in the socialist system and the higher the awareness and the conscious fulfilment of responsibilities. It can be seen that the citizens' rights and responsibilities help each other forward. Of course, in the process of socialist development the rights of citizens are always subject to the restrictions of the prevailing material and cultural conditions. Marx pointed out that, "Rights can never exceed the developments which arise from the restrictions imposed by the economic limitations of

society." (MA-EN XUANJI-SELECTED WORKS OF MARX AND ENGELS, Vol 3 p 12) The implementation of citizens' rights stipulated by the constitution requires the guarantees provided by certain material and cultural conditions. These guarantees can be gradually created only after advances are made in the construction of socialist modernization.

How can we ensure that the principal of the inseparability of citizen rights and responsibilities is truly carried out? As far as the present time is concerned, it is important to conduct discussions on the revised draft of the constitution, carry out education regarding the legal system and eliminate the remaining poisons of the Lin Biao--Jiang Qing anti-revolutionary clique. We must develop socialist democracy and perfect the socialist legal system. Our broad cradres and masses have the cardinal principles in mind and take the general situation into account, are capable of consciously obeying the constitution and the laws, and correctly handling the relationship among the state, the collective and individuals. However, real life proves that there really is a small mumber of cadres who ignore the constitution, who believe that the citizen responsibilities in the constitution apply only to the common people and that they themselves are not subject to restrictions. They speak only of their rights and even demand special priviledges which exceed the law. In the case of individuals, if their children break the law they do not encourage them to accept their punishment, but rather use their influence to interfere with the legal procedures and use all possible tricks to help their children evade responsibility. Such behavior as considering oneself to have special priviledges is not acceptable in a socialist system and is incompatible with the struggle advocated by Marx to liberate the proletariat. This is a struggle against inequality of rights and responsibilities rather than a struggle for special class priviledges. It is in direct contradiction to the principle of the inseparability of citizen rights and responsibilities.

Because of the ideology of anarchism advocated by some people in society it is also necessary to use constitutional authority to mobilize all social forces to educate people to obey the law and carry out comprehensive controls. The poisons of anarchist thought contend that because citizens have the freedoms of speech, publication, association, forming groups, travel and demonstrating they can do as they please, they even repress accurate criticism by claiming that it "violates their human rights." This is an enormous distortion of the citizen rights as stipulated by the constitution. Even more extreme is that some people simply ignore the state constitution and laws, disrupt public security add commit illegal acts. Such illegal behavior has nothing to do with citizens' rights and ought to be punished by law.

In view of this, article five of the draft revision of the constitution stipulates: "No organization or individual has special priviledges beyond the constitution or the law." Article 48 stipulates: "No citizen of the Chinese People's Republic while exercising their freedoms and rights is permitted to harm state, social or collective interests or harm the legal interests or rights of other citizens." These all are mandatory in constructing socialist legal order.

Recognition of the principle of non-separation of citizen rights and responsibilities is a major development in the establishement of socialist constitutional government in China.

11582
CSO: 4005/1216

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NPC LEADER INSPECTS XIZANG'S ABA PREFECTURE

OW152114 Beijing XINHUA in English 0710 GMT 13 Nov 82

[Text] Chengdu, 13 Nov (XINHUA)--Bainqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyaincain, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, calls the achievements of the Tibetan autonomous prefecture of Aba "remarkable."

He made the evaluation at a rally in the prefecture on 11 November.

The vice-chairman made an inspection tour of it 21 October to 11 November.

Originally a vast expanse of wasteland, the prefecture, he said, now had highways, modern factories and hydroelectric power stations, and many new small towns. Every place was better off. "All this is further proof that only when we adhere to socialism can the Tibetan nationality and other nationalities of our country grow and flourish."

Bainqen Erdini, who is also honorary president of the Buddhist Association of China, spoke about the policy of freedom of religious belief. He called on every religious worker and believer of the country to be a good citizen of the People's Republic of China. "You must first be a good citizen, then you can become a really good follower of a religion," said the honorary president.

He said that religious activities should not be directed against the interests of the country. He praised some former religious workers who had returned to their native places to serve as school teachers and accountants or take part in other work, thus making their contribution to society.

He said some more monasteries would be opened to meet the needs of religious believers. He advised that school-age children should first go to school and decide their life work after they grow up."

CSO: 4000/17

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SYMPOSIUM ON IMPROVING COLLEGE ENROLLMENT SYSTEM

OW252114 Beijing XINHUA in English 1848 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Text] Changsha, 25 Nov (XINHUA)--Urging greater consideration of students' grades and other performances in middle school, an education symposium that ended here yesterday recommended improvement of China's college admissions.

Huang Xinbai, vice-minister of education, called for study of both Chinese and foreign admissions systems at the 10-day symposium on college entrance examinations. He stressed the importance of summing up China's own experience in the last few years.

Personnel training must be carefully planned and higher education should suit the needs of China's modernization, he said.

The symposium brought together delegates from middle schools, colleges, universities, education research institutes and admission councils throughout the country to hear 24 papers on college admissions.

The examination system was restored only in 1977, after the 1966-76 "Cultural Revolution." The delegates agreed the system had been beneficial by encouraging studies, but still needed work, so as to best identify those most qualified for college and university. An improved enrollment system will promote middle school education and have a favorable impact on society as a whole, they said.

Many delegates agreed it is unfair to middle school graduates to have their educational chances decided by one college entrance exam. Students' moral, intellectual and physical performances in middle school should be taken into account.

Professor Meng Xiande from Henan Normal University said normal schools should entroll a larger number of students from areas where teachers are urgently needed. In addition to normal schools, delegates to the symposium said agricultural, forestry and medical colleges should also enroll more students from rural and remote areas; and mining, geological and petroleum colleges should draw more students from just those areas.

Citing a graduate who finished college through self-study and later became a national invention award winner while doing his graduate work, Huang Lurui, from Wuhan University, said special consideration should be given to candidates with rich work experience who apply to college.

The symposium said colleges and universities should have more independence in enrollment, with full consideration of the requirements of specialties and the aspirations and applications of the candidates.

CSO: 4000/17 END

JPRS 82440

10 December 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 371

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82440

10 December 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 371

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Preservation of OPEC National Resources Viewed
(Zhang Yunwen; RENMIN RIBAO, 13 Nov 82) 1

Implications of Indian Prime Minister's Visit to U.S.
(Ming Zhi; SHIJIE ZHISHI, 1 Sep 82) 4

PARTY AND STATE

Commentary Recommends Measures for Becoming Communist
(Wu Kebiao; XINHUA RIBAO, 3 Sep 82) 8

Article Discusses Practice of Communism
(Xu Zhihua, Chen Hui; XINHUA RIBAO, 17 Sep 82) 10

Appropriate Lifestyle for Party Members Stressed
(Gen Lu; XINHUA RIBAO, 26 Sep 82) 12

Article Discusses Pursuit of Ideal Communist Personality
(Guo Guangyin; XINHUA RIBAO, 24 Aug 82) 14

New Outlook of Modernization Effort Commended
(Li Tian; XINHUA RIBAO, 5 Sep 82) 17

Inspiration of Party Congress Hailed
(Sun Jiazheng; XINHUA RIBAO, 10 Sep 82) 19

Youth Urged To Study Theory, Pursue Truth
(Miao Runsheng; XINHUA RIBAO, 20 Aug 82) 21

All Organizations Urged To Study 12th Party Congress Documents
(XINHUA RIBAO, 9, 12, 17 Sep 82) 23

[III - CC - 80]

Regiment of Nanjing Area, by Dou Wang, et al.
Jiangsu Committee Issues Notice
Xiejiao Commune 'Red-Banner Militia' Regiment, by Huang Yuchong, Zhang Jian

Study of 12th Party Congress Documents Stressed
(XINHUA RIBAO, 12 Sep 82) 27

Zhejiang CPC Official Attends Cadre Policy Meeting
(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 7 Nov 82) 30

Zhejiang People's Congress Standing Committee Meeting
(Zhejiang Provincial Service, 13 Nov 82) 32

Shanghai CPC Official Views Party Consolidation
(Hu Lijiao; Shanghai City Service, 20 Nov 82) 33

Liaoning Provincial Circular on Learning From Wan Huaqing
(Liaoning Provincial Service, 13 Nov 82) 35

Shandong Sponsors Meeting on Reforming
(Shandong Provincial Service, 29 Oct 82) 37

Zhejiang Leaders Attend Commendation Meeting
(Zhejiang Provincial Service, 27 Oct 82) 38

Report on Appointing 'Three Types of Persons'
(Jing Kuan; LIAONING RIBAO, 18 Oct 82) 39

Jiangsu Democratic Parties End Grassroots Meeting
(Jiangsu Provincial Service, 14 Nov 82) 41

Every Communist Should Serve as Leader
(Shen Xuantang; XINHUA RIBAO, 28 Sep 82) 42

Briefs
Heilongjiang Delegation Returns 44
Shanghai 'Stresses, Beauties' Drive 44

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Conscription Work in Jiangsu Discussed
(Cao Mingxiang, Liu Sizuo; XINHUA RIBAO, 19 Sep 82) 45

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'Ba Yi Radio' Comments on Carter Memoirs
(Ba Yi Radio, 21, 22 Nov 82) 47

'China Wants To Stop Memoirs'
PRC Journal Carrying Memoirs Banned
'Ba Yi' Denounces Memoirs

People Exhorted To Check Population Growth in Rural Areas
(Editorial; JIANKANG BAO, 26 Sep 82) 52

Birth Control Increasing in Zhejiang
(Zhejiang Provincial Service, 11 Nov 82) 55

Hunan's Mao Zhiyong Stresses Planned Parenthood
(Hunan Provincial Service, 19 Nov 82) 56

Xinjiang Nationality Unity Gathering Reported
(Xinjiang Regional Service, 10-15, 17 Nov 82) 57

Gathering Opens
Qiao Shi Speech
Li Gui Speech
Wang Enmao on Nationality Issues
Wang Enmao on Strengthening Unity
Wang Enmao Outlines Tasks
Speech-Making Session
14 Nov Session
Gathering Concludes
Report Meeting

'NINGXIA RIBAO' Reports Regional Census Figures
(NINGXIA RIBAO, 29 Oct 82) 70

Social Sciences Academy Discusses Development
(XINHUA, 23 Nov 82) 74

Notice Restricts Unauthorized School System Changes
(GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN, Jan 82) 75

Student Status Terminology Explained
(GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN, Jan 82) 77

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Work Toward Intellectuals
(Sha Hong; GUANGMING RIBAO, 15 Nov 82) 79

Henan Teachers Complain About Unruly Student
(Henan Provincial Service, 9 Nov 82) 84

Facts Recounted
Liu Jie Investigates Complaint
Prefecture Committee Decision

Shanxi Urges Upgrading Primary School Education
(SHANXI RIBAO, 31 Oct 82) 87

Congress of Progressives in Education Opens in Guangzhou
(Guangdong Provincial Service, 18 Nov 82) 89

Jiangsu Housing Construction Scandal Described
(XINHUA, 16 Nov 82) 90

Henan's Liu Jie Awards Title to Worker Yang Zao
(Henan Provincial Service, 11 Nov 82) 92

Meeting To Confer Title
Henan Radio Praise

'SHAANXI RIBAO' on Desire To Reform Itself
(SHAANXI RIBAO, 31 Oct 82) 95

'HEILONGJIANG RIBAO' Article on Social Conduct
(Shi Yuman; HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 25 Oct 82) 97

Wang Daren Speaks at Jilin Discipline Inspection Work Forum
(Jilin Provincial Service, 20 Nov 82) 99

Heilongjiang Progress in Restructuring Secondary Education Noted
(Heilongjiang Provincial Service, 19 Nov 82) 101

Activities of Guangxi 's Qiao Xiaoguang Reported
(Guangxi Regional Service, 6, 7 Nov 82) 102

Writes Foreword to Sports Book
Attends Opening of Games
Speaks at Study Class

NPC Adopts Cultural Relics Protection Law
(XINHUA, 19 Nov 82) 104

'SICHUAN RIBAO' Discusses Retirement of Old Cadres
(Sichuan Provincial Service, 11 Nov 82) 114

'SICHUAN RIBAO' Calls for Intensified Struggle Against Economic Crimes
(Sichuan Provincial Service, 10 Nov 82) 115

Hainan Meeting Discusses Economic Crime
(Hainan Island Service, 18 Nov 82) 117

Hainan Conference Reviews Education Issues
(Hainan Island Service, 14 Nov 82) 118

Guangdong Provincial Forum on Building Spiritual Civilization
(Guangdong Provincial Service, 16 Nov 82) 119

Tianjin Holds Forum on Private Houses
(Tianjin City Service, 9 Nov 82) 121

'SHANXI RIBAO' Notes Rural Education Problems
(Yi Mu; SHANXI RIBAO, 26 Oct 82) 123

Guangdong Regulations for Government Workers
(Guangdong Provincial Service, 11 Nov 82) 124

Guangdong Circular Issued on Arrangements for Demobilized Soldiers
(Guangdong Provincial Service, 15 Nov 82) 126

Shaanxi Holds Third Meeting on Combating Economic Crimes
(Shaanxi Provincial Service, 16 Nov 82) 127

Li Qiming Speaks at Yunnan Party Meeting
(Yunnan Provincial Service, 10 Nov 82) 128

Ningxia Congress Committee Holds 16th Meeting
(NINGXIA RIBAO, 29 Oct 82) 130

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Comrade Guo Moruo
(Lu Jiaxi, Yan Dongsheng; RENMIN RIBAO, 16 Nov 82) 133

Jiangsu's Xu Jiatun Condoles Death of Liu Lieren
(Jiangsu Provincial Service, 14 Nov 82) 139

Henan Prefecture Sentences Two on Speculation Charges
(Henan Provincial Service, 8 Nov 82) 140

Heilongjiang Finds Jobs for Unemployed Young People
(XINHUA, 13 Nov 82) 142

Briefs
Ghizhou Nationalities Literature Course 143
Shaanxi Deals With Economic Crimes 143
Sichuan Leaders Attend Sports Rally 144
Shaanxi Corrects Work Style Anomalies 44
Veteran's Burial in Xian 144
Sanitation Day in Xian 144
Guangdong Planned Parenthood 145
Guangdong Economic Crime Fighting Groups 145
Northwest Literature, Art Forum 145
Beijing Print Media Meeting 146

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRESERVATION OF OPEC NATIONAL RESOURCES VIEWED

HK170617 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Nov 82 p 6

[Article by Zhang Yunwen [1728 0336 2429]: "The Just Struggle of OPEC To Preserve National Resources"]

[Text] The struggle of OPEC to preserve national oil resources and oppose Western economic exploitation and political oppression marks a significant historic event in the present age.

In the mid-1970's, the world's old needs grew dramatically. The Western oil companies refused to compromise on a demand by OPEC to readjust oil prices. In October 1973, the fourth Arab-Israel war broke out in the Middle East. Arab countries put forth demands, one after another, on instituting an oil embargo against the Western countries that had supported Israel, with a view to forcing them to change their backing and protection of Israel. Under these circumstances, OPEC decided to raise oil prices on 16 October. The following day, Arab oil-producing countries decided to reduce oil production and to impose an oil embargo against the West. This decision shook the world and caused chaos in the economies of the West, which were based on exploiting low-priced oil.

Since then, Arab oil-producing countries and other member states of OPEC have recovered the power of setting oil prices and deciding on production from the hands of the international oil monopolies, and oil prices quadrupled from 1973 to 1974 after various price readjustments. OPEC, showing the power of solidarity and militancy of the Third World countries, announced that the day had gone forever in which big Western oil companies could do as they pleased in exploiting and marketing resources from oil-production countries at low prices, and thus encouraged the struggle of the Third World raw material producers.

OPEC has existed for 22 years. It emerged from the struggle against exploitation by the Western multinational oil companies, and it has stabilized and grown in the struggle against these big companies.

Before the 1970's, OPEC oil production, transportation and marketing were controlled by the international oil companies. In 1959 and 1960, by threatening to reduce oil production, these companies twice forced oil prices down. This directly

affected the oil revenues on which the oil-producing countries depended. On 9 September 1960, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela, which had suffered heavy blows from the international oil monopoly capitalists, held an urgent meeting in Baghdad to deal with the situation. On 14 September, OPEC proclaimed its founding and initiated the prelude of struggle in unity and militancy to preserve national resources. OPEC, as the biggest organization of the raw material producing countries in the Third World, has not only preserved the resources of the oil-producing countries, but has also made important contributions to establishing a new world economic order.

Having gained victory in the "oil price war" and recovered overall control over crude oil, OPEC has the power to undertake global negotiations. In the struggle against the Western countries and the oil monopolies, OPEC has rejected negotiations dealing only with energy exploitation and prices and insisted on holding talks on broad questions such as material, money and funds related to developing countries. The "solemn declaration" issued at the OPEC summit conference in March 1975 stressed its solidarity with other developing countries. It was this very declaration which led to the opening of the Paris international cooperation conference in April 1975. This conference is also known as the north-south dialogue between the 19 developing countries and the 8 main industrialized countries. Owing to the joint efforts made by OPEC and other developing countries from April to May 1974, the United Nations convened its sixth special conference on raw materials and development and called for establishing a new world economic order.

OPEC has promoted south-south cooperation by giving economic aid to the poor developing countries. OPEC member states consider this as their duty. It established the organization's special fund of $800 million in 1976, which was converted into the OPEC fund for international development with a total amount of $4 billion in 1980. From 1973 to 1980, it provided developing countries with various aid accounting for 1.35 to 2.59 percent of the GNP of its member states. During the same period, the assistance provided by the organization of economic cooperation and development only made up 0.30 to 0.35 percent of the GNP of its member states; yet, the total GNP of the members of the first organization was less than 7 percent of that of the second.

The Western propaganda machines regarded readjustment of oil prices as "a devil strangling the world economy," as if the present Western economic recession were due to increased oil prices. However, they deliberately did not mention that after the war, the international oil monopolies, in order to plunder the resources of the oil-producing countries, forced oil prices down to half the price of coal. Low-priced oil made Western countries use oil instead of coal and oil became the leading energy source, for the first time in 1965. It is hard to believe that oil is the sole commodity which had hardly experienced any change in price since the early part of this century. In 1900, the price of oil was $1.20 a barrel and after 30 years, that is, after the big economic depression in the West, it dropped to $1.19; after Pearl Harbor, it went down again to $1.14; after the war, it was raised to $1.20. In the 1950's, the price of oil remained at $1.50. In 1960, when OPEC was established, the price

was $1.80. Actually, prior to October 1973, oil revenues of the oil-producing countries had been greatly reduced because of inflation and the constant increase in prices of imported industrial products and food. Western public opinion refused to say anything about this.

Low-priced oil brought prosperity to the economy of the West and created an "oil civilization." At the same time, it made the West wrongly believe that oil would never be exhausted and that it could be wasted willfully. The struggle of OPEC has made the world understand that oil is going to be exhausted and that the West should not unscrupulously waste this natural resource, and the oil-producing countries should establish a complete economic system based on oil revenues [words indistinct] OPEC.

In the past 2 years, this organization has been facing a serious challenge. Since March 1981, important changes have taken place in supply and demand on the world oil market. As a result of the continued economic recession in the West, the measures they have adopted for conserving oil, economizing energy and using alternate energy sources have started to take effect, while some non-OPEC countries have greatly increased oil production as a result there is an average surplus of 400 million barrels of oil daily. Western countries are daily selling 400 million barrels out of the 5 billion barrels in stock, bringing about a sharp fall in price and exerting pressure on OPEC. Taking pleasure in others' misfortune, some Western countries predict that OPEC will come to grief, but their hope has come to nothing. In March this year, OPEC convened its 63d ministerial-level conference and, for the first time, it reached agreement on stabilizing prices by cutting oil production. OPEC has offered effective assistance to Nigeria and Ecuador, frustrating the schemes of Western oil companies that threatened to cut the oil prices of these two countries in order to break the organization. This shows OPEC's strong vitality.

The number of OPEC members has increased from 5 to 13. Their petroleum reserves total 5.5 billion tons, making up 60 percent of the world's proven reserves; their output amounts to 50 percent of total world output. It is a decisive force in the international arena. Despite difficulties that may emerge in its development, the cause which it has been undertaking is a just struggle which enjoys support from all progressive mankind. It will play an even more important role in establishing a new world economic order.

CSO: 4005/174

IMPLICATIONS OF INDIAN PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO U.S.

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 82 pp 8-9

[Article by Ming Zhi [2494 5347]: "Why Indira Gandhi Paid a Visit to America"]

[Text] Indian Prime Minister Indira Ganhi's trip to the United States from 27 July to 4 August was her first visit to that country since 1971. For many years India has been relatively estranged from America and has maintained "close relations" with the Soviet Union. Its decision that the prime minister should go to America and hold a summit-level meeting could not but draw the attention of world public opinion. When the visit ended, Indira Gandhi said that on this trip she had gained a "better understanding" with America and that it was "a successful visit." U.S. officials believe that even if agreement was not reached on many issues, "a fairly good foundation was laid for cooperation between the two countries."

For over 10 years, there have been contradictions between India and America, mainly about strategic interests in South Asia, but in many aspects there has also been a mutuality of interests and relations have always been in a state of "being cold but not frozen." The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan abruptly changed the balance of power in South Asia, both affecting India's strategic position in South Asia and exposing the weakness of America's strategic development in this region. This situation made India and America both feel the necessity for changing their past relationship with each other.

Improvement of relations with the United States is actually an important link in India's readjustment of its diplomatic pattern. Since the beginning of 1980, after Indira Gandhi had been returned to power by a two-thirds majority, for over 2 years Indian diplomacy has been perplexed by the Afghan problem. Because for many years India has been deeply tied to the Soviet Union with regard to politics, economy, and military equipment, it needs to maintain close relations with the Soviet Union, and thus it sided with the Soviet Union on the Afghanistan issue and, flying its own colors in the Third World, recognized the (Hansanglin) puppet regime. India believed the Soviet Union's promise that it would not occupy Afghanistan for a long period of time, and it limited itself to giving public advice to the Soviet Union. However, with the passage of time, not only did the Soviet Union

pay no heed to India's advice but also its promise proved ~~to be~~ a lie. In another aspect, because it had sided with the Soviet Union, India was isolated internationally and its image in the Third World was particularly affected, and thus India's misgivings about the Soviet Union have grown. India also came to realize that if the Soviet Union were to hang on in Afghanistan for a long time and not clear out, for India it would be just like "putting a fire under a pile of faggots"--a hidden danger. Therefore, increasing its room for maneuver has become India's top priority task. At the summit conference of nonaligned countries which is to be held in September, there will be an urgent need for India to change its "pro-Soviet" image. At the same time, Indira Gandhi is still going to visit the Soviet Union in September, and she had to show her independent position by visiting America, thereby increasing her capital for negotiations with the Soviet Union.

Within the country, although there is no party now that threatens the rule of Indira Gandhi's Congress party, there are many domestic troubles. Because its energy crisis has deepened year by year, India's international balance of payments has continued to worsen. For the sixth 5-year plan, which began in 1980, $166 billion are still needed, and India must speedily borrow these funds or get foreign aid. In addition, there have been disturbances by minority nationalities in northeast India "against outsiders," in the northwest there has emerged a movement among the Sikhs for the setting up of the "State of Khalistan, in the south the tendency toward splittism is spreading, and throughout the country about 300 million people still live below the poverty line. Indira Gandhi's Congress party has handled these difficult problems poorly, and it would be hard to say that this will not affect the number of votes this party gets in the next general election in 1985, and thus Indira Gandhi's plan to groom her eldest son, Rajiv, to succeed her has been affected. Obviously, there is no way to solve these difficult problems by solely relying on Soviet aid. Soviet military and economic aid to India has already approached its limit. With its own economic difficulties, the Soviet Union cannot satisfy India's demands. Internal and external pressures make it necessary for India to change its pro-Soviet image. Therefore, for over a year, in order to readjust its diplomatic pattern, India has taken these steps in succession: it has warmed up its relations with neighboring countries; its leaders have repeatedly visited countries of the Third World; it has actively held the South-South conference to promote economic cooperation between Third World countries; it has taken the initiative to strengthen its ties with the major countries of the Second World, for example by importing French Mirage 2000 fighter aircraft, buying submarines from West Germany, and strengthening trade and technological cooperation with Britain and Japan; it has relaxed restrictions and regulations on foreign capital; etc. At the same time, Indira Gandhi has many times stressed India's nonalignment, indicating that India is "not pro-Soviet, not anti-America, and also not anti-China" and declaring that India's goal is to become a friend of the United States, the Soviet Union, and China. When Reagan was elected to power, Indira Gandhi

sent two congratulatory telegrams to him. In May of this year, Reagan invited her to visit America, and she accepted with pleasure. This was in sharp contrast to the three invitations sent to her by the Soviet Union over a period of over 1 year, which she put off until finally deciding to visit the Soviet Union in September of this year.

Viewed from the U.S. side, since the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, the contention between America and the Soviet Union in South Asia has become increasingly intense, and U.S. attention to India has increased correspondingly. After Reagan and Indira Gandhi made contact last year at the Cancun conference, America intensified its work on India in order to cause strained relations between New Delhi and Moscow. Another reason that the United States felt it necessary to improve U.S.-Indian relations was that in recent years, its image in the Third World has not been good and its prestige there has been falling daily. This year, the Reagan government's announcement that it was slashing foreign aid drew reproaches from many Third World countries; the Reagan government's support of Britain in the Malvinas Islands conflict also aroused strong dissatisfaction among Latin American countries; and the Reagan government's strategy of conniving with Israel in the Lebanon affair was denounced even more widely by world public opinion. Under these circumstances, the United States would naturally be pleased if it could improve its relations with India, the largest country in South Asia. At the same time, before a U.S.-Soviet summit conference, if India would switch from leaning toward the Soviet Union to a "balanced" policy toward America and the Soviet Union, this would doubtless be favorable in America's talks with the Soviet Union by increasing its bargaining chips.

The key point of this visit by Indira Gandhi to the United States was that she used every occasion and opportunity to make widespread contacts with U.S. leaders and public figures of various circles in which she explained and publicized that India was definitely not pro-Soviet. According to disclosures by the Western press, during the talks, the United States and India, in the spirit of seeking common ground while reserving differences, each set forth its views on international questions. With regard to the question of America's supplying arms to Pakistan, although Indira Gandhi had some complaints her tone was warm. America stressed that its aid to Pakistan was not aimed at India. Both sides expressed their demand that the Soviet Union withdraw its troops from Afghanistan, but each had its own view on the form of this withdrawal. That Indira Gandhi still defended the Soviet action of invading Afghanistan was obviously done in order to give herself more room for maneuver in her upcoming visit to the Soviet Union. In addition, her visit obtained these specific results; the two sides reached an agreement of the question of nuclear fuel supply; the system of annual meetings between the Indian Ministry of External Affairs and the U.S. State Department was restored; there will be cooperation in the scientific and technological field; and with regard to the question of economic aid, the United States agreed to support the World Bank and other international organizations in not reducing aid to India.

Both India and America expressed satisfaction with this visit. But the basic contradictions between the two sides with regard to their strategic interests in the South Asia region have certainly not been removed, and thus the steps taken by the two countries to improve relations could not be large. For India, in readjusting its foreign policy away from a passive position, this move in the chess game with regard to its relations with the United States, was made in order to continue the dialogue in the future, to develop a "new relationship," and to open the door for expansion of economic ties, and also in order to lay a foundation diplomatically for India's future balance between the big powers. With regard to this, although harboring misgivings and, through its propaganda mouthpiece, warning Indira Gandhi against the Americans' "honey on their lips but murder in their hearts," the Soviet Union has no other alternative, in view of Indira Gandhi's upcoming visit to the Soviet Union, but to continue its work of drawing India over to its side. During her visit to America, Indira Gandhi maintained a cautious attitude toward the Soviet Union. Observers think that although India, in order to strengthen its flexibility in foreign affairs, in the future could lessen its zeal for "close Indian-Soviet relations," for a considerable time it will not revise on a large scale its policy toward the Soviet Union.

9727
CSO: 4005/117

PARTY AND STATE

COMMENTARY RECOMMENDS MEASURES FOR BECOMING COMMUNIST

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 82 p 4

[Commentary by Wu Kebiao [0702 0344 1753]: "Do You Wish To Become a Communist?"]

[Text] Comrade! Do you wish to become a communist? If so, please remember Lenin's precious teaching: "Only by enriching our minds with the total intellectual wealth created by man can we become a communist."

The reason why the great Marx and Engels were able to establish the theory of scientific communism is because they read widely both ancient and contemporary works and dabbled in nearly the entire intellectual realm of man. The reason why our revolutionary teacher Lenin was able successfully to lead the October Revolution and establish the first state of proletarian dictatorship is also inseparable from the fact that he possessed broad knowledge and a profound theoretical foundation. In our country, the reason why Chairman Mao and the other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation were able to unite the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and thereby produce Mao Zedong Thought likewise suggests that that would have been impossible without their broad, profound talent and wisdom which bridge antiquity and our contemporary world.

The knowledge created by man is both the foundation upon which our revolutionary teachers established the theory of communism and the repository in which the confidence of our multitudinous revolutionary warriors, who practice this theory of communism, lies. Liaoning's Zhang Zhixin [1738 1807 2450], when she was in prison and facing persecution by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, refused to submit even up to the moment of her death. She indicated: "My views are not going to be changed!" If she had been without any literary cultivation and shallow in her knowledge, could she have shown such firm communist conviction? Why could Lu Lanxiu [7120 5695 4423], the original Suzhou Library deputy director, write in the early days of the "Cultural Revolution" more than 140,000 characters which theoretically criticized the "Cultural Revolution" and denounced the criminal deeds of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques? It was precisely because she had long systematically studied Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

Have you heard Comrade Li Yanjie's [2621 3601 2638] report? Why was he able to describe the ideal, ideology, morality, and sentiments of communism in such a vivid and moving way? An important point is that his thinking dwelled in his knowledge. "Knowledge is power." "Knowledge is the candle that guides life to the land of light and reality." Li Yanjie's report trod through the rich knowledge of literature, historiography, pedagogics, psychology, ethics and esthetics, and hence "plucked" the harp strings of youths' minds.

If we young people wish to forge ourselves into communists, then mastering scientific knowledge is quite necessary.

9255
CSO: 4005/112

PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE DISCUSSES PRACTICE OF COMMUNISM

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by Xu Zhihua [1776 1807 5478] and Chen Hui [7115 1920]: "Communism Is Encountered Everywhere"]

[Text] When some of our young friends talk about communism they either shake their heads or remain silent. It is as if they are unable to avoid feeling that it is "empty."

Actually what is "empty" about communism?

Comrade Zhao Chun'e [6392 2504 1230] has refined a maxim for us with her brilliant imagery: Communism is not vague; communism is at one's post. Comrade Lang Ping [6745 1627] said at the branch party conference for the official initiation of party members: "I feel that the realization of communism is both distant and near because to realize the communist cause we must proceed from our own undertaking. The zenith of communism depends on each communist party member and citizen doing their bit to help build it."

We recently carried out an investigation in the countryside of Jiangdu County and found the broad masses of CYL members and young people there building socialist spiritual civilization by forming "Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought study groups" and "agricultural science and technology study groups." Also there appeared "learn from Lei Feng groups," "warmth-giving groups" and "service-for-you teams." These energetic young people gather in political and cultural evening schools after sweating and working in crisscross footpaths between fields. They appear in the homes of the lonesome and elderly... and throughout the county there have emerged large numbers of new people and new things with ardent love for the collective, arduous struggle, assiduous study and pleasure to help others. Are these new people and new things not shining with the brilliance of communist ideology, morality and values? Indeed, such "petty things" as attending political and agricultural classes for commune members, fetching water and firewood for households that enjoy the five guarantees, tilling responsibility fields for members of revolutionary and army martyrs' families, and repairing bridges and roads for villages seem to be insignificant compared to handing over to the state 100 taels of gold, extra-large gemstones or 100,000 yuan in inheritance. Nor are they worth mentioning compared to the heroic fighters who defended the Faka and Koulin

Mountains, the skilled female volleyball players who gained honor for the country or the outstanding feat of flight crew member Yang Jihai [7799 4949 3189] who had a life-and-death struggle with airline hijackers. Nevertheless, no one can deny that they are not also a part of the true and lively communist thinking and practice. The construction of an apartment building requires such structural materials and reinforcing bars, cement and timber as well as supplementary materials like sand and gravel. Are the deeds of these rural youths not little bits of help to build the high rise of communism?

Some people feel communism to be "empty," we fear, precisely because they do not sufficiently keep the "public" in mind, and perhaps this has to do with their "talking idly about principles" without a personal involvement in practice. We would not feel communism "empty" if we only strive to practice it. In real life, all around us, in everyday's newspapers, radio broadcast and television, we feel that communism is encountered everywhere.

9586
CSO: 4005/114

PARTY AND STATE

APPROPRIATE LIFESTYLE FOR PARTY MEMBERS STRESSED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 26 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by Gen Lu [27044389]: "Party Organization and Party Members Must Confine Their Activities Within the Constitution and the Law"]

[Text] History is a most persuasive textbook, and a mirror that compels people to come to their senses. When people undertake to sum up their historical lessons, they often deeply ponder the question: why was the "cultural revolution" which brought such serious calamities to the people so easily started and promoted but so hard to prevent and stop? Many reasons can be cited but one important reason is that we have failed to institutionalize and legalize intra-party democracy and the democracy of the political life of our state, or, "although some laws are fomulated, there has been a lack of authority to implement them." Having absorbed this painful lesson, the new Party Constitution passed by the 12th Congress thus clearly prescribes: "The party must carry out its activities within the confines of the Constitution and the laws." On this, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report: this stipulation is a important principle; from the central to the basic level, no activities of party organizations and party memebers may run counter to the Constitution and the laws.

Some comrades, however, have doubts about this. They say, our state is led by the Communist Party; the Draft of the Revised Constitution also reaffirms adherence to the four basic principles as the guiding ideology of our Constitution, and of those four principles the most important one is adherence to party leadership and the socialist path. This being so, why should we emphasize that the party must also take the Constitution as the basic norm of its activities, is also subject to the constraint of the Constitution and the laws is this not a case of self-contradiction? We believe that this is a misunderstanding there is no contradiction whatsoever.

First of all, adherence to party leadership and guarding the sanctity of the Constitution, respect for the supreme authority of the Constitution are entirely consistent with each other. Indeed, the role of party leadership and the functions of our state organs must be clearly distinguished. Comrade Stalin once said: "The party is the core of political power. But it is not, and cannot be, the same as state power." The Draft of the Revised Constituion prescribes all power belongs to the people; the organs by which the people exercise their power over the state are the people's congresses the organ of supreme state

power is the National People's Congress. The Constitutions and laws formulated by the National People's Congress are the legalization and codification of the party's line, principles and policies and establish the party program in the form of the fundamental law of our state, becoming the will of the state and the fundamental policies of the state; they therefore possess the supreme legal force, that is, they constitute the coercion and constraint exercised by the state. This way, the Constitution and the laws naturally become the norm of the party's activities. Adherence to party leadership and necessary maintenance of the dignity of the Constitution and the laws, and acceptance of the constraint of the Constitution and the laws and assurance of their implementation are all consistent with one another not to mention the fact that, when the authoritative nature of the Constitution is strengthened and the authoritative nature of the organs of our state power is strengthened, that also implies a strengthening of the role of our party leadership. The two are by no means contradictory.

Second, our party is a part of the people; party members and the masses are politically equal. Our party members and cadres are the people's public servants and not overlords sitting on the backs of the people. While asking the masses to obey the Constitution and the laws, our party organizations and party members should of course take the lead to show such obedience and not make an exception of themselves. Marx said: "The liberation struggle of the working class is not to win class privileges and monopolist rights but to win equal rights and duties and eliminate any class rule." Hence, the view that party leadership means being above the Constitution and the laws and that the activities of party organizations and party members may not be subjected to the constraint of the Constitution and the laws is wrong and harmful. The failures resulting from, and the punishment incurred by, our past practices of not making any distinction between the party and the government, of substituting the government with the party, and of replacing the law with our words are enough; we can no longer follow the same old disastrous road.

9255
CSO: 4005/115

PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE DISCUSSES PURSUIT OF IDEAL COMMUNIST PERSONALITY

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 24 Aug 82 p 4

[Article by Guo Guangyin [6753 1684 6892]: "A Humble Discussion of the Ideal Communist Personality"]

[Text] In any discussion of a philosophy of life, people are bound to touch upon the question of an ideal personality. This so-called ideal personality is also called in ethics the moral ideal; it is the highest norm for human behavior in a given society of given class; and this norm is in turn a concentration and summation of given moral principles and moral criteria. Because of such concentration and summation, it is often reflected in the lofty moral qualities of the ideal personalities of a given society or given class. Hence, people also take this kind of model in morality as an ideal personality.

An ideal personality is the product of given historical conditions and social relationships; it takes shape on the basis of given historical conditions and social relationships and also evolves along with them. The ideal personality under communism has taken shape in the qualities and learning of the outstanding persons under conditions of capitalism and is going to continue to develop under conditions of socialism and communism. The economic status and practice in revolutionary struggle on the part of the proletariat, the theory of scientific communism, and the production relations of socialism, together, have produced the ideal personality in their own service. The ideal personality under communism consists of rich components. The moral principles and criteria of communism are its concrete manifestation. It requires a given person to dedicate himself wholeheartedly and unswervingly to serving the people and to the cause of communism. It blends together collectivism, patriotism, internationalism and the communist labor attitude, as well as love of science. It also has special requirements in the great fundamentals of life--professional life, marriage and family life, and social, public life--and the most fundamental and general criteria among these are that one should at any time and on any question be able to give priority to the interests of society and the people as a whole and blend his individual interests with collective interests. It recognizes people's legitimate individual interests; it also requires people to be concerned with things in advance of the rest of the world, and enjoy life only after the rest of the world does. And, when collective interests require them to sacrifice their own individual interests or even their very lives, they are still able to think nothing of themselves and do their best to benefit others and thereby realize to the maximum their own social worth.

In our real life, once someone mentions the ideal personality under communism, people would immediately feel that this is "false, boastful, and empty" preaching: if someone should follow the requirements of such an ideal personality in his conduct, people would think that he is "pretending" or "stupid" or "ridiculously naive." This kind of viewpoint does not hold water. A communist ideal personality rises from the basis of mass practice and matures and develops incessantly in sustained undertakings of revolution and construction. As the supreme moral norm and a fairly perfect moral model, it is a reflection of the requirement of the collective interests and long-term interests of society as a whole and a product of people's conscious perception of their social relationships and course of historical progress, and hence it also comes from reality. In our real life, there exist indeed many advanced, model personalities; they are the incarnation of the ideal personality. In the persons of the older generation of our proletarian revolutionaries, in countless revolutionary martyrs, in the outstanding exemplary persons of Bethune, Liu Hulan [0491 5170 5695], Zhao Yiman [6392 0001 2582], Dong Cunrui [5516 1317 3834], Huang Jiguang [7806 4949 0342], Lei Feng [7191 6912], Wang Jie [3769 2638], Ouyang Hai [2962 7122 3189], Jiao Yulu [3542 5940 4389], Zhang Zhixin [1728 1897 2450], etc., is reflected from different angles such brilliance of life, and on different sidelines is emanated the quintessence of such noble conduct and noble personality. From this, we can see that an ideal personality is not something unreachable, nor anything visible but inaccessible to us.

Naturally, it is not very easy to attain the ideal personality under communism. The formation of an ideal personality must be the result of the requirements posted by the objective progress of social development and the conscious perception and self-endeavor to outstanding personalities. The fostering of such an ideal personality requires both the assistance of objective social conditions and of the collectives, and depends on an individual's social practice and self-cultivation. Philosophers of antiquity long discussed the question of "whether a man can become a sage, and how to become a sage." We do not believe there is any omnipresent and omnipotent sage, but we must consciously foster our ideal communist personality. Mencius' statement that "Everybody can become a Yao or a Shun" is rational. So long as we can continue to train ourselves in a striving, conscientious manner, make strict demands upon ourselves in every ordinary little thing, "do not refrain from doing a good because it seems too small, and do not seek to do an evil because it seems so small," then it would be possible for us to gradually foster and forge our own fine qualities and become a new person embodying the ideal communist personality.

It is very important to establish an ideal communist personality. So long as one lives in this world, anybody inevitably encounters the question of how to conduct oneself and is bound to come up with one's own criteria. In fact, people are always molding themselves by their actual conduct; the difference lies only in that there are those who do so consciously and those who do so blindly, and there are those who do so correctly and those erroneously. The ideal communist personality can inspire people, educate and prompt them; just as a person who walks in the desert requires milestones; promenading along the road of life also requires an ideal personality to serve as our example.

An outstanding figure can influence one's whole life. Generally speaking, the growth of moral models is often closely related to their long effort to learn from an ideal model, and abandoning the correct pursuit of an ideal personality is likewise one of the important reasons why one becomes negative, downtrodden, degenerate, or even embarking on a criminal path. When our great leader Comrade Mao Zedong was studying at the First Teachers College in Hunan, he already sought on his own to "set up an ideal, in order to match it from now on in my every word and deed," and this ideal consists of no other than the personality criteria which he promoted in terms of "taking the world as one's own responsibility" and "sacrificing one's own interests to benefit society," which laid the firm foundation of his eventual philosophy of life and great revolutionary practice in terms of "reforming China and the world." Let all of us learn from his example and endeavor to carve the figure of our own personality in the manner of the ideal communist personality.

9255
CSO: 4005/110

PARTY AND STATE

NEW OUTLOOK OF MODERNIZATION EFFORT COMMENDED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 5 Sep 82 p 4

[Commentary by Li Tian [0500 3944]: "A Brand New 'Chess Game'"]

[Text] Once the Chinese chess, with only 32 chessmen, is turned over to a couple of masters, these chessmen somehow suddenly begin to fight along either side of their border like soldiers with their horses rushing back and forth in real battle, thereby shaking people in their souls. In the contest hall and beside the recreational table, there have been many masterful players since antiquity pondering diligently the refinement of their art, thinking of opening up new means of expression beyond the chess manual so as to make some startling moves to win the game and enhance their victories.

As I read press releases on the 12th party congress, I was pleased to learn that Comrade Hu Yaobang has declared the magnificent goals of our economic construction as aiming at quadrupling our industrial and agricultural output within 20 years so as to have the people's material and cultural living standards reach a well-to-do level. I feel that this can indeed be compared to a branch new "chess game" in the construction of our four modernizations.

"For the rise and fall of the state, every single individual is responsible." As sons and daughters of the motherland, we must, like the chessmen on the chessboard, all contribute our share of the strength exerted in the playing.

While the chessmen are the same in shape, they each possess different characteristics. "The 'horse' walks diagonally; the 'elephant' flies across the field; the 'cannon' fires over an obstacle"; and "once a 'soldier' crosses the river, it must forever move forward...." Their roles are different and they move according to different modes. But one thing they have in common, and that is to obey the overall strategic ideology. This implies to people: various localities and various departments must have an idea about the whole situation by looking at "the whole country like a chessboard," and every individual should also follow suit. Like Zhao Chun'e [6392 2504 1230], whatever the motherland wants her to do, and however she wants her to do it, she always does her very best and endeavors to do it well. This kind of thinking needs to be greatly developed.

To a leader of a unit or a department, this chessboard thinking is of even more profound significance. For instance, agriculture is the foundation, energy is the activating power, science and technology relate to the improvement of our labor productivity, educational enterprises shoulder the heavy tasks of training and distributing talents...: comrades on these fronts must of course endeavor to make their contributions, but other departments must also give them energetic support--including yielding the right of way when necessary funds must be concentrated on construction at key points. This requires people to recognize the harm of departmentalism, to give scope to such chessboard thinking, to coordinate with each other, and thereby win victory for "the whole game."

Adhering to such chessboard thinking benefits the units of key-point construction in their effort to secure better economic results. Well-drilling team No 1202 of the Daqing oilfields, in the course of its effort to join the battle of developing the Daqing oilfields, succeeded in repeatedly bettering the records of first-rate Soviet and American well-drilling team this was inseparable from the support given by all around. As for the losses caused by departmentalism, certain units have also produced painful lessons; they need not be dwelt upon here. the basis of summing up our experiences, and under the inspiration of the brilliant achievements scored since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, let us conscientiously implement the spirit of the 12th congress in order to realize the magnificent goals posted by the party Central Committee! This brand new "chess game" is bound to win exciting victories!

9225
CSO: 4005/112

PARTY AND STATE

INSPIRATION OF PARTY CONGRESS HAILED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 10 Sep 82 p 4

[Commentary by Sun Jiazheng [1327 1367 2973], secretary of the Provincial YCL Committee: "Party Encourages Us To March Forward"]

[Text] At a time when the 12th party congress is being triumphantly convened, I feel deeply as a young worker that the party is the source of confidence and strength for the younger generation.

The 10 years of turmoil have brought to the motherland heavy calamities and also left the younger generation with deep scars. At one time, some became silent, some became puzzled, and some even went astray...the problem of youth and children became one of the salient problems which concerned the entire society. But, since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party, with extreme courage and extraordinary decisiveness, succeeded in correcting the leftist mistakes during and prior to the "Cultural Revolution," maintaining the scientific truth of Mao Zedong Thought and the historical status of Comrade Mao Zedong himself, establishing anew our Marxist ideological line, political line and organizational line, thereby shifting decisively and in a timely manner the focus of work of the whole party to the construction of our socialist modernization centered on economic construction. A political situation of stability and unity and vividness and flexibility has already taken shape; the national economy has been recovering and developing amidst readjustment. Our country is steadily embarking upon the path of revival. All this has had a great and profound impact on our younger generation. It was the party which lighted up anew the fire of idealism in the mind of the whole younger generation and put the wind to the sail of youths as they strived forward. From the steady development of the national economy, they have seen the future of the motherland; from the reforms through which the party promoted what is beneficial and abolished what is harmful, they have enhanced their confidence in the four modernizations; and they thereby cockily launched themselves into the current of the four modernizations and became a vigorous contingent of reinforcement. Under the education of the party, a generation of new people with ideals, morality, culture and discipline is rapidly growing up.

The 12th party congress has put before the people of the whole country new, magnificent goals. We deeply feel the weight of the heavy tasks on our

shoulders, but we also know clearly that there will be all kinds of difficulties and obstacles on our way to a bright future. But we are full of confidence about sure victory in the future. The great, glorious, correct party is the source of confidence and strength for the younger generation. Let us strive heroically in the struggle to bring about an overall new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization and advance at the forefront of our times.

9255
CSO: 4005/112

PARTY AND STATE

YOUTH URGED TO STUDY THEORY, PURSUE TRUTH

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 82 p 4

[Commentary by Miao Runsheng [4924 3387 3932]: "Who Says Youths Are Indifferent to Theory?"]

[Text] When speaking of youths, some comrades often shake their heads with a sigh or even reproach youths for maintaining an indifferent attitude toward Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and lacking proper beliefs. I take exception to this. Because these comrades have neither carried out any relevant analysis of the historical causes giving rise to such phenomena in the manner of seeking truth from facts, nor conducted any penetrating, careful investigation and study of the current situation which has already undergone changes.

Belief in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought does not come about in the abstract; it can only be rooted in the soil of firm practice. Only by perceiving the principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, understanding that correct theories are the compass guiding our action, and feeling keenly that without mastering revolutionary theories we would be unable to build the two civilizations, nor realize the four modernizations, can one really believe in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. During the preceding period, many youths had little fundamental common knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; this was indeed a fact. But can we blame it completely on them? In the case of those young people of 30 or so years of age today, they were not part of the fairly systematic theoretical study our party had organized in the 1950's; on the contrary, they spent their student days almost entirely in the 10 years of turmoil. At that time, what "theories" did they have contact with? That nonsense distorted and dissected by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Because they never had contact with real Marxism and had no genuine theoretical background, of course it was easy for them to be cheated by sham Marxism. They once enthusiastically believed in that kind of nonsense and earnestly subscribed to it. But history eventually relentlessly smashed that false merchandise! Hence, they became confused and wavering! They began to experience untoward pains in their minds. Why should we not seek to comfort them and pacify the wounds sustained by their souls but, instead, endlessly blame them?

To say that today's youths exhibit an indifference toward Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought represents an estimation lacking supportive investigation and study and in ill accord with the actual situation. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee fully affirmed the discussion concerning "practice as the criterion for testing truth" and realized the return to order from disorder; many major questions became clarified. This made it possible for our youths to see for the first time true Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. And once they became acquainted with the genuine contents of those revolutionary theories, they immediately began to puruse them. According to press reports, a fever for theoretical study has risen among Shanghai's youths. Since the latter half of last year, around the time the Shanghai Libraries Philosophical Study Association and the Jiangwan-Wujiaochang Youths' Philosophical Self-Study Group were established, there was a surge forward in the 14 districts and bureaus such as Yangpu District, and in the communications and transportation bureau alone 137 youths' spare time theoretical groups in fields like philosophy, politics and economics, with 1,880 youths participating. Actually, how can it be said that a theoretical fever among youths is limited only to those in Shanghai? It has been everywhere! This is, alone, the main current of today's youths. After painful reflections, they are marching forward toward truth!

Of course, I also do not deny that a part of today's youths show no interest in theories. But blaming them is no solution. Changing an indifferent attitude toward theories into a feverish one takes preparation. For instance, if there is a pot of cold water and we wish to boil it, then we must gradually add heat. Why should we refrain from doing precisely some such "heat-adding" work? For example, let us lecture them on the history of our people's struggle during the past 100 years, on the history of the founding of our state during the past 30-odd years; let us dispense to them the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought...let them gradually feel the heat in their hearts, and let us guide them step-by-step to embark upon the path of pursuing truth.

9255
CSO: 4005/110

PARTY AND STATE

ALL ORGANIZATIONS URGED TO STUDY 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

Regiment of Nanjing Area

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 9 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by Dou Wang [4535 5345], Zhi Ming [1807 2494], and You Lian [1429 1670]: "Political Instructors of a Red Army Regiment in Nanjing Are Studying the Documents of the 12th Party Congress: Steadfastly Follow the Forward Course Laid Out by the 12th Party Congress"]

[Text] The good news of the triumphant convocation of the 12th Party Congress heartened the political instructors of one Red Army regiment in Nanjing. For the last few days the political instructors have been studying the main points of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's [6772 1420 1627] opening address and the report of Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721], decisively carrying on the glorious revolutionary tradition and following the liberalizing course of the 12th Party Congress to gain new victories.

"Obeying the party's orders and implementing the party line our regiment shall develop and grow strong," the regimental commander Wang Yonghuai [3769 3057 2037] said looking at the unit's past course. In 1927, after the Red Army regiment was formed during the "Autumn Harvest Uprising" and led by Comrade Mao Zedong [3029 3419 2639]. Under the party's guidance, struggled with the landlords, attacked the local tyrants and gained successive victories. But during the Long March, Zhang Guotao [1728 0948 3614] opposed the correct line of the party and without authorization ordered the Red Everywhere Army, of which this regiment was a part, to go south where it was encircled by the reactionary faction of the Kuomintang, only one-third of the regiment survived. After Zhang Guotai's scheme was crushed by the party center, the whole regiment victoriously reached northern Shaanxi. Under the correct leadership of the party the regiment fought continuously in many places, repeatedly distinguishing itself in combat, receiving over 100 individual and units citations that said such as "a model party branch," "merit for escorting Zhu De," and "forced a crossing of the Yangtze to attack a fort." Recalling the regiment's history and studying its tradition, everyone doubly felt the far-reaching meaning of the 12th Party Congress. The comrades said that the 12th Party Congress using the system of communist thought to correctly analyze and unify the party's

magnificent purpose and its combat duties in the new historical period, enabling our party to use the new situation and our strengthened combat power to lead the various peoples of the nation to struggle to comprehensively initiate socialist modernization and reconstruction!

In their study, the political instructors used symposiums and lectures to freely discuss the new accomplishments of the regiment in each type of work since the 3rd Plenary Session of the Central Committee. The political commissar Zao Hairu [2580 3189 1172] said: "Since the 3rd Plenary Session of the Central Committee, people who understand unit construction have increased, and the eighty plus cadres who have graduated from the military academy have been an effective core for each type of work. Military training has been beneficial, in the last 3 years the regiment has produced over 800 top marksmens and gunners. The "dual preconditions" movement begun this year strongly promoted socialist spiritual civilization. The officers and soldiers of the 3rd Company also listed the company's ten major changes for this year, illustrating the Central Committee's emphasis on socialist spiritual civilization and its emphasis on the importance of patriotic and communist education. They said: "The 12th Party Congress completely affirms the party's line, guidance, and policy since the 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee and has pointed out to us the forward course. It is only necessary for us to carry out unwaveringly the line of the 12th Party Congress and to propagate the straight-ahead revolutionary spirit bravely followed by the older revolutionaries unit construction certainly then will make even greater strides.

Jiangsu Committee Issues Notice

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 12 Sep 82 p 1

[Article: "Provincial Party Committee Issues a Circular on Studying and Propagandizing the Documents of the 12th Party Congress"]

[Text] The Jiangsu Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party yesterday issued a "Circular on Seriously Studying and Propagandizing the Documents of the 12th Party Congress."

The circular said that the 12th All China Party Congress was the most important conference in the party since the 7th Party Congress and possesses a great historical meaning with which to carry forward the revolutionary cause and forge ahead into the future. Now the important documents of the congress are all being successively published and the central Propaganda Department is also compiling and printing propaganda abstracts. The political commissars at each level must, in accordance with the spirit of the circulars prepared by the central Propaganda Department in regard to studying and propagandizing the documents of the 12th Party Congress, use Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening address as a general ideological guide and Comrade Hu Yaobang's opening address as a general ideological guide and Comrade Hu Yaobang's report and the new party constitution as the essential content for study. They should pay close attention to the study and propagandizing of the documents of the 12th Party Congress and should conscientiously and thoroughly implement them. In organizations above the county level two or three half-days should be set

aside every week to organize party members and cadre in earnest study and discussion. The party schools in each place should use the documents of the 12th Party Congress as their most important subject matter and devote time to develop a program of study built around them. Each basic unit, aside from the organized study of the 12th Party Congress documents by party members, Communist Youth League members, and cadres, should also consult the propaganda abstracts published by the central Propaganda Department and propagandize among the masses. The press, radio, and television should broadly disseminate the spirit of the 13th Party Congress. What is required is to, through study and propaganda, to bobilize further and inspire the party members, cadre, and masses on all battle lines to exert their efforts to improve current work and production in order to act practically to implement the spirit of the 12th Party Congress.

Xiejiao Commune 'Red-Banner Militia' Regiment

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Huang Yuchong [7806 5940 0394] and Zhang Jian [1728 0256]: "The 'Red Banner Militia' of Jiaoxie Earnestly Studies and Propagandizes the Documents of the 12th Party Congress"]

[Text] The "Red Banner Militia" of Jiaoxie [2438 6037] Commune in Haian County under the leadership of the party committee has actively organized its militiamen in the study of the documents of the 12th Party Congress and has resolved to make new contributions to usher in a new era of agricultural development.

After the publication of the 12th Party Congress documents, the "Red Banner Militia" utilized every forum to organize the militiamen's study. They took the primary militia as a core and the political classes as a battle position, earnestly explaining and publicizing Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening address and Comrade Hu Yaobang's report so that every primary militiaman understands the essential points of these documents. The commune's party committee and People's Militia Department also organized the militia political cadre of each battalion for prior study and made it their responsibility to organize the militiamen in discussion groups. Three to five men per battalion, before the kick-off meeting, read the reports, united the households in study, and used broadcasting, blackboard newspapers, and artistic propaganda teams to explain and publicize the spirit of the 12th Party Congress.

When the "Red Banner Militia" organized for the study and discussion of the general tasks of the new era put forward by the 12th Party Congress, they emphasized integrating practice, leading everyone to review the great changes in their own commune's agricultural production since the 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee, which strengthened the militiamen's confidence in realizing its grand purpose. Comparing the 5 years between 1981 and 1977 in the Jiaoxie Commune, total average annual grain production increased 10.6 percent, ginned cotton increased 59.8 percent, and the commune members average distribution doubled. The militiamen said: Since the 3rd Plenum we have made great strides each year. Hereafter led by the spirit of the 12th Party Congress we need only to implement resolutely its policies and immerse ourselves in work, then its objectives can be attained.

Since the 3rd Plenum, the work of the Jiaoxie militia has developed. Militia organization has been rectified, strengthening the militia's combat power and bringing its shock power into play in production. The rank and file have taken the lead in implementing party policy and positively advancing and preserving the system of responsibility in production, in putting into practice scientific cultivation, and they have bravely taken on the difficult task of emergency battles against disasters. During the night of 25 July of this year, in order to strengthen a sea wall against huge waves, the commune issued a single broadcast command, the platoon commanders quickly lead the 140-man unit to the sea wall, later they were joined by a 2,300-man contingent of militiamen. They piled up earth in a shock action completing the task of strengthening the sea wall for which they were praised by the leading comrade of the county committee. The militiamen remembering this battle all felt the importance of supporting the principle uniting labor and military duties with labor being primary. It is entirely possible that one could distinguish himself in carrying out this great objective. At present, the whole militia is on one hand earnestly studying and propagandizing the documents of the 12th Party Congress and on the other hand is carrying out the autumn planting program and collecting the base manure for that planting, placing above all else the struggle to double their production level next year.

9504
CSO: 4005/113

PARTY AND STATE

STUDY OF 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS STRESSED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 12 Sep 82 p 3

/Commentary: "Use Communist Ideology To Guide Our Study"/

/Text/ The 12th Party Congress has raised the banners of communism high, deliberated and approved Comrade Hu Yaobang's report, the new party constitution and other important documents, used the ideological system of communism to answer key questions of the new period of socialist construction, and further pointed out the direction for the socialist stage of the communist movement. At present, the question concerned by everyone is how to learn and understand the spirit of the 12th Party Congress documents and struggle to initiate a new and comprehensive situation for modern socialist construction!

In order to implement the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, we must first study its documents and gain a profound understanding of its spiritual essence. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's "opening speech" gave a broad description of the historical role of the 12th Party Congress and the tasks it put forward. Everyone must use the "opening speech" as the overall guiding ideology in studying the 12th Party Congress documents and earnestly implementing them.

The CPC is the vanguard of the Chinese working class, the loyal representative of the interests of the people of China's nationalities and the leading nucleus of China's socialist cause. The party's ultimate goal is to realize the social system of communism. Therefore its words and deeds can only be carried out under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, that is, under the guidance of the ideological system of communism. The general program of the new party constitution explicitly points out: "The Communist Party of China takes Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as its guide to action." "Applying dialectical materialism and historical materialism, Marx and Engels analyzed the laws of development of capitalist society and founded the theory of scientific socialism. According to this theory, with the victory of the proletariat in its revolutionary struggle, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is inevitably replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat, and capitalist society is inevitably transformed into socialist society in which the means of production and publicly owned, exploitation is abolished and the principle 'from each according to his ability and to each according to his work' is applied; with tremendous growth

of the productive forces and tremendous progress in the ideological, political and cultural fields, socialist society ultimately and inevitably advances into communist society in which the principle 'from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs' is applied. Early in the 20th century, Lenin pointed out that capitalism had developed to the stage of imperialism, that the liberation struggle of the proletariat was bound to unite with that of the oppressed nations of the world, and that it was possible for socialist revolution to win victory first in countries that were the weak links of imperialist rule. The course of world history during the past half century and more, and especially the establishment and development of the socialist system in a number of countries, has borne out the correctness of the theory of scientific socialism." The 12th Party Congress documents are the basic principles of the ideological system, that is, dialectical materialism, historical materialism, scientific socialism and Marxist political economy, used by our party to sum up comprehensively its historical experience particularly the fresh experience since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Congress, to analyze the actual conditions in the present stage of our country and to answer key questions of the new period of socialist construction thereby putting forth our party's strategic goals, principles and policies to the end of this century. Therefore, if we want to gain a profound understanding of its spiritual essence in studying the 12th Party Congress documents we must be guided by the ideological system of communism.

In using the ideological system of communism to guide our study and to understand the spirit of the 12th Party Congress documents we also must not forget the ultimate goal of communist society. The lines, principles and policies formulated for each stage by our party must be based on the social realities of each stage and must also represent the ultimate goal of the communist movement, namely, to realize communist society as the highest ideal. The ultimate goal of the communist movement guided by communist ideology is to realize communist society in the whole world. If the communist movement deviates from this ultimate goal it will inevitably lose its greater objective and the significance of the movement itself. The strategic goals to the end of this century put forward by the 12th Party Congress are meant to realize gradually the modernization of industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology, and build ours into a socialist country with a high degree of civilization and democracy. They are meant to create conditions for the ultimate ideal of realizing communist society. In our study of the 12th Party Congress documents we cannot gain a profound understanding of the spiritual essence if we do so only from the overall demand of comprehensively initiating the new situation for modern socialist construction without understanding that this also creates conditions for the ultimate goal of realizing communist society. Of course, to understand the spirit of the 12th Party Congress documents from the ultimate goal of realizing communist society we should not confuse the policies of an advanced stage of communist society with those of a rudimentary stage of communist society or socialist society. It would be wrong to confuse them.

The 12th Party Congress documents were brought about under the guidance of the ideological system of communism. We must use communist ideology to guide our study of the 12th Party Congress documents. On the other hand, our study of

the documents is also a highly active and profound communist ideological education for each of us. If we earnestly read the documents we are bound to feel that every part of them shines with the brilliance of communist ideology. In studying the 12th Party Congress documents we must gain a profound understanding of its spiritual essence. We must understand the party's overall tasks in the present stage, and from the documents we must learn the views of the proletariat, the viewpoint of materialism and the dialectical method to transform our world view so that we may transform the objective world and our subjective world under the guidance of communist ideology. The study of the 12th Party Congress documents is a long-term task. In the course of becoming involved in this study, let us use communist ideology to arm our mind.

9586
CSO: 4005/114

PARTY AND STATE

ZHEJIANG CPC OFFICIAL ATTENDS CADRE POLICY MEETING

OW190519 Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Nov 82 p 1

[Excerpts] In compliance with the requirements of the party Central Committee and the provincial CPC committee and to basically conclude before the end of the year the work of redressing frameups and wrong cases of the "Cultural Revolution" and of implementing the cadre policy, the organizational department of the Zhejiang Provincial CPC Committee recently held a discussion meeting on the implementation of the cadre policy.

The provincial CPC committee attached great importance to the meeting. Tie Ying, first secretary of the provincial CPC committee, pointed out: "There are still unsolved problems in the implementation of the cadre policy. It is necessary to thoroughly study these problems and strive to conclude the task before the end of the year." Prior to the meeting, Zhang Jingtang, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, heard a report on the current situation and made suggestions on how to make the meeting a success. Zhang Jingtang also spoke at the meeting.

After unifying everyone's thinking and understanding, the meeting emphatically pointed out that party committees at all levels must meet the party Central Committee's requirement to "resolutely, thoroughly, cleanly and completely dispose of and solve all frameups and wrong cases" and do a good job in implementing the cadre policy. The emphasis of the work before the end of the year should be on "reviewing" cases of the "Cultural Revolution." The meeting maintained that the work should basically be completed by the end of the year and called on everyone to solve several problems concerning their thinking, understanding and practice:

1. Understand the importance and urgency of implementing the cadre policy and regard the task as a guideline of the 12th CPC Congress;

2. Continue to eliminate the influence of "left" ideas and seriously implement the principle of "do not bother with minor faults but be lenient toward offenders";

3. Adopt scientific methods of work, be good at taking the mass line, carry out thorough investigations and study, take effective measures based on the actual situation and solve some "long-standing, big and difficult problems"; and

4. Effectively strengthen the party committee's leadership over the implementation of the cadre policy.

Party committees at all levels must include the task as an important work in their daily agenda, work out overall plans and ensure that enough people and time are assigned to the task. Comrades attending the discussion meeting unanimously pledged that they would surely comply with the requirements of the party Central Committee and the provincial CPC committee and basically conclude the job of implementing the cadre policy before the end of the year.

CSO: 4005/176

PARTY AND STATE

ZHEJIANG PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING

OW132002 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 13 Nov 82

[Text] The Zhejiang Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee held its 17th meeting in Hangzhou from 11 to 13 November. Comrade Wang Fang, vice chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, presided over the meeting. The meeting listened to a report made by the inspection group of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee on the educational spendings of Shaoxing Municipality, Zhuji County and Huangyan County; a report by the inspection group on the construction of several major projects in Ningbo and Taizhou prefectures; and a report by the provincial education department on the spending of the general educational funds in Zhejiang.

The committee members expressed satisfaction over the construction of several major projects in Zhejiang and lively discussed the question concerning educational spending.

They said: With the attention of the provincial party committee and the provincial government, Zhejiang has increased its general educational funds year by year since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. In the past 6 years, the funds have increased by 74.8 percent.

They pointed out: There exists a very serious situation of misspending educational funds and diverting them to other uses without authorization. Some persons even divert the educational funds in violation of law and discipline.

The committee members sternly criticized the unhealthy tendencies and the law violations. The meeting called on the provincial education department to conduct a province-wide inspection of educational spending.

At the meeting, Comrade Wang Fang spoke on Zhejiang's industrial and agricultural production, efforts to stop grave criminal offenses in the economic sphere and the organizational reform.

CSO: 4005/176

SHANGHAI CPC OFFICIAL VIEWS PARTY CONSOLIDATION

OW211248 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 20 Nov 82

[Text] Hu Lijiao, second secretary of the municipal CPC committee, made some observations on the question of party consolidation in a recent press interview, according to issue No 22 of the semimonthly ZHIBU SHENGHUO [PARTY BRANCH LIFE], which was published today in Shanghai.

Noting the decision of the party Central Committee concerning an overall rectification of party style and consolidation of party organizations which will proceed by stages and by groups over a period of 3 years from the latter half of 1983, Hu Lijiao said this decision enjoys wide support in the party and among the people. It represents a response to the ardent expectations that have been held for a long time by the people. Some nonparty personages have expressed their hope that the planned party consolidation will not be a perfunctory and superficial effort, that it will not be carried out in such a way that everyone will worry for himself and that it will not follow the same disastrous road of the antiright rectification campaign of 1957. This is a pertinent opinion.

Comrade Hu Yaobang noted in his speech at the 1st session of the 12th CPC Central Committee that we have gained both positive experience and negative lessons in our history of party consolidation. We must make painstaking and meticulous efforts to prepare for, guide and organize the party consolidation to be started next year. For this purpose, the party Central Committee has already made some arrangements. Beginning this winter and next spring, party consolidation will be carried out on a trial basis in selected units at the central, provincial, municipal and autonomous regional levels. On the basis of this trial party consolidation in selected units, a document on improved party consolidation in selected units, a document on improved party consolidation will be drafted. Then an all-round party consolidation will begin. We in Shanghai have also decided on the units to be selected for trial party consolidation. Therefore, we believe we definitely will carry forward the historical experience of successes, avoid repeating past mistakes during the coming campaign and consolidate the party well.

Hu Lijiao noted that there are two tendencies concerning the question of party consolidation that deserve our attention. One is lack of confidence. The other is impatience for quick results. With regard to lack of confidence, as I have mentioned earlier, it calls for work efforts on our part. It is also necessary to do work among those comrades who are impatient for quick results.

Hu Lijiao emphatically pointed out that it is of primary importance at present to pay attention to studying the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress. A prerequisite to a successful party consolidation is to unify the thinking of all members in the party on the basis of the spirit of the congress. Comrades who joined the party during the Cultural Revolution should acquire a basic knowledge of the party and raise their political quality while studying the documents of the congress. Party members who have made mistakes of one kind or another should correct their thinking, make practical efforts to correct their mistakes, learn from past lessons and strive for continued advances.

The main purpose of the coming party consolidation is to carry out a general and in-depth ideological education. The party has always adhered to the principle "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient." It aims at achieving the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades. Only a handful of party members who still fail to meet the qualifications after receiving education will be expelled from the party or asked to withdraw from the party within a specified period of time.

CSO: 4005/176

LIAONING PROVINCIAL CIRCULAR ON LEARNING FROM WAN HUAQING

SK150447 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Nov 82

[Excerpts] The Liaoning Provincial CPC Committee issued a circular on 10 November urging all party members, especially party cadres throughout the province to conscientiously study the deed of Comrade Wan Huaqing and to hold learn-from-Wan Huaqing activities.

The circular pointed out: Comrade Wan Huaqing is a retired cadre of the Shenyang Aviation Engineering Institute, who, with the revolutionary spirit of being responsible for the party, the people, the communist cause and the next generation, has set forth different opinions concerning his son's application for party membership, displaying the noble character of a communist party member. The provincial CPC committee held that the communist spirit of Comrade Wan Huaqing is of great practical significance in achieving a fundamental improvement in social habits and party style as set forth by the 12th National CPC Congress. Therefore, efforts must be made to organize party members, especially party cadres throughout the province to study Comrade Wan Huaqing's deed and to hold activities to learn from him.

The provincial CPC committee stressed in the circular:

1. We must learn from Comrade Wan Huaqing's noble communist character of placing the interests of the party above all things so as to correct the erroneous action of some parents who, for the sake of seeking employment for their children, have spared no expense to violate the party's principles, to establish contacts with someone, to seek advantages through influence and even to give unprincipled support to their children to violate laws and discipline. Such practices are common inside the party.

2. We must learn from Comrade Wan Huaqing's political stand of adhering to and safeguarding the purity of the party's communism in order to check the party's unhealthy tendencies in admitting party members and in promoting cadres and to maintain a high level of purity in the party in terms of ideology, politics and organizations.

3. We must learn from Comrade Wan Huaqing's sense of revolutionary responsibility of being bold in adhering to truth, giving no consideration to private affairs and being responsible for and serving the party, the revolution, the people and the

next generation wholeheartedly in order to check the practice of liberalism of being afraid of hurting other's feelings and the vulgar workstyle of trying not to offend anybody in an effort to revive and promote the party's fine traditions and workstyle.

4. We must study Comrade Wan Huaqing's broad communist ideas of still feeling young at an advanced age and always caring for the party, the revolution and the later generations after retirement.

The circular also calls on party committees at all levels to consider the study of Comrade Wan Huaqing's deed as part of their job in studying and implementing the guidelines of the 12th National CPC Congress and to examine whether they have the unhealthy tendencies of covering up their children's shortcomings and mistakes. They must find out what kinds of experiences and lessons they should draw and what work they should do in the days to come in order to build the party into a strong core for leading the socialist construction.

CSO: 4005/176

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG SPONSORS MEETING ON REFORMING

SK300618 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 29 Oct 82

[Text] According to our reporter and correspondent, the Public Security Ministry recently convened an on-the-spot meeting at Weifang Municipality, Shandong Province, on reforming criminals through labor with the participation of representatives from the major units in charge of this work in the country. The meeting aims at implementing the 12th CPC Congress guidelines and the important instruction in this regard given by Comrade Hu Yaobang and summing up, studying and popularizing the advanced experience gained by the Weifang municipal detachment in this regard.

The Weifang detachment is one of the country's advanced units in charge of reforming criminals through labor, which have emerged since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. By earnestly implementing the party's line, principles and policies, the detachment has embarked on a regularly advancing road on which it has set up many advanced work principles in the management, living conditions and environmental sanitation of reforming criminals through labor. The detachment has initially turned a prison into a reform school, being an outstanding example in the current period for the major reforming units across the country.

The basic experience gained by the Weifang detachment may be summarized as follows: 1) the leading body has emancipated its thinking, broadened its outlook, stressed solid work and has shed empty talk; 2) the cadres' contingent ardently loves their work; with high revolutionary spirit and ambition; 3) the laws are upheld as a guide in work, conducting civilized management and practicing supervision in a systematic and legal way; 4) conducting education on politics, culture and technology in a systematic and regular way among criminals according to their different conditions is a policy; and 5) achieving better economic results from criminals' production in line with the demand of readjusting the national economy and through steady improvement of production management is a principle.

The meeting devised ways to popularize the experience gained by the Weifang detachment in this work among units throughout the country and urged units across the country in charge of this work to find out where they lag behind and to work out measures, taking the experience gained by the Weifang detachment as an example, to vigorously create a new situation in the work to reform criminals through labor so as to make new contributions to achieving a fundamental turn for the better in public security.

CSO: 4005/176

PARTY AND STATE

ZHEJIANG LEADERS ATTEND COMMENDATION MEETING

OW011149 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 27 Oct 82

[Excerpts] The Zhejiang provincial meeting to commend advanced collectives and individuals who distinguished themselves in supporting the army and giving preferential treatment to dependents of armymen and revolutionary martyrs and in supporting the government and cherishing the people was held this morning at the auditorium of the provincial military district with a total of 384 representatives attending. Present at the meeting were responsible persons of the provincial CPC committee, the provincial people's congress, the provincial people's government and the provincial CPPCC Wang Fang, Wang Yaoting, Li Chaolong, Liu Zhizheng, Tang Yuanbing and Mao Qihua; responsible persons of PLA units stationed in Zhejiang Kang Mingcai, Meng Keming, (Wang Dechun), (Ji Chunli), (Qiu Hudong), (Zia Jiuming), (Zheng Genghe), (Zhang Suren) and Liu Yu; and responsible persons of various prefectures and municipalities.

Meng Keming, deputy political commissar of the provincial military district, presided over the meeting. On behalf of the provincial CPC committee, the provincial people's congress and the provincial people's government, Wang Fang addressed the meeting. He stressed that efforts should be made to seriously study and implement the guidelines of the 12th National CPC Congress and to create a new situation for socialist modernization. Comrade Wang Fang then described the excellent situation prevailing on all fronts since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. He said: The tremendous achievements made in developing material and spiritual civilization are the results of the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies and the hard work of the army and the people uniting as one. They are inseparable from the advanced model personalities on all fronts, including comrades who are attending today's meeting. In reviewing our achievements, we must thank the commanders and fighters of PLA units stationed in Zhejiang for their all-out support of the four modernizations program in our province and all dependents of armymen and martyrs, as well as disabled and demobilized armymen for their efforts in all fields.

This afternoon Li Hui and Xue Keying, responsible persons of the provincial civil affairs department and the political department of the provincial military district, made separate reports on the work of supporting the government and cherishing the people and on supporting the army and giving preferential treatment to dependents of armymen and revolutionary martyrs.

CSO: 4005/176

PARTY AND STATE

REPORT ON APPOINTING 'THREE TYPES OF PERSONS'

SK090226 Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Oct 82 p 1

[Article by Jing Kuan [2417 1401]: "Never Put 'Three Types of Persons' in Important Positions"]

[Text] In his speech to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Chen Yuan said a few words concerning the issue of promoting middle-aged and young cadres. He said: "Three types of persons" must never be promoted to leading posts. We must remove with firm hands those who have already been promoted. After repeatedly studying his words, I deeply understand them.

The people, who rose to prominence by rebellion during "the Great Cultural Revolution," who are seriously factionalist in their ideas and who indulge in beating, smashing and looting, were seriously poisoned by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They did succeed and enjoy power and prestige for a time. Through the "education" conducted by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, they not only learned a set of ultra "left" ideology but also mastered the "skills" of political speculation. During "The Great Cultural Revolution," they brought into full play what they learned and even now they still continue to demonstrate their skills.

Generally speaking, they have "three skills": first, they are good at flattery. They try to know people's disposition well in order to cater to their tastes. The "trick which they are good at" is to blow trumpet and to favor others.

They laud to the skies from morning till night so as to make others feel comfortable and confused about right and wrong, so that they can win their confidence through deception and be put in important positions, vainly attempting to act as "excellent middle-aged and young cadres" and preparing for "succeeding" once again and taking advantage to assign jobs to their confederates.

Second, they are at home in lodging complaints against others: in particular, against those comrades who adhere to the lines formulated at the third plenum. They continue to ply the stock trick of "overthrowing capitalist-roaders" and to pose as "heroes who dare to adhere to principles and to struggle against evil-doers and evil deeds." They fabricate charges against others, deal blows at good people and discriminate against those who hold different views.

Third, they are at home in establishing ties. They have never thought highly of the party committees and government organizations. No laws or discipline can bring them under subjection. They often get into a "temper of rebel," do what they want to do, confuse right and wrong, turn things upside down and create chaos. The more confused, the better they feel, so that they can fish in troubled waters and rise to power again.

Although "three types of persons" are in the minority, they have big potential for doing evil things. Have we not noticed or heard that the "three types of persons" have fanned flames of disorder in many areas, departments and units? Some politically muddleheaded comrades have put them in important positions that has brought about serious losses to the socialist cause of the party and the people. Is it not worth taking this as a warning? We should be fully guard against the "three types of persons" and never slack off or underestimate their harmfulness.

We should resolutely prohibit "three types of persons" from sneaking into the leading bodies and remove those among them who have been in the leading bodies in order to maintain the purity of the ranks of cadres, which is a call of the 12th party congress. We guarantee to fulfill this task with party spirit.

CSO: 4005/176

JIANGSU DEMOCRATIC PARTIES END GRASSROOTS MEETING

OW150645 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Nov 82

[Excerpts] The meeting of grassroots organs of the Chinese KMT Revolutionary Committee, the China Democratic League, the China Democratic National Construction Association, the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party and the Jiu San Society in Jiangsu to exchange work experience closed in Nanjing today. A total of 130 branches and groups of these democratic parties exchanged experience at this meeting started on 9 November.

The meeting, to exchange experiences, showed that the work of various democratic parties in our province was restored and has made progress in the past 3 years. There are 531 grassroots organs of democratic parties in the province with more than 6,600 members. These grassroots organs have embarked on activities beneficial to the society, the people and the four modernizations and made outstanding achievements.

Jiang Zhongru, director of the united front work department of the provincial CPC committee, addressed the meeting. He said: Comrades in the various democratic parties in our province are imbused with great socialist enthusiasm. Not only do they love the motherland, the party and the socialist cause, but they are also a galaxy of talent, forming an indispensable force for the four modernizations. He hoped that all organs of democratic parties would seriously study the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress and consistently implement the principles of long-term coexistence and mutual supervision and of treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal and woe, develop their work independently on their own initiative, make new contributions towards, developing socialist material and spiritual civilization and strive to create a new situation for developing the work of various democratic parties.

CSO: 4005/176

PARTY AND STATE

EVERY COMMUNIST SHOULD SERVE AS LEADER

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 28 Sep 82 p 4

[Commentary by Shen Xuantang [3088 1357 1016]: "Communists Must Serve As Leaders in Bringing About an Overall New Situation"]

[Text] The 12th Party Congress has put before the whole party and the people of the whole country the great task of bringing about an overall new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization. This is a solemn and formidable mission. As a communist, one should exert one's spirit, be assiduous and indefatigable, serve as a vanguard, fight the first battle, and become a leader in bringing about that overall new situation.

Communists who want to serve as leaders in bringing about the overall new situation are determined by the character of our party and the goals it fights for. The CPC is the vanguard of the Chinese working class; the party's ultimate goal is to realize the communist social system. Communists must fight all their lives for the realization of communism. The task of "bringing about an overall new situation" put forward by the 12th Congress is an important step in building well socialism and advancing toward the future, higher stage of communism. Therefore, communists serving as leaders in bringing about such an overall new situation are also fighting for the cause of communism. This is a requirement in implementing our party Constitution and an unshirkable obligation on our part. Everyone of us has sworn at the time of our admission into the party to struggle for communism."

But struggling for communism is not abstract nor hollow; is it real and should be reflected in "thinking of the future of communism and doing the practical work of the present." Otherwise, the question "why did I join the party" will not be answered and no one can claim to be a qualified Communist.

Communists who want to serve as leaders in bringing about an overall new situation are also an important aspect of implementing our party leadership. The CPC is the leadership core of the construction of our socialist modernization. But the party exercises its leadership in the construction of our socialist modernization and over the various aspects of our work mainly through its correct ideological line and principles and policies, throught the party's organizational work and propaganda work, and through the model role of communists. As the saying goes, "The party members' outlook is the mirror for the masses, and the party members' steps are the yardstick of the masses." The model role

of Communists, insofar as leading the vast ranks of the masses to bring about an overall new situation is concerned, is undoubtedly a locomotive! Because of the longstanding influence of the "leftist" ideology, especially the sabotage perpetrated by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques during the 10 years of internatl disturbance, the prestige and fighting stamina of our party among the masses have suffered a tremendous weakening. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party central committee has time and again broached this question and thus accomplished a great deal of work in restoring and improving the party's fighting stamina and achieved conspicuous results; this has served to greatly strengthen our party leadership. But, it remains to be further improved. Communists' playing a model and vanguard role in bringing about an overall new situation is exactly the practical action that benefits and improves our party leadership. Only after the model role of our party members is well played can our party's prestige and fighting stamina be enhanced, our party's leadership talents be made more powerful, and a more reliable assurance be given the cause of the construction of our modernization.

To serve as leaders, we must lead other to establish firm confidence and courage to overcome difficulties, because in our attempt to bring about a new situation we are bound to encounter expected or unexpected difficulties. But we should realize compared to certian immense difficulties our party has encountered in the past, the situation today is already very different. During the period of the Red Army's Long March difficulties resulting from such a great disparity in strength between ourselves and the enemy were overcome during the period of the "Cultural Revolution" the tyranny of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques was reversed, can it be said that today there are difficulties that cannot be overcome? The key question is that we Communists should take the lead and exert our spirit, blaze a forward path, be assiduous and indefatigable, and struggle ceaselessly; only thus can our attitude of treating our difficulties be correct, and only thus can we be communists struggling to create a revolutionary style for the new phase.

To serve as leaders bringing about a new situation, we must strengthen our study, continue to elevate our ideological and perceptual level, and continue to enhance our scientific and cultural knowledge. The construction of our socialist modernization is a brand new issue; to party members and individuals, it has imposed newer and higher demands. Each communist, in order to allow himself to become not a straggler but a leader, must reinforce his study. At present, studying the documents of the 12th Congress is the party's most important task; every party member must treat it with a solemn and serious attitude and do a good job in serving as a leader in the study of those documents.

9255
CSO: 4005/115

BRIEFS

HEILONGJIANG DELEGATION RETURNS--The six-member Heilongjiang Provincial Government delegation headed by Governor Chen Lei returned to Harbin by train on 30 October after winding up its visit to the United States at the invitation of Lee Dreyfus, governor of Wisconsin. Governor Chen Lei and Governor Dreyfus signed a resolution on friendly relations. The delegation was warmly received by Wisconsin officials. Accompanied by government officials, the delegation visited farms, plants and universities. The delegation returned to Beijing on 25 October. Receiving the delegation at the station were vice governors Chen Jianfei and Wang Jun and responsible persons of departments concerned. [SK041111 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 Oct 82 SK]

SHANGHAI 'STRESSES, BEAUTIES' DRIVE--Shanghai Municipality plans to launch massive campaign in mid-November to inspect for filth, chaos and poor service and correct the situation, recently the municipal CPC committee's propaganda department issued a circular on studying and implementing the 12th Party Congress' guidelines and deepening the "five stresses and four beauties" campaign while mapping out concrete steps for conducting the citywide inspection. The circular called on leading comrades of party and government organs at all levels to take a personal interest in the inspection and said that leading comrades of the municipal CPC committee, the municipal people's congress Standing Committee, the municipal people's government, the municipal CPPCC committee and the garrison district should separately inspect the various districts and major plants and enterprises. Outstanding individuals and units will be commended and unsatisfactory ones will be criticized. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 1 Nov 82 OW]

CSO: 4005/176

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

CONSCRIPTION WORK IN JIANGSU DISCUSSED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 19 Sep 82 p 1

[Report by Cao Mingxiang [2580 2494 4382] and Liu Sizuo [0491 1835 1563]: "Provincial Government and Provincial Military District Plan This Winter's Concription Work: Send Youths of Good Physique, Healthy Ideology and Higher Cultural Level to the Army"]

[Text] On 17-18 September, the provincial government and provincial military district convened in Nanjing a conference on conscription work to study and plan the province's conscription work. Deputy commander Liu Kuiji [0491 1145 1015] of the provincial military district and other comrades attended the conference; deputy provincial governor Li Zhizhong [2621 1013 0022] gave a speech at the conference.

The objects and limits of this winter's new soldier conscription are: in the countryside, youths whose family labor force is fairly abundant and have junior middle school education and above are to be concripted; in the cities and county seats, only 1982 graduating students of senior middle schools are to be conscripted. Males 18 and 19 in 1982 will be conscripted, 1982 graduating seniors from middle schools reaching the age of 17 who volunteer may be concripted. In accordance with the spirit of relevant documents from the superior level, a small number of female youths will also be conscripted. Registration for conscription will start at the beginning of October; physical examination and political examination will follow and end around 20 November.

In his speech Comrade Li Zhizhong said: doing a good job in our conscription work will have important significance in strengthening our national defense, protecting our motherland, and construction of the four modernizations. Party organizations and governments, and armed force departments at various levels should consider this an important political task to accomplish. Comrade Li Zhizhong asked everyone to integrate closely study, propagation and implementation of the spirit of the documents of the 12th Congress, apply multifarious forms, and carry out education on patriotism, revolutionary heroism and the citizens' rights, duties and morality among the broad masses of people to create an enthusiastic atmosphere so that when someone joins the army the whole family and the whole village feel honored. He asked personnel to conscription work at various levels to reinforce their political sense of responsibility, strictly carry out the pertinent policies and regulations governing conscription, guard well range estimatation, physical examination, political examination and designation, and do their best to send to the units those youths of good physique, healthy ideology and high educational levels. He asked the concerned

departments of public security, public health, and communication and transportation at various levels to coordinate closely with one another, work together to accomplish this conscription work better, faster, and more economically.

Finally, Comrade Li Zhizhong pointed out emphatically: governments and civic administration departments at various levels must unite with conscription work to conduct an overall inspection of our undertakings to give preferential treatment and comfort to the families of military men and further realize our preferential treatment and comfort policies, thus imparting the concern of the party and the government to the hearts of the objects of such treatment and comfort.

9522
CSO: 4005/115

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'BA YI RADIO' COMMENTS ON CARTER MEMOIRS

'China Wants To Stop Memoirs'

OW230045 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 21 Nov 82

[Text] Former President Carter is publishing [as heard] his memoirs in the United States. In the book, Carter reveals the facts about some activity between the U.S. Government and China before the establishment of Sino-U.S. diplomatic relations. So far, those facts are still unknown to the world in general. Carter also openly exposes the purpose of U.S. imperialism in establishing diplomatic relations with China. In the memoirs, Carter, in particular, emphatically describes his talks with the Chinese, including his talks with Comrade Deng Xiaoping during the latter's visit in the United States in January 1979. The former president tells the whole world that, during secret talks, Deng Xiaoping told him about China's plan to attack Vietnam in February 1979 and obtained his consent. The book also reveals some other details about the secret talks between Carter and the Chinese leader.

The former president writes in the memoirs: We Americans regard our cooperation with China as a means to promote mutual understanding between the United States and Third World countries. As everyone knows, China enjoys a very good reputation among some Third World countries. Its government has the ability to gradually influence those Third World countries which are difficult for the United States to deal with. This has been one of the most important results from our establishment of diplomatic relations with China. For instance, the South Korean President Pak Chong-hui and I wanted very much to prevent the Chinese from helping North Korea launch a military invasion against South Korea.

In his memoirs, former U.S. President Carter, ignoring courtesy, reveals the process of the talks between the United States and China on the Taiwan issue before the establishment of Sino-U.S. diplomatic relations.

He writes: I forwarded to Deng Xiaoping our three point proposal--the defense agreement between the United States and Taiwan would remain effective for another year and China would not object to it, the United States advocates gradual peaceful settlement of the Taiwan issue, and the United States would continue its arms sales to Taiwan. Later, China hailed the

draft of the communique to the U.S. Government, but the way the Chinese draft put the Taiwan issue was unacceptable to the United States. Therefore, we completely vetoed the draft put forward by China. However, Deng Xiaoping later expressed his acceptance of a draft prepared by the United States and his willingness to take it as the basis for future talks on the Taiwan issue.

Carter's disclosure of top secret matters concerning the normalization of Sino-U.S. relations in his memoirs again shows that the Americans are untrustworthy.

Carter points out: During the early stage in the normalization of relations with the Chinese, Brzezinski told Chai Zemin that Woodcock, U.S. special envoy in China, would extend my invitation to either Hua Guofeng or Deng Xiaoping and forward the text of the joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations, drafted by us during his forthcoming meeting with Deng Xiaoping on 13 December 1978. When Woodcock met with Deng Xiaoping, the latter's reply was brief and gratifying. Deng Xiaoping said, "We accept the draft put forward by the United States. I also accept the president's invitation for me to visit the United States." When I learned this situation, I asked my adviser why Deng Xiaoping answered so quickly. My adviser said, "Mr President, in order to solve the problem, they will make any sacrifice."

Former U.S. President Carter points out in his memoirs that the U.S. Government knew almost everything about the resolution of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee on the eve of Deng Xiaoping's visit to the United States in January 1979. Carter also points out that, at that time, Deng Xiaoping had already consolidated his position in the party and government.

Chinese Ambassador to the United States Chai Zemin has been ordered to make every effort to stop the publication of former U.S. President Carter's memoirs. He will pay $1 million to the publisher if necessary. To make certain details about Sino-U.S. relations public is detrimental to Comrade Deng Xiaoping's prestige and to China's international prestige.

PRC Journal Carrying Memoirs Banned

OW240227 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 22 Nov 82

[Text] Former U.S. President Carter's memoirs were recently published in the United States. In them, Carter revealed the facts about discussions between the U.S. Government and China before the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. These facts are still generally unknown. Carter openly revealed U.S. imperialism's purpose of establishing diplomatic relations with China.

In his memoirs, Carter paid particular attention to describing his talks with China, including all his talks with Comrade Deng Xiaoping during the latter's visit to the United States in January 1979. The former president

revealed to the whole world that, during their secret talks, Deng Xiaoping told him about China's plan to attack Vietnam in February 1979. His memoirs also revealed some other details about the secret talks between the Chinese leader and him. The following are some excerpts from Carter's memoirs:

In his memoirs, Carter said: Brzezinski's visit to Beijing in late May 1978 was very successful. It was something unexpected that the two sides had identical views on major international issues. Brzezinski made a series of proposals regarding what measures China should take after U.S. recognition, including certain actions China should take regarding Afghanistan, Vietnam, Ethiopia and Cuba, especially apropos the Russians. We also asked China not to openly criticize our policy too often. The Chinese immediately said "yes" and almost stopped their criticism of the United States.

In his memoirs, former U.S. President Carter alleged: Deng Xiaoping indicated to him, through the U.S. Liaison Office in Beijing, that he particularly hoped to visit the United States as early as possible. Deng Xiaoping said that he hoped to tour the United States before his death.

By making such an allegation, Carter attempted to indicate that the United States had not taken the initiative in inviting Comrade Deng Xiaoping to visit the United States in January 1979, but Deng himself had asked the United States to let him do so.

In his memoirs, former U.S. President Carter tried to confirm that, during Deng Xiaoping's visit to the United States in January 1979, Carter had asked him to use such words as 'peaceful means' and 'forbearance' in his open speeches dealing with the Taiwan question.

Carter also particularly pointed out: The Chinese leadership's temperate statements on solving the Taiwan question were actually helpful to the U.S. Government in solving some major domestic and international issues.

In his memoirs, Carter openly revealed that, during his talks with Comrade Deng Xiaoping, he had proposed that China help the United States guard against North Korea's military actions. Deng Xiaoping immediately assured me that North Korea would not invade South Korea.

In his memoirs, former U.S. President Carter said: During his visit to the United States in January 1979, Deng Xiaoping told me about China's plan to invade Vietnam. We were very much concerned about this and immediately took appropriate measures to safeguard the interests of the United States.

A responsible comrade of the CPC Central Committee's Propaganda Department has severely criticized the CANKAO XIAOXI [0639 5072 3194 1873] editorial department for its mistake in carrying Carter's memoirs and ordered the destruction of all copies of the issue carrying the memoirs.

In his criticism of the editorial department, the responsible comrade pointed out: By making public the top-secret 1979 discussion between Comrade Deng Xiaoping and Carter on China's plan to attack Vietnam, the former U.S. president has disregarded the interests of our country and has damaged its prestige and that of Comrade Deng Xiaoping. By publishing Carter's memoirs in CANKAO XIAOXI, its editors have not only seriously neglected their duties, but also made political mistakes.

'Ba Yi' Denounces Memoirs

OW240243 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 22 Nov 82

[Text] Former U.S. President Carter's memoirs were recently published in the United States. In his memoirs, Carter revealed the facts about discussions between the U.S. Government and China before the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. These facts are still generally unknown. Carter openly exposed U.S. imperialism's purpose in establishing diplomatic relations with China.

In his memoirs, Carter paid particular attention to describing his talks with China, including all his talks with Comrade Deng Xiaoping during the latter's visit to the United States in January 1979. The former president revealed to the whole world that, during their secret talks, Deng Xiaoping had told him about China's plan to attack Vietnam in February 1979. His memoirs also revealed other details about the secret talks between the Chinese leader and him. The following are some excerpts from Carter's memoirs:

In his memoirs, former U.S. President Carter stressed: When the United States and China reached agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, the United States clearly informed the Chinese leadership that the United States would maintain its existing cultural, trade and military relations with Taiwan for a fairly long time to come. For this purpose, the United States would specially establish the American Institute in Taiwan. Carter himself admitted that this institute would perform the general functions of an embassy.

In his memoirs, Carter tried to make the world believe that, among the Chinese leaders, Deng Xiaoping was the principal proponent of normalizing relations with the United States. Carter pointed out: After meeting with Deng Xiaoping in Beijing in late May 1978, National Security Assistant Brzezinski began to convince me that it would be very important to directly talk with Deng Xiaoping on major matters. Brzezinski also told me that, in his interview with a foreign reporter, Deng Xiaoping pointed out: China signed a peace treaty with Japan in a second, and it will take us only about 2 seconds to reach agreement with the United States on the normalization of Sino-U.S. relations. Brzezinski also told me that Deng Xiaoping was afraid lest members of the Chinese leadership oppose a pro-American policy. Therefore, we should quickly settle this issue.

In his memoirs, Carter described in detail how China had prepared to teach Vietnam a lesson. In so doing, his intentions were extremely vicious. Proceeding from U.S. imperialism's selfish interests, Carter obviously aimed at further aggravating the already tense relations between China and Vietnam.

In his memoirs, Carter insinuated: During his visit to the United States in January 1979, Deng Xiaoping proposed that the United States, China, Japan, West Europe and other countries should unite to deal with the Soviet Union.

The Ministry of Public Security has recently instructed the departments concerned that it is strictly forbidden to bring copies of former U.S. President Carter's memoirs into the country from abroad. In addition, the ministry has also instructed all localities to jam foreign radio stations carrying selected sections of the memoirs in order to vindicate the prestige of our country and Comrade Deng Xiaoping.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PEOPLE EXHORTED TO CHECK POPULATION GROWTH IN RURAL AREAS

Beijing JIANKANG BAO in Chinese 26 Sep 82 p 1

[Editorial: "The Countryside Is the Central Link in Carrying Out the State's Policy of Family Planning"]

[Text] The date of 25 September is the second anniversary of the issuance by the party Central Committee of the "Open Letter to All CPC and CYL Members Concerning the Question of Controlling Our Country's Population Growth." In the past 2 years, because the party committees and government at all levels have strengthened their leadership over family planning work, and because the great number of people and the specialists have made great efforts, good progress has been made in our country's family planning work. We must now implement the policy of the 12th Party Congress and get a good grip on family planning work, so as to score the greater success of controlling the population so that it is under 1.2 billion at the end of this century.

In his report at the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Huo Yaobang, setting forth the strategic goals, strategic key points, and strategic steps, principles and policies for building up our country's economy, incisively demonstrated the extremely important significance of carrying out family planning and controlling population growth to our country's economic and social development, to the improvement of the people's material and cultural life, and to the ensuring of a lengthy peaceful reign. Clearly making family planning a fundamental policy of our country, he emphatically pointed out: "Under no circumstances can family planning work be relaxed, especially in the rural areas." These expositions and stipulations are the results of our party's summing up the historical experiences since the founding of the state and its persistence in, by proceeding from our country's national condition, showing great foresight and being circumspect and far-sighted; and they possess great real significance. We must conscientiously study, deeply understand, and comprehensively study, thoroughly put them into practice, and we must especially make the rural areas the central link in implementing the state's fundamental policy of family planning, and grasp this work tightly and well, so that the entire family planning work will develop in the direction indicated by the 12th Party Congress and a new situation will be ushered in.

That family planning work in the rural areas is particularly important and cannot be relaxed is, first of all, because agriculture is the foundation of

our country's national economy, and it is the number one strategic key point in our strategic goal of tripling our country's total industrial and agriculture output value within 20 years. Only by pushing agriculture forward will other things be done comparatively well. And an important condition for pushing agriculture forward is firmly to control population growth, thereby mitigating the contradiction between many people on little land and the amount of food for them to eat. At the same time, there are over 800 million peasants in the country's population of 1 billion; of the over 100 million women of child-bearing age, nearly all of them live in rural areas. How good or bad family planning work is done in the rural areas occupies a decisive position and determines the overall situation in family planning work. Only by really doing good work in family planning in the rural areas and in the strategic task of controlling the population, can the greatest results be ensured.

A noteworthy question at present is that, following the putting into practice of the agricultural responsibility system in all areas and the improvement of agricultural life, some peasants have an increased desire to have more children. This desire, coupled with the influence of traditional and habitual thinking, is hindering the full development of family planning work in the rural areas. If we are to implement the policy of the 12th Party Congress by doing good work in family planning in the rural areas, we must first, proceeding from this actual circumstance, continually study new problems and conscientiously sum up the new experiences after the rural areas put into practice the production responsibility system, so that family planning work willwill conform to the new situation and will be done even better. Now, while perfecting the agricultural production responsibility system, many places are setting up and strengthening various forms of the family planning responsibility system, putting into effect contracts for both production and births, and contracting with households and individual birth plans and birth control measures. Also, following the strengthening of the buildup of basic-level political power and the further strengthening of the party's leadership over family planning work, this work was made an important part of the basic-level cadres' personal responsibility system. Practice has proven that this is an effective measure for the work of implementing family planning in the rural areas under the new circumstances. Each place should integrate this measure with local reality and conscientiously popularize these successful experiences.

It must be seen that carrying out family planning to control population growth not only is a basic condition for successfully attaining the magnificent goal of building up our country's economy, but also is an important matter of changing prevailing habits and customs and an important part of building a socialist spiritual civilization. Therefore, we certainly must do propaganda and educational work with education in communism as the nucleus, and especially in the rural areas we must do thoroughgoing and painstaking propaganda and education work, making widely known the basic national policy of family planning and the various specific policies and transforming them into conscious actions by the masses. In this way, the mass base will become wider and wider, family planning will be put into effect, and the practice of one child per couple will be promoted and become a new custom and habit for the broad masses of peasants; also, when this becomes a powerful social opinion on

the part of the masses, it will be easy to solve the problems in family planning on the part of a small number of people. For now and for a period of time in the future, the central task of the propaganda and education work is, with Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech at the 12th Party Congress and Comrade Hu Yaobang's report at the congress as the basic content, to explain and publicize the spirit of the 12th Party Congress; and to conduct education on communism, on the basic national policy, on the identity of the immediate and long-term interests, as well as on the basic knowledge about population theory. All our family planning workers and every one of the medical personnel who engages in surgical operations and technical work connected with family planning must conscientiously study, understand, explain, and publicize the documents of the 12th Party Congress and become good propagandists for the spirit of the congress. Through this propaganda, the great number of peasants will truly understand that it is necessary for the four modernizations drive that there be a big development of agriculture, and that a big development of agriculture and the fundamental interests of the peasants, as well as the continual raising of the income of commune members households, are all directly connected to population control. If a really good job is not done in family planning, not only will limits be placed on agricultural labor's productive force and on the further raising of the peasant's income, but also the positive gains accruing from putting into practice the responsibility system will be offset, and even appear on the negative side of the balance sheet. Once the peasants understand this point, they will realize that, fundamentally speaking, the carrying out of family planning not only benefits the state but also benefits themselves, their families, and their descendants, and thus their consciousness of carrying out family planning will be raised.

Some of our comrades, looking at one side--there are many people and vast areas in the countryside, traditions and habits are fairly strong, and the degree of difficulty in family planning is fairly big--frequently easily overlook another side. They should see that, under the leadership of the party, the great number of peasants organized by the state love the party and love socialism, and have made major contributions to the revolution and to construction. In these 2 years the attitude of the peasants toward carrying out family planning has already undergone a considerable positive change, and public opinion in the rural areas has also changed to a position of supporting it. This is a great achievement of family planning work. It is a complete mistake to think that the peasants' enthusiasm for carrying out family planning is insufficient and that they are in a state of inertia.

Carrying out the state's basic policy of family planning is the long-term task of all the party and all the people of the country, and is the glorious mission bestowed by the party on our family planning workers and our medical and public health workers. For realizing the strategic goal put forward by the party Central Committee of controlling production growth, we shoulder heavy responsibilities and our task is glorious but arduous. Let us take as our compass the documents of the 12th Party Congress, summon up our spirits, work vigorously, and use all our intelligence and strength to struggle hard to usher in a new situation in family planning work!

9727
CSO: 4005/120

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BIRTH CONTROL INCREASING IN ZHEJIANG

OW111422 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 11 Nov 82

[Text] Extensive education on birth control as a basic national policy has been conducted in Jinhua Prefecture's various counties since September. As a result, more than 69,000 persons have undergone birth control surgeries in 50 days.

Leaders of party committees at various levels have personally participated in publicizing and studying the documents of the 12th party congress and in publicizing the central authorities' directives on family planning. They have stirred the masses to do some hard thinking about the relationship between the population, the land and the quantity of grain the land can produce. In so doing, they aim at making birth control a basic policy of our country known to every person and household.

The population of the (Lizhai) production brigade of the (Xindu) commune, Lanxi County, has increased from 780 in the early days after the founding of the PRC to 1,400 at present. Because of land used for housing construction, however, the brigade's farmland has decreased by 200 mu. Members of the brigade said: Our brigade is like a ship whose passengers have increased but the number of cabins has decreased. If we did not strictly control population growth, how could this ship carry its increasing load?

Through education, the people have enhanced their understanding of the importance of family planning. Thus, many people now subordinate their immediate interests to their long-term ones and their personal interests to the interests of the state. Now an increasing number of people are practicing birth control. According to statistics, in the 50 days from early September to late October, 69,135 persons in the prefecture underwant birth control surgeries, and 54,484 of them were sterilized. These figures are more than nine times those of last year.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HUNAN'S MAO ZHIYONG STRESSES PLANNED PARENTHOOD

HK200411 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 19 Nov 82

[Text] Hunan Provincial CPC Committee First Secretary Mao Zhiyong made an important speech at the provincial planned parenthood work symposium on 19 November. Comrade Mao Zhiyong said: Enhancing the ideological understanding of the leaders at all levels is the premise for making a success in planned parenthood work. The reason why Changde County, Changde Prefecture and certain other progressive units have got a good grasp of planned parenthood work is that they have a relatively sober understanding of the population problem. The leading cadres at all levels should be wise, with clear heads and firm attitude. They must spontaneously regard planned parenthood work as an important condition for achieving the quadrupling target and improving people's living standards to a comparatively well-off level. While actively developing production, we must firmly and effectively control population growth.

Comrade Mao Zhiyong said: Advocating that each couple should have only one child is the major guiding ideology in current planned parenthood work. It is the current primary task. Only by upholding this guiding ideology can we truly succeed in strictly controlling the birth of a second child and resolutely stopping the birth of a third. The reason why population growth in certain places was not effectively controlled in the previous stage was very strongly connected to lack of a clear idea on this guiding ideology and to vacillation in work.

In his speech, Comrade Mao Zhiyong praised (Ma Zuoyan), a young planned parenthood worker in (Rexi) commune of Taoyuan County. He also praised the comrades on the planned parenthood front throughout the province for willingly bearing the burdens of office, fearing no difficulties, doing a lot of work and scoring relatively great success. He pointed out: In order to make a success of planned parenthood work, it is necessary to build a crack and combat-effective work force.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XINJIANG NATIONALITY UNITY GATHERING REPORTED

Gathering Opens

HK110314 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 10 Nov 82

[Summary] The Xinjiang regional gathering to commend progressive collectives and individuals in nationality unity opened in Urumqi on 10 November. Present at the opening ceremony, in addition to the 600 representatives, were Wang Enmao, Gu Jingsheng, Xiao Quanfu, Tan Youlin, Ismail Amat, Tomur Dawamat, Huang Luobin and Janabil, leading comrades of the region and the Urumqi PLA units; Qiao Shi, alternate secretary of the Central Committee Secretariat; Li Gui, deputy director of the Central Committee's United Front Department and vice chairman of the NPC Nationalities Committee; and Huang Guangxue, vice minister of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission. Ismail Amat, secretary of the regional CPC committee and chairman of the regional government, presided.

Regional CPC committee Second Secretary Gu Jingsheng delivered the opening speech. After greeting and welcoming the representatives, he said [begin recording]: "Making a success of this gathering will be of very great significance for further studying and implementing the 12th party congress spirit, implementing the party's nationality policy, strengthening the unity of nationalities, deepening the friendship between them, consolidating and developing the excellent situation of stability and unity, and creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization in Xinjiang." [end recording]

Comrade Qiao Shi then spoke on behalf of the Central Committee and State Council. Comrade Li Gui also spoke. Comrades Xiao Quanfu and (Yang Huangsheng) extended greetings on behalf of the Urumqi PLA units and the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps. Regional CPC committee First Secretary Wang Enmao delivered a report entitled "Under the Guidance of the 12th Party Congress Spirit, Seriously Implement the Party's Nationality Policy and Create a New Situation in All Fields in the Nationality Unity in Xinjiang." The report was in three parts: "1) The excellent situation in nationality unity; 2) basic experiences in strengthening nationality unity; 3) create a new situation in all fields of nationality unity in the region."

Qiao Shi Speech

HK110319 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 10 Nov 82

["Full text" of speech delivered by Comrade Qiao Shi on 10 November 1982 at Xinjiang gathering to commend progressive collectives and individuals in nationality unity--read by announcer]

[Text] When the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region is solemnly convening a gathering to commend progressives in nationality unity, our General Secretary Comrade Hu Yaobang and Premier Comrade Zhao Ziyang have sent Comrades Li Gui, Huang Guangxue and myself to attend this gathering and convey to you comrades the earnest concern and warm greetings of the CPC Central Committee and State Council, and to wish this gathering complete success.

In his report to the 12th party congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: Unity and equality of nationalities and their common prosperity is a major issue related to the destiny of the state in a multinationality country like ours. Xinjiang is a nationality autonomous region inhabited by more than 10 nationalities. It is also situated in the first line of national defense in the northwest. Its strategic position is extremely important. Unity of nationalities is the fundamental guarantee for success in all work in Xinjiang. It is a strategic issue related to national unity and border defense consolidation, and to stability and unity and the four modernizations drive. The progressive collectives and individuals being commended at this gathering, who come from all nationalities and fronts in the region and have made outstanding contributions to nationality unity and the four modernizations drive, represent the fruits of Xinjiang's implementation of the party's nationality policy in recent years and a symbol of the continuous strengthening of nationality unity. This gathering is a joyous event for the people of all nationalities in Xinjiang and a very good creation. It is bound to have profound effects on all work in Xinjiang and to play a tremendously stimulating role in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization in Xinjiang.

The Xinjiang Autonomous Regional CPC Committee has loyally carried out the party's nationality policy and attached very great importance to nationality unity work. This year education in nationality policy and unity has been extensively carried out throughout the region. At the same time, the execution of nationality policy has been inspected and existing problems solved. Experiences and lessons have been summed up. The region has united as one to look ahead. As a result of the education and inspection, the cadres of all nationalities have further enhanced spontaneity in carrying out the nationality policies. The Han cadres have paid attention to overcoming and avoiding great nationalism trends, while the minority-nationality cadres have paid attention to overcoming and avoiding the local nationalist trends. The correct notion that Han and minority-nationality cadres cannot do without each other has gone deep into people's minds. Nationality relations have been further improved, and unity among nationalities and between army and people has been further strengthened.

To continually consolidate and develop the political situation of stability and unity is the common desire of the people of all nationalities in Xinjiang and the basic condition for carrying out socialist modernization. Speaking and doing things that preserve nationality unity (?will) gradually form powerful social public opinion and an excellent social habit. Speaking and doing things harmful to nationality unity will then certainly be opposed by the masses and cadres of all nationalities.

In the 33 years since liberation, Xinjiang has continually advanced along the socialist road, and earth-shaking changes have taken place. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, in common with the whole country, Xinjiang has scored very great success in eliminating the pernicious influence of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, clearing away the influence of erroneous leftist ideology, and bringing order out of chaos in all fields, especially in nationality policy and nationality relations. In October last year, the central authorities readjusted and strengthened the autonomous region's leadership group. The regional CPC committee has led the people of all nationalities in the region to seriously implement the central line, principles and policies and the series of instructions on work in Xinjiang. Work in all fields has been done relatively well, and relatively great achievements have been scored. The region has reaped bumper agriculture and animal husbandry harvests for the fifth year in succession. The living standards of people in town and countryside have notably improved. The whole region is a scene of prosperity. The party Central Committee and State Council are happy over this.

Of course, as Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out, we must uphold the concept of dividing one into two and do still better. We must soberly realize that the development of our work is uneven, and there are various twists and inadequacies. Alienation between nationalities, left over from history, and the wounds caused and the various problems left by the 10 years of internal turmoil cannot be eliminated or solved all at once. We must work hard to carry forward our achievements, overcome the shortcomings, and pay a high degree of attention to nationality unity work at all times. Under the guidance of the 12th party congress spirit, we must ceaselessly continue to conduct education in nationality policy and unity for the people of all nationalities, the PLA and the production and construction corps, conduct still more deepgoing education in communist ideology, including Marxist theory on nationality, for the party and CYL members and state cadres, seriously solve various problems left over from history and those we encounter on our way ahead, further develop socialist nationality relations of equality, solidarity and mutual aid, and continually strengthen party unity, the unity of nationalities and unity of army and people. We must not only strengthen the unity between Han people and cadres on the one hand and minority-nationality people and cadres on the other; we must also strengthen unity between the people and cadres of different minority nationalities. So long as unity work in all aspects is done well, we are sure to surmount all difficulties on the way ahead and win one new victory after another.

Xinjiang's conditions for building the four modernizations are excellent and its potentials are great. Its territory is vast and resources abundant. It is a treasure land of our region with great prospects, and its future is unlimited. The people of all nationalities in Xinjiang are fine sons and daughters of the Chinese nation. They are brave, hard-working, sincere and honest. They have outstanding culture and fine revolutionary traditions.

We resolutely believe that under the leadership of the CPC, by firmly implementing the 12th party congress spirit and the series of principles and policies, fully mobilizing and bringing into play the positive factors in all aspects, and relying on the solidarity and militancy of the people of all nationalities in the region, plus the help from the state and support from people of all nationalities in the country, Xinjiang will certainly be able to advance in great strides in building the four modernizations and in all work, as the people of all nationalities there desire, and we will certainly be able to build Xinjiang into a strong fortress of anti-hegemonist solidarity, defending the border, and into a prosperous, rich, strong and civilized socialist new Xinjiang.

Li Gui Speech

HK110359 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 10 Nov 82

["Excerpts" from speech delivered by Comrade Li Gui on 10 November 1982 at Xinjiang gathering to commend progressive collectives and individuals in nationality unity--read by announcer]

[Excerpts] Xinjiang's convening of a gathering to commend progressives in nationality unity is a new creation. It is the result of the Xinjiang Regional CPC Committee, headed by Comrade Wang Enmao, conducting extensive and deepgoing education in nationality policy and unity for the people of all nationalities in Xinjiang. It is a vivid expression of the efforts of Xinjiang people of all nationalities in preserving and strengthening nationality unity. The convening of this gathering is bound to press forward the cause of nationality unity in Xinjiang to a new stage.

In the past 30 and more years, nationality unity in Xinjiang has in general forged ahead. Although there has been the influence of leftist errors, and especially the sabotage done by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques during the 10 years of internal turmoil, the unity of people of all nationalities in Xinjiang has withstood the tests. Since the gang of four were smashed, and especially since the third plenary session, socialist nationality relations have developed daily here, as in the whole country. We are extremely happy to see the great progress and all-round strengthening in Xinjiang's nationality unity in the past 1 year or so, and that a splendid political situation of stability and unity has appeared.

Comrades, the people of all nationalities in our country, under the leadership of the Central Committee, are now creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. Strengthening the unity of all nationalities is extremely important in the course of accomplishing this

great historic task. The Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region occupies a very important position in the consolidation of national defense, in stability and unity, and in building the four modernizations. We believe that the people of all nationalities in Xinjiang will certainly be able to clearly realize their own glorious responsibilities, and, in the existing excellent situation, will make still greater efforts to advance from victory to victory, unite still more closely around the Xinjiang Regional CPC Committee, further strengthen nationality unity and economic construction work, and create a new situation in Xinjiang's socialist construction.

Nationality unity is the foundation and guarantee of all work in Xinjiang. Nothing can be done without it. In further developing and strengthening nationality unity, the leaders at all levels must first seriously implement the party's nationality policy and uphold the principle of equality of nationalities. It is necessary to continue to step up education in nationality policy and unity for the cadres and people of all nationalities, and tackle nationality unity as an important content of socialist spiritual civilization. We must create powerful social public opinion for nationality unity and make it a social habit. We must further propagate the truth that Hans and minority nationalities cannot do without each other. We must strengthen the unity of minority nationalities and Hans, and also strengthen unity between and within the different minority nationalities. At the same time we must strengthen army-people and cadre-masses unity. In particular, among the cadres of all nationalities we must advocate and establish relations of [words indistinct] learning from, allowing for, helping and supporting each other. We must oppose great nationalism, mainly great Hanism. We must also oppose local nationalism. We must apply the method of criticism and education to continuously overcome these two erroneous notions.

The first task in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization is to continue to press forward socialist economic modernization. The question of economic construction is also the core of our nationality work. For historical reasons, Xinjiang's production level now is not high; but we can say with full confidence that with the correct leadership of the Central Committee and with the 13 million people of all nationalities in Xinjiang bringing into play the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and arduous struggle and displaying their wisdom and talent, and by taking full advantage of Xinjiang's abundant natural resources, we will certainly be able to promote Xinjiang's economy relatively rapidly. At the same time, under the guidance of communist ideology, we should build socialist spiritual civilization, so that more and more people of all nationalities will become laborers with ideals, morality, culture and discipline striving for bumper harvests in both material and spiritual civilization.

Wang Enmao on Nationality Issues

HK120158 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 11 Nov 82

[Excerpts] In his 10 November report to the Xinjiang regional gathering to commend progressive collectives and individuals in nationality unity, regional CPC committee First Secretary Wang Enmao said: The present is one of the best periods of nationality unity in Xinjiang's history. It is also one of the best political and economic periods in Xinjiang's history. The main hallmarks of this are as follows:

1. Under the guidance of the line, principles and policies since the third plenary session and the series of important party Central Committee instructions on work in Xinjiang, we have corrected the leftist errors that existed for a long time in the guiding ideology for nationalities work, persistently publicized and established the Marxist view of nationality, and revived the party's traditions in nationalities work. As a result this work has embarked on the correct path.

2. The party's nationality policies have been further implemented, nationality relations have been further improved, and nationality unity has been notably strengthened. The party organizations and government departments at all levels have attached importance to implementing the party's nationality, united front and religion policies. We have strengthened building of democracy and the legal system in the autonomy organs at all levels, and rehabilitated the victims of a large number of miscarriages of justice. The cadres and masses of all nationalities enjoy ease of mind and stability in ideology. The atmosphere of mutual trust, respect, help and learning is becoming ever stronger. Large numbers of good people and deeds in nationality unity have come to the fore.

3. The political situation is more stable. In Xinjiang, nationality unity is the key to and an important hallmark of political stability. In the past 1 year and more, following the improvement of nationality relations and the strengthening of nationality unity, the region's political situation has been further stabilized and there has been a notable turn for the better in social order and mood.

4. Economic construction has further developed, and the people's living standards have been notably improved. In particular, splendid changes have taken place in the relatively poor southern Xinjiang area, where agricultural production has greatly increased, people's incomes have greatly increased and their living standards have greatly improved.

5. The cadres at all levels trust each other, and the unity of the leadership groups at all levels has been further strengthened. As a result of studying and implementing the resolution of the 6th plenary session, the important central instructions on work in Xinjiang, and the documents of the 12th party congress, the party and government leadership groups at all levels in the region have further enhanced understanding and unified their thinking. Leading cadres of all nationalities have strengthened unity,

trust, support and understanding for each other. At the same time, all levels have promoted a number of minority-nationality leading cadres to augment and strengthen the leadership.

6. There have been further improvements in relations between army and people, between army and government, and between the production and construction corps and the local people. There have been many moving instances of the army's love for the people, the people's support for the army, and mutual assistance, support and learning between the production and construction corps and the local people. All this has promoted the development of production and the consolidation of border defense.

7. Many progressive units and individuals have emerged in the drive to implement the party's nationality policies and strengthen nationality unity.

Wang Enmao on Strengthening Unity

HK130206 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 12 Nov 82

[Excerpts] In his report to the Xinjiang regional gathering to commend progressive collectives and individuals in nationality unity, regional CPC committee First Secretary Comrade Wang Enmao summed up six basic experiences of the region in strengthening nationality unity. These experiences are as follows:

1. Persistently publicize and establish the Marxist concept on nationality. In studying Marxist nationality theory and establishing the Marxist concept of nationality, it is necessary to enhance the correct understanding of the whole party on the nationality issue, oppose great nationalism, mainly great Hanism, and also oppose local nationalism. Both great Hanism and local nationalism should be handled as contradictions among the people, and the emphasis should be laid on education. It is necessary to adopt the methods of study, criticism and self-criticism, and clarification of ideas to solve these contradictions. We must pay attention to distinguishing between proper nationality feelings, representation of the proper interests of a nationality and reflection of the views of the nationality on the one hand and nationalism on the other. We must certainly not confuse them. Every Communist Party member must be a model in studying Marxist nationality theory, implementing the nationality policies, and preserving nationality unity.

2. Correctly implement the party's nationality policy and strengthen the unity of nationalities. Correctly implementing the party's nationality policy is a major guarantee for continually strengthening the great unity of cadres and masses of all nationalities, and is also a major guarantee for making a success of all work and scoring victories in minority-nationality areas. We must persistently implement the policy of autonomy for nationality regions. This is the party's basic policy for solving the nationality issue. We must persistently implement the policy of vigorously training and promoting minority-nationality cadres. This is not only the requirement of instituting autonomy in nationality regions; it is also the

key to solving China's nationality issue. We must also correctly implement the party's united front policy regarding patriotic figures in the upper strata of the minority nationalities, and correctly implement party policy on religion. The party, government, army, people, the schools, industry, agriculture, commerce and all sectors and fronts must ceaselessly conduct education in nationality policy and unity for the cadres and masses of all nationalities, and form this into a system.

3. Vigorously develop culture and the economy and promote the four modernizations drive. Developing the economy is the most important foundation for strengthening nationality unity, and strengthening nationality unity is the most important guarantee for developing the economy. Under the concern and leadership of the Central Committee and the encouragement of the 12th party congress spirit, we must unite as one, continue to work hard and more painstakingly, and strive to speed up the development of the economy and culture in Xinjiang and create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

4. We must fully understand the importance of nationality unity and assign this work an extremely important position. In Xinjiang, there can be no political situation of stability and unity without nationality unity, and thus it is not possible to smoothly carry out the four modernizations, to defeat Soviet hegemonism and to protect and consolidate the motherland's border defenses. Thus nationality unity is an all-round major strategic issue related to the unity of the motherland, stability and unity, the four modernizations drive, and the consolidation of national defense. It is a major issue related to the common fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities. Experience has proven that so long as we truly attach ideological importance to nationality unity, and are able to assign nationality unity an important position in work, with all levels from top to bottom and all cadres and masses stressing nationality unity at all times, our nationality unity can certainly be continually consolidated and developed. If nationality unity is promoted well, all our work can be done well.

5. Strictly distinguish between the two different kinds of contradiction and correctly handle various problems that occur between different nationalities. China's nationality relations are now basically relations between laboring people of different nationalities. In handling problems that occur between nationalities, we should first focus our vision on the masses, resolutely trust and rely on the great majority of the masses, proceed from the desire for unity and carry out painstaking work to solve the problems. The facts of more than 30 years have proven that the great majority of cadres and masses of all nationalities love the party, the motherland and socialism. We must not waver on this basic viewpoint at any time. When problems occur, the leading minority-nationality cadres should do more work on the minority-nationality masses, and the leading Han cadres should do more work on the Han masses. The leading cadres of all nationalities must take the stand of party spirit and party policy. They must be just and fair in handling problems and must certainly not be swayed by emotion. They must

deal with problems as they are, and avoid describing all problems as nationality problems.

6. Party committees at all levels must pay attention to promoting nationality unity, and leading cadres at all levels must take the lead in this respect.

Wang Enmao Outlines Tasks

HK140343 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 13 Nov 82

[Excerpts] In his report to the Xinjiang regional gathering to commend progressive collectives and individuals in nationality unity, regional CPC committee First Secretary Wang Enmao pointed out: The current central task in our region is to study and implement in depth the 12th party congress spirit, do still better in promoting nationality unity, and create a new situation in all fields of the region's nationality unity work and socialist modernization. Comrade Wang Enmao therefore demanded that all areas and departments seriously do a good job in the following work items:

1. Study and implement the 12th party congress spirit. We must apply the 12th party congress spirit to unify our thinking and action, further strengthen the unity of all nationalities, and strive for new and still greater victories in the region's economic construction and in all work.

2. Concentrate efforts on grasping economic construction. Xinjiang has very good conditions for developing socialist modernization. We must take full advantage of our superior features. First, we must vigorously develop agriculture and animal husbandry. Under the premise of self-sufficiency and a slight surplus in grain, we must vigorously develop industrial crops, to turn Xinjiang into a cotton, sugarbeet, cucurbit and fruit base. We must vigorously tackle capital construction of pastureland, vigorously develop animal husbandry and increase the commodity rate of livestock, to turn Xinjiang into one of the country's best animal husbandry bases.

Xinjiang has very abundant resources for the energy industry. We must strive to build Xinjiang into one of the country's oil, coal and hydro-electricity bases by the end of the century. We must also vigorously develop processing industries that rely on agriculture and animal husbandry for raw material, and build Xinjiang into a cotton and woolen textile base and a sugar base.

Having accomplished this aim, our economic and cultural undertakings will undergo very great development and the people's living standards will greatly improve. The many contradictions caused by economic and cultural inequalities left over by history will be solved relatively well, and there will be a firmer and more reliable base for nationality unity.

3. Grasp promoting nationality unity as a major content of building spiritual civilization, and further carry out deepgoing and sustained education in nationality unity. In Xinjiang, nationality unity is the key to

whether socialist modernization can be developed. The long-term nature of the nationality issue determines the long-term nature of education in nationality unity. We must conduct education in nationality policy and unity in all types of schools, from primary to secondary school and to university. The situation of nationality unity should be taken as a major condition in judging the work performance of an area, department, unit or leader.

4. Do still better in implementing the party's nationality policy and strengthen nationality unity. In recent years, the Central Committee has stipulated many policies beneficial for realizing the regional autonomy rights of the minority nationalities, promoting economic and cultural development in minority-nationality areas and strengthening nationality unity. These policies have been laid down in light of the conditions of the new historical period and the specific circumstances of the various nationalities. We must continue to implement the policies, and also further perfect and develop them in future practice.

5. We must vigorously step up propaganda in nationality unity and let the flowers of this unity blossom throughout Xinjiang. The regional CPC committee and government and the party committees and government at all levels must set up typical examples at all levels and commend the progressives. We must ensure that the fine tradition of nationality unity passes on throughout all generations.

Speech-Making Session

HK140352 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 13 Nov 82

[Summary] The Xinjiang regional gathering to commend progressive collectives and individuals in nationality unity held a full session of speech-making on 13 November. Nineteen representatives introduced their deeds and experiences in promoting nationality unity.

Present at the session were Central Committee Secretariat Alternate Secretary Qiao Shi; Central Committee United Front Deputy Director and NPC Nationalities Committee Vice Chairman Li Gui; State Nationalities Affairs Commission Vice Minister Huang Guangxue; and regional party, government and PLA leaders Wang Enmao, Xiao Quanfu, Tan Youlin, Tomur Dawamat, Huang Luobin and Janabil.

14 Nov Session

HK150313 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 14 Nov 82

[Summary] Full session speech-making continued at the Xinjiang regional gathering to commend progressive collectives and individuals in nationality unity on 14 November. Representatives of various units introduced their experiences in promoting nationality unity. Wang Enmao, Janabil, Bai Chengming, Yang Huansheng and Ba Dai, responsible persons of the regional party and government, attended the session.

Gathering Concludes

HK160229 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 15 Nov 82

[Summary] The Xinjiang regional gathering to commend progressive collectives and individuals in nationality unity concluded in Urumqi on 15 November. The closing ceremony was attended by Alternate Secretary of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat Qiao Shi; Deputy Director of the Central Committee United Front Department and Vice Chairman of the NPC Nationalities Committee Li Gui; Vice Minister of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission Huang Guangxue; and responsible comrades of Xinjiang Wang Enmao, Xiao Quanfu, Tan Youlin, Tomur Dawamat, Huang Luobin, and Janabil. Regional CPC committee First Secretary Wang Enmao presided. Awards were presented to representatives of 183 progressive collectives and 322 individuals in promoting nationality unity.

Regional CPC committee Secretary and People's Congress Standing Committee Chairman Tomur Dawamat delivered the closing speech. He said: "We must regard this gathering as a new starting point and as a powerful motive force for stimulating the further development of the region's work of implementing the nationality policies and strengthening nationality unity, so as to score still greater achievements and create a new situation in the region's nationality unity. All areas, departments and units must attach importance to doing a good job in conveying, publicizing and implementing the spirit of this gathering." The gathering adopted a letter of proposal to the people of all nationalities, military reclamation fighters, and PLA commanders and fighters. The letter made the following proposals:

1. Work hard at studying, publicizing and implementing the 12th party congress spirit and contribute to fulfilling the tasks it set.

2. Work hard at studying the theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on the nationality issue and establish the Marxist concept of nationality.

"3. Seriously implement the party's nationality policy and promote nationality unity still more extensively and deeply. It is necessary to regard strengthening education in nationality unity as a major content of building socialist spiritual civilization in Xinjiang. Every May should be a month of education in nationality unity."

4. Vigorously develop socialist economic and cultural construction so that the people of all nationalities can follow the road of prosperity for all.

5. In Xinjiang, the Hans and the minority nationalities cannot do without each other. The cadres and masses of all nationalities must trust, respect, learn from, help, support and make allowances for each other. The minority-nationality cadres and masses must warmly welcome and support Han cadres and masses in participating in Xinjiang's socialist construction. The Han cadres and masses must establish the idea of taking root in the border region for a long time and wholeheartedly serve the people of all nationalities in Xinjiang.

"6. People of all nationalities must mutually respect the habits and customs that have formed over a long period, and especially those of the minority nationalities.

"7. Seriously study and implement the party's policy on freedom of religious belief, and also oppose a few bad people who make use of religion to sow discord between nationalities and sabotage nationality unity.

"8. Pay attention to and strengthen education in nationality policy and unity for young people and juveniles, starting with the young children. Primary and secondary schools must treat this education as an important content of political and ideological lessons. Institutes of higher education must do well in teaching nationality policies and unity. The whole of society must attach importance to this work, so that the fine tradition of nationality unity can be carried on for all generations.

"9. In dealing with problems that occur between fraternal nationalities, the cadres of all nationalities must take the stand of party spirit and party policy and actively and carefully conduct ideological and political work for the masses, especially for those of their own nationality. Basing their efforts on benefiting unity and production, they must take the overall situation into account, make allowances for each other, and solve the problems through consultation.

"10. Say and do things that help nationality unity and do not say or do things that do not. The idea of nationality unity should take firm root in people's minds, and the flowers of nationality unity should yield rich fruits."

Report Meeting

HK180152 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 17 Nov 82

[Excerpts] The Xinjiang Regional CPC Committee held a report meeting today to hear reports on the progress of the regional commendation meeting on nationality unity. The report meeting urged units throughout the region to conscientiously convey and implement the spirit of the commendation meeting, further consolidate and develop the present excellent situation in nationality unity and create a new situation in this work. The presiding official of the commendation meeting gave a report on the discussions among the representatives during the meeting and their plans to convey and implement the meeting's spirit after returning to their own units.

Wang Enmao, regional CPC committee first secretary, delivered a speech at the report meeting.

He said: This commendation meeting has been a very successful meeting demonstrating nationality unity. Its scale is unprecedented in our region since liberation. Having analyzed our region's situation in nationality unity, commended advanced collectives and individuals, enabled the participants to exchange and sum up experiences in implementing the nationality

policy and strengthening nationality unity, and put forth the future tasks, this meeting is of far-reaching significance in our region's history.

In discussing how to convey and implement the spirit of the meeting, Comrade Wang Enmao said: First of all, party committees at all levels must attach importance to and properly convey the spirit of the meeting. They should organize the cadres, the representatives of advanced collectives and the advanced individuals who have participated in the meeting to publicize the spirit of the meeting, to extensively and thoroughly convey by various means the speeches by Qiao Shi and other central responsible comrades and the various documents of the meeting to cadres and the masses of all nationalities.

Comrade Wang Enmao pointed out: We must integrate the implementation of the spirit of this meeting with the study and implementation of the spirit of the 12th congress. We must, with the inspiration of the spirit of the 12th congress, further strengthen nationality unity, consolidate and develop the excellent situation of stability and unity, and facilitate economic construction and the work in various fields in our region.

He said: Along with conveying the spirit of the meeting, all units throughout the region must conscientiously examine the implementation of the nationality policy, and study and solve existing problems.

He emphasized: In implementing the spirit of the meeting, we must vigorously promote economic construction.

Regional CPC committee Secretary Tomur Dawamat and Deputy Secretary Janabil also gave speeches at the report meeting.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'NINGXIA RIBAO' REPORTS REGIONAL CENSUS FIGURES

HK121057 Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 29 Oct 82 p 1

[Regional Statistics Bureau communique on the main figures of the region's 1982 census]

[Text] In accordance with state unified planning on carrying out the third national census, Ningxia Autonomous Region has victoriously accomplished the task of registration and manual computation in the census under the unified leadership of the regional CPC committee and government, with the active support of the people of various nationalities and through the common efforts of all the census personnel. Following are the principal figures of the Ningxia Autonomous Region census:

I. The Total Population

At 0 hour, 1 July 1982, there were 3,895,578 people in Ningxia, of which 2,006,795 were males, constituting 51.5 percent of the total population and 1,888,783 were females, constituting 48.5 percent of the total population. The proportion of the sexes (if 100 was taken as an index for the number of females, the index for the number of males) would be 106.25.

The population in the present census has increased by 1,788,088 people over the 2,107,490 people in the second population census carried out in 1964. The annual average increase was 99,338 people. The total increase over 18 years is 84.84 percent and the average annual increase is 3.47 percent. Compared with the 3,833,771 people at the end of 1981, the number of people increased by 61,807, an increase of 1.61 percent.

The regional distribution of population is as follows:

Yinchuan municipality	673,529
Urban area of Yinchuan	363,508
Yongning County	152,790
Huolan County	157,231
Shizuishan municipality	553,189
Urban area of Shizuishan	304,228
Pingluo County	229,960
Taole County	19,001

Yinnan Prefecture	1,335,399
Wuzhong County	211,052
Qingtongxia County	184,967
Zhongwei County	245,444
Zhongning County	177,677
Lingwu County	188,161
Yanchi County	119,235
Tongxin County	208,863
Guyuan Prefecture	1,333,461
Guyuan County	546,401
Haiyuan County	239,777
Xiji County	307,365
Longde County	159,925
Jingyuan County	79,993

II. Resident Conditions in the Census

1. Permanent residents with local registration	3,847,327
2. Permanent residents of over 1 year and with registration in other places	31,484
3. Residents of less than 1 year who had left their place of registration more than a year ago	682
4. Residents with registration to be determined	15,509
5. Originally resident but now studying or working abroad and temporarily without registration	576
In addition, those who have permanent registration, but have resided in other places for over 1 year	22,442

III. Level of Education

Of the total population of Ningxia, there are 19,855 people with a university graduate level of education, 5,814 people with a university undergraduate (or currently enrolled student) level of education, 206,230 people with a senior high school level of education, 605,457 people with a junior high school level of education and 1,000,614 people with a primary school level of education.

Compared with the figures of the second census in 1964, for every 100,000 people in the whole region, there are the following changes in the people's levels of education: The number of people with a university level of education increased from 383 to 659; the number of people with a senior high school level of education increased from 1,250 to 5,294; the number of people with a junior high school level of education increased from 4,081 to 15,542; and the number of people with a primary school level of education increased from 18,732 to 25,686.

There are 1,837,970 people in the whole region with a higher than primary school level of education, constituting 47.18 percent of the total population. Compared with the 24.45 percent in the 1964 census, there has been a rise of 12.73 percent. There are 1,124,852 people above the age of 12 who are illiterate or almost illiterate, 28.88 percent of the total population. Compared with the 44.89 percent in the 1964 census, there has been a drop of 16.01 percent.

IV. The Conditions of the Nationalities

The whole region consists of 31 nationalities, 8 more nationalities than the 1964 census. These nationalities are the Han, Hui, Man, Menggu (Monggol), Zhuang, Chaoxian (Korean), Dongxiang, Tujia, Miao, Tu, Zang (Tibetan), Weiwuer (Uygur), Buyi, Tong, Yao, Bai, Hasake (Kasakh), Dai, Li, Jing, Hezhe, Yi, She, Gaoshan (Aborigins), Naxi, Sala, Maonan, Xibai, Baoan, Yugu and Eluosi (Russian). There are 2,651,354 people of the Han nationality, 68.06 percent of the total population, an increase of 81.96 percent over the 1964 census; 1,235,207 people of the Hui nationality, 31.71 percent of the total population, an increase of 90.92 percent over the 1964 census; and 9,017 people of other minor nationalities, which constitute 0.23 percent of the total population, an increase of 164.20 percent over the 1964 census.

V. Age Conditions of the Population

The age condition of Ningxia region belongs to the "young type" and the median age of the population of the region is 18.39, 0.11 years younger than 18.50 of the second census of 1964. There are 1,606,535 people under 15 years of age, who constitute 41.24 percent of the population. Some 46.3 percent of the total population was born since 1966, 61 percent of the total population was born since 1958 and 74.9 percent of the total population was born since 1949.

There are 2,064 old people of over 85 years in the whole region, 0.05 percent of the total population, of which 22 are over 100 years. The highest age is 110.

VI. Distribution and Changes in Urban and Rural Population

Of the total population in the whole region, there are 875,940 people living in the 2 municipalities and 14 towns, of which 667,736 people live in the municipalities and 208,204 in towns. Compared with the 1964 census, there is a total increase of 485,001 people in the population of municipalities and towns and over 18 years the percentage increased by 124.06 percent. Of the total population, the proportion rose from 18.55 percent of 1964 to 22.49 percent. There are 3,019,638 people living in rural areas, the increase over 18 years in the total number of people is 1,303,087, an increase of 75.91 percent. Of the total population, the proportion dropped from 81.45 percent in 1964 to 77.51 percent.

VII. Birth and Death Rate of the Population

According to the census registration, there were 112,251 people born in Ningxia in 1981, the birth rate being 29.65 per thousand and 23,034 people died in 1981, the death rate being 6.08 per thousand. There were 89,217 births and the natural growth rate is 23.57 per thousand.

VIII. The Quality of the Census

When the processes of registration and examination were finished, a sample checking on overall quality was conducted. The results proved that the census registration of Ningxia has met the high quality requirements. The sample checking was conducted among 611,601 people out of 114,981 families. The results are:

Number of people: 3 people, 0.0049 per thousand of the total population were registered twice; 5 people, 0.0082 per thousand of the total population were not registered, which meant that the net difference in population was 2 people and the rate 0.0033 per thousand.

Sex: 18 people were wrongly recorded and the error rate was 0.03 per thousand.

Age: 248 people were wrongly recorded, the error rate was 0.41 per thousand.

The number of people born in 1981: mistakes 0 people, error rate 0 per thousand.

The number of people dead in 1981: mistakes 0 people, error rate 0 per thousand.

In the current population census, the whole region released 13,112 census personnel, 3,405 census instructors and 9,023 working personnel for the various levels of census work and also organized and mobilized the vast number of activists and cadres at the grassroots levels. Before the census registration, we also conscientiously carried out reorganization in resident registration, arranged the number of streets and houses, strengthened neighborhood groups, carried out strict training, experimented over and over again, made extensive propaganda and carried out all kinds of preparatory work. During the census, because the leaders at various levels personally commanded and set strict demands, the census personnel were highly responsible and scrupulous about every detail and the people of various nationalities actively coordinated and enthusiastically supported the census work, we successfully finished the census registration before 10 July. We then carried out individual, mutual and united checking, quality checks and acceptance, examined and verified the collected data and corrected the errors in due time. Thus we achieved a high quality in the census.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SOCIAL SCIENCES ACADEMY DISCUSSES DEVELOPMENT

OW240453 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1538 GMT 23 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 23 Nov (XINHUA)--The third session of the First Academy Affairs Committee of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences recently stressed that efforts should be made, in light of actual conditions prevailing, to explore the objective law for socialist modernization in our country and to develop social sciences with Chinese characteristics.

Secretary General Mei Yi of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences said at the meeting that social science workers must conduct meticulous investigation and study, in a down-to-earth and diligent way, on the great practice of socialist modernization and submit valuable views to the central authorities as reference in making policy decisions.

The meeting held that, in order to develop social sciences with Chinese characteristics to cope with the needs of socialist modernization, it is necessary to do a good job in restructuring existing research units and to build up the rank and file of social science workers. Comrades participating in this meeting summed up earlier achievements in restructuring organizations.

The meeting stressed that the key to modernizing social sciences lies in improving the ideological quality and proficiency of the research personnel and in enriching the knowledge of the research staff. Social science workers must study theories and solve practical problems in the course of socialist modernization; they should not expect to do their work by relying on their predecessors' achievements, but must rely on themselves to carry on creative research.

Ma Hong, president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, presided over the meeting. Also present were more than 60 persons including Xia Nai, Qian Zhongshu [6929 6988 2579] and Ru Xin [3067 0207], vice presidents of the academy; and Zhang Youyu, Xu Dixin and Qian Junrui, advisers. At the meeting, the participants also discussed establishing an academic committee of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the "Regulations Governing the Work of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (Draft)."

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NOTICE RESTRICTS UNAUTHORIZED SCHOOL SYSTEM CHANGES

Beijing GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT] in Chinese No 1, Jan 82 p 47

[Article: "Notice Restricting the Changing of School Systems and Salary Systems Without Approval"]

[Text] On 17 September 1981, the state Office of Personnel and the Ministry of Education issued the "Notice To Restrict the Changing of School Systems and Salary Systems Without Authorization." The "Notice" indicated: Recently it has been discovered that certain areas, departments and schools had approved their own changes in school systems and raises in fixed wage levels established for middle level vocational schools, technical schools, finance and economics classes, training classes and dai pei sheng [0108 1014 3932] before and during the "Great Cultural Revolution." This is covert upgrading which, if not restricted, will create confusion concerning wages to be paid graduates. In order to stop this, the following points were specially raised in the hope that each area and department would seriously implement them.

1. Regardless of whether they wree established before or during the "Great Cultural Revolution," professional training schools and middle level vocational schools whose systems were approved and fixed by the concerned departments or by the provinces, municipalities or autonomous regions may not change their school systems for any reasons without authorization. In individual cases where there is an actual need to upgrade a middle level technical school to a college or a professional training school to an undergraduate university, approval must be obtained from the Ministry of Education and the state Office of Personnel before changes can be put into effect.

2. Fixed wage levels for graduates of institutes of higher learning and middle level vocational schools cannot be raised or changed by any areas, departments or schools, but only by the clear stipulation of the State Council or joint departments of the State Council.

3. During the adjustment of the national economy in 1962, the state adjusted the institutes of higher learning and middle level vocational schools. Some institutes of higher learning were cut back and merged, switched to middle level vocational schools or closed, arrangements being made for thier students. The problems resulting from that (including the problem of wages) were addressed in Party Central Committee documents and in stipulations laid down by concerned departments. After the national economy recovered, some middle level vocational

schools received the permission of the State Council to regain status as institutes of higher learnign and it was decided that the students enrolled at that time were to be given wages based on the school system status that was granted.

4. The wage level for graduate students and students in training classes and advanced study classes enrolled in institutes of higher learning, middle level vocational schools and related units cannot be assessed according to the regulatins in the two (abridged) documents issued by the State Council in 1980.

5. Prior to receiving this notice, those that have already raised fixed wage levels may be allowed to continue them if units at the schools find, upon examination, that the work (labor) displayed, ability to fulfill duties and technical levels are up to standard. Otherwise, corrections should be made.

9705
CSO: 4005/125

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

STUDENT STATUS TERMINOLOGY EXPLAINED

Beijing GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT] in Chinese No 1, Jan 82 p 47

[Article: "Explanation of Terms Concerning The Status of Students in Institutes of Higher Learning"]

[Text] On 27 July 1981, the Ministry of Education issued the paper "Explanation of Terms Concerning the Status of Students in Institutes of Higher Learning." The document pointed out:

At present, the explanations of terms concerning the status of students in institutes of higher learnign found in some documents, publications and propaganda reports are not consistent, are unclear and confusing. In order to unify understanding and aid in work, we now offer the following explanations of confused terms commonly encountered:

1. Concerning "entering class" ["ji" 4787] and "class" ["jie" 1447].

According to convention, one should speak of a student who matriculates in a certain year as a member of the XXXX entering class, or simply the XX entering class. For example, the 1978 entering class or simply the 78 entering class.

The year of a graduating class is its class. For example, the graduates of 1982 are simply called graduates of the class of 82. From now on the XX entering class [XX ji] students will at all times refer to the students who matriculated in the year XX; students of the XX class [XX jie students] will indicate students who graduate in the year XX.

2. "Interruption of study," [xiuxue 0128 1331], "continuance of admission status" ["baoliu ruxue zige" 0202 3966 0354 1331 6327 2706] and "continuance of student status" ["baoliu xueji 0202 3966 1331 4694].

A. "Interruption of study" applies to students with full student status who, for various reasons, receive permission from the school to interrupt their study for a period of time. Leave is generally allowed for a period of one year. During the leave, students continue to enjoy stipulated student privileges.

B. "Continuance of admission status" applies to students who, in the course of undergoing new student health examinations, are found to have a disease which medical units diagnose as curable within a short period of time or who, for other reasons, receive permission from the school to maintain their admission eligibility for the following year. According to present regulations, admission status can be maintained for only one year. During the period that admission status is maintained, students do not have student status and do not enjoy the privileges that students who have interrupted their study do.

C. "Continuance of student status" applies to students at institutes of higher learning who, for one reason or another, must break off their study and do not meet the requirements of students interrupting their study. After personally applying for and receiving permission from their schools to break off their study, they continue to be eligible to resume study. According to present regulations, student status can only be maintained for one year. Those who have not gone through the procedures necessary to resume study within that time lose their student status. Students whose student status is continued do not enjoy the privileges of students at the schools or of students whose study has been interrupted.

3. "Graduate" ["biyesheng" 0398 2814 3932], "graduated student" ["Jieyesheng" 4814 2814 3932] and "attendees" ["yiyesheng" 5125 2814 3932].

A. "Graduate" refers to a student with full student status who has completed all required courses of study, passed the necessary tests and been given permission to graduate. Graduates are given diplomas by their schools.

B. "Graduated student" refers to a student with full student status who has completed all required courses of study, but who has not done satisfactory work in one or more courses (including graduation thesis, dissertation or graduation project). Graduated students are given a certificate of completion of study [jieye zhengshu].

C. "Attendee" refers to a student with full student status who dropped out of school before completing a planned course of study (exclusive of students who have been expelled). An attendee is given a certificate of attendance or a study history certificate.

The above explanations are also suited to middle level vocational schools.

9705
CSO: 4005/125

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON WORK TOWARD INTELLECTUALS

HK231206 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 15 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by Sha Hong [3097 3163] of the Propaganda and Education Bureau of the CPC Central Committee Organization Department: "Five Views on Doing Still Better Work Concerning Intellectuals"; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Since early this year, acting upon the instructions of the CPC Central Committee, various areas and departments throughout the country have successively concentrated for a period of time on an overall review of work relating to intellectuals. The most rewarding result of this review is that organizations and cadres at all levels throughout the party have raised to varying degrees their awareness of the position and role of intellectuals in modernization. For a long time, "leftist" prejudices marked by contempt for intellectuals have been rather deeprooted. In some cases, these "leftist" prejudices are attributive to the remaining influence of the fallacies created by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary groups. In other cases, they have originated from narrow concepts based on small production. In still other cases, they are the result of the long-existing idea of treating intellectuals as "outsiders" without understanding their actual conditions. The one-sidedness in people's thinking and approach is especially to blame. Perfection is asked of intellectuals. Their strong points are even regarded as weaknesses. Through this review, everyone has realized that the overwhelming majority of intellectuals have not only relatively good cultural and scientific knowledge but also a highly cherished sense of patriotism and a keen sense of dedication to work. It also has been realized that many difficulties do exist, as far as their working and living conditions are concerned. This hampers the full development of their talents. Based on this understanding, many comrades feel that it is not a case of "having gone too far" and "overdoing it" in doing things for intellectuals, but rather a matter of not doing the work concerning intellectuals well enough.

Through this review, a number of actual problems confronting intellectuals have been solved--problems calling for an urgent solution. The solution of some of the problems already solved requires manpower and money. These problems should have been solved by various enterprises in the past but were not. For example, some institutes of higher learning in Fuzhou

municipality had few commercial networks in the neighborhood. They had difficulty obtaining nonstaple foods. They also had public transportation and other problems. Recently, the secretaries of the municipal CPC committee summoned the responsible comrades of the municipal financial affairs office, the construction committee, the economic committee, the planning committee, the postal office, the telecommunications bureau and the public security bureau to a meeting. It was immediately decided to take such measures as setting up additional commercial networks, improving the supply of nonstaple foods, extending the public bus line and increasing its service, delivering magazines, newspapers and mail directly to the party concerned, controlling environmental pollution, maintaining social order, and so forth. After the meeting, all the departments concerned undertook to carry out the relevant measures. Other problems still remain unsolved, but so long as we assume a serious attitude, they can be gradually solved after due efforts. For example, housing is generally a difficult problem. During the period of the review, Jiangxi Province rearranged housing for 1,921 households. The leadership of the Yichang Medical College, Hubei gave priority to the allocation of newly built dormitories for teachers. In the process of the review, Shandong University revised its program for the distribution of housing, thus improving living conditions for some workers at and above the level of the lecture who had housing problems. These facts show that so long as the leadership attaches importance to the matter and resolves to go all out, many things can be done.

Some provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions have sorted out problems discovered in the review. They have laid down local regulations or made decisions concerning certain problems of a common nature. This has paved the way for firmly carrying out relevant policies and solving problems. For example, the full development of the intellectuals' role is combined with the effort to accelerate the "four transformations" of the leading groups at all levels. It has been decided to show greater courage in selecting and promoting elite middle-aged and young educated cadres. To solve the problem of irrational distribution of talent and failure to give full scope to people's abilities, relevant departments are studying concrete measures and programs to allow the rational circulation of talent in an organized and planned manner. Refresher technical training centers for departments at various levels are to be set up in order to solve the problem of enriching scientific and technical cadres' knowledge. Where local financial conditions permit, backbone middle-aged technical personnel, personnel trained in agriculture, and others are given "allowances on the job," "work allowances," or living allowances; special funds are devoted to improving intellectuals' working and living conditions; specialized technical cadres or farm (forestry center) cadres are being helped to solve the problem of having to live separated from their spouses in the countryside, so as to free them from all worries; and some rational and feasible systems are being devised for the benefit of high-level intellectuals and backbone middle-aged technical workers in regard to political treatment and remuneration--systems such as special arrangements for scanning reports and listening to reports, the issuance of special medical benefit cards, the provision of transportation, and so forth.

The review of work relating to intellectuals has further cemented the ties between the party and intellectuals. Leading cadres at various levels in particular have affectionately exchanged confidence with intellectuals, seeing them at their homes, humbly listening to their opinions, showing every concern over the difficulties they face, and helping with the timely solution of a number of problems. This has enabled the masses of intellectuals to deeply feel the party's solicitude and affection. They have greatly aroused their political enthusiasm as masters of the house, dedicating themselves to the modernization effort.

In light of the spirit of what was said at the 12th CPC National Congress concerning "striving to firmly carry out the policy toward intellectuals" and "paying particular attention to fully developing the intellectuals' role" and in the context of the conditions and views reflected in this review, we must in future continue to persist in properly handling work relating to intellectuals. We must further create a new situation in doing work relating to intellectuals.

/1. We must properly handle propaganda and education work in a more extensive and penetrating manner, enabling the whole party and the whole society to correctly understand the position and role of intellectuals in socialist society. This is an important problem in properly handling work relating to intellectuals./

After several years of implementation of the party's policy toward intellectuals and especially after this concentrated review, mistaken "leftist" ideas about intellectuals have been greatly corrected but not completely overcome. Some leading cadres still do not understand that the party's policy toward intellectuals has been adjusted in content, from "unity, education and transformation" to "putting them on an equal footing politically, using them boldly in work and showing every concern for them in their life." The mistaken ideas existing among a small number of people are often the results of a lack of education. Therefore, we must in future seriously publicize the viewpoint put forth at the 12th CPC National Congress that the workers, peasants and intellectuals constitute three fundamental social forces, and that, like workers and peasants, intellectuals are a force to be relied upon in building socialism. This is in order to break away from the bonds of "leftist" thinking and the concept of small production. First, within the party and also throughout society, we must foster the new trend of setting great store by science, education and culture and by intellectuals. Apart from continuously publishing some convincing articles, newspapers and magazines must report more about advanced figures among intellectuals and preach in a down-to-earth manner their advanced ideas and their contributions to the building of material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization. Meanwhile, we must strengthen and improve ideological and political work concerning intellectuals. We must guide them to link actual work with the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and to continuously raise their level of consciousness, so that they can unite as one with the workers and peasants in making new contributions to modernization.

/2. The main problem in properly handling work concerning intellectuals is that in assigning and using intellectuals, we must realistically achieve the aim of combining what is learned with what is applied in practice, finding full scope for their abilities and giving full play to their role in building socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization./

In the past few years, various areas have carried out the party Central Committee's instructions on filling the ranks of cadres with people more revolutionary, younger, better educated and more specialized. They have selected from among specialized technical personnal a number of elite elements to join leading groups at various levels. But due to irrational allocation of work, some technical personnel already assigned to leading groups have become entangled in administrative affairs and cannot give full play to the proper role of their scientific knowledge in building leading groups. In future, we must continue to select from among specialized cadres elite elements combining political integrity with ability for participation in leading groups. In this regard, we must broaden our horizon a bit and move ahead a little faster. We must also pay attention to study the solution of the problem of their participation in leading groups and of how to give better play to their role. This is not only an urgent task in building leading groups but also an important task in doing work concerning intellectuals.

In rearranging specialized personnel assigned to work for which they are not trained, or in which they are not specialized, we have in the past few years done rewarding work. However, work remains to be done in this respect. We must pay attention to the problem of irrational distribution of talent. According to the view reflected in this review, some areas and departments have relatively large numbers of technical personnel, and some units are known for their serious neglect and waste of talent. On the other hand, some light and textile industrial departments, collectively owned units, especially newly developed medium-sized and small towns and cities and remote areas, are experiencing a serious shortage of scientific and technical personnel. This situation of irrational distribution of talent must be rectified. Meanwhile, we must also promote among intellectuals the lofty ideal of being ever-ready to go to every part of the world and of dedicating themselves to the great socialist cause.

/3. For intellectuals and especially middle-aged ones who play a backbone role in production and work, the gradual improvement of living and working conditions is a problem to be urgently solved in the current efforts to do work concerning intellectuals./

As far as this problem is concerned, apart from realistic measures taken by the state to successively improve intellectuals' remuneration and working conditions in separate groups over different periods of time, all areas and departments and basic-level units should actively work out ways and means to do rear service and rear-service protection work well.

What disturbs intellectuals most are trifles in life and work. These keep them from concentrating on their work. Mental labor often requires rapt

attention with no interruptions. Therefore, it is suggested that various areas and units arouse forces throughout society to relieve intellectuals of unnecessary worries. We must teach rear service personnel to really foster the concept of serving teaching, scientific research, medical treatment, and so forth on the front line.

/4. Seriously organizing refresher courses for various kinds of technical personnel to enrich their knowledge is a strategic guideline for building the ranks of intellectuals./

In this review, many scientific and technical personnel said that a great part of the knowledge they acquired in the past has become outdated compared with the spectacular advances in scientific and technical fields. But the leaders of many units only ask them to continue their normal work. No attention is paid to advanced studies for them. Party committees at all levels should take the organization of vocational studies for scientific and technical personnel as a strategic task of great importance and ensure a given period of time for them to take up vocational studies away from production. Meanwhile, support should also be given to them if they seek to acquire new knowledge while on the job. Where conditions permit, provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions can establish special bases for the training of scientific and technical cadres. Scientific associations can also give better play to their role in this respect.

/5. Stabilizing and strengthening the ranks of intellectuals on the agricultural front and in remote areas requires certain special policies./

Instability in the ranks of intellectuals on the agricultural front and in remote areas is a problem that requires urgent solution. Since the founding of the PRC, universities and secondary vocational schools have trained more than 700,000 scientific and technical personnel in agriculture, forestry and stockbreeding. In the general survey in 1978, only 280,000 of them had remained on the agricultural and stockbreeding fronts, 60 percent having changed trades. This situation is very harmful to the improvement of agricultural production and the development of the economy of the border areas. The most important reason why this problem has for a long time remained unsolved is that we lack certain policies that encourage intellectuals to head for the agricultural front and for remote areas. To stabilize and strengthen the ranks of intellectuals on the agricultural front and in remote areas, apart from strengthening ideological and political work and teaching intellectuals to foster the idea of becoming involved in agriculture as a glory, and assignment to a tough job in a remote area as an honor, we must formulate and carry out certain special policies.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HENAN TEACHERS COMPLAIN ABOUT UNRULY STUDENT

Facts Recounted

HK101231 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Nov 82

[Summary] On 18 May, some of the teachers at the Yancheng County No 2 Middle School wrote a letter to the editor of the Henan People's Broadcasting Station complaining about a student in their school. His name is (Bai Weiping) and his father is the secretary of the Yancheng County CPC Committee. The teachers expressed their distress and helplessness and hoped that the radio station would help solve the problem as soon as possible. They listed the following facts:

(Bai Weiping) and his gang pushed down the wall around the school and broke over half of the glass panes in classroom windows and doors.

Taking advantage of the power and influence of his father, (Bai Weiping) seriously disrupted school order. He often beat other students for no reason and made fun of girl students. He even beat teachers on many occasions. However, nobody dared to stop him although everybody was very angry. Since he was wicked and he was the son of a leading cadre, he was given the nickname, Son of a Lord Bai.

In March, when (Bai Weiping) and his gang took part in a long-distance race organized by the school, they rode bicycles for part of the distance. A student reported this to the teachers but (Bai) beat him black and blue before some 1,000 people, creating a very bad impression. Not even the teachers could dissuade him.

On another occasion, (Bai) beat a student till he bled. A form master tried to stop him but he too was beaten.

In April, (Bai Weiping) and his gang got drunk and made trouble in the students' dormitory. When the school's education supervisor tried to stop him, (Bai) said arrogantly: I am not afraid of you, nor am I afraid of the headmaster himself. I do not care as much as a fig for any teacher here.

At the end of May, (Bai) six times insulted and beat a girl. He even pushed some paper up her nose.

On 13 May, (Bai Weiping) sat for the junior middle school graduation examination. When a teacher asked him to arrange his desk properly so as not to affect others, (Bai) beat him.

In the teachers' letter, they also expressed their fear of retaliation.

Liu Jie Investigates Complaint

HK101233 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Nov 82

[Summary] Reporters of the Henan People's Broadcasting Station and comrades of the Henan Provincial Education Bureau have conducted an investigation of the issue. In accordance with the instructions given by Comrade Liu Jie, first secretary of the Henan Provincial CPC Committee, the Xuchang Prefectural CPC Committee has also conducted a special investigation. Results of these investigations show that the problems existing in Yancheng County No 2 Middle School are even more serious than was stated in the letter.

Taking advantage of his father's power and influence, (Bai Weiping) and his gang have beaten 5 teachers and 20 students. They have made trouble inside and outside the school, creating a very bad impression. As a result, the situation in Yancheng County No 2 Middle School is nearly as bad as it was during the 10 years of internal turmoil.

Comrade (Bai Baosong), father of (Bai Weiping), has heard about his son's evil doings but has not educated him in the appropriate way. In fact, he is conniving with his son's behavior. (Bai Baosong) once said to leaders of the school: This child is a real problem for me. He is no good at studying. Let him stay here till he graduates from junior middle school and then I will send him to the army where he will be punished. In the face of such an attitude, the school authorities dared not interfere in (Bai Weiping's) evil deeds.

Leaders of the Yancheng No 2 Middle School and the Yancheng County Education Bureau should also be held responsible for not properly implementing the principles and policies formulated since the third plenary session. (Bai Weiping) has not been educated in the appropriate way, though he has acted violently on several occasions.

Since April 1980, 23 students in this school have been punished for violating school discipline but (Bai Weiping) has all along been winked at. The school authorities do not pay attention to the demands of the teachers and students and are afraid of offending (Bai Weiping's) father if they punish the son. In this way, (Bai Weiping's) arrogance grows.

Prefecture Committee Decision

HK101235 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Nov 82

[Summary] The Yancheng County CPC Committee has helped to improve the situation in the Yancheng No 2 Middle School and has criticized, helped and punished the people concerned. Normal order has been restored to the school.

The provincial CPC committee has attached great importance to the No 2 middle school issue. First Secretary Liu Jie gave instruction in June asking the Xuchang Prefecture CPC Committee to carry out an investigation and handle the matter. At the end of the investigation, the Xuchang CPC Committee made the following decisions:

Comrade (Bai Baosong) is to make serious self-criticism at the democratic life meeting of the county CPC committee standing committee, the general assembly of the teachers and staff of the No 2 middle school and the general assembly of party members of organs directly under the Yancheng County CPC Committee. Further steps will depend on his attitude in making self-criticism and the opinion of the people.

The prefecture CPC committee suggests expelling (Bai Weiping) from school in accordance with school discipline. Judicial departments shall have him tried according to law.

The school leading group shall first sum up experiences and lessons and do their routine work well. Further steps will be taken according to the seriousness and nature of various mistakes.

The above decisions have subsequently been carried out. Two experienced comrades have been sent to be headmaster and deputy headmaster of the school. Changes in the school are gratifying.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHANXI URGES UPGRADING PRIMARY SCHOOL EDUCATION

SK171128 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 31 Oct 82 p 1

[Excerpts] At a recent meeting to analyze the quality of primary education sponsored by the provincial education office, directors of various prefectural and municipal education bureaus and teaching and research sections and responsible comrades of schools for middle school and kindergarten teachers unanimously held that the key to achieving universal primary education by 1990 as set forth by the 12th CPC Congress lies in teaching quality and that the mountainous areas are the major areas for popularizing primary education. The current major problem in the development and improvement of primary education is that all localities have not paid due attention to this matter of great importance.

From the results of this year's junior high school entrance examinations taken by more than 480,000 primary school graduates, comrades to the meeting saw that only some 170,000 students, or 35 percent, passed the mathematics and Chinese examinations. In a certain mountainous area only 14.6 percent, the lowest, of its graduates passed the two examinations.

Why is the quality of primary school education so poor? Comrades from various prefectural and municipal education departments analyzed the specific situations in their localities. They held that the major reason is that leading persons of education departments and schools at all levels do not put their main efforts on primary school education, do not fully understand the importance and emergency of improving the quality of primary school education and attach importance to it, and, as a result, they lack comprehensive and long-term plans and effective measures for the building of the teachers ranks, for the management of teaching work and for the improvement of teaching conditions. After discussions and analysis, the participants thought that, instead of feeling satisfied with the entrance and attendance rates of school-age children, we should regard the improvement of the quality of primary school education as a pressing task for achieving universal primary school education. The meeting held discussions on suggestions and measures for improving education quality. It held: We should, first of all, study well the documents of the 12th CPC Congress, thoroughly understand the great significance of improving education quality in the building of the socialist material and spiritual civilizations, conscientiously strengthen leadership over primary school education, improve

the ideological, political and professional standards of the teachers ranks and lead, manage and reform teaching in strict accordance with the party's education policy and the law governing primary school education, so that primary school education can better satisfy the need of agricultural production and peasants' livelihood.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CONGRESS OF PROGRESSIVES IN EDUCATION OPENS IN GUANGZHOU

HK190324 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 18 Nov 82

[Excerpts] The Guangdong Provincial Congress of Advanced Educational Workers and Advanced Collectives of the General Education System solemnly opened in Guangzhou this morning. Leading persons of the province and the municipality, including Liu Tianfu, Yang Kanghua and Luo Peiyuan; and 400 representatives of outstanding teachers, educational workers and outstanding collectives are attending the congress. Representatives have come from kindergartens, primary schools, middle schools of all kinds, spare-time schools and education administrative departments. This congress is the first grand meeting of outstanding workers in the general education front held in our province since 1965.

The main tasks of the congress are to study and implement the spirit of the 12th party congress, exchange experiences, commend the progressives, set up examples, encourage the general education front throughout the province to whip up an upsurge of learning from and catching up with the progressives and to create a new situation in the general education cause in our province and in socialist modernization in our country.

(Li Tao), director of the provincial culture and education office, delivered the opening speech at the congress. (Zhang Xuejie), vice chairman of the provincial education trade union, gave the congratulatory speech. Liu Tianfu, Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee secretary and governor, spoke at the congress. He said: The 12th party congress regarded education as one of the key strategic points. Education is the foundation of the four modernizations and the basis for the progress and development of the nation. An illiterate nation cannot achieve the four modernizations. Therefore, education is the cause of the whole party and the whole nation and is the important foundation for building material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization. Our whole party must attach importance to and support education and carry out educational work in our province even better.

Vice Governor Yang Kanghua also spoke at the congress. In his speech, Comrade Yang Kanghua hoped that the representatives would rely on party leadership, closely integrate with the masses and serve as leaders in completely implementing the party's policy on education and creating a new situation in the general education system.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

JIANGSU HOUSING CONSTRUCTION SCANDAL DESCRIBED

OW161417 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0120 GMT 16 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Nanjing, 16 Nov (XINHUA)--The Jiangpu County Capital Construction Bureau of Nanjing municipality recently decided to tear down and rebuild a four-story housing project having serious construction defects and to hold the project contractor--the Shiqiao construction engineering team of Jiangpu County--primarily responsible for the economic losses.

Construction of the four-story brick-concrete housing project began in last January, and by the end of May the walls and main features of the fourth floor were completed. Then on 11 July, when the rain shelter on the fourth-floor balcony was being dismantled, an 11-meter-long concrete beam suddenly snapped and the rain shelter came crashing down on the fourth-floor balcony causing it to give way and crash on the third-floor and thence to the second-floor balconies, both of which collapsed under the combined weight. Meanwhile, the building's outer wall was torn from the inner walls by the force of the collapsing balconies.

The new building was constructed for the Jiangpu County Housing Administrative Bureau as a residential building. For its construction, the bureau had contracted to the Shiqiao construction engineering team for both labor and materials to do the job. However, after the contracts were signed, the Shiqiao construction engineering team then contracted to its subordinate construction groups for the labor part of the project with a stipulation that any construction materials saved during the construction would be divided between the two with 40 percent going to the construction team and 60 percent to the construction groups.

After the accident took place, engineers and technicians from the Nanjing Municipal Capital Construction Commission and the municipal construction engineering bureau and the Jiangpu County Capital Construction Bureau conducted a thorough investigation and analysis. They found that the strength of the concrete beams used on the building was only about 60 percent of the prescribed strength. According to the building's design, the concrete mixture for the building's walls when solidified should withstand a pressure of 25 kilograms per square centimeter. However, the concrete blocks used for the first- and second-floor walls could only withstand a pressure of 10 kilograms per square centimeter. Thus, even before its completion, the building was already a hazard to human lives.

To enforce discipline and educate construction workers to firmly abide by the principle of "quality comes first," the Jiangpu County Capital Construction Bureau decided to pull down and rebuild the entire building. It also decided that, besides the 1,000 yuan indemnity to be paid by the unit which designed the building, the Shiqiao construction engineering team should shoulder the entire rebuilding cost of 30,000 yuan, and that due punishment would be meted out according to the investigation results to those who were chiefly responsible for the accident.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HENAN'S LIU JIE AWARDS TITLE TO WORKER YANG ZAO

Meeting To Confer Title

HK121044 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Nov 82

[Excerpts] The provincial CPC committee and provincial people's government called a meeting to confer the glorious title of contemporary foolish old man on Comrade Yang Zao. This morning, the provincial CPC committee and provincial people's government held a meeting at the provincial hall of the people to award the glorious title of contemporary foolish old man to retired old worker Yang Zao of the Nanxilu Brigade of the Tongye Commune, Anyang County. Liu Jie, first secretary of the CPC provincial committee; Secretaries Zhao Wenfu, Li Qingwei, Zhang Shude, Yu Yichuan, Li Baoguang and (Han Jiangcao); Hu Shangli, political commissar of the provincial military district; Commander Shang Tan; Vice Governor Yue Xiaoxia; (Ji Hanxing), and other responsible comrades attended today's meeting. The meeting was presided over by Comrade Zhang Shude.

A decision by the Henan Provincial CPC Committee and Henan Provincial People's Government on the award of the title of contemporary foolish old man to Comrade Yang Zao said that retired old worker of the Nanxilu Brigade of the Tongye Commune, Anyang County, sought neither fame nor wealth. For several decades, he persisted in doing voluntary work for the masses, repairing bridges and building roads for the benefit of future generations. Especially since his retirement, he has continuously dedicated himself to the cause of promoting the well-being of the people. He goes to work early and gets home late, driving himself hard day and night. He has put in more than 3,700 mandays of voluntary work. Though now the age of 77, he still persists in continuously cutting out paths through mountains and building roads. Comrade Yang Zao's deeds embody the traditional virtues of our laboring people and brilliant communist thinking. He is worthy of being called the foolish old man of our era.

The decision said that the provincial CPC committee and the provincial people's government are calling on CPC and CYL members, cadres and people throughout the province to learn from Comrade Yang Zao. It is demanded that in upholding the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress, the effort to learn from Comrade Yang Zao be closely linked with the campaign to learn from Comrade (Zhao Chun'e). Party committees and governments at all

levels must realistically strengthen leadership and train thousands upon thousands of new versions of the foolish old man with communist spirit.

Amidst thunderous applause, Liu Jie, first secretary of the provincial CPC committee, personally handed over a banner inscribed with the wording, the glorious title of the contemporary foolish old man, to retired old worker Comrade Yang Zao. Comrade Li Qingwei, secretary of the provincial CPC committee and vice governor of the province, spoke warmly. After briefly introducing the brilliant deeds of Comrade Yang Zao, Comrade Li Qingwei spoke.

Comrade Li Qingwei said that under the inspiration of the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress, we must take Comrade Yang Zao as an example, enthusiastically plunge into socialist modernization, arouse our spirits, fight doggedly and ceaselessly, and show unity in a struggle to create a new situation and usher in new victories.

In an extremely warm atmosphere, Comrade Yang Zao made a speech.

Comrade (Liang Zhiqiang), secretary of the party committee of the Tongye Commune, Anyang County, also recounted in detail at the meeting the deeds of Comrade Yang Zao. His speech was warmly hailed by the comrades attending the meeting. Representatives of the party members, cadres, workers and the masses of the provincial capital and the organs directly under the province attended today's award meeting.

Henan Radio Praise

HK121046 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Nov 82

[Station commentary: "Develop the Spirit of the Contemporary Foolish Old Man and Create a New Situation in All Fields of Our Province's Socialist Construction"]

[Excerpts] To cite the glorious deeds of Comrade Yang Zao, allow communist thinking to be carried forward and developed and let the spirit of the foolish old man be passed on from generation to generation, the Henan Provincial CPC Committee and Henan Provincial People's Government decided to confer the glorious title of the contemporary foolish old man on Comrade Yang Zao. Since Comrade Yang Zao's glorious deeds were publicized by the press and broadcasting stations, a strong response has been aroused among the masses of cadres and people throughout the province. Everyone has unanimously praised Comrade Yang Zao's lofty communist thinking and virtues. He is praised as the new version of the foolish old man of the socialist era, a shining example in building socialist material and spiritual civilization, and a good example to be followed by the people throughout the province. Comrade Yang Zao's deeds embody our laboring people's traditional virtues and brilliant communist thinking. He is worthy of being called the modern version of the foolish old man.

Like Comrade Yang Zao, ~~our Communist~~ Party members, revolutionary cadres and masses of people must cherish the great goals of communism, ~~fight amid~~ hardships and work selflessly. Like Comrade Yang Zao, we must wholeheartedly serve the people, welcome suffering for the sake of modernization and show the courage to sacrifice our lives for the people. Like Comrade Yang Zao, we must get down to earth and put our noses to the grindstone.

The spirit of the contemporary foolish old man is a symbol of our era. At present, various areas are thoroughly studying and upholding the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress, formulating plans to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, and studying measures to quadruple the total industrial and agricultural output by the end of the century. To ensure the realization of the great goals set forth at the 12th CPC National Congress, we must strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization. We must properly organize the campaign to learn from Yang Zao. Leading cadres at all levels and the masses of party and league members must take the lead in the study effort and show personal examples. They must be models to the masses. They must closely link the campaign to learn from Yang Zao with the campaign to learn from Comrade (Zhao Chun'e). They must carry to a new level the building of socialist spiritual civilization with communist thinking as its core, and train thousands upon thousands of new versions of the foolish old man of the socialist era with a communist spirit. They must create a new situation in all fields of our province's socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/166

'SHAANXI RIBAO' ON DESIRE TO REFORM ITSELF

HK101202 Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 31 Oct 82 p 2

[Commentator's article: "Newspapers Must Be Reformed"; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Presently, all trades and professions are bustling with discussions on how to create a new situation in their work. This newspaper has successively acknowledged letters from our readers, together with a series of suggestions on how to create a new situation in our work to reform the newspaper. Comrades in our editorial department also feel it is very necessary to improve our paper and make it more popular among readers. However, the question of how to improve it is indeed the new problem calling for solution.

Regarding improvement of news reports, Comrade Xi Zhongxun, a member of the CPC Secretariat, gave his view through five suggestions on 10 November 1981, saying: /1) "Truth." News reports should be true to facts. 2) "Shortness." Reports, newsletters and articles should all be short. 3) "Promptness." News reports must be quick and prompt, otherwise, they will quickly become out of date. 4) "Vividness." The language of a newspaper should be vivid and lively and should avoid hackneyed stuff; outmoded methods must be changed. 5) "High demand." Newspapers should be a means of ideological education, strictly adhere to policies and stick to the point./

These "five points" were warmly welcomed by the vast numbers of newspaper readers after they were published. We journalists were much more delighted at the news. We have simplified the five points as "truth, shortness, promptness, vividness and high demand" and have taken them as the motto in our work.

In accordance with directives from the central authorities, this newspaper has made some reforms since the second half of this year. Thanks to the strong support of the provincial CPC committee and our readers, we first tried to make news reports shorter. But we think that what we have achieved is little as our efforts are still not enough. In order to shorten news reports, on the one hand, editors and reporters must exert great efforts; on the other hand, all parties concerned and readers must render support and care for our newspaper. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "A newspaper must be run by the whole party as well as the whole people." This means that everybody should take part in running the party's newspapers.

When talking with Shaanxi's responsible cadres, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that they should further emancipate their minds and have more courage in carrying out reforms. This can also be applied in our work of running newspapers. How should we reform SHAANXI RIBAO and improve it, we are pricking up our ears to the views and suggestions of our readers and all comrades. Under the guidance of the 12th party congress spirit, we are resolved to learn from our colleagues their good experience and further emancipate our minds to make continuous efforts in reforming our paper.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'HEILONGJIANG RIBAO' ARTICLE ON SOCIAL CONDUCT

SK150926 Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 25 Oct 82 page not given

[Article by Shi Yuman [0670 3768 3341] of the political and legal office under the provincial CPC committee: "Solve Contradictions in the Bud; From the Column Written Forum Concerning the Study of the 12th CPC Congress Documents"]

[Excerpts] It is our great task, put forward by the 12th CPC Congress, to strive for a fundamental turn for the better in standard of social conduct in the coming 5 years.

To achieve this fighting goal, we must try our best to consolidate public security so as to achieve a noticeable improvement in public security and a reduction in social criminal offenses. Through the efforts of the whole party and the people, and thanks to the comprehensive way of tackling problems, criminal cases of various kinds have decreased in our province over the past few years and public security and order have improved day by day. However, we should see that many arduous tasks still remain to us in this field. A conspicuous problem which damages public security is: because some contradictions among the people have not been properly handled, therefore, people's disputes cannot be solved expeditiously, contradictions become more intensified and then homicides occur. At present, many cases of murder result from trifling affairs which the people neglect. Some people who were criticized or punished often harbor resentment and seek opportunities to take reprisals. Some come to blows, without thinking of the consequence, merely over a minor monetary dispute. Some people, who are strangers to each other, often commit physical assaults or murder only because one of them accidentally touches or bumps against the other. From these cases, we can see that solving contradictions among the people in the bud is very important to reducing and stopping vicious cases.

How can we solve contradictions in the bud? From the vicious cases occurring in the past we can see that the people, some youths in particular, lack a sense of the legal system. Some people lack understanding of the law and do not know what are violations of the law. Some people commit physical assault or murder on the slightest provocation without thinking of the consequences. Therefore, we must, in line with the demands of the report of the 12th party congress, "repeatedly conduct education and

propagate the legal system among the whole people" and "make efforts to enable every citizen to understand and abide by the law."

To solve contradictions in the bud, it is also necessary to strengthen education in civility and good manners. Owing to the 10 years of turmoil, right and wrong have been confused. Some people often regard the virtue of mutual understanding and accommodation as weak and incompetent. On the contrary, they regard the behavior of facing others with frowning brows and angry eyes and playing the tyrant as heroic behavior. We should strengthen education in civility and good manners through implementing the guidelines of the 12th party congress and launching activities on building socialist spiritual civilization so as to reverse the reversal of right and wrong, eliminate the pernicious influence of ultra-individualism and anarchism and intensify the people's revolutionary ideals and their sense of morals and discipline.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WANG DAREN SPEAKS AT JILIN DISCIPLINE INSPECTION WORK FORUM

SK211053 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 20 Nov 82

[Text] According to JILIN RIBAO, the Discipline Inspection Commission of the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee recently convened a forum on discipline inspection work. The forum studied an initial plan for effecting a fundamental turn for the better in the party's work style and bringing about a new situation for discipline inspection work and made arrangements for the discipline inspection work for the next winter-spring period. During the session, Comrade Wang Daren, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, discussed with the forum participants ways to further improve discipline inspection work.

Comrade Wang Daren said: First, we should dare to struggle and be good at it. By daring to struggle we mean that we dare, first of all, to confront the tough with toughness and touch the backside of the tiger.

Second, uphold principle and pay attention to what methods we should employ. No concessions should be made in matters of principle. We must uphold truth, not save face. We should see to it that everyone is equal before party discipline and there should be no privileged party members in the party.

Third, make a breakthrough in a certain point to push this work forward. In doing this we should be good at handling typical cases and instead of scattering our strength evenly on many cases, concentrate our strength to fight a battle of annihilation.

Fourth, make a correct appraisal of the problems and keep on tackling them unflaggingly.

Fifth, pay attention both to distinguishing right from wrong and to closing the ranks of comrades.

Comrade Wang Daren also said: There exist two approaches toward the party's work style that require attention. One is being extremely anxious but unable to do anything and thus becoming impetuous. The other is lacking confidence, avoiding contradictions, playing for time and becoming listless. The latter approach represents, in fact, an apathetic attitude.

He urged party and discipline inspection departments at all levels to study the 12th congress documents well, conduct research and investigations and make suggestions to solve the problems. We cannot expect quick success in improving the party's work style, nor is it right to become pessimistic.

The major tasks for discipline inspection work decided at the forum for the next spring-winter period are as follows:

1. Resolutely stop the evil tendency with regard to dividing up and constructing houses and building houses on the farmland. In addition to this, we should pay attention to violations of political discipline, blackmailing by abusing one's office, the dividing up of public properties by taking advantage of streamlining organizations and readjusting and merging enterprises as well as lavish wining and dining.

2. Continue to crack down on economic crimes. Although we have achieved tremendous success in cracking down on economic crimes, the struggle is still developing in depth. We must not become complacent or think "that is good enough." Nor should we slacken our efforts or become weary of it. It is necessary to foster the idea of fighting a long-drawn-out war and unflaggingly carry out this struggle through to the end.

CSO: 4005/166

HEILONGJIANG PROGRESS IN RESTRUCTURING SECONDARY EDUCATION NOTED

SK200958 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 19 Nov 82

[Text] This year the province has made new progress in vocational and technical education in both urban and rural areas. New achievements have also been scored in the structural reforms of secondary education. Many secondary vocational schools and agricultural middle schools being run on an experimental basis have got on the track of healthy development. Secondary vocational schools and agricultural middle schools in both urban and rural areas of the province recruited 86,000 students this year. Enrollment in these schools has increased from 81,000 students in 1981 to 139,000 in 1982. Disciplines offered in these schools increased from 98 in 1981 to 182 in 1982. Educational programs regarding light industry, textile, service, catering and livestock, poultry and fish farming have been reinforced as a result of the increase in the proportion of jointly run schools. The number of independently run secondary vocational schools has increased from 122 in 1981 to 297 in the latter half of 1982. Not a few secondary vocational schools and vocational classes which formerly offered only first or only first and second year classes now are beginning to run second and third year classes, respectively. The lineup of teaching faculty, teaching materials and school facilities have been reinforced and upgraded.

Structural reforms in secondary education have enabled a great number of youths to receive vocational and technical education before taking up an occupation. Secondary vocational schools in the province turned out 18,000 graduates this year, of which over 3,000 have been placed at state-owned or collective-run enterprises and establishments. Over 70 percent of the graduates of the No 2 middle schools in Qiqihar and Jiamusi municipalities have been found jobs. Of 581 graduates in Songhuajiang Prefecture 239 have obtained employment. Of the 77 graduates of the textile and accounting classes in Mulan County, 55 have been employed by the county textile mill and 19 have taken up jobs at collective-run enterprises and establishments.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ACTIVITIES OF GUANGXI'S QIAO XIAOGUANG REPORTED

Writes Foreword to Sports Book

HK081404 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 6 Nov 82

[Text] During the fifth sports meet of the autonomous region, Qiao Xiaoguang, first secretary of the autonomous regional CPC committee, wrote a foreword to Guangxi's "Titan Xinxing" [New Stars in the World of Sports]. The foreword is entitled "Fight Hard and Revive China." The foreword calls on the comrades fighting on various fronts throughout the region to cherish the spirit of active participants in physical culture who respect science, pay attention to morality and work style and show unity and cooperation in fighting together. They must display such spirit in promoting modernization and creating a new situation in our region's efforts in socialist modernization.

In March this year, the regional physical culture and sports commission organized those interested people in the literary, news, publishing and physical culture and sports departments to write the book "Titan Xinxing" for Guangxi in a report form. The whole book contains about 120,000 Chinese characters. It will be printed by the People's Publishing House and distributed throughout the country early next year.

Attends Opening of Games

HK080238 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 7 Nov 82

[Summary] The fifth Guangxi regional games opened in Nanning on 7 November. Leaders of the regional party, government, army and CPPCC including Qiao Xiaoguang, Qin Yingji, Huang Rong, Xiao, Han, Liao Shengdong, Zhang Shengzhen, He Yiran, Huang Yun, Liu Yisheng, Shi Zhaotang, Ye Fusun, Lu Rongshu, Qin Zhenwu, Mo Naiqun, Gan Ku, Sun Bowei, Wang Lishan, Zhou Renpei, Liao Lianyuan, Huang Qihan, and Yan Guangcai attended the opening ceremony. He Yiran, member of the regional CPC committee standing committee and vice chairman of the regional government, delivered the opening speech.

Speaks at Study Class

HK120357 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 11 Nov 82

[Summary] From 15 October to 9 November, the Guangxi Regional CPC Committee ran a study class for principal cadres at and above county level throughout the region with a total of 336 people attending. Among the participants were members and alternate members of the regional party committee and principal leaders of various cities, prefectures, counties, institutes of higher learning, and a number of key factories and mines. At the closing ceremony of the study class, First Secretary of the Regional Party Committee Qiao Xiaoguang made an important speech. People attending the class said that they had gained firmer confidence in the realization of the objective set forth by the 12th party congress through the study and that they would carry forward the study of the congress documents to a more thorough degree after they returned to their units.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NPC ADOPTS CULTURAL RELICS PROTECTION LAW

OW210930 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1447 GMT 19 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 19 Nov (XINHUA)--The Cultural Relics Protection Law of the People's Republic of China (Adopted by the 25th Session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress on 19 November 1982)

Chapter I. General Principles

Article 1

This law is enacted in order to strengthen state protection of cultural relics, facilitate scientific research, preserve China's outstanding historical and cultural legacy, carry out education in patriotism and revolutionary traditions and build socialist spiritual civilization.

Article 2

The following cultural relics of historical, art or scientific value in the territory of the People's Republic of China are protected by the state:

(1) Ancient cultural relics, ancient tombs, ancient architectures, cave temples and carved stones of historical, art or scientific value;

(2) Buildings, ruins and momentos of great memorial significance, educational significance or historical value concerning important historical events, revolutionary movements or famous persons;

(3) Precious art works and handicraft of various historical eras;

(4) Important revolutionary documents, manuscripts, ancient books and materials of historical, art or scientific value; and

(5) Representative objects reflecting the social system, production and life of various nationalities in various historical eras. The criteria and measures for authenticating cultural relics will be worked out by the State Cultural Administrative Department and submitted to the State Council for approval.

Fossils of ancient vertebrates and ancient human beings of scientific value require the same state protection as cultural relics do.

Article 3

The State Cultural Administrative Department is in charge of the cultural relics work of the country.

Local people's governments at various levels protect the cultural relics in their respective administrative regions.

Provinces, autonomous regions and province-level municipalities, as well as the autonomous prefectures, counties, autonomous counties and municipalities where there are comparatively more cultural relics, may set up cultural relics protection and management organizations for the purpose of managing the cultural relics in their respective administrative regions.

All government organizations, mass organizations and individuals have the obligation to protect the country's cultural relics.

Article 4

All cultural relics existing underground, inland or in the territorial waters of the People's Republic of China belong to the state.

Ancient cultural relics, ancient tombs and cave temples belong to the state. Memorial buildings, ancient architectures and carved stones designated by the state as objects under protection belong to the state unless otherwise stipulated for by the state.

Cultural relics collected by state organs, PLA units, state-run enterprises and institutions belong to the state.

Article 5

Collective or private ownership of memorial buildings, ancient architectures and heirlooms is protected by law. The owner must abide by state regulations concerning the protection and management of cultural relics.

Article 6

The funds for the protection and management of cultural relics are budgeted by the central and local governments.

Chapter II. Units Preserved as Cultural Relics

Article 7

The sites of revolutionary events, memorial buildings, ancient cultural relics, ancient tombs, ancient architectures, cave temples and carved stones should be designated as units preserved as cultural relics at various levels according to their historical, art or scientific value.

Units preserved as cultural relics at county, autonomous county and municipal level shall be decided and announced by the county, autonomous county or municipal people's governments and be reported to provincial, autonomous regional or province-level municipal people's governments for the recording.

Units preserved as cultural relics at provincial, autonomous regional and province-level municipal level shall be decided and announced by the provincial, autonomous regional or province-level municipal people's governments and be reported to the State Council for recording.

The State Cultural Administrative Department shall designate the country's major units preserved as cultural relics. They shall be either directly designated by the department or selected from among units preserved as cultural relics at various levels which have important historical, art or scientific value. The designation of the country's major units preserved as cultural relics shall be reported to the State Council for approval and announcement.

Article 8

Cities with particularly rich collections of cultural relics and of historical value and revolutionary significance will be reported to the State Council by the State Cultural Administrative Department and departments in charge of construction and environmental protection in cities and rural areas for approval as famous historical and cultural cities.

Article 9

Necessary protective areas for units preserved as cultural relics at all levels shall be demarcated by the people's governments of various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government and the people's governments of various counties, autonomous counties and municipalities; explanations of these units shall be posted, records shall be established, and special organs or special personnel shall be designated to take charge of these units based on differing circumstances. The protective areas and the records of the major national units preserved as cultural relics shall be reported to the State Cultural Administrative Department for recording by the cultural administrative departments of various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government.

Article 10

Prior to the mapping out of the urban and rural construction plans, the urban and rural planning departments and the cultural administrative departments of the people's governments at all levels must consult with one another with regard to measures for protecting the various units preserved as cultural relics within their administrative areas, and these measures must be included in their plans.

Article 11

No construction projects are allowed within the protective area of a unit preserved as a cultural relic. If a project is necessary because of special circumstances, it must have the concurrence of the people's government which demarcated the protective area and the concurrence of a higher cultural administrative department. Construction projects to be carried out within the protective area of a major national unit preserved as a cultural relic must have the concurrence of the people's government of a province, or an autonomous region, or a municipality directly under the central government and the State Cultural Administrative Department.

Article 12

According to practical needs for the protection of cultural relics, and with the approval of the people's government of a province, an autonomous region or a municipality directly under the central government, a construction control belt may be demarcated in the vicinity of a unit preserved as a cultural relic. New buildings and structures within this belt must not undermine the environmental outlook of the unit preserved as a cultural relic. After having the concurrence of the cultural administrative department, the designs must be reported to the urban and rural planning department for approval.

Article 13

While selecting the site for a project and designing the project, if a construction unit finds its construction project involves a unit preserved as a cultural relic, the construction unit must first consult with the cultural administrative department of a province, an autonomous region, a municipality directly under the central government or a county, an autonomous county or a municipality to determine the protective measures, and these measures shall be listed in the document about design requirements. If the relocation or the dismantling of a unit preserved as a cultural relic is necessary because of a construction project's special requirements, it must have the concurrence of the people's government, which is of the same level as that of the unit preserved as a cultural relic, and the concurrence of the cultural administrative department of a higher level. The relocation and dismantling of a major national unit preserved as a cultural relic shall be reported to the State Council by the people's government of a province, an autonomous region or a municipality directly under the central government for a decision. The expenses and labor needed in the relocation and dismantling shall be included in the investment plan and the labor plan by the construction unit.

Article 14

When the former sites of revolution, memorial buildings, ancient tombs, ancient architectures, cave temples and stone carvings (including carvings attached to a structure) are being refurbished, maintained or relocated, the principle that their original shapes will not be changed must be followed.

Article 15

If the state-owned memorial buildings or ancient architectures, which have been designated as units preserved as cultural relics, must be used for purposes other than as museums, care-taking centers or tourist spots, these uses must be approved by the people's governments, the original designators after these uses have been reported to them by the local cultural administrative departments in accordance with the levels of the units preserved as cultural units. If the major national units preserved as cultural relics are to be used for other purposes, these uses must be concurred with by the people's government of a province, of an autonomous region, or a municipality directly under the central government, and approved by the State Council. These units as well as other special organs, such as museums, must strictly follow the principle of not altering the original shapes of the cultural relics and must be held responsible for the safety of the buildings and the affiliated cultural relics; no destruction, alterations, additions or dismantling are allowed. The units which use the memorial buildings and ancient buildings must be held responsible for the maintenance and repairs of the buildings.

Chapter III. Archaeological Excavations

Article 16

All archaeological excavations must go through the process of application and approval. No unit or individual is allowed to excavate buried cultural relics without authorization. With the exception of those which must be turned over to the scientific research departments for study, unearthed cultural relics must be taken care of by units designated by the local cultural administrative departments and must not be seized by any unit or individual. To ensure the safety of cultural relics, for the sake of scientific research, and to give full play to the role of cultural relics, the cultural administrative departments of various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government may, if necessary, transfer the cultural relics unearthed from their local administrative areas with the approval of the people's governments of various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government. The State Cultural Administrative Department, with the State Council's approval, may transfer the unearthed major national cultural relics.

Article 17

Before carrying out archaeological excavations, organizations in charge of cultural relics, archaeological institutes and schools of higher educations in various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government must present excavation plans, and excavations can only be conducted after their plans have been reviewed by the State Cultural Administrative Department, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and approved by the State Cultural Administrative Department.

Excavations of major national cultural relics must be approved by the State Council after they have been reviewed by the State Cultural Administrative Department and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

Article 18

Prior to the start of a large capital construction project, the construction unit must first coordinate with the cultural administrative department of a province, an autonomous region or a municipality directly under the central government to investigate and explore the possibility that cultural relics may be buried in the area of the project. If cultural relics are found, they should discuss and reach an agreement on how to handle them. The cultural administrative department of a province, an autonomous region and a municipality directly under the central government must promptly report the important discoveries to the State Cultural Administrative Department.

Cultural relics found by all units and individuals in the course of capital construction and agricultural production must be reported to the local cultural administrative department. The local cultural administrative department must promptly report any important discovery to the higher cultural administrative department.

Article 19

Excavation plans on archaeological excavations that must be carried out in coordination with construction projects must, on the basis of the surveys made by the cultural administrative department of a province, an autonomous region, or a municipality directly under the central government, be presented to the State Cultural Administrative Department and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences for their review and must be approved by the State Cultural Administrative Department.

Excavations of the ancient cultural ruins and ancient tombs that must be excavated immediately because of pressing construction schedule or because they may be destroyed by natural causes can be handled by the cultural administrative department of a province, or an autonomous region, or a municipality directly under the central government. The procedure of seeking approval may be made at a later date.

Article 20

If any capital construction project or a production construction project calls for cultural relics surveys or archaeological excavations, the construction unit should include the funds for such surveys or excavations in its investment plan or work plan or request relevant instructions from the higher level planning department.

Article 21

No foreigners or foreign organizations are permitted to conduct archaeological surveys and excavations in the People's Republic of China unless they

have special permission from the State Council, with which they file their requests through the State Cultural Administrative Department.

Chapter IV. Museum and Library Collections of Cultural Relics

Article 22

State-operated museums, libraries and other organizations must classify the cultural relics in their possession, set up records of their collections, establish strict management systems and register their collections with the cultural administrative departments.

The local cultural administrative departments at various levels should keep records of the cultural relics collections of the museums and libraries in their respective administrative regions. The State Cultural Administrative Department should keep records of the national cultural relics collections.

Article 23

The state-operated museums, libraries and other organizations are prohibited from selling their cultural relics collections. The transfer or exchange of cultural relics among them must be reported to the cultural administrative department for recording. The transfer or exchange of first-class cultural relics collections must be approved by the State Cultural Administrative Department. Without such approval, no organizations or individuals are permitted to take cultural relics from other organizations.

Chapter V. Private Cultural Relics Collections

Article 24

Private collections of cultural relics may be bought by agencies designated by the cultural administrative department. No other agencies or individuals are permitted to buy cultural relics.

Article 25

Individuals are strictly prohibited from reselling their private cultural relics collections for profits and strictly prohibited from privately selling their private collections to foreigners.

Article 26

Banks, metallurgical plants, paper mills, salvage departments and the cultural administrative departments should share the responsibility of sorting out cultural relics from among gold or silver objects and waste or old materials. The banks may keep some old currencies for necessary research use. All other cultural relics found must be turned over to the cultural administrative department for disposal. The turned over cultural relics must be compensated for with reasonable payment.

The public security departments, customs and industrial and commercial administrative departments should turn over all confiscated important cultural relics to the cultural administrative departments.

Chapter VI. Exit of Cultural Relics

Article 27

The cultural relics to be exported or taken out of China by individuals must be declared to the customs office and assessed and given exit permits by the provincial, autonomous regional or province-level municipal cultural administrative departments designated by the State Cultural Administrative Department. The cultural relics with exit permits must leave the country from designated ports. The state may buy the cultural relics from their owners if the assessment determines that they are banned from exit.

Article 28

All cultural relics with important historical, art or scientific value are banned from exit except those which are shipped overseas for exhibition with the approval of the State Council.

Chapter VII. Rewards and Punishment

Article 29

The state gives suitable moral encouragement or material rewards to units or individuals for following deeds:

(1) Making remarkable achievements in seriously implementing policies and decrees concerning cultural relics and in protecting cultural relics;

(2) Waging resolute struggles against crimes in order to protect cultural relics;

(3) Donating private collections of important cultural relics to the state;

(4) Timely reporting or turning over discovered cultural relics to the authorities and thus protecting them;

(5) Making important inventions or other important contributions in science and technology for cultural relics protection;

(6) Making contributions in rescuing cultural relics from damage or danger; and

(7) Doing cultural relics work for a long time and making remarkable achievements.

Article 30

The following persons are subject to disciplinary sanctions:

(1) Those who conceal cultural relics discovered underground, inland, in territorial waters or other locations and fail to report and turn over the discovery to the state will be reprimanded or fined by the public security department and will be ordered to yield the discovery;

(2) Those who deal in cultural relics without obtaining permission from the cultural administrative department will be reprimanded or fined by the industry and commerce administrative department and their illegal proceeds and the cultural relics in their possession may be confiscated;

(3) Those who sell their private collections of cultural relics to foreigners without obtaining permission from the authorities will be fined by the industry and commerce administrative department and their cultural relics and illegal proceeds may be confiscated.

Article 31

The following persons will be punished according to law for criminal responsibilities:

(1) Those who embezzle or steal state-owned cultural relics;

(2) Those who smuggle precious cultural relics out of China or engage in serious speculation in cultural relics;

(3) Those who intentionally destroy precious cultural relics under state protection or damage places of historic interest and scenic beauty;

(4) The state personnel who neglect their duties and thus cause serious damages or loss to precious cultural relics.

Those who secretly excavate ancient cultural ruins or ancient tombs will be punished for theft.

Those who sell private collections of precious cultural relics to foreigners without obtaining permission from the authorities will be punished for smuggling precious cultural relics out of the country.

The cultural relics workers who steal the cultural relics entrusted to their care will be severely punished according to law.

Chapter VIII. Supplementary Articles

Article 32

The State Cultural Administrative Department shall prepare detailed rules and regulations based on this law and submit them to the State Council for approval before enforcing them.

The regulations governing the reproduction, rubbing and photographing of cultural relics shall be prepared by the State Cultural Administrative Department.

Article 33

This law comes into force upon promulgation and supersedes the "Provisional Regulations Governing Cultural Relics Protection" promulgated by the State Council in 1961. This law overrules other regulations governing cultural relics protection if they contradict it.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'SICHUAN RIBAO' DISCUSSES RETIREMENT OF OLD CADRES

HK130239 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 11 Nov 82

[Report on 12 November SICHUAN RIBAO contributing commentator's article: "The Glorious Mission of Old Cadres"]

[Excerpt] The article says: Building socialism and accomplishing communism is a very long historical process. It certainly cannot be completed by one or two generations. It can only be achieved with one generation succeeding another and with the hard work of several generations. Judging by the current situation in socialist modernization, instituting cooperation between new and old and replacement of old by new demands immediate attention. The age of members of leadership groups at all levels is universally too high, while there are too few people with specialized knowledge and management talent. This does not at all meet the demands in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. If we do not make the cadre force revolutionized, younger, better educated and more specialized as quickly as possible, it will be difficult to implement the party's line and principles for the new period and there will be no hopes of building the four modernizations. Under the guidance of the 12th party congress, we must seriously select and promote middle-aged and young cadres, do a good job of retiring old and infirm cadres to the second and third line, and fully complete the historic task of cooperation of new and old and replacement of old by new.

How should our old cadres go about carrying out this solemn duty and fulfilling their glorious and sacred mission? In brief, it is necessary to solve the problem of retirement and entry. First, the cadres must set examples and spontaneously obey the needs of the revolution and the arrangements of the organization. Old and infirm cadres must retire. Second, they must actively [words indistinct] and enthusiastically support the entry into the leadership posts of outstanding young cadres who lack their own experience and ability.

The article says: Old cadres are all precious treasures of the party and meritorious servants of the people. Whether in the war years or the construction period, and whether in leading posts or in retirement in the second and third line, they should be respected and cherished by the whole body of cadres and the whole of society. The party organizations at all levels must make proper arrangements for these old comrades and look after them well, based on the spirit of respecting them politically and looking after them in daily life.

CSO: 4005/166

'SICHUAN RIBAO' CALLS FOR INTENSIFIED STRUGGLE AGAINST ECONOMIC CRIMES

HK121441 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 10 Nov 82

[Text] SICHUAN RIBAO today publishes an editorial entitled "Improve Our Understanding and Strengthen Leadership To Intensify the Struggle of Dealing Blows at Criminal Activities in the Economic Field."

The editorial says: Since the implementation of the urgent circular issued by the central authorities and the pursuit of the activities which strike blows at economic crimes in our province, generally speaking, we have achieved marked successes. However, there are still many problems which remain to be solved. In the final analysis, the main reason for the present situation is that there are still a number of leading comrades who lack profound understanding of the severity and harm of the criminal activities in the economic field. Therefore, they fail to exercise powerful leadership and take effective measures. They do not put the struggle against economic crimes on the agenda or regard it as one of the key tasks for this year. To solve this problem and intensify the struggle, leading cadres at all levels should, first of all, improve their understanding through studying 12th CPC Congress documents. Even now, there are still many leading comrades who have erroneous views and muddled ideas on this struggle. This problem should be conscientiously solved. Some comrades mistakenly think that this struggle might harm some talented people, cut down the trees that shed coins when shaken, block a ready source of money and exercise rigid control over the economy. They set the activities of dealing blows at economic crimes against the practice of enlivening the economy and promoting production and work. This runs counter to the demand set by the CPC Central Committee. Those cases exposed in various localities have fully shown that economic crimes can never enliven the economy. They can only disrupt or sabotage our economy. Some people think that since the present struggle is like a gust of wind and rehabilitation will soon follow so it is better for them to go about things steadily and see how the wind blows. They believe that they should not offend people. They prefer more flowers to thorns. They put fear before everything else and have no end of misgivings. They decline to shoulder the task, making all sorts of excuses. Some of them are reluctant to handle the cases of their old chiefs, old colleagues and subordinates. These comrades fear almost everything, except that our state might change its political color and our party might degenerate. They refuse to carry out the struggle on

the pretext that the government organs will be streamlined and that they will retire soon and they thus try to shift the tasks onto others. They take a wait-and-see attitude and drift along aimlessly.

In the light of the needs of the development of the party's cause, reforming and streamlining government organs is imperative. Those comrades who are now leading or in charge of this struggle might soon retreat to the second line. However, they should learn from the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. Before the party has made the decision, they should retreat to the second line, they should continue to spare no efforts in the performance of their duties. As long as they are still exercising leadership, they should do well in carrying out the struggle. They should on no account slacken their efforts. Instead they should set a good example for those young comrades who will be their successors. Actually, after they retreat to the second line, they should still pay close attention to this struggle which is closely connected with the destiny of the party and state and do everything possible within their power.

We believe that as long as leading comrades at all levels improve their understanding, they will personally grasp this struggle, strengthen leadership, adopt measures and remove all obstacles and interference. In so doing, we will certainly be able to intensify the struggle and win a greater victory!

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HAINAN MEETING DISCUSSES ECONOMIC CRIME

HK180617 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 18 Nov 82

[Summary] The Hainan Regional CPC Committee held a conference on fighting economic crime from 10 to 13 November, to arrange the work for this winter and next spring. Over 90 comrades concerned attended. Luo Tian, first secretary of the regional CPC committee, and Deputy Secretary Liang Cheng attended and spoke. The meeting conveyed the spirit of the recent Guangdong provincial conference on the same topic.

The meeting held: Hainan has exposed, investigated and dealt with a number of economic crime cases and seized a large amount of ill-gotten goods and money. A number of criminals have been punished, and some people have turned themselves in. There has now been a great decline in economic crime. The conference demanded that party committees at all levels further strengthen leadership over this struggle during the winter and spring. "It is necessary to resolutely clear away all kinds of interference and resistance, and deal severely with certain party organizations that are weak and ineffective or that connive and protect economic crime."

The meeting held: "It is necessary to rectify party work style in close connection with this struggle. At present, it is necessary to resolutely curb the bad trend of party members and cadres using their powers to illegally erect private houses. This task must begin with the leadership groups." The regional CPC committee is preparing to start it in the regional organs.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HAINAN CONFERENCE REVIEWS EDUCATION ISSUES

HK140652 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 14 Nov 82

[Summary] The Hainan Regional Education Bureau held a regional education work conference from 8 to 11 November to sum up exchange experiences and discuss improving education quality. A total of 88 responsible persons concerned took part. Hainan Regional CPC Committee Deputy Secretary Lin Shulan and standing committee member Li Liangduan attended.

From 1979 to 1982, Hainan sent 3,850 students to various institutes of higher education. Schools have worked hard to bring about all-round development of their students and to change the situation of dirt, disorder and bad service in the schools. Last year 95.9 percent of school-age children were attending school.

The meeting pointed out: "Although Hainan has achieved a certain degree of success in education, many problems also exist. For instance, education management is poor, the quality of teachers is low, the students' physique is deteriorating, the teaching [words indistinct] backward. Some schools have violated the principle of all-round moral, academic and physical development of students, fail to carry out the teaching plans stipulated by the Ministry of Education, and so on."

The meeting called on education departments and schools to get a good grasp of the following tasks: 1) Further launch the drive to learn from Lei Feng, develop three-good students and promote the five stresses and four beautifuls drive, and educate the students in ideals, morality, discipline and labor; 2) seriously implement the Ministry of Education's principle "augment and strengthen the primary schools, straighten out and improve the junior secondary schools, readjust and restructure the senior secondary schools, vigorously develop vocational education, and run the key points well to lead forward the rest"; 3) do everything possible to raise the quality of classroom education, and also develop work-study programs and organize farms and factories run by the schools; 4) strengthen the management of education and put the various systems on a sound basis; 5) work hard to raise the quality of teachers; 6) further implement the party's policy on intellectuals.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GUANGDONG PROVINCIAL FORUM ON BUILDING SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

HK170829 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 16 Nov 82

[Excerpts] On 15 November, the Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee printed and distributed a summary of the forum on strengthening communist education and doing a good job in building socialist spiritual civilization and issued a circular, urging the CPC committees at all levels to conscientiously carry out the demands of the circular in the light of their local situation.

The forum pointed out: The fundamental issue of socialist spiritual civilization that takes communist ideology as its core is to educate the broad masses of cadres and people with a basic knowledge of dialectical and historical materialism. Dialectical and historical materialism form the world outlook of the proletarian. They are powerful ideological weapons in realizing and transforming the world and in carrying out revolution and construction. At present, it is necessary for the majority of our comrades to review and study basic knowledge from the beginning. We must study materialism and dialectics, the development of socialism from utopian to scientific, practice is the sole criterion of truth, the history of social development, the history of the past century in China, the history of the CPC and so on. Through study, we must fundamentally establish a communist morality and world outlook. Only with a communist world outlook can we consciously establish communist ideals, morality, customs and labor attitude.

Aimed at the actual circumstances of Guangdong, the forum demanded that all the people achieve the following three points: 1) Consciously show concern and safeguard public interest and public property; 2) actively take part in all spare-time work, voluntary labor and other voluntary service for the state and people without pay; and 3) do not be too concerned with personal interests.

After studying Comrade Hu Yaobang's report on the issue of adhering to the system of to each according to his work and other socialist systems in our economic and social life at the present stage, the comrades attending the forum unanimously affirmed that it was necessary to unify the implementation of communist ideological education with that of current socialist

policies, to correctly comprehend and conscientiously practice the policy of to each according to his work in accordance with the spirit of the resolution of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and in no case must it be restricted and criticized. This is a problem that we must pay great attention to at present.

The forum also pointed out: Education in communist ideology must be connected with education in socialism, collectivism and patriotism carried out in our province over the past year.

The forum insisted that in the building of socialist spiritual civilization, besides carrying out the five stresses and four beauties, eliminating dirt, disorder and bad service, engaging in cleanliness, hygiene and courtesy activities, we must further do a good job in the building of culture. At present, we must encourage the broad masses to participate in literary activities.

The forum pointed out at the end: In order to strengthen education in communist ideology and do a good job in the building of socialist spiritual civilization, party committees at all levels must strengthen leadership, pay attention to summing up experiences, adopt concrete effective measures, make the best use of the situation and do their work well.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

TIANJIN HOLDS FORUM ON PRIVATE HOUSES

SK092244 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 9 Nov 82

[Text] On 8 November, the municipal government held a forum to implement the policy on private houses. At the forum, Li Ruihuan, secretary of the municipal CPC committee and acting mayor, announced the decision of the municipal CPC committee and government on taking measures to tackle urgent problems prior to secondary ones, easy problems prior to difficult ones and major problems prior to lesser ones. Measures should be taken to transfer some personnel from the municipality to implement the policy throughout the municipality in 2 years.

The forum was presided over by Lu Xuezheng, secretary general of the municipal government. Acting Mayor Li Ruihuan and Deputy Mayor Wang Guangying attended the forum.

Attending were more than 300 people, including responsible comrades of all departments, committees, offices and district level organizations and representatives of all democratic parties, mass organizations and [words indistinct].

At the forum, Comrade Li Ruihuan introduced the development of the previous implementation of the policy on private houses in our municipality. He set forth some work measures for implementing the policy and some basic principles that should be attended to in the course of its implementation.

He also made specific claims on relevant departments in charge of the implementation of the policy and households with private houses.

He said: In implementing the policy on private houses, we must formulate a strict private-house property right in accordance with the policy's stipulation. He clearly pointed out: During a decade of turmoil, some 12,800 private houses in the municipality were confiscated, occupied or forced to squeeze together. Those houses should be restored to the former owners or their legal heirs.

He stressed: In implementing the policy on private houses, people should give up residing in houses that are owned by the public or private individuals; otherwise, those private houses should be sold at a fair

price. We should implement the policy on private houses in line with the national economic accounting plan. The house owners have the right to demand payment for lost rental revenues during the period of confiscation. They should pay the expenses for repairing houses and real estate tax. We should encourage private house owners to sell their houses to the state at a fair price. The state will give priority to arranging housing for them. Those who vacate houses should be allowed to move to new houses in accordance with the standard regulation on house distribution recently made by the municipal government. We should extend room for overcrowded houses and narrow the room of overspacious houses.

Comrade Li Ruihuan stressed: We must deal strictly with those who refuse to vacate houses after persuasion and force them to move to other places. As for serious cases, public security organizations and the people's court are bound to handle them according to law.

Speaking at the forum were representatives of all democratic parties, mass organizations, private house owners and [words indistinct]. They unanimously pledged to support and to speak highly of the decision of the municipal CPC committee and government. They held that the decision enjoyed the ardent support and the will of the people. They were inspired with enthusiasm and felt confident in implementing the policy. They pledged to support the government enthusiastically in efforts to successfully fulfill the policy.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'SHANXI RIBAO' NOTES RURAL EDUCATION PROBLEMS

SK150424 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 26 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Yi Mu [0001 2606]: "Attention Should Be Paid to Rural Students Who Unlawfully Quit Schools"]

[Text] At present, our province is popularly prevailing in a phenomenon of students in rural areas, particularly in remote mountainous areas, who arbitrarily quit school. In some areas even as many as 50 percent of the school-age children have been out of school. If we leave such a situation unchecked, what will be the consequences in the next decades?

Their reasons for leaving schools can be summarized as follows: 1) Following the enactment of responsibility systems, some students' parents contend that farming is better than studying, according to their mistaken attitude of paying attention only to immediate interests and not long-term importance; 2) teachers have no time and are vigorous in perfecting their teaching techniques because of their heavy family burdens and low payment, adversely affecting the students' enthusiasm for study; 3) schools have poor facilities because of a lack of education funds; and 4) a number of elementary school graduates have lost their opportunity for study because of the low rate of middle school enrollment.

I would, hereby, like to occupy a corner of the party's paper to arouse the party and government departments at all levels to pay close attention to the problem of rural students who have arbitrarily left school, and also to call on various social circles to show deep concern for this problem. Following the prevalence of a better economic situation in rural areas, laboring people are more and more urged to upgrade their knowledge standards in culture and science. The key to dealing with this problem lies in the education departments at all levels conducting thorough investigations and studies, earnestly analyzing the new educational situation and characteristics emerging in rural areas under the new historic period and adopting new and practical measures for solving new problems. Only by doing so can we meet the need of rapid education development and make elementary education universal by the 1990's. Otherwise, a failure to vigorously fulfill the major strategic tasks of science and education will certainly be a drag on building the national economy.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GUANGDONG REGULATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT WORKERS

HK130303 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 11 Nov 82

[Text] The provincial government issued regulations for work personnel in administrative organs on 11 November. There are 10 regulations:

1. Support the leadership of the CPC, work hard at studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, uphold the four basic principles, and serve the people wholeheartedly.

2. Carry out the state constitution, laws, decrees and administrative regulations in a model way, strictly observe discipline, be honest in official dealings, do not indulge in bribery and corruption, and do not use powers to pursue private interests. Be bold in struggling against unhealthy tendencies, and resolutely overcome bureaucratism.

3. Attach importance to investigation and study, base work on reality, and report the situation and handle problems in a truth-seeking way. Oppose boasting and empty talk, and resolutely overcome subjectivism.

4. Carry out duties faithfully, be serious and responsible in work, stress quality and efficiency, and fulfill tasks on schedule.

5. Uphold democratic centralism, obey organizational leadership, keep in close touch with the masses, spontaneously accept their supervision, and humbly listen to the views and suggestions of the masses and the lower-level organs.

6. Establish the overall concept, actively cooperate with fraternal units, and unite and consult with them in handling matters. Do not haggle over trifles or pass the buck, but work hard together to promote work.

7. Work hard in learning cultural and scientific knowledge, actively master professional skills and continually improve knowledge level and work ability.

8. Be plain-living, refrain from pursuing special privileges, and spontaneously boycott and oppose corruption by capitalist ideology. Take good

care of state property, observe social morality and public order, and stress civility and courtesy.

9. Be modest and prudent, refrain from arrogance and impetuosity, uphold the truth, correct errors and carry out regular criticism and self-criticism.

10. Heighten vigilance, strictly guard state secrets and uphold the motherland's dignity and honor.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GUANGDONG CIRCULAR ISSUED ON ARRANGEMENTS FOR DEMOBILIZED SOLDIERS

HK170353 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 15 Nov 82

[Summary] The Guangdong Provincial Government issued a circular on 14 November urging various localities throughout the province to strengthen leadership and properly arrange jobs for demobilized soldiers this winter and next spring.

"The circular stressed that the arrangement for demobilized soldiers must insist on the principle of 'from the communes, to the communes.' As for those second and third class disabled soldiers who were wounded in the counterattack in self-defense against Vietnam, they can be registered as city resident according to the stipulations of the State Council and assigned work by the cities and towns where they were recruited. At the same time, those second and third class disabled soldiers who were injured while on duty and those demobilized soldiers who were sick when they returned to their hometown can enjoy preferential treatment and subsidy and, where conditions permit, they can be specially considered and assigned to collective enterprises and other establishments.

"The circular further emphasized: The people's government of various localities should conscientiously implement the documents and stipulations of the provincial government, allocate special funds and solve the problems of funds, seedlings, techniques and purchase of products and support the demobilized soldiers in groups and by stages in developing production and help them to be rich through labor."

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHAANXI HOLDS THIRD MEETING ON COMBATING ECONOMIC CRIMES

HK170344 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 16 Nov 82

[Excerpts] From 8 to 15 November, the Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee held its third conference in Xian on striking blows at serious economic crimes. The conference discussed and studied the problems of how to carry out in depth the struggle against serious economic crimes and how to thoroughly check and rectify the unhealthy tendency in the work of recruiting, changing and housing.

Mr Wenrui, first secretary of the provincial CPC committee, spoke at the conclusion of the conference. He said that great successes have been achieved in the province in the struggle against serious economic crimes and much progress has been made in checking and rectifying the unhealthy tendency in the work of recruiting, changing and housing. But this is only a first success. We must never slacken our efforts but must carry out continuously and steadily the struggle against serious economic crimes and the work of checking and rectifying the unhealthy tendency in the work of recruiting, changing and housing. It is necessary to strengthen leadership and improve our work style and link the struggle with anticorruption education so that the broad masses of cadres and people, especially youngsters, can heighten their ability in the struggle against bourgeois corruption.

Yan Kelun, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, and others also spoke at the conference.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LI QIMING SPEAKS AT YUNNAN PARTY MEETING

HK110747 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 10 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Yunnan Provincial CPC Committee Second Secretary Li Qiming delivered a report entitled "Strive To Build the Party Into a Strong Core Leading the Cause of Socialist Modernization." The report was delivered at the 5th enlarged plenary session of the 3d provincial CPC committee on 10 November.

Comrade Li Qiming said: Since the third plenary session, under the correct leadership of the Central Committee, with the common efforts of the whole party and the people of the whole province, we have unswervingly implemented the party's line, principles and policies and achieved political stability and unity and steady and healthy economic growth throughout the province.

Firts, we have gradually readjusted, rectified and strengthened the party and government leadership groups at all levels in the province. The leadership is now basically in the hands of cadres loyal to the party and the people. Second, we have continually eliminated leftist influence, and emancipated ourselves from the serious fetters of dogmatism and personality cult. The party's ideological line of seeking truth from facts has been implemented afresh in all our work. Third, we have continually stepped up ideological education for the party members, revived party life and put it on a sound basis, and strictly observed party discipline. There has thus been a turn for the better in our party work style. Fourth, we have seriously implemented the party policies and mobilized positive factors in all aspects. Fifth, we have strengthened political building, put democracy and the legal system on a sound basis, and consolidated and developed the political situation of stability, unity, liveliness and vigor. Sixth, we have greatly strengthened nationality work in the border regions and achieved a political situation of nationality unity, border region stability, and border defense consolidation, with people of all nationalities living happily and harmoniously.

Comrade Li Qiming said: In accordance with the tasks put forward by the 12th party congress and Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech at the 1st plenary session, and in connection with Yunnan reality, we must do a good job in the following tasks in party building and ideological and political work

this winter and next year: 1) Seriously study the 12th party congress documents to unify the thinking of the whole party; 2) do a good job in reforming the administrative structure and strive to accomplish the four transformations of the cadre force; 3) do well in dividing work between party and government and improve and strengthen party leadership over the government organs and the enterprises and undertakings; 4) uphold democratic centralism and put inner-party democratic life on a sound basis; 5) after carrying out pilot project work, conduct all-round party rectification in a planned and measured way; 6) build socialist spiritual civilization under the guidance of communist ideology; 7) deal resolute blows at serious criminal activities in the economic and other fields that endanger socialism; 8) develop socialist nationality relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance and further strengthen nationality unity.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NINGXIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE HOLDS 16TH MEETING

HK121000 Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 29 Oct 82 p 1

[Report: "Regional People's Congress Standing Committee Holds 16th Meeting"]

[Text] The 16th meeting of the standing committee of the 4th regional people's congress, which lasted for 3 days, was concluded on 28 October.

The highlight of the meeting was the communique on the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress by Ma Qingnian, deputy to the 12th CPC National Congress and chairman of the standing committee of the regional people's congress. Standing committee members carried out serious study and discussion. They had received profound education from and were much encouraged by the study and discussion. They held: The 12th CPC National Congress is a grand meeting with great historical significance. It is the most important meeting since the Seventh CPC National Congress, the epoch-making milestone in the history of our party and also the starting point for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. Important documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, with their illustrious chapters, are added to the glorious historical records of the party and to the glorious historical records of the communist movement. The newly elected central leading organ meets people's expectations. In the central leading organ, there is the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries who act as the mainstay. In addition, there are a great number of very energetic young and middle-aged cadres who have ability and political integrity and knowledge and experience for modernization. A new situation in which the young cadres work with the old and take over responsibility from them has been brought about. The members of the standing committee ardently support the new central leading organ. They said: The new central leading organ fully reflects that people of talent come forth in large numbers in our leading ranks and that there is no lack of successors to carry on the party's cause. Under the Central Committee leadership, the enthusiasm and creativity of all nationalities in building socialism will be forcefully aroused and our party, our state and all nationalities will certainly grow and flourish. They expressed that it is absolutely necessary to take the serious study and implementation of the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress as a major issue of utmost importance, strive to make a success of building socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, and, in exercising the supervising power of office endowed by law, in formulating local

rules and regulations and in making various resolutions and decisions, guarantee the concrete implementation of the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress. The meeting appealed to the people of all nationalities to continuously deepen the study and implementation of the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress in accordance with the arrangements made by the 5th enlarged plenary session of the 4th CPC regional committee.

The meeting listened to and examined the "Report Concerning the Situation of Production and Relief Work in the Mountain Areas" made by Ma Sizhong, vice chairman of the people's government of the autonomous region. The meeting held: With the heartfelt concern and support of the Central Committee and the State Council, party committees at all levels in our region and the people's government have adopted forceful measures in the fight against natural calamities and great results have been achieved. At present, both the social order and thinking of the people in the afflicted areas are stable. The cadres and masses, with the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress as their motive force, are making tremendous efforts to defeat severe natural calamities, to win an overall victory in the fight against natural calamities and in relief work and to make a success of production this winter and next spring. The meeting demanded that people's governments at all levels should, with the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress as guidance, continue to promote understanding and strengthen leadership. It is necessary to grasp well the production by people in the afflicted areas. They can adopt measures such as the system of providing work as a form of relief and developing diversification and so on to make a success of economic and production work. It is necessary to take the success in the fight against natural calamities as the important measure which is closely related to the strengthening of the unity between all nationalities, the upholding of political stability and developing the excellent situation of our region. It is necessary to be determined to continue to grasp well the fight against natural calamities, fully rely on and arouse the masses, promote the spirit of self-reliance and arduous struggles, make proper arrangements for the livelihood and production of the people in afflicted areas and conscientiously strengthen epidemic prevention and medical work in the afflicted areas.

The meeting approved the "Report Concerning the Adjustment of the Quotas for Some Industrial Products in 1982" formulated by the regional people's government. The meeting pointed out: All levels of people's government in the autonomous region should strengthen and firmly grasp leadership, strive to promote economic results and ensure that all tasks in our national economic plan will be accomplished. Having listened to and examined the "Report Concerning the Situation of the Reorganization of Industrial Enterprises in the Entire Region" formulated by the people's government, the meeting held: Notable results have been achieved in the readjustment of industry and reorganization of the enterprises in our region. The production situation of some enterprises is quite good. Enterprise reorganization is an important measure to implement the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress. It is necessary to strengthen leadership and start well and end well in grasping industry adjustment and enterprise reorganization. Having listened to and examined the report concerning the forestry production

situation in our region, the meeting held: Last year, we seriously implemented a series of directives and resolutions formulated by the CPC Central Committee, the NPC and the State Council concerning forestry work and new results had been achieved in afforestation in our region. If the tasks and measures proposed by the people's government are practical, they should be implemented. At present, it is necessary to resolutely implement the "Emergency Directives Concerning the Prevention of Arbitrarily Felling Trees in the Forests" formulated by the CPC Central Committee and to investigate and punish acts to violate law by damaging the forests in accordance with the laws of the state.

Having listened to and examined the synopsis of the "(Draft) Resolution To Convene the Fifth Meeting of the Fourth Regional People's Congress in the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region" made by Ma Youde, vice chairman of the standing committee of the regional people's congress, the meeting decided to convene the fifth meeting of the fourth regional people's congress in December 1982 in Yinchuan. The meeting also approved the decision to strengthen relief work in the mountain areas, the report concerning the adjustment of the quotas for some industrial products in 1982 formulated by the people's government and the resolution to vigorously promote forestry production in our region.

Shi Yulin, Zhang Junxian, Qi Anchang, Huang Zhizhong, Lu Ming and Ma Youde, vice chairmen of the standing committee of the fourth regional people's congress, attended the meeting. Li Yunhe, Ma Sizhong, Ma Tengai and Ding Yimin, vice chairmen of the regional people's government; Wang Jinzhang, chairman of the Third Ningxia Hui Autonomous Regional CPPCC Committee; all members of the Third Ningxia Hui Autonomous Regional CPPCC Committee; responsible persons of the regional supreme people's court, regional supreme people's procuratorate, standing committee of the regional people's congress, various departments of the regional people's government, various prefectural administrative offices and the standing committees of all municipal, county and prefectural people's congresses attended the meeting as nonvoting delegates.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON COMRADE GUO MORUO

HK220846 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Lu Jiaxi [4151 0857 6932] and Yan Dongsheng [0917 2639 3932]: "In Memory of Comrade Guo Moruo--Long-Time President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences"]

[Text] Today, 16 November 1982, is the 90th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Guo Moruo, our beloved long-time president, a proletarian cultural fighter and revolutionary who fought all his life for the cause of communism. The vast number of scientific workers of the Chinese Academy of Sciences commemorate and cherish the memory of veteran Guo not only because he was always president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences during the 29 long years from the founding of the academy to his death and because of the important role he played in the founding and development of the academy from a small to a big one, but also because his thinking and activities in the academy's leadership work still has immediate significance for us in responding to the great call of the 12th CPC Congress and creating a new situation in the fields of science and technology.

I

The Chinese Academy of Sciences was set up at the initial stage of the founding of the People's Republic of China. The foundation of natural science research handed down from old China was very weak, while the needs of the party's general line for the transition period and the economic construction of the country placed urgent tasks on scientific research workers. How should the academy start its work? What should it mainly grasp? Comrade Guo Moruo, the first president, correctly implemented the party's principle and exerted his role in properly solving this major problem, thus showing his sagacity.

Early in 1951, President Guo said that the stress of the academy's work should, first of all, meet "the needs of state industry and agriculture and national defense" and then "the needs of scientific development itself." In 1954, he further pointed out in detail that the academy should "give all-out support" to state industrial construction, "appropriately develop" basic science, provide "specific suggestions or reference data" to relevant construction departments and "immediately prepare conditions" for the weak

links that needed to be urgently developed. This meant that the academy should carry out research, provide advisory services, act as advisers and also comprehensively arrange and properly dispose basic research with applied research, present needs with long-term needs and subjective capability with objective demand. This guiding principle not only played the role of an impetus to the normal development of the academy at that time, but also provides us today with a reference on how to serve economic construction.

In 1955, the academy set up four divisions: the physics, mathematics and chemistry division, the biological sciences and earth sciences division, the technological sciences division and the philosophical and social sciences division. This was a great event in the organizational building of the academy. President Guo spent a lot of his efforts in the building of the divisions. At the ceremony opening the divisions, he put forward the major problems of working out a long-range plan for the development of science in China, setting up the academic degree systems, academician and academic rewards and strengthening academic leadership. From December 1955, President Guo participated in and organized the division members and other scientific workers in working out the 12-year plan for the development of science and technology. Later on, he again organized them in participating in the work of appraising and granting the natural science awards for the year 1956. All this work attracted the attention of the people of the whole country and the world.

Thanks to the correct leadership of the party, the great efforts of the vast numbers of scientific and technological personnel and the hard work of President Guo, the academy rapidly developed in the first 10 years after its founding. At the initial stage of its founding, the academy had only 22 research units and 224 research personnel under it. By 1959, the academy had developed into a scientific center that had about 100 research units and 7,000 research and technical personnel. New and developing sciences such as atomic energy, semiconductors, automation, space science, titanium metallurgy, chemical hydromechanics, biophysics and so on were added one after another. Many other sciences, such as computational mathematics, mechanics, inorganic chemistry, microbiology, seismology, geochemistry, micropalaeontology and so on, which had significant relations with state construction and scientific development, had their basic units set up or strengthened. Some basic sciences which were present at the beginning, were also relevantly developed. For instance, the number of theses issued in mathematics and botany in 10 years were, respectively, 200 and 400 percent over those issued in the 20 years before liberation. In addition, the work of the philosophical and social sciences division under the Chinese Academy of Sciences, also swiftly developed.

II

President Guo attached great importance to the work of uniting scientists. Because he enjoyed high prestige among intellectuals at home and abroad, he played a special role in this aspect (particularly at the initial stage of the founding of the academy). Above all, he took notice of using the

talents of scientists. He pointed out time and again that only by giving full play to the initiative of the scientists we have, can we do a good job in our research work. He made proposals and acted on this. On many occasions, he warmly greeted scientists returning home from abroad. In 1955, when Professor Qian Xuesen, an expert in mechanics, returned home from abroad, President Guo invited Qian's family to his home for dinner. They talked glowingly on the prospects of science in the motherland. Guo also composed a poem for Qian: "The constellation Scorpio does not have free will and the clouds flow; one cannot always see the full moon. The waves of the Pacific are dangerous but the waters of the West Lake are calm and tranquil. You have surmounted difficulties and obstacles and returned to the motherland to take part in the planning and to offer advice. In the next 12 years, there will be a great leap forward in our science and we may launch our rockets into space." At the initial stage of the founding of the academy, President Guo carried out readjustment in the research organizations so as to overcome the situation of overlapping organizations and dispersed personnel. At that time, the state of mind of some scientific and technical personnel was unsettled. President Guo personally chatted with them and did a lot of work in ideological persuasion. The readjustment work was successsfully carried on and the scientists were united. They felt happy and maintained high spirits in their work.

Furthermore, President Guo paid great attention to the work of ideological remolding and self-education of scientists. He often said: There is no end to learning; we often say, "study, study and study again." There is no end to remolding either, so we must constantly remold, remold and remold again. Meanwhile, he never behaved as an educator, but was always strict with himself. He used a Chinese motto to mutually encourage and make progress together with the scientists: "He who criticizes me is my teacher, he who is kind to me is my friend and he who flatters me is my enemy." He also made use of an allusion to critically examining oneself three times every day and asked us to learn from the example of Zengcan in our present life and make a self-examination of ourselves by asking three questions a day. First: Are any of our services to the people and socialist construction not active enough? Second: Have we truly made contributions in expanding our ranks and uniting internal forces? Third: Do we have high consciousness and have we slackened in our study of Marxism-Leninism and advanced experiences? Many veteran scientists and intellectuals still remember these three questions, which remain fresh in their memories. They feel that the method of examining their consciences in the stillness of night did play an active role in self-education.

Veteran Guo also paid great attention to the training of young scientific and technical personnel. In 1954, veteran Guo regarded the training of young scientific and technical personnel as the central task of scientific work at that time. He made further concrete suggestions in 1956, urging scientific organizations and institutions of higher learning to set up and perfect the postgraduate system, work out methods for training and promoting young scientific and technical personnel, draw as many young people as possible into all kinds of academic meetings, let the most outstanding graduates of universities and colleges engage in scientific research work

and send large numbers of students abroad to study in a planned way in accordance with the needs of scientific development. Most of these suggestions from veteran Guo were realized in the practical work of the academy.

Proposed by veteran Guo and approved by the CPC Central Committee, the Chinese Academy of Sciences sponsored the Chinese University of Science and Technology, with veteran Guo as its first president. He dedicated a lot of his energy to the founding and building of the university. He participated in the leadership of the preparatory work of the university, donated money to ease the difficulties of the poor students, personally composed the anthem for the university and delivered an important report entitled "Carry Forward the Fine Traditions of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College and March Ahead" at the opening ceremony in 1958. Under his proposal, the university inherited the revolutionary tradition of the elder generation of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College, carried on the revolutionary study style of integrating theory with practice and constantly scored new achievements in teaching, learning and research. Veteran Guo quoted an old saying: It is the most happiest thing to teach the people under heaven with outstanding ability. Today, the people who graduated from the University of Science and Technology personally founded by veteran Guo, can be found all over the country. Many of them have become backbones in the fields of research, education and other fronts. The Guo Moruo Scholarship Fund contributed by veteran Guo, is now impelling young people to study hard for the modernization of the motherland.

III

Not only did veteran Guo spare no efforts in solving well the major problems in the development of science, but he also dedicated a lot of his energy to engaging in the daily administrative leadership work. During the early period after the founding of the academy, although he held several important posts concurrently, he went to work nearly every day in the academy's office. While in charge of the academic general meeting, he was never too early or late. He considered that arriving early would waste his own time while arriving late would waste others' time, and wasting time would mean adversely affecting work and wasting one's life.

Veteran Guo was conscientious and meticulous in his work. He deemed that red tape was a creation of lazy people, that excellence in work was possible only with diligence and that laziness deprived work of excellence. A Latin American writer wrote a letter to veteran Guo asking about the present situation and the stage of development of literature and art in China. However, this letter was like a football kicked from one place to another. For several months the letter was passed from the academy to the Chinese Federation of Literature and Arts Circles, from the federation to the Institute of Literature, from the institute back to the federation and then from the federation back to the academy. The problem remained unchanged. Veteran Guo was very angry when he learned about this. He wrote to the foreign guest, expressing his regret and, at the same time, drew a chart of the route of "the journey of this letter" and handed it to the academy

with his written instruction that it be shown at the calligraphy exhibition sponsored by the academy. Veteran Guo set strict demands on others and himself as well. Once there was a document of the liaison bureau of the academy which, after being signed by several concerned bureaus, was thought to be perfect and sent to veteran Guo for approval. After careful reading, veteran Guo discovered that an annex to the document was missing and refused to approve it until the liaison bureau made another supplementary report.

Veteran Guo had a style of showing concern for the masses, being amiable and easy to approach. He personally went to Zhongguancun, where the research institutions were concentrated in Beijing, to plant trees and took part in the gala celebration for New Year's Eve and had heart-to-heart talks with common workers. His calligraphy was sturdy and elegant and he never refused people who asked him to write, no matter how busy he was. He also used his contribution fees to build the Zhongguancun swimming pool for the scientific and technical personnel. Veteran Guo went to many research institutions to intimately understand their conditions, and he handled a lot of letters and visits. Early in the 1960's, veteran Guo received a visitor--a student of the chemistry department of the University of Inner Mongolia whom he had never met before. He was very interested in the various calendar conversion instruments prepared by this student, such as "The Heavenly Stems and the Earthly Branches - A.D. Conversion Table," "The A.D. Hui Calendar Conversion Table" and "Conversion Table for the Chronology of Reigns in Chinese History." Veteran Guo affirmatively appraised the student's achievements. Together with Vice President Zhu Kezhen, they proposed to the education department that this student be transferred to the University of Nanjing, thus bringing his ability into full play.

During the 10 years of internal disorder, when veteran Guo witnessed the destruction by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques of the scientific and technological fronts and the Chinese Academy of Sciences, he felt like one with a fishbone caught in his throat and was filled with grief and indignation. Even when he was in a very difficult situation, he helped other people in every possible way. He wrote to the higher level requesting approval for an old cadre to enjoy the Spring Festival at home and to allow some scientists to participate in receiving foreign guests; consequently, they were practically emancipated. Although these things were trivial, in those turbulent years you could be labeled at any time with the charge of "sheltering capitalist roaders and reactionary academic authorities." Veteran Guo was fearless of this evil wind.

The Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique was smashed and veteran Guo saw with his own eyes that the severe winter of the scientific cause had gone forever and that the brilliant sight of spring had come, like "the radiance of the sun after a hurricane and fresh land after a heavy rain" all over the motherland. Although he was old and sick, he enthusiastically attended the national science conference and called out with a voice that plucked people's heartstrings: "The spring for science has come!" He warmheartedly expressed the wish that the scientific workers of the elder generation be vigorous and constantly make new contributions, that the middle-aged scientific workers work hard for the prosperity of the country and be bold to scale new heights

in the world of science, and that the youngsters of the whole country surpass the elder generation.

Today, when we commemorate the 90th anniversary of veteran Guo's birth, we can assure our veteran president that his wishes are daily becoming a reality. A number of old scientists are still fighting in the front of the scientific fields and shouldering the leadership work in science; some others are writing books and handing their knowledge and experiences down to later generations; and some are serving as educators and teachers, discovering and training talented scientific personnel. The middle-aged and young scientific personnel are wholly absorbed and occupied in their posts and are assiduously tackling key problems. It is a common trait that youngsters love science. Under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress, our socialist scientific field is now greeting a harvest season full of great achievements.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

JIANGSU'S XU JIATUN CONDOLES DEATH OF LIU LIEREN

OW170351 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 14 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Comrade Liu Lieren, vice chairman of the Fourth Jiangsu CPPCC Committee, died in Nanjing on 7 November after a long illness which did not respond to medical treatment. He was 72. A native of Anyue County, Sichuan Province, Comrade Liu Lieren joined the revolution in December of 1935, became a CYL member in February of 1936 and later joined the CPC in July 1936. He engaged in educational work in the years after 1957 and held posts as president and CPC committee secretary of the Jiangsu Teachers College and the Nanjing Chemical Engineering Institute. In spite of ruthless persecution during the 10 years of internal disorder, he remained firm in his conviction toward the party thus displaying strong party spirit as a party member. He resolutely supported the line laid down at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and earnestly implemented the party's policy toward the intellectuals. He made outstanding achievements in the struggle to set things right on the educational front.

Comrade Liu Lieren left word that no memorial meeting should be held for him after his death. To respect his wishes and that of his family members, the provincial CPC committee arranged a simple funeral for him. He was cremated at the Nanjing crematorium on 12 November. Prior to the cremation, Hui Yuyu, member of the Central Advisory Committee; Xi Jiatun, Liu Lin, Han Peixin, leading members of the provincial CPC committee; members of the standing committee of the provincial CPC committee; Bao Houchang and Guan Wenwei, chairman and vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee; and other leading comrades of the provincial CPPCC committee; leading comrades of the standing committee of the provincial people's congress and the provincial people's government; some secretaries of county and municipal CPC committees in Nanjing; and friends of Comrade Liu Lieren all paid their last respect to Comrade Liu Lieren's remains and extended sincere regards to his family members.

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HENAN PREFECTURE SENTENCES TWO ON SPECULATION CHARGES

HK091004 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 8 Nov 82

[Summary] "The Xuchang Prefectural Intermediate People's Court brought to trial on 7 November (Li Jianhua), former secretary of the Baofeng County CPC Committee and his wife on the charges of speculation, bribery and blackmail. The criminal (Li Jianhua) was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment and his wife Wang Yulan was sentenced to 3 years in prison with a 3-year reprieve. All corrupt money and illicit booty were confiscated according to law."

In defiance of the party's discipline and state laws, (Li Jianhua) and his group flagrantly wrecked state economic policies. Since 1980, (Li Jianhua), conspiring with his wife, has repeatedly resold liquor and cigarettes at high profits and appropriated a large amount of state and collective properties. In all he has received 5,817 yuan through the following corrupt and contemptible methods: 1) Exchanging sorghum for liquor and then reselling it at high prices; 2) relying on his power and position, he bought liquor at lower prices and then sold at higher prices; 3) collaborating with bad elements inside and outside the party and with his subordinates, he gave the go-ahead to spectators in society and reaped third-party profits.

Meanwhile, the Henan Provincial Service published a commentary on the matter, entitled "What Does the Speculation Case of (Li Jianhua) Show?"

The commentary said that following the serious case of the car magnates exposed recently, this was another shocking case. It was another victory achieved in striking heavy blows at criminal activities in the economic field in our province.

The commentary pointed out: "This case tells us profoundly that serious criminal economic activities are being carried out not only in society, but also within our party, in some leading bodies and among leading cadres. The Anyang car magnates committed a series of crimes, but they are merely two nobodies acting as ants trying to topple a giant tree. However, (Li Jianhua), as a secretary of the provincial CPC committee, even directly did dirty speculation deals, so his crime is more serious than the others. The entire (Li Jianhua) case has taken a long time to implement from investigation to issuing a verdict. This shows that the struggle against criminal

economic activities being conducted by some party members and responsible cadres is very complex and hard. The reasons are: 1) Relying on their power and position, these people are seeking personal profits usually under the cloak of being permitted by policies, directives from superiors, or using the excuse of do-me-a-favor. 2) Pulling strings behind the scenes, they usually make some remarks in writing or verbally, but ask their wives and flattering subordinates to do everything on their behalf. Once something happens, they will immediately shift the blame onto other shoulders to protect themselves. 3) Taking advantage of some shortcomings in our party's work style left over from Lin Biao and the gang of four, these people, by any means, widely establish contacts and relations with whomever they can, or conclude agreements between partners in crime not to give each other away, or else go here and there to plead for mercy for themselves in a vain attempt to muddle through troubled waters. However, since they have committed crimes, they are bound to be exposed. So long as we realize the importance and urgency of such a struggle, resolutely work according to the party's policies and state laws and are clear about the main points in striking blows at criminal activities in the economic field, it is not difficult for us to penetrate all their disguises."

CSO: 4005/166

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HEILONGJIANG FINDS JOBS FOR UNEMPLOYED YOUNG PEOPLE

OW170743 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0058 GMT 13 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Harbin, 13 Nov (XINHUA)—Heilongjiang has adopted measures to develop farms and industrial and commercial enterprises for young people who have left school. It has not only made wealth for the state, but also helped some unemployed young people settle down. There are now 2,339 farms and teams for school leavers throughout the province. In 1981, 265,000 unemployed young people were given jobs.

Since the holding of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, a large number of unemployed young people in urban areas in the province have been given jobs. However, some 400,000 young people are still awaiting jobs in various cities and towns in the province. The problem of finding jobs for young people remains serious.

In order to solve this problem, the Heilongjiang Provincial CPC Committee and the provincial government believe that placing emphasis on cities and towns alone would not do and that it is necessary to pay attention to both urban and rural areas. All cities, towns and their suburban areas, forest, industrial and mining areas where conditions exist must run farms and teams to help school leavers settle down.

The Heilongjiang Provincial CPC Committee and the provincial government demand that all farms and teams for school leavers develop themselves into combined industrial and commercial enterprises, open up new avenues for more profits, and improve their capability to increase productivity and help young people expand their income.

There are now 3,690 factories stores and service centers for school leavers throughout the province, marking an increase of 96 percent as compared with 1980. The total 1981 production value of all the farms and teams for school leavers in the province reached 535.86 million yuan and their total profit reached 72 million yuan, an increase of 24.6 and 50 percent respectively over those in 1980.

CSO: 4005/166

BRIEFS

GUIZHOU NATIONALITIES LITERATURE COURSE--The second Guizhou provincial study course on nationalities literature, which lasted 71 days, concluded on 27 October. The study course was attended by 66 students of Miao, Buyi, Dong, Yi, Gelao, Shui, Manchu and Naxi nationalities. Inspired by the spirit of the 12th party congress, they wrote 275 literary works of about 2.48 million characters. The province held its first meeting on minority nationality literature creation in 1980. The province held its first study course on literature in 1981, which was attended by 50 writers of various nationalities. The study course laid stress on training a younger generation to embark on the literary cause. The graduation ceremony of the second study course was attended by responsible persons of the propaganda department of the provincial CPC Committee, the provincial Federation of Literary and Art Circles, the provincial Nationalities Affairs Committee, the provincial Writers Association, the provincial Nationalities College and the editorial departments of some publications. [HK011518 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Oct 82]

SHAANXI DEALS WITH ECONOMIC CRIMES--Since the second meeting on combating serious economic crime held by the provincial party committee, our province has scored new achievements in the struggle to crack down on serious economic criminal activities, and has made a breakthrough. Up to 20 October, economic criminal cases exposed at and above county level totaled 3,588, of which 1,529 had been investigated, dealt with and concluded, 996 cases were wound up after the provincial party committee's second meeting on hitting at serious economic crime; and 1,171 cases had recently been exposed. Among the 70 major and important cases specified by the provincial authorities, 40 cases have been judged by the courts and wound up and 25 other cases have been judged subject to approval or have undergone thorough investigation and are awaiting judgment. These two categories account for 92 percent of the major and important cases. Among the 20 key cases directly handled by responsible comrades appointed by the provincial party committee, 13 cases have been wound up, 4 cases have undergone thorough investigation and are awaiting judgment, and the remaining 3 cases are under investigation. [Text] [HK100325 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 9 Nov 82]

SICHUAN LEADERS ATTEND SPORTS RALLY--The Sichuan Provincial Physical Culture Committee held a winter training mobilization rally on 11 November. Over 1,000 athletes, coaches and cadres attended. Also present were provincial CPC Committee First Secretary Tan Qilong, Secretary Du Xinyuan and Deputy Secretary Nie Ronggui. (Guo Yan), vice chairman of the provincial physical culture committee, delivered a mobilization report. [HK130244 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 11 Nov 82]

SHAANXI CORRECTS WORK STYLE ANOMALIES--Shaanxi Province has scored success in hitting at various anomalous practices of cadres. According to incomplete statistics, since 1979 over 3,000 cadres have illegally recruited their relatives or friends as workers, students or cadres or illegally transferred people's household registrations from the rural areas to towns, involving a total of 4,476 persons. The great majority of these cases have now been corrected. By the end of October, 91 percent of these persons had been sent back to their original units or places. In addition, 91 percent of cadres who had illegally occupied land to build houses or cave dwellings have dismantled their houses or paid restitution. Over 70 percent of the 1,599 cadres who were occupying excessive housing have given up the excess portions. These include 123 cadres whose cases were particularly serious, who have been disciplined. Dealing with these anomalies has had a beneficial educational effect. "The provincial CPC committee holds: The work of correcting anomalies in recruitment, transfers and housing is still very uneven, and there is still much to do in sending pepple back to their original places. The committee has demanded that the province do this work properly from beginning to end, and pay particular attention to finishing it well. This work must be regarded as a major task in implementing the 12th party congress spirit and bringing about a major turn for the better in party work style." [HK130737 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 12 Nov 82]

VETERAN'S BURIAL IN XIAN--Comrade Yuan Kefu, member of the Fifth CPPCC Standing Committee and adviser to the Lanzhou PLA units, died of cancer in Xian on 5 November at the age of 75. He was an outstanding party member and a long-tested army political work cadre. At his own request, there was no funeral committee or memorial service. When Yuan Kefu was seriously ill in the hospital he was visited by Lanzhou PLA Units Commander Du Yide and leading comrades of Shaanxi. Party and state leaders including Li Xiannian, Xu Qiangqian and Qin Jiwei sent condolence cables on his death. Comrades Du Yide and Ma Wenrui attended his burial in Xian on 12 November. [HK140404 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 13 Nov 82]

SANITATION DAY IN XIAN--Xian, 14 Nov (XINHUA)--Some 500,000 people, cadres and PLA men in Xian municipality, braving the early winter cold winds, took part in the All-People Sanitation Day activities in the streets on 13 November. The responsible comrades of party, government and army organizations, including provincial party First Secretary Ma Wenrui, joined the masses in sweeping the streets. [Excerpt] [OW161407 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0735 GMT 14 Nov 82]

GUANGDONG PLANNED PARENTHOOD--Guangdong Province has decided to designate January next year as planned parenthood publicity month. During this month, the province will universally and penetratingly publicize planned parenthood, with stress laid on the rural areas. All places throughout the province must now make good preparations. The number of births in the province last year was some 1.457 million and the birth rate was 24.99 per thousand, which was the highest rate of all provinces and municipalities throughout the country. Based on the current birth rate, the province's population will exceed 70 million and even amount to some 80.7 million by the end of this century. This will surely affect the development of agriculture, communications, energy resources, education and science. It is therefore necessary to take measures to have the population below 70 million by the end of this century. To make good preparations for the planned parenthood publicity month, from 10 to 13 November, the propaganda department of the provincial CPC committee and the planned parenthood office of the provincial people's government jointly held a conference in Guangzhou on planned parenthood publicity work. The conference laid stress on the discussion of the plan for unfolding the planned parenthood publicity month. The conference demanded that all departments cooperate and do well in publicity. [HK171548 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 15 Nov 82]

GUANGDONG ECONOMIC CRIME FIGHTING GROUPS--"To strengthen the ability to deal with cases and in order to strike blows at serious crimes in the economic field, the Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee recently transferred some 150 cadres at and above the divisional and bureau levels from provincial subordinate organs for the organization of the third batch of work groups to deal with cases. On 15 November, they went to all prefectures and municipalities and provincial subordinate organs to unfold work. Since the struggle against serious crimes in the economic field was launched, the provincial CPC committee has organized the first and the second batches of groups to deal with cases. These groups have helped CPC committees at all levels unfold the work of dealing with cases and have achieved very good results." Prior to the departure of the third batch of work groups to deal with cases, responsible comrades of the provincial CPC committee, including Ren Zhongyi, Li Jianzhen and Kou Qingyan, met the heads of the work groups and encouraged them to do well in dealing with cases and pay attention to discovering good people who are upright and tenacious and bravely struggle against economic crimes as well as good instances of uprightness, tenacity and struggle against economic crimes. [HK180731 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 16 Nov 82]

NORTHWEST LITERATURE, ART FORUM--The literature and art work forum of the five northwest provinces and autonomous regions concluded yesterday afternoon. Comrade He Dingzhi, deputy director of the Central Committee's Propaganda Department, spoke at the meeting. He hoped that the literature and art workers of the northwest would take advantage of the region's superior features and create a new situation in socialist literature and art. Comrade He Dingzhi said: The northwest is a well-founded base of China's socialist literature and art. I hope comrades of literature and art circles in the northwest will brace their spirits, emancipate their

minds, proceed from reality, carry forward the fine nationality and folk traditions, absorb cultural nourishment from elsewhere, and shine in the motherland's northwestern corner. In his speech, Comrade He Dingzhi gave his views on creating a new situation in socialist literature and art in accordance with the 12th party congress spirit. He also spoke on the further study and implementation of the spirit of the congress documents by literature and art circles, and on the question of taking communist ideology as the core in literary creation and literature and art criticism. [Text] [HK210611 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 0500 GMT 20 Nov 82]

BEIJING PRINT MEDIA MEETING--Beijing, 22 Oct (XINHUA)--A meeting, on the publication and promotion of Beijing's newspapers and periodicals held in Beijing on 22 October, pointed out that in 1983 newspapers and periodicals should be chiefly geared toward individuals, rural areas, schools of all grades and scientific research units. An adviser of the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications and responsible comrades of the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee's Propaganda Department and the municipal postal administration bureau addressed the meeting, urging postal workers and promoters of newspapers and periodicals to serve the readers and be thoughtful of and responsible to them. The meeting was jointly sponsored by the municipal trade union council, the municipal CYL committee, the municipal CPC committee, the municipal postal administration bureau and 26 offices of newspapers and periodicals including HONGQI, XINHUA NEWS AGENCY, GUANGMING RIBAO, CONGREN RIBAO and others. [OW100525 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1318 GMT 22 Oct 82]

END

CSO: 4005/166

JPRS 82449

13 December 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 372

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82449

13 December 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 372

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA Members Concerned About Sino-Soviet Ties
(Ba Yi Radio, 22 Nov 82) 1

PLA Company Educates New Soldiers
(Nei Monggol Regional Service, 17 Nov 82) 3

PLA Protects Border People in Harvesting
(Yunnan Provincial Service; 13 Nov 82) 4

'NEI MONGGOL' Commentary on Public Security Work
(Nei Monggol Regional Service, 17 Nov 82) 5

PLA Reviews Discipline Inspection
(Guangdong Provincial Service, 18 Nov 82) 6

Shenyang PLA Units Improve Elementary Education
(Beijing Domestic Service, 17 Nov 82) 7

Nanjing PLA Units Stress Role of Education
(XINHUA, 18 Nov 82) 8

PLA Corps Encourages Cadres To Study Science
(XINHUA, 21 Nov 82) 10

Beijing Honors Xinjiang Border Defense Unit
(Xinjiang Regional Service, 16 Nov 82) 12

Xiao Quanfu at Close of PLA Congress Session
(Xinjiang Regional Service, 28 Oct 82) 14

Senior Guangzhou PLA Cadres Discuss 12th Congress
(Guangdong Provincial Service, 6 Nov 82) 16

PLA Leaders Urge Study of Congress Documents
(RENMIN RIBAO, 12 Nov 82) 17

'JIEFANG RIBAO' on East China Sea Fleet Exercise
(Cheng Dapeng; JIEFANG RIBAO, 16 Oct 82) 19

Wuhan PLA Technical Conference Opens 9 November
(Hubei Provincial Service, 9 Nov 82) 20

Malpractice Case in PRC Air Force
(MING PAO, 13 Nov 82) 21

Militiamen Educated With Communist Ideology
(LIAONING RIBAO, 18 Oct 82) 23

Shaanxi Military District Rally Honors Militia
(Shaanxi Provincial Service, 1 Nov 82) 24

'NANFANG RIBAO' Urges Emancipation of 'The Mind'
(NANFANG RIBAO, 13 Nov 82) 26

Heilongjiang Gives Preferential Treatment to Armymen
(Heilongjiang Provincial Service, 13 Nov 82) 30

Briefs
Qinghai Army Recruitment Work 31
Hunan Resettles Ex-Servicemen 31
Wuhan PLA Meeting Ends 31

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on PRC Modern History Era
(Li Kan; GUANGMING RIBAO, 17 Nov 82) 33

'TIANJIN RIBAO' Commentator on Education
(TIANJIN RIBAO, 29 Oct 82) 37

'ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO' on Learning From Zhang Hua
(ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO, 23 Nov 82) 42

'TIANJIN RIBAO' Reports Census Results
(TIANJIN RIBAO, 2 Nov 82) 45

Guizhou NPC Deputy on Draft Constitution
(XINHUA, 28 Nov 82) 47

Gansu Vice Governor at Birth Control Meeting
(Gansu Provincial Service, 25 Nov 82) 48

Shandong Urges Upgrading of Staff-Worker Education
(Shandong Provincial Service, 24 Nov 82) 49

Shandong Staff-Worker Education Meeting Ends 24 Nov
(Shandong Provincial Service, 24 Nov 82) 51

Qiang Xiaochu's Article on Education Reported
(Jilin Provincial Service, 23 Nov 82) 53

Kunming Official Stresses Hitting at Economic Crimes
(Yunnan Provincial Service, 23 Nov 82) 55

Yin Fatang's Views on Education Work Examined
(Xizang Regional Service, 24 Nov 82) 57

Xizang Regional Forum on Literary Criticism
(Xizang Regional Service, 27 Nov 82) 59

'YUNNAN RIBAO' on Criticism of Article on 'Sunflowers'
(Wang Dian; YUNNAN RIBAO, 22 Oct 82) 61

'YUNNAN RIBAO' Comments on Erroneous Poetry Criticism
(Wen Ping; YUNNAN RIBAO, 5 Nov 82) 67

Beijing Planned Parenthood Propaganda Meeting
(Beijing City Service, 19 Nov 82) 78

'WEN HUI BAO' on Prejudices Against Intellectuals
(WEN HUI BAO, 12 Nov 82) 80

Hunan Conference on Family Planning Reported
(Hunan Provincial Service, 25 Nov 82) 84

HUNAN RADIO: 'Wise' Planning
Points Stressed

Hubei Holds Telephone Meeting on Judicial Work
(Hubei Provincial Service, 25 Nov 82) 86

Hebei Holds Meeting on Higher Education
(Hebei Provincial Service, 21 Nov 82) 88

Hebei Issues Regulations on Private Schools
(Hebei Provincial Service, 20 Nov 82) 90

Press Reports on Meeting of Forum To Review Westernization Movement
(Yang Xiaomin; GUANGMING RIBAO, 17 Nov 82) 91

Briefs
Literary, Art Work Conference 94
Officials Visit Product Corps 94
Delegation Head on NPC Session 94

TAIWAN

Briefs

Farm Pact With Guatemala 96
Solomon Islands Prime Minister 96
Asian Games Membership Application 96

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA MEMBERS CONCERNED ABOUT SINO-SOVIET TIES

OW231014 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 22 Nov 82

[Text] Judging from the reports submitted by various PLA units to the general political departments, PLA commanders and fighters are rather concerned about our country's relations with the Soviet Union. Some reports show that 1/3 of the questions raised by commanders and fighters at political study meetings and discussions on the current situation dealt with Sino-Soviet relations. At the study meetings held in the PLA units stationed along the Sino-Soviet border, more than half of the questions raised by commanders and fighters touched on Sino-Soviet relations.

Such a situation is natural since leaders of our country issued a series of statements on normalizing Sino-Soviet relations, many people have discussed this question. However, there are also quite a few rumors regarding this question.

Like members of the broad masses, PLA commanders and fighters are eager to have a clear understanding of this question. As for commanders and fighters of the frontier guards which have long confronted Soviet troops in a situation where clashes may be triggered at any moment, they naturally are more concerned about the prospects for the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations.

As far as our armed forces are concerned, Sino-Soviet relations are not only a political question but a military one. A statement made by Comrade Huang Hua before his departure from Beijing for Moscow to attend Brezhnev's funeral is very important and correct. He said: China and the Soviet Union are the two big powers in the world that share a very long border line.

It is for this reason that our army's strategic concept is finally determined by our relations with our neighboring country in the north. People of the older generation recall that our country's relations with the Soviet Union were very good in the early 1950's. At that time, the people and armed forces of the two countries were friendly to and cooperated with each and exchanged experiences with each other. With the cooperation and mutual aid of the people and armed forces of the two countries, our country was able to lay a foundation for defense industry. In a short time, our

country built factories to manufacture aircraft and tanks with the minimum investment and began to produce artillery pieces, automatic weapons and other military equipment. At that time, [words indistinct] our people and armed forces safeguarded world peace along with the armed forces of the advanced countries and peace-loving people the world over.

By the late 1950's, however, relations between the two countries gradually worsened. As a result, the close contacts between the people and armed forces of the two countries were suspended. Particularly in the late 1960's when the gang of four enforced feudal and fascist dictatorship, our relations with the Soviet Union worsened to the lowest point. The situation on the Sino-Soviet border was unprecedentedly tense. A number of our PLA commanders and fighters shed blood in northeast China and other border areas.

Historical experience shows us that close Sino-Soviet relations are beneficial to the people of the two countries and that tense Sino-Soviet relations are harmful to the people of the two countries. It is for this reason that all PLA commanders and fighters and people throughout the country are very much concerned about the question of normalizing Sino-Soviet relations.

CSO: 4005/172

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA COMPANY EDUCATES NEW SOLDIERS

SK181331 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Nov 82

[Text] A certain command company of PLA air force units took various measures to educate new soldiers with policies toward nationalities and scored good achievements. The company is stationed at the bank of the Olji Moron River of the Bairin grasslands, where Monggol herdsmen are living.

This year no sooner had new soldiers enlisted for military service than the party branch of the company conducted education in party policies toward nationalities among them and formulated some relevant items.

In order to enhance their understanding of national policies, the company held a discussion for new and old soldiers, introduced habits, customs and local conditions of Mongolians among Monggol soldiers and introduced some old soldiers' model achievements in abiding by policies toward nationalities. Through education, most soldiers pay great attention to civility and courtesy and safeguard the benefits of herdsmen in their contacts with herdsmen.

Some of the new soldiers did good deeds for herdsmen on their own initiative while off duty. Once (Sun Quan), a new soldier, found some sheepskin clothing under an elm near his barracks and walked nearly 10 li to find the owner.

All herdsmen said that they were as content with the new soldiers as the old ones.

CSO: 4005/172

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA PROTECTS BORDER PEOPLE IN HARVESTING

HK140753 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Nov 82

[Text] The command section of army-civilian defense in Maguan County has sent armed detachments to protect the masses who are carrying out autumn harvesting and planting. Six of the communes in Maguan County are situated along the Sino-Vietnamese border. Their land is in the field of fire of the Vietnamese troops across the border. Because of Vietnamese sniper fire, the masses of commune members could not harvest the crops there which had already ripened. In order to reap these crops in time and avoid delay in autumn sowing, the county army-civilian defense promptly sent armed detachments to intensify their patrols along the border and protect the masses in carrying out the harvest.

In September and October, the seventh company of a certain PLA garrison along the border sent out armed detachments nine times to patrol the border. (Zhang Kaixuan), leader of a certain PLA company stationed along the border, personally led an armed detachment to lie in ambush 3 days and nights at an important path called Sanyao Kou where enemy troops often come. Thus they protected the masses in reaping hundreds of mu of maize.

According to incomplete statistics, from January to October, the county army-civilian defense sent out 27 armed detachments with a total of more than 700 personnel to protect the masses in carrying out production in the border area.

CSO: 4005/172

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

NEI MONGGOL'COMMENTARY ON PUBLIC SECURITY WORK

SK181156 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Nov 82

[Station commentary: "A Starting Point of Public Security Work in the New Period"]

[Excerpt] In the new historical period, the party and the state have shifted their focus of work to the socialist modernization of economic construction. In line with the shifts in the focus of work of the entire party and state, our public security work should focus on upholding and promoting the socialist modernization of economic construction.

Under the unified leadership of the party central committee, the current principal tasks of our region's public security work should focus on strengthening public security and on severely punishing serious economic crimes. We should concentrate our potential on successfully upholding and promoting the general principle guiding forestry development in the course of socilaist modernization.

In order to implement the tasks of our region's public security work in the new period, comrades of public security departments must accurately understand the fundamental policies set forth by the CPC Central Committee on the current phase of the class struggle. Conscientiously ensure the democratic rights of the vast number of the people and practice effective dictatorship over the tiny minority of radicals.

In the previous period, public security fronts in our region implemented the lines, principles and policies set forth at the third plenum of the Party Central Committee, conscientiously liquidated the leftist mistakes that took the class struggle as a key link, and scored certain achievements in tackling public security problems in a comprehensive way. While further liquidating the leftist mistakes, we must remain sober-minded to prevent and overcome the rightist torrential influence and to foster the correct idea of the class struggle.

CSO: 4005/172

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA REVIEWS DISCIPLINE INSPECTION

HK190212 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 18 Nov 82

[Text] The Guangzhou PLA units held a meeting of discipline inspection committee secretaries at and above army-level from 8 to 15 November. In accordance with the spirit of the 12th party congress and the central discipline inspection commission plenary session, the meeting analyzed the state of party work style in the units and studied how to do a good job in discipline inspection work in the new situation and accomplish a fundamental turn for the better in party work style.

Guangzhou PLA units Commander You Taizhong and Political Commissar Wang Meng stressed in their speeches: We must start with the leaders when implementing the 12th party congress spirit, correcting the party work style and strictly enforcing party discipline. Problems in the leadership groups must be corrected as soon as they are discovered. With regard to problems among the leading cadres, one level must grasp another and the problems must be seriously and earnestly tackled and handled. When major problems are found in the uints, it is necessary to investigate the responsibilities of the principal leading cadres and those in charge while investigating those immediately involved. We must not be strict with those below and lenient with those above. We must not treat problems in a perfunctory and casual way by holding the party committee collectively responsible, and it is still less permissible to investigate the lower levels but not the upper. When investigating problems, we must not be swayed by personal relationships. People should not think that, due to old relationships, big problems can be turned into small ones and small ones can disapper, or even that they can indulge, protect and connive at wrongdoing.

Comrade You Taizhong and Wang Meng stressed: The party committees at all levels must strengthen leadership over the work of the discipline inspection committees and provide effective support for them.

CSO: 4005/172

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SHENYANG PLA UNITS IMPROVE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

OW181323 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 17 Nov 82

[Text] The party committee of a certain unit under the Shenyang PLA units has made remarkable progress in grasping elementary education and science. A total of 456 applicants from this unit were admitted to PLA academies and institutes during the unified entrance examination for new students this autumn. Since 1979, this unit has been engaged in promoting education on science and culture, stressing languages and mathematics, physics and chemistry at the middle school level. A total of 1,212 cadres and fighters has been admitted to PLA academies, institutes and training units in the past 4 years. Some cadres and fighters attained senior middle school-level education and nearly 1,000 cadres are completing junior middle school-level studies. This unit has concentrated on the following areas: 1) Specific hours are set for study. During this period of study, leading army and divisional members visit the unit and classes to check on progress in cultural studies. Later, they conduct an annual examination and use the results as one of the requirements for selecting advanced individuals. 2) Continuation classes are sponsored for outstanding fighter activists to study the basics, to provide PLA academies and institutes with qualified students. Since November last year, this unit has set up continuation classes for outstanding fighter activists, especially for outstanding squad leaders and model fighters to improve their elementary education. These classes, lasting for 6 to 8 months, are set up in regiments. 3) Cadres are trained in rotation by groups and stages. This year, an accelerated training class at senior middle school-level was set up for cadres from regiments and battalions. After 6 months' training, these comrades attained senior middle school-level education in some subjects. In addition, this unit has also encouraged and supported cadres to engage in self-study by organizing specialized technical studies connected with their office work, in addition to setting up night and correspondence schools. The improvement in the level of knowledge among cadres and fighters has bettered the unit's job performance. For example, the 7th artillery battalion of a certain regiment was equipped with a radar command instrument several years ago. However, owing to lack of essential knowledge in mathematics and physics and in the theory and functions of this piece of equipment on the part of cadres and fighters, the equipment had not been put to use. In the course of cultural studies, they learned the theory and functions of the radar command instrument and used the equipment for the first time to substitute manual computation. They scored good results in a competitive evaluation by the Shengyang PLA units.

CSO: 4005/172

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

NANJING PLA UNITS STRESS ROLE OF EDUCATION

OW190441 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0739 GMT 18 Nov 82

[Text] Nanjing, 18 Nov (XINHUA)--The Nanjing PLA units party committee has stressed that education on science and general knowledge must be intensified so as to create a new situation in the armed forces, that the misconception that one still can win a battle without knowledge must be rectified, and that a new atmosphere of earnestly studying science and learning knowledge must be encouraged in the armed forces.

While studying the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, members of the Nanjing PLA units party committee have also reviewed the actual situation in the armed forces and discussed the need to create a new situation in the armed forces by intensifying education on science and knowledge. Commander [of the Nanjing PLA units] Xiang Shouzhi pointed out: Promoting education on science and knowledge in the armed forces not only makes those who have little schooling more knowledgeable and satisfies the needs in the armed forces' modernization but it also encourages the armymen to improve themselves through studying hard. He said: This is significant for training more knowledgeable and more professionally competent cadres. At present we must continue to liquidate the influence of the "left" ideology and adopt effective measures to deepen and effectively promote education on science and knowledge.

Dung Ping, former political commissar [of the Nanjing PLA units], said: After they have become more knowledgeable it will be easier for the cadres and the fighters to accept new things because they will have become more broadminded, otherwise they will be shortsighted and they will hardly be able to do their jobs well. For this reason we must work energetically to intensify the armed forces' cultural construction. If intellectually and physically capable, those veteran cadres who have retreated to the second and third lines should play a positive role in this task. Some may become teachers, and some may take charge of certain tasks on behalf of the party committee.

After discussion, the Nanjing PLA units party committee has presented the following specific measures for intensifying education on science and general knowledge in the armed forces:

1. Broadly propagate the significance in stressing education on science and knowledge and continue to liquidate the influence of the "left" ideology of despising science and knowledge and discriminating against the intellectuals.

2. Continue to intensify extension education among the cadres. Units at and above the corps levels must sponsor extension education classes for the cadres to study the courses of senior middle schools and technical middle schools. Those cadres whose educational level is below that of the senior middle school must be retrained by stages and by groups on a rotational basis.

3. Training of teachers must be intensified. To strengthen the teaching staff and guarantee the quality of teaching the armed forces must, in addition to selecting teachers from the armed forces, contact the local educational departments so that each corps unit can borrow three or four college graduates to teach their specialty in the armed forces.

4. The cadres' general and special knowledge must be strictly tested before they can be promoted. The educational level of the young cadres to be transferred to work in the organizations of the armed forces must be at least up to the technical school level. Cadres selected from among the fighters must be strictly tested; only those who pass the test will receive further training in colleges or schools.

5. Study on one's own shall be encouraged. Assistance will be given to the cadres and fighters who enroll in night schools and televised and correspondence courses.

CSO: 4005/172

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA CORPS ENCOURAGES CADRES TO STUDY SCIENCE

OW230836 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0215 GMT 21 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 21 Nov (XINHUA)--According to XINHUA reporter Peng Cuiping and correspondent Chen Jinsong, the 2d artillery corps [di er pao bing 4574 0059 3517 0365] of the PLA has taken effective measures to upgrade the scientific knowledge of the leading cadres at all levels, and this has brought new changes to the corps' modernization.

In recent years, to make the ranks of cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent, the 2d artillery corps has promoted to the leading groups of various units of divisional and regimental levels some 200 ethically and professionally competent cadres who graduated from college in the early 1960's. After this readjustment, over 70 percent of the leading cadres of the corps' technical schools and research institutes are college graduates. In certain regiments, the level of education of over 50 percent of the cadres has reached that of the senior middle schools.

The party committees of various units under the corps have also warmly encouraged the leading cadres to diligently study modern defense science. In a planned manner and by groups and by stages, the corps party committee has also sent the leading cadres of the corps and its divisions and regiments, who are of worker and peasant origins, to receive short-term training in technical colleges and schools. Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the corps has sponsored eight training classes and trained over 400 cadres of units of regimental level and above, including 70 leading cadres of the corps-level unit and above. Meanwhile, all types of short-term training and study classes have also been held by various units under the corps to train the recumbent cadres on a rotational basis. The leading cadres have also been organized to study modern science and new technology by attending technical lectures, correspondence courses and televised courses. The problem of upgrading the leading cadres' scientific knowledge has been quite successfully resolved in this way.

The upgrading of the leading cadres' scientific and technological knowledge has brought new changes to the corps' modernization. Since these leading cadres have been studying various specialized subjects systematically and since they understand science and technology, their leadership and their

endeavors for military modernization have become more effective. Because of his painstaking efforts in studying general knowledge and sophisticated defense sciences, Zhang Wen, who used to be a cowherder and is now deputy chief of staff on a certain unit, has achieved impressive success in improving his organizing and commanding capabilities. He has made new contributions in recent years by successfully commanding his men to take part in trainings with special weapons and by taking part in commanding scientific tests for defense purposes on many occasions.

After assuming their leading posts, the ethically and professionally competent intellectuals have quickly displayed their command and administrative capabilities after a short period of practical training. When a certain unit was to test a new defense technology, the unit's party committee designated Zhang Biao, a newly promoted cadre who graduated from college in 1964, to command the operation on the first line. Because of his professional proficiency, meticulous organization and scientific way of distributing the technical force, several major aspects of the test were put under proper control, the on-the-spot operation was tense but ordered, and the test was successfully accomplished; and Zhang Biao was later commended by the leading organizations. Other commanders and fighters said thoughtfully: "Whether or not our leading cadres understand science and technology does indeed make a big difference."

CSO: 4005/172

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BEIJING HONORS XINJIANG BORDER DEFENSE UNIT

HK170222 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1650 GMT 16 Nov 82

[Text] The central military commission has conferred the title "Steel Guard Post of the Karakorum" on a certain border defense guard post of the Urumqi PLA units. A rally to confer this title was held at the 1 August (?airport) in Urumqi on the morning of 16 November. Codanoff, deputy political commissar of the Urumqi PLA units, presided. Commander Xiao Quanfu first read out the order of the central military commission on conferring the title on the guard post. On behalf of the commission, he presented a brocade pennant to a representative of the post. Urumqi PLA units Political Commissar Tan Youlin read out the decision of the units CPC Committee on launching a drive to learn from the "Steel Guard Post of the Karakorum." Urumqi PLA units First Political Commissar Wang Enmao and regional CPC Committee secretary and people's congress standing committee Chairman Tomur Dawamat spoke at the rally.

In his speech, Comrade Wang Enmao highly praised the whole body of commanders and fighters of the "Steel Guard Post of the Karakorum" for their patriotic and revolutionary heroic spirit in devoting themselves to the motherland and the interests of the people. He called on the commanders and fighters of the units to launch a drive to learn from the guard post, and strive to create a new situation in revolutionizing, modernizing and regularizing the units.

Comrade Wang Enmao pointed out: In learning from the "Steel Guard Post of the Karakorum," we must, like them, unswervingly implement the party's line, policies and principles, and spontaneously maintain ideological and political unity with the Central Committee. Like them, we must strive to build a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization, establish firm faith in communism, and strive to be new communist men with ideals, morality, culture and discipline. Like them, we must establish the spirit of struggling amid difficulties for the revolutionary cause and boldly devoting themselves to defending the motherland. Like them, we must never forget the concern and support of the people of all nationalities and spontaneously preserve and strengthen army-government, army-people, and nationality unity. The PLA units throughout Xinjiang must resolutely implement the spirit of the recent regional nationality unity commendation

gathering and work with the people of all nationalities to build Xinjiang into a strong fortress of antihegemonist solidarity.

Tomur Dawamat congratulated and extended regards to the commanders and fighters of the "Steel Guard Post of the Karakorum" on behalf of the regional CPC Committee and government and the people of all nationalities in Xinjiang.

(Zhang Fuquan), a representative of the "Steel Guard Post of the Karakorum," instructor of the 4th company of a certain PLA border defense unit, and (Yi Yongliang), instructor of the Alashan Pass guard post, also spoke at the rally.

Other responsible comrades of the regional party and government and the Urumqi PLA units present at the rally included Huang Luobin, Wang Fuzhi, Liu Haiqing, (Ma Shen), (Aizezuofu Hasimu), Kang Lize, (Ren Xiuquan), (Li Xuanhua) and (Zhang Yingling).

CSO: 4005/172

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

XIAO QUANFU AT CLOSE OF PLA CONGRESS SESSION

HK291544 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 28 Oct 82

[Text] The 6th CPC Congress of the Urumqi PLA units successfully closed today. Comrade Tan Youlin presided over the closing session and Comrade Xiao Quanfu gave the closing speech.

In his speech, Comrade Xiao Quanfu said that throughout this meeting we have upheld the spirit of the 12th congress, reached a common understanding and unity of action on the basis of the program, principles and policies laid down by the 12th congress, and thus enhanced our consciousness in keeping pace with the party's central authorities ideologically and politically, and strengthened our confidence in fulfilling the magnificent goal and various tasks put forth by the 12th congress. This will surely and strongly push all PLA units throughout the region to thoroughly implement the spirit of the 12th congress and to unwaveringly advance in the direction pointed out by the 12th congress. On behalf of the presidium of the congress, in particular the elderly comrades, Comrade Xiao Quanfu warmly welcomed the comrades who were newly elected into the CPC Committee of the Urumqi PLA units. He urged these comrades to more conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, carry forward the modest and prudent work style, uphold the party's democratic centralism, strengthen the collective leadership of the party committee, maintain close link with the masses, and devote every effort to fulfill all tasks with which the party entrusted them.

Xiao Quanfu pointed out that we must foster lofty ideals and set high goals in creating a new situation. And above all, he said, we must take real action to create a new situation. In order to carry out the tasks laid down by this congress, we must further improve the ideological work, organization and style of the party according to the requirement of the new party constitution, and conscientiously build our party organizations at all levels into a real force at the core in creating a new situation. We must carry forward the party's fine work style, brace up, work hard and take the lead in creating a new situation. We must thoroughly study and implement the spirit of the 12th congress as well as publicize the spirit of this current congress. And furthermore, we must take practical and effective measures according to the actual situation of our own units so that every task laid down by this congress can be carried out in a down-to-earth manner.

Comrade Xiao Quanfu emphasized that historical experiences had proved that the unity reached on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the fundamental guarantee for us to win victory. In the course of creating a new situation in our PLA units, we must more closely rally around the party's Central Committee, further strengthen unity within the army, unity between the army and government, between the army and people and between all nationalities, and unity within the leading body. If only the new and old members of the party committees at all levels can reach a common understanding, keep in step and really form a united, concerted, intimate and powerful leading force at the core, we will be able to deal with various complicated circumstances and overcome all obstacles on the road ahead, and thus fulfill the glorious tasks which the party entrusts us with, and achieve new and greater successes.

Mandated by the discipline inspection commission of the CPC Committee of the Urumqi PLA units, Comrade Kang Lize gave a work report at the congress.

The congress adopted the membership resolutions of the sixth CPC Committee of the Urumqi PLA units and the discipline inspection commission of this CPC Committee, which were elected after repeated democratic deliberations and consultations. At today's session, the congress also adopted the resolution on the work report by the fifth CPC Committee of the Urumqi PLA units and the resolution on the work report by the discipline inspection commission of the CPC Committee of the Urumqi PLA units. The congress successfully concluded with the majestic internationale at 5 o'clock this afternoon.

CSO: 4005/172

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SENIOR GUANGZHOU PLA CADRES DISCUSS 12TH CONGRESS

HK070228 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 6 Nov 82

[Text] On 2 and 3 November Guangzhou PLA units Commander You Taizhong, Political Commissar Wang Meng and other leaders summoned army commanders and political commissars and provincial military district commanders and political commissars to a forum to study how to carry out in-depth study of the 12th party congress documents. During the forum the participants held warm discussions in light of the demands set by the Central Committee and the problems in study. Concentrating on the issue of carrying out study in depth, they looked into matters of understanding and method.

First, it is necessary to conduct ideological mobilization, further deepen understanding of studying the 12th party congress documents, and avoid and overcome the attitude of being satisfied with having studied the documents and held discussions and thinking that the job is almost done. It is necessary to regard study of the 12th party congress documents as the primary task for the party committees. The principal leading cadres must devote their main energy to this task. Study must [words illegible] the reality of ideology and work in one's own unit or department. In study, the leading cadres must consciously take an active part and eliminate erroneous leftist and rightist influences, especially the influence of leftist ideology.

During the forum the participants held: Spontaneously implementing the spirit of the 12th party congress documents in all work and creating a new situation in army building from now on, starting with oneself, is an important expression of in-depth study. Many leading cadres attending the meeting pledged: We ourselves must first brace our spirits. We must have a good mental outlook, take the lead in displaying communist spirit and, with revolutionary boldness and the spirit of seeking truth, lead the units to create a new situation.

CSO: 4005/172

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA LEADERS URGE STUDY OF CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

HK151029 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Nov 82 p 4

[Report by Ai Pu [5337 5543] and Zhao Chunwu [6392 4783 2976]: "Responsible Comrades of Guangzhou PLA Units Call for Overcoming Laxity in Study and Gaining Real Theoretical and Ideological Appreciation of 12th Congress Documents"]

[Text] Guangzhou, 12 Nov--Commander Yu Taizhong, political commissar Wang Meng and other leading comrades of the Guangzhou PLA units recently held a forum with responsible comrades of the relevant provincial military districts specifically to discuss how to deepen the study of the 12th party congress documents. All of the participants unanimously agreed that at present it is necessary to overcome complacency and laxity and make further efforts to study the congress documents in depth. The meeting sized up the situation in the study of the 12th congress documents in the PLA units. To counter some existing problems, it also paid particular attention to the following steps necessary to further deepen the study.

1. Guiding ideology must be made known clearly. Studying and implementing the 12th party congress spirit is not only a matter of prime importance at present, but also a long-term task for the future. It should not be done in a superficial or perfunctory way. We should not be satisfied once the documents have been conveyed and people have studied, discussed and generally come to understand the contents. We should guard against and overcome placency and laxity in study. Principal leaders at all levels must exert major efforts to grasp this study.

2. Our study must be kept at a high level. In our effort to promote study in depth, we must try hard to link our thinking with our work. In accordance with the documents, we must understand its main points of view, major conclusions and basic spirit, gain real theoretical and ideological perceptions, clear away ambiguous ideas, and correct wrong points of view so that we will be able to adhere to what the party requires politically and ideologically. Leading cadres at various levels must take the lead in integrating the study with their thinking, thoroughly wipe out the influence left over from "leftist" or rightist mistakes, and in particular eliminate the baneful influence of "leftist" ideology.

3. At the same time as studying, we must implement the congress spirit and apply it in action. All leading cadres must do their work in the PLA units in line with the guiding ideology, principles and policies set out by the 12th party congress. All officers and men must conform their actions to the 12th party congress spirit and do their present work well so as to make more contributions to creating a new situation.

CSO: 4005/172

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'JIEFANG RIBAO'ON EAST CHINA SEA FLEET EXERCISE

OW200102 Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Oct 82 p 1

[Report by Cheng Dapeng]

[Text] Recently the PLA East China Sea Fleet held a military exercise in an unidentified sea region in which some 50 vessels using real weapons took part. Commander Xie Zhenghao, Deputy Commander Kao Xizeng and Deputy Political Commissar Kang Zhuang of the East China Sea Fleet and Commander Shen Peihua of the PLA naval units stationed in Shanghai joined in and commanded the exercise.

Since the convening of the 12th CPC National Congress the East China Sea Fleet party committee and leadership at various levels have voted to implement the guidelines of the congress with concrete action in order to open up a new situation in military training and speed up the PLA's regularization and modernization. Leading cadres and comrades in charge of military training of the headquarters of the East China Sea Fleet and the PLA naval units stationed in Shanghai have gone down to the grassroots to give specific guidance in order to make the training hard, strict and geared to the needs of actual combat.

Guided by Mao Zedong's military thought, the exercise was carried out in line with the strategic policy of active defense and in accordance with the characteristics of a future war against aggression. The vessels, which were divided into the "red" and the "blue" sides, carefully studied the characteristics of the "enemy" in order to make the exercise true to life and achieve the targeted goal. As the exercise started, some 10 vessels from the "blue" side, pretending to be the enemy, tried to violate our sacred territory from the sea. As soon as the "red" side obtained the relevant information, it immediately organized a powerful fleet consisting of guided missile frigates, propeller-powered torpedo boats and submarine chasers to launch an offensive against the enemy vessels and inflict heavy casualties on them.

A naval parade was held after the exercise.

CSO: 4005/172

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

WUHAN PLA TECHNICAL CONFERENCE OPENS 9 NOVEMBER

HK100018 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Nov 82

[Text] A Wuhan PLA units conference on equipment management and technical innovations opened in Wuchang on 9 November. Present at the opening were Wuhan PLA units Commander Zhou Shizhong; Political Commissar Yan Zheng; deputy commanders Li Guangjun and Zhang Wannian; deputy political commissars Ren Rong and (Wang Zhan); chief of staff (Tang Jiao); and political department director Wang Chun. Also present were advisers Min Xuesheng, Pan Zhenwu, He Yunhong, Zhou Zhigang and Zheng Zhishi. Representatives of 41 progressive units and 35 individuals are attending the meeting.

In recent years, in close connection with reality, the Wuhan PLA units has acted self-reliantly in the light of local conditions to thoroughly straighten out the management of weapons and equipment. The percentage of weapons maintained in good working order has reached the demand of preparedness against war. The situation in equipment management work is better now than for many years. In technical innovation work, the commanders and fighters and science and technology workers have worked hard to tackle key problems and scored over 1,000 results in research and innovation. Awards have been presented for 245 of these.

Deputy Political Commissar Ren Rong spoke at the opening ceremony. He stressed: Weapons and equipment represent an important component part of our army's combat strength and the material basis for defeating the enemy and preserving ourselves. We must vigorously strengthen equipment management work and regularly maintain our existing weapons and equipment in good battle readiness. We must ensure that the units can carry out combat training tasks at any time.

Deputy Political Commissar Ren Rong said: Strengthening the units' technical innovation work is similarly an important factor in improving combat strength. We should be concerned for and support this work, create excellent conditions for it, mobilize the activism of the commanders and fighters and scientists and technicians for carrying out research, and continually advance technical innovation work.

After the opening ceremony, representatives of progressive units and individuals in equipment management and technical innovation started to introduce their experiences.

CSO: 4005/172

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

MALPRACTICE CASE IN PRC AIR FORCE

HK140803 Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 13 Nov 82 p 5

[Special dispatch from Shanghai: "Malpractice Case in Communist China's Air Force; Fighters Assembled with Defective Parts"]

[Text] A serious malpractice case in communist China's air force has recently been exposed, which affected the safety of several hundred fighters. This incident was much more serious than the case of Wu Ronggen who defected with a fighter. This incident has illustrated the harmfulness of the bureaucratic leadership system and the corruption and rottenness of communist China's cadres who seek private gain at the expense of the security of the state.

The main criminal involved in the case was Lin Fangzhen, director of the Shanghai equipment supply section of the Aeronautical engineering department of the air force. During a period of 4 years between 1976 to 1981, he assigned the task of processing and manufacturing a large quantity of aircraft precision parts to some simple and crude enterprises run by communes and production brigades. He accepted bribes totalling 7,000 yuan. Due to the defect of the bureaucratic leadership system, he remained at large for a long time. The case was eventually exposed by a recent check of the fighters by technicians. In view of the seriousness of the case, the man should have been court-martialled. However, the leading organs concerned only treated it as an ordinary corruption case. It was tried by Shanghai intermediate court. The trial was completed at the end of last month and the court decision was "a very bad and serious offence." According to the criminal law, the defendent was guilty of taking bribes and bending the law. He was therefore sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

Lin Fangzhen, aged 53, was promoted section director in 1974. After that, he became a strong man in the air force who was in charge of the supply of facilities and equipment. As early as 1976, he established special connections with some enterprises run by communes and production brigades. He signed contracts for processing business with them in exchange for high-quality cigarettes, tea, eggs, dried mushrooms, edible fungus and so forth. He had everything that he had expected to find--vegetables and fruit in season and dainties of every kind--sufficient for the Lin family to open

a provisions and fruit shop. Those enterprises run by communes and production brigades made a fortune out of this. The year-end bonuses for workers could exceed 1,000 yuan and some of the highest bonuses might total 7,000 yuan or so. To express their thanks to this "God of wealth," who was generous at the expense of the state, in 1979 those enterprises run by communes or production brigades who had "business relations" with Lin Fangzhen jointly held a banquet in one of the best restaurants in Shanghai to celebrate his 50th birthday. Five tables were provided at the banquet.

Later, Lin Fangzhen wanted more and more things. He got modern electric appliances such as color television sets, radio cassette recorders, washing machines and so on. He also got a lot of money.

In February 1980, Lin Zhenfang secretly transferred the task of manufacturing a large number of important parts from an aircraft manufacturing plant of the air force to the Daqiao switchgear plant in Chengguan town, Linhai County, of Zhejiang Province. This plant was run by Jinshan production brigade. He presented a false report to the higher authority: "This batch of parts will be produced by a certain munitions factory." As a result of this transaction, he helped his brother-in-law, an idiot, get a job in the switchgear plant. Apart from that, he accepted bribes amounting to more than 2,000 yuan.

Those important parts manufactured by Daqiao switchgear plant were not up to standard. However, he arbitrarily issued certificates of quality in the name of a certain munitions factory. Thus, the products were sent from Shanghai to various aircraft repair plants, one batch after another. Several hundred fighters were assembled with these defective parts. Luckily this matter was discovered by technicians in an aircraft repair plant, and a report was presented to the aeronautical engineering department. After that, an order was issued to remove those defective parts. A hidden danger was thus avoided. Otherwise, the consequences would have been disastrous.

CSO: 4005/172

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

MILITIAMEN EDUCATED WITH COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

SK101052 Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Oct 82

[Article by the armed forces department of the Jinxi County CPC Committee]

[Text] In his report to the 12th party congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: At the present stage, we must educate and influence the broad masses with communist ideology. Vigorously conducting communist ideological education is a great task that strengthens the ideology of militiamen.

Looking back on the fighting course of building the militia, we deeply understand that the militia work cannot step forward without the guidance of communist ideology. At the Tashan blocking action of the Liaoshen battle, the heroic Tashan militiamen of our county in cooperation with PLA men fought with an enemy that outnumbered us many times and charged under a hail of bullets to carry provisions and ammunition to our army and to bear stretchers and give treatment to the wounded.

Some presented their private door planks, edges of kangs, timber and gunny-sacks to our army to repair defense works and build trenches, and some offered their cotton-padded clothes and quilts with cotton wadding to our soldiers for keeping out the cold wind. All these actions flashed with communist spirit.

In the new historic situation, we must further persistently conduct communist ideological education among militiamen to resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology and foster lofty communist ideals, so that communist ideology will conscientiously motivate us. Only by doing so can the militiamen be educated and built up to be a new generation of the Lei Feng type with ideals, morality, knowledge and a sense of discipline.

We should organize the militiamen to study the documents of the 12th party congress, thoroughly conduct activities to build socialist spiritual civilization and vigorously give publicity to good people and their good deeds emerging in the activities. Cadres of armed forces and militia cadres must take the lead in carrying the communist spirit forward, enthusiastically publicize the communist ideology and play exemplary roles in mobilizing and influencing the broad masses of militiamen so that the communist ideology may take root among the militiamen.

CSO: 4005/172

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SHAANXI MILITARY DISTRICT RALLY HONORS MILITIA

HK021532 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 1 Nov 82

[Summary] The Provincial People's Government and the Provincial Military District yesterday morning jointly called a rally to award titles for meritorious service. Honored titles were conferred on the militia company of the Shanping Brigade of the Laozheng Commune of Xixiang County and on militiamen (Shen Wenjie), (Kao Zhiyou) and (Lian Yongliang). First class merit citations were awarded to militiamen (Huang Zhilian), (Xian Yaohu), (Cheng Hutao) and (Ma Huyuan).

The meeting was presided over by Sun Hongdao, commander of the Provincial Military District. "Attending the meeting were Ma Wenrui, first secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee and first political commissar of the Provincial Military District; Zhang Ze, executive secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee; Jiang Yi, secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee and executive vice governor of the province; Deng Guozhong, vice governor; Cai Changyuan, second political commissar of the Provincial Military District; (Hu Fengming), third political commissar of the Provincial Military District; and other leading comrades of the Provincial Military District. Also present were cadres, fighters and workers of the organs of the Provincial Military District and the units directly under the military district and some militiamen in the area of Xian. The attendants totalled more than 1,200."

The rally read out the resolution of the Provincial People's Government and the Provincial Military District on the award of honored titles and first class citations to the militia company of the Shanping Brigade and to (Shen Wenjie) and other militiamen, and recounted the deeds of the units and the militiamen being cited for their meritorious services. The representatives of the individuals of the cited units and the representatives of the militiamen attending the meeting spoke. Leading comrades of the Provincial CPC Committee, the Provincial People's Government and the Provincial Military District conferred banners of honor, citations and prizes on the units and individuals cited for their meritorious services.

Comrade Zhang Ze spoke at the meeting. On behalf of the Provincial CPC Committee, he extended warm greetings to the units and individuals cited for their meritorious performance of duty and expressed fervent hopes.

He said that "this citation meeting will surely further arouse the enthusiasm of the masses of militiamen and people in our province in building the two civilizations. The Provincial CPC Committee called on the party members and cadres throughout the province, PLA troops, commanders and fighters, militiamen and people to follow advanced units and heroic individuals as examples, acquire their lofty qualities, emulate their spirit of dedication and strive to be new-type socialist persons who cherish ideals and have a sense of morality, a cultural background and an idea of discipline."

Comrade Cai Changyuan also made a speech. He stressed that "PLA units and militiamen must strive to create a new situation in building socialist spiritual civilization, focusing on communist thinking as its core. They must also seriously study the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, deepen their understanding of the building of spiritual civilization theoretically and continue to strengthen education in communist thinking. They must devote efforts to improving the mental outlook. They must continue to energetically cite the advanced and create a lively situation in which we learn from and catch up with the advanced."

He said that "the model units and heroic individuals cited this time are models in carrying on and disseminating communist thinking since the implementation of the line and general and specific policies introduced since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The masses of cadres and fighters throughout the military district and full-time armed cadres and militiamen must take them as examples and raise the building of spiritual civilization to a new level."

CSO: 4005/172

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'NANFANG RIBAO'URGES EMANCIPATION OF 'THE MIND'

HK181016 Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Nov 82 pp 1, 3

[Commentator's article: "We Must Continue to Emancipate the Mind In Order to Create a New Situation"]

[Text] In a recent speech in Shaanxi Province, Comrade Hu Yaobang said that we should further emancipate the mind and be bolder in effecting reforms. This is a very important issue. In order to create a new situation in socialist modernization, we must continue to emancipate the mind.

People naturally associate some events in the past with emancipation of the mind. Since we entered the period of building socialism in an all-round way, we have raised on many occasions the slogan of emancipating the mind. In 1958, in order to do away with blind faith in foreign countries, experts and books, we raised the slogan of "emancipating the mind and doing away with blind faith." Later, however, under the influence of the "leftist" ideology, our understanding and publicity of the slogan deviated from the correct path. Doing away with blind faith was turned into doing away with science, and emancipating the mind was turned into going off on wild flights of fancy. Consequently, remarks such as "the greater the boldness of the people, the greater the output from the soil" and "we are not afraid that we shall not be able to achieve our objective but we are afraid that we will fail to think about it" emerged, bringing about very unfavorable objective results. In 1978, the call of "further emancipating the mind" was also raised. However, targets divorced from reality, such as "developing 10 daqings," were also put forward, thus isolating emancipation of the mind from seeking truth from facts and repeating the previous error of rash advance. The experiences and lessons of the two occasions show that if emancipation of the mind is divorced from reality and the masses, and if we do not respect the objective law, we cannot truly emancipate the mind but will commit the error of idealism and bring about serious setbacks to the cause of construction.

The 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee laid down the principle of "emancipating the mind, using our brains, seeking truth from facts and uniting to forge ahead." The party explicitly pointed out that in emancipating the mind, we should seek truth from facts, proceed in all cases from reality and combine theory with practice. The integration of

emancipation of the mind with seeking truth from facts is of epoch-making significance because it has restored and upheld the correct Marxist ideological line. Under the guidance of this principle, a mighty movement of ideological emancipation has emerged in China. People have emancipated themselves from the spiritual shackles of dogmatism and personality cult and from the trammels of "leftist" ideas. Consequently, a lively creative force has emerged in various fields of work. This is a primary cause for China's great transformation of historic significance in the last few years. We have now accomplished the task of setting right the guiding ideology. However, the task of emancipating the mind has not come to an end. The emancipation of the mind, as set forth by the third plenary session, also contains the task of constantly understanding new situations, studying new problems and summing up new experiences with the development of the objective world. In this sense, emancipation of the mind is never ending. The current emphasis on further emancipation of the mind is the continuation of ideological emancipation put forward by the third plenary session. This is of great practical significance.

In order to further liquidate the influence of the "leftist" ideas, we should continue to emancipate the mind. The fact that the party has accomplished the task of setting right the guiding ideology does not mean that the task of setting things right has been accomplished on all fronts or that everyone has liquidated the "leftist" pernicious influence ideologically. In fact, the "leftist" influence still exists in various aspects. In rural work, due to the trammels of conventional ideas, some people fail to correctly understand and approach the new problems that have emerged in the fields of production and circulation following the speedy development of agricultural production since the implementation of the responsibility system. Some people still take a skeptical or even resistant attitude toward the rural economic policies. A small number of leading cadres are still saying that the overall contract system being practiced in the rural areas represents a "big retrogression" and that allowing a number of peasants to get rich before others constitutes a "polarization." In commerce, the existence of various problems, such as failure to fully develop collective and individual commerce, excessive unified management, fixed quotas being too rigid and failure to vigorously implement the commercial responsibility system, also shows that the "leftist" erroneous ideas have not been completely eliminated. In building socialist spiritual civilization, interference from the "leftist" ideas also exists in handling the relationship between ideological and cultural construction and between publicity of communist ideology and adherence to the current policy. All this shows that the "leftist" erroneous ideas cannot be thoroughly eliminated in a few years' time because it has a set of "theories" which have been practiced within the party for a long time and which have far-reaching influence. As for those comrades who still approach all problems with the "leftist" view, they are seriously divorced from reality and the masses; they fail to see the great changes which have taken place on various fronts, particularly in the rural areas, over the past few years; and they fail to appreciate the enthusiastic feelings of the broad masses of people in supporting the principles and policies laid

down since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. They regard minor aspects as the principal ones and look upon the shortcomings which have developed and which are being corrected in the course of implementing policy, as inherent in the policy itself. The best prescription for the persistent aliment of "leftist" errors is to let those comrades go deep into the realities of life, conduct investigation and study, observe the current excellent situation and listen to the views of the masses in order to enable them to emancipate their minds. Take, for example, Qingyuan County in our province, which has succeeded in reaping a bumper harvest in a year of serious natural disasters. The county was a vast expanse of water in May but the air was heavy with the aroma of the paddy fields in October. It has achieved this by relying on the might of the party's rural policy and the improvement of the scientific and technological level. Cannot people widen their views by looking at this lively scene? We should further liquidate the pernicious influence of "leftist" errors, continue to emancipate the mind in order to satisfactorily implement the guidelines of the 12th party congress and create a new situation in various fields of work.

In order to effect reform, we should also continue to emancipate the mind. In our efforts to implement the guidelines of the 12th party congress and to create a new situation in an all-round way, we should effect reform perseveringly. Our socialist system has incomparable superiority. In the past, however, this superiority has not been brought into full play as a result of the imperfect and irrational management systems in many areas. Therefore, it is necessary to gradually reform the political, leading and economic systems. It is necessary to effect reforms in various areas, such as institution, price, labor system, salary system, cadre system and educational system. In order to effect reform, it is naturally necessary to transform people's ideology, because ideological transformation invariably precedes social transformation. Only by breaking away ideologically from the conventional rules and regulations, shaking off the outmoded ideology and overcoming the habits of sticking to old ways is it possible to effect reform smoothly and achieve the desired results. For example, in reforming the economic system, it is impossible to implement the principle of upholding the leading position of the state economy and developing diverse economic forms without breaking away from the trammels of various ideas such as "the larger the size and the higher the degree of public ownership, the more superior it is" and "attach more importance to state economy than to collective economy and restrict the individual economy." In institutional reform, it is impossible to set up efficient leading bodies without breaking away from the trammels of bureaucratism and the force of habit of small production. In reforming the cadre system, it is impossible to smoothly realize the objective of making the ranks of the cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent without doing away with ideas such as arranging seniority according to length of service, looking down on intellectuals and the lifelong tenure of leading posts. In implementing special policies, executing flexible measures and building special economic zones, Guangdong

Province, in particular, should forge ahead at a bigger pace in reforming the economic system. This makes it more necessary to emancipate the mind. Only by further emancipating the mind is it possible to be bold in effecting reform and to stand in the front rank in creating a new situation.

In order to study new situations and solve new problems, we should also continue to emancipate the mind. Achieving the grand objective of quadrupling the gross annual output of industrial and agricultural production by the end of this century and building our country into a powerful socialist country with a high degree of material and spiritual civilization and democracy is a mighty revolution characterized by profound changes. In the course of fulfilling this great task, we are bound to meet with a lot of difficulties and to face many new problems we are not familiar with. We cannot possibly have any ready answers for the solution of these new problems. It is therefore necessary to study, experiment and practice. An important point here is to widen our views, enliven our ideology, be bold in putting things into practice and blazing new trails and be good at discovering and receiving new things. In brief, we should emancipate the mind and be bold in proceeeding from reality. For example, since the implementation of the production responsibility system in the rural areas, agricultural production has speedily developed. Many specialized and key households and many forms of joint operation have emerged. There are also the following phenomena: A few peasants purchase motor vehicles, engage in commercial activities, expand the exchange between town and country and invigorate the rural economy. With respect to these phenomena, which have emerged under new conditions, we should not negate or restrict them by applying the previous rules and regulations but should make a concrete analysis of concrete conditions and relax the policy in a realistic manner in order to develop production, invigorate the economy and further develop the excellent situation in the rural areas.

Naturally, we should also note that, with respect to emancipation of the mind, there is both hindrance from the "left" and interference from the right. We should clearly understand that we should never depart from the four fundamental principles in our efforts to emancipate the mind. Our party has emphasized emancipation of the mind to such an extent because it wants to uphold the four fundamental principles in a better way and carry out the program of building socialist modernization in a better way in accordance with the new conditions in the new historical period. It is also necessary to criticize the right erroneous ideas. It is wrong to consider that criticizing "leftist" ideas constitutes emancipation of the mind and that criticizing right ideas will restrict the ideology.

CSO: 4005/172

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

HEILONGJIANG GIVES PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT TO ARMYMEN

SK151101 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 13 Nov 82

[Text] The Provincial People's Government on 1 November issued a circular deciding that, effective 1982, all compulsory servicemen coming from rural areas are granted preferential workpoints and fees.

The circular stipulates that all rural commune members and students who are recruited to serve as compulsory armymen are given such preferential treatment without exception. The circular gives specific stipulations about preferential treatment to compulsory servicemen-turned cadres, voluntary servicemen of nonmilitary staff members and workers in army units whose families become badly off for certain reasons this year during their period of enlistment to those who sacrifice their lives or die of illness during their periods of enlistment and to those who are wounded or disabled and are released from service ahead of schedule.

The circular also gives specific stipulations on the periods during which newly recruited servicemen and retired veteran servicemen can enjoy preferential treatment, on the source of preferential fees and balanced responsibilities for issuing the fees, on the assessment and approval of those to be given preferential treatment and on the management and utilization of the incomes earned from the preferential treatment.

CSO: 4005/172

BRIEFS

QINGHAI ARMY RECRUITMENT WORK--The army recruitment work in Qinghai Province has proceeded smoothly. By 25 October, approximately 20,000 young people in the province had applied for army recruitment. In the first 10 days of army recruitment, 13,300 young people in Haidong Prefecture applied for army recruitment. Some 2,100 young people in Huzhu County has applied for army recruitment. [HK090610 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 28 Oct 82 HK]

HUNAN RESETTLES EX-SERVICEMEN--By the end of September, Hunan Province had resettled over 99.8 percent of servicemen who were transferred to civilian work or retired from military service from the second half of last year to the first half of this year. The number of servicemen who have returned to urban and rural areas in the province this year is higher than in recent years. Therefore, all prefectures, municipalities and counties in the province have reinforced their organs for resettlement work. Before May, Changsha Municipality and Chenzhou Prefecture had basically completed their work in resettling servicemen who were transferred to civilian work or retired from military service. All places in the province have conducted political and ideological education for these ex-servicemen and have helped them resolve difficulties in production and livelihood. According to incomplete statistics, this year the province has helped ex-servicemen build or repair some 15,000 houses and has arranged for some 2,200 injured, sick and disabled retired servicemen to work in commune and brigade enterprises. [HK090612 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 28 Oct 82 HK]

WUHAN PLA MEETING ENDS--The meeting of the Wuhan PLA units on equipment management and technical innovation concluded on the morning of 15 November. During the meeting representatives of 12 progressive units and individuals introduced their experiences. Leading comrades of the Wuhan PLA units participated with the representatives in watching films on straightening out equipment and on scientific and technical work, and visited an exhibition on the results of technical innovation. At the closing ceremony the Wuhan PLA units issued a notice commending units and individuals that have scored outstanding achievements in equipment management and technical innovation. Commander Zhou Shizhong and Political Commissar Yan Zheng presented them with brocade pennants and citations. Deputy Commander Li Guangjun, after introducing the basic experiences of the Wuhan PLA units

in equipment management and technical innovation, demanded that all subordinate units take the 12th party congress spirit as the motive force and owrk hard and soundly with selfless enthusiasm and a new attitude to strive to raise the units' equipment management and technical innovation work to a new level. [Text] [HK160241 Wuhan Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 15 Nov 82]

CSO: 4005/172

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON PRC MODERN HISTORY ERA

HK290516 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 17 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Li Kan [2621 0170]: "When China's Modern Era 'Ends'"]

[Text] Several years ago, historical circles in China debated the question of "When China's modern era begins." At present, there are no longer any differences of opinion on taking the opium war of 1840 as the beginning of China's modern history. The question we must settle now is when China's modern era "ends." There is always a beginning as well as an end to any historical process, historical period or social formation. Then, when should China's modern era "end?"

At first hearing, this does not seem to be a problem. However, this problem has in fact not been properly settled. Although quite a number of comrades have already proposed: China's modern history should include the history of the century and more from the opium war to the founding of the People's Republic of China, and this has also been agreed to by many historians, but this view was in fact never put into practice. At present, the textbooks and works on modern Chinese history currently in use and the curriculum on modern Chinese history offered by history departments in institutions of higher learning still commonly regard the period from the opium war to the 4 May Movement (the 4 May Movement itself is not included) as China's modern history. I am of the opinion that this situation must be changed.

Regardless of whether viewed in terms of the course of social formation, social system or historical development, China's modern history should be written from the opium war to the founding of the People's Republic of China. This is because this process includes the beginning, formation and end of the semicolonial and semifeudal society of China; and the occurrence, development and ultimate victory of the old democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism as well as the new democratic revolution. Present modern Chinese history currently in use does not reflect the entire process as well as the contents of China's modern social history, and has split the integrity of China's modern social history as well as the continuity of the democratic revolution. Therefore, it can only be described as half of China's modern history.

There are historical as well as practical reasons why in talking about China's modern history we do not talk about what followed after the "4 May" Movement.

First, because beginning from the early period of the founding of the people's republic, we have all along regarded the history after the 4 May Movement as China's contemporary history or the history of the new democratic revolution and thus separated it from modern history. Second, because the history of the period of the new democratic revolution is closely linked to the history of the CPC, and since there are already such independent disciplines as Chinese contemporary history and the history of the CPC, therefore, we could only talk about China's modern history up to the 4 May Movement.

There was a certain reason for doing this in the early period of the founding of the people's republic. At that time, there was an urgent need to teach the young students and broad masses of cadres the history of the new democratic revolution as well as revolutionary theory. The study of the history of the new democratic revolution was in fact an important part of the political and ideological studies of the cadres. However, with the passage of time and constantly changing conditions, things which used to be rational under given historical conditions have often become irrational under another set of conditions. In the more than 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, it is obviously not quite proper to still take as China's contemporary history the history of the period of the new democratic revolution which began with the 4 May Movement more than 60 years ago. On the one hand, this historical period and revolutionary stage has already ended; on the other hand, this historical process and revolutionary stage took place more than 30 years ago. In fact, it is not justified to take history which ended more than 30-60 years ago as contemporary history, because most contemporary people are unfamiliar with this "contemporary history." To talk about the history of the 4 May Movement up to the founding of the People's Republic of China to people who are now in their thirties would be just like talking about the history of the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5 and the 1911 revolution to the people in their thirties during the early period of the founding of the People's Republic of China. This "contemporary" concept can no longer reflect the historical contents it contains. Actually, we also did not take the history of 1984-5 and 1911 as China's contemporary history in the early period of the founding of the people's republic.

[HK290518] What are the advantages and disadvantages of talking about China's modern history but not the history of the period of the new democratic revolution in the teaching and study of modern Chinese history? I am of the opinion that the disadvantages outweigh the advantages, and even say that there is nothing but disadvantages.

1. This method of taking the 4 May Movement as a dividing line to split China's modern history into two categories and two disciplines of "modern" and "contemporary" is neither scientific nor correct. It is disadvantageous to the researchers and teachers trying to understand and grasp the whole process of China's modern history, and thereby also disadvantageous to those attempting to reveal and understand the objective laws governing the development of China's modern history by analyzing and synthesizing the contradictions and struggles of the whole Chinese modern society as well as its development and changes.

2. This method of differentiation is disadvantageous to the prosperity and development of the study and teaching of Chinese modern history as well as contemporary history (the history of the People's Republic of China). Take China's modern history for example. In the past, comparatively better and more achievements have been made in the study of the period from the opium war to the 4 May Movement than the period from the 4 May Movement to the founding of the People's Republic of China. Despite the fact that the study of the history of the modern era of the past 80 years must still be more thoroughly carried out and its standard must be raised, in the final analysis, many specialized works and theses on the opium war, the Taiping Tianguo, the westernization movement, the Reform Movement of 1898, the Yihetuan Movement and 1911 revolution as well as biographies and monographic studies have already been published. Whereas, apart from some textbooks, very little other specialized works have been published on the study of the history of the subsequent 30 years. Up to now, we still do not have substantial works on the history of the first and second civil wars, the history of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, the history of the people's liberation war and the history of the land reform movement. However such historical works are extremely important in helping the people understand the laws governing the development of China's modern society and teaching patriotism and revolutionary traditions to the people, young students and future generations.
Another actual result of taking the historical period from the 4 May Movement to the founding of the People's Republic of China as contemporary history is that it will make the original significance of China's contemporary history (history since the founding of the People's Republic of China) appear very depressing, and it may at times even be eliminated from the domain of historiography.

3. The method based on this kind of differentiation currently in use is also disadvantageous to the training and raising of the standard of historians. For a long time I have been aware that there is a phenomenon in the historical circles of dividing historiography into disciplines and sections, which turned into "schools" and "factions." People engaged in the study of ancient history show no interest in modern and contemporary history and those engaged in the study of modern and contemporary history show no interest in ancient history. Even among people similarly engaged in the study of modern Chinese history, those interested in the old democratic period show no interest in the new democratic period and those interested in the new democratic period show no interest in the old democratic period. This has restricted the historical vision of certain historians as well as their ability to analyze and synthesize present and past events. This condition is particularly obvious in the study of modern Chinese history. Just think, if the scope of study of a researcher in modern history is limited to only the 80 years from the opium war to the 4 May Movement or to only the 30 years from the 4 May Movement to the founding of the People's Republic of China, even if he may or can produce some results, as an historian, the foundation of his accomplishment in historiography will not be solid and his historical vision also will not be very well developed. In saying this, I am definitely not opposed to specialization, and what is more, I am not opposed to division of labor. I am only saying that there should not be the practice of "each minding a section," for this will greatly narrow the field and shorten the scope of research.

My main idea is that the lower limit of China's modern history should be extended to 1949, or the founding of the People's Republic of China. If this is established, then the focus of the study of modern Chinese history should also be appropriately shifted from before the 4 May Movement to after the 4 May Movement. In other words, more importance must be attached to the study of the history of the period of the new democratic revolution, and corresponding measures must also be taken in setting up organizations, arranging courses and allocating manpower.

[HK190520] Some comrades may say: Is this not again advocating "emphasize the present and deemphasize the past?" I think that advocating "emphasize the present and deemphasize the past" as a general principle and criticizing "emphasize the past and deemphasize the present" as a kind of general tendency in the study and teaching of history not only cannot help the prosperity and development of historical science, but will also lead to ideological confusion and mistakes in practice, because it is very difficult to draw a clear line of distinction between this concept of "present" and "past" in history. Since we cannot draw a clear line between "present" and "past," then "emphasize" and "deemphasize" will also lose their basis. I feel that the question is not one of past, present, emphasis and deemphasis, but on whether or not we can adhere to the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts and proceeding from reality. The proposal for strengthening the study of the history of the 30 years after the 4 May Movement has precisely proceeded from existing actual study conditions and practical needs. As a matter of fact, if we cannot adhere to the guiding ideology of Marxism, cannot adhere to the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts and genuine implement the policy of "Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom and a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend," then no matter how strongly "emphasize the present and deemphasize the past" is stressed, the researchers will still not dare to make enquiries even if they want to "emphasize" the "present." This historical lesson is still fresh on the minds of people. The reason for the weakness in the study of the history of the 30 years after China's modern history is also inseparable from the "Leftist" ideological influence of the past.

Some comrades will also say: Strengthening the study of the history of the 30 years after the 4 May Movement is no doubt important, but there are so many difficulties and conditions are very poor, such as, there is a lack of adequate historical reference material, relevant historical archives are difficult to consult and it is still very difficult to pass judgment on some of the questions for the time being. Indeed there are difficulties, but if the ideological understanding of everyone is unified, such difficulties could be gradually overcome. For example, we can concentrate forces to gather, compile, edit and publish certain sets or kinds of historical material, and based on the sequence of historical events, also successively follow up with the editing of the "modern Chinese history series." Some of the historical archives which could be made public should be announced by the archives department according to prescribed procedures. At the same time, we should divide certain important historical topics among research and teaching departments concerned for coordinated study. Although there are difficulties, everything depends on human effort. As long as there are more historians of the same mind, I think that in the near future more flowers glittering with the light of the new democratic revolution will blossom in the Chinese historical circles, because this phase of history itself is full of revolutionary radiance.

CSO: 4005/189

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'TIANJIN RIBAO' COMMENTATOR ON EDUCATION

SK260201 Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Oct 82 p 1

[Commentator's article: "It Is Very Important To Have Education"]

[Text] "What books have you ever read?"

"'The Dream of the Red Chamber.'"

"Aha. You have read a pornographic novel. What else?"

"'Red and Black.'"

"So, you have mixed up red with black, what motives do you harbor? What else?"

"'Les Miserables.'"

"You are downright reactionary. What do you think our society is?"

The above conversation really took place. It was one of countless similar scenes in the 10-year turmoil. It showed that the "Great Cultural Revolution" had developed to an extreme the long-standing totally erroneous idea of despising education, science and culture and discriminating against intellectuals and had caused serious consequences.

After smashing the "gang of four" and, particularly, since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party and state have put forward a series of correct principles and policies and have done a great amount of work to correct the situation in which education, science and culture are despised and intellectuals are excluded. Great changes have taken place. The 12th CPC congress further defined that, roughly speaking, socialist spiritual civilization consists of two aspects, the cultural and the ideological, and urged efforts to make more and more members of society become laborers with lofty ideals, moral integrity, education and a sense of discipline. The requirement for education is closely linked with the realization of communist ideals and the fulfillment of the historical tasks set forth at the 12th CPC congress. It determines how great a contribution each member of the society can make to the great cause of developing China. Not long ago, this paper discussed in several articles the issues of having lofty ideals, moral integrity and a sense of discipline. Now let me expound on the issue of having an education.

1. "In a country of illiteracy, a communist society cannot be built."

The general task for the new historical period as set forth at the 12th CPC congress is: Unite the people of all our nationalities in working hard and self-reliantly to achieve, step-by-step, the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology and to make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country.

The requirement for education is very important. If we do not thoroughly change the situation in which the people are ignorant of cultural, scientific, legal and other knowledge and lack education, we will not be able to fulfill the general task and realize the communist ideals.

The achievements in our socialist construction after the founding of the new China cannot be separated from our party's efforts to train laborers with socialist awareness and education and its efforts to greatly develop educational, scientific and cultural undertakings. Soon after liberation, Tianjin vigorously unfolded activities to wipe out illiteracy and to study cultural and technological knowledge in various trades. Many old workers regarded casting off the label of illiteracy as a blessing the new society brought them. Until the "Great Cultural Revolution," our municipality had made tremendous progress in cultural undertakings and had trained a great number of competent persons for socialist construction. The people felt more and more the need for education in socialist construction.

After studying the documents of the 12th CPC congress, many comrades have more deeply felt the need for education and knowledge. Revolutionary ideals, morality and discipline are part of ideological construction, deciding the socialist nature of spiritual civilization. The development of various cultural undertakings and the upgrading of the masses' knowledge are part of cultural construction. They are important prerequisites for both material civilization and for enhancing the masses' ideological consciousness and moral character. Ideological construction and the cultural construction are unified. They permeate and promote each other. Dim communist ideals, corrupt morality and lax discipline will certainly make us lose confidence, spirit and morale. At the same time, they will deprive us of the motive forces and goals in our endeavor to acquire cultural and scientific knowledge and to master skills for the four modernizations. Over the past few years, we have paid attention to the elimination of the pernicious ideological influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and have achieved great results. The tasks for ideological construction, however, are arduous and protracted and, at present, are especially urgent. In ideological construction, communism is the guiding thought. The requirement for education is precisely in conformity with this. Communist ideology is the core of socialist spiritual civilization. Lenin said: "only when we enrich our minds with all the wealth of knowledge that man creates can we become communists." To become people with lofty ideals, moral integrity, education and a sense of discipline is an important goal we should strive to achieve in building socialist spiritual civilization and is an indispensable condition and guarantee for fulfilling the historical tasks set forth at the 12th CPC congress. If we are to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, we need people who have communist ideals and moral integrity, abide by revolutionary discipline and have an education, and we need great numbers of cadres

who have both political integrity and abilities and can become experts in their trades. Ignorance will not lead to a new situation. The requirement for education may differ during different historical periods and under different tasks and conditions, but the revolution and education have been inseparable ever since the dissemination of Marxism in China. Our party has consistently attached importance to the revolutionary ranks' study of knowledge because it is needed in the revolution. Today, in the new historical period, the requirement for studying and upgrading educational standards is all the more urgent and important in our efforts to accomplish the four modernizations and to build our country into a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist state. "To construct, one must have knowledge and master science."

[SK260328] 2. Among the million and several hundred thousand workers in Tianjin, about 70 percent are young. Generally speaking, the educational standard of the workers ranks has been greatly improved. However, we should note that the educational and technical levels of young workers do not meet the needs of socialist modernization. A great part of these young workers were students during the 10-year turmoil. Their records of formal schooling differ from their actual level of knowledge in most cases. In some cases the difference is great. Similar situations can also be seen in varied degrees at government units and even cultural or educational departments.

According to statistics released in 1981, the engineering and technical personnel at state units in the municipality accounted for only 2.52 percent of the total staff and workers. This revealed a serious shortage of scientific and technical personnel.

Failure in improving production, technical standards and professional skills resulting from poor education and a lack of knowledge can often be seen. Because of the failure to master advanced technology, to tackle technical problems and to improve work efficiency, workers cannot read easy blueprints, vocalists cannot read staffs, actors cannot read lines, athletes cannot write good letters home and even teachers are unqualified for teaching.

As science and technology develop with each passing day, much new scientific knowledge is needed in the modernization drive, and the knowledge of present scientific and technical personnel is more or less outdated.

Such situations reflect the difference between the status quo in our cultural and scientific knowledge and the needs of socialist modernization. They also explain that cultural construction and the requirement for education are not only matters educational, scientific and cultural departments should pay attention to, but also problems all trades and professions and all departments will inevitably face. They should be included in the development of education and science, one of the three strategic priorities for economic development in the next 20 years.

Take industrial departments. If they are to open up a new situation, make contribution to the 3-fold increase, improve technical levels, implement technical transformations and strengthen scientific management they should have appropriate cadres and competent personnel. What should we do in both the

first 10 years and in the latter 10 years involves the question of what we should do to enable socialist material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization to conform with and promote each other. Spiritual civilization includes the requirement for education. Ideological construction and cultural construction of socialist spiritual civilization should promote the construction of material civilization. In our efforts to build material civilization, in addition to producing material products, we should, in line with the guidelines of the 12th CPC congress, also strive to train new socialist-minded people with lofty ideals, moral integrity, education and a sense of discipline. Because the study of cultural and technological knowledge is, in a certain sense, different from ideological construction, we should map out plans for it from a strategic perspective. We should have courage and far sight to deal with it. The training of competent personnel and the improvement of technical levels take time and are undertakings of fundamental importance. The earlier we attend to them, the more initiative we will have and the more efficiently we will carry them out.

Creating a new situation means changing the old situation. Improvement of education is an important factor for the change. For instance, as we all know, Beijing opera has a history of about 200 years in our country. But because of the low educational standard of many performers, the development of this art was limited. Rich experiences could not be expressed and summed up because of a lack of education. This year, the China Opera Institute has trained the first group of graduates who, during the 4 years of schooling, received regular education of higher learning, studied political and literary and art theories and mastered professional skills. Training and raising people of higher educational standards has instilled new vitality in Beijing opera--an old art. In the next 20 years, efforts at creating a new situation for the four modernizations will be more closely related with efforts in educating and training competent personnel, something which, to educational, scientific and cultural departments, is the first task in making various cultural undertakings, under the guidance of communist ideology, satisfy, step-by-step, the needs of modernization. However, it should be emphasized that the task can only be smoothly fulfilled with the attention of the whole party and the concerted efforts from all fields.

[SK260525] 3. In order to meet the requirement for education, we should do much meticulous ideological work and conscientious organizational work. In the ideological field, two prominent problems need to be solved. One is to further eliminate the long-standing erroneous viewpoint of despising education, science and culture and discriminating against intellectuals resulting from the "Leftist" ideology and from the fetters of the small producer mentality.

The extremely erroneous words and deeds, such as the absurd theories that study is useless, ignorance is glorious and lack of education is "the most revolutionary" and the acts of "transforming" intellectuals as they were "targets of dictatorship," cannot find a market today. But, "Leftist" influences still exist, to a very serious extent in some areas. Some people despise education; some departments have not earnestly implemented the policy toward intellectuals; some people have not expelled from their minds

the poisonous idea of regarding intellectuals as "the stinking ninth category." As a result, they cannot boldly utilize intellectuals and even "shelve" scientific and technical personnel who are always too few. In addition, the shackles of the small producer mentality still influence some areas, particularly rural areas. In our suburban counties, education has been greatly developed and the number of peasants' children who attend colleges has increased. However, there are some near-sighted peasants who only want their children to engage in manual labor. Children and teenagers of school age have missed the opportunity for education. In a few areas, new illiterates have appeared. We should overcome the aforementioned ideas and acts detrimental to the improvement of the entire nation's scientific and cultural levels through publicizing the documents of the 12th CPC congress, so as to enable more people to understand that universal education is the prerequisite for building material and spiritual civilizations, to enable the party's policy toward intellectuals to be implemented more thoroughly, to enable intellectuals to truly become a reliable force like workers and peasants in achieving socialism, to enable education, science and culture to occupy more important positions, to enable teachers of various levels in schools, particularly those in rural primary schools, to be respected universally by the entire society and to enable the people to shatter, as soon as possible, the fetters of the "Leftist" ideological influence and the small producer mentality.

The other problem is to overcome the idea of "drifting along aimlessly" which exists among some young people, mainly those who have jobs now but have failed to acquire profound scientific and cultural knowledge. This generation of young people is between 20 to 30 years old. Some of them have raised families. Many of them have worked hard and succeeded in mastering scientific and cultural knowledge and various professional skills. However, there are still quite a few who are satisfied with "working for the purpose of living." They know that they do not have adequate knowledge, but they lack either a desire for learning or the will for persistent study. Young people who are now in schools enjoy better study conditions, while those at work have to attend classes during their spare time or have to study by themselves. However, we should see that with certain experiences in production or work, the latter find it easier to absorb knowledge. For sure, they have difficulty studying but the difficulty is not unconquerable. By the year 2000, they will be around 50 years old. In other words, they are in the prime of life and capable of fully developing their abilities in the course of fulfilling the general task for the new historical period. If they meet the requirement for education, their abilities will be redoubled. Therefore, they should overcome the idea of "taking things as they are" and drifting along aimlessly, conscientiously receive communist ideological education, enhance communist ethics, strengthen their sense of respect for revolutionary discipline and upgrade their own scientific and cultural levels. "Study, study and study most tenaciously--this is the task for the present." All departments should also support young people in study and vigorously create favorable conditions for a lively atmosphere in which people acquire knowledge and pay attention to education. We should enable each person, especially each of the younger generation, to regard the achievement of having lofty ideals, moral integrity, education and a sense of discipline as their fighting goal, because the grand goal of developing China will certainly be attained by such people.

CSO: 4005/189

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO' ON LEARNING FROM ZHANG HUA

HK010315 Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 23 Nov 82 p 1

[Report: "Wang Zhaoguo, First Secretary of CYL Central Secretariat, Answers Questions From Reporters on Deepening the Activity of Learning From Zhang Hua"]

[Text] At present, the activity of learning from the outstanding university student Zhang Hua is widely being carried out in all universities and colleges. How can we understand Zhang Hua, who is an advanced example of a university student of our time and further deepen the activity of learning from him? On 22 November, at the invitation of the reporters of GUANGMING RIBAO, JIEFANGJUN BAO and ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO, Comrade Wang Zhaoguo, first secretary of the CYL Central Secretariat, answered the following questions.

Question: After the heroic and meritorious deeds of Zhang Hua were reported, they caused strong repercussions among university and college students. They vied with each other in learning from Zhang Hua. What are your comments on this event?

Answer: This situation is quite heartening. It reflects the spiritual style and features of university and college students actively striving for further progress and indicates that the building of socialist spiritual civilization and the education of communist ideology carried out by our party among the youth and the people of the whole country enjoy immense popular support. From another aspect, it shows that our social mood is gradually taking a turn for the better.

The model of Zhang Hua is one brought up and nurtured in our time. He represents the essential aspect of contemporary young people and university students. The road he paced is just the one that young people of our time must take and which they are now following. Therefore, our university and college students have sincere feelings for this typical model and are willing to set him up as an example and actively unfold all kinds of activities in learning from him.

In the course of conducting the education of communist ideology and carrying out the building of socialist spiritual civilization, all trades and professions need to have their own examples. Now, there is Zhang Hua for university

students, Jiang Zhuying for scientific and technical personnel, Zhao Chune for the commerce service field and Zhou Yi for the public security front. It is more realistic, concrete and vivid to apply these examples in conducting the education of communist ideology. It is a very significant thing to carry out the activity of learning from Zhang Hua among university students and young people. I hope that this activity can be carried on in depth and greater results will be achieved.

Question: What, in the short life of Zhang Hua, do you consider to have the most enlightening significance to the university students and youths?

Answer: With regard to this question, you have already mentioned a lot in your reports on Zhang Hua. I think the most focal point is that Zhang Hua had lofty communist ideals. Without ideals, a man loses his advancing goal. The fundamental reason why Zhang Hua had lofty moral sentiments, a high sense of organization and discipline and that he could assiduously study scientific knowledge is that he had firm revolutionary ideals. In a word, what we must do to learn from Zhang Hua is imitate him and be a man with ideals, morality, knowledge and observe discipline.

There is one more point in which Zhang Hua enlightens us, that is, he never regarded ideals as empty talk, merely talking with fervor and assurance, but he practiced from every little bit in his daily life and study to realize his ideals and finally devoted his life to saving an old peasant who fell into a manure pit. Today, some students say: "Let the life of Zhang Hua continue in our bodies." This is well said. I believe that provided our students follow the example of Zhang Hua and act as he did, they are sure to become university students that conform to the new era and be a man who is of value to the people.

Question: Many people were deeply moved with Zhang Hua's lofty spirit of dedication, but a few university students say: "A student who is in the prime of life dying for an old peasant is a loss not worth the gain." Is it right to speak like this? What is your opinion?

Answer: Comrade Zhang Hua was a student with great prospects. We deeply regret his death, but we hold that we cannot, because of that conclude that it was "a loss not worth the gain," for we cannot judge this problem superficially from the age and educational level. As known to all, respecting the old and loving the young, and healing the wounded and rescuing the dying has always been a traditional virtue of our Chinese people. In our socialist society, we need to further advocate and develop this virtue. The spirit of wholeheartedly serving the people and the spirit of devoting our life to the people and the socialist motherland when necessary are primary subjects in the building of socialist spiritual civilization. In building new relationships between people in a socialist society, we need to energetically perpetrate this spirit. We say that the devoted spirit of Zhang Hua is a treasure because it vividly shows that in our country, people can establish new relationships of mutual love and concern and, when necessary, sacrificing one's life for others. These kinds of new relationships are a powerful spiritual strength which is conducive to concentrating the will of all the members of

society and making common efforts in promoting the building of the four modernizations. Therefore, we say, we are grieved by the death of Comrade Zhang Hua, but his spirit lives forever and inspires millions of people to untiringly fight for the cause of the party and people. This value is immeasurable.

[HK010317] Question: What do you expect the students of the military college to learn from Zhang Hua?

Answer: Zhang Hua came from the military college, so it will be more sincere for the students of the military college to learn from him. Zhang Hua once said: "It should be the proper morality and party spirit of a party member to devote his life to the people's cause. If needed by the party's cause, I am willing to unflinchingly face death." After graduation from the military college, the graduates will have to hold the posts of military commanders, political work cadres and technical cadres of various arms. They will have to lead troops in fighting on the front. This demands that the graduate comrades of our military college make greater efforts in learning from the dedicated communist spirit of Zhang Hua. The PLA has always been a revolutionary furnace and a big school. In the past, there emerged thousands of exemplary heroes, such as Dong Cunrui, Huang Jiguang, Lei Feng, Wang Jie and others. Today, we have another Zhang Hua. I hope that the military colleges will further strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core and there will be more and more people like Lei Peng and Zhang Hua emerging.

Question: What kind of role should the various level CYL organizations play in the activity of learning from Zhang Hua?

Answer: I hope that the CYL organizations at various levels will call on and organize league members and youth students to learn from Zhang Hua and energetically propose and develop communist spirit. The league committees of universities and colleges must in particular cooperate with the concerned departments of the universities and colleges in organizing the study of the spirit of the 12th CPC congress and at the same time conscientiously publicize the meritorious deeds of Zhang Hua, so as to promote the building of socialist spiritual civilization in the students' ranks.

CSO: 4005/189

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'TIANJIN RIBAO' REPORTS CENSUS RESULTS

SK251046 Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Nov 82 p 1

[Text] Communique of the Tianjin Municipal Statistical Bureau on Major Figures of the 1982 Population Census (1 November 1982)

In accordance with the decision made by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council as well as the stipulations of the "Methods of the Third National Census," Tianjin started to carry out the third population census at zero hour of 1 July 1982. With the enthusiastic support of the party committees and government at all levels and the people of all nationalities and the thoroughgoing and painstaking work of the census workers, the enumeration work of the census has been successfully completed. The across-the-board double-check and post-enumeration sample check verify that the enumeration work was of the high standard required. The following are the main figures tabulated manually:

1. Total Population: With zero hour 1 July 1982 as reference time, our city has 7,764,141 permament residents. As compared with 6,249,164, the figure of zero hour 1 July 1964, the population of our city has increased by 1,514,977 people or 24.2 percent, averaging an annual increase of 84,165 persons, or 1.2 percent.

2. Sex Composition: Of the total population, males number 3,942,043, accounting for 50.8 percent and females 3,822,098 accounting for 49.2 percent. The proportion of males to females is 103 to 100.

3. Population of the Nationalities: The Han nationality population in our city is 7,600,504, accounting for 97.9 percent. The minority nationalities population is 163,637, making up 2.1 percent. Compared with the figure of the second census in 1964, the Han nationality population has increased by 1,482,977, or 24.2 percent. The population of minority nationalities has increased by 32,000, or 24.3 percent. There are 30 minority nationalities living in our city as against 24 minority nationalities in the 1964 census.

4. Educational Level of the Population: Among the population of the city, 123,136 are university graduates and 54,145 others have attended university (including both those who have attended but did not finish and those now attending university). People with a senior middle school education number 1,033,010, and 2,214,307 people have a junior middle school education level.

There are 2,390,627 people with a primary school education. The figures in these three categories refer to graduates, those who attended school previously but did not finish and those who are presently enrolled. Compared with the 1964 census figures, the following changes have occurred for every 1,000 people:

--those with university education have increased from 17 to 23;
--those with senior middle school education have increased from 34 to 133;
--those with junior middle school education have increased from 97 to 285;
--those with primary school education have dropped from 347 to 308.

Illiterates and semi-literates in the city number 1,240,683; compared with the 1964 census figure, the percentage of illiterates and semi-literates in the total population has dropped from 24.1 percent to 16 percent, a decrease of 8.1 percent.

5. Birthrate and Mortality Rate: The number of births in 1981 was 140,808 with a birth rate of 18.6 per thousand. The number of deaths in 1981 was 46,168 with a mortality rate of 6.1 per thousand. The natural increase in the population in 1981 was 96,640, a rate of 12.5 per thousand.

6. Population of Cities and Towns: The total population in the urban area is 5,333,622. Compared with the 1964 census figure, population in the urban area has increased by 1,883,042 or 54.6 percent. The proportion of the total population residing in the urban area has increased from 55.2 percent to 68.7 percent.

CSO: 4005/189

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GUIZHOU NPC DEPUTY ON DRAFT CONSTITUTION

OW021423 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1536 GMT 28 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 28 Nov (XINHUA)--Addressing the 27 November group discussion [at the fifth session of the fifth NCP], Wu Shi, NPC deputy and deputy secretary of the Guizhou Provincial CPC Committee, said: This draft of the revised Constitution, which has been repeatedly studied and revised and subjected to nationwide discussion for more than 2 years, has inherited and developed the basic principles of the 1954 Constitution and summed up China's rich experience in socialist construction. It takes into consideration the present realities as well as the prospects of future developments. it conforms to China's situation and expresses the aspiration of the people of all nationalities. The promulgation and implementation of the new Constitution is bound to further strengthen unity of the people of all nationalities throughout the country and facilitate the prosperous development of socialist modernization.

In Guizhou, the standing committees of the people's congresses of the province, autonomous prefectures, municipalities and counties and government organs at and above county level have organized 2,286 meetings to discuss the draft of the revised Constitution, attended by more than 46,200 experts, scholars and people from all walks of life. Units at and above the levels of people's commune, plant, mine and enterprise have also trained more than 159,000 lecturers to publicize the basic spirit and contents of the draft of the revised Constitution among rural peasants, residents in cities and towns and workers of plants and mines. Minority languages have been used in lectures in areas inhabited by minority nationalities. Some 80 percent of the citizens in the province have joined the discussion. The draft of the revised Constitution is basically known to all households.

Wu Shi said: After the new Constitution has been examined and passed, an important duty of the people's deputies will be to successfully publicize it and take the lead in safeguarding and implementing it.

CSO: 4005/189

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GANSU VICE GOVERNOR AT BIRTH CONTROL MEETING

HK260800 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Text] The provincial meeting on birth control propaganda work which ended yesterday pointed out that: During the National Birth Control Propaganda Month campaign, which will last from New Year's Day 1983 to the Spring Festival, it is necessary to take birth control propaganda work as an important feature in propagating the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress. It is necessary to grasp well the work and produce results. The meeting pointed out that: In the activity of National Birth Control Propaganda Month, it is necessary to emphatically propagate the important strategic significance of birth control being one of our basic national policies, carry out education on our population policy and publicize late marriage, late fertilization, birth control and eugenics.

The focus of propaganda should be placed in the rural areas. Of the more than 19 million people in our province, over 85 percent live in the rural areas; and of the 2.9 million women of childbearing age, 2.5 million live in the rural areas. Thus the rural areas are a decisive area for carrying out birth control. The communes and brigades in the rural areas should hold all kinds of mobilization meetings. County, commune and brigade leaders should directly publicize the issue. Propaganda work in various places should be combined with the measures adopted to implement birth control so that the realization of the assigned natural growth rate can be insured. The provincial meeting on birth control propaganda work further pointed out that: All levels of party committees and departments of people's governments should strengthen leadership in birth control work. All levels of trade unions, CYL, women's federations and departments of science, culture, public health, education and civil administration should play an active role.

The responsible comrades of all the mass organizations and the related department of the prefectures, municipalities and autonomous prefectures attended the meeting. Li Qiyang, vice governor, attended and addressed the meeting.

CSO: 4005/189

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHANDONG URGES UPGRADING OF STAFF-WORKER EDUCATION

SK251002 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 24 Nov 82

[Station commentary: "Enhance Our Vigor and Advance on the Crest of Our Victory To Create a New Situation in Our Province's Staff-Worker Education"]

[Excerpts] The Shandong Provincial Representative's Meeting of advanced units and individuals emerging in conducting staff-worker education has successfully concluded. This has begun the first such meeting since the PRC's founding. This has also been the first meeting that has reviewed our province's achievements scored in staff-worker education since the implementation of the decision made by the CPC central Committee and the State Council in regard to strengthening staff-worker education. The meeting is also a gathering that makes the province enhance its vigor and advance on the crest of its victory to create a new situation in its staff-worker education. The meeting was held in a timely manner and achieved an all-round success. We would like to extend warm congratulations to the representatives of advanced units and individuals and to extend cordial regards to the broad masses of personnel in charge of staff-worker education.

At present, the cultural and technical standards of the provincial contingent of staff and workers cannot meet the needs of quadrupling the industrial output value at the end of this century. According to statistics compiled by the industrial and communications enterprises across the province, of over 1,480 party secretaries and deputy secretaries and plant chiefs in large-middle- and small-sized enterprises, 72.1 percent have a junior middle school education or less. The engineering personnel and technicians of all enterprises owned by the entire people in the province amount to only 2.2 percent of the total number of provincial staff and workers. Workers whose pay scale is at or under the third grade amount to over 60 percent. In particular, of young staff and workers, who account for about 50 percent of the provincial total, most lack the necessary cultural and scientific knowledge and operational skill. There are over 1.67 million workers who need the training of culture and technology. Therefore, the task for vigorously grasping staff-worker education to upgrade their scientific and technological standard is pressing.

We are convinced that, under the leadership of the party committees and governments at all levels, comrades in charge of staff-worker education in the province will certainly be able to create a new situation in the staff-worker education and to make still greater contributions to fulfilling the grand target set forth by the 12th CPC congress so long as they continuously carry forward the iron-willed and unyielding spirit, boldly overcome difficulties and vigorously engage in creative work.

CSO: 4005/189

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHANDONG STAFF-WORKER EDUCATION MEETING ENDS 24 NOV

SK250922 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 24 Nov 82

[Excerpts] The provincial representatives' meeting of advanced units and individuals emerging in conducting staff and worker education in the province successfully concluded at the Jinan Municipal Dongjiao Auditorium on the afternoon of 24 November. In line with the decision made by the provincial people's government in regard to commending advanced units and individuals emerging in this regard, the meeting has honored 198 advanced units and 105 model individuals.

Attending the closing ceremony of the meeting were responsible comrades of the provincial CPC committee, the provincial people's congress standing committee, the provincial people's government and the provincial CPPCC committee, including Wang Jinshan, Xu Leijian, Zhang Zhusheng, Liu Peng, Zhang Jingtao and Wang Zhe, who also presented prizes to these representatives at the ceremony. Comrade (Zuo Shusheng), deputy director of the National Administrative Office in charge of staff and worker education, was also on hand and addressed the meeting.

During the 4-day meeting, 30 representatives made reports or presented written reports. Through extensively exchanging their experience gained in this regard, participants have further discerned the position and role of staff and worker education in achieving socialist modernization. As a result, they have enhanced their vigor and morale and have steeled their determination to create a new situation in the province's staff and worker education.

Comrade Wang Jinshan, secretary of the provincial CPC committee and deputy governor of the province, addressed the closing ceremony. In his speech, he put forward the following four tasks for creating a new situation in the province's staff and worker education:

1. It is necessary to further upgrade understanding and to regard staff and worker education as a strategic task for the entire party.

2. It is necessary to regard the work to establish or improve organs in charge of staff and worker education as important in implementing the decisions of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council.

3. It is necessary to place the development of intellectuals on the agenda. In addition to drawing the 1.5 percent of total staff and worker salaries according to the provisions of the central authorities, it is also necessary to draw a little money from local reserve funds and enterprise's retentions for this education. In mapping out investment plans for capital construction, prefectures, municipalities, departments and particularly offices and bureaus in charge of staff and worker education should put the investment of staff and worker education into these plans.

4. It is necessary to attain a new standard in appraising advanced units and individuals and in fostering pacesetters in the work. The leading personnel of the party and government organs at all levels should vigorously publicize experiences gained by the advanced units and individuals so as to further do a good job in appraising the advanced and fostering pacesetters. The propaganda departments at all levels should adopt multiple measures for strengthening the dissemination of typical work and achievements scored in staff and worker education so as to achieve continuous and in-depth development in the activities of appraising the advanced units and individuals and fostering pacesetters.

CSO: 4005/189

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

QIANG XIAOCHU'S ARTICLE ON EDUCATION REPORTED

SK241157 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 23 Nov 82

[Text] The November 1982 issue of RENMIN JIAOYU [THE PEOPLE'S EDUCATION] prints Comrade Qiang Xiaochu's article concerning his personal understanding on the study of the 12th CPC congress documents entitled: "The Role of Education Played in Building the Two Civilizations."

The article states: By regarding education and science as one of the major strategic tasks for economic construction in the country, the 12th CPC congress has clearly presented the fact that our party has achieved a new leap forward in the process of understanding and grasping the law in building socialism. According to the Marxist viewpoint, education is a phenomenon particularly possessed by man, always exists among certain social productivities and production relations and is always influenced and restricted by these productivities and relations. Meanwhile, education is also one of indispensable conditions for social existence and development. In addition, education is most necessary for passing on a society's production knowledge and experiences, morality and behavioral standards, as well as for expanding reproduction by social labor forces. Education makes it possible to consistently train and provide a large number of outstanding scientific and technological experts and reserved labor forces for the program of achieving the four modernizations.

The article points out: Education not only assumes the most important task for building a socialist material civilization, but also plays a particularly important role in building a socialist spiritual civilization. In building a socialist spiritual civilization, it is imperative to regard the people's education level and cultural standards as a foundation. Both cultural and ideological construction cannot deviate from education. Otherwise, the people will be unable to study and master cultural knowledge, advanced science and technology and Marxist scientific theories, and will be unable to rid themselves of ignorance and backwardness.

The article states: School education is one of the bases of publicizing Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and an important component part of ideological development. By opening courses on ideology, morality, politics and Marxist and Leninist theories, schools in various categories at all levels have effectively enhanced the dissemination and teaching of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and the adolescent's confidence in discerning and combatting various bourgeois ideological trends and in adhering to communism.

Meanwhile, we should study to improve education, and teaching methods according to adolescent characteristics so as to bring about a more vivid and vigorous situation in our political and ideological education and to enrich our education to make it more attractive and convincing and to bring into fullest play the role of political theoretical education in battles.

In referring to issues on how to smoothly implement education and science, the major strategic tasks for economic construction, and how to create a new situation in education work, the article emphatically puts forward the following tasks:

1. It is necessary to strengthen the party's leadership over education work. This is the fundamental guarantee of creating a new situation in education work.

2. It is necessary to lay the work stress on making elementary education universal and on improving secondary education.

3. It is necessary to make sustained efforts to implement the party's policy on intellectuals to further bring into play their enthusiasm toward socialism and their wisdom and creative spirit.

4. It is necessary to straighten up the education ideas of the education departments at all levels and of schools in various categories. Resolute efforts should be made to implement the party's principle on education, enable education work to be geared to the needs of students as a whole, upgrade education quality in a down-to-earth manner and train as new successors for this generation broad masses of children who are full of lofty ideals, communist world outlook, morality and cultural knowledge, and are well disciplined.

On 24 November, JILIN RIBAO reprints on page three the full text of Comrade Qing Xiaochu's article carried in RENMIN JIAOYU.

CSO: 4005/189

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

KUNMING OFFICIAL STRESSES HITTING AT ECONOMIC CRIMES

HK250700 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 23 Nov 82

[Text] When talking to radio reporters, a leading cadre of the provincial party committee's Discipline Inspection Commission stressed that all localities should earnestly implement the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress and the 5th Plenum of the CPC Provincial Committee, and further hit at important criminal cases in the economic field, in order to insure the smooth development of socialist modernization.

Referring to the achievements of the province in the struggle against criminal activities in the economic field, the leader of the provincial party committee's Disciplinary Inspection Commission said that this year, party organizations at all levels have initiated this struggle throughout the province and made great achievements in accordance with the instructions of the CPC Central Committee and State Council on hitting at serious criminial activities in the economic field. In the past 10 months a large number of smuggling, trafficking in contraband, bribery and corruption and other important criminal cases have been detected and handled. According to statistics, by the end of October 43.1 percent of the cases had been investigated and concluded, and a number of criminals and those who have violated the law had been duly punished; 6.67 million yuan of ill-gotten gains had been recovered, 2.58 million yuan in public funds had been recovered and a great number of stolen goods had been seized.

The leading comrade added that the achievements in the past 10 months in the struggle against the major criminal activities in the economic field are fundamentally due to the correct policy of the CPC Central Committee and the strengthening of leadership by the provincial CPC committee. There are five points with regard to this work:

1. Constantly heighten the consciousness of the leading cadres of the party and government at all levels regarding the struggle, in order to enable them to devote much attention to grasping this struggle. Provincial, prefectural and county leading cadres at all levels have personally grasped the cases by implementing the system of division of labor and responsibility and handling important and key cases. Experience has proved that all units and departments which have done this have been able to make a breakthrough, strictly and rapidly detect the cases and insure their proper handling. This has helped improve leadership and promote economic development.

2. Assign competent case-handling personnel and set up powerful offices.

3. Break through all barriers and grasp the important and key cases, carrying out this work vigorously and rapidly and through to the end.

4. Enhance the role of policy and law and vigorously propagate the policies of the party and the state laws; act according to the Constitution and rules of the party, and evidence, juridicial procedure and legal regulations; insist on taking facts as the basis and the law as the guideline, and impel the criminals to frankly confess their crimes.

5. Educate party members and the masses in opposing corruption by making use of typical cases and, at the same time, in connection with organizational restructuring and rectification of work style, earnestly sum up experiences, improve regulations, and block loopholes.

The leading comrade pointed out that although the province has made great achievements in hitting at economic crimes, the development is uneven. Criminal activities in the economic field in Yunnan are serious judging by the cases detected. Cadres at all levels and people of all nationalities should further understand that this is a hard and protracted struggle and must be clear about this struggle. At present, the CPC committee in some areas and units have not led the struggle effectively. Some leading cadres are full of misgivings or relax their efforts; some dare not touch the cases they are facing; some plead for the criminals because they were former colleagues or former leading comrades or because they themselves are in question. This situation must be changed in order to guarantee the smooth progress of the four modernizations. All localities should further investigate and handle the important and key cases and vigorously organize forces for basically investigating and handling by yearend the cases which have been discovered. At the same time, attention must be paid to discovering new cases and clues. Corresponding measures should be adopted to impel quick action in units which have some problems but do nothing.

CSO: 4005/189

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

YIN FATANG'S VIEWS ON EDUCATION WORK EXAMINED

HK290825 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 24 Nov 82

[Excerpts] When Comrade Yin Fatang, first secretary of the Xizang Regional CPC Committee, recently listened to the report made by a responsible comrade of the regional education department on the situation in the progress of the readjustment of our regional education, he put forward six points of view on how to create a new situation in our regional educational work. These six points of view are:

1. It is necessary to carry out the readjustment of education. We must continue to do well in readjusting our regional education. In the course of readjustment, we must pay attention to solving the problem of students' old records of formal schooling. We readjust eeucation for the sake of strengthening it. We must both improve quality and popularize education. Popularization of education is the basis of the building of the two civilizations.

2. It is essential to improve the quality of education. We must first improve teachers' quality.

3. We must give full play to the role of teachers in south Xizang. For instance, in Hagqu Prefecture, where culture and education is very backward, the force of teachers and the proportion of qualified teachers to other teachers are very small. We cannot improve education without the assistance of other prefectures and our fraternal provinces and regions in this aspect.

4. In the issue of capital construction in education, we must attach importance to the building of school premises. We must solve the specific problems of desks, benches, blackboards, chalks, lighting, drinking water, [words indistinct] and heating. In particular, in coordination with each other, schools and relevant departments we must purchase teaching materials in a unified way.

5. Regarding education funds, we can consider implementing the system of assuming full responsibility. [Words indistinct] our finances must be so arranged as to support education and insure its development. In such a difficult area as north Xizang, it is not strange that its culture and education is backward. [Words indistinct] because it is backward, we must assume sole responsibility for all state-run primary schools, [words indistinct] we must spend more funds on the promotion of the educational cause.

6. It is imperative to implement the party's policy on intellectuals. We must attach importance to training qualified personnel in specialized fields and scientific and technological personnel who are devoted to the revolutionary cause, have knowledge and are enthusiastic and willing to conduct research. We must arouse their enthusiasm, bring their role into play and resolve their practical difficulties so that they can keep their minds on building Xizang and continue to work. We can hardly achieve the four socialist modernizations at an early date without the creative labor of thousands upon thousands of people who have modern scientific and cultural knowledge. All people who really have an awareness and knowledge must understand the value of qualified personnel and work hard in this respect.

CSO: 4005/189

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XIZANG REGIONAL FORUM ON LITERARY CRITICISM

HK290335 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 27 Nov 82

[Text] The first regional forum on literary criticism was held in Shannan from 2-26 November. All the literary works of the past few years have been read and evaluated at this forum. This forum also discussed the questions of how to develop the work of literary criticism in this region and how to establish a group of literary critics who have mastered Marxism-Leninism.

The forum was jointly sponsored by the Xizang branch of the Chinese Writers' Association and the literary criticism committee of the Xizang branch of the Chinese Federation of Literary and Art Circles. Attending the forum were teachers, press representatives, journal and radio editors and literary critics from all areas of the region, a total of more than 30 people.

After reading and analyzing for a second time the large number of literary works that had been written in our region since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, those participants in the forum were of the opinion that this region had achieved initial success in making the literary undertaking prosper in the region but that this achievement has fallen far short of the demands of the party and the people. They were of the opinion that the literary critics should be advanced, hard-working and ambitious Marxists. They should warmly help writers to sum up their experience so as to overcome their shortcomings and develop their achievements. Thus, they will enable our region's literary undertakings to develop healthily.

During the forum, people emancipated their minds and freely expressed their views. They deeply discussed the achievements and trends in our region's literary undertakings in the past few years, the path of the creative work of some specific workers and the artistic characteristics of some work. As a result, 19 treatises were written.

The forum was of the opinion that the region's literary criticism work should be directly related to the practice of literary and creative art work in the region and focus on researching in and solving the problems related to the new situation of the development of literature in the present times. At the same time, literary critics should continue to systematically research into literary classics and folk literature of the Zang nationality. These workers should help writers and the readers of all nationalities to appreciate the long standing history and culture of the Zang nationality. They should conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the spirit of the 12th

party congress. They should adhere to the literary orientation of serving the people and communism, develop artistic democracy, carry out the principle of "Letting a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend" and correctly carry out the struggle on the two fronts. They should be bold in approving good literary works and must sternly criticize all unhealthy trends.

(Zhang Yaoming), (Dan Den), (Fang Chengzhao), Nima Puzhen), (Duo Ji) and other responsible comrades of the regional branch of the Chinese Federation of Literary and Art Circles and the Shanwen CPC Prefectural Committee attended the forum.

CSO: 4005/189

'YUNNAN RIBAO' ON CRITICISM OF ARTICLE ON 'SUNFLOWERS'

HK221501 Kumming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Oct 82 p 4

[Article by Wang Dian [3769 3949]: "The Article 'Commenting on "Sunflowers"' Must Be Criticized"; "Summary of speech by Comrade Wang Dian made at forum of comrades from literary and art circles convened by the Yunnan Provincial CPC Committee Propaganda Department on 12 October. Amendments were made before publication"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Some comrades from literary and art circles were invited by the propaganda department of Yunnan Provincial CPC Committee to attend a forum today with a view to exchanging views. Since the publication of the signed "Commenting on 'Sunflowers'" in MINZU WENXUE PINGLUN [NATIONAL LITERATURE REVIEW], volume 3, of the BIANJIANG WENYI [FRONTIER LITERATURE AND ART] collection, some of the provinces' comrades in literary and artistic circles have made various comments. Some of them have expressed their views through various comments. Some of them have expressed their views through various different channels and in different forms. This shows that many comrades are much concerned about the development of literary and artistic undertakings. However, this also reflects that some comrades from literary and art circles still do not hold identical views when it comes to expressing their opinion on the article's errors and other related problems. Today, the most important thing I want to say is that the publication of "Commenting on 'Sunflowers'" was really a serious political mistake and it should be severely criticized. The method of criticism should, however, be appropriate. My criticism may not necessarily be correct and clear as I wish. I sincerely hope that comrades will correct or criticize me if I am wrong or if my criticism is unsatisfactory or improper.

/1. The 'Historical Limitations' of Literary and Art Works/

In general, such imitations can be analyzed in terms of an author's class status, the age in which he lives and his world outlook. A distinct example is Lenin's "Leo Tolstoy: A Mirror of the Russian Revolution." We can also analyze an author from his ideological accomplishment attained under given historical conditions. For instance, in his letter to Gorkiy in November, 1913, Lenin criticized Gorkiy's In Search of God." The historical limitations of literature and art can also be analyzed in terms of social conditions, political situation from the author's standpoint, observation power, ideology and feelings. This is more complicated. Some works are criticized because of their

authors' incorrect standpoint. But in most cases, errors are usually due to the authors' understanding. We should analyze the understanding factor from various angles and relate it to the real situation of our state for substantial study.

The "resolution" adopted by the sixth plenum states that the decade before the "Cultural Revolution" was the initial period of socialist construction. We scored remarkable results in that decade. At the same time, however, the party made serious errors in its guiding principles and it went through a tortuous process. The serious errors in the party's guiding principles and the tortuous process were, of course, reflected by contemporary literary works. For example, the Antiright Struggle, the hasty launching of the Great Leap Forward and the People's Communes Movement, etc., were inevitably wrongly depicted. This situation cannot be separated from our party's serious errors in its guiding principle, nor can it be separated from the tortuous process. None of us will be overcritical of those authors. Another situation is the 10 years of disorder during the "Cultural Revolution." The "resolution" has already pointed out the theoretical and practical blunders of the "Cultural Revolution" and drawn a scientific conclusion on it. Moreover, as it was a political movement under specific historical conditions, therefore, apart from the cliques which expressed counterrevolutionary opinions in support of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques, most of the works which reflect the "Cultural Revolution" made errors of understanding. We should thus analyze such works according to the conditions at that time. As stated by the "resolution," Comrades Hua Guofeng, Ye Jiangying and Li Xiannian played a significant role in the smashing of the "gang of four." The "resolution" states that "This, of course, was partly due to the fact that the political and ideological confusion created in the decade long "Cultural Revolution" could not be eliminated overnight, but it was also due to "Leftist" errors in the guiding ideology that Comrade Hua Guofeng continued to commit in his capacity as chairman of the CPC Central Committee." The "resolution" has made a comprehensive analysis and drawn a clear conclusion from the period from the smashing of the "gang of four" to the third plenum. Therefore, if our literary works have really reflected the complicated situation of that time, we should not politically reprimand such works (or to a larger extent, the articles by theoretical circles and pass) nor should we seek who is to blame. Now, we know that it is worthless to retain works which depict past incidents. Works which are good despite some mistakes in expression can, of course, be revised and published. Therefore, we need not criticize the works of that time again. But for the authors themselves, they should learn their lesson and improve themselves on the basis of the spirit and demands of the "resolution."

[HK221503] Not long ago I read a speech by a comrade from literary and art circles on his cognitive development in the past 6 years. In his speech he said that he had written a preface to Comrade Deng Xiaochuan's collection of poems. He thought, as did many comrades, that the preface was well written. However, when he recently reread the preface, he was "flabbergasted," and "his blood ran cold." This comrade's speech will surely inspire us. We should follow his attitude. Based on such understanding and relating it to our province's situation, I am of the opinion that we should adopt the same

correct attitude towards the political lyrics in the "Sunflowers" and toward authors who write similar works. We should not be dissatisfied with each other as all of us have written such works. Instead, we should, through the study of the "resolution" and the papers of the 12th party congress, analyze our own cognitive process, summarize our experience and lessons and make ideological, theoretical and literary improvements. Our provincial newspapers and publications should not criticize "Sunflowers" or works which are similar to certain poems in "Sunflower" again. Authors of such works should seek improvement in political ideology according to the demands of the "resolution" and the 12th party congress. This is my first view.

/2. Should We Rectify the Signed Article in This July's Edition of Commenting on 'Sunflowers'" in "MINZU WENXUE PINGLUN" [NATIONAL LITERATURE REVIEW], Volume 3? Should We Solemnly Point Out Its Political Errors? Should We Severely Criticize It?/

We are of the opinion that the article "Commenting on 'Sunflowers'" should be rectified. Its political errors should be solemnly pointed out and it should be severely criticized. But on what basis? Mainly on the basis of the speeches of leading comrades of the Central Committee at the ideological lines forum convened by the central propaganda department on behalf of the Central Committee after the sixth plenum, and on the basis of the papers written after that forum. At that time, the central government clearly stated that all provinces had to rectify the opinions and works made and published by thinkers, the literary and art circles, and the mass media after the end of 1980 in accordance with the four basic principles, opinions and works made and published after the sixth plenum. Opinions and works which made big errors should be picked out for criticism. We did carry out some examinations last year, but it now seems that they were not thorough enough. The article "Commenting on 'Sunflowers'" should be specifically rectified as it was published in MINZU WENXUE PINGLUN in July this year.

Let us look at the errors of the article "Commenting on 'Sunflowers.'" In the first place, it was published after the sixth plenum and the "Resolution on Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." In sudying the "resolution," the central authorities have repeatedly requested that comrades base their ideologies, opinions and actions on the "resolution." Every communist should obey the "resolution," speak as the "resolution" speaks and do as the "resolution" says. In doing so we stay in harmony with the central party authorities. Obviously, "Commenting on 'Sunflowers'" contradicts this principle, for it entirely approves the political content of that collection of poems. If the article had comprehensively and practically made a scientific assessment of all the poems, pointing out that some of the poems were worth retaining while some of them were not, or had at least pointed out that the collection of poems had both good and bad qualities, in the manner of the critics' job of "scooping out the rotten part of an apple" described by Lu Xun, suggesting which part of the apple should be scooped out, criticism, in such a case, might yet have been passable. However, the political errors of the article lie in the fact that it does not solemnly and practically point out the defects of the collection of poems. No matter how the article is interpreted, it has a bad political influence and social

effect. I do not want to interpret the author's intention in a bad light, for we have to study it carefully, but first of all we have to admit that the article was published after the sixth plenum and made serious political errors. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to solemnly and promptly point out the errors and criticize them seriously, in the hope that the author will accept our views, study the papers, analyze his own ideology and understanding, summarize his experience and make self-criticism. I am not going to deal with other errors in the article for I am not making a literary criticism.

[HK221505] The seriousness of the problem lies in how an amateur's article could have been published in MINZU WENXUE PINGLUN. I think that the editors of MINZU WENXUE PINGLUN were politically wrong. Moreover, the unsoundness and weakness of our system and the incompetence of departmental leadership have been exposed. Originally, we had already studied the papers of the ideological lines forum and of the sixth plenum. The editors should have avoided making such obvious errors. We cannot but demand that the comrades who are in charge of MINZU WENXUE PINGLUN make a serious self-examination. There may be many reasons for making such errors. For instance, shortage of experience, flexibility of the system, negligence, a low level of understanding etc. I think we should admit all the reasons mentioned above. We cannot, however, make a credible reply nor can we learn a lesson from the errors if we only admit the above-mentioned reasons. We ought to point out that there is another reason why the errors could not have been avoided. While the article was being organized, some comrades of the literary league reminded the editors of MINZU WENXUE PINGLUN that "Sunflowers" was written before the third plenum and that some of the poems were already out of date. They asked whether it was advisable to refrain from comment on that collection of poems but comment instead on other essays written by that poet. The suggestions were not treated very seriously and were not accepted by the editors, who believed that the article "Commenting on 'Sunflowers'" was pragmatic and did not have any problems. Finally, it was published. I think that such an attitude is not initially a serious problem. It is obviously a serious political error which could have been avoided if the editors had respected the opinion of the comrades, or if the article had been sent to the editorial desk or the literary league or the propaganda department for discussion. The article's political errors are obvious and they do not involve any abstruse academic issues which cannot be clarified at once. The editors are senior comrades who have undergone years of party education. How could they even fail to draw a simple political line after spending a long time studying the "resolution" and the papers of the ideological lines forum since last year? Why is it that their cognitive level still remains the same as it was before the "resolution?" How can they even forget the demand that every communist should unconditionally remain in harmony with central thinking? The editors should deeply examine their own subjectivity. I solemnly brought up this point while I was talking with that comrade a month ago, but he did not pay it any attention. I should state clearly that truly criticizing him solemnly but without pointing out his serious poltical errors is not enough. Meanwhile, with regard to the errors, we have urged the literary league to make a summing-up and start making solemn criticism and self-criticism and we have asked the comrades concerned to make self-criticism since the start of September.

Progress is very slow despite repeated encouragement from the propaganda department. The forum convened by the propaganda department today is, in this respect, another reiterated encouragement.

I also want to state clearly that other articles of a similar kind should be pointed out. But we have to make practical differentiation. Only major errors should be criticized so that all of us can learn the lesson.

/3. How To Criticize?/

We should once again study what Comrade Mao Zedong wrote in "How To Deal Correctly With the Contradictions Among Our People." "Ideological struggle is different from other forms of struggle for it cannot be brutal or mandatory. Only through careful and rational ways can we develop correct views, overcome wrong views and really resolve problems." In the papers of the ideological lines forum held last year, the central party repeatedly pointed out that "self-criticism should be serious, not perfunctory," and that "criticism should be fair and reasonable." Several ways of criticism were suggested and specific methods were also provided. We should still stick to the realization of the principles brought up in the papers of the central party.

I want to quote a few words from Comrade Qiaomu which he said at the ideological lines forum. He said: "There are at least three conditions for correct criticism. 1) We should have a comprehensive and profound understanding of the object, people or thing which we are going to criticize. We should remain objective to and adopt a rigidly scientific attitude towards the criticisms made by any other people. Criticism, to various extents, should be a scientific study and a creative activity; 2) criticism among our people should bear the hope of unity; and 3) on the basis of the two principles mentioned above, our criticism should be reasonable and fair. Discussion and criticism of this kind should be in the spirit of comradeship. It should be fair, reasonable, appropriate, convincing and should leave room for counter-argument....By 'reasonable' I mean that criticism should be rational, convincing, and on good grounds. By 'fair' I mean that comrades should have a correct comprehension and analysis of the mentality of the person being criticized. We should move him with comradeship, not indifference."

[HK221507] In particular, the message of leading comrades of the central party was spread among our comrades last year. It says: "Specific analysis should be made on the problems of various types of people. We should differentiate as to the nature and degree of mistakes. The ways of tackling and realizing the problems should also be differentiated. The ways of criticism should be studied and criticism should also be appropriate." It also says that "It is impossible not to do ideological work or to make criticism and self-criticism."

Comrades from literary and art circles have learned of the quoted message and they have also studied the papers. I am of the opinion that criticism and self-criticism should be made according to the spirit of the central party.

Last year we made four suggestions on criticism and self-criticism on ideological errors: 1) We should have a clear-cut and firm stand on the criticism on ideological errors and undesirable trends; 2) ways of launching criticism should be proper; 3) we should be patient in waiting for solutions to such problems; and 4) during the whole process, we should have confidence in correcting ideological errors under the party's leadership. I think we should adopt the above attitudes when we tackle the current problems.

Incidentally, according to the literary league's report, 3,995 copies of MINZU WENXUE PINGLUN, volume 3, were printed. Copies were sent to the literary league on 1 August. Copies were sent to Kunming by the Baoshan Printing House on 18 August, among which 591 copies were internally distributed to authors and units concerned. Publication ceased on 3 September.

/4. The Aim and Hope of Criticism/

Our attitude towards the criticism on the serious political errors made by the article "Commenting on 'Sunflowers'" should be active, solemn, serious and pragmatic, so that all comrades can make political improvement through the criticism and understand the method of dividing everything into two, that is, dealing with our achievements as well as our defects and mistakes. The aim of urging the literary league, the editorial board of BIANJIAN WENYI (including the editorial board of MINZU WENXUE PINGLUN) to make a summing-up and an analysis on the reasons for making errors is to correct our mistakes, improve our understanding and work. We should fully affirm the favorable situation of the literary and art circles in our province since the third plenum and the achievements made by our comrades from literary and art circles. However, we should strive to overcome existing defects, problems and mistakes. Literary and artistic creation and criticism are painstaking activities. They play a significant role in society. We should learn harder and set strict demands on ourselves. Real improvement is to correct our mistakes through learning and criticism. I hope that comrades involved in literary and art criticism in our province will not misunderstand or worry about the solemn criticism in view of the serious political errors. In his speech made at the party commemorating Lu Xun's 100th birthday, Comrade Yaobang demanded that we "fully assess the positive and negative experience in developing our literary and art criticism as correctly summarized by the party." The central party has continued to give elaborate guidance to the whole party on the correct way to deal analytically and individually with people from the literary and art circles, the thinkers, the publication circles and the mass media who make serious errors in their views. While we are criticizing "Commenting on 'Sunflowers,'" we should study again the numerous speeches given by leading comrades of the central party since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Central Committee and the major works of Comrade Mao Zedong through the study on the papers of the 12th party congress and of the second meeting of the fourth convention of the National Literary League. Through study, discussion, criticism and self-criticism, we can better our understanding, unite our ideology, improve our unity and promote our work. We should act, correct our mistakes and straighten our spirit, all in accordance with literary workers' pledge. We should initiate a new prospect for literary and art circles in our province under the guidance concerning comprehensive socialist construction made at the 12th plenum.

CSO: 4005/189

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'YUNNAN RIBAO' COMMENTS ON ERRONEOUS POETRY CRITICISM

HK230941 Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Nov 82 p 4

[Article by Wen Ping [5113 1627]: "A Poetry Criticism With Serious Political Errors--Commenting on 'Enthusiastically Seek After the Light, Like the Sunflower'"]

[Text] In July 1982, an article signed by Wen Sihai with the title "As Enthusiastic as the Sunflower in Seeking After the Light--Reading the Collection of Poems Entitled 'Sunflower'" was published in NATIONALITY LITERARY CRITICISM, Vol 3 of the "Literature and Art in the Border Areas" series. (The title of the article is hereafter abbreviated to "Reading 'Sunflower'") Because of the obvious and serious mistakes made in this poetry criticism, strong responses have been drawn since the publication of the article and the article has been widely criticized. It is normal and necessary for the masses and the literary and art workers to raise all kinds of critical ideas in view of the erroneous tendencies in this poetry criticism. This tells us that we pay more attention to literature and art than in the past and that the practice of literature and art criticism promoted by the party is taking shape. At the same time, it also tells us that the poetry criticism itself made the serious political error of violating the spirit of the 3d and 6th Plenums of the 11th CPC Central Committee. This fact should not be ignored. Thus, it is necessary to further point out the nature and ideological roots of this error and to carry out realistic, practical and serious criticism without violating principles. In this way, the writers, editors and more comrades can learn a lesson from it, we can implement the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress with better results, improve our future work and a new situation in the literature and art in our province can be created.

I

In the report to the 12th CPC National Congress, it is pointed out that: "Since the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique in October 1976 and in particular, since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee held in December 1978, we have accomplished, through the arduous efforts of the whole party, the whole army and the people of our nationalities, the difficult task of setting the party's guiding ideology to rights and have achieved a major success in setting right our practical work on all fronts, thereby effecting a great and historic change."

One of the principal indicators of the glorious realization of this great and historic change is that, since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, in the ideological aspect, we have resolutely shattered the heavy chains imposed by the protracted "leftist" mistakes and the personality cult and we have set right the guiding ideology of the party. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" passed by the 6th Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee has subjected the protracted "Leftist" mistakes and Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in his later years to scientific analysis and criticism, restored the true features of Mao Zedong Thought, reaffirmed the Marxist ideological, political and organizational lines and provided a basic guarantee for the healthy development of our resolution and construction.

However, we should see that we live in an age of great changes. The party has accomplished the historical task of setting its basic guiding ideology to rights, but it takes a long time to accomplish the difficult task of setting everything right on all fronts. We must wage timely and appropriate ideological struggles on two fronts against both the "leftist" and the rightist deviations. Class struggle exists within certain limits. In order to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, we must resolutely support the correct leadership of the Central Committee. Therefore, the Central Committee repeatedly emphasizes the principle of "maintaining political unanimity with the Central Committee." Last year, in criticizing and preventing the tendency of bourgeois liberalization, the party reiterated this principle. In his "speech delivered at the seminar on the problems on the ideological front," Comrade Hu Yaobang clearly pointed out that: "In the first place, you are required to maintain unanimity with the Central Committee and the 6th Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee.... We should take the resolutions of the 6th Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee as the criteria in our observation of history and the present situation." For a literary and art worker, whether or not he is a party member, whatever his ideas on art are, it is necessary that his thinking, views and deeds should be in accord with the "resolutions." The literary and art workers' creative activities (whether they are engaged in literary and artistic creation or literature and art criticism) should help support and propagate the resolutions and such activities should not deviate from and defame the resolutions. This is doubtless the principle which every literary and art worker must follow and the simple rule every literary and art worker must understand and accept.

How does Comrade Wen Sihai handle this extremely serious problem in his essay "Reading 'Sunflower?'"

The poetry anthology "Sunflower" was published in November 1978 (it was put on sale in March 1979). Thirty-seven poems written by the author in the period from 1958 to 1978 were included in the anthology. The book was written in a long period of time during which many historical events took place. Some of the poems in the anthology praise to varying degrees the political movements happening at the time they were written. For instance, one poem praised "the late chief responsible comrade of the CPC Central Committee who continued to make 'Leftist' mistakes concerning a series of important questions." The poem says that he "is the genial shower after a long drought, the wind that blows

behind a sail, the liberator of the people and the pillar that supports the sky" and so on. In addition, some poems praise the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the "Red Guard Movement" which were erroneous in both theory and practice. One poem says: "...The fire in the furnace of the Great Cultural Revolution lights up the sky, under the raging fire, we can clearly distinguish the steel from the dregs!" "...We have thrown the old traitor into the garbage dump, but there are new swindlers who make themselves up and go on the stage." Some poems praise the hastily initiated "Great Leap Forward Movement" and the "Movement to establish people's communes in the rural areas."

[HK230943] For a considerably long period of time, there were serious mistakes in guiding principles in the sphere of party work. In addition, limitations in understanding generally existed at that time. Consequently, literary and artistic works provided descriptions of the above political movements which were contrary to the historical truth, or else praised the incorrect things as though they were correct. This is understandable. In addition, "during the 2 years before the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the question of rights and wrongs in the party's guiding ideology was not clarified as it should have been and the work of setting things to rights proceeded haltingly." (Report to the 12th National Congress) Thus, that such a work has been published is understandable. The question is, how should we handle and evaluate this work?

We know that the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee was held 1 month after the publication of the poetry anthology "Sunflower." Two years later, the 6th Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee made the "resolutions" and the correct criticism against the "Leftist" mistakes which the chief responsible comrade of the Central Committee continued to make and against the new personality cult. The "resolutions" pointed out that: "The Great Cultural Revolution, initiated by a leader under a misapprehension and capitalized on by counterrevolutionary cliques, led to domestic turmoil and brought catastrophe to the party, the state and the people." The "resolution" also pointed out that: "The great leap forward and the movement for rural people's communes were initiated without careful investigation and study and without experimentation. Thus, the "Leftist" errors, characterized by unrealistically high targets, the issuing of arbitrary directions, boastfulness and the stirring up of a 'communist wind," spread unchecked throughout the country." Thus, since the above poems provide incorrect descriptions of the above political movements, they have naturally, contrasted with the historical conclusions, lost their right to exist and their positive value. However, the "resolutions" have provided scientific criteria for writers and critics to appraise and summarize experience. Obviously, our ability or inability to review these poems is not the heart of the issue, in that, as far as the phenomenon of literature and the subject matters of literature are concerned, whether in the sphere of creation or criticism, the past will still be mentioned. The heart of the issue is the question of whether, when we reappraise such a poetry anthology, we take a Marxist-Leninist stand and accept the high level of historical conclusion made by the resolutions, make scientific, realistic and practical judgments with an attitude of correctly summarizing experience and point out its historical limitations and the problem of its existence, or, whether we affirm and praise those works which have been proven to be erroneous in both their political features and ideological tendency? If a critic accepts the latter approach,

he has obviously been divorced from the purpose and task of ordinary literary criticism and the approach to ideological and academic inquiry through criticism. In this way, he takes the erroneous political stand which is opposed to the party's historical resolutions and the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The article "Reading 'Sunflower'" has done precisely this. At the very beginning of his poetry criticism, Comrade Wen Sihai already highly praises and affirms in all aspects the poetry anthology which contains the above erroneous features. It is said in the article that: "The anthology is comprehensive in its content, rich in its subject matter and with varied forms. It has profoundly reflected the important political issues of this historical period, vividly described the new features of our nationalities' new life and ardently expressed the new feelings and new ideas....such a small poetry anthology deserves to be called a many-faced and colorful picture scroll." "Reading these poems, we can clearly feel the beat of the poet's pulse, the flow of his blood and the outburst of his feelings, we can appreciate his excitement, his joy, his deep feeling and his pursuit for his ideal." Four years ago, the author of the poetry anthology wrote a "Postscript" in which he discussed his inability to accurately evaluate the works he wrote in the past. The article even makes use of this to promote the anthology to a high level which it does not deserve and says that: "This rich grass must have drunk enough of the earth's milk, must have soaked in the poet's deep feelings and must have grown in the earth under warm sunlight. How otherwise can it be so beautiful that people are moved by it?" Obviously, the author has not distinguished the correct features of the poetry anthology from the incorrect ones and what should be retained from what should not be. On the contrary, he maintains that all the political lyrics which contained the above erroneous political features were the "profound reflections of the important issues of the historical period," and he then, without reservation, affirms the emotional and ideological tendencies and the form of expression of the poetry anthology.

[HK230945] In making a concrete analysis of the work, Comrade Wen Sihai adopts the same attitude. After quoting lines from and commenting on some of the poems, he writes: "I think some of the political lyrics in 'Sunflower' possess vitality and can survive washing in the flow of time. Although they were written about 20 years ago, when they are read today, they can still agitate, move and inspire people for a long time and provide people with immeasurable insight." Although the author, in this instance, uses the restrictive word "some," however, which poems can still give "immeasurable insight" today? As far as the 10 or more political lyrics in the poetry anthology are concerned, there are notable erroneous features in the more important ones. There are the same errors in most of the eight poems whose lines the author quotes directly, which the author analyses and outlines and which the author calls "political lyrics filled with noble vehement" and "political lyrics filled with the charms of life." When we say that some poems appear politically erroneous today, we do not only mean that individual lines or words are improper, we mean that the approach and the ideological tendency of the poems are erroneous. Comrade Wen Sihai goes so far as to maintain that: "Most of the above are poems which describe a certain important issue or a certain important figure in our political and social lives," and he clearly affirms that: "In these poems, the poet clearly and directly expresses his high spirited, radical and

vigorous thinking and feelings and his political attitude and stand, without concealing anything. He has put his feelings and stand into poetry." The author even fanatically advocates that, through these poems, we can "taste the strong flavor, feel the beat of the pulse and hear the echo of the bugle call of the time," and, in this way, we can "keep pace with the times and march forward." He says that these poems "have described the springlike political atmosphere in Yunnan," have praised "the great victory of the party's glorious policies," reflected "the great creations in a new age" and "the earth-shaking great reforms" and so on. All this tells us what is wrong with this poetry criticism. People cannot help asking: Does Comrade Wen Sihai hold that "the age" with the protracted "Leftist" mistakes, which brought serious damages to the party and the state should not be ended? Is there any "immeasurable insight" in the new personality cult which was criticized by the party's historical resolutions? Are the past events under the leadership of the "Leftist" mistakes, such as the hastily started "Great Leap Forward" and the "Movement for Rural People's Commune," the "Great Victory," "Great Creations" and "Great Reforms" which, for this reason, should not be "washed away" by the "flow of time?" Do they still give the new age which was created after things were set right the "immeasurable new insight?"

In his general evaluation of all the political lyrics in "Sunflower," Comrade Wen Sihai shamelessly and openly emphasizes that "all the political events which these poems describe have passed. However, when we read them today, they still make us feel the intense emotion in them, their significance and their charm." In this case, the word "these" bears a more distinctive restrictive character. It means that in his criticism, he wants to repeatedly, patiently, clearly and earnestly affirm and praise those poems which describe the "passed" "political events" such as the "Great Leap Forward," the "Movement for Rural People's Commune" and the "Great Cultural Revolution." What meets our eyes is that the author highly praises, feels sorry for and is sentimentally attached to these poems. Whatever the subjective will of the author may be, the social effects and political influence produced by it can only be very bad.

In addition, Comrade Wen Sihai makes the following judgment. He affirms on the one hand that "a considerable number of the political lyrics in the anthology express the poet's revolutionary zeal in different perspectives," "without concealing anything, the poet clearly and directly expresses his... political attitude and stand," and, "with the political zeal which he harbors, the poet appeals to, arouses and triggers people's strength and fervor," "people find pleasure and feel an upsurge of emotion in reading the political lyrics in 'Sunflower' and will always remember them precisely because they reflect the poet's strong political faith, his sense of mission for society," "his firm attitude and clear aim" and so on. Meanwhile, let us contrast the above with the paragraph in which he generally discusses the problem of "how" to write political lyrics. "Just think, how can people who are quick to switch sides, in their political faith write political lyrics which people do not get tired of reading and which can truly arouse people's revolutionary fervor?" This inevitably gives people the impression that all corrections of political mistakes and all acts to abandon and break with the erroneous "faith" belong to the category of being "quick to switch sides." Since the 3d Plenum

of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has resolutely broken the fetters of dogmatism and the personality cult which existed for a long time in the ideological sphere. Under new historical conditions, we have persisted in and developed Mao Zedong Thought and have won major successes in setting things right. As far as the entire communist movement is concerned, it is necessary for a revolutionary party to continue to verify and modify the ideology, theory, principles and policies which are erroneous and not suitable in practice. The author confuses adherence to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought with the ideological line of seeking truth from facts through political speculation and abandoning one's political faith. This is extremely ridiculous and harmful.

[HK230947] Four years have elapsed since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee and more than 1 year has elapsed since the 6th Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee made its "resolutions." The "resolutions" have struck root in the hearts of the people. The whole party and the people are familiar with and support the "resolutions." In addition, they have become an important criterion by which people distinguish right from wrong in political life. These are obvious fact. Not long ago, the Chinese Federation of Literature and Arts Circles convened the second meeting of its fourth plenum. At the meeting, the literature and arts circles' ideological preparations to greet the 12th CPC National Congress were made. It is incredible that the author knew nothing about it. On the eve of the 12th CPC National Congress, when the party was about to solemnly announce that we had won great victories in effecting a historic change and that it would lead the whole party and the people to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, Comrade Wen Sihai spread views that run counter to the spirit of the 3d and 6th Plenums of the 11th CPC Central Committee in his poetry criticism "Reading 'Sunflower.'" This is doubtless a serious political error.

II

In order to criticize the serious political errors in the article "Reading 'Sunflower,'" it is necessary to point out that the obvious errors and shortcomings exposed in this poetry criticism are directly related to the historical idealism and the nonhistorical views on literary and art criticism which were expressed in the same obvious manner by Comrade Wen Sihai in this article. Thus, this is not an accidental error. It has its ideological roots.

In affirming the poetry anthology "Sunflower," Comrade Wen Sihai writes: "There are too many poems which emerge and then disappear with the birth and death of a political movement.... There are many reasons for this phenomenon and they are not the principal features of this short expositive article." In fact, in the first part of the poetry criticism in which the author discusses the political lyrics in "Sunflower," he uses almost half of the paragraphs to discuss this issue. He writes: "Social changes are always complicated and hard to penetrate, the course of any revolution is always uncertain and there are rises and falls.... Thus, we cannot ask that every poem must possess everlasting vitality and determine the value and significance of a poem by the durability of its vitality." Obviously, this is one of the reasons why the author thinks that most political lyrics "disappear with the waves."

To be sure, as the author says, poems lose their vitality very quickly. Of course, this phenomenon is closely related to the fetters of "Leftist" mistakes and dogmatism and the erroneous ideology of demanding that "literature and art be subordinated to politics." During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" frenziedly distorted Marxism-Leninism and caused political swindling. In addition, old habits, old ways of thinking and other political and social factors played their roles and when, in particular, an erroneous ideological trend which was hard to detect occupied the ruling position, people's thinking was greatly restricted. But, can we attribute this to the fact that "the course of any revolution is always uncertain and that there are rises and falls" as Comrade Wen Sihai claims? In this way, the author runs counter to the rudimentary Marxist knowledge of the "dialectical development of history." In his "Preface to the 3d Edition of Marx's 'The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,'" Engels pointed out that: "It was precisely Marx who had first discovered the great law of motion of history" and he called this law the "key" to the understanding of history. ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 1, p 602) Lenin pointed out that: "The science of the history of society, despite all the complexity of the phenomena of social life, can become as precise as biology, and capable of making use of the laws of development of society for practical purposes." ("Problems of Leninism," "Dialectical and Historical Materialism," 1973 edition, p 637) The "practical purposes" of dialectical and historical materialism which Stalin mentioned can enable a revolutionary party to correctly grasp the opportunity for a revolution and predict the changes in a revolution. In addition, they can enable a revolutionary writer to correctly express life and embody peoples' wills, the demands of the times and the course of history. This has been proven by the tradition and achievements of our revolutionary literature. Of course, we cannot ask all the writers and artists to master and apply the laws all at once, however, we should ask them to gradually try their best. The nihilist view, advocated by Comrade Wen Sihai, that historical laws are inconceivable is incompatible with the "resolutions." We should solemnly point out that today, when our party has correctly summarized historical experience, when our literary and art workers are striving to arm their brains with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought which penetrates the historical mist and lights up the course of revolution so that they can further consolidate their communist revolutionary faith and their goal of struggle and, when our party has assigned the masses of literary and art workers the honorable task of making contributions to building a high level of socialist spiritual civilization, it is all the more absurd to emphasize that "the course of any revolution is always uncertain" and use this as a guide for a writer to summarize his works written in the past or to act as a guide for creation at present. Obviously, this is harmful to both the people's thinking and the socialist cause.

[HK230949] The actual seriousness of the problem is reflected in Comrade Wen Sihai's taking of such a thesis as the theoretical basis for his sweeping support for "Sunflower." That is why he said "We cannot determine the value and significance of a poem by the durability of its vitality."

In criticizing the play "Franz von Sickingen" by Ferdinand Lassalle, Engels said: "I proceed from the aesthetic and historical viewpoint which means I judge your work with a very high or the highest standard...." ("Collected

Works of Marx and Engels," vol 29, p 586) Engels held that the highest standard in literary and art criticism was the aesthetic and historical standard. This is a scientific judgment which is in accord with the principles of literary and artistic creation and literary and art criticism.

In discussing the question of how to make the political lyrics "have stronger political and artistic vitality," Comrade Wen Sihai makes an inventory of terms such as "firm and unshakable political faith," "clear-cut and unswerving revolutionary stand," "sharp eyes filled with revolutionary fervor," "unique style" and "consummate skills" and so on. What is not mentioned is historical reality on which the life of art is based. The terms "political faith," "stand" and "fervor" have certain substance. In addition, they should be verified by history. Whether they are correct or revolutionary can only be proven by the verification of practice. There were many people who held in the past that some of the poems in "Sunflower" were "revolutionary." Have mistakes and absurdity not been revealed when they are verified by history? Without historical reality and the reality of life, artistic reality cannot be reached. Naturally, there is no vitality and "significance and value" in understanding and appreciating literary works. However, according to Comrade Wen Sihai's reasoning, a literary work, even if it runs counter to historical reality, even if its descriptions of the "important issues in a historical period" are very false and erroneous, as long as it is filled with beautiful but empty terms such as "faith," "stand" and "fervor," it will "agitate and move people for a long time," gain "stronger political and artistic vitality" and should not be "washed away" by the "flow of time." According to Comrade Wen Sihai's criterion, as long as a poem has enthusiastically praised the political issues of the moment and has played its role, even though the political issues are erroneous, its "value and significance" should be recognized. In this case, is it not the same to use the "false, exaggerated and empty" "model" literature as if it were a slogan on a poster to govern literary circles? Since the smashing of the "gang of four," our socialist literature has shattered the spiritual fetters imposed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," liquidated their pernicious influence and achieved positive results in liberating thinking, arousing spirit and encouraging people to march with one heart and one mind toward the four modernizations. Are such positive results not completely denied? Obviously, the author does not hesitate to violate the laws of literature and art and avoid, even abandon, the ordinary historical and aesthetical criteria in literary and art criticism because he is not willing to pay due attention to the historical limitations of "Sunflower" which contains out-dated features. He wants to stubbornly and extraordinarily lavish praise on the work. Consequently, the author cannot avoid becoming stuck in the mire of idealism.

We say that as a literary critic, faced with a work, one can feel sorry for a writer who cannot always free himself from historical limitations but, one can absolutely not take the so-called "limitations" as merely objective factors without paying due attention to the subjective aspects of the writer, which means his personal understanding and world outlook. In acknowledging these limitations, we do not mean to abandon the historical and scientific analysis of them. We should not turn a blind eye to or lavish undue praise on the limitations. We should not take the things which are not in accord with historical reality and which violate the laws of history as correct and praise them.

In this aspect, Lenin's criticism of Leo Tolstoy is a very good example. In addition to highly praising "Tolstoy as the mirror of the Russian revolution," Lenin made a completely scientific analysis of the class position which this great writer occupied and the historical conditions and the writer's limitations caused by them. It was Lenin who sharply pointed out that such limitations "are only natural to the naive peasants under the patriarchal system but not suitable for a writer with a European education." ("Marx, Engels and Lenin on Literature and Art," p 94) In addition, he demanded that "if the one who stands before us is a really great artist, then he should at least reflect certain essential aspects of the revolution in his works." (Ibid., p 87)

It was also Lenin who angrily criticized "the most impermissible tacit attitude toward the basically superficial and weak aspects in Tolstoy's world outlook...." (Ibid., p 110)

Lenin's scientific stand, attitude and method in criticizing Tolstoy is unassailable. We should always learn from him.

If Comrade Wen Sihai wanted to seriously criticize the poetry anthology "Sunflower" in a scientific manner, he should have completely discarded the "tacit attitude" toward the superficial and weak aspects of the author's world outlook. He could through realistic and practical criticism have pointed out the merits and shortcomings of the work and made scientific judgments which were beneficial to it. Lenin felt that the factor of a backward world outlook was "not suitable" even for a czarist writer. In our age, the writers of our party who continue to write should express the sincere hope of discarding subjective limitations and of reflecting "certain essential aspects" of our age in their creations as far as possible. Such demands are necessary and indispensable. In his 13,000 character criticism, Comrade Wen Sihai openly declines to use one word to comment on the drawbacks, inadequacy and errors of the poetry anthology. Why? Can we call that an accidental oversight? On this question, we can only say that Comrade Wen Sihai lost the revolutionary stand and political attitude which a critic must have and abandoned and destroyed the sacred duty which a critic cannot decline.

[HK230951] III

It is necessary to point out that Comrade Wen Sihai's style of criticism as revealed in the article "Reading 'Sunflower'" is not upright, serious or acceptable.

We agree that it is necessary to have literary and art criticism. However, literary and art criticism is definitely not an expression of one's own taste. It is a science and a social consciousness determined by the law of development of literature and art. The study of socialist literary and art criticism is, through scientific, practical and realistic analyses of literary and artistic works, to study and investigate literary phenomena, trends of thought in literature and art and their laws and theories so as to promote the common prosperity and development of literary and artistic production and creation, and literary and art criticism. In this way, the revolutionary character,

the fighting character, the serious and the scientific character of socialist literary and art criticism are combined to form its unique style.

Comrade Wen Sihai's poetry criticism has serious mistakes in its political and ideological aspects. He uses a lot of rare words to praise the erroneous poems, and this has facilitated the propagation of erroneous views.

Of course, we cannot say that the article "Reading 'Sunflower'" does not have any real substance. The author has made the necessary artistic analyses of some of the poems which describe the natural conditions and social customs of different places and which can still be preserved today. To a certain extent, it helps readers appreciate the poems. However, even these passages are marked by the fulsome praise which runs through the entire article. This praise is inappropriate. The author loads the article with adjectives and parallelisms. He even goes off on a tangent, and freely exaggerates. For instance, he says that the poetry anthology is "like a mass of flowers, each with a different air. There are too many beautiful things for the eye to take in"; he says that the poet "pays close attention to life and is extraordinarily familiar with and fond of it"; he says that the poems "are filled with brightness, joy and confidence" and they "are so full of imagery, so bright, so appropriate," "charming, fresh, pure, beautiful and moving," "with special quality and charm, they fully express the poet's ideas and feelings; thus, they are most moving"; he says that the readers "are moved and overwhelmed with admiration. They will never tire of reading them" and so on. Meanwhile, the author does not even touch on the artistic flaws which appear in the poems. We all know that writing a poem is different from writing a discussion article. In writing poems, it is possible to use the approach of analogy and association, while polemical essays must be rigorous and scientific. In Comrade Wen Sihai's article, there are extraordinary judgments which give people the impression of cheap praises and flatteries. Such an unhealthy style of writing must be corrected.

The bad habit of flattering that exists in literary circles indicates that unhealthy social trends are expressed in literary and art criticism itself. The bait is a reflection of bourgeois ideology, philistinism and a tendency towards commercialism in literary and art criticism. The "conventions for literary and art workers" recently passed by the second meeting of the fourth plenum of the Chinese Federation of Literature and Arts Circles proposed and decided that it is necessary to "pay attention to professional ethics, straighten out thinking and work style.... Conscientiously resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology, remnants of feudalism and all unhealthy trends." Socialist literary and art workers should use this to correct their behavior and handle their relationships with each other. They should not proceed from personal aims or seek personal gain by means of vulgarizing criticism. We should pay special attention to overcoming this.

[HK230953

IV

People cannot help asking how such a politically erroneous article could have come to be published in NATIONALITY LITERARY CRITICISM, part of the "Literature and Art in the Border Areas" series? This has something to do with the leadership of the editorial board of the series. We think that the responsible person of that editorial board bears serious political responsibility for it.

The 3d and 6th Plenums of the 11th CPC Central Committee have been convened and the spirit of the "resolutions" is known to all. The provincial Chinese Federation of Literature and Arts Circles and the Yunnan branch of the Chinese Writers' Association have implemented the directive issued by the Central Committee concerning the necessity to clean up the works and views published by the theoretical, literary and arts and press circles and the publishing houses since the end of 1980 in accordance with the four basic principles. The responsible comrade of NATIONALITY LITERARY CRITICISM fully understood the demands of the directive. However, in the process of soliciting, editing and examining contributions, this responsible comrade paid no attention to maintaining political unity with the Central Committee. This is what is not permitted by party discipline. In accepting "Reading 'Sunflower'" as a special contribution, the editorial board did not conduct the necessary careful study and discussion. In particular, when the responsible comrade of the party organization of the Chinese Federation of Literature and Arts Circles reminded him not to publish articles criticizing the poetry anthology "Sunflower" and clearly suggested that the prose writing of the author be criticized instead. The responsible comrade of NATIONALITY LITERARY CRITICISM did not consider or accept this correct and practical suggestion. Later, he said that "I have read the article; it is realistic and practical, and has no problems," and insisted that the article be published. The error is all the more serious. This responsible person is an old comrade with many years of working experiences; however, in handling this issue, he has lost his party spirit and the principles of the party. This cannot be accounted for by reasons such as inadequate understanding and study. Other than a lack of political seriousness and irresponsibility in work, what other reasons are there? We hope that the responsible comrade of NATIONALITY LITERARY CRITICISM, through the serious study of the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, will combine the reality of his thinking with them, make a sincere and in-depth self-criticism, seriously summarize lessons and experiences, enhance his political consciousness, correct his mistakes and straighten out his thinking and workstyle. In addition, we hope that Comrade Wen Sihai, the author of the article "Reading 'Sunflower,'" correctly summarizes his experiences and lessons, corrects his mistakes and rouses himself to make substantial contributions to building a socialist spiritual civilization under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress.

CSO: 4005/189

BEIJING PLANNED PARENTHOOD PROPAGANDA MEETING

HK270151 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 19 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing Municipal CPC Committee First Secretary Daun Junyi stressed at the municipal planned parenthood propaganda work conference which concluded on 19 November: Practicing planned parenthood is a basic national policy. This issue is very important, and especially in Beijing. The urban areas must learn from Shanghai in planned parenthood work, and the rural areas must catch up with the urban areas.

This meeting was jointly convened by the municipal CPC committee propaganda department and the municipal planned parenthood committee. Zhou Boping, vice chairman of the State Planned Parenthood Commission, and Bai Jiefu, member of the municipal CPC committee standing committee and vice mayor, attended and spoke.

At present Beijing's birth rate and natural population growth rate are both rising from a decline. Judging by the current population situation of the city, the average birth rate will be 12 per 1,000 by the end of the century. Calculating by this figure, the city's population will register a net increase of about 1 million over this period. This will exceed the central authorities' demand for Beijing's population not to exceed 10 million, and cause a whole series of problems for the city.

Comrade Duan Junvi said: Promoting planned parenthood is a major content of building spiritual civilization. The party committees at all levels must pay particular attention to this task. We must simultaneously grasp economic and parenthood planning and simultaneously organize production responsibility systems and parenthood responsibility systems.

Enlivening the national economy is very important for achieving quadrupling in the national economy by the end of the century; however, there can be absolutely no enlivening in planned parenthood.

The meeting made arrangements for the city's Planned Parenthood Month from New Year to Spring Festival 1983, pointing out: The No 1 men of all districts, counties and bureaus must take the lead in publicizing the importance of planned parenthood and the relevant policies. The propaganda month drive

must focus on the rural areas. Popular propaganda forms must be applied for by the peasants, to ensure that the party's planned parenthood policy will penetrate into people's minds, that the work is not done in a superficial way and that no corner is untouched. As a result of the propaganda month, we should gradually establish a planned parenthood propaganda force, make the propaganda work a regular and systematic affair, and raise the city's planned parenthood work to a new level.

CSO: 4005/189

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'WEN HUI BAO' ON PREJUDICES AGAINST INTELLECTUALS

OW161021 Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 12 Nov 82 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Resolutely Eliminate the Influence of 'Leftist' Ideas, Conscientiously Correct Any Prejudices Against Intellectuals"]

[Text] The whole party is required to attach great importance to the role played by intellectuals in the struggle to bring about a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. Having a correct understanding of the intellectuals' role and status in socialist society and continuing to eliminate the influence of erroneous "Leftist" ideas that discriminate against the intellectuals are a prerequisite for doing our work well among them.

The 12th party congress explicitly declared that, like the workers and peasants, intellectuals are a force we must rely on in building socialism, that the workers, peasants and intellectuals are the three basic social forces in our country and that it is necessary to attach particular importance and give full play to the intellectuals' role in order to bring about a new situation in socialist modernization. Through study many comrades have enhanced their understanding and have raised their consciousness in implementing the party's policy toward intellectuals. However, owing to the influence of "Leftist" ideas and the small-producer mentality, some comrades have failed to get a clear understanding of the situation and other things, thus hindering the implementation of the party's policy toward intellectuals. This calls for us, with a definite objective in mind, to painstakingly conduct ideological education while studying and implementing the documents of the 12th party congress.

Some comrades who are accustomed to the formulation of "uniting, educating and remolding" intellectuals ask: "Do intellectuals not need remolding anymore?" It often happens that one's knowledge lags behind the development of objective conditions. There is also a difference between correct and advanced knowledge on the one hand and erroneous and backward knowledge on the other. In a society where class struggle still exists, people are liable to be influenced and corrupted by the ideologies of exploiting classes. In this sense, every member of our society, including every worker, peasant and intellectual, should remold himself as far as his world outlook is concerned.

In expressing the above view, however, some comrades regard intellectuals as "those who should be remolded" and treat them as members of the petty bourgeoisie or even the bourgeoisie, as if only the intellectuals were to be

remolded. This is wrong. As far as historical conditions are concerned, there were more than 2 million intellectuals who came from the old society in the early days after the founding of the PRC. At that time, the party Central Committee laid down the correct policy of uniting, educating and remolding intellectuals in order to win them over to serve new China. It was a historical task in a given stage of socialism. This task was carried out long before under the party's correct leadership. Our country now has more than 20 million intellectuals whose educational level is equivalent to or above that of a technical secondary school graduate. The overwhelming majority of them (more than 90 percent) have been trained by our party since the founding of the PRC. Most of the intellectuals who came from the old society have solved the question of serving socialism after receiving education by the party for more than 30 years. Therefore, it is obviously no longer appropriate to continue to use the slogan of "uniting, educating and remolding" intellectuals.

As far as class characteristics are concerned, today's intellectuals, like workers, peasants and other manual laborers in socialist society, are workers who support themselves by their own labor. The only difference between manual laborers and intellectuals is that the former do manual labor and the latter do mental labor. The fruit of intellectuals' labor mainly is not material products but spiritual products. Such a division of labor and such difference is no longer of the nature of antagonistic classes but a division of labor and difference within the working class. Some of our comrades have failed to understand the party's policy toward intellectuals, mainly because they have failed to see such essential changes and have looked at new questions according to their old viewpoints.

[OW161305] Some comrades say: "It is necessary to rely on science and culture to build a material civilization, and intellectuals are indispensable for this purpose. However, it is not necessarily so in building a spiritual civilization." This is a question that must be thrashed out. Regarding the development of education and science as one of the strategic priorities in economic construction, the report to the 12th party congress emphatically pointed out that it is necessary to rely on scientific and technological progress in order to achieve the grand goal of quadrupling the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production by the end of this century. Therefore, as far as the need to build a material civilization is concerned, people have understood the importance of developing science and culture and giving full play to intellectuals' role in this regard. People have also more or less reached a consensus on the need to rely on intellectuals for cultural development--the development of undertakings such as education, science and culture and the raising of the level of people's general knowledge--in building a spiritual civilization. But is it necessary to rely on intellectuals to conduct ideological education with communism as its main content? On this question, some of our comrades have often than not taken a skeptical attitude. In their eyes, workers and peasants will spontaneously accept communist ideas, while intellectuals are out of tune with communist ideas. We naturally cannot say that people with a higher educational background must have a higher political consciousness, but under no circumstances must we confuse communist ideas with simple class feelings. This is because communism as an ideological system is a science which came into being on the basis of summing up the outstanding cultural achievements in human history, especially the outstanding achievements made by mankind

in natural and social sciences since the 19th century, and it is exceedingly rich in knowledge and theoretical content. Therefore, we must assiduously study Marxist theory, science and culture, imbue all people with communist ideas and disseminate scientific and cultural knowledge among them. Only thus will we be able to have people base their communist ideals and faith on science.

Raising the level of people's scientific and cultural knowledge is closely related to raising the level of their political consciousness. In building a spiritual civilization, we should strive to integrate our political consciousness with our cultural knowledge. It is in this sense that intellectuals are an important force not only in the development of culture but also in the conduct of ideological education. It is wrong and harmful if one, in dealing with questions concerning the building of socialist spiritual civilization, separates cultural development from ideological education, sets the one against the other, stresses the one and negates or belittles the other.

Still some other comrades often unconsciously treat intellectuals as "an alien-class force," which has something to do with their lack of a correct understanding of mental labor. In socialist society, a fundamental change has taken place in whom mental laborers serve--they served the exploiting classes in the old society but now serve socialism. Moreover, a fundamental change has also taken place in the role of mental labor in society: It is no longer a means for capitalists to exploit laborers but a means of building socialism and bringing benefit to the workers and all other people. It is necessary to steadily work for more and better economic results in order to achieve the grand objective in economic development set by the 12th party congress. To carry out this task, we must rely mainly on science and technology, in addition to relying on the party's policies to arouse the masses' enthusiasm. We stress the development of intellectual resources and the need to attach great importance to intellectuals' mental work because these are required by the socialist modernization drive and are in conformity with the interests of the people.

[OW161325] The distinction between manual labor and mental labor is not a distinction between low and high positions. However, we should know that our party's recognition of the intellectuals as a part of the working class is designed to determine the intellectuals' social status and class character. It does not mean that there is no difference at all between the intellectuals and the workers and peasants, or between mental labor and manual labor. It is wrong to ignore their overall character and exaggerate their difference into a class antagonism. It is also wrong to ignore their particularities and demand that the intellectuals to be "exactly the same" as the workers and the peasants in every respect. Then, how should we view the difference between mental labor and manual labor? The difference is not innate. It is caused primarily by different educational levels attained by different persons, because different scientific and cultural levels play different roles in the course of work. Generally speaking, it takes people more time and money for education and training to acquire the ability for mental labor and to become intellectuals than to acquire ability in manual labor. In the course of work, the intellectuals require constant restudy to learn new knowledge and they need necessary books, materials and other conditions. Mental labor generally

has the same characteristics as the labor of individual workers and handicraftsmen with regard to the manner of undertaking, and it has continuity. Some mental laborers must work more than 8 hours a day. In order to make new scientific achievements, one needs to constantly increase his knowledge, conduct repeated experiments and do arduous work. According to the socialist principle of distribution, recognizing the difference between mental labor achievements and manual labor achievements and giving proper compensation for the former are conducive to developing productive forces and to raising the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation and is in the interests of all the people. To demand uniformity and practice equalitarianism will do no good for society. Therefore, we should affirm that the intellectuals play the same important role as the workers and the peasants in socialist modernization. On this premise, we should also consider the particularity of mental labor undertaken by the intellectuals, provide the intellectuals with the bare necessary working conditions suitable for undertaking mental labor, and facilitate their creative work. It is doubtless utterly wrong to ignore the particularity of mental labor, to invariably blame the intellectuals for "seeking special privileges" when they make reasonable demands, or to discriminately and hostilely criticize them as "arrogant." Of course, the improvement of their study, working and living conditions can only be made gradually in the light of the actual situation of China's economic development. This is understood by the broad masses of intellectuals.

The party Central Committee has repeatedly pointed out that it is a task of the whole party to eliminate the erroneous thinking of discriminating against intellectuals and to further implement the party's policies concerning intellectuals. The key to implementing well the party's intellectual policy is to enhance the cadres' understanding. Once they truly understand the correct principles and policies adopted by the party Central Committee, all specific problems concerning the implementation of the intellectual policies can readily be solved. We hope that in the course of studying the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, the broad masses of cadres will thoroughly study and propagate the basic viewpoint on correctly treating the intellectuals adopted by the party Central Committee since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee. We hope that the cadres will consciously correct various erroneous and confused ideas and firmly make their thinking and action conform to the party's line, principles and policies. We also hope to carry out ideological education still better among the intellectuals and help them to understand their historical mission and gradually overcome their own weaknesses. We should do what the report to the 12th CPC National Congress calls for, bring into full play the initiative and creativeness of the intellectuals for socialist modernization, further consolidate the close unity of the three social forces--the workers, the peasants and the intellectuals--and make joint efforts to create a new situation of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/189

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HUNAN CONFERENCE ON FAMILY PLANNING REPORTED

HUNAN RADIO: 'Wise' Planning

HK290434 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Station commentary: "What Counts Is Straightening Out the Ideas of Leading Cadres at All Levels"]

[Text] The 12th CPC National Congress has stipulated family planning as a fundamental national policy. It has specifically planned that by the end of the century, the population must be kept below 1.2 billion. This is a wise and forward-looking decisive policy and is in line with the national conditions and the desire of the people. At present, Hunan has a population of 54 million people. The Farland area on which we depend for our living has been reduced to 0.96 mu for each person. We should say that we have become aware of the disadvantages of an unchecked population growth. Facing the present rapid population growth peak, if we fail to firmly advocate that a couple should have only one child, the population may grow again to a great extent. This will not only affect average income increases, but will also cause great difficulty in food, clothing and employment and may even affect social stability. Therefore, while vigorously developing production, we should never relax our efforts in controlling population growth.

In this speech at the provincial experience-exchange conference on family planning, provincial CPC committee First Secretary Mao Zhiyong pointed out that the key for doing a good job in family planning is to constantly deepen the understanding of the leading cadres at all levels. In recent years, some achievements have been scored in family planning due to the great importance attached by leading cadres at all levels. The natural population growth of the province was reduced to 0.89 percent in 1980. An advanced example in controlling population growth over extensive areas, Changde Prefecture, has emerged. However, the development of this work is still uneven in the province overall. The work base in various areas is weak. This is because this work involves various fields, has a strong sense of policy, and faces strong resistance and interference. But the main reason is that the leading cadres in some areas fail to understand the great importance of family planning. All localities should earnestly study the 12th party congress documents and carry out the spirit of the provincial experience-exchange conference on family planning, deepen their understanding and be clear on the actual important

guiding ideology that each couple should have only one child; review and sum up previous experiences in accordance with Changde Prefecture's experiences; adopt corresponding measures in line with local conditions, stress that each couple should have only one child, concentrate efforts to grasp the work several times a year and strive to score achievements within 3-5 years and strictly control population growth.

Points Stressed

HK290346 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Text] The provincial experience-exchange conference on family planning which closed on 23 November stressed the following points: In light of the 12th congress spirit and by studying and spreading the experiences of Changde Prefecture, localities throughout the province must firmly advocate that a couple should have only one child in order to control population growth and achieve good results within 3-5 years. The conference was convened by the provincial CPC committee and the provincial government.

Provincial CPC committee First Secretary Mao Zhiyong delivered a speech at the conference. On behalf of the provincial CPC committee and provincial government, Liu Zheng, member of the provincial CPC committee standing committee, made a report: Firmly carry out the spirit of the 12th CPC congress and strive to create a new situation in family planning.

Some advanced units introduced their experiences at the meeting. The experiences in controlling population growth in Changde Prefecture were given extensive attention. The participants held that this meeting had deepened their understanding of the strategic significance of strictly controlling population growth; they had firmly established the guiding ideology that each couple have only one child, and strengthened confidence in doing a good job in family planning.

The meeting called on all localities to do a good job in family planning propaganda and advocated late marriages and pregnancy and eugenics to improve population quality. At the same time, couples who are CPC and CYL members should take the lead in having only one child. It is necessary to strengthen the building of the planned parenthood force and establish and perfect the responsibility and contract system of family planning so that this will become a regular practice and system.

CSO: 4005/189

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HUBEI HOLDS TELEPHONE MEETING ON JUDICIAL WORK

HK260531 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Text] Yesterday evening, the provincial party committee held a telephone meeting to convey the spirit of the recent telephone meeting summoned by the Central Judicial Commission and arrange our province's judicial and social order work in this winter and next spring. Li Ding, member of the Standing Committee of the provincial party committee and responsible leader of the provincial Judicial Commission, presided over the meeting.

Huang Zhizhen, secretary of the provincial party committee and acting provincial governor, made a speech at the meeting. He said: Social order work in our province has achieved marked results with obvious improvement in social order. However, we have not fundamentally improved social order in our province. Responsible comrades of party committees and governments at all levels should strengthen their leadership over social order work and organize all departments and units to act in a coordinated way. It is necessary to improve social order in a comprehensive way and simultaneously develop the two civilizations. Special attention should be paid to strengthening education for young people, helping them strengthen their ability to resist the corruption of decadent bourgeois ideology. In particular, we should make a good job of educating, helping and redeeming juvenile delinquents. We should conduct various forms of legal system propaganda and education in a wide and thorough manner so as to set up a firmer notion of the legal system among cadres and the masses. Party and government departments at all levels, especially the departments dealing with judicial work, propaganda, culture, journalism, broadcasting and television, should take publicizing the local system and popularizing legal knowledge as one of their important tasks.

Comrade Huang Zhizhen said: When handling social order work this winter and next spring, special attention should be paid to the key points, weak links and prominent issues. Active criminals who commit serious crimes must be punished severely without mercy as soon as possible according to the law. Other ordinary criminals should also be dealt with by legal and administrative means. We should implement our constant policy of winning over and transforming the majority and cracking down on the minority and the basic policy of combining the means of punishment and leniency, and leniency to those who confess their crimes and severity to those who refuse to confess. As for the units and localities where many social order problems exist, work groups should be sent there to help grassroots party and administrative organs to control the situation

within a set time. In those units and localities where social order has been rectified, the three organizations at the grassroots level and internal security organizations should be set up and brought into full play.

Attending yesterday evening's telephone meeting were principal leaders of provincial, prefectural, municipal and county party committees and governments, responsible people of the judicial commissions, departments of public security, procuratorial work, courts and civil affairs as well as responsible people of the relevant departments of the PLA provincial military region.

CSO: 4005/189

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HEBEI HOLDS MEETING ON HIGHER EDUCATION

HK270342 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 21 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Responsible comrades of the provincial government recently heard reports on the work of the provincial Higher Education Bureau and the six key institutes of higher education subordinate to the province, and studied the solution of problems that urgently need solving in these institutes. At the meeting responsible persons of the provincial Higher Education Bureau, Hebei University, Hebei Normal University, Hebei Industrial College, Hebei Normal College, Hebei Medical College and Hebei Agricultural University reported on the basic situation in higher education, on plans for developing higher education and strengthening teaching and scientific research, and on a number of tasks to be tackled at present.

Liu Bingyan, Li Feng, Xu Ruilin and Ho Qimin, responsible persons of the provincial government, listened to the reports. Yin Zhe, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, attended as an observer. Acting Governor Liu Bingyan gave a summation at the end of the report meeting.

Liu Bingyan said: The 12th party congress designated education as a strategic focus. We must attach great importance to this work and do a good job in planning. Hence, in planning the development of the province's higher education, we must consider the talented people required in the next 20 years. In the first 8 years, we should consider training talented people urgently needed by the province, to be ready for vigorous economic development in the latter 10 years. The planning must include readjustment. It is necessary to make overall plans for the province's 31 institutes of higher education. The guiding ideology for formulating plans is to continually improve the quality of higher education, so as to produce more talented people more quickly for the province's economic development. Improving the quality of education mainly depends on the six key schools subordinate to the province.

Comrade Liu Bingyan stressed: The leadership groups of the higher education institutes should be at least two-thirds composed of able people. We must get a good grasp of selecting for the college leadership groups people who are really capable of running the colleges.

Comrade Liu Bingyan said: The focus of higher education expenditure should be on teaching equipment and on living quarters for teachers.

The responsible persons of the colleges reported at the meeting: The development of higher education is being affected by shortage of education expenditures and the limited finances for capital construction.

Comrade Liu Bingyan said: Next year, apart from the normal expenditures, the provincial authorities are prepared to allot some additional funds for teaching equipment and for teachers' quarters. The schools should also devise some ways of making money, and pay attention to drawing in investment from all sectors of society.

Comrade Liu Bingyan said in conclusion: A provincial conference on higher education will be held in the first quarter of next year to further study how to promote the province's higher education.

CSO: 4005/189

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HEBEI ISSUES REGULATIONS ON PRIVATE SCHOOLS

HK270306 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 20 Nov 82

[Excerpts] In order to cultivate talented people with specialized knowledge and skills in all fields, to meet the needs of socialist construction, the provincial government has issued a circular on vigorously promoting and actively supporting the operation of schools by private individuals, and has also printed and distributed provisional regulations on operating these schools.

The regulations stipulate: These private schools must implement the party's education principles. Retired engineers, technicians, doctors, teachers, experts, professors, artists and other personnel with a certain degree of specialized knowledge or particular skills and who are enthusiastic to promote the socialist education cause can apply to operate schools. However, people who are working at present are not permitted to operate private schools. The schools must have certain conditions for operating, such as premises and simple teaching equipment.

The candidates for recruitment by such schools are social youths and others who want to study, who are in good health and have at least graduated from junior secondary school. When their studies are completed, those who pass the examinations will be given certificates by the schools as proof of their period of study. The state will not take responsibility for assigning these graduates. When the state is recruiting work personnel, those who meet the recruitment conditions and the specialization requirements can be hired, after examination, under the same conditions as other graduates.

The method of opening a private school is for the individual to send in an application which, after investigation and agreement by the urban neighborhood residents' committee or the rural production team, is submitted to local education administrative departments at and above county and municipal level, which will then issue a license to run a school. The costs of running the school should in general be met by the person running it. Routine expenditures and labor remuneration for the school operators should be solved from the school fees or from the students' labor income.

CSO: 4005/189

PRESS REPORTS ON MEETING OF FORUM TO REVIEW WESTERNIZATION MOVEMENT

HK250730 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 17 Nov 82 p 3

[Report by Yang Xiaomin [2799 2556 2404]: "Summary of a Form on the History of the Westernization Movement"]

[Text] A national forum on the history of the westernization movement was held in Shanghai from 26-30 October. It was sponsored by the Department of History of the East China Normal University. The participants discussed the following questions concerning the westernization movement:

1. Question of the Relationship Between the Westernization Movement, on the One Hand, and the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom and the Reform Movement of 1898, on the Other Hand

Some comrades held that the Taiping heavenly kingdom and the westernization movement "were in contradiction with each other and also had common grounds which linked them together." These common grounds were: 1) Both of them aimed at learning from the West, that is, "learning the advanced technologies of the foreign countries." 2) Both of them promoted the birth and development of capitalist modern industry in China. An important cause of the Westernization movement was the need to suppress the present uprising waged by the Taiping heavenly kingdom. However, in fact, the westernization movement unconsciously acted as the executor of the will of the Taiping heavenly kingdom. Similarly, there was an internal relationship between the westernization movement and the reform movement of 1898. Many comrades took exception to the theory that the westernization movement was "a complete failure," a theory generally accepted by the history circles in the past. They held that the failure of the westernization movement contained success. The westernization movement brought capitalist modern industry which China never had before. The economic development caused by this movement created material conditions for the reform movement of 1898. The westernization movement impelled the old classes to split up and the new classes to emerge and prepared class forces for the reform movement of 1898. During the westernization movement, Western modern sciences and culture were widely spread in China, quickening the maturity and rise of the thinking focusing on constitutional reform and modernization. Therefore, the westernization movement prepared conditions for the reform movement of 1898.

Some comrades said: There was a relationship of succession between the Taiping heavenly kingdom, the westernization movement and the reform movement of 1898.

Therewere attempts made and struggles waged by the representative political figures of different classes in modern China to stop China from becoming a colony or semicolony. They played an active role in different degrees in pushing the Chinese society forward. However, other comrades held that it would be inappropriate to set the Taiping heavenly kingdom and the reform movement of 1898 against the westernization movement, that having internal relationship and continuity did not mean having a relationship of succession, and that the westernization movement could not be compared with the Taiping heavenly kingdom, which was obviously a progressive movement, nor with the reform movement of 1898, which also was mainly progressive despite its numerous shortcomings.

2. Question of the Relationship Between the Westernization Movement and Chinese Capitalism

Some comrades held that the civilian enterprises established during the westernization movement were characteristic of bureaucratic capitalism so that they basically hindered the normal development of national capitalism, caused the abnormal development of Chinese capitalism and gave rise to feudal capitalism which was manipulated by compradors. This feudal capitalism and the bureaucratic capitalism represented by the four big families of the KMT were imbued with the same spirit, they added. Other comrades disagreed with the above viewpoint. They argued that the civilian enterprises founded by the westernization group should not be equated with the bureaucratic-capitalist enterprises dominated by the four big families of the KMT and that these civilian enterprises should be regarded as bureaucratic capitalism in an embryonic form and had the nature of national capitalism in a certain degree.

Some comrades said: The civilian enterprises founded during the westernization movement developed in two different directions as a result of the contention between the supervising government officials and the merchants who operated these enterprises. They were an embryonic form of bureaucratic capitalism and also of national capitalism. For this reason, they played a role in promoting and at the same time hindering the development of capitalism in China. Other comrades pointed out: The enterprises established during the westernization movement were "run by the government," "supervised by the government and run by merchants," "jointly run by the government and merchants," or run in various other forms. They were founded by the Chinese and played a role resisting the capitalist economic invasion by foreign countries. Therefore, all of them were national capitalist enterprises. The only difference was that they were run either by state capital or by private capital.

[HK250732] There was a relatively big difference in opinion on this question. However, the participants seriously studied the question according to the policy of "Letting a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend." After discussion, many comrades were of this opinion: The westernization group founded a great number of modern enterprises and vigorously brought in advanced sciences and technologies of the Western countries, thereby accelerating the development of capitalist productive forces and giving rise to the capitalist relations of production, the emergence and development of the capitalist factors meant the most severe castigation and negation of feudalism. One of the main reasons for establishing the enterprises during the westernization movement was to vie with foreign merchants for profits. Therefore, these enterprises played a progressive role in resisting the capitalist economic invasion by foreign countries.

3. Question of the Method of Studying the Westernization Movement

The participants generally agreed that greater attention should be paid to the method of studying the westernization movement. Their opinions can be boiled down to the following several points: 1) In studying the westernization movement, attention should be paid to studying not only the economic activities of the westernization group but also its political, military and diplomatic activities. The study should be carried out by linking the method of class analysis with the viewpoint of historical development. 2) In carrying out study, attention should be paid to organically combining macrocosm and microcosm, making concrete analysis of each of the westernization group members and each of the enterprises established by this group, and opposing the method of demanding uniformity and handling matters in an oversimplified manner. 3) In carrying out study, it is necessary to uphold the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts. The methods of proceeding from the needs of the political situation to consider a problem and proceeding from a classical theory to collect data are undesirable.

CSO: 4005/189

BRIEFS

LITERARY, ART WORK CONFERENCE--A conference on literary and art work in five provinces and regions sponsored by the propaganda department of the CPC Central Committee opened yesterday in Xian. The conference was presided over by the propaganda department deputy director, He Jingzhi. At the opening of the conference, He Jingzhi pointed out that the purpose of the conference is to exchange the experience of literary and art circles in the northwest provinces in implementing the policies of the 12th CPC National Congress; to discuss the tentative ideas and proposals in order to create a new situation in the literary and art field; and to further discuss the draft proposals. More than 40 leading cadres of propaganda departments, bureaus of culture, the Chinese Federation of Literary and Art Circles and Chinese Writers Associations in five northwest provinces and concerned parties from the propaganda department of the CPC Central Committee and research department of the CYL Central Committee attended. Deputy director of the propaganda department under the provincial CPC committee, (Shang Jie), made a speech at yesterday's meeting. [HK170331] [Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 15 Nov 82]

OFFICIALS VISIT PRODUCTION CORPS--From 11 to 14 November, Central Committee secretariat Alternate Secretary Qiao Shi, NPC Nationalities Committee Vice Chairman Li Gui, and State Nationalities Commission Vice Minister Huang Guangxue visited the Shihezi and Turpan areas to see the 143d Regiment of the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps, the 1 August Sugar Refinery, the 1 August Cotton Textile Mill, and a commune. They were accompanied by Tomur Dawamat, secretary of the regional CPC committee and chairman of the regional people's congress standing committee, and (Zhao Yizeng), member of the standing committee of the regional CPC committee. Qiao Shi, Li Gui and Huang Guangxue left Urumqi by air for Beijing on 16 November. Regional leaders Tomur Dawamat, Huang Luobin, Janabil, (Zhao Yizen) and Ba Dai saw them off. [HK170228] [Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1650 GMT 16 Nov 82]

DELEGATION HEAD ON NPC SESSION--Beijing, 26 Nov (XINHUA)--Zhaxi Wangqug, head of the Qinghai delegation to the fifth session of the fifth NPC, told XINHUA today that the current meeting has convened at a time when the whole party, the entire army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country are warmly responding to the strategic goals put forward by the 12th CPC National Congress and are on a great march to creating a new situation of socialist modernization, and that the people of all nationalities on the Qinghai Plateau have placed great hopes in this meeting. He said: The meeting will examine and adopt the new constitution and the Sixth Five-Year National Economic Construction Plan. With such a cardinal law for running the country, and with practical

and effective construction plans and measures, the people of all nationalities in the country will have a clearer orientation, greater confidence and more ways of doing things, and will work more energetically. The 69-year-old Zhaxi Wangqug said emotionally: The deputies of various nationalities from Qinghai have a strong sense of responsibility; they are determined to make the meeting a success and accomplish the mission given to them by the people. We firmly believe that the Chinese people have great hopes, and that they certainly will achieve still greater victories in socialist modernization. [Text] [OW010641 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1652 GMT 26 Nov 82]

CSO: 4005/189

BRIEFS

FARM PACT WITH GUATEMALA--Taipei, Oct 28 (CNA)--The executive yuan Thursday approved a revised agreement on technical cooperation in agriculture between the Republic of China and Guatemala. Under the agreement, the Guatemalan Government from now on will grant privileges and immunity to Chinese personnel to meet the working situation there. The Sino-Guatemalan cooperation agreement was first signed in Guatemala City February 1977 and became effective in August the same year for a 2-year term. It will be automatically extended after it expires. [Text] [OW021241 Taipei CNA in English 1352 GMT 28 Oct 82 OW]

SOLOMON ISLANDS PRIME MINISTER--Taipei, Oct 29 (CNA)--Prime Minister Solomon Malaoni of Solomon Islands arrived here Thursday for a weeklong visit. While here, he will call on government officials and visit the nation's economic and cultural establishments. Upon arrival Thursday, he was warmly greeted by (?Vice Foreign) Minister H.K. Shao at the airport. [Text] [OW021241 Taipei CNA in English 1355 GMT 29 Oct 82 OW]

ASIAN GAMES MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION--Taipei, Nov 22 (CNA)--The Republic of China has applied again for the membership of the Asian games. Wu Ching-Kuo, an adviser to the Chinese-Taipei olympic committee, last Saturday returned from India where the Asian games are being held. He said the application had been submitted to Raja Singh, current chairman of the games, which may be discussed in a meeting to be held December 5. [Text] [OW221231 Taipei CNA in English 0934 GMT 23 Nov 82]

CSO: 4000/18

END

JPRS 82455

14 December 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 373

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82455

14 December 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 373

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. MX Missile Deployment Reviewed
(Beijing Domestic Service, 25 Nov 82) 1

Carter Reveals Secret Talks With Deng Xiaoping
(Ba Yi Radio, 24 Nov 82) 4

PARTY AND STATE

Report of 12th Party Congress Discussed
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 20 Sep 82) 6

Impartial Enforcement of Party Discipline Praised
(DAZHONG RIBAO, 5 Aug 82) 11

Draft Constitution Position on Overseas Chinese Discussed
(Liu Baoqi; LIAONING RIBAO, 27 Jul 82) 13

Enthusiasm Over Draft Constitution Shown Throughout Liaoning
(LIAONING RIBAO, 21 Jul 82) 14

Series of Questions on CPC Constitution Reported
(Beijing Domestic Service, various dates) 16

45th, 46th, 47th Series
48th Series
49th Series
50th, 51sth, 52d Series

[III - CC - 80]

'CHINA DAILY' Commentator Views New Constitution
(CHINA DAILY, 30 Nov 82) 26

NPC Deputies Praise Draft Constitution
(XINHUA, 30 Nov 82) 28

NPC Deputies Confident in Draft Constitution
(XINHUA, 30 Nov 82) 29

World Opinion Welcomes New Draft Constitution
(XINHUA, 30 Nov 82) 31

Report on Requirements for Party Members
(SHANXI RIBAO, 2 Nov 82) 33

Nei Monggol Calls for Rectifying Party's Workstyle
(Nei Monggol Regional Service, 11 Nov 82) 35

Jiangsu's Xu Jiatun on Government Reform
(Jiangsu Provincial Service, 13 Nov 82) 37

Henan Holds Political, Legal Work Conference
(Henan Provincial Service, 21 Nov 82) 39

'GUANGMING RIBAO' Discusses 'Four Basic Principles'
(Li Shenglin; GUANGMING RIBAO, 8 Nov 82) 41

Anhui Journal Describes Veteran Cadres' Tasks
(Anhui Provincial Service, 18 Nov 82) 45

Wuhan Municipal Party Congress Opens
(Hubei Provincial Service, 20 Nov 82) 50

'BEIJING REVIEW' Examines 'Spiritual Civilizations'
(BEIJING REVIEW, 22 Nov 82) 51

'BEIJING REVIEW' on Nation's Policy Toward Dalai Lama
(BEIJING REVIEW, 15 Nov 82) 53

Report on Publicizing Communist Ideology
(BAN YUE TAN, 10 Nov 82) 55

NPC Standing Committee Issues Decree No 11
(XINHUA, 19 Nov 82) 56

Communist Ideology, Economic Incentives Noted
(GONGREN RIBAO, 15 Nov 82) 57

Briefs

Hubei Municipal Leadership Group 61
Nei Monggol Trade Union Congress 61
Nei Monggol CPPCC Meeting 61
Tianjin Industrial Output 62
Nei Monggol Party Style 62
Congress Spirit 62
Banqen Erdini in Chengdu 63
Henan Scientific Association 63
Deng's Son in U.S. 63

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Work Style of Party Discussed
(Cheng Fang; YUNNAN SHEJUI KEXUE, Jul 1982) 64

Intellectuals Hail Draft Revised Constitution
(XINHUA, 28 Nov 82) 76

Tibet Government Chairman Interviewed
(Jing Wei; BEIJING REVIEW, 22 Nov 82) 78

Sociologist on Development in Minority Areas
(XINHUA, 29 Nov 82) 83

Minorities Increase in Nei Monggol, Xinjiang
(XINHUA, 29 Nov 82) 84

NPC Deputies on Progress for Autonomous Areas
(XINHUA, 29 Nov 82) 85

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. MX MISSILE DEPLOYMENT REVIEWED

OW270953 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Nov 82

["International Current Events" program: "Questions and Answers on Current Events--What on Earth Are All Those Disputes Over MX Missile Deployment in the United States?"]

[Text] [Question] A few days ago, U.S. President Reagan suggested spending more than $26 billion on deploying 100 MX intercontinental missiles--in a dense pack arrangement--on a 52 square kilometer missile field. He said that this arrangement would make incoming Soviet intercontinental missiles destroy each other. His proposal has sparked debates in the United States. What is all of this about?

[Answer] In the past few years, in order to stop the downward trend in U.S. military strength as compared with the military strength of the Soviet Union, the U.S. Government has called for developing new strategic nuclear weapons. The MX missile is the fourth generation U.S. intercontinental missile. Compared to the Minuteman III intercontinental missile, it is more powerful and performs better. Over the years, debates have focused on how and where to deploy the MX missiles.

[Question] What is there to debate about deployment?

[Answer] This question deserves careful study. In fighting battles, we must consider how to preserve ourselves and destroy the enemy. In deploying missiles, we must study ways to give the missiles greater mobility, make them less vulnerable to enemy attacks and more capable in striking at the enemy. The present U.S. intercontinental missiles system is comprised of three parts: 1) intercontinental missiles with land launching bases which are simply called land-based intercontinental missiles. Minuteman missiles belong to this category; 2) intercontinental missiles with submarine launching bases simply called sea-based intercontinental missiles; and 3) missiles launched from strategic bombers which are simply called aircraft-carried missiles. These three parts are what is usually known in the United States as land-sea-air three-in-one combination of strategic nuclear strength. Some refer to it as the strategic triad.

[Question] Among the three methods of deployment, which one is considered best?

[Answer] The three methods have their respective advantages and disadvantages. In the United States, views are divided. Those who favor deploying intercontinental missiles on submarines argue that submarines moving under water are highly secretive, mobile and unlikely to be destroyed by the enemy in one strike. However, air force people consider deploying intercontinental missiles on submarines expensive and not necessarily safe. They say that in war time, one nuclear explosion will cause tsumani and rock a submarine upside down. As regards deploying intercontinental missiles on strategic bombers, some people think this is even more ricky because bombers are vulnerable to surprise attacks by enemy missiles.

The United States now possesses an advance warning system that includes satellite and radar. It takes 30 minutes for a Soviet missile to hit the United States. A U.S. bomber may have time to dodge an incoming Soviet missile if it is detected in advance. However, if the missile is launched from a Soviet submarine in the high seas close to the United States. the U.S. bomber will hardly have time to dodge because it takes the missile only a few minutes to reach the United States. Now, more Americans still favor land deployment of intercontinental missiles. Of course, deploying missiles on land is not a good idea either. Such missiles are most vulnerable to surprise attacks because of highly-developed satellite detection technology. However, because of the many advantages of land-based intercontinental missiles--mainly because the command and control equipment is more reliable, the original target of attack can be quickly altered, the warheads are more precise in hitting the target and the management expense is lower--the United States and the Soviet Union still regard land-based intercontinental missiles as their most important strategic weapons. Finally, it was decided to deploy MX intercontinental missiles on land.

[Question] Since it has been decided to deploy missiles on land, why are there all of these arguments?

[Answer] Deployment on land also involves the question of how to preserve oneself and retaliate upon the enemy. According to a U.S. official estimate, if the Soviet Union begins striking with the SS-18 and SS-19 intercontinental missiles, it may destroy all or most of the U.S. land-based intercontinental missiles in one strike, making the United States unable to strike back. Therefore, various plans have again emerged on how and where to deploy the MX missiles.

Former U.S. President Carter favored a multi-bunker deployment plan. According to this plan, several somewhat parallel highways would be built in sparsely-populated states in the West with 23 bunkers along a highway. The missiles would be installed on launch vehicles and kept in certain silos during normal times. Once the warning signal sounding an attack by Soviet intercontinental missiles is received, the vehicle carrying the MX missile would move the missile to another bunker within 30 minutes. The missiles' survivability is greatly enhanced because they can be secretly moved among the close, numerous bunkers. However, this method has its marked drawbacks. First of all, it is expensive and requires huge projects. For each missile, 23 bunkers are to be built; for 100 missiles, 2,300 bunkers are needed. In addition, highways totaling thousands

of kilometers must be built to link the bunkers. This would require tens of billions of dollars and large tracts of land. The local natural environment would definitely be impaired. People in the Western states are doggedly against this plan.

Carter's plan was changed after Reagan took office. According to the proposals in Reagan's letter to the congress a few days ago, the 100 missiles planned for manufacture will be deployed in a 52 square kilometer area in Wyoming state in the West. Each silo will be 500 to 600 meters away from another silo. Reagan also noted that if Congress approved this proposal, the United States could expect to deploy the first batch of 10 MX missiles by 1986 and the remainder of the 100 MX missiles by 1989. Reagan said that by deploying the MX missiles in strong underground silos close to each other, it would be possible to make incoming Soviet missiles destroy each other. In this way, even if the United States is subjected to the first nuclear strike from the Soviet Union, it would still have the ability to strike back.

[Question] How can the incoming Soviet missiles destroy each other?

[Answer] According to U.S. news agencies, because the United States concentrates all of the MX missiles in one place, the Soviet Union is compelled to locate the target of attack within this small area. When the first incoming Soviet missile explodes, the next Soviet missiles would be destroyed or led astray. This will preserve the U.S. power of nuclear retaliation. Some Americans deem this deployment as absurd and ridiculous. Some people ask: Since the first Soviet missile's explosion will result in the destruction of other nuclear missiles, how then is it possible for the United States to launch its MX missiles? As a matter of fact, these are not merely debates on the question of MX missile deployment, the involve the question of funds. Some people have pointed out that since the United States is experiencing huge financial deficits, it does not pay to spend tens of billions of dollars on deploying the MX missile system which, in practical circumstances, is not surefire. Of course, the question of MX missile deployment is also related to relations with the Soviet Union. In the strategic arms limitation talks between the United States and the USSR, both sides want to preserve their superiority and pretend to be sincere about the talks. This question is quite complicated, so we will not go into detail here. It will be fully discussed later when we talk about the question of the disarmament of the USSR and the United States.

CSO: 4005/187

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CARTER REVEALS SECRET TALKS WITH DENG XIAOPING

OW290336 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 24 Nov 82

[Text] Former U.S. President Carter's memoirs were recently published in the United States. In his memoirs, Carter revealed the facts about discussions between the U.S. Government and China before the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. These facts are still generally unknown to the world. Carter openly revealed U.S. imperialism's purpose in establishing diplomatic relations with China.

In his memoirs, Carter paid particular attention to describing his talks with China, including his talks with Comrade Deng Xiaoping during the latter's visit to the United States in January 1979. The former president revealed to the whole world that, during their talks, Deng Xiaoping told him about China's plan to attack Vietnam in February 1979 and obtained his approval. The memoirs also revealed some other details about the secret talks between the Chinese leader and him. The following are some excerpts from Carter's memoirs:

In his memoirs, Carter openly said: My efforts to solve the question of normalizing relations with China are based on the interests of the United States.

Carter expected that the United States' cooperation with China to further increase U.S. strength in Asia and other parts of the world. In other words, U.S. authorities planned to use the "China card" to achieve its global strategic goal of dominating the entire world.

Carter said: The establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China is to ensure that China will continue to maintain close contact with and assist the capitalist world and recognize this historical fact.

In his memoirs, former U.S. President Carter revealed some details about the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China. He said: At the end of May in 1978, shortly after U.S. presidential assistant on national security affairs Brezinski's visit to China, Deng Xiaoping sent me the draft of the joint communique. Concerning the portion on the United States' relations with Taiwan, I could not accept it. Brezezinski and I made a decision on not accepting the proposal of the Chinese side and not changing the conditions put forward by us on normalizing relations between the United States and China.

We gave instructions to our representative in China, Woodcock, to put pressure on the Chinese side and told Chai Zemin, China's chief liaison representative in Washington, that only by maintaining the independent status of Taiwan after the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China can the relations between the two countries be normalized.

In describing the events following the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China, Carter said: It would appear that under United States pressure China has changed its stand on the Taiwan issue. Carter also said: By his request, China's newspapers stopped attacks against U.S. policies and commented on the Taiwan issue in a prudent manner.

Carter said: In January 1979, when Deng Xiaoping visited the White House and discussed with the then U.S. President on the time and place of China's attack against Vietnam, those present including U.S. presidential assistant on national security affairs Brezezinski and Secretary of State Vance all pledged that they would never reveal the secret talk.

However, those Americans revealed the secret talk. Because the Vietnamese people learned our army's time of attack, they made full preparations. Now Carter has gone back on his word and said in his memoirs: Deng Xiaoping explained to me in detail China's plan of attack against Vietnam.

The Americans are unreliable. We can see it from this point.

On the matter of U.S. newspapers' publication of U.S. former President Carter's memoirs, the information department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of our country has been authorized to (?refute) the contents of the memoirs and make preparations for refuting the rumor, including Comrade Deng Xiaoping's exchange of opinions with U.S. former President on our country's counterattack against Vietnam.

CSO: 4005/187

REPORT OF 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DISCUSSED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Sep 82 p 4

[Article: "Guidance Material in Studying the 12th Party Congress Report," Part 6]

[Text] Why must party discipline be reinforced in order to strengthen democratic centralism?

First, let us consider it in terms of the nature of the party. As we know, any political party is not a simple collection of its members, but a unified whole organized according to certain principles and systems. Our party is the vanguard of the worker class with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as the banner and a unified whole organized according to democratic centralism. On the basis of a high degree of democracy, it practices a high degree of centralism and serves as the nuclear force leading the people of all nationalities in the country. Tightening party discipline is the basic guarantee to realize the party's programs, implement its lines, principles and policies and complete all its tasks. If each does what he thinks is right and goes his own way, how can there be any fighting power?

Next, let us consider it in terms of the party's historical experiences. Reinforcing the party's discipline is the basic prerequisite to strengthening democratic centralism and normalizing its political life. As proved by history, whenever we upheld democratic centralism and tightened party discipline, the political life within the party was normal, the party united and flourished and its cause developed; otherwise, its cause inevitably suffered losses. This experience must be kept in mind always.

Thirdly, in terms of our party's current status, if we wish to strengthen democratic centralism, we must also reinforce the party's discipline. The substance of the party's discipline includes the organizational, political and mass aspects and the duties and rights of its members as stipulated in its constitution. To strengthen democratic centralism, primarily we must reinforce the party'spolitical discipline, making the entire party maintain unity with the Party Central Committee; otherwise, it will basically violate the principles of theparty's democratic centralism. Meanwhile, we must also reinforce the party's organizational discipline, viz., the individuals are subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority,

the lower party organizations are subordinate to the higher party organizations, and the whole party is subordinate to the Central Committee of the party. These words collectively express the party's organizational principles and discipline and must be strictly obeyed by all organizations and individuals; there must be no infraction. Within the party, we must develop democracy and permit the members to express different views, fully discuss the problems and truly attain the stage of saying all one knows and saying it without reserve. Once the party organization makes a decision, the party members must firmly implement it. If an individual holds a different view, he may keep it to himself, or express it to the higher organization, but in action he must unconditionally implement the decision, without showing any objection. Only a proletarian political party can have such strict iron discipline. In this aspect, our party has made a great progress. However, as stated by Comrade Hu Yaobang, "in terms of the party as a whole, undemocratic phenomena and patriarchal practices have not been eliminated among many party organizations. Decentralism and liberalism are also fairly serious." They fail to distinguish between right and wrong and between rewards and punishment; failing to criticize or punish when criticisms or punishments are called for. They even showed resistance when higher organizations or discipline inspection units enforce party discipline. All these phenomena are violations of the principles of democratic centralism and are not permitted by party discipline. This shows that if we are to strengthen democratic centralism, we must strengthen party discipline.

Why must member registration be carried out in the course of party rectification?

For basic improvement of the party work style, the Party Central Committee has decided that, beginning in the second half of next year, there will be, over a period of 3 years and by periods and by groups, a total rectification of the party work style and party organization. It has also ruled that, on the basis of rectifying the ideological style, member registration must finally be carried out and, in strict accordance with the provisions of the new party constitution, those failing to satisfy the requirements after education will be expelled or persuaded to resign their membership.

This will be the first time on a party-wide basis in the history of our party that some unqualified party members will be expelled or encouraged to resign their membership from the party by way of membership registration in the process of rectification. Why is it necessary to carry out member registration in the currecent party rectification?

First, our party is the vanguard organization of the worker class maturing after the tempering of a long struggle. The main stream of our party ranks is pure and strong. However, as to date the remnant poison of the 10-year civil strife has not been completely purged and as the corrosive influence of the various exploiting ideologies under the new conditions has somewhat increased, the issue of impurity in ideology, in work style and in organization is indeed found in our party today, and the party work style has not been basically improved. To eliminate these three impurities in the party, one central link is to conduct a universal and intensive ideological education among the entire party in the course of party rectification. Nevertheless,

while rectifying the ideology, serious attention must be given to organizational rectification, which includes reinforcing democratic centralism throughout the party,reforming the leadership democratic centralism throughout the party, reforming the leadership structure and cadre system, etc. In terms of the current party members, reregistration in the course of party rectification, thereby sifting the wheat from the chaff, is doubtlessly a crucial party of organizational rectification. Only by rectifying the organization while rectifying ideology and politics will the issue of these three impurities in the party be totally purged and unity in organizational action as well as in politics and ideology in the entire party maintained. Lenin once said: "That the proletariat can and will inevitably become an invincible force is because its ideological unity formed in accordance with the Marxist principles is consolidated with organizational material unity."

Next, member registration in the course of party rectification is a means to rectify the organization of the party. In terms of each and every member, it is a criterion for ideological rectification. In other words, a party-wide general education on the new party constitution, on membership requirements and on how to be a communist party member must be carried out in the course of party rectification. Each and every party member, in the course of party rectification, must conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, learn the relevant party documents, consciously examine and compare his own ideology and words and acts, launch criticisms and self-criticisms and finally reregister with the new party constitution as the criterion. In terms of each and every party member, it will be not only a vivid education on membership requirements, but also a strict examination of his membership qualifications.

Third, the issue of the party work style is linked with the life and death of the party in power. Basically speaking, the party work style is manifested through each and every member. In real life, the people's understanding of the Communist Party, their faith in communism and their views on the party's principles and policies often hinge on the manifestations of the party members. "The masses look upon the party members; the party members look upon the cadres." Therefore, whether a party member is qualified is not merely his personal affairs, but concerns the major issue of the party's prestige and fighting power. Reregistration in the course of party rectification, "keeping in the party only those who are aware and truly loyal to communism" and purging the inferior, will purify the party ranks, enhance its fighting power and enable the broad masses to recognize more concretely the soundness of our party from the party members around them. By so doing, it will also enhance the party members' feeling of honor and responsibility, turn each and every one of them into a vanguard of the proletariat and make our party truly into the firm core uniting and leading the people of the entire nation in the socialist modernization construction.

Why must attention be given to developing party membership among the intellectuals?

Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report at the 12th Party Congress: We must give attention to "actively recruiting qualified persons into the party" among the intellectuals. Why is this issue stressed? There are two reasons.

First, our party is in the course of leading the people of the entire nation to pursue the socialist modernization construction. This historical task requires that the entire party, especially its cadres, under the premise of revolutionization, further master work. Nevertheless, due to factors in history and in work, the problem of "insufficient knowledge" is found not only among many ordinary party members, but also to a considerable extent in the cadre ranks, forming a sharp contradiction with the party's leadership work in the new period. To solve this contradiction, we must, on the one hand, strengthen the education and training of the party's members and cadres for them to become intellectuals. On the other hand we must develop membership among the intellectuals.

Second, relatively speaking, the current proportion of party membership among the intellectuals, especially the middle-aged, is fairly low. After the founding of the nation and before the "Great Cultural Revolution," graduates of institutions of higher learning trained by us and those who have reached the same academic level by studying on their own total about 5 million. They have become the backbone of China's modernization construction. The overwhelming majority of the 5 million intellectuals has not only formed its world outlook during the heyday of our party style and social mood, but also withstood the test of the 10 years of civil strife and made favorable political manifestations. Many among them possess the qualifications for party membership or will possess them after further education and training. As everyone know, before the founding of the nation, our party, due to the historical conditions of the time, made fairly strict provisions on the membership of intellectuals. It was absolutely necessary at the time. Now the conditions are different. The intellectuals have become a part of the worker class, and a more knowledgeable part. Under this situation, all those among the advanced elements satisfying the requirements for party membership must be treated in the same way as the active elements among the workers and peasants applying for membership, and promptly recruited into the party. Naturally, it does not signify in any manner that membership requirements may be lowered or that party membership will not be developed from other strata (such as workers on the front line or production).

What is the crucial significance of cooperation between the new and old cadres and replacing the old cadres by new ones?

Our party is currently leading the socialist modernization construction in a large nation of 1 billion population. To assume such a heavy historical responsibility, we must build a strong and vigorous leadership system and create revolutionary, youthful, knowledgeable and professional leading teams in all party and government organs.

Our Party's cadre force has, for some time and to a certain extent, been facing the problems of aging and temporary shortages of replacement. Today, old cadres who joined revolutionary work prior to the founding of the nation number approximately 2.5 million. Whether in the war years or in the socialist revolution and construction, they deserve to be called the nuclear force of our cause, rendering outstanding service to the people. Nevertheless, the law of nature is inexorable. "A withered tree comes to life again in springtime, but man will not be young twice." With the passing of time, more and

more old comrades are becoming advanced in years, failing in energy. How to suitably arrange the replacement of the old by the new in an orderly manner and step by step and promote the thousands and tens of thousands of superior middle-aged and young cadres with both talent and political integrity, so that our cause will have successors and pass on through the generations, is an urgent and major task faced by our party and state.

Although our young and middle-aged cadres do not have the rich revolutionary experiences of the old comrades, nor impressive party qualifications and records of service, generally speaking, they are vigorous, somewhat better educated, and fairly experienced after many years of practical work. With cooperation, guidance, and training from the old comrades, they will become as competent. Placing them at posts of responsibility and permitting them to shoulder the burden will enable them to gain more experience, mature gradually and surpass their predecessors in 3-5, or 8-10 years.

Only by cultivating and training millions of revolutionary successors while the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation are still healthy will we be able to fulfill the words of Comrade Chen Yun in his speech at the 12th Party Congress: There must be replacements for the work of the large numbers of old cadres withdrawing from the leading teams of the various levels; there must be room for selection in order to hand the shift over to truly reliable people; the troublemakers in the "Great Cultural Revolution" must never be permitted to create chaos in the future. Only thus will we maintain the continuity of our party's lines, principles and policies and the stability of its leadership, thereby forestalling any sudden eruption of social unrest due to the successor issue.

6080
CSO: 4005/39

IMPARTIAL ENFORCEMENT OF PARTY DISCIPLINE PRAISED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 5 Aug 82 p 1

[Article: "In Praise of Being Impartial and Incorruptible"]

[Text] In carrying out investigation of party discipline, Chen Guangwu [7115 1684 2976], secretary of the Chinese Communist Pingyang County Discipline Committee faithfully executes his duties, is incorruptible and impartial, firmly upholds principles, has a spirit of daring to struggle and is worthy of study and emulation.

The 10 years of chaos brought incorrect tendencies to the party, party rules and regulations were trampled on and party discipline took a turn for the worse. Under conditions such as these, any effort to properly carry out investigation into party discipline must certainly encounter many difficulties. However, Comrade Chen Guangwu selflessly and fearlessly faced these difficulties. He bravely accepted this glorious and enormously difficult task in order to rectify party style and to protect party rules and regulations. He said: "I can overcome any problems and am willing to suffer all hardships in order to rectify party style." This spirit of bravery against all danger and firmness in battle in order to rectify party spirit is concentrated indication of the character and virtues which communist party members ought to have.

Because he has just such a spirit in carrying out party discipline investigations, Comrade Chen Guangwu is able to put party interests first, uphold principles and overcome personal feelings. No matter who is involved, if there is any act contrary to party discipline he dares to make an investigation and to exact punishment. Someone said that in performing such tasks it is easy to investigate and punish the average party member but that it is difficult when the county leadership is involved. In terms of party leadership Comrade Chen Guangwu sees all people as equal and not only investigates the lower levels but also investigates the upper levels. Moreover, he follows through in his work and doesn't rest until it is completed.

In correcting others first correct oneself, selflessness leads to fearlessness. Comrade Chen Guangwu is able to correctly perform party discipline work, dares to punish infringements of the rules and dares to rectify improper behavior. These are very important. Furthermore, his personal life is upright, honest and examplary--a model for emulation. He has no unorthodox ways and always acts properly. He neither permits himself to be feted nor does he accept bribes. He neither open nor uses the "back door." Therefore, he speaks and acts bravely and uprightly and carries out his investigation into breaches of discipline in an impartial and incorruptible manner.

11582
CSO: 4005/1202

DRAFT CONSTITUTION POSITION ON OVERSEAS CHINESE DISCUSSED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Liu Baoqi [0491 1405 4388]: "Progress Made in Discussion of Draft Constitution: Provincial and Shenyang Municipal Standing Committee Leadership Comrades Convene Conference"]

[Text]On the afternoon of July 23, Tang Hongguang [0781 1347 0342], Deputy Chairman of the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, and Li Cheng [2621 3397], Deputy Chairman of the Shenyang Municipal People's Congress, went to Liaoning University to investigate study and discussion conditions regarding the draft constitution and to convene a meeting on this subject. The responsible comrades of the Liaoning University party committee propaganda department apprised them of study and discussion conditions at the university as a whole, while the professors and lecturers of the economics and physics departments discussed their own study conditions.

Assistant professor of economics Zhou Pinwei [0719 0756 1218] said that the draft constitution affirms the status and role of intellectuals in building socialist modernization and thoroughly demonstrates the value placed on intellectuals by the party and the state. He said that the Party Central Committee has also summed up the experiences of implementing the policy on intellectuals and has used all possible means to improve our living and working conditions. This makes us grateful and want to energetically undertake the two great cultural projects and make new contributions by training people to build the four modernizations. Returned overseas Chinese Professor Chen Shui [7115 3055] and lecturer Mo Taiyun [5459 1132 6663] said that the 47th article of the draft constitution guarantees the legal rights and benefits of overseas Chinese and their families, so we must eliminate all fears and doubts and strive for teaching and research excellence in order to make contributions to education in our homeland.

During the discussion, Comrades Tang Hongguang and Li Cheng thoroughly confirmed the success of the Liaoning University leadership comrades in organizing study and discussion of the draft constitution and also asked for further progress in meaningful discussions of the draft constitution.

11582
CSO: 4005/1202

ENTHUSIASM OVER DRAFT CONSTITUTION SHOWN THROUGHOUT LIAONING

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jul 82 p1

[Article: "Zeal on Draft Constitution Shown Throughout the Province"]

[Text] Since July, the People's Congress Standing Committees and administrative offices of all municipalities, districts, counties and prefectures have enthusiastically undertaken various actions to incite the cities and countryside to participate in a mass campaign of discussing the draft constitution.

July was the key month for the people of Liaoning province to discuss the draft constitution and all areas generally strengthened leadership in this task, became closely involved with the primary level, gave supervision and offered encouragement. Twenty-four people of the Shenyang Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee, including 6 deputy chairmen, 4 members of the standing committee and the secretary organized 6 groups which separately went to the city's 11 counties and prefectures and to the major primary units of each trade and enterprise to carry out supervision and exert guidance. From June 16 through 20, Comrade Du Li [2629 7812], chairman of the Fushun Muncipal People's Congress Standing Committee, and two deputy chairmen visited eight units in Yongling township, Wangqingmen commune and the County Textile Knitting Plant, all located in Xinbin county, to investigate study and discussion conditions of the draft constitution. They uncovered issues, solved problems and guided the study and discussion activities onto deeper levels. The Second Steel Plant sent out cadres and propaganda personnel to fill in the gaps and they went to the homes of nearly 40 sick and retired staff and workers to talk about the draft constitution and expand the area receiving this education. In Tangshulinzi commune in Panshan county some people have been unable to participate in work or attend study sessions all year because of old age and infirmity, so the propaganda personnel took it upon themselves to visit their homes to explain matters to them. This commune adopted all sorts of methods to motivate the masses so that the number of those receiving this education reached over 90 percent. In

Jianchang county, Comrade Liang Wanqing [2733 5502 0530], the armed forces leader of the Baimiaozi commune, got 5 people, aged 67 to 83 years, all together to maintain close links with actual countryside conditions and explained the draft constitution by contrasting new society with old society. Eighty-three year old commune member Liu Tingxi [0491 1694 0823] said that the party and the state have thought of everything and even have included a section on providing for the elderly. He was pleased to hear of this, including this in the constitution is reassuring to the elderly.

11582
CSO: 4005/1202

PARTY AND STATE

SERIES OF QUESTIONS ON CPC CONSTITUTION REPORTED

45th, 46th, 47th Series

OW220433 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 17 Nov 82

[Forty-fifth, 46th and 47th in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "What Are the Functions and Powers of the National Party Congress and Those of the Local Party Congresses? What Are the Main Changes in the Party's Central Organizational System Prescribed in the New Party Constitution? What Are the Party's Central Organs and the Relations Among Them?"--by the general section of the research office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 45th question is: What are the functions and powers of the National Party Congress and those of the local party congresses?

Article 19 of the new party Constitution stipulates that the functions and powers of the National Party Congress are as follows:

1. To hear and examine the reports of the Central Committee;

2. To hear and examine the reports of the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission;

3. To discuss and decide on major questions concerning the party;

4. To revise the party Constitution;

5. To elect the Central Committee; and

6. To elect the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission.

Article 25 of the party Constitution stipulates four functions and powers for the local party congresses at all levels. The functions and powers of the local party congresses at all levels are different from those of the National Party Congress in four aspects:

1. The local party congresses do not revise the party Constitution;

2. They elect delegates to the party congresses at their respective next higher levels;

3. They discuss and decide on major issues in their given areas while the National Party Congress discusses and decides on major issues concerning the party as a whole; and

4. The party congresses at the prefectural, municipal and county levels do not elect advisory commissions at their corresponding levels.

With the exception of the above four, the functions and powers of the local party congresses at all levels in their local party organizations correspond to those of the National Party Congress of the whole party.

All party comrades should conscientiously respect the functions and powers of party congresses, implement their decisions, uphold their prestige and strive to bring their role into full play.

The 46th question is: What are the main changes in the party's central organizational system prescribed in the new party Constitution?

The main changes in the party's central organizational system prescribed in the new party Constitution are as follows:

1. In the past, the National Party Congress only elected the Central Committee, but now it elects the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission in addition to the Central Committee.

2. The Central Committee has no chairman or vice chairmen but only a general secretary. According to the new party Constitution, the general secretary of the Central Committee, a Standing Committee member of the Central Committee's Political Bureau, is responsible for convening the meetings of the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee and presides over the work of the Secretariat.

3. The party Constitution stipulates that the general secretary of the party Central Committee, the chairman of the Centray Advisory Commission, the first secretary of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and the chairman of the Central Committee's Military Commission must be members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. This effectively and systematically ensures the centralization and unity of the party's leading core and the implementation of the principles of collective leadership in the leading core.

4. The party Constitution stipulates that the central leading bodies and leaders elected by each Central Committee shall, when the next national congress is in session, continue to preside over the party's day-to-day work until the new central leading bodies and leaders are elected by the next Central Committee. The party Constitution also includes a similar stipulation regarding the Standing Committee of the local party committees at all levels.

The 47th question is: What are the party's central organs and the relations among them?

According to the new party Constitution, the party's central organs are: the National Party Congress; the Central Committee, the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission elected by the National Party Congress; the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, its Standing Committee, the Secretariat of the Central Committee and the general secretary of the Central Committee elected by the plenary session of the Central Committee. In addition, there is the Military Commission of the Central Committee.

The National Party Congress is the highest leading body of the whole party. Although the Central Committee, the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission are all elected by the National Party Congress, they are different in nature. When the National Party Congress is not in session, the Central Committee is the party's highest organ of power, carries out its decisions, directs the entire work of the party and represents the CPC in its external relations.

The Central Advisory Commission acts as a political assistant and consultant to the Central Committee, and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission assists the Central Committee in upholding the party Constitution, rectifying the party style and inspecting the implementation of the party's line, principles, policies and decisions. Both the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission must work under the leadership of the Central Committee.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee, its Standing Committee, the Secretariat and the general secretary of the Central Committee are all elected by a plenary session of the Central Committee. The mebmers of the Central Committee's Military Commission are decided on by the Central Committee, and they all must work in accordance with the decisions of the plenary sessions of the Central Committee and are responsible to the Central Committee.

When the Central Committee is not in session, the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee exercise the functions and powers of the Central Committee. The secretariat of the Central Committee attends to the day-to-day work of the Central Committee under the direction of the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee. The general secretary of the Central Committee is responsible for convening the meetings of the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee and presides over the work of the secretariat. When the Central Committee is not in session, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau is the core leading the party's day-to-day work. This leading core is a collective which includes the general secretary of the Central Committee, the chairman of the Central Advisory Commission, the first secretary of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and the chairman of the Central Committee's Military Commission. This is conducive to ensuring the collective leadership of the party and its solidarity and unity.

48th Series

OW230940 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 18 Nov 82

[Forty-eighth in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party Constitution adopted by the 12th CPC Congress: "Why Should We Set Up Advisory Commission at the Central Level and in Various Provinces, Autonomous Regions and Municipalities Directly Under the Central Government? What Are Their Nature, Status and Tasks?"--by the general section of the research office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] According to the provisions of Articles 19 and 25 of the new Constitution, advisory commissions are to be established at the central level and in various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government. This is an important measure taken to keep pace with the current situation and meet the needs at the present stage, bring into full play the role of the veteran comrades as advisors and bring about the cooperation between old and new cadres and the succession of the new to the old. This is an unprecedented event in the party history. To set up advisory commissions at the central level and in various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government is of great significance. Such practice has the following merits:

1. It is conducive to bringing into full play the role of those veteran comrades who have made great contributions to the party, accumulated rich experiences in leadership and enjoyed high prestige inside and outside the party.

2. It is conducive to triumphantly bringing about the cooperation between the party's new and old cadres and the succession of the new to the old.

Comrade Chen Yun said in his speech delivered at the 12th CPC National Congress: We must be soberly aware that for various reasons, the ranks of our party's cadres have long faced the problem of aging to varying degrees, and a gap between the old and the young. Unless this problem is solved now, and satisfactorily, the cause of communism may suffer a setback in China.

To set up advisory commissions at the central level and in various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government may help some old comrades with noble character and high prestige withdraw to the second line, and let a large number of party members who are in the prime of life and have both ability and political integrity to take up leading posts in the CPC Central Committee and various party committees in various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government. The young and middle-age cadres actively accumulate experience in leadership by actually exercising leadership with the help and support of the veteran comrades. By doing so, we will be able to triumphantly bring about cooperation between the new and old cadres and the succession of the new to the old, to insure the continuity of the party's line, principles and policies and to maintain long-standing stability and order in the party and the state.

According to the provisions of Articles 22 and 28 of the Constitution, the party's Central Advisory Commission or the party's advisory commission of a province, autonomous region or municipality directly under the central government acts as political assistant and consultant to the party committee at the corresponding level. It works under the leadership of the party committee at the corresponding level, and serves a term of the same duration as the party committee at the corresponding level. Members of the Central Advisory Commission must have a party standing of forty years or more, have rendered considerable service to the party, have fairly rich experience in leadership and enjoy fairly high prestige inside and outside the party.

The Central Advisory Commission elects, at its plenary session, its Standing Committee and its chairman and vice chairmen, and reports the results to the Central Committee for approval. The chairman of the Central Advisory Commission must be a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. Members of the Central Advisory Commission may attend plenary sessions of the Central Committee as non-voting participants. The vice-chairmen of the Central Advisory Commission may attend plenary meetings of the Political Bureau as non-voting participants and, when the Political Bureau deems it necessary, other members of the Standing Committee of the Central Advisory Commission may do the same. As for its tasks, the Central Advisory Commission puts forward recommendations on the formulation and implementation of the party's principles and policies and gives advice upon request, assists the Central Committee in investigating and handling certain important questions, propagates the party's major principles and policies inside and outside the party, and undertakes such other tasks as may be entrusted to it by the Central Committee.

The advisory commission of a province, autonomous region or municipality directly under the central government elects, at its plenary session, its Standing Committee and its chairman and vice-chairmen, and the results are subject to endorsement by the party committee at the corresponding level and should be reported to the Central Committee for approval. Its members may attend plenary session of the party committee at the corresponding level as non-voting participants, and its chairman and vice chairmen may attend meetings of the Standing Committee of the party committee at the corresponding level as non-voting participants.

Some comrades ask why the party's advisory commissions have not been set up at the prefectual, municipal and county levels. The reason is: The establishment of the advisory commissions is only a temporary measure under a specific historical condition. In the last analysis, our party's system for cadres will be gradually changed from the lifetime system which actually existed in the past to a retirement system. Therefore, the scale in setting up advisory commissions should not be extensive. No advisory commission will be set up in various organs below the provincial level. The party's prefectural, municipal and county committees may appoint advisors or groups of advisors. With regard to this issue, the party Central Committee and the State Council had adopted a resolution in August 1980 on appointing advisors at and above the county level. In fact, many localities have already implemented this resolution. Therefore, nothing specific has been mentioned in this new Constitution.

49th Series

OW231344 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 18 Nov 82

[Forty-ninth in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party Constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "Why the Members of the Party's Central Committee and Members of Party Committees at and Above County Level Must Have a Party Standing of Certain Years? How Are the Number of Party Committee Members Decided? How Are the Vacancies in Party Committees Filled"--by the general section of the research office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] Article 20 of the new Constitution of the Communist Party of China stipulates: "Members and alternate members of the Central Committee must have a party standing of five years or more." Article 26 stipulates: "The party committee of a province, autonomous region, municipality directly under the central government, city divided into districts, or autonomous prefecture is elected for a term of five years. The members and alternate members of such a committee must have a party standing of five years or more. The party committee of a county (banner), autonomous county, city not divided into districts, or municipal district is elected for a term of three years. The members and alternate members of such a committee must have a party standing of three years or more."

The new party Constitution stipulates that the members of party committees at and above county level must have a party standing of certain years. There are two main reasons.

1. Our party occupies the position of leading the political power in the whole country and party committees at and above county level are the party's leading organs at various levels. The members of those committees should have relatively abundant working experience, high party spirit and a certain level of ability to take part in discussing and deciding the party's work and policies.

2. During the 10 years of turmoil, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques wantonly trampled on the party's rules and regulations in order to form factions and usurp the party leadership. They resorted to such despicable tricks as making a concentrated effort to quickly join the party," "flying across the sea to join the party," "joining the party with the approval of the masses" and "joining the party first and going brought fomalities later." [as printed] They absorbed a number of their backbone elements and smash-and-grabbers into the party and arbitrarily placed those people into party committees at various levels. This was something unprecedented in the history of our party. Now the party Constitution has clearly stipulated that the members of party committees at and above county level must have a party standing of certain years. In this way, we can ensure a good system and prevent a reoccurrence of what was done by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques. This provision is favorable to ensuring the good quality of party committees at and above county level, building up the party, strengthening the leadership of the party and promoting the cause of our party.

How are the members and alternate members of party committees at and above county level decided? According to Article 20 and Article 26, the number of members and alternate members of the Central Committee shall be determined by the party's National Congress. The number of members and alternate members of the local party committees at various levels shall be determined by the next higher committees.

How are the vacancies in party committees at and above county level filled? [passage omitted on meaning of vacancy]

According to Article 20 and Article 26, vacancies on the Central Committee and local party committees at various levels shall be filled by their alternate members in the order of the number of votes by which they were elected. This method of filling vacancies is an important principle of the party's election system. It reflects the will of voters and is a manifestation of democracy within the party. The party Constitution adopted at the Seventh and Eighth National Congresses has stipulated this method. However, the party Constitution adopted at the Ninth, 10th and 11th National Congresses had eliminated this method. Now the new party Constitution has again made a clear provision on this issue. This has restored our party's tradition and is very correct and necessary.

50th, 51st, 52d Series

OW250219 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 17 Nov 82

[Fiftieth, 51st and 52d in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party Constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "What Are the Leading Party Members' Groups? Why Should the Leading Party Members' Groups Be Formed in Nonparty Units? What Are the Tasks of the Leading Party Members' Groups?" "What Has Been Prescribed by the New Constitution About the Party Organizations in the PLA?" and "What Are Primary Organizations of the Party?" "Where and How Are These Primary Organizations of the Party Formed?"--by the general section of the research office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 50th question is: What are the leading party members' groups? Why should they be formed in nonparty units? What are their tasks?

In its chapter: "Leading party members' groups," the new Constitution clearly prescribes where leading party members' groups should be formed, the tasks of these groups, how members of these groups are appointed and how the leadership is exercised over them.

In our socialist nation of the people's democratic dictatorship, there are many nonparty units, in addition to the CPC organizations, such as the central and local government organs, as well as various mass organizations and economic and cultural institutions. The Constitution regards the party's leading organizations in the leading bodies of these nonparty units as "leading party

members' groups." These leading party members' groups do not exercise leadership over the party organizations in their own departments and subordinate units. members of such groups are not elected. They are appointed by the party committee, which approves the establishment of these groups.

Why should leading party members' groups be formed in nonparty units?

To uphold the party's leadership is one of the fundamental principles in the founding of our nation. It has been written into China's Constitution. All the people of the nation, either inside or outside the party, all organizations and all individuals must accept the party's leadership and serve the party. Only under the leadership of the party, can government organs, mass organizations and cultural and economic institutions march along the correct path and serve socialist modernization. The leading party members' groups set up by the party in these nonparty units are the core of leadership in these units. The party's leadership over these nonparty units is, in the main, exercised through the leading party members' groups formed in the leading bodies of these nonparty units.

The main tasks of a leading party members' groups are: to see to it that the party's principles and policies are implemented, to unite with the nonparty cadres and masses in fulfilling the tasks assigned by the party and the state, and to guide the work of the party organization of the unit.

In order to implement the party's principles and policies, a leading party members' group must earnestly study and fully understand the guidelines and the essential points of the party's line, principles and policies; and promptly discuss the resolutions and instructions by the party committee approving its establishment. It must also extensively carry out investigation and study and make specific decisions in close connection with the actual situation in one's own unit and insure that such decisions are implemented.

At the same time, Article 48 of the Constitution stipulates that the Central Committee of the party shall determine specifically the functions, powers and tasks of the leading party members' groups in those government departments which need to exercise highly centralized and unified leadership over subordinate units, and that it shall also determine which such groups should be replaced by party committees.

The 51st question is: What has been prescribed by the new Constitution about the party organizations in the PLA?

The PLA is a new-type people's army, founded and led by our party. In the protracted revolutionary struggle, the PLA, under the direct leadership of the party, has played a significant role in waging armed struggle to oppose foreign aggression and seize political power in the nation, and in participating in, and safeguarding, China's socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Either at present or in the future, it will remain the strong pillar of the people's dictatorship, and the great wall of steel guarding our great socialist motherland.

To uphold the party's absolute leadership over the army is not only the glorious tradition of our party and army, but also the aspiration of the whole party, the entire army and all the people throughout the nation. This conforms with the basic interests of all the people in the nation.

In order to ensure the absolute leadership of the party over the PLA and to build the PLA into a revolutionized, modernized and regular army, the new Constitution stipulates: Party organizations in the Chinese People's Liberation Army carry on their work in accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee. The general political department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army is the political-work organ of the military commission; it directs party and political work in the army. At the same time, because party organizations in the army are different from those in various localities, the new Constitution stipulates: The organizational systems and organs of the party in the armed forces will be prescribed by the Military Commission. Thus, it is no longer necessary to specifically elaborate in this connection in the new Constitution.

The 52d question is: What are the primary organizations of the party? Where and how are these primary organizations of the party formed?

The party's primary organizations are the party's organizational foundation. They are militant bastions of the party to maintain close ties with, and unite, the masses.

Therefore, the party must form primary organizations. Where should these primary organizations be formed? This is an issue of organizational principle. Article 30 of the new Constitution points out: Primary party organizations are formed in factories, shops, schools, offices, city neighborhoods, people's communes, cooperatives, farms, townships, towns, PLA companies and other basic units, where there are three or more full party members.

This shows that the party's primary organizations must be formed in all basic-level units in Chinese society, including production units, work units, administrative units and combat units. This is our principle.

How are these primary organizations of the party formed?

The new Constitution stipulates as follows:

1. In primary party organizations, the primary party committees, and the committees of general party branches or party branches are set up respectively as the work requires and according to the number of party members, subject to the approval by the higher party organizations. As for the number of party members required to form a party branch, a general party branch or a primary party committee, the party Constitution adopted by the Eighth CPC National Congress clearly prescribed: A primary organization with more than 100 party members may form a primary party committee with several general branches or branches under its leadership.

A primary party organization with more than 50 but less than 100 party members may set up a general branch committee with several party branches under its leadership.

A primary party organization with less than 50 party members may set up a branch committee. Under special conditions, individual primary party organizations with less than 100 members may, by a decision of the next higher party committee, establish a primary party committee. A general branch committee may, by a decision of the next higher party committee, be set up in a primary party organization whose membership is less than 50, but whose work requires a general branch committee, or in a primary party organization whose membership numbers 100 or more but whose work does not require a primary party committee. All these stipulations are still applicable today.

2. The leading members of a primary organization are elected. A primary party committee is elected by a general membership or a delegate meeting. The committee of a general party branch or a party branch is elected by a general membership meeting.

A primary party committee is elected for a term of 3 years, while a general party branch committee or a party branch committee is elected for a term of 2 years. Results of the election of a secretary and deputy secretaries by a primary party committee, general branch committee or branch committee shall be reported to the higher party organizations for approval.

A primary party organization must set up and improve the system regarding party activities, and regularly hold party meetings. The Constitution stipulates: In ordinary circumstances, a primary party organization which has set up its own committee convenes a general membership meeting or delegate meeting once a year; a general party branch holds a general membership meeting twice a year; a party branch holds a general membership meeting once in every 3 months.

A primary party organization is directly responsible for educating and supervising party members and nonparty cadres, for ensuring their regular participation in the activities of the party organizations and for strictly enforcing the party's organizational system. This involves an issue which will greatly affect the work of a primary party organization.

CSO: 4005/175

PARTY AND STATE

'CHINA DAILY' COMMENTATOR VIEWS NEW CONSTITUTION

HK300126 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 30 Nov 82 p 4

["Opinion" column by CHINA DAILY commentator: "Best Constitution Ever"]

[Text] The Fifth National People's Congress currently in its fifth and last plenary session, is deliberating upon and will presently adopt a new constitution that will guide China's one billion people along the road to socialist modernization.

Beginning next year, a new NPC will be elected every five years, according to the draft of the new constitution.

It will be the fourth constitution of the People's Republic. The 1954 Constitution was drawn during a transitional stage when the main tasks of the state were to transform agriculture, capitalist industry and commerce and to lay the foundation for socialist industrialization under the system of the people's democracy.

Socialist modernization was the natural follow-up after the transitional period and should have been so specified 20 years earlier but for the preoccupation with waging constant class struggle and in making "continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," which culminated in the 10 disastrous years of "Cultural Revolution." The 1975 and 1978 Constitutions reflected the blunders in guiding thought.

Economy

The Third Plenum of the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of China, held in December 1978, refocussed the attention of the party and the state on socialist modernization.

The Sixth Plenum in June 1981 summed up the lessons and experiences of the years since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. Only then a new Constitution could be drafted that would be in keeping with the basic interests of the Chinese people and suited to present realities of the country. The draft was passed by the NPC Standing Committee last April. It has been discussed among hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants and intellectuals across the nation.

During a four-month examination in which an estimated 80 percent of the adult population took part, some 2,000 different comments and suggestions were gathered and have been incorporated into the final draft now before the NPC.

The draft stipulates in its preamble, that the basic task of the Chinese people in the coming years is to concentrate their effort on socialist modernization. While providing that state ownership and collective ownership are the basis of the socialist economy, the draft stipulates that the state allows a private economic sector with individual ownership, foreign investment in China and economic cooperation between China and other countries. It has thus made into law the policy already in practice to invigorate the domestic economy and to open to the outside world.

The draft solemnly declares: "No organization or individual shall enjoy privileges that transcend the Constitution and the law." This, together with the limitation in the tenure of top government posts--two consecutive terms--will prevent the recurrence of the personality cult and provide a guarantee to the people to exercise their rights through democratic elections, to administer the government and to supervise government functionaries.

Foreign Policy

In keeping with her status as a developing country in the Third World and her consistent foreign policy, the draft reiterates that China opposes imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism and abides by the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence in her relations with other countries.

In the provisions for China's socialist modernization, for the safeguarding of individual rights and freedom, for unity among Han and national minorities as well as the autonomous rights of the latter, and for the principles of opening up to the outside world as well as independence and self-reliance in China's foreign affairs, the new Constitution is undoubtedly the best that the Chinese people have ever had.

The NPC will also hear a report by Premier Zhao Ziyang on the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1981-1985) for the development of the national economy, which stresses productivity and economy effectiveness.

CSO: 4000/21

PARTY AND STATE

NPC DEPUTIES PRAISE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

OW300321 Beijing XINHUA in English 0134 GMT 30 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 30 Nov (XINHUA)--Deputies to the National People's Congress (N.P.C.) have described China's new draft Constitution as a document that "fully respects the creativeness of the people" and "will bring their initiative into full play."

He Zhongming, vice-chairman of the Sichuan Provincial Planning Commission, said the proposed Constitution enables the people to work as the masters of China by guaranteeing their right to administer the affairs of the country, encouraging their invention and creation and offering them every possibility to display their talents.

An example, he said, is the expansion of the decision-making power of enterprises as stipulated in the proposed constitution, which also gives the workers the right to participate in the management of their enterprises through the congress of workers and other channels.

Zhao Qi, chief engineer of the Zhuzhou electrical locomotive plant in Hunan, also praised these provisions in the draft constitution. "They underline the extensive scope of democracy in socialist China," he said.

Since the plant set up a congress of workers in 1980, Zhao Qi said, the workers have played an effective supervisory role and cooperated well with the director in matters relating to production targets, distribution of profits, enlistment of new workers and the increase in amenities. This has strengthened the ties between them and helped bring the workers' initiative into full play, the chief engineer said. As a result, he said, the plant's profits have been increasing year by year.

Huang Rongchang, assistant chief engineer of the Chongqing Iron and Steel Company, said he likes the provision in the draft constitution that "the state promotes socialist labor emulation."

A model worker who has made more than 300 technical innovations, Huang said this is "an important provision that will encourage the workers to raise their socialist consciousness and technical level, and thus promote socialist construction."

CSO: 4000/21

PARTY AND STATE

NPC DEPUTIES CONFIDENT IN DRAFT CONSTITUTION

OW300327 Beijing XINHUA in English 0140 GMT 30 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 30 Nov (XINHUA)--An outstanding feature of China's new draft constitution that gratifies deputies to the National People's Congress (N.P.C.) is that it has eradicated the vestiges of "leftism" of the "Cultural Revolution."

Speaking at panel meetings, many deputies described the proposed constitution as "a good document that sets things to right."

Xiao Hua, first political commissar of the Lanzhou units of the People's Liberation Army, drew attention to the deletion from the 1975 and 1978 constitutions of two slogans: i.e., "all-round dictatorship" by the proletariat in every realm of the superstructure and "continuing the revolution" under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The first slogan, he said, was used by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to enforce a fascist dictatorship, while the second represented an ultra-left theory that agitated for seizing power at all levels in a socialist country.

Countless leading cadres, intellectuals and ordinary people suffered from the two slogans during the "Cultural Revolution," Xiao Hua recalled.

Another conspicuous deletion, he said, is that of the provision about the "freedom to strike."

Going on strike is a means used by workers against capitalists, he said. In China where enterprises and their products are owned by the people themselves, to strike would impair the interests of the people, including the workers.

These deletions, Xiao Hua said, meet the wishes of the people and make the constitution far more scientific.

The noted economist Xu Dixin noted that the draft revised constitution allows the cooperative and individual economy to exist alongside the state sector of the economy, while stipulating that the basis of the socialist economic system is public ownership of the means of production and that the state sector of the economy is the dominant force in the national economy.

These provisions are realistic, he said.

Xu Dixin held that the individual economy will exist in China for a long time, mainly for two reasons: 1. It supplements the socialist public sector of the economy in meeting the needs for more products and a greater variety of them. 2. It helps create more job opportunities for new job-seekers, whose number ranges from 15 million to 17 million every year.

Xu Dixin welcomed the provisions in the proposed constitution which permit foreign investment in China according to Chinese laws.

He said the "gang of four" absurdly described economic exchanges and cooperation with foreign countries as "worshiping" foreign things and fawning on foreign powers." New China, entirely different from the old, is a "fully independent sovereign state, who will never allow foreigners to get hold of her economic lifelines," he stressed.

Economic cooperation with foreign countries would facilitate China's modernization, he said.

Sun Qimeng, a member of the committee for the revision of the constitution, said the draft constitution has specified the role of culture and intellectuals in socialist modernization, placing intellectuals alongside workers and peasants as the three basic forces that must be relied upon in building socialism.

This will have far-reaching significance in the effort to fulfill the general tasks for the new period, he said. It has corrected some wrong ideas that long existed and reached their climax during the "Cultural Revolution"--the ideas that looked down upon education, science and culture, and discriminated against intellectuals, he added.

Sun Qimeng pointed out it is the first time that a constitution of new China has defined the nature, position and important role of the Chinese people's political consultative conference, a highly representative united front organization.

This, he said, has put an end to another manifestation of "leftism" of the "Cultural Revolution," that was the attempt to discredit the united front and vilify the party's united front policy as a "right-devisionist tendency."

CSO: 4000/21

WORLD OPINION WELCOMES NEW DRAFT CONSTITUTION

OW301708 Beijing XINHUA in English 1640 GMT 30 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 30 Nov (XINHUA)--Newspapers and news agencies of a number of countries in their commentaries described the new draft constitution under discussion at the fifth session of the Fifth Congress of the Chinese National People's Congress (NPC), as having outlined China's basic development pattern for advancing to the four modernizations.

The draft constitution is of profound significance to the realization of the goals of the modernization program, it was generally held.

Japan's ASAHI SHIMBUN said in an editorial yesterday that with the adoption of the new constitution, China will certainly establish a stable administrative, economic and social order, and complete the establishment of a more open, modern state system.

A REUTER report said on November 27 that China's new constitution lays a theoretical basis for a more stable system based on the rule of law. The document is as much a political document on current policy aims as it is a legal charter. TOKYO SHIMBUN said on the same day that what is noticeable in the new draft constitution of China is a probe into socialist democracy, the interrelations between democracy and economic modernization, and the importance attached to the role of economic responsibility system and collectively owned enterprises.

Iraq press repotts pointed out that the new Chinese Constitution signified the restoration of a legal system in China. AFP said the restoration of state chairmanship in China under the new draft constitution is a new reform. Thailand's THAI SIANG YIT PAO said China's decision to restore state chairmanship is a very good thing, for a country needs a head of state who leads the state at home and represents the country abroad. This is the simplest reason of all.

Thailand's NEW CHINESE DAILY NEWS commented that China's new constitution has now corrected the erroneous policies of the "gang-of-four" time. To treat intellectuals equally with the workers and peasants will make them feel proud and elated. The decision to set up a committee of overseas Chinese is good news for overseas Chinese, the paper noted.

The Portuguese paper DIARIO DE NOTICIAS quoted the official report on the drafting of the revised constitituion as saying that an early end to the separation of Taiwan from the mainland will be highly conducive to the prosperity of the Taiwan region and the motherland as a whole.

The Hungarian paper MAGYAR HIRLAP said in a report on November 27, "It is the fundamental principle of China's foreign policy to promote diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with all countries on the basis of independence and the five principles of peaceful co-existence, oppose imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism and defend world peace."

The Spanish EFE Agency commented that "In this world of global economic recession China has come through storms triumphantly and is ready for embarking on the road of modernization it has been longing for."

Commenting on China's Sixth Five-Year Plan, on which Premier Zhao Ziyang will submit a report to the current session of the National People's Congress, REUTER pointed out, "The plan will lay the foundations for achieving the government's goal of quadrupling economic output by the year 2000."

An AFP report said China's Sixth Five-Year Plan will reflect a commitment to rapid economic expansion. In this plan, AFP said, the Chinese Government will do its best to combine the objective defined by general secretary Hu Yaobang at the 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of China with the readjustment applied to the economy in the past few years so as to prepare for the implementation of a Seventh Five-Year Plan which will signal a more rapid economic development."

Newspapers in other East European countries and the Soviet Union also carried reports on the opening of the Fifth Session of the Chinese National People's Congress.

CSO: 4000/21

PARTY AND STATE

REPORT ON REQUIREMENTS FOR PARTY MEMBERS

SK181327 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 2 Nov 82 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Recruit Party Members in Strict Accordance With the Requirements for Party Members"]

[Text] From the organization department of the Yushe County CPC Committee which learned from Wan Huaqing and strictly guarded the pass for new party members and from the Yushe County Medicinal Herb Company which learned a lesson from admitting Wan Huaqing's son into the party, we have learned that only when we recruit party members in strict accordance with the requirements for party members can we keep the party advanced, maintain its purity and enhance its combat strength.

The new party Constitution states: "Members of the Communist Party of China are vanguard fighters of the Chinese working class imbued with communist consciousness," and "members of the Communist Party of China must serve the people wholeheartedly, dedicate their whole lives to the realization of communism, and be ready to make any personal sacrifices." This is the most important criterion to decide whether one can be admitted into the party. The communist party members' dedication of his whole life to the realization of communism reflects his firm belief in communism and his noble spirit of devotion. It epitomizes communist consciousness. In deciding whether a person is qualified to be recruited, we should not only hear this declaration but, more important, see whether he truly fosters a communist world outlook and outlook on life, what his purpose for joining the party is and whether he has the spirit of doing solid work to serve the people wholeheartedly. He whose purpose is to show gratitude to the party, to make it easier to lead others or even to seek selfish interests will not dedicate his whole life to the realization of communism.

Some comrades think that model and advanced workers have scored great achievements in their work and should be recruited into the party. Such a viewpoint is lopsided. Dedicating their whole lives to the realization of communism, communist party members should treat their labor and work with the communist labor attitude, play their exemplary and vanguard role among the masses and become model or advanced workers. However, the requirements for model and advanced workers are different from those for party members. Those who meet the

requirements for model and advanced workers do not necessarily meet those for party members. When recruiting a party member, we should not merely see his behavior for a certain time toward certain work. Instead, we should review his past and the entirety of his work and examine his understanding of the party and his purpose in joining the party. One of the important reasons why some new party members show great initiative before being recruited and become passive after joining the party is that we fail to conscientiously examine their ideological reality before admitting them into the party. We should draw a lesson from this.

Some comrades hold that certain scientific and technical personnel are well educated and competent and, if recruited, will enhance the party's combat strength. Such a viewpoint is also lopsided. In the past, because of the influence of the "leftist" erroneous ideology, some party branches did not value intellectuals and turned down applications for party membership by some intellectuals who met the requirements. As a result, there were very few party members among the intellectuals. This is a grave lesson. Since the third plenary session, many party branches have attached importance to recruiting party members among intellectuals. This is correct for sure. However, when we are recruiting party members among intellectuals, we still should uphold the requirements for party members. When recruiting party members, if we pay attention merely to political integrity, neglecting ability, our cause will be adversely affected; and if we pay attention merely to ability, neglecting political integrity, our cause will be damaged. Therefore, on the one hand we should continue to eliminate the "leftist" influence and regard recruitment of party members among intellectuals as a major aspect of the work of organizational development and, on the other, guard against and correct the tendency of paying attention to the education and ability of intellectuals to the neglect of their ideology and moral character.

Some comrades think that so-and-so is better than a certain party members and, therefore, should be recruited. Such a viewpoint of deciding whether one can be admitted by the standards of certain party members is not correct. In our party, there are indeed some unqualified members who seriously damage the party's prestige among the masses. It was because we did not examine them in strict accordance with the requirements when we were recruiting them that they became unqualified party members. And it is precisely because there are unqualified members in our party to damage the party's prestige among the masses that we should be all the more strict in guarding the pass for new members. With regard to those who think they are better than certain party members and should be admitted when they are applying for party membership, we should continue to help them patiently and examine them strictly, because their idea shows that their purpose for joining the party is not clear and that they are not qualified.

Like Comrade Wan Huaqing, all party organizations and the broad masses of party members should maintain the communist purity of the party on their own, do a good job in recruiting new members in line with the principle of recruiting party members in a vigorous but prudent manner, strengthen party building and lead the people in creating a new situation for modernization.

CSO: 4005/175

NEI MONGGOL CALLS FOR RECTIFYING PARTY'S WORKSTYLE

SK120819 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Nov 82

[Station commentary: "Study the Documents Well and Rectify the Party's Workstyle"]

[Text] The 12th National CPC Congress set for the entire party the task of effecting a fundamental turn for the better in the party's workstyle. Stressing the style of study of integrating theory with practice, we must, while studying the 12th congress documents, integrate the study with the rectification of the party's workstyle, elminating all kinds of practices as the study goes along. Leadership at all levels should promote the rectification of the party's workstyle.

By eliminating practices as the study goes along we mean that all party members, those at leading posts at all levels in particular, should voluntarily check themselves against the qualifications set by the new party Constitution for a party member and on their own clear away the dust on their ideology and workstyle and get rid of unhealthy tendencies of all kinds. They should make continued efforts to narrow the gap between what they are and what is required of a party member by the new party Constitution and thus make themselves qualified party members. Only by so doing will the masses have hope for the future, strengthen their confidence and pluck up their enthusiasm.

Following the 12th congress the masses have placed great hope on an improvement in the party's work style. If our party members, particularly the cadres of the party at all levels, will voluntarily rectify their work style while studying the documents and make earnest efforts to check the unhealthy practices over which the masses complain most, the masses will be greatly inspired, sensing that after the 12th congress the party's workstyle has taken on a new look and is undergoing new changes. Otherwise, it will be very difficult for us to make the first step to create a new situation for the four modernizations.

Based on the experience of all localities in the province in checking unhealthy practices since the promulgation of the guiding principles 3 years ago, we should attend to the following four links well in simultaneously studying the documents and eliminating unhealthy practices:

1. Study the documents well. At present we must study the new party Constitution well and understand what new requirements the new party Constitution sets for party members and cadres. To enhance the consciousness for improving the party's workstyle, it is particularly important to understand why the new party Constitution stipulates that party members shall not use public office for private gain, should not seek private gain at public expense and should not seek any privileges.

2. Use the new party Constitution as a looking glass. The new party Constitution provides clear and definite stipulations with regard to the duties and qualifications of party members and cadres. We should use the Constitution as a looking glass and check ourselves in it, find out where we lag behind and make clear what direction we should take in striving to improve our workstyle.

3. Start by improving the workstyle bit by bit. In studying the documents in connection with reality we should correct one-by-one the problems regarding the party's workstyle once they are discovered. If we do not correct them now and let these problems accumulate until the next consolidation of party organization, we will miss the present opportunity.

4. Be strict with oneself. We should start immediately and make a good example out of ourselves. We must not forgive ourselves just because others are also guilty of unhealthy practices. Nor should we take a passive attitude. Waiting to see how much others have done in checking unhealthy practice and do as much.

Over the past few years the party's workstyle in our region has improved visibly thanks to the implementation of the guiding principles, the consolidation of leading bodies at all levels, the crackdown on criminal activities in the economic field and the implementation of the circular of the regional CPC committee on the problems in Qinghe County. At present, if we simultaneously study the 12th congress documents and rectify the party's work style and consciously check our own unhealthy practices, we will be able to win greater confidence from the masses and promote the smooth progress of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005/175

PARTY AND STATE

JIANGSU'S XU JIATUN ON GOVERNMENT REFORM

OW141636 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 13 Nov 82

[Excerpts] The Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committee recently held a mobilization meeting on reform of provincial organs. Comrade Xu Jiatun delivered a report on mobilization at the meeting. Comrades Liu Lin and Han Peixin addressed the meeting. Some 600 persons attended the meeting. They included party members and leading cadres of various provincial departments, commissions, offices and bureaus, and secretaries of various prefectural and municipal party committees.

After expounding the significance of organizational reform, Comrade Xu Jiatun pointed out: Acting according to the principles and demands put forward by the central authorities, we set the period from now to the end of this year as the preparatory stage for the reform of our provincial, prefectural and municipal organs and set the first 3 months of 1983 as the implementation stage.

On how to reform the party and government organs in Jiangsu Province, Comrade Xu Jiatun made the following recommendations in his speech:

1. It is necessary to simplify provincial party and government organs, reduce the staff and establish and perfect the system of job responsibility. All overlappings of provincial party and government organs should be eliminated. The organizations handling similar businesses should be merged. The party and government organs which independently conduct economic activities should be reorganized into economic entities in order to separate the administration from enterprises and prevent the substitution of administrative organs for economic organizations.

2. It is necessary to make overall personnel arrangements and overall readjustment of leading bodies. It is necessary to make overall arrangements for manning the provincial leading bodies and consider overall who should stay, who should come and who should go. In general, one should not hold concurrent positions. The readjustment should make the leading bodies smaller but more capable. We should include a number of energetic young and middle-aged comrades in the provincial leading bodies. In principle, all those who exceed the age limit in the leadership of the provincial departments commissions, offices and bureaus should step back to the second line or the third line. The newly selected young and middle-aged members of the leading bodies should meet the

age, education and job specialty requirements. In the course of readjusting the leading bodies, we should seriously do a good job in removing the five kinds of persons. We should resolutely remove them from the leading bodies and there should be no exceptions.

3. It is necessary to properly settle the veteran cadres.

4. It is necessary to actively prepare the training of cadres on a rotational basis.

In order to insure the smooth progress of organizational reform, Comrade Xu Jiatun emphasized the need to strengthen the party leadership and do the following three things:

1) It is necessary to strengthen the ideological and political work.

2) The leading cadres at all levels should personally take a hand in the reform and take the lead in learning how to do it. They should rely on the party's collective leadership, fully display democracy and adhere to the mass line.

3) It is necessary to undertake the organizational reform and the economic construction at the same time and regard both as the daily routine.

CSO: 4005/175

HENAN HOLDS POLITICAL, LEGAL WORK CONFERENCE

HK820852 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Nov 82

[Text] From 10-19 November, the Henan Provincial CPC Committee held a conference on political and legal work. The conference seriously implemented the spirit of the national conference on political and legal work and discussed and looked into issues concerning creating a new situation in political and legal work in our province. The conference demanded that under CPC committees' leadership, political and legal departments at all levels and all cadres and policemen boost their enthusiasm, work hard, regard tidying up social order in the coming winter and spring as their central work, consolidate and develop their achievements in improving urban and rural social order this year and lay a solid foundation for fundamentally improving social order and the general mood of society in our province.

Dai Suli, provincial CPC committee secretary and governor, made a summing-up speech at the conference. Zhao Wenfu, provincial CPC committee secretary, attended the conference and spoke. Members of political and legal leadership group of the provincial CPC committee and responsible comrades of political and legal departments attended.

The conference pointed out: following the shifting of the key point of the work of the party and the state, the stress of political and legal work must be placed on defending and in promoting socialist modernization. It is necessary to resolutely strike blows at all kinds of economic crimes and struggle against criminal activities which jeopardize the building of socialist spiritual civilization. Moreover, it is essential to restore and consolidate grassroots political power and organizations and mass organizations, give full play to their role and strive to create a new situation in political and legal work.

The conference analyzed the state of our province's social order and stated: Under the leadership of CPC committees at all levels and with the vigorous support of relevant departments and the masses political and legal organs have brought their functions of dictatorship into play, achieved great results in tidying up social order, cracked a large number of cases and punished a large number of criminals so that the masses' sense of security has been strengthened and more and more people have found the courage to struggle against criminals.

Furthermore, all places have exercised comprehensive control, strengthened fundamental work, mediated in a large number of civil disputes and prevented some cases from occurring. However, we must realize that security is not yet consolidated or stable enough. We must fully understand the urgency, arduousness and long-term nature of tidying up social order and by no means lower our guard or relay our efforts.

The conference pointed out: We must continue to grasp firmly and well improving social order. This is still the central task of current political and legal work. Both urban and rural areas must apply past effective experiences and, firmly grasp the weak links and the salient problems. The conference emphatically pointed out: To tidy up social order, we must now give prominence to grasping three things:

1. It is imperative to completely carry out measures for comprehensive control.

2. It is necessary to strike severe blows at rapists and other criminals.

3. It is essential to strengthen the struggle against counterrevolutionaries, special agents and spies.

In the winter and spring in previous years, some usual, seasonal problems generally occurred. The conference demanded that all places fully understand the importance of grasping well social order work in the coming winter and spring and strive to grasp this work more firmly and better than any time before so as to make the coming winter and spring the starting point in fundamentally improving social order and the general mood of society in our province. We must further promote social stability and defend the smooth progress of economic construction.

Attending were responsible comrades of all prefectures and municipalities who are in charge of political and legal work and responsible comrades of the public security organs, procuratorates, courts, civil affairs departments and relevant units of all prefectures and municipalities, totaling some 200 people.

CSO: 4005/175

PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' DISCUSSES 'FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES'

HK220950 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Li Shenglin [2621 3932 2651]: "The Four Basic Principles Have Upheld and Developed the Spirit of the 'Communist Manifesto' "--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The "Communist Manifesto" was the first document of the nature of program in the international communist movement. Since its publication in 1848, the "Manifesto" has always been a banner for the proletariat throughout the world in fighting for liberation. On the other hand, the world proletariat is also giving new vitality to the "Manifesto" through the new experiences it is continuously gaining in its practice of communism. Marx and Engels said that "the general basic principles expounded in the 'Manifesto' remains on the whole to be completely correct even now." However, "as expounded in the 'Manifesto,' the actual application of these basic principles will always vary in accordance with the historical conditions of the times." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 228) The four basic principles of adherence to the socialist path, adherence to the people's democratic dictatorship, adherence to the party's leadership and adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought are an inevitable outcome of our party's adherence to and development of the basic principles of the "Manifesto" at the present stage. Each of the four basic principles is the actual application of the basic principles of the "Manifesto" in socialist China. As the new party Constitution points out, these four basic principles are the "political foundation for the unity and unification of the whole party."

/Adherence to the socialist path is a principle that has been raised in order [to] consciously observe the objective law, as revealed in the "Manifesto," that socialism and communism are the inevitable trend of the development of human society while taking into account new historical conditions./ In accordance with dialectic materialism and historical materialism, the "Manifesto" expounds that "all relationships of ownership have undergone constant historical changes and constant historical substitutions. For example, the French revolution abolished feudal ownership and in its place substituted bourgeois ownership." Moreover, "modern bourgeois private ownership is the most perfect form of the ownership of production and products that is founded on class antagonism and on

the exploitation of man by man." ("Ibid," p 265) This ownership relationship restricts the development of the productive force of society and, in the course of the growth of capital has given rise to a strong proletariat which will be the gravedigger of this ownership. Only when it has broken away from exploitation and oppression can the human race really be liberated. Therefore, it is inevitable that the bourgeoisie is doomed and that the proletariat will achieve victory. Thus, the "Manifesto" scientifically discloses the historical inevitability of the entry of human society into socialism and communism. At present, because the international communist movement and socialist construction at home have undergone twists and turns, we should be even more clear that by adhering to the socialist path, we mean, first of all, adhering to always believing in the inevitable victory of socialism. Dialectics teaches us that the emergence and development of any thing does not come about smoothly and must undergo twists and turns. Lenin said it well: "If we analyze problems in light of their essence, has there been a mode of production in history that was established without undergoing a large number of failures and mistakes and after overcoming a large number of defects? ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 14) We, communists, can consciously understand the objective laws and correct the shortcomings and mistakes in our work. Since our party smashed Lin Biao and the "gang of four" cliques, we have scored in the short period of a few years many great achievements in the ideological, political, economic construction, science, educational and other fields and in improving the people's livelihood. This has proved not only the correctness of the party's Marxist-Leninist line formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, but also the irrefutable truth that socialism will inevitably achieve victory.

By adhering to the socialist path, we mean that we should vigorously strengthen the construction of socialist material and spiritual civilizations. A high degree of material civilization is the material foundation of socialism, and, on the other hand, a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization is the basic guarantee for the socialist orientation of our modernization. The "Manifesto" puts forward 10 measures for realizing socialism. The basic spirit of these measures is that, on the one hand, the proletariat should seize state power, and, on the other hand, the proletariat should use the strength of its political power to increase, as greatly as possible, the total amount of the productive force and develop socialist material civilization while at the same time developing socialist spiritual civilization. This should include "combining agriculture with industry in order to gradually abolish the antithesis between town and country; abolishing all the present forms of employing children in factories; combining education with material production and so on." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 273) The strategic policy of building the two civilizations that has been put forward by our party is obviously a development of this important idea.

/Adherence to the people's democratic dictatorship inherits and develops the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat expounded in the "Manifesto."/ The "Manifesto" points out: "The first step of the workers' revolution is to raise the proletariat to a ruling position and to achieve democracy." (Ibid, p 272)

However, the form of proletarian dictatorship varies as conditions in countries differ. "The proletarian revolution will establish a democratic system and, by so doing, directly or indirectly establish the political rule of the proletariat. This rule can be established directly in England, because in that country the proletariat constitutes the majority of the people. In France and Germany, this rule can be established indirectly, because in those two countries the majority of the people consists of not only the proletariat, but also small peasants and urban petite bourgeoie..." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 367) This idea of Marx and Engels is of direct guiding significance for our country. The social and historical conditions in China differ both from those in the developed capitalist countries of Europe and America and from Russia. The old China was a semicolonial and semifeudal country and its state power was in the hands of the feudal landlords and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The proletariat was small, the peasantry was large and the national bourgeoisie had a dual character. In his report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong clearly pointed out that after the victory of the Chinese revolution, we should establish "a people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance." After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the state power of our country has again been called the people's democratic dictatorship. This reflects China's special characteristics as well as the common nature of proletarian dictatorship.

Marx always held that the proletarian dictatorship was necessary in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. Our practice of socialism has made us realize that we should adhere to proletarian dictatorship not only in the transitional period but also for a certain period after we enter socialism. The reason why our party holds this view is because after the seizure of state power by the proletariat in a economically underdeveloped country, the proletariat should shift the focus of its work onto socialist construction and must utilize the state power in its hands to organize and lead economic construction, and because "class struggle will still exist in a certain scope in our society for a long time and may become fierce under certain conditions," we must utilize the strength of the dictatorship to safeguard the four socialist modernizations and the people's democratic rights. This has also enriched and developed the idea of proletarian dictatorship expounded in the "Manifesto."

/Adherence to the party's leadership is the nucleus of the four basic principles. By adhering to this principle, we adhere to the basic principle put forward in the "Manifesto" that in order to carry out its revolution, the proletariat must set up its political party./ Concerning the relationship between the Communist Party and the proletariat, the "Manifesto" clearly points out that the Communist Party is a political party of the proletariat and this political party has a remarkable characteristic. "In practice, the communists are, of all workers' political parties in various countries, the most resolute in constantly promoting the progress of the proletariat movement; and, in theory, they are superior to all other sections of the proletariat masses in understanding the conditions, processes and general results of the proletarian movement." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 1, p 264) Thus, it expounds on the nature, characteristics

and tasks of the political parties of the proletariat and at the same time stipulates the unshakable leading position of the communist party in the liberation cause of the proletariat. It is impossible for the proletariat to be organized or to promote the proletariat's revolutionary cause if there is no such party.

In the socialist construction period, the key to adherence to the party's leadership lies in strengthening party building and improving the party's leadership. The position of a party in power may give rise to the sentiments of claiming credit for oneself and becoming arrogant and of pursuing ease and comfort. A small number of people may even use their power of office to pursue private interests. Therefore, we must constantly rectify our party work style, overhaul and consolidate our party's organizations, preserve our party's communist political and ideological purity, strengthen our party's close ties with the broad masses of people and raise the combat effectiveness of our party's organizations and thus more satisfactorily meet the demands of the new period. The question of whether we will be able to adhere to the party's leadership is vital to the success or failure of our socialist cause. Therefore, this is the nucleus of the four basic principles and also a priority issue for members of the whole party in maintaining their identity with the Central Committee.

/Adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought means adhering to the thorough materialist ideology expounded throughout the "Manifesto."/ The "Manifesto" for the first time expounded on the complete system of Marxist theory. Lenin said: "This article extremely, thoroughly and clearly expounds on the new world outlook, the thorough materialism that is applied to all spheres including social life, the dialectics which is the most comprehensive and most profound theory on development, class struggle and the theory on the task of carrying out a historical world revolution [word indistinct] by the proletariat, the creator of the new communist society." ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 21, p 30) Adhering to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is precisely adhering to the basic principles expounded by the "Manifesto" and integrating these principles with the revolutionary practice in our country. The Chinese communists represented by Comrade Mao Zedong have applied Marxism to the practice of the Chinese revolution and construction, and have thus blazed a revolutionary path and a path of socialist construction with Chinese characteristics. This has given rise to Mao Zedong Thought, the crystallization of the collective wisdom of Chinese Communists. By so doing, the Chinese Communists have enriched Marxism and provided themselves with a sharp ideological weapon. As Engels pointed out: "As for the final victory of the principles mentioned in the 'Manifesto,' Marx placed his hope entirely on the proletariat's spiritual development that will inevitably be brought about by its common actions and discussions." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 243) For more than a century, every step of the advance of the communists in various countries has contributed to promoting the realization of the final victory of these principles. The Chinese Communists and the highly communist-conscious Chinese people will surely make their outstanding contributions to the final victory of these principles!

CSO: 4005/175

ANHUI JOURNAL DESCRIBES VETERAN CADRES' TASKS

OW201231 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 18 Nov 82

["Full text" of editorial in issue No 12 of ANHUI PARTY MEMBERS' LIFE [ANHUI DANGYUAN SHENGHUO], to be published "soon": "Veteran Cadres' Glorious Historical Responsibility"]

[Text] The reform of the leading bodies and the cadre system to ensure that the ranks of the cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent is an important political guarantee for the success of China's modernization and adherence to the socialist road.

The 1st Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee made the arrangements to carry out the reform of organizations and the replacement of leading cadres at the provincial as well as prefectural and municipal levels during this winter and next spring to achieve the four goals in streamlining organizations, raising work efficiency, making proper arrangements for veteran comrades and absorbing new lifeblood and talent. This is the first formidable task that we must fulfill in order to implement the guidelines of the 12th Party National Congress. This task ought to be done sooner rather than later, and it will be no good if it is delayed. There are still many tasks to be fulfilled in the future, with one task following another. "One tide catches up with another, with the later one higher than the earlier one." If one task is not fulfilled on schedule, and if we are thrown into passivity at one stage, then we will become passive in every stage and we will not be able to cope with the work and tasks that will follow. To deal with this task, those who have made up their minds at an earlier time and those who have done a better job in taking the mass line will be able to become more positive in carrying out their work.

On whose efforts should we mainly rely for doing a good job in streamlining the organizations and readjusting the leading bodies? We should say that we should rely mainly on the efforts of large numbers of veteran comrades who have withstood protracted tests and who are trusted by the party and the people. This is the factor that will decide whether the reform of the organizations can be smoothly and successfully carried out.

Only if large numbers of veteran cadres themselves take the lead in standing out, making up their minds to carry out this task and solving this problem can this task be easily solved. Therefore, our party's veteran comrades on their own initiative should shoulder this glorious responsibility that history assigns them.

In dealing with this problem, it is necessary to take a broad and long-term view. The problem should never be considered from the angle of fearing to offend some comrades or letting others down nor should consideration be given to how the tasks for the next 1 or 2 years are to be carried out. On the contrary, it is furthermore necessary to stand on a higher plane and see farther ahead. What should be taken into consideration is the whole situation of our party's cause as well as the undertakings for the next 20, 30, 40 or even 50 years. And efforts should be made to effectively carry out the reform of leading organizations and promote cooperation between old and new cadres and the succession of the old by the new in the leading bodies so that our party's and our state's leading organs can maintain stability and continuity for a long period of time and so that the party's line, principles and policies can be carried on.

In the course of reforming the organizations and readjusting the leading bodies, it is necessary to promote to leading posts large numbers of energetic young and middle-aged cadres who possess both political integrity and ability and who are capable of creating new situations so that the leading bodies at all levels can continuously absorb new lifeblood and talent to maintain their vigor.

Who should be selected to join the leading bodies is a matter concerning who should be entrusted with exercising power and is also a matter of great importance that has concerned our party's cause for centuries. It is necessary to strictly guarantee that the right persons are selected. Our veteran cadres to be selected. Not only their political integrity but also their talents should be tested. Those five types of persons mentioned in Comrade Chen Yun's speech at the 12th Party Congress should never be allowed to join the leading bodies. Veteran comrades should stand up to positively recommend and support those outstanding young and middle-aged cadres who meet the requirements.

Party committees at all levels did a large amount of work and achieved some results in selecting and promoting young and middle-aged cadres in the past few years. However, it is still far from meeting the demands set by the party Central Committee. It should be noted that young cadres more often than not failed to be promoted because of two types of comrades: veteran comrades and comrades of their own generation.

Of these two obstructions, if our veteran comrades would stand up and give their support, one obstruction would disappear. And it would also be necessary for veteran comrades to personally attend to the work of winning the support of the young comrades of the same generation. In this connection, our veteran comrades should put general interests first, take general interests into account, give positive support to those who are professionally competent and open up rather

than block the roads for energetic and outstanding young and middle-aged cadres to grow. They should show their high moral integrity and conscientiously and warmly follow those young cadres who do not have better qualifications or records of service and who do not have more work experience than they do, and they should let them shoulder heavy burdens. Veteran comrades should also do a good job of passing on their experience, giving help and setting good examples in training new comrades.

While selecting and promoting young cadres, our veteran comrades should stand up to support those comrades who have been approved by the majority, who are regarded as qualified after passing repeated investigations and who are regarded as possessing major merits, but they should never demand perfection from these young cadres. As for those who have some defects, only if the veteran comrades would set up good foundations for them can they be fully guided to do a good job. Hesitation and failure in making timely decisions will certainly cause a delay in work.

In selecting cadres to readjust the leading groups, it is also necessary to pay attention to the following two aspects: On the one hand, it is necessary to have good control of the age structure of the leading bodies and make efforts to ensure that the rank of cadres become younger in average age. The problem concerning the older average age of the leading bodies should be solved through the current organizational reform. If cadres are selected from those comrades who are nearly 60 years old, the problem concerning the older average age of the leading bodies will reappear and the problem concerning cooperation between old and new cadres as well as the succession of the old by the new will not be easily solved. Therefore, it will be necessary to select not only those comrades who are a little over 50 years old, but also those who are still in their 40's or 30's. There are large numbers of outstanding personnel who are still in their 40's or 30's. If we concentrate on selecting cadres from these comrades by expanding our views, we will find many qualified personnel for selection and the problem of ensuring that the leading bodies become younger in average age can be easily solved.

On the other hand, it is necessary to conscientiously select and promote a number of intellectuals who are highly educated culturally, including those who have attained that level through self-study, to leading posts at various levels so that our leading bodies will make a great advance in becoming more educated and more professionally competent.

Though we have now come to have a better understanding than in the past about the importance of the educational level in selecting cadres, we have not made sufficient efforts in this area in our actual selection work. One of the most important reasons why intellectuals have failed to be selected or promoted to leading posts is that our minds have not been emancipated. The "leftist" influence on the issue of how to deal with intellectuals has not been eliminated.

It should be clearly noted that the promotion of both material and spiritual civilizations cannot be separated from intellectuals. There are large numbers of intellectuals who graduated from institutes of higher learning before the

"Great Cultural Revolution" or achieved the same cultural level through self-study. It will be extremely useful to make good use of these intellectuals. Unless this problem is easily solved, China cannot expect to achieve its four modernizations and the task of quadrupling China's annual industrial and agricultural output value by the end of this century will come to nothing. It will also be very hard for those who have no theoretical or political knowledge, no scientific or cultural knowledge, no opinions of their own, or those who have no abilities at all to achieve anything. Therefore, we should further emancipate our minds, select and promote talented personnel to leading posts from various circles and without sticking to one pattern in selection, and make up our minds to do a good job in reforming organizations and readjusting leading bodies and strive to create a new situation in the selection of talented personnel.

In the course of the current organizational reform, we will have to relieve of their leading posts a number of veteran comrades who are advanced in age. This is in line with the needs for the development of the party's cause. At present many veteran comrades have expressed their wishes for an unconditioned retirement from the front line. This indicates that our veteran cadres have a high sense of revolutionary responsibility and are good models for our party and our country. This is also a good start in the organizational reform as well as in implementing the decision of the central authorities on the retirement system for veteran cadres.

The retirement of veteran cadres from front-line posts does not mean that the revolution has come to an end. Our veteran cadres will carry on the revolutionary cause to the end. However, veteran cadres do not necessarily have to lead the revolution on the front-line posts. Even after they have retired to the second line, they can still continue to work for the party.

The central authorities have proposed that those veteran comrades who are advanced in age and weak in health should act more as "personnel engaged in study and investigation" and act less as "personnel engaged in giving commands" after they have retired from front-line posts. That is to say, they should try to reduce their right to command but expand their right to speak. They should spend more time and energy in conducting study and investigation, in doing more work to promote ties with the masses, and in working out plans for achieving prolonged order and stability for the party and the state.

In this way, veteran comrades' rich experiences in leadership work can still play an important role in their service to the party, state and society.

We have heavy work and tasks in carrying out not only the current organizational reform but also the party consolidation as well as the overall reform of the economic system in the future. It will not be easy to fulfill these tasks by merely depending on those comrades who are engaged in actual work. In one sense, it is necessary to depend on those comrades who have retired to the second line

for study and investigation, for their planning work, for their opinions and for their efforts in mobilizing the masses. Only if proper arrangements are made for these veteran comrades and only if they are well organized will these retired veteran comrades have much work to do. They should not worry about having nothing to do.

Our veteran comrades have made great contributions to our prolonged struggles in the revolution and also in socialist construction and the people as well as the party will never forget their contributions. We are fully convinced that we have successors to the socialist cause to promote the flourishing and development of our party and our state and that the broad masses of veteran comrades will make new contributions for the party in carrying out the major tasks at present--the reform of institutions and the readjustment of leading bodies.

CSO: 4005/175

PARTY AND STATE

WUHAN MUNICIPAL PARTY CONGRESS OPENS

HK210404 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Nov 82

[Text] The Sixth Wuhan Municipal Party Congress opened on 20 November. The congress is being attended by 702 deputies from all fronts. Comrade Liu Huinong delivered the opening speech. Provincial CPC committee second secretary Comrade Han Ningfu extended warm congratulations to the congress on behalf of the provincial CPC committee. He hoped that Wuhan would advance in the forefront in building socialist material and spiritual civilization in the province, set an example for the whole province, catch up with the advanced levels of some other large cities in China, and strive to do still better. He also hoped that the party members, especially leading cadres, in Wuhan would follow the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, the regulations of the new party Constitution and the guidelines for party life and be resolved to bring about a fundamental turn for the better in party work style, starting with themselves, and lead and unite the masses to work hard to create a new situation.

Comrade Wang Qun delivered a report on behalf of the Fifth Municipal CPC Committee, entitled: Follow the road guided by the 12th Party Congress and create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization in Wuhan.

The congress will discuss this work report and the work report of the municipal CPC committee's discipline inspection committee. It will elect a new municipal CPC committee, and an advisory committee and discipline inspection committee. It will also elect deputies to the Fourth Hubei Provincial Party Congress. The congress will last 5 days.

CSO: 4005/175

PARTY AND STATE

'BEIJING REVIEW' EXAMINES 'SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATIONS'

HK020138 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW in English No 47, 22 Nov 82 p 3

["Notes From the Editors" column by An Zhiguo: "Two Spiritual Civilizations"]

[Text] China has set itself the task of building a socialist spiritual civilization, i.e., socialist culture and ethics. But some components of this task are also encouraged in capitalist countries. What, then, is the difference between the spiritual civilizations under the two different social systems?

It is true that, in some respects, the spiritual civilizations under the two different social systems are not categorically different or mutually exclusive. But on the whole and in essence, they are worlds apart.

Roughly speaking, socialist spiritual civilization consists of two interrelated aspects: cultural and ideological.

The cultural aspect of building spiritual civilization refers to the development of education, science, literature and art, the media, public health, physical culture and other cultural undertakings.

Some of these, such as general knowledge and natural science, public health and physical culture, represent humanity's joint achievement in understanding and transforming the world; they therefore do not have a class character.

But, in developing these undertakings, the guiding thoughts on whom they should serve and other fundamental issues do have a different class character under different social systems.

Take medical service and public health for instance. The techniques and equipment used in China and in the capitalist countries have much in common, except that China is on the whole relatively backward in this field. But China is doing a better job than some capitalist countries at providing medical service for everyone. This is the outcome of different guidelines under two different social systems.

The ideological aspect of building spiritual civilization covers a whole range of fields, including certain ideological and ethical norms needed to ensure the existence and development of any society as well as a well-ordered social life.

A socialist society is certainly not alone in encouraging citizens to pay attention to decorum, observe public order and maintain environmental sanitation. However, the essential differences between the two spiritual civilizations, the socialist and the capitalist, manifest themselves in the major ideological tenets, i.e., the kind of outlook on life and the world that a given society fosters, people's political awareness and their particular system of morals.

To guarantee the socialist nature of our spiritual civilization, China stresses ideological construction characterized by communist ideals and moral values, lofty sentiments and revolutionary discipline. At the present stage, we are devoting major efforts to fostering among the people firm confidence in communist ideals, devotion to the people's interests and the communist spirit of sacrificing oneself for the sake of others.

This is a long-term, arduous task that cannot be accomplished in one or two generations. But people have noticed that we have already achieved some initial results in building a socialist spiritual civilization. People imbued with communist ideas are emerging in increasing numbers in all fields of endeavour, whose fine examples are respected, loved and emulated.

In capitalist countries many people also dedicate themselves to human progress. But as often as not they face all sorts of difficulties and find themselves in the minority, and sometimes they have to fight alone. Their progressive ideas are often suppressed and the popularization of these ideas are restricted one way or another. In these countries, the dominant ideology still consists of such credos as "money is omnipontent," "the law of the jungle" and "everyone for himself and let the devil take the hindmost."

Thus, while we can't put a class label on everything concerning the two spiritual civilizations, we should also not write off the essential differences between them.

CSO: 4000/21

'BEIJING REVIEW' ON NATION'S POLICY TOWARD DALAI LAMA

HK300608 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW in English 15 Nov 82 pp 3, 4

["Notes From the Editors" column by An Zhiguo: "Policy Toward Dalai Lama"]

[Text] Do you have any comment about Dalai Lama's many recent trips to other countries this year? What suggestions and requests have his representatives to Beijing put forward and what is the Chinese Government's current policy towards him?

China opposes Dalai Lama carrying out activities in these countries because he is not simply a religious but a political figure, conducting political activities in exile. The Chinese Government cannot agree with any official of any country receiving him. Through diplomatic channels we have already made our position clear to governments involved.

In 1979, Dalai Lama initiated a request to send representatives to contact the central authorities. The request was welcomed by these authorities and, over the last three years, the central authorities agreed to receive four such groups. Some group members paid long-term visits to Tibet.

The party and state leaders and responsible officials repeatedly told the groups the central authorities' views and policies towards Dalai Lama as follows: Although we are still critical of the 1959 rebellion launched by some members of Tibet's upper strata, we should not get entangled in rehashing this historical issue today. Dalai Lama and his followers are welcome to return to China. It is hoped that they will make contributions to the great unity of the motherland and of all the nationalities, as well as to the nation's four modernizations. Upon their return, the government will make appropriate political and personal arrangements for them.

The three-member delegation sent to Beijing by Dalai Lama this year requested that the central authorities accord Tibet the same treatment as is provided for Taiwain in the Chinese Government's nine-point principle, and that all the areas inhabited by Tibetans in Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu and Yunnan be incorporated with Tibet to establish a unified big Tibetan autonomous region. The central authorities' response to these questions is very clear: both Tibet and Taiwan are integral parts of China, but there are big differences between the two.

Tibet has been liberated for more than three decades. It has completed democratic reforms and socialist transformation, has abolished the feudal serfdom system characterized by a combination of political and religious rule, and has long been an autonomous region under the leadership of the central government. The nine-point principle, therefore, is not applicable to Tibet.

Neither is the request for merging all the areas inhabited by Tibetans realistic. For centuries, the Tibetan people have lived in separate communities within four other provinces in addition to Tibet itself. Just like other minority nationalities in China, they exercise national regional autonomy and are organized into an autonomous region, several autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties. It is not reasonable to change the historically determined administrative divisions simply according to the distribution of nationalities.

China's critics abroad often raise the question of the so-called "independence of Tibet." The assertion that "Tibet had always been independent in the past" is groundless. People who have a little knowledge of Chinese history know that the Tibetan and Han peoples began friendly contacts centuries ago. By the seventh century, in addition to economic and cultural exchanges, the two nationalities had established close political relations. During the Yuan Dynasty in the 13th century, Tibet was included in the domain of China and became part of China's territory.

The so-called "independence of Tibet" in modern history has always been a dirty allegation of imperialist aggression against China and has been opposed by the Chinese people, and most strenuously by the Tibetan people.

Today, some separatists and others with ulterior motives continue to flaunt the misleading banner of an "independent Tibet." In recent years, these forces have given enormous publicity to the "frenzied welcome" received by the visiting delegations from Dalai Lama. In fact this phenomenon is not at all surprising. For historical reasons, Lamaism has deep influence among the Tibetan people. Tibetan buddhists regard not only Dalai Lama, but all the others they call "living buddhas" as gods incarnate, and welcome them accordingly.

Some people who don't know this background have misinterpreted the Tibetans' religious feelings towards Dalai as political trust in him. But some others have always taken advantage of the Tibetan people's beliefs in order to arouse a religious fervour that would serve their own aims of splitting the motherland and undermining our national unity. The future will provide proof that these efforts are in vain.

CSO: 4000/21

PARTY AND STATE

REPORT ON PUBLICIZING COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

HK220614 Beijing BAN YUE TAN in Chinese No 21, 10 Nov 82 p 7

[Article: "Attention Must Be Given to Three Problems When Publicizing Communist Ideology"]

[Text] In order to educate and bestir the masses of people, we must vigorously publicize communist ideology and must conscientiously guide the building of socialist spiritual civilization with it. However, in the propagation, attention must be given to the following three problems:

1. The propagation of communist ideology must be integrated with the implementation of the present socialist policies. In the work of propaganda, neither restriction nor criticism should be carried out concerning the policy of distribution according to labor. The application of the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" in the socialist period itself constitutes part of the communist ideological system. At present, we are practicing such policies as allowing the existence of individual farming, private plots and rural fairs, and are even allowing the running of joint ventures with foreign capitalists. Looking at the surface, it seems that these policies are far from communist ideology, but in fact, practicing such policies at the present stage is advantageous to socialist construction and the final realization of communism. In the work of propaganda, such a relationship should be clearly explained with a view to preventing the emergence of some "leftist" mistakes.

2. We should publicize communist ideals, but we should not now advocate and apply such communist principles as "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs," "the dying away of the state," "the dying away of the party" and so on. The communist ideas which should be propagated and advocated at the present stage are mainly firm conviction in communist ideals, the spirit of dedicating oneself to the interests of the people, the communist style of sacrificing one's own interests for the sake of others and working selflessly for the public interests and good behavior such as concerning oneself with public benefits and taking good care of public property.

3. In the propaganda work, the masses should not be given a false impression that communism is close at hand. During the time of the "big leap forward," communism was propagated as if its mast was already visible. This resulted in a gust of "communist wind" together with many "leftist" mistakes. We must remember this lesson.

CSO: 4005/175

PARTY AND STATE

NPC STANDING COMMITTEE ISSUES DECREE NO 11

OW200242 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1255 GMT 19 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 19 Nov (XINHUA)--Decree of Standing Committee of 5th NPC of the PRC:

No 11

The "PRC Cultural Relics Protection Law" has been approved by the 5th NPC Standing Committee of the PRC at its 25th session on 19 November 1982. It is hereby promulgated for implementation.

Chairman of the NPC Standing Committee Ye Jianying

19 November 1982

CSO: 4005/175

PARTY AND STATE

COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY, ECONOMIC INCENTIVES NOTED

HK220834 Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Nov 82 pp 1, 2

[Commentator's article: "We Must Both Publicize Communist Ideology and Uphold the Existing Policies"]

[Text] Since the 12th Party Congress, all enterprises have strengthened their propaganda and education in communist ideology. As a result, good deeds such as working without being concerned about pay and good people who shine with the brightness of communist ideology have continuously emerged, the healthy trend of the advanced ideology of the working class has gained ground and the unhealthy trend of isolating and attacking the advanced has lost ground. However, at the same time a few phenomena have also occurred which merit our attention. For example, some comrades set the encouragement of the communist labor attitude against the current policy of distribution according to labor and think that since we encourage a communist labor attitude, we can neglect or abolish distribution according to labor. Some units even use the excuse of developing the communist spirit to extend working hours arbitrarily, force the workers to work overtime or organize them to participate in voluntary labor of a compulsory nature. These phenomena merit our attention.

In his report to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that we had to adhere to distribution according to labor and other aspects of the socialist system in our economic and social life and at the same time call on our party members, CYL members and all our advanced elements to use the communist ideology to guide their actions and educate and influence the broad masses. This means that both are indispensible. The current policy of distribution according to labor is not a policy that we can carry out or refuse to carry out at will. On the contrary, it is a policy that we must persistently carry out. Even as regards our party members, CYL members and advanced elements, we should not deny the necessity to carry out distribution according to labor among them on the grounds of their high awareness. What we should do is precisely the reverse. The higher their ideological level, the better their work and the great their contributions, so the greater is our obligation to carry out distribution according to labor among them. This is because only by so doing can we encourage more and more people to continue to make new contributions to the creation of the new

situation in our socialist construction. As for the reason why we should encourage the communist labor attitude, that is because this is the most correct attitude of a socialist laborer toward his task of labor. We should require not only our party members, CYL members and all our advanced elements to first strive to adopt this attitude, but should, through encouragement, propaganda and education, also make more and more of the masses consciously adopt this attitude. We should make every member of our society understand that because class struggle still exists in the socialist period, it will be impossible to resist erosion from capitalist ideology if we rely only on the principle of distribution according to labor. Only by simultaneously arming ourselves with communist ideology can every member of our socialist society resist erosion from capitalist ideology and maintain a firm stand. Getting their due remuneration and bonuses in accordance with the principle of distribution according to labor does not impede the display of the communist spirit by our party members, CYL members and advanced elements in their work and lives. Adhering to the principle of distribution according to labor, but at the same time refusing to be satisfied with it and raising a higher demand for oneself is the important characteristic of an advanced element. Many advanced elements have been acting in precisely this manner. Zhao Chune, Lui Jianfu and others always do their work well with a high sense of responsibility as masters. They accept their remuneration and do not haggle about it. Sometimes, they give promotion opportunities to other people and sometimes use their bonuses and remuneration to help comrades in difficulty. Have they not satisfactorily combined the principle of distribution according to labor with their communist labor attitude? Therefore, on this issue, we should pay attention to preventing and overcoming the following two erroneous tendencies: first, the idea that since we should carry out distribution according to labor, we can negate the communist labor attitude of the advanced elements in working without being concerned about pay, or even that people should be allowed to dampen the enthusiasm of advanced elements or to sneer at and attack them; the other is the idea that since the communist labor attitude, is being encouraged, one dare not carry out or does not strictly carry out distribution according to labor among advanced elements.

We should make a concrete analysis of working overtime. If the overtime really results from the needs of production or certain special causes, it is necessary to mobilize the masses to display the communist spirit and work overtime in order to fulfill certain urgent tasks. However, we should point out that it is harmful to the health of the staff and workers and detrimental to the work of improving of economic results in enterprises if we always rely on working overtime to fulfill production targets. Moreover, it covers up the backwardness and shortcomings in our administration and management. Therefore, we should not encourage working overtime. In some units, production tasks which could be completed by working the normal 8 hours were delayed in order to work overtime and get overtime pay. This malpractice wastes the labor force and energy resources such as coal and electricity which are in serious shortage in our country at present, and reduces the economic results in our enterprises. In fact, this practice not only fails to create more wealth for the state, but also gives rise to excessive waste of our economic resources. At the same time, this unnecessary overtime

will meet the demand of a small number of backward masses and will facilitate the growth of the unhealthy trend of "looking for money in everything" and corrupt people's minds. This malpractice of paying excessive bonuses and overtime pay is diametrically opposed to the development of communist ideology.

Lenin highly praised voluntary labor and called it the bud of communism. Therefore, it is perfectly acceptable to organize the masses to participate in voluntary labor in order to foster communist awareness and spirit. However, we should ensure that the masses are really willing to participate in this labor. Generally speaking, there should not be so much voluntary labor as to adversely influence the work of the normal 8 working hours. We should not think that only participation in voluntary labor reflects a communist spirit and thus neglect the work of the normal 8 working hours. We must see that the results of the work in the 8 hour day determine the speed and success or failure of the socialist modernizations; therefore, the normal 8 hour day is the main sphere for reflecting communist ideology and displaying communist spirit. For example, at present, in some units the work in the normal working day is carried out in a lax, undisciplined way and their staff and workers work without making any effort, or seek only quantity at the expense of quality. These enterprises must educate their staff and workers in communist ideology and teach them to make the best use of their 8 working hours in order to increase production [words indistinct] working efficiency. In many enterprises, work quotas have not been revised for a long time and most of them are too low. This means these enterprises must mobilize their staff and workers to develop a communist spirit, fix advanced quotas and substitute them for the old backward quotas, thus making greater contribution to the state.

In the production processes of quite a large number of enterprises, there is fairly serious waste of energy and raw materials. [word indistinct] requires us to organize the staff and workers to develop the communist spirit and vigorously put forward rationalization proposals in order to improve production technology, administration and management and thus produce more and better products while consuming the same amount of energy and raw materials. In our ranks of staff and workers people differ in their levels of skills, and workshops and sections differ in their economic effect. We should encourage the advanced to help the less advanced, step up the exchange of experiences and skills among staff and workers and develop socialist cooperation on a large scale. In order to do this we should also educate the staff and workers in communist spirit. At present, a few staff members and workers in quite a large number of enterprises have committed the malpractice of seeking private interests at the expense of those of the state and taking state property as their private property. Some have even committed embezzlement, bribery and pilferage of public property. In order to fight against these erroneous and illegal activities, we are even more obliged to educate the staff and workers in communist ideology. In short, in mobilizing and teaching the broad ranks of staff and workers to foster ideology and spirit, we should first of all require them to do their own jobs well. At present and in a quite long historical period to come, we must continuously expand through propaganda the ideological stand of communism, and

arm an increasingly large number of people with communist ideology. This is undoubtedly true. However, historical lessons are worth remembering. In doing this work, we should pay attention to preventing a revival of "leftist" theory and practice. While propagating and developing communist ideology, we must adhere to the principle of distribution according to labor and other aspects of the socialist system in our economic and social lives. While adhering to the principle of distribution according to labor, we should also pay attention to preventing the malpractice of neglecting the propagation of communist ideology. Only by satisfactorily combining the propagation of communist ideology with the socialist system including distribution according to labor can we enable the working class to play the role of the principal force in the construction of the "two civilizations."

CSO: 4005/175

BRIEFS

HUBEI MUNICIPAL LEADERSHIP GROUP--On 12 November, the Fifth Xiangfan Municipal Party Congress elected a new leadership group of the municipal CPC committee. Now, the average age of the leadership group is 2.88 years younger than that of the preceding leadership group and 65 percent of the committee members are below 50 years old. The number of the Standing Committee members of the municipal CPC committee has been reduced from 17 to 10 and the number of secretaries and deputy secretaries has been reduced from 8 to 5. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Nov 82 HK]

NEI MONGGOL TRADE UNION CONGRESS--The Regional Congress of Trade Union Activists ceremoniously opened in Hohhot on 11 November. Attending were regional party and government leaders, including Ting Mao, Wang Duo, Kong Fei, Yun Shiying, Bu He and (Shi Shengrong). Also present were Wu Lan, adviser to the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, and responsible comrades of the Regional Women's Federation and CYL Committee. (Shi Shengrong), deputy secretary of the regional CPC committee, spoke at the congress. First he extended warm greetings to all the delegates to the congress on behalf of the regional CPC committee. He said: Trade unions are schools that organize the masses of workers to study communism and a strong link through which the party establishes ties with the masses of workers. As activists in trade union work, you have assisted the party with a great amount of work under the leadership of party committees and trade unions at all levels and have played your role successfully. The 12th CPC National Congress has put forward a new demand on us. The masses of cadres, particularly the working class, should plunge vigorously into the four modernizations drive with a brand new spirit and make new and still greater contributions to creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. Comrade (Shi Shengrong) urged the masses of staff members, workers and trade union cadres throughout the region to carry out the following work: 1) Take the lead in studying the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress and act as vanguards in creating a new situation; 2) Carry forward the spirit of doing solid work of the working class and be socialist men of action; and 3) Arm themselves with communist ideology and be models in promoting the spiritual civilization. [Text] [SK120920 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Nov 82]

NEI MONGGOL CPPCC MEETING--The 18th Standing Committee session of the 4th Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional CPPCC Committee was held in Hohhot from 3-6 November. Wang Duo, deputy to the 12th National CPC Congress and permanent secretary of

the regional CPC committee, relayed the congress guidelines at the session. The session adopted resolutions on implementing the guidelines of the 20th Standing Committee of the 5th National CPPCC Committee, on studying and implementing the 12th National CPC Congress guidelines and on convening the fifth session of the Fourth Regional CPPCC Committee in December. Kui Bi, chairman of the regional CPPCC committee, presided over the session. Attending the session were Peng Sike, Sun Lanfeng, Wu Daping, Zhou Beifeng, Yang Lingde, Na-qin-shuang-he-er, Wang Jiangong, Qi Yongcun, Liang Yiming and Wang Haishan. [Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Nov 82 SK]

TIANJIN INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT--In January-October, Tianjin Municipality fulfilled 83.3 percent of the annual industrial output plan, showing a 6.8-percent increase over that of the corresponding 1981 period. [Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 7 Nov 82 SK]

NEI MONGGOL PARTY STYLE--The Qingshuihe County CPC Committee conscientiously studied the circular of the regional CPC committee on the problems of Xinghe County and then inspected its own problems in comparison, resulting in an improvement in party style. After the circular was issued, Qingshuihe County has conscientiously studied and discussed it and conducted some self-investigations. First, it inspected some illegal housing construction undertaken by party members and cadres. [words indistinct] eight illegal housing construction cases, in which 684 persons were employed without authorization to build houses, were cracked. In addition, 33 economic cases which were put on record this year have been wound up. Disciplinary punishment and legal sanctions have been given to eight party members who seriously violated the laws and discipline. In addition, 76,898 yuan of illicit money were recovered. Party members also took the lead in recovering 200,000 yuan of debts from cadres. In the inspection, the Qingshuihe County CPC Committee has paid attention to the work of readjusting primary party organizations and checking on party members, and many young and middle-aged cadres have been promoted to fill the leading bodies. [Text] [SK210554 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Nov 82]

CONGRESS SPIRIT--In order to supervise, review and guide the study of the 12th Party Congress documents in various units, the leaders of the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee recently listened to relevant reports from 13 units including the municipal economic committee, the rural work departments, and the Shoudu Iron and Steel Company. Municipal CPC committee first secretary Duan Junyi pointed out at the report meeting on 3 November: the whole city is doing very well in studying the 12th Party Congress documents. Many units have scored success in their studies. In the future, we should deepen our study and appreciation of the congress spirit. Study must be linked to the reality of ideology and work. All kinds of different views can be put forward. Many problems can be solved through study and discussion by the masses themselves. As a result of study, we should continue to overcome leftist influence, emancipate our minds a bit more, and be a bit bolder in carrying out reforms. Otherwise, we cannot create a new situation. [Text] [HK120207 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 3 Nov 82]

BANQEN ERDINI IN CHENGDU--NPC Standing Committee Vice Chairman Banqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyancan arrived in Chengdu on 14 November after completing his inspection visit to Aba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. He was visited at the guesthouse in Chengdu by Sichuan Governor Lu Dadong, provincial people's congress Standing Committee chairman Du Xinyuan, provincial CPC committee secretary Tian Bao, Chengdu PLA units deputy commander Chen Mingyi, and other provincial officials. In the evening the provincial government gave a banquet for Banqen Erdini's party. [HK150329 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 14 Nov 82]

HENAN SCIENTIFIC ASSOCIATION--The first academic seminar of the provincial scientific socialism association was held in Zhengzhou from 6-11 November. Zhang Shude, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, made an important speech. (Jiang Liu), deputy dean of education in the CPC Central Committee party school, also spoke. In his speech Comrade Zhang Shude stressed the importance of seriously studying the 12th Party Congress' documents, and applying them as a guide in the study of scientific socialism. The participants pledged to work hard in building socialist spiritual civilization. On the question of class struggle, they held: "The report to the 12th Party Congress has given a scientific and accurate exposition. The exploiting class in China has been eliminated as a class, but the class struggle still exists within a certain scope. This is an indisputable fact. We must therefore make mental preparations for long struggle and persistently apply the class viewpoint of Marxism to handle current class contradictions and phenomena in China that are of the nature of class struggle." The meeting also studied the future tasks of the association. [HK130754 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Nov 82]

DENG'S SON IN U.S.--The CHINA TIMES reports from New York that the son of communist Chinese strongman Teng Hsiao-ping has received a doctorate degree from University of Rochester, New York State. The paper added that Teng's son, Teng Chih-fang, has received a research scholarship from America's RCA Company and plans to remain in the United States and not to return to the China mainland. Physicist Chang Wei-liang, while attending a recent seminar on the democracy movement behind the magazine CHINA SPRING, provided this information on the young Teng. [Text] [OW300420 Taipei International Service in English 0100 GMT 30 Nov 82]

CSO: 4000/21

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WORK STYLE OF PARTY DISCUSSED

Kunming YUNNAN SHEJUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCES IN YUNNAN] in Chinese No 4, 82 Jul 1982 pp 1-7

[Article by Cheng Fang [2110 2455]: "On the Work Style of the Party"]

[Text] The work style of the party is the summation of the work styles of all party members in the ruling party--from high ranking leaders to ordinary members at the basic levels--in the areas of ideology, politics, work, livelihood, etc. It is the outward manifestation of party character and goals. At the same time, party style forms the criteria by which the broad masses regard the party and for determining their attitude toward the party. The CPC has consistently given much attention to their party work style. As early as the second revolutionary civil war, the party had formulated the well-known "three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention" as the behavioral standard for party members and revolutionary soldiers. Along with the development of the revolutionary cause, our party's veteran proletarian revolutionaries repeatedly gave comprehensive and profound expositions on party work style. During their life of revolution they were strict with themselves and set a glorious example for the entire party. After the smashing of the "gang of four," particularly since the convening of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, the party Central Committee has made an even greater effort to bring about basic improvements in the party's style of work. They adopted a series of very effective measures. It should be noted that although our party's style has improved to quite a large extent, when one looks more closely and compares it to the revolutionary war period and the early years in the founding of the nation, things have not basically changed for the better. Consequently, we must continue to struggle to bring about basic improvements in party style. In his "Talk at the Symposium Convened by the Central Committee's Commission for the Inspection of Discipline on Implementing the 'Guiding Principles,'" Comrade Hu Yaobang made an appeal: "Every person who deeply loves and supports the party, whether party member or not, should be concerned about our party work style. It is our right and responsibility to be concerned about the work style of our party." ("On the Party's Style of Work," p 125). At a time when we are commemorating the 61st anniversary of our party, this article brings up several views on striving to bring about basic improvements in party style.

The Importance and Urgency of Improving Party Style

Comrade Chen Yun has pointed out: "The work style of the ruling party is a matter that has a bearing on the life and death of the party." This conclusion is a profound summary of historical experience. Each party member, particularly leading comrades at all levels, must thoroughly understand the gist of Comrade Chen Yun's conclusion and use it to guide their speech and actions. They must fully appreciate the relationship of party style to the rise and fall of the party and the nation.

The CPC is a political party that is armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The character of our party's proletarian vanguard is what distinguishes our work style from that of any other ruling party. It includes the party's three great important styles of work which Comrade Mao Zedong summed up so incisively: integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practicing criticism and self-criticism. The party's historical course of 61 years of struggle tells us that only by relying on the party's fine traditions and work style can our party mobilize, unite and attract the broad masses, guarantee the implementation of party line,, principles and policies and strive for great victories. The vast numbers of CPC members must be the first to charge forward and the last to retreat. They must be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts. They must not fear shedding blood or making sacrifices. They must bravely overcome difficulties and hardships and work for the interests of the people with all their hearts. It is precisely because such a party is the leading core and such party members play an exemplary and vanguard role that the disaster-ridden Chinese people have been able to free themselves from the blood-stained rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. They have been able to rise to their feet in the East and establish a brand new life. Thus, the CPC enjoys high prestige and has great influence among the Chinese people. The Chinese people, from their personal understanding, arrived at the conclusion that "without the CPC there would not be a new China." "The CPC is like the sun, wherever it shines there is light. Wherever the CPC is, the people have been liberated." The thinking of the people reflects the limitless love and trust of the broad masses toward the CPC.

After liberation, during the early 1950's, as the ruling party in the most populous nation on earth, our party was confronted with a changed political and economic situation, our party conformed to the historical trends of the times. They fulfilled the aspirations long held by the masses. On the basis of a 3-year economic recovery, they proposed a timely general line for a transitional period and formulated the First 5 Year Plan for national economic construction.

Vast numbers of party members and cadres carried on and gave full play to the fine traditions of the party. They quietly immersed themselves in hard work and willingly took on the burdens of their office. The links between cadres and the masses and between the party and the masses were very close so that they were not only able smoothly to achieve the socialist transformation of means of production, they also completed the 5 year plan ahead of schedule. They established a fine foundation for continuing to expand the establishment of socialism. At that time the people had peace of mind and their enthusiasm was aroused. The party's style of work and social practices at that time are still praised to this day.

Thus, we may say that the party must lead the people along the road to victory. First, we must have correct lines and policies and second, we must have a good party work style and large numbers of party members must play an exemplary role. As for the people's attitude toward the party, they must first "listen to what they say" and see whether party declarations, views, principles, lines and policies coincide with their own interests and whether the party can represent their own political and economic demands. Secondly they must "judge them by their deeds" and see whether the broad masses of party members keep their word, serve the interests of the people and "bow their heads willingly to the children's ox." Our party is a party that works for the interests of the people. The line, principles and policies of our party coincide with the basic interests of the broad masses. Party members must have a strong party spirit and a good work style. They must consistently put the interests of the revolution first and always show concern for the masses. As Comrade Mao Zedong said, "We must give primary consideration to the party and the masses rather than to the individual and give primary consideration to others rather than to ourselves." ("Selected Writings of Mao Zedong," Vol 2 p 332). If party members do all this and wholeheartedly serve the interests of the vast majority and do not seek private gains, the people will without question support and resolutely follow the party. In the history of our party, the broad masses have given their lives for the revolution. They have not hesitated to risk imprisonment and execution to protect the party organization and party members. There are examples too numerous to mention of those who sent their own relatives into the revolutionary ranks to join the party in striving for liberation. Thus, the party naturally grew in strength at a rapid rate and the party's undertaking grew and flourished. The party also developed into an invincible force. Conversely, if the work style of these party members or party organizations was unsound, starting from the gains and losses of a given unit or individual, whenever anything would crop up they would monopolize power for private ends, engage in dishonest practices, ignore the suffering of the masses and even have no scruples about seeking private gain at public expense. They would encroach upon the interests of the masses and sit as overlords on the backs of the people. They would inevitably become divorced from the masses and seriously jeopardize the party's undertaking. This means that the quality of the party's work style determines whether or not the people will support them and the peoples' support then determines the rise or decline of the party. This is true during revolution, peaceful construction and even once a party has come to power. There are no exceptions.

It is worth noting that party style when in power and party style prior to attaining political power have different characteristics. Studying the characteristics of party style of a ruling party has a greater theoretical significance and practical significance for the current phase of revolution and construction. The basic problems of all revolutions are problems of political power. After the leaders of our party seized power, the party's undertaking also entered a new phase of development. As for the Communist Party, "To win countrywide victory is only the first step in a long march of 10,000 li.... The journey after the revolution is even longer, the work even greater and more arduous." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4 p 1328). This means that winning national victory provides the basic conditions and basic guarantees for realizing the party's objective of struggle and for completing the party's

maximum program. However, because of the victory and changes in the conditions faced by the party, there are several problems in party work style that deserve our full attention.

First, in terms of the establishment of the party, problems in the party style of the ruling party are relatively easy to overlook. After attaining national political power, openly hostile forces were either eliminated and driven out or went underground. The party set up party and political organs at all levels throughout the country. They controlled the powerful state machine and had unprecendented power. Basic changes occurred in the relative strength of enemy forces and our own. Consequently, the effect of the quality of party work style and the quality of the relationship between the party and the masses was no longer reflected directly on the rise and delcine of the party as it had been during the revolutionary war years. On top of that, due to differences in work methods and the great changes that occurred in the means of linking up the party with the masses, the mass viewpoint of certain comrades including a handful of leading comrades has steadily weakened. They depend on administrative orders to carry out their work and they have done an insufficient amount of painstaking ideological work. In the past 30 odd years, our political system and state administrative organization has been consistently improving. For a relatively long period of time we have put undue emphasis on centralized leadership so that the party and politics are undivided and party committees frequently get bogged down in the details of daily affairs. They do not pay enough attention to the establishment of the party itself nor do they promptly sum up experiences and lessons. Under such conditions problems in the work style of the party are either overlooked or not stressed.

Second, if members of the ruling party do not increase their vigilance, the possibility of being tainted by unsound practices is even greater. After coming to power, the working, studying and living conditions of party members were greatly improved. At first this provided a fine material foundation for carrying out work on the revolution. However, it may also have given rise to the idea among certain party members that the revolution has come to an end, and therefore they were unwilling to live a hard life anymore or to strive to make progress. Once particular comrades who had undergone rigorous tests became "government officials" they started to enjoy flattery. They could not correctly handle the relationship between themselves and party organizations and the masses. They were supercilious, lazy and considered everyone beneath notice. They lost their revolutionary enthusiasm and sense of political responsibility as well as their moral character and the values that a member of the Communist Party should possess. The bourgeois ideology of being greedy for money and profit gradually grew. In summary, because of changes in the surrounding conditions, if members of the ruling party fail to be on guard, the four attitudes of arrogance, laxity, bureaucratism and lethargy will find fertile breeding ground among certain of our comrades. Furthermore, a number of party members who joined the party after the national victory lacked discipline so that their party spirit is not staunch enough. They may have formally joined the party but ideologically they have not truly joined the party. A handful of people who had impure motives for joining the party at first did so not to wage the revolution but to use the label of party member of the ruling party in order to seek personal fame, gain and position. This

type of person is a "germ carrier" in the party. Third, as for the importance and threat of party style, the quality of work style of the ruling party may directly influence the quality of overall social practices as well as the overall state of the nation. The party is the core of leadership for all the people and it occupies a position of control. Thus, when the party work style is correct, all the people can have confidence in the party and support it. They can closely unite under the banner of the party and apply their energy to the establishment of a socialist material and spiritual civilization. When party work style is pure and the practices of the people correct, then social order will necessarily be stable and the establishment of socialism and the four modernizations will be assured. Our nation will then rapidly flourishand grow more powerful. In this sense, the work style of the ruling party not only has a bearing on the rise and decline of the party itself, it also has a bearing on the future and fate of the nation and the people. If the ruling party is contaminated by unsound practices, its influence will become even more widespread and its threat even greater.

To sum up, the question of the work style of the ruling party is certainly an extremely important problem. Moreover, in the new historical period when the party is leading the people to carry out the establishment of the four modernizations, correcting party style takes on an even more pressing reality. At present, all the people are extremely concerned about the work style of the party. They all urgently hope that party style can be basically improved as rapidly as possible. The Central Commission for the Inspection of Discipline clearly pointed out: "If we underestimate the danger of unsound practices, let them go unchecked and fail to adopt effective and timely measures to correct them, there is the danger that certain elements in the party and even the entire party itself, will gradually become divorced from the masses and degenerate." ("Decisions of the Third Plenum of the Central Commission for the Inspection of Discipline"). We should squarely face this danger and adopt effective measures to correct unsound practices and thereby eliminate this danger. In order to do this it is essential conscientiously to study the current state of the party's work style and the reasons for the existence of unsound practices within the party.

The Current State of Party Style and the Reasons Behind the Existence of Unsound Practices

The starting point for studying and solving problems in the party style is to understand correctly and realistically and to analyze the current state of party style. As stated above, in recent years there have been great improvements in the party's style and these are ongoing. However, when making a comprehensive survey of the current state of party style, it can be seen that it has departed from the party constitution and the demands of the "Guiding Principles." It has departed from the Central Committee's tentative idea of "taking 3 years or if 3 years is not enough then 5 years to better establish our party and increase the importance of this glorious, correct and great party." There is still quite a disparity between party style and the hopes of the people. At present, the line, principles and policies of the party and the work style of the Central Committee are the best they have been in 61 years. The entire party and the nation are already on a healthy course. However, unsound

practices within the party are still widespread. It is more serious in some areas than in others. In general, current unsound practices within the party may be seen in the following several areas.

1. A small minority of party members and cadres have not maintained close political unity with the party Central Committee. They have responded passively to the line, principles and policies of the Central Committee and feigned compliance. They have even adopted the attitude of pragmatism or resistance. Particular individuals have either turned a deaf ear and blind eye to the fine state of affairs since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee or have spread talk that goes against the spirit of the Central Committee. They refuse to handle things that should be dealt with and refuse to have anything to do with these problems. The people can deal with them as they wish and abandon the leadership. Others disregard organizational discipline. They alter party and government policies and regulations at will in the districts and departments under their leadership. They persist in their ways no matter what others say.

2. Some people use the power of their position to appoint people by favoritism and form factions and cliques. Today, 6 years after the smashing of the "gang of four," they still engage in this or that unscrupulous practice. They befriend some but neglect others. Some take advantage of all opportunities to assign and promote thier own relatives or those who "hold the same views." Moreover, they refuse to "waste their breath talking" to those who disagree with them and will not even sit with them. In certain units there are frequent manifestations of the vestiges of factionalism in promoting cadres, adjusting wages, allotting housing, recruiting workers, etc.

3. A small minority of people make use of the power of their position to seek private gain at public expense. They forget the fundamental interests of the party and state. Starting from individual or clique interests, they arbitrarily raise commodity prices and concoct various pretexts indiscriminately to issue bonuses. They make use of all opportunities to squander and waste. These people not only brought about tremendous losses in state property, they also seriously injured the body of the party and corrputed the ideology of party members and cadres. They have harmed the establishment of a socialist spiritual civilization. Even more serious, certain departments, units, party members and cadres went so far as to take advantage of their authority and favorable conditions to participate in economic crimes. They colluded with criminal elements in society to engage in smuggling and reselling goods, bribery, speculation and fraud, theft and looting of state and collective property. The suppression and practice of smuggling and the enforcement and violation of the law as well as other intolerable phenomena arose.

4. Some people are engrossed in "the art of pulling strings." They take advantage of various connections to seek privileges in their daily life. They hanker after material comforts and forget the party's great objectives and basic prupose of serving the people. They forget that they are communists and have become very short-sighted. They are vulgar and mediocre and see everything "in terms of money." Some people seek all kinds of channels to pull strings and get in the back door. They use every effort to secure advantages by using various pretexts for obtaining commodities in short supply. They violate the

system by encroaching upon public housing and public property and try to arrange a cozy, easy life of comfort. Moreover, they seek special consideration for their children, relatives and friends in finding work, promotion, reassignment of work, promotion to higher schools, job assignments upon graduation, "transferring from agriculture to nonagriculture," etc.

5. Among some cadres bureaucratism and the yamen work style are rampant. They are far removed from reality and divorced from the masses. They do not understand conditions at the lower levels. Some are dilatory in doing things, shift responsibility onto others and do not accept responsibilities. The leadership in certain departments is weak, ineffective, undisciplined, overstaffed and cumbersome. Their work efficiency is extremely low. They are insensitive to outstanding problems in practical work and to problems among the people at the basic levels. They put off work, argue among themselves and rely on conferences and documents of every description for guidance. Furthermore, they are indifferent to the results of implementing the spirit of these conferences and documents not to mention assisting in solving difficult problems and summing up experiences and lessons.

6. There are quite a few party members and cadres who have not actively launched an ideological struggle. They lack the spirit of criticism and self-criticism. Liberal trends and corrupt and decadent work styles are rife among these comrades. They do not resist or struggle against unsound practices. They practice favoritism and shield those who have committed mistakes and intercede on their behalf to protect them. Some even tolerate and support them. Some units have not focused on ideological and political work. They have not promptly dealt with activities that violate party discipline and have even artificially created problems for the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline. After their own unsound practices have been exposed and criticized, some cadres have not accepted suggestions with an open mind and corrected their shortcomings. On the contrary, they have taken retaliatory actions against those who dared to criticize them.

The six areas of unsound practices described above, all exist in varying degrees and to different extents. They have eaten away like mold at the body of the party. They have lowered the prestige of the party, tarnished the image of the party and damaged the flesh and blood ties between the party and the masses. Of course, it should be pointed out that these practices are certainly not inherent in the party nor are they irrevocable. Rather, these unsound practices are as incompatible with the party character of the proletarian party as fire is to water. They have absolutely nothing in common with the fine traditions and work style of our party formed over the years. Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "Where do these unsound practices come from? It should be said that they result from the influence of the ideology of the exploiting class. We cannot say that unsound practices are inherent to the party of the proletariat. The party of the proletariat has been influenced by the ideology of the exploiting class, their ideology has contaminated the party of the proletariat." ("The Question of Party Style," p 126). To be sure, external causes have become operative through internal causes. Quite a few comrades in the party have for

some time let up on ideological transformation and relaxed demands on themselves. They are tainted with the dust of the ideology of the exploiting class. Those degenerate people who have impure motives for joining the party provide an even more fertile soil for unsound practices to develop. These are the "internal causes" behind the contamination of the proletarian party by exploitive ideology which has led to unsound practices.

It should also be noted that there are also specific social and historical reasons why problems in party style have become so noticeable in recent years. Without doubt, it would be of benefit to make a realistic summary of these social and historical factors and earnestly assimilate experiences and lessons. It would also be advantageous for strengthening the ideological establishment of the party and correcting party style.

First of all, among these social and historical factors, the damage to the party's fine traditions and work style by the decade of unrest should be noted. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wantonly destroyed party laws and regulations and the party's fine traditions and work style. They muddled right and wrong within and outside the party and failed to distinguish between good and evil and confused human beings with monsters. "Once the movement began, party organizations at all levels were widely attacked and were paralyzed or semiparalyzed. The party's leading cadres were widely criticized and denounced while vast numbers of party members had to cease their organizational activities. The numerous activists and people at basic levels that the party had long depended upon were rejected." ("Historical Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," separate edition, p 24). Thus, fine party members and cadres who had earnestly obeyed party discipline and laws, were cautious and conscientious and worked enthusiastically and selflessly, all became the targets of the dictatorship. Those who grew horns on their heads and thorns from their bodies, who put profit first, seized power and sought gain became rebel "heroes." Some comrades developed a passive pessimism because of this and lost all faith in the future. This left a major wound in their hearts. Others learned a "lesson" from negative experience and "were disillusioned with the mortal world." They were no longer willing to act as "fools" as they had in the past and when the opportunity arose they reaped some profit. During the unrest some people fished in troubled waters. Because they were never punished, they disregarded party discipline and flouted state laws. In summary, at this late date, the "Great Cultural Revolution" still has fairly profound "aftereffects" on the ideology, work style and lifestyle of our party. The cure for these "aftereffects" requires a certain course of action.

Next, since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have criticized the whole set of leftist practices and implemented the policy to open up foreign trade and revive the domestic economy. This policy is totally correct. It is a firm policy adopted by our party based on needs in the establishment of the four modernizations and on current international and domestic conditions. The implementation of this policy has major strategic significance and it has already achieved great successes. However, while in the process of implementing the policy to open up foreign trade and revive the domestic economy, due to our poor vigilance, inadequate ideological and political work and because certain necessary management systems and measures have not

yet been perfected, certain exploitive ideas have seized this opportunity for a resurgence. Many decadent and foreign capitalist things have also infiltrated by taking advantage of our unpreparedness. Certain weak willed people in our ranks have fallen captive to exploitive ideology. They prostrate themselves before the so-called "material civilization" of capitalist societies and have been an extremely bad influence on the party.

Obviously, the existence of unsound practices within the party has its basic ideological and political causes as well as concrete social and historical causes. Our task is to study these causes. In view of these causes, we must both take stopgap measures and effect a permanent cure. We must advance despite difficulties and do good solid work. We must strive to bring about even greater improvements in party style in the near future and ultimately bring about basic improvements in the party's work style.

Arouse Enthusiasm, Coordinate Administration and Strive for Basic Improvements in Party Style

Can our party's style of work be basically improved? The answer should be affirmative. A number of comrades do not have enough faith that party style can be basically improved. This is without basis and totally mistaken. All ways of thinking that cause one to underestimate one's capabilities, lack self-confidence and self-respect and think that nothing is right in our party or nation should be wiped out. At present we are fully qualified to strive for basic improvements in party style. First, we have a fine party Central Committee which is keenly determined to correct party style and strive for basic improvements in party style. Their measures are effective. Second, the vast majority of our party members have undergone various kinds of training and tests so they have a fairly high political and ideological awareness and cognitive ability. They are honest and upright and have long detested unsound practices. Third, all the people support and uphold correcting party style. The prestige of the party has already gone up substantially. Fourth, organization life within the party has gradually been restored to normal. Relevant party regulations and laws are being strengthened and implemented while certain factors tainted by unhealthy practices are now being overcome. Therefore, we should have both determination and confidence that party style certainly can be improved.

Of course, we must also realize that improving party style is not easy to do. There are numerous difficulties in the path ahead and the tasks we face are quite arduous. In order to strive to bring about basic improvements in party style, we should good practical work in the following several areas.

First, comrades throughout the party, particularly leading cadres at all levels must all further increase awareness of the significance and urgency for improving party style. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "In the present historical period of transition, problems have piled up mountain high. Many tasks await to be completed. Strengthening the party leadership and correcting the party's work style have decisive significance." The Central Committee and other leading comrades have frequently raised the awareness of the significance of improving party style to an unprecedented level. The fate of the party's

work style depends on the party line. The fine work style of the party can encourage the formation and implementation of the correct line while the formation and implementation of the correct line can stimulate the development of fine work styles. This constitutes the great power of the party in spreading propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses and leading the masses forward. Our party's current line is correct. If party style is not rectified it will be very difficult to ensure the implementation of this line. The circumstances require that we rapidly rectify party style in order to mobilize the enthusiasm of the entire party and all the people to carry out the four modernizations. We should have a sense of urgency about this. At the same time our party is a long-tested proletarian vanguard. It is a political party armed with the scientific truths of Marxism. Unsound practices basically conflict with our party's character and purposes. They are not tolerated by our party's regulations and laws. Under no circumstances can we allow them to continue to exist.

Second, while rectifying party style, leading bodies at all levels and leading cadres must set a good example. All party committees should consciously begin with themselves. Each level should watch over the next and take the lead. This is the key to improving party style. When leading bodies and leading cadres set an example, on the one hand they must set an example in supporting and developing the party's fine traditions and work style for the broad masses of party members and people. They must teach by word of mouth and through their actions so as to exert a fine influence on everyone. On the other hand once they have finished work on themselves, they are better able boldly and justly to resist unsound practices. They can effectively lead the various departments and units to rectify their work style. This way is much more effective than simply relying on convening general meetings and issuing directives.

Third, we must depend on conducting thorough and painstaking ideological and political work and the entire party must carry out instruction on strengthening party character and discipline. Restoring and developing the fine traditions and work style of the party are major issues for the whole party. It is the unshirkable duty of every party member. The quality of the party's work style is in the majority of circumstances reflected at every turn by every word and action of the broad masses of party members. The party is an organic whole and every party member is a cell of the party. We can only safeguard the health of the body of the party and spur on basic improvements in party style if each party member strengthens his party character. This will ensure the health of every cell. Improving instruction on party character and discipline must depend on long-term steady work so that vast numbers of party members will continue to improve their political and ideological awareness and possess communist morality and values. They must observe party discipline and solve problems with a world outlook. They must foster lofty communist ideals and the idea of wholeheartedly working for the interests of the people. When strengthening instruction on party character and discipline, we must not be capricious or make a terrific din nor must we engage in formalism. That would not produce good results.

Fourth, we must perfect party regulations and laws and give full play to the function of those on the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline. For a

long time our party's effective organizational measures have been to make the special Commission for the Inspection of Discipline responsible for supervising and inspecting the implementation of party rules and laws in order to ensure the continuation and development of fine party traditions and work style and to ensure that all work is carried out smoothly. All party committees must take the work of the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline seriously and improve the leadership of the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline. At present, giving full play to the functions of the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline is a major link in improving party style. Cases involving violations of party discipline must be promptly investigated and studied and earnestly analyzed. They must be resolutely and appropriately dealt with. Those who violate party discipline must be severely dealt with regardless of rank or seniority. Under no circumstances should we be excessively lenient. Of course, those concerned with the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline must see to instruction and frequently conduct instruction on observing party discipline and national laws for party members. They must not believe that by punishing a few individuals they have rectified all unsound practices. At the same time all party members must support and assist those on the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline in doing good work.

Fifth, at the present time we must regard the struggle to combat major economic crimes as a significant measure in improving party style. Consequently, we must reorganize the party's ranks and strengthen and perfect party leadership. The "Resolution on Combating Major Economic Crimes" of the Central Committee and State Council pointed out: "Attacking serious economic crimes is the most practical and effective measure under the present circumstances to consolidate the party and rectify party style. Communists must take a clear-cut and resolute stand. Whoever passively flinches during this struggle and either winks at, tolerates or shields criminal elements has major faults in party character and is unqualified to be a communist and is certainly unworthy of being a communist charged with the responsibility of leadership." Doing good work in this struggle is the most practical and effective instruction on party character for every party member. Every communist, particularly all leading cadres must actively participate in this struggle to safeguard the purity of communism in the party and to defend the socialist system and the basic interests of all people. At the same time they must withstand all tests and be tempered in the struggle. They must consciously correct their own unsound practices and gradually become resolute, sober-headed and active Marxists.

Sixth, it should be noted that the ruling party must maintain and develop their fine traditions and work style as well as persevere in the long-term struggle against corruption. Since the exploiting class accomplished the abolition of classes, class struggle is no longer a major contradiction in our society. However, due to internal factors and foreign influences, class struggle still exists within a limited scope and it may intensify under certain conditions. Consequently, it is necessary to maintain strong vigilance and launch an effective struggle against all forms of political, economic, ideological, cultural and social corruption and damage inflicted by the ideology of the exploiting class by elements antagonistic to socialism. Lenin said: "If we do not draw clear distinctions with elements who propagate the capitalist influence among proletariats and carry out a ruthless struggle, then the great undertaking of unifying and consolidating the fighting force of revolutionary

proletariats will not be successful." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 17 p 205"). In summing up the experiences of the international communist movement and our 30 odd years of experiences in socialist revolution and construction, the sabotage of elements abroad and at home who are antagonistic to socialism is, in many respects, carried out by corrupting and roping in members of the ruling party in accordance with the ideological and organizational establishment of the ruling party in socialist countries. Thus, it is inevitable that we face a long-term struggle against the corrosive influence of exploitive ideology and bourgeois liberalization. Historical experience tells us that "things must first rot before worms can appear." "The easiest way to capture a fortress is from within." Only if the body of the party of the proletariat is healthy can they effectively resist the encroachment of all kinds of "germs." Thus, it can be said that if the proletariat and their political party want to win a victory in their new kind of long-term class struggle, they must continue to rely on the strong state machine which is in their control. At the same time they must rely on their staunch party spirit and fine party style. Furthermore, the launching of the struggle against corruption in turn will instruct all party members. It is necessary to constantly maintain a strong vigilance, uphold the purity of communism, strengthen immunity against all sorts of germs and do a better job in carrying forward the fine traditions and work style of the party.

In sum, as long as our entire party mobilizes and arouses enthusiasm, carries out comprehensive government and makes an effort in various areas, party style certainly will show fundamental improvements. Once party style has improved, it will spur on improvements in all social practices and social order. It will accelerate the establishment of a socialist spiritual civilization and promote the advancement of the undertaking of modern socialist construction. This would enable our nation to rapidly become rich, strong and prosperous. There are high hopes for the undertaking of the party and the future of the nation. We should be full of confidence in our sure victory. At present, we are carrying out the socialist construction of the four modernizations. The leadership of the CPC is the basic guarantee for achieving the four modernizations. Our party is now concentrating on carrying out organizational reform and systems reform. We are combating serious economic crimes, establishing a socialist spiritual civilization, reorganizing the ranks of the party and strengthening and perfecting the leadership of the party. Work in these four areas is closely connected to the work style of the party. They all require that we "eradicate unsound work styles and uphold fine work styles." Comrades in the entire party should take positive action and earnestly study the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. They must constantly strengthen their party character and discipline during practical work and struggle. They must strive to bring about basic improvements in the party's work style.

9864
CSO: 4005/123

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

INTELLECTUALS HAIL DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW281258 Beijing XINHUA in English 1226 GMT 28 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 28 Nov (XINHUA)--"It is encouraging that the draft revised Constitution has attached great importance to intellectuals, regarding them as one of the three basic forces in building socialism."

This was stated by Zhao Zukang, vice-mayor of Shanghai and a deputy to the National People's Congress (N.P.C.), at a N.P.C. panel meeting here.

A graduate of Jiaotong University in 1922, the octogenarian vice-mayor said the provisions about intellectuals in the draft will surely meet with warm response.

Recalling how hard he tried before liberation to do something in local highway and municipal construction, Zhang Zukang said he was frustrated by the corruption and despite against intellectuals prevailing at that time.

He said the draft clearly declares that workers, peasants and intellectuals must be relied upon in building socialism. "This is both an honor and a spur to us intellectuals," he stressed.

At a panel meeting of Beijing deputies, Professor Li Helin, rector of Lu Xun Museum, said the draft Constitution has reassured the intellectuals that they no longer have to worry about academic problems being exaggerated and regarded as a matter of class struggle or as contradictions between the enemy and the people.

It is in keeping with the aspirations of the intellectuals that the draft has expressed in legal terms the spirit of the principle of "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," Li Helin said.

The professor with more than half a century's teaching experience said he appreciated the preamble of the draft revised Constitution. "It sums up in about 1,000 words the modern history of Chinese revolution and the country's achievements and experience in building socialism in the past three decades. Both the content and the writing are excellent," he said. He proposed that the Ministry of Education include the preamble into the language or politics textbooks for middle schools. The proposal won support from several other deputies.

Professor Feng Zhi, 77-year-old director of the Foreign Literature Institute, said the draft has correctly emphasized the development of socialist spiritual civilization.

"Modernization of material conditions alone cannot be called socialist modernization," he said. "Some Western countries are highly modernized, and their standard of living is high as far as material conditions are concerned, but many people there lack mental ballast and feel uncertain about the future."

Feng Zhi stressed that the development of socialist spiritual civilization is of vital importance to the future of a country. "Everybody, particularly educational and cultural circles, should work for it," he said.

Professor Tao Dayong of the Beijing Normal University, especially appreciated the stipulation about compulsory primary education.

He said the latest census indicates that illiterates and functional illiterates still account for 23.5 percent of China's total population. "In order to raise the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation, it is imperative to regard education both as a right every citizen should enjoy and as a duty he must fulfill," Tao Dayong said.

CSO: 4000/22

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

TIBET GOVERNMENT CHAIRMAN INTERVIEWED

HK011602 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW in English No 47, 22 Nov 82 pp 14-18

[Article by "Our" correspondent Jing Wei: "Tibet: An Inside View (I); Interview With the Autonomous Regional Government Chairman"]

[Text] [Editor's note: Tibet, the roof of the world, has always caught the imagination of people in the outside world. In recent years, as more tourists visit this part of China, more articles are appearing in the press, often giving conflicting reports about this area of more than 1.2 million square kilometres.

What is the real situation in Tibet? To find the answer our correspondent and a photographer paid a two-month visit to Tibet. They interviewed people from various professions and trades in Lhasa, Xigaze (Shigatse) and Gyangze. The following is the first of a series of articles that will appear in BEIJING REVIEW. [end editor's note]

The people of all nationalities in China highly respect Nagpoi Ngawang Jigme, a Tibetan cadre. He was a galun (one of the highest officials) of the former Tibetan Gasha (local government) and is now chairman of the people's government of the Tibet Autonomous Region and vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. In 1951, as chief representative of the former Tibetan local government, he signed with the representative of the central people's government the agreement on the measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet and made important contributions to the unity of China and the liberation of Tibet.

Soon after arriving in Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, our correspondent interviewed Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme, now in his seventies, and asked him some questions of concern to our readers.

Question: Some foreigners have said that Tibet, once a "secluded paradise," is now a "miserable place." What is your view?

Answer: This is wrong. It shows that some people abroad know very little about Tibet.

Tibet never was a "secluded paradise" and cannot be cut off from the world. Historically, Tibet had close relations with China's other regions and frequent contacts with neighbouring India, Nepal and Bhutan. In 1888 and again in 1904, foreign imperialists twice invaded Tibet. Imperialism would not let Tibet become a "secluded paradise."

In the years before the liberation of Tibet, the Tibetan local government pursued a closed-door policy and strictly restricted foreigners from entering Tibet. During this period, foreign imperialists extended their aggression deep into Tibet. They sowed dissension among the Han and Tibetan peoples and manipulated a few upper-class reactionaries to try to divide our country. Activities for so-called "Tibetan independence" were rampant in those years. The old Tibet clearly was not a "secluded paradise."

The statement that Tibet now is a "miserable place" is not only wrong but it represents a view that is totally contrary to that of the Tibetan people.

In the old Tibet, the working people were long ruled by an oppressive, theocratic, feudal serf system. Feudal officials, aristocrats and monastic autocrats--5 percent of the total population--owned almost all the land and most of the livestock. The serfs and herdsmen owned no land or livestock and had to toil year round to eke out a bare subsistence. They had no individual freedom at all. The ruthless exploitation and suppression by the local government, the aristocracy and the monasteries severely hampered productivity. Tibetan society was stagnant for a long time.

The old Tibet was a hell for the labouring people. It was a paradise only for the serf-owners, the tiny minority.

Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Tibetan people have instituted democratic reforms, thrown off the shackles of feudal serfdom and taken the socialist road.

What changes has Tibet undergone since its liberation? Besides the profound social change of the one million serfs becoming masters of Tibet, let me give some economic and cultural examples.

The total grain output of Tibet has increased 3.25 times, from 155,000 tons in 1952 to 505,000 tons.

There are now 23.46 million head of livestock, 2.4 times the 9.7 million in 1952.

Where before there was no industry at all, now there are more than a dozen types of enterprises producing electricity, machinery, woolen textiles and building materials.

Tibet, with no highway at all in the past, now has a highway network of some 21,000 kilometres centring on Lhasa. There are also air services from Lhasa to Chengdu and Xian.

At present, Tibet has more than 6,000 primary schools, 74 middle schools and technical schools, and three institutes of higher learning. There were no schools in the past.

We admit that during the 10-year period of turmoil (1966-1976) the Tibetan people, like the people of other nationalities in China, suffered greatly. During this period, socialist development was badly hampered. After the

convocation of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in 1978, and especially after implementation of the party Central Committee's directive on Tibet issued in 1980, we set things to rights, relaxed our economic policy and established various forms of the job responsibility system in rural and pastoral areas. This year, I went to the rural and pastoral areas in Tibet and saw production developing and people's living standards improving. There was an air of the beginnings of prosperity everywhere. Although Tibet is still relatively poor and backward, the Tibetan people are freer and happier than ever before.

Question: To what extent were temples and monasteries in Tibet destroyed in the "Cultural Revolution?" Why were they destroyed?

Answer: Temples and monasteries in Tibet were seriously damaged during the "Cultural Revolution." The extent of the destruction was unprecedented in our history. Even some ancient monasteries such as the Samyae Monastery and Gahdan Monastery, which have a long history and are listed by the State Council as important cultural sites under the protection of the state, did not escape destruction. All monasteries in Tibet, except the Daipung Monastery and Potala Palace, were damaged to varying degrees. Quite a few were reduced to ruins.

The destruction of monasteries was strictly a result of the 10-year period of turmoil. Since the liberation of Tibet, the Chinese Communist Party has pursued a policy of religious freedom for the masses and of protecting monasteries. But the party's policy on religion was sabotaged during the "Cultural Revolution" together with other policies. In Tibet, monasteries were regarded as embodying the "four olds" (old thinking, old culture, old customs and old habits) so they sustained greater destruction. At that time, some evil people were using anarchism and ultra-left thinking among the masses to attain their own ends.

The damage to monasteries was serious. Many losses are irretrievable. But we are making efforts to correct this and are striving to restore the monasteries.

In order to better implement the party's policy on religion, the party committee and government of the Tibet Autonomous Region have drawn up a plan according to the party Central Committee's directive for rebuilding more than 50 historically important temples and the main monasteries of each religious sect in Tibet. Zuglakang (Jokhan) and Trashilhunpo monasteries have acquired a new look following several years of restoration. Other monasteries are in the process of being repaired. Some religious centres are being rebuilt by the masses themselves with support from the government. Today, religious freedom and religious activities are protected.

Question: What advances has Tibet made in exercising national regional autonomy over the past years?

Answer: Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee held in late 1978, errors in the guiding ideology of work concerning minority nationalities have been corrected and the party's policies towards minority

nationalities have been implemented. In its instructions concerning work in Tibet circulated in 1980, the party Central Committee stresses the full exercise of minority nationalities' autonomous rights in their regions under the unified leadership of the central government.

The key to national regional autonomy is to have sufficient minority nationality cadres. The party committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region has been working hard to train and promote Tibetan cadres. Today the proportion of full-time cadres of Tibetan nationality in the region has increased from 31.9 per cent in 1965 to 54.4 per cent. When the second group of cadres of Han nationality is transferred back to other parts of China, the ratio will grow to over 60 per cent. Already, most prefectural commissioners, county heads, bureau directors and heads of mass organizations are Tibetans.

Attention has also been paid to the Tibetan language. The party and government have called on all cadres, both Tibetan and Han, to learn Tibetan. Education in the Tibetan language has been strengthened in school. To gradually make Tibetan the principal language used in the region's schools, more Tibetan personnel are being trained and more teaching materials are being compiled and translated into Tibetan. This does not mean that the Han language is neglected. Only by learning and using both languages, can we benefit the development of Tibet and strengthen unity and interflow among the different nationalities. During my recent visit to Sagya County, I saw that the people there were truly applying themselves to learning the Tibetan language. All county documents and notices are now in Tibetan.

Thanks to the concern of the party and government, Tibetan culture and art have been revived and developed as has production of special products, such as Tibetan medicine, needed by the Tibetan people. Furthermore, Tibetan customs and habits are being respected.

It has been especially gratifying that the autonomous region has accomplished much on legislation these past years. We have adopted detailed regulations on holding elections in Tibet. We have made changes in the marriage law and in the laws governing criminal procedures as well as many local laws and regulations. All these are in accord with the special characteristics of the autonomous region while ensuring unity under the central authorities. For instance, it is stipulated that Tibetan is the principal language used in investigation, prosecution and trial; that the proportion of Tibetan and other minority nationality deputies to the people's congresses at all levels must not be lower than 80 per cent, and that the rights to vote and to be elected of Tibetans who have gone abroad are guaranteed when they return.

As the policy of national regional autonomy has been conscientiously implemented over the past years, the unity of all nationalities living in Tibet has been greatly strengthened. This is an important guarantee for the future development of Tibet.

Question: Now the last question. Would you like to say something about the future prospects for Tibet?

Answer: Certainly. Since 1980 we have achieved remarkable progress. This may be considered the next major turning point in Tibet's history after its peaceful liberation and the democratic reforms that followed the quelling of the rebellion. The gross output value of agriculture and animal husbandry in 1981 was 487 million yuan, a 20 per cent increase over 1979's 407 million yuan. The average per-capita income of peasants and herdsmen rose from 127 yuan in 1979 to 200 yuan in 1981. We owe these initial successes to the implementation of such policies as reducing the burdens of the people and encouraging economic development in Tibet.

We shall continue to implement such effective policies as establishing various forms of the production responsibility system; giving peasants and herdsmen more leeway in private plots, private livestock, private trees, and in sideline occupations; developing a diversified economy according to local conditions, and encouraging rural markets and small-scale foreign trade in the border areas.

To improve economic development, the regional party committee and government have worked out a plan based on the actual conditions in Tibet so that the region may undergo a small change in three years, a medium-sized change in five years and a major change in 10 years. In other words, we shall strive to bring about a big growth in production by the end of 1990 so as to bring the beginnings of prosperity to most of Tibet, with annual income for a peasant of herdsman reaching 400-500 yuan.

While speeding up the region's economic construction, we shall further implement the party's national policies and try to perfect Tibet's national regional autonomy. We shall firmly carry out the party's policy on freedom of religious beliefs and strengthen our efforts to build a socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core. I am confident that with the concern of the party and government, and with the help of fraternal provinces and regions, the people of different nationalities in Tibet are sure to build a united, prosperous and culturally developed socialist new Tibet on the "roof of the world."

CSO: 4000/22

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SOCIOLOGIST ON DEVELOPMENT IN MINORITY AREAS

OW291654 Beijing XINHUA in English 1558 GMT 29 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 29 Nov (XINHUA)--China's new draft Constitution guarantees genuine equality among all nationalities in the country, said Professor Fei Xiaotong, 71, in an interview here today.

This is clear from the stipulation in the proposed constitution that the state should render financial, material and technical support to areas where minority nationalities live in compact communities, he said.

Professor Fei, winner of Malinowski award for 1980 and Thomas H. Huxley memorial medal, said that all nationalities are genuinely equal only when their economic and cultural development is balanced.

The professor made tours of Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, Yunnan, Sichuan and Guangxi this year. He said that owing to long feudal and national oppression in old China, some minority areas remain fairly backward, though progress has been made in the past three decades. To remedy this situation is an important aspect of the work on nationalities and a problem to be tackled in China's modernization drive.

Professor Fei is a vice-president of the China Democratic League, a democratic party which is mainly composed of intellectuals. "It is necessary first of all to help train more professionals of minority nationalities," he said.

To develop the economy in those areas, he said, it is also necessary to bring local natural advantages into full play, for instance, grasslands in Inner Mongolia.

The professor said that the Democratic League last year sent groups of specialists to border areas on lecture tours. "More will be sent in the future," he said.

CSO: 4000/22

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

MINORITIES INCREASE IN NEI MONGGOL, XINJIANG

OW300553 Beijing XINHUA in English 0233 GMT 29 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 29 Nov (XINHUA)--The Mongolian population in Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region was 2,489,000 on July 1 of this year, triple the 1949 figure when new China was founded, according to the census office of the region.

The censuses show an increase of 79.84 percent in population of the region between 1964 and 1981, as against an average increase of 45.1 percent in population in the country as a whole during the same period.

In Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region in northwest China, the population of the Uygur, the major minority nationality in the Xinjiang region, topped 5.9 million on July 1, an 84 percent increase above 1949 the Xinjiang census office said.

While China's family planning policies apply to the majority, Han population, the policies have been relaxed for the 55 minority nationalities.

The two census offices attributed the big growth of population for minority nationalities to local development of the economy, culture, education and medical care.

In Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, total output value of industry and agriculture has increased by 11 times between 1949 and 1981, and with a contingent of more than 60,000 medical workers, a medical care network has been formed in the region, a Xinjiang official said.

CSO: 4000/22

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NPC DEPUTIES ON PROGRESS FOR AUTONOMOUS AREAS

OW291640 Beijing XINHUA in English 1607 GMT 29 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 29 Nov (XINHUA)--Legislative work has made considerable progress in China's national autonomous areas, according to deputies who are here attending the current session of the National People's Congress (N.P.C.).

China has five autonomous regions, 30 autonomous prefectures and 72 autonomous counties (banners) of minority nationalities. The draft revised Constitution now being discussed at the current N.P.C. session stipulates that people's congresses of national autonomous areas have the power to draw up statutes governing the exercise of autonomy as well as separate regulations, in the light of the political, economic and cultural characteristics of the nationality or nationalities in a given area.

At least 40 separate regulations and statutes suited to, or adapting certain state laws to, local conditions have so far been worked out. They are related mainly to such matters as protecting natural resources, ensuring the exercise of national autonomy in these areas and respecting the customs and habits of minority peoples.

Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region ranks first in China in the area of grassland and the number of big animals. The Yarlung Zangbo River Valley in Tibet has abundant forest resources, including vast tracts of virgin forests. To protect these resources, Inner Mongolia issued "The law of grassland" and Tibet "the provisions for forest management."

The Tibet Autonomous Region made supplementary regulations governing the implementation of the criminal law, the criminal procedural law, and the electoral law for local people's congresses promulgated by the state, so as to safeguard the rights of minority citizens. It is stipulated that at least one judge of the local minority nationality should attend the trial in which a litigant is of minority nationality, and the local minority language should be used in investigation, prosecution and trial in such cases. The supplementary provisions to the electoral law stipulate that Tibetans and other minority peoples in Tibet must account for at least 80 percent of the deputies to the people's congresses at all levels in the region, and that Tibetans now living abroad would enjoy the right to vote and stand for election once they return home.

At the request of the local people, the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region has decided to restore the use of the old Uygur written language familiar to the local people, and stop using the alphabetic new Uygur language that was adopted a few years ago.

Since the promulgation of the marriage law of the People's Republic of China, the autonomous regions of Xinjiang, Tibet, Inner Mongolia and Ningxia have all made supplementary regulations, lowering the legal marriage age by two years and putting no control on birth rate for minority families.

In fact, China's minority population has grown much faster than that of the Han population. According to the country's third national census on July 1, 1982, the minority population has increased by 68.4 percent since 1964, as against 43.8 percent for the Han population.

CSO: 4000/22

END

JPRS 82483

16 December 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 374

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82483

16 December 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 374

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Third World Countries Urge Afghanistan Pullout
(XINHUA, 25 Nov 82) 1

Indonesia, Romania Urge Kampuchean Solution
(XINHUA, 24 Nov 82) 2

Thai Military Spokesman on Possible SRV Attack
(XINHUA, 25 Nov 82) 3

Briefs
South Asian Cooperation 4
Afghan, Palestinian Issues 4

PARTY AND STATE

'HEBEI RIBAO' Views Combatting Economic Crime
(Li Congyin, Shi Jianhe; HEBEI RIBAO, 18 Nov 82) 5

Political Sensitivity Said Necessary To Avoid Corruption
(Xie Shu; RENMIN RIBAO, 5 Nov 82) 9

Efforts To Build Socialist Democracy Discussed
(RENMIN RIBAO, 29 Oct 82) 11

Party Work Style as Guide to Family Work Style Urged
(Wang Jinyou; RENMIN RIBAO, 29 Oct 82) 13

Leaders Called Crux of Improving Attitudes Towards Intellectuals
(Lo Rongxing; RENMIN RIBAO, 4 Nov 82) 15

'XINHUA' Interviews Henan NPC Deputy Chang Xiangyu
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 29 Nov 82) 17

Hubei Executive Secretary Speaks at Study Class
(Hubei Provincial Service, 29 Nov 82) 18

Hunan Committees on Study of 12th Congress Documents
(Hunan Provincial Service, 25 Nov 82) 19

Hunan's Wan Da Comments on 5th NPC Session
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 26 Nov 82) 20

Shanxi Circular on Placement of Retired Soldiers
(SHANXI RIBAO, 5 Nov 82) 21

Hubei's Han Ningfu at Family Planning Meeting
(Hubei Provincial Service, 28 Nov 82) 23

Nei Monggol Deputy Discusses Constitution at NPC Session
(Nei Monggol Regional Service, 29 Nov 82) 24

Hubei's Han Ningfu Discusses New Constitution
(Hubei Provincial Service, 28 Nov 82) 25

'HEBEI RIBAO' on Dividing Party, Government Work
(Editorial; HEBEI RIBAO, 12 Nov 82) 27

'HEBEI RIBAO' on Preparing for CPC Rectification
(Wang Jincheng; HEBEI RIBAO, 11 Nov 82) 31

Hebei Report Meeting on 12th Congress Documents
(Hebei Provincial Service, 18 Nov 82) 34

Party Theorists Urged To Publicize 12th Congress
(Hong Qi; GUANGMING RIBAO, 6 Nov 82) 36

43d in Series on New Party Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 16 Nov 82) 39

Jiangxi First Secretary on Administration Reform
(Jiangxi Provincial Service, 21 Nov 82) 43

Jiangsu Investigative Visit for Yang Jingren
(Jiangsu Provincial Service, 11 Nov 82) 47

Proposals for Shanxi Political, Legal Front
(Shanxi Provincial Service, 28 Nov 82) 48

Nei Monggol Holds Commendation Meeting
(Nei Monggol Regional Service, 27 Nov 82) 49

Beijing Party Committee Holds Plenary Session
(Beijing City Service, 17 Nov 82) 50

Chen Weida Receives Hong Kong Businessmen
(Tianjin City Service, 22 Nov 82) 52

Hebei CYL Meeting Held on Maintaining Political Unity
(Hebei Provincial Service, 2 Nov 82) 53

Fourth Session of Fifth NPC Motions Carried Out
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 25 Nov 82) 55

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Fang Xiang Reform in Song Dynasty
(Guo Zhengzhong; GUANGMING RIBAO, 10 Nov 82) 56

Report on Questions Regarding CPC Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, various dates) 63

53d Series
54th Series
55th Series
56th Series
57th Series
58th Series

Brief Introduction to Revised CPPCC Constitution
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 24 Nov 82) 73

Report on 25 November CPPCC Panel Discussions
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 25 Nov 82) 76

CPPCC Panel Discussions Held on Constitution
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 27 Nov 82) 78

Hu Ziang Report on CPPCC Standing Committee
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 24 Nov 82) 80

Deputy Yang Xiufeng Discusses New Constitution
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 28 Nov 82) 86

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Observing Constitution, Laws
(Li Buyun; GUANGMING RIBAO, 22 Nov 82) 88

'GUANGMING RIBAO' Criticizes 'False' Socialism
(Xi Guangqing; GUANGMING RIBAO, 22 Nov 82) 92

NPC Nationalities Deputies Discuss New Constitution
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 28 Nov 82) 94

'GONGREN RIBAO' on Learning From Model Workers
(Ni Zhifu; GONGREN RIBAO, 18 Nov 82) 95

'RENMIN RIBAO' on Cadre Work, Policy at Shoudu
(Gao Xinqing; RENMIN RIBAO, 23 Nov 82) 99

Briefs
Hong Kong Triads Banned 103
Guangzhou Mayor to Manila 103
Public Order Tasks 104
Hebei Commentary 104
Shanxi Political, Legal Meeting 104
Beijing Discipline Inspection Committee 105
Beijing Advisory Committee Session 105
Tianjin-U.S. Delegation Meet 105

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Commentary Urges Continued Building Militia
(Shandong Provincial Service, 10 Nov 82) 106

Taiwan: Military Spokesman on Military Realignment
(CNA, 27 Nov 82) 107

Guangzhou PLA Holds Militia Work Meeting
(Guangdong Provincial Service, 4 Dec 82) 108

Shanxi PLA Commander on Rural Experiences
(Shanxi Provincial Service, 15 Nov 82) 110

Nanjing PLA Meets on Study of Party Documents
(Jiangsu Provincial Service, 10 Nov 82) 111

Army-Civilian Cooperation for Spiritual Civilization
(Shandong Provincial Service, 9 Nov 82) 113

Shandong Holds Militia Training Meeting
(Shandong Provincial Service, 17 Nov 82) 114

Meeting on Political Education for Militia
(HEBEI RIBAO, 17 Nov 82) 115

Jiangsu's Xiang Shouzhi on Educating PLA Cadres
(Jiangsu Provincial Service, 18 Nov 82) 117

Guangdong Meeting on Developing Fine Situation
(Guangdong Provincial Service, 22 Nov 82) 118

Jinan PLA Regiment Provides Technical Training
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 22 Nov 82) 119

Hebei Holds Militia Anti-Parachutist Meeting
(Li Yingyong, Yang Shuhua; NEBEI RIBAO, 18 Nov 82) 121

Briefs
Militia Political Work Meeting in Hebei 122
Fine Militia Instructor Rally Ends 122
Henan PLA Recruitment 123
Qinghai Police Force Meeting 123
Guangxi Armed Border Police 123
Xinjiang PLA Congress 124

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES URGE AFGHANISTAN PULLOUT

OW250607 Beijing XINHUA in English 0354 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Text] United Nations, 24 November (XINHUA)--Speakers at today's General Assembly meeting called for an end to the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan and for the withdrawal of foreign forces from that country.

Representative of Nepal Uddhav Deo Bhatt reiterated his country's appeal for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan. "This alone can enable the people of Afghanistan to exercise freely their right to self-determination," he stressed.

Ahmad 'Abdal Meguid, representative of Egypt, pointed out that three years had gone by, and the Afghan people continued to languish under the yoke of occupation. The Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan was "void of any legal or moral grounds," he said.

He called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghan territory. The Afghan people should be allowed to determine their own future and choose their own system without any kind of interference from outside, he said.

Tunisian representative Taieb Slim said his country condemned the foreign military intervention in Afghanistan and supported the efforts to find a political solution to the Afghan problems.

All political solutions must have, as an essential condition, the preservation of a nations' sovereignty and its territorial integrity, he said.

Representative of Costa Rica Fernando Zumbado pointed out that the peoples of the Third World could not accept the pretences used to justify interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and the presence of foreign troops on Afghan soil.

A draft resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan and calling on all parties concerned to work for the urgent achievement of a political solution was circulated this morning. The draft was sponsored by Pakistan and 44 other countries.

CSO: 4000/20

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

INDONESIA, ROMANIA URGE KAMPUCHEAN SOLUTION

OW250121 Beijing XINHUA in English 1542 GMT 24 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--Indonesia and Romania today jointly urged a speedy and peaceful end to the Kampuchean conflict and the following of a policy of noninterference in harmony with the legitimate aspirations of the Kampuchean people.

The plea was issued in a joint communique in Jakarta, according to news agency reports, following a three-day visit to Indonesia by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu.

The communique said Indonesian President Suharto and Ceausescu reiterated their support for the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean. They confirmed the activity of ASEAN nations as helping to maintain peace and stability in the Southeast Asian region.

The joint communique said the two countries condemned Israeli military action in Lebanon and called for an immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. Romania and Indonesia signed a long-term economic, technical and scientific agreement. Economic cooperation possibly would develop in mining, machine-manufacturing, power generation, transport, agriculture, forestry and building materials.

Suharto accepted Ceausescu's invitation to visit Romania.

CSO: 4000/20

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAI MILITARY SPOKESMAN ON POSSIBLE SRV ATTACK

OW252021 Beijing XINHUA in English 1534 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Text] Bangkok, 25 Nov (XINHUA)--Thai military spokesman Lt. General Wibun Raosathian today denounced Vietnam for its continued occupation of Kampuchea and possible new dry season offensives in the western part of that country.

Wibun, director of the information office of the Supreme Command of the Thai Armed Forces, told reporters at a press conference this morning that the Thai first and second armies were ready to repulse any possible Vietnamese invasion along the eastern and northeastern border with Kampuchea.

He said, Vietnam, instead of implementing the 37th U.N. General Assembly session's resolution which called for a Vietnamese troop withdrawal and respect for Kampuchea's sovereignty, continued to occupy that country and tightened its grip on the Phnom Penh regime arousing more and more discontent in Kampuchea.

Vietnamese troops have launched offensives against Kampuchean resistance forces since early this month, Wibun said. However, these offensives were not successful. The Kampuchean Patriotic Forces adopted flexible tactics by avoiding direct confrontation with the enemy but hitting the enemy's transportation lines and mounting sudden rear attacks, the spokesman said.

The newspaper, THE BANGKOK WORLD, reported today that Khmer resistance forces continued battling the Vietnamese-and-Heng Samrin troops last night. The fighting has lasted for six days along a highway near Phumi Nimitt village, western Kampuchea.

CSO: 4000/20

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

SOUTH ASIAN COOPERATION--Islamabad, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--Regional scientific and technological cooperation in the development of low-cost infant food and some other areas were proposed at a meeting of seven South Asian nations ending here today. Delegates from Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka took part in the three-day meeting (November 22-25) of the South Asian working group on scientific and technological cooperation. The meeting chalked out long-term and short-term plans and agreed that the projects selected for cooperation should be of research and development nature. The subject areas proposed at the meeting included development of low-cost infant food, biogas technology, micro-electronics repairs and maintenance of scientific instruments and utilization of agrowaste. More than two countries should be involved in regional projects and the results there of should be made available to the non-participating countries. [Text] [OW250856 Beijing XINHUA in English 0740 GMT 25 Nov 82]

AFGHAN, PALESTINIAN ISSUES--Tunis, 17 Nov (XINHUA)--Pakistani Minister of Information and Broadcasting Raja Zafarul Haq said yesterday the increase of the number of Afghan refugees and massacres of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon posed a threat to Islamic society. Condemning the foreign occupation of Afghanistan and the Arab land at a closed session of the third assembly of the international Islamic news agency here, Haq called on the Moslems to resist this threat. Representatives from 30 Islamic countries and secretary general of the Islamic Conference Habib Chatti attended the two-day meeting. They resolved to support the Palestinian cause. The participants also stressed the need to strengthen cooperation among the agencies in the fields of personnel training and technology of communication. [Text] [OW171802 Beijing XINHUA in English 1636 GMT 17 Nov 82

CSO: 4000/20

PARTY AND STATE

'HEBEI RIBAO' VIEWS COMBATTING ECONOMIC CRIME

HK261351 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 18 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Li Congyin [2621 1783 0603] and Shi Jianhe [4258 1696 0735]: "Resolutely Crack Down on Serious Crimes in the Economic Sphere"]

[Text] In his report to the 12th Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "As we promote the cause of socialism in the new period, we must, in both our thinking and our actions, [word indistinct] the following two things: the first is the open door policy in foreign affairs and the enlivening of the economy on the domestic front; the second is a determined attack on serious crimes which harm socialism in the economic, political and cultural spheres. It would be wrong to pay attention to the latter policy and be suspicious of the former one; equally, it would be wrong to stress the former policy and ignore the latter one." We must resolve to implement this principle thoroughly; while pursuing an open door policy and enlivening our economy, we must deepen our attacks on serious economic, political and cultural crimes.

At present, there exist in the economic sphere of society certain unlawful elements and a tiny minority of degenerates in the party, government and army, who have been corrupted by capitalist thinking. These people collude with and make use of each other, going in for smuggling, speculation and profiteering, bribery and corruption, robbery, and other serious criminal activities, doing grave damage to our construction, disrupting social order, polluting the social mood, corrupting people's thinking and life and threatening to erode the great mansion of socialism like termites. This is a grave manifestation of the class struggle occurring under the new historical conditions created by our open-door policy and our revitalization of the economy. We must severely punish according to the law those exploitative and destructive elements who have appeared under these new historical conditions. The pursual of both the open-door policy and the struggle against economic crimes is one of the important tasks facing the whole party and a basic guarantee for upholding the socialist road. If we are to understand correctly and carry out resolutely the basic principle regarding the issue of class struggle at the present stage as laid down by the central authorities, then we must prepare ourselves mentally for the long struggle, stand in the forefront of this struggle, enhance our understanding, consolidate our stand, never relax in our fight, and resolutely carry out the struggle right to the end. We will thus guarantee that our people can work for the socialist construction with one heart and mind.

Since it is one of the important tasks of the whole party to combat economic crimes, the leading party and government cadres at all levels must take it very seriously; this is the key to the success of the struggle. Experience has proved that in those areas and units whose party and government cadres do take the struggle seriously, assign strong cadres to be responsible for it, lay stress on the investigation and handling of big, important cases, follow the policies conscientiously, and consistently solve existing problems, the struggle is deepened, and the early solution of difficult and urgent cases is facilitated. Where this is not the attitude adopted, the struggle is not deepened, and cases can easily drag on for a long time without solution. Particularly in the case of the present economic crimes, it often happens that many levels and colleagues are involved and the situation is highly complex; moreover, the higher the level of cadres involved in a case, the bigger are the obstacles encountered in trying to solve it. Here it is all the more necessary to stick to the central authorities' clear and correct guidelines and have the courage to take the lead in dealing with them seriously in accordance with the law. If a cadre has violated party discipline and state law, the longer his experience, the longer his party training, the higher his post, and the bigger his responsibility, then the more serious the effect he will have. Therefore, in those cases in which a tiny number of cadres are implicated, no matter how high their position, how great their past contributions, or how long their service record, investigations must be made into who is responsible and the culprits dealt with seriously as soon as possible.

In the crackdown on serious economic crimes, we must act in accordance with the clear central directives and thoroughly follow the mass line, and prevent one tendency from concealing another. Following the mass line does not mean investigating everyone or making the serious error of excessively broadening the scope of the struggle. Neither does the fact that we no longer organize mass movements mean that we should rely on a small number of people to conduct cases behind closed doors, daring neither to let the masses who are aware of problems expose them within certain [word indistinct] nor to consult the masses in the unit concerned on how to deal with a case. This way of doing things will only restrict action and hinder progress and affect the deepening of the struggle, so that the goal of educating the masses will not be attained. The correct method, from the beginning of a case right through its investigation and handling to its judgment, should be to uphold the mass line, and rely on and mobilize the masses and cadres in the units involved to expose and investigate those persons who have committed serious crimes; the handling of certain cases should be discussed directly with the members of the public concerned. Cases of a particularly grave nature which have aroused a great deal of popular indignation, should be reported in the press and radio, and big public meetings should be called to judge the case; great publicity should be given to their handling, to enable cadres and masses to draw deep and vivid lessons in fighting corruption.

Conscientiously grasping policy, and using facts as the basis and the law as the criterion is the key to the healthy development of the struggle. If those who enforce the law do not understand it, they are in no position to deal with cases. "Leniency to those who confess their crimes and severity to those who

do not" is the correct policy which has always been carried out in our struggles against the enemy, and one which plays an important role in the present struggle against economic crimes. We must continue to implement it thoroughly. However, due to their ignorance of or unfamiliarity with the law, some comrades have misunderstood the theory and practice of this principle, [phrase indistinct], they base their judgment not on the facts of the crime, its nature, or the harm it has caused, but rely solely on the attitude of the criminal, to the extent that they are either overlenient or excessively severe in their punishments. When they decide on leniency they give no punishment at all, and when they decide to be severe they pass very heavy sentences, creating a lopsided situation in the penalties given. This can only result in encouraging opportunism among criminal elements, giving the masses the wrong impression and damaging the unity and honor of socialist law. Therefore, we must regularly sum up work experience, stress research and investigation, properly unify and balance up the penalties given in accordance with the law, and mete out appropriately lenient or severe punishment within the legal limits. Thus we will bring a situation in which those who enforce the law understand it and deal with cases according to it.

Combatting economic crimes is a most realistic and effective measure for rectifying the party and its style under present conditions. Economic criminals take advantage of unhealthy tendencies; unhealthy tendencies cover up economic criminals. Often the starting point for some degenerate party members on their road to crime was an unhealthy practice. From replacing public with private interests and trying to gain little advantages, they went on to large-scale embezzlement of state or collective funds; from giving banquets and accepting gifts to accepting and demanding bribes; from buying low-value imported goods to supporting and condoning the reselling of foreign currency and smuggling; from supplying receipts, bills, certificates and bank account numbers to taking a share in the spoils of collective crimes; and from reselling goods at a profit to speculation and profiteering. There are great obstacles in the way of investigating cases of economic crime. For instance, before a case has even opened, people arrive to intercede on behalf of the criminal; and there are great difficulties involved in handling these cases, because unhealthy tendencies, added to the crimes themselves, mean that investigating one person means implicating a hundred. Some party cadres, and even a small number of responsible cadres, in order to cover up their own unhealthy practices, brazenly come out in defense of criminal elements, tip them off, and even give false statements and tell lies, there creating obstacles and complicating the situation. Experience has proved that if we want to push forward the struggle against economic crimes we absolutely must do everything possible to overcome obstacles and first solve the problem of the protective umbrella. We must organize those cadres in units concerned who are implicated in an economic crime to link thinking with reality, and in the light of the new party constitution passed by the 12th Party Congress, review the "criteria," conscientiously correct their own unhealthy tendencies, enhance their class consciousness and political awareness, consolidate their stand, draw a clear line between right and wrong, and conscientiously enter into the present struggle to uphold the socialist road. As to those so-called communist party members who abandon the ideal of communism, indulge in all sorts of economic

criminal activities and harm the socialist cause, we must, according to the gravity of the crime, give punishments according to party and state laws; we must make our judgments according to the law and where necessary, remove the culprits from their posts or take away their party membership. In short, we must through combatting economic crimes, go a step further toward purifying the party organization and the ranks of cadres, rectify party style, and promote a fundamental turn for the better in the social mood.

The struggle against serious crimes in the economic field is a long-term, complicated and formidable one. This struggle has only just begun, and we must on no account relax our will to fight; we must boost our spirits, strengthen our leadership, rely on the masses and thoroughly carry out the spirit of the 12th Congress.

CSO: 4005/197

PARTY AND STATE

POLITICAL SENSITIVITY SAID NECESSARY TO AVOID CORRUPTION

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Nov 82 p 5

[Article by Xie Shu [2836 2885]: "Be On Guard Against Losing Your Sense of Smell"]

[Text] There is an old proverb which says: "When you go into a fish market and you stay there a long time, you don't notice the smell." When what is clearly a rotton smell cannot be smelled, physiologically the sense of smell has been lost.

A revolutionary should maintain a keen political sense, because when the physiological sense of smell has been lost it can certainly cause a great deal of inconvenience in life, but when the political sense has been lost it is even a good deal more serious than that. Particularly in today's society where class struggle still exists, once the political sense has been lost it is hard to avoid falling into traps, or being cheated, and it can even lead to the ultimate mistake of losing one's life. The present struggle to crack down on illegal and criminal activities in the economic area, clearly shows that a number of our own comrades have been struck by the candy-coated bullets of the bourgeois, have violated the criminal law of the nation and have committed crimes against the people. What are the reasons? One important reason is that they have lost their political sense.

Due to the fact that China is implementing a policy of opening up to the outside and enlivening its domestic economy, some bourgeois decadence such as profiteering, graft and embezzlement, the giving and taking of bribes, wasteful and decadent extravagance, etc., will unavoidably do their best to take advantage of the situation. Faced with this circumstance, if one loses one's vigilance, and one's sense of smell, then one will be capable of being corrupted. There is this example: in the course of dealings between a foreign businessman and a worker engaged in foreign trade, the overseas merchant presented him with a high quality gold pen, he felt a pen was not much to speak of and accepted it; later, he also gave him a cassette radio player, and the recipient again felt it was an ordinary thing, and accepted it; then, he not only gave him a color television set but also an unspecified sum in so-called remuneration, as a result, he was bought. In pondering his own criminal actions, he painfully acknowledged that: "From the moment I lost my political sense, and fell into the pitfall of the bourgeois...."

But nobody, no matter who, would jump into this pitfall for no reason at all; they have to be lured. In that case, how can we recognize this trap? The answer is, maintain a sensitive political sense. How can we preserve a sensitive political sense? The answer is: by using the ideological principles of communism to deal with one's own social activities, making sure that our actions are consistent with our words, and maintaining the true qualities of a revolutionary. In so doing, one would naturally not be capable of being greedy and accepting bribes, or harming the common good for private gain and, not even a basket of gold bricks, let alone a pen, would be capable of making a breach in such a person's resolve.

We must clearly recognize that for a relatively long time hereafter this advanced socialist society of ours will still be capable of having an "objectionable environment" created by the bourgeois virus. This is nothing to be frightened of. What is to be feared is that our own comrades "after a long time, will not notice the smell." Therefore, we must frequently warn those who ignore the inroads of corrupt bourgeois ideology: Comrades, be on guard against losing your sense of smell!

9634
CSO: 4005/137

EFFORTS TO BUILD SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Oct 82 p 3

[Article: "Make Efforts To Build Advanced Socialist Democracy: Liaoning People's Congress Standing Committee Convenes Working Experience Exchange Meeting"]

[Text] The Liaoning Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee recently convened a meeting of the people's congress standing committees of the province's municipalities, counties and municipality-administered districts on working experience exchange. The meeting summed up their respective experiences since the establishment of these people's congress standing committees and discussed the question of how, under the new situation of building our advanced socialist democracy, a people's congress standing committee's work.

The people's congress standing committees of Liaoning's various municipalities and counties (districts) were established through elections in 1980. During the past 2 years, they earnestly exercised their powers according to the decrees of relevant laws and actively took the initiative to launch their work. This has played an important role in developing our socialist democracy and legal system, promoting the construction of our four modernizations, and strengthening the construction of our local administrations. But these local people's congress standing committees are new organs; there are from perception to practice still some problems to be solved. The experiences accumulated by the various localities in launching their respective work also need to be summed up. This meeting was intended precisely to heighten their perception through an exchange of those experiences and to study and solve the problems in such work and thereby push still further the work of the province's people's congress standing committees at various levels.

At the experience exchange meeting, there were 25 units which related their respective experiences. Among them there were related the experiences of the Xinbin County CPC committee as it strengthened its leadership over the county people's congress standing committee; the county people's congress standing committee actively took the initiative to launch its work, and the county people's government consciously accepted the supervision by the county people's congress standing committee. The experiences of the People's Congress Standing Committees of Shenyang Municipality, the Shenhe District of Shenyang Municipality, and Jingxi County as they launched their activities of

investigation, study, and inspection were related along with the experience of Panshan County people's congress standing committee's correct handling of its relationship with the county people's government while fulfilling its supervisory duties; and the experiences of Donggou county people's congress standing committee as it listened to the appeals of the masses and prompted the county government to study and handle the bills proposed by the people's delegates, etc. The contents of these experiences are very rich; they involve various aspects of a people's congress standing committee, and hence enable everyone to become enlightened and have their respective visions broadened. This plays an important instrumental role in having their future work done well.

9255
CSO: 4005/138

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY WORK STYLE AS GUIDE TO FAMILY WORK STYLE URGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Oct 82 p 8

[Commentary by Wang Jinyou 3076 6855 0645]: "A Trivial Discussion on the Communist Ideology and Its Practice: Party Work Style and Family Work Style"]

[Text] Some take the five letters written to relatives and friends by Comrade Mao Zedong as the norm for communists in handling relations with their relatives and friends; this is undoubtedly the case. From this, I think of the relationship between our party work style and family work style.

A party has its party work style, and a family has its family work style; the two are ordinarily two different concepts. But with such a big party in power as is the case of our own, the work style of the whole party and the family work style of each party member, especially each leading cadre, are indeed closely related with each other and mutually exert an influence upon each other. If the party's work style is correct, it can bring along the party member's family work style and promote it. If each individual party member's family work style falls short, it likewise tends to pollute the party's work style and ruin it. Therefore, the kind of family work style to establish is definitely not a question merely about an individual; it not only constitutes a major issue in rectifying our party work style but also an important indicator as to whether or not a communist's party character is strong enough.

From the 1st day of its birth our party has always shouldered the glorious historic mission of reforming man and reforming society, intent upon using our hands to change the old world into a communist new world. This process of reform is a long range and formidable one. Each communist should become a diligent and unceasing reformer. He should not only reform and arm himself with the ideology of communism, but also reform his environment and his family with it. When we look at a communist as to whether or not his party character is pure and whether or not his party concept is firm, we must not only look at his work style but also look at how he handles his family problems, look at whether he channels his party character into his family life and thereby reforms his family work style and brings along his family members with his fine party work style as well as adds glory and strength to the party or he is influenced by the unwholesome work style of his family and thereby tends to ruin the party work style. Because, in a certain sense, the purity of a communist's party character can often be more easily seen through his family work style.

Family is something everyone has; a person's every word and deed is both affected, and affects, his family. At present, when our party work style and social customs are both temporarily unhealthy, the party character of us communists is surrounded by various unhealthy practices; among these are corrosion and encroachment by ideas of feudal ideology and capitalist ideology, and there are also attacks by the counterproductive forces of families. Some family members have even directly encouraged and induced their family's party members and cadres to take advantage of their office and power to make private gains and thereby ruin their party work style, and this often has turned out to be a heavy "cannonball." In the case of many of our comrades, they can withstand the attack by external capitalist forces but not the corrosion and pressure from nearby, thus they suffer defeat because of their corrupt family work style and lose their party chracter which is necessary for a communist. A certain Mr Li [2621], a communist and deputy manager of the Huangpu District metals and electricity company in Shanghai Municipality who is called "the Feng Yunqing [7458 0061 0615] of the 1980's," is precisely a captive of such a backward family. When he saw his daughters socializing with some shady characters, even though he wanted to stop them, he was afraid his wife would quarrel with him or scold him. Thus, he first let them do what they liked and then, eventually, began to shelter and condone them. This led to his two daughters striking up a relationship with Hong Kong merchants, and he himself tried to take advantage of this opportunity to "get rich." Ultimately, he was dismissed from the party.

Party belief is the political soul of every party member; abandoning it is the equivalent of abandoning one's own belief and losing one's political life. If one does not wish to be cowed by the devious forces in one's family and wishes to retain one's pure party character as a communist, a key point is to keep the party central in one's mind, to keep it ahead of one's family and think first of oneself as a party member in order to treat one's own family with the party interests and fine traditions and work style, and therefore to influence one's own family, make demands upon it and reform it, and practice the communist movement in respect to one's own family. Many proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation have fashioned brilliant examples for us in their family construction.

The party work style is the guide to the family work style, and the family work style is a window on the party work style. Enabling all the 39 million party members to establish a revolutionary family work style has already become a glorious and formidable task faced by our party.

9255
CSO: 4005/138

PARTY AND STATE

LEADERS CALLED CRUX OF IMPROVING ATTITUDES TOWARDS INTELLECTUALS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Lo Rongxing [5012 2837 5281]: "Who 'Waits' on Whom?"]

[Text] It happened separately at two different universities. The leadership of a certain university in the north is stressing rear service work, and not long ago convened a rear service division working conference on political ideology, they called upon all personnel engaged in rear service work to cultivate the idea of being in the first ranks in the service of teaching and scientific research. Rear service work is in the process of being reformed.

Some comrades at a certain university in the south consider service work to be a matter of waiting on other people. At a meeting held during the first half of this year specifically to discuss the implementation of the party's policy on intellectuals, a middle-level cadre publicly brought up the following question: "At present when people speak merely of being in the first ranks in the service of teaching and scientific research, and in the services of intellectuals, who, then, is serving us?" Rear service work there is in a mess.

These two different points of view and attitudes, produce two entirely different results. It seems that in some units where there is a concentration of intellectuals, there is a particular need to clarify questions of ideological understanding of the kind "Who is serving whom?"

Normally, there should no longer be any question about this. "Waiting on people" is one of the inequalitys of the old society. Within the people of a socialist society, since there are no people who "wait" on others, there ought not to be any who allow others to "wait" on them. Everyone must "serve the people." Being a staff member among the people, on the one hand one serves others through the work of one's own office, and on the other hand one, in one's own work and life, receives the service of others, and no one is an exception.

However, due to the fact that each person's position is different, there are differences in the manner in which people provide service to one another. For example, in a university the kitchen staff cooks for the teachers, and this is

serving the teachers directly; the teachers train people to be qualified, causing the nation to become healthier and stronger, which also benefits the cooks, this kind of service is indirect. When a unit or collective exists in society, some of its functions and services are more important than others, and those who hold the positions corresponding to these important functions and tasks are the front rank. The comrades occupying the other posts provide direct service for the comrades in the front rank, this is natural. During the period of the revolutionary war, the trucks of the transport corps rolled along, the medical corps saved the dying and assisted the wounded; "the front line won the battles, and the rear toiled to support the front," and the rear service units served the front line and the combat troops, guaranteeing victory in the war. If the opposite slogan had been proposed, that of wanting the front line to serve the rear service units, then things would really have been muddled up, wouldn't they? Nevertheless, today in certain scientific research, teaching, medical, and publishing units, this plain truth still needs to be carefully explained. The people doing the front-line work in these units are generally intellectuals. During the ten years of turmoil, they were considered as the "stinking old nine," and "bourgeois intellectuals." Slogans such as "not serving the professorial (or medical, or editorial) masters" were in vogue for some time. At present, although it has been quite a few years since order was brought out of chaos, such erroneous notions of being prejudiced against intellectuals are still awaiting eradication.

Rear service work is very arduous. Comrades in the first ranks naturally should respect the labor of the rear service personnel, and understand their difficulties. But for whom do the rear service personnel toil, and for whom are they so busy? Is it not so that a good job will be done of the front-line work? This truth can easily be accepted by everyone. The example of the two universities mentioned above clearly demonstrates that the crux of solving the problem of service to intellectuals lies with the leadership. If only leading cadres, particularly leading comrades in charge of rear service work, truly heighten their understanding, rectify their attitude, and become good at doing ideological/political work and organization work among the comrades of the rear service department, then the long-standing, big, and difficult problems in the rear service work of some units will really not be difficult to solve. In this regard we should review a passage spoken by comrade Zhou Enlai at the 1956 conference on the problem of intellectuals: "We should educate the administrative and managerial personnel of all relevant units to place importance, in their thinking, on the living conditions of intellectuals; in particular, and do away with the erroneous tendency to pay attention only to the living conditions of those in charge of administrative work and to have a feeling towards intellectuals of 'What is there about you that makes you worthy of preferential treatment; why should I have to wait on you?' If only we can manage this, the problem will have been half solved."

9634
CSO: 4005/137

'XINHUA' INTERVIEWS HENAN NPC DEPUTY CHANG XIANGYU

OW060051 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1258 GMT 29 Nov 82

[Newsletter: "Foster Lofty Theatrical Ethics--An Interview With Chang Xiangyu, a Deputy of the Fifth NPC"]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 29 Nov (XINHUA)--"The draft of the revised constitution has included, in its general principles, the development of socialist spiritual civilization and the promotion of literary and art works which serve socialism and the people throughout the country. This reflects the aspiration of all the people in China and imposes an even more stringent demand on literary and art workers. Only by fostering lofty theatrical ethics and making use of all artistic forms in theatrical ethics and making use of all artistic forms in theatrical works to propagate communist ideals and ethics among the masses, will it be possible for me, an old opera singer, to do my share in developing spiritual civilization and fulfill my own duty." Chang Xiangyu, an NPC deputy from Henan, attending the current Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC made this remark regarding the draft revised constitution in an interview given to a XINHUA reporter and a XINHUA correspondent.

Wearing her reading glasses, Chang Xiangyu pointed at Article 22 of the draft revised constitution and said: This article prescribes that the state must develop literary and art works serving the people and socialism. To serve the people and socialism well, theatrical workers must foster lofty "theatrical ethics." If one only cares to make oneself well-known or to earn more money, this kind of art will deviate from the correct path, no matter what kind of impact the opera in which one plays has on society. Chang Xiangyu also linked the development of spiritual civilization with "theatrical ethics."

Chang Xiangyu said: "It is necessary to continue playing good, traditional operas, but we must not neglect modern operas." She quoted the passage in the draft revised constitution on "educating the people in ideas and ethics and in culture, discipline and the legal system" and on "opposing the influence of capitalist ideas, remaining feudal ideas and other decadent ideology." She said that it is impossible to meet these requirements by only relying on traditional operas.

Chang Xiangyu is 61 years of age this year and is often ill. However, she never thinks that she is too old to contribute her share to developing the four modernizations program. Her spirit reminds us of a remark made by revoltuionary martyr Ziao Chunu that a person must work hard from the beginning to the end, like a candle, burning and remaining bright from the beginning to end. We wish that Chang Xiangyu would forever remain youthful in the field of arts.

CSO: 4005/197

PARTY AND STATE

HUBEI EXECUTIVE SECRETARY SPEAKS AT STUDY CLASS

HK300806 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Nov 82

[Excerpts] This morning, in his speech to the third study class for the leading cadres of provincial organs at and above the bureau level sponsored by the provincial CPC committee party school, Comrade Wang Quanguo, executive secretary of the Hubei Provincial CPC Committee, emphasized that the key to creating a new situation lies in the progress of the study drive of cadres at and above the county level. He urged cadres to adhere to the study style of intregration of theory and practice, try hard to eliminate the influence of leftist thinking, and strengthen their confidence in creating a new situation.

Comrade Wang Quanguo gave his opinions on the next stage of the study of the 12th CPC Congress documents. His opinions can be summed up in the following three points:

1. The key to creating a new situation lies in our efforts to properly organize the study activities of leading cadres.

2. Our key task at present is to conscientiously study the documents and to thoroughly understand the spiritual essence of the documents. The documents of the 12th CPC Congress have enriched and developed Marxism-Mao Zedong Thought in many aspects. For this reason, the provincial CPC committee decided, as the first step, to spend a few months, in other words, from the previous period through to the end of the year, in conscientiously studying the documents and understand the spirit of the documents.

3. Uphold the study style of integration of theory and practice, devote our major efforts to eliminating the influence of leftist thinking and strengthen our confidence in creating a new situation.

CSO: 4005/197

PARTY AND STATE

HUNAN COMMITTEES ON STUDY OF 12TH CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

HK270444 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Text] The provincial CPC committee propaganda department and the provincial agricultural committee held a meeting from 17 to 22 November in Changsha on deepening study of the 12th Congress documents. The meeting exchanged previous experiences in the study and propaganda regarding the 12th Congress documents. Up to now, 709 percent [as printed] of the cadres at and above the level of brigade party branch secretary of the province have taken part in the study at enlarged meetings and training courses organized by the CPC committees at all levels: and 42 study and propaganda experimental points for the masses at the basic level have been organized in various localities. Propaganda on special subjects has been popularized among the masses throughout the cities and rural areas. As regards how to further deepen the study and propaganda of the 12th Congress documents on this basis, the meeting pointed out:

First of all, the CPC committees at all levels should earnestly review and sum up the experiences in the previous study and propaganda, affirm the achievements, find out the unresolved problems, overcome the viewpoint of that's good enough and continue to firmly grasp study and propaganda as the cardinal matter.

Second, it is necessary to grasp the principal spirit of the 12th Congress documents and some special subjects, to organize cadres and masses to study them over and over again in line with practice and to deepen their understanding. In particular, it is necessary to make due appraisal of previous leftist errors and the influence of the two whatevers, and the ideological problems and difficulties that might emerge when currently carrying out important reforms. By further deepening the study, we should enhance understanding, emancipate the mind and radically eliminate the leftist influence. At the same time, we must avoid rightist tendencies and further resolve the problem of maintaining ideological and political unity with the CPC Central Committee.

Third, it is necessary to link the study and propaganda with practical work and the thinking of the masses at all times and to link it with the responsibility systems, party style, the strategic goal and the problems to which the masses attach greatest importance; to clear the cadres' and masses' minds of various doubts, inspire their enthusiasm and strive to create a new situation in all fields.

Today, HUNAN RIBAO published an editorial on its first page entitled: "Deepen the Study of the 12th Congress Documents."

CSO: 4005/197

PARTY AND STATE

HUNAN'S WAN DA COMMENTS ON 5TH NPC SESSION

OW022257 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1524 GMT 26 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 26 Nov (XINHUA)--Wan Da, head of the Hunan delegation to the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC and second secretary of the Hunan Provincial CPC Committee, told XINHUA today that the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC is an important meeting of historic significance. The meeting will examine and adopt the new constitution, which was formulated after repeated revisions, discussed by the whole nation and sums up the wishes of the people of all nationalities throughout the country. The draft of the revised constitution to be reviewed at the meeting sums up the nation's historical experience since its founding, and also reflects our country's current situation and charts its future course. It [word indistinct] into law the party's four cardinal principles, the state's fundamental system, the citizen's rights and obligations and the series of principles and policies formulated after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The new constitution, soon to be adopted, will serve as a tremendous encouragement and a motivating force for the people of all nationalities throughout the country, and will reassure and embolden those who are still worried that the policies may change. Now the whole nation can boldly engage in the four modernizations in a down-to-earth manner.

Wan Da added: The meeting will also examine and approve the Sixth Five-Year Plan, which is formulated according to the general task put forward by the 12th CPC National Congress for accomplishing the strategic quadruplication goal. Wan Da said confidently: The implementation of the Sixth Five-Year Plan will certainly bring about a more thriving and prosperous economic situation and will certainly increase and strengthen the people's confidence in accomplishing the strategic goal set by the 12th CPC National Congress.

CSO: 4005/197

SHANXI CIRCULAR ON PLACEMENT OF RETIRED SOLDIERS

SK251142 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 5 Nov 82 p 1

[Text] The provincial government and the provincial military district recently issued a joint circular calling on the prefectural, municipal and county government to attend to the placement of retired soldiers in 1983.

The circular points out: The period for soldiers' retirement began in early October and will be completed in the main by mid-December. The placement of the retired soldiers should be done in the first quarter. This work should be virtually completed by no later than the end of June. If this deadline is met, next year's placement will be completed a quarter earlier than this year's. The circular urged people's governments at all levels to carry out this work as it is a political task and do the following work well:

First, two-thirds of the retired soldiers returning to our province are to be placed in the countryside. As there are a large number of retired soldiers to be placed in the countryside, the task is heavy and we must put the emphasis of placement work in the countryside. Efforts should be made to educate them in communist ideology with the 12th congress guidelines as the guiding principle and in the placement policy of "returning to where you have come from." It is essential to encourage them to preserve and carry forward the glorious traditions of the PLA, work contentedly in the countryside, take the lead in promoting the two civilizations. It is necessary to earnestly implement the party's policy of giving special care to disabled servicemen and to family members of revolutionary martyrs and servicemen and help solve their problems in production and livelihood in real earnest. Counties, communes and brigades should render active help to the retired soldiers who have difficulty in livelihood to undertake diversified or specialized production so that they can prosper through hard work. This is the primary measure to make the retired soldiers settle down in the countryside.

Second, regards retired soldiers returning to cities and towns, it is necessary to persistently implement the method of "assigning jobs on the basis of the sectors they come from and dividing up the work and assigning a part to each department," while paying as much attention as possible to the needs of production. Efforts should be made to educate the retired workers to have the cardinal principles in mind and take the overall situation into account, take up whatever jobs are assigned them and go where they are needed.

Third, military supply centers, rest centers and transport departments should educate their staff members and workers to improve attitude of service, upgrade the quality of service, warmly serve the retired soldiers and ensure a successful completion of the transport task.

Fourth, military units and people's government at all levels must strengthen their leadership over the placement of retired soldiers in earnest. Prefectures, municipalities, counties and communes should assign a leading comrade to take charge of the placement work. It is essential to institute a responsibility system to ensure that this work is implemented at all levels and everything is well taken care of.

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

HUBEI'S HAN NINGFU AT FAMILY PLANNING MEETING

HK290351 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Nov 82

[Text] At a recent provincial meeting on family planning, Han Ningfu, second secretary of the provincial party committee, pointed out: The population of our province must be kept below 55 million by the end of this century.

According to the census data, the present population of our province totals 48 million people, a baby boom has now begun and is expected to last for 15 years.

Leaders in charge of family planning and comrades from propaganda departments and family planning offices of all prefectures and cities who attended this meeting held heated discussions around their work target in connection with reality. Some attendants said: The 12th Party Congress decided to strive to quadruple the total annual output value of industry and agriculture and to keep the population of the whole nation below 1.2 billion by the end of this century. These two objectives are closely related to one another and both are indispensable. They said: If we want to be rich, our population must be well controlled.

At the meeting, Comrade Han Ningfu demanded: The whole province will carry out a movement of education in the basic national policy. Principal leaders of the party and administrations at all levels will personally take charge of this work. In the new year and Spring Festival period, the whole province will carry out the activities of family planning propaganda month in an effective way and on a grand scale.

Comrade Han Ningfu pointed out: In order to reach a new level in the implementing of the birth policy, it is necessary to encourage every couple to have one child, strictly control the births of second children and resolutely forbid the birth of more than two children. After the introduction of a production responsibility system of diverse forms, it is still necessary to establish a system that controls the two kinds of production. The systems of contracting both material production and birth, combining rewards and penalties and making a public appraisal through comparison are all effective and should be carried out so as to control population growth in our province.

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

NEI MONGGOL DEPUTY DISCUSSES CONSTITUTION AT NPC SESSION

SK300229 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Nov 82

[Text] According to XINHUA, Ting Mao, deputy to the NPC, second secretary of the Nei Monggol Regional CPC Committee and chairman of the regional people's congress Standing Committee, spoke at a panel discussion on the draft revised constitution of the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC. He said: The first paragraph of the preamble of the draft revised constitution states: China is one of the countries which has the longest history in the world. The people of all nationalities in China have jointly created the brilliant and magnificent culture and the revolutionary traditions which are filled with glory. This fully affirmed the role and contributions that the people of all our nationalities have played and made in the various stages of China's long history for the purpose of creating the brilliant and magnificent culture of the motherland and building a united multi-national country.

Ting Mao said: The first paragraph is not long, but it has a profound and lasting significance. All the articles on the nationalities affairs of the draft revised constitution are imbued with the spirit that all our nationalities are equal and of the regulations for the state to help minority areas develop politics, economy and culture in line with their characteristics and to bring about a mutual prosperity of all our nationalities. This not only [words indistinct] but also fully reflects the concern the party and the state show for minority nationalities.

Like the entire draft revised constitution which reflects the development of our socialist democracy and the new stage that our legal system has entered, the section on the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas marks the new stage that our country has entered in developing the system of regional national autonomy. The new content of the draft revised constitution further expands the right of autonomy in national autonomous areas and embodies the spirit of our country to fully respect and guarantee the democratic rights for minority nationalities to administer the internal affairs of their own nationalities.

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

HUBEI'S HAN NINGFU DISCUSSES NEW CONSTITUTION

HK290306 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Nov 82

[Text] According to XINHUA, when talking to XINHUA's reporter, Han Ningfu, second secretary of the Hubei Provincial CPC Committee and delegate to the NPC, said: The new constitution, which will be examined and approved by the current Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC, will provide us with a theoretical foundation, legal guarantee and policy guidance for emancipating our minds and livening up the economy. He said: with the promulgation of the new constitution, our cause of socialist modernization is bound to be greatly promoted and will usher in a new development and prosperity.

Han Ningfu said: By providing a theoretical foundation, we mean that the new constitution analyzes the basic characteristics of the new period of development in China when the socialist system has been established. That is, exploiting classes as a whole have been eliminated and class struggle is no longer a principal contradiction. We are thus required to proceed from this basic point in our economic work and when working out our economic principles and policies. This also fundamentally smashes the shackles of "leftist" ideology and frees people from the notion of always taking class struggle as the key link. This is of great importance in enlivening the economy.

By providing a legal guarantee, we mean that the constitution stipulates the focus of state work should be shifted onto socialist modernization, and the future basic task of the state is to concentrate all strength on socialist modernization. According to this stipulation, all our leading departments, units and individuals must earnestly lead, organize and carry out socialist modernization. This is a legal guarantee for us to carry out the four modernizations. It is also a legal force binding the people who are not actively engaging themselves in the four modernizations.

By providing policy guidance, we mean that, first, the constitution gives an inspiration to economic workers. That is, our economic work must be based on our reality and be both principled and flexible and both united and diverse. Initiative of all parties must be fully aroused. All our economic work should be dealt with in this spirit. Second, the constitution stipulates concrete policies for how to encourage, guide and aid the development of a collective economy, how to help, guide and supervise an individual economy and how to combine the unified leadership of state plans and the initiative of production units. This sheds light on our work.

Finally, Han Ningfu said, with the new constitution as our foundation, we will be more justified and high-spirited in carrying out socialist modernization and we will more effectively and speedily create a new situation in socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

'HEBEI RIBAO' ON DIVIDING PARTY, GOVERNMENT WORK

HK240500 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 12 Nov 82 pp 1, 2

[Editorial: "Do a Good Job in Dividing Work Between Party and Government"]

[Text] In his report at the 12th NPC National Congress, Hu Yaobang pointed out: "To correctly solve the question of party leadership over government organs and over enterprises and institutions is a highly important task in the structural reform. It is necessary to achieve proper division of labor between the party and the government and between party work and administrative and production work in enterprises and institutions." We must do a good job in dividing work between party and government on the basis of finding out the situation and unifying ideology.

Why do we put forward the question of dividing work between party and government? Because at the present, phenomenon of nondivision of work between party and government, replacement of government by party, the CPC committees taking everything into their own hands from the government, and the party and government organs taking all the economic work into their own hands are seen everywhere; this kind of leadership system and method is extremely unsuitable for the new conditions of creating a new situation in socialist modernization. The nondivision between party and government and the replacement of government by party were initiated in the late 1950's by improperly criticizing departmentalism under the pretext of strengthening the party leadership and centralizing power in the party committees; and during the "Cultural Revolution" this became even more serious and chaotic. At the beginning, this paralyzed the party committees and government, and then the revolutionary committees were set up, which grasped the power of party, government, finance and culture. And after the reestablishment of party committees at all levels, the key leading members of the revolutionary committees were usually the key members of the party committees, consequently, administrative and economic work was taken over entirely by the party committees. Party committees decided everything and took everything into their own hands. This caused serious damage to the state and the democratic life of the entire society. Since the "gang of four" was smashed, government at all levels has been gradually established, but although the situation on which the party replaced the government has improved, it has not been substantially resolved. At present, the provisional committees and leading groups formed by leading cadres from some party and government departments and the provisional offices

formed by transferring cadres from numerous departments have constantly increased, and this has affected the initiative of the departments responsible for the work under the party and government. Problems such as the party failing to manage itself, weakening of government functions, overstaffing in the organs, with more hands than are needed, mutual haggling and inflexibility in movement have become more and more serious, and now they are linked to the aging of leading bodies. This has become a big problem in continuing and developing our party and state undertakings. This situation has originated directly from the nondivision between party and government. Therefore, to do a good job in dividing work between party and government is the trend of the times and the desire of the people as well as an urgent task.

How to strengthen party leadership is an important question of understanding that has to be solved before doing a good job in dividing work between party and government. For longstanding reasons of history, the working method adapted in this practice has become customary. Consequently, some comrades in charge of party work think that there will be nothing for them to do if they do not handle concrete administrative work and that party committee power will be reduced, and some even hold that party leadership would be weakened. This notion exists among the ordinary cadres and masses. This is an erroneous idea. Whether party leadership is strengthened or weakened depends not on limits of power and administration of party organizations but on its line, policy and work style serving the people and enjoying their confidence; otherwise, party building will be really impaired and the party's role weakened. Undoubtedly, our party is the leading core in the socialist cause. But what is the leadership of the party? Hu Yaobang precisely pointed out: "Party leadership is mainly political and ideological leadership in matters of principle and policy and in the selection, allocation, assessment and supervision of cadres. It should not be equated with administrative work and the direction of production by government organizations and enterprises." That is to say, party leadership is political leadership, not administrative, professional and technical leadership. By taking over the administrative work, the party committees cannot concentrate efforts on the study and formulation of major policies and the inspection of the implementation of policy and cannot effectively strengthen their ideological and political work among cadres and the rank and file both inside and outside the party; this will affect the ideological and organizational building of the party. This will inevitably weaken party leadership. The division of work between party and government, and the removal of daily administrative work will provide party committees with conditions and guarantees for strengthening their leadership.

To do a good job in dividing work between party and government, it is necessary to set specific limits of responsibility between party committee and government in order to properly handle the relations between them. In accordance with the report made by Hu Yaobang at the 12th Party Congress, party committees should frequently study and discuss the party's major policies and principles regarding socialist construction, matters involving the ideology and education of cadres, party members and the masses, the ideological tendencies of cadres and their observance of discipline, the improvement of the party organizations and the recruitment of new members, and so on. Government should independently take on responsibilities for power building, economic work, cultural, scientific and

educational work, the building of democracy and a legal system as well as public security and social relief. Party committees should boldly assist the government in its work and should never improperly interfere. Party committees should exercise leadership over government through party groups in the government; major policy decisions concerning government and economic work must be made by party committees, and party groups in the government should make timely reports to the party committees on the major policy decisions of the government and on the implementation of the principles and policy of the party committees. At the same time, party committees should hold full consultations with leading cadres of the government in advance regarding decisions on government work and measures for strengthening government work adopted by the party committees, and properly heed their opinions. The provisional organs belonging to the departments responsible for the work should generally be abolished in order to fully enhance the capacity of the corresponding departments.

The initiative of the government organs should be fully aroused after dividing work between party and government. It is very important for the party committee secretaries to trust and support and pay respects to the leading cadres of the government. Secretaries of party committees should give government leading cadres a free hand in handling their jobs within the limit of their power and should never arbitrarily interfere; nor should they find fault with some mistakes they have made, but should give them sincere and effective help. If the party committee secretaries cannot quite trust them and leave things to them, then government leading cadres will shift responsibility onto others and the division of jobs between party and government will merely be words, not deeds. Of course, government leading cadres and party committee secretaries must keep in touch with each other in order to seek instruction and help; this is not the same as lack of dividing work between party and government.

Effective organizational guarantees are required for dividing work between party and government. The functions of government departments have been weakened, the initiative of staff members in government organs has been inhibited and the dependence mentality has prevailed, while the leading force in some local government systems and work teams has been weakened and is incapable of playing a leading role in socialist modernization as a result of the implementation of the nondivision of work between party and government and leadership system and method of replacement of government by party for many years. In implementing division of work between party and government, it is necessary to give government departments a free hand in doing their jobs boldly, and at the same time, it is necessary to provide them with competent key leading cadres and to organize corresponding work teams in order to make them into an independent, responsible and powerful work system. Regarding departments where the government key leading cadres are incompetent, party committees should transfer selected cadres familiar with government work, with professional knowledge and leadership ability to lead government work. While selecting and transferring leading cadres and staff members, attention must be paid to promoting cadres who are more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent to government posts, because the government jobs are arduous and highly professional.

Experiences in various localities have proved that excessive overlapping duties of party and government do not help promote division of work between party and government. We should reduce to the minimum the overlapping duties and concurrent posts in line with the structural reform. Excessive overlapping duties will make party committee and government members busy with meeting and leave them no time to spare to do their own jobs.

The nondivision of work between party and government and the method of monopoly leadership by party committees causes many defects, and practical experiences have proved this method is not suited to the new situation of the four modernizations. However, this leadership system and method have existed a long time and cannot be reformed in one day, and we should not act with undue haste. This job must be vigorously and carefully handled under the prerequisite of unified thinking, in a planned way and step by step.

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

'HEBEI RIBAO' ON PREPARING FOR CPC RECTIFICATION

HK240943 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 11 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Wang Jincheng [3769 6855 2052] Ren County CPC committee secretary: "Make Good Preparations for Party Rectification"]

[Text] In his report to the 12th CPC Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "The style of a political party in power determines its very survival. To achieve a fundamental turn for the better in the style of our party, the CPC Central Committee has decided on an overall rectification of party style and consolidation of party organizations, which will proceed by stages and groups over a period of 3 years beginning from the latter half of 1983." With regard to this brilliant decision made by the CPC Central Committee, what kind of attitude should we take? Negatively wait, or positively greet the situation by making good preparations? The Ren County CPC Committee conscientiously studied the documents of the 12th CPC Congress, touched on the problems existing in the county's party style and unanimously considered that party rectification was an effective measure for enhancing the fighting spirit of the party and achieving a fundamental turn for the better in party style, as well as a convincing guarantee for promoting the four modernizations. Through the study of the 12th CPC Congress documents, we must, starting from now, help the party members of the whole county to straighten out their thinking, unify their understanding and make ideological and organizational preparations for the party rectification which will begin from the latter half of next year.

In making good preparations for party rectification, we must first of all, grasp well party members' education in party discipline and party spirit. The Ren County CPC Committee demanded that the basic level party organizations resume and establish the system of "three meetings and one lecture." In the course of studying the new party constitution, special emphasis was laid on conducting the education in party spirit, party discipline, the fine tradition and style of the party, communist ideals, basic knowledge of the party and standards for a party member. While studying the new party constitution, the county CPC committee made examinations and analysis touching on the problems existing in the party style of their county. Ren County was a county that suffered serious destruction during the 10 years of internal disorder and party style was seriously sabotaged. Some party members made use of their ability to pull strings, getting

in by the back door and were bent on "the study of relations." Some used public office for private gains, had their fingers stretched everywhere, were keen on gaining petty advantages from the state and collective and were even morally degenerate and engaged in serious criminal activities. For the sake of attempting to pursue their personal ambitions, some did not even hesitate to forfeit the character and morals of a communist by defying the law and framing others. Some forfeited their revolutionary will and were irresponsible in their work. There are also a very few party members who still cling to factional activities. The cadres and masses throughout the county have suffered a lot from the existence and growth of these unhealthy tendencies. We grasped the typical negative case of Liu Wenshen, former deputy procurator of the county procuratorate who framed other people. We used this case to educate the party members. We organized the county and commune party members in carrying out discussion on "why did Liu Wenshen step on the path of committing crimes?" and "what does the election event in Fei Village signify?" Through exposing the peril caused by incorrect party style, we enabled party cadres to profoundly understand that party style is the external manifestation of party spirit of the broad masses of party members. Party style is determined by party spirit and in turn reflects it. The reason why a number of serious criminal activities can have their way is that they are directly related with incorrect party style. Whether our party style is good or bad concerns the party's prestige, determines whether or not we can create a new situation in the building of modernization and affects the development and destiny of our party and revolutionary cause. Only by correcting the party style and falling in with the will of the people can we ensure the successful process of the building of the four modernizations. All party members expressed their determination one after another to resolutely support the important decision issued by the CPC Central Committee and set strict demands on themselves in accordance with the criteria of a party member stipulated in the new party constitution and to promote progress in achieving the fundamental turn for the better in the party style.

On the basis of deepening our ideological understanding, we led the broad masses of party members in courageously carrying out criticism, self-criticism and consciously correcting unhealthy tendencies. The county CPC committee clearly pointed out that those comrades who have committed general mistakes and who have made self-criticism and corrected them will be forgiven for their past misdeeds in the party rectification. Even if they have committed serious mistakes they will be treated with leniency. But if they obstinately stick to their wrong course and refuse to correct them or even continue to commit new mistakes after the 12th CPC Congress, they will be severely treated and their old and new accounts will be settled together in the party rectification. When the above decision was announced in the meeting attended by the secretaries of the commune CPC committees and the secretaries of the party branches of the county level organs held on 18 September, it caused a great shock to the vast number of party cadres and members. A deputy director of a certain organ in the county level actively made self-criticism to the county CPC committee and confessed the shortcomings in his work and the problems still existing in the organ. This sounded the alarm once again for those comrades who have committed mistakes.

It is a communist party member's task to struggle against evildoers and evil deeds and all kinds of erroneous tendencies. Whether we are bold or not in carrying out such a struggle has also always been an important sign in showing whether the party spirit of our party member is firm or not. When confronting the unhealthy tendencies and acts violating the law and discipline that existed in the county, what kind of an attitude should we take? Should we be excessively accommodating and regard them as unimportant or earnestly handle and strictly deal with them? With regard to this case, the county CPC committee examined their past erroneous ideas of not daring to deal with unhealthy tendencies for fear of hurting others' feelings. They bore the leadership responsibility for the incorrect party style throughout the county and demanded the party organizations at various levels to get rid of weak and incompetent ideas and be bold in handling the problems of violating law and discipline. First of all, the county CPC committee investigated and handled the case of economic crime involving seven party members and cadres who made use of their powers of office and who resorted to [word indistinct] by transferring their relatives, children and friends from being rural to being nonrural people. In addition to cancelling their grain allowance and registration, they were also accordingly punished in line with party discipline. While doing the ideological persuasion work well, the county supply and marketing cooperative dealt seriously with six workers who violated the family planning policy. Moreover, the county CPC committee instructed the commission for discipline inspection to submit specific opinions on correcting party style and demanded that the department of organizational work release comrades who understand party affairs to go to the basic levels to check on cadres throughout the county, the leadership groups in particular, so as to lay a solid foundation and make good organizational preparations to greet the party rectification to be carried out next year.

In order to restore the fine tradition and style of the party, while correcting unhealthy tendencies and handling party members and cadres who committed mistakes, we also took note of praising on different occasions a number of advanced units, fine party members and fine cadres who had good party style, high spirits and who were highly effective in their work. For instance, since the reorganization carried cut in spring, the county court surmounted obstacles, did not seek favoritism, immersed itself in hard work, relieved peoples' worries and actively dealt with a large number of long outstanding cases. From the beginning of this year, there were 275 long outstanding cases. Up to now, they have already dealt with 268 cases and their efficiency has increased fivefold. The county CPC committee decided to circulate a notice of commendation to the whole county. Recently the organs of the county CPC committee conducted a "small scale rectification," set up necessary rules and regulations and demanded that all working personnel observe party discipline, raise their working efficiency and set examples for the party members of the whole county. The county CPC committee also demanded that grassroots party organizations to unfold the activities of "striving for the first place and producing excellent results" and be a qualified communist party member, so that our party members, cadres and base organizations can gradually meet with the requirements put forward by the new party constitution and achieve a fundamental turn for the better in party style.

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

HEBEI REPORT MEETING ON 12TH CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

HK270217 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 18 Nov 82

[Excerpts] The Hebei Provincial CPC Committee held a report meeting from 13 to 15 November on the study of the 12th Party Congress documents in the province. The meeting was attended by 38 responsible comrades from the Shijiazhuang and Tangshan municipal CPC committees, all prefectural CPC committees, the Handan, Baoding, Zhangjiakou and Qinhuandao municipal CPC committees, the Huabei Oilfield CPC Committee, and the CPC committee of the provincial organs. Also present were responsible comrades of the provincial CPC committee's general office and propaganda department, and provincial news units. Provincial CPC committee executive secretary Zhang Shuguang and provincial CPC committee Standing Committee member and propaganda department director Xu Chunxing presided.

The meeting held: The great majority of party organizations have put study of the 12th Party Congress documents in an important place on their agenda and grasped it as a cardinal task. They have made clear-cut arrangements and taken effective steps for this. The principal leading cadres have taken the lead in study, publicity and explanation. In connection with the reality of people's thinking, they have taken the lead in further eliminating leftist influence and correcting the ideological line.

The meeting pointed out after discussion and analysis: at present the main problems in study are: the party organizations of a few units fail to attach sufficient importance to studying the 12th Party Congress documents, provide ineffective leadership, and have not grasped it as the cardinal task. Certain leadership groups have not done anything like enough in applying the spirit of rectifying work style to study the documents, in correcting the ideological line, and in clearing away ideological obstacles to creating a new situation. Certain comrades, who are satisfied with things as they are, have made no attempt to study in depth and have not done enough careful reading of the documents. A very few units are in a backward state.

On the question of how to deepen study of the 12th Party Congress documents, the meeting proposed the following points: people should make big efforts to read the documents carefully. It is necessary to seriously organize study for the

leadership groups at all levels, and first for the numbers one and two men of the party committees. Study of the documents should be linked with examining the leading cadres. It is necessary to correct the ideological line in connection with the state of people's thinking. At present, this mainly means breaking through the bindings of leftist ideology and clearing away the influence of the two whatevers. By linking study with reality, people should eliminate leftism, overcome their fears, solve the problem of weakness, establish the notion of being bold in action and work to create new things. Of course, it is also necessary to correct rightist tendencies of bourgeois liberalization that deviate from and negate the four basic principles.

It is necessary to apply the spirit of rectification of work style to study the documents and apply the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to solve the main problems in the leadership groups. Active measures must be taken to change the situation of study in backward units.

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY THEORISTS URGED TO PUBLICIZE 12TH CONGRESS

HK150644 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Hong Qi [3163 0796]: "A Solemn Duty of the Party's Theorists"]

[Text] The 12th CPC National Congress, which is of epoch-making significance, has decided on the fighting program of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and thus charted the course of advance for the whole party and the people of whole nation. All of our party's theorists must take an active part in publicizing and explaining the documents of this congress, use communist ideology to educate and instruct all party members, cadres and the people of all nationalities and go all out to successfully fulfill all the fighting tasks set forth by the congress.

The historical mission of the party's theorists is to publicize Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong thought. To publicize the spirit of the 12th Party Congress completely coincides with this historical mission. The 12th Party Congress is a splendid example of upholding and developing Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong thought under the new historical conditions. Its radical spirit is to uphold the socialist road and concentrate all our strength on the modernization drive under the guidance of the communist ideological system and succeed in handling the four matters put forth in the congress opening speech delivered by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. The congress has put forward and set up a variety of political and theoretical principles, which are all products derived from the combination of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete reality of our country. The congress has solved a series of problems to which the answers cannot be found in the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. For example, the problem of how to build socialism universally in an economically backward country is completely a new problem. The congress put forth a proposition of "blazing a path of our own and building socialism with Chinese characteristics" and formulated strategic objectives, priorities and steps for our economic development and a series of correct principles. All this constitutes an important development of the theory of scientific socialism. Another example is the problem of how to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization and socialist democracy. The congress defined socialist spiritual civilization as an important characteristic of the socialist system and specified the building of a high level of socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as the core while building a high level of socialist material civilization as a strategic principle for building socialism. At the same time, the congress also specified the building of a high level of socialist democracy as a guarantee for the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization and one of our fundamental objectives and tasks. This is also an important development of the theory scientific socialism. All of these pro-

blems have not been completely solved in the history of the international communist movement. They are also problems that our party has tired, but failed to properly solve. The solutions to these problems worked out by the congress represent a summing-up of the experiences in China's socialist revolution and construction. They are also a vivid and concrete component of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong thought. If the party's theorists fail to give publicity to Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong thought and fail to give publicity to the 12th Congress spirit, they will fail to earn their title as the party's theorists. If they give publicity to things at variance with Marxism, they will even violate the party's discipline which forbids them to do so.

Engaging their whole lives in the communist moveemnt, the Proletarian revolutinary teachers always have taken the study and settlement of problems occurring in this movement and the propaganda for action programs of Proletarian party as their lifework. Engels once said: If some works in this movement, including theoretical work, as "his unshirkable duty which he should immediately carry out." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, p 4) in the history of our party, there have been many outstanding theorists who have made important contributions to the communist cause. They also have paid close attention to the study and settlement of actual problems in the course of the revolutionary struggle and attached importance to the propaganda for the party's programs, lines, principles and policies. From Cai Hesen, Xu Qiubai, Hui Daiying to Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Liu Shaoqi, they all have acted in this way. Comrade Xu Qiubai was originally a jouranlist and writer brimming with talent, but he complied with the party's demand and stopped his career in journalism and literature after he returned to China in January 1923. He actively publicized the party's program and became an outstanding theorist of our party, making important contributions to the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong's splendid achievements in this area have been better recognized by the whole party and the people of the whole country. Undoubtedly, to publicize the spirit of the 12th Party Congress at present is an extremely solemn and important task of publicizing the party's program. Our theoretical workers, including comrades who are engaged in theoretical study, propaganda and education, should give prominence to this task. Some researchers of social sciences, such as people who study philosophy, politics, law, economics, sociology, history and pedagogics, should also take the work of publicizing the 12th Congress documents as one of their important tasks, though they have their special study subjects. It is wrong to think that giving publicity to the 12th Congress spirit is an extra burden. Comrade Hu Qiaomu recently said in a national forum on developing programs for philosophy and other social sciences that the fundamental task for philosophy and other social sciences is to study and solve important theoretical and practical problems occurring in socialist modernization. Therefore, it is a matter of course that the political and theoretical principles formulated at the 12th Party Congress should be taken as major study projects for some branches of social sciences.

To do a good job in publicizing the documents of the 12th Party Congress, the party's theorists must maintain their ideological and political stand in line with that of the party Central Committee. "Maintaining a high degree of ideological and political unity" is one of the essential requirements clearly stipulated in the general program of the new party constitution. This require-

ment is based on the fact that the party's line is correct. The current party central leadership is a united, harmonious and fighting leading group which is firmly carrying out a correct line of Marxism. It is a staunch leading core which can tackle any complicated situation and solve any difficult problems. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party central leadership has worked out a series of line, principles and policies for fulfilling the arduous task of bringing order out of chaos and for building our country into a modern socialist power. These line, principles and policies have been proved correct through practice by thousands of million of people. Through thorough discussion and democratic election, this congress gave rise to a correct and new central leading body and realized the cooperation between old and new cadres and the succession of the old by the new so that our party's top leadership has become a more vigorous fighting command and has constituted the most important guarantee in the aspect of organization for the realization of the congress' program. All members of our party, including party's theorists, should maintain a high degree of political and ideological unity with the party central leadership. At the same time, our party is the vanguard of the Chinese working class and is a party of a high sense of organization and discipline. Marx, Lenin and Mao Zedong often said that the unity of the party is a basic guarantee for achieving victories in the revolution. If party members fail to maintain a political and ideological stand in keeping with that of the party central leadership, the party will lose its fighting power. Of course, this does not mean that we are not allowed to further study and discuss all the political and theoretical principles decided by the central leadership. If things are like that, Marxist theory would not be able to develop any further. Carrying out scientific study and discussion according to the party's organizational principles and even reporting one's own opinions to party organizations at all levels is not only allowed but also constantly encouraged by the party. By maintaining a stand in keeping with that of the party central leadership, we mean that we should not advocate [word indistinct] at variance with the political and theoretical principles decided by the central leadership in our propaganda work, still less deliberately advocate something contrary to them.

"Leftist" and rightist erroneous ideas are always incompatible with the Marxist-Leninist line of our party. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, in order to guarantee the correct implementation of the party's line, principles and policies in the course of leading the whole party and nation to realize the historical change, the party has, in time, waged ideological struggles on two fronts against both "leftist" and rightist tendencies with regard to a series of important issues of principle. As the report at the 12th Party Congress pointed out, unable to free themselves completely from the influence of the former "leftist" mistakes, some comrades wanted to return, wittingly or unwittingly, to the old track of "taking class struggle as the key link." Others, deviating from the Marxist path, went so far as to doubt or even negate the leadership of the party and the socialist road. At present, the "leftist" and rightist influences still exist. In the theoretical ranks of our party, some people tend to interfere in the line, principles and policies followed since the 3d Pleanry Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in this or that problem. Erroneous ideas of various kinds certainly constitute obstacles to the implementation of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress. However, erroneous ideas will ultimately be defeated by correct ideas. So long as we can maintain our firm Proletarian and pure communist nature, we will surely surmount all kinds of obstacles and guarantee the successful implementation of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress.

CSO: 4005/152

PARTY AND STATE

43D IN SERIES ON NEW PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW180545 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 16 Nov 82

[Forty-third in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "Why Should Party Organizations at all Levels Pay Great Attention to Party Building and Regularly Discuss the Party's Work?"--By the general section of the research office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] Article 17 of the new party constitution stipulates: The central, local and primary organizations of the party must all pay great attention to party building. They shall regularly discuss and check up on the party's work in propaganda, education, organization and discipline inspection, its mass work and united front work. They must carefully study ideological and political developments inside and outside the party.

There was no such stipulation in all our previous party constitutions. In view of the fact that party organizations have generally failed to concern themselves with the party's work, the new party constitution stresses that party organizations at all levels must pay greater attention to party building and regularly discuss the party's work. The following main indications show that party organizations have failed to concern themselves with the party's work:

1. Party organizations have been busy with administrative work and have failed to take care of the party's work. Most of the questions discussed by many primary party organizations at meetings involve administrative or other routine work, but they seldom discuss or study questions about the party's work. According to a sample survey, the party committee of a factory held 53 meetings from January to November 1980; 46 meetings discussed questions concerning production and administrative work, only 3 discussed the party's work and the rest discussed both administrative work and party work. This phenomenon exists in varying degrees in the party's leading bodies at all levels.

2. Party organizations have relaxed their efforts to educate and supervise party members. Many primary party organizations have failed to carry out regular activities and institute a sound system in the education and supervision of party members because some leading bodies of the party have failed to pay attention to party building. For example, they have not convened a general membership meeting for a long time. Even when they have convened such a meeting, they have only read out some documents and talked about production and have

not discussed ideological questions. They have not criticized or educated party members with erroneous ideas, and they have not even bothered to deal with some violations of the law and discipline and have turned a blind eye to such violations, thus, some party members can hardly play an exemplary vanguard role in implementing the party's line, principles and policies.

3. The party's ideological and political work has been weak and slack. Many party organizations have failed to regularly conduct an ideological study and analysis of cadres and people inside and outside the party. They have lacked the ability to discern leftist ideas and the tendency of bourgeois liberalization as well as specific and effective measures to cope with them.

4. Cadres in charge of the party's work have not done it well. Many primary party organizations and leading bodies at various levels have assigned secretaries to take charge of work on several major fronts, but some of them have not assigned a secretary to grasp the party's work.

The above situation shows that the stipulation of the party constitution that party organizations at all levels must pay great attention to party building and regularly discuss the party's work serves a definite purpose and is of important practical significance. In order to effectively change the situation in which the party does not concern itself with its work, party organizations at all levels must make conscientious efforts to solve the following three problems:

1. Party organizations at all levels should enhance their understanding of the great significance of strengthening party building. To strengthen party building is a major issue that has a bearing on the destiny of the country and the people and on the future of the party's cause.

Our party, long nurtured by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought and repeatedly tempered by successes and failures, has grown into the vanguard of the working class. It is a great, glorious and correct party. However, the party's serious wounds caused by the 10 years of domestic turmoil have yet to be healed. At the same time, the corrosive influence of the exploiting classes' ideologies had increased under new historical conditions. As a result, impurities in ideology, work style and organization do exist in the party. The quality of party members has dropped, and the party style has not yet taken a fundamental turn for the better.

Therefore, party organizations at all levels must fully understand the importance and urgency of strengthening party building and conscientiously undertake party work in various fields.

2. There must be a division of work between the party and the government, and it is necessary to improve leadership methods. For a long time, party work was not separated from government work, and the party exercised leadership in place of the government. This is an important reason why the party failed to take care of its own work. Now, there is a proper division of work between the party and the government, and the situation in which the party does not take care of its own work has been noticeably improved. However, in many localities

all matters, big and small, still have to be discussed by party committees, and party secretaries have to declare their stand. Thus, the situation, in which party work is not separated from government work and party committees take on everything, still exists. This has not only affected the enthusiasm of leading cadres doing government work but has also bogged down party committees at various levels in administrative and other routine work so that they have no time for party work.

Therefore, party organizations at all levels must change the situation in which the party functions like the government and party committees take on everything. The functions and role of the government and administrative departments must be brought into full play. Party organizations must free themselves from trivial, day-to-day affairs and concentrate on ideological and political work, the implementation of the party's policies and the party's own building.

Some comrades hold that economic construction is now the focus of the whole party's work and that if party organizations do not actually handle the concrete economic problems, party leadership over economic work will become ineffective. This is a muddled view. Of course, the party must strengthen leadership over economic work, and party committees must devote major efforts in leading economic construction. This is beyond and shadow of doubt. The qeustion is how to lead.

There is a difference between party leadership over economic work and leadership of the government and business organizations. The party committees should mainly concern themselves with the important matters in economic work--such as economic principles, policies and plans, arrangements for major construction projects and so forth--and certainly should not directly conduct and organize production, still less monopolize the administrative, operational and management work in economic activities.

3. It is necessary to organizationally and institutionally guarantee that the party's own affairs are being taken care of regularly and by specific persons. In many party organizations, some persons are named to take care of regularly and by specific persons. In many party organizations, some persons are named to take care of party affairs, but often they fail to do what they are supposed to do.

An analysis of the reasons shows: First, in some party organizations, the principal leading members are not responsible for party affairs, and the responsibility falls on some minor committee members. Thus, party affairs are not important on the agenda. Second, some leading cadres, who do share the responsibility for party affairs, hold too many concurrent jobs, especially administrative jobs. As a result, they are preoccupied with their other jobs and have no time left to take care of party affairs. Third, there are no strict regulations concerning the responsible handling of party affairs. Thus, party affairs are taken care of when there is time and are usually put aside.

Therefore, to make sure that party affairs are regularly taken care [of] by specific persons, they must be guaranteed organizationally and institutionally. Party organizations at all levels must appoint persons to be specifically re-

sponsible for the party's propaganda, education, organization, discipline inspection, and mass and united front work; they must designate a secretary or deputy secretary to be responsible for party work on a full-time basis, thus organizationally insuring that party affairs are taken care of by specific persons.

Cadres responsible for party work are an important force in strengthening party building. Presently, some comrades lack enthusiasm for this kind of work. They have mistaken notion that technical cadres are like Ginseng—the older they get, the more popular they become--and that party affairs cadres are like carrots—the older they get, the less useful they become. Some comrades fear difficulties in party work. They feel that old methods are no longer allowed to be used, that they dare not use tough methods, that soft methods are useless and that they do not know how to use new methods. When confronted by difficulties in work, they often feel helpless.

Therefore, party organizations at all levels must also strengthen the ideological and organizational building of the ranks of party work cadres, pay serious attention to their education and training and enhance their ideological and theoretical level and their understanding of policies. This is an important condition for successful party work.

CSO: 4005/152

JIANGXI FIRST SECRETARY ON ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM

OW230509 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Nov 82

[Text] The Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee held a mobilization meeting on the restructuring of administrative organs at the Jiangxi Film and Opera Theater on the afternoon of 20 November. The meeting called on all provincial level organs to start work on restructuring the administration immediately and strive to complete it before the Spring Festival. More than 3,000 cadres of various provincial level organs with the rank of deputy director or higher heard reports at the mobilization meeting.

Leading comrades of the party and government in Jiangxi Province attended the meeting, including Bai Dongcai, Fu Yutian, Zhao Zengyi, Wu Ping, Zhao Zhijian, (Wang Zeming), Xu Qin, Lai Shaoyao and Shen Hanqing.

The meeting was presided over by Zhao Zengyi, secretary of the provincial party committee and acting governor of Jiangxi Province. Fu Yutian, secretary of the provincial party committee, spoke first.

Fu Yutian said: Today's mobilization meeting is on the restructuring of administrative organs. We shall immediately start work among all provincial level units and strive to complete it before the Spring Festival. Various units should assign a number of persons to this work. They must be those who are familiar with the situation, impartial and fair-minded. They should carry out the work under the unified leadership of various party committees. We all know that our present administrative organs are overstaffed and overlapping, and their powers and functions are not clearly defined. Some departments pass the buck to each other and their staff members are inefficient. For many years, various enterprises and administrative organs have been in a mess. Too many units meddle in a single problem, with the result that things are often delayed. Therefore, we must carry out institutional reform.

We are faced with the task of creating a new situation. Our guiding principles should be clearer and more specific and, on the other hand, our administrative organs should be more adaptable to the new situation. In carrying out the restructuring of administrative organs, we should take into consideration the following things:

Administrative organs in charge of industrial work should not be sub-divided according to different types of work. They should not be divided into too many branches. Administrative organs at provincial level should not directly interfere with the administration and economic work of various enterprises. However, the work of various supervisory departments, including such fields as business administration, price control, tax matters and statistics must not be weakened. In addition, the restructuring of administrative organs must not create obstacles for the reform of the economic system in future.

In readjusting leading bodies, we should pay attention to the core requirement of assigning those cadres who are more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent into leading bodies. The question of ensuring this is actually one of absorbing intellectuals into leading bodies. Therefore, whether we can change and set right our attitude towards intellectuals will have a direct bearing on whether we can achieve success in restructuring administrative organs or not.

Some comrades say that you only talk about using younger cadres who are better educated and do not see that veteran cadres have abundant experience. In fact, this kind of attitude of relying on veteran cadres against the promotion of younger cadres is not right. We have not, in the slightest degree, overlooked the role of veteran cadres. We are relying on veteran cadres to discover, cultivate and assist young cadres. Of course, young cadres selected and assigned to leading groups should pay particular attention to learning the good points of veteran cadres and carrying forward and developing their fine traditions. The important thing is that we must ensure that the ranks of cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent. This is the trend and requirement in building the four modernizations and is also the historical responsibility of veteran cadres.

Comrade Fu Yutian pointed out: doing cadre's work well is an important part in restructuring administrative organs. This is a necessary work which must be carried out in a meticulous way.

In restructuring administrative organs, what kind of people should be selected and assigned to leading bodies, what kind of people should be removed and what kind of people should be sorted out because they belong to the three types of people mentioned by the central authorities? To solve these questions, we must check and evaluate all cadres in an all-round way and formulate a relatively uniform opinion.

Those who are selected and assigned to leading bodies must be those who firmly support and actively implement the line, principles and policies formulated since the convocation of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, firmly support the four basic principles of the party, implement the party's economic policies, act in line with the guidelines for inner-party political life, eschew private interests, resist factionalism, have a positive attitude, are enthusiastic and have made significant achievements in their work. In fact, there are many such comrades. As long as we can liberate our thinking and broaden our vision, we can certainly select more young intellectuals and assign them to various leading bodies.

Veteran cadres should retire or leave their posts when they reach a certain age. This is historically natural. Some comrades say that they want to be professional revolutionaries. This does not contradict their retirement or leaving their posts. The present restructuring of administrative organs is not to ask anyone to stop his work. On the contrary, it calls on everyone to actively work for the creation of a new situation. It is designed to enable everyone to do his share, develop his enthusiasm and improve his work. Retirement or leaving one's post is only a change in revolutionary position and type of work. Some veteran cadres may find difficulties in adjusting to their new life when they withdraw to the second line. This calls for various organizations giving veteran cadres due consideration in their daily life and in other things. When we start the work of restructuring administrative organs, we should assign some people to take good care of veteran cadres from the beginning. The provincial party committee and the provincial government, respectively, will set up special offices to serve veteran cadres.

In carrying out the restructuring of administrative organs, we should purify the three types of people mentioned by the central authorities. If we did not sort them out, it would be unfavorable to our organization and would not be good for those individuals either. Through purification in the spirit of seeking truth from facts, we shall be able to prevent those three types of people from entering various leading groups. In conclusion, Comrade Fu Yutian emphatically pointed out: In order to ensure the successful implementation of restructuring administrative organs, from now on, all cadres must not be transferred or promoted and we should strictly forbid malpractices for selfish ends by anyone who may take advantage of the opportunity of organizational readjustment. We hope that leading cadres at various levels will divide their work between routine and the work of restructuring the administration. They should take up their responsibility and do both kinds of work well.

Afterwards, Comrade Bai Dongcai, first secretary of the provincial party committee, delivered an important speech.

In light of the reform of leading organs of the party and govenrment at the prefectural, municipal and above level and the readjustment of leading bodies, Comrade Bai Dongcai emphatically underlined three issues.

First, it is necessary to enable everyone to understand the reason for this work ideologically. The restructuring of administrative organs is, in a sense, a profound revolution. It concerns many things and we must seriously handle this work. The restructuring of administrative organs is to implement the line, principles and policies formulated at the 12th CPC National Congress. Our present administrative organs cannot meet the requirement for the creation of a new situation. To restructure administrative organs, the key lies in selecting people and reforming leading groups. Now we should select and promote intellectuals who can meet the requirements for promoting the four modernizations. For a long time, we have not been able to properly solve this question and have not considered intellectuals as a force to be relied upon. At present, the problem of aging and lack of knowledge generally exists among our leading groups. We cannot really do our work well in promoting industrial and agricultural

production in future if we do not have scientific and managerial knowledge. This is the trend and we must pay attention to it. We can create a new situation and make great progress in our socialist cause only when we acquire scientific and managerial knowledge.

Second, it is necessary to develop the spirit of democracy. We should solicit opinions on plans for the restructuring of administrative organs and readjusting leading groups. The provincial party committee has decided to print and distribute draft plans for the restructuring of administrative organs to various units for discussion. We shall extensively solicit opinions from various units and accept all worthwhile opinion. Following adequate democratic discussion, we shall concentrate all opinion and make a proper decision.

The current restructuring of administrative organs is mainly the reform of leading organs of the party and government, including such mass organizations as the provincial trade union council, CYL committee and women's federation. The reform of administration at universities and colleges, scientific research units, cultural organizations and academic organizations will be carried out at a later date. The restructuring work will not be carried out at those units for the time being.

The principle of restructuring administrative organs is to establish lean and highly efficient organs. The principle of readjusting various leading bodies is to act in the spirit of seeking truth from facts and be impartial and honest. As to those who belong to the three types of people mentioned by the central authorities, we shall now sort them out properly.

Third, it is necessary to pay attention to both restructuring and routine work. We should do both well. There is only a month left of this year. Time is short and we still have many things to do before the end of the year. What we have now is only the initial plan. Before the restructuring of various administrative organs, the original leading bodies should continue to grasp their work and must not, in the slightest degree, be influenced by future change. Doing well the restructuring of administrative organs depends on everyone's wisdom. Leading comrades and veteran cadres at various levels should effectively take up their responsibility, ensure the success of the work and accomplish the honorable task entrusted to us by history.

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

JIANGSU INVESTIGATIVE VISIT FOR YANG JINGREN

OW130921 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Yang Jingren, director of the united front work department of the CPC Central Committee and minister in charge of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission, who has come to Jiangsu to investigate, study and inspect work since 6 November, took part in various discussion meetings in Nanjing with responsible persons of various democratic parties, federations of industry and commerce and federations of Taiwan compatriots in Jiangsu Province and Nanjing Municipality; people of religious circles of the province and municipality; and former Kuomintang officials who had revolted and come over to our side.

Yang Jingren listened to their reports and opinions and held talks with them on how to study and implement the guidelines of the documents of the 12th National Party Congress, unfold united front work in a more widespread and profound manner in the new period and make contributions to promoting socialist modernization in all fields.

At various discussion meetings, director Yang Jingren put forward tasks in regard to implementing the party's policy toward various democratic parties, religious work of various nationalities and the work of Taiwan's reunification with the motherland. Director Yang Jingren arrived in Nanjing on 6 November.

Bao Houchang, chairman of the Jiangsu Provincial CPPCC Committee; Jiang Zonglu, Chen Liang, Lu Xunru and (Liang Shangren), responsible persons of the united front work department of the Jiangsu Provincial CPC committee; and the responsible persons of the united front work department of the Nanjing Municipal CPC Committee took part in various activities respectively.

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

PROPOSALS FOR SHANXI POLITICAL, LEGAL FRONT

HK290707 Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 28 Nov 82

["Full text" of letter of proposal from Shanxi meeting of representatives of progressive collectives and individuals on the political and legal front to all comrades on the province's political and legal front]

[Summary] Every political and legal front comrade should shoulder the glorious and heavy responsibility of creating a new situation in political and legal work and strive to tidy up social order this winter and next spring. We therefore issue the following proposals:

1. Seriously study and profoundly appreciate the 12th Party Congress spirit and be models in carrying out the party's line, principles and policies.

2. Have firm standpoint and be loyal fighters in protecting the people and the four modernizations drive. "We must deal resolute blows at criminal elements gravely sabotaging the socialist economy by smuggling and peddling contraband, engaging in bribery, corruption, speculation and swindling, and stealing public property. We must deal resolute blows at counterrevolutionaries and special agents and spies, and at murderers, arsonists, thieves, rapists, bombers, drug peddlers, robbers, and ringleaders of thug gangs, who seriously endanger social order. We must deal resolute blows at remnant elements of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who engage in sabotage activities. We must work ceaselessly to straighten out social order. Under the unified leadership of the party committees, we must actively cooperate with all sectors and departments, seriously implement measures for solving the problems in a comprehensive way, set up security responsibility systems and put them on a sound basis, and enthusiastically educate, remold and save young delinquents."

3. Be leaders in building socialist spiritual civilization, and do all work in an honest and impartial way.

4. Do a good job in mastering professional knowledge.

5. Promote a drive to learn from and catch up with the progressives.

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

NEI MONGGOL HOLDS COMMENDATION MEETING

SK280733 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Nov 82

[Text] On 26 November, advanced collectives and workers participating in the regional commendation meeting of procuratorial departments lodged a protest against all cadres and policemen throughout the region, urging them to bring the functions of procuratorial organizations into full play in striking blows at the enemy, punishing the criminals and protecting the people. Efforts should be made to effect the three fundamental turns for the better in creating a new situation of inspection work. Since our region's founding of various levels of procuratorial organizations, under the guidance of the party, the broad masses of cadres have made much progress in improving their political and professional quality through various years of practice. They are loyal to implementing the policies of the party and the law and justly handle cases in the light of reality. Some advanced collectives and individuals have come to the fore in strictly upholding the socialist legal system.

On 24-27 November, the region held a commendation meeting of procuratorial departments in Hohhot to commend 12 advanced collectives and 117 advanced workers.

Having exchanged their broad experiences, participants unanimously pledged: under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, they will devote themselves to implementing the guidelines of the national and regional public security work meetings to further conduct activities in making new contributions to playing advanced roles.

Efforts should be made to enthusiastically engage in rectifying public security work in the coming winter and spring and to further strike blows at criminal activities in the economic field with a view to upholding the four modernizations.

Yun Shiying, secretary of the regional CPC committee, attended the meeting to extend congratulations to the advanced collectives and workers and spoke at the meeting.

He urged the broad masses of cadres in charge of public security work to conscientiously study the documents of the 12th Party Congress to have a correct understanding of the previous situation of the class struggle. We should insist on adopting the Marxist stand, viewpoints and ways to observe and handle the current social phenomenon of the class struggle and contradictions. We should strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and correctly deal blows to the enemy and protect the people.

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

BEIJING PARTY COMMITTEE HOLDS PLENARY SESSION

HK260428 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 17 Nov 82

[Text] The Fifth Beijing Municipal Party Committee held its first plenary session on 14 and 15 November. The session elected the committee's Standing Committee members, first secretary and secretaries. Present were 60 members and 16 alternate members of the committee. The 35 members of the municipal advisory committee and the 41 members of the municipal discipline inspection committee attended as observers. Comrades Duan Junyi and Chen Xitong presided.

The session elected 13 members of the municipal CPC committee Standing Committee, the first secretary and secretaries. The list is as follows:

Standing Committee members (in order of the number of strokes in the surname): Ma Yaoji, Wang Xian, Bai Jiefu, Wu Lie, Wang Jiaqiu, Zhang Dazhong, Chen Xitong, Jin Jian, Zhao Pengfei, Duan Junyi, Jia Chunwang, Wu Weicheng and Jiao Ruoyu.

First secretary: Duan Junyi.

Secretaries: Jiao Ruoyu, Chen Xitong, Zhao Pengfei.

The session approved the chairman, vice chairmen and Standing Committee members of the municipal advisory committee elected by the plenary session of that committee. The session also approved the secretary, deputy secretaries and Standing Committee members of the municipal discipline inspection committee elected by the plenary session of that committee. The membership of the leading organs of these three committees have been reported to the CPC Central Committee for approval, in accordance with the party constitution provisions.

Comrade Duan Junyi outlined arrangements on current work in Beijing City on behalf of the municipal CPC committee Standing Committee. He spoke on five tasks that need to be grasped well at present:

1. Continue to study the 12th Party Congress documents in depth and implement the congress spirit. Comrade Duan Junyi said: At present, in connection with conveying and implementing the spirit of the 5th Municipal Party Congress, we must carry out in depth the study of the 12th Party Congress documents. On the basis of seriously appreciating the spirit of the documents, we must do still better at linking it with the reality of our thinking and work, further unify our

thinking and measures and strive to create a new situation in work in the capital. After this session, we must organize forces in a unified way to do one or two things that will play a major role in creating a new situation in construction of the capital, and lead forward the continual progress of all our work.

2. Get a good grasp of administrative restructuring and do well in building the leadership groups at all levels. Comrade Duan Junyi pointed out: In carrying out reform of the administrative structure, the leading cadres and work personnel at all levels must stay firm at their posts, fully carry out their duties and responsibilities, and ensure that work can proceed in a normal and orderly way.

3. Get a good grasp of building spiritual civilization and further improve social order. Comrade Duan Junyi said: In the coming period, we must lay still greater emphasis on building socialist spiritual civilization. In social order work, we must continue to do well in tackling problems in a comprehensive way, set up security responsibility systems and put them on a sound basis, and strive to bring about, ahead of schedule, a fundamental turn for the better in social order in the capital.

4. Seriously promote economic work and fulfill and overfulfill this year's national economic plans. Comrade Duan Junyi said: Beijing's economic situation is good this year. Total value of industrial output in the first 10 months of the year rose by 6.2 percent over the same period last year. In agriculture, this is a bumper year. We must work hard in the last month and more of the year to ensure the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the year's plans, and arrange the plans for next year. At the same time, we must prepare for next year's production.

5. Seriously prepare for party rectification and organize pilot projects in this work. Comrade Duan Junyi pointed out: The basic situation of the party members and organizations in Beijing City is good. However, there are also many problems. The municipal CPC committee has decided to launch party rectification pilot project work, beginning in December.

Comrade Duan Junyi said in conclusion: We are a new municipal CPC committee. The new leadership group should have a new atmosphere. We must go deep into reality to investigate and study, maintain the broadest contacts with the masses, and establish a new work style. We must strive to create a new situation, make new breakthroughs, create new experiences and follow a new path in our work. This is the demand placed on us by the central committee, and is also the hope placed on us by the party members and masses of the whole city. We must maintain political unity with the Central Committee, strengthen unity, work in concert, and lead the party members and masses of the city to work hard and make their proper contributions to creating a new situation in the capital's socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

CHEN WEIDA RECEIVES HONG KONG BUSINESSMEN

SK220428 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 22 Nov 82

[Text] According to TIANJIN RIBAO, on 21 November, Chen Weida, first secretary of the Tianjin Municipal CPC Committee, Li Ruihuan, acting major of the municipality, and Wang Guangying, deputy mayor of the municipality, received at the municipal guest house the leading personnel and a number of members of the Hong Kong commercial and industrial federation's delegation headed by Mr (Huang Jian). At the reception, they discussed issues concerning economic cooperation and the possibilities of developing trade. Mr (Huang Jian) and his entourage spoke on plans for making contributions to the motherland's program of achieving the four modernizations and their speeches warmly praised by the leading comrades of the municipality.

Following the reception, Mr (Huang Jian) and his entourage accompanied by Chen Weida, Li Ruihuan and Wang Guangying attended the luncheon given in honor of the delegation by the municipal industrial and commercial federation at the municipal friendship club. Attending the luncheon were vice chairmen of the municipal industrial and commercial confederation, including (Yang Xianshou) and (Wan Guotian). Also attending the reception and luncheon were director Zhou Ru and deputy director (Wang Jiwen) of the municipal united front work department.

At the invitation of the national federation of industry and commerce, the delegation of the Hong Kong Commercial and Industrial Federation came to our country's interior for an observation tour. The delegation is composed of 30 members, of which 14 members, including Mr. (Huang Jian), arrived in Tianjin from Beijing by bus on the morning of 21 November at the invitation of the municipal industrial and commercial federation. That afternoon, these guests returned to Beijing.

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

HEBEI CYL MEETING HELD ON MAINTAINING POLITICAL UNITY

HK121248 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 2 Nov 82

[Excerpts] The recently-held enlarged Standing Committee meeting of the provincial CYL committee pointed out: While studying and implementing 12th CPC Congress documents, CYL organizations at all levels and the broad masses of CYL members should further solve the problem of maintaining political unity with the CPC Central Committee. Before the convening of this enlarged meeting, leading comrades of the provincial CYL committee went down to the grassroots units to carry out investigation and study. They found out that after the convening of the 12th CPC Congress, CYL organizations at all levels throughout the province went into action without delay and regarded the work of organizing CYL members and youths to study 12th CPC Congress documents as their number one task and that they had achieved initial results in this respect. Many gratifying changes have taken place among young people in both urban and rural areas. There are more and more youths who have concerned themselves with politics and state affairs. They have more faith in the party and increasingly support the party's political ideas, guiding principles and policies. More and more youths have applied for the party or CYL membership.

However, they also found out that due to the adverse influence of the 10 years of turmoil, a small number of youth are still affected by leftist ideas. Since they are not politically mature enough, they have adopted a one-sided and subjective approach to problems. Ideologically, they lack a correct understanding of the guiding principles and policies adopted by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. They cannot profoundly understand the historical significance of the 12th CPC Congress and its main spirit.

The enlarged meeting stressed: While leading CYL members and youths to study 12th CPC Congress documents, CYL committees at all levels throughout the province should focus their attention on understanding the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress and the party line and consciously maintaining political and ideological unity with the CPC Central Committee. They should be firm in striving for the party's cause.

At the enlarged meeting, participating comrades also exchanged experiences in the way to maintain political unity with the CPC Central Committee while studying

12th CPC Congress documents. They proposed that the following measures be taken: 1) We should profoundly understand and study the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress documents and sum up historical experience and lessons. With regard to young people, they should take a historical viewpoint to understand the correctness of the guiding principles and policies adopted by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Congress and the 12th CPC Congress. 2) We should further eliminate the influence of the Great Cultural Revolution and smash the fetters of leftist ideology. If we fail to do so, we will not be able to understand the party line and the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress or maintain political unity with the CPC Central Committee. In light of the calamity imposed upon the people by the leftist ideology over the past few years, CYL organizations at all levels in Baoding prefecture realize that the leftist ideology might subjugate the party and the state and let the revolutionary cause perish. Therefore, they cherish deeper affection for the line, guiding principles and policies of the party. 3) We should actively organize CYL members and youths to take part in the practical activities of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization so that they will deepen their understanding of the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress amid struggle.

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

FOURTH SESSION OF FIFTH NPC MOTIONS CARRIED OUT

OW271023 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1301 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 25 Nov (XINHUA)--Departments concerned have completely implemented the motions proposed by the delegates at the fourth session of the Fifth National People's Congress last year.

Of the 2,318 motions proposed by the delegates, 2,187 were carried out by the State Council. As of 12 November, the State Council had made a written report to the NPC Standing Committee on how each of the motions was implemented. The 131 motions implemented by the NPC Standing Committee, the supreme people's court and the supreme people's procuratorate were all fruitful.

According to statistics of departments concerned, questions in motions proposed by the people's delegates which are solved, basically solved or being solved account for about 70 percent. Questions which can be gradually solved when the conditions they need are created account for approximately 20 percent. Motions not accepted for various reasons account for approximately 10 percent.

While implementing the motions proposed by the people's delegates, many units have specially assigned persons to study questions involved, speed up the implementation of motions, answer questions and do other specific work. In March of this year, the State Council issued a circular calling for all ministries and commissions, organizations directly under it and the people's governments of all provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government to pay full attention to motions proposed by the people's delegates, seriously study and handle them and never take a bureaucratic attitude. The circular urges all departments concerned to do well in the handling over procedure with regard to the motions undertaken by units to be annexed or revoked while streamlining organizations so that the phenomenon of no one taking care of motions proposed by the people's delegates because of changes in organizations and personnel assignments can be prevented.

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON FANG XIANG REFORM IN SONG DYNASTY

HK291514 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Guo Zhengzhong [6753 2973 1813]: "A Brief Discourse on Fang Xiang's Reform and the Tortuous Struggle for It"]

[Text] The many successful reforms of social and economic systems in history necessarily require three basic conditions: 1) an objective trend in line with or adapted to the social and economic development of the time; 2) the specific reform measures are comparatively perfect, hence bringing remarkable economic returns; 3) reforms must be propped up and supported by certain social forces. Not a single one of these conditions can be dispensed with. Here, I would like to make an analysis of Fan Xiang's reform, a reform of sales and transportation in the state-run salt business in the middle of the northern Song Dynasty, which might be helpful to us.

The Pros and Cons of Two Systems of Salt Business in the Early Stage of the Song Dynasty

Xiechi, situated in the vicinity of today's Yuncheng in southern Shanxi, was the home of the "salt pellet," gaining great renown over a long period of history as a "treasure of the earth" coveted by the feudal rulers of all dynasties. In the Song Dynasty, the output value of salt in the area (it belonged to Luxie Prefecture of Shaanxi Province at that time) was a little lower than that of Anhui salt, but it was of very important economic significance to the northern areas, including the capital, Bianjing, and to the defense of three key border areas.

In the early years of the Song Dynasty, a state-run system was practiced in the "Xiechi salt" business and no civilian merchants were permitted to engage in the sale and transportation of salt. This constituted a part of the "state-monopolized" system in the Song Dynasty, which was very favorable to the Song court on controlling the salt business. By practicing this system, the government was able to obtain large profits by means of monopolizing the sale and transportation of salt. In the early years of the Song Dynasty, the sale price of "Xiechi salt" was 34 to 44 wen [a currency unit in the Song Dynasty] per jin, ut its converted cost was 0.47 wen per jin. Even if a 20-percent management fee was added, it was some 0.56 wen per jin. The profits were as high as 58 to 78 times the cost. Although the "state-monopolized" salt business system had these sorts of advantages, there were many defects which cannot be hidden. The defects were as follows: 1) as the officials were in charge of the transportation of salt, the people were in an uncomfortable position"; 2) production

and marketing were disjointed and there was a serious imbalance of supply and demand; 3) official salt was of poor quality or even mixed with "sand and saltpeter," hence less marketable. However, under the circumstance of the salt market being monopolized by the government, no matter how bad the official salt was, people had no choice but to buy it; 4) the system hampered the circulation of the "goods source," that is, hampered the normal development of the commodity and currency economy. As merchants had no opportunities to obtain profits in the salt business, they just stored their money or sought other ways such as purchasing official positions or buying land.

Due to the objective development of the public commodity economy as well as the necessity of military actions resulting from the contradictions between nationalities in the western and northern parts of the country, it was actually very difficult to completely maintain the "state monopolized" system in the salt business. As early as in the late stage of Emperor Song Tai Zhu or around the second year of the Yongxi calendar of Emperor Song Tai Zong (a.d. 985), a certain kind of trade system in the salt business appeared in certain areas under specific conditions.

The advantage of the trade system in the salt business was that some defects in the "state-monopolized" system could be avoided or reduced and the urgent armament needs in the frontier areas could also be met. More than that, it adapted to and stimulated the circulation of both commodity and currency. However, the open establishment of the trade system in certain areas gave rise to new problems. For example, merchants bribed officials and they cooperated to practice fraud by raising the "purchasing" prices or calculating more salt than actual figures in an attempt to seek personal gains at the cost of official interests. In the second year of the Qingli calendar, the merchants in the border areas submitted two chuanmu [unit of measurement of wood] to the government but asked a price of 1,000 wen and 200 jin of salt, thus "consuming immeasurable salt." Furthermore, merchants often took advantage of the contradictions in supply and demand to raise the salt price in salt-deficient areas, seeking exorbitant profits.

Due to these problems resulting from the implementation of the partial trade system, particularly the loss in salt tax which directly reduced financial income, this system was repeatedly abolished shortly after its appearance several times. Until Fan [words indistinct], the decadent and backward "state-monopolized" system in the salt business was continuously imposed in the eastern market areas, including three key municipalities and 28 prefectures.

Fan Xiang's Reform and the Inspection Made by Bao Zheng

In the second month of the fourth year of the Qingli calendar (a.d. 1044), Fan Xiang, a native of Shaanxi and a department magistrate in Luzhou County of Jingxi Lu, put forth a new system for the sale and transportation of "Xiechi salt." The main points were as follows:

1. A trade system should be rigidly practiced in the areas where a "state-monopolized" system in salt business had been practiced in the past. "Both soldiers and civilians should be relieved of the hard labor of transporting salt," and the trade system should be introduced to the salt-deficient Sichuan area.

2. Merchants were not permitted to barter grain and forage for salt but had to purchase "salt coupons" first, using cash. The officials in charge of the salt business "verified the coupons instantly and sold the salt according to the quantity" and it was difficult for them to practice fraud in cooperation with merchants. The government thus obtained cash and purchased forage and fodder for the army according to the market prices. As a result, the central government was exempted from allotting military funds to the border areas.

3. A system of "merchants in charge of transportation and government in charge of salt sales" was practiced in border areas, that is, merchants transported the "Xiechi salt" to border areas and sold it all to the government. Then the government sold the salt to the people. This was for the purpose of preventing "Xixia salt" [Xixia was a neighboring country in Song Dynasty, China, lying in the northwest of China's border areas] from entering China. The "state-monopolized" system was also temporarily practiced in other areas where commodity salt was not transported.

4. More salt should be stored in the capital so as to promptly readjust and stabilize the salt price on the market.

This new system of sales and transportation put forth by Fan Xiang was later known as the "salt coupon system," the essence of which was to turn the previous "state-monopolized" system in the salt business, with "the government in charge of transportation and sales" as its main content, into a trade system with merchants in charge of retail or as sales agents as its main content. Essentially, this was a negation of the traditional "state-monopolized" system in the salt business and also a development and improvement of the partial trade system which had been introduced during the early Song Dynasty.
Fan Xiang's proposal was warmly applauded by two senior officials, Chancellor Tian Kuang and Vice Prime Minister Han Qi. With their support, Fan Xiang was immediately transferred to Shaanxi and authorized to discuss the reform of the system with Cheng Kang, an official in Shaanxi. Unfortunately, Cheng Kang was not interested in Fan Xiang's proposal and refused to carry it out. Fan Xiang himself was also transferred to another post. The proposal of the new "salt coupons" system was thus turned down and ignored.

Four years later in the 10th month of the 4th year of the Qingli calendar (a.d. 1048), Fan Xiang was promoted to a higher position. He firmly submitted a written statement to the royal court to raise his proposal again [word indistinct] this time, although the prime minister, Chen Zhizhong, was unwilling to appoint Fan Xiang as Cao Chen [the title of an official in ancient China] of Shaanxi, Fan Xiang was supported by Ye Qingcheng, a senior official, and transferred to the post of judicial and security officer of Shaanxi Lu, concurrently holding a position in charge of the "Xiechi salt" business. The long-cherished wish of reforming the salt business system was finally achieved. Fan Xiang instantly left for Xiezhou to go ahead with his reform of the "salt coupon" system.

In the first year the new system was practiced, (from the 10th month of the 8th year of the Qinli calendar to the 1st year of the Huangyou calendar), the salt price went [word indistinct] and merchants were hesitant as there was only little profit to be made. Powerful and wealthy merchants and cunning officials took advantage to make trouble. As a result, the yearly income from salt was

lower than that of previous years. Bureaucrats, with He Tan as their representative, seized the opportunity to oppose the new system and rose in swarms to call for the restoration of the old system. Both the royal court and the public were shocked by the controversy over the new system. The crux of the controversy was of course not centered on whether the new system was beneficial to the development of the commodity economy, but whether the new system was beneficial to the national income. In order to get a true answer, Emperor Song Renzhong issued an imperial decree and ordered the vice financial minister, Bao Zheng, to immediately make an inspection in Shaanxi and weigh the pros and cons. The destiny of the new system thus hinged on Bao Zheng's inspection.

Before Bao Zheng proceeded to make an inspection in observance of the imperial decree, he submitted a statement to the royal court, claiming that he was by no means unfamiliar with the old system of the "Xiechi salt" business as he once served as an official in Shaanxi Lu. He also advised Emperor Song Renzhong to take a broad and long-term view and not to dismiss the new system rashly. He said: "Laws and regulations are varied. Some are beneficial in the initial stage but harmful in the later stage; others are harmful in the initial stage but beneficial in the long run. If we stick to the previous state-monopolized system, we may obtain tens of thousands of min [min was a currency unit in ancient China, equivalent to 1,000 wen] but the financial resources of the people will be gradually [word indistinct] and many defects will appear in the future. It is a wrong practice to seek quick profits first, and leads to serious harm in the future. If the trade system is practiced, tax income may diminish in one or two years; but great benefits are bound to follow in the future. This causes a little damage in the initial stage but leads to great benefits in the long run."

Bao Zheng's remarks were in the long-term interest of the landlord class but also showed his foresight and sagacity in treating new things, if we approach it with a dialectical view. In addition, when Bao Zheng "entered the territories of Shaanxi," he began to conduct a serious investigation. According to what he had seen and heard on his way to Shaanxi, Bao Zheng found that the "broad masses" could not bear the hardships imposed by the old "state-monopolized" system. They feared that the government would abandon the new system and were therefore burdened and anxiety. [as printed] When Bao Zheng communicated the glad tidings about Emperor Song Renzhong's "concern for the broad masses of the country and his eagerness to relieve the people of their heavy burden" and the principle that "all approved methods in the salt business must benefit people," all the people were moved and joyful. All of this put Bao Zheng in a position to "promote the reform advanced by Fan Xiang." He had a discussion with Wei Guan, a do cao [the title of an official in ancient China] of Shaanxi; Li can, a cao yun [the title of an official in ancient China] and Fan Xiang, an official in charge of the "Xiechi salt" business, and made some improvements and supplements to the new system. For example, they fixed the salt at a reasonable price to make things easier for merchants, and abolished the "state-monopolized" system in the sales of "Xiechi salt" in three key cities and Hebei Province so as to arouse the merchants' enthusiasm.

After conducting his inspection, Bao Zheng completely affirmed the new system put forth by Fan Xiang. When he returned to the capital, Bianjing, he submitted two written statements to Emperor Song Renzhong and gave a reply to He Tan and others. He said earnestly: "We have benefited from the new system being practiced in Snaanxi and obtained large profits. If we spend this money on fodder and forage, we will save as much as 5 or 7 million guan [a currency unit in China] of coin every year within 1 or 2 years. But, if you give credence to unfounded reproaches, take the branch for the root, seek present interests and neglect long-term interests, I think it will be harmful in the future. Therefore, I sincerely hope that you will give the system serious consideration." Emperor Song Renzhong took Bao Zheng's advice and issued an imperial decree: "A trade system in the salt business should be carried out in Shaanxi in accordance with Fan Xiang's plan."

Shortly after Bao Zheng returned to the capital, Fan Xiang was promoted to a higher position in Shaanxi. But, a senior official in charge of auditing work, Li Huizhi came out in opposition to Fan Xiang, claiming it was disadvantageous to practice the new system. Emperor Song Renzhong had to instruct three senior officials in charge of financial affairs to handle the matter and urgently recalled Fan Xiang to the capital to hold another discussion on the matter with Li Huizhi and other officials. The consequence of the discussion was that Li Huizhi was in the minority and "all the participants [words indistinct] proposal." As a result, the emperor issued a decree to the three senior officials in charge of financial affairs that the new system should continue to be practiced and a review made on the increase or reduction of the yearly income 2 years later in order to decide whether the new system would be practiced or abolished.

In the 4th month of the 5th year of the Huangyou calendar (a.d. 1053), Fan Xiang was impeached due to his failure to properly handle affairs in frontier areas. He was demoted to the post of a lower official in Henan's Tang He County and removed from the post of being in charge of the "Xiechi salt" business. His successor, Li Can, abandoned the new system and allowed the merchants to barter other goods for salt, thus seriously reducing tax income from the salt business. Until the 3d year of the Jiayou calendar, (a.d. 1058) urged by Bao Zheng (he had by then risen to a position equivalent to a view premier) and Zhang Fangping (a new official in charge of financial affairs), Fan Xiang was once again appointed to practice the new system. This was the fourth undulation in the process of reform.

Fan Xiang died toward the end of the 5th year of the Jiayou calendar and Xue Xiang continued to practice the new system at large. Later, this new system was successively promoted in other salt-producing areas and became the basic system of the sale and transportation of salt in the Song Dynasty.

The Economic Returns of Fan Xiang's New System

The reason why the "salt coupon" system put forth by Fan Xiang could finally replace the "state-monopolized" system lies in that it not only avoided and reduced many defects in the "state-monopolized" system, but also, more importantly,

was relatively perfect in various specific links. Hence, it not only guaranteed more economic returns than the old system, but also prevented the merchants from violently disturbing market prices.

Before the Fan Xiang reform, the yearly income from "Xiechi salt" was 1.47 million guan in the 6th year of the Qingli calendar and 1.95 million guan the next year. In the initial stage of the reform, the yearly income dropped temporarily. The total income of the first and second years of the Huangli calender (a.d. 1049 and 1950) was only 2.891 million guan. But there was an increasing trend in yearly income in the 3d year of the Huangli calendar, with an income of 0.7 million guan in the 3 months of the spring and a total of 2.21 million guan in the yearly income. The yearly income also reached a high of 2.15 million guan in the 4th year of the Huangli calendar. All these figures surpassed that of the years before the system reform.

In the 2d year of the Qingli calendar, the expenditure on the border areas in Shaanxi allotted from the income of the "state-monopolized" system in the capital was 6.47 million guan; and in the 6th year of the Qingli calendar, it was slightly reduced to 4.8 million guan. As a result of the Fan Xiang reform, there was a cash reserve in Shaanxi Lu which could be used to buy fodder and forage directly, and the central government need not pay this expenditure anymore. On the whole, this corresponded to Bao Zheng's estimates that a total of 5 to 7 million guan could be saved every year and to the estimates made by Fan Xiang himself of "saving several million min every year." According to estimates made by Bao Zheng in the 5th year of the Jiayou calendar, the central government could save about 4 million guan every year on expenditures in frontier areas during the 10 years of the Fan Xiang reform.

The merits of Fan Xiang's new system were later highly praised by Shen Kuo, who made such remarks as: "When the old system was practiced, the 'pellet salt' in Shaanxi was transported and marketed by the government. After Fan Xiang, a senior officer in the military department of the central government, changed it into the 'salt coupon' system, merchants could buy one salt coupon with 4.8 guan in frontier areas, and then obtain salt in Xiechi. They could then sell the salt and replenish the frontier areas by the money obtained. This new system could avoid the hard labor of transportation involving 10 of prefectures. Before the Fan Xiang reform, tens of thousands of people died in their tracks while engaging in the transportation of salt and uncountable people contravened the laws and regulations and were punished. The implementation of Fan Xiang's new system called a halt to all these misfortunes and sufferings. There were, of course, ups and downs in the salt price since the new system was carried out for a long time. A supervisory commission was therefore established in the central government and an official was appointed by the government of Shaanxi to be in charge of the transportation department. When the salt price in the capital was lower than 35 qian [a currency unit in ancient China] per jin, salt would be stored and not released so as to raise the salt price on the market; but when the salt price was higher than 40 qian per jin, stored salt would be

enormously released to curb excessive profits. By doing so, the salt price remained stable and the 'salt coupon' system was maintained for tens of years, yielding benefits even now."

Naturally, Shen Kuo gave praise to Fan Xiang's new system merely from the viewpoint of reforming the "state-monopolized" system at that time. He could not and was in no position to evaluate the Fan Xiang reform from the viewpoint of the free trade system of later ages. Nevertheless, when we discuss this reform, we must, while affirming Fan Xiang's historical merits, not forget the role Bao Zheng played in this respect. It was none other than Bao Zheng's courage of speaking truth and his foresight and sagacity that finally made Fan Xiang's reform successful after overcoming various difficulties.

*

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

REPORT ON QUESTIONS REGARDING CPC CONSTITUTION

53d Series

OW291201 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 21 Nov 82

[Fifty-third in a series of questions and answers about the study of the CPC Constitution adopted by the 12th CPC Congress: "What Are the New Stipulations in the New Party Constitution Regarding the Basic Party Organ's Fundamental Tasks?"--by the general section of the research office under the secretariat of the CPC Central Committee]

[Excerpts] The basic party organs are the party's fighting fortresses built within the basic-level organizations in society. To suit the needs of the new characteristics and the needs of the new period of socialist modernizations, the new party constitution has put forth the following requirements regarding the basic party organs' fundamental tasks:

1. The basic party organs must regard as their important tasks the propagation and implementation of the party's lines, principles and policies and organizing the party members to study them. Why is it that the propagating and implementation of the party's lines, principles and policies must be regarded as the basic party organs' important tasks? This is because the party's leadership must be upheld. Instead of relying on administrative roders, the party must uphold its leadership by relying mainly on the correctness of its lines, principles and policies, which are implemented through the various party organs' propaganda and organizational work and through the party members' exemplary deeds.

To properly publicize and implement the party's lines, principles and policies, attention must be directed toward study. Only by study can one understand the objective basis on which the party lines are formulated, and only by study can one understand why the party set these particular principles and policies and not some other principles and policies.

Why do some comrades fail to understand and implement the lines, principles and policies formulated by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and even reject them? The most fundamental reason is: These comrades have not properly studied the party's lines, principles and policies and so they do not have a deep understanding of them. For this reason, the basic party organs must organize their members to earnestly study the party's lines, principles and policies.

2. The new party constitution has set higher requirements for strengthening the party. The new party constitution stipulates that the basic party organs must educate and supervise the party members, strictly carry out the party's regular activities, make sure that the party members fulfill their obligations and obey discipline and guarantee that the party's rights are not violated. This means that the party must take care of its own affairs. Because party and government affairs were not separated for a long period, the phenomenon in which party organs pay no attention to their own affairs is still serious in our basic party organs today. Certain party organs have failed to sponsor regular activities for a long time, and some have failed to criticize, educate and punish those party members who fail to carry out their obligations and who are not qualified to be party members. Therefore, the party constitution's stipulation that basic party organs must strictly carry out regular party activities and must strengthen their education of and administration of the party members is an important organizational measure for strengthening the party.

In real life, certain party members and cadres of state organizations have disregarded the interests of the state, the collective and the masses and sought personal privileges and private gains by taking advantage of the authority that the party and state have given them. For example, certain party members and cadres of state organizations have violated the personnel system and taken advantage of opportunities while recruiting workers, promoting cadres and going abroad to seek personal gains for their children and relatives. Some party members and cadres of state organizations have violated the economic system by holding banquets, giving gifts, squandering public money and giving bonuses indiscriminately. Some have even ignored party discipline and state law, colluded with the criminal elements in society and engaged in such criminal activities as accepting bribes, speculation, swindling and stealing state and collective property. But some basic party organs have taken a laissez faire attitude and paid no attention to such phenomena. Some have even taken revenge on those who exposed their wrongdoings. This has seriously tarnished the party's image and prestige and undermined the party's ties with the masses. The party constitution's stipulations mentioned above not only are conducive to fundamentally improving the party's work style and strengthening the party, but also are significant in striking at serious economic crimes and enhancing socialist modernization.

3. The new party constitution has put forward new tasks to suit the needs of the four modernizations. These tasks include: First, party members must be organized to earnestly study science and general and professional knowledge; second, the knowledge and the rationalization proposals of the masses and the specialists must be respected; and third, the enthusiasm and creativeness of party members and the masses must be brought into full play. At the basic-level units of various trades and professions, there are now a large number of specialists and technicians who are experts in various fields and there are a large number of advanced personnel who dare to reform and create. But owing to residual influence of the "left" ideology, certain comrades still erroneously hold education, science and knowledge in contempt and still discriminate against intellectuals. Consequently, many rationalization and renovation propsals of intellectuals are not heeded and supported, and their

enthusiasm and talents cannot be brought into full play. The basic party organs must draw a lesson from this and correctly treat the experts, intellectuals and other advanced personages as required by party policies and the party constitution so as to fully arouse the intellectuals' enthusiasm and creativeness.

4. The new party constitution has put forward new regulations on fostering closer ties with the masses. In this regard, the new party constitution stresses that it is necessary to safeguard the masses' legitimate rights and interests, be concerned for them and help them improve their material and cultural life. It also stresses that it is necessary to raise the masses' consciousness by doing ideological and political work among them.

Some people now think one-sidedly that in order to resolve the masses' living problems they must have financial support from the state, otherwise nothing can be done. Although money is needed in order to solve certain problems of the masses, the solutions to some problems require very little money, or even nothing at all. As long as the basic party organs pay attention to these problems and care for the masses, the masses can be aroused to solve their problems by themselves. There are many cases in this regard.

While paying attention to the masses' material interests, the basic party organs must also intensify their ideological and political work among the masses and appropriately correct the masses' misconceptions and unhealthy tendencies. The masses must be educated on communism, patriotism and collectivism so that their ideological awareness can be enhanced, and so that the relationship among the state, the collective and themselves, and the relationship between their immediate interests and long-term interests can be properly handled. If the basic party organs only pay attention to the masses' material interests and ignore their ideological and political education, the masses will be misled to seek nothing but material interests, and they will lose their communist ideals and goals and may even go the wrong way of doing something harmful to the interests of the state and the collective. Therefore, only by integrating our concern for the masses' interests with ideological and political work in accordance with the guidelines in the party constitution can we improve our party's relations with the masses and really arouse their enthusiasm for modernization.

54th Series

OW300243 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 22 Nov 82

[Fifty-fourth in a series of questions and answers about the study of the CPC Constitution adopted by the 12th CPC Congress: "Which Primary Party Organizations Play a Leading Role in Their Units and Which Only Play a Guarantory and Supervisory Role?"--by the general section of the research office under the secretariat of the CPC Central Committee]

[Excerpts] Because of the different nature, tasks and functions of the various administrative units, the primary organizations of the party play diverse roles in the work of their own units. Some play a leading role, while others play a guarantory and supervisory role. The new CPC Constitution clearly defines the different roles of the primary party organizations.

Article 33 of the party constitution stipulates: In an enterprise or institution, the primary party committee, or the general branch committee or branch committee where there is no primary party committee, gives leadership in the work of its own unit. For instance, party committees of large factories and shops, general branch committees of medium-size factories and shops and branch committees of small factories and shops all play a leading role in the work of their own units.

The party constitution also clearly stipulates in Article 33: The primary party organizations discuss and decide on major questions of principle and, at the same time, insures that the administrative leaders fully exercise their functions and powers, but refrains from substituting itself for, or trying to take over from, administrative leaders. The same article also stipulates that, except in special circumstances, general branch committees and branch committees, under the leadership of a primary party committee, only play a guarantory and supervisory role in seeing that the production targets or operational tasks assigned to their own units are properly fulfilled.

55th Series

OW300405 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 22 Nov 82

[Fifty-fifth in a series of questions and answers about the study of the CPC Constitution adopted by the 12th CPC Congress: "Why Should Party Cadres Be Servants of the People?"--by the general section of the research office under the secretariat of the CPC Central Committee]

[Excerpts] Article 34 of the CPC Constitution points out that party cadres are servants of the people. This stipulation gives expression to the strict demands set out by the party for party cadres. All our cadres, whether working for leading party and state organizations, mass organizations or grassroots units, whether they are leading or ordinary cadres, are servants of the people.

The CPC is a revolutionary party built on the Marxist and Leninist revolutionary theories and style. Right from the beginning, the party was founded to serve the people. The efforts, struggles and sacrifices made by the party members are for nothing other than the welfare and liberation of the people. To serve the people wholeheartedly is the fundamental aim of the party.

After winning political power over the whole of China, the party was faced with the major issue of how to preserve the honor of party cadres in being servants of the people. In the early period since the founding of the People's Republic, the overwhelming majority of the party cadres firmly bore in mind Comrade Mao Zedong's appeal at the Second Plenary Session of the 7th CPC Central Committee and preserved the work style of modesty and honesty and of guarding against conceit and impetuosity, as well as maintained the spirit of hard struggle and the honor of being servants to the people. However, we must also not fail to see that, among the ranks of cadres, some have failed to withstand the test in the new historical environment and have been increasingly divorced from the masses and become morally degenerated. Consequently, they have impaired the image of the public servants.

Influenced by Lin Biao's absurd argument that you will have everything once you have grabbed power, the fine tradition of party cadres in being servants of the people has been seriously sabotaged. Many party cadres have forgotten the fact that their powers are given by the people, have neglected the sacred mission of serving the people and are reluctant to be servants of the people. Some even openly demand power, reputation and status from the party and the people. They pay no attention to the voice of the people and show no concern for the sufferings of the masses.

After smashing the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, and particularly since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee, in the course of systematically resolving the various problems left over by history since the founding of the PRC and tackling the new practical problems in work, has regarded as a very important matter in educating the party cadres to restore and carry forward the party's fine tradition of serving the people as public servants.

The new party constitution has particularly stated that party cadres are servants of the people. The fundamental difference between the communists and any other political parties and individuals who have won political power in history is manifested by the fact that, the communists, as servants of the people, must never degenerate into overlords and rulers suppressing the people. As long as all the party cadres serve the people as public servants, the cause of the party will surely develop and flourish and fresh victories will surely be won for the socialist modernization led by the party.

56th Series

OW300619 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 23 Nov 82

[Fifty-sixth in a series of questions and answers about the study of party constitution adopted by the party congress: "Why Must the Party Select Its Cadres According to the Principle That They Should Possess Both Political Integrity and Professional Competence?"--by the general section of the research office under the CPC Central Committee secretariat]

[Excerpts] Article 34 of the new constitution of the Communist Party of China stipulates: "The party selects its cadres according to the principle that they should possess both political integrity and professional competence, persists in the practice of appointing people on merit and opposes favoritism."

This is the consistent policy of our party in selecting cadres. A cadre with political integrity means a cadre who firmly adheres to the correct political orientation, persists in following the four basic principles, faithfully implements the party's line, principles and policies, has staunch party spirit, is honest and upright, dares to uphold principles, is good at uniting with his comrades, maintains close ties with the masses and has a high sense of organization and discipline. A cadre with professional competence means a cadre who

has the ability to serve the people, has acquired adequate scientific and cultural knowledge, is familiar with his line of work, has proficiency in his special field of work and is capable in his work. Leading cadres should also possess a relatively high organizational ability.

If we compare political integrity with professional competence, the former is more important. Therefore, we must pay more attention to a cadre's political integrity. A cadre without political integrity will not be able to persist in socialist orientation and serve the people wholeheartedly.

However, paying attention to political integrity alone is not enough. A cadre, who has political integrity but lack professional competence, is only politically trustworthy. He is not specialized in, and familiar with his line of work, cannot assume important tasks or lead the masses to create a new situation. This kind of cadre will hamper the cause of our party.

Adhering to the principle of selecting and promoting cadres, who possess both political integrity and professional competence, is especially significant today. At present, our party still has the problem of organizational impurity. In some of our organizations, there is still a small number of people, including those who rose to power by following the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques in rebellion, who have serious factional thinking, are smash-and-grabbers, oppose the line adopted by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and have seriously violated the law and discipline in the economic and other fields. Those people still have not been exposed and handled. Regarding those types of people, we must clearly sort them out and not promote a single one. We must resolutely eliminate those people, if they have already entered our leading groups.

57th Series

OW300835 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 23 Nov 82

[Fifty-seventh in a series of questions and answers on the study of party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC Congress: "Why Must We Make the Ranks of the Cadres More Revolutionary, Younger in Average Age, Better Educated and More Professionally Competent?"--by the general section of the research office under the CPC Central Committee secretariat]

[Excerpts] Article 34 of the new constitution of the Communist Party of China clearly stipulates: It calls for genuine efforts to make the ranks of the cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent. This is an important strategic policy put forward by our party following the convocation of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in order to fulfill the general tasks in the new historical period and successfully create a new situation of socialist modernization.

Building China into a modern socialist state with a high degree of civilization and democracy is an honorable and arduous task. This calls for our efforts to build contingents of cadres who have a high degree of political consciousness.

a high sense of party spirit and a fine style of work; who are young and energetic; who have abundant cultural, scientific and professional knowledge; who have a relatively high leading ability and who have a relatively high ability in management work.

Revolutionization is the most important requirement for the cadres and is also the basic requirement for the party's cadres. By firmly upholding revolutionization, the party's cadres will be able to adhere to the correct political orientation, develop their wisdom and talents, fulfill the party's duties, be indomitable, struggle hard, guard against arrogance and slackening in the face of victories and achievements, be dauntless and continue to go forward in the face of difficulties and setbacks and forever advance unswervingly along the socialist road.

According to the party's general tasks and the actual situation of the ranks of the cadres, the party constitution stipulates that cadres should be better educated and more professionally competent. This requirement is very necessary. Our cadres, including the cadres of the party and government, the cadres in economic management departments, the cadres in the field of science and technology, the cadres in cultural and educational departments and the cadres in political and judicial departments, should all strive to grasp Marxist theory and acquire modern scientific, technological and cultural knowledge in light of their actual work. They should meet the requirement of being better educated. In the meantime, our cadres should make efforts to become familiar with and master their professional work. They should acquire professional knowledge, raise their ability in dealing with professional work and increase their organizational and leading capability in order to become more professionally competent.

Training and promoting a large number of outstanding young and middle-aged cadres with political integrity and professional competence to leading posts at various levels and making our cadres younger in average age is another thing which must be solved in building up contingents of cadres at present.

During the 10 years of great damage done by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, the overwhelming majority of our party's veteran cadres were ruined or persecuted. They not only lost many years of valuable work time, but also lost the good opportunity to teach and help young cadres. This has seriously and adversely affected the work of cultivating and promoting young cadres and obstructed the normal cooperation and taking over of work between veteran and new cadres. This is why our leading bodies at various levels have--in varying degress--the problem of temporary shortages of successors. This will not only adversely affect the progress of socialist modernization, but it also has an influence on the cause of our party and the future of our country.

Making the ranks of the cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent is a requirement for the cause of our party and a need of our time. The work must be done and there are good conditions for completing this work.

58th Series

OW300855 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 24 Nov 82

[Fifty-eighth in a series of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC Congress: "Why Should Party Members Receive Training by the Party? How Can We Successfully Organize the Training of Cadres?"--by the general section of the research office under the CPC Central Committee secretariat]

[Excerpts] Article 24 of the new party constitution stipulates that party cadres are obliged to accept training by the party. Training cadres in a planned way and on a large scale is an important measure to accelerate the building of cadre ranks and generally improve cadres' political quality and professional knowledge, as well as working and leading ability. This is a major matter that has a bearing on whether we can bring about a new situation in all fields and build our country into a modern socialist state with a high degree of civilization and democracy.

Cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined, in order to achieve the grand goal of socialist modernization, our party has, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, formulated a Marxist line and a series of principles and policies suited to our country's actual conditions. The overwhelming majority of our cadres resolutely support and are conscientiously implementing the party's line, principles and policies. However, with a onesided understanding of the party's line, principles and policies, a small number of cadres vacillate to the left and to the right while implementing the line, principles and policies, and even doubt or resist them. Lacking an ability to analyze new situations and solve new problems, some cadres are not only inefficient but also often make errors in their work.

In addition to the longstanding influence and trammels of the leftist guiding ideology, a basic reason for the occurrence of this situation is that such cadres have failed to arm themselves with the basic Marxist theory. This calls for the party's leading bodies at all levels to attach great importance to the work of cadre training and energetically do it to raise cadres' level of understanding Marxist theory, policies and ideology so that they will conscientiously lead the masses in striving to implement the party's line, principles and policies.

In a long period of revolution and construction, our party has trained a large number of fine cadres capable of running the party, the army and the country. This massive force of cadres is composed of old, middle-aged and young persons--members of several different generations. It is our party's backbone force in leading the socialist modernization drive. However, this cadre force is incompatible with the modernization requirements for the following reasons:

1. Cadres' educational levels are low. Those with the educational level of a junior middle school graduate or lower account for more than 40 percent of the cadres throughout the country.

2. The number of cadres with a knowledge of modern science and management who are proficient in their professional work is still small.

To organize and lead people in the modernization drive, our cadres must receive training by the party and make conscientious efforts to study science, culture, technology and management in order to acquire a true ability to undertake modernization.

In view of the actual conditions among our cadres, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, pointed out: Our cadres who have specialized knowledge of various trades and professions are too few in number. The way to solve this problem is to study. One way is to open schools and training classes to educate cadres and the other way is self-study. One must study hard in order to be an expert in one's field no matter how old one is.

In its history, our party has successfully experiences in cadre training, as well as lessons in making mistakes in this regard. During the war of resistance against Japan, our party used various ways to train a large number of cadres with a knowledge of Marxism, political farsightedness, a working ability and a spirit of self-sacrifice. They led the people throughout the country to the victory of the war of resistance against Japan.

By the end of the 1950's, however, studying scientific and professional knowledge was mistakenly criticized as following the road to becoming a specialist without a socialist consciousness owing to the influence of the leftist guiding ideology. This seriously dampened cadres' enthusiasm for study. During the Cultural Revolution in particular, many competent scientists and technic l experts were stigmatized as reactionary academic authorities and persecuted. Our party's cadre training system was destroyed and the work of cadre training was completely disrupted. This has caused a situation in which cadres' political and theoretical level, scientific and cultural knowledge, and professional competency are now incompatible with the requirements of the new historical period.

To do a good job in training cadres, large numbers of cadres, and the leading cadres in particular, must straighten out their ideas and enhance their understanding. Stressing the fact that they are busy with their work, some units are often unwilling to release cadres, especially principal responsible and professional cadres, from other work for training and study. This is wrong.

To successfully organize the work of cadre training and enable cadres to make achievements in taking such training, it is necessary to pay attention to solving the following problems according to our experiences and lessons gained in the past:

1. Since some cadres' educational level and professional competency are higher or stronger than others, no uniformity should be demanded of them as far as the way to study is concerned. Cadres should be organized for training according to their educational level and their conditions.

2. The content of study should vary from person to person. One should study what one lacks and needs in one's work.

3. Clearcut and strict requirements should be set for cadres to meet after training and an examination should be held before training class ends. Moreover, study achievements should be linked with the selection and promotion of cadres.

4. Attending school should not be regarded as the only means of training cadres. It is necessary to link class training with on-the-job training and planned rotational training with systematic self-study.

CSO: 4005/188

BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO REVISED CPPCC CONSTITUTION

OW271059 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1526 GMT 24 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--The draft of the revised CPPCC Constitution submitted by the committee for the revision of the CPPCC Constitution to the Fifth Session of the Fifth National CPPCC Committee for examination and approval has 5 chapters and 50 articles, in addition to the general program.

The general program of the draft of the revised CPPCC Constitution points out: In the protracted course of revolution and construction, the Chinese people have formed a broad, patriotic united front, led by the CPC, and participated in by various democratic parties, nonparty democratic personnel, mass organizations, national minority people and patriotic personnel from all walks of life, including compatriots from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao, overseas Chinese, all socialist laborers and patriots who support socialism and those who support the unification of the motherland. The CPPCC is an united front organization with extensive representation.

The general program stipulates: Resting on the political foundation of cherishing the People's Republic of China, and supporting the leadership of the CCP and the socialist cause, the CPPCC must try its best to further consolidate and develop the patriotic united front, bring into full play all positive factors, unite with all the people who can be united, work with one heart and one mind, pool the wisdom and efforts of everyone, safeguard and develop the political situation of stability and unity, strive to realize the general tasks of the people of all nationalities throughout the country, create a new situation in developing socialist modernization in all overall manner and realize the task of reunifying the motherland and safeguarding world peace.

The general program points out: The CPPCC is an important form of China's political activities, aimed at bringing into full play socialist democracy, with the CCP as its leading core. It adheres to the principle of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and the policy of "treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal and woe," conducts political consultations on the major policies and important affairs of state and issues relating to the life of the people, and supervises the work of the state organs by making suggestions and criticism. All the activities of the CPPCC are based on the principles laid down by the PRC Constitution.

The first chapter of the draft of the revised CPPCC Constitution has 17 articles under the heading of general principle for CPPCC work. It is prescribed in this chapter that, on the basis of the contents proposed by the CPC, democratic parties or mass organizations, the national and local CPPCC committees will hold all forms of meeting attended by the responsible persons of various parties and organizations, as well as by patriotic personalities from all walks of life, to conduct consultations. Members and Standing Committee members of the national and local CPPCC committees also separately attend the national or local people's congress meetings and their Standing Committee meetings as observers and participate in discussion on major state and local affairs. This chapter also stipulates that the national and local CPPCC committees must popularize and implement the constitution, laws and various principles and policies of the state, propel the social forces to actively develop material and spiritual civilization, and help the state organs strike at criminal activities in the economic and other spheres which undermine socialism.

The first chapter also stipulates that the national and local CPPCC committees must organize and encourage their members to voluntarily study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, current events and politics, to broaden their vocational scientific and technical knowledge and to enhance their capability in serving the motherland.

This chapter also includes stipulations on how the CPPCC propagates and participates in the implementation of the guidelines and policies of the state regarding the unification of the motherland, helps realize the great cause of unifying the motherland, strengthens its ties and unity with compatriots from Hong Kong and Macao, and popularizes and helps implement the policies of the state on intellectuals, minority nationalities, religion, overseas Chinese and foreign affairs.

The second chapter of the CPPCC Constitution has 11 articles under the title of general organizational principles. It stipulates that the CPPCC sets up the national and local committees. Its national committee is composed of representatives of the CPC, the democratic parties, nonparty persons, people's organizations, minority nationalities, people from various walks of life, compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao and returned overseas Chinese, as well as specially invited people.

The local committees are formed according to local conditions and by following the procedure used in forming the national CPPCC committee. The relationship between the national CPPCC committee and the local CPPCC committee, and that between a local committee and the local committee at the lower level, are those of one guiding the other. The units and individuals participating in the national and local CPPCC committees have the right to take part in discussions on major state and local affairs, conduct political consultations, and exercise democratic supervision over the state organs and functionaries by making suggestions and criticisms.

The third chapter has 10 articles under the title of national committee. It stipulates that the national CPPCC committee has a term of 5 years. The national committee sets up a Standing Committee to take care of the affairs of the

national committee, and the chairman of the national committee is in charge of the work of the Standing Committee. The chairman, vice chairmen and secretary general form a presidium to handle the major day-to-day work of the Standing Committee.

The fourth chapter has 11 articles under the title of local committees. It stipulates that provincial, autonomous regional and municipal CPPCC committees must be set up in various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government, while local CPPCC committees can be set up in various autonomous prefectures, municipalities, counties, autonomous counties and municipal districts, where conditions permit.

The fifth chapter of the draft of the revised CPPCC Constitution has only one article under the title of appendix.

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

REPORT ON 25 NOVEMBER CPPCC PANEL DISCUSSIONS

OW271049 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1604 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 25 Nov (XINHUA)--Members participating in the Fifth Session of the Fifth National Committee of the CPPCC began panel discussions today. They talked happily about the excellent situation of the vigorously developing patriotic united front and CPPCC work. They unanimously pledged that they would contribute to the creation of a new situation in China's socialist modernization and in patriotic united front and CPPCC work.

Member Jing Shuping, deputy secretary general of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, general manager of the China International Economic Consultation Corporation and member of the board of directors of the China International Trust and Investment Corporation, said: I am deeply impressed by Chairman Deng Xiaoping's remarks that "our united front has expanded on an unprecedented scale" and that "it has bright prospects." On my recent visits to foreign countries, I felt that our country's economic development and the market of our products were the focus of world attention. Now that we have set up a great objective for the year 2000, we must further mobilize all forces to achieve that objective. Many of our CPPCC members are experienced in economic, scientific, technical and educational work. Now is the best time for us to contribute our part to improving economic results, training qualified personnel and raising the people's scientific and technical level.

Standing Committee member Banqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyancan said: During the new period, our united front work targets are growing in number rather than diminishing and the scope of the work is broadening rather than narrowing. The united front remains a major "magic weapon" for our people to build socialism and it still has a tremendous vitality. These comments made by Comrade Liu Lantao in his explanation of the revision of the CPPCC constitution are very fine indeed. Recently I visited some minority areas and saw the great deal of work that has been done there over the past few years in implementing the policy with regard to those who are the united front work targets. All of them are grateful to the CPC Central Committee, have faith in the party's policy and are willing to do their best to maintain the unification of the motherland and the solidarity of people of all nationalities. We must carrry out the party's principles of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and "treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal and woe." The united front work that we must do has not been lightened, but has become heavier.

Qian Weichang, a noted specialist in mechanics and standing Committee member of the Fifth National Committee of the CPPCC, said: Between 18 May and 30 June of this year, I, along with other members, investigated the question of preserving famous cities of historical and cultural interests in our country. We found that some units in Jiangsu were quarrying mountain rocks in the Tianpingshan scenic area causing serious damage to this place of historical interest. We immediately reported this to the Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committee. Taking this matter seriously, both the provincial party committee and the provincial people's government decided to ban such quarrying.

Moreover, Xu Jiatun, first secretary of the provincial party committee, personally made an on-the-spot inspection and instructed the departments concerned to seriously study the question and work out a proper solution. This example shows that CPPCC work is well worth doing. As long as we take a serious attitude toward conducting investigations and study and making suggestions and criticisms, the CPC and the people's government are ready to give attention to and accept them.

Professor Fan Shoukang, a new CPPCC member who came from Taiwan via the United States and settled on the mainland last April, made this remark: Now I am 88 years old and not in very good health. I have several children living in the United States. They all wish that I could live there. However, when I realized the rapid progress and great achievements made by our motherland in recent years, I decided to return. Although I cannot do as much to serve our country as I desire, I feel happier than ever to see the prosperity of our motherland. I am grateful for the fine treatment that the state has given me since I returned. I will do my utmost for the great cause of the reunification of the motherland.

Lhalu Cewangdoji, Standing Committee member of the Xizang CPPCC Regional Committee and commander-in-chief of the former Zang Army of the local government, said: During the new historical period, united front work has continued to display its immense vitality as a major "magic weapon" for uniting the patriots at all levels and the people of all nationalities in the construction of the motherland and a new Xizang. Now the broad masses of patriots in Xizang are playing an increasing role in local political, economic, cultural and educational affairs. Thanks to the correct policies of the party and government the situation in Xizang is becoming better and better, and the people are enjoying an ease of mind. I will surely contribute my part to the construction of a new Xizang.

At the panel discussions, Huang Zhicheng, a new CPPCC member, said: It has been over a year since I came to the mainland. The CPC and the people's government have shown deep concern for my livelihood and have given me a proper job. Politically, I have enjoyed their trust and have been placed in an important position. Last September I was given the opportunity to attend the 12th National CPC Congress as an observer. Now, I have become a member of the National CPPCC Committee. I feel that this is not only my personal honor, but also an expression of the love for the broad masses of Taiwan compatriots shown by the party and government. It also shows the sincere wish of the CPC and the people's government for the peaceful reunification of the motherland. I will certainly live up to the ardent expectations of the party and the state and try to be a qualified CPPCC member.

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

CPPCC PANEL DISCUSSIONS HELD ON CONSTITUTION

OW290016 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1721 GMT 27 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 27 Nov (XINHUA)--Members of the 5th CPPCC National Committee attending its 5th Session 27 November began discussions of the draft revised constitution and Peng Zhen's report on the drafting of the revised constitution. They held that the new constitution which will soon be adopted and put into effect will inspire the socialist enthusiasm of the 1,000 million Chinese people and encourage them to work harder for the prosperity of the country.

Speaking at the panel discussions, Burhan, vice chairman of the CPPCC national committee, said: I took part in the drafting of China's first constitution of 1954 and, as a member of the constitutional revision committee, also took part in the drafting and discussion of the present revised constitution. The drafting of the revised constitution has been done with earnest and meticulous efforts. The new draft has made concrete and clear-cut provisions on a series of major questions, including the people's democratic dictatorship, the socialist economic system, socialist spiritual civilization and national unity. This will be a most reliable guarantee for the democratic rights of the Chinese people, for the equality, unity and prosperity of all nationalities of China and for the success of the modernization program. I believe that with the party leadership and the common efforts by the 1,000 million people, the new constitution will be implemented effectively.

Gu Chaohao, member of the scientific council of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and vice president of Shanghai Fudan University, said: Under the party leadership, hundreds of millions of people in our country have waged an arduous struggle in order to build China into a modern socialist power with a high level of civilization and democracy. The present revised constitution affirms and guarantees the democratic rights for the people of all nationalities and social strata in political, economic, cultural and social affairs. This will effectively harness the enthusiasm of the people of the whole country and encourage them to plunge into the great undertaking of the four modernizations with the attitude of the master of the country.

Deng Haoming, Standing Committee member of the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party Central Committee, said: The new constitution clearly stipulates that all citizens of the People's Republic of China are equal before the law.

This is very important. There is an old Chinese saying, "the law becomes ineffective when those of higher authority start to violate it." All cadres must set an example and make conscientious efforts to become models in abiding by the law. At the same time, we must dare to safeguard the dignity of the constitution so as to foster the habit and custom among the people of the whole country to observe law and discipline.

Du Jianshi, member of the CPPCC National Committee, said: I studied in the United States before and have some knowledge about the law of capitalist countries. The bourgeois constitution protects the interests of the monopolist bourgeoisie, whereas our constitution protects the interests of the broad masses of the people, taking into consideration the people's well-being and the future of the country.

Tang Diyin, member of the CPPCC National Committee and adviser of the Shanghai Fountain Company who was once praised by Comrade Mao Zedong as the "fountain pen Tang," said: As laborer taking part in the discussion of the draft revised constitution, I am very grateful to the Chinese Communist Party for its concern and guidance for former industrialists and businessmen, which have enabled us to understand, from theory to practice, how to take the socialist road and combine one's career and future with the great revolutionary undertaking and destiny of the country. In recent years, I was often invited to lecture at universities. Using my own experience, I explained to the young people how the exploitation in our country has disappeared and former industrialists and businessmen become honorable laborers. While enjoying the citizens' rights as stipulated in the constitution, I also want to fulfill the duties and do my utmost to contribute to the modernization program.

Xu Zhimeng, Standing Committee member of the Zhi Gong Party and returned overseas Chinese, said: The draft revised constitution reflects the party and government's attention for the overseas Chinese. It provides for the setting up of a commission for overseas Chinese affairs and for protecting the legitimate rights and interests of overseas Chinese, returned overseas Chinese and the relatives of overseas Chinese. This will inspire our overseas Chinese to make greater contributions to the realization of the great cause of the motherland's reunification and the success of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

HU ZIANG REPORT ON CPPCC STANDING COMMITTEE

OW270359 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1542 GMT 24 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--Hu Ziang, vice chairman of the CPPCC national committee, delivered a report on the work of the Standing Committee of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee to the Fifth Session of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee on the afternoon of 24 November. Hu Ziang said: The work of the CPPCC has entered a new stage of historical development. It should, under the guidance of the 12th CPC National Congress line, sum up past work experience, study the new situation, solve new problems and draft plans and adopt measures for the new tasks of the CPPCC.

Hu Ziang said: Significant achievements have been made on all fronts in our country after implementing the correct line, principles and policies formulated since the convocation of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Since the first session of the Fifth CPPCC, the CPPCC has made much progress in its work under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. Its work is getting better and better each year. As the broadest patriotic united front organization in China, the CPPCC has enjoyed a rising status and played an increasing role in the nation's political life. It has accumulated new experiences. The working period of the Fifth CPPCC is one of the best periods since the founding of new China. It has been proved through practice that the united front work of our country still plays a very important role in the socialist period. The work of the CPPCC has bright prospects.

Hu Ziang reviewed the six main tasks performed by the Standing Committee of the CPPCC National Congress during the year since the convocation of the fourth session of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee:

1. Concerning the study and implementation of the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress, Hu Ziang said: From the beginning of the 12th NPC National Congress, the studying committee of the CPPCC made coordination with various study teams on conscientiously studying the related documents of the party congress. After the successful conclusion of the party congress, the Standing Committee of the CPPCC organized a report meeting to disseminate the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress. Various democratic parties and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce also immediately held meetings on studying the documents of the party congress and called on local organizations and members

at all levels to firmly implement the guidelines of the party congress. The Standing Committee of the CPPCC also held a special meeting in early October in this respect and adopted a resolution on studying and implementing the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress. After nearly 3 months' study, members of the CPPCC at various levels have in the main grasped the fundamental spirit of those documents, enhanced their understanding and strengthened their confidence in fulfilling the new fighting tasks. In the course of their study, many members have expressed valuable opinions and made good suggestions on building socialist material and spiritual civilization, socialist democracy and socialist legal system as well as the building of the party and other actual work.

On organizing the discussion of "the draft of the revised constitution of the People's Republic of China," Hu Ziang said: On 26 April this year, the Standing Committee of the NPC adopted a resolution on making public "the draft of the revised constitution of the People's Republic of China" and asked the people of the whole country to discuss the draft of the revised constitution. Earlier, in early March, the members of the Standing Committee of the CPPCC in Beijing held four meetings to discuss the draft of the revised constitution (draft for discussion) and made many suggestions on revising the draft. Following the adoption of the resolution by the Standing Committee of the NPC of making public the draft of the revised constitution for general discussion, the Standing Committee of the CPPCC immediately organized meetings of various forms to seriously discuss the draft of the revised constitution. The members of CPPCC, various democratic parties and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce discussed the draft of the revised constitution chapter by chapter and article by article for about 3 months and all their opinions and suggestions on revision were forwarded to the committee for the revision of the constitution. In order to deepen the discussion, the Standing Committee of the CPPCC held seven special forums in June and July to discuss various subjects including the united front work, socialist modernization, the socialist legal system, the basic rights and obligations of the citizens, and nationality and religious affairs. The speakers at those meetings all made full preparations and they put forward many valuable ideas and proposals. Through discussions at those meetings, the participants all held that the draft of the revised constitution has summed up the experience of socialist revolution and construction in our country during the past 30 odd years, correctly reflected the major change and actual situation of our country and pointed out the fundamental tasks for the future. It is a relatively consummative draft which is in accord with the actual situation of our country.

3. Explaining the revision of the CPPCC constitution, Hu Ziang said: During the past year, the Standing Committee of the CPPCC National Committee repeatedly discussed the draft of the revised CPPCC constitution and solicited opinions from all sides in an extensive manner. It has made 14 relatively significant revisions and done a lot of serious and meticulous work. In June this year, it asked members of the CPPCC national committee and various local committees to discuss the draft of the revised CPPCC constitution and offer their suggestions on the revision. In the meantime, it asked various democratic parties and mass organizations to express their opinions. Through discussions, many constructive proposals were made. The committee in charge of the revision of the CPPCC constitution seriously studied those proposals under the guidance of the documents of the 12th CPC

National Congress and made further revisions. The draft of the revised CPPCC constitution will be examined for approval by the current session of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee.

4. On the questions of the CPPCC's taking part in discussing state affairs, conducting political consultative conferences, reflecting opinions through various forms, playing the role of democratic supervision and assisting departments concerned to implement various policies, Hu Ziang said: the members of the Standing Committee of the CPPCC national committee in Beijing attended many times the meetings of the Standing Committee of the NPC as observers. They heard and discussed the major policies of the state, increased their understanding in the present situation and the work of the government and made helpful suggestions and criticism on various work. The various work teams of the Standing Committee of the CPPCC national committee unfolded their activities quite actively by giving full play to their specialized knowledge and held more than 130 discussion meetings on special subjects. The members of the Standing Committee of the CPPCC national committee penetratingly discussed various problems concerning the state's political, cultural and social life, reflected the actual situation, expressed their opinions and put forward proposals. Some of their proposals were highly appreciated by the departments concerned and promoted the development of various work. The Standing Committee organized some members to visit and inspect industrial and agricultural production in Hebei, Liaoning and Heilongjiang and make many investigations into certain special subjects in small groups. Significant achievements were made by the members through those activities.

During the past year, they made quite profound investigations in order to help implement various policies, including the question of improving the conditions of middle-aged intellectuals, the question of protecting cities of historical and cultural significance and scenic sites, the question of implementing the party's policy toward compatriots from Taiwan, Xianggang [Hong Kong] and Aomen [Macao], overseas Chinese and relatives of those who went to Taiwan, the question of implementing the party's policy toward defectors of former Kuomintang personnel, the question of preventing hepatitis and the question of strengthening physical education in middle and primary schools in Beijing.

Through those investigations, they discovered the major achievements in implementing policies and actual work and also found many problems which should be solved. Their practice has proved that small-scale investigations are quite beneficial and important means to "reflect the opinions of the people and make suggestions." They give full play to the professional knowledge of the members of the Standing Committee of the CPPCC national committee and can promote the building of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization.

Supported by the Ministry of Education and other units, the Standing Committee of the CPPCC national committee held discussion meetings attended by various democratic parties, the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce and the China Professional Education Association on running schools. According to a statistical report, various democratic parties and related mass organizations

have set up more than 600 schools with a current attendence of some 100,000 students. Running schools by the society can make up for the inadequacy of the state in running schools and meet the urgent need of the society which requires more talents and professionals. The running schools by various democratic parties has opened a new field for various democratic parties in making contributions to promoting socialist modernization and can enable them to make full use of their professional knowledge and bring every positive factor into play.

5. Publicizing our country's foreign policy and carrying out people-to-people diplomacy. Hu Ziang said: In the past year the CPPCC has on many occasions organized symposiums for members concerned to discuss major international issues, publicize and support our government's foreign policy. Last May a delegation of the CPPCC national committee headed by Vice Chairman Zhou Peiyuan visited Japan at the invitation of the Japan-China Association and was warmly received by the Japanese Government and people. On 21 July Samdech Sihanouk, president of Democratic Kampuchea, made a speech at the CPPCC. On 29 September, Japanese Prime Minister Suzuki made a speech at the CPPCC. In the past year the vice chairmen and deputy secretary-generals concerned as well as some Standing Committee members and other CPPCC members received and met foreign delegations, friendly personages and reporters on more than 50 occasions. The extensive development of people-to-people diplomacy has achieved satisfactory results in promoting friendship and ties between the Chinese people and people ot other countries, in enhancing other peoples' understanding of our country and in publicizing the important role of our country's united front and the CPPCC.

6. Reorganizing the organization of the CPPCC national committee. Hu Ziang said: This year, after several months' of hard work, the reorganization of the CPPCC and personnel readjustment have been basically completed. In accordance with the CPC Central Committee's principle of streamlining the administration and making the ranks of cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent, the CPPCC, in full consideration of its special characteristics of being a united front organization, first reduced the number of deputy secretary-generals from 18 to 14. Among the 14, eight are former deputy secretary-generals, six are new; and 10 former secretary-generals vacated their posts. After the readjustment, the average age of the deputy secretary-generals has slightly lowered, the rate of CPC members has noticeably reduced, and the number of leading members of the democratic parties has increased. Readjustment was later made on the establishment of the national CPPCC organizations and the leading members of the departments and bureaus under the CPPCC. A number of comrades of the democratic parties and nonparty comrades have become the staff of various departments and bureaus. This task has now begun to enhance the operational efficiency and the cooperation between party and nonparty staff of the CPPCC organizations. Of course, the administrative reform has not yet been fully accomplished and we must continue to exert efforts to combat bureaucracy, increase operational efficiency and promote cooperation of old and new cadres and succession of the new to the old.

Hu Ziang said: In addition to these six tasks, the CPPCC has also sponsored various types of commemorative and political activities. On 29 August, for example, the NPC Standing Committee and the CPPCC cosponsored a meeting to

commemorate Mr Liao Zhongkai and the 10th anniversary of the death of He Xiangning. In the past year, the CPPCC has received more than 800 motions from more than 700 members, and most of these motions have been processed by departments concerned. The CPPCC has accomplished new success in collecting cultural and historical documents. It has collected and solicited over 1,400 articles and documents of historical and cultural interest, which run to a total of some 14 million words, and reprinted more than 30 books and journals of historical interest. The CPPCC has also processed over 14,000 letters and has properly resolved the problems reflected by some letters.

On the CPPCC's future tasks, Hu Ziang said that, after the current meeting, it would concentrate its efforts and be politically and organizationally ready for holding the 6th meeting of the CPPCC national committee. The CPPCC will, within a certain period, mobilize the CPPCC organizations at all levels, various democratic parties, mass organizations and people of all circles to make proper arrangements for earnestly studying, propagating and implementing the new PRC constitution and the new CPPCC constitution, which will soon be adopted, and for studying and implementing the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress so that the operation of the CPPCC can be improved and enlivened in the light of the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress and the PRC Constitution. The CPPCC will regard it its regular important tasks to enhance the cooperation among the various sectors within the united front and implement the policies in accordance with the 12th CPC congress' policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and the principle of "treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal and woe."

Hu Ziang said: In the future, specially next year, the CPPCC will coordinate authorities concerned to investigate and study how policies, especially the policy toward intellectuals, can be firmly implemented. The CPPCC will pay attention to strengthening its ties and coordination with various democratic parties and mass organizations so that they can independently and actively give play to their positive role in our country's political life. The CPPCC will keep closer contacts with people from various walks of life and hold political consultations on matters relating to cardinal government policies, and the nation's political, economic and social life and other questions of major importance. It will also exercise democratic supervision through proposals and criticisms and help state organs improve their work and will make efforts to implement the various resolutions adopted by the NPC and the CPPCC meetings.

The CPPCC will properly organize its members to promote various cultural, educational, scientific and technological projects and, in particular, give full play to the tremendous role of science and technology in economic construction. It will promote education on revolutionary ideal, ethics and discipline and promote "five stresses" and "four beauties" in an effort to bring about a fundamental turn for the better in the standards of social conduct. The CPPCC will also maintain close ties with its members in all quarters and strengthen and improve the CPPCC organs' services in order to ensure continual development of the CPPCC operation.

Hu Ziang said: It is our sacred duty to strive to accomplish the great cause of reunifying the motherland, in which Taiwan is a part. The CPPCC will actively

propagate and implement the principles and policies of the CPC and the government regarding the reunification of the motherland, strengthen ties and solidarity with compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao, strive to establish ties with people of various walks of life in Taiwan and make new contributions to the great cause of reunifying the motherland.

Hu Ziang said: The CPPCC will propagate and implement our country's foreign policy, and actively and positively carry out people-to-people diplomacy so as to promote international friendly exchanges and enhance unity and friendship between the Chinese people and people of other lands.

On intensifying the propaganda on the necessity and importance of the united front and the work of the CPPCC during the new period, report of the fourth session of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee, the CPPCC must strive to publish at an early date the RENMIN ZHENGXIE BAO [0086 3046 2398 0588 1032], which will mainly reflect the work and experiences of various CPPCC committees, democratic parties and federations of industry and commerce, reflect the CPPCC members' opinions and views on state affairs and the united front operations, and propagate patriotic and socialist ideologies.

Hu Ziang said: The CPPCC must continue to do a good job in collecting, soliciting and researching on articles and documents of cultural and historical interest in accordance with the CPPCC's special nature so that it plays a still bigger role in building a socialist spiritual civilization.

Hu Ziang also pointed out: The CPPCC will strive to reinstate the central academy of socialist study, intensify the study and research work among the CPPCC members, leading members of various democratic parties and people of departments concerned and step up the training of cadres for organizations concerned. At present the preparatory group for the central academy of socialist study has been formed and efforts are being made to reopen the academy in 1983.

Hu Ziang concluded: Under the CPC leadership, let us unite with the workers, peasants and intellectuals of all nationalities throughout the country, the members of various democratic parties, non-party democrats, personages of the minority nationalities, patriots of the religious circle and patriots residing abroad to further consolidate and expand the broadest united front made up of all socialist workers, patriots who support socialism and the reunification of the motherland and work hard for implementing the principles and policies put forward by the 12th CPC National Congress and for creating a new situation for the work of the CPPCC.

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

DEPUTY YANG XIUFENG DISCUSSES NEW CONSTITUTION

OW010209 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1340 GMT 28 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 28 Nov (XINHUA)--Deputy Yang Xiufeng said on 27 November at a group discussion at the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC that the formulation and implementation of the new constitution is an important step towards strengthening the socialist legal system.

Yang Xiufeng said: The new constitution soon to be approved will provide a foundation for the formulation of laws and decrees. Since the convocation of the first session of the Fifth NPC in 1978 up to now, we have done great work in building the legal system and formulating a series of laws and decrees, thus playing a tremendous role in developing various undertakings in our country. However, due to the lack of a scientific and complete fundamental law as our basis, we have run into mounting difficulties in drawing various laws and decrees, thus making it hard for us to carry on our work in some cases. The approval of the constitution will provide us with a reliable basis for building the legal system from now on.

Yang Xiufeng said: The draft of the revised constitution, containing provisions for the legislative system of our country, will greatly accelerate the building of the legal system. He said: The draft has strengthened our NPC system, enlarged the power and functions of the NPC Standing Committee and vested some legislative power with the State Council, the people's congresses of provinces and municipalities directly under the central authorities and the people's congresses in the national autonomous areas. These reforms in the legislative system of our country, compatible with the actual conditions in the country, are the effective measures in accelerating the building of socialist legal system in our country. This is especially true when we changed the central-level legislative system into a two-level legislative system, composing the central and local levels, to make it more convenient for various localities, guided by the constitution and the laws of the state and based on local characteristics, especially the characteristics of the national autonomous areas, to put their initiative and enthusiasm into play according to local conditions to accelerate the building of the legal system in the country.

Yang Xiufeng said: Judging from its contents, the draft of the revised constitution has also provided a guarantee for safeguarding the dignity of the constitution and the law. The draft has also summed up both the positive and negative historic experiences in formulating and implementing the constitution since the founding of the PRC, and clearly defined the guiding principles that the state safeguards the unity and dignity of the socialist legal system, that all citizens are equal before the law and that the activities of all organizations and individuals must be basically in keeping with the constitution. This should remind us that no organization or individual should override the constitution or the law, and that anyone who violates the law will be prosecuted by the law. All these provisions, emphasizing the importance of abiding by and implementing the law, are absolutely necessary in further fostering and ensuring the authority of the constitution and the law, as well as in further strengthening the socialist legal system.

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON OBSERVING CONSTITUTION, LAWS

HK020421 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Li Buyun [2621 2975 7189]: "The Party Must Operate Within the Framework of the Constitution and the Laws"--passage within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] In his report to the 12th NPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "The stipulation in the new party constitution that 'the party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws of the state' embodies a most important principle. It is not permissible for party organization or member, from the Central Committee down to the grassroots, to act in contravention of the constitution and laws." This is the conclusion drawn by the party's summarization of the positive and negative experiences since the founding of the PRC. This important stipulation has in principle [word indistinct] clarified the relationship between the leadership of the party and state power. It has added to the features of the party's theory of party building and the Marxist theory of state and law. In addition, it has important guiding significance in strengthening and improving the party's leadership, [words indistinct] democracy is a socialist democracy and our legal system is the socialist legal system. Only if we adhere to the party's leadership can we ensure that the construction of our democratic system and legal system develop along the correct path. Socialist laws are the [word indistinct] expression of the people's will and the strong weapon to protect people's democratic rights. The view which sets adherence to the party's leadership against the promotion of the socialist democracy and the perfection of the socialist legal system is erroneous.

The party is a part of the people. The party leads the people to formulate the constitution and the laws. The party should also lead the people to correctly enforce the laws. Thus, the party's activities must be conducted with the bounds permitted by the constitution and the laws. All levels of party organizations must conscientiously observe laws and strictly do things in accordance with the laws. They must definitely not set adherence to the party's leadership against the strict observance of laws.

/Some people hold that: In emphasizing that the party must operate within the framework of the constitution and the laws, the party's leading position will be belittled and the party's leading role weakened. Such a view is incorrect./ The

socialist laws refer to the party's line, principles and policies worked out into clauses and articles and finalized. In addition, they are the unity of the party's stand and the people's will. Through the legislative, administrative and judicial organs which lead the state, the party implements and enforces the laws, raises the will of the working class to the level of the will of the state and uses the state's compulsory means to ensure the enforcement of them. This is to consolidate and strengthen the party's leading position but absolutely not to belittle and weaken the party's leading role. Since, through legal means, the party's line, principles and policies have become the will of the whole people and the code of conduct which must be observed by all the citizens, demanding that party organizations at all levels operate within the bounds permitted by the constitution and the laws and strictly do things in accordance with the laws will not weaken the party's leadership. In addition, this is beneficial to the strict and unified implementation of the party's line, principles and policies throughout the country on a national scale. In this way, it strengthens the party's leading position and further promotes the party's leading role in state affairs, social life and other aspects. Facts have proven that the party leadership can only be weakened by replacing the government with the party and words and policies with laws and by solely depending on the words of the leaders of various levels of party organizations in all matters. When the party's suggestions, stand, principles and policies have been accepted by the organs of state power and have become the laws and institution of the state, all levels of party organizations should strive to protect these laws and institutions. In addition, they should be the first to observe these laws and institutions and guide and educate the masses of cadres and people to observe these laws and institutions. In this sense, by observing the constitution and laws of the state, party organizations at various levels adhere to and strengthen the party's leadership.

/Some people hold that: If the party must operate within the framework of the constitution and the laws, there will be "troubles" and "inconveniences" in the party's work. Thus, efficiency would become lower. Such worries are not necessary./ The party leads the people to use Marxist theory as the guidance to formulate the socialist laws on the basis of summarizing practical experience and in accordance with the objective law of material development. Marx said: "A legislator does not create and invent laws. He merely states them. He expresses the intrinsic rules of spiritual relationship in the existing conscious laws." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 183) The laws reflect the social rules, which mean the relationship between the social phenomena such as the economic, political, cultural and military aspects. Some laws even reflect the natural laws, which mean the necessary interrelationship between the natural phenomena and all the necessary relations between nature and man in his struggle for production. Thus, if the party strictly does things in accordance with the law, it in fact means that the party strictly does things in accordance with objective laws. In this way, the party strengthens its consciousness and reduces its blindness in various aspects of its work. In addition, the socialist laws provide a unified code of conduct for various aspects of work of the state and make all the party and government organs and the citizens learn from the laws

what is permitted and what is not permitted by the state. In this way, party organizations can maintain an ideological unity and take the same actions in various matters, which thus avoids dispute between leaders which are caused by different understanding and strengthens the combat strength of the party organizations.

/Some people hold that: If the party operates within the framework of the constitution and the laws, this will hamper the initiative of the party organizations and the party organizations will not be able to fully play their leading roles. Such a view is groundless./ Doing things in accordance with the law is different from initiative being hampered. We should place our hands and feet in accordance with the law. Some laws and regulations have a rather strong sense of principle. In implementing them, the leaders must use them in a flexible way. Some laws and regulations are more concrete, but the leaders must do a lot of work in organizing the enforcement of them. However perfectly the laws are formulated, they cannot include everything. Many problems must be handled and solved by the leading organs and leaders in accordance with the actual situation and on the condition that the laws are not violated. Party organizations at various levels are required to be bold in their work. In this way, they can fully play their leading role. All kinds of laws have the function of restriction in a certain sense. However, socialist laws would absolutely not hamper correct ideas and acts from working for the interests of the people. They only hamper those who are used to making arbitrary decisions, those who show contempt for the laws, those who neglect their duties, those who are indifferent to the people's lives and properties, those who use the power granted by the people to seek privileges and those who pervert justice for bribes. Such restriction would only make the body of the party healthier and stronger and raise the party's prestige among the masses.

/Demanding that the party operates within the framework of the constitution and the laws is the necessary condition for promoting socialist democracy./ The socialist constitution and laws have embodied the common will of the whole people. If the party strictly does things in accordance with the laws, that means the party does things in accordance with people's will. In this way, the party makes it clear that it has not enjoyed and will not enjoy the privilege of overstepping the constitution and the laws and further promotes the party's prestige among the masses. In addition, the laws are the code of conduct which is announced in explicit terms and is thus known to all. If it is demanded that the party operates within the framework of the laws, then the work of the party organizations at various levels can be placed under the supervision of the masses, we can keep the leaders and party organizations at all levels within the bounds of democratic procedures in doing things, seriously promote a democratic work style and conscientiously respect people's democratic rights.

/To demand that the party operate within the framework of the constitution and the laws is the reliable guarantee for upholding the authority which the socialist laws should enjoy./ In order to uphold the authority which the laws should enjoy, the party organizations at various levels should take the lead in observing the laws and strictly do things in accordance with the laws. Our party is the ruling

party. It is leading all the fronts, departments and grassroots units. If the party organizations arbitrarily cast aside the laws and the resolutions and directives issued by them, violate the principle, spirit and the concrete stipulations of the constitution and the laws, the authoritativeness of the laws is impaired. In this case, it is difficult to teach the party members to observe the laws and impossible to ask other social organizations to strictly do things in accordance with them.

/To demand that party organizations strictly do things in accordance with the law is an effective measure to strengthen and improve the party's leadership./ The party's leading position is accepted and protected by the constitution. Anyone who denies or opposes to the party's leadership violates the constitution. The party leads the state. However, if there were not laws to make the clear, concrete and detailed stipulations, it would be difficult for the party to lead the state well. The state must be led by the party, but the party cannot place itself above the state and the law. The party must exercise its leadership through democratic procedures. Party organizations at any level cannot make or cancel the laws and constitution as they wish. They cannot enforce or not enforce the laws and the constitution according to their own will. If there are laws and regulations which fail to meet the demands of the development of the situation, the party organizations should ask the legislative organs to supplement and revise the laws through democratic and legal procedures. They cannot arbitrarily change or not observe them. In addition, in its leadership in the aspects of state affairs and economic, cultural and social work, the party must correctly handle the relationship between the party and other organizations and ensure that the organ of state power, the administrative organs and the judicial organs and all the economic and cultural organizations effectively exercise their authority of office. This is an important link in improving the party's leadership. In order to conscientiously achieve this, party organizations at all levels must genuinely respect the constitution and the authority of office entrusted to these organizations by the law.

Now, the principle that the party must operate within the framework of the constitution and the laws has been formally established in the new party constitution. How can we make sure that party organizations at all levels conscientiously achieve this? 1) Leading cadres at all levels must conscientiously establish a sense of legality and resolutely overcome the erroneous ideas, understanding, work style and habits which are not in keeping with the sense of legality. In particular, they must resolutely overcome the phenomena of despising the legal system and holding that "power is more important than the laws"; 2) Party leaders at all levels should seriously study and familiarize themselves with the law; 3) All state organs, democratic parties, social organizations and the masses have the right to supervise and see if the party organizations at all levels strictly do things in accordance with the law or not. The party organizations should promote our fine tradition in the history of our party and modestly accepting the criticism and supervision of the nonparty organizations and the masses.

CSO: 4005/188

'GUANGMING RIBAO' CRITICIZES 'FALSE' SOCIALISM

HK030407 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Xi Guangqing [1153 1639 1987]: "Feudal Socialism and Petit Bourgeois Socialism"]

[Text] The feudal socialism and petit bourgeois socialism which emerged in England, France and Germany in the 1830's-1840's was reactionary and false, using the name of socialism to praise nostalgically and defend the patriarchal clan system and its dictatorship. The representatives of this fuedal socialism were the aristocratic thinkers Thomas Carlyle and Count (Wei er niu fu-Ba er re), and he represetative of petit bourgeois socialism was (Xi xi si meng di). They were writers who reflected the demands of the worsening, declining and bankrupt small producers who, under the development of capitalism, were struggling to survive, and going bankrupt. Their concept of socialism was based entirely on their yearning for and attempt to restore the old class domination and social system, and built on observations which were contrary to the process of history and for the development of capitalism.

Their criticisms of the social evils inherent in the capitalist system are characterized by reversing historical development. Capitalism is an exploitative system which replaced another exploitative system. Its foundation and development eventually creates new antithesis between one class and the other, bring tremendous hardships to the working people and create new social evils. However, history has shown that capitalism has a high level of social development compared with feudal society. It has created higher social productive forces and more developed culture. Its consolidation and development are the essential prerequisites for the development of human society toward socialism. In 1830's-1840's, capitalist domination became firmly established and developed in England and France. While criticizing capitalism, the feudal socialists and the petit bourgeois socialists ingored the essence and the main trend of historical development at that time. They enumerated all the crimes of capitalism, alleging that it had brought only ugliness, disaster and ruin to human society, cursing it as a system entirely superfluous to history, and saying that the society should revert to feudal patriarchal clan domination. Consequently, according to their viewpoints, history should be reversed: the historical inevitability and the revolutionary role of capitalism have disappeared, socialism is not a higher social form inevitably produced by capitalism, but a fashionable word used to bring a society which has already progressed to capitalism back to a previous age.

In their view of the proletariat too, they showed the reactionary nature of their criticism of capitalism. The petit bourgeois socialists only perceived the hardships caused to the proletariat by capitalism, and were unaware that big industrial capitalism was constantly organizing the proletariat and building up this great class, the founder of the new socialist society. Instead they cherished illusions that through reform measures the proletariat would again endure feudal exploitation and oppression. From the proletariat's situation and struggle, the feudal socialists perceived that it was the capitalist private ownership system that had caused poverty and unemployment to the proletariat, and which forced them to take the road of struggle; that it was this which gave them the political education and training in the struggle against feudal autocracy, and thus under bourgeois rule, there is created a class that will destroy the entire old social system; that is, the developing revolutionary proletariat. However, they could not really come to understand its historical significance, but took all this as the main change against the bourgeoisie, using it to threaten people; thrown into a panic, they called for vigilance toward the revolutionary proletariat, and without the least hesitation they joined in adopting suppressive measures against the workers. This stripped off their mask of sympathy for the workers, and disclosed the counterrevolutionary nature of their hatred for the proletariat.

They idealized the old era. Petit bourgeois socialism beautified small production in the feudal system and considered it an ideal means of production, "the guild system in industry, patriarchal economy in agriculture--this is their final conclusion." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 276) Feudal socialism eugolized the middle ages as a golden age of harmony between nobles and the poor and proposed "social monarchy" as an ideal society to replace the catastrophe of capitalist society. As the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" disclosed, the "echo of the past" is ridiculous, reactionary and utopian.

CSO: 4005/188

PARTY AND STATE

NPC NATIONALITIES DEPUTIES DISCUSS NEW CONSTITUTION

OW022226 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1620 GMT 28 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 28 Nov (XINHUA)--At group discussions, the NPC deputies from minority nationalities regions pointed out that the new constitution, which is expected to be adopted soon, will insure that the various nationalities in China will become still more prosperous.

Tingmao, a deputy to the NPC, second secretary of the Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional CPC Committee and chairman of the Standing Committee of the autonomous regional people's congress, said: All the articles concerning the nationalities questions in the draft revised constitution display the spirit of equality among all nationalities. The draft revised constitution contains a series of articles stipulating that in accordance with the characteristics and needs of the different minority nationalities, the state will constantly and tirelessly help the various minority nationality areas to accelerate their economic and cultural development, thus promoting common prosperity for all nationalities in the country. Such unequivocal stipulations contained in our fundamental law fully show that the party and the state are concerned about the minority nationalities.

Zhao Nanqi, a deputy to the NPC and deputy secretary of the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee, said: The draft revised constitution contains more definite stipulations on the democratic rights of the minority nationalities to exercise national autonomy. It gives national autonomous areas added power of self-government. The added power of self-government helps accelerate the development of economy, culture and education of the minority nationalities.

Huang Rong, a deputy to the NPC and chairman of the Standing Committee of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Regional People's Congress, said: The draft revised constitution calls for strengthening the relationship of equality, unity and mutual assistance among the nationalities. This will fundamentally guarantee our success in the four modernizations. To strengthen the unity among the nationalities is of significance to economic development. It is also an important guarantee for the motherland's border defense. Facts show that without a firm unity among the nationalities, the motherland will have no secure border defense. We are determined to carry forward the glorious traditions of solidarity and militancy, further strengthen the unity among the nationalities and build a strong great wall of steel in the motherland's southern frontiers.

CSO: 4005/188

'GONGREN RIBAO' ON LEARNING FROM MODEL WORKERS

HK241234 Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Nov 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ni Zhifu [6392 1807 4395]: "Our Era Requires Millions of Zhao Chune's and Luo Jianfu's"]

[Text] At present, two eminent names among the ranks of our working class are being widely praised by the people throughout the country. The two comrades are female workers Zhao Chune, of the Laoji coal yard, Luoyang Coal Company, and engineer Luo Jianfu, of the Lishan Microelectronics Company, Hangtian Industrial Department. Their exemplary deeds and communist spirit have had a great influence on the masses of people. Everyone praises them as pace setters in building the two civilizations and as outstanding representatives of our working class. Among the workers throughout the country, we must promote learning from Zhao Chune and Luo Jianfu. This is of great significance in bringing the campaign to learn from the advanced and catch up with the advanced one step forward and in concretely upholding the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress and creating a new situation in all fields of work.

Of the two comrades, Zhao Chune and Luo Jianfu, one was a female worker of a coal yard and the other an engineer of the Hangtian Industrial Department. Despite their different backgrounds, cultural standards, professions and duties, they had much in common. First, they were in ordinary posts. They put their noses to the grindstone, driving themselves hard for several decades without ever breaking the routine, and fighting for the socialist cause to the end. In their ordinary posts, they made extraordinary contributions. Second, they were selfless; everything they said and did was prompted by the interests of the party and the people. All they wanted was to make a greater contribution to the state. Money, honor, position and so forth were the last things on their minds. They asked nothing for themselves. Third, they were extremely warm to fellow comrades and the people, always bearing in mind the interests of the masses. To help others, they would rather sacrifice everything they had. They really achieved the aim of never thinking of themselves and doing everything for others. Fourth, they had firm and unswerving communist faith. Regardless of the triumphant advance of the party's cause or its temporary setbacks, regardless of whether things went well or badly with their personal lives, and regardless of any wrong ideas appearing in society, they never gave up their firm faith in the inevitable victory of the communist cause, as they consciously fought for the communist cause to the last--fighting until they sacrificed their own lives. Such spirit is the communist spirit that our party has traditionally advocated.

It is a historical necessity that advanced figures with a high degree of communist consciousness like Zhao Chune and Luo Jianfu have emerged from among the ranks of our workers, and a result of our party's applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to educating the masses of members of this class over a long period of time and a manifestation of continuous improvement in the quality of our working class in the practice of struggle in socialist revolution and construction. In the historical period from the founding of the new China to before the 10 years of internal disorder, our party achieved outstanding results in its work among the masses of workers. It created a new working-class generation and produced thousands upon thousands of advanced figures with remarkable communist spirit, represented by Meng Tai, Zhao Mengtao, Wang Jinxi, and so forth. This generation of workers underwent a test in the 3 years of temporary difficulties in the early 1960's and an especially drastic test in the 10 years of internal disorder, as they preserved the features of the working class. Today, they are still playing a backbone role on various fronts. Zhao Chune and Luo Jianfu were brought up under such historical conditions. Of course, that they had become the outstanding representative of our working class was also because they were more conscious and more energetic in transforming their own subjective worlds. They seriously studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and also put into practice everything they learned. They followed heroic model figures with communist spirit as examples and wholeheartedly learned from them. They consciously resisted the invasion of various nonproletarian ideas and courageously transformed themselves in an effort to foster a communist world outlook. These were the main reasons why they were able to grow into communist fighters.

The 12th CPC National Congress raised the building of socialist spiritual civilization with communist thinking as its core to the high plane of a strategic guideline. It called on all party members to continuously disseminate advanced thinking, play an exemplary role in practice, and guide more and more social members to become laborers with ideals, a sense of morality, a cultural background and a respect for discipline. Our working class is the state's leadership class. It should, first of all, turn itself into a contingent with ideals, a sense of morality, cultural background and a respect for discipline, and play an exemplary role in building socialist spiritual civilization. At present, we must widely launch a campaign to learn from Zhao Chune and Luo Jianfu. This must be closely linked with the upholding of the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress, the strengthening of the building of the ranks of the working class, and especially the strengthening of the training and education of the masses of young workers. By learning from Zhao Chune and Luo Jianfu, we mean that like them, we must, under all circumstances, cherish lofty communist ideals, cultivate firm communist faith, forever follow the party and never lose faith. Like them, we must put every task with which we are charged by the party above everything else, developing love for every trade we take up and mastering it, willingly placing ourselves in ordinary posts and realistically discharging our duties in an effort to make still greater contributions. Like them, we must consciously set straight the relations between public and private interests. In approaching a matter, we must first take into account the interests of the state and the people and never think of personal gain or loss. Still less should we seek to serve private interests. Instead, we should wholeheartedly serve the people. Like them, we must show greater concern for others than for ourselves, at all times thinking

of the interests of the masses and their suffering. To help others, we should not hesitate, even at the expense of our own interests. Like them, we must also assiduously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, consciously transform our own world outlook, and continuously press ahead nonstop for a still higher ideological plane. By extensively launching a campaign to learn from Zhao Chune and Luo Jianfu, we can bring about a tremendous change in the spiritual outlook of the ranks of our workers. A new working class generation of our country worthy of its revolutionary predecessors and even surpassing the latter will inevitably emerge quickly.

The advanced deeds of Zhao Chune and Luo Jianfu fully show that communist thinking and communist practice have long existed in our real lives and that communist factors have long marked the actions of advanced workers. The exemplary acts of Zhao Chune and Luo Jianfu were exactly the concentrated reflection of such communist factors. Meanwhile, we must note that the formation of their advanced ideas and fine qualities is also inseparable from the influence and help of the masses around them. Their strong points also exist or lie hidden, to different degrees, in millions of ordinary people. Since the publication of the deeds of Zhao Chune and Luo Jianfu in newspapers and magazines, there has been a strong common appeal in response from the masses of workers and the people throughout the country. Thousands upon thousands of people have pledged to learn from them and have also acted, achieving practical results. This fully shows that the spirit of Zhao Chune and Luo Jianfu reflects the era's demands and represents the wishes of the masses.

The trade union assumes weighty responsibilities, in building a working class contingent that has ideals, a sense of morality, cultural background and a respect for discipline. In the period of socialist construction, the trade union must strive to take good care of the building of the ranks of workers, doing well the work concerning the people. It must energetically cultivate and set up advanced typical examples, making the advanced lead others and stimulating the backward to undergo transformation. It must be good at discovering advanced typical figures emerging from among the masses of workers, summing up their communist thinking, energetically publicizing and citing their exemplary deeds and stimulating the building of material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization through launching a campaign to learn from and catch up with the advanced. In different historical periods, in the past, the dissemination of the communist spirit of advanced model figures gave an effective boost to the development of our cause of revolution and construction. The strength of advanced model figures has produced such a tremendous impact because their advanced thinking and deeds represent the direction of the advance of history. But, a small number of units and advanced figures have not received support and encouragement. Instead, they have even drawn sneers and blows. The enthusiasm of workers is thus repressed. It is very difficult to achieve much in production and work. Such a situation cannot be allowed to go on. Our trade union cadres at all levels should be the most active supporters and most passionate disseminators where all advanced typical examples are concerned, and should not watch from the sidelines. Under the leadership of the party, we must combine the upholding of the spirit of the 12th CPC

National Congress with a struggle against all ideas and acts designed to suppress the advanced. We must pave the way for the growth of advanced figures and the dissemination of advanced thinking.

Our era requires millions of Zhao Chune's and Luo Jianfu's.

Under the leadership of the CPC, among the ranks of our working class, millions of Zhao Chune's and Luo Jianfu's can surely emerge.

CSO: 4005/188

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON CADRE WORK, POLICY AT SHOUDU

HK241131 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by RENMIN RIBAO reporter Gao Xinqing [7559 2450 1987]: "Storm Over the Choice of 'Bo Le'--Report on Cadres' Work in Shoudu Iron and Steel Company"]

[Text] In April 1979, news of an appointment decision in the Shoudu Iron and Steel Company circulated throughout the whole "steel town" within 24 hours, assuming explosive characteristics for the company.

"A woman engineer had been appointed head of the cadre department." (At that time, she was first appointed deputy head and was soon after promoted to the position of chief head.)

"Who is she?" "Hua Shufang!" "What work did she do previously?" "I'm not sure. Anyhow, she was engaged in technical work, one of the 'ninth category'!" "Well, this appointment does indicate a new trend. People in the 'ninth category' rise in their positions as fast as if lifted by a cyclone."

"Where is the old department head?' "He has been removed. Now, this, you can see, is called 'killing the goose after it has laid the golden egg'!"

Some of Hua Shufang's intimate friends said to her on the quiet: "Shufang, you have considerable attainments in your technical work. What a pity it would be if you were now to give up your technical work. Why don't you explain this to the leadership and decline to take over the job which requires you to do a lot of talking?"

"Shufang, do you know what people are secretly saying about you? They are saying that if a rabbit pulls a cart, what role does the horse play? This lady, who used to delve into books, may know some molecular formulas and chemical equations but how can she know about politics and history? Does she know the "science of relations" and the "science of balance?" No, she does not know. She does not have the means of working as an ordinary cadre, even less taking charge of the affairs concerning cadres!

Like a hurricane blowing over the surface of a lake, Hua Shufang, a gentle and quiet middle-aged woman of 44, could not calm her troubled thoughts and lay awake all night.

Scenes of the past and many thoughts welled up in her mind. After graduating from the chemical engineering department of Zhejiang University in 1955, she was assigned to work in the Shoudu Iron and Steel Company. Since then she had been engaged in design work throughout the past 24 years. She was very familiar with and loved her profession. Now she had to make an about-turn and give up her prized profession and all her previous efforts would be wasted. What a pity this was! Other people's opinions were right--she had no experience of political work and little knowledge of personnel relations between concerned parties, added to which there was her low profile of political qualifications and records of service. How could she bring the situation under control? If she made one bungle, what would be the consequences.

Early next morning, she went to see Zhou Guanwu, the secretary of the party committee.

"Comrade Guanwu, I have been thinking about it all night. I can't do the job."

"If you can't do it then study! You will learn how through study."

"My profession is designing. I like this work, I have a good command of it."

"True enough. If you did not have technical knowledge, the party committee would not transfer you to this position. Comrade Shufang, this is a requirement of the shift in our work focus and of the task of modernization. It is also a requirement of the implementing of the party's policy toward intellectuals. The party committee hopes that you will have better understanding of and show more concern for the intellectuals and will select more able persons in all fields among them so as to gradually change the composition of our cadre ranks. More promising intellectuals in the prime of life who have professional knowledge, courage and insight to open up new aspects should be promoted to leading groups at all levels." After a pause, the secretary continued: "As for other problems, you'd better banish them from your mind. When we chose you, we hoped that you would be able to smash the old conventions and select able and virtuous people to the leading posts in an impartial way." In this way, Hua Shufang was convinced.

After a period of actual practice, some people told Zhou Guanwu: "The Shoudu Iron and Steel Company has found a Bo Le!" [Worring state figure who was able to accurately judge a horse's ability by looking at its head] Zhou Guanwu replied: "To tell you the truth, this new appointment was a key step adopted by our party committee for improving personnel work and promoting the reform of our enterprise."

The former old department head is also a very good comrade. After the downfall of the "gang of four," he actively carried out the exposing, criticism and inspection, redressed mishandled cases and did a lot of work in implementing the

party's policy toward cadres. The only problem of this old comrade, who is loyal to the party's cause, is that his education level was a bit too low and he had less of a common language with the intellectual cadres. It was difficult for him to evaluate and urge cadres from the angle of cultural and professional knowledge. After careful observation, the party committee discovered that Hua Shufang could not only firmly adhere to political principles, but also had profound professional knowledge, liked to use her brains and maintained good relations with the masses. She had been the head of the design section and vice director of the design institute of the Shoudu Iron and Steel Company. Thus, she had experience of making use of personnel. After comparison and consideration, the party committee decided to transfer Hua Shufang and another comrade to take charge of the work in the cadre department and the old department head was transferred to be a vice director of the company's party school. Four months after this appointment, Comrade Zhou Guanwu said with a smile: "As expected, results have been achieved from the appointment of Hua Shufang.

When judging a person, Hua Shufang pays close attention to political quality. But her real "advantage" lies in her ability to judge cadres from their professional capabilities. She can thus judge a cadre in an all-round way. Many cadres with real professional ability and political integrity have been discovered and promoted by her. She has also picked out those cadres who are not suited to the modernization requirements. Once, a subordinate factory needed a deputy director. There were two candidates recommended by the parties concerned, but it was not easy to decide which one was better. After careful consideration, Hua Shufang stated that one of them, though having an active attitude toward work and rich experience, had a low theoretical technical level. Though many people leaned to promoting him, she thought that it would be difficult for him to shoulder the heavy task of leading the production and technical work of the whole factory. The other candidate was an engineer. Though he was not the favorite, his conditions in all aspects were more mature than the first one's. After serious discussions, the party committee at last decided to appoint the latter to be deputy director of the factory in charge of production.

This event of choosing and appointing a deputy factory director was called "the first Hua Shufang shock-wave." It stimulated many people, who had only practical experience, to study technology in an active manner. It also compelled some comrades, who really "lacked capabilities for leading modernized production," to give up their posts to more competent people.

Together with comrades in the cadre department, Hua Shufang carried out an overall investigation of cadres at and above section level throughout the company from their past to the present. They also acquired knowledge of the professional backgrounds of all technical cadres and set up a record system for the background of all leading cadres and technical cadres. In this way, cadre promotion was no longer decided by the personal impression of a few leaders, and they will no longer needed to rack their brains before selecting a suitable candidate.

In March this year, Comrade Hua Shufang was transferred to the job of deputy head of the organizational department of the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee. The Shoudu Iron and Steel Company's party committee again chose two engineers to take charge of the cadre department. Though Hua Shufang has left, her new ideas and new style of work in tackling cadre affairs are still being carried forward in the company. Details will not be given here due to limited space. Here, we just provide a group of figures and readers can make their own judgment on the effect of the institutional reform.

Compared with 1977, the proportion of cadres at and above section level with a senior middle school education level or higher has increased from 28 percent to 54.1 percent at present. Of these cadres, those who are engineers or have other technical titles account for 52.4 percent aginast 23.2 percent in 1977. Cadres with tecnical titles now make up 65.2 percent of the primary leaders of party committees and administrations at all levels. Middle-aged and young cadres, especially technical cadres, have been promoted one after another. Since 1980, the company has run five training classes which were attended by a total of 716 young and middle-aged cadres. Among the students of the first four classes, 194 people have been promoted to be cadres at section level. Since last year, among those newly promoted cadres at section (factory) level, 78.3 percent are young and middle-aged cadres. At present, young and middle-aged cadres amount to 81.8 percent of factory directors, 93 percent of deputy factory directors in charge of production and 38 percent of secretaries and vice secretaries at factory level.

When talking about cadre work, central leading comrades repeatedly stress the necessity of "knowing personnel well and being good at letting them exercise their role." What is meant by "knowing personnel well and being good at letting them exercise their role" perhaps we can get some inspiration from the courage, insight and actions of the Shoudu Iron and Steel Company and Comrade Zhou Guanwu?

CSO: 4005/188

BRIEFS

HONG KONG TRIADS BANNED--The Shenzhen Municipal Public Security Bureau has issued a notice announcing that, with effect from 20 November, there is a ban on Hong Kong triad organizations such as the Shui Fang, He Shun He and 14K which have infiltrated into the special zone from Hong Kong and developed in secret. In recent years certain Hong Kong triad organizations have infiltrated into the Shenzhen special zone and secretly developed organizations there. They brazenly engage in smuggling, drug-peddling, fighting and beating people, theft, robbery with violence, smuggling people out, and forcing girls into prostitution. The municipal public security bureau's notice points out: The illegal and criminal activities of these triad organizations seriously sabotage social order and the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization in the special zone. They violate our country's criminal laws and endanger the interests of the state and the people. They must be resolutely banned and severely punished according to law. [Text] [HK200333 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 19 Nov 82]

GUANGZHOU MAYOR TO MANILA--Guangzhou Mayor Liang Lingguang delivered a report on his visit to the Philippines in the Zhongshan Memorial Hall on 23 November. Over 4,000 Guangzhou cadres attended the report meeting. Comrade Liang Lingguang dwelt mainly on the results of this visit and his feelings about it. He said: The main results were as follows: 1. The foundations were land for establishing friendly ties between Guangzhou and Manila, and broad prospects were opened up for developing friendship and cooperation between the two cities. 2. Broad contacts were made with overseas Chinese and ethnic Chinese Filipinos. Friendship with the compatriots living overseas was promoted and their love for the motherland stimulated. This will play a certain stimulating role in promoting the return of Taiwan to the motherland. 3. Prospects were explored for economic, trade, scientific and technological and cultural cooperation and exchange between the two cities. 4. We initially studied and understood many advanced experiences of the Philippine people in developing national economy and in urban construction, urban greening, traffic control, and education. Comrade Liang Lingguang demanded that the cadres and masses of Guangzhou cherish the friendship already established between China and the Philippines and between Guangzhou and Manila, firmly establish internationalist and patriotic ideology, and contribute to promoting friendship with the people of all countries. [Text] [HK240246 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 23 Nov 82]

PUBLIC ORDER TASKS--The Hunan Provincial CPC Committee held a telephone conference on the evening of 22 November to make arrangements for social order work this winter and next spring. The meeting demanded that the province get a better grasp of this work than previously. Provincial CPC committee second secretary and political and legal committee director Wan Da made an important speech at the meeting. Comrade Wan Da said: To make a success of social order this winter and next spring, we must further implement the measures for tackling problems in a comprehensive way and concentrate forces to crack major and important cases. At the same time we must continue to get a good grasp of hitting at economic crime. Comrade Wan Da pointed out: We must step up propaganda and education in the legal system, actively prevent and mediate civil disputes, and prevent contradictions from sharpening. Leaders at all levels of the prefectures and counties and responsible comrades of political and legal units took part in the meeting. [Text] [HK230212 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 22 Nov 82]

HEBEI COMMENTARY--The short commentary says: Comrade Hu Yaobang recently pointed out that it is necessary to further emancipate the mind and make changes a bit more boldly. Comrade Hu Yaobang's instruction strikes home and gives all our comrades and leading comrades in particular much food for thought. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, for long trammeled by the left, minds have not been sufficiently emancipated in our province in the agricultural sphere, particularly with regard to the issue of establishing and perfecting the agricultural production responsibility system. Some cadres have so far had worries about the socialist nature of the responsibility system. They say that output is gratifying but the orientation is vexatious. Other cadres and people hold that the present state of the implementation of responsibility system is adequate and the readjustment of the production relations has ended. Others dare not go all out to develop diversification or do not have a sufficiently wide field of vision. All these are the expression of the insufficient emancipation of the mind. If we do not correct them, they will affect the further development of the current excellent situation. While rural work is constantly progressing, new things will emerge in an endless stream. Studying the new situation and solving new problems is the major task which we always confront. In this sense, there is also no end to the emancipation of the mind. We must further maintain close links with the masses, adhere to the work method of getting the opinions of the masses and referring them back to the masses and constantly sum up the masses' new creations and new experiences. We must further do well in perfecting the responsibility system and diversification and strive to create a new situation in rural work. [Text] [HK240957 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 16 Nov 82]

SHANXI POLITICAL, LEGAL MEETING--A Shanxi provincial meeting of representatives of progressive collectives and individuals on the political and legal front concluded in Taiyuan on 27 November. Provincial CPC committee secretary Wu Guangtang presided. The meeting issued a letter of proposal to all comrades on the political and legal front in the province. Awards were presented to 42 progressive collectives and 70 individuals. "The participants seriously studied the 12th Party Congress documents, a recent important speech of Central Committee secretariat secretary Chen Pixian, and a work report delivered by provincial CPC committee secretary Zhu Weihua. They exchanged experiences and paid visits to each other. In this way they further enhanced understanding, got a clear picture of the orientation, braced revolutionary spirit and learned valuable experiences. They are resolved to create a new situation in the province's political and legal work and contribute to bringing about a further turn for the better in the

province's social order." Provincial CPC committee second secretary and governor Luo Quibo delivered the closing speech. Also present at the ceremony were leading comrades of the party, government and army in the province including Zhu Weihua, (Han Hongbin), Huo Fan, Hu Xiaoqin, Zhang Jianmin, Jiao Quonai, Ren Yinglun, Chen Sigong, Wei Fengqi, Zhao Jun, Pan Ruizheng, (Wang Xi), Tao Jian, and (Zhang Chengcai). [HK290643 Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 27 Nov 82]

BEIJING DISCIPLINE INSPECTION COMMITTEE--The Beijing Municipal CPC Discipline Inspection Committee held its first plenary session on 14 November. Comrades Jiao Ruoyu and Li Zhenhai presided. Present were 41 members of the committee. The session elected the secretary, deputy secretaries and Standing Committee members of the committee. The list is as follows: Secretary: Jiao Ruoyu; deputy secretaries: Li Zhenhai, Cui Xudong, Meng Zhiyuan; Standing Committee members (in order of number of strokes in surname): Gan Ying, Li Zhenhai, Meng Zhiyuan, Zhong Zheng, Xu Yixing, Gao Min, Tao Ping, Cui Xudong, Jiao Ruoyu. [Text] [HK260432 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 17 Nov 82]

BEIJING ADVISORY COMMITTEE SESSION--The Beijing Municipal CPC Advisory Committee held its first plenary session on 14 November. The meeting was attended by 34 members of the committee. Comrade Ye Lin presided. The session elected the chairman, vice chairmen and Standing Committee members of the committee. The list is as follows: chairman: Jia Tingsan; vice chairmen: Ye Lin, Wang Chun, Ye Zilong; Standing Committee members (in order of number of strokes in the surname): Wang Chun, Wang Xiaoyi, Ye Lin, Ye Zilong, Liu Jianfu, Liu Zuchun, Yang Sen, Lu Yu, He Yizhang, Jia Tingsan, Fuo Xianrui and Li Guang. [Text] [HK260431 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 17 Nov 82]

TIANJIN-U.S. DELEGATION MEET--On the evening of 10 November, Chen Weida, first secretary of the Tianjin Municipal CPC Committee, met with (Brown), head of the delegation from Philadelphia, United States, and other members of the delegation. Li Ruihuan, secretary of the municipal CPC committee and acting mayor; Hao Tianyi, members of the Standing Committee of the municipal CPC committee and deputy mayor; and Bai Hua, deputy mayor, were present. The two parties had friendly and cordial conversations. Chen Weida said: I was the mayor of Tianjin when the two cities formed an official friendship relationship in 1979. I am very happy today to see Mr (Brown) and other friends. (Brown) said: Thanks to your considerate arrangements we have had a very pleasant visit here over the past few days. It is a great honor to meet you today. Chen Weida and (Brown) both expressed the wish of furthering the friendly relations between China and the United States, and between Tianjin and Philadelphia and strengthening cooperation and exchange in the fields of economy, trade, science and technology, culture and education. After the reception, Chen Weida hosted a banquet for the American friends. [Excerpt] [SK110451 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 11 Nov 82]

CSO: 4005/188

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

COMMENTARY URGES CONTINUED BUILDING MILITIA

SK111051 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 10 Nov 82

[Station commentary: "Continue to Strengthen the Building of Militia"]

[Text] The commendation rally for fine militia instructors of Shandong military district came to a successful end. The advanced deeds of the 688 representatives of fine militia instructors commended at the rally have totally reflected the advanced deeds done by the broad masses of militiamen in their different work posts. This provincial commendation rally of fine militia instructors was not only a concrete action performed in the course of studying and implementing the guidelines of the 12th National CPC Congress but was also an important step forward for creating a new situation in militia work. In a report delivered at the 12th National CPC Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang set forth a demand for continuously strengthening the building of militia. This clearly defined an orientation for militia work. Further putting the work of the militia in a solid basis organizationally, politically and militarily and building the militia into a strong rank that can participate in production and fighting is an important task facing the party committees at all levels and the broad masses of militiamen. The broad masses of militia instructors, in the course of implementing this task, must serve as vanguards in the struggle, be united and lead the militiamen to work hard and to march forward courageously to become a backbone force in building and safeguarding the motherland. The militia instructors throughout the province must continue to enhance their sense of honor as good instructors and their sense of responsibility, to care for the growth of militia with a revolutionary zeal and to strive to raise our province's militia work to a new level.

CSO: 4005/177

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

TAIWAN: MILITARY SPOKESMAN ON MILITARY REALIGNMENT

OW270343 Taipei CNA in English 0314 GMT 27 Nov 82

[Text] Taipei, 27 Nov (CNA)--The Peiping regime's realignment of its "Central Military Committee," the dismissal of its "defense minister" and the reshuffle of its important military heads following the Communist Party Congress further point to the worsening situation of the regime's power struggle, Gen Wang Miao, military spokesman, said Friday.

At a press conference sponsored by the Government Information Office, General Wang told reporters that the mass change of communist military chieftains reflects several of the red regime's weak areas.

--The problem of the advancing age of the top communist chieftains remains very serious. For instance, the newly appointed "Defense Minister" Chang Ai-Ping is now 72 years of age, and the average age of the "chairman" and "vice chairmen" of the "Central Military Committee" is over 80.

--While the Liu Pao-Cheng and Teng Hsiao-Ping faction has gained power, other factions have faced purges during the power struggle.

--Teng's so-called "let the young take charge" is merely a pretext to purge dissidents.

--Teng's being unable to compel Yeh Chien-Ying to step down is another piece of evidence that the anti-Teng forces remain strong in the communist armed forces.

CSO: 4000/19

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GUANGZHOU PLA HOLDS MILITIA WORK MEETING

HK050448 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 4 Dec 82

[Excerpts] How should the militia work front go about implementing the 12th Party Congress spirit and creating a new situation? A militia work conference convened by the Guangzhou PLA units studied this question and formulated plans and measures for pressing forward militia work to a new stage in the new situation. The meeting concluded on 4 December, after 8 days in session.

The participating leading comrades from Guangdong, Guangxi and Hunan, Hainan military district, all military subdistricts and garrisons, and first political commissars and representatives from progressive counties and municipalities in militia work reviewed the situation in militia work since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee and summed up and exchanged fresh experiences and achievements in readjusting the militia organizations, carrying out political education and military training, and looking after weapons and equipment. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, militia building in Guangdong, Guangxi and Hunan has gradually embarked on the track of healthy development suited to the needs of the four modernizations drive and of preparedness against war. One of the best situations since the founding of the state has emerged. The militiamen have played a major backbone role in building the two civilizations, in consolidating land and sea border defenses and in the struggle to preserve public order.

There have been serious floods in parts of Guangdong and Hunan in the past 2 years. The militiamen actively plunged into the flood-fighting and rescue and relief struggle. They saved several tens of thousands of the masses and large quantities of material from the floods. In the past 3 years the militia in border defense areas of Guangxi have wiped out infiltrating enemies, either by their own efforts or in cooperation with the PLA units, thus contributing to defending construction and security in the border region. In the past 2 years, 1,185 progressive militia units and individuals in Guangdong, Guangxi and Hunan have received commendations, awards, or honorable titles.

Liu Xinglong, Chen Qingshan and (Tian Xicheng), leading comrades of the leading organs of the Guangzhou PLA units, respectively spoke on militia military work,

political work and equipment care. As commissioned by the Guangzhou PLA units CPC committee, Comrade Huang Ronghai delivered a summation speech on how to implement the 12th Party Congress spirit and strive to create a new situation in militia building. The meeting presented citations and awards to 48 progressive units in militia work.

Leading comrades and former leading comrades of the Guangzhou PLA units and responsible comrades of the leading organs of the units Zhu Yuehua, Shan Yinzhang, (Lu Weiru), Huang Ronghai, Our Zhifu, (Liu Cunzhi), Liu Xinglong, Chen Qingshan, and Hao Henglai attended the conference. The three general departments of the Central Military Commission also sent a work group to participate.

CSO: 4005/198

SHANXI PLA COMMANDER ON RURAL EXPERIENCES

HK180519 Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 15 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Three Standing Committee members and one adviser of the Shanxi Military District CPC Committee recently went to military subdistricts, some county and municipal armed forces departments and militia companies to publicize and explain the spirit of the 12th Party Congress. They have now completed this task. Commander Geng Shuming went to conduct publicity and explanation at Yuncheng. He also went to eight progressive units and eight joint schools in 12 counties, where he also visited 19 key and specialized households and two brigades that have become rich through hard work. He said with great emotion: Although I did not go down for long on this occasion, I received tremendous education. Never before have I had such comprehension of the party's current policies and understanding of the excellent situation. I profoundly feel that truly going among the masses, humbly learning from them and drawing political nourishment from them is extremely necessary for us PLA cadres. Geng Shuming spoke on the following points in his experience:

1. The party's current rural policies are sincerely supported by the masses and highly effective. I saw and heard for myself that the situation in the rural areas has never been as good as now.

2. The masses wholeheartedly support the central leadership. There is a saying in Yuncheng Prefecture: Closely follow the Central Committee at every step, and every year is more auspicious. This shows people's trust and love for the wise leadership of the Central Committee.

3. There has been a great change in social mood as the peasants' life becomes richer. People's communist ideology has been greatly enhanced.

I believe that so long as we maintain the party's rural policies and persistently imbue the peasants with socialist ideology, a fundamental change in rural social mood is imminent. Pessimistic theorizing has no leg to stand on.

CSO: 4005/177

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

NANJING PLA MEETS ON STUDY OF PARTY DOCUMENTS

OW101407 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 10 Nov 82

[Text] The Nanjing PLA units held a telephone meeting on the evening of 8 November to sum up the units' experiences in studying and publicizing the documents of the 12th Party Congress in October and in carrying out build-socialist-spiritual-civilization activities with the stress on tackling dirtiness, disorder and misconduct. The meeting also made arrangements for further studying the documents and conducting activities to build a socialist spiritual civilization.

Xia Wei, deputy director of the Political Department of the Nanjing PLA units, presided over the meeting.

In his speech at the meeting, Comrade Li Baoqi, deputy political commissar of the Nanjing PLA units, said: While carrying out activities to build a socialist spiritual civilization, more than 2,300 cadres at or above the regimental level and over 1,100 work teams of the Nanjing PLA units in October went to grassroots units to explain and publicize the documents of the 12th Party Congress. During the same month the Nanjing PLA units sent a total of 150,000 cadres and fighters to sweep away more than 30,000 dun of garbage, together with the masses of people. The Nanjing PLA units have established close contact with more than 1,700 local grassroots units and made concerted efforts together with the local people to build villages, neighborhoods, schools and ports in a spirit of civility and courtesy. As a result, army-people relations have been further strengthened. In addition, a number of exemplary collectives and individuals have come to the fore.

Comrade Li Baoqi made five suggestions on how to further study the documents of the 12th Party Congress among members of the Nanjing PLA units.

1. It is necessary to ideologically arouse people to study these documents conscientiously and profoundly.

2. It is necessary to make monographic studies and to particularly study the basic viewpoints and conclusions expounded in the documents of the 12th Party Congress.

3. In continuing to eliminate the influence of both leftist and rightist ideas, it is necessary to use the documents of the 12th Party Congress as the yardstick and to proceed from reality.

4. It is necessary to give specific guidance and to timely sum up and exchange experiences in such studies.

5. It is necessary to link our studies with actual conditions and to use the positive results of our studies to guide our efforts to bring about a new situation in army building.

Comrade Li Baoqi also set the following five requirements for further carrying out activities to build a socialist spiritual civilization:

1. Through the year-end appraisal of its work, each unit should examine, revise and improve its plan and measures to build a socialist spiritual civilization.

2. It is necessary to discover examples, bring positive factors into full play and vigorously encourage new practices, ethics and social relations embodying the communist spirit in order to prepare public opinion for healthy trends and against unhealthy ones.

3. It is necessary to link our efforts to build a socialist spiritual civilization with our work in all fields.

4. It is necessary to grasp new things in the embryonic stage and to sum up and popularize them in order to develop the range and quality of socialist spiritual civilization.

5. Leading cadres should personally take part in building a socialist spiritual civilization and set an example in this regard.

CSO: 4005/177

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

ARMY-CIVILIAN COOPERATION FOR SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

SK100359 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 9 Nov 82

[Text] The Jinan PLA units recently held a meeting to exchange experiences of armymen and civilians in working together to build the spiritual civilization. The meeting stressed that party committees at all levels should fully understand the importance of armymen and civilians working together for the spiritual civilization, strengthen their leadership and strive to open up a new situation in the unity between the army and the government and between the army and the people.

The meeting noted: The cooperation between armymen and civilians in building the spiritual civilization is an important way to strengthen the unity between the army and the government and between the army and the people under the new situation. Leading persons at all levels should guard against the tendency of doing things in a massive and unplanned manner, like a passing wind, and overcome the ideas that there might be problems or that their work might be adversely influenced. They should place the focus of their work on raising the people's ideological awareness, on improving social conduct and on vigorously training a generation of socialist-minded new people who have lofty ideals, moral characters, education and a sense of discipline. They should proceed from reality, adopt the forms and methods which the people love to hear and see and attach importance to effectiveness. In carrying out various activities, PLA units should place themselves under the unified leadership of local party committees or party branches, foster examples and continuously promote the cooperation of armymen and civilians in building the spiritual civilization.

Eleven exemplary units introduced their experiences at the meeting and 20 units were presented silk banners. The meeting also set forth six requirements for the joint efforts of armymen and civilians in building the spiritual civilization and mapped out plans for the support-the-army and support-the-government work for this year's spring festival period.

CSO: 4005/177

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SHANDONG HOLDS MILITIA TRAINING MEETING

SK180401 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 17 Nov 82

[Text] The Shandong Provincial Military District meeting on training militia was recently concluded. It pointed out that efforts must be made to conscientiously prepare organizationally for the province's second-phase militia training and strive to make good achievements in this regard.

The general appraisal for the first-phase militia training conducted by the Shandong Provincial Military District was good. Six prefectures and municipalities made outstanding achievements, completing the training tasks in an all-round way. On the basis of summing up the experiences in the first-phase militia training, the meeting studied ways and made arrangements for fulfilling the second-phase militia training task.

The meeting called on the peoples armed forces departments at all levels throughout the province to mobilize for devoting a period of about 20 days in December to grasping the militia organizational consolidation work in a down-to-earth manner in order to lay a good foundation for carrying out the second-phase militia training task. It also called for efforts to assemble instructors for training so as to continuously improve their teaching standards and their organizational training ability and to foster more qualified instructors in order to create conditions for improving the quality of the second-phase militia training work.

The meeting urged efforts to construct good training grounds, to ensure the supply of teaching materials and equipment, to strictly implement the responsibility system of division in labor, to implement the training tasks level by level and to grasp the work through to the end. It also called for efforts to strengthen the building of full-time armed cadre ranks, to commend the advanced ones and to foster exemplary cases, to fully arouse their enthusiasm and creativity, to actively strengthen the political and ideological work among militiamen so as to enable them to become good militiamen with ideals, morality, educational knowledge and a sense of discipline and to make contributions to expediting our country's socialist modernization drive.

CSO: 4005/177

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

MEETING ON POLITICAL EDUCATION FOR MILITIA

HK290721 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 17 Nov 82 p 1

[Report: "Provincial Symposium on Political Education for Militia Concludes"]

[Text] A 5-day provincial symposium on political education for the militia concluded on 9 November.

The office in charge of the work of the masses under the PLA General Political Department, the Beijing PLA units, the provincial CPC Committee, the provincial government and the CPC Committee of the provincial military district attached major importance to the meeting. Comrades Wu Dai, Gao Yang, Liu Bingyan, Yin Zhe, Ma Hui, Dong Lifang, Fei Guozhu and Xu Chunxing were present. During the meeting, Wu Fuheng, director of the Political Department of the provincial military district and An Yaoguang, deputy director of the provincial CPC Committee Propaganda Department delivered reports and some 20 units and individuals recommended their advanced experience in political education to the militia. Comrades Wu Dai, Liu Bingyan and Dong Lifang took the floor at the closing ceremony. The meeting also awarded prizes to progressive units and individuals.

By analyzing the state of affairs in the political education of the province's militia, the meeting summed up major experiences in carrying out political education for the militia on a large scale under the new situation. After reviewing the study and implementation of directives on strengthening political and ideological work in various parts of the province made by the central authorities since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the meeting studied some new problems and new situations which had emerged from the work of building the militia. It fully affirmed the positive role played by the united education network in educating the militia politically by the departments concerned under the unified leadership of the CPC committees. It urged the creative establishment of a new type of ideological position which should be attractive and specifically suitable for the militia with a view to combining the ideological education with the cultural one. It also called for setting up a backbone contingent of high political consciousness and good proficiency in giving the basic militia units classified guidance.

The meeting pointed out: In order to further implement the 12th Party Congress directive on "continuing to strengthen the building of the militia" and to do well the work of educating the militia politically, it is necessary, by taking the 12th Party Congress spirit as a guide, to further implement the spirit of the relevant central documents and the spirit of the symposium held by the Beijing PLA units on political education for the militia, carry out large-scale political education for the militia, strengthen the building of the militia in an overall way and arouse the militia throughout the province to make active contributions to the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization. The meeting also pointed out: In the next 2 months and the coming year, political education for the militia will be mainly in studying the 12th Party Congress documents, teaching the militia communist ideals and morality, the party's principles and policies, science and culture, observance of discipline and law and the common knowledge concerning the militia, and give prominence to the ideological education of communism so as to seek unity of thought in the vast numbers of the militia on the program, principles and policies of the 12th Party Congress. It is necessary to closely promote the political education of the militia around the "two civilizations" and educate them to play an exemplary role in implementing the party's economic policies in order to strive for a favorable turn in the financial and economic situation. Meanwhile, we must teach the militia to take an active part in the "five stresses and four beauties" activities in order to strive for a basic improvement of social atmosphere, be bold in fighting against unhealthy tendencies, evildoers and evil deeds, maintain social order, promote stability and unity, and be active in all militia activities for the "implementation in three aspects" of militia work. We must make further efforts in establishing and perfecting all types of responsibility systems and in carrying out political education for the militia. Each level must be clear about its own duties and grasp well the political education for the militia in the light of the instructions of the higher authorities. It is necessary to give strong leadership to the work of educating the militia politically. Each level of leadership must seriously examine and sum up whether it understands the work of educating the militia politically in line with the 12th Party Congress spirit, whether the work is included in the plans of the propaganda and education work of the CPC committees, whether leadership is strong enough and measures are adequate, whether all propaganda units concert and coordinate their efforts under the leadership of the party's propaganda departments and whether political commissars and political organs fulfill their duties. We must go down to the grassroots units and solve problems in a solid way. We must grasp well typical cases to avoid giving only vague, general directions. We must thoroughly carry out large-scale political education for the militia in a completely new way and mobilize the militia throughout the province to strive for the realization of the magnificent objective of the 12th Party Congress.

CSO: 4005/177

JIANGSU'S XIANG SHOUZHI ON EDUCATING PLA CADRES

OW190515 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 18 Nov 82

[Text] The party committee of the Nanjing PLA units pointed out: The strengthening of cultural and scientific education must be regarded as a major topic in creating a new situation in the PLA units. Efforts must be made to foster a new style in the PLA units to study culture and science eagerly and improve oneself at all times. In the course of studying the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, the party committee of the Nanjing PLA units has discussed, in close connection with the actual situation in one's own unit, the topics on strengthening cultural and scientific education and creating a new situation in the PLA units.

Commander Xiang Shouzhi pointed out: Vigorously strengthening cultural and scientific education in the PLA units will not only help some comrades with lower cultural standards to improve themselves to meet the needs in developing the modernization program but it will also create in the PLA units a new atmosphere of studying hard and making progress at all times. This is of great significance in broadening the armymen's general knowledge and developing the skills in specialized fields and in creating a new situation in the PLA units.

After warm debates, the party committee of the Nanjing PLA units put forward the following specific measures for strengthening cultural and scientific education:

1. Repeatedly emphasize the significance of strengthening cultural and scientific education and vigorously combat the "leftist" trend of ignoring general knowledge and of adopting a hostile attitude toward the intellectuals.

2. Continue to help cadres take lessons after work to broaden their general knowledge.

3. Step up efforts to train more teachers.

4. Promote cadres on the basis of their cultural and vocational standards.

5. Encourage commanders and fighters to study on their own, and make it convenient for them to take lessons in evening schools, the television university and correspondence schools.

CSO: 4005/177

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GUANGDONG MEETING ON DEVELOPING FINE SITUATION

HK230319 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 22 Nov 82

[Text] The Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee recently held a forum of prefectural and municipal CPC Committee secretaries. Provincial CPC Committee First Secretary Ren Zhongyi presided, and Secretaries Liu Tianfu, Wang De and others attended. They made brief speeches at the end of the meeting.

The responsible comrades of the provincial CPC Committee analyzed the current situation in Guangdong. They held: Thanks to the conveyance of the 12th Party Congress spirit, and due to the fact that the party committees at all levels have led the people of the province to work hard this year and achieved tremendous achievements in industrial and agricultural production, one of the best situations since the liberation has now emerged in the province. After overcoming serious natural disasters in some places, the province has reaped a good agricultural harvest. Output of grain and major industrial crops such as sugarcane, peanuts and soybeans is expected to be a record. Industrial production will also show relatively great growth over last year. The urban and rural markets are prosperous and people are enjoying ease of mind. A situation of prosperity has initially emerged in the province's economy.

The provincial CPC Committee hoped that the party committees, cadres and people throughout the province would cherish this situation, strive to gain overall production increases, fulfill and strive to overfulfill the year's quota for increased output, and create favorable conditions for further increasing production next year.

The 1983 new year and spring festival are not far off now. The provincial CPC Committee stressed: We must let the masses of the province spend these festivals in still greater cleanliness, joy and peace.

CSO: 4005/177

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

JINAN PLA REGIMENT PROVIDES TECHNICAL TRAINING

OW250151 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1248 GMT 22 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Jinan, 22 Nov (XINHUA)--XINHUA editor's note: We are quite inspired by this report. How wonderful it would be if all our PLA units, like this regiment, could culturally and technically train their members as qualified personnel, capable of working in the army and also in their localities, while ensuring the successful military training of commanders and fighters! (End of editor's note)

A certain garrison regiment under the Jinan PLA units has run various technical training classes in which fighters have been organized to study culture, science and technology in an effort to train them as qualified personnel, capable of working in the army and also in their localities. This regiment has achieved initial results in this regard. A leading comrade of the central authorities has praised the regiment for doing so.

Fighters, who have enlisted in the army in recent years, have a higher educational level. With a strong thirst for knowledge, they, while studying military affairs, politics and general cultural knowledge, generally want to learn specific techniques in order to be able to undertake the four modernizations after being discharged from the armed forces. Conforming to these fighters' aspirations, the party committee of this regiment has begun to run technical training classes in electrotechnics, carpentry, mechanics, cooking, the fine arts, music, literature, photography and other subjects. The methods it has used to run such classes are as follows:

1. Regarding technical training as an important content of education in science and culture, the party committee has included such training in its annual plan for education and training and has conducted military and technical training at the same time

2. Technical training classes and their courses have opened on the principle that "fighters are interested in studying such courses, the unit has conditions for teaching them and the fighters will be able to apply such techniques after returning to their localities.

3. The masses are mobilized to surmount difficulties in teaching material, teaching aids and teachers.

4. The party committee has instituted and improved various systems for study, such as that of assigning a special leading cadre to take charge of such training, teachers preparing lessons and teaching on a trial basis and examination and inspection, in order to ensure training results.

The leading body of this regiment recently gave an examination for the students of 53 technical training classes run by the regiment, and the results are gratifying. This year, the regiment has selected 30 graduates from these training classes to work as clerks, health workers, mess squad leaders, personnel in charge of provisions and full-time cultural teachers. Theyare fairly competent. After being discharged from the army, some of these graduates are welcomed by localities and given important positions because they are proficient in specific fields.

CSO: 4005/177

HEBEI HOLDS MILITIA ANTI-PARACHUTIST MEETING

HK290745 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 18 Nov 82 p 3

[Report by Li Yingyong [2621 5391 0516] and Yang Shuhua [2799 2885 5478]: "Provincial Military District Holds Militia Anti-Parachutist On-the-Spot Meeting"]

[Text] From 4-6 NOvember the provincial PLA command held a militia anti-parachutist on-the-spot meeting in Ba County. The Beijing PLA units paid great attention to this meeting. Kang Lin, an adviser to the units and Wu Jiarui, director of the mobilization department of the unit's headquarters personally attended the meeting, inspected the work and gave guidance. The responsible comrades of the provincial PLA command, the Langfang Prefectural CPC Committee, all the PLA subcommands of the province and the provincial garrison command attended the meeting. The comrades who participated in the meeting visited the underground air-defense works of the Ba County Militia Department and watched the county and communes battle conference of Ba County at the county auditorium. They also watched a wonderful maneuver of 40 kinds of trained anti-parachutist skills and tactics by more than 450 militiamen from the more than 70 companies in the 11 communes of Ba County. During the maneuver, the militiamen displayed the spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death," and seriously and carefully practiced every trained skill or tactic according to the requirements of actual battle. Their skillful and accurate strategic actions and their flexible command won the praise of all the meeting's participants.

All the comrades who attended this meeting are of the opinion that our province's geographic position is extremely important because it is situated close to the capital. Therefore, it is very important to satisfactorily train the professional technical detachments of the militia during peace time, especially the anti-parachutist backbone forces of the militia. The meeting called on the party committees at all levels to earnestly pay attention to the anti-parachutist training of the militia and promptly solve the problems that will crop up during the training. The militia departments should conscientiously and satisfactorily act as the advisors of local party committees and carefully and satisfactorily arrange the anti-parachutist training of the militia.

CSO: 4005/177

BRIEFS

MILITIA POLITICAL WORK MEETING IN HEBEI--Amid the upsurge of seriously studying and implementing the 12th Party Congress spirit, following study by the provincial military district CPC Committee and approval by the provincial CPC Committee, a provincial symposium on political education for the militia opened at the Military District Hall on 5 November. The symposium has been convened by the provincial CPC Committee Propaganda Department and the provincial military district Political Department. Over 400 people are attending the meeting. Representatives of the Mass Work Department of the PLA General Political Department, the Beijing PLA units, and PLA units stationed in Hebei are attending by invitation. Responsible comrades of the Beijing PLA units and the provincial CPC Committee, government and military district Wu Dai, Gao Yang and Ma Hui attended the meeting, Comrade Xu Chunxing presided, and Comrade Fei Guozhu delivered the opening speech. Guided by the 12th Party Congress spirit, this meeting will seriously analyze the situation in political education for the militia, sum up and exchange experiences, and concentrate on studying the question of implementing political education for the militia over large areas. It will mobilize the militia of the whole province to study the 12th Party Congress documents in depth and work to fulfill the combat tasks put forward by the congress. [Excerpts] [HK120303 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 6 Nov 82]

FINE MILITIA INSTRUCTOR RALLY ENDS--The commendation rally for fine militia instructors of Shandong Provincial Military District came to a successful end in Jinan on 10 November. Responsible persons of the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee, the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, the provincial people's government and the Jinan PLA units, including Qin Hezhen, (Li Shiying), Lin Ping, Chen Lei, Wang Baomin and Song Yimin, and responsible comrades of the Shandong Provincial Military District, including Zhao Feng, and (Liu Lian), presented citations of merit to 688 representatives of fine militia instructors. At the meeting, Zhao Feng, commander of the provincial military district, delivered a report entitled: "Actively Strengthen the Building of Militia Instructor Ranks and Strive to Create a New Situation in Militia Work." On the report, he gave a brief account of the profound changes that have taken place in the past year after the strengthening of the training of militia instructors, military training for militia and political education and he summed up the experience in striving to be good militia instructors and set forth concrete suggestions for

strengthening the building of militia instructors in the days to come. During the meeting, 30 fine militia instructors gave speeches introducing exemplary cases and gave teaching demonstrations. [Text] [SK111035 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 10 Nov 82]

HENAN PLA RECRUITMENT--The Political Department of the Henan provincial PLA command has recently issued a circular calling on the units under the command to conscientiously select good candidates to take the unified matriculation examination for all PLA military academies and institutes in 1983. The circular insists that the leading groups and political departments at all levels pay great attention to this work. They must adhere to the principle and select candidates strictly according to the qualification standard in order to select for training those good fighters who have good military and political quality, work hard, enjoy high prestige among fellow fighters, have shown promise and are willing to devote themselves to the cause of modernizing our national defense. When the candidates are selected, all the units should step up training them. They may hold evening courses to help in the revision of all their candidates, send training teams to train them in batches or hold additional cultural education courses for them in order to raise their leading and organizing abilities and cultural level. [Text] [HK250928 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 23 Nov 82]

QINGHAI POLICE FORCE MEETING--The Qinghai Provincial People's Armed Police Force recently held a work conference, which demanded that cadres and policemen throughout the province brace their spirits and contribute to protecting and promoting socialist modernization. The people's armed police force is a component part of the people's police. Its tasks are, under the leadership of the party committees and public security organs at all levels, to uphold state sovereignty and dignity, preserve social order and state security, and defend the safety of people's lives and property and the socialist modernization drive. Since its establishment, the leading comrades of the provincial people's armed police force have gone down to the grassroots to investigate and study, publicize the 12th Party Congress spirit and solve problems in the units in carrying out duties and training and in production. Addressing the conference, (Huo Quan), director of the provincial Public Security Department and a responsible person of the provincial people's armed police force, demanded that a sound job be done in building the force. The province should strive to build this force into an armed police force suited to the needs of the struggle in the new period and possessing very good political, military and professional qualities within 3 to 5 years. Leading comrades of the party, government and army in the province Song Lin, Ma Wanli, Yang Shufang, (Bie Zhongyan), Du Bingguang and (Meng Yishan) attended the meeting. [Text] [HK250236 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Nov 82]

GUANGXI ARMED BORDER POLICE--A gathering to commend progressive units and individuals in building socialist spiritual civilizations in the Guangxi people's armed border defense police units opened in Nanning this afternoon. Regional government vice chairman Shi Qingsheng and leading comrades of the regional public security department and people's armed border defense police units attended the opening ceremony. The meeting is being attended by 206 representatives. Comrade Shi Qingsheng spoke at the ceremony. (Pan Diyan),

a responsible person of the Guangxi people's armed border defense police units, delivered the opening speech. He said: The tasks of this gathering are, guided by the 12th Party Congress spirit, to sum up and exchange experiences in border defense and security and in building socialist spiritual civilization in the units, commend the progressives, set up typical examples, further mobilize the whole body of border defense cadres and policemen to study and implement the 12th Party Congress spirit, stimulate them to carry out a sustained way the drive to possess 4 things, stress 3 and have no fear of 2, promote the building of socialist spiritual civilization in the units, stimulate all border defense and security work, and make new contributions in defending the motherland's border and preserving social order there. (Yu Quanyu), a reponsible comrade of the Guangxi people's armed border defense police, read out a congratulatory cable from the border defense and security general bureau of the Ministry of Public Security. [Excerpts] [HK300352 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 29 Nov 82]

XINJIANG PLA CONGRESS--An Urumqi PLA units congress of progressive messhalls and farms concluded in Urumqi on 12 November. Urumqi PLA units Commander Xiao Quanfu and political commissar Tan Youlin spoke at the congress. [HK130211 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 12 Nov 82]

CSO: 4005/198 END

JPRS 82527

23 December 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 375

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82527

23 December 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 375

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. Envoys, Syrian Foreign Minister Hold Talks
(XINHUA, 25 Nov 82) 1

Thirty OAU Members To Continue Summit Efforts
(XINHUA, 27 Nov 82) 2

OAU Summit Formally Postponed
(XINHUA, 26 Nov 82) 3

U.S.'s Colombia Astronauts Arrive in Beijing
(XINHUA, 3 Dec 82) 5

Pakistan's Ziaul Haq Cited on South Asian Peace
(XINHUA, 29 Nov 82) 7

Bangladesh's Ershad Says PRC Visit Successful
(XINHUA, 4 Dec 82) 8

Bangladesh Press Hails Ershad's PRC Visit
(XINHUA, 6 Dec 82) 9

NPC's Peng Chong Speaks at Dinner in Manila
(XINHUA, 26 Nov 82) 10

Philippine Prime Minister Receives NPC Official
(XINHUA, 29 Nov 82) 11

PRC NPC Delegation Feted in New Zealand
(XINHUA, 1 Dec 82) 12

Afghan Guerrillas Frustrate Soviet Offensive
(XINHUA, 1 Dec 82) 13

Malaysian Prime Minister on SRV Threat to Peace
(XINHUA, 8 Dec 82) 14

Malaysian Prime Minister Pledges Support for CGDK
(XINHUA, 9 Dec 82) 15

Yugoslav Paper Calls for Soviet Afghan Pull Out
(XINHUA, 2 Dec 82) 16

Opposition Scores Victories in Brazil's Elections
(XINHUA, 1 Dec 82) 17

Mitterrand, Mubarak Hold Joint Press Conference
(XINHUA, 25 Nov 82) 18

France To Supply Nuclear Fuel to India
(XINHUA, 28 Nov 82) 19

Briefs
Castro Cites Mozambique Threat 20
Husayn Leaves Pakistan for PRC 20

PARTY AND STATE

Bai Rubing Views New Constitution
(Shandong Provincial Service, 28 Nov 82) 21

Shandong's Zhao Lin Views New Constitution
(Shandong Provincial Service, 28 Nov 82) 23

People's Deputies Hail New Constitution
(XINHUA, 4 Dec 82) 25

Leaders at Party for NPC Deputies, CPPCC Members
(XINHUA, 8 Dec 82) 27

Beijing Press Highlights Success of NPC
(XINHUA, 11 Dec 82) 28

Beijing Papers on 5th CPPCC Session Closing
(XINHUA, 12 Dec 82) 29

Professor Huang Yaonian on China's United Front
(XINHUA, 29 Nov 82) 30

NPC Receives Letters With Proposals, Greetings
(XINHUA, 2 Dec 82) 32

'ZHEJIANG' Circular on Selecting Advanced Units
(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 18 Nov 82) 35

Liaoning's NPC Deputy on New Constitution
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 27 Nov 82) 36

Shanghai on Struggle Against Economic Crisis
(Shanghai City Service, 16 Nov 82) 38

Jiangsu's Hong Peilin on Socialist Democracy
(JIANGSU Provincial Service, 17 Nov 82) 40

Jiangsu's Han Peixin at NPC Panel Discussions
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 28 Nov 82) 42

Shanghai's Hu Lijiao Praises New Constitution
(JIEFANG RIBAO, 30 Nov 82) 43

Jiangsu NPC Delegate on New Constitution
(Zhou Aiguo; XINHUA Domestic Service, 1 Dec 82) 45

Shandong Cadres Study Documents at Party School
(DAZHONG RIBAO, 3 Nov 82) 46

People's Congress Meeting Closes 10 Nov 82
(Shandong Provincial Service, 10 Nov 82) 49

Shandong Official on Rectification of Party Organizations
(Shandong Provincial Service, 12 Nov 82) 50

Shandong Urges Enhancing of Winter-Spring Security Work
(Shandong Provincial Service, 25 Nov 82) 52

Shandong Urges Reorganization of Organs
(Shandong Provincial Service, 27 Nov 82) 54

Provincial CPPCC Committee Standing Committee Session
(Shandong Provincial Service, 1 Dec 82) 56

Yang Yichen Speech on Spiritual Civilization
(HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 2 Nov 82) 57

Heilongjiang Radio Calls for Enhanced Rural Ideo-Political Work
(Heilongjiang Provincial Service, 12 Nov 82) 61

Heilongjiang Party Meeting Calls for Communist Education
(Heilongjiang Provincial Service, 13 Nov 82) 63

Zhao Dezun States His Views at NPC Session
(Heilongjiang Provincial Service, 27 Nov 82) 65

Heilongjiang Meeting on Improving Public Security
(Heilongjiang Provincial Service, 27 Nov 82)..... 67

'HEILONGJIANG RIBAO' on Improving Party Workstyle
(Heilongjiang Provincial Service, 30 Nov 82)..... 69

Heilongjiang Conference on Training CYL Cadres
(Heilongjiang Provincial Service, 1 Dec 82)..... 70

Jilin Urges Enhancement of Winter-Spring Security
(Jilin Provincial Service, 25 Nov 82)..... 71

Yunnan Journal on Understanding Class Struggle
(Shi Wen; SIXIANG ZHANXIAN, 24 Oct 82)..... 73

'Earnest Study' Leads to Correct Ideology
(You Gan; XINHUA RIBAO, 31 Aug 82)..... 82

Jiangsu CYL 8th Congress Meets
(Shen Yun; XINHUA RIBAO, 30 Aug 82)..... 85

Consolidation of Party Organizations To Meet Modernization Needs Emphasized
(Rui Zhi; GUANGZHOU RIBAO, 28 Oct 82)..... 87

Central Committee Policy on Class Struggle Explained
(GUANGZHOU RIBAO, 21 Oct 82)..... 90

Briefs
Heilongjiang: Self-Educated Youths 92

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Westernization Movement Discussed
(Xia Dongyuan; SHEHUI KEXUE, 15 Sep 82)..... 93

Education Stressed in Fujian, Hebei
(RENMIN RIBAO, 8, 9 Nov 82)..... 104

Fujian Education in Rural Areas
Gao Yang Stresses Education

Graduate Student Praises Communist Party
(Jin Yenshi; GUANGMING RIBAO, 9 Oct 82)..... 107

Attract Intellectuals, Scientists to Frontier Areas
(Wang Kang; GUANGMING RIBAO, 6 Oct 82)..... 110

Ningxia Hui Party Committee Promotes Cleanup Campaign
(NINGXIA RIBAO, 1 Oct 82)..... 114

Briefs
Qinghai Rural Boarding Schools 117

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Article Comments on Reopened Sino-Soviet Talks
(CHENG MING, Nov 82) 118

Top CPC Leaders Criticize Hua Guofeng
(Qiu Ting; CHENG MING, Nov 82) 123

Commentary Urges Staunch Anti-Left Line
(Gao Wen; CHENG MING, Nov 82) 126

Briefs
Ziyang to Visit Australia 128

TAIWAN

Seminar on Advance French Technology Opens
(CNA, 1 Dec 82) 129

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. ENVOYS, SYRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER HOLD TALKS

OW251238 Beijing XINHUA in English 1716 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Text] Damascus, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--U.S. special envoys Philip Habib and Morris Draper held talks here with Syrian Foreign Minister'Abd al-Halim Khaddam yesterday on the withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian troops from Lebanon.

No communique was issued after the talks, but reliable sources here disclosed that Habib had proposed simultaneous withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian troops in two stages.

The official newspaper AL-BAATH said that Syria would not discuss withdrawal of Syrian troops with anyone except the Lebanese authorities.

On the withdrawal of Palestinian fighters from Lebanon, Khaddam told Habib that Syria could not speak for the Palestinians, but would be willing to accept the PLO fighters from Lebanon.

It is reported that the two sides also discussed exchange of prisoners of war between Israel and Syria.

Habib and Draper arrived here yesterday morning from Lebanon.

CSO: 4000/30

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THIRTY OAU MEMBERS TO CONTINUE SUMMIT EFFORTS

OW272320 Beijing XINHUA in English 1637 GMT 27 Nov 82

[Text] Tripoli, 27 Nov (XINHUA)--Thirty members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) decided last night to make further efforts to convene the 19th summit which has been postponed twice in four months.

In declarations adopted at the end of informal meetings here, heads of state and government of these member states expressed their regret at the two unsuccessful attempts to convene the summit and said the situation facing the OAU threatens the continued existence of the organization. They established a 12-member contact group to pursue a successful summit opening.

The 30 members agreed the mandate of the current chairman should continue until the summit is convened, and the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the OAU should be held next year in Addis Ababa, the headquarters of the organization. In addition, they called on all member states to meet their financial obligations to the OAU.

The leaders expressed their "full support" for the Namibian people in their sgruggle for self-determination, freedom and national independence.

The UN Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia remains the only basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem, they said.

The leaders reiterated their support for the South African people's struggle for national liberation and called on all member states to give assistance to national liberation movements recognized by the OAU.

They "strongly" condemned the U.S. administration for "continued economic, military and nuclear collaboration with the racist regime of South Africa."

They also condemned Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and demanded an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon as well as all occupied Arab territories.

CSO: 4000/30

OAU SUMMIT FORMALLY POSTPONED

OW260832 Beijing XINHUA in English 0730 GMT 26 Nov 82

[Text] Tripoli, 25 Nov (XINHUA)--The 19th summit of the Organization of African Unity was formally postponed again because of lack of a quorum of 34 member states present and the "stumbling block" was the problem of Chad. This was announced by OAU Assistant Secretary General Peter Onu at a press conference tonight. The decision was made at an informal meeting of 30 heads of state and government after four hours' discussion tonight.

They decided that: First, the current OAU chairman, Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi will continue to serve the organization in that capacity before the holding of the summit; second, the secretary and his assistant secretaries general will also continue to serve in their posts until the summit is held; third, member states ought to continue to pay their contributions to the organization; fourth, a contact committee has bene set up to try another attempt to hold the 19th summit.

The contact committee is composed of 12 members: Kenya (chairman), Tanbania, Zambia, Mali, Congo, Libya, Mozambique, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Uganda, Angola and Lesotho. The assistant secretary general said despite the compromise agreement reached last night on the Chadian representation, only 30 member states' delegations reaffirmed their readiness to attend the summit. And Upper Volta delegation is ready to come, he said. Meanwhile, Libya, Ethiopia, Madagascar and Mozambique announced that in view of this situation they withdraw from "the concession" they made on the Chadian representation.

Onu announced that ministers of the 30 member states who remain are going to meet tomorrow, 26 November, to draft a declaration on the question of Namibia, South Africa and its occupation of part of Angola as well as its role of de-stabilization in southern Africa. At that informal meeting, Libyan leader Al-Qadhdhafi said that Libya is ready to hold the 19th OAU Summit at any time in this country, Onu said.

The 19th OAU Summit was originally scheduled for August this year, but failed to take place for lack of a quorum as a result of the serious difference over the membership of Western Sahara. Fourteen delegations including Morocco walked out of the 39th Ministerial Council Meeting which was in preparation of the summit. In the past three months and more, the six-nation contact

group including Tanzania, as well as the current OAU chairman mave made strenuous efforts to persuade both sides to make a compromise for African unity. On 30 October, Western Sahara announced voluntary abstention from the meeting, thus paving the way for the current meetings.

Unfortunately, the issue of the Chadian representation broke out at the ministerial council meeting preceeding the summit, leading to the lack of a quorum both at the council meeting and for the summit. Thirty-two member states' delegations reached a compromise agreement late last night, giving official OAU recognition to Chadian President Hissein Habre's government but urging him to voluntarily declare that he would not take part in the present summit. However, the compromise remains unacceptable to the Habre government and a number of member states. Hence there was still no quorum for a formal summit meeting.

CSO: 4000/30

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S.'S COLOMBIA ASTRONAUTS ARRIVE IN BEIJING

OW031845 Beijing XINHUA in English 1558 GMT 3 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, 3 Dec (XINHUA)--Two American astronauts and their delegation were welcomed by the Chinese Society of Astronautics at a meeting here this afternoon.

The delegation from the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration includes Col Jack Robert Lousma, commander, and Col Charles G. Fullerton, [words indistinct] test series No 3, and their wives. During the meeting, the two astronauts presented reports on space activities and technology in the United States to the more than 600 Chinese officials and experts in space technology.

Sun Jiadong, vice president of the Chinese Academy of Space Technology and vice chairman of the Council of the Chinese Society of Astronautics, presided at this afternoon's meeting.

He said that in recent years the exchanges between the astronautic departments of China and the United States have increased. "The current visit of the [passage indistinct].

Sun Jiadong congratulated the successful testing of the Columbia Space Shuttle and paid tribute to the efforts of Commander Lousma and Pilot Fullerton.

The meeting opened with the presentation of flowers to the astronauts and their wives by Chinese boys and girls.

Lousma said at the meeting that he had seen China hundreds of times during the space flight. "This time I have the privilege to see China on the ground. It would take only 24 minutes to reach China from the United States by a space shuttle," he said.

He said that he hoped to see more cooperation between experts in space technology so as to make the world a better place to live.

During the meeting, a film was presented showing the third of a series of test flights of the space [passage indistinct] were shown as well as slides of

of Chinese landscapes shot by the American astronauts during their space flight.

The astronauts explained the film and slides and answered questions about their space life raised by participants at the meeting.

The Chinese Society of Astronautics hosted a Beijing rost duck banquet this evening for the American guests.

Song Jian, vice minister of astronautics, and Ren Xinmin, chairman of the Council of the Chinese Society of Astronautics were present.

After the banquet, [words indistinct] presented to the Chinese Society of Astronautics photos of the sources and mouths of the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers taken from the space shuttle and the launching and landing of the space shuttle Colombia during its third test flight.

The astronauts arrived here yesterday evening at the invitation of the Chinese Society of Astronautics. During their stay in China, they will conduct technological exchanges with Chinese scientists of astronautics, visit factories and institutes of astronautics as well as scenic spots and historical sites.

CSO: 4000/30

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PAKISTAN'S ZIAUL HAQ CITED ON SOUTH ASIAN PEACE

OW290338 Beijing XINHUA in English 0243 GMT 29 Nov 82

[Text] Islamabad, 28 Nov (XINHUA)--Pakistan President Ziaul Haq said here today that the problem of peace and security in South Asia has acquired an impelling sense of urgency for the international community.

He said this in his message to the First International Conference on the Strategy for Peace and Security in South Asia which opened here today.

He said, "Our policies are geared towards creating an environment conducive to durable peace and security."

"It is only in such an environment that the third world countries can devote their full attention to their economic development and to the improvement of the quality of life of their people," the president said.

The conference co-sponsored by the Pakistan Institute of Strategic Studies and the area study centre, Quaid-e-Azam (Jinnah) University in Islamabad, will last for three days. Attending the conference are scholars, experts and analysts from 14 foreign countries--Bangladesh, Bhutan, Britain, China, West Germany, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Maldives, Nepal, Sir Lanka, USSR, and the United States.

CSO: 4000/30

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BANGLADESH'S ERSHAD SAYS PRC VISIT SUCCESSFUL

OW041653 Beijing XINHUA in English 1608 GMT 4 Dec 82

[Text] Dhaka, 4 Dec (XINHUA)--Bangladesh chief martial law administrator and head of state Lt General Hussain Mohammad Ershad today described his week-long visit to China as "very successful and fruitful."

Speaking to reporters at Dhaka Airport upon his return from China this morning, Ershad said he had "free and frank talks with Chinese leaders on all bilateral, regional and international matters of common concern."

He added Bangladesh and China had identical views on the "burning world issues like Afghanistan, Kampuchea and the Middle East."

He stated that Bangladesh had extended formal recognition to the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea as the legitimate government of Kampuchea.

Ershad said a joint economic commission will be set up following talks between Bangladesh and China.

Ershad said that he was thankful for the "warm and cordial" welcome accorded to him and other members in China.

"The Chinese are very good friends and they are true to their words for which they are very much confident," he added.

CSO: 4000/30

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BANGLADESH PRESS HAILS ERSHAD'S PRC VISIT

OW0616152 Beijing XINHUA in English 1504 GMT 6 Dec 82

[Text] Dhaka, 6 Dec (XINHUA)--Bangladesh newspapers today described the visit to China by Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt General Hussain Mohammad Ershad as "having opened up new horizons of bilateral cooperation between China and Bangladesh."

The BANGLADESH TIMES said in an editorial entitled "Successful Visit" that one very important and tangible outcome of the visit is the agreement by the two countries to set up a joint economic commission for exploring the possibilities of joint ventures, expansion of bilateral trade and strengthening of economic relations.

The editorial said, "Ershad's China visit is not to be judged merely on what fresh prospects for increased state to state collaboration it has generated, because the intrinsic value of the visit lies in the fact that the government leaders of the two countries have been able to establish personal rapport among themselves which is vitally important in the continual strengthening of traditional friendly ties."

It pointed out that the relations between the two countries are firmly placed on condifence and trust which are strengthened every day through increased government to government and people to people contacts.

The BANGLADESH OBSERVER said in an editorial that Ershad's visit to thina has opened new prospects for more expansive cooperation and bilateral action in the economic and other fields.

CSO: 4000/30

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NPC'S PENG CHONG SPEAKS AT DINNER IN MANILA

OW262009 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 26 Nov 82

[Text] Manila, 26 Nov (XINHUA)--China will continue to work together with the ASEAN and all other justice-upholding countries to help bring about an early, just and reasonable settlement of the Kampuchean question.

Peng Chong, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress (NPC), made these remarks at a dinner given today by Querube C. Makalintal, speaker of the Philippine Batasang Pambansa (National Assembly), in honor of the visiting Chinese NPC delegation, which arrived here yesterday.

He stressed the implementation of the UN resolutions on Kampuchea and the declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

Peng Chong highly appreciated the Philippines and the other ASEAN countries for their support to the Kampuchean people led by the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea in their struggle against Vietnamese aggression.

He also paid high tribute to the great successes achieved by the Philippine Government and people, under the leadership of President Ferdinand Marcos, in opposing hegemonist aggression and expansion, promoting the reform of the international economic order and developing their national economy and culture.

Makalintal said that Peng Chong's visit "will be the beginning of closer relations of our two parliaments." "The relations between our two peoples will grow more and more friendly," he added.

Present at the dinner were Philippine Prime Minister Cesar Virata and other senior officials. Chinese Ambassador Mo Yangzhong was also present.

CSO: 4000/30

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PHILIPPINE PRIME MINISTER RECEIVES NPC OFFICIAL

OW291746 Beijing XINHUA in English 1525 GMT 29 Nov 82

[Text] Manila, 29 Nov (XINHUA)--Both the Philippines and China told that close ties between them are important for the maintenance of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

This is the view shared by both sides when Philippine Prime Minister Cesar Virata met Peng Chong, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress (NPC) and had a friendly conversation with him here this afternoon.

Peng Chong extended to Prime Minister Virata an invitation to visit China any time convenient to him. Virata accepted the invitation.

Virata said, "Our two countries all need peace and stability in this region. We feel the important role China plays in maintaining peace and stability in the region."

The prime minister said, judging from the latest reports he received, China's economic development is going on steadily and soundly. He expressed his congratulations on China's achievements in its efforts of modernization.

He also congratulated Chinese athletes on their excellent performance in the Ninth Asian Games.

Peng Chong briefed Virata on China's modernization progress. He said China needs peace and tranquility in economic construction. The friendly relations between China and the Philippines is important in maintaining peace in Southeast Asia. He expressed the hope that the close and friendly relations between the two countries will further expand.

CSO: 4000/30

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRC NPC DELEGATION FETED IN NEW ZEALAND

OW011544 Beijing XINHUA in English 1528 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Text] Wellington, 1 Dec (XINHUA)--New Zealand Speaker of the House of Representatives John Harrison held a luncheon here today in honor of a Chinese National People's Congress (NPC) delegation headed by its standing committee vice chairman Zhu Xuefan.

After a toast by Speaker Harrison, New Zealand Minister of Social Welfare Venn Young said the two countries have great thirst for goodwill and knowledge of each other. He said both countries are committed to peace and stability in the world.

Deputy head of the Chinese delegation Liu Danian answered that China and New Zealand share common concerns over the stability and prosperity of the Pacific region and maintain identical or similar views on many important international issues.

Attending the luncheon were many government ministers and Bill Rowling, leader of the Opposition Labor Party.

Both hosts and guests noted the gratifying development of friendly relations between the two countries since they established diplomatic relations 10 years ago.

Before the luncheon, the Chinese delegation called on Speaker John Harrison and Prime Minister Robert Muldoon on separate occasions.

Members of the delegation also had meetings with Labor Party leader Bill Rowling and Social Credit Party leader Bruce Beetham.

The five-member Chinese delegation arrived here yesterday after a similar visit to Australia.

CSO: 4000/30

AFGHAN GUERRILLAS FRUSTRATE SOVIET OFFENSIVE

OW020630 Beijing XINHUA in English 1846 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Text] Islamabad, 1 Dec (XINHUA)--The Afghan Freedom Fighters have frustrated a recent Soviet offensive attempting to capture the liberated areas of Sorkh Ab Valley in Lowgar Province, according to Agency Afghan Press (AAP).

The Soviet troops advanced from Mohammad Aghah Subdivision to the liberated areas in the Sorkh Ab Valley, 65 kilometres south of Kabul on 16 November. They met with strong resistance from the Afghan guerrillas and could not push ahead due to the mined roads. Therefore they had to retreat after 20 men were killed and five tanks were destroyed.

Another AAP report said the Freedom Fighters last month damaged the 250-kilometre double pipeline for petrol and diesel oil supply for the largest Soviet army centre at Qala Gai to the north of Hindu Kush Mountain Ranges. Oil supply was cut off at several points.

AAP reported today that Brigadier of the Afghan Air Force Mohammad Sarwar Shinwari, director of operations at the Kabul Airport, has defected from Afghanistan to take shelter in Pakistan.

He disclosed that 30,000 to 40,000 Soviet troops have been killed in the three-year war in Afghanistan.

CSO: 4000/30

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MALAYSIAN PRIME MINISTER ON SRV THREAT TO PEACE

OW082134 Beijing XINHUA in English 1844 GMT 8 Dec 82

[Text] Bangkok, 8 Dec (XINHUA)--Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed said here this evening that "Vietnam's military intervention and continued occupation of Kampuchea represents not only a direct interference in the internal affairs of the country, but also a threat to the peace and stability of the whole region."

Mahathir flew here for a two-day official visit to Thailand this afternoon. He made the above statement at a dinner given by Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda at the Government House.

The Malaysian prime minister vowed to make "vigorous efforts to achieve a political solution of the Kampuchean problem so that the Kampuchean people will again enjoy their freedom and independence, and countries in the region will enjoy durable peace and stability."

"The establishment of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea is an important and historic event in the achievement of a political solution to the Kampuchean problem," he said, adding that "we must continue to urge for a political solution based on the ICK (International Conference on Kampuchea) declaration and UN resolution."

The Malaysian prime minister declared that "as close neighbours, Malaysia stands by Thailand in the face of events in Kampuchea." "Malaysia will work closely with Thailand for the preservation of peace and stability in the region," he added.

He also stressed the cooperation between the two countries in economic and other fields.

In his speech, Thai Prime Minister Prem said, "both Thailand and Malaysia share the view that lasting peace is a precondition of prosperity and well-being. We have aspirations that Southeast Asia should be free from war, hunger and poverty. We also want Southeast Asia to be a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality and, together with our partners in ASEAN, our efforts will not merely be exercises in futility."

CSO: 4000/30

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MALAYSIAN PRIME MINISTER PLEDGES SUPPORT FOR CGDK

OW091628 Beijing XINHUA in English 1548 GMT 9 Dec 82

[Text] Bangkok, 9 Dec (XINHUA)--Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed this afternoon pledged his country's support for Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, president of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, to address the non-aligned summit conference scheduled for next March in India.

He told reporters here that Malaysia would continue to give moral support to the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea.

"If they (the Coalition Government) have problems of social character, like the shortage of food or whatever, we will do something we can to help with our limited capacity," he added.

On his second visit to Thailand since taking over the premiership in July last year, Mahathir had talks with Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon yesterday afternoon on bilateral relations, international situations and the Kampuchean problem.

After visiting some agricultural projects, Mahathir said Malaysia has a lot to learn from Thailand and he stressed that economic cooperation between the two countries should be enhanced.

He was received in audience by the King of Thailand before leaving for home late this afternoon.

CSO: 4000/30

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

YUGOSLAV PAPER CALLS FOR SOVIET AFGHAN PULL OUT

OW030155 Beijing XINHUA in English 1620 GMT 2 Dec 82

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Dec (XINHUA)--A commentary carried in the Yugoslav newspaper BORBA today demands the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

The commentary points out that it has been three years since the Soviet Union started the military occupation of the once independent and non-aligned Afghanistan. Last month, the UN General Assembly reiterated for the fourth time that foreign troops must withdraw from Afghanistan and respect must be shown for that country's independence and for its people's right to choose their own government and decide their own destiny. An overwhelming majority of the UN member countries, especially neutral and non-aligned countries, support this resolution of the UN General Assembly. This resolution also condemned the creation of another hotbed of war, which poses a new threat to world peace and security, BORBA says.

The commentary denounces the foreign troops for using the most up-to-date weapons in their military operations, which compelled three million Afghan people to leave their homes and join the ranks of the millions of refugees in the world to live a sad life without any guarantee.

The commentary emphatically points out that Yugoslavia joins with all democratic, socialist and progressive forces the world over to uphold peace and oppose the presence in any part of the world of imperialist, hegemonist and domination forces.

CSO: 4000/30

OPPOSITION SCORES VICTORIES IN BRAZIL'S ELECTIONS

OW020640 Beijing XINHUA in English 1859 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Text] Brasilia, 30 Nov (XINHUA)--Brazil's ruling Democratic Socialist Party has emerged victorious in 12 states while opposition parties have won in the other 10 states in the nationwide elections of state governors and senators held on 15 November.

The elections are the largest in scale since 1964 when a military government seized power and also the first direct elections of powerful state governors. More than half of the 58 million people who went to the polls are young people aged from 18 to 35, with most of them voting for the first time.

What is noteworthy is the election of Leonel Brizola, president of the Democratic Labour Party and former governor of the Rio Grande do Sul State, as the governor of the Rio De Janeiro State. President of the Workers' Party and Ignacio da Silva was voted out while Franco Montoro, candidate of Brazil's biggest opposition party, the Democratic Movement Party, was elected governor of the Sao Paulo State. [sentence as received]

Under the constitution of Brazil, a new president will be chosen in 1985 by an electoral college composed of the members of both houses of the congress and representatives of the state assembly members. The outcome of the recent elections will have a direct bearing on the presidential election.

CSO: 4000/30

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MITTERRAND, MUBARAK HOLD JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE

OW252047 Beijing XINHUA in English 1858 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Text] Cairo, 25 Nov (XINHUA)--Egyptian President Husni Mubarak and visiting French President Francois Mitterrand today called for mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestinians and the realization of the Palestinians' right to self-determination.

They made the call at a joint press converence here after their two rounds of talks on the Middle East and other topics.

During Mitterrand's visit here, Mubarak set seven principles which Egypt views as necessary for solving the Middle East problem. These principles included the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, an end to all forms of foreign intervention in Lebanese affairs, respect for Lebanese sovereignty, a stop to the call for establishment of a substitute entity of the Palestinians because Palestinian identity would find its expression only on the Palestinian land, an end to all Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab lands and resumption of peace negotiations.

Mubarak urged the Palestinians to recognize Israel, saying: "Even if Israel did not make a recognition, PLO's recognition would open the way for a U.S. dialogue with the PLO." Palestinian-Jordanian cooperation would also push forward the peace process, he added.

Mitterrand said that France's position on the Middle East problem rests principally on the rights of peoples and states. He advocated a reciprocal recognition between Israel and the Palestinians as the first step towards peace. He upheld the French-Egyptian Middle East peace initiative as forming, along with the other peace initiatives, a groundwork on which endeavors should be made for the realization of Middle East peace.

The Egyptian and French sides also discussed during their talks the strengthening of their cooperation in various fields.

Mitterrand is the first EEC head of state to visit Egypt since Mubarak assumed the presidence in October last year. Pursuing a more balanced foreign policy, Egypt has developed its relations with West European countries. Mitterrand left Cairo this afternoon to visit Aswan and Luxor. He will leave Egypt tomorrow for India.

CSO: 4000/24

FRANCE TO SUPPLY NUCLEAR FUEL TO INDIA

OW 281900 Beijing XINHUA in English 1833 GMT 28 Nov 82

[Text] Paris, 27 Nov (XINHUA)--France today agreed to supply India with the 20 tons of slightly enriched uranium hexafluoride needed annually for one of its nuclear power plants.

The Franco-Indian nuclear agreement was signed just before today's start of French President Francois Mitterrand's four-day visit to India.

The uranium is necessary for making combustible elements to feed the two 200-negawatt boiling water reactors at the U.S.-build Tarapur Nuclear Power Station, which went into service in 1969.

The Franco-Indian agreement succeeds the 30-year U.S.-Indian agreement signed in 1963. The United States stopped supplying uranium to India in 1978 after New Delhi refused U.S. demands to accept regular inspection of all its nuclear sites as stipulated in the U.S. non-proliferation act.

It was reported that after four years of diplomatic negotiations between the United States and India, the two sides reached an agreement in principle on 29 July this year whereby France would replace the United States as a supplier for the Tarapur Nuclear Power Plant.

CSO: 4000/24

BRIEFS

CASTRO CITES MOZAMBIQUE THREAT--Havana, 27 Nov (XINHUA)--In his capacity as chairman of the non-aligned movement, Fidel Castro Ruz today urged all member states to take unified action against South Africa's possible military invasion of Mozambique. In his message to heads of state or government of the organization's member states, Castro said that the member states of the non-aligned movement should make joint efforts to compel South African troops to withdraw from the Mozambican border. The message also demanded immediate UN action to stop the racists' sinister designs. [Text] [OW281451 Beijing XINHUA in English 1207 GMT 28 Nov 82]

HUSAYN LEAVES PAKISTAN FOR PRC--Islamabad, 5 Dec (XINHUA)--A delegation of the Arab "Committee of Seven Members" headed by King Husayn of Jordan left here for China today after a 17-hour stay in Pakistan. King Husayn, accompanied by foreign ministers from six Arab countries and Secretary General of the Arab League Chedli Klibi, is on a mission to detail the Arab plan for Middle East peace to five permanent member nations of the UN Security Council. At a dinner in honor of the delegation last evening, Pakistan President Ziaul Haq reaffirmed resolute support for the Palestine cause and the Arab peace plan. [Text] [OW051126 Beijing XINHUA in English 1101 GMT 5 Dec 82]

CSO: 4000/30

PARTY AND STATE

BAI RUBING VIEWS NEW CONSTITUTION

SK290921 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 28 Nov 82

[Text] According to a XINHUA report: At a panel discussion held on 28 November, Bai Rubing, deputy to the Fifth National People's Congress and first secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee, said: The new constitution, which is a general constitution for running the state well and ensuring the state's stability and which will be approved at the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, will be an immeasurable guarantee for stabilizing the country's political situation and further promoting unity among all nationalities and an immeasurable impetus for creating a new situation in all fields of the four modernizations.

He said that he has three personal views on the revised draft constitution and Comrade Peng Zhen's report.

1) The revised draft constitution fully reflects the features of our new historical age. It echoes and attends to the prospects for developing the current practical situation.

The revised draft constitution, in its preface, general programme and articles, its exposition of state, social and economic systems and its regulations on citizens' rights and obligations and on foreign policies, clearly indicates a state situation in which our socialist construction has greatly developed since the reform of socialism. The new constitution is a guarantee for promoting the construction of a high-level socialist democratic country with high civilization. Therefore, the new constitution, having our national features, fits the needs for building the socialist modernization in the new historical age.

2) The revised draft constitution fully embodies the general guiding ideology that takes the four fundamental principles as a key link in the political field in our country. The four fundamental principles are closely interrelated and completely compatible.

The party led the country to carry the revolution to the end in order to win people's democracy and to establish people's political rights with a view to implementing socialism in line with the theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought. The four fundamental principles are our political bases

and a national treasure with which our Chinese nation has fought together to attain victory.

The four fundamental principles are included in the new constitution and affirmed by it in the form of supreme law. The new constitution will play a full role in mobilizing and upholding our country's political life in the future.

3) The revised draft constitution fully reflects the prime work of the state in the new age. In the past years, especially in the decade of turmoil, we experienced two bitter lessons. One is that the state became absolutely lawless and the other is that great attention was paid to political movements to the neglect of economic construction. We shall never do such stupid things again.

The revised draft constitution accurately stipulates that the state should focus on building socialist modernization in the future and that that is our basic task. In other words, the constitution of the state guarantees the four modernizations will not be obstructed and ensures they will be carried out to the end. This is one of the most important achievements in bringing order out of chaos that has been scored by the people of all nationalities under the leadership of the Party Central Committee. This is our accurate conclusions drawn from bitter experiences. It consists of the basic interests of the people.

We should concentrate on the issue of building spiritual civilization in the society. Attention should be paid to the two civilizations. Although the construction of the spiritual civilization is one of our basic tasks, it should fit and serve the material civilization. The central task is economic construction and we should make an overall arrangement for it.

CSO: 4005/206

SHANDONG'S ZHAO LIN VIEWS NEW CONSTITUTION

SK291151 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 28 Nov 82

[Text] According to a XINHUA report reprinted in DAZHONG RIBAO, Zhao Lin, head of the Shandong Provincial delegation to the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress and chairman of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress, said in a panel discussion: The draft of the revised constitution submitted to the congress for examination and approval sums up historical experiences in our country's socialist cause and reflects the fundamental interests and common demands of the people of all nationalities across our country and, therefore, is a cardinal law for the new historical stage in administering our country and giving our people peace and security. With such a good constitution, our socialist country will certainly grow and flourish.

In line with the practical situation of Shandong Province, Zhao Lin expressed some opinions on ways to study, propagate and implement the new constitution after it is approved.

1. The guidelines of the new constitution are totally identical to those of the 12th Party Congress. Therefore, the study, propagation and implementation of the new constitution should be closely integrated with the study and implementation of the documents of the 12th Party Congress. Cadres at all levels and the masses throughout the province are now penetratingly studying and implementing the guidelines and documents of the 12th Party Congress. After the new constitution is approved by the NPC, it will be necessary to make complementary arrangements for the study of the documents of the 12th Party Congress and the new constitution so as to closely integrate them. The study, propagation and implementation of the new constitution are major events with far-reaching significance. Standing committees of People's Congresses at all levels throughout the province should pay special attention to them and make the new constitution known to every household. People's deputies should not only set examples in studying, propagating and implementing the new constitution, but should also see to it that People's Congresses standing committees, people's governments and judicial departments handle affairs and carry out their duties according to the constitution.

2. The new constitution extends the functions and powers of the NPC Standing Committee and the standing committees of local People's Congresses. We should

exercise the rights entrusted to us by the constitution to further improve local legislation work. Over the past 3 years or so, the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee has formulated and promulgated 25 items on local laws and regulations in line with practical needs. Of them, eight belong to the realm of finance and economy, five to politics and laws, five to local political power, four to social legislation and three belong to the realm of culture, education and public health. These local laws and regulations have energetically supported and promoted the work of governments and procuratorial and judicial organs and have played an important role in promoting stability and unity and in ensuring the four modernizations drive. In the future, we should formulate some additional new laws and regulations concerning the work of administration, economy, society, education, sciences and culture in accordance with the stipulations of the constitution and in line with the province's practical needs so as to create a new situation in our province's local legislative work.

3. It is necessary to further strengthen the building of People's Congress standing committees at all levels in order to meet the needs of new situations. The Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee has done a lot of work in the little over 3 years since it was established. The standing committee has sponsored 18 meetings of standing committee members, listened on many occasions to the work reports of governments and departments concerned, discussed many important matters on local administration, repeatedly organized people's deputies to make inspections at grassroots units and received and handled letters and visits from people's deputies and the masses. However, the standing committee has not done nearly enough. The new constitution further intensifies the People's Congress system and entrusts even heavier tasks to local People's Congress standing committees at all levels. Therefore, only by strengthening the building of People's Congress standing committees at all levels can we keep abreast of the new situations.

CSO: 4005/206

PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES HAIL NEW CONSTITUTION

OW041615 Beijing XINHUA in English 1101 GMT 4 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, 4 Dec (XINHUA)--Interviews with people's deputies by XINHUA today revealed their great expectations for China's new constitution. Following are their remarks:

Leo Jieqiong (law expert, vice mayor of Beijing): The constitution marks a new stage of development in China's socialist democracy. The process of its birth, which lasted more than two years and included four months of nationwide discussions, is a convincing testimony to our democracy. The principle underlying the new constitution is "all power belongs to the people."

Li Youxiu (a peasant deputy from an old revolutionary base in Jiangxi Province): I took part in drafting and revision the previous three constitutions. I think the present one is the best. It takes into full consideration the rights and interests of the peasants.

Zhu Erpei (51, party secretary of the Baoshan Iron and Steel Works, Shanghai): As I walked towards the ballot box, I had in mind our people's long-time wish for a constitutional guarantee of national stability. The "cultural revolution" taught our people how important a constitution is. I'm ready to defend the constitution with my life.

Ismail Amat (47, chairman of the People's Government of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region): The new constitution is an embodiment of the common wishes and interests of the Chinese people of all nationalities. I believe it will help us forward along the road of modernization and bring greater prosperity to the country, including the border regions.

Wang Chengzhu (nuclear physicist): I returned to China in 1956 after spending 15 years in the United States. I am very happy to see the importance attached to the new role of the intellectuals by the new constitution. I pledge to do my best and live up to the expectations.

Cao Yu (chairman of the Chinese Dramatists Association): The affirmation of the intellectual's role and the emphasis on the development of culture in the new constitution have the hearty support of our writers and artists. Though I am old, I will try to produce better works for our people, and I foresee a

larger contingent of talented young writers and artists to come to the fore. I recently visited Britain, France, the United States and Japan. I believe the people there and in other countries will welcome our constitution, which has underlined our wish for world peace.

Zhou Peiyuan (physicist, chairman of the China Association for Science and Technology): With 20 million scientists, writers and teachers today, which is four times the number of 1949, China surely can rely on its own efforts to advance towards modernization. The new constitution provides an additional guarantee for this.

Rong Yiren (general manager of the China International Trust and Investment Corporation): I am particularly interested in the constitutional provisions that we shall continue to follow a policy of opening to the outside world, while safeguarding our national independence. I am confident it will promote economic and technical cooperation between China and other countries.

Wang Wenjuan (26, Shanghai's ace archer and three-time world record breaker): When I cast my vote, I thought of shooting. I love the sport and I'll apply myself to hitting higher marks to bring credit to my country.

Kang Keqing (Red Army veteran, president of the All China Women's Federation): The constitution is the fruit of several generations' struggle. All mothers will feel particularly glad because it provides a bright future for their children.

Si Xia (one of China's best primary school teachers, from Nanjing): Having spent 55 years among pupils, I am very much satisfied with the stress the constitution puts on civic virtues, including the love for the motherland, the people, labor, science and socialism. This will help our children grow up with a healthy education.

Wu Yupu (63, NPC Standing Committee member, from the Tianjin Association for Science and Technology): I began working at 14 for an ironsmith shop, under a contract that literally placed my life at the mercy of the boss. Old China's constitution protected the wealthy and oppressed the poor. I have been happy since the birth of new China, and I think the new constitution will make us even happier.

CSO: 4000/25

PARTY AND STATE

LEADERS AT PARTY FOR NPC DEPUTIES, CPPCC MEMBERS

OW081606 Beijing XINHUA in English 1556 GMT 8 Dec 82

|Text| Beijing, 8 Dec (XINHUA)--More than 1,400 National People's Congress deputies and national committee members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference from minority nationalities, religious circles, Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan attended an evening party in the Great Hall of the People here today.

The party was sponsored by the United Front Work Department of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, the NPC Nationalities Committee, and State Nationalities Affairs Commission and the Bureau of Religious Affairs under the State Council.

Ulanhu, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, spoke at the party. He said he believed that the new constitution and the Sixth Five-Year Plan will inspire the whole nation to work for the great goal to be achieved by the end of the century.

He expressed hope that all those present at the party will further strengthen and consolidate the socialist relationship of various nationalities in China, develop and expand the patriotic united front and make new contributions to the reunification of the motherland.

Xi Zhongxun, member of the Political Bureau and the secretariat of the CPC Central Committee; Seypidin, Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme and Bainqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyaincain, vice chairmen of the NPC Standing Committee; and Liu Lantao, vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee, also attended.

CSO: 4000/31

PARTY AND STATE

BEIJING PRESS HIGHLIGHTS SUCCESS OF NPC

OW110234 Beijing XINHUA in English 0217 GMT 11 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, 11 Dec (XINHUA)--All newspapers in the Chinese capital today feature the success of the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress with a lively frontpage spread under banner headlines.

Editorializing on the event, the PEOPLE'S DAILY and the LIBERATION ARMY DAILY emphasize the guarantee for the implementation of the new constitution and the Sixth Five-Year Plan, and the other newspapers call for all-out efforts to fulfill the targets specified in the plan.

Photos of NPC Standing Committee Chairman Ye Jianying addressing the closing ceremony yesterday, Executive Chairman of the Presidium Yang Shangkun presiding over the meeting, and a picture showing the mammoth auditorium in the Great Hall of the People where the meeting was held are prominently frontpaged in all papers.

In an editorial entitled "The Most Powerful Guarantee," the PEOPLE'S DAILY says that the one billion people of China, with more than thirty years' experience since the founding of the People's Republic, including their bitter experience in the "Great Leap Forward" and the "Cultural Revolution," constitute the greatest force guaranteeing the enforcement of the new constitution and the realization of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

The LIBERATION ARMY DAILY editorial calls on the whole army to study and implement the resolutions of the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC. WORKERS' DAILY urges the Chinese working class to strive for the fulfillment of the five-year plan.

GUANGMING DAILY calls on the Chinese intellectuals to make their greatest contributions possible to China's socialist modernization. CHINA YOUTH NEWS describes the Sixth Five-Year Plan as "a magnificent blueprint" and encourages the young people in China to strive for its realization.

Chairman Ye Jianying's speech is printed in full by the Beijing press. The papers generally devote their second page to the resolutions passed at yesterday's meeting of the NPC session.

CSO: 4000/31

PARTY AND STATE

BEIJING PAPERS ON 5TH CPPCC SESSION CLOSING

OW120246 Beijing XINHUA in English 0236 GMT 12 Dec 82

|Text| Beijing, 12 Dec (XINHUA)--Newspapers here today devote front page coverage to yesterday's closing of the Fifth Session of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC).

In an editorial hailing the closing of the Fifth Session of the CPPCC, the PEOPLE'S DAILY, China's leading newspaper, says that in socialist country of China, as long as the Chinese Communist Party exists the united front led by the party will exist. The editorial spoke highly of the new constitution of the CPPCC adopted at its fifth session. "It is a correct programme which will lead the people's political consultative work to a new phase in the present new historic stage," the editorial says.

Political consultative conference is a patriotic united front organization led by the Chinese Communist Party. So far there are more than 1,600 such organisations at and above county levels with 100,000 members.

The PEOPLE'S DAILY and other papers also carry the full texts of the new constitution of the CPPCC and the political resolution adopted at its fifth session.

CSO: 4000/31

PARTY AND STATE

PROFESSOR HUANG YAONIAN ON CHINA'S UNITED FRONT

OW291804 Beijing XINHUA in English 1506 GMT 29 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 29 Nov (XINHUA)--A university professor unjustly discredited for 23 years today hailed the new situation in China which has brought him back into the political limelight.

Huang Yaomian, 80, said in an interview with XINHUA that it is now possible for intellectuals like him to air their views freely and contribute their share to the nation's socialist modernization.

"I'm determined to devote the rest of my life to the well being of the country and the people," he said.

He is attending the Fifth Session of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference here in Beijing.

Professor Huang, a member of the China Democratic League, was discredited as a "rightist" in 1957 along with the sociologist, Fei Xiaotong, and four other professors because of a proposal they had tabled for restructuring China's institutions of higher education. He was stripped of all political rights and the right to teach.

Thorough-going investigations in the past few years found his case to be a frame-up and he was politically exonerated and made a member of the CPPCC National Committee in 1978.

Describing his experiences and frustrations, Professor Huang attributed his new lease of political life to the Chinese Communist Party's present policy for expanding and improving its united front work.

"China's united front, as a vehicle for democracy, has made great progress and undergone tremendous changes," Huang said. It now aims at winning over every possible supporter and uniting with all possible forces to help the modernization program and the reunification of the motherland, he added.

The united front, he said, was an alliance formed by people from various nationalities, social strata, democratic parties and other patriotic forces under the leadership of the communist party in the struggle for the victory of the Chinese revolution.

It played an important role in founding the People's Republic and has been active in China's socialist construction since the mainland was liberated in 1949, Professor Huang said.

Now, many intellectuals like him and other people who suffered during the cultural revolution are actively working for the modernization program and the cause of reunification, he said.

The China Democratic League and other democratic parties took part in revising the national constitution and put forward more than 1,500 proposals.

A number of scholars and specialists from the Democratic League have in recent years conducted special investigations in Yunnan, Guizhou, Xinjiang and Hainan Island where they lectured on ways of utilizing the rich resources there.

A proposal made by Professor Huang himself early this year for reforming China's middle and primary education and increasing funds for schools won approval from the central authorities.

Other people involved in the united front are running schools, providing consultant services, building collective enterprises, or contributing to socialist construction in other ways.

They are all working for this broad alliance known as the united front whose ultimate goal is to help build a modern socialist country and reunify the motherland by bringing the mainland and Taiwan together, Professor Huang said.

CSO: 4000/25

PARTY AND STATE

NPC RECEIVES LETTERS WITH PROPOSALS, GREETINGS

OW021316 Beijing XINHUA in English 1232 GMT 2 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, 2 Dec (XINHUA)--China's new draft constitution and its Sixth Five-Year Plan are being discussed not only by the more than 3,000 deputies attending the current session of the National People's Congress (NPC) here.

Since the session opened last Friday, the NPC Standing Committee has been receiving more than 700 letters everyday from people across the country offering proposals as well as congratulations.

"This is three times the number of letters received in off-session seasons," a leading official of the "Letters From the People" section under the NPC Standing Committee told XINHUA today.

Up to 30 November, he said, a total of 4,341 letters had reached his office. "They include proposals for a great variety of questions, ranging from the rewriting of some constitution articles and restructuring government organizations to ideas about the wage system, social welfare, rural industry and commerce, utilization of natural resources, family planning, educational policy and management of housing," he said.

Though the nationwide discussion of the draft revised constitution ended in August, the official said, letters are still coming in with proposals for some further revisions. They have all been passed on to the congress working group on the constitution for consideration.

"Some of these proposals are very important," he said. "For example, a telegram sent by one Wang Yinxiang of the lock manufacturing corporation in Hohhot, Inner Mongolia, no 29 November made four suggestions, including one proposing the inclusion in the constitution of provisions for improving land management and development."

The official said that during the nationwide discussion from last May to August, his section received 566 letters with proposals about the constitution, some even enclosing their own rewritten texts.

"All proposals were promptly passed on to the committee for revision of the constitution," the official said. "The draft revised constitution being

"discussed at the current NPC session has incorporated some of these proposals."

Among the other letters, one from a retired worker named Yu Qilong of Dantu County, Jiangsu Province, urged the early adoption of a civil law. Liu Xinzhang from the Public Health Bureau of Boxian County, Anhui Province, and Yi Jian from Fuling County, Sichuan Province, sent in detailed proposals for the formulation of a family planning law.

He Runhua, deputy chief engineer of the Jilin Petrochemical Designing Institute, proposed the establishment of a state resources commission for the unified administration of the investigation, planning, development, management and utilization of land, water, energy and other natural resources.

A peasant from Beijing suburbs suggested that a national commission for discipline inspection be set up to supervise the state organs and their staff members.

After watching the NPC opening session on the television, an old peasant named Tan Zucheng of Changning County, Hunan Province, sent to the congress his wishes for the prosperity of the country. "I would work the rest of my life for realizing the national goal," he wrote.

Another man, named Zhao Yongwei, cabled from Suixe, Shaanxi Province, to say that the draft revised constitution "has satisfied every wish of ours." "As a citizen who has relatives in Taiwan," he said, "I have the duty to work for the return of Taiwan to the motherland."

An armyman named Du Xiangtong wrote on behalf of the officers and men of his unit to voice their support for restoring the original words of the national anthem, the "March of Volunteers."

"We have sung the song for many years, it gives us strength each time we sing it," he said. "We have been very unhappy since the words were changed under 'leftist' influence."

Many letters touched on this question, the official of the NPC "Letters" section said. "Most of them shared Du's opinion."

Quite a number of letters of complaint against certain deputies and leading cadres were received during the 1980 NPC session, he recalled. "Fewer were received during the 1981 session and they have become a rarity this year," he added.

A possible reason, he said, is that the few deputies the masses disliked have been recalled by their constituencies through procedures prescribed by law in the past few years.

The "Letters From the People" Section has a staff of 20, the official said. Their responsibility is to read and catalog the letters and transmit them to the leading or administrative departments concerned for consideration.

"Of course," he said, "we also have the responsibility to see whether the letters have been properly attended to. In the past year, we have sent many groups of people across the country to check how the problems raised in the letters were solved."

When the congress met last year, he said, a retired cadre in Beijing wrote that a railway should be built from Datong to carry coal out of Shanxi, Inner Mongolia and Ningxia. A route plan was enclosed in the letter.

"We passed it on the Ministry of Railways," he said. "There many experts examined the proposal and made some preliminary survey. They accepted the proposal, but decided on a more economic route and informed the cadre of the decision."

CSO: 4000/25

'ZHEJIANG' CIRCULAR ON SELECTING ADVANCED UNITS

OW290915 Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Nov 82 p 1

[Excerpts] The Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee recently issued a circular urging all grassroot party organizations, including party branches of party and government organs throughout the province to do a good job in selecting this year's advanced party branches and outstanding party members before the end of this year. [passage omitted]

The provincial party committee circular demands that all grassroot party branches carry out an overall appraisal by the end of this year in order to select advanced party branches and outstanding party members. It says: The selection must be a process of conscientiously implementing the 12th Congress guidelines and the new party constitution, a process of educating the party members in the party's basic theories, spirit, style and discipline, and a process of learning from one another to make up one another's deficiencies and make common improvements. In the selection process, we must act according to the new party constitution's strict demands on party members, party cadres and grassroot party organizations, insist that the requirements be met, assure the quality and not just make up the required numbers. Those selected as advanced party branches and outstanding party members should be those that have performed outstanding and advanced exemplary deeds in accomplishing the party's tasks and discharging party members' obligation and have been recognized by the masses. Those who have made rather good performances but have not met the requirements for outstanding party members can be regarded as party activists and recommended by the grassroot party committees.

The circular says: The selection should fully demonstrate democracy and follow the mass line. Each party branch should earnestly sum up its work and listen to the opinions of large numbers of party members and masses before selection is made within the grassroot party committees. Party members will be appraised and recommended by the party branch general assembly after giving brief summaries of themselves. Then the grassroot party committees will discuss and decide on who should be selected. All advanced party branches and outstanding party members should be reported to the county party committees for approval and nomination. [passage omitted]

CSO: 4005/202

PARTY AND STATE

LIAONING'S NPC DEPUTY ON NEW CONSTITUTION

OW011425 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1614 GMT 27 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 27 Nov (XINHUA)--On the opening day of the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC, Li Huang, permanent secretary of the Liaoning Provincial CPC Committee, told a XINHUA reporter that the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC, held after the party's 12th National Congress, will examine and adopt the constitution of the People's republic of Ching and the Sixth 5-Year Plan for the development of the national economy, which are needed for creating a new situation in socialist modernization and completely in line with the aspirations of all the Chinese people. He said that the deputies from Liaoning Province are determined to follow the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress, concentrate on the session's proceedings and successfully carry out the session's glorious tasks.

Li Huang said: The enactment of a new constitution is a major event long hoped for by the people of all nationalities throughout the country. To build a modern and powerful socialist country, we must have a general rule for running the country and maintaining stability. For many years the Lin Biao and the "gang of four" counterrevolutionary cliques acted lawlessly and committed all kinds of outrages, causing extremely serious disasters to the country and people. The bitter lesson has made the people of the whole country feel the pressing need for a fundamental law which affirms in legal terms the fruits of the Chinese people's struggle, stipulates the state's funadmental system and tasks, is the most authoritative and has the supreme legal force.

He said: The new constitution soon to be adopted will be a constitution which is characteristically Chinese and suited to the requirements of the new historical period and will remain intact for a long time to come. Its adoption and implementation will be of great and far-reaching significance for consolidating our people's democratic dictatorship and developing our socialist cause.

Li Huang said: The great destructive effects of the 10 years of turmoil have dimmed the legal concept in many people's minds. After the promulgation of the new constitution, we should organize cadres and people of all nationalities in the province to thoroughly study and implement it so that it will become known to every household, strike root in people's hearts and become

their guidance for action. The vast numbers of communist party members and cadres at all levels in particular should be models in studying, publicizing and implementing the new constitution.

Li Huang said: Resolutely shifting the state's work emphasis to socialist economic modernization is an important strategic principle for setting things to rights. This principle has been recorded in the constitution. All our work must be firmly focused on and serve socialist economic modernization. The 12th CPC National Congress set the goal of quadrupling the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production by the end of the century and determined the strategic priorities and the two steps in our strategic planning. This session will examine and approve the Sixth 5-Year Plan. Both in quadrupling the country's industrial and agricultural production value and in implementing the Sixth 5-Year Plan, Liaoning, as a heavy industrial base, has important responsibilities. We are determined to overcome all the difficulties confronting us, unite the people of all nationalities in the whole province to bring their initiative into full play, learn from the advanced experiences of the fraternal provinces and strive to fulfill the task assigned us by the party.

CSO: 4005/202

PARTY AND STATE

SHANGHAI ON STRUGGLE AGAINST ECONOMIC CRISIS

OW18)123 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 16 Nov 82

[Station commentary: "Have a Clear Understanding of the Priorities in the Struggle, Adopt the Concept of Waging a Protracted Struggle"]

[Text] The municipality's struggle against criminal offenses in the economic field has shifted its emphasis from a general exposure of problems to the investigation and handling of major and important cases and from an all-out attack to the special investigation and study of loopholes and problems in leading bodies at or above the ward, county or bureau level. This requires us to further summarize our experiences and lessons and to properly solve various problems exposed in the struggle in order to further deepen the struggle.

The struggle is now at a critical stage. Guided by the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress, party organizations at various levels and large numbers of communist party members should clearly understand the protracted, complicated and arduous nature of this struggle, further overcome their slack mood and firmly adopt the concept of waging a protracted struggle. They must undertake Comrade Hu Yaobang's call, made in his report to the 12th Parth Congress, to enhance understanding of this struggle, take a firm stand in it and unswervingly carry it through to the end.

We must soberly remember that old Shanghai was a paradise for foreign adventurers. Shanghai was a base of the gang of four during the 10 years of domestic turmoil during which the party style and the standards of social conduct were seriously undermined.

While pursuing a policy of opening to the outside and taking flexible measures to invigorate our domestic economy, (?corrupt capitalist practices) have inevitably invaded us from all quarters. In addition, there are loopholes in our rules, regulations and management. All this shows that there are historical roots and social conditions for grave economic crimes in Shanghai.

Therefore, the leading comrades of party organizations at various levels and large numbers of communist party members must conscientiously study the documents of the 12th Party Congress and fully understand that this struggle is a reflection of class struggle in new historical conditions and one of the four

tasks we must carry out for a long time to come, at least for some 20 years before the end of this century. It is an important guarantee for us to uphold the socialist road and to bring about a new situation. For this reason, we must not assume that this struggle is being waged on a temporary basis or that it will be over after a while. At the same time, we must not relax our efforts in waging this struggle while we grasp production and other work. Party committees at various levels should carry out the struggle against grave criminal offenses in the economic and other fields as an important task and carry it through to the end.

CSO: 4005/202

PARTY AND STATE

JIANGSU'S HONG PEILIN ON SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

OW190221 Nanjing JIANGSU Provincial Service in mandarin 2300 GMT 17 Nov 82

[Text] The party committee of provincial-level organs held a meeting on the afternoon of 17 November to hear a lecture on the study of the 12th Party Congress documents.

Comrade Hong Peilin, standing committee member of the provincial party committee, gave a lecture entitled "Strive to Attain a High Level of Socialist Democracy" to 3,000 party members and Cadres of the provincial-level organs.

After dwelling on the scope and content of socialist democracy in terms of our state and political system, Comrade Hong Peilin pointed out: The People's Democratic dictatorship ensures that the working people, the overwhelming majority of the populations, rare the masters of the state, and it exercises dictatorship over a tiny minority of hostile elements who try to undermine socialism. As far as our province is concerned, only 538 persons were the target of dictatorship in 1979 after the removal of people's labels such as landlord, rich peasant, counterrevolutionary and bad element following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Those who committed crimes and were sentenced to prison terms in the province in 1981 accounted for only 2 of every 10,000 of the province's population. Thus, socialist democracy ensures that the overwhelming majority of the people enjoy their rights as the masters of the state, and it is incomparably superior to bourgeois democracy.

He emphatically pointed out: Only by continuing to develop socialist democracy can we effectively guarantee and support the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization. At the same time, the development of socialist material and spiritual civilization will provide more favorable conditions for the development of socialist democracy.

On the socialist legal system, Comrade Hong Peilin said: In strengthening the legal system, it is now necessary to do the following three things:

It is necessary to educate party members to abide by the stipulation of the party constitution that the party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and laws of the state and to conscientiously abide by the constitution and laws of the state;

It is necessary to encourage and help law enforcement organs enforce the laws impartially and incorruptibly;

It is necessary to give wide publicity to the legal system and to conduct extensive education on it among the people.

CSO: 4005/202

JIANGSU'S HAN PEIXIN AT NPC PANEL DISCUSSIONS

OW290235 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0232 GMT 28 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 28 Nov (XINHUA)--Speaking at a panel discussion on the draft revised constitution, Han Peixin, NPC deputy and acting governor of Jiangsu, said that the present draft revised constitution is good because it gives full expression to democracy, pools the wisdom of the masses and reflects the people's will. With a clearer guiding principle, the draft revised constitution contains provisions for the state system, the government structure, the political and economic system and regulations concerning socialist spiritual civilization and other fields, which are more suited to the reality of China. Comrade Peng Zhen's report has explicitly explained the guidelines and other fundamental principles in revising the constitution and enabled us to further understand the position, role and historical significance of the new constitution. [passage omitted]

Han Peixin said: A very important feature of the draft revised constitution is the integration of the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of socialism in our country, thereby making the constitution more suited to the undertaking of modernization. The draft revised constitution not only stipulates that "the fundamental task of the country from now on is to concentrate efforts on the building of socialist modernization," but also makes some clear-cut provisions for the economic system. [passage omitted]

The article on "Implementation of Various Forms of the Socialist Responsibility System" provides the legal foundation for introducing the responsibility system in all trades and professions, dispels the masses' "fear of changes" and promotes the popularization of the responsibility system in all fields. In short, the new constitution which will come into effect soon will be conducive to harnessing the socialist enthusiasm, initiative and creativity of the broad masses of people. Enlivening the economy, flourishing the entire national economy and accelerating the building of socialist modernization.

Han Peixin said: After adoption of the new constitution, deputies from Jiangsu will set a good example in observing the constitution and actively publicize and conscientiously safeguard it. Cadres responsible for government work should do their work according all the more to the constitution and accept the supervision of the masses.

CSO: 4005/202

SHANGHAI'S HU LIJIAO PRAISES NEW CONSTITUTION

OW051739 Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Nov 82

[Excerpts] During an interview with a JIEFANG RIBAO reporter in Beijing, Hu Lijiao, NPC deputy from Shanghai and second secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee, who is attending the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC, said that the new constitution to be adopted by the current NPC session is the most comprehensive constitution since the founding of new China and that it is distinctively Chinese, suits the needs of the new historical period and will remain valid for a considerable period of time. The people of Shanghai must study the new constitution, publicize it, implement it and defend it.

[Passage omitted] Touching on the discussion of the draft revised constitution, Hu Lijiao said that the standing committees of the NPC and local people's congresses had organized large-scale meetings to discuss the draft constitution. Because of the large numbers of participants, these meetings have produced an unprecedented impact on all fronts. In Shanghai, the party and government offices, the municipal CPPCC committee, democratic parties, people's organizations, leading cadres at all levels, scholars and experts have put forward many opinions and suggestions on the revision of the constitution; the people of the whole municipality also offered their opinions and suggestions after extensive discussion. Many important and reasonable suggestions put forward by Shanghai have been adopted by the committee for the revision of the constitution. The draft revised constitution, which has been submitted to the NPC for examination, has really pooled the wisdom of the people of the whole country, reflects the common will and fundamental interests of all nationalities in the country, sums up China's positive and negative experiences in socialist construction over a period of more than 30 years, conforms to the situation in China and meets the needs of socialist modernization. The draft constitution is a general statute for running the country.

[Passage omitted] Hu Lijiao stressed that defending the sanctity of the constitution is an important matter concerning political stability and the destiny of the country and the people. Therefore, no one is permitted to harm the foundation of the constitution. The workers, peasants, intellectuals and people of all walks of life in Shanghi, together with the people of the whole country, should conscientiously study the new constitution, publicize it, respect it, implement it and resolutely defend it. [passage omitted]

Efforts should be made to improve the standing committee of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress in accordance with the provisions of the new constitution, to give full play to the powers and functions of the local organ of state power, to build a high degree of socialist democracy and to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/202

JIANGSU NPC DELEGATE ON NEW CONSTITUTION

OW052353 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0738 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Newsletter by XINHUA reporter Zhou Aiguo on interview with NPC Deputy Qian Songyan]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 1 Dec (XINHUA)--[Passage omitted] At the living quarters of the Jiangsu Provincial delegation to the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC, this reporter interviewed NPC delegate Qian Songyan, a noted traditional Chinese landscape painted. [passage omitted]

Qian Songyan said: "I am 84 this year, an age spanning 3 dynasties, from the late Qing Dynasty to the new China." Counting on his fingers, the old man told me: "After experiencing and seeing so many things, both past and present, I am convinced that the socialist system is the best."

Sighing with emotion, our revered comrade, as a witness to history, continued: "Vice Chairman Pen Zhen said in his report that there were four great historical events during the earth-shaking historical changes taking place in China in the 20th century. From these historical events, the Chinese people have arrived at basic conclusions: without the CPC, there could be no new China, and only socialism can save China. What truths they are!" [passage omitted]

Our revered Qian continued: "After spending more than half a century of my life under several different dynasties, at long last I have seen hope and come to realize that the way to a prosperous and strong China lies in the party's leadership and socialism. The inclusion of the four basic principles in the draft revised constitution is a major event of unusual significance. They are an historical summation of the bloody battles fought by the Chinese people since the opium wars. They will serve as an impetus behind the advancement of China's socialism." [passage omitted]

While talking our revered Qian chuckled loudly. He then changed the topic of conversation: "In this excellent situation, I still have many things to do. I have completed a number of rare finger paintings, which will be published soon. I also want to sum up my painting experience and sort out my work.... The old horse is still attempting a 100,000-li journey. I want to give whatever strength still left to me to the motherland and the people."

Before saying good-bye in the corridor, our revered Qian pulled this reporter aside and whispered in his ear: "Tell you a secret. Just a while back, I applied for party membership. With all sincerity, I want to follow the party to the end."

CSO: 4005/202

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG CADRES STUDY DOCUMENTS AT PARTY SCHOOL

SK271208 Jian DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Nov 82 p 1

[Text] The first class for studying the documents of the 12th CPC Congress sponsored by the party school of the provincial CPC committee and attended by leading cadres at and above the county level concluded recently after a 35-day term. Taking Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening address as a general guiding ideology, the study class studied other documents of the congress as well as some articles from the "Selected Important Documents Since the Third Plenary Session" and the "Selected Articles of Comrade Chen Yun." Based on the specific situations in their own localities, the participants animatedly discussed their understanding of the documents after the study and have thus enhanced their awareness, clarified their orientation, steeled their confidence, plucked up their spirit and unified their thinking in line with the guidelines of the documents.

The study class paid attention to combining the study of the documents with five other jobs and achieved fairly good results.

1. Combine the study of the documents with the review of the party's history and experiences to deepen the understanding of the historical position and great significance of the 12th CPC Congress. The participants systematically compared this historical change with our party's history of the period of democratic revolution from the failure of the northern expedition to the breakout of the agrarian revolutionary way and from the failure of the fifth anti-"encirclement and suppression" to the breakout of the war of resistance against Japan, and summed up historical experiences. They said: The Third Plenary Session was a "Zunyi meeting" of the socialist construction period and the 12th CPC Congress was as important as the "7th CPC Congress." As the "7th CPC Congress" led the revolution to a victory, the 12th CPC Congress will certainly lead the construction to a victory. We should have a high degree of awareness and persistence to accomplish the correct program set forth by the 12th CPC Congress.

2. Combine the study of the documents with the study of the important documents of the CPC Central Committee since its Third Plenary Session and with the review of the practices since the Third Plenary Session to enhance the awareness in showing political unity with the CPC central committee. Based on the actual situations in the whole country and in their specific localities,

the participants animatedly discussed the great changes in various fields that have taken shape since the Third Plenary Session. They held that they more systematically understand the party's line adopted since the Third Plenary Session and more thoroughly understand the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress. Many comrades analyzed and summed up the reasons why they "have lagged behind in ideology" over the past 4 years. They learned the correct way of understanding things by seeing through appearances to get at essences, became more convinced of the correctness of the line adopted since the Third Plenary Session and trusted more deeply the CPC Central Committee.

3. Combine the study of the documents with the study of economic development at home and abroad to steel confidence in fulfilling the strategic goal of the economic construction. At the beginning of the study, some comrades, having no idea of the strategic goal of the economic construction, analogized the "3-fold increase" of industrial and agricultural output value in 20 years with the high targets of 1958 and 1978. During study and discussions, the participants placed emphasis on the following work: 1) Draw a clear line of demarcation between "high targets," "great plans" and the scientific target of "3-fold increase," 2) List the data on the increase of our industrial and agricultural output value during the past 30 years and the material foundations we have established to ensure the possibility for the "3-fold increase"; 3) Discuss the excellent situation in the economic development of the country and their specific localities to see the objective conditions for the fulfillment of the strategic goal; and 4) Analyze the ways to fulfill the strategic goal, which are to rely on the advance of science and technology, on expansion of reproduction and on improvement of economic results, to understand that the strategic goal is scientific. Through comparison and analysis, the participants unanimously held that the strategic goal set forth at the 12th CPC Congress if both grand, arduous and inspiring and realistic and scientific. As long as we adhere to the principles and policies for the economic construction set forth at the 12th CPC Congress and make persistent efforts, this grand goal will surely be achieved.

4. Combine the study of the documents with the study of some theories on scientific socialism to fully understand the strategic significance in building the socialist spiritual civilization and prompting socialist democracy. During the study and discussions, the participants studied anew the Marxist scientific socialist theories on the characteristics of the socialist society, on socialist democracy and on the class struggle in the period of socialism. They came to understand that regarding the construction of a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology and its core as a strategic principle and as an important characteristic of socialism and regarding the establishment of a high degree of socialist democracy as a guarantee and foundation for building the "two civilizations" and as one of our basic goals and basic tasks are scientific summing-up of China's socialist construction and are the application and development of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought under new historical conditions. They were determined to unswervingly take the road of comprehensively building socialism, which integrates the four modernizations, the highly developed socialist spiritual civilization and the highly developed socialist democracy.

5. Combine the study of the documents with a review of their own ideology and workstyle to enhance their awareness in striving to be qualified party members in accordance with the party constitution. Through the study of the sixth part of Comrade Hu Yaobang's report and the new party constitution, the participants clarified the characteristics and the needs of the new historical period, the new stipulations of the new party constitution and the four problems that should be properly solved in order to strengthen party building, thus becoming more confident and clear about the criteria. Many comrades measured their own thinking and workstyle against the yardstick of the new party constitution. They were determined to set strict demands on themselves on the basis of the criteria of the new party constitution, earnestly practice what they advocate, strive to be qualified communist party members and party cadres, inspire their revolutionary spirit and contribute to a fundamental turn for the better in party workstyle and to a new situation in socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/202

PARTY AND STATE

PEOPLE'S CONGRESS MEETING CLOSES 10 NOV 82

SK110927 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 10 Nov 82

[Text] The 17th Standing Committee Meeting of the Provincial People's Congress came to an end on 10 November. It decided that the Fifth Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress will be held in Jinan in December. The plenary meeting, which was held on 10 November, adopted a decision on holding the Fifth Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress, a decision on approving the principle the tentative regulations concerning the administration of urban construction in Shandong Province, a decision on dismissing (Chi Jingde) from his post as deputy to the Fifth National People's Congress and a report on the appointment and removal of personnel. The meeting also approved a decision on extending the time limit for detaining 12 defendants that are held in custody that had been submitted to the congress for approval by the provincial people's procuratorate.

The plenary meeting held on 10 November was chaired by Zhao Lin, chairman of the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee. Vice Chairmen Zhao Feng, Zhang Ye, Chen Lei, Zhang Zhusheng, Yang Jieren, Zhu Benzheng, Zhang Fugui, Zhou Zhijun, Wang Jiechen and Wang Baomin attended the meeting. Song Yimin, deputy governor, and responsible persons of the provincial higher people's court, the provincial people's procuratorate, and the provincial government departments concerned, as well as responsible persons of the people's congress standing committees of municipalities that are under the direct administration of the province and some countries and cities attended the meeting as observers.

CSO: 4005/202

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG OFFICIAL ON RECTIFICATION OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

SK130942 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 12 Nov 82

[Text] In an interview with our reporter, (Tao Mosheng)--Deputy director of the organizational department of the provincial CPC committee--pointed out that we should make proper preparations for the overall rectification of party style under the guidance of the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress so as to effect a fundamental turn for the better in the style of our party. Comrade (Tao Mosheng) said: The style of a political party in power determines its very survival. The 12th Party Congress urged the whole party to make a fundamental turn for the better in the coming 5 years in the financial and economic situation, in standards of social conduct and in party style. The key to achieving this goal lies in the fundamental improvement of party style.

Comrade (Tao Mosheng) said: During the 10 years of domestic turmoil, our party's ideology, style and organization were seriously damaged. However, because our party is armed with the great Marxist theory, we have ample capacity on our side to triumph over evil influences and restore our pure tradition.

Achievements scored since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee make us confident in our victory in consolidating the party organizations and party style. First of all, the correct leadership of the party central committee is a guarantee to achieving a fundamental improvement in party style. Next, our party has accomplished the task of setting the party's guiding ideology to rights and has defined again the correct line of Marxism. We have had the resolutions of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the report of the 12th Party Congress and the new party constitution. All these facts show that the whole party has laid a foundation for unifying thinking and has discovered criteria for distinguishing right and wrong. In addition, thanks to several years of education and rectification, leading bodies at all levels have been reorganized and strengthened, the party's discipline inspection work has been intensified and noticeable improvements have been made in party organizations and in party style. All these have created the basis for carrying out an overall rectification of party organizations.

Comrade (Tao Mosheng) said: In light of the instructions of the party central committee and the arrangements of the provincial CPC committee, we must adopt a prudent policy, make proper preparations and consolidate the party organizations step by step in a planned way. In the coming winter-spring period, we should stress the following tasks:

1. Organize large numbers of party members to conscientiously study the documents of the 12th Party Congress. Party organizations at all levels and, in particular, members of leading bodies at all levels should, with the spirit of rectifying party style, review and sum up their ideology, work and style since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, conduct criticism and self-criticism and sum up experiences and lessons so as to enhance the fighting capacity of party organizations. All party members should measure themselves by the standards of communists as stipulated by the new party constitution and by the standards of the eight-point duties so as to heighten their awareness of communism and become qualified communist members.

2. Achieve success in the experimental work of consolidating leading party organizations, train key members with the experience gained in the experimental work and prepare the ground for the overall rectification of party organizations in 1983.

3. Make a thorough investigation of the situations in party organizations and party-member contingent. To this end, we should continue to consolidate the grassroots party organizations of some enterprises and in some rural areas so as to lay a good foundation for next year's overall rectification.

Comrade (Tao Mosheng) said: Party organizations at all levels should start from now on to solve the problems which most urgently need solution. Large numbers of party members and, in particular, responsible comrades of party organizations should start, from now on and from themselves, to make good preparations through actual practice for next year's overall rectification of party organizations and strive to effect a fundamental turn for the better in the style of the party.

CSO: 4005/202

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG URGES ENHANCING OF WINTER-SPRING SECURITY WORK

SK260900 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Excerpts] According to DAZHONG RIBAO, the public security commission under the provincial CPC committee sponsored a telephone conference on the evening of 24 November to make arrangements for the public security work in the winter-spring period. At the conference, Su Yiran, secretary of the provincial CPC committee and governor of the province, made a report relaying the speech given by Chen Pixian, secretary of the CPCCC secretariat, at the telephone conference sponsored by the public security commission under the CPC central committee.

Gao Keting, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, presided over the conference and delivered a speech on implementing the guidelines of the telephone conference sponsored by the CPCCC public security commission and on grasping well the provincial public security work in the period.

In his speech, Comrade Gao Keting first referred to the current public security situation of the province. He stated: Under the leadership of the party committees and the people's governments at all levels, our province has done a great deal of work and scored marked achievements in this regard, resulting in an obvious turn for the better in public security. He emphatically pointed out: whether we can achieve a success in public security work in the winter-spring period has a vital bearing on stabilizing and carrying forward the effectiveness scored in public security work this year and on achieving a further success in this regard next year. [passage omitted]

In his speech, he urged localities across the province to do a good job in fulfilling the following tasks:

1. It is necessary, by regarding the law as a weapon, to deal strict blows at active counterrevolutionary activities and social crimes. Vicious criminals should be strictly punished in a timely manner and according to the laws. By no means shall we be softhearted in dealing with their cause. [passage omitted]

2. It is necessary to vigorously implement the measures of consolidating public security in a comprehensive way and establish and improve various responsibility systems concerning public security work. Efforts should be made to

strengthen the work to conduct education among youths and implement the measures of reforming misled youths. [passage omitted]

3. While grasping well the public security work in the winter-spring period, the departments of public security, procuratoral offices, the people's courts, judicial affairs and civil affairs, under the unified leadership of the party committees at all levels, should thoroughly implement the guidelines of the national public security work conference, earnestly attend their own duties, make concerted efforts and improve their workstyle so as to bring into full play the role of their function.

4. To do a good job in conducting public security work is a social issue of complicated character. In dealing with the work, we cannot rely only on the public security departments. The party committees at all levels should practically strengthen their leadership over the work and successfully deal with the relation between production and devotion to public security work. [passage omitted]

In conclusion, Comrade Gao Keting urged localities across the province to immediately go into action to earnestly implement the guidelines of the telephone conferences respectively sponsored by the province and the central authorities, bearing in mind the actual local situation, to grasp the public security work in the winter-spring period in a down-to-earth manner and to strive to create a new situation in the provincial public security work.

CSO: 4005/202

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG URGES REORGANIZATION OF ORGANS

SK300135 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 27 Nov 82

[Text] According to our reporters, on the morning of 26 November, the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee sponsored a meeting with the participation of the cadres from the provincial level units at or above section level to arouse the participants to do a good job in devising ways to successfully restructure provincial level organs so as to make efforts to create a new situation in the province's socialist modernization.

Attending the meeting were responsible comrades of the provincial CPC committee, the provincial people's congress standing committee, the provincial people's government and the provincial CPPCC committee, including Su Yiran, Gao Qiyun, Li Zichao, Wang Jinshan, Xu Leijian, Lin Ping, Chen Lei, Zhang Zhusheng, Yang Jieren, Wang Baomin, Liu Peng, Liu Zhongqian, Ding Fangming, Wang Zhe, Yu Xiu, Li Sijing and Wang Liang.

Gao Qiyun, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, presided over the meeting. Su Yiran, secretary of the provincial CPC committee and governor of the province, delivered a mobilization speech.

Comrade Su Yiran stated: According to the central authorities' arrangements and the 12th CPC Congress guidelines, the provincial CPC committee has decided through careful consideration to start the reorganization of provincial level organs from November this year and to basically complete the task in this regard on the eve of the spring festival. The reorganization of organs at prefectural and municipal level will be completed before the end of June 1983. The province will continue reorganizing organs at county and commune levels in the later half of 1983.

Comrade Su Yiran pointed out: On the premise of success or failure in building the four modernizations and or rise or fall of the party and the country, we should fully understand the importance, necessity and urgency of restructuring organs. The 12th CPC Congress has put forward the strategic tasks of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and quadrupling the annual industrial and agricultural output value by the end of this century. These new tasks urgently require strong and outstanding leading organs to carry them out. Judging from the current situation prevailing in our provincial level organs, overlapping and overstaffed phenomena are common.

Quite a few organs have meager administrative functions and indulge in red tape procedures. Leading bodies and cadres generally have an average age on the older side and have their cultural standard and professional knowledge on the low side. The bureaucratic workstyle in which officials cut themselves off from the masses and from reality is very serious. All of this is impossible to meet the needs of the new situation and new tasks. If we fail to conduct structural reform, it will be impossible to smoothly implement the party's line, principles and policies and to achieve cooperation between new and old cadres and a replacement of old with new. As a result, it will be difficult to create a new situation in modernizations and to fulfill various combat tasks set forth by the 12th CPC Congress. It will be very possible to adversely affect the great cause. Therefore, each comrade should enhance his consciousness and sense of urgency to enthusiastically plunge into the drive of restructuring organizations by being highly responsible for the party and the people.

Comrade Su Yiran pointed out: In reorganizing the provincial level organs, general principles and demands are to regard the 12th CPC Congress guidelines as a guide; to restructure organs to be favorable for implementing the party's line, principles and policies, for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, for enforcing and improving the party's leadership and for fully playing the role of organizational function; to have leading bodies revolutionized and full of young members with cultural and specialized knowledge; to enable organs to take responsibility and solve problems independently, to combat bureaucracy and to upgrade work efficiency; to curtail as much as possible the overstaffed sections under departments, leading administrative levels and the number of personnel in charge of additional and multiple work and of systems and methods for leading echelons with the improvement of cadres systems; and to take an all-round consideration and make a comprehensive arrangement. Following the structural reform, it will be assured that the establishment of all organi-ations is scientific; the division of work among duties is clear; the organizational structure is rational, and that leading bodies and personnel are outstanding and capable.

Comrade Su Yiran emphatically pointed out: This structural reform only focuses on dealing with the issues of structural systems and not on dismissing specific personnel. However, the task is heavy and will affect the situation as a whole. It is inevitable to involve all old, middle-aged and young cadres and every worker in organizations. The party committees and leading party members' groups of various departments, therefore, should practically enhance their leadership over the reform, discern and grasp the ideological trend in a timely manner, conduct ideological work aiming at specific problems and boldly criticize and combat various evil trends and malpractices. By conducting ideological work in various fields, those few comrades who take the drive too hard should be guided to truly look on the bright side of things so that they are able to straighten their attitude toward the drive, to steel their confidence and determination in the structural reform, to enhance their sense of the situation as a whole and to cast away their selfish ideas and personal considerations so as to assure the smooth progress of restructuring organizations.

CSO: 4005/202

PARTY AND STATE

PROVINCIAL CPPCC COMMITTEE STANDING COMMITTEE SESSION

SK020150 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Text] The 19th Standing Committee Meeting of the 4th Provincial CPPCC Committee was held in Jinan from 29 November to 1 December. The meeting decided to hold the Fifth Plenary Session of the Fourth Provincial CPPCC Committee in Jinan in mid-December. Committee members attending the meeting conscientiously and fully discussed the draft work report of the standing committee of the Fourth Provincial CPPCC Committee and set forth opinions on the work of the provincial CPPCC committee in the past year and on how to create a new situation in the work of the people's CPPCC in order to bring into better play the role of the united front in the new period.

The meeting unanimously adopted the resolution on holding the Fifth Plenary Session of the Fourth Provincial CPPCC Committee and discussed the agenda of the forthcoming session. Gao Keting, chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee, chaired and spoke at the meeting. Wang Zhe, Yu Xiu, Li Sijing, Tian Haishan, Wang Liang, Jiang Guodong and Fang Yusui, vice chairmen of the provincial CPPCC committee, attended the meeting.

CSO: 4005/202

YANG YICHEN SPEECH ON SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

SK260814 Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 2 Nov 82 p 1

[Text] At the Sixth Plenary Session of the Fourth Provincial CPC Committee, Comrade Yang Yichen, first secretary of the provincial CPC committee, pointed out that we must strive to build the socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideas as its core.

Comrade Yang Yichen said: The 12th National Party Congress clearly pointed out that while building a high level of material civilization, efforts must be made to strive to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. We must understand the great significance of building socialist spiritual civilization from the high plane of scientific socialist theories and from the development prospects of China's socialist construction undertakings and realistically place it in a most important position in the work of leaders at all levels. The construction of socialist spiritual civilization has a substantial content. At present, we must particularly grasp the following work well.

First, we must actively attend to communist ideological education. The 12th Party Congress called for efforts to "adopt all effective methods, and through all possible ways, to universally conduct education on ideals, ethics and discipline among all people in China and particularly among youths in 5 years." This is a fundamental condition for fostering working people with ideals, ethics, culture and a sense of discipline as well as a radical measure for achieving a fundamental turn for the better in social habits. At present, we must strengthen education on the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought, on the history of the motherland, specially modern history, on the party program, the party history and the party's revolutionary traditions and on democracy and the legal system, citizen's rights, citizen's obligations and the citizen's morality. We must proceed from the local realities and make over-all planning and proper arrangements for conducting elementary education and set forth different demands in accordance with different localities. Ideological education on serving the people wholeheartedly must be conducted and stressed among the party members and the cadres; education on the working class's historical mission and the ideology of being masters of the country must be conducted among the workers; education on giving overall consideration to the interests of the state, the collectives and the individuals must be conducted among peasants; education on correctly

treating personal fame and gain must be conducted among intellectuals; and education on "cherishing the state, the collective and socialism" must be conducted among youths. Through education, we must make the party members and the masses really understand that communism is an inexorable law of the development of the history of mankind and, to understand the difference and relations between the communist ideological system and the communist social system and the relationship between communist ideological education and the policies of the socialist stage. Party members and the masses must foster and strengthen their confidence in socialism, clearly understand the meaning of life and consciously integrate their work with the grand communist objective so as to always maintain a vigorous fighting spirit. In regard to educational methods, we must integrate educational dissemination with self-education. At the same time, we must build a rank of ideological and political workers that have combat strength and whose sayings are very convincing and attractive. They must undertake the task of conducting communist education throughout the province very well and must contribute to building a high level of socialist spiritual civilization.

Second, we must continue to carry out extensive and in-depth spiritual civilization activities on "five stresses and four beauties" and must regularize and systematize such activities. For a period of time, our province has carried out activities on "five stresses and four beauties," "civility and courtesy month," and "learning from Lei Feng and fostering new habits" in the urban and rural areas, which have played an important role in enhancing the people's spiritual level, fostering revolutionary ethics and values, promoting an improvement in party work style and social havits, and establishing and developing socialist human relations of a new type. In the days to come, the stress of the "five-stresses and four beauties" activities still will be on improving sanitation, social order and service, but we must achieve a new improvement in this regard. All localities and departments, must set forth specific ways for holding activities on "five stresses and four beauties" step by step and in line with actual situations and must organize the masses to take part in the activities, thus enabling the mass activities on building socialist spiritual civilization to be deeply carried out. We must further mobilize the masses to consciously formulate and observe rules for students, rules for staff and workers and for commune members, rules for peasants and pledges given by all trades and professions. We must extensively conduct activities on creating "civilized streets," "civilized villages," "civilized plants," "civilized shops," "civilized schools," and "five-good production teams," "five-good families," and "five-good commune members," and urge the masses to carry out activities on building socialist spiritual civilization in their production, work study, livelihood and families and popularize such activities to all quarters in society.

Third, we must actively develop cultural and educational undertakings. Education is the precondition for building material and spiritual civilizations. Without culture, science and technology, it is impossible to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and to achieve a quadruple increase in the industrial and agricultural output value. Comrades at all levels must further enhance their understanding of the importance of educational work and actively create a new situation in this field. Prior to 1985, we must actively popularize elementary education and junior middle school

education in urban areas and in rural areas where conditions permit. We must actively reform secondary education, develop all kinds of vocational education with an emphasis on developing urban and rural vocational middle schools and strive to achieve the goal that, by 1985, the total number of students of urban and rural vocational middle schools will account for 50 percent of the total number of students in senior middle schools. We must actively and steadily develop higher education. In addition to running the existing full-time universities well and gradually increasing the number of students to be enrolled, we must actively develop broadcast, television, correspondence and spare-time universities. All prefectures, municipalities and counties that have conditions may run short-term vocational universities that do not provide boarding and are not responsible for assigning jobs. It is necessary to include education for cadres, staff and workers and peasants in the national education plan. All prefectures, municipalities, counties and departments must, revise and formulate plans for cadre educational work in accordance with the guidelines of the recent decision of the central authorities and the state council on the cadre educational work of the central party and government organs, and strive to achieve a marked improvement in the political and professional standards of the cadre ranks in 3 to 5 years. Prior to 1985, we must complete the work of "making up missing lessons in two fields of study" (cultural and technological lessons) among enterprises. At present, about 20 percent of the province's peasants are illiterate. We must strive to fulfill the task of wiping out illiteracy in 3 to 5 years and do a good job in fostering and improving the teaching standards of teachers. Party organizations, government units, enterprises and establishments at all levels must actively support the work-study program. We must integrate the reform of the educational system with that of the labor system and gradually improve the worker recruitment method.

Fourth, we must strengthen socialist democracy and the legal system. Building a high level of socialist democracy is one of our fundamental objectives and tasks as well as an important guarantee for building the socialist material and spiritual civilizations. We must promote socialist democracy in our political, economic, cultural and social activities and all quarters. We must give full rein to the role of the people's congresses and the organs of power of the people's congress standing committees at all levels, intensify legislative work in the localities and strengthen supervision over the work of the local people's governments, the people's court and the people's procuratorates so as to ensure the implementation of the institution, the law and the party's policies. We must pay attention to accumulating and summing up the experiences in improving the local people's congress system and the building of the organs of power of the people's congress standing committees, strengthen ties with the people's deputies and give full rein to their role. It is necessary to strengthen united front work, earnestly implement the principle of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision," "showing utter devotion to friends," and "sharing in both honor and disgrace," further implement all united front work policies, strengthen unity among various nationalities and cooperation with various democratic parties, nonparty democrats and all patriotic personages and give full rein to their role in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. We must strengthen work concerning Taiwan in order to promote the unification of the motherland,

conscientiously sum up experiences in instituting the workers' congress system and strengthen democratic management of all enterprises, establishments and units. We must be good at promoting democracy while urging the people to conduct self-education, establish in line with democratic principles the relations between men on an equal basis and the relationship between the individuals and society, guarantee the realization of the proper democratic rights of the citizens and the interests of the state, the society and the collectives and ensure that freedom and rights of the individuals will not be infringed upon. We must repeatedly conduct propaganda and education on the legal system among the people, organize the people to study the new constitution which will be adopted soon, continuously enhance the people's understanding of the great significance of building the legal system and their consciousness in enforcing and observing law. We must educate and supervise the broad masses of party members to take the lead in observing constitution and law. All activities of the party organizations and the party members must not go against the constitution and the law of the state. We must put cadres in a correct relationship to the people, while heartily serving the people, be one with the masses, be concerned with the well-being of the masses, respect the creative initiative of the masses and pay attention to the letters and visits of the people. We must conduct ruthless struggle against those cadres, especially leading cadres of some localities and units, who abuse their power and positions to seek private interests and even to suppress and infringe upon the democratic rights of the people.

CSO: 4005/202

HEILONGJIANG RADIO CALLS FOR ENHANCED RURAL IDEO-POLITICAL WORK

SK130934 Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Nov 82

[Station commentary: "Strengthen Rural Ideological and Political Work in Real Earnest"]

[Text] Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the 12th Congress that effective party work among the 800 million peasants is a major prerequisite for the achievement of modernization. Practice has also shown the incorrectness of the ideas that since grain production is contracted to households, cadres may wash their hands of agricultural matters and that with contracts, quota and reward systems in implementing ideological and political work are not needed anymore.

Under the new circumstances, what should we do to strengthen ideological and political work in the countryside? The party committee of (Xiangnan) commune has very important experience in this regard, that is, conducting ideological and political work around the various tasks in the countryside and the current rural policy. Following the third plenary session, the party has formulated a number of policies aimed at making the peasants prosper and encouraged them to prosper as quickly as possible. Some hail these policies, others have misgivings and still others, fearing that the policies will change, would rathe rather wait and see. In view of this, the party committee of (Xiangnan) commune convened in good time a prosperity-through-hard-work rally to commend representative cases of achieving prosperity through hard work. Commune members who had been criticized in the years when the gang of four ran amok for having achieved some degree of prosperity were rehabilitated at the rally. In so doing the part committee effectively publicized the party's policy.

In recent years, many cadres and commune members have held the wrong idea that the crackdown on the serious crimes in the economic sphere is a signal of change and retraction of the party's policy. In view of this, the party committee of (Xiangnan) commune immediately organized party members and cadres of the commune to study relevant documents to make them understand clearly that the crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic sphere is entirely different from the cutting of the tail of capitalism in the heyday of Lin Biao and the gang of four. Thus, the party members and cadres freed themselves from doubts and misgivings and acquired a clear understanding of policy. With

extensive propaganda, the masses were reassured and their confidence in becoming prosperous through hard work was strengthened.

The experience of the party committee of (Xiangnan) commune in carrying out ideological and political work around the various tasks in the countryside and the current farm is worth emulating.

CSO: 4005/202

HEILONGJIANG PARTY MEETING CALLS FOR COMMUNIST EDUCATION

SK150852 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 13 Nov 82

|Text| On 14 November HEILONGJIANG RIBAO prints on the upper half of its frontpage the text of a resolution adopted by the sixth enlarged plenary session of the Fourth Heilongjiang Provincial CPC Committee on strengthening education in communist ideology.

The resolution states: It is the tradition of our party to educate party members and the masses in communist ideology. However, the great chaos in the people's minds caused by the influence of the communist wind and other leftist ideologies in the latter half of the 1950's and particularly the bogus communism preached by Lin Biao, the gang of four and their ilk in the decade of internal turmoil, has not been completely resolved. Moreover, the corrosive influence of the ideology of the exploitive classes has somewhat increased in recent years under the new historical situation of opening our door to the outside world and stimulating the economy internally. Therefor, while building a highly developed material civilization, it is imperative to strive to build the socialist spiritual civilization and vigorously strengthen education in communist ideology.

The resolution is divided into four parts. The first part emphasizes that in strengthening education in communist ideology, it is necessary, first of all, to study, publicize and implement the 12th Congress documents in real earnest and carry out education on the party's line, principles and policies. Second, efforts should be made to enhance education in the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought. One of the fundamental tasks for education in communist ideology is to imbue the people with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought, raise their ideological level and increase their capacity for remoulding the world and creating new situations. Third, efforts should be made to strengthen education in the party constitution, the basics of the party and the qualifications of communist party members.

It is essential to organize the entire party membership to study the reports to the 12th Congress and the new party constitution. The resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the guiding principles governing inner-party political life and some works of Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong. Fourth, it is essential to strengthen education in communist ethics. Efforts should be made to

carry out education among the masses and particularly the youths and juveniles in cherishing the motherland and the people and loving work, science and socialism. Education in professional ethics and professional discipline should be conducted in all trades and all professions. Five-stress and four-beauty activities should be carried out in the whole society to promote civility and politeness. Fifth, efforts should be made to enhance education in resisting corrosive influence. Conducting education in communist ideology calls for continuous struggle against the ideologies and moral values of the exploitive classes, the force of old habits and anti-Marxist ideological trends of all shades. Conducting education in resisting corrosive influences in connection with the crackdown on the rampant criminal activities in the economic and other fields is an important part of the education for strengthening communist ideology.

The second part of the resolution says that to successfully carry out education in communist ideology we must correctly handle the following relationships:

1) The relationship between conducting education in communist ideology, on the one hand, and implementing the principles and policies for the current stage of socialist construction, on the other; 2) The relationship between conducting education in communist ideology on the one hand and performing one's duty well at his post and fulfilling the fighting tasks at present, on the other; 3) The relationship between advocating the communist spirit of plain living and hard work and of sacrificing one's own interests for the sake of others, on the one hand, and caring for the livelihood of the masses and solving practical problems, on the other; 4) The relationship between enhancing communist ideological consciousness, on the one hand, and raising the levels of science and education, on the other; 5) There should be different requirements for communist party members, CYL members and advanced personages on the one hand and for the ordinary masses. At the socialist stage we should not expect every member of the society to be communists. We can only guide the masses to believe in communism through appeal, persuasion, education and visits to their homes. But from the moment he takes the oath that he is willing to dedicate his life to the cause of socialism, a communist party member should uphold communist ideology, communist ethics, communist spirit and the communist attitude toward labor. We must on no account lump together communist party members and ordinary people. We should demand communist ideology of communist party members, CYL members and all advanced personages and demand that they educate, influence and bring along the broad masses of people through their exemplary conduct.

The third part of the resolution discusses the principles and methods for conducting education in communist ideology. The fourth part emphasizes that the entire party membership should take part in and strengthen leadership over education in communist ideology.

CSO: 4005/202

PARTY AND STATE

ZHAO DEZUN STATES HIS VIEWS AT NPC SESSION

SK281010 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 27 Nov 82

[Text] According to XINHUA, Zhao Dezun, head of the Heilongjiang Provincial delegation to the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress and chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, talking to XINHUA reporters, said that the session is being held under a situation in which the people of various nationalities throughout the country are studying and implementing the 12th CPC Congress guidelines and making efforts to create a new situation in socialist modernization. The session will be able to further arouse the people of various nationalities to unite as one and to make concerted efforts to strive to fulfill various tasks set forth by the 12th CPC Congress.

Zhao Dezun stated: The session will examine and approve the new constitution and the Sixth 5-Year Economic Plan, which are the two big events to which the people throughout the country pay great attention. The constitution is the principal law for running the country well and giving the people peace and security. The approval of the revised draft of the constitution, which has more Chinese characteristics, has been repeatedly revised over the past 2 years and which has been carefully discussed by the entire people in order to pool the wisdom of the masses, will become a new long-term effective constitution needed in the new historic period and by the program for achieving socialist modernization. Following the approval of the revised draft of the constitution, the long-term order and peace in the country will assuredly be maintained under its implementation. Therefore, we should deeply study and actively publicize the new constitution, as well as earnestly implement and resolutely safeguard it.

Zhao Dezun stated: The Sixth 5-Year Economic Plan represents the first step for fulfilling the strategic target of quadrupling the industrial and agricultural output value by the end of this century and also the first step for laying a solid foundation for fulfilling this strategic target. We not only should have firm confidence in fulfilling the target within the 20 years, but should do our work in a down-to-earth manner in the first 5 years.

Zhao Dezun stated: Heilongjiang Province's deputies, before leaving for the session, have conducted both investigations and inspections among the grassroots units of villages, plants, stores and schools and have extensively

solicited opinions from the masses. Many deputies have earnestly prepared their suggestions and motions for the session. They have expressed that they will certainly live up to the expectations of the 33 million people in the province by doing a good job in discussing issues that have the immediate interest of the people, by exercising their master's right for a well-run country, by exerting the highest enthusiasm in politics and by having a high sense of responsibility.

They have pledged to do a good job in studying and discussions during the session and to do a good job in publicizing and implementing the session's guidelines after returning to the province. They have also pledged to make new contributions to the development of socialist democracy, the improvement of socialist legal systems and to the program for achieving socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/202

PARTY AND STATE

HEILONGJIANG MEETING ON IMPROVING PUBLIC SECURITY

SK280535 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Nov 82

[Excerpts] On the evening of 26 November, the provincial CPC committee held a telephone meeting to implement the guidelines of the telephone meeting held by the public security committee of the CPC central committee. The meeting urged all localities throughout the province to conscientiously grasp public security work in the coming winter and spring on the basis of the [word omitted] in our province's favorable public security situation.

Attending the meeting were Li Lian, second secretary of the provincial CPC committee and Chen Junsheng and Wang Zhao, secretaries of the provincial CPC committee. Li Lian and Chen Junsheng spoke at the meeting. Deputy Governor Wei Zhimin presided over the meeting. [passage omitted]

Chen Junsheng said: Rectifying public security is important in effecting a fundamental turn for the better in the general mood of society. All localities must further acquire a deep understanding of the significance of public security. Party committees at all levels and public security departments should take the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress as the impetus for further implementing the guidelines of national and provincial public security work meetings and for conscientiously implementing the demands set forth at the telephone meeting of the public security committee of the CPC central committee. Efforts should be made to organize public security departments and strengthen all fronts to conduct general investigations on public security in both rural and urban areas of the province. We must sum up experiences to compare and commend a number of advanced units. If we discover any problems, we should tackle them within a limited time in the light of various categories of instruction.

Chen Junsheng stressed: The rectification of public security is a task for the entire party. We cannot rely on public security departments alone. Party committees must strengthen the leadership and divide the work to make overall plans and to mobilize and organize the strength of all fronts and all departments with a view to implementing all measures for tackling problems in a comprehensive way.

All public security departments should deal strict blows at illegal activities and serious criminal activities in the economic field, resolutely

implementing policies on imposing penalty according to the law. [passage omitted]

At the conclusion of the meeting, Comrade Li Lian stressed: 1) We should take both stopgap and radical measures to rectify public security and guard against unhealthy trends. Only by eliminating all problems can marked progress be made in our work. 2) We should strengthen the leadership of the party. Party committees should lead public security organizations to conscientiously implement the principles and policies of the party and to apply decrees in a correct way. We should conduct education among cadres and policemen to correct their thinking and shift their workstyle. Efforts should be made to mobilize and organize CYL departments and all departments to assume individual responsibility for comprehensively tackling problems in a concerted manner. Efforts should also be made to mobilize all party organizations to educate party members so that party members can play exemplary roles in rectifying public security and dedicate themselves to the struggle for effecting a fundamental turn for the better in public security. [passage omitted]

CSO: 4005/202

'HEILONGJIANG RIBAO' ON IMPROVING PARTY WORKSTYLE

SK012337 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 30 Nov 82

[Text] Listeners, Sunwu County is one of the pilot counties and communes in our province selected for trial consolidation of party organization. Efforts to consolidate party organization in the county in the past year or so have yielded satisfactory results. Problems which the masses complain about most have been resolved and the masses note hapily: good prospects are really in sight this time. On 30 November HEILONGJIANG RIBAO prints a detailed report on its second page on the consolidation of party organization in Sunwu County, and carries an accompanying commentator's article entitled: "Let the Masses Catch Sight of the Prospects."

The article says: Whether the unhealthy practices existing within our party can be eliminated or not is a matter of prime importance for which the masses show profound solicitude. The achievements of Sunwu County in consolidating party organization provide the masses a chance to catch sight of the prospects. As is shown by practice, all problems with regard to unhealthy practice within the party can be resolved proving leading cadres are determined to rectify the workstyle of the party and set a good example. The workstyle of the party has shown marked changes for the better since the third plenary session of the party. However, we must not underestimate the harmful effects of unhealthy practices on the faith of the masses.

The article emphatically points out: Only by consolidating the workstyle of the party well can we make the masses catch sight of the prospects. By catching sight of the prospects we mean an increase in the masses' confidence in the party which can be readily earned if we can solve all the problems that the masses complain about most, make healthy trends prevail and improve relations between the masses and cadres. Therefore, each party member, and leading cadres of the party in particular, should take the rectification of unhealth practices as his responsibility, take the lead in this regard and take actions to combat unhealthy practices instead of paying lip service only. It is necessary to implement the new party constitution in earnest, play an exemplary and leading role as is required of party members, be a qualified party member and make contributions to effecting a fundamental turn for the better in the workstyle of the party.

CSO: 4005/202

PARTY AND STATE

HEILONGJIANG CONFERENCE ON TRAINING CYL CADRES

SK020101 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Text] At the Harbin Municipal Youth Work Conference, which concluded on 1 December, Li Lian, second secretary of the provincial CPC committee, said that all party and CYL committees should further strengthen youth work and train the masses of young people into people qualified for the four modernizations and as good successors to the revolution.

Comrade Li Lian said: Every one of us, the party's cadres, should first correct his workstyle so as to be a model for young cadres to learn from. The party's leading cadres at all levels should lead others of lower levels in workstyle rectification. Party committees should lead CYL committees and veteran cadres should lead new cadres, thus building a mighty contingent of CYL cadres with determined political integrity, fine workstyle and high work drive. In addition, all party and CYL committees should strengthen management of the contingent of CYL cadres and establish evaluation systems. Efforts should be made to promote to leading posts all CYL cadres who have both political integrity and abilities and make a success of the cooperation between new and old cadres and the succession of the old by the new, so as to enable the contingent of CYL cadres to better suit the needs arising from creating a new situation.

CSO: 4005/202

JILIN URGES ENHANCEMENT OF WINTER-SPRING SECURITY

SK261306 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Text] According to JILIN RIBAO, the public security commission under the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee sponsored a telephone conference on the evening of 24 November, urging localities in the province to practically consolidate the public security work in the winter-spring period so as to eliminate all obstruction and create conditions for the mission of creating a new situation in socialist modernization.

At the conference, Yang Zhantao, standing committee member of the provincial CPC committee, deputy secretary of the public security commission and deputy governor of the province, delivered a speech in which he stated: Our province has achieved obvious effectiveness in consolidating public security since early this year. However, it must be noted that the public security situation prevailing in the province is not stable and that we have not achieved a fundamental turn for the better in this regard and have not lowered the rate of serious crimes satisfactorily.

Comrade Yang Zhantao stated: In doing a good job in conducting public security work in the winter-spring period, the most important task for us is to strengthen the party committee's leadership over the work, to further implement the measures of consolidating public security in an all-round and comprehensive way and to concentrate our efforts in the period on organizing all forces to deal with areas which have more problems and lag behind in this regard. The stress of consolidating public security in a comprehensive way should be laid on doing a good job in grasping juvenile education and on eliminating ideological corrosive influence. In the winter-spring period, it is necessary to vigorously conduct the work to prevent youth delinquency and do a good job in consolidating public security and order inside the plants and enterprises. Efforts should be made to successfully enact responsibility systems concerning safety and security work and to distinctly set up typical examples for both commendation and punishment. In rural areas, it is necessary to generally enact written pledges for peasants and to do a good job in building civilized villages.

Comrade Yang Zhantao urged the public security departments at all levels to actively give full scope to their organizational function and to do their best in work in the winter-spring period by bearing in mind the core task of

achieving success in social order and peace. All-out efforts should be made to strengthen the build-up of grassroots units and basic work and give full scope to the function of public security, mediation and neighborhood committees so as to achieve a success in preventing crimes and the change of contradictions for the worse.

Comrade Yang Zhantao, in conclusion, urged localities across the province to strenuously go into action to enhance their vigor, to unite as one in waging struggles and to make new contributions to further striving to achieve a turn for the better in the public security work of the province and to creating a new situation in the public security work.

CSO: 4005/202

YUNNAN JOURNAL ON UNDERSTANDING CLASS STRUGGLE

HK101149 Kunming Yunnan SIXIANG ZHANXIAN in Chinese No 5, 24 Oct 82 pp 1-5

[Article by Shi Wen [2514 5113]: "Have a Correct Understanding of Class Struggle in Chinese Socialist Society--Some Thoughts on Studying the Report to the 12th CPC Congress"]

[Text] In his report delivered at the 12th CPC Congress on behalf of the party Central Committee, Comrade Hu Yaobang applied the basic tenets of Marxism in giving us a scientific exposition of class situation and class struggle in the new historical period of the Chinese socialist society and formulated the basic principle for the question of class struggle in China at the present stage. Each communist party member and revolutionary comrade must resolutely implement the basic principle formulated by the party Central Committee, correctly understand and handle the question of class struggle which still exists at this stage and work hard to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

Complications and Lapses in Understanding

Our party went through a tortuous course in its efforts to gain an understanding of the question of class struggle in socialist society.

In September 1956, the Eighth CPC Congress formally proclaimed that the period of revolutionary storm was over, that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was basically resolved, that the age-old history of the system of class exploitation was basically at an end and that the social system of socialism had largely been established in our country. Class struggle was no longer the principal contradiction in Chinese society. The main task of the people throughout the country was to develop the productive forces as quickly as possible, concentrate on economic construction and build China into a powerful and modern socialist country. However, until socialist transformation was completed, class struggle would continue. Even after it was completed, the struggle between socialist and capitalist stands, viewpoints and methods would go on for a long time and there would still be counterrevolutionaries and individuals who are hostile to socialism and who violate state laws. Thus, we must continue to strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship and strive to do a thorough job of socialist transformation, wipe out the system of exploitation once and for all and continue to eliminate the remnant forces of the counterrevolutionaries.

Through repeated tests of practice in the past two decades and more, we found that these viewpoints of the Eighth CPC Congress tallied with China's actual situation. It was a pity that these correct ideas were adhered to in practice. Since 1957 when the scope of the anti-rightist struggle was broadened, we drifted farther and farther away from the correct viewpoints of the Eighth CPC Congress. At the Third Plenary Session of the Eighth CPC Central Committee, we changed the correct formulation of the Eighth CPC Congress and advanced the theory that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the contradiction between the socialist road and the capitalist road were the principal contradictions in Chinese society at that stage. During the period of the Lushan meeting, we erred in initiating the criticism of Comrade Peng Dehuai and then in launching a partywide struggle against "right opportunism." In describing the contention between differing views in the party as "a life-and-death struggle between the two antagonistic classes," the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, we extended the class struggle right into the party in 1962, the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee further broadened and universalized the class struggle by asserting that the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road and the danger of capitalist restoration would continue to exist throughout the historical period of socialism and that class struggle must be stressed every year, every month and every day. This not only broadened the scope of class struggle but greatly prolonged the existence of the bourgeoisie as a class. We then made the mistake of thinking that we had to "take class struggle as the key link" in everything we did. We even advanced the thesis that we should "purge those party persons in power taking the capitalist road" and tried to prove that these were the new characteristics of class struggle in the socialist period. In this way, the erroneous theory of class struggle was further systematized. This provided the ideological and theoretical grounds for the launching of the "Great Cultural Revolution," a so-called "revolution whereby one class overthrows another," in 1966.

History has come up with its conclusion. The "Great Cultural Revolution" carried out under the guidance of an erroneous theory of class struggle did not in fact constitute a revolution or social progress in any sense, nor could it possibly have done so. Many things denounced as revisionist or capitalist during the "Great Cultural Revolution" were actually Marxist and socialist principles. Many "capitalist-roaders" overthrown in the "Great Cultural Revolution" were leading cadres of party and government organizations at all levels. Many of the so-called "reactionary academic authorities" criticized in the "Great Cultural Revolution" were capable and accomplished intellectuals. The so-called theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" was also obviously inconsistent with the system of Mao Zedong Thought, which is the integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques capitalized on this erroneous theory and the mistakes made by our party on the question of class struggle to carry out counterrevolutionary sabotage for a whole decade and brought catastrophe to the party, the state and the people.

The great victory won in overthrowing the counterrevolutionary clique of Jiang Qing enabled our country to enter a new historical period of development. The 11th CPC Congress held in 1977 declared an end to the "Great Cultural Revolution," but did not promptly correct the errors on the question of class struggle. It

was not until the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee held in December 1978 that we began to conscientiously correct these errors. The third plenary session pointed out that there are still a handful of counterrevolutionaries and criminals in our country and we must on no account slacken our class struggle against them or loosen our grip on the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time, it firmly discarded the slogan "take class struggle as the key link" and declared that we should shift the focus of work to socialist modernization. The "resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in June 1981 made a penetrating analysis of the principal contradiction and the question of class struggle in socialist society. The resolution said: "Class struggle no longer constitutes the principal contradiction after the exploiters have been eliminated as classes. However, owing to certain domestic factors and influences from abroad, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come and may even grow acute under certain conditions. It is necessary to oppose both the review that the scope of class struggle must be enlarged and the view that it has died out. It is imperative to maintain a high level of vigilance and conduct effective struggle against all those who are hostile to socialism and try to sabotage it in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields and in community life. We must correctly understand that there are diverse social contradictions in Chinese society which do not fall within the scope of class struggle and that methods other than class struggle must be used for their appropriate resolution. Otherwise, social stability and unity will be jeopardized." The report to the 12th CPC Congress restated the correct views in the resolution of the sixth plenary Session on the question of class struggle. While stressing that class struggle no longer constitutes the principal contradiction in Chinese society, it analyzed in great detail the reasons why class struggle will continue to exist for a long time under certain conditions. It pointed out: "We must prepare ourselves mentally for a long-term struggle, see to it that the state of the people's democratic dictatorship exercises its function of dictatorship over enemies, and uphold the Marxist class viewpoint in handling the current social contradictions and other social phenomena that have the nature of class struggle."

Looking back on this period from the 8th CPC Congress to the 12th CPC Congress, we can see that our party went through a complicated course of correct--wrong--correct in its understanding of the question of class struggle in socialist society. These complications and relapses in understanding show that around the time of the Eighth CPC Congress,[phrase indistinct] Thus, the correct views put forth by the Eighth CPC Congress on the question of class struggle were soon criticized as erroneous notions. It was not until after we had paid a heavy price in the course of the past two decades and more that our party came round to recognizing the correctness of the views of the Eighth CPC Congress. With the constant deepening of understanding and the constant emergence of new conditions, our party's current understanding of the question of class struggle is naturally a lot more advanced compared with that during the time of the Eighth CPC Congress. The viewpoints on the question of class struggle in the report to the 12th CPC Congress are not only more scientific and precise in wording but are much more substantial and perfect in content. They give us scientific definitions for the target, role, characteristics, scope and trend of class struggle in socialist society and provide scientific answers to new

questions arising from the current class struggle. Based on the understanding that class struggle will continue to exist for a long time within certain limits and may even sharpen under certain conditions, the report to the 12th CPC Congress also put forward the basic principle with regard to the question of class struggle at the present stage. This is of great significance in that it helps us to correctly understand and handle the current social contradictions and other social phenomena that have the nature of class struggle.

Class Struggle Will Continue To Exist for a Long Time Within Certain Limits

Both the resolution of the 6th plenary session and the report to the 12th CPC Congress pointed out that following the elimination of the exploiting classes as such, class struggle will continue to exist for a long time within certain limits. This thesis will help prevent us from thinking that class struggle has died down following the elimination of the exploiting classes. Moreover, in confining the class struggle which will continue to exist for a long time within certain limits, it will also prevent us from repeating the mistake of enlarging the scope of class struggle.

Why is it that class struggle will continue to exist for a long time within certain limits following the elimination of the exploiting classes in our country? The report to the 12th CPC Congress pointed out: "This is not only because pernicious influences left over by the exploitative systems and classes cannot be eradicated within a short time, but also because we have not yet achieved our goal of reunifying our motherland and still live in a complicated international environment in which the capitalist forces and other forces hostile to our socialist cause will seek to corrupt us and harm our country. Our economy and culture are still quite backward and our young socialist system is imperfect in many ways, so that it is not yet possible to prevent the degeneration of some members of our society and party or block the emergence of a few exploiting and hostile elements." The above analysis tells us that there are domestic and international reasons as to why class struggle will continue to exist for a long time within certain limits. Domestically speaking, although the exploiting classes have been eliminated, there are still remnants of such classes and pernicious influences left over by the exploitative systems [word indistinct] classes will continue to exist for a long time. As Lenin said: "When the old society perishes, its corpse cannot be nailed up in a coffin and lowered into the grave. It disintegrates in our midst: the corpse rots and infects us." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 407) A host of facts seen in everyday life show that most of the criminals, degenerates, embezzlers, thieves and speculators have at one stage been a handful of wavering elements among the people and have evolved to become what they are because of serious corruption by the ideas of the exploiting classes. Moreover, our economy and culture are still quite backward, our socialist political and economic systems are still far from perfect and there is harmony as well as conflict between the socialist productive forces and the socialist relations of production and between the superstructure and the economic base, so that there are objective conditions for the handful of new exploitative and hostile elements to carry out criminal activities. At present, the class struggle in the economic sphere in our country this form: [as printed] some people have taken advantage of the loopholes in our policy of opening to the outside and our policies for invigorating the

economy domestically and have capitalized on our multiple forms of commodity production, on the weak links in commodity exchange and distribution and on the defects in our managerial system, to engage in acts of graft, theft, speculation and profiteering. The report to the 12th CPC Congress pointed out: "We must on no account rank all these things with the common run of offenses or anti-social acts, because they are important manifestations of class struggle under the new historical conditions in which we are pursuing a policy of opening to the outside and taking flexible measures to invigorate our economy domestically." Moreover, when we say that exploitative systems and classes have been eradicated, we are only referring to the Chinese mainland. Since we have not yet achieved our goal of reunifying our motherland, there still exists in Taiwan an exploitative system and an intact exploiting class. We are still faced with a struggle between forces promoting the peaceful reunification of the motherland and forces fighting against this cause. This struggle naturally falls into the category of class struggle. Viewed from an international perspective, domestic class struggles and international class struggles are closely related. We still live in a complicated international environment. Imperialism, hegemonism and other reactionary forces hostile to China have not given up their policies of aggression and war. The Soviet Union has stationed massive armed forces along the Sino-Soviet and Sino-Mongolian borders all the while. Vietnam has never ceased carrying out armed provocations along China's border. Some forces in the United States and Japan are still carrying out hostile activities against China. The security of our country is still under serious threat. Thus, the struggle will continue for a long time. Moreover, following the development of economic and cultural exchanges with foreign countries, hostile elements in the international arena will also take advantage of all possible channels to step up their economic, political and cultural infiltration and captivate some weak-willed people by peddling decadent bourgeois ideology and the bourgeois way of life. On account of the domestic and international reasons discussed above, class struggle will continue to exist in our country for a long time within certain limits.

Why then is it necessary to emphasize "within certain limits?" "Within certain limits" does not come from our subjective conjecture. It has objective grounds. This objectivity comes from an analysis of the state of class struggle in socialist society, particularly the state of class struggle in China at the present stage. The result of this analysis shows that class struggle is not omnipresent but exists within certain limits. By emphasizing the certain limits, we will avoid making the mistake of waging struggle blindly and thus confusing ourselves.

What is meant by "within certain limits?" At this stage, class struggle within certain limits refers chiefly to our struggle against hostile elements of different shades who are attempting to undermine or overthrow our socialist system in the economic, political, ideological, cultural and other social spheres. (These hostile elements include counterrevolutionaries, enemy agents, criminals of all descriptions who disrupt socialist order, degenerates, new exploitative elements who engage in graft, theft, speculation and profiteering, certain remnant forces of the "gang of four," a handful of unreformed landlords and rich peasants as well as certain remnant forces of other old exploiting classes.) We must unswervingly carry out this struggle through to the end.

This will provide us with an important guarantee that we can keep to the socialist road. In addition, class struggle within certain limits also includes our struggle against imperialism, hegemonism and all other reactionary forces hostile to China.

We should say that the scope of class struggle in China at the present stage is much smaller compared with the early post-liberation days and has also undergone changes since the basic completion of socialist transformation. In the first half of the 1950's, class contradiction was the principal contradiction in Chinese society. The movement to suppress bandits and oppose local tyrants, the land reform and the suppression and elimination of counterrevolutionaries were aimed at completely resolving the contradiction between the people on the one hand and the feudal landlord and rich peasant classes and bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie on the other. The movements against the "three evils" and "five evils" and the three major socialist transformations were aimed at resolving the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Relatively speaking, the scope of the class struggle was quite extensive at that time because the exploiting class existed as a class in itself and class struggle constituted the principal contradiction in the country. Thus, our confrontation against the landlords, rich peasants and capitalists was nationwide and assumed the form of large-scale, turbulent mass struggle. Following the basic completion of China's socialist transformation in 1956, the exploiting classes were eliminated and class contradiction was relegated to a secondary position. The scope of class struggle was naturally reduced. However, at that time the landlords and rich peasants were still undergoing reform and the capitalists were still receiving fixed interests on their assets. They were in the process of changing from exploiters to laborers. The situation is different now. After going through struggle and education for nearly 30 years, most of the able-bodied landlords, rich peasants and capitalists have transformed themselves into laborers on their own toil. The position of the Chinese working class has been greatly strengthened. The Chinese peasants have now become collective farmers with a history of more than 20 years behind them. The Chinese intellectuals have become a part of the working class. Owing to these profound changes in China's class situation, the scope of class struggle is of course greatly reduced. At present, most contradictions in our society are those that do not have the nature of class struggle, like those between right and wrong, between the advanced and the backward. There are also some social contradictions and other social phenomena that have the nature of class struggle. As long as we strictly distinguish between class struggle and other social contradictions that do not have the nature of class struggle, we will be able to confine class struggle within certain limits.

We must conscientiously draw lessons from the "Great Cultural Revolution." The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques enlarged the scope of class struggle without limits. They claimed that the old capitalist class not only still existed but had engendered a new bourgeoisie and that there was even a bourgeois class inside the party. They said that the landlords and rich peasants not only still hung around unreconciled but would go on for generations to come. They described socialist collective farmers as "small producers" that "engender capitalism and the bourgeoisie daily and hourly." They even equated socialist

intellectuals with bourgeois intellectuals. As they saw it, the exploiting classes were growing from strength to strength rather than being eliminated; the scope of class struggle was expanding rather than being narrowed. In the name of intensifying the class struggle, they frenziedly persecuted the cadres and masses to pave the way for their usurpation of party and state power. We must get a clear understanding of class struggle in our country at the present stage and establish the viewpoint that class struggle will continue to exist for a long time within certain limits in order to avoid committing "left" or right errors on the question of class struggle.

Class Struggle May Even Sharpen Under Certain Conditions

While pointing out that class struggle will continue to exist for a long time within certain limits, the report to the 12th CPC Congress also pointed out that class struggle may even sharpen under certain conditions. In other words, class struggle will rise and fall. It will not continuously sharpen, but may sharpen under given conditions. The general trend of class struggle is toward abatement, like the subsiding of ripples. Following the ultimate victory of the socialist system, class struggle will eventually die out.

According to an erroneous theory preached in the past, class struggle in socialist society will not only fail to die out but will grow more and more acute. The following thesis by Lenin was always taken as an important basis of this erroneous theory. In his article "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," Lenin said: "The transition from capitalism to communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has ended, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration. And after their first serious defeat, the overthrown exploiters (who had not expected their overthrow, never believed it possible, never conceded the thought of it) throw themselves with energy grown tenfold, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundredfold, into the battle for the recovery of the 'paradise,' of which they have been deprived, on behalf of their families." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 640) However, this passage is of no help to the erroneous theory mentioned above because Lenin was referring to the situation of domestic class struggle during the transitional period in Russia. It cannot be applied to China after the completion of socialist transformation. However, during the period from 1957 to the downfall of the "gang of four," our country launched one political movement after another and ceaselessly carried out class struggle under the guidance of this erroneous theory. We even thought that this was necessary for preventing the restoration of capitalism and for building socialism. Actually, we were only artificially creating internal strife among the people. The unprecedented "Great Cultural Revolution" was the biggest internal strife on a national scale since the founding of the PRC and was the most intense manifestation of the so-called class struggle in the socialist period.

How then should we understand the thesis that class struggle in socialist society may even sharpen under certain conditions? First, we must clearly understand what sharpen means. Sharpening is opposite of abating. Philosophically speaking, it means that the conflict between contradictions has grown so intense that it reaches a point of explosion. However, the extent to which class struggle may sharpen differs from period to period. It depends on development in changes in the balance of forces between the two sides. The intensity of class struggle

in socialist society is obviously much milder compared with the period of the armed seizure of political power by the proletariat and the transitional period of socialism. Moreover, the general trend of struggle can only move toward abatement. The reason is that after the elimination of the exploiting classes as such, the targets of class struggle will not be exploiting classes in their full form, but only their leftovers--remnant forces of the old exploiting classes and the new-born exploiters. These people, that is, the five types of undesirable elements and two kinds of remnant forces discussed earlier, make up a very small number. Since the old relations of production which they used to represent no longer exist and they do not possess any means of production, it will not be possible for them to develop into a class in its full form and to stand up against the economy and politics of socialism. Thus, their strength will gradually diminish as the strength of the people grows. This development and change in the balance of class forces will, therefore, make it impossible for them to wage one large-scale struggle after another. Even if they can seize certain opportunities to gang up and form a force against us, they will only bang their heads against the solid wall of the people's democratic dictatorship.

However, we must not lower our vigilance and become careless just because hostile elements constitute a mere handful and the trend of class struggle is toward abatement. The party Central Committee had the actual situation in mind when it emphasized time and again that class struggle may even sharpen under certain conditions.

Although it is very difficult to actually define "certain conditions," we can perhaps draw the following inferences from class struggle in our country over the past two decades and more: First, class struggle may sharpen when class enemies at home and abroad work hand in glove in a vain attempt to overthrow China's people's democratic dictatorship. An example of this was that at the instigation of U.S. imperialism, Chiang Kai-shek repeatedly dispatched armed agents to the coastal areas of the Chinese mainland to plot for an invasion in 1962. Second, class struggle may also sharpen when imperialism and hegemonism wage a war of aggression against our country. An example of this was the Sino-Vietnamese border war provoked by the Vietnamese regional hegemonists a few years ago. Third, if we confuse the two different types of contradictions, handle a host of problems that are in the nature of contradictions among the people as though they are contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and broaden the scope of class struggle, class enemies at home and abroad will take advantage of the situation. This may lead to the sharpening of class struggle. A typical case in point was when the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques capitalized on the "left" errors during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and artificially created class struggles. Contradictions sharpened as a result. Fourth, class struggle may also sharpen if we fail to see or recognize the presence of class struggle, or if we fail to effectively strike at the serious crimes perpetrated by the class enemies in the economic, political and cultural fields aimed at undermining socialism and let things take their own course. For example, on the question of the bourgeois trend toward liberalization, if our party does not take note and resolutely wage a struggle against it, people who hanker after liberalist ways may succeed in whipping up a storm and do harm to the stability and unity of

society. Fifth, when unhealthy practices prevail in the party, or when leaders become seriously tainted with bureaucratic ways, overlook ideological-political work and cannot appropriately handle different types of contradictions, class enemies will capitalize on our shortcomings and mistakes and on the resentment of the masses to stir up trouble. They may also lead to the sharpening of class struggle.

The correct understanding and handling of the question of class struggle in socialist society is an important issue which our party has been trying hard to resolve for the past 20 years and more but without much success. After summing up historical experience and the fresh experience gained in recent years, our party has greatly enhanced its understanding of this question and raised it to a new scientific level. In the course of practice, we must uphold the correct views on class struggle put forward in the report to the 12th CPC Congress, constantly enrich and perfect our understanding of this question and strive hard to bring about a situation of prolonged stability and unity in our country as quickly as possible.

CSO: 4005/200

'EARNEST STUDY' LEADS TO CORRECT IDEOLOGY

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 31 Aug 82 p 4

[Article by You Gan [1429 2413]: "The Ideal Answer"]

[Text] According to a report in GUANGMING RIBAO on 13 August, when Chen Xiaoyue, [7115 1420 1878] a student of Qinghua University's Department of Energy, was in middle school, he was criticized for being an heir of revisionism. Due to his father's historical problems he was treated coldly when he worked on a production team, in a factory and everywhere he went. He was very depressed. For a time he wanted to find the answer to real life from the writings of Confucius, Laozi and Mencius. He even read books on the Bible, Buddhist scripture and Hegel but did not find the ideal answer. After he took an examination and entered Qinghua University in 1977 he read "Capital" and other books by Marx and Lenin as well as the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong." He said: "I have finally found the theory that can correctly observe and analyze social problems and drive society forward. It is Marxism." Last year he honorably joined the CPC and was rated three-goods student in education.

China's revolution and the practice of construction long ago answered clearly Chen Xiaoyue's question which he has only recently come to realize, namely, only Marxism can guide China's revolution and construction to victory; all other doctrines do not work. The problem has long been resolved but people's minds have been confused by the interference of the antirevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." As a result, the faith of some youth in Marxism has been shaken. They want to "explore" so-called "new ways." Are not some people interested in Western existentialism? At the mention of existentialism, people would think about Sartre of France. Coincidentally, the founder, in the first half of the 19th century, of existentialism was the Danish mysticist Kierkegaard. After the World War I it became popular in Germany and was mainly represented by Heidegger and Jaspers. During and after World War II the French writer Marcel, Sartre and others popularized existentialism through their art and literature so that it became relatively popular in Europe, America and Latin America. Existentialism treats the question of human existence as an "ontological" question in philosophy. In its view, only human existence is the "most real" and "most basic" among all things in the world. After all, man is concrete and existence is one's own existence. Jaspers said: "All things are essentially real, and to me their

existence is purely because I am myself." Sartre also said: "There is no universe other than man's and his subjective world." Obviously this is idealism, but why are some young people confused? It is because it talks about man without his social character and it stresses the value and esteem of the individual. In other words, upholding "oneself," so-called "someone else is my hell" and "man is a wolf to another man" are expressions of such ultraindividualism. It also believes that man can build himself according to his consciousness and advocates man's absolute freedom, reliance on individual struggle, unconditional choice of one's future; so-called "human essence" is based on the "individual plan" and is "self-formed." Whatever you wish to make of yourself, you will be able to do so. Therefore, those who pursue individual ideals would regard it as panacea. But real life is ruthless, and this absolute freedom unrestrained by society is basically impossible. Because ours is a socialist society it cannot be guided by capitalist ideology but only the proletarian ideological system of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. A socialist society that deviates from the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought will inevitably retrogress to a capitalist society. The ideal answer our fellow student Chen Xiaoyue got is neither Confucian nor Hegelian thought, but Marxism, which is the correct answer and the only correct answer proven by practice. Like Confucian and Hegelian thought, existentialism will not become the ideal answer for people in our socialist society, and it can only be trash that serves the bourgeoisie. It is also inevitable that some people who have been influenced by it will discard it after they study Marxism-Leninsim.

In this respect, we must learn a little history and understand that our people have chosen Marxism-Leninism after going down a difficult and tortuous road. If one understands this point one would not blindly "explore" their own "new ways" but would compare the modern trend of bourgeois thinking with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and further strengthen our belief in Marxism-Leninism. Chairman Mao vividly depicted this problem for us over 30 years ago: "Since China's defeat in the 1840 Opium War, Progressive Chinese went through countless hardships to search for truth from Western countries. Hong Xiuquan [3163 4423 1356], Kang Youwei [1660 2589 3634], Yan Fu [0917 1788] and Sun Yat-sen were a group of people who searched for the truth from the West before the birth of the CPC. At that time, Chinese who wanted to be progressive would read any book if it was on new, Western principles. The number of students sent to study in Japan, Britain, France and Germany reached an astonishing extent. Abolition of the imperial examinations and popularization of schools became pronounced in China in order to learn from the West." "Imperialist aggression destroyed the Chinese dream of learning from the West. Oddly, why did the teachers attack the student? The Chinese learned a lot from the West, but it did not work and the ideals were never realized. Many times the struggle failed including nationwide movements such as the 1911 revolution. Conditions in the country deteriorated day by day and the environment made it impossible for people to live. Suspicions were generated; they grew and developed. World War I shook the whole world. The Russians carried out the October Revolution and created the first socialist country in the world. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin the revolutionary vigor of the great Russian proletariat and laboring people that was hidden underground and unseen by foreigners

suddenly erupted like a volcano. The Chinese and the whole of mankind viewed Russians in a different light. Then, and only then, a new period dawned among the Chinese in their thinking and lives. As Chinese found the universally accurate and general truth of Marxism-Leninism, China's appearance began to change."

Chairman Mao himself had taken such a road. In his conversation with Snow he described his mentality in Beijing and Changsha when he had not yet fully accepted Marxism-Leninism: "I read some booklets on anarchism and was very influenced by them. I frequently discussed anarchism and its prospects in China with a student named Chu Qianzhi [2612 6197 0037]. At that time I agreed with many anarchist ideas." "At this time my mind was a hotchpotch of liberalism, democratic reformism and utopian socialism. I longed for 19th century democracy, utopianism and traditional liberalism, but my opposition against warlords and imperialism was definite and without a doubt." At that time he even wanted to take action to realize Saneatsu Mushakeji's concept of new villages. After he graduated from the First Hunan Normal School in June 1918, he went all over the villages in the Yuelu Mountain region with Cai Hesen [5591 0735 2773], Zhang Kundi [1728 2492 1717] and others to establish a new village based on half-work and half-study and on equality and friendship, but they were unable to establish a foothold and did not succeed. Later, Chairman Mao established his faith in Marxism-Leninism only after he studied it, understood the experience and lessons of revolutions in different countries and recognized that the only way out was to follow the path of the October Revolution. The road taken by the Chinese people in the past and the difficult course of proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation speak even more vigorously for our ideal answer!

To find the ideal answer, we must study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought in earnest. We will not get the ideal answer if we do not study in earnest and master the spiritual essence of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Moreover, prejudice is more frightening than ignorance. Wei Liangfu [7614 5328 4395], a student of class 79 of the Mechanics Department at Qinghua University, was formerly uninterested in studying Marxism-Leninism. Out of curiosity during this summer vacation he used someone's name to attend the Marxism-Leninism study class operated by the school. After he read the "Communist Manifesto" several times he said with a sigh: The profound thinking, eloquent and vigorous proofs and words like prose poems easily "captivated" me. When he attended several supplementary courses and understood even more basic Marxist-Leninist principles he said with deep feelings: "Prejudice is more frightening than ignorance! My prejudice against Marxism-Leninism in the past began with my ignorance. Study has enabled me to view Marxism as a science." This is a true experience. At the same time it has inspired us: Are we not, to a certain extent responsible, if we overlook the education of young people in the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and cause some people to become influenced by modern bourgeois trends of thought?

9586
CSO: 4005/111

PARTY AND STATE

JIANGSU CYL 8TH CONGRESS MEETS

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 30 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Shen Yun [3088 5089]: "Youths Throughout the Province Unite and Struggle To Construct the Four Modernizations Under the Banners of Communism--8th Congress of Jiangsu CYL Concludes--First All-Committee Member Conference of 8th Jiangsu CYL Elected Standing Committee"]

[Text] The 8th Congress of the Jiangsu CYL lasted for 6 days and victoriously concluded on 29 August.

The closing ceremony was conducted by Comrade Sun Jiazheng [1327 1367 2398]. Comrade Gu Hao [7357 3185] delivered the closing speech. Comrade Gu said: After this congress the goal for the struggle in the work of the CYL in the subsequent period has been defined. A key question placed before organizations at all levels of the CYL is the kind of spiritual conditions we should use to initiate the new situation of the CYL's work throughout the province and to complete in a splendid manner the tasks of this congress.

Comrade Gu Hao said: In order to complete brilliantly the tasks of this congress we must establish faith in communism. Whatever are the circumstances and however great are the difficulties we face in the future, we must believe firmly that the goal of struggle of "raising high the banners of communism and being the brave, shock contingents that initiate the great, new situation for modern socialist construction" is entirely correct. We must put forward the spirit of struggle of not fearing any difficulties and hardships; establish the heroic spirit of despising difficulties and daring to win; nourish an unremitting and indomitable revolutionary determiniation; and advance toward the set objective with the enterprising spirit of the Foolish Old Man who "endlessly digs up the mountain." We must put forward the fine work style of being diligent and eager to learn, from books, practice, revolutionaries of the elder generation and all those who are experienced. We must strive to increase our own ideological standards and work ability, become good assistants of the party and create a revolutionary undertaking that is worthy of the old and future generations.

Finally, Comrade Gu Hao said: This congress of ours was convened on the eve of the 12th Party Congress and at a very opportune moment. The 12th Party Congress will be one that initiates a magnificent and new situation for

socialist modern construction, and it will write a shining chapter in the history of the party. We must use full political ardor to study the 12th Party Congress documents in earnest, become closely involved in popularizing its spirit, resolve to complete the various tasks it puts forward, and contribute all our wisdom and ability to build the "two civilizations" under the banners of communism.

During the period of the congress the representatives studied in earnest, discussed the opening speeches by Comrades Xu Jiatun [6079 1367 1470] and Gao Zhanxiang [7559 1594 4382], increased their knowledge, defined their goals and roused their spirit. They unanimously believe that the use of communist ideology to educate young people is the central task of the CYL. Many representatives also proceeded from reality and put forward their views on questions relating to communist ideological education that needed attention: While we must have a clearcut stand in popularizing communist ideology and advocating communist morality, we must also do painstaking ideological and political work in a down-to-earth manner; while we must inherit and carry forward the decades of traditional experience of the CYL, we must also shift according to the characteristics of contemporary youths to earnestly study new conditions in combination with the realities of growth and to resolve new problems; and while we must ascertain the prime motivation of contemporary youths, we must not overlook the corrosion and influence of capitalist ideology on youths, and thereby actively and realistically perform all tasks well.

Through full deliberation and consultation by all the representatives and according to the demands to revolutionize, popularize knowledge, specialize and rejuvenate, the congress elected and created the 8th committee of the Jiangsu CYL. The committee is formed by 95 members and 25 alternate members. The first all-committee member conference elected and created a standing committee of 11 members for the Jiangsu CYL. Sun Jiazheng was elected secretary; Gu Hao, Ji Yunshi [1323 1336 4258], Bai Suning [2672 5685 1380] (female) and Lin Xiangguo [2651 4382 0948] were elected deputy secretaries.

The congress approved the work report of Comrade Sun Jiazheng for the former committee of the Jiang CYL and elected 108 deputies to represent the Jiangsu CYL at the 11th nationwide congress.

9586
CSO: 4005/111

CONSOLIDATION OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS TO MEET MODERNIZATION NEEDS EMPHASIZED

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 28 Oct 82 p 4

[Article by Rui Zhi [6904 0037]: "It Is Necessary To Coordinate the Building of the Party with the Task of This New Period"]

[Text] In his report to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang profoundly analyzed the triumphant historical transformation our country has achieved during the past 5 years, thus sounding the clarion call for comprehensively opening new horizons in the development of socialist modernization. As in the past, the leadership of the party remains the fundamental guarantee for victory during this new historical period. But this does not mean that the party can achieve this goal without making any effort. The party itself also faces the problem of how to strengthen its development. During this new historical period, the development of the party of a task that must be carried out in close coordination with the development of socialist moderation. Why?

First, it is essential to the triumphant fulfillment of the new historical task. We must understand that the political line and the organizational line are dependent on and complement each other. Although the organizational line is the guarantee for the realization of the political line, more importantly the organizational line must serve the political line, only then will it be able to play an effective role. Building the party without implementing a correct political line is not only meaningless but also misleading. During various historical periods, our party built its strength in close coordination with the implementation of the political line and political work of the time. During the new democratic revolution, the party must rely on three magic weapons, namely, the united front, the armed struggle and the leadership of the party. Party organizations at all levels, party cadres and party members must learn to wield and use these magic weapons. They must learn to cooperate with all forces that could be united in forming the most broadly based united front, courageously and skillfully carry out the armed struggle, and build up the strength of the party in the course of carrying out this struggle and other work so that the party can lead the people to victory in democratic revolution.

During this new historical period, the building of the party should also be viewed as a task that is subordinate to and in the service of the party's

political line. In other words, only after the needs for the development of socialist modernization are met, can the party be built into a strong core capable of providing leadership for the development of socialist modernization. If the structure of the party is found unfit to meet the demands of organizing the construction of socialist modernization and to lead the people to take the socialist road characteristic of the Chinese conditions, if party organizations cannot properly handle the relationship between economics and politics, between the building of material civilization and spiritual civilization, and between ideological and cultural developments, and if they are not good at building a high level of socialist democracy stimulating the enthusiasm of the people to the greatest extent, we will find ourselves unable to act as vanguard fighters during this new historical period.

Second, it is essential to the endeavor to improve the present stature and quality of party cadres and party members. Today, the development of modernization remains something new to many of our cadres. Lenin pointed out that although some people can be the most capable revolutionaries and instigators, they are unfit to serve as administrators. In this case, study is necessary. At present, many of cadres in leadership and responsible positions are not well-educated and lack professional knowledge. If no effort is made to change this situation, they will be qualified to do the job of this new period.

The cultivation of cadres is the heart of strengthening the organization of the party. At present, it is particularly necessary to do a good job in this field. The Central Committee has repeatedly emphasized that after the party shifted the emphasis of its work to the development of socialist modernization, a large number of cadres must be trained on a rotational basis, and a contingent of revolutionary, young, well-educated, and professionally competent cadres must be gradually built in order to meet the needs of the new situation. This is an important measure for strengthening the building of the party. We must deeply appreciate this measure and clearly see that at present, the quality of the rank-and-file cadres still falls far behind the demands for the construction of socialist modernization, there is no reason to be complacent.

Third, this guarantees the necessity of keeping the development of the party on a constant path. During this new historical period, successful efforts must be made to build the party. In doing so, we must not only completely break with the so-called "theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" ideologically and theoretically, but also coordinate our practical work with the task for the construction of socialist modernization. Without the latter, the party will eventually be unable to get rid of the pernicious "leftist" influence in the course of building up its strength. For example, for years, under the guidance of the "leftist" ideology, we have failed to emphasize the need for incorporating well-educated and professionally competent cadres in our cadre contingents. We have also failed to help them acquire professional skills in the administration of the socialist economy while consistently demanding them to continue to raise the so-called "consciousness of class struggle," and

to apply the method of political struggle to promote economic development, thus causing unnecessary damage to our socialist undertakings. Furthermore, because the unhealthy effects of the 10-year internal strife remain, and because of the erosion of various ideas of the exploiting classes which have emerged under the new conditions, some individual party cadres and party members have embarked on corruption and embezzlement, committed economic crimes, seriously distrupting the development of socialist modernization. If we want to be successful in building the party, we must resolutely struggle against these tendencies. In short, we must train a contingent of both socialist-minded and professionally competent cadres in response to the needs for the development of socialist modernization, only in this way can we fulfill the mission assigned by history.

By following the path laid out by the 12th Parth Congress, our party can certainly do a good job of improving and building itself, and lead the people on a march toward a new and greater victory in developing socialist modernization.

9574
CSO: 4005/145

CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLICY ON CLASS STRUGGLE EXPLAINED

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 21 Oct 82 p 4

[Article: "What Is Our Basic Policy in Dealing With the Problem of Current Class Struggle?"]

[Text] A report on the 12th Party Congress points out: We must be mentally prepared for a prolonged struggle, uphold the dictatorial functions of the state under the people's democratic dictatorship, and persist in applying the Marxist-Leninist class viewpoint to handle our current social contradictions and social phenomenon of class struggle. This is the party Central Committee's basic policy in dealing with the problem of current class struggle in our country.

After the exploiters were eliminated as a class, most contradictions that still exist in our society were no longer classified as ones in the nature of class struggle, class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction. Since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party Central Committee has taken resolute measures to suspend the implementation of the policy of "taking class struggle as the key link," and has shifted the emphasis of its work to the construction of socialist modernization. But this does not mean that class struggle has ceased to exist. There are all sorts of hostile elements in our country at present. They are mainly counterrevolutionary cliques, criminals who have seriously undermined the socialist order, new exploiters engaged in embezzlement, speculation, swindling, smuggling, and trading in contraband goods, and a minority of old exploiters who engage in sabotage. These hostile elements have engaged in activities to deliberately sabotage the economic, political, ideological and cultural developments and social life, and overthrow the socialist system. Our current class struggle is mainly a struggle carried out by the people against these hostile elements.

This struggle in our country will continue to exist for a long time. This is because the historical system of exploitation and the exploiting classes and their pernicious influence on various fronts cannot be eliminated at a single blow, because our country has yet to fulfill the grand objective of its ultimate reunification, and therefore must continue to live in

a complicated international environment where the capitalist forces and certain other influences hostile to socialism are bound to have a corrosive and destructive effect on our social life, and because our relatively backward economy and culture and young, socialist system remain unable completely to prevent some members of our society and party from becoming susceptible to corruption, and a small number of exploiters and hostile elements from asserting themselves. These destructive activities carried out by hostile elements cannot be stopped in a short time, and may even deteriorate under certain conditions. Therefore, we cannot treat them lightly. We must maintain a high degree of vigilance, be mentally prepared for a prolonged struggle, and persist in exercising the dictatorial functions of the state under the people's democratic dictatorship, in order to crack down hard on all hostile elements.

The emphasis on upholding and applying the Marxist-Leninist class viewpoint to handle our current social contradictions and social tendencies characteristic of class struggle will enable us strictly to distinguish contradictions characteristic of class struggle from those that are not in the nature of class struggle and to avoid the mistake of expanding the class struggle. Among the very complicated social contradictions and social tendencies that presently exist in our country, there is a small number of social contradictions in the category of class struggle, the majority are not in the category of class struggle. Apart from the previously mentioned class struggle carried out by the people against hostile elements, other social contradictions that are in the nature of class struggle include struggles against remnant feudal ideas and decadent capitalist ideological influences. These are social contradictions that also smack of class struggle in varying degrees. But generally speaking, they are in the category of contradictions among the people. Instead of adopting the method of struggle against the enemy as a measure to resolve such contradictions, we must mainly adopt the methods of criticism and active ideological struggle to overcome these erroneous ideas and actions until contradictions are resolved. As for those social contradictions which are not in the nature of class struggle, contradictions among the people who share the same basic interest but have different views on matters of specific interest, and contradictions between advanced and backward ideologies and between correct and incorrect views within the framework of a general objective, we should never adopt the method of class struggle to handle them. In light of different situations, we must adopt a variety of correct and appropriate measures to resolve them so that the past mistake of expanding class struggle will not be repeated in the future.

9574
CSO: 4005/145

BRIEFS

HEILONGJIANG: SELF-EDUCATED YOUTHS--According to statistics, Heilongjiang Province's rural areas have some 900,000 self-educated youths. Through self-education, most youths become qualified personnel to make contributions to the four modernizations. Since the smashing of the gang of four and especially since the third plenum, youths across the province have enthusiastically conducted self-education. Some of them are engaged in studying at television universities, sparetime universities and correspondence universities. [Text] [SK040241 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Dec 82]

CSO: 4005/202

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WESTERNIZATION MOVEMENT DISCUSSED

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCES] in Chinese No 9 15 Sep 82 pp 40-44

[Article by Xia Dongyuan [1115 2639 0337]: "A Brief Account of the Multilateral Relations of the Westernization Movement"]

[Text] The Westernization Movement is interrelated with many affairs and events, but the present article will discuss only its relations with the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, with Chinese capitalism and with the Foreign Affairs Clique and certain personalities.

To explain the many multilateral relations of the Westernization Movement we must first clarify the criteria for an evaluation of the movement.

The method of evaluating the Westernization Movement--the same as the evaluation of all historical personalities and events--can only use historical materialism and a combination of class analysis and historicism. In the past few years, scholarship on the history of the Westernization Movement has actually come up with two criteria: One is that the movement was launched and developed by the Foreign Affairs Clique to protect the reactionary Manchu Qing regime, in collusion with and reliance on foreign capitalist aggressors, by suppressing the people's revolutionary movements. It must be designated a "process of turning China into a semicolonized and colonized country by a combination of imperialism and feudalism." Considered in this light, the Westernization Movement must of course be judged negatively. Another group of scholars has come up with another assessment. Viewed in the light of the developmental law of history, we see that China at that time was at the stage when capitalism was about to replace feudalism, and the Westernization Movement played an effective role in furthering the buildup and development of modern Chinese capitalist industrial enterprises. The movement was well in line with the demands of historical developments and therefore deserving of our approval.

I believe both criteria must be considered in unison. Comrade Mao Zedong once set forth the law of class struggle. "The process by which imperialism combined with Chinese feudalism transformed China into a semicolonized and colonized country is also the process of Chinese popular resistance against imperialism and its running dogs." He also made the statement: "The history of imperialist aggression against China, its obstruction of China's independence and its obstruction of Chinese capitalism is the history of modern China." The starting

point of historical materialism is economics. The substance and the laws of class structure and class struggle are determined by the level and conditions of economic developments. Without a feudal economy, there would be no opposing classes of landlords and peasants and the class struggle between them. Without the capitalist economy, there could be no opposing classes of capitalists and workers and the class struggle between them. The conditions of the economy determine the class conditions and the class struggle conditions, and class struggle, conversely, has a promoting or obstructing impact on economic developments. Marxism takes the existence of classes and class struggle in a society as the manifestations of the cultural history of mankind, mainly because classes and class struggle are the outcome of economic developments, and the struggle between the slaves and slaveholders or between peasants and landlords frequently brings about an improvement in production relations, an amelioration of the tools and a liberation of productive forces, which again results in a continuous increase in production and even leads to the transformation of the production methods. Politics is the concentrated expression of economics, and politics, conversely, has also an impact on economics. All the struggles and transformations of society will, in the final analysis, be reflected in the transformation of economics. Engels once said that the ultimate cause of all social transformation "... must be sought in the changes of the production methods... sought in the economics of the particular time in question."[1] Exploring the developmental law of modern Chinese society, how can we look for it merely in the class struggle of the "two processes" and not in the transformation of the production methods, namely in the transformation by which capitalism replaced feudalism?

Shortly before and after the Qianlong and Jiaqing reign periods of the Qing Dynasty, we already see the seeds of capitalism in slow development, but with a technical level that was by far insufficient to overcome the small producers. After the Opium War, foreign capitalism invaded China and foreign merchandise began at that time to capture the Chinese markets. Its production capacity far exceeded that of the Chinese small producers. In the case of textiles, "the price matched that of the native cloth, but the foreign cloth was three times wider."[2] As the law of value took effect, the foreign merchandise rapidly separated the small producers from their means of production, and a manpower market and a market for merchandise was thereby created just as the capitalists wanted and needed it. Chinese industries of a modern capitalist character were at that time about to come into existence; it was like "an arrow being placed on the bow" ready to be shot, but the capitalist developmental trend met with the serious restrictive impediments of feudalism. To trigger the "arrow" was generally to struggle against political and military odds. At that time this struggle was mainly the struggle of the Chinese nation against foreign capitalist aggression, and the struggle of the peasants against the landlord class. The emergence of capitalism and its development was a historical necessity, but which struggle--the national struggle or the class struggle--would trigger the "arrow" on the bow was not historically predetermined. The "arrow" of a modern capitalist industry that was at that time on China's "bow" could not be triggered in the Opium War, but was indeed triggered when the Qing government suppressed the revolution of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. The suppression of the revolution of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom was a reactionary act, but objectively triggering and shooting off the "arrow" of capitalism on China's "bow" was in line with the trend of history.

2. Whenever the Westernization Movement is discussed in its relation with the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, people naturally think that "it was an antagonistic movement in opposition to the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom." It is correct that the direct reason which gave impetus to the Westernization Movement was the intention to suppress the revolutionary peasant movements, of which the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom was the principal one, but this was by far not the only connection between the two. There is a much deeper and broader connection between the Westernization Movement and the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. It is well known that in the eyes of the Qing government the Westernization Movement was to "acquire the superior technology of the foreigners," in order to be able to save the feudal rule of the Qing Dynasty. To save its rule, the Qing Dynasty had of necessity to suppress the popular revolutions at home and in its foreign relations, to ward off the foreign powers. When it was not strong enough to suppress the people, it linked up with foreign powers to maintain control internally, and when it was not strong enough to ward off the foreign powers, it was apt to compromise and sue for peace, all to safeguard its own rule. However, regardless of its manifestations, the importation of Western advanced science and technology as part of its development of the productive forces and of a modern industry, resulted in the emergence and development of a Chinese capitalism. The fact that the Westernization Movement induced the emergence and development of Chinese capitalism is in two respects closely linked with the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. One is the development of some measure of commodity economy. Because the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom had finally dealt a heavy blow to the forces of feudalism, the production enthusiasm of the peasants had risen high in most areas, and there was an increase in the proportion of production available for sale, so that there was "a great traffic of itinerant tradesmen and taxes were very minimal."[3] The development of the commodity economy was not only evident in the domestic markets of areas controlled by the Taiping armies, but occurred also in international trade. For example, tea and silk exports, in the years 1849-1850, prior to the revolution, about 54 million pounds of tea and over 50,000 bales of silk in the years 1855-1856. By 1862-1863, when the Taiping armies had occupied most of the tea and silk producing areas, tea exports were 120 million pounds and silk exports over 83,000 bales. Compared with conditions before the war, tea exports had more than doubled and silk exports had risen over five times. This shows that there had been large increases in the commodity trade on the domestic markets as well as in exports. Although merchandise in those days was mainly supplied by small producers, the increase in the volume of commodities easily led to the emergence of capitalist relations. This definitely had a beneficial effect on the Westernization Movement which was promoting the emergence and development of capitalism.

Another consequence of the Taiping revolutionary movement was that as feudal relations were loosened, a small-scale peasant economy grew. There are many reasons for this occurrence, one being the reduction in population and the promotion of immigration of people from other areas to undertake the cultivation of vacant land. During the war the population of the provinces of Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Anhui and Jiangxi had been greatly reduced. For instance during the 30-odd years from 1838 to 1872 in the Jiaxing Prefecture the number of households decreased from 541,386 to 253,447, the number of women from 1,665,948 to 546,160.[5] The number of households and women decreased to more or less half and the number of men to two-thirds. As a result, uncultivated land was to be found everywhere. After the suppression of the Taiping armies

by the Qing government, the local governments in the various localities adopted the measure of inviting people from other areas to cultivate the vacant land and thus resume production on it. The arable land that was in this way returned to production became in some cases the property of the cultivator, and in some cases only half became the property of the cultivator and one half became public land, but in most cases the one who put the land back into production was left to grow his crop on it, and his taxes and levies were lightened. As a result, "immigrants vied with each other to open up waste land, first they were exempted from taxation and later benefited from low rents."[6] Immigrants came in large numbers "to open up waste land and wilderness; they proceeded to till the land, gained all the benefits from the fertile soil, moved their families in, built their houses and lived as prosperous people."[7] Immigrants therefore became wealthy, and it also happened that "some of the original natives foolishly abandoned their land and turned tradesmen."[8] The sale of land ownership was quite common in areas under the control of the Taiping army. Some land in Zhejiang Province changed ownership so much that finally no cultivated land remained in the hands of the original owners."[9] The above-described conditions demonstrate that feudal relations had greatly loosened up. The small-scale peasant economy under loosened feudal relations played quite a different role from that of the small-scale peasant economy still shackled by the fetters of feudalism. The latter suffered the restrictions of the economic laws of feudalism and therefore, to a certain degree, functioned as a support of the feudal rule. The former was gradually coming under the dominance of the law of value and the economic laws of capitalism and thus became a hotbed for capitalism. As the small peasants "gained all the benefits of the fertile soil," they not only became self-sufficient but also produced commodities for sale, broadened the commodity market, sped up their polarization, which of necessity had the effect of making them the midwives of capitalism.

Whether it was the first or the second consequence of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolutionary movement, both were equally beneficial for capitalism. On the other hand, one of the major effects of the Westernization Movement was to, so-to-say, press the electric button that would give the green light to the emergence and development of capitalism because the preconditions for capitalism had already been established, not only by the invasion of foreign capitalism but also by the considerable imapct of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolutionary movement in this respect. Of course this "considerable impact" was closely linked with the "preconditions" created by the invasion of foreign capitalism and the conditions needed by capitalism.

There is yet another question that deserves our careful attention, namely the great decrease in population in all areas for various reasons, such as military service, deaths, flight, etc. The people that had taken flight were above all the landlord elements. Some of these landlords returned to their old homes after the suppression of the Taiping armies, to resume their former businesses. However, these people were often not as involved with landownership as before. Some landlord families had invested whatever money and valuables they had taken with them on their flight in industrial or commercial enterprises in the cities. Others, although continuing their land business in the countryside, had become more interested in investments in industry and commerce in the cities and became gradually landlords and capitalists. Were not Sheng Kang [4141 1660] and Sheng Xuanhuai [4141 1357 2037], father and son, from Changzhou, Dai Heng [2071 1854]

of Zhenjiang, the brothers Yang Zonglian [2799 1350 3425] and Yang Zonghan [2799 1350 3466], all landlord families of Jiangsu and among the first to invest in the modern industry of the Westernization Movement? These facts establish a connection with the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolutionary movement.

3. The question of the relationship between the Westernization Movement and Chinese capitalism was for many years answered in the following manner: The industrial and commercial enterprises of the Westernization Movement constituted the early phase of bureaucrat capitalism. The Westernization Movement had a suppressive and to a certain extent promoting effect on national capitalism. In my opinion it is not advisable to draw a hard and fast line between the said "suppressive" and "promoting" effects, but they must be the subject of one integrated investigation.

The Westernization Movement was a movement for the utilization of Western advanced science and technology to save the feudal rule of the Qing Dynasty. The utilization of Western advanced science and technology showed itself first in the purchase of strong ships and powerful artillery to suppress the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, and showed itself later in the importation of advanced machinery and equipment for the manufacture of arms and ammunition. Prince Kung and others of the Foreign Affairs Clique had said that the purchases were measures of a temporary nature, and that the "permanent plan for all future" was to manufacture these articles. Factories and enterprises that were using large machinery to manufacture arms and ammunition, under the conditions created on a fiarly broad scale by the invading foreign capitalism and required for the development of capitalism, unavoidably bore the imprint of a capitalist character. This is so because of the role of the law of value in the production of armaments; it was the expectation of cheap cost prices that was the aim of the Foreign Affairs Clique in undertaking themselves the production of arms and ammunition. Since the law of value played a role in the manufacture of armaments, these products assumed "the garb of commodities," namely value being the garb of commodity. Cloaked in this way--with value--as commodity, their products could enter the markets for commodity exchanges. In actual fact, the Qing government allotted "accounting prices" to arms and ammunition at the various military camps, and "accounting prices" indeed convey a commodity character. From the seventies of the 19th century on, there was a steady increase in the sale of arms and ammunition sold as commodities. By 1900, the financial income from such sales at the Jiangnan Arsenal amounted to over one-third of its total income. What is more important is that many of the workers at the various arsenals were selling free labor. Their wages were in general between 10 and 30 to 40 yuan. According to the above, the workers were not only creating use value, but also creating value, surplus value, and it is only that the form of surplus value tranformation was different from that in ordinary capitalist enterprises. The capitalist nature of the modern war industry operated by the Qing government is obvious.

As the industrial and mining enterprises operated after the seventies, such as ship building, telegraph installations, textile mills, coal mines, ore excavation and smelting, these were of course capitalist enterprises in the real sense of the word, producing commodities with the intention of exploiting the

surplus value. As to the use value, the products of these industries destined for civilian use, although outwardly set up to supply the raw materials and fuel needs of the war industry, were in the final analysis subject to the law of value, which played a major role, and also subject to the influences and stimuli of the law of value and the law of surplus value of the war industry. For instance, the opening up and operation of coal mines was usually due to the "hardship of high prices for foreign coal."[10] The production of lead and copper, raw materials for the manufacture of ammunition, was undertaken because the importation of foreign materials was "cumbersome as to purchase and transportation and to be paid for at high prices."[11] Undertaken by themselves, the operation of factories that could produce these materials would yield cheap products for use in the arsenals, and the production of arms and ammunitions would then meet the demand of the Qing government to "get an adequate amount for the money allocated." This shows that there was this internal tie of economic laws between the war industry and the civilian industry. To a certain degree they formed one capitalist entity; they were China's modern capitalist industry at its early stage. Was this early capitalist industry of the Westernization Movement a bureaucrat capitalism with feudal and comprador character? This must be judged by the objective role that it played.

Capitalism by its very nature is not only naturally opposed to feudalism, but also naturally opposed to the invasion of any foreign capitalism. Taking the war industry as an example, not only was its intention to manufacture products cheaper than the foreign products, i.e. to "fight foreign production" and was effective in "fighting foreign production," but it also implicitly competed with the foreign arms trade. In actual fact, the armaments produced at their own arsenals were much cheaper than anything bought from abroad. For instance, a 12 pound bomb had to be purchased at a price of 12 liang of silver, but cost in manufacture was only 2 or 3 yuan. Looking again at the expenses for purchases from outside sources as against costs of production, we note that in the 11 months from July of the 3rd year of Tongzhi [1864] to May of the following year, the Huai army of Li Hongzhang spent over 240,000 liang on purchases from outside sources and paid around 120,000 liang as expenses for manufacture at the Bureau of Foreign Armaments.[12] The latter figure was not even half of the figure for purchases from outside sources, but considering the factor that production was much cheaper than the purchases, the use value of the armament was at least not less than that of the quantity purchased from outside sources. Is all that not an effect of "fighting foreign production"? If this was the case with military enterprises, it was even more so with civilian enterprises. The civilian industrial enterprises were set up by the Westernization Movement basically according to capitalist economic principles. Such enterprises as shipyards, textile mills and coal mines were undertaken with the idea of gaining profits for oneself and of "competing with the foreign merchants for profits" or of "raking off part of the foreign merchants' profits." Even though certain allowances were made during operations for the needs of the aggressors, the idea of "resisting the foreigners" played a major role in the undertakings. Precisely for this reason the foreign merchants saw in these enterprises a strong opponent and tried to destroy them. A striking example in this respect is the way the Jardine Matheson and Butterfield and Swire shipping companies cut their prices to compete with the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company and tried to squeeze the Chinese company out of business.

I said already that the military and civilian industrial enterprises of the Westernization Movement constituted one capitalist entity; they formed the "embryo of bureaucrat capitalism." The implication of this proposition is that the mentioned term "bureaucrat" denotes in the case of military industrial enterprises, that they were set up with government investments and that they were under direct administration and control by government officials. Although the civilian industrial enterprises were mainly set up by commercial capital and run by businessmen, they were still under the supervision of government officials. Whether in the military or the civilian industries, it was always the government officials who would make operation of the enterprises run only according to their will. This structure provided the possibility for the development of bureaucrat capitalism. However, as I said before, the Westernization Movement industrial enterprises had a very strong nationalistic character, and furthermore, in an overall assessment, and speaking of the initial period of the movement, the nationalistic nature was its primary aspect. If we say that the Westernization Movement industrial enterprises are the "embryo of bureaucrat capitalism," we must, therefore, at least recognize that they were also the embryo of national capitalism. This kind of capitalism could develop either into bureaucrat capitalism or into national capitalism. Considering the fact that the "bureaucrat" administered and supervised the enterprises under a semicolonial, semifeudal system, allowing feudal and comprador elements to permeate his work, there was the possibility that the result would be bureaucrat capitalism. Considering the natural disposition of capitalism to oppose and resist feudalism and the intrusion of foreign capitalism, and realizing that this disposition was at that time the primary aspect, there was a possibility that it would completely turn into an economy of national capitalism. Due to the fact that from the middle eighties of the 19th century the bureaucrat powers increasingly tightened their control over the enterprises, most of the Westernization Movement enterprises developed into the direction of bureaucrat capitalism.

There is yat another important argument why for many years scholarship regarded the Westernization Movement industrial enterprises as the early stage of bureaucrat-comprador capitalism, because the capital of these enterprises was mainly invested by bureaucrats, compradors and the like. However, this argument is untenable. According to the Marxist principle of the "personification of capital," it is not the class origin of the investor that determines the character of the enterprise, but it is precisely the character of the enterprise that gradually changes the class relationship of the investor. Actually, in China's modern history, men of landlord-bureaucrat and comprador background who invested in new industrial enterprises and thereby turned into capitalists were very numerous. The cases of Zhang Guanying [6774 6037 2019] and Xu Run [1776 3387], who were of comprador background and turned into national capitalists, and Sheng Xuanhuai, who was of landlord-bureaucrat background and turned into a capitalist, are all outstanding examples.

If bureaucrat landlords who invested in modern enterprises, thereby changed their class relationship and became capitalists, it was the same with the Westernization Movement bureaucrats when they made efforts to save the feudal rule; contrary to their original intentions, they developed capitalism. These changes occurred independent of their will, only according to the objective law that rules such transformations.

4. As to the relationship between the Westernization Movement and the Foreign Affairs Clique, just as the names imply, it is common knowledge that the Westernization Movement was initiated and led by the Foreign Affairs Clique, who among themselves of course held identical views. However, as said before, the later developments of the Westernization Movement frequently took a course that was different from the original intentions of the Foreign Affairs Clique. This shows that the Westernization movement must not be completely equated with the foreign affairs clique. The term foreign affairs derived from the term barbarian affairs which was used previously. The latter term has the connotation of a superior state controlling barbarian peoples on all its frontiers and referring contemptuously to the neighboring coutnries, while "foreign affairs" is a term that in this special context mainly denotes the study of advanced Western learning. The participants in the Westernization activities at that time may have started out from different points of departure, but were basically agreed on this understanding. In his book "Alarming Things From a Flourishing Age", Zheng Guanying discussed "foreign affairs" under the heading "Western Learning." He said: "Today's concern with foreign affairs is a trend of the time." The "foreign affairs" activities can be likened to a situation when the sovereign is seriously ill and must be rescued, when "one will try all means to heal him and for that purpose studies medicine." He ridiculed those who believed that it is noble not to discourse on foreign matters" and prided themselves with being "pure and aloof" or "men of proper conduct," as if wanting to emulate ancient martyrs who "jumped into the ocean or drown themselves in the Xiang River," or rather those who "tried shamelessly just to stay alive at the sacrifice of principles or honor." The term "foreign affairs" therefore assumed a different meaning from the traditional term "barbarian affairs" and came to mean study of advanced Western learning characteristic for that generation. The advanced learning comprised advanced science and technology as well as democratic political institutions. The Westernization Movement took the following course: It began with the utilization of advanced science and technology to serve the rule of the Qing Dynasty, then developed new productive forces, which in turn helped the emergence and development of capitalism. The development of capitalist production patterns furthermore demanded, in political respects, a transformation from an autocratic system to a democratic political system to conform with the needs of capitalist development. The Westernization Movement was supposed to take this direction, but in actual fact did not completely develop that way. This is related to the question whether the Foreign Affairs Clique objectively reflected this developmental law.

First of all, their efforts were intended to save the feudal rule, but they developed capitalism which was the opposite of their intentions and absolutely not expected by them. The Foreign Affairs Clique was a rather mixed group. At the time it formed, there were diehard bureaucrats, reformers of the landlord class and gentry with strong comprador tendencies. Their individual ways of thinking and approaches to the participation in activities was different. However, in one point they were all agreed, namely on learning science and technology from the West, in particular military technology, so that they would be able to suppress the revolutionary peasant movements and safeguard the rule of the Qing Dynasty. In the process of utilizing the new military technology for the armed suppression that was to solve the conflict between the landlords

and the peasants, they unwittingly developed new productive forces. The arsenals of Jiangnan, Tianjin and Mawei [near Fuzhou] manufactured not only military equipment, but manufactured and repaired merchant vessels and much machinery and many tools for civilian use. For example, the Jiangnan Arsenal, according to incomplete statistics, manufactured in the period from 1867 to 1904, 138 lathes and 47 planing machines. Its Translation Bureau translated 160 books of 1,075 volumes. Apart from a smaller number of books on politics and history, the majority were technical books on mathematics, electrical science, chemistry, optics, acoustics, agricultural science, mining, etc. These were mainly translated within the Westernization Movement and undoubtedly played a positive role in developing the new productive forces. The production with large machines brought with it capitalist economic relations, but most of the men of the Foreign Affairs Clique, especially the former diehard bureaucrats, had absolutely no intention of solving the contradition between the trend toward capitalism and the repression of feudalism. This shows that the Foreign Affairs Clique, while conforming to the historical trend of the time, still harbored elements that obstructed the progress of the current of history.

In the middle seventies of the 19th century, there was a great change in the overall situation. After signing the Treaty of Beijing in 1860, the foreign capitalist powers stepped up their political, economic and cultural aggression and unscrupulously pilfered much of the wealth of China. Tsarist Russia's invasion of Yili in 1871 and especially Japan's invasion of Taiwan in 1874 destroyed the state of "peace and harmony between China and all foreign countries," and brought on serious crises in the border regions of China. Faced with this situation, the Foreign Affairs Clique, in military matters, turned their main attention from the suppression of the people internally to the defense against the threat from abroad. They made great efforts to improve coastal defenses, the navy and the equipment of the army. In the economic field their main objective was to strive for greater prosperity, that means, they were seeking sources of surplus value, and in this way spurred on the development of capitalism. They also had the intention of competing successfully with the foreign merchants in the market. This shows that in military installations as well as in economic activities the Foreign Affairs Clique reflected to a considerable degree the demands of the historical developments. In the new phase of the Westernization Movement there were, in addition to the original Foreign Affairs Clique, also a large number of comprador merchants and people with reformist ideals, or tending in this direction, who participated in activities. Although there was a great variety of contradictions between them, the majority of them were united in one point, namely resistance, militarily and economically, against the foreign powers.

There are two reasons why the Foreign Affairs Clique was indeed reflecting the demands of the Westernization Movement during the seventies. Judging from the position of the big foreign affairs bureaucrats, to protect the feudal rule of the Qing Dynasty, the greatest efforts had to be made to resist the foreign enemies who were an immediate threat. To effect this resistance it was necessary to strengthen the military power, which meant finally to strengthen the navy, coastal defenses and frontier defenses. As the war industry was further developed, it became also necessary to plan for more industries producing for

civilian uses, because these industries could solve the raw materials and fuel problems of the war industry, also bring about prosperity and provide the financial means to support the armed forces. The civilian industries could not rely on commercial circles to raise funds, and the raising of capital in commercial circles for the operation of enterprises means to develop capitalist relations. This logical process, although not foreseen by the foreign affairs bureaucrats, was a natural historical development. Speaking of the ordinary members of the Foreign Affairs Clique, especially those intellectuals and men with comprador background who had reformist tendencies, since the majority of them decidedly demanded resistance to the foreign aggression and were advocating economic war on the foreign merchants, and since they were also definitely seeking to gain surplus value and high profits, they were of course people who in word and deed promoted the Westernization Movement to take its normal lawful course. This is one reason, the other is that since the foreign affairs bureaucrats were out to save the toppling regime of the Qing Dynasty, their intentions were in some respects incompatible with the development of capitalism, which at times they even tried to throttle, but this met with opposition from the compradors, merchants and reformist intellectuals who took part in foreign affairs activities. For instance, when Li Hongzhang and his men tried to use bureaucratic methods to interfere in the operations of the China Merchants Company, the incumbent general managers Tang Tingshu [0781 1694 2873] and Xu Run immediately protested: "According to commercial convention, the affairs of the company are handled by merchants, and it would be inappropriate to have them handled by government officials." "Government officials and merchants are originally two lines, there is a difference between fame and profits to obtain business for ships is done for profit and not for fame, and business cannot be maintained for long without profits."[13] This shows that the foreign affairs bureaucrats reflected one aspect of the demands of the Westernization Movement, but also that their aims in other aspects ran counter to these demands. However, they could not hold up the course of history. Internal strife within the Foreign Affairs Clique in the seventies and eighties still resulted, basically, in conformity with the general trend of history, but the foreign affairs bureaucrats had power and therefore, frequently were in the dominant position in the struggle of contradictions, and that could lead to actions contrary to the demands of the Westernization Movement. As could be expected, the foreign affairs bureaucrats gradually tightened the "official supervision" of the enterprises. In addition, a small number of foreign affairs bureaucrats displayed a compromising attitude in the diplomatic negotiations in the Sino-French war and on other occasions, which on the one hand ran counter to the development of capitalism and on the other hand ran counter to the demand for resistance against the foreign powers. Especially at a time when the movement had developed to a certain phase when it needed a democratic political system to conform with the development of capitalism, the foreign affairs bureaucrats ceased to make any further advances. At that point, the Foreign Affairs Clique as a group was about to break up, each member going his own way. Some started up enterprises of their own and became national capitalists and some turned into bourgeois reformists.

We see from all this that the Westernization Movement followed its own developmental law. The propositions of the Foreign Affairs Clique in some respects correctly reflected this law, but the degree to which it correctly reflected

the developmental law was uneven. For instance, in the seventies there was a higher degree of correct reflection. However, there were also aspects in the actions of the Foreign Affairs Clique that violated the law and these violations were different at different times. For instance, after the Sino-French war, the "violating" aspects were predominant and led to a complete extinction of any correct reflections. This is the reason why the Westernization Movement had to end in failure.

We see from all this that there are common characteristics and also differences between the Foreign Affairs Clique and the Westernization Movement, and must not be lumped together. It is therefore wrong to ascribe all actions of the Foreign Affairs Clique to the Westernization Movement all the words and eeds of certain exponents of the Foreign Affairs Clique, such as Li Hongzhang.

Judging from the above discussion of the Westernization Movement and its various relationships, an explanation of the Westernization Movement has its place in history. There are other relationships apart from those discussed in the above, for instance its relation with the compromising diplomacy of the Qing government, but we cannot say that compromising diplomacy was the line of the Westernization Movement. The compromising diplomacy did not start with the Westernization Movement, it had been displayed at the time of the Opium War, and it did not end with the Westernization Movement, since the compromising diplomacy of the northern warlords and Kuomintang government were even more serious than that which happened at the time of the Westernization Movement. Limits of space prevent me from further discussions.

FOOTNOTES

1. "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science."

2. Bao Shichen [0545 0013 5256], "An wu si zhong" Vol 26.

3. Peng Zeyi [1756 3419 4135], ed., "Material on the History of Modern Chinese Handicraft Industry" Vol 1, p 534.

4. Wang Tao [3769 7290], "Yue ni ya lue."

5,6,7,8,9. See Li Wenzhi, ed., "Material on the History of Modern Chinese Agriculture," Pt. 1, pp 165,168, 171 and 169.

10. In 1872, "Report of Consul Tan Shuiying."

11. Li Hongzhang, "Qing kai Quanzhou tong kuang pian."

12. Cf. Sun Yu [1327 3022 2768], ed. "Material on the History of Modern Chinese Industry" pt. 1, vol 1, p 263.

13. Unpublished material at the Shanghai Library: "Petitions by Tang Tingshu, Xu Run and Zhang Honglu [1728 7703 4389] to Li Hongzhang," 7th year of Guangxu.

9808
CSO: 4005/144

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

EDUCATION STRESSED IN FUJIAN, HEBEI

Fujian Education in Rural Areas

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Nov 82 p 1

[Article: "Fujian Carries Out Education on Socialism and Patriotism in Rural Areas"]

[Text] Correspondent Wang Zhongren [3769 6988 0086] reports that at present Fujian is carrying out education of peasants in rural areas using "four, three, two" as its main content.

The so-called "four three two" education is the "four adherences" (adhering to the four basic principles), "three considerations" (consideration of the benefits to the nation, collective and individual) and "two oppositions" (opposition to smuggling and bribery as well as market speculation and opposition to various unhealthy trends and evil practices). For more than 10 months, the places which have been carrying out this educational movement have promoted the building of the material as well as the socialist spiritual civilization.

The widespread implementation of the "four three two" socialist education in rural areas throughout Fujian was actually initiated and decided by the CPC Fujian party committee. The educational method of reckoning accounts was estensively used in carrying out this education. This guided the peasants to integrate with the counties, communes, brigades and individuals to actually settle these seven accounts: one was the various economic policies of the party since the 3rd Plenary Session of the Central Committee that benefit agricultural production; two was raising the prices of agricultural by-products that increase peasant income; three was the state granting credit for the support of agricultural production; four was the state's gratis investment in rural area capital construction; five was social reductions, economic relief and relief for natural calamities; six was the state supplying various allowances such as chemical fertilizer, pesticides, farm implements etc.; seven was the improvement of peasant life.

Gao Yang Stresses Education

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Nov 82 p 4

[Article: "Hebei's Provincial Party Committee 1st Secretary Gao Yang [7559 2254] Indicates the Need to Place Education in a Position of Strategic Importance"]

[Text] Not long ago, Zheng Baosheng [6774 0202 3932] and Zhang Hongju [1728 4767 5467] reporters for PEOPLE'S EDUCATION visited Hebei's 1st secretary, Comrade Gao Yang, and asked him to state his views on how to implement the spirit of the party's 12th Congress and handle educational undertakings.

Comrade Gao Yang said that since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, education work has continuously been given serious attention and strengthened. The party's 12th Congress has also gone further by regarding education and science as a fundamental link and one of the three major focal points for economic development in the next 20 years. This shows the party's emphasis on education. In order for Hebei Province to act in the spirit of the 12th Congress, we must immediately begin to formulate and strengthen plans for scientific work and must certainly place education in an important strategic position.

When discussing the need to conscientiously implement policies on intellectuals and raise the status of teachers, Comrade Gao said that the present working and living conditions of the intellectuals must be improved. Teaching is hard work, precedence must be given to solving the poor working and living conditions. The geographical location of Hebei is quite good, but some intellectuals are still ill at ease, which shows that our work has not been done well. We must select enthusiastic persons to resolutely implement the party's policies on intellectuals, carry out the work of these policies and prepare to expend a little money. After the status and treatment of intellectuals improves, we must carry out propaganda and recruit people of ability. The intellectuals of Hebei have not been used adequately and a portion of intellectuals must be drawn from other provinces and cities.

When discussing the problem of the need to further strengthen investment in intelligence and educational funds, Comrade Gao Yang said that in the past there was not much investment by Hebei in education and that this was illogical. In fact, the money used for education was limited and was given grudgingly. Of the many strange happenings over the past years, one is the astonishing waste in many areas and it is only in education that money is grudgingly expended. It is 33 years since the founding of the PRC, yet some of our local primary schools still do not have chairs and desks. How much can this cost! By saving a little bit from the wasted money we are bound to have chairs and desks! Some school buildings are dangerous and this is of particular concern on rainy days, this situation must be resolved. It is inexcusable that our children attend classes in such places! However, some counties, communes and production brigades have taken money for education and spent it in other places. Some of our comrades who are working for socialism do not understand that they should give serious attention to education. This is

truly bewildering! This idea must be changed. Comrade Gao Yang also said that the teaching facilities of some middle schools and universities are very poor and urgently required improvement and completion. He emphasized that at present, in order to strengthen the educational front, we cannot indulge in idle talk but must provide actual financial and material resources. Although the present finances of Hebei Province are strained, the potential is great. The present provincial party committee indicated the need to handle well the increase of production and conservation, tapping potential and try in every possible way to obtain money for education and science. If next year's finances are ample, operating expenses for education should be increased to a large extent; it is necessary to obtain the financial and material resources from each area to cure the "anemia" of education and scientific research units as well as the historically "outstanding account." If we want to save 10 million, 20 million, 30 million or even more, the first sum of money should be invested in education.

Comrade Gao Yang gave his own views on the problem of strengthening the implementation of communist ideological education for students. He said that due to the influences of the 10 years of turmoil and bourgeois ideology, some students do not have high aspirations nor revolutionary thought. Some only pay attention to food, clothing and pay, envy the bourgeois life style and believe Western capitalist societies are "Paradise." He sternly and realistically explained that if we neglect the building of socialist spiritual civilization under the guidance of communist ideology, it is possible the youth will lose their revolutionary ideology and aim and lose their spiritual force and fighting ambition. It would then be difficult to resist the encroachments of decadent bourgeois ideology. Therefore, using communist ideology to educate students is not only a long-term strategic necessity but also a realistic and urgent need. We must give great importance to and conscientiously stress this. (Originally published in PEOPLE'S EDUCATION No 11, 1982).

9480
CSO: 4005/139

GRADUATE STUDENT PRAISES COMMUNIST PARTY

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 9 Oct 82 p 1

[Article by Jin Yenshi [6855 1484 4258], a graduate student in economics at Nankai University: "Aspiring Youths Should Embrace the Communist Party To Strengthen China as Their Duty"; an ideological report written as an application to join the Communist Party by a graduate student]

> [Text] (Editor's note: This report was written by a student, Jin Yenshi, on 1 July of this year when he applied to join the Communist Party. This ideological report notes that after his long and trying experience in learning about the party, Jin was raised to a new level of ideological consciousness, and filled with new hopes for life. The content is factual and heartening. This report helps us to analyze the state of ideological thinking of students and graduate students of higher institutes; and to improve and strengthen their ideological vocations, as well as to help improve their party-building duties. Those young people who have undergone similar trying experiences and who have held erroneous ideas about the party will also benefit from reading this ideological report.)

I come from an intellectual family. My father was once wrongly accused of being a rightist. At the age of 15, I came to the Jiyu coal mine and worked 6 and 1/2 years as an underground mine worker. In July 1975, I joined the Communist Youth League. The following year I became a secretary of the league branch and a member of the league committee. My understanding of the party at that time was far from mature. This was a product of my indifference. My feeling at that time was just as that described by Comrade Chen Jiangong [7115 1696 0501] in his letter to the Beijing University Party Committee, "I was angry and bitter, yet I was rigorous and observant; I was skeptical toward that period of time, yet I searched around everywhere for reasons, truths, and logic...." It was under these circumstances that I went on to teach myself music.

At the beginning, my self-instruction [in music] was not for the party, not for the people, and not because of any personal struggle. It was my search for relief. In 1973, an unexpected opportunity came along, I was admitted to the School of Music. Subsequently, because of the charges against me of "having

problems" and "not willing to settle down and work in the mine" my dream of studying music was destroyed. I was depressed. I took up a pen and a book. An intense self-esteem has driven me to create new hopes to mend my broken heart. This type of negative viewpoint toward life and my understanding of the party were interrelated. At that time, I believed the party was above me and distant from me. As I was totally enwrapped in my misconceptions, the party became supernatural to me. I did not even dare to think of joining the party, for fear that my unworthy self would contaminate its image. In 1976, before I left for the rescue mission to the earthquake damaged area of Tongshan, I considered applying to the party. Though, at that time, my motive was that the party needed me; I had to sacrifice myself. This altruistic motive came as natural.

Young people often think highly of themselves. They consider themselves more capable than party leaders. Of course, prior to the smashing of the "gang of four," there were some people who were quite clear-headed. For me, though, it was long after this before I began to realize the fate of the party and the country.

After Comrade Mao Zedong passed away, I was saddened and devastated. In 1978, as I was analyzing the question of "practice is the only criterion in judging truth," I realized that China was wavering and I felt that "leftism" was dangerous. In my helplessness, I was under the influence of doubts that permeated our society. When I participated in the creation of "beginner's economics" and other social groups, my thinking was relatively biased. Thinking back, I could cite two reasons for this: first, it was impatience; I was unhappy about the fal progress and was "dissatisfied." Second, it was pride. After learning a little of theory, I thought I was qualified to criticize conditions. Though my views were not totally wrong, I was irresponsible in believing I was totally right. But, my skeptical attitude rose out of my concern for the country and the people. It was under these circumstances that I felt that the young generation was not a superior generation but one that constantly struggles in ideological thoughts.

The 3d Plenum of the 11th Central Committee had a great impact on me. It resolutely affirmed the need for a broad and accurate grasp of the scientific basis of Mao Zedong Thought, extensively analyzed the standards for truth, decidedly stopped the use of the slogan "with class struggle as the key link," and carried out the strategic decision of shifting the focal point of work to the building of socialist modernization. As the policies set up by the Third Plenum were realized step-by-step and the conditions were improved, my understanding of the Third Plenum deepened. If my support for the party during the early stage was solely out of my deference, my total support for the party after the Sixth Plenum rose out of my belief in the policies set by the Third Plenum and my full confidence in the party.

Prior to the Sixth Plenum, I thought it was wrong to totally discredit Comrade Mao Zedong's accomplishments since the liberation, to attribute to him as his errors the faults of the "Cultural Revolution," and the smashing of the "gang of four." The "Resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC" issued by the Sixth Plenum has helped me to resolve my doubts. Before, I thought the goal of "achieving four modernizations

by the end of the century" was unrealistic, for our conditions indicated no such economic guarantees. At the same time, such goal allowed people to sit and wait for the "good life." When it was not realized, people would become frustrated. At least I found this true among young people around me. Comrade Hu Yaobang recently reported at the 12th party congress on "gradually building our society into a powerful country," and Comrade Zhao Ziyang suggested some economic targets to achieve. All these make me feel that the party is really taking the lead in pursuing the goals. I was once indifferent to the party, skeptical about it, and I criticized it; but, now, I am filled with confidence about it. I appreciate and treasure this "confidence" which was developed through a long period of thoughtful search.

Thinking back, a coal miner, went to the university, became a graduate student, went on to give lectures--this was quite an unusual experience. Yet, without the correct leadership of the party, I would still be muddling down somewhere writing songs about the unrealistic world. Even in 1976, I was still writing a play "The Coal-Mine Owner" reflecting the trend of "returning to rightism." It was after many years of trying experience that I realized that the fate of individuals is closely related to the fate of the party and the country. When our country is in trouble, when our party is unstable, no matter how capable a person is, it only brings limited honor and great frustrations. Recently, I often think, aspiring youths should throw themselves into the party's embrace, take up the task to strengthen our country. It is only when thousands and tens of thousands of young people wake up and join together under our party's flag that there will be hope for China and strength for the party.

The successful opening of the 12th party congress has brought new hopes to China. I feel very excited about this. Frankly, in the past because I did not consider the party as one rigorous body and hence when I saw some party members use the party for their own benefit I was mad at the party instead. Now I see that the party Central Committee is determined to rectify the party's workstyle and I personally feel that when the party becomes a militant collective there is strength. The few "comrades" who have a mania for getting involved in unhealthy tendencies are not representative of the party. They are only a minority. If they persist in what they are doing, they will be despised as trash of this century. I deeply love my country. I believe that under the Communist Party's leadership, with people persevering through hardships, that China will become strong and powerful soon.

12273
CSO: 4005/121

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ATTRACT INTELLECTUALS, SCIENTISTS TO FRONTIER AREAS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 82 p 1

[Article by Wang Kang [3749 1660], director of the Committee for Research on Human Resources: "How To Better Settle Scientific Personnel in the Border Provinces--an Investigation of Intellectuals in Xishuangbanna"]

[Text] The 12th Congress of the CPC summarized our rich experiences since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and reaffirmed that "the key to the four modernizations is the modernization of science and technology." The central problem in realizing the modernization of science and technology, especially the scientific and technological modernization of the vast, less developed outlying areas, is the creation of a corps of scientific and technical troops. On the eve of the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Nie Rongzhen discussed with reporters from GUANGMING RIBAO numerous problems concerning intellectuals and, in the final analysis, what was discussed was the problem of creating a corps of scientific and technical troops. Teacher Nie suggested adopting certain flexible, special policies to encourage intellectuals to go to frontier areas for long or short periods of time. In July of this year, I had the opportunity to visit Xishuangbanna, in the southwestern border area of our motherland, and learn how the implementation of intellectual policies was proceeding by doing some investigating of intellectual problems in that area. I truly feel that Teacher Nie's suggestion is absolutely correct. It is a concentrated reflection of the ideas and demands of the broad intellectuals and cadres in the frontier areas.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party committees and governments of autonomous prefectures have done a tremendous amount of work in the area of implementing policies concerning intellectuals, removing the label of "stinking old nine" from intellectuals, politically giving them a second liberation, and making certain improvements in their work and in their lives. And they are extremely grateful to the party. At present, the problem concerning scientific and technical troops is that there are not enough of them, especially of middle- and high-level technical personnel. In the entire region, including units directly under the Party Central Committee and the provinces, there are only nine high-level scientists and technicians, and middle-level scientists and technicians

account for only about 20 percent of the troops. There are too few scientific personnel involved with tropical crops; this does not meet the economic development needs of Xishuangbanna. In addition, a very striking problem at present is that many scientists and technicians who come from other areas are not content to remain in frontier areas to work. Their returning to the interior or slipping off into large cities is becoming a serious problem. Among the agricultural scientists and technicians under direct regional control, more than half--college, university, and technical secondary school students who were transferred during the 1950's and 1960's--have already left Xishuangbanna. There were 120 students at the Institute of Tropical Plants of the Chinese Academy of Sciences in 1965, and now there are only 35. In contrast, the number of college students sent out of Xishuangbanna for training who have returned is not great--from 1973 to 1980, approximately 1,400 students were dispatched to institutes of higher learning in every area, but only 300 to 400 have returned so far.

The problem of scientific and technical personnel being unhappy about working in the frontier areas and leaving in vast numbers has exacerbated the contradiction between the present situation concerning scientific and technical personnel and the needs of economic development, and this is extremely disadvantageous in terms of developing Xishuangbanna and making use of the superior advantages to its resources and economy. Serious attention is already being given to this problem by party and government leaders in Xishuangbanna. Some leading cadres feel that in order to solve the problem, we must first strengthen our ideological and political work with intellectuals and forcefully commend advanced model figures who work arduously, who settle in the frontier areas, and who establish the glorious mentality of serving the people in the frontier areas. At the same time, we must strengthen the ideological education of certain cadres and the masses, continue to eliminate "leftist" thinking with regard to the treatment of intellectuals, and continue to implement the policies concerning intellectuals. At the same time as we do this, we should, in accordance with what is needed and what is feasible, adopt special policies and forceful measures that support construction in the frontier areas in order to reassure the intellectuals who are in the areas now and to attract greater numbers of scientific and technical personnel to Xishuangbanna and other border areas to work.

The policies and measures they suggest are:

1. From organs of the state and Party Central Committee to every local department, everyone must launch construction work to support the vast, distant border areas, including Xishuangbanna. We must offer suitable support to every trade and profession. In addition to the necessary material support, the main thing is personnel support and knowledge and technical support. In 1961, Comrade Zhou Enlai personally inspected Xishuangbanna. Later, he directed concerned units in Beijing to dispatch medical teams to support Xishuangbanna. During the 10 years from 1971 to 1980, there was no change in this directive. The personnel on the medical teams have been ortated regularly. In addition to curing sickness, the

medical teams have trained some medical personnel for the people of the area, raised the professional level of the personnel, and opened channels to the outside through which Xishangbanna medical personnel could pass in order to engage in advanced studies. The concern of Comrade Zhou Enlai and the work of the medical teams have still not been forgotten by the peoples of Xishuangbanna, who continue to praise them. There are two full-scale middle schools in Jinghong, where the administrative government is located. Because of a shortage of teachers, or because the quality of teaching is too low, some high school courses, such as biology and physics, cannot be offered. In recent years, Shanghai has supplied six highly qualified teachers to the area in order both to conduct classes and to train others. The two sides signed a contract: after several years of work, those who came may return to Shanghai. Shanghai continues to pay their salaries. Every month, Xishuangbanna gives them a set living allowance. And it supplies them with travel funds to allow them to return to Shanghai once ayear to visit relatives. During vacation periods, those who come have a duty to train others, and if the individual agrees, his relatives are allowed to come and visit, with the area playing host--which is tantamount to providing a free trip. This method of treating support personnel should be widely advocated and carried out in a planned and guided manner so that it becomes standardized and practical. Providing flexible, varied personnel support and knowledge and technical support to every trade and profession can solve the problems of insufficient scientific and technical personnel in Sixhuangbanna and other frontier areas and [solve] the need to upgrade the training of present personnel, and it can create a general mood in large cities and in the interior areas of concern for the frontier areas: this will strengthen the sense of pride and responsibility of those working in the frontier areas. This means of using real action to reinforce ideological and political work with cadres and intellectuals in the frontier areas will be tremendously helpful in fostering stability and enthusiasm among the scientific and technical personnel in the border areas.

2. In our national economic construction, we must stress and strengthen investment in intellectual development. In minority frontier areas like Xishuangbanna, where science, education, and culture are relatively backward, investment in intellectual development has even greater significance. The Party Central Committee places great emphasis on construction in Xishuangbanna, having supplied it each year with greater construction funding. Now, some leading cadres and numerous intellectuals in Xishuangbanna advocate using a fairly large portionof this money for intellectual development--utilizing it to improve working conditions for scientific and technical personnel, to develop universal education and specialized scientific and technical education, to train cadres and personnel in every specialized field and, moreover, to induce or to hire scientific and technical personnel in various fields to come from other areas, giving the creation of a corps of talent prominence as "basic capital construction."

3. Carry out a policy of regular rotation of scientific and technical personnel from outside the area. We can follow the methods used in Tibet. We can "arrange things to suit the people," allowing the length of service to be long or short. Ten years, 15 years, 20 years or longer--once their

term is up, personnel should be allowed to return to the interior, unless they are willing to extend their stay. Whatever number of scientific and technical personnel and university graduates return home, the same number should be transferred in to take their places. The elderly who retire can return to settle in their ancestral homes or wherever their relatives are residing. In this way, "the elderly have a place to return to," there is coming and going, and there will be more and more people who are willing to work in the frontier areas. Furthermore, along with the development and prospering of economic, cultural-educational, and scientific projects in Xishuangbanna, there will be more and more people who are willing to settle and remain here for the rest of their lives.

4. Provide special living conditions for scientific and technical personnel working in Xishuangbanna. Some advocate restoring the frontier work subsidies, provided prior to 1958; others feel that touches on many areas, that the national economy faces many difficulties, and that it would be difficult to implement such a thing all at once. Therefore, they advocate that scientific and technical personnel be given post allowances or that other suitable methods be adopted. In regard to the matter of education and employment for children, many scientific and technical personnel request that, in entrance exams for college and technical secondary schools, the sons and daughters of those who have worked in Xishuangbanna for more than 20 years should be given the same special consideration in the determination of passing scores that students of the area are given. They should be treated the same, because most of their children were born in Xishuangbanna and have studied in the same schools as students from the area. As for employment of sons and daughters, priority arrangements should be made for those who have supported the border areas for more than 20 years.

5. Adopt special measures to hasten the training of minority scientific and technical personnel. Minority scientific and technical personnel in Xishuangbanna comprise only one third the total number of scientific and technical personnel there. This is totally out of line with the fact that two thirds of the population is made up of minorities. And compared with the scientific and technical personnel who have come from outside the area, their level of expertise greatly needs to be raised. Some leading cadres and scientific and technical personnel in Xishuangbanna suggest adopting special measures, establishing expectations for each institute of higher learning in Yunnan Province and for certain colleges and universities throughout the nation to accept special minority scholars, and strengthening the training of minority scientific and technical personnel and cadres. Only by greatly increasing local minority scientific and technical personnel and other minrotiy intellectuals can we rapidly carry out construction in frontier areas, including Xishuangbanna.

9705
CSO: 4005/122

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NINGXIA HUI PARTY COMMITTEE PROMOTES CLEANUP CAMPAIGN

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 1 Oct 82 p 1

[Article: "Call for Regionwide Unfolding of One-Time Cleanup Campaign--Autonomous Regional Party Committee Convene a Mobilization Meeting; Regional Party Committee Secretary Ma Xin [7456 0207] and Deputy Secretary Shen Xiaocheng [3947 2400 2582] Participated and Spoke at the Meeting"]

[Text] On the afternoon of 30 September, the party committee of the autonomous region convened a mobilization meeting at the regional party school to "implement seriously the spirit of the 27 September meeting of the Central Propaganda Department, to mobilize and make plans for the regional campaign to clean, order and upgrade which is to be launched in October, and to continue to develop in a thorough and protracted way the "five stresses and four beauties" campaign. The party cell secretaries or persons in charge of each department, committee, bureau, and office of every kind under direct regional direction, the party secretaries and heads of the propaganda departments of each locality, city, and county, and the persons in charge of the Writers' Federation and the mass organizations of workers, youths, and women in the autonomous region and of concerned departments in Yinchuan participated in the meeting. Ma Xin, the regional party committee secretary and chairman of the regional people's government, participated and spoke at the meeting. Shen Xiaoceng, a deputy secretary of the regional party committee, chaired the meeting and spoke as well.

Comrade Ma Xin combined his feelings and understanding gained through participation in the 12th Party Congress and through study of the documents of the congress in emphasizing the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization. He said that a socialist spiritual civilization is more powerfully motivating than a material civilization, and that you cannot build socialism without a spiritual civilization which takes communist ideology to be the core. He spoke for the party committee and the people's government of the autonomous region in calling on people throughout the region to arouse their spirits and--starting now and starting with cleaning, ordering and upgrading--to continue to carry out the "five stresses and four beauties" campaign in a thorough and protracted way, and to struggle in order to realize the "three basic turns for the better" within 5 years.

In his speech, Comrade Shen Xiaoceng requested that, upon returning to their units, comrades who were in attendance immediately pass on the spirit of the mobilization meeting, rapidly mobilize, throw themselves into the campaign to clean, order and upgrade, and make this campaign a real effort to implement the spirit of the 12th Party Congress.

At the meeting, Zhang Yuan [1728 3293], head of the propaganda department of the regional party committee, spoke of eight points that relate to "seriously studying and publicizing the 12th Party Congress documents and thoroughly carrying out a protracted "five stresses and four beauties" campaign: (1) Do a good job of seriously organizing study and promotion of the construction of a high-level socialist spiritual civilization, see to it that what is stated in the 12th Party Congress documents concerning socialist spiritual construction is taken to heart by the people and that everyone becomes aware of it, and see to it that the broad cadres and masses are fully mobilized and enthusiastically participate in every activity. We must study, arm outselves ideologically, raise our awareness, understand the significance and the role of building a socialist spiritual civilization from the high plane of scientific socialist theory and the politics of our nation's future social development, and firmly establish the guiding ideology of working on the "two civilizations" at the same time. A socialist spiritual civilization which takes communist ideology to be its core is an important feature of socialism; it not only provides tremendous impetus to the construction of a material civilization, but it also guarantees that this construction will develop in the proper direction. The "five stresses and four beauties" campaign is a concrete indication that the education in communist ideology presently being carried out is truly welcomed by the masses. The nucleus of construction of a socialist spiritual civilization is communism. The key link in thoroughly carrying out the "five stresses and four beauties" campaign is to uphold the using of communist ideology and morality to educate the people, seeing to it that the people of every nationality become idealistic, moral, cultured, disciplined workers. We must use the spirit of the 12th Party Congress to arouse and mobilize the masses. We must quickly organize propaganda teams to carry to the masses the substance of the 12th Party Congress documents as they relate to the construction of a spiritual civilization, and mobilize the masses to enter enthusiastically into the "five stresses and four beauties" campaign. (2) Each locality and unit must carry out a thorough investigation and, on the basis of that investigation, establish concrete plans for October activities under unified direction. The party and government at every level must implement comprehensive plans, uphold comprehensive administration, and integrate all elements; furthermore, each department and each unit must actively complete its own tasks within the scope of its own responsibilities. From now on, the "five stresses and four beauties" campaign and the campaign to clean, order and upgrade in Yinchuan should be carried out under the unified leadership of the party and the government in Yinchuan, and regional-level organs and all units within Yinchuan must submit to the unified direction of Yinchuan Municipality. (3) In October, all party and Communist Youth League branches in urban and rural areas should carry out party and League organizational life based on the "five stresses and four beauties" campaign. Party

members must seriously study the party constitution and examine themselves to see if they have accepted their full responsibility during the "five stresses and four beauties" campaign. Party and League members must take the lead in engaging in "five stresses and four beauties" activities, and must first achieve themselves what they would have the masses achieve. The party committees of regional, municipal, and county organs and grass-roots party organizations must carefully monitor this [work]. (4) Use every method to forcefully commend advanced collectives and individuals that surge forth in our construction of a socialist spiritual civilization, fully foster their role as mainstays, and call upon the broad masses to learn from them. At the same time, we must dare to criticize those who do poorly, and dare to struggle against unhealthy tendencies. We must conscientiously create a pervasive social atmosphere in which it is glorious to speak of a socialist spiritual civilization and shameful not to do so. (5) We must arouse the masses, check on how the public pledges, rules, rural people's pacts and other regulations that were made during the manners month campaign in March of this year are being carried out, summarize experiences, make further revisions and additions, and see to it that these things are increasingly realistic, that they are continually being improved, and that they truly bring about the intended effects. Each of the youth groups that have been learning from Lei Feng and building new habits must further revise its own activity plans and actively launch a new campaign. (6) The key point is to continue, on the foundation of strengthening ideological and political work, to clean, order and upgrade. Each area must, in keeping with the different conditions faced in its own area and professions, make concrete demands for cleaning, ordering and upgrading and organize several large, well-planned, goal-oriented mass campaigns, wage numerous battles, solve certain outstanding problems, and systematize and regularize the "three cleanups," and the "five stresses and four beauties" campaigns. (7) Departments having to do with propaganda, ideology, theory, news, and culture and art must take these campaigns as their personal responsibilities, fully fostering their own roles, working hard on publicity and reporting, and creating a strong public opinion in support of the campaigns. (8) Party and government organizations at every level must strengthen their leadership in these campaigns; this is especially true at the grass-roots level. We must pay attention to continually studying new conditions and solving new problems, to summarizing and expanding new experiences, and to forcefully moving the "five stresses and four beauties" campaign forward, realizing ever greater results.

At the meeting, Yang Ke [2799 0344], a deputy secretary of the Yinchuan CPC Committee, made remarks about "seriously implementing the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and continuing to carry out in a thorough manner the 'five stresses and four beauties' campaign in Yinchuan." During his remarks, he suggested initial arrangements to be made for the citywide campaign to clean, order and upgrade, and he noted preparations for conducting a serious check on the 10 tasks that every unit was requested in September to complete. All those [tasks] which have not been completed should be prior to 10 October, and units which cannot compete their tasks on time should be criticized and educated. He stated that we must continue to uphold thorough, on-the-spot guidance, solving real problems and leading the people throughout the city in doing a solid job of carrying out this campaign to clean, order and upgrade.

9705
CSO: 4005/119

BRIEFS

QINGHAI RURAL BOARDING SCHOOLS--Xining, 30 Nov (XINHUA)--Qinghai Province now has 300 boarding schools with an enrollment of 13,000 primary school pupils. They are of the Tibetan, Mongolian and Kazak nationalities and come from 164 communes in the pastoral areas, provincial officials report. The schools are free of charge to the children of commune members tending herds. Part of expenses for board are paid by the state. Production brigades cover some of the living and study expenses by giving the schools cattle and sheep. The 300 schools have total staff of 2,000 teachers. Quite a number of the more than 3,000 graduates of these boarding schools have gone in to county middle schools and vocational schools and some have jobs as accountants, technicians and team leaders. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0212 GMT 30 Nov 82]

CSO: 4000/27

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

ARTICLE COMMENTS ON REOPENED SINO-SOVIET TALKS

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 11, Nov 82 pp 56-57

[Commentary: "What Will Be the Results of the Reopened Sino-Soviet Talks?"]

[Text] On 4 October, Leonid Il'ichev, Soviet deputy foreign minister, formally led a delegation to Beijing to hold talks with Qian Qichen [6929 0366 3819], China's vice minister of foreign affairs. This discussion of the problems in the Sino-Soviet relationship has broken the 3 year impasse during which no talks were held.

As early as 3 February of this year, the Soviet Union suggested reopening face-to-face talks with the Chinese, but the Chinese reacted coolly. Later, Brezhnev, the leader of the Soviet Communist Party, gave a speech in Tashkent in Soviet Central Asia expressing the hope that the antagonistic relationship which has existed between the 2 nations for 20 years could be ended. At that time, the Chinese reation was that they wanted to see concrete Soviet actions. Now, allowing Il'ichev to come to Beijing to hold talks with Qian Qichen is naturally a concrete response to Brezhnev's call for talks in Tashkent.

A Look Back At Worsening Sino-Soviet Relations

Looking back at Sino-Soviet relations, we see that in the early years of nation building, the Chinese leaned to one side, the Soviet side, following their elder brother's lead in all matters. At that time, those who were dissatisfied with the policy of leaning to one side were labeled rightists and counter-revolutionaries and were severely persecuted. During the late fifties, relations between the nations' two communist parties began to sour and then came the famous propaganda war of 1963 when the two sides carried out contentious debate on the theoretical plane causing successive spiits within the world communist camp. From that time on, relations between the Chinese and Soviet Communist Parties became irreconcilable.

At the same time, worsening relations between the two parties influenced state to state relations. In July 1960, the Soviet Government unilaterally decided to withdraw all Soviet experts from China, tearing up several hundred contracts and agreements involving economic construction and military development. This was followed by conflict on the Sino-Soviet border--the Chenbao [Bear] Island incident. The Soviets have continued ever since to station a large number of forces along the Sino-Soviet border--posing a tremendous military threat to

northern and northweatern China. In order to solve the border conflict, the two sides held marathon talks in the past, but when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, China formally broke off these meaningless talks. And in April 1980, China refused to extend the Sino-Soviet treaty of friendship at the end of its effective period, with the result that Sino-Soviet relations reached an all time low.

Now, even if we cannot characterize the Sino-Soviet talks being held in Beijing as the beginning of a break in the antagonistic relations of the last 20 years, we can say that at least they are a start on breaking the most recent 3 year moratorium on talks.

Distinctions Are Less and Less Significant

Generally speaking, the relationship between China and the Soviet Union is different from ordinary diplomatic relationships. The two nations have a dual relationship. On the one hand, there are party-to-party relations and, on the other hand, there are state-to-state relations. This is different from the relations China has with any capitalist nation. Because China and the Soviet Union are both nations governed by communist parties, party-to-party relations always take precedence over state-to-state relations. Of course, intense conflicts between the states clearly affect relations between the parties, but the actual power to determine relations resides in the two party Central Committees. Therefore, party and state relations between the two nations always form an intricate interwoven pattern.

Looking at the matter from the perspective of party-to-party relations, there are two levels involved: one is the matter of interpretation and practice of Marxist-Leninist theory; the other is the matter of communist global strategy and the mutual relations between the communist parties of every nation.

At present, whether holding power or watching from the wings, the communist parties in all nations face a severe theoretical and practical crisis. From the time it became a kind of scientific explanation of society over 100 years ago, until now when it rests in the hands of nations governed by communist parties, Marxism has become compulsory dogmatism. Explanation of the doctrine long ago abandoned any scientific basis, and authority to expound on the doctrine lies solely in the hands of the factions in control of the party Central Committees, with the result that the factions holding power in each period each have a different explanation of Marxism, and the factions holding power in each nation each have their own explanations of it in each period of time. Basically, all those factions holding power take what they need from Marxism, using theory to accomodate their own authority and the policies that extend from that authority.

On the surface, the great Sino-Soviet propaganda war in 1963 was a debate held on the international level over interpretation of Marxist theory, but in fact the two sides were merely using Marxist theory to defend the policies they were carrying out at the time. Now, 19 years later, none of those who have assumed power on either side believe that the debate held at that time was over the truth.

In terms of Marxist doctrine, if the Chinese Communist charge in 1963 that Khruschev's policies in the Soviet Union were revisionist and amounted to the peaceful restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union was true, then the policies being implemented in China today by Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721] are far more revisionist than those carried out in the Soviet Union by Khruschev, and incline even more toward capitalist concessions. How can this be explained?

In terms of doctrine, the distinctions between the Soviet Union and China are becoming less and less significant; for a long time now, relations between national communist parties have not been based upon a doctrinal bond. Naked power struggles have already submerged the pure spirited search for truth of the past. Viewed on the theoretical plane, there is no way to explain a communist nation joining forces with an imperialist or capitalist nation in opposing another communist nation or bloc of communist nations in international matters, but once the Soviet Union emerged on the world scene as a strongly expansionist, hegemonistic power, one whose expansionism with its air of big power chauvinism even threatened other communist nations, then the tactic which China is using now of uniting with the American imperialists to counter the Soviet imperialists becomes defensible on the grounds of actual need.

Intense Practical Conflicts

At present, the Sino-Soviet conflict is not about doctrinal distinctions, but involves intense practical conflicts. Of them, four are primary: 1. The Soviets have stationed 51 military divisions along the Sino-Soviet border--a serious threat to China's northeastern and northwestern areas; 2. The Soviets are supporting Vietnam, making it possible for the Vietnamese to gain dominance over the Indochina penninsula--a threat to China's southwestern areas; 3. The Soviets invaded Afghanistan--a threat to China's Tibet; 4. The Soviets have expanded their influence in the Middle East and Africa enough to upset the global strategic balance of the Sino-U.S. counterweight to the Soviets.

All of the aforementioned practical conflicts can be dealt with in the state-to-state sphere and, therefore, the Chinese and Soviets have recently agreed to reinstate diplomatic contacts beginning with meetings at the vice minister level, the responsibility for these meetings falling to Deputy Minister Il'ichev on the Soviet side and Vice Minister Qian Qichen on the Chinese side. Qian Qichen was originally chief of the Department of Information in China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and is familiar with Soviet affairs. Therefore, during the big State Council reshuffle in February and March of this year, he was promoted to the position of vice minister of foreign affairs. One of the reasons for this was to allow him to carry out the initial Sino-Soviet deliberations with the rank of vice minister.

Various Reasons Facilitating the Reopening of Talks

Here we must seek to answer a question. Having been mired for 3 years in a state of almost total disassociation, why have the Chinese and the Soviets decided to revive talks now? What new factors have facilitated the reopening of the talks?

The most important new factor is the two-faced maneuvering of the Reagan administration on the Taiwan issue, the most upsetting part of which has been the sale of arms to Taiwan. China is angered by America's public military support of Taiwan--which perpetrates the so called "two China's." Nonetheless, she doesn't dare break off relations with the United States over this because to do so would place China in a very awkward position. Brezhnev accurately perceived the weakness of this contradiction in the calculations of the Chinese Communists and so promptly issued his call in Tashkent, which effectively opened the door to renewed talks.

Actually, relaxing the tense relations between the two countries is advantageous to both the Chinese and the Soviets. In the past, the tense Sino-Soviet relationship has not seen improvement because, on the one hand, the Soviets were stirring up trouble behind the scenes with their big power chauvinism which leads them to bully the weak and, on the other, there remained the strong antirevisionist spirit stressed by Mao Zedong.

Since Mao Zedong passed on, and especially since Deng Xiaoping took control, the antirevisionist line has been submerged. Not only do the Chinese Communists no longer reproach the revisionism of the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc nations, they have even taken a page from Yugoslavia and Hungary, and, in a similar vein, they have realistically tried to understand the Soviet situation and, in the light of this understanding, have tried to study the behind the scenes party struggles that went on in the Soviet Union during the 1920's and 1930's. In terms of improving relations between the Soviet Union and China, this at least serves to reduce conscious obstructions. And this is not to mention the fact that at present the Chinese Communists fervently hope to strengthen their own domestic economy and, because they need a peaceful international environment in order to do so, they are very sincere about wanting to reduce any international disagreements that exist.

But the problem is: that the tense relations between China and the Soviet Union have not been brought on by China, but by the Soviet Union. If the Soviets would remove the large number of troops stationed on China's border, then Sino-Soviet relations would immediately improve. The Soviets have stationed their troops on China's border in order to present a warlike front, to use their strength to bully the weak and to reduce the military pressure that China exerts on Vietnam.

In fact, the Soviet Union today is not the Soviet Union of 3 years ago. The invasion of Afghanistan has mired her down and her support of the military government in Poland means that she must shoulder the entire burden of Poland's economic collapse. Furthermore, Brezhnev is old and frail, and a struggle within the Soviet Communist Party to determine his successor has just begun. When we consider these factors, we must assume that the present Soviet initiative in calling for improved relations with China is not entirely unrelated to her internal economic and political situation.

At present, it is impossible to think that the Soviet Union might abandon its invasion of Afghanistan or might abandon or alter its support of Vietnam. The only possible easing of the tense relations between the countries that could come from the Sino-Soviet talks would be a Soviet reduction of the troops

stationed along China's border. If the reopened talks can lead to this result, then they will have accomplished much.

It is possible that China could accomplish this. But this would only be an easing of the strained relations between China and the Soviet Union and it is not possible to speak of a Sino-Soviet alliance developing.

9705
CSO: 4005/143

TOP CPC LEADERS CRITICIZE HUA GUOFENG

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 11, Nov 82 pp 13, 17

[Article by Qiu Ting [8002 0080]: "Hu Yaobang and Hu Qiaomu Criticize Hua Guofeng"]

[Text] A Slow Coup

"Deng Xiaoping successfully carried out a slow coup!"

This is the line circulating around Beijing after the 12th CPC Congress.

People in Beijing speak of the 1976 struggle to capture the gang of four as an abrupt coup. Following the coup, Hua Guofeng [5478 0948 6912] took over as party chairman. Because Hua Guofeng is "left leaning" in his ideology and is the major leader of the whatevers--whatever Mao said, whatever Mao did--faction, he was not compatible with the line of Deng Xiaoping. This led to a struggle between the pragmatic faction and the whatever faction in the party Central Committee. The pragmatic faction achieved the victory of their ideological line at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Afterwards, Deng Xiaoping purged the leaders of the whatever faction one by one. At the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, Hua Guofeng lost the chairmanship of the party and was relegated to the last vice chairman position. During the 12th Party Congress, Hua Guofeng had no position in the Politburo or on the standing committee of the Politburo. If Deng Xiaoping had not emulated the method used by Mao Zedong in dealing with Wang Ming [3769 2494] at the 7th Party Congress (Wang Ming was removed from power, but was allowed to remain a member of the party Central Committee), Hua Guofeng could not even have retained his party Central Committee membership. The process to bring down Hua Guofeng and the entire whatever faction took about 4 years. Therefore, it is quite appropriate that the people of Beijing call it a slow coup. And it is an uncontestable fact that Deng Xiaoping achieved a total victory.

The Struggle of Deng and Hu Against Hua

However, from the preliminary meetings of the 7th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee until the 12th Party Congress, there was an ideological struggle waged between Deng and Hu, on the one hand, and Hua, on the other. This was the debate over the question of whether or not practice is the only standard for testing truth.

Basically, this is an old question. In 1978 when discussions were held about the matter of whether or not practice was the only standard for testing truth, the whatever faction made this point: communism is truth, but communism has not yet passed the test of practice and, therefore, not all truths must pass the test of practice and practice is not the sole standard for testing truth. In his report at the 12th Party Congress, Hu Yaobang refuted this idea. At the preliminary meetings of the 7th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, Central Committee members broke up into small groups to discuss the draft Hu Yaobang had prepared of his 12th Party Congress report. At that time, Hu Qiaomu and Hua Guofeng were in the same small group. During the discussion, Hua Guofeng again brought up his point denying that practice was the only standard for testing truth. He adamently maintained that a communist society had not yet been established in the world and therefore it had not passed the test of practice, but that communism would eventually be realized and therefore a truth did not need to pass the test of practice to become truth. This line of Hua's brought forth a tremendous reaction.

The Refutation of Hua by the Two Hus

Many of those in the small group disagreed with Hua's viewpoint. On 2 August, in a small group meeting, Hu Qiaomu made lengthy remarks. He pointed out that Hua Goufeng's idea was incorrect. Hu Qiaomu held that communist ideology and the communist movement--past, present and future--has moved, is moving and will continue to move forward in practice. From the creation of the CPC to the establishment of socialist society in China, the struggle and work undertaken has been a part of the communist movement. All work done since the establishment of socialist society has been a part of the communist movement. And therefore, in actuality, the communist movement has more than 60 years of practical experience in China, and another half a century of practical experience throughout the world. Therefore, it is incorrect to say that communism has not passed the test of practice.

After Hu Qiaomu made his remarks, numerous others also made remarks, all of them critical of Hua Guofeng's whatever standpoint. And they demanded that Hua Guofeng arrive at self-criticism.

After this ideological duel, one part of the draft of Hu Yaobang's 12th Party Congress report was enhanced to target it more precisely (the target being Hua Goufeng's ideology). In the final draft of the report, Hu Yaobang said:

"In our nation, communism teaches that the movement carried on by the people which will finally lead to the realization of communist ideals was begun when the CPC was established and led the people in carrying out the new democratic revolution. Now, this movement has already developed in our nation to the point of establishing a socialist society, the initial stage leading to a communist society. Because of this, communist ideology and the practice of communism have been a part of our actual lives for a long time now. The 'illusion that communism is far off' and the notion that 'communism has not passed the test of practice' are completely mistaken. Our daily lives are replete with communism and cannot be separated from communism.

Deng Liqun [6772 0500 5026] Wants To Clean Up

After the 12th Party Congress, Deng Liqun, the head of the CPC Propaganda Department, pointed out that the mistaken ideas of Hua Guofeng will not be without adherents within the party, that there was a need to clean up the party and that one method of doing so was to make public a revised and supplemented text of the remarks Hu Qiaomu made at the small group meeting. Deng Xiaoping agreed with Deng Liqun. Because of this, the lead story on the front page of the 24 September issue of RENMIN RIBAO was Hu Qiaomu's long article "On the Practice of Communist Ideology." This was seen as an assault on the whatever notions of Hua Guofeng.

Another method is to study the documents of the 12th Party Congress. Of course, the significance of studying the 12th Party Congress documents goes way beyond this. Presently, all state agencies and units are studying the documents, primarily Deng Xiaoping's remarks opening the congress and the report of Hu Yaobang. In Beijing, many people in every unit have shown little interest in this study. Because of this, a strict study regimen has already been established requiring all cadres who participate to be tested. This insures that the cadres digest these documents. Is this method of study proper? Many people whisper their dissatisfaction.

The slow coup was completed. The last bastion of the whatever faction fell. The Deng Xiaoping generation has begun. There is a rumor going around Beijing that Hua Guofeng will be sent to a province to be deputy governor. But for an important figure like this, it will not necessarily come to pass. Deng Xiaoping has a very effective method at hand--he can bring back some of the Politburo members who have fallen from power, bringing some of the more influential back into the capital. Chen Yonggui [7115 3057 6311] has still not returned to Dazhai.

This ideological struggle has still not ended. There will be others writing articles and making speeches in line with the ideas of Hu Yaobang and Hu Qiaomu and criticizing the notions of the whatever faction.

This is a good thing.

9705
CSO: 4005/141

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

COMMENTARY URGES STAUNCH ANTI-LEFT LINE

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 11, Nov 82 p 1

[Commentary by Gao Wen [7559 3306]: "Anti-'Left,' Good!"]

[Text] In recent years, this journal has continually pointed out that the forces of the extreme Left are a major danger within the CPC and within China at present. On the eve of the 12th CPC Congress, the JIEFANG JUNBAO printed an article by Zhao Yiya [6392 2496 0068], a consultant to the paper, exposing this danger.

The article exposed the dissatisfaction of some in the army with the practical principles and policies of the seek the truth in facts type, making clear the collaboration going on ideologically and politically between the forces of the extreme Left and the whatevers--whatever Mao said, whatever Mao did--forces and revealing the intention of these forces to coerce Deng Xiaoping into abandoning the line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and moving to the "left." (Editors note: The Zhao Yiya article and an article criticizing the Zhao Yiya article and an article criticizing the Zhao Yiya article appear in the appendix of this journal.) This is a piercing alarm for those who have contracted the disease of disparaging the "left"!

Of course, we still cannot say that this article in the JUNBAO is a sign of a joint revolt of the leftist and whatever forces because, at present, they are not strong enough and the time is not right for them. But, the situation could change, and accumulative quantitative change can bring about qualitative change. In the countries that the West refers to as "communist countries," the use of military troops to support coups has been proven to be an effective way of seizing power. In China, under specific conditions, the fources of the Left could progressively gain such an opportunity. This is the danger posed by the forces of the extreme Left. And it is this that is behind our repeated calls in the past to "oppose the Left first."

Now, Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721] have discovered the rampant impertinence of the forces of the extreme Left and the threat they pose to the party Central Committee. Perhaps they also sensed that the promotion by Hua Guofeng [5478 0948 6912] of the antipractice line on the eve of the 12th Party Congress and Zhao Yiya's dissemination of anti-Deng and anti-Hu remarks were not coincidental, but rather occured in concert, and so they removed Wei Guoqing [7279 0948 3237], the leader of the whatever and the extreme Left factions

within the military, from his powerful post as director of the General Political Department. This is cause for rejoicing! We have finally engaged the leftist king and his forces!

The country and party will know no peace until the "leftist" poison is cleaned away and the forces of the "Left" are eliminated. The first rounds have now been fired. I hope that we make persistent efforts to move ahead with our victories. History has taught that turning to oppose the "right," after having just begun to oppose the "Left," leads to stumbling over ourselves in confusion; the result is to harm the ranks of the people and to allow the leftist forces to go free. This mistake was made in 1959 and again in 1979. I hope it will not be repeated in 1982 and 1983. Compared to the potential havoc that leftist forces can wreak, of what significance are people like Yin Sulai [0936 4790 0171], Wei Jingsheng [7614 0079 3932] and Wang Xizhe [3769 1585 0772]? What is there to fear from Bai Hua [4101 5478] and Sun Jingxuan [1327 7234 6513]? To summarize our experience, first, since we affirm that the "Left" is the proper line of attack and we must not, having begun the fight, immediately turn and fire our weapons helter skelter into our own troops. Secondly, while opposing the "Left," we must not become corrupted by its pernicious influence, must not fear pressure from the "Left," must not allow ourselves to slide so much as half an inch to the "Left" and must not use the "Left" to oppose the "Left." Do they oppose the line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee? Good. We must firmly uphold this line even more and not retreat a step from it. By upholding the correct line, we will win the hearts of the people. Those who win the hearts of the people can beat back any interference and attack by evil forces and can certainly achieve total victory for their cause.

Completely eliminate evil causes. Completely eliminate the cause of the "Left." Be willing to resolutely, firmly and staunchly oppose of the "Left." Be willing to resolutely, firmly and staunchly oppose the "Left" and to carry out struggle against the "Left" until the very end!

9705
CSO: 4005/141

BRIEFS

ZIYANG TO VISIT AUSTRALIA--Canberra, 23 Nov (AFP)--Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang will visit Australia next year, the department of foreign affairs confirmed here today. No date or itinerary has been announced yet but the premier is expected to arrive in April. Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser issued the invitation in August this year when he visited China. [Text] [BK241313 Hong Kong AFP in English 0855 GMT 23 Nov 82]

CSO: 4000/28

SEMINAR ON ADVANCE FRENCH TECHNOLOGY OPENS

OW011333 Taipei CNA in English 0937 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Text] Taipei, 1 Dec (CNA)--The French Seminar on Advanced Technology (Semaine Francaise des Techniques Advancees) opened at the Grant Hotel Tuesday.

Experts from 28 French Government and privately owned enterprises will introduce high technology in telecommunications and energy research during the meeting.

The opening ceremony was presided over by G. Monod, president of the semi-governmental French External Commerce Center (Centre Francais de Commerce Exterieur), the sponsor of the meeting.

The Republic of China has been France's third largest trade partner in Asia. Trade between the two countries in increasing yearly, Monod said.

Through the meeting, he said, the center will provide opportunity for contacts between technicians and related personnel of the two countries. Industrial cooperation will also be advanced in the future, he added.

Chang Kwang-shih, chairman of the China External Trade Development Council, addressed the ceremony, encouraging local personnel to learn and use French technology.

Discussions covered telecommunications, energy and industrial facilities.

The French enterprises include the French Atomic Energy Commission and the French Power Company.

CSO: 4000/26 END

JPRS 82540

27 December 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 376

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82540

27 December 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 376

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

PARTY AND STATE

Fei Yimin on NPC Session, Hong Kong Future
(Shuang Yin; ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE, 25 Nov 82) 1

NPC Deputies Continue Group Discussions
(XINHUA, 3 Dec 82) 3

Beijing Radio Commentary on New Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 4 Dec 82) 5

Overseas Chinese NPC Deputies on Constitution
(Beijing Radio, 30 Nov 82)..... 7

Tianjin NPC Deputies Praise Constitution Revision
(XINHUA, 2 Dec 82) 10

CPPCC Committee Members Support Constitution
(XINHUA, 6 Dec 82) 11

Xizang Deputies Examine Draft Constitution
(XINHUA, 3 Dec 82) 13

First in Lecture Series on New PRC Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 5 Dec 82) 15

Hohhot CPC Committee Holds Meeting on Constitution
(Nei Monggol Regional Service, 8 Dec 82) 18

Study of, Discussions of New Constitution Held
(Shandong Provincial Service, 6 Dec 82) 20

Shandong Officials Discuss New Constitution
(Shandong Provincial Service, 7 Dec 82) 21

Fifty-Ninth, 61st in Series on Party Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 25 Nov 82) 22

Sixtieth in Series of Questions on Party Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 26 Nov 82) 25

Sixty-Second, 63D in Series on New CPC Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 28 Nov 82) 28

Sixty-fourth, 67th in Series on Party Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 29 Nov 82) 31

Sixty-fifth, 68th in Series on Party Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 30 Nov 82) 35

Sixty-Sixth in Series on Party Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 1 Dec 82) 38

Sixty-Ninth in Series on Party Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 2 Dec 82) 41

Seventieth in Series of Party Constitution
(Beijing Domestic Service, 2 Dec 82) 43

'RENMIN RIBAO': NPC Deputies Discuss National Anthem
(Wang Yongan; RENMIN RIBAO, 6 Dec 82) 45

'HEBEI RIBAO' on Cadre Expelled for Injustices
(Ji Yan; HEBEI RIBAO, 18 Nov 82) 48

Acting Mayor Holds Press Conference
(TIANJIN RIBAO, 6 Nov 82) 53

'HEBEI RIBAO' on Provincial Structural Reform
(Editorial; HEBEI RIBAO, 20 Nov 82) 55

'HEBEI RIBAO' on Rural 'Leftists' Influence
(HEBEI RIBAO, 24 Nov 82) 58

Legalist Praises Constitution in Interview
(Beijing Domestic Service, 5 Dec 82) 61

'RENMIN RIBAO' Quotes Lenin on State Affairs
(Zhang Wenhuan; RENMIN RIBAO, 7 Dec 82) 63

'XINHUA' Examines CPPCC Role, PRC Modernization
(XINHUA, 12 Dec 82) 66

NPC Deputies Discuss Zhao Ziyang's Report
(XINHUA, 6 Dec 82) 69

Hunan Deputies Discuss Zhao Ziyang's Report
(XINHUA, 6 Dec 82) 71

'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Fighting Capitalist Ideology
(Zhong Weizhi; GUANGMING RIBAO, 22 Nov 82) 72

Banqen Speaks in Sichuan's Aba Prefecture
(Sichuan Provincial Service, 12 Nov 82) 76

Guizhou Party Committee Holds Work Conference
(Guizhou Provincial Service, 24 Nov 82) 78

Judicial, Administrative Work Conference Ends
(Guizhou Provincial Service, 25 Nov 82) 82

Peasant Education Progressives' Congress Opens
(Guizhou Provincial Service, 25 Nov 82) 84

Sichuan Meeting of Procuratorate Progressives
(Sichuan Provincial Service, 27 Nov 82) 85

Shaanxi 'Effectively' Rectifies Cadres' Work Style
(XINHUA Domestic Service, 29 Nov 82)..... 86

Yunnan CPC Secretary on New Constitution
(Yunnan Provincial Service, 30 Nov 82) 87

Yunnan NPC Delegates on New Constitution
(Yunnan Provincial Service, 30 Nov 82) 90

Shanxi NPC Delegation on New Constitution
(Shanxi Provincial Service, 30 Nov 82) 92

Sichuan NPC Deputies Hail Constitution
(Sichuan Provincial Service, 1 Dec 82) 94

Gansu NPC Deputies Discuss New Constitution
(Gansu Provincial Service, 2 Dec 82) 96

Qinghai Deputies Study New Constitution
(Qinghai Provincial Service, 3 Dec 82) 97

Shaanxi NPC Deputies Study Draft Constitution
(Shaanxi Provincial Service, 4 Dec 82) 98

SOCIOLOGICAL EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'CHINA DAILY' Views Discussion on Western Modernism
(Chang Guang; CHINA DAILY, 20 Nov 28) 100

'SHANXI RIBAO' Reports Census Figures
(SHANXI RIBAO, 3 Nov 82) 103

'HEBEI RIBAO' Reports Provincial Census Figures
(HEBEI RIBAO, 11 Nov 82) 105

'MING PAO' on PRC Lack of University Funds
(Zong Chuan; MING PAO, 14 Nov 82) 108

'SHAANXI RIBAO' Urges Writing on Military Themes
(Sun Baoyin; SHAANXI RIBAO, 14 Nov 82) 110

'NINGXIA RIBAO' on Minority Nationality Situation
(Chen Ren; NINGXIA RIBAO, 16 Nov 82) 112

'SHAANXI RIBAO' on Selecting Talented People
(SHAANXI RIBAO, 22 Nov 82) 115

Sichuan Meeting on Improving Social Order
(Sichuan Provincial Service, 26 Nov 82) 118

Liaoning Regulations for Rural Education
(Liaoning Provincial Service, 27 Nov 82) 119

Henan on Publicizing Family Planning Policy
(Henan Provincial Service, 1 Dec 82) 120

Liaoning Radio on Strengthening Education for Jobless Youths
(Liaoning Provincial Service, 1 Dec 82) 122

Shanxi's Li Ligong Stresses Planned Parenthood
(Shanxi Provincial Service, 3 Dec 82) 124

Guangxi Armed Police Commendation Rally Ends
(Guangxi Regional Service, 3 Dec 82) 126

Briefs

Jilin Planned Parenthood Work 127
Jilin Planned Parenthood Conference 127

PARTY AND STATE

FEI YIMIN ON NPC SESSION, HONG KONG FUTURE

HK251044 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 0830 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Report by ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE reporter Shuang Yin [7175 0603]: "Beijing Takes on a New Look, Hong Kong's Future Is Bright--Visiting Fei Yimin [6316 1744 3046] on the eve of NPC Session"]

[Text] Beijing, 25 Nov (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--On the eve of the 5th Session of the 5th NPC, Fei Yimin, member of the NPC Standing Committee and director of Hong Kong Ta Kung Pao, came to Beijing. Asked by a reporter what he thought about the changes in Beijing, he said excitedly: "As soon as I arrived in Beijing, I was most deeply impressed by the 'new' things. They were the new leading group, the new economic system and the new mental outlook."

The reporter had conducted an interview with Fei Yimin when the 23d Session of the 5th NPC Standing Committee was held in Beijing in April last year. At that time, China was streamlinging its administrative structure and discussing the draft of the new constitution. Six months have passed since then. Good results have been scored in streamlining the state's administrative structure. Some state organs have been merged, and the succession of the old by the new has been smoothly realized. The change in the economic system and the adoption of the responsibility system have begun to produce results in the economic sphere.

Fei Yimin told the reporter: Every place in the world is a mess. Not long ago, he visited Japan. The economic problem in Japan forced Japanese Prime Minister Suzuki to resign. All over the world, there is inflation, the market dwindles and trade declines. In the United States, the unemployment rate has risen to 10.4 percent. Western Europe is also finding the going tough. However, in China there is political stability and unity and the economy continues to develop. He said: After arriving in Beijing this time, I have learned that although China's agriculture has been attacked by drought, flood, wind, insects and other natural disasters this year and the disaster-stricken area is larger than last year, grain output still tops that of last year by 11 million tons and the total grain output may possibly reach 336 million tons. This shows that China is now pursuing a correct policy.

Fei Yimin said with confidence: The Sixth 5-Year Plan which will be examined and approved by the forthcoming NPC session is a great program of action to

realize the four modernizations. It will definitely be possible to attain the strategic objective of quadrupling the industrial and agricultural total output value by the end of this century as put forth by the 12th CPC National Congress.

Fei Yimin came from Hong Kong. Our conversation very quickly changed to the currently popular topic--the Hong Kong issue.

Fei Yimin said: In the past 2 months, people have liked to talk about Hong Kong. This shows that people are concerned about Hong Kong's future. The Chinese leaders have said many times that it is necessary on the one hand to regain sovereignty over Hong Kong and on the other hand to maintain the prosperity and stability in Hong Kong. On 20 November, NPC Standing Committee Vice Chairman Liao Chengzhi talked about the rule of Hong Kong by the Hong Kong people, drawing a clear outline of Hong Kong after 1997. The Chinese leaders have pointed out time and again that after sovereignty over Hong Kong has been regained, the social system in Hong Kong will remain unchanged. Concretely speaking, the monetary system, the legal principles, the capitalist pattern of business management, the way in which the capitalists become rich, the lifestyle and all privileges available at present will remain unchanged. What is the cause for alarm? It is stipulated in Article 31 of the new constitution to be approved by the forthcoming NPC session: "The state may, where necessary, establish special administrative regions. The system in force in special administrative regions shall be stipulated by law according to specific conditions." This means legal protection regarding the Hong Kong issue.

The reporter said: In the world today, some people look down upon the Chinese, saying that the Chinese cannot rule Hong Kong well. Fei Yimin said resolutely: "No! The Chinese have the aspiration and ability to rule Hong Kong well. Did some people not say that the Chinese could not rule Shanghai well? Facts have shown that the Chinese are completely capable of ruling Shanghai well. Since they can rul Shanghai well, they also can rule Hong Kong well. Moreover, there still is a considerably long period of time for making preparations." In conclusion, Fei Yimin said: "I hope that the British and other foreign friends will put forth useful suggestions concerning the ways to maintain the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong after China regains sovereignty. This work will need the spirit of unity, friendship and cooperation. I am confident of it. I hope the compatriots in Hong Kong will not be worried about this."

CSO: 4005/219

PARTY AND STATE

NPC DEPUTIES CONTINUE GROUP DISCUSSIONS

OW070401 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1531 GMT 3 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 3 Dec (XINHUA)--Deputies to the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC today continued their group discussions to examine Premier Zhao Ziyang's report on the Sixth 5-Year Plan and Minister Wang Bingqian's report on the implementation of the 1982 national budget and draft for the 1983 national budget. The deputies, who come from various fronts, spoke glowingly of the ever improving economic situation in the country. They have full confidence in the success of the Sixth 5-Year Plan and the 20-year fighting goal. They are full of confidence in the bright future of China's socialist system.

The Ever Improving Economic Situation on the Whole Is Inspiring

Deputy Meng Fulin from Anhui said: In his report to the session, Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed to the ever improving economic situation on the whole in the country and the encouraging changes that have taken place along with the attainment of prosperity in the country's rural areas and the steady and all-round upsurge in agricultural production. What he said is entirely true. [passage omitted]

Deputy Sengqen Lozong Gyaincain from Xizang said: We are inspired by the reports delivered respectively by Premier Zhao Ziyang and Minister Wang Bingqian. We are determined to work hard for the fulfillment of the Sixth 5-Year Plan and we are fully confident of its success. Realities over the past 2 years have indicated the ever improving economic situation in the country, which is even better this year than the year before. As long as the whole party and the people and the people of all nationalities in the country remain steadfast and work harder, we are sure to fulfill the Sixth 5-Year Plan. The future of our country is bright and its drive to achieve the four modernizations will be completed. [passage omitted]

We See the Bright Future of Our Country

Deputy Wang Shouguan of the Beijing delegation said: In his report on the Sixth 5-Year Plan, Premier Zhao Ziyang made a penetrating analysis of the country's current situation and its future development. It is a report that guides the people throughout the country in attaining the grand goal by working in real earnest and in a down-to-earth manner. It gives our countrymen

an inexhaustible strength and enables them to see the brilliant future of the nation. [passage omitted] Deputy Yan Renying [not further identified] said: I just returned from the United States a few days ago. I saw signs of a slump and recession everywhere I went in that country. However, our economy is thriving and developing steadily. We are not very rich, but tremendous changes have taken place in this country where the market is thriving and the society is stable. A striking contrast to the global capitalist economic recession.

Deputy Liu Tianfu from Guangdong said: The guiding ideology in Premier Zhao Ziyang's report on the Sixth 5-Year Plan is explicit. The targets set forth in his report allow for some leeway and the measures for their fulfillment are practical. It can be said that his report is the specification of Comrade Hu Yaobang's 12th Party Congress report for 1981-1985. A program of action to mobilize the people of the country to fulfill the Sixth 5-Year Plan and to revitalize the Chinese economy. It was the first step taken toward the strategic goal set for the year 2000. [passage omitted]

The Situation in the First 2 Years of the Sixth 5-Year Plan is Gratifying

[Passage omitted] Deputy Yu Mingtao from Shaanxi said: In his report to the session, Premier Zhao Ziyang fully affirmed the achievements of the past 2 years in readjusting the economy and called for continuous implementation of the principle of readjustment, restructuring, reorganization and upgrading. This is in complete conformity with the conditions in Shaanxi, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the situation in Shaanxi had undergone tremendous changes. With the urban and rural economy thriving, northern Shaanxi, an area that was poverty-stricken and backward for a long time, has increased production for several consecutive years and the problem of feeding and clothing the local people has been basically solved. [passage omitted] All this shows that the entire national economy is successfully growing in the course of readjustment. [passage omitted]

An Excellent Situation in Army Building Has Emerged

You Taizhong, a deputy from the PLA, said: Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the ever improving political and economic situtation in this country has opened up a new path for our socialist modernization. It is a tremendous encouragement to army work. The PLA is the defender of our socialist motherland, yet it is also a builder. To guarantee that our country has an environment of stability in its drive to achieve socialist modernization, we will certainly act in accordance with the call issued by the 12th Party Congress and the current NPC session, heighten our vigilance a hundred fold, work hard to build our army into a powerful, regular and modern revolutionary army while carrying out economic construction with no efforts spared. We will further improve our army'se self-defense capability under conditions of modern warfare. At the same time, the PLA will continuously maintain and carry forward its glorious tradition of supporting the government and cherishing the people, enthusiastically support and take part in socialist construction in various localities, struggle hard and rely on its own efforts in doing everything. We will promote PLA units' agricultural and sideline production, play a greater role in building a socialist spiritual and material civilization, and make still greater contribution. [passage omitted]

CSO: 4005/219

PARTY AND STATE

BEIJING RADIO COMMENTARY ON NEW CONSTITUTION

OW090800 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 4 Dec 82

[Station commentary: "Study and Implement the New Constitution"]

[Text] The approval of the new constitution by the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC has ushered our country into a new stage of development of socialist democracy and of building the legal system. The new constitution scientifically sums up the historic experience of socialist development in our country and reflects the common aspirations and fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities throughout the country. It is the fundamental law of the state in keeping with the wishes of the people and taking into account the basic conditions of the country that provides perpetual stability and carries maximum authority. It is a general law of our country in the new historic period for ruling it and giving it peace and security. The new constitution represents a unity of the correct stand of the party with the will of the people. With the four fundamental principles as its guiding ideology, the new constitution affirms, in the form of the fundamental law of the state, the achievements made since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in bringing order out of chaos. It also affirms the general tasks for our people in the future put forth by the 12th CPC National Congress in institutionalizing and putting into law the line, principles and policies formulated by the party. The new constitution also spells out the basic provisons governing the political, economic and cultural systems, the fundamental rights and duties of citizens as well as the state organs, prominently reflecting the nature and characteristics of the socialist system of our country.

Since the new constitution has immediate and far-reaching historic significance, we must pay special attention to studying, publicizing and explaining it well and must carry out education on democracy and the rule of law among the masses in a thorough way. Our study and publicity of the new constitution should concentrate on the following: 1) The importance of the constitution; 2) the guiding ideology, the basic contents and other important provisions of the constitution, 3) The necessity for every citizen to abide by the constitution.

Every citizen of the PRC should study the new constitution well. The new constitution, once approved, must be put into effect. The people of all

nationalities throughout the country, the state organs, the armed forces, various political parties, social organizations, enterprises and business units must refer to the constitution as the fundamental guiding principles of their activities; they have responsibility for safeguarding the dignity of the constitution and ensuring its implementation. Since the authority of the constitution has a direct bearing on the political stability and the destiny of the country, any act to undermine its foundation shall not be tolerated.

The constitution of the Communist Party of China stipulated that the party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws of the state. This is a very important principle. The party which led the people in drawing up the constitution must also strictly abide by it. Various party organs at all levels and all party members must strive to be models in abiding by and implementing the constitution. Let all of us earnestly study and implement the new constitution, safeguard its dignity and ensure its implementation and create new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/219

OVERSEAS CHINESE NPC DEPUTIES ON CONSTITUTION

OW060119 Beijing in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 0900 GMT 30 Nov 82

[Report: "Returned Overseas Chinese Deputies to the NPC and Members of the CPPCC Talk About the New Constitution"]

[Text] For the last few days, returned overseas Chinese deputies attending the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC and returned overseas Chinese members attending the Fifth Session of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee in Beijing, filled with a sense of being the masters of their own affairs, have seriously discussed the draft of the revised constitution and Vice Chairman Peng Zhen's report on the draft of the revised constitution.

Returned overseas Chinese deputies to the NPC and members of the CPPC pointed out: The new constitution gives expression to the common wishes of the people throughout China and fully manifests the overseas Chinese compatriots' cherished desire. At a panel discussion meeting in Tianjing Municipality, Zhuang Mingli, NPC deputy and vice president of the All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese, said: Over the past 30 years and more since the founding of the republic, I have participated in the discussion of the drafts of four constitutions. For the draft of this revised constitution, opinions have been solicited from all sides, strata, democratic parties and mass bodies in the most widespread way. Returned overseas Chinese federation organizations in all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and federation organizations of overseas Chinese students studying in China have more than once organized the vast number of returned overseas Chinese to discuss the draft. In July this year, the All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese and the Beijing Municipal Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese separately invited overseas Chinese compatriots who came sightseeing in Beijing from over 10 countries to hold discussions on the draft of the revised constitution. They took the floor, one after another, and expressed their concern for instituting the fundamental law of the state. All the people in China have actively attended the discussion of the draft of this revised constitution. Such a widespread democratic nature, reflected in the revision of the constitution, can rarely have been seen throughout the world.

At a panel discussion meeting in Beijing Municipality, Hong Sisi, NPC deputy and vice president of the All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese, and Zhang Guoji, vice chairman of the Beijing Federation of Returned Overseas

Chinese, compared the draft of this revised constitution with the past three constitutions. They pointed out: This constitution is the most perfect one ever instituted since the founding of the Republic and enjoys the ardent support of the people and the overseas Chinese. Zhang Fuoji said: It is clearly stated in the constitution that the People's Republic of China protects the legitimate rights and interests of Chinese residents abroad and protects the lawful rights and interests of returned overseas Chinese and the relatives of Chinese residents abroad living in China. Compared with past constitutions, this constitution contains the additional content of protecting the lawful rights and interests of returned overseas Chinese and the relatives of Chinese residents abroad living in China. This article gives full expression to the party and the state's warm attention to returned overseas Chinese, the relatives of Chinese residents abroad living in China and Chinese residents abroad.

NPC deputy Hong Sisi said: Chinese residents abroad, returned overseas Chinese and the relatives of Chinese residents abroad are satisfied with the draft of the revised constitution in eight major aspects.

1. They are satisfied with it because it gives expression to the party's principles and policies laid down since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The vast number of Chinese residents abroad are most worried about the repeated changes in policy. Now that the party's policies are embodied in the constitution, their stability is guaranteed.

2. They are satisfied with it because it stipulates the building of spiritual civilization while building material civilization.

3. They are satisfied wich it because it acts in the democratic spirit.

4. They are satisfied with it because it acts in the spirit of the socialist legal system. It stipulates that all people should be equal before the law.

5. They are satisfied with it because the new constitution, to be approved soon, stipulates the realization of the motherland's unification.

6. They are satisfied with it because the draft of the revised constitution stresses the need to persistently follow an independent foreign policy. The patriotic overseas Chinese have vigorously supported China's revolution on all previous occasions, simply because they hope that the motherland would become an independent country.

7. They are satisfied with it because the new constitution stipulates that the patriotic united front must be further consolidated and developed.

8. They are satisfied with it because the new constitution prescribes the need to protect the just rights and interests of overseas Chinese as well as those of the returned overseas Chinese and their relatives.

All this has manifested the aspirations of the overseas Chinese.

Yi Meihou, vice president of the All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese and chairman of the Guangdong Provincial Federation of Overseas Chinese, said: Compared with the several constitutions in the past, this draft of the revised constitution even more explicitly prescribes the rights and interests of returned overseas Chinese and the relatives of Chinese residents abroad living in China are very happy about this. After the new constitution is formally adopted, it would definitely help in implementing the policy on overseas Chinese affairs, and further whip up the enthusiasm of overseas Chinese, returned overseas Chinese and the relatives of Chinese residents abroad living in China in cherishing the motherland and their home towns, and in making still greater contributions to the modernization program of the motherland.

In an interview with a station correspondent at the (Jinji) guest house, Guo Ruiren, a 78 year-old NPC deputy vice chairman of the Fujian Provincial CPC Committee and chairman of the Provincial Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese, said: The draft of the revised constitution makes explicit stipulations of China's system of the people's democratic dictatorship and the nation's economic system, as well as the series of major issues, such as the protection of the interests of overseas Chinese. This will certainly whip up the enthusiasm of overseas Chinese, returned overseas Chinese and the relatives of Chinese residents living in China in cherishing the motherland and their home towns. In the past few years, the people's governments at all the levels in Fujian have done an excellent job in implementing the policy on overseas Chinese affairs, thus greatly arousing the activism of the overseas Chinese, returned overseas Chinese and the relatives of Chinese residents abroad living in China in cherishing the motherland and their home towns. Industrial and agricultural production has thrived and the people's livelihood has been continuously improved in places where returned overseas Chinese and the relatives of the Chinese residents abroad are living. The new constitution, which will be soon adopted, is of great significance in protecting, in a legal form, the just interests and rights of overseas Chinese, returned overseas Chinese and the relatives of Chinese residents abroad living in China, and in fulfilling the magnificent task put forward by the party central committee.

Lian Guan, member of the National CPPCC Committee and vice chairman of the All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese, said: Compared with the three previous constitutions, the new constitution has made ven more clearcut stipulations in protecting the rights and interests of overseas Chinese. He went on to say: To rally around the CPC and make contributions to developing China's socialist modernization program and making the motherland prosperous and strong, is the common aspiration of the countrymen living abroad. Today, the new constitution has reaffirmed our patriotic rights and interests in a legal form and provides us with a legal guarantee. All this has provided overseas Chinese with the opportunity to protect their motherland and do their own share in developing the modernization program of the motherland.

CSO: 4005/219

PARTY AND STATE

TIANJIN NPC DEPUTIES PRAISE CONSTITUTION REVISION

OW070517 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1240 GMT 2 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 2 Dec (XINHUA)--(Exclusive for TIANJIN RIBAO) Deputies from Tianjin to the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC deliberated the draft revision of the constitution in the past few days in group meetings. They held that the draft revision of the constitution has both inherited the basic principles of the 1954 constitution and added new contents to suit the development of the political and economic situation and, therefore, is the best constitution in China's history. [passage omitted]

Deputy Zhang Shizhen said: The four basic principles have been put into the draft revision of the constitution as the general guiding ideology. This fundamentally insures that our country will advance in this political orientation along the socialist road under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. [passage omitted]

Deputy Yu Aifeng said: During the 10 years of domestic chaos, intellectuals found it too difficult to serve the country. How I wished to be a member of the working class all those years! Now the basic state law has put intellectuals on a par with the workers and peasants, making them the three forces on which socialist construction relies. I feel grateful from the bottom of my heart. This shows that the state and people have confidence and have put great trust in us. We will certainly contribute our efforts to the four modernizations for the rest of our lives. [passage omitted]

Deputy Fan Quan said: Enactment of law is important. Enforcement of law is more important. Much remains to be done to insure the implementation of the constitution. The new constitution, soon to be adopted, has been formulated after more than years of discussion and revision by the people of the whole country under the leadership of our party. The key to full implementation of the new constitution lies with party committee leadership at all levels. Party organizations' activities must be conducted within the framework of the constitution. At the same time, party committees must guarantee the implementation of the constitution. Members, in particular leading cadres of the communist party, must take the lead in studying and publicizing the constitution and be models in implementing it. [passage omitted]

CSO: 4005/219

CPPCC COMMITTEE MEMBERS SUPPORT CONSTITUTION

OW1000039 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1549 GMT 6 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, 6 Dec (XINHUA)--Members of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee, attending its fifth session, warmly support the new constitution. They believe that it can certainly be implemented and will play a tremendous role in ensuring the development of socialist modernization in our country.

Liu Yuanxuan, member of the CPPCC National Committee and chairman of the Sichuan Provincial Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, said: The adoption of the new constitution marks the beginning of a new period in rule by law in our country. Our country suffered from neglect of the legal system in the past. That is why the people throughout the country now call for strengthening the legal system. However, it is not easy to run the country in strict accordance with the law. Therefore, we must strive to do a good job in publicizing the constitution in order to make all households and all men and women, old and young, understand that the new constitution has not come easily and that the fundamental law for running the country and bringing stability to it is of great significance for the development of socialist modernization. All parties should set an example and take the lead in publicizing, implementing, abiding by and upholding the constitution. Then, the new constitution certainly can be smoothly enforced.

Chen Hansheng, member of the CPPCC National Committee and honorary director of the World History Institute under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, said: I think that the key to making people know and abide by the law lies in law enforcement. The law will have its sanctity and the people will be willing to know and abide by it only when the law is strictly enforced and everything is done according to it. I hope that, from now on, the law will be strictly enforced.

At a discussion, Vice Chairman Lei Jieqiong, Secretary General Ge Chengzhi and standing committee member Le Ling of the China Association for Promoting Democracy, as well as other members of the CPPCC National Committee, expressed their belief that the new constitution would be abided by, and implemented, to the letter. They pointed out: Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the socialist legal system has been strengthened with each passing day. With greater power, the NPC standing committee now has the authority to supervise the enforcement of the constitution. When the

constitution is extensively studied and publicized, the broad masses of people will have an idea of the legal system and will conscientiously supervise its enforcement.

Han Fuyou, member of the CPPCC National Committee and deputy commissioner of the Lincang Prefectural Administrative Office, said: The new constitution, which reflects the aspirations and fundamental interests of the people throughout the country has been promulgated. This is a major happy event for the people of all nationalities throughout the country. Our Yunnan is a province with more than 20 nationalities. The new constitution is a basic guarantee for the unity, progress and prosperity of all nationalities. We must cherish the new constitution as we do our eyes, and ensure its implementation.

CSO: 4005/219

XIZANG DEPUTIES EXAMINE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

OW111202 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1640 GMT 3 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 3 Dec (XINHUA)--In the past few days, the Xizang Autonomous Regional Delegation to the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress have conscientiously discussed and examined the draft revised constitution. With high morale and enthusiasm, the deputies made speeches one after another in a very warm atmosphere at the site of the meetings. They all held that the draft revised constitution has summed up the historical experiences of our country's socialist development and reflected the new situation of our country's socialist modernization. They held that it conforms with the common interests of people of all nationalities and is truly a relatively perfect constitution.

Deputy Yin Fatang said: The contents of the draft revised constitution are very good in all aspects. As far as the nationality issue is concerned, it contains relatively more volumes and has special statements or articles and stipulations not only in its preface but also in Chapter I, Chapter II and Chapter III. Especially remarkable is the stipulation that principal responsible persons of the people's governments and the people's congresses of the autonomous region down to autonomous counties must be cadres of minority nationalities, which fully embodied the concern of the state for the minority nationalities.

He said: We believe that, after such a constitution is adopted, our country's nationalities work will be further strengthened and Xizang's cause of socialist construction will certainly become more thriving and prosperous too.

Deputy Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme said: The drafting and the revision of the draft revised constitution took 26 months. I was a member of the committee for constitution revision and attended four meetings. Each meeting conscientiously studied opinions about the revision put forward by every attendant and accepted many of them.

He said: The draft revised constitution has clear and definite stipulations not only for nationalities issues but also for religious and other issues. In the past, when establishing the people's communes, some localities incorporated national autonomous villages, where minority nationals resided exclusively or with people of other nationalities, into the communes, thereby

virtually abrogating the national autonomy. The same situation happened in Xizang too. Now the draft revised constitution has clearly and definitely stipulated that, under the counties and automous counties, there will be villages, national villages, and townships, thus guaranteeing the implementation of the party's national autonomy policy. The draft revised constitution has also made concrete stipulations on the preservation of minority nationalities' languages, and other issues. In a word, with such a good constitution, there will be a fundamental guarantee for a common prosperity among all the nationalities in our country. [passage omitted]

Deputy Ba Sang said: The draft revised constitution has fully embodied the concern and care of the party and the state for the minority nationalities. Not only in the preface and the general program but also in other chapters and verses, the draft revised constitution has made clear and definite stipulations. For example, the paragraph in the preface, "A socialist national relationship of equality, unity and mutual assistance has been definitely established and will be continuously strengthened. Based on the various minority nationalities characteristics and needs, the state has unremittingly helped the various minority nationality areas speed up their economic and cultural developments in an effort to promote a common prosperity among all the nationalities in the country," was very well written and also very important. Our Xizang's economy and culture have both been relatively backward, and if it was not for the vigorous assistance of the central authorities and the various fraternal provinces and municipalities, Xizang would not be what it is today. From now on, we should, under the guidance of the new constitution, further strengthen unity among the various nationalities.

CSO: 4005/219

PARTY AND STATE

FIRST IN LECTURE SERIES ON NEW PRC CONSTITUTION

OW110340 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 5 Dec 82

[First in a series of 16 lectures on the new PRC Constitution: "Why Is the New Constitution Formulated?" by Zhang Youyu, a legalist and advisor to the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences]

[Excerpts] The new constitution is a socialist constitution that conforms to the condition of China. It reflects the development and reform in various fields in China, sets the fundamental tasks for the people throughout the country in the new period and further improves our socialist system. The formulation and promulgation of the new constitution shows that socialist democracy and the legal system are advancing in giant strides in China. The formulation and promulgation of the new constitution will stimulate the people throughout the country to advance courageously towards the goal of the four modernizations.

Today my discussion will concentrate on why the new constitution was formulated; in other words, why the 1978 constitution was revised. At the same time, I will make a brief account of how the revision of the constitution proceeded, why the draft of the revised constitution was discussed by the people throughout the country, and the significance of the formulation of the new constitution.

First, let us discuss why the 1978 constitution was revised. [passage omitted]

Since the formulation of the 1978 constitution our country has been in an important period of historical change. Besides two minor revisions later, the constitution did not undergo any major fundamental revisions and it could no longer meet the demand of China's political and economic development. There are three primary reasons:

1. It was not long after the downfall of the gang of four that the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress adopted the constitution in 1978. Restricted by the historical conditions at that time, we did not have time to sum up in all-around way the experience and lessons in socialist revolution and construction since the founding of the People's Republic, nor did we have time to thoroughly check up on and eliminate the influence

of certain leftist thinking of the 10 years of turmoil on the articles of the constitution. Therefore, the constitution still contained some outmoded or even erroneous political viewpoints and some articles not in conformity with objective reality. It is clear that we should delete those contents and wording.

2. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our political life, economic life and cultural life have undergone great changes and development. The party and the government have shifted the stress of their work to socialist modernization. The party central committee has put forward that economic construction must be undertaken according to the conditions and resources of our country and in conformity with economic laws and natural laws and stress actual results, that the development of production must be geared to the improvement of the people's livelihood. The party central committee has also put forward other correct policies, such as we must, on the basis of independence and self-reliance, actively promote economic cooperation and technological exchanges with foreign countries. Under the guidance of those policies, we are reforming the economic management system step by step by giving enterprises added decision making power and by enforcing their democratic management. The reform is undertaken in conjunction with the economic readjustment. The party central committee has also made new scientific analysis of the class situation at home, pointing out a basic fact that the exploiting classes have been eliminated, but class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits. We have made important progress in promoting socialist democracy and the legal system and made important achievements in education, science and culture. The reform of the system of state leadership and the state organs is proceeding smoothly. The 1978 constitution did not reflect the above-mentioned situation. In fact, it is impossible for it to do so. However, it is imperative that the above-mentioned situation should be reflected by the constitution.

3. Many articles in the 1978 constitution were not complete, strict or explicit enough. [passage omitted] It is necessary to revise the constitution in a systematic way in order to promote socialist democracy, to perfect the socialist legal system, to consolidate and perfect the fundamental system of our country, to really protect the rights of the people of various nationalities, to consolidate and enhance the political situation of stability, unity, libeliness and vigor, to fully mobilize all positive factors, to bring into play the superiority of the socialist system and to accelerate the development of the four modernizations. [passage omitted]

The revision of the 1978 constitution began after the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress adopted the resolution on the revision of the constitution and on the establishment of the committee for the revision of the PRC Constitution. First, the revision of the constitution adhered to the principle of seeking truth from facts. It proceeded from China's realities and persistently integrated Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought with China's present practice. Second, the revision followed the mass line and comprehensively solicited the opinion of various organizations concerned and the broad masses of people. After we comprehensively gathered the opinion of the masses, we made fairly major revisions of the 1978 constitution

according to the historical experience summed up by the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of OUr Party Since the Founding of the People's Re-Public of China." We made the revision by adhering to the four cardinal principles.

After repeated discussion and revisions, the committee for the revision of the PRC Constitution adopted the draft of the revised constitution in April, 1982. The draft was then promulgated by the NPC Standing Committee for discussion by the people throughout the country. The discussion of the draft revised constitution by the people was of great significance. It was a way for the people to manage state affairs. [passage omitted]

The committee for the revision of the PRC Constitution adopted the draft revised constitution after making further revisions based on the people's opinion during the discussion, and then submitted it to the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC Session adopted the constitution. [passage omitted]

The promulgation and implementation of the new constitution is of great and far-reaching significance. The new constitution reflects the demand of our times and the aspirations of the people. [passage omitted]

CSO: 4005/219

PARTY AND STATE

HOHHOT CPC COMMITTEE HOLDS MEETING ON CONSTITUTION

0905467 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Dec 82

[Text] According to our reporter (Wei Rongjie), on the morning of 8 December, the Hohhot Municipal CPC Committee held a standing committee meeting to study and discuss the new constitution and made some decisions. The meeting urged party organizations at all levels, the large number of party members and the people of all nationalities to promptly go into action and start a new upsurge of studying the new constitution.

(Zhu He), secretary of the Hohhot Municipal CPC Committee, said at the meeting: The constitution adopted at the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC is a general law for maintaining the state's stability and for running the country well and is also a law conforming to the national conditions and to the will of the people. It embodies the wishes of the people of all nationalities. The promulgation of the new constitution is a necessary legal guarantee for promoting our country's prosperity, for making all people live and work in peace and contentment, for modernizing our country's industry, agriculture, national defense, sciences and technology and for building ours into a socialist country with highly developed civilization and democracy.

Having reviewed the lessons gained since the PRC's founding, and since the great cultural revolution in particular, (He Xinge), deputy secretary of the Hohhot Municipal CPC Committee and deputy mayor, and (Lin Zhian), chairman of the Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee, maintained: It is very important and necessary to guard the authority and sanctity of the constitution and to ensure the promulgation of it. The past situation--the people refused to follow and ran afoul of laws and discipline because the enforcement of the laws was not strict--will reappear no longer.

(Dong Yimin) and (Liang Jichuan), deputy secretaries of the municipal CPC committee, said: As leading cadres, our success or failure in studying the new constitution will have a great effect. Therefore, we should not only firmly support, take the lead in observing and conscientiously implement the constitution, but also work and act in line with the constitution and struggle with a clear-cut stand against the speeches and behaviors that run counter to the constitution.

Through discussions, standing committee members adopted a decisions that leaders of the municipal CPC committee should try to use 2 and 1/2 days every

week to study the new constitution and the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress. Party organizations and party-member cadres at all levels should take the lead in studying, implementing, observing and guarding the new constitution so as to lead the people of all nationalities across the municipality to start an upsurge of studying the new constitution.

CSO: 4005/219

STUDY OF, DISCUSSIONS ON NEW CONSTITUTION HELD

SK071300 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 6 Dec 82

[Text] Following the promulgation of the new constitution, office cadres of provincial organs and specialists and professors of institutions of higher learning located in Janan immediately held earnest discussions and study. They expressed determination to resolutely implement the new constitution and struggle to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

(Liang Deshan), president of the Provincial Higher People's Court, said: The constitution of the People's Republic of China was adopted at the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress. This is great, happy news that has been longed for by the people of various nationalities in our country. The constitution has inherited and carried forward the basic principles of the constitution adopted in 1954, absorbed the essence of China's ancient law books and records and has deeply summed up both the positive and negative experiences in our country's socialist development. It conforms with the situation of the country and is congruous with the wishes of the people. It is the best constitution since the founding of China as well as being general regulations for running the country well and maintaining the state's stability. The public enforcement of this constitution indicates that our country's socialist legal system has entered a new period of development.

(Liang Deshan) said: The people's courts are organs of law enforcement and, in the course of ensuring the enforcement of the constitution, they should give full rein to their role. Each and every cadre and policeman of the people's courts must strive to be models in studying, publicizing, observing and implementing the constitution. Through all kinds of activities, the people's courts must safeguard the sanctity of the constitution and ensure its enforcement. Any person who shows contempt for and acts contrary to the constitution and who violates the law must be strictly investigated to affix his responsibility and must be punished in accordance with the law. All work of the people's courts must be carried out in line with the principles stated in the law and we must manage to observe the law, strictly enforce it and deal seriously with those who violate it.

CSO: 4005/219

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG OFFICIALS DISCUSS NEW CONSTITUTION

SK081005 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 7 Dec 82

[Excerpts] On the morning of 7 December, some standing committee members of the provincial people's congress held a forum to study and discuss the new constitution. Chen Lei, vice chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, chaired the forum.

Participants first studied the new constitution word by word and sentence by sentence and then held a discussion. First of all, they spoke glowingly of the great significance of the new constitution and unanimously held that the new constitution is a fundamental law for running the country well and for ensuring the state's stability. The new constitution takes the four fundamental principles as a guiding ideology, maintains and develops the fundamental principles of the 1954 constitution, sums up both positive and negative experiences in socialist development and clearly defines the political and economic systems and fundamental tasks of the state. The new constitution is the most complete, most comprehensive and best constitution since the founding of the people's republic. [passage omitted]

Attending the forum were some vice chairmen of the standing committee of the provincial people's congress, including Zhang Zhusheng, Yang Jieren, Wang Jierchen and Wang Baomin.

They stressed at the forum: We must study the new constitution to strengthen our sense of the legal system and to develop the fine social practice of studying, understanding and abiding by the law. At the same time, efforts should be made to enhance the construction of the provincial people's congress and its standing committee to further bring into full play the function of organs of state power and of local authorities.

CSO: 4005/219

PARTY AND STATE

FIFTY-NINTH, 61ST IN SERIES ON PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW062343 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Fifty-ninth and 61st in a series of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party National Congress--by the general section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 59th question is "Why are party cadres obliged to accept examination and assessment of their work by the party?"

Article 34 of the new party constitution stipulates that party cadres are obliged to accept examination and assessment of their work by the party. Examination means regular observation and understanding of cadres' performances in day-to-day work, study and daily life. Assessment means an objective appraisal of cadres' records, strong points, shortcomings in their work, study, ideological status and moral character, according to given criteria and requirements over a given period, for instance at the end of the year, at the conclusion of a period's work or study, when a cadre is to be transferred or promoted, or in case of other special circumstances. [passage omitted]

Currently, we must, through examination and assessment of cadres, resolutely remove from leading posts those who rose to prominence by "rebellion," who are seriously factionalist in their idea, who have indulged in beating, smashing and looting, who oppose the line followed by the party central committee since its Third Plenary Session, or who have seriously violated the law and discipline. At the same time, we must promote energetic and outstanding cadres, who possess both political integrity and ability, to various leading posts. We must provide cadres with necessary training to generally raise their political and professional level, to build a contingent of cadres who are more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent, and who can meet the requirements of socialist modernization. [passage omitted]

Establishing and perfecting the system of examination and assessment of cadres is an important task. We must constantly try out and sum up our experience. We must pay attention to the following:

1. Attach equal importance to personnel department's examination and assessment on the one hand and the appraisal and opinions of the masses on the other. The role of the personnel department must be upheld and the mass line adhered to--carefully listen to the masses. The masses will be satisfied with, and the leadership will trust, cadres selected for promotion on this basis.

2. Examination and assessment must be followed by due treatment. Cadres with problems, discovered through examination and assessment, must be helped through timely education. Their merits so discovered must be given timely encouragement and commendation. Party committee leadership and comrades in charge of cadres' work must take the initiative to talk with related cadres, affirming their achievements, pointing out their shortcomings and giving them specific assistance.

3. Examination and assessment must be coupled with training. After cadres' strong and weak points become known through examination and assessment, specific training should be given to such cadre with a view to making further improvement.

4. Examination and assessment should be integrated with the use of cadres. Pay attention to understanding cadres' specialities and characteristics, through examination and assessment, and make due adjustments of their positions accordingly, so that their strong points are put to use and shortcomings avoided in the right positions and, as a result, they are all conscientious, responsible and still better workers.

The 61st question is "Why must party cadres cooperate in work with nonparty cadres?"

Article 36 of the new party constitution stipulates "Party cadres should be able to cooperate with nonparty cadres, respect them and learn open-mindedly from their strong points. Party organizations at all levels must be good at discovering and recommending talented and knowledgable nonparty cadres for leading posts, and insure that the latter enjoy authority commensurate with their posts and can play their roles to the fullest." This article, on the one hand, sums up our party's historical experience in cooperating with nonparty cadres and, on the other hand, puts still higher demands on party organizations at all levels and all party cadres in view of the requirements of socialist modernization. [passage omitted]

Why must party cadres cooperate with nonparty cadres? First of all, nonparty masses and cadres are always the big majority over party members and party cadres in our country. Our socialist cause is the common cause of millions upon millions of people, and the communist party is the core of leadership of this cause. The communists cannot do everything in the country. We can only bring our cause to victory by uniting as many nonparty cadres and masses as possible to work together. Therefore, our party cadres are obliged to cooperate with, and have no right to cold shoulder, all those outside the party who are willing and able to cooperate with us.

Next, there are many talented persons among the nonparty cadres who are comparatively more knowledgable. Many of them are accomplished in different fields of knowledge. Much will be gained for the cause of socialism if we cooperate with nonparty cadres and make full use of their strong points. Generally speaking, due to historical and other reasons, nonparty cadres and personages outside the party have somewhat wider social contacts. Strengthening cooperation between party and nonparty cadres is an indispensable way to establish close ties between the party and the people of all circles.

Third, nearly all nonparty cadres want to be politically progressive. They support the CPC's leadership, ardently love the socialist motherland, follow the socialist road with the party and have a strong desire for the motherland's independence, prosperity and strength. It is very important. This makes it both necessary and possible for us to cooperate with nonparty cadres and provides a political basis for our cooperation. [passage omitted]

Then, how can party cadres become good at cooperating with nonparty cadres?

First, it is necessary to thoroughly overcome various "left" ideas. Closed-doorism and other "left" ideas and mistakes occurred on many occasions in the history of cooperation between our party and nonparty cadres and persons, causing considerable damage to our revolutionary cause. During the great cultural revolution, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques frenziedly undermined the policy of cooperation between party and nonparty cadres and persons. A number, who had cooperated with us for a long time and made contributions to the cuase of socialism, were mercilessly persecuted. After the 3d Plenary Session of the Party's 11th Central Committee, the party central committee corrected this "left" mistake. Cooperative relations between party and nonparty cadres have greatly improved. However, ideologically, many party cadres still have problems of not quite understanding this point. They still entertain certain "left" prejudices against nonparty cadres and are not willing to cooperate with them. We must place the cause of the party and the people above everything, rectify our thinking and strive to cooperate with nonparty cadres.

Second, we must treat nonparty cadres as equals. [passage omitted]

Third, we must modestly learn from nonparty cadres. [passage omitted]

Fourth, it is necessary to bring nonparty cadres' role into full play. [passage omitted]

Firth, we must accept nonparty cadres' supervision. [passage omitted]

CSO: 4005/219

SIXTIETH IN SERIES OF QUESTIONS ON PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW070407 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 26 Nov 82

[Sixtieth in a series of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress--by the general section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 60th question is: What are the basic requirements leading cadres at all levels must meet?

In accordance with the guidelines in the party's many instructions on the question of the criteria for cadres, in view of the party's general task during the new historical period and the present condition of the party's cadres as a whole, Article 35 of the new party constitution specifically and clearly spells out still stricter demands on leading cadres at all levels than on ordinary party members and cadres. This is because the party's leading cadres at all levels are the principal backbone of the party's cause, and organizers and leaders of the revolution and construction undertaken by the people of our country. With greater trust placed on them by the party and people, leading cadres at all levels have greater responsibility to the party and people than ordinary party members and cadres.

The party constitution stipulates that leading party cadres at all levels must perform their duties as party members prescribed in the party constitution in an exemplary way, and must meet six basic requirements. Only thus can they live up to the party's expectations and the people's great trust. The six basic requirements, which leading cadres at all levels must meet as stipulated by the party constitution are:

1. They must have a fair grasp of the theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought and the policies based on them, and be able to adhere to the socialist road, right against hostile forces disrupting socialism and combat all erroneous tendencies inside and outside the party. This is the very first requirement for leading cadres at all levels to do their job well and fulfill all their tasks. Experience in the 30 years since the founding of our republic shows that it is very important for leading cadres to lead the masses to adhere to the socialist road under all circumstances. To be able to do so, they must, first of all, have a fair grasp of the theories of

Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought and the policies based on them. [passage omitted]

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party central Committee corrected the long-existing left mistakes in economic construction and found a way to build socialism, a way suitable to the conditions of our country. A number of effective measures have been taken. However, some leading cadres do not understand the party's line, principles and policies. Others doubt if these are in the socialist orientation. Still others even oppose them. This is largely because most of these cadres, in contrast to a very small number of them, do not have a fair grasp of theories and policies as well as ideological line, have not emancipated themselves from the fetters of prolonged left mistakes and lack a correct understanding of the party's efforts to get things to rights in guiding ideology. Therefore, it is tremendously significant to the party's cause for leading cadres at all levels to study hard the theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought and acquire a level of understanding of theories and policies commensurate to their position.

2. They must, their work as leaders, conduct earnest investigation and study, persistently proceed from reality and properly carry out the line, principles and policies of the party. [passage omitted]

Our country is so vast and conditions in different areas vary greatly. Demanding uniformity in carrying out the party's principles and polciies will not produce expected results. The important duty of leading cadres at all levels is to integrate the party's line, principles and policies with the concrete conditions of their own areas, departments and units, prepare specific proposals and methods and then manage to enforce them. [passage omitted]

3. They must be fervently dedicated to the revolutionary cause, imbued with a strong sense of political responsibility and be qualified for their leading posts in organizational ability, general education and vocational knowledge. [passage omitted]

To realize the grand goal set by the party's 12th National Congress, fervent dedication to the revolutionary cause and a strong sense of political responsibility, but with a lack of real knowledge and skills, are not sufficient. Whatever their posts, leading cadres, without a certain level of organizational ability, general education and vocational knowledge will tend to give blind orders, hamper the progress of modernization and finally harm the people's fundamental interests. Due to historical and personal reasons, indeed, many of our leading cadres at all levels lack vocational knowledge and modern management ability and face the necessity to learn from the beginning. Therefore, the party's cadres at leading posts in all fields of work, in particular younger leading cadres, must strive to learn varied vocationak knowledge to become specialists, well versed in their jobs, quite good at management work and satisfying the needs of modernization.

4. They must have a democratic work-style, maintain close ties with the masses, correctly implement the party's mass line, conscientiously accept

criticism and supervision by the party and the masses, and combat bureaucraticism.

Leading cadres should at no time forget that the socialist cause led by our party is the cause of the people themselves. The starting point of the work of all leading cadres is to trust and rely on the people, absorb their wisdom and respect their creativity. Leading cadres' understanding can be correct, lively and enriched only when they correctly persist in coming from, and g-ing amongst, the masses, attach equal importance to the leadership and the masses and pay equal attention to the general call and individual leadership. [passage omitted]

5. They must exercise their functions and powers in the proper way, observe and uphold the rules and regulations of the party and state, and combat all acts of abusing power and seeking personal gain. These are the important moral characteristics which cadres should possess. Since the party assumed leadership of nationwide political power, how leading cadres correctly exercised their powers has been a matter of constant attention. It should be said that the overwhelming majority of leading cadres have been performing quite properly. They have won the masses' trust by their exemplary behavior. However, due to incursion of the remaining feudal and decadent capitalist ideas, in particular the serious undermining of our party's fine traditions by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, plus imperfections of certain of our system, there have indeed been some leading cadres in practical life who failed to correctly exercise their powers to serve the people, abusing their powers to seek personal fame, position and material gain. Their perpetrations have impaired the party's prestige, degraded the social atmosphere and unfavorably affected the people's confidence in the socialist modernization drive. People harboring ill intentions have also, on this account, poisoned relations between the party and the masses and between cadres and the masses. Therefore, this requirement, which leading cadres must meet as the party constitution stipulates, has a tremendous bearing on strict enforcement of discipline, rectification of the party's style, strengthening and improvement of the party's leadership and on consolidation and development of the excellent situation achieved so far, as well as on uniting the whole party and the people of all nationalities of the whole country to make common efforts to promote socialist modernization.

6. They must be good at uniting and working with a large number of comrades, including those who hold differing opinions, while upholding the party's principles.

On the question of unity; first, we should uphold the party's principles, that is, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought, the party's program, line, principles and policies, and the party's democratic centrlaism. Upholding of these principles constitutes the basis of unity. Second, we must get along well with peoples of all sectors. Leading cadres must be broadminded. [passage omitted]

The six basic requirements which leading cadres must meet as the party constitution stipulates are an interrelated whole, an over-all demand the party places on leading cadres and a principle which must be followed by qualified, party-trained leading cadres on all fronts. [passage omitted]

CSO: 4005/219

PARTY AND STATE

SIXTY-SECOND, 63D IN SERIES ON NEW CPC CONSTITUTION

OW080307 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 28 Nov 82

[Sixty-second and 63d in a series of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress--by the general section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 62nd question is: Why does the new party constitution stipulate that leading party cadres at all levels, whether elected through democratic procedure or appointed by a leading body, are not entitled to lifelong tenure and that they can be transferred from or relieved of their posts?

The provision to this effect is included in the new party constitution for the first time in the party's history. This is an important reform for our party's cadre system. Despite the fact that our party constitution and other documents in the past had clearly specified that leading party cadres are not entitled to lifelong tenure, such a state of affairs had existed. By including this provision, the new party constitution streamlines the normal replacement of old cadres with new ones so that young cadres, who have both ability and political integrity and are in the prime of life, will be promoted to leading posts at all levels, thereby making the party rank and file more compatible with the needs of party undertakings. [passage omitted]

The elimination of lifelong tenture of leading cadres is a problem in the international communist movement that has remained unsolved, especially after the proletariat seized power. Based on the experience of the international communist movement and the actual conditions in our party, our new party constitution clearly stipulates that leading party cadres at all levels are not entitled to lifelong tenure and seeks to solve this problem in actual work. This is of immediate and far-reaching historical significance in strengthening party building, in improving party leadership, in enhancing the party's fighting capacity and in ensuring that the party cause will develop smoothly toward the Marxist-Leninist orientation.

Some comrades hold that to eliminate the lifelong tenure of leading cadres now in practice, it is necessary for the old leading cadres to step down from their leading posts. This is a one-sided view. We must draw a lesson concerning the lifelong tenure of leading cadres. It is for this reason that the

new party constitution specifies that leading cadres at all levels are not entitled to lifelong tenure.

However, in putting this provision into practice, we must think about the fact that our party is big with more than 39 million members and our country is large with a population of 1 billion and that our party is facing an arduous and complicated task and situation. Therefore, we must have a group of experienced and knowledgable old comrades in the party central committee who have made outstanding contributions and enjoy high prestige among party members and the people. [passage omitted]

In this connection, the 12th CPC National Congress has reatined more than 10 old comrades in the new central committee who enjoy popular confidence and high prestige both at home and abroad. This is compatible with the aspirations of the whole party and the people throughout the country as well as in keeping with the fundamental interests of the party and the state.

Some comrades have commented that the new party constitution does not clearly specify the limit of the tenure of leading party cadres, nor does it spell out their age limit. As a result, they feel that they do not have any confidence in the abolition of the lifelong tenture of leading cadres now in practice. This is also an erroneous view because--first of all--the realization of this provision is guaranteed by the system. Besides stipulating that leading cadres at all levels are not entitled to lifelong tenure, the new party constitution also has a provision to ensure that the cadre ranks become more revolutionary competent and that leading cadres no longer fit to continue work because of old age or poor health retire according to the regulations of the state. It also has measures to make proper arrangements for the old cadres and to put their role into play, such as setting up an advisory commission at the central and provisional levels. This provision, in fact, has already been put into effect. [passage omitted]

The result of the election at the 12th CPC National Congress shows that comrades who have both ability and political integrity and are comparatively young were selected to the central committee. Of the 348 central committee members and alternate members, 211 cadres--or over 60 percent--were elected to the central committee for the first time. As for age, more than 140 comrades--or two-thirds--are under 60 with the youngest being 38. This shows that cooperation between and the replacement of new and old cadres have come into effect at the highest leading organ of the party. Therefore, we should have full confidence in the implementation of the provision in the new party constitution that leading party cadres at all levels are not entitled to lifelong tenure.

The 63d question is: What is meant by: Cadres should retire according to the regulations of the state?

Article 37 of the new party constitution stipulates that cadres no longer fit to continue working because of old age or poor health should retire according to the regulations of the state. It is the first time since its founding that our party included this retirement provision into the constitution. This is

an important reform of the party's cadre system and a measure for eliminating the lifelong tenure of leading cadres. It is also an important policy decision of strategic significance affecting the replacement of old with new cadres and of bringing about a lengthy peaceful reign in the country.

In the course of protracted revolution and construction, our party has trained a large number of cadres whose rich experience in leading the revolution and construction has been of great value to our party. However, these men are growing old, an irresistable law of nature. Many old comrades are in poor health, and they can no longer lead in work. Furthermore, leading bodies at all levels are also aging in varying degrees. To make our party cause prosperous and to provide successors to the party cause and maintain stability in party leadership and continuity of the party's line, principles and policies, it is of great urgency that we promote thousands upon thousands of fine young and middle-aged cadres, who have both ability and political integrity, to leading posts at all levels so that they can receive effective training and lead the work in all fields under the guidance and help of the old comrades. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that the system of retiring old cadres be implemented to ensure smooth replacement of old with new cadres. [passage omitted]

CSO: 4005/219

PARTY AND STATE

64TH, 67TH IN SERIES ON PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW090425 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 29 Nov 82

[Sixty-fourth and 67th in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "Why must a communist party member consciously act within the bounds of party discipline? What are the new, important stipulations on the party organs for discipline inspection in the new party constitution?"--by the general section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 64th question is: Why must a communist party member consciously act within the bounds of party discipline?

[Passage omitted] To stress the importance of strengthening party discipline, the new party constitution has a special chapter on party discipline. This chapter includes a number of new, important stipulations on how party organizations at all levels and all party members should observe discipline to the letter and how they should correctly enforce it.

Article 38 of the party constitution points out that a communist party member must consciously act within the bounds of party discipline. Party discipline is mandatory. All party organizations and members must unconditionally observe party discipline, and no one is allowed to violate it on any pretext. Any party organizations and members violating party discipline must be investigated.

Our party's iron discipline is based on the conscientious observance of it by party members. This is because party discipline is laid down, giving full scope to democracy. Party discipline reflects the will of the whole party, as well as the interests of the party and the people. This is why upholding party discipline means defending the interests of the party and the people and violating party discipline means infringing on the interests of the party and the people. [passage omitted]

Why does the party constitution stipulate that a party member must consciously act within the bounds of party discipline?

First, only when party discipline is strictly observed will it be possible to guarantee the implementation of the party's line, principles and policy and the carrying out of its tasks. [passage omitted]

Second, only when party discipline is strictly observed will it be possible to uphold the party's solidarity and unity and to ensure the smooth development of socialist modernization. Socialist modernization is an unprecedentedly great undertaking. Carrying out socialist modernization is an extremely arduous task in our country with its vast territory, large population and rather backward economy. This calls for a high degree of democracy, as well as a high degree of centralism and unity. It also calls for a political situation of stability and unity for a long time to come. Therefore, it is all the more important to strengthen the sense of organization and discipline in the party and uphold the party's solidarity and unity. The solidarity and unity of the party will promote the solidarity and unity of the people throughout the country. Only thus will our country be able to remain tranquil for a long time. Only thus will we be able to pool our wisdom and efforts to bring about a new situation in socialist modernization.

Third, only when party discipline is strictly observed will it be possible to consolidate the close ties between the party and the masses of people and improve the party style. [passage omitted] Our party discipline was undermined by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques during the cultural revolution. No fundamental change for the better in the party style has yet been brought about. It is therefore necessary to strictly reinforce party discipline, rectify the party style and resolutely stop the acts infringing on the interests of the masses. Only by stepping up our work in this regard will we be able to further improve relations between the party and the masses.

Some party members hold that they will have no freedom when it is stressed that they must act within the bounds of discipline. We say that party discipline is mandatory, but this does not mean that there is no freedom in the party. The extensive democracy and freedom enjoyed by our party members are written into the party constitution. For example, party members are free to discuss party work and the party's principles and policies at party meetings; they are free to criticize comrades and leading cadres, up to and including leaders of the central committee; they are free to elect their ideal candidates as their representatives or leaders; and in case of disagreement with a party decision, they are free to have reservations, provided that they obey the decision while it is in force.

However, to ensure the party's unity of action and guarantee party members' rights and freedoms, inner-party freedom must be confined within the limits permitted by party discipline. Freedom beyond the bounds of party discipline is not permitted, because it is harmful to the party and the revolution. Therefore, the freedoms enjoyed by communist party members are consistent with their observance of party discipline. [passage omitted]

Some other party members hold that strict discipline hinders party members from bringing their initiative and creativity into play. By stressing the consistency of discipline with freedom, we aim precisely at encouraging every party member to emancipate his mind, start up the machinery, ponder problems independently, bring his initiative into full play and combine his strong sense of organization and discipline with his initiative and creativity

under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought and on the premise of following the party's line, principles and policy. The view that stressing discipline affects party members' initiative and creativity is obviously wrong.

The 67th question is: What are the new, important stipulations on the party organs for discipline inspection in the new party constitution?

[Passage omitted] In light of the party's experiences in setting up discipline inspection or control organs in the past and the aspirations of the whole party, the new party constitution includes new, important stipulations in the following three main aspects--the setting up of discipline inspection organs at various levels, the relations of leadership among them and their functions and powers:

1. The setting up of discipline inspection organs: The party constitutions adopted by the Seventh and Eighth Party Congresses stipulated that the party central committee and various local party committees set up their control commissions, which should be elected by the plenary sessions of party committees at their corresponding levels. A major revision has been made in the new party constitution in this regard. The new party constitution stipulates that the party central committee and local party committees at various levels set up their own discipline commissions, which should be elected by the party congresses at the corresponding levels, and that the central and local discipline inspection commissions should make reports on their work to the party congresses at the corresponding levels. [passage omitted]

2. The relations of leadership among discipline inspection organs at various levels: [passage omitted] The new party constitution stipulates that the central discipline inspection commission functions under the leadership of the party central committee, and its first secretary must be a member of the standing committee of the party central committee's political bureau. Local discipline inspection commissions at all levels function under the dual leadership of party committees at the corresponding levels and the next higher discipline inspection commissions. [passage omitted]

3. The functions and powers of discipline inspection organs at all levels: The new party constitution stipulates that, if the central discipline inspection commission discovers any violation of party discipline by any member of the central committee, it may report such an offense to the central committee, and the central committee must deal with the case promptly.

The new party constitution also stipulates: If a local discipline inspection commission does not agree with a decision made by the party committee at the corresponding level in dealing with a case, it may request the commission at the next higher level to reexamine the case; if a local commission discovers cases of violation of party discipline or the laws and decrees of the state by the party committee at the corresponding level or by its members, and if that party committee fails to deal with them properly or at all, it has the right to appeal to the higher commissions for assistance in dealing with such cases.

None of the previous party constitutions had the above stipulations. In accordance with these stipulations, the functions and powers of discipline inspection commissions at all levels have increased considerably. This is absolutely necessary for strengthening the party's work of discipline inspection under new historical conditions.

The above new, important stipulations on discipline inspection organs fully show that the party attaches great importance to the work of discipline inspection. As long as we resolutely act according to these stipulations, we can certainly strengthen the party's work of discipline inspection step by step, bring about a fundamental turn for the better in the party style and continue to improve the party's fighting capacity.

CSO: 4005/219

PARTY AND STATE

65TH, 68TH IN SERIES ON PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW090621 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 30 Nov 82

[Sixth-fifth and 68th in a series of questions and answers on the study of the party Constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress--by the general section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The 65th question is: What are the disciplinary measures against party members violating party discipline and where should attention be directed in taking these measures against party members?

A communist party member must consciously abide by party discipline. Party organizations shall criticize, educate or take disciplinary measures against members who violate party discipline, depending on the seriousness of their mistakes. This is a necessary educational and organizational means to handle party members who violate party discipline. Article 39 of the new party Constitution stipulates that there are 5 steps in party discipline: Warning, serious warning, removal from party posts and proposals for their removal from non-party posts to the organizations concerned, placing on probation within the party, and expulsion from the party. Expulsion from the party is the ultimate disciplinary measure in the party. The period for which a party member is placed on probation is 1 year at a minimum, but shall not exceed 2 years. During this period, the party member concerned has no right to vote, elect or stand for election. A party member who, during this time, proves to have corrected his mistake shall have his rights as a party member restored. Party members, who refuse to mend their ways, shall be expelled from the party. Any disciplinary action taken against a party member must be based on impartial and prudent principles in strict compliance with the provisions of the party constitution. Articles 38-41 of the party constitution specify how to correctly take disciplinary measures against party members who violate party discipline as follows:

1. It is necessary to have a correct guiding principle. Party organizations shall criticize, educate or take disciplinary measures against members who violate party discipline, depending on the nature and seriousness of their mistakes and in the spirit of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and curing the sickness to save the patient." [passage omitted]

2. The principle of seeking truth from facts must be upheld. Any decision made in taking disciplinary measures against party members must be based on hard facts. Before a decision is made, it is necessary to conduct investigation and listen to different views in order to gather evidence. [passage omitted] In taking disciplinary measures against party members, party organizations must take into consideration the nature and seriousness of their mistakes, the factors contributing to their mistakes, the extent of harm to the party, their past performance and their attitude towards the mistakes, in the spirit of seeking truth from facts in order to handle them properly. [passage omitted]

3. Any disciplinary measures against a party member must be in keeping with established procedure and the system of examination and approval. Any disciplinary measure must be discussed and decided on at a general membership meeting of the party branch concerned, and reported to the primary party committee concerned for approval. If the case is relatively important or complicated or involves the expulsion of a party member, it shall be reported, on the merit of that case, to a party commission for discipline inspection at or above the county level has the authority to decide directly on disciplinary measures against a party member. Any decision to remove a member or alternate member of the central committee or a local committee at any level from posts within the party, to replace such a person on probation within the party or to expel him from the party must be taken by a 2/3 majority vote at a plenary meeting of the party committee to which he belongs. Such a disciplinary measure against a member or alternate member of a local party committee is subject to approval by the higher party committees. Members and alternate members of the central committee who have seriously violated criminal law shall be expelled from the party on a decision of the political bureau of the central committee; members and alternate members of local party committees who have seriously violated criminal law shall be expelled from the party on a decision of the standing committees of the party committees at the corresponding levels.

4. The rights to defend and appeal of party members, subject to disciplinary measures, must be specifically protected. The party members concerned must be notified to attend meetings deciding on disciplinary measures and allowed to explain circumstances in their defense. If a party member does not accept the decision, he can appeal, and the party organization concerned must promptly deal with his appeal or forward it to the higher party committees and even to the central committee, and must not withhold or suppress it. [passage omitted] In view of the lesson we learned from historic experience, one question should merit special attention, that is, the new party constitution stipulates that it is strictly forbidden, within the party, to take any measures against a member that contravene the party constitution or the laws of the state, or to retaliate against, or frame, comrades. Any offending organization or individual must be dealt with according to party discipline or the laws of the state. This provision was derived from summing up the experience and lessons in the protracted inner-party struggle and especially in the "great cultural revolution." [passage omitted] In order to avoid a repeat of this historic tragedy, it is absolutely necessary to put forward the above stipulation in the new

party constitution. In so doing, it will not only ensure normal inner-party political life but also basically protect the rights of party members. [passage omitted]

The 68th question is: Why is it that failure of a party organization to uphold party discipline must be investigated?

Article 42 of the new party constitution stipulates: Failure of a party organization to uphold party discipline must be investigated. Why is this provision necessary? Our party has a long-standing rule that the party must control the party. It is therefore a bounden responsibility for every party organization to resolutely uphold party discipline, since it represents an important feature in the party's organizational and ideological building. [passage omitted] This provision in the new party constitution was written mainly in reference to what happened in the past. The pernicious impact of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques in trampling party discipline and rule under foot has not yet been totally eliminated, and the advocacy of bourgeois liberalism in the past year had made some of our comrades ignore discipline and the sense of organization. A number of party organizations had shut their eyes to the phenomena of liberalism, anarchism, lawlessness and violation of discipline. They are afraid to criticize and handle this situation, thus becoming weak and feeble. Worst still, a number of leading cadres shielded and protected those who made mistakes, while retaliating against those party members and cadres who upheld party discipline and fought valiantly against bad deeds. All this should be heeded and resolutely corrected. [passage omitted] From the above, it is clear that failure of a party organization to uphold party discipline must be investigated. It is necessary, because such failure caused great harm to the party, so the new party constitution included the article: Failure of a party organization to uphold party discipline must be investigated.

CSO: 4005/219

PARTY AND STATE

SIXTY-SIXTH IN SERIES ON PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW091330 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Sixty-sixth in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party Constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress: "What Are the Tasks of the Party's Commissions for Discipline Inspection?"--by the general section of the research office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] Article 44 of the new Constitution stipulates that the main tasks of the party's commissions for discipline inspection at all levels are to uphold the Constitution and other important rules and regulations of the party, to assist the respective party committees in rectifying party style, and to check up on the implementation of the line, principles, policies and decisions of the party. Briefly speaking, the party's commissions for discipline inspection must struggle to safeguard the party Constitution, rectify party style and solemnize party discipline.

1. Safeguard the Party Constitution To Maintain the Nature of the Party as the Vanguard of the Working Class.

[Passage omitted] The party's organizations for discipline inspection at all levels are specially charged with responsibility for safeguarding the party Constitution. With the changes in our party's circumstances, the question of how to safeguard the party nonstitution has become very prominent. When our party was in the position of being oppressed, massacred and encircled, the acceptance and implementation of the party Constitution itself became a rigorous test. Despite that a small number of opportunists wormed their way into the party at that time, they were naturally eliminated under the tests of the merciless wars and the white terror; thereby, immunizing the body of the party. However, the party's position after it took over the rule provided the opportunity for some people in the party to pursue selfish activities under the pretext of revolution. They accepted the party Constitution in word, but did not implement the party Constitution in deed. They only wanted the rights of a party member, but did not carry out obligations as a party member. They merely hoped to use the title of party member to gain some profits and took an attitude of overtly agreeing but covertly opposing the party Constitution. Failure to arouse attention to and conscientiously solve these new situations and problems will harm the nature of our party as the vanguard of the working class. Therefore, the party's organizations for discipline inspection at all

levels should conscientiously assume the responsibility of safeguarding the party Constitution. They should not only conscientiously supervise and inspect ordinary party members' observation and implementation of the party Constitution, but more importantly supervise and inspect the party's leading cadres' exemplary observation and implementation of the party Constitution.

2. Rectify the Party Style To Strengthen the Party's Close Contact With the Masses of People

Compared with the party constitutions of the seventh and eighth CPC National Congresses, the new Constituion has added an important content--rectifying the party style--to the tasks it formulated for organizations for discipline inspection. Some comrades put forward the question of why the commission for discipline inspection has to manage the party style since it is supposed to manage party discipline. This is because there is a close and inseparable relationship between party style and party discipline. If the party style is unhealthy, it is impossible to solemnize party discipline; if discipline slackens, it is also impossible to rectify the party style. The greatest danger of unhealthy party style is divorce from the masses. Comrade Chen Yun said it correctly: "The question of the ruling party's style is a question of life and death of the party." [passage omitted] There still exist some party members who are using their positions and power to seek privileges and private profits; and unhealthy tendencies are still very serious among a small number of party members and cadres, such as arranging jobs for those who are personally related to them, deceiving superiors and hiding facts from subordinates and attacking and retailiating. Especially at a time when we are carrying out the policy of opening to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy--a completely correct policy--decadent capitalist ideology and bourgeois lifestyle will certainly corrode our party by various means. As a result of the fact that some leaders failed to adequately understand such corrosion and to effectively stop it, or the fact that impure ideology, organization and workstyle still exist in some party organizations, favoritism, briberies, speculations and currying favors with people in power for personal gains are still rampant in some localities and departments. If such a situation is allowed to overflow, it will certainly seriously damage party style and pollute the social atmosphere. Since the opening of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, party style has turned for the better but not fundamentally. Therefore, organizations for discipline inspection at all levels should regard the rectification of party style as an important task and grasp it tightly and well.

3. Solemnize Party Discipline To Guarantee a High Degree of Ideological and Political Consistency of the Party

That organizations for discipline inspection at all levels have the responsibility to inspect the situation in the implementation of the party's line, principles, policies and decisions and to solemnize the party's political discipline is a special point in the new Constitution. Some comrades have usually regarded the solemnization of party discipline as a question of organization and workstyle, while neglecting the party's political discipline. This is a mistake. The party's political discipline is the party's most

important discipline. Anyone who undermines the party's political discipline undermines the high degree of the party's ideological and political consistency. Overtly agreeing to but covertly opposing the party central committee's line, principles and policies, or implementing them in one's own way, is the most harmful act against discipline. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "It is mandatory to maintain a political consistency with the party central committee. This point is especially important now. Anyone who violates this point will be punished by the party's disciplinary measures."

With regard to the implementation of the party's political discipline, there exist two kinds of tendencies. Some people are still adhering to the "leftist" viewpoint and suspecting, resisting, or even opposing the party's line, principles and policies since the opening of the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. What merits special attention is the fact that a very small number of the remnant elements of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique have continued to occupy definite leading posts and hoodwinked the masses with false appearances of the "left" and revolutionary outlook. Another tendency is a trend of thought characterized by bourgeois liberalization, which opposes the party's line, principles and policies from the "right." Some people have distorted the slogans of ideological emancipation, openly opposed the party's "four fundamental principles," beautified the Western world and peddled bourgeois democracy and freedom. Some communist party members have also chimed in with them, or even provided conveniences for them. This is totally incom patible with the party's political discipline. All communist party members must resolutely safeguard and positively implement the party's line, principles and policies. With regard to statements, theories and actions that slacken the party's will and undermine the party's unification, organizations for discipline inspection should carry out criticisms and education to deal with them and should directly impose the party's disciplinary measures against them and sternly handle them. [passage omitted]

CSO: 4005/219

PARTY AND STATE

SIXTY-NINTH IN SERIES ON PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW101158 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 2 Dec 82

[Sixth-ninth in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party Constitution adopted by the 12th Party National Congress: "What Is the Relationship Between the Party and the CYL?"--by the general section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The new constitution puts the relationship between the party and the CYL into a single chapter. It follows the practice of the constitution adopted by the Eighth CPC National Congress, indicating the special close relationship between our party and the CYL. The party is the organizer and leader of the CYL. The CYL accepts the party's leadership politically and organizationally.

Article 49 of the party constitution points out: The Communist Youth League of China is a mass organization of advanced young people under the leadership of the Communist Party of China; it is a school where large numbers of young people will learn about communism through practice; it is the party's assistant and reserve force. The central committee of the Communist Youth League operates under the leadership of the central committee of the party. The local organizations of the Communist Youth League are under the leadership of the party committees at the corresponding levels and of the higher organizations of the league itself.

Only under the leadership of the party, can we develop the work of the CYL along the correct path. Through the Communist Youth League, the Communist Youth League of China attracts, unites with and leads the broad masses of youth and helps them in implementing the party's line, principles and policies at their own posts, working hard to develop socialist material and spiritual civilization, fulfilling the general task for the new period laid down by the 12th CPC National Congress and realizing the communist social system in the future. [passage omitted]

The communist cause is the cause of hundreds of millions of people, and youth represents the most active and vigorous force of the entire social force. Youth represents our future and hope. Whoever can educate and unite with the young people and know them well, will have a bright future. On the other hand, whoever loses the support of the young people has a gloomy future.

The great cause of communism led by our party needs the strenuous efforts of the people over a protracted period of one generation after another. If we pay no attention to the young people and ot our youth work, there will be a lack of successors to carry on the communist cause. Therefore, our party is particularly concerned with the progress and growth of the young generation. [passage omitted]

The Communist Youth League of China was once called Youth Communist Party in history. Many of the veteran cadres in our party were CYL members. When they were young, they were advanced elements who had both ability and political integrity. They became leading cadres of the Communist Youth League and shouldered the task in leading the CYL. Later in the course of developing the great cause of communism, they were further educated and tempered. Following the development of the revolutionary cause, these advanced elements were naturally recommended to assume leading posts in the party and the government.

The CYL work is of great importance in developing the cause of the party. The party organizations and leading cadres at various levels must pay full attention to work concerning youth and strengthen their leadership over the CYL. In the meantime, the CYL cadres should exert even greater efforts in carrying out their work well at their own posts. The CPC members must also show great concern for and support CYL work.

CSO: 4005/219

SEVENTIETH IN SERIES OF PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW120916 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 2 Dec 82

(Seventieth and last in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "What Should Attention Be Paid To in Strengthening the Party's Leavership Over the CYL?"--by the general section of the Research Office under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] Training and educating the young people is a job for the whole party. The new party constitution stipulates that party committees at all levels must strengthen their leadership over the CYL organizations. To strengthen the party's leadership over the CYL, attention should be paid to the following questions:

1. The party must actively support the CYL in the lively and creative performance of its work to suit the characteristics and needs of young people. The CYL works under the party's leadership. But this certainly does not mean that party organizations can take on what ought to be done by CYL organizations. Young people have their own characteristics, and youth work has its own special nature. [passage omitted] We cannot deal with young people the same way we deal with adults or old people. Nor can we make the same demands on young people as on adults or old people. [passage omitted]

2. The party should pay serious attention to the selection and training of CYL cadres. This is an important guarantee for the CYL to do its work well. [passage omitted]

To enable CYL cadres to understand the overall situation, do their work better and grow up faster, party committees at or below the county level and in enterprises and institutions must, as stipulated by the new party constitution, allow secretaries of CYL committees who are party members to attend meetings of party committees at the coresponding levels and their standing committees as non-voting participants. [passage omitted]

3. The party should give concrete help to CYL organizations in vigorously strengthening ideological education among the young people. It is most important to conduct education in communist ideology among the young people in light of their actual thinking.

It is necessary to make a concrete analysis of the present generation of young people and appraise them properly. These young people spent their early learning period in the 10 years of turmoil. They have suffered deep mental wounds, but they have great ideals, dare to explore and are courageous in blazing new trails. They are progressive. Some comrades see only that the young people have been poisoned by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qin counterrevolutionary cliques and fail to see that they are active, progressive and advancing continuously, which is their dominant trait. This is wrong. [passage omitted]

Under the attention and leadership of party organizations at various levels, the CYL members assuredly will strive to enhance their communist consciousness and bring into play their exemplary role as the progressive young people so that the CYL will become the party's effective aide and reliable reserve force and a shock force in carrying out the fighting tasks set by the 12th Party Congress and will attract, unite and lead the young people to form a vigorous and mighty force for the socialist modernization drive.

We can say proudly that the young people belong to our party, and that they are full or promise.

CSO: 4005/219

'RENMIN RIBAO': NPC DEPUTIES DISCUSS NATIONAL ANTHEM

HK071353 Beijin RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Dec 82 p 4

[Newsletter by RENMIN RIBAO reporter Wang Yongan: "The Bugle Call for Revolutionary Struggle"]

[Text] At 5:55 p.m. on 4 December, the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC approved a resolution to restore the original words of the National Anthem, the "March of the Volunteers."

This famous song, which is familiar to the whole world, was composed by Nie Er and its words were written by Tian Han. The song voices the passionate feelings of our Chinese nation in struggling for the independence of the motherland and striving to make our country prosperous and powerful. It reflects the splendid images of the Chinese people who are industrious, brave and wise. It is the most powerful music of our time, composed with the blood and lives of our compatriots of all nationalities. It is a fighting call which mobilizes millions and millions of people to plunge into the great revolution. Today, whereever we are--whether we are in the most remote area of the country or at the farthest corner of the earth, once we sing or hear this majestic song, we will immediately think of our great motherland and our great people and will feel so proud to be a member of the Chinese nationality!

The National Anthem is a symbol of the nation. Lu Ji, chairman of the National Association of Musicians, said: "The decision on a national athem depends on whether it has played a role in history and whether it has a broad base among the masses." He said: "'The March of the Volunteers' was originally the theme song of the film 'Sons and Daughters of the Times' and was created by Tian Han and Nie Er in 1935. It played an important inspiring role in the anti-Japanese war and in the Liberation War. When the CPPCC solicited a national anthem in 1949, this song was one of those considered. At that time, some people said that the song's lyrics were somewhat outdated because new China had stood up but the words said the situation had come to a most dangerous juncture. Premier Zhou then summoned all of us to a meeting and pointed out this song had played a great role in history. Though new China had been founded, wars were likely to occur in the future. We should be prepared for danger in times of peace. On 27 September of that year, the CPPCC approved this song as the acting national anthem." Ren Jiyu, a philosopher,

said: "Over many years, this song has struck deep roots in the hearts of the people. Now we officially designate it as the national anthem. This is undoubtedly a great inspiration to the Chinese people who are creating a new situation in socialist construction." Lu Shuxiang, a linguist, said: "The words of the National Anthem function as a bugle call which arouses the people to carry out the revolutionary struggle. Though we have won victory now, we should never forget the past. When loudly singing this song, we must cherish the fruits of the revolution, boost our spirits and advance toward the new goal."

Designating the "March of the Volunteers" words by Tian Han and music by Nie Er, as the National Anthem represents another victory of our party in its work of setting things to rights since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. At the meetings of the NPC, many deputies expressed people's opinions and repeatedly demanded that the original words of the "March of the Volunteers" be restored. When the first session of the Fifth NPC decided to replace the original words with revised words in February 1978, Guan Shanfu, a deputy from Beijing, pointed out that the new words were not as good as the old, and it would be better not to hastily change the anthem lyrics and leave the problem to be discussed at the next session. At the Second Session of the Fifth NPC, Chen Dengke, an Anhui deputy (vice chairman of the Anhui Provincial Federation of Literature and Art Circles), submitted a formal motion to the congress, suggesting restoring the original words of the anthem. At the Third Session of the Fifth NPC, the voice demanding the restoration of the original words became stronger. Eleven Beijing deputies--Qian Zhongtai, Guan Shanfu, Feng Zhi, Xu Mingyue, Xia Ding, Zhao Ximin, Wang Huide, Wang Ruoshui, Hou Baolin, Wang Yanchang and Jiang Muyue--jointly submitted a motion calling for restoring the original words. They held that the 1978 revised lyrics of the National Anthem were put forward before the task of setting things to rights was accomplished and that the two reasons for the revision were untenable (the two reasons were: the writer of the original words had political problems and the content of the words did not conform to the development of the situation). They said that practice had showed the masses did not like the revised lyrics. After that, in the course of revising the constitution, many members of the commission for revising the constitution and people in all walks of life also raised similar suggestions. The presidium of the current session of the NPC earnestly took into account the opinions of people in all fields and put forth a motion to restore the original lyrics, annulling the decision on the National Athem approved by the First Session of the Fifth NPC. Therefore, when Xi Zhongxun, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, announced the resolution on the National Anthem adopted by the current session of the NPC, all those present broke out into thunderous cheers and enthusiastic applause. This reflected the aspirations of the people and also indicated that our highest organ of state power did practice democracy on a full scale and did seriously implement the principle of democratic centralism.

Guan Shanfu, 67, said: "The 'March of the Volunteers' embodies the spirit of the Chinese nation and has a broad mass base and strong vitality. Now it has been formally designated as the National Anthem. This decision conforms with people's desire and will enjoy the popular support of the whole nation."

By singing the National Anthem, people can be brought back to the battlefields, where gunfire licked the heavens, and can realize the heroic struggle that the CPC led the people to carry out. Deputies enthusiastically said that they would use the National Anthem as teaching material and conduct patriotic education among all the people.

Comrade Chen Dengke, 63, said: "We sang the 'March of the Volunteers' when we were fighting as guerrillas. So we cherish a special feeling for this song. We feel because of our experience in the struggle we can say that this song has played a role in the revolution. The younger generation at present should, as the words say, 'to build a new great wall with our blood and flesh,' contribute their all to the motherland." Yang Jingren, minister of the state nationalities affairs commission, told the reporter: "It is of great significance to restore the 'March of the Volunteers' as the National Anthem. This song reflects the revolutionary traditions of the Chinese people and embodies the idea of being prepared for danger in times of peace. It adds a new dimension to our work of building socialist material and spiritual civilization, strengthening unity of all nationalities and achieving the great aim of reunifying the motherland. It is hoped that the people of all nationalities will, as the words say, 'we will advance by braving the enemy's gunfire with one heart and one mind,' be courageous in surmounting all difficulties lying in the course of advance and achieve greater successes in all fields of our work."

CSO: 4005/219

PARTY AND STATE

'HEBEI RIBAO' ON CADRE EXPELLED FOR INJUSTICES

HK290831 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 18 Nov 82 pp 1, 3

[Report by Ji Yan [4764 09142: "Zhang Shouyi, Who Rose to Power Through Rebelling and Perpetrated Miscarriages of Justice, Is Expelled From the Party"]

[Text] Recently, the provincial CPC committee for discipline inspection has circulated a notice on the case in which Zhao Tiecheng and other people of the Hydraulic Press Factory of the Tangshan Municipal Civil Administration Department were framed by Zhang Shouyi, a former member of the leading party group and the former head of the political work team of that department who rose to power through rebelling.

The notice says that the so-called "sabotage case plotted by the small counter-revolutionary clique of five people" including Zhao Tiecheng, a former worker in the Hydraulic Press Factory, is in the main an unjust case perpetrated chiefly by factionalists. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," they exploited the powers of office they usurped to shield another smash-and-grabber. The process of formation, reversal and handling in this unjust case has enabled us to see clearly that if we do not conscientiously ferret out the "three kinds of people" and do not resolutely clear them out of the leading groups at all levels, we will have trouble for years to come. This is a major issue, vital to the cause, prospect and fate of the party and one we must regard with close attention and vigilance.

In this report to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "As for persons who rose to prominence by 'rebellion,' who are seriously factionalist in their ideas, who have indulged in beating, smashing and looting, who oppose the line followed by the party's central committee since its third plenary session, or who have seriously violated the law and discipline, we must remove with a firm ahnd those of them who still occupy leading posts. Persons who have violated criminal law must be investigated and dealt with according to law. Such people, of course, must never be put up as candidates for promotion to leading posts." The committees for discipline inspection at all levels must deeply understand the spirit of Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech, conscientiously take part in the work of seeking out these "five kinds of people" and strengthen their checking and supervision over this work. They must severely punish those offenders who have done evil and committed crimes and must never be lenient with them.

The notice circulates excerpts of the report on the investigation and handling of the unjust case involving Zhao Tiecheng and others of the Hydraulic Press Factory, a report made by the discipline inspection team of the party group of leading cadres of the Tangshan Municipal Civil Administration Department. This report says that the so-called "sabotage case plotted by the small counter-revolutionary clique of five people" including Zhao Tiecheng, a former worker in the Hydraulic Press Factory of the Civil Administration Department, is a case of a frameup. All those who have been persecuted in this case were rehabilitated in October 1979. However, despite repeated calls for a thorough investigation of the cause and responsibility for this frameup case by the relevant departments and especially by a few leading comrades of the municipal CPC committee, the former party leading group of that department persisted in delaying the investigation. It was later with the help of the CPC municipal committee for discipline inspection that the causes of this frameup where investigated and those responsible punished. This case was started when Zhou Liang, former deputy secretary of the party branch of the Hydraulic Press Factory, who had risen to power through rebellion, took revenge against Zhao Tiecheng and other cadres and workers who dared to oppose Zhou's illegal activities. It was placed on file for investigation by Zhang Shouyi, a former member of the party leading group and the former head of the political work team of the civil administration department, when he came to the factory as the head of a work team. The team stayed from April 1976 to September 1978, as long as 2 years and 5 months.

Zhou Liang was formerly a worker in the Hydraulic Press Factory. During the "cultural revolution," he took an active part in the rebellion and used a specially-made steel whip to beat up 10 cadres, staff members and workers of the factory including Wang Changshan, director of the factory. In 1975, Zhou was promoted to deputy secretary of the factory party branch and was in charge of all work in the factory. He used his power of office to gain private interests at the expense of those of the state. Zhao Tiencheng, a former member of the revolutionary committee and the former responsible person of the production office of the factory, and other people, continue to oppose Zhou's erroneous activities and time and again reported Zhou's mistakes to the leading group of the department. Zhou was therefore criticized by the upper levels. He harbored resentment and watched for a chance to retaliate against Zhao Tiecheng and others. He used the opportunity of reporting on work to the dpeartment to willfully frame up Zhao Tiecheng, saying that "because of his dissatisfaction with the result of the evaluation of the advanced, Zhao had reduced the production targets and thus caused a decline in the output of the hardware workshop."

Zhang Shouyi was formerly a contract worker in the cemetery of revolutionary martyrs. During the "cultural revolution," he rose to power by rebellion and became the head of a mass organization. He took an active part in fabricating the major unjust case of "the old party organizations in Eastern Hebei" and framed 205 martyrs in the cemetery, saying that they had "unclear personal histories," or were "suspect because of some unexplainable deeds," "traitors," "spies," "Trotskyites" or "KMT members." He investigated every one of them. In February 1976, he was sent to the Hydraulic Press Factor as the head of a work team. Before he was sent there, the department's leading party group

asked him to make a thorough investigation of the problem of Zhou Liang, but he tried every possible means to shield Zhou and willfully retaliated and framed up the cadres, staff members and workers who had the courage to uphold justice. Even before he arrived at the factory, he transferred Zhao Tiecheng and Liu Jie (deputy chairman of the factory's revolutionary committee, who had opposed Zhou Liang's mistakes) out of the factory. Soon after he got there, he dismissed Kong Shuangchun form his post running the hardware workshop. This confused the workers in that workshop and caused a decline in output. At the same time, he took the opportunity to fabricate a case against the "small sabotage clique," Zhao Tiecheng and others. Some members of the department party leading group time and again said that Zhou Liang was "not a good cadre candidate" and should not be "assigned to leading post" and proposed to dismiss him from the leading post immediately. However, Zhang Shouyi said that this was a "problem of how we were to treat new born things" and a "problem of line." As a result, Zhou's case was not properly dealt with for a long time.

Zhang Shouyi and others adopted many vicious tricks in order to achieve the aim of shielding Zhou Liang and to take revenge on others. After the production of the hardware workshop dropped, he told Zhang Guangrui, deputy director of the factory, to interview Yu Huichuan, a worker who had done 2 years of labor reform. He told Zhang to tell Yu that "a small sabotage clique has been found in the hardware workshop where you have worked. The chief members of the clique are Kong Shuangchun, Li Lianying, Zhao Tiecheng, Liu Jie and others." Zhang told Yu, "Tell me whatever you know." He said to Yu in a threatening tone, "Nothing good will come to you if you refuse to talk." As a result, Yu Huichuan wrote several copies of so-called "materials of exposure." Then, zhang Shouyi and Zhang Guangrui used these materials as an important "testimony of crimes" in the case of "the small counterrevolutionary sabotage clique of Zhao Tiecheng and the other four."

At the same time, Zhang Shouyi and Shi Huanran (former deputy head of the political work team of the department) combined threats with inducements to force young workers Niu Guiying and Zhao Baojun to confess that they had committed "sabotage" and to tell them who were their "behind-the-scenes backers." When Niu Guiying worked nightshift, they did not allow her to go home and rest and continued to examin her for about a week. One afternoon, Niu fainted when she reached home. Zhang Shouyi sent members of the work team to follow Niu to her home and asked Niu's parents to do "ideological work." By the beating and scolding of her parents and the threats of Zhang Shouyi and others, Niu was forced to admit the offense of "sabotage," and "confess" that the so-called "behind-the-scenes backer" in the sabotage was Kong Shuangchun. Accordingly, Zhang Shouyi and others convicted Kong Shuangchun of "leading a sabotage operation," and placed Kong in isolation and told him to make self-examination. After the smashing of the "gang of four," they convicted Kong of "sabotage," and applied to the public security department for permission to "arrest and legally punish" Kong. Later, they withdrew the application and labelled Kong a "bad element" and punished Kong, who had to "be labelled and stay on in the factory to reform under the supervision of the masses."

In June 1977, Zhang Shouyi and others used the so-called "confession" of Kong Shuangchun to place in isolation Li Lianying, a young female worker, and told her to "make a self-examination," prolonged custody and intimidation forced Li into claiming that the so-called behind-the-scenes schemer of the "small sabotage clique" was Zhao Tiecheng. Zhang Guangrui personally fabricated a 3,000 character "self-examination" and told Li to copy and learn it by heart in order to make a "self-criticism" at a big meeting. During the 118 days when Li was in custody, they did not allow her relatives to visit her or allow her to wear a belt. The prolonged persecution forced Li into attempting suicide but she failed to achieve it. This has seriously harmed her physical and mental health. In September 1977, Zhang Shouyi and Zhang Guangrui fabricated a case of "active sabotage" against Comrade Zhao Tiecheng, who had already been transferred out of the factory, and applied to the public security department for permission to "place Zhao in isolation and privately force him to make a self-examination." Before getting the permission they upgraded the Zhao offenses to "active counterrevolutionary sabotage" and submitted a report to the public security department for his "legal detention." After getting the permission from the public security department to "place Zhao in isolation and force him to make self-examination," Zhang Guangrui sent militiamen with loaded guns to keep Zhao in custody for 1 year and 17 days; Zhao was thus forced to attempt suicide, but failed.

After he was released by the department's leading party group in February 1978, Zhao Tiecheng continuously accused Zhang Shouyi and Zhang Guangrui of their illegal and undisciplined activities at relevant departments. Zhang Shouyi considered this an act of withdrawing the confession and a very "dishonest attitude" and once more illegally took Comrade Zhao Tiecheng into custody for more than 8 months. Comrade Liu Jie also continuously exposed and accused Zhang Shouyi's and others' illegal activities. Zhang Shouyi and Zhang Guangrui, shamed into anger, again framed up Comrade Liu Jie, saying that Liu was "morally corrupt," "of an evil nature" and "politically corrupt to the utmost degree" and "had incited a few people to commit sabotage." They applied to the public security department for permission to place Liu in isolation and force him to make a self-examination on these charges, thus seriously insulting Liu's personal dignity.

The party group of leading cadres of the civil administration department was of the opinion that this case was of a highly vicious nature and had brought about very serious results. It approved the following ideas of the departmetn committee for discipline inspection on handling the people involved in the case:

That Zhang Shouyi be expelled from the party, sent down to work as a worker and be deprived of the one grade promotion that he got in 1977 when he was fabricating the frame-up case;

That Zhang Guangrui be expelled from the party, dismissed from the post of deputy factory director and deprived of the one grade promotion that he got in 1977 when he was fabricating the frame-up case;

That Zhou Liang be expelled from the party and given the disciplinary sanction of 1 year of probation.

Those of the former department party leading group, especially Jiang Yichao, the group head, and Comrade Bai Deshan, the deputy group head, are held seriously responsible as leaders for this frame-up. They were wrong to blindly believe Zhang Shouyi's and others' reports, turn a deaf ear to the exposure of Zhang Shouyi and others' illegal and undisciplined activities and write an unfaithful "investigation" report to the municipal party committee. When the municipal public security department demanded the civil administration department to release those in custody and finish this case as soon as possible, the department party leading group erroneously decided to report the case to the public security department and applied (in vain) for "legal detention" of Li Liangying, who had already been released from "isolation and forced self-examination." For this Jiang Yichao and Bai Deshan had respectively written self-criticisms.

Those who have actively taken part in fabricating this frame-up case, including Shi Huanran, the former deputy head of the department political work team, Wang Lianrong, a cadre of the department's security section and Yang Shudi, the former party branch secretary of the Hydraulic Press Factory have been respectively handled by the party committee of the department organs according to their part in the case and their attitude in admitting their offenses.

The party group agrees to hand over this case to the procuratorate to be placed on file and investigated.

CSO: 4005/219

PARTY AND STATE

ACTING MAYOR HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE

SK261338 Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Nov 82 p 1

[Text] Yesterday afternoon, Acting Mayor Li Ruihuan held a press conference to analyze the excellent situation on the various fronts of our municipality to introduce the major work that the municipal government will attend to this coming winter and spring and to explain the relationship between various kinds of work which should be properly handled in order to create a new situation and develop the excellent situation.

Attending yesterday's press conference were more than 20 journalists of RENMIN RIBAO, Tianjin Branch of the Xinhua News Agency, the Central People's Broadcasting Station, GUANGMING RIBAO, GONGREN RIBAO, ZHONGGUO CAIMAO BAO, WENHUI BAO, TIANJIN RIBAO, the Tianjin People's Broadcast Station, the Tianjin Television Station, TIANJIN KEJI BAO [TIANJIN SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL JOURNAL] and YINLUAN RUJIN BAO [DIVERT-LUAN HE-RIVER-TO-TIANJIN JOURNAL].

At yesterday's press conference, when dealing with questions of how to implement the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress, develop the excellent situation and create a new situation, Li Ruihuan called for attention to properly handling the relationship in the following six aspects.

1. The relationship between construction of material civilization and construction of spiritual civilization. Efforts should be made to sum up and draw lessons from past experiences and truly and organically combine political work with economic work.

2. The relationship between production and livelihood. When the masses are marching toward the grand objective in line with the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress, we must not neglect their livelihood.

3. The relationship between construction and management. While attending to urban construction, we should, at present, particularly pay attention to upgrading urban management work.

4. The relationship between urban areas and rural areas. The development of agriculture of suburban Tianjin should correspond to the development of urban areas and efforts should be made to turn suburban areas into suppliers for urban areas.

5. The relationship between production and consumption. Following the development of production and the improvement of the people's living standards, we should draw a clear line of demarcation between improving and upgrading consumption and the bourgeois way of living.

6. The relationship between leaders and the masses. The masses are real heroes. There is no doubt that wisdom comes from the masses. At present, we should, however, emphasize that leading cadres should enhance their spirit and be bold in and good at arousing the masses' enthusiasm.

Li Ruihuan also answered journalists' questions at the press conference.

CSO: 4005/219

PARTY AND STATE

'HEBEI RIBAO' ON PROVINCIAL STRUCTURAL REFORM

HK290507 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 20 Nov 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Carry Out Administrative Restructuring With a Revolutionary Spirit"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan laid down by the party central authorities, the provincial party committee and the provincial government have decided to now embark on the restructuring of the provincial party and administrative organs. This is an important matter which has a bearing on the overall situation of socialist modernization in our province, party and government leadership in all departments and units must follow the unified arrangement of the provincial party committee and the provincial government, effectively strengthen their leadership, carry out thorough and painstaking ideological and political and organizational work and do a good job in administrative restructuring with a revolutionary spirit.

Organizational reform is an objective demand of socialist modernization. The 12th Party Congress has decided on our party's fighting program, strategic objectives and steps in the new historical period and put forward the great task of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. This requires us to adopt our leadership institutions, organizational set ups and style of work to this task and to ensure that the ranks of the cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent. However, due to various reasons, for many years in Oru Provinde there have existed all kinds of maladies, such as excessive numbers of departments, overmeticulous division of work, overstaffed organizations, proliferation of deputy and nominal posts and failure to separate party work from government work and to separate government work from enterprise work. As a result, work efficiency has become very poor. Departments tend to shirk responsibility, arguing back and forth with each other and the bureaucratic work style has become more and more serious. With the aging of the cadre ranks as well, all this constitutes a grave obstacle to socialist modernization. If we do not thoroughly change this state of affairs, our goal of realizing modernization will collapse like a pricked bubble. Therefore, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has profoundly pointed out that in a certain sense, the current organizational reform is a revolution.

Since the organizational reform is a revolution, there will certainly exist difficulties and obstacles and we will have to treat it with revolutionary courage, insight and spirit. Since the founding of the PRC, we have carried out several movements to streamline the administrative structure and fight against bureaucratism. However, after each of those movements, the administrative structure rapidly swelled again and resulted in more serious overstaffing and bureaucracy. An important reason for this was the lack of thorough revolutionary spirit and the failure to carry out a fundamental reform of the system. Our task in this organizational reform is more arduous than that in previous movements of streamlining the administrative structure. On the one hand, the degree of overstaffing and swelling in our province's administrative organs is now much more serious than ever before while on the other hand, the general mood in the party and party members' sense of discipline and organization have become worse than before. The current structural reform will involve the problems of maintaining, disbanding and merging some departments and units, and appointing, removing and transferring some leading cadres. This calls for a great deal of ideological and organizational work. At the same time, it will never be easy to change the customs of administrative patterns and work methods which have been formed for so many years and which are now so deeply rooted among us. Therefore, to carry out structural reform, we must have thorough revolutionary spirit. No matter what difficulties we may meet with, we must never hesitate, never vacillate and never give up halfway.

Doing a good job of profound and meticulous ideological and political work is an important link in successfully carrying out the structural reform. Leadership at all levels must persistently put ideology to the force and thoroughly publicize the spirit of the 12th Party congress so as to unify people's thinking on the basis of the party's decision and policy. We must consciously take the overall interests into consideration and observe party discipline. It is necessary, in accordance with the party's relevant policy, to properly arrange the lives and work of elderly cadres who retire, take convalescence leave or retreat to the second front, so that they can lead a happy life in their remaining years and can have the opportunity and conditions to do what they can for the people.

The structural reform will be a serious test for all of us. Leaders in all departments and units must proceed from the overall interests and requirements of socialist modernization. They must not treat the structural set ups from the interests of small groups. When selecting and appointing cadres, we must adhere to the party's principle of appointing people on their merits and must rely fully on the masses so as to promote young and middle-aged outstanding cadres to leading groups at all levels. It is not allowed to appoint people by favoritism, nor can the "five categories of people" be kept in leading groups. All party members and cadres must start this structural reform in the party's spirit. When approaching their work assignments, they must put overall interests before their personal interests. At the same time, they must stick to their posts until the last moment and guarantee both reform and daily work being carried out smoothly. We must seriously deal with those people who take advantage of this reform to stir up trouble, damage or secretly divide up state property.

Old cadres will bear more important responsibility in the structural reform. Our old cadres are the valuable wealth of the revolution. Whether in the war-ridden years or in the period of socialist construction, they have rendered immortal service for the people. Due to natural law, these old comrades have now become senile and physically weak. Their ability has fallen short of their wishes in shouldering the arduous leading work. Many of these elderly cadres have made requests to withdraw from the first front so that more young and middle-aged cadres can grow up to take over the work. This shows a proletarian breadth of vision in these old cadres. The vast number of old cadres should gladly obey the decisions of the organizations to take convalescence leave or retire or retreat to the second front. They should also actively help the building of new leading groups as collective "Bo Le" [warning states figure who could judge a horse's speed by looking at its head] and promote a large number of young and middle-aged cadres into leading groups, making a historical contribution to carrying forward our party's cause.

The party central committee has laid down the correct policy and principle for structural reform. The party central organs and the state council have set an example for us and provided us with experience. Coupled with the eager desire of the vast number of cadres and the masses, the conditions for structural reform are mature. Although we may encounter difficulties and obstacles, as long as the leadership has a resolute determination and is good at unifying people's thinking with the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, we can expect to achieve complete success in this structural reform and the new party and governmental organs after the reform will certainly be able to shoulder the heavy historical missiong of leading the people of the whole province to create a new situation in socialist modernization. The socialist cause in our province is bound to forge ahead and bring about changes day after day.

CSO: 4005/219

'HEBEI RIBAO' ON RURAL 'LEFTIST' INFLUENCE

HK070600 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 24 Nov 82 p 2

[Commentator's article: "Eliminate 'Leftist' Influence, Ease the Peasants' Fear of Change"]

[Text] In the course of practicing the responsibility system by linking remuneration with output, some peasants have misgivings about the change in rural policies. They therefore hesitate to make investment in the fields which they have taken responsibility for. Some of them even run such fields by plundering them, thinking that they must now get as much as they can, so that they will not come to grief even if policies change. For example, some peasants do not spread manure, but use the land to its utmost limits; or else they engage in destructive feeling in the fields in which they are responsible for most of the farm work. Therefore, if the fear of change of policies existing in a section of the peasants can be eased, this will have great significance in stabilizing and perfecting the rural responsibility system and developing farm production in an overall way.

Why do some of the peasants have misgivings about changes in policies? Some people said: "Such misgivings among peasants derive from some cadres' fear of right-deviation." This remark gets to the heart of the problem. Unable to free themselves from the long-standing influence of "leftist" mistakes, some leading cadres reckon that the responsibility system by linking remuneration with output, in particular the system of assigning peasant households full responsibility for completion of tasks, will change sooner or later as they are not of a socialist nature. As a result of such thinking, they usually take a passive attitude toward exercising the responsibility system. Some of them are forced to carry out the system under the supervision of the higher authorities or the impetus of the masses; but they will change their mind at the mere rustle of grass in the wind. Some of them even breach contracts concluded with peasants and deny the system of assigning peasant households full responsibility for full completion of tasks. The aforesaid words and deeds of cadres give rise to the fear of change of policies among peasants. It is thus clear that in order to ease the peasants' fear of change, cadres at all levels must first of all eliminate the influence of "leftist" ideology. This is the only remedy to the disease. Recently, leading comrades of some counties found that there had been fear of change among peasants, and immediately examined their attitude in exercising leadership and

made further efforts to eliminate "leftist" influence and emancipate their minds so that they enhanced their confidence in practicing the responsibility system. Then, they went down to the grass-roots units to set the peasants' mind at ease, teach them the way to become affluent and help cadres improve the responsibility system by linking remuneration with output. On seeing this, the peasants felt relieved and kept their minds on running the fields assigned to them and promoting diversified undertakings. On the other hand, if some cadres could not straighten out their thinking on the responsibility system by linking remuneration with output for the time being, they should conform with the central policies in their actions and are not allowed to talk twaddle on the central policies among the masses regardless of the consequences, confusing the peasants. Moreover, we do not tolerate any violation of the party's policies by forcibly negating the responsibility system.

Deriving negative things from the past abnormal situation in which policies frequently changed, some people doubt the stability of the current policies. However, we must be aware that the reason why policies often changed in the past was due to protracted disturbances of "leftist" ideology and the failure to distinguish between right and wrong. This made it impossible for correct policies to be implemented smoothly and consistently, after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party launched into discussion on practice being the sole criterion of truth. It also summed up historical experiences and lessons in the light of the spirit of seeking truth from facts, and further cleared away the influence of "leftist" ideology, thus leaving a solid foundation in the ideological field for the later implementation of various rural economic policies formulated after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. At the same time, our party also adopted a series of measures in various localities in order to gradually shift the leadership in the party and state organizations at all levels into the hands of cadres loyal to the party and people, thus ensuring the stability of the party's policies in organizations. It can thus be said that the conditions for maintaining the stability of the party's policies at present are more favorable than anytime in the past. We must therefore set our minds at rest, and implement the party's policies wholeheartedly.

The peasants are afraid that the policies will return to the previous practice of "doing things in a massive and unplanned way," but they welcome reforms which conform to the historical trend of the times. For example, authorities in some areas once enforced other forms of responsibility systems among the peasants, but imposed restrictions on carrying out the system of assigning peasant households full responsibility for completion of tasks in a comprehensive way. Now, such a restriction has been lifted and the comprehensive responsibility system has been introduced; peasants are very much pleased to see such a change. In some other areas, the responsibility system was once not quite perfect because of lack of experience. But when measures were taken to adjust and perfect the system, such efforts usually won the applause of the peasants. Of course, such adjustments should be made by leaders according to the common aspirations of the masses after they have been successfully practiced. Leaders should not force the masses to accept certain adjustments for the responsibility system at their own will. Even when the masses establish, of their own free will, a new cohesive economic

group in the future, transofrmation should only be made in the direction favorable to production development. The formation of a cohesive economic group should by no means become an amalgamation "bigger in size and of a more developed socialist nature," nor should it be a return to the old track of "doikng things in a massive and unplanned way."

To conclude, leaders at all levels, while clearing away the influence of the "leftist" mistakes, must earnestly propagate the 12th Party Congress spirit and explain the stability of the party's policies so as to ease the fear of change among the braod masses of peasants. Only in this way will peasants set their hearts at rest and give full play to their wisdom in the big development of the rural economy.

CSO: 4005/219

LEGALIST PRAISES CONSTITUTION IN INTERVIEW

OW091348 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 5 Dec 82

[Text] In an interview with a reporter of this station, Zhang Youyu, a noted legalist and vice chairman of the Commission of Legislative Affairs of the National People's Congress, commented on the guiding ideology and principal features of the new constitution.

He said: This is the fourth constitution since the founding of the People's Republic of China. It is the best one because it takes the four cardinal principles as its guiding ideology and proceeds from China's realities, and it can solve whatever problems we need to solve in the new historical period. It has three distinguishing features--being socialist, containing Chinese characteristics and meeting the needs of the present period. The four cardinal principles suit our realities to the maximum extent, reflect the law of historical development and show the Chinese people's practical experience in revolutionary struggles. In order to build a socialist country, we must have a proletarian leadership. Therefore, Article 1 of the Constitution describes our country as "under the People's democratic leadership led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." The leadership of the working class must be exercised through its vanguard, the communist party. A country must have political parties in order to exercise leadership by a certain class. A political party cannot do without a guiding ideology. Our communist party must take Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought as its guiding ideology. Therefore, we say that the four cardinal principles suit China's present realities to the maximum extent. In its preamble, the Constitution affirms the four cardinal principles and all its articles are permeated with the spirit of the four cardinal principles.

Comrade Zhang Youyu said: The socialist economic system is based on the system of public ownership, but it must suit China's present situation. Therefore, under the condition that the socialist system of public ownership has been consolidated, we permit the existence of the individual economy of urban and rural working people and regard it as a necessary supplement to the socialist system of public ownership. The Constitution contains an even more detailed stipulation on the collective economy, particularly the rural cooperative economy, and pledges to consolidate and develop it. The Constitution also permits the existence of the individual economy and pledges to guide and help its development. Our distinguishing feature is that each of our three types of economy has its superiority.

Comrade Zhang Youyu said: We practice the political system of the People's Congresses, which is different from the parliamentary system of capitalist countries. In fact, the capitalist parliament is controlled by the bourgeoisie, while our People's Congress represents all the people. Besides, what the capitalist countries practice is a system of three independent powers and the parliament has the only legislative power. Our People's Congress is the organ of supreme power, different from the parliaments of capitalist countries and other socialist countries.

Comrade Zhang Youyu said: On the people's rights and duties, the new Constitution restores the article on all citizens being equal before the law, originally contained in the 1954 Constitution. In light of the actual situation, the new Constitution adds necessary assurances for this right. For instance, it explicitly stipulates that the freedom of person is inviolable. Since the freedom of person was wantonly violated during the 10 years of turmoil, the new Constitution prohibits anyone from unlawfully arresting or detaining any other person. It specifically adds an article on the personal dignity of citizens being inviolable. All these are new contents of the Constitution. In short, our new Constitution takes the four cardinal principles as guidance and proceeds from reality. The Constitution of the new period of socialist China is the best constitution.

CSO: 4005/219

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' QUOTES LENIN ON STATE AFFAIRS

HK090302 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Dec 82 p 5

[Article by Zhang Wenhuan [1728 2429 3562]: "We Must Have Culture in Managing State Affairs--Study Notes on Lenin's Works"]

[Text] Not long after the victory of the October revolution, Lenin announced that the task of the Bolsheviks seizing Russia from the hands of the exploiters had been fulfilled and that the manor task in future was to master the way to administrate Russia. In order to run it well, it was necessary to have culture. However, most of the new administrators of the state, sailors, fighters and workers who participated in the revolution to seize Russia, were without culture. There was a question which worried Lenin most. Lenin once said: In Russia, we can have whatever we want. We have both state power and various economic and other resources. However, "all that is needed here is ability," that is, "what is lacking is culture among the stratum of the communists who perform administrative functions." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, pp 676, 636). Therefore, in the early years of the Soviet state, Lenin regarded general education, science and technology as matters of great importance and grasped firmly work in these fields.

In his political report to the 11th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, Lenin gave an example to show the importance of raising the cultural level in administrating state affairs: In the third year after the victory of the Russian revolution, the country lacked food and Moscow was starving. At that time, the French people were willing to sell some canned food to Soviet Russia. The Russian Communist Party Central Committee had already approved this business transaction and French representatives had arrived in Moscow. However, none of the functionaries in Moscow was capable of handling the business. The Commissariat of Foreign Trade argued back and forth with the consumers' cooperative society and they were not able to conclude the transaction. In the end, it was a politburo member who solved this concrete problem. In his criticism, Lenin said: In the capital of the Soviet Republic and 3 years after the victory of the revolution, the instructions of the politburo and intervention of a politburo member are needed to buy canned food. "What was lacking? Political power? No. The money was forthcoming, so they had economic as well as political power. All the necessary institutions were available. What was lacking, then? Culture. Ninety-nine out of every hundred officials of the Moscow consumers' cooperative society--against whom

"I have no complaint to make whatever, and whom I regard as excellent communists--and of the Commissariat of Foreign Trade, lacked culture. They were unable to approach the matter in a cultured manner." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 643)

When Lenin learned about this, he was initially very angry. However, no one could be punished because no one was able to handle the matter and so no one was to blame. Lenin sighed with emotion: "Culture is needed even in handling the simplest state affairs." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 644) Criticizing the communists in Moscow, Lenin said: They can discourse impressively on revolutionary struggle and the state of the world's revolutionary struggle. However, in order to shake off extreme poverty, careful consideration and culture are indispensable. We must speak and act in an appropriate manner. Yet they are strangers to all this. Lenin called on communists in responsible posts to learn from the very beginning and said: If they do not understand this point and they are not ready to retrain in the preparatory class, they will never be able to fulfill the economic tasks which are the basis of all policies at present.

However, in order to master general knowledge, science, technology, skills in management and doing business, they had to learn from the intellectuals, spcialists and businessmen. This was very difficult for many revolutionaries who had participated in storming the Winter Palace to understand. They were extremely loyal to the revolutionary cause and feared neither death nor imprisonment. In order to win victory in the revolution, they never hesitated to brave untold dangers. Now that victory was won, they were asked to learn from the intellectuals and businessmen whom they had always despised. At first, they were unconvinced.

Lenin taught these communists to have a correct attitude toward different revolutionary tasks in different periods. For several decades before the victory of the revolution, communists had always taught others in their propaganda not to trust the bourgeois specialists, to seize power from their hands and to suppress their resistance. Lenin said: "But it needs only a slight exaggeration to prove the old adage that there is only one step from the sublime to the ridiculous. Now that we have convinced Russia, now that we have wrested Russia from the exploiters and given her to the working people, now that we have crushed the exploiters, we must learn to run the country. This calls for modesty and respect for the efficient 'specialists in science and technology,' and a businesslike and careful analysis of our numerous practical mistakes,...." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, pp 476-477) Lenin said: "We find that we can obtain much more benefit from a 'specialist in science and technology,' even a bourgeois one, than from a conceited communist who is prepared, at a moment's notice, to write 'theses,' issue 'slogans' and produce meaningless abstractions." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 476).

In those days, some 'left' deviationists groundlessly opposed the Russian Communist Party's policies concerning the intellectuals. Lenin criticized them sharply: "it was not befitting for communists to indulge in such unsubstantiated criticism without citing a single fact, such bandying about of

"names even of experts, and lumping them all together as 'bourgeois elements,' without even trying to find out what kind of people they were. ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 31, pp 396-397) Some other people complained: We have studied Marxism and the history of revolutionary movements but nobody taught us how to manage work when we were in prison. Lenin replied: "There are many things which we did not learn in prison. The only solution is to learn them after the victory of the revolution." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 82)

Lenin said: The Bolsheviks are cable of doing mobilization and propaganda work and arduous revolutionary work, and educating the people to persist in arguous struggle under difficult conditions. It was precisely because of this that the Russian revolution was saved. However, this is not enough, [words indistinct], we cannot win victory. In order to win complete and thorough victory, we have to master everything in science and culture.

This is what Lenin said half a century ago in light of Russia's concrete situation in those days, yet it remains significant today. Communists in backward countries who have seized state power should draw a lesson from Lenin's criticism and make great effort to develop culture and science in their respective countries.

CSO: 4005/219

'XINHUA' EXAMINES CPPCC ROLE, PRC MODERNIZATION

OW120340 Beijing XINHUA in English 0309 GMT 12 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, 12 Dec (XINHUA)--China's world-renowned traditional medicine will hopefully shine with still greater splendor and benefit more people, thanks to proposals made by a number of scholars and specialists.

These medical experts, who are members of the national committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, found through exhaustive investigations that the trade of herbal medicines is gravely short of successors and the management of medicines pretty messy due to the damage it suffered during the "cultural revolution."

They suggested that the health department organize veteran workers to train young apprentices, raise their social status and improve the system of management in this trade. Their suggestion has been submitted to the health department for implementation.

Important as it is, this suggestion is just one of the over 2,000 useful proposals raised by CPPCC members over the last three years.

As an organization of the patriotic united front, the CPPCC has a large team of scientists, specialists, scholars and professors. Drawing on their professional knowledge and rich experience, they are constantly making criticisms and suggestions in relation to China's modernization program. So much so that Zhang Jingfu, state councillor and minister in charge of the state economic commission, has paid tribute to the CPPCC as a "think tank for the government."

Preliminary statistics since 1978 show that its speicalists in education have raised more than 1,000 suggestions concerning the system and structure of education, funding, training teachers for colleges and schools, and the well-being of teachers. All these suggestions have been accepted by the government. As a result, middle and primary school teachers received a pay raise in the last two years and the newly adopted Sixth Five-Year Plan envisages a 68 percent increase in educational funds.

Sun Qimeng, deputy secretary general of the CPPCC National Committee, said in an interview with XINHUA that the CPPCC has been able to play an advisory role

such as no ordinary organization is capable of because it can draw on both the first-hand information from its active members and the rich experience of its retired veterans.

Several members earlier this year made a fact-finding tour of ancient cities where scenic sites had been appropriated for construction of polluted by nearby factories and a number of historical relics had been damaged.

In a report to the state council, the investigators suggested the government should see to it that no damage be done to historical and scenic sites in future construction of factories and mines.

As a measure to protect such famous garden cities as Suzhou, they recommended the institution of specific rules controlling the size of population, scale of industrial development and maximum height for buildings. These suggestions have been accepted and incorporated in "The Law on the Protection of Cultural Relics."

When the government proposed building a deep-water harbor at Lianyungang on the Yellow Sea in Jiangsu Province, Professor Hou Guoben from the Qingdao Institute of Oceanology objected on the basis of the geographical, geological and hydrological data he had accumulated.

After ascertaining his argument, the government accepted his suggestion and moved the site to Shijiusuo in Shandong Province. Now a modern harbor and railway terminal are being build at the new site as part of the effort to improve transport facilities in northern China.

Consulting services offered by CPPCC members have contributed considerably to industrial and agricultural development, scientific research, and improvement of people's well-being in recent years.

Hu Juewen, vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee, who has 60 years' experience in running machine works, found on an inspection tour that the equipment in many factories was in disrepair.

In a letter to Vice Premiers Wan Li and Yao Yilin, the 88-year-old former industrialist recommended that a system of machinery maintenance and management be instituted and on-site training provided for workers.

His proposal is now being carried out throughout the country, and he has been elected honorary president of the newly established China Association for the Management of Machinery Equipment.

Commenting on the part played by CPPCC members in national reconstruction, Liu Jingji, a former textile industrialist and now president of the Shanghai Investment and Trust Corporation, said that even those advanced in age are determined to contribute their share to the prosperity of the country.

"I can't just sit idle and enjoy myself while everyone is working hard for socialist modernization," he said. "Former industrialists like me were

"discriminated against during the decade of turmoil. Now the state recognizes our new status as people who earn their own living.

"We are now respected by the government and the people, and we are naturally eager to contribute our expertise and ideas by way of offering consulting services," Liu said.

CSO: 4005/219

NPC DEPUTIES DISCUSS ZHAO ZIYANG'S REPORT

OW111218 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1409 GMT 6 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 6 Dec (XINHUA)--NPC deputies at group meetings to discuss Premier Zhao Ziyang's report to the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress on the Sixth 5-Year Plan are convinced that the Sixth 5-Year Plan is an all-round plan for promoting the entire national economy and social development. The plan includes building both material and spiritual civilization. Firmly establishing this guiding principle and conscientiously grasping the work of building socialist spiritual civilization will have an extremely important bearing on insuring the correct implementation of the Sixty 5-Year Plan.

Xu Meisheng, Guo Yicheng and Xu Wenyuan, deputies from Shandong Province, noted that Premier Zhao Ziyang's report was made after making full investigation and study. The report pays attention to both speed of development and economic results, takes both production and construction work and the improvement of the people's living condition into consideration, and stresses both material and spiritual civilization. The report is a reflection of a high sense of responsibility of the people.

Liang Chengye, deputy from Guangxi said: Premier Zhao Ziyang's report has mentioned the strengthening of ideological and political work for staff members and workers. This is very important. At present, we don't have schools for the sole purpose of training political cadres for various enterprises. The Guilin Tire Plant has 10 full time party branch secretaries. Only two of them attended junior middle school and the rest only attended primary school. Their average age is around 50. If we do not train more political cadres and select a number of younger ones, there will be a shortage of political cadres. [passage omitted]

Zhao Rongxia, NPC deputy and principal of the Jiaxiu Primary School in Guiyang Municipality said: The Sixth 5-Year Plan stresses both socialist material and spiritual civilization. Cultural building, which includes educational work, is an important part in building socialist spiritual civilization. [passage omitted]

Li Zhu, NPC deputy from Jiangxi, said: The Sixth 5-Year Plan calls for improving the structure of secondary education. I think this is very important. In

order to develop the national economy, we must first develop education. At present, it is impossible to provide college education for everyone. Therefore, we should improve the structure of secondary education and develop various kinds of professional schools.

Wu Yuanfu, NPC deputy director of the second education bureau in Tianjin Municipality, said: In order to continuously raise educational level and scientific and technological level of the people of the whole country, we cannot merely rely on general and higher education. We must vigorously develop adult education. [passage omitted]

Li Haiqing, NPC deputy from Fujian, said at a group meeting: Premier Zhao Ziyang's report has made clear and specific explanation on educational work. This shows that the state has placed the training of talents in an important place in promoting economic construction. It is a great encouragement to the broad masses of educational workers and will spur us on.

Ouyang Shan, NPC deputy from Guangdong, said: While we are gradually improving the people's material life, we should also pay attention to improving the people's cultural life. The Sixth 5-Year Plan has attached importance to this question and put forward concrete plans for developing culture. I believe there will be good results. [passage omitted]

Cai Zimin, NPC deputy from Taiwan Province, said: The strengthening of cultural work is an important content in building spiritual civilization. It is necessary to conscientiously implement the plan for building libraries, reading rooms, cultural halls and museums as mentioned in Premier Zhao Ziyang's report.

CSO: 4005/219

HUNAN DEPUTIES DISCUSS ZHAO ZIYANG'S REPORT

OW121010 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1503 GMT 6 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 6 Dec (XINHUA)--Over the past few days, the Hunan delegation to the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC has seriously discussed Premier Zhao Ziyang's "Report on the Sixth 5-Year Plan." During the discussions, the deputies held that Premier Hao's report is rich in content and correct in orientation and that the report has set forth specific tasks and effective measures. [passage omitted]

Deputies Luo Qiuyue, Li Jinshen and Tan Ailan said: There is no big or empty talk throughout Premier Zhao's report. Written in plain language, the report is realistic and practical. Our minds are at rest after hearing Premier Zhao's report. Deputies Lu Huilin and Lin Xiangsheng said: In studying the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, some comrades have not shown enough confidence in quadrupling China's gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production by the year 2000. However, Premier Zhao's report has dispelled people's doubts and enhanced their confidence. [passage omitted]

The deputies pointed out: Because of "leftist" influence, the plans drawn up in the past were often divorced from realities and characterized by exaggeratedly high targets. The results in implementing such plans often run counter to our desire. The Sixth 5-Year Plan drawn up this time has eliminated influence from "leftist" guiding ideology and is therefore practical and feasible. [passage omitted]

Deputy Liu Liansheng said: It is entirely correct that Premier Zhao has selected coal industry as one of the key areas of investment during the Sixth 5-Year Plan period. Presently, coal industry is a bottleneck slowing down the speed of national economic development. There is the danger that the grand objective of quadrupling the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production by the year 2000 may fall through if the coal industry cannot be further developed. [passage omitted]

The deputies were particularly impressed by Premier Zhao's commendation of middle-aged scientific and technological personnel Jiang, Zhuying and Liu Jianfu in his report. Deputies Chen Qizhi, Zhao Qi and Li Xiaojia said: Such commendation has greatly encouraged the science workers and spurred on the intellectuals of various fronts. We must respond to Premier Zhao's call for learning from Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu by standing fast at our ordinary posts and contributing more to the four modernizations, they stressed.

CSO: 4005/219

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON FIGHTING CAPITALIST IDEOLOGY

HK070458 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Zhong Weizhi [0112 3634 0037]: "The Fight Against Corruption Is an Important Task in Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] The fight against the corrosion of capitalist ideology cannot be separated from the building of socialist spiritual civilization. They supplement each other. Both theory and practice tell us that the fight against corrosion by capitalist ideology is an important task in building socialist spiritual civilization. Communist ideology is the core of socialist spiritual civilization.

Scientific socialism cannot spontaneously come into being in the labor movement. Similarly, socialist spiritual civilization cannot be spontaneously and generally established among the masses. In order to build socialist spiritual civilization, it is necessary to take positive measure to inculcate communist ideology and actively wage struggles against capitalist ideology and all nonproletarian thinking. It is impossible to build socialist spiritual civilization in a static and isolated manner. From the point of view of an ideological system, the socialist spiritual civilization is opposed to capitalist ideology. If capitalist ideology gains ground, socialist and communist ideology lose ground; conversely, in order to enable socialist ideology to gain ground and to build socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core, it is necessary to resolutely oppose the corrosion of capitalist ideology. This is not to wage an artificial struggle in the ideological sphere. This is merely a Marxist act of consciously utilizing the objective laws of dialectics to carry out ideological construction.

Historical experience since the founding of the PRC has fully proven that: in order to continuously promote socialist spiritual civilization, in addition to practicing communist ideological education, it is necessary to resolutely oppose to the corrision of capitalist ideology. In the 1950's, we carried out education on the history of social development, on the ideology of serving the people, on liquidating the influence of the slave ideology of imperialism and on opposing feudal ideology. In addition, we started the large-scale "movement against three evils" and "movement against five devils" and carried out profound education to oppose the corrosion of capitalist ideology in the whole party and among the masses and cadres. As a result, there were

great changes in the style of the party, the people and the whole of society. The great number of ugly capitalist features which were common in old China were stamped out. The crime rate was the lowest in the history of China. From the end of the 1950's to the beginning of the 1960's, our country met with great setbacks in the national economy and the mases' livelihood was extremely difficult. However, in addition to implementing the principle of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement in readjusting the national economy and adopting measures to improve people's livelihood as far as possible, our party has resolutely carried out education against the corrosion of capitalist ideology, the traditional revolutionary education which promotes the spirit of arduous struggles and the education on the communist moral qualities. Consequently, the spiritual state of the masses, party members, CYL members and cadres of the state has been lifted and the ideological features of the masses were very healthy. Our party has led the people of the whole country to smooth over the difficulties. In addition, it has trained a great number of heroes such as Lei Feng, Wang Jie, Jiao Yulu and Wang Jinxi.... They are people who shine with the brilliance of the communist ideology. Socialist spiritual civilization's manifesting its tremendous power once again.

After the 10 years of turmoil, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has adopted a series of measures to set things right, seriously correct the past "leftist" mistakes in all aspects, shifted the focus of the party's work, established a road which suits our national conditions and created a flourishing situation in socialist modernization. Our party is practicing the open-door policy and the policy of revitalizing the domestic economy. It has forcefully pushed forward socialist modernization whose correctness cannot be doubted. However, with the development of diversification and the multiple economic forms, and in particular, with the rapid increase in the frequency of contact with capitalist states, the influence of capitalism from foreign countries further grows, and some people among the revolutionary ranks and some units [words indistinct] of socialist ideology is become more complex than in the past. In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang repeatedly admonished us saying: "In no circumstance must we forget that capitalist countries and enterprises will never change their capitalist nature simply because they have economic and technical exchanges with us. While pursuing the policy of opening to the outside, we must guard against, and firmly resist, the corrosion of capitalist ideas and we must combat all worship of things foreign or fawning on foreigners." Under the new historical conditions, it is all the more meaningful to build the socialist spiritual civilization in our combat against the corrosion of the capitalist ideas. It is the important measure and guarantee for upholding the socialist road and the Marxist-Leninist line established by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

Many things are included in the construction of the socialist spiritual civilization. There is the task of cultural and ideological construction. In ideological construction, the most basic thing is to grasp the three aspects of ideals, morality and discipline. Why is it necessary to firmly grasp these three aspects? This is because, in the first place, they are the principal features of communist ideology and the soul of the construction of socialist

spiritual civilization. The corrosion of capitalist ideology and the harm it does to socialist spiritual civilization are clearly manifested in these three aspects. Each class has its own ideals, morality and discipline. The bourgeoisie must propagate its own ideals, morality and discipline to oppose the proletariat. On the issue of ideals, the corrosion of capitalist ideology is embodied in the advocation of capitalist democratic politics, of the superiority of capitalism to socialism and of the "eternal nature of capitalist society" and in vacillation of faith that communism will ultimately replace capitalism. On the issue of morality, the advocation of bourgeois individualism, encouraging people to profit at the expense of others, injure public interests to profit private interests and oppose proletarian collectivism; turning human relationships into monetary relationships and taking the attitude of "putting money first in everything" and "everyone for himself and the devil takes the hindmost" as the principle of life. On the issue of discipline, the advocation of anarchism and liberalism, opposition to proletarian democratic centralism and socialist discipline, sabotaging normal production order, work order and social order and so on. Such questions cannot be simply accounted for by the corrosion of capitalist ideology, but it is inevitable that the corrosion of capitalist ideology must show itself in such problems and cause such results. This tells us that: in order to build the socialist spiritual civilization and to train the workers who possess revolutionary ideals, stress revolutionary morality, observe revolutionary discipline and are cultured, it is necessary to resolutely fight against the corrosion of capitalist ideology. Only if we resolutely wage a struggle against the corrosion of capitalist ideology can a new generation which embodies socialist spiritual civilization and has communist ideology and behaviour grown.

To fight against the corrosion of capitalist ideology and to build socialist spiritual civilization is one of the difficult tasks on the ideological front. However, this does not mean that we can indiscriminately oppose everything capitalist regardless of the actual situation. We stress the construction of socialist spiritual civilization, but we do not deny the existence of capitalist civilization. Spiritual civilization is itself a class concept and a historical concept. Capitalist spiritual civilization opposed the civilization of the medieval feudal society, produced the advanced science, culture and technology for human society and created immense material and spiritual wealth. This doubtless constitutes a tremendous progress in history. It is wrong to worship capitalist civilization, but it is not materialist to adopt a nihilist attitude in dealing with the capitalist civilization. In our fight against the corrosion of capitalist ideology, we are fighting principally against the capitalist things which sabotage the socialist spiritual civilization and which corrode the body of socialism. As for the good things created by capitalism such as science and technology, we should seriously absorb and utilize them in accordance with the actual situation of our country. In addition, it is necessary to adopt a scientific attitude in criticizing the corrupted and reactionary capitalist ideology. We should utilize the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method, present the facts, reason things out and profoundly expose the great harm it does to the building of socialism which includes the construction of the socialist spiritual civilization. Scientific criticism is the most forceful criticism, and only vivid and convincing

education can produce good results. In our fight against the corrosion of capitalist ideology, we must use the scientific Marxist theory and method and adopt many educational forms to wage a struggle against the capitalist ideology which sabotages the socialist spiritual civilization and against the other non-proletarian ideologies.

CSO: 4005/219

BANQEN SPEAKS IN SICHUAN'S ABA PREFECTURE

HK130339 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 12 Nov 82

[Summary] Aba Tibetan autonomous prefecture and Maerkang County held a rally of cadres, staff and workers on 11 November to greet NPC Standing Committee Vice Chairman Banqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyancan, who has inspected the prefecture. Accompanying Banqen were (Xue Jianhua), vice minister of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission; Liu Haiquan, vice governor of Sichuan; (Zhaxi Zheren), chairman of the Provincial Nationalities Affairs Committee; (A Deng), first secretary of the autonomous prefectural CPC Committee; (Zhe Rong), chairman of the Prefectural People's Congress Standing Committee; and (Long Qixian), secretary of Maerkang County CPC Committee.

Banqen Erdini made a speech at the rally. After reviewing the achievements of Aba autonomous prefecture since liberation, he said: "Our motherland is a united multinational socialist state. Over a long period of historical development, the Tibetan people have tasted weal and woe together with the Hans and other nationalities. They share a common destiny and are closely united together. Aba autonomous prefecture is a nationality autonomy area where various nationalities live, mainly Tibetans. As the main body in practicing nationality autonomy, the Tibetans must take the initiative in uniting with other nationalities. The Hans and other minority nationalities in the autonomous area must also properly respect the autonomy rights of the Tibetan people. We must do a thoroughly good job in nationality work and strengthen nationality unity."

Banqen went on to stress: "In nationality autonomy areas, the use of nationality language is a question of autonomy rights. It is also a question of keeping close contact with the masses. In Aba autonomous prefecture, schooling, press, radio and so on should attach equal importance to the Tibetan and Han languages. The teaching of Tibetan and Han languages in schools should be integrated. We should organically integrate the critical inheritance of outstanding Tibetan cultural traditions with the study of modern scientific and cultural knowledge."

Banqen said: "Freedom of religious belief means that every citizen has the freedom to believe or not to believe in religion. Religious personnel and masses must clearly understand that they are PRC citizens under the

leadership of the CPC first and religious believers second. Hence, the religious activities of all religious personnel and masses must be carried out within the scope allowed by party policy and the state constitution, and meet the demands of the socialist system. They must not harm state interests or run counter to the socialist system. People may not conduct propaganda against Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It is absolutely forbidden to revive the feudalist systems of oppression, exploitation and special rights."

The rally was held at the conclusion of Banqen Erdini's inspection of Ruoergai, Hongyuan, Aba and Maerkang counties.

CSO: 4005/204

PARTY AND STATE

GUIZHOU PARTY COMMITTEE HOLDS WORK CONFERENCE

HK250403 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Nov 82

[Excerpts] According to GUIZHOU RIBAO, the Guizhou Provincial CPC Committee held a work conference from 11 to 18 November to study and implement the 12th party congress spirit and discuss creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization in the province. The 330 participants included members and alternate members of the committee, and principal responsible comrades of the province, prefectures and counties and the provincial military district. Comrade Chi Biqing spoke at the beginning and end of the meeting. Other leading comrades of the provincial CPC Committee also spoke in full sessions or group discussions.

The participants were full of confidence in accomplishing the strategic goal for the end of the century and the 3 fundamental turns for the better in the next 5 years. The conference held: Although Guizhou's economic development has been slow and its economic returns poor, there are great potentials and we should and can achieve a higher annual growth in industrial and agricultural total output value by the end of the century. Our target for endeavor should be, under the premise of continually improving economic returns, to tap potentials, exploit resources, and fulfill ahead of schedule the task of quadrupling of annual total output value of industrial and agricultural production and achieving a big increase in urban and rural incomes.

In light of Guizhou's conditions, we should assign agricultural development a particularly important position. With the basic solution of the food and clothing problem, we should grasp water and soil conservation, work hard to improve medium and low-yielding land, build stable and high-yielding farmland and increase output of grain and industrial crops. On the basis of managing the existing farmland well, we should take full advantage of mountain, underground and manpower resources to develop large-scale agriculture and promote the rational disposition and exploitation of agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry, and processing trades and mining.

In the next 3 to 5 years, the province must plant trees and grass in the mountains, close the hillsides to facilitate afforestation, and clothe the barren mountains in green. We must promote the development of domestic stock-raising, concentrating on cattle.

In developing industry, we must first improve the management of existing enterprises, and at the same time carry out technical innovation and equipment renovation. We must work hard to improve the value of output for fixed assets and the rate of profit in value of output. We must bring about a great development of county industry under the premise of drawing on local resources and ensuring that products meet market needs, by practicing the guiding principle of regarding cooperative economy and self-raised capital and loans as the main factors, concentrating effort on processing agricultural and sideline products, and practicing independent accounting and taking full responsibility for profit and loss. The general method is to organize economic combines and strive to develop the commodity economy. On the basis of continually improving the financial responsibility systems, all levels, departments and units must learn how to make, accumulate and use money. They must strive to accumulate more capital and work by their own initiative and self-reliant efforts to develop their own economy, under the guidance of the state's unified planning.

Corresponding to economic development, the province must work hard to run well schools of various levels and types, to give the workers more cultural and technical education. In the rural areas, we must eliminate illiteracy and popularize universal primary education. The urban and rural areas must restructure secondary education. The rural areas should attach importance to researching and popularizing applied technology, actively develop agroscientific households and groups, and set up associations for popularizing science.

In industry, we must pay attention to promoting production and research, and vigorously strengthen the work of the sales departments. We must strengthen management work regarding design, skills, quality inspection, finances and manpower.

All levels, departments and units must pay attention to reforms in administrative structure, and especially to the rectification and building of the leadership groups. We must purge the persons of five categories and also promote to leadership posts people who can bring order out of chaos, create a new situation, and endure pressure. We must also strive to implement the principle of having the leadership groups keen-witted and capable and transformed in four respects, and promote cooperation between new and old cadres and replacement by old by new.

The conference: In order to quadruple industrial and agricultural output value and enrich people's lives, we must strictly control population growth. The province's average annual population growth in the next 20 years to the end of the century must not exceed 11 per 1,000.

Comrade Chi Biqing said when summarizing the meeting: In creating a new situation, we must first achieve three fundamental turns for the better. He said: It is very good to have schemes, plans and confidence for the strategic goal for the end of the century. However, the important thing

is to start now by bringing about the three fundamental turns for the better. The 12th party congress proposed that we should advance in 2 stages in accomplishing the target for endeavor for the next 20 years by laying the foundation in the first 10 years and vigorously developing the economy in the next 10. Laying the foundation in the first 10 years should be mainly interpreted as exploiting energy and building communications, and certainly not as covering all fields and all aspects. As far as developing agriculture, straightening out and carrying out technical reform in the existing enterprises, and controlling population growth are concerned, we cannot spend such a long time in laying the foundation. The key lies in grasping the next 3 to 5 years; otherwise, we will delay things.

Comrade Chi Biqing said: The way to create a new situation is to organize economic combines, institute joint management of agriculture, industry and commerce and integration of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, and promote the development of commodity economy. The rural areas should develop agricultural-industrial-commercial joint enterprises centered on their historic towns, and promote the reform of the economic system. It is necessary to stipulate base figures and proportions for the state procurement quotas. In this way, output of products in short supply can be increased and output of those in ample supply controlled. In addition, the development of local industry can be stimulated. On the basis of fixing responsibility contracts for each household, we should guide the specialized and key households to expand their operations and develop toward specialization. Based on the principle of voluntariness and mutual benefit, they can go in for pooling and joint management of manpower and funds.

We must vigorously develop the consumer goods industries, promote agricultural diversification on the one hand and lead forward the readjustment of the service orientation of heavy industry on the other, and achieve coordinated development of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. Industry should organize joint enterprises according to product and trade.

All areas, departments and units should pay attention to further breaking down egalitarianism and discrepancies. Within the scope allowed by the state policies and decrees, we should encourage people to get rich through hard work and good management and boldly allow some people and units to get rich before others.

Comrade Chi Biqing stressed: The key to creating a new situation and opening up a new road lies in two phrases: emancipate the mind a bit more, and be a bit more bold in carrying out reforms. In emancipating the mind, we should boldly continue to break out of the bindings of old formulas and conventions, seek truth from facts and respect the masses' pioneering spirit. We must adopt an attitude of supporting, helping and guiding new things; we must certainly not oppose, suppress and strangle them. We must broaden our vision and boldly break out of old traditional concepts, and get away from conventions in promoting talented people to leading posts at all levels and in all departments. Under the premise of upholding the four basic

principles and taking care of the interests of the state, the collective and the individual, we should resolutely support all new creations and figures that can develop commodity economy at high speed. We should boldly institute all those reforms that are ripe. Experiences gained at pilot projects should be seriously summed up and popularized. Reforms that are not yet ripe should be first carried out at trial points, but the matter must certainly not be delayed.

In short, our hopes lie in emancipating our minds and being bold in carrying out reform. The leading comrades at all levels must act as path-breakers, not as obstacles, on the road of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. They should drink celebration toasts instead of being made to drink as forfeits.

CSO: 4005/204

JUDICIAL, ADMINISTRATIVE WORK CONFERENCE ENDS

HK291436 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Summary] The Guizhou provincial conference in judicial and administrative work, which had lasted 10 days, concluded on 25 November. The conference pointed out: "At present and for some time in the future, the main tasks of our province's judicial work are to seriously implement the spirit of the 12th party congress and serve the building of a high degree of material civilization and spiritual civilization; the fundamental improvement of the financial and economic situation, general mood of society and party work style; and the defense and promotion of socialist modernization with economic construction as the central work."

The conference held that over the past few years our province has initially built a judicial and administrative force. All judicial and administrative work has been gradually and completely unfolded. However, judicial organs must concentrate their energy to serve the defense and promotion of socialist modernization with economic construction as the central work. This is the fundamental task of judicial work for the new period.

The specific measures of judicial organs to serve socialist modernization are as follows:

"1. Through publicity of the legal system and defense of criminal cases and in coordination wtih public security organs, procuratorates and courts, we must correctly use the weapon of law to strike blows at the enemy, crimes in the economic field and criminals who seriously jeopardize social order in order to protect the people and promote social stability.

"2. It is necessary to strengthen the publicity of the legal system and mediation work, popularize education in legal knowledge and enhance people's concept of the legal system and their level of morality in order to reduce the number of disputes, prevent contradictions from being aggravated and redeem erring youths."

"3. It is essential to vigorously strengthen notarial work. Through notarial work and as legal advisors, we must take part in mediation and arbitration of economic disputes in order to uphold economic discipline."

The conference held that judicial work must serve modernization. It is imperative to constantly strengthen the building of judicial forces at all levels in the province. The conference specially discussed the issues of training qualified personnel in the legal field and training cadres on the judicial front and made specific arrangements.

CSO: 4005/204

PEASANT EDUCATION PROGRESSIVES' CONGRESS OPENS

HK291125 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Nov 82

[Summary] The Guizhou provincial congress of advanced collectives and advanced workers in peasant education opened in Guiyang today. Representatives of 72 advanced collectives and 298 advanced workers are attending the congress. "The tasks of this congress are to seriously study the documents of the 12th party congress, implement its spirit, sum up and exchange experiences in peasant education, commend the progressives, discuss the tasks of peasant education for the new period and struggle hard to create a new situation in our province's peasant education."

Provincial People's Government Vice Governor Wang Bingyun spoke at the congress. He said: "Under the party's concern, our province has achieved gratifying results in peasant education. Particularly since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, peasant education has been restored and developed. At present, there are some 280,000 peasant students and some 20,000 people have completed their courses. Although the speed of this development cannot meet the needs of rural economic construction, we have gained some experiences in education to suit our province's current new rural situation and have laid a foundation for the future development of peasant education."

He went on to say: "With a view to achieving the strategic objective put forward by the 12th party congress, we must do well in peasant education. On the basis of seriously summing up and exchanging experiences, this congress must lay stress on the strategic objective, the strategic key point and the strategic measures formulated by the 12th party congress and, in connection with our province's realities, discuss and formulate the future tasks and promote peasant education throughout the province. We must make even greater contributions toward building socialist material and spiritual civilization."

CSO: 4005/204

SICHUAN MEETING OF PROCURATORATE PROGRESSIVES

HK280624 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 27 Nov 82

[Summary] The Sichuan provincial meeting of representatives of progressive collectives and workers on the procuratorate front concluded in Chengdu on 27 November. Provincial CPC Committee Executive Secretary Yang Rudai, Vice Governor Qiao Zhimin, and Provincial CPC Committee Standing Committee member and Chief Procurator Qin Chuanhou presented awards to outstanding collectives and individuals. Comrade Yang Rudai made a speech at the ceremony.

Comrade Qin Chuanghou delivered a work report at the meeting. He pointed out: "The current tasks in procuratorate work are to study in depth and seriously implement the 12th party congress spirit, more spontaneously and explicitly shift our effort to defending and promoting socialist modernization, and create a new situation in procuratorate work in the province, making proper contributions to achieving the vast goal of the 12th party congress. It is therefore necessary to study in depth the 12th party congress documents, study and map out plans and measures for creating a new situation in light of local reality, carry out procuratorate work with greater initiative and bring into full play the functional role of the procuratorate organs. We must severely punish criminals who do serious economic sabotage, continue to take part in tidying up social order in the urban and rural areas, and bring about a fundamental turn for the better in social order as quickly as possible. We must strengthen the building of the procuratorate force, rectify and build well the leadership groups at all levels in the course of administrative restructuring, promote education in communist ideology for the cadres and policemen, and make the cadres revolutionized, younger, better educated and more specialized."

CSO: 4005/204

SHAANXI 'EFFECTIVELY' RECTIFIES CADRES' WORK STYLE

OW051820 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1418 GMT 29 Nov 82

[Excerpts] Xian, 29 Nov (XINHUA)--XINHUA editor's note: People are inspired by the unremitting efforts made by the Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee to rectify the style of the party. Some persons among our cadres and party members are taking advantage of their positions and power to seek personal gains. They have thus seriously undermined the prestige of our party. However, we can achieve fairly quick results in rectifying the style of the party if the party organizations at all levels are determined to adopt effective measures to seriously deal with the problem according to the party's principles without sparing anyone's sensibilities or being swayed by personal considerations. [End editor's note]

The Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee takes the investigation and correction of the unhealthy tendencies among some leading cadres at various levels as an important task to rectify the style of the party. The unhealthy tendencies include using persona, pull or influence to arrange jobs for relatives, illegally building private houses or occupying more houses. During the 10 months or so from the end of December 1981 to October 1982, the provincial party committee handled a large number of cases. Those concerned have been asked to return what they unlawfully took or pay compensation for it.

Ma Wenrui, first secretary of the provincial party committee, has repeatedly listened to briefings by the departments concerned and inquired about how some important cases are handled.

CSO: 4005/204

YUNNAN CPC SECRETARY ON NEW CONSTITUTION

HK021000 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 Nov 82

[Text] The Yunnan provincial delegation attending the fifth session of the fifth NPC was divided into groups on 27 November to discuss and examine the draft of the revised constitution. Liu Minghui, NPC delegate and secretary of the Yunnan Provincial CPC Committee, made the following remarks on the draft constitution:

1. The new constitution is the most flawless constitution.

Comrade Liu Minghui said: Since liberation, China has promulgated four constitutions, including the new one. The background of the present new constitution is quite different from that of the 1954, 1975 and 1978 constitutions. The most distinguishing points are that since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have accomplished the difficult task of setting right the party's guiding ideology and have won major successes in setting right our practical work on all fronts. The draft constitution scientifically sums up the historical experience of socialist development in our country and carries on and develops the cardinal principles of the 1954 constitution. It takes into consideration not only present reality but also future prospects, thereby conforming to the common aspiration of the people and suiting the actual conditions of our country.

2. The new constitution is a crystallization of the wisdom of the people throughout the country.

Comrade Liu Minghui said: In September 1980, the third session of the fifth NPC passed a resolution on the proposal of the CPC Central Committee and decided to set up the committee for the revision of the constitution. Since then, this committee conducted extensive investigation and study. It put forward the draft of the revised constitution for discussion in April this year after repeated deliberations and consultations and summing up the experience gained in the past 30 years or so since the founding of the PRC. The Standing Committee of the fifth NPC then approved and promulgated the draft of the revised constitution and submitted it to the people of various nationalities throughout the country for discussion. The people of various nationalities in Yunnan Province took an active part in the

discussion. Compared with the discussions of the previous constitutions, the number of people participating in the discussion of the present new one was unprecedentedly large, and the enthusiasm they showed in the discussion was never seen before. According to the statistics compiled by the departments concerned, the people who took part in the discussion in the organs at the provincial and Kunming Municipal levels accounted for more than 90 percent of those who should participate in the discussion; the people in other areas, prefectures and municipalities, over 80 percent; and the people in the rural communes and brigades who participated in the discussion constituted about 60 to 70 percent. All of them wholeheartedly supported the draft of the revised constitution.

Workers said: The constitution stipulates that the state is led by the working class. Thus, they realize what is on their shoulders and how they should give full play to the role of a major social force of the state.

Peasants said: We are very much pleased to know that the constitution stipulates that the state is based on the alliance of workers and peasants and affirms a series of economic policies formulated after the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. They also said: Since the policies have been stated in the constitution, they will no longer change. We can now rest assured and give free play to production.

The affirmation in the constitution of the position and role of intellectuals evoked strong reactions in their circles, which stated that with a bright political prospect, they now can be wholly absorbed in their professions and work with vigor.

Members of the provincial CPPCC and members of democratic parties are very satisfied with the provision in the constitution concerning the united front. They said that the new constitution is a constitution which will promote democracy, perfect the legal system, ensure political stability in the country for a long time to come and benefit the country and people. They also expressed wishes to make more contributions to making China strong and realizing the unification of the motherland.

Opinions given by the province's people in discussions on the revision of the draft constitution have been accepted or partially accepted.

3. The new constitution is a general law to run the country and give the neighboring countries peace and security.

Comrade Liu Minghui said: It will be the fundamental law of our state, being the most authoritative and having the supreme legal authority, after it is examined and approved. It will be a general law to run the country and give the neighboring countries peace and security after it is enforced. Entrusted by the 32 million people of various nationalities of Yunnan Province, we have the pleasure of attending this meeting and exmaining and approving the new constitution. Not only should we take the lead in

observing and practicing it, but we should also actively propagate it. Taking the 12th party congress spirit as guidelines, we must earnestly study and practice the new constitution as our active force and work hard for the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization and for the attainment of the objective set forth by the 12th party congress.

CSO: 4005/204

YUNNAN NPC DELEGATES ON NEW CONSTITUTION

HK011052 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 Nov 82

[Text] The Yunnan provincial delegation to the fifth session of the fifth NPC expressed their views on the draft of the revised constitution in group discussions over the last few days. The province's delegates, of all nationalities and different places of the country's southwest border area, stated unanimously that the present draft of the revised constitution, which takes the four basic principles as its guideline, has been worked out after detailed discussions over the past 2 years or so. It represents the common will and fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities. It is a new constitution reflecting China's characteristics, which will meet the requirements of the new historical period and ensure stability in the country for a long time to come.

One delegate 89-year-old, Miao Yuntai, said in high spirits: I took part in the work of revising the draft constitution. I am deeply impressed that the new constitution, which will soon be approved, is a crystallization of the wisdom of the people of various nationalities of our country. It will be the most flawless constitution since the founding of the PRC.

(Zhu Deqiang), delegate to the NPC and vice chancellor of the Kunming Teachers College, said: The revision work of the present draft constitution has been done in a really serious, prudent and thoughtful way. For instance, the question of acquiring proficiency through self-study has been stipulated in the new constitution and intellectuals have been classified together with the workers and peasants as three major social forces of the state. As a teacher and an intellectual, I am very excited. I feel not only that this is a great credit to us, but also that we should be ready to shoulder heavier tasks.

Yu Lanfu, the NPC delegate, vice chairman of the Yunnan Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee and vice director of the Yunnan Provincial No. 1 People's Hospital, said: As a medical worker, I am very satisfied with and greatly inspired by the provisions in the draft constitution that the state promotes development of medical care and public health, modern medical science and traditional Chinese medicine, and encourages planned parenthood. I am determined to make greater efforts to do my own job well.

Wang Shaoyan, the NPC delegate, vice chairman of the Yunnan Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee and chairman of the Yunnan branch committee of the China Democratic National Construction Association, said: After the new constitution is approved and promulgated, there will be a problem of how to safeguard its dignity and how to enforce it. The CPC constitution stipulates that the party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws of the state. Following the example of the CPC, we, the democratic parties, must also set an example in respecting, protecting and observing the constitution so as to make contributions to creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

(Zhao Yanguang) of Miao nationality, the NPC delegate and deputy secretary of the Wenshan Prefectural CPC Committee; and (Zhang Guoyu) of Naxi nationality, professor of the history faculty of Yunnan University, said: The preamble of the draft of the revised constitution clearly points out that the Chinese people, comprising many nationalities, have jointly created a splendid culture and that the PRC is a united multinational country created by all its various nationalities. We people of minority nationalities are very happy to read of it. Dynasties in past ages all along refused to recognize the position and role of minority nationalities in the history of China. Under the CPC leadership, the people of various nationalities, with the overthrow of the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, have become masters of the country. A new type of relationship among all nationalities has been established on the basis of equality, unity and mutual help.

(Wu Yinhuai), the NPC delegate and principal of the No. 1 middle school in the Mengkian Dai-Lahu-Va autonomous county, said: The new constitution enlarges the power of self-government of national autonomous areas and stipulates that the state should give financial, material and technical assistance to minority nationalities to accelerate their economic and cultural development and help the national autonomous areas to train large numbers of cadres, specialized personnel and skilled workers from among the nationality or nationalities in the given area. This shows the great loving care rendered to minority nationalities by the state. We people of minority nationalities must make our own contributions to the prosperity of the motherland.

CSO: 4005/204

PARTY AND STATE

SHANXI NPC DELEGATION ON NEW CONSTITUTION

HK010712 Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 30 Nov 82

[Text] According to XINHUA News Agency our province's delegation to the fifth session of the fifth NPC has for days discussed in a lively manner and conscientiously examined the draft of the revised constitution and Comrade Peng Zhen's report. The deputies are of the opinion that the draft of the revised constitution that is now being examined for adoption in the NPC session is a good constitution that suits our national conditions, facilitates good rule and stability of the country, guides practice and guarantees the smooth progress of the socialist modernization.

NPC Deputy Huo Shilian said that the draft of the revised constitution confirmed some of the fundamental principles and policies of the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Thus it provides an important guarantee for the creation of a new situation in socialist modernization. He said that in the past few years, Shanxi Province has conscientiously carried out the spirit of the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and has thus markedly changed the political and economic situation there. This year, more than 32,000 households earned a per capita income in excess of 1,000 yuan. Because of the establishment of the production responsibility system, Pinglu and Loufan countries, formerly the poorest counties in the province, have overcome poverty in a year. Now they sell grain to the state instead of having to rely on the state to supply grain to ease the shortage there. The production responsibility system is now to be written into the constitution and this will further ease people's minds and promote the development of the good situation in our province.

NPC Deputy Zhao Lizhi said that this draft of the revised constitution sums up both the positive and negative experiences since the founding of the PRC and especially the lessons of the 10 years of civil disorder and is therefore a good constitution, formulated in accordance with the spirit of the 12th party congress. For example, it has not only restored the principle of everyone being equal before law, but has also defined this principle very clearly.

Many deputies expressed their great satisfaction with the clauses related to intellectuals in the draft of the revised constitution. NPC Deputy

(Xuan Yueqi) said that the constitution clearly stipulates that the workers, peasants and intellectuals are the three basic social forces. Thus it clarifies the position of the intellectuals in the basic law. This has greatly encouraged and inspired the intellectuals and will surely facilitate giving greater play to their initiative and arousing them to make greater contributions to the modernization of our country.

NPC Deputy (Yang Quan) said that the constitution regards the intellectuals as a part of the working class and places them side by side with workers and peasants as people to be relied upon. This has once and for all lifted from their minds the heavy weight they bore for so many years. At the same time, they are beginning to realize that as intellectuals they have more important responsibilities and tasks and that they should exert all their efforts to serve socialist modernization.

The speeches of many deputies expressed the common view that this constitution is not easily come by and is the result of prolonged struggle and joint efforts and of repeated discussion and revision by people at both higher and lower levels. In order to satisfactorily implement this constitution, we should make even greater efforts to continue the struggle. NPC deputies (Tang Yonghe) and (Liu Quanchun) said that after the promulgation of the constitution, we should carry out sound propaganda and education among the people in order to make everybody clearly understand it. We should especially train our cadres and leading cadres in order to set the concept of the legal system in their minds and teach them to safeguard the dignity of the constitution and prevent the malpractice of substituting power for law, thus really achieving the goal of making every citizen equal before the law. Propaganda and education of the constitution should also be carried out in our schools in order to fix the concept of the legal system in our youngsters' minds in their early childhood and make them act in accordance with the law.

NPC Deputy Zhang Jiafu said that after the promulgation of the new constitution, we, party members, should take the lead of its implementation. We should not regard ourselves as privileged citizens nor should we covertly pursue private interests while overtly hailing the new constitution.

CSO: 4005/204

SICHUAN NPC DEPUTIES HAIL CONSTITUTION

HK020601 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Text] According to XINHUA, the Sichuan deputies attending the fifth session of the fifth NPC have been holding panel discussions on the draft of the revised constitution in recent days. They unanimously held: The new constitution about to be adopted is the best since the founding of the state. It is a major guarantee for accomplishing the vast goal put forward by the 12th party congress. It is bound to assure political stability and unity and economic prosperity in China.

People's deputy and Sichuan Provincial Governor Lu Dadong said: The new constitution about to be adopted scientifically sums up the experiences in our country's socialist construction. It suits the popular mood and the national conditions and fully expresses the demands of people of all nationalities.

People's deputy and deputy chief engineer of the provincial machine-building bureau (Zhang Yunxiang) held: The draft of the revised constitution possesses Chinese characteristics, which are mainly expressed in the following four aspects: 1) it is full of the spirit of democracy; 2) with the four basic principles as its guiding ideology, it ensures the socialist nature of our country and its orientation for advancing victoriously; 3) it clearly stipulates the state's fundamental task for the future, that is, to concentrate forces for socialist construction; 4) it stresses the role of intellectuals and assigns an extremely important position to the development of science, education and culture.

(Ke Zhao), president of Sichuan University, and (Pan Dakui), director of the provincial Research Institute of History and Culture, both people's deputies, said: The draft of the revised constitution clearly stipulates that in socialist construction it is essential to rely on the workers, peasants and intellectuals. The intellectuals have become a force to rely on. This expresses the aspirations of the intellectuals and enhances their social status. It will certainly play an important role in stimulating the activism of the intellectuals.

People's deputy and Ganzi Tibetan autonomous prefectural CPC Committee First Secretary (Luo Tongda) said: The new constitution about to be adopted

fully expresses the fundamental interests of the minority nationalities. It embodies the party's consistent nationality policies. We must strengthen nationality unity, and oppose great and local nationalism.

People's deputy and Liangshan Yi autonomous prefectural CPC Committee secretary (Shi Jiaming) said: The draft of the revised constitution stipulates that the state will help the nationalities in finance, material, technology and so on to speed up the development of their economic and cultural construction. This is very encouraging for us. We will certainly strengthen nationality unity and take full advantage of our abundant local natural resources to promote economic construction.

The deputies also declared in their speeches: We must publicize the new constitution with great fanfare after its adoption and take the lead in implementing it. People's deputy and Yibin prefectural CPC Committee first secretary (Feng Zhenwu) gave three views on ensuring the implementation of the constitution: 1) conduct universal education in democracy and legal system in the urban and rural areas; 2) people's deputies and CPC and CYL members must take the lead in adhering to the constitution and implementing it in a model way; 3) it is necessary to resolutely uphold the dignity of the constitution and struggle against all violations of the constitution.

CSO: 4005/204

PARTY AND STATE

GANSU NPC DEPUTIES DISCUSS NEW CONSTITUTION

HK030222 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 2 Dec 82

[Excerpts] According to XINHUA, the Gansu deputies attending the fifth session of the fifth NPC have been seriously studying and discussing the draft of the revised constitution in recent days, with the high sense of responsibility as masters of the country. They pledged: After the new constitution is promulgated, we must take the lead in studying it, extensively publicize it and strictly observe it. We must resolutely uphold the dignity of the new constitution.

Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee Chairman Wang Shitai said: The current important issue is to take effective steps to ensure that the new constitution will be properly observed and practiced by all the citizenry after it is adopted. Local People's Congress Standing Committees should, in accordance with the stipulations of the new constitution, strive to step up local legislative work, so that all local work can truly follow the track of acting according to law. The comrades of the local People's Congress Standing Committees at all levels, including our people's deputies, should take the lead in studying and observing the law. We must also lead the masses to spontaneously adhere to the law and uphold the constitution. We must conduct propaganda and education for the masses in the legal system. By this means, all the people should master and apply this weapon to supervise the state organs at all levels in strictly acting according to law. We must be bold in exposing and struggling against violations of the constitution and seriously succeed in adhering to the law, being strict in enforcing it and prosecuting violations of it, and having everyone equal before the law.

CSO: 4005/204

QINGHAI DEPUTIES STUDY NEW CONSTITUTION

HK040257 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 3 Dec 82

[Text] According to XINHUA, the Qinghai delegation to the fifth session of the fifth NPC has been seriously discussing the draft of the revised constitution in the past few days. During the discussions, people's deputy and Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee Chairman Zhaxiwangxu said: The new constitution about to be adopted is the fundamental law of the land, with Chinese characteristics, which will ensure a long period of tranquillity and prosperity in China. It is an unprecedented program for ruling the country that accords with the national condition and the popular mood.

In order to make a success of the panel meetings on the draft of the revised constitution, Zhaxiwangxu visited the deputies' rooms during rest periods to seek their views. He also held a special meeting of work personnel of the delegation to map out discussions on the draft of the revised constitution.

(Qiao Shengchong), a Tu-nationality people's deputy, said: Things in our Tu-nationality areas have changed with each passing day since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Central Committee. However, the peasants are most afraid of policy changes. Now, the draft of the revised constitution has affirmed the good policies laid down since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Central Committee. We peasants feel as if we have taken a tranquillizer; there is no need to be worried about this and that any more.

(Zhuoba), a people's deputy and secretary of Hainan Tibetan autonomous prefectural CPC Committee, said: The draft of the revised constitution seems to mention the nationality issue and nationality work in every chapter. This fully expresses the concern of the party and state for the minority nationalities. We are thus full of confidence in creating a new situation in work in the nationality areas.

CSO: 4005/204

SHAANXI NPC DEPUTIES STUDY DRAFT CONSTITUTION

HK050314 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 4 Dec 82

[Text] According to XINHUA, the Shaanxi provincial deputies attending the fifth session of the fifth NPC have been holding panel meetings to examine and discuss the draft of the revised constitution in the past few days. They unanimously held: This revised constitution draft, which the party has led the people of the whole country t discuss, scientifically sums up the historical experiences of the social changes in China and reflects the common desires and fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities. It accords with the national condition and the popular mood. [Words indistinct] following its institution, this new constitution is bound to stimulate further strengthening and development of China's socialist democracy and legal system. It is the (?legal) guarantee for long tranquillity in China.

Deputy Lu Mingtao said: The draft of the revised constitution clearly stipulates China's economic system and fully embodies the major (?fruits) of bringing order out of chaos and correcting the guiding ideology in economic work. For a long time, due to the influence of leftist ideology, we followed a single economic form, restricted the development of collective economy and banned individual economy. By so doing we violated the Marxist principle that production relations must be suited to the development level of the productive force, and also failed to conform to the national condition. As a result, the country's economic development and prosperity were affected. Although the status and role of state-owned, collective and individual economy differ, each has its own superior features, and none of them can be replaced by any of the others.

Viewing the situation in Shaanxi Province, the predominant status of the economy under ownership by the whole people has been consolidated. Total value of output of state-owned industry accounts for over 87 percent of the province's total industrial output value. Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Central Committee, collective economy has recorded great development in urban and rural areas. In 1981 total value of output of collective-ownership industry was 40 percent greater than in 1978. The rural areas have instituted production responsibility systems. Output value there rose last year despite serious natural disasters. In addition

many new economic combines and specialized households have emerged. Collective-ownership commercial networks and points have increased by 180 percent compared with 1978, while the number of their personnel has risen by 210 percent and total retail sales volume by 110 percent. The networks and points of individually-operated commerce have increased by 650 percent and the total volume of their retail sales by 1,100 percent.

Deputy Qu Wu said: The draft of the revised constitution has been drawn up when earth-shaking changes have taken place in China's political, economic and cultural life. It has been completed under the guidance of the 12th party congress line and policies. It represents the fundamental interests of the 1 billion people of the whole country and fully expresses the spirit of the new era. I am extremely encouraged that such a good constitution has been drawn up, and I applaud it. The draft of the revised constitution has many new and extremely important additions. For instance, it stipulates that when necessary, the state will establish special administrative regions. Thus, after Taiwan returns to the motherland, it will be a special administrative region enjoying a high degree of autonomy right. This is extremely significant for promoting the great cause of peaceful reunification of the motherland.

Many deputies stressed in their speeches the importance of studying, publicizing and implementing the constitution. Deputy Ma Shiying said: The constitution has been drawn up in order to be implemented. After the constitution is adopted, we people's deputies must set an example in publicizing the new constitution and implementing it in a model way.

CSO: 4005/204

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'CHINA DAILY' VIEWS DISCUSSION ON WESTERN MODERNISM

HK200228 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 20 Nov 28 p 5

[Article by Chang Guang: "Modernist Literary Trend Evokes Battle of Words"]

[Text] Another battle of words is under way in WENYI BAO, China's leading magazine of literary criticism. It focuses on how China should assess Western modernism, and whether modernism can also develop in the people's republic.

In the September issue of WENYI BAO, a letter signed by Qiming criticizes the views about Western modernism of three writers whose correspondence was published in the August issue of SHANGHAI WENXUE (SHANGHAI LITERATURE). The three writers are Feng Jicai, Li To and Liu Xinwu. Qiming does not believe it is correct to describe style as the central problem in the Chinese literary world, as Li To stated in SHANGHAI WENXUE. Nor does Qiming believe it is "appropriate" to regard the creation of new styles as "a revolution in literature."

Qiming objects to Feng Jicai's assertion that modernism could be an appropriate direction for the development of Chinese literature. "Has realism been so outdated that it cannot express today's world and only modernism is the panacea?" he questioned.

Only Liu Xinwu's viewpont was considerd by Qiming as "tolerably objective."

Qiming suggested that WENYI BAO host a discussion on the issue of "whether our literature should take the road of realism or that of modernism." In the October issue, although no special column was arranged for such a debate, there was a signed article denouncing so-called "new asthetic tenets" advocated by some writers and critics in recent years. The author, Hongming, said their fundamental basis is "self-expression" and that they are "actually inherited from a series of literary and artistic concepts of the modern bourgeoisie, particularly the concepts of modernism."

Nature

These tenets, the author said, emphasize subconsciousness and consider literature and art expressions of individual subjectivity; deny that literature

and art find their sources in and make impact on life; and ignore the significance of the ideological content of literature and art.

In this month's issue of WENYI BAO another writer, Xu Chi, has become involved because of his essay entitled "Modernization and Modernism" first published in the first issue of the magazine "STUDY OF FOREIGN LITERATURE," one of the dozen or so Chinese magazines dealing with foreign literature.

"There should be Marxist modernism." This is the most surprising statement in Xu Chi's essay.

Xu Chi said modernism "results from the material life of society and reflects the generalized and inherent spirit of the relations created by such life." But no, Lidi said, modernism "mainly reflects the psychological state, emotion and content of the life of the middle and petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals."

Modernist literary works, Lidi pointed out, do not reveal the truth of capitalist society and the direction of its development. Many modernist works fail to depict society in depth, he said.

Modernism, Xu Chi had observed, has not hampered the Western economy. "It has tailored itself rather well to Western economic development." But Lidi countered with: "The reason why a few modernist works are successes is just that their exposure and repugnance to the darkness of the capitalist society do not favour the rule of capitalists and the society's economic foundation."

Admitting that Western modernism is sometimes characterised by "obscurity, peculiarity and pornography," and its "major demerit" is pessimism, Xu Chi generalized: "It does not feel satisfied with the status quo; it does not have faith; it has not yet found its ideal, but it is continuously fumbling for it."

Xu believes that in time "Western modernism will create idealistic works full of confidence to foster human progress and outline the world of the future." But Lidi, excluding modernism from the ideological system of Marxism, does not believe that literature and art based on idealist philosophic concepts and belonging to the modern bourgeoisie will ever possess the ideal of communism. "Otherwise, we would not have to develop the new literature and art of the proletariat and socialist," Lidi said.

Xu Chi criticizes the "many of us (writers) here (in China) who are addicted to the past--the ancient Chinese zither, (paintings of) flowers and birds, poetry in old rhyme schemes, and dance-opera forms. Others who hail industrial advances but are not yet conscious of the danger of pollution are only semi-modern. On the other hand, he is "certain" that China's modernization "will give birth to modernist literature and art based on amalgamated revolutionary realism and romanticism."

In the past years, foreign literature has flooded into China. The Chinese people, especially the young, have shown an increasing interest in it, including modernist works. In due course, such as "The Waste Land," and much Western poetry and fiction have been translated or reprinted. Today, "Catch-22" is not a strange term to Chinese intellectuals, although so far "The Four Quartets" and "Ulysses" have not been put into Chinese.

Imitation

There have been Chinese imitations of modernist literature and art. Some techniques frequently used by modernist writers and artists have been experimented with. Wang Meng's short stories, for instance, involve "stream of consciousness." His experiments are generally considered successful. At the recent 12th Party National Congress, Wang Meng was elected alternative member of the Party Central Committee.

There are also Chinese who say some modernist techniques are not quite as new as the term "modern" indicates, nor are they really foreign. They recall the influence of ancient Chinese poetry on the imagist movement of English poets at the beginning of the century. They point out "stream of consciousness" techniques were used by ancient Chinese writers. Zhang Wenzhong, writing in WENHUI BAO, Shanghai, cites examples of "stream of consciousness" in China's oldest collection of poems.

WENYI BAO is one of six major publications of the Chinese Writers' Association, and the National Forum for Writers and Literary Critics. It has had two important debates earlier this year, one on the feature film Tianyun Shan Chuanqi ("Legend of Tianyun Mountain"), and the other with the editorial board of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO (REPORT OF THE AGE), a magazine of non-fiction.

CSO: 4000/23

'SHANXI RIBAO' REPORTS CENSUS FIGURES

SK251039 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Nov 82 p 1

[Text] Communique of the Shanxi Provincial Statistical Bureau on the major figures of the third national census, (2nd November 1982).

Under the unified leadership of party committees and government at all levels and with the enthusiastic support of the broad masses of the people, the province-wide enumeration of the population for the third population census of Shanxi Province started on 1 July after a preparatory period which began in early 1980. The enumeration work and manual tabulation were smoothly completed in accordance with the nationally unified schedule. The post-enumeration sample check verifies that the enumeration work is up to the standards set by the state. All the data gathered is being processed by computers. The following are the main figures tabulated manually.

1. Total population. With zero hour 1 July 1982 as the reference time, the total population of our province is 25,291,389. Compared with the figure of zero hour 1 July 1982 released by the second national population census, the population has increased by 7,276,322 persons or 40.39 percent in the past 18 years, averaging an annual increase of 404,240 persons or 1.9 percent.

2. Sex composition. Of the total population of the province, males number 13,162,702, accounting for 52 percent; females 12,128,687, making up 48 percent. The proportion of males to females is 108.5 to 100.

3. Population of the nationalities. The Han nationality population in the province is 25,227,798, accounting for 99.75 percent. The population of minority nationalities is 63,544 or 0.25 percent. Compared with the figure of the 1964 census, the Han nationality population has increased by 7,253,137 or 40.35 percent. The population of minority nationalities has increased by 23,447 or 58.48 percent.

4. Educational level of the population. Among the population of the province, people with a university education number 150,136. Those with a senior middle school education number 1,881,791; those with a junior middle school education, 5,526,531; and those with a primary school education,

9,821,903. Compared with the 1964 census figures, the following changes have occurred for every 1,000 persons:

Those with a university education have increased from 3.75 to 5.94;

Those with a senior middle school education have increased from 11.29 to 74.4;

Those with a junior middle school education have increased from 49.68 to 218.51;

Those with a primary school education have increased from 352.99 to 399.35.

Illiterates and semi-literates (people 12 years of age and above who cannot read or can read only a few words) number 4,547,680. Compared with the 1964 census figure, the percentage of illiterates and semi-literates in the total population has dropped from 33.85 to 17.98 percent.

5. Births and deaths in 1981. The number of births in 1981 was 506,137 with a birthrate of 20.31 per thousand. The number of deaths in 1981 was 163,027 with a mortality rate of 6.54 per thousand. The rate of natural increase of the population was 13.77 per thousand in 1981.

6. Population of cities and towns. The total population residing in cities and towns is 5,314,528 in 1982. Compared with the 1964 census figure, the total population of cities and towns has increased by 2,141,638 or 67.5 percent. The proportion of the total population residing in cities and towns has increased from 17.61 percent in 1964 to 21.01 percent.

7. The distribution of population by area.

Taiyuan City	2,219,605 (including the population of Qingxu, Yangqu and Loufan counties, which is 444,889)
Datong City	967,610
Yangquan City	466,563
Changzhi City	436,149
Yanbei Prefecture	2,322,198
Yinxian Prefecture	2,456,542
Luliang Prefecture	2,554,345
Jinzhong Prefecture	3,145,814
Jindongnan Prefecture	3,994,875
Linfen Prefecture	3,027,077
Yuncheng Prefecture	3,700,629

CSO: 4005/205

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'HEBEI RIBAO' REPORTS PROVINCIAL CENSUS FIGURES

HK241038 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 11 Nov 82 p 1

[Report: "Hebei's Population is 53,005,875"]

[Text] The general registration, reexamination and manual computation of Hebei's third census have been completed. Now, the Provincial Statistics Bureau has released the principal figures calculated by manual computation.

1. Total Population

The total population of Hebei is 53,005,875. Compared with the number of people registered in the second population at 0000, 1 July, 1964, which was 39,416,706 after readjustment according to the existing political division, there is an increase of 13,589,169 people in 18 years, or an increase of 34.5 percent. This is an average annual increase of 754,954, or 1.7 percent annually.

2. The Structure of the Sexes

Of the province's total population, 27,128,903 are males, or 51.2 percent, and 25,876,972 females, or 48.8 percent of the total population. The ratio between the two sexes (the index for the number of males if the index for the number of females is 100) is 104.8.

3. The Population of Various Nationalities

Of the province's total population, the population of the Han nationality is 52,154,466, which constitutes 98.4 percent of the total; the total population of the various minority nationalities is 851,409, which constitutes 1.6 percent. Compared with the figures of the 1964 population, the Han nationality has increased by 13,341,316 people, or by 34.4 percent; the total population of the minority nationalities has increased by 247,853 people, an increase of 41.1 percent.

According to the population census, there are 42 nationalities in the province. Compared with the figures of the 1964 population census, this

is a decrease of 1 nationality. Of the 41 minority nationalities, 5 have more than 1,000 people. The figures for these 5 minority nationalities are:

The Hui Nationality	418,853
The Man Nationality	383,233
The Menggu Nationality (Monggols)	42,872
The Zhuang Nationality	2,887
The Chaoxian Nationality (Koreans)	1,759
Others	1,805

4. The Number of People with Different Levels of Education

Of the province's total population, 182,952 people have a university graduate level of education; 49,447 people (including the currently enrolled students) have a university undergraduate level of education; 3,990,196 people have a senior high school education; 10,208,381 people have a junior high school education; and 19,287,130 people have a primary school education. The number of people with senior high school, junior high school education and primary school education includes the number of graduates, undergraduates and currently enrolled students of the senior high schools, junior high schools and primary schools respectively.

Compared with the figures of the 1964 population census, the following changes have occurred in the numbers of people with different levels of education per 100,000 people: The number of people with a university education has increased from 183 to 438; the number of people with a senior high school education has increased from 898 to 7,528; the number of people with a junior high school education has increased from 4,386 to 19,259; and the number of people with a primary school education has increased from 29,948 to 36,387.

Of the total population, 11,845,252 are illiterate or semi-illiterate (people above the age of 12 who cannot read or can only recognize a few characters). Compared with the figures of the second census in 1964, the percentage of illiterate and semi-illiterate people has dropped from 38.4 percent to 22.3 percent.

5. Birth and Death Rates in 1981

According to the census, in the entire province, 1,250,461 people were born in 1981, a birth rate of 24.0 per thousand; and 315,512 people died in 1981, a death rate of 6.1 per thousand. In 1981, the natural growth population (the number of people who were born minus those who died) was 934,949 and the rate of natural growth (birth rate minus death rate) was 17.9 per thousand.

6. Population of the Municipalities and Towns

Of the total population, 7,272,130 people live in areas under the jurisdiction of municipalities and townships. The total population of 11 municipalities is 6,048,189, and the total population of 50 towns (excluding the population of Ma Tou Town in Han Dan Municipality, which is included in the population of the municipality) is 1,223,941. Compared with the figures of the 1964 census, there is an increase of 2,836,736 people in the total population of the municipalities and towns and the rate of increase if 64.0 percent. The population of the municipalities and towns constitutes 17.3 percent of the total population. In 1964 it constituted 11.3 percent.

7. Regional Population Distribution

The population of the 10 prefectures and 2 municipalities under the jurisdiction of the province is as follows:

Shijiazhuang Municipality	1,066,335
Tangshan Municipality	1,338,304
Handan Prefecture	6,303,260
Xingtai Prefecture	5,050,085
Shijiazhuang Prefecture	5,693,583
Baoding Prefecture	8,341,067
Zhangjiakou Prefecture	3,912,468
Chengde Prefecture	3,553,250
Tangshan Prefecture	6,284,110
Langfang Prefecture	2,839,932
Cangzhou Prefecture	5,193,303
Hengshui Prefecture	3,430,178

8. Results of Sample Checks on the Quality and Quantity of the Population Census

After the registration and reregistration were completed, in accordance with the provisions of the "Criteria for Examining the Quality and Quantity of Work at Different Stages of the Third National Population Census" and the "Detailed Regulations for Sample Checks on the Quality and Quantity of the Population Census" promulgated by the leading group for the third population census of the State Council and the office of the leading group, the province, prefectures, municipalities, counties and communes (towns, neighborhoods) carried out sample checks on the quality and quantity of the population census and on the quality and quantity of the examination. The errors were below the standard set by the state and high quality and high quantity demands have been met.

CSO: 4005/205

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'MING PAO' ON PRC LACK OF UNIVERSITY FUNDS

HK150151 Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 14 Nov 82 p 3

[Special dispatch by Zong Chuan [1350 3197]: "No Increase in University Expenditure; Hard to See Economic Quadrupling"]

[Text] Beijing, 13 Nov--At the fifth Beijing CPC Municipal Congress, Liu Da, president of Qinghua University urgently called for solving the difficulties relating to the housing, clothing, feeding and transportation of university teachers and students and for an increase in the necessary educational expenditure. He said that if the city fails to develop its education, it will be hard to realize the economic quadrupling.

This president of the most authorative science and engineering university in the mainland frankly said: "I have been the president of Qinghua University for more than 5 years. I can say that more than 70 percent of my energy has not been spent in directly organizing teaching and scientific research in the university, but has been spent in dealing with administrative affairs relating to the housing, clothing, food, transportion, childbirth, retirement, sickness and death problems of the teachers, staff, workers and students in the university." He pointed out the existence of a strange, extremely widespread phenomenon in many universities in the country, namely, that it is not society which manages the universities but rather the universities which manage society. According to Liu Da, the housing problem at Qinghua University is very severe. The average residential area for each student is only a little more than two square meters. Temperatures are very high in summer in the dormitories and the sanitary conditions are very poor. Although a large amount of housing has been built for the teachers during the past few years, increasing the number of flats for teachers by more than 1,000, the homes of some of the teachers are still very crowded. He thinks that in order to develop the economy it is necessary to allocate a sufficient amount of funds to develop education. This year, Beijing Municipality allocated 3 percent of its total investment funds to cultural and educational undertakings. This was better than the figure of 2 percent during the 10 years of civil disorder, but it still falls short of the 4 percent figure in 1966 before the Cultural Revolution.

The deputy secretary of the CPC Committee of the Beijing Teachers' University was of the same opinion. To illustrate his point he said that it has been

more than a decade since the death of Chen Yuan, the former president of the university, but still a new president has not been appointed to this long established educational institution which is the top one for training teachers in the whole country.

Fang Wu, deputy director of the Central Music Conservatory said that it has been 9 years since the conservatory planned to build an educational building, the construction of which was approved by Premier Zhou when he was alive, but the construction has not yet been completed. There was first an excessive delay in getting the blue prints ready and then, last year, the unit in charge of the construction delayed the beginning of the construction again and again. The construction of the residential building for teachers and staff has also suffered a similar delay and it is now being carried out very slowly. As for the buildings of the higher education institutions in Beijing that were occupied without authorization during the 10 years of civil disorder by other units, hundreds and thousands of square meters of these buildings have not yet been returned to the original owners.

What about the situation in middle and primary schools? According to the delegates from the eastern district of the municipality, more than 80 percent of the primary schools in the city have no playgrounds. The classroom's in many of the primary schools in the district fall short of educational requirements. Some of the classrooms have to be lit by electricity all day long, all year round.

Shortage of housing is the most worrying problem facing the Beijing Municipal authorities. During the past few years, the municipal authorities have done a lot of work in this area. According to statistics, more than 24 million square meters of building have been completed in the city since 1977, which is more than 300 percent more than the total building area in the city before 1949. In the past 30 and more years, more than 80 million square meters of buildings have been built. However, the rate of population increase in Beijing has also been remarkably rapid. Similar problems exists in almost all the big cities in the mainland. The difference lies only in the degree of seriousness of the problem. As a result, people have changed the order of the traditional four major issues from the order of clothing, food, housing and transportation to the order of housing, transportation, food and clothing. Because the housing issue has a direct bearing on the education of the children in many households, it is even more urgent.

During the CPC Municipal Congress in Beijing, Duan Junyi, first secretary of the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee and Jiao Ruoyu, mayor of Beijing, paid great attention to these viewpoints expressed by the delegates. They are trying to find ways for improvement.

CSO: 4005/205

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'SHAANXI RIBAO' URGES WRITING ON MILITARY THEMES

HK240930 Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 14 Nov 82 p 3

["Short Commentary on Literature and Art" by Sun Baoyin [1327 6283 7148]: "Create a New Situation in Writing Works Based on Military Themes"]

[Text] Fruitful results have been attained in writing works based on military themes since the founding of the country. The names of Zhou Dayong ("In Defense of Yanan"), Wu Qionghua ("The Red Women's Detachment") and Yang Zirong ("A Sea of Forest and a Plain of Snow") shine brilliantly in the history of literature. In the past few years, the cordial and appealing artistic images of Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Peng Dehuai and Chen Yi have been successfully portrayed in the play "The Towering Kunlun Mountains," the film "The Sparkling Fire on Meiling Mountain," and so on. Their proletarian revolutionary spirit and noble communist values give great encouragement and impart great strength to our readers today, especially to the younger generation.

Undoubtedly, portraying shining images of proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and describing the grand and colorful revolutionary struggles in various historical periods remain an important part of military themes. However, reviewed from the development of revolutionary literature, writers are required to shift their attention more to today's struggle. At present, many writers have focused their attention on timely revealing the modernization of our national defense which is being carried out by our armed forces under the party's leadership and are striving to write on the style, features and selfless posture of our commanders and fighters in defending and modernizing our country. These writers have already portrayed images of new people in the army strongly characteristic of our times, such as Zheng Zhitong ("'Soldiers' Garrisoned Deep in the Tianshan Mountain") and Liu Maomei ("Anecdotes on the Western Front"). In this way, they have created a new situation in writing works based on military themes. However, the quality and quantity of these works are still a far cry from the needs of our times.

Recently, I was fortunate enough to have a chance to make a study tour among army units. I was able to witness and hear outstanding achievements of fighters of the Ouyang Hai squad, the meritorious deeds of valiant fighters of the Luo Shengjiao company, the noble spirit of units guarding bridges,

and the loyalty of heroes of the regiment participating in test flights. Tremendous strength seemed to rise in my heart. A girl who tried to commit suicide was saved by armymen. Listen to the words from the bottom of her heart:

"The spring breeze of spiritual civilization,
Warms her frozen heart;
The shining stars on the soldiers' heads,
Light up her gloomy eyes.
Rekindled in her heart,
Are hopes of life
And confidence to live on...."

Faced wich such loving fighters and such glittering and colorful life, how can revolutionary writers and artists not prominently eulogize all of this!

The center of literary works is to write about men; this is also true of works on military themes. The most important thing in writing on the good images of new socialist people in the army today is to appropriately explore the features of our times in the characters of revolutionary armymen of the new period. This demands that literary and art workers first establish close ties with them, befriend them, love them and understand them. What Comrade Ba Jin said is very good: "Only by going deep into the seething life of the army today can we write works which truly and profoundly reflect the new mental attitude of today's armymen." I hope that writers and artists who have a chance to go down to army units will overcome their bias of thinking that military themes are monotonous and uninteresting, enthusiastically hurl themselves into the seething army life, share the weal and woe of the broad masses of commanders and fighters and write brilliant works based on military themes.

CSO: 4005/205

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'NINGXIA RIBAO' ON MINORITY NATIONALITY SITUATION

HK020301 Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 16 Nov 82 p 2

[Article by Chen Ren [7115 0088]: "Respect Minority Nationality Customs, Create a New Situation in Minority Nationality Trade"]

[Text] In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "Unity, equality and common prosperity among the nationalities are of vital importance to the destiny of China as a multinationality country. The whole party must acquire a better understanding of the nationalities question, we must educate all party members to strive to fulfill the task of the party in regard to the nationalities."

As commercial workers, we should fully perceive the importance of respecting minority nationality customs and doing a good job in minority nationality trade, strive to do our work well, further arouse the initiative of the minority nationality masses and develop the four modernizations.

For years, relations between the party and the national minorities were jeopardized and numerous difficulties were caused to minority nationality people's lives as a result of "leftist" mistakes. During the "Great Cultural Revolution" in particular, the minority nationality policy was wilfully trampled upon by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," national customs were not respected and the production of special commodities which they require was stopped. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," in particular, since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, party policy on national minorities has been implemented, and our region has done a lot of good work in implementing the central instructions, bringing order out of chaos and carrying out the nationality policy. We have readjusted our commercial departments and recruited a number of Hui staff members and workers for our food and drink enterprises, butcher's and grocer's and have also assigned a number of Hui cadres to reinforce the grassroots leadership. There is basic separation between Muslim and non-Muslim in commercial networks, cold storage and transport means, and we have made careful check on all links in purchasing, marketing, transport and storage. The improvement of commercial work has been well received by the Hui people and nationality unity has thus been strengthened and production developed. However, many problems still exist in commercial work and we should acquire a better understanding and promptly improve it.

1. Strengthen education in minority nationality policy and acquire a better understanding of the importance of long-term nature of work related to minority nationality trade. The region's Hui nationality accounts for one third of its population and it is very important to do a good job in minority nationality trade and grasp daily consumer goods production. Chen Yun said: "Minority nationality trade constitutes a key link in nationality work. In the fraternal minority nationality areas....trade should not be regarded as merely purchasing and marketing, the work you are engaged in is a specific manifestation of the minority nationality policy and you are the executors implementing the policy....you should take the responsibility for nationality unity and strengthening national defense while doing economic work." We can see that minority nationality trade is not only commercial but also a political work; it not only has economic but also political importance. At the same time, minority nationality trade and minority nationality consumer goods production will last a long period of time because of the long-standing differences between the nationalities. In recent years, there have been many new recruits in the commercial departments of the region and some new staff members and workers are not familiar or not quite familiar with the minority nationality trade policy. Some leading cadres and Han staff members and workers have not acquired a better understanding of the importance of minority nationality trade and have become slack in their work. Therefore, commercial departments and minority nationality affairs departments should closely cooperate, inculcate cadres, staff members and workers in the commercial departments in the minority nationality policy, and conduct several investigations annually in order to strengthen their concept of party policy on minority nationalities, make them understand this policy and arouse their initiative in implementing the policy.

2. Conscientiously respect minority nationality customs and habits. China is a nation of many nationalities. Over the long development of history, the nationalities have formed their own customs and habits which vary from each other on food and drink, clothing and decoration, housing, marriage and funerals, celebrations, recreation, courtesies and taboos. To respect minority nationality customs and habits means to respect the national minorities and the nationality quality as well as their feelings. In order to enable the commercial departments to respect minority nationality customs and habits, our region has promulgated "Some Regulations on Minority Nationality Customs to be Respected by the Commercial Departments and Enterprises" which provide specific measures concerning Muslim cold storage, food processing plants, canteens, beef and mutton and brands and marks to be used in Muslim groceries, equipments and tools, allocation of personnel, work clothes and hats as well as commodity purchasing, transport, storage, marketing and so on. A check system has been established and improved. Since the implementation of these regulations, commercial departments' respect for minority nationality customs has been greatly improved. We should make continuous efforts to stick to this.

3. To maintain production and to promote economic prosperity are unshirkable and glorious duties in minority nationality trade. The Party Central

Committee and the leading central cadres have stressed several times that common prosperity and development among the nationalities mark the entire period of socialism. It is the primary task of the party and government in minority nationality regions to assist the national minorities in their production development, in promoting economic prosperity, in putting an end to the backwardness of the minority nationality areas and in eliminating the inequalities left over by history. This is also a glorious duty of minority nationality trade. Our commercial departments have done a great deal of work for many years by giving assistance in production development and this has vigorously promoted the minority nationality economic development. In 1981, the total purchasing value of agriculture and sideline products of the region increased by 680 percent compared with 1952 and by 180 percent over 1958; the total purchasing value of local industrial products increased by 1,670 percent compared with 1958; the proportion of the total procurement value of Ningxia industrial products in total commodity sales value increased from 10.6 percent in 1958 to 32.8 percent in 1981. The minority nationality economy of the region has developed to a certain extent. While giving assistance in production, commercial departments should strengthen investigation and study, do a good job in market forecasting, have a good grasp of the laws on commodity supply and demand, constantly provide production units and peasants with economic information, strengthen planning and avoid blindness. At the same time, the commercial departments at all levels should meet the minority nationality needs and guarantee commodity supply in line with the actual conditions of the minority nationality region. It is necessary to expand business, constantly maintain an ample supply of a full range of goods, be fair in buying and selling, and offer good services so that the national minorities can see from their own interests the concern for them shown by the party and state.

4. Enhance the quality of the commercial contingent, expand the Hui staff member and worker force, and further develop minority nationality trade. At present, the number of Hui staff members and workers accounts for less than 20 percent of the total number of staff members and workers in the commercial departments. Some enterprises which directly serve the Hui people's livelihood lack Hui leading cadres, and this is a problem which should be settled in the minority nationality trade of the region. In future recruitment of employees by the commercial departments, the number of Hui staff members and workers must not be less than one third. Special instructions concerning the recruitment of Hui staff members and workers should be constantly given to the commercial departments. Hui staff members' and workers' cultural, professional and technical training should be strengthened. Commercial schools or commercial technical schools of the region should enroll a certain proportion of Hui students in their admissions system. We are sure that by doing these tasks well, a new encouraging situation will be created in the minority nationality trade of the region.

CSO: 4005/205

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'SHAANXI RIBAO' ON SELECTING TALENTED PEOPLE

HK060255 Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 82 p 2

[Commentator's article: "Emancipate the Mind, Break Down Conventions, Do a Good Job in Selecting Talented People"]

[Text] At present, the most important and urgent task of our party organizational work is to speed up the process of ensuring that the ranks of the cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent, and to readjust the leading bodies at all levels in order to meet the requirement of the "four modernizations."

There exist talented people for making the ranks of the cadres more revolutionary, younger, better educated and more professionally competent. Among the rank of the cadres in the province, the number who graduated from universities and colleges, technical secondary schools, or from senior secondary schools amounts to 61.1 percent, of whom those with university or college educational level account for 19.4 percent, and the number of middle-aged or young cadres under 50 years of age makes up 86 percent, or whom 30.1 percent are under 35 years of age. But why are some of these qualified people not promoted and why are some of the promoted cadres disqualified? One of the main reasons is that some people have not entirely emancipated their minds, which are trammeled by the old conventions such as backward feudal notions and "leftist" ideology. Therefore, it is necessary to emancipate the mind, break down conventions and combat all erroneous thoughts and prejudice in order to do a good job in selecting talented people to meet the "four modernizations" requirement.

1. It is necessary to entirely break down the idea of stressing qualifications and record of service which at present constitutes the main stumbling block affecting the cultivation of talented people. This is because this idea cannot meet the demand of the "four modernizations" and of the party building in selecting cadres, and is based on record of service as a guideline for employing people. In order to maintain equilibrium and avoid hurting some comrades' feelings, even those who are incompetent are being promoted, while on the other hand, cadres of short period of service and the younger generation, even though they are men of genius, are not promoted or put in an important position, and they fail to be approved on some pretexts. So many talents have been stifled by this feudal notion.

2. It is necessary to resolutely overcome sectarian tendencies. At present, while selecting cadres, some comrades have forgotten the correct guideline of "have both ability and political integrity" and "appoint people on their merits." They appoint people according to faction or favoritism. Those who are from the same village, schoolmates, colleagues or from the same faction are made candidates to be promoted although they do not meet requirements, while even those who do very well in their work are not promoted. Those who are in intimate terms are promoted and put in an important position, while those who are outsiders are excluded by all means, and even those who are outstanding cadres are not appointed according to their qualifications. This bad work style in promoting people has, on the one hand, stifled and inhibited a number of really talented cadres who dare to stick to principles, and, on the other, has corrupted a number of cadres who closely follow leading cadres for the sake of gaining something, enabling those who take the leaders' cue to seize a chance for private gain. This is very dangerous.

3. It is necessary to acquire a correct understanding of the intellectuals and to eliminate all mistaken ideas toward them. An erroneous tendency of discriminating against intellectuals has existed among us for quite a long time due to "leftist" influence. During the 10-year catastrophe, the "gang of four" calumniated and slandered the intellectuals as the "stinking ninth category," who were cruelly attacked and persecuted. Now, when order has been brought out of disorder, this bad influence has not yet been eliminated, and some comrades (including some leading cadres) have not really considered that the intellectuals are with us or treated them as a part of the working class, and they feel alienated. They misunderstand the position and the role of the intellectuals in the four modernizations, they do not rely on the intellectuals as a force and always hold that they are not reliable. They are worried about the intellectuals, alleging that only the intellectuals' professional skill can be used, whereas they cannot be put in important positions. This idea is absolutely wrong and must be resolutely corrected.

4. We should have a better understanding of the "moral character" guideline. Now some comrades consider that those who are absolutely obedient, mediocre and unambitious and in a state of inertia have good moral character. Those who support the party line, are eager to promote the "four modernizations," have genuine talents and emancipated minds, and dare to blaze new trails and criticize mistakes in work are considered "arrogant and complacent" and "defying leadership" and of poor moral character. These two viewpoints are wrong. We should say that moral character and ability are a dialectical unity and neither should be overemphasized at the expense of the other. Without moral character, ability will lose orientation; and without ability, even though he has moral character, a person will be incompetent at important work. Of course, those who are talented but of poor moral character, who apply their talent to evil plots, should not be promoted to important positions, because that is very dangerous. At present, we should heighten our vigilance and prevent the "people of the three categories" from sneaking into the leading bodies at all levels and if any of

them are already in the leading bodies they must be entirely purged. Apart from the "people of the three categories," those who have been opposing the Party Central Committee line since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Central Committee and those who have seriously violated law and discipline in the economic and other fields also should not be promoted. This has an important bearing on ensuring the smooth development of socialist modernization and carrying forward the party line. We should never lower our guard.

In the past 2 years, the departments and localities in Shaanxi Province have done a lot of work in setting up leading bodies composed of cadres who are more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent, and have scored marked achievements. However, this work is not quite satisfactory, as a whole. In future, we must further emancipate the mind, entirely eliminate the "leftist" influence, shift the focus of cadre work to promoting and ensuring the realization of socialist modernization, properly select talented people, train personnel in specialized fields in order to make more contributions to the "four modernizations."

CSO: 4005/205

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SICHUAN MEETING ON IMPROVING SOCIAL ORDER

HK270404 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 26 Nov 82

[Summary] The political and legal committee of the provincial CPC Committee held a telephone conference on the evening of 26 November to implement the spirit of the central political and legal commission's telephone conference and make arrangements for social order work in the province this winter and next spring. Provincial CPC Committee Executive Secretary Yang Rudai spoke at the meeting. Also participating were provincial CPC Committee Secretary and Vice Governor He Haoju, Vice Governor Qiao Zhimin, and Chengdu PLA units security department Director (Du Wenfa). Provincial CPC Committee Secretary Qin Chuanhou presided.

The conference called on leading comrades of party committees and political and legal departments at all levels to fully understand the importance and urgency of grasping social order work this winter and spring and mobilize all forces to tackle this task well and effectively. "It is necessary to pay attention to solving a number of outstanding problems. At present, we must continue to get a good grasp of taking stock of and dealing blows at criminal elements who flee hither and thither. We must deal resolute blows at criminal activities of trafficking in people, and punish those responsible according to law. We must take resolute action to curb gambling, ban reactionary superstitutions sects and secret societies, and prohibit narcotics.

"We must rely on the basic organizations to do a good job in guidance and mediation work among the people, to prevent sharpening and changes in contradictions among the people. We must concentrate forces to put a stop to the sinister practice of indiscriminate tree-felling."

CSO: 4005/205

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LIAONING REGULATIONS FOR RURAL EDUCATION

SK290344 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Nov 82

[Text] The Liaoning provincial people's government recently formulated some regulations for rural educational work. The regulations state: After the institution of the agricultural production responsibility system, many new problems arose in rural education following the changes in production organizations and distribution methods. All localities should conscientiously strengthen leadership over rural educational work and gradually improve rural educational rules and regulations so as to suit rural education to the development of rural economy and increasingly upgrade education. Rural communes and brigades should not assign farm work or other manual labor to teachers of schools run by the local people. The teachers should not contract for responsibility plots. Whether the teachers should contract for food grain plots for themselves and their dependents is to be decided on by teachers themselves in line with their family conditions. Subsidy payments issued by the state to the teachers should be (?directly given to them). In the meantime, workpoints consistent with their labor should be granted to the teachers. Remunerations to the teachers should be given to them before the end of the year. Communes and brigades should strive to give overdue remunerations to teachers as soon as possible.

The regulations also state: Communes and brigades should be responsible for the maintenance of school buildings and purchases of furniture. The state will grant subsidies only when it sees fit. Education departments and rural middle and primary schools should adopt measures to ensure teaching quality and strictly implement teaching plans. The teachers should concentrate their major efforts on teaching. They are not allowed to do farm work during school hours. Close attention should be paid to solving the problem of students discontinuing their studies and to guaranteeing students' attendance rate so as to fulfill the tasks for popularizing education.

CSO: 4005/205

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HENAN ON PUBLICIZING FAMILY PLANNING POLICY

HK0310001 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Station commentary: "Thoroughly Publicize the Basic National Policy and Conscientiously Make a Success of Birth Control"]

[Text] The 12th CPC Congress determined the fighting program for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and at the same time clearly defined that family planning is a baisc national policy of our country. The CPC Central Committee adhered to the Marxist ideological line of seeking truth from facts and made this important decision for the prosperity of the country and the well-being of coming generations. One of the important tasks of publicizing and implementing the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress is to profoundly comprehend and actively publicize this basic national policy, which has strategic significance, to every household and family, so that everybody can understand and consciously implement this policy.

China has learned profound lessons on the population problem. Since the founding of the people's republic, due to the one-sidedness of the theory and the practice which we carried out with regard to the population problem, the population of the whole country increased by 140 percent in 33 years and this has brought great difficulties to the building of socialism. It is only because we have paid attention to family planning work in recent years that the trend of a sharp increase has been reduced to a certain extent. But, it is already a fact that the base of our population is a large one. The total number of births is now at its peak and this will continue for several years. This period of time coincides with our struggle for attaining the quadrupling of the total output value of industry and agriculture by the end of this century. It is precisely on the basis of such a scientific prediction that the CPC Central Committee has put forward the task of striving to achieve the quadrupling of the annual total output value of industry and agriculture by the end of this century in the report to the 12th CPC Congress and at the same time, demanded keeping our population within 1.2 billion by the end of this century. It we do not practice family planning and if the population increase exceeds 1.2 billion, the increase in peoples' incomes will be offset by the excessive population growth. Even if the total output value of industry and agriculture has

quadrupled, the income of the people in cities and towns will not be able to increase by several fold and the material and cultural life of the people will not be able to reach the comparatively well-off level.

Among the population of the provinces and autonomous regions of the whole country, Henan ranks the second. The total number of births is now at its peak. The success of birth control in Henan Province plays a decisive role in controlling the population growth of the whole country. We must fully understand the gravity and urgency of Henan's family planning work. We must put the publicizing of family planning in the first place in family planning work and place the publicizing of the basic national policy into the plan of publicizing the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress, so that the broad masses can understand the great significance of this basic national policy. We cannot regard the problem of bearing children as a personal matter. If the broad masses can connect family planning and the control of population growth with social problems and the prosperity of the country and nationality and the well-being of later generations, carry forward the spirit of patriotism and consciously practice family planning, then we can earnestly carry out the basic national policy put forward by the CPC Central Committee.

CSO: 4005/205

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LIAONING RADIO ON STRENGTHENING EDUCATION FOR JOBLESS YOUTHS

SK021118 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Short commentary: "Conscientiously Enhance the Management and Education of Youths Awaiting Work"]

[Text] Many graduates of junior and senior middle schools have after leaving school, become youths awaiting work. This poses a problem for society: How to manage and educate them? Being in their formative years, youths awaiting work are usually rather young and their outlook on the world is in the process of evolving. In other words, they are highly mallable. Usually, their level of education and knowledge is not high. If not well organized and properly educated and managed, these youths may degenerate ideologically and what little knowledge they have acquired may gradually be forgotten. In recent years the province has made great efforts to place youths awaiting work and has done a great deal to its credit. However, there exists to some extent the shortcoming of overemphasizing placement to the neglect of education. Before they take up employment, youths awaiting work are free from supervision either by schools or the units of their guardians. Their eagerness notwithstanding, neighborhood authorities do not have enough strength to subject these youth to discipline. As a result, many youths awaiting work are idling away their time, day in and day out. If things go on like this, it will be very harmful to the healthy growth of these youths and a small number of them may degenerate. This will not only hamper a fundamental turn for the better in social ethics but it will certainly affect their guardians' performance in production and their enthusiasm for work. It may also become a very serious problem.

Viewed from the needs of the four modernizations, providing vocational and technical training to youths before they take up employment will go a long way toward upgrading the quality of the working class and encouraging youths awaiting work to set up collective establishments on their own and to seek jobs by themselves.

Whether or not they are offered training makes a big difference. Those who benefit from specialized vocational training are armed with specialized knowledge and have proficiency in a particular field. They perform well after being employed, can adapt themselves to a job very rapidly and win the confidence of the masses. At present, we should not only take note of

the urgency for enhancing management and education among youths awaiting work but also be aware of the favorable conditions for promoting this work. There are labor departments, departments in charge of the education of youths and juveniles, CYL and neighborhood organizations and other facilities at all levels which attach great importance to this work. There are contingents of full-time or part-time personnel taking charge of the management and education. And there are youth palaces and homes for youths and juveniles which can be used as educational fronts. It is entirely possible to make all the youths awaiting work study and be engaged in activities in one organization or another. We believe that with the concerted efforts of all departments, this work, which concerns thousands upon thousands of families, will be accomplished in better manner.

CSO: 4005/205

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHANXI'S LI LIGONG STRESSES PLANNED PARENTHOOD

HK040727 Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 3 Dec 82

[Excerpts] The provincial planned parenthood propaganda work conference held a full session in the afternoon of 3 December. Provincial CPC Committee Executive Secretary Li Ligong delivered a report entitled: The whole party must get going and work in concert to create a new situation in Shanxi planned parenthood work. Zhao Jun, vice governor and chairman of the provincial planned parenthood committee, presided. Present were leaders of the provincial CPC Committee, People's Congress Standing Committee, government and CPPCC Luo Guibo, Zhu Weihua, Hu Xiaoqin, Wei Fengqi, Jiao Guonai, Ren Yinglun, Li Zhimin, Tao Jian, and (Zhu Xunci), and responsible comrades of the provincial organs.

Li Ligong first pointed out: In accordance with the decision of the central secretariat and State Council on holding a nationwide planned parenthood propaganda month between new year and spring festival next year, the main aim of this meeting is to study and make arrangements for the propaganda month in Shanxi. He then reviewed the great importance of planned parenthood. He pointed out: To change the backward state of planned parenthood work in Shanxi, we must focus the work on the rural areas, where over 80 percent of the province's population live. We must make the policies for developing rural economy flexible, but there can be no flexibility in planned parenthood, in strictly banning indiscriminate tree-felling, and in occupation of farmland. In grasping rural planned parenthood work, we must first grasp propaganda and education for the peasants. In light of the peasants' characteristics, we must conduct deepgoing and meticulous ideological work, imbue them with communist ideology, and break down the old concepts of regarding men as superior to women, raising children as insurance against old age, and keeping the family line going, and ensure that the masses truly understand the great importance of planned parenthood and the reasons for its policies, and will spontaneously promote planned parenthood in accordance with the demands of the party and state. At the same time, the organizations in the rural areas must make the greatest efforts to protect women and children and look after widows and orphans. We must criticize and [words indistinct] a few who resort to deceptive measures to go through sham marriages [words indistinct]. We must take legal sanctions against criminals who traffic in children to sabotage planned parenthood.

We must get a good grasp of backward areas. Places where the natural population growth rate is higher than the provincial average must, during the propaganda month, seriously carry out a check, find out the reasons, and adopt measures to deal with the problems and strive to put things right before the end of next year.

Comrade Li Ligong stressed: The provincial government recently issued a number of regulations on planned parenthood. These regulations were discussed by the government and approved by the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee. They accord with the central demands and the province's situation. We must unswervingly carry out these regulations. The whole province must regard these regulations as the guideline, and should not formulate other regulations.

We must grasp two points. One is, we must advocate that each couple has only one child. This is the focal point in current planned parenthood work. Only by getting a vigorous and relentless grasp of this point can we improve the level of planned parenthood. We must strive to raise the percentage of couples having only 1 child to 80 next year. Secondly, we must vigorously grasp stopping the birth of a third child. Nobody is allowed to have a third child under any circumstances. The multiple bith rate in Shanxi from January to September this year was at 16 percent. If we can reduce this to 10 percent or lower next year, it is certain that the province's population growth rate will fall.

We must grasp the leading role of CPC and CYL members in planned parenthood. In the future, performance in practicing planned parenthood must be treated by the organization departments as a factor in examining and promoting cadres.

Speaking on how to work in concert to make a success of the planned parenthood propaganda month, Li Ligong stressed: As with the civility and courtesy month last March, the leaders at all levels must personally get to work and lead and launch the masses to organize mass mobilization, propaganda and implementation.

CSO: 4005/205

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GUANGXI ARMED POLICE COMMENDATION RALLY ENDS

HK040645 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 3 Dec 82

[Excerpts] The gathering to commend progressive units and individuals in building socialist spiritual civilization in the Guangxi people's armed border defense police units concluded in Nanning this morning. Present at the closing ceremony were regional CPC Committee Secretary Zhao Maoxun, and leading comrades of the regional public security department and the Guangxi people's armed border defense police units. (Pan Diyan), a responsible comrade of the Guangxi people's armed border defense units, presided.

(He Guangyu), a responsible comrade of the units, delivered the closing speech. He demanded that the cadres and policemen, guided by the 12th party congress spirit, work hard in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, learn cultural and scientific knowledge, firmly establish the great communist ideal and launch in depth the drive to build socialist spiritual civilization centered on possessing four things, stressing three and having no fear of two. They should do their work well and make contributions to defending the motherland's border and creating a new situation in building the units.

During the gathering, the representatives seriously studied the spirit of the 12th party congress documents. Regional government vice chairman and public security department director Shi Qingsheng and deputy director (Wang Guanyu) made speeches. (Bi Yanda), deputy director of the regional public security department and a leading comrade of the Guangxi people's armed border defense police units, delivered a report entitled: Launch in Depth a Drive to Create Progressive Units and Individuals and Promote the Building of Socialist Spiritual Civilization Centered on Communist Ideology. Eighteen progressive units and individuals introduced their experiences and advanced deeds in building socialist spiritual civilization and promoting border defense and security work.

At the closing ceremony, (Yu Quanyu), a leading comrade of the Guangxi people's armed border police units, read out a decision of the units on commending progressive units and individuals in building socialist spiritual civilization. In addition 25 representatives of progressive units and individuals were chosen to attend the congress of progressives to be convened by the border defense and security general bureau of the Ministry of Public Security. A letter of proposal from the gathering to all border defense and security cadres and policemen in Guangxi was also adopted.

CSO: 4005/205

BRIEFS

JILIN PLANNED PARENTHOOD WORK--Since the third plenary session, planned parenthood work in our province has gotten better and better. By the end of September, the rate of planned births rose by 7.5 percent over the same period in 1981. The rate of multiple births dropped by 2.6 percent. The rate of unplanned second births dropped by 4.2 percent. The percentage of one-child family and couples practicing birth control showed different degrees of increase. These achievements have enabled our province to rank fifth in the country in planned parenthood work. [SK050030 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 3 Dec 82 SK]

JILIN PLANNED PARENTHOOD CONFERENCE--The Jilin provincial conference on planned parenthood concluded on 3 December. Liu Jingzhi, secretary of the provincial CPC Committee, spoke. He said: Population control is a problem of strategic importance. Planned parenthood is a baisc policy of the state that must be upheld and implemented on a long-term basis. We should never waver in this regard. He urged leading comrades at all levels to attend to this work and persistently implement the policy. Efforts should be made to study and solve new problems arising from the implementation of the production responsibility system in the countryside. We should attach importance to this work as we do to economic work. Deputy Governor Liu Yunzhao also attended the conference and spoke. [SK050030 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 3 Dec 82 SK]

CSO: 4005/205

END

JPRS 82556

29 December 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 377

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82556

29 December 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 377

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

European Council Summit Ends in Copenhagen
(XINHUA, 4 Dec 82) 1

European Council Meeting Ends in Brussels
(XINHUA, 4 Dec 82) 3

FRG's Kohl Makes Foreign Policy Statement
(XINHUA, 26 Nov 82) 4

UK's Pym Condemns New Israeli Settlements
(XINHUA, 1 Dec 82) 5

Deng Yingghao on Book Exhibition in France
(XINHUA, 2 Dec 82) 6

New Italian Government Sworn Into Office
(XINHUA, 2 Dec 82) 7

Briefs
Malta Friendship Group 8
Writers'Delegation in Italy 8
Romanian Delegation in Shandong 8
Venezuelan Folk Art Display 8
Journalists'Delegation in Italy 9
EEC Expects Improvement on West-East Ties 9
Mitterrand Hopes Soviet Policy Changes 9
Norway's King Receives PRC Ambassador 9
Italian Leaders Discuss Foreign Policy 10

PARTY AND STATE

Lectures on New Party Constitution Presented
(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 6, 8 Oct 82) 11

Third Lecture: Party's Guiding Ideology
Fourth Lecture: Democratic Socialist State

County Leaders Discuss New Constitution
(Jilin Provincial Service, 7 Dec 82) 17

Fujian's Xiang Nan, Others on New Constitution
(XINHUA, 1 Dec 82) 19

Jiangsu's Xu Jiatun Discusses New Constitution
(XINHUA, 1 Dec 82) 21

Yanbian Prefectural Organs Discuss Constitution
(Jilin Provincial Service, 7 Dec 82) 23

Jilin Circular Calls for Studying New Constitution
(Jilin Provincial Service, 10 Dec 82) 24

Shandong Deputies Discuss Revised Constitution
(XINHUA, 1 Dec 82) 25

Shandong Officials Support New Constitution
(Shandong Provincial Service, 9 Dec 82) 26

Hubei Holds Forum on Propaganda of Legal System, Constitution
(Hubei Provincial Service, 9 Dec 82) 28

Liuzhuang Brigade Hails Constitution
(Henan Provincial Service, 6 Dec 82) 29

Case Shows Need To Wipe Out Leftist Influence
(Hubei Provincial Service, 2 Dec 82) 31

Fines To Atone for Crimes Called Violation of Law
(Yu Songqian; ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 27 Aug 82) 33

Examples of Communist Spirit Promoted
(ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 12 Aug 82) 35

Hainan Party Secretary on Region's Modernization
(Hainan Island Service, 10 Dec 82) 37

Shanghai Vice Mayor Praises Zhao Ziyang Report
(XINHUA, 5 Dec 82) 39

Jiangsu Holds Security, Judicial Work Meeting
(Jiangsu Provincial Service, 2 Dec 82) 41

Liaoning Radio Calls for Respecting Intellectuals
(Liaoning Provincial Service, 11 Dec 82) 43

Fujian Holds Reeducation-Through-Labor Meeting
(Fujian Provincial Service, 4 Dec 82) 45

Hubei CYL Plans New Civilization Campaign
(Hubei Provincial Service, 9 Dec 82) 47

Briefs
Jilin Delegation to Japan 48
U.S. Guests Visit Hubei 48

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Qiang Xiaochu's Article Discusses Militia Work
(Qiang Xiaochu, He Youfa; Jilin Provincial Service, 9 Nov 82).. 49

Commentary Calls for More, Better Communist Writings in Army Literature
(JIEFANGJUN WENYI, Nov 82) 52

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'WEN YI BAO' Article on Literature, Art Evaluated
(Yu Yizu; SHIDAI DE BAOGAO, Aug 1982)..... 55

'WEN YI BAO' Article Criticized
(SHIDAI DE BAOGAO, Aug 1982) 68

Xu Ximing
Gao Jie
Deng Bin
Yu Lin

TAIWAN

Briefs
Armored Vehicle Transmission System 77

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EUROPEAN COUNCIL SUMMIT ENDS IN COPENHAGEN

OW060833 Beijing XINHUA in English 1940 GMT 4 Dec 82

[Text] Copenhagen, 4 Dec (XINHUA)--"The European Council fully endorsed the need for a comprehensive strategy for achieving a marked improvement in the employment situation through the creation of durable new jobs," said the conclusions of a 2-day summit of the European Community, which ended here today.

The summit, attended by leaders of the 10 EC member states, focused on the economic and social situation of the community.

The conclusions said that the EC agrees on the following priority goals:

--Reestablishing economic stability;

--taking into account the degree of stability achieved;

--encouraging productive activity, and contributing to economic recovery and structural improvement, particularly through continued reduction of interest rates and through support for productive investments, especially in innovative sectors;

--strengthening the common market and intensifying action to eliminate practices and measures which restrict trade and distort competition;

--pursuing a vigorous energy policy with a view to saving energy and diversifying supply;

--strengthening the European monetary system, increasing international cooperation and concertation in the field of monetary and financial policy and trade policy.

The conclusions reaffirmed the council's political commitment to the enlargement of the community to include Spain and Portugal. The European Council asks the council (general affairs) to press ahead with the negotiations with both countries as rapidly as possible.

"The European Council stresses that the overriding priority for the community's economic and commercial relations with other industrialised countries will be a strengthening of international cooperation in all major areas to counteract the economic recession, with particular emphasis on a return to a stable monetary, financial and trade situation," the conclusions said.

Referring to the relations between the United States and the community, the conclusions said, "The European Community is determined to pursue a constructive dialogue in the appropriate (?form) with a view to ensuring solid and confident relations between the community and the United States."

With regard to the relations with Japan, the European Council expects the council (general affairs) at its session in December to take decisions on the various ways and means of improving commercial relations between Japan and the community.

The conclusions also said, "The European Council welcomes the work undertaken within the council on the recent important commission initiative in the field of the community's relations with developing countries."

CSO: 4000/33

EUROPEAN COUNCIL MEETING ENDS IN BRUSSELS

OW060647 Beijing XINHUA in English 1852 GMT 4 Dec 82

[Text] Copenhagen, 3 Dec (XINHUA)--The 2-day summit of the European Council ended here this afternoon with a statement on the foreign policies.

The statement said: "Following the change of leadership in the Soviet Union, the governments of the 10 emphasized that their relations with that country will continue to be based on the same principles of firmness and dialogue. They call upon the Soviet Union to make the necessary contributions to improve confidence in international affairs. The 10 are ready to respond positively to such efforts and to work together with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe for a more constructive East-West relationship."

"Therefore, the European Council expressed the hope that all participating states in the Madrid meeting of the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe would take the necessary decisions to permit the meeting to arrive at an early and positive conclusion," the statement stated.

On the problem of Poland, the statement said, "The 10 will continue to follow developments in Poland closely and in particular study the implications of the possible lifting of martial law, including the conditions under which this will take place."

The European Council in particular expressed the view in the statement that "the new Soviet leadership could make an important contribution to the improvement of international relations in general and of East-West relations in particular by reassessing its position on the question of Afghanistan." It said, "The people of Afghanistan should be permitted to regain their national sovereignty and independence and the status of a nonaligned state."

On the situation in the Middle East, the statement said, the European Council continued to view the situation in Lebanon with the greatest concern. It particularly noted that no significant progress had yet been achieved towards the withdrawal of the Israeli, and other foreign forces.

CSO: 4000/33

FRG'S KOHL MAKES FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENT

OW261146 Beijing XINHUA in English 1118 GMT 26 Nov 82

[Text] Bonn, 25 Nov (XINHUA)--Chancellor Helmut Kohl, in his first foreign policy statement to the Bundestag (Parliament) today, said West Germany will continue its efforts to strengthen the West Alliance and dialogue with the Soviet Union.

Reporting on his recent visits to the United States, Britain, France and Italy, Kohl said the foundation of West Germany's foreign policy and security is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and friendship and partnership with the United States. "Our U.S. friends can rest assured that we are still reliable allies," he said.

Kohl said defense, arms control, and dialogues, or even cooperation, with the East on condition that the security of the West be fully guaranteed--these are "our common political foundation, on which my government and I will strengthen our partnership with the United States by strengthening consultations in the years ahead."

Kohl welcomed U.S. President Ronald Reagan's proposals, presented to Soviet leaders, for avoiding an accidental nuclear war, saying that these proposals can help reduce the distrust between the East and the West.

Kohl said that during his stay in Washington, he suggested Reagan meet new Soviet leader Yuriy Andropov. He believed that such a meeting would produce favorable effect on the East-West relations and disarmament talks in Geneva. Of course, he added, it has to be carefully prepared and held at an appropriate time.

Referring to West German-Soviet relations, Kohl said his government has seriously noticed Andropov's recent speech. "We are ready to react positively to steps leading to constructive West-East ties," he said. "What counts here are actions and facts."

Kohl expressed satisfaction that Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko will visit Bonn in the middle of January. West Germany is willing to hold direct dialogues with the Soviet Union because its relations with the latter is "of great significance," he said.

Kohl said his government supports NATO's double-decision on the deployment of new medium-range missiles and disarmament talks. Only when the West is determined to deploy the medium-range missiles when necessary can the Geneva disarmament talks have a chance to succeed, he added.

CSO: 4000/33

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UK'S PYM CONDEMNS NEW ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS

OW010945 Beijing XINHUA in English 0743 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Text] London, 30 Nov (XINHUA)--British Foreign Secretary Francis Pym today denounced the establishment of new Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories as "a profound disservice to the cause of peace" in the Middle East.

Speaking at a Commonwealth Jewish leaders' meeting here, Pym said that Israel has not complied with U.S. President Reagan's call for a freeze on settlements on the West Bank and in Gaza. "Indeed, they are establishing new settlements," he added.

"The attempt to change the status quo in the territories which Israel occupies does more than anything else to undermine confidence that Israel truly seeks a peaceful accommodation with her Arab neighbours," he said.

Pym also expressed disappointment at Israel's rejection of President Reagan's plan for Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank in association with Jordan as a basis for talks.

However, Pym made no reference to the decision by the Arab League this week to call off a visit to Britain because Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the foreign secretary refused to receive a delegation including a Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) representative.

The Arab League's delegation, scheduled to visit Britain on 1 and 2 December, was set up at the Arab summit in Fes, Morocco, last September to explain a pan-Arab peace plan for the Middle East to the five permanent members of the UN Security Council.

In recent years, Britain, as prime mover of a European peace initiative for the Middle East, has agreed that the PLO has to be involved in negotiations if a peaceful solution was to be found in the region. But the government has also insisted that "the PLO must abandon terrorism and recognise the right of Israel to exist."

CSO: 4000/33

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DENG YINGCHAO ON BOOK EXHIBITION IN FRANCE

OW021047 Beijing XINHUA in English 0804 GMT 2 Dec 82

[Text] Paris, 1 Dec (XINHUA)--"An exhibition of books of the People's Republic of China," the largest China [as received] ever held abroad, opened here today.

On display are 5,600 titles of books and works of art including picture albums, paper-cuts as well as water-color block printings, which reflect the Chinese traditional culture and modern socialist culture.

President of the Senate Alain Poher, President of the Paris University Pierre Tabatoni and 400 persons of the French cultural circle attended the opening ceremony.

Chinese Ambassador to France Yao Guang and the director general of cultural, scientific and technical relations of the Foreign Ministry, Jacques Thibau, spoke at the opening ceremony. Both hoped that the exhibition will help deepen the understanding and friendship between the peoples of France and China.

Poher wrote for the exhibition that "the visitor will see the Chinese books, that is to say, the written thought of this great country."

Deng Yingchao, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of China's National People's Congress, wrote the following words to mark the occasion: "China-France cultural exchanges have a long history, and the book exhibition will promote further the friendship between the peoples of China and France."

The exhibition, held in accordance with the China-France cultural exchange program, will last till 19 December. It will also be held in Lyon from 14-29 January 1983.

CSO: 4000/33

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NEW ITALIAN GOVERNMENT SWORN INTO OFFICE

OW020639 Beijing XINHUA in English 0254 GMT 2 Dec 82

[Text] Rome, 1 Dec (XINHUA)--Italy's 43rd post-war government, led by Christian Democrat Amintore Fanfani, was sworn in today. (?The government) was formed by Christian Democrats, Socialists, Social Democrats and Liberals.

The four-party coalition put new men into key economic ministries while leaving 12 portfolios in unchanged hands.

In the new cabinet, Christian Democrat Giovanni Goria, 39, replaced Nino Andreatta as treasury minister, and Socialist Francesco Forte, 53, took the post of finance minister from his fellow party member Rino Formica, whose public wrangling triggered Giovanni Spadolini's fall last month.

Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo (Christian Democrat), Foreign Trade Minister Nicola Capria (Socialist) (?and Defense Minister Leliolagrii) (Socialist) retained their posts.

Fanfani's cabinet consists of [number indistinct] ministers with 13 portfolios going to [word indistinct] of Christian Democrats and the rest being shared by their allies.

Before the formation of the government, Fanfani had held talks with leaders of the parties and reached agreement in principle on a reduction of public spendings, control of information, and tax increases.

However, LA REPUBLICAN said according to the statement of the leaders of the four parties, their differences over economic policy remain unresolved.

Italian newspapers held that the Republicans, who refused to take part in the new government, possibly believe that the government would not survive its tenure before the 1984 general election.

CSO: 4000/33

BRIEFS

MALTA FRIENDSHIP GROUP--Beijing, 15 Nov (XINHUA)--Zhou Peiyuan, vice-chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, met and had a friendly conversation here this morning with a delegation from the Malta-China Friendship Society led by Anthony C. Coleiro, president of the society. Present were Xie Bangding, vice-president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, Sun Chengpei, deputy secretary-general of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee, and Clifford Borg-Marks, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Maltese Embassy in Beijing. [Text] [OW070141 Beijing XINHUA in English 0709 GMT 15 Nov 82]

WRITERS' DELEGATION IN ITALY--Rome, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--Chinese and Italian writers exchanged their experience dring the 14th congress of the National Writers' Trade Union of Italy held in Naples recently. A Chinese writers' delegation led by Zhou Erfu attended the congress yesterday and was warmly welcomed by Deiaco, secretary general of the trade union. In his speech at the congress Zhou Erfu praised the increasing contact between writers of the two countries in the field of literature. In the evening, the Chinese writers briefed a symposium in Sorrento City on the development of modern Chinese literature. The Chinese delegation arrived in Naples on 18 November. [Text] [OW070141 Beijing XINHUA in English 1515 GMT 21 Nov 82]

ROMANIAN DELEGATION IN SHANDONG--Accompanied by Wang Lan, advisor of the Chinese Agricultural Bank, the seven-member delegation of the Romanian Agricultural and Food Industrial Bank arrived on 22 November in Shandong Province for a visit. Liu Zhongqian, deputy governor of the province, received and feted the delegation on the evening of 22 November. While staying in the province, the delegation visited production teams in rural areas of Ling County and toured some scenic spots. On the evening of 23 November, the delegation left the province for Nanjing. [SK270720 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 24 Nov 82]

VENEZUELAN FOLK ART DISPLAY--Beijing, 27 Nov (XINHUA)--An exhibition of 59 folk art photos provided by the Venezuelan National Folk Art Institute opened at the China Art Gallery here this afternoon. It is the first Venezuelan art exhibition held in China since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries in 1974. The exhibits show Venezuela's customs, landscapes and cultural activities. Among the 300 people attending the opening ceremony were Chen Xinren, adviser to the Ministry of Culture, Sun Shen, vice-chairman of the Chinese Musicians' Association, Regulo Burelli Rivas,

Venezuelan ambassador to China, and Manuel Antonio Ortiz, director of the Venezuelan National Folk Art Institute. After a 2-week show in Beijing, the exhibition will move to Jinan and Chengdu. [Text] [OW070125 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 27 Nov 82]

JOURNALISTS' DELEGATION IN ITALY--Rome, 28 Nov (XINHUA)--A delegation from the All-China Journalists' Association left here for home today after a 2-week visit to Italy. Italian President Sandro Pertini received and had a friendly talk with the delegation in Venice on 22 November when it was visiting this tourist center. The delegation, led by the association Secretary Xing Fangqun, was also received by other Italian leaders. The four-member delegation also visited factories, publishing houses and newspaper offices in Florence, Bologna, Verona, Milan and Turin. [Text] [OW070141 Beijing XINHUA in English 1639 GMT 28 Nov 82]

EEC EXPECTS IMPROVEMENT ON WEST-EAST TIES--Brussels, 23 Nov (XINHUA)--The foreign ministers of the European Economic Community countries at a meeting today expressed the hope that West-East relations would be improved. Speaking at a press conference after the meeting, Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, Danish foreign minister and executive president of the community's Council of Ministers, said the 10 foreign ministers hoped the new Soviet leaders would "respond favorably" to the Western proposal for nuclear disarmament and the follow-up Madrid conference to improve West-East relations. He said the foreign ministers also discussed problems in the Middle East. He said the EEC countries called on Israel to change its "stiff" attitude toward the Palestine Liberation Organization. The EEC Council of Ministers yesterday decided to provide Lebanon with a loan of 50 million European currency units (about U.S.$45.6 million) as special aid for rebuilding the country. [Text] [OW241150 Beijing XINHUA in English 1143 GMT 23 Nov 82]

MITTERRAND HOPES SOVIET POLICY CHANGES--Paris, 25 Nov (XINHUA)--French President Francois Mitterrand expressed his hope that the new Soviet leadership would change its positions on Afghanistan and Poland. In an interview with LE MONDE, before his visit to Egypt the French president made his first public statement in relation to the Soviet Union following Yuriy Andropov's takeover as the Soviet party general secretary, Mitterrand said he expected that Moscow would show policy movement first over Afghanistan rather than over Poland. However, he stressed, the Soviet leadership changes would not affect France's policies towards Moscow. He noted, "the Soviet nuclear force, tactical or not, in addition to its conventional military forces, creates an unbalanced situation in Europe." This situation should be "set right," he added. Meanwhile, the French president announced that he was opposed to "economic boycott against Russia" and "France will not break off its trade with Moscow." On the Middle East, Mitterrand said that without mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization nothing could be achieved. The French president also talked about disarmament, the Atlantic Alliance unity, Europe's role in the world and the world economy. [Text] [OW262018 Beijing XINHUA in English 1621 GMT 26 Nov 82]

NORWAY'S KING RECEIVES PRC AMBASSADOR--Stockholm, 26 Nov (XINHUA)--King of Norway Olav the Fifth received the outgoing Chinese Ambassador Ding Guoyu at the Royal Palace in Oslo Wednesday, according to a report from the

Norwegian capital. In their talks which proceeded in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, the king expressed satisfaction with the progress in the relations between Norway and China in recent years. Earlier, president of the Norwegian Parliament Per Hying-Dahl, Prime Minister Kaare Willoch and Foreign Minister Svenn Stray met with the Chinese ambassador on separate occasions. [Text] [OW270449 Beijing XINHUA in English 1547 GMT 26 Nov 82]

ITALIAN LEADERS DISCUSS FOREIGN POLICY--Rome, 5 Dec (XINHUA)--Chiriaco de Mila, secretary of Italy's ruling Christian Democratic Party, said today, "Europe should continue its alliance with the U.S. without ignoring any Soviet friendly gestures." Speaking at the party's panel discussion on foreign policy which began on 3 December, he also said: "Europe can play a special role in regulating the North-South relations." Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo also spoke at the panel. On European-U.S. relations, he said, in order to conduct a constructive dialogue with the U.S., Europe must assume its own responsibility and play the role which is due to it. Besides, it should "fully take part in the common choice on an equal footing" with the United States. Reaffirming European unity, he said: "This is not to seek confrontation with anybody, but to support with greater unity a more effective and constructive dialogue in the West." [Text] [OW060823 Beijing XINHUA in English 0724 GMT 6 Dec 82]

CSO: 4000/33

PARTY AND STATE

LECTURES ON NEW PARTY CONSTITUTION PRESENTED

Third Lecture: Party's Guiding Ideology

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 82 p 3

/Text/ As to the guiding ideology of the party, the new Party Constitution says in its General Programme: "The Communist Party of China takes Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as its guide to action." This is a fundamental law of our party which must be conscientiously observed by party organizations at all levels and by every member of the party.

We know that the actions of any political party of whatever social class are guided and controlled by a certain ideology, viewpoint and theory. The difference merely depends on the interests of what particular class that these ideologies, viewpoints and theories represent, and on the ideological system that they are part of. Marxism-Leninism is the summation of the struggle experience of the working class; it is the powerful weapon in their cognition and transformation of the world and the communist theoretical foundation that guides the working class and all working people in their revolutionary struggle and in building socialism. The political party of the working class must therefore accept Marxism-Leninism as its guiding ideology. Our Chinese communist party was indeed built up according to the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and revolutionary style. In the several decades of revolutionary struggle, the Chinese communists, with their principal representative Comrade Mao Zedong, effected an integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and created Mao Zedong Thought. It was precisely under the ideological guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong that our party led the people of the whole country to its victory in the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and in socialist construction. At present, our party, again under their guidance, is initiating a new phase of socialist modernizations. Practical experience proved that Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are limitless in their powerful vitality; whether in the past, presently or in future, they are our guiding ideology and most important cherished heritage.

We shall uphold the guiding ideology of the party, as most fundamentally expressed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in his opening speech at the 12th National People's Congress: We must "integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism

with the concrete reality of our country, go our own way and construct a socialism of a special Chinese character." These words, on the one hand, fully affirm the guiding function of ideology and draw a clear line of demarcation against those erroneous tendencies of trying to negate the scientific value and guiding role of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought in our revolution and construction. On the other hand the words stress emphatically that theory must be integrated with practice and must be tested, enriched and continuously developed in practice, thus drawing a clear line of demarcation against bookishness. This is the fundamental conclusion reached by our party in the process of its protracted struggle. The reasons why our party, after basically completing the socialist transformation, committed "leftist" mistakes in its guidance of work, in particular such a serious mistake as the "cultural revolution," are certainly not any faults of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, but essentially mistakes in the integration of theory with practice and deviations from the path of Marxism. The great historical achievement of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee was precisely that it radically smashed the grave bonds of the protracted "leftist" errors, set right the guiding ideology of the party and reinstated Marxism as ideological line, political line and organizational line. Following the Third Plenum, the party moreover drew up and put into effect a set of general and specific policies in conformity with the objective realities, to prevent that while our attention is directed to one kind of errors, we may overlook another kind of erroneous trends. In the period of not even 4 years, we have therefore been able to smoothly accomplish the arduous task of bringing order out of chaos in the field of guiding ideology, thanks to the common efforts of the entire party and the people of the whole country, as we were also able to achieve great victories in bringing order out of chaos in the actual work on all fronts, realizing the great historical transformation. This fact forcefully demonstrates that only by having the party firmly uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and successfully integrate them with the concrete realities of our revolution and construction, can we become an irresistable force, like water running down a steep roof or like splitting a bamboo, that will achieve great victory after great victory.

The important task that we are now facing is to prove ourselves capable of further developing Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought under the new historical conditions. This of course is an extremely arduous task, but also the historical task that we Chinese communists cannot shirk, because it is one of the greatest creative projects in human history to build up, in this new historical period, our country, originally so backward economically and culturally, with a population of 1 billion people and 9.6 million square km of territory, into a powerful, modern socialist state. The many topics involved in this undertaking were not, and could not possibly have been, raised and solved by the Marxists of former times, and it is also impossible to avoid completely during the execution of this undertaking that this or that deviation may occur within our own ranks. To accomplish this historical task, it is furthermore important that our entire party, especially the party committees at all levels, make a more thorough study, and carry on, the stand, viewpoint and methods of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and uphold the correct line established by our party since the Third Plenum.

On the one hand we must oppose the "leftist" tendencies that try to return to the mistaken theories of the "great cultural revolution" and other such mistaken previous theories. On the other hand we must also oppose such rightist tendencies of bourgeois liberalization that will doubt and negate the four fundamental principles. We must moreover become closely involved in the realities in all fields during this new great practical experience, engage in systematic investigation and research, analyze the new situation, study the new problems and sum up the new experiences. Only if we persevere in these activities over a lengthy period of time, shall we definitely be able to build up our country into a powerful, modern socialist state with particular Chinese characteristics, create a new theory and advance Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

Some comrades believe that the party's "guiding ideology" is a matter for the leadership organs and leading cadres, and that it will do for us ordinary party members to merely do a good job at our posts. This too is a onesided outlook. The guiding ideology of the party is the guide in all actions by the entire party and is to be conscientiously studied, comprehended and mastered by the party organization at all levels and by every single party member. To be sure, the leading organs and cadres in leadership positions, due to their shouldering leadership responsibility, have the task to determine and to gain a good grasp of party policy, and higher demands must be made on them in this respect. However, in the case of every single one of us party members, it is absolutely necessary to make the same demands, otherwise we will not be able to understand correctly and carry out party policies and propagate party policy among the masses. For instance, 2 years ago, when there was a shift in the focus of our party's work, some comrades called it a "rightist" move. They called the system of agricultural production responsibility, making production contracts per labor unit or per household, a "sharing out of land for individual farming." They interpreted the broadening of the self-determination of production teams as abolishing guidance by the state plan, and interpreted the reform of the party leadership as abolishing party leadership, etc. In the last analysis these conditions occurred because of our insufficient studies and low level of Marxism. It is therefore extremely important in the case of every single party member to use Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to raise communist consciousness, establish an ideology of wholehearted service to the people and to strengthen resistance against the influx of corrupting elements. Lenin once said: "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." "Only a party with an advanced theory as its guide can effectively count on advanced fighters." (Cf. his "What is to be Done?") It is therefore necessary that each single party member without any exception conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and moreover accept them as the guide for all his actions, and again it is only in this way that a person can make of himself a politically conscious vanguard fighter for the working class.

Fourth Lecture: Democratic Socialist State

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 8 Oct 82 p 4

/Text/ The General Programme of the New Party Constitution says: "The general task of the Communist Party of China at the present stage is to unite the people of all nationalities in working hard and self-reliantly to achieve, step by step, the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology and make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country." This is also the guiding principle for our party at the present stage.

We must be aware of the fact that this general task of our party at the present stage represents the summation of the historical experiences, positive and negative, of over 20 years of socialist construction, and that these experiences were bought at a heavy price. As early as 1956, the Eighth National Party Congress correctly analyzed the special socio-historical characteristics of our country subsequent to the basic completion of the socialist transformation and determined the general task in our country's construction of socialism to be the systematic, step by step technological transformation in our national economy in order to be able to build up a strong modern industry, agriculture, communications and transport system and national defense, as also the need to exert ourselves in the promotion of science, culture and technology, to catch up with and overtake the advanced world level. However, shortly thereafter, owing to the mistaken guidance by "leftist" ideologies--especially due to the sabotage by the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Zing during the "great cultural revolution"--it was not possible to shift the focus of party work for a long period of time, and the development of our national economy suffered many complications and serious difficulties. Only after the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique was smashed, especially after the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, could the serious bonds of the long-term "leftist" errors be radically broken, could the guiding ideology of the party be set right and could the shift of focus in the work of the entire party be carried out in accordance with the objective realities. It is in this general task of the party at the present stage that the fundamental interests of the entire party and the people of the whole country rest at the present stage. If we achieve this general task, the total income of our people and the production of the main industrial and agricultural products will occupy front rank position in the world, the modernization process for the entire national economy would make great progress, the income of the urban and rural population would increase many times over, and the material and cultural life of the people would achieve a comfortable level of prosperity. If one wants to correctly understand the general task of the party at the present stage and to consciously strive for the realization of this general task, it is particularly necessary to gain clarity in the process of political studies of the following three relations: First, we must correctly deal with the relationship of economics with politics, that is, the relationship between the four modernizations and class struggle. After the exploiting classes as classes have been eliminated, the majority of contradictions in our society do not have class character anymore. The main domestic

contradiction in our country is no more class struggle, but the contradiction between the daily growing material and cultural needs of the people and our backward social productive forces. To solve this contradiction we have to develop our productive forces on a large scale. The four modernizations have therefore become the largest item of politics in the new era of our country and also our central and overriding task. Our party's work in all the various fields must be arranged around this central task, must serve this central task and must not depart from this central task. There must be not the slightest wavering on this point. Any trend or method of action that departs from this central task is in error. However, due to certain domestic factors and international influences, class struggle still exists within certain limits and will exist for a long time, and may even become more acute under certain conditions. We must therefore prepare ourselves spiritually for a lengthy struggle during the construction of our four modernizations. We must uphold the function of dictatorship in our state of people's democratic dictatorship and must uphold the application of the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint in dealing with the social contradictions and social phenomena that show a class struggle character. At present we must fight to the finish against the serious criminal activities that jeopardize socialism in the economic as well as in the political and cultural field. To saboteurs in these fields, regardless of who they are, severe punishment according to law must be meted out. It is extremely harmful to disregard this kind of class struggle under the new historical conditions, turn a blind eye to them or show indecisiveness. It is not permissible according to party discipline nor according to the laws of the land to wink at or shield saboteurs. Of course in our campaign against serious criminal activities we must also not depart from the central task of the four modernizations.

Second, we must firmly adhere to a policy of grasping with both hands, namely with one hand the drive for material civilization and with the other hand the drive for spiritual civilization. By material civilization we mean the material results of man's transformation of nature, which show in the progress of material production and improvement of the material livelihood of the people. By spiritual civilization we mean that as man transforms the objective world, his subjective world is to experience simultaneously a transformation; the results of the development of spiritual production and spiritual life in the society, which show in the development of education, science, culture and knowledge and the higher standard of ideology, politics and morality. In the course of the historical development of socialism, the material civilization and the spiritual civilization were just like two wheels on which the chariot of history rolled along. They condition one another and promote one another. We must therefore firmly pursue both civilizations at the same time. We may point out here that for a long time we did not have a clear understanding of this question and always assumed that to build up the material civilization was a firm task that absolutely had to be taken in hand, while the spiritual civilization was merely a weak task and as such not essential. Very obviously this was a very onesided view. Of course in the socialist society the material civilization is the foundation for the spiritual civilization. If we do not pursue progress in the material production of society and the improvement of the material livelihood of the people, building socialist spiritual civilization would

remain empty words. The construction of the material civilization must certainly be pursued firmly, effectively and without relaxation. However, under the socialist system, the development of the material civilization will not naturally and automatically bring forth socialist spiritual civilization. Conversely, without socialist spiritual civilization, socialism cannot be built up, and even where material civilization would have developed, it would go evil ways. This is an extremely important conclusion that we reached in summing up our historical experiences. Comrade Hu Yaobang /5170 5069 6721/ pointed out in his report to the 12th National People's Congress: "The construction of the material civilization is the indispensable foundation for the construction of the socialist spiritual civilization. The socialist spiritual civilization is not only an extremely effective stimulus for the construction of the material civilization, but also a guarantee for the correct direction of the material civilization." He also emphatically pointed out: "The socialist spiritual civilization is an important feature of socialism." We must recognize from this high elevation in the political field the great significance of pursing both, the construction of the material civilization and of the spiritual civilization, and that we must make a success of building up both aspects, step by step and in a planned way.

Third, we must keep at heart the great goal of communism, conscientiously do our best at working for socialism at the present stage. The ultimate goal of our party is the realization of the social system of communism. Every single member of the party must devote his whole life to the fight for this cause, otherwise he cannot become a communist or at least have the qualifications of a communist. However, we must not indulge in mere empty talk about communism. At present, to judge whether a communist has a high degree of communist consciousness, the most important criterion is whether he is consciously and effectively doing the work required at the present stage of socialism, and whether he is capable of fighting for the realization of the party's general task at the present stage. As early as during the new democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that if any Chinese communist, or sympathizer with communism "does not fight for this goal, scorns the bourgeois democratic revolution and shows the slightest slackening or tardiness in his efforts, shows a lack of loyalty or enthusiasm, is not prepared to sacrifice blood and life, but merely indulges in empty talk about socialism and communism, it means that he betrays socialism and communism, intentionally or unintentionally, to a larger or lesser degree, and that he is not a conscious and loyal communist." We must therefore integrate the lofty ideals with our down-to-earth work. Every communist who is fired with enthusiasm for communism must presently show his enthusiasm for the socialist modernization drive. He must unite with the people of the whole country, spare no efforts, concentrate all his attention and energy and with single-hearted devotion make every minute and every second count as he plunges into the great undertaking, the great construction. On every post where the struggle for the construction of our socialist modernization is being waged, he must bring into full play the exemplary vanguard role that is expected of a communist.

9808
CSO: 4005/167

PARTY AND STATE

COUNTY LEADERS DISCUSS NEW CONSTITUTION

SK080827 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 7 Dec 82

[Text] Some county leaders who are attending the provincial rural work conference in Changchun today conscientiously discussed the new constitution. They talked freely about their personal experience in studying the constitution in line with the new situation in rural work.

In the speeches delivered by Comrade (Dong Gu), deputy secretary of the Fuyu County CPC Committee, (Jin Shoushan), deputy secretary of the Yongji County CPC Committee, and (Gong Pijian), deputy secretary of the Dunhua County CPC Committee, they said: The new constitution is the best constitution since the PRC's founding. They said: The new constitution is good because it takes the four basic principles as its general guiding ideology, reflects the actual situation of our country, represents the best interests of the people and concentratively embodies the common will and desire of the broad masses of people. This constitution, in particular, embraces all matters of interest to the peasants and helps solve all problems that have been the greatest cause of anxiety to the peasants. We wholeheartedly support this constitution and will take the lead in doing a good job in studying, publicizing and enforcing it.

(Peng Zhanshan), deputy secretary of the Changling County CPC Committee, (Wang Ziyou), deputy secretary of the Jian County CPC Committee, and (Gao Ziyou), deputy secretary of the Jian County CPC Committee, talked about their personal feelings of the constitution in line with the actual situation in rural work. They said: This new constitution is a guarantee for ensuring the country a long period of prosperity and the people a long period to live in peace and enjoy their work and for creating a new situation in the development of rural areas. After the implementation of the rural economic policies, the rural economic situation has become more lively. However, some organs and departments have been worried that the natural resources will be disrupted and some peasants have been worried that the individual economy will be affected. This new constitution clearly defines ways to protect the state's natural resources and to support the individual economy, giving consideration to the interests of the state, the collectives and the individuals. It provides a fundamental guarantee for promoting our country's various economic sectors.

In line with the ideological reality of the cadres and the masses in the rural areas, (Zhang Shitai), deputy secretary of the Yushu County CPC Committee, (Wang Jinshan), deputy secretary of the Lishu County CPC Committee, and (Yin Rugong), deputy secretary of the Huaide County CPC Committee, talked about their understanding of the new constitution. They said: At present, some rural cadres are afraid that the implementation of various forms of responsibility systems will cause disorder and some commune members are afraid that the responsibility systems will be changed. This new constitution fully affirmed the achievements from implementing various forms of responsibility systems since the third plenary session and fixes the systems in law so as to enable the cadres to feel happy and to free themselves from misgivings, thus ensuring the stability and continuity of the party's rural policies. They pledged to further emancipate their mains, relax policy restrictions and readjust and perfect all forms of responsibility systems in line with the new constitution and to continue to develop the new situation in agricultural production.

CSO: 4005/230

PARTY AND STATE

FUJIAN'S XIANG NAN, OTHERS ON NEW CONSTITUTION

OW051734 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1815 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, 1 Dec (XINHUA)--(Special for FUJIAN RIBAO) Deputies from Fujian Provknce to the fifth session of the Fifth NPC discussed the draft of the revised constitution article by article over the past several days. They said unanimously that this draft of the revised constitution being submitted to the NPC is the best socialist constitution since the founding of the PRC after repeated discussion and revision in the past years or more during which the wisdom of the people of the whole country was pooled and many new items added. The deputies said that after the new constitution is approved, they would, as hamsters running their own affairs, study the new constitution earnestly and safeguard and implement it resolutely.

Deputy Chen Xizhong, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress, said: The draft of the revised constitution is very well written and is far more specific and perfect and more fully compatible with the national conditions than the 1954 constitution. It is more in keeping with the needs of socialist modernization now and in future. Deputy Ma Xiufa, vice principal of the Fuzhou Municipal No 1 middle school, said: The manuscript of the draft of the revised constitution covered the question of developing education in minute details which is a big step forward from the manuscript circulated for discussion by the whole people. The present draft provided a specific article for science, culture, education, public health and physical culture and added some features concerning education in the chapter: The fundamental rights and duties of citizens. This will play an important role in promoting the development of education in our country as well as in raising the cultural level of the whole people.

Deputies Cai Li and He Minxue, vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, suggested that the first thing to do after the new constitution is approved is to call on the leading cadres at all levels, party members and CYL members to take the lead in safeguarding and implementing the constitution so as to create a fine social mood for the people to abide by the constitution. The participants all agreed with this suggestion. They said: For the country to maintain a lengthy peaceful reign and for the realization of the four modernizations, it is imperative to have sound socialist democracy and a legal system to curb lawlessness. Leading cadres at all levels in particular should safeguard the dignity of the constitution and take the lead in implementing the law.

Deputy Xiang Nan, first secretary of the provincial CPC Committee, said: The constitution is sacred and inviolable and every citizen has the right to safeguard it. To safeguard the constitution, it is necessary to struggle against the act in violation of the constitution. For example, the draft of the revised constitution clearly stipulated that all organizations and individuals are prohibited from seizing or damaging natural resources. We must wage a resolute struggle in our Fujian Province against the illegal act of indiscriminate felling in the forests.

Many deputies also suggested that besides publicizing the constitution through different kinds of media, it is also necessary to compile simple and concise teaching materials for teaching a course in the legal system centered around the new constitution in primary schools so as to cultivate the law-abiding social ethics from among the young people.

CSO: 4005/230

PARTY AND STATE

JIANGSU'S XU JIATUN DISCUSSES NEW CONSTITUTION

OW051731 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1432 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, 1 Dec (XINHUA)--Xu Jiatun, first secretary of the Jiangxu Provincial CPC Committee, said at a group meeting discussing the draft of the revised constitution: "The new constitution reflects the correct stand of the party; only by recognizing the unanimity of abiding by the new constitution and safeguarding the party's correct stand can we raise the consciousness of implementing the new constitution."

Xu Jiatun elaborated specifically on the relations between the line, principles and policies and the new constitution. He said: Taking a look at the draft of the revised constitution, it can be said that each and every provision reflects the party's correct stand. Take the four fundamental principles as an example, the party Central Committee has, since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, repeatedly emphasized upholding the four fundamental principles in party leadership; the new party constitution approved by the 12th CPC National Congress again clearly specified that upholding the four fundamental principles at the present stage is the political basis for party unity and solidarity. Now the draft of the revised constitution listed the four fundamental principles as the general guiding ideology, making the party's correct stand as a common political basis for guiding the people of all nationalities throughout the country to advance in unity and a sure guarantee for smooth progress in the socialist modernization program.

Again, with regard to socialist modernization, the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has decided to shift the work focus toward socialist modernization; the 12th CPC National Congress also called for the creation of a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization thereby spelling out the strategic targets, key points and procedures in China's economic construction. The draft of the revised constitution clearly stipulated that: "The basic task of the Chinese people in the coming years is to concentrate their efforts on socialist modernization" and "to turn China step by step into a socialist country with modern industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology and with a high level of democracy and culture." In this way, the party's general task under the present stage will be affirmed in the fundamental law of the state thus making it possible to mobilize the people of all nationalities throughout the country to strive in concerted efforts to fulfill this great task.

Xu Jiatun said: It is clear that the implementation of the constitution and the realization of the party's general task and program are identical with the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies. Implementing the new constitution therefore amounts to carrying out the party's correct stand. This should be an important responsibility for our local party organizations.

Xu Jiatun said: In his report at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang emphasized that "in particular, party members should be educated and urged to take the lead in observing the constitution and laws. The stipulation in the new party constitution that 'the party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws of the state' embodies a most important principle. It is impermissible for any party organization or member, from the Central Committee down to the grassroots, to act in contravention of the constitution and laws." These remarks are rich in content and very strict in demands. We must enhance the concept of strengthening the legal system and, with the constitution as the guiding principle of fundamental activities, wage a resolute struggle against all acts in contravention of the constitution.

He expressed that after the new constitution is approved, efforts should be made to organize the broad masses of party members in Jiangsu Province to take the lead in studying, publicizing and implementing the new constitution and to become models in studying, publicizing and implementing the new constitution.

CSO: 4005/230

YANBIAN PREFECTURAL ORGANS DISCUSS CONSTITUTION

SK081242 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 7 Dec 82

[Text] This afternoon, party branches of organs of the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefectural People's Congress Standing Committee held discussions and talked about their understanding of the relevant stipulations on national regional autonomy stated in the new constitution. Participants held that the stipulations on national regional autonomy stated in the new constitution sum up the experiences and lessons in implementing the party's policy on nationalities over the past 30 years or so, further expand the rights of self-determination of autonomous areas and self-government organs, fully reflect the party and the people's governments' respect, trust and concern for the minority nationalities and provide a legal guarantee for comprehensively implementing the party's policy on nationalities and for doing a good job in building the two civilizations in the minority areas.

Comrade (Zhang Kuixing), vice chairman of the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefectural People's Congress Standing Committee, said: The exercise of democracy by cadres in the self-government organs is a basic guarantee for implementing regional autonomy. Since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the democratization of the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefectural office cadres has achieved a fundamental turn for the better. At present, the principal posts of prefectural people's congress Standing Committee, the prefectural people's government and the mass and CYL organizations are assumed by Korean cadres. This is in line with the stipulations of the new constitution.

Comrade (Cui Xilin), vice chairman of the Prefectural People's Congress Standing Committee, said: Our party and the state have always shown great concern for economic construction in minority areas. The new constitution clearly defines that the state will help minority nationalities expedite the development of economic construction in terms of finance, materials supply and technology. This is a great encouragement to us. Yanbian Prefecture is a forest area and has rich resources, which are favorable conditions for economic development. We must bring into play the advantages of Yanbian Prefecture in line with the stipulations of the new constitution and improve the prefecture's economic situation under the guidance and help of the state.

They all expressed the determination to respond to the call of the 12th National Party Congress, to take the lead in studying and publicizing the new constitution and to be models in implementing it and to struggle to build Yanbian into an advanced autonomous prefecture with a prosperous economy, developed culture, unity among nationalities and a strong border defense.

CSO: 4005/230

PARTY AND STATE

JILIN CIRCULAR CALLS FOR STUDYING NEW CONSTITUTION

SK080915 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 10 Dec 82

[Excerpt] On 10 December, the provincial CPC Committee issued a circular urging party committees at all levels to strengthen leadership to conscientiously organize forces to study and to attach great importance to studying and publicizing the new constitution.

The circular pointed out: The constitution of PRC, which is a general law for running the country well and ensuring the state's stability in the new historical period, has been approved at the fifth session of the Fifth National People's Congress.

It is a matter of great importance in our political field to promulgate the historically important documents. This constitution fully evokes the common will and basic benefits of all nationalities of our people. The constitution has supreme authoritativeness and supreme legal effect to build China into a modern, powerful socialist country with ahigh degree of culture and democracy. It is a fundamental state policy and principle for all nationalities of the people of China, all state organs, armed forces, all party, government and social organizations, all enterprises and establishments.

Party committees at all levels should enhance attention and strengthen leadership to conscientiously organize forces to study and publicize the new constitution.

The circular also pointed out: This constitution is completely in unison with the guidelines of the documents of the 12th Party Congress.

The four stipulations of the constitution embody the general tasks set forth at the 12th Party Congress, and the program, lines and a series of policies and principles for implementing the general tasks. So we should closely combine the study and publicity of the constitution with those of the guidelines of the documents of the 12th Party Congress and make a unified plan and arrangement for studying and publicizing them.

CSO: 4005/230

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG DEPUTIES DISCUSS REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW051759 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1734 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Excerpt] Beijing, 1 Dec (XINHUA)--The Shandong provincial delegation to the fifth session of the Fifth NPC held group meetings in the past few days to discuss the draft revised constitution. The deputies pointed out that the new constitution is the best fundamental law adopted since the founding of the country and that it marks the beginning of a new stage in China's socialist democracy and legal system.

Deputies Bai Rubing, first secretary of the provincial CPC Committee, Zhao Lin, secretary of the provincial CPC Committee and chairman of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, and Qin Hezhen, secretary of the provincial CPC Committee and vice governor, said: The draft revised constitution is a product of the integration of the party's leadership and mass line. It has closely integrated the Marxist theory on state with the realities in China today and inherited and carried forward the fundamental principles of the 1954 constitution. Guided by the four cardinal principles, the draft revised constitution has summed up the experience since the founding of the country, especially the new experience since the convening of the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Therefore, the new constitution is the best constitution since the founding of the country. It is believed that with this fundamental law, we will be able to create a new situation in socialist modernization.

Deputies Zhu Benzheng, vice chairman of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, and Zhu Qimin and Zheng Zijiu, both vice governors, said: History and realities amply prove that without the CPC, there would not be a new China and that only socialism can save China. With the party's correct leadership and this socialist fundamental law in the new historical period, we will continue to score victories in our socialist construction.

CSO: 4005/230

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG OFFICIALS SUPPORT NEW CONSTITUTION

SK100648 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 9 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Over the past few days, large numbers of cadres, workers and staff members on the province's industrial, communications, financial and trade fronts have studied the new constitution with immense political zeal and have hailed the birth of a general law for maintaining the state's stability and for running the country well. They unanimously hold: The new constitution provides a reliable legal guarantee for the people of all nationalities in our country to live and work in peace and contentment; for modernizing our country's industry, agriculture, national defense, sciences and technologyp and for building ours into a socialist country with highly developed civilization and democracy. Since the new constitution conforms to the national conditions and to the will of the people, we totally support it and pledge to implement it.

(Li Guosheng), chairman of the provincial Economic Commission, said: The new constitution correctly reflects the fact that the socialist economic system has been determined and is growing steadily in our country and affirms that the socialist public ownership of the means of production is the foundation of our country's socialist economic system. The new constitution clearly stipulates: The state implements the planned economy on the basis of socialist public ownership. The constitution also stipulates: Through the overall balance of economic plans and with the supplemental role of the market mechanism, the state should ensure the proportionate development of the national economy. That is, the state should bring the basic production and circulation of items into line with the unified plans, including directed plans and guiding plans. In terms of products not covered by the unified plan, enterprises that are allowed to produce such products should themselves make flexible arrangements for production in line with the market's changes and needs. Through study, we comrades engaged in economic work think this conforms to objective reality.

So far as our province's machinery departments are concerned, this year less than 60 percent of their products have been included in the state plan and 40 percent must be handled through regulation by the market. Because the enterprises are allowed to flexibly arrange for their production items in line with the changes in market supply and demand, they have readjusted service orientation and product mix and vigorously produced small and

medium-sized farm tools, thus scoring noticeable achievements in providing machinery for the light and textile industries. According to statistics, in the January-November period, total industrial output value of machinery departments increased 7.2 percent over the corresponding 1981 period. From January to October, these departments gained 47.8 percent more profits than in the corresponding 1981 period, and the profits handed over to the state increased by 45.9 percent. Therefore, we must conscientiously study and implement the new constitution so as to win a greater victory in industrial and communications production.

Comrade (Han Xiqi), director of the provincial industrial and commercial administrative bureau, said: Article 11 of the general principles of the new constitution provides clear stipulations on the nature, position and role of the economy run by individual laborers in urban and rural areas. It also points out that the state, through administration, guides, helps and supervises the people develop the individual-run economy. Through study, we have come to understand that the individual-run economy in urban and rural areas should exist for a fairly long period of time. This conforms to the objective law of our country's socialist economy. Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee, our province's individual-run economy has developed rapidly. At present, the province has some 300,000 households engaging in individual-run economy.

CSO: 4005/230

PARTY AND STATE

HUBEI HOLDS FORUM ON PROPAGANDA OF LEGAL SYSTEM, CONSTITUTION

HK100932 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin at 1100 GMT 9 Dec 82

[Text] The provincial forum on the propaganda of the legal system which concluded not long ago called on all judicial organs in the province to study well and propagate the new constitution. The forum was held from 1 to 4 December in Xiaogang Prefecture. At the forum, delegates from all prefectures and cities, on the basis of summing up and exchanging the experience of the propaganda work of the legal system this year, held warm discussions on how to seriously study and propagate the new constitution. They all held that the new constitution is the general program for stabilizing the country and administering the state in the new period and the implementation of the new constitution bears very important significance for the prolonged stability of the country, for the peaceful life and contented work of the people, for the realization of socialist modernization and for the building of our country into a socialist state with a high degree of civilization and democracy. The forum demanded all judicial organs take immediate actions to firmly grasp the work of treating the publicity of the new constitution as the main content of the propaganda work of the legal system. At present, we must use various propaganda means and forms to concentratedly propagate the important significance and role of the promulgation of the new constitution, the guiding idea of adhering to four basic principles of the new constitution and its main contents and characteristics, thus making all households and people understand it.

CSO: 4005/231

PARTY AND STATE

LIUZHUANG BRIGADE HAILS CONSTITUTION

HK070242 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Dec 82

[Text] The cadres and masses of Liuzhuang brigade in Xinxiang County studied and discussed the new constitution adopted by the fifth session of the Fifth NPC on the very day of its promulgation. They all held: The new constitution is the fundamental law of the land for managing state affairs and giving the state peace and security in the new period. It fully represents the common desires of the people.

(Li Anren) and (Zhang Xiuzhen), deputy secretaries of the brigade party branch, said: With the four basic principles as its general guiding ideology, the new constitution has concentrated the wisdom of the people of the whole country, absorbed the positive and negative experiences and lessons of the past 30 years and more, scientifically summed up the historical experiences of socialist development in China, and reflected the common will and fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities throughout the country. It is a constitution that accords with the national condition and suits the needs of socialist modernization; it is the most perfect constitution since the founding of the state. The promulgation and institution of the new constitution provides a reliable basis in law for all work and a reliable guarantee for the democratic rights of the people of the whole country.

(Liu Shuxin), deputy leader of the brigade, and (Liu Minghai), manager of the farm machinery factory, said: The new constitution stipulates that the state should be governed by bringing democracy into play and strengthening the legal system. This provides a social environment of stability and unity for smoothly carrying out economic construction. In the form of law, the constitution ensures the shift of the focus of state work to socialist modernization. It can thus speed up the pace of construction. The constitution's new regulations on the state structure suit the needs of economic construction and are bound to stimulate economic development. The constitution's new stipulations on agriculture are very beneficial for mobilizing the initiative of the peasants. With the new constitution, our confidence in attaining the goal of endeavor set by the 12th Party Congress is still stronger.

(Shi Shilan), director of the brigade's women federation, and (Zhang Guilong), secretary of the CYL branch said: Homes have rules and the state

has laws. To respect and abide by the law, we must first understand it. The new constitution is the fundamental law of the land, with supreme authority; it is the general charter for managing state affairs and giving the state peace and security in the new situation. We must organize the women, young people and the masses to seriously study, actively publicize and take the lead in implementing the new constitution, and ensure that everyone knows about it. We must bring the power of the new constitution into full play, strengthen the building of the two socialist civilizations, and make new contributions to attaining the vast goal set by the 12th Party Congress.

CSO: 4005/231

PARTY AND STATE

CASE SHOWS NEED TO WIPE OUT LEFTIST INFLUENCE

HK060144 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Dec 82

[Text] According to reports by ZHONGGUO NONGMIN BAO [Chinese Peasants News], the investigation and study office of the Honghu County CPC Committee wrote a letter to ZHONGGUO NONGMIN BAO saying that the facts of an upstart peasant (Li Ziqin) who fabricated a false case showed the necessity to continue to wipe out the influence of leftist ideology in rural areas.

The letter says: In October a case was filed with Honghu County saying that (Li Ziqin), a peasant whose family was supposed to have an income of over 10,000 yuan, was robbed. Results of serious investigations made by public security departments revealed that it was a false case purposely fabricated by (Li Ziqin) himself to conceal the fact that he was well-off.

There are eight people in Li's family, of which four participate in farm work. In addition to working on contracted land and breeding ducks for the collective, they also managed other sideline production and the family became an upstart household of the commune. As a result, the net income of the family totaled over 3,400 yuan this year and the per capita income amounted to 420 yuan. (Li Ziqin) began to become well-off, but he did not feel secure about this. He wished to become well-off, but at the same time he was afraid of doing so. The influence of leftist ideology which had not been entirely wiped out in society made matters worse. Some people became envious and jealous. Some even blackmailed him. Others, cadres of production brigades and teams in particular, often went to the ducks' coop and stole duck eggs to eat. Sometimes they borrowed money from him. This increased (Li Ziqin's) misgivings. He suspected that the existing good policy would not last long and worried that after he became well-off he would be regarded as a capitalist roader and as such be criticized and struggled against. Consequently, (Li Ziqin) fabricated a false case of having been robbed of his money and filed the case with the public security department. The public security bureau handled the case, carried out a thorough investigation and discovered many flaws in the case. After the public security bureau enhanced his understanding of policy, (Li Ziqin) and his wife finally told the truth.

The letter concludes: (Li Ziqin) purposely fabricated a false case. Of course, this is wrong. However, we should see from this false case that since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, although we

have fulfilled the task of setting things right in guiding ideology, the influence of leftist ideology has not yet been thoroughly wiped out in many aspects. In view of this, we must support the upstart peasant households.

The ZHONGGUO NONGMIN BAO published the letter with an accompanying editor's note which reads: This vivid example of (Li Ziqin) has again reminded us that party and government organizations in rural areas of various localities must make great efforts to seriously publicize the 12th CPC National Congress documents among commune members and grassroots cadres so that everyone will have a clear understanding of the principles and policies formulated at the 12th CPC National Congress. We must do a good job in training rural cadres. In regard to cadres who blackmail upstart peasant households, we must punish them whenever they are discovered.

CSO: 4005/231

PARTY AND STATE

FINES TO ATONE FOR CRIMES CALLED VIOLATION OF LAW

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 82 p 4

[Article by Yu Songqian [0205 2646 6929], Shaoxing Branch Procuratorate: "To Redeem Punishment With Money Is an Illegal Violation of the Legal System"]

[Text] In some criminal cases since the beginning of this year it has come to light that criminals escaped legal responsibility by paying a sum of money to atone for the crime and thereby so-to-say "killed the case." For instance, in Shangyu County the accused Chen Weifeng [7115 5989 0023] on 3 February of this year raped the 6-year old little daughter of his neighbor. When the parents of the injured girl wanted to bring the case to the judicial organs, the father of the accused pleaded with them: "Since we are neighbors, allow me to pay your medical expenses and costs of recuperation, thus 'kill the case' and let it go at that." Disregarding the authority of the law, the parents of the injured girl agreed to sign an agreement to accept money in redemption of punishment and furthermore called in three men of not very high consciousness and no concept of law to countersign the agreement as so-called guarantors. According to the agreement, the criminal party is to pay the injured party 450 yuan, of which 250 yuan were to be paid immediately and the balance in installments. The illegal deal that would allow the criminal to evade his punishment was thus concluded. However, this illegal action was soon discovered. The judicial organs not only sentenced the accused to 5 years imprisonment, but also ordered the party that had agreed to accept the money in redemption of punishment to prepare a written self-criticism.

It must be emphatically pointed out that this shameful deal of taking money in redemption of punishment is an absolute violation of our country's law; it is an illegal act that amounts to trampling the legal system under foot and to an insult to the dignity of the law.

Allowing money to redeem punishment was a common occurrence in capitalist and feudal societies. In our country's feudal society the landlord class safeguarded the rule of its own class by exercising curel oppression over the peasantry and stipulated explicitly in its legal provisions that punishments may be redeemed in money. The law of the Tang Dynasty contained

the provi ion that any member of the landlord class of a certain standing was allowed to redeem a penalty in money, specifically, that 1 year of imprisonment was to be paid for by 20 jin of copper, each further degree to cost an additional 10 jin, up to 3 years of imprisonment to be redeemed by 60 jin of copper. In this way the ruling class could oppress, deceive and humiliate the masses at will without ever having to suffer the penalties of the law. This thoroughly reflects the class character of the feudal law. In the capitalist society this scandalous arrangement of redeeming punishment with money has also occurred at times. It equally reflects the class character of law in its protection of the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Our country's Criminal Law is a concentrated representation of the interests of the broad masses of our people. The judicial principle of the law is equality of all persons before the law. It does not recognize any special privileges of whosoever, and any violation of the criminal law will be punished according to law. When penalties are imposed on a criminal, it is done only on the basis of the Criminal Law and the facts of the crime. It is definitely not permissible that this is done by private arrangement and even less permissible to redeem a crime with money.

Allowing to redeem a crime with money not only does serious damage to the dignity of our law, but is also apt to give license to crime, to aggrevate the mental anguish of the injured party, to directly disrupt public order and to endanger the personal freedom and lawful interests of the masses. Especially the rape of women (young girls) is an extremely heinous and brutal crime that violates the criminal law. Cases of rape are therefore cases of public prosecution, and there is no question of a complainant and the accused having discretion to arrange a settlement out of court and stopping the case. Money can only be either a fine imposed by the court or compensation for damages done by the criminal during the commission of the crime, but must never be redemption of a crime.

To protect the people, combat crime and safeguard the dignity of the law, we are determined to strengthen the general concept of law, uphold the principle of prosecuring every violation of the law and to show courage in launching a resolute struggle against criminal activities.

9808
CSO: 4005/155

PARTY AND STATE

EXAMPLES OF COMMUNIST SPIRIT PROMOTED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 12 Aug 82 p 4

[Text] A member of the communist party who has pledged to fight all his life for communism must apply himself to his work in the communist spirit. This is the principle of party consciousness that every member of the communist party must follow.

What do we call communist spirit? In his article "Im Memory of Bethune," Comrade Mao Zedong said it is "the spirit of acting without the least selfishness exclusively for the benefits of others... An extreme sense of responsibility toward one's work, extreme warmheartedness toward one's comrades and the people." Today let us introduce to our readers Comrade He Shaoyi [0149 0783 5030], who was just this kind of a man. In every word and deed he displayed the high character and morals of communist ideology. As everybody knows, our party is called the vanguard of the proletariat because our party brought together the advanced elements among the working class and other working people, who pledged to fight all their lives for communism. To realize the great cause of communism, they fought heroically and worked unselfishly. People like Zhang Side [1728 1835 1795], Liu Hulan [0491 5170 5695], Lei Feng [7191 6912] and Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450], exemplary heroic persons, were outstanding representatives of persons who waged struggle and applied themselves to their work in true communist spirit. However, there are also some comrades in our party who believe the realization of communism is in the very remote future and according to the saying "Distant water cannot quench present thirst," rather prefer to attend to immediate material benefits. This is the "theory of the vagueness of communism," which in actual fact reflects the standpoint of individualism in dealing with the communist ideals. We say, communism as an ideology, conduct and spirit is not at all vague; it becomes evident on every single day. The struggle and work of all of our communist party members from the beginning of the communist party all along the extended communist campaign trail, are they not item by item radiating the spirit of communism? The undertakings and the work that we are engaged in today will not necessarily have any benefits for us, but they are undertaken for the benefit of future generations. Comrades who believe in the "theory of the vagueness of communism" should learn from the revolutionary martyrs who in their times laid down their lives or shed their warm blood. They

should firmly establish an attitude as in the saying "considerate throughfulness of the preceding generation will bring happiness to the following generation" and let the benefits for the party and for the people be the uppermost noble thought throughout all their lives, while exerting themselves in work for the communist cause. Concretely expressed, become firmly established in your job and work hard to make the country strong. Don't go on in a simple-minded unconcerned way as in the saying "being a monk for one day, I will toll the bell for one day." Engage in arduous struggle, quietly immerse yourself in hard work and don't seek a life of ease and comfort, shirking all responsibilities. We must perform communist labor conscientiously without concern for fixed norms and pay. We must not "look out for the monetary reward in whatever we do," haggle over every ounce in the remuneration we get, but must constantly try to improve our skills to be able to increase our contributions to the party and the people and must never complacently stop to advance. There are now many members in our party who are like He Shaoyi, who quietly and unobtrusively do noble work in implementation of the communist spirit. They are diligent and conscientious, scrupulous about every detail, working unselfishly. They are the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts. They always volunteer to carry the heavy loads, meet all difficulties head-on and remain undaunted by repeated setbacks. At their ordinary posts, they make extraordinary contributions. This spirit of an extreme sense of responsibility for the cause of the party radiates the brilliance of the communist ideology.

Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "A person'e capability may be greater or smaller, but as long as he has a measure of this spirit, he is a noble person, a pure person, a moral person, a man who has freed himself of vulgar interests, a man of benefit to the people." The present problem is that not sufficient attention is paid to this communist spirit. Under the new conditions, some comrades have developed an individualistic attitude and seek an easy life of comforts and enjoyments. "They demand more power, but when it comes to work they ask for less; they ask for higher pay and ask for better conditions of livelihood." In handling their work they are most careless and irresponsible. "Meeting up with contradictions, they skirt round them; meeting up with difficulties, they silently submit; when they see a heavy load that someone has to carry, they slip away." This kind of spiritual condition obviously runs counter to the spirit of communism. The party organizations at all levels should give conditions of this kind their careful attention, educate party members to always remember their pledges at the time of joining the party. At all times, in all circumstances, in every kind of work, we must radiate the youthful vigor of communism.

9808
CSO: 4005/155

PARTY AND STATE

HAINAN PARTY SECRETARY ON REGION'S MODERNIZATION

HK101144 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 10 Dec 82

[Text] Lei Yu, secretary of the Hainan Regional CPC Committee and director of the regional administrative commissioner's office, delivered a lecture, entitled "Unite to Strive to Create a New Situation in Hainan's Socialist Modernization," to the second cadre study class of Hainan regional organs and the third cadre training class of the Hainan party school on 7 December.

In his lecture, Lei Yu approached four points: 1) Correctly understand the necessity and possibility of quadrupling the total output value of industry and agriculture of the whole country by the end of this century, and have firm confidence and determination in creating a new situation; 2) proceed from the actual situation of Hainan, develop our strong points and overcome shortcomings by giving full scope to our superiority and work out plans and measures for creating a new situation; 3) emancipate our minds, broaden our outlook and set up a style and thinking for creating a new situation; and 4) in accordance with the standard of more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent, build leadership bodies that can create a new situation.

Comrade Lei Yu analyzed the superiority and inferiority of economic development in Hainan and put forward plans and measures for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization in Hainan. He said: Hainan has a tropical climate with ample rain and sunshine. It is an ideal plantation for growing tropical crops. Great potentials can be tapped in the utilization of soil. We have abundant mineral resources. There are also favorable conditions in developing tourism. In addition to the above, we have after 30 years of construction, a certain material and technical base in industrial and agricultural production. However, Hainan also has its problems, such as complicated physical features, frequent typhoons and spring droughts, inconvenient transportation, a shortage of energy resources and a poor economic foundation. In a word, we have many favorable conditions, a lot of difficulties and great prospects. Therefore, in order to create a new situation in the socialist construction of Hainan, we must proceed from the reality of Hainan and give full play to the superiority of Hainan. It is our tentative plan to more than quadruple the total output value of industry and agriculture of Hainan by the end of this century; that is, to increase the 1.9 billion yuan in 1980 to 8 billion yuan. In order to attain

this target, we must strengthen the basis of agriculture, break through the weak links of energy resources, transportation, education and scientific research, firmly grasp trades such as mining, processing and tourism and create a new situation in the fields of industry, agriculture, foreign trade and tourism. In industry, we must gradually establish a structure with our own characteristics and mainly develop the industries of rubber, forest products and processing of various tropical products, and food, leather, mining and petrochemical industry. We must produce a number of products that can be competitive in domestic and international markets. In agriculture, we must concentrate our efforts on afforestation, hybrid rice, sugarcane, tropical crops, animal husbandry and aquatic products. In addition, we must use foreign investment to create a new situation in developing foreign trade and tourism. By 1990, we must strive to fulfill the annual output of 5 million tons of iron ore, 2 million tons of rubber sheet, 3 million tons of sugar, and redouble the unity yield and increase the total output of grain by 50 percent. On this basis, the life of the people can be markedly improved.

Comrade Lei Yu emphasized in his lecture: In order to realize the four modernizations, it is necessary to have a rank of cadres that is more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally competent. We must be bold in selecting understanding people who have both professional knowledge and organizational capability and transfer them to strengthen the leading bodies at various levels. We must train in rotation the leading cadres at various levels in a planned way and prevent those five kinds of people from sneaking into the leadership bodies at various levels. Those who have sneaked into the leadership bodies must be resolutely cleared out. We must respect veteran cadres and bring into full play their role of passing on experience, giving help and setting an example, and strengthen the unity between veteran and new cadres, and local and outside cadres.

CSO: 4005/231

PARTY AND STATE

SHANGHAI VICE MAYOR PRAISES ZHAO ZIYANG REPORT

OW092341 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinesc 0816 GMT 5 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 5 Dec (XINHUA)--Han Zheyi, an NPC deputy and vice mayor of Shanghai Municipality, said at a group discussion meeting: Premier Zhao Ziyang's report on the sixth 5-year plan is very important. It completely conforms to Shanghai's realities. During the sixth 5-year plan period, Shanghai will follow the four major measures for fulfilling the sixth 5-year plan put forward in Premier Zhao Ziyang's report, focus its efforts on enhancing economic results and make scientific and technological progress to develop the economy.

Han Zheyi said: Shanghai, with a comparatively solid industrial foundation, is one of China's important industrial bases. It has more than 8,000 enterprises. In order o further enhance economic results, upgrade industrial products and make the products marketable, we must renew the equipment of a number of selected major enterprises in a planned way, undertake technical transformation and bring into full play the role of existing enterprises. During the sixth 5-year plan period, Shanghai should undertake technical transformation in conjunction with industrial readjustment and reorganization for the purpose of lowering the consumption of energy, raw materials and processed materials, increasing the variety of products, improving their quality and actively applying advanced foreign technology. Because the machine-building industry is the supplier of industrial equipment, Shanghai should first transform its machine-building industry.

Han Zheyi discussed the necessity of organizing the scientific and technological force to tackle key problems and, at the same time, invest in the development of intellectual resources and train various specialized personnel.

He said: Shanghai has some 50 colleges and more than 580 scientific research organizations of various branches. Shanghai strives to integrate scientific research with production and organize scientific research organizations to serve production. About 80 percent of the scientific research projects arranged by Shanghai this year are projects having a direct bearing on production.

He said: Since the beginning of this year, Shanghai has overhauled 343 enterprises, improved their management and enhanced their economic results.

During the sixth 5-year plan period, we should fulfill the tasks set in Comrade Zhao Ziyang's report, place the reorganization of leading bodies above everything else, continue to improve and perfect the system of economic responsibility, organize the scientific management of enterprises and strengthen the cultural and technical education of the workers.

He said: While undertaking technical transformation of Shanghai's industries on a selective basis, we must step up the effort of the communications and transport departments. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, Shanghai's harbor construction has not met the demands of production development. We do not have enough berths and our equipment is backward. In particular, the urban transportation is far from being able to meet the demand of production development. Therefore, during the sixth and seventh 5-year plan periods, we should expand the harbor's cargo handling capacity, increase wharves and berths, renew loading and unloading equipment, widen roads and bridges, build a deepwater harbor and organize rational land-water coordinated transport.

Han Zheyi said: Social and economic development are inseparable. In the past, Shanghai ignored this fact. During the sixth 5-year plan period, we should gradually transform urban areas. In the near future, we should take housing construction as a priority project for urban construction. While making efforts to improve railroad stations, bus terminals, wharves and major streets, we should strive to improve the appearance of Shanghai City, alleviate the housing shortage to a certain extent, control the "three wastes" and improve the city's sewerage, gas supply, transportation, landscaping and environmental sanitation to solve various conspicuous problems concerning the city's public utilities.

CSO: 4005/230

PARTY AND STATE

JIANGSU HOLDS SECURITY, JUDICIAL WORK MEETING

OW080143 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Dec 82

[Excerpts] The Jiangsu provincial public security and judicial work meeting called on cadres and policemen on the security and judicial fronts throughout the province to study and implement the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress and the national public security and judicial work meeting and to strive to create a new situation in security and judicial work and safeguard and promote socialist modernization. The meeting was held in Nanjing from 23 November to 2 December. A total of more than 700 representatives were present.

After analyzing the present situation of social security, the meeting pointed out: Thanks to the all-round efforts of the past year and more, social order throughout the province has improved remarkably. This has created a favorable condition for the four modernizations and laid a good foundation for the fundamental improvement of social order. However, it is impossible to eliminate the factors of social instability all at once.

The meeting proposed the goal to be reached for public security and judicial work within the coming 5 years. That is to create a new situation in both cities and rural areas in Jiangsu in which criminal and security cases and accidents are drastically reduced, social order is good and cadres and the masses all have a sense of security and to safeguard and promote the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization.

Regarding the work to be done this winter and next year, the meeting called for firmly grasping the following:

1. Severely punish, according to law, hostile elements who oppose socialism and various serious offenders.

2. Further strengthen the management of social security to prevent and reduce crimes.

3. Strengthen the building of grassroots-level organizations and all foundation work.

4. Conscientiously strengthen supervision, management and reform work over criminals and personnel reeducated through labor.

5. Strengthen the struggle against accidents which affect social [balance].

6. Strengthen the work of attorneys and notarial work.

The provincial public security and judicial work meeting closed on 2 December. Liu Lin, second secretary of the provincial party committee, spoke. He stressed the all-round efforts to improve social practice and order. He also called for party committees at all levels to strengthen leadership and all departments to make concerted efforts to improve social order at the grassroots level by fully mobilizing the masses.

CSO: 4005/230

PARTY AND STATE

LIAONING RADIO CALLS FOR RESPECTING INTELLECTUALS

SK121132 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Dec 82

[Station commentary entitled "Eliminate the Prejudice Against Intellectuals"]

[Text] The new constitution clearly defines: The undertaking of socialist construction should rely on the strength of intellectuals as well as workers and peasants.

In the revolutionary period, we needed intellectuals. But for them, Marxism-Leninism would not have been popularized throughout China. But for the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, China would not have won the victory over revolutionary construction. In building the socialist modernization, we need intellectuals all the more. Without them, plans to realize the four modernizations and to build a high level of socialist material and spiritual civilizations is empty talk.

How deeply are we moved by the heroic deeds of Jiang Zhuying and (Luo Jianfu). They were loyal to the party and enthusiastic about their work. They selflessly devoted their lives to the great cause of prusuing prosperity for the motherland and happiness for the people. They are excellent representatives of the intellectuals of our country. Their brilliant deeds created a gigantic image of intellectuals in the new China. We should take them as examples.

Veteran proletarian revolutionaries and state leaders pay great attention to the roles that intellectuals are playing in Chinese revolutionary construction and pay special attention to mobilizing their enthusiasm.

Since the third plenum of the 11th Party Congress, some leaders of the party Central Committee have repeatedly stressed implementing the party's policy on intellectuals. Much concern has been shown to their political lives and living conditions. We should make full use of their talents and bring their function into full play. Among them we should select and promote some excellent ones to leading posts at all levels in order to upgrade the quality of ranks of cadres with a view to ensuring that the ranks of cadres become more revolutionary, younger, better educated and more professionally competent and to creating more favorable conditions for their work.

Leading comrades of all departments and units should help intellectuals act as good rear-service personnel in building socialist modernization. The guidelines of these directives fully demonstrate that the party has shown intimate concern for intellectuals. The broad masses of intellectuals are warmly inspired to work even harder and more diligently. At the same time, leading comrades at all fronts pay great attention to intellectuals. Much progress has been made in their working and living conditions. However, a few noticeable problems should be attended to. At present, a tendency for for despising intellectuals still exists. So the implementation of the party's policy of intellectuals is being obstructed. The main reasons for these problems are that some comrades, particularly some leading comrades, lag behind in their understanding of the fact that intellectuals play important functions under the new historical period. Because the influence of leftist ideology has not been eliminated yet, some comrades have various kinds of prejudice against intellectuals. Some judge intellectuals by old standards and treat them with out-dated policies and principles.

Some even make up excuses to criticize intellectuals. For example, they say that intellectuals are of bad class origin and that intellectuals consider themselves above others and become cocky. So they are very angry with intellectuals and do not treat them as people on their own side.

A leading comrade at a certain unit called for unity in educating and remolding intellectuals. Concerning the fact that middle-aged intellectuals apply for party membership, some units give serious consideration to unimportant shortcomings of intellectuals and refuse to let middle-aged intellectuals qualified for party membership join the party. Some leading comrades consider themselves uncouth fellows and are proud of being uneducated persons. They even are hostile to intellectuals. All these actions embody our failures in eliminating the influence of leftist ideology.

At present, only by eliminating the prejudice against intellectuals can we really solve these problems. Efforts should be made to rid ourselves of various kinds of prejudice against intellectuals. Attention should be paid to eliminating the influence of leftist ideology and to firmly fostering the ideology of relying on the strength of intellectuals.

CSO: 4005/230

FUJIAN HOLDS REEDUCATION-THROUGH-LABOR MEETING

OW080521 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 4 Dec 82

[Text] A provincial conference on reeducation through labor and on the supervision of those being so reeducated, which ended on 4 December, stressed: It is necessary to conscientiously study and implement the guidelines laid down by the 12th Party Congress, to further carry out the party's principles for reeducation through labor, do a good job in building the ranks of cadres conducting such reeducation, strengthen the civilized supervision of those being reeducated through labor, improve the quality of this work and bring about a new situation in this regard.

The conference pointed out: Doing a good job in reeducation through labor is of great significance in redeeming juvenile delinquents, guarding against theft, reducing the crime rate, bringing about a fundamental turn for the better in the standards of social conduct, maintaining public order and ensuring the smooth development of the four modernizations.

The conference held: In recent years, party committees and governments at various levels in the province have generally strengthened their leadership over reeducation through labor. The departments concerned have closely coordinated with one another in conducting such reeducation, and people in various circles have paid attention to this work. The problem of juvenile delinquents has been tackled in a comprehensive way. As a result, reeducation through labor has been effectively carried out.

Since last year, leading comrades of the provincial party committee, the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, the provincial people's government and the provincial CPPCC Committee have successively led deputies to the provincial people's congress, members of the provincial CPPCC Committee, members of democratic parties and responsible comrades of departments concerned in inspecting institutions for the reeducation of juvenile delinquents through labor. They have extended their regards to cadres and police in charge of such reeducation, have given guidance to the latter on their work and have called on young people who took a wrong step in life. By so doing, they have achieved very good results.

Large numbers of cadres and police in charge of reeducation through labor have further enhanced their sense of responsibility, raised their consciousness in implementing the party's principles for such reeducation and

strengthened their civilized supervision of those being reeducated through labor. Modest cadres and police care about, and show every consideration for, young people who have taken a wrong step in life, as parents do their sons and daughters. They do their work as a doctor carefully diagnoses the illness and suits the medicine to that illness in order to save the patient. They do their work as a teacher is tireless in teaching his students in accordance with their aptitude. Thus, they have reeducated and redeemed a number of young people who took a wrong step in life.

Comrades attending the conference conscientiously summed up their work and discussed their tasks for this winter and the coming spring. Under the guidelines laid down by the 12th Party Congress, they are determined to make fresh contributions to bring about a fundamental change for the better in public order and ensure the smooth development of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005/230

PARTY AND STATE

HUBEI CYL PLANS NEW CIVILIZATION CAMPAIGN

HK101111 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Dec 82

[Text] The provincial CYL Committee this afternoon holds a mobilization meeting in Wuchong to make arrangements for widely carrying out the propaganda and educational activities of four promotions and four oppositions during the period of the coming new year's day and the spring festival among the young people. The four promotions and four oppositions are the promotion of thrift and opposition to lavish marriage, the promotion of equal rights between men and women and opposition to the discrimination and maltreatment of women, the promotion of belief in science and opposition to feudal superstition, and the promotion of healthy cultural activities and opposition to gambling. The propaganda and educational activities will be carried out in three stages. Investigations, research, propaganda and mobilization should be carried out before the new year's day. An upsurge should be set off during the period from the new year's day to the spring festival. After the spring festival, experience should be summed up so as to recommend advanced elements and adhere to constant practices. At the mobilization meeting, (Qian Yinlu), secretary of the provincial CYL Committee, demanded that CYL organizations at all levels, inspired by the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress, treat the activity as an important measure to study, observe and safeguard the new constitution, as a breakthrough in the creation of a new situation in the work of the CYL of the province and widely and deeply carry it out. The vast number of CYL members and the broad masses of young people must be pioneers in the activity. At today's meeting, the CYL committees of Qichun County, Yingshan County, Wuhan City and Wuhan Iron and Steel Company introduced their experiences. Chen Shun, a youth of Leshiling brigade of Guanmiao commune in Yingshan County explained how he carried out his marriage activities in a new way.

CSO: 4005/231

BRIEFS

JILIN DELEGATION TO JAPAN--On the occasion of the second anniversary of the establishment of friendly ties between Changchun Municipality, Jilin Province, and Sendai City, Japan, the Changchun municipal six-member friendship delegation led by (Zhao Kai), deputy mayor of Changchun, left Changchun for Sendai via Beijing on the afternoon of 26 November at the invitation of the Sendai City government. The delegation was seen off at the station by (Chi Jingwu), deputy mayor of Changchun, and (Zhu Wenyu), deputy director of the Jilin Provincial Foreign Affairs Office. [SK271239 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Nov 82]

U.S. GUESTS VISIT HUBEI--At 1700 today, Acting Governor Huang Zhizhen and Vice Governor Tian Ying met at Donghu Guest House all five members of the New Jersey economic and commercial delegation headed by Professor (Yang Liyu), a special adviser to the governor of New Jersey and (Man-Er-Fei), chairman of the board of directors of the U.S. Ai-Si-Kang Corporation. The delegation came for a friendly visit and to investigate and discuss matters related to economic cooperation and trade at the invitation of the provincial Import and Export Management Committee. It arrived at our province on 11 December. Acting Governor Huang Zhizhen extended his welcome to them coming to visit our province and investigating and discussing matters related to trade. [Text] [HK130850 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Dec 82]

CSO: 4005/230

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

QIANG XIAOCHU'S ARTICLE DISCUSSES MILITIA WORK

SK101209 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Nov 82

[Article written jointly by Qiang Xiaochu, first secretary of the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee and first political commissar of the provincial military district, and He Youfa, commander of the provincial military district, entitled "The Important Way To Build a Socialist Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] In his report at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: One of our strategic principles in building socialism is to make efforts to achieve a high-level socialist, spiritual civilization. Recently, the Propaganda Department under the CPC Central Committee and the PLA General Political Department successively issued circulars to urge the entire party, all the armed forces and the people throughout the country to do a good job in studying and publicizing the program of achieving a socialist spiritual civilization and in launching the extensive and thorough campaigns of "five-stresses" and "four-beauties" as well as "four-have's," "three-attention's" and "two-fear not's." In seeking a way to respond to the call issued by the CPC Central Committee for creating a new situation in the program of achieving a socialist spiritual civilization, the Jilin paper mill has provided outstanding experiences for educating youths by conducting military training. This is an important way to build a socialist spiritual civilization.

The experience gained by the Jilin paper mill in this regard can be summarized by pointing out that the mill has closely integrated the build-up of militia forces with the build-up of the staff and worker contingent and brought into full play the militia organizational role in building a spiritual civilization and that the mill has educated and brought up the new generation of successors by conducting strict military and political training in an effort to upgrade ideological consciousness among youths and militiamen. The mill's experience is in conformity with the 12th CPC Congress guildeines. It not only has guiding significance among major industrial and mining enterprises, but also is suitable to both urban and rural areas.

In studying and popularizing the mill's experience, it is not only necessary to follow its concrete measures adopted in educating youths by conducting military training, but also necessary to learn from its revolutionary spirit. Efforts should be made to learn from its far-reaching outlook in education

and its devoted ambition and high sense of responsibility in building socialism and conducting militia work.

At present, the staff and worker contingent among industrial and mining enterprises is in the state that the new steadily replaces the old. The recruitment of many new hands has thoroughly enforced production in enterprises but has also brought them new problems. Most of the new hands have high ambition and ideals, are not conservative and dare to create new things, bringing fresh blood to the worker contingent. A few of them, however, still have various problems because of the influence of the 10-year turmoil and of both domestic and foreign bourgeois ideas, such as lacking mental or spiritual ballast, lacking lofty ideals or being lax in discipline.

The vital task we face is how to adopt a correct attitude toward the youths of this generation and how to do a good job in conducting education among them. In fulfilling this task, the Jilin paper mill CPC Committee has not only paid attention to current importance, but also to far-reaching goals; not only to the future of developing the mill, but also to the safety of or danger to the country. The mill has contended that a failure to educate youths well will lead to the bankruptcy of plants in their hands and will bring about inability among them in a war. The mill has contended that such an adverse situation is possibly caused by countless mistakes committed by the unit authorities. This is a far-reaching strategic outlook. Only by having lofty ideals in work can the mill achieve through trial such outstanding experiences in educating youths by conducting military training.

In studying its experiences, it is necessary to learn from its good job in firmly grasping the core task of building a socialist spiritual civilization--conducting education on communism among youths and militiamen. The problems of young workers exist in various aspects. Some obvious ones are that some youths are lax in organizational disciplines, get blunted in their sense of legal systems and even blindly seek the ways of bourgeois life. In adopting measures for remolding these youths, the Jilin paper mill CPC Committee has not taken stopgap measures, but has grasped the basic work to conduct education on communism among youths. The mill CPC Committee had contended that, though the measure for solving problems existing in the youth's sense of organizational discipline is important, it has only laid a foundation for mapping out a correct road and creating conditions for making a start, and that the measure for helping youths foster their communist ideals and outlook on life is most fundamental. Therefore, the mill CPC Committee has conducted repeated education on cherishing the party, the motherland, socialism, the plant, the collective and their own work among youths. As a result, the great progress of ideological improvement among youths has taken place. Advanced youths have made further progress in ideology and the backward have caught up with the advanced or have become advanced ones.

In studying its experiences, it is necessary to learn from its high consciousness in carrying out militia work management, assigning tasks for militiamen and bringing into full play the superior role of the militia organizations in educating and training youths. The Jilin paper mill CPC Committee has

discerned the unique characteristics of the militia organizations--strict disciplines, strict military and political training and resolute political and ideological work that the PLA has passed on them.

The mill CPC Committee has also discerned that militia organizations are the inseparable component of the party's work and the main force of achieving the two civilizations. It, therefore, has actively taken these characteristics as work means and brought their role into full play, making use of the militia organizations in conducting education among youths and environmental sanitation activities, consolidating social order, improving service quality, waging a campaign of promoting production and dealing with emergency and relief work. It can be said that the mill CPC Committee is the leading body that is proficient and good at making use of militia organizations in work. Some localities and units across the province have not been good in this regard and have not brought the militia role into full play. This is not only a shortcoming and fault of work, but also a waste of manpower.

All-in-all, the experience gained by the Jilin paper mill in this regard is practical, wholesome and worthy of emulation and popularization. We are convinced that the mill's experience will be more and more acknowledged by the people as time goes by. At present, we should earnestly do a good job in organizing the people to study and publicize the 12th CPC Congress documents and resolutions and first enable the 12th CPC Congress expositions concerning the campaign of building a socialist spiritual civilization to be known by every household and individual.

In publicizing and implementing the 12th CPC Congress guidelines, bearing in mind the actual situation of our unit, we should learn from the experience gained by the Jilin paper mill. Efforts should be made to learn from its basic work, to integrate the study with actual situations but to refrain from merely copying its work. We should also integrate the study with the activities of carrying out environmental sanitation, consolidating social order, improving service quality and building civilized villages and streets.

We are convinced that by further studying and publicizing the 12th CPC Congress guidelines and learning from the experience gained by advanced provinces and autonomous regions and by the Jilin paper mill we shall certainly be able to create a new situation of socialist spiritual civilization and militia work in both urban and rural areas throughout the province.

CSO: 4005/226

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

COMMENTARY CALLS FOR MORE, BETTER COMMUNIST WRITINGS IN ARMY LITERATURE

Beijing JIEFANGJUN WENYI in Chinese No 11, Nov 82 pp 4-5

[Commentator's Article: "More and Better Communist Writings in Army Liberature"]

[Text] Now that the 12th National Party Congress has been successfully concluded, a vigorous study campaign is being launched among all concerned with literary work throughout the whole army, with the documents from the 12th National Party Congress as core subject. As the studies develop in depth, everybody in spontaneous consensus reflects on the question, how can the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress be effectively introduced into our army literature? In our opinion the main thing is to produce more and better communist writings, so as to bring army literature into full play as a vital new force in the building of socialist spiritual civilization that will have communist ideology as its core content.

Producing communist writings merely means that the creation of more and better pieces with a communist ideological content be made the primary task in our literary work during this new historical period and that this be made the common "mother-topic" of our literary creations. The reason for this is precisely as the report to the 12th National Party Congress pointed out: "If we overlook the great task of building a socialist spiritual civilization guided by communist ideology throughout our society, people will fall into a onesided misunderstanding of socialism and direct their attention exclusively to the building of material civilization or even only to the pursuit of material gains." Moreover, as far as the army is concerned, this also relates to the question whether it can fulfil the task that Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the 12th National Party Congress: "We will continue to maintain and foster the excellent tradition of the people's army, strengthen and improve our ideological and political work in the army to instill a strong spirit of self-sacrifice in each member of our army as well as a strict sense of organizational discipline and revolutionary style, so that our armies will not only form a Great Wall of steel in the defense of our socialist fatherland, but will also become a powerful force in the construction of our material and spiritual civilization." In this respect a wide field for creative activities has been opened up. Possible topics, for instance, are the communist ideals, convictions and prospects, the communist moral

values, the socialist consciouenesss of being masters of our country and the collectivist consciousness, the concepts of socialist rights and duties and of organizational discipline, the spirit of service to the people and faithfulness in the discharge of one's duties, courage to give one's life for the revolution, etc. For a lengthy period of time from now on we shall judge the flourishing and healthy state of literary creations, and we shall also observe whether they will show an increasing communist ideological content, also watch to waht extent the writers will be able to express these topics in a vivid and profound way.

Since the Third Plenary Session, a fairly substantial amount of army literature has already laid a foundation in this respect. In works on military subjects we have seen a large number of works that extol the heroes who showed no fear of sacrifices during the counterattack in self-defense and who fought courageously for the fatherland. Some figures of pioneers in the four modernizations and of defenders of the country protrayed in these writings have already become models of the communist spirit in the new historical period. Literary creations with military topics have also depicted the images of people of a new type with new communist concepts of happiness and love. For instance, the roles of Zheng Zhitong, Yu Haizhou and the heroic group of their followers in the recently released feature film "Tianshan xing," or the low-ranking officer Yuan Han in the medium-length novel "Xie tian lang," depicted as working his heart out for the modernization and regularization of the army while being burdened with the national as well as family disasters, and also the "patriotic model of an army supporter" Zhao Zhenni, and the staunch defenders in "Hai shang hua yuan," etc. All these works are already imbued with a communist spirit that jolts the soul of the people and strikes a sympathetic chord in all readers. They play the role of "textbooks in images" of communist ideology and are indeed gratifying and commendable achievements. The large circle of readers will be grateful to the authors inside and outside the military for having expended their creative labor on these works.

Since the clear and distinct dissemination of communist ideology is the important mission of socialist literature, it is necessary that the writers bring to their subjects a high degree of political consciousness and a very powerful penmanship. According to these two requirements, there are still all kinds of shortcomings in the creations of military literature which demand further efforts.

As already mentioned, the military writers have indeed displayed a fairly high political enthusiasm and consciousness in their propagation of communism and in their creation of works with communist ideological content, however at a certain stage writers and their works became influenced by the "vagueness of communism" viewpoint. For instance, some works in describing the ideology and philosophical reflections of their figures have them express doubts in the materialist world outlook and convert to certain religious beliefs. Some works also besmirched the heroes, triumphantly returning from the counterattack in self-defense against Vietnam, as down in spirits and of conducting themselves in unbecoming

behavior. Still other works convey to their readers the idea of the "supremacy of love over all else."--Although these things appeared in only a very small number of works or in parts of a small number of works, and furthermore in general are problems that occurred as part of exploratory attempts, they still give an inkling of a certain trend, and as such deserve our special attention during our study and implementation of the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress; we must exert efforts to overcome this trend.

If we advocate to exert efforts on writing communist articles, it definitely does not mean that we should practice literary formulism, generalizing and oversimplifications. We hope that pieces of writing with communist ideological content will truly be pieces of art. Fake art that disregards the demand that art should reflect life, that adversely influences the characteristic ways of life and that runs counter to artistic rules, will have no powers of persuasion and cannot have any extensive effect on the readers. In this respect military literature will still require continued efforts. Among the creations as a whole there are still only few works that have communist ideological content as well as strong artistic power. To have communist ideology stuck on as a "beauteous tail" or as an "ostentatious yelling" is a lazy way of doing things. We must pose much higher demands on literature. When writing novels, there must be real lifelike personalities, and as to poems, they must truly be poems.--This is the only way that we can bring the social educational value of communist writings into play in a more effective way.

The spring breeze of the 12th National Party Congress is blowing all over the country and military literature, as well as the literature of the whole country, must also blossom forth with new vigor. Let us have outstanding achievements to welcome the first granting of awards, the "Chinese People's Liberation Army Literature Awards," next year and welcome a springtime of military literature with an abundant flowering like a tapestry of brocade!

9808
CSO: 4005/163

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'WEN YI BAO' ARTICLE ON LITERATURE, ART EVALUATED

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [REPORT OF THE TIMES] in Chinese No 8, Aug 1982 pp 43-51

[Article by Yu Yizu [0151 0001 0586]: "Preliminary Evaluation on an Article in WEN YI BAO"]

[Text] It is indeed "a noteworthy matter of principle."

Living leisurely in the countryside, my only pastime is to go over every day all the newspapers and periodicals that I have access to. One day I came across a publication on matters concerning literature and art put out by WEN YI BAO. Its leading article, strikingly entitled "A Noteworthy Matter of Principle" (hereinafter referred to as "A Matter of Principle") immediately attracted my attention. After going over it carefully, I felt at a loss to make out the implications of its specious and elusive arguments. Fortunately, it concluded by assuring us that "some comrades are about to publish their writings on this matter." An article on literature and art signed by "Yu Dong" appeared not long thereafter in WEN YI BAO, No 5, 1982. I presume this is one of the articles published by "some comrades."

So I fetched out that periodical, SHIDAI DE BAOGAO No 2, 1982 which had been criticized in "A Matter of Principle," and studied carefully the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" and other articles on renewed study of "the speech" all of which the signed article in WEN YI BAO attacked. After comparing the two sides, I find I am impressed only by the title of the signed article in WEN YI BAO.

Why? Because this year is the fortieth anniversary of Comrade May Zedong's "Speech at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" (hereinafter referred to as "the speech"). Having served for 40 years as the guiding ideologyof the revolutionary literature and art of the Chinese people, "the speech" has an epoch-making impact on the history of Chinese revolutionary literature and art, a historical achievement which nobody can deny. It has led the revolutionary literature and art of the Chinese people to a spectacular height as attested by such an impressive number of writers and remarkable works. The experience, problems and mistakes in the implementation of "the speech" should be summed up and reexamined. The pernicious leftist influence of the Lin-Jiang counterrevolutionary clique which had distorted and undermined "the

speech" during the 10 years of internal turmoil still awaits further cleaning up. The opinions and attitude of a very small number of comrades who have doubted, questioned and even rejected in the past few years the fundamental principles of "the speech" should also be examined in a comradely manner. Moreover, due to both subjective and objective reasons, we have not publicized and studied "the speech" as much as we should (even less by the younger literature and art workers). In view of these specific conditions, SHIDAI DE BAOGAO has asked the contemporary literary and art circles to study "the speech" again, and offered an exclusive section to publish what one gains from the study. I think this is a praiseworthy deed which confronts the literary and art circles with "a noteworthy matter of principle."

Instead of actively promoting the study of "the speech," WEN YI BAO, an important theoretical journal of the Writers' Union which commands high public esteeem, launched an allout drive on the fortieth anniversary of the publication of "the speech" to denounce SHIDAI DE BAOGAO and its "Explanatory Note of the Journal" for no plausible reason except to mislead the public. What is this all about? Do they mean to publicize "the speech" or to deflect the enthusiasm of the public to study "the speech?" This extremely abnormal approach is indeed "strange" and "difficult to comprehend."

The writer of "A Matter of Principle" singled out the following portion of the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" as the target of his attack: "For 16 years since the 'Great Cultural Revolution,' 'the speech' has been distorted and undermined by the leftists and the rightists. Using the ultra-leftist method, the counterrevolutionaries led by Lin Biao and Joiang Qing turned the people's literature and art, which should work for the workers, peasants and soldiers, into conspiratory literature and art to aid the Lin-Jiang gang to seize power. After the downfall of the 'gang of four,' some people took 'the speech' as fetters which they want to break through but ended up in the quagmire of bourgeois liberalism."

Speaking through the signed article, WEN YI BAO declared the statement an error, especially the expression "16 years" which it described as "strange and difficult to comprehend." After reading the paragraph over and over again, I think it stated the actual situation very clearly, neither strange nor difficult to comprehend. What is really strange and difficult to comprehend is the extraordinary attack mounted by one periodical against a short "explanatory note" of another periodical.

As an editorial note to cover a series of articles, the "Explanatory Note" of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO is an introduction of less than one page and only a few hundred characters to its new section on learning. It is not an analysis of the situation at the literary and art front or discussions of the dissertations presented by the two opposing camps in recent years, nor does it criticize any writings favoring the ultra-leftist ideology or capitalist liberalism, much less the problems they pose. As far as we the reading public are concerned, we should respond favorably to the "Explanatory Note," if its basic points of view are corrent and well-meant. Having the same goal in view, we ought to work together wholeheartedly to encourage the literary and art circles to study anew "the speech" and see to it that the program goes well enough to bring

about greater ideological unity and more coordination in action based on Mao Zedong's principles of literature and art. But this was not what the signed article of WEN YI BAO set out to accomplish. Saying nothing about either the evaluation of "the speech" by the "Explanatory Note" or the suggestion of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO to resurrect the study of "the speech," it quoted the "Explanatory Note" out of context and heaped startling accusations on certain expressions it had misinterpreted. This approach is indeed difficult to comprehend.

The leading comrade of the Central Committee has called on the literary and art circles in recent years to strengthen unity and harmony for the sake of the Four Modernizations. Heading in the same direction toward the same objective, he urged us not to say or do anything detrimental to unity. Doing practically nothing for unity and harmony, the WEN YI BAO has set out to find fault with others, fan up sparks of dissension and friction, and went as far as to attack a short "explanatory note" of another publication. What do you people want to do by treating others so harshly? Today we know our enemies at home and abroad, and those who have an axe to grind have been sowing dissensions in our literary and art circles, hoping to fish in troubled waters. Whom are you working for by making trouble out of nothing? What do you expect to accomplish by provoking the dispute on the fortieth anniversary of the publication of "the speech?"

Is the expression "16 years" wrong?

The author of "A Matter of Principle" made a great deal of fuss about the expression "16 years." He took it as vulnerable point of the "Explanatory Note" which he could capitalize on (even though the "doctrine of three don'ts" has been widely publicized since the downfall of the "gang of four," but WEN YI BAO which took part in the propaganda just does not practice it, especially when it goes on a harrassing spree). He said the expression "16 years" is "novel and strange" because it is not found either in the "resolution" of the Sixth Plenum of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee or in the documents and addresses of the responsible comrades of the Central Committee. It might be true that he could not find it there because the "Explanatory Note," a preface to a publication, is not the kind of literature which should quote from official documents. The fuss over a simple expression not found in any official document sets an example of extreme unreasonableness in contemporary literary and art circles. Does it mean that nobody can use any phrase or expression unless it has appeared in an official document? Do we have to copy the official documents when we write something for publication? If so, have all the expressions you people used in "A Matter of Principle" ever appeared in any official documents? For instance, you have used such expressions as "two completely different historical periods" and "our country now is in a very complex historical period." Have you located these in the "Resolution" or any other document of the Central Committee? Aren't you also the originators of these "odd concepts"?

Having spotted the "16 years," the author of "A Matter of Principle" has metaphysically deduced from it a series of charges against the "Explanatory Note," such as "blurring the line of demarcation between the two historical periods," "blotting out the epoch-making impact of the Third Plenum of the

Eleventh CPC Central Committee on the history of CPC and China," and "promoting discussions which are incompatible with the program of the Third Plenum to seek truth from facts, to emancipate the mind, to bring order out of chaos, and to rely on practical application as the only measure of truth." The "16 years" indeed is a monstrous crime!

The deductive reasoning of the comrade who wrote "A Matter of Principle" for WEN YI BAO runs like this: You have to say that the 16 years since the "Great Cultural Revolution" cover two different periods: 10 years prior to the downfall of the "gang of four," or 12 years before the Third Plenum (Eleventh CPC Central Committee) and 4 years after the Third Plenum. Since you did not say 10 and 6 separately and failed to keep 12 apart from 4, you have lumped the two as a total of 16 which blurred the basic demarcation of the two historical periods, you have denied a change of course achieved by the Third Plenum. Since you denied the change of course achieved by the Third Plenum, you have denied the great anti-"leftist" achievement. Since you denied the great anti-"leftisit" achievement, you have denied the program and line of the Third Plenum to seek truth from facts, to emancipate the mind, and to bring order out of chaos. Since you denied the program to emancipate the mind and to seek truth from facts, you have denied that practical application is the only measure of truth, and so forth. The comrade who wrote "A Matter of Principle" is indeed an accomplished logician and persecutor. He claims that the residue of the pernicious influence of the Lin-Jiang clique is still serious enough as to require further cleaning up. That is correct. The persecution technique used in "A Matter of Principle" against the "Explanatory Note" attests that the residue of the pernicious influence of the Lin-Jiang clique is indeed quite alarming. I think the comrades who wrote "A Matter of Principle" should immediately clean up the pernicious leftist influence they themselves have contracted. It is much better to clean up oneself before trying to clean up others.

Is the expression "16 years" really wrong? After pondering over it and studying it in its proper context, I find nothing wrong with it. Why? After all, expressions, such as "many years ago, many years later, for many years" are a time reference in discussions, a simple concept of time without any substantive content. What people discuss within that time limit, the real substance, could be either right or wrong. Yet such a simple expression of time has been arbitrarily branded as a "new formulation." I do not know whether this is due to ignorance and other ulterior motives. In all those years since our elementary school days, we have come across numerous expressions of time in our history textbooks, such as "for 5000 years," "for 2000 years," "for over 100 years since the Opium War," "for decades since the May Fourth Movement," "in all those years since the founding of the CPC in 1921," "in all those years since the Mukden Incident," "in all those years since the Marco Polo incident," "in all those years since the founding of the PLA," "in all those years since the establishment of the PRC," plus what you people used to say: "for 40 years" and "since the Third Plenum of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee." The expression "since the Great Cultural Revolution" has been used even more frequently. Why should "16 years" be banned? You people say the Great Cultural Revolution began in 1966, and now it is 1982. Isn't that exactly 16 years?

According to the comrade who wrote "A Matter of Principle" for WEN YI BAO, if we gave a total of 16 without saying 10 plus 6 or 12 plus 4, we would blur the basic demarcation of the two historical periods. If so, would we blur the demarcations between the feudal society, the semi-feudal and semi-colonial society, and the socialist society if we used the expression "for more than 2000 years since the unification of China by the first emperor of the Qin Dynasty...."? Would we blur the demarcations between the Qing Regime, the North China warlords, the Nanking government, and the People's Republic of China if we said "for more than 100 years since the Opium War of 1840...."? Would we blur the demarcation between the Kuomintang, the Communist Party, and the several periods of revolution if we said "for 30 years the May Fourth Movement, the beginning of the new democratic revolution, and the liberation of the whole country...."? Would we blur the demarcation between the socialist transformation, the 10 years of internal turmoil, and the downfall of the "gang of four" if we said "for 32 years since the founding of the PRC...."?

If all the expressions given above did not lead to confusion and blurring, why would we blur the demarcation between the two historical periods by saying "for 16 years since the 'Great Cultural Revolution'"? What kind of logic is that?

As a matter of fact, the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" has drawn a clear distinction between the two periods. The one refers to the 10 years of internal turmoil dominated by the ultra-leftism of the counterrevolutionists led by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, while the other refers to the period after the downfall of the "gang of four" when some form of rightist deviation began to appear (not that the ultra-leftism no longer exists) in the drive to criticize ultra-leftism. It made the distinction between the two historical periods very clear, and especially pointed out that only some people had shown such a deviation. How could it be held responsible for a failure to distinguish the two historical periods! I believe to say that rightist deviation has emerged after the downfall of the "gang of four" does not imply at all a denial of the spectacular achievement of the anti-"leftist" drive at the literary and art front, nor does it imply a complete switch of focus from anti-"leftism" to anti-rightism. It is but a shift of emphasis based on the actual conditions. The "Explanatory Note of the Journal" has pointed out: "The facts of these 16 years speak for both the positive and negative sides...." That is to say there were both negative and positive scores in implementing the principles of "the speech" during those 16 years. The positive scores represent the spectacular achievement in doing what is appropriate. These positive scores have been the mainstay since the downfall of the "gang of four." It is therefore utterly unreasonable to brand the expression "16 years" as a denial of the spectacular anti-"leftist" achievement.

In spite of the accuations which the author of "A Matter of Principle" has hurled at the "Explanatory Note of the Journal," he has made himself unreasonable and fallacious in attempting to exploit the expression "16 years."

What is the best way to discuss the two-line struggle at the current literary and art front?

The author of "A Matter of Principle" is of the opinion that any discussion of the interruptions from both the "left" and the right should cover the "past 40 years" or the "32 years since the founding of the PRC" rather than those 16 years only. Personally I do not think it is a good idea to bring up both the old and the new scores simultaneously. First, I am afraid the old scores prior to the Cultural Revolution could never be straightened out. Second, to bring up the old scores does not necessarily promote unity in the literary and art circles. If we were to bring up all the old scores from the day the Yenan "speech" was published to the time of the Cultural Revolution, and publish the names of the "leftists" and the rightists as well as all the writings, speeches and reports, would you comrades of "A Matter of Principle" find it appropriate and conducive to unity and forward-looking spirit? To work for the interests of all and to strengthen unity, the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" limits its discussions to the events of the last 16 years which everybody knows well and feels concerned, and avoids the interruptions from both the "left" and the right prior to the Cultural Revolution. That is not at all a crime but a very wise decision. Didn't you comrades of "A Matter of Principle" say that "ever since the publication of 'the speech' 40 years ago, there has always been the struggle between the two ideologies, two deviations?" If that were the case, I should like to listen to your views on the struggle between the two ideologies, two deviations, which has existed "ever since" the publication of "the speech." But I do not think it would be wise for you to bring up the old scores of thos 40 years.

The author of "A Matter of Principle" has charged that to discuss the "16 years" is to deny the struggles before the Cultural Revolution, and to deny the "ever mounting 'leftist deviations' named in the 'resolution'." However, it must be pointed out that the "resolution" tackled those deviations in the light of basically correct literary and art line of the CPC at the time. That differs diametrically from the position of some who allege that the pre-Cultural Revolution line of literature and art was a "leftist" deviation. If we agree with the few people who claim that "what had been implemented during the 17 years prior to the Cultural Revolution is a "left deviationist" line of literature and art (some even claim that what had been implemented after the publication of "the speech" and before the Third Plenum of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee are all "left deviations"), we are bound to reach the conclusion that our contemporary senior, middle-aged, and young literary and art workers (including practically all writers, artists, literary and art theory specialists and those engaged in literary and art education) are oriented in the "leftist" line of literature and art line. If that were true, then they would not offer any resistance to the ultra-leftist and fascist practices of the Lin-Jiang counterrevolutionary clique. That is not actually true. The greatest majority of the literary and art workers not only resisted but also opposed Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In examining the line of literature and art of the 17 years prior to the "Cultural Revolution," we must note the painful lesson of the "leftist" deviations, and the commanding position of the correct line. Any undue exaggeration of the "leftism" of that period is a distortion of historical facts and a vilification of the masses of literary and art workers.

Then, why did the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" fail to discuss the anti-deviation struggles before the Cultural Revolution? In addition to the reasons given above, I think it was because the history of literature and art in the last 40 years shows that "leftism" was at its peak during the 10 years of internal turmoil while rightism reached its peak in the last few years. These "last few years" of course were not dominated completely by rightism. It means the rightist interruption had emerged during the last few years even though the overall state of literature and art was healthy. These two instances are enough to show the perniciousness of both "leftism" and rightism, and the reason for renewed study of "the speech." It is unnecessary to bring up what had transpired prior to the "Cultural Revolution." The charges hurled at the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" by the author of "A Matter of Principle" for failing to do so are utterly untenable.

The author of "A Matter of Principle" for WEN YI BAO also charged that since the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" said nothing about what had happened "since the Third Plenum (Eleventh CPC Central Committee), it must have meant to confirm the presence of liberalism in the literary and art circles after the downfall of the "gang of four" and deny that the pernicious influence of "leftism" still exists. True, in its discussion of the undesirable trends after the downfall of the "gang of four," the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" did not touch upon the pernicious "leftist" influence; it discussed exclusively the rightist interruptions. But I do not believe silence implies a denial. The "leftist" and rightist interruptions mentioned in the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" refer to main trends which it cited to illustrate what threatened "the speech." As an editorial note, limited in space, it did quite well by limiting its discussion to rightism as it surveyed the erroneous trends of the last few years. This does not imply that "leftism" no longer exists and only a "single-line" struggle remains after the downfall of the "gang of four."

The question whether the main thrust after the downfall of the "gang of four" has been anti-"leftism" or anti-rightism, I believe that due to the 10 years of internal turmoil, the guiding ideology after the downfall of the "gang of four" has been to combat "leftism" and uproot the pernicious influence of the Lin-Jiang clique. But the conditions have changed as time went on, and the struggle intensified. In the anti-"leftist" struggle, there were people who achieved satisfactory results in the struggle by adhering to the correct line and invoking Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to combat "leftism." Those who ran into difficulties from the beginning were people who took the erroneous line and invoked bourgeois liberalism, ultra-individualism and anarchism to combat "leftism." The pursuit of the democracy wall, the democrat brick, unlawful organizations, clandestine publications, pornographic books and periodicals, decadent music, infatuation with and worship of foreigners, and compromise of national honor are often couched in terms of anti-"leftism" and the "double hundred-blossoms program." Some even espoused bourgeois liberalism in the name of "emancipating the mind." What these people oppose is not any form of "leftism" but the leadership of the party and the socialist system. Although the ill consequences of using rightism to oppose "leftism" have been well established, the practice still continues. Those dedicated to rightism seem to find rigid "leftism" in almost everything, and even Marxism-Leninism has turned "left" in their eyes.

As pointed out by the CPC Central Committee, lax and ineffective leadership during the anti-"leftist" drive provided an opportunity for bourgeois liberalism to creep in and run rampant, so much so that it became the dominant trend of the time. As a result, it becomes necessary to oppose rightism as the drive to criticize "leftism" continues. This is also a well known fact. So the leading comrade of the Central Committee called on us to seek truth from facts in order to determine whether "leftism" and rightism still exist. Attack "leftism" if it exists; attack rightism if it exists. Intensify the anti-"leftist" drive when "leftism" runs rampant; intensify the anti-right drive when right runs rampant. The serious problem on hand is the upsurge and spread of the rightist trend. I believe this scientific and realistic assessment is extremely convincing.

The arguments advanced by the author of "A Matter of Principle" in WEN YI BAO are misleading, hackneyed and arbitrary. He argued that inasmuch as our struggle since the downfall of the "gang of four," especially after the Third Plenum of CPC Eleventh Central Committee, has been against "leftism," we should not talk about struggles against rightism. If we did, it would amount to promotion of "leftism." That simply does not agree with the actual conditions in the literary and art circles. I remember when the CPC Central Committee set out to criticize bourgeois liberalism, someone asked: Why should our literary and art circles oppose rightism while the whole country struggles against "leftism"? That question was not based on facts, though plausibly worded. In the first place, it is not true that the whole country struggles only against "leftism" and not against rightism. Aren't the criticisms of unprincipled and demeaning diplomatic conduct a struggle against rightism? Isn't the opposition to special privileges and bureaucratism a struggle against rightism? Wasn't it a struggle against rightism when CPC Central Committee called on us in 1980 to guard against the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology. In the second place, even if everybody else opposes only "leftism," the literary and art circles may still oppose rightism. The crucial point is whether it exists. We ought to oppose it if it does. There is no reason for us to oppose it if it does not exist. We all remember in the mid 1930's the top priority of the CPC was to oppose Wang Ming's "leftist" opportunism. During the Long March, unfortunately, we were confronted with Zhang Guotac's rightist division and defection. Shouldn't we oppose him? Of course we should. The CPC Central Committee launched struggles against Zhang Guotao's rightist division and defection between battles during the Long March and after it had reached northern Shaanxi. If Zhang Guotao asked at that time: Why do you people oppose my rightism while the Party opposes "leftism"? How would the comrade of WEN YI BAO who wrote "A Matter of Principle" say to him under such circumstances? (Please excuse me. This is only an illustration.)

Now let us go back to the reality at the ideological front. According to the "Resolution", the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee, meeting in August, 1980, called for a drive to combat the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology and to weed out the pernicious feudalist influence on political ideology. The CPC Central Committee work conference voted in December, 1980, to criticize the erroneous ideological trends which contravene the Four Fundamental Principles. Since the beginning of 1981, the CPC Central Committee

has issued a series of directives and held various discussion forums on the problems at the ideological front, the need to tighten up discipline and criticize bourgeois liberalism while the criticism of "leftism" continues. A struggle has been going on in the last 6 months to combat serious economic crimes and corrosive influences. These are obviously anti-rightist rather than anti-"leftist" measures. Comrade Qiao Mu points out that policy of the CPC Central Committee since Third Plenum has been to combat liberalism, and that anti-"leftism" and anti-rightism are not antithetical. Yet the author of "A Matter of Principle" in WEN YI BAO said emphatically "our struggle ever since the Third Plenum has been anti-"leftism," and did not even mention anti-rightism. Does this agree with the policy of the CPC Central Committee? The CPC has asked more than once all its members to keep in lockstep politically with its Central Committee. Have you been acting in lockstep with the CPC Central Committee?

Sidestepping the problems confronting the literary and art circles to keep the truth well hidden, the author of "A Matter of Principle" in WEN YI BAO dwelt on "the ideological trends" in the last 2 years "which violate the Four Fundamental Principles," "the emphasis on the struggle against bourgeois liberalism," and that "the main thrust ever since the Third Plenum has been anti-"leftism." Does the expression "ever since" which you used in claiming that ever since the Third Plenum the main thrust has been anti-"leftism" cover the last 2 years? If it doesn't where would you place "the last 2 years," before or after the Third Plenum? If it does, how would one reconcile the two claims, "the main thrust has been anti-'leftism'" on the one hand and "the emphasis" on anti-rightism on the other? Why are you so nervous about anti-rightism when the question happens to be either anti-"leftism" or anti-rightism?

Is ideological remoulding still necessary?

The author of "A Matter of Principle" in WEN YI BAO has misinterpreted the articles on renewed study of "the speech" published in SHIDAI DE BAOGAO no 2. The crucial issue is whether the literary and art circles still require ideological remoulding.

The article in SHIDAI DE BAOGAO is of the opinion that even though our literary and art workers as a whole have become a part of the working class, the emergence in recent years of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology, and unhealthy trends in literary works show that the communist world outlook and proletarian stand are still not firmly rooted. As far as the literary and art workers are concerned, they still have to tackle the problem of ideological remoulding and change of stand. These observations based on facts are correct.

But they are not acceptable to the author of "A Matter of Principle" who charged that to suggest the literary and art worker still require ideological remoulding and change of stand contradicts the declaration of CPC Central Committee that the intellectuals have become a part of the working class, and its directive calling for a halt to the use of "ideological remoulding as a slogan." This calls for a discussion of the following issues.

First, do the intellectuals (including the literary and art workers) who have become a part of the working class still require ideological remoulding? I think they do. Inasmuch as the working class is neither "born red" nor "guaranteed red," every member of the working class still needs to remould himself. Our senior proletarian revolutionaries believe they should continue remoulding themselves as long as they live. That is what they say and that is what they do. Why are the literary and art workers so special that they no longer need ideological remoulding? The theory of "halting ideological remoulding" is not only wrong and harmful but also "a noteworthy matter of principle!"

Second, should the literary and art workers be assigned a task of ideological remoulding? I think that is acceptable. As spiritual engineers and educators, shouldn't the literary and art workers educate themselves first? I am afraid nobody can guarantee that the literary and art workers whose ideology has already been remoulded do not need any more remoulding. In reality, we must admit that there are some among our literary and art workers, including members of the Communist Party, whose world outlook is outmoded, semi-outmoded or bourgeois, and who are not really siding with the proletariat and the CPC. Furthermore, as our literary and art contingents will keep taking new recruits, there are bound to be inconsistencies. This makes the task to secure ideological unity and remould the world outlook even more urgent. Failing that, we would not be able to carry out the glorious mission of serving the people and socialism.

Third, does one contradict the spirit of the CPC Central Committee by proposing ideological remoulding and change of stand? The fact that past experience and the current situation have prompted the leadership to put a halt to "ideological remoulding" as a slogan does not imply an abandonment of the principle of ideological remoulding, especially voluntary ideological remoulding which some people missed. If we are fair and do not distort the views given above, we cannot deny the need for the literary and art workers to pursue ideological remoulding.

Historically speaking, the impact of "leftism" on the implementation of ideological remoulding had led to numerous abuses which hurt many good comrades. It is a great loss and a lesson to remember. Those abusive "leftist" approaches should be rejected and prevented from being repeated. But the rejection of the abusive "leftist" approaches should not lead to a complete abandonment of the task. The correct attitude should be to learn from the past experience and improve the methods in order to achieve better ideological remoulding.

To commemorate the publication of "the speech" on 23 May of this year, the CPC Central Committee has brought up again the problem of remoulding the ideology of the literary and art workers. The newspapers have published the 15 letters which Comrade Zedong had written to the literary and art circles, and a speech by Comrade Chen Yun (On the Two Tendencies among the Literary and Art Workers of the Party). They all touched upon this very problem. Delivered nearly 40 years ago, Comrade Chen Yun's ideas are still fresh, and the two tendencies he had pointed out are still crucial and real. It is still and excellent guide for remoulding and improving the ideology of today's literary and art workers.

Comrade Chen Yun's article is preceded by a comment of the Propaganda Department reiterating the importance and need to remould the ideology of the CPC's literary and art workers. I could not agree more with the views expressed in the comment, and find the views expressed in the signed article of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO in lockstep with those of the comment of the Central Propaganda Department. Do the comrades behind "A Matter of Principle" in WEN YI BAO agree with the comment of the Central Propaganda Department?

What is the crucial issue? This is really "a noteworthy matter of principle."

Why did WEN YI BAO launch without any legitimate cause at all a coordinated drive on the fortieth anniversary of the publication of "the speech" against the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO and carry the article signed by Yudong? Where lies the crux of the problem? I believe the issue is definitely not the "16 years." If it were, the issue could be easily clarified by a letter to the editor or a telephone call. People told me the editorial departments of the two publications are close enough for the comrades concerned to have a face-to-face talk to square away the arguments. Why was it necessary to launch such an allout attack? I am sure the crux of the problem lies in certain basic differences between their approach to literature and art.

Let us concentrate on the arguments advanced in "A Matter of Principle." They do not approve of at least three things done by SHIDAI DE BAOGAO. First, they do not approve of the suggestion to study "the speech" again. Second, they do not approve of the firm opposition to bourgeois liberalism. Third, they do not approve of the argument that the literary and art workers still require ideological remoulding.

1. In the eyes of the author of "A Matter of Pinrciple" in WEN YI BAO, "the speech" is the source of "leftist" literature and art not worth studying, and should be criticized and rejected. The author of "A Matter of Principle" who wrote the article purportedly to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of "the speech" and to study it showed very little interest in the fundamental principles of "the speech" and its impact. Instead, he "studied" very carefully the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" and wrote a proclamation of warnings. He was especially interested in the "revisions" of "the speech," and even provided the reading public with statistical data to show that "the speech" had been revised for as many as 467 errors, over 50 of which are major errors. (This was changed to "tens of relatively important revisions" in "A Matter of Principle" signed by Yudong which appeared in WEN YI BAO.) Dear readers, please note how meticulous they are in matters of statistics. I should like to know what is all this about, to study or to play down "the speech"?

Personally, I think the attitude of those comrades behind "A Matter of Principle" in WEN YI BAO toward study anew "the speech" is wrong. They allege that in addition to more than the 400 corrections already made, "the speech" still requires "deliberations" and "new formulations." In a word, they rate "the speech" as an outmoded document riddled with mistakes and ought to be criticized. To them it is outrageous and "unorthodox" for SHIDAI DE BAOGAO to oppose their "development" of "the speech," to promote the study of "the speech," and to set up an exclusive section on the study.

Like our evaluation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the issue concerning "the speech" is: Should "the speech" be regarded as an important exposition of the Marxist-Leninist theory of literature and art as well as a programmatic article on socialist literature and art. The "Explanatory Note of the Journal" has made it clear from the outset that "the speech" is the most important piece of literature next to the Marxist theory and science of literature and art...and still serves as the beacon of the socialist literature and art. This summary evaluation of "the speech" attests that it is a new development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of literature and art. The "Explanatory Note of the Journal" also points out: "Of course 'the speech' should be developed to accommodate the new conditions. But such developments should uphold instead of rejecting and abandoning its fundamental principles." Personally, I think no attempt to develop it is genuine unless it adheres to its fundamental principles. Sidestepping these issues, the comrades behind "A Matter of Principle" in WEN YI BAO are interested only in adopting "a historical and dialectical materialist approach" to revise "the speech." It sounds plausible, but they know what is hidden behind it.

2. The author of "A Matter of Principle" in WEN YI BAO is disturbed and unhappy about the criticism of bourgeois liberalism. In most recent years, some believe the pre-"Cultural Revolution" CPC followed a "leftist" line in literature and art, and the criticism of ultra-leftism after the downfall of the "gang of four" led to the emergence of bourgeois liberalism which the leadership calls emphatic criticism. This has not won the favor of some people who claim that we may criticize "leftism" but not rightism in literature and art because they assume that bourgeois liberalism does not exist in China. At the close of the forum on the problems at the ideological front convened by the CPC Central Committee, some people even questioned what liberalism is and where its manifestations are. They do not think literary works such as "Kulian" should be criticized (I think this represents the attitude of WEN YI BAO toward those who criticize "Kulian"). Viewing the criticism of bourgeois liberalism as a matter of formality, the author of "A Matter of Principle" is committed to pursue the criticism of "leftism" vigorously. He was infuriated by the author of the "Explanatory Note of the Journal," and wants to teach him a lesson for his attack of those who fell into the quagmire of bourgeois liberalism by trying to break through the "fetters" of "the speech."

3. As for the problem of ideological remoulding, the comrades behind "A Matter of Principle" in WEN YI BAO are opposed to requiring the literary and art workers to undergo ideological remoulding and to change their stand. They are really in favor of "abolishing ideological remoulding" and "spontaneous ideological remoulding" because they claim that since the literary and art workers are now a part of the working class, their ideology has already been remoulded. However, the leading comrade of CPC Central Committee and Central Propaganda Department believe the problem is that some people are not enthusiastic enough to take up self-remoulding. It is therefore necessary to encourage the literary and art workers to remould their ideology voluntarily, and make it a basic longterm task for all CPC members engaged in literary and art work. I think the viewpoint of the signed article in SHIDAI DE BAOGAO is in complete agreement with the leading comrade of CPC

Central Committee while the position of "A Matter of Principle" runs contrary to spirit of the CPC Central Committee. These issues presented without distortion really involve "a noteworthy matter of principle"! I do not know whether the comrades behind "A Matter of Principle" would agree with me.

The comrades behind "A Matter of Principle" in WEN YI BAO capitalized on the issue of the "16 years" to attack the "Explanatory Note of the Journal." Having accused it of opposing the Third Plenum of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee, and contradicting the line, program and policy of the CPC (the most serious charges as of today), they contrived a conciliatory posture by declaring that "the difference" between themselves and the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" in SHIDAI DE BAOGAO are just "differences of opinion among the people which may be resolved by reasoning." I should say they are very lenient by treating "the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy" as the contradiction among the people. Very well. Since you are willing to invite reasoning, I should like every comrade to comment on the views I have presented.

(Written on 23 May 1982, the fortieth anniversary of the publication of the "Speech at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art.)

5360
CSO: 4005/1232

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'WEN YI BAO' ARTICLE CRITICIZED

Xu Ximing

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [REPORT OF THE TIMES] in Chinese No 8, Aug 1982 pp 51-52

[Article by Xu Ximing [1776 1119 2494] of Yuyao Teachers College, Zhejiang Province: "Taking Exception to WEN YI BAO's Criticism of the 'Explanatory Note of the Journal'"]

[Text] When I first read the articles by Comrades Yudong and Xin Xu in WEN YI BAO, Nos 5 and 6, 1982, which attacked the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" in SHIDAI DE BAOGAO, No 2, I was impressed by the perceptivity of both authors as I was too stupid to detect anything wrong with the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" when I read it. After going over it again very carefully, I still could not find anything wrong. On the contrary, I was shocked by the critical attitude and tactics of both Yu and Xin. Fortunately, WEN YI BAO has committed itself to let different schools of thought contend. So I should like to take exception to their rude and ill-founded criticisms.

First, is it a crime to affirm the important role of "the speech" in the last 40 years?

The "Explanatory Note of the Journal" stated very clearly right from the beginning: "the speech" was published "nearly 40 years ago." There is no mistake in so far as the number of years is concerned. As an editorial comment of only about 500 characters with neither space nor the need to go into the history of all the struggles in the literary and art circles during the last 40 years, it simply affirmed "the important role of 'the speech' in guiding our literature and art...and leading the masses to herald the march of history." Blameless as this is, both Yu and Xin still found it necessary to launch a punitive campaign of criticism. While the one charged that "the failure to go into" the turbulence of "the last 40 years" seems to suggest that "there were apparently not any struggles to speak of before the 'Cultural Revolution'," the other alleged "the 17 years since the founding of the PRC...., contrary to what the 'Explanatory Note of the Journal' has said, were not all achievements without any 'leftist' and rightist interruptions." This is an outright misrepresentation of what the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" meant to say. As a matter of fact, it did not even touch upon the problems of the 17 years since the founding of the PRC.

Second, the attack on the "lumping together the 16 years" is groundless.

The expression "16 years" is really not a "creation" with specific connotations. It simply stands for the number of years between 1966 and 1982, a matter of simple arithmetic. Although the expression "16 years" is not used in the "Resolution," it is clearly indicated by the statement that 1949-1981 were "the 32 years since the founding of the PRC," of which 1949-1956 mark "the 7 years during which the socialist transformation was basically completed" while 1957-1966 were "the 10 years of allout socialist construction." Don't we get "16 years" by deducting "7" and "10" from "32" plus the year since the adoption of the "Resolution? If the total of "10 years" and "6 years" were declared lumped just because a great historical event had taken place during those years, would "the 32 years since the founding of the PRC" which appeared in the "Resolution" be declared "a lumping together of 32 years"?

To clarify the matter for the reading public, I should like to quote that part of the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" as follows: "For 16 years since the 'Great Cultural Revolution,' 'the speech' has been distorted and undermined by the leftists and the rightists. Using the ultra-leftist method, the counterrevolutionaries led by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing turned the people's literature and art, which should work for the workers, peasants and soldiers, into conspiratory literature and art to aid the Lin-Jiang gang to seize power. After the downfall of the 'gang of four,' some people took 'the speech' as fetters which they want to break through but ended up in the quagmire of bourgeois liberalism." Obvious enough, the 10 years before and the 6 years after the downfall of the "gang of four" are described as two distinctly different periods. How can anyone call it "lumping together," "putting both on a par," and "lumping both together"? What puzzles me most is that they took the statement of fact that "some people" regard "the speech" as fetters which they want to break through as "a denial of the strength and achievement brought to the literary and art front by the Third Plenum of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee, and that "some people" have "ended up" in "the quagmire" of liberalism as an "attempt to replace the essentials with non-essentials" in order "to smear and blot out the glorious history of the last 6 years." This peculiar form of logic indeed gives one food for thought.

I am afraid an ordinary reader not as "sensitive" as Yu and Xin, the two authors, would find it difficult to appreciate the authors' allegation that the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" is good-humored toward the counterrevolutionaries, but "full of wrath" toward the people.

I raise these objections to urge all literary critics to seek truth from facts and give full faith and credit to what the other party says without tampering with his intentions. To attribute to him what he did not say just for the purpose of attacking him will not convince either the attacked of the impartial readers.

(A cover letter)

Dear Comrade Editor:

I have read the criticisms of the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" in two separate issues of WEN YI BAO. Are you studying them or ready "to respond"? As a reader in a distant locality, I find it difficult to remain silent. Since the matter affects the quality of literary criticism, I feel duty-bound to register my "objections" even though I might face concerted attacks. I am enclosing the article hereinwith for your careful scrutiny.

I have given the name of the unit where I work so as to stop possible speculations that the article is ghostwritten by someone in your editorial department.

Please let me know if I have erred. Looking forward to hearing from you whether my writing will be published.

Revolutionary greetings,

Xu Ximing

24 June 1982

Gao Jie

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOPGAO [REPORT OF THE TIMES] in Chinese No 8, Aug 1982 pp 52-53

[Article by Gao Jie [7559 3381], Leyang, Henan: "Why Do They Make Such a Fuss About the '16 Years'"?]

[Text] (Author's Note) During my study on 17 June I saw a WEN YI BAO article in the "Literary and Art Activities" Section of the RENMIN RIBAO which criticizes your journal. After going over it, I felt sure Xin Xu wrote the article not so much to register his displeasure at the issues he had raised as to get after something sneaky. That is to say, he availed himself of the opportunity to give vent to his anger at your journal's criticism of "Kulian" a year ago. Feeling obliged to speak out on the matter, I spent several evenings on a copy of WEN YI BAO No 6 which I borrowed to prepare this article.

The "Great Cultural Revolution" had ended more than 5 years ago. Having laid to rest "mass convictions," I thought they have put a halt to such foul practices as putting labels on people, capitalizing on people's vulnerabilities and bludgeoning people. But I am surprised they are still in active use. If you do not believe me, please read an article called "Should the 16 Years Be Lumped Together?" signed by Xin Xu which appeared in WEN YI BAO No 6, 1982.

Quoting the statement "in the 16 years since the 'Great Cultural Revolution'...." from the "Explanatory Note of the Journal," Xin Xu charged that,

"linguistically speaking," the author of the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" must have meant to imply that the "Great Cultural Revolution" is not yet over. Citing the "Resolution" of the Sixth Plenum of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee to prove that the "Great Cultural Revolution" had ended in October 1976, he accused the author of the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" guilty of contradicting the CPC Central Committee. In reality, "in the 16 years since the 'Great Cultural Revolution'...." and "in the 16 years of the 'Great Cultural Revolution'" are, "linguistically speaking," quite different. Suppose some said "in more than 100 years since the Opium War" and "in more than 60 years since the May Fourth Movement," would Xin Xu claim that the Opium War and the May Fourth Movement are still in progress? Xin Xu's reasoning is so absurd that it is simply ludicrous.

Xin Xu also resents the statement in the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" that for 40 years "the speech" has been "instrumental in guiding the masses to herald the march of history." He charged that a failure to deal with the 7 years, 17 years, 10 years and 6 years separately implies "indiscrimination." No wonder people use to say where there is wish to condemn someone, there is always a way to trump up a charge against him. The whole matter is as absurd and arbitrary as limiting commerce to retail business only.

The "Explanatory Note of the Journal," a short article on renewed study of "the speech," simply does not have enough space to cover all the issues in question. But it did its best to present an overall picture. It is an established fact the "leftist" deviationist approach to "the speech," as it has pointed out, had existed before the "great Cultural Revolution" even though it did not peak until the "Great Cultural Revolution." It is also an established fact that some people have been affected with bourgeois liberalism in the last few years. Not long ago when bourgeois liberalism ran rampant, the CPC Central Committee not only criticized it but also directed its party organs at all levels to overcome laxity in discipline. As far as this goes, the views of the author of the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" are based on objective facts and in complete agreement with the CPC Central Committee. Is this still a crime?

Xin Xu took issue with SHIDAI DE BAOGAO on an article in its first issue which stated: "There is no basic difference between the society then and now," has asked the reading public to check this against the "Resolution." But the "Resolution" differs completely from what Xin Xu had said. According to the "Resolution": "In spite of the damage done during the 'Great Cultural Revolution' by the two counterrevolutionary cliques led by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, we have subdued them. The nature of the CPC, the people's government, the people's armed forces, and the society as a whole has not changed." I really cannot see what the difference is between "there is no basic difference in the society" on the one hand and "the society as a whole has not changed" on the other. Maybe the latter is more expressive than the former. But I should like to remind Xin Xu that the first issue of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO was published at the beginning of 1980 while the "Resolution" was passed in June 1981, and that the article in that first issue was done by a worker and his wife while the "Resolution" was the work of the whole party. It is no surprise that the two differ in style. What surprised me most is that Xin Xu has brooded over the matter for 2 years. The mere fact that WEN YI BAO was willing to publish Xin Xu's contradictory article warrants a thorough

scrutiny. We hope you people could spell out your true objective. If not, the reading public will ask you an inexplicable question: Why do you fuss about such a simple expression "16 years"?!

First draft at 0130, 20 Jun 82
Second draft at 2100, 21 Jun 82
Third draft at 1500, 23 Jun 82

Deng Bin

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [REPORT ON THE TIMES] in Chinese No 8, Aug 1982 pp 53-54

[Article by Deng Bin [6772 2430], Kaifeng, Henan: "Comment on Xin Xu's Article in WEN YI BAO"]

[Text] Everybody says literary criticism is important, and everybody enjoys healthy criticisms. To cherish a judicious wish is one thing, but to realize that wish is usually much more difficult than one anticipates. Comrade Xin Xu's article "Shouldn't the '16 Years' Be Lumped Together?" in which he criticized the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO is full of arbitrary arguments.

I remember some literary works were "liquidated" during the "Great Cultural Revolution" just for a single phrase. "A dead small tree" was construed as a "condemnation of the socialist system" and "a rusty bayonet" was an "obliteration of the combat capability of the old Red Army." It is a shame for Comrade Xin Xu to use such "smearing tactics" as his "executioner's weapon."

There is nothing wrong to criticize that portion of the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" in SHIDAI DE BAOGAO, provided the criticisms do not distort the overall theme of the article, and deal with issues based on facts instead of arbitrary accusations hurled at such a simple expression "for 16 years since the 'Great Cultural Revolution'" which, after all, is only a measure of time. (It must be noted that Xin Xu claimed that the "16 years" was used to stand for a period of history associated with the "Great Cultural Revolution." He does not seem to understand the meaning of the word "since" even though he said he approached the problem from a linguistic point of view. His style of criticism indeed leaves too much to be desired.)

First of all, this sensational title "Shouldn't the '16 Years' Be Differentiated?" is contrived by Comrade Xin Xu, and does not represent what the author intended to convey. The "Explanatory Note of the Journal" was meant to present some problems associated with the study and implemenation of "the speech" but not a comparison of the situation at the literary and art front both before and after the downfall of the "gang of four," nor a summation of related literary works. "Issues" and "differentitations" are two different matters. How could Xin Xu misconstrue them?

According to the "Explanatory Note of the Journal," the crucial issue is that "after the downfall of the 'gang of four,' some people took 'the speech' as fetters which they want to break through but ended up in the quagmire of bourgeois liberalism." (This probably made Comrade Xin Xu very upset.) The statement may sound a bit acrimonious, but the problem does exist. For more than a year, the leading comrade of the CPC Central Committee has warned the literary and ideological circles of the emergence of bourgeois liberalism, and personally led the comrade of the literary and art cirlces to criticize and correct it. This is an irrefutable fact which, I am afraid, even Comrade Xin Xu cannot deny.

What puzzles me most is Comrade Xin Xu's plot to link together the "16 years" and the first issue of the journal in question which published a dialogue of a worker and his wife on "In the Archives of the Society" where the husband said: "There is no basic difference between the society then and the society today." Capitalizing on this comment, Xin Xu charged that the "16 years" and "no basic difference in the society" had embellished Lin Biao and the "gang of four," "glorified the 10 years of internal turmoil," and "blotted out the brilliant records of the last 6 years." Then he went on to say that "the true substance of 'the lumping of 16 years' is to show good humor for Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' and deep-seated wrath for the people," and that the SHIDAI DE BAOGAO had contradicted the "Resolution" of the Sixth Plenum of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee.

However, when I examined it closely, that is not the case; Xin Xu has deceived me. He has left out the relevant portions of the "Resolution" about which he has said a mouthful. I should like to quote that portion as follows.

The "Resolution" states: "In spite of the damage done by the two counter-revolutionary cliques led by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing during the 'Great Cultural Revolution,' we have subdued them. The nature of the CPC, the people's government, the people's armed forces, and the society as a whole has not changed."

Comrade Xin Xu, since you want to talk about the question of the nature of society, how could you evade the very issue touched upon in the "Resolution" which you referred to?

It must be pointed out that the arguments claiming changes in the nature of the Chinese society is not Xin Xu's creation. They have been the standard theme advocated lately by WEN YI BAO. No doubt, a new historical period has ensued after the downfall of the "gang of four." There is a noticeable difference between the 10 years of internal turmoil and the years after the downfall of the "gang of four." But I cannot accept the changes in "the nature of the Chinese society" blown out of proportion by WEN YI BAO. In fact, this theme is by no means novel. It has appeared in a motion picture rated erroneous by some people. It pictured that the "gang of four" typified the Communists, that the 10 years of internal turmoil stood for what socialism was meant to be, and they have changed the nature of the Chinese society. What kind of theme is that? Comrade Qiao Mu is right when he said: "This viewpoint is a typical manifestation of bourgeois liberalism."

I remember during the trial of Jiang Qing and her counterrevolutionaries, the special tribunal kept clearly apart their crimes and the mistakes of the CPC. Jiang Qing not only spurned away the trial but also protested it. She believes they alone represent the CPC and socialism. Let me ask Comrade Xin Xu. Today do we still believe the lies they told us, regard them as the embodiment of the nature of the Chinese society, and allege that there has been a change in the nature of the Chinese society before and after the downfall of the "gang of four"?

Yu Lin

Beijing SHIADI DE BAOGAO [REPORT OF THE TIMES] in Chinese No 8, Aug 1982 p 55

[Article by Yu Lin [6276 2651], a student of Beijing University: "Comment on Xin Xu's Article in WEN YI BAO"]

[Text] I am surprised that the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" for this year's February issue of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO, a 500-character comment, was provocative enough to prompt WEN YI BAO to stir up such a stormy controversy. "Shouldn't the '16 Years' be Lumped Together," published not long ago in WEN YI BAO is the most "violent" attack launched by that journal so far. But it is riddled with mistakes and hardly logical. I should like to point out a couple of things for the benefit of all concerned comrades.

1. "Astonished" by the two erroneous approaches in the last 16 years to "the speech" mentioned in the "Explanatory Note of the Journal," Comrade Xin Xu pointed an accusing finger at that journal and labelled it "a lump of 16 years." But isn't it true that in those 16 years "the speech" was first seriously sabotaged by the "leftist" counterrevolutionary clique led by Lin and Jiang, and then "broken through" by some people in the rightist camp? Hasn't the article set apart the earlier 10 years of counterrevolutionary sabotage on the one hand and the later 6 years of "break through" by some people? But Comrade Xin Xu simply refused to acknowledge any distinction. If so, what kind of distinction does he want? He claimed that the ultra-leftist line of literature and art pursued by the Lin-Jiang clique during the first 10 of those 16 years had seriously hampered the development of literature and art, and that the major threat to the socialist literature and art during the last 6 years was still the ultra-leftism of the "gang of four." You see, if ultra-leftism were responsible in both cases, the issue of the emergence of bourgeois liberalism would be irrelevant. My beloved Comrade Xin Xu, aren't you also "lumping together the 16 years" by alleging that ultra-leftism had dominated the entire 16 years?

2. When Comrade Xin Xu invoked the linguistic "approach" to support his arguments, he deliberately substituted "people" for "some people" which appeared in the "Explanatory Note of the Journal," and accused the editors of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO of blaming the broad masses of literary and art workers for attempting to break through "the speech." My respectable Comrade Xin Xu, don't you ever blush with shame for indulging in fabrications and instigations?

3. Comrade Xin Xu, who loves to cite the "Resolution" to intimidate people, was afraid to refer to the comment in the "Resolution" on the nature of the Chinese society in the 10 years of internal turmoil when he tried to identify the changes in the nature of the society during those 10 years of internal turmoil and today. Instead, he clung stubbornly to the "theme of essential darkness" which has been widely criticized for more than two years, and said evasively: "For the time being, there is no need to argue whether Lin Biao and the "gang of four" stand for light or darkness, appearance or substance...because the people of the whole country know who they were, and the CPC Central Committee has reached its own conclusion long ago."

It must be noted that the statement "whether Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' stand for light or darkness" are insinuations fabricated by Comrade Xin Xu. Has SHIDAI DE BAOGAO ever "explored" this particular problem? Although it takes extraordinary knack to distort other people's intentions in order to accuse them of supporting the "gang of four," it is nevertheless slanderous to do so. This reminds me of a wise saying: "It is a sign of ideological weakness to attribute absurd ideas to one's ideological adversaries in order to atack them."

5360
CSO: 4005/1231

BRIEFS

ARMORED VEHICLE TRANSMISSION SYSTEM--When making a report to the Legislative Yuan on 15 November, Director Fang Hsien-chi of the Industrial Technology Research Institute said the institute is now capable of manufacturing the entire transmission system of an armored vehicle. He said the transmission system's box of aluminum alloy and the gear can be manufactured in an integrated operation involving the institute's supplies workshop and machinery workshop. The operation includes forging, casting and heat treatment processes. [OW271237 Taipei CHING CHI JIH PAO in Chinese 16 Nov 82 p 2]

CSO: 4005/225

END